[Guide to the SH6 Yahgan File]

[This file contains data on the Yahgan or Yamana of Tierra del Fuego. The sources processed are all modern, but include a survey of earlier sources. All are written by professional anthropologists.

1:Gusinde is an outstanding example of modern ethnography, often cited by other writers as a model of thorough exposition. Most of the original work has been especially translated for the files, omitting only sections on mythology and much of the history of European contacts. Gusinde covers a wide range of subjects, overlooking little, but emphasizing the religious and ceremonial life in great detail. The work is based on long and intimate contact with the Yahgan people. 2: Cooper is a survey or summary of the Yahgan culture, a secondary source which serves as an introduction to the people and the literature. 3: Lothrop is based on field work, and is a complement to 1: Gusinde inasmuch as it stresses the material aspects and technology of the culture.

Although this file is based on only three sources, it presents a relatively complete view of Yahgan culture due to the unusually thorough study of Gusinde.]

Processed in 1960-61

1: Gusinde
●101, 102, 131

SH6 Yahgan SH6

[End Map II, pages 1466-1471, has been divided into sections as indicated below.]

A 1466	B 1467	C 1468
D 1469	E 1470	F 1471

/1000 cont./

628 721 Although isolated quarrels and fights between two persons may have occurred often, a battle between two groups provoked by a murder was rare, for a murder is now and then secretly avenged by a single relative of the slain person. The Yamana are not familiar with actual marauding attacks by one group upon another, such as are customary elsewhere. Influential men sometimes try to mediate disputes with friendly words. Fitz-Roy (a): 179 reliably reported: "Warfare is so desultory, and on so small a scale among them, that the restraint and direction of their elders advised as they are by the doctors, is sufficient" /cited in English/. Despard (b):717 expressed himself just as definitely: "Warfare is not fashionable among them" /cited in English/. The basic way of life among the Yamana is not such as to permit them prolonged fights and constant quarrels (425). Every murder agitates them

425. Dabbene (b):194 is right when he says: "Wars, in the true sense of the word, whether between themselves or with neighboring tribes, have always been very rare" /translated from Spanish/.

terribly, and its effect is long-lasting. Persons who have more or less settled serious quarrels between them avoid meeting each other as much as possible.

G. General Social Obligations

•101 The Yamana as an ethnic unit are separated from all their neighbors by natural boundaries alone. Everyone recognizes his membership in this ethnic unit by a common language and mode of life. Just as definitely as they differentiate themselves from other peoples by the name Yámana (p. 197 /untranslated/), they also simultaneously emphasize the solidarity of all fellow-tribesmen in the same area. This entails many personal rights, but also obligations of all for one and of one for the society. The rights to obtain food belong among the former; property relations are based upon the latter.

1:Gusinde--1466 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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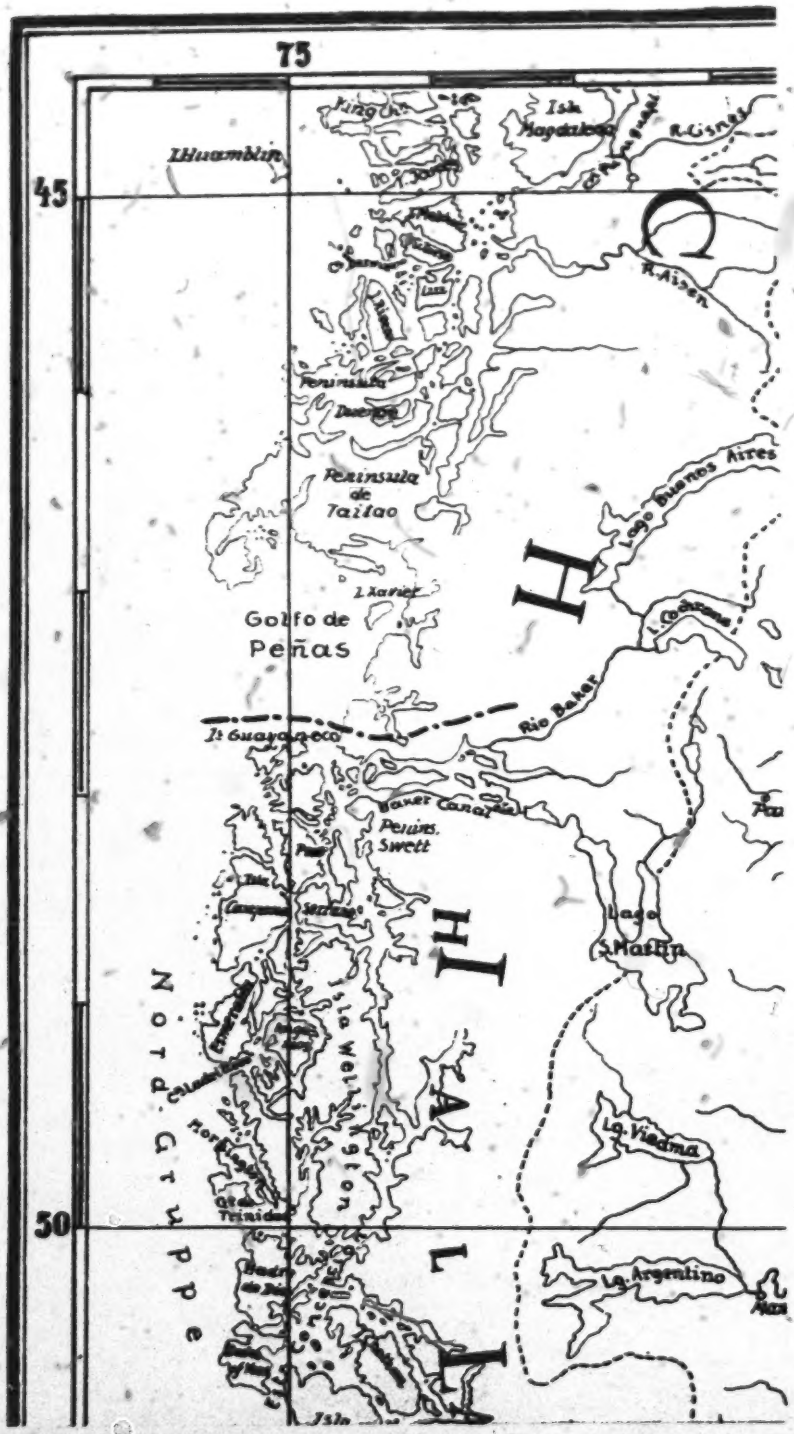

/End Map II, Section A/

1-Gusinde--1467 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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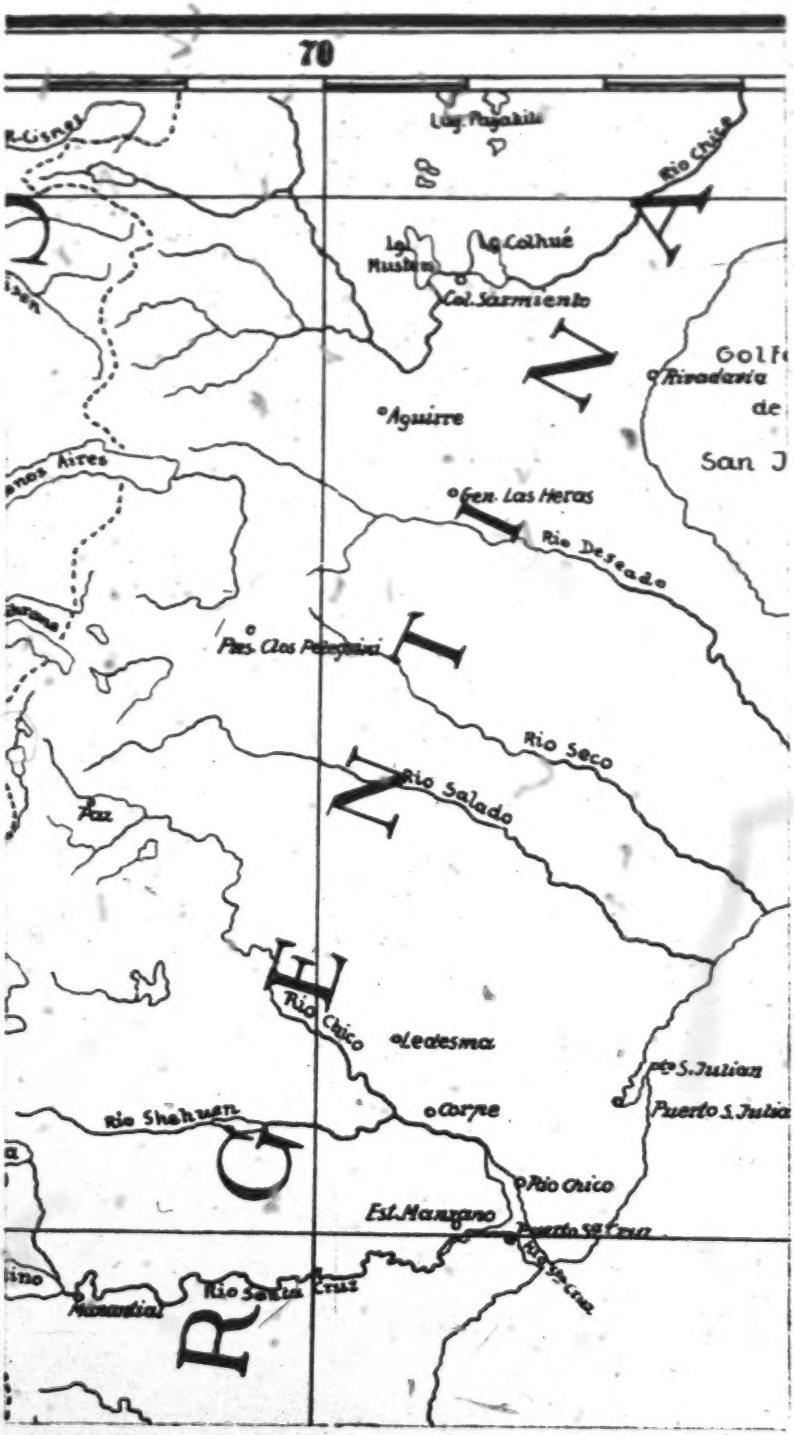

/End Map II, Section B/

1:Gusinde--1468 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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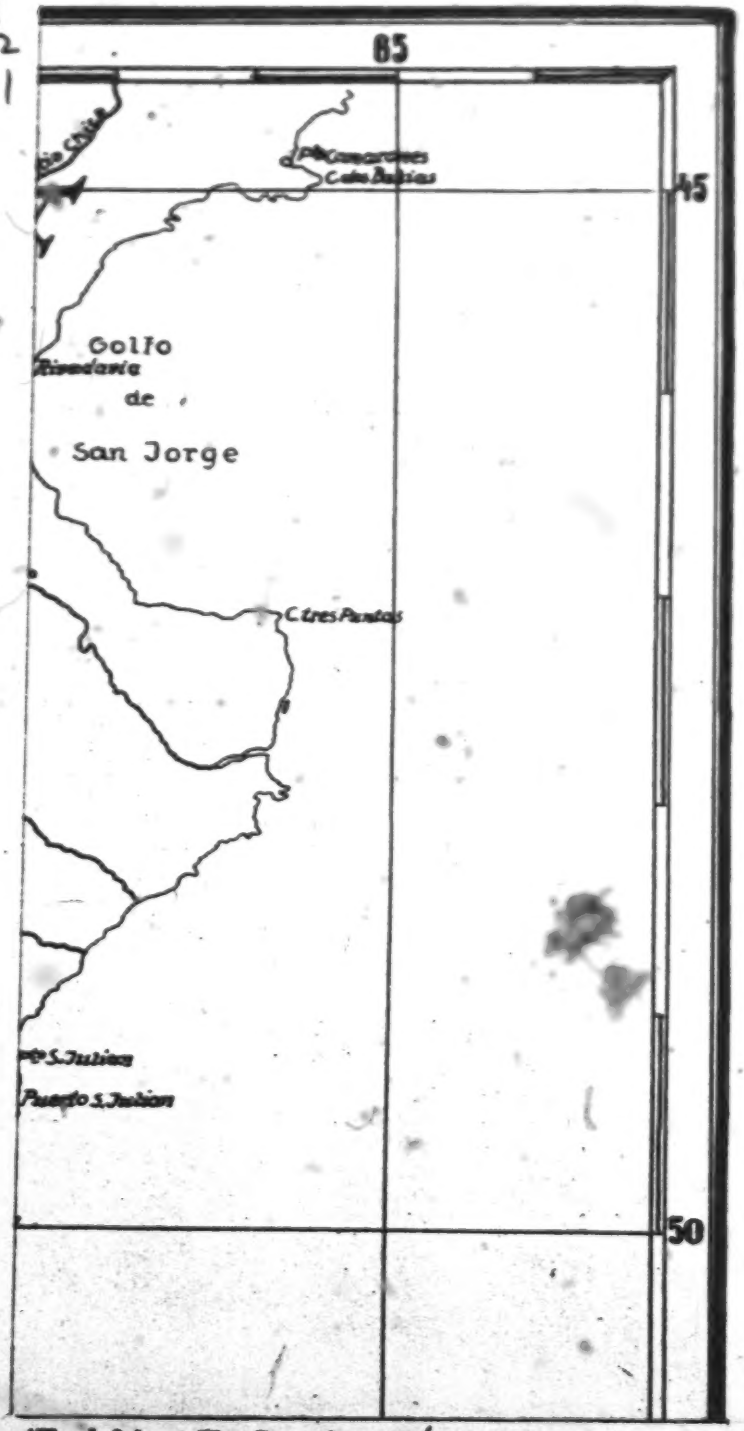

/End Map II, Section C/

1:Gusinde--1469 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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Geographic Distribution of the Indians of Tierra del Guego.

Based on the researches of M. Gusinde and on the official maps of the German Imperial Ministry of the Navy, prepared by K. Streit.

/End Map II, Section D/

1:Gusinde--1470 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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/End Map II, Section E/

1:Gusinde--1471 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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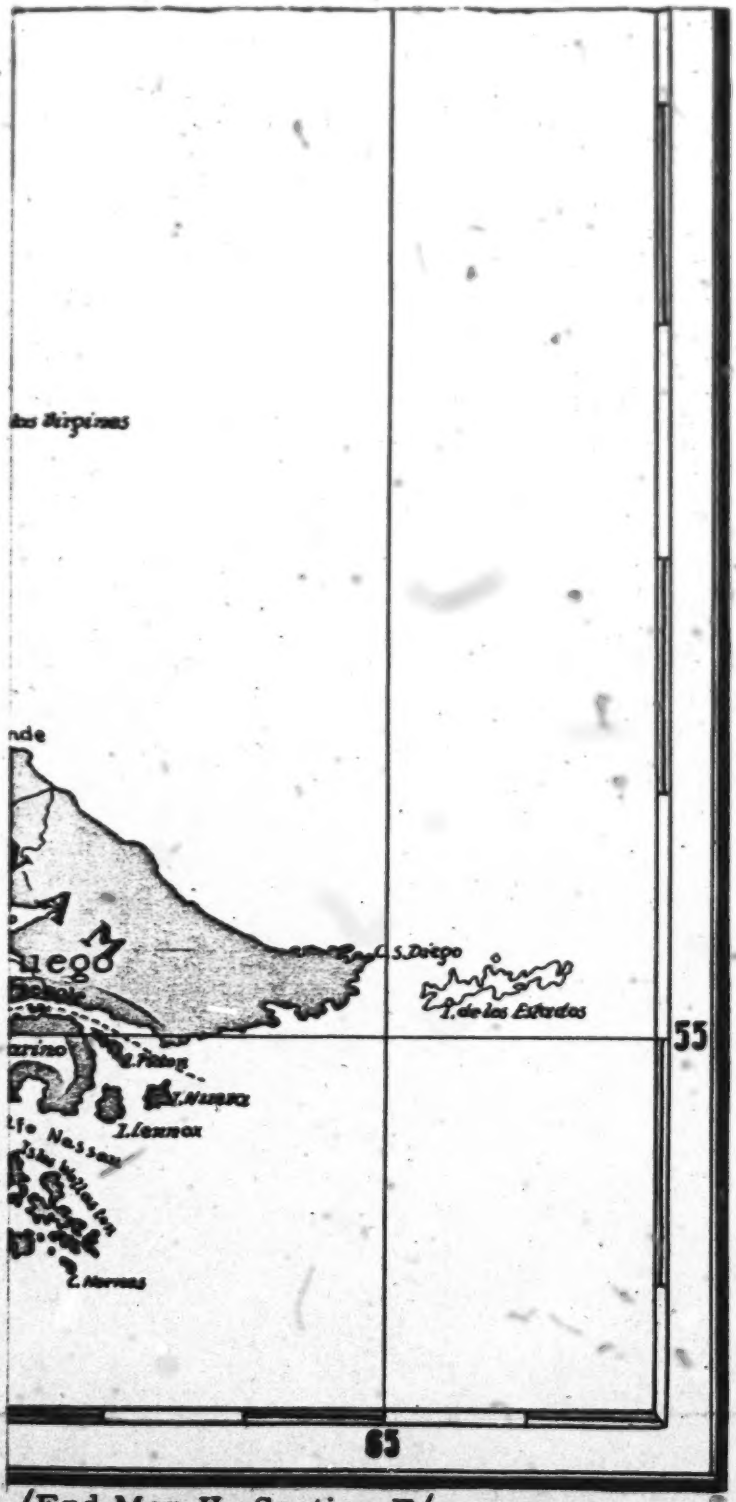

/End Map II, Section F/

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

131 contact, barter, and intermarriage with the *Ona;* between Brecknock Peninsula and the western end of Beagle Channel, with the *Alacaluf*.

101 **Names and divisions.**—The *Yahgan* called themselves *Yámana*, "human beings." They were first called *Yahgan* by the Rev. Thomas Bridges, from Yahga, the native name for the Murray Narrows region, a locality much frequented by some of them. *Yámana* would be preferable for anthropological use, but *Yahgan* is so well established in the literature that we are retaining it in the Handbook. The *Yahgan* recognized five subdivisions, each with its own aboriginal name: a southern, an eastern, a central, a western, and a southwestern (Koppers, 1927, p. 468; 1928 a, pp. 158–159; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 199–208; Lothrop, 1928, p. 120, map opp. p. 24). These subdivisions differed more dialectically than culturally.

114 **History of investigation.**—The *Yahgan* were first visited and described by Jacques L'Hermite in 1624. The next important landmark was the *Beagle* expeditions under Admiral Robert Fitz-Roy in 1829–32. It is, however, to the Rev. Thomas Bridges that we are indebted for our first intimate insight into *Yahgan* culture and linguistics. The Italo-Argentinian expedition in 1882 and the French Cape Horn expedition in 1882–83 made important advances in *Yahgan* somatology but were largely indebted to Bridges for their cultural and linguistic data. The field studies of Fathers Martin Gusinde in 1919–23 and Wilhelm Koppers in 1922 served to complete the picture, particularly as regards social and magico-religious life. Samuel K. Lothrop's field study of 1924–25 (1928, 1932 a) rounded out our knowledge of *Yahgan* technology. The only remaining gap is that of archeology, a gap in part filled by Vignati and by Lothrop, and more recently by Junius Bird in 1932–37.

The more valuable first-hand sources on the *Yahgan* from 1624 to 1917 are: Bove (1882, 1883: the two identical on culture); T. Bridges (1866, 1886, 1892, 1893); Dabbene (1911); Despard (1863); C. W. Furlong (1909, 1917 a); Hyades (1885); Hyades and Deniker (1891: of basic importance); Lovisato (1883, 1885); South American Missionary Magazine (1854–); Spegazzini (1882). The anthropological information given in these and the other sources up to 1917 is analyzed and made available in Cooper (1917). Since 1917, the most important contributions are: Lothrop (1928), for technology; Koppers (1924) and especially Gusinde (1937), for all phases of culture, particularly the social and religious ones; Von Hornbostel (1936), for music; T. Bridges (1933), for language and general culture; Vignati (1927) and Bird (1938), for archeology; Gusinde (1939), for physical anthropology.

Gusinde's exhaustive monograph, "Die Yamana" (1937), based mostly on his and Koppers' field studies and in part on a thorough combing of the literature, gives nearly all that is known of *Yahgan*

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 section of this institution, especially rich in Alacaluf and Ona material, has never been adequately organized, so that in 1924 it was musty, moth-eaten, and unlabeled. A more permanent result of the Salesian efforts is the detailed linguistic study of Father José Maria Beauvoir. Also we must mention the most extraordinary photographic record of Alberto M. De Agostini.

A more detailed discussion of Fuegian anthropological literature by the present writer would be superfluous in view of the very thorough and critical study published in 1917 by the Reverend Dr. John M. Cooper, now of the Catholic University of America at Washington. In the appended bibliography I have listed those works to which reference is made in this volume and have added thereto all the titles I can find which have appeared in the last ten years in order to form a supplement to Father Cooper's admirable treatment of the subject.

THE INDIANS OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO

101 The natives of Tierra del Fuego were divided into three linguistic stocks or four tribal groups known to modern students as the Ona and Haush, Yahgan, and Alacaluf (pl. IV). These terms, of which variously spelled versions are found, come for the greater part from the Yahgan tongue because of the early missionary contact with that tribe. Haush is an Ona word. Alacaluf seems to have been employed by the group thus named to designate themselves and was also used by the Yahgan. The intertribal nomenclature is as follows:

English	Yahgan	Ona
Yahgan	Yámana [1]	Wówun (man) Aflen (woman)
Ona	Ôna	Shflknam[a]
Alacaluf	Alacaluf	Afrro
Haush	Iralum Ôna	Haûsh

[1] In recent years several writers have used this word to designate the tribe in place of the older term *Yahgan*. Were the tribe to be named for the first time, current practice would dictate the choice of *Yamana*, but *Yahgan* has been the accepted name of the group for many years and is found in most ethnological literature; hence I have continued to use it. For similar reasons I have used *Ona* instead of *Shflknam*. Likewise I have retained the tribal name *Alacaluf* in place of the recently introduced and no doubt more phonetically correct *Halakwálup*. Such changes of terms long recorded in print form a stumbling-block to the general reader and at the same time contribute little or nothing to the specialist.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

The Ona and the Haush spoke related dialects and occupied the interior of the main island of Tierra del Fuego; they are often called the Foot Indians because of their manner of living. The Yahgan frequented the south coast of the main island and the islands to the south; the Alacaluf formerly lived at the western end of the Straits of Magellan but have moved northward toRación sound. The habitat of each tribe as it was half a century ago is shown in pl. IV. 101

No census of the indigenous population in the old days was ever taken, but from several different estimates the numbers of each tribe seventy-five years ago were approximately: 161

Ona,	3600	Yahgan,	2800–3000
Haush,	300	Alacaluf,	3500–4000

Since at least half of the Alacaluf lived north of the Straits of Magellan, the total native population of Tierra del Fuego and the adjacent islands can scarcely have been more than 9000.

At the time of the writer's visit (1924–25) the Indian population, including mixed-bloods, was approximately:

Ona,	60–70	Yahgan,	40–50
Haush,	2– 3	Alacaluf,	150

Of the Alacaluf only two were seen south of the Straits of Magellan, as they now live far to the north, for the greater part in the vicinity ofRación sound. The figure for their numbers is the estimate of the Rev. John Williams of Punta Arenas.

Later in the same year (1925) an epidemic of measles ravaged Tierra del Fuego. What happened to the Yahgan I do not know, but Mr. William Bridges wrote me that more than twenty adult Ona and an unknown number of children had died. With the exception of a few mixed-bloods, the Indians of Tierra del Fuego are probably extinct. [164]

Because the writer saw little of the Alacaluf and Haush, it is principally of the Ona and Yahgan we shall speak below. Before beginning a detailed description we shall discuss their environment and physical peculiarities, and shall list the features of their culture.

CLIMATE

Tierra del Fuego lies between 53° and 56° south latitude, corresponding to the position in the northern hemisphere of the Aleutian islands, southern Labrador, or the central part of Great Britain. 132

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Materials

105
171

wood	wood
sinew	sinew
skin	skin
stone	stone
bone	bone
whalebone (rare)	whalebone
——	kelp
grass	grass
feathers	feathers
——	pumice
white clay	white clay
red burnt earth	red burnt earth
charcoal	charcoal
pitch (post-European)	——
iron (post-European)	iron (post-European)
glass (post-European)	glass (post-European)

PHYSICAL TYPE

114 The writer engaged in no anthropometric investigation in Tierra del Fuego, but certain measurements are available by which the physical types there to be found may be determined. The most important study yet published is that of Hyades (1891) on the Yahgan prepared in coöperation with Deniker, a work surprisingly sound in method considering how long ago it appeared. A series of measurements on the Ona taken many years ago but printed recently (1927) by Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche is also of prime importance. Somatological data collected by Gusinde and Koppers in recent years is beginning to appear in print, but with a single exception it has not been possible to obtain copies in time to incorporate the material here. Other studies of smaller scope are available and have been listed by Cooper (1917, pp. 138–140) and Dixon (1923, pp. 454–455). Even when concentrated into a single group, Fuegian somatological material is not abundant.

114 Primary division of the Indians of Tierra del Fuego into groups,
101 Foot Indians and Canoe Indians, is made on cultural grounds. This classification might also be based on physical type, and, in case of the Foot Indians, on linguistic relationship. As with the cultural evidence, physical data on the Alacaluf and Haush are so scanty that we shall confine our discussion to the Ona and the Yahgan.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

PART II

CANOE INDIANS

THE YAHGAN

101 THE Yahgan Indians, the southernmost people in the world, lived on the southern shores of Tierra del Fuego from Brecknock peninsula to Spaniard harbor, and on the adjacent islands southward to Cape Horn itself (pl. IV). In spite of the tempestuous waters they confronted, they were a seafaring people and derived their livelihood almost entirely from the sea and its beaches.

172 Like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance, but their camping-places were limited by the fact that each family was dependent on a fragile bark canoe, for which shelter must be provided. Thus favorable stretches of beach today are marked by great refuse-heaps, of most extraordinary size when one recalls that they represent only temporary stopping-places and that no family ever camped on a spot where it was known that a death had occurred. Centuries or even milleniums must have witnessed the building up of these vast agglomerations of bone and shell.

177 The Yahgan came under missionary influence in the middle of the nineteenth century, and a permanent mission station was 197 maintained among them from 1870 until recently. Hence their culture was much modified before they could be studied by trained ethnologists. For instance, by the eighties they had modified their initiation rites. We must add that among the Ona those without missionary training tended to survive the longest, but among the Yahgan the last survivors have almost invariably been mission reared.

142 Writing nearly a century ago, Fitzroy (pp. 137–139, 186) thus describes the untrammeled Yahgan of his day:

> The Tekeenica, natives of the south-eastern portion of Tierra del Fuego, are low of stature, ill-looking, and badly proportioned. Their color is that of very old mahogany, or rather between dark copper and

1: Gusinde
101, 102, 131

SH6 Tahgan SH6

[End Map II, pages 1466-1471, has been divided into sections as indicated below.]

A 1466	B 1467	C 1468
D 1469	E 1470	F 1471

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan SH6

102, 103, 133, 491

[End Map I, pages 1458-1465, has been divided into sections as indicated below.]

A 1458	B 1459	C 1460	D 1461
E 1462	F 1463	G 1464	H 1465

/599 cont./

172 43 and 56 family-hut sites, respectively. Since now, as then, safe inlets and sheltered nooks are still sought, the present-day Yamana erect the framework of their dwelling in exactly the same depressions used by many previous generations. For their part they are still adding to the shell heaps.

Besides the shell mounds that have kept their shape, there are /600/ some that have been more or less leveled by the active traffic of Europeans and the trampling of cows, sheep, and horses. We can clearly recognize this condition at the mouth of the Rio Douglas and in some places in Puerto Mejillones. Accordingly, the number of dwelling sites here was formerly greater than that just mentioned. The condition that animals and human beings have brought about here was achieved in other places, which

[102]

Fig. 71. Shell Heaps near Bahía Harberton.

were ruthlessly exposed to the winds, by inanimate nature. I am referring to many areas between Ushuaia and Punta Remolino. Here the many shell mounds appear scattered in all directions, mixed with much drifting sand, and now form a uniform layer, as though all the many patches had never been gathered together in a mound-shaped elevation and remained thus for some time.

Now it is no longer surprising that the depth of the layers fluctuates remarkably from place to place. Along the areas just mentioned the very uniform layer goes only to a depth of ten to 35 centimeters, proof that only a few families settled here and these much more seldom than elsewhere. On the other hand,

/601 cont./

172 a glance their composition from top to bottom. The mussel shells lie on top of each other in layers mixed with a little sand and, in some places, with layers of ashes. Near the bottom and also embedded in somewhat high layers, one sees a thin breccia stratum, five to 35 centimeters thick. Its origin cannot be explained simply as pressure from the superimposed material (394). More

394. Lothrop (b):179 has expressed himself similarly, "that the shells have in

[102]

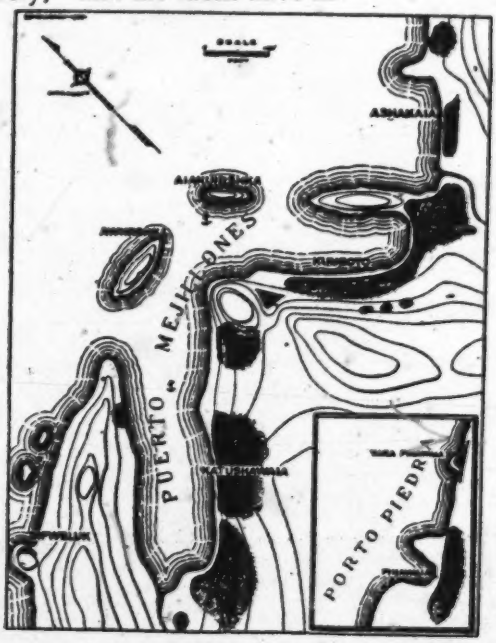

Fig. 72. Shell Heaps near Puerto Mejillones and Puerto Piedra.

places solidified into a breccia, which forms a floor a foot or so in thickness. These spots occur sporadically and at no uniform depth, and it was impossible to determine the special conditions which had given rise to them" /cited in English/.

convincing is /602/ the suggestion that individual layers of shells were exposed to strong heat from the hut fire, which made them brittle, and that later the human foot often walked over them, crushing them still more. The same depression in a shell layer

1:Gusinde--1458 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section A/

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1:Gusinde--1459 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section B/

102
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1:Gusinde--1460 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section C/

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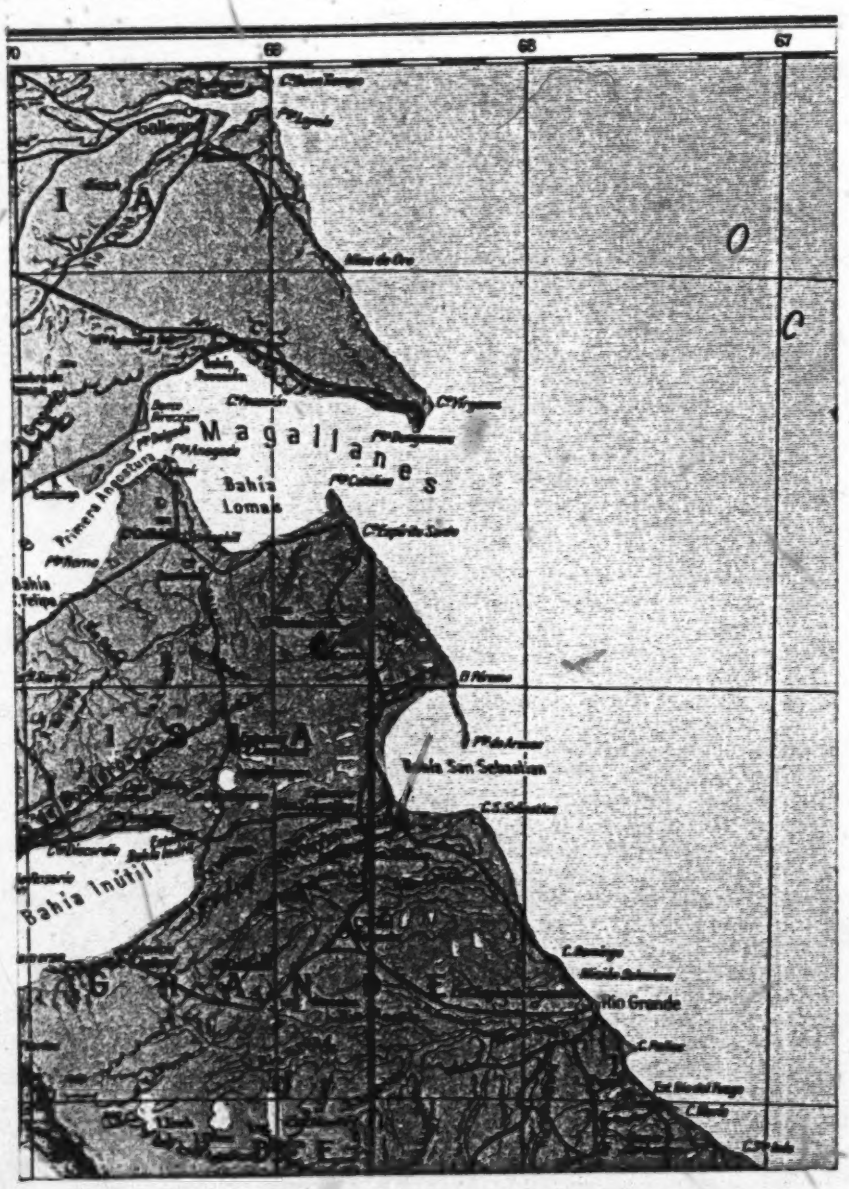

1:Gusinde--1461 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I. Section D/

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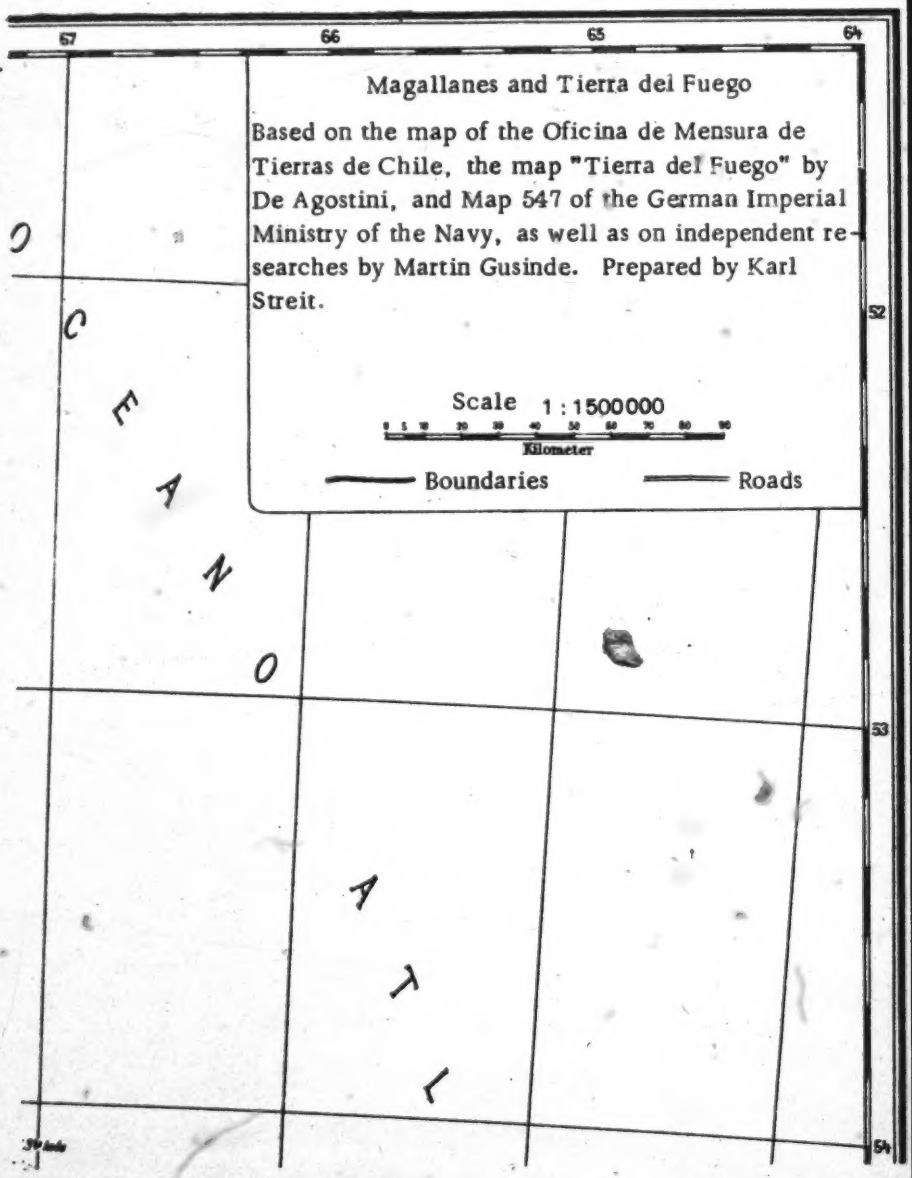

1:Gusinde--1462 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section E/

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1:Gusinde--1463 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section F/

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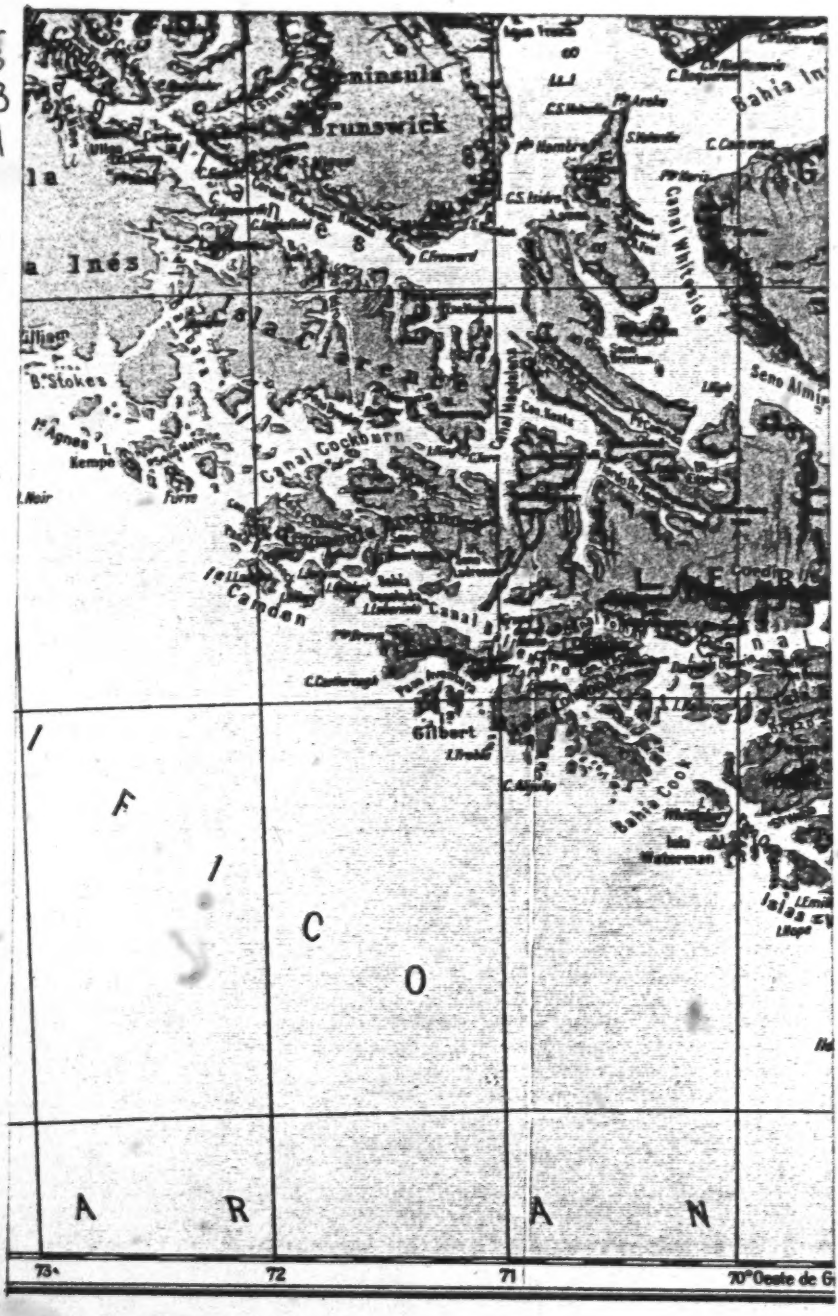

1:Gusinde--1464 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section G/

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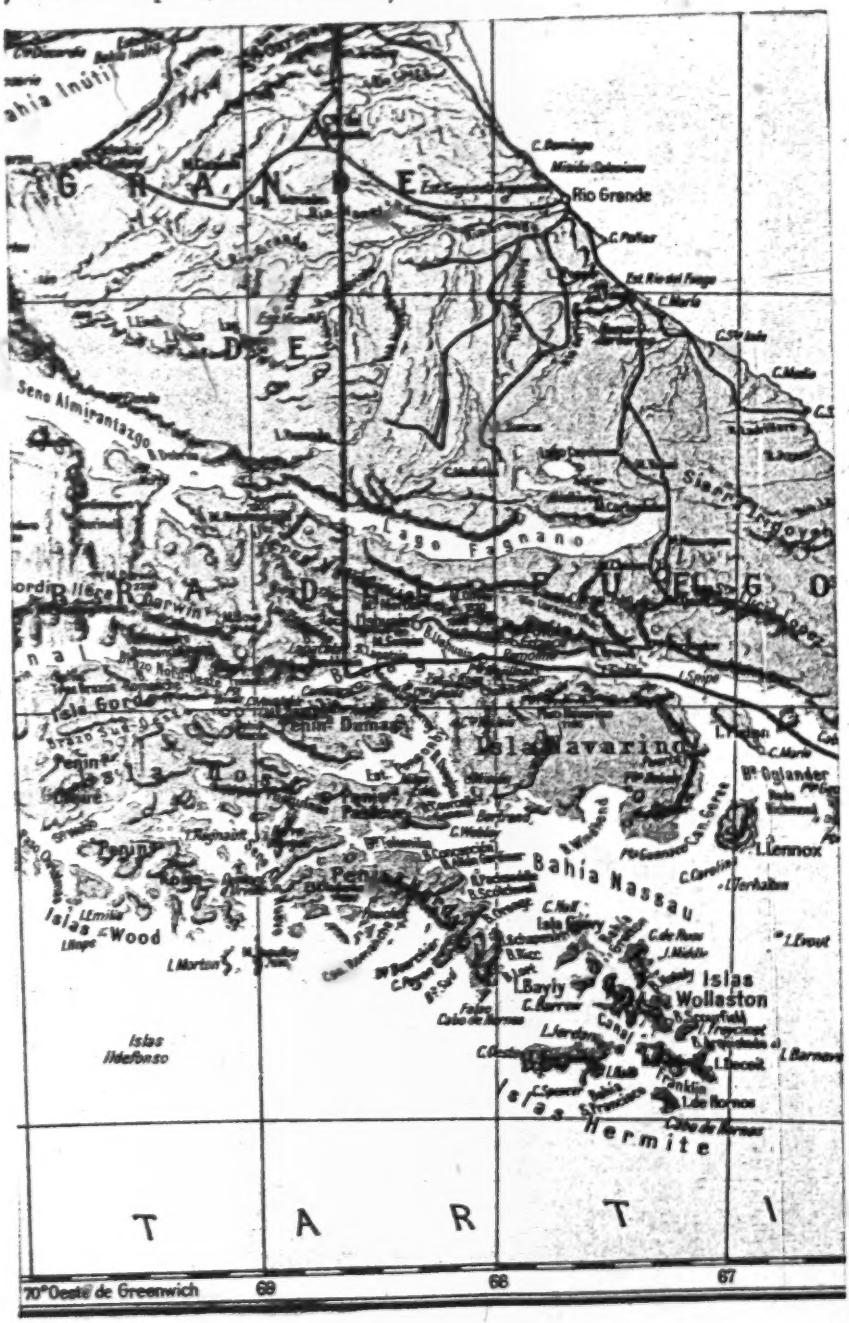

1:Gusinde--1465 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section H/

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1:Gusinde--1466 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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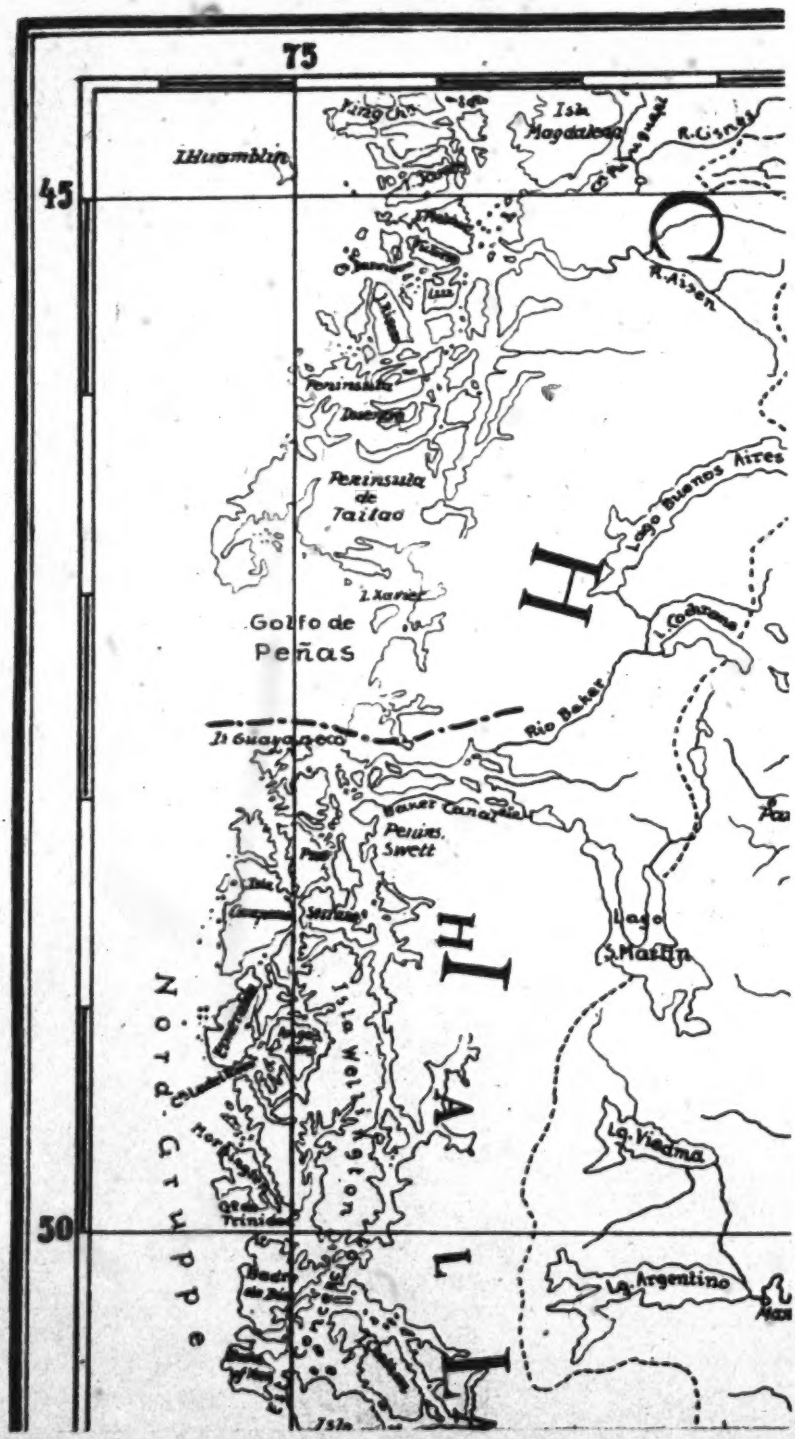

/End Map II, Section A/

1:Gusinde--1467 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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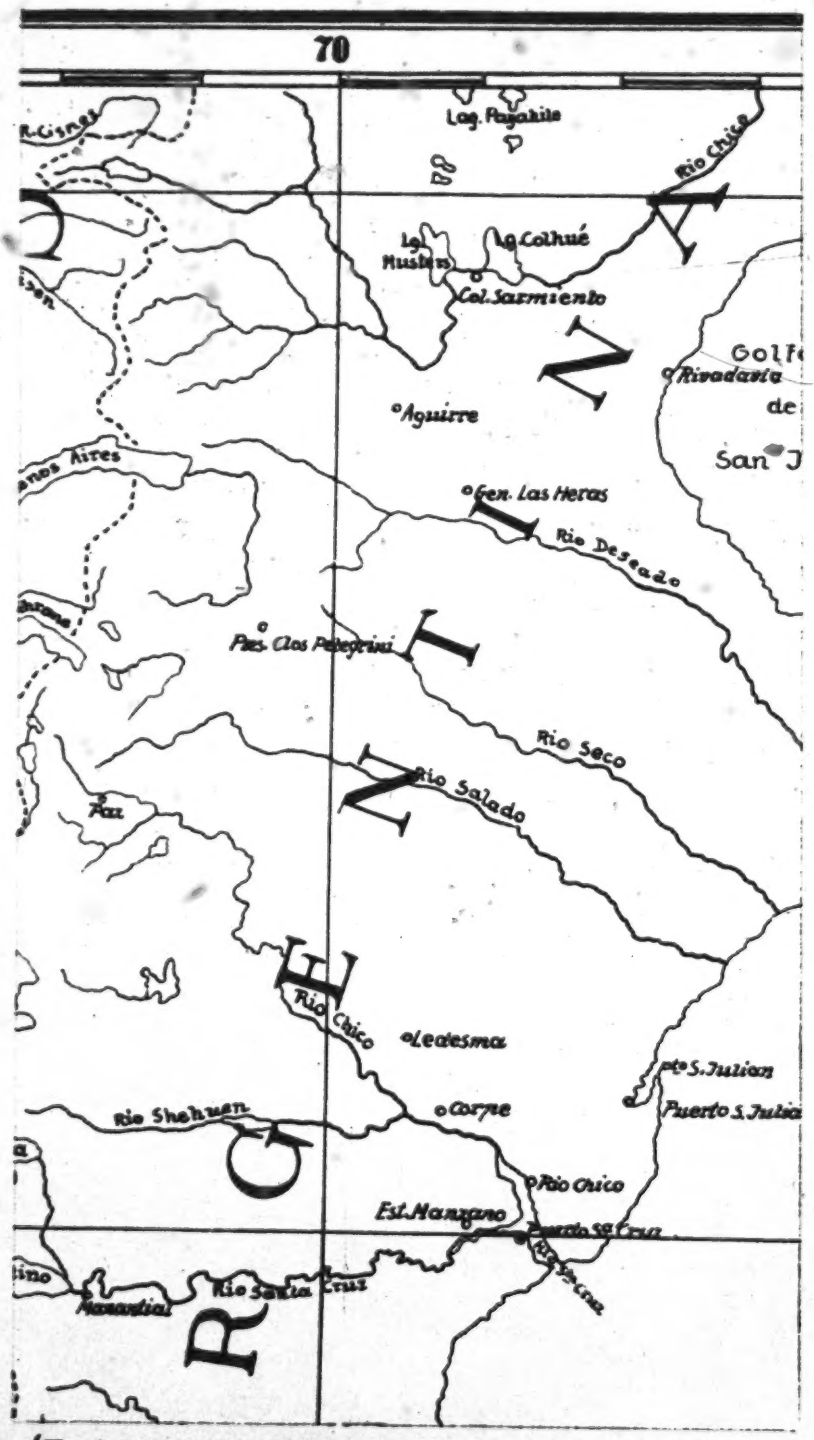

/End Map II, Section B/

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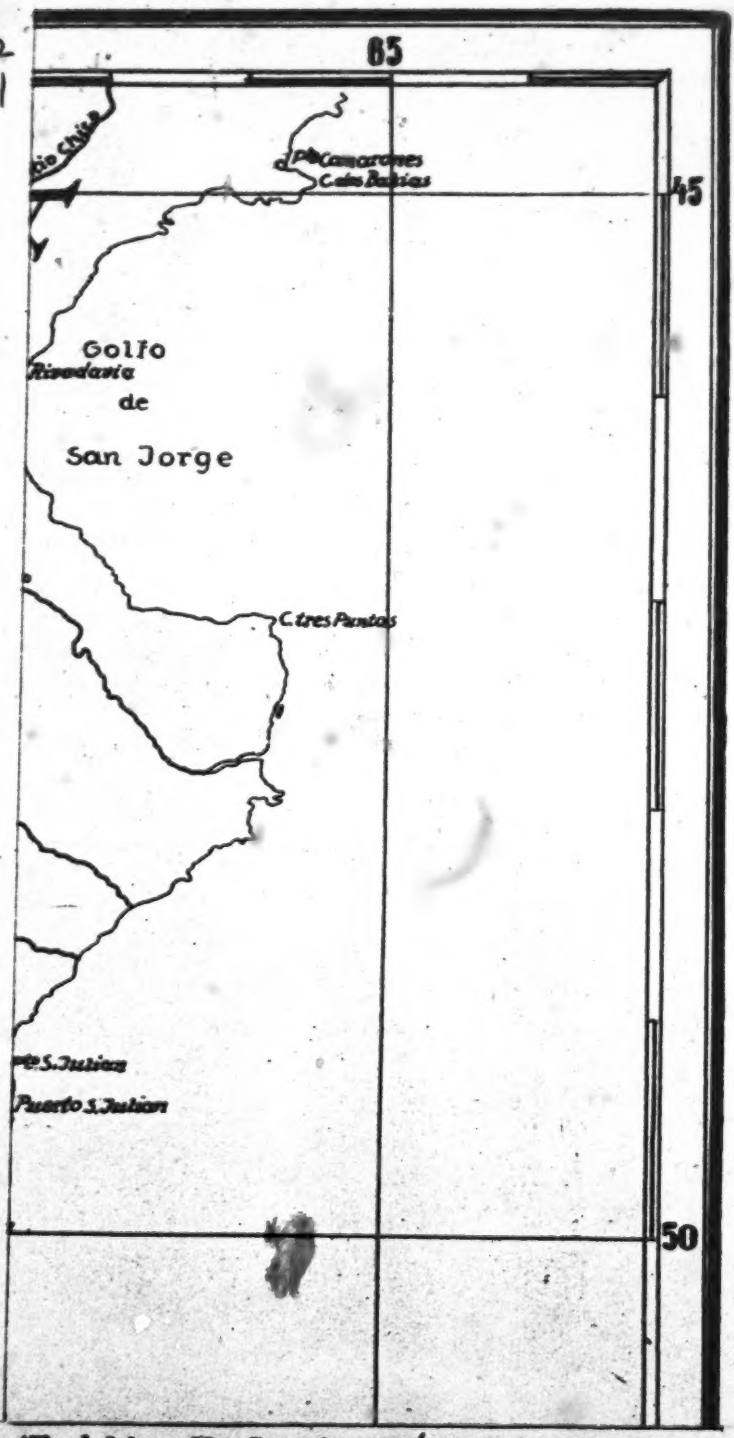

/End Map II, Section C/

1:Gusinde--1469 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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Geographic Distribution of the Indians of Tierra del Guego.

Based on the researches of M. Gusinde and on the official maps of the German Imperial Ministry of the Navy, prepared by K. Streit.

/End Map II, Section D/

1:Gusinde--1470 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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/End Map II, Section E/

1:Gusinde--1471 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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/End Map II, Section F/

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

ETHNOGRAPHICAL MAP OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO

[p. 24-A]

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131

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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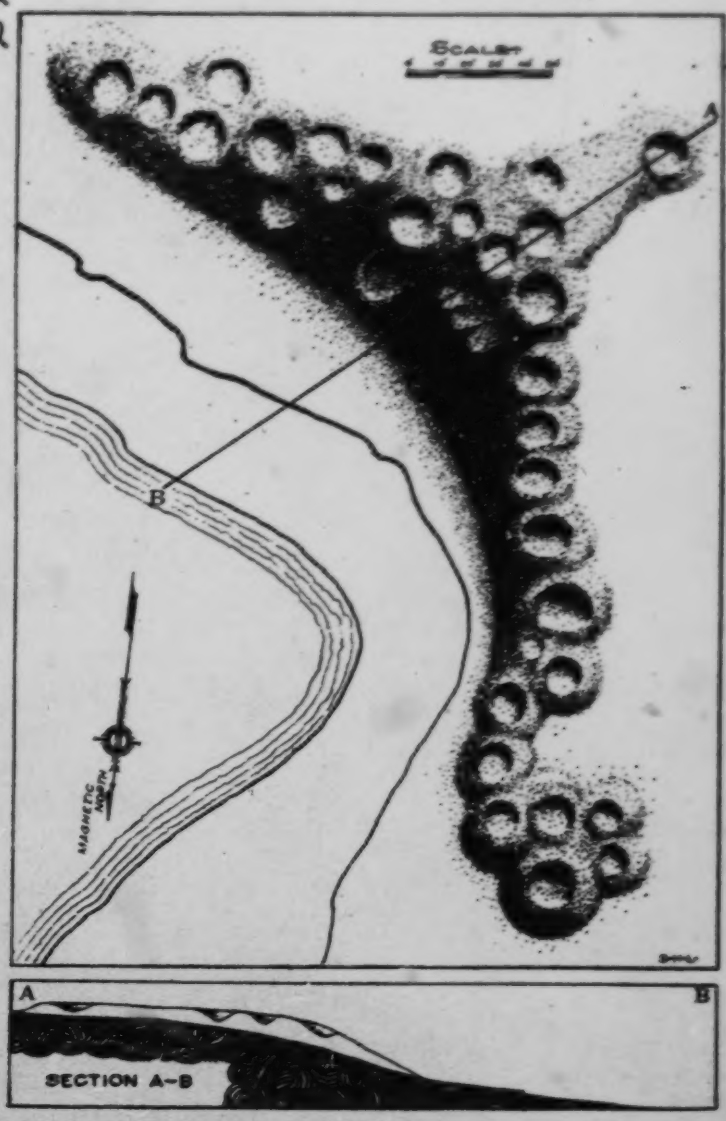

FIG. 96.—Wápisatumánakulum shellheap, Harberton, Tierra del Fuego.

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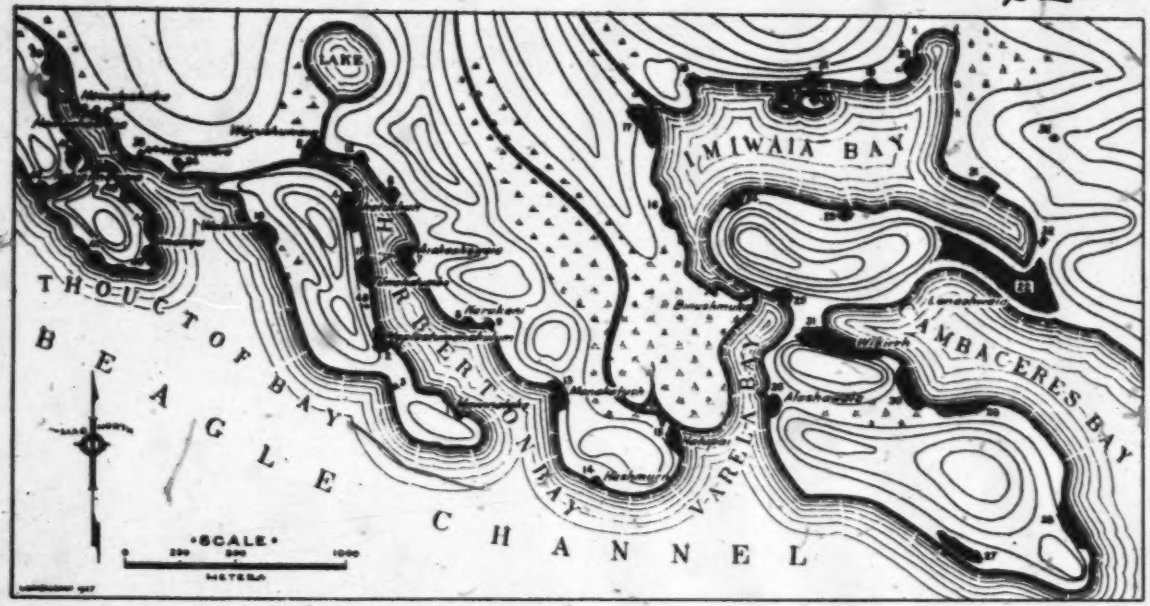

FIG. 98.—Camp-sites and place-names near Harberton, Tierra del Fuego.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172

FIG. 99.—Approximate cross-section of shellheap 17, Imiwaia bay, Tierra del Fuego.

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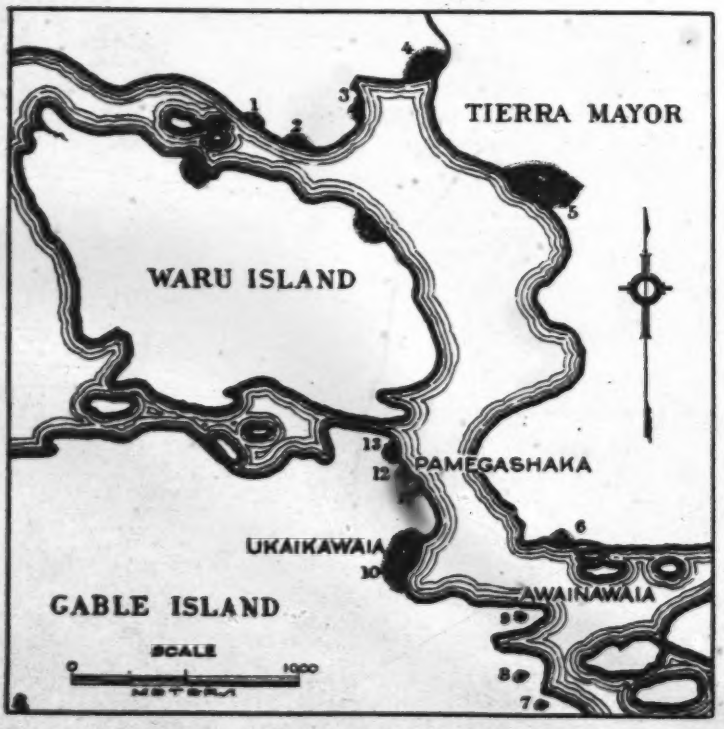

FIG. 100.—Location of shellheaps on the channel between Gable island and Tierra del Fuego.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 361 The densest population in this group centered on Cambaceres bay, where 367 hut-pits were counted. The camp-sites on the south side, known to the Indians as Wíkirrh, display unusually deep house-pits, while Lanáshwaía (pl. XVII, *b*) on the opposite

[102 103]

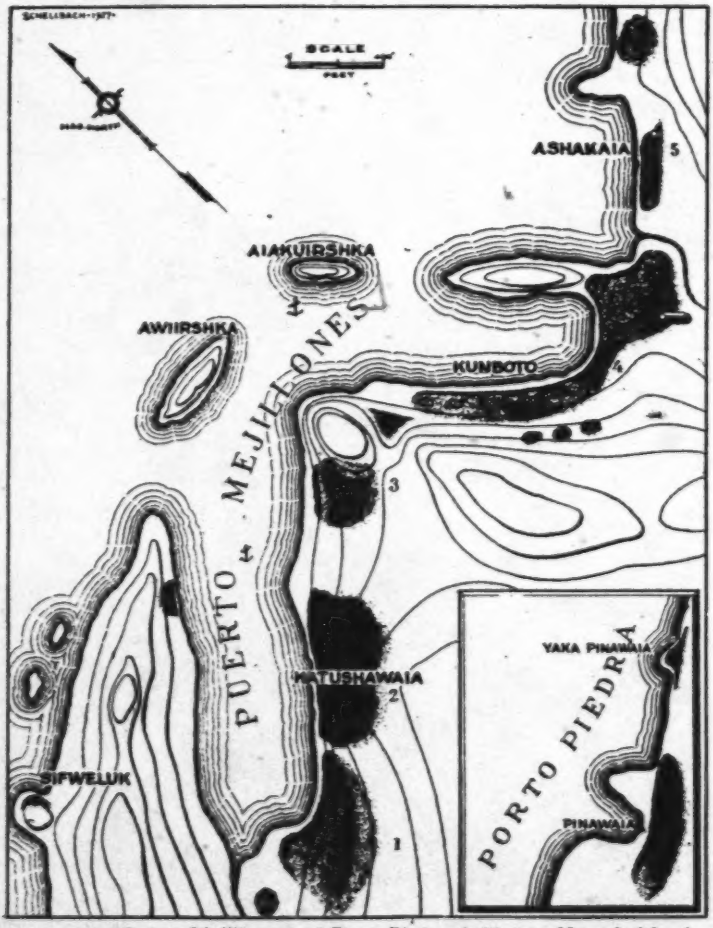

FIG. 101.—Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra shellheaps, Navarin island.

shore was evidently a later or less popular settlement, as the pits are relatively shallow.

731 About 1880 there occurred here one of those tragedies which must have been not uncommon among the Yahgan. A dead

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 361 Of these, No. 4 was occupied by the Yahgan during the summer of 1923–24. No. 10, seen in pl. XVI (upper view), was an unusually deep midden conveniently situated beside a spring.

Another group of Yahgan camp-sites, at Puerto Mejillones and at Porto Piedra along the coast to the westward, is seen in pl. XI and mapped in fig. 101. Here practically all the Yahgan now come to pass the winter months, living on the proceeds of the skins they have sold during the preceding summer or on their wages earned on various sheep ranches. They dwell in poorly constructed houses built of ill-fitting boards. The size of the shellheaps is as follows:

Camp-site	Number of Huts	Camp-site	Number of Huts
1	55	5	20
2	50	—	6
3	25	Pinawaía	75
4	10	Yaka Pinawaía	12

[102]

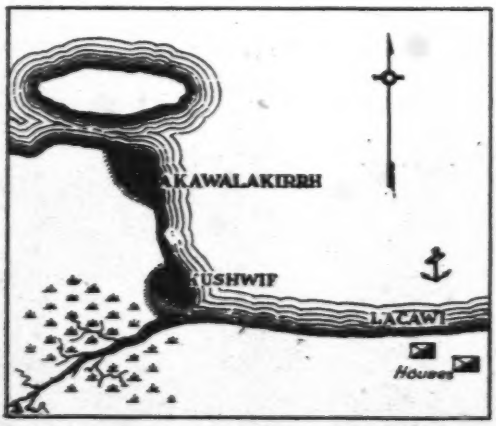

Fig. 102.—Róbalo bay, Navarin island, showing the location of shellheaps.

Puerto Mejillones really is one continuous site, and the original number of house-pits was much greater than that given above, but they have been trampled flat by cattle. The greatest depth of deposit was seen at site 2, where the débris appeared to be 12 or 15 feet thick (pls. XI, XVIII).

One of the Porto Piedra shellheaps is of unusual size. This site today is crowned by several modern houses and the house-pits have been trampled down by cattle.

172 At Róbalo bay of Navarin island are two large shellheaps containing 43 and 56 house-sites. The one called Akawalakirrh in

1: Gusinde

102, 103, 133, 491

SH6 Yahgan SH6

[End Map I, pages 1458-1465, has been divided into sections as indicated below.]

A 1458	B 1459	C 1460	D 1461
E 1462	F 1463	G 1464	H 1465

/786 cont./

601 There are several words to express the relationship of friends,
[572] which occasionally can also be used in the sense of being related.

tögakūlū, friend (14, 10. 12; 11, 6)
kurūaala, friends (15, 6)
dāšinaka, female friend (cognates 1, 36)
kurūākindeian, female friends (15, 9)
iŋgāgakīpeiamalim, bad women (prostitutes 15, 30).

/787/ The word "related" or "relative" cannot be translated as such (see "female friend"), since it is usually more specific. mökörž, "connected together like relatives," in the dual mökörž pai, in the plural mökörž yamalim. magāta, "blood relatives," dual magātāpai. sönnakita, "without male relatives, without friends who could offer help in combat, without brothers, without uncle, without cousins." -- For the rest we must come back to this in the individual items.

ūšū (an), ūšūa, grandfather
hau ūšūan, hau ūšu(ō)n, 1. do.
šin ūšūōn, 2. do.
kīt ūšun, 3. do.
kīt ūšuun, 3. do.
kīt ūšūōn, 3. do.
gūlūana, grandmother
haua gūlūanan, 1. do.
sin gūlūanan, 2. do.
šina gūlūanan, 2. do.
kičin gūlūanan, 3. do.
könjimin gūlūanan, 3. do.

If the reader is struck by the fact that two different roots are used for the compound expression, this will be immediately explained in what follows; "great uncle" is called gölaiakön, whereas a word for "great aunt" is nowhere to be found.

601 Regions are also linked with kinship terms, for example,
103 hī-kaiamakūtasa, "the land of my grandmothers, ." more accurately with ūsi which means "land"; thus, kī-kaiamākūtas-ūsi, and
kī-kaiamākūs-ūa, male, kī-kaiamākus-a-kīpa, female relative from there. In the opposite direction, the expression can also refer to the grandchildren: "the land of someone's grandchild." hī-kaiamākus-āpai means that two persons have connections with the grandmother's or the grandchildren's country.

hannaiamalim, my countrymen
hannaala, do. m.
hanna-kīpaiamalim, do., f., sing.
hanna-kīpa, do. f.

/791 cont./

601 192 daughter, the one before all others." sāpa, "blood" (11, 50. 51; 22, 44), sāpa, do., sāpan(ī)a, "to menstruate," turi, "the first menstruation, "wēlix, "menses." kīmūakīpa, "a woman who is convalescing after a severe illness" (fam.).

auakōšandaulumūa könjin, "he is a man who does not belong to my family or to my place." auakōšan hai annū, "I am a man who is not closely related to him." mamāgwīamalim, "a man and his children, the whole family." matūkwīamalim, "a man and his wives who are related to one another. annū mamökus köndaian, "those who are brothers and sisters to one another, they are brothers," mamökus-pai, "two who are brothers," mamökus-yamalim, "brothers, companions." mamāgū(pai), "a father and his sons, a mother and her sons." hauiyama' ūsi-ndaulum ūa, "a man from my region."

maaimpai, maaimyamalim, "two and more who are brothers."

maaikīpāpai, maaikīpaimalim, "two and more who are sisters."

anūrali, "a person who has little influence or is unprotected against injustice because most of his male relatives are dead."

arūgo, "orphan," ārūkūāki, ārūkū(a), "one who has neither father nor mother, a double orphan."

wōšakīya, orphan boy

yōšōla, an orphaned child

pilluš sons and daughters of someone murdered (m.)

tauwölūwa, a man in mourning for child, parents, brother, or sister

wösakīyakīpa, orphan girl

yōšölakīpa, a double orphan

pilluškīpan, daughters of someone murdered (m.)

tauwölūwākīpa, a woman in mourning for child, parents, brother, or sister

/792/

töpör(ūw)a, father or brother of someone murdered

töpörakīpa, a mother of someone murdered, her son or sister /sic; daughter/, her brother or sister

töpöra, "relatives, such as mother or father and brothers and sisters, of someone murdered." töpörana, "the obligation to exact vengeance on the murderers of someone's child or brother or sister." [627]

mēašölāpai, "two persons, boys, who are orphans."

hikapilluš, hiköška, "a boy whose father or mother drowned."

[103] ūsiluswa, an expression applied to a place instead of its real name, out of respect for the dead person who was named after it.

/1452 cont./

823 ĩŋga, "northerly, the north"; finally ĩnu, "in a westerly direction, the west." These root terms serve for all kinds of constructions. Instead of listing them, I refer the reader to BD. They are used very often, not only to describe the distribution of the large ethnic groups, but also to designate the directions of air and water currents, of swarms of birds and fish, or of a journey on foot or in a canoe. Accordingly, they say: ĩtulum-ãala, "people of the east." A more complete form of this is ĩtulum-dãulum-ãala. The word dãulum or dãualum means "from this place, from yonder." In contrast, there is ĩtalum-hũša, "the east wind." It can be stated as a rule that an expression for a motion or an activity of motion at the same time indicates the particular direction. This kind of accuracy, which, as such, is still no proof of the richness of the language, may seem to us exaggerated, but it is valuable and sometimes of vital necessity to a nomadic Fuegian. An example may make this clear. If I am standing to the north and at some distance from a channel, looking south, I call the north coast of this channel kutãgutekaiyũša, but its southern coast ĩlakupe-hãuanči-yũša. Using this latter formation, the Yamana says ĩlakupe-ašãga, namely, a channel extending south of me, or, "ĩŋgakupe-ašãga," a channel which runs from my position to the north. As may be seen from these examples, the relationship of one thing to another in space is specifically designated. This is usually done with reference merely to the quarters of the heavens; often the vertical relation of a thing in space is expressed together with its horizontal relation, that is, according to the quarters of the heavens (358).

358. Bridges (h):206 several times confirmed the strikingly frequent use of designations for directions. Compare Furlong (r):171, Hyades (q):281, Lovisato (b):151.

●103 Even more surprising is the almost unbelievably large number of place names. Coasts that are more frequently visited and sought out by individual families, above all those along Beagle Channel and Angostura Murray, have their own names which characterize very short distances or only one spot, a small projection or a rather large stone, a shallow or deep bend, a steep or

/1452 cont./

•103 flat shore. Every special peculiarity, though it may appear insignificant, is named and provided with the appropriate supplementary term. The following words belong to this category: wēlakir, "projection, point"; ašāga, "channel, arm, branch"; yūša, "coastal strip, beach"; wāia, "large and small inlet"; yiška, "island, isolated rock, stone protruding out of the water." I entered the most common names on a geographic map of the native country of the Yamana, and I counted more than 370. Most of them are true proper names; the rest are simple descriptions with a supplementary term. Examples of the first group are to be found on pages 200 /untranslated/ and 537; examples of the second group are /1453/ hallēnaka-sīma-yiška, the "island of the dirty water," between Tierra Mayor and Gable Island -- hallēnaka, "dirty, muddy"; sīma, "water"; yiška, "the island" -- and the longest word in the Yamana language, introduced on page 541. Naturally, there are special names for every large arm of water, for example: aōn[a]-ašāga, eastern Beagle Channel; wāiman-ašāga, Brazo Nordoeste; lēšuf-ašāga, Brazo Suroeste. Similarly, for a large island or an entire group of islands: Wulāia-yiška, Isla Button in front of Wulaia Bay; Ušānux, Horn Island, Yēškūšin, Wollaston Islands. For a large bay: Agāiya, Ponsonby Sound; Hātuwāia, New Year Sound. For a long coastal stretch: Wasaniāga, the southern edge of Navarino Island. Finally, for extensive areas near the shore: Aniawāia, the valley between Ušuwāia and Lapatāia. Any large area in the interior of an island, more or less distant from the coast, is commonly called ūša; there are no specific local designations for such areas. The Yamana are also content with the general term tulēra, "mountain," without distinguishing one height from another with a proper name. The wide ocean is called hīka. Very occasionally a larger brook or river also has a special name, for example, lēsēf-hāšax, Rio Mayor at Puerto Harbertón (359). The Yamana use

359. This typical Yamana name is found on maps as "Lasirparchac."

the many individual names with astonishing accuracy.

1:Gusinde--1458 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section A/

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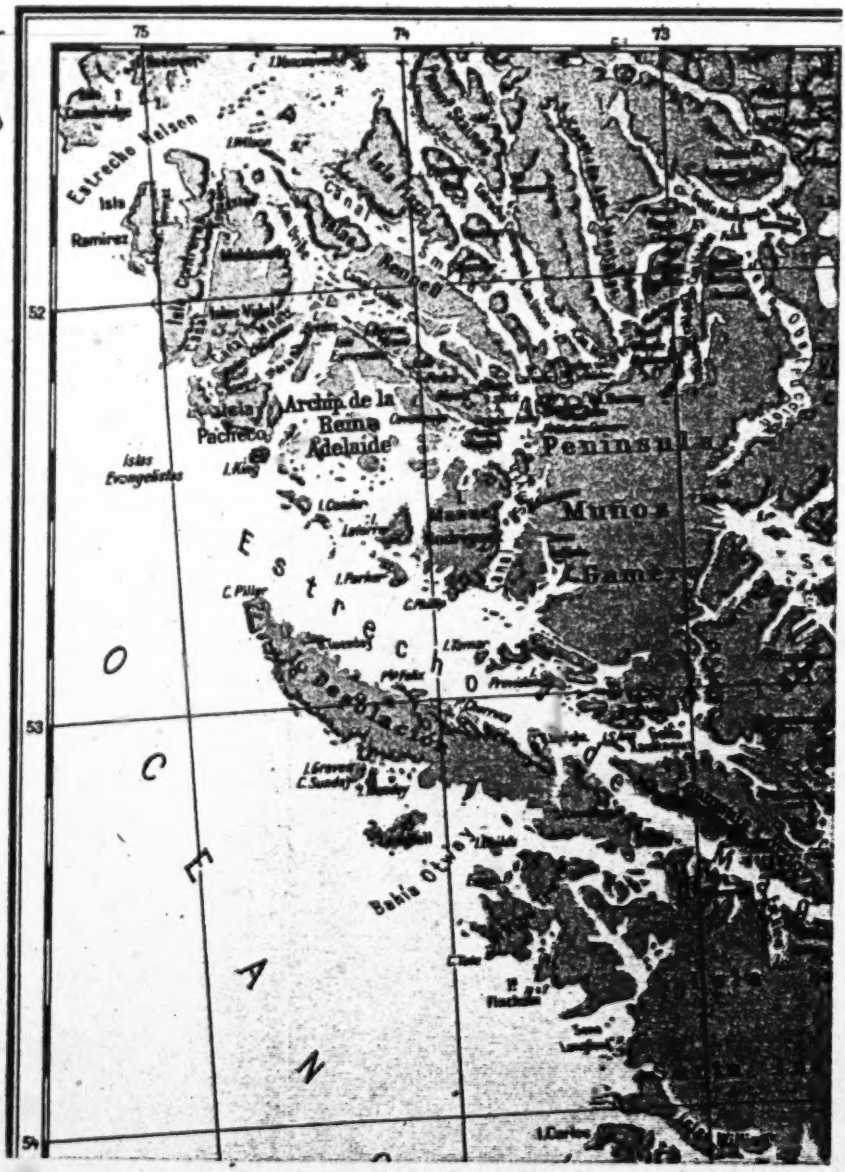

1:Gusinde--1459 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section B/

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1:Gusinde--1460 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section C/

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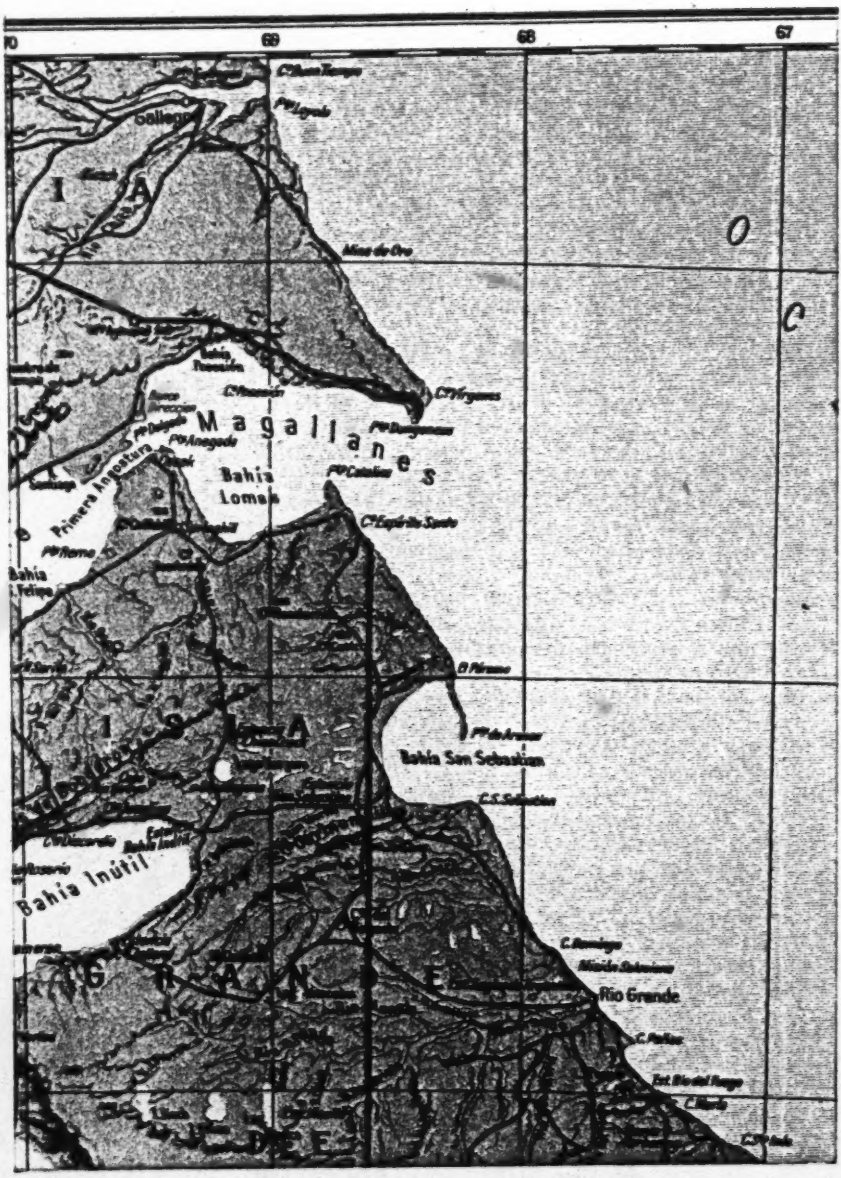
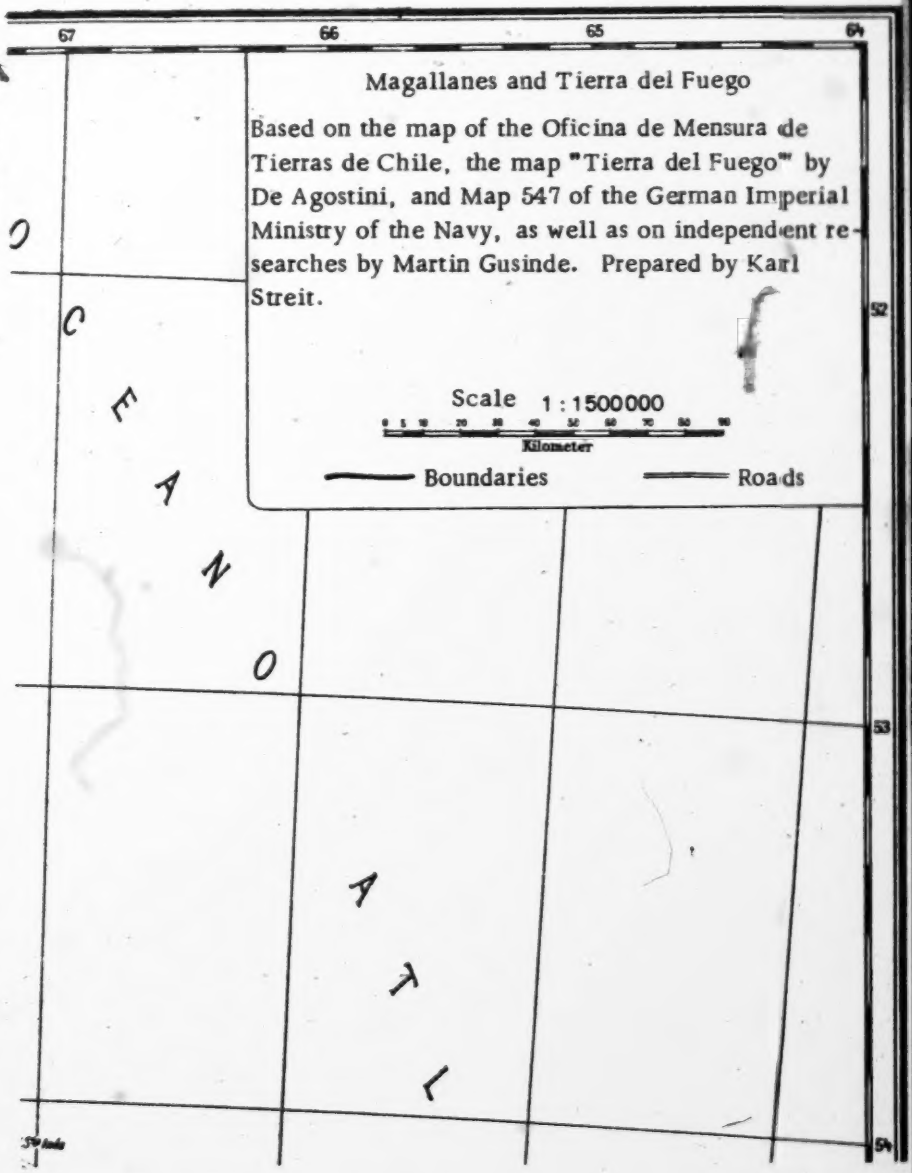


1:Gusinde--1461 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I. Section D/



1:Gusinde--1462 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section E/

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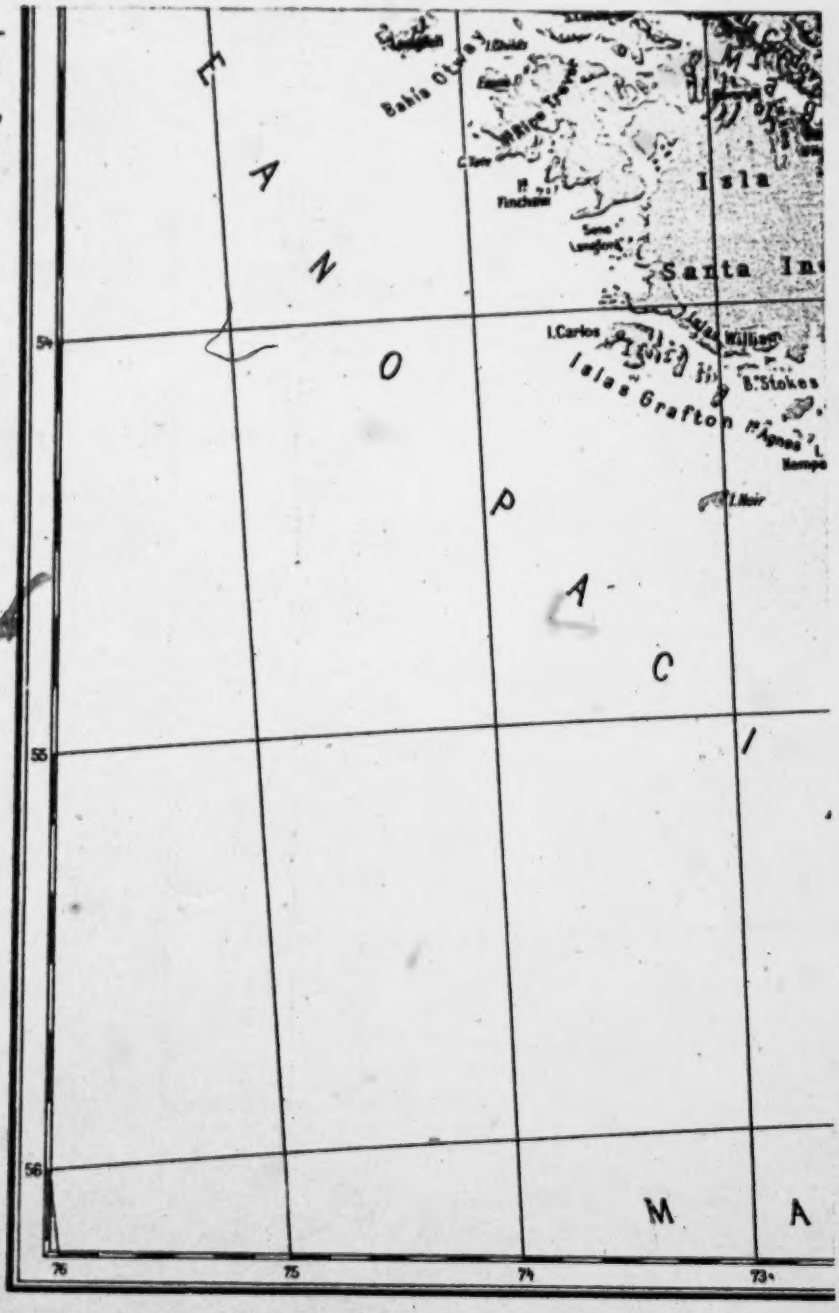

1:Gusinde--1463 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section F/

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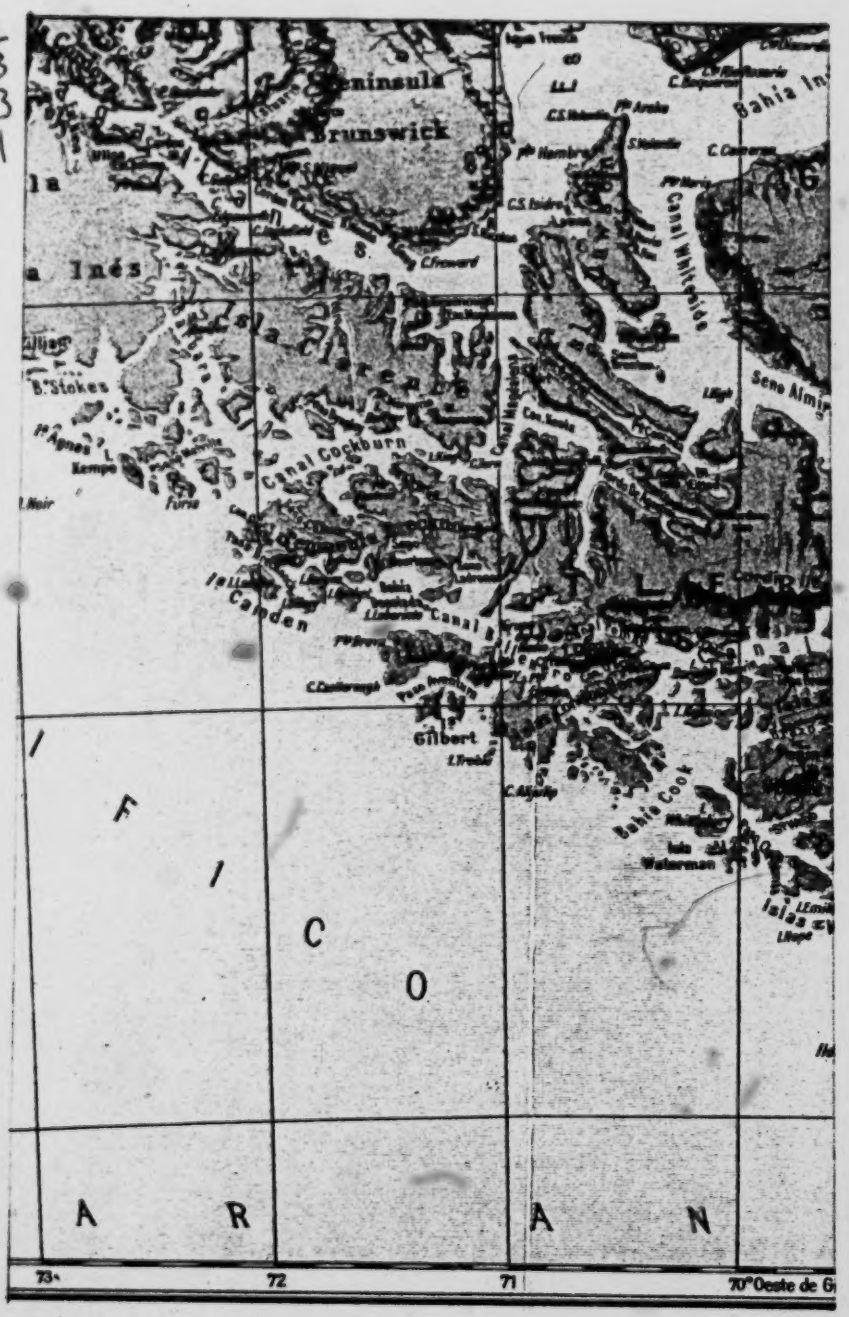

1:Gusinde--1464 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section G/

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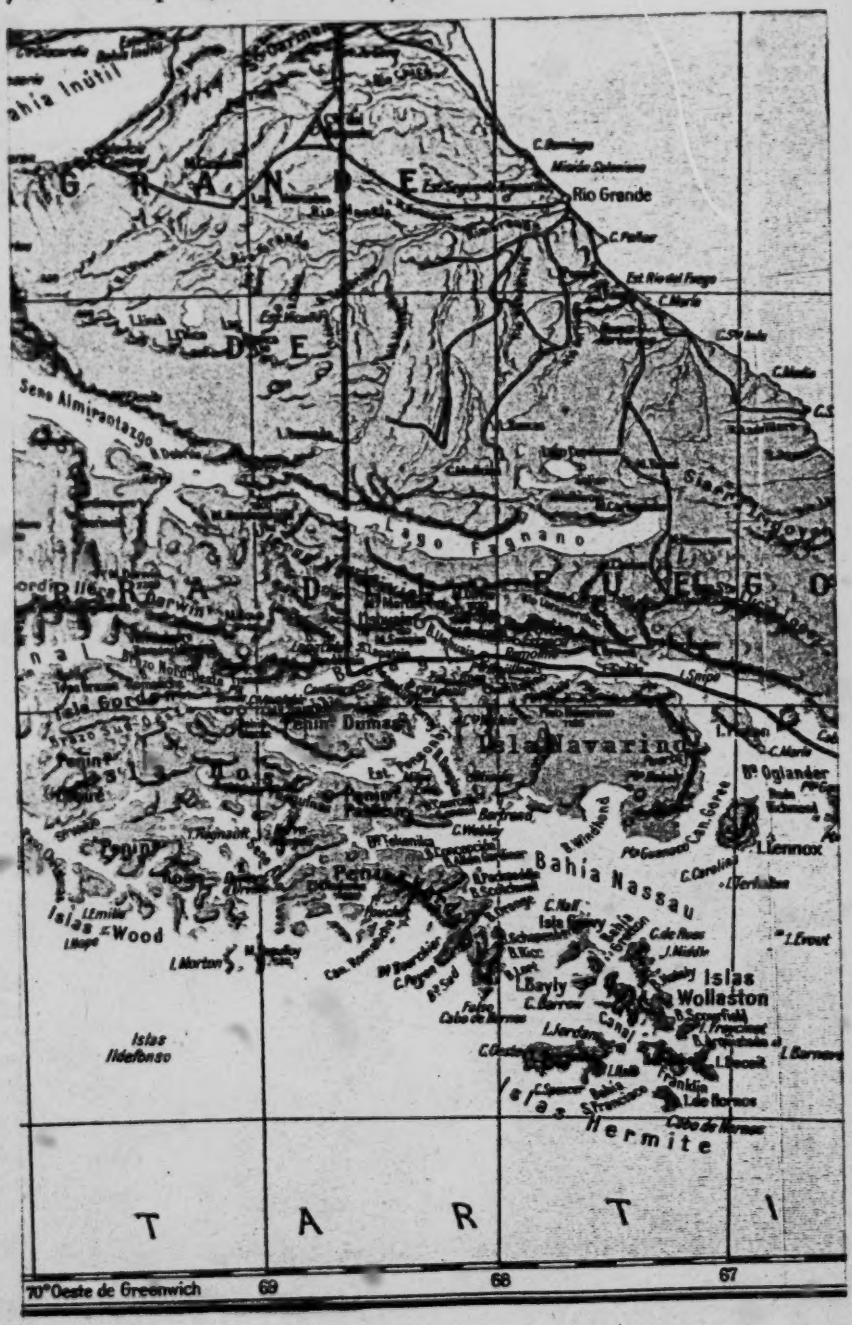

1:Gusinde--1465 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section H/

102
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3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 map plates, persisted in Europe until well into the eighteenth century. For instance, the map in the 1730 edition of Herrera's *Descripción* depicts Tierra del Fuego as extending indefinitely to the south.

114 103 Traditionally Tierra del Fuego received its name from the flickering lights of camp-fires seen by Magellan. A variant tale is that Magellan called it Tierra del Humo, "Land of Smoke," and that Charles V changed the name to Tierra del Fuego, jocosely remarking that where there was smoke there must be fire. However, I suspect that some idea of Dante's Purgatory underlies the name, because an active volcano (actually non-existent) appears on maps of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and even eighteenth centuries. I have before me a 1799 edition of Anson in which the map shows a "Volcan de Brandende Berg" in active eruption on the south coast of Tierra del Fuego.

HISTORY AND LITERARY SOURCES

114 In the preceding section we have mentioned several voyages, which were of importance in the development of geographical knowledge. This list might be greatly extended. Fagalde (1901) summarizes more than fifty voyages of scientific interest, completed before the end of the eighteenth century, but unfortunately with all ethnological data omitted. Much of this information may be gleaned, however, from De Brosses' *Histoire des Navigations* or Barclay's *The Land of Magellan*. Yet in truth it must be said that early contact with the natives was casual and brief, while the descriptions of ethnological significance apply usually to Indians north of the Straits of Magellan.

During the second half of the eighteenth century a general awakening to the importance of scientific investigations permeated Europe, with the result that various scholars were despatched to Latin America by the Spanish government. Fuegian waters were visited at this time by several surveying parties, and the basis of an accurate knowledge of the region was laid down. The general results of these investigations will be found in De Vargas Ponce's *Relación*. With the rise of Napoleon, however, Spain had no resources to spare for continuing this work, while the collapse of Spanish authority in the New World brought a definite end to it.

Great Britain had emerged from the Napoleonic wars as the dominant sea power. With growing colonial and commercial

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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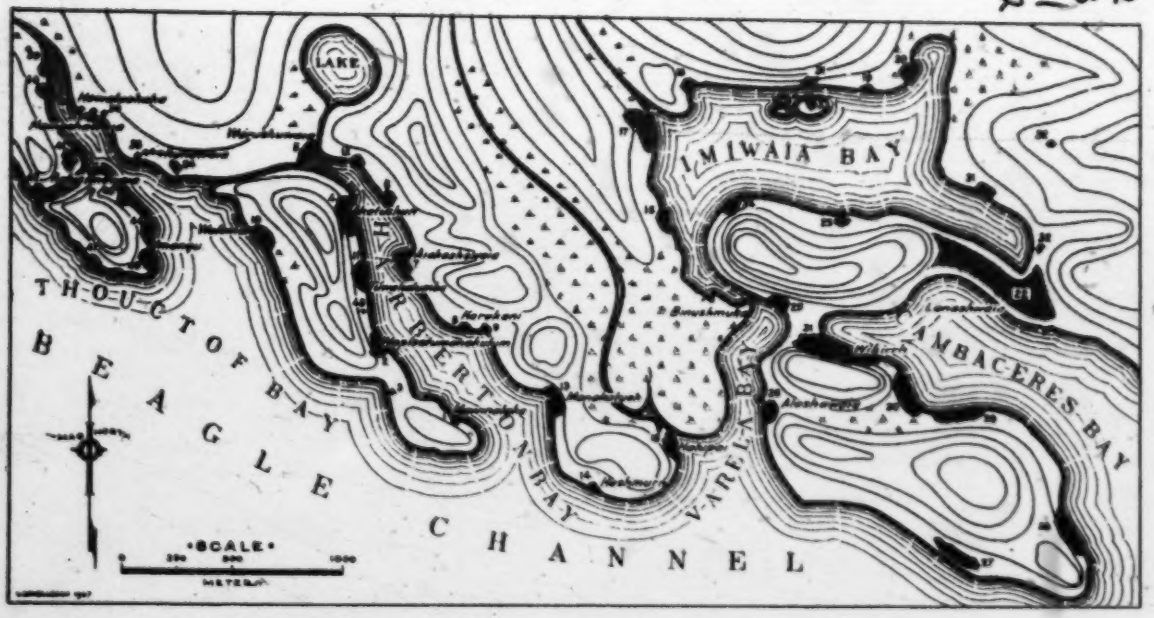

FIG. 98.—Camp-sites and place-names near Harberton, Tierra del Fuego.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172

FIG. 99.—Approximate cross-section of shellheap 17, Imiwaia bay, Tierra del Fuego.

102
172
103

FIG. 100.—Location of shellheaps on the channel between Gable island and Tierra del Fuego.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 361 The densest population in this group centered on Cambaceres bay, where 367 hut-pits were counted. The camp-sites on the south side, known to the Indians as Wíkirrh, display unusually deep house-pits, while Lanáshwaía (pl. XVII, *b*) on the opposite

[102 103]

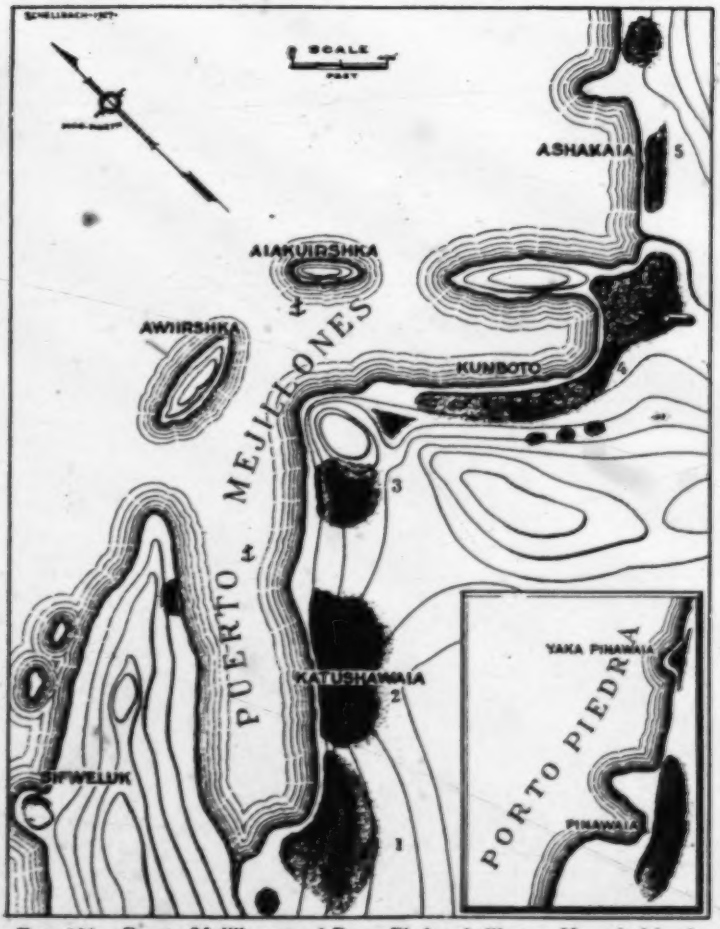

FIG. 101.—Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra shellheaps, Navarin island.

shore was evidently a later or less popular settlement, as the pits are relatively shallow.

731 About 1880 there occurred here one of those tragedies which must have been not uncommon among the Yahgan. A dead

/1498/ List of Some Yamana Words

104 /Page numbers refer to the pagination of the original text; an asterisk following a page number indicates that the page is untranslated./

Abaiłā̆kin, Supreme Being, 1046

adakutā̆ruwaxī̆pa, foster mother, 713

ā̆japux, sea otter, Lutra felina, 36*, 536, 1193*, 1277*

akā̆jnix, rainbow, 1148, 1342

ā̆lēm, brother-in-law, 1250*

amā̆jm, berries, 556, 1450

amē̆ra, guanaco, 1240*

ā̆nan, canoe, 448

ā̆na-xē̆ła, guardian spirit, 1398

apananū̆ši, land of the Halakwulup, 243*, 1282

apawē̆ra, feather diadem of the yē̆kamuš, 1389, 1416

apawáta, bat, 1302

ā̆ppi, paddle, 449

asánu, pouch for fire-making materials, 393

asikā̆ku, apparition, 1398, 1426

asī̆na, necklace, 434

astē̆la, shelter, 371

/1498 cont./

104 ašāga, channel, arm of water, 1452

ašīm, Cyttaria harioti, 554

ašōula, false killer whale, 37*, 1261*, 1302

auilāf, common otter, Lutra felina, 536

auačix, fungus, Cyttaria darwinii, 554

axiya, round crab, Lithodes antarctica, 364*, 489

āyušuēkēr, multiple family hut 386

čiexaus, youth initiation, 176*, 184*, 805, 823

čilawāja, čilaāja, large fox, 25*, 537, 1207*

čilēr, Berberis shavings, 397

čōwánni, spirits, 1397, 1413, 1426

dāšalux, albatross, Diomedea melanophrys, 43*

dāun, glacier, large mass of ice, 1453

dēška, sea duck, 1304

dētēhūrux, small woodpecker, 42*, 1197*

ēkēli, children's hut, 388

ēmbalim, small sucking tube, 573, 953

ēpāiači, killer whale, 37*

ēma, spring, 1447

ēmuf, mussel, Mytilus chilensis, 487, 1464

/1498 cont./

•104 ésēf, fungus, Cyttaria darwinii, 554

é'ętex, cormorant, Phalacrocorax magellanicus, 43*, 1189*

gullékĕrǎ, cone-shaped hut, 375

halakwúlup, Halakwulup, 246*

hánislus, autumn, 1447

Hánnus, forest giant, 1288

hánuxa, moon woman, 1152, 1342

hapanandsi, land of the Halakwulup, 243*, 1282

hapaxēl, forehead ornament, 846, 860, 1130

hašuwápisa, blue whale, 36*, 1299

hašamájf, beech branch with excrescence, 554, 1250*

hášaxuwa, elephant seal, Macrorhinus leoninus, 40*, 1225

hátus, neck ornament, 435

Haučella, evil spirit, 884, 1062, 1100, 1158, 1309, 1398, 1410, 1425, 1430

hešpul, sparrow, 956, 1271*, 1303

hétęka-yékamus, spirit, 1397

Hidábyan, Hitapłan, Supreme Being, 1046, 1048

hika, ocean, 1453

hílix, mask of bark, 1329

/1498 cont./

904 hīyal, pumice, 471, 497

hulušēnuwa, wren, 42*, 1169, 1274*

hupuxkēmak, neck ornament, 434

hūruf, giant fulmar, Macronectes gigantea, 43*, 1237*

ikamāna, to draw, to paint, 429

īla, bone wedge, 441

īlalumāala, southwest group, 205*

īlešči, herring, 549

īlu, south, southward, 1452

īman, maternal uncle, 648

īmi, red pigment, 428

īna, winter, 1447

īnalumāala, west group, 205*

indāruwa, paternal uncle, 648, 662

īnu, west, westward, 1452

īŋga, north, northward, 1452

īškun, meat, 579

ītu, east, eastward, 1452

ītulumāala, east group, 201*

kāla, bark container, 501

/1498 cont./

104 kālaka, ball, ball game, 772, 1474

kālaka mūláka, wrestling match, 1474

kalāna, mussel fork, 487

kālea, ball game, 1474

kečōin, mussel, Mytilus edulis, 487

kēspix, soul, 1094, 1278

kētēla, gerfalcon, Polyborus tharus, 42*, 1205*

kēti, sausage, 584, 1191*, 1267*

kili, sandals, 404

kīna, men's ceremony, 1312

kīna tagāguwa, leader of the Kina, 1321

kīsi, summer, 1447

kiwāgu, gull, Larus dominicanus, 43*

kixinteka, gray gerfalcon, Circus cinereus, 42*, 1201*

kompēipe, two, 1446

kuhūrux, great horned owl, Bubo magellanicus, 42*, 1190*

kun, blubber, 584

kusimēwa, shell mound, 598

/1499/

kwaxwēxeni, band of skin with down feathers, 1467

/1499 cont./

104 kwínan, widow who has remarried, 647

láka, fire tongs, 396

lakúma, water spirit, 1236*, 1285, 1309, 1428

lána, large woodpecker, Ipocrantor magellanicus, 42*, 1199*

lása, leather pouch, 499

lášix, the swift, 1227*

lexuwakípa, spectacled ibis, Theristicus melanopis, 42*, 1155, 1232*, 1304

lem, younger sun-man, 1147, 1339, 1342

lexakípa, Kina spirit, 1363

lóma-yekamuš, medicine-man school, 1399

luš, red, scarlet, 1463

makínkína, ceremony to calm everyone, 1376

míku, bush, Embothrium coccineum, 702, 1243*

míkuxípa, wife of Yoílox, 1169, 1451

Mamunikin, Supreme Being, 1046

mápi, a rush plant, Marsippospermum, 503

malakána, modesty apron, 406

míten, three, 1446

míala, day, light, 1447

/1499 cont./

104 meranekēr, cone-shaped hut, 378

mērana, cone-shaped hut, 375

mun, ankle band, 434

omōxa, humming bird, Sephanoides, 42*, 1208*, 1211,* 1215,* 1218*, 1276*

pálala, European, 333*

pasánna, song for amusement, 723, 1469

pušāki, fire, 392

sēx, physical pain, 1458

Sīnuluwatauinēiwa, 547

sīrsa, crab fork, 544

sīta, horned owl, 42*, 1303

stekáluš, round crab, Paralomis granulosus, 489

šafīna, sling, 481

šewāli, flint, 392

šēkuš, Molinas goose, Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/, 43*, 1197*, 1304

šegetex, kingfisher, Ceryle torquata, 42*, 1219*

škīnašpi, social celebration, 1473

šōn ūšpúka, Photinula violacea, 1465

•104 /1499 cont./

šupun, bachelor, 1256

tālauwaia, mourning, 1122

talaxikamāna, painting stick, 429

Tānuwa, Supreme Being, 1046

tānuwa, Kina spirit, 1338, 1363

tāruwalēm, elder sun-man, 1145

tāxer, song, 922, 1423, 1468

tekeenika, geographical name, 194*, 209*, 237*

tēši, round stone, 491, 547, 1212*

tiāmuna, influential old man, 803, 1473

touwīšiwa, Vigua cormorant, Phalacrocorax olivaceus, 43*, 1259*, 1482

tūku, ladle, 450

tulēra, mountain, 1453

tumarāpu, white pigment, 427

tūr ikīpa, girl at the menarche, 743, 1172

tūtu, small bird, Myiotheretes, 1239*

tuwēaki, back cape, 401, 405

tuwīn, meadow bird, Spinus ictericus, 42*

tūwux, night heron, Nycticorax obscurus, 42*, 1219*, 1303

ufkērā, scraper, 492

/1499 cont./

104 úkeša, long leather strap, 440, 840

ūlulufāala, a band of certain souls, 1101, 1434

ūmi, bast fibers, 445

ūšipin, a person without a birthplace, 950

úška, European clothing, 411

uškēyonaōna, a legendary people, 201*, 243*

ušmīna, leather mask, 1329

ūšpúka, neck ornament, 435

uštānim, comb, 422

ušwāala, candidate, 1320

ušwāaléxamuš, yékamuš apprentice, 1405

ušwúmi, tendon fibers, 416

uxāpu, constellation of stars, 1276*

wāja, bay, 1452

wāikul, awl, 495

wākimāala, central group, 205*

wāsénim, cormorant, Phalacrocorax gaimardi, 43*, 1187*, 1216*

Watauinēiwa, Supreme Being, 1045, 1156, 1158, 1184

wēoina, blackfish, Globicephala melas, 37*

wēlakirx, tip of a cliff, promontory, 1452

/1499 cont./

● 184 wēlapatux, Supreme Being, 1046

wētāwa, sling, 1258*

wēʔlyāu, condor, Cathartes aura, 42*, 1302

winefkēʔa, predatory bird, Leucophaeus scoresbii, 43*, 838

wīyen, duck, Anas cristata, 43*

wolakēmen, twins, 708

wūkurǰ, bag of the yékamuš, 1424

wūʔu, much, 1446

xēl, imitative game, 1475

yaaga, yahgan, yagan, 196*

yāj, yāiyi, pouch for pigments, 429

Yaiaašāga, a place name, 1069, 1338, 1344

yamalašemōina, general mourning, 1127

yámana, human being, 197*, 332*

yamaskūna, a call, 103*, 133*, 198*, 265*, 283*, 333*

yapuǰāke, charcoal, 427

yefāčel, guardian spirits, 1294, 1398, 1430

yékamuš, medicine man, 190*, 1383

Yetājta, spirit, 850, 894

/1499 cont./

104 yēkǢli, one, 1446

yēkuš, arrowhead, 466, 480, 1418

yēšēla, dog, 560

yēškūšinǢala, southern group, 200*

yēxadābi, maternal aunt, 662

yēxalem, the star Venus, 1148

yīška, island, rock, 1452

Yoālox, culture bearer, 178*, 1144, 1159, 1168

yo'okalīa, hawk, Milvago chimango, 42*, 1266*, 1303

yūša, beach, coastal strip, 1452

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6
Ona SH4

VOCABULARIES

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WHILE I made no study of Fuegian linguistics, yet I endeavored to record the native terms for all aspects of their material culture and to set down such other linguistic data as came my way without special effort on my part. These words are given below. Fuegian phonetics and variation in pronunciation have been briefly discussed in the main text. To properly represent the explosive force of the Ona speech is beyond any phonetic system in use (see page 49). I have employed consonants in their normal English values, except *q*, which has been used to designate *ch* as in *loch*, and ⁿ and ˢ which are scarcely audible. Vowels have the following values:

a as in *father*
e as *ey* in *they*
ĕ as in *hen*
ᵉ a barely audible *e*
i as in *police*
ĭ as in *ill*
o as in *no*
u as in *rule*
ŭ as in *gut*
au as *ow* in *how*[1]
ai as in *aisle*

ONA VOCABULARY

O 192

ANIMALS AND BIRDS

carancho, *karkai*.
dog. See page 50.
dove, *shĕt*.
duck: (1) A black duck, *teústhte;* (2) a black duck, *giaíirsk;* (3) pintail duck, *háto;* (4) a small duck (*Querquedula cyanoptera*), *kenétki;* (5) a white-bellied duck, *oyé;* (6) steamboat duck, *tárri;* (7) unidentified duck, *kokopomúts;* (8) unidentified duck, *hoils*.
fox, *uash*.
goose, kelp, *seích*.
goose, upland: (1) male, *kaikén;* (2) female, *húrruⁿ;* (3) very large, *harrh*.
guanaco. See page 49.
gull, *kaprrh*.
hawk (?), *kawárrhi*.
nutria, *aiyip*.
owl, *kaúh*.
plover, *kúrke*.
seal: (1) *korre;* (2) *kowélik;* (3) *áshopen;* (4) male seal, *kétuyétk;* (5) female seal, *kéukenkash*.
tucotuco, *ape*.
unidentified birds: (1) *holq;* (2) *kánc;* (3) *kerka;* (4) *kokits;* (5) *kots;* (6) *oklok;* (7) *chip*.
whale, *ochiⁿ*.

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

anklet: (1) of reed, *tai;* (2) of sinew, *chemq*.
headband: (1) warrior's, *gúchilq;* (2) shaman's, *póorrhⁿ*.
leggings, *irshⁿkŭll*.
moccasin: (1) adult type, *hámni;* (2) child's type, *ónik*.
pubic covering, *shĕ*.
robe, *óli*.
woman's slip, *hoi áten*.

[1] Except in cases of *áu*, *aú*, and *aŭ*, where each of the vowels has its distinct value.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

feasible. Timber of many kinds is available—and with this we may contrast the condition of certain Eskimo who must rely on driftwood for some of their manufactures and on oil for their heat. Furthermore, animal foods are found by land and by sea in sufficient quantities to support a relatively large population of a non-agricultural, hunting class. 182

Clearly then some of the very primitive features we shall describe were not forced on the natives by their environment, but rather were the result of lack of ingenuity or of inertia.

CULTURE STATUS

Fuegian culture ranks among the most primitive that has been known within the limits of recorded history. To emphasize this statement we subjoin a list of all the articles and materials observed among the Ona and the Yahgan. This list at first glance seems fairly long, but one must consider that it embraces not only the individual but a complete family including both sexes and all ages. Further, it includes not what appeared for any given occasion but everything with which any Indian normally came in contact during an entire lifetime. In contrast, if the reader will list the objects he makes use of between bed and breakfast, he will find that in half an hour of daily routine he has utilized more articles and more materials than a Fuegian ever manipulated. 105

More justly, however, we should compare the Fuegian culture with the status usually found among Indian hunting tribes. On this basis we find that the Fuegians lacked such simple implements as the drill, the ax, the spear-thrower, fish-hooks, and cooking containers. They had no pottery, no weaving, no method of softening skins except by use, nor had they more than a rudimentary art of painting, while sculpture was beyond them. They rarely stored food against a time of stress. Their games, their social organization and ceremonies, were but slightly developed. Religion was largely a negative affair, for they indulged less in religious acts probably than any people known in the world in recent times. Animistic beliefs they had, but scarcely a trace of fetishism has been noted, and of totemism—so widely developed throughout the Americas—there is not a vestige.

In estimating this list it must also be borne in mind that the Ona and Yahgan cultures have intermingled especially along the frontier. In some instances, such as the initiation ceremonies or 105 177

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

105 the method of fire-making, the borrowing group made the introduced
177 feature completely their own. But often the borrowed trait never became characteristic, and its use was only local and occasional. If these acquired features are subtracted the cultural poverty of each tribe is greatly intensified.

SUMMARY OF FUEGIAN MATERIAL CULTURE

105
171

Ona		Yahgan
	Clothing	
robe		cape
slip		——
pubic covering		pubic covering
moccasins		moccasins (rare)
leggings (rare)		leggings (rare)
hunter's cap		——
shaman's cap (rare)		shaman's cap (rare)
——		mittens (rare)
	Ornamentation	
anklets		anklets (rare)
wristlets (rare)		wristlets (rare)
necklace		necklace
paint		paint
tattooing		——
	House	
skin windbreak		skin-covered dome of saplings
log tipi (rare)		log tipi (rare)
	Transportation	
pack harness		canoe
walking-stick		paddle
——		bailer
——		mooring rope
	Camp Equipment	
flint and pyrites		flint and pyrites
fire-tongs		fire-tongs
grease stone		grease stone
skin water-bag		bark bucket
——		shell cup
skin storage-bags		skin storage-bags
gut storage-bags (rare)		gut storage-bags
——		kelp storage-bag

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

105
171

basket (one kind)	baskets (three kinds)
frame cradle	——
dog leash	——
——	feather broom (recent?)
comb	comb
——	face-painting stick

Tools

knife	knife
flesh-scraper	flesh-scraper (rare)
wood-scraper	wood-scraper
sharpening stone	sharpening stone
awl	awl
chipping tool	?
stone shaft-polisher	?
skin polisher	pumice
——	barking tools (two kinds)

Weapons and Hunting Equipment

bow and arrow	bow and arrow (rare)
spear (rudimentary)	spears (five kinds)
sling (rare)	sling
——	club
bird-snare	bird-snare
net (rare, two kinds)	net (rare)
——	grass dip-net
——	fish-line
bark torch	bark torch

Games

ball	ball
circular grass target (rare)	——

Religious and Ceremonial Paraphernalia

masks	masks
feather headband	feather headband
kelp-goose down headband	kelp-goose down headband
——	painted sticks
——	painted thong
——	guanaco-hide headband
——	tickling stick
——	ceremonial spear

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Materials

wood	wood
sinew	sinew
skin	skin
stone	stone
bone	bone
whalebone (rare)	whalebone
——	k[illegible]
grass	grass
feathers	feathers
——	pumice
white clay	white clay
red burnt earth	red burnt earth
charcoal	charcoal
pitch (post-European)	——
iron (post-European)	iron (post-European)
glass (post-European)	glass (post-European)

PHYSICAL TYPE

The writer engaged in no anthropometric investigation in Tierra del Fuego, but certain measurements are available by which the physical types there to be found may be determined. The most important study yet published is that of Hyades (1891) on the Yahgan prepared in coöperation with Deniker, a work surprisingly sound in method considering how long ago it appeared. A series of measurements on the Ona taken many years ago but printed recently (1927) by Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche is also of prime importance. Somatological data collected by Gusinde and Koppers in recent years is beginning to appear in print, but with a single exception it has not been possible to obtain copies in time to incorporate the material here. Other studies of smaller scope are available and have been listed by Cooper (1917, pp. 138–140) and Dixon (1923, pp. 454–455). Even when concentrated into a single group, Fuegian somatological material is not abundant.

Primary division of the Indians of Tierra del Fuego into groups, Foot Indians and Canoe Indians, is made on cultural grounds. This classification might also be based on physical type, and, in case of the Foot Indians, on linguistic relationship. As with the cultural evidence, physical data on the Alacaluf and Haush are so scanty that we shall confine our discussion to the Ona and the Yahgan.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

FUEGIAN CULTURE STATUS

171/ 105 We have considered the Foot and Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego as they have revealed themselves to modern investigation and as they have been reflected in archeological remains. Before closing this account it will be well to fix their position in relation to cultural development and adaptation to environment in other parts of the world. We shall therefore examine the attainments of the Paleolithic and Neolithic inhabitants of Europe, of the Seri Indians of Mexico, and of the Eskimo—all in the light of Fuegian culture.

A.—Fuegians Compared with Primitive Europeans

Assayed by the standards of Old World archeology, the Fuegian tribes stand definitely in the early Neolithic stage of culture, for they understood the use of the bow, made coiled basketry, used canoes (which may or may not have existed in Paleolithic Europe), and they had domesticated dogs. As for stoneworking, however, aside from some of their arrow- and spear-points (which are not only well made but barbed), Fuegian implements are fully equaled by finds dating from the Acheulean and Mousterian floors in Europe; that is to say, the latter half of the lower Paleolithic period.[1] In fact, in the stone drill, invented during the Mousterian age and perfected in the Aurignacian, Europeans possessed a tool unknown to the Fuegians, who could puncture nothing harder than hide or bark with their bone awls. By the time of the Aurignacian period Europe also had developed the bone needle with a pierced eye to which the Fuegians did not attain.

Magdalenian Europe offers strong likeness to the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego, owing to the very similar types of barbed bone harpoons used in both regions. Yet by this time in Europe the chipping of stone had risen to the level of an art, the spear-thrower was widely used (an implement which one suspects that the Fuegian tribes may have forgotten), clothes were carefully

[1] It is unfortunate that the names attached to the great primary periods of human life should denote technological methods of manufacturing stone implements, for current practice distinguishes these epochs and their subdivisions by the fauna and by the kinds of utensils in use rather than by the manner in which they were made. This change in classification became necessary when it was recognized that the Paleolithic technique persisted into the Neolithic and even the Metal ages. We must emphasize that these terms are without chronological significance in the New World.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

tailored (as attested by the finding of bone buttons), elaborate three-strand necklaces were manufactured, and, above all, sculpture was common and painting had reached both relatively and absolutely a very developed plane. The depiction of masked human figures suggests parallel religious phantasmagoria in both regions. In contrast the Fuegians were totally devoid of sculpture, and their painting was limited to the crudest daubs. Their necklaces were most primitive. Their garments were merely wrapped around the body and held in place by hand, or, if they did not completely envelop the body, were tied on by thongs crossing the bare flesh.

As to polished stone implements, Tierra del Fuego has produced few. In fig. 41 we show a bola from the east coast. Outes (1905, p. 427) has fully demonstrated that the true home of this weapon is in the northeastern Pampas and that it was unknown in Patagonia until the eighteenth century. Clearly it is no ancestral arm carried to Tierra del Fuego by Foot Indians in remote centuries, but rather a recent introduction, not long antedating the white colonization. Also we have seen a stone spike excavated in Yahgan territory. Apparently it has been shaped in part by pecking; at best it is an isolated instance of the Neolithic technique.

The rarity of polished stone implements in Fuegia is to be explained not by the lack of aptitude but by the indolence of the natives. To so-called civilized man the chipping of stone seems a mysterious craft, while it is patent that anyone who takes the time can grind a stone to the desired sh[illegible] As a matter of fact, the chipping of serviceable tools can be learned with a few days' practice, though of course the more delicate flaking, as with all handicraft, can come only as the result of long experience. And furthermore, chipped implements can be turned out quickly,—it takes only ten or fifteen minutes for a skilful Ona to finish a most delicate arrow-point,—while ground stone implements require patience, mental discipline, and foresight.

This point is one to recall in estimates of all or any phases of Fuegian culture, for it will be found that deficiencies arose not from any innate mental or physical handicap, but from laziness and lethargy. This generalization applies not so much to the necessaries as to the conveniences of life. Thus the Ona bow and the Yahgan spear are admirable weapons, but the houses of both tribes were woefully inadequate. Yet there is no reason why the Yahgan and Ona should not, with forethought and initiative,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6
Seri NU31

have made themselves as comfortable as other tribes occupying an equivalent environment. That they did not, to the writer, indicates a lack of something vital in their mental makeup.

The brief comparison we have made between primitive European and Fuegian cultures shows that although the Fuegians had partly attained the technological plane called Neolithic in the Old World, nevertheless in most respects they were scarcely better off than the semi-simian Neanderthal man of Europe. Clearly then they were laggards or backsliders in the development of mankind, so that in depicting their manner of life we are justified in assuming that we are recreating a vista of life in Europe or elsewhere many thousands of years ago.

However, the tribes of Tierra del Fuego are not a unique phenomenon, as we shall show by comparison with an equally though differently untutored New World group.

B.—Fuegians Compared with the Seri

The Seri, who inhabit a barren territory on the eastern shore of the Gulf of California and the adjacent islands, of which the largest is Tiburon, are one of the most primitive Indian tribes on the North American continent. Their climate is hot and dry. Their food supply is abundant—both marine and terrestrial. Like Fuegia the region occupied by the Seri is isolated from the main stream of cultural development, so that the native society probably represents a form of life much more wide-spread long ago.

Like the Fuegians, the Seri had no agriculture and no domestic animals except the dog, which indeed seems to have been half-wild. Their most important food was the turtle, which they caught with a harpoon having a detachable head tied to a cord. This may be compared to the Yahgan seal-spear. Long ago they used a two-headed barbed spear with the barbs facing inward to catch fish. The Yahgan also employed a two-headed fish-spear, but did not set the barbs inward. For boats the Seri made reed balsas with high pointed ends, a seaworthy craft but one which can be used only in warm climates because in rough weather the crew are drenched with spray or wet by water coming through the floor. These balsas the Seri propelled with clam-shells or boards held in the hands. In addition to spearing fish off-shore the Seri also caught them with their hands in shallow pools at low tide like the Ona, and they obtained on the beach large quantities of shellfish—chiefly clams and oysters.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6
Seri N1131

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171
105

On shore the Seri gathered various wild vegetal foods. They clubbed roosting pelicans at night. They caught also many deer and rabbits. We use the word caught advisedly, for usually the Seri, fleet of foot and hardy, ran these animals down and literally caught them in their hands. Meat was eaten raw except when there was an oversupply. Then it was partly cooked to tempt their jaded appetites. At times in hunting and regularly in war they employed a bow and arrows of simple type. The arrow had a wooden tip, rarely a chipped stone point.

For tools the Seri used a bone or a wooden awl, a wooden marline spike, a stone hammer and anvil, and a clam-shell. The latter served as a knife, but its shape was not modified, nor was it set in a handle. Manual dexterity was at a minimum among these people, and their implements and weapons were even more primitive than those of the Fuegians.

The fundamental Seri garment was a pelican-skin robe, which, like the Yahgan cape, was shifted from side to side with the wind in inclement weather. Also they wore at times a kilt and sleeved shirt of woven material, and thus they placed themselves on a higher cultural plane than the Fuegians, for they not only had acquired the art of weaving, but of tailoring their garments, neither of which were known to the Indians of Tierra del Fuego. In addition, the Seri wore a belt, often of snake-skin, and sometimes sandals of turtle-flippers. They adorned their persons with necklaces of seeds, of wooden beads, of shell, and of hair. They painted designs on the faces much more elaborate in character than those of the Ona and Yahgan.

Seri houses, scarcely better than the Ona windbreak, were arches of saplings partly shingled with sponges and turtle-shells. Inadequate even in a warm climate, yet they offered more protection comparatively than the Fuegian houses. As the Seri were constantly moving from place to place, these rude shelters were frequently abandoned to be reoccupied on some other occasion.

Of household furniture the chief article was a globular pottery water-jar, because water was scarce in Seriland and had to be transported long distances. A yucca ring-base was provided for the water-jar, and at times two jars were transported in nets slung on a shoulder yoke. In addition the Seri sometimes made a cooking-pot, an open dish, miniature vessels, and crude figurines; they also used a shell cup, and made simple coiled baskets. Their

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6
Seri NU31

Y 5 171 105

babies they carried on wooden frames like the Ona. Fire they made with a drill.

From the above remarks it appears that other inhabitants of the New World lived on a technological plane different in detail but no higher than the natives of Tierra del Fuego. Indeed in many respects—notably the lack of a knife and a scraper—the Seri are the more primitive. Yet their need was not so great, because the climate they enjoyed did not make such demands on their vitality.

When we examine social institutions we find the Seri on a markedly higher plane than the Fuegians. The tribe as a whole had marked national consciousness. It was divided into exogamic totemic clans based on maternal descent. Authority was lodged in the matrons, delegated to the elder brother for such masculine occupations as war and hunting. Religious concepts and practices also were on a higher plane than in Tierra del Fuego.

On the whole then we may say that the Seri, like the Fuegians, were a marginal group representing an early cultural stream; that both peoples were markedly deficient in houses, tools, and accouterments; but that the Seri, being closer to the fringe of higher culture, had borrowed in rudimentary form such higher arts as pottery-making and weaving, and had become endowed with more advanced religious and social practices. In both cases it seems that, although migratory by nature, their peregrinations had been circumscribed within fixed limits with resultant cultural atrophy, so that centuries had passed with little modification in their form of life.

The status of very primitive groups like the Fuegians and the Seri has bearing on the unknown pioneers who settled the New World, for the simplest and crudest tribes of the present may reflect the condition of their primitive migratory ancestors. We shall examine then the evidence afforded by such backward groups to throw light on the time when the Americas were settled and on the nature of the culture that was first introduced.

Y 171

Boas,[1] Wissler,[2] Kroeber,[3] and others have brought forward evidence that man reached the New World in a state of cultural development corresponding to the beginning of the Neolithic period in Europe. This hypothesis rests on fairly well assured

[1] The History of the American Race; *Annals N. Y. Acad. of Science*, XXI, 1912.
[2] The American Indian, New York, 1917.
[3] American Culture and the Northwest Coast; *Amer. Anthr.*, N.S., XXV, no. 1. Also Anthropology, New York, 1923.

1s Gusinde, Martin. Die Yamanas vom Leben und Denken der Wassernomaden am Kap Hoorn [The Yahgan the Life and Thought of the Water Nomads of Cape Horn]. Die Feuerland-Indianer [The Fuegian Indians], Vol. II. Expeditions-Serie II. Mödling bei Wien Anthropos-Bibliothek, 1937.

Pp. xx, 1500; 105 text illustrations; 4 color plates; 8 photographic end plates (49 photographs); 2 insert maps; bibliography; key word index; index of personal names; indexed glossary; errata. [HRAF MS pp. xv, 1471.]

HRAF copy

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze.

Only pp. 365-1185 and 1278-1499 have been translated for the Yahgan File.

[This work is an extremely thorough presentation of the data gathered by the author during three field trips, enhanced by his numerous and extensive quotes from and critical commentaries on previous writings. The author apparently established close rapport with the Yahgan, which is

k Gusinde, Martin.

reflected by his role as a participant observer in the čiéxaus (youth ceremony) and kina (men's society) celebrations. The sections which have been translated treat the economic, social and spiritual aspects of the culture; the researcher is referred to the table of contents for an indication of the full scope of the subject matter. The sections which have not been translated for the files deal primarily with the natural environment, a discussion of earlier authors and their works, a history of contact with Westerners, and a recounting of several myths. The author is currently a member of the faculty of the Catholic University of America. --Analyst]

Field date: 1918-1924
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

2: Cooper, John M. The Yahgan. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143, Vol. 1, pages 81-106, plates 33-36. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946.

HRAF copy

[This article presents a summary of information on the Yahgan, drawn from other works which are evaluated by the author. It is an excellent introduction to the Yahgan culture but, like other sections of the Handbook of South American Indians, it is secondary material and not a substitute for the original writings. Various citations in this article refer to the complete bibliography at the end of the volume, which has not been processed for the files. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1961

3: Lothrop, Samuel K. The Indians of Tierra del Fuego. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1928.

Pp. 244; 19 photographic plates, 105 text figures, including 6 maps; 6 tables; vocabulary; preface; bibliography; index; notes on anthropometry by E. A. Hooton.

Yale: C52 3 10

[Only pages 1-47, 116-244 have been processed]

[The section omitted pertains to the Ona and Haush (SH4). The introduction presents general information on the natural environment of Tierra del Fuego as a whole, with notes on the history and bibliography of the area and data on the culture status and physical type of the Fuegians. The section particularly pertinent to the Yahgans, titled "The Canoe Indians," includes a general survey of the culture with emphasis on its material and technological aspects. The final section again treats the Fuegian Indians generally, presenting an historical reconstruction of their origins and a comparison of their cultural status with that of the primitive Europeans, Seri, and Eskimo.

3: Lothrop, Samuel K.

This work may be considered as a complement to that of Gusinde. --Analyst]

Field date: 1924-1925
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

[For information on the environment and comparative cultural status of the Ona, presented in conjunction with data on the Yahgan, see 3: Lothrop, SH6 Yahgan, category 116, pages 1-47, 198-228.]

113, 143

Chiriguano SF10
Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Tehuelche SH5
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SM4
Timbira SO8
Araucanians SG4
Paez SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF8
Ona SH4
Yahgan SH6

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: Hill et al., SS18 Warao, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

1:Gusinde--1433 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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●113 /1483/ Only those works that have not been cited in detail in the text are listed here.

If several works by one author are listed, I have adopted the symbols used by Cooper, Analytical and Critical Bibliography of the tribes of Tierra del Fuego and adjacent Territory, namely, small letters of the alphabet in parentheses. Thus, his bibliography and mine correspond.

The following abbreviations have been used in the text:

BD = T. Bridges: Yamana-English Dictionary

Vol. I = M. Gusinde: Die Feuerland-Indianer /The Fuegian Indians/, Vol. I.

VP = The Voice of Pity for South America, London, 1854-1862.

VSA = A Voice for South America, London, 1863-1866.

MM = South American Missionary Magazine, London, 1867-1915.

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278
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[page 226-228 contain no text]

/464 cont./

411 The bow and arrow of the Yamana, however, merit a separate description.

To our regret, only four genuine specimens have been preserved from the older cultural heritage of the southernmost Fueglans. These will be dealt with primarily in the following description. For the bow stave, known as wijana, wéjana, [824] wéjana, they use, without exception, the wood of an Antarctic beech, almost always Nothofagus betuloides (168). As a whole

168. Erroneously Hyades (q):298 maintain that the Yamana use the wood of Maytenus magellanica for the bow stave. Actually this is almost absolutely inflexible.

the bow is somewhat shorter and also somewhat thinner than that of the Selk'nam. This explains why it has a greater curvature which is said to increase the propelling power of the string. The bow is scraped until the diameter of the center piece is 22 millimeters at the most. From the center which shows a roundish, almond-shaped transverse section, the bow stave tapers in both directions and terminates in short blunt ends. The distance in a straight line between these two ends varies between 120 and 160 centimeters, according to the general terms used by Martial:192.

411 The ethnographic collection of the University of Göttingen
114 is justifiably proud of owning two bow staves which reached Europe through James Cook's second expedition. One of these belonged for a time to the private collection of the naturalist Reinhold Forster who, with his son George, took part as a scientist in that circumnavigation of the earth (166). /465/ These rare

166. These accounts permit us to draw a conclusion as to the origin of the two bow staves. As is known, Cook's fleet spent about a week toward the end of December, 1774, at Isla Waterman in the Paso de Nevidad, during which time they were twice visited by the native Fueglans (p. 87 /unmandated/). When they sailed on, the fleet was becalmed in front of Bahía de

/465 cont./

Bum Sucow, and on December 29th the captain sent a boat to shore there. The lieutenant was "received by several inhabitants" when he disembarked among them. George Forster (a):II, 390 adds: "Our men stayed with them only two or three minutes, embarked again, and hurried back on board" (Vol. I, 38). Now it is hardly to be assumed that in this short space of time the sailors were presented with two bows by the native Haxa or Selk'nam. It seems much more plausible that at least the bow stave in the private collection of Forster was taken by the latter himself from a Tamana on Isla Waterman, for he refers to this weapon in particular in his report. This probability is confirmed by the fact that the other objects in Göttingen that Cook brought back from his second expedition are characteristic specimens from the cultural heritage of the southernmost Fueguans. I refer to three bone spearheads, small necklaces of mussel shells, and a sling whose center section was made from a scrap of leather from the oven. The Selk'nam, as is well known, use only guanaco leather for their sling (Vol. I, 34b).

specimens are 149 centimeters and 152 centimeters long. Lothrop (b):156 publishes a photograph (unfortunately too indistinct) of two bows which are also old and are in the Peabody Museum of Salem, "one the gift of Captain E. Idowell, Jr., who obtained it in 1818, the other collected by Lieutenant Wilkes, probably at Orange Harbor or Williamson Island"/cited in English/. The straight-line distance between the two ends in three feet, nine and one-half inches in the case of one, and four feet, one inch in the case of the other.

The details we have mentioned are characteristic of the bow stave of the Tamana as well as of the Selk'nam. The latter, in addition, shows a distinct flaring which, for handwork, is notably regular. It is lacking in the two old pieces in the Peabody Museum, as Lothrop (b):156 emphatically points out, nor do we

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2. The Fuegian Dog

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The dog, [illegible], must be regarded as a constant, indispensable member of the Fuegian family; it is taken for granted /361/ just like the children. The fact that the dog as their companion has been historically acknowledged for only a century is by no means without significance in the appraisal of the economic life of our Indians. The dog does not appear in written accounts nor in pictures given by the navigators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (314). If we realize how obtrusively and persistently

> 314. Banks was the first European to report on the native dogs belonging to the Selk'nam whom he met on the southeast shore of Isla Grande in the year 1768. See Vol. I, 276.

Indian dogs rub up to every stranger and how excited they are for hours during his presence in the camp or in an individual hut, we are forced to conclude that those travelers of the earliest period just did not see the Fuegian dog and that the Yamana did not as yet own dogs. The conduct of these animals towards strangers is exceptionally conspicuous. No one recounting his experiences and impressions could have failed to describe the impudent behavior of the dogs (315).

> 315. These words surely do not express an unjustified expectation. Even if the native dogs had been friendly to the foreign visitor, the very fact that they were found in the company of Indians would have been reason enough for mentioning them. For example, Captain John Narbrough tells about his visit among the Patagonians in Puerto San Julián on the southern Patagonian coast, August 16, 1670, and says, among other things: "Their dogs are much of the race of Spanish dogs, large mongrel, but very tame: they were of a gray colour and were painted red in spots: they were very bear" /cited in

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/361 cont./

English/ (Burney:III, 343). Not even such modest references are given in the older travel accounts of those navigators who expressed themselves in detail and sometimes also very accurately about many other things concerning our Yamana.

In the face of complete silence for more than two centuries, we cannot help but be surprised that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost simultaneously, several different first references are made to the Fuegian dog. Weddell (a):94 is the first European to speak of it. On November 28, 1823, his fleet lay at anchor in Bahía San Francisco, between Horn Island and Hermit Island. Here one of his sailors acquired a young dog "which was conspicuous because of its intelligence." In this connection he relates that those natives "have only this kind of dog which resembles very much the fox and is about the size of a terrier. They love their dogs very much, and if they attribute supernatural power to any object, it is probably to dogs, for the care and attention to their welfare are extraordinary" (p. 66 /unpaginated/). Unfortunately, Weddell does not say anything more about this animal.

A few years later, on the first trip of the "Beagle," King:413, 444 and Fitz-Roy repeatedly observed the dog. King:522 speculated as follows: "The dogs are certainly of the domesticated kind, originally obtained, probably, from the Spanish settlements at /361/ Buenos Ayres; generally they resemble the Esquimaux breed, but are much more diminutive in size" /cited in English/. From the second journey of the "Beagle" Fitz-Roy (a):201 brought back a more extensive description of the Yamana dog (316). He was very surprised that "these dogs bark at

316. He (a):119 also occasionally referred to the neighboring Selk'nam, "accompanied by several large dogs" /cited in English/; (b):174 describes the dog of the Patagonians in much more detail. Soon after him the fleet of Captain Wilkes (a):I, 118 landed in Bahía Buen Suceso. There the latter saw

/562 cont./

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that "the natives had the common dog which they seemed to prize much" /cited in English/.

strangers with much fury; and they give tongue eagerly when hunting the otter" /cited in English/. At the same time Webster mentions the Fuegian dog (p. 109 /untranslated, but the page is in English/). Scarcely three years later Pickering:20 calls attention to the fact that "the presence of the dog among the tribes inhabiting this extreme point of America, is another fact that deserves attention" /cited in English/ (317). Simultaneously

317. Moreover he expressed the following conjecture: "America, when first visited by Europeans, appears to have contained but a single species of quadruped of foreign origin, the domestic dog" /cited in English/.

Wilkes (a):I, 129 (p. 114 /untranslated, but the page is in English/) and, three years later, in February, 1842, Ross (p. 122 /untranslated, but the page is in English/) refer to the constant companion of the Indian family. In travel accounts of subsequent decades up to our own day and in letters from the pens of missionaries, specific mention of the characteristics and services of the Fuegian dog is almost never lacking.

For obvious reasons the travelers, with very few exceptions, did not bother about the origin of this dog. Since most of them were not qualified, their descriptions give only an incomplete picture of the specific zoological nature of the dog. Fitz-Roy (a):201 mentioned useful details: "The dog of a Fuegian or Chonos Indian is small, active, and wiry, like a terrier with a cross of fox. His hair is usually rough, and dusky, or dark-coloured; but there are many dogs among the Fuegians almost white, or prettily spotted, some of which have fine smooth hair. All that were examined had the roof of their mouth black, the ears erect, large, and pointed, the nose sharp, like that of a fox; the tail drooping, and rather inclined to be bushy" /cited in English/. Snow (a):I, 334 points out only: "Their small, sharp, ferret-like dogs were exceedingly troublesome" /cited

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in English/ (318). According to Lovisato (b):102, "the dog of the

318. The following report dates from the 1860's, by which time the Yamana could easily acquire European breeds of dogs because of more frequent shipping: These Indians "have two kinds of dogs: one, a native breed, small and shaggy, with a pointed snout; and the others introduced by the ships. The two breeds actually live almost exclusively on fish and mollusks, being very skill-

Fig. 68. Male and Female Dogs.

ful at catching the latter, opening them, extracting the little animal cleanly, and eating it" /translated from Spanish/ (Outes [g]:53).

Yahgan is a cross between the fox and the wolf with shaggy, light hair, long, straight, and not very large ears, and a short, pointed tail" /translated from Italian/. Spegazzini (a):163 could hardly express himself more succinctly when he says, the dog "looks much like the common fox" /translated from Spanish/. Dabbene (b):185 writes more exactly: "They are /563/ small and ugly, with long, varicolored hair, a long snout, and large ears that look like those of a fox" /translated from Spanish/ (319). Martial:194 confirms that the dog is "small

319. We shall omit here other descriptions, for example, those of Lista (b):63 and Wieghardt:33.

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and ugly, its hair long and fawn-colored, and its snout pointed resembling that of a fox" /translated from French/.

Incomparably more valuable than these casual and partial descriptions is Kuenckel's expert examination of two animals of pure breed. In Orange Bay Hyades acquired a newborn bitch from the Indians in January, 1883, and a male dog in February. He raised both animals himself, and since they quickly adjusted to their new masters (320). /Fig. 68 appears here/ he took them to

320. In striking contrast to full-grown animals "which do not let themselves be tamed by Europeans" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q]:365).

Paris with him in September of the same year (Fig. 68). Careful examination revealed: "As Fitz-Roy says, the dog of Tierra del Fuego is small, lively, nervous, resembling a terrier crossed with a fox; his fur is usually rough, sometimes soft, dark or blackish, but he is often completely white or nicely spotted. All the specimens examined had black palates and mouths, straight, large, and pointed ears, noses tapering like that of the fox, the tail hanging down, with a tendency to become bushy" /translated from French/. Agreeing literally with Hyades (q):364, Kuenckel:138 continues: "Well proportioned in its small midriff, the Fuegian dog is characterized by straight, large, pointed ears, by his long, very pointed snout; he also looks like an animal that is more savage than domestic, shaped very much like the jackal; the color of his fur is extremely varied; it is often uniformly dull fawn-colored /564/ which increases its resemblance to this latter animal; frequently, also, the basic color is white and the body is mottled with large black (Tapan) or fawn-colored spots (Katekita) (321); thus Katekita seems to have more natural

321. These are the names of the male and female animals of the above-mentioned pair.

markings. The paws are plainly palmate. This is the physical picture " /translated from French/. This detailed description is

/564 cont./

231 114 supplemented by Dechambre's thorough examination and by the appended measurements of the bodies of these two dogs (322).

322. Reprinted in Hyades (q):391. The less ample body measurements given by another investigator named Nocard are also published in Hyades (ibid., p. 365). Compare also Hyades (h):39 in connection with this whole subject.

In 1895 and 1896 Otto Nordenskjoeld brought back to Sweden the skeleton of a native dog from his journey to Tierra del Fuego. It came from an animal of the eastern Yamana, which, according to his opinion, could be regarded as one of pure breed. The skeleton was conscientiously studied by Loennberg:10, and each individual part was measured. On the basis of it he also made comparisons with other South American canines. Unfortunately Nordenskjoeld did not leave a description of this animal whose skeleton is now in Stockholm, nor of other Yamana dogs. During a personal interview with him I learned only about the general characteristics of this zoological variety, which were already known to me.

231 177 During the years of my sojourn in Tierra del Fuego there was not a single pure-bred Indian dog left. In the case of most of the dogs one could easily see what foreign cross-breed they came from. The Whites living there introduced various breeds of dogs and distributed them among the Indians. The latter's dogs were not only very dangerous to strangers, but also caused grave injury among the breeding animals, especially among the sheep.

231 Fred Lawrence confirmed what the older natives had told me: the native dog was of medium size and had a thick, shaggy coat of medium length and predominantly dirty brown in color with irregularly distributed large light spots. The head drooped forward a little and ended in a long, pointed snout. The standing, narrow, medium-length ears were sharply pointed. The eyes were slanting. The long, bushy tail curled up in a half circle. In general the animals had a strong, firm build, but were long and lean. As recently as 1924 several Indians compared the native dog to the

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181 The entire social order, as the aggregate of conjugal or familial arrangements and vital functions of the tribe or community, proves to be naturally humane and, therefore, appears in an altogether friendly, pleasant light.

A. Courtship and Marriage

594 The individual family, the supporting pillar of the entire social order, is regulated in its origin and its continuation according to fixed, unchangeable fundamental principles. These principles are kept alive as customs in the consciousness and conscience of the people. They are made known to each member of the tribe and are more or less familiar to him. Since custom and practice are the primary law in the performance of duty, the centuries have not eaten away any of this, and whatever has remained down to the present time is to be justly and lawfully regarded as ancient tribal heritage.

581 The individual family consisting of parents and children is
/629/ basically independent and a compact union. It is founded
594 on mutual affection between the two lovers and the desire for lifelong union. It is held together by the increasing spiritual relationship of the two partners. Its vitality is assured by the fellowship of work and possessions, food gathering and consumption. It grows beyond itself by the self-evident duty of parents to beget several children and through them to insure the permanence of the tribe.

581 Although these vital customs pertaining to the institution of
177 the family have endured in century-long uniformity, foreign influences have exerted such pressure on it for several decades that this firm structure has finally become undermined. Conditions have arisen in recent times which cannot be regarded as natural, and their effects on marital conditions have created a sad caricature of the original pattern of marriage. These regrettable changes and the false and inadequate observations of most travelers since the middle of the previous century do not give a picture of the basic organization of the institution of the family among the Yamana (1).

583 1. What has been recorded from still older
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periods lacks the proper completeness and accuracy. As an example, which we could replace by even more inadequate ones, Fitz-Roy (a):182 will suffice. He writes about how a bride is obtained: "As soon as a youth is able to maintain a wife, by his exertion in fishing or bird-catching, he obtains the consent of her relations, and does some piece of work for her parents. Having built or stolen a canoe for himself, he watches for an opportunity, and carries off his bride. If she is unwilling, she hides herself in the woods until her admirer is heartily tired of looking for her, and gives up the pursuit; but this seldom happens" /cited in English/. Now one should compare this with the following lines on how a marriage actually takes place.

124 I, too, began my observations at a time when original conditions were already showing changes here and there as a result of the devastating influence of European civilization. Hence my research could not rest solely on direct observation, but was largely dependent on questions and inquiries. Fortunately, at that time I met several older men and women who still vividly recalled all the laws and customs upon which marriage and family life were built in former times. They themselves had strictly resisted almost all the activity of the missionaries and the influence of European civilization. Even though these conditions of research were less favorable, they at least helped me to grasp clearly those principles of the marriage institution and the course of family life that in former times were exclusively valid.

114 If we contrast with this the judgments and assertions of travelers of former times, we see with frightening clarity how little truth they often contain and how boldly and unscrupulously they were circulated. They not only burdened my research work, but it sometimes also became a highly ungrateful task. /630/ It is a satisfaction to me, however, that the final result, as it is contained in the following pages, has been set forth in detail and without error.

/630 cont./

114 Since the year 1923, when I bade farewell to the Yamana forever, the majority of the older persons who served me as reliable informants in my investigations have gone to a better world. Today it is impossible to determine accurately and completely the unaffected institutions of former times on the basis of questions (2), because very few survivors of the tribe either know

> 2. About a year after me Lothrop (b):161 tried to determine the customary terms of relationship of these natives. He confesses: "It is difficult to gather these words, because much time has passed since many of them were used" /cited in English/.

enough about them or grew up in them. Without doubt it was also the eleventh hour for me to undertake the research if it was to be successful and consolidate the total of previous factual data.

a. Proposal and Marriage

584 Among a people like the Yamana, who are divided into individual families, each devoting itself to food-seeking independently of others, the approach of two loving hearts and their union in marriage escapes the notice of an observer who spends but a short time there (3), for neither the courtship nor the

> 3. On the basis of reports hitherto available about courtship and the selection of partners, Cooper:164 came to the mistaken conclusion that "there are no fixed forms" /cited in English/.

wedding are surrounded by conspicuous festivities. Certain customs, however, are observed on these occasions. They are so pronounced that on the basis of them alone, excluding all verbal communication, the marital union of two young tribal members is recognized by the immediate neighborhood. Just as these two events take place according to definite, simple rules, so there

/662 cont./

604 custom grants the real parents. If the young woman should have the misfortune of having to seek help against infractions or cruel treatment by her husband, she first turns to her blood brother and then to her uncle.

581 In principle, the couple are united in marriage for life.
593 Their marriage is not only a union of hearts, but also a union of work for the welfare of themselves and their children. Each of the two partners is assigned particular duties by ancient custom; it alone decides if and when the dissolution of a marriage is permissible. Unfortunately, the modern age has also changed the
[177] original /663/ form of marriage in families of today, so that it is only partly recognizable in its outward appearance; hence the information given by all the old people was particularly valuable to me.

1. Monogamy

•114 In describing the marital arrangements and family customs
585 of the Yamana, the critic is faced with a difficult problem. The reports of earlier observers are often quite inadequate and in part clearly colored. In particular, the statements Bridges made about our Indians are consistently unfavorable to them, and his conscious or unconscious intention to show them in an unfriendly light can probably not be denied. The older reports from his pen are in a disparaging and disdainful vein. Later he had enough feeling for justice to correct some of his grossest errors. Other travelers, however, in describing things which they did not directly understand, leaned on Bridges, and this was especially true in the case of arrangements dealing with marriage and the family. This is why there is so much agreement and similarity of opinion among the writers. I personally no longer found the genuine form of married life among the Yamana of earlier times to be a common condition and was obliged to rely on the reports of trustworthy people, such as old Alfredo, during my second visit to Tierra del Fuego. Since their opinions were well founded, they at any rate counteract many false, unsubstantiated contentions.

Many of the earlier travelers maintain that the Yamana condone polygamy, but one cannot clearly tell from their words whether

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this arrangement was prevalent, generally approved, or only tolerated under certain conditions (45). Bridges obviously contra-

45. Cooper:166 has assembled a few more recent opinions. We might also add Furlong (b):131, Dabbene (b):179, Lothrop (b):163, Outes (g):55, and others.

dicts himself. After he had spent the first decade on Isla Keppel, he wrote: "Polygamy is very general. Thus Jemmy Button has three sisters for his wives..., in fact, the marriage of two or three sisters by the same man is not the exception but the rule" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869). For the time being, let us disregard the last-mentioned inaccuracy (46). Seventeen years

46. Eleven years previously, on December 10, 1858, Despard had long since corrected this false accusation: "Jemmy Button declared that the report of his having three wives was all stories. 'No, I got only two -- other woman my sister'" /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 129;1859). Only after he let his first wife go did he take the second one.

later he (h):206, consciously or unconsciously, makes a considerable qualification: "In some places the rule is to have one wife; in others many have two, some three, and up to four" /translated from Spanish/. At that time Bridges did not know a large part of the Yamana, and for this reason alone his assertion has little credibility. Finally, after another seven years /664/ he (k):234 makes an almost frank revelation which seems like a refutation of his earlier opinions. He confesses: "But when one came to know them [los Yaganes] well, it was discovered that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists, and that, in general, they respected the rights that arise from family life" /translated from Spanish/. It took long years of observation on his part until he properly understood the obvious and significant arrangement of a Fuegian marriage in its actual form.

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114 595 592 Previously Bridges had doubtless made the error, into which other Europeans before and after him had fallen, of regarding every adult woman in a hut or in a canoe as the wife of the man who happened to be present. The sister-in-law who, with her sister, was staying with her brother-in-law was not always his wife, nor was this the case with an older woman who, because she was alone, had been taken into the family by him. The same applies to relatives who happened to be living together for a time. A few years before this, in March, 1864, Stirling had reported: "The custom of the people here [in Packsaddle Bay] is to have but one wife; at Woolya a man often has three wives" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI,239;1864). Is it not possible that a false observation dictated these last words?

114 595 Hyades (q):378, however, very definitely represented the view that monogamy predominates: "Although there is quite a number of men who have two, three, and even four wives, the custom is nevertheless to have only one" /translated from French/ (47).

> 47. He is consistent in this opinion and says in another place that "polygamy...is permitted but not the rule" /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):163 did not form an opinion and repeats, following Bridges, "the number [of wives] was not fixed by custom" /cited in English/.

Martial:198 agrees with him, saying: "The Fueguians sometimes practice polygamy; they rarely have three and even four wives, sometimes two, more often one" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):188 emphasizes: "It is the custom to have only one [wife]" /translated from Spanish/. On the basis of the opinions of a few travelers of the last decades, Cooper:166 came to the following conclusion: "As Mr. Bridges and the members of the French Cape Horn expedition had much more experience among the Tehgans than had the members of the Italo-Argentinian expedition, it is more probable that the former authorities' estimate is the truer one, namely, dominant monogamy with, however, considerable polygamy" /cited in English/. Present conditions 595

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[569]

> maintain. According to the common custom, everyone in a hut may eat what is there and whenever he pleases (p.334).

from a feeling of common humanity, while the other is nursing an infant. Both of them freely take part in the daily activities. A great deal is automatically regulated by the fact that the younger woman must take care of her small children. In most polygamous marriages the first wife is unable to work or is weak, but in any case the second wife /570/ has more or less all the work in the hut or the canoe. If, as often happens, they are sisters, the daily work runs harmoniously and smoothly.

In some cases, however, the relationship between two wives can be very much disturbed by envy and jealousy, if the two are not related, if the man shows more love and affection for the younger of the two, if he obviously treats her with more friendliness and tenderness. The first wife, who now is clearly aware of her lawful pre-eminence, controls her silent envy for a long time. Later, in regular scenes of jealousy, she violently reproaches her husband. Finally, if all her efforts to win his love are in vain, she definitely leaves him. Such conditions are the exception in polygamous marriages and probably occur only when the husband wants to get rid of his first wife. The two rivals almost always live together harmoniously, particularly if the older one is dependent on the younger because of physical ailments and even more often if both are sisters. Then neither one is jealous of the demonstrations of affection which the other receives from their common husband, no matter how intensingly the favoritism is displayed. The first wife never relinquishes her own rights (58).

[571]

> 58. The meaning of *ilkoone* which BD:188 gives, "to cause the first wife to take the place in the wigwam of the second or third" /cited in English/, has no legal significance.

Here is an example of how unreliably two Europeans who visited our Yaghans simultaneously reported on one and the same arrangement. According to Spegazzini (p.168), "the peace of

/670 cont./

58 114 the family is never disturbed" through polygamy, "no altercations among [the wives], neither jealousy nor favoritism" /translated from Spanish/. Bove (e):157, on the other hand, maintains: "Although...a man takes as many women (59) as he pleases, one

59. Apparently leaning on Bove, Wieghardt:38 repeats verbatim that "with so many women around [namely, with four wives], domestic felicity disappears entirely" /translated from Spanish/.

nevertheless seldom sees men with more than four wives. It seems that with such a number of wives domestic happiness is no longer secure and the hut or canoe is daily turned into a battlefield, so that a young and beautiful wife probably sometimes pays with her life for the favoritism which the man shows her. It is worse for the man when the women settle their own quarrels and combine against the head of the house, in which case it probably becomes clear to him that even a single woman can at times be very uncomfortable." Faced with the inventive spirit of one who can produce such battle scenes, I for my part remain silent.

545 In spite of everything, it is true that individual men lived simultaneously with two women, for the most part two sisters, but the great majority of marriages were monogamous. A few authorities surmised that, as an extremely rare exception, a man also had three wives, /671/ who were almost always sisters. There is no reliable evidence for this number or for a larger number of wives. There was probably always some reason for polygamous marriages, most of them arising from the existing division of labor and the obligation of the brother-in-law to marry a widow. Most of the European observers erroneously regarded every woman accompanying a man as his wife and hence very much exaggerated the extent of polygamy. Again we should like to remind the reader of the considerable modification that the experienced Bridges (k):243 made in his earlier, hasty assertions, for after living with these Indians for almost 40 years, he frankly confessed: "When one came to know the Yamana well, it appeared that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists!"

/809 cont./

1. The First Observations

X881 114

The Yamana guard their secret youth initiation with extreme vigilance. A stranger would never be able to surprise them in the midst of it, and it would be still more impossible for him to force his way in unobserved. From the start, therefore, it was impossible for the navigators of earlier times to find out anything about it from direct observation. In general their stay in one place or another was much too short to obtain even a few superficial observations. They would have had to fulfill quite different preliminary conditions if they had wanted to get at these particularly well-guarded cultural possessions. It would be futile to look in their travel accounts for reports about the initiation. The Europeans who later visited the territory of the Yamana as gold-hunters and sealers showed neither an aptitude for ethnographic observations nor an understanding of what they saw in the way of native customs. Finally, those who settled there as farmers dismissed everything indigenous with the contemptuous shrug of the self-confident, mindless, conceited, civilized human being. Completely unobserved by any of them, the Yamana continued to hold their secret festive gatherings with a certain regularity.

X881 797 114

After the Anglican mission became well acquainted with the Yamana and their way of life was constantly observed by the missionaries, it could not fail to happen that the attention of the latter was called to the occasional gathering of many families in the same place and that, in the course of decades of close proximity, they obtained a few faint hints from the natives. The missionaries, also, however, paid far too little attention to these first clues to put such an important institution, which the *Xalaxage* pre-eminently is, in the service of their evangelistic efforts. Quite generally they regarded and treated the cultural heritage of the Yamana contemptuously (p. 322 /untranslated/).

X881 114

Again it is Bridges to whom we are indebted for the first discoveries and who was the only one among all the missionaries who gave us brief but valuable reports. From his writings we cannot infer with certainty whether he distinguishes clearly between the actual youth initiation, *Xalaxage*, and the very different men's ceremony, *klua*. In his Dictionary he lists many of the so-called

/909 cont./

the spirit, and what he says in his essays about the schooling of young people actually fits the latter institution much better /816/ than the Kina. Today, when both ceremonies are familiar to us with respect to their entire procedure and their principal aim, it is easy to assign with certainty the material we find in Bridges either to one or the other. Hence we shall now gather together from his written accounts everything that pertains to the youth initiation.

In his first longer essay (240) of 1866, Bridges (a):204 gives

> 240. It is entitled: "Manners and Customs of the Firelanders." Above all it contains reports about family life and the rearing of children. On February 7, 1866, Bridges introduced it with the words: "A short account of the Firelanders of the Yahgh /sic/ Tribe, inhabiting the shores of Southwest Fireland, compiled from what I have heard from the Indians themselves, during three and a half year's constant converse with them" /cited in English/ (VSA-XIII, 181, 1866).

some facts: "When boys and girls come to the years of virility they undergo a kind of discipline and teaching, which generally begins in the spring. This is done to make them quiet and good. The discipline of the girls is easy and brief, conducted in the common wigwam by her parents...They call the discipline of the girls Tûmi (241), that of the boys Oushwhale. The lads of about

> 241. Clearly this unexplained sentence and what follows refers to the special customs in connection with the girls' menarche (p. 167).

thirteen years of age are considered fit for this discipline" /cited in English/. In the sentences following he mentions certain details that take place in a special hut "it is called Cesse" /cited in English/. In other words, he still confuses the two ceremonies. What now follows refers largely to the youth initiation, and the admonitions in particular are almost exactly the same as those we

/319 cont./

noted: "When the lads become thirteen years old they are then subjected to a sort of teaching and discipline. They are by their near male relatives for some days wholly taken from their female relatives, are not allowed to eat this and that kind of food, are forced to be very abstemious, are made to work hard in gathering fuel and making fires on the uninnerce around. Whenever they go abroad a guard goes with them to see that they do not indulge themselves. When they are sufficiently humbled they receive such instructions as the following from their elders: 'You must not be passionate, and kill people, else you will make enemies and be yourself soon killed. You must not take another man's wife by force, else you will suffer for it. You must not be stingy, but share with others any treasure you may find. You must not be idle, but assist to supply the house with fuel'; and many other such-like precepts, all which the young fellow is supposed to assent unto. Secrecy is strictly enjoined, at the peril of his life, of the secrets and the chants he has been made privy to. And for several years the youths are to abstain from the use of certain kinds of fish and shell-fish, and of certain well-defined parts of whales, etc. Sometimes the fasting is so severe and of long continuance that the youths become very emaciated and weak" /cited in English/ (Mat.III,117,1869).

In the following 35 years Bridges scarcely learned anything further about this /311/ ceremony: he (5)-208 has only the following to say: "The adolescents of both sexes are subjected to a period of discipline which consists of fasting, extremely rigorous at times, and moral instruction" /translated from Spanish/. This opinion is also expressed in a final reference (5)-344 seven years later: "At a certain age adolescent boys were subjected to severe discipline under the tutelage of their uncles or other close relatives; they fasted and performed hard labor to inculcate on them great humility, honesty, chastity, patience, industry, and respect for truth. While they were under this discipline and instruction, they were called *ulewacie*" /translated from Spanish/. Certain details are pointed out by Bridges (1)-17 in a manuscript which probably dates from February 2, 1878. Again he assigns to the *ulue* certain parts which belong to the *fulgan* (342). He does not

342. "The initiation of the boys and girls took

/911 cont./

> place when they were between fourteen and sixteen years old....Abstinence from food was enjoined from both, and the fasting of the lads was often severe resulting in many instances in leanness and debility. Both sexes received, after a longer or shorter season of abstinence, good moral precepts with reasons for observing them, whereby their friends honestly thought to fit them for their future life. For example, smoking and lying were forbidden because they brought suffering and sickness, diligence, generosity and faithfulness in marriage were enjoined because they ensured peace and happiness...." /Cited in English/ Bridges [1:17].

mention anywhere that for the large ceremony boys and girls together gather in the same Great Hut. Many of the precepts and restrictions for the candidates of the *Tabanga* are repeated for those of the *Ulua*.

If we now consider the fact that in the large Tonawa Dictionary (448) is no particular distinction made between the two ceremonies, it seems very probable that Bridges was under the false impression that there was a single secret ceremony, namely, *Ulua*. So he mentions many spirits of the lance, whereas there are only two definite references to the *Tabanga*. BD:174 gives the word *Tibana*, "the singing and mode of rites peculiar to the *Ulua* dance" /Cited in English/. Furthermore, BD:203 gives *Tai kwa*, "the rites and ceremonies (being superstitious, lying, obscene, drunkenness and unintelligent plays) in connection with the *Ulua* or secret wigwam in which these scenes were enacted" /Cited in English/. The word mentioned below undoubtedly corresponds to the *Tabanga*, which in our presence, too, was accidentally pronounced *Tibana*, *Tiana*, and *Tiana*. In any case, Bridges certainly did not grasp the meaning and significance of the puberty initiation and in all probability overlooked the fact that it is separate from the *Ulua*.

It is well known that in modern times scholars have drawn very politely on the observations and experiences of the missionary among the Tonawa. Since he himself did not have

/811 cont./

accurate information about the youth initiation, it is by no means strange that there is absolutely no reference to it in the latest writings. Hyades (q):276 mentions "the custom of submitting boys who have reached the age of adolescence to a kind of initiation" /translated from French/. His subsequent statements, however, are an almost verbatim repetition of what /812/ Bridges (i):17 gives and of what applies largely to the kina (243). Beyond

243. We need not exclude the possibility that the members of the Mission Scientifique vaguely had their attention called to it. Thos Martial: 221 writes that the natives "have some entertainment in which we have not taken part" /translated from French/. In any case, what Cooper: 136 assumes is inaccurate: "By the time of the French expedition in 1882-83, and even before, the boy initiations had fallen into desuetude among the Yahgans" /cited in English/. Certainly, "they still preserved a simpler puberty rite, including fasting and moral instruction also has since then been repeated, as I have shown above.

that, up to the time of my last journey, no one made even the slightest reference to the youth initiation. Several months after my last trip Lothrop (b):165 came to Tierra del Fuego. He did not do any independent research on this, and in his account he refers to our conclusions (244), but he did obtain the objects used

244. He (b):165 writes: "Thanks to the studies of Gusinde and Koppers full and complete information about the Yahgan initiation rites is available, and the reader desirous of fuller information than is given here is referred to their various publications on this subject" /cited in English/.

in the kina. Even recently Spencer:111 succumbs to the mistake of confusing the two secret ceremonies, and the facts which

/912 cont./

be probably gathered independently are valid only for the men's ceremony.

If all that Bridges noted down about the common training of youth at puberty is applied, even unjustifiably, to the youth initiation, it seems so meager that the character of this secret rite is not recognizable even in rudimentary form. It remained completely underlined to European insight, like so many other valuable treasures, until shortly before the decline of this people.

2. My Participation

It seems to me important to point out that up to my second journey the above references in Bridge's writings were completely unknown to me. My vague conjecture that in the declining years of these people I would still discover secret ceremonies was precipitated by a reference of Cooper's 136 that among the Yamana with rites had not been held for at least four decades. Since I was nevertheless privileged to experience the men's secret rites and the school for the medicine men, besides the initiation, I may be justified in maintaining that I was the sole discoverer of the *Kina* and the first to understand its underlying idea.

There is no other institution about which our Indians are so strictly, silent as they are about the youth initiation. Their reticence in this matter could be compared only with their habit of never repeating the name of a deceased person. In their daily life there is actually almost no occasion to speak of it, and if it should be necessary, they regularly resort to circumlocution which they are also fond of using on other occasions. One would not go astray in tracing to this circumstance the fact that Bridges could learn little more than the name /913/ of this ceremony. Fred Lawrence, who at the time of my first initiation had been married to Nelly almost 20 years, had learned from her, as well as from the rest of the Yamana, a great many of their customs, and had himself been a good observer, had only a few vague impressions about the *Kina*. His other brother Martin knew nothing at all about it. As for the venerable Reverend John Lawrence, he had one of his greatest surprises when I outlined my experience to him after my first participation. Two years later I told him that I took

/1018 cont./
[18] play of forces in this ethnic group on the Cape Horn Archipelago now belongs to the past. /Fig. 88 appears here./

/1019/ Part 4

The Spiritual World of the Tonona

[19] There was a time not far back when people quite generally and as a matter of course inferred from the poverty and simplicity of the external arrangements and the objects used by a primitive people that they were lacking in ideas and that their spiritual world was limited. Ever since the Tonona were visited and superficially observed by European navigators, the outer cultural world has classed them among the most unworthy representatives of the human race on account of their inhospitable native land and the unfavorable conditions of their existence. Rudolf 40 and others often repeated: "The Fueguans are, according to Reinhold Forster's remarks, 'apparently the most miserable of all peoples.'" They were judged solely by what caught the eye and by the hasty first impression that their unloveliness and unattractive appearance, their way of life, and their wild behavior inevitably makes upon every European. Once established, the general opinion became deeply ensnarled and continued to be entwined by this or that report which sounded somewhat more favorable. How could such a report have brought about a complete change of the previously held view when the Tonona themselves did not change in any way generally?

[19] [2] It is not enough to evaluate a human group solely by what strikes the eye, for that reason modern ethnography in all seriousness desires penetration into the spiritual domain of every tribe.

[34]

Fig. 88. Diamedea exulans.

/1918 cont./

Unfortunately, the Europeans who had all kinds of opportunities to do this during their sojourn on the Cape Horn Archipelago did not fully meet this demand. In their defense it is willingly admitted that they were given no particular assignment to do this, nor were they specially prepared. The English missionaries, who, in retrospect, must be loudly praised for their exemplary zeal in the study of the Yamana language, strangely enough made almost no effort to gain a deeper understanding of the souls of these Indians, despite the fact that they lived with them for decades. A small residual group of survivors was already on the brink of the grave into which a once populous tribe had by now disappeared, when as yet no full account of their /1920/ spiritual endowment had been offered by reliable research and preserved for the history of humanity. Hence I chose to make it my most important task to rescue these treasures at the eleventh hour. He has a person than W. Schmidt (1924:5) declares "that, as far as the spiritual culture of the Fueguians is concerned, [my] four expeditions alone surpass in quantity as well as quality of achievements all the work of the previous authors put together."

A number of favorable circumstances helped me to this work, and these will have to be mentioned in the proper place. In spite of decades of contact with a great many features of European culture, the Fueguians have retained the total content of their spiritual heritage, not only provincially intact, but also in its pristine state. This shows that it was vital and irreplaceable for them, and that what it was that the undiminished continuance of the people as a whole was impossible. The Yamana themselves know what it was that held them together and what was guaranteed them by orderly, peaceable conditions of life; they called it simply "that which was handed down to us by our forefathers in the way of habits and customs." They were also sensitively aware that their doom would be sealed the moment they deviated from it or were prevented by outside influences from carrying on their tribal life according to the previous patterns.

I remained aware of my serious responsibility while undertaking the four expeditions into the Cape Horn region, and I ceaselessly tried to feel my way into the strange conceptual world of the Yamana. This required time and in this I was helped by the long five months away from Tierra del Fuego between the four separate

/1033 cont./

expeditions. My repeated return, on the other hand, property strengthened the Indians in their belief that I esteemed them and their various institutions highly. That is why they proved more accommodating and more trusting from one year to the next and were more willing to let me take part in one thing or another from which they had previously excluded me. The more I tried to rid myself of the European way of thinking and acquired values and to exchange them for those of the Yaghans, the more advance I made in learning their subjective qualities. The hoary connoisseurs of tribal tradition felt this approach very definitely and with great satisfaction, regarded me more and more as one of themselves, and finally let me penetrate into the immeasurable depths of the inner spirit of their tribe. After arduous research and by means of constant observation and thorough discussion, those treasures from the spiritual heritage of the much misunderstood Yamana which fill the following pages were brought to light. They are all the more valuable because they reach back into the early age of mankind from which they have been preserved down to our own day because of the complete isolation of the feared Cape Horn Archipelago at the southern tip of America.

/1035/ A. Religion and Morality

Because of their nomadic way of life the Yamana do not possess the compact unity enjoyed, for example, by an agricultural society. It is probably for this reason that they have cultivated a high level of mental flexibility and that they show alertness in all spheres of their human endeavors. Hence it was possible for definite, universally binding forms to develop only to a limited extent, since, on the one hand, the numerically scant population lives scattered in many, small fragmentary groups and, on the other hand, each of these groups, as well as the single individual, strives to preserve for itself the greatest possible freedom and independence.

Even more striking is the scarcity of definite forms expressing their religious conceptions. As such, these are very limited, and people like our Yaghans do not parade them. Quite the contrary, everything supernatural is regarded by them with such seriousness and piety that they do not make it the subject of long, penetrating

/1034 cont./

closely associated with it is the entire store of rules and regulations which can be described, in a word, as their universal moral law, which really involves moral responsibility. In this abstract limitation of religion there is no place in the religious sphere for the belief in other spirits, in souls living after death, in ancestors and culture-bearers; hence these beliefs will be discussed in separate sections. This sharp distinction, which is based on the different ideas and conceptions of the Yamana, is primary in giving an outsider clear insight and reliable judgment.

It must be surprising to learn that until the most recent times travelers and missionaries have categorically denied that our Fuegians have any religious ideas and practices. Some Europeans did not even credit them with the necessary mental capacity. Hence the Yamana were universally regarded as irreligious. Occasionally there were references to a belief in spirits and certain supernatural beings, but, besides being extremely inadequate and inaccurate, they do not even pertain to the realm of the strictly religious. It was not until my journeys that this ideological heritage, which deserves consideration because of its richness and its characteristic value, was uncovered.

No other aspect of the cultural heritage of a people poses so many and such serious difficulties for European investigators as the religious. A definite method for its general evaluation can hardly be devised, but one who strives for any kind of success may not deviate from certain guide lines. Those navigators who had only fleeting contact for brief hours with individual Fuegians were obviously incapable of grasping anything tangible about the natives' religious heritage, for, as has been said, the Yamana certainly do not parade their faith.

It surprises everyone who reviews the situation, and justifiably so, that this field was not opened up even to the missionaries, in spite of decades of association with the Indians (1). Although the

1. Even Tylor, Anfänge der Cultur /Beginnings of Culture/, Vol. I, p. 411, acknowledged: "There is no people without a language and without religion, for even if individual peoples maintain that they have no religious concepts, it is to be suspected that they conceal

/1034 cont./

771
114

their thoughts, especially since the missionaries are not always able to gain the confidence of savages or to understand their views."

missionaries tried to approach them, they did not take the right /1035/ course (2). It is a well known fact that, since the estab-

2. Despard (b):746 very early speaks of his efforts: "We used our increasing knowledge of the language, to ascertain their ideas on religious subjects, and we discovered that they have no knowledge whatever of God, or of a First Cause in creation, no idol or other object of worship, no custom of prayer or incantation" /cited in English/.

lishment of the Protestant mission, travelers in the Beagle Channel region have not only relied on the opinions of the missionaries living there for their judgment of the Yamana, but have almost imperceptibly adopted this opinion as their own, the foremost example being the members of the Mission Scientifique, whose publications have served others, in turn, as their only source. Individual efforts to grasp the religious ideology of the Yamana were only occasionally made by this or that traveler. If one examines their procedures more closely, he will realize why their efforts remained fruitless. For example, Spegazzini (a):191 declares: "I have asked the oldest people if they know where they came from and who their ancestors were; they looked at me in wonder, and answered that the grandfather had died in a neighboring bay, like their father, and that they had never said anything on the subject. Religious ideas, too, are completely lacking, and the sole belief is one about the spirits of the dead, but it is neither very highly developed nor very definite" /translated from Spanish/. Even Hyades (f):587 realized that the goal would not be reached by direct questioning (3). Although he personally did

3. He clearly confesses: "I need not say that direct questions addressed to the Fuegian savages are useless for any light on the question

/1035 cont./

771
114

of a special cult among their people. Similarly, they will never spontaneously make any disclosures on this matter" /translated from French/.

not notice any kind of religious activity, he had the right idea when he warned that on the strength of this alone one should not conclude that they were entirely without religion (4). His well

4. He (b):1346 says: "We have never seen evidence of any kind of cult; we have no clear proof of a belief in a future life. It might be beneficial to remark that these negative signs do not constitute positive proof of the absence of all religious feeling" /translated from French/.

considered words were completely ignored by others, which is precisely why there was a constant repetition of thoughtless statements about the lack of anything religious among the Fuegians. Adding up these voices does not in itself increase their credibility, for they all more or less go back to a single source, namely, the view of the English missionary Thomas Bridges (p. 144 /untranslated/) which has proved to be erroneous.

1. Opinions of Travelers

As may be expected, the navigators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in other words, of the older period, dismissed the religious views of the Yamana with a few superficial words. They were /1036/ unable to communicate with them even by means of elementary signs, let alone by speech. There are no visible portrayals of religious faith, any more than there are conspicuous rites. How, therefore, could these Europeans who had almost no preparatory training for such difficult observations learn anything about the strictly guarded treasure of spiritual possessions!

Weddel made a first attempt, which was seriously meant, but very inappropriate, when he "read them a chapter out of the

/1036 cont./

Bible." He himself was not surprised that the Fuegians "did not seem to understand" him (p. 70 /untranslated/). Captain Fitz-Roy (a): 179 was not able to determine definitely whether they believe in any kind of divine being: "Ideas of a spiritual existence, of beneficent and evil powers, they certainly have; but I never witnessed or heard of any act of a decidedly religious nature, neither could I satisfy myself of their having any idea of the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. Wisely, he abstained from further opinions. The reports that Darwin sent out into the wide world about their spiritual life were very nearly disastrous for our Indians. We shall repeat here only a few sentences from (f):I, 123: "The belief in spiritual forces will easily lead to the belief in the existence of a god or of several gods, for savages will naturally attribute to spirits the same passions, the same lust for revenge or the simplest form of justice, and the same affection which they have experienced within themselves. In this respect the Fuegians seem to be in a middle state...And yet we could never find that the Fuegians believed in what we would call a god or that they carried out any kind of religious practices. Jemmy Button stoutly maintained, with justifiable pride, that there is no devil in his country, and this assertion is all the more strange since, among savages, the belief in evil spirits is more common by far than the belief in good ones..." Briefly and precisely he also assures us: "We have no reason to assume that they practice any kind of religious service" (p. 102 /untranslated/). He and Fitz-Roy refer to the same informants, namely, the three young Fuegians who were brought back to England in 1830 on the "Beagle" (p. 88 /untranslated/). They cannot be regarded as reliable because of the contradictions and inaccuracies contained in their statements (5).

5. For example, Darwin (d):245 relies on Jemmy Button in his assertion "that in winter when they are tormented by hunger they would rather kill and devour their old women than slaughter their dogs" (pp. 102, 235 /both in untranslated portion/). As for Button's companions, Darwin (d):246 also asserts: "The nearest approach to a religious

/1036 cont./

111
114

feeling that became known to me was shown by York Minster, who, when Mr. Bynoe shot a few very young ducks as specimens, declared in the most solemn manner: 'oh! Mr. Bynoe, much rain, much snow, much blowing.' This was evidently meant as punishment in retaliation for devastation by human beings."

While these three young Fuegians were in London in 1830 they were carefully examined. In the "Phrenological Remarks" given in Fitz-Roy (b):148, "strong feelings for a Supreme Being" /cited in English/ are set forth. These few words are to me no proof for the definite and clear form of belief in a deity which our Yamana actually have. Compare Koppers, in Anthropos, Vol. 22, p. 286; 1927.

Nevertheless, from all sides Darwin's assertions have /1037/ received full credence and the opinions of subsequent decades continued to refer to him, although toward the end of his life he changed his opinion in favor of the Fuegians (p. 106 /untranslated/). On the other hand, Roskoff:49 did not take a stand until rather late when he briefly corrected Darwin as follows: "But this does not deny the Fuegians any trace of religion, even though it cannot be surprising that the Englishman does not find among them his own belief in a God."

A few decades after the second trip of the "Beagle," that is to say, in more recent times, English missionaries began their activity on the Cape Horn Archipelago, and after that the number of European visitors to that region increased. They all, practically without exception, sought help from the missionaries, or at least had temporary contact with them. This is true first of Bove and his companions who crossed Tierra del Fuego in 1882 and 1884 and stayed for a while in Ushuaia with the missionaries there (p. 146 /untranslated/). Relying on their reports, he (g):236 first of all judges: "The Fuegians are not very superstitious and they have only very rudimentary religious beliefs" /translated from Italian/. He also (d):297 and (e):180 asserts: "They have a good and an evil

[197]

/1937 cont./

711
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deity, but the one is neither more nor less esteemed than the other. Cungi, the devil, sometimes avenges himself, however, with storm, snow, and rain. The rainbow is a sign of his anger; the women and children are afraid of its appearance, but the men scold and spit at it" (6). There is some value in repeating a num-

6. In Cozzi:105, under the heading, "Religione in genere /Religion in General/," one finds this statement just as it stands, and not another word.

ber of false statements; they clearly show how cautious one must be about accepting other reports by this same authority. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find his companion Lovisato (b):149 maintaining in similar tones: "They do not have any notion of God, hence no religion and no amulets of any kind" /translated from Italian/. Spezzini (a):171 also traveled there at the same time (p.147 /untranslated/). Of the Yamana he says only: "Religious ideas are completely lacking, and the sole belief is one about the spirits of the dead, but it is neither very highly developed nor very definite" /translated from Spanish/.

The members of the Mission Scientifique who, in their own opinions, were almost completely independent of the English missionaries, touched but lightly on the subject of religion for that very reason. They did not succeed in making successful observations of their own. Hyades (g):38 declares: "The French were unable to discover a trace of religious ideas among the Fueglans; as we know, the missionaries did not fare any better." Nevertheless, a number of indications made him (f):587 cautious in his judgment: /1938/ "All we can say about the religious feeling of the Fuegian savages is that it is limited, externally at least, to a hint of attention and feigned contemplation in the presence of a strange religious ceremony. Let us add that the Reverend T. Bridges positively told me that before his apostolate in Tierra del Fuego the Fuegians had no idea whatever of religion" /translated from French/. In his principal work he (q):253 repeats this view: "We have not verified any sign of religious feeling among the Fueglans..." /translated from French/. He is well aware of the grave import of his words, yet he persists in his

/1038 cont./

771 conviction: "We do not believe that we can modify our opinion
114 about the absence of religious feeling among the Fuegians. We observed them very attentively from this point of view during the year that we spent among them; we were never able to perceive the slightest hint of any kind of cult or religious idea" /translated from French/.

One has the impression that, in view of such definite statements, there could be absolutely no contradiction (7). Even later,

> 7. Martial:212 takes into account the serious difficulties of the investigation being discussed, as a result of which, he says, it would not be easy "to obtain readily a clear idea of their beliefs about the deity and a future life" /translated from French/.

Dabbene (b):202, for example, maintains: "There is no knowledge that a religion exists among the Yahgan, since they practice no rite that reveals any cult whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/. According to Spears:70, "they knew nothing of God, and had no word expressive of such an idea" /cited in English/. Furlong (b): 137 agrees. The Fuegian "has no religion in the general acceptance of the term...No word for God, Creator, or pray has ever appeared in his language, nor from any action, ceremony, or custom can a belief in these things be inferred" /cited in English/. Lothrop (b):171, however, already had access to some of my conclusions which he took into account. Thus, more recent research also comes to the opinion that the Yamana are without any kind of religion. Compare the data that Cooper:148 assembled.

2. Opinions of Missionaries

771 Although the men who put themselves at the service of the
114 Fuegians through their mission work are only now being heard, this does not change the well-proved fact that they were the ones
797 who told ignorant navigators and travelers of their own experiences and observations. They were obliged, for professional reasons, so to speak, to investigate the religious ideas of their wards.

/1038 cont./

111 114 197

At the beginning of their activity they occasionally mention -- as did one or another navigator, for example, Parker Snow:I, 337 -- that during a brief religious service the Fuegians who happened to be present were silent and reverent. To me this is no proof of their own religious feeling, for such an attitude is not unusual among them. Despard wrote on October 4, /1038/ 1859 (VP:VII, 81;1860), as follows: "No word has appeared for God, or Creator, or pray. They have a word for Spirit Cashpeak, and they are very uneasy at hearing it, for they say they shall see it if named" /cited in English/. He (b):698 contradicts himself, however, in the sentence: "The Firelander has no religion at all. He knows neither God, nor idol, nor spirit, and has accordingly no word for either of these" /cited in English/. Stirling, on the other hand, nowhere expresses himself definitely about the religious ideas of the Yamana.

The position of the much-quoted Bridges on this question deserves all the more consideration inasmuch as most of the travelers in Tierra del Fuego during the last decades have adopted his opinion. In 1866 he (a):181 first published a general survey of the living conditions, institutions, and customs of the Yamana. He also devoted a few lines to their conceptions of supernatural things and so-called spirits. He disposes of the religious in the true sense with a single sentence and merely says: "They have no knowledge of God, no thoughts of a future state, either of reward or punishment" /cited in English/. Strangely enough, Bridges did not deviate from this first opinion even after decades of association with the Yamana and often repeated it, word for word. For example, he (h):207 says: "They do not acknowledge a creator and neither have any idea of the future nor expect anything after death" /translated from Spanish/. Moreover, he (k):237 says again: "They lacked any idea of a Supreme Being, although they believed in the existence of spirits or souls... They offer no sacrifices nor hage any idea of atonement for sin" /translated from Spanish/. Finally the unequivocal opinion (e):332 follows: "As for religion, we can say that they had none." If occasionally an Indian showed signs of religious feeling, Bridges put it down solely to the success of missionary influence (8).

8. Once a lame man said to him "that God struck him. It is pleasant to realize that the

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/1039 cont./

knowledge of God is taking root in the minds of the people, and that they themselves attribute to Him the acts of his providence" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 10;1876).

His co-workers in particular echoed him in this assumption, especially the younger ones. The last two of them, John Lawrence and John Williams, emphatically assured me, independently of each other, that they had never come across religious expressions among the Indians which were their own. Each of these missionaries took the view of the other without examining it and blindly adhered to this conviction. Aspinall:270 stated it once more: The Yamana "devoid of all religious ideas and duties, know nothing except the vague concept of spirits of the dead which go about in the forests and which they fear."

Thus, like the Europeans who visited the Cape Horn region, all the missionaries labored under the false impression that the Yamana are completely irreligious. Every unprejudiced critic will realize that they did not come closer to the facts because of their negative attitude toward the /1040/ Indians. Elsewhere (p. 322 /untranslated/) it was proved in detail that Bridges especially had no desire whatever for a calm and just evaluation of the store of ideas of the Indians; in fact, faced with his ill-humor, they carefully and purposely concealed what was dear to them and what he would have defamed with his disdainful, disparaging remarks. After I personally had learned many of the prayer formulas with which they address themselves to their deity, I freely expressed my pleasure. More than once on such occasions Nelly Lawrence would add: "We never told Thomas Bridges these beautiful things, for he would have been scornful and ridiculed us!" At the end of my fourth journey I again presented to the worthy Reverend John Lawrence a short summary of what I had learned about the religious heritage of the Yamana. This time, too, as on my third visit, he was sincerely pleased, for it meant that shortly before the end of his life he was permitted to see corrected a false opinion of the Yamana, to which the missionaries had also contributed.

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3. My Own Conclusions

111 114 It was anything but encouraging at the start of my journeys to be faced with the strange fact that all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego, as well as all the missionaries without exception, denied with emphatic, unequivocal words that our Indians had any kind of religious view and practice. Everyone regarded the Yamana as irreligious. On my first and second visit, therefore, I consciously avoided touching upon this subject in my conversations with the members of the Lawrence family and in my contact with the Indians. Besides, there were other, more immediate problems which first had to be solved.

124 113 116 The traveling investigator must be favored by fortune, otherwise his efforts are in vain. I obtained the first indications of the religious ideas of the Yamana quite incidentally and without my doing anything. One evening on my second journey I was again sitting with a group of several men who were explaining to me the ancient traditions of their tribe. It was then that I learned for the first time about their myth of a great flood which, in hoary antiquity, had inundated their present homeland. All of us who had listened with obvious seriousness to the old storyteller were silent for some time and thought about the catastrophe of that flood. Afterward one or two men made some short explanatory remarks. I now bravely ventured to ask:"Whoever sent that big flood?" Everyone present instantly became quiet and a painful silence followed. Embarrassed, they lowered their eyes and avoided my gaze so that they would not be forced to answer me. I repeated my question and in a friendly way asked for the desired explanation. Old Alfredo who had done the talking that evening replied /1041/ emphatically: "Lēguwakipa sent that tremendous flood." When he did not add anything more, I asked: "Is Lēguwakipa really so mighty?" Alfredo replied: "As a matter of fact it was strong Watagineiwa who sent the general flood. Lēguwakipa prevailed upon him to do it; it was her intention to demolish the whole world. With Watagineiwa she succeeded in having the great flood come!" Naturally I asked again: "Who is this Watagineiwa?" This very obviously increased the general embarrassment and everyone present maintained strict silence. I felt as though I had been guilty of an impropriety or had ventured on dangerous ground.

/1043 cont./

I subsequently directed the conversation toward their Supreme Being on suitable occasions. I did it very considerately and with sympathetic understanding for the depressed feeling of a person who is reminded of one or several deceased persons who were dear to him whenever the name of Watauineiwa is mentioned. This gentle manner, which was shown intentionally to avoid hurting anyone, was not only comforting to all the Yamana, but steadily diminished their aversion to brief discussions about that feared spirit. In the course of time the discussions gradually became more open and free, and finally, despite a respectful attitude, were almost completely without restraint. Our own attitude toward the ideas sacred to them also helped. We neither criticized nor made fun of them; rather, we valued them highly and treated them with the same respect that they themselves showed. /1044/ Even earlier I had repeatedly heard their comparison: "Christians speak scornfully of their god, revile him and even reject him. No Yamana speaks of our Watauineiwa in this way!" It was obviously consoling to them that we, too, showed veneration toward him. Some of the Fueguians, however, continued to be reticent whenever Watauineiwa was mentioned. Although this was always done with genteel reserve, nevertheless it seemed incredible to many of them that something which they themselves revere as sacred could be the same to us.

On that third journey I was permitted to experience the youth initiation a second time (p. 186 /unpublished/), where I heard new references to Watauineiwa, which were in accordance with the ancient program for the [illegible] (p. 750). Finally on my fourth visit (p. 190 /unpublished/) I was offered an extraordinarily valuable addition to what I had previously learned with regard to a ceremony for the dead. Thus, several times, through none of my doing and quite suddenly, I came upon religious utterances of the Yamana. It was primarily for this that I sought uninterrupted and open discussions with all the older people. By doing so, I could bring to light what I have put together in the following pages. I know of no reason why they should have concealed anything from me.

There is no longer any lack of convincing explanations as to why these Fueguians have so anxiously guarded their heritage of

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●114 religious ideas and practices from every stranger since their contact with European culture and why they entrusted me alone with this precious heritage, albeit under very special considerations. I must say that the same is true of my participation on two occasions in their secret youth initiation, ʼóʼkapa, as well as my direct experience of the men's ceremony, kina, and the school for medicine men, ʼóʼma-yékamu. In their opinion I proved myself worthy of this extraordinary favor.

b. Content of the Yamana Religion

771 It is not a serious injustice to the Fuegians if, from the start,
128 one expects no systematic organization of their religious ideas, which do not form a complete, compact, interlocked chain of thought; in fact, wide gaps are sometimes apparent. Individual ideas are juxtaposed loosely and without connection. Although the Fuegian has these ideas, he does not bother to understand them completely, and also he does not seem to feel the need of having them arranged into a coherent whole. A summary and arrangement of what is presented here as the religious heritage of the Yamana would be entirely foreign to him. I have personally undertaken it in order to present a survey and to make possible a scientific evaluation.

776 On the preceding pages Watauinéʼjwa, the /1045/ sole deity of the Yamana in the more limited sense of the word "religion" (p. 949), has been designated as a "Supreme Being" (10). Although

10. For the same reasons I previously likewise referred to the deity worshipped by the Selk'nam as a "Supreme Being" (Vol. I, 496).

the Fuegian does not have this conception, he in fact knows no other spirit superior to Watauinéʼjwa. The latter is also the only one accorded a unique power and a superior position, whereby he stands far apart from every other being. Finally, his relationships to human beings are those of an absolute master and sole lawgiver; one renders religious homage to him alone. It is only in this sense that Watauinéʼjwa is called a deity, as is customary in theology generally.

/1194 cont./

763 that he might strangle the dying one in order to release him from
739 the death agony (p. 944). Loud, shrill cries announce the end to the neighborhood, and people arrive without delay. I myself witnessed the two cases just described.

Fatal accidents are not uncommon. A whole family may
731 be taken if a canoe capsizes. A few men drag the body of a per-
766 son who has drowned or fallen from a rock into his hut if it is not too far away. Otherwise, if the men are far from their families on a cormorant hunt, they bury the victim then and there and hasten to bring the news quickly to the family.

The demonstrations of mourning begin while a person is
763 dying and immediately afterwards. All the neighbors assemble in
152 front of the hut of the deceased or inside and start a loud, irregular moaning. Copious tears flow from grief and sincere sympathy. Everyone is again vividly reminded of Watagin[illegible]wa who has taken this person away. As was learned earlier from Bridges (a):206: "When a person is very ill and likely to die, great grief is shown, and the near relatives keep near, so as to act as mourners at the decease of the sick. They show much grief, and when the sick actually dies great lamentation is made, and the mourners weep profusely" /cited in English/.

2. The Burial

764 There is a remarkable number of reports, most of them brief,
114 however, about the way our Fuegians treat the corpse. The dying one has scarcely ceased breathing when the persons present busy themselves over him. As Bove (c):159 says, this time accurately: "They wrap the body of the deceased, which is still almost warm in a few rags." They use large pieces of leather and nowadays also scraps of sacking. Usually they leave the body in the position it assumed at death. The entire sheath is fastened and tied with strips of leather which are tightly wrapped around it in various directions (43). This happens in any case; "the dead are always

43. Hyades (q):379 says briefly that "the body is wrapped in some old skins of otter or seal; it is then buried"; Lovisato

/1104 cont./

(b):47 and Dahlmann (b):193 say the same.

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wrapt up in skins either when buried or burned" /cited in English/, as Bridges (x):206 confirms. Nowadays the /1105/ body is straightened out and the arms are placed at the sides, because burial in the ground is now the exclusive custom. The eyelids are not closed nor is the lower jaw lifted to close the mouth. The face is quickly covered with the shroud used for the entire body which is neither decorated nor ornamented. The corpse of a yfkamul, however, is specially treated; at least the face is painted and the customary feather ornament is wound around the forehead.

A few allusions and specific statements by old people leave no doubt that formerly cremation was more common and perhaps even the exclusive custom. This is confirmed by several travelers and missionaries (44). Bridges (Mss:III,119,1869), for example, states in so many words and without any qualification: "The dead are generally burnt to ashes" /cited in English/. It may be that this custom predominated chiefly in individual districts, for quite early Bridges (VP:XI,250;1864) asserts that in the Wulaia region cremation was "the usual way of disposing of their dead" /cited in English/. It is not correct, however, to say that cremation is restricted to the yfkamus (45). Nevertheless a few

44. Only the following will be mentioned: Rowe (e):110, Bridges (x):206, (c):320, and (b):209, Despard (b):698, Hyades (f):165, (p):322, and (q):278, Outes (g):56, Spegazzini (x):168, and Spencer:74. Not a single one of these men definitely asserts that he personally witnessed a cremation.

45. Despard (b):698 was the only one to surmise this and gives the following reason: "Possibly to make sure that they may never return to trouble survivors, since in their life-time these practioners have been ever

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active to mischief" /cited in English/. In this instance he (VP:XV, 120,1909) relied altogether on the uncertain accounts of J. Dutton.

older reports admit that both types of interment were simultaneously known and used, for example, Isidlog (VSA:XI, 130,1909) and Dempsel (b):498. At Sim Bridges (e):206 says: "Adult persons both male and female when they die are buried shortly after by the nearest male relatives, but sometimes (especially the females) are buried. Little children are generally buried when they die" /cited in English/. Later he writes: "Usually they bury their dead, but often they are burned." I know of no other place where it is said that they differentiated between adults on the basis of sex for cremation. In fact, local conditions were decisive for both sexes alike. Oxnee (g):56 made a certain qualification which in this general form is surely unjustified. He says: "If the death came about as the result of a fight or murder, the corpse is generally not burned, but is abandoned" /translated from Spanish/. Finally Hyades (f):185 tried to find out "in what situation they preferred cremation. They often told me that their practice was always to burn the bodies of interred relatives after they had been buried a certain time, but rarely cremation is sometimes neither..." /translated from French/. These words even indicate interment twice, for which there is absolutely no certain proof. Most of my aged /1106/ informants had experienced actual cremations. Under the influence of missionaries and European settlers this custom quickly had to give way to burial, which has been done exclusively for the last few decades. During the years when Rove (e):150 was traversing the south the following was still applicable: "Formerly the dead were burned, but nowadays this rarely occurs." According to my investigations, cremation was not the exclusive custom in olden times, but it was universal and predominant.

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Not one of the authors mentioned above has described the procedure of burning a corpse. I, too, must rely on the accounts of my Indians who gave me the following description. The corpse, which is wrapped in a large piece of leather and tightly

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example; rather, the relatives themselves gave something that must be regarded as recompense for work performed and as a token of the gratitude of the survivors for this service of love. The strong incentive that induced Fueguians to burn the corpse of every adult was the fear that animals, especially cats, otters, dogs, and foxes, would devour it or gnaw at it (46). The thought of the

> 46. There is no basis for the fear that "strangers to the tribe" might "make serpents points out of the bones," as Kirchberg (92) maintains.

disgusting habits of these animals made them doubtful, and they wanted to make sure that the bodies would not be desecrated. Other reasons mentioned by one traveler or another are not valid. Hyades (3):335, for example, writes: "Sometimes [the dead] are burned, especially when death has taken place far from the habitual residence of the family" /translated from French/.

The following reports must also be clarified. On March 8, 1884, Stirling (VSA.XI,180;1889) landed with his company on Isla Button. He sums up in the following words what he observed there: "There is the funeral pyre on which the body of one of Macconellan's brothers was recently burned. There the wigwam, or framework of branches, where for a day the body lay in state. The body of James Button [who had died shortly before] has not yet been burned. It is merely interred. The return of his brother from Keppel Island has been waited for, and now the remains will be submitted to the flames. This information is given to us in a subdued voice by Oukalibo [who took part in this round trip]" /cited in English/. Hyades (3):142 generalizes this assertion (47).

> 47. He says: "The Fueguians do not have a funeral rite; they inter the body near their dwelling at a shallow depth and later burn the bones" /translated from French/.

One might deduce from these words that after a temporary burial the body is taken out of the grave and burned. This surmise is completely erroneous and neither Stirling nor Hyades was reliably

/1107 cont./

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informed. The simple fact is that any human bones which have in any way become exposed after burial are consigned to the fire for complete decomposition. Spencer:74 may well appear as a witness for the cremation of bodies, but he is mistaken in his reasoning: "Old woman says that in olden times bodies were burned, which agrees with remnants of large fires met with in deeper parts of old middens, three and four and five feet down, where also are no shells, or very few, and only calcined light-coloured earth" /cited in English/. The ashes in the lowest layers of the shell mounds are known to be remnants of just fires which, of course, only later were /1108/ built on a layer of mussel shells (p:356). This does not contradict the fact that some corpses were buried in shell mounds.

Besides the burning of the bodies of adults in ancient times, burial in the ground was also customary, at least for children and possibly also now and then for adults. Fitz-Roy (a):181 credits all the water nomads of the Fireland Archipelago with it (48) and

> 48. He asserts: "When a person dies, his family wrap the body in skins, and carry it a long way into the woods; there they place it upon broken boughs, or pieces of solid wood, and then pile a great quantity of branches over the corpse" /cited in English/.

there is also no lack of witnesses for it from more recent times. Lovisato (b):148 certainly deserves assent when he says that "the burial of corpses in that tribe dates from the time of the Ushuaia Mission" /translated from Italian/, in contrast to cremation as a "custom also practiced today by some, but very rarely, and doggedly combatted by the missionaries" /translated from Italian/. Actually, with the coming of Europeans, cremation, which formerly was almost universal, gave way to burial in the ground exclusively. It is inaccurate to maintain that the Indians traveled to certain places solely for this purpose. According to Bridges (a):206, to whom Lovisato (b):147 refers, "small islands are preferred for burying-places, as there are no foxes to disturb the dead...Sometimes also the dead are buried at the foot of cliffs among the rocks,

/1108 cont./

764 in places safe from foxes" /cited in English/. The Yamana would
J 14 not take so much trouble; they commonly bury a corpse not far from the hut.

764 Soon after death the body is wrapped in pieces of leather or in strong scraps of leather and bound with long leather strips. Only occasionally is it placed on short poles which are also enclosed in the wrapping, the body being stretched out in this case. Several men who offer their services are occupied with all this for about an hour, while the rest of the people present sigh and weep. Then they lift up the body, each one putting his arm over it and pressing it against his hip, and carry it to the place agreed upon. According to my personal observation, four men arrange themselves around the corpse, two on either side. A few decades ago they chose a large shell mound. It is easy to dig a rather large hole in it with poles and oars, and the hole can be quickly and easily covered again. In recent times our Indians prefer to bury the corpse in a sandbank lying off the shore or in a low hill of coarse gravel. It is regularly laid in position on its back (49), which is

49. Only Spencer:61 maintains that the corpse is "always buried lying on back with head towards west" /cited in English/. There is no proof for this.

easy to arrange and maintain, and then covered with earth and gravel or with the mixture of sand and mussel shells. Now and then they insert a few short branches. They put a great many large stones over it to prevent dogs or predatory animals from getting at the body. If an animal should nevertheless succeed in doing so, /1109/ it is immediately killed, for the Yamana have a great aversion to seeing a corpse uncovered. Finally the spot is made to look exactly like the surroundings so as to be unrecognizable (50). Anyone

50. Hyades (g):32 has described the procedure of a burial somewhat more elaborately (cf. also Anuario Hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile, Vol. XI, p. 506; Santiago, 1888). It is briefly mentioned by Lovisato (b):147, Despard (b):698, Bridges (a):206, (h):209, and Spegazzini (a):168.

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X 575 171 The Selk'nam in their Kloketen ceremony (Vol. I, 808) have an arrangement in which, if one can express it thus, the two Yamana institutions of the čiexaus and the kína are, at least outwardly, combined. The basic character and the many details of the kína embrace precisely the kinds of ideas and the means of expressing them that may be summed up as constituting an actual men's ceremony. Everything that is included in such a ceremony is more pronounced in the klóketen of the Selk'nam. This klóketen proves to be a more original form, scarcely corrupted or weakened in any way, although it is at the same time an actual initiation of youth. In order to facilitate comparison of these secret ceremonies among the two neighboring tribes, I have arranged the following description with reference to the account of the klóketen ceremony. The portrayal, which is not too voluminous, /1813/ has historical as well as factual value, because I was the first European to learn about the kína from personal observation and because it proved to be the last ceremony of its kind. It is a strange coincidence that I, as the first European, was permitted to experience and, through direct participation, to become intimately acquainted with the last klóketen, which the Selk'nam held in 1923, and the last kína, which the Yamana celebrated in 1922 (267).

X 575 123

267. I reaped important benefits from having witnessed the Kina of the Yamana before seeing the more clearly defined and elaborate form of the men's ceremony of Kloketen among the Selk'nam. I have pointed this out in a number of places; compare at least Vol. I, 816, as well as Gusinde (n):973 and (q):277.

a. Information through Europeans

X 575 114 The Kina is a secret ceremony to which, on principle, only adult men are admitted. A Yamana will very seldom speak about it in everyday life. Even when men are among themselves, the word kína is scarcely ever mentioned. This circumstance alone

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is enough to explain why none of the English missionaries, the Whites who have been settled there for a number of decades, or occasional visitors to that region became acquainted with the Kina of the natives. In those days the average European who traveled among primitive peoples had far less appreciation for secret ceremonies than for many other arrangements which were easy to observe with the naked eye. These travelers generally rejected such things as products of a distorted imagination and an undeveloped intellect, and they made no effort to understand them. Thus, there were reasons on both sides to explain why the Kina of the Yamana, like the secret ceremonies of other primitive peoples, did not become known earlier to Europeans. During my third journey, at my insistence, the Yamana decided to hold such a celebration (p. 186 /untranslated/). They had not held it for a long time and were therefore not quite sure about many of the details. Nevertheless, I have been able to ascertain the essential parts and to present the basic ideas of this complicated secret ceremony.

1. Earlier Accounts

The majority of the travelers who reported on our Yamana were more or less completely dependent on the English missionaries, and almost exclusively on the Reverend Thomas Bridges, in their description of the many details of the culture of these natives. Therefore, their accounts, like the little that this man set down about the Kina, are vague and contain only hints. Throughout, all the witnesses /1314/ have at best offered only short, obscure references. Their unreliable allusions are all the more useless because they do not make the underlying ideas of this ceremony comprehensible.

Here again, as has been shown with regard to many other important things in the heritage of the Yamana, only Bridges among the missionaries furnished any details worth mentioning about the Kina celebration (268). In 1866 he (a):204 hinted at it

268. Besides Bridges, the missionary Aspinall:270 very briefly mentions: "In order to maintain their rights and their

X 575 114

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> authority as lords of creation, the men resort to secret acts which are carried on in a large group from which women are excluded." Once, in passing, Lewis mentioned that he happened to have conducted a religious service on the Wollaston Islands in 1888, "in a Toomeecoo uchr, i.e., playhouse, formerly called a 'keena,' a large wigwam, erected not to live in, but in which to perform certain initiatory rites with the youth, etc." /cited in English/ (MM:XXII, 218;1888).

for the first time in the following words: "When boys and girls come to the years of virility, they undergo a kind of discipline and teaching...It is called Ceena. During the time the father and son is at Ceena, which is from a few days to about two weeks, neither father nor son sees any female; food sent them by the women, through some man or other, daily. The ceremonies here conducted are to impose upon the women, to effect which the men make large conical masks of bark which completely cover the head; they also paint their bodies peculiarly, and when all is ready they rush out of the Ceena, and dance and jump about as nimbly as they can in view of the women, who look upon them as beings from another world" /cited in English/. He (a):212 supplements these sentences with the following: "There is a female, a woman who comes up out of the sea, into the Ceena, and does certain strange things. There is also a being who is supposed to come from above, and he also visits the Ceena during the time the discipline of the youths is being conducted" /cited in English/ (269). In these references it should be kept in

> 269. The passage continues: "When the youths attain thirteen or fourteen years, they are taken by their fathers or uncles to the Keena, where they sit with their eyes fixed on the floor for a long time... The youths under training called Ooshwaula.

X 575 114

/1314 cont./

At the end of the day they come to the Keena to sleep, and to have a very insufficient repast. No women enter or even go near to the Keena, only men sleep there. Sometimes the youths are made to lie down with their faces downward, and Liacakeepa, an evil cruel being, is announced. The youth is very frightened, and dares not turn his head in order to look at this dreadful being, who is supposed to come up out of the sea. She sings a great deal, and with her club beats the earth violently close by the frightened prostrate youth, who expects every recurring blow to fall upon him; at last Liacakeepa goes away, and he is allowed to sit up again" /cited in English/.

mind -- as I have already emphasized on p.644 - that Bridges erroneously regards the so-called "kind of discipline and teaching" /cited in English/ as the only communal ceremony of the Yamana. Actually, čiéxaus and kína are two entirely different institutions.

Three years later he mentions "the wigwam called Keena, and is wholly set apart for celebrating religious ceremonies and superstitious practices. It is in these places that the youths receive their severe training, which /1315/ is to introduce them to the privileges of man's estate, and every young fellow has to undergo it" /cited in English/ (VP:III,118;1869). Bridges (e):332 and (h):208 explains the customary and frequent masking on this occasion as follows: The men "also portrayed half-dramatic, half-religious embodiments of various evil forces, but these performances, which to them were a source of excitement and amusement, took place only when a large number of them were assembled. The performers put on their masks in separate buildings which the women and children were not permitted to approach, and they were expected to show great fear of the things performed in front of them by the demon, during which he threatened them with all kinds of violence." The following in (i):17 and (h):209 belongs to this description: "The men would be occupied in the

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x 575 114

keena, painting and variously disguising themselves with barkhats, and smearing themselves with blood, procured by pricking the inide of their noses, to represent various characters. Some would appear as an evil being called Chinoogoo, others as another evil spirit known as Tanoowa, others again represented Ushoomeena, and others Lalacakeepa, a female demon. When all was ready, the women and children being seated outside their wigwams, these variously disguised men, unrecognizable even to their nearest relatives, would rush forth with club, spear or bow in hand, dancing and leaping about frantically, threatening the women with their weapons...In the keena they would rest and, amidst roars of laughter, discuss the merits of the different actors. All dances and amusements were accompanied with singing or chanting for the varieties of which they had special names, derived from birds and plants" /cited in English/. To supplement this, Bridges (k):239 adds: "The Yahgan have a number of dramas of a semi-superstitious nature, and for each of them there are appropriate disguises, kind of performance, and style of special songs...The personages represented are all mythological beings who are supposed to have existed in other epochs; all are perverse and have come from different places. One of them, for example, arrived on the scene from the woods, another came out of the sea, some came from the clouds, and others came out of the ground" /translated from Spanish/. The names of many Kina spirits are mentioned in BD. Altogether, therefore, Bridges gathered a considerable number of details about the Kina, although he lacked the understanding to go into them very far, to organize them, and to grasp their significance.

In comparison with what Bridges gathered through personal experience, the scant references from the pens of other travelers are negligible. The latter, without exception, depend on him. It is surprising to find in Martial:214 some ideas taken from the myth of the upheaval, in which there is a reference to the time when "women were in power" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):202 does no more than to repeat this verbatim. Hahn (c):340 and (d):44 expressed himself more specifically: "The Yahgan celebrate a festival called Kina, commemorative of the revolt of the men /1316/ against the women who, before that, had the authority in the family and held the secrets of sorcery. They

/1316 cont./

X575 114 masked themselves on this occasion, shouting and dancing as long as their strength permitted" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):377, for his part, refers to "an unpublished work" of the missionary Bridges. I cite this manuscript under (i) and have just quoted the pertinent sentences. The allusions offered by Spegazzini (a):170 are quite vague and scant. A sentence in Wieghardt:30 says even less on the subject. Finally, and most recently, Spencer:111 mentions the aim of this secret ceremony in the following brief words: "The initiation of the young men is supposed to prevent women from taking their dominion over men and making them again lead a dog's life" /cited in English/. Apparently he does not know the difference between the actual youth initiation and the men's ceremony.

2. My Personal Participation

X575 123 The vague references to the Kina celebration in widely scattered publications which were available up to the time of my journeys were not such as to give me any kind of guide, and even less so because čiéxaus and kina are almost always confused and deceptively linked. Instead, I obtained the first direct hint on my second journey from the Yamana themselves (p. 180 /untranslated/). On that occasion, when we had [illegible]d the čiéxaus, the people expressed their boundless joy over the undisturbed, smooth way in which the celebration had proceeded and also the tactful manner I had shown in taking part in it as an actual uśwáala. In this connection they declared themselves willing, on a later occasion, to make it possible for me to participate a second time in the čiéxaus. This would earn me the right to enter the Kina (p.658). At that time I already knew a good deal about the procedure of this celebration; I had also learned the basic ideas of the so-called myth of the upheaval and was thus able to anticipate with confidence a regular men's festival with its definite repudiation of the influence of the female world.

In that year, when I again took leave of the Yamana who were very affectionate toward me, I told them that I expected to come back the following summer, and, as a matter of fact,

/1435 cont./

X756 182 basic features of their mental attitude. Legend puts the origin of the medicine-man system outside the boundaries of present-day Yamana territory and connects it with the Kina. Mašemikens designated Hešpul, Yo'okalia, and other birds as the first yékamuš (pp. 1268, 1271 /both untranslated/). "They taught their art to a few people and that is how it came to us!" There is no connection between the medicine-man system and the other institutions of our Fuegians; it is clearly a peculiar form within their culture as a whole.

G. Mental Capacity

181 No people on American soil has been rated as low and esteemed as little by the entire European world as our Yamana. ●114 The seed for this unjust opinion was sown by the crew of the Dutch fleet of L'Hermite, the first Europeans seen by the inhabitants of the Cape Horn Archipelago (p. 50 /untranslated/). The description that enjoyed the most notoriety was the inadequate and inaccurate account set down by Charles Darwin, then 22 years old (p. 97 /untranslated/). Although he occasionally made an accurate statement in his writings (343) and, as an old

> 343. He (f):I, 234 said: "The Fuegians belong among the lowest savages; I was constantly surprised, however, at how closely the three Fuegians on board the 'Beagle' ...resembled us in general traits and in most of our mental abilities."

man, changed his opinion very much in favor of our Fuegians (p. 106 /untranslated/), nevertheless this did not effect the bias of the general public. Anyone who leafs through the amazingly large number of accounts by missionaries (p. 146 /untranslated/) will find it strange that the latter almost uniformly speak disparagingly, indeed, contemptuously of the mental performance of these natives, and their opinions of them have not improved despite decades of contact. Bridges outdoes all the other

/1435 cont./

181
114

missionaries in his underestimation of the entire cultural heritage of our Fuegians (p. 323 /untranslated/), and none of the missionaries would have succeeded in persuading him otherwise. The Yamana soon realized that Bridges, with emphatic disdain, rejected their ideas and customs, which, without exception, were valuable to them and worthy of respect. Consequently they drew away from him and /1436/ made many of their spiritual possessions unavailable to him (p. 144 /untranslated/). Their attitude did not change even when Bridges, in exceptional cases, spoke a brief word in their favor (344). Actually, Bridges was the

> 344. These statements, such as the one in (i):12, therefore have much more value for an outsider: "These natives have usually been described as a great deal worse than they were. I well know they were bad enough as all ignorant, lawless people must be, but they were falsely reported to be cannibals, and the sketches of them have been rather caricatures than likenesses" /cited in English/.

adviser and the decisive source of information for all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego who consulted him during his long years of missionary activity. His many publications were also regarded as those of an authoritative observer whom others had no opportunity to correct. Although the members of the Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn, for example, maintained close contact with a group of natives there for an entire year, nevertheless their publications prove how dependent they were on Bridges, especially in their evaluation of the spiritual equipment and mental assets of the Yamana. This state of affairs explains the uniformly low opinion of almost all the travelers who commented on the mental capacity of our Fuegians. Nevertheless, favorable testimony, such as that of Snow (b):266, is not altogether lacking: "I will only venture to call your attention to the fact, that these savages have a heart and feeling as well as we have. And I saw many instances of warm love and affection for the children, and for each other" /cited in English/.

/1436 cont./

181 Experts on primitive peoples soon cast doubt upon the trustworthiness of all those reports on Tierra del Fuego, and from insignificant accounts as well as fair judgments, they brought out many a favorable detail. Waitz:507 emphasized: "One must not believe that the mental dullness [of the Fuegians] prevails throughout among them...The four Fuegians whom Captain FitzRoy took with him to London showed altogether good qualities." Ratzel:I, 520 appreciates their material possesions and social institutions. Beyond that he declares: "The more one learned of their sensibilities and mental capacities upon closer contact, the higher one evaluated them in this respect. The Fuegians, even though they are oppressed by the misery of their situation, are basically Indians like all the rest. The inadequate results of missions cannot prove anything to the contrary." Thus, if the Yamana are judged to be genuine Indians, they must also be regarded as capable human beings. The fact that they are indeed such is convincingly proved by their way of life which has been described in the foregoing pages. The following pages will be a not inconsiderable supplement to this. It seems strange to us who have been privileged to obtain such deep insight into the mental life of most of the primitive peoples still available today that it seems necessary to prove that the Yamana, too, are altogether human beings.

/1437/ a. Mental Power and Sensory Activity

153 182 I regard as beside the point the [illegible]-repeated question as to whether the Yamana are an "intelligent [illegible]ple" and capable of meeting the demands of our culture. One will obtain a just evaluation of their mental powers only after he has learned to understand the Fuegians with respect to their mastery of their environment. They have adapted themselves excellently to their country: they have learned to use the available materials for serviceable implements and have asserted their superiority in their struggle with the forces of nature. Indeed, they maintain themselves in their environment and have attained several not inconsiderable achievements of which many Europeans would be

/1459 cont./

151 spread over it; the latter is a reliable remedy for growths resem-
27 bling carbuncles. Pustules are daubed and rubbed gently with saliva. Fresh small twigs and leaves of Macrocystis are put on swellings; they develop a slimy substance which is allowed to take effect. Fresh barberry shavings are put on an aching tooth. Loose teeth are broken and pulled out with the fingers. Hyades
[15] (p):339 says something that I cannot confirm from my own obser-
vations: "Insanity, if it exists, is very rare. The mad are treated with cold baths" /translated from French/. A broken arm is treated
152 by first placing thin sticks and a few pieces of leather around it; then this is bound with stout strips of leather. The bandage is kept in place until the pain and swelling have subsided. These are the procedures that the Fuegians know for helping themselves in case of accidents and physical ailments.

7. The Language

192 It is well known that the language of the Yamana has often
114 been described in general accounts and there is an astonishing amount of material. Many a writer has let himself be carried away in repeated references to an unusually rich vocabulary. Bridges himself started this trend. I tried to explain in (gg):162 why he said that his dictionary contained 32,430 words. I have also emphatically pointed out that the Yamana language does not have that number of words and that a rich vocabulary by no means indicates a high level of development for this language. "Quite the contrary," I (hh):183 said earlier, "one will recognize the considerable poverty of a language from the fact that it requires many words." Long before, Garbe:336 pointed to this decisive condition. No one is to be blamed for the fact that a critical study of Yamana grammar as a whole has not yet been carried out -- F. Hestermann worked on a number of parts -- /1460/ for texts are lacking. The comprehensive dictionary of the Reverend T. Bridges was only published in 1933 by Hestermann and Gusinde, and the well-known translations of the New Testament that Bridges made six decades ago are not suitable for this purpose. I, too, should not be reproached and told that I failed to collect original texts. To exonerate myself, I may point out that on my journeys I was

/1460 cont./

192 completely absorbed by no less urgent tasks. Serious considera-
114 tion should also be given to the fact that the language in use today has been altered and corrupted as a result of the banding together of the last survivors of the five original dialect groups and their contact with European culture. For example, their own word for "nothing" has dropped out of use completely, and old and young have substituted "nothing" /cited in English/ for it. I was thus faced with the lamentable fact that at the beginning of my journeys it was too late to record the pure, uncorrupted linguistic heritage of the Yamana. However, I was still able to determine the boundaries of the former dialect groups, as I called them (p. 199 /untranslated/), and the phonetic system. Compare Gusinde (s):1000.

This is not the place to describe in detail the more important
197 peculiarities of Yamana grammar. Nor need I repeat that in (hh): 183 I maintained that "the low stage of development of the language is in perfect agreement with the whole mental constitution of the Yamana as it is revealed in other areas. This does not in the least cast any doubt on the fact that these Indians, judged by their mental capacity, are fully mature human beings." For the time being one must regard Yamana as an isolated language which is not even closely related to neighboring Selk'nam and Halakwulup. Comparative studies will show whether Yamana can be related to the meager remains of a definite Chaco language.

Only the following characteristics of this language will
193 be mentioned. The root and the word are seldom the same. Usually verb and noun are separated; this is less often true of adjective and substantive in the noun, but always of the pronoun. Word formation, as well as every other grammatical formation, occurs through the use of actual prefixes and suffixes. Verbs and nouns abound in formations. The richest of all is the pronoun; on this account it has a prominent place among all the other languages of the world. Nouns are monosyllabic and polysyllabic, the latter being always recognizable as compounds. Often prefix and suffix occur in the same formation. There is no grammatical gender, but number and case are all the more elaborate. The noun has three numbers: singular, dual, and plural, the last two being formed only with suffixes. The genitive is prominent.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 5316 Yahgan 5316

131 contact, barter, and intermarriage with the *Ona;* between Brecknock Peninsula and the western end of Beagle Channel, with the *Alacaluf*.

101 **Names and divisions.**—The *Yahgan* called themselves *Yámana*, "human beings." They were first called *Yahgan* by the Rev. Thomas Bridges, from Yahga, the native name for the Murray Narrows region, a locality much frequented by some of them. *Yámana* would be preferable for anthropological use, but *Yahgan* is so well established in the literature that we are retaining it in the Handbook. The *Yahgan* recognized five subdivisions, each with its own aboriginal name: a southern, an eastern, a central, a western, and a southwestern (Koppers, 1927, p. 468; 1928 a, pp. 158–159; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 199–206; Lothrop, 1928, p. 120, map opp. p. 24). These subdivisions differed more dialectically than culturally.

114 **History of investigation.**—The *Yahgan* were first visited and described by Jacques L'Hermite in 1624. The next important landmark was the *Beagle* expeditions under Admiral Robert Fitz-Roy in 1829–32. It is, however, to the Rev. Thomas Bridges that we are indebted for our first intimate insight into *Yahgan* culture and linguistics. The Italo-Argentinian expedition in 1882 and the French Cape Horn expedition in 1882–83 made important advances in *Yahgan* somatology but were largely indebted to Bridges for their cultural and linguistic data. The field studies of Fathers Martin Gusinde in 1919–23 and Wilhelm Koppers in 1922 served to complete the picture, particularly as regards social and magico-religious life. Samuel K. Lothrop's field study of 1924–25 (1928, 1932 a) rounded out our knowledge of *Yahgan* technology. The only remaining gap is that of archeology, a gap in part filled by Vignati and by Lothrop, and more recently by Junius Bird in 1932–37.

The more valuable first-hand sources on the *Yahgan* from 1624 to 1917 are: Bove (1882, 1883: the two identical on culture); T. Bridges (1866, 1886, 1892, 1893); Dabbene (1911); Despard (1863); C. W. Furlong (1909, 1917 a); Hyades (1885); Hyades and Deniker (1891: of basic importance); Lovisato (1883, 1885); South American Missionary Magazine (1854–); Spegazzini (1882). The anthropological information given in these and the other sources up to 1917 is analyzed and made available in Cooper (1917). Since 1917, the most important contributions are: Lothrop (1928), for technology; Koppers (1924) and especially Gusinde (1937), for all phases of culture, particularly the social and religious ones; Von Hornbostel (1936), for music; T. Bridges (1933), for language and general culture; Vignati (1927) and Bird (1938), for archeology; Gusinde (1939), for physical anthropology.

Gusinde's exhaustive monograph, "Die Yamana" (1937), based mostly on his and Koppers' field studies and in part on a thorough combing of the literature, gives nearly all that is known of *Yahgan*

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 5255 Yahgan 5255

114 culture. If this large and expensive monograph is not accessible, the following more important papers may be consulted: Gusinde (1923–25, 1924, 1925 a, 1925 c, 1926 a, 1926 c, 1927, 1928 b, 1929); Koppers (1925 a, 1925 b, 1926 a, 1926 b, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b).

For bibliographies of the *Yahgan* see: Cooper (1917), for sources, with comments on each, to 1917; Lothrop (1928), for sources from 1917 to 1926; Gusinde (1927), for selected and added sources, and for evaluations (pp. 48–181) of the publications of the more important first-hand observers.

19 **Language.**—The *Yahgan* language with its five mutually intelligible dialects constitutes a distinct linguistic family, with no known relationship to any other. The elder Bridges' *Yámana*-English dic-
[114] tionary, the one completed in 1879, contains about 32,000 words, a carefully restricted, not a padded, list, as he himself emphasized (1933, p. xvii). *Yahgan*, in contrast to *Ona*, is markedly euphonic. There were no words for numerals beyond three, and none for fractions.

164 **Population.**—According to our first dependable estimates, the *Yahgan* population, in the third quarter of the 19th century, totaled between 2,500 and 3,000 souls. In 1881 a sharp decline set in. By 1884 numbers had dwindled to about 1,000; by 1886, to 400; by 1888, to 200; by 1908, to 130; by 1913, to less than 100; by 1923 to 40. The
[164] immediate causes of the sudden drop in the eighties were the respiratory diseases and a severe outbreak of measles in 1884, followed by epidemics of typhoid, whooping-cough, and smallpox. Syphilis does not appear to have played an important role. Contributory, or rather
[199] basic predisposing, factors were, it seems, the then introduced European ways of life, especially the clothing, but also the food, alcoholic beverages, and type of shelter and work.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

231 **Foods.**—The *Yahgan* had no domesticated plants, and no domesti-
[89] cated animals except the dog. Whether the earlier pre-Columbian and post-Columbian *Yahgan* had dogs is uncertain. No bones of dogs have been found in early archeological sites in *Yahgan* or other Fuegian territory. The earlier explorers,—L'Hermite, 1624; d'Arquistade, 1715—make no mention of the dog in their descriptions of *Yahgan* culture, as none is made of it among the *Alacaluf* by the 13 accounts of them prior to Narbrough's of 1670. The dog was first recorded among the *Yahgan* in 1833 by James Weddell; it is recorded consistently thereafter by later observers (Cooper, 1917, pp.
[26] 186–187). Dogs were not eaten.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S305 Yahgan S305

PREFACE

THIS account of the natives of Tierra del Fuego is the result of a three months' visit to the island, accompanied by Mr. J. Linase Weld, during the summer of 1924-25. We studied Ona Indians at three settlements: one at the southeast corner of Lake Fagnano, one to the northeast of the same lake, and the third lying east of the Laguna de Pescados. Yahgan Indians were encountered at Tierra Mayor, Cambaceres bay, Gable island, and Puerto Mejillones on Navarin island.

Although the time available was short, aids to study were unusual. Thus, Cooper's "Bibliography" offered in a readily available form an accurate analysis of previous work, with an exception to be noted presently. Furthermore, the help of three intelligent white men—Messrs. Lucas and William Bridges and Fred. Lawrence,—all intimately acquainted with the Indian lore and languages, made it possible to procure accurate data with unusual celerity and facility. All the information thus obtained was checked by the Indians and vice versa, while just before I left the island Mr. William Bridges most kindly went over all my notes and vocabularies. Therefore I feel confident that they are detailed and accurate.

In planning my work, owing to the limited time available it seemed wise to concentrate on obvious and concrete problems which could be covered with reasonable thoroughness. Although the studies of Gusinde and Koppers[1] had not then appeared in print, I was told that they had worked chiefly on the religion, initiation ceremonies, folklore, and linguistics. Hence my most profitable course was to devote myself primarily to the material culture and technology. This decision was fostered by the fact that both tribes had been reduced almost to extinction by a recent epidemic of influenza, so that the older men who once took part in native rites had died almost without exception. Secondly, on Beagle channel a thorough examination of camp-sites was undertaken with a view of determining their nature and age so far as

[1] Consult the Bibliography in the appendix.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 192
Yahgan SH6

CARTOGRAPHY

After the discovery, Tierra del Fuego fell ir to a veil of romantic mysticism upon long ago by Greekan philosophers and embroidered by scholars of the Middle Ages, for it became linked with the fabulous Terra Australis, the antichthon, a counter-world of the ancients. Here, it was reasoned, dwelt the antipodes, who walked foot to foot with the peoples of Europe, in a land where the trees grew downward and the rains and snows fl upward. With the coming of Christianity this speculated continent was banned by

FIG. 1.—Magellan discovering Tierra del Fuego.

the church,[1] for theologians were "scandalized by the suggestion that somewhere on the face of the sphere were existed a race of men who were not of the seed of Adam, and therefore outside the scope of human redemption."[2] Yet belief in this southern continent did not die, but lingered in man's mind. Dante placed his "Hill of Purgatory" in the center of a southern continent.

With the discovery of the Straits of Magellan an accomplished fact, European geographers believed that the Terra Australis of

[1] Augustine, De Civitate Dei, xvi, 9. "Quod vero antipodes esse fabulantur, id est homines e contraria parte terrae ubi sol oritur quando occidit nobis, adversa pedibus contra nostros vestigia, nulla ratione credendum est."
[2] Payne, History of the New World called America, p. 45.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S36 Yahgan S36

the ancients had emerged from the realm of fancy, and they showed Tierra del Fuego on their maps as part of a vast circumpolar antarctic continent, separated from South America by the straits Magellan discovered. The vagueness of their ideas is brought out by illustrations such as fig. 1, which pictures an elephant-bearing roc in flight over the masthead of Magellan's *Victoria*, while enticing mermaidens disport alongside in the waters called Pacific from a rare moment of tranquillity.

That the cartographers were at fault might soon have been suspected, for in 1526 one of the ships under the command of Loayza ran southward along the east coast of Tierra del Fuego to "where it appeared there was an end to the land."[1] In 1540 one of the ships of Camargo sailed through the Straits of Le Maire and passed the winter somewhere on the south side of Tierra del Fuego, perhaps in Beagle channel, before returning to Spain. The name of this ship and of its captain is unknown, but part of the log has been preserved.[2] Neither of these voyages, however, attracted the attention of geographers. In 1578 Sir Francis Drake, having successfully passed the Straits of Magellan, was blown southward from Cape Pilar to the Wollaston islands, and the result of his unwilling course is reflected in a map published in Amsterdam by Cornelius Claez in 1598. In 1616 the Dutchmen Schouten and Le Maire weathered the surf-ringed headland which they named Cape Horn, and, continuing their voyage across the Pacific, thereby definitely established that Tierra del Fuego is an island. When this voyage came to the attention of the Spanish crown, its importance was at once admitted, because it opened to the Far East a road over which Spain had no claim. Hence an expedition was despatched in 1619 under the brothers Nodal to gather exact information for their government. The resultant voyage was favored with fortune and the ships were the first completely to circumnavigate Tierra del Fuego, and also, I believe, the first to complete a voyage in Magellanic waters without loss of life. In 1643 another Dutchman, Brouwer, sailed along the eastern and southern coast of Staaten island. With this voyage the unreality of an antarctic continent near South America was fully established, yet the misconception, or at any rate the old

[1] Relación of Andrés de Urdaneta, in Fernández de Navarrete's Colección de los Viages y Descubrimientos, v, p. 402, Madrid, 1837.

[2] Early Voyages to the Straits of Magellan, Sir Clements Markham, tr. et ed., Hakluyt Soc., ser. II, vol. XXVIII, London, 1911.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SMS Yahgan SMS

114 map plates, persisted in Europe until well into the eighteenth century. For instance, the map in the 1730 edition of Harvey's *Description* depicts Tierra del Fuego as extending indefinitely to the south.

114 113 Traditionally Tierra del Fuego received its name from the flickering lights of camp-fires seen by Magellan. A variant tale is that Magellan called it Tierra del Humo, "Land of Smoke," and that Charles V changed the name to Tierra del Fuego, jocularly remarking that where there was smoke there must be fire. However, I suspect that some idea of Dante's Purgatory underlies the name, because an active volcano (actually non-existent) appears on maps of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and even eighteenth centuries. I have before me a 1799 edition of Anson in which the map shows a "Volcan de Brandende Berg" in active eruption on the south coast of Tierra del Fuego.

HISTORY AND LITERARY SOURCES

114 In the preceding section we have mentioned several voyages, which were of importance in the development of geographical knowledge. This list might be greatly extended. Fagnano (1901) summarizes more than fifty voyages of scientific interest, completed before the end of the eighteenth century, but unfortunately with all ethnological data omitted. Much of this information may be gleaned, however, from De Brosses' *Histoire des Navigations* or Barclay's *The Land of Magellan*. Yet in truth it must be said that early contact with the natives was casual and brief, while the descriptions of ethnological significance apply usually to Indians north of the Straits of Magellan.

During the second half of the eighteenth century a general awakening to the importance of scientific investigations permeated Europe, with the result that various scholars were despatched to Latin America by the Spanish government. Fueguian waters were visited at this time by several surveying parties, and the basis of an accurate knowledge of the region was laid down. The general results of these investigations will be found in De Vargas Ponce's *Relacion*. With the rise of Napoleon, however, Spain had no resources to spare for continuing this work, while the collapse of Spanish authority in the New World brought a definite end to it.

Great Britain had emerged from the Napoleonic wars as the dominant sea power. With growing colonial and commercial

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
Title Yahgan Title

interests in the Far East, the route thither by way of Tierra del Fuego became a matter of national importance, so that surveying expeditions under the command of Captain King and later Captain Fitzroy were despatched to Magellanic waters.[1] Captain Fitzroy brought back to England after his first voyage a Yahgan and three Alacaluf Indians. On his second voyage he was accompanied by Charles Darwin, the celebrated naturalist. The era of exact and scientific study of the natives of Tierra del Fuego was thus initiated.

Fitzroy's and Darwin's account of the Fuegians attracted wide notice in England, while the primitive society, destitution, and heathenity they pictured engendered a desire to Christianize that far-off people. The public in England were further roused by the fate of Captain Allen Gardiner and his companions, amateur missionaries who died of privation and exposure under tragic circumstances in 1851.[2] As a result the South American Missionary Society was organized and a mission station was set up on Keppel island (West Falklands). In 1856 this station was placed in charge of Comm. G. Pakenham Despard, who brought with him a thirteen-year-old adopted boy, Thomas Bridges. Young Bridges soon learned to speak the Yahgan tongue fluently. In 1869 he returned to England, where he was ordained and married. The following year he founded at Ushuaia the first mission station on Tierra del Fuego. With him he brought as an assistant John Lawrence.[3] After many years' labor as a missionary Mr. Bridges retired, and in recognition of his services in opening up the country was given a land grant at Harberton by the Argentine government where he raised sheep. Mr. Lawrence received a similar grant at Remolino.

Bridges and Lawrence children were born on Beagle channel on the south coast of Tierra del Fuego, and were reared in close association with the Yahgan Indians. The Lawrence family, who still live at Remolino, today have an unequaled knowledge of Yahgan customs and linguistics. The Bridges brothers, as they grew up, began to explore to the north and east across the mountains, and finally secured for themselves a vast property on the east coast, today a flourishing sheep ranch known as the Estancia

[1] See Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H. M. S. Adventure and Beagle, 3 vols., London, 1839.

[2] For a full but sentimental account of this event see James Page, "Captain Allen Gardiner," London, n.d.

[3] A full account of these events is given in the booklet by John C. Morris, Pioneer of the South American Mission, London, 1913.

Varaserre. Their perspicuities through the heart of the island brought them in close contact with the Ona tribe. Indeed, they were the first white men to establish friendly relations with the Ona, and two of the brothers, Messrs. Lucas and William Bridges, later been formally initiated as members of the tribe by the Indian ceremony herein described.

We have adapted this story at some length because so much literature of ethnological interest depends on it. The elder Mr. Bridges has left among his reports to the missionary society a mine of ethnological information, while Mr. Lawrence's observations are also valuable. In addition Mr. Bridges has written several articles dealing directly with native life, published in various scientific journals, and he has left a manuscript to himself in what is probably the most intensive study of primitive linguistics ever carried out. Of this we shall have more to say.

Beside the contributions from the pen of Mr. Bridges, he aided greatly the success of the scientific studies made by the Argentine, French, and Italian governments in Tierra del Fuego during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The important works of Hyades and Deny gain authority from this association. In recent years the Bridges' children, especially Messrs. Lucas and William Bridges, have supplied practically all the information about the Ona tribe which has found its way into print. Indeed (without detracting from the merits of any writer) it may be said that the importance of most published data on the Ona varies according to whether or not the information was obtained from this generous and hospitable family.

After the Argentine government had established itself at Ushuaia a gold rush to Tierra del Fuego took place, which caused the claiming of many subdivisions. The result of this sudden contact with Europeans was disastrous to the native tribes.

The history of white settlement of the island emanating from the missionary post in the south is one of kindly dealing with the native races. Unfortunately the same cannot be said for the north. Sheep were introduced into the northern part of Tierra del Fuego in 1878, and trouble with the native immediately ensued, for while the Indians had no objection to somebody stocking their game tracts, at the same time they maintained their right to hunt the "white gamers" on lands which they regarded as their own. Recently the hard-pressed gamers of what has now become a

great industry objected to having their sheep killed, and they succeeded by killing the Indians.

Time does not permit being a class of professional head-hunters, recruited from the shepherds and miners, who received one pound sterling from the ranchers for each Indian head—man, woman, or child. The Indians, on foot and armed with bows and arrows, had little chance against bullets with rifles. Some of the atrocities committed in the '90's are recounted by Parsons Rahn:[1] the writer heard from distinct and trustworthy sources many similar tales of brutality.

In 1891 a Salesian mission was established on Dawson Island, and in 1893 a second station was set up at Cape Peñas and later transferred to Río Grande. Although dedicated for three-quarters of a century to the evangelization of troublesome Indians, the Government decided to stop the scandals arising from head-hunting by turning the Indians over to the missions. To this end troops scoured the country, rounded up the natives, and drove them like cattle to the mission stations. Families were mercilessly broken up. Savage heads caused sickness and implanted the belief that they were being poisoned. Unaccustomed European clothes and indoor quarters—due to so many well-intended missionary efforts—brought pneumonia and tuberculosis, and engendered the effect of their vitamin-deficient diet. Liquor and venereal diseases, against which Indians have surprisingly little resistance, both took their toll. Few indeed survived the "civilizing" process. Today the Dawson Island mission has been abandoned. The east-coast mission will extend to 1924, ostensibly to support two aged native women in idleness, in reality as a prosperous sheep ranch.

The record of the white settlers in Tierra del Fuego, with of course certain splendid exceptions, is not one to be reviewed with pride; not the Indians but Europeans have proved the greater savages. Missionary efforts, however well intended, have hastened the course of their neighbors to the grave. No more striking example can be adduced of the importance of anthropological and medical training for those who would change the religion and alter the habits of backwa people.

One of the chief ethnological results of the northern missions has been the establishment of the Museo Salesiano "Maggiorino Borgatello" at Punta Arenas. Unfortunately the ethnological

[1] [illegible], [illegible] 175-180.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 section of this institution, especially rich in Alacaluf and Ona material, has never been adequately organized, so that in 1924 it was musty, moth-eaten, and unlabeled. A more permanent result of the Salesian efforts is the detailed linguistic study of Father José Maria Beauvoir. Also we must mention the most extraordinary photographic record of Alberto M. De Agostini.

A more detailed discussion of Fuegian anthropological literature by the present writer would be superfluous in view of the very thorough and critical study published in 1917 by the Reverend Dr. John M. Cooper, now of the Catholic University of America at Washington. In the appended bibliography I have listed those works to which reference is made in this volume and have added thereto all the titles I can find which have appeared in the last ten years in order to form a supplement to Father Cooper's admirable treatment of the subject.

THE INDIANS OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO

101 The natives of Tierra del Fuego were divided into three linguistic stocks or four tribal groups known to modern students as the Ona and Haush, Yahgan, and Alacaluf (pl. IV). These terms, of which variously spelled versions are found, come for the greater part from the Yahgan tongue because of the early missionary contact with that tribe. Haush is an Ona word. Alacaluf seems to have been employed by the group thus named to designate themselves and was also used by the Yahgan. The intertribal nomenclature is as follows:

English	Yahgan	Ona
Yahgan	Yámana[1]	Wówun (man) Allen (woman)
Ona	Óna	Shílknam[a]
Alacaluf	Alacaluf	Aírro
Haush	Italum Óna	Haúsh

[1] In recent years several writers have used this word to designate the tribe in place of the older term *Yahgan*. Were the tribe to be named for the first time, current practice would dictate the choice of *Yamana*, but *Yahgan* has been the accepted name of the group for many years and is found in most ethnological literature; hence I have continued to use it. For similar reasons I have used *Ona* instead of *Shílknam*. Likewise I have retained the tribal name *Alacaluf* in place of the recently introduced and no doubt more phonetically correct *Halakwúlup*. Such changes of terms long recorded in print form a stumbling-block to the general reader and at the same time contribute little or nothing to the specialist.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Materials

wood	wood
sinew	sinew
skin	skin
stone	stone
bone	bone
whalebone (rare)	whalebone
——	kelp
grass	grass
feathers	feathers
——	pumice
white clay	white clay
red burnt earth	red burnt earth
charcoal	charcoal
pitch (post-European)	——
iron (post-European)	iron (post-European)
glass (post-European)	glass (post-European)

PHYSICAL TYPE

The writer engaged in no anthropometric investigation in Tierra del Fuego, but certain measurements are available by which the physical types there to be found may be determined. The most important study yet published is that of Hyades (1891) on the Yahgan prepared in coöperation with Deniker, a work surprisingly sound in method considering how long ago it appeared. A series of measurements on the Ona taken many years ago but printed recently (1927) by Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche is also of prime importance. Somatological data collected by Gusinde and Koppers in recent years is beginning to appear in print, but with a single exception it has not been possible to obtain copies in time to incorporate the material here. Other studies of smaller scope are available and have been listed by Cooper (1917, pp. 138–140) and Dixon (1923, pp. 454–455). Even when concentrated into a single group, Fuegian somatological material is not abundant.

Primary division of the Indians of Tierra del Fuego into groups, Foot Indians and Canoe Indians, is made on cultural grounds. This classification might also be based on physical type, and, in case of the Foot Indians, on linguistic relationship. As with the cultural evidence, physical data on the Alacaluf and Haush are so scanty that we shall confine our discussion to the Ona and the Yahgan.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

been a source of contention. Intelligent and amicably intended travelers through ignorance of native customs may easily wound native feelings to the point of rousing open hostility. Of the looting of ships and robbing of their crews, it is but just to remark that the Yahgan, although recognizing personal property, habitually shared their provisions with one another. Also, among primitive people in general the robbing or tricking of strangers often is considered entirely ethical or even especially deserving of praise, though the same performance at the expense of a relative or a friend might be condemned. The Yahgan have suffered in public esteem because their morality has been judged on the basis of Christian ethics.

Language

The Yahgan tongue, although it has been studied since the visit of Darwin, as yet is thought to be related to no other New World language. Through missionary labors, chiefly those of the Rev. Thomas Bridges, three large vocabularies have been compiled. Of these one containing about 4000 words on 137 pages in Mr. Bridges' handwriting is still in possession of the Bridges family in Tierra del Fuego. It covers only eleven initial letters. Inside the front cover is written: "Begun this June 19th, 1879." A second vocabulary compiled by Mr. Bridges, aided by several lay members of the English mission, contains about 12,000 words. It is now in possession of the Rev. John Williams in Punta Arenas. Finally, there exists in Belgium a Yahgan vocabulary in two volumes of about 32,430 words written on 1081 pages. It is the result of Mr. Bridges' life-long contact with the Yahgan extending from 1856 until his death in 1898. During his later years, according to his sons, he was continually working over this manuscript. After his death it was lent to Dr. Frederick A. Cook, who had been to Tierra del Fuego with the Belgian Antarctic expedition in 1897 and 1899. Cook removed the manuscript to Belgium, where it has since remained. Plans for its publication were interrupted by the World War.

For printed source-material in Yahgan, students are further indebted to Mr. Bridges for translations of the gospels of St. Luke and St. John, and the Acts of the Apostles. All these, as well as his manuscript dictionaries, are written in the Ellis alphabet. The Rev. John Williams of Punta Arenas has translated the collects and morning and evening prayers into Yahgan, and also has

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 published a broadsheet with the Lord's prayer. Both are written in the ordinary alphabet with a ˘ to denote the short vowels and soft g.

194 As for the nature of the Yahgan tongue, in direct contrast to Ona, it is soft and pleasant to the ear. There is a great abundance of vowel sounds, and the pronunciation of consonants presents no difficulties. The line between *p* and *b* is loosely drawn. There is a soft and a hard *g*, and also a soft *ch* sound (*q*).

197 According to Mr. Fred. Lawrence, of Remolino, generally regarded as the best living authority on the Yahgan language, in the old days there were five distinct dialects, distributed as follows:

1. Central dialect, including Ushuaia and Murray narrows. This is the speech recorded in the Bridges dictionaries.
2. Eastern dialect, spoken from Harberton eastward and on Lennox island, New island, etc.
3. Western dialect, found from Cape Divide westward.
4. Wollaston Islands dialect.
5. New Year's Sound dialect, spoken to the south and west of False Cape Horn and on the southern part of Hoste island.

These dialects are said to have differed from one another as much as Scotch from Cockney; that is to say, they were mutually intelligible but there was wide variation in accent and the choice of words. Thus the double-barbed harpoon is *wałki* in the west and *wek* in the east; the fish-spear is *ushâwaia* in the east and *shushróya* in the central dialect; bark of the *Nothofagus betuloides* is *aitrshu* in the east and *atirshun* at Ushuaia; a sling is *mataᵉwá* in the east and *watewá* in the central dialect, etc. Today it is difficult to know just what dialect one is hearing, because the few surviving Yahgan live together much of the time and have fused their speech. However, the fact that considerable divergence once existed within such a small geographical limit indicates that but little movement of the tribe as a whole had taken place for centuries, at least.

115 The Yahgan words in the present text were obtained chiefly from Mr. William Bridges and Mr. Fred. Lawrence, who speak the central dialect; from William, born at Halupaí (see fig. 98); from Walter, a Lennox islander; from Charley, son of a Haush called Iniolh and a Yahgan woman; from Mary, a westerner. The four Indians mentioned were all mission-reared and therefore today

/639 cont./

581 /Translated from Spanish./ Some visitors describe the beautiful, pleasing figure, even for the European eye, of individual young Fuegians; there were even some splendid specimens of human beings among them. That these persons, further idealized in the imaginations of young people anxious to marry, are the most sought after for a life-long union in marriage is too natural to have to be specifically substantiated. Anyone who is only moderately endowed physically is content to find a partner who is his equal. Nevertheless, luck and chance sometimes casts an unusually charming girl, and a lovable creature, into the arms of a less attractive boy for immediate marriage (13).

•[115]

13. In long conversations with Fred and Nelly Lawrence I obtained the details, difficult to come by elsewhere, from which this account was written; later I also talked with other informants about it.

4. Freedom in the Selection of a Mate

584 Even those travelers and missionaries who are generally reliable give unclear accounts about the freedom of choice of girls before marriage, and these sometimes seem to be clearly contradictory. The uninfluenced private decision of young people who wish to marry is the rule and custom, but in exceptional cases a few old people, namely, the parents of the girl, violate this by their selfish and ruthless conduct. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that the various assertions of travelers are sometimes mere fabrications and almost without exception are based on insufficient observation. Even in Bridges we can trace a change in his own opinion about marital conditions, since in later writings he undeniably contradicts what he said in the first years of his sojourn with the Fuegians. Obviously, any kind of courtship among marriageable young people would be futile if they were obliged to submit unconditionally to the arbitrary decision of other persons. Before we set forth the true state of affairs in this important arrangement, I shall repeat the divergent opinions of several Europeans of the last few decades. The shallow

/862 cont./

X 881 [304] Finally we must mention here the only form of tattooing which was formerly customary among these Fuegians, but of which I could not find a trace on any of the Yamana living today. The reports which I received on this subject may be regarded as reliable (281). Soon after the beginning of the long ceremony, after

[115]

281. Several men, as well as Nelly Lawrence, spoke of this custom. The above data were given me by old Pedro, together with Whaits. The latter is the oldest surviving Yamana, and although I examined him very carefully, I could not find the faintest trace of tattooing on him. He told me: "When I was a candidate in the Great Hut my countrymen gave up these marks, for they did not wish to appear before the missionaries with them!" I suspect that they wanted to avoid divulging their secret initiation with the tattooing which was done at that time.

[177]

the candidates have become somewhat accustomed to the new living habits, all the inmates of the Great Hut go down to the flat beach the first thing in the morning if the weather is good. Only one of the guards remains behind. They choose a sheltered inlet with a shallow sea floor. The men, who are completely naked, and the women form separate groups. In their midst they have the candidates, the men taking the boys and the women, the girls. The men who arrive first step into the water and stand close together. The women arrange themselves in such a way that they form a more or less closed circle around the men. Then they all jump and leap about, play with one another, splash each other, perform all kinds of movements with their bodies, duck the candidates and drag them along under water. They disport themselves in every conceivable way with the members of their own sex, the outer circle of women never mingling with the group of men. After a time they come out of the water in this formation, and it is not until then that the circle of women breaks up, opening an exit

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

PREFACE

THIS account of the natives of Tierra del Fuego is the result of a three months' visit to the island, accompanied by Mr. J. Linzee Weld, during the summer of 1924–25. We studied Ona Indians at three settlements: one at the southeast corner of Lake Fagnano, one to the northeast of the same lake, and the third lying east of the Laguna de Pescados. Yahgan Indians were encountered at Tierra Mayor, Cambaceres bay, Gable island, and Puerto Mejillones on Navarin island. 114

Although the time available was short, aids to study were unusual. Thus, Cooper's "Bibliography" offered in a readily available form an accurate analysis of previous work, with an exception to be noted presently. Furthermore, the help of three intelligent white men—Messrs. Lucas and William Bridges and Fred. Lawrence,—all intimately acquainted with the Indian lore and languages, made it possible to procure accurate data with unusual celerity and facility. All the information thus obtained was checked by the Indians and vice versa, while just before I left the island Mr. William Bridges most kindly went over all my notes and vocabularies. Therefore I feel confident that they are detailed and accurate. 115

In planning my work, owing to the limited time available it seemed wise to concentrate on obvious and concrete problems which could be covered with reasonable thoroughness. Although the studies of Gusinde and Koppers[1] had not then appeared in print, I was told that they had worked chiefly on the religion, initiation ceremonies, folklore, and linguistics. Hence my most profitable course was to devote myself primarily to the material culture and technology. This decision was fostered by the fact that both tribes had been reduced almost to extinction by a recent epidemic of influenza, so that the older men who once took part in native rites had died almost without exception. Secondly, on Beagle channel a thorough examination of camp-sites was undertaken with a view of determining their nature and age so far as 121

[1] Consult the Bibliography in the appendix.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

speak the central dialect. The entire vocabulary was checked by Mr. William Bridges and any words not in the central dialect were noted.

The richness of the language is indicated by the more than 32,000 words brought together by Rev. Thomas Bridges. Many of these words, of course, are compounds, but such a vast number are fundamentally due to unusual specialization in meaning.

On the other hand, Yahgan exhibits the lack, usual among primitive people, of abstract ideas and generalizations. In fact, even in English (which, due to missionary training, some of the Indians spoke fairly well) the Yahgan exhibited inability to grasp the concept of generalities.

The manner of counting was even more primitive than the Ona count, for the Yahgan had no words for 4 and 6, which, to be sure, were compound numbers in the primitive Ona system. The Yahgan count is:

1.	*hikóli*	one
2.	*kambaíbi*	two
3.	*matén*	three
5.	*hikóli iírsh* [1]	one hand
10.	*kambaí iírsh*	two hands

Clothing

From Fitzroy's description of the Yahgan, cited above, it appears that there was very little order or regularity in their scanty dress. However, though seemingly inadequate, their clothes were of well-defined forms which we shall describe. It is no exaggeration or overstatement to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in the world. As compared to the Ona, their garments, similar in nature, were deficient in size, while the stiff and unyielding skins they employed from their very nature lacked the warmth supplied by the pliable, voluminous, and snug-fitting robes of the Foot Indians. We must add that individuals of both sexes and all ages often went entirely naked.

1. Cape.—The usual cape worn in summer and winter alike by both men and women was a seal or sea-otter skin. Sometimes two

[Text Continues on page 123]

[1] Bove gives the word *cupaitpa* for 5. It was not known to any Yahgan Indian or member of the Bridges or Lawrence families encountered by the writer.

1: Gusinde

102, 103, 133, 491

SH6 Yahgan SH6

[End Map I, pages 1458-1465, has been divided into sections as indicated below.]

A 1458	B 1459	C 1460	D 1461
E 1462	F 1463	G 1464	H 1465

1: Gusinde
101, 102, 131

SH6 Yahgan SH6

[End Map II, pages 1466-1471, has been divided into sections as indicated below.]

A 1466	B 1467	C 1468
D 1469	E 1470	F 1471

[For information on the Yahgan yékamuǰ or medicine-man, see category 116, pages 1297-1367.]

1: Gusinde 5366 Yahgan 5366

622, 754, 755, 776, 787, 789, 791, 793, 874

[Information on various aspects of Yahgan culture which are closely related to the characteristics and activities of the yékamuf or medicine-man, including his training, role as a community leader, curer, sorcerer, and custodian of religious lore, have been marked for category 756 and will be found under that classification.]

[For information on the *fiesta* or youth initiation ceremony, see category IIA, pages 639-642.]

1: Gusinde
575

SH6 Yahgan SH6

[Information on the Kina or men's society initiation ceremony will be found in category 116, pages 1202-1297.]

1: Gusinde E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

000 The Yahgan; the Life and Thought of the Water Nomads of Cape Horn

[Die Yamana; vom Leben und Denken der Wassernomaden am Kap Hoorn]

by Martin Gusinde

Die Feuerland-Indianer, Vol. II
Mödling bei Wien, 1937
Anthropos-Bibliothek Expeditions-Serie II

Translated from the German by Frieda Schütze

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1960

[Title page]

1:Gusinde--1 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

Table of Contents

000 [The Foreword, Part 1 (pp. 1-364), and Section C (b) of Part 4 (pp. 1186-1277) are untranslated.]

	Page
Part 2. Economic Life	1
A. The Dwelling	4
1. The Lack of Permanent Settlements	5
2. The Two Types of Huts	9
α. Cone-shaped Hut	15
β. Dome-shaped Hut	19
3. The Hut as a Dwelling	21
4. The Community Camp	36
5. The Fire	39
B. Clothing	50
1. Man's Clothing	53
2. Woman's Clothing	58
3. Children's Clothing	62
4. Purpose of Clothing	64
5. Preparation of Furs and Skins	68
C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation	74
1. Body Care	76
2. Cleanliness in the Hut	86
3. Body Painting	90
4. Ornaments	99
D. Implements, Tools, Weapons	106
1. The Bark Canoe	108
α. The Bark Pieces	110
β. Its Construction	116
γ. Its Accessories	123
δ. Its Efficiency	128
ε. Dugout Canoe and Skiff	137
2. Bow and Arrow	143
α. Bow	146
β. Arrow	150
γ. Quiver	154
3. The Small Harpoon	156
4. The Large Harpoon	161

Page

5. Javelin and Spear 165
6. Dagger and Lance 169
7. The Sling 172
8. Snares and Fishing Implements 177
   α. Snare-line 178
   β. Snare-rod 179
   γ. Mussel Fork, Mussel Breaker, Crab Fork 180
   δ. The Fishline 183
9. Tools 185
   α. Scraper 186
   β. Knife 189
   γ. Punch 191
   δ. Wedge and Hammer 192
   ε. Use of Iron 194
10. Articles Made of Leather, Hide, Bark . . . 196
11. Baskets 202
12. Technical Skills 210

E. Obtaining Food 214
1. Seal Hunting 217
2. Whale Hunting 223
3. Bird Hunting 228
   α. Penquins 230
   β. Cormorants 232
   γ. Wild Geese 238
   δ. Steamer Ducks 242
   ε. Other Species of Ducks 244
   ζ. Special Methods of Capture 244
4. Hunting Guanacos, Otters, Foxes 246
5. The Woman in the Food Quest. 251
   α. Food from the Animal Kingdom 253
   β. Food from the Vegetable Kingdom . . . 275
6. The Food Quest throughout the Year 281
7. The Fuegian Dog 286

F. Treatment of Foodstuffs 297
1. What They Must Do Without 298
2. How They Divide the Booty 309
3. How They Prepare the Food 316

Page

000 4. How They Eat 322
5. How They Store Food 336
G. The Shell Heaps 340
1. Their Arrangement 340
2. The Embedded Implements 351
3. Their Origin 357
H. The Nomadic Life 362
1. The Roving Spirit 362
2. Underway in the Canal 365
3. On Land 375
4. Nomadic Life Determined by the Environment 380
Part 3. Social Organization and Tribal Custom 384
A. Courtship and Marriage 387
a. Proposal and Marriage 390
1. Marriageable Age 390
2. Courtship of Marriageable Persons 395
3. The Ideal Marriage Partner 399
4. Freedom in Choosing a Mate 402
5. The Duty to Marry a Widow 412
6. Participation of the Relatives 415
7. Obstacles to Marriage 417
8. The Marriage Ceremony 424
9. Parents-in-Law and Children-in-Law 429
b. Married Life 434
1. Monogamy 436
2. Polygamy 440
3. Division of Labor between Spouses 450
α. Man's Activities 452
β. Woman's Activities 455
γ. Collaboration of the Spouses 459
4. Relations between the Spouses 462
5. Divorce 475
6. Celibacy 480
B. Parents and Child 483
a. The Infant and Its Care 484
1. Delight in the Child 485
2. Birth 493

1:Gusinde--iv E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

000

Page

3. The Parents of the Newborn Child 502
4. Treatment of the Infant 513
5. Infanticide 528
6. Child Statistics 531
7. Naming 536
8. The Baby's Development 541

b. The Older Child and His Upbringing 545
1. Separation of the Sexes 547
2. Application of Training 552
α. The Teachers 553
β. Training Practices 555
γ. Results of the Training 565
3. Girls during the Menarche 567
α. Regulations for Girls 568
β. Women during the Menses 574
γ. Interpretation of Menstruation 574
4. Children's Play 576
α. Boys' Play 577
β. Girls' Play 581
γ. Social Games 584
5. Relations between Parents and Children . . . 594

C. Kinship and Tribal Society 600
a. Kinship 602
1. The Individual Family 603
2. The Circle of Relatives 607
3. Kinship Terms 610
b. Tribal Society 627
1. Its Structure 629
2. Its Leadership 634

D. Youth Initiation 639
a. Investigations by Europeans 642
1. The First Observations 644
2. My Participation 649
α. My First Youth Initiation 650
β. My Second Youth Initiation 658
b. Preparation for the Ceremony 661
1. Occasion and Duration 664
2. Long-range Preparations 667

Page

α. The Participants 668
β. The Candidates 669
γ. Leader and Overseer 670
δ. The Place of Assembly 672
3. More Immediate Preparation 674
α. Construction of the Great Hut 676
β. Construction of the Cookhut 682
γ. Guard Duty 683
c. Procedure of the Ceremony 687
1. The Adult Assembly 689
2. Reception of the Candidates 696
α. Capture in the Camp 697
β. Reception in the Great Hut 698
γ. The Sponsors 702
3. Daily Program for the Candidates 704
α. External Measures 705
β. Instruction 717
γ. Work Drills 769
4. Daily Program for the Adults 774
α. General Regulations 776
β. Special Formalities 779
γ. Song and Dance 791
d. Conclusion of the Celebration 832
1. Reasons for Termination 832
2. The Final Celebration 838
3. Meaning and Value of the Initiation 842
E. Property Relations 851
a. Kinds of Property 852
1. Common Property 853
2. Private Property 858
α. Personal Possessions 859
β. Family Property 862
b. The Right of Possession 866
1. Right of the Supreme Being as Creator . . . 866
2. Taking Possession 868
3. Procurement and Production 871
4. Barter, Loans, Gifts 872
5. Violation of the Right of Ownership 879

000

Page
F. Feuds and Blood Vengeance 884
a. Causes 888
b. Ordinary Quarrels 892
c. Blood Vengeance 898
G. General Social Obligations 905
a. Custom and Justice 908
b. Social Intercourse 912
1. Special Forms of Social Intercourse 913
2. More General Forms of Communication . . . 929
c. The Commonweal 937
1. Rules of Justice 937
2. General Welfare 941
Part 4. The Spiritual World of the Yamana 946
A. Religion and Morality 948
a. Investigations of the Yamana Religion 949
1. Opinions of Travelers 952
2. Opinions of Missionaries 956
3. My Own Conclusions 959
b. Content of the Yamana Religion 964
1. Personality of the Supreme Being 965
α. His Name 965
β. His Characteristics 968
2. Religious Activity 976
α. General Practices 976
β. Prayers of Supplication 978
γ. Prayers of Thanksgiving 982
δ. Laments 989
ε. Various Other Expressions 1004
c. Originality of the Yamana Religion 1007
1. Its Intrinsic Value 1011
2. Its Characteristics 1016
d. General Moral Precepts 1022
1. Their Content 1024
2. Their Originality 1028
B. Belief in the Soul and Mourning 1032
a. The Human Soul 1033
b. Belief in a Future Life 1036
c. Mourning and Death Rites 1043

Page

000 1. Death 1044
2. Burial 1047
3. Minor Manifestations of Sorrow . . . 1056
4. The General Mourning Ceremony . . 1079
C. Cosmogony and Mythology 1094
a. The Origin of the World 1098
1. Heaven and Earth 1099
α. The First Settlers 1100
β. The Older Sun-Man 1102
γ. The Younger Sun-Man 1104
δ. The Rainbow 1106
ε. The Moon Woman 1111
ζ. The Deluge 1113
η. Origin of These Personalities . . 1118
2. The Culture Bearers 1120
α. The Yoalox Family 1121
β. The Invention of Fire 1122
γ. Hunting Birds 1124
δ. Hunting the Sea Lion 1125
ε. Invention of the Arrowhead . . . 1126
ζ. Invention of the Harpoon Point. . 1128
η. How Blubber Was Obtained . . . 1131
θ. Beginning of Libido sexualis . . . 1132
ι. Beginning of Body Painting . . . 1132
κ. Onset of the First Menstruation . 1134
λ. The First Birth 1140
μ. The Sister of the Yoalox Falls in Love 1144
ν. Dying Is Introduced 1151
ξ. The Yoalox Go Away 1153
b. Myths and Sayings /untranslated/
D. Belief in Spirits and Superstitions 1156
a. The Groups of Spirits 1156
1. Cannibals 1160
2. Water Spirits 1167
3. Forest Giants 1171
4. Guardian Spirits 1180

Page

b. Forms of Superstition 1182
1. Dreams 1182
2. Superstitious Ideas 1187
α . Superstitions Related to the Animal Kingdom 1189
β . Superstitions in Everyday Life 1194
E. The Kina Celebration. 1202
a. Information through Europeans 1204
1. Earlier Accounts 1205
2. My Personal Participation 1209
b. Preparation for the Festival 1211
1. Occasion and Duration 1211
2. The Participants 1213
3. The Campsite 1216
4. Building the Great Hut 1218
c. Procedure of the Festival 1222
1. The Beginning 1224
2. Introduction of the Candidate 1233
3. The Origin Myth 1237
4. The Daily Program 1249
α . Daily Program for the Men 1251
β . Daily Program for the Candidates . . . 1255
γ . Daily Program for the Women 1264
5. The Spirit Appearances 1266
α . Preparation and Presentation 1267
β . The Individual Spirits 1271
d. End of the Festival 1288
e. Significance for Culture History 1292
F. The Medicine-Man System 1297
a. Personality of the Medicine Man 1299
1. His Relation to the People 1300
2. His Physical Nature 1306
3. His Psychic Nature 1309
b. The Calling of the Medicine Man 1313
1. Personal Calling 1313
2. The Medicine-Man School 1320
α . Preparation 1321
β . Procedure 1325
γ . Conclusion 1336

Page

c. Activities of the Medicine Man 1340
1. Efforts for Fellow-tribesmen 1341
α . Healing the Sick 1343
β . General Assistance 1348
γ . Harmful Practices 1351
δ . Feats of Strength 1354
2. His Relationship to Spirits 1357
α . The Yefačel 1358
β . The Haučella 1360
d. Characteristics of the Medicine-Man System . . 1365
G. Mental Capacity 1367
a. Mental Power and Sensory Activity 1369
1. Mental Activity 1370
2. Character 1374
3. Development of the Senses 1377
b. General Knowledge 1381
1. Measuring and Counting 1382
2. Time Designations 1384
3. Astronomy 1388
4. Geographical Knowledge 1390
5. Botany and Zoology 1394
6. Medicine 1396
7. The Language 1401
c. Artistic Sense 1403
1. Sense of Beauty 1404
2. Art Activity 1409
d. Sociability 1417
1. Gatherings 1418
2. Amusements 1421
H. Characteristics of Yamana Culture 1429

Bibliography 1433
Yamana Word List 1439

1;Gusinde--x E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

List of Illustrations

[Figs. 1-13 appear in the untranslated portion of the work; the relative size of an object as given in the captions accompanying the illustrations refers to the size of the illustration in the original work.]

Figure		Page
14.	Fire Tongs	45
15.	Sandal	57
16.	Modesty-Apron for Girls	63
17.	Berberis ilicifolia	80
18.	Upper Jaw of Porpoise Used as Comb	83
19.	Comb Made of Whale Bone	84
20.	Pouch for Pigments	95
21.	Band of Guanaco Leather, Worn on Wrist	101
22.	Umbilical Cord of the Otter, Worn as a Band on Wrist or Ankle	101
23.	Small Necklace	104
24.	String of Little Snail Shells	104
25.	Bark Canoe	112
26.	Bone Wedge	114
27.	Bark Peeler	114
28.	Leather Hand Protector	123
29.	Oar Forms	125
30.	Scoop Made of Drimys Bark	127
31.	Rope Made of Marsippospermum	127
32.	Arrowheads of Slate, Bone, and Flint	152
33.	Small Harpoon	157
34.	Diagram Showing How a Shaft is Cut Out	159
35.	The Large Harpoon	162
36.	Twin-barbed Harpoon Point	162
37.	Fish Spear	168
38.	The Dagger	170
39.	Dagger Points or Lance Points	171
40.	The Sling	173
41.	Man with a Sling	177
42.	Mussel Breaker	182

Figure		Page
43.	Scraper	188
44.	Scraper	188
45.	Stone Blade	190
46.	Punch	191
47.	Leather Bag	197
48.	Bark Pail	201
49.	Marsippospermum grandiflorum	202
50.	The Tight Basket Weave	205
51.	Rim. Section of the Loose Basket Weave	207
52.	Rim Section of the Open Basket Weave	208
53.	The Open Basketwork	208
54.	Long Bone Points	212
55.	Small Harpoon	219
56.	Use of the Sling	229
57.	Bird Spear	232
58.	Phalacrocorax atriceps	233
59.	The Large Snare-line	239
60.	The Noose-rod	241
61.	Mussel Fork	254
62.	Crab Fork	258
63.	Fishline Made from an Alga Stem	265
64.	Fishline Made of Sinew Cord	268
65.	Fishing Basket	271
66.	Beech Branch with Growth	276
67.	Pernettya pumila	279
68.	Male and Female Dogs	289
69.	The Use of the Sucking Tube	305
70.	Oldest Representation of a Shell Heap	341
71.	Shell Heaps near Bahía Harberton	344
72.	Shell Heaps near Puerto Mejillones and Puerto Piedra	347
73.	Dagger Points and Arrow Points	353
74.	Various Stone Implements	355
75.	Stone Scrapers	356
76.	Oyster Catcher, Haematopus ater	385
77.	Facial Painting of the Bride	427
78.	Embothrium coccineum	495
79.	Facial Painting during the Menarche	573

1: Gusinde--xii E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHS Yahgan SHS

Figure		Page
80.	Brown Alga, Adenocystis utricularis	598
81.	Framework of the Great Hut	678
82.	Leucophaeus scoresbii	684
83.	Seating Arrangement at the Youth Initiation, 1922	692
84.	Facial Painting of the Candidates	714
85.	Facial Painting of the Adult Participants	720
86.	Patterns of Painting for Mourning	799
87.	Small Sucking Tube and Small Scraaching Stick	840
88.	Diomedea exulans	948
89.	Patterns of Painting for Mourning	1083
90.	Ornamental Club	1084
	[Figs. 91-94 are in untranslated portion.]	
95.	Sea Lions, Otaria jubata	1203
96.	Forehead Decoration of the Candidates	1257
97.	Kina Sticks	1258
98.	Yekuš	1344
99.	Piece of Gut Filled with Blubber	1381
100.	Pygoscelis adeliae	1395
101.	A Well-made Little Basket	1405
102.	Shell of a Large Mytilus Mussel	1408
103.	Necklace	1410
104.	Necklace	1411
105.	Phalacrocorax olivaceus	1432

List of Plates

In color:

1. Vegetation of Central Beagle Channel xv
2. Ornamental Designs Painted on the Framework of the Initiation Hut 686
3. Ornamental Plaques and Dance-Staffs for the Initiation Hut 807
4. Masks from the Kina Hut 1228

End Plates:

Fig. 1. Yamana Man

End Plates (cont.)

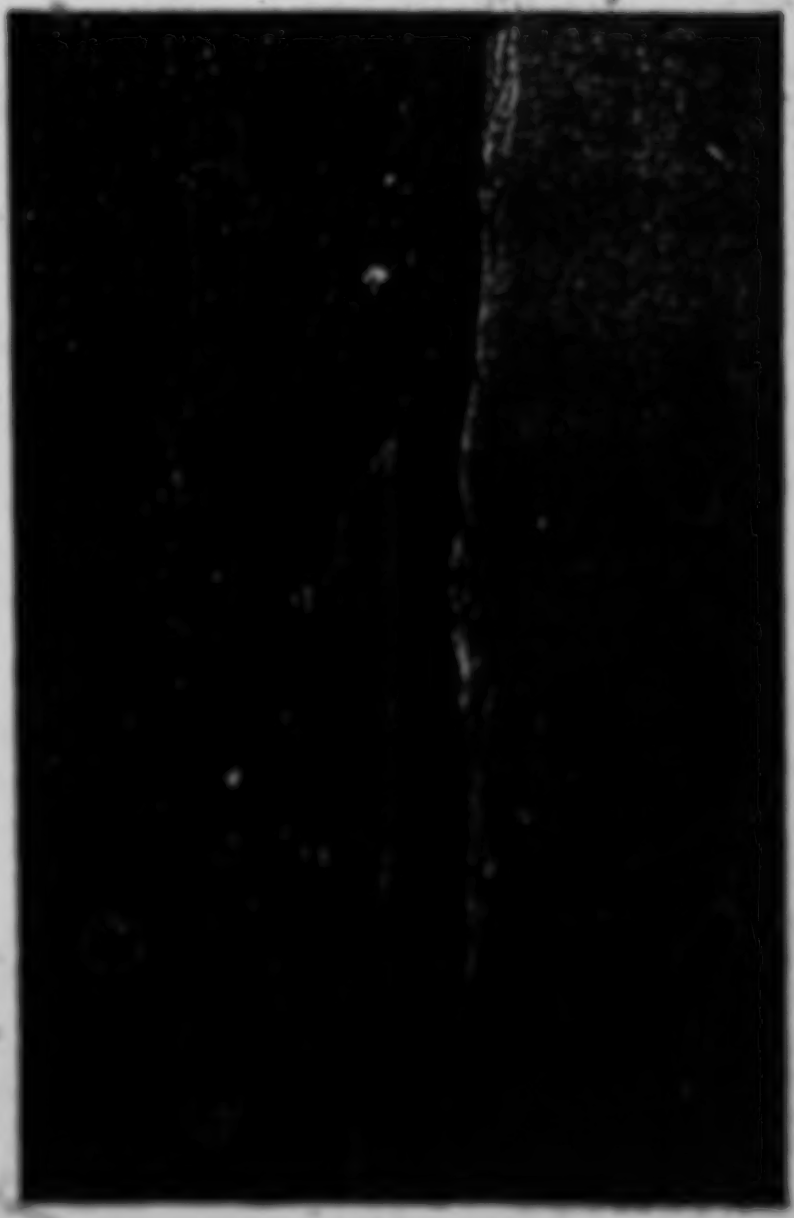
Figure

2. Yamana Woman
3. Yamana Children
4. Children at Play
5. Beach of Beagle Channel
6. Single Hut
7. Community Hut
8. Waiyandella Game
9. Haiyekasanaskwa Game
10. Vulture Game
11. Albatross Game
12. Former Clothing
13. Watchmen in Action
14. Interior of Youth Initiation Hut
15. Exterior of Youth Initiation Hut
16. Čiexaus Painting
17. Watchman
18. Watchman's Assistant
19. Čiexaus Participants
20. Čiexaus Participants
21. Čiexaus Painting
22. Gusinde with his Sponsor
23. Yékamuš Aspirant
24. Yékamuš
25. Kina Hut
26. Kalampaus Game
27. - 30. Kina Spirits
31. Uihuwala at the Foot of Mount Olivia
32. - 33. Kina Spirits
34. Kina-talaawella
35. - 44. Mourning Painting
45. Antarctic Beaches
46. Mourning Painting
47. Men Painting Themselves
48. Mourning Painting
49. Northeast of Beagle Channel

Maps	Page
Map I. Magallanes and Tierra del Fuego	1458
Map II. Geographical Distribution of the Indians of Tierra del Fuego	1468

1: Guelnde--xv 2-5 (1918-1934)1937 3286 Tahgan 8116

137



Part 3

Economic Life

(U) The home of the Tamaro (Tulagen) is their own means of shelter consisting Sullent two Antarctic seven the irregular fragments of land broken off from the wild belt of the South American continent. It is

(U) swept by raging storms. Foam-crested waves feet against its rocky shores. The cerulean hills rise into the sky. Heavy dewers and dense snowstorms seldom permit the golden light of the sun to break through, and the entire landscape is swapped in a sombre gloom. The temperature of the air is kept low by the cold ocean current from the south. The large expanse of ocean forms abundant rainfall, and a disagreeable dampness seeks everything. Heavy fogs and extreme drops in temperature are, to be sure, almost entirely absent because of the moderating ocean, but the moisture-laden air and the drizzling dampness everywhere have a more unfavorable effect on plants, land animals, and human beings than cold would have (p. 11 /unrecovered/). Only a few hardy specimens of flora (p. 18 /unrecovered/) and fauna (p. 20 /unrecovered/) can flourish. For the human beings destined to live in this climatic region, narrow limits have been set for their demands on life and for the development of material possessions.

(U) Actually, the Tamaro have not merely adapted themselves to the natural conditions of their homeland to the extent they were forced to do so, surrounding their environment, they have created for themselves a dignified human existence of the most modest kind. Specifically, they have arranged their affairs so advantageously that, under the given conditions, native primitive people could scarcely improve anything essential. Creative intelligence and long experience have taught them to make their very meager natural resources go far. Their extremely limited material possessions relieve them of all cares with regard to daily necessities and permit them to enjoy life. Almost everything the Tamaro calls his own is very functional. In his various arrangements he is far from having achieved the perfection and artistic accomplishments manifested by the people on the opposite side of the globe in the Arctic region. The things that inhibit and impede him are almost completely beyond his influence.

§21 /[illegible]/ Natural conditions have an overwhelming effect in shaping and determining the form of the material culture of the Tanana. This is equally true of the neighboring Koli'vam /Ona/ (Vol. I, 18). Since the indispensable conditions for gardening and farming, as well as for animal husbandry, are lacking, they can only be simple gatherers or hunters with a nomadic way of life. They practice the occupation of a people at home on the water and along the shore. Less than fishermen, more than hunters or gatherers, they are engaged in obtaining food and are, therefore, appropriately referred to as "water nomads." Almost all day long they travel in their canoes along the innumerable water channels or hunt on the shore. When they are not doing that, they repair to the hut, which is always erected on the shore near the water line. Only occasionally and for special purposes do they leave the shore and push inland to the center of the island. The vicinity of the water and the narrow strip of coast are the field of action and the sphere of life for the Tanana. Whatever they encounter here in the form of plants and animals determines their economic activity and is indispensable for their standard of living. This large sea mammals, the indigenous species of seals and whales, play the most important role. Sea otters and sea birds are no less important. Finally, from among the lower animals, nothing could rival the mussels and large crabs. Hunting and gathering these things constitute the chief part of the economic activity of the Tanana. The vegetable kingdom offers practically nothing, hence our natives rely exclusively on a meat diet.

§22 The vegetable kingdom and the products of the land furnish the raw materials for their property in goods. As a matter of principle, these possessions are of such a nature that they not only do not impede continental wandering, but assure the acquisition of everything needed for subsistence and, above all, facilitate hunting and gathering. All their property is limited to what is absolutely essential. As such, this is so little that a demanding, civilized human being succeeds at such perfected self-sufficiency. This is a result of the fact that every item beyond the limit of what is indispensable would be a burden that would become more grievously oppressive the longer one carried it around.

§23 Preparations for unincumbered movement preclude fixed dwellings from the nature, either in the form of individual establishments or community settlements. A lean, carelessly constructed but powerful hut shelters for a night or two a few dozen days.

/366 cont./

serves as shelter for a night or for a few days. Clothing, ornaments, and household furnishings could scarcely be scantier or more modest. Weapons and implements in their very simplicity, which is surprising, give evidence of much inventive intelligence. Whatever a person needs, he knows how to make and to obtain. In the matter of providing for his subsistence, everyone is on his own and /367/ is master of his environment. Trades have not developed, and the fundamental equality of all persons has likewise prevented the rise of social stratification. One and the same justice applies to all. Everyone enjoys complete independence from others, which is why only the uniformity of customs and habits, language, and racial characteristics provides the outer and inner bond that unites all the Yamana into an ethnic entity.

The Yamana way of life as water nomads has without doubt contributed somewhat to the peculiar shape of their bodies. To what extent this is an advantage to them cannot be discussed here. Their small stature is all the more conspicuous since their neighbors, the Selk'nam, together with the Tehuelche on the mainland, have the tallest stature among all South American Indians. Our Yamana, however, are not only small, but in addition to this they are not very symmetrically developed (p. 214 /untranslated/). A broad, sturdy body with exceedingly strong musculature on the chest and arms rests on weak, thin legs. Excessive breadth is much more noticeable among the women than among the men, and among the former we come across plump figures much more often than among the latter. A total lack of simple grooming, generally coarse features, their perplexed facial expression, and unkempt hair complete the unprepossessing picture of the Yamana Indians. Almost all European travelers, not without ample reason, have expressed thoroughly unfavorable judgments about the physique of our natives (p. 214 /untranslated/). Undeniably, however, they enjoy abundant health and have an unbelievable resistance which enables them to overcome all the hardships of their frosty home and has secured the undiminished continuance of their people for centuries. True, the Yamana will always be the loser in a contest with other racial groups for physical beauty, but the suitability of his body for the rigors of his way of life and the unfavorableness of his environment is unrivaled. In many respects he is well adapted to his home.

A. The Dwelling

/367 cont./

342 The dwelling arrangements form a considerable part of the material culture of the Yamana people and are in perfect accord with their roving, hunting life. The dwelling need offer only transitory shelter, for a single night or for a few days. If, for good reasons, it is advisable to remain longer at the same place, the ordinary light, loose construction is made a little more solid, but ordinarily a weak frame suffices. According to the site, there are two types of huts: the dome-shaped and the cone-shaped (1). Generally it is /368/

1. According to Despard (b) :680, the huts vary with the season. There are "two kinds -- the ashallee, or summer house; and the uccr, or winter house" /cited in English/. The former is supposed to be built with a few poles; "the uccr is more carefully prepared and much larger" /cited in English/. This assertion is inaccurate, for the huts have the same form in summer as in winter. Later Bridges (VP: III, 118; 1869) also distinguished "the winter wigwam" from a "summer wigwam" /cited in English/.

[36] inhabited by a single family (2). A permanent assemblage of many

2. Lovisato (b) :132 distinguishes three forms of huts, according to use and purpose. Apparently he misinterpreted native words and took this division from a long description by Bridges (VP: III, 118; 1869).

families, such as a village settlement, would be totally untenable. All this likewise contributes to the unequivocal characterization of the Yamana dwelling as extremely humble.

/368 cont./

362 The inmates do not bestow noticeable effort or care on their
511 paltry hut, either in building it or while they are living in it, for it serves but a few hours or days for their most urgent requirements for protection against the inclemency of the weather. One must by no means believe that the Indian strives for coziness or agreeable comfort in his hut. No, it serves merely as a meager cover and at the same time to keep the indispensable fire going. Beyond that, the things that Europeans consider necessary in a dwelling would only mean needless expenditure of energy and an unnecessary burden to the Yamana, for he must constantly carry all his belongings along with him. Indeed, he dare not part with them.

1. The Lack of Permanent Settlements

361 Since there is no other way for the natives of Cape Horn to obtain food except by hunting and gathering, all members of the tribe are divided up into individual families, and as such they go forth to hunt for food. Only occasionally a few band together. This manner of obtaining food prohibits a village settlement with many people.

Obtaining food is the chief concern of the man. Distant and
484 sometimes futile journeys are necessary before he approaches rocks
511 on which seals are lying, or reaches cliffs in which cormorants nest,
361 or finds mussel banks where gathering is worthwhile. He always sees himself at the mercy of the arbitrary, eternally restless waves and the constant shifting of winds. Despite the best intentions, despite the greatest exertion and extreme hardship, he cannot guarantee that he will attain his goal, keep on his course, and come back to the place from where his canoe trip started. The inescapable dependence on changing weather, which not infrequently hinders any kind of movement for several days, permits neither an ordered grouping of many people nor plans by the hunters to return to a permanent settlement. Anyone staying behind /369/ to wait for food that others were supposed to bring in would too often find himself exposed to starvation (3).

3. These decisive factors have been overlooked by those European critics who, misconstruing the facts, have judged our natives to be backward

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/369 cont./
because they do not build fixed dwellings or permanent settlements.

361 Then, too, closer consideration of the game itself, upon which our Indian is after all dependent, would make the longer sojourn in compact settlements seem inadvisable. The animals change their location quite erratically. If they do favor certain places, they stay there only as long as man does not disturb them. Once they have been frightened away, it may be days before they have regained a feeling of security and settle down there again. Assuming, then, that many families wanted to live together on the same spot, this region would surely be cleared of all game within a wide radius, no matter whether it were killed or frightened away. Accordingly, the hunter would be obliged to venture ever farther from his camp in order to find his prey. Quite apart from his previous exertions, his return would be more difficult and more uncertain; those anxiously awaiting him would look for his return with greater worry. Only a short time might pass before a new camp, considerably distant from the previous one, would have to be sought.

With these brief comments, the advantages of freedom of settlement for independent individual families, in contrast to a longer residence of many people in the same place, become convincing. It is true, however, and this should be mentioned at the outset, that many families gather around a stranded whale and thus form a fortuitous settlement of limited duration. This exists, however, only as long as the supply of meat and fat holds out, for even a sea monster of such giant proportions as these largest mammals does not by any means supply unlimited quantities of food. This isolated occasion, besides one or two others of the same nature, proves how unsuitable fixed settlements would be as a permanent arrangement for our natives. It is to the advantage of all that their extensive homeland has few people, so that each individual family has a wide area open to it in all directions where its members can devote themselves undisturbed to food-gathering.

342 Hence, the dwelling of the Yamana, in form as well as in con-
361 struction and location, is a thing of chance. A person on a journey undoubtedly aims for a definite goal at which to land if the weather is good, but sometimes he does not attain it because good booty crosses his path along the way, because he is driven off his course in the pursuit of an animal, or because wind and waves are against him. After all,

361 /369 cont./
362 he wants to steer in the direction of a food supply; where /370/ and when something falls into his hands he will stop and land. Accordingly, the landing place determines whether the family will erect only a small protective roof or a cone-shaped hut or the somewhat more elaborate construction of a dome-shaped dwelling. For the latter many long flexible green saplings and thick foliage are needed; for the second type, several short poles suffice; for the first, the few hides which everyone carries along in his canoe are adequate. Whatever external circumstances present, whatever the landing place offers, what at the moment seems most suitable, that is what the Indian *chooses and decides to do. Plans far in advance would prove* not only impractical for him, but usually also impossible to carry out, and therefore he does not even consider them. As though by way of compensation, however, he has a ready mental agility for making sudden resolves, and this helps him in every situation to make an instantaneous decision.

The greatest contrast to permanent settlements is the very temporary shelter which a sudden impending need teaches him to erect very quickly. Whatever the Indian happens to find, he hurriedly collects and uses to help himself as best he can. One cannot call such provisional contrivances dwellings, since they are meant only to offer cover for brief hours, for example, during a storm or rain, during sunshine, or because of an unconquerable crosscurrent. They are erected in a few minutes and are always arranged according to the local condition (4).

> 4. It is only with reference to this that the following words are valid: "The Fuegians have several kinds of huts; they vary their constructions according to the nature of the country they are in and according to the length of time they must stay there" /translated from French/ (La Nature: 274).

342 Often they crawl under an overhanging rock, into a shallow de-
372 pression in a rock, or into a flat cave-shaped dip in the ground, using dense brush or coverings of pieces of leather to keep out pouring rain or a sweeping wind. Mostly they are content to use slight, effortless movements of the hands which suffice to keep the fire glowing steadily

/370 cont./

342 or to start a big flame. A Yamana family would scarcely ever
372 enter deeper rock declivities and actual caves, of which there are few, because they would not feel comfortable there and because the amount of smoke that would develop from the indispensable fire would drive them out again (5).

5. A few suitable rock formations and caves serve merely as cover which our Indians seek out in order to be barely sheltered for a few hours against sudden storms. In this sense Hyades (f): 558 is correct when he says: "They also settle under an overhanging rock in some easily accessible cave; for them the essential thing is to be able to build their fire" /Ed., translated from French/.

342 Actual wind screens, such as are indispensable to the northern Selk'nam (Vol. I, 197), are used as seldom as cave dwellings. /371/ It is true that for brief, forced encampments or for an urgent rest stop a simple protective roof is erected from rather large boughs covered with thick foliage, the free ends of which come together at the top, or they use a few poles and place pieces of leather on them to form a sheltering wall, or finally, they make a rude shelter of brushwood stuck in the ground as close together as possible. In all this, however, they do not follow a unified, invariable plan, but in each case choose what is possible and functional, depending on whether the sun is shining or whether they must mitigate the annoyance of bad weather, whether there is plenty of foliage at hand or nothing but a field of stone. Such a casual and transient shelter is called astéla. When the family travels on, they naturally abandon this construction without further thought to the destructive forces of nature and thus give up their right of ownership to it (6). I saw the three basic types

[423] 6. Rau (in Outes [g]:57) is the only one who holds the mistaken view that "the huts do not belong to the persons who built them, but rather are common property" /translated from

342
[123]

/371 cont./

Spanish/. Anyone who abandons his hut relinquishes the framework and, consciously or unconsciously, places it at the disposal of anyone who wishes to use it later.

mentioned here in all kinds of variations (7).

7. Hyades (q) :342 calls them "a kind of arbor of foliage" /translated from French/. Despard (b) :680 also mentions them.

2. The Two Types of Huts

In the extensive Yamana territory, from the Brecknock Peninsula to Nueva Island and down to Cape Horn, two types of huts for dwellings have developed, namely, the cone-shaped and the dome-shaped. For the time being we shall leave it an open question as to which of the two is ethnologically older here in Tierra del Fuego.

For this question a not unimportant fact is that each of the two types has its definitely limited geographical distribution: in the damp, heavily timbered west the dome-shaped hut is indigenous; in the drier, open east, the cone-shaped one. For both types environmental factors have been at least contributory, perhaps even decisive.

342 133 137 The Indians gave me reasons which alone may suffice to explain the origin of both types. In the west humidity and dampness greatly predominate. The surface of the ground is much more irregular, and almost everywhere at sea level level ground with gravel or broken stones is absent. The northerly slopes of the rocks not only get the vital force of the sun, but are protected against storm and inclement weather. Thus, a thicker and more compact growth of trees develops here, and even in the smallest crevices the firm roots of the Antarctic beeches find sufficient anchorage. In the west there are few big trees, but there is a preponderance of thin, irregular, flexible trunks that shoot up quickly. They grow close to every shore /372/ and can be uprooted easily because their roots do not penetrate the rocky ground.

342 In low places the wind can not exert its full force, except in a few spots, and therefore the dome-shaped hut may be used. It has

/372 cont./

372 many advantages over the cone-shaped one. The former is more tightly constructed; hence the warmth inside is evenly distributed up to the walls, and the moist air is dried. The good cover all around prevents the annoying penetration of rain and snow. The less intense wind here in the west is kept out by the covered side walls, thus permitting the fire to glow undisturbed and the smoke to be drawn off in a straight line overhead. The Indians know how to appreciate all these advantages of the dome-shaped hut, which to a foreigner appear negligible. The flexible, long, thin, somewhat irregular and bent trunks of the beech are very suitable for the framework of this type of hut. The cone-shaped hut requires straight, uniform trunks which in the west are seldom found in the required numbers in one spot. Thus, it is the environment that favors the construction of the dome-shaped hut.

In the east, on the other hand, there are far fewer protected spots on the edge of the water. Along the north shore of Beagle Channel eastward from Ushuaia, the coast, except for isolated crannies, lies exposed to every wind and storm from the south and southwest. This is even more true of the long south coast of Navarino Island and of the three islands in the eastern outlet of Beagle Channel. If the Indians were to erect the closed dome-shaped hut on the open, broad surface of the gently sloping shore, they would have to be prepared to have their handiwork blown down by a strong gust of wind. With a cone-shaped hut one need fear this fate only in the most severe storm and tornadoes. The loosely set rows of slender trunks permit the wind to pass through and do not by any means offer the broad striking surface of the dome-shaped hut. In the east the young beech trunks [137] show uniform growth. The flat ground provides the conditions for this; they shoot up more slowly and at the same time develop breadth. They stand about within easy access. They are excellently adapted for the cone-shaped hut because the heaviness of the small trunk alone contributes to the solidity of the entire structure. Since the smoke is constantly at the mercy of the wind and gusts which stir the air even inside the hut, there must always be a convenient escape for it; the cone-shaped hut affords this much better than the other type. When there are sunny days free of rain, which in the west are less frequent than here in the east, a woman pulls the pieces of leather off the frame with a simple movement of her hand, and the interior quickly dries in the convenient cross-ventilation. Adaptation to the conditions

/372 cont./

342 of the weather and the landscape is easily recognized in the cone-shaped hut.

As a matter of fact, the boundary for the two types of huts /373/ coincides with the boundary between the rainier western zone and the drier eastern area. This boundary is a somewhat wavy line from Punta Divide through Angostura Murray to Nassau Gulf. Accordingly, the eastern and central Yamana had the cone-shaped hut, while the Wollaston people and those in the south and west used the other type of hut. The eastern shore of Hardy Peninsula should be regarded as a sort of transition area, since, according to travel accounts (8),

8. See below the references to Fitz-Roy, Pickering, Mission Scientifique, Dabbene, and Lothrop.

both forms were found there. The partial adoption of the cone-shaped hut may have occurred there only since the introduction of the European iron ax, but this cannot be determined today.

It is remarkable that some of the earlier seafarers definitely observed the types of construction peculiar to the east and west. In Parker Snow (a) :I, 264, we read: "Their dwellings on the eastern part of Tierra del Fuego are the conical wigwam built from branches of trees over a hollowed space of ground. On the west part their habitations I believe are somewhat different" /cited in English/ (9).

9. In Volume I he uses as a frontispiece, "Woman of Fuegia and child." The two are standing in front of their pointed conical hut which is drawn in a stylized manner and is at least twice the height of the Indian woman. On the frontispiece of Volume II, "Fuegian and his food," we also see a pointed conical hut. Both pictures were made in Banner Cove on Pictón Island. Fitz-Roy:(a) in his frontispiece shows a Yapoo-Tekeenica man and in the background a family in front of their cone-shaped hut. This drawing was made in Portrait Cove in the eastern half of Beagle Channel.

/373 cont./

342 Colvocoresses:36, 38 expresses himself more specifically. The hut that he saw on the northeastern shore of Nueva Island "was constructed of logs, the lower ends of which were spread round so as to form nearly a perfect circle, while the upper ends leaned against each other" /cited in English/. This refers unequivocally to the conical shape. In Orange Bay he encountered the other type of hut: "it was built of boughs, leaves, and earth; in shape it resembled a bee-hive, and was impervious to wind and snow" /cited in English/. He even accounts for the advantages of the latter type of construction as against the former. Later Hyades (f) :556 referred to both types of huts; the one he compares "to a haycock, in form and in size ... except that the hut is often more conical than a haycock" /translated from French/. Even in the first report about the Fuegians there is a brief reference to their dwellings. Decker (in Brosse-Adelung:275) says of those he observed on the southern shore of Navarino Island (probably in Bahía Windhond) that they "are made of trees, round at the bottom, and, like the tents, end almost in a point at the top where there is a small opening to let the smoke out" (10). According to the few accounts

10. His comparison, "like the tents," as well as his drawing of three huts in the picture of that landing place, leaves no room for doubt that he meant the conical hut (cf. Fig. 10, p. 55 /untranslated/).

given here, the eastern Yamana built cone-shape dwellings exclusively.

/374/ We have comments no less definite on the shape of the huts in the west. From an early time George Forster (b) :243 reports on the inhabitants of Christmas Sound: "They live under a few dried branches tied together, which constitute the skeleton of a low, round, open hut; over this is placed some brush and a few bundles of dry grass, and here and there the gaps are covered with a seal skin." A half a century later Pickering:18 describes a hut in Orange Bay as follows: "In shape it was hemispherical, having the apex unfinished for the passage of smoke; and it seemed to be the work of but a few hours with the unassisted hands" /cited in English/. Strangely enough, Fitz-Roy, a few years earlier, on April 9, 1830, came across another type of hut in the same bay: "We afterwards found that these Yapoes

/374 cont. /

342 built their wigwams in a manner differing from that of the western tribes, [western Yamana and Halakwulup /Alacaluf/], being made of a number of poles, or pieces of wood, placed on end around a small space, and meeting at the top" /cited in English/ (King:428). Later, (a) :140, he expresses himself even more exactly: "A Tekeenika wigwam is of a conical form, made of a number of large poles, or young trees, placed touching one another in a circle, with the small ends meeting. No Fuegians, except the Tekeenika, make their huts in this manner" /cited in English/ (11). The huts of the others,

11. His error may have arisen from the fact that he carried on his observations chiefly in the western part of Cape Horn and on the western Patagonian archipelago, where we find only the dome-shaped hut.

namely, the western tribal groups, "are shaped like bee-hives" /cited in English/. Hence, the eastern shore of the Hardy Peninsula must be regarded as the region where the two forms of huts mingled. Aside from that, the west was acquainted only with the dome-shaped huts (12).

12. More recently, Lothrop (b) :128 agrees with this geographical distribution.

[177] The advance of Europeans has increasingly lessened the isolation of the individual ethnic groups from one another, and since then the peoples of the west and east have also crossed the boundary between the zones of the types of huts. During their brief visit in strange regions, however, they conveniently retained those forms to which they had been accustomed from olden times (13). Thus, the Mission

13. A certain Fell (VP:VI, 180; 1859) reports that in the Wulaia region "all the wigwams here are much inferior to those we saw at Picton Island, and so are also the people" /cited in English/. He does not make clear, however, whether he means the conical or round huts.

/374 cont./

342 Scientifique still found the dome-shaped huts in the neighborhood of Cape Horn, where conical ones were already appearing, whereas on the shores of the middle and eastern Beagle Channel there were only conical huts (Hyades [q] :343). Modern times have brought about a [177 still more radical change with the introduction of the European iron 412] ax, since with it and other iron tools thick trunks can be felled even in the west and south, and these are suitable for the construction of a solid conical hut (14). /375/ This explains why both types of huts

14. Lothrop (b):128 very emphatically points to this circumstance: "The introduction of the ax has increased the use of the pointed house form" /cited in English/. In Figure 52 he reproduces a "modern Yahgan house" of this type of construction.

were erected side by side in a few places of the middle zone, and why in a particular place one traveler spoke about this form, another about that form (15).

15. On the islands near Cape Horn in February, 1902, Dabbene (b) :178 saw the more stable, cone-shaped form of hut, which seemed strange to him. Twenty years earlier, among the Yamana of the south, the Mission Scientifique still found the dome-shaped hut.

[161] Since the west has become completely depopulated, the last Yamana are staying mostly in the central part and in the east where 342 European travelers have found only cone-shaped huts with a framework 177 of thick trunks (16). One is not mistaken if he considers this more stable

16. From the indefinite accounts of other travelers we cannot reach a safe judgment about the distribution of the two types of huts during their sojourn in that region. In Bove (e):157 (and in MM:XVIII, 189; 1884) we read: "Their huts have, in general, a cone-shaped form and two doors diametrically

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/375 cont./
opposite each other." On his first journey he was accompanied by the botanist Spegazzini (a):163, who became acquainted with only part of a region and who saw Indian dwellings "hemispherical in form" /translated from Italian/. His other companion, Lovisato (b):133, also speaks only of a single form of hut in which "the branches of trees are set into the ground and bent over to form a dome with other branches intertwined..." /translated from Italian/. Thus, we see that even in the reports of these three men who traveled in this region simultaneously there are obvious contradictions.

conical construction a result of the iron ax introduced there. The tools of their ancestors required great effort to fell trees as thick as an arm and to cut the heavy posts required for the framework of this more stable hut. When the last Yamana, to whom the iron ax quickly became indispensable, were restricted to the middle and eastern regions, the dome-shaped hut mërana completely disappeared, so to speak, and only the cone-shaped hut, gūlĕkĕr, remained as a dwelling.

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171

If we glance at the two neighboring tribes, we find that only the dome-shaped hut appears in the region of the Halakwulup /Alacaluf/ where the weather and the landscape are the same as in the rainy western Yamana zone, whereas in the southern part of Isla Grande the Selk'nam, the neighbors of the eastern Yamana, build only the cone-shaped hut (17).

17. I have discussed the plausibility of a modification of the hut form under the influence of the European iron ax among the northern Selk'nam (Vol. I, 198).

a. The Cone-Shaped Hut

342

In earlier, as well as in more recent times, the individual family built a looser or more stable construction, depending on whether

/375 cont./

342 they were planning to stay in one spot briefly or for a longer time. For the more solid construction, heavier trunks were necessary, which took more time and labor to assemble. In the last few decades every man has had an iron ax, and with this he fells trunks even as thick as an arm without particular effort. For lighter construction a few /376/ sticks suffice, and these are usually lying around campsites that are much frequented. In the building of his hut the Yamana again proves to be a person who makes himself wholly dependent on given circumstances at any particular moment. He shows his clear grasp of the state of affairs, from which he makes an instantaneous decision.

If the completely open, unprotected campsite, the inclemency of the weather, or his desire to remain for several days demands it, he aims at the outset for a more stable construction that will offer greater protection. He gathers together ten to 20 poles as thick as an arm, sometimes also thicker posts two meters high, and places them on the flat ground, inclining them toward the center. Their own weight causes them to lean firmly against one another, and they are not bound together. The interstices are filled with lumps of earth, roots and turf, and balls of dried algae and tree lichen, which are covered with leafy twigs and short pieces of bark. Larger areas are also covered with dried seal skins which must be tied together with tendons or thin, narrow leather straps because gentle air currents loosen them and they are pulled down by their own weight. Initially the ground is cleared of tossed-up algae, rotten wood, and fresh bunches of grass, and a layer of earth several centimeters deep is scraped aside. Thus the entire inner surface is a little lower than the surroundings (18).

> 18. Sometimes a good deal of earth was dug out of the interior of the hut. Fell entered a hut in the Wulaia region. "The so-called floor is about three feet beneath the surface of the ground, so that when the inmates enter, they have to go as if under ground" /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 180; 1859).

There is little variation in the size of this construction. Usually the number of inmates is the determining factor. The vertical

/376 cont./

342 dimension up to the peak is about 1.80 meters; the diameter of the approximately circular floor plan is about 3.30 meters; the straight-line width of the entrance, measured on the floor, is 0.90; and the length of the main post and of those flanking the entrance is two meters or more (19). The entrance is closed off with a piece of leather

19. Concerning the measurements of the conical hut, Hyades (q):343 says that "they scarcely exceed two meters in height at the highest points, and their diameter at the base varies from three and a half to five meters" /translated from French/. At variance with these proportions, Hyades (f):556 mentions incredibly large measurements.

or a few sticks are placed against it (20). This hut defies even quite

20. This type of hut was described in detail by Bridges (MM:III, 118; 1869), Hyades (q):342, and Lothrop (b):128.

strong winds (21).

21. A comparison of the cone-shaped hut of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 194) with the Yamana type of dwelling shows many points of agreement, but also significant differences.

A somewhat lighter construction of the same shape is also built. About 12 smooth, straight poles as thick as a /377/ chair leg and up to 1.90 meters long are placed upright on the ground in a circle with their free ends leaning against each other. The diameter of the groundplan scarcely ever exceeds 2.90 meters. Over this completely loose framework of straight sticks, rather large dried seal skins are spread and tied together with short, narrow straps. If the required sticks are lying about the campsite from a previous time, the dwelling is ready in a few minutes. If, however, the man has an iron ax handy, he can make it in almost as short a time. Since this structure, as such, is not very firm, it can be built only in protected spots or when there is no wind. A

/377 cont./

342 strong gust of wind makes it collapse immediately.

From the start the builder intends this hut to serve only as a transitory makeshift to shelter his family while they rest for a few hours or for a single night. Afterwards it is a matter of minutes to take down and fold the pieces of leather. The family is again ready to travel on.

The loose cone of smooth sticks is left standing. Soon a gust of wind scatters it, and a family landing at the same place later on can easily erect a protective dwelling (22). One frequently comes

> 22. Fitz-Roy (a):215 confirmed the fact that the sticks of a hut framework are never purposely destroyed: "The natives allow them to decay naturally, but never wilfully destroy them" /cited in English/.

across an abandoned encampment, and there are usually enough dry sticks lying around for the loose construction of a hut. Familiar places or favorable hunting areas are visited repeatedly by different families for varying periods of time.

Both of the cone-shaped huts we have just described have a single entrance which is regularly placed away from the wind (23).

> 23. "Branches or tree trunks often restrict the opening where one enters. This opening is, in general, on the side opposite the wind" /translated from French/ (Hyades [f] :316).

The more solid construction has a larger interior than the one which consists of loose sticks. In the latter, the surface of the ground inside is not scraped to form a depression, but instead a low ring-shaped wall, consisting of refuse from meals, is gradually formed on the outside, which makes it difficult for cold currents of air to enter. The peak of the conical framework is not covered, and the rising smoke escapes through it. The natives know how to place and distribute the pieces of skin on the outside so advantageously that a slight draft lets the smoke escape in a straight line. Rain and snow can very easily enter, but this apparently does not annoy the inmates.

347 A trodden path leads from the entrance of the hut to the place where

/377 cont./

481 water is obtained and to the canoe which has been drawn up on the beach where it remains until the journey is resumed.

/378/ β. The Dome-shaped Hut

342 In the western and southwestern part of Tamana territory, including the Wollaston group, only the dome-shaped hut, mikana, mikanahir, was known. In contrast to the cone-shaped hut, it shows adaptation to the nature of the region.

A somewhat flattened hemispherical form predominates. For a larger number of occupants it is stretched lengthwise, so that the groundplan is a drawn-out oval. The poles used for the framework determine this form of the hut. The slender and flexible, thin, [157] long trunks of young beeches are chosen. It is well known that these trees do not grow well in the shade of the forest and shoot up quickly, developing a short root system that lies entirely on the surface. They can be pulled up without effort, and with only the slightest exertion the sparse tangled roots and the scanty crown of leaves can be broken off. The result is an almost smooth pole that is as flexible as a twig and that hardly varies in thickness along its entire length.

The framework made from such poles, if it is to have the desired stability, necessarily is a kind of basketwork. First a few larger poles are driven into the ground at wide intervals on the line indicating the groundplan. These include the two poles that are to flank the entrance. The natives try to achieve the dome shape from the beginning by bending and intertwining the poles, without regard to the direction or position of the poles relative to each other or to the points where they will later be fastened together. This initial framework is gradually filled out and reinforced with additional, supplementary poles that are inserted between the first ones. Most of them are so long that they reach far beyond the height of the dome down to the opposite side (34). This gives the framework as a

34. According to an often repeated, but incorrect account, the individual poles are said to meet at the top. Hyades (9) :342 also speaks inaccurately of "branches stuck in the ground and coming

/[illegible] same./
together at the top" /translated from French/.

while an advantageous elastic tension. In the places where the individual poles cross, they are held together by a single long vasle with the stems of Marsippospermum rubra and young shoots of Nothofagus or Maytenus. These are sufficiently tough, and they are as flexible as thick packing cord. This framework might be compared with a coarsely and sensibly plaited basket.

On the outside, about halfway up the framework, lumps of earth, balls of moss, and pieces of turf are built up all around, like masonry, and this keeps out the wind. Rather large, leafy twigs are placed on the upper half and adequately fastened by being pushed under and lapped over. Thick bunches of grass are also spread out all the way around, and lumps of earth are placed over these interval to make a firm layer. Not /[illegible]/ uncommonly large pieces of leather are stretched over all of this and tied securely at the edges. Their weight strengthens the loose cohesion of the structure (10).

> 10. The leather covering stretched over the framework is not a single piece. It would be, as Ledesp (by :118 admits, "a heavy and cumbersome object to handle" /cited in English/. Large, individual skins prove to be more manageable. They are placed side by side in such a way that their edges overlap. One cannot compare these with the large hut covering used by the Selk'nam (Vol. 1, 180), which is a single piece made of many individual guanaco skins, thoroughly scraped on both sides. They are, to begin with, considerably lighter and incomparably more flexible than the thick, heavy seal skins.

Neither broadwood nor pieces of leather are placed on the peak, hence, the smoke of the hut fire has a free outlet. At the same time, there is no danger of the hut itself catching fire.

With this type of design, the groundplan can be extended to any length if two to four families build a common dwelling or

/[illegible] cont./

392. Of many pattern exist the [illegible] hut. Likewise, the covering and layers of earth, brushwood, or pieces of leather can be increased to afford greater protection against strong winds, increasing cold, and heavy rain. Whatever the length of such a hut, the peak of the dome is never higher than 1.80 meters. In general the height of a single-family hut is around 1.72 meters, the with floorspace between 2.00 meters and 3.50 meters. This hut entrance permits only one person at a time to slide through sideways. When the hut is unusually elongated, an entrance is made on each of the two narrow sides; for a one-family hut, of course, the single entrance suffices (36).

> 36. The form and characteristics of Tarawa dwellings have been more or less accurately described by Rose (1) .227 and (2) .227, Delibeux (3) .170, Gaspard (4) .600, Hyades (5) .363, I. Thevenin-41, Lutkeng (6) .127, Sarganiani (7) .178, and others. Caspar-330 has brought together the more important accounts.

8. The Use of a Dwelling

393. Within the central use the dome-shaped hut affords the Tarawan occupants complete comfort and convenience. It is for them a protection against the worst buildings of the weather and against the venom of the night. A European living on unpolished observes can best feel what discomfort and annoyance are connected with living in these crowded, poor dwellings (37). In the opinion

> 37. We must agree fully with the opinion of Lutkeng (6) .135: "How very little protection this prototype of a dwelling affords the people, who in general are completely nude, outdoors to all kinds of privations, and engaged in a continuous struggle to procure the necessities for their daily sustenance" /translated from Delisle/.

/[illegible] years/

[illegible] of the nations, however, this building does not by any means compare
[illegible] with the unbearable misery that would result from a sojourn under the
open sky. Thus, whenever seasonal circumstances demand it, the
nations build their huts, even during the summer /[illegible]/ years, making
it either more secure and durable as a dome-shaped dwelling or
merely providing a light covering with the central shape.

A family then has always been a division of location. A sudden change in the weather or an accident will force them to make
[illegible] the dome without delay. In this case they must adjust themselves
to the conditions provided by nature, perhaps even make do with a
hasty shelter in a cliff. If they are not under pressure, they make a
free selection according to the local weather conditions and the
characteristics of the landscape (28). In general, however, everyone

(28. When the Indian has a choice, he selects a sheltered spot for his hut. This is so generally true that Iowa (Mott [illegible], 134, 1913) believed he could go by it. "Generally the presence of expansive hollows or heavily sheltered have the outlines and the most frequent winds" /[illegible] in English/.

ways on the dry ground as close as possible to the higher water level.
Their own condition makes this roughly advisable, for all the smooth
that a family carries along with them are dragged from the water to
the hut. Fishing and capturing would be considerably more burdensome if the dwelling were far from the landing place. If they cannot build a hut for themselves, they seek cover and protection behind mounds of earth and low projecting rocks, on the foot of high rock walls, and on the edge of a forest. A hut is never placed deep in the forest because it is too damp there, but they like to stay under the broadest trees, which ward off rain and mendicits. If they are planning to remain only one night at a given location, they take a look at the weather to see if it will permit them to camp in a less protected spot. If not, or if they do not expect to travel on for a few days, a certain amount of comfort is indispensable. This explains why one finds just as many old campsites along the open, unprotected coast as in sheltered place behind bushes. An obvious preference is

/[illegible] cont./

given to quiet boys and a condition made safe by friends lying in front of it. Men, too, however, no one escapes all the hardships of the fickle weather (28) because the huts themselves are only frail

> 28. In this connection Sowa (c) .107 writes: "Their nomadic huts are usually placed on the inner side of the little bays that cut deep into Tierra del Fuego. Even though these afford them some protection against the weather, it nevertheless happens that the poor occupants are half buried in snow the next morning or half drowned by rain."

structures. These movements will explain the phenomenon, surprising to some Europeans, that today throughout the entire Tamaca region one finds traces of human occupation at every turn.

A family is no more independent in choosing the length of time they may stay in one place than it is in choosing a campsite. Journeys overland are not undertaken, if only because it is not easy to drag the canoe along. On journeys by water, wind and weather determine the direction or make progress impossible. Sometimes /[illegible]/ these people cannot leave their camp for days because of the unremitting disturbance of nature, and they are then powerless to undertake anything even if they are tormented by hunger. If, as a result of threatening danger, they have been obliged to land quickly at a random spot, their hut may be only boggy clods of earth or waterrotted ground (29) which they can escape only when the weather is

> 29. Hyades (f) .107 observed: "The earth is so wet that often water runs off if one merely covers a little pumice on the ground, and the natives are sometimes forced to make a ditch across the middle of the hut for drainage" /translated from French/.

good again. Thus, the inconvenience of their nomadic life is very often linked with danger and considerable renunciation or even the abandonment of the most modest demands of human well-being. The stable dwelling, however, erected for a minimum of several days at a suitable place that has been freely chosen, does offer some minor conveniences.

/381 cont./

352 The interior arrangement is the same in either a dome-shaped hut or a conical hut. Actually, to be exact, there is no arrangement, since furniture and household furnishings are entirely absent. There are neither stools nor benches. The interior wall is neither covered nor decorated. Small baskets and leather pouches, pieces of meat, and fungi are hung on short pegs made of broken-off twigs. Tools and implements, ornaments, and other trifles are shoved between the poles of the framework. There is no floor
342 built as such, but while construction is going on the ground is stamped down. The natives like to dig out the entire interior surface, sometimes as much as 50 centimeters deep, and this shallow depression is a good protection against wind and cold air from outside. A preferred campsite is the dry, loose gravel that does not have to be leveled off, but is cleared of dirt, algae, and wet leaves. If the subsoil happens to be very wet or puddles are formed in persistent rain, pieces of bark are strewn about so that one does not have to sit in the water. Sometimes, if too much water comes
354 in, a layer of gravel has to be built up under the place for the fire, and the fire itself laid higher.

In the ordinary dwellings the fire is in the center, and the occupants squat around it in a circle. They are careful to maintain a broad, even glow which gives off little smoke but sends out abundant heat. The hours when heavy storms whirl the smoke around inside the hut are extremely distressing. In such cases the entrance is blocked with tree trunks or covered with a leather curtain. At night the natives regularly use something to close off the entrance securely. During the day and in good weather they let the air freely enter the hut. They move close to the entrance or they even squat out of doors beside the hut and keep a second fire going outside. In spite of a good covering, the loose construction does not prevent rain and snow /382/ from entering (31).

31. "Air circulates freely through the numerous interstices between the uprights of the hut. Rain, snow, or hail follows the same path, and the Fueguians are little disturbed by it" /translated from French/ (Hyades [1] :557).

/382 cont./

354 Since the interior does not offer reliable protection, the occupants are constantly moving in and out, but in the end they must yield to all misfortune and be content with the little warmth given off by the fire.

513 They arrange their sleeping places directly on the ground and all around the inside wall. First they spread out twigs, with or without leaves, and flat pieces of bark. Over this they place finer twigs or a great deal of lichen (Usnea barbata) and, finally, a long piece of guanaco hide or seal skin. The latter is sometimes omitted. Formerly they also preferred to use bunches of the [37] long stalks of Poa flabellata, but more recently this type of grass has become very rare here (32). A person lying down to sleep

32. Fred Lawrence called my attention to the fact that Poa flabellata, the so-called tussock grass, formerly flourished abundantly throughout the entire area, but since the introduction of sheep this type of grass is now found only in very remote places. After searching for a long time he brought me some plants which could be identified as this species.

curls up tightly and covers himself with his short back cape or somewhat larger coat. Sometimes they even use a type of bedcover made of several skins pieced together, and this is drawn over several children or two or three adults at once. During sleep they move as close as possible to one another, to give each other the benefit of their body warmth. That is why a single medium-sized skin suffices to cover two to four persons. Not every family by any means owns such a cover (33). The fire itself throws out

33. Hyades (f) :589 also corroborates: "In order to protect themselves from the cold at night, they use a skin of the sea lion or several otter skins sewed together, which they spread over the upper part of the body, leaving the lower limbs outside. They are huddled together so closely that a single skin

513 /382 cont./
of a sea lion suffices to cover five or six persons" /translated from French/.

sufficient warmth so that everyone gets enough. If a person is cold, he moves nearer to the embers and pays no attention to whether or not he is disturbing his neighbors' sleep. Moreover, during the night everyone turns over a certain number of times, for cold air pours through the loose wall of the hut, or sometimes the fire becomes unbearable. Hence, everyone tries to get a little more comfortable in one or another position.

513 592 There is no definite, obligatory assignment of places. Unlike the custom of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 200), the man prefers to sit on one side of the entrance and the woman on the other, because both of them constantly like to look out. This leaves the back of the hut free for the children. If it is advisable to change places because of bad weather, greater comfort, or some other reason, it is no trouble for anyone to do so. If a man has two wives, /383/ the place between himself and the entrance to the hut belongs to the first wife. We shall speak of this rule below.

513 147 The Indians' sleep is not only extremely restless as such, but is in general neither deep nor sound. We might more accurately call it a light slumber from which everyone awakens effortlessly and so quickly that his mind is fresh and he is completely aware of every local condition. Moreover, even during sleep itself, everyone, so to speak, heeds what is going on in his environment with a very faint attentiveness. He is actually sleeping, but upon awakening he knows a good deal of what has been going on. Even if a person wakes up repeatedly during the night, he does not seem to be tired in the morning, for just as easily as he comes awake, he falls back into sleep. He does not find it annoying to be wakened frequently by the restless movements of another person in the same hut, by the barking of dogs or the screech of an owl, by the creaking of a broken limb or the irregular pounding of the agitated sea. On such occasions I myself would give vent to my ill-humor by impatient remarks, but the Indians around me invariably remained calm.

The same aptitude makes it possible for everyone, at any time of day, to lie down and go to sleep, no matter how much

/383 cont./
513 commotion there is all about him. When he wakes up, he feels
147 adequately rested. These Indians are not noticeably fatigued if they must go without sleep for a long time. To me it was inexplicable how lively and fresh they remain, in fact, even continue to work hard, until they have a chance to sleep for a longer time. No matter how tired he was before he rested, I never saw an Indian struggling to shake off sleep, even though he was awakened again immediately. No matter when he is approached, at any time of the day or night, one finds him in full possession of his mental powers. This is not the place to explain such a condition which, in the last analysis, is probably a particular condition of the nerves. In winter they sleep considerably more than in summer (34).

34. Hyades (q) :221 pointed this out: "In general, during the winter the Fuegians sleep more and exercise less, and during the summer they devote much less time to sleeping and work more" /translated from French/.

461 Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Yamana are not
147 capable of continuous, daily hard labor, much to the chagrin of European farmers and employers for whom they often work. Their work is more a matter of fits and starts, and in these occasional efforts they can develop considerable energy for a certain time. After that, however, they show a desire for an incalculably long rest period during which they lie about doing nothing, without showing great fatigue. If a man has worked on a farm for only a few days, /384/ he quits and says he cannot go on working. It is obvious that repeated irregularities of this kind make the European employer despair, but the Indian cannot help it. It is his natural disposition. He lacks the nervous energy, so to speak, for regular, prolonged activity, no matter whether this is a natural bent or whether it is a lack of cultivation in that direction. It is wrong to accuse him of lassitude and laziness. Any kind of pressure toward systematic, prolonged work seriously affects his health and weakens him because he is unaccustomed to it (35).

35. I observed the same thing among the Selk'nam and had an even better opportunity

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/384 cont./

to learn about their unusual habits of sleep and work (Vol. I, 201).

513 What we have said about the unusual habits of sleep among the Yamana applies to both adults and children. No one rests on a comfortable bed or in a safe, quiet spot. If the ground is only more or less dry, a tired person will lie down for a nap anywhere and at any time. Our Indian, however, never sleeps sitting down or squatting (36). He must be lying down, even if he has so little

36. Spegazzini (a) :171 maintains the opposite, but he is mistaken.

space, for instance, in a canoe, that he can only curl up in a very cramped position. A person rarely sleeps with his head somewhat elevated, but if he does, he needs only a short tree stump or a stone, or even a large lump of meat that he will roast for himself the next morning. Since the sleepers generally do not stretch out -- because they would then lack adequate cover -- and since they crowd as closely together as though they were penned up, the small hut provides room at night for very many living beings (37). The

37. Hyades (f) :560 emphasizes this: "They are so accustomed to shrinking their bodies into as little space as possible that a small hide suffices to cover them completely when they are squatting" /translated from French/.

places in the hut are not all the same, however, since some persons are lying dry and protected, while others are more exposed to the wetness of the ground, the heat of the fire, or the disagreeable coolness of the night (38).

38. Hyades (q) :343 concludes: "As many as 20, and sometimes more, squat or lie there, veritably forming a heap of flesh around the central hearth" /translated from French/.

356 The Yamana by nature have little understanding and feeling for the most important requirements of general cleanliness. Their

/384 cont./

357 huts present a picture of utter confusion. They own but few objects, and these they are always dragging about with them. They have no idea of how to take care of them. Often these insignificant possessions are left out in the rain and snow, lie in dirt and mud, are lost by the dogs, or damaged by fire and smoke. Inside the hut small baskets and pieces of skin, tools and implements, weapons and ornamental objects are shoved about hither and yon; there is no thought of handling them gently or taking care of them. /385/ True, the single small hut serves many purposes. Not only the members of the family, but the dogs and all the possessions are housed in the same crowded space. Under such conditions how can order and cleanliness thrive and be maintained!

[514] Small children are almost never absent, and in their lack of judgment they cause a lot of confusion and take care of their natural requirements inside the hut. Dogs rummage around the sleeping places and among the things that have been carelessly tossed about. Everyone usually eats squatting beside the fire.

244 Many of the scraps are immediately tossed into the fire, but not everything can be cleared away. Here and there are bits of meat and fat, crushed, raw mussels and crabs, remnants of sea birds and fish.

The considerable amount of blubber clinging to these things is transferred to the people themselves, who after their meals wipe their dripping hands either on the sides of their own

357b bodies or on the sleeping place. There is a persistent heavy smell of blubber throughout the interior of the hut, on all the objects and people to which a European rarely grows accustomed. The moisture which penetrates everything quickly rots the vegetable matter used in the sleeping place, as well as the pieces of leather and skins which sometimes still need to be dressed. All this is mixed with the odor of the skin secretions of people and dogs. There is a disagreeable mixture of all kinds of fumes constantly rising in the small space. It increases from day to day, the longer the hut is used, and it is not affected by the ease with which fresh air blows through the loose structure. One cannot say that a really foul odor develops, but stuffy, musty, heavy fumes fill the whole interior (39). On a sunny day the Indians sometimes loosen the hut

39. Only with reservations can we accept Hayades's (f) :557 statement of his experience

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/385 cont./
in this respect: "Thanks to the constant ventilation of the hut, the air in it remains pure in spite of the number of its occupants" /translated from French/.

cover and drag a few leather pieces out into the open -- proof that these people feel the need of an airing -- but this does not help much either (40).

40. Hyades (q) :344 says: "Some filth accumulates in the huts; the urine of the little children penetrates the ground, which is also impregnated with the refuse from eating, although the natives are in the habit of throwing outside the remains of what they have eaten, such as shells, the bones of fish and birds, etc." /translated from French/.

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A family finally remedies the situation by building a new hut a short distance away, if it is advisable to remain at the same place for a longer period of time because of an abundant supply of meat, for example, a stranded whale. Even though the site for the new hut is less advantageous -- because the ground is very wet or because storms can more easily beat down on it -- nevertheless, the occupants find it intolerable to remain longer at the previous site. /386/ "The sole reason is that the first hut is no longer as healthy as it was when they first lived in it" /translated from French/, so they say (Hyades [q] :344).

A change of dwelling is often necessary after about two weeks. Usually the Indians build an entirely new structure, but sometimes they use the frame poles of the previous one if these are hard to secure in any other way (41). The abandoned hut

41. Hyades (f) :558 observed, for example, that the Indians "tore down their dwelling in order to use the same material to build others not very far away" /translated from French/.

356 /386 cont./
342 meanwhile airs out thoroughly, is completely cleansed by the rain, and after considerable time is again suitable as a temporary refuge. With this in mind they leave the first dwelling undamaged when they move out, and upon their return they need make only a few additions. Again, unreasoning nature helps where these Indians themselves are lacking in cleanliness. Even though the dwelling may be changed, certain circumstances may make it imperative to remain for a longer period in one place. When such circumstances are absent, every family unhesitatingly and at frequent intervals moves its campsite a great distance.

342 Each individual family erects a dwelling exclusively for itself wherever it temporarily happens to be. Formerly, however, in the west an exception was made where a hut known as ayusuĕkĕr, was built to be occupied by several families. The reason for this [197] was either the prophetic warning of a few yĕkamuš who predicted a severe winter or the stranding of a whale at the beginning of the cold season. Three to six families who were related or friends joined in the building of this community hut. They chose a suitable spot near the stranded whale or near the swamp where they [251] preserved large pieces of fat in the water, in any case on dry ground and particularly well protected from wind and weather by a high rock. The men taking part in the construction of the dwelling, the customary dome-shaped hut, but elongated in this case, fetched suitable poles and built a stable, unusually strong framework.

They devoted great care to this work, which therefore occupied them all for perhaps half a day, whereas the ordinary dome-shaped hut took only two to three hours and the conical hut even less time. The length and width of this communal dwelling depended on the number of occupants, and the height of the interior was increased somewhat to prevent any discomfort that might be caused from the smoke of the larger fire. An unusually thick cover was laid on the firm framework, consisting of several alternate layers of tree bark and grass, rushes and twigs, with large, thick pieces of leather occasionally inserted between them. Thongs were stretched over large areas in order to /387/ secure the outer cover firmly. An entrance was left on each of the two narrow ends, and this was covered with a leather hanging. Both entrances were

/387 cont./

372 used except when the wind was too strong, in which case only one or the other was temporarily left open.

Inside the dwelling each family chose its particular place which it retained without any special boundary lines (42).

> 42. There were such boundaries in very isolated cases, however. Hyades (I) :556 says: "Twice at Orange Bay we saw huts with two or three interior compartments, niches made by vertical tree trunks. These niches served as quarters for the night for three or four persons" /translated from French/.

Members of the same family preferred to gather together on one side of the fire. Usually a single continuous fire extending the [373] entire length of the hut was kept going. In exceptional cases however, when members of an individual family chose their places on either side of the middle line, each family made its own fire, so that one could tell how many families there were from the number of separate fires. One could sometimes observe the same thing in the ordinary dome-shaped hut if, for some reason, two or three families were occupying it together for a few days (43).

> 43. Bridges (MM:XII, 11; 1878) once wrote: "There were three men, five women, and seven children in this wigwam, and three fires lit in different parts" /cited in English/.

373 The wide areas on either side of the center line where the fire was burning were the sleeping places, where the Indians squatted or lay stretched out during the day. Bunches of the long [Poa] stems of Poa fiabellata grass with its narrow leaves were preferred for a pallet. This served very well and became musty only after considerable time. It was then removed and replaced by a fresh layer. The lower part of the outside covering of the hut was 372 made tight to keep off the wind and to make the fire burn evenly. 342 Otherwise the smoke would be blown about, since the few

/387 cont./

372 openings in the top prevented it from escaping easily. The entire
342 structure was well insulated, for it was meant to offer special protection against the rigors of the climate. Since it was built in the damp western part where dry firewood was not available in large quantities, the Indians managed by constantly carrying green wood into the hut and piling it up. In a few days it was dry and only then was used for burning. Even a supply of tussock grass
[513] (Poa flabellata) was kept on hand, for this litter for the bed had to be renewed at least every two weeks.

251 The men supplied the necessary food for their families on communal hunting expeditions which were usually so successful that a good share of the booty could be stored away for a few days. This helped in periods when the hunt was seriously hindered by continuous stormy weather. They were anxiously concerned about having an abundant supply of meat always on hand, if not perhaps a whale /388/ lying on the shore. Otherwise the gathering of many people in the same place in a securely built hut would not only be pointless, but even dangerous. Inevitably the inhabitants frightened the game farther and farther away from the dwelling, which made hunting increasingly difficult. Then only ample stores kept off the threatening specter of hunger.

342 A hut for several families was occupied only in winter.
362 Wanderlust was too strong to detain a family in one spot any
221 length of time for other reasons. The people who built a communal hut would perhaps come back to it for a second winter, but not after that, for the game supply had been exhausted over a wide area, and they themselves were kept away by the boredom of sitting still. The arrangement described here might be referred to as the "winter hut." Near it a sort of winter supply was piled up. The very safe shelter provided somewhat comfortable living
[517] conditions, and during the long periods of inactivity together, favorite myths and legends were repeated, or the people told each other stories of their own experiences and Hāmus stories. Communal huts were not built in the east, and the reason is simple: weather and hunting conditions were much more favorable there.

After a few families have settled in the so-called multiple-
342 family hut, they not infrequently erect another building directly
593 beside it for the half-grown children, and this is appropriately known as the "children's hut." It resembles the first hut in shape

/388 cont./

342 and finish, but is smaller. This separate hut for the children is
593 usually built because of lack of space in the large hut, and it is
855 always regarded as a necessary expedient, for parents do not like to be separated from their children unless it is absolutely necessary. Although the children may by themselves several hours of the day and all night, they nevetheless like to be with their family a great deal, and they always have access to the large hut. An older woman takes charge of the small company and sometimes brings them a little food, but more often the children get their food from their own parents.

In exceptional cases, for instance, the illness of an older person, imminent confinement of the mother, and so forth, even the single family builds a separate hut for the children beside the one for the adults, much as they dislike to do so. This children's hut is an expedient, and the parents by no means decide on it because they do not wish to be disturbed by crying and noise, for Indian children as such are gentle and quiet.

342 Finally, if several families camp a few days in the same
857 spot, the children as a game build a little hut with their own hands beside the dwellings of their parents. After all, they must occasionally give vent to their energies. The understanding parents willingly support them in this, sometimes bringing the children meat and approvingly watching the happy gathering. This children's hut is called ákili. /389/ It is obvious and understandable that it cannot be an actual dwelling, but serves merely for the enjoyment and playful occupation of the little band (44).

44. This unequivocal appraisal of the so-called children's hut is absent in what Hyades (q):342 and Bridges (a) :183 write about it. The latter is more ambiguous than the former.

342 If one stands in front of an Indian hut as a European judge,
511 no matter which type of hut it is, one involuntarily asks himself: What protection does this poor makeshift afford? By nature our natives are extremely undemanding. If one would like definite proof of this, he need only observe them in their dwelling. If they have a little protection from the heaviest rainfall and the densest snowstorm, against the bitterest cold and the most

/389 cont./

342 511 devastating storm, they are content and uncomplaining, provided they are squatting beside their fire, to which they give all their attention. That is why they put something in front of the first entrance and open another one if the wind changes direction. To prevent the wind from coming through the walls, they pull larger pieces of leather over them, now here, now there, stuff up open places, and secure loose parts. If a big blast of wind tears down the whole hut, the people patiently await the end of the storm without any kind of cover, protected only a little by their meager clothing, provided their fire goes on after a fashion. The European has the impression, especially after having seen the living arrangements of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 198) that the Yamana regards his hut more as a protection for his fire than for his own body.

The dwelling itself is neither cozy nor comfortable. As regards the desire of the members of the family to be peacefully together, they are, in any case, with each other on the trips in the open canoe. That is why they do not miss the hut during the day if the weather is reasonably quiet, and for the night they are content with the meagerness of their simple little hut (45). Their

45. The discomfort of the meager living arrangements was clearly described by Spegazzini (a) :171 from his own experience.

restless, wandering life forces them to renounce the amenities of more stable, secure housing (46).

46. Bove (c) :127 expresses himself in a similar fashion: "The poverty of their huts must be attributed to the nomadic life they are forced to lead" /translated from Spanish/.

342 Today throughout Yamana territory we find only one form of hut, namely, the loose cone-shaped type. It is only for the secret initiation ceremony that the elongated dome-shaped hut is built. Their contemporary hut does not even afford the protection

/389 cont./

342 of the former dwellings, which was scarcely worth mentioning, since at present the Indians do not take the trouble to dry a few seal skins and stretch them over the framework. Instead they procure /390/ light sacking which lets in rain and snow and hardly keeps off some of the wind (47). Complete laxness and dilatory

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47. Lothrop (b) :128 gives a similar judgment: "Thus housed they have had immeasurably poorer protection from the weather than in the days when hunger drove them to secure many seals and consequently many seal-skins were available for housetops" /cited in English/.

indolence have so completely alienated the last survivors of the race from the industry of their fathers that even the most distressing inclemency of the weather no longer stirs them from their state of lazy immobility. A few families have built small, [177] very simple wooden houses, European style, in Puerto Mejillones (48).

48. They obtain the raw materials for these houses through their work as day laborers or as gifts (p. 357 /untranslated/). According to Lothrop (b) :129, "the material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach" /cited in English/.

but they spend only a small part of the year in them. They, too, travel about for weeks in their canoe looking for food, and meanwhile content themselves with a cover of sacking on the cone-shaped framework of their flimsy hut.

4. The Community Camp

361 The Yamana do not have permanent settlements in one place. There are a few occasions, however, when many families come together and remain in one place for a longer period of time. If a whale is stranded, people come from a great distance, and the

/390 cont./

361 many huts beside a dead sea monster create the illusion of a village. Since there is plenty of meat and fat, a number of families can settle down together without hindrance. If during this time someone must obtain some vital necessity, he departs for a few days, but leaves his hut standing and occupies it again upon his return. There is no food supply more abundant and convenient than a stranded whale. At the same time the gathering of many [571] families satisfies the need for sociability, and the people can give themselves up to it all the more undisturbed the longer they are free from worry about the necessities of life. Naturally the large number of people and their freedom from the food quest suggest stimulating diversion, and this is offered principally by the ciemam and the accompanying kina. In comparison with these protracted events, fewer families gather together for funeral rites, and they remain in one place a much shorter time, often only a day or two.

No matter what brings families together, they always preserve their independence. Groups of relatives and friends erect their huts closer together, but there is always a space of a few steps between them. In spite of intimacy with neighbors, everyone strives for at least a small space between dwellings. The /391/ distribution of huts in such a camp is very irregular, because each individual makes his arrangements for his own greatest convenience. He first selects for his dwelling a dry spot and the protection of a rock or a group of trees. Drinking water must be not too far away. Whoever is first to appear on the scene has a greater freedom of selection, and the stragglers are content to take the places that have been left vacant. No one has a right and would not presume to exercise any kind of influence on the distribution of the huts. A person who wishes to leave the settlement can depart or return unhindered, just as he likes. On such an occasion two or at most three families may share a single hut if they are close to each other, such as brothers and sisters or true friends, but such exceptions are rare. In that case they build the ordinary dome-shaped family-hut in larger proportions, not the so-called winter hut (p. 33).

572 Everyone, of course, is completely free to dispose of his
517 time as he sees fit. The greater part of the day is spent in talk and conversation. During the long evenings they like to recite the old legends and tell of their own experiences. One often sees the men

/361 cont./

572 517 bony making implements, such as the large, bone harpoon points which take a long time. Women and girls devote themselves to their trinkets or weave baskets. Primarily everyone passes the time in uninhibited, protracted inactivity, unless a major enterprise is under way, which requires a definite program for the day.

364 An aggregation of many people for weeks at a time is unavoidably accompanied by considerable uncleanliness around them. In general the Yamana do not have any particular feeling for cleanliness, and in this respect they are more backward than the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 223). The consequences are not very noticeable when a single family stops somewhere for a day and then travels on, but they are different in an encampment of many people. Walking back and forth makes the earth muddy and boggy. Refuse from meals decays and contaminates the surroundings. The air inside the hut becomes increasingly musty and oppressive. True, the cleansing and purifying rain often intervenes, but it does not improve matters much. Giving way before the heaped-up refuse, individual families temporarily depart and relinquish the dwelling and its environs to the purifying influence of natural forces.

We can now understand the brief descriptions by a few European travelers depicting an encampment of many Indians near a stranded whale, the total picture of which evoked unpleasant, even disgusting impressions (49). The way they eat and their

49. In earlier travel accounts there are, unfortunately, no detailed reports about the encampments of many families. This is because there were few occasions for them, and the same is true at the present time.

unkempt appearance are in themselves repulsive. /365/ Over all this hang the thick, heavy fumes of blubber. A person not accustomed to it from childhood is bound to become nauseated (50) if

50. One should recall the work camps of whale fishermen in several places along the Chilean and Argentine coast, which contaminate the air far and wide with unpleasant odors.

/[illegible] cont./

364 he does not quickly get away. The vicinity of a stranded whale is like a large, boggy slough of blubber, and all around the dwellings pieces of meat and fat are decomposing; an abundant superfluity leads to carelessness in utilization. In order to be able to endure such conditions for any length of time, one has to be a Yamana. These conditions seldom occur, however, and when they do, they are welcomed by our Indians because of their obvious important advantages and the considerable relief they bring. Meanwhile the Indians gladly do without any kind of comfort and cleanliness.

5. The Fire

372 It is utterly superfluous to demonstrate in detail the vital importance of fire in the household, in economic activity, and in the very existence of the southernmost Fueglans. Without fire they could not enter in their damp, cold homeland, and what I observed among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 194) holds true for them also, namely, that fire is more indispensable than any kind of protective dwelling. Hyades (q) .365 writes about this necessity as follows: "Because of the rigors of the climate and the absence of clothing, the Fueglans have a passion for fire" /translated from French/. Hence it is nowhere absent. Fitz-Roy (a):187 has observed: "Fire is always kept alive by these savages wherever they go, either in their canoes, in their wigwams, or even in their hand, by a piece of burning wood; but they are at no loss to rekindle it, should any accident happen" /cited in English/.

They guard the fire, *pasaki*, with special zeal, in the hut and in the canoe, to make sure that it never goes out. Even so, a family loses it when the craft collapses or a heavy downpour with a sudden wind damaps the dwelling (b). Their method of

> 32. Hyades (f) .359 is entirely correct in his judgment: "The fire is never extinguished, except by accident" /translated from French/.

lighting the fire resembles that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 197), namely, by striking the fire, *kaskh*, against two pieces or, more recently, against a big nail. Wilkes (c) .361 has already observed:

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"They rub iron pyrites with flint and catch the sparks in a dry, moss-like substance." Usually the grain of pyrite is somewhat larger than the flint, and the two together are regarded as a loving couple, mifrdu; hence, the former is the male, we, while the latter is the female, kipa (52). The spark is caught in a loose

52. Speaking of the flint, Hyades (c) :304 and (d) :309 erroneously maintain that "the Fuegians usually obtain fire by striking two of these stones, unequal in size, against each other" /translated from French/. We read the same thing in Bridges (i):10 and in Spegazzini (a):165. Dabbene (b):194 writes: "Fire is obtained by striking two pieces of stone, which contain iron pyrites, against one another" /translated from Spanish/. This procedure would not bring results, as everyone knows. Compare Cooke: 238.

bundle of down, thrdu. They /SIS/ prefer to use a puffball as tinder, kiuu, the dry spores of which very easily begin to smulder (53). They also use fiik, fine shavings of barberry stems.

53. "The tinder used is the inner down of birds, well dried; very fine dry moss, or a dry kind of fungus found on the under side of half-rotten trees," according to Fitz-Roy (a) :187 /cited in English/.

By gently blowing, they get the smuldering parts to flare up, immediately add feathers or fine lichen, and finally twigs and branches. Before that they place the puffball on a small piece of leather or on gravel so that it does not become damp. The man bends over very low and holds the stones very close. Usually he must work for some time, because the objects are damp, because of the humidity in the air, or because the sparks simply will not catch.

In former times the adults, usually man and wife, carried a small leather pouch, aulru, in which the tinder and the raw

/360 cont./

372 objects for striking fire were carried to keep them dry, that they could manage anywhere. They protected the down and puff balls even more carefully by keeping them in the dry web of a large sea bird, although puffballs are protected against damp air so long as their outer skin does not burn. Everybodily always has a number of dry puffballs on hand, which are gathered in the fall and carefully stored throughout the year. Pyrite is found in several places in the extensive Tamana territory, but lumps of flint are rare and are a popular object of trade. The flint most in demand, [34] [illegible] (SD: [illegible]), was obtained in the Arkarokka Valley which lies between Udunia and Lapatsia (34). Only small amounts were

34. Compare Lefroy (b) .130. Thomas Bridges also once looked for it, in April, 1884, accompanied by several Tamana. He reports: "We ascended the large valley called Arkaria, celebrated for its flint, as the source of supply of arrow and spear flint heads for all Tagka land. We searched in vain for the spot whence the large supplies in former times were obtained" (Mid.XVII, 181; 1884) /cited in English/. Earlier, in June, 1883, this missionary wrote, (Ibid. XVII, 118; 1883) that flint was to be found only on Clarence Island (cf. Hyades [d] .33 and Vol. I, 187). It has been proved, however, that the Tamana found and used it also in [illegible] of their territory. Finlay (c) .127 writes: "Where the pyrites is usually obtained, I do not know; but it cannot be plentiful in the Tekenika country" /cited in English/. Certainly, these things were found there only sparingly.

[35] found there, however. Hence the Tamana usually depend on barter for their flint which was found in Cockburn Channel on the north shore of the Brecknock Peninsula, outside Jungle Channel. This flint was very hard and brownish-black. To guard against

/[illegible] /

[illegible] being it, a man would sometimes cut a groove in it, one which was fastened one end of a string of sinew, the other end being tied to a small basket or some larger object.

Everyone is anxious to avoid the trouble of kindling a fresh fire. Before he does so himself, he looks around to see /[illegible]/ if he can obtain a glowing stick of wood from a near neighbor. This he fanches and uses to light his own fire.

[illegible] This comforting and indispensable element finds its most important use on the hot fire. It occupies the corner of the sitted or oval gourdplate, but in certain conditions it extends lengthwise through the entire hut (pages [illegible] and [illegible]). When there is no gravel in broken stone on the ground of the hut, the fire is built on a low flat mound or on a pile of several stones the size of a fire and many round shells (10). After some time a broad bed of ashes

> 10. As Lawtawn (b) [illegible] says, in the middle of the hut there is "the hearth, made with a few pieces of stone, but especially with many round, small pebbles upon a bed of cowrie and longer shells" /translated from Italian/.

prevents the fire from any dangers of the earth. The fire place itself is called [illegible]. Only beech wood is used. Logs of the pepper tree (Drimys winteri) cause a thick, stinging smoke and do not burn easily; hence, they are not used.

[illegible] Throughout the day the Indians like to keep bright flames alive. They place the middle part of rather thick logs and long sticks into the fire. When that is burned through, they move the two ends from the back gradually further into the blaze. Since these pieces are arranged one above the other, there is enough draft. If it falls, someone helps it along by lying flat on the ground and, with puffed cheeks, blowing into the embers, or he fans it vigorously for a few minutes with a piece of leather or a bird's wing. Thick logs burn poorly if they are not held on this round stick and if one does not carefully push glowing pieces against them.

For the night the fire is occupied about together toward the corner. This provides a longer bed of embers and gives the

/[illegible]/

[illegible] occupants of the hut were seen for their beds. At the time they do not seem sleeping Tarmen, but a steady glow that glows out on even hour and does not endanger either the hut or the diapers. Sometimes when guests is from going out before morning. The occupants lie down around the fire in no particular order, eager to enjoy its comfort. That is why there is restless movement in the weight of sleeping human beings all night long, for each one turns and twists this way and that.

[illegible] Despite their being accustomed to the unavoidable smoke, these Indians are not insensitive to it. Indeed they regard it as an annoyance and bad for the eyes (20). Often they can find only

> 18. Dyeden (1) 1935, 144, admits that despite all caution "Dwelling huts are been without giving off smoke, which is often quite thick and is very annoying to them, in spite of their being accustomed to it" /translated from French/. Yet they is absolutely right when speaking of their "smoke-eyes, suffering from smoke," for says, "Their eyelids are inside-out and watery by the wood smoke in their wigwams" (King 1 70) /Added in English/.

damp wood to burn which unavoidably causes a great deal of stinging smoke. Hence /[illegible]/ the women carefully screen from part of the dwelling that lie in the wind to which the smoke would drift. Although the people much prefer to have the hut entrance open toward the beach to be able to watch their canoe and the flow of the water, they also they plan so that as the wind changes their quite fire. In the long, dome-shaped huts they have two entrances to begin with (p. 19), closing the one on the side observably, on the protection of the fire division. In spite of the best possible covering of the framework, a great deal of cold air flows in on ground level, which occupy the occupants. Hence the entire lower surface of the interior is dropped so much as 18 centimeters (p. 19). This protects the occupants from the penetrating air, while the spreading warmth of the fire, which can

/[illegible]/

[illegible] have quietly, is not low. Similar advantages are afforded by a wall of unused shells, which grows in size in these places chosen year after year for the dwelling. Here it is superfluous to lower the ground level to the interior by excavating, because the outer wall rises above it in any case.

At times when a storm becomes particularly strong and the fire cannot be protected, the people are wrapped in a thick cloud of ashes and smoke within their hut. While this is going on, they lie flat on the ground and cover themselves with pieces of leather. Sometimes it is hours before they get up and shake off the layer of ashes from their bodies and belongings. Sometimes they must endure heavy showers of rain which make them tremble with cold. As soon as possible they again start a gaily blazing fire and move very close to it in order to get warm through and through after all their discomfort.

[illegible] The Indians could not do without their fire in the canoe any more than in their hut, either by day or night, because on the water they are even more helplessly exposed to the hardships of the weather in their unfriendly homeland. They carry it with them everywhere and without exception. If heavy rain should extinguish it, they make straight for shore. The fire, carefully confined, is laid in the middle section on a safe, partly wet layer of clumps of turf, gravel, and clods of earth (17), which prevents

17. On this subject Cooper (g) :32 says only: "The fire, especially in the canoes, is maintained on moss and earth" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g) :364 gives more detailed statements.

it from burning through. It is kept going with dust, this pieces of wood, and they do not let high flames develop. They are constantly aware of the danger threatening the bark vessel from this fire. If the boat should rock badly, they extinguish the embers for safety's sake by pouring water from the sea over them. Even when the journey is smooth, they permit only a weak glow, and when someone wishes to warm himself, he moves close to it. The boys and girls in any case crouch in the middle of the boat.

/395 cont./

372 505 They have loaded up with firewood before their departure and piled it near the fire. Here it dries a bit and /396/ is conveniently at hand when needed (58). The children feed the fire according to

[857]

58. For a longer trip they provide themselves amply with firewood and stack it, as Hyades (q) :304 has observed, at one of the two ends of the boat.

their parents' instructions.

When possible, they take only very dry wood in their canoe, since the unpleasant smoke from wet wood could scarcely be avoided. When they leave their craft upon landing, the children carry the glowing sticks of wood to shore and place them on the spot which is to be the center of their new hut. Here they soon rekindle a larger fire. The Indians are scrupulously conscientious

[857]

[412]

Fig. 14. Fire Tongs.

about extinguishing all glowing embers of the canoe fire by dousing them with water. If they continue their journey the next day, the children once more carry the glowing sticks of wood to the canoe and light a new fire in it.

372 Whenever a family leaves their fire, either in the canoe or in the dwelling, they take care to put out even the last glimmering bit. The fire could easily come alive again, /Fig. 14 appears here/ spread, and cause serious destruction. The glowing embers are scattered, pounded and beaten with a cudgel, covered with gravel or sand, and finally doused liberally with snow or water. This removes all danger.

To arrange the fire and distribute the glowing pieces of 372 wood, the Indians reach for any stick that happens to be handy. 412 They like to use regular fire tongs which no family is without. Here they are known as lāka (Fig. 14), also lōkka according to BD: 278, and correspond exactly to the lākes of the Selk'nam

/396 cont./

3/2 (Vol. I, 205). They choose a straight stick, as thick as one's
4/2 thumb, of Berberis ilicifolia, strip it of leaves, twigs, and cracked parts of bark, smooth the surface, and split it two-thirds of its entire length which is hardly more than 65 centimeters. Afterwards the lower, split end is cut off flat. Since the tension of the wood fibers keeps the two ends spread slightly apart, these fire tongs can be easily manipulated simply with pressure (59).

[177]

59. Hyades (q):304 and Lothrop (b):130 have also described this implement briefly. The similarity in terminology between the Selk'nam and Yamana causes Lothrop to speak of a "cultural borrowing," which should not be dismissed.

137 The natives have the advantage, which they truly appreci-
3/3 ate, of some growth of trees throughout their homeland, even on the dreaded Cape Horn. It is lacking only on the low rocks and smooth stones that /397/ are exposed to waves and storms without any kind of protection. Wherever shallow crevices or protected ravines cut into the rocks, frail shrubs and thicker small trees cling, successfully resisting storms. The Indian finds his needed
3/3 fuel at every landing place, so to speak, although at some places he obtains it more easily. He prefers dry beechwood for his fire, for he dreads the damaging smoke of green logs (60). He finds it

60. Persistent watering of the eyes and slight inflammation of the eyelids are the consequences of the stinging smoke. See Hyades (q):346 and Lothrop (b):129, as well as footnote 56.

as driftwood that has been washed ashore by the waves. He also goes a few steps into the woods and breaks off dry branches with his hands. If they are higher up, he tosses the noose of his lasso around them, tugs vigorously, for beechwood is very tough, and pulls them down. He fells hollow tree trunks with the weight of his body and then splits them. As soon as a family lands, the
[157] children disperse throughout the neighborhood and gather wood which they bring to the campsite.

/397 cont./

3B which they bring to the campsite. The women also take part if more wood is needed. Even the men help, but limit themselves to uprooting heavy trunks or breaking off thick branches and dragging them to the hut. Sometimes they climb a tree, which the women never do. The branches they toss down are carried to the hut by the other members of the family. Everyone works in one way or another for this vital fuel.

3B Now and then they even store wood, chiefly in order to have some dry quickly available. In the simple family hut they pile up as much of it as space permits near the fire or on either side of the entrance. Larger quantities are stored in the so-called winter hut (p. 33), as well as in the enlarged hut for the celebration of the *Ceremonies* and the *kina*. It helps a great deal if the wet wood is kept under cover for some time and touched by the heat of the fire. In the canoe they carry only a small amount, which is all the more carefully handled (p. 43). Whatever has been gathered together by the industry of the family is loosely leaned upright against the outside of the hut. The air outside and the slight flow of warm air from within combine to cause the moisture to drip off and gradually disappear. They never leave the gathered wood behind in the forest because it would not dry there. They would rather arrange it in a bundle and place it in an open spot where the sun and wind can get at it, if they cannot stack it beside the dwelling. Such piles of wood are easily identified as the property of a family, and other people do not touch them.

In the west it is incomparably more difficult to light the fire and keep it going, for the air is saturated with moisture and the ground is a lake. Laboriously they dry a few sticks beside the canoe fire during the trip, and upon landing, these make it possible to start the /398/ fire on the beach. They immediately place other logs near it, which are preheated before the hut for covering the new fire is completed. The latter is now sure to continue burning, and at the same time a bad smoke condition has been prevented. The Yamana know very well that the wood for the hut fire is better after it has remained exposed to the hot fire for an hour or so, or after the wind has swept through it on an open, exposed spot. Hence their uninterrupted efforts to have dry firewood.

/398 cont./

372 The vital importance of fire as such is increased still more
374 by its many uses. It is an unsurpassed protection chiefly against cold and dampness. What it means to these people who, day after day, almost stark naked, are exposed to rain and snow, fog and wind, salt water, and wet earth can be adequately appreciated only by someone who has personally experienced the comfort of the fire under those conditions. The fire, always available in the hut and in the canoe, thoroughly warms the parts of the body that are uncomfortable. In a few minutes the feeling of cold vanishes and the stiffness of the limbs disappears, delicate wisps of steam rise from the surface of the body which has been drenched with rain, and anyone lingering for a while at the fire is restored to life. A person who wishes to have its effect for a longer time makes a small fire beside his pallet or the place where he sits. He brings his arms or legs quite close to it or bends his head and the upper part of his body over it. Everyone who must stay too far away from the fire in the middle part of the hut provides for himself in this manner.

752 His inseparable association with fire also explains why there is scarcely a Yamana to be met who does not have scars from burns (61). Small children often injure themselves badly.

61. After direct observations Hyades (f):559 even stated: "There is not a Fuegian who does not show mottling on his body, especially on his legs, due to the effect on the skin of prolonged stays in the immediate vicinity of the fire" /translated from French/.
Bove writes (MM:XVII, 235; 1883): "Professor Spegazzini examined more than fifty Fuegians, and did not find one amongst them free from the mark of serious burns" /cited in English/.

I saw coarse scar tissue, indicating a serious injury, on the entire right leg of a grown girl, the daughter of Felipe (62).

62. In more recent times, on July 19, 1902, J. Williams (MM:XXXVI, 277; 1902) reported the death "of a woman from burns.

/388 cont./

The whole of the lower part of her body was badly burnt, in some places the bones were exposed" /cited in English/.

It is not surprising that the entire surface of the body of these Indians and also every larger object they use exudes a penetrating odor of smoke. Moreover, the uncovered parts of their body become deeply tanned. I observed that my own face and hands became colored after only a few days of frequent visits to the Indian huts. This change disappeared only after persistent, thorough scrubbing with soap and warm water for a few weeks at home.

/389/ Our Indians do not use special material for illumination. The weak light given off by the fire suffices. They do not work at night anyway. If a light is necessary to look for something or to examine something, they strip off a handful of the brush with which their hut is covered and place it on the fire which immediately flames up brightly. In order to light a path in the dark, they wave a dry, smoldering piece of bark back and forth until it flares up. Signal fires serve to convey messages over a long distance and have special meaning.

The Indian roasts and fries his food at the fire and also melts his whale blubber there. He never eats animal food raw. Finally, he needs the fire for some of his handiwork. With fire, he makes rushes flexible for the braiding of baskets and ropes; he bends the large pieces of bark for his canoe; he dries raw materials and implements before or during their utilization; he fells hollow tree trunks by burning them out, and so forth (63).

63. For the manifold uses of fire by these Indians, see Hyades (q):345. In Volume I, page 297, I have described how the Selk'nam make use of it.

4 The Yamana could probably do without their clothing and their miserable hut on the frosty Cape Horn archipelago, but they could never give up their open fire in the hut and in the canoe (64).

64. "As life is impossible here without fire, the

372 /399 cont./
women are like the vestals of old, and never allow the fire to go out in the frail barques" (MM:X, 20; 1876) /cited in English/.

B. Clothing

291 511 Since the time the Yamana became known beyond the borders of their remote island world, an amazing fact concerning them continues to be discussed in European circles to this day, namely, that they enjoy excellent health in their damp, raw homeland without any clothing and body covering to speak of. Every European is convinced that a human being under the weather conditions existing there must be dependent on very ample protection if he is to survive. Nevertheless, the short scrap of leather that the Fuegians hang loosely around their necks does not even deserve to be called clothing or body covering. All observers agree, and in their accounts express their astonishment in no uncertain terms, that the natives "ordinarily go about completely naked." These are also the specific words of one of the first missionaries, Aspinall: 270. Further documentation will be found below.

147 At the same time, observers recognize the healthy physical development and the great resistance of the natives, although they never describe the full significance of that most vital resource which is constantly at their disposal, namely, their open fire.

372 /400/ This fire more than compensates for the complete lack of protective body covering. An easily accessible stand of trees, furnishes the required fuel for everyone. With it he can maintain a warm fire in the hut, in the canoe, in any open place, and at every campsite. The fire alone makes life possible in that region.

291 A short back-cape of skin is the only article of clothing, alike in shape and brevity for all sexes and ages. It is functional chiefly because it gives the comforting fire unobstructed access to the whole surface of the body.

291 481 In their manufacture of articles, our Indians are dependent primarily on furs and skins as their raw material. This is also true of the little that one might call their "clothing." A complicated method of preparation is not possible because there are no tools for it. Also, it would not be worthwhile because the high humidity

/400 cont./

291 everywhere soon has a destructive effect. Everything, however,
281 testifies to a far-reaching modesty in their demands and to the complete self-sufficiency of these natives, which surprises every observer.

291 It is worth emphasizing that the amount of clothing as such does not always offer the best and most healthful protection for the body. In any case, however, the consequences are disastrous, for
[171] any people when their arrangements, which have for centuries proved serviceable, are forcefully suppressed or put aside by mistaken judges who have come from different conditions of life (65).

65. In this connection see page 315 /untranslated/ on the many disadvantages that developed for the Yamana when they adopted European clothing at the mission station and afterwards.

291 It is instructively stimulating to compare the customary
171 dress of the Yamana with that of their neighbors on either side. The Halakwulup in the west, in the same climatic conditions and like economic circumstances, have exactly the same body covering as the Yamana. The Selk'nam, on the other hand, living in a country with less precipitation, travel by day and do not make an open fire until evening to protect themselves for the cold night. They do not rub as much fat onto their bodies, but instead wrap themselves in a wide, well-fitting cloak of soft guanaco leather. Since they have less chance to remain beside an open fire, they seek a substitute in a warmer piece of clothing. This proves how intelligently and sensitively every tribe has chosen what is most serviceable and advantageous from among the few possibilities offered by its environment.

291 If we regard as body covering the inconsequential piece of leather that the Yamana hang around themselves, Lothrop:121 is right when he says: "It is no exaggeration to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in /401/ the world" /cited in English/. Anything less in the way of body protection than the Yamana have in their frosty Cape Horn region cannot be imagined.

/401 cont./

291 For further documentation we give here a few more opinions of former travelers. Decker (p. 52) says briefly and emphatically: "The men go about quite naked; only the women cover their natural parts with a piece of leather" (66). George Forster (b):243

66. See Fig. 10, p. 55 /untranslated/ for the first picture of the Yamana, dated 1624.

wrote in December, 1774, about the natives of Christmas Sound: "They had no clothing other than a piece of sealskin which hung down over only about half of their loins and the upper part of which scarcely covered their shoulders. Thus, their hands, feet, and whole bodies were exposed to a cold which affected even us, although we were well protected against it." A few lines below he adds: "They seemed very sensitive to the cold, for their whole bodies were trembling..." Near Angostura Murray, Snow (a):II, 16 was surrounded by many natives. "They were all unclothed, except one or two of the women, who had fragments of some guanaco, or seal-skin, thrown across the shoulder" /cited in English/. Snow (b):262 gave them articles of European clothing, which they found cumbersome. "The men directly they came on deck were clothed by us, but evidently they did not like such confinement of their limbs" /cited in English/. Soon after his arrival Despard reported his impression of the miserable Yamana: "Their destitution is great, and they have but the pretence of clothing in a strip of seal or other skin over their shoulders" (VSA: XIII, 81: 1866) /cited in English/. Bove (d) :290 expressed himself in somewhat more detail: "A short, little cape of sealskin or guanaco hide, thrown on the back and held by a tape that passes around the neck, is the only clothing of a Fueglan. Some of them do not even have the meager cape" /translated from Italian/. This means, as indeed he briefly states (g) :234: "They go nearly nude in that rigorous and stormy climate" /translated from Italian/. Lovisato (b) :261 agrees with him that "everyone is completely nude, men and women. Sometimes one sees a woman, or even a man, whose back is covered with the skin of an otter or sea lion, used as a cape" /translated from Italian/. At the sight of these naked savages in the rough Cape Horn region every European marveled at their vitality, their degree of resistance, and their genuine good health.

/401 cont./

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1. Man's Clothing

The Yamana do not use special clothing for each sex. The sexes can be more than clearly recognized by their almost uncovered bodies. The essential article of clothing owned by the Indian is his tuwɛ̃aki, a cape that hangs over his back, which can properly be called his only article of clothing. It is almost never larger than the area of his back, the uneven edges forming a more or less rectangular shape. Through a few holes on the narrower edge the man draws a /402/ strap barely one centimeter wide which he puts around his neck and ties in a knot under his chin. The piece of leather hangs free, and he pushes it either to the right or left, according to whether he wishes to protect this or that side of his body. If it hinders him or becomes burdensome, he unties the knot of the strap under his chin and throws it off.

Weddel:157 describes this garment of the men as "a skin over their shoulders, reaching little more than half way down the back; some have not even this sorry garment" /cited in English/ (67).

> 67. A few years later Fitz-Roy (a):138 observed among the inhabitants of Tekenika Bay: "Sometimes these satires upon mankind wear a part of the skin of a guanaco or seal skin upon their backs; but often there is nothing, either to hide their nakedness or to preserve warmth, except a scrap of hide, which is tied to the side or back of the body, by a string around the waist" /cited in English/.

The same piece serves the undemanding Yamana summer and winter; even for the cold season he asks for no better protection. Bove (c) :127 also confirms this: In that dreadful climate, where there is much snow and rain, wild storms, and bitter, damp cold, everyone owns only "a little cape of sealskin or guanaco hide, held at the neck by a strip of leather" /translated from Spanish/.

The piece of leather is never large enough or wide enough to wrap around the entire torso. Upon leaving his hut, the wearer pushes it across his shoulders to whichever side of his body is turned

/402 cont./

291 toward the wind, for it hangs very loosely on a single strip of leather drawn around the neck. When they go to sleep at night, they untie this cape and use it as a cover. Fortunately, our Indians have such an enviable ability to curl themselves up that most of the body is covered by this tiny piece of leather.

291 It is principally the small sea lion that furnishes its skin
291 for this cape. Sometimes two small pieces are sewed together. The edges are cut fairly evenly. In the southern regions the man also uses a small cloak made of two or three otter skins, whereas the inhabitants of the east wear a similarly large fur piece from the guanaco. As we know, guanacos are easily obtainable on Navarino Island and on the north shore of eastern Beagle Channel. Sea lions are less common. It is possible that the eastern Yamana, [177] following the example of the neighboring Selk'nam, have only in the most recent times made the wider and longer cloak that covers the entire body. Originally they used it as little as did the other groups (68).

68. Bridges writes: "The natives of the shores of Beagle Channel are frequently clothed in a guanaco skin; not the beautiful guanaco robes used by the Patagonians, but the coarse shaggy skins of the grown animals which the Patagonians use only as tent covers" (VP:III, 117; 1856) /cited in English/.

291 The cape does not demand any care, and when it is worn out, it can easily be replaced. The fur side is advantageously worn on the outside. If the layer of fur were next to the skin, a great deal of dirt and perspiration would accumulate, one's skin would be scratched or irritated by the larger bristles, /403/ and the entire piece would become hard and stiff, since the leather would constantly be exposed to rain. The layer of leather, however, although soaked with blubber, is lubricated, so to speak, by the oily skin of the body on which it lies, and this keeps it soft longer. Moreover, the rain easily drips off the layer of fur worn outside and cannot soak through the whole piece. The decisive factor, as I learned, is that the Indians find the layer of fur uncomfortable against the naked skin of their bodies. No wonder, since even this light cape

/403 cont./

291 often feels annoying or uncomfortable to them. In the hut and in the canoe, at work and on the hunt, the man carelessly lets it fall by loosening the leather knot, and he feels better now than he did before. He wants to be entirely free for the goal he happens to be pursuing. The piece is durable, but it gets hard wear and is given no care at all. After only a few weeks it is shabby and torn at the edges, but the man drags it about for more than half a year (69).

69. The following authors mention this back cape of the men: Aginall:270, Bove (e):157, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (p) :337, Lothrop (b) :121, Snow (a) :II 16, Spegazzini (a) :161, and others.

291 Most of the men at all times and everywhere wear a cover-
297 ing over the genitals which is somewhat larger than that worn by
294 the women. They prefer a smooth piece of leather from which the fur has been entirely removed. It is, of course, used only for the sake of decency. Nevertheless, some old men become so careless that they almost habitually go without it. When they sit or stand, their conduct betrays a certain bashfulness, it is true, but this feeling is no longer strong enough in them that they would go to the trouble of wearing a covering. The people generally do not like to see young or middle-aged persons completely naked, but no one dares to remonstrate with old men. Nevertheless, the latter, when they are sitting, take care that their nakedness does not offend the eyes of those present. Defiant nakedness is not approved on principle.

291 In olden times neither footgear nor any kind of foot cover-
177 ing was known. Whereas it was always lacking among the people of the Cape Horn region, as Hyades (q) :348 maintains (70), it was

70. Fitz-Roy (a) :138 in his day reported of the southern people that "neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes" /cited in English/.

probably only in recent times that regular sandals of guanaco and seal skin were adopted in the middle and eastern region. Some

291 [177]

/403 cont./
influence by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 213) cannot be dismissed, while in the west it may have come from the Halakwulup, for the latter wear sandals of sealskin, as do their northern neighbors, the now extinct Chono and the Araucanian natives of the Chiloé Archipelago (71).

71. On May 25, 1867, Bridges reported on a journey to the east: "The snow is about a foot deep, and it freezes hard every night, and some of the men wear mocassins" (MM:I, 164; 1867) /cited in English/. He does not describe these sandals; they may have been adopted from the Halakwulup.

/404/ The Yamana sandals, kíli, have almost the same cut as those of the Selk'nam (Fig. 15). A piece of hide from the guanaco or the sea lion, about 65 centimeters long and 20 centimeters wide, is cut to form approximately a rectangle. A few holes are punched close together across the wider of the two narrow ends and in the upper half near the edges. The foot is placed upon it in such a way that the front flap of leather is turned back over the toes and the dorsal part of the foot. The side edges are then folded up, and the perpendicular seam over the heel is laced with a short strap of leather. Beginning directly over the toes /Fig. 15 appears here/ the free ends of a single strap are drawn through the holes lying one above the other parallel to the edges, and the strap is fastened over the instep. Straw or moss is used to stuff the sandal, in which the foot stands warm and dry. Since the fur is on the outside, the foot has sufficient grip on the ground. Moreover, the hairs on the sole of the sandal always point forward, which prevents slipping. The leather is quickly softened by the damp earth, and the foot itself adjusts its grip to every kind of footing. In view of this, the sandals prove superior to European footgear, especially on treks over the uneven, wet forest floor. The packing rots quickly and becomes musty, but it is renewed without any trouble.

It is true that the sandals of sealskin have an even more

291 /404 cont./
unpleasant odor (72) when they are soaked by wet earth than those of guanaco skin, which are called Ímerakhi (73). The latter

73. The western Yamana did not know this word; they almost always went barefoot.

are worn much less commonly by the Yamana, since seakkin is handier and more convenient for him. He wears his sandals for the most part only on longer treks through the forest, hardly ever in the hut or in the canoe. In spite of the many advantages they

Fig. 18. Sandal.

afford, most men never wear them, even though going barefoot in some places is very disagreeable (see Bridges in VSA: XI, 288; 1864).

[77] In the east where the guanaco is easy to hunt, the men, presumably under the influence of the Selk'nam, learned to wear a type of leggings /405/ that form a tube-like protection for the lower calves. The piece of leather, cut like a trapezoid, is put on with the woolly side against the lower calf and is laced across the back lengthwise with a narrow leather band, so that it clings tightly to the leg. They protect themselves on tramps through the snow with these leg., according to SD:184, "leggings used only when hunting guanaco in snowy weather" /cited in English/

/405 cont./

291 (Lothrop [b] :124 writes pfwa) (74). Everything points to the fact

> 74. BD:164 also maintains that this type of legging was used to a limited extent, which is obvious from his words quoted above.

that this protection of the lower leg was neither originally nor generally used by the Yamana. See Kilivellhi in BD:130.

2. Woman's Clothing

The woman wears the same back-cape as the man, the tuwiki, for body protection, scant though it is. There is no difference between the two sexes in the proportions, shape, or method of wearing it. In exceptional cases we find some women with a leather piece somewhat longer or wider so that it looks like a shoulder cape (75). In general the women prefer some skins and

> 75. With the same thing in mind Fitz-Roy (a) :158 wrote: "Women wear rather more clothing [than men], that is, they have nearly the whole skin of a guanaco, or seal, wrapped about them, and usually a diminutive apron" /italics in English/.

sew two to four of them together, occasionally even eight to ten. The heavier, longer hairs are removed from these skins, so that only the velvety smooth fur remains. The skins of several cormorants and penguins are chosen for this back-cape on the southern islands. Farther north the skins of two or three foxes is sometimes used. It is partly convenience, utilizing what is at hand, and partly fondness for furs, which is by no means wanting in Indian women, that determines the choice of furs and skins for the back-cape. A cape of otter skins is the most valuable; cormorant skins are supposed to be prettier. Each of these pieces affords so little protection and cover as the other, but no one expects or wishes for more (76).

> 76. Bridges (MS:III, 118, 1869) [illegible]

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/485 cont./

judges the usefulness of this back-cape. "The Indians of the outer coasts are well supplied with skins of seals and otters, and are, or might be, well protected from the weather. But those of the inner shores are badly off for skins, and even use the skins of dogs and penguins for cloaks, and generally have only two fox or otter skins, or a single fur seal skin, only sufficient to cover their shoulders" /Aiton in English/.

It is almost never the case that an Indian woman does not have this modest back-cape. Sometimes a woman carrying an infant enlarges it, thus making a sort of shawl that covers the entire upper part of her body and under which the child can snuggle. If she wishes to protect the child especially well, she reverses the cloak so that the fur side is against her back. Furthermore, the woman who /486/ in bad weather wishes to save her cloak temporarily turns the leather side out. Afterwards she turns it over again.

In every respect the opinions of two earlier travelers are noteworthy. Snow (x) .61, 16 writes about a small group that he met in the Beagle Channel: "They were all unclothed, except one or two of the women, who had fragments of some guanaco, or seal-skin, thrown across the shoulder" /Aiton in English/. Snow (x) .157 expresses himself in a more general way: "Drawers and a small cloak of guanaco or seal skin comprise the outfit of a Fuegian; some do not even own a cloak, but defy all inclemencies of the weather with naked chest, naked arms and legs." Women, too, wishing to protect themselves to a certain extent against wind and weather, follow the habit of the men and sometimes hang this short, narrow cloak over the more exposed side of the body. Dyrdee (y) .207 says in this connection: "Most of the time each individual has a skin of seal or otter, which he places over his shoulders to protect himself also a little from the wind" /translated from French/. Long before this Aspinall: 170 wrote: The inhabitants of Beagle Channel "ordinarily go completely naked, except for a small skin around their shoulders."

/[illegible]/

The brief "modesty apron" (77) worn by every woman and

77. This article is mentioned, for example, by Decker (p. 10), George Farrow (p. 10), Waddell (p. 60), Snow (fig.28) and others. "It is used by all the girls and women of the country, from the youngest to the oldest. It is extremely rare for a Yaghan woman to be without this article of clothing, and if she leaves it for some reason, her first concern is to procure another one" (La Serena: 10) /translated from French/.

gown by most of the men is indispensable. It is known as *mañikina*, *ciffaglia*, and they are never without it. We particularly want to refer to it here, because some European travellers take it so very much for granted that they either do not mention it specifically or do not describe it enough. It is no necessary to a woman's outfit that Hyades (p.208) wrote. "There is no difference between the two sexes, except that the women wear a little 'vine leaf' made of guanaco hide" /translated from French/ (78). There is no such

78. In another connection Hyades (p.240) again speaks of this "article of dress which, by its location and dimensions, precisely resembles one of the vine leaf that is put on statue nudes" /translated from French/.

thing as going naked among the women and girls.

Whereas Deblaere (fig. 178) shows us that men sometimes do not have any kind of covering, he nevertheless emphasizes without qualification. "The women always wear a belt with a little piece of hide that covers only the genital part" /translated from Spanish/. Thus continually every woman clings to the modesty-apron and avoids complete nudity in front of men is apparent from an observation which Hyades (p. 404) has inserted in a description of the pictures in his monograph. There (1) shows a male girl named "Kamaskinn Olga. Figure 1 shows her as a woman when she was not wearing her little apron, a very rare occurrence, and /[illegible]/

/407 cont./
lamented comrade, Naval Lieutenant Peyen, who took this photograph, was very well acquainted with this girl, but he could never persuade her to move her right hand from the place where the apron belonged" /translated from French/.

This apron is thus strictly demanded by decency and a feeling of modesty. Even at night the women do not remove it (78).

> 78. Hyades (f):561 again speaks of this in detail: "The women have only a little covering for modesty, intended to hide the genital parts, which consists of a very short and very narrow triangle suspended between the thighs. It is made of guanaco hide, with the fur turned inward. They never, or almost never, remove this covering; during the conjugal act, it is simply rolled up on the abdomen" /translated from French/. Compare also Hyades (b):1366.

It is usually triangular in shape, about 15 centimeters wide at the top and about ten centimeters long in the middle. Some are also trapezoidal or rectangular in shape. They always choose a soft piece of leather and prefer guanaco leather, both sides of which are scraped and rubbed with kitchen. Girls and younger women use pieces of otter and guanaco skins without removing the fur. They wear the fur side against their bodies (79). A hole is bored into

> 79. Hyades (d) :307 thinks that this is "probably because its contact against the skin is softer than that of leather" /translated from French/.

the two upper corners, in one of which is inserted a narrow leather band or a braided vendee. This is drawn over the hips and tucked on the other corner. The apron hangs freely, the well, is tightly passed between the legs, and serves its purpose (80). This piece

> 80. Lothrop (b) :233 says only: "A triangular pubic covering of skin was usually worn by the

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/491 cont./

women" /cited in English/. Have explicitly Dyakon (q) .500 again writes: "The women alone wear a little triangular scrap of gummy skin in the pubic region. It is from twelve to fifteen centimeters long and from seven to eight centimeters wide at the bottom" /translated from French/.

is removed only after long wear. It is not customary to wash it.

Women never wear sandals; they walk much more comfortably barefoot. Moreover, they must often step into water and walk around on the wet earth. They also do not have any kind of head covering (93), nor do the men and children. Their thick,

[94]

93. Pim-Ray (q) .176 had observed: "A small fillet is all that is worn around the head. Usually this is a rosary-string, made of the stones of birds or animals" /cited in English/. This piece is a simple head ornament.

strong, and abundant hair is an adequate covering against wind and sun for the Pangwes of all ages.

5. Children's Clothing

The body covering of children corresponds to that of adults, not only in its essentials, but even in small details. The little ones, too, have no other body protection than the short back-cape which is adapted somewhat to their underdeveloped backs and made of soft leather of younger animals. The leather in use seems to have lost its elasticity, hence it hangs on the tiny body of the child like an old rag. /[illegible]/ It does not occur to anyone to take care of it. Dyakon says briefly (q) .[illegible]: "Children from a few years old from time to time wear a small skin on the shoulder" /translated from French/. In such scanty covering these small, dry creatures give every Pangwen the impression of great vigilant and painful destitution.

[illegible]

As long as they are still dependent on the special care of their mothers, they never stray afield. When they begin to walk by themselves, they get the back-wraps which they wear as one off according to their sound or hearty. (Fig. 18 appears here.) It serves them also as "nests" when they sleep at night. Somewhat later, at the age of two, the girl gets her [illegible], [illegible], the triangular mulberry-apron, which hides which the front not remove. All the women are to it that the child to be conceived does not appear itself. The size of the child's body

Fig. 18. Mulberry-Apron for Girls
Two-thirds natural size.

determine the proportions of this public covering (Fig. 18). Boys do not wear this covering until they are ten years old or older. It is left to the discretion of parents or relatives. They feel that it is not necessary for boys to wear a mulberry-apron, there old men also sometimes wear it, but when they begin to mature physically, boys no longer appear without it in the company of adults.

It is the task of the mother to make the simple, modest clothing of children. This does not require particular effort, and yet many a woman fifty months her child was about to a dummy, was little clad for a long time before the replaces the mother, walked given with a better one. Children

[illegible]

[illegible] take care of their clothing just as little as adults do. They drag it through mud and urine and use it to sit on and as a cover for sleeping. They wrap meat and shells in it and make use of it wherever and however it may serve them. For lo part the climate has a great deadening effect on all bodies. Even though it is more or less saturated with bilibiee and is constantly, consciously or unconsciously, rubbed with fat, the layer of fat on the outside soon wears out through much use. [illegible] and then dampness can get at it on both sides. Mold is constantly forming and in a short time causes large, irregular soft patches that easily tear and come loose. Then, at last, the natives provide a long-needed replacement. Dear dear are more precious than real skin, but every native prefers to use the former because they are softer and more beautiful, and she does not mind that they are not as durable.

These children of nature do not worry and are not anxious by concerned about their clothing. If a boy has to wait for days for a new cloth because he has lost his old one, he makes up for it in the daytime with the warmth of the hot fire, and at night he snuggles close to his brothers and sisters who give him some of their body warmth or a little space under their own dear backcapes which serve them all as a cover. They are satisfied with the bare of everything.

4. Purpose of Clothing

The two pieces of bamboo with which the Tatanes cover only small zones of their bodies cannot possibly be regarded as clothing. Without giving it much thought, one recognizes the brief triangular apron as something required on principle by a feeling of modesty. This is proved by the shape of the [illegible] as such, and the fact that all female persons must never be seen without it. As a matter of fact, all the young and middle-aged men, practically without exception, appear in front of women with this covering. It is only the old men who no longer give offense by complete nudity (p. 38), as mature here much the adults in their victory shelter seeing them in the main (38). Furthermore,

[illegible]

/see case./
"Bat individuals of both sexes and all ages
often were entirely naked" /cited in English/
must thus be qualified.

the general practice of putting this pubic covering on girls when they are still children, without any kind of accompanying festivity or ceremony, is most significant. When women change these coverings or remove them for any reason, they avoid doing so in the presence of other persons (34). Girls learn to conduct them-

[illegible]

34. See page 10 as to the conduct of young Kawanakiships who was caught by surprise without her modesty-apron by a French officer.

selves properly while standing and sitting, not only by the example of the adults, but through special instruction.

This scrap of leather, as he says, is only the size of one's hand and is suspended from a coarse string around the hips, but, as Hyades (p) .10 has observed, "they never appear without this bandelette, which is quite sufficient for them, although one can by no means say that they lack a sense of modesty." When sitting, they usually keep their thighs together and place one foot in such a position that the heel pressed the pubic covering against the /410/ body. Only an old man sometimes squats on the ground without a covering and with his legs wide apart.

[illegible]

Hyades (p) .200 aptly says of this small piece of skin: "It is an emblem of modesty" /translated from French/. Women even regard it as improper merely to speak of it. For this reason I carefully had to persuade an old woman to make this piece for me, which I wanted to add to my collection. She made it in secret and gave it to me with the remark that I should not mention it to other people. Sometimes younger women cover their breasts with the short back-aprs, at any rate if men should annoy them with meaningful glances.

[illegible]

The little cloth can only provide meager and incomplete protection against wind and bad weather. A continuous cold current of air from one direction against a part of the body is inadmissible for anyone. Even so, a person sitting in a canoe and obliged to reach a certain goal cannot protect himself against it in any other

291 /410 cont./

way but by pulling the brief cape around him as a cover. Actually it gives perceptible protection and saves these people from severe injury to their health. It cannot be longer or wider, or it would keep off the warmth of the nearby fire and get in the way of the arms while rowing or working. These are mainly the decisive considerations when the Yamana make the back-cape in its customary shape and size. A large and woolly fur cloak, somewhat like that used by the Selk'nam, may temporarily cover the body well and uniformly warm it, but it does not permit the free movement of the arms that everyone absolutely demands, especially in the canoe.

If a European would look at that pitiful body covering from the standpoint of the Indians, he would be convinced of its surprisingly functional nature and would, at the same time, have an opportunity to appreciate the ingenuity and adaptability of these people. Clothing to the native is just not useful if it swathes the entire body (85). Serviceable and durable furs and animal

85. Krickeberg:321 says briefly: "Protective clothing is almost entirely lacking. A small cloak of seal or otter skin hangs down from the man's shoulder. A triangular apron of guanaco leather is the only clothing of the woman." This outfit could not be reduced to less, even in tropical Africa.

skins are available to our Yamana, and they could easily be made into a closed garment for the entire body. It is not absolutely necessary, however, because everyone everywhere has easy access to the open fire. Besides the fresh air that constantly bathes the body, everyone benefits much more from this than they would from a closed garment which, in that rainy climate, would hardly ever be completely dry and could never be kept clean. It is true that the Indians' teeth sometimes chatter with cold or they bend over stiff with cold in a downpour and in a snow storm, but one need endure such discomfort /411/ only until he reaches a fire or lights a new one. In the shortest time the whole body is then thoroughly and evenly warmed and the skin completely dry, for

/411 cont./

291 they alternately turn one side of the body and then the other to the fire, each time pushing their cape in the opposite direction with a slight movement of the hand.

Misdirected sympathy that knows nothing about the advantages of all the resources our natives have for the protection of their bodies pities them unduly and underestimates their wise judgment in the things they have expediently invented and chosen for themselves. As a matter of fact, they avoid much damage to their health because they do not tolerate material that clings to their bodies. Frequent rain and snow, wet air, and the vigorous splashing of waves which constantly wash them promote a healthy skin which is good for the whole organism. The short back-cape with its rough leather side turned toward the skin also acts as a gentle rubbing agent. If all this were omitted with a change in the mode of dress, what equivalent would the Indian have? To begin with, he does not have to be afraid of uneven warmth and of weakening the parts of his body that are covered among other
291 peoples. With their pure sensibilities, and even more, their dis-
177 cerning judgment, these natural people were not unaware of all the harm that followed the later introduction of clothing to which they were not accustomed. Their effort to reject the foreign, unhealthful coercion was instinctive. Nowadays the last survivors are quite frank about their conviction that European clothing, ûfka, and diet, together with imported diseases and alcoholic beverages, have caused the swift destruction of their people (p. 339 /untranslated/).

302 The inhabitants of those distant islands need never reckon with extreme cold, although the weather and the air are always damp and cool. If the heat of the fire should be inadequate or if there is a long trek in prospect and it is very cold, they protect themselves by thoroughly rubbing the entire body with a mixture of blubber and red powder from burnt clay. Ordinarily scarcely any dampness clings to the skin of the body which has been amply greased, and sometimes one sees rain or sea water fall off in drops. This layer of thick grease is a protection also in that it retains the person's own body warmth (86). This was also true in the case of the

86. Aspinall:270, mentioning this expedient, wrote: They "have the habit of rubbing their

302 /411 cont./
bodies with an ointment made of blubber and red earth, which probably also affords some protection against the cold." Before that, Snow (b):284 mentioned it: "The only thing they do to keep more warm is to rub themselves over with grease and ochreous earth" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (a):139 mentioned the same purpose: "Both sexes oil them selves, or rubb /sic/ their bodies with grease" /cited in English/. Spears:52 also mentions this custom and adds: "Had the early explorers imitated instead of despised the Jahgan, they would have had fewer tales of suffering to tell" /cited in English/.

single anointment with blubber of the whale /412/ or sea lion. This made every person glisten with oil from head to foot, which had a most amazing effect on European travelers and missionaries until they became accustomed to the sight. This simple and very effective measure was available to everyone, and they all liked to use it when cold winds blew or when there was heavy rain. Such
[117] an anointment with blubber is no longer possible with the European clothing that is customary today. Instead, every article of clothing is full of dirt and grease.

291 In spite of everything, the extremely meager body protection of our Indians proves their great power of resistance against the extreme inclemency of the weather in their homeland and their undemanding contentment. Even though their one article of clothing is serviceable and their open fire an indispensable advantage, there would still be room for a few simple comforts. Compared with the neighboring Selk'nam, our Yamana are obviously in a somewhat less favorable position.

5. Preparation of Furs and Skins

281 Our Indians need the furs and skins of their game animals (87),

87. In some places the Indian has a good selection. Thus Bridges wrote on June 4, 1864, about his visit

281

/412 cont./
in the Wulaia region: "The greater part of the skins we saw on the natives, were Otter skins; there were very few Guanaco skins... Seal skins, both fur and hair, were numerous. Many of the skins were sufficiently large to cover the whole person" (VSA:XI, 280; 1864) /cited in English/.

not only to make their meager articles of clothing, but for all kinds of implements and utilitarian articles. The otter and the fox
[224] are hunted only for their fur. Following an old, sanctioned cus-
[862] tom, man and wife share in the work of preparation; the heavier work falls to the man, and the lighter handwork to the woman. Fortunately, the skins are extremely greasy and oily. After they have been removed, they keep perfectly for several days despite complete neglect. The sometimes continuous inclemency of the weather very often hinders the man in accomplishing preming tasks, during which time many objects are badly damaged from lack of immediate care and proper treatment.

281 When possible, the successful hunter makes every effort
224 to skin the seal immediately at the place where he killed it or at the first best landing place. His main object is the delicious blubber and the fresh meat. First he must pull off the skin. He places the sea lion or related species on its back lengthwise on the ground. His first and only long incision is made from the neck over the chest and belly to the end of the rump. A sharpened mussel shell
[412] serves as a knife. The second and deeper incision runs around the neck. He does not yet sever the head completely, /412/ but thrusts his knife in so deeply that the whole head can be grasped with both hands and, after the cervical vertebra has been broken, torn off with a sharp tug. He begins above at one edge of the skin or the other and, holding his knife in his right hand and grasping the skin with his left, he peels it away from its adhering layer of fat by means of short, contiguous, oblique cuts. The flippers are peeled out intact from the joints under the skin which has been severed all around, and thus they remain hanging on the skin. He works his way along, piece by piece, first on one side, then on the other, always in the direction of the rump until the whole

/413 cont./

carcass lies on the outspread skin from which it has now been separated. He sees to it that only thin remnants of the layer of fat cling to the skin; they are wanted as food since he does not scrape them off later. He then peels off the thick subcutaneous layer of fat all around the carcass, going over it up to four more times, in the form of shreds as large as the palm of one's hand, which the women and children carry to the hut. It is only then that he opens the abdominal cavity, takes out the entrails, along with the stomach and lungs, which he tosses to the dogs or throws into the water, and reserves the heart for himself. Turning the carcass, he lets the blood flow out, and finally he cuts it into several large pieces.

As soon as circumstances permit -- a few days do not matter -- the skin is dried. Until then caution must be exercised so that the dogs do not chew on it. The man takes charge of stretching it. First he cuts out the four flippers which are still hanging in the skin, and his wife immediately sews up these holes with strong tendon fibers. Along the outer edge of the skin he punches small holes a finger's length apart. Rods about as thick as a finger are fixed into the holes under tension and from one side of the skin to the other, lengthwise and crosswise. The rods are crudely pointed and protrude only a little beyond the hole. There is more tension on the thicker sticks than on the thinner ones, but all are turned and pushed in such a manner that there are no wrinkles in the entire stretched skin. Irregular and confused though this basketwork is in appearance, the skin itself is evenly stretched throughout.

It is leaned against the outer wall of the hut to dry. A protruding stick is pounded into the earth, so that the stretched skin stands upright and both sides are exposed to currents of air. The basketwork is put on the inner side, not the hair side, to keep it from getting soiled, since many remnants of fat still cling to it. The moving current of air dries the skin quickly, hence it makes no difference if the piece of leather is often rained on while it is still soft. If it were dried in front of the fire, parts of it would shrink or even rot, and it would become distorted; therefore the Indians do not try it. After two to three weeks, depending on the time of the year and the thickness of the skin, it is so stiff and

/413 cont./

hard that the sticks of the frame can be removed (88).

88. This basketwork frame for stretching skins is quite as simple and made after the same pattern as that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, p. 210, and Fig. 31). Some time ago Despard spoke of a preparation of "skins by stretching /sic/ them in wooden frames, till quite dry; then scraping and rubbing with stones, till soft and smooth, and white inside" (VP:VI, 66; 1859) /cited in English/. This procedure is ancient and familiar also to the Halakwulup.

/414/ The procedure is the same for stretching and drying the skins of the fox and the otter, but the work is easier because these skins are lighter and smaller. Some care is required in skinning penguins and cormorants, as well as in stretching these skins, *ŋpen*, *mimuf*, which are thin and delicate. The fur and skins of other animals are not dressed.

If the dried, stiff seal skins are used for the covering of the hut, they need no further preparation, but for their many other uses it is necessary to clean them. The ordinary knife or a sharp-edged mussel shell serves as a scraper. The woman scrapes the inner side, piece by piece, with the entire broad side of the blade. The skin is spread out on the ground with the hair side down, and she kneels or squats on it, pushing herself along bit by bit. With uninterrupted movements of the arm, she draws the scraper toward her body with moderate pressure and in short strokes. Hence the scraping marks appear in layers and point in the same direction. In any case, the scraped surface looks irregular because the sharpness of the scraper and the strength of her arm vary constantly. It is necessary to remove primarily the dried fatty tissue and the transparent horny layer of the surface because they tend to rot easily. The woman is mostly guided by feeling, hence it cannot be definitely determined how deep she should go as she scrapes. It depends on the thickness of the entire skin.

Often it is also necessary to remove the hair, as when pieces of leather are needed for the back-cape and for pouches or straps.

/414 cont./

281 In the case of smaller pieces, the hair is sometimes scraped off with the scraper, but more often the natives encourage a process of decay. One method is to place the entire skin under the sleeping section from which a flat layer of earth has first been removed. It is then covered with damp earth, grass, or moss, and the bed is arranged upon it as before. They leave it there, and life in the hut goes on as usual. Dampness from below and a little warmth from above start a process of fermentation which loosens the layer of hair. Eventually this can easily be stripped off with the flat of the hand, as soon as the leather is covered with a slightly slimy, sticky layer (89). Another procedure, used by the woman, is more

89. In brief, general terms Hyades (q):347 also mentions this method of treating the skins to remove the hair.

[514] successful. She collects her own urine on the piece of leather which is spread out with the hairy side upward, letting it penetrate for some time. It does not matter whether the piece lies inside or outside the hut for several days, and it is at the same time exposed to the dampness of the earth. These people think that human urine is more effective when it is collected on the piece of leather and, still warm, is immediately /415/ rubbed in with the palm of the hand or with a small tuft of wood shavings. After this has been repeated several times, the skin is covered with a thin layer of damp earth and then frequently sat upon or slept on so that it is given a good deal of body warmth. After about two weeks the hair can be stripped off easily. The piece of leather is now extremely soft, and one can easily cut out long ropes or short straps.

An otter skin takes more work to prepare. When the woman has completely dried it on the framework of sticks mentioned above, she plucks out the long, coarse hairs individually with her fingers [412] or with two mussel shells that fit one on top of the other. This is an irksome process, but in the end it gives the even, velvety soft fur that everyone regards with pleasure and enjoys stroking with the palm of the hand.

After they are dried, the hard, thick seal skins must be thoroughly beaten, even though the underside has been well scraped, to make them soft and flexible. This requires strong hands, which

/415 cont./

the Tamana women have. There is no hurry about this, since the dried skin, if it is protected from being soaked, cannot be damaged. The work is done in small sections because it quickly tires any woman. She grasps a piece with both hands, makes fists, and presses them together with a kneading motion, so that this movement alone softens the leather. She lets every part slide through her hands several times and kneads it in different directions. Hard, scaly sections are put between her teeth, and after biting them for a long time and using a great deal of saliva on them they finally also soften up. In general, if she wants to make leather pieces quite pliable, she draws them through her teeth, chewing on them.

The Tamana are not familiar with any special process for making the leather stronger by tanning it and saturating it with special materials. To begin with, the dressed skins have plenty of fat and blubber, which are unintentionally smeared on them so often that they have some protection against rotting due to dampness and against cracking by drying out. The back-cape especially receives ample lubrication from the greasy body, merely by being worn. The Tamana only occasionally take out a piece of leather or a finished object of leather and rub it thoroughly with oil. Even less frequently they mix blubber and a red powder made of burnt clay into a putty-like substance and rub it over the surface of the leather with the pressure of the flattened hand (90). If they wish

[71]

90. This is the common procedure among the Bella Coola (Vol. I, 212), probably because the guanaco skins do not contain much fat and because the bodies of these Indians have only a thin layer of fat which is economically and environmentally transferred to the objects they use daily.

to make smaller pieces of leather soft and pliable, they saturate them for some time with blubber. Frequent use suffices to keep leather from getting hard and stiff.

/416/ Whenever it is necessary, as in the case of a large cloak of skins, for example, the cloak of otter skins, sewing, the people also knew how to sew leather pieces together easily and

/416 cont./

281 281 durably. They cut the edges approximately straight and lay them side by side. Near the edges of the two pieces they make a small hole by pricking the leather with an awl or a pointed bone. Into this hole they thread a tendon fiber, ûwûmi, holding it with thumb and index finger and licking it to make it pointed. Then another little hole is bored, and the thread is drawn from one hole to the other over the free edges in a spiral. Finally, they pound the two edges, which are not quite flat, with a round stone to make them flat and low hard so that they will not rub unpleasantly. Such work is very coarse and uneven, for they lack convenient tools. They fasten strands of leather and straps together or tie them to other things simply by lassoing them.

283 283 The fibers of tendon which we have just mentioned, known as ûwûmi or Ûnûna, are often used to sewing and joining pieces of leather. Strands of guanaco tendon are separated into fibers, but a person who does not have these uses the tendon fibers of otter or beaver (Myocastor coypus) tails. The beaver is rare here, however. After they have skinned the animal, they cut off the tail at the root. It is dried for some time, and the individual vertebrae are broken off without tearing the tendons. The last two or three vertebrae are left together. The tendons which have been loosened by this process are separated with the fingernails until they become thin enough to be used for sewing. They then hang like a tuft on the smallest vertebrae of the tail and can be torn off with a sharp tug.

C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation

58 38 Every stranger is surprised by the unclean, unkempt appearance of the Yamana (31). It is disgusting to see these human

31. Among the opinions of former travelers I shall cite only what Snow (x) J. 341 has written: "They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves" /tried in English/.

/416 cont./

beings, glowering with fat as though blubber had been poured over them, in the midst of the jumbled disorder of their efforts inside their smoke-blackened, vapor-filled huts or crouching anxiously in their smelly canoes crammed with trash. Do they not have any feeling for the well-being that a cleansing bath gives a clean body, for the refreshment that follows a thorough wash, or for the natural serenity of a clean dwelling? Continuous privation dulls through habit!

Our Indians were obliged to adjust to the poverty and inadequacy of their /417/ environment where they lack material and equipment without which other people could not be comfortable. Their concern with the preservation of their lives so completely absorbs their attention, especially during canoe trips, that they dare not concentrate on sparing their body or their few possessions. In the huts, which are supposed to afford only slight shelter against the annoying influences of the weather for a single night or for a few days, it is not worth the effort to strive for a little coziness and comfort. Finally, the restlessness of a life of constant wandering would not let them enjoy trying to keep clean. They are by no means completely lacking in any feeling for it, and it would be unjust to them to believe that they have become numb to dirt. As a matter of fact, they have developed a relatively rich amount of body decoration in the form of ornaments and simple body painting (35) that in no slight measure deceives

> 35. George Parker (by 1924 recognized the obvious contradiction: "It is strange that where clothing is so completely lacking they should be so concerned with ornaments and decoration. The Fuegian smears his face with red ochre."

one about their lack of cleanliness or its inadequacy. Even helpful Mother Nature advantageously compensates them for much that they themselves leave undone.

/417 cont./ 1. Body Care

55 The Indian knows nothing about taking care of himself merely from a sense of cleanliness. His cares about the daily necessities of life take greater precedence. He is used to thick crusts of dirt and a loathsome smell of blubber on his skin and is not aware of them at all. He does not wash with any kind of regularity. Everyone gets up from his pitiful bed early in the morning and simply wipes his sleepy, sticky eyes dry with his index finger. Some like to smoke their cheeks gently with the palms of both hands. It is seldom that anyone goes down to the nearby brook and dashes cold water into his face. At times, however, if a person finds himself covered with the dust of ashes or with dirt from the ground picked up while hunting and working, he will feel the necessity of stepping into the nearest pool and rinsing off his whole body. He rubs himself with the palms of his hands and with a tuft of beach grass or scraped wood shavings, /418/ or even with a wet ball of grass. Afterwards he dries himself near the radiant heat of the hot fire (cf. Hyades [q] :348).

Men do not like to dive into the water and bathe. Women go into the water more often to gather the lower marine fauna or to swim to the canoe. On very rare hot summer days a few men sometimes splash on the beach, without venturing more than two or three steps into the water. This is done primarily, however, /419/ to subdue oneself to an effort to withstand the unusual heat (93).

93. According to Hyades (q):348: "during the summer when the weather is fine, they sometimes bathe in the sea, but simply as recreation" /translated from French/. Furthermore he also reports (q):38: "Only on rare occasions, when the temperature was relatively warm, did the French [of the Mission Scientifique] have an opportunity to observe the Fuegian women jump into the water for fun and play about in it gaily without any particular purpose. They never seemed to dive, however, as has often been said."

/418 cont./

515 The water of the sea and of brooks is always cold. Only rarely does it warm up somewhat in shallow bays.

These people often have to work in the water and are frequently drenched in heavy showers. That is probably why they have no inclination to make further use of the wet element. Hyades confirms this (q) :368: "Primarily it is rain or accidental immersions in the water of the sea that makes the Fueglans clean" /translated from French/. It is always dangerous to venture far out into the ocean. The many little streams and streams are not deep enough to invite bathing. According to European opinion, it takes the insensibility of an Indian to go about for days with all that dirt and dust and smoke (94). However, the fresh air which

> 94. What Snow (b):263 says is not in the least exaggerated: "The Fueglans are excessively dirty, and contact with them might well cause a man to shudder" /cited in English/.

constantly brushes the naked body stimulates the skin beneficially and covers up other discomfort.

Everyone much prefers a dry rub. This involves the entire body. If a person's dirty skin itches, he takes the gray, greasy clay that is found in some places, or the pale yellow kind that is more scarce, or even a rusty-brown clay, and mixes it with water and saliva in the cup of his hand to make a thick paste which he smears on his whole body. This gradually dries near the hot fire and, with the hand flat, is rubbed off in the form of a fine powder. This procedure cleanses like soap. Above all, it removes from the skin the greasy sheen from all the blubber, as well as the surface tan caused by the suffocating smoke. If the natives cannot find the gray clay nearby, they use a calcareous, almost powder-like sand, which, however, does not cleanse as thoroughly.

These people lack suitable material for drying themselves. If they are wet, they move close to the fire, and the radiating heat soon removes all the dampness from their bodies, or they hold their faces and hands over the fire. Sometimes they reach for
515 a dry ball of moss if it is available. They prefer cloth, a ball of
Bay fine, loose, yellow shavings from the large-leafed barberry

515 /#518 cont./
514 (barbaris thrithila, Fig. 17), bunna, cella, which is obtained in the following way. They peel the bark off a twig as thick as one's thumb, scrape off the soft layer of fibers on the surface, and then, with a sharp-edged round shell and gentle pressure back and forth, they peel off /#519/ the finest shavings. These are collected on a scrap of leather and must dry near the fire. By repeatedly squeezing the knee ball, a coarse powder is produced, which quickly absorbs any dampness. These shavings are kept in a piece of gut, and if anyone needs them he takes out a handful. He uses this substance exactly like a sponge. It is used mostly by a mother to
[354] washing and drying her infant, but almost all the people use it often to wipe under the arms -- custom demands this -- in order to prevent a bad odor, as they say.

515 These fine shavings are almost never used for a wet massage of face and body. For this they more often use a ball of moss saturated with water. Apparently Hyades (op.240 also makes this distinction: "When the natives see dirt on their bodies that demands attention, especially in the morning, ...they wipe themselves off with fine wood shavings that make a kind of tow, or they clean up by simply rubbing themselves with moss gathered around the hut, which is very wet and acts as a sponge" /translated from French/.

A person who has soiled his hands, whether it is with blood and dirt while working or with blubber and fat while eating or eviscerating an animal, rubs them off in the sand on the ground, on skins lying about, or on the hut covering. The fat dripping
515 from the fingers after a delicious meal is profusely rubbed on the
516 face and body to keep the skin soft and to protect it against the weather, hence the greasy skins of these people which gives them a strange appearance (p. 87). This is, of course, not provided naturally and is not sought for beautification, but rather it serves as protection for the body. On very cold days one or another of them will even pour a large quantity of liquid blubber over himself. The skin is never completely free of a visible layer of grease which is increased by continual contact with meat, fat, and greasy objects. The epidermis of these Indians is somewhat thicker
[47] than that of Europeans as a result of their complete lack of protection against the cold air. That is also the reason why the skin is less sensitive.

/[illegible] cont./

In this connection we may also mention the fact that these people do not have a definite characteristic skin odor. If they had, it would be hardly or not at all noticeable because of all the blubber they smear on themselves and the thick, smothering smoke that commonly affects the skin. We realize the effect this smoke has when we see the dark brown coloring it produces, which apparently goes deep. Also, the skin is slightly moist from fog or damp air, it exudes a strong, almost biting odor which is most disagreeable in a closed room. It is, of course, transferred to the dogs and to all the implements they use which are lying about in the hut. Thus the European visitor is assailed with an indefinable mixture of /[illegible] /Fig. 17 appears here/ the odors of smoke and blubber coming from the Indian himself, from his hut (95), and

95. Spaparoni (p) 163 says maliciously: "The smoke, the odor, not very much like musc, and the other dangerous inconveniences of these saloons force the customs visitor to go out very quickly" /translated from Spanish/.

from everything he owns, which cannot be withdrawn by everyone.

Along with all this and the general lack of cleanliness, there are their particularly repulsive heads of hair, soiled with dirt and crawling with vermin (96). The head lice (Pediculus capitis),

96. The effect this has on a European is made clear by Irow (p)2, 366: "It may be mentioned, that vermin swarmed about them and in everything they had. Whenever we purchased or obtained from them, had to be treated (also subjected to a purifying process" /[illegible] to English/.

[illegible], Driven through the total lack of body care, and young and old are constantly scratching, especially at night to their sleep. It is impossible for the Tenonn to defend themselves against this pest. The old people recall that in former times they were plagued with a similar, Macbeth lice, and that since the advent of the

[End of footnote on page 91.--Analyst]

Fig. [illegible]. [illegible]

/[illegible] men./

[illegible] Europeans in Iao have replaced by a larger, grey one. Despite their considerably lower degree of sociability, the Indians find this remains a mystery. A mother with sympathetically pink Iao from Iao child, rendering them between Iao fingernails or nails (97).

> 97. Wynden (op.Dell Iaoity) mentions "Iao hunt for parasites (Pediculi) regions to which they devote themselves in their assessment of kinsmen" /translated from French/.

On one occasion having Iao neighbor seriously wounds Iao head. In the long, quiet interviews beside the evening fire in the hut these wounds, produced by Iao axe and Iao mother of Iao parents, are a frequent [illegible] conversation. The individual gets no relief, however, in spite of all Iao scratching, and Iao really pays Iao patience throughout this torture.

In the Iao decades Iao clothes Iao [illegible] [97] Iao also spread throughout Iao region, introduced by Europeans. The older people do not wear this garb, the general conditions for its development were poor in any case. When a person re-[illegible] Iao clothing — nowadays everyone wears only European clothing — the with lowest income of Iao are revealed all over Iao body. These people are constantly scratching their bodies. I consider my situation Pediculus quite in process, Iao this spectacle also is probably not entirely absent.

The hand hair of the Tsingano is naturally black, soft, and thick. Although it is liberally greased with tallow, dirt and lice generate in Iaoo ever being soft and extraordinarily dirty. In great moderately long, and moving manner is reminiscent of their dwellers, which is why it does not lend itself to a particular type of coiffure. Children wear Iao hair open and loose. A Iao on their head or Iao wounds. Some women cut Iao hair on their forehead or their cylinders [98]. Occasionally, if a person does

> 98. Wynden (op.Dell) speaks of "hair cut in front 'Jeg Bokaue'" /translated from French/. Gerhang (Dr.Dell) expresses Iao-self in more general terms.

/421 cont./

[illegible] hair want to be bothered with it, he ties a narrow strap, a ribbon, or a few walks of rubber around his head to hold it. A man even uses his sling for this purpose. If women bend their heads, the hair falls forward and covers the whole face, but they never tire of pushing it aside. Rowe (a):137 wrote: "Men and women wear very long hair that falls to their shoulders, only a few fasten it with a leather band. Most of them, however, let it grow so wild that both sexes look more like furies than human beings."

The men like to shorten their hair. That is the only difference in the so-called hair style of the two sexes. They use a flat spanish shell, spread a small tuft of hair on it, and draw a sharp-edged shell over it in a sawing motion until the ends fall off. Then they take the next tuft, until they have done the whole head in this fashion. It cannot be helped that the hair-cutter grows tired; the other must endure much plucking and pulling, and the whole job is very irregular.

Modern grooming of the hair is not entirely lacking, however. Despard /419/ learned from an Indian that "only women use oil to make fine hair; then comb very smooth with purpuric lac" (99:97, 13. 1889) /cited in English/. Both sexes older regard the secondary body hair as ugly and in bad taste. For this reason men pluck their sparse beard hair, and all adults their eyebrows and pubic hair, with their fingernails or with two shells that fit one on top of the other. Older people become careless about this. In most recent times the men let their beards grow, in order to be like Europeans. Now one can easily see that they do not produce more than isolated hairs on the lip and chin (99).

99. In this connection Rowe (a):136 says that "the men, besides being beardless, habitually pull out the little beard hair that they have, and the two sexes have no hair of any kind on the body" /translated from Spanish/. Lavisson (b):139 agrees. Fico-Ray (a):170 had mentioned: "They would have a straggling beard, but scrupulously pull out every hair with tweezers made of muscle-shells" /cited in English/. According to Despard (99:97, 180, 1897)

/Will come./

"they were beautiful. One or two of the older men had some hair on their faces, which, while walking, they were continually engaged in twitching out" /Cited in English/. And Dawe (Dawe,1910, 190, 1910) says: "The men have very little beard, and even that little they are accustomed to root out as soon as it comes out with thrift" /Cited in English/.

In general, they have only very little and have hair on their

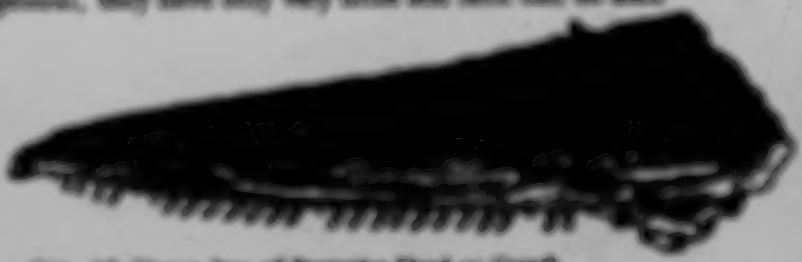

Fig. 10. Upper jaw of Pangnirtung Ulend or Comb. Dorsal view.

bodies, in this respect they resemble the Dolb'tsets. /Fig. 10 appears here./

Under the influence of Whites, younger and middle-aged Tsetsets have learned not only to draw in newborn babies, but also to wash their faces with soap and to scrape their hair with a comb. Vain change shows with unpaired vision.

To remove the hair covered with dirt and lice, not so much because of a desire for cleanliness but because of the discomfort, they use a somewhat coarse comb. It comes in three styles. The more easily obtainable is the upper jaw of the porpoise which is about 11 centimeters long and has two rows of short teeth (Fig. 10). It is occasionally found on the beach where it is so carefully cleaned of all organic matter by wind lice and other lower animals that it can be used without any further preparation. As time this have to will greasy, which is beneficial for the hair. At any rate it is very easy to use and durable. This comb is called Ulend. Even an arrow shaft, cleaned of all meat /Will/ and without the lower jaw, serves as a comb as long as the line and

/Add note:/

[illegible] very irregular teeth are still free in the dam, narrow upper jaw [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

describe, but does speak of "a piece of the upper jaw from a dolphin or porpoise, with teeth" /translated from French/.

As a makeshift when the two objects mentioned above are not available, they gather a bunch of bird feathers and tie them together at the bottom with a fiber of vanine. The bunch of feathers is grasped with the fist, and the quills are drawn through the hair, like the teeth of a comb (101). Girls like to

[illegible]

(101). According to Fitz-Roy's terse words (ii -108), the hair grooming of the Indian women is confined to the following: "The hair of the women is longer, less coarse, and correctly cleaner than that of the men. It is combed with the jaw of a porpoise, but neither plaited nor tied, and none is cut away, excepting hair over their eyes" /Acted in English/.

[illegible]

make this [illegible] or playful dwelling, and conveniently leaves their hair with it.

Little though the Tierra had a clean body, they nevertheless appreciate a clean person who washes often and keeps his hair combed. Many mothers care for their children, whom appear disgustingly dirty and completely neglected. Such differences are not infrequently a topic of conversation among the old people who criticize in one case and praise in the other. At any rate it shows that a natural feeling for cleanliness is not entirely lacking. In spite of the many useful things that Europeans have brought them, they will never rise above a certain level of cleanliness because they are inseparably bound to their conditions of life. The European clothing which everybody wears nowadays is likewise covered with dirt and fish oil. Because of it fresh air and beneficial rain can no longer act directly on the skin, hence their bodies are always covered with a thick, malodorous crust of dirt. Thus, the abandonment of their former spiritual body covering is clearly but badly undermining the vitality and health of these Indians, who are dumbfounded aware of it.

/424/ 2. Cleanliness in the Hut

With few and rare exceptions, the hut serves chiefly as warmy protection for a night or for a few days against inclemencies of the weather. Often it is sought by people who have barely escaped a storm, who in all haste were obliged to collect their few possessions from the canoe and, wet and shivering with cold, seek shelter under an inadequate cover. The first concern of everyone is to light the fire and keep it going in order to warm himself thoroughly. Later, in his weariness, he begins to think of satisfying his hunger and seeking rest.

Everything that the Indian family has taken along in their canoe is tossed under the hut covering in disorder. There it remains, wet, crumpled, and topsy-turvey. If anyone needs some item, the whole jumble is pulled out, which only increases the confusion. They do not know how to take care of their belongings. No one dreams of putting them in order, folding them, drying or cleaning them, hanging them up, or putting them in a neat pile. If they are looking for some particular thing, they rummage carelessly through the hodgepodge of trifles in the little bundles. Larger objects that are piled in a heap in the hut are dragged hither and yon with no regard for the damage that might be done to them. The European observer has the impression that these Indians place no value whatever on their utensils and that they have completely forgotten the effort it took to make them. Actually, no one clings to his few goods and chattels which, as it is, are often and easily lost, but just as easily replaced. The chief and practically the sole concern of everyone everywhere is to preserve his own life, to have a little protection against exposure to the elements, and to appease his hunger. In the face of this, protective care of material possessions is pushed far into the background. The Indian does not even exercise care when he could very conveniently do so.

A European is likely to shake his head at the boundless indifference of these people who drag brand-new objects, precious clothing, fresh provisions, and valuable items through thick mud, or abandon them to their swift destruction by children and dogs. One will never succeed in lifting these Indians out of their state

/424 cont./

356 of indifference toward even their meager possessions and to teach them at least a modicum of care in regard to the things they need. At present some families have built themselves simple little houses in Puerto Mejillones and partly furnished them with European furniture (p. 357 /untranslated/), but they do not worry about leaving all this for months and are hardly aware of heavy losses. Expensive things that are given them are treasured for a few hours, out of curiosity; after that they thoughtlessly let everything deteriorate in the mud and wet. The less they own, the more /425/ comfortably they can travel, and what is ruined they occasionally replace. Hence they are completely indifferent to any material possessions.

Nevertheless they do not neglect themselves to the extent of perishing in dirt and disorder. They are consciously concerned with necessary cleanliness. They never build their huts in places that are malodorous and swampy, or where a large animal carcass is decaying. They do not tolerate the smell of decaying animals. Hence they immediately throw into the fire all waste from their meals and the remnants of skins or leather pieces that they are working on. Small animals and pieces of meat [251] obtained by hunting are hung on branches outside the hut where they are protected from the dogs and from the uneven heat of the fire. They promptly remove meat that is decaying or that smells musty; they are extremely annoyed by its stench. On the other hand, the heavy, nauseous fumes of blubber and sea animals that fill their hut and deter every European do not seem to affect them, nor are they sensitive to the putrid odors issuing from the long piles of algae and seaweed, sea animals, and shells that the agitated ocean tosses ashore in tangled disorder and that are subsequently exposed to the hot rays of the sun. If a man has been successful on the hunt, he sometimes brings the slain animal to the hut intact, but he removes the entrails some distance away. The women, for their part, go down to the edge of the water when they pluck birds and eviscerate them, so that the waves can carry off the refuse. The litter for the bed is renewed after a few days, for the dampness of the earth promotes mold and rot. On sunny days they even pull down the large leather pieces from the hut framework, so that the interior will dry out and air. If they stay in one place for any length of time, they

/425 cont./

356 move the hut to another spot after a certain time, for despite all care, a great deal of refuse accumulates, which has harmful effects (p. 29).

514 The Indians display extraordinary disgust for animal and human filth. Personally they are remarkably fastidious in their natural functions. Everyone goes a few steps away from the hut to urinate; they go farther away when they defecate (103).

103. Only once, in Decker (p. 53 /untranslated/), we find the remark: "If someone needs to urinate, he does so on the body of another who is nearby, if that person does not get out of the way." This statement is not reliable.

They do not talk about these things. Anyone who must leave the hut to take care of a natural urge rises silently from his place and betakes himself into the woods or behind a sand dune. Two persons would never go together; rather, everyone goes his own way and keeps at some distance from the other. One never finds
514 human filth near the hut. The children are taught from their
863 earliest childhood to take care of their needs far away from the hut. Even dogs are trained to do this. The filth of young animals and infants which sometimes /426/ cannot be avoided inside a hut is quickly covered with sand or earth and pushed far away with a stick. Every mother is careful to take her infant a good distance from the hut in time and to clean the child outside. Even at night a person who feels the need leaves the hut and goes at least a few steps away from it.

514 Hyades (q):343 confirms this conduct of the Yamana from his own observations: "The Fuegians have a rule about not soiling the hut with their evacuations. During the night, for example, urination always takes place outside the entrance opening, and defecation takes place, as in the daytime, quite far from the dwelling, if the night is clear; in case it is very dark, the natives satisfy their natural needs in the vicinity of the hut, but always outside" /translated from French/. No one would fail to clean himself well afterwards. Anyone returning to the hut with

/426 cont./

514 a bad smell would be put out. They use a shell and a handful of sand, but they prefer a bunch of grass and a ball of moss. It [534] is with the latter objects or with a tuft of feathers that the mother cleans her infant (104). In their scrupulous efforts toward

104. Hyades (f):558 supplements this with the following statement: "If, upon re-entering, they find that they are soiled, as soon as they perceive it, either by seeing or smelling it, they are careful to rub themselves with a pad of chaff and to throw all this outside. The children do the same as soon as they can manage it; as for younger children, the mother is careful to keep them clean" /translated from French/.

this kind of cleanliness our Indians compete with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 224).

515 Like the Selk'nam, our Yamana have the habit of spitting all day long and whenever they wake up at night. Anyone who joins their circle around the fire for the first time is confused by the uninterrupted wheezing, throat clearing, and spitting in which they take turns. Adults do this quite unconsciously, and no one minds. When they spit, they have an amazing aim: even a person stretched out on his bed expectorates straight into the fire in a wide arc without lifting himself up. An older person is more awkward at this and bespatters his neighbors who, however, do not grow impatient but clean themselves off indifferently, without a feeling of disgust. They squirt the liquid saliva with a hissing noise through their incisors which they press lightly together.

These Indians, quite openly and without any idea of embarrassment, do the things we are taught to politely cover up. With their thick fingers and dirty fingernails, and grimacing, they poke around for a long time in their distended nostrils. Afterwards they clean their fingernails between their teeth. They blow their noses by snorting hard, which shoots the mucus to the ground. Often it runs out by itself, and they wipe it off with their index finger. Children use the flat of their hand and move it up

/426 cont./

515 and down over their nostrils; afterwards they draw their hand through grass or moss. No one is offended by belching and

516 breaking wind, the smacking of lips during eating, and gurgling /427/ in drinking. Younger people, however, may not make flatulent noises in the presence of old people without noticeably offending them.

556 In the canoe, in contrast to a campsite on the beach, dirt and filth cannot accumulate, although the family uses it almost daily for their travels. Some water comes into the canoe on all sides, and it is open to rain and snow; hence the whole interior is often rinsed out. True, small remnants of leather and the remains of animals obtained by hunting, food scraps, and shells lie about and produce a noticeable stench, but the salt water prevents fouler decomposition. It never occurs to the Indian to clean his canoe thoroughly, but the forces of nature are more than willing to do it. During the trip, everyone takes care of

514 his natural needs overboard if he cannot wait until the landing.

264 For good reasons the people in the canoe seldom eat and then only a little. They throw refuse into the fire, which is always kept going, or simply overboard.

3. Body Painting

322 We shall speak here only of those efforts of the Yamana which arise from their desire to adorn and beautify themselves. Their interest in rubbing their bodies with fish oil or a suitable kind of earth (p. 68) to protect themselves against the cold or against dirt serves another purpose. The most frequent and principal method of adornment is to paint the face and the whole body. Compared with this, objects for ornamentation are quite secondary (105). Moreover, all painting, whether it is

> 105. Lothrop (b):125 confirms this: "The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days" /cited in English/.

that of their own bodies or of an object, has a special meaning and a recognizable purpose.

/427 cont./

Like their neighbors to the northeast and southwest, the Selk'nam and the Halakwulup, the Yamana use only three pigments for their decorative painting, namely, black, white, and red (106), which they apply as a powder mixed with water or

106. The majority of European visitors noted these three colors and mentioned them. See Fitz-Roy (a):138, Darwin (a) :236, Hyades (q) :368, Weddell:172, and others.

fish oil. They can get black pigment, yapuáke (according to EC:514 also yapuáde), most easily, which is nothing more than ground charcoal. This dust is usually rubbed dry over the whole body, but for the face it is mixed with fish oil before it is applied. This mixture is also used to draw lines and dashes.

The white pigment, tomaláu, is chalk. They value chiefly the pure, fine calcareous earth found in Puerto Riñale and Puerto Eugenia, both in the central part of the north shore of Hoverring Island. They take it out, soften it and knead it with water, form it into a lump, and keep it, ready for use, in a pouch made of gut. They obtain smaller amounts for urgent /428/ use by heating a few Mytilus shells in the hot fire and afterwards crushing them to a powder between stones. This chalk powder is never prepared with fish oil or blubber because it would lose its shiny white color. Instead of water they use their own saliva, which makes the mixture more adhesive when dashes or dots are drawn on the face or the body. With the tectum a little powder is scraped off the hard lump and mixed with saliva (107).

107. According to Hyades (q):306, there is even a special verb for this, namely, "Jaxiba (or Jamps) tomaraqen: to chew clay in order to dilute it with saliva" /translated from French/.

obtained by a vigorous chewing motion, to form a thick paste. A finger is then moistened with it to the mouth if one wishes to draw coarse lines. When more delicate drawings are made with a

/428 cont./

[382] [386] little stick, the mixture is spit into the left palm and the stick dipped into it. If the whole body is to be painted, the white powder is mixed with a little water, and the thick paste is smeared over the skin with the flat of the hand. After it has dried, of course, this layer of color gradually falls off.

They go to some trouble to obtain the red pigment, known as [illegible] and more often [illegible], which is used far more extensively. Their emotional preference for bright scarlet may play a decisive part here. Hyades (p):329 corroborates this (108): "they prefer

108. He also says: "Red is the favorite coloring matter of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. From the chemical analysis he gives we see that iron oxide is the chief ingredient of this earth mixture.

vivid colors, especially red" /translated from French/. In several places in the west, more frequently than elsewhere, one comes across thin layers of a yellowish or reddish or rust-colored mineral deposit, which is all the more desirable the less greasy and drier it is. Hyades (q):350 writes that the Indians "collect this ocher from pebbles to which it adheres; it shows that these stones probably were for a time in ferruginous water" /translated from French/. A lump the size of a fist is stirred with fresh water on an outspread rag of leather or a flat stone, kneaded well, and kept damp in the piece of leather until there is a sunny day with no wind. Then the embers of the hot fire are stirred up with some dry, sound wood. They wait until the smoke has disappeared and no breeze blows up the ashes, whereupon the still damp lump of clay is carefully placed in the fire so that it is thoroughly heated. It is vermilion when it is taken out with a stick. Ashes and embers are scraped off the surface, and it is pounded to a fine powder between stones. This powder is collected in a piece of sea lion gut. The Indians are almost superstitiously exact in the preparation of this red pigment, for they are extraordinarily appreciative of its glowing brightness which neither dirt nor ashes impairs. It is used often and in various ways, but they like it best for facial painting, and then almost always

[017] [415]

/428 cont./

382 in the form of a thick paste mixed with seal oil. It is prepared
386 less often in the palm of the left hand, more frequently in a medium-sized Mytilus /429/ shell so that the mixture can be well stirred and evenly applied. The red coloring must be uniform.

As has already been mentioned, in using all three colors
382 they sometimes prefer to mix the powder with oil or blubber
413 instead of using it dry. If they want to make even strokes and precise dots, they cut a suitable painting stick, known as talayikamina in the dialect of the west, pucitutaina in the central dialect, derived from ikamina, "to paint," "to draw." The little stick is about ten centimeters long, sharp at one end and smoothly cut off and flattened like a spatula at the other end. It is used to draw lines. If they want to draw dots, they dip the other end into the color and place it on the skin like a stamp. Almost every woman carries this little stick around with her everywhere. The sponsor uses it daily to paint her candidate during the protracted initiation ceremonies, [illegible]. A person who is without one easily and quickly makes himself another (109).

109. Hyades (q):300 speaks of an "awl or spatula of wood" /translated from French/. Moreover, he gives linguistic expressions for the many patterns of drawing and painting, which are given in greater detail and probably complete in ED.

415 Since the white and, even more, the red pigments are
237 valued, they are carefully kept in a kind of color pouch, known as yil or yalyi. For this purpose they like to use the esophagus of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus), known as alalmi yalyi, or the small intestine of seals (110). A piece 25 to 45

110. Hyades (q):350 mentions them as "bags made from the windpipes of seals or porpoises /translated from French/, and Lothrop (b):133, as "small sacks made from the throats of seal" /cited in English/.

/429 cont./

65 centimeters long is cut out, sewed up at one end with a straight
237 edge, blown up taut, and immediately tied with tendon fibers at the other end. Sometimes they leave the circular cardiac muscles at the opening of the stomach attached to the lower part. These close automatically, which simplifies the work. This air bubble dries quickly, and the upper part of it is cut off straight. The elongated pouch is filled with pigment only to the middle. The free upper half is pressed flat and rolled down from the upper edge (Fig. 20). This not only makes a safe and convenient closing, but protects the contents against dampness and spilling. Sometimes they also tie a few tendon fibers lengthwise around the rolled packet to keep it closed. The white pigment, *tungrapu*, nevertheless hardens into a firm lump after a time, but this does not affect its use. Compared with this, the black pigment, *yapullu*, namely, pounded charcoal, is used far less. It does not pay to take special pains to keep it because it is available everywhere.

382 Much later we shall discuss the significance of the individ-
f22 ual colors within the manifold patterns, but here we should like to correct the inaccurate opinion of certain observers who attribute to each color as /430/ such a definite meaning or a single and exclusive significance. Without qualification Debbene (a):38 maintains that "the three colors, white, black, and red, which are used for painting, have their signification, since they are used respectively, as signs of war, mourning, or joy" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (e):332 is much closer to the truth. He writes: "The external sign of mourning was the face blackened with charcoal. White applied in dots and stripes was the color of revenge for murder, and red was the emblem of friendship and joy." /Fig. 20 appears here./ None of the three colors (111)

111. I herewith reject the inaccurate statements of Fitz-Roy (a):177, Dabbene (a):38 and (b):176, Lothrop (b):126, Spegazzini (a):170, and others. Hyades (g):349 repeats in detail the opinion of Bridges, upon whom Krickeberg: 332 also relies.

/430 cont./

has a single and exclusively unique meaning, but their significance is rather in how they are used together or singly for certain types of painting and patterns according to consistent habit and conscious intent. The fact that various things are painted for no purpose but to beautify the object remains to be discussed, as does the particular form of body painting for certain occasions, such as a wedding or mourning, initiation ceremonies and ceremonies of men, important hunters, and the rituals of medicine men. The everyday motives and general intentions will be mentioned here; the special occasions we refer to will be discussed at the proper place.

Fig. 38. Pouch for Pigments. Natural size.

Without doubt Aspinall:270 is right when he emphasizes: "All painting among these Indians has a special significance." The everyday painting is only for decoration, in accordance with the requirements for beauty and the demands of courtesy. According to Hyades (g):33, women and girls are "by no means indifferent with regard to their appearance, and try to beautify their faces as much as possible with horizontal lines and dots of white clay." /431/ Both Bridges and Hyades (g):369 are inaccurate, however, when it is asserted "this painting is regarded as a parure" /translated from French/.

Every native wants to be more beautiful and adorns himself by arranging different colors in the form of lines and dots, cross-hatching, and circles, according to his own choice (112). He

112. With little accuracy Bove (e):187 wrote: "They paint themselves in all kind of ways;

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/421 cont./

usually they draw parallel lines of different colors across the face, crossed lines on the cheeks and nose, the most peculiar drawings on chest and arms. But most of them are satisfied with very thick applications of several colors on hair, face, and body.[5] Like Iwos, travelers of earlier times did not recognize the meaning and significance of the body painting of our Tamara.

feels impelled to do this whenever many people are assembled, brought to the same place by chance. Every person, no matter what sex or age, paints at least his face and is careful to give his drawing a symmetrical arrangement. The arrangement and choice of symbols is completely arbitrary; the same person will change the pattern from one day to another. Some take more paint than others, depending on their disposition. Some are good at putting together all three colors; most of them are partial to white. Younger people use the little painting stick with scrupulous care, whereas older people handle it very carelessly. The cows and mares are decorated with perpendicular and horizontal lines and rows of dots; the legs are more rarely decorated. In general, however, less attention is given to the painting of the body than to facial painting.

Since everyone has absolute freedom in this ornamentation, it would be useless to try to discover a certain system or a basic meaning. Even the same person likes to see himself in one pattern today, another tomorrow. No actual contest develops between persons, although petty jealousies and envy because of physical advantages are never lacking.

[57]

Visitors are obliged to adhere to a certain ornamentation, and this is a matter of good breeding. In this case it is true that one can recognize meaning and purpose in the drawing itself. Any color pattern on the face, no matter how simple, suffices; it is almost always white. A person decorates himself with it, as time and fancy dictate, and goes to the neighboring hut. The visitor honors the hut owner with his facial painting, and the host is appreciative of what the visitor has vainglorious attempt to attain.

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574

/[illegible] cont./

If someone expects a visitor, he too decorates himself beforehand. If a visitor visits unexpectedly, however, the master of the hut does not reach for his painting material to decorate himself in the presence of his guest. He does this later on, returns the visit to the hut of the other, and in this way thanks him for the honor positively bestowed on him. Despite the closest kinship between individuals, it is a matter of principle never to omit such a declaration of love or honor, and they do not avoid the slight effort involved in facial /432/ painting, for example, just because of the mutual understanding that exists between close relatives. Everyone adheres very punctiliously to this duty.

In general it is regarded as reprehensible negligence, and almost contemptuous disrespect, for children to visit their parents in their hut, for [illegible] candidates to visit their spouses in their huts, and for young people to visit their older relatives and friends without having decorated themselves with a facial painting. This painting is meant to express the fact that the visitor bestows on the other the pleasure of his coming and that he is happy to be there. That is why the master of the hut sooner or later responds likewise with a facial painting to express his pleasure over the visit and his gratitude toward the guest.

We must call this decoration an actual duty which applies to all young and middle-aged persons without exception. Old women also conform to it, whereas old men become negligent. Although for visits any pattern of colors on the face is permissible and sufficient, the natives nevertheless prefer two thin, parallel red lines beginning on either side of the nostrils and extending horizontally across the cheek to the ear. Among adults this facial painting has the same meaning everywhere.

Young people who visit their elderly relatives, children who visit their relatives, [illegible] candidates who visit their spouses, and finally a lover who visits his intended wife, all these persons paint a few thin, straight red lines in the form of rays across the middle part of their cheeks. This decoration expresses heightened love and attachment. In accordance with this thoughtful custom, [illegible] candidates regularly appear in

/[illegible] cont./

362 the hut of their sponsors with this decoration. They are espe-
574 cially close to their sponsors because the latter painted them
111 with this decoration every day in the Great Hut of the Initiation.
Without exception it is the sponsor, in the role of a second
mother, who, overjoyed by the visit of the child she sponsored,
immediately wipes off his decoration and in its place draws the
decoration of visitors mentioned above. Other people see this
and are also happy, and in their satisfaction over the cordial un-
derstanding between the two, say: "That boy [that girl] was
painted by his sponsor!" Not infrequently this woman goes to
see the sponsored child in his hut. In order to announce to him
and everyone in the vicinity how happy she is, she goes to him
and paints the red perpendicular stripes on his cheek, as she did
so often during the festival of the [illegible]. Her action never
fails to have a favorable effect on the neighbors.

362 The fact that our Tsimsians commonly used decorative
574 painting when they paid visits is an adequate explanation of the
609 many accounts from the period of the first European travelers,
who constantly emphasize that the natives approached the for-
eign ships with an unusual and peculiar facial painting. Pre-
cisely because /633/ this was a duty familiar to them in their
relations with their own people, they applied it to the white
strangers also (113).

113. The experience of Reverend Deepard (b):679 on his first journey in April, 1857, in Cinco-May Harbor will suffice as an example from more recent times: The natives "had painted their cheeks, some with red ocre, some with charcoal; one had white lines horizontally drawn across the nose and eyes; another had white dots, in three rows, on each cheek, and a single row down his nose; none were tattooed" /cited in English/. Compare Levinsto (b):147.

362 The Indians adhere still more strictly to their habit of decorating themselves for occasions other than visits, but these

/420 cont./

342 must be discussed below. We need only add that many individuals decorate themselves with facial paintings, if they feel like it, simply because they enjoy decking themselves out. Many mothers also do this to their small children. No one regards this responsibility as vanity, much less accuse them of it. Everyone is given complete freedom to do what prevailing custom approves. A European who is ignorant of this critically shakes his head when he unexpectedly meets an Indian decorated with facial painting whose neighbors are not thus adorned but accept it as a matter of course.

4. Ornaments

34/ The body covering of these Indians is meager, but in contrast, their ornaments and jewelry, undifferentiated between the sexes, are more abundant. The raw materials used for these ornaments are furnished by the animal kingdom. They do not give any importance to mineral treasures, not even to the gold found in their region. These few objects serve their desire to decorate themselves and to enhance their physical charms (116).

> 116. There are a few testimonies. "Among the Pueblans, the desire for ornaments is perhaps stronger in the man than in the woman" Dove (d) 200 says /translated from Italian/. Lovisato (b) 159 emphasizes: "The passion for ornaments is predominant in the Pueblans, not only in the women, but also in the men" /translated from Italian/. Finally, Hynden (c) 142 adds: "The women, respecting like all women, wear many more ornaments than the men do" /translated from French/.

The women and girls have bands that are almost always worn around the ankle and frequently around the wrist as well (Fig. 21). A male person almost never wears such a piece, hence it may be regarded as the exclusive property of the female

[illegible] /[illegible] cont./
[illegible] They prefer a band of guanaco leather two to three centimeters wide. The use of seal leather is less highly valued. The hair and wool is usually scraped off. If not, the woolly side is worn on the inside. This piece is pulled right to the ankle. They have a small hole in the end that is somewhat wider, through which they draw the other, pointed end, pull it taut, and prevent it from getting loose by tucking in the free point (see Hyades [q] 268). Often they also pull a string of tendon or a filament of whale bone through the two ends of an even kind, /[illegible]/ and tie them together with a tight knot. In this case the threads inevitably stick out, which is considered less beautiful. Some people prefer the first method. /Fig. 21 appears here./ In order to beautify these pieces, they are painted with red pigment (111). One just as often uses the

111. Lothrop (p.121) inaccurately maintains that this leather band is painted white. We are certain this would make it too conspicuous, which is something our Indians like to avoid.

[237] dried umbilical cord of the otter used as a bracelet. This is up to 30 centimeters long and about nine millimeters wide (Fig. 22). The two ends are tucked under to keep it together. Both pieces are called *mun* (in the dialect of the east and west) and *[illegible]* (in the southern dialect).

Contrary to all fact Hyades (q) 256 writes that "the women never wear more than one of them on each limb" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, he showed (on Plate 12) three young women who wear this ornament on both ankles and both wrists. The only difference is that the strip of leather on their wrists seems to be noticeably narrower.

[238] Three thin, fine strands of tendon of the guanaco, sea lion, or otter are braided into a simple neck cord, known as *[illegible]*. /Fig. 22 appears here./ More rarely they choose the stiff fibers of whalebone for it. The free ends are knotted. The knotted cord is drawn over the head to hang freely around the neck. Sometimes the cord is initially braided in such a manner that it can be

[Text continued on page 102.—Analyst]

Fig. 31. Band of Guapuvu Leaches, Worn on Wrist or Ankle. Two-thirds natural size.

Fig. 32. Umbilical Cord of the Ocean, Worn as a Band on Wrist or Ankle. Natural size.

/[illegible]/

[illegible] wound around two or three times, in other words, several times long. Thicker bunches of beads are held together by a short thread wound around them somewhere at certain intervals. This such ornament is called [illegible]. "These beads are a kind of necklace for only the women. They are arranged in a number of circles, held at a single or several points /[illegible]/ by means of a little strand of hair" /translated from French/ (Spencer [illegible] 1919 [illegible]). Although each of these pieces is [illegible]

116. The other ways (pp.[illegible] above them, "[illegible] other type of necklace is made simply by several twists of bead wire at the neck. A glass bead from the French Mission was sometimes hung on the necklace" /translated from French/.

[illegible] grease. They break it with fish oil alone or with a mixture of fish oil and red pigment, so that the dust fibres do not stick out unnecessarily.

[illegible] The strings of gaungaro wrapped into two fibers are generally called [illegible], those of whale bone, used either for sewing and braiding, are called [illegible]. On these simple beaded necklace the Indians sometimes string short pieces, fairly uniform in length and shape, of the hollow cylindrical bones of a bird, usually the cormorant. Many rarely they use the well-known calcareous formations of the tube worm, which they cut into small pieces from 30 to 40 millimeters in length. The smaller and more regular they are, the more they are prized. They sometimes also insert two or four cut beads of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater) at suitable intervals, and for some time now, even coins, glass beads, and other European baubles ((117).

117. Wingborb:33 writes: "The necklace were in two or three twists around the neck in at times adorned by a beak of the oyster bird (Haematopus ater), animal teeth, or little shells" /translated from Spanish/.

/436 cont./

301 Finally, they create a popular oddity by alternating a small piece of black bone and a small piece of white. They also have ornamental chains consisting only of small black pieces. They blacken them by covering them with fish oil and leaving them in hot ashes for some time. The latter variation are all known as *kéra* (118).

118. Hyades (q:369 mentions only one of these types: "One type of necklace very commonly worn consists of small cylinders of bird bone, evenly cut and strung" /translated from French/. One does see this type very often, as a matter of fact.

301 The ornament for the neck that is considered the most
324 beautiful is *ûpika*. To make it they gather pea-sized shells of *Phasianella violacea*, known as *sen ûpika*. They scrape off the rough and dirty calcareous surface layer by rubbing the shells with wet sand between both hands or by placing them in the pebbles on the edge of a shallow brook that has a strong current, which produces the same scouring action. This gives the little snail shells a faint opalescent sheen on a sky-blue or light pink background. They make a small hole near the outer edge by rubbing the snail shell on a rough stone. First they place all the little shells next to each other according to size, beginning with the smallest up to the largest, but from the beginning they choose them so that the difference in size between the two extremes is
301 very slight. To string them they need a cord, *ashna*, braided with three tendon fibers and laid double (Fig. 23). They thread
[289] the lower strand through the hole of each small shell and secure the upper one with a thread running spirally around the two and pressing each individual shell tight against the preceding one (Fig. 24). This ornament /436/ is arranged in two to five equal circles, depending on its length. At one point a short thread is wrapped around all the circles to keep them together. This is the way the *ûpika* is worn at the neck. If they decide to make only a single strand of snail shells, they put the largest one in the center and arrange the others very accurately according to size, so that the smallest ones finish off the two ends (119).

[339] 119. This characteristic ornament of the Yamana,
[Text continues on p.105-Analyst]

/436/

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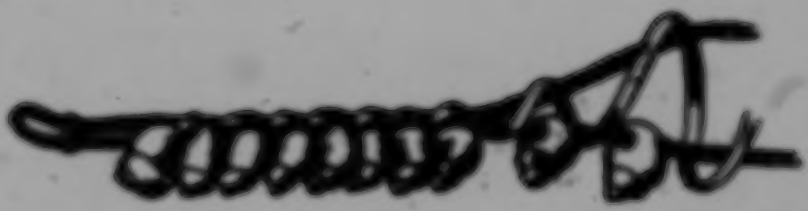

Fig. 23. Small Necklace. Natural size.

Fig. 24. String of Little Snail Shells.

/436 cont./

301 [439] which occasionally reached the neighboring Haus /Haush/ and Halakwulup through barter, was repeatedly mentioned by early travelers. One often sees it in the ethnographic collections of European and American museums. See Bove (c):126, Colini:722, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (q):300, 348, Lothrop (b):125, Wieghardt: 23, and others.

Another necklace more highly prized than this is a braided [237] cord of tendon on which short, small pieces of the dried windpipe of the /Fig. 23 appears here/ wild swan (Cygnus melanocoryphus) are very loosely strung. J. L. Myres:97 is right when he says that this "type of necklace is rare and much prized /cited in English/, for the swan seldom appears there in the south, and it is extremely difficult to obtain.

301 Finally, another necklace is described by Hyades (q):299, 237 which I did not see. "Plaited necklace, Oupakh ouana; this 283 type of necklace is plaited with fibers of the intestines of young seals, Aouis ama; in the center, Itakoun, there is a fine braid, Acina, made of the sinew of a whale, which /Fig. 24 appears here/ also forms the double braid at the ends of the necklace; the fastening, Yamacéta, of the necklace is a braid made of whale tendon. It is worn only by women: Kipa tapan makou" /translated from French/.

301 The necklaces mentioned above, irrespective of type and construction, are procured by people of either sex and all ages. "The men wear these necklaces also, as well as the women and children" /translated from French/, Hyades (q):349 confirms. Older men do not decorate themselves as much with them, but /437/ older women do, and most of all the younger people. They are almost wholly a plaything for children. A woman will adorn her baby with a necklace chiefly out of a feeling of maternal happiness. The women and girls make all these types of orna- [462] ment for themselves and for their male relatives, since this is work for women's hands. The personal need for adornment and the vanity of each individual determine how often and how long one decorates himself with this or that piece. Unimpeded

/437 cont./

301 independence, which is one of the character traits of these Indians, allows everyone the most complete freedom in his use of articles of adornment, just as in the painting of his body (p. 90). No one is surprised and no one would regard it as heightened vanity or an over-fondness for dress if today this person and tomorrow that one would appear, unexpectedly and without occasion, decked out with quantities of ornaments.

As such, the amount of ornaments and jewelry of these Indians is meager and simple, like all their possessions generally. Bove (c):26, exaggerating this simplicity, says: "Two or three lines of paint on the face and a necklace of shells or bird bones are the sole ornaments of a Fuegian" /translated from Spanish/. Certain occasions, however, such as general gatherings and larger social activities, have induced these people to make other, special ornaments, namely, their favorite headbands of bird feathers and down. We shall discuss these things below. Here we have mentioned and described only what belongs to their everyday life. The ornaments of our Yamana more or less re-
[171] semble those of the Selk'nam, but are, on the whole, prettier, more artistic, and more varied. Here, however, we do not have
[304] tattooing which their neighbors are fond of in a certain form and frequency (Vol. I, 229). Every other type of ornamentation, such as ear rings, precious stones, actual trophies, and body mutilation, are unknown down there in the unfriendly Cape Horn region.

D. Implements, Tools, Weapons

32 In making his essential implements, the Yamana is alto-
178 gether dependent on the scant products of his homeland. Hence it is not surprising that he uses only wood, bone, and shells to make the tools that he needs in his daily work and in hunting. He has not advanced to the use of stone to any degree worth men-
[135] tioning. Copper ore which is found there in certain places has never been noticed, let alone utilized. If we judge the Fuegian by the materials that he uses for his implements, it becomes obvious that he occupies a lower stage in the development of material culture than the much-sought European man of the Stone Age. The former is still actually present among us, the latter disappeared long centuries ago.

442 /438/ The more inflexible the raw material is from which
182 our Indian manufactures his possessions, the more convincingly apparent are the creative and organizing power of his spirit, his keen gift of observation, and his dexterity. Repeated attempts must have preceded the shapes and the individual pieces chosen for the permanent store of possessions of this tribe and retained by many generations. If we examine each individual item, its extreme appropriateness in every respect becomes so clear that we realize hardly anything can be improved to any extent which would at the same time also increase the efficiency of the object. By itself the object looks poor and artless, but if you see how it is applied and used and with what little effort it functions very accurately, you cannot refrain from marveling at its merits.

178 If we compare the accounts since the middle of the nine-
teenth century with the reports from the first two centuries in
411 which Europeans and Yamana came together, it is apparent that
231 a change has taken place in the utilization of individual objects. By this I do not mean that European goods, such as knives and axes, have been taken over, but that bow and arrow were gradually superseded by the sling. The real reason for this -- to mention the point already -- seems to be the introduction and swift adoption everywhere of the dog. The dog serves the Indian in various ways in his hunt for otter. We know that it is not easy to aim accurately with bow and arrow from a canoe. I have frankly expressed the opinion that only after the Europeans discovered the Yamana did the dog become their inevitable companion, which is how travelers have designated this animal since the middle of the last century. Aside from this small change, all the things that are used daily have been preserved in their original form until the present time.

176 The implements and weapons of our Fuegians cannot be too
thoroughly investigated and observed in their use. They reveal a gift of creative invention in these Indians, who have been wrongly underestimated and so often pitied as the "most miserable people." Yet they have created tools for themselves which make it very much easier for them to obtain food and to protect their bodies.

/438 cont./ 1. The Bark Canoe

484 505 On land our Yamana do not undertake long marches, but content themselves with the walking necessary to gather wood or shells and to get game. Their territory is not suitable for land journeys. Without exception, they travel from one island to another, from one shore to another, in their bark canoe. Even though they /439/ could go a long distance along the beach, they prefer to travel by water which is easier and more comfortable. The canoe is absolutely indispensable for them. In case an individual family or small group have lost this vessel, they find themselves in a state of emergency which they must remedy, the sooner the better and absolutely imperatively. As water nomads they could not, under any circumstances, forego this method of transportation for any length of time (120).

120. The indispensable importance of the canoe for our natives has been variously stressed. Spegazzini (a): 161 calls it "the object of greatest importance" /translated from Spanish/ and Dabbene (b):180 "an object of prime necessity for the Yahgan" /translated from Spanish/. Other opinions are of a similar nature.

501 The method of canoe construction is somewhat peculiar and differs at first glance from the boats of other peoples. The products of the country, which in themselves are meager, are chosen with intelligent circumspection and used, each in its way, to turn out a resistant and durable vessel. As a whole it looks graceful, its form is pleasing. In its details it shows taste, and its lines are agreeable.

Regardless of many minor details, it strikes everyone who judges it as a masterpiece of efficiency and a supreme achievement of the technical ability of these Indians (121). Everyone is not

121. Luschan:8 came to the following conviction: "In comparison with [the skiff-like

/439 cont./

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vessels of central Brazil], the boats of bark with which we are familiar in the extreme south of South America are veritable luxury barks, though they are still far behind those of the North American sea region with regard to beauty and careful workmanship." But the Indians of North America have incomparably more suitable raw material. In this description by Luschan, Figures 12 and 13 show one of the well-known small models which are erroneously captioned or described as "Model of a Bark Boat of the Ona."

Other observers also are unstinting in their praise of the bark canoe. Spears: 56 says: "It had a sheer at once pleasing to the eye and well adapted to ride the most tempestuous seas in the world" /cited in English/. Lovisato (b):134 concludes his brief but detailed description thus: "These canoes, poor as they are, are certainly the most ingenious work of the inhabitants of Fuegia, but from Drake's time to ours, about 300 years, it has remained the same" /translated from Italian/: No improvement to speak of has been found necessary in any part and has, therefore, not been made.

equally skilled at canoe-making, but one who is able to achieve a faultless one is universally highly esteemed. What Despard (b): 679 has summed up in a few words is pertinent here: "The manufacture of a canoe is a most important work; on it chiefly depends their subsistence; to excel in it is a coveted distinction; to have effected it marks manhood; to accomplish it taxes strength, skill, and time" /cited in English/. This object, vitally important for our Indians, deserves to be described in detail. In doing so, we unintentionally grant them high praise for their skill (122). /440/

[554]

122. It is strange that earlier travelers have repeatedly emphasized the graceful construction

501 /440 cont./

and the great efficiency of the bark boat, but have described the details only very superficially. Cooper: 197 simply listed the bibliography of the best descriptions.

[171] We should like to mention briefly that this bark canoe, ánan (or, more completely, ajyúsu ánan), is actually very similar in its design and principal parts to the one that the neighboring Halakwulup make (Fig. 25).

a. The Bark Pieces

396 The vessel characteristic of the Yamana since ancient times is a canoe made out of three large pieces of bark. This is the one we shall describe in what follows. Most of our natives have in most recent times turned to the canoe made out of a single trunk and to the flat boat, but this happened only since Europeans [177] brought them the iron ax.

The entire region is more or less densely supplied with Ant-
396 arctic beeches, but straight, thick trunks that furnish a smooth,
313 even sheet of bark of sufficient length are found only singly and usually deep in the interior of an island. To discover these probably the only reason a man is obliged to venture deep into the forest. Usually two or three men join together in the search, if for no other reason than because it is difficult for a single man to loosen the thick bark, ajyúsu, from the trunk and because no one goes alone for great distances in the woods (123). This traveling

123. As Hyades (q):350 says: "the chief concern of the Fuegians is to select the best bark; it is often necessary for them to take a long journey to find it" /translated from French/. Despard (b):679 adds: "a man, having associated three others, proceeds into the forest for four or five miles" /cited in English/.

hither and yon is frequently laborious and requires great effort. They almost always decide on Nothofagus betuloides, sér̄ci, which

/440 cont./

396 develops an even, smooth trunk and becomes thicker than the two
313 other species of beech; moreover, its bark does not crack so easily (p. 28 /untranslated/) (124).

> 124. BD:661 emphasizes: "The bark especially of the hanis [Nothofagus pumilio] is consequently unfit for canoes" /cited in English/. Bridges (k):223 says: "The natives use the bark of the perennial beech [Nothofagus betuloides] for the construction of their canoes, since that of the other species is useless for this purpose" /translated from Spanish/.

When the men come across a trunk that can furnish a suitable piece of bark, they set to work. At least one of them is a capable canoe builder, and he estimates the proportions by eye. They distribute their forces to remove the bark, after they have carefully looked over the faultless piece, free of branches and scar protuberances. The smooth surface must measure at least five meters. The middle part of a long strap of seal skin, ŭkesa,
[48] wusŭkesa, is tossed over one of the higher branches, so that the two halves hang down freely for the time being. There is a loop at one end, which one of the younger men puts around his hips and fastens. While his companion pulls the other end, the young man climbs up the trunk bracing himself with his feet and more or less embracing the trunk with his hands. At the top he begins the incision and /441/ draws it perpendicularly to the bottom. Since he is secured with a cord and slowly lowered by the other man, he has both hands free for this work. /Fig. 25 appears here./ Having arrived at the bottom, he must climb up again. Now he draws the horizontal incision all around the trunk. If the trunk is unusually thick and if one section of bark suffices, he must outline this in the required width by a second lengthwise cut. The second horizontal cut a little above the ground is easier to make.

396 For this work the man uses a bone wedge and a suitable flat
313 stone as a hammer. The former, actually, is used only for the
412 incision in the bark and, very seldom, also to split thicker trunks into firewood. It is made out of a wide rib bone of the whale and

[Text continues on page 113. -Analyst]

Fig. 25. Bark Canoe

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/441 cont./

396 is about 36 centimeters long. There is no actual handle. The
313 piece of bone is filed on a rough stone until the wedge shape ap-
412 pears, with a slightly rounded blade (Fig. 26). The Indians grasp the upper half of this wedge, lia, with the left hand, place it against the bark with light pressure, and, with a stone in the right hand, hammer it in until they hit the fibers of the wood. They handle it like a chisel. If they do not have a wedge of bone, they make the incisions in the bark with a filed mussel shell or with the true shell knife (125), but this takes longer and is far

125. Hyades (q):350 is speaking only of this when he maintains that the Fuegians "cut the bark on the tree by means of their mussel shells, sharpened and provided with a handle" /translated from French/.

more tiring.

396 After the piece of bark in the shape of a long rectangle has
313 been outlined with the bone wedge, the man again ascends to the upper /442/ horizontal cut. Here he loosens the upper edge with the same or with a finer bone wedge, being careful not to split the bark. The more rounded the bark is, the more it tends to do this.

396 Some men use a peeler of bone known as /Figs. 26 and 27
313 appear here/ sīha, according to BD:383 "a bone bark stripper"
412 /cited in English/. Lothrop (b):143 writes sānaka. It is about 60 centimeters long, quite flat, seven millimeters thick, and has the shape of a curved paper knife. It is made from a whale rib. It is pushed under the bark, little by little, about 15 centimeters deep, and with light leverage the bark is loosened all the way around, all the more safely since the peeler is slightly springy (Fig. 27) (126).

126. Spencer:131 says in this connection: "The Yahgans make incisions with shells or with stone knives, and prise off the slabs with a long, slightly curved and flat bone tool" /cited in English/. Despard (b):679 probably also refers to this piece which he describes as "a whale's bone made into the fashion of a curved knife" /cited in English/.

[Text continues on page 115.-Analyst]

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Fig. 26. Bone Wedge.
One-quarter natural size.

Fig. 27. Bark Peeler

/442 cont./

396 After the man has separated the bark from the trunk at the
313 top and freed a space, he places first one and then the other foot into it. Now the weight of his body does the work. The more the sheet of bark is loosened, the farther he sinks down until finally he seems to be trapped between bark and trunk. He leans against the trunk and grasps the edges of the piece of bark with both hands, or he presses it away from his body with his hands flat. Stamping with his feet in this pinch, he finally peels it off entirely down to the bottom.

One can well imagine that this work is strenuous and uncomfortable, for the tough bark fibers cling fast and the strap does not give a firm hold. Sometimes the man makes it easier
[481] for himself by tying short wooden pegs, mēskasīna, one above the other, to the trunk at given intervals. These he uses like steps, but only until he can slip between the loosened bark and the stripped surface of the trunk where he can hold himself.

Everyone knows that the best time to strip the bark easily
396 /442/ is during the spring weeks, from the middle of September
313 to the end of October (127), during which time metabolism in
824

127. Lovisato (b):134 extends this period, namely, from October to February, but Bridges (MM:VIII, 156; 1874) only to January.

the bast zone is very active and the turgescence of the tissues is very high. Of course, it does not fail to happen that a family loses its boat at some other time of year and that a man must, of necessity, decide to make a new one. Without delay he must obtain bark pieces, no matter how great the effort. He knows that at any other time but spring the stripped bark is more brittle and splits more easily, hence is less useful.

313 As a precaution in the spring a man occasionally peels off
396 pieces of bark which he does not need at the moment, but which he may later use for some urgent repair (128). This does not

128. "Not being able to build his boat except in the spring, the Fuegian foresightedly

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396

/443 cont./
sometimes makes two of them, but he always puts aside some pieces of bark with which to repair frequent damage" (La Nature: 278) /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):144 adds: "The extra piece was placed under water in a running stream to keep it flexible" /cited in English/.

help him, however, if he loses his vessel at some distant point and if there is no one nearby who will convey him to those pieces of bark. At the least everyone makes a mental note of the trees from which suitable sheets of bark can be removed; then when there is an emergency, he need not waste time looking. Sometimes there is nothing to be done but to wait until the next spring and only then start building anew.

Every piece of bark of the required size is protected from drying up and becoming distorted by being kept under water. It is laid in a pool with a marshy bottom, the buoyancy of which prevents warping. Moderately large stones are placed upon it to keep it from protruding above the surface of the water and expanding unevenly.

β. Its Construction

396 Every Indian knows that the dried sections of the sheet of bark can no longer be made flexible. That is why he generally removes the bark just before he needs it, or he scrupulously keeps it under water until he begins the work. Even when he is working on it and an interruption of several days is forced upon him because of very bad weather or a shortage of food, he at times must place the sheet of bark under water. The sooner he completes his work, the firmer the bark remains.

Three large pieces of bark are necessary (129) for the

129. There are two additional small triangular pieces for the tips on bow and stern. Altogether there are five pieces, never seven as Krickeberg:319 maintains.

/643 cont./

3%

construction of the canoe, two wide pieces for the sides and a long, narrower, thick piece as the center section. /644/ The men drag them out of the woods and lays them on an open and even, grassy surface where he wants to do his work. The inner bark fibers on the inside are scraped off with a scraper or knife, or even with nothing but a sharpened mussel shell. Then the piece is turned around, and the outside smoothed by planing off the surface. When that has been done, the bark pieces, one after the other, are made flexible by being heated.

The sheet of bark is laid on a long fire with even charcoal heat. It is constantly turned and shifted so that all parts on both sides are evenly heated, but also protected from burning. This makes the entire sheet flexible, like thick leather, and in this state it can be bent into the desired shape.

They then make a choice by eye among the three pieces. As we have said, the side parts, *kafa* (*kafa*), must be wide, the center part, *ukiki*, which is to become the bottom of the boat, long and thick. Again measuring with his eye, the man begins

[394] by cutting each piece properly. He never uses a rule or any kind of similar tool, such as a string, a little stick, or the span of his own hand. The center piece is made in the shape of a cigar, that is, the right and left third of its total length tapers and the ends are approximately ten centimeters wide, or at least one end, in case the other tapers to a point. The latter is used for the bow, the former for the stern. The other two sheets of bark are cut in such a way that one edge is almost straight, the other curved; both ends of each piece terminate slantwise in narrow points. After the center piece has been cut, the side pieces are made to tally exactly by means of repeated fittings. They must be as flexible as possible, which is why they are again and again drawn through fresh water and afterwards through fire.

Two uniform thin poles are now needed for the upper edge or gunwale. In accordance with the proportions and the contour of the planned construction, about a dozen short sticks are pounded into the ground on either side. These are necessary as a scaffold and support for the parts not yet joined. As soon as the three pieces of bark have been accurately trimmed so that they fit together, they are placed in this framework. Sometimes the men also dig

/444 cont./

out the earth in the shape of the planned canoe. Then each of the two poles, [illegible], one after the other, is sewn to the straight edge of the side sheet of bark, as the beard. Their front ends later form the extreme point of the bow which rarely extends two to three centimeters above the bark.

For the sewing, one needs strips about one millimeter thick and three millimeters wide from the most recent layer under the bark of young trunks of Rhetalagus ernestina. They are extremely flexible and so tough that they neither peel off in strands nor break, even when they are dried out. If a person can get the more suitable strips of whalebone, he chooses them, but otherwise he must /[illegible]/ resort to using the further which he carefully prepares (130). Near the upper edge of the sheet of bark he bores

130. Hyades (q):351 describes how they are prepared: "One divides the fibers of whalebone or of the layer under the bark into strips of equal length and thickness, polished on the edges by being scraped with broken shells" /translated from French/. They are kept under water so as not to dry out or warp prematurely.

a small hole with a pointed bone awl and sticks the strip of wool fiber, [illegible], through it, draws it over the little pole, pulls it tight and continues in spirals about 13 centimeters apart until its entire length is fastened to the edge of the bark. The latter is safely protected by each of the two poles.

Before the long center piece of bark is fastened to the lower edges of the two side sections, approximately eight crossbars are fastened to the top. For these wedges, one chooses branches as thick as a thumb from the [illegible] (Dryopsis magellanica), whose wood is very tough and hard. He scrapes off the bark and at either end carves a stub-like button. Around the somewhat thinner neck just in front of this button he winds the [illegible] thread, and with this he ties each end of the crossbar to the upper edge of the sheet of bark. The deep tapering of the crossbars just short of their ends serves as a collar for the [illegible] strip, preventing it from slipping in either direction. The center crossbar is, of course, the

/445 cont./

39% widest, and the others gradually become shorter toward the bow and stern. They hold the two walls of the canoe apart and in place. The shape of the two upper edges of the canoe is now fixed.

Up to this point the two side sections are held by the sticks hammered into the ground. They remain there when next the bottom, the narrower third sheet of bark, is put into place. At times the body of the boat is turned upside down or on its side for greater convenience in working. In order to make the center piece fit very snugly against the side sections, a step-shaped notching is carved along the entire length of its two side edges and fitted into a small protruding border on the curved edge of each side section. This very exact carving is done with sharp splinters of mussel shells and is easy to do on the thick bottom section. This section is then sewed to the two side pieces with the whalebone or the [illegible] strip. Before these side pieces are pulled taut, the seams are stuffed, section by section, with moss, bundles of hay, and fine red algae to make them as watertight as possible (131) and also to prevent the woody thread from break-

131. Moreover, as Hyades (q):351 writes: "they are calked with stalks of wild celery or other plants" /translated from French/. Bridges amplifies this, saying: "The seams are caulked with soaked and bleached stalks of wild celery, to which clay is sometimes added" (MM:III, 38; 1869) /cited in English/.

ing (132). The wife helps with the calking or she does it alone;

132. Despard (b):679 calls attention to this: "A rope of hay placed on the seam inside prevents the thread from cutting through" /cited in English/.

she is more skillful at it than the man.

/446/ The body of the canoe is now finished. After that the two triangular end pieces, known as Ilnčinix, also tumagai apaj,

/446 cont./

are put into place on bow and stern. Sometimes only the one on the bow is deemed sufficient, if the excellence of the large bark pieces permits the one on the stern to be omitted. I was told that the construction of the canoe is sounder if the three large pieces of bark do not all taper to fine points at either end, but are cut off straight. The short triangular end pieces that are sewed to the cut surface prevent any tearing or splitting of the keel strip because they fit loosely. These two *ikaf-inis* are also sewed on with fine threads. Moreover, a thread made of braided *mapi* (*Marsippospermum grandiflorum*) is wound tight around the extreme tip, its free end knotted on the last or the next-to-the-last small crosber. This prevents the fine tip from twisting outward which it tends to do because it frequently gets damp and then dries again.

The middle third of the edges on both sides of the canoe is most subject to damage, for this is where one climbs in and out and also where most of the things are loaded. Hence, for greater safety, they make a separate gunwale of pieces of bark from a trunk of *Maytenus magellanica* as thick as an arm. They peel off the bark and split it into equal halves; these are immediately placed on the edges of the canoe, each between two crosbars. Each half bends to form a half cylinder and is automatically clamped into place; it needs no other fastening. This bark facing, *ufaka*, has another advantage. It extends along the section in which the woman sits to row and thus protects her arms from injury. In rowing and steering she often rests them on the gunwale.

The outer construction of the canoe is now finished. It needs only a few additions to give it support and firmness. For this purpose, slender wooden ribs as thick as a finger are used, namely, branches of *Drimys winteri* or of a Nothofagus, split down the middle. Both ends are cut to a short point, and the individual ribs bent into a half circle. They are arranged according to their length and pressed into the belly of the canoe so that they lie tight against the entire inner wall and are clamped under the gunwale on either side. These wooden ribs, *tenekis*, are close to each other; about 50 are used altogether. Before they are finally clamped into place, the small spaces and holes between them and the lower half of the canoe wall are stuffed with moss, algae, and grasses, for the thin-walled construction requires a great deal of calking. The vegetable matter used for this purpose is known

/left cont./

3% by the collective noun, [illegible]. Short bench twigs are pushed under the bent-up ends of the ribs, which, as real packing, give them more support and a firm seat. One wants to make the most of the tension, for it, too, strengthens and protects the entire back wall.

/147/ The central section of the canoe bottom gets the greatest load. Since there is danger of its breaking through, it is strengthened with a few flattened strips of bark placed loosely over the ribs without any fastening. They are arranged in two rows and are easily shoved apart sideways so that in the deepest section, in the center of the canoe, the water that has filtered in can be scooped out from time to time. These pieces of bark, [illegible], are placed with the bark side against the canoe bottom; they fit against it very well. The weight of the passengers is thus distributed over a broad, springy base.

The canoe, however, is not yet satisfactory, because the strips of bark that have just been put into place are neither sufficiently comfortable for a person to sit upon, nor do they offer a secure footing. Hence a special lining, so to speak, is added in the middle of the canoe by placing several longer strips of bark a hand's breadth wide on top of the [illegible]. The bark side, which has been smoothed, is placed upward; this helps to keep the entire strip flat. The two narrow edges are first cut straight across, and then these [illegible], bent into a semicircle, are pushed under the gunwale on each side. They were carefully measured beforehand, hence they rest tightly on the ribs for their entire length. They cover the shorter [illegible] on the floor of the canoe. One [illegible] strip is placed very carefully beside the other; between the two middle pieces a small slit is left free for bailing out the water that leaks. These [illegible] and the ribs described above were given the required semicircular shape by repeated elastic bending after they were saturated with water and heated in the fire. Their free edges must be cut very exactly, so that one strip of bark is joined very closely to the next, for only in this way do they serve their purpose (148), namely, to provide the occupants with a place to

148. The length of these bark pieces is determined by the size of the canoe. Hyades (p. 302) overlooked this fact.

/[illegible]/
of that is as dry as possible (136).

> 136. The word given above, according to BD: [illegible], means "those pieces of bark placed in canoes where the people sit to strengthen the canoe and to guard it from injury, as well as to give comfort to the occupants" /Aiton in English/.

The canoe is now finished. It takes an industrious man two to three weeks, if he can continue his work undisturbed and if he finds the necessary parts nearby. He always works in the shade, for the rays of the sun would heat the pieces of bark and distort them. The proportions of this vessel depend on the number of members in the family, but the length never exceeds five metres in a straight line between the two extremities. The widest part from one gunwale to the other is under one metre; the depth in the centre fluctuates around 70 centimetres (138). /[illegible]/ If we

> 138. Bowe (pp.107 and Colins: 102) wrote: "The length varies between four metres and six metres, the width between 70 centimetres and 80 centimetres."

compare the canoe of the Yaruro, [illegible], with that of the Guiahibo-Sáliba, we surely cannot overlook the differences in dimensions; the factors is noticeably shorter and narrower, even somewhat flatter than the latter (139).

> 139. More or less detailed descriptions of the bark canoe can be found in Bridges (1:13), Bowe (1:[illegible] and pp.107, Colins Pinnches: [illegible], Cojazzi: 100, Dubbeer (1:[illegible]), Dunpard (1:[illegible]), Fitz-Roy (1:[illegible]), Hyades (1:[illegible]), Lafinur (1:[illegible]), Martial:[illegible], Spegazzini (1:[illegible]), Storing in VSA:[illegible], 107, [illegible]; Wolfram: I, [illegible], Wuddel (1:[illegible]), Wuglbach:[illegible], and others. The individual parts used in it are listed in [illegible], and the kinds of handwork performed are named.

[illegible]

/[illegible]/
Hyden pg 303 relaxed and wore down many tables.

7. In Accessories

[illegible]

This Tolgan family spends more than half the days of the year and most of the hours of a day in the canoe. Since they [illegible] relatively from one camping place to another, they always take all their /Fig. 19 opposite here/ belongings, little though

[illegible]

Fig. 19. Lontoe Hand Pounder.
Two-thirds natural size.

that is. For the men his weapons are indispensable, and the women must always have a few little things handy. We shall not speak of all these things here, but rather, only those that are indispensable adjuncts to an [illegible] (17).

17. Lotong /Pg 140 says: "When fully equipped, the Tolgan canoe carried the following articles: two or more paddles, three kinds of lashes, two fire-tongs, four spears (fish, seal, crab, and keeper), dipper, club, grass covering rope or thong, back lashes, fish-line" /Crawl in English/.

/448 cont./

396 The oars are regarded as part of the most essential equipment. The man makes them of beechwood for his wife. With a bone wedge (Fig. 26), he splits a trunk about 20 centimeters thick into a plank that he cuts and planes with sharpened pieces of mussel shells. In order to be able to grasp the shells better and
396 also to protect his hand against wood splinters, he uses a scrap
293 of leather which is like a mitten (Fig. 28). It is cut nearly trapezoidal in shape from the thick hide of a sea lion, and the two corners of one of the narrow ends are tied together with a little bundle of rushes. This makes a narrow opening through which one sticks the three last fingers of the right hand. The little piece of leather now covers the entire back of the hand and these three fingers, so that they are adequately protected.

/449/ Planing and smoothing the wood is an irksome task.
396 Particular difficulties are encountered at the place where the
501 shaft runs out from the blade because at that point the blade is usually left wide and has an edge. In most of the oars, all of which lack a special handle, one part gently and gradually leads over to the other; they are lancet-shaped, so to speak. The shaft is about a third of the entire length. It is noteworthy that the blade is never sharply differentiated from the shaft, but more or less gradually runs into it (138) and rounds off more narrowly

138. This very strikingly distinguishes it from the woman's oar of the Halakwulup, which has an absolutely rectangular blade, as I duly showed (Gusinde [o]: 547). The measurements for the oars of the Halakwulup are also larger as a whole. Pickering:19 had already observed: "The [Yamana-] Fuegians [are] making the blade [of the paddles] even narrower than do the Northwestern tribes" /cited in English/.

at the end. The center of the blade is always thicker than the edges and has a completely flat center rib. /Fig. 29 appears here./ Lothrop (b):147 says briefly: "The old-fashioned paddle had a long pointed blade and a short rounded handle. The blade

/449 cont./

396 501 was diamond-shape in section, so there was a tent-like ridge centrally down each side" /cited in English/. The length is never uniformly determined, but depends on the accidental length of the plank, varying by 150 centimeters. The blade measures about ten centimeters at its widest point. The husband adjusts the thickness of the well-rounded blade to suit his wife's wishes (Fig. 29).

501 [462] If necessity or danger during a trip should force a man to take an oar, he handles it in the same manner as the women. He does not, however, have his own oar, as Colini: 237 erroneously maintains.

Fig. 29. Oar Forms.

The most common designation for these oars, so-called paddles, is ápi; they are also called tstatéga and tuwéna. Every family carries at least two oars in their vessel.

506 372 501 During the long trips our natives cannot possibly do without the fire. They keep it burning constantly in the canoe (p. 44). In the center of the bottom there is a specially prepared hearth, and adequate care is taken so that the bark underneath does not burn through. On the bottom they place a few flat stones close together so that there are no gaps. /450/ Upon this layer they place a rather large clump of turf which is at least seven centimeters thick, and its tangle of roots and coarse pebbles is turned upward. An alternative is to form a layer out of crushed mussel shells mixed with pebbles and lumps of clay. There is constant and ample moisture from the water that oozes in from below; hence this thick layer cannot become hot, and there is still less possibility that the bark floor can burn through. Since air has free access from all sides, the fire cannot flare up

/450 cont./

506 to a high flame. This must be avoided at all costs, so that the
372 side walls will not be endangered. A moderate glow without a
501 leaping flame suffices.

The firewood is kept partly near the hearth, af, partly in
505 the stern. It has been stacked in orderly fashion to save space.
372 The people of the west must always take along large amounts of wood; a small supply is adequate for the people of the east, which they pile up near the hearth. Wherever the latter land, they easily find dry driftwood, whereas the former cannot count on this. Quite dry wood has been carefully chosen for the trip, since damp wood causes smoke which the occupants in the cramped canoe can hardly evade. As a matter of course they leave the wood of Drimys winteri, which gives off a thick, biting smoke, behind on the shore.

The girls squat near the fire and tend it according to instructions from their mother. It is their task before the departure to carry a glowing log from the hut-fire to the hearth in the canoe and to fan a new flame. When they land, another glowing stick of wood from the canoe serves to kindle the fire in the newly erected hut. With scrupulous care they extinguish every spark from the fire in the vessel so that there is no danger of its bursting into flames.

501 Even the most careful canoe construction does not prevent
415 some water from constantly oozing in between the seams (139).

> 139. In Wieghardt:31 and elsewhere we read: "So much water constantly comes in that the people continually have to bail it out" /translated from Spanish/.

It collects near the hearth at a place that has been purposely left open, that is, the space of a hand's breadth between the loosely laid bark pieces, ilax. The girls bail it out with a special scoop made either of bark or seal leather. For both kinds one first cuts out a rectangular piece which is then bent, the bark piece in the direction of its longitudinal fibers. After the two straight edges are joined with a strip of whalebone or a few rushes, making a seam, a bottom is cut out to fit this cylinder, which is also sewed on. Not infrequently a small handle of rushes is added in the

/450 cont./

501 center of the longitudinal seam. Such a tŭ́ku does not have to be
415 made watertight; small amounts can easily be scooped out if one uses it often and quickly. The girls /451/ even find this to be fun. The size and diameter of this scoop (Fig. 30) are a matter of chance. Some are 12 centimeters, others 22 centimeters high, and most of them fall between these two sizes. The leather ones are more durable than those commonly used made from the bark of Drimys winteri or Maytenus magellanica. The latter, however, are easier to hold (140). Several of

140. Hyades (q):307 gives several details about these scoops. To speak of "shovels made of tree-bark," as Bove (e):157 does, is not correct. See Lothrop (b):147.

these scoops lie about in every canoe. /Fig. 30 appears here./

501 The last item of the accessories
283 that we must mention, which, however, is sometimes lacking, is the rope of rush stalks that Hyades (q):414 calls "plait of rushes" /translated from French/. It is a simple braid of three

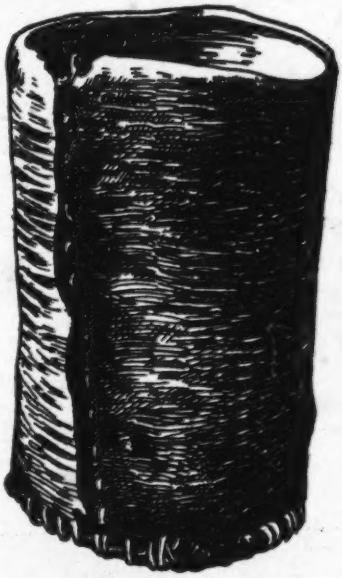

Fig. 30. Scoop Made of Drimys Bark. One-half natural size.

Fig. 31. Rope Made of Marsippospermum. One-half natural size.

strands and is at least 160 centimeters long (Fig. 31). There is a knot at either end to keep it from becoming unbraided. This rope

/451 cont./

501 is always left in the canoe, either rolled up in a ball or wound
283 into a few coils. It is used where steep banks make it impossible to draw the vessel onto land. One end is knotted to the first or second crossbar, witéga; the other is wound around a stone or a tree trunk. This rope, which is not very strong, is used to fasten the canoe only in very quiet waters to prevent the boat's being carried off by the ebb and flow of the tide. Because of its lightness, it is much more suitable for this purpose than a heavier leather thong would be (141).

141. In his time, Snow (a):II, 16 called attention to it: "The ropes they had to fasten their canoes were made of grass rudely platted" /cited in English/.

501 The few items listed here, oar, hearth, scoop, and rope are
462 necessary adjuncts or accessories of the vessel. /Fig. 31 appears here./ The woman has charge of them also, and she sees to their replacements so that she will not at some time be seriously embarrassed or endangered.

/452/ δ. Its Efficiency

505 Their restless, wandering life forces the Yamana to carry with them wherever they go all their material possessions, without exception. These do not necessarily belong to the canoe, but no one can part with them. They are distributed in such a way that the man keeps his weapons in the bow, and the woman has all the other implements and little baskets, skins, and pieces of meat in the stern. The children occupy the center section; except for the insignificant trifles which they hang on their bodies, they do not possess anything. The canoe as such is extremely light and is, therefore, not suitable for transporting loads. Although it is hard to say definitely how much the articles necessary to the adults weigh, it is obvious that it cannot be much. At most, a large sea lion that a man has killed is loaded on.

The number of people that a given canoe can accommodate depends on their weight and the existing weather conditions. They

/452 cont./

505 will venture to cross a quiet bay with an overload that they would never take out into an open channel. The question as to how many persons can be accommodated in a canoe cannot be answered in a single word; at any rate, there is enough room for the parents and the unmarried children of a family, a total of about six or seven (142); Dabbene (b):180 speaks of "up to eight

142. According to Hyades (q):304 it includes "as an ordinary load, seven persons, three of whom are children, one of these being carried on the back or held at the breast of its mother" /translated from French/.

or ten persons" /translated from Spanish/. They step into the divisions formed by the crosspieces. Here, without exception, they squat in the bottom of the canoe and remain quiet in their crouched position, all but the woman who must paddle. Anyone who stands up risks upsetting the unsteady balance. The children sit deep down in the center section and sometimes their eyes do not reach even to the level of the gunwale. Thus, they add a great deal to the stability of the vessel. The man's place is at the bow, the rear third belongs to the woman. The weight of at least two adults is necessary when the sea is turbulent; actual ballast is unknown.

502 We have repeatedly mentioned that the bark canoe of our Yamana, because of its light construction and unsubstantial load, maintains an unstable equilibrium on the water. For this very reason each of the occupants avoids gross body movements, and actual rowing is out of place here. The Indians possess a large measure of self-control, even the children can remain for hours almost motionless in one spot, to prevent the vessel from rocking. L'Hermite was reminded of "Venetian gondolas" (p. 53 /untranslated/) when he saw the bark canoes in Nassau Gulf, and the beautiful comparison Goicueta used for the vessel of the Halakwulup also applies to /453/ that of our Fuegians. On the surface of the water it really does look "like a four-day moon, with the elevated points" /translated from Spanish/, gliding by motionlessly.

/453 cont./

501 A strange feeling comes over a European when he rides in it. At my request, Fred Lawrence had a bark canoe built by old [126] Pedro for the Museo de Etnología y Antropología in Santiago de Chile (143). It has a maximum length of 410 centimeters and a

143. See the more detailed accounts in Gusinde (b):153.

maximum width of 103 centimeters. He handed it over to me at the beginning of 1920. Until it was loaded, this valuable piece was kept in a sheltered bay near Punta Remolino, so that it would not dry out and crack. I, therefore, seized the opportunity and took several trips in it, accompanied by Indians. This canoe is actually the last of its kind that the practiced hands of a Fuegian have built (144). At first sight it surprises one not a little that

144. I attach importance to this fact. This canoe is kept in the Museo Histórico de Chile at Santiago, with which the previously independent collection of the Museo de Etnología y Antropología has been combined since 1929. Since it was not used by a Fuegian family, Lothrop (b):143, Figure 72 was correct, with this qualification, when he wrote under the reproduction of an earlier photograph, presumably from the year 1893: "The last Yahgan bark canoe ever used" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b): 181 refers to the same vessel: "At the Tekenika mission I saw what I believe to be the last Fagus-bark canoe still in existence. It is not being used there and is preserved by the missionaries solely as a specimen of this ancient industry" /translated from Spanish/.

only a short section of the keel is in the water. If one is the first to step in, he must put his foot on the center line, otherwise the vessel lists almost completely to one side. Inside, no matter how short a step one takes in front of the other foot, the center of gravity shifts, which causes considerable rocking lengthwise.

/453 cont./

501 Every additional person stepping in changes the unstable balance of the entire vessel considerably. If, meanwhile, a painful feeling of uncertainty comes over the occupant, he will find this repeatedly accentuated in alternately stronger and weaker fashion throughout the trip, either because of a slight change in the current, a larger or smaller succession of waves, or, finally, because of gusts of wind for which the projecting canoe offers an extensive target area.

502 Every woman is amazingly skilled at paddling. She succeeds in preventing the vessel from bouncing jerkily with every stroke of the paddle and in making the slight zigzag line of the course less noticeable. Nevertheless, a person in the boat soon feels this movement. The longer it continues, the more it affects the general feeling of a European; uneasiness overtakes him, and in this situation of increasing uncertainty he longs for the moment when he can set foot on terra firma once again. No matter how often I told myself that my Indian companions were utterly reliable, every trip in a bark canoe was for me anything but soothing. The longer it lasted, the more sensitive I became to the slightest /454/ fluctuation in the equilibrium, and in the end I was nervously irritated. Our Indians, however, have long since become accustomed to these feelings; it is not that they have become insensitive to them, but with it all, their consciousness of safety and their long-tested reckless courage triumphs.

503 731 Out of this some of them develop a certain blind confidence, together with an overestimation of their ability and their judgment of existing weather conditions. Thus, many a canoe capsizes, chiefly, however, because of the incalculable tricks of the weather in that region. Not at all infrequently a family is seized by a whirlwind in the middle of a wide stretch of water or is threatened by breakers that no one could anticipate; since the canoe moves slowly, all human effort is overcome by the superiority of natural forces (145). Many a casualty is remembered

145. We repeat here a sad incident related by Hyades (q):353: "A large number of Fuegians wanted to cross a bay in two canoes in order to look for fungi on the opposite shore; the overloaded canoes foundered, the sea being bad, and

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/454 cont./
only two persons were saved" /translated from French/.

to this day by the Yamana; the reports of missionaries and European travelers also refer to them. In Hyades (q):352 we read: "Shipwrecks of canoes are very frequent and annually cause a high mortality. Mr. Bridges in his unpublished work cites many accidents of this kind: shipwreck of five canoes, 33 persons drowned; shipwreck of two canoes, 13 drowned..." /translated from French/. The accident is usually caused by overconfidence. These people are extremely reckless, and, as Bridges (i):15 expresses it "venturesome in trusting themselves with comparative strangeness" /cited in English/, which every observer verifies. In most recent times, however, unprincipled thoughtlessness [273] destroys many a life when Indians in a highly intoxicated state venture out on the treacherous waves although they do not have control of themselves.

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Supremely confident of their own ability, these people may even decide to take long journeys in their fragile vessel. As a rule, however, they stay within the narrow confines of their native district; every dialect group has one (p. 199 /untranslated/). Certain occasions, however, almost always the chase after the large ursine seal, tëpëʔa (Arctocephalus australis), and the pursuit of a sick, weary whale, make them forget, in their eagerness, how far behind they have left the coast. It has been proved that a few families visited Isla Ildefonso; others are supposed to have ventured as far as the Diego Ramírez Islands. They are [823] guided in their journeys by their exact knowledge of the locality and by an excellent gift of orientation.

[197] Soon after the opening of the mission station in Ushuaia individual canoes arrived from great distances, even some from the Halakwulup. For example, Bridges (i):15 mentions incidentally: "I know several natives of Cuchawulaf who come to Ushuaia in the East and in the opposite direction as far as Port Gallant and Mercury Sound; this distance is considerably over two /455/ hundred miles" /cited in English/. Our Fuegians can accomplish these astonishingly distant journeys because, wherever they land, they provide for their needs in life, namely, meat from the most diverse types of animals, wood for the indispensable fire, and pieces of fur to protect their bodies.

/455 cont./

501 It takes boundless audacity to risk journeys to distant regions in an extremely fragile, completely unprotected vessel on treacherous waves. The vessel's construction shows its limited, brief durability. No matter how anxiously the wife tries to protect it, sooner or later and unavoidably the bark splits and cracks, if only because of the unequal heating of individual parts by the sun, and even more by many unavoidable blows, by the rough handling on the beach when it is brought to safety, and finally by the shifting load when the natives board and leave the canoe. True, the bark is flexible and it bends, but in doing so the firm cohesion of the finest fibers is loosened, which leads to visible breaks.

If a canoe is spared an actual accident and unusual damage, it serves a family who takes good care of it a whole year or somewhat longer. My Indian friends and my European informants assured me of this. Earlier reports mention lower figures. Hyades (g):38 and (q):304 writes: "In general one assumes that a good canoe will remain serviceable for not more than half a year (146), despite all the care that man and woman together

146. Bridges, too, says: The canoes "are very fragile, and it is necessary to make a new one every six months" (MM:III, 115; 1869) /cited in English/.

employ to preserve it." Despard (b):680 even says that "these canoes last only about three months" /cited in English/(147).

147. If this is true, his next sentence is most certainly correct: "So a man has to make a good many [canoes] in a few years, and must become pretty expert by the time he is 40" /cited in English/.

Dabbene (b):180, however, agrees with me that its "duration can be reckoned approximately at one year" /translated from Spanish/.

396 The uncertainty in this matter among European judges may have arisen from the fact that in the fall, as well as in the spring,

/455 cont./

396 one man or another will build a canoe. If he has observed that the vessel he built only the previous spring will hardly last out the winter, he sets about early enough, that is, in the fall, to make a new one. He does not take great pains with it, since the bark is not as good in the fall and in any case he will commence a new and better one in the spring. This is the only explanation for Bridges' assertion (i):23 that "the canoes are made twice a year in the spring and autumn. The former are called hákua, the latter Een-ánan [better kísajánan] i.e. Winter Canoe. The natives are specially careful to make the latter well" /cited in English/. Spring is actually the time when the great majority of families make a new vessel (p. 115).

504 /456/ Through the years every man acquires some skill in this work, but this fact alone does not prevent him from treating his canoe most carefully and giving it his utmost attention. If he should lose it in the course of the year, he and his family would be in serious difficulty, sometimes in danger of starving. Heavy blows against rocks and tree trunks are particularly damaging because the bark sections break or tear. Rubbing against pebbles and sand soon causes the bottom and the threads of the seam to be scraped through. For this reason, the vessel is often kept in the open channel after the family has been brought to shore by the woman. Wherever the gently sloping beach permits, they make a sort of toboggan slide of damp Macrocystis algae over which they drag the canoe and upon which it rests. When boarding the canoe, everyone places his foot very carefully; in fact, everyone avoids any jolt and violent movement, for the seams easily burst and the seam threads become more brittle the older they are. In loading and unloading large objects are handled gently and cautiously.

422 Even though the man makes the canoe almost entirely by
462 himself, it is not regarded as his property; the woman uses it and takes care of it. The man gives it to her, and it actually belongs to her or to the entire family. All the duties during the trip, as well as before and after, are her responsibility. She
462 alone paddles. Squatting in the rear third of the vessel, close
502 against the right side, she grasps the oar shaft with both hands, the left above the right, and pushes the oar diagonally backwards

/456 cont./

462 502 with a slight S-shaped movement in the water. This propels the canoe forward and gives it a definite direction at the same time. Paddling is made more difficult because the woman cannot brace her feet against anything and because she does not have a special seat. Also, she does not support her arms against the gunwale, but holds them entirely free. This is one explanation [147] for the unusually powerful development of the upper part of her body (p. 219 /untranslated/). As a rule she alone paddles (148).

> 148. Hence it is an exaggeration when Hyades (q):352 maintains that "the canoe is usually propelled with two paddles, each of which is manipulated by a woman in the large center section" /translated from French/.

If she needs help in a rough sea or when speed is required, she asks another woman or her grown daughter to take an oar. The other woman then paddles on the left side of the boat. Through daily practice, every woman learns to handle an oar skillfully. BD:32 uses the word atégaatas, "clever in paddling" /cited in English/. She also decides how the cargo is to be loaded or unloaded and distributed, what seat each child is to have, and who is to bail out the water and tend the fire.

If we consider everything that falls to her in the way of privileges and duties, she seems to be the sole ruler of the canoe. Her husband would not presume to compete for this privileged position of hers on the water nor tell her what to do. On shore the two agree on the course of the trip, /457/ and en route the husband expresses his particular wishes if game should approach, but the piloting and servicing of the vessel is entirely in her hands. If it should be necessary, she even requests him to leave his place at the bow and to sit near her and help her with the paddling. Every vessel has at least two paddles. She helps to make repairs, except in the case of larger tasks, such as putting in a side section, which are the responsibility of the man. Her constant duty is to renew the calking, for in the continual dampness, moss and grass, rushes, and algae rot quickly.

/457 cont./

396 Man and wife have their special share in the vessel; he
462 builds it, and she keeps it in repair. Circumstances are such
[425] that every family owns only a single canoe, which is why it
must be guarded all the more carefully (149). One canoe is never

149. Hyades (q):352 confirms that "the Fuegians take the greatest care of their canoes" /translated from French/. Others are of the same opinion.

exactly like another in all details, although they are all built according to the same pattern. Differences in size are determined by the available raw material, and some men are far more skillful than their neighbors. The term wálina is used for a man who would find it difficult to build a canoe. The men help each
[476] other in building it, and one man repays the other for his services with weapons or other valuable objects. No Yamana would hire himself out as a carpenter, but he does work for a close relative who is sick and helpless. From what has been said, we realize that the canoe is a vital and absolutely indispensable object for these Fuegians (150).

[439] 150. In the middle of 1868 Bridges, who was then a young man, brought two bark canoes to England. It was said that one of these was meant for a boy, the other for a girl. Actually these were models which, as such, had been ordered from an Indian. After that our Fuegians many times offered such small models for sale to Europeans. The two boat models mentioned above were described in detail in the "Illustrated London News" of August 18, 1868 (MM:III, 38; 1869). Many museums have good pieces of this kind.

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E. Dugout Canoe and Skiff

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With the tools that our Yamana had until they became more familiar with European iron implements, it was impossible for them to build any vessel other than the bark canoe which we have just described. It is only in the last fifty years that some men have built actual dugout canoes. Later they adopted the flat skiff.

1. The dugout. Without doubt our Yamana first saw this vessel in the possession of the neighboring Halakwulup. They had long before adopted it and occasionally appeared in the Yamana region. The Whites brought them the iron ax much earlier, and only with it were they able to hollow out a tree trunk properly. /458/ There is no difficulty in providing historical proof for this innovation among our southernmost Fuegians. In early July, 1876, Bridges (i):15 was on Isla Smoke in the Seno Ladrones, straight north of Stewart Island. Here he entered the following in his diary: "A native of these parts is on board, who by report is a maker of wooden canoes. It is very desirable for the sake of the Eastern natives to clear up the matter about these luputuj-anan, wooden canoes which have been for ages a source of continual fear to the Eastern" /cited in English/. The central and eastern Yamana groups actually do regard the extreme Westerners as murderers and cannibals, which is a subject we shall treat in detail below. On July 25, 1876, Bridges found such a specimen lying unused in the woods, "a hallowed /sic/ tree, 29 feet long, two feet through in widest part and three feet high. It is well hollowed out, but being so narrow is very crank and was left by its maker as of no use" /cited in English/. It was not until two years later, on February 2, 1878, that Bridges (i):16 saw the first fully occupied dugout in Yendegaia: "The wooden canoe of which we have heard so much came alongside this morning. It is a most ungainly object. It is very large and contains twenty persons easily. It was an immense piece of work" /cited in English/. Following this model (151), a few Yamana of the central areas also replaced

151. Lothrop (b):145, differing from my account, asserts: "The first dugout canoe used

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/458 cont./

by the Yahgan was made near Ushuaia about 1880 by an Indian known as John Furness" /cited in English/. That "this innovation apparently was an independent invention" /cited in English/, I cannot accept; the above historical data are proof of this.

their ancient bark canoe (152). This is emphatically confirmed

152. The Yamana never adopted the actual raft, such as Bridges (i):16 saw for the first time on February 16, 1883, in the possession of the Halakwulup, which consisted of five long planks sewed together. They probably never adopted it because they soon learned how to build the skiff.

by a report in La Nature:275: "The Yahgan...more rarely hollow out the trunk of a tree and give it the shape of a canoe (during the entire year 'La Romanche' saw only one single vessel of this type)" /translated from French/.

In the following years this new form almost completely superseded the bark vessel in all sections of the Fuegian area (153).

153. On January 2, 1902, Mr. Pringle wrote: "The Yahgans now make very few bark-canoes; they mostly use dug-outs" (MM:XXXVI, 49; 1902) /cited in English/. Exactly two decades earlier Martial: 191 announced: "We have found in Beagle Channel one of these canoes hollowed out of the trunk of a tree" /translated from French/.

Dabbene (b):181 was impelled to confess: "Today this kind of vessel [of bark] is no longer made, and the one used at present by the Yahgan is hollowed out from the trunk of a tree" /translated from Spanish/. Furlong (b):126 also mentions without qualification that "the Yahgan constructs his canoe of a heavy beech

501 /458 cont./
177 log" /cited in English/.

For about 20 years the dugout actually did rule supreme, while the bark canoe became more and more scarce. Since then a flat skiff has made its appearance, and today every family owns one of them.

396 /459/ There is not much to say about the construction and form of the dugout. A sound trunk was needed for it, which Nothofagus betuloides usually offered. It had to be quite smooth, straight, and tall enough so that when it was finished it corresponded in length to the medium-sized bark canoe. It was about a third narrower than the latter, whatever the thickness of the selected trunk. The tree was felled with blows of an ax, and the upper part, along with the crown, was cut off. Then the stump was trimmed. After the bark was peeled off, a short section of the curvature of the trunk was cut away, the two edges of which later became the gunwale. Then the hollowing-out process began and continued until the walls were reduced to a thickness of three to five centimeters. The natural curvature of the outer surface was retained, and only the bow was made blunt at the end. The work was extraordinarily facilitated if the cross-cut at the end was not retained. Instead, a small, U-shaped board was nailed on, which had to be carefully calked.

Sometimes the men made it easier for themselves by burning out the trunk, still upright, from below, but they guarded the fire well to make sure that the body of the prospective boat would not have holes in it. This procedure was advisable when the inner tissues of the trunk were largely rotten while the thick layer of wood fibers under the bark was still intact. One often finds such phenomena in the Antarctic beech forest.

The long open sides of the thin-walled body of the boat were widened at the top in the following manner. They spread a thick, protective layer of sand lengthwise and about 20 centimeters wide, and smeared the sides thickly with blubber. Then they placed glowing wood embers, evenly distributed, upon the entire layer of sand. The intense heat was transfered to the walls and made them somewhat expansible. This explains why every dugout looks as though it had been charred and burned. Suitable short thwarts squeezed in between the two side walls forced the latter apart and

/459 cont./

396 thus permanently widened the upper half. Once the tree trunk was hollowed out and closed off at the stern, no further additions were required and it could be put to use immediately. The na-
[372] tives had to be content with a small fire which they kept going throughout the trip in a square tin can.

Compared with the bark canoe, however, which had served
501 the Yamana for centuries as their sole means of transportation,
504 the modern dugout had many disadvantages. It capsized much more easily because it was not resilient and did not yield in any way, and because it was at least a quarter shallower than the bark canoe. Besides that, it could be moved on land only with great difficulty. True, the natives also made a sort of toboggan slide for it out of fresh algae, tuwēṭēka, over which it was hauled up and down. In spite of that, all the members of the family had to exert themselves to the utmost, otherwise they could not budge it. The wood of the /460/ Antarctic beech is heavy. Finally, the dugout could almost never be anchored in the open channel when the rocky coast did not permit its being hauled up. It was too heavy and too slippery to become entangled in a mass of floating Macrocystis. Ropes made of bundles of rushes (Fig. 31) are too weak to keep the boat tied up near the coast. If, in spite of this, it could be left out in the water, the natives could almost always expect it to overturn (154). Righting it again

154. Lothrop (b):146 says of the dugout which he took back to New York, "it was the most unstable vessel in which the writer has ever set foot" /cited in English/.

required great effort on the part of the woman, and bailing it out took considerable time.

501 In most recent times the natives have improved the dugout very much by elevating the gunwale slightly all the way around with a strip of wood nailed or sewed on. This afforded greater safety on the trip, but also added considerably to the weight of the whole thing.

Undeniably the dugout is more durable, but in contrast to this one advantage there are great drawbacks. Hence it is not surprising that after a few attempts the families of those days

/460 cont./

50/ abandoned this new invention. Today we run across an occasional dugout used for short trips; a new one has not been made for three decades.

On my second trip I brought back to the museum in Santiago
50/ (Gusinde [b] :148) a dugout that had for years lain in the woods un-
126 touched near the mouth of the Río Douglas. As Lothrop (b):148 says: "the last double-ended dugout afloat was purchased and is now in the Museum [of the American Indian in New York]. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelieve-
501 ably heavy" /cited in English/. In short, anyone who owns a dugout, like old Pedro, uses it as long as it is still serviceable; middle aged men have long since adopted the skiff. In a period of about 40 years the dugout came into use among the Yamana and disappeared again (156).

> 156. In this connection Spencer:88 says briefly: "Bark canoe preceden dug-out, which has now and for some years past entirely replaced bark" /cited in English/.

39% 2. The Flat Skiff. Since the sawmills were started on
[439 Beagle Channel by Europeans, the natives can easily obtain good
177] boards of different thicknesses. They are also given nails and iron strips. If they cannot buy their own tools, they borrow them everywhere. They do not lack the skill to make a low, short skiff. It must be wide because it is short and low. They curve the gunwale and produce a noticeably elevated bow with a sharp keel that slants backward. This makeshift (156) has /461/ no advan-

> 156. Lothrop (b):146 gives a short description and an illustration of it.

tages over a European construction, except for the tin can that is placed in the center for the fire. In the forward part they nail a narrow wooden crosspiece with a small hole in the middle. Into
502 this is placed a short mast. If a light breeze comes up from the rear, they hoist a piece of sacking, remnants of a woman's skirt,

/401 cont./

or some other rag as a sail on the yard, the end of which is tied to the edge of the boat by means of two or three thin ropes. Sometimes they are satisfied to stretch the rag between two strips of wood and hold it up high until their arms become tired (117).

117. Wieglaarb.II writes: "Some kind of rag or a seal skin is hoisted as a sail, sewed with rush fibers to a small yard supported by a man held in one of the companies" /translated from Spanish/. Compare Martin:130. Formerly the Tarapaca did not know of this expedient, for, as Wolfram:2,194 mentions, "they never make use of a sail" /cited in English/.

This fan skiff no longer reveals anything of native art. It is only through European that the last survivors of the Tarapaca people have been able to put together the skiff described here, which, compared to their original bark canoe, has many advantages. It permits them to use a sail, albeit, of some kind, which the light construction of the bark canoe would not permit. With this new vessel they also adopted the long oars which are not suitable for paddling because of their shape.

All the available historical sources, beginning with the first writings of the Dutch admiral L'Hermite, confirm, without exception, that the bark canoe was the only method of transportation of the Tarapaca until the last decades, and that it was always put together in exactly the same way (118). Its advantages and its

118. Cooper:187 likewise came to the conclusion that "throughout the whole territory, the bark canoes were constructed in the same way of three or more pieces sewed together, with frames and ribs and with painted ends" /cited in English/. Lothrop (p):139 regards the bark canoe as "the most ingenious utility by these poor people of Fuegia, which, however, from Drake to us, for [illegible] years then, has remained the same" /translated from Italian/.

efficiency have been described in detail above. Every careful observer will admit that neither the dugout nor the fan skiff compare with the bark canoe in technical construction and suitable form.

/MS1 page./

1. Bow and Arrow

[illegible] No one seriously doubts the fact that the Sebi-tans are armed, so to speak, to their bow and arrow (Vol. 1, 130). The significance of this weapon for the Tamana, however, is usually underestimated or completely misunderstood. I suspect that in former times these things played an important role, and historical accounts substantiate this. Anyone looking over the extant world accounts finds that the bow and arrow are mentioned at least as often as other weapons and implements, with the exception of the back-rests.

/MS1/ In the first drawing of the Tamana for which we are indebted to L'Horsiste (Fig. 11 /Ibid., one foreign rest, unnamed period/), bow and arrow appear in the foreground, whereas spears are in the background. Dauber mentions the former first and only later the "long javelins" (p. 55 /unnumbered/). Among the material possessions of the inhabitants of Orange Bay, J. d'Urquizado saw, only "some bows and arrows and some number-of-great necklaces" /translated from Zyzeld/ (p. 58 /unnumbered/). Lieut. George Fraser (p.)[illegible] even mentioned of the Fuegians near his Wanderer: "Bows and arrows were their only weapon." Fifty years later, in December, 1921, Wedded (p.)[illegible] learned, among other "relics," bows and arrows with the Indians in Isla Gueno. "The bows were mostly three feet, eight inches long and made out of a smooth, firm, flexible wood. The bowstring is seal skin or plaited gut. The arrows are made of hard wood and are well polished, 28 inches long, and have a triangular pointed stone forced in at the tip. When the arrow penetrates something, the wood can be pulled out, but the stone sticks fast." In April, 1830, some seven years later, Murray reported to the English fleet commander, King-Hill, that the natives of Sebi Wallond had as weapons "bib spears, bows, arrows, and clubs" /tried to English/. Shortly thereafter Fitz-Roy (p.)[illegible] submitted the following description. "These arrows are of hard wood, well polished, and quite straight. They are about two feet in length, and in a notch at the point have a sharp triangular piece of agate, obsidian, or broken glass. The bow is from three to four feet long, quite plain, with a string made of twisted sinews" /tried to English/. Almost at the same time Wollaston, who lay at

/462 cont./

411 anchor in Bahía San Francisco at Cape Horn, and there he met a few Fuegians. Their weapons were "slings, bows and arrows. The latter are neatly made, and pointed with obsidian. Their bows and arrows are employed for the destruction of birds" /cited in English/ (p. 111 /Ed., see foreign text, untranslated portion; the passage referred to is in English/). Wilkes:129 speaks of these weapons, though not in detail; actually he bartered for them among our Fuegians and to this day there is a bow stave in the Peabody Museum in Salem, U.S.A. Colvocoresses:40, however, who was a lieutenant serving under the commander mentioned above, says emphatically that "their arms consisted of bows, arrows, and spears" /cited in English/ (p. 119 /Ed., see foreign text, untranslated portion; the passage referred to is in English/) (159).

159. Cooper:208 admits that "some of the explorers who visited the Yahgans in the earlier part of the last century found them in possession of the bow and arrow" /cited in English/. His qualification, "but it was not common," does not seem correct to me.

411 178 [197] When, toward the middle of the last century, the Anglican missionaries made their first contacts with our Fuegians, bows and arrows had by no means disappeared, but were somewhat less prominent. For example, in March, 1864, Stirling traded for them with European articles (VSA:XI, 237; 1864) and Bridges (j):314 mentions them repeatedly (160). /463/ Later, however,

160. When he (k):239 speaks of the Kina ceremony, in which the men threaten the women with their various weapons, this does not mean that the bow at that time had become merely a plaything of the men.

they were used progressively less, and the members of the Mission Scientifique ran across them only very occasionally. As Hyades (q):360 and (h):34 frankly admits: "They are actually very rarely used" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, Martial: 192

/463 cont./

411 maintains that "the Yahgans who live in the region east of the
178 Beagle Channel also use the bow and arrow to hunt guanaco" /translated from French/, whereas, according to Hyades (q):300, they were used in the central region to hunt birds (161). The

161. "These arrows are used very little at Orange Bay; the Fuegians say that they are sometimes useful to them in killing birds" (ibid.) /translated from French/.

Italian expedition under Bove that traveled through those regions in the following year saw neither bow nor arrow. Spegazzini's private complaint (a):162 prevailed also among his companions, namely, that among the Fuegians "the bow and arrows are well known to them, but I saw no one carrying such instruments" /translated from Spanish/. Luck was so little with Lovisato (a): 198 and (c):721 that he cried in despair: "The Yahgan... have neither bows nor arrows; on the contrary, I found no one among these people who knew how to make an arrow point for me" /translated from Italian/ (162). On my four trips I made a point

162. He (b):137 describes these weapons in detail as unique among the Selk'nam; he also mentions that they are used by the Halakwulup, but not by the Yamana. Compare Krickeberg: 318.

of asking about bows and arrows, but not a single specimen was in existence. Similarly, Lothrop (b):155 was unable to find out anything about them.

411 From these communications and reports, which could be amplified with unessential details, we may deduce the undeniable fact that this Indian tribe actually used bow and arrow. The conditions of our natives have been investigated much too little in the past centuries, and for a long time European ships anchored only a few days in individual places in the south and east. From the existing travel accounts one might conclude that these weapons were used more often in the east and less in the central regions,

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411 and, without thinking about it, that they were generally absent in the west (163). This could certainly not be justified, for the

163. For example, Dabbene (b):185 maintains, without justification, "The bow and arrows were used solely by the Yahgan who inhabit the coasts of Beagle Channel, and it appears that they were never the preferred weapons" /translated from Spanish/.

adjoining southern Halakwulup always had bows and arrows. Without offering definite proof, therefore, no one can maintain that the western Yamana between the central Yamana and the Halakwulup did not know about these weapons. In former times a foreign fleet almost never visited the homeland of the western Yamana. It is true, however, that the people of the east carried these weapons more often than the rest of their countrymen, who usually bartered for them with the Selk'nam who were their only neighbors. Bows and arrows were also more suitable than other /464/ implements for hunting the guanaco which lives only in the eastern Beagle Channel and throughout Navarino Island.
[178] Finally, it can be proved that since the discovery of the Yamana the use of the bow and arrow constantly decreased, until finally, at the end of the nineteenth century, not a single remaining specimen was to be found in their possession (164).

164. Lothrop (b):155 also acknowledges this to be the actual fact of the matter.

a. The Bow

411 171 From the start, to prevent justifiable surprise, we should like to emphasize that all three Fuegian tribes make their bow and arrow in exactly the same way. There are alight differences only in minor details. These weapons are the most important and almost the only ones of the Selk'nam, which is why we have given a thorough description of them elsewhere (Vol. I, 230).

/464 cont./

411 The bow and arrow of the Yamana, however, merit a separate description.

To our regret, only four genuine specimens have been preserved from the older cultural heritage of the southernmost Fuegians. These will be dealt with primarily in the following description. For the bow stave, known as wēana, wāiana, [824] waiyana, they use, without exception, the wood of an Antarctic beech, almost always Nothofagus betuloides (165). As a whole

165. Erroneously Hyades (q):298 maintains that the Yamana use the wood of Maytenus magellanica for the bow stave. Actually this is almost absolutely inflexible.

the bow is somewhat shorter and also somewhat thinner than that of the Selk'nam. This explains why it has a greater curvature which is said to increase the propelling power of the string. The bow is scraped until the diameter of the center piece is 22 millimeters at the most. From the center which shows a roundish, almond-shaped transverse section, the bow stave tapers in both directions and terminates in short blunt ends. The distance in a straight line between these two ends varies between 120 and 160 centimeters, according to the general terms used by Martial:193.

411 The ethnographic collection of the University of Göttingen
114 is justifiably proud of owning two bow staves which reached Europe through James Cook's second expedition. One of these belonged for a time to the private collection of the naturalist Reinhold Forster who, with his son George, took part as a scientist in that circumnavigation of the earth (166). /465/ These rare

166. These accounts permit us to draw a conclusion as to the origin of the two bow staves. As is known, Cook's fleet spent about a week toward the end of December, 1774, at Isla Waterman in the Paso de Navidad, during which time they were twice visited by the native Fuegians (p. 57 /untranslated/). When they sailed on, the fleet was becalmed in front of Bahía de

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Buen Suceso, and on December 29th the captain sent a boat to shore there. The lieutenant was "received by several inhabitants" when he disembarked among them. George Forster (a):II, 390, adds: "Our men stayed with them only two or three minutes, embarked again, and hurried back on board" (Vol. I, 36). Now it is hardly to be assumed that in this short space of time the sailors were presented with two bows by the native Haus or Selk'nam. It seems much more plausible that at least the bow stave in the private collection of Forster was taken by the latter himself from a Yamana on Isla Waterman, for he refers to this weapon in particular in his report. This probability is confirmed by the fact that the other objects in Göttingen that Cook brought back from his second expedition are characteristic specimens from the cultural heritage of the southernmost Fuegians. I refer to three bone spearheads, small necklaces of mussel shells, and a sling whose center section was made from a scrap of leather from the otter. The Selk'nam, as is well known, use only guanaco leather for their sling (Vol. I, 243).

specimens are 149 centimeters and 152 centimeters long. Lothrop (b):156 publishes a photograph (unfortunately too indistinct) of two bows which are also old and are in the Peabody Museum of Salem, "one the gift of Captain B. Morrell, Jr., who obtained it in 1825, the other collected by Lieutenant Wilkes, probably at Orange harbor or Wollaston island" /cited in English/. The straight-line distance between the two ends is three feet, nine and one-half inches in the case of one, and four feet, one inch in the case of the other.

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The details we have mentioned are characteristic of the bow stave of the Yamana as well as of the Selk'nam. The latter, in addition, shows a distinct fluting which, for handwork, is notably regular. It is lacking in the two old pieces in the Peabody Museum, as Lothrop (b):156 emphatically points out, nor do we

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411 171 find it on the specimens in the Göttingen Museum. This point may seem trivial, but actually the early Yamana were not as exact in making a bow stave as the Selk'nam. That is why they never applied the fine decorated edge upon which the Selk'nam laid great stress (Vol. I, 233). It has been proved that the inhabitants of Isla Grande gave many a bow to their neighboring canoeists. However, since the old bow staves described here lack the even and delicately ribbed surface, they are almost certainly recognizable as a genuine product of the Yamana. The latter have actually altered nothing in the form and shape of their bow staves for the past three centuries (167).

167. Hyades (q):361 confirms "that the bow and arrow of the present does not seem to have varied from that of the first European travelers in Fuegia" /translated from French/. In his works (h):31 and (q):Plate XXXI, he illustrates a bow that Bougainville picked up in Puerto Gallant on the Strait of Magellan in January, 1768. There is no question that this specimen comes from the Halakwulup. Since, as Hyades maintains, it "does not differ in any respect from the present bow" /translated from French/ of the Yamana, his words substantiate what I said in the beginning about the widespread uniformity of the bows of all Fuegian tribes.

411 283 For the bowstring, the people in the region of the Selk'nam and Haus without exception use the thick tendon cords from the legs of guanacos. The eastern Yamana do likewise; the other groups choose for this also thick bundles of tendons of the pinniped; [177] the westernmost Yamana, probably in imitation of the Halakwulup, even use the hide of the sea lion in a strip three millimeters wide (168). On the two bows which James Cook

168. Hyades (q):298 inaccurately says that "the string is a sealskin thong or a cord of a whale sinew" /translated from French/; the tendon fibers of large seals are used much more often.

283 /466/ brought back the bowstrings are now missing. Of the two
411 in the Peabody Museum Lothrop (b):156 says that their "bowstrings are of guanaco-sinew" /cited in English/ (169). The latter,

> 169. In a few older reports they are erroneously said to be "gut."

known as sáli, are attached exactly as they are on the bow of the Selk'nam, namely, at one end by means of a running knot and at the other by being wound around it several times (see Fig. 31 in Vol. I, 231). A strip of leather as a bowstring is obviously much less elastic.

β. The Arrow

411 The navigators of earlier times repeatedly saw the arrow in the hands of these Fuegians, but instead of describing it in detail, most of them were content to mention it briefly. Weddell noted few details. The arrow of the Yamana also resembles that
[171] of the Selk'nam in every respect; the latter is in general somewhat longer. Lothrop (b):155 calls it "short, clumsy, and untapered -- very crude indeed compared with Ona workmanship" /cited in English/. As far as I know, there is not an arrow preserved anywhere from olden times, and the available descriptions from the last decades are more or less inadequate. For whatever I have been able to discover about this at one time significant weapon, I am indebted chiefly to old Whaits, who, as a young man, made a few samples of them. Personally I did not succeed in seeing an arrow made by the hand of a Yamana.

Here, too, as on Isla Grande, they choose the small stems
[824] of Berberis ilicifolia, sometimes even the branches of Maytenus
411 magellanica for the arrow shaft. Hence it is also called ʔiyakuʔ,
322 a name for the latter tree. The stick, still green, is given its final shape by constant scraping with a sharp-edged mussel shell. The middle third bulges slightly in contrast to the two ends. The high polish and final smoothing of the surface of the shaft is obtained by a gentle rubbing with pumice. Before that the man repeatedly straightens it by holding it between his teeth and

/466 cont./

441 322 elastically bending the parts that stand out. Painstakingly and carefully he must now cut a notch at either end; the one for the arrowhead is deep and sharp-edged, the other shallow and rounded. This is accomplished by means of protracted rubbing and filing with a small splinter of sandstone or with the rough edge of a mussel shell.

441 324 Slate, as well as quartz, is found in various places on the Cape Horn Archipelago, and both kinds of stone are used for the arrowheads, known as ĕkĕna, inix, yĕlkus. Slate is the easiest to work. The Indians choose a suitable small slab of stone, and, scraping it on a fine-grained piece of sandstone, they try first to obtain the desired triangular shape with the sharp edges on both sides which converge in a flat point. Afterwards they carefully fashion the perfectly rectangular tang. /467/ These points always turn out to be small. Their total length is about 30 millimeters, seven millimeters of which apply to the tang; the largest distance between the lateral corners is around 15 millimeters (Fig. 32).

Sometimes the arrowheads of quartz (170) are a little

170. Fitz-Roy (a):139 speaks in general of "arrows headed with obsidian, agate, or jasper" /cited in English/, which is more or less correct.

longer, and the base of the triangle is a slightly curved arch. In order to achieve this and to fashion the necessary tang, the Yamana (171) proceeds exactly as does the Selk'nam. He hangs

171. Wieghardt: 26 erroneously believes that "the Ona make these points, because the Yahgan do not know how to work either glass or obsidians" /translated from Spanish/.

a soft /Fig. 32 appears here/ scrap of leather over his left palm and with this he grasps the suitable stone splinter with thumb and index finger. While he works he rests his left fist against his thigh. His right fist grasps a small blunt stick of bone which he

/467 cont./

411 324 places on the edge of the little piece of stone, and by exerting strong pressure with slight turning, he gouges out tiny shell-shaped splinters very close together. In other words, he presses off fine flakes, little by little, from the entire piece until the desired shape is achieved. The upper and lower surface are easier to work because larger splinters can be broken off; it is much harder to shape the tang exactly. For the last few decades broken glass has been used instead of quartz; it can be worked much more easily and even more quickly.

On my second expedition I gave old Alfredo a piece of thick bottle-glass and asked him to make a dagger point nine inches long, with the usual triangular shape and the adjoining tang. He was particularly pleased when, under the pressure of the little bone stick, the tiny particles of glass chipped off with a crunching sound. To my surprise he finished the beautiful point in 55 minutes, without having hurried unduly. He confessed: "To make a point of quartz of the same size for an arrow, a capable Yamana needs a whole /468/ day." Nowadays, [177] instead of the customary small bone stick, they use a thick iron nail or an iron awl (172), [illegible]

Fig. 32. Arrowheads of Slate, Bone, and Flint. Natural size.

172. Hyades (h):34 and (q):360 mentions that "the Fuegian Jakaif simply cut the glass which was to form the point by scraping a piece of window glass with a knife. When he did not have glass he used a fragment of stone (flint)" /translated from French/.

411 /468 cont./

[177] introduced by Europeans.

Our Yamana have the lead over the Selk'nam in that they even use bone for arrowheads. The proportion of these to slate and quartz arrowheads can no longer be determined (173). They

173. In any case it is an unjustified generalization when Lothrop (b):156 maintains: "The arrowhead was of bone, cut to the Ona pattern with two barbs" /cited in English/.

also have the triangular shape, but the adjoining tang is wide at the top, between the two lateral corners, and tapers downward. The triangle itself is about 33 millimeters high, whereas the tang is 13 millimeters long. The little teeth on both sides are filed with the fine edges and individual splinters of sandstone. These sides are not sharp since they are slightly rounded; hence these bone points are effective because of the force of the thrust rather than because of their edges which are dull (Fig. 32).

The tang of the points mentioned above is set into the upper notch of the arrow shaft, without being cemented in. They are merely wound tight with a damp thread of sinew which, when dry, gives the desired rigidity. This thread of sinew would be too weak for a bone point. Hence the latter is held in the notch with a narrow strip of leather and by means of much tight lashing. The natives from the start know that now and then the shaft of the arrow will slide off while the bone point remains stuck in a wounded animal.

411 237 Finally, at the opposite end, feathers are added after the model of the Selk'nam arrow. They prefer the hard wing-feathers of the cormorant. "On either side of this extremity they fasten a feather, the quill of which has been split and tied on by means of a fine lashing of bird gut (174) which passes at almost

174. Alfredo assured me that for this lashing the sinews of otter or sea lion are particularly suitable.

uniform intervals between three or four barbs of these small

411 feathers. The feathers are so well attached that one would think

/468 cont./

411 there is only a single one" (Hyades [h]:37) /translated from French/. Both wings of this feathering are exactly perpendicular to the shaft and opposite each other. The feathering extends almost down to the lowest notch and is altogether about 25 millimeters long, whereas the entire arrow is about 70 centimeters.

Today we are no longer able to find out in what quantities
411 our Yamana took over arrowheads directly from the Selk'nam;
177 it did actually happen. Not only did the old men assure me of this, but in the piles of shells on the eastern Beagle Channel we find such points made of obsidian which are rare in central areas and almost entirely absent in the west. Whether the stimulus for making this characteristic /469/ form of the arrowhead was transferred from the Yamana to the Selk'nam or vice versa remains a question which cannot be solved in this context alone, but which is not without some significance.

γ. The Quiver

281 Obviously the Fuegian arrows are delicate constructions,
411 and they are carefully stored. The most durable quiver is made of the leather of pinnipeds; the one of otter leather is more highly valued because it is more beautiful. Martial:192 mentions only the latter. The quiver is a longish, narrow bag, with a loop sewed to the upper part to serve as a handle. To achieve this shape, the natives cut a long rectangle out of leather, place the two longitudinal edges together and sew them up. For the bottom they set in a small oval piece of leather, which is also sewed on. The quiver is always slightly longer than the arrows so that they will not stick out and break off; it is about 15 centimeters wide. Each individual arrow is slid into the quiver with the point downward. When one is needed, the end of the shaft is grasped between the feathering with the tip of the thumb and index finger and immediately placed on the bowstring.

411 This brief description also fits perfectly the quiver of the
[171] Selk'nam (Vol. I, 240), which, however, is a little longer and wider. The eastern Yamana are familiar only with this one of leather, whereas the people of the central area and the west not infrequently make a quiver out of two moderately curved pieces of

/469 cont./

411 bark, into which they also set a narrow bottom piece of bark. They sew up the edges with strips of wood fiber or whalebone, like those of a water scoop made of bark (Fig. 30). Naturally, this quiver, which, like the one of leather, is called hilix, is less resistant and durable.

It need not surprise us that not a single one of the earlier navigators, nor a visitor from more recent times, with the exception of Martial:192, mentions the quiver, the latter being subsidiary to bow and arrow. Even the arrow is not mentioned by many. The illustrations of bow, arrow, and quiver given in Volume I, 231, 239, and 240, could, without objection, also be used for these implements of the Yamana. With the exception of minor details, they show in general what these objects were like among the southern Fuegians. Formerly there were plenty of men capable of making these things for their own use. [439] It is also undeniably certain that the eastern Yamana obtained them through barter from the neighboring Haus or Selk'nam.

They are very serviceable in hunting on land as a long-range weapon against guanaco. For this they are not excelled by any other weapon of the Yamana. On the other hand, it is not easy to manipulate them in a rocking canoe, /470/ and from this vantage point a practiced archer can use them effectively only against otter. A person on land has a better chance to catch birds with the sling and the snare, and sea lions with the club. Moreover, the Yamana do not like to go far from the coast. It is only in cases of particular necessity that they push deeper into the woods where none of their weapons would be easy to manage.

224 441 In view of local conditions, we realize that the bow and arrow cannot be recommended for general use and that it is really suitable only for hunting guanaco. The range of this animal, however, ends with the central Yamana. In view of this, the bow and arrow were used most of all in the east and less in the west where the guanaco is wholly absent. Here these weapons were largely used for hunting otter, and this explains why, with the progressive adoption of the dog, they lost importance. These changes in the economy of the Yamana cannot be discussed until later; they deserve attention for several reasons.

/470 cont./

8. The ~~Small Harpoon~~

225 411 For nourishment the Yamana are almost as dependent on pinnipeds as they are on mussels. Fortunately these animals lie about on the rocks and islands in large herds and cross the individual channels in all directions (p. 38 /untranslated/). The hunter goes after them with his small seal harpoon (Fig. 33). I use this term to distinguish the weapon I wish to describe here from other similar specimens (175).

175. Lothrop (b):152 describes this weapon as consisting of "a heavy shaft and a detachable head joined to the shaft by a thong" /cited in English/.

411 313 [824] The small harpoon is a powerful missile, and for this reason the shaft must be long, heavy, and absolutely straight. For it, almost without exception, the wood of the evergreen beech (Nothofagus betuloides) is chosen, since its trunk usually has a very regular shape and the younger trees have sound wood for a long time. It takes a good eye to find a suitable trunk; it must be flawless if the weapon is to function dependably. It is troublesome to fell the tree. A ring of bark a hand's breadth wide is cut out just above the ground. Then, with a shell knife or a sharpened mussel shell, the layers of wood fibers are scraped off, one after the other, until the incision is deep enough. The running knot of a long strap, wuśukęsa, is thrown into the high branches and pulled tight. Then a man swings from it and, aided by his own body weight, tugs until the incised portion breaks through. He immediately cuts off the upper part with the crown in the manner described above, /471/ and he now has a trunk about four meters long lying on the ground. /Fig. 33 appears here./ To cut the suitable piece out of this is a no less protracted and arduous task. The man is aiming for the middle third between the pith and the bast zone. He splits off almost half of it with the bone wedge, tukalapēna (Fig. 26) and with a suitable stone as hammer; he has to split the remaining piece lengthwise a second and third time. Finally, by carefully peeling off in splinters the

/471 cont./

411 part that remains, he lifts out the core (Fig. 34). These
313 layers of wood are neither too flexible nor completely stiff, but are slightly springy and absolutely sound.

Through endless scraping with quartz splinters,
411 sharpened mussel shells, or the knife, enough of the
322 long pole is whittled off so that it is about 25 milli-
[342] meters in diameter and precisely octagonal. Attention is given to this because of a definite esthetic feeling, but also the edges make it possible to grasp the shaft more firmly and safely. The shaft tapers gradually toward the bottom and terminates in a blunt end. On top they carefully cut a notch 12 centimeters deep. For the final polishing of the shaft, it is rubbed with pumice, hiyal, very uniformly and with gentle pressure. To the end the shaft (176) is from 2.80 to 3.10 meters long.

176. Weddell (a):96 has furnished an exact description: "Their spears consist of firm bone, are seven feet long, sharply pointed, and have a barbed hook on one side, four inches from the point which... is fastened to a wooden shaft ten feet long and smooth and straight. A shorter or longer strip of skin is fastened to the bone." Snow (a):II, 15 supplements: "Their spears were about 12 feet long, made of hard wood, octangular, but about half an inch thick and one inch broad, tapering at one end to a point, and the other end to a butt" /cited in English/.

Fig. 33. Small Harpoon.

/471 cont./

411 313 In July, 1923, I asked old Walter to tell me exactly how the shafts for harpoons and spears were made in former times. He invited me to take a walk through the nearby forest at Punta Remolino. My faithful friend and dependable guide, the Selk'nam Indian Toin (Vol. I, 116) also joined us. Walter examined many beech trees with a sharp eye, and it took some time until he finally decided to cut down a suitable one. He used an iron ax, but showed both of us the former procedure which was incomparably more arduous. On our way home he emphasized several times that only the piece he had cut out had the required characteristics, and that the shaft must vibrate well when grasped in the middle. If one chooses other layers of wood, he has to worry about the shaft's bending or warping after repeatedly becoming wet.

411 321 /472/ The other part of this harpoon is the bone point with a single large tooth. For this one selects that portion of a whale rib that has the least curvature. The superfluous ends are taken off with sandstone by a long filing process (177). The piece of bone

177. Nowadays they use iron tools. Despard observed that with regard to the whalebone the Yamana "chop with axe, then cut with knife, then scrape with muscle /sic/ shell, then burnish with smooth stone" (VP:VI, 52; 1859) /cited in English/.

is shaped by pushing it back and forth with light pressure over a flat sandstone. When the curved edge of the back and the upper point are finished, a notch about ten centimeters long is cut into the lower third. This notch must then be finished off with a barb pointing downward. The whole process is nothing more than /Fig. 34 appears here/ endless grinding and filing with narrow pieces of sandstone and pumice. It requires a long time and much patience, for the bone tissue is extremely hard. The lower end, a rectangle about six centimeters long and three centimeters wide, is wedge-shaped. The sides of this tang are purposely left somewhat uneven so that it will fit more securely into the notch. A length of about 22 to 40 centimeters and a width of about 36 millimeters are the measurements most frequently observed for

/472 cont./

441 these large bone points of the small harpoon. Sometimes one
321 of them will turn out somewhat unsymmetrical or bent to one side when the natural curvature of the whale rib could not be completely obliterated by grinding. The lower /473/ jawbone, *ináka*, of the whale is most highly prized. It can be made into a very hard and quite symmetrical point which also has a more accurate aim (178).

178. Bridges (k):14 mentions: "Points for lances are made from the jaw of the whale" /translated from Spanish/. On the subject

[322]

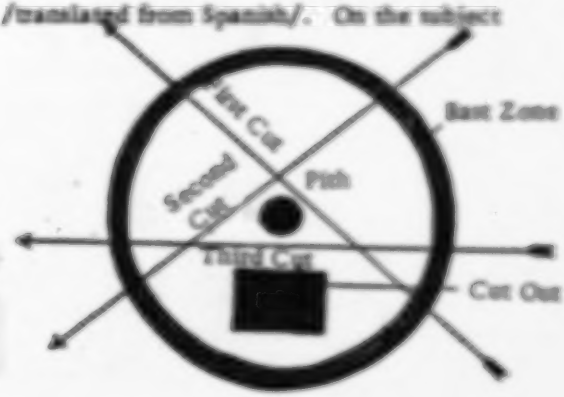

Fig. 36. Diagram Showing How a Shaft is Cut Out.

of making harpoon points, Hyades (q):365 makes the more general statement that "the Fuegians use a bone of the whale or sometimes a seal bone, but the bones of whale are preferred" /translated from French/. Earlier Snow (a):II, 361 reported: "Their principal spear-heads are entirely constructed of hard bone, and are about seven inches long, finely pointed, with a barb on one side four inches from the point" /cited in English/.

/473 cont./

411 This large bone point requires a two-fold fastening. If we
284 may express it thus. Its tang is pressed into the open notch of the wooden shaft. Since it is wedge-shaped and the notch is narrow, it is jammed in tightly. In spite of that, a narrow strip of leather, tuwarárum, is wrapped around it about nine times. This strip has previously been well soaked and is tightly lashed, whereupon the free end is knotted. When it dries, this lashing is even more constricted and becomes all the more secure. There is by no means a special attempt to secure the spearhead in the notch; in fact, they expect it to slide out at the proper moment. Hence a second fastening is intended to keep the spearhead joined to the shaft and freely movable. Over the tang of the bone spearhead, that is, around the lower part of the notch, they place a leather strap of sealskin about 12 millimeters wide and knot it. The other end is knotted securely on the wooden shaft itself, not more than 70 centimeters from the notch. The strap is not taut, and they purposely let it hang loosely. Before the spearhead is pressed into the notch, the strap is twisted around its longitudinal axis until it is rolled up lengthwise and has a strong tendency to unwind. It is kept from doing so as soon as it is secured at the top. Sometimes this short piece of strap hangs flat and loose.

411 Only now is the weapon ready for the hunter to use. It is
225 surprisingly functional. Since it is hurled, the heavy wooden shaft gives it ample force. When the bone point has penetrated the body of a seal or related animal, the latter immediately tries to shake off the burdensome foreign body. In one way or another the spearhead will detach itself from the shaft. Immediately the latter will twist somewhat slantwise and will keep on turning in the water until the rolled-up strap has uncoiled itself. The strap was purposely fastened, not in the middle part of the shaft, but on the upper third. After the shaft has detached itself from the spearhead, it does not stand exactly at right angles, but at a more or less acute angle from the direction in which the animal strains forward. This averts the danger of its snapping and yet acts as a considerable brake. Sometimes floating algae get tangled up in the shaft and the thong, which notably increases the resistance in the water. The wounded animal is seriously hindered in quick flight or deep diving, and the successful hunter can

[For the harpoon.— Analyst]

/473 cont./

411 225 easily overtake it. If it flees into a floating /474/ clump of algae, the dragging shaft will inevitably get tangled up, and the exhausted animal will certainly fall into the hands of its pursuer.

Extraordinary ingenuity has invented this weapon and perfected it. It works with surprising certainty.

4. The Large Harpoon

What we have just discovered about the working principle of the small harpoon also controls the missile that I call the large harpoon (Fig. 33): the wounded animal must not escape the hunter who has just delivered a piercing blow. The two weapons differ only in a minor factor, which, however, furnishes brilliant testimony of the keen power of invention of the Indians. Earlier observers speak about the harpoons, but the way in which they safely and easily deliver the booty into the hands of the Indian is nowhere described. It is this which reveals the great efficiency of these weapons.

In most of its details the large harpoon is like the small one, and the latter can be transformed into the former with a few manipulations. Above all, the shaft, for which the hard wood of the evergreen beech is chosen, must be altogether even and about three meters long. If it were bent only the slightest bit or otherwise defective, there would not be sufficient certainty of hitting the target. In general our natives do not handle their implements very cautiously or carefully, but every man tends his missile weapons with care and a certain amount of attention. He places them as upright as possible beside his hut, and in the canoe he lays them safely in the bow section so that they do not warp. The wood for the shaft is taken out of the concentric layer [124] of a younger Nothofagus betuloides in the manner shown in Figure 34.

411 224 Earlier accounts of this are inadequate and incomplete. Anyone who knows the various species of Fuegian wood will never agree with Hyades (b):24 and (c):302 that the trunk of Drimys winteri (p. 28 /unnumbered/) is also suitable for the harpoon shaft. The situation is different with the young trunks of the Fuegian cypress (Libocedrus tetragona), Spach, which always

/474 cont./

grow perfectly straight and have the great advantage of being heavy. They do not flourish on Beagle Channel, however, except in one or two places in the west (178), and for most of the Yaruma they are

178. On my fourth expedition I had definite proof of specimens of Libocedrus tetragona in Puerto Edwards on the southern shore of Brecknock Peninsula. This is the southern boundary for this species. Dusenberg (g) 18 reports that it extends somewhat further south, namely, to Isla Chair in Darwin Sound.

simply inaccessible. Hence one sees all of them carrying merely a dull spade from the evergreen beech, Nothofagus, which is uniformly octagonal. Furthermore, one can /475/ observe in the average cross-section a rectangle of about 35 millimeters in width and 20 millimeters in height with the four /Fig. 35 appear here/ corners removed, producing the octagonal form. Shafts with six uniform sides are not as common as those mentioned above.

The narrow slit at the upper end of this large harpoon is, of course, also meant for a bone point which is jammed into it; a narrow leather strip is

Fig. 35. The Large Harpoon.

/[illegible]/

[illegible] wood around to rights to which was close belongs. If one of the principals is to be harpooned, even if it is the mighty male of the sea elephant, [illegible] (Fig. I [illegible], sea foreign text, unmentioned period), the horse chosen a lance point of medium length with a single large tooth or the mild charge one with two large barbs (Fig. II) (1X). The lance

> 1X. Hyades (p) XII somewhat mainsum: "It is very rare to see harpoon points in lance, movable, with a notch on either side in the form of a spearhead" /translated from French/. This form is no less frequently made and used than the medium-sized and very large lance point with a single tooth.

measures about 15 centimeters. Under their thick leather skin the above-mentioned animals carry a thinner layer of fat than whales do under their epidermis, but the lance point is supposed to penetrate as deep as possible into the muscular layer where the two lateral teeth function more precisely as barbed hooks. This is also the reason why a lance spearhead more than 40 centimeters long with a sharp tooth is preferred for harpooning whales. A shorter lance point would, for the most part, stick fast in the layer of fat and therefore be almost ineffectual.

The thing that conspicuously distinguishes this weapon from the so-called small seal harpoon is a long leather rope of 25 or more meters. It is evenly cut from the freshly skinned hide of a principal and is always left coiled up. One end is securely fastened to the notch /[illegible]/ of the spearhead. From here it is drawn down along the shaft and held there with two or three loose cross loops. In aiming and throwing, the man holds the shaft approximately in the center, and the smooth of coiled rope hangs on his left forearm (1X). /Fig. III appears here./ When he has hit the animal,

> 1X. Snow (p) II, 301 says: "In the lance is attached a string hide of various lengths. In using the spear, they hold it easily by the middle, and with the right eye cast along it, they dart it with great precision" /cited in

/470 mm./

English/. Bowe's (c) 1.88 description is more accurate.

the bone point and the shaft remain attached for a time, but it is much more disadvantageous for the wounded animal if it must drag along the loosened shaft which moves irregularly. With bearing movements of the rope — that is why it is attached to the shaft with cross-loops — the man succeeds in detaching the shaft from the bone point that is stuck in the animal. Then he gives the animal as much rope as possible; after it has grown tired or lost a great deal of blood, he draws it toward him slowly and gently, at the same time easily rolling in the rope.

Fig. 36. Twin-barbed Harpoon Point. Two-thirds natural size.

It hardly seems possible that the man can to such an extent influence the direction taken by the escaping seal with the loose shaft which is directly beside the harpoon point sticking in the flesh. Even if one or the other of the cross-loops on the shaft should be loosened or shift, the shaft never stands at right angles, but at an acute angle to the direction of movement. This prevents it from breaking when the wounded animal violently strains forward.

The hunter usually throws off this weapon as soon as he is on firm ground. If he uses it while he is in the canoe the greatest caution is required, especially when a whale has been wounded with it. After the animal has been hit with a lucky throw, some men succeed in leaping on shore or on a rock while holding onto the end of the long leather rope or wrapping it around their body. Now they have a firm foothold and the canoe is out of danger. Sometimes the canoe can get close to the wounded animal and another person gives it the final stab. With the long leather rope of this harpoon several men may even pull a floating dead whale to shore.

/476 cont./

225
411 Despite the fact that they are very similar, the large harpoon and the small harpoon are somewhat different. The virtue of both lies in their /477/ movable bone point (182). The longest that is

182. That is why Hyades (q):353 and (h):24 describes them as "movable harpoons" /translated from French/, and Dabbene (b):184, concurring, calls them "harpoons with a movable point" /translated from Spanish/.

ever made is placed on the small harpoon and then again on the large harpoon when a whale is attacked. With this the men strive to inflict a deep wound.

5. Javelin and Spear

Besides the missile weapons with movable points, the Yamana also uses those with a fixed point. The former I call harpoons; among the latter I distinguish the javelin from the spears. The javelin also consists of the octagonal shaft described above, šǎja, about three meters long, which is usually surmounted by the long bone point with one tooth, ʒowaja. Both are securely fastened. When the point is embedded in the animal's body, the shaft must not slide out, but must, by its weight, enlarge the wound and prevent the animal from escaping. The hunter uses this javelin primarily when attacking a seal that he has surprised on land or when he wishes to inflict severe wounds on an exhausted whale. This weapon is particularly suitable for that, since the shaft is heavy and the sharpened, long bone point penetrates deeply. Against smaller animals that carry a thinner layer of fat on their bodies, the two-barbed shorter bone point, wáixil, is also reliable, or even the long-toothed bone point, šušuwaja. Although neither of them pierces deeply into the body because they are blunter than the ʒowaja, they cling sufficiently so that the dragging shaft tears open the wound and there is greater loss of blood. In other words, the javelin is most effective when the hunter is on firm ground and can put the entire strength of his arm into the thrust.

/477 cont./

411 Our Yamana use spears as ligher thrusting weapons. We can distinguish between a spear used for birds and one for fish. The shaft of the former is likewise a pole that is uniformly cut and prepared, but this is usually a young trunk of Maytenus magellanica or of Nothofagus or Drimys winteri, from which the bark has been peeled off. It is usually not more than three meters long. The thick end is cut off straight across. Here the notch is cut from one side without letting it come through to the other side. About a quarter of the diameter remains, and this serves to support the bone point which is inserted here with the back against the remaining portion of the wood. The lower part of the point has several short upright teeth. A narrow strap is tightly wound around it in the spaces between the teeth. The same shaft with the partial notch just described is also used for the susuwaja, securely and firmly held in it.

411 /478/ The serrated points made of bone or wood are characteristic for these spears. For the bone teeth, whale ribs are used ex-
321 clusively. They are first treated with coarse sandstone, then with quartz splinters or mussel shells, and finally burnished with pumice. The two edges end in a point at the top, the back is rounded off (183),

183. It cannot be definitely determined whether the Yamana made a bone point with both edges serrated. However, BD:64 mentions: "'auaia,' the single or double notched spear head used for seals, porpoises" /cited in English/. Among the Halakwulup I found the double-rowed, serrated spearhead of wood, as well as of bone, and sometimes even the two together.

[171]

and on the opposite side the natives laboriously cut or saw out one little tooth after another with sharp mussel shells or quartz splinters. These small teeth are narrow and more or less irregular; they are close together and point obliquely downward. The little piece at the lower end is irregularly serrated and tapers; it is set into the notch and lashed.

411 This spear with the bone point is used for hunting birds. It is
223 most often hurled against penguins which have tough flesh into which a wooden point would not penetrate deeply enough.

/478 cont./

411 This bird spear, as we might call it (Fig. 37), is perceptibly
237 lighter than a harpoon. The fish spear is even lighter. It is the same length and must therefore be as light as possible in order to be handled easily and quickly. For the shaft, a specially selected small trunk of the evergreen beech is used; a partial notch is likewise cut into the thicker end and a shorter bone or wood point with
[824] a serrated edge is set in it. For the latter the most suitable wood is that of Berberis ilicifolia which is very tough and flexible. Hence this wooden point, hūma ámpa, has the great advantage of durability; it is also incomparably quicker to make than the serrated bone point.

Since the fish offers only a narrow striking surface, the Yamana makes use of the double-pointed spear (184). He selects a shaft that

184. Spears:58 maintains that sometimes even three points were used for the fish spear, "and the barbs were all on the inside" /cited in English/. This is unknown to me and is reported by no other traveler. I saw such fish spears among the Halakwulup, however.

[824] forms a wide octagon in section. He usually cuts it out of Nothofagus betuloides. At the top he cuts out two long, flat notches, opposite each other and separated by a thin layer of wood. Into each one he places a serrated bone point, and both of them are lashed and held fast with the same leather strap. The two points stand slightly apart from each other because the back of each is curved. This considerably increases the possibility of hitting a fish (Fig. 37). /479/ /Fig. 37 appears here./ Even if the point does not penetrate very far, each tooth pointing downward acts as a barbed hook and the shaft as ballast, precluding escape (185).

185. Lothrop (b):153 also mentions a Guanaco-spear" of the eastern Yamana. I believe he bases this on doubtful reports. What he illustrates is obviously the fish spear of the Selk'nam. See Figure 40 in Volume I, 245.

/479 cont./

411 The Yamana has invented several missiles to overtake the various animals hunted, and each in its way is surprisingly efficient. He takes them along in his canoe whever he goes and places them, ready for use, in the bow section where they stick out far above the bow. The first thing he does when game approaches is to choose the weapon suitable for it; afterwards he seizes whatever is nearest at hand, so as not to lose the booty. Aspinall:270 maintains "[the man in the canoe] three kinds of such spears with him." There are at least that many, and two or three of each kind. It is clear that the two-barbed javelin and the bird-spear with the serrated bone point have a variety of uses.

411 Every adult is capable of making and repairing
463 these weapons; they are indispensable to him for his
437 livelihood. Not everyone, however, succeeds in
554 cutting out an even shaft from the main trunk of the beech; individual men attain true mastery at this. That is why many a man will trade a good shaft for other things that he needs. Everyone always has a supply of loose points which he keeps in a longish leather pouch, yānúku. Those few men who are able to make a perfectly shaped large harpoon point are
411 universally praised (186). In conclusion it should be

186. Descriptions of these missiles are to be found in Bove (c):132, Cojazzi:109, Dabbene (b):184, Hyades (h):23 and (q):302, 353, Lothrop (b):148, Martial:191, Spegazzini (a):163, Spencer:133, Weddell (a):94, and others.

Fig. 37.
Fish Spear.

/479 cont./

411 mentioned that the shafts of harpoons and spears are sometimes rubbed with imi. The purpose of this is to beautify them; moreover, experience has proved that they are then easier to grasp and hold with the fist.

6. Dagger and Lance

It is easy to understand that the reports from earlier times are not as accurate and comprehensive in many details as we would wish. Many observers have not discussed the difference between dagger and arrow and have identified one with the other, probably because of the great similarity between their points. /480/ Those seafarers were completely unfamiliar with the things that the shell mounds have brought to light in modern times. All the more should attention be given to the reference offered only by Weddell (a):110 in December, 1823, that the arrow should be distinguished from the dagger. After describing the arrow as "having a triangular pointed stone forced in at the front," he added: these natives "also had another weapon, namely, a similarly formed stone is fitted into the top of a handle nine inches long and probably serves as a dagger."

As a matter of fact, the Yamana use this short thrusting weapon, which can properly be designated as a dagger (Fig. 38) (187). It

[171] 187 Among the Halakwulup I often came across this weapon. From them came the four beautiful daggers with glass points which the Natural History Museum in Vienna acquired through Hagenbeck toward the end of the 1880's.

consists of a shaft as thick as one's thumb, about 30 centimeters [824] long, for which the tough wood of Berberis ilicifolia is preferred. A stone point is forced into the completely open, narrow notch on the thicker end of the shaft. The point is secured by means of several lashings /Fig. 38 appears here/ of a small strap or thick sinew. The stone point, always referred to as yékus, has a triangular

/480 cont./

411 shape and usually an almost rectangular tang (Fig. 39); the latter is inserted into the notch. Of decisive importance is the longitudinal measurement, for it is usually more than twice as much as a point on the arrow shaft. The former does not seem suitable for an arrowhead because of its size and weight. Since, moreover, it is fastened to a short stick, I regard the designation "dagger" as suitable for this weapon. It is also handled as such. A man grasps
[225] the back third of the shaft and stabs toward a sea lion that he meets on land. He attacks it from the front, never from the side, and can get close enough to it without being bitten to thrust the dagger into its neck.

For the dagger points the natives formerly chose flat lamina of
[177] black slate and greenish jasper; in modern times they prefer thick bottle-glass that is more easily worked. The edges of the glass

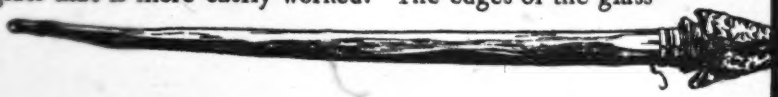

Fig. 38. The Dagger. One-third natural size.

dagger-points cut more sharply, but become dull more quickly. Continuous splintering under pressure with a short bone stick produces /481/ the form with the sharp edges and thick point. On my
[126] second expedition, old Alfredo made me a dagger with a long glass point and with a total length of 48 centimeters (188). This

188. This piece is today preserved in the Museo Histórica at Santiago de Chile. See the observations made by Hyades (q):360 with the Indian named Yakaif.

enabled me to see how it was made and at the same time to learn in detail how it is actually manipulated.

From the dagger to the lance is only a short step. Sometimes it, too, has a large, heavy point in the form of a triangle. It must
[172] come as a surprise that laurel-leaf forms of the /Fig. 39 appears here/ most frequent surface-finds on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 263) have to this day been found only very sporadically throughout the broad Cape Horn Archipelago. This lance is used in the same way and for the same

[Text continues on page 172.—Analyst]

411
324

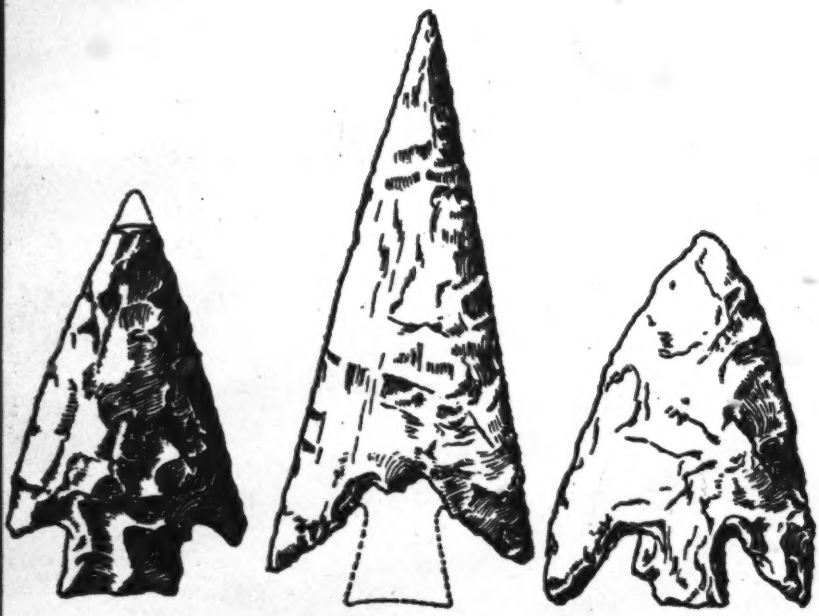

Fig. 39. Dagger Points or Lance Points.
Natural size.

/481 cont./

411 purpose as the javelin. The latter is distinguished by its bone point from the differently shaped stone point of the former, which, practically without exception, is fixed to a round, long shaft, yéyakĕr (189).

189. Krickeberg: 318 designates the javelin and the harpoon as "original weapons." The Yahgan and Alikuluf /Alacaluf/ probably first took over bows and arrows, slings and bolas from the Ona. Hence bows and arrows are rather rare among the Yahgan, poorly constructed among the Alikuluf, and only the Alikuluf have bolas and understand how to use the sling well. This cannot by any means be said of the Yahgan." My observations confirm the accuracy of these sundry details.

7. The Sling

Our Fuegians use the sling somewhat less than the harpoon and lance, but nevertheless very frequently. It has the special name of sáfina, and the stone hurled with it is called watáuwa, wĕtáwa. The last two names are sometimes given to the sling itself. /482/ /Fig. 40 appears here./ Historical evidence confirms without doubt that since our natives have been known they have used and still use the sling. In the first report written by A. Decker, officer of the land forces in Nassau Gulf, in February, 1624, he lists "slings" (p. 53 /untranslated/) among the weapons of the indigenous Indians. Subsequently slings were constantly referred to in the reports. Weddell (a):94 described them in detail, and Snow (a):II, 361 even more specifically: "The Sling is made of the skin of the seal or otter. It is generally about three feet long, and of the common forms: the strings are sometimes made of small gut, handsomely plaited, and terminated by knots of ingenious workmanship /cited in English/. In 1839 Pickering:19 was among these Fuegians and maintained that their weapons "consist only of slings and spears" /cited in English/. Later the

[Text continued on page 174.-Analyst]

411

/482/

Fig. 40. The Sling.

/482 cont./

411 missionaries and travelers of the last few decades still found this weapon (190). I saw the natives playing with it a great deal and

190. The following have furnished good descriptions: Bove (b):156, Cojazzi:109, Colini:161, Dabbene (b):185, Hyades (h):29 and (q):301, 357, Lothrop (b):156, Martial: 191, Spegazzini (a):162, Spencer:131, Wieghardt: 25, and others.

hunting smaller animals.

171 If one compares the sling of our natives (Fig. 40) with that
411 of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 243), he will scarcely find any marked difference; actually, the construction of both is, so to speak, completely identical. For the center section the Yamana choose a scrap of leather from the otter or the seal. Whereas the Selk'nam scrape off the fur, our Indians always leave it on, often using it on the inside, less frequently on the outside (191).

191. This is shown in the drawing found in Hyades (h):30 and (q):Plate XXX, 14. Figure 40 inserted here shows the less common usage, namely, the fur-side of the center piece turned outward.

In this respect the two specimens are different. This may seem like a minor detail, but it has real significance, which old Alfredo pointed out to me. The Yamana prefer a small piece of leather that is thickly furred, since all the stones that they pick up to throw have a smooth surface, /483/ either because they are actual shingle or because they are wet with sea water. They lie considerably more securely in a furred center section than in one from which the hair has been removed. The latter can be used successfully by the Selk'nam, for they use slingstones that have a rough surface and are at least covered with a fine layer of dust. Nevertheless, some men reverse their leather lappet to put the fur on the outside.

411 The center section is a longish oval in shape, about 22 centimeters long and eight centimeters wide. It becomes extraordinarily soft from frequent use. On the pointed ends the strings are

/483 cont./

411 both attached on the same side, namely, the side without hair. Each string ends in a small knot, having first been sewed on with sinews. The strings are tightly braided with three strands of sinew. On a specimen in my collection one string is 66 centimeters, the other, 62 centimeters. Each string terminates in a small knot which is sewn into a ball the size of a hazelnut, made of otter leather. The sling brought back by J. Cook and now in the ethnographic collection at Göttingen has a total length of 167 centimeters. This is the measurement of the so-called long sling. There is also a shorter one which is used by a man in a canoe. Here he would not have firm footing and the space is too small to swing the long sling with force and without injuring the occupants.

411 223 Earlier observers left no doubt as to the use of the sling. Actually, it is used a great deal, especially in hunting birds. Colini:161 does not exaggerate when he says that "the weapon most used by the Fuegians is the sling" /translated from Italian/. Martial:191 confirms: "They more commonly use the sling for birds" /translated from French/. They hurl stones which are somewhat smaller than a hen's egg and that lie around in masses. They lay in a supply for the canoe each time before they leave.

Some men prefer to use two or three stones at once, especially if they venture a throw at a thick flock of birds standing close together. Other men are in the habit of using only one larger stone. The man places the terminal knot of the longer string into the palm of his hand between the fourth and fifth fingers, so that the string runs tight across the back of his little finger up to the leather piece; he grasps the terminal knot of the shorter string with the first /484/ joint of thumb and index finger. Then the fingers of his left hand grasp the center section with the stone, and his right hand, with a slight push, begins to turn the taut sling horizontally above his head two or three times. At the right moment the shorter string is released, the sling opens, and the stones fly out straight in front of the slinger. The more forceful the previous turning motion was, the stronger will be the impact of the stones. Some men are content with a single half-turn of the taut sling.

If the stones are to have the desired effect, they are not hurled beyond a 12-meter limit, and everyone aims at the heads

/484 cont./

223 411 of the crowded flock of birds; this may hit one or another of them and stun them. Even the Fuegian cannot hit a definite target at the same distance or farther away, since the sling is not very accurate, but it does carry a stone in a high arc to a distance of 80 meters (192). Nevertheless, we must admit, to

192. On this subject Bove (e):158 and Colini:161, as well as Lovisato (a):198 and (b):136, have grossly exaggerated. Hyades (h):32 and (q):357 protested against their assertions which literally coincide.

[526] use Hyades' (g):35 words, that the Yamana "are very skillful in manipulating them," and in the course of the day they very often use the sling just for fun (193).

193. This can hardly be more clearly expressed than Bridges has done: "The amusement these natives are most fond of is slinging at birds; they often go along the shores here with their slings" (VSA:XII, 53;1865) /cited in English/.

411 482 Naturally, our Indians must have their slings handy. Their way of carrying them is surprisingly advantageous. Most of them hang the two strings of sinew around the neck and draw the last third of it over the folded center section, without any kind of knotting; the ends hang down freely. With a single movement of the left hand to grasp the center section, the sling is ready to be used. At the same moment the right hand puts the stones in position and grasps the ends, ready to throw (Fig. 41). Others draw the two sinew-strings around the head, one on each side, so that the center section is in the back, and then simply loop the free ends over each other. Finally, a few of them tie the sling around their hips (194). As we have said, they put the sling

194. Fitz-Roy (a):138 noticed that "a man always carries his sling around his neck or waist, wherever he goes" /cited in English/.

/484 cont./
411 around some part of their body to have it quickly accessible at
482 any time, but it is not regarded as an ornament (195). The

195. Hyades (h):33 expressed the surprising view: "We must therefore admit that the sling of the Yahgan is as much an ornamental object for men as it is a weapon for hunting or war" /translated from French/.

[142
302]

Fig. 41. Man with a Sling.

Yamana use it not only to stun birds, but also in fighting against their own people.

411 /485/ All indications point to the fact that the sling was used in all parts of the Cape Horn Archipelago./Fig. 41 appears here./ Every man and boy owned and owns one. When the Mission Scientifique arrived in Orange Bay, according to Hyades (q):357, every man carried his sling. This was customary throughout the entire area occupied by this tribe. Lothrop (b):157 indulges in vain speculation about the [177] origin of the sling and says "that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yaghan" /cited in English/. I cannot agree with this view; I shall not go into his evidence and mine at this point. Instead, I take the view of Snow (b):264 that the Yamana "are remarkably expert with their slings" /cited in English/. Obviously, the fact that they own and use the sling also proves "their ingenuity" /cited in English/.

8. Snares and Fishing Implements

Our Yamana are fortunate in having a wide selection
223 among the animals of their homeland to meet their food needs.
226 They approach each species in a special way in order to catch them as easily and surely as possible. Besides the weapons mentioned

/485 cont./

223 above, they also use several implements which we shall briefly
226 characterize here and describe in greater detail below. These implements have been brought under one heading in this section. They help the men and women to obtain the smaller representatives of Fuegian fauna, namely, birds and the so-called lower animals, such as mussels and crabs.

a. The Snare-line

223 This is a construction that is used for inconspicuous mass capture. The Yamana call it ufka; I believe the most suitable designation is large snare-line. It could also be called "snare-trap." It is used more often by the Halakwulup than by our Fuegians. Hyades (q):359 correctly reminds us that it was observed by Bougainville in the year 1769 on the shores of the Strait of Magellan.

223 The foundation, so to speak, of this large snare-line is a
283 thick, braided cord of long guanaco sinews. Since few /486/ people can obtain this, they content themselves with whale sinews and make a firm braid with three strong strands. This is saturated with fat and repeatedly greased, for it often lies on the damp earth for a long time and must be protected from rotting.

On the long cord at intervals of about 60 centimeters, there
223 are tied as many knotted loops, known as ker,ᴬᴱf, as the length
284 of cord will permit. Each of them consists of a single strip of whalebone about four millimeters wide, the edges of which must not fray since this would interfere with the free movement of the small loop-knot at the upper end. The other end, after being drawn through the loop, terminates in a simple knot and is fastened to the long cord. All the knotted loops are placed on the same side of the cord. Each one, when it is entirely loose, has a diameter of nearly 20 centimeters.

223 Actually, therefore, the large snare-line ufka, is, following Hyades (q):304, a "game of snares" /translated from French/ (Fig. 59). Martial:195 calls it "a noose" /translated from French, lacet/, which he describes as "a rope of seal tendons on which

/486 cont./

223 running loops of whalebone are placed at intervals" /translated from French/ (196).

> 196. There is a good illustration in Hyades (q):Plate XXX. Lothrop (b):157 calls attention to the large snare-line of the Selk'nam; he overlooks the fact that this differs in the arrangement of the whalebone running-loops of our Yamana.

It is best suited to catch wild geese, which prefer a certain locality. Here this snare-line is spread out on the level ground, pulled taut, and finally tied at either end to a post driven into the ground. It is of little or no use for catching other birds. Hyades (q):304 expresses himself too vaguely when he says, "this snare is used to catch large birds" /translated from French/. That is also the reason why only a few Yamana families actually own and use this article, since it is laborious to make and must be very carefully stored. Thus it represents a considerable value.

β. The Snare-rod

Whereas the long snare-line serves to catch masses of birds, another implement which I call the snare-rod catches them singly. With this the Indian stalks chiefly geese and ducks, but also cormorants and penguins. Hence one sees this akĒmuĒ, as the implement is called, in almost every family.

It consists of two parts. A light, long rod as a shaft, known as yēyakĒrĒ, with a rounded, smooth surface is nothing more than
[224] a young trunk of Nothofagus betuloides or Maytenus magellanica, which has been treated by a long process of scraping. It must be very light, hence Drimys is not suitable. The average diameter is evenly scaled down /487/ to 15 millimeters. This shaft tapers a very little at either end and very gradually. The longer it is, the more suitable.

223 284 At the top a large noose of whalebone is attached, and thus the whole thing appears, as Hyades (q):359 expresses it, like "a

/487 cont./

223 long, slender shaft furnished with a running loop of whalebone"
284 /translated from French/. The end piece is attached to the tip of the shaft by a knot in the lashing of sinew. It is surprising that this whalebone noose, kʷ̌ʷ̌ʃ, is put together with two pieces, a long one and a short one. The two run side by side for a few centimeters and are lashed with sinews; the short one ends in a small loop-knot. We also find this same overlapping
[171] in every one of the whalebone loops on the long snare-line of the Selk'nam (Vol. 1, 283), whereas on that of our Yamana each whalebone loop is one strip only (Fig. 59). A kʷ̌ʷ̌ʃ consisting of two parts is more effective and more durable; our Yamana are convinced of that. But why they do not use these two-part loops on the long snare-line no one could tell me. Probably the people avoid the greater effort, since the work of making a snare-line is laborious enough.

223 We need not explain specifically how this snare-rod is used. It is, of course, put forward unnoticed by a man hidden in a suitable spot, drawn over the head of a bird, and immediately pulled in with a sharp jerk. The principle of the noose is exactly the same as in the case of the long snare-line. The natives even use a single whalebone noose without any kind of shaft to catch birds. Herewith we have adequately described and characterized the threefold way in which the whalebone snare is used by the Yamana.

Y. Mussel Fork, Mussel Breaker, Crab Fork

226 The shellfish of the sea have the same importance for the
[562] diet of our Fuegian as bread, for instance, has for the European. Many of them he can gather on the beach, others he must take out of the water. The two types of mussels which are found there, namely ʃʷ̌ʷ̌ uf (Mytilus chilensis) and kʷ̌ʷ̌ʃ (Mytilus edulis), occur in vast quantities. They are larger and tastier the more abundantly they are covered with water even at lowest ebb tide and the stronger the current is that swirls around them back and forth. It would be impossible to pry these animals loose with one's hand, as one can, for instance, the smaller and less tasty ones that every ebb tide uncovers.

/487 cont./

227 The Indian woman uses the so-called mussel fork, which she calls kalĕna, in order to loosen the cluster-like accumulations on the deep coastline and to break off the individual shells on the stalks of Macrocystis algae. The husband must make this implement for her, for he alone has the necessary tools. He chooses for the shaft /488/ a young tree as tall as possible. He prefers [824] Maytenus magellanica, the wood of which is heavier than that of the beech. He takes the bark off the little trunk and smooths it well, cutting off the upper end somewhat obliquely. He allows a length of two and a half meters and more.

The actual fork, which is only about one-fifth as long as the shaft, yĕyakĕr̥ĕ, is lashed onto the latter with a narrow leather strap. The only suitable wood for this is hŭma, the large Berberis [824] ilicifolia which is extraordinarily tough and hence very flexible. A rather thick small stem is split lengthwise, the more suitable half is cut off at the bottom like a spatula, and a long incision is made to produce a two-pronged fork. A small, short wooden plug is inserted into this slit and lashed with a braided thread of rush or with whalebone (197); this keeps it always open. Through

197. Lothrop (b):154 reproduces what he calls a "limpet-spear" /cited in English/, in which the short plug is lashed with a narrow strip of whalebone. Figure 61 of the present work shows a lashing with braided rush stalks.

its own expansion the layers of wood fibers warp so advantageously that the entire piece seems curved outward. This slight bending facilitates penetration into the clustered accumulations of mussel shells. The upper part of the fork is whitled all around and tied to the shaft (Fig. 61).

226 The Indian woman lets this long implement glide from her canoe perpendicularly into the depths. She uses it, however, only on days when the sea is calm and the water transparent (198).

198. Hyades (q):369 writes: "This fishing is common practice and each canoe is always furnished with tools for this purpose" /translated from French/.

/488 cont./

226 She loosens each individual shell, breaks it off from the place where it is lodged, and lifts it up. The mussel fork almost always lies in the front part of the canoe between the harpoons and spears of the husband, since it is safest here.

227 226 When the Indian woman, walking on the uncovered sea-floor at ebb tide or wading in the water, breaks off the mussel shells, she perceptibly lessens the strain on her hands if she uses a pointed stick which I call the mussel breaker (Fig. 42). This is nothing more than a sturdy stem or [24] thick branch of Berberis ilicifolia. The husband makes it for his wife. He removes the twigs smoothly but leaves the bark, since its rough surface always assures the hand a firm grip, no matter how thoroughly the stick is soaked with sea water. It was just mentioned that the wood of this bush is very tough, yet soft and pliable. Another type of wood would seldom stand the strain of the springy movements which are necessary to pry off the mussels. At the bottom the mussel breaker is cut off in the shape of a chisel and with a dull edge so that it can easily dig deeply enough into the clustered accumulations of mussels. The woman is very adept at handling it effortlessly.

/489/ If she does not happen to have it, she reaches for a /Fig. 42 appears here/ stick the length of an arm which she cuts to a short, dull point. With this wedge she pokes into the cluster of mussels, moving the upper free end back and forth until the individual animals are loosened.

226 The very juicy oxystomes are also appreciated by the Yamana as a delicacy. We refer to the large spiny [262] (Lithodes antarctica) and the small spiny (Paralomis granulosa). These animals are found there in considerable numbers and constantly move up and down the coast on the sea floor according to the movements of ebb and flow. They are always, however, under a considerable amount of water. The natives are not always successful in diving to catch them because they stay in the depths and seek to escape. Hence a long implement has been invented which it seems suitable to call a crab fork and which the Yamana call [illegible] (Fig. 43). Its basic form corresponds precisely to the

227

Fig. 42.
Mussel Breaker.

/[illegible] cont./

227 [illegible] coral fish. There is a complete description of it elsewhere, as well as a discussion of how it is used.

[illegible] The back of a small, straight trunk of the evergreen beech is scraped off and the surface made octagonal. For the part that is added on, the natives choose a small, thick knee of the large hackberry, [illegible] the peculiar usefulness of which has been repeatedly described. They split it crosswise two-thirds of its total length, and the free prongs are pried apart with two small, short wooden plugs. These prongs are tapered to blunt ends. The other end, after it has been suitably cut off, is lashed right to the shaft with a strap or with a small cord of twisted cotton. Culin: 181 describes a specimen, the total length of which is 3.35 meters, most of them are not longer. The thinner it is, the more suitable.

226 The Indian woman slides this long fork perpendicularly into the depths from her canoe and pushes the prongs into the round, flat calcareous shell of the so-called cephalothorax of a crab. The pressure and connection which these prongs cause among the broken particles prevent the whole animal from sliding off when it is being drawn up, no matter how actively it wriggles with its long legs. In the canoe the Indian woman strips it off the prongs with her feet while she holds the crab fork perpendicularly to her hands, whereupon the animal falls to the bottom of the boat.

[illegible] It is, of course, again the duty of the husband to make this crab fork for his wife. While he is working on the shaft, he protects his hand with a special piece of leather (Fig. 10).

/[illegible]/ ♂. The Fishline

The tender, fresh meat of fish is a welcome change for the Tarasco in their accustomed monotonous diet. Sometimes the man throws a spear toward a bright fish that is resting in a shallow cove or that elsewhere affords a sure target. Much more often the Indian woman is busy with her fishline which she cleanly slips into the water from her canoe, never from the beach and still has by reason of any kind of long fishing rod.

/[illegible] rest./

227 Two types of fishline are used, and they differ from one an-
228 other only in the actual line. One is nothing more nor less than
a small, pencil-thick rope of the large brown alga *Macrocystis*
229 *pyrifera* from which, with the fingers, the barbles are re-
moved as close to the main that it seems quite smooth (Fig. 6b).
After each use it is rolled up. Lines made thus dry slowly and does
not readily become brittle. When it is needed, 20 minutes in
the water will suffice to soften it up completely and make it
flexible once more.

The other fishline is braided out of dried fibrous stems of
[illegible]. Like the one mentioned first, it is eight and more meters
long (Fig. 6b). To make it last longer, it, too, is rolled up,
but has a right bait, after each use (108). The latter is more-

> 108. Bruggen (*Mbl.*-*Ill.*, 116, 1893) briefly describes both types. Kyaden (p) 38 reports: "The lines are made partly out of dried seaweed [*Macrocystis pyrifera*], partly out of seal sinews, and are lowered with a stone tied to them." See Kotzebue; Tilt and Lovisato (b) 145.

partly more durable and proven to be much more trustworthy when it is baited in.

231 Both lines narrowed to a loop with a running knot made out
232 of a quill. When it is opened up, it measures about 15 centi-
meters. Since the actual line ends in a small hook, the upper end
of the quill is joined on in front of the hook. A long to smooth
surface the running loop moves without any friction. As bait it
holds a small piece of seal meat or a small mussel.

233 Since the bait must sometimes be sunk to considerable depths,
a sinker is indispensable. The sinker are any stone with flat
sides and irregular edges. It is about three centimeters high. The
line is wound around it, about eight centimeters above the loop.
In the central Tuscan region the native sometimes select the
round black stone [illegible], but few women have any of them handy.

234 Every Indian woman is extraordinarily skilled in fishing.
Since she does not use an actual fish hook, she waits until the
fish has swallowed the bait and only then very gently pulls up the

/[illegible] cont./

234 tion. When the fish has been brought near the surface, the
 reaches down and grasps it with a rare hand, pushing her second
 and third fingers under each gill cover. After the ban lifted it
 out of the water, she bites through its neck and kills it.

237 /[illegible]/ The weaves and fishing implements used by our Tarasca
 show extreme conservatismm. Each one of these things proves
 that it enables the Indian, with a small amount of effort, to get
 the wild animals he eaten or is raising.

9. Tools

[illegible] The Pangiaus have not yet advanced to a universal or even
 [illegible] preponderant use of stone tools. To blame this on the sparse
 occurrence of quartzite and slate in these regions is not sufficient
 [illegible] explanation. When iron and glass were introduced by Europeans,
 the natives used these materials immediately, albeit in limited
 manner, without, however, changing the original form of their
 implements or replacing them by others. Actual working of the
 stone seems necessary only in the case of stone arrowheads and
 dagger points (p. 169). It cannot be definitely shown whether
 these Pangiaus also shaped the round black stone with a groove,
 known as [illegible]. Hence the greater part of their tools consists of
 round shells, wood, and bone. This fact can be easily ascer-
 tained from the accounts of earlier navigators.

The following description pertains to these items as they were made before being influenced by Europeans. We must credit our Pangiaus with considerable cultural progress by reason of the fact that they succeeded in making a number of implements of diffe-
 rent construction and form, each with a very definite use.

We should like to mention briefly here a peculiar form of be-
 [illegible] havior of the Tarasca which Lothrop (Pp.139 has also referred to.
 [illegible] When they need anything for their implements, they do not take
 the trouble to make a thorough search for a good piece or await an
 opportunity to come across a better part. Rather, they take the
 first thing that comes along if it suffices for their momentary need
 and if it promises to fulfill the purpose for which it was intended.
 A better shaped round shell to be used as a knife, a more regular

/491 cont./

412 stone as a handle is perhaps lying only a few steps away from the
461 hut, but the Indian is not in the habit of getting up and looking around a bit if he can reach some halfway suitable item from wherever he happens to be sitting. He places little or no value upon a beautiful and durable tool; he is content if it serves him for a time. To a certain extent his negligence and carelessness is explained by the fact that he cannot adequately protect his things nor store them safely. An item is soon lost or becomes useless. Why, therefore, devote special effort to making it?

412 In this trend of thought we also find the explanation for the fact that our Indians do not exert themselves too eagerly to obtain
177 European iron tools. /492/ If they have one or another tool, they are content and use it as a universal instrument. When iron strips, blades, and nails were still a great rarity for them, that is to say, in the first three centuries after they were discovered by the "Nassau fleet," they assiduously stole these things. As soon as they were reasonably provided with them, their desire for them was, so to speak, completely extinguished.

α. The Scraper

412 The scraper, ufkĕr, is an item that is used equally often by women and men. Cooper: 217 is right when he writes: "Among skin-using tribes like the Fuegian the scraper naturally takes an important place" /cited in English/ (Fig. 43). Every adult owns at least one of these as his personal property; for him it is more necessary than the pocketknife is for the European.

This object commonly has three parts, the most important being a large mussel shell which takes the place of a true blade. For this the natives choose a particularly strong, large specimen and give it the special designation of geluf (200). Vast quantities of

200. "A large, strong shelled mussel whose shell is used as a chipper," according to BD:245 /cited in English/. This is a large animal of Mytilus edulis, not another species, as Lothrop (b):139 erroneously says. Compare Hyades (q):299.

/492 cont./

412 mussels thrive at particularly suitable places where small, restless eddies of water supply them with abundant nourishment. The shell selected is at least ten centimeters long. They carefully break off the convex side edges to retain the almost flat center section, and they finally taper the end where the hinge is. This produces a wedge-shaped basic form, albeit with curved edges, and the pointed end is placed on the handle.

The handle is a stone about 12 centimeters long, either rounded or with edges, found on the beach. It would not occur to anyone to shape it a bit or to smooth it. The firm hand of the Fuegian knows how to grasp it securely in one way or another. The only thing to which they pay attention is to fit the shell exactly against the flat part of the stone handle. If there were any hollow space, it would inevitably break with the slightest pressure. In order to avoid this and also to make possible a slight springiness, the Indian shoves a thin, intervening layer of ~~cilar~~, whittled shavings of barberry, or of moss, under the upper part of the shaft which rests on the shell. This forms a springy bed, as it were, on which the shaft rests. A narrow leather strip or a braided cord of sinew wound around both pieces several times holds them together adequately (Fig. 44) (201).

201. Good descriptions are given by Colini: 161, Hyades (q):299, Lovisato (a):196 and (b):136, Lothrop (b):139, and Spegazzini (a): 163. Certain similarities with the scraper of the Selk'nam are immediately apparent (Vol. I, 248).

[171]

Everyone grasps the scraper in such a way that the handle fills the entire right /493/ hand while the mussel shell, with its concave surface turned toward the body, is visible above the little finger. The Yamana moves it toward himself in a stroking motion. The scraper has many uses. It is employed above all in removing and cleaning skins, in cutting up animals and cutting the meat into pieces, in fashioning shafts and rods for lances, harpoons, spears, and trapping and fishing implements, in removing bark, and in the preparation of individual timbers required for the canoe, /Figs. 43 and 44 appear here/ for scoring branches

/493 cont./

412 ~~and small trunks that they wish to cut off, for cutting an~~ animal skin and various leather parts, and finally for many other types of work. Lothrop (b):140 confirms: "The scraper was the most important tool to the Yahgan and served a great variety of purposes" /cited in English/. This tool has one extremely favorable advantage

Fig. 43. Scraper.
Two-thirds natural size.

Fig. 44. Scraper.
Two-thirds natural size.

in the fact that its cutting edge, although it gets dull very quickly, can just as quickly be sharpened again. It is sufficient to give it a brief scraping on the rough stones that form the shore of the channels or a quick rubbing with a longish, flat stone splinter as a whetstone.

This scraper was probably the prototype of a chipper or a kind of chisel which the Yamana have made since iron has been introduced. They call it tuxalapena. Hyades (q):299 describes it as "a modern chisel, made with a piece of iron" /translated from French/. Besides ufker, BD:573 also mentions tufkōr, "a chisel-like piece of iron bound to a handle of wood and also to a suitable stone to add weight to it used as a kind of chipper" /cited in English/. Anyone who

/493 cont./

412 has obtained a little flat piece of iron from a barrel hoop or from somewhere else gives it a rectangular shape and places one narrow side against a flattened stone handle or squeezes it into a split, short piece of wood, lashing it with a narrow cord. The cutting edge is likewise sharpened on a rough, flat stone (202).

202. Lothrop (b):140, as well as Hyades (q): Plate XXXII, illustrated this chipper or chisel in different versions.

177 It is clear that this chipper, as well as the one that the Selk'nam
412 use (Vol. I, 248), has come into existence only since the Fuegians have received a few flat pieces of iron from the Europeans. How /494/ very much they pestered many ships' crews for these we shall merely touch on here. Soon they made this tool for themselves (203).

203. In King:417, Fitz-Roy several times mentions having observed among these Indians during his journeys after 1829 "cutting weapons made with pieces of iron hoop fastened on a stick" /cited in English/.

β. The Knife

412 The Fuegian can cut all kinds of things with his scraper; for certain types of work a kind of knife, wíla, wíllki, is more advantageous for him. It would be a mistake to think of this as an object like our knife; their tool is nothing more than the symmetrical shell of the razor clam (Solen). /Figure 45 appears here./ The meat of this animal which is common in the sand of flat shores in that region is not eaten. It is dug out only in order to obtain the shell which is about 12 centimeters long and three centimeters wide and consists of identical halves.

It is used chiefly for fine work in bark, leather, and bone, less for actual cutting, or as Hyades (q) :300 expresses himself, "to carve the pieces of bark for the canoe or, more exactly, to

/~~494 cont.~~/

4/2 impress on them, as with a stamp, the curve according to which one ought to carve them" /translated from French/. The Indians reach for the shell of the razor clam if they wish to make very exact incisions. If regularity is not required, they take any Mytilus shell or a suitable lamina of slate and whet it on a rough stone. They can make deeper incisions this way than with the shell of the razor clam (204).

204. Despard (b):679 speaks of a "curved knife of whalebone for cutting bark" /cited in English/. This is not a knife but the above-mentioned bark-peeler (Fig. 27).

Fig. 45. Stone Blade.
Natural size.

Whereas these things are still used a great deal nowadays, genuine stone blades have been preserved from earlier times in the shell mounds (Fig. 45). These were probably now and then also used as knives. Lothrop (b):141, 190, in fact, calls them "knives" /cited in English/. They are usually longish-oval and have sharpened edges. In all probability they were primarily meant for lance- or spearheads. Even Lothrop (b):190 cannot but admit that the pieces he has reproduced "may well have served as knives or conceivably might have been barbless tips for spear or arrow" /cited in English/. A people that has only few implements will naturally use one and the same tool in many ways (205).

205. Moreover, the term "knife" is also used for various other items, and Cooper:217,

4/2

/494 cont./

for example, even mentions three kinds of knives.

/495/ Whatever it is they use in the way that we use our knife, it is never put together like the latter, but is nothing more than a bare mussel shell. Hyades (q):300 emphasizes: "The Fuegians do not have an indigenous tool similar to our knife; in its place they use a chisel of shell, or iron if they can get it" /translated from French/. In order to be able to grasp the mussel shell securely for cutting, they first place a thin scrap of leather in the palm of the hand, and by this means they can grasp the shell securely enough. /Fig. 46 appears here./

γ. The Punch

The punch or bone awl, ámi, or whatever one wishes to call this tool, is used a great deal. The natives prefer the humerus of a [237] cormorant from which all the meat is removed. The thinner end is broken off and filed to a sharp point. It is now about 13 centimeters long and is easy to handle. Occasionally, however, the bone of another bird is used.

In order to protect the point, the Indians take a bunch of rush stalks about as thick as one's thumb and lash it with another stalk of the same to hold it together. The point of the punch is stuck into this bundle, wína, for which they allow a length of about eight centimeters. Because of the packing, the point does not slide out, but is protected as by a sheath (Fig. 46). Sometimes this punch is nothing more than a small whittled stick of the hard wood of a

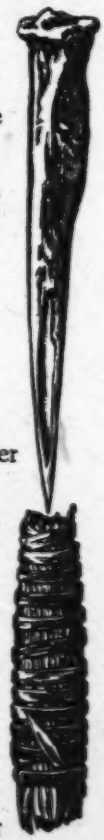

Fig. 46. Punch. Two thirds natural size.

/495 cont./

412 beech. It is about the length of a finger and is regularly used by all the women and girls for plaiting their small baskets (206).

[172] 206. Spencer:134 gives a detailed description of three bone awls that came from an old shell mound on Navarino Island. One of them is made from the bone of a young mammal.

With this punch small holes are pierced either into leather that is to be put together for cloaks and covers, bags, and pouches, into the bark pieces of a canoe, or in a scoop that is to be sewn together. In the most recent times the Yamana have
412 learned to make a genuine shoemaker's awl. They file off the
177 head of an iron nail the length of a finger and set this end into a short, cylindrical handle of wood; the other end is filed to a point. This punch, wáikul, penetrates leather and bark much more quickly, of course, and the people like to work with it (207). It must be specifically mentioned that drills have been

207. Lothrop (b):142 illustrated two of these modern pieces.

unknown to the Fuegians from ancient times; they are therefore unable to make holes in a piece of wood. For this purpose they have in most recent times used an iron nail which they obtain from Europeans.

/496/ δ. Wedge and Hammer

412 It is not at all seldom that a man must use a wedge of bone. It becomes absolutely necessary when he cuts out the bark pieces from a beech trunk for his canoe. This simple and yet valuable piece has been described on page 111 (Fig. 26) (208). The bone

208. Other illustrations are found in Hyades (q):Plate XXXII, 9, and in Spencer: 139.

/496 cont./

412 wedge, ila, performs even more important services in splitting thin and thick stems for the lower portion of a crab fork or a mussel fork. It is also used to split sound as well as rotten tree trunks which are desired for firewood and thicker trunks which are afterwards broken off by body weight.

412 237 Only the large bones of the whale are suitable for wedges. I did not learn whether or not the Indians ever tried to use bones of large seals. Such wedges have been used by the Fuegians since ancient times. Spencer:132 writes: "Many wedges of whale-bone were found in middens on Navarin Island. These are roughly made, more or less parallel-sided, cut and ground at one end to a curved cutting-edge. The other end is squared and most of the examples show signs of crushing by heavy blows at this end, caused, no doubt, when the wedges were driven in for splitting wood. The bone used appears to be cetacean ribs, a very suitable material for making wedges..." /cited in English/.

412 The bone wedge is hammered with a stone into a small groove which must first be incised with a knife or scraper. This stone can justifiably be referred to as a hammer only insofar as it is hit against the bone wedge. It is not prepared in any way. For heavier work one looks for a larger and rounded stone with flat sides, which can be comfortably grasped with the fingers without having them meet over it. This keeps the middle surface of the stone free, and this hits the wedge. Inevitably, the portion hit shows definite traces. One often finds the hammer-stones lying around on the shell mounds. Just as the Indians pick up the first stone handy wherever they need it, they heedlessly throw it away at the place where they have finished working with it. Small hammer-stones, so-called hand-pieces, are used every day to open shellfish and to crush animal bones (209). It is

209. Lothrop (b):141 also speaks of the "Hammerstones. These stones never were hafted" /cited in English/. He illustrates one and mentions "five inches" as its length.

obvious that for these simple purposes the stone does not need hafting.

/496 cont./

412 321 The wedge we have just described is carved out of the strong tissue of the large bones of the whale. The process is one of rubbing back and forth with pressure on a flat stone. As soon as the desired form roughly appears, the blade is carefully sharpened. The last thing is to grind and smooth the surface. For this a /497/ pumice stone the size of one's fist is suitable. The sea tosses these up in many places along the shore. We have repeatedly emphasized that our Indians must often resort to pumice, hiyal, for this very useful material is the only thing they employ to polish their bone points for harpoons and spears and their many wooden shafts. Lothrop (b):143 mentions: "For polishing, in place of our sandpaper or the Ona fox-skin and grit, the Yahgan use pomice hiól" /cited in English/. BD:262 spells it hiual. The pumice, of course, soon wears down on the hard bone tissue, but [171] it can be picked up anywhere on the shores (210). The Selk'nam

210. Lothrop (b):143 confirms: "It frequently floats down Beagle channel and may be picked up on the beach" /cited in English/. Lovisato (a):197 is wrong in saying that pumice is found only on Nueva Island and Lennox Island.

(Vol. 1, 235), as we know, not infrequently use the same pumice.

ε. Use of Iron

412 177 The Yamana of the first and oldest period were completely unfamiliar with the utilization of iron in any form. It is not found in their country nor could they obtain it through barter. As soon as they saw it on European ships and realized its usefulness, however, they learned how to obtain this raw material, as well as small plates of steel and copper, either legitimately or by stealing. Their impetuous desire for it sometimes led to dire consequences for themselves.

It is surprising how quickly they made iron serve them, taking it over in the form of nails, small plates for sheathing, and

/497 cont./

4/2 177 barrel hoops. They did not make entirely new forms of tools and implements with it. The awl made from an iron nail (p. 191) is only a modification of their original awl made of a bird's bone (Fig. 46), and, in the case of the knife, a small iron plate has since then been used as a blade in place of the mussel shell. It seems that after only brief experimentation our Fuegians made the above improvements, insignificant to the eye, with the iron they obtained, and after that they never made any more changes.

As is well known, their efforts to obtain pieces of metal go back to the time of the first visits by European ships, and they did not abate even in later times. Weddell (a):93 had already written what Colvocoresses:41 repeated several years later in similar words: "Of all the things small pieces of iron were the most welcome to them, for the only instruments they had for cutting were mussel shells." At the beginning of mission activity Reverend Jacob Rau on August 1, 1864, reported on the few Yamana who were brought to Isla Keppel: "The Fuegians have now learned to value everything which might be in future profitable to them. Pieces of iron which lie about they pick up, and grind them, and make knives out of them" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 290; 1864).

Naturally, some of them also became very quickly accustomed to /498/ finished iron implements which could, on occasion, be obtained from a European. Fitz-Roy in his time left Jemmy Button an iron ax, as well as many other things. On June 11, 1858, Despard made the following amusing comment about a few Indians whom he had visited in Wulaia: "It was surprising to see the dexterity with which they handled their rude axes. One of them, Jemmy said, was given him by Captain Fitz-Roy; so it must have been in use for twenty years. It was a very big one originally, but is worn down almost to nothing" /cited in English/. At the mission station the boys and men were not only given the common iron implements, but were carefully taught how to use them properly. In later decades most of them acquired some tool as their property. Today one sees the iron knife and the shoemaker's awl in the hands of every adult; the men work with hammer and pliers, with plane and iron nails, while at the same time every woman owns a pair of scissors and several large steel needles.

/498 cont./

412 The things our Indians make with their iron tools differ from
177 what they made formerly only in execution; in each and every object they retain the basic forms. An exception is the substitution of the flat skiff in place of the bark canoe. We can, therefore, by no means speak of an improvement or perfection of total Fuegian technical skill as a result of their adoption of iron implements.

10. Articles Made of Leather, Hide, Bark

323 None of the three Fuegian Indian tribes is acquainted with pottery. Clayey earths are present and, in small amounts, are heated and made into the above-mentioned red pigment used for decoration. It has not occurred to anyone to make pots out of them. The Indians are very poor in material possessions. Still,
415 they need many small things which they must keep in bags and pouches so as not to lose them in their restless moving about. None of these things are durable by any mean, but are easily and quickly replaced by other. Most of the utilitarian objects of this kind have been mentioned in the foregoing parts of this book where in each case their use was discussed. Here they will be more or less completely classified according to the material out of which they are made.

211 The explanation for so many things being made of leather is the environment in which our Fuegians have been placed. Their body covering, which does not deserve the name clothing, consists of pieces of leather and of skins, as we have already mentioned on page 50. In that connection we also described the treatment and preparation of leather (p. 68). To repeat briefly, the hunter himself skins the slain animal -- otter, guanaco, seal. He removes the skin piece by piece, cutting it away from the layer of fat surrounding the body with a mussel shell. Immediately /499/ the woman scrapes the larger bunches of fat, muscle, and tissues from the skin which is still soft and wet, stretching it taut above the ground by means of short wooden pegs or a network of short sticks. As soon as the skin has become hard from drying, she scrapes the hairless layer with the ufker[1]. Sometimes she removes the /Fig. 47 appears here/ layer of fur by

/499 cont./

281 means of a rotting process. She makes the piece still softer and more pliable by manipulating and kneading it with both hands. Then follows the removal of irregular edges and finally cutting it to size, according to the object that is to be made.

281 415 We need not describe again the body covering and how it is made. The many bags, pouches, and sacks of all sizes have a uniform shape; they are commonly longish and deep. This follows naturally from the way they originate. Out of a large scrap of leather the Indian woman cuts a somewhat longish rectangle and folds it so that the two narrow edges come together. These are meant for the upper rim of the bag. Then, with a rather thick sinew, she makes a whipstitch seam on the right and left sides and the bag is closed. Two, three, or four holes are pierced along the upper edge, and a

Fig. 47. Leather Bag.

short handle is attached through them. This is usually a narrow strap, but it may be a braided cord made of sinews or rushes (Fig. 47). No matter how tightly the thread of the seams is pulled, the bag nevertheless leaks if it is filled with water. After long use, however, fine particles of dirt lodge in the seams, which act as calking.

These leather bags, ináa, are, of course, of different sizes, but they are not noticeably different in shape. We can say that

/499 cont./

281 for certain purposes approximately the same measurements are used,
415 sometimes even the same type of leather (211). For storing the /500/

211. Lothrop (b):133 also mentions the various uses of individual bags.

fire-making apparatus, the Indians prefer a small pouch, gēsánux, of guanaco leather, about ten centimeters wide and deep. It is either tied shut at the top like a sack, or a short flap is left on when it is cut out, and this is flipped over the opening, whereupon a sinew is wound crosswise around the whole thing. It is important, however, to leave the fur on; it prevents the leather from getting soaked and thus ruining the contents. A somewhat larger but similar pouch is commonly used to store pigments. The man keeps his long harpoon points made of whale bone in a deeper, narrow leather bag, his tools and odds and ends in a wider, shorter bag. The woman puts her ornaments and implements in a large, wide leather bag with a handle.

281 Straps and ropes are also cut out of leather. The long lasso, fíkēša, for the large harpoon (Fig. 35) and for other purposes (212)

212. As is well known, it serves many purposes in the hunt for food, a fact which Fitz-Roy (a):186 observed. The Selk'nam also use it (Vol. I, 254). BD:79 describes it as "a long piece of hide freed of hair used for many purposes" /cited in English/.

requires a great deal of work. It is made from the thick skin of the adult male bear seal, tēpēwa, (Arctocephalus australis). The work is begun immediately after the woman has removed the layer of hair by the above-mentioned fermenting process (p. 71). The man spreads the very soft skin flat on the ground, punches a hole in the center, and, with sharpened shells of Solen, cuts a strip as wide as a finger in unbroken concentric circles from the center until he has used up the skin. Then he ties one end to a tree trunk and pulls the entire long strip of skin against other trunks, stretching it as much as possible. The tension is, of

/500 cont./

281 course, increased when the strip dries. Since the man has carefully avoided having the strap curl up lengthwise, it comes out smooth and even after it is thoroughly dry.

The women often use a strip of leather about five meters long
281 and one centimeter wide as a carrying strap, mun. They coil the
482 center section several times lengthwise, the width of the coil corresponding to the width of their backs. Then they loop the two end pieces, left and right, in the coil. The two end pieces are placed over the shoulders, while the middle piece is drawn around a bundle of wood or a piece of baggage which the woman has previously loaded on her back as she bent the upper part of her body far forward. By drawing the straps tight, she keeps the burden immovable.

281 Leather in one form or another is used for sewing and tying things, for the water scoop and the hand protector, and for many other little things. They always keep it handy and it can easily be obtained (213). All types of leather, however, suffer from the

[276]

213. In recent times the Yamana have shown a great fondness for a cigarette-tobacco pouch made of a piece of leather from an otter tail.

excessive dampness.

281 /501/ Whereas in the foregoing other kinds of containers or
415 bags of hide were mentioned, here I refer to the kinds made of bird skins, minul. The skins of cormorants and penguins are regarded as very suitable; they are more durable because of the coarseness of the feathers. The natives make a long incision on the underside of the animal and remove the entire skin. They sever the wings and legs from the inside and finally the neck at its uppermost vertebrae. The head is sometimes left on. Sometimes they cut off the whole neck, as well as legs and wings, from the outside and afterward sew up these openings and also the long incision over the belly, except for a slit a hand's breadth wide which is left as the opening. In such a bird skin one keeps lighter and more delicate things, such as necklaces and pigments, the feather diadems, and so forth (214). They very seldom turn

214. Hyades (q):306 grouped together

281
415

/501 cont./
several of these small bags and described them in detail, as did Lothrop (b): 133. Compare Spegazzini (a): 162 and Colini: 238.

the freshly removed bird skin inside out so that the feathered side is on the inside.

Dried pieces of gut and the dried stomach of smaller seals are also used as small bags. They are popular as containers for pigments and liquid blubber, for they are impermeable. These things are known as yáj (Fig. 20).

415 The above-mentioned articles of leather and skin are neither very strong nor particularly durable. Even more fragile and delicate are the buckets and smaller vessels made of bark. Such containers are not suitable for the type of life led by the Selk'nam; however, they are serviceable for the Yamana because they can be easily kept in the canoe and taken along. There is a larger type, kála, yála, and a smaller, ríku. BD:201, 469 also distinguishes between kála, "a bark bucket," and ríkú, "a bark bailer" /cited in English/. The complete name for the large pail is aiyéu yála in the western dialect, and éua, yála in the eastern dialect.

415 322 When one wants to make a pail, he peels a ring out of the bark of an evergreen beech with the usual bone tool. The outer rind and the inner dry bark fibers are scraped off; then all the edges are cut very evenly. Before the piece of bark curls up by drying its longitudinal edges are sewed together, carefully well overlapped. A round bottom of the same bark is set in and secured by means of a seam that runs all the way around. To prevent the upper edge from tearing a flexible strip of the soft wood layer of [124] Drimys winteri is placed around it and sewed on. Whalebone strips [583] as well as thin bundles of bast-fiber are used to sew it. A short leather strap or a braided rush cord is knotted above the opening as a handle. This makes it easy to handle the bucket which is up to 30 centimeters high and has a diameter of 13 centimeters (Fig. 48). For /502/ smaller vessels they take the bark of Drimys winteri [124] and even of Maytenus magellanica, both of which have less tendency to curl because their bark is thicker than that of beeches. For these they do no more than make a longitudinal seam and set in a

/502 cont./

415 bottom. /Fig. 48 appears here./

322 In order to prevent irregular curling and deep splits in the damp bark of the newly finished kala, they stuff wet moss mixed with fresh grass into it, exerting considerable pressure, and filling the entire bucket with it. Moreover, they avoid having it heated unevenly by the hot fire or by the sun. Along with the wet filler, the bark dries very gradually, preserves its shape, and keeps perfectly for a long time. In the case of the large bark receptacles, they sometimes press a few extra small moss plants between the individual seams as filler (215).

Fig. 48. Bark Pail.

215. Lothrop (b):132 mentions: "In general the Yaigan buckets are taller in proportion to their width than those of the Alacaluf" /cited in English/. I cannot confirm this statement from my own experience; there does not seem to be a difference.

415 The small bark receptacles are used as cups and water dippers; they have no other use. All kinds of implements are sometimes temporarily stuffed into the large buckets that hold at least five liters, but their real purpose is to serve as containers for water. This not so much for people who have settled down in a hut on the shore as for those who are setting out for a trip in their canoe. Although it may sound unbelievable, right back behind actually hold a small amount of water for several hours. The older girls primarily take care of scooping out the water that comes into the canoe with their little bark receptacles; they also finish drinking

/502 cont./

415 water from nearby streams and lagoons in the large bark buckets (216).

216. These bark receptacles are mentioned and described in Cañas Pinochet:358, Dabbene (b):181, Hyades (c):307, Lothrop (b):131, Martial:192, Spegazzini (a):163, Wieghardt: 27, and others.

11. Baskets

The baskets are excellently adapted for collecting and storing the always wet shellfish. These baskets lie around in the huts and in the canoes /502/ of our Fueglans in larger numbers than /Fig. 49 appears here/ among the Selk'nam. They are the property of the woman because they were made by her. Only women and girls, less often boys, reach for them when mussels and snails, berries, and fruits are to be gathered; a man never carries a basket in his hand.

[422 462]

285 Judged according to weaving technique, our Indians have three different kinds. I believe I must adhere to this grouping, although Lothrop (b):138 speaks of four kinds. Below, a net-like container, čagwínux, čagwínuč, will be described, which he and others regard as a basket.

[24]

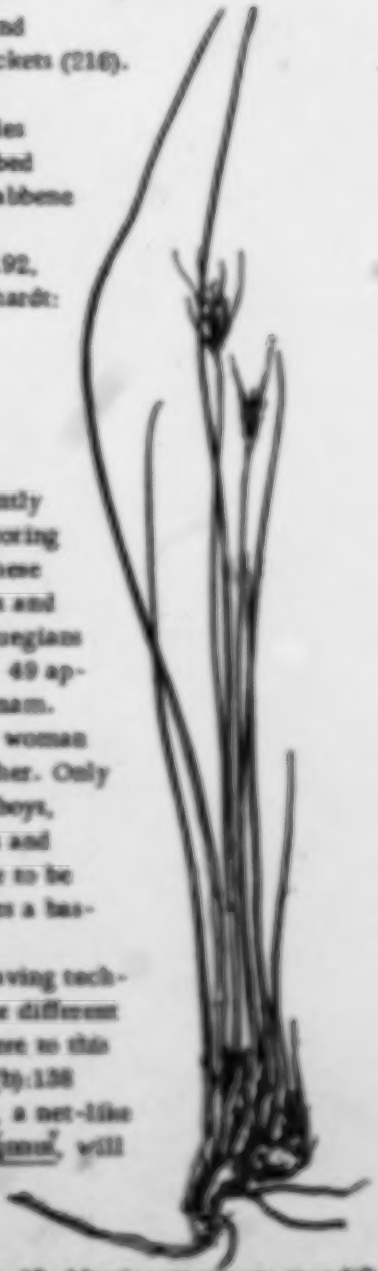

Fig. 49. Marsippospermum grandiflorum.

/203 cont./

285 In my opinion, however, this view is not justified, since the individual rush stalks are not braided in this case, but stretched in parallel rows. It is used like a sieve-shaped scoop on spring handle. The three actual baskets (221) show a coil construction

> 221. To be sure Bridges writes: "The women has three kinds of baskets, called respectively *tuwulla*, *ojim* and *pewumuwah*" /cited in Engelm/ (Abt III, 111; 1869); obviously he did not at that time know how to distinguish accurately between the designations. The observation of Hyades (Ij:8 was inadequate. He wrote that "the baskets are of two kinds; the one with fine meshes is called *tacuala*, the other, loosely meshed, is called *hallijum*" /translated from French/. Loriaux (Ij:14) speaks of three kinds, and Cooper: 204 agrees.

in their weave. Seen in profile, they show a very definite dome-oval outline.

[Ij:24] The native rushes, *Marisqueperuum grandiflorum*, known as *mdyi*, are used exclusively. This species flourishes abundantly in swamp and moor, has a sturdy, round stem, reaches a height of 24 centimeters, and is dark green (Fig. 48). The Indian woman, with a single jerk, pulls out three to five stalks and places them together in a bunch. She gathers at one time only as much as she can conveniently grasp with one hand, for dried stalks break easily and are no longer suitable for braiding. In her lap she arranges smaller bunches of about 20 stalks, grasps each of them with both hands, and holds the lower part in the fire where it burns down to within /204/ five centimeters of the root. At the same time she quickly draws the length of it through the flame. The heat makes the hard but damp stalk extraordinarily flexible. Without delay, while this little bunch is still hot, she bends it downward in the middle, takes this middle section between her teeth and twists the free ends spirally lengthwise. Then she immediately loosens this braid of rushes and stretches the little

/[illegible]/

bundle weight, pulling the two ends and stripping the whole thing with her hands almost closed. The individual reeds are still hot, for the Indian woman does all these manipulations very quickly. One marvels at the flexibility of the rush reeds which just a moment before were quite stiff and hard. They remain flexible for several days during which time they must be woven. Before it is worked into the basket, the Indian woman pulls each individual rush between her teeth lightly, in order to flatten it. She does not, however, bite hard enough to press out the juice. This treatment finally makes the rush quite pliable. Rush reeds that were pulled up and allowed to lie around for more than a week without being used are worthless. Moreover, those that were unevenly warmed lying in the sun or beside the fire are thrown aside.

The Indian woman does not need any special implements for basketry. The only thing she commonly picks up is a small pointed stick the length of a finger, or a short bone awl. With this she makes a small hole in the weave, through which she draws the running rush and pulls it right. The basketry is carried out according to a unified method which, however, allows three variations for which there are separate designations.

1. Tagalin. This is the most common and the best known basketwork of Tierra del Fuego (218). The Indian woman begins

> 218. Cooper (84), agreeing, says: "The common form of basketry found among the three Fueguian tribes is of the half-hitch coiled variety made of rush with or without foundation" /*Trans.* to English/.

by placing together four or five rush reeds and rolling the end of this little bundle around her left index finger. She immediately draws off the ring and winds a rush around it by means of half-hitches. This ring will form the center and the lowest portion of the basket (Fig. 30). As soon as the ring is closed, the weave begins according to the knotting method known as tagalin. For the small this bundle or roll of four or five reeds which the Indian woman commonly uses, she purposely selects reeds of different

/this row./

[illegible] lengths. Before one roll is covered with beading, the yarns in a new one. In this way the cords having the entire roll /[illegible]/ meet at a single point. The loops which are now made over this roll with a running knot, frequently reversed, are more or less perpendicular to the roll. The simple half-hitch weave continues in spiral progressive end, of course, runs clockwise. The last section of the free end of the running knot is bent back several times and thrown under a loop which is pulled right. As fast the weaver increases the number of loops on each woven ring and thus the weaving expands from below upward, more than halfway

Fig. 56. The Tight Belden Weave. Reversed side.

up a slight undercutting can be seen (216).

[illegible]

216. The belden made according to this weaving technique is the only form which the Indi-ians also knew how to make (Vol. I, 206).

Soon after the /Fig. 55 appears here/ line rolls are finished, the women were both her hands free for the work. With a stone, a small bamboo stump, or a rub rush, the large hot bedamark up somewhere, dibbe on a part of the hot house or on a dum stick which she pounds into the ground. The large is in such a way that the opening of the belden is turned toward the ground. The down the cord by which is hangs through the small hole then the left or the

/[illegible]/ beginning at the lowest point of the basket. Thus hung up, the basketwork is extraordinarily mobile and can be taken up at any point at which the widow is continue the mourn work.

When the Indian woman feels that it is large enough, she thickens the regular coil of rush mats somewhat for the edge and draws over it a somewhat wider rush as a running thread. On this she afterwards puts two low ears opposite each other which are also bound spirally with a wide rush mats. The two ears are joined by a cord braided out of a few mats, sometimes also by a small narrow strap, for a handle (III). One finds this basket in all sizes

> III. To his description of this weaving technique, Ludwig (fp.138 adds a few comparative comments and mentions: "The hitch-coil is typical in South America only of the Tuligan, Cha, and Alacaluf, but is turns up sometimes in the Amazon valley and to the northward" /viewed in English/.

and corresponding widths, with a height of eight to 30 centimeters.

/Said/ 2. *Cotahing*. The basket with the loose weave, as I should like to designate this particular type, is by far made less often than *nawilla* (III). The reason for this, I was told, is that

> III. Ludwig (fp.138 confirms this from his own experience: "This weave is very rarely employed among the Tuligan, and a single specimen was secured only with difficulty" /viewed in English/.

it is less durable than the other, but that it nevertheless requires almost the same amount of work to make and cannot be used for many requirements. The distinguishing characteristic of the basketry technique down to *nawilla* also predominates in *Cotahing*, which Ludwig (fp.138 calls *[illegible]*. Both are exactly the same at the very beginning. The only difference between them is that in this case the running rush mats which make the knotting

/506 cont./

285 is each time drawn around the smooth bundle of rushes /Fig. 51 appears here/, not with a simple half-hitch but with a horizontal twisted loop (Fig. 51). This prevents the individual coils from fitting very tightly to one another, and the weave itself remains somewhat looser than in the case of tapwēla. This basket, too, has two low ears at opposite sides of the rim, which are joined by a loose handle of braided rush stalks. The čefkālax that one sees most frequently is about 22 centimeters high, and as a rule it is never as carefully worked nor as even over its entire surface as the tight weave of tapwēla.

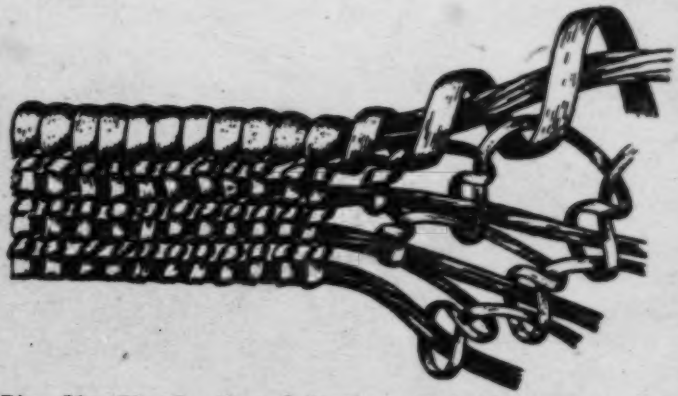

Fig. 51. Rim Section of the Loose Basket Weave. Natural size.

3. Kējim: We realize at first glance that this type is different from the two other baskets mentioned. This weave can be referred to as open. Lothrop (b):138 calls it "a knotted weave without any foundation" /cited in English/. It is nothing more than a progressive number of knotted loops tied together in regular succession (Fig. 52). Certain coils, however, are not pulled tight, and they thus produce circles which hang in rows one above the other. These hold bunches of about /507/ five loose rush stalks (222). A diagram of this pattern is shown in

222. Neither Hyades (h):4 nor Lothrop (b):138 refer to this in their descriptions or in their drawings.

in Figure 53. In order to reinforce this loose weave somewhat and keep

/507 cont./

285 it wide open, a narrow wooden hoop is drawn through the top row
[824] of coils which are looser here. This hoop is preferably cut from a stem of the pliable, tough Berberis ilicifolia. The entire loose weave is lightly and flexibly suspended from it. /Figure 52 appears here./ A handle made of three braided rush strings is fastened to the wooden hoop. These strings are knotted together at the highest point where they meet.

Since the baskets are not only used a great deal, but also

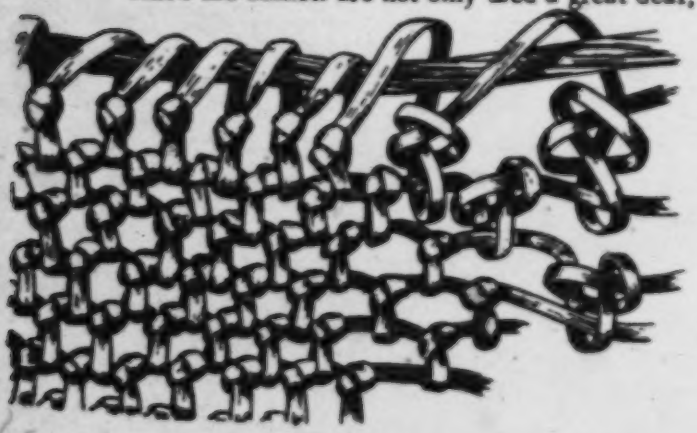

Fig. 52. Rim Section of the Open Basket Weave.
Natural size.

easily damaged, every Indian woman always has several of them.
285 In her free moments she is constantly busy /Fig. 53 appears here/
461 with her basketry. Just as in Europe a housewife who sits down to rest for a bit or chats comfortably with another person will take out her knitting, so the Fuegian woman in a similar situation turns to her basketry. It is hard to judge how many hours she spends on a basket, for she fills many and different intervals of time with this occupation. Sometimes her already weary hands will move slowly;
285 some women are extraordinarily deft at it. A capable basket-weaver

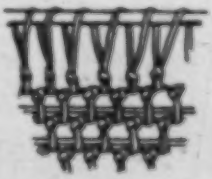

Fig. 53. The Open Basket-work.

/507 cont./

285 is referred to as yetanakipa or yetanalitēskipa (223). (Compare

223. According to BD:650 it is the equivalent of "clever, expert in yetanaing, well yetanaed" /cited in English/.

yetana, "to make a basket," according to BD:650.)

/508/ Naturally, the execution of one basket will sometimes be very different from that of another, depending on the facility which this or that Indian woman has acquired. In order to keep the final shape as symmetrical as possible, as soon as the weaving is finished the little basket is packed with fresh grass or moss that is not too wet. It is supposed to dry slowly, for some distortion would be unavoidable if it dried too rapidly. When this packing is removed after three or four weeks, the little basket is immediately used. In the weeks following it will discolor and become a uniform straw-yellow. It is used so much that it is, of course, repeatedly soaked and bruised, but the Indian woman sees to it that in drying it returns to its original even shape. No one handles the little baskets carefully (224).

224. A detailed description of these three baskets classified according to the weaving technique is found in Lothrop (b):133. Compare Dabbene *(b):181, Outes (g):53, and* Wieghardt:27. Hyades (q):303 made a list of pertinent designations.

Since the weaving technique is similar among the Selk'nam and Yamana and the names for it coincide somewhat among the two tribes, Cooper:204 concludes that "the Onas have perhaps borrowed this cultural element from the Canoe Indians" /cited in English/. I shall comment on this somewhat critically in Volume III of this monograph.

/508 cont./

12. Technical Skills

511 The material possessions of these southernmost Fuegians seem at first glance unusually frugal and poor. If we look more carefully, however, we are surprised at the considerable variety of implements and tools. Hence, our natives are not altogether destitute. In the variety of their utensils they without doubt considerably surpass the neighboring Selk'nam. The canoe alone is such an inestimably valuable means of transportation that it cannot be compared with travel on foot.

182 176 The environment into which our Yamana were placed was a good teacher. With their own resourcefulness and keen gift of observation, with the knowledge gained by experience through short, successive generations, they finally created weapons and tools of such high efficiency that it could hardly be noticeably increased within the possibilities of development originally afforded them. Anyone who will make an effort to gain an insight into the mechanics of each of the implements used by the Fuegians and the physical forces operating it will pay high tribute to their creative power.

Even Bridges (k):240 who was in a position to observe them for decades in closest proximity bowed to their ability, and offerred the following brilliant testimony, probably with not a little inner resistance: "The natives have evolved all the qualities most /509/ useful for the life they live; their canoes are perfect specimens of their kind and the same can be said of all their utensils and implements. With the material at their disposal I do not know how these could be improved. They are perfectly adapted to the soil and climate of the country in which they live" /translated from Spanish/. Behind the unprepossessing form and the pitiful simplicity of Fuegian implements is hidden an unsurpassed suitability.

443 In general each person makes what he needs in material possessions with his own hands and for himself alone. Exceptions are those things which, in the normal household life, are needed by the family or by the husband and wife equally, and which, accordingly, he provides for her and she for him. Manufacture is, therefore, an individual matter. There is no special class of

/509 cont./

463 craftsmen who professionally produce a certain article for the rest of the population. No one need fear professional jealousy or unfair competition, because everyone works for his own needs. Obviously, the natural endowment and personal effort of individuals are very different, whereas the material used is generally always the same. Anyone who has a sense of beautiful form and who takes pleasure in a neatly made article sometimes attains great mastery in his work.

535 The Yamana have special expressions to characterize this ability in the various fields of daily activity. We have just mentioned the word yetánakipa for a capable basket-weaver; wéntguts (according to BD:615 "clever, expert, neat in work" /cited in English/) means one whose manual skill in general overshadows others; yéimánu has the same meaning.

Thus a certain stamp of individual personality, at least of an individual method of work, without conscious intent, however, marks each object as the product of the person who made it. Of course, everyone recognizes his own product, and this is made even easier by the fact that the possessions of an individual are very limited. For a practiced eye the difference between two objects of a similar type is sometimes very great. Everyone evaluates things that are excellently made or that have turned out particularly well no less accurately than he does inadequate and shabby articles. People who work skillfully and produce good things are appreciated far and wide (225); on the basis of their

225. Despard (b):717 wrote: "The dextrous spear, paddle, and canoe-maker, is held in honour, and called yersh-man-os, or handyman" /cited in English/.

products, a father often spurs his son on to more exact and industrious handwork.

437 Personal excellence, as a result of which some person or other
463 is able to produce a certain article, brings about the transfer of certain items to other hands by way of barter. There is no getting around the fact that one person has more dexterity and skill for one thing and another person for some other thing. /510/ /Fig. 54 appears here./ Fitz-Roy (a):186 was very definitely made aware of

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Fig. 54. Long Bone Points.

/510 cont./

this fact: "It is rather curious that usually each of these natives is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear; another with the sling; another with a bow and arrows; but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others" /cited in English/. This is actually the case.

A person who lacks something that he is unable to make because of a shortage of raw material or as a result of his own incapacity acquires it through barter with someone who happens to be in a position to dispose of it. For example, only a few men are completely successful in cutting and filing the long bone harpoon points (Fig. 54), in putting an arrow together, or in removing a wide sheet of bark for canoe building. It is inevitable that the individual will sometimes become dependent on others to a certain extent when he must fill his need for certain implements. This considerably strengthens the awareness of the solidarity of all members of the tribe.

To begin with, however, scarcely anyone would think of using the object which he happens to have for purposes of barter, since in all his work and striving he is primarily and fundamentally concerned with his own needs. He uses his own measurements as a basis. That is to say, he decides on the length and

/510 cont./

437 breadth, the particular shape of the weapon or implement, in
463 accordance with his own personal convenience, according to his bent and taste, depending on how he has practiced making it or is in the habit of doing it differently. From this arise the differences between the utensils of one man and another, between such small things as baskets, sewing work, and so forth, which one Indian woman or another will make for herself alone.

411 Because each weapon and each tool fits its maker's own hand, so to speak, it follows that each person has great dexterity in handling his own articles. /511/ Time and again their suppleness and accuracy of aim, their sure grip and controlled fist, their ability to make estimates, and their sharp eye have been justly regarded with awe and wonder by Europeans (226). It is true

226. Many agree with Bove's (g):235 judgment concerning their weapons, that the Fuegians "know how to handle them with marvelous dexterity and precision" /translated from Italian/.

that with constant practice everyone can accomplish a great deal. Many a European who has tried to use the sling or the harpoon or some other native implement has gone about it very awkwardly and become the laughing stock of the Indians.

The fact that no one owns more than one extra utensil of those most frequently needed is an indication of self-confidence. The less a person must carry around with him on his constant travels, the more comfortable it is for him and the freer he feels. It is only when want and need force him to restore the loss of an implement that he instantly and decisively sets to work. Since not even the thought of his own needs forces our Indian to make this or that object in order to have it on hand, how much less can we expect him to make anything for barter.

182 Our Fuegians procure and make their implements with little effort. They manipulate them very adroitly and steadily. They can depend absolutely on their own ability and the effectiveness of their weapons (227). What, therefore, should press and drive

227. Every careful observer will agree

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/511 cont./

with Spears:57: "One may doubt whether the Yahgan canoe shows greater ingenuity than Yahgan weapons and implements for obtaining food do" /cited in English/.

them to give up their material culture! If interrogated, they justify their adherence to the old, their preservation of the things inherited from their fathers, on the grounds that they suffice perfectly for their modest needs and the necessities of their life. The form and construction of their tools represent maximum efficiency within the framework of what is available to them. With these material means they have made their lives comfortable, pleasant, and humanly dignified. The words of Despard (b):680 with regard to the merits of the bark canoe apply absolutely to all their utensils: "Yet no improvements are thought of; what served the father serves the son for a pattern, and would never be departed from for a thousand generations" /cited in English/. They have taken over infinitesimally little from Europeans -- iron, for example. The basic form of their implements has remained unchanged for many centuries.

E. Obtaining Food

181 261 The Indian's sole and vital care is centered on the necessary food; his thought and concern day and night are on his subsistence. If he has an exceptionally abundant supply, he feels extraordinarily relieved, and free of care, he abandons himself /512/ to always desired rest. Ordinarily, however, the threat of hunger keeps him on the move day after day, forces him to abandon his hut and change his camp, goads him to a canoe trip or a journey on foot, all depending on whether the prospect of booty beckons here or there (228).

228. According to Despard (b):679, these Indians live only for the business of obtaining food: "The great want with them

/812 cont./

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is of food, naturally; and their habits are formed with a view to supply it, and all their implements are to serve in procuring it...Hence are they constantly roaming" /cited in English/.

Food gathering in the widest sense of the term is, after all, the sole and true occupation of our natives. If this exertion were not always obligatory and without exception unavoidable for everyone, there would be great danger that their physical and spiritual well-being would languish. Their work never leads to weakness or to a lessening of their ability. Quite the contrary, despite weariness and exhaustion, despite strain and extreme exertion which are sometimes recurrent, the man's hunting and the woman's collecting are so attractive and stimulating, so satisfying and filled with success for the victor, that these things alone make every adult uncomplainingly accept the unavoidable hardships of making a living, and this decreases the pressure of their cares about their daily food. This strain is further reduced by the unfailing prospect of their always finding, here or there and relatively easily, what is absolutely necessary.

462 Both sexes contribute their share to the support of the family, which consists of father, mother, and children. Not everyone *contributes to the same extent, however, but in the manner appropriate to his sex.* The woman more than the man is tied down by unavoidable duties in her hut where she must take care of the welfare of her children. What the man accomplishes in one field, she does in another; both partners are, on the whole, provided equally with obligations, and their co-operation assures the well-being of the individual family.

Even at first glance it seems natural for the man to take over the exertions of the hunt requiring strength and for the woman to busy herself with the easier collecting of smaller things (229).

229. Hyades (h):23 has clearly pointed out this division of labor: "Everything connected with the hunt and even the cutting up of the dead animal is the exclusive occupation of the man, just as we have seen that fishing is

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/S12 cont./

exclusively confined to the women" /translated from French/. The word "fishing" here means the gathering and catching of small sea animals.

This division of labor is an ancient law of custom. This is true no less of the planned way in which both sexes carry on their activities, which goes back to the very beginnings of this ethnic group.

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It can be proved that the customary methods of hunting have been handed down unchanged from father to son; they guarantee sure success with little effort. The indigenous animals have also /S13/ retained their habits and the hunter is dependent upon these if he wishes to attain his booty. With the exception of the guanaco which appears in only a small section of the Yamana country, the Indian stalks only the inhabitants of the sea, which is the reason why he cannot do without his canoe. Hence the latter is a vital method of transportation for him.

His wishes, however, are not directed toward anything and everything that the unfathomable sea contains. He consciously makes some selection among the animals, no matter how little freedom he has to begin with and how limited, after all, the number of useful animal species is. This applies even more to the gathering activity of the woman. Mother Nature is very stingy with the products of the vegetable kingdom, that man can use for food down there on the border of habitable territory. The lower animals are abundantly represented. They provide a considerable addition to subsistence, and gathering them is a constant, convenient occupation of the woman (130). How she goes about it and

130. Bridges (c):501 comments in general on their means of obtaining food. Bove (c):187 says: "The sea furnishes the staples of their diet in the form of fish, mussels, crabs, seals, and aquatic birds; furthermore, in the summer they find about 30 varieties of edible mushrooms in the woods and a few edible grasses." Compare Bove (g):134.

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/513 cont./
According to Loviato (p.129 he Yamana are "fishermen and only sometimes hunters along the coast" /translated from Italian/.

the resources the employs are the heritage of the acquired wisdom of many past generations.

Now we understand why the customary procedure in hunting and gathering is retained unchanged even by the few remaining Yamana. The ancient methods and manipulations automatically recommend themselves by their almost unsurpassable appropriateness. This is reason enough why the representatives of this tribe cling to their valuable heritage with unyielding tenacity. The basis of Yamana economic life -- primarily the occupation of hunting by the man, together with a considerable contribution from gathering by the woman -- was forced upon them, so to speak, by their environment. This particular type of food quest forces each individual family to a restless nomadic life.

22 In these fundamental respects the Yamana are similar to their northeastern neighbors, but they also enjoy noteworthy advantages besides. Whereas the northern Selk'nam are dependent on the guanaco (Vol. I, 377) and the southern Selk'nam on the guanaco, the Yamana men have such a limited variety of animals to hunt in all parts of their country that they are never dependent on a single species. Fortunately, the Yamana woman, too, has a greater selection in her gathering than does her Selk'nam neighbor. The latter has only a few mushrooms and fish, while the former in addition has easy access to masses of the almost indispensable mussels and crabs. All this simplifies the food quest and improves the way of life of the Yamana not inconsiderably as compared to their neighbors.

/514/ 1. Seal Hunting

226 Without doubt seals provided the chief contribution to Yamana subsistence at all times and in all sections of the country. Formerly several species lived in herds on the many islands and rocks, places of wreckage, and coves of the Cape Horn Archipelago. Even the giant of this species, the bear seal, ~~[illegible]~~ Fo (Arctocephalus

/514 cont./

225 australis), and the elephant seal, hálaxuwa (Macrorhinus leoninus), were among them. During the last decades only the small sea lions ama (Otaria jubata), and the maned seal, tíata (Otaria byronia), remained in the vicinity of our Indians. Occasionally the larger bear seal (Arctocephalus australis) emerges again, but the other species stay far away. Along those coasts European seal hunters have long since exterminated these animals which were so valuable as food for the natives (231). Since then the number

231. In his day Hyades (r):295 reported on the elephant seal: "It is a species almost entirely destroyed" /translated from French/.

of natives has also noticeably decreased; hence the remaining specimens of the small Otaria jubata suffice to fill the food requirements and to provide the necessary variety in the diet. Seal hunting is the daily task, so to speak, of the man, but this is not to say that he actually engages in it every day. We properly give it first place here.

During the day individual animals like to lie on low flat stones and abandon themselves to sleep. The color of their bodies is an excellent protection for them, but the sharp eye of the Indian catches sight of them nevertheless. If possible, and if it seems advisable, he attacks the animal usually with a club or a heavy cudgel (232). He has plenty of practice in rowing up to the animal

232. Bridges (i)23 makes too fine a distinction and speaks of "three kinds of clubs, the largest of which called Yoj, pointed at one end. The second is called Wosin, and the third Kneea. This is the smallest and is also used as a missile" /cited in English/.

and creeping close to it. With a heavy blow he stuns the sleeping animal so that it can no longer escape. A few more blows of the club, carried out cautiously because of the animal's rage, kill it.

/514 cont./

225 If a man coming across a seal unexpectedly should not have a club, he ventures near with a medium-sized stone. He repeats these blows in quick succession until the animal falls over stunned (233).

233. Fitz-Roy (a):184 observed this manner of approaching smaller seals.

If there are several men together, they will even venture to approach a large herd lying on the beach. They take their places according to a definite plan and proceed in such a way that individual animals will separate themselves from the closed ranks of the herd. It is only these that they can approach closely enough to beat them with their clubs. On land the seals are awkward in their movements. If they are attacked, they raise themselves up in self-defense. They topple forward easily, whereas /515/ /Fig. 55 appears here/ sideways they can stretch far forward without losing their balance, thanks to the strength of their two pairs of flippers. The Indians know this, which is why they always attack a sea lion only from the front.

Seals are far more often pursued on the water. The hunter takes advantage of their confident and inquisitive nature (p. 28 /unpaginated/). If he notices a playful seal frisking about on the water out of sheer pleasure and exuberance, he lures it toward him by whistling softly, by singing in a low voice, or by splashing rhythmically with his paddle. He continues this even if the animal disappears from the surface. At the same time he uses these few seconds to get nearer to it and lay out his harpoon in readiness. The seal will

Fig. 55. Small Harpoon.

/515 cont./

225 perhaps dive down and up again several times. Meanwhile the occupants of the canoe remain motionless so as not to frighten it away. When it is close enough, the hunter, who has meantime stood up unobserved, thrusts the small harpoon vigorously into its body (Fig. 55). He makes sure that the weapon penetrates deep into the body. He has no time to aim at a certain spot, for he never knows in what position the seal will approach him as it emerges from the water.

He reached for the small harpoon because nearby he sees broad tangles of Macrocystis algae floating on the surface, whither the wounded seal will seek refuge. When the seal has the barbed bone point in its body, it will, in its pain, try to shake it off. It will try first with its teeth which usually do not reach. It hopes, therefore, to relieve its pain in the knotted tangle of algae stalks. In mortal terror it squeezes in there and worms its way through, meanwhile causing the bone point to detach itself from the notch of the shaft. Both /515/ pieces remain fastened together by a short strap. Since the shaft has become entangled in the tough mass of algae, the seal is hampered in all further movement. The more it exerts itself, the greater pain it feels, since the sharp teeth of the bone point is embedded in its flesh and any tugging enlarges the wound. Loss of blood soon exhausts the seal. It and the harpoon shaft are confusedly interwoven in the knot of algae, and escape is impossible. Meanwhile the canoe has approached, and the hunter kills the seal with his javelin or club. Laboriously he detaches his booty from the tangle of algae and, full of satisfaction, lifts it into his vessel. Usually he also gets his harpoon back.

Sometimes he still has to undergo a serious battle with the seal which is incited by its wound in case the harpoon has not penetrated deeply enough or no vital organ has been hit. At other times it will sink immediately if the wound was fatal. In that case the hunter loses not only his booty, but his weapon as well.

This is the method of hunting most frequently used, but every man must be prepared for the situation when the usual floating tangles of algae are missing at the spot where he has hurled his small harpoon against a seal. Now the functional connection of his weapon is equally helpful, for if the wounded seal should succeed in detaching the bone point from the shaft, it would not experience any relief thereby. While the seal swims away, the

/316 cont./

225 shaft of the harpoon will stand obliquely to the direction in which he moves, not only braking the seal's progress but also increasing the pain of the wound which is opened up more by the constant tugging of the shaft as it is dragged along. These two impediments are even effective, although less so, when point and shaft of the harpoon remain connected. The wounded animal becomes more exhausted the longer it struggles. The dragging harpoon shaft determines the direction in which it is escaping and prevents it from remaining long under water (236). The canoe of the hunter

236. Hyades (p.353 is right in saying that the detached shaft "thus becomes the buoy and guides the hunter who is able to pursue his prey and inflict new blows until it is killed" /translated from French/. Compare Dahlmann (b).134.

can follow it quickly enough and will perhaps still constrain it in a tangle of algae where it tires to hide. He kills the wounded animal with a blow of his paddle or with a cudgel.

In open bays and in places where there are no accumulations of floating macrocystis algae, where the hunter could hardly pursue the wounded seal, he uses the so-called large harpoon with the single-barbed bone point of medium length or the short twin-barbed point (Fig. 36) (237). If the animal has been well hit, the

237. Without justification Lothrop (b).132 speaks of "regional differences in the kind of point attached to the cypress shaft: in the east a single-barbed head was used, in the west a double-barbed form was employed" /cited in English/. As a matter of fact, both forms were used in the whole extent of the homeland of the Yaganes.

bone /317/ point is secure in its flesh and the shaft becomes detached as a result of its agitated movements. This is the hunter's intention (p. 183). The farther away the seal goes in its escape,

/317 cont./

225 the more rope he gives it until the long lance has run out. He holds fast to the end of the rope. The pulling power of the wounded seal now proves an advantage to the canoe, but on account of its agitated movements the greatest caution is required of the canoe occupants. Meanwhile the wounded animal has spent itself and constant loss of blood has weakened it until it is motionless. The encumbrance alone, which is attached to the harpoon point sticking in the flesh, forces the seal, which at first has thrown itself about wildly, to slow down its rapid escape and yield to the slow intake of the rope which the men immediately begin. The hunter and his booty finally come so close together that a blow with the paddle and a wound inflicted with the small harpoon or the javelin puts an end to the exhausted animal. If possible the hunter then concerns himself with the harpoon dart which is sometimes floating about freely nearby.

The hunter prefers to use his large harpoon when he surprises one female cows along the water. He lies in wait for his prey on the beach or from the vantage point of a stone sticking out of the water. From there he throws his dangerous weapon toward a seal that is swimming by and immediately lets the long rope unwind itself. Usually he has already tied the free end of the rope around his body (336). Since he is standing on firm ground, he can all

336. This less common method of hunting was also mentioned by Bridges (John XIX, 150; 1879).

the more safely pull in the wounded animal and kill it. On occasion when the above-questioned crewlike are used in a seal hunt (337), they assure the hunter quick results with little effort.

337. Neither Hyades (p) [illegible] nor Ludloff (Ib 18) mentioned the large harpoon which was no less frequently used on the seal hunt than the small harpoon. Bridges (John XIX, 150; 1879), however, referred to it.

/517 cont./

2. Whale Hunting

225

It sounds unbelievable that the short Yamana in their frail bark boats venture to approach the mighty giants of the ocean. Actually they do so, confident of their personal dexterity and the effectiveness of their large harpoon. In former times there were frequent opportunities to pursue a whale (238). For the last

> 238. A communication by Bridges (MM:IX, 14;1878) of May 2, 1874, shows how often they were provided with this lavish present: "The new visitors...brought much whale from Agia, where we hear three whales have lately been supplied to the people by a bountiful God, through the instrumentality of sword fish and whale hunters...Another whale is reported at Cenagoeik" /cited in English/.

few decades a stray animal is seldom found in the Fuegian /516/ channels (239). Children and middle-aged persons whom I

> 239. Cowdey:XXVII exaggerated when he wrote as late as 1907: "Whales are plentiful in these waters, from those of the largest size known to some of the smaller" /cited in English/.

questioned about it had only occasionally experienced the stranding of a whale on their native shores (240). European whalers can be

> 240. As late as July 18, 1902, Williams (MM:XXXVI, 277;1907) reported from the mission station Tekenika: "A little time ago a whale was found on the beach in Cuma-oonk" /cited in English/.

credited with the fact that these once numerous giants of the ocean have been almost completely exterminated in the Cape Horn region.

/[illegible] cont./

225 The most common were Balaenoptera borealis and Balaenoptera patagonica, the former exceeding all others in length and girth (p. 38 /unpublished/). The Tetgans always had to expect to be disappointed when a [illegible] (Zighion) was stranded, as far as not whole-some and has a laxative effect, which is something they well know from ancient experience.

225 [illegible] We cannot speak of an actual chase when a dead whale is slowly washed to shore by the waves. If it is floating within reach, they try to pull it ashore. The dense flock of well-known sea birds announces this happy event to people far and wide, and they come rowing up from all sides. Unafraid, they venture forth far into the open sea and join forces to get the mammoth animal to the nearest beach. They take advantage of a favorable ocean current and line up in one direction. Every man plunges his large harpoon deep into the animal's body and has the long rope uncoil (Fig. 38). As soon as it becomes taut, he must be very cautious in his course. Then every woman paddles her own canoe to the near-est coast while the men pull the whale after them with their coiled-up lines. Loud shouts being uniformly into their ears. When about 30 canoes have assembled, and if the ocean current helps them along, this strange procession slowly approaches the nearest shore. Sometimes success has actually been achieved, for neither a heavy sea nor storm can snatch this booty away from the lucky Indians. They keep the animal close to land on the long leather rope of their harpoons. They are even safer if they keep to shore and pull up the whale from there. They try to transfer the animal which is still floating in the water to a flat slope of the beach. They keep it parallel to the coast, and the long lines of their large harpoons remain taut. If the bone point should become de-tached, it is sure sure there into the dead body of the animal, and this time deeper. Depending on the force of the current, many men must make sure that the mighty prize is brought quite near to the coast, and they must sometimes continue their vigil during the night. In the meanwhile sea would easily drive it elsewhere or far out again. They wait for a heavier or high tide to deposit the whale with a powerful push onto the beach. Days can go by before this happens. Meanwhile a few people set about cutting large scraps of fat out of the carcass, which they /[illegible]/ bring to shore in their boats. Sooner or later the carcass will deposit it on firm ground. Now they can enjoy their rich booty.

[Sic.—ed.]

225 They are still more fortunate if a total eclipse alone saves a whale adrift, for then their table is richly laid without effort on their part. No matter where this highly desired gift of Mother Nature falls, it relieves many families for a time from the urgent, day-by-day cares of subsistence.

For a genuine attack people gather around a sick or completely exhausted whale. It is easily recognized, for it lives almost motionless on the surface. This attracts large quantities of great sea birds that circle around it. If after long pause it moves only a little, several canoes approach and the men hurl their large harpoons against it. They try to inflict many severe wounds upon the animal in the shortest time, hence they hurl all the weapons they have. The whale looks very savage with javelins, spears, and harpoons, especially since it is still moving somewhat. Once after hour the men keep at it, plunge their weapons into the body of the weary animal with their utmost strength, pull them out again if their supply of harpoons and spears is exhausted, and do not tire of this vicious exercise until they are assured of their booty (DG).

> [illegible], [illegible], very much
> amazed, describes such a chase: "This evening were ten or more canoe crews, each having a share of the poor whale, which literally was killed by darts, having received ten to forty somewhere about a hundred spears, and from few to ten was being followed and wounded from Friday, four p.m., till ten p.m. (Saturday), 20th April, 1878" /cited in Dagmal/.

Its infrequently a whale, unfamiliarly wounded by the many wounds and painful attacks, escapes. The men rag hard on the lines after they have plunged the large harpoon in deep, in order to enlarge the wound and make it bleed more. The excited animal not infrequently capsizes several canoes by strong movements of its body or by powerful blows with its tail. The endangered occupants sometimes meet their death in the waves.

/Kill-men./

225 If the many men succeed in actually killing the whale, they haul it ashore. They build their huts beside it and feast on the rich heavy. Sometimes, however, the rich whale does not stay in the same place, but swims further away. Most families try to follow it. While the women wear the light vessel, the men draw their large harpoons deep into its body and let out the long lasso, the ends of which they grasp securely with both hands. The whale then pulls the canoe after it. Now a very daring ride begins! If the whale dives down to considerable depth or overtaxes his flight, every man must release the rope at the dangerous moment. He loses his weapon, but at least saves his own life and that of his family. Perhaps the hunted animal will reappear again within available distance, then the men /[illegible]/ attack it with renewed courage. As long as a chance of success beckons, they are after it, exposing themselves to utmost mortal danger, for to be deprived of this great heavy means considerable loss to them, to say nothing of the many weapons they have sacrificed in vain.

Their hunting prospects are somewhat more favorable when they are pursuing a whale being chased by a grampus, Ngkgi's (Orca musellipicus). In this case their holidaus is far more dangerous. It is well known that the slave-contained animal makes a habit of attacking younger, smaller whales. With his powerful back fin, he strikes and pile against the whale which can only seek refuge in flight. It makes for narrow channels and shallow bays. In pursuit hatens after it and even wounds it badly. The whale tries to help himself by frequent leaps out of the water (p. 97 /unmentionedly). The Indians are very familiar with this (240).

> 240. Dettmann (p.34 writes about this to death.

The Ngkgi's is accompanied not only by a few of its own species, but even more by smaller colored animals. He is regarded as the "master" whom the others of his "people" hatens after. When the whale realizes he is being pursued, he approaches the coast in his despair. Now the many followers become plainly visible, before that they had often relieved. The badly wounded whale

/[illegible] cont./

235 sometimes finds a last refuge on the shallow shore of a quiet bay, to which he glides and where his importunate pursuers finally desist.

A conspicuous battle among the large sea animals does not escape the sharp observation of our Tamaca, and they determinedly hasten after them in their canoes. They know that the pursued whale will prefer to seek refuge in a shallow inlet. Quickly they plunge their large harpoons into its body and tug on the coiled rope of leather so that the wounds grow larger. If many men are together, the whale receives one harpoon blow after another without pause, and the considerable loss of blood makes him mortally weary. Chased by dolphins and Indians, he dies in a sheltered inlet, usually lying on the shallow beach. Immediately they pounce on the booty. Perhaps they must lament the loss of one or more canoes that fell victim to the rage of the mortally weary whale.

Obviously it is very dangerous to approach a whale in a weak bark boat, but courageous men decide to do it when they can tell by various signs that the animal is sick or has been badly wounded by dolphins (245). No one dares approach a healthy adult animal,

> 245. The too brief account of Hyades (h):23 gives only an incomplete picture of this type of dangerous undertaking in which many men take part.

for they could not kill it with their ineffective harpoons. The fact that the Indians accomplish anything with these weapons is the result of their uninterrupted efforts. Again and again they must throw their harpoons and spears deep into the exhausted animal, /[illegible]/ until it bleeds from many jabs. It is pursued for days, until it finally succumbs to its countless wounds. The daring of these small human beings is amazing. As Rowe (e):130 and Lovisato (b):130 acknowledge, they set out with only the harpoon, "with such a simple weapon, to attack the whale, but often enough canoes, harpoons, and paddles are tossed into the air by a blow from the tail of the aroused animal." They think of the abundance of fat and meat as well as the other important things that a single

/521 cont./

225 whale, be it large or small, will provide for many families, often entirely free.

3. Bird Hunting

223 825 The home of the Yamana swarms with land birds and sea birds. A gaily colored, feathered throng of many shapes animates the islands and rocks, inhabits the inlets and lagoons, and crosses the network of channels and the broad open spaces in flocks, in stormy and sunny weather. Their habits and characteristics are all well known to the Indian, but he pays them special heed only insofar as they have something to offer him or to tell him. Some of them furnish him with tasty meat and others with fresh eggs in spring; some yield him coveted feathers for body decoration, others their bones for necklaces; certain ones announce a change of weather or of seasons, and a few are heralds of interesting events in the distance, even in the future. All of them live in his belief [773] as the descendants of that stratum of population which inhabited this region long before the actual human beings of today.

As is to be expected, however, those species mean most to him which serve him as food. Not just any animal that comes within the Indian's range tempts his palate and his appetite. He has good judgment in distinguishing among them, and he consciously chooses what is good for him. He avails himself of only a few species for his own use from the plentiful feathered world of his homeland. What does not serve him and does not suit his wishes, he lightheartedly passes by. Everywhere he is selective and wisely calculating, not least in evaluating the types of birds available to him.

223 From the start he pays no attention to small animals; the meat they could give him would not be worth his efforts. Herons and owls mean nothing to him either, for they are all skin and bones. Sea birds and the easily available gull chasers, especially the diurnal predatory birds, such as condor and falcon, vulture and hawk, repulse him because they feed on carrion. There are other birds, however, that he would not want to be without in his selection of food; they are a welcome change in the dull taste of his monotonous meat diet. Primarily he has his eye on penguins and

/521 cont./

223 cormorants, on wild geese and /522/ ducks, and finally on oyster catchers and divers. He does not mind the predominant blubber taste of their meat; he feels a compulsive need for a good deal of fat in that cold region where he must sustain himself with insufficient body covering and poor living conditions.

We recognize his sharp gift of observation from the way in which he hunts birds. Their habits form the basis of his methods of hunting and snaring them. These methods again point to his mental gifts, since the suitability of his implements can hardly be surpassed (244). Environment educates primitive man far more

244. This does not become evident if one dis-

Fig. 56. Use of the Sling.

misses the various methods of hunting and trapping with a few words, as do Outes (g):53, for example, or Martial: 195. Bridges (k):240, on the other hand, emphasizes the skill of the Yamana in their bird hunting: "They have various methods of hunting and killing birds, and in all they show much skill" /translated from Spanish/.

than civilized man, who, to begin with, is much more comfortably situated. /Fig. 56 appears here./ Concern with necessary subsistence makes primitive man a keen judge of his territory and an unsurpassed inventor in the realm of his activities. This is true in

/522 cont./

223 the highest degree of a people who, like our Fuegians, are in the so-called economic gathering stage. They are and remain wholly dependent on what nature voluntarily offers them in their homeland. Hence, if they wish to preserve life -- and this their strongest instinct compels them to do -- they must, with rigorous deliberation and repeated practical attempts, take what serves them and what leads safely to their goal with a minimum of effort.

In spite of the abundance of birds, the Yamana, as we have said, prefer certain kinds, above all penguins and cormorants, wild ducks, and sea geese. Even among these they make a selection and get a little variety into their meal. They also aim for the giant sea birds (Diomedea, Querquedula, Phoebetria, Puffinus, Thalassoea), for gulls (Larus), terns (Sterna), and swans (Cygnus melanocoryphus), and now and then land birds, such as herons (Nycticorax), snipes (Gallinago), spectacled ibis (Theristicus), plovers (Charadrius), sandpipers (Totanus), coots (Fulica), and oyster catchers (Haematopus); finally, the small songbirds, /523/ such as thrushes (Turdus, Curaeus), passerines (Cinclodes), and parrots (Microsittace) (245). They kill some with stones hurled

245. Hyades (f):562 has made an almost complete list of the birds hunted by the Yamana. It clearly shows the great variety.

with their bare hands or with a sling (Fig. 56), others with bow and arrow or with the so-called bird spear (Fig. 57), and still others with snares and traps, all depending on whether the method promises success. The more important species of birds are hunted according to definite methods that bear favorable testimony to the skill, cunning, and energy of the hunter.

a. Penguins

It is not surprising that the Yamana most often hunt penguins. They inhabit the rocks and inlets there in large groups. Fitz-Roy (a):184 noted that "penguins are much prized" /cited in English/.

/523 cont./

223 Most easily accessible because they are most often found in the channels are the spectacled penguin, ŝéria, ŝéria (Spheniscus magellanicus), and the rock penguin, kalíjua (Spheniscus humboldti), which are smaller in number and in body size than the two related species, the golden-haired penguin, kflawina (Catarrhactes chrysocome), and the golden-crowned penguin, kirmy (Catarrhactes chrysolophus). The considerably larger king penguin (Aptenodytes patagonica) prefers the southern waters and very seldom is found in the country inhabited by the Yamana.

During the day most of the birds of the two species first mentioned remain on the outlying islands and rocks. On calm days, which are rare, the family rows there in their canoe. The man disembarks and easily approaches the clumsy animals which he strikes down with a cudgel. He can comfortably kill a good dozen in a few minutes; he tosses them into his vessel and leaves the place.

Ordinarily he can only kill the individual animals that he runs across now and then on his trips. Penguins like to form small groups and are not timid. With some cleverness the hunter can approach them. The woman rows the canoe in the direction of the birds while the man keeps the sling, as well as the bird spear, in readiness; he must decide on one or the other in a moment of time. He does not promise himself much with the sling, for only a very lucky hit with the stone will stun the powerful penguin. Hence he tries to get very close. He prefers to hurl the bird spear. It does not matter whether this has one or two bone points (Fig. 57), the animal is almost always fatally wounded because the heavy, coarse weapon tears open a large wound and it soon bleeds to death. It cannot sink, in part because of the wooden spear shaft. It is easily lifted into the canoe.

Thus an individual family will steer toward those spots where these birds frolic about and will try their luck in the above manner. /524/ /Fig. 57 appears here./ Sometimes two or several vessels will encircle a small flock of penguins, the men hurling their spears from a greater distance or swinging their slings with heavy stones. It is easy to lay hands on a wounded or stunned bird on the water as well as on land. Since the penguin swims a certain distance only slightly below the surface and can be attracted with

/524 cont./

223 a soft whistle, the hunter instructs his wife how to steer the canoe. He observes the movements of the bird and tries to meet it suddenly as it comes up out of the water two meters or less away. The alert hunter must take advantage of the moment when the penguin, reappearing out of the water, lifts its head above the surface, and then he must thrust the spear in its body. The proximity of the boat, which frightens the unsuspecting animal, would cause it to dive again immediately. Penguin hunting shows how dependent man and wife are upon each other and how their cooperation brings success which will benefit them and their family.

[411]

Fig. 87. Bird Spear. Natural size.

β. Cormorants

No less valuable than the penguins for the hungry Yamana are the cormorants which are almost as plentiful there. These Indians are primarily interested in four kinds, namely, the Vigua cormorant, tugwilwa (Phalacrocorax olivaceus), the Magellanic cormorant, [illegible] (Phalacrocorax magellanicus), the tufted cormorant, wlaglaim (Phalacrocorax gaimardi), and finally the black cormorant, [illegible] (Phalacrocorax atriceps) (Fig. 88). Other species, such as Phalacrocorax verrucosus, only occasionally visit the inner channels. The meat of this type of bird is tougher and drier than that of the penguins, but the Indian welcomes it nevertheless. He also uses their bones and feathers.

One usually sees the cormorants in small groups on the water and on the beach. The hunter tries to get close enough to them so that he can use his sling successfully if several animals are standing close together. He selects

/324 cont./
two to four medium-sized stones which he hurls forcefully all at once (246). He aims at the heads of the birds, and one hit stuns

246. Hyades (g):35 mentions briefly: "To kill birds they use the sling, in the manipulation of which they are very adroit."

them so completely that he can easily capture them. Whether he is in his boat or on land, he pursues the ones that were not so severely

Fig. 58. Phalacrocorax atriceps.

wounded and try to escape. He kills them with his bird spear or with a cudgel. In the water they are more awkward than penguins.

/325/ As for animals that spend the night on flat land, he creeps up on them in the dark when the weather is calm. They are not sound sleep. If they are awakened, they have the habit of running away, but not taking flight. He carefully conceals a piece of bark, a small section of which is burning faintly, until he is standing in front of the birds. Suddenly he swings the piece of bark or a glowing stick, the end of which is split into thin sections, rapidly back and forth in the air as a kind of torch, [illegible], blinding the startled animals. Before they know /Fig. 58 appears here/ what is happening to them, the hunter strikes down several with a cudgel and runs after the ones that are escaping. With this method, in a very short time he has a rich booty and is content.

/525 cont./

223 On a stormy, rainy night the cormorants sleep soundly. They stick their head under a wing and bury it deep in their feathers. The hunter creeping on all fours is certain to get at them without having to exert undue caution. With a sure, firm grip of both hands he grasps the bent neck of the animal, immediately plunges his teeth into the section of the neck left free between his fists, and while he is biting into the neck, his two fists crack it through. The animal dies without a sound. The hunter immediately seizes the next one in the same manner. Nevertheless, sometimes a dying animal will utter a soft sound or struggle convulsively. This wakens the birds standing nearby. The hunter calms them by setting /526/ a dead bird upright with his hands and having it bow gently from one side to the other. Thanks to the darkness of the night and the confusion of the storm, the startled bird is soon quieted and, deceived, puts its head back under its wing. The hunter tries his luck further until he is content with his rich booty (247). He leaves the animals he has killed until the next

247. Twice Bridges (MM:III, 116; 1869 and MM:XIII, 157; 1879) describes in great detail a Yamana attack on cormorants.

morning, and as inconspicuously as he came, he departs. His chief concern is not to startle this flock of birds because they will probably spend the night here again in the near future, and he would prefer to come again not in vain (248).

[231] 248. Furthermore, Fitz-Roy (a):184 maintains: "On moonlight nights, birds are caught when roosting, not only by the men but by their dogs, which are sent out to seize them while asleep upon the rocks or beach; and so well are these dogs trained, that they bring all they catch safely to their masters" /cited in English/.

/526 cont./

223 In this method of catching birds the Yamana show an incredible dexterity in controlling their whole bodies and in deceiving the startled birds. One night I accompanied two men merely to observe them. I crept along behind them. Simply because I had no practice whatsoever, I almost deprived them of success in their hunt.

223 481 The cormorants prefer to nest on the smooth, steep rocks that jut out far into the open sea. From below it is impossible to climb up some of these walls, in which hundreds of the birds make their nests. Sometimes a forced ascent can be made from the other side, and for this the Yamana do not lack daring when their food has become scarce. Several men set out together on a dark, stormy night, after they have oriented themselves somewhat by daylight. They climb up to the top of the rock and get close to the edge of the steep wall within which the many nests have been built. One of the younger men ties a long, firm strap, ŭŋgŭ, around his loins. He is carefully lowered by the other men who have secured a safe footing up above. Previously they have agreed
223 on certain knocks as signals which the man who is lowered is to communicate to those above by hitting his strap -- this to enable him to move successfully. He seizes the sleeping cormorant, which has hidden its head in its wing, by its bent neck and bites through it. The animal dies at once. Depending on the terrain, he either drops his booty or ties it to the strap around his hips or to a strap that has been lowered. Immediately he seizes another bird. He is favored by the blowing and howling of the dark night, and a good yield is assured him because of the great number of birds, even though some should wake up and escape. If he grows tired or finds himself already heavily laden with booty, he lets himself be hoisted up. Usually another man takes his place in this work, for they want /527/ to take full advantage of this favorable opportunity and be well repaid for their efforts. The people know very well that this undertaking is dangerous (249), but when an emergency

249. This is proved by experiences that Bridges (MM.XIII, 187; 1879) had: "Many accidents occur in following these risky pursuits. Sometimes sharp rocks cut the

223

/327 cont./
thongs, sometimes the man slips, loses his hold, and falls into the surging sea below" /cited in English/.

[illegible] them, they decide to do it (350) and admonish each other

350. Similar descriptions of this type of cormorant hunting are given by Bridges (in VSA.XIII, 214; 1888 and in MM.XIII, 186; 1879), Dobbene (b):186, Hyades (b):39 and (c):268, Oates (g):53, and others.

to be particularly cautious.

In this connection the hunter must count on another difficulty which sometimes puts him in the greatest danger. His wife must row him to those high rock walls or low flat stones on which he plans to hunt the cormorant. He lands during the day and keeps hidden until evening when the birds are expected to come back to their nests. Meanwhile the wife in the canoe has gone back to a safe inlet on another island, but has left her husband some meat and drinking water. Woe unto him if bad weather suddenly sets in, and he is detained longer than expected at this place. "Many days may pass before his wife can venture to cross over the inlet to take him off. The solitary man then husbands to the utmost his limited supply of fresh water. The rising billows nearly overflow the inlet, sometimes quite so, and threaten to wash him away, and the spray keeps him thoroughly wet. I have heard of very distressing cases, when the men have had to drink dog's blood and to eat them raw, and when they have nearly perished with the cold" /cited in English/. This description by Bridges (MM.XIII, 180;1879), draws from reality, makes us realize the many dangers and sacrifices that the Yamana encounter on their hunt for cormorants. His accurate knowledge of the region and his sure estimate of the weather, however, stand him in good stead, hence he never recklessly plunges into danger (see Hyades [c]:360).

[261 271]

These birds even spend the night on the stunger trees that grow near the water's edge and are easy to reach. Such trees

/227 cont./

[illegible] [illegible] because of the abundant guano deposits. When in a short time they are here of heaven, the cormorants like them even better and roost on their branches in large numbers. The Indian wanderer approaches these, too, cautiously climbs up one of these trees, and kills one sleeping animal after another by biting through its neck and dropping it to the ground. In order to be well covered, he paints his body completely black. This undertaking also demands a masterful dexterity on the part of the hunter. Bridges (ibid.XXII, 188, 1870) confirms this: "All are not able to signalize themselves in the difficult art of dog coaching, but such as do become valued members of society" /cited in English/, and the rest of the men want in their leadership.

Finally, cormorants are caught in another, but simpler /[illegible]/ and not dangerous manner, namely, with bait in a sort of trap known as [illegible]. This procedure is recommended for level ground and for places that do not have high rocks with breeding holes. The Indians cast a sturdy post into the ground and on it fasten several long, thin sticks, each of which ends in a short, small bone pointed at both ends and with a dead fish drawn over it. The bait is partially covered with a very loose, thin layer of dried algae, and a few pieces of fat are placed on top, which are, first of all, supposed to attract gulls. Along with them cormorants will also gather around this bait and will swallow the anchored dead fish mentioned above. The small pointed bone concealed in the bait settles obliquely in the stomach, and they try to get rid of the discomfort, but the longer they tug and choke, the more easily will they bleed to death (XXI). The trapper can

XXI. Bridges (b):XXI is referring to this bait when he writes: "Or else, for the cormorants, they swell themselves of wooden bone" /translated from Spanish/.

easily get at them.

Hyades (a):XIA, relying on Bridges, describes a similar bait arrangement: This "consists of three sticks of hard wood, well sharpened, fastened together at the bottom of a curved stick. Their points, facing in opposite directions, are stuck into and

/SHI cont./

[illegible] bobbin in lack of fish roes. The cormorants are caught by this snare, twirlowing, along with the bait, the splinters of wood which penetrate deep into the bird's throat and cause it to die" /translated from French/. Some cormorants are even caught with the so-called snare-rod (Fig. 60). SO-ASI speaks of tukanig, "to catch dogs with a snare at the end of a long rod" /cited in English/. The method chosen, of course, depends on local conditions.

7. Wild Geese

Our Tekenika appreciate the meat of wild geese even more than do the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 182). According to SO-DIC, tâsâ is the "generic term for goose" /cited in English/. The most common are kîmgu (Chloephaga magellanica) and [illegible] (Chloephaga poliocephala); the strictly monogamous ûkui (Chloephaga hybrida) is very timid and hard to obtain.

Wild geese congregate in the evening on flat places covered with fresh grass. The Indians use this opportunity to spread out the large snare-line, as I should like to call this trap (Fig. 59) for more exactness. On a strong rope of whale sinews, ûrwûmi wûrîna, or a most leather thong of sealskin, ûma wâra, there are fastened with a simple knot as many running loops of whalebone, ûûp ûl, as the line of about 10 meters will permit. The loops, about 60 centimeters apart, are a single piece and when open have a diameter of no more than 10 centimeters. Since they consist of a single piece, they are not as safe as those made of two pieces of whalebone of different lengths such as the Selk'nam use (Vol. [illegible], Fig. 60). /SHI/ hence I regard the latter as more perfect. Moreover, the loops of the Selk'nam snare are placed on either side of the rope, whereas the Tekenika put them on one side only (SO). They fasten the two ends of the long line /Fig. 59 appears here/ to short posts rammed into the ground. Sometimes a post or two are put in the middle, and the whole line is thus adequately secured. /SHI/ The individual running loops are open and lie flat on the ground (SO). A wild goose walking along,

SO. I could not find out whether bait is
held inside the individual loops. Outer

[text continues on page 240.—Analyst]

/ [redacted] /

223
224

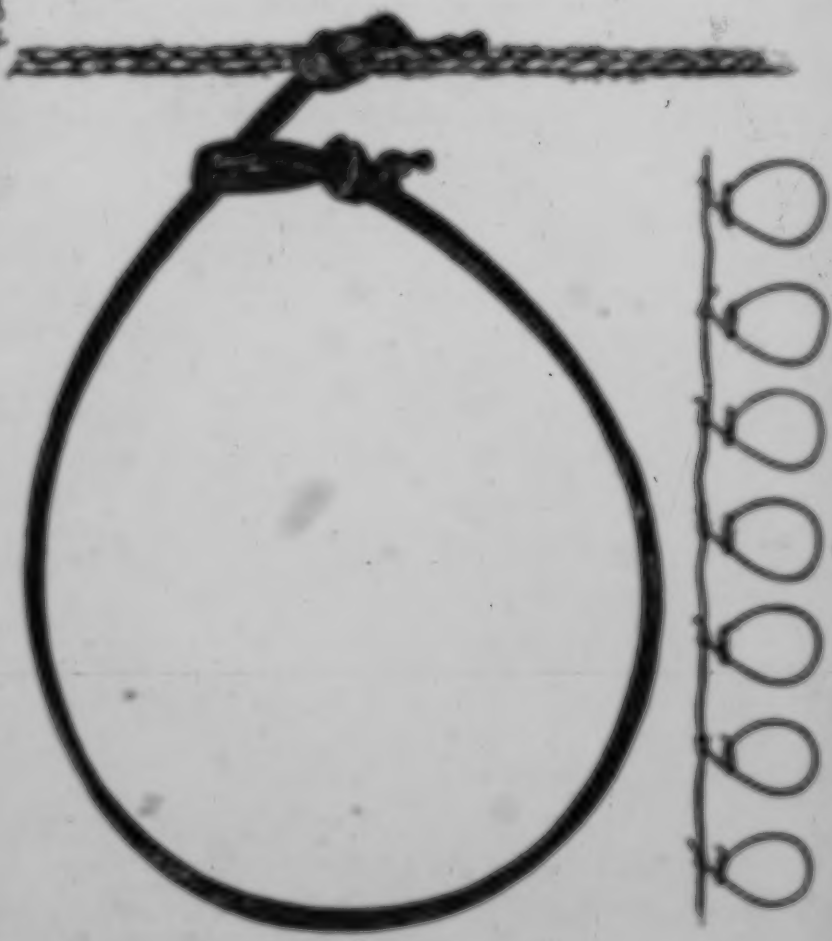

Fig. 89. The Large Snare-line. Two-thirds natural size.

233

/530 cont./
(p).53 maintains: "Inside they put a
bit of fish, mollusks, or meat in order
to attract the birds" /translated from
Spanish/.

feeding in the glen, gets caught in it and pulls it together more and more the harder it tugs at it. The hunter watches his trap from a distance and counts the birds that already belong to him. He does not come out of hiding until the wild geese that are still walking around freely are frightened away by the anxious unrest of the snared animals. He beats them to death with a cudgel or twists their necks off.

The Tetunas has far less opportunity to lay this long snare-line fifty, successfully than does the neighboring Belu'tuers; local conditions are markedly different in each case. Moreover, if we consider that this article requires considerable trouble to make and is awkward to store, we can understand that a Tetuna only rarely owns one. Hyades (p).22 confirms this, saying "that during our year's stay at Ocanga Bay we saw only five or six specimens" /translated from French/. Other travelers do not even mention it. Hyades (p).300 is correct in his judgment: "The scarcity of these snares leads one to believe that they are no longer very much used for the hunt" /translated from French/. It can be seen at a glance that the snare-lines of the Tetunas and Belu'tuers are very much alike.

[171]

Aside from this, almost every man owns a simple but useful article for catching wild geese and other fowl, such as ducks, cormorants, and penguins. This *aldanu* I should like to call "noose-rod" (Fig. 60). At the top of a thin, strong rod or least two and a half meters long, there is fastened a single running loop, *ulu-ti*, made out of a long, narrow strip of whalebone about 60 centimeters in length. In the dusk of evening or on a bright night a man cautiously creeps up to a bird asleep standing upright and places the open noose over its head. He quickly pulls the noose shut and drags the bird toward him, breaking its neck instantly. The more silent he is, the less the animals standing around will be disturbed and the more plentiful will be the successful hunter's booty. The Tetunas like to try their luck with

[Text continues on page 232.- Analyst]

Fig. 6b. The Noose end.
One-half natural size.

/[illegible] cont./

223 his mouth and, and they do so often, place being many favourite places for it in their country (224).

> 224. Hyades (p.[illegible]), Lefroy (p.[illegible]), and Martial (18) have briefly described this object, without going into greater detail about how it is used.

d - Snares Birds

In the dothered channels one finds a goodly number of snares *birds (juggahand-birds /English/, snarehear-birds /English/, cassels à ressort /French/, garrotes /Spanish/*. The Tarnans call Tarkyaree bachyaree by the name *Kalak*. /[illegible] /Fig. 60 appears here./ The large animals have very keen. Since the Indians cannot get at the birds in any other way because of their light climbs, they try first back with the sling, which, however, is not very promising, for even a powerful hit by a stone does not hurt the strong birds. They are more successfully bagged with the snare-rod, the well-known [illegible]. In daylight at the place where they congregate, the man builds a small temporary hut, *[illegible]*, out of a few sticks and twigs with thick foliage, just large enough to cover himself. He continues to sit here until the birds fly up. Continually he pulls the long snare-rod through the loose wall of the hut, places the snare over the bird's head, and with a sharp tug pulls to the captured animal. He hills is immediately so that the other birds are not disquieted by its fluttering.

[95]

In addition he uses a special decoy which Bridges (vol.[illegible], 180,1275) observed: "An Indian builds himself a little house, then with a long, slender rod, having a few sprays of whitthorn at the end of it, he sits crouching in patience the landing of the birds. When they are sufficiently near, he cleverly imitates their cry, which evokes their curiosity. They approach his hiding-place nearer, till he is able with snare to catch one of them. He pulls this to him, and if a male he keeps it alive as a decoy. He draws out his snare little by little, and makes his gear

/[illegible]/

223 heavy tied cry ear. Ala bongo the tank up again, and so he moves another" /Aired in English/ (SS). The reporter gives

> 105. Hyaline cy-300 polarity also relies on these data given only once here.

Geometry.

/[illegible]/ Whenever there is an opportunity, a male will try to entwin these darts with a call. He will know how deep-eyed and moist they are. When he approaches them, they quickly dive and escape. Forthwith the male hides behind a rock or under leafs. If he has with him a large yellow leaf of the dark, he puts it in his mouth and through it makes the call of the females. [illegible] ... If the little gaia nevertheless remains motionless where they are, he gives the male call: [illegible], [illegible] ... thereby arousing their jealousy. Both animals immediately head in the direction of the [illegible] and, despite their excited struggle, will often look under water for the supposed partner. If the male succeeds in reaching them with his water rod, he first captures the female. Thereafter the male hardly moves away, and so he goes it also. If the pair of [illegible] are sitting on the open beach, the bigger like-sex holds the dark leaf in front of his mouth and gives the same call until the two animals jealously fight each other and, unexpecting, usually dive back to the [illegible]. He tries to capture them by placing the water rod over the head of one after the other and pulling them in.

Finally, the ladies take advantage of the awkward, brief flight of these heavy darts who prefer to walk not quite long. If several males happen to be together, they have a row, thrust the darts' escape into the right rib, and slowly pull them back to them. Meanwhile the females try to wound or kill the animals with stings or bird spears. On the beach they run after them with a raised and bench them down. Since each of the darts tries to dive and swim down deeper under water, the females tries to change its course by hurling a few stones with his sling, making them drop into the water just in front of the dark so it swims off. [illegible]. It turns to one side and then, by a succession of such moves, is unknowingly moved toward the shore or near the canoe where it falls into the hands of the females.

/[illegible] cont./

E. Other Species of Ducks

223 Besides the above species there are others whose coming to welcome to the Indian. The most common are [illegible] (Anas [illegible]), [illegible] (Dendrocygna fulvescens), [illegible] (Querquedula [illegible]), [illegible] (Querquedula [illegible]), and [illegible] (Gallinula [illegible]).

On the open channel the hunter has a hard time getting near them. Hence he surprises them by creeping up on them when they are on the beach. They usually stand close together. From a short distance the man hurls a few stones simultaneously from his sling into the small flock, aiming at their heads. He is satisfied to stun them, /[illegible]/ for this prevents them from flying or running away. The ones that have not been wounded quickly escape into the water and swim off. From the shore the man hurls a few more stones after them, and without much trouble he or his wife afterward collect the wounded animals from their canoe whenever the birds happen to be flowing on the water.

E. Special Methods of Capture

In looking for food the Tarumá are inescapably dependent on the conditions of their environment. If they want to obtain through a mass catch a moderate number of certain birds, they stick to the usual methods. Beyond that they capture every bird in a special way and with implements which will guarantee the desired result (226). Decoyly and cunning, a sharp gift of

> 226. The following statement on the Tarumá in Chow (p) 53 is incorrect. "They seldom succeed in catching birds" /translated from Spanish/. The above descriptions are the best evidence to the contrary.

observation, and a rare command of their own bodies aid them in this.

Whenever there is an opportunity, a man lies in ambush and tries to have a bird. He is surprisingly good at an exact imitation.

/300 word/

223 of the voice of whatever bird species he is after. Since he remains concealed in brush or under a pile of loose sticks or in a low hut or a hiding place, the bird keeps coming closer until it can be reached with the noose-rod. The hunter is even more successful when he catches a bird, usually a duck or a goose, and forces it to utter loud calls itself at the desired moment. Hyades (p.300) calls this procedure "hunting in ambush" /translated from French/. The hunter uses his hands to catch young animals and birds breeding on their nests.

He is also very clever at using a reach to blind birds spending the night at certain places and standing close together. He suddenly swings a piece of wood or bark faintly glowing at one end, and before the confused animals can decide to fly away he or his companion has already knocked down a goodly number with cudgels. They bite through the head or neck of the stunned birds in order to kill them quickly. This convenient method is often chosen, especially when a flock of birds is spending the night near the hut.

If the man is keen on getting a single bird whose nest he has discovered, he catches it with the [illegible], the single noose. He uses the narrow strip of whalebone with the running loop, such as is fastened to the top of the long noose-rod (Fig. 69). The man fastens it to a short stick which he drives vertically into the ground. If the nest is well hidden by twigs or branches, he places the open noose in the path which the bird itself has opened. If the nest lies open, however, he blocks it on all sides with twigs and leaves free only a single /[illegible]/ approach where he stretches the open noose. In one way or another the bird returning to the nest will unsuspectingly put its head in the noose and pull it shut with its own forward movement. The hunter immediately seizes his booty, the reward for his skill.

It has been occasionally maintained that the Tuvans also shoot birds with bow and arrow (187). I questioned several old

187. Fitz-Roy (v):136 wrote: "Birds are also frequently killed with arrows" /cited in English/. Somewhat later Cassa (g):80 maintained: "Birds are hunted with bow and arrow" /translated from Spanish/. Both opinions are not very reliable.

/336 cont./

[223] [illegible] about this. They assured me that an arrow was much too precious to their ancestors to waste it on a bird, and that the other implements proved more effective for catching birds.

Naturally, there is a difference in the frequency with which the various methods are used in various regions. The decisive factor is the special type of bird and the indian's desire for variety in his monotonous diet. Every man is more or less skillful in all the various manners and therefore probably always successful. In particular details the Yaganes frequently proceed exactly like their neighbors on the Green Island (Vol. I, 192).

A prevailing habit among our Fuegians is that every man entrenches on the spot the birds he has caught. He places the animal on its back, opens its belly with a knife or a sharp mussel shell, and pulls out all the internal organs with a single movement. He almost always finds worms close by, which he scraps up with his hand, raking out the abdominal cavity of the bird. He pulls a leather string through the beaks and either ties it around his hips so that the birds encircle his body or he places it over his shoulder so that the birds are evenly distributed front and back. In this way he always has his hands free, for it is possible that other prey will cross his path, which he does not want to escape and which he must pursue without losing a moment of time.

[224]

6. Hunting Gaucho, Otter, Fowl

[224] Although the Yaganes sometimes hunt the gaucho, the otter, and the large fox, they do it not so much for their meat, but chiefly, and in the case of the last two species, exclusively, for their skin. The way they capture these mammals remains to be described.

The gaucho (Lutra huenchuy) lives only in the eastern part of Yaganes territory, on both shores of Beagle Channel, approximately from Puerto Brown or Puerto Harberds on eastward and throughout Navarino Island. The hunter attacks the animal on foot, for his dogs are only now and then trained for this and as a rule do not help him much. Hence several men always band together for a hunting expedition. /336/ They take advantage of

/[illegible] cont./

23.9 the habits of the guanaco, with which they are very familiar (p. 36 /[illegible]/). It is well known that the animal lives in small herds. In summer it prefers to remain on the wooded heights, but seeks out the plains and valleys when it goes for water. It always uses the same path which, through much traffic, is easily discernible to the human. Several men, somewhat hidden and many meters apart, station themselves along this trodden path and wait until the guanacos pass by. The animals either come of their own accord or a man with his dogs has previously, in a roundabout way, climbed the height and herded several guanacos onto this descending path. If they are pursued, they always head for the lowlands. When they come walking along, one animal (then behind the other, one of the stationed men will throw his javelin or his small harpoon against a guanaco. The animal that escapes one hunter will be struck down by another, for the men are all standing along one line. Each man tries to hit the animal directly behind its shoulderblade, since a wound in this vital spot will quickly bring it down (see Rowe in MMA.XVII, 173.1953).

Now and then a few men will also set out with bow and arrow. They take along trained dogs which climb a height and drive the trained animals toward the hunters. Guanacos escape from the dogs only by fleeing down the mountain. The hunters lurks for the barking of the dogs and try to kill the pursued animals. The Tehuelche hunt them almost exclusively in the cold season, because the guanacos seldom leave their mountain heights in summer, but in winter their presence near the beach can be seen by their tracks in the snow. The Tehuelche does not like to venture far from the coastline, in which case he would have to leave behind his hut, his canoe, and his family. According to SO.320, Thelmaiaglhs means "to hunt guanaco with dogs" /cited in English/.

Apparently the eastern Tehuelche, under pressure of necessity, even used their luck on a guanaco hunt (108), but in general they

108. This is to be inferred from a statement by Dempsey (VV.VI, 82.1956).

did not decide to do this very often. This type of hunting is too

/5195 cont./

224 difficult for them, and the slight success does not repay their efforts. They are less accustomed to prolonged marches through high snow in the forest than the Selk'nam, and since they usually do not have trained dogs, they do not even come near guanacos. Certain conditions, which Fitz-Roy (a):196 enumerated in his day, make this hunt easier in the winter. At other times of the year "they sometimes get them by lying in wait, and shooting them with arrows, or by getting into a tree near their track, and spearing them as they pass beneath the branches" /cited in English/.

Nevertheless, some men enjoy this hunt, even exerting extreme efforts to kill the animals and letting no obstacle discourage them. This may be /5196/ inferred from a long description which Bridges (MS.XII,13:1878) wrote down on July 7, 1877 (269).

> 5195. Hyades (c):306 also mentions the hunting of guanaco by the method which we spoke of first. Lothrop (b):153, without substantiation, speaks of a "Guanaco-spear" /cited in English/. The method of hunting that he describes also seems to me impossible: "To spear guanaco the animal was chased into a swamp or else the hunter climbed a tree over a guanaco runway in the woods and waited there until an animal passed beneath him" /cited in English/.

Whereas the eastern Yamana enjoy the meat of a slain guanaco, the people of the south and west often hunt otters (Lutra felina), but only for their fur. In exceptional cases when there is a period of severe famine, their meat is also eaten. We can distinguish clearly by size and coloring (270) between the regular small otter,

> 270. Weber reports in detail on the habits and distribution of these two types, also in the methods of capture by Indians and Whites. One can recognize the smaller land-otter by its shrill, almost whistling tone, and the larger sea-otter by its muted, more grunting tone.

/536 cont./

224 aulif, and the sea otter, ájapux. If the Yamana wants an otter, he is almost always dependent on the help of his dogs, but he himself discovers and lies in wait for it, since the Fuegian dog does not have a sufficiently sensitive nose for hunting in the water. The hunter recognizes the nearness of an otter by the fresh remnants of sea urchins on the beach. Led on by this spoor, he gets into his vessel on a sunny, calm day. He always keeps close to a coast with rocks and large stones. Long practice has given him a sharp eye, and he looks out in all directions.

Wherever an otter comes up from the water to breathe, the Indian hurries up to it. It is, of course, the woman who rows the canoe swiftly and silently while the man stands in the bow and keeps his weapon ready. When he is close enough to the otter to hurl the harpoon successfully, he tries to do so. If the animal was mortally hit, it is easily lifted into the canoe. Even a skin with holes in it is better than nothing for the Indian, because he can always use individual small parts in one way or another.

224 231 Otherwise the otter hurries to shore and seeks refuge in its lodge. It is only now that the Indian lets his dogs, which have been watching the otter all the time, leap into the water and follow its spoor. Soon they discover the lodge, and one of the dogs goes in. If he should not venture to do so, his master forces him into an entrance. Inside a severe battle immediately develops. The dogs always attack the otter head-on. They try to bite its face. After a struggle they succeed in sinking their sharp teeth into the otter's brain, killing it instantly.

The otter resists furiously throughout the entire fight, and whistling loudly, he stands his ground against the dogs. Usually he lies on his back and turns his head as fast as lightning in all directions. He bites and tugs his attackers quite pitilessly. The dogs are trained not to grasp the /537/ otter anywhere except on their heads. If possible, the valuable skin is not to be riddled with holes by their teeth. Inevitably the dog receives many severe and deep bites, for the nimble otter knows how to defend himself successfully, but usually the dog wins and the otter seeks a last refuge in flight from the lodge. Outside, however, there are not only other dogs waiting, but the Indian himself. He finally succumbs to so many opponents, even if the hunter has to hurl a spear at him. Also, even the hunter leaps on the otter, grasps him, and strangles

/537 cont./

224 231 him without fear of painful bites. When the animal is sufficiently exhausted or if it might still escape, the hunter takes it by a hind leg and, swinging it high into the air, beats it against a large stone on which its head is shattered. Afterwards, when the dogs whine with pain for hours or are lame for days, one realizes what a pitiful condition they are in (261). They are the ones that

261. See the accounts of Hahn in Hyades (q):363 and of Weber, passim.

overcome an otter and thereby perform an indispensable service for their masters (262). The otter skin is preferred for clothing

262. Dabbene (b):185 and Hyades (q):353 overlook the fact that in the otter hunt the dog is the decisive factor. Hyades (g):35 writes somewhat more accurately elsewhere.

(p. 57); that is why one Fuegian or another will hunt these animals.

We cannot speak of an actual fox hunt. Hyades (h):21 gave a not altogether reliable explanation in the following words: "The Fuegians...replied that their dogs hunt the foxes alone, that they track them down and, after having killed them, bring them back to their masters...Moreover, it is believed that they do not care much for fox hunting; they do not like to eat its meat" /translated from French/.

The large fox (Canis magellanicus) on the southern shore of Isla Grande and the small fox (Canis griseus) on several islands are known as čilaǐa; both species occur only here and there (p. 35 /untranslated/). No Indian bothers about them or hunts them with traps or bait. He has no special use for the skin; hence he does not make special weapons for the fox hunt. Actually it is only the keen scent and the power of the dogs which occasionally track down a fox. If the Indian deduces this from his dog's behavior, he lets himself be led to the place where the dead fox is lying. His dogs are not well enough trained to carry the booty to their master by themselves. Usually the battle takes place between a fox in his lair and several dogs that have discovered him there. He succumbs

/537 cont./

22 to the superior number and the rage of his opponents. After the
23 Indian has skinned the fox, he tosses the entire body to his dogs; he very decidedly scorns this meat.

22 Among the few species of mammals on the Cape Horn Archipelago, seals occupy first place in the food quest of the Yamana. /538/ They are hunted not only because of their meat, but because their skins are urgently needed. The very desirable whale is primarily regarded as an occasional present that provides for many families over a long period. In comparison the guanaco is much less important because it is locally confined, and the otter actually furnishes only its skin. Tracking down a fox is a matter for the dogs. The many bird species that the Indian hunts could hardly be dispensed with in his household. Sometimes he is wholly dependent on them alone.

5. The Woman in the Food Quest

462 Among the Yamana, man and wife form an economic cooperative, and it is especially in the matter of obtaining food that they are dependent on one another. The woman, of course, does not take an active part in the hunt, which is regarded as a vital duty of the man, but she sometimes helps him indirectly by means of absolutely necessary knacks. She, as mistress of the canoe, takes him to those places where he wants to try his luck and go after game. She shares with him the difficulties of perilous crossings and long watches through the hours of the night when he devotes himself to catching birds. Finally, she brings him, along with his booty, to a safe place where both of them can enjoy a well-earned rest after all their trouble and exertions.

Far beyond the limited participation of the man in procuring food, she makes a considerable, altogether independent contribution to the support of her family by means of an activity that she alone can carry on. This is gathering, for which she is equipped by nature and to which she can devote herself without jeopardizing her more important duties as mother and wife. This activity is actually an important supplement to her husband's hunting activities. It is her duty to bring in lower animals and vegetable products.

/538 cont./

462 She could not avoid this obligation of ancient custom without serious disadvantage to her family. This brings her into definite contrast with the Selk'nam woman (Vol. I, 269). No matter how faithfully and abundantly the man provides his family with meat from the indigenous animals hunted, the woman, through her special gathering activities, must give her family all those products of nature to which her husband and children are entitled by rights of custom. Under no pretext could a woman consciously avoid this duty. If she were generally lazy in this pursuit or even occasionally negligent, she could expect to be severely criticized by her own husband and held in serious contempt by the whole neighborhood. [558]

462 593 Precisely because there must be a woman in the economic activity of the individual family, husband and children are absolutely dependent upon her. This relationship alone explains the favorable and influential position that she enjoys in her family circle. How much she actually accomplishes /539/ and to what extent she is able, by herself, to keep her family alive become evident when her husband is sick or when she is widowed. Then the entire responsibility of food-seeking rests on her shoulders alone, and she nevertheless provides so well that no one suffers deprivation.

462 Fortunately, in her activity as food-gatherer she has access not only to an abundant supply of one kind, but even to a not inconsiderable choice. She comes home with this and that, bringing a welcome variety into the monotonous meat diet. She can, of course, take from nature only what the latter voluntarily produces and as it is offered, for the harsh climate near the dreaded Cape Horn permits neither agriculture nor animal husbandry (263). The woman herself has invented or learned to make

263. An older account (VSA:XII, 81; 1886) says briefly that the natives "do not till the ground, and have no cattle, nor horses, nor sheep, nor goats in their country" /cited in English/. The experiences of the Mission Scientifique, which Hyades (g):6 describes (p. 32 /untranslated/), show that gardening does not pay there.

/539 cont./

462 the few and simple implements that make gathering easier for her. All of them are very functional and testify to a practical good sense. As a result, the procuring of food never becomes a burdensome task to the woman. She takes the great majority of her produce from the animal kingdom, but the vegetable kingdom, too, offers her some things which she finds welcome now and then.

a. Food From the Animal Kingdom

226 1. Mussels. On the rocky shore-line of the many islands are dense colonies of mussels. There are two kinds (Mytilus chilensis) of and Ushiya (Mytilus edulis) that cover broad areas along a slightly sloping, sandy bottom (p. 44 /unassimilated/) (264). They

> 264. Hyades (q):33 was astonished at the unfathomable riches of shellfish, especially mussels, in Orange Bay. George Farmer (a):II, 278 writes that in Seno Alto Nuevo "the rocks along the shore were covered with large mussels (Mytilus edulis), the meat of which seemed tastier to us than that of the best oysters." One finds the same abundance, more or less, throughout the entire Yamana region.

do not go beyond the highest water level, hence almost every low tide covers them. The deepest layers are not even uncovered at lowest ebb tide and consist of larger specimens. These mussels thrive best and attain unusual size in places where there are constant small eddies and restless waves or currents. The Yamana are acquainted with every little spot of their country and each tiny corner of their coasts. They often come back to the same spot, move about anew over the same course, and find their way again in local conditions without any trouble.

The most dense, cluster-like accumulations of large mussels can actually be reached only at low tide with the canoe. Their meat is not only fresh and tasty, but yields a rich meal. /540/ /Fig. 61 appears here./ Hence the woman is willing to take the

/340 cont./

226 trouble to seek out the preferable spots where there are large shells. Sitting in the canoe, she breaks them off with a long wooden fork (Fig. 61) and lifts them up with it. Even the husband sometimes reaches for this useful tool while the woman tends to the boat, if there is a possibility that a current might push it off. The people call the tool kalína; I designate it as "long mussel fork." It consists of a head and a long stick with a square cross-section (265). A suitable stem of

227

Fig. 61. Mussel Fork.

265. It was well illustrated and described by Hyades (h):13 and (q):300, 368. Lothrop (b):155 gives it as "limpet-spear" /cited in English/, Hyades (h):13 as "a hafted, slit spatula of wood" /translated from French/.

[341]

Nothofagus betuloides is chosen, or Maytenus magellanica, which they like even better. The latter is heavier and stronger and makes the work easier for the woman. The upper part is always made out of the tough wood of the large barberry (Berberis ilicifolia). A stem about three centimeters thick is split down the middle, the suitable part freed of bark and flattened on either side until it resembles a chisel. The upper, wider end is split into two prongs which are held apart by the insertion of a short wooden plug about as thick as a pencil. This is put approximately in the center of the entire groove of the split and is tied with a braided rush thread, a whalebone strip, or a bast fiber. The thicker end of the long pole is also flattened on its broad side; the two pieces are fitted against each other and secured with a narrow leather strap or a braided rush cord, just as in the case

/540 cont./

227 of the crab fork (Fig. 62). This long mussel fork is very easy to handle. A gentle push from above loosens the clinging mussel below, and making the fork spring back and forth, always from the same direction, finally releases it. If possible, it is lifted up from the ground by hand. In deep places the woman with her long fork pushes it under water to the open beach. Usually, however, and this is a second reason for the long shaft, she presses the shell between the two distended prongs and carefully draws it up. Often the shell slides out just before she gets it up; then she simply picks it up again. To decrease resistance, the woman lifts the long rod up vertically and grasps the shell with her other hand. Patiently she squats in her vessel, bent over the edge, and spears one mussel after another /541/ until after two or three hours she returns to the hut with the yield of her diligence. For this work the sea must be calm and clear, for the deeply bedded mussels are usually covered over with floating algae of various kinds and are not easily recognized. The mussel fork is a necessary adjunct to the canoe, and no Indian woman is without it.

226 Since there are many days that are not suitable for plucking off the large mussels in deep water according to the method described, the people also content themselves with the somewhat smaller and less tasty animals near the beach. Women and girls step into the water and wade out to the densest accumulations of mussels. They either tear them off with their hands or loosen them with a stick the length of an arm, flattened at one end, which I call the mussel breaker, wasínix, and which BD:379 refers to as sajasínix (Fig. 42). Finally, they also use any stick that is pointed at the bottom. They immediately place the shells in their little baskets, which they have hanging on their arms or which they set on the ground at the edge of the water. Bent low, they walk along slowly and silently, without straightening up; they collect busily until the little basket is filled. Since several persons may be occupied in this way at the same time, the line they form looks somewhat strange to a European observer who happens to meet them (266).

266. Hyades (q):366 agrees: "It is a curious sight which confronts the European who

226

/541 cont./
observes them and unconsciously compares them with the women of our coasts going fishing at low tide: the same grave silence, the same busyness, and from a distance the same silhouettes" /translated from French/.

At almost every ebb tide the women comb the wide surfaces laid bare by the receding sea. On a slightly sloping shore these are sometimes ten or more meters (267). Here there are only

267. Fortunately, the strip of earth along the shore which is laid bare at low tide is easily pervious and soon becomes hard. Hyades (f):553 specially refers to this.

medium-sized and small mussels, but they are easy to gather. They are sometimes loosened with a short, strong stick or with the above-mentioned mussel-breaker, wasinix. It is just as easy to break them off with one's bare hand, since the clinging filaments of the live animals are weak.

226 461 [854 851] Assuming that low tide sets in during the day, one woman will make a date with another, and immediately others will join them. Each of them brings along her baby clinging to her back, and little girls run ahead, each with her own little basket. Sometimes a boy or two will run along out of curiosity and sheer pleasure, and they will watch for a while, but it would never occur to them to help because that is not their work. These women are only short /542/ distances apart. Walking slowly, they go from one spot to another, for the entire ocean floor is usually densely strewn with mussels. They seldom exchange a few words, and they keep their bent position unchanged. Sometimes they also squat down, without touching the damp earth, since the mussels can be easily grasped from any position. They stop working only when their little baskets are full. The women sometimes also set out late in the evening and in the early morning if the tide is particularly low. In winter they take along a glowing stick of wood and a few dry sticks in order to fan up a fire near the place where they are gathering. They return to it for a few minutes to warm their stiff

/342 cont./

224 hands and refresh themselves with a few roasted mussels. After
461 they have filled their baskets, if the harvest is ample, they even spread their back-capes on the ground and empty more mussels on them, with which they afterwards return heavily laden to the hut.

224 In this type of mussel-gathering, they collect some Patella, *aywika*, known as *pina* when they are smaller and as *tiskuf aywika* when they are still smaller. They also collect Fissurella, *fuga* (*amfuga* in the western dialect, *ʔaku* in the southern dialect), some Pecten, *tiʔgi*, and some Chiton, *yiskuf* or *yahʔa*. Patella and Chiton are often imbedded in deeper spots and preferably under a broad tangle of kelp. The Indian woman ties up her canoe on the kelp and plucks these shellfish out singly with her long mussel fork. Mytilus mussels, of course, constitute the greater part of her gathering. The Yamana speak of edible mollusks under the generic term of *ʔiskala* (268), and, as is well known, they

> 268. Hyades (I):294 maintained that of the many shellfish living in those frigid waters "all the large species are edible" /translated from French/.

are very abundant there.

Summarizing from this account, we may say that the Indian woman gathers mussels in three different ways (269): either she

> 269. Bridges (MM:X, 58; 1870) had already mentioned the "three ways of gathering mussels" /cited in English/ of the Yamana, but his scant reports do not compare with the detailed description given in these lines.

walks along the flat beach laid bare by ebb tide and with her hand plucks off mussels and incidentally a few other shellfish; or she wades through shallow water to the rocks where somewhat larger mussels cling, which she removes with her short mussel-breaker, *wasimix*, and which reward her for poking about in the water; and

/542 cont./

226 finally, when the sea is calm and clear, the one her long mussel-fork, kalhua, with which, from her canoe, she lifts up from the bottom the largest, deeply embedded mussels individually. As Hyades (q):367 points out, the Indian woman is perfectly adapted for this work, since "it suffices for this fishing by hand to watch the movement of the tides, to know the beaches that are richly provided with shellfish, and to have a little manual practice in pulling up quickly the mussels that cover the shore" /translated from French/. To the Yamana the mussel is /543/ /Fig. 62 appears here/ simply indispensable. To gather them in the required amounts is a daily duty of the woman who devotes herself to it whenever the weather permits (270).

270. Bridges (Mbl.X, 50,1878), Dabbene (b):183, Hyades (b):2 and (q):366, and others have expressed themselves accurately and in detail about this. Bridges (loc. cit.) used the comparison of earlier savages, namely, that "mussels are to the Fireladers what bread is to the Englishmen: the staff of life all the year round" /cited in English/. Hyades (q): 339 likewise repeated that mollusks "are a sort of daily bread to them" /translated from French/.

Her daughters of all ages help her.

Along inlets which are bordered with a flat shore and fine sand, the women sometimes look for the tasty tacówin (Mactra) and the large snail, hóṇ̄n

[227]

Fig. 62. Crab Fork.

/Yahgans/

224 (Pulmo). The former must be dug out of the sand with a short stick. The latter keeps to the sea bottom under water and is pushed forward on the bottom with the crab fork, until it can be picked up by hand. It yields a good, fresh morsel of meat. Although it can be reached only from the canoe, the Indians enjoy it so much that they go to all kinds of trouble to obtain it. They have no use for the shell.

2. Sea Urchins. In the eastern Beagle Channel sea urchins are far less frequent than in the west and south. Here they are often gathered because the so-called tongues (pharyngeal varies, fpar), which are eaten, and the liquid inside the calcareous shell, which is drunk, have a particular flavor. Hyades (q):369 even maintains that "fishing for sea urchins... in certain seasons provides a principal article of food for the Fueguians and the women devote much time to it" /translated from French/. This opinion must be limited to the southernmost islands in locale and to autumn in time, since during the other months sea urchins are not wholesome. It would be a gross exaggeration if, with Hyades, we assumed that sea urchins were eaten as frequently throughout the year (271). Their rich

> 271. In Argentina and Chile everyone knows that sea urchins are edible only in certain months, during the other months they are very harmful.

iodine content makes them tasty.

These animals, Iaff (Echinodermata), always keep to the sea floor and are never uncovered even by the lowest tide. In order to catch them the woman rows a short distance from shore, ties up her canoe in a tangle of floating macrocystis algae, and through the clear, quiet sea water hunts for the sea urchins on the bottom. She squats in her light vessel and bends her head far over the rim. As soon as she discovers a sea urchin, she lets the crab fork (Fig. 62) slide down perpendicularly through both her hands and tries to squeeze the calcareous shell bristling with spikes into the prongs (272).

> 272. I use the word "crab-fork" rather than "crab-spear," thus agreeing with Hyades (b):10 and (q):369, although

/543 cont./

226 Lothrop (h):154 speaks of the "sea-urchin spear" /cited in English/.

Carefully she lifts the long pole up again, precisely perpendicular. The Indian woman pierces the shell only when, in exceptional cases, she is not successful otherwise. She piles up her booty in the bottom of the canoe. If she is lucky, she gathers /544/ a whole dozen within an hour; if not, it takes her three to five hours to collect this amount. She sacrifices this time on account of the eagerly awaited enjoyment.

226 481 In exceptional cases the Indian woman jumps out of her canoe and dives down to get the sea urchin with her hands (273). She

273. Despard (b):697 had already observed that "women dive for sea-eggs and the finer kinds of mussels" /cited in English/.

does this when the sees several animals next to each other on the sea floor, which she cannot grasp with her crab fork because of the tangle of algae floating on top of it. She is not afraid of the cold [147] water. She is used to it, because at all times of the year she must fasten her canoe a considerable distance from the beach and must swim back and forth (274).

274. Quite unjustifiably Hyades (h):12 and (q):370 makes this habit of the Indian woman to dive for sea urchins the point of departure for a long explanation. Only an erroneous interpretation can lead him to speak of a "wretched duty" of the women to dive for sea urchins.

226 Hyades' (q):369 emphasis on the significance of sea urchins does not correspond to the facts. He would have us believe that "this fish supplies almost exclusively the food needs of the people at certain times of the year when mollusks become rare" /translated from French/, but the inexhaustible mass of shellfish never diminishes, least of all that of mussels. We must agree with him,

/544 cont./

226 however, that the Indian woman "practices (this type of fishing) with extreme dexterity" /translated from French/.

B. Oxystomes. More important than sea urchins for the Indian household are the large oxystomes plentiful in those waters, namely, nightfall (Paralomis granulosus) and the much larger ayiya (Lithodes antarctica). The latter are sometimes 60 centimeters wide between the fourth pair of feet. These animals move across the sea floor, proceeding slowly toward the shore during high tide and then back to the middle of the channel toward the end of low tide, in other words, in the direction of the water according to the tides. The Indian women take advantage of their habits. They go out to catch crabs about two hours before the tide rises because at that time the animals are nearest to the surface and are just beginning to move back from the shore, following the ebb.

227 Oxystomes can be reached only with the canoe which the woman rows, and by means of the long crab-fork, known as ciwa. Usually /545/ one woman will steer the canoe and another will fish. For the above-mentioned fork (Fig. 62) they choose a perfectly straight, light pole about two and a half meters long from [124] the young trunks of Nothofagus betuloides or Drimys winteri or Maytenus magellanica. The bark is scraped off and a smooth surface obtained. The first of the above trees is preferred, and from this they fashion an even, octagonal shaft. In the case of the other trunks their roundness is retained. The added part consists of [124] a stick about 70 centimeters long of Berberis ilicifolia, the upper half of which is split twice crosswise. The four prongs are whittled to a sharp point and spread apart somewhat with two short small plugs forming a cross and tied together with a braided cord of rushes. Both parts are flattened so that they fit well on top of each other and are then lashed with a narrow leather strap. The expansion of the tough, flexible barberry wood explains the fact that the four prongs are slightly curved outward. This piece was drawn through the fire for a short time as soon as the stick was cut off from the root and split. No other wood is so suitable, and the Yamana know this from long experience (p. 254).

226 It is possible to catch oxystomes (Notopoda) only when the sea is calm, because the Indian woman must look for each individual

/Text cont./

226 animal on the bottom with her own eyes. If she has caught sight of one, she holds her crab fork perpendicular with both hands and lets it glide into the water. Ample experience has taught her to estimate correctly the light refraction in the water so that, with a vigorous, accurate jab, she penetrates the calcareous capsule around the actual body. The entire animal is now securely speared and can be drawn up perpendicularly. In the canoe it is stripped off the fork with a blow of a stick. It usually goes on moving for a long time. Even though the actual body is perforated, this does not constitute a loss, for it has no solid meat in any case. The meat is in each of the long legs which remain undamaged. Whenever possible, the women like to search the bottom near the coast toward the end of low tide, for they, too, enjoy the excellent meat of these crabs (275).

> 275. Hyades (b):10 and (c):369 briefly mentions crab fishing. We have the impression that he did not become acquainted with the entire process from personal observation.

226 4. Fish. How eagir the Tamana are for a change in their diet can be seen from the fact that they often go out to fish (276).

> 276. In travel accounts we frequently come across an exaggerated estimate, implying that a fish diet constituted a large part of Fuegian subsistence. This is what is maintained by an earlier account (VSA:XIII, 81;1866): "They live from hand to mouth, dependent chiefly upon fish for a subsistence" /cited in English/.

[221] Summer with its longer period of daylight and its less unfavorable weather conditions is far more suitable for this than the unfriendly winter. Nevertheless, one often finds women fishing even /546/ in the cold season. It is not unimportant in this connection that in winter the type of fish which the Tamana choose to catch withdraw

/Text cont./

234 from the numerous islands, possibly into the outer channels dominated by adjacent where most species can actually be seen throughout the year (277). Our Indians apparently are not the least interested

[35]

277. Careful observations of the Mission Scientifique, reported by Hyades (f):16, leave no doubt about the regular departure of certain smaller species of fish from the Orange Bay region. There they are "numerous and of good quality, but only during the months of the summer season, that is to say, from December to March" /translated from French/. In another place, namely, (g):17, he reports: "When winter came, the fish completely disappeared; then they seemed to travel northward, for in Beagle Channel we find them all the year round." In point of fact, the difference in the average annual temperature between here and Ushuaia, about 80 kilometers in distance, is considerable.

is fresh water fish. In any case, the cold, torrential mountain streams contain but few, the most common being Galaxias maculatus. In this region there are no wide, deep rivers which it would pay to navigate (278).

278. According to Hyades (f):363, "the most common and the most prized fish are several types of Nototheniia, N. tessellata, N. macrocephalus, N. coriiceps, N. cyanobrancha, and the following species: Merluccius gayi, Genipterus chilensis, Choemichtys ecox, and Lepidochoemichthys tentaculum" /translated from French/.

/[illegible] cont./

224 Although in general fish with a welcome change to the monotonous diet of the Indian, it is by no means of real significance for his nourishment. Referring to this, Hyades (p. 14) has very much exaggerated. For example, no one touches the representation of the sulce Hargaglio, [illegible], [illegible], although they would be very easy to catch. They are about as long as one's hand and have a broad head. They remain in the rainbow pools and cling to way stones when the tide recedes.

[illegible] It is exclusively the women's occupation and such as fish with a line for certain smaller salt-water species. A man would never do this. The women use two different kinds of lines (see Hyades (cf. 30)). They fish with a line throughout the year, but only
223 when the sea is calm (279). The women make the very simple
[illegible]

> 279. To say that a woman fishes only "three months," that is, in summer with its long days, as Hyades does (p. 20), is unjustified.

[illegible] line (Fig. 63) herself. She chooses a long pencil thick stem of the easily obtainable large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera) and removes the few branches by snipping them off lightly with her fingernail. In this way she produces an almost smooth thread, [illegible], [illegible]. Since it is elastic, it can be easily wound into a loose coil. In the shade it dries only partially so that it remains slightly damp. Any dull-colored, flattened, irregular stone about
22 the size of a pocket watch will do as a sinker (280). The line is

> 280. In an emergency the woman will even use a longish, stone spear-point as a sinker. This may have led some less careful observers to conclude that the Tamana use actual fish hooks such as are employed elsewhere.

wound around it and knotted so that the free end hangs down a few centimeters /547/ below it. This end is finished off with a small knot, into which is fastened a fiber from the quill of a stout bird feather, about ten centimeters long and four millimeters wide. The quill tapers somewhat /Fig. 63 appears here/ at the bottom and ends in a running knot that holds the bait. The latter consists

/147 cont./

227] of bits of meat, the size of a cherry, from a small mussel, egg, tiny bit of seal meat, or whatever else the woman happens to have. As soon as the long thread of alga is dipped into the water it is quickly impregnated with moisture. In spite of its extreme flexibility, it is strong enough. As a substitute they also choose a fishline, aná-ʼ-ʼ-ʼ

/347 cont./

227 by a woman in ancient times. The quill fiber, tômûline, with the running knot to hold the bait, which we have just described briefly, is the terminal point of every fishline (282).

282. Lista (b):48 speaks of "fishhooks of stone or of fishbones" /translated from Spanish/. His inaccurate data are worthless. Barclay (a):64 is more reliable; he reports on "fishing without hooks" /cited in English/, that is to say, without actual fishhooks.

226 /348/ The woman manipulates her fishline in a strange way, as earlier navigators had already noted. She never uses an actual fishing rod (283). In her canoe she rows to those spots in the many

[227 [7]]

283. BD:406 uses the expression "tômmôkur, a rod used for fishing with from the shore" /cited in English/, but if it actually occurs, the fishing rod was introduced by Europeans. I myself never saw one.

inlets where there are extensive clusters of floating Macrocystis. In the intricate entanglement of the small stems of this alga there are scores of fish large and small. The Indian woman ties up her vessel on one of the thicker stalks or pulls a tangled bundle of these small stems over a part of the canoe, which secures it well. Now she has both hands free, reaches for her fishline, and puts some bait on the lower end of it. Under the weight of the sinker the fishline uncoils in her hands, and she holds the line loosely in the water. Bent over the side of her canoe, which is tilted a little, she stares fixedly at the bait. This, as well as the fishline, deceive all fish, since they correspond exactly to the environment. When a fish bites and has swallowed enough of the bait, the Indian woman lifts the entire line along with the fish with a gentle tug until it is close to the surface of the water. Then with one hand she suddenly jerks up the fishline and with the other hand she grasps the fish the moment it is lifted out of the water (284).

284. This method, which was observed

/548 cont./
by Fitz-Roy, has remained unchanged to the present day (King:428). He repeated his report on this subject on May 23, 1830 (ibid., p. 450). Compare Lothrop (b):159.

Sensitive feeling, a sure eye, and much practice make it possible for every Indian woman to obtain her booty safely in this unusual manner. She develops an extraordinary skill in this work, although accompanying circumstances, namely, the adaptation of the fishline to the environment in which the fish move, favor her (285). In BD:615 we find wēkátanakipa, "a good fishing

285. The advantages of this fishline over a European fishing rod makes a comparison pointed out by Hyades (h):15 very clear: "The women have extraordinary skill at this type of fishing, and very often we have seen them catch quantities of fine fish with this simple tackle" /translated from French/. The Yamana language has several expressions for fishing with a line.

woman" /cited in English/. It is clear that long fishing poles are out of place here.

The woman immediately bites into the neck of the fish or cuts it with a sharp mussel shell. She places the dead animal in the bottom of her canoe. Usually she draws a bast stalk through its gills and mouth and strings other fish on it. Soon eight to 12 fish are hanging on it, like keys on a large ring. Afterwards the woman ties more bait to the lower end of her line and again lowers it into the water. She goes on working in this way until she has collected a goodly number of fish. They do not amount to much meat, but all the women like to spend a few quiet hours fishing.

/549/ In all her maneuvers the Indian woman is as quiet and motionless as possible. Sudden motions of her hands would be reflected in the water and frighten away the fish. This would be even more true of perceptible rocking of the canoe. /Fig. 64 appears here./ Usually several women are busy fishing at the

/549 cont./

226 same time. They have previously agreed on their plan in accordance with the weather and their own moods. Although they are close together in their canoes, they avoid all conversation. Within a short time, especially if they are favored by the weather, every woman has roughly a few dozen fish (286).

286. Fishing with the line is sometimes very profitable, as Hyades (h):15 confirms.

Several species of fish with tasty meat take the bait, most frequently tápun (Notothenia cornucula), súna (Notothenia macrocephalus), imakára (Genipterus chilensis), čátax (Choenichthys esox), lasár[1] (Latilus aff.), and others. In general, these species can be [227] pulled up with the fishline made of kelp, which 283 seldom breaks even when the fish is moderately large (287). In places where

287. Hyades (q):371 also confirms: "The common lines of seaweed rarely break, and they are adequate to take fish of medium size, up to half a kilogram" /translated from French/.

larger fish bite, the Indian woman chooses a fishline of woven sinew fibers (Fig. 64) so as not to lose her catch, for sinew fibers are strong and resistant as well as much more durable.

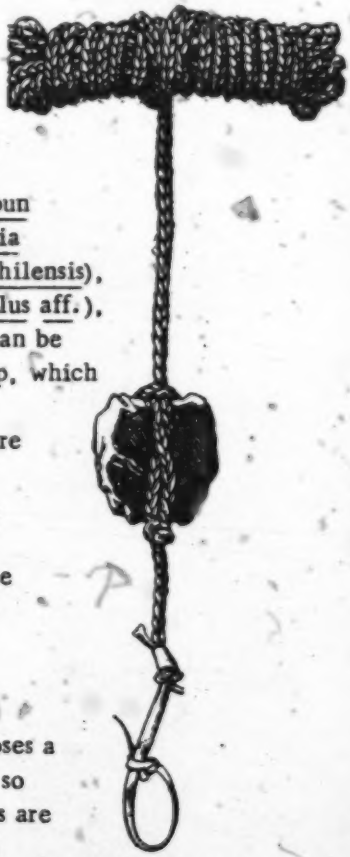

Fig. 64. Fishline Made of Sinew Cord. Three-quarters natural size.

The Yamana women set out in their canoes at any hour of the day, if the surface of the water is smooth and the weather promises success. They even venture out on the water during the brief summer nights which are rather light there, but never in the dead of night, however, even with bright moonlight (288). They like to go

288. Many observers described this type

226

/549 cont./
of line-fishing, the following in detail: Bridges (h):210, Despard (VP:VI, 127; 1859), Hyades (h):15, Lothrop (b):159. Darwin (d):245 said: "The women jerk up small fish with a baited line and without any kind of hook."

fishing in the early morning, as Despard (b):697 accurately observed.

A method very different from this one is an actual mass catch directed primarily toward the dense shoals of true herring, ilesci. We are referring to Clupea arcuata L and Clupea pectinata J. They arrive unpredictably along the coasts at any time of the year /550/ except summer. This shoal of millions announces itself with a peculiar, utterly monotonous sound and squeezes into the narrow channels or small bays, not infrequently running up the shallow, wide beach. Afterwards these small fish lie spread out by the thousands in layers several centimeters high. A not unimportant factor in all this for the overjoyed natives is the diversified animal accompaniment of these two kinds of herring, namely, the much larger predatory fish of various species and even seals. Rapacious sea birds also circle around this mass invasion. For the Yamana this means a rich selection of booty among several edible species (289).

289. On February 6, 1877, Bridges (MM:XI, 109;1877) described an invasion of fish from his own experience: "There has been a remarkable supply of fish, represented by sprats and mackerel, inclusive of such birds, and even seals, which prey upon them. Sprats were so plentiful as to be left repeatedly in dense masses on the shores around us, and for some days the air was scarcely fit to breathe through the stench of millions of sprats which literally covered the shores of the inlet.

226

/550 cont./

Four kinds, -- or rather five -- of fish are found in company with the sprats, which are decidedly larger than those found around the coasts of England. These five kinds of larger fish are excellent in flavour and richness, and their livers supply the natives with abundance of oil during the season... The noise made by the approaching myriads of fish was like that of quickly rippling water; we could even hear it, though some 400 yards off" /cited in English/.

When this procession comes up the beach, the Indians first pick the larger animals out of the abundant masses, and not until later do they tackle the inexhaustible abundance of small fish. It is obvious that dense swarms of birds which also feed immoderately can now be easily caught. We can understand what extraordinary joy such a swarm of fish with its varied accompaniment evokes among the Yamana (290), for it gives them a superfluity

290. Bridges (j):25 says: "As regards fish, these are found at seasons in immense quantities" /cited in English/. Thus, the amount of fish varies slightly with the seasons.

to choose from for several days. Moreover, it is offered them in an easy way; indeed, it is scattered over a wide, flat beach. All hands, of course, help themselves to the gay profusion, although [462] here, too, the usual division of labor prevails whereby the men try to get the larger animals while the women alone, supported by the girls, scoop the small fish into their baskets with their cupped hands. Everyone is busily collecting, for the harvest lasts only a few days at this richly laid table. Soon considerable amounts of the fish strewn about the beach are washed away by the tide, and the sea birds contribute to the diminution by their

/550 cont./

226 limitless voracity; finally the remainder decays. As soon as the mounting stench becomes somewhat more penetrating, the many people that have assembled quickly leave the place and scatter in all directions.

/551/ Sometimes similar shoals of ílēšoi (Clupea arcuata and Clupea pectinata) travel into the inner channels or encircle larger inlets without running up on the beach. The Indians clearly recognize them by their numerous and varied followers. As quickly as possible they row after the shoal and try to approach it from the side without getting into the throng. With a special basket known as čauwénux (Fig. 65) (291),

[227 285]

291. In order to avoid confusion, I shall retain the designation "fishing basket," because it is made of the same type of rush (Marsippospermum grandiflorum) as the other three types of baskets, but without a complex weave of the rush stalks. Compare Hyades (q):372. Lothrop (b):160 called it "Fish-net" /cited in English/.

[224]

Fig. 65. Fishing Basket. One third natural size.

/Fig. 65 appears here/ they scoop the small fish directly out of the water into their canoe. While one of the women tends to the vessel, the other sticks the loose fishing-basket on the end of a pole about one and a half meters long. She grasps the lower end of the pole and, from the canoe, draws the upper part with the basket through the water as though the whole thing were a large ladle. The woman handles it carefully so that the basket does not slide off. Only when it is barely above the bottom of the canoe does she let the basket,

/551 cont./

226 now filled with fish, drop gently off with its contents. The basket is turned upside-down, the fish emptied, and without delay it is stuck onto the pole once more. Agility is now demanded, for the fish shoal quickly passes. No hands can be idle (292)!

292. Hyades (q):372 also briefly describes this mass catch with the loosely woven basket at the thick end of a short pole.

[462] Only the women are busy with all this, for the man meanwhile seeks to catch the larger accompanying animals with his weapon. Sometimes, however, he, too, takes the pole with the loosely woven basket if the woman has grown tired or is otherwise occupied. In less than an hour the occupants of a canoe, if they keep busy, can fill it so full of booty that they must head for shore. Quickly they take the many animals to their huts and set out again, for they know that the larger the shoal is, the /552/ more quickly it will be pushed out again into the open sea. They cannot draw uninterruptedly upon the abundance of the large swarm for more than one whole day. After the exertion of such great haste, they can feast for days on the varied booty and meanwhile rest up thoroughly.

226 462 We have just mentioned the fact that the man sometimes also takes part in fishing (293). Fishing with a line, as we have

293. The general rule set up by Bridges (a):201 long before is true, namely, "men very seldom help their wives to catch fish" /cited in English/. Fishing is woman's work.

said, is an exclusive task of the woman, but when the swarms of ílëščí approach, he sometimes also takes up the čauwénux̌. He alone, however, drives a spear or a small harpoon into the body of a larger fish. He is stimulated to this action when dense masses of ílëščí are escorted by large fish that are often lifted above the surface of the water and brought quite close to him. If the wood or bone point of the missile penetrates deeply into the fish, it is badly hampered in its movements and falls helplessly into the man's hands. Large robalos (Eleginus maclovinus)

/552 cont./

226 462 like to hover at the bottom of shallow inlets in the sunshine. These are also easy to spear from a rock or from the canoe and can afterwards be easily hauled in (294).

294. Hyades (h):20 refers to Fitz-Roy (a):184 and adds: The Yamana "Take large fish with the saw-toothed harpoon" /translated from French/.

In exceptional cases the men also build weirs. They decide to do this when there are several families assembled and it is impossible to travel on, but a shortage of food threatens. An ûmmaku, wuépa is a hastily erected woven construction consisting of short sticks driven into the ground and longer interwoven rods, the whole filled in with dense brush. The weir is never more than a meter high. They are placed in narrow inlets or, preferably, in narrow brooks running into a broad channel (295). During an incoming

295. I noted the same construction, here and there, among the Halakwulup.

tide, depending on the water level, the entire brushwork is filled in only when the tide is highest, or only a small top strip is put along the whole width of the hurdle at high tide. In other circumstances the center is left open, being blocked off only at the beginning of ebb tide, depending on whether the whole weir is wide or narrow. At the lowest ebb the fish are held back and can be caught with the hands or killed with sticks. Weirs are used very little, because, as I was told, they can be erected only amid all kinds of inconveniences and because they do not promise sure success (296). Fishing with a line, however, is always most

296. Hyades (h):17 is the only European observer who mentions weirs. See also further pertinent data in Cooper:109 and Hyades (q):372.

successful and, by comparison, requires little effort. Indeed, it affords the woman a certain amount of rest in her /553/ active

/553 cont./

226 462 daily tasks. Hence every other type of fishing, with the exception of the occasional mass-catch of ĉiŝki, is avoided as much as possible (297).

297. According to Hyades (h):20: "...the ease with which they get fish among the large algae relieves them of all the work of making a fishing pen" /translated from French/, and the same is equally true of similar arrangements.

222 5. Birds. Birds' eggs are also counted among the foods from the animal kingdom by our Fuegian natives. Earlier travelers, for example, Fitz-Roy (a):184, often observed that "eggs are eagerly sought for by the natives" /cited in English/. Spring is the time for them. Wherever the family lands, the girls and women hunt [462] for the nests of larger birds. They do not choose among them, nor does it bother them if the eggs have been sat on for some time. Their hunt is, without exception, rewarded by a rich harvest, for they are very familiar with the brooding places of all kinds of birds. Gathering is very easy where penguins brood, for they lay large eggs. The women bring their harvest to the canoe or the hut in their little baskets, and it is promptly consumed. They never risk any special dangers in order to obtain birds' eggs.

223 At the beginning of summer they also take young birds of large species still in the nest. They kill the tender animal by hitting it on the head with a stone or stick or by beating it hard against a rock. Above all, when they search out the breeding places of cormorants and penguins, they quickly fill their baskets with this game. Young cormorants cannot escape beyond the immediate vicinity of their nest because their wings cannot as yet carry them from the height of their nest into the sea, and penguins are likewise nest-bound because they do not yet know how to move in the water.

231 For entertainment and out of playfulness, the women also like to take an occasional young bird to their hut where they feed it until it is full-grown. If it proves tame enough, it is

/553 cont./

231 kept alive; otherwise it is one day devoured. This explains why in early summer in the hum of the Indians we find at least half a dozen young birds, all very familiar with each other, although they usually belong to different species. They belong to the family (298), so to speak, and are a plaything for children.

298. Lothrop (b):159 "has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed" /cited in English/.

β. Food From the Vegetable Kingdom

262 The inclement weather of the Cape Horn Archipelago permits only a few types of plants to reach maturity, and the soil yields only a very few things that the Indian can use for food. A vegetable diet has no basic significance for them. It would be inaccurate to speak of actual subsistence on the vegetable kingdom. The Indian gets only a small taste from it now and then, which, as such, is monotonous and, in /554/ comparison with his meat consumption, quite unimportant (299). Mother Nature

299. Fitz-Roy (a):186 expressed himself very definitely on this point: "Of vegetable food they have very little: a few berries, cranberries, and those which grow on the arbutus, and a kind of fungus which is found on the birch-tree, being the only sorts used" /cited in English/.

voluntarily offers him fungi and berries of various kinds, and these, as we realize, are mere condiments. They are gathered [462] only by women and girls; men strip off a few fruits in passing and immediately pop them into their mouths without any kind of preparation.

222 262 1. Fungi. If we consider the conditions of vegetation in the Yamana region, we are not surprised to find a great abundance of mushrooms and fungi there. /Fig. 66 appears here./ There are no very poisonous kinds. Some are spongy; others have a woody

222 /384 cont./
[E-3] texture. These do not tempt the Indian since the supply of tasty fungi is large enough as it is, and he does not care for them particularly. Everywhere one finds goodly quantities of a few Cyttaria species, among which Cyttaria darwinii Berk. is the most common. The latter is in general known as ésĕf; when it is ripe it is called ayícix. It grows on the protuberances or excrescences (Fig. 66) of a particular spot on the beech branch, known as amáif or ñamáif. Each of these fungi reaches the size of a green, unripe walnut and is absolutely round and yellowish-white. One is right next to another, and they break off at the slightest touch. Women and girls break them off from the branches they can reach with their arms. After they have combed a particular area of the forest for them, the woman asks her grown son or even her husband to help her gather the ones on the higher branches. For decency's sake females are not permitted to climb trees or walk over branches; the men are called in to do this. The latter pick the fungi with their hands and toss them down, or they pick them off with their toes and drop them. Women gather them up and carry them in little baskets to the hut (300).

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[481
934]

Fig. 66. Beech Branch with Growth. One-half natural size.

300. Bridges (MM:VII, 120;1873) once mentions that an adult male Yamana gathered these fungi and brought them to the camp. If he was alone in doing this, it is a rare and exceptional case.

222 With the exception of the brief period of mid-summer, the Cyttaria darwinii are always found on trees and are edible in any

/554 cont./

222 phase of development during all the other months (301).

301. Outes (g):52 has collected descriptions of this type of fungus from the pens of several observers. In addition to this there are data by Spencer: 64, 100, 103.

/555/ A less widespread variety, and fully matured only in the autumn, is ašim, Cyttaria harioti F. BD:46 writes ōšuyim, "a small dark brown pear-shaped fungus which grow in clusters out of an excrescence which forms on the wood like a band" /cited in English/. This yellowish-brown, pear-shaped fungus, ranging in size from an orange seed to the seed of a small wild cherry, appears in rows on thin branches of the Antarctic beech. One can very easily strip off the whole row with one's half-closed hand and catch them in a small basket. The black uškēyon mēma (Cyttaria hookeri Berk.) is still smaller, the shape and size of a grape seed. It likewise forms on beech branches in rows.

[462] Although women and girls like to pick these two kinds, it is not their habit to gather them and bring them to the hut; they eat a few handfuls on the spot. The men do likewise, but less often. The ašim (Cyttaria haroti) is much preferred to the other.

Other types of fungi are of less importance to the Indian woman than ēsēf (Cyttaria darwinii). The latter is easy to obtain along the edge of the forest, whereas the other kinds are to be found chiefly or almost exclusively inside, in dark shade and in thickets. Women almost never go that far, or perhaps only to fetch wood, but they almost never go deep into the forest just to gather fungi. The large tree fungi, āman, are valued the most as long as they are still soft and meaty, and among these yēlus above all, which, according to BD:649, is "a soft, watery, and large flesh-colored fungus" /cited in English/.

262 The Fuegian eats about ten kinds of fungi (302), but I am

302. Bridges mentions "one very important item in the food of these people, which is fungus, of which there are about twenty varieties, some one or more of which are all

/555 cont./

262 the year round abundant /cited in English/ (MM:III, 116;1869). He is saying a little too much in the first part of this statement.

not in a position to give all of these their exact botanical names. It is very remarkable that he eats only those that grow on trees, never those growing on the ground. Each species matures in one particular month, which is why the Indian could at any time give himself a little variety in his monotonous meat diet by using fungi. "Fungi of many kinds are also all the year round much used as food, different kinds coming in at different seasons" /cited in English/ (Bridges [a]:214).

227 262 It is left to each individual to hunt occasionally for a few fungi whenever he feels like it. The only ones actually gathered are the very common Cyttaria darwinii which are strung up on [251] small sticks in the hut and kept for a time in a dried state. Bridges (MM:VII, 121;1873) is obviously exaggerating when he attaches special significance to fungi in the daily household of the Yamana. [261] When there is a famine, however, the people use fungi to help out as long as they can find them. Aspinall:270 expresses himself more accurately when he speaks of the individual foods in order of their importance: "For their subsistence [these Indians] are dependent solely on the hunt; /556/ in an emergency they content themselves with a diet of mussels. Digestive difficulties that may result from this are healed with a diet of fungi." Fungi are neither more nor less than a rare, occasional addition to the main diet.

222 2. Berries. It is obvious that the Yamana can enjoy berries, amǎ́im, for only a few weeks. The most common are amǎ́iiagurǎ, the fruit of Pernettya mucronata which sometimes covers extensive areas in the form of a low shrub (Fig. 12 /untranslated; see foreign text, p. 121/). In spite of the hard points on the leaves, women and girls move through the bushes and pick the ripe crimson berries, gather them in their little baskets, and take them to their hut. Less common in that region is the /Fig. 67 appears here/ smaller Pernettya pumila (Fig. 67), the fruit of which is called Yanamǎ́im, and the somewhat taller Empetrum rubrum, aššna, the fruit of which is known as šepisamǎ́im. These two bushes have only small fruits which attract the Indians less.

/556 cont./

222 The ripe berries of Berberis buxifolia, hémir amáin, taste good and are much sweeter than the berries of Berberis ilicifolia, ʔéljamáim. The former are easy to strip from the small twigs by hand and gather into a basket. An Indian woman would not bring home large quantities of these berries because a handful of them is all that anyone wants, but anyone who happens to pass these bushes strips off several berries and eats them immediately.

The small Rubus geoides, one of the Rosaceae, creeps along the ground in light patches of the forest and on the edge of it. Its fruit, pflaxʔáʔix, which ripens in late summer, resembles a raspberry in size, shape, and color, but is less sweet. Women pick these also, but only when they are gathering ʔépisamáim and

[137]

Fig. 67. Pernettya pumila. Natural size.

amáinʔgux and inevitably come across isolated fruits of Rubus geoides. Our Indians do not have a taste for the fruits of Myrtus nummularia, but they like to pick the easily obtainable hépulamáim, the clusters of the hépul bush (Ribes magellanicum), which likes the light and grows chiefly on the edge of the forest.

/557/ This concludes the list of the berries that are considered at all edible in the region of the Yamana. The fruits of Gunnera magellanica, for example, have almost no meat, and therefore no one touches these thxalamáim. This is also true of the small fruits of other species.

262 3. Other Plants. Other products of the vegetable kingdom can be regarded as actual food to an even lesser extent than is true of fungi and berries (303), but there are a very few plants, as

303. Bridges' (k):227 way of expressing himself is therefore misleading: "The

/507 cont./

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natives use the following plants for food: the roots and leaves of the uyata, and the roots of the cawunin and yeshame" /translated from Spanish/. These are not food in the true sense of the word.

Harist:402 correctly explains, "that the natives eat only in case of absolute necessity" /translated from French/. Among these are, first of all, Ewkoim (Osmorhiza chilensis), the roots of which are gathered by women and girls during times when food is scarce, as well as yéqame (Acronia chilensis), and finally uyata (Taraxacum magellanicum). With the roots of the first two (304)

304. These two plants are meant when Bridges says: "The roots of sea anemonies, and of a plant resembling parsnip, are much used for food and are generally baked" /cited in English/ (VP:XIII, 214, 1906).

[152]

and the leaves of the last mentioned the Indians appease their hunger (305). Of the two species first mentioned Bridges main-

305. Despard mentioned incidentally: "Today the natives gathered and ate large quantities, unwashed and raw, of a species of dandelion [Taraxacum]; they relish it very much /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 129, 1869). Compare Harist:402 and Hyades (q):338.

tains, with not a little exaggeration, that the Indians "extensively use the roots of sea pinks and of Ewwkoim" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 116;1869). Celery, hóllu (Apium australe), is by no means a nourishing plant; nevertheless a person will occasionally put a stalk in his mouth and chew on it. He does this in order to give himself a change of taste and also to prevent vomiting (306).

[151]

306. In this connection Bridges contradicts

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/187 cont./
himself. For instance, he says (Mem.III, 116,1919): "Though celery abounds everywhere, they never use of it" /cited in English/. In III the root of this plant is several times and very definitely referred to by him as an "edible root" /cited in English/.

[262] Some people like to roast the celery root on the fire and then chew on it.

It can be seen from these accounts that plant food is seldom eaten by the Yamana, hence it is almost always a single individual who sets out to look for it if he feels a desire for it. It would be unjustified, therefore, to maintain that the gathering of such plants is a special activity of the woman.

232 42

A cursory review of the contribution of the Indian woman to the subsistence of her family makes us realize that she performs an important service, mainly through gathering shellfish. The things she collects not only bring necessary variety into the monotonous meat diet furnished by the man, but seem indispensable at certain times when hunting is impossible. With her diligent gathering the woman very often saves her family from suffering considerable hunger.

/188/ 6. The Food Quest throughout the Year

182 In their manner of living and above all in everything they must provide for their sustenance, our Yamana are and will remain inescapably dependent on their environment. They have adjusted to this inevitable pressure in all their economic adaptations, not the least in their implements and weapons. Darwin (6):240 confirms this in his own way: "Nature, which has made custom an irresistible force and its effects hereditary, has adapted the Fuegian to the climate and the products of his miserable fatherland." The causative factor in the two explanations is essentially different.

181 The mental attitude or disposition of this Indian group, however, also betrays an unmistakable conformity with their area of

/558 cont./

181 habitation, and this is best expressed in their high degree of contentment. Our natives are uncomplainingly satisfied with all the misfortune they must endure because of the weather, with the sharp restrictions resulting from the scarcity of products of the soil, and with the constant hampering of free movement as a result of the overwhelming forces of nature. One would scarcely believe it possible for a people to be resigned to such few pleasures and such scant comfort. One never hears them complain or grumble about the hard living conditions that have been imposed upon them, and they bear with invariable composure the lot that has befallen them.

153 Nevertheless, they have not let themselves become a weak plaything of natural forces. In the rigor of battle they have steeled themselves in resistance, and their certainty of triumph gives them that independence and self-reliance that is content even in the most miserable situation. In their struggle with nature for subsistence our Fuegians develop well-trained mental powers and an unsurpassed skill. Even Bridges (b):240 in concise terms credits them with great merit: "They have various methods of hunting and killing birds, and in all they show much skill" /translated from Spanish/. The observations and experience of many generations have alone perfected the efficient methods of trapping and hunting with which every Indian is sure of success without having to waste effort. He practiced them from the days [848] of his youth until he became skillful and steadfast. Many of the manipulations and movements, carried out with adroitness and some effort, seem simple and easy to the eye of a European (307):

> 307. Bove (e):157 adds to this, saying: "Only someone who has lived among them can have any idea of the effort and cunning which they are obliged to muster in order to obtain the most frugal livelihood for themselves."

the keen hunter and unerring marksman excite admiration. If a European would try his hand at this he would become vividly aware of how stiff and awkward he is at doing the things the Indian does every day.

/308 cont./

147 The Yamana is proudly aware of his own superiority. Along
153 /309/ with his astonishing agility, he has developed his physical strength, and time and again on the hunt he has opportunities to develop and increase it (308). Thus he overcomes all difficulties

> 308. Bridges agrees with this unreservedly: "These people certainly show the greatest fortitude, endurance, and energy in following at their hunting" /cited in English/ (MM.XII, 12,1879).

and impediments in the way of his goals. He does not grow tired of hunting his prey and of fighting the hostile forces of nature, but each morning he devotes himself with fresh courage and renewed confidence of victory to his difficult daily task. Hence to struggle with his environment and to wrest from it the animals he needs for his sustenance is for every man a daily necessity, in part a desired one (309). It is not easy for him, but his well-

> 309. Hyades (f) 567 has grasped this mental attitude of these children of nature in the following words: "The Fuegians, in fact, consider the hunt a pleasure as well as a necessity /translated from French/. He has really described the situation very well.

developed mental powers, his extraordinarily practiced senses, his great skill, and his personal assurance in the control of his tools and implements guarantee him success.

22 His mental agility effortlessly and intuitively senses the opportunities for the hunt and the general demands of every season. He never shows discontent with the rigors of winter, which impede his free movement on land, nor with the incalculable changes of weather in summer, which only too often lead his light canoe into danger on the water. During one half of the year he patiently does without the things that the other half will again offer him. He attentively follows the change which each

/310 cont./

22. month brings. Hence he is always ready to obtain and gather in for his sustenance what every day offers. Actually, there are only a few compromise differences in the various seasons. Since the Yamana hunt only on the water, along the shore, or on a few rock walls, but never in the interior (312), since, moreover,

> 310. The seasons are obvious. Our Indians are actually helpless inland. Compare Hyades (5):32.

large mammals and most birds occupy their habitats and lairs summer and winter in practically the same numbers, and since, finally, these two classes of animals are the chief goal of the hunter, there is little change in his course of action throughout the year (311). Wild game, however, as a single exception,

> 311. A few qualifications made by Hyades (5):363 are obviously too limited.

leaves the south in autumn in order to spend a more comfortable winter farther north. A few types of fish also move in the same direction.

In the cold season there are no young birds, nor do larger fish gather in shallow inlets. Swarms of herring also cannot be expected. On the other hand, otters, foxes, and guanacos which come up to the edge of the water can be easily recognized by their tracks in the snow. /312/ Now, more than ever, the hunter goes after these animals. The number of seals and penguins, cormorants, and ducks remains the same. As soon as the birds build nests and lay eggs in the spring, the Indian family also develops more mobility. When the young birds are almost ready to take off, the men venture to approach the rock nests of the cormorants. Later, when the summer is on the wane, he makes for the islands on which penguins and wild geese are moulting (313).

> 312. Bridges (MS:IX, 8:177) says that April is "the penguin and loggerhead duck season. The latter are now in the height of moulting, and many are chased and taken" /tried in English/.

/GRD cont./

22 At this time also the men guard their newly born young on the beach and are very to get at (p.) 39 /unmeaningly/.

The gathering activity of the women is somewhat more dependent on the various seasons. This, obviously, applies first of all to the hunt for berries which ripen in late summer and in the fall. Cymaria berlani can be picked in the fall and in the first half of winter. With the beginning of summer Cymaria dawsoni are also matured and remain on the trees until shortly before the end of winter. The cold season is not suitable for fishing with a line (33). On the other hand, sea urchins (Echinodermata) have

33. Bridges (1) 35 referred to "many kinds of smaller yet valuable fish, chiefly plentiful through summer and autumn and early winter"/cited in English/. Hymes (p) 359 also confirms this. See footnote 199.

been in July and August, that is, toward the end of winter. In the spring girls and women hastily hunt for birds' eggs as long as the opportunity lasts. They rejoice when the terrors of winter are past and the providing of food is made easier for them by the warmer season.

22/ 243 The variety that the Yaraura family can count on in obtaining food is limited to these few details. Their other supplementary source throughout the entire year is the inexhaustible stomach of bivalve mussels. All Indian women can successfully dip into this source when there is no other prospect. Despite all this, the family is not spared a few days of hunger if in some spot even the supply of mussels is exhausted and they cannot proceed elsewhere because of bad weather. As we have said, mussels have the same importance for the Yaraura as bread has for Europeans, and they tire of them just as little as Europeans do of bread. Finally, we should like to remind the reader that the individual periods of the whole year are determined according to the various stages of development of Cymaria dawsoni. This does not mean, however, that this fungus contributes to any extent to the diet of our Indians (p. 177). Despite the very slight variations, the monotony of a meat diet exclusively continues all during the year.

/[illegible] cont./

1. The Fungian Dog

[illegible] The dog, [illegible], must be regarded as a constant, indispensable member of the Fungian family. It is taken for granted /[illegible]/ just like the children. The fact that the dog as their companion has been historically acknowledged for only a century is by no means without significance in the appraisal of the economic life of old Indians. The dog does not appear in written accounts nor in pictures given by the navigators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (314). If we realize how obviously and persistently

> 314. Banks was the first European to report on the native dogs belonging to the Indians whom he met on the southwest shore of Isla Grenada in the year 1765. See Vol. I, 276.

Indian dogs rush up to every stranger and how excited they are for hours during his presence in the clump or in an individual hut, we are forced to conclude that these travelers of the earlier period just did not see the Fungian dog and that the Tamana did not as yet own dogs. The conduct of these animals towards strangers is exceptionally conspicuous. No one recounting his experiences and impressions could have failed to describe the impudent behavior of the dogs (315).

> 315. These words surely do not express an unjustified expectation. Even if the native dogs had been friendly to the foreign visitor, the very fact that they were found in the company of Indians would have been reason enough for mentioning them. For example, Captain John Marlbough tells about his visit among the Fungonians in Puerto San Julián on the southern Fungonian coast, August 16, 1670, and says, among other things: "These dogs are much of the race of Spanish dogs, large mongrel, but very tame: they were of a gray colour and were painted red in spots: they were very loud" /Cited in

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/561 cont./

English/ (Burney:III, 345). Not even such modest references are given in the older travel accounts of those navigators who expressed themselves in detail and sometimes also very accurately about many other things concerning our Yamana.

In the face of complete silence for more than two centuries, we cannot help but be surprised that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost simultaneously, several different first references are made to the Fuegian dog. Weddell (a):94 is the first European to speak of it. On November 28, 1823, his fleet lay at anchor in Bahía San Francisco, between Horn Island and Hermit Island. Here one of his sailors acquired a young dog "which was conspicuous because of its intelligence." In this connection he relates that those natives "have only this kind of dog which resembles very much the fox and is about the size of a terrier. They love their dogs very much, and if they attribute supernatural power to any object, it is probably to dogs, for the care and attention to their welfare are extraordinary" (p. 66 /untranslated/). Unfortunately, Weddell does not say anything more about this animal.

A few years later, on the first trip of the "Beagle," King:413, 444 and Fitz-Roy repeatedly observed the dog. King:529 speculated as follows: "The dogs are certainly of the domesticated kind, originally obtained, probably, from the Spanish settlements at /562/ Buenos Ayres; generally they resemble the Esquimaux breed, but are much more diminutive in size" /cited in English/. From the second journey of the "Beagle" Fitz-Roy (a):201 brought back a more extensive description of the Yamana dog (316). He was very surprised that "these dogs bark at

316. He (a):119 also occasionally referred to the neighboring Selk'nam, "accompanied by several large dogs" /cited in English/; (b):174 describes the dog of the Patagonians in much more detail. Soon after him the fleet of Captain Wilkes (a):I, 118 landed in Bahía Buen Suceso. There the latter saw

/562 cont./

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that "the natives had the common dog which they seemed to prize much" /cited in English/.

strangers with much fury; and they give tongue eagerly when hunting the otter" /cited in English/. At the same time Webster mentions the Fuegian dog (p. 109 /untranslated, but the page is in English/). Scarcely three years later Pickering:20 calls attention to the fact that "the presence of the dog among the tribes inhabiting this extreme point of America, is another fact that deserves attention" /cited in English/ (317). Simultaneously

317. Moreover he expressed the following conjecture: "America, when first visited by Europeans, appears to have contained but a single species of quadruped of foreign origin, the domestic dog" /cited in English/.

Wilkes (a):I, 129 (p. 114 /untranslated, but the page is in English/) and, three years later, in February, 1842, Ross (p. 122 /untranslated, but the page is in English/) refer to the constant companion of the Indian family. In travel accounts of subsequent decades up to our own day and in letters from the pens of missionaries, specific mention of the characteristics and services of the Fuegian dog is almost never lacking.

For obvious reasons the travelers, with very few exceptions, did not bother about the origin of this dog. Since most of them were not qualified, their descriptions give only an incomplete picture of the specific zoological nature of the dog. Fitz-Roy (a):201 mentioned useful details: "The dog of a Fuegian or Chonos Indian is small, active, and wiry, like a terrier with a cross of fox. His hair is usually rough, and dusky, or dark-coloured; but there are many dogs among the Fuegians almost white, or prettily spotted, some of which have fine smooth hair. All that were examined had the roof of their mouth black, the ears erect, large, and pointed, the nose sharp, like that of a fox; the tail drooping, and rather inclined to be bushy" /cited in English/. Snow (a):I, 334 points out only: "Their small, sharp, ferret-like dogs were exceedingly troublesome" /cited

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/562 cont./
in English/ (318). According to Lovisato (b):102, "the dog of the

318. The following report dates from the 1860's, by which time the Yamana could easily acquire European breeds of dogs because of more frequent shipping: These Indians "have two kinds of dogs: one, a native breed, small and shaggy, with a pointed snout; and the others introduced by the ships. The two breeds actually live almost exclusively on fish and mollusks, being very skill-

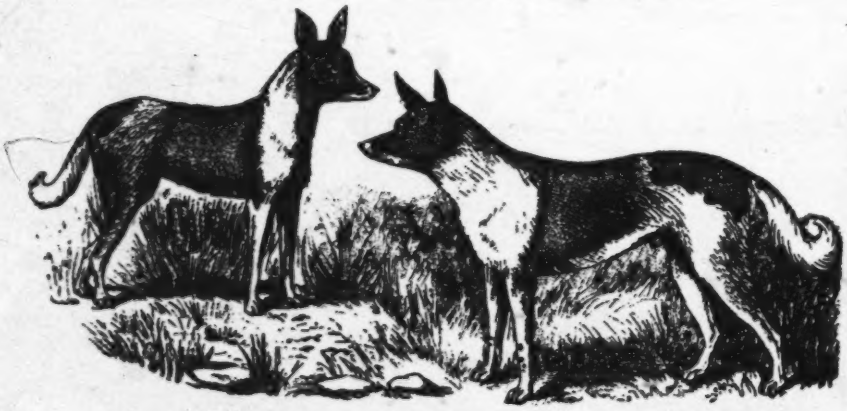

Fig. 68. Male and Female Dogs.

ful at catching the latter, opening them, extracting the little animal cleanly, and eating it" /translated from Spanish/ (Outes [g]:53).

Yahgan is a cross between the fox and the wolf with shaggy, light hair, long, straight, and not very large ears, and a short, pointed tail" /translated from Italian/. Spegazzini (a):163 could hardly express himself more succinctly when he says, the dog "looks much like the common fox" /translated from Spanish/. Dabbene (b):185 writes more exactly: "They are /563/ small and ugly, with long, varicolored hair, a long snout, and large ears that look like those of a fox" /translated from Spanish/ (319). Martial:194 confirms that the dog is "small

319. We shall omit here other descriptions, for example, those of Lista (b):63 and Wieghardt:33.

/563 cont./

231 114 and ugly, its hair long and fawn-colored, and its snout pointed resembling that of a fox" /translated from French/.

Incomparably more valuable than these casual and partial descriptions is Kuenckel's expert examination of two animals of pure breed. In Orange Bay Hyades acquired a newborn bitch from the Indians in January, 1883, and a male dog in February. He raised both animals himself, and since they quickly adjusted to their new masters (320). /Fig. 68 appears here/ he took them to

320. In striking contrast to full-grown animals "which do not let themselves be tamed by Europeans" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q]:365).

Paris with him in September of the same year (Fig. 68). Careful examination revealed: "As Fitz-Roy says, the dog of Tierra del Fuego is small, lively, nervous, resembling a terrier crossed with a fox; his fur is usually rough, sometimes soft, dark or blackish, but he is often completely white or nicely spotted. All the specimens examined had black palates and mouths, straight, large, and pointed ears, noses tapering like that of the fox, the tail hanging down, with a tendency to become bushy" /translated from French/. Agreeing literally with Hyades (q):364, Kuenckel:138 continues: "Well proportioned in its small midriff, the Fuegian dog is characterized by straight, large, pointed ears, by his long, very pointed snout; he also looks like an animal that is more savage than domestic, shaped very much like the jackal; the color of his fur is extremely varied; it is often uniformly dull fawn-colored /564/ which increases its resemblance to this latter animal; frequently, also, the basic color is white and the body is mottled with large black (Tapan) or fawn-colored spots (Katekita) (321); thus Katekita seems to have more natural

321. These are the names of the male and female animals of the above-mentioned pair.

markings. The paws are plainly palmate. This is the physical picture " /translated from French/. This detailed description is

/564 cont./

231 supplemented by Dechambre's thorough examination and by the
114 appended measurements of the bodies of these two dogs (322).

322. Reprinted in Hyades (q):391. The less ample body measurements given by another investigator named Nocard are also published in Hyades (ibid., p. 365). Compare also Hyades (h):39 in connection with this whole subject.

In 1895 and 1896 Otto Nordenskjoeld brought back to Sweden the skeleton of a native dog from his journey to Tierra del Fuego. It came from an animal of the eastern Yamana, which, according to his opinion, could be regarded as one of pure breed. The skeleton was conscientiously studied by Loennberg:10, and each individual part was measured. On the basis of it he also made comparisons with other South American canines. Unfortunately Nordenskjoeld did not leave a description of this animal whose skeleton is now in Stockholm, nor of other Yamana dogs. During a personal interview with him I learned only about the general characteristics of this zoological variety, which were already known to me.

231 During the years of my sojourn in Tierra del Fuego there was
177 not a single pure-bred Indian dog left. In the case of most of the dogs one could easily see what foreign cross-breed they came from. The Whites living there introduced various breeds of dogs and distributed them among the Indians. The latter's dogs were not only very dangerous to strangers, but also caused grave injury among the breeding animals, especially among the sheep.

231 Fred Lawrence confirmed what the older natives had told me: the native dog was of medium size and had a thick, shaggy coat of medium length and predominantly dirty brown in color with irregularly distributed large light spots. The head drooped forward a little and ended in a long, pointed snout. The standing, narrow, medium-length ears were sharply pointed. The eyes were slanting. The long, bushy tail curled up in a half circle. In general the animals had a strong, firm build, but were long and lean. As recently as 1924 several Indians compared the native dog to the

/564 cont./

231 large fox, which was only somewhat smaller. Fred Lawrence described him as similar to those dogs that Europeans had brought along for journeys through the south polar regions. Long before, Webster had declared of the Fuegian dog, "he is very ferocious, and not unlike an Esquimaux dog" /cited in English/ (p. 109 /untranslated, but the page is in English/).

At this point I do not as yet wish to express my own view of the origin of the /565/ Fuegian dog (323). Instead, let me add

323. In Volume I, 95, I had indicated that I would give a final opinion about the origin and development of the Fuegian dog only after I had described the domestic dog of the Halakwulup in Volume III. In Volume I, 276, I briefly described the dog of the Selk'nam according to its zoological characteristics.

that the Yamana do not seem to have any understanding at all of how to breed a special type; in any case they do not go in for it. Hence their animals reproduce erratically, as chance brings them together. According to Kuenckel:138, the Fuegians as a whole "do not have sufficient intelligence to practice methodical selection, they let nature take its course and assert its rights; actually, the dog which is their companion is savage like themselves" /translated from French/.

We have already briefly mentioned the place of the dog in the Indian family. Every family owns several dogs, from three to [422] eight, and each one is regarded as the property of either the man or the woman, or some other person. To have a dog as common property of all the members of the family would be an impossible idea to the Yamana. Many travelers agree in their opinion that the Fuegian has an unmistakable affection for his dogs. From a very early period comes the observation of Captain Snow (a):I, 349: "I also noticed that their dogs claimed a large share of affection" /cited in English/. They belong to the family as a matter of course (324). If one knows the Indian well, one realizes that he

324. Hyades (b):1343 says: "The dog is part

/565 cont./

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of the Fuegian family, to which it is very much attached and which it accompanies everywhere around the hut and in the canoe" /translated from French/.

does not pay the slightest attention to his dogs, much less giving them great care or fondling them. The dogs scarcely expect the slightest attention from their master. They never expect to be fed regularly, for no one finds this convenient. Whenever any person in the canoe or in the hut is eating, the dogs crowd up and wait eagerly to see if a few scraps might be left over for them. If not, they are not disappointed. From the time they were puppies they had to become accustomed to finding their own food. Hunger drives them to the beach where, at low tide, they gnaw the outer calcareous shell of the numerous shellfish and expose the meat. They can leap high and climb bent tree trunks. If the Indian has not secured the birds or seal meat on the branches, the dogs try to get these pieces down. If they are hungry, they take skins that have just been stripped off or even hard leather. Several dogs together will even attack a guanaco and eat their fill of it, and, of course, in their restless foraging they can easily get sleeping birds or young nestlings.

Most of the dogs give an impression of terrible neglect. It is no wonder, for, as Hyades (p):331 admits, "the dogs are never cared for" /translated from French/. The sight of them does not move the Indian, however, even if they walk around battered, with /566/ broken legs, covered with scabs and sores (325). He

325. It has been proved that rabies does not occur among Fuegian dogs.

has no feeling about helping animals. Nevertheless, he would not permit another person to whip his dog, even if that person were completely justified in doing so. He himself is content to punish his dog's mistake with a blow or to drive away the culprit simply with a striking movement (326). Our Indian, however, cannot

326. Kuenckel describes the dog very precisely as "spare, inured to privations, faithful

/566 cont./

231

to his master who is attached to him but never pets him and often strikes him" /translated from French/.

bring himself to kill a few animals out of a large litter, even when he already has half a dozen dogs and does not in the least need any more. He seldom leaves an island without expecting all of his animals to be in the canoe. He would never have the heart to let one or another of them shift for itself. In a fit of rage, however, he will beat his animal so mercilessly that it succumbs (327).

327. "The natives do not like to kill puppies, and children take a fancy to this one or that, and they are kept in a half-starved state. Unless in a passion the natives very seldom kill a dog... The natives themselves are not infrequently attacked and badly bitten by these savage dogs" /cited in English/ (Bridges, in MM:XV, 250; 1881).

From this alone we can see how mistaken Lovisato (b):150 is when he maintains that to their masters the dogs were "the dearest of their creatures, dearer than their women" /translated from Italian/. In another place (b):102, he repeats: "To the Fuegians the dogs are dearer than their women, because they catch the otter, the fox, and the birds" /translated from Italian/. In this opinion he evidently relies on the members of the "Beagle" [522] expedition, for a young Fuegian had succeeded "in persuading Fitz-Roy, as a macabre jest, that in periods of famine they began to eat old women suffocated by being held in thick smoke, whereas they saved the dogs who helped to get otters" /translated from French/. Hyades (h):39 is referring to these words when he says: "The Fuegians are evidently less attached to their dogs than to women, young or old, whom they never dreamed of eating" /translated from French/. Despite utter neglect, the dog is faithfully attached to his master, but this does not prevent him from occasionally attacking his master.

/566 cont./

231 We gladly admit that the Fuegian dog actually performs some services for the Indian, but we must warn of exaggeration. Kuenckel:140 is going too far when he describes the dog as "an associate, a very valuable collaborator" /translated from French/ of his master. It is true that no one likes to give up his animal to a European, but this shows only a certain attachment, not an extraordinary appreciation of the dog's achievements. Kuenckel, however, is right when (ibid., p. 139) he speaks of the dog as "extremely agile and strong in relation to his small size; very watchful and never resting, he is very crafty, defiant, and above all cunning" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy (a):201 emphasizes other natural characteristics of these dogs: "They are exceedingly vigilant and faithful. Their sagacity is shown in many ways; and /567/ not least, in their providing for themselves, each low-water, by cunningly detaching limpets from the rocks, or by breaking muscle /sic/ and other shells, and then eating the fish" /cited in English/. As a result, the dogs cause their masters no worry and are nevertheless useful to them. Each of these animals, to a greater or lesser degree, "despite a very unsightly external appearance, possesses the qualities of its race, such as speed in running, dexterity in hunting the otter, the fox, and birds" /translated from French/ (Hyades [r]:295). It is only in hunting the otter and guanaco that the dog serves the Indian well (328), but by no means in a manner comparable to the dog

328. Compare Hahn in Hyades (q):364, Spegazzini (a):163, Lovisato (b):102, Dabbene (b):185, Martial:194, Kuenckel: 140, and others.

of the Selk'nam. Not a single Yamana actually bothers to train his dog; the things the latter does he has learned by himself or from the example of other dogs. Bridges (i):7 makes a point of saying: "Dogs are never eaten, nor are their skins used; to eat a dog would be almost as bad as cannibalism" /cited in English/.

Day and night he proves to be an extremely reliable watchdog. He seldom leaves his master, only when he must look for food. At night he lies beside his master or on his feet. He starts up at the slightest noise outside. If steps approach, he storms at

/567 cont./

231 the newcomer in frantic excitement. One can defend oneself against his wild attack only with a stick or by throwing stones. He is silenced only by the continuous scolding of his master. Naturally, all the other dogs from neighboring huts will promptly join a dog when he barks and storms against a stranger; all together they make such a noise that the whole camp becomes excited. Sometimes, however, they can be driven off just as quickly, and then they spend their rage in prolonged growling. Often they actually attack, but never from the front. If their barking does not make the strange visitor stop or draw back, they confine themselves to individual barking sounds with interruptions, but during one of these pauses when the stranger is unsuspecting, they will plunge their sharp teeth into his calves. They like to take advantage of the moment when he is stooping to pass through the hut entrance or when his head is turned away. Sometimes the dogs behave so madly that it takes their master a long time to calm them; only then will they permit the stranger to enter the hut without danger (329). In general the dogs are very easily

329. A minor experience of Missionary Bridges: "We find the native dogs very troublesome, they are not half fed, and are of course all loose, and always on the look out for something to do. The other day I was passing with my two boys a parcel of dogs, which began to bark at me, and then the pack set upon me, and though I had a stick I had just as much as I could do to keep them off. One of them bit my boy's trowsers /sic/, and no sooner were we engaged in driving away one, than another rushed on us from behind...It is absolutely necessary to take a stick when one goes to visit the natives or for a walk" /cited in English/ (MM:XV, 249;1881).

aroused and dangerous.

231 177 /568/ It is not only the excitable animosity of Fuegian dogs that exceedingly provokes every European, but even more their mania for destruction and their voraciousness. They enter all buildings craftily and unobserved, plunder storage houses, and rummage through every corner. They enjoy attacking herds of sheep and goats. In order finally to get rid of these burdensome creatures, the White settlers poisoned and shot some and took others alive from the Indians in exchange for European breeds. Since all these bred unselectively among each other, the strangest mixtures resulted. With the decrease in the Indian population, however, they, too, are constantly decreasing and will disappear entirely along with the last Yamana.

F. Treatment of Foodstuffs

261 The little corner of earth that was destined as the home of the Yamana is poor in natural products. This in itself is responsible for many limitations in their means of livelihood. The natives have no choice but to be content with the little that harsh and parsimonious nature has provided for them. Unassuming as they are, they yield to the external pressure that has disciplined them to an amazing state of contentment and humility. Their attitude, however, is far from being one of dull insensibility. Our Indians have by no means lost all freedom of choice and will never, like a badly trained animal, fill their hungry stomachs indiscriminately with anything and everything that is at hand.

The Yamana is more favorably situated than the Selk'nam, because the sea offers more lavish gifts than the interior. Hence he differentiates more than the Selk'nam and shows himself more particular in his choice. He has his own guides and principles that lead him in his selection of food. They are primarily determined by taste, but not entirely, for the Fuegians consistently refuse [272 177] milk, for example, which they could easily obtain from White settlers, and they have adopted other items of European food only after a long period of resistance. In times of distressing hunger they also take things out of necessity which they would decidedly scorn in ordinary life.

/568 cont./

252 Just as the choice of animals for food is very limited, so also is their preparation (330). From the start, the Fuegian relies

> 330. From among the opinions of many travelers we shall here quote only Barclay (a):64: "Living on mussels and fungus, this tribe marks the limit to which man may strip himself of all aid or comfort and yet survive and perpetuate his kind" /cited in English/.

solely on a meat diet. The isolated products of the vegetable kingdom are so insignificant and available at only certain times of the year, that he does not include them in his calculations. The preparation of food is limited to mere roasting in the fire /569/ or steaming in the ashes. Suitable utensils are lacking [445] for boiling, since the Fuegians have neither earthen nor metal vessels. In accordance with the total character of Fuegian culture, the type of diet and its preparation bear the stamp of extreme simplicity and the most abject poverty. Nevertheless, in this field also the Fuegian exercises and develops his mental powers, chiefly good judgment and a voluntary preference for the practical.

1. What They Must Do Without

147 Among the restrictions in diet that the Yamana must put up with and against which he is powerless, there are things that the European regards as indispensable. On the basis of conditions that actually exist in Tierra del Fuego and have been handed down unchanged for centuries from one generation to another, we could correct many inaccurate theories about what constitutes a healthy, beneficial, and necessary diet for man. In spite of much that these natives lack, they appear to be a healthy, vital people, who since time immemorial and in undiminished numbers have led a humanly dignified existence in their hostile environment. Their contentment has even reconciled them to all their troubles and has made them happy amid their pitiful living conditions. Their ugly physique is almost entirely the

/569 cont./

147 result of the way they are forced to sit and work, not, however, of their diet.

262 To every stranger the most striking fact is that the Fuegians can get along with almost no food from the vegetable kingdom. What they eat in the way of fungi and berries occasionally, but always in modest amounts, cannot bear comparison with their uninterrupted meat diet. It is obviously an exaggeration for individual travelers to regard their eating of Cyttaria fungi as worth mentioning. The berries of Pernettya and Berberis have no nourishment, nor have the stalks of Apis, the leaves of Taraxacum, and the roots of Armeria. Cereals, that is, bread and flour, legumes and tubers, fruit and vegetables are unknown to the Fuegian. In summer a person will sometimes eat three or four handfuls of amáiŋgur at one time, which are the berries of Pernettya mucronata, or šépisamájm, the berries of Empetrum rubrum, and if there is a famine, he will eat only Cyttaria fungi for a few days. This, however, can never be upheld as a vegetarian meal (331) since it is obviously only a slight refreshment, an

> 331. The members of the Mission Scientifique maintain with Hyades (q):338 about the Yamana: "We never saw them make a meal of only vegetable foods" /translated from French/. Other reliable observers report it just as scarce.

expedient, or a very occasional tickling of the palate.

263 The invariable meat diet in itself scarcely gives them any real desire /570/ for salt, although all the meat is extremely fat. The meat salts probably suffice for the human body, and beyond that it gets, almost unconsciously and unnoticed, a not inconsiderable amount of salt from the sea water. In the shells of Mytilus and other mussels, in the calcareous shells of sea urchins and crabs, there is always a small amount of sea water, even though the contents have been cooked. When pieces of [252] meat of birds and seals are washed off, the Indians prefer to use sea water from which a tiny amount of salt inevitably remains on the meat.

/570 cont./

263 on the meat. Finally, without conscious intent, the Indians take
[271] the ocean spray, even larger drops, into their mouths when it strikes their faces while they work in the canoe or on the beach. These individually very insignificant particles of salt I should estimate as a not too small daily total in view of the high salt content of sea water (332). The Yamana need a somewhat larger

332. We look in vain for any reference to this among those Europeans who have only expressed their astonishment at the absence of salt. All the missionaries and many travelers report that the food is not specially salted, for example, Outes (g):52, Hyades (q):339, and others. The latter (d):306 also maintains: "Sea salt as a condiment is unknown and would not be appreciated" /translated from French/; it is much sharper than cooking salt, as is well known.

amount of salt than the Selk'nam because they eat considerable amounts of light fat daily and because the meat juice of all the animals they consume contains far less salt than guanaco meat. This amount of salt is supplied to their bodies unconsciously, so to speak, but very definitely, and for this reason they do not need to sprinkle additional salt on their roast.

It is not surprising that the Fuegians are also unacquainted with any kind of spices and stimulants. Without reservation Hyades
[276] (d):306 emphasizes: "They do not use any intoxicating, narcotic, or stimulating substance" /translated from French/ and adds in another place (f):564 that they do not have "condiments." This designation includes pepper and nutmeg, cloves and caraway,
262 vinegar, and similar things. Liquid fat, however, from seals and whales, if one wishes to include that here, is very often taken in small amounts (333), but it serves the natives as actual

333. Hyades (f):564 confirms that "seal oil is very much enjoyed and that the natives drink it with pleasure in small amounts, before or after the meal" /translated from French/.

/570 cont./

262 nourishment of very considerable importance.

For sweets, which they must painfully do without, they show
263 almost a passion, probably for that very reason. They have only temporarily at their disposal the ripe berries with low sugar content from the well-known shrubs. In early summer they take the nectar out of the blossoms of miku (Embothrium coccineum) with their tongues, chew the sweetish petals of the rare Philesia buxifolia, and suck the sweet young shoots of Poa flabellata, the type of grass that they use as litter for their beds (p. 31). Finally they peel a piece of bark from young tree trunks in the spring. /571/ Exerting pressure, they scrape a mussel shell along the exposed fibrous layer, from below upward. In the process the sweetish sap, ukex, collects in the mussel shell and they drink it. All this taken together is still only a tiny amount of sweets.

263 Nowadays our Indians always procure sugar first whenever
177 possible, and that abundantly (334). As may be expected, they

334. Along with other observers Hyades (f):564 emphasizes that they show "a real passion for natural sugar and heavily sweetened substances" /translated from French/.

use it indiscriminately and lavishly. They are guided, however, not so much by the physiological need, but far more by their enjoyment of it (335). Their partiality for onions is also remarkable. The cooked meat of crabs, especially axiya (Lithodes antarctica) and ítekálus (Paralomis verrucosus), is very tasty prepared with a little vinegar and chopped onions. The Yamana, without exception, are enthusiastic about this. Nowadays if they cook a meal of beans or rice or other legume, they naturally use cooking salt; only when they do not have it do they stir up the mixture with sea water. The addition of salt is demanded in this type of food which tastes flat even when larger pieces of meat of

335. I noticed the same behavior among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 293).

/571 cont./

263 177 sea birds or seals are cooked in it. Along with European foods, the desire for salt was introduced there.

273 177 In the entire vegetable kingdom of the Cape Horn region there is not a sufficient amount of a single fruit that would be suitable for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The latter were unknown to the Yamana until they were offered to them by Europeans. The navigators of earlier times often noted that our natives could not develop a taste for spirits. They have come to it only through frequent use in the last few decades (336). Whiskey is almost never

336. Dabbene (b):187 from his own experience says: "Formerly they did not like alcoholic beverages, but now they have become accustomed to them through their contact with civilization and ardently desire them" /translated from Spanish/. Wieghardt: 37 and others say the same.

[439] 133 available to them; instead they get the thick red wine from the Mendoza region, which they call sāpa, "blood." When they have an opportunity, they put a great deal of this into their stomachs, and since their nerves react to it immediately, they drag their drunkenness with its attendant symptoms about with them for days. A small amount is very hard on these natural people who are not accustomed to it, and the damage to their health is inestimable (p. 351 /untranslated/) (337). A few /572/ persons, such as Nelly

337. Dune:93 writes that when in these distant regions "civilization obtruded and brought along its inevitable accompaniments [alcohol and tobacco], it became clear that these sons of the wilderness [the Selk'nam] did not place any value on them. The Yahgan, on the other hand, quickly fell victims to the new luxuries and were capable of giving up their last skin [of seal and otter] for a piece of tobacco or a drink of whiskey." Compare in this connection the more detailed account on page 348 /untranslated/.

/572 cont./

133 Lawrence and Adelheid, refuse all alcoholic beverages on principle. The former has often and emphatically lamented the devastation that alcohol still inflicts on her compatriots. She has repeatedly said that so much alcohol, which formerly was entirely unknown, has very much weakened the memory of the members of her tribe for their old traditions and beautiful legends. She is scarcely wrong in this.

276 Most men have, of course, become accustomed to tobacco.
177 They do not care so much for cigarettes, but prefer pressed tobacco which they smoke in pipes. They think this is more pleasurable, and it also lasts longer. The pipe is particularly convenient on the canoe trip. They are not capable of really enjoying the taste of tobacco; it is only the playful occupation with the pipe that amuses them. Not unimportant in this connection is their desire to be like Europeans. Self-respect and the need for recognition would make it impossible for a Yamana to refuse a cigarette offered by a European. Smoking never develops into a passion among our Indians; if they do not have tobacco, there is nothing in their behavior to indicate that they are missing something. Among primitive peoples tobacco does not have anywhere near the harmful effects on their health that alcohol has.

271 Since not a single alcoholic beverage is available to the
312 Fuegians, they are dependent solely on natural water. It comes to them from many rivulets, springs, and brooks. No matter how cold it is, it does not harm them; some people prefer it, the colder, the better. They lay stress on pure water. If they have no other choice but to get water from swampy, boggy places, they put a layer of beard moss (Usnea barbata) or small-leaved shrubs (Nothofagus antarctica) on top and press it down slightly. This causes the filtered water to seep slowly through to the surface, the roiled mud soon settles, and the water is potable. In other swampy spots they pull up a small shrub or the thick fleshy stalk of a swamp plant, and the water quickly gathers in this hole; in a few minutes it becomes clear (338).

338. Snow (a):1, 344 observed: "On one occasion, being thirsty, and seeing no fresh water near, I indicated my desire;

/372 cont./

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312

> whereupon one of the men went to a tree and with a spear struck at the roots, and speedily procured some" /cited in English/.

271/ The people not only cannot do without drinking water for any length of time, but quite the contrary, they drink often and always a great deal. They do this to conspicuously that Fitz-Roy (a):185 noticed "the Fueguians drink only pure water, but often and in large quantities" /cited in English/ (330). The enormous-

> 330. What Despard (b):680 asserts, namely, "they drink great quantities of water" /cited in English/, Hyades (f):365 repeats in more detail: "They drink often and much. I have seen them take in considerable quantities of water at one draught" /translated from French/. Wieghardt:36, Martial:194, and others express themselves in a similar vein.

nary quantities of fat which they eat arouse the /372/ desire for frequent drinking. Even "in the course of the meal they went to drink at a nearby spring, or carried the water when they had watertight utensils" /translated from French/ (Martial:194). They also drink when they are not thirsty.

271/ This is chiefly the explanation for the fact that every family
516 purposely erects its hut near a brook or rivulet, in order to avoid
445 constant running to the spring. Usually each one goes by himself to the little body of water at which he quenches his thirst. Depending on local conditions, he lies down flat on the ground and puts his mouth to the water, sucking it in, or he crouches somewhat sideways close to the edge and scoops up the water in the cup of his hand or with /Fig. 69 appears here/ a large Mytilus shell, or finally, he squats quite close to the small stream, bends his head down low, and sucks the water into his mouth through a hollow bone, *Embolim* (Fig. 69). This tube is nothing more than a long bird bone, the two ends of which are filed against a rough stone until the spongy bone fibers disappear. What is left is still 20 to 35 centimeters long. Almost always the long leg bone of a

/1919 cont./

271 576 45 [illegible] ceremony is chosen for it. Some people wear the small tube in front on a braided straw cord tied around the neck, just as the spoons pair it on the wholeto /[illegible]/ at the close of the initiation ceremonies. Most persons find it more convenient to suck water through the small tube because they squat comfortably in doing so and take in only a thin stream of the sometimes ice-cold water (301).

301. Codex (?)-227 showsgid a man in a squat position drinking through a tube or a straw. This drawing had the caption:

Fig. 69. The Use of the Sucking Tube.

"Chwidgwengwanis drinking or a straw with a pipe of bone" /translated from French/ (Fig. 69). Wingborh-37 designates this article as "a kind of tube usually made from a bone" /translated from Spanish/, and Martin-194 as "a kind of small pipe made from the fore bone of a carnivorous /translated from French/. In place of this bone tube they also, as Hyades (p)-301 explains, use "hollow reed stalks or stems of other plants" /translated from French/, but that is only in exceptional cases.

271 45 /1919/ I could not find out anything about special rules for the everyday use of this little tube, and there did not seem to be

/[illegible] /

[illegible] ory. The candidates in the [illegible], however, man-ent the rule each time, and toward the end of their probation they are trusted to go on using it. The little rule probably did not originate solely as a precaution against the cold water. It is also used in the hut when someone has brought in water in the large Yolana shell or in a leather pouch. This pouch is exactly like the one used by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, Figs. 71 and 72) and here as well as there is made out of the stiff leather of an old male seal. Other world dippers or containers that hold the contents so safely as does the Yolana shell are not used by the Yamana.

The Yamana, especially those in the border regions, are never at any time of the year safe from the threatening spectre of hunger. It would be entirely incorrect to interpret the reluctance of a few families to leave that survey overnight the entire tribe more or less constantly (361). Famine actually comes

> 361. The assertion of Lucas (g) 56 that "during the winter when the coasts become inaccessible, many victims of hunger perish" /translated from Spanish/ is incorrect.

upon them as a general phenomenon. Lack of food overtakes individual families only temporarily, that is, for a few days. The most common cause is such stormy weather with an angry sea for several days that a family cannot leave the place where they are in order to look for food elsewhere. When their few provisions are used up -- and this happens very quickly, since there is never a thought of saving up -- trouble begins if all the resources on the spot are exhausted and relentless natural forces put a stop to further travel. This has will overtake a family, for example, who has fled to an island or been invited on a small island where birds do too slight and where the coast falls off steeply. In most places on the Cape there Arch-Indian they find on bare sandstone-sized and small mussels which are temporarily laid bare by low tide, even in bad weather. In some places they can make shift with fungi. "When bad weather lasts a long time, fishing becomes impossible and resources, always very small, are quickly exhausted, then they eat fungi which are found abundantly on beach rock" /translated from French/ (Martial 109).

/[illegible] cam-/

241 This shows that individual families may be in danger of
131 having to suffer hunger at any time during the year, but only
on certain places (242). A family may suffer also demerits

242. Dempwolf (f)-[illegible] says very definitely: "Occasionally, through stress of weather in winter, they suffer hunger, but from their fat bodies /[illegible]/, one would judge these painful occasions are rare" /cited in English/.

another, but for less frequent reasons, when they lose their canoe and do not make immediate contact with their own people. There are places where the available food /[illegible]/ animals are quickly exhausted, and whoever cannot leave such a place in time must be prepared to suffer hunger. Formerly, when this Indian tribe has more numerous, canoes were everywhere actively moving about, an abandoned family immediately summoned help by means of the ceremony smoke signals and was soon relieved. Finally, in more recent times, the food supplies of a family could become scarce when the family was struck by an epidemic. Children especially were in a serious situation when their parents or adult relatives were prevented from hunting for food because of illness. Neighbors, of course, were glad to help out, but even so, the days of bitter want sometimes continued for a while. It was probably very seldom, if at all, that a Tlingit died of hunger alone.

Hyades (g)-56 has described how the Indians believe in such
241 difficulties. In times of food scarcity "if chance does not let them find a dead seal or a stranded whale on the shore, it means, of course, fasting. Then they lie motionless in their bare around the smoldering fire and get up only if fresh firewood is needed. If their hunger grows too intense, they gather the roots of Arenaria [illegible] (243) on the beach, and although these contain

243. Sometimes also dandelion leaves (Taraxacum). They want this, above all, to suppress the feeling of hunger. Compare Chow (g)-50 and Hyades (f)-[illegible].

/575 cont./

261 almost no food value, they stuff their rumbling stomachs with them. Fortunately, snow storms (344) such that make any outside

> 344. A much greater impediment than snowstorms is the agitated sea when meter-high waves roll up from the south and churn up the water even in remote channels.

activity impossible seldom last more than three or four days, and that, after all, can be endured. In such periods of fasting the people quickly become emaciated, but as soon as they have enough food they recover almost as quickly, and then they can eat quite surprising quantities of meat." Sometimes the emergency can reach such a point that the people begin to chew pieces of leather. Darwin (d):245 ventured the false assertion [266] that "if in winter they are plagued with hunger, they would sooner kill and eat their old women than slaughter their dogs." The reliable Bridges (h):206 (345) and later Hyades (q):339

> 345. He specified: "There have been occasions of extreme hunger, when bad weather kept them from obtaining provisions from the forest, shore, or sea, during which they ate their leather shoes and thongs, but no one thought of proposing the eating of human flesh" /translated from Spanish/.

both very definitely disagreed with this. The Indians, however, [674] do steal from any European settled there if they are unable to obtain the most necessary food in any other way (346). When the

> 346. Bridges (e):333, for example, concedes this: "The natives killed some cattle and goats, and they steal crops from the fields; still, one is surprised at the limited extent of their thefts, if one considers the half-starved state in which they live."

261 /575 cont./
days of need are over, they recover /576/ surprisingly fast; serious after-effects or a weakening of their health scarcely ever appear. Habit has taught them how best to overcome the brief periods of hunger without harm.

262 439 Ever since the Yamana have had easy access to the various farms, they have bartered there for all kinds of European food and luxuries, such as sugar and wine, coffee and tea, onions, canned tomatoes, and other things. They also acquired cooking pots, in which they prepare our foods so that they are reasonably tasty. This strange diet, however, is not good for their health. [144] Besides toothache, other physical ailments appear, which the people in olden times were fortunately spared despite all kinds of deprivations.

2. How They Divide the Booty

225 We must insert here a few data about the way in which larger pieces of game are used. On the one hand we shall mention obligations of a social nature, for which we shall later give more detailed reasons. On the other hand, the receipt of a gift cannot be compared with ordinary food-getting. Since, however, in the case of the most important animals hunted, namely, seals and whales, there is a definite obligation to let others share it, we shall most conveniently describe here the prevailing custom.

Every local group greets with indescribable rejoicing a whale that has been driven inland or deposited on the beach. Dense swarms of sea birds announce this extraordinary gift of nature. According to the general conception, any man who has first seen or touched the whale is the owner of it, not, however, in the sense that he alone may eat of this animal, the enormous masses of which he would, in any case, be incapable of coping with, but only insofar as it is up to him to arrange an orderly distribution (347).

347. From an earlier period when whales were still plentiful Bridges (a):208 reported: "Certain persons, those who first found the whale, have the right to distribute it" /cited in English/.

/576 cont./

225 No one clamors for priority rights since, in view of the gigantic size of the animal, everyone can abundantly satisfy his wishes.
[887] In general, the old, influential men reach an agreement with the one who first sighted or touched the whale as to which of them should undertake the dissection. Not everyone has the experience and skill to do this, but these are demanded in order that the distribution can proceed without a hitch and as little as possible of the meat and fat is lost. A so-called wálaputës, a man who is prac-
[463] ticed in cutting up a whale (348), chooses four or five helpers with

348. BD:630 describes him as "clever, expert, careful in cutting up a whale" /cited in English/.

whom he attacks the giant animal.

They make a quick estimate to determine the number of people present. Then they immediately step up to the whale or on top of it, and with /577/ sharp mussel shells they cut off one piece of fat after another, the size of a small table-top. Each distributor begins at a certain spot on the carcass and first of all scrapes off the parasites from the surface, especially the common Balanus psittacus. Then he strips off the thin skin and makes incisions from above deep enough to strike the muscle tissues. Finally he separates the square flap of fat from below and lets it go to the first applicant. One small area close to another is taken off the whale carcass by the distributor. Before he gives away an individual piece, he makes a long incision in the middle of this large flap of fat, through which the recipient sticks his head. It hangs around his neck like a shoulder-cape and he goes off with it happily in the direction of his hut. It could not be as conveniently carried either on his back or in his arms; it cannot slide off and, besides, he has his hands free. Without discrimination, one after another of the persons assembled gets his piece and returns when he has consumed it.

Naturally, one or another of them can state his preferences to the distributor, for certain areas are tastier than others. Even on the trip to the spot where the whale is stranded people talk about the abundance that has now been offered them and express their preference for this or that morsel. One person, for instance,

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225 will hanker after a piece of breast, another for a piece from the neck; that one prefers the head or the tail fin, some like other parts better. This conversation arises from unrestrained exuberance, and everybody's joy over the rich gift finds expression in such spontaneous wishes. In reality, however, so many special demands could not be considered, nor is the distributor bound to comply with them. In spite of all the previous talk, everyone is content to take any piece that is given him, no matter whether he previously expressed himself in favor of some other one. A sense of honor and the pressure of self-discipline forbid loud demands for preferred parts or expressions of discontent over the piece offered. Since I am not in a position to check personally, I must trust the statements of the Indians that some layers of fat are tastier than others. In general, the entire belly covering is regarded as the best piece.

225 825 192 There are special names for the larger individual body areas of all species of whales. The lips are called kāuwa. The adjacent lower part between the lower jaw bones is télaix; the upper part adjacent to the central head area is tāsa. To the right and lest of this are the two cheeks, čítēška. Next to the jaw region and lower neck, yāuaxē, is māmaia, the generally furrowed breast and belly area. The areas below the cheeks are very rich in fat and are called ēpélēr. On the back, tāsa leads into tauwēla, the anterior middle back which /578/ leads into hēssēn, or hēssētēx. On either side of this are the ápi areas. Between these and the māmaia region are the kāuiya māmaia, the actual sides of the whale above the vestigial dorsal fins; in front of these, toward the cheeks, are éntēs and énča. The entire rear tapering part is called yēsāpi and leads into the wide tail fin, lēpus. The pair of front side fins is called kāuiči. These areas are named with reference to the layer of fat because the fat is first removed from every stranded whale. An exception is made in the case of the finback, čiyix (Ziphius spec.?), the fat of which has a very laxative effect. When afterwards they want to refer to the meat exposed directly under the layer of fat, they choose, in part, names having the additional word iskun (meat). Thus ápi iskun is the meat in the abdominal covering. Moreover, there is a special designation for the meat of the entire upper and lower rump, namely, uskūpur. The

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225 parts on the upper jaw extending far back are called yáua-ē-;
825 the tongue, lénki; and the entrails, hésuwa. For the meat close
192 between and on the bones, they use the special designation híta (349).

349. BD:260 gives a different meaning: "Old and much wasted blubber as found on shores after being long in the sea" /cited in English/.

and for the fatty tissue in the body cavities, apéla. The great importance of a stranded whale for an entire group of people explains why there are special designations for the individual areas and parts of the body. Even the place where the whale has been tossed up has the special name ufkáriteka. The word tuufkáritekána, which BD:451 translates "to send (as God does) supplies of whale meat" /cited in English/, comes from the same root.

225 It is easy to see the reason for the distribution by different men. It is nothing more nor less than the best possible utilization of the entire huge animal. They do not want any part to be lost or soiled and trampled. Such devastation would be unavoidable if everybody could step up to the whale unhindered and ruthlessly cut out certain parts for himself. In an orderly distribution the special wishes of those present are considered as much as possible, everyone receives an abundance, and the entire supply is utilized. Hence everybody adheres strictly to the established custom and lets the respective distributors attend to their duty. In spite of
225 this, selfishness sometimes prevails, and a group will try to con-
578 ceal the stranding of a whale from others or, if the latter should come near, deny them access to the dead sea monster. Immediately a fight begins and the weaker side must give up the booty to the others (350). Such events /579/ are rare because a floating

350. Bridges (a):208 leaves no doubt about serious encounters over a stranded whale: "As long as a party can safely keep a whale to themselves they take care not to spread the news...But great fights sometimes happen through the selfishness of a party. For

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the news must spread abroad, and then a rush of people happens, they are disappointed by coming too late, and should those who hoarded up the blubber not part it out, there is a fight, canoes are broken, and this brings on a general engagement" /cited in English/. As we have said, however, these are rare occurrences.

dead whale is announced over a wide area, and many people hasten there, even from afar. In comparison with these, the ones that first take possession of it are always in the minority.

225 It hardly seems possible, but in the end even a whale is not an inexhaustible source of fat and meat. If 20 families -- usually, however, the number is doubled and quadrupled -- descend on this sea monster, eating excessively and storing large masses of [251] fat in the swamp, the supply diminishes perceptibly. Sometimes many people will leave after about a week, tired of the monotonous diet, and will make room for others. The new arrivals pounce on the rest ravenously, and it diminishes all the more quickly the more numerous they are. A whale has probably never lasted for more than a month, even if it was one of the largest species, such as hašuwápisa (Balaenoptera intermedia), and was an extraordinarily large specimen, kupatmérana. Sooner or later the skeleton lay there pretty much cleaned of meat and fat, left to the further cleansing of rain and waves.

Lewis, from his own experience, reported on October 9, 1871, about a seemingly mortally weary small whale (351) which was

351. "It was a whale, very young, about 17 feet in length" /cited in English/.

effortlessly killed near the coast on September 13th. "The process of dissection was carried on with such zest, that by eleven A.M. the same day not a vestige of flesh or bone remained on the spot, save the liver, not eaten as a rule by the natives. Our poor fellows jumped into the almost freezing water nearly up to their armpits, and applied themselves as I had never previously seen them do;

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225 a fire was soon made on the spot, some strips of blubber frizzled thereon, and eaten with a gusto. Canoes from all directions soon made their appearance, and a sorry time of it had our poor fellows, for whilst a bit of whale remained to be obtained by coaxing, importunity, or bullying, not a woman would stur /sic/ to get a mussel. The little wood adjacent became the midnight resort of wandering spirits, who turned up [in] all suspicious-looking places in the little stream, often alighting upon some cautiously concealed blubber, much to the loss and sorrow of the owners who had deposited it there for safety, and preservation from corruption" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34;1872). This shows the bustling general activity of the people gathered round the sea monster, for it furnishes the raw material for many useful things.

Until the most recent times a stranded whale was a great attraction for all the natives. On July 19, 1902, Williams (MM: XXVI, 277) wrote: "A little time ago a whale was found on the beach in Cunna-voosh, and as soon as the news reached Tekenika about thirty left for /580/ a feast. Most of them returned in seven or eight days" /cited in English/. Since then it has not become known that a dead or sick whale was stranded in the area inhabited by the Yamana. This has been a real loss which they bitterly lament.

225 431 577 Quite different from all this is the procedure of a man who occasionally dissects and distributes a large seal. Anyone who has been favored with success in the hunt takes the booty intact to his hut. Here he immediately skins it (p. 68). If it is a particularly large animal, perhaps a bear seal, tĕpĕ̄ʍa (Arctocephalus australis), or an elephant seal, hásaxuwa (Macrorhinus leoninus), he usually summons two other men and says: "Here is the seal, divide it among us all!" With these words he hands over, as it were, to the community of all the families who happen to be there the fresh carcass of the animal and relinquishes his personal right of disposal. These men cut up the booty into several large pieces, according to the number of huts, and send them off. The hunter is scarcely favored, but nevertheless he shows himself satisfied with what he gets, just like any of the others. Social considerations for the group as a whole have created this habit which we shall discuss later in this book.

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Although it involves only a moral obligation, no one can actually avoid it in the long run. It also applies to less important things. For example, in the case of a small sea lion, either ā̆ma (Otaria jubata) or lēfkeā̆ma (Otaria falklandica), the successful hunter drags it in front of his own hut and cuts it up himself into several pieces. Now it is the duty of the woman to share it with other families. She counts the women who live next to her and brings each one a good piece of meat, even if she should have no more left over for her own family than what she gave each of the others. Sometimes she goes empty-handed when there are many who expect a gift from her. To give away inferior parts or to keep conspicuous amounts for herself would arouse a harsh suspicion of selfishness. It seems that in former times every hunter would bring a guanaco whole back to his hut and only then dissect it. His wife took over the task of distributing the individual pieces (352).

352. Only Aspinall:270 reports: "Anyone fortunate enough to kill a guanaco must give certain parts to relatives and friends, and this is always done very willingly." It would be more accurate to say that the neighbors, whoever they happen to be, are, without discrimination, presented with a decent piece of meat.

This duty to let others share in one's own success also applies to the things that the women and girls have gathered. If they bring home fungi and berries, mussels and snails, crabs and fish in their little baskets, they immediately make gifts to all the women. A person who gets sea birds or birds' eggs divides them equally. Thus, no one keeps for himself everything he has hunted or gathered, and everyone strives to fulfill this universally applicable duty. The pieces to be distributed are given to the neighboring families according to certain rules which we shall discuss later.

/581/ 3. How They Prepare the Food

252 Like the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 296), our Yamana are also exclusively meat-eaters (353). This means, as Hyades

> 353. This means, conversely, according to Hyades (q):338: "We have never seen them make a meal of vegetable foods alone" /translated from French/.

(d):306 expresses himself: "their food is exclusively animal" /translated from French/. Because of all kinds of hindrances, however, they cannot spend much time or effort in preparing their food. The simplicity to which their entire household management is geared is clearly reflected in their type of diet and the preparation of their food.

The Fuegians, like any other primitive people in the wide world, do not eat most of their food in a raw state. It is a proved fact that in everyday circumstances they roast, steam, or boil every morsel that they eat, with very few exceptions. Many observers have unanimously confirmed this. Bridges' (e):332 assertions merit full confidence: "The Yahgans do not eat raw meat, neither fowl nor fish, but cook [roast!] all their meat at the fire"; and in (h):205: "They do not eat meat or fish raw" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (f):564 repeatedly emphasized that "they eat all this food only after having put it in the ashes or over the fire" /translated from French/, and (b): 1345 that "foods are preferably eaten cooked or partially roasted" /translated from French/. Certain restrictions, such as Despard's (b):680 that "all food, but limpets, is roasted" /cited in English/, are correct, but in this case it means that only meat is roasted at the open fire, whereas mussels and snails are heated in the ashes.

Moreover, in these general statements it is assumed that the Indians are not hindered in the preparation of their food by unusual circumstances. A family which has accidentally been cut off without a fire on a small island must, of course, to avoid starving to death, swallow the meat of birds and shellfish raw.

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252 These are emergency situations, however, which Fitz-Roy (a):184 has characterized as follows: "When there is time, the natives roast their shell-fish, and half-roast any other food that is of a solid nature; but when in haste, they eat fish, as well as meat, in a raw state" /cited in English/. As confirmation, we finally have the testimony of the catechist Lewis: "During the whole twenty years in which I have known them I have never seen or heard of a Fuegian eating even a piece of raw meat or uncooked mussel. The latter shellfish is the staff of life with them, but they always cook them, and never eat raw meat. Their food is grilled on the embers or baked in the ashes of the fire" /cited in English/ (MM: XII, 248;1878) (354). This alone proves the significance of the

354. Compared to the many definite assertions of conscientious observers, the vague words of Lovisato (b):151 and Outes (g):52, for example, lose all their reliability.

fire, which each family constantly maintains, even in the canoe, during their journeys which are usually long (p. 43).

/582/ They are content with merely the action of heat and fire on their food; it is impossible to do more with it because pots and vessels are lacking. There is no actual cooking (355).

[415] 355. If someone should happen to need something warm, he fills a large Voluta snail shell, places it in the ashes, and puts a few small stones which have been heated in the fire into the shell with fire tongs. In this process, of course, the water never evaporates, hence it would not be suitable for cooking meat or vegetables.

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At the same time it is impossible to use spices and condiments. If they were added, they would disappear in the fire. I can only repeat with Hyades (p):328 that "intoxicating, narcotic, or stimulating substances are not known" /translated from French/.

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252 The only taste that a morsel offers is what it has naturally.

When the Indian has caught a seal and skinned it, he dissects the carcass into as many large pieces as he has neighbors to whom he must give presents (p. 314). If he is somewhere by himself, he first takes off the outer layer of fat and hangs the carcass on a high branch. He cuts off only as much meat as can be eaten. The lump of meat, which is almost never washed beforehand, is placed on glowing wood embers that give off no flame and glow evenly; thus the meat does not immediately burn. It is turned at brief intervals with a stick until it is done to a certain extent. Less juice is lost and the heat treatment is more uniform if a short stick is pounded into the earth near the embers. The upper end of the stick is pointed, and the lump of meat is pressed on it so as to hang down like a small, limp flag. When one side has had enough heat, the piece is turned around with the fingers. The turning is repeated at short intervals until even the innermost layers are tender. If there is a great deal of dripping fat, a mussel shell is placed underneath to catch it. The meat of the whale and guanaco is roasted in the same way, for it can be conveniently cut into uniformly thick pieces after the bones have been carved out.

When the Indian woman has a bird which she has just killed, she first opens the breast and abdominal cavity with a lengthwise incision of a mussel shell and tears out all the entrails with a few vigorous pulls. She lets the dogs have these. Only occasionally she rinses out the blood-filled body cavity with water. She cuts off the head straight across and high up. Then she plucks out the larger feathers by grasping a bunch of them in her hand and pulling them out with a sharp jerk. The lower sections of wings and legs she breaks off at the joints. She does not waste any time over the short, fine feathers, but holds the carcass near the flame and singes them. She scrapes off the small burned parts with a mussel shell. A penguin, which has a very thick layer of meat over the breast bone, /583/ is cut up or torn apart into several uneven pieces. These are placed on the embers to roast or are impaled on small perpendicular sticks beside the fire. The carcass of a cormorant, which has dry, tough meat is also treated in this way, but more often the body cavity is filled with heated stones the size of a fist or smaller and the entire animal

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252 is placed on a low fire. The heat inside and out is slow but steady.

Before fish are brought to the fire, the Indian woman opens the abdomen with a mussel shell or with a vigorous bite of her teeth and eviscerates the animal with her fingers. She scrapes off most of the scales with a mussel shell. Then she immediately piles up a thick layer of hot ashes near the flame and puts the fish in a deep bed of these ashes. Sometimes she also puts a single smoldering piece of charcoal on top of it. In this sheath the fish bakes slowly but evenly. When the Indian woman afterwards lifts it out, she scrapes it more carefully than before to get the remaining scales and all the ashes off. I observed the custom mentioned by Hyades (c):142 that "fish and game are partly roasted on the fire and basted with clear water, like all the drinking water" /translated from French/. Only one Indian woman explained to me that this made the meat tastier. The small fish from the schools of herring, ĺlëšči, were usually baked in the hot ashes. Sometimes the Indians prepared a savory morsel in the manner described correctly by Lovisato (b):142: "Sometimes a few small fish are cooked in seal fat or in the pestiferous fat of putrid whale; a Mytilus shell heated in the fire is put inside, and then some hot pebbles are put on top of the fish" /translated from Italian/. This preparation takes somewhat more time, but it is chosen by the people when they know they are free for days from food worries because of the abundant masses of fish.

Birds' eggs, like fish, are always placed in hot ashes. First at least a small hole, sometimes two, are bored in the shell so that it does not burst in the uneven heat. The egg is frequently turned in the hot ashes, but is left there until it is quite hard inside. A Yamana would never eat half-cooked, much less raw eggs (356). BD:68 gives warukěna, "to cook eggs as the natives

356. Lewis has explained this convincingly: "Even eggs are invariably cooked [in the ashes of the fire]. I remember Mrs. Lewis once asking an Indian woman at Ushuaia to find and bring her some wild goose eggs, and to her surprise the woman brought them already cooked" /cited in English/ (MM: XXIV, 84;1890).

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252 do, with great care, in the ashes or embers" /cited in English/.

In the household of the Yamana the fat of mammals plays an important part and is very much in demand (357). The layer

357. We often read, as in Bridges (a):213: "Whale-blubber is the most highly esteemed dish, and they soon get very fat on it" /cited in English/.

of fatty tissue which is very thick directly under the skin is /584/ cut off in long strips with mussel shells and hung over tree branches. They are taken down as needed. They are preferably roasted between hot stones because they taste best that way. A rather large flat stone is first heated thoroughly at the fire and set firmly on the ground near the fire. When the second, smaller flat stone also seems hot enough, a thin lappet of fat is laid on the first stone and covered with the second. They are called hapätux. After several minutes the piece is already brown on the outside and well roasted inside. We may add briefly that whale meat is always prepared in this manner, sometimes also that of seals and guanacos, because the fat does not drip out completely nor is the surface scorched. If someone wants a crisp piece of fat, he hangs it up on a small stick driven into the ground near the fire and exposes it to the radiating heat. A great deal of fat drips off which is caught in flat Mytilus shells and sometimes in the large shell of the Voluta snail. The very much shriveled fat tissue tickles the palate of the gourmet. The melted fat, kun, is collected in pieces of sea lion intestines.

For later use the fatty tissue is cut up into short finger-thick strips and stuffed into a piece of gut. The fat melts if it is kneaded between the fingers or exposed to the heat near the fire and in hot ashes. The piece of gut has been previously turned inside out, cleaned, tied shut at one end, filled with air and fastened at the other end with sinews. It is used only after it is dry, and now it is filled with pieces of fat instead of air, or immediately with liquid blubber, and tied shut with sinews. For greater safety, a short, thin little stick, like a sausage skewer, has been stuck into one end, in front of which the threads are wound so that they do not slide out. After the gut has been filled, the

/584 cont./

252 same thing is done at the other end. These blubber sausages, yáiyi, are easy to handle and they are hung up in the hut on strings. Often they are also filled with the fat of seals. Sometimes a larger amount of blubber is collected in the stomach of a sea lion.

Another kind of sausage, known as kéti, is made from the blood that collects in the abdominal cavity of a freshly killed sea lion or guanaco. It is poured into a soft, not yet dried piece of gut which, as we said before, is tied shut and placed in hot ashes. While it is roasting, they poke small holes into it with a small pointed stick, to keep it from bursting. Furthermore, they collect the heart, lungs, liver, the stomach walls cut into pieces, and the blood and fat tissues of a cormorant or wild goose, stuff all these small parts into the alimentary canal of the bird, knead them thoroughly on the outside with the fingers, and let them roast in hot ashes.

The women always have a supply of dried, short pieces of gut in order not to miss the frequent opportunity of collecting blubber. They also save /585/ the large, firm alimentary canal of the álakuš (Tachyeres cinereus) which they have previously blown up and dried. They like this particularly well to fill with blubber because it is easy to get and because it is wider than the alimentary canal of other birds.

262 It is well known that mussels are the chief ingredient in the diet of our Fuegians (358). Other shells and snails, which are

358. Bridges is entirely right when he says: "Mussels are to the Firelanders what bread is to the Englishman -- the staff of life all the year round" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 58; 1876). M'Cormick:I, 315 had already used the same comparison: "Limpets [are] their favorite food, and, as bread is with us, their staff of life" /cited in English/.

found there in much smaller amounts, are also eaten (359). The

359. Hyades (f):563 confirms this: The

/585 cont./

262 molluks are the one somewhat constant article in the native diet" /translated from French/.

252 The preparation of the double-shelled mussels is a simultaneous steaming and boiling. When the Indian woman tears the mussel loose under water, it shuts its two valves tight; it does the same when it is exposed by low tide. It retains a few drops of sea water inside so that its breathing organs do not dry up. When it is placed in the heat of the fire, these drops are heated inside and finally turn to steam. By the time the force of the steam tears open the locked shells, the meat is tender. Thanks to the slight amount of salt in which it is steeped, it is really very tasty. Snails and crabs, as well as other lower animals, such as chitons, yéker ł, are steamed in hot ashes, hence they are drier and nowhere near as tasty as éauf and kecóin.

This concludes the list of foods which the Fuegian prepares in a special way. Almost all of them originate in the sea or on the shore. Bove (d):291 thus maintains, very correctly: "The sea furnishes the principal foods of the Fuegians. Fish, limpets, crabs, seals, aquatic birds, in short whatever the sea produces forms part of their diet" /translated from Italian/. In the vegetable kingdom it is only fungi of the Cyttari species which are not often specially prepared, but are dried by being skewered on small sticks, strung up to form a chain, and put near the fire. Fungi gathered in winter and completely frozen are laid near the fire to thaw. Celery roots (Apium australe) are roasted in hot ashes. Only a few things are eaten raw (p.324).

4. How They Eat

264 The entire conduct of the Fuegians at meals is repulsive to a European. To condemn them for this would be unjust because they are completely deprived of many comforts which are taken for granted by us in our ordered circumstances. Nevertheless, they, too, are guided by certain rules in eating. Sometimes they show extraordinary self-control. Finally, they do not by any means take anything and everything indiscriminately, just to satisfy their voracious appetite or to fill their stomachs.

262 /586/ The general opinion that each and every one of them is consciously selective in eating and in food-seeking is fully justified. Their first criterion is the degree of savoriness. Accordingly, they prefer one animal rather than another, one piece rather than another of the same animal, and appreciate a young animal more than an old one of the same species. They do not hunt herons or owls because the meat of both is too scant and too lean. The bat, apawéta, is very much like a rat, hence it is scorned and no one dares eat it. All petrels and gulls are rejected, just like the diurnal predatory birds (360), because they

360. Darwin (d):246 says: "Jemmy Button did not want to eat any land birds because they ate carpses." He may have meant the diurnal predatory birds.

live on animal carcasses and putrid meat. This is why the fox and rat, wéséna, wyasána (361), are repulsive to them, the black rat,

361. Bridges (a):206 says very definitely: "Foxes, on account of their propensity to eat the dead, are, with rats, held in the greatest detestation" /cited in English/. Hyades (f):562 makes a distinction: "The fox... is eaten only when they are pressed by hunger" /translated from French/, and in (h):21 he says that of rats "the natives have a great horror" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):186 gives as the reason "that these animals eat human cadavers" /translated from Spanish/. This induces him to draw the obvious conclusion: "This fact in itself is sufficient to demolish all the accusations that they are accustomed to anthrophagy" /translated from Spanish/. Martial:193 and Cojazzi:110 agree with this literally, likewise Wieghardt:37.

pékasana, as well as the gray rat, alkasana (p. 36

/586 cont./

262 /untranslated/). If, in a period of great hunger, they would have to eat a fox or an otter (362), they are unreservedly emphatic

> 362. Fitz-Roy (a):184 says that "the otter is valued, excepting the body part, which they seldom eat unless hard pressed by hunger" /cited in English/.

about the sharp, bad taste of the meat. With the exception of the fat and meat of the whale, the Yamana do not touch putrid or moldy meat (363). Of the latter species, the southern whale,

> 363. Fitz-Roy (a):184 maintains, and Lovisato (b):142 uses almost the same words, that "they eat any thing and every thing that is eatable, without being particular as to its state of freshness, or as to its having been near the fire" /cited in English/. This general statement, however, is misleading.

lémuka (Balaena australis), is most prized because of its tasty meat. On the other hand, the finback, čiyix (Ziphius spec.?), is not touched because its fat has a laxative effect. Fitz-Roy (a):185 asserted that "the fins of a dead whale are esteemed" /cited in English/, but the liver of the whale is rejected. The fat of the large grampus, ěpíačí (Orcinus orca), is thought to be poisonous, and for this reason alone no one touches it.

Our natives are dependent all the year round on mussels and snails, čipíala, and they know very well that these animals are not uniformly tasty at every season. From each small pile that they have gathered, they conscientiously reject the pieces that are not as good as others or even bad. They say that the [753] meat of the large Voluta snail, hěfíen, in certain areas is harmful for the brain; it makes people dizzy, and they lose their balance in walking. Anyone /587/ who observes these symptoms after eating this snail leaves the unfavorable place and warns others. This type of snail, as well as a few other, smaller ones are al- [752] ways put into the fire first, after which the fleshy foot is torn out.

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262 Thinis all that is eaten; the adjoining soft parts are thrown away. Strangely enough, the Yamana reject the tender meat of the Soien, the evenly shaped shells of which serve them as knife and scraper. Several green and brown algae that White settlers there like to eat are rejected by our natives as a matter of principle.

262 177 Not anything and everything that Europeans like and that they offered the Fuegians was accepted by them. They have to this day very emphatically rejected many things, for example, cow's milk. Other things, such as wine and other alcoholic beverages, they accepted only later. Hence it is not just the taste that makes them decide on one thing or another. Beyond that they reserve for themselves a freedom of choice that cannot be influenced.

262 262 In part this also comes out in the different procedures used in the preparation of individual foods. Above all, meat may never be roasted long enough to become quite dry and hard. They find it most wholesome when it is still red inside. They are always intent on providing themselves whenever possible with their favorite blubber sausages (p. 320), because they do not want to be without blubber, kun, for long. Since they do not have vegetables and spices, they get a little variety into their diet with the liquid blubber. The craving for fat in those damp, cold regions is probably also a factor. A person who wants to eat the berries of Pernettya mucronata or the dry Cytraria fungi pours oil from the whale or sea lion into a large Mytilus shell and dips each piece into it before putting it into his mouth. In the same manner he eats certain mussels or pieces of meat from birds if the meat is dry and tough. Sometimes the dried Cytraria fungi are soaked for a longer time in oil. The small lizzie, as well as other fish, after they are baked in ashes, are dipped into this oil before they are eaten. Our Fuegians lack the most necessary items to prepare their food in a somewhat better and more complicated fashion; they are curtailed and impeded in all directions.

Only a few things are regularly eaten raw by them, except when they are in serious distress. This includes berries, especially those of Pernettya mucronata, and all fungi, most of which, like yilal, have a spongy meat. They like to pick the large Cytraria

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[illegible] from the beach bought while it still has a smooth surface. Its texture is that very elastic and pleasant to chew. Old, dry pieces are soaked in bubbles shortly before they are eaten. The so-called "tongues," [illegible], actually the sex organ of the sea urchin, [illegible] (Schiaung), are picked out of the broken calcareous shell with the tongue /[illegible]/ and immediately eaten. The milky liquid in the shell is drank also. The abundant iodine content of these parts stimulates the appetite, which is why the Indians often eat them (364). Naturally, they eat all of these things in-

364. Martial (10) reports: "The sea urchin remains their favorite dish and is always eaten 'even when one is not hungry,' our interpreter told us, and willingly demonstrated this rule" /translated from French/. Contrary to the view expressed by Hyades (I).364, we should like to repeat that the above-mentioned parts are always eaten raw.—It is well known that the tongues of sea urchins are regarded as a delicacy in Argentina and Chile and are chiefly eaten raw with all kinds of condiments.

mediately after these animals have been taken out of the sea. The soft meat of Fissurella, [illegible] in the western dialects, and of Patella, [illegible], is squeezed out of the calcareous shell with a slight pressure of the tongue and is eaten without any preparation, except that occasionally the little morsel of fish is dipped into seal bubbles. Some people find the raw fat of the young whale tasty. With the exception of the aforementioned things mentioned here, every Tuvanu regularly exposes his food to the fire or the almost equal effect of hot ashes (365).

365. Spillum 78 reports a word from Bridget: "I have never seen or heard of the Tulgum eating any kind of meat or fish raw except certain kinds of limpets" /cited in English/. Previously Dave (93), 361 had already

/100 cum./

263 263 [illegible] "Their common way of cooking is to put everything into the oven until sufficiently done for their taste, or until their hunger could allow them to wait no longer" /Cited in English/. All have dessert, for example, Hyndes (p.[illegible]), reach for the general rule.

263 Although the Fangans usually live from hand to mouth and sometimes finds himself in dire distress, he still shows an amazing amount of self-control in eating, and this is sometimes forced on him by certain rules. We refer to his duty to eat up the beers he has brought home and let the neighbors share it (p. [illegible]). Moreover, not every individual has free access to a stranded whale, but is content with the pieces that are given him by the chosen distributors (p. [illegible]). Finally there are a few definite food taboos on certain occasions, which everyone observes. A law given by Tuffing says that berries — actually, only those of Fumetrya muscaria — may not be gathered permanently, and that they must be left on the bushes until old men declare that they are ripe. If some people should discover favorable spots where there are many berries, they warn their friends and neighbors: "There are many [illegible] there, but wait until they are ripe!" If, nevertheless, some women and children should look for that place and pick the berries, subsequent visitors will find the bushes empty and will say: "[illegible], the berries have gone away!" This means that the berries renewed themselves in revenge and expiation for that forbidden act. Even the culprits are not known, but the bushes are actually stripped of fruit, the entire occurrence is given a superstitious interpretation. /[illegible]/ This is supposed to prevent the berries from being picked before they are ripe. As certain times determined by ancient custom, only a little food or only certain things are permitted, or, for instance, during the initiation, during the first menstrual period, after confinement, and so forth. In general everyone adheres to this conscientiously.

264 Only occasionally is a person carried away to real immoderation in eating. Anyone who eats hastily and greedily is called [illegible] which is anything but respectable. Everyone is supposed to control himself sufficiently in eating so that others always

/1929 cont./

regard him as moderate and slow. Modest and contented reserve is very much praised (366). When several people are together,

> 366. Earlier Deqwed (Dy.686) mentioned that the Tamana "hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'moderate'" /cited in English/.

they watch each other; the one who acts as though he would rather not eat a thing makes the best impression. Within the narrower family circle people are emphatically warned of mistakes of this nature in the presence of a stranded whale, for now there is great danger that someone will let himself go too far, given this favorable opportunity. In all this there is probably also an unconscious warning against damaging one's own health. It has been proved that the human stomach does not tolerate the great amounts of fat that are suddenly offered it. It is necessary to become somewhat accustomed to it (367). There is another

> 367. Bridges (Mbd.GE,13.1878), on April 30, 1876, observed the immense appetite of several families. "The natives have relieved much temporary pain from eating the whale, and I hear that this is usual at first, but passes off with the continued use of whale-meat" /cited in English/. Thus a certain habituation is necessary for a normal digestion when large amounts of fat are eaten.

danger. Whale fat is considered tastier the longer the animal has lain dead in the water. It then melts by itself and is known as *ngaldi* in this area. But infrequently there is serious poisoning when such putrified fat and meat are eaten, as missionaries have repeatedly reported.

For example, we have the following description by Lawrence, dated March 30, 1887 (Mbd.XXI,173:1887): "A canoe brought

/589 cont./

164 262 [to Ushuaia] the sad intelligence of several Yahgans and Ona Indians being poisoned from eating fish...(368). The melancholy

368. From data given below we realize that a whale is meant.

disaster having taken place among the natives now engaged by Mr. Bridges upon the farm [in Puerto Haberton]" /cited in English/. Lawrence went there personally (369). "We found the

369. Later Lothrop (b):186 more precisely determined the place where this whale was deposited as the northern edge of Bahía Cambaceres.

people still suffering from the effects of poison. Nineteen men, women and children (Ona and Yahgans) had died during the past week, the others were slowly recovering" /cited in English/. Lawrence saw the hopeless condition of those people. "Arriving at the place, we found them scattered about; three men and several children were lying in a very weak state; two of the former were unconscious most of the time...We went a little farther and found the lifeless body of a man who had apparently died /590/ about two days before...Near the body of the man we found in different places five dogs which had died from the same cause. We also found in another place part of the body of another man, the rest having been destroyed by two dogs...I will now give a few particulars of the circumstances. About a fortnight ago a canoe arrived at Down-east, and brought the report that a small whale had been found in Picton Island. They went over in Mr. Bridges' boat, and found parts of it, lying on the beach, which they brought back, and having some doubts about its quality, at first hesitated to eat it, but afterwards were persuaded by the Ona saying they had eaten such before. All who were there having taken a little, felt very unwell on the morrow, and gradually became worse, and in a few days those whom we suppose had eaten more than others succumbed...[Others] suppose it to have been a sword fish [a Drescher /Orca magellanica/; p. 37 /untranslated/]. It was about seven feet long. I have also been informed that of

/590 cont./

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late years they have not made use of such, having previously understood it was injurious" /cited in English/.

A similar case, soon after, created no less serious disorder, and Burleigh wrote about it on December 26, 1888 (MM:XXIII, 98;1889): "Numbers of people were suddenly striken down with blood-poisoning through eating rotten blackfish (370). The wig-

370. This probably simply means a whale.

wams were in a terrible state -- men, women and children lying about as helpless as infants, unable to keep anything on their stomachs on account of their disordered condition. Two old doctors, fully powdered and dressed in their feathers (otherwise naked), went from case to case, and would now and again pause in their performance of rubbing and yelling at their patients. I administered emetics and other medicines and gave much relief. Most of the cases yielded to steady treatment, but in three families fever followed. Death followed in one case only" /cited in English/. According to this, the Yamana were sometimes in danger of being poisoned when they unwisely ate the fat of large mammals, not only of whales, but of seals also, which had been dead for some time (371). Faced with these large animals, our

371. On December 20, 1875, Bridges (MM:X, 81;1876) wrote: "These natives will readily eat animals and birds that have died of themselves, and to this fact is owing much of the mortality among them. Thus Jaminaze some time ago came across a dead seal. He brought it here, made a general distribution, and on the second day it had all been eaten. It made the people smell disagreeably; it was very foul" /cited in English/. He is obviously mistaken when he maintains that the Yamana also eat birds that have died by themselves.

Indians seem at times to abandon the strict self-discipline of which

262 /590 cont./
164 they are capable in other circumstances.

Every traveler has frequent and ready opportunity to observe
264 their conduct while eating. It is anything but beautiful. Usually
252 the individual squats beside the fire and waits until the piece of meat in the embers or ashes is done. He takes it out with a little stick, lets it cool a bit on stones or bits of brush lying about, and picks it up with /591/ both fists. Sometimes the piece is still so hot that he cannot hold it. Even so, he tears off large bites with his strong teeth and swallows them without ostensibly chewing. From a large roast the pieces are torn off more than bitten off and swallowed in sizable chunks. Strangely enough, the Yamana chews very little. This applies also to the sometimes tough meat of birds. He quickly swallows hot morsels that he cannot keep in his mouth and following them sometimes takes a swallow of water or a small lump of snow (372). Since they

372. The Selk'nam have the same habit (Vol. I, 297).

quickly put the too hot morsel into their mouths, they constantly make a sucking sound while they move it around in their mouths.

When the mussels that were shoved onto the embers are done, they burst open by themselves. They are fished out with a little stick and allowed to cool a bit on the ground. Then in one hand the Indian takes the shell to which the meat adheres, holds it horizontally, breaks off the empty shell with his other hand, and with his fingers tears out the meat which he immediately pops into his mouth. Finally he holds the flat mussel shell itself to his lips, since the drops accumulated in it are very tasty, and sucks them in noisily. Snail shells are broken into pieces with a handy stone to expose the roasted contents, and the same is done with the calcareous covering of the tasty sea acorn, lépa (Balanus psittacus).

Blubber sausages and the less common blood sausages are opened at one end, held up to the mouth, and the contents fall in. They place baked fish on the trampled earth and separate them with their fingers, the thumb nails used chiefly. The large crabs, axíya (Lithodes antarctica), as well as stekálus (Paralomis

264 /591 cont./
252 verrucosus), which are put in hot ashes, steam and cook until they are tender, since the slight amount of water in the shell turns into steam. Then the individual members are broken off, and the meat is removed with a small stick or is sucked out of the shell.

264 The meat of roasted birds is generally tough. It is grasped with both hands so that individual pieces can be torn off. In eating, the Yamana works only with his hands and fingers; he is not familiar with knives, forks, or spoons. Large drops of blubber and fat often fall off, some of which he catches with his mouth, the rest he licks off with his tongue. He wipes his fat-drenched hands first on his thighs, then on skins or the inside wall of his hut. After what has been said, it is not surprising that his whole body, especially his face, glistens with fat.

264 Fat from the whale and sea lion is sometimes melted in a shallow mussel shell of ɛ̃ruf (Mytilus) or tecáuina (Venus or
252 Mactra) placed in hot ashes (373). Blubber drippings are also

373. We read in La Nature:312 that a large mussel shell serves "as plate, as the dish in which fish oil is melted to serve as seasoning" /translated from French/.

caught in it, /592/ as well as in the shell of the Voluta snail or on a shoulder blade of a seal. It is immediately drunk or collected in a piece of gut. It is not customary, however, to heat up liquid blubber deliberately. We cannot emphasize too often that the Yamana eat liquid blubber, kun, several times a day, but always in small amounts, say, a mouthful (374).

374. Even Spencer:102 noticed that "they drink this; like Scot's Emulsion" /cited in English/.

264 The meal proceeds very noisily with the constant inhaling and smacking of lips. Remnants of food are immediately burned in the nearby fire or thrown to the dogs which lope about obtrusively and are boldly persistent. While the Indian eats, he is very silent and devotes all his attention to what he is doing.

/592 cont./

264 Thus he gives the effect of being voracious. He almost never eats while he is walking, except for a few berries or fungi just picked and immediately eaten. He always squats on the ground near a fire while eating.

The daily work of the Fuegian depends on the changing weather, that is to say, there is no particular hour for a single one of his occupations, nor are there definite mealtimes. In the usual order of the day everyone eats well in the morning and in the late afternoon, in other words, before they set out and soon after they land their canoe (375). This does not mean, however, that *occasionally*

375. In this sense the words of Hyades: (p. 328 are correct: "There are two principal meals, one in the morning several hours after getting up and the other in the evening before going to sleep" /translated from French/.

someone does not also eat his fill at some other hour, whether he sits in his hut or in his canoe; everyone eats when he feels like it. The Fuegians eat often during the day and sometimes even at night (376). Apparently everything they eat is nourishing and

376. Fitz-Roy (a):185 confirms that "two or three times in the course of a night they wake to eat and drink. In the day-time also they eat and drink very frequently" /cited in English/.

advantageous, but we cannot deny that with a meat diet exclusively the body demands larger quantities than with a diet that includes plenty of carbohydrates. We must also consider the fact that the damp, cold climate takes a great deal out of the natives, because they are only scantily dressed and often are soaking wet. That is why they frequently desire to eat during the day (377) and

377. In La Nature:311 we read: "The Fuegians must take [food] in large quantities, and even after a very large meal they are still hungry" /translated from French/.

/592 cont./

264 by no means only a few tidbits; it is almost always a considerable amount, so that the total during a single day is astonishingly large. Every observer will agree with the words of Spegazzini (a):171: "These people have no set time for eating; they eat all day, they eat whenever and whatever they please, and according to what I saw, they eat a great deal" /translated from Spanish/. As we have said, at any one time they take liquid blubber, kun, in only small quantities, but all the more frequently; /593/ a man or woman will sometimes empty a blubber sausage ten centimeters [431] long in one draught (378). Visitors like to bring it along as a present.

[262] 378. Hyades (f):564 mentions: "They are likewise fond of the oil of the liver of morne, but always small quantities at a time" /translated from French/.

With the exception of mornings and evenings, everyone begins to eat whenever he feels like it. This is the general custom. One is more likely to be stimulated if he sees someone else chewing and he will join him. There is never much preparation involved. A person will reach into a basket of mussels or will tear off a piece of meat from a sea lion or a bird hanging on a beech tree in front of the hut and place it on the fire. Everyone helps himself, and whatever supplies are in the hut are at everyone's disposal (379).

379. The words of Hyades (p):328 that "women and children eat with the men" /translated from French/ do not mean anything.

Everyone acts as though it were completely taken for granted and not a disturbance to his neighbor if he moves near the fire at night and satisfies his appetite undisturbed. The only rule generally [515] observed is that in the morning before the first bite is taken one rinses out his mouth with cold water and spits it out again. Most people are more particular about this than about daily morning ablutions. While the individual pieces are roasting in the fire, everyone watches them attentively, turns them often and meanwhile increases his appetite. He tests them with his fingers or

/593 cont./

264 pokes into them with a little stick, constantly shifting the glowing embers or piling the hot ashes higher. He gets particular pleasure out of entertaining himself in this way, until he can give himself up completely to enjoying them. When the pieces are done and have proved to be very delicious, he clicks his tongue with delight and lets everybody around him know in what gluttonous ecstasy he is feasting. During the trip in the canoe every occupant must cautiously move up to the small fire, and one moves away when another person wants to roast something for himself. The woman, whose duty it is to do the rowing, must regularly go without food for hours, but she makes up for it later on the beach. If circumstances make it imperative -- usu-
261 ally it is bad weather -- everyone can get along all right without
147 food for considerable time. On the other hand, if one finds himself with a great abundance, he can consume almost incalculable amounts. A person can gain weight quickly, but he can just as quickly grow thin again; one can best trace these changes in children over a period of a few days. Their health apparently does not suffer, however (380).

380. Lothrop (c):303 has expressed some conjectures about the relation between diet and physical size in Tierra del Fuego, but he cites only inadequate observations which are not sustained by actual facts.

264 In conclusion, it becomes clear from certain customs that the Fuegian is guided by definite rules in eating. For example,
151 he does not bother with very dirty meat, but throws it away without further ado. Something that has been nibbled at by a dog he angrily lets him have. /594/ He removes decaying pieces of meat as far as possible from his hut, whereas he does not seem to have any feeling about melting fat or moldy skins. His sense of smell is unquestionably very much dulled, and he never holds a doubtful piece up to his nose. Anything that has become putrid has to give off a vile odor before he will remove it. He is certainly not clean in eating and in his ways. Nevertheless, one person will prove to be more of a greedy gourmet, the other less. He knows the tastier pieces and the juicier morsels and chooses

/594 cont./

264 these if possible. The tender meat of young animals tickles his
151 palate, and the height of ecstacy for him is the nicely browned fat of a whale that has been stranded for some time. There are many things that conclusively prove that a Fuegian's taste is by no means insensible or dulled, no matter how uniform the taste of everything that he eats on account of so much blubber.

5. How They Store Food

251 The unsettled way of life and their uninterrupted changes of
261 dwelling do not permit the Yamana to lay in large supplies. The general statement of Hyades (d):306 "They do not make any provision for the future" /translated from French/, applies without qualification, since they do not strive to provide for the immediate or the distant future. A decisive factor may be that food does not keep in that arbitrarily inclement weather, and in order to preserve it, one would have to go through all kinds of complicated preparations. All this is superfluous, because throughout the entire year and with almost limitless generosity the sea puts all kinds of animals at the disposal of the man who hunts and the woman who gathers. Storm or accident will deprive a family of these things for no more than a few days. Generally no one need reckon with the danger of hunger, and everyone almost anywhere finds an abundance of what he needs (381).

381. Bridges' (h):205 brief statement says a great deal: "In general, food is abundant" /translated from Spanish/.

Why, then, should anyone worry about food for the future (382)!

382. Hyades (g):34 writes: "The most wonderful thing about the Fuegians is that they never think of providing for the next day. And yet winter is severe enough and there are by no means few periods when the Fuegian can neither hunt nor fish nor even pick up mussels on the rocks

/594 cont./

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pounded by the surf." He is obviously exaggerating the dangers of hunger and distress to which these natives on Cape Horn are exposed.

Nevertheless, the surplus that is left over for the people by a stranded whale is regularly stored, simply because they do not like to let the huge masses of fat and meat spoil and because they would like to give themselves the great treat of roasted whale fat another time. It would be utterly erroneous to see in this endeavor any specific provision, /595/ for, if the stranded animal is young and the number of people that have hastened to it is unusually large, all the fat and all the meat are consumed within a few days, the only exception being that some family or another will carry a few pieces around with them somewhat longer. Thus, they save only what the individual families cannot and do not wish to consume in the vicinity of the whale. The consumption of the fat and meat of this animal exclusively is wholesome for the human body only for a certain length of time.

251 Most of the people transport the entire canoe-load to their home area. Here they put the large pieces in a swamp with good drainage and secure them well between the tangles of peat and roots at a certain depth. The dark-brown water excludes light and air. To prevent them from being washed up, they are weighted down with flat stones or logs, which also protects them from foxes and dogs. Undoubtedly the abundance of soluble salt acts as a preservative, and the tannic acid probably also helps. The pieces put down are never so thick that they cannot be completely soaked and pickled. It is clear that this produces an improvement in the flavor. The natives justifiably praise the advantages of conserved fat, even if it has lain in the swamp for several months (383). Occasionally, if chance permits, the

383. Fred Lawrence found a piece that had lain in the swamp for a year and a half still tasty. Our Indians know that their preserves are safe in it for a long time. "They hoard up the blubber for months by burying it in mud

/595 cont./

251

under a run of fresh water" /cited in English/, Bridges (a):208 explained. Compare Dabbene (b):186, Wieghardt: 35, and others.

family will return to the place where they have preserved their whale fat. It is probably never hunger that impels them. They use a stick and poke around in the brown water to find the pieces, which have meanwhile usually sunk somewhat. If they touch a soft, pliable mass, they have reached their goal (384).

384. BD:240 lists gaiatenaka, "to search for, feel or seek for with the end of a stick as for blubber buried in mud" /cited in English/.

The surface layer of the lappet of fat, which has usually turned very brown, is removed from the roast (385). No matter how

385. Martial:193 describes how the superfluous fat of a stranded whale is preserved in the same way.

oppressive the odor is for a European, it does not disturb the Yamana in his enjoyment of it (386).

386. The words of Martial:193 are not exaggerated: "Sometimes the animal is in an advanced state of decomposition and gives off an unbearable odor, but it does not in the least disgust them" /translated from French/.

In comparison with these masses of fat that individual families preserve in the swamp, the drying of ripe Cyttaria fungi, aucix, is quite unimportant. They are strung on little sticks and dried in the radiant heat of the fire (387). In order to keep them more

387. Bridges (MM:VII, 120;1873) also assures us that "this fungus is very generally

/595 cont./

251

thus cured, and eaten some months after it has been out of season" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (q):340.

conveniently in small baskets and leather bags, they are stripped off the little sticks and /596/ left as they are or made into a wreath on a few flexible rush stalks (Marsippospermum). Since they have been baked until they are quite hard, they resist the dampness of the air for a long time. Before they are eaten, they are soaked in liquid blubber (p. 324). For the final weeks of winter the woman keeps about 50 or 60 of these dried fungi, but only as a delicacy, not out of foresight, since fresh ones can be picked almost all the year round and no one wants to burden himself with them for long.

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Basically our Fuegians know that they need not fear for the future, hence they do not pile up supplies. Year in and year out they can look forward to the next day, free of care. Despite all the monotony of their food, they always have an abundant amount at their disposal. At the same time, many a change and stimulus for the palate are afforded, for everyone has unimpeded access to anything and everything that Mother Nature is in a position to offer from her animal and vegetable kingdom (388).

388. It is only in this sense that we can interpret what Hyades (p):328 says, namely, that "there are never preferred foods" /translated from French/.

146

In order to characterize briefly the value of their diet according to vitamin content, I should like to remind the reader that the A-vitamins, the so-called anti-xerophthalmic vitamins, occur abundantly in liver oil. Blubber, as is well known, has by far the greatest amount of vitamin A, namely, 300 times as much as butter fat, besides a great deal of the anti-rachitic D-vitamins. Several animal tissues furnish the anti-scorbutic C-vitamins, as well as the anti-neuritic B-vitamins.

/596 cont./

G. The Shell Heaps

172 Throughout the region of the Yamana there are mound-shaped accumulations of mussel shells, varying in height and length. It is unimportant whether or not they are designated as actual kitchen middens. Whether they can raise any claims to being deposits of archaeological finds is uncertain (389). Of real factual value is

389. Cooper:218 prefers to avoid this conception, for "it may be a little inaccurate to use this heading archaeology in the case of the meager remains obtained from Fuegia graves and middens" /cited in English/. South American observers use the terms "Conchales" and "Kjökkenmöddinger" somewhat indiscriminately.

a detailed description of the site of these shell heaps and all the implements that are preserved in their various layers. This shows without any doubt that the former way of living, insofar as it can be recognized from these deposits, coincides in general and in detail with the present form and that the people of those times and of the present day belong to the same race.

1. Their Arrangement

In this description we shall include not only the few very large shell heaps that were built up in isolated places, but also the insignificant dwelling sites which were still used during the last decade. /597/ The fact that Indian families built their huts on them up to the present time points definitely and clearly to the similarity of living habits between then and now (Fig. 70).

It is very easy for any traveler to establish the fact that there
172 are shell heaps to be found in all parts of the Cape Horn Archi-
361 pelago. They reveal certain differences, however, In general they are not as large and extensive in the west as in the east, for obvious reasons. Except for inlets, large and small, the western

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172
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shores are everywhere steep, although they are not always very high. /Fig. 70 appears here./ Hence the Indians could build their huts only in places with a very low, flat, and usually narrow shore-line. Whatever they left behind was washed away by temporary high tides. Afterwards the shingle revealed hardly any traces of the fact that shortly before one or more families had camped there. In inlets with sloping and wide shores, accumulations of food remains are not entirely lacking even in the west, as I myself have seen in different places. They are limited in extent, however, by the rock walls which are close together and rise steeply. Since these heaps are sometimes crowded against the rock walls, a thick layer of earth washed down by the rain covers them in the course of time. Some of them are entirely covered and can be seen only

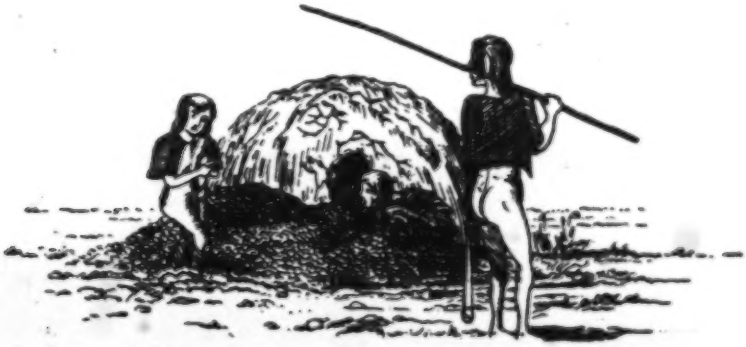

Fig. 70. Oldest Representation of a Shell Heap.

by the careful observer. In contrast to this, the eastern half of the Cape Horn Archipelago has many wide beaches. Whatever piled up and accumulated here remained almost intact and the amount of it gives the present-day visitor food for thought. The fact that in the formation of the shell heaps in the east and west there was a slight difference in diet will soon be discussed.

To begin with, we cannot expect that those deposits extend uninterruptedly along the entire shore-line. We find them only /598/ here and there. Moreover, it is obvious that whole hills have been formed in sheltered places that offered greater security and quiet for a dwelling, whereas on the exposed beach the deposits were extensive but low. It was the desirability of the

/598 cont./

172 site alone that was more or less attractive and invited more or
361 fewer families to settle there, by no means the greater supply of mussels in one place or another (390). The shells themselves were

390. Lothrop (b):178 confirms that the heaps of refuse "are found in sheltered places, where there is a beach for landing, kelp off-shore for mooring canoes, and where water and firewood are readily available" /cited in English/. Compare also the geographic distribution of shell heaps in Furlong (r):180. Vignati (c): 85 has indicated on a special map the "Conchales" at Ushuaia and on the eastern coast of Isla Grande.

gathered not only at the place where today large amounts of refuse are lying, but many were also brought along to the place where the hut was to be erected, and the people often went great distances from it looking for mussels if they wished to stay longer at the same spot. The bays and hidden inlets in favorable locations were regarded and are today still regarded as favorite spots by many families. They not only frequently returned to such places, but remained in them longer than elsewhere. One was safe there from the strength of the winds and also found a flat shore-line on which to pull up the canoe. Moreover, firewood and drinking water were easily available. The cup of benefits was filled if the outlying sea floor was shallow and considerably facilitated occasional fishing.

172 The shores of Bahía Harberton and their environs were an advantageous spot from every standpoint. A few huge mounds are to be found on Gable Island opposite it, and Tierra Mayor, and there are two more in Puerto Róbalo, which are far surpassed in size by those in Puerto Mejillones. Less extensive than the latter are those that I saw on Pictón Island and in Puerto Rosa, Puerto Piedra, Wulaia, at the mouth of the Rio Douglas, and in Ushuaia Bay.

All this explains the differences in length and height of the shell heaps, kusimé'a, but in their formation they are completely uniform. All of them form a low, gently sloping, more

/598 cont./

172 or less long hillock. In those that are pushed up close to the water line, the shore side is sometimes much steeper than the land side. An explanation for this shape is not necessary. All shell mounds were built up in layers; hence inevitably the lower layer was from time to time enlarged. Just as in the early beginnings, if I may express myself thus, individual dwellings were placed close together, so also later on, hence the lateral expansion of each individual hillock and a progressive narrowing as it grew in height. On the top one can today see, at short intervals, ring-shaped depressions which in size indicate the groundplan of a dwelling. A distinct, worn footpath leads from this ring to the fresh-water spring /599/ in any direction or to the beach where one can easily make out the place where the canoes were pulled up and safely moored.

The greater the length of the shell heap and the more it expands laterally in one spot or another, the greater is the number of dwelling sites for individual families. In some places the groundplan is well preserved, but usually the edges are flattened out, which makes the central shallow depression less recognizable. In some places the latter is sharply and clearly outlined by the thick growth of grass that fills it (391). We are indebted to

391. According to Lothrop (b):179, "the surfaces of the middens reveal on top a series of pits which represent house-sites. These pits are from ten to 15 feet in diameter, anywhere up to six feet deep, and are circular in outline" /cited in English/.

Furlong (r):178 for the first detailed descriptions. He drew the "approximate plan of Woolyia on Navarin Island" /cited in English/, on which the individual sites of settlement were clearly indicated. /Fig. 71 appears here./ Lothrop (b):184 carefully inspected the shell heaps that are most easily reached. For example, in the entire Bahía Harberton area he counted 82 campsites with a total of 1,215 sites of family huts -- of the latter 367 in Bahía Cambaceres alone (Fig. 71); in Puerto Mejillones, including Puerto Piedra, seven campsites with a total of 253 hut sites; in Puerto Róbalo on each of the two long shell mounds,

/599 cont./

172 43 and 56 family-hut sites, respectively. Since now, as then, safe inlets and sheltered nooks are still sought, the present-day Yamana erect the framework of their dwelling in exactly the same depressions used by many previous generations. For their part they are still adding to the shell heaps.

Besides the shell mounds that have kept their shape, there are /600/ some that have been more or less leveled by the active traffic of Europeans and the trampling of cows, sheep, and horses. We can clearly recognize this condition at the mouth of the Rio Douglas and in some places in Puerto Mejillones. Accordingly, the number of dwelling sites here was formerly greater than that just mentioned. The condition that animals and human beings have brought about here was achieved in other places, which

[102]

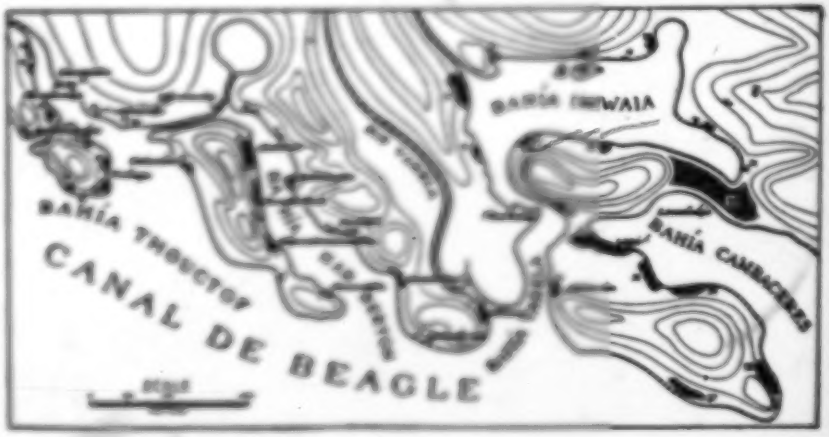

Fig. 71. Shell Heaps near Bahía Harberton.

were ruthlessly exposed to the winds, by inanimate nature. I am referring to many areas between Ushuaia and Punta Remolino. Here the many shell mounds appear scattered in all directions, mixed with much drifting sand, and now form a uniform layer, as though all the many patches had never been gathered together in a mound-shaped elevation and remained thus for some time.

Now it is no longer surprising that the depth of the layers fluctuates remarkably from place to place. Along the areas just mentioned the very uniform layer goes only to a depth of ten to 35 centimeters, proof that only a few families settled here and there much more seldom than elsewhere. On the other hand,

/600 cont./

172 other places were very often visited. For example, in Puerto Mejillones and in Puerto Róbalo long mound ridges were built up to a height of four meters and more. We can easily measure the depth of the shell mounds in those few places where the sea has washed away one side of the heap (Fig. 72).

172 133 From these occurrences, which are after all rare, Lothrop (b):195 concluded that the earth has settled since the first habitation. Contrary to this completely unauthoritative view, it is certain that this region underwent a post-glacial relative upheaval (392). Whether this is continuing in the present time and

392. Naturally we are referring here to the geologically latest post-glacial surface fluctuations. Unfortunately very little is known about them, and long-term soundings have not been undertaken in Tierra del Fuego. Thore G. Halle ("On Quarternary deposits and change of level in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego," Bulletin of the Geological Institute Upsala, Vol. 9, 1910) mentions elevated terraces six meters above sea level along the shore on the north side of Gable Island. J.G. Andersson also observed these at other places along Beagle Channel at a height of three and a half meters. Finally, O. Nordenskjoeld described terrace ten meters high at Ushuaia. They are all post-glacial phenomena, and their upthrust is very slight.

subsequent to the deposit of the lowest shell-heap strata has by no means been proved for Tierra del Fuego (393). Possibly an argument

393. In this interpretation of the age of the Beagle Channel shell mounds, I am relying on the trustworthy decision of Professor Dr. O. Schmieder of Kiel who, in reply to my request, gave the following additional information in his letter of March 18, 1933:

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133

/000 cont./

"In the present state of our knowledge we cannot definitely say whether the coast is rising, sinking, or remaining level. The land has been post-glacially elevated, but these recent upheavals proceed very slowly, and it remains to be determined whether or not this movement has continued in the last few centuries."

Since I have not personally made careful investigations of the height in relation to sea level of shell mounds further away from the water line, my conjecture that the above-mentioned minor circumstance possibly argues for an upheaval does not definitively settle this question. Earlier, Nordenskjöld (I) 238 stated the following view: "When the glacial period ended, Tierra del Fuego was only about 60 meters lower than it is now. It rose after that, but now the upheave seems to be slight or not going on at all."

in favor of it is that in some places along open and /001/ flat coves the shell heaps lie far away from the water line and a wider beach may have formed later on. There are no tangible reasons why the earlier Indians should have built their huts as far from the water line /Fig. 72 appears here/ as the shell mounds are now to be found. In any case whether or not the insignificant factor mentioned above indicates an upheaval, there is nothing that proves the land has settled. In those places lying farther back, however, the advantage for research is that at least the actual depth of the named stratum becomes clearly visible. The fact that in the case of individual mounds some lateral walls facing the water have been undermined and eroded in, contrary to Lothrop's conjecture, correctly interpreted only as the action of high tides. The first deposits had initially formed near the water line, and the more they grew, the more the bottom strata spread out in the course of time, almost up to the highest water level at flood-tide.

172 On the shell mounds cut into by the waves, we can see at a

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] a glance their composition from top to bottom. The coarser shells lie on top of each other in layers mixed with a little sand and, in some places, with layers of silex. Near the bottom and also embedded in somewhat high layers, one sees a thin ferrous stratum, five to 10 centimeters thick. Its origin cannot be explained strongly as gravelous from the superimposed material (Shell). [illegible]

[illegible]. Lothrop (D) 170 has expressed himself similarly, "that the shells have in

Fig. 75. Shell Heap near Puerto Magdalena and Puerto Pardo.

places solidified into a ferruginous, which forms a floor a foot or so in thickness. This spot occur sporadically and at no uniform depth, and it was impossible to determine the special conditions which had given rise to them" /cited in English/.

according to /[illegible]/ the suggestion that individual layers of shells were exposed to strong heat from the bar fire, which made them brittle, and that later the human feet often walked over them, crushing them still more. The more deposition in a shell layer

/*[illegible]*/
[illegible] was used more and more again for the fire (386) until it, too, be-

> 386. To interpret these as ovens in the ground, as "*[illegible]*," as Vigneri (1)-220 does, is obviously misleading.

came somewhat mixed with the general growth of the entire mound. Everywhere we come across large and small ovens which were used in some way without being wasted. They served as a base for the glowing embers or as hearths. Low frequently we find stone points and stone knives which even the earliest Tvinnes always made in small dimensions.

The more of animal remains which make up the mounds belongs to exactly the same species (388) from which the pomm-

> 388. In a duel hung along the coastal-western shore of Bahia Harbando, Lothing (1)-109 found that "at a depth of a little more than a foot appeared a type of mound-duel which could not be found on the beach locally" /*[illegible]*/. He does not think that the appearance of this particular type which, unfortunately, he does not in any way describe, has any particular significance. I did not [illegible] it.

ley Tvinnes month dimensions. The shells of *[illegible]* *[illegible]* and *[illegible]* *[illegible]* are by far more numerous than those of Pavelle, Fimerle and Trophon, Nolen and Pecten, as well as small pieces of the shell of the sea-urchin *[illegible]* (Echinus) and the large Tvinnes snail, *[illegible]*. Mixed with these are bones of animals, most of which come from seals and the indigenous marine birds. As may be expected, particularly the bone remains in the lower zones are poorly preserved; they often disintegrate on the slightest touch (387). Here we see the destructive influence

> 387. Lothing (1)-108 is mistaken if he thinks that "in Tiana del Fuego the

/[illegible] cont./

172. from scarcely leaves the ground" /cited in English/, and that therefore the bone remnants would be better preserved. The greater or lesser presence of air is a much more important factor in preservation.

of burning and thawing to which these organic structures are exposed more than are other things. All the finds mentioned above enlist the picture of an animal world that still inhabits this region today.

The remains of human skeletons are less often found in these shell mounds; occasionally they are uncovered by natural forces themselves. It is well known that the Tawasa formerly burned their corpses in their own huts and afterwards buried the bone parts on the spot. It cannot be proved, but it is almost certain that they also buried the entire corpse in a shell mound without first removing it. Unfortunately only an extremely small number of remains of human skeletons from the shell mounds have been gathered and accurately described scientifically. I know of only two skulls uncovered in the "Conchales de Dibujo" and described by Vignati (p).130. /[illegible]/ He did not examine the corresponding skeletons. Exact measurements were not made of the skulls either, but the descriptions and dimensions leave no doubt that these specimens can definitely be assigned to two members of the Tawasa tribe (308).

308. Vignati's (p).130 own opinion is that the characteristics found, "in summary, authorize one to suppose that both crania are from Tulegan, such as are familiar to us through the descriptions by Flower, Gamen, Dubiawski, etc." /translated from Spanish/.

Judging such remains is more difficult because one can probably never determine definitely whether the find goes back many centuries or only a few decades. The uniform construction of the shell mounds warrants only to a certain extent the inference that the remains more deeply buried are older. Hence the fact that skeletal remains are found somewhere in the lower strata of a

/603 cont./

172 shell mound is not sufficient evidence to permit us to postulate an older or more recent racial type within the total Yamana group (399).

> 399. Some data are completely useless because they are too indefinite. A case in point is those of Lovisato (b):101 on shell heaps at Pictón Island, in which, together with unusually large human skeletons, were found two arrowpoints of ordinary size and completely identical with those of the Patagonian paraderos" /translated from Italian/.

For comparison we give here a description that Spencer:59 furnished on May 11, 1929: "Spent afternoon searching on kitchen middens beside the Rio Douglas, and found large black somewhat coarsely chipped arrow, or spear head (?), lying among big cobble stones on river bank, and scrapers. Present-day Yahgans do not use these. Middens evidently very old, with enormous mass of shells, mainly mussels with limpets, barnacles, volutes, etc., seal and whale bones; of damp black earth, with beech trees, some quite twenty feet high, which have grown up on top of these middens since they were made and used (400);

> 400. This cannot be regarded as a rare phenomenon, because it occurs in various places. It does not in the least help to determine the age of the shell heaps. Compare Lothrop (b):194.

all middens overgrown by grass" /cited in English/. Of the same spot he says on May 20: "Claude Williams dug out one side of kitchen midden. Six of these formed a kind of semi-circle with open side towards the sea. Each one had depression in middle; longest being [perhaps 15] (401) feet in diameter and six feet

> 401. Miss Hamilton's memory. Mr. Williams writes to her that the average

/603 cont./

172

grave depression is six feet in diameter, and from three to four feet deep (ibid.) /cited in English/.

high. Looked as if natives camped in the middle with fires all round them. One mass of shells and black earth with layers of calcined pinkish earth. Mussel shells predominated, but large numbers of Fissurellas and Patellas and Modiola-like shells and Volutes. Bird bones, apparently gannet, seal bones, and whale bones. Very few stones, and no sign of any chipped ones. Single bone harpoon" /cited in English/. The shell heaps on Isla Elisabeth in the eastern Strait of Magellan were compared by Lovisato (b):102 with the "Conchales de Ushuaia": "These are not such marvels; they do not rise as high above sea level and on casual inspection might be called true dunes or skillfully made entrenchments. /604/ Besides the innumerable mollusk shells of Mytilus and Patella genera and bones of otaries, earred seals, and otters, there are fragments of crabs, of pettini, and of other bivalves. On the grassy carpet that has grown over these deposits stand the actual kitchen middens, with related wigwam, that are simple cumuli belonging to each wigwam, but cumuli of only cockle and Patella shells with the remains of crabs or a very few mammal bones" /translated from Italian/.

The shell heaps are easy to recognize even from a distance. Usually they are covered in patches with only individual stalks or with small, sparse clumps of grass. Herbs and low shrubs do not thrive on the porous, loose subsoil. The largely bare surface has a peculiar pearl-gray color, which contrasts sharply with the dark humus ground, the yellow gravel, and the grayish-white stones surrounding each of these shell heaps.

2. The Embedded Implements

Although the sparse skeletal finds do not permit a definite judgment about the racial character of the earlier settlers, the implements that were brought to light clearly indicate that the former style of life coincides exactly with that of today. The

/604 cont./

172 shell heaps, kusimēxa, as such are good proof of this, while the worked tools buttress it to the point of absolute certainty.

In numbers, the worked blades head the list. They evidently served as knives, since they are flat, usually longish and leaf-shaped with blunt points, and sharpened along the entire edge. A shallow notch that is sometimes visible indicates hafting. Another shape is more like a chisel, the cutting edge being almost straight and the entire piece tapering laterally toward the back which was forced into a wooden handle. The tool used by the present-day Yamana makes this inference plausible (see a description of it, p. 189, and Fig. 45).

In the same category belongs the triangular shape taken from the shell heap at Ushuaia, a single specimen of which Vignati (c):121 illustrates and calls "lámina embotada" /Spanish, "blunt strip"/. It is not fully preserved, but it still measures 8.2 centimeters in length and 3.1 centimeters at its thickest point.

Lance points or dagger and arrow points are uncovered relatively often. Their shape unmistakably coincides with the stone points to be found in the old sites of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 261). They come either in the shape of a triangle with a wide base line gently curved inward, or an extended triangle with sharp corners pointing downward between which a short projection protrudes (402), or finally /605/ the rarer type with a wide projection

402. Hyades (q):414 gives examples of these two forms, illustrated on Plate 30, which he describes as "flint arrowheads found in the old shell heaps at Ushuaia" /translated from French/. The same three pieces are reproduced in Hyades (h):36.

tapering at the bottom (Fig. 73) (403). The two shapes of stone

403. Vignati (c):123 defines this shape on the basis of two specimens and calls it "puntas dobles." The two specimens are 7.2 and 6.6 centimeters long.

/605 cont./

172 first mentioned were used by the Yamana until a few decades ago. They are still made today of glass by aged, experienced men, but these are usually smaller than the old ones which are as much as ten centimeters long (404). Lothrop (b):191 regards the long triangular form

404. I find it inexplicable that Hyades (h):34, in view of the finds just mentioned, maintains: "Certainly this model has not been used for a long time among the Yahgans" /translated from French/.

lar form with the pointed lateral notches and with a short middle projection as "the dominant Beagle Channel type" /cited in English/,

Fig. 73. Dagger Points and Arrow Points. Natural size.

but he overlooks the fact that it is also found in the region of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 263). /Fig. 73 appears here./ Among these shapes two noticeably dissimilar sizes are to be distinguished, namely, those of about six to ten centimeters and those of about two and a half to three centimeters (405). There was, besides, a single specimen

405. Vignati (c):124 regards the nine specimens from the shell heap at Ushuaia as "careful and perfect work, obtained by pressure flaking. All

/605 cont./

172

> but one belong to the type of arrowpoint with wings /Spanish, aletas/, with two distinct sizes. The winged /Spanish, aletiforme/ type is known in Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia" /translated from Spanish/.

with a very broad projection, which Vignati (c):124 calls "pedunculado" and which resembles many specimens from Patagonia (Fig. 74).

Apparently the Yamana in the distant past used stone scrapers little or not at all. They preferred a simple mussel shell without a haft because this was very easy to /606/ obtain and to sharpen at any time. We seldom find a stone scraper in the shell mounds. I never saw one, and Fred Lawrence could not remember having seen them either. The three specimens Lothrop (b):190 found in Bahía Harbertón seemed unknown to his informants, although Guillermo Bridges contradicted this (Fig. 75). It is possible that they originated among the Selk'nam or as a result of their influence on the Yamana. Until further finds are brought to light, any discussion about it is fruitless. /Fig. 74 appears here./ I cannot but suspect, however, that the persons who picked up stone arrowpoints on the shell mounds either did not recognize actual scrapers as tools or did not appraise them.

Another strange object is a stone borer ("perforador") 4.8 centimeters long from the shell mound at Ushuaia. On a trapezoid-shaped lower part rises the evenly fashioned needle (Fig. 74). This type is not rare in Patagonia; I also found it on the shore of Useless Bay (Vol. I, 261). Compare Vignati (c):124.

[412] Finally we must mention the numerous stone hammers which show no shaping but unmistakably indicate that they were used. These are oval rubble-stones which the sea itself has shaped and which the present-day Yamana still use very often, either to break open hollow cylindrical bones, to beat leather, or to make larger implements (406). It is strange that Vignati (c) does not

> 406. Lothrop (b):192 calls these pieces "Hammerstones, anvils, grease stones" and adds, "Every family carried an oval

172

/606 cont./
water-worn stone which was used for a variety of purposes, such as hammering" /cited in English/.

report their presence in the shell heap at /607/ Ushuaia, since Lothrop (b):192 without exaggeration assures us that "these stones may be picked up at every ancient camp-site" /cited in English/. As a matter of fact, they are lying around everywhere and are especially conspicuous in those places undermined or eroded by the restless sea.

Sometimes the so-called perforated stones are referred to. They frequently appear in central Chile. In all of Tierra del Fuego only

Fig. 74. Various Stone Implements. Natural size.

two specimens of this type were picked up. For one of these we are indebted to Furlong (r):180, who expresses himself on the subject as follows: "Most important of my finds was one of the so-called 'morning star' stones. /Fig. 75 appears here./ This perforated stone, about four inches in diameter, has knobby projections around its rim" /cited in English/. I saw this piece in the American Museum of Natural History in New York. According to the finder's own interpretation, it served as "the head of a primitive war club" /cited in English/. He is justified in not attributing it to the Yamana; "it may help in establishing the fact of certain trade relations and communications between the ancestors of these people and tribes of the Chilean

/607 cont./

172 coast" /cited in English/. Lovisato (c):723 brought the other specimen to Europe (compare also Colini:240), it having been given to him, as I learned, by the Reverend John Lawrence. Today it is in the Museum Kircherianum in Rome, is listed as Number 36901, and bears the inscription: "stone disk with hole in center; Yagan of Tierra del Fuego, Presented by Dr. G. Dall'orto, 1887" /translated from Italian/. To me this stone gave the impression of being a natural formation. Besides, John Lawrence and his sons assured me earlier that such pieces were never used by the Yamana. In case these perforated stones are really the work of human beings, we shall be obliged to regard

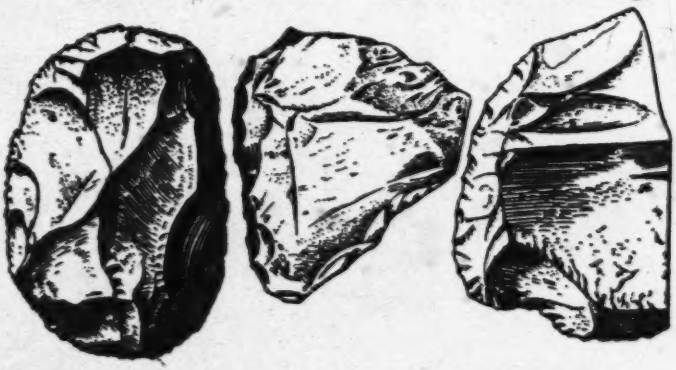


Fig. 75. Stone Scrapers. Natural size.

them as foreign imports (407) until new finds force us to give

407. Cooper:214 shares this view with Furlong (r):180. Compare in this connection Outes (a):437. On the mainland these perforated stones made by human beings are to be found in extensive areas.

another explanation.

/608/ The shell heaps furnish a large number of bone implements, in conformity with the present-day common use of this type. Perfect specimens, however, are rare, for obvious reasons (408). I, too, often came across fragments of notched

408. Without going into specific descriptions,

/608 cont./

172 Lothrop (b):192 says very briefly: "Bone tools of modern type sometimes are found in shellheaps under conditions implying considerable antiquity" /cited in English/.

spear- and harpoon-points. From the "Conchal de Ushuaia" Vignati (c):125 illustrated and described in detail three harpoon points, three borers, two wedges (409), and two mussel openers.

409. Vignati (c):128 calls one of these "hacha" /ax/, the other "de uso desconocido" /use unknown/. For me both pieces are the bone wedges mentioned above that are used to remove bark.

We see so clearly in these pieces their absolute conformity with the bone tools still used by present-day Yamana that no one will raise any doubts about it. Proofs of their age are lacking, however, for we come across them even in the lower strata of shell heaps in various places in Yamana territory.

3. Their Origin

174 The repeated comparisons and references called forth by the description of the finds in the shell heaps have made us realize that in those places a form of culture is expressed in external objects and implements that coincides in essence and with surprising accuracy with the things we have observed among modern generations of the Yamana people. A nomadic people, unfamiliar with fixed dwellings, has built up this form of culture. That the search for food was undertaken by individual families is proved by the difference in height and extent of the settlement sites. The sea furnished at least the major portion of the food supply, for no trace of vegetable nutrients has hitherto been uncovered. Peculiarities of smaller areas are clearly shown in some of the middens; for example, in the east, especially in Bahía Harbertón and in Puerto Mejillones, the number and size of the deposits is far greater

/608 cont./

174 than in the west. Here there was a greater variety of sea mammals and marine birds, sea urchins and crabs, whereas in the east, long open coastal strips were less favorable for hunting sea animals, hence the natives were primarily dependent on mussels in and near the large inlets. We cannot expect to find traces of pottery; the many hearth sites with ashes and bits of charcoal prove too conclusively that all food was roasted in an open hearth fire or baked in hot ashes.

In comparison with Mytilus mussels, all other animals were far less important in the diet; although it is true that the bones of mammals and birds were partly destroyed in the fire or left to the dogs, /609/ partly used for implements, and have disintegrated in the course of several centuries, nevertheless we might expect larger quantities of them than we actually find. Thus, in those times, exactly as in the case of the present-day Yamana, the Mytilus mussel was the same as "bread to the Europeans" -- to repeat a favorite comparison.

As far as bone implements are concerned, their characteristic shape in former times was exactly as definite and unmistakable as it is today, as though both groups had been made in the same year. Only the spear- and arrow-points were made in a definite way which, for a century, has not often been repeated, but which nevertheless persisted in worked glass (410).

410. Exclusively on the basis of the worked implements still used by those Indians [yaghanes] at the end of the last century correspond in general characteristics to those from the 'conchal de Ushuaia,' with the single exception of the arrows which are not commonly used in modern times. It is not risky, then, to attribute to this race the remains found in this accumulation of residue" /translated from Spanish/. On the subject of stone implements in particular Lothrop (b):183 decides: "No distinction between stone objects on the surface and in the interior of the mounds could be detected" /cited in English/.

/609 cont./

174 The considerable number of points of agreement justifies the assumption that the original founders of the shell mounds are to be regarded as bearers of a way of life and a form of culture that do not differ from the Yamana of recent decades. Continuously, the undiversified picture of their culture runs through the earlier refuse-layers up to the top, upon which the Yamana of the present, like the earliest beginners, are engaged in continuing the construction of these shell heaps (411). It is this very uniformity

411. In spite of his striking reserve, Lothrop (b):183 must admit: "The shellheaps throw little light on the culture or antecedents of the Yahgan except for two points: It seems that no other people except the Yahgan ever occupied southern Fuegia. It seems that the Yahgan have lived there for a very long time" /cited in English/.

of design and execution in the implements that makes it impossible for us to see in them a succession of long intervals of time and to use them in order to determine certain strata, like the types in European prehistory.

172 Since, therefore, we cannot rely on a so-called series of types
177 as a measure of time, the question arises whether the shell heaps in themselves permit any kind of decision about their age. The width and thickness of the layers plainly shows everyone at first glance that very many decades went into them; more, however, it does not reveal. A definite pointer is the noteworthy fact that in no single layer of these refuse heaps can we find definite objects or traces of European origin. On the other hand, we must note that for approximately a century the natives were given all kinds of things by Whites and these have come into everyday use. The bulk of these middens had therefore accumulated prior to that. In some places, it is true, the bulk has increased during the last hundred years, /610/ but this development cannot be compared with the earlier one because meanwhile the natives have decreased extraordinarily in numbers, because they have somewhat modified

/610 cont./

174 their diet since the mission stations were erected, and because,
177 under pressure of the White settlers, they have changed their landing places. We are willing to admit that in those places still chosen for dwellings objects of European origin have found their way into the refuse layer, but that layer is high up and therefore shows its recent origin.

174 Would we perhaps be able to obtain tangible dates from the height of the midden? To me it seems hopeless to bother about it. For example, Lothrop (b):195, in a "Rate of accumulation of refuse-heaps," estimated the amounts of refuse according to the number of natives, taking as his scale of measurement the daily consumption of mussels and snails. His attempt contains so many sources of error that we must expect an extremely unreliable result from the start. The Yamana do not nourish themselves exclusively with mussels, although these represent a predominant part of their nutrition. At times when a whale is stranded, or swarms of herring swim up onto the coast, or sea birds, fish, and seals occur in extraordinarily large numbers, they prefer these things by far. All these phenomena, however, are not bound to certain periods of time. Moreover, a visit to a preferred, sheltered place was very irregular. Some places were more favored and were therefore more sought out by an indeterminately larger number of families than others. Furthermore, the length of time each of these families remained on the same spot depended on incalculable circumstances. We certainly must not underestimate what it would mean in amounts of refuse if all the families in one place stay three days longer than the same number of families in another place. The difference is very considerable. Hence we cannot doubt that one refuse layer at any given vertical distance from the ground is considerably older than another made under the same conditions of deposit, simply because the former accumulated much more slowly than the latter.

We should like to emphasize that a shell heap grows much faster than many Europeans imagine. If we assume, for example, that every member of a five-member family consumes 60 Mytilus mussels a day -- not too large a number, since I counted more than three times that amount among people who happened to

/610 cont./

174 have no other meat supply -- this makes a small pile of 1,800 shells in three days. This is increased by ashes, small stones, and bird bones. These remains are tossed out of the hut where they add to the height of the low, ring-shaped wall, also known as kusimé̃ma, which extends above the level of the floor. At first they lie loosely upon it, but they are soon pressed down to a more and more solid mass by drifting sand and the action of rain. Now we see very clearly what a single family under /611/ the assumed conditions has left behind altogether (412). Let us say that

412. On the basis of estimated refuse from the daily consumption of mussels, Lothrop (b):197, applying Nelson's scale, figured the age of the shell heaps around Bahía Harbertón from 1,300 to 2,600 years. A range of 1,300 years altogether shows everyone clearly enough how unreliable such estimates are.

the same spot remains occupied -- counting the rest-days of the various families -- for a scant half year, that is, for 170 days, by an average family of five. The refuse heap will increase by 102,000 mussel shells. In a less frequently visited spot, on the other hand, the heap increases much more slowly in height and breadth. Who could today determine how rapidly this heap has increased and how slowly that one?

On my second trip I took the trouble in Puerto Róbalo to count and place together 1,000 mussel shells next to one of the large refuse heaps. The difference, it is true, was like that between hillock and mountain; anyone who would like to try this kind of game would find himself forced to reduce considerably the excessively high number of years in estimating the growth of even enormous shell mounds.

Now, can we expect special excavations (413) conscientiously

413. Cooper:218 is in favor of such: "Investigations thus far made in this field have been inadequate and have yielded only unimportant results. Systematic excavations

/611 cont./

174 in the abundant middens of the Magellanic archipelagos are urgently needed and may furnish us with important information on the past of the natives" /cited in English/. Furlong (r):178 entertains the same hopes.

carried out in the Fuegian refuse-layers to bring to light a number of finds that differ from those already known? In my opinion there is no prospect of this. The seaward wall of the individual shell mounds has actually been washed down by the waves to the water line, and unfamiliar forms of implements have not appeared. If possibly we might assume a lifting of the land (p. 344), it would be an absurdity to suppose that the customary dwellings were placed so close to the water line below sea level, and that gradually a wall of mussel shells had been built up around them.

Those strata which today are at the bottom of the mighty shell heaps were laid down many centuries ago. The implements they cover are similar to those used among our Indians up to the present time. No proof of a population preceding the Yamana, with a different form of culture and way of life has hitherto been discovered in the Beagle Channel area, nor can we expect it from further investigations there.

H. The Nomadic Life

182 The home of the Yamana is bleak and unfriendly, nature behaves wildly and brutally, and serious dangers threaten every Indian family who, in their frail canoe, cross the fragmented island realm. Nevertheless, not everything here is bad and disadvantageous; /612/ there are a few benefits and compensations. Weather conditions are anything but good, it is true, but at least the temperature is somewhat uniform, and the cool summer is matched by a cooler winter. Here, too, the inexhaustible sea pours out its bounty, so that the Indians can comfortably provide for their sustenance throughout the entire year. Concerning the food supply the Yamana are far more favorably situated than the neighboring Selk'nam. There are a few differences within our tribe, however, insofar as the families on the southern coasts are considerably

/612 cont./

182 hindered in their search for food by the force of storms and waves, as compared to the people in the sheltered channels (414). For

> 414. With remarkable emphasis Hahn (c):338 describes the advantages enjoyed by the inhabitants of the inner Beagle Channel as contrasted to the people on the outlying islands.

the groups affected, these and other disadvantages are onerous, but they do not change any basic features of the economic life led by the Yamana, for they all live in environmental conditions that are essentially similar.

It is these conditions which have exercised strong, in part inevitable pressure in the shaping of the economy. The Indian is proud of the latter as a creation of his mental powers, and he is fully justified. He must yield to the pressure of the environment to the extent that only an acquisitive gathering-economy is possible for him. This, however, he has developed so favorably for himself that, with little effort, he obtains what he needs for a human existence and what he desires for his well-being. He has not been able to lift himself beyond his dependence on the environment to become its sovereign ruler; nevertheless, he has made it subservient to himself up to the limit of his completely human mental capacity.

1. The Roving Spirit

181 The Yamana are a peculiarly restless band. They can never remain long in one spot. When they are sitting together, first one and then another will leave the circle to look around by himself or to walk a few steps. If a family has built their hut somewhere, they are impelled to leave it again no later than the third day. An inner unrest moves these people, which they themselves cannot account for, because they were born with it. It is only strikingly noticeable to a European, it sometimes annoys him very much, for example, when he has employed Indians on

/612 cont./

181 his farm. It is generally said of them that they are unreliable and unpredictable. As a matter of fact, one never knows if tomorrow they will keep the promise they definitely gave today. Their feelings and plans change quite /613/ suddenly and aimlessly, like the weather of their homeland. They resemble fidgety birds of passage who feel happy and inwardly calm only when they are moving again in their tossing bark.

The ultimate reasons for their unrest and their urge for movement are easily uncovered. The care about their daily food requirement commands their entire attention, and in order to obtain it they are dependent on the opportunities offered and the propitiousness of the moment. This means not missing an opportunity and, if suddenly confronted with a choice, making the right one. The individual usually does not have much time to consider; if he wants to maintain his advantage, he must act quickly and decisively. Hence he remains, as it were, in a state of tense inner expectation of circumstances that may change at any time of day, in order that he may instantaneously be master
[513] of the situation. He does not even sleep soundly, and when he wakes up, even during the night, he is quite fresh again (p. 28). Just as he sees himself in the midst of an incalculable stream of natural forces, so his luck in the hunt will unexpectedly appear in this or that unforeseen form, and if he is subjectively ready for quick action, he will successfully seize his opportunity.

Perhaps the Indian is not consciously aware of this subjective state as we have described it, but he always acts from and with a feeling of great certainty that he will surely attain his goal. Long experience helps him to size up the given situation correctly at a glance, or to calculate the impending dangers, or to comprehend the limits of what is possible. He is almost never wrong in his decision. In part his inner restlessness may be explained by the fact that he is constantly observing the play of natural forces and the habits of the animals hunted, adjusting to both at the same time. Thus he succeeds with the superiority that is confident of victory to master the first and evaluate the second to his advantage. Sometimes one thinks he faces great danger when storms gather or the waves run high, but he is too intimately acquainted with inanimate nature to be mistaken in his judgment. Sometimes a European

/613 cont./

will regard his hunting effort as completely hopeless, but not infrequently that is just the time when his booty is more than abundant. Complete satisfaction grows out of the success of which the Indian is confident from the start, and this further increases his reliance on his own ability.

Naturally, the drive toward restless wandering coincides abruptly with his adopted form of economic management. In Tierra del Fuego agriculture and animal husbandry in a form which our natives would be obliged to choose would be simply impossible. They have no choice but to gather and hunt what nature offers them voluntarily. Now, game animals are driven away from the spot where one of them has been killed. Similarly, it is advisable for a woman to change the place of her gathering activity as soon as possible. Thus, as a matter of principle, a family remains in one place only as long as the meat from one of the larger /614/ animals lasts. If the family is dependent solely upon mussels, they set out even sooner. They do not stay more than an average of two or three days in the same place. Advantageously, the Yamana travel in very small groups, usually as individual families, sometimes with a second or third family. They separate again after a short distance, because personal safety, of which everyone is conscious, drives them toward complete independence and unrestricted freedom.

2. Underway in the Canoe

The only and indispensable means of transportation of our Indians is their bark canoe. Since it is lightly constructed, the woman is not excessively burdened by paddling. The canoe belongs to her. Although the man must build it, the care of it is left to her alone (615). She takes this very seriously, for the

615. Bridges (MS III, 116.1903) writes: "Canoes are always under the charge of the women, who paddle them from place to place, and spend much of their time in them" /Cited in English/, namely, on the unavoidable trips.

/614 cont./

4K2 low of the canoe endangers the life of the whole family. She
502 repairs damage as soon as possible (416), or, if there is major

> 416. "It is chiefly the task of the woman to keep the canoe, this article which is absolutely indispensable for the existence of the Fuegian, in repair, and we always see her busy calking the cracks with half-rotten twigs and sewing together the individual pieces" (Hyades [g] :38).

work to be done, asks her husband to do it. Throughout the entire trip she alone attends the canoe; however, if there is a heavy sea, she requests her husband or other occupants to assist. She keeps the boys tending the fire and delegates to the girls the task of bailing out the water that seeps in. After landing, when the dogs have leaped out, when her husband and the children have disembarked, and all their belongings have been brought to shore, she must finally moor the vessel. Bridges (Mbt III, 118; 1908) expresses very definitely what the bark canoe means for the Fuegian family: "The canoe is the most valuable property an Indian possesses, by it he travels from place to place, and with its assistance he obtains the chief part of his food....Canoes are used daily" /cited in English/.

502 On the trip itself every member of the family has his particular seat. The man squats in the bow; his spear and harpoon lie beside him and protrude far beyond the bow, easy to grasp and handy, with the bone point forward (p. 128). The children are distributed in the lower center part around the fire and between the low, small piles of wood. The woman occupies the entire stern by herself and paddles, first on one side, then on the other, usually on her right side. She grasps the single paddle with both hands and moves it in the water, not with a stroke, but with more of a stirring and short pushing motion. She lifts it diagonally out of the water and /615/ lowers it almost perpendicularly into the water when she prepares for the next stroke. This peculiar manipulation of the paddle is simultaneously rowing and steering (417).

> 417. Paddling has to be learned. Then it is,

/616 cont./

582

> as Hyades (g).58 correctly judges, "work that is not too hard, since the canoes, while exclusively out of the bark of the birch-leaved beech, are marvellously light."

This work is a great strain on the entire upper part of the body, for the legs are neither braced nor do they offer support, and the arms do not rest on the rim of the canoe, yet bear the entire strain of free paddling (618). In the vessel all the occupants must squat

[143]

> 618. Hence the slight development of the legs in contrast to the sturdy torso of the healthy, active women (p. 119 /untranslated/).

close together deep in the bottom, with their legs tucked under. Its center of gravity is very high, even when it is loaded to capacity, and it would easily tip over if the balance were disturbed. Children are told that they should bend their heads and the upper part of their bodies low, usually they lift themselves only high enough for their eyes to reach the level of the gunwale (619).

> 619. The words of Lovisato (b).136 are to a certain extent correct: "In this canoe the Fuegians remain in such a position that only their heads may be seen, a position identical with the one they maintain in the wigwam" /translated from Italian/.

582 225 [illegible] Before the family leaves the shore, man and wife have agreed on the goal of the journey or the course. The new steers toward this while he constantly is on the lookout for game. If an animal comes into view, he tells his wife and reaches for his spear or harpoon (620). As the vessel nears the animal, he slowly stands

> 620. The division of labor within the family is thus clearly expressed. Aspinall.171 refers to this: "Each canoe holds one family, the

/Fill rows./

women row and the man is on the look-
out with raised javelin."

up and, on the appropriate moment, throws his weapon. Only the perfectly synchronized co-operation of both of them ensures the success of the hunt, and every married couple achieved absolute perfection in this to the course of the years. When they pursue a wounded animal, the women must occasionally exercise extraordinary strength. She is equipped for it by the habit of almost daily paddling.

If the family has been rewarded with unexpected luck in the hunt or if they are very tired from the pursuit of an animal, they sometimes suddenly decide to land at the nearest good place. The most suitable site is a flat, gently sloping beach, covered with coarse pebbles, in a calm inlet. The women does not let the canoe run aground, since all friction is to be avoided. She holds the bow firmly at right angles to the shore while the harpoon dis-
embark one after the other (Fill) and /Fill/ now all the implements

Fill

Fill. Only exceptionally, in case the man is ill and cannot walk, does Aspinall's 570 se-
cession hold. "In leaving the canoe, the woman must first carry the man ashore. He carefully holds the Umiaqui, protected be-
tween sticks of wood, above water, and be-
gins fire of all to avoid a primitive hut." As a rule, however, the landing proceeds as de-
scribed above and, for example, as is de-
scribed in Le Roxen 576.

along with all the provisions into the shore. One of the children carries a glowing stick of wood to the place that the father has pointed out to the child as the chosen religiate. The girls usually do this. The adults make sure that the last sparks of the fire in the canoe have been extinguished. Meanwhile the Indian woman remains seated in her canoe and keeps it on the same spot by paddling. When everything has been unloaded, she will has to move it. If the landing place is suitable, a layer of blanket-pole

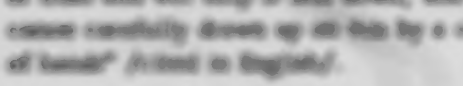
/Ge2 cont./

Ge2 sticks, a hand's breadth high, is brought together. It is about as long as the keel of the canoe and about 60 centimeters wide. It is sewed on the shingle high above the highest water-line at flood tide. From this point to the canoe in the water the larger canoe are removed and then sticks or several bundles of sticks are placed crosswise. Then the bailed end with, helped by the children, drag the canoe along this foundation up to the highest point (p.62). It slides easily because the sticks are damp and

> 62. *Dwapwel (Dy.6)* says: "Much care is taken when a canoe is drawn up on the beach for a short time. A dry-way is made by first removing every stone, and then a deep layer of fresh and wet kelp is laid down, and the canoe carefully drawn up on this by a couple of hands" /Aitel to English/.

because the bundles of sticks chosen are still fresh and covered with slime. The canoe remains ripped sideways until, at the next departure, it is pushed into the water over the same sidewaye (p. 136).

While the women, as we have just said, constantly keep the canoe near the landing place by proper paddling, the men and the children disembark, and with combined efforts they place the individual implements and the heavy fish hanging on the shore. When everything has been unloaded, the women steer toward the middle of the channel if the wants to moor the canoe there. Meanwhile, following a popular custom, the calls to the members of her family on the shore, repeating an ancient phrase.



the hut to build now quickly!

This is a request to them to set up the dwelling quickly.

If the landing place lacks sufficient room and a sheltered spot for the canoe, the ladies weave some supplies. After everything has been unpacked, the men climb to the canoe of the channel where thick bundles of blacow-pelo algae are flowing. About 100 canoes form the canoe the size-bar vessel to

/514 cont./

583 the tough algae exile and also pulls bundles of branches across it so that it is all entangled in the elastic bundle. She also fastens the paddle there. Then she dives out and swims to shore. Meanwhile her family has kindled a good fire, and the man warms herself thoroughly (433). No matter how high the waves pile up

> 433. Bridges (MM:III, 115:1969) also discusses this method of mooring the canoe.

during the night, they do not hurt the light canoe. On the beach it would be dashed against rocks at high tide /517/ or tossed back and forth on the shore, which would scrape open the seams. Hence it is moored safely outside among the floating elastic algae which are its tangled mooring (434).

> 434. Lowy:170 has erroneously maintained that the canoe is taken apart on landing. Anyone who is familiar with the construction of this vessel knows that taking it apart is impossible.

481 On this occasion, which happens frequently, the Indian woman is obliged to swim. It is a strange fact that generally only women and girls can swim. Many European observers have pointed this out (435) and praised their endurance in diving. Bridges (MM:III,

> 435. For example, Bridges (MM:XXII, 157, 1970), Dempsey (b):637, Hyades (b):12 and (g):313, Lowhaw (b):130, Spegazzini (a): 171, and others.

110: 1969) briefly emphasizes: "Women invariably swim, and men never" /cited in English/. Only when they are forced by necessity, however, do they enter the water, namely, when servicing the canoe, when looking for sea urchins, and when they hunt for a game animal. On the really warm days which are extremely rare a few persons bathe in order to cool off a bit (436).

> 436. Hyades (g):38 emphasizes: "Strangely

/617 cont./

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enough, women can swim, but not men. The women usually swim very well, but go into the water only when they have to. Only rarely, when it was relatively warm, did the Frenchmen have an opportunity to observe that the Fuegian women also jumped into the water for pleasure, and played about happily in it without any particular purpose."

A person who comes out of the water immediately hastens to the hut fire in order to warm himself thoroughly. In winter they also, as Fitz-Roy (a):186 observed, "rub their bodies all over with oil [302] or grease and ochreous earth, to keep out the cold" /cited in English/ (427). Aspinall:270, however, is right when he says that

427. Hyades (q):214 supplements this by saying: "We saw young women swimming, one of whom was five-months pregnant, another nursing, on a May day when the temperature of the water was not above six degrees" /translated from French/.

"men can seldom swim, women always" (428). When I asked

428. Hence Fitz-Roy (a):186 exaggerates with his assertion: "Men, women, and children are excellent swimmers" /cited in English/, because it is too general.

about this from one of the many who could not swim, I received the reply: "We don't have to learn it, for the woman takes us in the canoe to the beach and fetches us again from there (429)!"

429. To the same question Hyades (q):214 received the answer "given mockingly by a Fuegian: only the women can swim because their breasts keep them on top of the water" /translated from French/. Compare also

/617 cont./

481 Hyades (h):12. This answer does not need an explanation.

Everyone knows that in an accident some man or other could perhaps have been saved by swimming, as many women succeeded in doing; nevertheless, he does not make any effort to learn this art.

The manner in which the women move in the water resem-
481 bles our so-called paddle-stroke, or, as Martial:193, agreeing
868 with Fitz-Roy (a):186, expresses himself, "is more like that of the dog than ours" /translated from French/. The mother teaches her daughter when she is still young. In a shallow inlet she rows her away from the shore, squats in the middle of the canoe, extends her outstretched arms over the upper edge and requests /618/ the girl to lie down on top of them, face downward; suddenly she draws her arms back and calls briefly: "Now swim!" The girl must now help herself until she has learned this art. Except for a few words of explanation, she receives no instruction. Sometimes during these exercises the mother places a flat stone on the girl's back.

In their frail vessel the natives feel completely safe. And
502 why not! Their accurate judgment of the weather situation makes it possible for them to know what they may risk, and they show great skill in handling their canoe. Formerly it was very seldom indeed that a boat capsized (430). If in most recent times such

430. In this connection Spears:55 says: "Both the Rev. Thomas Bridges and the Rev. John Lawrence told me that they never heard of a Yahgan being upset in his canoe until these later years" /cited in English/.

accidents have happened repeatedly -- I myself was once a witness to one -- it can be proved that the man or the woman, usually both, were intoxicated and yet ventured upon the water, even at night.

The European is seized with a strange feeling when he rides in the canoe because it is extraordinarily light and unsteady and stands high in the water. The slightest movement of an occupant

/618 cont./

502 causes it to rock, and this makes the uninitiated feel very insecure. Several times (p. 129) I rode in a true bark canoe and never dared to move. In it one is in a state of precarious balance, and the higher the center of gravity of the vessel and the less firmly one can brace himself, the more sensitive he is to every movement. Stirling described his experience in March, 1864: "A person accustomed to the firm seat of a boat is likely to feel a nervous sensation in these frail barks. The squatting position helps on the sensation a little" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 238; 1864).

502 462 Since the boat trips are unavoidably necessary for Yamana economic life and since they occupy more or less half the year, we can appreciate the active participation of the woman. Despard (b):696 proves this emphatically: "Women do the paddling; they also have entire charge of the canoe, when once made; it is to the Fireland woman what the house is to her civilized sister, her chief place of employment" /cited in English/. The canoe is, so to speak, the center of her entire day's work, and no matter how much she likes to be in her hut temporarily, she nevertheless feels most comfortable in her boat. If 502 the journey is to continue in the morning, the entire family helps her drag it from the landing place into the water. If it was moored out in the channel, she must swim out, no matter how cold the tide. She climbs in, loosens the strong algae stems, and rows to shore. Here all the implements and possessions are loaded up again, and glowing wood embers are placed in the center for a low fire. After all the persons and dogs have boarded, /619/ the Indian woman steers her vessel toward the goal agreed upon. She is able to paddle for many hours without becoming overtired, for she takes advantage of the propelling force of the waves and air currents as much as possible. The bark canoe is extremely easy to move, and constant occupation with it becomes a sort of game (431).

431. Phillips (a):1011 is the only one who mentions the following general observation: "If one invited a fellow for a pleasure trip in a rowboat and gave him the oars, he

/619 cont./

512

kept at it for hours and would not be fatigued. In fact, in all kinds of sailor's work the Fuegians show an uncommon skill, and this occupation obviously affords them entertainment."

It would be unjust to dispute the fact that the Yamana are daring seafarers. It takes great courage and presence of mind to set out in the light, unsteady bark boat with the waves high and with the rapid weather changes of their country, feared even by European seamen (432). In spite of this, they have pushed forward

432. These daring canoeists were marveled at by many Europeans. Lovisato (b):135 wrote: "With these poor boats they do not fear the disastrous hazards on high seas" /translated from Italian/. Other opinions are even more laudatory of the Yamana.

as far as the Islas de Ildefonso, as Bridges (k):233 assures us. One can see these islands distinctly from Seno Año Nuevo in clear weather. We cannot accuse them of cowardice, with Pickering: 19, because they have not visited the Falkland Islands, for these lie far beyond their field of vision. On the open sea there are almost no game animals; why, then, venture out so far? It is only when a sick or dead whale is floating in the waves that many canoes go far from shore, if there is the slightest hope that they can reach it. Near the outlying islands and in the inner channels the Indian family finds all higher and lower animals needed for their subsistence. They are obliged to go after them almost every day. Hence we are fully justified in calling the Yamana genuine water nomads.

Despite all their skill and precaution, occasionally a family would lose their canoe when they looked for eggs or cormorants on a low island without being able to moor their vessel securely beforehand. Usually they had no choice but to summon strangers [512] with smoke signals. Hyades was right when he said (g):38: "The loss of their canoe renders a Fuegian family completely helpless

/619 cont./

582 for the moment, and if they are shipwrecked on a lonely rock and do not happen to be noticed by others, they are in danger of starving to death." Such rare accidents, however, do not in the least weaken the brilliant record of the seamanship of the Indian women.

3. On Land

361 461 We are justified in saying that the Fuegian's principal field of action is the sea, for on land he makes only a temporary brief halt here and there. He never settles anywhere for a long stay. /620/ Soon after landing, the man, aided by his wife and children, builds a simple, loosely constructed hut or only a meager protection against the weather and the rigors of the night. If adverse natural forces do not prevent it, the family usually travels on the next day or the day after. The sojourn on land is for rest and certain manual work. After the day's trip the woman, especially, needs adequate rest, but the man no less, for he is sometimes very agitated and active while hunting and does not feel his great exhaustion until later. Sometimes both husband and wife must exert all their skill for hours to combat headwinds and counter-currents until landing is possible. They expend all their strength doing this and need two or three days before they dare venture out to sea again. On shore, the man makes the tools he needs; however, in this occupation he is never tied down to a certain place. He works here and there on the same piece until it is finished, even though he has to load and unload it, unfinished, 20 times. Similarly, the woman performs all her manual work on land and combs the vicinity of the hut for mussels and snails, fungi and berries.

221 In its ceaseless crisscross journeys, the family follows a certain plan dictated by the prospect of success in food-seeking. In general a family travels far more in summer than in winter, even though unfavorable weather is more predominant (p. 24 /untranslated/) (433). In summer they have a larger selection of animals

433. Without giving this as a reason, Bridges (VSA:XIII, 207;1866) simply says:

/620 cont./

221

"In winter they lead a comparatively settled life, and generally winter in their own proper country" /cited in English/. In other words, they avoid extensive trips which are less profitable in winter.

at their disposal, which they take from here and there, whereas in winter they depend on fewer kinds. Penguins, for example, nest on low, remote islands; cormorants, in rock walls against the open sea; fish prefer calm, shallow inlets, and berries thrive in sunny spots; crabs gather on a gently sloping sea floor, and seals congregate close to rock caves. The Indian knows all these spots and, in accordance with the season, he tries his luck in one or another of them. He takes advantage of his most recent experiences, supported by his excellent knowledge of the locale, but he does not return to the same spot very soon, in order to give the frightened animals enough time to calm themselves and to reassemble; later on he can successfully surprise them there. Not infrequently the hunter lands at some spot without any success at all, for example, if some other family appeared there a day or two previously or if unfavorable weather has driven the animals away. He is constantly drawn back to the places that never disappoint him; they then become his favorite places, so to speak.

489 /621/ On land the Yamana display a less steady gait than the neighboring Selk'nam. This is by no means to deny that they are highly adroit in hunting and gathering, capturing birds, and overtaking seals. We simply refer to the way in which they stand and walk. In this they are without doubt somewhat awkward. It is hard for them to run and jump; if they walk slowly, they soon tire (434). Nevertheless, there are many steps they cannot spare

434. The Anglican missionaries repeatedly called attention to this. For example, Despard (b):697: "Firelanders travel very little on land; they can neither jump nor run well, and are soon tired with walking" /cited in English/.

To say that when they walk for a longer

/621 cont./

481

> time they have severe nosebleeds, as travelers of the "Beagle" maintained, has not been proved and is completely unknown to me personally.

themselves. The men gather small tree trunks for hut-building and large sticks for firewood. Sometimes they go deep into the woods to hunt for suitable pieces of bark for a new canoe and poles for weapons. In case of an accident or if they lose their canoe, they must cover great distances. They can reach some birds, otters, and seals only on land. The woman, too, is not spared daily errands on foot. By and large, our Yamana are much on their feet throughout the day and are always going hither and yon, over and over again (435). We must admit that their gait

> 435. Hyades (q):213 correctly maintains: "Contrary to what has been said by some authors, the Fuegians walk a great deal, and on the slightest pretext they are continually coming and going in the vicinity of their huts" /translated from French/.

is always light and quick. Even when the ground is soft, they hardly sink in, and in general they leave only very faint footprints. "For example, even when they have lived for a long time in the same place, it is not possible to discover, unless one follows them, the pool where they get drinking water 20 times a day" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q]:213).

516 The Fuegians do not have stools in their huts or benches in their canoe. They do not like to sit down on an object, say, a stone or tree, with their legs hanging down. Their most comfortable sitting position is to squat on the flat ground. In this case they either rest their buttocks on the ground and have the soles of their feet flat on the ground with the heels touching the buttocks -- usually with one bent knee turned outward -- or the two legs are half-bent at the knees, closed and turned outward, extending immediately in front of the buttocks which rest on the ground, with one leg more or less on top of the other, or finally,

/621 cont./

516 they crouch in such a way that only the two soles are flat on the ground and the buttocks rest on the heels without touching the ground (436). In each of these positions the individual requires

436. Hyades (q) on Plates 16, 17, and 18 illustrates the very characteristic way our Fuegians sit and squat on the flat ground.

very little room, which is all the more advantageous since even a large family can be accommodated in a small canoe. Despard (b):697 has expressed himself somewhat vaguely: "In their huts, as well as canoes, the natives sit upon the heel, with the thigh pressing /622/ close up against the stomach and chest. Thus each individual, packed up in smallest compass, needs little space for his accommodation" /cited in English/. Hyades (q): 212 says the same thing in the following words: "Habitually the Fuegians sit in a squatting position which is imposed upon them by their way of life" /translated from French/. They also sleep in this manner, with their legs drawn up. They do not do this, as Hyades (q):212 maintains, merely to take up little room, but, in my opinion, chiefly to protect themselves from getting too cold, for they cover their bodies only lightly so as to get all the radiating heat of the hut fire. When the people squat directly on the ground, they incline the upper part of their bodies forward more or less; women bend far down when they fish from the canoe. No one feels uncomfortable this way, and I never saw anyone, upon arising afterwards, stretch themselves. They do not show a desire to get out of this bent position.

They are somewhat unsteady when they stand; either their torsos are constantly swaying back and forth slightly, or they very inconspicuously move from one leg to the other. It seems as though they cannot hold still long. They can never voluntarily stay in one spot for more than a few minutes. If they are obliged to, they seek to occupy themselves in some way; either they play with stones or poke about among their implements or light a fire, in front of which they can sit for hours without being bored (437). On the whole, the upper part of the body inclines

437. Despard (b):697 confirms this very definitely.

/622 cont./

516 forward a bit when they stand, the feet are not close together but bent inward, and the knees are slightly bent. The arms do not fall down straight along the sides of the body, but in such a way that the hands rest on the front part of their thighs. They do not remain in an upright position for more than a few minutes. If they have a choice, they soon squat on the ground again, because they can rest better that way.

487 Overland routes have been used since ancient times in order to avoid a dangerous coast or a long circuitous route. The best known are three in the territory of the southwestern group, that is, from the lowest point of Tekenika Bay straight south (438),

> 438. This overland route was much used because, if possible, the people avoid circumnavigating False Cape Horn with its strong sea-swell. Moreover, the mission station in Tekenika Bay temporarily afforded a certain attraction.

from the western shore of this inlet southwestward into Bahía Doce, and from the deep inlet of Canal Carfort to Estero Pomonby. When the mission station was located there, the first two routes were used a good deal. Sometimes people left their canoe at the landing place and covered the distance entirely on foot. This is also true of the isthmus of Caleta Awaiakir, due south to the northernmost edge in the western part of Estero Pomonby. I was also told that the two narrow places on the northern half of Peninsula Rous and the narrowest land connections in the middle of /623/ the large Londonderry Island were overland connecting routes. Every family was entitled to use these trails. They were [491] actually corduroy-roads over which one could rather quickly drag the canoe without much effort.

In a few places it is necessary to cross a brook on foot. There are no actual rivers south of Beagle Channel. As a ford, tuwéxi, they choose a shallow place in the bed, surrounded by flat, low shores. They make no particular signs, but everyone keeps the place well in mind. They wade through the brook, of course (439).

439. Hyades (p):237, also, writes, "one

/623 cont./

487 crosses the streams by fording them" /translated from French/.

[B91] If the water is high and there is a strong current, the shores are connected by means of two sticks or short trunks and thus bridged. BD:78 gives ukilʃaraxtéka, "to put logs or beams, etc., across a stream to form a bridge" /cited in English/. As I learned, however, this kind of unsteady construction is very seldom made.

4. Nomadic Life, the Result of Environmental Conditions

182 In the beginning we emphasized the fact that the Yamana are forced to lead a migratory life because of their environment, or because of conditions in their homeland. They did not respond to this necessity purely mechanically, but, applying their mental powers, they have organized a form of economy that seems to be the best possible adaptation to their environment (440).

440. On September 18, 1858, Despard wrote in his diary: "The Fuegians in themselves cannot be other than they are" /cited in English/ and explains this in detail on the basis of negative arguments /VP:VI, 83:185f/. Bridges (k):240 furnishes the following positive account: "The natives have developed all the more useful qualities for the life they lead: their canoes are perfect for their kind, and as much can be said for all their utensils and implements. With the materials at their disposal I do not see how they could be improved. They have adapted themselves perfectly to the land and climate in which they find themselves" /translated from Spanish/. The words of Crawshay:XXIII with regard to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 306) applies without qualification to our Yamana: "Judged from the point of view of the Land they inhabit, they are perfect" /cited in English/.

/623 cont./

182 Thus the territory of the Yamana shows a uniform character from one end to the other, for essentially the same natural conditions prevail everywhere and the total population is low.

The requirement of extraordinary mobility is linked with the form of economy created and adopted by the Fuegians, the only one possible there. At any one particular spot there are game and food for a single family for only one or two days; even if they wanted to stay longer, tormenting hunger would drive them on. To be heavily burdened with a quantity of tools and utensils, weapons, and clothing would soon prove unbearable. It is amazing to see how little in the way of material possessions our natives can get along with. They are not in the least hampered by them for quick, flexible movement. Even the indispensable canoe is so light in weight and can be /624/ manipulated on the water with so little effort, that these advantages could hardly be increased. Implements and weapons weigh almost nothing in the hands of the one who carries them; hence everyone can move quickly on land. Although, upon landing, the natives must exert themselves for about half an hour to erect a hut, they abandon the framework when they leave, since it can serve them again upon their return. In all their manipulations our Indians are agile and quick.

181 Their modesty and contentment fit in very well with all this and must probably be regarded as a result of the circumscribed simplicity of their material property. Everyone has adapted himself with such matter-of-factness to the meager conditions of life and to the perceptible limitations imposed on that region by a parsimonious and niggardly Nature, as though there were nothing better elsewhere. Everyone is content with his lot, and no one grumbles about his fate. At the same time he is fully aware of his sovereign superiority over the blind forces of nature, and his confidence of victory incessantly drives him toward new risks or more difficult acts. His mental ability and his implements are completely sufficient for him. Hence he has, for many decades and with superior disdain, rejected all kinds of things from Europe and, in satisfied self-sufficiency, has tenaciously clung to the traditional implements. With perceptive appreciation of all this, even Bridges (k):240 has defended our experienced, capable

/624 cont./

181 Fuegians against the unfavorable, premature judgments of some observers and has upheld them in the following decisive words: "The travelers who have visited them are wrong in condemning them for their poverty and ignorance, of which they are not guilty. The construction of their canoes, weapons, implements, etc., and the labor of obtaining their sustenance from the sea, the coast, and the woods occupy nearly all their time" /translated from Spanish/. But then in modern times when the foreign utensils brought by Europeans were finally introduced among the Yamana, the harmonious, compact economic structure of this Indian tribe was disrupted, and its complete disintegration was prepared.

177 181

Were the Fuegians outwardly and inwardly or spiritually enriched by their adoption in recent times of a not inconsiderable amount of European goods? I believe not. George Forster (b): 252 already answered this question in the same vein, writing from Christmas Sound in mid-December, 1774: "We described the savages living in the southern tip of our globe as miserable, degenerate, and decadent. Thus it seemed to us, thus it necessarily appeared to every European who knew and was accustomed to a better condition. In their own eyes they are not so unfortunate. Their way of life has become second-nature to them, they prefer it to any other, and not one of them would prefer our mild zone to their cold climate; his hut is dearer to him than a comfortable European residence; his seal skin seems more elegant to him than silks and embroidered clothing; a /625/ tasty dish from our kitchen by no means replaces the more delectable flavor of his seal meat." In order to avoid unnecessary repetition, I refer to my detailed accounts of the extended activity of the Anglican missionaries among the Yamana in several places of their country since the middle of the previous century (p. 288 /untranslated/), and of the manifold influence of all European civilization on these natives who have for several centuries already decreased considerably in numbers (p. 333, 348 /untranslated/).

Our Indians cling, with all the fibers of their being, to the traditional nomadic life to which they have long been accustomed. They find it unbearable to be impeded in this way of life, even temporarily. Despite the many benefits each of them has derived

/625 cont./

177 from his stay among the missionaries, "he returns with delight
181 to his canoe, to his independent wandering life, without pre-
occupation and without cares" /translated from French/, as
Hyades (j):166 reports. Every outside observer can be adequately
convinced that there is no other possible way of life for the
Yamana; they are used to it from their earliest childhood; they
are forced into it by their given environment, into which they
have been inescapably placed. Care for their daily subsistence
and the necessary raw materials for their implements drive them
restlessly from place to place. This powerful motivation drives
181 our Yamana with equal force and toward the same goal as it does
171 the neighboring Selk'nam; hence the many basic similarities in
the characteristics of their economies between the two tribes,
with whom the Halakwulup are to be compared in this respect.
All careful observers agree that "like the Ona, the Yahgan had
to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance" /cited
in English/, as Lothrop (b):116 tersely expresses himself. It is
the instinct of self-preservation that makes both of them restless
wanderers, that always and unmercifully puts them back on their
feet again after they have given themselves a brief respite of only
a few days. Despite this great dependence on external nature,
our Fuegians have by no means become in slave, and their strug-
gle for existence is not at all the degrading strife in which, for
example, vast strata of so-called civilized Europe are at present
engaged.

182 A glance at how the Yamana manage their affairs also shows
that man with his superior mental equipment and his physical
powers energetically comes to grips with nature on every spot of
the earth that is entrusted to him. There he creates for himself
a definite form of economy which will sooner or later strike
every careful observer as harmonious co-operation between man
and nature. Actually, the economic form of every long-
domiciled primitive people possesses its inherent individuality
conditioned by its environment and marked by its own structure.
Thus, it is unique, and, despite external similarities with an
economic form developed under other conditions, it differs from
the latter /626/ more or less according to its inner structure, or
at least according to its manifold purpose. This is not by any

/626 cont./

182 means to deny the historically demonstrated connection of the basic factors of certain types of economy, for the latter do actually exist and around them are entwined the locally conditioned separate structures. In the total picture of general cultural events within human society, the external conduct of life of our Yamana deserves a particular, even a favored place, inasmuch as it has maintained itself from its earliest beginnings up to the time of European intervention cut off from outside influences by practically impenetrable natural barriers. /Fig. 76 appears here./

/627/ Part 3

Social Organization and Tribal Customs

The external form of life of the Yamana is that of an acquisitive gathering-economy closely dependent on given natural conditions. Just as the environment decisively influences the total economy, determining its form, so does this form of economy very definitely determine the specific social organization. The latter, in turn, rests on the independence of each individual family, with its special capacities and social performances. "The kind of subsistence which predominates in a social group, the form of their production which is not arbitrarily chosen but determined by certain conditions of life, directly or indirectly shapes all other ideas and actions of that society. If we know what a people eats, we also know what it is" (Gumplowicz). This dependence of the social organization upon the form of economy, which has been proved among other primitive peoples, is also very definitely true of the Fuegians, especially of our Yamana.

594 The invariable obligation of a nomadic people to gather food without pause excludes a structured organization of the whole society. Its sole supporting pillar is the individual family. In the form of a monogamous single marriage, the family appears as the universal, narrowly circumscribed, definitely determined social structure. Not only is it bounded by strong safeguards, but even from the start, as soon as a marriage is planned, certain conditions which guarantee its permanence and its natural function

[Text continues on page 596.-Analyst]

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136

Fig. 78. Oyster Catcher, Haematopus ostralegus.

/NEST cont./

must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important position of the woman in the economy assures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the intersocial duty of every individual family, apart from any purely natural compulsion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, it a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /NEST/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Tarasco does the primitive state manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it function beyond the narrow legal foundation of the family, exercising its own rights.

Several families are naturally associated through blood ties, but only loosely, and the reciprocal obligations growing out of this are the kind universally found among humanbeings. Five distinct groups have been established as associations of larger proportions, but these cannot be regarded as a division based on social principles (p. 100 /unconclusive/). Moreover, there is no hierarchy based on birth and station, nor are there class differences which elsewhere rest on accomplishments or property. Finally, unification of the entire tribal community under a single head, such as a chief or magistrate, priest or sorcerer, did not take place among our Indians.

There are ancient tribal customs with the force of legal obligations, as well as definite principles about possession and property, and the public sees to it that they are faithfully followed. It also observes and punishes the violations of the universally familiar tribal virtues. Crimes against the assured duration of the family or against related groups amounted to smaller or larger conflicts. Although there is no special social division and no appointment of an authoritative person to rule the community, there is a distinct and binding power embracing all members of the tribe — namely, the state, however weak and undefined it will appear to its earliest beginnings.

/629 cont./

The entire social order, as the aggregate of conjugal or familial arrangements and vital functions of the tribe or community, proves to be naturally humane and, therefore, appears in an altogether friendly, pleasant light.

A. Courtship and Marriage

The individual family, the supporting pillar of the entire social order, is regulated in its origin and its continuation according to fixed, unchangeable fundamental principles. These principles are kept alive as customs in the consciousness and conscience of the people. They are made known to each member of the tribe and are more or less familiar to him. Since custom and practice are the primary law in the performance of duty, the centuries have not taken away any of this, and whatever has remained down to the present time is to be justly and lawfully regarded as ancient tribal heritage.

The individual family consisting of parents and children is /630/ basically independent and a compact union. It is founded on mutual affection between the two lovers and the desire for lifelong union. It is held together by the increasing spiritual relationship of the two partners. Its vitality is assured by the fellowship of work and possessions, food gathering and consumption. It grows beyond itself by the self-evident duty of parents to beget several children and through them to insure the permanence of the tribe.

Although these vital customs pertaining to the institution of the family have endured in century-long uniformity, foreign influences have exerted such pressure on it for several decades that this firm structure has finally become undermined. Conditions have arisen in recent times which cannot be regarded as natural, and their effects on marital conditions have created a sad caricature of the original pattern of marriage. These regrettable changes and the false and inadequate observations of most travelers since the middle of the previous century do not give a picture of the basic organization of the institution of the family among the Tamana (1).

1. What has been recorded from still older

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible]

periods lacks the proper compliments and accuracy. As an example, which we could replace by even more inadequate ones, Fiche-Roy (x) 181 will suffice. He writes about how a bride is obtained: "As soon as a youth is able to maintain a wife, by his exertion in fishing or hard-working, he checks the consent of her relations, and does some piece of work for her parents. Having built or stolen a canoe for himself, he watches for an opportunity, and cuffles off his bride. If she is unwilling, she hides herself in the woods until her admirer is heartily tired of looking for her, and gives up the pursuit. Yet this seldom happens" /[illegible] to English/. Now one should compare this with the following lines on how a marriage actually takes place.

[illegible] I, too, began my observations at a time when original conditions were already showing changes here and there as a result of the determining influence of European civilization. Hence my research could not rest solely on direct observation, but was largely dependent on questions and inquiries. Fortunately, at that time I met several older men and women who still vividly recalled all the laws and customs upon which marriage and family life were built in former times. They themselves had entirely retained almost all the activity of the missionaries and the influence of European civilization. Even though these conditions of research were less favorable, they at least helped me to grasp clearly those principles of the marriage institution and the course of family life that in former times were exclusively valid.

[illegible] If we contrast with this the judgments and assertions of travelers of former times, we see with frightening clarity how little truth they often contain and how hastily and unscrupulously they were circulated. They not only hindered my research work, but it sometimes also became a highly ungrateful task. /[illegible]/ It is a satisfaction to me, however, that the final result, as it is contained in the following pages, has been set forth in detail and without error.

/NOE cont./

114 Since the year 1951, when I bade farewell to the Yuruna Savana, the majority of the older persons who served me as reliable informants in my investigations have gone to a better world. Today it is impossible to determine exactly and completely the unaffected instructions of former times on the basis of questions (3), because very few survivors of the tribe either have

> 1. About a year after our Lutkeep (Pb.10) tried to determine the customary terms of relationship of these natives. He confesses: "It is difficult to gather these words, because much time has passed since many of them were used" /tried in English/.

enough about them as grew up in them. Without doubt it was also the eleventh hour for me to undertake the research if it was to be successful and consolidate the result of previous factual data.

c. Proposal and Marriage

[illegible] Among a people like the Yuruna, who are divided into individual families, each devoting itself to food-seeking independently of others, the approach of two loving hearts and their union in marriage escapes the notice of an observer who spends but a short time there (3). In neither the courtship nor the

> 3. On the basis of reports hitherto available about courtship and the selection of partners, Cooper 194 came to the minimal conclusion that "there are no fixed laws" /tried in English/.

wedding are surrounded by conspicuous festivities. Certain customs, however, are observed on these occasions. They are so generalized that on the basis of these alone, excluding all verbal communication, the marital union of two young tribal members is recognized by the immediate neighborhood. Yet as these two events take place according to definite, simple rules, as these

/[illegible] cont./

are also established customs which apply to the actual marriage proposal and which set up certain limits or genuine barriers to marriage. A marriage among the Tatanua never takes place without form and without rules, although in principle there is unlimited freedom in the choice of partners.

Our natives would like Europeans to know how much they value the responsible decision to enter the marriage union on an event, because it is significant for the tribal community. For this reason it is made known at least to the nearest fellow-villagers. On my third journey, the people wanted to show us the procedure of a wedding ceremony, but unfortunately the marriage plans of two young natives who had been fond of each other for a time finally fell through. I do not know of any Europeans, missionaries possibly excepted, who personally witnessed the modern ceremony of a proposal /[illegible]/ and a wedding. Nevertheless, many prominent natives gave their opinion of it. It is not worthwhile here to mention individual unreliable opinions. It is more important and, for several reasons, of special significance to describe here in detail existing customs of courtship and marriage.

1. The Marriageable Age

It never occurs to a Tangiane to count a person's age in years. Hence, they never set a definite age after which young people may marry. They presuppose, as an absolute condition, participation in the youth initiation, but because a certain age is thereby reached, but rather because in that lengthy preparation the young man is trained to obedience and instructed in his behavior toward others, that is to say, he is educated to become a good and useful human being. First he must prove, as it were, his ability to lead an ordered, independent life and to work successfully economically before society agrees to his marriage. Most clans were probably not spared attendance even a second time at actual conditions of the youth initiation, for only in this way did they obtain the right to take part in the town's ceremony. There was no similar condition connected with a second ceremony

/illegible cont./
of girls in the Yahgan ceremony.

Naturally, the girls who are pledged to the youth initiation have shortly before shown signs of physical maturity. Hence the latter is always present when the question of marriage becomes serious (4). Mental maturity of both sexes is emphatically

> 4. Hyades (f):573 observed that "a young girl of 12 or 13 years, not yet menstruating, was abducted by a Fuegian who wished to marry her, although he already had one wife" /translated from French/. This single case proves nothing against the generally valid principle, nor does it reveal under what conditions this man took the girl; perhaps it was the sister or niece of his wife. From a casual wish to an actual marriage is a long way, even among the Tamana.

required; this may be deduced from the fact that instruction at the Yahgan must unquestionably have preceded the marriage. It includes instruction in the mutual obligations of both partners. Alfredo once told me: "First each one must know what work he must do and how he must behave, before he can get married!" He was thinking, as he said, of the customary division of labor and of the almost equal position of each marriage partner in the family union.

By that time the marriageable young people are sufficiently enlightened about sex life to know that it is one of the chief purposes of marriage to beget children. Adults in Tierra del Fuego would never provide the so-called sexual enlightenment of youth before the /illegible/ proper stage of physical development is reached. The nearer one is to maturity, the more definitely and clearly parents and close relatives point out that the union of the two sexes produces the child. Nothing is definitely said, as I learned, about intercourse itself. Instead, the girl, in connection with her first menstruation, is instructed in detail on the care and handling of an infant. For their part, the young boys in the Yahgan are admonished to give the future wife all the proper consideration shortly

/632 cont./

864 before and after her confinement. I could not discover the specific words that were used. Every young Fuegian learns the meaning of the sexual act for himself, not by direct instruction, but by observing animals and by comparing his body with that of the opposite sex. He is aided in this by the very meager body covering and by the intimacy of Fuegian life. At first they do [833] not seek actual enjoyment in the sexual act; "that comes later, after it has been tasted a number of times," old Julia confessed. A further reason is that in the years before physical maturity until marriage, the two sexes, even brothers and sisters, must remain apart, which restrains desire.

867 It cannot be denied, however, that girls after puberty and boys after the youth initiation are purposefully, albeit inconspicuously, prepared for all the events and obligations of marital life. First they are given many suggestions and repeated admonitions. They are told: "When you are married you must no longer dawdle about in such a carefree manner! -- Later you must always have a supply of meat for your wife and your children. -- Always be kind to your wife, for she gives you children. -- Do not quarrel with your husband, otherwise he will go to another hut and you will have to sleep alone in your hut; in the end he will be unfaithful to you, after he has slept several nights in the hut of another family!" I am indebted to Gertie for these words. Such statements unconsciously change the entire mental attitude of the young person toward the forthcoming start of his new life in marriage; he thinks about it more often and finally himself finds the more or less correct, but adequate explanation for many physiological facts which he observes from his own body.

584 Meanwhile, inevitably, the awareness of a still unattained fulfillment of physical and spiritual being increases to a passionate desire for a partner in marriage. "When the young people have been released from the čiéxaus, they cannot bear to live unmarried much longer. Some seem all the more excited and perturbed the longer they must wait for a marriage partner," Alfredo emphasized. "Now and then there is a girl who is quite uncontrolled in her behavior and who will suddenly throw herself into the arms of any boy because she does not want to live alone any longer; she longs for a husband and /633/ for children!"

/633 cont./

584 Mary told me this as she remembered one of her friends who had been dead for a long time (5). This urge of the sexes toward

5. Bove (e):157 is probably referring to this when he says: "The desire for a man is felt early among [the women], and the interference of the mission in these circumstances is regarded as the greatest tyranny of civilization."

each other is natural.

162 For the last three decades an unnatural disturbance of the equilibrium has predominated among the Indian population because there are not enough girls for the number of boys of marriageable age. When, on my second journey, I took leave of the Yamana in Punta Remolino, Homestead joined me on my ride to Rio Carmen in the northeastern part of Isla Grande. His mother was a Selk'nam. He hoped to find a partner among this tribe, and on the way he repeatedly and longingly confessed this to me. I very clearly recognized his ardent desire. He stayed behind in the camp at Rio del Fuego where he had his eye on two girls who apparently understood and responded to his intentions. I did not wish to spoil his favorable prospects, and so I rode on alone (6).

6. See further details in Gusinde (b):154.

On various occasions I was told by several thoughtful older people: "How difficult the present situation is for many boys, because there are no suitable girls for marriage!" These words expressed a deep sympathy for a natural but unfulfilled desire. Truly, there is great tumult and agitation in the heart of a marriageable Fuegian until he completely possesses his beloved!

582 If we wish to establish a definite age in numbers, we need not resort to mere guesses. According to the missionaries and a few well-informed Indians, the average young man marries between the ages of 17 and 19, a weakling somewhat later. It is required -- and the boy's nearest relatives talk to him in this

/633 cont./

582 vein -- that he show, aside from the maturity of judgment demanded, sufficient physical stamina to act the man fully and completely in making a living. In the case of girls, even
582 though actual maturity has long since taken place, the Fuegians
826 wait until considerable physical fullness and a certain shapeliness have been attained, this being regarded as the necessary condition for motherhood. The shape of the breasts is not a decisive as the broadening of the hips, which sets in quite suddenly after the start of puberty. Once I heard: "As long as a girl is too slim and delicate, she must not give herself to a man; her child would be born too weak and small!". It is the mother herself who keeps her daughter in the family hut until, according to her judgment and that of her female neighbors, the girl has the physical strength to become a mother successfully for the first time. This is usually at the age of 15 or 16; a few strong girls marry a year earlier (7).

7. Bove (c):128 and (e):157, on the other hand, sets the marriageable age lower. "The marriage of Fuegians generally takes place early; already at 12 or 13 years of age the girls run after men, but they do not become mothers until they are 17 or 18. The men marry between the ages of 14 and 16." Wieghardt:40 repeats this word for word. Lovisato (b):150 gives even lower figures. Hyades (q):377 mentions the 12th year for girls. According to Bridges (l):21, "girls were given in marriage from 14 years onward" /cited in English/. Hyades (f):573 is demonstrably inconsistent, for in another place he says: "Marriage takes place very late, about 18 or 20 years for girls, 25 for boys, on the average" /translated from French/.

584 /634/ As this account proves, boys and girls do not marry until they have fulfilled the requirements for a trouble-free economic life, on the one hand, and for healthy motherhood, on the other. This does not mean that occasionally a flirtation between

/634 cont./

584 two young people is not initiated much earlier and that they do not amuse themselves together as often as they have an opportunity, until finally none of the adults has any valid objections to their marriage.

2. Courtship of Marriageable Persons

584 162 Contrary to the inaccurate and false reports from the pens of several Europeans, we should like to emphasize strongly the freedom of choice in the selection of a mate. As has just been said, it is only in most recent times that there has been an imbalance in the numerical proportion of the two sexes. According to the general statements of several Fueglans whom I questioned, there were formerly exactly as many young men as girls of marriageable age (8). Assuming this, all the conditions for an

8. Bridges (k):240 definitely emphasizes that "the number of men and women is nearly equal" /translated from Spanish/. Nowadays it is probably impossible to determine whether the number of men or of women somewhat predominated; the few indications that I found point in favor of the latter. In June, 1884, when Bridges took an accurate census and the Mission Scientifique likewise determined the number of persons in the southern group, devastating diseases had already disturbed the equilibrium. We must take this into account in comparing those numbers. Compare Martial:218.

unhindered, free courtship of youthful lovers during the previous centuries seem fulfilled.

584 The natural shyness and reserve characteristic of the female population in Tierra del Fuego, more pronounced than elsewhere, explain why the young man makes the first advances in courtship. The girl probably never begins it. Usually the two know each other from earliest youth or late childhood. Individual families of the same dialect group meet occasionally, stay together a few

/634 cont./

584 days, like each other, and welcome every new chance meeting. Not infrequently they travel together for days. These are the opportunities for children from this or that family to become acquainted, despite the separation of the sexes strictly supervised by the adults. On such occasions they fall in love, and as they get older the separation until their next meeting, which often lasts a long time, /635/ becomes increasingly difficult to bear. In the play of innocent children, the wish to be together longer and more often becomes more and more insistent, until finally the boy and girl unconsciously take it for granted that they belong together forever and that they are quite apart from the others. Mary said: "When children are still small, one boy will like to play with one girl, two others will do the same, and yet two more. It is remarkable, the longer the time, the stronger they are attached to one another. But that is how it happens that when they are mature they long for the day when they can run to meet each other once more. Finally they marry, for they have already loved each other for a long time!"

Of course, each family also has social intercourse with one from another dialect group, though rarely. An attachment between the children of the one family and the other hardly can grow from this. It is fairly thrust upon them, however, by the repeated meetings of two families from the same circumscribed locality.

At puberty the desire to be together a great deal quickens the pulses of the two who have felt drawn to each other since childhood. "This is the time when they always want to be together; if they are separated, neither of them is happy. This is the time when they really love each other without expressing it. But each of them feels, nevertheless, that he is loved by the other; that is why he is drawn so much to the other person. They are satisfied just to be together; all they want is to be alone. They scarcely exchange a word, although they gaze at each other often. But being together makes them perfectly content. They lean closely against each other when they sit or lie on the ground. Sometimes they embrace for a time, often one will draw the palm of his hand over the head and body of the other. They spend hours this way, until they must part once more." Nelly, to whom I am indebted

/635 cont./

for these words, told me frankly that almost never would one of the two permit himself unseemly contact on such occasions.

The frequent meeting of such a couple does not escape the attention of adult relatives of the boy and girl. If in their opinion a marital union is soon to be expected, they do not oppose it with warnings or prohibitions. "The more frequently the two meet and the longer they are together, the happier they will be when they live together, when they live in their own hut [as a married couple]!" This was one of Nelly's statements. The length of time that the flirtation is permitted depends in any specific instance on various circumstances. The adult observers are not guided by a definite rule, but during this time one or another of the neighbors will make a remark from which the boy and girl are supposed to understand that their secret doings have not remained entirely hidden. For example, a close relative will say to the boy: "You like X [he mentions the name of the girl] very much, because you meet her so often in the forest!" To the girl they say: "That is an industrious and strong boy whom you have chosen; now /636/ he will probably marry you soon!" Neither the boy nor girl will talk with adults specifically about their love affair and their clandestine meetings.

I must infer from reliable indications that the two lovers scarcely ever make a formal declaration of love to each other. The conduct of one toward the other is clear in itself and expresses quite enough; the unspoken wish to be together all the time carries with it the decision to marry. The latter is frankly announced by the boy within the circle of his contemporaries, where he also points out the excellent qualities of his chosen one. By means of such conversations his own relatives and those of his bride are still more assured of his intentions. An unconstrained general discussion develops, and not infrequently the boy is abruptly asked when his marriage is to take place. The girl who is in love is conspicuously reticent with her own mother and her relatives, as well as among her female friends, about the matter that so deeply touches her heart. The former, however, sometimes succeed in loosening her tongue and making her speak, no matter how reluctant she is to struggle against her own shyness.

When the gossip about the love affair of this couple has continued for a while, the nearest relatives begin to prepare for the

/636 cont./

584 marriage as though by instinct. There has been no actual demand from any side. The decision to marry is hardly ever definitely communicated to the parents. The attachment begun and reciprocated at some earlier time has so undeviatingly pressed toward marriage that the persons of the immediate neighborhood sentimentally contribute the few external accessories that the ancient law of custom demands. This is desired in every case by the couple in love.

As we have said, it is not possible to determine exactly how long a love affair or courtship lasts, for the first attachment often begins in early childhood. I was also told that young people who suddenly met and in whose hearts the spark of love was immediately kindled frequently decided to marry within a few days. Alejandro, who was young when his wife died, courted Elisa after four months. She had been released only a few days before from the Ciexam and previously had looked with favor on another boy. In the case of Alejandro and his chosen one, I could easily observe how the young people among the Yamana prepare the way for marriage. In his conduct, however, some of the pristine element was lacking, for he was a widower and through his contact with Europeans had become a decided fop. One might say, to set up an approximate formula: as soon as a certain, individually more or less high degree of mutual love and devotion has been achieved (9), the preparations for the marriage ceremony begin, ?

9. Hyades (d):309 is content with the following terse wording: "The marriage is generally founded on reciprocal affection" /translated from French/. With these words he at any rate admits the freedom of choice on both sides in the selection of a mate.

although no actual instructions regarding it have come from any side. /637/ Herewith the goal of the courtship has been achieved, although from the beginning of the attachment this has been neither specifically recognized nor pursued. BD:623 gives the word wlnina, "to woo, to court."

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3. The Ideal Marriage Partner

581 Not a single essay by European travelers suggests that the young Fuegians who are in love have a mental picture of an ideal partner, created by their wishes and transfigured by their romantic fancy. The young person eager to marry does not throw himself into the arms of any partner; freedom in the selection of a mate definitely shows that everyone is calculating and deliberate in choosing this or that person. This shows that all amorous desire moves in certain directions, the goal of which is the lovely vision of the ideal marriage partner. This picture is clearly drawn by certain suggestions in the teachings of the youth initiation. Here all the personal merits and social virtues that each boy and girl must exhibit in married life are emphatically named and recommended. Anyone who will make a list of the individual words that apply to this will get a complete picture of the ideal husband and the ideal wife, according to Yamana conceptions. We need only add to this the wishes for certain physical qualities which the other partner cherishes. In the case of most lovers, these are in the foreground, rather than good character traits.

581 BL [Ba] First, the question of how the girl imagines the boy of her dreams. He must be strong and healthy, well built and nicely proportioned. Deformities that disfigure him, such as scars of burns or other scars and injuries, for example, broken limbs which impede free movement, make a young man less or not at all desirable (10). In former times, apparently, there were no

10. Bove (e):158 agrees: "A cripple, one who is rachitic, can cheerfully take the vow of celibacy, and women regard such a person as an unclean creature, a pariah." In Wieghardt:41 we read the same words.

obese and heavy figures among young people. On the other hand, a well-built, upright, lithe, and supple figure has the best prospects.

581 Moreover, a young man's whole appearance must definitely

/637 com./

58/ express courage and awareness of strength, adventuresome spirit and joyous vitality. Everyone esteems a young person who attacks a piece of work with zest and finishes it with playful ease, who cheerfully sets out to hunt and regularly returns with game, who always knows how to occupy himself in and around his hut, who briskly and nimbly lends a hand everywhere. All this expresses a brisk, lively temperament, and this is far preferable to a phlegmatic sluggishness, for the more infrequently social intercourse with other people is possible, the more oppressive the latter becomes within the intimate family circle. They avoid a violent and quarrelsome, peevish and moody chap, /638/ but they enthusiastically take to one who is unreserved and gets along well with everyone, who cheers people up and adjusts to them easily, and who is obliging.

In all this, the girl is less concerned with the definite traits of character which her beloved is supposed to have, but she unconsciously takes for granted his faithfulness and his complete devotion to her. Moreover, she expects him to be a good human being, free of crudeness in his behavior, free of uncontrolled outbursts of rage and tendencies toward violence, without, however, lacking courage, manly pride, and daring. Each quality that the girl in love observes in her chosen one she greets with quiet satisfaction or with a smile; sometimes she commends him modestly, just enough to attract gently the attention of her female friends.

58/ 826 In a similar intensification of personal wishes and expectations, the young chap has an ideal image of his mate. The girl of his choice must also be beautifully built and have a pleasing shape (11). A small, smooth face, quiet, clear eyes, a dainty

11. According to Spegazzini's (s).143 conception, a "natural selection" /cited in English/ applies to the decision of each of the two lovers, "because a young man rarely chooses a wife who is ugly or has defects, just as a woman never binds herself to a youth who is deformed or imperfect" /translated from Spanish/.

mouth with thin lips, and a soft, gentle voice captivate his heart.

/630 con. /

58/ 56 Her body should be neither too thin nor heavy. He is most pleased with a slender but rounded figure. With all her vivacity, her movements must not lack grace -- one would almost like to say distinction -- and a certain quiet dignity.

58/ A quiet, silent creature who is not lacking in sympathy and lively fellow-feeling is extraordinarily esteemed. Loud quarrelling, moody ill-humor, and irritable touchiness have a repulsive effect. Cleanliness of body and all material possessions, love of order in the hut and in personal belongings, an inexhaustible urge to be constantly busy, incomparable quickness in all daily work, affection for parents, and a happy disposition in dealing with small children -- these are virtues which even older women praise and which they constantly recommend to marriageable girls.

Lively, wholesome girls have good prospects of being courted; they are the ones who like to be teased, who consciously make a circle of young boys notice them, and who expect an understanding reply to their loud giggles. They bring life into a group of young people and, adroitly and quite spontaneously, provoke fun and flirtation in any circle.

Thus, our Tatuata, too, have what we call an ideal of a beautiful and perfect man, although in the temperamental wishes and desires of youthful lovers it is made up chiefly of purely external characteristics. /630/ Blind love and extravagant fancy usually disregard inner qualities and character traits (13). Even

13. At this point I should like to refute the thoroughly false assertion of Spegazzini (p) 165 that among these Fueguian "love as understood in the lofty sense of our society does not exist." /Translated from Spanish. /

someone like Spegazzini (p) 165 admits "that the strongest and handsomest men are the ones who have more women and the most beautiful women. During my observations to see if the type regarded as beautiful were the same as among us, I noted that the men and women who appeared attractive to me not only attracted the glances of the opposite sex, but many times someone with a gleam in his eyes would point out a person to me and say: Ul-gamu (what a man)! Ul-qufu (what a woman)!"

/539 cont./

/Translated from Spanish./ Some visitors describe the beautiful, pleasing figure, even for the European eye, of individual young Fueguians; there were even some splendid specimens of human beings among them. That these persons, further idealized in the imaginations of young people anxious to marry, are the most sought after for a life-long union in marriage is too natural to have to be specifically substantiated. Anyone who is only moderately endowed physically is content to find a partner who is his equal. Nevertheless, luck and chance sometimes cast an unusually charming girl, and a lovable creature, into the arms of a less attractive boy for immediate marriage (13).

13. In long conversation with Fred and Nelly Lawrence I obtained the details, difficult to come by elsewhere, from which this account was written; later I also talked with other informants about it.

6. Freedom in the Selection of a Mate

Even those travelers and missionaries who are generally reliable give unclear accounts about the freedom of choice of girls before marriage, and these sometimes seem to be clearly contradictory. The uninfluenced private decision of young people who wish to marry is the rule and custom, but in exceptional cases a few old people, namely, the parents of the girl, violate this by their selfish and sublime conduct. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that the various assertions of travelers are sometimes mere fabrications and almost without exception are based on insufficient observation. Even in Bridges we can trace a change in his own opinion about marital conditions, since in later writings he undeniably contradicts what he said in the first years of his sojourn with the Fueguians. Obviously, any kind of coercion among marriageable young people would be futile if they were obliged to submit unconditionally to the arbitrary decisions of other persons. Before we set forth the true state of affairs in this important arrangement, I shall repeat the divergent opinions of several Europeans of the last few decades. The shallow

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584 assertions of earlier navigators do not, for obvious reasons, deserve attention.

583 584 /640/ Not at all infrequently regular bride purchase is mentioned, as Hyades (q):334, for example, does: "The woman is not, as a rule, consulted; she is usually purchased from her parents" /translated from French/ (14). Bove (c):157 expresses

> 14. Hyades (q):378 does not mention actual sale of the girl elsewhere: "The young girl is not consulted in the choice of a husband; the parents give her to the one who suits them and who is always the strongest and the most respected among the candidates" /translated from French/.

himself more in detail on the subject: "The relationship between the spouses can be regarded more as a commercial agreement. Among the various suitors for the daughter, the father chooses the strongest, the most skillful, the one who is the most compliant with regard to his wishes, and with this one he bargains about the number of skins which the son-in-law must give him and the number of days he must work for him. Only after the contract has been settled is the bride informed of it, and, no matter what her private feelings are, she takes care not to betray them, and, whether or not she is willing, she is led into the hut of the bridegroom." To this we merely wish to add briefly that in most cases the two young hearts have found each other long before their parents are aware of it, and that they can hardly ever be made to abandon their decision by outside influences. Even Bridges (e):333 at one time maintains that the bride is bartered: "The women were given in marriage, in many cases even sold, according to a certain rule. The payment was made in work or gifts of skins, etc. The required performance was in proportion to the importance of the parties. If the son-in-law was strong and the relatives of the woman weak, there was little or nothing, and there was much if the situation was reversed. The only rule was convenience or common interest" (15). Anyone who knows the social system of

15. Earlier Bridges (e):301 wrote about this

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in a different vein: "Sometimes the father of the girl is in great difficulty through several men expecting him to give him /sic/ his daughter. He, of course, gives her to him of whom he is most afraid; this, of course, makes the others his enemies" /cited in English/. This does not exactly agree with what he maintained shortly before (ibid., p. 184). And three years later he gives still another version: "Sons-in-law are expected, either by gifts or work, to purchase their wives" /cited in English/ (MM III, 117,1969). Thus, one contradiction after another.

the Tamara will find it impossible to reconcile it with this last description of conditions. In Chom (g)-34 also we read: "They buy the women with gifts... If the gift is not enough, the father returns in a few months and takes back the woman, selling her to someone else. If the husband is displeased with his wife, he can send her back to her father, who must return the purchase price. In this case, while the father lives, she belongs to him anew, and he can again sell her" /translated from Spanish/. If such conditions really existed, a quiet, secure family life would be found only in an infinitesimally small number of huts (16).

16. Similar statements exist, in Wingborh: 40, for example. From all this Spears:68, who in other respects is not very reliable, not too incorrectly concludes: "Marriage was a matter of purchase and sale; wives were sold, sometimes, by husbands, and daughters were invariably sold by fathers" /cited in English/. Thus one inaccurate report is linked to another.

This is obvious and needs no substantiation.

584 /641/ In reality, marriageable boys and girls commonly have unimpeded freedom of choice, except for the few obstacles to marriage about which the uncle or the aunt in particular must be

/941 cont./

on the other. It is also simply inconceivable that a girl should be forced into a marital union with a boy who does not like her. She would be adequately protected against coercion by his relatives. Every adult knows very well that a woman who no longer cares for her husband -- she previously joined herself to him in the free choice of love -- leaves him and will not be chained to him by any means. It is true that sometimes female relatives direct the attention of the girl to a particular chap who, in their opinion, would be suitable for her, but they do not force him.

What incorrectly informed Europeans call "payment" are actually voluntary gifts which the bridegroom or son-in-law gives the father of his chosen one from a sense of courtesy and gratitude, joy and satisfaction. This custom belongs to the category of obligations of the son-in-law toward his father-in-law. It is natural that the former makes an effort to learn indirectly the special wishes of the latter and to consider them as far as possible. To speak of a definite price range and standard of value of these free gifts is altogether false. Prominent, wealthy, or mighty families who are able to make certain demands for the marriage of their child do not exist among the Tsimshian, nor is personal competence or the individual qualities of a marriageable young man weighed against material values. If a chap makes extraordinary efforts to win the girl and finally succeeds because she yields, it is quite in order for him to make lavish gifts to her parents.

As long as this custom exists, it is taken for granted that the father of the girl expects something from his future son-in-law (17).

17. To this extent Boas's assertion of March, 1888, is justified: "The father of the future bride expects common-money. On this occasion, an ax, a blanket, a knife, some foldbooks, beads, etc., form part of the price. Sometimes the future son-in-law serves for a period, I believe, the father of the betrothed, or presents a canoe, etc." /Cited in English/ (Vth. 22, 1962:884). A commercial part, such as Spengemann (x:143) describes, is never made.

/[illegible]/

This, according to Dawe (pp.[illegible]), includes either knives, bargaun points, and finished weapons, or skins and fins, sometimes even a new canoe. Neither the son-in-law nor the father-in-law regards such things as an actual purchase price for the delivery of this marriageable girl, for there is never any mention of this when the chief makes inquiries of the father of his beloved.

I was emphatically assured that sometimes special gifts were not given the parents of the girl, either during the courtship /[illegible]/ or at the marriage, and some men do not bring more than a large sea lion. After Alejandro finally won the long-wooed Elsa (p. [illegible]), he did not give her parents the least little thing. Her mother, Adelaida, somewhat disappointed over this behavior of her present son-in-law, told me: "Alejandro is a fop. He acts as though he were a Europeo and does not know what used to be customary among us Yaruros." In the end, how could insignificant offers compare with the fact that a girl is willing to give herself to a husband (16)?

> 16. The following assertion in Dawe (p.[illegible]) definitely down the impossibility of the conditions which he describes: "If the gift is not enough, the father returns to a few months and takes back the woman, selling her wherever else. If the husband is displeased with his wife, he can send her back to her father, who must return the purchase price" /translated from Spanish/. We come across similar discrepancies among other Europeans who never became properly acquainted with procedures in Tierra del Fuego.

It is equally incorrect to speak of "dowry" in connection with those insignificant possessions that the young woman takes when she goes to her husband. Certain things, such as clothing and ornaments, simply belong inseparably to her, whether she is married or not, and this private property is not in the least augmented when she leaves the parental hut and goes to her chosen bridegroom. Dawe (p.[illegible]) writes: "A canoe and a harpoon are

/Text cont./

[illegible] the bride's dowry." This arrangement is meaningless. The canon, without which a young married couple cannot exist, is usually built by the husband himself, or by his own father or neighbors with the young man's help. Possibly the father of the bride also took part in its construction. The hearth is part of the equipment of a man and is neither used by a stranger given by her to a man.

[illegible] In some of the lineages, mention is made of abduction, but specific examples or cases that have been observed are not cited. Dengard (Dy.438 mentioned). "Sometimes wives are stole, sometimes they run away. When recovered, after wife-case, they are beaten, the supposition being, in some, that i the former case they themselves encouraged the theft" /Cited in Engl-ish/. The qualification mentioned is significant and inconsistently put to account. Hyades (pp.336 mean totally)that "one sometimes observes a marriage by capture" /mentioned was French/ (13). The way of life and the position of a marriageable

> 13. It is not likely that the Mission Ethnologique observed the procedure of ex abduction. The same Hyades (Dy.1368 expresses himself in another place more cagiously, "sometimes there is marriage by capture" /mentioned from French/.

girl within her family absolutely contradicts all false marriage, for it is simply impossible to abduct a woman. It is the [illegible] sometimes a married woman who either cagiously to leave her husband escapes the help of a man whom she knows well in order to escape. If, however, she chooses this expedient, usually, right under the protection of a man, it is her own choice. Otherwise, it will happen that a married woman yields i persuasion and force/ follows her seducer for a few days, after which she returns to her rightful husband. Neither case has nothing to do with abduction. Bb.227 gives [illegible], "Under by force another man's wife and marry her as a wife" /Cited in Eng-lish/; also Bb.303, [illegible], "to escape as a wife from her husband by force" /Cited in English/. The proper meaning here,

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837 ion, is that a lawful husband is shamed when his wife puts herself in the hands of a devoted rival who carries her off and keeps her in his hut as his wife.

384 In one place Hyades (p) 378 speaks as though the girl is given away by her father. "The young girl is not consulted in the choice of a husband, the parents give her to the one who suits them and who is always the youngest and the most respected among the candidates" /translated from French/. This empty assertion utterly fails to recognize the fact that the parents are very much concerned about the future welfare of their child and that they inquire about the conduct of the husband, quite apart from the fact that they naturally find it painful to lose their daughter to the chosen man. Finally, arbitrarily disposing of her without consulting her wishes is not consistent with her right -- sometimes exercised -- of running away from her unbearable, rude husband and again seeking protection in the hut of her parents.

The true facts of the matter become very clear from what we have briefly said by way of correcting erroneous reports (38).

> 38. The two forms mentioned by Bove (c) 128 are mutually exclusive, for he says. "Marriage can be considered as a purchase of the woman by the man and a union of love and reciprocal congeniality" /translated from Spanish/.

The marriageable girl is neither given away nor sold nor abducted. She is completely free to choose the chap who appeals to her fancy. Custom rests on this fundamental freedom. That is why in the case of young people of marriageable age the elders sometimes waive the otherwise prevalent separation of the sexes, for "that is the time when a boy and girl become acquainted, when they feel whether they will get along together for the rest of their lives [in marriage]." This is what Mary said.

N7 In instructing girls on the occasion of their first menstruation and in occasional conversations, older women repeat the following admonition in various words: "Do not give yourself to the first chap who comes along, who flatters you, but choose the one

/[illegible] case./

567 when you really like. At first every chap will be so agreeable; later when he has married you, it turns out that he is crude or lazy or unbearable. Then you will have to suffer. So, consider before you decide!" Molly added: "One must warn young girls and make them alert, otherwise they will thoughtlessly and permanently say 'yes' to the first chap who comes along. Later when the young couple find they are unsuited to each other, the elders among their relatives will suffer for it just as much as they themselves!" Likewise /[illegible]/ the young man is given a definite hint by his uncle to take as his bride only the girl with whom "he will live peacefully for the rest of his life."

568 569 That there is freedom in the first choice can also be deduced from the right every woman has to run away from the husband who treats her badly or does not provide enough food for her. How could she be taken in again by her parents, which is generally done, if she had previously been actually sold? The male relatives were the husband and threaten to take back the entrusted wife. They would not dare do this if he had bought her for a price.

570 571 It very seldom happens that two young people become united if there is a strained relationship or open hostility between their parents. If such a match should be developing, the parents of the boy and those of the girl make insulting, even demeaning remarks against the other party within their own family but in order to thwart their children's intentions. It may be that a preliminary inclination toward a marital union will sooner or later disappear under this influence. Out of respect for her own parents the girl will forego her lover's desire, and since she makes no fuss about this, her closest relatives will not interfere on her behalf.

572 573 574 Still more awkward is the exceptional case of a girl who is an orphan and very much dependent on her uncle and aunt. The latter, driven by stubbornness or ambition, insistently urge her to choose the chap they recommend. If the military girl is unable to resist adequately, she will finally accede to their urging. My informant emphasized that such a case was rare, and that the previous history of the case would become publicly known only if this forced marriage, so to speak, should, in an exceptional instance, be dissolved.

/[illegible]/

It has also happened, we have recalled, that the two lovers decided to elope, that they renounced any kind of marriage celebration, and that they remained away from their parents until they no longer feared reprisals. Even if a child should be subjected to threats, he would find sufficient support from close relatives against the inadmissible interference of parents, if only he does not become intimidated and stands his ground. It is the special duty of the uncle to help so that every young person who wishes to marry is permitted to make an absolutely free decision. In case the uncle's influence on the parents does not bring results, he can even influence public opinion against them if they restrict their child's freedom of choice. All opposition dissolves automatically when the young couple has a child to be cared for. Thus, a person who must face the disapproval or resistance of parents toward a marriage elopes with his partner; once the couple is blessed with one or two children, no one can interfere or separate them.

/[illegible]/ A woman who becomes a man's second wife also has circumscribed freedom of choice. If she is a widow, she must sometimes be glad if a man will take her, whether she likes him or not, and she suppresses her own wishes without a murmur. The position is more favorable if an older man, whose wife has perhaps become incapable of working, woos her. From the man she can then secure for herself certain rights and a favorable position in the family. In the great majority of polygamous marriages the two women are sisters (11); the second one to be taken by the man is

11. This custom may be verified in Bridges' (1)11 words: "When a man married more wives than one they were generally sisters, which fact tendered greatly to strengthen the family party" /cited in English/. Relationship by marriage as such does not constitute blood relationship, hence does not hinder marriage (p. 42).

thus frequently better situated in many respects than in a monogamous marriage.

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The question of a possible illegitimate birth is referred to this discussion. Children who have reached puberty are sufficiently enlightened on the subject of sex life (p. [illegible]). After an interval of adultery, neither of the guilty parties, who probably always return to their lawful partners, thinks of the possible consequences of their meeting. As a rule, however, unmarried couples avoid intercourse before marriage, for the girls maintain a remarkably strict reserve, even toward bold youths. This union, however, may have occurred among young people who had already tacitly agreed to marry. In such a case they have been legitimately married long before the fruit of their conjugal love appears. Hence there is actually no recognizable illegitimate birth among the Tetuwa (III).

> III. This is not to deny sexual intercourse by strategy or force between European sailors or farmers and Indian women, the consequences are known far and wide. What the native farmerfrau thought and still think about this is only occasionally, but clearly enough expressed in the jealousy with which they guard their women and girls in the presence of strangers. See pages [illegible] and [illegible] /in unwritten portion of this work/.

The separation of children by sex at the time of puberty is intended chiefly to preserve their premarital chastity, as is expressed in clear instructions and warnings. Young people know very well that they are being watched, and although it is difficult for them to avoid the sharp eyes of adults, they sometimes succeed in doing so. On such occasions a bold lad will permit himself unseemly conduct with a girl. Such secrecy is seldom possible and is censured by every adult, in fact, severely punished by the parents of the little culprits. There can be no question of sexual freedom for the Indian woman. The Tetuwa are not familiar with any kind of ideals of chastity. They demand decency of young people before marriage, just as they wish to insure freedom

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in the selection of a mate (23).

> 23. If we consider the prevalent ideas in the free selection of a mate, we realize the absolute similarity and unanimity between our Tamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 321).

/FAS/ 5. The Duty of Marrying a Widow.

Apparently the levirate which is in effect among the Tamana deprives the widow of her freedom. I have the distinct impression that the rules pertaining to this are at least as specific and as definitely observed as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 347). I learned the following details from Fred Lawrence and Calderon.

Every Indian is familiar with the obligation of taking his widowed sister-in-law, along with her children, into his hut (24).

> 24. Only Hahn (x):SHS mentioned the levirate among the Tamana. We might also deduce it from the following words of Bridges: "Brothers often take their deceased brothers' wives" /cited in English/ (SHS:III, 117;1869); we cannot deduce from these words, however, a real obligation, which actually exists. See footnote on page 418.

but it is emphasized much more definitely that he must care for his nephews and nieces; there is less insistence that he devote himself to the widow, whether or not she wishes to marry. If these half-orphaned children have no grandparents and their mother does not decide to marry another man, the uncle must take them into his own hut where he must care for them as though they were his own. Above all, their sustenance is to be guaranteed. The group as a whole takes care of their participation in the youth initiation which sooner or later becomes necessary. From now on the paternal uncle takes the place of his deceased brother for the still immature orphans in all matters pertaining

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584 604 736 to social life. Naturally, adult nephews and nieces who are married are not under the guardianship of their uncle. If the deceased has several brothers, these obligations fall upon the oldest, but not infrequently a younger brother comes forward, especially if he has his eye on his widowed sister-in-law. At any rate, the brothers come to an agreement, and usually the one who wants to take advantage of the opportunity promptly and boldly takes charge without interference by the others.

The eldest brother, as such, has a priority to his widowed sister-in-law. It is well known that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are not prevented from marrying. The duty of an unmarried brother-in-law to take the widow almost borders on coercion. Differences in age have nothing to do with it. The widow has a perfectly free choice, but she can hardly resist the pressure put upon her by her brother-in-law if some outsider does not court her. If the widow actually exercises her right and marries another man instead of her brother-in-law, the latter is not relieved of his care for the children. He has to take the nephews and nieces if the new stepfather does not care to rear them. He is then content to know that his sister-in-law is taken care of economically. His nephews and nieces, however, will always have strong support from their paternal uncle, since his obligation toward them never ceases.

587 /647/ A married brother-in-law adequately fulfills his duty toward his widowed sister-in-law if he helps her toward economic security. Marrying her depends partly on the consent of his own wife. If the widow wishes to marry another man or to remain unmarried with one of her children or with relatives of her deceased husband, he does not prevent her from doing so. Sometimes the 587 brother-in-law takes advantage of the favorable opportunity to 586 enter into a new marriage if he is not satisfied with his first wife. Whether or not the latter agrees, he brings the widowed sister-in-law into his hut, and the only thing usually achieved by it is that the other withdraws, which is what he intended. It is even regarded as legal that a married man leave his first wife and, in her stead, take his widowed sister-in-law into his hut. If their married life was not very happy, she, too, is usually very glad of the solution, and her relatives take her in with open arms. This duty of marrying a widow is practiced even in modern times.

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587 Gertie lost her first husband, who was killed on an otter hunt. Immediately her brother-in-law sent away his wife and took Gertie. When he died, she joined Chris with whom she is still living. The latter had lost his first wife to a Turk in Ushuaia. If a widow runs after her brother-in-law, it is impossible for him to get rid of her, even if he is married.

[589] In Yamana economy it is almost impossible for a widow to maintain herself alone. Hence she cannot long remain unmarried, and she herself is compelled to try to remarry. This is obvious in the complete meaning of the word kwinan, and BD:225 states it fully: "A woman lately a widow, taken as a wife by another" /cited in English/. Usually a man soon proposes to her, for a young, able widow accomplishes more and is more valuable to him than a girl who is still inexperienced. I was assured that a widower had an even greater right to his recently widowed sister-in-law, namely, that he may force her to marry him, and that he can even take the recalcitrant one by the hair and drag her into his hut. Although this right is granted, a man has scarcely ever made use of it, for he must consider the fact that such a refractory sister-in-law will run away from him at the first opportunity. A widow, however, cannot actually coerce her brother-in-law into marrying her, and even less when he is already married. To be sure he can never evade the duty of taking care of his half-orphaned nephews and nieces in one way or another, if they are not provided for elsewhere.

587 In general, persons related by marriage show a certain
607 deference and mutual respect for each other. On this account the brother-in-law and widowed sister-in-law who have married are consciously respectful toward each other during the first few months. They talk remarkably little and always very softly.

587 Thus, since a married man has the right and a certain obli-
736 gation to care for his widowed sister-in-law, no one disapproves if he lets her come into his hut as his second wife. She must
585 be /648/ economically secure and have no interference in making a free choice. This is the more comprehensive and final meaning of the obligation toward widow-marriage. It is even more important that the half-orphans be well cared for and properly reared under all circumstances (25).

25. The obligation of the levirate is partly

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responsible for the fact that many husbands have a second wife, and that many younger men are married to an older widow who has brought him the children of her deceased husband.

6. Participation of the Relatives

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The paternal uncle, indíruwa, unmistakably occupies a privileged position regarding his nephews and nieces. This is clearly evident at the time of the death of his married brother, as well as during his nephew's courtship and marriage. In the above lines we have already given a few data on the position of other adults relative to the marital plans of young people.

Following the dictates of his own heart, the young lad goes courting and tries to win the girl who promises to fulfill all his desires. The young lovers meet as often as possible, and their mutual affection grows as time goes on. If there is no pressure of outside circumstances, they amuse themselves in their amorous play without thinking of marrying soon. In their innermost conviction they have long since decided that they wish to belong together for life, without, however, expressing this openly to each other. And why should they! For the time being, neither of them reveals his feelings and intentions to his own parents; "they are somewhat ashamed!" I was told. A male neighbor and a female friend finally get the boy and girl to speak by making intimate allusions.

After the clandestine meetings and the love affair that can no longer be concealed have lasted long enough for the adults, the paternal uncle, indíruwa, one day decides to approach the boy very directly: "You have been meeting this girl for some time now. I finally ought to talk to your father about it!" Or he says: "We cannot go on seeing you daily with your beloved much longer. I shall soon inform your father in case you want to marry her!" This and similar expressions state the wish of the older relative to help the boy attain his goal. The latter realizes it. He takes this opportunity and has his uncle put the proposition before his father. Sometimes, if a boy wishes to reach his goal

/648 cont./

quickly, he himself openly approaches his uncle with the request that he tell the father of his heart's urgent desire. The uncle fulfills his mission without delay and without expressing any doubts or advising against it. If the boy has no indrawa, his maternal uncle, iman, helps him. The girl takes the same steps with her maternal aunt as soon as she has learned from her lover that his mission /649/ is already on the way to his father. The aunt also does not remonstrate with her; in fact, if the girl has given her consent to a boy whom she also likes, she is even happy about the decision. She brings the news to the mother.

The parents are never directly informed by their own children of the latter's wish and plan to marry. It is partly veneration and partly modesty that seal their lips. The only legally justified decision or judgment that the parents can exercise is for them to prove and vouch for the fact that the two lovers are not related by blood. If this were actually the case, the marriage could not take place. With this point settled, the parents of the boy and of the girl discuss the plan of the couple with their respective relatives. Not infrequently the child is present and at the same time is given some advice. Finally, the uncle, as well as the aunt, insists that the parents give their final consent which they personally make known to the boy or the girl. The two lovers tell each other of the desired result.

The arrangement we have just described is generally made within a few days. Naturally, the intention of the young people is the topic of conversation in the whole neighborhood. After all, the planned marriage is to become known everywhere, and it is chiefly the uncle and aunt who consciously work toward this. Nelly told me that public opinion and the help of the community are to be won for the lovers, particularly if one of the pair of parents is opposed to their child's intention. Obviously this arrangement serves to assure freedom in the choice of a mate. In spite of all this, but very rarely, the stubbornness of one of the pair of parents or the selfishness of an uncle or aunt does not permit the desired union of the young people. In the first instance, neither the boy nor the girl dares confide in the uncle or aunt; in the other instance, the uncle and aunt misuse their authority, against which the lovers cannot summon the courage to seek help

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583 584 585 elsewhere. In the opinion of the majority, such shows are regarded as unjust; hence the guilty ones -- they are aware of being such -- make a secret of the fact that they have involved without permission. The relatives and the larger community are readily and as a matter of course on the side of the lovers, provided always that blood relationship is excluded. To the extent that the general public knows of the marriage plans of the couple, it prepares readily for the forthcoming marriage. Meanwhile the male and female neighbors approach the girl in friendly good-will and wish her all kinds of happiness for the future, making this dependent on the recently imparted advice and the earlier instructions on the occasion of the remarche. The boy is merely given additional earnest warnings in case his conduct requires it.

587 When a couple enters a second marriage, the /550/ formalities that apply to the first marriage are omitted. "They are simply no longer necessary," as Calderon emphasized. "The couple know very well that they need not let themselves be influenced by anyone in their decision!" In one way or another, however, the newly wedded couple tells those nearest them of their union, so that the public in general will soon learn of it.

589 182 Marriageable young people in olden times were in an incomparably more favorable position; each one, following the dictates of his heart, selected from many persons the one desired. For the last few decades marital conditions have been affected by a complete disintegration of the natural order. They do not offer even a slight guarantee that the Yamana will continue as a people. In fact, the fate of the Yamana is already sealed.

7. Obstacles to Marriage

582 The basic freedom in the selection of a mate does not eliminate the fact that there are some things taken for granted which prohibit marital union. All adults are well informed about them. In particular it is the duty of the parents under no circumstances to permit the marital union of their child with a related person (p. 416). A few introductory remarks will be given before we list the actual obstacles to marriage.

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587 As we implied earlier, relationship by marriage is not regarded a blood relationship among our Yamana. It is no obstacle to marriage and, under certain conditions, is even an obligation for a levirate marriage. If the sister-in-law becomes a widow, the oldest brother, in terms of years, of her deceased husband must care for her and her children, provided a younger brother does not obtrude. The wife of the brother-in-law in question may not legally oppose this marriage, nor would either of these two be permitted to reject the widow because of the many children she brings with her (p. 412).

585 807 Aside from the obligation to take the widowed sister-in-law in marriage, the principle mentioned above is also clearly seen in an occasional marriage of two sisters simultaneously to one and the same man (26). A direct development usually leads to this

26. Hahn (a):805 summarizes both instances in the single sentence: "A man may marry two sisters and the wife of his brother" /translated from French/. Cooper:165, drawing on various sources, concludes: "It is a common practice among both the Onas and Yahgans for a man to marry two sisters" /cited in English/. Bridges (h):210 gives the following reason for this: "When a man marries more than one woman, the wives are usually sisters, which tends to strengthen the bonds of the family" /translated from Spanish/. This way of expressing it sounds credible and is close to what actually happens; this is less true of the statement he made 17 years earlier: "Polygamy is very general, and men generally have sisters of their wives, one sister after another as they become marriageable being given to the same husband" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869).

situation. When the married sister takes in her unmarried sister to help with the work or to be her companion, /651/ the brother-in-law not infrequently also falls in love with her. Sooner or later he will become intimate with her and will finally have sexual intercourse with her. Hence, he must ultimately acknowledge her as

/851 cont./

595 837 his wife. Their marriage takes place without any formality, and the sexual relations between them become known to the neighborhood at the latest when pregnancy is well advanced, if not long before. If the man has no valid reason for this step and is guided [24] merely by sensuality, he must be prepared for the bitter reproach and biting irony of his neighbors, intended to censure severely his weakness of character. Marriage with two sisters is not forbidden, but public opinion demands a reason for it, such as that the first wife cannot do her work because she is ill or that she has been blessed with a great many children. She perhaps had invited her sister into the hut as a helper, and since the latter adjusted well, the lawful wife will finally, on her own initiative, propose to her husband that he likewise regard her sister, who is probably always younger, as his wife. This is one way in which polygamy arises. Sometimes, also, consideration for the will unmarried sister-in-law will lead to it, for if she has become accustomed to her brother-in-law over a period of time, she will not look for another man, but will wait for her brother-in-law's proposal, or she will force herself upon him so insistently that he will yield to her wish. Her sister may not even be in favor of it.

587 Closely related to this is the view that, upon the death of his wife, a man has a certain right to his unmarried sister-in-law. If he proposes to her, she probably always accepts. If she refuses, however, and he nevertheless wants her, he may bring her into his hut by force. This is known as kulatulu. This happens very rarely, however, for everyone knows that a woman who follows a man only because she is forced to do so cannot be held permanently.

Economic conditions in Tierra del Fuego make it imperative for every adult to marry, hence widowed persons (pp. 412, 480) do not remain alone very long. This sometimes leads to a considerable difference in age between the two partners, which does not constitute an obstacle to marriage and is apparently not even regarded as improper. An active young woman is more useful to an older widower than a woman as old as he is. For her part, the young creature expects to be treated with understanding by a quiet old man. From both sides, therefore, gentle pressure is exerted for the marriage of an old widower with a young woman (27).

27. It is an exaggeration, however, when

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Oates (g):55 says that "in general the old men take young girls, because the women must work hard" /translated from Spanish/, because a union in marriage of persons who are very different in age is not the rule.

Conversely, a young chap occasionally is content with a /882/ middle-aged widow if she knows how to entrance him. In general, however, every bachelor first tries his luck with a girl (28).

28. Bridges (i):17 writes: "One piece of worldly advice given to the younger men was to take as a first wife an old woman because such would give them little trouble and much help" /cited in English/. Actually, this hint was dropped in the first youth initiation that I experienced. Bridges exaggerates considerably, for he adds: "This was often followed, though never I am sure from inclination but only from necessity, because marriageable girls were scarce, and always bespoken by men already married" /cited in English/. Fred Lawrence assured me that several of the marriageable girls were indeed captured by married men, but that the great majority of them tried their luck with young lads.

Widows are less desirable, which is why they must thrust themselves upon men who are about their own age (29). Their conduct

29. Bove (e):159 correctly observed: "The eagerness that mature women [who as such are, of course, widowed] display to marry youths must really be termed surprising, and the fact is that they almost always attain their goal." He saw five or six marriages there. In the first three the woman was ten to 12 years older than the man; in one case she was 60

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> and he 30. We cannot maintain that such a strange marriage was necessitated by the advance of European civilization, for it was not rare even in earlier times. We need only recall the duty of a bachelor to marry his widowed sister-in-law (p. 412).

need not surprise us, for middle-aged men are generally married, and so it happens that they find happiness only with inexperienced bachelors. An old widow is usually charitably taken in by another married couple as a second wife, even though her new husband and she are far apart in age. This happens when she cannot make any connections with her relatives or when they have already died. No one expects her to have children, and this is, of course, not decisive. The main thing is that she is taken care of, and in return she can render the couple valuable service.

In contrast to those provisions which permit and even advise a marital union, there are definite prohibitions. The sharpest warning is given against a marriage between relatives, such as stepbrothers and stepsisters, uncles and nieces, aunts and nephews, as well as cousins (30). The general feeling is against marriage

> 30. According to Bridges (Abd:III, 117;1969), "cousins never marry, the doing so is held in abomination, and is never thought of, much less done; they speak of cousins as brothers and sisters" /cited in English/. Hahn (a):805 also maintains that "first cousins never marry" /translated from French/.

between any kind of relatives; "they never married any blood relation, however distant, to do so was utterly abominable to them" /cited in English/ (Bridges [1]:12). Nevertheless, very distant relatives sometimes are joined in marriage, even though mild disapproval may develop among their neighbors. The action of such a couple is not forbidden, however. The severe censure that several travelers have noted is directed against the marriage of close relatives, although an ultimate limit of the degree of relationship based on blood ties is not drawn. An explanation given

/[illegible]/ by Bridges (1):213 is significant: "Generally speaking marriages with near kin are held in high abhorrence" /cited in English/; also another by him (in [illegible]):[illegible]: "Marriage is never contracted within the degrees of consanguinity prohibited by natural law. For example, first cousins to the second degree would not marry each other" /translated from Spanish/ (31). Thus many

31. In another place Bridges ([illegible]) reports: "They never marry a consanguineous relative, however distant. The idea of marrying a first or second cousin would be absolutely abominable to them" /translated from Spanish/.

versions indicate that, according to the general opinion, all degrees of relationship, even beyond that of cousins, absolutely exclude marriage.

If we consider the conditions of life of our Tamana, we realize that with this custom there exists a sort of local exogamy, for it is the near relatives who scour a certain mile for food and regard it as their true home. To marry within this circumscribed family group is forbidden by the bonds of kinship which link them all together, near or far. Since the only obligation is to marry outside this degree of kinship which coincides with district boundaries, local exogamy thus follows as a matter of course. It takes definite form when a whale is stranded and families gather from far and wide to enjoy for several days the bountiful gift of Mother Nature. The marriageable young people, who perhaps have never seen each other before, become acquainted and draw closer together until sooner or later marriage unites them. It is the rule that every eligible young man looks for a partner outside his own family group. BD:305 gives mesfa-pfu-apai, "two persons within the limits which forbid marriage who marry, to be thus married; to marry together as cousins to each other" /cited in English/. It is difficult for young people who live far apart to marry because of their natural affection for their parents (32).

32. Bridges (1):21 has already given the reason for this reluctance: "Marriage with very distant clans was infrequent

/653 cont./

from the natural unwillingness of women to separate themselves so entirely from their own people" /cited in English/.

Furthermore, it is not permitted for a man simultaneously to take a widowed mother and her daughter as wives. Toward the latter his relationship is that of stepfather, and she is obliged to obey him as his own child. This prohibition naturally remains in effect for the man in case the mother of this daughter dies, even if she has lived with him only a short time as his wife. Kinship by adoption has thus been introduced, and they are stepfather and stepdaughter toward each other. An infraction against this, however, is not considered as serious as marriage between blood relatives, although it is still very improper. Nothing is changed if first the mother and then the daughter, or first the daughter and then, in addition, the mother are betrothed. Fred Lawrence could not remember a single case of /654/ such a marriage from former times and explained that it would not have been tolerated. Nevertheless, Bridges (a):213 maintained that "a few cases of a man having as wives a mother and her daughter are known" /cited in English/ (33). The unnatural mixture of

33. On August 16, 1865 (VSA:XII, 272;1865), he wrote as follows on this subject: "There are two men who have as wives mother and daughter at the same time, but this is not liked generally" /cited in English/. Nevertheless, he later went so far as to make the following erroneous assertion: "Some of the Bonglo Channel tribes have a practice of marrying a woman and her daughter" /cited in English/ (Mbl.III, 117;1869).

people in modern times has also weakened the effectiveness of this prohibition (34).

34. I herewith state my own observations in Spencer's: 72 words, "that Domingo married

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the young wife, her mother was the wife of a man then alive. She had two or three children who died. When the mother's husband died, Domingo took her as his wife, but this was after he had married her daughter" /cited in English/.

582 88 64

A final obstacle to marriage is based on a sort of sponsorship namely, on the relationship of all adults to the candidates who have been entrusted to their special care in the *Kiyeye*, the youth initiation. Their relationship is regarded as that of parents to their children, accompanied by certain rights or duties which never cease as long as one of the two parties is living.

582 626

The community as a whole, especially the relatives, are vigilant regarding the valid obstacles to marriage; it is their duty to interfere if anyone dares to violate them. Infringements by individual persons in exceptional cases and more recently as a result of the unusual composition of the population cannot be avoided, since the public does not have effective measures of control and since the guilty party avoids the loud mockery and scornful gossip of his neighbors by keeping to himself. The erection of certain barriers in the form of real obstacles to marriage proves with unmistakable clarity how highly the Yamana regard the institution of marriage and the sound judgment they show in evaluating the meaning of their only social alliance. My questions about the possibility of a marital union between relatives and adopted persons obviously horrified them, and they found it unpleasant that such prohibitions, which are sacred and venerable to them, should be even casually mentioned.

8. The Marriage Ceremony

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In the foregoing pages we have described the development from the first slight amorous inclinations of two young hearts to their definite decision to marry, as well as the attitude of the relatives of the couple. The lovers never link themselves together in a definite, solemn declaration of their willingness to marry, as in the manner of our engagement. Nor do the Yamana know anything

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585 about an actual marriage proposal following definite formalities, such as are /[illegible]/ practiced by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, [illegible]). They do, however, have an actual marriage celebration with certain conspicuous accompaniments, which they regard as legalizing the conclusion of a marriage.

It is easy to explain why earlier travelers did not understand this custom in its deeper significance, if, indeed, they had a chance to observe it, and that they saw in it only one of the universally common facial decorations. They should at least have avoided an abrupt denial of any kind of marriage ceremony, such as Rowe (e):150, for example, did when he definitely maintained: "No festivity, no ceremony accompanies the wedding, which simply consists of the bride's going to the hut of the bridegroom or of the latter's settling down with his father-in-law" (36).

> 36. Hyades (b):1346 and (y):304 is as inaccurate as he is insincere when he tries to make out that "the marriage is accomplished without any ceremony" /translated from French/. According to Spegazzini (z):164 the marriage is concluded "very simply among them" /translated from Spanish/.

Bridges (e):333 made a slight concession, without grasping its real meaning: "The marriage ceremony was quite unimportant; there was no contract, no gathering of friends, no festivity, but they simply painted the face of the bride and sent her to her future husband in the best attire that they were able to afford." In contrast to this, we must emphasize that our informants positively established the socially valid significance of their ceremonies for the first marriage of a couple. These ceremonies were also regularly conducted, for without this public announcement the union of the two young people would not have been recognized as a valid marriage, but would have been regarded as a free, impermissible love affair.

585 302 Among all the things that surround and accompany a wedding of those who are united for the first time, the facial painting of the bride and groom is the most significant feature. Like a public

/655 cont./

declaration, it announces to the neighborhood and thereafter to the entire tribe the free decision of both parties. It is this visible sign that proclaims the marriage as legally concluded (36). It

36. Since Hyades (p.278) did not understand the significance of this facial painting, he contradicts himself in the following assertion: "The marriage does not give rise to any special ceremony; the young girl adorns herself more on this day, at least with facial paintings and with necklaces which the ancients as gifts, and the hair on her forehead is cut" /translated from French/. In view of the little sense of form that our Tamana have developed, all these details certainly cause display enough!

binds the bridegroom as well as the bride, and the painting in this special form is used exclusively for the wedding. It consists of three parallel, horizontal red stripes of medium width which begin at the edge of the nostril and are drawn across the cheeks almost up to the ear lobes (Fig. 77). For about a week the newlyweds appear with this painting, which is carefully renewed every day. The *tinl* is mixed with seal blubber and applied with a little stick to achieve even, fine lines, a near application being particularly prized (37).

37. Spears: 69 was the only one who learned of this custom: "The marriage ceremony consisted in painting the girl in a certain fashion for several days before she was delivered to her husband" /cited in English/. Among the Seik'nam (Vol. I, 338) a "wedding decoration" is prescribed, which in style corresponds exactly with that of the Tamana.

/656/ The young people whose parents have cleared the way for their marriage begin this facial painting as soon as one of their

/[illegible]/

[illegible] relatives, usually the mothers, notifies them that the big hour is soon to take place. A few related families are informed or specially invited, and the men go hunting to collect a great deal of meat which the women prepare for roasting. Although no particular day is set, the general mood or the momentary decision of the relatives, or even the unpredictable weather, brings about the ceremonious delivery of the bride or the bridegroom to the hut occupied by the other party. /Fig. 77 appears here./ In this manner they are influenced by given circumstances, usually the bride moved into the hut of her new parents-in-law. A few hours earlier the news spontaneously spreads that this formality is about to take place, and everyone parents prepares for it in happy excitement. The bride and bridegroom are once more carefully painted and somewhat dressed up with a new fur cloak. The other people also paint their faces, usually with the fine vertical red lines from below the eyelid, over the cheeks, to the level of the corner of the mouth. Finally, at a large fire outside the dwelling where the bridal couple is to meet, a few women roast the large amount of meat. Messengers go from one hut to another to see how the preparations are progressing. At the appropriate moment a few women, followed by children and neighbors, accompany the bride to the hut occupied by the bridegroom. This procession is regarded as the core of the ceremony. Sometimes there is more formality, for example, when the bridegroom himself, surrounded by a few relatives, approaches the hut of his bride and invites her to follow him to the hut of his father. She joins him in the procession. There the happy celebration begins.

Fig. 77. Facial Painting of the Bride.

515 Young and old enjoy themselves at the abundant meal; there is lively conversation, and finally the wedding guests give eloquent expression to their joy in dance and play. They remain together many hours, and it is only general fatigue that puts an end to the celebration. The bridal couple do not yet have a hut of their own

/[illegible]/

58 and spend the night at the place where the celebration/[illegible]/ took place (38). There the people of the neighborhood again assemble

[illegible]

38. Bove (p):105, and Wrightwatch 61 as well, contends: "If the bridegroom does not wish to begin forever the enjoyment of seeing guests and soul mate, he must cleanse himself on the morning after the wedding by walking in the water of the sea. . . These indicate without doubt the cause of many sicknesses to which the young people of Llano del Fuego are subjected, but they are regarded as necessary to replace the lost strength." When I solemnly informed whether a bridegroom was obliged to wash a bath, they could not keep from laughing. they found it so preposterous. It is almost childish to attribute "many sicknesses" to this alleged custom. Whenever someone has washed himself in the sea, he immediately hastens to the fire.

In the days that follow, until the supply of meat is gone, the joyful mood has slowed, and the long sojourn at the same place becomes boring. Meanwhile the bride often hastens to the hut of her mother where the two cuddle each other in expressions of mutual affection, for soon the hour of parting will come. Each time

[102] the mother carefully paints her daughter with the three horizontal lines, in order that she will be pleasing to her young husband and he will learn to love her. Many of the male guests give the bridegroom their good wishes and occasionally drop a warning word. The principals themselves are silent and are quite content in their own happiness. When all the wedding guests have dispersed and gone their separate ways, the newlywedd, who have meanwhile acquired their own canoe, also leave the place. They begin their independent life, free of their parents, and this is encouraged by very special rules applicable to parents-in-law and children-in-law.

58 A new family has now been established. The public regards
111 this event as so significant that they feel the necessity of surrounding it with legal formality (39). The modern confusion brought

39. Once Bridges (c):332, too, apparently lost his understanding of this come through:

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SB 177

"Marriage was recognized just as much as all other degrees of relationship, for all of which they [the Yamana] have their specific terms."

about by the dominance of European civilization has strangled this judicious tribal custom, along with much that was original. The Indians of today regret that some of their countrymen enter a marriage without the ceremony of former times. Mary, who was indignant over the widespread lack of form, very much lamented these conditions: "A woman, after all, is not an object, not a piece of wood or something, that one takes without ceremony. A girl who gives herself to a man without the formalities customary among us is not a real woman. It was so nice in former times when the painted bride was given to the bridegroom, who was also painted. Everybody was very happy on those occasions!" Again it is European influence that has killed the feeling for their native tribal customs among the younger generation. I learned the bulk of what is contained in the preceding pages from reliable old Alfredo on my second journey.

/658/ 9. Parents-In-Law and Children-In-Law

584 606

In the days before and after the wedding, the bridegroom is very obliging and anxious to serve his parents-in-law. There is no legal obligation for service in the form of work or for gifts, but it is a matter of concern to him to obtain the favor of the girl's parents in order that they will surely and without reservation give their consent to the planned marriage. It is well known that a certain shyness prevents the lovers from revealing their turbulent desires. One day shortly before the wedding, when the love of the two young people has already become known, the bridegroom, in order to gain admittance into the hut of the girl's parents, places a rather large bundle of wood in front of the hut and waits until he is called in (40). If this happens, he interprets it as the surest

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40. It is well known that among the Selk'nam, also, the young chap who is anxious to marry resorts to silent, patient waiting in front of the

/658 cont./

> but of his beloved, until her father admits him and thereby announces his approval of the marriage (Vol. I, 387).

guarantee of the old people's approval of his marriage plan. He conceals his innermost joy and henceforth conducts himself as ancient tribal custom demands of a son-in-law. Free, open intercourse is not permitted him nor the daughter-in-law with their parents-in-law. On the other hand, they are obliged to render service to the latter. What the son-in-law does for them immediately before and after the wedding should probably more accurately be called appreciation and a show of gratitude for the willingness of those parents to hand over their daughter to him. In order to demonstrate clearly his readiness to please his father-in-law, the lover finds out what he lacks or expects or particularly desires, and that is what he procures, whether it be a canoe, a harpoon, or a beautiful fur cloak. Beyond that, he brings many other trifles to his father-in-law's hut until the marriage celebration begins. At the same time the bride, if possible, renders small services to her future mother-in-law, but these are not expected or taken for granted as in the case of the bridegroom. That she, too, favors her parents-in-law with gifts clearly indicates, however, that the presents delivered by the bridegroom cannot be regarded as bride purchase (p. 404).

606 The limitations on intercourse between children-in-law and their parents-in-law constitute a definite custom of avoidance. It is regarded as inadmissible and improper to address the parents-in-law or to interrupt their conversation with incidental remarks. When one meets them or enters their hut, one may not greet them; if one happens to run into them, one should, with downcast eyes, give them a wide berth. It is the general custom that one does not sit down opposite them, never looks them in the eye, and never sits next to them. If it happens that a son-in-law or daughter-in-law is in the same hut with the parents-in-law, the former must move far away and /659/ turn from them, that is to say, turn to one side or turn their backs. If several men gather together, the son-in-law chooses his place in this circle so that it is farthest removed from his father-in-law. He remains silent

/659 cont./

606 and crouches low when his father-in-law speaks. These precepts are observed to this day. One day when we were talking to a few old men about the men's celebration, kina, Calderon, who was otherwise very forward and loquacious, acted so silent and reserved that his conduct could not fail to be conspicuous. When he was questioned about it, he explained that his father-in-law, William, was present and was talking, and that under these circumstances it was proper for him, as the son-in-law, to maintain a respectful silence.

The daughter-in-law is obliged to maintain the same shy reserve toward her mother-in-law. This restriction, however, is somewhat relaxed after the first year of marriage. In any case a free exchange or frank disscussion never comes about.

Nevertheless, the son-in-law and daughter-in-law have several unavoidable obligations toward their parents-in-law (41). In

41. Bridges (a):201 referred to this with imprecise data: "Men work for their wives' parents both before and after marriage, until she bears her firstborn, when the husband is exempted from further duty, save occasional gifts of fish, blubber, canoe, spear, etc., and a willingness to help his father-in-law in difficulties" /cited in English/. What Krickeberg: 321 has to say about this should be corrected on the basis of the above explanations.

sickness, especially, or if the parents-in-law are incapacitated they must be helpful and show concern about the former's sustenance. The children are not required to take them into their hut, because this would awkwardly constrain them. Nevertheless, an old woman sometimes lives temporarily with her married daughter and takes part in the daily canoe trips. In any case, the son-in-law or daughter-in-law must at certain intervals see how their parents-in-law are doing, must provide them with fresh food or good tools, and perhaps find other persons to care for them, all depending on the requirements of the individual case. The parents-in-law must not be denied specific wishes or refused particular requests.

/659 cont./

606 In spite of these prohibitions, and precisely because of the prevailing obligations, the two parties must associate in an indirect and roundabout way. For about a year after her marriage, the daughter-in-law may exchange a few necessary words with her mother-in-law; the son-in-law for the rest of his life refrains from any direct conversation with his father-in-law. We have just spoken of this. It is the daughter who intercedes for her husband with her father, or the son who does so with his parents for his wife. The corresponding brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law also serve as mediators.

In a concrete situation, social intercourse runs as follows. /660/ When the son-in-law becomes aware that his father-in-law is approaching him and his family, he sends his wife out to meet him and has her say: "My husband sends me, he invites you into our hut!" Pleased over this, her own father replies: "Thank you very much, but I was about to build my own hut!" He decides to do this in order not to embarrass his son-in-law, for the latter would have to remain silent, sit apart at meals, and humble himself constantly, which would spoil the visit for him. Hence, in order to save him any embarrassment and unpleasantness, the father-in-law builds his own hut nearby, and he is assisted by his daughter. When the building is nearly finished, she returns to her own hut and addresses her husband in a voice that all can hear: "I invited your father-in-law to stay with us, but he prefers to live in a hut of his own. He thanks you!" Then her husband speaks in a loud voice so that the father-in-law can hear it: "I am very sorry that my father-in-law is not coming to my hut!" In this delicate way he expresses the fact that he is glad to be at the disposal of his father-in-law. While the latter is in the vicinity, his own daughter visits him repeatedly; the son-in-law himself appears in the father-in-law's hut only once or twice and inquires about the possible needs of his father-in-law from his own wife.

521 203 606 As a substitute for direct conversation, which is not permitted, they manage in their own way. As soon as it is quiet outside, the son-in-law, in a loud voice and without addressing anyone, tells what he has recently experienced, observed, and learned, especially things which are worth knowing for his parents-in-law. The latter hear each word and are kept up-to-date.

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521 606 On the other hand, the father-in-law, squatting before his hut fire, talks as though to himself, but so that it can be heard all around, saying what he wants his son-in-law to know. He also gives actual instructions to him in this manner or in similar roundabout ways. For example, if his son-in-law enters his hut, he neither greets him, looks up, nor says a word, but silently stays in some dark corner. If they are both alone and no one can mediate between them, the old man expresses his wishes, not by direct address, but as though he were talking to himself: "I left my knife lying on the beach!" Or he says: "Outside on the tree branch there hangs a penguin that I should like to roast, I'm hungry!" Or he might say: "I killed a sea lion this morning. It is a large animal. I am an old man, and I could not drag it to the canoe; I left it lying out there on the rock." Or, finally: "The wood for my hut fire is almost used up; if only someone would provide me with fresh firewood!" The son-in-law understands such statements; they are requests of his father-in-law, which he carries out without objection.

606 /661/ Such strange reserve on the part of the son-in-law and daughter-in-law and their association with their parents-in-law in the oddly indirect way through their respective children or through a brother-in-law or sister-in-law are expressions of veneration and respect for the old people. They say: "The parents-in-law are worthy of veneration, therefore children-in-law may not conduct themselves conspicuously in their presence nor exchange a word with them (42)!" The parents-in-law are held in the same

42. "Sons-in-law and daughters-in-law treat with considerable deference their fathers and mothers-in-law" /cited in English/, according to Bridges (a):202.

esteem as own parents; the fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law of a married couple regard each other as brothers and sisters. Hence the children-in-law fulfill all the duties that they owe their own parents. They give them presents very often and do all kinds of work for them: they bring wood for the hut fire, grass for the sleeping place, drinking water and food, rushes for braiding baskets,

/661 cont./

606 and lances for lance-shafts. In short, they help their parents-in-law in every way and outwardly show them far more veneration than their own parents. A son-in-law would neither demand anything of them nor borrow anything. More than that, the son-in-law and daughter-in-law must also display a certain reserve toward the brothers and sisters of their parents-in-law, although it is not inadmissible to exchange brief words with them occasionally. Every man, however, can associate freely with the grandparents of his wife (43).

43. In the relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law there are remarkable similarities between the Yamana and the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 332) and the Halakwulup (Vol. III).

177 European civilization, disrupting everything, has done away
182 with many regulations formerly respected by the Yamana as sacred laws. For this reason, disgraceful disorders have met no opposition among the remaining survivors of the tribe. Older Indians whose principles are the same as those of their ancestors and who are helpless to stop this confusion complain bitterly and deeply regret the uncontrollable decline of their entire nation.

b. Married Life

591 With the marriage ceremony, independent life begins for the
593 newly wedded couple. They are no longer dependent upon their own parents, and as a newly established conjugal union, they find themselves standing on their own feet. There is no definite rule about the time when the newlyweds break away from their parents. It depends on the position of the family of the bridegroom or of the bride. In exceptional cases, the young people remain with their elders until they have their first child.

The young man does not find it difficult to turn his back on the parental hut; he has long felt the urge for personal /662/ independence and the desire for the unimpeded development of

/662 cont./

591 his abilities. The young bride feels differently. Although she
593 has long been accustomed to all the work that now falls upon her, she at first neither feels nor understands the actual meaning and lifework of her marital state. Sometimes she is overcome by an irresistible feeling of loneliness which depresses her and makes her silent and sad. A young woman may tearfully long for her mother and her sisters. No wonder, then, that the newly married couple
[514] will visit the family of the young wife at brief intervals, where she will be comforted and encouraged by her own mother. Each time, the old woman paints her daughter's face with delicate lines, so that her husband will love her more day by day. When finally the greatly desired first child arrives, this situation at once changes very much for the better, for now the young woman is occupied day and night, her activity is the happiest one for a woman, and in her arms she finally holds the symbolic expression of her husband's love.

It is sometimes a considerable sacrifice for the parents to have to part with their daughter, especially if they are old and are completely alone when their last child is taken from them. Their only hope is the prospect that the young couple will remain with them for a time or visit them often and that the son-in-law will perform all kinds of services for them. It is very different with the parents of the boy, who are happy that he is finally going to establish his own household with the girl of his choice (44).

44. Hyades (q):378 exaggerates the duration of this living together: "Usually the young husbands...live for a long time with the parents of their wives, to whom they render many services" /translated from French/.

They wish him all kinds of happiness and follow with interest the development of the new family, without interfering. The parents of both parties are well aware that henceforth it is no longer proper for them to bother their child too often and on
604 account of trifles. Oddly enough, the paternal uncle, indáruwa, and the maternal aunt, yĕxadăbi (BD:645 writes yekadăbi), have the privilege of instructing and admonishing the husband or the wife to an extent far exceeding the few concessions that ancient

/662 cont./

604 custom grants the real parents. If the young woman should have the misfortune of having to seek help against infractions or cruel treatment by her husband, she first turns to her blood brother and then to her uncle.

581 In principle, the couple are united in marriage for life.
593 Their marriage is not only a union of hearts, but also a union of work for the welfare of themselves and their children. Each of the two partners is assigned particular duties by ancient custom; it alone decides if and when the dissolution of a marriage is permissible. Unfortunately, the modern age has also changed the
[177] original /663/ form of marriage in families of today, so that it is only partly recognizable in its outward appearance; hence the information given by all the old people was particularly valuable to me.

1. Monogamy

114 In describing the marital arrangements and family customs
595 of the Yamana, the critic is faced with a difficult problem. The reports of earlier observers are often quite inadequate and in part clearly colored. In particular, the statements Bridges made about our Indians are consistently unfavorable to them, and his conscious or unconscious intention to show them in an unfriendly light can probably not be denied. The older reports from his pen are in a disparaging and disdainful vein. Later he had enough feeling for justice to correct some of his grossest errors. Other travelers, however, in describing things which they did not directly understand, leaned on Bridges, and this was especially true in the case of arrangements dealing with marriage and the family. This is why there is so much agreement and similarity of opinion among the writers. I personally no longer found the genuine form of married life among the Yamana of earlier times to be a common condition and was obliged to rely on the reports of trustworthy people, such as old Alfredo, during my second visit to Tierra del Fuego. Since their opinions were well founded, they at any rate counteract many false, unsubstantiated contentions.

Many of the earlier travelers maintain that the Yamana condone polygamy, but one cannot clearly tell from their words whether

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this arrangement was prevalent, generally approved, or only tolerated under certain conditions (45). Bridges obviously contra-

45. Cooper:166 has assembled a few more recent opinions. We might also add Furlong (b):131, Dabbene (b):179, Lothrop (b):163, Outes (g):55, and others.

dicts himself. After he had spent the first decade on Isla Keppel, he wrote: "Polygamy is very general. Thus Jemmy Button has three sisters for his wives..., in fact, the marriage of two or three sisters by the same man is not the exception but the rule" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869). For the time being, let us disregard the last-mentioned inaccuracy (46). Seventeen years

46. Eleven years previously, on December 10, 1858, Despard had long since corrected this flase accusation: "Jemmy Button declared that the report of his having three wives was all stories. 'No, I got only two -- other woman my sister'" /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 129;1859). Only after he let his first wife go did he take the second one.

later he (h):206, consciously or unconsciously, makes a considerable qualification: "In some places the rule is to have one wife; in others many have two, some three, and up to four" /translated from Spanish/. At that time Bridges did not know a large part of the Yamana, and for this reason alone his assertion has little credibility. Finally, after another seven years /664/ he (k):234 makes an almost frank revelation which seems like a refutation of his earlier opinions. He confesses: "But when one came to know them [los Yaganes] well, it was discovered that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists, and that, in general, they respected the rights that arise from family life" /translated from Spanish/. It took long years of observation on his part until he properly understood the obvious and significant arrangement of a Fuegian marriage in its actual form.

/664 cont./

114 Previously Bridges had doubtless made the error, into which
595 other Europeans before and after him had fallen, of regarding
592 every adult woman in a hut or in a canoe as the wife of the man who happened to be present. The sister-in-law who, with her sister, was staying with her brother-in-law was not always his wife, nor was this the case with an older woman who, because she was alone, had been taken into the family by him. The same applies to relatives who happened to be living together for a time. A few years before this, in March, 1864, Stirling had reported: "The custom of the people here [in Packsaddle Bay] is to have but one wife; at Woolya a man often has three wives" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 239;1864). Is it not possible that a false observation dictated these last words?

114 Hyades (q):378, however, very definitely represented the
595 view that monogamy predominates: "Although there is quite a number of men who have two, three, and even four wives, the custom is nevertheless to have only one" /translated from French/ (47).

> 47. He is consistent in this opinion and says in another place that "polygamy... is permitted but not the rule" /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):163 did not form an opinion and repeats, following Bridges, "the number [of wives] was not fixed by custom" /cited in English/.

Martial:198 agrees with him, saying: "The Fuegians sometimes practice polygamy; they rarely have three and even four wives; sometimes two, more often one" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):188 emphasizes: "It is the custom to have only one [wife]" /translated from Spanish/. On the basis of the opinions of a few travelers of the last decades, Cooper:166 came to the following conclusion: "As Mr. Bridges and the members of the French Cape Horn expedition had much more experience among the Yahgans than had the members of the Italo-Argentinian expedition, it is more probable that the former authorities' estimate is the truer one, namely, dominant monogamy with, however,
595 considerable polygamy" /cited in English/. Present conditions

/664 cont./

595 are not a criterion, although all families are monogamous. A decade ago, Manuel (p. 444) from sheer necessity, was the sole exception. Along with his first wife, he took the youthful Julia, a Halakwulup.

The oldest men and women, questioned independently of one another, were and are unanimous in the opinion that monogamy by far outweighed polygamy, and that the latter was tolerated as an exception. The two brothers Martin and Fred Lawrence repeated this verbatim and gave as the reason a few obvious circumstances. /665/ The number of adults of both sexes was more or less even. If the majority of the people had lived in polygamy, a considerable number of men would have remained unmarried, and every stranger would necessarily have noticed this. According to his natural inclination, the Fuegian man gives himself to only a single woman, and he feels that it disturbs his emotional life if he is supposed to give his love to two women at the same time. For this reason one of the wives of a polygamist will stand very low in his estimation. To say that he is economically better off [556] with a second wife, as long as his wife is still well and able to work, is a misunderstood exaggeration, for no one gathers riches and certain tasks imposed upon a man by ancient tribal customs are largely doubled if he has two wives whom he must support along with the children.

My attention was duly called to a popular erroneous manner of speaking among Indians and Whites, according to which a man is called a polygamist when he has sent his first wife away and has taken another woman in her place. Actually, these two women did not live in his hut simultaneously, but the first was superseded by the second. It happened relatively often among our natives that a husband dissolved his tie with the first wife and in her place took another as his wife (48). Monogamous

48. It is only in this sense that Lothrop (b):163 accepts the term "polygamy," for he writes: "In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term 'progressive polygamy'" /cited in English/.

/665 cont./

595 single marriage is, after all, the general rule among the Yamana. It has often been proved that the rare cases of polygamy are necessarily tolerated only as exceptions.

2. Polygamy

Polygamy among our Fuegians has justifiably been put down as a fact by several travelers and missionaries. This confirms my personal investigations. Some accounts apparently take pleasure in increasing the number of joint wives of a man. Thus Outes (g):55, for example, says: "The poor have two or three wives, but there are some with four, five, and even six" /translated from [556] Spanish/ (49). To this I wish only to say that everyone knows

49. Even this view is topped by Spegazzini (a):166, namely, that it is not rare "to find some youth who has four and up to five wives" /translated from Spanish/.

there are neither poor people nor rich people among the Yamana.

More reliable accounts limit themselves to the bare statement that polygamy is permitted. In Hyades (b):1346 we read simply: "Polygamy, which custom permits, seemed nevertheless to be the exception" /translated from French/ (50). In February,

50. In another place he says (p):334: "Polygamy is permitted."

1920, Alfredo told me clearly and definitely: "While it is true that a Yamana may take a second woman along with his actual wife, the great majority of our men have always been satisfied with a single one!" Neither /666/ he nor his wife remembered a single native who had lived with three women at the same time. Relative figures are never cited, and the following communication by Bridges, dated February 14, 1871 (MM:V,138;1871), about the 21 men and youths present in Ushuaia does not fill me with confidence. He says that of these, four were bachelors, seven had one

/666 cont./

595 wife each, five had two each, three had three each, and one even had four wives (51). A case of more than two wives, if it actually

51. In contrast to this assertion, I refer again to the decisive correction which Bridges (k):243 made in his own judgments of earlier years, when he says: "But when one came to know them [los Yahganes] well, it was discovered that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists" /translated from Spanish/. With these words he curtly denies any kind of polygamy; in doing so, however, he obviously slightly oversteps the bounds of reality.

happened, must at least be regarded as a rare exception (52). It

52. This automatically settles the preposterous assertion of Bove (e):157 and (g):234: "Although... a man takes as many wives as he pleases, one nevertheless seldom sees men with more than four wives." His traveling companion, Lovisato, of course repeats with him that "a man takes from one to five wives and without any ceremony" /translated from Italian/.

would be more accurate to reject many of these accounts as false observations, for, as we have already emphasized (p. 437), not every woman in the company of a man was therefore his wife. Nevertheless, it seems that one must grant this fact, at least for modern times. BD:573 mentions tuxlõisa, "to marry more wives than two" /cited in English/. The two Lawrence brothers definitely dismissed the idea that in earlier, ordered conditions a Yamana might have been married to three or more wives simultaneously.
595 On another occasion, in February, 1923, Fred told me: "Anyone
587 who is familiar with the Yamana manner of speaking knows that they also speak of two or three wives of a man who has taken two or three women successively, in other words, another one

/666 cont. A

595 in place of the one who ran away, was dismissed, or died. Such
587 a man cannot be called a polygamist in the strict sense of the word. Besides, a Yamana really has enough with two wives!" The explanation deserves to be carefully noted.

A Fuegian should not have more than one wife from free
595 choice, as can be seen from the fact that the feeling of the gen-
586 eral public demands a definite and fundamental reason for taking a second spouse. If incompatability or serious alienation develops between married people, they ultimately separate. If after that some man takes a second woman as his wife, he does so for purely external reasons.

Almost always it is a question of incapacity to work on her
595 part or a physical ailment of long duration. Modern times have brought about the latter condition.* In view of the prevailing division of labor among the married Yamana, the man is absolutely dependent upon the unimpaired energy of his marital partner. If she must stop working for even a short time, she herself provides a substitute for him by summoning her sister, aunt, or niece. This state of affairs could not go on permanently. For example, if a wife has broken an arm or /667/ leg, she needs extra help, besides being unable to perform her customary work. As soon as she is aware of her hopeless condition, she voluntarily advises her husband to marry another woman. The man now has a true right to a second wife (53). Her still unmarried sister may

53. Dabbene (b):189 also grants it to him: "The man has a right to take another wife if the one he has is already old or if some misfortune leaves her with a serious physical defect" /translated from Spanish/. Spegazzini (a): 166 expressed himself in the same vein.

have taken over her duties, adjusted well to the brother-in-law, and be on the best of terms with his children. What could be more natural than that this brother-in-law say to her: "Stay with me as my second wife!" She probably always accepts the offer, if only out of pity for her sick sister and for the latter's children. Sometimes if an elderly couple are anxious for a fresh worker, he

/667 cont./

595 will take a healthy girl. This decision is very welcome to many a contentious old woman, because she now has a young creature completely under her domination. Thus she compensates for the fact that he shows more fondness toward the other than toward her. In both instances, the reason for polygamy is evident (54).

> 54. Different interpretations and descriptions should be corrected on the basis of these principles. According to Bove (e):157, "the necessity for having paddlers for the canoe, as well as a great predilection for the female sex, is the reason for such widespread polygamy. This is doubtless the most effective cause for the impoverishment of that race." The remark by Bridges (e):332 that "bigamy was very prevalent because of the great advantages connected with it" means nothing.

595 937 586 At various times Fred Lawrence repeated to me: "A Yamana never keeps a second woman as his wife, in addition to his first wife, for purely sensual reasons. If his lust is so great, he seeks relief in forbidden ways. If he has become absolutely infatuated with another woman who responds to his intentions, he gets rid of his first wife without further ado in order to be able to live with her alone, undisturbed."

595 In February, 1920, reliable Alfredo explained to me emphatically in the presence of his own wife and old Julia, neither of whom contradicted him: "If a Yamana wants to take another person into his hut as a second wife, he does not need to ask his wife about it. But he almost always does so, for he loves his wife!" In other words, a man who has grown tired of his wife prefers to dismiss her before he brings a second wife into his hut without her knowledge. If he nevertheless does so, "his first wife must patiently yield. Perhaps she does not like this living together and she herself finally leaves. But she continues to be tractable and submissive toward the man; she does not call him to account if he foists a rival upon her without her knowledge and against her will." This explanation by Alfredo was later confirmed by other persons.

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585 The intention of having more children is not a reason for polygamy among the Yamana, for the Indian women are very 587 /664/ fertile, and no one could remember a childless woman in 842 earlier times. Most cases of polygamy arose from the fact that a man who was already living with one or two women also took in a solitary widow, Kikakakipa. The latter perhaps did not find an opportunity for a new marriage with a bachelor or did not wish to return to her family group, and the man took her chiefly because he felt sorry for her. Whether or not he sometimes had intercourse with her, both knew from the start that they could not expect children from their union. Hence, it was actually the right of sanctuary which the husband granted this widow. In the strict sense of the word one cannot call such a life together a marriage.

585 In 1920 Walter explained to me how our Yamana must also 177 make allowances for the changes forced on them by European civilization. His father had three women in his hut simultaneously, with whom he had marital relations. At that time there was already a shortage of men on Lennox Island and environs, that is to say, in the eastern group of the Yamana. Hence the women forced themselves on the few men in order to find sanctuary somewhere. From among his many brothers and sisters, Walter had for several years been the only one living. Here is another case. The young Halalwulup, Julia, had fled from a brutal European and found refuge on the farm near Punta Remolino. She could scarcely come to any understanding with the Yamana and lived very much to herself. She was treated in a friendly fashion and was supported by the Indian women there, but as a solitary woman with a son a year old she could no longer make out by herself. There was no suitable Yamana youth who could be her husband. Finally Manuel, who was about 36 years old and was married to fifteen-year-old Emilia, took pity on her and took her into his hut as his second wife (p. 430).

The quiet acceptance of polygamy brings with it the surprising phenomenon that married people are separated by a considerable age difference (35), which is not regarded as an obstacle

35. "An elderly man will be found often to possess two young wives in addition to one his

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equal in age; while a young man will often be allied to a woman his senior forty years; for among some of the tribes at least it is inculcated as a duty that the young men should marry -- or, perhaps, in more correct to say, should adopt could be family, and undertake to provide for -- the aged women" /cited in English/ (VSA:XIII, 01.1966). A typical 270 woman, strangely enough, the man usually has two wives, an old one and a young one."

to marriage (p. 419). In fact, there are minor advantages if an elderly couple takes a young girl into the hut (p. 442) and if a young bachelor brings home a widow who is middle-aged or older (p. 439). This observation apparently dismayed Stirling on his trip through the Wulnia region in March, 1961: "The elder men have frequently three wives, and two of them are generally of extreme youth....I long for plenary powers to set matrimonial affairs right down here, for the young men are too often glad to pick up derelicts, while their sires adorn their wives' arms, and propel /969/ their canoes with the fairest faces, and choicest arms in the community" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 1964, 864). He said this in the unconsciously amusing assumption that every woman associated with a man is his wife.

If a married Yatmana takes a second woman as an actual wife, along with his first wife, the formalities which are the general requirement for a young bridal couple (p. 424) are not repeated, nor are they when a widower, Tokakowa, marries again. The situation is taken for granted by the neighborhood when they see these persons living together uninterruptedly in the same hut, if, indeed, the newly married couple have not already announced it in so many words.

The first wife, unmistakably, has a privileged position. Outwardly this is shown by the fact that she is permitted the place directly beside the hut entrance. Alfredo calls her wafia; BD: 628 writes wiliafia, "the first wife whose place is the door side of her husband" /cited in English/. Thus she appears as the

/669 cont./

595 doorkeeper (56), so to speak, for here she also arranges her

56. Martial:198 called her "the door-woman" /translated from French/. Bridges (i):25 wrote in exaggerated detail: "Each grown person had his or her place in the wigwam and the several wives of a man had each her appointed place as respected the seat of her husband, from which she derived her title. Thus the first, or rather principle /sic/ wife, for sometimes the first in respect of time became second or third in respect of rank, was spoken of as Wahyusin, i.e., the one on the doorside, because her place was invariably on that side of her husband. The second was called Uhushpai, because she sat next her husband on the inner side, and third Cuchiellahco, i.e., next beyond on the inner side of. Thus each knew her place when they went into any fresh dwelling, but usually a man had not more than one or two wives at a time" /cited in English/.

sleeping place and the husband has his place beside her. Next to him, on the inner side of the hut, the second wife takes her place; hence she is called uŋŋupaiki, who is, according to BD:114, "the second wife, when there are two, because her place was on the upper or inner side of her husband in the wigwam" /cited in English/. Moreover, the first wife is entitled to give the other one certain tasks and other orders. The latter submits, more because she is younger than in acknowledgment of a special greater power of her superior. It never occurs to the first wife to misuse her power, much less to leave her rival in want or to harm her. Just as in general the first wife distributes to the neighboring
595 hers the meat that her husband brings home, so she lets the second
264 wife have a special piece (57). She is particularly attentive,

57. Hence she is not dependent on the whims of the first wife at every meal, as Martial:198

/669 cont./

585 [569]

maintains. According to the common custom, everyone in a hut may eat what is there and whenever he pleases (p. 336).

from a feeling of common humanity, while the other is nursing an infant. Both of them freely take part in the daily activities. A great deal is automatically regulated by the fact that the younger woman must take care of her small children. In most polygamous marriages the first wife is unable to work or is weak, but in any case the second wife /670/ has more or less all the work in the hut or the canoe. If, as often happens, they are sisters, the daily work runs harmoniously and smoothly.

In some cases, however, the relationship between two wives can be very much disturbed by envy and jealousy, if the two are not related, if the man shows more love and affection for the younger of the two, if he obviously treats her with more friendliness and tenderness. The first wife, who now is clearly aware of her lawful pre-eminence, controls her silent envy for a long time. Later, in regular scenes of jealousy, she seriously reproaches her husband. Finally, if all her efforts to win his love are in vain, she definitely leaves him. Such conditions are the exception in polygamous marriages and probably occur only when the husband wants to get rid of his first wife. The two rivals almost always live together harmoniously, particularly if the older one is dependent on the younger because of physical ailments and even more often if both are sisters. Then neither one is jealous of the demonstrations of affection which the other receives from their common husband, no matter how irritatingly the favoritism is displayed. The first wife never relinquishes her own rights (58).

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58. The meaning of kiksana which BD:188 gives, "to cause the first wife to take the place in the wigwam of the second or third" /cited in English/, has no legal significance.

585 [14]

Here is an example of how unreliably two Europeans who visited our Fueglans simultaneously reported on one and the same arrangement. According to Spegazzini (a):166, "the peace of

/670 cont./

the family is never disturbed" through polygamy, "no alienations among [the wives], neither jealousy nor favoritism" /translated from Spanish/. Bove (c):107, on the other hand, maintains: "Although....a man takes as many women (10) as he pleases, one

10. Apparently leaning on Bove, Wieghardt:38 repeats verbatim that "with so many women around [namely, with four wives], domestic felicity disappears entirely" /translated from Spanish/.

nevertheless seldom sees men with more than four wives. It seems that with such a number of wives domestic happiness is no longer secure and the hut or canoe is daily turned into a battlefield, so that a young and beautiful wife probably sometimes pays with her life for the favoritism which the man shows her. It is worse for the man when the women unite their own quarrels and combine against the head of the house, in which case it probably becomes clear to him that even a single woman can at times be very uncomfortable." Faced with the inventive spirit of one who can produce such battle scenes, I for my part remain silent.

In spite of everything, it is true that individual men lived simultaneously with two women, for the most part two sisters, but the great majority of marriages were monogamous. A few authorities surmised that, as an extremely rare exception, a man also had three wives, /671/ who were almost always sisters. There is no reliable evidence for this number or for a larger number of wives. There was probably always some reason for polygamous marriages, most of them arising from the existing division of labor and the obligation of the brother-in-law to marry a widow. Most of the European observers erroneously regarded every woman accompanying a man as his wife and hence very much exaggerated the extent of polygamy. Again we should like to suggest the reader of the considerable modifications that the experienced Bridges (b):243 made to his earlier, hasty assertions, for after living with these Indians for almost 40 years, he finally confessed: "When one came to know the Tarauma well, it appeared that they were neither cannibals nor polygamous!"

/[illegible] cont./

Nothing indicates that the Tamate would permit actual polyandry (60). So-called sexual promiscuity was closely

60. On April 22, 1872, Bridges (3):22 clearly stated: "In no case has a woman been known to have more than one husband at a time, but successively some have had two or even more" /cited in English/, and later he (3):210 repeated: "A woman has never been known to have more than one husband at a time" /translated from Spanish/. Many a married woman, however, secretly had an illicit affair.

definitely disowned by Fitz-Roy (n):105. "Jemmy Button often talked of his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, also of uncles and aunts, after he knew enough of our language to understand distinctly the relationship. Now this could not have been the case had not his father and mother lived together permanently as man and wife, according to the clear account which he himself always gave of their custom in this respect" /cited in English/. The Anglican ministerium, beginning with Hocking, endeavored to put an end to polygamy. Bridges even obtained an injunction from the government (k). Unfortunately, the ministerium did

61. On May 28, 1897, he reported: "Again, cases of natives taking a second wife are punished by imprisonment, and thus happily prevented" /cited in English/ (ibid.:22, 178, 180).

not take into account the fact that in some families a second wife was demanded by economic necessity. As such, however, polygamy is contrary to the general feeling of justice among the Tamate, and reasonable exceptions are rarely tolerated (p. 44).

/[illegible] [illegible]/

B. Division of Labor between Spouses

In marriage the two spouses are not only united by a bond of love, but consciously in a working partnership as well. Among the Tsingans all work serves the purpose of immediate sustenance, no one thinks of the future or of an accumulation of riches. Household management is possible for an independent family only on the basis of a definitely reconciled division of labor for the two spouses. Hence, it necessarily follows that one member becomes increasingly dependent upon the other. This not only brings about the almost complete equality of both sexes, but makes possible the fact that an [illegible] adult cannot continuously or for a long period live alone and unmarried. Women, all of them, without exception, marry when they are still young. Single, aged, and widowed persons who cannot marry again try to find refuge with a family of friends. In marriage both parties pair forces, and their common goal is to have the family spouses in an orderly fashion as an economic and social arrangement.

The spheres of work and the various individual tasks are divided up according to the sexual ability of each sex (65).

> 65. In March, 1884, Borrow referred to his observation that "there are well marked divisions of labour amongst this people" /cited in English/ (VIA.33,320.1884). Bridges (p.210 much later supplemented this: "The division of labor [between husband and wife] is made in a manner that is considered just" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (p.3) expressed himself more precisely: "Within the family, man and wife divide the work. The actual hard work falls to the men... The actual housework -- in this case, with the lack of houses, it is certainly figurative, so-called housework -- falls to the women."

All duties requiring greater muscular power, tough endurance, endless courage, and decisive fearlessness are suitable for the

/672 cont./

462 man, for he is by nature more sturdily built and he likes exertion and danger which he triumphantly conquers. The woman, on the other hand, likes to take care of the children and busy herself in the hut; she also likes to combine with this the many light manipulations required in her household and in the canoe. Since the division of work is carried out uniformly on the basis of natural assumptions, the co-operation of the two partners proceeds without friction and harmoniously.

Finally, it is helpful that the amount of work apportioned to the man and the woman does not overtax either of them, hence never makes them lifelong slaves to their duties. They are, of course, by no means spared hardship and toil, effort and exhaustion, but Mother Nature does not force upon them a hard "struggle for existence," in the sense familiar to the European day laborer. A slight effort suffices to satisfy their natural demands in life and to let them lead a happy existence (63).

63. Darwin's (d):247 assertion is utterly false: "The man is for the woman the brutal lord of a wretchedly toiling slave."

European travelers have quite unjustly painted the lot of the Fuegians in very somber colors. For example, Bove (e):157 felt that "in this struggle for existence the chief role falls to the women who are regarded more as slaves than as partners." To such an untrue statement the missionary T. Bridges (e):332 retorts: "The division of labor was just and sensible, and the women were in no way oppressed, but led a more comfortable and happy life than the men and, as everywhere, reached a greater age" (64).

64. Spegazzini (a):171 even professes to know: "In general among the Canoe Indians the feminine sex is much healthier and stronger than the masculine sex; this natural debility of the man and his not knowing how to swim are probably the causes that contribute to such a great predominance of women" /translated from Spanish/.

461 /673/ Our natives are constantly occupied; for them there are never rest periods of weeks and months. Even though the man rests for two or three days after an exhausting hunt, he is never completely idle, nor can he be, for minor demands unavoidably force themselves upon him and bring him to his feet again. It is odd, however, that the Fuegians very often interrupt their activity with short rest periods (65). They never give their concentrated

65. Hyades (q):220 also observed this: "If the Fuegians love exercise, it is on the condition that it does not continue very long and that it is broken by frequent intervals of rest, whether on the journey or at work" /translated from French/.

attention to one thing for a long time, but provide an extensive diversion for themselves after 20 or 30 minutes. Either they squat down somewhere else and chat with neighbors or, if there is no one around to talk to, they roast a few mussels for themselves. At the very least they poke around absentmindedly in the fire or on the ground. To do any kind of work in a hurry is something unknown to our Indians.

α. Activity of the Man

462 In the management of the household, the man does all the work that requires great physical strength and that can be accomplished only with extra courage, sometimes with audacity. His actual sphere of activity is the free hunt. In this field he developes all his ability and tough endurance, the diversity of his mental powers and the flexibility of his limbs, the keenness of his senses and the utmost dexterity in the handling of weapons. Again and again his thoughts turn to the animals which he must hunt in the various seasons, the ones he has recently killed and those he soon hopes to encounter at the place to which he will have his wife steer the canoe. He is constantly thinking about the habits of the game animals, and he tells his associates in great detail how this one resisted his attack or how that one

/673 cont./

462 escaped despite the severe wounds inflicted by a well-directed harpoon thrust.

He hunts seals industriously, slaying them either with his club or with his javelins. To do this he must climb rocks, push into rock crevices and hollowed-out shores, or outwit the strong, very agile animal from the vantage point of his canoe. There is the greatest danger for the whole family in an attack on a whale swimming near the shore. In order to wound it severely and exhaust it fatally, each of the men hurrying toward it from all sides must ceaselessly thrust their harpoons into the mighty body of the animal, must enlarge the wound by tugging at the lasso, and immediately draw out the harpoons. The eastern Yamana creep up on guanacos. /674/ A small group of hunters will usually try to have their dogs encircle the herd and edge them toward the beach along the paths the guanacos have made. Men are concealed in the thicket along these paths and hurl their spears after the animals as they race by. The successful hunter will often disembowel the heavy booty at the place where it was slain and then drag it to his hut. Here he skins it and cuts it up into a few large pieces which are distributed among the neighboring families by his wife. The hunt for otters frequently demands patient waiting and afterwards often becomes very exciting. Finally, it is the duty of the man to stalk and kill the birds that are wanted in the household, namely, penguins which are killed with the spear, ducks and geese which are bagged with the sling or large snare, and cormorants which are caught by a dangerous search of their nesting holes in the bare rock walls. The man leaves the task of preparing the birds to his wife.

A no less vital task is canoe-building. He must attentively search for suitable pieces of bark in the forest, remove them carefully, handle them skillfully, and put them together masterfully into the finished vessel. Many tedious distances have been covered and sometimes very hard work performed before the new vessel can be pushed into the water for the first time (p. 116). It is his duty to undertake major repairs.

If possible, every man makes his own weapons and implements; it is seldom that he barters for a particular piece elsewhere. Whatever raw materials he needs, he usually gathers over a wide range.

/674 cont./

462 His work is interrupted by the constant canoe trips, and he must pick it up again and again before it is finally finished. He is expected to make the paddles and dance clubs for his wife, as well as the toys for his sons. From thick skins he cuts leather straps and suitable pieces for leather bags.

He does the heavy work in building the hut, especially gathering and erecting the necessary poles, and fetches large logs and whole bundles of smaller sticks for firewood. He lights the fire and keeps it going only if his wife is busy elsewhere. In the hut he lets her wait on him and keeps his hands free for his own work.

In the morning when the trip to another place starts, he alone takes care of his weapons and implements. He lays them out in the front part of the canoe and ready to be seized. On the way he is thinking only of his hunting and stands steadily on the lookout. He has his wife take him to the places where he expects to have success.

After consulting his wife, he procures whatever the family needs that can be obtained by barter. We refer to flint, raw hides, finished fur cloaks, ornaments, colored earth, whalebone, and smaller implements.

The above are the most important tasks of the man. He is primarily concerned with supplying sufficient amounts of meat for his family /675/ Everything that contributes to this end or that is required for it belongs in his sphere of duties. As a matter of principle he never touches the tasks that fall to his wife. If she should become sick or die, he immediately brings another woman into his hut to take her place. The clear separation of the two spheres of duties of man and wife can be seen in the fact that she would never remind him of a task or admonish him to greater industry, even if the family should become destitute and suffer hunger because of his negligence. All of which proves the almost complete independence of each of the two spouses in the management of the household, despite their co-operation (66).

66. The more important duties of the man have been enumerated by several travelers, for example, Bridges (h):210 and in MM:III,

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115;1869, Fitz-Roy (a):185, Furlong (b):132, Dabbene (b):188, Hyades (g):35 and (q):220, Lista (b):47, Outes (g):57, Webster:I, 182, Wieghardt:44, and others.

The following, which Stirling wrote in March, 1864, may serve as an example: "The men build the canoes, make the paddles, spears, etc. and sit in the canoes ever ready to use them. Bows and arrows, and snares for birds, they likewise make. The wigwam is the work of their hands, and every bit of wood, which feeds their perpetual fires, is gathered, and carried by the male section of the community" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (a):185 had made similar observations earlier.

β. Activity of the Woman

462 855 The actual duties of motherhood take up most of her time and are primary in the daily work of the Indian woman, in accordance with her physical and spiritual make-up. Every woman is blessed with several children who, almost without exception, remain in the parental hut until they are old enough to marry. She alone takes complete care of each of her children until it is three or four years old. After that the boys are chiefly entrusted to their father, while the mother continues to direct the girls. She gladly performs the great amount of manual work required by an infant, and she alone provides what is required for its care. In her happiness as a mother she is never separated from her youngest child, and she drags it about with her everywhere, although this makes her other work much more difficult.

462 Besides watching and tending the smallest children, she also performs special services for the family. She sews the pieces that are used for clothing for all the members of the family and for the most part also arranges their sleeping places. Although everyone helps himself when he is hungry to whatever is on hand, she nevertheless usually anticipates the wishes of the individual

/675 cont./

462 [252] and offers him what he prefers. She roasts the larger pieces of meat in and beside the fire, bakes and cooks the fish and mussels, crabs, and birds' eggs in hot ashes. She also provides drinking water and fetches it herself if none of her daughters is free to do it. Everyone expects her to make the small pieces of jewelry, such as necklaces and anklets.

462 356 /676/ Her field of work is the hut. She takes part, together with her husband, even in its construction and repairs damaged places and sections that have been loosened by the wind. She devotes particular attention to the hut fire, guarding it day and night, regulating the radiation of heat and the mounting flames, and seeing to it that the draft comes from the right direction and the smoke quickly drawn off. It is hard to believe how much attention and what numerous manipulations the hut fire demands if it is to benefit every member of the family and not annoy anyone. She prepares the sleeping place for everyone just as he wants it, and from time to time she renews the pallet. A good deal of refuse accumulates in the small living quarters, and the woman sees to it that this is promptly removed. She performs her many manual labors in the hut and in front of it, and she devotes herself tirelessly to the care of her children.

462 502 Her second field of activity is the canoe. It is the man's task to build it, but thereafter the care of this important means of transportation is entirely in her hands. She demands that the man make the repairs needed in the course of time, but she alone manages the canoe on the water and guards it on the beach (p.134). Before the family embarks, she gets the canoe ready so that everyone can comfortably pile in his things and easily climb in. She alone takes care of the paddling, which combines rowing and steering, and that is why she regularly takes her place at the stern end. She has previously come to an agreement with her husband as to the destination and the course. He gives her specific directions when he is on the trail of game. She anxiously guards the fire so that there is no danger to the bottom of the canoe, and she trains her children to keep it gently burning. To avoid capsizing, she sees to it that the occupants distribute themselves properly and that heavy pieces of game do not disturb the balance. She is always very conscious of the fact that on the water she alone is responsible for the boat and for her entire family.

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462 Our Indian woman contributes incomparably more to her family's sustenance than does her neighbor on Isla Grande. This is no exaggeration. One need only keep in mind that she alone gathers the mussels, which for the Yamana are as important as bread for a European. Her gathering activity, which lasts several hours on most days, also extends to snails and crabs, sea urchins and birds' eggs, berries and fungi. She catches many a fish with her fishline and many a young bird in its nest. All these articles of game benefit her whole family. She prepares for roasting the
462 large mammals and the birds which her husband brings to the hut.
252 Since no regular mealtimes are observed, she must serve first this one and then that one. She makes the popular blubber sausages (p. 320) and bakes the appetizing blood sausages in hot ashes. Finally, it is her task to dry Cyttaria fungi. Without this varied co-operation of the woman, the menu /677/ of the Yamana would be lamentably monotonous. She shows amazing skill and tireless endurance in obtaining food through the year (p. 281).

462 With all these manifold duties, there are all kinds of smaller manual tasks. Seal, otter, and guanaco pelts and the skins of
281 birds require a great deal of work. She must stretch, scrape, and, in part, dress them. She makes all the objects of leather and skins, especially bags and pouches, ornaments and toys, and naturally also the little that is used for body covering. For her personal use she needs small baskets and skin pouches. For the latter she chooses the alimentary canal of álakuš (Tachyeres brachypterus) and pieces of seal gut. She works on them during the brief intervals when she is free of other obligations. She looks for and prepares the colored earth for red and white body painting, prepares the fishing lines, and braids the rush hawsers for the canoe and the tendons for various uses (see particularly pp. 99, 196, 201).

462 If we add all this together, we are amazed and astonished at the extraordinarily extensive and versatile daily achievement of our Indian woman. Superficial travelers took this as a reason for describing her lot as oppressive and undignified, her burden of work as unbearable, and her existence as inhuman (67).

67. Bove (e):157 and (d):292 is one of those Europeans who exaggerate the most: "While

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the lord and master is lying beside the fire, the wife stands in the water, exposed to snow, rain, and wind, to fish for her idle husband." And yet, several years before that, Bridges had definitely established that "the men and boys do not lead an idle life at all" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 116; 1869).

Nevertheless, the woman not only gets her day's work done effortlessly, but even enjoys doing it and takes it up anew each morning with fresh spirits. Neither she nor her husband has a comfortable and pleasant life. Stirling was quite right when he emphasized in March, 1864: "The division of labour is not unfair, although the women are doubtless exposed to some hardship in cold weather, when they have to wade in the water in search of mussels, or to moor a canoe to the kelp, or set it free" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 228; 1864). In April, 1871, Bridges (i):22 came to the same conclusion from his own observations, namely, that "the division of labour was very fair, the women were not imposed upon" /cited in English/ (68). These are opinions worthy of note.

68. Footnote 66 gave a number of sources, to which we must add Stirling (VSA:XI, 228; 1864), Bridges (MM:III, 115;1869), Hyades (c):142 and (p):332. What Fitz-Roy (a):185 wrote may serve as an example: "The woman nurse their children, attend the fire (feeding it with dead wood, rather than green, on account of the smoke), make baskets and water-buckets, fishing-lines and necklaces, go out to catch small fish in their canoes, gather shell-fish, dive for sea-eggs, take care of the canoes, upon ordinary occasions paddle their masters about while they sit idle; -- and do any other drudgery" /cited in English/.

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γ. Collaboration of the Spouses

462 The activities and spheres of work of the man and wife are distinctly separate from one another. In their daily work both spouses strive for the material welfare of their family. This single aim /678/ is the reason why the two supplement each other harmoniously and beneficially. The identical direction of their efforts is shown even more in certain joint activities in which each lends a hand. In such cases, one alone may lack the necessary strength or their common effort may accomplish the work more quickly. This is true of hut-building; the man brings [342] the thicker trunks while she ties the framework together, stretches pieces of leather over it, and finally calks the whole construction. Usually the hut is built after a strenuous canoe trip on which man and wife have overtaxed themselves more or less, or at any rate enough. Hence the sooner they can move into the modest structure, the more advantageous it will be for the whole family. That is why they both work at it from the very beginning to the final touch. In order to moor the boat on the shore both of them must join forces, and again when it is once more pushed into the water. Together they lift the large pieces of leather, which are to be distributed over the hut framework, out of the canoe and put them back in again shortly before departure. Not infrequently the success of the hunt depends upon the accurately timed cooperation of both partners in the canoe, for as soon as the man starts pursuing a game animal, he is fully occupied with his weapons and his prey. It is the woman's responsibility to guide her vessel according to her husband's directions, to take it on this or that course faster or slower until the animal they have been pursuing is theirs. This sometimes requires the utmost exertion on the part of the man as well as the woman. In moments of greatest emergency she may even shout to him to take the paddle, for if a sudden violent storm breaks, she is unable to make shore paddling alone.

It is true that man and wife have their definitely circumscribed fields of activity. Nevertheless, if danger and distress, sickness, or incapacity demand it on occasion, neither of them

/678 cont./
462 would hesitate to lend a hand in the other's sphere of duties (69).

69. Bridges (a):201 mentions: "Men very seldom help their wives to catch fish, which is their chief employment" /cited in English/. Not only in this respect, but quite generally it is the rule that one party may encroach on the sphere of activity of the other only to help on a serious occasion or if there is vital danger.

If we compare the day's work of the man with that of his wife, we realize at once that he is responsible for those labors and tasks which demand greater physical strength or perilous daring or bold /679/ recklessness. She, on the other hand, has the even, quieter, and less dangerous activities. While he, in single thrusts, as it were, and in isolated undertakings, must use all his capabilities, thereby growing very weary and sometimes actually exhausted, she has a diversity of light manual work (with the exception of the difficult paddling in bad weather) which permits her scarcely a moment to rest her hands idly in her lap. She stirs about the livelong day and often at night. The man, on the other hand, is entitled to rest periods of several hours at a stretch whenever he has exhausted himself in extraordinary physical efforts. An ignorant observer interprets the well-earned rest of the man as pure laziness and the tireless activity of the woman as the work of a slave in degrading dependence on her master. On the basis of this false judgment, descriptions have been given, such as Bove (d):292 (70) in particular indulged in, which found ready credibility

70. "How many times I have seen the men tranquilly sitting around a good fire, while the poor women stood exposed to the snow, wind, and rain, fishing for their idle and irate husbands" /translated from Italian/. Similarly, Lista (b):47 maintains: "A loafer, like all South American natives, the man leaves the whole burden of domestic tasks

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> to the unhappy woman, truly a victim condemned to be bound forever in the heavy chains of slavery. The women. . . while the men devote themselves to repose in the hut, go naked into the sea to collect mollusks" /translated from Spanish/. Both travelers had probably chosen Darwin (d):247 as their teacher; according to his view, "for the woman the man is the brutal lord of a wretchedly toiling slave."

in many circles.

Each of the two spouses regards his daily work as his obvious
461 duty, which he performs with tireless patience in the service of his family. Let it be said in praise of these much misunderstood human beings that they devote themselves diligently and intrepidly to their work! Idlers and persons unmindful of their duty are rare and are despised by their neighbors. The majority are diligent and industrious; everyone pursues his occupation indefatigably, although his only outward compensation is the satisfaction of the members of his family and the fulfillment of his own sense of duty. Many an effort in rain and snowstorm is hard and unpleasant, but no one grumbles or complains. Time and again I have seen them exert themselves amid the greatest external vexations, but I never heard a word of discontent, anger, or impatience. Though the hunt was unsuccessful, though they were obliged to battle the waves in heavy rain and hail for hours, though they lost even their most indispensable tools, they did not complain or scold, but quietly and with customary haste built their hut and warmed themselves at their fire, just as happily as on the days of great success. They slept undisturbed and greeted the next morning with hope and joy, no matter whether it presaged sunshine or a snowstorm.

Thus, it is easy to sum up the /680/ work that is incumbent
462 on our Fuegians. They are constantly busy and, as a result, amply
461 tired; hence they are spared long periods of inactivity. Even on rare occasions when Mother Nature presents them with an abundance of food, they may not sit with their hands in their laps. Sometimes neither the woman nor the man is spared the utmost

/680 cont./

462 expenditure of energy, which is then followed by the required
461 period of rest. From the start, neither of the two partners is given so much work that he finds it oppressive; rather, the type of activity and the number of tasks which constitute the day's work of each of them are fully in accord with the natural propensities which he as a grown man and she as a grown woman bring into their marriage (71). The co-operation of both of them in their

71. Cooper:169 reviewed the communications of many travelers on the subject of the division of labor among the Yamana and concluded from them that "the division seems, if we take into account Fuegian tribal conditions and necessities, to be a fairly equitable one" /cited in English/.

respective spheres of obligations, as well as in their joint undertakings provides the economic necessities for the family, binds the two spouses together in mutual dependence, and fills the life of each of them.

4. Relations between the Spouses

593 In order to supply their sustenance, that is to say, on the broad basis of household management, the two partners are so closely bound that one remains dependent on the other. This alone constitutes a tie that is extraordinarily binding on both members, but even beyond that they form a union of heart and soul.

Freedom in the choice of a mate and the important participation of the wife in economic management make it seem plausible that in the family both sexes have, so to speak, complete equality of rights and privileges. This fundamental idea is not invalidated by individual situations or occasional appearances of a different nature. Even Bridges (h):210 gives eloquent expression to it: "The wife is not wholly dependent on her husband and has all the freedom that she wants" /translated from Spanish/. The woman is well aware of her rights, and that is why she leaves a man who treats her badly; that is why, without specifically

/680 cont./

593 admonishing him, she expects him to provide for all the needs of the family and why she maintains complete independence in all the labors that are hers by ancient custom, without letting her husband interfere. She gathers mussels or goes fishing, arranges the pelts, and sews clothing whenever the whim strikes her and she is in the mood. If her husband expresses special wishes, he knows as well as she that she is by no means bound to fulfill them and that she does so only out of love and affection.

562 This does not alter the fact, however, that Yamana women
593 are ordinarily submissive and yielding. Almost never in words, but certainly in his /681/ attitude, the man, without offending, embodies a considerable preponderance of authority and power. For their part the Indian women, without losing themselves in slavish lack of will power, seem to be more willing to surrender their equality than is customary elsewhere among their sex. It is hard to say whether they are dominated by a sense of weakness or a feeling of inferiority. Outwardly, at any rate, the woman shows a subjection and subordination to her own husband which gives many European observers the impression that she is without rights and merely a weak plaything of her husband's tyranny. This impression is doubtless strengthened by the natural shyness and extraordinarily silent reserve of all Yamana women in the presence of a man (72). Hence in cases of incompatibility and

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72. This observation may have inspired Hyades (d):308 to say: "The woman submits to her husband, but provided she is faithful, he does not mistreat her" /translated from French/.

quarrels between the two there is never noise or shouting. If he should burst out with a few abusive words, she says nothing.

562 The excessive submissiveness of most of the women fosters
593 among the men a consciousness of superior power not established
152 by common law. If this is coupled with a nature given to violence and outbursts of rage among one or another of the men, the woman must occasionally expect maltreatment. In his anger, usually caused by minor incidents, he beats her with any stick or scrap of leather he happens to have at hand. She ducks or bends sideways without crying out or weeping. It is all over in a few

/681 cont./

562 minutes, but for the woman it is accompanied by several hours
593 or an entire night of suppressed pain. The deeply felt mortification
152 pains her incomparably more than the blow or beating.

An irascible and violent husband never has a good reputation,
562 even though at times he might have grounds for dissatisfaction
593 with his wife. None of my informants could remember that a
woman had ever suffered serious physical harm from maltreat-
626 ment. Her relatives would not have let matters go so far, but
would have helped her to escape before it happened. Basically,
public opinion condemns any physical attack on a woman, and
whenever it occurs people take a definite stand against the man
or against his wife, depending on the case, in order to prevent a
repetition of such quarrels.

562 In contrast, there is a considerable number of henpecked bus-
bands among the Yamana, according to the statements of the
593 three Lawrence brothers. There is no exaggeration in Bridges'
(i):21 words that "not a few men are domineered over by their
wives" /cited in English/ (73). Walter is one of these men,

73. Fifteen years later, Bridges (h):210
repeated this sentence without changing it.

helpless in the hands of his wife. Even more, Julia is really a
mannish woman, and the not very energetic Alfredo, sometimes
at his wits' end, lets her have her way. In contrast to these two
couples, /682/ Carmen suffers so much from the brutality and
violent outbursts of Calderon that all her fellow-tribesmen pity
her and sympathize with her. At present, just as in former times,
an individual incident may occur in which the wife bursts out
and takes violent measures against the man, without however,
actually establishing petticoat domination. Lovisato (b):146
gives an example: "We have seen a wife justifiably strike her
husband, without the other wives present taking her part or they
themselves understanding the grave deed" /translated from
Italian/. This, too, shows the occasional considerable inde-
pendence and arbitrariness on the part of the wife toward her
husband.

593 Aside from the above-mentioned disturbances in marital life,

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593 Bridges' (h):210 words, "...in general family life is happy and correct" /translated from Spanish/, apply to the relations between the two spouses. They are attached to each other by genuine love. Affection and the desire for love brought them together in marriage, and the things they have done for each other have constantly increased their mutual esteem, so that after a few years they consciously or unconsciously live for one another's happiness (74). They exchange their thoughts and plans; they

74. According to Lovisato's (b):146 unauthoritative opinion, the wife of a Fuegian means no more to him than "a means for having children; we cannot say that she is the equal of the man, not even his slave, although she is given the most painful work" /translated from Italian/. Hyades (p):322, on the other hand, says: "The woman whose conduct is good is independent and respected" /translated from French/. This is the truth!

discuss their own experiences and their observations of their children; they avoid being separated for long and are filled with bitter sorrow if one of them falls sick or dies. From time to time
593 one of them will make the other happy with some surprise or will
201 express the customary, very modest but always effective tenderness. This is limited to a gentle stroking of the cheeks or individual parts of the body, or they lean their head together and move close to each other (75). Everyone is very receptive toward

75. From this account one should correct what Spegazzini (a):166 maintained: "... caresses and kissing are completely unknown among these people" /translated from Spanish/. Parents are certainly not sparing with kisses for their infant (p. 514).

/882 cont./
883 demonstrations of love on the part of his spouse (76), the one
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> 76. Hyades (d):308 confirms that "the Fuegians are very capable of feeling love and jealousy" /translated from French/.

more, the other less, according to personal inclination. In this respect Mary seemed to me most conspicuously tender and solicitous of her Robert, whereas not the least reason why old Pedro curtailed all social intercourse with other families was because he wanted to belong only to his very jealous wife (77).

> 77. Our Fuegians avoid passionate outpourings of emotion. If Lovisato (b):146 had been aware of this, he would never have come to the false conclusion that "conjugal love does not exist" /translated from Italian/.

883 According to the reliable intimations that I received, the Tamans practice moderation in their sex life and perform the sexual act in /882/ the normal position (78). To maintain that

> 78. Hyades (q):187 confirms that "among adult Fuegians sexual functions are performed with moderation...The women are as moderate as the men in their demand for sexual pleasure" /translated from French/.

this is the influence of their diet is probably inadequate; there is a greater effect from the constant cool and damp atmosphere than many people suspect. Also it should be noted that the man and wife tire themselves physically almost every day. If they are very weary, they abstain from sexual pleasure and make up for it when they rest for a few days at one place (79).

> 79. A false statement by Bove (s):158, quoted in footnote 38, is further exaggerated by Lovisato (b):150 in the following

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nonsense: "A man must wash himself after leaving the wigwam of his loves, because otherwise he cannot eat guanaco meat; if he does not wash himself, the dogs die" /translated from Italian/.

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Among our Fuegians, far more than elsewhere, conjugal love assumes the form of genuine jealousy. The sharp vigilance with which a husband protected his wife at the approach of a stranger has made many a traveler of earlier times very uncomfortable, and the natives often shunned (80) his bold obtrusiveness by quick

80. This was the most frequent cause for the friction and quarrels accompanying the visit of European ships among our Indians, hence their shy reserve (p. 248 /untranslated/, p. 2).

flight. P. Snow (a):I, 149 clearly speaks of their "jealous disposition" /cited in English/, which they have retained up to the present time, some more, others less (81). It is striking that

81. Several similar opinions have been assembled by Cooper:168.

jealousy generally torments only the men, and that women, with a few exceptions, are spared it. These exceptions apply to wives of the same man. Hyades (q):239 also observed that "the woman, and above all the young woman, is so little aware of this feeling (82) that she seems very happy to see the same favors granted

82. Hyades (q):378 concedes rare exceptions, however, and realizes that "jealous women make life very disagreeable for their husbands" /translated from French/.

her friends by the man she loves" /translated from French/ (83).

83. He also emphatically denies the

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152

false assertion of a few navigators that our Fuegians had handed over their women and girls without resistance.

When there is greater inclination toward jealousy, it is without doubt "the reason for brutalities inflicted by the husband on his wife" /translated from French/. Many men are so susceptible that one cannot be careful enough in his attitude toward their wives, if he wishes to save himself unpleasantness. Outes (g): 55 reports: The men "are very jealous and an inopportune look at his wives is enough to arouse his distrust and to cause the murder of the suspect" /translated from Spanish/. It is true that the jealous husband will occasionally give vent to his rage in serious beatings, but it has never gone as far as murder, according to Fred Lawrence who connected this report for me. The lot of a woman with a husband so unfortunately predisposed is unpleasant. She must always fear his outbursts of rage, although she herself is blameless and very careful in her conduct.

831 /684/ Is this pronounced jealousy among men caused by their concern over marital fidelity among their wives? This may be true to a certain extent. Certainly, as a rule, the two spouses are faithful, and people without exception esteem this virtue highly. BD:287 gives hingun: "a sober, sensible and faithful wife or woman" /cited in English/. We must agree with Spegazzini (x):166, who emphasizes: "Fidelity is a carefully guarded virtue, whether out of fear of the husband who will repudiate or kill her on account of mere suspicion or because of natural habit /translated from Spanish/ (84). Although fidelity is esteemed in public

84. On July 27, 1872, Bridges (1):18 entered the following in his diary: "Adultery was condemned as a crime and faithfulness extolled as a virtue" /cited in English/.

and everyone tries to avoid situations of violating it, nevertheless individual violations occasionally did and do occur, and many a married person has secretly transgressed. Bridges' assertion, "there is no fidelity between man and wife" /cited in English/ (VSA:XXI,203,1866), is false in its generality, and he

/bbb cont./

117 himself converted to seen after, saying that "generally a great deal of unfaithfulness" /cited in English/ (bbb.EE, 117,1969) is customary. Six years later he (1):19 learned of the splendid Tarasca simile, "an adulterous person was likened to a rotten tree which has only to be touched to fall" /cited in English/. If a people seize such a means of defense, it confirms its alarm over the serious danger which threatens it from marital infidelity.

118 A surprisingly large number of words signifying adulterous action have been collected in BD. Hyades and Ipagassini several times mention the fact that adultery is committed by the husband as well as the wife. The reliable Fred Lawrence assured me with all certainty that, according to his ten years' experience, a considerable number of women had lovers. Each of them knew that she was bound to fidelity toward her husband (88), but

88. Hyades (ip:279) also emphasizes that the Indian women "are bound in fidelity to their husbands" /translated from French/. It is an exaggeration, however, when Martial (19) says: "Fidelity is very rare in the Fungian marriages, and morals are very lowe" /translated from French/.

nevertheless yielded to the urge in greatest secrecy. It is difficult to decide who is chiefly to blame, but each of the guilty parties has his share. "The seducer was probably generally to blame" (Grainde [E] :188); we might deduce this from the admonitions given young girls in the Fungian ceremony. "The women of today," Fred Lawrence continued, "are scarcely ashamed of their transgressions and have themselves probably on Europeans because they are paid by them. Where else did one or another of the women get her new dress, since neither she nor her husband earned anything to pay for it? In former times the illicit affair was kept secret, but nowadays many an older Indian woman is not at all embarrassed if one accuses her openly. Her husband is silent, for he knows that she /bbb/ is supplying herself with the things she wants." Some Indians were even offended at the behavior of old blancks, so much so that they separately spoke

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to the wheat but in very unfavorable terms (in this connection see the account on p. 303 /translated/).

Formerly, as we have said, adulterous acts had to be carefully concealed from the eyes of the injured partner. If a man caught his wife, he thrashed her soundly and watched her more closely after that. If, moreover, he learned the identity of the other guilty party, he beat him if he was a match for him, or he summoned his own relatives to help (96). In any case he left the

96. Martial 130 describes the punishment of an adulterer which he himself observed in Orange Bay.

victory with his undependable wife. Many a man only gradually recovered from his wife's running and only after he had repeatedly thrashed her (97). It never went so far as cowardly killing.

97. According to Hyades (p.320 and (8)304), "A delivery of the wife is punished by beatings which the husband or her parents inflict on the guilty party and her accomplice" /translated from French/.

Even in the penitentiary, however, that a woman may have succumbed as a result of heavy blows (98). It very seldom happened

98. Martial 130 and also Dellinne (p.180 express themselves in the same vein. It is not correct to speak of actual murder on the part of the husband. The assertion by Chaux (p.58 is as false as it is emphatic.

that a man disowned his faithless wife forever solely because of this offense, even though she may have stayed with her lover for a time and later returned to the bed of her lawful husband (99). If, however, it could be proved that the lawless

99. Martial 130 tells of an adulteress who

/[illegible] cont./

§73 §27 §76 found her way back to her husband after an absence of three months and was taken in again by him.

pregnant by her lover -- this occurred in the extremely rare case where she was still young and her lawful husband was old -- the husband sent the adulteress irrevocably back to her lover and definitely separated from her.

§73 §37 If a wife catches her husband philandering, she usually has no alternative, but to overcome the humiliation silently. A spirited woman will make a noisy scene, scold the sinner, and expose his deceitful deed to others, which wounds him more than a beating (90). The relatives of the wife would not dare beat the

90. "The adultery of the husband is not punished, except by the jealous scenes of his wife" /translated from French/.

faithless one; they do no more than to advise her to leave him. Sometimes a very hurt wife has cause to blows with her errant husband, if she and another wife in the same hut were both betrayed by their common husband (91).

91. Spangenberg (op.[illegible]) reports having seen an Indian "completely paralyzed as a result of a beating which his wives gave him because of this kind of misdeed" /translated from Spanish/.

§37 §37 We lack evidence to determine definitely the number of cases of marital infidelity, since every Tarasca makes a serious effort /[illegible]/ to keep his lapses entirely secret. The fact is, however, according to Gwinde (L.):168, that "among the Tarasca this shortcoming was more frequent than among the other two Pueblan tribes." There is no doubt, however, that everyone who is known to have erred in this respect experiences perceptible injury to his honor (92).

92. According to Hyades' (op.[illegible]) way of

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expressing himself, adultery is accompanied by "a certain public disrespect" /translated from French/. It is this general condemnation that guilty parties find particularly painful and degrading.

548 Our Indians hold female virtue in high esteem. In this connection we must not fail to mention that Hyades (q):239, 378 takes a very firm stand against the false reports by a few travelers about the prostitution of Indian women. "We have never seen a Fuegian man yield his wife or the one he loves to his best friends or even to the lure of large rewards. Many travelers believe that they have seen the opposite, but in the instances they have observed, the women and young girls were not by any means necessarily joined by love or even marriage to the savages who proposed to give them away. We will cite below a number of examples to prove our assertions" /translated from French/ (93). Not even the present relaxation of morals is approved by the true Yamana, and they accept many misdeeds silently only because they are powerless to do anything about it.

93. In Outes (g):59, also, it is clearly stated: "No individual sells his wife to another" /translated from Spanish/.

836 Sexual morality is quite generally esteemed, and this, naturally, also includes premarital chastity (p. 411). Children
867 would not be permitted any kind of license nor would they attempt it; there is, generally speaking, no sexual freedom for the girl. Quite the contrary, many Europeans, to their unexpected surprise, came up against a strong, emphatic morality and modest reserve among the Fuegian women, whose body covering could hardly be imagined as scantier. In order to prevent lapses in this sphere, the adults see to it that boys and girls are separated from early youth until puberty, and they warn them ceaselessly with informative advice. It is entirely wrong to maintain, as Hyades (q):378 does, that "the young girls are free to conduct themselves as they please" /translated from French/. Even

836 /686 cont./
867 parents who themselves often transgress against sexual morality are careful to give irreproachable guidance to their children.

Despite all vigilance, a certain amount of improper con-
836 duct among young people cannot be avoided, and some girls lose their physical intactness (94). The Yamana do not know the

94. On this subject Hyades (q):188 expresses himself thus: "In fact, the young girls of ten to 12 years whom we examined had already lost it. But this does not imply a precocious perversion on their part nor a great ardor for sexual relations" /translated from French/.

meaning of this in the European sense, and only with this restriction may we interpret Hyades' (b):1346 and (q):188 words: "There is no value placed /687/ on a young girl's virginity" /translated from French/ (95). A reserved, virtuous girl enjoys

95. Hahn (a):805 uses the same words and unjustifiably concludes from this: "Modesty is completely unknown among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. The secret mistakes of a few children, despite the serious warnings and great vigilance of all adults, are no proof that modesty is lacking among all the people.

a good reputation; adults keep a particularly sharp eye on an impertinent young chap. Finally, a thoughtful boy will not
[581] readily offer his hand in marriage to a girl whose behavior is conspicuously bold; he lacks confidence in her fidelity later.

A few effective protective measures for special occasions
431 have been set up, apparently in order that neither of the two
834 sexes, despite their duty to render reciprocal aid, will run the risk of violating conjugal fidelity. These measures have to do with the exchange of gifts between a man and woman who are

/687 cont./

431 fond of each other and wish to strengthen their affection through
834 such attentions. It is well known that a successful hunter will have his wife give neighboring families large pieces of his booty. She gives the pieces of meat directly to the other women who use it for their respective families.

A man resorts to the same indirect procedure if he wants to avoid any kind of suspicion and yet please some married woman who is devoted to him by giving her a gift. If he knows that she likes to eat some special kinds of fungi, he gladly takes the trouble on his wanderings to gather a few in a leather bag. He goes to the hut of his friend and empties the bag in front of her husband, letting him know by a look or sign: "These fungi are meant chiefly for your wife!" She, too, knows what her taciturn friend particularly likes, and she lets him know her feelings by means of a suitable gift. For example, in order to avoid malicious gossip, she makes blood sausage or blubber sausage, if he is fond of it, and brings it to the wife of her friend with the remark: "I give this sausage to your husband!" He, too, hears her brief words -- as intended -- which tell him everything that her feelings and sentiments have put into the remark. In order to be still less conspicuous, a man will send a small present to his friend through his own wife, and a woman will send hers through her husband. The recipient knows full well what it means. In this way the two friends publicly announce that their relations are harmless, and usually this is the case. A person having an intimate relationship does not wish to call attention to himself and the favored individual, even by means of such admissible demonstrations of love. He will wisely avoid doing so.

This "roundabout giving," as I should like to call it, is by no means regarded as especially strict and exclusive. In case a man meets a single woman somewhere, he may give her a sizable piece of his booty right on the spot, all the more if her dwelling /688/ is far distant from his. The measure just described shows every outsider that our Yamana consider it necessary to fortify conjugal fidelity with external props, so that transgressions do not increase still more.

593 In most marriages of our Fuegians, the two partners have had and still have a pleasant, happy, and, after some years, balanced

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593 relationship with one another (96). The far-reaching independence

96. Bridges (e):333 maintains, "in general the conjugal tie was lacking in happiness as well as stability." In saying this he obviously contradicts the facts which are verified by many other details.

of the woman corresponds to her importance in family and household management (97), and her importance in the tribal com-

97. For "a wife was by no means wholly in her husband's power and she had quite as much liberty as was good for her" /cited in English/ (Bridges [I]:21). The far-reaching independence of the woman rests on her important contribution to the support of the family (p. 454).

munity as a whole is very nearly equal to that of the man. Although the various social units (in this case the monogamous marriages) have a very natural basis, there is never an absence of transgressions against their foundations on the part of a few individual persons. Even nowadays on the frosty Cape Horn Archipelago one can meet young married persons who love each other sincerely and aged persons who are harmoniously united.

5. Divorce

586 When young people come together in marriage, they almost never have the definite intention of forming a lifelong union. Calderon told me: "The young people think only of their love. Whether they are suited to each other will be seen only when they live together. If one of them is not suited to the other, they separate and each of them looks for another partner!" This is no proof against the basic lifelong continuance of marriage, but the fact of divorce is not only recognized, but, under certain

/688 cont./

586 circumstances, even regarded as justified. A few travelers have described divorce as such an indifferent step that their numerous errors are obvious (98) and generally the result of utter ignorance

> 98. A more contemptuous tone than that of Martial:199 is scarcely possible: "The total absence of any guarantee in these [conjugal] unions, moreover, frequently results in their rupture, through the fault of the man more often than that of the woman. They take each other and leave each other, following the whim or interest of the moment" /translated from French/.

of the solemnity of marriage. True family life, such as is reported by many reliable observers, would not come about even in Tierra del Fuego if every person could replace his life's companion with another at will, according to the principle of a supposed "continual promiscuity" /translated from French/ (Martial:200). True, each additional child draws the marital tie tighter between the two partners, but no less strong is the love between young married couples, which continues almost undiminished up to the appearance of /689/ the first child (99).

> 99. In this respect Bridges' (e):333 assertion that "the conjugal bond was weak until it was strengthened by children" /cited in English/ does not mean much.

586 It is lawfully permissible, however, for married people to sepa-
626 rate if they have a reason for it. The people generally have a sensitive feeling about this and are not deluded by extenuation or false appearance, and although they cannot usually avoid injustice, their sharp weapon, namely, the discussion of conditions which cannot be condoned, remains effective for years.

586 The chief reason for dissolving a marriage is maltreatment by a brutal husband, yanúna, under which the wife must suffer. Very early Bridges (a):184 reported: "Cruel treatment often

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586 drives away a young wife from her husband, even though she has children, which sometimes are taken by the father if he loves them, and otherwise by the mother" /cited in English/. Not even the children of the couple prevent a divorce if the woman is repeatedly in danger of being mistreated. She herself does not complain to her own husband, but suffers silently. One of her male [604] relatives, however, above all her uncle, goes to him and reminds him of his duty. If repeated admonitions are fruitless, he threatens to remove the wife. She finally runs away with the help and under the protection of her relatives.

She often urgently needs this protection because the disap- 586 pointed husband will not willingly give her up, but pursues her or 578 constantly threatens her. On December 20, 1875, Bridges wrote: 627 "Hidugalahgoon came here with a wife, that had been the wife of a man who had been very violent to her. Her mother was her fellow wife. She has two children by her former husband. The young fellow seemed very fond of her, and she of him; he had many friends here whom he was diligent to move in his favour by descanting upon the cruelties of the man, he feared, to his wife... The Easterns soon came up, and clustered around Philip's dwelling, where Hidugalahgoon and his wife lived. They began speaking quietly, and becoming more excited, gradually became vociferous and beat the woman, and compelled her to return to her former husband. But she would not stay, and then took shelter with Stephen. Thence again she was forced to come, but she was determined to kill her child; several evenings there was turmoil over this matter, and once considerable fighting. I took up the matter, and stated God's holy will on the subject, but the woman was very obstinate and would not return. Her late husband then gave her up, but required some compensation, for he felt, in losing his young wife, he had lost much. Being consulted by Hidugalahgoon, I advised that he should, under the circumstances, give what he could to restore peace" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 80;1875) (100).

100. A few months previously, on July 30, 1875, he experienced another incident: "A young man, commonly called Tom Post, is son-in-law to a native of this place. Last autumn several disturbances took place here,

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caused principally by him. He ill-treated his wife, who was so offended that she refused to live with him, and took up her abode with her parents, who warmly took up her cause. He had also grieved his wife by other gross misconduct. There was accordingly a great disturbance, in which very many were concerned, and Tom Post had his head badly wounded. He came to me to get it bound up, when I took the opportunity to reason with him. In his great rage against his wife (who is also a bad character) and her relatives he was blind to his own faults; he promised amendment. He said he would remain single" /cited in English/ (MM: IX, 191;1875).

The position of the run-away wife can become unpleasant if the relatives of her lawful husband are numerous and bold, for they naturally take his part.

586 /690/ The woman, also, though less frequently, may be the cause of dissolution of the marriage. If she is so uncommonly lazy and careless that the whole family suffers badly, the man is forced to look for another partner. To his chagrin, the wife nevertheless does not leave, and he can do nothing but drag her along whether he likes it or not. An incapacity to work because of illness or old age never leads to divorce, for the man is at liberty to take a young, healthy woman besides his first wife. An unbearable disposition which the woman may develop in the course of the years can torture a man to such an extent that he has no other recourse but to flee into the arms of another person. No one stops him. A general rule 586 forbids a person to interfere in the marital affairs of relatives. It 602 is only when a woman is mistreated that an uncle or some other relative will definitely take her part (101); the situation is different if she runs away.

101. Bridges (a):202 emphatically expressed this principle: "A father-in-law or brother-in-law does not take his daughter's or sister's part against her husband, unless he severely injures

586 [602] /690 cont./

her, when she is sometimes taken away from him and given to another" /cited in English/.

Young married couples sometimes separate after they have become better acquainted with each other and a definite antipathy has developed. This situation, of course, also may come about in the case of a couple who have shared the same hut for decades (102).

102. Bridges (a):184 mentions: "It frequently happens that there is inseparable aversion on the girl's part to her husband, and she leaves him, and if she persists in hating him she is then given to one she likes" /cited in English/.

586 837 Usually the real cause is an outside one, namely, a love affair with another person, which now presses toward a rupture of the existing marriage bond by any means available. Finally, in very exceptional cases, a man will get rid of a wife who has manifestly committed adultery (p. 468). In cases of adultery everyone is very lenient, for men, too, are by no means paragons of virtue in this respect.

586 It should be recognized that, although divorce among our Yamana is, to be sure, accomplished fairly easily, it is accompanied by significant secondary effects. It sounds ridiculous to maintain with Hyades (q):378: "Before the women become mothers, it is not rare to see them change husbands several times, either because of feminine inconstancy or because of bad treatment on the part of their spouses" /translated from French/ (103). Does anyone really believe

103. Apparently he simply repeats what Bridges (i):20 entered in his diary on April 22, 1871: "Not infrequently before they became settled in life, they have had many husbands, for the marriage relationship was not secure unless children were born to unite the parents in a common care for them" /cited in English/. I have already replied to this threadbare contention (pp. 408, 411).

that the appearance of the /691/ first child takes such a long time

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586 or that mistreatment of the woman begins immediately among young married couples? The circle of relatives of every married 586 person sees to it that a marriage continues, for they feel responsi- 602 ble for his assured sustenance which is practically impossible or unsuitable outside of marriage, except in the case of elderly people. The woman who has been divorced through her own fault is, to begin with, a burden to her relatives, less because of her maintenance than because of the damaged reputation of the entire circle of relatives and because of the worry about her children. This explains why the relatives almost always try to settle a threatened relationship or to mend a broken marriage, even when the wife has been mistreated. The children are divided up according to the wish and intention of the spouses; either they remain with the mother if the man runs away, and vice versa, or some relatives take pity on the youngsters until the parents have returned to an ordered life. [558] A person who through his own fault has dissolved a marriage never enjoys a good reputation.

586 These considerations have always tended to prevent light-hearted attempts at divorce. We do not have definite figures, but a man has more often run away from his wife than a woman from her husband; consideration for the children was a factor in this situation.

6. Celibacy

581 We have repeatedly pointed out that the economy of the Yamana basically prohibits a lifelong unmarried state, and that public opinion does not grant an individual full social standing unless he is married (104). Each of the two sexes has duties which can be

> 104. The Yamana find it incomprehensible, solely on the basis of the conduct of life, how Europeans can live unmarried for a lifetime and maintain themselves. They are regarded "as enigmas," as Hyades (q):377 expresses it.

fulfilled only through marriage. At marriageable age the young people are told in plain words that they may no longer put off a

/691 cont./

581 marital union with a suitable lifelong companion. If a child hesitates for an unduly long time, the Yamana regard it as an impropriety on the part of the parents.

587 The reasons for an early marriage of young people are also of
589 paramount importance for widowed persons. The duty of a widow to marry has arisen chiefly out of solicitude for her children. Hence "as soon as a man dies, his wives are married to others" /cited in English/ (Bridges /692/ in MM:III, 117;1869). As a result, "There are very few single women, not one among a hundred" /cited in English/ (ibid.) (105). Extraordinary reasons prevent a new marriage.

> 105. With this statement Bridges (a):203 to a certain extent corrects an earlier assertion: "Owing to the almost general practice of polygamy, many men are without wives, and live so all their days. And owing to the general practice of giving young women to oldish men, the young men frequently can get no wives but relicts" /cited in English/.

589 Modern times have changed a great deal of this, for they have,
178 in part, considerably altered even the conditions of life. On February 2, 1878, Bridges (i):17 reported from Yendegaia: "Widows did not long continue so; in fact, a single adult man or woman was a rarity. But with the march of civilized life marriage becomes less necessary and more difficult, and the number of single men and women increases" /cited in English/. At present, there are so few Yamana living that everyone is married; sometimes there is even a young man with an aged wife, because he has no other choice. Only old Flora has been alone for a long time; she is regarded as hard to get along with.

732 A factually insignificant supplementary statement from Bridges
589 (i):21 is added here: "Though deaf or dumb men never married, unless it were an old woman, a deaf woman would be a wife and have children -- the men remained single because usually no woman would marry such" /cited in English/.

589 What has been said about young persons and those of middle age
888 does not apply to old people. Since they no longer have their

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589 strength, they could not do full justice to the tasks incumbent on
888 them by the division of labor and would thus be more of a burden than a help in life with a marriage partner. Hence they forgo another marriage and try to find refuge in the hut of one of their relatives where they can be included in the daily routine without trouble. Sometimes they continue to run their own households. "Older women whose husbands have died exercise quite firmly all the rights of the head of the family. Even when they live alone, they always have with them a few children or grandchildren who are absolutely obedient to them" (Hyades [g]:35) (106). Aside

106. Bridges' (i):14 diary entry of July 2, 1872, sounds almost the same: "The lives of the old women who have been reported as the usual victims of cannibalism, were as sacred as those of any other persons, because they had sons and daughters, nephews and nieces, younger brothers and sisters, who felt as such towards them, and none dared to suggest their deaths" /cited in English/.

from the good influence they have, they are still at times helpful in economic life. "The old women, by the way, are by no means as useless as is assumed in the tale [of their being done away with during a famine]; their experience makes them definitely appreciated in obtaining food, as well as in other household tasks, and not at all infrequently young people would rather marry an experienced older woman than a young girl even though she is prettier" (ibid). The woman herself finally decides, according to her situation and character, whether she will go on living as a widow or marry again at an advanced age.

182 /693/ The arbitrary assertions of certain Europeans have given a distorted picture of marital conditions among the Yamana. Neither Darwin nor Bove fulfilled the requirements which would entitle them to judge an arrangement as difficult to investigate as marriage is. They did not even admit to themselves that the conditions they describe are unnatural; had such conditions really developed, the people would have been driven in mad haste to complete destruction.

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182 Primitive people in such an unfavorable environment as that around Cape Horn cannot deviate very much from the norms of life imposed by nature if they are to survive as a people. Actually the marital arrangements of our Fuegians, including polygamy which is occasionally permitted and the obligation to marry widows, strike one as quite self-explanatory and natural, hence also as homely and appealing. Bridges' opinion after decades of experience as a missionary carries greater weight than other judgments, and he (i):21 summarized it in the following very terse, but truly comprehensive words: "On the whole, the family life was happy and correct" /cited in English/.

B. Parents and Child

594 The nature of the economy, which is the only kind possible in the Cape Horn region, forces our Fuegians to split up into individual families, each one devoting itself independently to the quest for food. Hence, day after day, the parents and their children are dependent on their own resources. Although the daily work of the Yamana family is more diversified than that of the neighboring Selk'nam, a great deal of unavoidable monotony is connected with it. It is of inestimable spiritual value, as well as almost an indispensable necessity, for every family to have several children, who not only form a tie that unites the two parents, but also contribute a great deal to their mental enrichment and spiritual stimulation. No wonder that the longing for a child is so strong that a couple cannot live, so to speak, without it, and that the care and treatment of the child reveal a love that cannot be intensified. Even in their parental happiness, however, adults do not let themselves be blinded or diverted from the strict duty of a firm upbringing that one must describe not only as good, but even as stern. All parents, with the exception of a few who have defective personal tendencies, devote themselves conscientiously to this upbringing to the best of their abilities and with a view to the child's welfare.

861 Profound observation and careful research have brought to light principles and techniques which put their efforts at child

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861 rearing in an unexpectedly favorable light and which reveal our much misunderstood Yamana as sensitive experts in all matters pertaining to a child. An opportunity to appreciate their mastery of child-rearing skills is provided by clear insight concerning the youth initiation ceremony which I was twice /694/ privileged to experience and which I shall describe in detail below. In the principles for the treatment of the maturing generation, a good deal of unadulterated practical philosophy and sound child-rearing wisdom from the remote past has been preserved to this day among the much misunderstood primitive people of frosty Tierra del Fuego.

a. The Infant and Its Care

124 The sensitivity of the people and delicate consideration for the mother impel them to conceal as far as possible from the eyes of the men a new citizen's entrance into the world and his care during the first few days of his life. Hence the following details were not personally observed, but were given to me by women. I gladly admit that greater completeness would have been possible, but probably nothing important is missing in the following lines, except perhaps one or another minor detail that they did not wish to mention to me because of a natural feeling of delicacy. In any case, nothing has changed in modern times in the treatment of infants. Only the pieces of fur formerly used as covers are now replaced by European rags which have very much increased the lack of cleanliness in the child's sleeping place.

854 A European would superficially describe many of their customs as unhygienic and senseless, but on closer observation he might recognize a great deal of purposefulness and empirical wisdom. Travelers of former times saw the tender, solicitous care of Fuegian children by adults so clearly and in such vivid detail that they did not hide their astonishment. Their observations correspond exactly with what everyone can still find today. Therefore, no one should be surprised if all the details in the following account seem brightly and kindly illuminated by the warm glow of genuine parental love for the always welcome child.

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1. Delight in the Child

842 We must say without qualification that the Yamana of all ages and of both sexes are extremely fond of children. The child is so necessarily a part of marriage that a newly wedded couple awaits the first fruit of their mutual love with longing. As long as a child has not been granted them, they feel as though they have nothing to do and do not know how to fill out the day properly. The young woman, far more than the man, feels an oppressive emptiness and a great gap which must be filled, the sooner the better. This mental state was described by Walter in the following brief words: /695/ "Soon after the wedding the couple become bored, for they lack children of their own to keep them busy. That is why the young woman, in order to ease her loneliness, visits her parents longer and oftener than her husband likes. He therefore waits patiently until the first child arrives. After that his wife stays with him in their own hut (107)!"

[591] 107. This is the chief reason why some young married couples after their wedding live with the parents of one of them before they establish their own household (p. 434).

Gertie, who had no offspring herself, confessed to me: "Until their first child appears, time is often unbearably long for the young couple. You can imagine what I suffer who have lost all hope for a child of my own!" In former times it was extremely rare that a marriage was barren. Such a married couple is very much pitied by the neighborhood. They try to cover their loss by temporarily taking into their hut and caring for a few children from among their relatives or acquaintances. Old people seem to be particularly de-
855 pendent on the company of the little ones. Actually they are the
887 most enjoyable entertainment and the jolliest diversion for all the adults. They tease each other and play freely and without restraint, as though the children were accommodating and ardently desired playthings. The natural open-heartedness with which old women tenderly fondled and affectionately carressed any child, especially

/695 cont./

855 their own favorite, seemed to me much more direct and spontane-
887 ous among these Fuegians, and hence more impressive, than among mothers in Europe.

855 As a result of their own love for the child, we can understand why our Indians quickly gain confidence in all Europeans who show
609 themselves kindly disposed toward their children. How quickly
152 Snow (a):I, 349 realized this and took advantage of it for the safety of his own person! He writes: "They were very fond of their children, and any notice we took of the little ones always gave them pleasure. This I observed on my first visit; and it was, in addition to firearms in my breast coat-pocket, one of the means I was prepared to use, had there been occasion when I went alone amongst them. A child in my arms was, I considered, a guard against any sudden attack upon me, if they loved their offspring as most savage tribes do" /cited in English/ (108). Anyone wishing to win

108. Phillips:58, on his very first encounter with these natives on October 22, 1855, on Lennox Island, made the same observation: "The women were greatly pleased with the notice I took of their children, and kept appealing for something for the 'piccanini'" /cited in English/.

the favor of the adults need only show himself tender and loving toward their children. How often have they themselves held up their youngest toward the white strangers to beg for presents. They valued whatever was done for the child more highly than if it had been done for themselves. Snow (a):I, 328 may again serve as a witness. In Banner Cove he saw /696/ the first natives coming toward him in a canoe. A younger woman was among them. "She had a baby at the breast; and frequently, with a winning smile and plaintive voice, asked, by the oft repeated words, Yamana Scoona! for something for the pauca ninne. Mrs. Snow gave her many little presents, for which she returned grateful smiles and Cuttacutta (apparently: many thanks) over and over again. Her attachment to the child was evident; and what was given to the child she showed she understood was for that purpose by putting it

/SH6 cont./

855 609 152

immediately around its neck, or about its person" /cited in English/ (109). Later, after they had become sufficiently convinced

> 109. Snow (b):262 was so impressed by the love of children shown by these Fuegian mothers that he again speaks of his experiences and calls it unjust toward the parents that the missionaries wanted to take a few children for raising to Isla Keppel. "One of the women had a baby with her, and there was something most winning in her manner when she asked us to give her child some present. She was much attached to her babe, even as I found all of the Fuegian mothers were, and I feel certain that to attempt taking those younger children away on any pretence whatever is wrong in the extreme...They are very fond of their children" /cited in English/.

of the kindness of the missionaries for their children, a few families finally decided to entrust them with their darlings for a short time (p. 310 /untranslated/). Today Yamana children are much more suspicious of even the most well-intentioned Whites than I observed the children of the Selk'nam (110) to be, because they have had

> 110. On my first journey I effortlessly gained the confidence of the Selk'nam by way of the hearts of their children. See Gusinde (t):164 and (dd):78.

many sad experiences.

842 Now it will no longer be surprising to learn -- corresponding exactly to the ideas above -- that a married couple is envied because of their large flock of children. As each individual child provides great joy for the married couple, their happiness and satisfaction increase with the number of their offspring. "The more children, the more entertainment and variety in the hut on the long evenings," Walter confessed to me in a moment of deep sorrow when his youngest girl, who, with her slightly older brother, was what remained of eleven children, fell seriously ill. I often heard

/696 cont./

852 variations of this exclamation: "How fortunate Felipe and Elisa are, for all their [six] children are still living and occupying their hut!" There is no other family of the few that are left who can show so many living offspring.

855 Naturally, each one of the children is an object of special attention for the parents and all the adults. This is less evident in the fact that they keep the child physically clean than in their tireless vigilance and in all kinds of demonstrations of love (111).

> 111. Bridges (i):21 confirms this: "Generally the children were tenderly cared for by their parents and friends, and encomiums of every kind expressed in order to please the parents" /cited in English/.

They are not happy if a child is absent from the hut for long hours and they do not know where he is, but quite in /697/ contrast to European mothers, they remain completely calm no matter how long the child is absent if they do know where he is staying or where he went, on foot or in the canoe. They are beside themselves, however, if they have to wait for the child far beyond a fixed time. Once, late at night, I saw old Pedro and his wife get up and prepare to drag their canoe into the water. Someone had just reported to them that their seven-year-old daughter had gone on foot with some other girls to a distant inlet and that they had not returned. Although the neighbors, some of whose children were also absent, tried to reassure the old man, they could not hold him back. He rowed a great distance along Beagle Channel until, after a search, he found his daughter. Finally, early in the morning, they were all united in his hut, along with the other children (see Gusinde [t]:164). In order to appreciate this effort we must remember that a family ventures out on the water at night only in the greatest emergency.

Very often and lovingly parents fondle and play with an infant or an older child. They let them have particularly delectable tidbits, call their attention to rare phenomena in the environment, decorate them with ornaments of all kinds, and often paint their faces for sheer pleasure (112). Again and again the adults busy

> 112. As Bridges (i):22 and (h):208 reports,

/BST CONT./

BS5

> "girls and boys were by their proud parents often laden with a profusion of native necklaces of bone or shells and their faces painted as attractively as possible" /cited in English/.

themselves with the children, or, as Hyades (f):308 expresses it: "The parents love their children and occupy themselves with them" /translated from French/. Anyone who is not busy with something also is happiest when he is spending his time playfully with a child. Parents are also *of* course, extremely receptive toward any attention and kindness shown their child by neighbors. I have observed that every adult, women more than men, displays much tenderness and affection toward another person's child, without discrimination. If, however, a boy should be a public nuisance because of his naughtiness, he is severely reprimanded and disciplined by everybody alike. In any case, the behavior of adults toward children is quite uniform. Judging from this behavior alone, a European observer will mistake a woman for the mother of a child when she is not *even* a relative. All the good things, even merely a friendly smile, given by a European are valued no less highly by the parents when bestowed upon their child (p. 461). Fitz-Roy (a):188, too, noted: "Both men and women are remarkably fond of the little children, and were always much pleased at any notice taken of them by our parties, when they felt sufficient confidence in us to bring the children forward" /cited in English/.

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/BM/ By nature the Tamara children of today are not as open-hearted and uninhibited as the Selk'nam children. I was very much aware of the difference on my journeys; I explain it on the basis of the disposition of our Fuegian group and their greater taciturnity. Nevertheless I succeeded in amusing myself with these little creatures most amazingly and also in pleasing them. Old Alfredo who often saw me amid a group of gay young people simply could not understand why, at my advanced age, I was not yet married. When I discussed it with him, he asked me the unexpected question: "And among your own people can you also romp about with the children as you do here with us?" Not only he, but other people as well found it a great satisfaction that I so much enjoyed playing and frolicking with their little darlings. Thus, there was a repetition of what earlier travelers, such as Snow and Fitz-Roy, had observed.

/FEM cont./

152 Later we shall show that quite generally Pueblan families have many children, but it can scarcely be imagined how much every mother and father suffer at the death of a child. They feel the bitterest sorrow and do not recover from this loss for the rest of their lives. They destroy absolutely everything that might remind them of their lost darling, even if he was only a few months old. They never repeat his name, so as not to be reminded of the gap left by relentless death (113). The mother addresses urgent pleas

> 113. Hyades (g):30 reports: "The loss of children is commonly felt very deeply, and not infrequently the French [of the Mission Scientifique] saw the features of the younger chief over and the women even burst into tears and lamentations if there was a chance reference to such a death."

to Huitzilopochtli, the Tamoanchan deity, to make her sick darling well, and the indulgent god hence reproaches against him if, in spite of her pleas, he snatch the child away from her by death. The mother's lamentations over her lost darling never cease. Walker's wife, of whose eleven children only two are still living, watches over her frail daughter who is about five years old with almost pathological anxiety, in order not to lose her, too. All the women speak pityingly of her, for they see with what anxiety and apprehension she clings to this youngest child, as though to a last refuge.

155 For all persons many healthy, lively, and obedient children are not only an extraordinary satisfaction, but far beyond that also a justifiable pride (114). They stir up fresh life in the entire

> 114. Bridges (1):31 says only: "The mothers were always proud to tell how many children they had" /cited in English/. The fathers do the same.

neighborhood, and every adult delights in their exhilarant play. They offer the women, who like to assemble in the hut of the happy parents, tireless entertainment during the long evening /FEM/ hours. Many a woman grows sick at heart if she remembers her own

[illegible]

[15] children whom death has taken away; a woman is ashamed if complaints, however indirect, reach her about her disbelief among; and a woman may feel something like jealousy when it seems as though the offspring of another woman are the only ones possessing all the good traits. No one blames the father when, in proud self-esteem, he measures his manly boy and points many of his qualities to the other men in expectation of great achievements later on.

[16] Who could therefore doubt that parents in Tierra del Fuego always want still more children? Even if their number increases from year to year, the parents never tire of additional offspring, who hardly increase their worry and their work perceptibly, yet augment their happiness considerably. A large brood of children does not [17] mean a unbearable burden because the older brothers and sisters like to help take care of their younger brothers and sisters. Many women go through difficult inner struggles when, with the menopause, they are no longer blessed with children. This is all the more the case if they do not have many offspring.

[18] Nevertheless, voluntary abortion is practiced, but as Fred Lawrence emphatically assured me in August, 1923, only very rarely and secretly by the woman herself. She resorts to it as a means of avoiding imminent disgrace when she has had a secret affair with a lover and does not wish her lawful husband to learn of her transgression. Moreover, there must be certainty that she becomes pregnant only by the lover, which can almost never be determined under the existing conditions. When I inquired about this for the first time in February, 1923, I obtained the following from my conversation with several men who were gathered around old Alfredo and who agreed with his opinion: "It seems that in rare cases a woman did get rid of her child and it was the child of her lover. She did so because she was afraid of being exposed and reprimanded by her lawful husband." When second at that time to be only a supposition on my part because a qualified probability on my fourth journey.

Now, how does a woman go about this unfortunate deed? Before the child under her heart has reached a certain size so that her condition could be recognized, she pounds and massages her abdomen vigorously until the embryo dies and she has a miscarriage (113).

113.Hahn (p.) 900 also mentions this method.

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible]

with an absolutely false exaggeration of its practice: "Induced abortion is very common; it is done by means of violent manipulations upon the woman's abdomen" /translated from French/.

Sometimes she lies down with her belly on a crossbeam or a tree trunk, and while hanging over on both sides, she increases the pressure.

Very rarely (116), it seems, a woman does grow tired of child-

116. Cooper's (17) conclusion that "deliberate abortion is common" is thus grossly exaggerated. He relied on Martin's (18), Hahn (9):805, and Hyades (9):376. The latter referred to Bridges, but did not quote his assertion and adds: "Nevertheless, we have not witnessed any act of this kind [abortion and infanticide], and it has always appeared to us that from birth the children are given lavish attention by their parents" /translated from French/.

bearing /[illegible]/ and secretly gets rid of the still unripe fruit. She knows that she must do this promptly, for if the embryo were any size at all, her own life would be endangered. She also knows that the customary procedure mentioned above is never harmless. She keeps her deed entirely secret, for it would be severely censured by other women as forbidden. They say: "It is better and nicer to have a family with many children whom the mother can love than that a woman should not let her child be born." In order to avoid this criticism, in case other women have become suspicious, the guilty woman will try to cover it up by saying: "I fell down. -- I stumbled over a stone. -- I hurt myself badly in a fall. And that is why I lost my [premature] child."

Sometimes such a woman, out of fear and shame, will use the same excuse when her husband who has been waiting in vain for the child asks her about it. We must realize, however, as I was repeatedly assured, that in such very rare cases perhaps a spontaneous miscarriage occurred. This was without doubt true of Lola's mother

/700 cont./

847 who died after the third miscarriage, and likewise of Felipe's wife, who complained to me that she had had two premature births. Malicious women unjustifiably reproach these two, saying that they had consciously transgressed. Hence it is certain that willful abortion, which is undertaken secretly by a woman, is extremely rare. Abortive medicines from the animal and vegetable kingdom are unknown.

855 Love for their own child guides the parents in everything they regard as good and advantageous for it. Many customs and individual child-rearing methods have developed from long experience; they are a safe rule of conduct for the parents in the care and treatment of their darlings. To deviate from them is prohibited by the respect they steadfastly cherish for the ancient tribal heritage handed down by their ancestors.

2. Birth

842 Our Yamana regard giving birth as a natural function, but in their conversation they treat this matter with genteel reserve. The connection between sexual intercourse and conception is sufficiently clear to them. They could not refrain from laughing when we mentioned to them that there were some groups of human beings to whom these facts were apparently not known. If one asks them specifically about the origin of the child, they refer solely to the union of the two /701/ spouses and say that with their sexual union the child begins to form in the mother's belly, that it continues to grow until it has attained the customary size, and that then it becomes an independent being. They limit this explanation to the development of the body. When I asked Calderon about the soul of the child, he 842 did not give me a clear answer, for in general these Fuegians are 714 rather vague about the conception of the human soul. He said: "When the child is born, it has its kēspix, for, after all, it is alive. But who knows where this comes from!" With Nelly I talked about this repeatedly in Fred Lawrence's presence; I came to the conclusion that the Yamana lack clear ideas about the origin of the soul in the developing child.

843 The Yamana women do not understand the direct connection between the cessation of menstruation and the beginning of pregnancy.

/701 cont./

843 It is only when this condition continues that they accept the fact of its cessation (117). Experience teaches them that the fruit grows

117. Hahn (a):805 mentions the following physiological observation: "Pregnancy is of the same duration as elsewhere...She has as signs of it the cessation of the menses, the swelling of her breasts, and the movement of the foetus" /translated from French/.

in proportion to the size of the abdomen of the woman who is to become a mother, and that this goes on until birth takes place. The mother thinks a great deal about the child she is carrying under her heart, and full of confidence she speaks of her hopes to the women near her. She longs for the birth, not because she would like to be free of the slight discomforts, but so that she can soon, in the happiness of motherhood, hold the child in her arms. Gertie said to me: "Many a young woman waiting for her first child feels that it takes too long. In her impatience she often becomes ill-humored!" Every woman hopes for a sturdy and beautiful child, and to achieve this she places a few blossoms of má'ku (Embothrium [824] coccineum; see Fig. 78) on her genitals and presses them tight with her upper thighs. She spends the whole night this way, thinking constantly of the child which she has already been carrying for several months. At the same time she repeats the wish in her thought: "May this child be as beautiful as the má'ku!" Her husband is very pleased if she repeats this procedure often (118). Instead

118. I was unable to find an explanation for what Hahn (a):806 cites as "a popular belief that children are sometimes born with a part of the body of an animal when the mother has been frightened in the course of her pregnancy" /translated from French/.

of má'ku (southern dialect), most people say máku.

Even though pregnancy is far advanced, a woman does not curtail her work, but must keep it up in full measure. The women of the neighborhood constantly recommend uninterrupted and lively

/701 cont./

843 activity, especially to those young women who are expecting their first child. Sexual intercourse is discontinued for two or three months before the confinement.

During this time the married couple are required to observe a 843 few food taboos. The /702/ woman may not eat roasted pieces of 262 meat, mussels, or fish as hot as usual, but must let them cool off a bit. It is said that food that is too hot is now detrimental to her and her child. The man is not permitted to eat the head and hind portion of fish and birds; he must be content with the center piece. Shortly before the confinement neither of the two parents may eat the meat of cormorants, otherwise the child would be born deformed.

[824 137]

Fig. 78. Embothrium coccineum. One-half natural size.

/Fig. 78 appears here./ For a few days before and after confinement the woman herself may not break or crush the bones of birds. It is well known that in the case of some birds, especially cormorants, the longer bones are broken open before they are roasted in the fire, so that the marrow will penetrate the meat and make it juicier. Furthermore, their spinal columns are cracked at various places so that the feathers can be plucked more easily. Now if the woman

/702 cont./

843 262 who herself abstains from the meat of cormorants and, even better, from birds generally wishes to prepare a roast for her family, she either leaves the bones whole or she asks someone else to break the bones in the meat of the bird. If she herself were to do it, she would have to be prepared to give birth to a crippled child. The woman must also abstain from sea urchins, but the man is not required to do this. He may not break open the calcareous shell, however, but must have someone else do it, otherwise the child would be born with a split skull (119).

119. Calderon told me this in August, 1923. As a result of searching questions I obtained the impression that this superstition is connected with the greater or lesser width of the fontanel with which the child is born.

843 When the external indications of pregnancy point to an imminent confinement -- this was unmistakable in former times when nakedness was customary -- the relatives and neighbors are more concerned in their thoughts and speech with the two persons who /703/ are soon to be presented with a child. They also discuss the expected event with the young couple. There are always several women on hand with good advice, especially for a woman who is giving birth for the first time. They encourage her with the following prospect: "Soon you will hold your own child in your arms. What happiness and what joy you will feel! -- It is indescribably gratifying for a woman to take care of her own child. -- Only then will you be a real woman, when you have a child of your own, and this will soon happen!" Old Mary repeated these words to me as the basic ideas behind such reassurances.

844 Women who are giving birth for the first time receive special attention. They are supposed to move about constantly or at least walk a great deal and to gather wood and berries diligently, in other words, to sit as little as possible. The things that were told the girl on the occasion of her first menstruation are now repeated, and special emphasis is placed on what was said about the treatment of newborn babies. The constant encouragement, together with the restless activity, hardly gives the young woman time to become

/703 cont./

844 anxious and perturbed. "They [the women giving birth for the first time] are not afraid of confinement!" Nelly explained very emphatically. The neighbor women probably also give the customary advice to the woman who has already had several confinements and is again expecting a child. They speak more seriously and anxiously if the woman has previously had difficulties in giving birth. Due to their worry about her life and that of the child, they stay with her until she is confined. In their everyday talk the women generally discuss whether for any one of them the momentous event was easy or difficult, whether or not it was accompanied by special symptoms. Hence they are prepared when someone has another confinement. Finally even the men discuss it among themselves when they notice that one woman or another is in an advanced state of pregnancy. On such occasions they also quite frankly say: "Now it is time for her husband to stay away from her [sexually]!"

Relatives and neighbors regard it as their duty to help gather food and care for the children of the women who are giving birth for the first time and those who must expect complications. All Indian women, without exception, are attentive and sympathetic toward the mother-to-be.

The husband and wife are instinctively confident as to the approach of the decisive hour. As a rule, the pregnant woman, usually upon the advice of her husband, has notified a neighbor in plenty of time so that she can come to help her. Indian women most often give birth in their dwelling. The husband leaves beforehand and takes with him his boys as well as other male occupants. A feeling of tact for the woman in her most difficult hour prohibits male persons from being present; a sense of modesty advises her to be alone with a woman helper (120). Small girls are sent to

120. Hyades (q):190, 375 also mentions the latter reason: "Confinement takes place most often in the open. An instinctive feeling of modesty impels the women to undergo the suffering of cold rather than to suffer the presence of men and the promiscuity of the hut at the moment of their confinement" /translated from French/. He also says: "Mr. Bridges agrees

844 /703 cont./

that the men never assist at the confinement" /translated from French/. On the other hand, Hahn (a):805 maintains erroneously that "the husband is present, but all the other men must leave" /translated from French/.

women neighbors. Even at /704/ night everyone who is not supposed to be present leaves, provided there are other huts nearby. In case several families are occupying a single hut jointly, which was customary among the western group in winter (p. 31), the women helpers in a few minutes build near the dwelling a simple little hut, ëkëli, for the expectant mother, where she and her helpers await the approaching hour. It is much more convenient for her to leave alone than that the many other occupants of the hut be sent away (121). Soon after the confinement, on the second

121. Bridges once maintained erroneously: "Women never bear children in the wigwam but out of doors" /cited in English/ (VP:III, 118;1869). Later he (i):21 wrote somewhat more accurately: "Children were generally born in the open air, and this of necessity and from proper feeling, the wigwams occupied jointly by several families offered no privacy. The expectant mother with her nearest female friends withdrew" /cited in English/.

What Spegazzini (a):166 and Bove (e):158 say about this is true only under the conditions given above: "During pregnancy the woman takes some fox or wolf pelts and leaves her husband until she has given birth" /translated from Spanish/. And "when the great moment has come, they leave the hut in the company of their female friends, going to the nearest thicket where, away from the eyes of the curious, they bring the child into the world."

day at the latest, she comes back to the family hut with her newly born child. Such a little hut is regarded as a makeshift and is

/704 cont./

844 occupied only under the pressure of circumstances.

Sometimes the child announces itself while the family is
844 traveling in the canoe. As has been reported in Outes (g):55, she
551 tries to get to shore in time. If that is impossible, the child is simply born on the water. Bridges (a):182 also mentions that "children are sometimes born in canoes, they are then called, whether boy or girl, anookwilis" /cited in English/. This word is not given in BD, and I never heard it, but I did hear ūšipin, ūšipisin, ūšjāpisin, to which were sometimes added the masculine or feminine endings. For example, Santiago's name was ūšipisínčis kiltašáka, "one who was born away from the land, near the coast of kiltašáka." BD:105 gives ūsipisin, "a man who has no proper place of abode" /cited in English/. Only women who have already had children and know what to do would risk giving birth in the canoe. A woman giving birth for the first time is always kept in the hut by the other women for the period just before her delivery.

844 It is true that among the Yamana there are no professional midwives, the so-called wenamaastekaxípa, but some women do have the reputation of being good at this (122). They get this

122. Hyades (q):190 also mentions that occasionally individual women help the woman in labor, but not professionally: "There are no midwives" /translated from French/.

reputation because of their frequent assistance and personal skill; /705/ moreover, it is said that each of them has her own method, as well as many individual tricks, that distinguish one from another. In recent times Gertie has been regarded as especially reliable, and Nelly used the help of old Anita when each of her children was born. In general a woman will always be attended by the same midwife, because the latter has learned her physical characteristics from experience. Every Indian woman knows enough to give the young mother adequate help (123).

123. Hyades (q):375 confirms this absolutely: "All the women, even young girls, are adept at lending assistance at the confinement" /translated from French/.

/705 cont./

844 As a rule, there is only a single actual midwife, never more than two. If the woman in labor cannot obtain a female helper, her husband sometimes gives her some assistance by letting her lean against him, but he does not risk any actual manipulations. She helps by supporting herself with her hands and feet simultaneously. Otherwise she assumes a position which is comfortable for her and which makes possible the effective assistance of the midwife. She squats and spreads her legs wide apart, bracing herself with her hands and feet flat on the ground (124). The midwife squats behind

124. The Indian women, as Hyades (f):568 learned, "when they give birth take merely the squatting position which is their habitual way of sitting when they are in the hut" /translated from French/.

and against her, encircling her abdomen. She must form a strong support, for the expectant mother holds herself in a semi-upright position. When the pains begin, the midwife, groping with her hands, tries to determine the position of the child and to stimulate birth by a circular stroking of the abdomen with her hand flat. Meanwhile the upper back of the mother is braced against the breast of the kneeling midwife behind her; if the child is held back for a long time, the mother falls entirely on her back, with her outspread legs somewhat drawn up. The midwife now squats in front of her and continues stroking her abdomen with the palm of her hand. As soon as the child begins to appear, she carefully helps it, and with the last contraction of the uterus muscles, she catches it in her open hands.

Sometimes the so-called adopted mother (p. 511) performs this last-mentioned service. Basically, the woman first mentioned functions merely as the midwife, and further care of the newborn child is given by the adopted mother. Often both tasks are performed by one and the same woman.

[856] No matter what the arrangement is, when the child appears the helper is always very careful not to grasp it by its left arm or hand, but by the right. Sometimes it is hard to tell the difference, but unless this is done, the child would become left-handed and would be awkward in the use of the sling. Immediately this woman passes

/705 cont./

844 her flat hand over the entire body of the newborn /706/ child in order to clean it superficially. Continuing the stroking motion of her hand, she squeezes the blood out of the umbilical cord and cuts it with a sharp mussel shell about 12 centimeters from the belly. The two ends are tied with narrow tendons or with rush stalks. The after birth, jëkáluf, bits of blood, and the leather pieces soaked in blood are shoved into the open fire or the glowing ashes where they are destroyed. If there is no fire, they are buried (125). The čílēr

125. I did not know, as Hyades (q):191 maintains, that these articles were burned only before the advent of the missionaries and that since then they were covered with earth. The Indians told me emphatically that these things were not buried, but always destroyed in the fire. If they were buried in the earth, there is the danger that dogs would dig them out and eat them, which would make the woman forever barren.

/fine Berberis shavings/ with which the woman cleans herself is burned. Confinement is never without pain. Hahn (a):805 assures us: "The pains are generally very sharp, and the mother utters groans...exactly as among us" /translated from French/ (126).

126. Hahn (a):805 and Hyades (f):568, (q):190 describe the process of birth in detail.

We have reliable confirmation of the fact that among Fuegian women giving birth is almost without exception an easy process (127)

127. Spegazzini (a):166 maintains, along with Lovisato (b):150, that "the deliveries are easy" /translated from Italian/.

and that afterward there is no thought, so to speak, of care. "When the child comes into the world, the neighbors, if there are any, assist the mother, who almost immediately takes up her customary

/706 cont./

844 work, carrying about with her the little creature whom she protects as best she can" /translated from French/ (Martial:197). Hyades (q):190 says very emphatically: "Childbirth is easy among the Fuegian women" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, even in 845 earlier times there were occasionally difficult deliveries. In this connection Hahn (a):807 exaggerates slightly when, referring to Bridges, he says that "complications and abnormal positions are not rare in childbirth" /translated from French/.

When Adelheid's first child was born, it was a dangerous cross- 845 birth, and the assistants had great difficulty keeping mother and 842 child alive. Fearing that she would experience the same danger another time, she resorted to the preventive measure recommended to women who do not want any more children. She threw the placenta to the dogs, who devoured it completely. To prove how reliably effective this procedure is, the women constantly pointed to Adelheid who had not become pregnant again for almost two decades. Her husband, Santiago, was extremely worried about her for a long time, but he repeated what another man also told himself in a rare case of a difficult birth: "It is better that I give up having more children than that I lose my wife!" It is the husband himself who demands that the placenta be thrown to the dogs after a seriously difficult birth, or he does it himself, since he is called as soon as the woman seems to be in danger during labor. /707/ Sympathy impels him to this decision; he does not wish to expose his wife again to such pain or danger. Adelheid's sister, Elisa, had 845 trouble, more or less, with each of her six children, and twice she 143 had a miscarriage (p. 493). We probably should not overlook an inherited tendency in this case, for the third sister, Gertie, although she has had a few premature deliveries, has not carried a single healthy child for the normal period. No one will be able to determine whether European civilization has had a detrimental effect on these women. Their mother, who is still living, did not have such difficulties.

3. The Parents of the Newborn Child

844 As we have said, every Yamana woman gives birth in her own dwelling, if possible. She is assisted by an actual midwife and sometimes also by the adopted mother of the new baby. Her

/707 cont./

844 immediate surroundings are quiet; small children are either sent far away or held in check; finally, all the dogs are forcibly kept silent.

From the day of delivery both parents (p.495) must very conscientiously observe the regulations familiar to everyone. The mother refrains from taking any kind of nourishment for the entire day. This assures her of a good delivery and the future well-being of her child. For his part, the man may neither fell heavy wooden beams in the forest nor kill large game animals. He may neither break open the bones of birds to get out the marrow nor crush the shell of the sea urchin. In case he should fell decayed trees or split wood, his child would have an open wound on its breast. If he should break apart the wing bones of birds, the arms of his child would also break; if he should pluck out the feathers of a bird, his child would soon lose its hair. On the day of the birth he is just as
844 restricted in his choice of foods as his wife is on this and the follow-
262 ing days. She is permitted to eat again on the day after her confinement, but at first by no means everything. She limits herself to fish, as well as ẽ̄auf (Mytilus chilensis), kečõin (Mytilus edulis), and amijaku (Fissurella). She is not permitted the many other lower sea animals. These mussels must come from "good" places [in the magical sense], in other words, not from places where one suspects
[776 the lakūma /water spirit/ might be nor from places where there are
825] many cormorants and sea lions. It seems to me that the magical fear comes from the fact that these animals do not play a favorable role in mythology. A single species of duck, namely, Mareca sibilatrix, also belongs to the "good" things. On the other hand, the meat of the sea duck, deška (Tachyeres patachonicus), is forbidden. When things to be eaten are unavailable or not present
844 in sufficient quantities, the yékamuš /shaman/ must help out.
262 Stretching out both hands, he gathers up the "bad and harmful,"
783 /708/ holds it for a moment on his open palms and, with a strong puff of air from his mouth and a softly uttered "ft," blows it away. Now the food has been freed of everything "dangerous" and is no longer harmful.

851 Directly after the child has been separated from its mother, the woman who has been the midwife goes out of the hut and sends a message to the father by anyone who is available that a boy or a

/708 cont./

851 girl has arrived and that his wife is well. He receives the news with joy and satisfaction. Usually he still stays away for a time because the new baby must have further care; later on he returns to his family. It is a foregone conclusion that the parents warmly wel-
842 come each child (128). It is more as a rhetorical wish than for a

128. Hyades (q):376 mentions only briefly that Fuegian parents seem to have no preference for boys or girls.

conscious purpose that the father hopes for a boy and the mother for a daughter, unless the two have agreed on one or the other because all the rest of their children are of the opposite sex. Bridges (i):21 maintains, without qualification: "More pleasure was expressed at the birth of a son than of a daughter" /cited in English/; the reason he (a):182, 203 gives elsewhere is not convincing: "Boys are coveted as offspring...Boys are much preferred to girls as offspring, since they are a source of strength and protection when they grow up to their parents" /cited in English/. Twins, known as
845 wolakémen, must be regarded as an extraordinarily rare phenomenon; not a single one of the older people could remember a twin birth.

844 The newborn baby is first of all thoroughly washed (129).

129. Hahn (a):805 says briefly: "The newborn baby is immediately cleaned with fine wood shavings" /translated from French/. Bridges (a):181 is more explicit: "When the infant is born, the attending females take the child, wash it with cold water, and the soft scrapings of wood, which they also use as a towel" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):189 gives fewer details.

This is done by the adopted mother. She squats on the ground and places the baby on her upper thighs, holding it upright with both her hands. Several times she takes a mouthful of water, keeps it in her mouth for a few moments until it has become somewhat warm, and squirts it on the child like a shower spray. Progressively she

/708 cont./

844 rinses off the baby's entire body. With her hand flat she rubs the parts that she has covered with water and dries them immediately with a ball of čílěrǰ or with a handful of soft Sphagnum moss. She cleanses the eyes, ears, mouth, and nose with particular care. Now she lays the little one on the furred side of a particularly soft skin, usually fox or otter, on top of which has been strewn a thick layer of down. Wrapped in this, it rests until the mother, too, has washed herself.

846 Soon after her delivery she gets up from her bed and, /709/ alone or accompanied by the midwife, goes to the shore to wash in sea water. The mother steps into the water as far as possible and rubs herself thoroughly with her hands flat and with a ball of čílěrǰ or moss. The bath in sea water is regarded as necessary and good, but not a bath in a brook. That is why women do it to this day. The water is always cold, but the Indian women do not shy away from it, and for several days the young mother bathes once or several times a day. Hyades (q):192 observed "on the same day of her delivery the mother went alone to take four baths in the sea, one each hour, the first one four hours after her delivery" /translated from French/. He was also told by the same woman "that all Fuegian women do this after their confinement" /translated from French/ (130). After each bath she dries herself

130. He describes (loc. cit.) very accurately the many details of a woman's bathing and washing. This was in winter: "The temperature of the air was then +2.7 degrees, that of the sea water +4.7 degrees; the wind was strong, north-northwest, 5 meters per second" /translated from French/.

well with čílěrǰ and returns to the hut.

Often when the mother goes down to the water to bathe, she is accompanied by the so-called adopted mother, who carries the newborn baby in her arms. Instead of washing the baby in the manner described above, she dips it into the sea water (131) for a moment

131. Bove (e):158 reports the following,

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and Dabbene (b):190 repeats it verbatim: "The newborn babies are immediately bathed in the sea; the poor creatures, of course, often pay for this superstition with their lives." Contrary to this latter assertion is the fact, according to the memory of my informants, that not a single newborn child died in this bath. It is held in the water for only a second or two. Other travelers also mention this bath, without definitely describing the real facts. Bridges (a):182, for instance, says: "Children, generally within a few days of their birth, are dipped in the cold sea, from a superstition that it makes them grow well" /cited in English/. Compare Bridges (h):208.

and quickly dries it off with čílěrž . Hurriedly she carries it back to the hut and wraps it well in a soft skin. I was told: "The bath in sea water immediately after delivery is very good for mother and child, and that is why the Yamana have always kept it up!" It is only on an extraordinarily cold day that a woman will sometimes omit it (132). When the ablutions are over, the child is

132. Hyades (q):193 confirms that for several days the young mother takes at least one bath a day, unless the weather is unusually cold. For example, the woman mentioned above did not go into the water on the fourth day "because of the cold, the Fuegians say. It is, as a matter of fact, the coldest day of the year (-7.3°), and a thick blanket of snow covers the ground" /translated from French/.

nursed for the first time. After that the mother rests for a while; sometimes she herself undertakes to clean the hut and set it in order.

845 All traces of the delivery are destroyed in the fire. A stillborn or aborted child is regularly destroyed in a blaze outside the dwelling.

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845 The Yamana say that the reason for the rare cases of premature births is great carelessness on the part of the pregnant woman in running and working or a heavy blow and shock /710/ in falling. We have already mentioned on page 491 when and how voluntary abortion is practiced. A defective baby is immediately destroyed by the mother (133). A crippled child, unfit for life, who is born alive is

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133. The following description by Bridges (i):21 fits here: "Unnatural births were always destroyed and wisely so. For unimportant defects, or such as proved themselves afterwards as for instance deafness, no one was destroyed but only for enormities" /cited in English/.

not killed, but they consciously devote less attention to caring for him, hoping that he will soon die. Such an unfortunate creature is not directly exposed to danger or hunger, but inconspicuously and purposely neglected.

846 Without exception the Fuegian women who have been confined permit themselves only a short rest, one day at the most (134).

134. Hahn (a):807 confirms that the young mother "resumes her work the same day" /translated from French/. It is well known that the Selk'nam women are also capable of this (Vol. I, 366).

They feel no need for it, and furthermore they are told that they should move about and be active as soon as possible. Since giving

844 birth does not cause Indian women any difficulties, it occasionally happens that a woman in an advanced state of pregnancy has her child while at work. For example, she might go into a nearby thicket to gather wood and reappear in her hut after about three hours displaying her newborn baby. Only a few years ago in Puerto Harberton an Indian woman went into the large woodshed of the farm there. After a good two hours she returned to her family, holding a bundle of wood in one arm and, in the other, the child

/710 cont./

to whom she had meanwhile given life without any outside help. In July, 1923, Fred Lawrence told me of another Indian woman who recently had her child as she was fetching water. She called two women to help, and they attended her there on the bank of the brook. Afterward they all went to her hut with the newborn baby (135). Finally, as we have already mentioned (p. 500), her

> 135. Segguzzini (a):166 himself saw Indian women "a quarter of an hour after the event going about their work of rowing, gathering shellfish, lifting loads, as though nothing had happened" /translated from Spanish/. Bove (a):158 reports in a similar vein, and Bridges (a):183 adds: "The mother almost directly after her child's birth resumes her various duties of fishing in the canoe, gathering shell-fish, fetching water, etc." /cited in English/.

own husband must help the woman somewhat if delivery takes place in the canoe and there is no female attendant.

As on the day of confinement, there are similar rules of abstinence for both parents on the subsequent days. The rules we have just listed (p. 502) must be conscientiously observed until the child's umbilical cord drops off, even for a period of three months if a couple is having the first child. In fact, the parents may eat certain fish only after the child has entered its third year. They are permitted these and other things sooner, however, if the yékamuf, with the power peculiar to him, has removed the "evil" from them /711/ He must do this separately for each pair of parents. During these days mussels are practically the only food for father and mother (p. 503). Other travelers have neither observed the couvade nor understood it as such. Bridges (a):183 reports merely: "The mother and father of a newly born child are called yimbéna. They are both careful as regards their food, thinking some kinds are hurtful to the child. They generally also keep quiet for a week or two after the child's birth" /cited in English/(136).

> 136. Hahn (a):806 writes: "After the confinement,

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the mother...enters the period of 'gimbana,' which lasts five to six months and during which she submits to a special regime and does not have relations with her husband....He is also 'gimbana,' but to a lesser degree than the mother" /translated from French/. This description is accurate if we reduce the period to two months. Lovisato (b):150 refers in a general way to a food taboo for the woman on special occasions. Martial:197 correctly says, "the parents, after the birth of the infant, abstain from certain foods which could adversely influence its health" /translated from French/.

Wieghardt:42, also, and with him Martial:198 point to the duty of abstinence from certain foods, but I was unable to check the accuracy of this: "It is customary for the mother to bathe in the sea before eating certain foods" /translated from Spanish/. I only know that for a few days after confinement the young mother must bathe in the sea (p. 505). The husband avoids sexual intercourse with his wife, at least during the first six weeks after her confinement, the majority of the men even somewhat longer (137).

137. I read Cooper's:155 assertion to my informants, namely, that "a Yahgan mother must abstain from marital intercourse for five or six months" /cited in English/. They laughed heartily over this. Fred Lawrence also contradicted it and pointed out that in some families children are 11 or 12 months apart.

It is extraordinarily strange that among the Yamana there are rules for a true men's childbed, of which I did not discover a trace among their two neighbors. There are references to this custom in Despard (b):698 and in Bridges. The former mentions: "The

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711 people have an idea that if the father sits not still for three days after the birth of his infant, it will not survive" /cited in English/. On August 16, 1861, Bridges wrote: "It is considered by them proper that a man whose wife has lately given birth to a child should abstain from throwing stones, either by hand, or by sling, at birds" /cited in English/ (VSA XII, 275,1861). If he should do this, his child would become bald, as we learned. A man who has just become a father stays in his hut all day and abstains from the foods that are forbidden. He eats very moderately and abstains from his customary work. Although he does not pretend to be sick, nevertheless he is relieved of his daily duties and squats idly beside the fire. Neighbors and relatives provide food for him and his family since they require little during these days. The man truly acts as though his being away from the hut and the exertion of any kind of work would seriously endanger him and his family. He /712/ does not do anything directly for the newborn child; it is left entirely to the mother. He observes the accepted rules "because from olden times that is the way it must be, and otherwise the child would be unhappy or deformed!" As much as possible, of course, the family also avoids distant and taxing canoe trips, probably also in order to protect the newborn baby as much as possible. The father may use his hands, but not tools and weapons.

Since the men enjoy working, they resume their daily occupations soon after the birth of their second and each subsequent child, but just to make sure, they have a shaman exorcise all evil. In the case of the first child every man very closely observes the prescribed rules. An occasional idler takes the birth of a subsequent child as an excuse and considers only himself for an unduly long time, to the disadvantage of his family and the chagrin of the neighborhood. The neighbors, however, do not cancel their help, but continue to give it out of sympathy for the mother, since no one feels any responsibility to support a negligent man taking his ease. Although he pretends and consoles himself with the illusion that he is obeying the strict regulation, his neighbors have a different opinion. Caldeno was a horrible example of this so-called obedience to the regulations. He concealed his laziness under the pretense of shielding the baby from harm. He was 28 years old and already had seven children; after the birth of each of them he continued his idle ways for several weeks to such an extent that the other families talked about it very disparagingly.

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In contrast to the dutiful inactivity of the father immediately after the birth of the child is the industry that every young mother must pursue. The woman who is giving birth for the first time may permit herself some rest for a few hours, but after that she, too, must do what mothers of several children do automatically, namely, busy herself briskly and assiduously in her household. It is said: "That is good for mother and child!" For a few days she must be very reserved: she must act withdrawn and thoughtful, speak little, keep her eyes fixed to the ground when she walks, as though in mental concentration, and avoid visits to other huts. Older women anxiously watch over and care for a woman who has just had her first child so that she does not thoughtlessly offend against the ancient regulations and thus make her child unhappy. Other mothers, after a confinement late in life, are entrusted to their daily work by their daughters. Even today, parents are very punctilious about observing the regulations pertaining to the first few days after confinement (138). During this time they are relieved

138. Hahn (p.84) reports a few special details: "The Indians say that a dozen ol-tanes will kill the babies whose parents have not obeyed the laws of the 'gardens.' If they are male, the children will have a tooth inflammation (or something similar)" /translated from French/.

to by the designation given above (p. 90), [illegible], according to BD:445, "the state of having a young child or offspring /711/ (used specially of women and men, but also of animals), referring to the time when the child is weak and requires constant attention" /cited in English/. The Fonglans live in the firm conviction that all warnings old farmers are sooner or later realized if the parents are guilty of transgressions against the [illegible] rules of conduct.

We have earlier (p. 100) emphasized clearly enough the difference between the actual midwife and what I call the adopted or foster mother. In August, 1955, Sally and Mary told me in detail about this arrangement. Among the Tongans it is the custom that a woman who is a friend of the expectant mother takes charge

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of the little creature as though it were her child. The friend usually comes to the mother voluntarily and announces her wish; the pregnant woman now to it that at her confinement an adopted mother has actually been agreed upon for the child. She need not be personally present at the birth, but she is almost never absent. Every newborn child, whether boy or girl, is without exception placed under the protection of a foster mother, *ahinkalowaylin*—the husband, known as *ahinkalowan*. Marriage enters into a certain relationship to that child, but does not play a noteworthy part. We might best characterize the position and significance of the *ahinkalowaylin* if we speak of her as the second mother of the child. She concerns herself with it and cares for it from the first day of its life, sometimes given the mother advice even before confinement, is helpful to her and the child, and stands both during and after the confinement. She follows the growth of the child with attentive devotion, visits it often, and sends it presents. As soon as it is old enough to understand, the child is taught to be obedient and devoted to its foster mother, just as to its own mother. This foster mother has, so to speak, more rights and influence than the father. Her voice has much weight in important decisions. When the time approaches for the obligatory youth initiation, she makes the final decision; when her foster child is considering marriage, she, sometimes without the parents' knowledge, have the veto. The relation of the foster mother to her ward is always intimate, and every woman is very much concerned with the duties she has voluntarily chosen.

By giving the child an *ahinkalowaylin*, they desiderium with to make his program, training, and protection secure against any emergency. In Tierra del Fuego it occasionally happens that the dangerous way of life of the parents results in an accident, and they are killed before their children reach maturity. It is true that relatives must take care of orphans, no matter how many there are, and most families are large, but the institution we speak of, in which each child has its foster mother, often avoids anxiety when a child is orphaned, no matter what happens (138). They do not

138. Martial 138 is without doubt referring to this when he says, "Tomorrow the child is adopted at the moment of its birth by some

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> friend who acts as a sort of godmother, fulfilling this function very well" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):375 expresses himself more explicitly, saying that certain women "will later also be called 'mother' by the small children whom she helped bring into the world" /translated from French/.

for childless women adopt several children of one mother.

The relationship between the two /714/ is never dissolved throughout their lifetimes. When the child is married, the foster mother continues to champion and help him. If the child has lost his parents, the foster mother lives nearby or even in the same hut. Not infrequently the adoptedwoman assumes the sponsorship in the Fahgan for her foster child, which will more closely tie the two together.

4. Treatment of the Infant

Neighbors tell each other about the birth of a child as a joyous event. Some women hasten to the place out of curiosity and discuss the process in great detail with the mother; they like to give advice and are willing to perform any service. Above all, the parents themselves outdo each other in demonstrations of love for their child. All observers agree with Bridges (b):288 that "children are the object of tender concern" /translated from Spanish/. The father also loves to play with his little darling, and although he does not know how to be nearly as tender as his wife, he is not surpassed by her when it comes to security and personal happiness. Anxious about the welfare of the child, the father sometimes gives her advice about care and nourishment; occasionally both parents discuss the present condition of their child and its future. They conscientiously avoid everything that might harm it, and they guard it solicitously day and night. In general, the husband does not criticize the way his wife handles the baby, for he can rely on her; after all, she is well advised by neighbor women, and he follows

/714 cont./

854 her suggestions if it is required for the child's welfare. His wife becomes even dearer to him because of her efforts and care for the child, and from one confinement to the next he appreciates her more. This increases the regard for her among the whole family.

Once more we should like to emphasize that children are the 854 joy of their parents' life. This is what Hyades (p):331 means when 201 he says: "Parents love their children very much" /translated from French/. His assertion, "They caress them very rarely, practically never /translated from French/, is, however, false. True, in another place Hyades (f):586 is right when he says, "they do not know how to kiss" /translated from French/, but parents frequently do press their mouths or their entire faces against the head and face of the infant, pick it up with both hands under its shoulders and lift it high, pass their fingers playfully over its entire body when it lies on its back, and finally provide it with all kinds of happy visual impressions by means of pantomime. They also give their darling a real kiss, ūpášu, on the /715/ cheeks, which has been customary since ancient times between parents and their newborn child -- not, however, between adults. By and large, they dandle and play with their small child exactly the way European parents do. With them, however, all this goes on soundlessly, and they are less tempestuous in their caresses. For the sake of the baby, the parents carefully observe all the restrictions imposed on them before and after confinement (140). The death of a child is viewed as an irreplace-

140. Bridges (a):183 reports: "Should a sucking child fall sick, its sickness is sure to be attributed to something the mother has eaten, who, under these circumstances, does not eat whale blubber" /cited in English/.

able loss.

736 If a mother dies soon after her delivery, another woman will 854 be most willing to take charge of the orphaned baby immediately. Almost always this is done by one of the closest relatives, usually an aunt. The father actually does not have to bother about finding a nurse himself. Purely out of sympathy for the orphan, many women vie for it. No matter who takes it, it is just as safe and well

/715 cont./

736 854 protected in her hands as in those of its mother (141).

141. Lovisato (b):150 simply repeats what Bridges (a):183 observed long before: "If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/.

142 Occasionally it has been maintained that the children are conspicuously small at birth, and Bridges (i):21 writes: "The children are decidedly small at birth and to this fact may be chiefly attributed the mother's immunity from danger" /cited in English/. Bove (e):158 repeats this. Nothing justifies this assumption, and it is a fact that Bridges was by no means in a position to prove it. The color of the skin of the newborn child is considerably lighter than that of adults and later becomes somewhat darker. Fitz-Roy (a):176 says about the Yamana and Halakwulup in general: "Little children are nearly of the same hue as their parents' skin is when cleaned; but infants are, for a few days, rather lighter coloured" [143] /cited in English/. The slight differences in the skin color of newborn children are hereditary.

143 There is a story dealing with the external appearance of the little ones, which old Čenesin, father of Chris, sometimes told young women; "A long time ago a woman became pregnant. She was delivered extraordinarily quickly, and the child left the mother's womb without the slightest hindrance. Immediately it stretched its limbs, stood up by itself, and walked around a bit, for it was strong and sturdy enough to do this. Immediately after that it hastened back into its mother's womb. Thus the belly of that woman grew big. But soon the child again left its mother's womb, stood up, and walked about freely for a little while; then it hastened back in again. Motionlessly the mother lay there and grew big; she did not know what was happening to her. Since the child came out again and once more returned, she grew ever /716/ weaker. Meanwhile the child had grown and become larger, so she, too, swelled constantly. Finally she died as she once more lay on her sleeping place near the fire. At once she dissolved into nothingness, as though she had never consisted of flesh and bones. --

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113 I myself saw this mother (142), so I give you this advice: if at

142. This expression is, of course, not to be taken literally; it means, in the Yamana way of speaking, that this man had a very lively image of the chief character in the story.

birth a child comes out of the mother's womb very quickly and immediately begins to walk, you must kill it without delay. Otherwise it will hurry back into its mother's belly which will swell to such a size that the mother will die."

854 Frequent ablutions are considered absolutely necessary for the
515 infant; sometimes a dip in sea water is substituted for them. Soon after birth they are performed with brown swamp water which the mother usually has fetched by some other person. She places the baby upright in front of her, fills her mouth again and again with this water, warming it a little, and gradually sprays the baby's entire body. She gently dries off her little darling with a soft, nurfy mass or with a ball of moss, both of which are taken out of a bog and squeezed to remove the large amounts of water they contain. The purpose of this treatment with the bundle of moss is not to dry the skin, but to stimulate it with rubbing. After the first two weeks the use of bog water is no longer necessary; sea water will suffice from now on.

We must appreciate the fact that our Indian women, who apparently do not have an eye for the physical cleanliness of their larger children, take so much conscientious care of their infants that they repeat the ablutions at least once a day. They always warm the water in the mouth and squirt it on the body of the little ones. With the palm of the hand they gently rub the separate parts, and this is justifiably regarded as a beneficial massage. Several times in succession the woman will hold her open hand over the fire to warm it, and she continues the rub until her hand becomes cool. If she undertakes the bath on the shore where she does not want to start a fire for those few minutes, she breathes into her loosely clenched fist, warming the inside of her hand somewhat (143). Even

143. Hyades (f):571 observed the same procedure.

/716 cont./

854 when the child is dipped into the water all at once, she never for-
515 gets to rub it off with her hand flat (144).

144. A few Europeans at least mention the fact that the newborn baby is repeatedly dipped in the water. First of all Bridges (i):21: "Within a few days after birth the child was dipped in the sea, with the idea of strengthening it" /cited in English/. Not only Lovisato (b):150, but also Hahn (a):806 evidently rely on him, for the latter writes: "Soon after birth, the child is dipped in sea water or in fresh water. This washing by immersion is repeated up to twice a day for one or two months" /translated from French/.

Summer and winter the child must submit to the ablutions, often even out in the open. Afterward it is always safely /717/ wrapped in a soft skin in which it is warmed for at least half an hour. For about ten weeks the young mother carries out the ablutions very conscientiously, after that she allows some interruptions, and finally the six-months-old child is only rarely rubbed off.

854 The Yamana mother makes a sleeping place for her infant in
513 almost exactly the same way her neighbor on Isla Grand does (Vol. I, 372). If she cannot hold the baby in her arms, she spreads a soft otter or guanaco pelt on the ground with the leather side on top. Over this she spreads a layer of down from wild geese and lays the child on its back. She lifts up the edges of the piece of leather and folds them over each other, so that the bundle is loose; there is no strapping of any kind. The infant stays this way hardly more than an hour, for with its movements it gradually loosens the sheath and is again exposed. Meanwhile it has become thoroughly warm, for it is almost always only after it has been washed that it is bundled up. Usually it sits quite naked on brush or on a piece of leather. The infant is not given clothes or diapers.

854 If the mother's hands are not busy with other work, she na-
turally has her darling on her lap. She squats on the ground with her legs bent, and he sits or lies between them. She usually

/717 cont./

854 supports the baby's head with her cupped hand. She even has him lying in front of her like this when she paddles her canoe. Usually the baby sits with his back leaning close against her, and she lightly presses her folded hands against his stomach.

The reasons why our Indian women always carry a child on their backs are obvious. They want to have their hands and arms free for their work. They carry their infants about with them wherever they go because they do not want to be separated from them and sometimes there is no other person to care for them. Actually, it is a rare sight to meet a young or middle-aged woman without a child on her back. If she has put it down for a few minutes, it is crawling about on the ground near her. With astonishing dexterity she makes all kinds of maneuvers, bends low in gathering mussels and berries, stretches up when she breaks off dry branches, exerts herself strenuously when she pulls the canoe up on the beach, winds her way laboriously through brush, and even climbs over tree trunks lying in the tangled thicket of the forest. While all this is going on, the child sits securely on her back.

Every woman with a baby sometimes uses a wide back-cape or a piece of leather which she can put over the entire upper part of her body. With her right and left hands she grasps the little left and right hands of the child, and holding both arms parallel, she draws her right arm over her head and settles the child on her back. Either the two hold hands or the child places its little arms around the neck of the mother. Then she draws the back-cape over the child or wraps him in her own fur cloak, /718/ in which, however, he has just as little support as under the back-cape (145).

145. This is to be emphasized in contrast to Fitz-Roy (a):138, who erroneously maintains: "The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an infant" /cited in English/.

He hangs by his own little arms and sits straddling the back of the mother (146). Occasionally the mother uses a square piece of

146. Despard (b):698 writes clearly on this subject: "Mothers carry their children

/718 cont./

854 dangling on their backs; and only supported by holding them by their wrists in front of them" /cited in English/.

leather, the sides of which are about 40 centimeters long, with short straps knotted to the four corners. After she has lifted the child onto her back, she places this piece over it and ties the straps in front of her chest. When she straightens up, the child sits securely and lets his legs dangle down on either side of her, encircling her neck with his little arms.

The child must, of course, submit to all the effects of the weather (147), although in heavy rain and strong wind the mother

147. Hyades (f):572 expresses his astonishment thus: "The Fuegian babies are never clothed. Thus they brave the inclemencies of the weather, uniquely protected by contact with the mother's warmth" /translated from French/.

remains in the hut as much as possible. Thus, the children, from the first days of their lives, become accustomed to the rigors and severities of their homeland. Nevertheless, it is striking that chil-
[165] dren under a year old rarely die (148). Perhaps the babies' freedom

148. Bridges (a):181 confirms: "It is a general custom with these people to bear their children out of doors, be the weather fine or inclement, even though it is snowing or raining, in winter and summer" /cited in English/. Compare Lovisato (b):146.

of movement is advantageous. As we have said, they are permitted to crawl about on the ground for many hours, completely naked and quite unimpeded, or they may lie on their backs kicking merrily as long as they like. On the canoe trip, however, they must forgo this. Any kind of baby carriage is unknown to the Yamana; it would be useless, since during the day the children spend a great deal of time in the fragile vessel.

854 145 Just as on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 376), the babies of the entire

/718 cont./

854 Cape Horn Archipelago acknowledge the loving and sensible treat-
145 ment given them by almost never crying. This strange fact was observed by various travelers. Spegazzini (a):167, for example, reports: "I noted that the children there never cry; they are always happy and contented, whether it is cold or hot, with their completely Adamite clothing" /translated from Spanish/ (149).

149. Hyades (q):193 says of his observations of a new living creature on its first day: "The baby rarely cried and not for long"; the mother "calmed her baby when it cried with little pats on the back" /translated from French/.

The Fuegian little ones really have no reason for making the whole neighborhood aware of their discontent or displeasure by howling and crying, for they come into the world healthy and are not hindered in their movements in the fresh air; they are also abundantly nourished and given all kinds of attention. /719/ Other factors, however, may play a part here; I am thinking primarily of an effective, unconscious influence of the environment. One should visualize how deathly quiet the whole family is in the canoe while they stalk game and steer in its direction. All the persons in the boat are breathlessly attentive until they have reached their booty. Even the low cry of an infant would spoil their success. How the motionlessness of the adults is able to hold the child in check is not easy to explain, but it cannot be denied. A baby that is ill or not sufficiently fed, however, makes itself known loudly enough. Finally we must remember that the Yamana in general are a taciturn and quiet lot.

853 Every Fuegian mother regards nursing as a duty to be taken for
147 granted. What old Luisa impressed upon me in 1920 was later repeatedly confirmed. All the women emphasize that shortly be-
262 fore and long after confinement they must eat chiefly Mytilus mussels; otherwise their milk would be worthless, it would be less nourishing, and their babies would cry all night long. On the Cape Horn Archipelago it is unknown for a mother not to have enough milk, and Hahn (a):806 assures us that "all mothers are abundantly provided with milk" /translated from French/. The child announces
853 when he is hungry by restless movements of his head and his whole

/719 cont./

853 body. The mother supports the baby with her lower arm, and with the cupped hand of her other arm she sometimes inclines his little head against her breast. To begin with, she puts her index finger into the baby's mouth and then immediately shoves her nipple in. The Fuegian little ones suck with the same eagerness as their European counterparts (150). A woman who has given birth

150. Hyades (q):194 once observed a young mother on the fifth day after her confinement press a few drops of milk out of her breast and let them fall into the fire. In July, 1924, Fred Lawrence assured me that this was an isolated act on the part of the woman.

for the first time learns from her women neighbors how often during the day and for how long she should nurse her child. A year-old child who can stand up alone often reaches with his little hand for his mother's breast when she is squatting on the ground, and he drinks standing up. All Fuegian women nurse their little ones for a long time. Bridges (a):183 asserts that "children are not weaned
853 early. It often happens that two children of different births are
862 being suckled at the same time" /cited in English/. On the average, they are not weaned until their second year, depending on whether the mother can also feed the youngest which has meanwhile arrived (151).

151. Despard (b):698 exaggerates absurdly in his assertion that children are nursed by their mothers "even to six years of age" /cited in English/. Hahn (a):806 correctly says that they "nurse the infants until the age of two and sometimes a child is not weaned until the appearance of another who succeeds him at the breast" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):195 increases this to three years.

862 Naturally, they also teach the child, after about four months, to take a pacifier as well as its mother's breast, so that it will

/719 cont./

862 gradually /720/grow accustomed to another diet. Such a pacifier, ušlēmēški, is nothing more than a piece of fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, ālakuš (Tachyeres brachypterus), as long as a finger and thick enough so that the child cannot swallow it. The fatty tissue of this duck is chosen because it is particularly tasty and full of liquid. Before it is given to the child, it is roasted at the fire to a light brown. It is replaced at least once a day. The babies do not present a very clean appearance with this pacifier, because the liquid fat smears the entire face, chest, and both little hands, but there is nothing better to be had in Tierra del Fuego. In later months the baby is given a juicy little piece of meat of this same duck, the size of a finger and slightly roasted. This is the only baby food, for it is scarcely possible to obtain milk from a guanaco, and there are no other milk-giving animals. Like their neighbors on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 378), the Yamana women of today cannot decide to give their darlings the milk of cows or goats or the condensed milk introduced by the Whites.

853 The Yamana take it for granted that only the mother nurses her own child. It would never occur to her to place the child at
736 the breast of another woman. Of course, if she is constantly sick and incapable of nursing, or if she dies, the child is taken by another woman and she alone feeds it. Nelly told me: "It is not good for the child to drink alternately from this or that woman." Every Indian woman, however, is glad to help out in an emergency, especially if the baby suddenly becomes an orphan (152), and, as

> 152. This alone is the meaning of Bridges' (i):21 and (h):208 words: "In the absence of the mother any other woman would feed the child rather than let it suffer" /cited in English/.

Dabbene (b):190 quite rightly says: "If the mother dies, some woman friend of hers assumes responsibility for the orphan" /translated from Spanish/.

862 Long before the final weaning takes place, the child sucks only occasionally and is nourished chiefly with the meat-pacifiers mentioned above. Then, as Nelly confessed to me, the mother smears her breast thickly with whale blubber, the taste of which is very

/720 cont./

862 disgusting to the baby, and after that it stays away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /sic/, fish, and berries" /cited in English/ (153), but for a long time the chief food

153. Hyades (q):195 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women soon commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked mussels, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the roasted fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, álakuš. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

271 The young mother does not give the newborn child water from a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds.
853 The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Punta Remolino. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from
[753] a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such matters than my countrymen!"

231 In Hahn (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs" /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with
827 the physiological connection between conception and nursing in
833 the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

/721 cont./

827 one of the few days when she is not nursing her child (154), some-
833

154. Contrary to certain illusions that sexual intercourse ceases until after the last child has been weaned, Hyades (q):195 establishes in detail "that from the second month after confinement, intercourse is resumed between the spouses" /translated from French/. There may be other reasons why sometimes, not "often," as Hahn (a):805 writes, "several years go by between the first pregnancy and the next" /translated from French/.

times even during the third month after confinement.

846 On page 501 we described how the baby's umbilical cord is tied by the Fuegians. The mother is very careful about the umbilical cord so that it does not break off prematurely. In the case of a woman who had been delivered, Hyades (q):194 observed on the third day: "The cord is dried and no longer held to the umbilicus except by a thread-like stalk. The mother has tied it today at its free end with a bit of thread, the other end of which is attached to a little band of fabric fastened around the right leg of the child" /translated from French/. During the night of the third to fourth day, the umbilical cord dropped off, and when Hyades, who had requested it, asked about it, he was told that it had been thrown into the fire. This, in my opinion, was only an excuse to put him off, for, as a rule, every mother catches the umbilical cord, kúfu, when it falls off, wraps it around her finger, keeps it for a few days until it is dry, and then hangs this ringlet on a necklace so that she will not lose it. It is not exactly customary to display the umbilical cord conspicuously, but if the mother wears a necklace containing the ringlet no one seems surprised. /722/ The mother fastens the insignificant little thing to a necklace, which she most safely keeps in her leather bag, chiefly so that she will not lose it (155). When the child is about four years old, he must

155. Among the Halakwulup there is a custom that the father wears the umbilical cord of his most recent child on a string around his neck

/722 cont./

846 where it can be easily seen. It is supposed to remind him that mother and child still need special consideration.

catch the little tree runner, tĕčikášina (Aphrastura spinicauda), which often visits the dwelling out of curiosity. The mother then gives the child its own umbilical cord, and it must put this little ring around the neck of the bird, which flies away with it. This custom is meant to show everyone with what love and care the mother can keep such an intimate little thing and that therefore she is capable of lavishing incomparably more care and attachment on the child itself (156).

[171] 156. I pointed out an almost identical custom among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 377).

856 The women of the Cape Horn Archipelago, like the Selk'nam women (Vol. I, 372), give their newborn babies a sort of stroking treatment. They call it wíša, meaning "to form the body of the child." From the first day they strive to give the child a beautiful, well-proportioned form by stretching out and adjusting the limbs and by stroking and gently massaging the entire body. Almost any woman, but usually the adopted mother (p. 512), puts the various parts of arms and legs into position, strokes them lengthwise, gives them direction, puts the little body and head level, and, as it were, models the whole figure. The other part of the treatment consists of a gentle stroking of the individual areas of the body with the woman's flattened hand, without actually massaging. In long sweeps, the woman strokes the arms and legs, presses all around the joints with the palm of her hand, rubs all sides of the torso with a circular motion, and finally takes the little head in her cupped, ceaselessly stroking hands. Furthermore she handles the legs and feet, arms and hands, ears and eyelids, lips and chin, neck and nipples as though she were obliged to give all of them definite direction. The woman obviously enjoys this and never tires of repeating this stroking treatment daily. The child's own mother sees to it that it is not omitted a single day if possible, and she herself carries it out again and again if a neighbor or relative is not available to do it. Its purpose is to help the child to grow

/722 cont./

856 properly, to become well-proportioned, and to develop a beautiful figure.

856 That this treatment of the infant is not without a tinge of
789 magic may be seen from the way it is concluded. As soon as a woman ceases the prolonged stroking, she clenches her hands and puts her fists to her mouth so that the bent thumbs touch her lips. With a sharp thrust she extends her arms out in front of her and opens her fists, palms forward and fingers outstretched. At the same time she expels her breath in a sharp "pš," as though the "unbeautiful, ugly, /723/ deformed" had been gathered together with the hands and were now being blown away. One sees this motion being practiced a great deal by the yékamuš.

856 In this wiša process every woman is, of course, extremely gentle and sensitive; she is careful not to press on the fontanel, auyatša, which she knows to be a very sensitive spot. For about three weeks the new infant must submit to this forming, stroking, and arranging of his little body. It causes him not the slightest discomfort.

The following belongs in the category of superstition. When
835 the sea duck, dēška (Tachyeres patachonicus), flies over the hut,
854 all the occupants are startled, for they are afraid that it will take
714 away the "spirit," that is, the vitality of the children. The adults hasten to cover all the children with pieces of leather and, with outstretched arms, they grope through the air, as though they were trying to hold back "the spirit" of the children. As though they had gathered it up in the air, they draw their arms in again and make a proffering and throwing motion toward the children, at the same time uttering a long-drawn-out "š." It is well known that immediately after birth the parents may not eat the meat of dēška, otherwise the life of the child is endangered (p. 503).

854 Most of the day the babies move freely or lie in the mother's lap. With their little hands they touch and grasp everything they can reach. They are given individual small stones and sticks, mussel shells, and little twigs that happen to lie nearby, but the Yamana do
[524] not make actual toys. Perhaps it is too much trouble for them always to take along and carefully store toys, no matter how simple. It seems to me that Yamana babies, compared to those on Isla Grande, are much quieter and much less inclined to play. True, the mother puts all kinds of small necklaces around her darling, in order to adorn

/723 cont./

854 him, and she also paints him just for fun. All this, however, has nothing to do with playthings. She dandles him and plays with him, devotes all her free time to him, and protects him carefully at night when he is lying beside her. She also addresses him and converses with him, but far less and more softly than a European mother does. There are no actual cradle songs, but a woman who [533] loves to sing sometimes begins a simple folksong, pasána.

With the definite love for children characteristic of our Yamana it is not surprising that every neighbor woman inquires explicitly about all the little ones in her vicinity. She gladly lends a hand wherever her services are desired or needed. Hence every young mother as long as she is taking care of an infant has several women helpers who are gladly at her disposal. She can count on them if she or her darling is sick, if she is temporarily incapable of working, or if her time is completely taken up by a special activity, for example, in the čiexaus. It is very seldom that /724/ a mother will let a neighbor take her baby outside the hut, for she would almost expire with longing. Among themselves, the women discuss in detail how they can best serve the growth and well-being of their children. A woman is happy to take the child out of its mother's arms to fondle and pet it. She leads it up and down with both hands and tries to entertain it with all kinds of innocent surprises. She also rocks it gently in her arms, rhythmically repeating the words "huš, huš ..." in a monotone.

The Fuegian women are good mothers who gladly make sacrifices for their children. They far outdo many European women in sincere love (157) and reliable care for their babies. I am

157. Bridges (i):21 confirms this: "Mothers of young children tend them most carefully, and give themselves up to their maternal duties much more entirely than is the case with most civilized people." Even someone like Spegazzini (a):166 gives them the following honorable recommendation: "Maternal love is, deeply rooted, and although... there are no manifestations of love, neither kisses nor caresses, nevertheless it is very apparent from

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> the concern and pleasure of the fathers and mothers in adorning and taking good care of their little ones" /translated from Spanish/. Actually the parents often kiss and caress the baby with pleasure (p. 514).

constantly reminded of the unusual, almost uncontrolled pleasure of several Indian women who occasionally came to Punta Remolino. The Lawrence family there had a Spaniard as a cook, whose young wife one day had her first child. She handled it so awkwardly and clumsily that the Indian women refrained from laughing heartily only because they pitied the child, but among themselves they quite frankly discussed how much better they could handle a new-born baby. Nelly used this as an example to emphasize that in such important matters her country-women had incomparably more thorough experience and "the Whites could learn a great deal from Yamana women about how to treat a baby!"

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5. Infanticide

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In view of what has been reliably reported about the love for children among the Yamana, it is apparent that there is no place among these people for intentional and frequent infanticide. Not a single European can prove it by having been an eye-witness to this act, and Hyades (p):331 denies any intentional infanticide with the following brief sentence: "Infanticide is not customary" /translated from French/. It is only Bridges who made statements on this subject, and a few travelers (158), such as Dabbene (a):63 and

158. Cooper:171 mentions the various citations.

(b):190, repeated his words. As early as 1866 he maintained: "It is very seldom a young infant is killed unless under the following circumstances: Should the mother's husband have deserted her, the child is then often killed by its mother. Also those children that have any great imperfections, or are otherwise much deformed, are sure to be killed very shortly after their birth. Also should a

/754 cont./

847 woman bear all daughters, the youngest is /755/ sometimes killed" /cited in English/. These reports originated at a time when Bridges did not yet have sufficient insight into the social conditions of the Yamana. Although he later repeats certain details (159).

> 159. For instance, he (b):208 and (i):21 merely says: "Deformed babies are destroyed at birth, but only if the deformity is great..." /translated from Spanish/. "Infanticide was rare, and when it occurred was generally the mother's act, on account of being deserted by her husband, or annoyance at the complaint of her neighbors over the child's crying" /cited in English/.

In his last publication (k):240, 1933, he limits himself to the following: "Infanticide was very rare among the natives, although not completely unknown; in such cases the victims were almost never male children" /translated from Spanish/. On occasion Bridges (e):333 calls infanticide one of the many evils which is supposed to have disappeared since the Anglican missionaries have been active in the Cape Horn region.

847 In view of these vacillating reports, we would be justified in omitting any comment, but in order to prevent any doubt, we 634 shall add a brief correction here. Infanticide has never been a widespread habit among the Yamana. Fred Lawrence and Calderon denied any intentional killing of a child, because of the spiritual disposition of our natives. They did admit what I had discovered from other sources, namely, that a deformed baby was consciously neglected by some mothers so that it would soon die (p. 507), but these mothers never talked about it with other people. In August, 1933, I discussed with Fred the four reasons for infanticide summarized by Cooper:171 from Bridges. He gives "the following cases: Desertion on the part of the husband and father, great deformity in the child, too much annoyance to the clan from the child's crying, too many girl babies" /cited in English/. I shall here reply very briefly to each one of these. If in the case of "desertion on the part of the husband" a woman were to murder her child as well, she would make herself utterly

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847 desolate. Under normal circumstances this cannot possibly be
626 accepted. If an overwrought woman let herself be carried away to such an extent that she would do this, her relatives would immediately call her to account and make her atone for the crime. Secondly: a misshapen monster ("deformity") was immediately and silently destroyed by the midwife or the mother; other people were not told of it, and only the father, perhaps, was given a slight hint. It is almost ridiculous to mention the discomfort of the neighbors caused by the child's crying as the third reason for its murder. Such gross stupidity has never been reported from any other region. Fuegian children cry very little in any case (p. 520). If their crying bothered anyone, he could always build his hut elsewhere. Fourth and finally, neither a father nor a mother who expected a boy would have killed a girl following many sisters, for each child is of untold value to them. This murder would by no means have remained secret and would always have been severely condemned. /726/ Fred Lawrence very emphatically dismissed these four motives for infanticide maintained by Bridges (160), with the exception of a deformed prema-

160. It would be most uncritical to rely on Fenton to prove infanticide, because, as John Lawrence assured me, he passed through that region once in two days without contacting the natives.

ture birth.

847 It is not to be denied that a deformed or premature child, un-
845 fit for life, is done away with, but a rumor that I heard proves how
626 carefully a woman must go about it. Walter's wife had a child in 1905, half of which was a normal human being, but the other half of the body was supposed to have been covered with feathers. When she saw it after delivery, she became frightened, as did the two women who attended her. She decided to kill it immediately and did indeed hit it on the head with a hard object, but the creature went on living. Then she threw it on the ground with great force. Even then, however, it was not dead, so she buried it in the ground and covered it with a layer of stones; it continued to

/726 cont./

cry from under the ground for some time, but finally it stopped. Although Walter's wife herself did not divulge any details about the incident, her attendants on that occasion apparently gossiped about it. Since then she has not been safe from silent, but clearly noticeable reproaches from other women who severely condemned her action. Only a few of her friends sympathize with her about her misfortune. Everything points to the fact that the Yamana never approve of infanticide and severely condemn the malefactor.

6. Child Statistics

Through a regrettable error Martial(138) made the statement that "one rarely sees families with a large number of children" /translated from French/. Other members of the Mission Scientifique convincingly contradict him. In reality, Fuegian families commonly have many children. Usually the Indian girl becomes a mother as early as her sixteenth year. Accurate counts are impossible because of the resistance of adults who refuse to speak about deceased children (161). Bridges (MM.XVIII, 223,1884)

> 161. Hyades (q.189 also encountered this difficulty.

repeatedly tried to determine accurately the population of the Yamana, for example, in June, 1884, but he could not find out the total number of children in each family.

We have a certain gauge in the observations of Hyades (q.189 in the region around Orange Bay in 1883, that is to say, at a time when the population had already been noticeably influenced by the Anglican missionaries. Among eight women from 35 to 40 years old he counted a total of 18 living children, namely,eleven girls and seven boys; among eight women from 25 to 30 years old there were again 18 living /727/ children, ten boys and eight girls. The sources of error in these data are so obvious that any comment is superfluous. Hyades was well aware of them and did not fail to point out a 50-year-old Fuegian woman who had given birth to 14 children; a 45-year-old woman was the mother of nine, and

/167 cont./

163 another was the mother of ten children. Finally there was a 90-year-old woman who had seven children. Although at the time of my journeys one was obliged to regard the entire race as deteriorating, some of the few surviving families nevertheless had many children. Walter, whose first and only wife was still living, kept a total of eleven children alive, and Felipe, whose wife was only 38 years old at the time of my coming to Moy, 1931,[164] was happy to have more than seven children (162).

> 162. It is only in Chiffe (pp.33 that we come across the isolated statement: "The Fueguian do not have many offspring. It is very rare to have five, and generally they have no more than two" /translated from Spanish/. These are probably figures for the living children in each family, but even so they are wrong. Moreover, one should realize that parents never speak of their deceased children in front of strangers.

Mindful of the enormous difficulties involved, I believe that I must give at least six as the average number of children in a Fueguian family. Hahn (p).400 gives five (163). Hyades (p).333

> 163. I arrived at my figure independently of him and realized afterwards that it came close to his. He says: "The least number of children is five. I have, however, seen many old women who had as many as ten children" /translated from French/.

also ventured an estimate and was content with the number five, but he could scarcely have inquired specifically about the number of children in many families, or else, for the reason given above, he was not told the whole truth about deceased children. Bove (p).158 is not very reliable, although he correctly emphasizes the great fertility of Indian women (164). In Tierra del Fuego a large

> 164. He writes: "Moreover, the women are very fertile; seven or eight children are the

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163 average, but one not infrequently finds young women who already have ten or twelve."

Dread of children is always a recommendation for the parents, no one would venture to make sarcastic remarks about supposed indifference to sexual life. In general the children of a couple follow one another at brief intervals (163).

> 165. Obviously Martial 138 exaggerated with his remark that "children are often born after long intervals" /translated from French/. He was probably influenced by Bridges (p.200) whose assertion, "few women have more than six children, owing to the great length of time between the several births" /cited in English/, is wrong on both counts.

165 Although the fertility of Fanglan marriages is amazing, it is counterbalanced by a frighteningly high infant mortality. The causes are not so easy to determine as the facts themselves. Why, in view of the high birth rate, the population has remained the same as in former centuries raises the question as to the specific nature of the agreement to numbers. It is brought about by the mortality of many young /TEC/ people. During their first year of life children seldom die, but all the more soon after, and it is only at the age of puberty that the mortality rate again sharply decreases. Here (p.138) is right when he says, "Mortality between the ages of two and ten is enormous." The following figures will confirm to general what I have said. Each of the two groups of eight women from around Orange Bay (see referred to (p.200) had a total of only 18 living children. This, reduced to an average per family, is too little to keep the race alive. Hence there is no doubt that, in view of the well-known fertility of Indian women, a rather large number of children from these families must have died. To document this we give a few data which Hyades (p.189 likewise gives. "A Fanglan woman 60 years old had had 14 children, only three of whom had not died prematurely. Another woman 45 years old had had nine children, eight died at an early age" /translated from French/. By way of contrast, however, he also mentions the

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165 fact that "one woman 38 years old had had seven children, of whom only one had died prematurely" /translated from French/. The most striking case that I can report from recent times is the fate of Walter's children; out of a total of eleven, only two are living.

As we have said, however, it is difficult to understand the reasons for the abnormal infant mortality (166). In any case the

> 166. The explanations offered by Bridges (p).202 are not very useful. He merely establishes that "few women save all their children; most die in early infancy; a disease in the throat carries many off" /stated in English/. This vague reference to a throat ailment makes us think of diphtheria which was imported by Europeans.

[164 117]

assumption is justified that natural feeding at the mother's breast in the first year of life is a surer guarantee of keeping the child alive than the food children eat from the second to the tenth year. During these years food seems to me far more important for the child than external protection, care, and clothing. A child that has reached the eleventh year has acquired enough physical resistance to go on living; weaklings have been eliminated by that time.

A reference to the barrenness of Fuegian women is in order here. Formerly it was certainly an extremely rare occurrence (167).

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> 167. Hyades (p).188 also represents the view that "sterility is doubtless rare among the Fuegians; we have seen no case of a woman under 35 years old who was sterile" /translated from French/.

and various informants, among them the aged Reverend John Lawrence, could not tell me of any women, except Fiuza and Gerrie, who were childless. If there are no children in a marriage, the woman is regarded as defective. The childless husband, *matéma ghaminowa*, takes another woman who without doubt will give him

/728 cont./

842 some. As a result the Yamana have the idea that sterility in marriage is solely attributable to the woman, whom they call a caxula. Thus this unusual fact (168) is not /729/ completely un-

> 168. The unreliability of what Hahn (a):805 maintains is obvious: "Sterility is very common in both sexes, according to Mr. Bridges, who attributes it to the precocity and the abuse of sexual relations" /translated from French/.

known, and they pity the woman who is forever denied the blessing of children. My inquiries agree with Hahn (a):805 that "spontaneous [843] abortion is very rare" /translated from French/. It happens almost always as a result of great physical exertion or very great shock.

162 According to all the observations that we know of, the sexes are somewhat unevenly distributed in favor of girls among the Yamana. The venerable John Lawrence assured me of this, and in Hyades (q):190 we read: "In our observations we have also established a slight predominance of girls over boys" /translated from French/. A census taken by Bridges in 1884 (p. 224 /untranslated, but the figures referred to are given in English/) showed that among 1,000 natives there were only 277 men as against 316 women.

845 In this tribe of Fuegians twins are just as rare as among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 390). From former times I am familiar with only the one definite report that "Jemmy Button's eldest daughter has two beautiful twin children about four months old" /cited in English/ (MM:XI, 274;1877). Later Hyades (q):190 mentions a woman 45 years old among whose ten children there was a pair of twin brothers. Finally, Holmberg (a):57 maintained: "I have a photograph of a Yahgan woman with twins, who are regarded as an extraordinary event" /translated from Spanish/. Were these witnesses really reliably informed? At any rate a twin birth is an extraordinarily rare phenomenon.

145 There are no accurate observations about the menopause, the time when menstruation ultimately ceases. Bridges and Hyades (q):189 observed pregnancy among women who were already 45 years old. Hence Fuegian women conceive until relatively late

/729 cont./

145 in life. They are familiar with this phenomenon, and they are quietly resigned to what is in store for them. A few older Indian women said that the change of life caused them and other women scarcely any difficulties worth mentioning. It is not strange that 144 female diseases were completely unknown to the Yamana of olden times. For a while Nelly Lawrence suffered from a very painful prolapse of the womb (prolapsus uteri). When the attack was over, she emphatically expressed to me her absolute conviction that this condition had hitherto not troubled any woman and that she was the first to suffer from it.

7. Naming

551 For reasons we shall soon mention any festivity or ceremony on the occasion of giving a child a name is superfluous. Every Yamana, without exception, has a proper name, and in addition, most of them also have a personal nickname. Very definite mention of this double naming customary among the Yamana is found in Hyades (q):376 and in Outes (g):55: "A child is given the name of his birthplace or of the peculiarities that distinguish him" /translated from Spanish/ (169). The most important, of course,

> 169. Bridges (a):182 mentions a third kind, namely, "family names, handed down from generation to generation, from father to the eldest son. These kinds of names, generally have no meaning" /cited in English/. See footnote 174 below and Bridges (h):207.

is the actual proper name (170).

> 170. This should be especially emphasized as opposed to Despard (b):698, who reverses the order when he says: "Besides a proper name, a man will have one in memory of his birth-place" /cited in English/.

/730/ It is not hard to choose a proper name, for it is taken from the place where the child was born, and it is given the proper

/730 cont./

551 ending according to the child's sex. The ending for boys is ẽnčis or ẽnjis or injis; for girls it is kípa (171) or, more rarely, wílis.

171. Hyades (q):376, with some inaccuracies, also describes this word-formation. He (g):39 correctly says: "Usually [the children] are given the name of the place where they were born." Lovisato (b):151 also gives examples of male and female proper names.

The giving of a proper name is, as Fred Lawrence expressed it to me in August, 1923 "a purely automatic process." A girl and a boy born in Ušuwãja are called ušuwãjakípa and ušuwãjinjis, respectively. Bridges (h):207 also mentions an example of a man "who was named mamashtagadagangez, from Mamashtagadaga, his birthplace" /translated from Spanish/. Despard (b):698 gives another example, namely, that "the woman's toponymic, or place-name, ends in keepa or willis, e.g., Lashawiawillis [better lašawãjawílis], a woman of Lashawia, Camileunakeepa, woman of Camileuna" /cited in English/. It is not worthwhile to cite other word formations which will henceforth be intelligible. Naming follows this pattern up to the present day (172).

172. It is a mistake for Bridges to maintain, in Hyades (q):272, that a few words formerly used are no longer current, among them "the word Entsis or Indjis, ... like Kípa" /translated from French/.

A child born in a canoe is temporarily named ũšípin or ũšípisin or ũšípisin, with the corresponding final syllable. Thus Santiago is called ũšípisẽnjis, meaning roughly, "man without a birthplace."

It is unavoidable that a child will receive a name that another already has. Then the personal nickname makes the necessary distinction, or else the child temporarily remains a ũšípisẽnjis until the time of the youth initiation. Then he gets his final name from the name of the place where he is first introduced to this ceremony. I myself may serve as an example. On my first visit I was an

/730 cont./

551 ūšipisēnjis according to Yamana ideas, because I was not born at a place in their home country. The first time I experienced their čiéxaus was in Šāmakuśwāja near Punta Remolino, and after that I was called šamakuśenjis.

As we have just said, the same name should not be used for two persons, according to the general rule. If there are two ūšipisēnjis, they are distinguished from one another by nicknames, and this is certainly done at once when one of the two dies. The [184] Yamana do not like to repeat the name of a deceased person, which they would be forced to do if the survivor continued /731/ to bear the name. For this reason the above-mentioned Santiago was called ūškēšyāgu, "White Forehead," and no longer ušipisēnjis. If two persons have the same name and one of them dies, the survivor afterwards is called ūsiluśwēnjis for the time being. Fred Lawrence, for example, was called this after an Indian named Fred had died, and he told me that it means roughly, "the one from the same birthplace as another," and everyone knows that the other one is dead (173). The name ūsiluśwākipa is used for a

173. BD:104 also gives this word as "a name given a boy instead of his natal name in respect to the recent dead, when both bore the same name" /cited in English/.

female; naturally this name is applied to the surviving person only temporarily and a nickname soon becomes current.

The same consideration applies to the use of the word īkāśkan for a son and very close relative (father, brother, sister) of a man and a woman who died by drowning. The name of that son or that relative is never repeated thereafter in order to avoid the memory of the death of a father or relative.

Finally, the Yamana also have a special designation for someone who is the last survivor in a region, namely, ūsidēpa, meaning "the one whose country will be forsaken after he dies." BD:104 gives ūsitōpa, "a person whose near relatives have died, as tho he had only his country left him" /cited in English/. Old Walter is regarded as an ūsidēpa, for he is the last of the eastern people.

/731 cont./

551 Although the nickname is merely an adjunct to the proper name, it unequivocally indicates the physical appearances and character of its bearer. It is chosen out of consideration for a physical peculiarity, a striking appearance, a strange habit, an odd nature, or an unusual character trait. Men are given nicknames much more often than women. The Yamana sometimes even surpass our own schoolboys in their aptness for appropriate choices in such names. Here are a few examples that I copied down in August, 1923. I shall preferably choose those nicknames
551 that were applied to Europeans to show that the roguish nature of
609 our Yamana showed itself in front of them, too.

wẽngul (wẽngulu, "to bore out"), "Twisted Leg." Name of Fred Lawrence whose left leg is somewhat bent.

tellapĩla (tẽlla, "eye"), "Eyebrows." This was applied to Guillermo Bridges because of his bushy eyebrows.

ũlkẽĭlŭ (ũlkẽĭ "forehead"; lus, "red"), "Red Forehead." This was the name for Missionary Pringle and for Martin Lawrence, whose faces were always conspicuously red.

ũlkẽĭyãgu (ũlkẽĭ, "forehead"; yãgu, "white"), "White Forehead." They were quite right to apply this to Santiago on account of his pale face.

ufkitowa (BD:118 ufkitãuwa, "deaf"), "The Deaf One." Missionary Aspinall, who was very deaf, gave them ample reason for this nickname. /732/

yakãsĩ (yakãsĩ, "thin patches of beard around the chin"), "Sparse Goatee." The Yamana hit upon this designation because Thomas Bridges had an unevenly filled-out beard.

551 The Yamana are not always considerate in selecting nicknames;
522 some names border on the improper and people repeat them with glee, in derision of the bearer.

hallũuwa (hallũuwa, "negligent, dirty in appearance"), "Slovenly Human Being." A person who pays no attention to his appearance is given this name. A woman may also be called this, hallũuwakipa.

pãčeallan (pãčea, "behind"; allan, "bent upward"), "Bent Upward Behind." Name for a man whose buttocks was unusually prominent because of crippled spinal column.

wãxẽ̃ĩdenjis (wãxẽ̃ĩ, "vulva muliebris"; [d]enjis, masculine ending). I was unable to find out the real meaning of this abusive designation.

/732 cont./

551 522 Fred Lawrence told me that the various missionaries, as well as he himself, had only too often and in utter innocence used very sarcastic names for individual persons, the meaning of which was at first unknown to them, and that they had not understood why the natives seemed quietly amused and sometimes laughed out loud. Their sure knowledge of the language acquired later taught them to know better.

551 --- At this point I shall give a few samples from Bridges (a):182, without, however, repeating the Yamana words for them: "Red forehead, Bare forehead, Thin forehead, Narrow nose, Long face, Red face, Weak knee, Shrivelled foot, etc." /cited in English/ (174).

174. According to Bridges (i):26, "three classes of names were current among the Yahgans. First those derived from the place of birth...By these people were generally called, and oftentimes they had no other name. But if you asked a person his name and he happened to have only of the place of his birth, he would tell you, that he had no name, because to the native mind the family name was preeminently the name of the individual. These family names that to a great extent had in process of time lost their meaning, being largely of very remote origin.

"Children seldom received their parents name, but usually those of their uncles and aunts and of grand parents. Of these family names the following are samples. Lasapa, Aiaminaez, Palahlaian, Meacol, Cushchin...

"The third class of names were epithets descriptive of some person or peculiarity of manner, feature or accident. These latter were often handed down as family names, when of course they became no longer suitable" /cited in English/.

Actual family names, which Bridges mentions in the second instance are unknown to the Yamana.

/732 cont./

551 As the longest male proper name known, I learned of an almost monstrous construction which can probably be regarded as the longest Yamana word, namely, hūmaxkamērnaŋgājyatakwēlakirǰēnjis (i.e., hūmax, "tree trunk tossed ashore by the waves"; kamērnaŋgājyata, "to be set up, to place upright"; wēlakirǰ, "rocky or coastal promontory"). This means "man from the place on the shore where a tree trunk washed up by the waves stands upright." This construction corresponds to the rule regarding proper names.

553 Finally a superstitious custom should be noted, /733/ to which Bridges (a):176 long ago referred. "The natives have an idea that naming children early stops their growth, and since children so frequently die in early infancy" /cited in English/. Later Hyades (g):39 referred to this: "They first give their children names when they are about two years old and begin to walk. They say they do this so that, in case a child dies younger than that, they will not accidentally hear his name and be reminded of their loss." As I was able to confirm, however, this custom was adopted less out of superstitious fear than because of the utter uselessness of emphasizing the name of the child during the first 20 months. The child's name is automatically determined by his place of birth. Moreover, it is not customary among our Yamana to address a person present by name or to speak of him by name. This explains why quite generally they do not attach much importance to the proper name.

8. The Baby's Development

123 Not all the families with whom I was in contact on Cape Horn Archipelago had the pleasure of having small children for company. A few aged persons, who had long since abandoned the hope of offspring, had married only to avoid being alone. Hence I was dependent on a small number of children in my observations and can, therefore, furnish only incomplete data on the development of young lives.

954 The solicitude of the young mother for her darling during the first few weeks of his existence gradually disappears. Not that her love diminishes -- in fact, it increases -- but anxiously vigilant care

/733 cont./

854 is no longer regarded as necessary. Outwardly this becomes evident in that the baby is kept less clean. The little creature is given complete freedom to roll about on the ground and in the hut, to dig in the ashes and the grass, to touch everything and put it in its mouth. If the rain and the unconscious, purely mechanical rubbing on gravel and grass did not remove a considerable part of the encrusted dirt, things would be pretty bad for the little ones! Some mothers, it is true, wash and clean them often; Walter's little daughter was always neat as a doll and was carefully tended. Other women apparently did not even see the thick layer of dirt on their children. As long as it is absolutely necessary,
853 the mother prepares the bits of food for her darling every day and
862 sees to it that he eats only easily digested food, but she soon lets him make his own choice without giving him much instruction. Instinctively he chooses food that best agrees with him. Occasionally, however, he puts less suitable pieces into his mouth and must pay for it with slight digestive upsets.

854 The unobstructed freedom of movement that is permitted babies on /734/ land has been fairly earned by their motionlessness dur-
145 ing the long and constant canoe trips. It may seem incredible, but it is true that, except for slight, brief movements, they stay for hours just as their mother has set them down, without kicking or rolling over. The mother has just as little trouble with the child who rides on her back while she wanders about and attends to her *work, or whom she holds in her arms or has lying on her lap. The* child does not think of wriggling out of position, fussing, and crying, as one often sees European children doing. He lies there all by himself, quietly happy, entertaining himself with whatever his little eyes take in or his little fingers touch. He would never dream of yelling loudly if the mother walks off or to cry anxiously if he is left alone. Under certain circumstances Fuegian babies behave as though they had mature judgment or were constantly exercising much patience. Without doubt the adult environment influences the little ones, for loud shouting and vehement speech are much less customary among our Fuegians than among their neighbors to the northwest and northeast. I do not claim however, to have given an exhaustive explanation for this phenomenon.

145 The extraordinarily quiet and gentle behavior of the child has
856 an overwhelming effect on its speech development. For months he

/734 cont./

145 is almost mute, until, at about a year and a half, he suddenly
856 pronounces complete words. The young Fuegians do not carry on constant babbling monologues, as do European babies almost without exception. A few weeks before they venture to come out with full speech, however, they apparently do some silent speech exercises. They move their lips and tongues and show by their expressions that they are thinking and mentally active. The parents observe this inward activity with satisfaction. The children's earliest speech is somewhat awkward, but it is very much like the speech of adults. The latter almost never make any ef-
868 fort to help or correct the child. He is left to himself, no matter how much difficulty he has or how incorrectly he speaks. Later he corrects his own mistakes by listening and comparing. Similarly in subsequent years no adult ever teaches the child to speak clearly and correctly.

When the child enters his third year, there is usually a younger
145 brother or sister to whom the mother gives her full attention.
857 After that he is left even more to his own devices. Then he begins to seek the company of his older brothers and sisters and of other children, but keeps as much as possible to those of his own age. The play instinct brings these little ones together. They are well content by themselves. Sometimes they squat in a circle for hours, scratching the ground with their fingers, or they grub in the gravel or roll back and /735/ forth on the grass. In these early years they do not play any real games, but they look at everything with attentive eyes and probingly feel everything that seems strange to them. They do not whisper to each other about their experiences, nor do they talk together animatedly. Everywhere, even when they are with other children, they give the stranger the impression that they are thoughtful, patient observers, an attitude which every European would attribute to older children.

The parents enjoy daily observation of the small body which
856 visibly unfolds. Supposedly in order to accelerate growth, they
171 resort to a magical custom known as mináŝa, which means roughly "to stretch upward." Either the father or someone else calls the child, makes him stretch up both arms, embraces him, and lifts him high enough so that their two faces are almost on top of each other. Then the child must squeeze down out of this embrace, and he wriggles his head through, with his face turned upward, he

/735 cont./

856 utters a loud and long-drawn-out "pš" just once. This move-
171 ment is repeated several times with the child, and after a few days or weeks he is asked to do it again (175).

175. The candidates in the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1019) are given almost the same treatment, and likewise to make them grow quickly.

856 There is another custom that has the same purpose. An adult, with the tips of his thumb and index finger, picks up the
[Pa5] larva, ukájamina, of a large capricorn beetle grubbing in a decayed tree trunk and squeezes it gently. The larva, as though in defense, opens the two parts of its upper jaw, which have very sharp points. With these the person scratches a vertical line on the child's chest, slightly outside the nipples, and another line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. This is the custom among the western Yamana. In the east they merely scratch a pair of lines on the back, on either side of the spinal column. This procedure is repeated often on the same child, but without any definite arrangement.

I was told that children endure teething quietly and with resignation. The parents pay little attention to this process, although they are pleased that the child has reached this tangible stage in his development. Later when the permanent teeth are pushing through and the first baby tooth is loose, they send the child to the beach where he must pull out the loose tooth with his own hand and toss it in a wide arc into the sea. At the same time he must visualize the short-nosed dolphin (Lagenorhynchus
[Pa5] F.) and repeat in a low voice:

sayyíuy,	tun	hájo	ókgu
Dolphin,	tooth	me	give.

He also turns to pájo (Patella) and yekáj (Chiton, mail) (176)

176. It is clearly recognizable that the allusion is to the rows of teeth in the jaws of dolphins, to the toothlike edge of the Patella shells, and to the hair-soft, tufted bristles of most Chiton species.

/735 cont./

856 and asks one or the other of these soft-bodied animals: "Give /736/ me the best you have for this tooth!" The child may also toss his other milk teeth into the sea in the same way, but he is obliged to do so only with the first loose milk tooth.

855 During the further development manifested by the child, not only his own parents, but to an almost equal extent the relatives 857 and neighbors experience great satisfaction. Again and again they speak about it and happily measure the progress shown by the child since last they were together. In their indescribable happiness, they adorn their favorite with necklaces, give him tasty morsels, sometimes pet him wildly, and spend hours playing with him. The adults in Tierra del Fuego would find life unbearable if they did not constantly have small children around them, who, far more than grown children, are a natural and necessary plaything for all parents and a strong magnet for their parental feelings (177).

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177. I have purposely not mentioned similarities of insignificant details in infant care among the Selk'nam and Yamana, because there are too many. The close cultural relationship between the two tribes is shown in this respect also.

b. The Older Child and His Upbringing

861 With the exception of a few letters from Anglican missionaries, one looks in vain in the earlier accounts for detailed reports about the physical maturation of the child and the influence of the adults in his environment who train him. This is all the more regrettable since these much misunderstood Fuegians have surprisingly valuable child-rearing principles -- taking into consideration merely what I myself have discovered -- and, as competent teachers, know how to apply these principles successfully. The older people have preserved in their memories all that our Yamana do for the growing generation, or at least the principal outline, to this day. Hence the following account

861 /736 cont./
is based chiefly on repeated discussions with reliable informants about earlier customs. Nevertheless, I also learned much through direct observation, which was confirmed by the other, oral accounts.

Under present conditions educational influence and the sure guidance of youth are simply no longer possible to the extent that they were practiced in the old days. Parents cannot shield their children against the pernicious influences that have recently asserted themselves. It must be said in honor of the few old tribal members that, for their part, they sincerely regret and are painfully aware that they no longer can freely and without officious interference give their young people those educational benefits that /737/ they themselves regard as so auspicious and so advantageous for them throughout their lives.

861 Since there is no definite tribal organization, the training
881 process naturally rests on the shoulders of the parents themselves. True, when the children have reached puberty they must submit to the youth initiation which is basically a common schooling, but which actually represents a continuation of the parental efforts in the narrowest family circle. Everything that was accomplished at home in the way of instruction and actual training is intensified in the youth initiation, [illegible], but is kept within the same channel, following unchanging guiding principles.

145 Finally, I should like to refer briefly to the various periods in the development of the child's body. During my journey there were no longer enough children for me to make reliable observations; hence I could not clearly prove the stages of development set up by Stratz:134. Nevertheless, I found that, just as there is an initial plumpness in the so-called first period of childhood, the so-called first growth in height definitely begins with the fifth year. Then comes the second plumpness with the first phase of the second period, whereupon there is an apparent pause in development, only to lead, toward the end of the fourteenth year, to a sudden and quick unfolding of fully developed forms. Among the girls more than among boys, it is surprising to see how much the body fills out in this one year (178).

178. Stirling (MM:VI, 96;1872) was the first to emphasize this startling fact. This does

145 /737 cont./

> not contradict what Bridges asserted: "Youths of 19 and 20 you would frequently mistake for 14 and 15. For instance, Tymuran. I had thought him to be 13 or 14, but on looking into my registration of births I find he will be twenty years old in August... This and many similar cases tend to show that a hard life and short commons delay the growth" /cited in English/ (MM: XVIII, 223;1884). I cannot agree with this conclusion.

In the following account we have in mind those children who are slowly developing their mental power until, at puberty, they enter the youth initiation required of everyone.

1. Separation of the Sexes

864 In Tierra del Fuego, as in Europe, the little creature in the so-called neutral age of childhood is regarded as "sexless," for, without objection, it is permitted to romp about everywhere completely naked and, in its innocence, can relieve its natural needs in full view of other people. No adult would dream of making insinuating remarks about the unconscious behavior of infants or of covering up their nakedness before the eyes of others. With candid naturalness the mother feeds her darling at her breast, just as she would feed him a small piece of roasted fat. Our Fuegians show an entirely healthy and straightforward attitude toward such natural things.

/738/ This conduct changes as soon as the child has completed approximately his fourth year, for now it enters into what Stratz:336 has called the "bisexual age of childhood." Now the sexual character begins to assert itself, and the child himself begins to take it into account. He is now guided by his awakening awareness of himself, since parents and adults almost never offer instruction or admonition. Instead, they see to it that the child covers his sexual parts, and they adjust the little apron if it has

/738 cont./

864 been pushed out of place, but never add any particular warning. Unobtrusively the mother draws her small daughter closer in the hut and takes her darling silently by the hand when she goes to gather mussels or wood; the boys then automatically remain apart and stay behind. Thus the children unconsciously take it for granted that boys and girls are separated, and in neither of the two groups is the wish to be together and to play together awakened unnecessarily and prematurely.

It does not long remain hidden from either of them how distinctly different they are externally, for the so-called clothing is scant enough. It is not until their seventh year that the children must expect short and definite warnings if boys conspicuously approach girls. Even forward boys seem to avoid any comments among themselves on sexual differences. Alfredo confessed to me: "Every boy at some time or other realizes that he is [built] different [sexually] from the girl. Now he watches very sharply, but does not talk about it with anyone, although he sometimes feels lustful pleasure [in his discovery]." These words indicate the awakening of knowledge about the body.

593 Since during most of the year the individual family is dependent on its own resources, the brothers and sisters have only each other and no other company. Thus it is strange that a brotherly and sisterly love in our sense of the word does not appear among the Fuegians, any more than it does among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 393). Since the children of the same parents associate only with one another for long stretches, one would expect a particularly strong and intensified mutual love; instead he finds just the opposite. A very strong tendency toward self-reliance and independence characterizes the child from its earliest years. This one must admit. This alone, however, does not explain why a strong feeling of solidarity among the children of the same family does not seem to arise at all. They rarely play together, nor do they confer about carrying out some prank together or making mischief. Each of the brothers and sisters actually feels best when he is by himself and can entertain himself just as he pleases. One can plainly see how each one of them entertains himself animatedly and how happily he goes along by himself. /739/ Should one of his brothers or sisters approach him, it would disturb his quiet

/720 cont./

593 self-sufficiency. Actually, each one goes his own way, completely unconcerned about the others. It makes no difference to him how his brothers and sisters get along and what they do.

[155] Older girls, however, at their mother's request, must tend the youngest of their brothers and sisters occasionally. They do so, but more because they are forced to than because of a natural urge, and they are relieved when this minor duty is over. Beyond that one almost never sees brothers and sisters of their own accord helping or supporting each other. They are, so to speak, indifferent toward one another. In fact, they even go out of their way in order to be quite undisturbed. Hence it follows that they almost never quarrel or fight with one another. A child would never voluntarily help a brother or small sister at work or join them in some chore imposed by the parents. If two children are given the same job, they do not, for example, agree to do it together, but each one strikes out for himself toward the same goal. Thus two girls going to hunt berries and two boys out to gather dry sticks go off separately and in different directions. On their return they do not meet on the same path until shortly before they reach the hut.

One never hears parents reminding children that they must love their brothers and sisters. If occasionally adult brothers and sisters stand up for each other and defend one another it is out of a feeling of family solidarity. The mother carefully arranges the sleeping place of her boys separately from that of the girls in the small family hut (170). In the canoe they are

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170. Hyades (f):373 says emphatically: "During the night the boys and the girls form separate groups according to sex" /translated from French/. A separate allotment of space in the hut for each child is unknown to the Yamana (p. 38).

separated on either side of the fire. Altogether, brothers and sisters are separated more than many Europeans realize, but even so they forgo any co-operation in work or play.

/739 cont./

During the periods when the children of several families are staying in the same place, the two sexes are required to remain apart. The boys are summarily told to do this, usually by their father but also by other men, and the girls by their own mother. Now and then it is emphasized, in fact, repeated under threats. Thus I heard it said: "The boys belong together, and the girls should remain among themselves."

"There is nothing for a boy where girls are playing."

"You, my boy, should look for other boys to play with; the girls are playing by themselves, too."

"You are planning something improper if you agree to meet that girl [the name is given] alone in the woods. I'll /740/ punish you severely if I catch you at it." This threat was directed at Roger, one of Caldeson's sons. Caldeson is not very careful in bringing up his wild rascals.

Older children are given a special warning. The father says to his son: "If you go around with girls a great deal, you will have only girls as children later on when you live in your own hut, no boys!" The mother will warn her daughter similarly: "Stay far away from boys. If you are with them too much, you will later have only boys as children when you are a mother (180)!"

> 180. From these admonitions we may conclude that neither boys nor girls are more preferred by parents or welcomed with greater pleasure at birth. We have already spoken of this attitude (p. 104).

Adults are very strict about this rule. It is everyone's duty, so to speak, to interfere with admonitions and threats if necessary, no matter whether his own or other children are involved. They do not tire of being extraordinarily watchful if they notice that a child has a strong tendency toward secret meetings with others. Adults are quite fond in discussing such observations and call each other's attention to them. They are honestly concerned about guarding a child against moral infractions, since they know only too well what goes on secretly between two little culprits. In order to prevent such acts by a child who is

/740 cont./

864 not entirely to be trusted, the parents inconspicuously keep him busy and by their side when temptation is particularly great in a common campsite. As a rule, the Fueglans who are not yet somewhat degenerate themselves have a sharp eye and sound judgment for impending infractions and for the weaknesses of their children.

The children do not have much chance to evade the watchfulness of their parents as long as the family is traveling by itself. If several families are temporarily together in the same place, the eyes of all the adults are on the young people, and especially on the child whose conduct justifies suspicion. Since even little Fueglans are by no means angels, and in many a boy the urge toward improper conduct is stronger than the threats by the adults, he will try to meet a girl in some secret place. If his deed is uncovered, his parents seriously reprimand him and do not withhold a severe beating in order to bring the little culprit to his senses. An adult would not beat a strange child, but will complain to the child's parents.

The Yamana are much too sensible to keep children of the opposite sex apart because of exaggerated anxiety. No one prevents children from being together in public and in the open, but they do keep them from slipping away secretly and purposely avoiding any kind of observation.

864 857 /741/ When the boys are by themselves, they romp about to their heart's content and sometimes behave rather offensively, which they would never dare to do in the presence of adults. They feel the greatest desire for this when they can take off their clothes on warm days and go completely naked. Playfully they smack each other on the buttocks and pass their hands lightly over the genitals, or they squirt water on these parts and point to them with their fingers. In all this they certainly do not go any further than schoolboys in Europe who are unsupervised. Boys usually frolic about in a very lively manner, without, however, shouting or making a lot of noise. No one prevents them from giving vent to their energy, as long as they are not nasty and obscene.

857 It is different when girls are playing among themselves; it is always quiet and calm. The very way in which they

/761 cont./

857 entertain themselves excludes noise and uproar. They also have less opportunity to play together, because mothers have them care for younger brothers and sisters, and they also know better than boys how to entertain themselves. With their own kind girls talk remarkably little, but they observe their companions all the more and silently compare with each other in their powers.

864 Children are probably encouraged to stay aloof from the opposite sex by the conduct of adults. The latter unquestionably behave perfectly in front of children and in consequence and conduct consciously avoid everything that might give offense.

3. Application of Training

861 In spite of all the love that parents have for their children, there is no room for pampering and indulging them. Even the newborn infant feels the signs of estrangement, and later on the child is never aware of all the careful arrangements and comforts that are practically taken for granted in a European nursery. The Tarasos are simply destined to live in an unfriendly environment with ceaseless demands for daily existence; they have to fashioning about it and do not prejudice their children against the reality to which they are placed and which they will have to combat for the rest of their lives.

Instead of idly looking on and letting growth take its unhampered course, they intervene as teachers in the development of their children's spiritual life, directing their mental powers toward a specific goal and tirelessly exerting their influence in that direction. They are guided by sound principles, and gratifying results crown their efforts. I have often regretted that I was unable to investigate more closely by means of personal observation how these Pangian teachers achieved the results that I discovered with admiration in a few split representatives of the original Indian race. They are a living embodiment /762/ of child-rearing principles and parental efforts on behalf of young people who are to move forward along the same paths trodden by many generations before them. This training has secured the orderly perpetuation of the entire tribe throughout the centuries and is adequately preserving it even up to the present time.

/Tel. cont./

C. The Teacher

Nature itself has given a child to parents as teachers, who also would the Tatsana have, with their entire tribe broken up into individual families. Aware that they must meet an obligation imposed by nature, the parents instinctively recognize a certain child-rearing ideal toward which their efforts tend. The child should become "a good and useful human being!" That is their watchword, which they repeat again and again. It represents the double task of the teacher, namely, to form the child in accordance with his spiritual and temperamental nature and to train him for the everyday demands of life. Their first consideration is that everyone must stand on his own feet, hence he must be reared to become an independent personality, able to conduct himself according to rules and to maintain himself enlightened. Everyone who has reached maturity soon founds a family; he must therefore have the character and personal skills required to maintain this most important and only social institution and to lead it to its significant tasks. Finally, he is a member of a tribal community to which he is all the more bound because it is small, for here any great deviation from the general trend by the individual brings about more perceptible effects on the group as a whole than would be the case in a larger group. The teacher wishes to make his charge capable of meeting all these demands, and that is what he means when he says he wants to make of him "a good and useful human being."

The child-rearing ideal proves to be exceptionally sound, and in its application to any given circumstance it is summed up in the words: "As is customary among us!" The examples of their ancestors, customs, and traditional songs are their criteria. If there is any doubt about an act, it is judged and evaluated on the basis of these factors. Hence the teachers find it simple and easy to do justice to their task, for they need only adhere to what has always been regarded as valid and legal, good and fine.

Since everyone stands or falls with the supporting group as a whole, it is ideal for him to present the group's existence with new, properly prepared members who will sustain or have each

/THE MAN./

adult status. That is why all older people regard /THE/ the training of youth as an obligation, and no one dies away from it out of laziness. The adults influence the young people by means of instruction and admonition, at least by setting a good example, and they are solicitous about their physical well-being and the perfection of their character and morals. No one -- with the exception of a few who are remiss in their duties -- tires of always exerting his best efforts to make the child a valuable member of the tribe, one who will benefit the group as a whole. Since this was always customary among their ancestors, responsible adults now make no exceptions with regard to this duty, for ancient custom is to this day their law.

Since Nature herself has established the parents as the first qualified teachers, they devote themselves to their task with all their love and ability. They are guided by their concern for the welfare of their child. Anyone who is skilled in all kinds of manual work can easily make a living, and a person who knows how to behave and adopt a way of life that will make him liked by all his neighbors is in a pleasant position. Parental pride also spur them on a bit, for it is a great satisfaction to everyone to have his children proved so industrious and good. Less clearly than for the celebration of the youth initiation, but definitely enough, conscientious parents are charged by Mulungu, their only deity, with the duty of rearing their children. For primitive people like our Tonsea, there is no stronger pressure for effort or guidance than religious sanction.

Besides the parents, adults in general are required to promote the training of all children, with less urgency, however. If the former neglect their duty or have died, the nearest relatives are obliged to offer the poor child what he needs without any formalities. In fact, every person, wherever he may be, is obliged to give a child help whenever it is needed and to deal with a bad deed wherever he may observe it. No Tonsea would say, "This or that child is no concern of mine." He feels an urgent need to help if he sees that a child is suffering physical injury or that its training is being neglected. The individual adult acts on behalf of the child from a feeling of tribal solidarity and in the service of the general welfare. More often than a European realizes, he openly expresses those considerations upon which he acts.

/Pub conc./

Finally, and no less eminently, it is the concern of the larger group or the whole tribe that the training by the family produces good results. Hence, in the form of public opinion, it supervises the efforts that the father and mother expend on their own children; it admonishes and criticizes the parents, usually through their relatives, if they neglect the training of their offspring; it continues their efforts through the youth initiation and concludes the work of family training by means of community training in the /Pub/ Tahgan. The whole tribe likewise strives for that much emphasized child-rearing ideal which our simple and yet so understanding Fueglans proclaim as the watchword of their earnest efforts, namely, that they want to make each of their children "a good and useful human being."

B. Training Practices

Not every adult has a particular aptitude for rearing his child. Some people, however, are so effective at this work that their influence is felt far beyond the narrow family circle and produces good results there as well. What one adult lacks in this talent is compensated for by another, and it must be appreciated as an extraordinarily fortunate virtue of the Yamana that almost every person, especially the older ones, influences children. Precepts and admonitions are, of course, the most important aspect. In content and form they are adapted to the awakening reason and the developing judgment of young people. For smaller children the Yamana are content to use a brief command or prohibition; it is only for the older ones that they add a reason.

"Your behavior is not nice."

"If you lie, no one will like you."

"Tackle every job, decisively and with enthusiasm, then you will quickly finish it."

"Always get up promptly in the morning; for if you lie abed until the sun is high, you will not finish your day's work."

"If you are called to do a piece of work, get up immediately and do it quickly, then you will grow fast" (181).

181. It is only out of great ignorance that

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Spegazzini (a):165 could maintain that in their language the Yamana "do not have a verb that corresponds to our 'obey,'" and further that the little ones "know nothing of obedience and the children do whatever they like" /translated from Spanish/.

"Whatever your father tells you is a guide for you; he knows what is customary among us from the people of former times."

"Take whatever the old people tell you [in the way of instruction and warning] very seriously, for they have your interests and your happiness at heart."

"Do not make a lot of noise with other children around a strange hut; there are perhaps old people inside [who deserve respect].

"It is not at all nice to quarrel with other children; a child who does that will later on, as an adult, quarrel with his neighbors, and no one will like him."

"Do not eat what you have gathered [in the way of mussels and berries] all alone. Give some to other children, for they, too, will think of you when they have something [similar]."

These few words, which I picked up quite casually and which I could expand considerably, prove that the Yamana give brief and perfectly clear /745/ commands and that their instruction is based on easily understood reasons, hence their favorable effect.

One can easily understand the gist of their admonitions from the short sentences we have listed and from many other statements. There are certain virtues that are cultivated and recommended with great zeal by the Yamana. Foremost among them is veneration for the good things of old, namely, traditions, tribal customs, and the prevailing practices, but also for the representatives of all this, the honored elders. Submissiveness and prompt obedience by the children follow as a matter of course. The helpfulness and unselfishness of an individual toward all tribal members are no less cherished. Everyone must share his booty generously and must share his tools with a person who is suddenly in difficulties. Contentment and a quiet nature are very much

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867 recommended, as are busy activity and untiring industry, so that everyone to the best of his capacity can serve the members of his own family. A person who gets along well with everyone is very popular.

These and other virtues are, of course, not recommended to the smaller children as explicitly as they are to the older ones and, even more, to the candidates of the youth initiation. Everyone is made familiar with them insofar as he can grasp them. I shall, therefore, not give in detail the entire content of Yamana wisdom in guidance until I describe the youth initiation (182).

> 182. I am unable to understand how Bridges could make the following basically false assertion: "Of course the education and discipline of children are nearly wholly neglected, children are allowed to grow up wild, following their own whims and desires; thus they become of necessity disobedient, rude, wilful, lazy and proud" /cited in English (MM:III, 117;1869).

In the course of all training, they deliberately take into consideration the personal aptitude and the momentary requirements of the child. Sensitive natures are treated with extraordinary kindness and patience; stubborn rascals are tamed with pitiless severity. They try to win over girls with gentle persuasion; threats are more speedily effective with boys. Several adults work together with tenacious firmness if they wish to eradicate a serious fault in a boy. Calderon's oldest son was a troublesome scamp, but when he ran after girls of his own age, despite many warnings, a few adults were so irritated that they dogged his footsteps. Walter's son and, even more, his slightly younger daughter were so spoiled by their mother that several women spoke of it in disgust. "That girl will never grow up to be a useful wife," Mary once told me, quite indignantly, "for her mother is constantly holding her in her arms, so to speak!"

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867 If there are clear indications of weakness of character in a child, the parents and adults call attention to it, with a view /746/ to combining their skill in influencing the child. Outsiders make a greater effort if the child's own parents do not treat it properly or even have a detrimental effect by their bad example. Calderon's sons get on everybody's nerves because they are troublesome and lazy ne'er-do-wells, and people explain it by pointedly referring to the boys' father whose character they reflect. Sympathy for a child who has been spoiled through no fault of his own constantly impels neighbors to work patiently and perserveringly for his improvement. This individual training of a single child is later consciously carried further in the youth initiation, and particular exercises are specially adapted to the respective need.

867 Our Yamana do not rest content with dry instruction and colorless indoctrination; they assure themselves of success by
861 the purposeful application of a few effective measures. Above all they titillate the child's love of self and his ambition. This, in turn, shows convincingly how definitely and palpably they make arrangements to suit the child's comprehension. We add here a few admonitions to the list given above.

"Be willing to help, then everybody will praise you and speak well of you."

"If you keep yourself clean and immaculate, others will be happy to visit you and will gladly associate with you."

"Give other people good and beautiful things as presents; they will speak of you far and wide and surprise you, too, with choice presents."

"Be silent and do not repeat derogatory things about a person to others. The person will be grateful that you did not expose him to gossip, and everybody who learns about it [about your discretion] will put his trust in you."

I obtained the last two sentences from Mary. Similar admonitions are repeated to the candidates for the youth initiation and to girls on the occasion of the menarche.

861 If these gentle measures do not suffice, definite and serious threats follow; from the latter to actual punishment is only a short step. If children are noisy around the huts and do not go away after the first appeal, a stick of wood hurled in their

/746 cont./

[746] direction soon scatters them. Anyone who does not get up in the morning after a vigorous shake has his leather cover pulled off so that he lies naked and soon gets up because of the cold. If a few rascals disturb the conversation of adults by their chatter or if they even presume to interrupt, they are sent out of the hut with a few sharp words. A child with the habit of being obtrusive at meals is dismissed with an inferior piece while the other people enjoy delectable tidbits. No occasion irritates adults as much as when they happen to come upon a boy hidden with a girl. Then rude blows rain down /747/ on the little sinner, either with the flat of the hand or a stick of wood, wherever and however they happen to fall, until he seeks refuge in hasty flight (183).

> 183. The Fuegian punishes the child to make it pay for its mistake. Bridges' interpretation of April 21, 1875, is wrong: "The native never punishes his child because he has done wrong, but because he has troubled him, or to please those who may be angry with him, or he expresses his vexation towards any who have displeased him by wreaking it upon his innocent child" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 214;1875).

After that the adults keep a sharp eye on him.

The severest punishment for the child is to have its parents send it away or make it leave the hut. Hot tears flow amid loud sobbing, until finally, after the prolonged torture of loneliness, the little culprit is called into another woman's hut where he is left to himself without the least encouragement. On the following day or even earlier he slips back to the parental hut, ashamed and fearful, and crouches quietly by himself to avoid provocation for renewed banishment. If the punishment is combined with loud scolding on the part of the parents, as happens on rare occasions, the little rogue seems weak with shame which he is unable to conceal for days.

[746] The adults now and then weave references to Hiúmen into their teachings. I was definitely assured of this, but unfortunately I did not write down the exact words.

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861 The success of this training is assured in large part because it is adapted basically to the individual, and there is no mass instruction, even during the Kiyaxa celebration. Instruction or correction is given in any specific instance according to the child's personal talents, its obvious shortcomings and weaknesses, and its highly individual naughtiness. "The teacher there does not forget which methods the child reacts to most favorably. In one case loud scolding, in another the withholding of food or a more pleading tone in the discussion of mistakes will bring results far more quickly than whippings or shutting a child up in the hut. I could cite many definite cases to illustrate all this" (Gusinde [5]:169), which I cannot list separately here.

864 As I have explained earlier (p. 391), it is not customary among the Yamana to give their children special instruction on the so-called facts of life at any age. Although adults are extraordinarily careful in sexual intercourse since there are almost always children present in the hut, nevertheless the children observe many things that make them think. They finally become quite fully informed from what they see. They are never told where new babies come from; in fact, as long as they are small, they are fooled with a "stork story."

When the midwife carries the newborn child in her arms, she joyfully shows /748/ it to its brothers and sisters and to other children who are in the vicinity. She says: "I have a little child here. Didn't you hear a little while ago that a baby was crying over there [she points with her head or finger in some direction]? Of course it cried very softly because it is still very small. I went over there and found the little baby. Here it is!" And again she shows it around. Some lively child will say naively: "Yes, I heard the little baby crying, too!" Whereupon the woman answers: "Well, that was this little baby that I'm carrying in my arms; I have fetched it!" Then a child will perhaps ask: "Where did I come from?" The woman will answer: "You came from over there [she points to some place]; X-kipa [she mentions the name of a woman who was perhaps present at the birth of the child asking the question] found you there and brought you to the hut!" Satisfied with this information, the child will talk with other children and tell them:

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"X-kipa found me over there when I was very little and brought me to the hut. Now this woman heard another little child crying over there in the woods [or behind those rocks, etc.] and brought it here; it is very small and will now stay with us'" The children are content with such explanations.

In later years their observations and impressions accumulate. When they reach puberty they know about the origin of little children, and neither girls nor boys need enlightenment. Adults strictly avoid obscene talk and insinuating jokes in the presence of children, but the latter among themselves, discuss their observations of the sex life of others and draw their own conclusions. Several older persons assured me of this.

When a girl experiences her first menstruation she is generally and quite rightly assumed to be adequately informed about sex life. They now wish to protect her from illegitimate pregnancy. With puberty and even a few months before that, a period of special dangers begins for the girl, about which she is warned from all sides. Young boys are watched no less closely. Young people could easily succumb to the sexual urge; hence they are thoroughly alerted and alarmed by serious threats. The girls are often reminded: "If you associate with boys a lot, you will later give birth only to boys!" This suggestion is more effective than ethical explanations.

Parents and adults have allowed their children to associate only with their kind from the time they were small. They say quite frankly: "If we do not accustom our children early to the idea that boys associate only with boys and girls only with girls, we shall not be able to keep the two sexes apart later on. Then they will not obey their parents in spite of warnings and will engage in all kinds of secrecy!" If relatives and neighbors notice that a girl /749/ constantly meets a chap in hiding, they call her mother's attention to it. The latter will say to her daughter in a firm tone: "Do you have much to do with that boy?" Frightened, she will answer evasively: "No, I don't!" But the mother, quite rightly, does not trust this report and continues, as though she were serious: "No matter, but marry this boy soon and go off with him!" The mother's determined way of speaking is all the more effective since it comes as a surprise. The girl suddenly realizes that she is in a serious predicament, and in

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764 order to get out of it she is not content to be more careful in her meetings with a forward chap, but will stop seeing him altogether.

Sometimes, in order to keep a girl from illicit sexual relations, she is informed somewhat earlier about the things that are usually told her in the days of her menarche: "Men are murderers! If one of them lasciviously lies upon a girl, he kills her (184).

> 184. These words are meant to be a serious warning to intimidate girls. Every woman knows well enough that an unsuspecting creature who has yielded to her seducer will never be murdered by him.

So don't let any boy lie on top of you, not even if he is very insistent and says: 'It will be very nice!' Don't let a boy playfully put his hand on your body. Do not give yourself to him without resistance, even if you like very much to be touched by him'" The girl is earnestly given to understand that she must never consent to intercourse because an illegitimate pregnancy would cause many people disgrace.

Nelly and Calderon repeatedly assured me that they were not familiar with a single instance of this kind. If a girl had really slept with a boy, she would not have kept this from her mother for very long, since she is sufficiently aware of the consequences. They also told me that almost always a young wife will discuss her wedding night with her mother soon after the marriage.

Responsible men confidentially warn the boys: "Beware of a woman who invites you to follow her secretly to some hiding place. She will show you what she [her body] is like. There are lascivious women who would like to explain all kinds of things about their bodies to a boy, and in doing so they gratify their desires. Such women will cut off your penis, and that is terribly painful (185). Then you will not get a girl to become

> 185. These words, too, like the above warning to girls, are meant only to frighten the naïve and gullible.

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your wife later and you will have no children. This [the real reason for your not having children] will soon be generally known and you will be disgraced forever!"

Thus, fear and intimidation are important training measures which the Fuegians also use in order to keep their children within bounds at the time of /750/ turbulent sexual desire. When they are grown up and enlightened, they themselves make fun of their naïve guilelessness and their gullible trustfulness. For example, the young men will say among themselves: "When I was small they tried to frighten me and said to me: 'If you have anything to do with a woman she will cut off your penis!' Now I know that they only wanted to scare me off!" With their own children they, in turn, will use this same warning which old Alfredo revealed to me.

Precepts and admonitions are one aspect of education; the other consists of definite exercises and specific instruction in skill and manual dexterity. The boys are treated differently from the girls, in accordance with the division of labor prevailing in every family. This training is supposed to prepare them for the duties and particular sphere of work that await everyone. Until the child is three years old, it is entirely under its mother's care. From then on the father gradually draws his little son entirely to himself, plays with him, gives him errands, often calls on him to help, no matter how little, so that the child does not leave his side. Thus the boy learns about all his tools and types of work, observes him in all his activities and skills, and finally will have to test this and try out that. If he succeeds in his manipulations, he is praised; if he is still too awkward, he must repeat them and go on practicing until he feels secure. The demands that the father makes on his son increase step by step, and he is not really finished learning until he has reached marriageable age when he develops his full physical strength. An uncle will also keep after his nephew with much patience and tenacity, so that the boy will acquire enough dexterity and skill in the manipulation of weapons and tools, as well as in hunting, to be completely independent in obtaining food (186).

186. Despite some shortcomings in the following description, Bridges affirms that children

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are given definite instruction by parents and adults: "Parents universally take no pains in the education of their children, and give them no instruction in the arts of native life, save it may be a little instruction in swimming and basket-making by mothers to their daughters; yet I believe that even for this they are generally as much indebted to others as to their mothers. The children learn to speak, to use the spear, sling and arrow, to make these and other implements and vessels as best they can" /cited in English/ (Mbk. IX, 214,1878).

The girls are given all kinds of chores by their mother. They must tend their smaller brothers and sisters, roast meat for them, keep the fire going and bring wood, put the roofing of the hut in order and see that the smoke draws off quickly, prepare pieces of leather and sew them together, and take part in gathering mussels and in servicing the canoe. This more or less amounts to a full day's work for a woman. The girl is brought up to do these things almost playfully and becomes so familiar with all of them that after a certain age she can in part replace her mother.

/751/ Any one of the girls or boys who acts clumsily and awkwardly, who out of stubbornness or resistance will not be pressed into service, is disciplined by his elders with steadfast patience, but also with tireless tenacity, until he has attained an adequate degree of proficiency and skill. Again and again the little sluggard is taken to task by his own parents and by other people and all the adults help to prepare every child to be independent in his later life. The small services that a child is obliged to perform for his parents form the practical part of his education, with which the actual instruction is interwoven (187).

187. Bridges (1):22 pointed to this very briefly: "The children's help was required in all the duties of native life" /cited in English/. Hyades (2):38 and (7):587 mentions

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that "girls and boys are required to take part in the work at an early age."

7. Results of the Training

Nelly once confessed to me: "Adults worked on a child long enough and forcefully enough to convince themselves that he would become a good and industrious human being!" It can be said without exaggeration that, throughout, the Tamamo have fulfilled their general duties and this must be regarded as a favorable result of their training. Although many vicious outside influences have very much undermined the strictness of the old customs, nevertheless, even up to the present time, almost everyone is more or less punctilious about the things he regards as just and good and proper. They are especially concerned that their children should be favorably influenced and well brought up. Although today some mature women tend to be somewhat cheeky, yet the group as a whole puts restrictions on youth now as before in order to make it impossible for them to transgress seriously. The fact that, despite grave hindrances, the youth initiation has not been entirely given up proves better than words how much the seriousness of child-rearing in former times is still preserved to this day.

If one surveys the individual child-rearing principles that are obviously emphasized in the [illegible], he is amazed at their extraordinary soundness. They have been tested during centuries of application and have proved themselves successful for many generations. The parents act as natural educators, and the group as a whole supports them. Love for the child and steadfast patience are virtues which will probably never be lacking among the Foogiaw in training their children. Education will always be individual and will aim for the perfection of soul and character in the child, as well as the development of manual skill. Among these much despised Foogiaw one would scarcely suspect so much educative wisdom as is revealed in their admonitions, which, moreover, are couched in such brief and concise statements!

/75/ Even the best human arrangements sometimes fail, not, however, because they themselves are faulty. If there have actually been a few failures in training, the system itself is not immediately responsible, but rather the unfortunate nature of the child or the detrimental influence of outside forces. Calderon, who, on account of his unfortunate nature, disregards the tried and true principles, is probably the best example of how far a person can deviate from the ideal of the forefathers. He thinks he is better than other men and enjoys many advantages because he is Fred Lawrence's brother-in-law. He therefore disregards the warnings and advice of well-meaning fellow-villagers. The consequence is his offensive laziness, which often causes his wife and children to suffer hunger; if he is irritated and in a bad humor, as he often is, he beats them without sufficient reason; usually he lacks the most essential implements, and the ones he has are not in order. We must really regard his two boys as spoiled children. They lounge about among other people, are impudent and rude, very unkempt in appearance, and never available to help anyone. How often have upright elders expressed their regret over this negligent family and said again and again: "In former times no man would have been allowed to become so negligent; at least his wife and children would have been taken away from him and put in better circumstances!"

/77/ The demoralizing influence of degenerate Europeans has brought several women into disgrace (p. 353 /untranslated/). To understand this we must realize that these unfortunate persons are no longer standing and warned by the tribe as a whole, which must be regarded as already disintegrated. Today they have no possibility of marrying again, and the constant enticing temptation finally breaks down the last resistance of their honest sentiments. It would be wrong to blame the child-rearing principles themselves, for in contrast to these very few delinquencies, one can point to the virtuousness and soundness of by far the greater majority of the people as a whole. Missionaries, as well as many travelers, speak of the most pleasant surprises and gratifying observations. I myself have learned to appreciate many of them as quite superior human beings and as sterling, reliable persons; I even sincerely love a few of them as true, valuable friends. This is the result of the influence of others in training them and of

/752 cont./

tireless self-education. Everyone has faults and deficiencies, which no one will deny and the work of those who train young people is admittedly sometimes difficult and painful, but the level of general morality is high and social virtues are abundantly practiced.

Finally we should not overlook the importance these simple people give to the living example. The elders have no illusions about the fact that the success of training presupposes the training of teachers. They avoid gross infractions and serious transgressions before the eyes of their children, for such mistakes /753/ would seriously undermine and thoroughly destroy what they have laboriously built up. At the same time they strive as much as possible to behave irreproachably and to assure themselves of praise as "good and industrious human beings," esteemed as admirable tribal members. Much sound wisdom about life is revealed to every outside observer who studies the educative work of our Fooglam without prejudice.

3. Girls during the Menarche

Parents continue training their own children until the first or second youth initiation, for children do not marry until directly after this experience. Only those children who show a certain mental maturity are admitted to the [illegible]. By that time they are a few years beyond puberty. Hence, without exception, the girl's menarche comes before her entrance into the youth initiation. The former event seems so important to the society as a whole that it feels justified in subjecting the child to its own treatment, beyond the parental influence, for it is to the advantage of the whole tribe to have one more girl who has concluded her development. Hence the tribe decisively asserts its power and guarantees for itself this new member for the preservation of the people as a whole.

The habits and qualifications desired for a Tamana girl in connection with her first menstruation are interwoven without any trouble in the parental upbringing. For practical reasons we shall add to all this an account of how women conduct themselves during their monthly menses.

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a. Regulations for Girls

Among Yamana children there is a decided physical development around the fourteenth year, leading to a greater fullness among girls than among boys (p. 396) (188). For the

188. Hahn (a):604 also observed this: "The development of the young girl is most remarkable at the moment of puberty. It is so rapid that it is difficult to determine the age of a girl between ten and fourteen" /translated from French/.

majority of girls the menarche begins shortly before; girls experience it between the beginning of their 13th year and the 15th. Hyades (d):187, not deviating very much from these figures, says: "For all Fuegian women the menses begin between the 14th and the 15th year" /translated from French/ (189). In February,

189. Hyades (f):172 repeats this in essence: "Menstruation begins between 14 and 16 years of age. These figures coincide with the information given me by the Reverend T. Bridges" /translated from French/. Another, inaccurate assertion on the subject by this missionary was rejected by Hyades (d): 717, 718.

1930, Lola was exactly 13 years and four months old when menstruation began for her; the venerable John Lawrence knew her birthday. This occurred on my second journey, and I had an opportunity at that time to learn how a girl must adjust to the event. /754/ We must add that Lola bore her first child at the age of 13 years and seven months. It is usually impossible to determine the exact age for each girl, because no Fuegian pays any attention to the exact age of anyone (190).

190. Bridges (d):203 expresses himself vaguely: "As regards the time of puberty,

/704 cont./

185 It is greatly retarded by hardship and forwarded by plenty. Some are as well developed at 12 as others at 18 or even 19 years" /cited in English/. He (x):204 is certainly referring to this period, however, when he says that girls "from 13 to 14 years of age were instructed by their aunts, after which they could marry" /translated from Spanish/.

187 The mother forewarns her daughter out of precautionary solicitude: "Soon you will feel very unwell and there will also be bleeding in an unusual place. Do not worry, and tell me about it!" Thus the girl is prepared. As soon as the first indications of menstruation appear, the girl tells an older sister or a woman close to her, an aunt or grandmother, who brings it to the attention of the girl's mother and women neighbors. The girl seldom tells her own mother, "she is ashamed!" I was told. The bleeding itself is called [illegible], according to [illegible], and [illegible], [illegible] is the name for the girls themselves during these days. Throughout, they have almost no physical discomfort. Dalen (f):171 agrees: "...this function is easily established, although the natives combine a few days of fasting with the first menstruation" /translated from French/.

At the same time various significant restrictions begin for these [illegible]. Free play and carefree wandering cease, and the girl must remain close to the hut. She must either sit by the fire or perform various kinds of work. The main die moves and sits about in doing this, the latter. Primarily she must help and substitute for her own mother in the daily work, but she must also fetch water and wood for other women. Again and again she is specifically requested to do these services and to want to the neighboring huts. If there is nothing left to be done, she must crouch quietly on the floor in the personal hut, be as motionless as possible, refrain from inquisitively looking about, and practice silence. The night's sleep is considerably shortened and early rising absolutely demanded. The [illegible] is constantly and arbitrarily watched, cared for, instructed, and admonished by other women. Occasionally a woman will invite her to join her at her daily tasks. They go out together to draw water, pick up

/The room./

wood, gather roseds, pick berries, etc. In all this the girl is willing and eager and behaves very submissively and quietly. Her whole expression shows gravity and inner concentration. The girl also closely observes units when the patients work at one of the neighboring huts. She keeps her eyes cast down and moves as though she were afraid and intimidated. She may not look at the moon or stars, nor at the sun and rainbow, much less adopt a comfortable or negligent attitude.

/Tili/ Once I was walking with Tiliy when a Ashkhuid passed by. She was completely preoccupied, her head bowed, she was looking at the ground with half-closed eyes and moving forward almost furtively. Tiliy carefully pointed to her attitude and said softly: "This is the way every [illegible] behaves!" She is supposed to preserve the same retiring attitude and a quiet withdrawal until her first child appears, at any rate it is expected of her just before her first confinement. After she has given life to her first-born, she may be somewhat freer in her ways and talk happily and animatedly.

As may be expected of our Tarasas, they require the girl to fast entirely upon this occasion. Originally she was given nothing to eat or drink during the first three days, not until the fourth day was she given a total of three roseds and a little water at intervals. Since most girls, however, begin to feel weak before the end of this time, they are immediately given a few roseds or something else to eat, but always only good things and herbs grown, since ordinary things would be physically harmful to them. With the sixth day the food and drink restrictions are in part removed. Before the end of this period, on the eighth or ninth day, the girl must bathe and wash in the water; then she is given a piece of gazaara meat, if there is any in the camp. If she had not taken her bath before eating this piece of meat, the dog that tracked down the gazaara would forever lose its scent and would henceforth not be able to find other gazaaras. The [illegible] is forbidden to kill any animal. If there is an opportunity to do it, secretly, or the nine young birds take flight, she gives the animals she has caught to a man who kills them

/700 cont./
the law (140).

> 141. In Galla (p.)94 we read: "The first menstruation takes place between 14 and 15 years of age. The first appearance of the menses is celebrated by the parents and their friends. Nevertheless the is considered impure, and for four days the young girl is obliged to abstain from various foods" /Translated from French/.

In order to emphasize effectively the rule to eat little or nothing, the women tell the following story: "Once a dikiriye was alone in a canoe. She knew about the restriction yet the security on a few beans. Soon a strong bolibou /water spirit/ came along, seized this dikiriye, lifted her out of the canoe, and devoured her. He left only her intestines, which other people afterwards found on the beach. Now they knew what had happened. That is how this disobedient girl was punished." Every girl is given this warning on the occasion of her first menstruation.

The women regard the urgent admonitions they give the dikiriye as more significant than the above-mentioned restrictions. In connection with this I learned from Delly and Mary that the dikiriye is always all given instruction in the duties of a married woman and mother, as well as in her conduct /700/ from now until marriage. They recommend to her as the foremost virtue willingness to help and to please others, industry, and modesty. She is gravely warned against secretly yielding to an importunate chap because the result would be an illegitimate child (p. 412). By this time the girl is sufficiently enlightened about sexual life and knows where children come from. Many observations from earlier childhood have helped her obtain this information (p. 380). Every dikiriye has ample opportunity immediately to practice the virtues learned here, as we have just spoken of this above.

Besides these things I also learned the following definite admonitions from Delly, which I repeat here verbatim and without change.

/TM cont./

"If someone enters your hut, he will sit down beside the fire. If he wants to eat a few morsels, do not refuse to give them to him, but offer them willingly."

"You must not fume and scold, grumble and find fault when you are in your hut or in front of it. It is not seemly for a woman commonly to drink and give vent to her anger."

"If an old man asks you for fire or wood or water, give him what he needs immediately and gladly. Venerate old people, do not laugh at them."

"If a blind man comes along, take him into your hut willingly and give him something to eat."

"If you hear something bad and unfavorable about another woman, do not immediately tell it to someone else; that kind of gossip about others brands discord. You don't like it either if others talk about you contemptuously and negatively behind your back. If you repeat all the gossip you hear, other women will avoid you and among themselves they will say of you: 'That one is a gossipy woman!'"

"Always be true to your husband; defend him when others find fault with him and wish him ill."

"Soon you will have a husband. If he should transgress and secretly go after another woman, do not instore him; do not believe that you may now take up with another man. Never forget: you are a woman, he is a man (100)! Soon he will be convinced

> 100. I was told that when a man takes liberties in this respect, his mistakes are generally less seriously condemned than if a woman permits herself the same transgressions. One expects a woman to be faithful under all circumstances, even in the face of her husband's violations.

that you are faithful to him nevertheless [in spite of his delinquencies]. Then he will realize his guilt and leave that other woman so as to belong wholly to you."

"Always be busy and industrious. Keep your things and your implements in good order."

"Take care of your children, then you will experience much joy with them."

/700 cont./

"Sleeping at the house of other people and chattering a lot in the late course /707/ agitation and even start quarrels. Be quiet and reticent in speech. Too many words only cause misfortune as a rule."

"You will now experience the ~~[illegible]~~ [the appearance of menstruation] with every moon. Be particularly active and industrious at that time, eat little and always only the good things. Think always of what we have taught you and of how you conducted yourself when you were ~~[illegible]~~!"

Every woman who feels it is necessary repeats this advice to the girl, always along similar lines. The mother herself tells her how she must dab the blood with small bundles of ~~[illegible]~~ /Barbara flowings/ which she must immediately burn, so that the men and children will never see them. /Fig. 70 appears here./

During these days the ~~[illegible]~~ is also obliged to wear a special facial painting, consisting of fine red lines placed close together, drawn from below the eyes down over both cheeks (Fig. 70). For this purpose ~~[illegible]~~ /red pigment/ is used, mixed with fish oil and applied with a thin stick.

Fig. 70. Facial Painting during the Menarche.

The conclusion of all the observances and requirements on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation is the so-called "big meal" for all these present. It is called ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ (110), "the big meal of the girl who has

110. BD-420 also gives "~~[illegible]~~ to distribute a lot of meats to all people around" /Arend in English/.

reached maturity." It is like a public banquet, to which the girl personally invites all tribal members. It is her duty to gather many animals and roots, berries, and birds' eggs; the other people contribute the meat of sea lions and birds, as well as a great many fish. Then in a gay mood they all sit around the quantities of food and enjoy themselves. They remain together a whole day, and the ~~[illegible]~~ must serve each of them again and again or encourage

/[illegible]/

[illegible] 194 them to eat. Then all the participants dispense and tell everyone: "That girl gave us good things to eat, fish, cassavas, and other things!" They are referring to the *dipirige* tree, and everyone who hears about it interprets the words in this way. Now everyone knows that the girl has reached physical maturity.

β. Women during the blossom

141 An account of how a woman conducts herself during her monthly blooming, *dipirige*, is inserted here. The *dipirige* has already been told that "this occurrence will be repeated with each bloom." It scarcely causes a woman /[illegible]/ any noticeable discomfort. Just as during the first menstruation, every woman blows up the blood with a small bunch of *[illegible]*, and bows to inadequacy in the hut line.

Abstention from certain foods is not exactly demanded, but the woman is supposed to choose better pieces for herself. "Do only those are good for her!" She must practice composure and withdrawal, be silent and yet very active. All this is not so strictly demanded of her as of a *dipirige*, but a woman cannot take it too lightly, because this would have a bad effect on her children. Everyone knows exactly what is demanded by tribal custom, hence the individual more or less conscientiously and faithfully fulfills this obligation (194).

194. Hale's (p.404 opinion) is not very accurate: "Subsequent menstrual periods do not give rise to any particular practices and do not prevent sexual relations" /translated from French/.

γ. Interpretation of blossomation

The fact that Lola's menstruation began during my second sojourn in Bangle Channel (p.169) made it not only possible for me to get most of the above details, but also put me on the trail of the mythological interpretation of the menses as the Totems tell it.

/TSS cont./

P4 On that particular day old Alfredo had been given a sip of wine by a European and was in excellent spirits. I accompanied him to a small garden near Pierre Remotine, the property of the Lawrence family, where he was supposed to hoe the turnip beds. In an unmistakably personal tone he asked me: "Do you know why Lola is acting so gravely and does not look about her at all?" I told him that I had not noticed it. Satisfied to hear this, he answered me: "It is all because she is now Tyl!" I immediately asked him to explain this further to me. "I'll tell you everything tonight!" he answered me.

When night had long since fallen, there were many people crowding around the fire in Alfredo's hut. He remembered his promise and gave me a sign that he now wanted to fulfill it. Gradily he sent the children away and was loudly emphatic that it was time they went to bed. With a somewhat sullen remark he indicated to the women that he would like them to leave him alone with the men. When the men were by themselves, he told

P4/ TS the familiar story of how the first communion was introduced by the elder Tyl'ley.

The entire myth will be given below. Here it will suffice to indicate that since the introduction of this bleeding Tyl'ley has been regarded as the husband of every woman and as causing the flow of blood through a sexual act. Because he always unites sexually with each woman, it is necessary for her to get up soon after bleeding begins to free herself each time from Tyl'ley. /TSS/ How commonly the Tsonga regard the relationship of every woman to Tyl'ley as a conjugal one may be seen from the fact that they say his elder sister, Tyl'ley ka-mwaiya, is the sister-in-law of all women.

P4/ TS The girl does not learn about this myth in connection with her ceremony. It is saved until the youth initiation, so that the child will not prematurely become familiar with delicate matters. /T1 It is not until the Tsilanga that the candidates are told everything that tradition recounts about Tyl'ley. As a rule the overseer of the initiation does this, but the female candidate almost always learns the story of the very first menstruation from the woman who spanked her. Nelly added the following to these details: "When I was first permitted to attend the Tsilanga, we candidates had to

/759 cont./

144 get up one by one at midnight. The old instructor led us out of
143 the Great Hut, pointed to certain stars, and mentioned their
141 names. He also showed us the Yoálox family, saying: 'The
older Yoálox is the husband of every girl who has become ~~girl~~;
he causes the blooding after every moon [<cycle] !' He also
impressed upon us: 'Keep all this to yourselves, for this is a
secret for girls and they should not speak about it with boys!'"

The women actually do avoid speaking about their monthly
141 blooding, wéiis. It finally becomes so taken for granted that
they probably seldom think of Yoálox in connection with it. I
did not find out whether they specify a particular reason for the
connection of the moonn in the change of life; they are indifferent
toward it.

4. Children's Play

137 The happy disposition of our Fuegians is shown in entertain-
ing games. Whenever there are many people gathered together
and the weather is favorable, they greatly enjoy playing together
for hours. Children seem show a great love of play, and when
several get together, they, too, immediately begin to entertain
themselves in their modest way.

Both boys and girls amuse themselves, each in their own way,
and the demands on the sexes are already in force here. In play
no less than in other things the separation of the sexes is supposed
to be observed; this is gladly overlooked, however, when so-called
social games are played, in which adults, too, often take part.
There are no special playthings for older children; instead, for
their childish entertainment they very often imitate grownups at
work. Although the social games mentioned above are not con-
fined to children alone, they are the ones who most frequently
play them; hence we shall describe them here.

152 Despite the unrestricted merriment and wholesome liveliness
that all children show in their play, this flock of little ones is rela-
tively silent and quiet. True, they are not /760/ mute, but there is
no wild noise and ceaseless yelling, and no one would dare shout
at the top of his lungs or cry just to show off. This behavior fits
very well with the quiet and hushed manner of babies (p. 520) and
adults.

/760 cont./

859 What we emphasized in the beginning cannot be stressed too clearly, namely, that every child has a strong impulse to play as soon as he is with contemporaries. The individual family is sometimes thrown on its own resources for days, and the monotony of the canoe trips during which the children must squat almost motionless by the fire offers no stimulation worth mentioning. In the end even a group of lively brothers and sisters fall into a bored, depressed mood if they are together every day. When strange children meet, however, they get together in no time and in their play develop a liveliness of which one would not have thought them capable. It is as though they had to be brought together from a distance to awaken their strong play instinct which had fairly been lulled to sleep by an unchanging environment. Even children who have never seen each other or who have been separated for years meet with a complete lack of self-consciousness and get along together so well that they hate to part when their parents are obliged to travel on in different directions.

α. Boys' Play

Only those European visitors who feel warmly toward merry children and who themselves enjoy their play are in a position to win the confidence of the little Fuegians. A person observing them closely will realize that they are bright creatures, although they are not nearly as lively as the Selk'nam boys (Vol. I, 398). We cannot overlook the fact that they must spend hours in the canoe; no wonder they are relieved as soon as they climb out on land. Then they romp about happily and feel free of all restrictions; they run and jump with exuberance, as though they wanted to expend quickly their accumulated surplus vitality. They know that their freedom of movement will end abruptly, perhaps even the next morning, so they thoroughly exhaust themselves walking and running, climbing and tumbling about. Nothing stops them. They must sometimes lend a hand to beach the canoe and to erect the hut, but often not even that. Thus they are left entirely to themselves, and the parents hardly glance at them when they rove about on the edge of the forest, on the beach, or between the rocks.

/760 cont./

857 In true boy-fashion they inquisitively stick their noses into everything; every unusual phenomenon arouses their attention. They swarm from one spot to another and never tire of testing themselves in all kinds of feats of strength. They like best to go away from /761/ the huts, to be safe from any interruption by calls and threats of elders. Then they hunt for birds' nests and tease the fledglings, to the chagrin of the pair of feathered parents. They knock over rotted tree trunks and shout with glee if they expose and scatter a whole swarm of capricorn beetles or fat larvae. If particularly good Cyttaria fungi should entice them, they will also climb trees, otherwise not. At low tide they tumble about on the wet beach and stamp their feet down hard in puddles so that the water squirts up high on both sides. They try to catch with their hands the little fish left in shallow puddles and with short sticks dig in the sand for the razor-shell clams (Solen) when the latter squirt out a few drops of water. Tirelessly they scour the coasts and rocks; everywhere something rivets their attention and they come across novelties that provide fun for them.

I often roved about in the company of these lively youngsters. With their extraordinarily keen eyes they discovered all kinds of insignificant things and devoted themselves to them with bustling liveliness. I realized how thoroughly these children learn from their earliest youth to train their senses, especially their eyes, and to use them well.

857 147 Furthermore, it is surprising to note that these boys are never squeamish and whining, but courageous and reckless. Stark naked they trample about in the snow or in cold sea water, roll around on gravelly soil, run barefoot over rough stones on the beach, and march through thickets of thorny bushes. Afterwards they examine their many scratches and rub spittle on larger wounds, but they pay no attention to their aches and pains. When they wrestle, they hit hard and audaciously, scratch each other mercilessly, and fight until the opponent is exhausted to the point of offering no further resistance. I never saw a weaker one avoid a stronger one; sometimes a weakling even attacked a strong one and defended himself bravely.

524 868 There are no special playthings for boys. An adult, usually the father, gives them imitations of the weapons and tools that the

/761 cont./

men use on their hunts. In order to be able to handle them well, the children are taught from early childhood and must constantly practice. These articles are, of course, easily damaged or they are lost, but the adults never tire of making replacements, and the more the boy grows, the larger his implements become. One most often sees the Fuegian boy hurling the sling. It seems to be a part of him, and, following the example of the men, he wears it like a necklace around his throat where it is always and immediately handy. He likes best to aim at birds, but teasingly he will also send a stone to the ground close beside some other child. In childish innocence he will hurl /762/ stones in all directions and is sometimes so naïve about it that he must be chased away again and again from the vicinity of the huts.

Practice with short spears which adults demand of the boys seems to be less convenient and also more difficult. One of the men will call them to follow him. The target will be an old basket or, more often, the root [illegible]nuwilux, of the large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera), hăuš. The boys are lined up not far from the target and must demonstrate their aim. They are praised or scolded according to their accomplishments. No less frequent are the archery contests with bow and arrow. It is part of the father's duty in training his sons to acquaint them early with the use of weapons. It is a vital necessity that they know how to handle them, and therefore this kind of practice is demanded of them when they are still boys (195), repeated in the youth initiation,

195. As Bridges (a):183 has reliably observed: "little boys early become skilful in throwing spears and stones, slinging, and making spears, etc." /cited in English/.

and continued even after that. The Yamana do not give their children a finished weapon with the bone point, which is too valuable. Straight poles pointed at one end or useless harpoon shafts serve just as well. They entrust larger boys with snares and praise their success.

Such imitations of weapons can hardly be regarded as playthings. The Fuegians do not primarily intend them to be, but

/763 cont./

regard them as a means of helping boys to prepare properly for their later duties in connection with food-getting (196).

196. Bridges (I):22 and (b):208 also emphasizes this purpose: "They early, for pastime, prepared themselves for their future life; spending their time, if boys, in practising throwing or slinging stones, in spearing or shooting arrows at a mark, or in attempting to make the various articles of native property" /cited in English/.

There is a kind of very modern fireworks, ŝilakina (ŝil, simple, plain," kina, "flame up, burn": "little fire, play of sparks"), which is not so much play as simply entertainment. Not only the boys who put it on, but all the occupants of the camp enjoy it. They take the very soft, light interior wood of a beech trunk that has been altered by fungus formations and use it in small pieces about as long as a finger. It begins to glow surprisingly quickly, and when it is hurled into the air it glows even stronger. Each little piece of wood describes an arc as it ascends and falls to the ground. If it has not been entirely burned up, they pick it up and throw it again. Several boys together repeatedly do the throwing, and they must be very nimble. It is a delight to see the little, glowing pieces rise and fall in large numbers, like bright points in the dark night. It is only when several families are together and in a happy mood, that is, for a wedding, for the tŝ'ikipa /763/ tŝin, for the conclusion of the ĉ'ikaga, or beside a stranded whale, that a larger group will sometimes on a quiet night enjoy themselves for some time with this ŝilakina (197).

197. Without doubt Despard was referring to this on July 29, 1859: "When confined to the 'ucer' [hut] by bad weather, they amuse themselves by throwing burning sticks at each other" /cited in English/ (VP:VII, 10:1860).

Another way of amusing themselves seems strange at first, but is explained by the fact that boys are not permitted to wear real

/763 cont./

857 made of bark, *ajiko kilis*, as they are used at the *ona* festival. As a substitute, they disfigure and distort their faces. They stretch open their eyelids by pressing a small bent stick against the upper and lower edge of the bony eye-sockets. Furthermore, they put one end of another pair of little sticks against the inside of the nostrils and the other end against the inner wall of the lower lip. Finally, they also paint their faces with all kinds of patterns in white, black, and red. Disfigured in this fashion, they swarm all over the camp and creep up on an unsuspecting child to terrify it.

We see that lively boys do not lack all kinds of fun and a variety of entertainment while their parents are camping in one spot and when favorable weather permits them to roam about freely. They are outside a great deal even in heavy rain and thick snow; they like to stretch their legs in vigorous exercise.

β. Girls' Play

857 Whether or not one judges by European standards, he must
157 admit that, in contrast to the always lively boys, Fuegian girls display an extraordinarily quiet manner. Among adults, too, the woman, in contrast to the man, keeps herself very modestly and submissively in the background. Hence girls are probably born with their unobtrusive nature, having inherited it from their mothers. In reality they are reserved and almost timid; they seldom shout loudly, and only occasionally, when they are far away from the huts, do they engage in noisy fun. They are by no means lacking in liveliness, but it does not show unless they are among themselves and not being watched by adults. They can even be audacious and decide on mad pranks that would be appropriate for vigorous boys. They are by far more courageous and unafraid than European girls of the same age.

857 Circumstances are such that girls far more than boys have to
858 perform small services in the family. When the mother leaves the hut for a while, perhaps to go fishing or to gather wood, they must often tend their brothers and sisters who are no longer babies. This does /764/ not rob them of their freedom, but merely puts a

/704 cont./

[85] [84] little restraint on them. They are not too serious about taking care of their brothers or sisters in any case. They do, however, like to hoist a younger brother or sister on their backs and drag him around everywhere for hours; they evidently do not find it taxing or tiring. Moreover, they must perform all kinds of work for the mother in the hut, such as tending the fire, fetching kindling, arranging the sleeping places, helping to clean and scrub skins, taking all kinds of implements from the canoe to the hut, and helping to load the canoe. Naturally they also often accompany women who are going out to hunt for berries, pick fungi, and gather mussels. From their own observations, implemented by some instruction, they become acquainted with all the kinds of manual work that the women must do, namely, dressing skins, weaving baskets, making little ornamental strings, catching fish, and servicing the canoe (198).

> 198. Bridges (a):183 also conceded: "Girls are early taught to make baskets, plait fish-lines and 'asina' (an ornamental fine plait of sinew worn on the neck), to paddle, and to do other work" /cited in English/. Elsewhere Bridges (i):22 and (h):208 repeats that girls amuse themselves "in threading berries as necklaces, paddling in the canoes, making reed baskets, or in attempts at painting faces, etc." /cited in English/.

Actual practice, such as is required of boys, is not spared the girls altogether, inasmuch as they must demonstrate to their mother or a woman neighbor their ability to do this or that work until they have acquired a certain dexterity.

[85] [381] When the girl is alone or with only a few sisters, she likes to make all kinds of ornaments. When she has reached a certain age, she makes herself a few necklaces and anklets as a matter of course. It gives her great pleasure to wind and braid the tendons or string on them the smallest pieces of bone and berries. If several girls are gogether, they paint their faces with all kinds of patterns and try to outdo each other in the careful execution of this ornamentation.

/764 cont./

524 857 On most days, if the girl is not needed by her mother, she is left to her own resources. She spends these hours among her playthings. Chiefly she takes up her doll, which is extraordinarily simple and hardly deserves the name, quite in contrast to the not unattractive article that makes the Selk'nam girls happy (Vol. I, 398). A cylindrical-shaped stone the size of one's fist or a short rounded piece of wood without any finish or ornament suffices for this yĕkaxĕ́ola. The girl treasures, cherishes, carries, and treats her little doll exactly the way a European girl does; sometimes she even talks to it.

The child is not supposed to play with this yĕkaxĕ́ola too long, and the adults soon warn her out of superstitious fear. For example, the father will say /765/ to his daughter: "If you fondle and care for this stone much longer it might turn into a Sinuluwatayinĕ́jwa!" The latter is a person of stone in a myth told by our Yamana. Intimidated and frightened, the girl will throw the stone away and choose another as her yĕkaxĕ́ola, or the stuffed skin of a small bird or of a young otter. They remove the skin of these animals in one piece by turning it inside out after making a short incision in the belly. Then they stuff it tightly with dried grass or rush stalks and sew it up. With touching tenderness the girl ceaselessly runs her hand up and down it, caressing the soft otter pelt.

The child also obtains a doll in another way. She takes the carcass of an adult bird, usually a wild goose or a cormorant, cuts the skin all the way round at about the center of the bird, strips it off, dries it, fills it with dry grass, and sews up the large openings. In this way the head, neck, and breast take on their natural shapes.

857 231 In imitation of some of the women, many girls constantly go after young animals, usually a newly hatched bird. They care for it and feed it with the most loving concern, play with it, and sometimes caress it rather wildly so that the tight grip or constant tugging causes the animal pain. They take it along with them on their almost daily trips and care for it until it is ready to fly. It is not customary to clip its wings in order to keep it from flying away. If only for the sake of variety, they let the animal fly as soon as it can. For this purpose they most often choose a wild goose, a wild duck, the laughing gull, kiwágu (Larus dominicanus),

/765 cont./

857 and the brown robber gull, wilagila (Megalestris skua chilensis);
231 cormorants and penguins, which are too dirty, are less desirable. After the girls have become fond of such a bird in the course of a few weeks, they do not have the heart to kill it even if it would make a succulent meal. If one day it flies off, they follow it enthusiastically with their eyes and send good wishes after it.

857 As is well known, the bark canoe belongs entirely to the woman (p. 135). For very obvious reasons the father makes a
868 small model of it for his daughter. It is like a larger canoe in
581 every detail and is large enough for a single girl to sit in and row about. On my second journey I noticed a seven-year-old girl in Puerto Bobalo who was extraordinarily skillful in managing her vessel which was 145 centimeters long. Her father had previously given her a smaller canoe. It was a charming sight when one sunny day toward noon the mother set out in her boat and was accompanied by this daughter. Each of them steered her boat into a tangle of large brown algae /766/ and they began to fish. After three hours they returned to the landing place and the girl, too, had a few pieces of booty, to the delight of her father. More often a father will give his daughter a small paddle with which she strikes the water while standing on the shore.

857 If one sums up what a solitary girl has in the way of entertainment and play, diversion, and minor manipulations, it is clear that she is not condemned to boredom and that, on the contrary, many a day will be too short for her if she has become absorbed in her play. If several children are together in the same place, they choose other forms of entertainment.

7. Social Games

857 The designation "social games" does not precisely fit all the forms of diversion which are listed here; all I wish to express is that several children come together in them. Adults often take part in these games, but children are always in the majority.

857 By way of introduction it should be said that a tame, patient
231 dog is used by boys, as well as girls, for all kinds of jests and mad pranks. It sometimes seemed impossible to me that such an animal would take so much from foolhardy boys! They tug him around

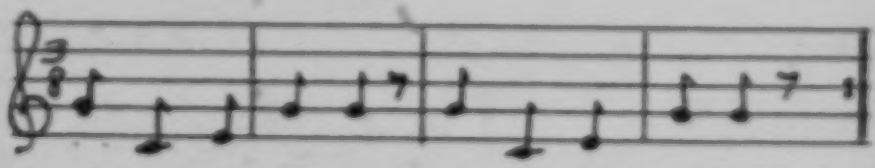
/766 cont./

and push him, tease and provoke him, tie his legs together, load him down with all kinds of things, duck him in the water, imprison him in a hollow tree trunk stuff indigestible things into his mouth, and daub him with paint; in short, they try out the craziest notions on him. The rude handling and the sudden bursts of laughter of the children frighten the dog, but although he growls and barks, he does not have the heart to bite. This is perhaps the same animal from whose furious attacks a European can sometimes scarcely defend himself (p. 206). No matter how wildly children treat a dog, their parents do not scold them for it. Occasionally, however, a child will play very affably and affectionately with one. They all treat young animals with particular tenderness.

Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 386), Yamana children of both sexes amuse themselves with a regular swing. A strong rope suffices, of the kind, for example, used in the large harpoon. Its ends are tied to a high branch, so that the middle part hangs down about half a meter above the ground. A child sits down on it, without using a special seat, and hangs on with both hands; another child starts it swinging by giving it a push. The little ones swing for hours until bad weather drives them into the hut (199).

199. Fitz-Roy (a):186 mentioned the swing: "Swinging between branches of trees, as our children do, is also a favourite pastime, the ropes being made of strips of sealskin" /cited in English/.

[33] Usually they endlessly repeat the five-syllable word kajyennamula in the following rhythm: /767/



káj - yen - na mú - la káj - yen - na mú - la

/787 cont./

857 The child who pushes the swing gives it enough force and speeds
524 quickly enough so that the word ends at the moment the swing comes back to him. Sometimes parents fasten this simple swing inside their dwelling if the framework is strong enough.

The actual social games are played only when several families are assembled. No less important is a suitable combination of people, among whom there must be at least one who livens up the others and who makes the children enthusiastic. Nowadays the Tamala constitute only a very small group which scarcely ever comes together in one place; the number of children is correspondingly small. Hence it is no wonder that they almost never play the games which were formerly very popular. The following probably represents a complete list of their group games.

Tikayémal'o: The game known by this name in the western dialect and known as tolaémalo in the central dialect is exactly like the popular European "blindman's buff." Many people stand in a circle, both children and adults. Someone must let himself be blindfolded and placed inside the circle. The others may move or low in a circle, but change places very quietly and repeatedly. Meanwhile the former goes around, touches a person, feels him all over, and says his name. If he has guessed right, the slight tension is relaxed, and amid lively talk all around, these two exchange places. Usually the "blind man" is mistaken, and the more often he blunders, because one person or another eludes his groping search, the livelier are the participation and jolly laughter of the others.

857 There are often amusing surprises. On the evening of January
524 16, 1932, about 20 persons were lined up to play tikayémal'o. Even
520 the oldest women, such as Paine, Emilia, and Mary, took part with animated gaiety. When it was the latter's turn to be the "blind man," she gropingly ran into her own husband and touched him all over without recognizing him. He dexterously slipped out of his coat and left her holding it as he leaped away. Then there was such tremendous laughter that the game was interrupted for many minutes. A "blind man" must keep on searching until he guesses the name of the person he catches.

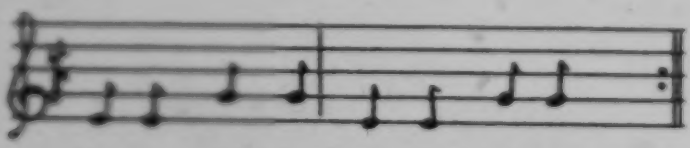
857 Tumutella: Boys chiefly play this game, girls less often, and
524 adults still less. They use a wide, gently sloping grassy area or lie

/Text cont./

[532] down at the top of an incline, their bodies stretched out lengthwise and their arms pressed tight to their sides. They lie on the same plane, that is, in a row, not above or below one another. At a signal everyone gives himself a little push and they all roll down. They try to keep the axis of their bodies exactly crosswise to the direction of movement, but inevitably /768/ this orientation cannot be maintained, and then several of them collide or roll over each other. The participants enjoy this entertainment all by themselves, whether or not there are other people watching. It is all the more fun, of course, if there are a lot of children, if they let themselves roll down fast and if they are very animated. RO:229 mentions dala, dala, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank" /cited in English/.

Equalibe. Girls and women like this game, but they also let young men and boys play; the latter sometimes play it by themselves. They stand in a row. A particularly fat person forms the beginning and the others line up behind him, the bulkier ones nearer the front, the medium-sized ones farther back, and the thin ones at the end. They all squat down, but without touching the ground with their bottoms. Everyone puts his arms around the chest of the person in front of him, and they all push up close against each other. The leader supports himself with both fists on the ground. Then the closed rank slowly begins to move straight forward, all of them simultaneously dragging first the right and then the left foot forward, at the same time rocking from left to right. The column is sometimes several meters long and even comes puddles, for it is imitating the movement of the canoe on the waves. For this reason the game is called ananlúra, "a boat rocks on the water" (ínan, the canoe; lúra from lur-telli, "to wobble, roll as a crash canoe from side to side," /cited in English/ according to RO:280). They all sing in time to the movements of

[533] their bodies:



Čg - na lú - ra Če - na lú - ra

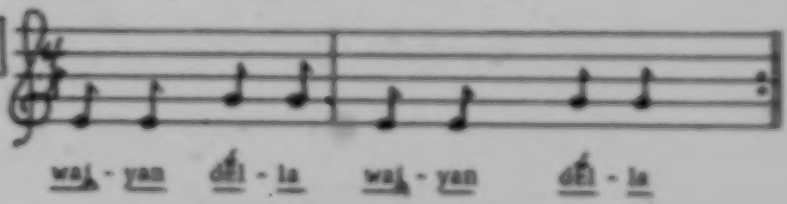
/768 cont./

[32] After two syllables the whole column quickly bends to the other side. Gradually the movement is accelerated up to top speed, which arouses great merriment. When the column breaks up at the end, they all roll around happily in the grass (200).

> 200. BD:265 mentions hanxaluara, "a game in which this word is intoned and regulates the rate of swaying the body" /cited in English/. This undoubtedly refers to the game described above.

Wajyandélla: This game is almost like ɛ́nalóra. Here, too, the players form a long row, but they do not embrace each other; instead, each person places his hands on the shoulders of the one squatting in front of him. This means that the column is by no means as closely locked as in ɛ́nalóra and hence does not sway as far to one side. The word wajyandélla is repeated along with the rhythmic body movements as follows:

[33]



/769/ Just as this word formation can be broken down into wájyana, the bow, and dél̃a, dél̃a, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank" /cited in English/, according to BD:229, so the game is intended to imitate the swaying of a bowstave whose two ends are grasped with the hands. Toward the end of this game the swaying back and forth of the body is accelerated.

Hájyekalá: This is entertainment chiefly for boys and men. They form a column, standing one behind the other, headed by the largest one. Each of them bends his knee and lifts his leg up and back, holding it at the ankle with the hand on the corresponding side of the body. It is hard to keep one's balance in this position. The whole column then hops backwards, without turning around, to the following rhythm:

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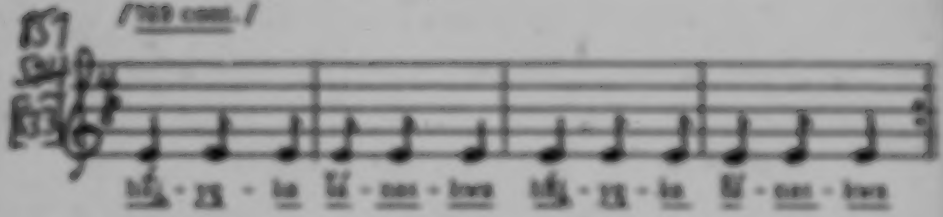
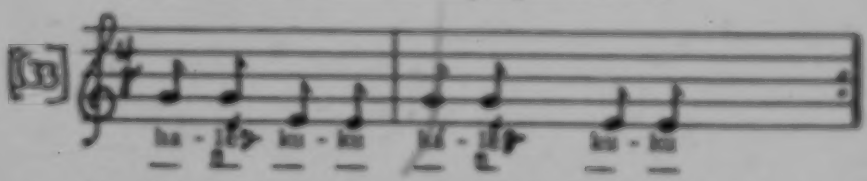


The free foot touches the ground on the first, third, and fifth syllable. It is too tiring for the dancers to keep up the song to the end. Hence the onlookers continue it and after a time accelerate it to such an extent that the dancers can no longer follow. The column disintegrates in utter confusion. Sometimes the column is allowed to extend a considerable distance from the spectators while the latter sing softer and softer as though the column were losing itself in the far distance. This game is very popular during the Sakaya festival because it is quiet.

Hakpeiku: This game is restricted almost entirely to males. The boys and men who play it form a rather long column with a short space between each person. All of them uniformly lift either their right or left leg, stretch it out horizontally, and grasp the knee with both hands. They hop in a straight line toward a certain goal, turn here in an arc, and hop back to the starting point. This movement is strenuous, and occasionally a chap will drop the outstretched leg if his other one will no longer carry him. The participants and spectators constantly repeat the word



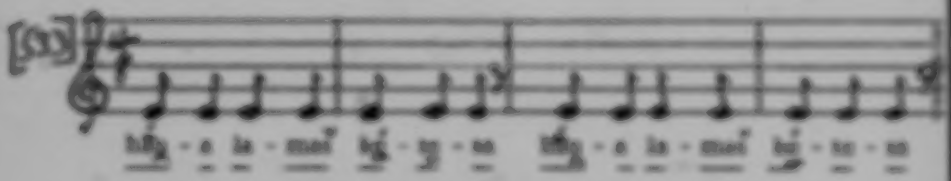
in such a way that with each second syllable the foot touches the ground.

Kakiyana: This is a sort of hopping race that children are encouraged to do. Sometimes adults take part. Everyone lifts one leg from the ground in unison, /770/ either the right or left. They let their arms hang down freely. They either form a column and move very far from the starting point, most of them dropping out from exhaustion before they reach the goal, or a few form a diagonal row and hasten toward a goal from which they must immediately

/771 cont./

return to the starting point. The one who gets back first without having fallen on his other foot is the winner. The candidates in the contest were most often allowed to refresh themselves somewhat with this game.

[illegible]: This is a ring game played by girls and women, to which boys are sometimes admitted. They form a circle and hold hands. A man or woman, less often a child, places himself in the center. Then the circle moves, first in one direction, then in another, with growing speed. It finally becomes a fast whirl. The person inside becomes almost dizzy. After several rotations top speed has been reached, and the players themselves lose their balance. Suddenly their circle disintegrates when they all drop hands, and everyone makes a complete turn wherever he happens to be standing and thereupon falls to the ground. During the first few rotations the entire circle squats down at brief intervals and gets up again as fast as lightning, but after the rotation becomes faster this is omitted. Meanwhile they unceremoniously and with increasing speed repeat:



The word [illegible] (201) comes from the western dialect.

> 201. In BD:771 we find: " '[illegible],' a senseless childish play in which this word was intoned" /cited in English/.

The same game is called [illegible] (202) in the southern

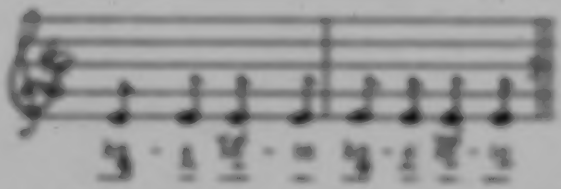
> 202. BD:474 gives: " '[illegible],' a game and to play this game in which the players go rapidly round in circles more or fewer forming the circle till they get giddy and fall" /cited in English/.

/??? [illegible]/

[illegible] [illegible]: both have the same number of syllables.

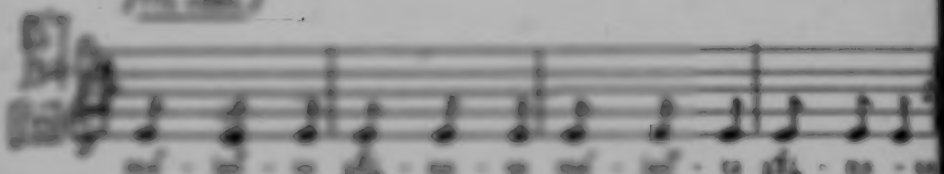
[illegible] [illegible]: This game shows many similarities to [illegible]. Women and girls form a circle, put their arms around the necks of their neighbors on either side, and draw their bodies close together. A man or boy, sometimes a woman, stands in the center. As the circle slowly moves, the person in the center, holding his arms tight to his sides, tries to push between two women. As he makes an effort to do so, the women or girls draw still closer together, and despite great dexterity he usually does not succeed in breaking the circle. Only after he has made several attempts at different places do the variations players voluntarily open up an escape for the helpless one. In case a clap succeeds /???/ in breaking through, one of the two girls between whom he escaped must usually step inside the circle. Some other clap, however, may be called upon to enter it. As the circle slowly moves, they repeat the following in a perfectly uniform and exceedingly fast rhythm:

[illegible]



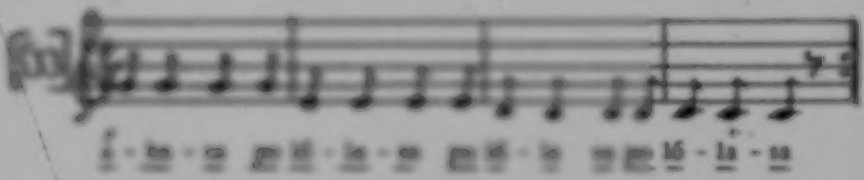
This is frequently interrupted because certain parts of the circle, amid much laughter, push close together against the imprisoned man's attempts at escape. At variance with this, BD:310 gives " 'Isalitata,' a certain kind of game when those who play join in a long line by putting their arms over each other's shoulders and sway forward and veer about singing" /cited in English/.

[illegible] [illegible]: Girls primarily arrange this game. They line up side by side in a row, and each one places her hands behind the necks and on the shoulders of her neighbors. Hence they are close together. Facing forward, they advance a few short steps, meanwhile swaying in unison to the right and left. After they have gone a certain distance on level ground, the whole row turns and goes back to the starting point. Slowly moving back and forth, they ceaselessly repeat the word:



While they sing the first half of the word, that is, the first three syllables, they bend toward the right, whereas with the last three syllables they bend toward the left. At the same time they also change the step.

Chenpelilleme. This game is very similar to the preceding one and is played mostly by girls. Just as in *ollaitapilmaa*, they form a row side by side and face forward. The row does not move forward, however, but first to one side and then to the other. Then, their feet step sideways. While all the participants uninterruptedly and in moderate tempo repeat the long word



they bend the upper part of their bodies in unison and in rhythm with their steps from the one side to the other.

/??/ As we have said, social games are played only when several families are together and in a good mood. Once they have started, however, one game usually follows another until every one is tired or until the dark night and the rain drives them into their huts. They thoroughly refresh themselves spiritually in this way and thereafter disperse in all directions until a lucky star once more brings them together. The Yamana have a few other games, of which *kilisha*, a game with a ball, is the most popular. These games are played only by adults; hence a description of them is postponed for a later section on general entertainment. /Fig. 80 appears here./

857 We should refer here to a few minor pranks for which boys are always in the mood when they meet girls who are strangers or whom they might meet again. To have a little fun at their expense is, after all, a boy's nature, and the little Yamana do not

/772 cont./

[37] lack this thoroughly wholesome, unspoiled characteristic. Since they stay within the limits of fun, the adults do not stop them. Then, in winter, they throw a snowball at a passing girl from some hiding place and enjoy the greatest satisfaction over not being discovered. On another occasion they will hurl spume from the cling to the ground or into the water beside an unsuspecting girl, only to frighten her. If several girls are sitting together, some boys will stealthily strip off a handful of small Cytteria harioti fungi and from their hiding place toss them against the heads of the girls until the latter leave the vicinity of their tormentors.

Another time bolder rascals will provide themselves with a quantity of the short, thumb-length thallus buds of pesa, a small brown alga (Adenocystis utricularis). These plants are found in masses on the stones of the shore and are filled with water (Fig. 80). They can be easily removed from the thallus by pressure with the thumb nail; at this point the plant structure is less resistant. As though each thallus bud were an elongated bubble, it is grasped between thumb and forefinger and pressed gently, whereupon the water filling it shoots out in a fine, far-reaching spray, as though from a small squirt. This is the way the fellows tease the girls whose affection they would like to win, while they squirt particularly heavily the girls they want to annoy. Of course the boys also squirt each other with the pesa.

[37]

Fig. 80. Brown Alga, Adenocystis utricularis. Two-thirds natural size.

/773/ With these and similar harmless pranks the two sexes become sufficiently well acquainted; it would be a disadvantage for their spiritual development if they were always kept absolutely isolated from one another. Whenever the children of different families chance to meet, they immediately begin their social

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857 games spontaneously and need not be told to do so by the adults. If the latter take part in them, they have a stimulating effect on the young people.

8. Mutual Relationship of Parents and Children

873 Anyone who only superficially observes the Yamana will probably be aware of the loving affection and solicitous care that every pair of parents bestows on their infant, whereas mature children seem to be a little aloof from their parents. This is an illusion. There is something in it, however, since young people show great respect for all adults, especially their own parents. We can probably say that the little Fuegians are born with this charming virtue, and if it should be deficient or lacking, it is taught and fostered by the child's teachers. The latter, as we know (p. 514), keep their expressions of love within narrow limits and in everyday life never smother a grown child with affection. Not that the Yamana have no feeling for him -- they outdo themselves in loving service for a sick child -- but because they are much too reasonable and sensible to expend themselves in too many externals, for this would gradually make the child indifferent. A love that is genuine and willing to make sacrifices does live in the hearts of the parents, however, and expresses itself in their efforts for the child's spiritual and physical welfare. This is for them a matter of duty, to which they devote themselves in all seriousness. The child knows this and experiences it often. Hence he cannot be otherwise than respectful toward his parents who are far superior to him in maturity of judgment, general experience, and knowledge of tribal customs.

Due to this conviction and his inner restraint, the child is submissive and docile; he gives unqualified obedience and shows that he is very willing. Those children know nothing about grumbling at orders and pulling a long face at disagreeable errands. Defiant stubbornness and loud contradictions are unheard-of in Tierra del Fuego. Every child knows that he must submit to the orders of adults, and children do this even after they are married (203).

203. Hyades (p):332 said several times that

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"as a general rule, adults always respect their parents, the father a little more than the mother" /translated from French/.

The respectful attitude of Fuegian children toward their parents does not in the least affect the loving fellowship of parents and children together. They are naturally dependent on one another, and the more they are in harmony, the more surely will the /774/ family, as a self-contained social entity, fulfill its duty toward the tribe and the more easily it will attain its goal as an economic unit. The children complement their parents spiritually, and vice versa. They cling to each other and instinctively as well as consciously avoid anything that might separate them. They live for each other's happiness.

[52] Although embracing and kissing are not customary among them, they show their affection toward one another with friendly looks and heartfelt words, by caressing and leaning against one another, with affectionate play and all kinds of attentions. Parents are concerned day and night about their little ones; they provide food and shelter, maintenance and security; indeed, they risk their own lives and defy all kinds of danger to promote the health and welfare of their child (204). How dear and precious a child is

204. Like Lovisato (b):145 (see footnote 208), Bove (e):158 and (g):234 also makes the absurd assertion: "Mother love lasts about as long as the child nurses at the breast; by the age of seven or eight the parents' influence soon ceases altogether, for as soon as the son is able to get along without his parents, he leaves them. The only feeling that governs them is self-love." Hyades (p):331 describes the true situation, although much too tersely: "In general the parents care for their children until the day the latter marry" /translated from French/.

to its parents is unequivocally expressed when the child is severely ill or lost through death.

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593 Since they are sincere, they take pains as teachers so that
861 the child's happiness in life is assured. They can even be severe and relentless, not because they enjoy tormenting him, but because weaknesses of character that appear in early years must be removed as soon as possible (205). Parental training is oriented

205. Hyades (g):38 specifically mentions: "Girls and boys, by the way, are very well treated, even though their parents do not act as tenderly with them as parents do in Europe.",

by the traditions of the tribe as to what is good and necessary. Accordingly, the Fuegian principles of child training are altogether moral.

Our natives know very well that with youth the example is more effective than the word and, conversely, that the former can cause much greater harm than can be remedied by the latter. Hence adults consciously conduct themselves as irreproachably as possible in the presence of children. The older people, especially, in contrast to men and women of younger years, are sometimes painfully exact about this. They rigidly control themselves and display astonishing self-discipline in order that their conduct will not weaken the warning and instructive words that they addressed to the young people in their day; successful training presupposes self-training.

867 I often observed that children were sent from the hut under a harmless pretext whenever the men were getting ready to tell risqué stories. On such an occasion, after the last boy had disappeared from the hut, old Alfredo whispered in my ear: /775/ "The children must not know that we enjoy smutty stories, otherwise they would like hearing them just as much as we do!" One evening red wine, sápa, was freely dispensed and had such a powerful effect on an older woman that in her tipsiness she began to behave improperly. Immediately the adults removed all the children, and while this was going on Mary said to me: "If the children saw how that woman behaves, they would become bad. That is why we send them away!" Children probably never hear crude

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867 jokes and obscenities from adults. The latter may reveal weaknesses during moments when they lose control of themselves, but in general they try to appear exemplary and without faults in [833] front of youngsters. Parents are extremely careful in their conjugal relations, since the little ones sleep in the same hut.

593 Because parents honestly strive not to show their weaknesses before young people and to be truly at their best for their own child, the children see them in a pure light. This brings about the tender and deeply felt attachment of children toward those to whom they owe so much. Fortunately, this is also promoted by daily contact, which convincingly demonstrates how very much the members of an individual family are dependent upon one another. The consciousness of belonging together becomes so intense that individuals do not like to be separated even temporarily. Hence, it is impossible for some families to get a child from among their circle of relatives to stay with them in their hut for a few days, which is greatly desired by a family that for some reason or other does not have a little child.

591 At present there are a few families without children, and they are making an effort to take some child in with them for a 152 short time (206). In spite of all the love and care that they offer,

206. Bridges (a):183 hints at this custom: "Children do not always live with their parents, sometimes a friend takes them away and they are away from their parents for weeks" /cited in English/.

the little ones scarcely ever feel quite at home with them and soon beg to be taken back to the parental hut. Children simply cannot stand to be with other people permanently (207). We can

207. Bridges (a):184 once maintained: "A girl before she is finally given away to her destined husband is now and again sent to live with him for a short time, when she again returns to her parents; but no sooner is she of marriageable age than she is finally disposed of" /cited in English/. Such a

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practice was not customary among the Yamana according to my inquiries.

easily imagine how the poor creatures who are orphaned suffer for years. Some relative, to be sure, takes charge of them and tries his best to care for them, but he cannot replace their real parents.

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Even after children have long since established their own households, they often visit their old parents (208) out of a childish

208. In the following words, which are incomprehensible to me, Lovisato (b):145 proves that he lacks a gift for observation: "Among the Fuegians... maternal love does not exist. The love of a mother for her child lasts only as long as he is nursing; when he leaves the breast, it diminishes, and by the time he is seven or eight years old it ceases completely... Also, the children have little love for their parents" /translated from Italian/.

desire for love; they are happy when they can see them and inquire about their circumstances. /776/ When they meet other people, they try to learn something about their own parents. The latter, too, follow their child no less with their thoughts and hopes when, as sometimes happens, they do not see him for months. They are happy when they hear good and pleasant news; unfavorable and derogatory reports make them sad. It is well known that during the first several weeks, the new bride often goes back to her mother, and the mother, overjoyed, says to her: "I want to paint you!" She does this with particular tenderness and in the hope that the young husband will learn to love her daughter very much (p.428). Afterwards the daughter presents herself to her husband and says: "My mother painted me!" This is intended to remind him of the wedding and to arouse his initial love. The frequent visits, however, are above all an expression of the firm attachment of the child to the parents, which even marriage does not loosen.

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861 The characteristic quality of the relationship between parents and children in Tierra del Fuego is sincere love and warm affection. The children display respect and confidence. In their training procedures nothing diverts the parents from what they regard as duty and necessity. I often and carefully observed them in this respect. I was most struck by how well they are able to control themselves and how much patience they have with their children, along with all the firmness. Fuegian teachers have an almost inexhaustible forbearance, and they never tire of pointing out mistakes to their small offspring or often repeating urgent advice. Santiago, who was inclined to be somewhat irascible, quietly and emphatically talked to a regular rascal for about ten minutes and dismissed him with the words: "I have often warned you, and I shall not stop doing so until you stop being naughty!" Then he added confidentially to me: "Children will be children; it takes a long time to get anywhere with them by talking, but one succeeds if he does not give up and is always well-meaning." Adults instantly react to obvious faults and occasional infractions; they even give whippings, but this seldom happens.

593 Parents and children, naturally bound together most closely and almost exclusively dependent on one another because of the nature of their economy, are held together by the bonds of sincere love and warm affection. Their happiness in life is in being together and caring for one another. Outside, the storm may be howling and shaking the frail hut, living conditions may be as poor as can be, and for long weeks there may be no other companions, but if the parents and children are all together, they are happy. In the bosom of his own family everyone feels protected and safe; the family guarantees the well-being of the individual. If one sees parents and children together, he can see shining from their /777/ eyes the trust that flourishes in the soil of a family arrangement destined by nature. Parental happiness and childhood paradise in the Indian family thrown back on its own resources: these are the brightest spots in the threatening climatic turbulence and the frosty unfriendliness of Tierra del Fuego.

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C. Kinship and Tribal Society

182 Among peoples on the low cultural level of our Yamana it is easy to observe the close reciprocal relationship between the nature of the economy and the social order. No one will regard the one as caused solely by the other, nor may one summarily deny a certain inner connection between the two.

The total number of this Fuegian tribe is low, and there is nothing to indicate that it has been noticeably higher at any time during its long presence in the Cape Horn region (p. 227 /untranslated/). This fact alone permits only one interpretation, that a complex social order, according to the various points of view from which one judges and evaluates social structures, is not to be expected here, particularly since a compact social life in one place involving all the members of the tribe is completely lacking. What our natives acquire in the way of subsistence is certainly sufficient; they do not die of hunger, and can even eat their fill. An excess of any part of their limited assets, however, is impossible. They are dependent on an imperfect form of production; hence, they can neither become numerous nor unite in a compact social life. The population is limited, so to speak, by the available food supply, and since this is sparsely distributed over a wide area, a permanent association of all tribal members in one place or in a few specific places is impossible.

594 621 The entire tribe seems torn asunder into very small individual groups, each of whom lives widely separated from any of the others and enjoys complete independence. These groups cannot be subdivided into still lower units. They are the individual families. Each family, as such, forms an independent economic unit which is isolated as a distinct community and pursues its own goal in life. Lothrop (b):160 says briefly and definitely: "Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit" /cited in English/.

602 571 Closer and more remote degrees of kinship spread out around the individual family as around a point of crystallization, and the consciousness of belonging together is more pronounced the closer the blood tie is. The more distant the individual families are as kinsmen, the more tenuous their mutual relations. This /778/ is the basis for the limited association and wide dispersion of all

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602 571 [578] families within the same ethnic unit. Groups living far apart sometimes do not even know one another; their mutual estrangement is favorable soil for the growth of suspicion, mistrust, and animosity. Insecure and harsh economic conditions react on the social level in a centrifugal sense, if we may so express it (209).

209. Stirling, who has let some inaccuracies creep in, says: "Family life in Fuegia is exclusive. Get outside the family, and relationships are doubtful, if not hostile. The bond of a common language is no security for friendly offices. To be of the same tribe is no guarantee of safety in travelling. Fear and distrust are stronger than tribal affinities" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 11; 1870).

619 Nevertheless, there is a true tribal society on a modest scale. It is based on a common origin and language; it is expressed in the fact that everyone acts in exactly the same way and that all are subject to a definite, unwritten, universally binding law. Every individual feels that he is a member of the whole, he knows that he is united with one who can make himself intelligible to him in the same language, and he traces his origin to the same source as all others who are just as lawfully rooted in his native soil as he is. This consciousness becomes so strong that, as individuals and as a community, they are convinced that they form a special group; they believe themselves to be "the people," the ethnic unit having exclusive right of existence in their homeland. The boundaries of their homeland are regarded as something given in ancient times (210), whose legal validity is thus inviolably se-

210. Bridges (k):233 first learned of the homeland boundaries from the Yamana themselves.

cure for all time, no matter what the explanation for the original bounds of native territory and its first occupation by their forefathers.

/778 cont./

619 554 Basically one tribal member is equal to every other socially and enjoys complete independence. All of them have about the same number of objects, little though this is, and there are no differences in property and economic pursuits which elsewhere sometimes cause very disparate social levels (211). In general,

> 211. This means, as Hyades (p):335 expresses himself: "There is no king, chieftain, aristocracy, castes, social hierarchy, or slaves; it is a regime of equality in the purest sense" /translated from French/.

therefore, every adult has the same rights within his tribe, and along with this they all have some duties. No one is specifically raised above the legal equality of the multitude by special privileges; they recognize neither one nor several headmen. One person or another may acquire a certain morally superior position within the narrow circle of relatives and acquaintances /779/ through richer experience after a long life and moral rectitude. His superiority, however, is solely a matter of personality and is neither precisely defined nor founded on objective legal norms.

[197] A division of the whole tribe into so-called dialect groups has occurred under the pressure of local conditions. It is purely external. The slight differences resulting from it are in line with the unavoidable pursuit of a livelihood by each independent group. The social order in which degrees of rank are unknown is just as simple as the economic structure (212).

> 212. The basic ideas of this section have already been published by Koppers (c):155.

a. Kinship

594 602 Yamana social organization rests on individual families (213).

> 213. Spegazzini (a):165 gives this fact in another form: "The family constitutes all their society" /translated from Spanish/.

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> The interpretation which he adds is very mistaken: "And the man lives without pleasure, but also without great sorrow, among his wives and his children" /translated from Spanish/.

These families associate with each other more or less closely according to the closeness of their kinship ties. Consanguinity is the basis of kin-group unity, even though it spreads out in far-flung ramifications. Persons with the same blood form neither a strictly defined group nor a definite social stratum in a unique position with their own rights.

602 Among the closest relatives, however, certain obligations accrue out of their solidarity. These obligations are also part of the larger sphere of general social obligations, but they are more strongly emphasized for kinsmen. Conversely, the latter may count on special mutual aid as a sort of compensation. Kinsmen in the stricter sense of the word do not as such dispose of any kind of common property shared equally by all, nor are they guided by any unusual special regulations.

1. The Individual Family

594 In this context, as in other parts of the present book, the designation "individual family" always means only the small group made up of parents and children. Thus understood, the individual family is the kin group in the strictest sense of the word. Earlier travelers either failed to call attention to the family's natural and lawfully upheld position among the Yamana people as a whole or they only mentioned it. The navigators of earlier times recognized the occupants of one and the same canoe as a tightly knit group, but they were often mistaken in their judgment about individual persons, regarding as a man's wives two /780/ or more women who usually only by chance were in the same canoe with him. Subsequently it was chiefly the missionaries who opened their eyes to the actual independence and economic position of the individual family. Nevertheless, most travelers of the last few

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594 centuries did not grasp the significance of all this for a basic interpretation of Fuegian social organization, and only a few, for example, Lothrop (b):160, recognized the uniqueness of the individual family as it actually exists.

The individual family is the sole source of the vitality and the economic accomplishment of the entire people. This characterization expresses the fact that its significance could not be greater. The family's primary and basic obligation, which nature herself has imposed upon it, is fulfilled through all that the family is to the child and offers to him. This is by no means all; beyond that it also works specifically for society as a whole. For our natives, "the family constitutes all their society" /translated from Spanish/, as Spegazzini (a):165 expresses himself. It constitutes a living and working community of all its tightly knit members; the individual does not live for himself, but for his family.

This legal standing is evident in the fact that everything that serves the family and keeps it alive is available as the common possession of all members of the family. The hut and the canoe, in which everyone has his place, belong to all of them together. The one hut and the one canoe, with the single hearth fire, are symbolic of the lawful unity of all those who form this small group. It is isolated and depends upon itself alone. Its own law governs it, and no outsider may presume to tamper with this law. Stirling clearly understood its independence and self-government: "Each family -- each canoe, it might be almost said -- represents an independent authority, and carries in it, not the rudiments merely, and not the symbols, but the most complete form of government known among the fisher Indians of Tierra del Fuego" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34;1870).

Other persons, whether they are related closely or more distantly, do not belong to this compact unit representing the individual family. In every hut only the parents and their own children have their rightful places; all other persons are regarded as occasional guests. The latter have no right to make any kind of demand on their hosts; they are remarkably modest in their requests for help and support, even when they are in urgent need. When a grown child marries, he voluntarily relinquishes his direct connection with his hitherto close family unit and forms a new one which thereafter likewise exists in complete independence. An

/780 cont./

591 orphan, on the other hand, remains joined to the surviving parent until it establishes its own household through marriage, but until then, besides his own parent, the new stepfather or stepmother must take charge of him /781/ as though he were his own child. All this shows the individual family to be a small state by itself, whose boundaries literally coincide with the narrow plot of the family hut, ēkēr̄ (214).

> 214. Bridges refers to this with a somewhat unfortunate way of expressing himself: "The term 'Ucurr', which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used to denote clans or tribe" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884). Hyades ( ):718 repeats this sentence.

593 The proximity of the members of an individual family unavoidably forces upon them a consciousness of their mutual obligations. Nature herself imposes them on parents, and the attitude of the children toward those who gave them life is thus also imposed. Hence they must be ready to help obediently and submissively, if they are old enough, and to contribute to the stability and growth of the family as a whole. All members derive their particular benefits from the family community, but the latter can exist and live up to what everyone expects of it only if the individual serves it according to his ability and the prevailing division of labor. On such soil a strong, loyal family feeling flourishes. Each of the two parents lives and works for the family; their own wishes, which they might sometimes like to express, recede far behind its demands; their personalities unfold in the service of the other members of the family.

Hyades (f):586 observed this pronounced family feeling: "The feeling for the family is highly developed among these savages; it has been rightly said that it was the strongest tie that kept them united" /translated from French/. Elsewhere Hyades (g):35 emphasizes that despite separation "a certain connection always remains and the offspring of a family always feel that they belong together in case of danger and strife." Finally, Bridges

/781 cont./

573 (a):204, from another point of view, also elucidates that relationship: "Family influence is the one great tie which binds these natives together, and the one great preventive of violence" /cited in English/.

The son or daughter or the older brother or older sister who marries may not renounce his duties toward his own parents and his still small brothers and sisters. It is true that he severs his close connection with the parental hut, but not his intimate relationship with the persons it shelters. For the rest of their lives the children remain in touch with their parents and their brothers and sisters (215). For each one his own family, as well as every

215. Spegazzini (a):166 emphasizes "family affection," but this love, far from "not manifesting itself much in familial relationships, in which a barbaric egoism seems to prevail" /translated from Spanish/, enfolds its most beautiful blossoms on this very soil. In the face of all this, Bove (g):234 makes the monstrous assertion that "there are no family ties" /translated from Italian/.

member of it, is incomparably dear and esteemed; everyone gives the family the highest praise and remembers the truly good things it stands for with utmost appreciation. Anyone speaking of the accomplishments /782/ or personal advantages of the members of his family praises them in terms which can hardly be surpassed. Universally binding regulations prevent the dangers of one-sided exaggeration, rude selfishness, or voluntary withdrawal from the group. The individual family per se is and remains firmly fixed (216); other individual families and its considerable

216. Hyades Op):333 confirms this with the following words: "The family is well established, but the tribe does not exist, properly speaking" /translated from French/.

independence even of the society as a whole (217).

217. Now and then an observer realized,

/782 cont./

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along with Bove (g):244, that "every Fuegian family lives in the utmost independence" /translated from Italian/. This independence, however, is never so great, as is maintained in Outes (g):58, "that the father cannot threaten his child nor give him direct orders" /translated from Spanish/.

A second prominent feature of the Fuegian family is its patriarchal tendency. The latter is clearly recognizable, although by only a few indications; yet there is neither a law of inheritance nor clan formations with special demands and obligations. Nevertheless, the father is and remains the head of the whole family, even though, through the division of labor, his wife has an independent field of activity, and he therefore rarely asserts his slightly superior power. Martial:196 describes this lawful relationship as follows: "Authority in the family belongs to the father; wife and children obey him. His authority, however, is very weak and is exercised only in case of necessity" /translated from French/. Each of the two partners can freely [421] dispose of his or her special property. Nevertheless, the care and responsibility for common possessions or for family property fall on the man. He gives the ultimate decision on matters of some importance for the family members, and all of them yield to his words. If he dies, his older brother must take charge of the wife and children he leaves behind, and this is a universally lawful obligation. This patriarchal tendency in Fuegian family organization is not expressed in name-giving, but since here the name is taken from the place of birth (p. 536), there is no real connection.

2. The Circle of Relatives

612 In the tribal society of our Yamana every individual family is an independent, self-contained structure. In contrast to this, relatives are a loose aggregate of all those who are joined by the ties of consanguinity. According to Fuegian ideas, persons are related to each other only if they can trace their origins to some

/782 cont./

612 common ancestors, no matter whether this is through the paternal or maternal line (218). Through marriage, /783/ adoption, and

> 218. Bridges (i):21 also points to the equality of both lines: "Whilst children belonged to the clan of their father yet their mother's relations were equally dear to them, as their father's and they were equally bound to befriend and defend them and to avenge their wrongs" /cited in English/. Elsewhere (b):235 he emphasizes that "relatives on the maternal side were regarded as highly as those on the paternal side" /translated from Spanish/.

so forth, a close connection is established between the persons concerned, but not kinship. The prohibition against a conjugal union of persons in whose veins flows blood of the same ancestry is quite universal.

What Bridges (b):205 has maintained on this subject stands
582 without qualification: "They [the Yamana] never marry anyone
612 related by blood, however distant it may be" /translated from Spanish/. They show a definite aversion toward the conjugal union of persons who may be regarded in any way as relatives by blood (p. 421). A brother-in-law and sister-in-law are not regarded as blood relatives; hence the precept for levirate marriage does not encounter any difficulty from this quarter (p. 413). On the same grounds it is permissible for a man to marry two sisters and take both into his hut simultaneously (p. 418). It is not permissible, however, to marry a widow and her daughter at the same time, because if the man marries the former, he must fulfill the proper paternal obligations toward the latter (p. 423).

It would obviously lead to misunderstanding to speak of a spatial limitation of consanguinity. Actually, most families who belong together stay within the same area, and a goodly number of the persons forming a local group are related to one another. For that very reason, the young man or the girl chooses a marriage partner in the neighboring region, so that with marriage many a person leaves his circle of relatives and joins another local group.

582 /783 cont./
612 Though he may then spend the rest of his life there, he remains bound as a blood relative to the family from which he sprang.

601 In order to be sure about mutual connections, the Yamana language furnishes very exact designations even for distant degrees of kinship. These are, of course, just as familiar to everyone as are words for articles of daily use. Hyades (p):334 writes: "Kinship is recognized even to the fourth or fifth degree" /translated from French/. Although our Indian is not painfully exact in counting, nevertheless he knows how to determine a relationship that sometimes goes back to remote degrees and that finally can be established only by the fact that the families have been together locally for a long time.

612 571 Kinship, however, does not operate merely in a negative sense by making marriage impossible, for beyond that it commands mutual aid and assistance. Lawfully the individual family depends upon itself, but there is no arrangement to guarantee it legal protection. It would be at the mercy of a stranger one if it did not find protection and support through its blood relatives (219).

> 219. Rowe (c):130 and (g):234 writes: "Only the necessity for common defense forces some families to unite into a single tribe /tribu/, but no one has the right to put himself at the head and to meddle in another's affairs" /translated from Spanish/. The expression "tribu" here can mean only a community of kinsmen.

A family that was merely friendly would not be close enough /784/ to be a safe refuge in every case of need. Blood ties, on the other hand, are never dissolved and retain their strength. Hence every one notes very carefully all the persons who are related to him, both closely and more distantly. He assures himself of their help by frequent visits and by repeatedly asking other people about them. He especially seeks them out and calls upon them urgently if he is threatened by the hostility of others or if he expects a sudden attack. These are the social connections that everyone cultivates (220)

> 220. These connections were described much too briefly by Spegazzini (a):165.

/784 cont./ 4

612 571 according to his own free choice or the distressing situation he happens to be in.

Sociability is also a factor here, affecting one person more 612 than another among a circle of intimates. No one has a privi- 571 leged position established by law. For logical reasons young peo- 554 ple naturally bow to the moral superiority of experienced old men or capable younger men, but if something does not suit a person, he leaves inconspicuously and goes his own way until further developments.

Everyone likes to obtain the counsel and decisions of an older relative. A person who has cultivated his connections with his kinsfolk and has honored them can always count on help and support. If one's kinsfolk are numerous and include men who are held in esteem, his own self-importance is thereby considerably increased and his confidence reinforced. He likes to boast of his far-flung, mighty kinsfolk on whose protection he can count. One's own relatives are, of course, more privileged and more highly honored than other guests, and everyone knows it is his duty to hasten to the aid of a relative who is in distress and threatened by enemies, to avenge the wrong done to him, and actively to intercede for him everywhere. Family honor demands all this, and everyone esteems it highly. Thus, the individual always finds protection and justice among his kinsfolk in any affliction.

3. Kinship Terms

601 Although the individual family is lawfully completely independent, nevertheless it sometimes finds itself dependent on relatives. Consequently everyone is surprisingly familiar with his family connection with anyone else. This probably was not a causal factor in the origin of the many kinship terms, but it is certain that an adult Indian has a mastery of these designations and uses them surprisingly accurately. Immediately upon /785/ the birth of a child and during its first few months of life, the family discusses its relationship to all the closer and more distant kinsmen who make up the family's circle (221).

221. Despard (b):698 refers to this as follows:

/785 cont./

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"They are very exact in preserving the remembrance of the precise relationship born by members of a family each to other" /cited in English/.

From the start we are surprised not only by the large number, but also by the logical formation of the kinship terms (222).

222. The long lists gathered by a few earlier observers are still incomplete; above all Hyades (p):339 and (q):297, Lothrop (b):161, and Spencer: 61, 65 are referred to here.

Referring to Bridges, Hyades (q):261 says: "There are specific terms for all the degrees of kinship" /translated from French/, in fact, considerably more than most Europeans are able to apply (223).

223. Bridges frankly admits this in Hyades (q):261, and no one will contradict him when he says that our natives "in this respect have more distinctions and more terms than we ourselves" /translated from French/.

[182] Today, however, some of them are no longer current among the younger Indians because their tribal life has been disintegrating for a long time. Formerly there was more opportunity to use such terms (224).

224. We are confronted here with a universal phenomenon in the world of primitives. "This alone [the confined situations] explains the complicated kinship terms of some tribes and the accurate mastery of these by the native who can accurately fit every single member into this system. Anyone who from childhood has been taught to place the greatest importance on these things finds it easy with the years to learn to distinguish them clearly with a limited

/785 cont./

601 number of people." From Vierkandt, Die genossenschaftliche Gemeinwesen der Naturvölker /The Cooperative Communal Life of Primitive Peoples/, Stuttgart, 1922.

601 127 The following list of Yamana kinship terms comes from the pen of the university lecturer Dr. Ferdinand Hestermann who at my request furnished it specially for this book. He writes:

Just as the language of the Yamana is extremely rich in forms, so also are there many designations for kinship. Reverend Bridges seems also to have felt this very strongly, for in his works we find several summaries of these designations.

The following list is first of all an excerpt from the Yamana-English Dictionary of Reverend Thomas Bridges (225). This

225. In the present book we refer to this work as BD.

furnishes the basis. As a supplement and a check, however, we have also used other accounts by Reverend Bridges, such as the one in his grammar published in London, as well as the manuscript of the above-mentioned dictionary, which was never published. From this manuscript edition, however, we obtained only clues since we had only the galleys which were not proof read and the handwritten copy was not available. Furthermore, the Gospel according to St. Luke was also used, namely, in the form of a vocabulary made from it by Platzmann (226). The grammar /786/ of

226. This refers to Platzmann (a). See the list of sources at the end of this book.

Lucien Adam has been used only sparingly, since it does not contain anything original; the same is true of the reports by Beggiani and Bove. We have, however, made abundant use of the lists of vocalizations made by the Mission Scientifique. In spite of all this, the summary is not entirely clear on all points; the matter is much too complicated for this.

I should like to permit myself two brief remarks. I go further than others in giving the scope of the designations, since this is

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61 clearly demanded by the language. I am also adding several verbs
127 which can only increase the clarity of this list of kinship terms for linguists as well as ethnologists, and above all for sociologists. Anyone who wishes to engage in more profound work is referred to the Dictionary.

61 Male relatives are given on the left, female on the right of the page. Occasionally we give the possessive and forms of address. Here and there we also give number, such as plural or dual, as well as the singular. Whatever appears in parentheses ( ) can be omitted or retained. The first numbers, which are not in parentheses and are followed by a period, indicate the person. The following number in parentheses indicates chapter and verse from the translation of the Gospel according to Luke.

The Indians call themselves yámana.

61 192

yamana-ówa, man	yamana-ó-kipa, woman
yamalim, people in the plural	yamanaiamalim, human beings
ó-alamalim, men (11, 44; 9, 14)	kip-alamalim, women (23, 49. 10; 24, 22)

[04] Strangers are clearly separated: aghaníu, one, mémnia, the first being meant as European, the last as native stranger.

Ea, human being, man, also ulu (23, 2. 4. 14. 18); Ea in Luke (1, 21) used as "not" since here it can be the equivalent of the word "human being."

Ea, ulu, human being, man	kipa, woman, wife, also kipáki pa, the same in the eastern part of Magle Channel

For the latter word kipa-ólo, "all women, every woman," is striking. See "child" in this connection.

"Master" is gélagla (12, 42), "sovereign, aristocracy," teolagala (21, 12), in the singular teolma, "lord, master" (9, 54; 12, 13) or teolmla, "the highest" (18, 10), whereas ítala[3] mókhgha means "head of the house" (12, 39; 14, 26).

ólagala, "the elders, old one," appears in Luke (7, 3).

ma-gélig-Ea is used for "manservant" or "maidservant" (1, 38.12, 36).

ohkhéyéghula, male servants (7, 3).	ohkhéghiperamalim, female servants (12, 43. 46).

/786 cont./

60/ [97] There are several words to express the relationship of friends, which occasionally can also be used in the sense of being related.

ukuthlali, friend (14, 10. 12. 11, 6)	dlomaka, female friend (pregnancy 1, 30)
bungwana, friends (15, 6)	bungwanakazana, female friends (15, 9)
	(Ngilungwanomalim, bad women (pregnancy 15, 30).

/787/ The word "relatives" or "relative" cannot be translated as such (see "female friend"), since it is usually more specific. mdidi, "connected together like relatives," in the dual mdidi-bapi, in the plural mdidi-yomdidi. magha, "blood relatives," dual maghibapi. abanakho, "without male relatives, without friends who could offer help in combat, without brothers, without uncle, without cousins." -- For the rest we must come back to this in the individual items.

ubu (sg. tata, grandfather	gogo, grandmother
bava tatan, bava tbatan 1. dn.	bava gogonan, 1. dn.
ba tatta, 2. dn.	ba gogodan, 2. dn.
ba tlan, 3. dn.	bana gogonan, 2. dn.
ba tlan, 3. dn.	ba'a gogonan, 3/ dn.
ba tatta, 3. dn.	bangoma gogonan, 3. dn.

If the reader is struck by the fact that two different roots are used for the compound expression, this will be immediately explained in what follows. "great uncle" is called gotaskin, whereas a word for "great aunt" is nowhere to be found.

60/ 103 Regions are also linked with kinship terms, for example, bi-kaomakhosa, "the land of my grandmothers," more accurately with bi which means "land"; thus, bi-kaomakhosa-bai, and

bi-kaomakhosa-ka, male, bi-kaomkhosa-a-kipa, female relative from there. In the opposite direction, the expression can also refer to the grandchildren: "the land of someone's grandchild." bi-kaomkhosa-kpai means that two persons have connections with the grandmother's or the grandchildren's country.

hamalamalim, my countryman	hama-kipaiamalim, dn., f., sing.
hamgala, dn. m.	hama-kipa, dn. f.

/787 cont./

601 Contemptuously one speaks of hannūwa, "my countrymen." We shall occasionally mention such analogies.

Just as a term may be restricted with reference to a locality, so also may one be restricted with reference to sex: winni-ūalan, all the female relatives of someone, such as nieces, cousins, second cousins, etc. The expression is familiar, however, and this must be taken into consideration each time.

There are two expressions for "parents": dāšinakaiamalim and tūkūtūrū. The designation for a pair also applies to a single spouse, like tuku, tūkū(n), tūkun (8, 3; 18, 29), or ākin'ha, "my husband, my wife." kī-tūku-n, "his wife, her husband." kōtū-pai tuku könjin, "this is the wife of that man, this is the husband of that woman." There are also designations exclusively for one, but only with reference to the woman. Thus: paua-tuku-āki, if simply a wife is meant, whereas the next wife or the second wife is called uidāg(āki), called this because her place is at the upper or inner side in the wigwam of her husband. dārā-kīp-a means simply "old woman." Bride and bridegroom are tuku, like "husband, wife" above. On the other hand, matuku is used only for "husband, wife."

601 /788/ The latter word means only "to marry," or more
192 exactly, to go or come north and marry or be married or in order to marry. "A married pair" or "to marry one another" is matūkūpai. "One man and his wives, two men and their wives" is matūkwiamalim. There are a great many expressions in this category, for example, tūmūšānuĭyāgū, to detain or take in someone's wife or husband. gōr'-tūkū, to marry a woman when one has no right to her. gāligū, to send or to give in marriage, namely, a man his daughter (but not his son). gāligūmūtū, to cause to go and sit down in the wigwam, as a father his daughter with regard to her future husband. wōhyākin, the first wife whose place is at the door-side of her husband. Yamalūwāna (sēapōna, sēipōna) means to treat female relatives with such familiarity as is proper only toward those with whom a marriage is to be contracted, or to marry relatives, such as female cousins, aunts, etc., to permit oneself unusual liberties with someone's relatives or family, to desecrate something sacred, or to be crude. tūtux-gāmata, to give someone in marriage in

/788 cont./

601 place of someone else. tuxkōna, to marry on the boat. tuxlōšša,
to be married to or to marry more than two women. tunnana,
192 to love, to treat with love and kindness, such as a man his wife (said only about women). tstuxyellāki, a woman who was abandoned or sent away by a former husband. twīamalūwana, twīamalūwazgāligū, to give a man as his wife a woman who is related to him. tūmūušārišin tūkūpei, to be promised to a man in marriage (1, 27). tstūkūōkandaulum, of the wedding in the house of his wife (12, 36). kōtūsōšsudē kīpa, they courted (17, 27). kōtūmūgāligūsindē kīpa, women given in marriage (17, 27). kōtuxmūtudē ūa, one who has lived with her husband (2, 36). makurūa, the beloved woman, the chosen one (9, 35; 23, 25). matunan-ūniāgūa, a woman above all others favored by her husband.

601 Concerning the word for "father," it is noteworthy that Bridges uses only a single one with the possessive 3; he expressly points to the fact that only the possessives given for a word by him can be used. And as a matter of fact, the connection mentioned is given in all his entries.

īmū, imū, īmūn, father (11, 2.13; 12, 30)	dābi(n), mother (1, 43;4, 38)
īmundeian, fathers (21, 16)	ūāgönnux, mother of sons only
īmūalan, fathers (23, 26)	dābindeian, mothers (21, 16)
	hī-dābē(a)n, 1. mother (8, 21)
hau īmun, 1. do.	hī-dābin, 1. do.
sin īmun, 2. do.	dābeia, 2. do. (8, 20)
kōnjimin īmun, 3. do.	sin(a) dābin, 2. do.
kič imun, 3. do. (15, 28)	kōnjimin dābin, 3. do.
kič īmun, 3. do.	kī dābin 3. do. (8, 19)
kōtaasāki, do., old man, elderly man	kōtaas-kīp-āki, mother, old woman
kōtaas (fam.) kōtas(in), do.	kōt(a)as-kīpa, do.
/789/	
dārūuōn, elder, old man, do.	dārākīpa, elder, old woman, do. (1, 18; 12, 53; 2, 36)
dāruākin, dārūuākin, do. (12, 53; 15, 22)	darakīpa, dārāpa, an elder, large and strong woman, mother

/789 cont./

601 dābua, your father (15, 27)
dābūa(n), 2. do.
hĭ dābua(n), 1. do.
hĭ dābūan, 1. do. (15, 12)
(u)ŏŭma(n), older man
tānūwa, my father, my old husband (fam.)
taninua, 2. do.
(haua) tūmagaiwa, 1. do., do. (fam. and friendly on the part of younger people)
yauaua, my father (local in the east)

dara-winni, dāra-inni, do., do.
tānūwa-kīpa, my mother, my old wife (fam.)
pasanāpa, mother
haua pasanāpa, 1. do.

601 192 A few further supplementary items. dapŏš, dāpŏš (11, 27; 23, 29) tŏmmuša (in the south), "mother's breast"; dapōla "to suck"; gaiaši, "to grow to maturity" (said of a mother's breast). gōnnux, "a mother who bears only female offspring." mēamasa, maiamasa, "pregnant." yembōna, "to have a small child." yembōnākipa, "mother of a small child." yellāmāgū, "to be confined before another woman." tūmūtulōšša, "to have children or descendants." tūsilana, "embryo, to be with child in the first few months." aalatīa, "embryo," amagōna, "belly, embryo, egg, pregnant," māgū, "to adopt as a son, to bring forth a child, to have a boy." mūātsikōri, "to come forth, to come into the world." tūčikīpinana, "to have a child or other dependents whose life is endangered by others." tūmāgōnnaka, "not to have brought forth offspring, childless, sterile." jākul, "sterile, not having offspring." māgōnnaka, "not to have (borne) a child." mātūmāgūpai, "to have two children." wēna, "fruit of the womb," kičin uēnan, 3. do.; hau aalatīa, 1. do. wēnanaa, "you will conceive (in the womb)" (1, 31), kōuēnanudē, "she became pregnant" (1, 24). māgašin, "having borne" (after pregnancy; 11, 27). sa tūmāgūaūa "you will bear a son (man) (1, 31). šōmušyāgū, "embryo," šōmušyāgū-dābi, hasauasa kīpa, "a pregnant woman." jōkāluf, "afterbirth, navel cord." gūpū, "navel," gūpul, "navel cord."

Pertaining to the man: šag-aala, alox-aala, höllōx, "testicles," höllōxkai-ilādnū, "kidneys." This is associated with höllōxgaina,

/789 cont./

601 192

a favorite game in which this word is repeated. hallōči, "penis." matūmāgōnnakūwa, "a man who has no children, childless man." matūmāgū, "to have or conceive a child (said only of the man), to be born in a designated place or at a designated time." matūlōša, "to have (conceived) more than two children." ha-matūmāgūpikin-dē kaiūala ūmōlategan-apai, "I conceived twins." yembōnūwa, "a man who has a small child." tūkatega (said of a man), "to take a woman into his canoe as his wife." ana, /790/ siaman(ī)a, "to have sexual intercourse." lōššaiella, "to cease conceiving or to cease bringing forth offspring."

iŋgāge, "adulterous, lascivious, lewd." šun, "adulterous, tending toward importunity or violence," kīpata, "to commit adultery, to rape a woman, adulterous, rake." kīpātaki, "the adulterer." kīpatākin'a "Oh, you adulterous human being!" kīpōšlōmbi, "adulterous, incestuous, fornicator." gōr ʒgaia, "to pester a man shamelessly and provocatively by trying to flirt with his wife against her will."

haua matūmāgū maala, "my birthday."

šūpūn-ūa, widower, bachelor
ōlātakāki, do.

šūpūn kīpa, widow
ōlātakākīka, do. (2, 37; 21, 2)

ōlātaka, "deprived of husband or of wife, absent (living alone) from husband or wife"; magaišupunanākīpa, "a woman whose husband has been murdered." gātāt ūpōna, "to die in childbed."

makū, mākun, mākūn, son
mākū, do. (9, 58; 12, 8)
kōmbei mākū, two do. (15, 11)

māk-kīpa, mā-kīpa, daughter
mā-kīpa-n, do. (2, 36; 8, 49)
makīpeiamalim, daughters (23, 28)

haua mākun, 1. do. (15, 31; 9, 35)
sa mākun, 2. do. (15, 30)
kī mākun, 3. do. (20, 44)
uōlēua, ualewa, do. (1, 13. 57)

haua mākīpan, 1. do.
kī mā(kī)pan, 3. do.
inni, īnia, do.
uinia, my daughter! (8, 48)
haua uei-kipa-n, 1. daughter

tūmāgū kai-uala, son (illeg.)
kaiīūala, child (especially male)
kei-yūala, do. (2, 40; 43)
kaigūala, do.

tūmāgū ini, daughter (illeg.)
kīpa kaiīūala, child (f.)

601 /790 cont./
192

yārūmatīa, small baby (m.) yārū-kīpa, young woman, wife, daughter

yārumūa, do., youth (12, 53; 7, 14; 15, 21)

yārumūāki, the son

ǰakauīya, ūǰakauīya, baby (m.) ūǰakauīyākīpa, baby (f.)

šatukumara, child (m.), do. šatukumarakīpa, child (f.)

Now just a few more additions to this already large selection, which, as in all cases, will be merely a sampling.

mōtakaiyin, "descendant, offspring." pikin-ini, "infant." keiīūalaiamalim, "children" (6, 35; 11, 7; 20, 34). ōsūuākin, "youngest" (m., f., 15, 12). kūpašpāki(n), kagušpa, kaguspaki, kōčiyella, "the last-born," aiannaaiamamāgūa, kiūeiamunyaeiama-magyūwa, "first-born," keiyaeiamana mūgudē wölēwa, "she bore her first-born" (2, 7). šōla (usually šela), "young," šōl-āki, "little innocent child," šōladāra, "the world of childhood." amapīta, "a child that cannot yet speak." yekākin, "small child" (2, 12. 16). yekaalēwa, "a small boy." yakauiyanda, "a little (huge) fellow." maalēwa, "boys together, /791/ no girls among them." mīakanakausa, "little one /male/" (7, 28). uidāga, "a youth, male, male sex" [human beings and animals].

yōaiamana, "to be the oldest or first-born of the family."

yōaiamānūwa, first-born yōaiamanākīpa, oldest daughter

yāčikaiāki, oldest, first-born yāčikaiākīpa, first-born (sing., f.)

yatuwaiim oldest, first-born son or brother yātūwaikīpa, do., sister

šamaraačin haanaa, "what a brother!" yatuwaiimpai, "the two eldest brothers." uaana, "a man who is not yet a yékamuš, a non-initiate." tāmōm, "a boy who has not yet been subjected to the kīna discipline, who has not yet been initiated in the kīna rites." yōnmamāgūa, "first-born." yarumaala, "young people." dāraalēwa, "an old heavy boy, an old fellow, a heavy youth, a man and no longer a youth." dārūaala, dārūwa, "old people, an old man." dārūwāki, "the old man." mašūpunāpai, "two persons together, both of whom are unmarried," mōtūōnata, "to grow to full manhood."

šuganikīpa, "girl (1, 27; 8, 54), maiden, young woman." umbul(l)ux, "a girl, a baby (f.), a young daughter." yeka-šuganikīpa, "a little girl." tūwaikīpa, "the eldest or first-born

/791 cont./

601 daughter, the one before all others." sāpa, "blood" (11, 50. 51;
192 22, 44), sāpa, do., sāpan(ī)a, "to menstruate," turi, "the first menstruation, "wēlix, "menses." kīmūakīpa, "a woman who is convalescing after a severe illness" (fam.).

auakōšandaulumūa kōnjin, "he is a man who does not belong to my family or to my place." auakōšan hai annū, "I am a man who is not closely related to him." mamāgwīamalim, "a man and his children, the whole family." matūkwīamalim, "a man and his wives who are related to one another. annū mamōkus kōndaian, "those who are brothers and sisters to one another, they are brothers," mamōkus-pai, "two who are brothers," mamōkus-yamalim, "brothers, companions." mamāgū(pai), "a father and his sons, a mother and her sons." hauiyama' ūsi-ndaulum ūa, "a man from my region."

maaimpai, maaimyamalim, "two and more who are brothers."
maaikīpāpai, maaikīpaimalim, "two and more who are sisters."

anitfali, "a person who has little influence or is unprotected against injustice because most of his male relatives are dead."
arūgo, "orphan," ārūkūāki, ārūkū(a), "one who has neither father nor mother, a double orphan."

wōšakīya, orphan boy
yōšōla, an orphaned child
pillus sons and daughters of someone murdered (m.)
tauwōlūwa, a man in mourning for child, parents, brother, or sister

wōsakīyakīpa, orphan girl
yōšōlakīpa, a double orphan
pilluskīpan, daughters of someone murdered (m.)
tauwōlūwākīpa, a woman in mourning for child, parents, brother, or sister

/792/

tōpōr(ūw)a, father or brother of someone murdered

tōpōrakīpa, a mother of someone murdered, her son or sister /sic; daughter/, her brother or sister

tōpōra, "relatives, such as mother or father and brothers and
[627] sisters, of someone murdered." tōpōrana, "the obligation to exact vengeance on the murderers of someone's child or brother or sister."
mēalōlāpai, "two persons, boys, who are orphans."
hikapillus, hikōska, "a boy whose father or mother drowned."
[103] ūsilusīwa, an expression applied to a place instead of its real name, out of respect for the dead person who was named after it.

601 /792 cont./
192 ūsiluswōnji(z?), a name given a boy in place of the name he was
[551] given at birth, out of respect for the late deceased who had the same name as his. Thus, if two persons have the same name, the survivor is called ūsiluswōnji(z?); if the person is a woman, ūsiluswōnji(z?)-kīpa. ūsitōpa, "a person whose close relatives are dead, an orphan (because of negligence or through the fault of the father)." hau-ūlūuf, "my deceased relatives." mā̄meiākindeian, "the dead" (20, 37). [Some of these terms will be repeated in the section on mourning customs.]

auakōsa kīpaiamalim, "women who are not related." hau'usi-kīpaiamalim, "my country-women," sa-kaiamākūtasākīpan, "a woman from your grandmother's region." winni-ūalan, all the female relatives of someone, such as nieces, cousins, second cousins, etc. (fam.). manōkus-kīpa, three or more who are sisters or sisters and brothers or first cousins. mamōkus-kīpāpai, "those who are sisters or sisters and brothers." mamōkus-kīpaiamalim, "three or more who are sisters or brothers and sisters." mamākīpa, mamākīpāpai, "mother and daughter, father and daughter," mamākīpaiamalim, "a mother and her daughters, a father and his daughters." kwīnan, "a woman, recently widowed, taken as a wife by another man." möxyella, "to die and leave a child as orphan" (said only of a mother). möxyellāki, "a child whose mother died, a motherless child." köspix-kīpa, "a woman who recently lost a brother, a sister, or a male or female cousin. ūāruxyellādātū, a family of children surviving the death, for example, of a mother. ūātölliyellādātū, "to leave orphans," as a mother her family. gaiiūasana, "female descendants," girls in general, and, if little protected by men, "weak women."

tūmāgūdārūwa(n), stepfather
tūmāgūdārūa, do.
tūmāgūdāruōn, do.
kī tumāgūdārūwan, 3. do.
tūmāgun, stepson
tūmāgu (kaiiūala), do.
kī tumāgun, 3. do.
tūnāgun, do.

tūmāgūdārakīpan, stepmother
tūmāgūdārakīpa, do.
tūmayakīpa, do.
kī tumāgūdārakīpan, 3. do.
tūmākīpan, stepdaughter
tūmāgū'in(n)i, do.
kī tumākīpan, 3. do.

/793/
[597] tūmākīpana, "to adopt or to become a stepparent of daughters by marrying their father or mother."

601 [597]

/793 cont./

tūmāgū (kaiūala), tūnāgun, "to adopt or become a father to children by taking their mother as a wife, or to become a mother by marrying their father."

mākusin, brother (15, 27; 6, 41; 20, 28)	mākus-kīpa, sister (10, 39)
haua makus, 1. do.	
haua mōkus, 1. do.	haua makuskīpan, 1. do.
ki mākusin, 3. do.	kī makuskipaalanči, 3. pl. acc. (14, 26)
makusyamalim, brothers (16, 28)	makuskīpaala, sisters (14, 26)
makusaala, do. (8, 19. 20, 21)	
haua makusaala, my brothers (8, 2)	
sin makusaalun, 2. do. (8, 20)	
kī makusaalan, 3. (do. (8, 19)	
mamakusualim, brothers (20, 29)	
magaiiamalim, brothers to one another	magaiambaa-kīpaiamalim, sisters to one another
sin ōšūuönči, "of your brother" (6, 42)	
kī-t-ōšūuön, his brother /acc./ (6, 14)	
waimua, eldest son, brother, cousin	wai-kīpa (2), older sister, first cousin
haua waim, 1. do.	
waiamun, do., do.	haua wai-kīpan, 1. do., do.
eiamun, do., do	sin uai-kīpan, 2. do., do.
k'ūaiamun, 3. do., do.	sin uai-kīpa, 2. do., do.
k-aiūaiamun, 3. do., do.	kai-ūai-kīpan, 3. do., do.
k-aiūaiamōlan, 3. do., do.	kai-ūaikīpalan, 3. do., do.
k-aiuamundaian, 3. do., do.	kai-ūaikipandaian, 3. do., do.
kūk-aaim siūan, the eldest brother	winni, my daughter, my older sister, my wife, my niece, my cousin, first, second, and third degree
maaempai, two older brothers together	maaekipapai, two women, older sisters of a family together

601 /793 cont./

aalan, my oldest brother (fam.)

aala, my oldest son

aalandaian, my oldest brother (respectful friendly expression of younger ones toward strangers)

ašowa, öšūwa, younger brother	öškīpa, younger sister
öšūwö(ri)n, öskūāki, do.	öškīpörin, your do.
/794/	
öšūikeia, 2. dative, do.	öškipāki, the youngest of two or more sisters.
öšuwāki, the younger, youngest brother	
hau öšuwan, 1. do., do.	heia öškīpöra, 1. do.
	hau öškīpan, 1. do.
kī-t-öšuwan, 3. do., do.	sin öškīpan, 2. do.
kī-t-öšuwön, 3. do., do., dative	kīt öškīpan, 3. do.
mökus, do., male cousin, female cousin (through an uncle who is younger than one's father or mother	mökuskīpa, do.
makūsin, younger brother	
haua mökus, 1. do.	haua mökuskīpa, 1. do.
haua makus, 1. do.	haua makuskīpan, 1. do.
aua makusin, 1. do.	
sin makusin, 2. do.	sin makuskīpan, 2. do.
šin makūsin, 2. do.	šin makūskīpan, 2. do.
kī mökusin, 3. do.	kī mökuskīpan, 2. do.
kī makusin, 3. do.	kī makuskīpan, 2. do.
kičin makūsin, 3. do.	kičin makūskīpan, 2. do.
haua mökuspai, 1. do., dual	mökuswini, do.
haua mökusyamalim, 1. do., pl.	haua mökuswini, 1. do.
ömbaa, do.	(hau) ömbaakīpa, (1). next do.
kušana, my younger brother, my male cousin, my child, my nephew (fam.) (from kuš, "nest")	kušana-kīpa, my younger sister my female cousin (first degree), my daughter, my niece (fam.)

601 /794 cont./

mākūtasa, grandson	mākūtasā-kīpan, granddaughter
mākūtesan, do.	mākūtesā-kīpan, do.
	haua mūkātasā(!)-kīpan, 1. do.
kī mākūtesan, 3. do.	kī mākūtesa-kīpan, 3. do.
indārūwa, father's brother	dāmāpu, father's sister
hau indārūwan, 1. do.	dāmāpū, do.
dārū(w)an, do.	dāmāpūa, (2.) do.
hau indārū an, 1. do.	hī dāmāpūan, 1. do.
haua dārūwan, 1. do.	hī dāmapūōn, 1. do.
hau endaropun, 1. do.	haua dāmāpun, 1. do.
šin dārūōn, 2. do.	
sin dārū(w)an, 2. do.	
sin dārūuan, 2. do.	
s(in) indārūwan, 2. do.	
kičin dārūwan 3. do.	kī dāmāpun, 3. do.
kičin dārūuan, 3. do.	kī dāmāpūōn, 3. do.
kičin dārūōn, 3. do.	
imman(an), (2.) mother's brother	ieka-dābeia, mother's sister
/795/	
	yeka-dābaia, 2. do.
	yeka-dabi, do.
hau' immanan, 1. do.	yaka-dabéén, do.
	hau yeka-dabin, 1. do.
šin immanan, 1. do.	haua yeka-dābin, 1. do.
sin imman, 1. do.	hī eka-dābin, 1. do.
kič imanan, 3. do.	kī eka-dābin, 3. do.
konjimin imanan, 3. do.	
dapāšun (better dapōs, "mother's breast"), do. (fam.)	
wāturū, nephew, sister's son	kīpaturū, niece
uartrū, sister's son	
haua uaturun, 1. do.	hī kīpaaturun, 1. do.
h- uotrūn, 1. do.	hī kīpatrun, 1. do.
hi- ūāturun, 1. do.	hī kīpartru, 1. do.
sin uotrū, 2. do.	sa kīpatrun, 2. do.
sin uāturun, 2. do.	sa kīpaaturun, 2. do.
sin wāturū, 2. do.	

601 /795 cont./

ki- ūotrun, 3. do.	kī kīpatrun, 3. do.
ki- ūāturun, 3. do.	kī kīpaaturun, 3. do.
ki- ūaturun, 3. do.	
kī- pāturū, 3. do.	
amapīta, do. (fam.)	amapītākīpa, do. (fam.)
lōmāmaka, great-nephew	lōmākīpa, great-niece
dāranaka, male cousin	dāranākīpa, female cousin
darunaka, do.	darunakakīpa, do.
dāšinaka, do.	dāšinakākīpa(n), do.
haua dāršinaka, 1. do.	dāršinakākīpan, do.
sa dāšinakan, 2. do.	
šin dāršinakan, 2. do.	
kī dāršinākan, 3. do.	
kī dāšināka, 3. do.	

dāšunaka is put down as a "special expression," and indeed it is used for other relatives, as above under "woman friend" and "parents."

yamanamākū, nephew, brother's son	yamanamākīpa, niece, brother's daughter
haua iamanāmākun, do., do.	hau (i)amanākīpan, 1. brother's daughter
sin iamanāmākun, 2. do., do.	haua iamanāmākīpan, 1. do.
sa iamanāmākun, 2. do.	
kī iamanāmākun, 3. do.	kī amanāmākīpan, 3. do.
kī amanamākun, 3. do.	kī amanamākīpan, 3. do.
kī amanakoan, 3. do.	
mesāgun, father-in-law	mesākīpan, mother-in-law

/796/

mesāgūn, do.	mōsākīpa, do.
masāgū, do.	mōsākīpan, do. (12, 53)
haua masāgun, 1. do.	masākīpa, do.
	haua masākīpan, 1. do.
sa masāgun, 2. do.	sa masākīpan, 2. do.
kī masāgun, 3. do.	kī masākīpan, 3. do.
unnusiūwa, do. (not common)	unnusiūkīpa, do. (not common)
hau unnusiūwa, 1. do.	
tellālōpata, do. (fam.)	tellālōpatākīpa, do. (fam.)
tūmāgūdārūwōn, do.	tūmāgūdārākīpan (-pau?), do.
	tūkunčī dābin, do. (4, 38)

/796 cont./

601 If the last word reminds one strongly of a European translation, perhaps because of its occurrence in the Bible, the penultimate pair of words is linked with tūmāgū, "to give birth." It would, of course, also be easy to proceed etymologically in other instances and explain words with respect to their origin and construction, but we must leave the rest to linguists for special research.

tūmāgūkaiyū(a)ala, son-in-law

alum, brother-in-law
ālum, do.
haua alamun, 1. do.
hau alūmūn, 1. do.
sin alamun, 2. do.
sin ālamun, 2. do.
sin alūmun, 2. do.
kī-t-alamun, 3. do.
kī-t-alamūn, 3. do.
kī-t-ālamun, 3. do.
kī-t-alamaun, 3. do.
tūgūturū, do.

tūmāgū-inni, daughter-in-law
mösāgū-inni, do.
mosāgū-inni, do.
mösagu-inni, do.
kīpālum, sister-in-law
haua kīpalumun, 1. do.
haua kīpalamun, 1. do.
hī kīpālamun, 1. do.
sina kīpalamun, 2. do. (female cousins-in-law are also included)
kī kīpalamun, 3. do.

The last word again stands by itself, that is to say, without a corresponding feminine form, and this is also true of mēam matūkū, "husband or sister of the wife" or "husband of the husband's sister." The same is true of aiamasa, "relatives-in-law," if the man or woman representing the connection is deceased. Thus:

hau' aiamasa, my father-in-law or my brother-in-law in the above

aiamasa-kīpa, a female relative-in-law under the same circumstances.

tūmūmasāgū, "to be or become son-in-law or father-in-law of someone through marriage." tūmūtūmāgū, "to acquire a son-in-law or daughter-in-law or to become one." mamasākīpāpai, /797/ "two who are mother-in-law and son-in-law or daughter-in-law to each other."

mamasāgūpai, "two who are father-in-law and son-in-law or daughter-in-law to one another." tūmūatāgū, "to cause someone

/797 cont./

601 to become related to any person as son-in-law or father-in-law through marriage." mötākinaka, "to receive or bring from the west any gift, or to come and do any kind of service for a father-in-law for his daughter." kīsē, a term of respect used by persons related through marriage to direct questions or requests to one another, for example, son-in-law and daughter-in-law to each other or fathers and mothers to their sons-in-law and daughters-in-law and vice versa. It has no other special meaning. kiūē, kiūēla, verbal prefix used between persons related through marriage to about the same extent as kise above and in the same situation (227). This concludes the present summary.

227. In BD Yamana words lack an accent mark for stress. Hence it was not added to the above-mentioned words. See Gusinde (hh):181.

b. Tribal Society

619 Fuegian tribal society does not represent a closely knit, internally linked social structure. Actually it is only a loose juxtaposition of individual families. Each of the latter, however, is definite and well articulated.

All fellow tribesmen who can make themselves intelligible to one another by means of a common language are, for this reason, aware of being united to a certain extent and conscious of their homogeneity. All together they constitute a single people and are differentiated from other peoples in many external respects, as well as through spiritual assets and their own propensities. Not only do the individuals describe themselves in terms of these positive realities, but far beyond that, they value and praise what they regard as their uniqueness. Indeed, with justifiable national pride, they regard themselves as superior to neighboring peoples and to other human societies. They make no effort to determine or even to question whether they are not perhaps surpassed in many respects by other peoples. Their strongly developed self-awareness and self-satisfaction reject from the start all such comparisons.

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619 An attribute of this mental attitude and trend of thought of the Yamana is their pronounced consciousness of homeland. They know the exact boundaries that separate their territory from their neighbors, and they regard this territory as exclusively theirs; every stranger in it is an intruder. They are intimately attached to their homeland and particularly deeply rooted in their narrower local region. /798/ They praise its beauty and advantages, without, however, indulging in extravagant enthusiasm; they are thinking only of the material goods that it furnishes them. They feel a strong impulse to come back to it after they have been far away to trade or hunt or to attend festivals. In their opinion, complete happiness flourishes only on one's native soil. A Yamana who must live outside his local homeland, that is to say, outside his so-called local group, feels like someone living in a bleak, alien land. He misses the many things it offered him, or at any rate he imagines he does, and he yearns to go back.

186 In the case of Nelly Lawrence her love for her home often came out very strongly. An important contributory factor was her very different form of life by the side of her European husband on the farm in Punta Remolino. When she began telling about her beloved West from where she came, this quiet, taciturn woman who was almost too timid to speak became unbelievably lively and talkative. Then she would praise the beauty of the landscape with its many glaciers and meandering waterways, the steep peaks with their eternal snow, and the sheltered safety of the many calm bays. She would extol the fresh green of the dense beech forests of that rainy zone and the quiet ways of its animal kingdom. Finally, she would put her own countrymen above all praise. She presented everything as a special advantage, chiefly in contrast to the feared neighbors of the western Yamana, the Halakwulup. She never let an opportunity go by to emphasize strongly in front of others that the lovely pasána song is native to her region, that a story from there spread to the east, that at the large secret gatherings this or that special form is customary there, and so forth. Truly, the Fuegian, too, loves his home with a whole and warm heart. This one example is convincing proof.

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1. Its Structure

197 634 591 It is an inborn tendency of the Yamana to emphasize contrasts. These are certainly present in his homeland, and each person knows the characteristics of his local area, in fact, he must take them into account. We have mentioned in detail (p. 199 /untranslated/) that the entire Cape Horn Archipelago is geographically divided into five separate regions. As a result, there are an equal number of dialect groups living here (228).

> *228. Even the members of the Mission Scientifique did not agree uniformly about the individual ethnic groups. Hyades (b):148 is definitely at variance with the opinion of Hahn (b):1533, the ship's doctor. Compare the more specific boundaries in Gusinde (a): 1018.

Since time immemorial boundaries erected by Nature herself have been determined for each of these groups, and they have formed a dividing wall up to the last few decades. It is only recently that unfavorable forces have succeeded in breaking them down. Nevertheless, even today each of the few surviving Yamana boasts of his competence in this or that dialect district. No one knows who first marked this region /799/ and assigned the tribesmen to it. No myth says anything about it. They all readily accept given reality. It is well known that within his dialect district everyone enjoys complete independence and unrestricted freedom of movement. He has the same right to subsistence as his countryman.

609 634 Journeys into neighboring districts are undertaken for the special purposes of obtaining food or bartering for essential tools. No one remains away longer than is necessary. The people living in another district will permit a strange family to come in and provide themselves with whatever they need, but they do not tolerate anyone roaming about their territory an unnecessarily long time. If he should do so, it would cause hostility which could become serious, but as long as a stranded whale has not been completely consumed or as long as it is impossible to obtain

619 /799 cont./
634 food in their own native district, neighbors are not only unmolested in a strange district, but must be tolerated, as ancient custom prescribes.

621 Even the more circumscribed region of each individual dia-
634 lect group is usually cut up by many waterways. Hence in each
571 one, again under the pressure of geographic conditions, smaller groups are formed which, as a result of greater mobility in local areas, more frequently meet and have intercourse with one another. These are the so-called local groups within the dialect groups. Each of the former is made up of people born in the same region. They regard themselves as closer to one another, and this small region as their immediate home. They take their common name from the region, namely, from a bay, a water channel, or a small group of islands.

Hyades (J):150 also observed this custom: "They like to say: 'the people of Packsaddle Bay,' Poutkouoye yamana, 'of Ponsonby Sound,' Kanakouche yamana, but somewhat as we would in a city in speaking of some quarter or some street" /translated from French/ (229). Obviously such designations should not be inter-

> 229. Relying on a communication from Reverend Bridges, dated June, 1884, Hyades (L):718 repeated: "All these natives are known by the name of the localities in which they live and are very exactly divided up into small clans" /translated from French/.

preted or evaluated in the sense of an organization or a local tribal division.

For his part Bridges used the designation "clan or tribe" /cited in English/ for local groups. For example, in the year 1883/84 he took a census of the entire Yamana population and put the individual groups together "under their several clan names" /cited in English/. His reasoning was: "All these natives are known by the names of their several locations and are very minutely divided into small clans. The term Ucur [ĕkĕ$^{\chi}$], which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used /900/ to denote clans or tribe" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884). He states that

/800 cont./

621 the Ushuaia local group extends over about 20 English miles
634 (MM:XIII, 151;1879), but this is only a third of the area that the
571 middle dialect group actually occupies.

Corresponding to the word formations given above, BD:259 also lists some in which the native district of the grandmother of some person is definitely taken into account: "hīkaiamakūtasa, the connection a person has with the land of his father's mother, or of his mother's mother; hīkaiamakūtasūsi, the country of my mother's mother's, my father's mother's country" /cited in English/. With this root word the terms for the male and female relatives of that region are formed by means of suffixes.

Such designations for the native district of the grandmother were probably created because each of the two grandmothers of the same grandson had home territories elsewhere; on the other hand, the paternal ancestors of the grandson remain almost without exception in the same locality. This comes out even more clearly in the explanation given in BD:168 for the word kaiamākūtasa which recurs in hīkaiamakūtasa above, for it is "a term applied of the connection one has with a place or people from which one's grandmother came" /cited in English/. From this comes the further formation haiamākūtasūsi, "the country of my grandmother, or the country of one's grandchildren" /cited in English/, and, finally, hīkaiamākūtasāpai, "two persons belonging to one's grandmother's country" /cited in English/. It does not seem to me permissible to attempt to read into these designations a matriarchal type of social structure.

186 Our Indians are more conversant with expressions that contain the idea of belonging to a specific country, of indigenousness and the rights of residence. The root word hánnan is given in BD:265 in the sense of "my country, in opposition to palalísin, civilised country" /cited in English/. From this come the derivations hannajámalim "(used by natives specially of themselves) my country men, my country people," hannakipajámalim, "my country women," hannaala, "my countryman," and finally hannakípa, "my countrywoman" /citations in English/.

178 The changes wrought by recent influences have pushed the
634 dialect groups and circles of families, which hitherto were separated in their circumscribed local districts, closer and closer

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178 634 together. Since 1880 a particularly strong movement in this direction set in. According to Hyades ( ):718, Bridges noted the effect of this in June, 1884: "The Yahgan are now so much more coalesced that they form only a single colony" /translated from French/. Obviously Bridges would like his readers to believe that a change for the better had been brought about among these natives under the influence of the Anglican mission. He was mistaken. Furthermore, Hyades (ℓ):721 raised the justifiable objection against Bridges' assertion by pointing out that the Yamana "were formerly divided into tribes that were hostile or antipathetic toward one another" /translated from French/. This is not to deny that occasionally disputes and hostilities were carried on between individual families of the same local group (230).

> 230. From his most recent experience Bove (e):158 reported: "The inhabitants of the east (Picton Island) and those from Adduvia (New Year Sound) still [since the founding of the mission station in Ushuwaia] fought with each other frequently, and often enough the sad news of deeds of violence, murder and insults reaches the Mission."

571 612 /801/ The association of the five dialect groups is very tenuous (231), that of the local groups within each dialect group

> 231. This is probably what Aspinall:270 means when he says: "Despite the lack of closer ties of tribal society, one notices among them many expressions of true affection and deeper concern."

is somewhat less so, and that of the families of each circle of relatives who in their totality form the local group is truly strong. There is, of course, overlapping, insofar as a person has blood relatives in more than one local group. It is well known (p. 607) that in itself the circle of relatives is neither a definitely ordered structure nor a specifically organized system. For some the blood

/801 cont./

591 612 ties are stronger, for others weaker, although the bond is as strong as Nature herself can make it. In analyzing the kinship group, we see revealed the one and only complete social structure which rests firmly upon itself, namely, the individual family. It forms a small state by itself (232).

> 232. Hyades (g):36 has attempted the following explanation: "Their uncontrollable urge for independence does not let the Fueguians achieve an organization beyond that of the family in the narrowest sense. Everyone is thrown back upon himself alone." Barclay (a):64 maintains of the Yamana that "he owns no faith, religion, or tribal tie other than that of the family which huddles together for food and sustenance" /cited in English/.

591 It is altogether compatible with the character of our Fueguians that the five dialect groups among themselves cultivate peaceful relations throughout. This is even more true of the local groups and most of all of the families making up the circle of kinfolk (233).

> 233. It is incomprehensible to me how Bridges (b):205 could express the following monstrous opinion: "Their continual offenses against their friends and neighbors keep the community in a chronic state of uneasiness and violence. There are few who do not show scars, and deaths often occur as a result of quarrels" /translated from Spanish/. This assertion is in clear contrast with many other judgments which Bridges himself set forth.

Each day is more or less filled with the hunt for food. Not much time remains for intrigues and quarreling. The members of the family group, more than the members of the local group and much more than those of the dialect group, are on occasion dependent upon one another in various matters, and they would not willfully or carelessly spoil their relationship with those whose

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S1f help might be indispensable to them.

Formerly, when whales often showed up in the channels of the Cape Horn realm, the natives from all regions flocked together more often, camped together on the same spot, and became better acquainted. Intermarriage followed and with it repeated visits of parents when a young married woman followed her new husband into his home district. It is true that existing boundaries were universally respected, especially those of the dialect groups. Moreover, people assumed the right /901/ to cross them unhindered, but they did not misuse this right by roaming about aimlessly for any length of time in the strange region.

Local conditions themselves explain why the three northern dialect groups can associate more frequently with one another than with the two dialect groups farther south (p. 199 /unknown-lined/).

2. Its Leadership

G2? What can be read between the lines in the above section must finally be clothed in definite words, namely, that our Tamans do not recognize any person as having the authority to rule either the whole society or the larger groups within it, no matter what names are applied to such persons in higher social organizations. This by no means strange phenomenon is confirmed not only by the independent position of the individual family and its freedom to settle anywhere, but also by the definite testimony of many observers. Despard (b):746 avers: "They have no king, chief, or other person, distinguished from his fellows by hereditary or committed right of rule. They have no council of state" /cited in English/. Hyades (j):194 repeats the same thing: "The Fueglans do not have chiefs, and they are opposed to any idea of superiority and authority" /translated from French/ (136). Thus there is no

136. Only in this sense is Bove's (e):158 assertion valid: "The expression 'authority' is a dead word." Compare Alvarez:145, Bove (g):134, Cooper:177, Fitz-Roy (e):178, Lothrop (b):185, Lovisato (b):156, and others.

/902 cont./

622 single person with legal authority at the head of the whole tribe or the individual groups. Here we do not even have the institution of the hamit of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 423).

Similarly there is no authoritative judge over all the people; 692 everyone must seek his own justice. He finds aid and support 627 among his circle of kinsmen in cases of legal disputes. The settlement of a dispute is determined more or less by club law. Everyone is dependent upon himself and his nearest kinsfolk for his defense, for, as Despard (b):716 assures us, "in Fireland is no king or magistrate. All men have equal rights and equal wrongs" /cited in English/. Decisions are, of course, not always just, and the absence of a non-partisan public authority based on legal principles damages character and weakens the sense of justice. Many inequalities with serious consequences develop on this foundation. Stirling has mentioned some of them: "This absence of chieftainship gives the violent spirits a better social position than they deserve, and a more dangerous sphere. It is left to individuals to avenge wrongs, at least for the most part; the strength and composure of a defined public opinion, vindicating right and proceeding to punish the wrong-doer are only exceptionally known. The law of the strongest prevails" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34, 1870).

It is to their own advantage that this Fuegian population is peacefully inclined. Outbreaks of violence in cases of legal disputes always affect /903/ only small circles and even this is infrequent. Among most of them an honest effort to be righteous and to observe tribal customs largely prevails. Infractions of the general feeling of justice and violations of the freedom of others seldom occur.

557 Among the Yamana there is no superior authority appointed 111 by law, either for the entire tribal community or for smaller groups. There are always certain men, however, who, as a result of their advanced age and blameless character, their long experience and mental superiority, have a moral influence of such importance that it amounts to positive control (238). Thus

238. Fitz-Roy (a):178 realized: "There is no superiority of one over another, except that

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acquired gradually by age, sagacity, and daring conduct" /cited in English/. Hyades (j):184 later supplemented this: "They definitely recognize superiority in morality and intelligence, but this superiority is admitted only within a small circle of friends and does not give rise to domination, which would be neither coveted nor supported by anyone" /translated from French/.

a tiámuna, as he is called, does not occupy a position like that of the kemál of the Selk'nam who is the man of authority for all who belong to the same, definitely circumscribed local group. Nevertheless, the members of a wider circle of kinsfolk listen to the word of their tiámuna, submit to his instructions, bow to his judgment, and even accept his warnings. Like a sincere friend of his immediate family and like a venerable patriarch in a larger circle, he guides and leads by means of good words all those who willingly yield to his influence or could not easily avoid it. He is a conscientious promoter of the old order and a steadfast champion of the good customs of former times. The mere example he sets is stronger than his words. He makes his opinion known with careful consideration and with the best intentions for the welfare of the individual as well as the harmony of the group as a whole, without assuming sovereign rights nor curtailing anyone's personal freedom.

The veneration universally shown to aged, model persons does not make it difficult for anyone to yield to the judgment or the instruction of the tiámuna in an individual case (236). Actually

236. Agreeing with several other observers, Hyades (g):35 assures us that "the old men enjoy great influence and a kind of veneration.

no one strives for this privileged position, nor is it hereditary. It is their trust in him that makes several younger people or an entire circle of kinsfolk submit to a particular elder as though he were their uncrowned headman.

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554 Thus our Fuegians lack appointed persons of authority and
571 written laws. Nevertheless, there is a sovereign power, even though it is invisible. As we know, the whole tribe is divided into five definitely demarcated dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each of them is divided into several local groups who in turn occupy smaller regions. Finally, each of these is made up of a few family groups. The /804/ individual family, finally, relies upon itself and enjoys complete independence. It is a family decision to associate more often with some families or more closely with others. Sometimes they travel and spend several days together as a result of a chance meeting. This purely external tie is just as quickly dissolved if another family arrives with whom they choose to associate. The above-mentioned tiámuna sometimes makes arrangements with the tiámuna of another group of families to bring together a larger number for a definite purpose. These are always free decisions, however, and there is no outside pressure. Fluent speech and a faculty for quick persuasion are usually the only decisive factors.

571 Such an arrangement is made for the initiation ceremony,
881 the men's ceremony, or common burial rites. Everyone knows the universal obligation of young people to take part in the initiation ceremony. It is the duty of the adults to create the opportunity for it, and certain influential people are moved to hold it, all depending on the circumstances. The fact that the general public safeguards that important institution and does not let any young person suffer the loss of its advantages must be unequivocally interpreted as an effect of the invisible but mighty compulsion of the power of the state (p. 640).

183 If anyone is repeatedly guilty of serious violations against
626 the prevailing customs and causes apparent harm to a number of persons by doing so, nothing happens for a while, but then a close relative of the transgressor will arouse himself and, referring to the opinion of others, will appeal to his conscience. They do not even stop at a fight and care nothing about protecting their own lives, since they put greater value on respect for the existing order. Thus again an invisible power of the state sees to it that laws are kept pure and respected. When famine breaks out in a local group and a whale is driven ashore somewhere, an unwritten law goes into effect which does away with the narrower boundaries of intercourse

183 /804 cont./
626 and opens free passage to the spot where everyone can generously help himself.

To be sure, these are all modest beginnings of an active state power, but the latter is in effect, even in that completely unorganized community of people, and makes itself felt, although always to the advantage of the individual and in the service of the family, thereby guaranteeing the undiminished continuance of the group as a whole. This still invisible power does not even remotely pursue an end in itself.

183 In complete contrast to the veiled existence of the state in this society, the freedom of the individual shines forth brightly.
554 A person who has attained physical maturity, married, and left the parental hut stands on his own feet, is responsible to no one, and has no master. Within the wide margins set by the law of usage and ancient custom, he conducts himself /805/ as he sees fit, divides up his time as he pleases, provides himself with food and tools as he feels inclined, and uses and disposes of them according to his own free judgment. A person is warned only if he is flagrantly guilty of repeatedly or constantly harming other fellow-tribesmen, as we have shown above.

Ordinarily no one dares issue definite orders or make demands
571 on other people, whether or not he is justified or obliged to do so.
156 Thus, a wife will not admonish her husband to go forth to hunt, even though she and her children may have to suffer hunger for a long time. Even to this extent these Indians would not allow themselves to make demands or issue orders to a specific person. This was often observed. If I ordered a man to demand some service of another in my name he listened to my words and departed, but he returned shortly thereafter without having spoken to the other man and gave me to understand that I should personally give my instructions to the one concerned. In this way each person guards the other's freedom, and he also would not allow his own freedom to be curtailed (237).

237. The missionaries have had many experiences in this connection, for instance, when they provided a sort of supervisor for community work. "To be placed as overseer

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brought on at once a native jealousy and dislike. The office, therefore, was not popular, and generally destitute of authority, and fulfilled with laxity of purpose" /cited in English/. The natural inclination of these Indians is such that "they cannot bear to be dictated to" /cited in English/, as Bridges (VP:XIII, 209; 1866 tersely and definitely expresses himself.

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In spite of the far-reaching independence and freedom that each individual enjoys, the conduct of affairs in this Fuegian group is orderly and peaceful, although there are neither lawfully appointed persons of authority nor written statutes. The community life of all fellow-tribesmen is so secure that they can pursue their food-gathering unmolested and devote themselves undisturbed to their family life, to their own happiness, and to the welfare of all. Every true Yamana carries in his heart the one important law which was indelibly impressed upon him during the youth initiation and which constitutes the unwavering rule of conduct throughout life: to be a good and useful member of the tribe!

D. Youth Initiation

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The Yamana are fully aware of their natural duty to educate the growing generation. Parents above all make an effort for their own children and do this with a seriousness not shown by many other peoples. The offspring is taken care of from its earliest childhood (p. 484). While it is growing up, the father's influence on the boy and the mother's on the girl gradually take on more specific forms and more definite goals. The adults /806/ make it possible for young people to achieve practical competence and a certain measure of skills, but also, beyond that, spiritual enrichment and a mental attitude toward the ideal of a perfect Yamana who can serve as a model (p. 552). The parental task is to rear their own children to a certain level of moral and practical development at maturity.

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As though the society were not satisfied with these achievements in training, which without doubt are attained in all families,

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X881 and as though it were obliged to add to them, an institution has been created which obviously proves to be a prolongation of parental efforts and which continues, without a break, the training within the narrower family circle. It is of decisive significance in this connection that the child, at puberty, is taken from the care of its parents and subjected to a leadership created accidently, so to speak, from the assemblage of many families.

All children without exception are required to take part in this so-called youth initiation and no parents have the right to remove their children for any reason whatever. A superior power asserts itself in this universal obligation, and this is none other than the invisible power of the state. Specific positions of authority are lacking in this Indian society (p. 634), but these people, too, are guided by definite, all-embracing laws, and everyone willingly yields to them. One of their laws, which is regarded with great seriousness and which the public guards with scrupulous care, is the periodic repetition of the youth initiation, in which is expressed the actually existing power of the state, the incomplete development of which was described in the preceding section (p. 635).

Precisely because the initiation of youth is arranged by one or another part of the tribal society and because it represents an undertaking of legal standing independent of the individual family and outside of it, the following detailed description of it is added to the description of the social structure of the Yamana tribe.

X881 171 It is known that the neighboring Selk'nam also have a secret ceremony, called klóketen (Vol. I, 808). Only boys are admitted to it, which shows that it is very different from the čiéxaus. Aside from that, outstanding characteristics and a unidirectional aim show that it, too, is an actual youth initiation. As such, the klóketen strives for the same principal goal, namely, adequate instruction and forceful teaching, as well as repeated practice to achieve manual dexterity and skill in the daily tasks of adults. The chief purpose, therefore, is to train and instruct the young person in his tasks as a self-sufficient independent human being. With no obvious foreign element from matriarchal cultural conditions, as can be shown in the great ceremony of the klóketen (Vol. I, 1077), /807/ the čiéxaus pursues a very definite educational task aimed at physical fitness for the required skills and

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Y881 171 moral-spiritual training in such measure that the one does not seem to be favored above the other.

In the course of the discussion, this important basic direction will be clearly brought out. It is referred to here in order to intercept from the start an unjustifiable assumption. The elaborate accompaniment to the initiation serves neither exclusively nor primarily to train those young people so that they later will be proficient in obtaining food. Much attention is certainly paid to this need, but it is neither the only nor the most important goal (238).

> 238. Most recently Felix Speiser:254 laid sole stress on this supplementary goal. On the subject of initiations in Australia and New Guinea he concludes: "All kinds of motives have hitherto been given as reasons for the initiations...All these motives are present in the initiations, but do not form their central feature which, as we have tried to prove, is to guarantee the food supply. If this realization is at first somewhat surprising, it becomes comprehensible if we clearly understand how very important the assurance of obtaining food is for man in general...In ethnology, amid the many, often interesting aspects in the life of primitive people, we often forget how great must be the concern for their daily food." Speiser's reference to the oppressive worry for daily subsistence which torments primitive man deserves acknowledgment. In Tierra del Fuego, too, young people are trained to meet it effectively, but it is not the most important task of the initiation to which every young person is pledged before his marriage.

A much loftier and more universal goal can be seen in certain secondary aspects that surround this ceremony.

Y881 The Ciéxaus ceremony is made up of a great many individual parts; a rich store of ideas from the spiritual treasure of the Yamana

Y881 /807 cont./

is revealed in the course of the ceremony. The basic features of their social order shine forth everywhere and their entire economic life is rehearsed in the richness of its details. In this respect the initiation appears as a mirrored reflection of the entire culture of our natives; within this framework the coherence of many parts is evident, and one is explained by the other. Beyond that, however, the Čiéxaus has so many and such important characteristics that there would be a very great gap in the description of the Fuegian cultural heritage if this institution were not clearly portrayed in its basic features and its many secondary aspects. We have long known how very revealing it is with respect to the processes of the external and inner life of primitive peoples if a European obtains an insight into their secret ceremonies. I, too, had an essentially different opinion of the Yamana after I was permitted to take part in this secret ceremony. Its portrayal throws light on almost all parts of the extensive cultural heritage of our Fuegians. The present description will forgo comparisons with their neighbors and with other primitive peoples (239).

239. The secret ceremonies of the Selk'nam were described in Volume I, 808. The essential features of the youth initiation performed by the Halakwulup are given in Gusinde (o):541. A comparison of this ceremony among the three tribes of Tierra del Fuego is to be found in Gusinde (bb):354. See also Schmidt (d):993.

/808/ a. Investigations by Europeans

In general primitive peoples regard the secret ceremonies they conduct as something sacred which they carefully and anxiously guard from any kind of desecration. They avoid any disturbance even by their own people, and to this end they seek hidden, undiscoverable places where they carry out their ceremonies. They conceal their secret still more anxiously from strangers and regard it as improper to divulge even a few words about it. The natives

X881 /808 cont./
know exactly what a rich store of details and what significant things are combined in such a performance. If they exposed them, they would lay themselves bare and disclose the core of their secrets.

It is only in the most recent times that our attention has been drawn to the wide distribution of secret ceremonies among primitive peoples. As soon as the social structure of a tribe is accurately known, modern ethnology is able to determine the probable existence of such ceremonies, as well as their individual basic features, on the basis of comparisons alone. Nothing has thereby been gained, however, for an analysis of a given people, since there may have been intermingling and changes in the original form, as, for example, in the klóketen of the Selk'nam, and despite certain uniform basic features, a great many special forms determine the uniqueness of such an institution.

We shall not be guilty of exaggeration if we point out that for a European who has gained some insight into the čiéxaus our Yamana move into an incomparably favorable light, as though they were raised from the depths of scorn to imposing heights. Such genuine humanity and verified wisdom in training techniques, such sound morality and deep religiosity are expressed in this ceremony that one would at first scarcely believe a people like the Yamana, with their penurious external living conditions, to be capable of all this. The conclusion that one knows a primitive people insufficiently until he has experienced their secret gatherings in all their details is, therefore, indeed justified.

For a European investigator it is extremely difficult to find out about such secret ceremonies. Among the great majority of native tribes he never succeeds in experiencing them through direct participation. A favorable coincidence or a particularly fortunate personal aptitude usually helps him to first find out about it. Everyone can put it down as an unusual /809/ achievement to have actually participated in a ceremony in which all the depths and recesses of the soul of these people were revealed to him. On account of the unusual significance attached to the secret gatherings of adults among primitive peoples, every investigator must apply all his knowledge and leave no stone unturned to penetrate the mystery.

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1. The First Observations

X881 114 The Yamana guard their secret youth initiation with extreme vigilance. A stranger would never be able to surprise them in the midst of it, and it would be still more impossible for him to force his way in unobserved. From the start, therefore, it was impossible for the navigators of earlier times to find out anything about it from direct observation. In general their stay in one place or another was much too short to obtain even a few superficial observations. They would have had to fulfill quite different preliminary conditions if they had wanted to get at these particularly well-guarded cultural possessions. It would be futile to look in their travel accounts for reports about the initiation. The Europeans who later visited the territory of the Yamana as gold-hunters and sealers showed neither an aptitude for ethnographic observations nor an understanding of what they saw in the way of native customs. Finally, those who settled there as farmers dismissed everything indigenous with the contemptuous shrug of the self-confident, mindless, conceited, civilized human being. Completely unobserved by any of them, the Yamana continued to hold their secret festive gatherings with a certain regularity.

X881 797 114 After the Anglican mission became well acquainted with the Yamana and their way of life was constantly observed by the missionaries, it could not fail to happen that the attention of the latter was called to the occasional gathering of many families in the same place and that, in the course of decades of close proximity, they obtained a few faint hints from the natives. The missionaries, also, however, paid far too little attention to these first clues to put such an important institution, which the čiéxaus pre-eminently is, in the service of their evangelistic efforts. Quite generally they regarded and treated the cultural heritage of the Yamana contemptuously (p. 322 /untranslated/).

X881 114 Again it is Bridges to whom we are indebted for the first discoveries and who was the only one among all the missionaries who gave us brief but valuable reports. From his writings we cannot infer with certainty whether he distinguishes clearly between the actual youth initiation, čiéxaus, and the very different men's ceremony, kina. In his Dictionary he lists many of the so-called

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X881 114

kínas spirits, and what he says in his essays about the schooling of young people actually fits the latter institution much better /810/ than the čiéxaus. Today, when both ceremonies are familiar to us with respect to their entire procedure and their principal aim, it is easy to assign with certainty the material we find in Bridges either to one or the other. Hence we shall now gather together from his written accounts everything that pertains to the youth initiation.

In his first longer essay (240) of 1866, Bridges (a):204 gives

> 240. It is entitled: "Manners and Customs of the Firelanders." Above all it contains reports about family life and the rearing of children. On February 7, 1866, Bridges introduced it with the words: "A short account of the Firelanders of the Yahgon /sic/ Tribe, inhabiting the shores of Southeast Fireland, compiled from what I have heard from the Indians themselves, during three and a half year's constant converse with them" /cited in English/ (VSA:XIII, 181; 1866).

some facts: "When boys and girls come to the years of virility they undergo a kind of discipline and teaching, which generally begins in the spring. This is done to make them quiet and good. The discipline of the girls is easy and brief, conducted in the common wigwam by her parents...They call the discipline of the girls Tóori (241), that of the boys Ooshwáula. The lads of about

> 241. Clearly this interpolated sentence and what follows refers to the special customs in connection with the girls' menarche (p. 567).

thirteen years of age are considered fit for this discipline" /cited in English/. In the sentences following he mentions certain details that take place in a special hut! "it is called Ceena" /cited in English/. In other words, he still confuses the two ceremonies. What now follows refers largely to the youth initiation, and the admonitions in particular are almost exactly the same as those we

/810 cont./

X881 114

noted: "When the lads become thirteen years old they are then subjected to a sort of teaching and discipline. They are by their near male relatives for some days wholly taken from their female relatives, are not allowed to eat this and that kind of food, are forced to be very abstemious, are made to work hard in gathering fuel and making fires on the eminences around; whenever they go abroad a guard goes with them to see that they do not indulge themselves. When they are sufficiently humbled they receive such instructions as the following from their sires: 'You must not be passionate, and kill people, else you will make enemies and be yourself soon killed. You must not take another man's wife by force, else you will suffer for it. You must not be stingy, but share with others any treasure you may find. You must not be idle, but assist to supply the house with fuel'; and many other such-like precepts, all which the young fellow is supposed to assent unto. Secrecy is strictly enjoined, at the peril of his life, of the secrets and the cheats he has been made privy to. And for several years the youths are to abstain from the use of certain kinds of fish and shell-fish, and of certain well-defined parts of whales, etc. Sometimes the fasting is so severe and of long continuance that the youths become very emaciated and weak" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869).

In the following 20 years Bridges scarcely learned anything further about this /811/ ceremony; he (h):208 has only the following to say: "The adolescents of both sexes are subjected to a period of discipline which consists of fasting, extremely vigorous at times, and moral instruction" /translated from Spanish/. This opinion is also expressed in a final reference (k):240 seven years later: "At a certain age adolescent boys were subjected to severe discipline under the tutelage of their uncles or other close relatives; they fasted and performed hard labor to inculcate on them great humility, honesty, chastity, patience, industry, and respect for truth. While they were under this discipline and instruction, they were called ushwoala" /translated from Spanish/. Certain details are pointed out by Bridges (i):17 in a manuscript which probably dates from February 2, 1878. Again he assigns to the kína certain parts which belong to the čiéxaus (242). He does not

242. "The initiation of the boys and girls took

/811 cont./

X881
114

> place when they were between fourteen and sixteen years old...Abstinence from food was exacted from both; and the fasting of the lads was often severe resulting in many instances in leanness and debility. Both sexes received, after a longer or shorter season of abstinence, good moral precepts with reasons for observing them, whereby their friends honestly thought to fit them for their future life. For example, stealing and lying were forbidden because they brought suffering and trouble, diligence, generosity and faithfulness in marriage were enjoined because they ensured peace and happiness..." /cited in English/ (Bridges [i]:17).

mention anywhere that for the latter ceremony boys and girls together gather in the same Great Hut. Many of the precepts and restrictions for the candidates of the čiéxaus are repeated for those of the kína.

If we now consider the fact that in the large Yamana Dictionary there is no particular distinction made between the two ceremonies, it seems very probable that Bridges was under the false impression that there was a single secret ceremony, namely, kína, for he mentions many spirits of the latter, whereas there are only two definite references to the čiéxaus. BD:276 gives the word jākaus, "the singing and mode of rites peculiar to the murana drama" /cited in English/; furthermore, BD:203 gives (ja)-kaus, "the rites and ceremonies (being superstitious, lying, obscure, dramatic and semireligious plays) in connection with the Murana or Sacred wigwam in which these scenes were enacted" /cited in English/. The word mentioned twice undoubtedly corresponds to the čiéxaus, which in our presence, too, was occasionally pronounced jiéxaus, jéxaus, and čékaus. In any case, Bridges certainly did not grasp the meaning and significance of the youth initiation and in all probability overlooked the fact that it is separate from the kína.

It is well known that in modern times travelers have drawn very profitably on the observations and experiences of this missionary among the Yamana. Since he himself did not have

/811 cont./

X881 114 accurate information about the youth initiation, it is by no means strange that there is absolutely no reference to it in the latest writings. Hyades (q):376 mentions "the custom of submitting boys who have reached the age of adolescence to a kind of initiation" /translated from French/. His subsequent statements, however, are an almost verbatim repetition of what /812/ Bridges (i):17 gives and of what applies largely to the kina (243). Beyond

> 243. We need not exclude the possibility that the members of the Mission Scientifique vaguely had their attention called to it. Thus Martial: 221 writes that the natives "have some entertainments in which we have not taken part" /translated from French/. In any case, what Cooper: 156 assumes is inaccurate: "By the time of the French expedition in 1882-83, and even before, the boy initiations had fallen into desuetude among the Yahgans" /cited in English/. Certainly, "they still preserved a simpler puberty rite, including fasting and moral instruction also has since then been repeated, as I have shown above.

that, up to the time of my last journey, no one made even the slightest reference to the youth initiation. Several months after my last trip Lothrop (b):165 came to Tierra del Fuego. He did not do any independent research on this, and in his account he refers to our conclusions (244), but he did obtain the objects used

> 244. He (b):165 writes: "Thanks to the studies of Gusinde and Koppers full and complete information about the Yahgan initiation rites is available, and the reader desirous of fuller information than is given here is referred to their various publications on this subject" /cited in English/.

in the čiéxaus. Even recently Spencer:111 succumbs to the mistake of confusing the two secret ceremonies, and the facts which

/812 cont. /

X881 he probably gathered independently are valid only for the men's ceremony.

114 If all that Bridges noted down about the common training of youth at puberty is applied, even unjustifiably, to the youth initiation, it seems so meager that the character of this secret rite is not recognizable even in rudimentary form. It remained completely undisclosed to European insight, like so many other valuable treasures, until shortly before the decline of this people.

2. My Participation

X881 It seems to me important to point out that up to my second
123 journey the above references in Bridge's writings were completely unknown to me. My vague conjecture that in the declining years of these people I would still discover secret ceremonies was precipitated by a reference of Cooper's:156 that among the Yamana such rites had not been held for at least four decades. Since I was nevertheless privileged to experience the men's secret rites and the school for the medicine man, besides the initiation, I may be justified in maintaining that I was the sole discoverer of the čiéxaus and the first to understand its underlying idea.

There is no other institution about which our Indians are as strictly, silent as they are about the youth initiation. Their reticence in this matter could be compared only with their habit of never repeating the name of a deceased person. In their daily life there is actually almost no occasion to speak of it, and if it
[195] should be necessary, they regularly resort to circumlocution which they are also fond of using on other occasions. One would not go astray in tracing to this circumstance the fact that Bridges could learn little more than the name /813/ of this ceremony. Fred Lawrence, who at the time of my first initiation had been married to Nelly almost 20 years, had learned from her, as well as from the rest of the Yamana, a great many of their customs, and had himself been a good observer, had only a few vague impressions about the čiéxaus. His older brother Martin knew nothing at all about it. As for the venerable Reverend John Lawrence, he had one of his greatest surprises when I outlined my experience to him after my first participation. Two years later I told him that I took

/813 cont./

X 881 123

part in the čiéxaus in Mejillones, in other words, that I had become acquainted with this ceremony a second time. He was sincerely happy about my success and told me quite frankly that he had never made an effort to gain the confidence of the natives to such an extent that he could take part in their secret rites. Thus, the facts are convincing enough that the Yamana conceal the čiéxaus in strict silence even from one of their own people.

When I began my investigations among these people, there was only a handful of older persons left who could tell me with some certainty about the uncorrupted practices and customs of earlier times and answer my questions. The final moment had come to rescue valuable cultural possessions from total oblivion! I was fully aware of this and felt the weight of my responsibility. It will now be understandable why I seized the opportunity to take part in the čiéxaus with steadfast determination, and with indefatigable tenacity I worked with the natives until the entire contents of the ceremony was saved for scientific study. Even the greatest exertion on my part, however, would not have led me to my goal if I had not had the all-surmounting help of kind Nelly Lawrence. In the final analysis it was her decisive influence on her countrymen that made them decide in January, 1920, to put on an initiation ceremony and let me take part in it as an actual candidate.

a. My First Youth Initiation

After a general survey of the possibilities for research among the Fuegians, which I obtained on my first journey (p. 164 /untranslated/), I decided to begin my work with the Yamana. At the end of December, 1919, I was again in Punta Remolino where, shortly before, several Indian families had gathered (p. 175 /untranslated/). During the day the men were busy on the farm, and it was only in the evening and during rainy weather that they formed a circle around the hut fire of a venerable old man in order to talk. I was never absent on these occasions. Even after the first week of my stay there, we had grown accustomed to one another, they told me many things, and they were soon so friendly

X481 /813 cont./
123 that without embarrassment they began to speak of their myths.

/814/ One evening I noticed that a few men to whom old Alfredo had secretly given a hint sent the boys and girls out of the hut. Their excuse was that it was getting late and the children should go to bed. It was not until the adults were alone that Alfredo told two stories. Obviously the children were not supposed to know about them. Then I realized that on the previous evening and the evening before an oppressive embarrassment had hung over the adults and the really uninhibited flow of talk had not begun until all the youngsters had been removed. On one of the following evenings I asked them directly: "Why do you not tell these stories when a child is present here in the hut?" A younger man was ready, almost too ready, with the answer: "Only those who have been in the X4 are permitted to know all that!" These words had an extremely embarrassing effect on all the men -- there did not happen to be any women present. They tried to cover it up by summoning all their self-control, but I was aware of it. I felt only too clearly that the man had been somewhat hasty and blurted out something which he should have held in strict secrecy. Dead silence! Minutes passed and no one dared to pick up the thread of the story. When some dogs outside suddenly broke the deadly stillness of the night by starting a fight, all the men, as though released from a spell, started up with exaggerated eagerness and rushed out of the hut. They soon dispersed and disappeared into their dwellings. There was nothing for me to do but to seek my bed also. I could not sleep, however, because of the excitement of having found a clue to a noteworthy matter (p. 177 /untranslated/).

The next morning I tried in vain even with well-meaning Chris to find out something more specific about the strange words that had been spoken the night before. On this evening the men were unmistakably slow-witted when I strongly suggested that we assemble around old Alfredo's hut fire as on the previous evenings. After much urging most of them finally sat down together again and we spoke of this and that. Scarcely had the children retired when, with recognizable firmness I put the question: "Exactly what does X4, which I heard last night, mean?" They obviously did not like this demand, and one of them cut me off with

X881 123

/814 cont./

the brief remark: "One does not speak about that!" Well, at least I knew that there must be something significant connected with this word and that I would learn nothing more about it from the men.

I could not let this strange matter rest. I promised myself some enlightenment from good old Nelly, and she did not disappoint me. From her I got the first intimation that the Yamana have an actual, well-developed youth initiation. /815/ After that I gave her no peace until one day she assured me that this ceremony would be carried out by her countrymen when their farm work was over and that I might take part in it (245).

245. On pages 179 and 184 /both untranslated/ I described how I influenced her and her husband Fred Lawrence and what in addition she herself did independently. Compare also Gusinde (b):149.

From now on I occasionally ventured to drop a remark about it to the old people; I plainly expressed to them my happiness at soon being permitted to see their beautiful ceremony. At first, however, nothing in the world would make them accept the idea, and they simply could not grasp the notion that a European should enter the sacredness of their čiéxaus. One evening, at the instigation of his wife, Fred Lawrence called all the men together. He told them point-blank of Nelly's wish and emphatically demanded that they begin this ceremony. He referred to all the help and assistance that both of them had always given them. Since I was a beloved guest of the Lawrence family and also a desirable comrade of the Yamana, they must not deny me admission along with Nelly. In spite of stubborn objections on the part of a few men, Fred firmly persisted in his demand. As though for spite, they, in turn, made it a condition that I must conduct myself exactly like the actual candidates, uśwčala, just as ancient custom demands of each of their children who is first introduced into the Great Hut. As soon as Fred informed me of this and I had, of course, agreed (246), the men calmed down somewhat,

246. In spite of my advanced age, this demand

/815 cont./

X881 123

was not unusual. Particularly in recent times it has occasionally happened that a Yamana did not have an opportunity to be initiated until early manhood. For example, one of the candidates who entered when I did was 27 years old. They do not bother about age, but they do demand actual participation sooner or later.

but still struggled for a long time with the monstrous idea that a European should experience the Kikiaus (247). Meanwhile Nelly

247. In Volume I, 814, I described the serious difficulties I was obliged to overcome before the Selk'nam admitted me to their men's secret rites.

inspired the old women with enthusiasm for her plan, and with them, particularly, she had the desired success.

While the men finished their work on the farm, I arranged with Fred Lawrence to provide food for all participants. We had promised them that we would be responsible for the needs of everyone during the ceremony so that no one would be impeded by food-seeking and we would thus be assured of a smooth running of the affair. He was kind enough to provide the necessary sheep; I bought flour, legumes, coffee, and sugar, besides a few little things. In their leisure hours the old men discussed the plan in detail among themselves. Quite voluntarily they gathered around Alfredo as the one with the most experience and yielded to his decisions. The women prepared the small ornaments that are necessary and /816/ gradually put themselves into the serious mood of this ceremony. Nelly felt an indescribably great satisfaction as her longed-for Kikiaus approached. Meanwhile I personally was with the men a good deal and showed obvious willingness to meet all the demands that would be put upon me.

X881 346

It was agreed to erect the Great Hut close to the farm buildings in Punta Remolino, out of consideration for Nelly who could not be separated from her family for a longer period and who wanted her three grown daughters to take part in the concluding ceremony. Round about lay the huts and the smaller dwellings

/916 cont./

of the Indians, hence it was not necessary for them to move. Even before the farm work was finished, Alfredo, who was the actual leader of the festival, had appointed four men as watchmen. It was their duty to keep a strict watch so that no one should approach who was not invited or who would cause any kind of disturbance and particularly that all the children left behind in the camp would be scrupulously quiet. Hardly was everyone free when the younger men went into the woods and cut suitable small beech trunks which were shaped and prepared on the festival site. Meanwhile old Alfredo, along with other men, built the framework, and the watchmen attended to their duty whenever a few inquisitive children came too close. Each time they uttered the same strange cry, which everyone knows and fears. Within three days the Great Hut stood there, covered and finished. It was 12 meters long on the ground, with a maximum width of 2.60 meters in the center and a maximum height, also in the center, of 2.60 meters. It was long, with an almost uniform slope, and had a long elliptical outline. After that the fire was lighted inside.

Slowly all the men and the older women assembled. After making a quick selection, they squatted down in a place which they retained the whole time thereafter. Then they considered which young people were to be introduced as candidates. The bitter realization of their sad destiny now struck these people in the Great Hut with full force when they saw how few candidates there were left. At first it looked as though there were no young people who could be chosen for ulakia, for this or that family had only very small children. They agreed on 17-year-old Homemead and on Clement who was already 27 years old, but had never before been initiated in this ceremony. I was the third candidate.

While these deliberations were going, the rest of the adults who wanted to experience the whole procedure arrived. Their attitude was as reserved as though they were going to a religious ceremony. For more than an hour they maintained the deepest silence and strongest composure. Then Alfredo started singing a monotonous, sad song which a few others softly accompanied. They all sat there earnestly and thoughtfully and continued singing. This was the opening of the ceremony. In the late

/916 cont./

/Place 2 appears here/ /917/ afternoon, upon a signal from the leader, the four watchmen, equipped with leather straps, crept out of the Great Hut. They caught first me, then Clemente, and finally Homemend. They brought each of us to the hut separately. I could, therefore, quietly observe the strange ghostly scene which was repeated, as it had been for me, as each of the other two candidates was pushed in through the entrance.

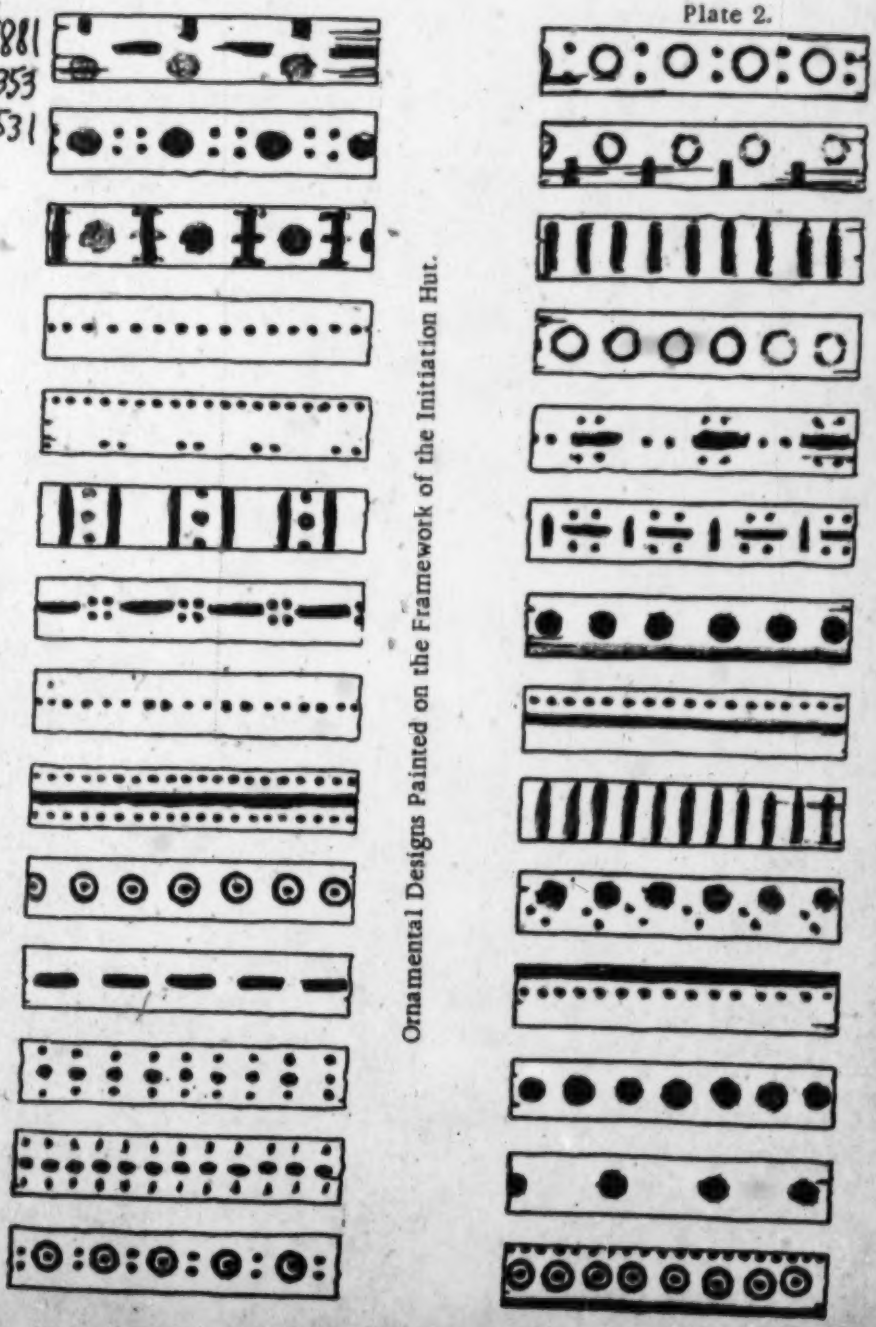
After that each of the three of us was constantly under the care of his sponsor. This service was performed in my case by Chris and Gertie. Later I learned that they had specifically asked to do it because they had no children. I now followed the proceedings of the entire ceremony day and night. The burdensome compulsory posture for long hours was indescribably agonizing. I nearly missed sleep and physical movement, and hunger made me very weak, but the serious leader, Alfredo, remained adamant concerning all the requirements and spared neither me nor the other two candidates. I was only exempted from bathing at night in the cold water of Beagle Channel (p.711). I found the strict prohibition against taking notes and asking any kind of questions incomparably more difficult, however, than the purely corporal rigors. The weakness from which my entire body suffered was transmitted to my memory and power of perception. Many details, since they were not explained, escaped my attention. Nevertheless, I was content, since my being in this Great Hut was in itself rare good fortune.

Everything served to discipline the candidate's will-power and self-control, to teach and admonish him, and to make him physically and practically efficient. The basic principles of the Yahgan became clearly illuminated, and its high moral value became apparent from the golden rules of life that a special master teacher, this time old Whalm, recited to us almost every evening. Under the guidance of a capable man, I often had to go out with the other two candidates for all kinds of tasks and hunting, which are the man's life work. Occasionally stories were told, some of which I had already learned confidentially, but anything concerning the Yahgan /a family of culture heroes/ can be repeated only in this sacred hut. Here for the first time I became acquainted with the mimes and the various songs and dances. From day to

1: Gusinde--656 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

X881
353
531

Plate 2.



Ornamental Designs Painted on the Framework of the Initiation Hut.

X881 123

/817 cont./

day my observations and experiences were augmented. Everything pleased me very much, in spite of considerable deprivation and physical weakness.

The diversified schedule of the festival proceeded without interruption; all the participants were in the best mood and showed the greatest seriousness. Several times a day Nelly also entered the Great Hut. She took part in everything so conscientiously and enthusiastically that she inspired the other adults by her example. After ten days the conclusion of the ceremonies was agreed upon by the old people. For this particularly festive occasion Nelly had also brought her three grown daughters into the Great Hut. Altogether we were only 24 persons, but everyone was very eager /818/ during the spirited, lively concluding festivities. Every face showed complete contentment and great satisfaction with the success of this ceremony. During the last common meal everyone was happy and gay. The older men expressed their gratification at my great willingness in the face of all the rigors which I, too, could not be spared. One of them whispered in my ear: "Come again next summer; then we shall repeat this festival and afterwards you may enter the kína!" Later it was explained to me that kína is the name for the men's secret ceremony and that every man is obliged to be uswáala twice in the čiéxaus before he is admitted to it. During the course of this final meal the good mood of the people was so intensified that they cried out often and loudly: "This was the best čiéxaus. We'll repeat it next summer!" Since they urged me, I gladly promised to come back then, for in my mind I already had visions of the kína which I wanted to become acquainted with also.

Wanderlust was beginning to take hold of these people. By the second day after the čiéxaus ended, the last of them had left Punta Remolino. I entered the many experiences in my diary from memory, and soon after I, too, took leave of that beloved place. In the comprehensive account below the experiences of my first initiation will be evaluated (248).

248. In Gusinde (b):150 there is a somewhat more detailed description of my first initiation ceremony, which I experienced in Punta Remolino in February, 1920 (p. 179 /untranslated/).

/818 cont./

β. My Second Youth Initiation

X881 In January, 1922, I returned to the territory of the Yamana for the third time and with the special purpose of seeing the kína 123 (p. 184 /untranslated/). Since the preliminary condition for this was that one had to be tested twice in the čʸéxaus, I naturally counted on a repetition of the latter. This time more families had gathered in Punto Remolino than two years before. To my regret, old Alfredo and his wife were missing, both of whom had been remarkably useful and helpful to me on my earlier visit. I was told they were far out around the southernmost Wollaston Islands where the woman's home was.

The people were easily won over to our plan, and scarcely had I returned to Punta Remolino with my companion, Father Koppers, from a short visit among the Selk'nam when our preparations and theirs began. This time we wanted to be completely undisturbed and quite free. Hence everyone agreed to go to Puerto Mejillones. Most of them have a little wooden house there, had left behind all kinds of implements, and felt much more comfortable in that favorite spot than here under the eyes of certain Europeans. I bought quite a number of food supplies and naturally also /819/ a goodly number of fat sheep. The Indians effortlessly packed together their few belongings. Nelly did not conceal her regret at not being able to join us immediately and promised to visit us occasionally. The work on the farm this summer had been delayed unusually long. When it was finally finished in the last few days of February, Fred Lawrence willingly put his cutter "Garibaldi" at our disposal for the crossing. Everything was loaded, we went aboard, and in the early forenoon of March 1, 1922, we crossed Beagle Channel due south (p. 185 /untranslated/).

When they arrived in Puerto Mejillones, each family without delay hastened to their dwelling and again comfortably installed themselves. We had no other choice but the little house of Santiago, for this time he had to take over the leadership of the čʸéxaus. He had beforehand reserved the sponsorship of Koppers for himself and his wife; this was reason enough for us to associate more closely with him. My sponsors were, as two years previously Chris and Gertie. Soon there was a general discussion among the

/819 cont./

X881 men to dispel from the start any doubt and uncertainty about our
123 plans. This time the situation was much more difficult than two years ago when Nelly was behind everything and was able to exert effective pressure. Since I had had some experience in handling these people, we soon came to an agreement.

X881 The next day, which was ushered in by wonderful sunlight
from a cloudless sky, a few men began with the erection of the
123 Great Hut. Actually it was not necessary to start from the ground
346 up, for the year before a Great Hut had been built which was now put in shape again. As a matter of fact, the people had celebrated a čiēxaus here among themselves. The hut was barely 12 meters long. A favorable site had been chosen at the edge of the forest, far enough from the dwellings so that there would be no disturbances from the children. Many hands fell to work, and on the very next day the hut was standing and was well equipped. I had to whip up their enthusiasm constantly, but the abundant food and all kinds of tasty bits had a stimulating effect.

X881 Meanwhile two more families arrived late, among them old Pedro. The office of overseer fell to him quite naturally, for he was the best informed on tribal customs. Around noon on March 3, 1922, a few people had already taken their seats in the Great Hut; the start of the festival was planned for this day. They felt it necessary to sit there silently and compose themselves. The majority of the adults was still busy with all kinds of other work in their own huts. One person after another inconspicuously carried to the Great Hut what he needed for his bed. Thus there was quiet but constant traffic to and fro between the dwellings and the Great Hut, a sign that the ceremony would soon begin.

Toward five in the afternoon the last people arrived and we with them. /820/ As was customary, the participants squatted in two rows, to the right and left of the center aisle. Each of us kept his appointed place; the Indians had already distributed themselves at random. The place one chose had to be retained thereafter. When it began to grow dark outside, Santiago finally began a soft humming which gradually increased to a loud singing. The other people joined in and continued it. On the first evening there were already a few dances. Everyone maintained the mood that is necessary for this ceremony.

/820 cont./

X881 The many details of this ceremony will not yet be given. I have already indicated that the number of active participants was somewhat greater than two years before, namely, 24. The candidates, besides Koppers and myself, were Manuel, who was already 35 years old, 14-year-old Kines, 12-year-old Walter II, 14-year-old Elisa, daughter of Santiago and Adelheid, and finally Julia from the tribe of the Halakwulup, who was about 18 years old. There were thus seven uswáala, which seems a goodly number considering the decimated population at that time, but three of them were not Yamana. It is noteworthy that Santiago, who, according to the general custom, carried out his duties independently of Pedro, the overseer, was extraordinarily lenient and incapable of holding the reins for strict order. For us this leniency was very much desired; it made possible cautious questions, kept us fresher, and assured a better understanding of the individual events. Nevertheless, all the candidates, without exception, were sufficiently aware of the seriousness of this ceremony. The adults, too, took a very animated part and gave all their attention to it. By way of comparison, I can say that my first initiation was dominated by deep seriousness and the strictest adherence to the order of the day, whereas this time there was more variety and livelier participation.

On the third and fourth day the oldest men inconspicuously made plans for the kina festival. When the middle-aged men got an inkling of this, the čiexaus began to bore them, and they let it be known how welcome an early end of the ceremonies would be for them. It was agreed, therefore, to leave the Great Hut on the evening of March 6th. During those five days I had learned enough, indeed a great deal, about the youth initiation. Although I was not consulted about ending it, they counted on my assent. After all, I did not want to miss the kina. The latter took place during the few days from the sixth of March to noon of the eleventh. Shortly before, the general wish was expressed that we should again move over to the čiexaus hut, and this came about as though by itself. Soon we were all in the right mood. Gravity and composure were written on all the faces, and the entire program was punctiliously carried out. On the forenoon of March 12th the meeting finally broke up, after old Whaits had

/820 cont./

X881 once again addressed a long exhortation to the candidates. Everyone wrapped his things in a bundle /821/ and returned with it to actual camp. After that the Great Hut stood deserted. Later we often passed it, and the memories aroused at this time deepened the lasting impressions (249).

249. In this connection see Koppers (a):51; he describes everything that happened each day in the Great Hut. Compare also Gusinde (c):425 and the brief accounts below.

Much pleased over the success of the main project for this year's journey, we spent the next few days completing our observations and returned to Punta Remolino on March 17th. From there we set out on the 7th of April for the return journey to Punta Arenas (p. 186 /untranslated/).

Not until this Fuegian tribe was threatened with extinction was I favored by fortune to be the first European to experience the incomparably valuable and rich ceremony of its initiation. What a loss it would be for our knowledge of older primitive peoples, in view of all that we now know of what the Ǩíexaus ceremony means and contains, if this so valuable institution had been completely lost with the last representatives of this race, if the richness of its highly significant details had remained unknown and forever inaccessible for scientific and practical evaluation.

b. Preparation for the Ceremony

X881 In the following account we shall summarize in a clearly or-
126 ganized recital (250) our own experiences based on two initiation

250. In the organization of this account I have consciously, as far as possible, adhered to the arrangement I used in describing the men's ceremony among the Selk'nam. This will markedly facilitate a comparison of the two ceremonies. The account given below of the kína celebration must also be consulted where necessary.

/821 cont./

X881 [126] ceremonies and many individual reports of the Yamana. This will bring out the value and significance of each individual part of the very extensive, complicated ceremony more distinctly and better than would a detailed description of the events of each day in chronological order. Now, in the declining years of this race [178] and with the small number of survivors, not everything can be carried out with the same detail and accuracy as formerly. The Indians of today do not even have the undisturbed quiet and protracted time of which earlier generations were assured during this festival. Nevertheless, they still come together for the čiéxaus because it must be offered to the boys and girls; besides, it is a great satisfaction for all the adults as well to experience once more the good things of olden times in this imaginative ceremony. At its conclusion we can always see clearly how the čiéxaus stirs up all their thoughts and feelings, how it enriches and exalts them. This is evident when, in their enthusiasm, they loudly praise each performance as the best and most beautiful they have attended, /822/ when they regret that it is over so quickly, when they urgently insist that they must assemble again soon for another festival and make it a long one.

The traditional procedure and the many detailed requirements are still carried out as far as possible; the Yamana have merely somewhat relaxed the relentless austerity and rigidity of former times. Alfredo and Santiago led the performance very differently; the former was completely dominated by the earnest spirit of earlier times, whereas the latter was far too ready to make allowances for the disrupting influence of European civilization. Even this fact is valuable, however; it shows that in former times, too, the personality of each overseer or leader determined the emphasis during the ceremony. Although the many details and minor aspects that make up each day belong to the ceremonial program, nevertheless the order and frequency of repetition, the preference for one thing and the emphasis placed on another are variations for which there are no fixed rules. They are brought about by the character of the overseer, the mood of influential participants, the humor and inclination of the public, and finally by purely external influences. Such insignificant variations in one or another performance are sometimes very noticeable and, as a result, are always stimulating.

/822 cont./

X881 The chief goal of the čiéxaus is to influence the training of boys and girls at puberty. Anything that serves this end is provided for in the main part of the ceremonial program, in fact, the program is almost exclusively for the sake of the candidates. Beyond this it is clearly also a performance for adults insofar as it takes into account their need for social life after the long period of solitude that economic conditions impose on each individual family. These two purposes of the čiéxaus, basically so different and seemingly opposed to each other, are nevertheless happily interwoven; they are impartially considered and completely fulfilled as though there were but a single goal. In the following account the aspects dealing with the candidates are given the most space, for obvious reasons. The part dealing with the entertainment and enjoyment of adults is often repeated in one form or another and is largely taken into the Great Hut from their daily life, for example, the dancing games and songs. Certain details remain doubtful and an adequate explanation is lacking for some aspects. This should not be surprising, for the younger generation took this institution from the older one as an established practice and did not think of giving an interpretation or a reason for every detail. Perhaps it is only in recent times that connections have been lost and gaps have appeared in the succession of ideas. /823/ By and large, however, the following portrayal offers a complete picture of the secret youth initiation as it has been held since ancient times.

As we have often pointed out, this is now generally known among our natives under the name of čiéxaus. One also often hears the alternative stress, čiexáus, especially when it is shouted in a loud voice, as well as the somewhat different čéxaus, and even the softer jiéxaus and jéxaus. The latter form is obviously similar to jākaus in BD:276. This word implies the entire performance itself. To call it a youth initiation is justified insofar as it chiefly and almost exclusively serves the education and training of young people of both sexes at puberty. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a čiéxaus is conducted in which only boys or only girls are candidates, because in some years there are not enough young people of the other sex. There are no age limits.

/823 cont./

1. Occasion and Duration

X881 182 The European often greatly underestimates primitive man's dependence on food-getting. Concern about the daily necessities arbitrarily and uncontrollably pushes aside every wish and plan, every claim and calculation that might stand in its way. Speiser's: 255 observation about the Australians also applies to our Fuegians, namely, that "food is the central feature of their material and mental pursuits, "that their attention is primarily and most strongly directed toward subsistence. Seemingly primitive people know nothing about exact divisions of time or about constancy in their decisions. They do not keep their word or fulfill their promises. In reality this is not the case, and it is an injustice if they are depicted as fickle, irresolute, and disloyal. Their decisions are changed or abandoned at the last minute according to the advantages for food-getting and for the safety of their lives. It seems much more important to them to banish hunger or to escape danger to their lives than to do what they have said, to keep their promise, to appear at a rendezvous, or to make a promised visit. This controlling and decisive principle is no less effective when it applies to the success and duration of the čiẽxaus. Hence we should not expect immutable laws in this respect.

X881 182 571 Sooner or later the families will come together again so that their maturing children may have an opportunity to take part in the initiation. It is only within the local group that the desire for this is made known, but as a rule the impetus for the decision comes from the outside. The strongest reason seems to be /824/ the stranding of a whale somewhere. Then the families crowd in not only from nearby, but sometimes even from a distance, and settle around the mighty animal. Now they are all free from concern about food for many days and even have a surplus for the immediate future (p. 336). If this spot offers the additional advantage that the men can easily hunt game animals and the women are richly rewarded in their gathering, most of the families, perhaps even all of them, remain in this productive area. There is nothing forcing them to look for another region where, to begin with, they could not be sure of such favorable conditions. Thus,

/824 cont./

X881 182 571

the stranded whale with the enormous amount of meat it offers the people for many days is not the incentive for the initiation, but rather the gathering of numerous families who have met here for this reason and who wish to remain longer in this favorable little spot because of its many advantages for obtaining food. This occasionally but by no means regularly brings about the desire to celebrate the čiěxaus.

The same thing happens if many families come together in one place for some other reason, such as a bad accident in which several persons have been the victims or a large funeral for an esteemed old man or a capable medicine man. The suitability of the campsite determines the final decision, although the mood and inclination of the people, as well as the influence of individual aged persons, have a great deal to do with it.

It is only when many families are assured of effortless provisioning in a given place that they look about for young people who would be suitable for the čiěxaus. No one knows much about it until the families have come together, for even within the local group one family may not be in touch with another. In olden times this festival would never have been omitted for want of suitable children, if the campsite were favorable, because formerly there were plenty of them.

Now and then there is a strong urge for a more prolonged gathering, such as is required for the čiěxaus, because of the desire for society and a thorough exchange of ideas. We must never forget how much heavier the burden of loneliness rests upon the few members of the individual family the longer it must be endured. Above all the men like to be among themselves once more, and even the women have all kinds of things to tell one another. The men are eager to talk about their hunting experiences and successes in their work. The women have all kinds of little things to tell about their children and are even more anxious to chat with their relatives. How stimulating it is to listen to the stories of an experienced old man, and how one likes to gather around a lively wag who is stimulated to new sallies by the applause of the multitude! If only to enjoy once more this refreshing, vitalizing fellowship, many a person will visit the campsite where the initiation /825/ takes place. A number of

X881 /825 cont. /
112 families will remain together for a longer time, especially if
571 favorable local conditions are particularly inviting.

From this account we can easily see how the many circum-
X881 stances and details of unpredictable daily life influence the dura-
182 tion of a čiéxaus ceremony and even determine it. One of these factors is the availability of wood and food, the protection of the campsite against strong winds and flood, the prevailing mood of intimate sociability among the families, and finally the variety offered by the festival and its lively leadership under a talented overseer. According to my elderly informants, most families in earlier times remained together long enough so that the candidates were detained in the Great Hut for at least six weeks. At any rate, those families who had a child or close relative who was an uswáala remained for the entire period, as did the families of the overseer and the leader because these two had to carry through to the end the offices they had assumed. The rest of the families, of course, had unimpeded freedom of movement. Often the festival would last over three months, since the leader made himself responsible for the success and effectiveness of this training with one or another of the candidates whom he treated with special consideration. A certain goal was to be attained with all the uswáala, and if forcefulness did not achieve it, it had to be attained by an extension of time.

Since for the past few decades the tribe as a whole has been in the process of complete disintegration, the important čiéxaus has become an occasional affair under the pressure of outside circumstances, but not for the older Yamana. They are now satisfied if the festival lasts one or two weeks. At my first initiation we sat in the Great Hut for ten days. In 1921 the people celebrated it by themselves in Puerto Mejillones where it lasted 12 days. In the following year, they ended it after six days.

What we experienced in March, 1922, had sometimes also happened earlier, namely, that some external event forced them to discontinue it. The most common reason for this was a death or unfavorable conditions of the land, less often because of lack of food. They would move the camp to another place where a new čiéxaus hut was built. In Puerto Mejillones it was the great desire of the younger men for the kina celebration, which they had never experienced, that caused them to interrupt the initiation.

X881 /825 cont./
182 Even the Indians, however, always regard it as a disturbance if the thread is broken, and they only yield to the force of necessity or of greater benefits.

Although generally unpredictable external circumstances convened the festival, winter was preferred as the most suitable time of year for it. People were more settled then, which was brought about by economic conditions./826/ They were happy to interrupt this boring, monotonous way of life with the čiexaus and to enjoy it fully. In summer, on the other hand, only a few people would have been able to tolerate crouching in the Great Hut uninterruptedly for many weeks. In reality, these Fuegians do not have fixed rules for the occurrence of an initiation and its duration, any more than do their nearest neighbors to the northwest, the Halakwulup.

2. Long-range Preparation

X881 All persons who unite in the čiexaus must, of course, submit to the single purpose behind its regulations and organization. The general decrees are sacred traditions and are binding for everyone. The presiding overseer sees to it that every participant submits to the unwritten laws. Everyone regards this occasion much too seriously to dream of offending against a single obligation, but someone might accidentally transgress from carelessness or natural negligence, whereupon the vigilance of the overseer must be shown. There are no special privileges for individual adults, any more than there are exceptions for this or that candidate.

X881 Every participant retains his absolute property rights over the utensils or implements he brings along to the Great Hut.
422 Anyone who has a long strap with which to capture the candidates offers it for the entire period of the festival, but takes it back again afterwards. Only the small painted panels which are hung up in the Great Hut are regarded as belonging to it. The person who made them and hung them there loses his own right to them; after the festival no one would think of taking one of these small ornamental tablets for his own use.

X881 In view of the strictness with which the prevailing decrees are observed and honored, one can confidently assume that they

/826 cont./

X881 have been faithfully handed down in their present form from earlier and ancient generations to all the successive ones.

a. The Participants

An initiation does not, of course, take place -- assuming all the external conditions -- unless a certain number of participants decide on it. With regard to the candidates, we shall discuss the prevailing custom below. Every adult has an absolute right to enter any čiéxaus hut if he has twice submitted to the initiation as uswāala. He is treated very strictly the first time; the second is regarded as a much less strict re-examination (251).

> 251. We may mention briefly that the younger chaps are required to have attended the initiation twice as candidates before they are admitted to the men's secret ceremony.

The geographical restrictions that hold for general traffic are lifted as soon as /827/ one or another local group decides to have a čiéxaus celebration. The very fact that individual families from every region may assemble around a stranded whale also gives them the right to remain there during the initiation held in connection with it. There is no pressure put upon them either to enter the Great Hut in the first place or to remain there from beginning to end. Actually, no one would miss the opportunity to enjoy this beautiful ceremony if it were held within reach and if he were not prevented by an insurmountable obstacle.

In the course of the ceremony the number present fluctuates constantly, for some families come and others depart quite unpredictably, according to mood and inclination. Formerly the average number of participants for the entire ceremony was high, 50 to 80 I was told. Sometimes, especially before the end, it increased, whereas in the beginning it was always less. The more the word was passed about the ceremony's being held, the more people hastened to it. From the beginning, however, the number of participants was decisively influenced by the external circumstance that occasioned it, by whether or not this circumstance of

X881 /827 cont./
itself brought together a large number, as well as by the size of the local group within whose boundaries the festival took place. My informants agreed that it was all the more lively and stimulating the more adults and candidates took part in it.

If an event of major importance for the general public, for example, a large funeral ceremony or the stranding of a mighty school of herring, brought many families together in one spot, there was a general desire for social games and the exchange of ideas within a large company. If a vague inclination for the čiexaus was felt, which gradually became the subject of conversation among the adults, it was usually only a short step to a preliminary agreement. The wish of many culminated in the firm decision of all. They would discuss this or that circumstance, make suggestions, weigh the present situation, and come to a more and more definite final plan. Sometimes this was a gradual process, but occasionally it happened very quickly and almost automatically. Probably a certain amount of enthusiasm for the čiexaus was almost never lacking, having been aroused by the very fact that many families from several local groups flocked together.

β. The Candidates

When the decision has been reached to conduct another initiation, the Yamana immediately consider which children can become candidates. The strict law of custom demands that all of them, after attaining physical maturity, /828/ submit to this secret ceremony at least once. It is the duty of parents, of the smaller circle of near kinsmen, and chiefly of the general public to see to it that no one misses this trial period. Actually, the adults give particular attention to each and every one of their fellow tribesmen with regard to his obligation as uwčala. They note very carefully and over a period of many years when and where everyone passed his čiexaus, who his sponsors and his instructor were on this occasion, and anything else connected with it. It is therefore absolutely impossible for a single one of them to dodge this obligation unnoticed by his immediate neighborhood. We refer, for example, to Clemente who had his first initiation at the same time I did, although he was 27 years old (p. 654). The

/828 cont. /

fact that he had not gone through it was known by many of his countrymen.

Ordinarily the candidates have passed their fourteenth year, but less attention is given to age and physical development than to a certain mental maturity. Mental qualification is the most important preliminary condition. Children must be equipped with the necessary judgment, some ability to think independently, and some power of self-control if the desired result is to be achieved. In the final analysis, the degree of mental maturity of a child determines whether he is to be admitted this time or whether he must wait for the next occasion. The adults carefully avoid introducing the child into the Great Hut too early, for they know that in that case all effort on both sides would bring about insufficient results for the candidate.

Formerly this ceremony was held often. Hence, it made no difference if this or that young person was obliged to wait until the next time. It is known as "youth initiation," which clearly means that both sexes, boys as well as girls, take part in it simultaneously. As we have just pointed out, it is a coincidence if on occasion only boys or only girls sit in the Great Hut as uwala. A girl is never admitted to the Yahgan before her menarche (p. 567).

In rejecting candidates, the judgment of close relatives and acquaintances is primarily decisive, not that of the child's own parents. The latter never raise any objection if their child is held back for the next opportunity, although as a rule they like to see him become an uwala, the sooner the better. The view of others is therefore decisive.

Y. Leader and Overseer

At the preparatory discussions it becomes clear which older men with their families have decided to conduct the initiation. As though automatically, the man who comes to the fore as leader is the best qualified person and the one the others agreed on in their discussion. /829/ He is called the ulaingawa. He is still robust and active, has great influence among his neighbors, is well acquainted with the program of the ceremony, and knows how to

/829 cont./

X881 make his demands impressive. A person who has held this office before is preferred, because it requires a thorough knowledge of many details which are not familiar to everyone. It also demands all kinds of physical exertion, which cannot be expected of a weak old man. A person to whom this position is offered probably never refuses it, for it is an honor, and in the position of ulastakuwa one feels raised above all the participants.

X881 888 Almost always another man takes part, besides the leader of the entire performance mentioned above, whom I should like to call "overseer" (252). He presents a dignified appearance, is

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252. In this respect it corresponds to the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam, where there are also two directors. There, however, they are chosen for this position according to a definite rule (Vol. I, 829).

usually an old man, and enjoys great veneration on the part of all, if only because of his age. Not only does he have this moral superiority, but it is customary for even the leader to be subordinate to him. He is not directly concerned with the day-by-day procedure of the celebration and the organization of the daily work or with the tasks and work performed by adults and candidates. These are the duties of the leader. His chief duty is to see to it that the leader is not guilty of negligence or a change in the existing order, and he sometimes discusses with him in private what, in his opinion, should be particularly emphasized and considered, what should be omitted or shortened, how this or that should be handled. Thus he appears as the lawful guardian of ancient custom and as the devoted custodian of the youth initiation as a valuable tribal heritage (253).

253. Lothrop (b):168 has this to say about the two offices: "From their number they [the oldest and experienced of the men present] chose one who was both respected and well liked to be the master of ceremonies. Another they selected as the official instructor of the candidates" /cited in English/. Perhaps these data were given him by the natives.

/829 cont./

X881 It is easy to recognize the overseer who stands out officially when he addresses the customary admonitions to the candidates assembled about him. This is also his duty; he must at least see to it that these admonitions are given the candidates by other persons, whether men or women. The precepts become much more emphatic if they are given in this altogether formal manner. The admonitions that every adult repeatedly gives any one of the candidates is entirely an individual matter.

The Yamana always see to it that both offices, that of leader and that of overseer, are filled. External necessity makes it imperative, quite apart from the above-mentioned subjective reason. The leader more than the overseer might be prevented on a given day from fulfilling the duty incumbent upon him. It does not matter if one /830/ of them temporarily drops out, for the other one will replace him without much ado, and the ceremony continues uninterruptedly. The organization of these two offices rests on a great deal of experience; a man in his best years will first learn to take over the leadership under the supervision of a practiced, dedicated old man who is alert to the preservation of ancient tradition.

At my first initiation old Alfredo was the leader, and Whaits, who was still older, was the overseer; afterwards Santiago filled the former office and Pedro the latter. As a result of this sharing of offices, there is never a lack of men who are capable of filling one or the other.

♂. The Place of Assembly

X881 361 Frequently the external circumstance that causes many families to come together also determines the place where the initiation is held. If they are not otherwise influenced, the people of a local group will decide on the spot where they previously held their ceremony. In the two successive years 1921 and 1922 the Yamana went to Puerto Mejillones for the Kina, and they used the same Great Hut both times. Thus they are not absolutely dependent on a particular region, nor can they be, since the dialect groups at least prefer to celebrate this festival within their own

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tertiary. Thus they isolate themselves from one another to a certain extent, and slight differences and local peculiarities of this ceremony have arisen in one region or another.

Although the geographical location does not matter, the place must fulfill certain conditions. Today, and sometimes formerly, the Great Hut is hidden from the eyes of the curious. Europeans especially are regarded as such, as well as the neighboring Halakwulup and Selk'nam. They like to choose an island or an inlet that is seldom visited. The Great Hut is built at the edge of the forest or near a wall or rock, so that it is inconspicuous and, in addition, blends into the landscape. The ground on which it is placed must be as dry as possible, that is, it must be gravel or shingle, for clayey earth, with all the people walking on it, would become a morass beyond all description. Furthermore, the place must be well protected against the buffeting of heavy winds and rain. If rain leaked in or too many specs or smoke blew around inside as a result of repeated gusts of wind, many of the people would find it impossible to protect themselves. The Great Hut is always crowded, and disturbances of the strict proceedings must be avoided.

Moreover, the Yamana have a few other unavoidable requirements for the site of the Great Hut. Firewood must be available nearby, and there must be quantities of it, for during the long ceremony /931/ the numerous participants use a great deal. There must be a brook not too far off, for the Indians drink a great deal of water and it would be burdensome to go a long way for it. Finally, whatever else the place may offer the coasts of the vicinity must be provided with quantities of mussels because these are needed every day.

There is a great deal of preliminary calculation and reconnoitering before the men in charge decide on a particular place of assembly. Aside from the work required to build a new Great Hut, a move is always regarded as disturbing and uncomfortable and is avoided from the outset, if possible. If they have a completely free choice, they assemble in a place that has already proved suitable in former years. It is taken for granted that the availability of food is always a decisive factor; half a hundred persons

/USE cont./

or more need very considerable amounts for a period of several weeks. They are also looking for a certain amount of comfort, and the adults wish to relax a bit from all their exertions and restrictions.

The long-range preparation is, as we see, an important matter requiring long discussions and much prudence. Yet, fewer than one would think possible, the Tamana come to agreement about their significant youth initiation. The younger people listen to the older ones submissively and with respect; the latter have had so much experience that, under the circumstances, their decision could hardly be better.

2. More Immediate Preparation

Assuming that many families have gathered in one place for a particular purpose and that the place is suitable for the *Gkage* ceremony, it is not necessary for the entire camp to move. The situation is different if the families must gather at a suitable place. Then the leader determines the move, and he and his family are usually the first to go there so that the others will follow his example.

Almost always the leader also sends some messenger to his circle of kinsmen and the members of the local group to call attention to the beginning of the performance and also to extend a particularly cordial invitation to certain families. It is a matter of pride for the leader to have a "full house," hence his effort beforehand, and also later, to assemble as many people as possible.

Consideration is given also to the space that must be provided for the number of participants who have announced their coming or may be expected. After all, it must not be too crowded in the Great Hut because that would hinder certain games and dances. One cannot, of course, count on a prior acceptance by some families, and the owners does not know definitely how many participants will come until all of them /USE/ have actually set up their huts nearby. Frequently the individual families must come from different directions, and in spite of their best intentions, they are only too often and too long delayed by bad weather.

Everyone arrives in good humor and a suitable frame of mind. The *Gkage* offers so much stimulation for every aspect of the inner

info that each participant is confident from the start that his hopes and expectations will be fulfilled. A considerable power of attraction is sometimes exerted by the personality of the leader. One person will have an excellent manner for providing strict order, a variety of activity, good suggestions, and a refreshing arrangement of everyday details, whereas another can present the old legends in an incomparably enjoyable way or offer the precepts and admonitions to the candidates with cordial sincerity. I remember specifically the comments of women and men in February, 1920, when it became known in Punta Remolino that Alfredo would take over the leadership of the Kina. One person praised this virtue, another praised that one which particularly recommended him for this office. Truly, there was a great difference between the way he held the reins of such a complex performance and the manner in which Santiago, whom I had a chance to observe two years later, did it.

All the people who assemble in one place for the initiation arrive with the intention of taking part from beginning to end, but this is no indication of how long they will actually stay, just as one cannot say anything definite at the beginning about the duration of the ceremony itself. There are a great many external influences which assert themselves and all kinds of other determining factors, above all the personality of the leader has a decisive effect. Although nothing is known beforehand about the duration of the ceremony and nothing is definitely decided, no participant is on that account in any way influenced in his plans. Anyone who is uncomfortable or who is bored and deriving no further stimulation from the meeting simply departs without interference. All of them come with the eager hope that the Kina celebration will be a very long one. If, however, after a certain time it no longer has much attraction, everyone votes for a prompt adjournment, and then, when they actually separate, someone will say: "Too bad that it's over!" We see, therefore, that the Yamana, too, are altogether human everywhere and in every situation of life.

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a. Construction of the Great Hut

X 881 346

Whether the families have assembled in one place for some extraneous reason or at the invitation of the chosen leader, several men survey the locality carefully to see which spot is most suitable for the construction of the Great Hut. We have just mentioned (p. 673) what is required of the place. Above all the earth must /833/ be dry and the adjoining area must furnish good protection. The distance to the nearest huts must not be more than 150 meters since every adult participant returns more or less frequently to his dwelling and does not want to go too long a distance. The women's concern about their small children does not permit them to be too far away. All these things are considered in the choice of the site for the Great Hut.

From the start the leader makes sure of a few younger men who prove to be active and willing to work. Hesitation and delay would have a paralyzing effect on the families; hence he promptly begins the construction of the Great Hut. If the place for it has been definitely determined, he sends his men into the woods where they cut long, thin beech trunks and bring them to the site. The number required depends on their plans for the size of the structure. At least 80 small trunks of different thicknesses and medium length are required.

They choose a smooth spot on the ground, measure the circumference with the naked eye, and remove any protruding stones. At the same time the leader estimates the length that he wants the entire structure to have. At one end two of the stronger trunks are rammed into the earth scarcely more than 50 centimeters apart at the bottom. They flank the entrance and are known as wéfia tŭawina. They are set at an angle of about 45 degrees. The same thing is done with two more trunks exactly opposite them, which flank the exit and are called uščlun tŭawina. The ends of these two pairs are fastened together. If these poles prove to be too short because a long hut is planned, pieces are inserted between them. The pair of poles does not serve as special support like pillars, nor is this necessary, but it does represent a kind of main rib for the entire vault, with reference to which all the other small poles are arranged.

After that the so-called transverse arches are set up, one after another and at right angles to the above-mentioned pair of poles.

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X881 346 The thicker and usually pointed end of the small trunk is pounded into the earth very much at an angle to the main rib. The free end is tied to the opposite small trunk. Measured on the ground, all these small trunks are about 15 centimeters apart. A few more long poles are now placed longitudinally over the transverse arches in order to hold the vault together better. The thick end is likewise pounded into the earth at the proper angle, and the small pole itself, as parallel as possible to the others, is drawn over the transverse arches. The intersections are tied with rush stalks of [824] Marsippospermum grandiflorum or with seal tendons. The long side areas of this framework are hung with large pieces of leather and the upper part is covered with thick leafy twigs of the ever-[824] green Nothofagus betuloides. Sometimes the entire hut is covered with beech branches. This completes the hut. /834/ It has a long elliptical groundplan and an elongated dome shape (Fig. 81), something like the community hut (p. 31).

The time it takes to erect the Great Hut, two or three days, depends on the number and the agility of the men taking part. Meanwhile others are working on the interior. First they mark out the hearth with rather thick small trunks placed on the cleaned and leveled ground. These pairs of trunks start a little to the side of each of the trunks that mark off the main and the secondary entrances, and they extend from one end to the other. This center passage is thus somewhat wider than the main and secondary entrances. Pegs about as long as a hand are rammed into the earth to give some support to the parallel trunks. /Fig. 81 appears here./ Brush with thick foliage is spread on either side of them. Later on each participant will spread his pieces of X881 leather and skins over the brush to make a seat for himself. Since 346 the people form only two rows, everyone can come close to the -354 fire (254) or move away from it as he chooses. The brush on the

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254. At present the Yamana use a rather large tin can or a wide iron pipe for the fire in their dwelling and in the canoe. This time they had placed two short pieces of a steamship funnel along the middle passage of the Great Hut. The fires inside of these produced sufficient warmth

/834 cont./

X881 346 354

and no one was bothered very much by smoke. Formerly everyone felt the smoke, sometimes disagreeably, because the open fire extended the length of the hut.

hut framework above the fire is loosely arranged so that the smoke can get out quickly and easily.

X881 346

The length of the hut depends, of course, on the number of participants; all the other measurements are just about the same for a long or short structure. The Great Hut in Puerto Mejillones is 11.30 meters long and has a maximum width on the ground of 3.60 meters and a perpendicular height in the exact center of 2.35 meters.

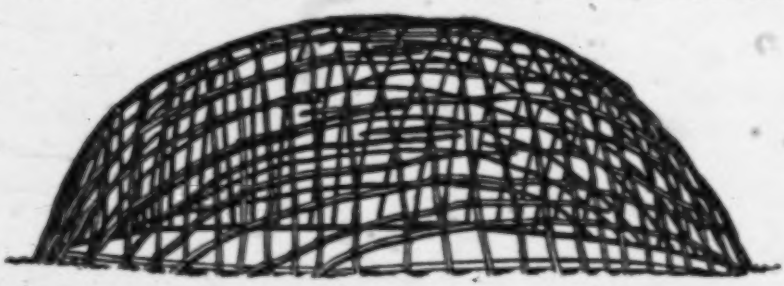

Fig. 81. Framework of the Great Hut.

The entrance is 0.46 meters wide on the ground and has a vertical height of 1.05 meters. The exit has a lower width of 0.40 meters and a vertical height of 0.90 meters. The exit is purposely kept lower /835/ and narrower. The two small openings are a little narrower on top because the two main trunks are not exactly parallel. Throughout Yamana territory the čiéxaus hut is erected according to the design just described (255) which is the only kind that furnishes

255. Lothrop (b):166 writes: "The eastern Yahgan, I was informed, did not use a domed hut for this rite, but a pointed conical wigwam like that seen among the Ona" /cited in English/. This statement is contrary to my experience. Old Water, who came from the east, often assured me that his countrymen, too, had exclusively built the same elongated, dome-shaped hut that is used in other parts of the region for the initiation.

/835 cont./

X881 comfortable seating for many people and can be extended in
346 length at will, so that all are safely under shelter.

The Yamana, however, are not satisfied with this plain con-
X881 struction, but decorate it to a considerable extent on the inside.
346 They are satisfied artistically with painting simple designs on wood.
352 Formerly when they did not have the European iron ax, they
531 scraped the bark off single small trunks with mussel shells and painted their designs directly on the exposed wood fibers. This is still done, but nowadays they more often make long, narrow little tablets with their ax, which are placed against the framework on the interior, are slightly curved at the bottom, and form an arch up to the highest center line. They are placed 40 to 60 centimeters apart and usually in such a way that two are opposite each other.

Finally, in the upper part of the framework they fasten short, small, painted tablets and sticks which hang down freely. The latter are 25 to 35 centimeters long, cylindrical, with a smooth surface and ends cut off straight. The thinner end points downward. The little tablets are always long and narrow, 20 to 45 centimeters long, seven to ten centimeters wide, and the corners are either rounded or sharp. In the latter case, the wider of the two narrow sides ends in a short, square little handle into which a small hole is bored or a flat notch is cut. The little tablets and sticks, yĕxalapáteg ikamanźki, are fastened by a tendon or reed stalk in the center of the vaulted framework where they hang down freely and lightly swing in the draft or the vibration of the framework (cf. the reproductions on Plates 2 and 3).

If the Yamana wish to paint these ornamental plaques, as
[386] well as the small trunks and long, small tablets, they use the customary colors, black, white, and red, which they mix with seal blubber. They apply this mixture with their fingers, arranging dots and lines in varied patterns. The person painting them follows his artistic inspiration of the moment and his feeling for beauty; hence all kinds of combinations of lines, dots, and circles appear in manifold variety.

The Yamana repeatedly assured me that these ornamental objects had no particular meaning and served exclusively to beautify /836/ their cíĕxaus hut (256). They are left there after

256. Reproductions of these ornamental plaques

X881
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352
531

/836 cont./

and sticks with different patterns may be found in black and white in Koppers (a):48, and in color in Lothrop (b):126. In the latter reproductions, the background is too bright a yellow. It is not painted, but left in the natural color of the beech wood.

the ceremony is over (257), for such articles are not used in any

257. After my first initiation and later after my second, when I expressed the wish to take along a few of these ornamental objects, the Indians took down not only the long painted plaques and hanging sticks, but also removed the long thin pieces of wood and trunks out of the ground and gave them all to me without hesitation, further proof that they do not regard these things as having any value other than as decorations for the Great Hut during the initiation.

other way.

X881
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There is no partition anywhere inside the hut, and one can survey the whole without obstruction from one end to the other. Also, there is no particular allotment of areas and places to sit. The candidates with their sponsors squat between the other participants in an informal, relaxed arrangement. The adults, however, use the wider entrance, tumečí, almost exclusively, whereas the úwjala have contact with the outside world only by way of the narrower entrance, úatumečí (258). The two entrances are so

258. BD:113 gives " 'uma, ' position in or up. . . , up at the inner end of the room" /cited in Englist/.

arranged that the wider one for the adults faces the camp while the other one is nearer the woods so that the candidates, unobserved by children and adults in the camp, can disappear into it. Each of the entrances is closed off with a large piece of leather (259)

[77]

259. Nowadays they often use sacking and

/836 cont./

X881
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[177]

sailcloth which is also drawn over the entire framework as a covering. Very large pieces prevent the rain from dripping in annoyingly. The Fuegians appreciate this, and in February, 1920, they borrowed a wide tent canvas from Fred Lawrence for the Great Hut in Punta Remolino.

that hangs in front of it. It prevents the wind from beating in and also keeps anyone from looking into the room lighted by the fire. Sometimes a guard will pre-empt the seat near the tumečí, although he does not have any particular right to it. Everyone is content to take a seat, mičí, to the right or left of the fire, in the middle or on the sides, as chance would have it. The entire interior is called "alájin" (260), but this designation is almost

260. This word originally meant "rock cave at the surface of the water where sea lions gather." Just as these animals assemble in their rock cave, so have the Yamana assembled in their play in the Great Hut. The further symbolic significance of this word and the meaning of the dance staff and forehead decoration are given in detail on p. 713

always used only for the little space near the narrower entrance at the rear.

The entire dome, despite its great flexibility, is stable enough because the individual poles forming the framework are tied and plaited together and also driven into the earth a short distance. The dome needs firmness, for sometimes it must withstand strong buffeting by the wind on its long side. During the dances /837/ held inside, the framework sometimes suffers heavy blows when a dance group falls against it. Moreover, it is customary, in order to ward off the influence of evil spirits, to shake it often so that it vibrates in all its parts. Individual persons will seize it with such force that one fears they will tear the whole weave apart. Finally, the watchmen climb up to the highest

/837 cont./

X881 346 point on the outside in order to keep a lookout. Truly, the hut framework withstands a great deal. Individual gaps that appear and let rain or snow in are immediately closed.

β. Construction of the Cookhut

X881 264 In their everyday life the Yamana have no fixed times for meals. They help themselves when they are hungry or when something is offered. During the youth initiation even the adults have their eating considerably curtailed because food may not be prepared in the Great Hut. The food is prepared outside for all the participants together and is brought in ready to eat. Everyone gets plenty and is, of course, satisfied with everything that is offered. Even with these common meals, the adults are free to go back to their own hut for brief hours and to eat there what they have on hand. Many of them make use of this freedom more or less often.

X881 343 For the place in which food is to be prepared for the sometimes large number of čiéxaus participants, the Yamana choose a small hut which is specially erected about 20 to 30 paces from the Great Hut. In every respect it resembles the ordinary dwelling of that region, dome-shaped in the west and cone-shaped in the east. They do not use the ornamental plaques mentioned above [354] or any other decoration in it. In the center of the hut a huge fire burns, where the pieces of meat and the slabs of fat are roasted. The hot ashes serve to bake the fish and steam the mussels. This hut is large enough so that the Indian women working in it can also sleep there. Thus, even in size it resembles an ordinary dwelling. Usually this cookhut is built immediately after the Great Hut is finished, sometimes even while it is being built, for with the start of the ceremony, the work of the women engaged in cooking also begins (261).

[171] 261. In the same way the Halakwulup also erect a cookhut beside the Great Hut for their initiation rite, in which food for all the participants is prepared. See Gusinde (o):541.

/837 cont./

X881 252 At work here are three to five women who have declared themselves willing to undertake the busy position of a so-called cook. They voluntarily put themselves at the leader's disposal. Although their work is not hard, it demands many sacrifices of them, the most difficult being to relinquish uninterrupted participation in the events in the Great Hut. /838/ These women spend most of their time in their kitchen quarters and meanwhile forgo the entertaining fellowship with the others. Formerly they prepared mussels, crabs, meat, and blubber; today they cook a thick soup of legumes, with mutton if they have it, in a bucket or large metal tub. When these Indians promised to let me take part in my first and second initiations (p. 652, 658), they requested European food and all kinds of extras. The Yamana do not have a special name for the cooks; they are simply makalíku kípa, that is, "capable, handy women." The cookhut is simply kípa ëkërź, "hut for the women." In March, 1922, the chief women in the hut were the wife of Pedro and the wife of Calderon, and they were assisted by the two sisters, Gertie and Adelheid. Actually, throughout the whole ceremony, they missed the proceedings in the Great Hut for several hours each day.

X881 252 264 If there should be no volunteers for this kitchen duty, the leader must specifically appoint several persons. He also reminds them of the three meals, which, according to ancient custom, occur in the early morning, at noon, and at twilight. The women are already well aware of this. In modern times these hours are kept automatically since the Indians have become accustomed to them by their routine on the farms. During the initiation, however, they are not too exact; when the women have the food ready, they bring it to the Great Hut where every other activity is immediately cut short. When the cooks have finished their day's work, they take their places in the Great Hut and, along with the rest of the adults, take part in the performances, preferring especially the dances and games in the evening.

γ. Guard Duty

X881 625 Just as inconspicuously as the leader divides the work of building the Great Hut among certain men and the kitchen

/838 cont./

X881 activities among suitable women, he also chooses a reliable man
625 to serve as guard, called winefkē·a. This is the name for
[136] Leucophaeus scoresbii, a feared predatory bird of the high seas, who pounces with bloodthirsty rage on other birds and fastens on to them. As a result its whole beak is often covered with blood (Fig. 82).

X881 In imitation of the bird, the guard paints a wide red stripe
625 over the entire lower half of his nose, continuing it two fingers
302 in width on either side down to the edge of the chin. This decoration, which is sometimes also applied in white

Fig. 82. Leucophaeus scoresbii. Natural size.

to make it visible in the dark, is meant to show how seriously and strictly he performs his office and how threateningly he pursues everyone who disturbs the peace /839/ or is guilty of an offense.
[292] As a headdress the winefkē·a properly wears the plaited wreath of white albatross feathers, just as the yékamuš /medicine men/ do. Sometimes he changes to the hapaxél /headband/. Formerly when the Yamana did not have European clothing, the guard painted his entire body white with horizontal red stripes two fingers wide and a hand's breadth apart all around it. The Indians have retained a small remnant of this to this day, for the actual guard and his helpers paint /Fig. 82 appears here/ at least the lower part of the leg and the forearm in this fashion. They no longer paint the other parts of the body, which are covered with European clothing.

X881 The particular duty of the winefkē·a is quite obvious. He
625 must guard the hut so that no unbidden person, especially no child, creeps up too close and sees what is going on. The camp with the dwellings is, of course, not far from the Great Hut, and in their play the children are careless enough to come too close to

/839 cont./

X881 625 the Great Hut unwittingly. They probably have no conscious purpose in doing so, but the adults wish to protect themselves against all eventualities. In order to intimidate the unbidden and to keep them within bounds, the guard sometimes climbs up the framework to the uppermost part of the Great Hut. From this vantage point he sends forth his customary call in a loud voice. Its effect is not lost, for with lightning speed the startled children creep into the nearest dwelling and do not appear again for a long time. During my first initiation the guard was obliged to resort to this practice repeatedly, for at that time the dwellings were dangerously near the čiēxaus hut. Moreover, the winefkēxa has to keep a special eye on the candidates as long as they are outside the Great Hut and within his field or vision. He emphatically inculcates on each of them the habit of giving an audible call at brief intervals so he can /840/ locate any one of them in a moment. Unseemly conduct on the part of the candidates is hardly to be feared, however. Finally, in former times he had to watch for the approach [721] of enemies who could have taken advantage of the opportunity to rob and set fire to the deserted dwellings while the owners were in the čiēxaus hut. In recent times this precaution is unnecessary.

In former times an energetic, lively, and prudent younger man was always chosen to the office of winefkēxa. Nowadays he need not take his task too seriously. What, for example, could have been accomplished by old Tomas who offered his services for the post at the initiation in March, 1922? On the first evening he was not even present in the Great Hut. He would not have had anything to do anyway, for there was no disturbance outside.

X881 625 302 When several uiwaala are sitting in the čiēxaus, the professional duty of the guard is increased. In order to relieve him, the leader, after a discussion with him, chooses a few younger men as his assistants. In March, 1922, none were selected because they were not needed; at my first initiation, however, they had enough to do. They do not occupy a particular place in the Great Hut, any more than does the winefkēxa. Formerly they were painted just as he was, whereas today the body painting is limited to the forearm, lower leg, and face. On these parts of the body they too, put a white background upon which they draw

/840 cont./

X881 a red stripe the width of a finger from each nostril to the opening
625 of the ear. They are never without the proper hapaxēl, but they
302 are not entitled to the headdress of white feathers which distinguishes the winefkēxa. Neither he nor his assistants are constantly painted this way, but they renew the painting frequently.

X881 These assistants do not have a special name. Their activity
625 depends entirely on the guard, and they take their instructions from him. This describes their service. Above all they help to capture the candidates at the beginning of the ceremony, and they also assist if an outsider has caused a disturbance or has come up too close and must be apprehended. One or another of these assistants accompanies the ušwāala to work outside the Great Hut because the winefkēxa himself should never be too far away from it.

X881 When the guard and his assistants fetch one candidate after
625 the other to the Great Hut, as we have just indicated, they use a long strip of leather which is about three centimeters wide and
283 12 to 15 meters long. This ūkeša is painted white and has red horizontal strips 20 to 30 centimeters apart. It is knotted at the end and made into a noose. This leather strap is fastened loosely lengthwise, not rolled up, to the framework inside the Great Hut so that it can be taken down ready for use at any moment. It is always in the same place; hence it is convenient and /841/ certain to be at hand for the men, who can instantly form up in such a way that the first in the row, noose in hand, can run out of the Great Hut first and strike out in the direction agreed upon. Extreme haste is sometimes necessary, certainly always when someone disturbing the peace is to be caught.

X881 They run one behind the other about two to three meters apart
625 in a row and grasp the long strap with the right hand while they carry the dancing sticks in the left hand. As soon as they are close enough to the candidate or the mischief-maker, the first in the row throws the noose over his head while the other helpers surround him until he is bound. Now they drag him to the Great Hut, whether or not he is willing. They also use this ūkeša to implant some wholesome fear in a stubborn, disobedient ušwāala. If the first and second warnings do not suffice and even a threat has no effect, the guard's assistants grab the rebel, wrap the

X881 /841 cont./
leather strap so tightly around him that he cannot move his limbs,
625 and leave him lying a half day or longer at the smaller exit, the so-called alāin. At the same time, of course, he gets nothing to eat or drink. This effective measure never fails. Finally, the guard's assistants have the habit of suddenly emerging singly in front of the Great Hut with the leather strap in hand simply to intimidate the people in the dwellings by their threatening attitude. Their appearance is not without effect on the children.

They, as well as the winefkēxa, have a definite call,
[198] familiar to everyone. It is a short ho ho ho..., repeated several times on the same high tone. At night the guard gives this a particularly threatening inflection to warn old and young against approaching in the dark.

X881 The two huts, as well as the guard duty, have now been prepared. Meanwhile the individual families have arrived at the site of the festivities and have built their dwellings. There is nothing more to hinder the opening of the planned ceremony following the traditional arrangements.

c. Procedure of the Ceremony

All previous reports have made it sufficiently clear that the initiation of Yamana youth is by no means merely training for the actual candidates. Far beyond that it is also an affair for adults, offering all kinds of special features. This latter subordinate goal does not overshadow the main goal, nor does it hinder its attainment. Rather, both, at first glance, seem necessarily bound together, although basically they are far apart. It takes little effort for each participant to separate the arrangements and activities that serve either the one goal or the other, but in order to /842/ obtain an over-all picture of the variety making up the čiexaus celebration and to take account of all the details, I have arranged them in the following report according to general points of view and describe them as individual aspects of the whole. Thus they can be definitely judged and fairly evaluated according to their individual worth.

X881 In this connection, of course, the treatment of the candidates
861 takes up the most space. It deserves this for its own sake. For

/842 cont./

X881 example, we are amazed at the soundness of the training skills
861 of these simple, misunderstood Fuegians, which is shown particularly in the initiation. It also shows the simple means with which these primitive people attain a lofty educational goal, for these means have been chosen and wisely applied on the basis of an unprejudiced observation of human nature. The čiéxaus need counteract neither a general nor a temporary miseducation of youth, for parental rearing is good and reliable throughout (262).

262. The principles upon which parental training has been built (p. 555) are, of course, also recognized and enlarged upon in the initiation, but the instruction there never makes any specific reference in so many words to these principles. They do not say: "Your father has already told you this" or "When you were small you were already forbidden to do this."

This simplifies the efforts of the elders in training the uswāala and the method is almost completely unified. Along with it, however, there is a strictly personal approach in influencing one child or another, hence an altogether individual training according to the character and spiritual needs of this or that candidate. It is chiefly in the actual precepts for young people that our Yamana reveal a valuable and wise philosophy of life which many generations have developed.

X881 The čiéxaus celebration is so popular for adults and always
867 strongly attracts them to the place where it is held because fortunately this affair to a large extent satisfies the need of everyone for society and the exchange of ideas. Everyone's expectations are fulfilled on these occasions, but this is not the end of the matter. More than this, as may be seen at first glance, a strong desire grips these simple primitive people to consider thoughtfully once again their traditional tribal heritage, once more to revive the old customs (263), to recall the precepts and admonitions that

263. Here we may definitely state that certain old myths may be told only during the initiation.

X881 /842 cont./
867

Naturally, the person who does this only knows them well, but can also tell them in a lively way.

a well-meaning instructor earnestly recommended to each of them at the time of their candidacy, and finally once again to search their consciences thoroughly on the subject of what constitutes a "good and useful Yamana." Our Fuegians have a natural tendency
X881 toward speculative and searching meditation about their own egos.
517 /843/ In this respect they far surpass the neighboring Selk'nam. This tendency is greatly fostered by the long silences in the Great Hut, during which everyone is left to himself. Even if the many games and stories, which make allowance for every social need, were omitted, our Indians would gladly come to this affair solely for the satisfaction they find in deep meditation during the čiéxaus.

X881 The following account of the adult program should be evaluated in the light of these particular considerations. It also clearly shows the springs tapped by every Yamana so that he will not become spiritually impoverished and lose his strong inner support. The Yamana do not, of course, put all of these things into words. It is only from close and prolonged observation of their conduct that I have recognized the various details and the basic characteristics of their nature.

At the present time the procedure of the initiation varies and changes from day to day, just as it did formerly. Nevertheless it does not seem superfluous to present exactly, on the basis of at least one such affair, the events and occurrences of each day. A brief reference to the procedure of the čiéxaus celebration in March, 1922, will follow this long discussion.

I. The Adult Assembly

Following the example of the man who has been chosen as leader of the initiation, the individual families also move to the site agreed upon. Each family builds its own hut or two families will agree on a common hut. Meanwhile many hands toil at building and furnishing the Great Hut. Each adult readies his forehead decoration and his dance staff, both of which must always

/843 cont./

X 881 be newly made. Certain things that need protection are carefully packed away, and they arrange for a more or less long absence from their dwellings.

From this point onward the women in particular note the progress of the work on the *ciexaus* hut, for when it is almost finished, the start of the festival is not far off. It remains for the leader to choose a few men as guard and guard assistants (p. 683), as well as a few women to work in the cookhut (p. 682). Sometimes it is not until then that a few authoritative men meet and consider which young people are to become *ufwala*.

Therefore, a few days elapse after arrival at the *ciexaus* site before the leader states in plain words: "This evening our *ciexaus* will begin!" As soon as his decision has been made, a few men notify all the inhabitants of the camp who immediately prepare themselves for it. Should anyone be detained, for instance, if he should be caring for a sick person or on account of a small child /844/ or physical infirmity, he may remain in his dwelling undisturbed. All the little children who may not as yet be admitted to the Great Hut and who cannot be left unsupervised are put in charge of two to five older women, depending on the number of families taking part. Each of these women gathers several children around her during the day, invites them into her own hut for the night, and sees that they are fed. Women with a nursing baby sometimes take it with them into the *ciexaus* hut. These arrangements in the dwellings, as well as in the Great Hut, are attended to quite calmly, without the least fuss.

If the leader, for example, has announced the beginning of the celebration for that evening, one adult after another will move over to the Great Hut as early as noontime. Everyone takes with him the little that he needs for his bed and the frequently renewed body painting. There, on the brush covering the
X 881 177 ground, he spreads out his pieces of skin, largely replaced nowadays by cloth covers (264), and places the other small items in

264. Many other European articles to which the Yamana are now accustomed are also brought along, for example, soap, combs, stearin candles, etc. They do not regard it

X 88 [17]

/544 cont./

as a desecration of the sacred hut to unpack and use these foreign objects there.

the interstices of the hut framework. There are no particular rules for seating. The leader chooses his place approximately in the center, so that without effort he can announce his instructions to all the participants. The rest of the people sit here or there, as chance would have it and as they freely congregate. Sometimes close relatives and good friends stay together, and occasionally the leader calls a young man to his side so that he will be at his disposal (265). Many wineflies prefer the place next to the main

265. The complete lack of form is surprisingly different from the seating rules in the men's Great Hut of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1006).

entrance. If new guests arrive in the course of the celebration, they squeeze into the left or right row wherever suits them. Everyone, however, must keep his chosen place from the beginning to the end of the proceedings. Each candidate, of course, sits beside one of his sponsors.

As a rule the occupants form a row on either side of the hearth which extends from one entrance to the other. If there are many people from the start and additional guests unexpectedly join them, there is some crowding, and many a person must squeeze in between the participants squatting in their places and the wall of the framework. Such discomforts happen only to young people, of course. Each of the women who come into the Great Hut from the cooking squeezes into the place she first chose in the row of people and likewise adjusts to the general rule.

In March, 1922, we sat in the following order. On one side /545/ of the secondary entrance in the direction of the main entrance were Richard and his wife Mary who was the sponsor of Elisa, the latter's mother Adelheid, whose husband Santiago was sponsor for Father Koppen, old Pedro who was the overseer of the entire gathering, Whaim, and Charlie. On the other side, beginning at the main entrance, were Calderon, myself, my sponsor Chris and his wife Gertie, Manuel who was the sponsor of Kines,

/845 cont./

Emilia, the young Halakwulup girl Julia as uǐwǐala beside her sponsor Luisa who was the wife of Walter, and finally, beside Walter, his own son Walter II (Fig. 83).

Every adult is bound by the general and strict čiǐxaus rule to be as quiet as possible. /Fig. 83 appears here./ Loud conversation is not at all tolerated, and all communication is carried on in a muted whisper. No one may move in such a way that he disturbs others. Everyone conducts himself in all his actions as inconspicuously as possible. The older people,

Fig. 83. Seating Arrangement at the Youth Initiation, 1922.

naturally, sit very quietly. Younger men who have not developed as much self-control must sometimes force themselves not to offend against the rule for general quiet. We shall speak more of this in connection with the daily program.

This brief reference was necessary here, since the individual participants gather beforehand in the Great Hut and prepare themselves for the actual start of the rite by prolonged meditation. One after another they approach the čiǐxaus hut very quietly and inconspicuously. It is not customary for two or three to go together and talk on the way. Everyone goes the short distance by himself, without accompaniment, and begins, even outside, to shake off all distraction. He pushes gently into the entrance, looks around briefly, and chooses a convenient place which he will occupy the entire time. /846/ He squats down, places his few utensils behind him or sticks them into the hut framework above his back, and gives himself up to his thoughts in deepest silence. It does not

/846 cont./

X881 781 matter whether he is occupied only with himself for two or five hours before the start of the ceremony, for he does not miss anything. Even during the final work on the Great Hut one can observe the deep seriousness and thoughtfulness written on the faces of the participants who do not converse with one another or act distracted. They feel, and they do not conceal their innermost feelings, that something important is imminent and they must also prepare themselves spiritually. Each participant regards the Eléwa rite as an extraordinary personal experience.

On March 3, 1922, Santiago announced shortly before noon that the ceremony would begin in the evening. A few older persons who had put the finishing touches on the Great Hut simply remained seated there and gave themselves up to their thoughts. Around two o'clock in the afternoon their number had increased to seven. Koppers (s):49 stepped in for a few minutes at this time and quietly asked one of those present why they had come so early since the celebration was not beginning until toward evening. The answer he received was: "Certainly, but one can't begin such a beautiful festival just like that; one has to be in the mood, and we are here to prepare ourselves for that!" I observed the same conduct two years before. The older people wish above all to prepare themselves spiritually for this celebration by several hours of concentration.

X881 292 The overseer is always among the first arrivals; the leader, too, comes in good time. Their mood has a decisive influence on the other people. Meanwhile everyone makes his forehead decoration. This is nothing more than a piece of skin, two to four fingers wide and about 30 centimeters long. It is cut out of the [925] peritoneum of the small albatross, dóelus (Diomedea melanophrys), or of the male Molina goose, Ilsus (Chloéphaga hybrida). The large feathers are plucked out and the down feathers fluffed up somewhat so that they appear abundant. On either end of this strip of skin the Yamana knot a short tendon. Every participant wears this hapanfi as a headband. If he leaves the Great Hut, he must take it off. Sometimes this strip of skin is given a triangular shape, so that a small point appears in the middle of the forehead, but it is not nearly as wide as the kíl'ei of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 218).

/946 cont./

In former times when the Tamana were not yet wrapping their bodies in the disgusting rags of European culture, they used longer strips of skin covered with down, which they drew over the body and limbs in different directions. Still more often they made pads of small bunches of down (266) which they /947/ wound

266. To this day the Halakwshap have adhered to the long, narrow strips of skin with down feathers, and they use these at the youth initiation as well as during the mag,h secret ceremony. See Figs. 9 and 10 in Gwimbe (56).

with cordons and braided. They were known as twagwéwami. The hapagéli was formerly also made in this fashion. In modern times this is no longer done, because this decoration could not be put on over European clothing, nor would it be effective. The hapagéli has no significance other than as ornamentation.

The second indispensable object which every participant has and which he makes for himself at the very beginning is the dance staff. Its length varies between 50 centimeters and 70 centimeters. At the lower, pointed end it is about the thickness of one's thumb, toward the top it is a little thicker. The surface, freed of bark, is scraped quite smooth with a mussel shell. It is first smeared with a thick layer of white color, and after it is dried, red lines, circles, and dots are drawn on it. Usually a small ring of bird skin with down is also applied a short distance from the point and the end (cf. Plate 3).

During the singing and dancing the Tamana hold this stick crosswise and grasp it lightly with the fingers of both hands. They swing it up and down gently in time to the music and in very lively fashion during exciting songs. When the dancer or another man gives the customary instructions to the ulwala, he grasps the staff at its thick end, holds it upright on the ground, and leans his hand lightly upon it. The leader also does this when he gives orders, and similarly every man who tells a myth and every candidate when he is requested to take up this staff. The dance staff thus expresses a certain formality.

/947 cont./

It is, naturally, the duty of the one who owns it to guard it carefully. When it is not needed, the Tarasco push it into the ground beside them with considerable pressure, since it has a sharply pointed end. Some of them stick it behind them into the weave of the hat framework. For many hours every day each adult places his hand on the staff standing beside him. This fits in very well with the rigid position which everyone must maintain, even in sitting. It is regarded as irreverent to let the staff lie on the ground. A person who lets it fall out of negligence must be prepared to suffer misfortune or physical harm. Neighbors threaten him, saying that he or his children will soon die. Hence everyone must his dance staff carefully and often renews the painting on it.

After several hours of squatting quietly and gravely composing their thoughts, first one and then another of the participants will feel an urge to start a soft, rhythmic humming which during the next 20 to 30 minutes becomes a low singing. It is an uninterrupted repetition of a hi sound, the pronunciation of which varies a little, being more open or closed, drawn out or short, higher or lower, but continued on the same pitch, according to the voice quality and the momentary enthusiasm of the singer. Everyone sings to himself, rhythm, tempo, and pitch being half-subconscious, according to his inspiration at the moment and without regard for the other /948/ concerns of the Great Dat. It is only now and then, if one of them listens a little to another, that several people sing somewhat in unison, but these great variations in singing little disturb or annoy even sensitive ears because everyone sings his tune in a low, soft voice.

The fact that the greater number of those present has lapsed into singing shows that they are to a certain extent spiritually moved, and this mire finds an outlet in rhythmic singing. Now their frame of mind and inner feelings are such that the celebration will be successful and effective. As soon as it has reached the point of general singing, the Fiesta celebration seems to have begun. From now until the end of the affair, the singing must not cease. At least one voice must carry it on, and one adult relieves another day and night. The singing is an indication at any given moment of the degree of enthusiasm and mood of the extent of participation and lively attention of all those present.

/945 cont./
It is stronger and more universal during the evening dancing, very faint and soft during the forenoon hours.

With all the simplicity of the melody, there are nevertheless slight variations, which, one beside the other, produce some diversity. Many a person is pleased when he hears a certain variant from the mouth of another, which sometimes arouses precious memories within him. The *Tidzaqe* truly keeps alive ancient melodies. Since most of them are sung only at the youth initiation, their sound awakens the spiritual mood which alone enables one to enjoy this solemn gathering profitably. The uninterrupted singing is also supposed to show that there is vigilance in the Great Hut and that nothing harmful can approach unnoticed.

When darkness falls, the *Tidzaqe* hut shelters all the adults who are regular participants. All the more immediate preparations, including the division of labor, were inconspicuously attended to, very gradually the beginning of the celebration was introduced, and the ceremony now runs its course quietly each day without any particular division of time.

2. Reception of the Candidates

The weak superficiality of our Indians of today has unfortunately also interrupted the good custom of abstaining from all food on the first evening of the assembly in the Great Hut. After the general singing has lasted about two hours, the kitchen women appear and place a tall metal container of thick soup in front of the leader, who, ladling it out with a large spoon, fills the plates while the women pass them around to all present. The meal is soon over, and the dishes are gathered up by the women who /949/ - without delay disappear with them. Everyone carefully gathers the food remains and burns them; afterwards the central passage is cleaned and swept (287).

287. At the present time the Tsimsta keep to the routine that they have taken over from the Europeans, even in the Great Hut, but as of old they are very strict about burning all the remains

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of food. These minor cleaning chores are considerably easier in modern times since the prepared food is usually handed to the people present on tin plates. Their original way of eating caused much more refuse.

α. Capture in the Camp

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Meanwhile the singing has been resumed by most of the people. With unobtrusive signs the leader gives a definite message to the winefkeźa, and he inconspicuously notifies his helpers. They get ready to capture the first candidate. The older participants have previously named the young people who are to be made uśwźala on this occasion (p. 669). Without disturbing the singing, in which usually the helpers, too, softly take part, the latter paint themselves (p. 685). Then they get up, form a row with one not very far behind the other, and grasp the leather strap, ťikeša, which hangs, unrolled, lengthwise on the interior framework (p. 686).

With a long drawn-out ho ho ho, uttered in a threatening tone, the winefkeźa is the first to dash out of the Great Hut, followed by his helpers. Quickly they turn toward the dwelling from which they wish to fetch the uśwźala. The latter is frightened at the sight of the feared men. In his terror he crawls under the covers of his sleeping-place, but that does not help him; the men seize him and hold him tight, pull the lasso over his head, and bind him. Now he must follow them to the Great Hut. Resistance and stubbornness would be of no avail, so he follows the men and gives himself up to the fate that awaits him.

Many a boy and girl who previously have not been threatened by adults give themselves up willingly and without resistance to their relative, who leads them to the Great Hut. They, therefore, need not be dragged to it forcibly by the guard's assistants. At the entrance they are received in the manner reserved for all uśwźala without exception and, of course, for a definite purpose.

The appearance of the guards in the camp and the terrified screaming of their victim spread dismay in all the huts where there

/849 cont./

X881 are children. The adults intend this to be the case, whether the children are about to be fetched or are still too young. All the children now know that these men have been appointed as guards who do not understand fun and will tolerate no disturbance. As a result, the small children stay away from the cjéxaus hut because they are afraid (268).

> 268. The older women who remain in the camp to take care of the small children expressly tell them about the arrival of the guards and their dragging away the candidates. They also tell them about "Yetaita" /a spirit/ so that fear and terror will have a prolonged effect.

/850/ When the frightened candidate has been brought to the main entrance, his bonds are loosed. He must squat down on all fours. The moment a man slightly raises the entrance covering outside, another pushes the chap from behind through the entrance and into the Great Hut. Inside he is received by another man who immediately throws a large piece of leather over his head, so that he cannot see what is going on. Thus covered and crawling on hands and feet, he is pushed forward until he reaches the place beside the sponsor selected for him. Here he may straighten up and, with his legs crossed under him, squats in expectation of what soon follows.

β. Reception in the Great Hut

The candidate is still unable to see anything because his face remains covered. From the moment he is pushed in, all the occupants start an indescribable yelling and howling; they drum on the smooth ground with their fists and violently shake the entire framework. The helpless chap is in an awful state, for he has a foreboding of dreadful things and knows that he is completely defenseless.

X881 Long before, at the direction of the leader, several of the
302 men very stealthily prepared for the appearance of Yetáita. In

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X 881 302 the underbrush near the Great Hut a younger man has taken off his clothing and smeared his whole body with white paint on which he then evenly arranges short vertical lines five centimeters long and as wide as a finger. His face is covered with thick red paint, and many delicate white lines, like rays, extend in all directions from both corners of his mouth. From one shoulder to the other, forming an arc across his chest, hangs a feather ornament made exactly like the forehead decoration of a yĕkamuĭ. This man does not wear an ornament on his head; instead, he ruffles up his hair and rubs ĭmi powder into it. Two other men usually help him make up.

The man who plays the part of Yetĭ́ita usually appears with a companion. The latter wears a headband of leafless twigs. The lower part of his face up to the nostrils is painted white, the upper part black; isolated parts of his body are rubbed with fine powdered charcoal (269).

> 269. This figure resembles the so-called "Hase" in the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 925).

X 881 When the candidate who has just been introduced has been shoved into his place, they motion to the man who represents the "evil spirit." Sometimes he has been kept hidden behind a curtain near the secondary entrance. Imperceptibly he moves toward the uĭwĭ́ala. At the moment /851/ the scrap of leather is removed from the face of the uĭwĭ́ala, Yetĭ́ita leaps in front of him. Two other men have stirred up the embers in such a way that it looks as though the "evil spirit" had risen up out of the flames. Immediately the struggle begins. Yetĭ́ita very energetically puts his arms around the frightened chap, shakes him vigorously, bends him angrily from side to side, presses him against the ground, and tortures him until beads of cold sweat appear on the boy's body. Yetĭ́ita does not say a word; he is careful to turn his head so that it is impossible for the boy to recognize his face. Meanwhile the yelling and howling of the inmates has increased, as well as their drumming and stamping upon the ground. The struggle with the "evil spirit" lasts about ten minutes. In desperate helplessness and

/851 cont./

X881

utter exhaustion, the boy is unable to offer the slightest resistance. Powerlessly he lets himself be thrown down, lifted up, shoved, and dragged about.

Suddenly the dreadful yelling ceases. At the same moment one man, usually the leader, leans forward, puts his mouth against his cupped hand which rests upright on the ground, and bellows out a hollow-sounding, deep, long drawn-out hff against the ground. This means: "Yetʌ́ʌta is now dead!" At the same time the "evil spirit" ceases his wild commotion and crouches motionless in front of the candidate whom he has so mercilessly tormented. The latter gets up on his knees at the direction of another man who squats beside him. The boy must now look his tormentor full in the face, and then he recognizes him! The man beside him says to the boy: "Look closely, that is your kinsman (270), not Yetʌ́ʌta! The true Yetʌ́ʌta looks like your kinsman

> 270. He says specifically: "That is your uncle, that is your father..." Following the general custom of the Yamana, he does not mention his given name.

here, who is painted like Yetʌ́ʌta. Watch out for Yetʌ́ʌta! Pay careful attention to what will be demanded of you here in the ʌ́ʌxaus. Do not leave this Great Hut on your own. Never look over at the camp and never let the children over there see you. Keep strict silence among other people about what you will experience here. Now you know that Yetʌ́ʌta is much rougher than your kinsman. This man is not Yetʌ́ʌta himself, but you should know now to watch out for him!"

While these words are being spoken, the agitation of the uwʌ́ʌla subsides somewhat as more and more clearly he recognizes the man as his kinsman. The latter immediately sits down beside him, for in this celebration he will be his sponsor. The sole purpose of this so-called apparition is to frighten the young chap thoroughly and to compel him to give scrupulous attention to the precepts that are emphasized here (271).

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> 271. In comparison we refer to the struggle which the candidates in the secret hut of the

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Selk'nam men's ceremony must undergo with a so-called spirit. The latter conducts himself much more wildly, and the men shout to the candidate that he should defend himself with all his might against this spirit. There, too, the masked man, after struggling with the candidate, discloses himself as his kinsman. The whole performance is likewise supposed to put awesome fear into the chap who enters this sacred place for the first time (Vol. I, 851).

X881

/852/ In former times each candidate separately experienced the same kind of introduction into the Great Hut. When there were many candidates, three or four men played the role of the spirit and took turns. Each man painted himself and, as Yetsita, struggled with the particular chap whom he was to sponsor in this Kiyaxa celebration, insofar as this was possible. In the case of girls this struggle is omitted. They are led to the Great Hut and shoved through the main entrance in the same manner as was described above. They are left crouching in their places with faces covered until a boy who has been subsequently led in is obliged to begin the struggle with Yetsita. At this moment the piece of leather is removed from the girl's face, and she can now watch, without recognizing the man. She is amply frightened and terrified.

Sometimes the spectral appearance is made more simply. A younger man paints himself behind the curtain near the secondary entrance, his companion doing the same. Here both remain hidden until all the ufwala are led into the hut at once with their faces covered. The adults begin drumming against the ground, howling and screaming alarmingly. As the cover is removed from the faces of the candidates, the curtain is also drawn aside. The leader or some other man calls to them: "Yetsita is sitting there beside the second entrance; he is squatting on the ground, his companion beside him!" The candidates are led near him so that they become very frightened. Some of them must touch the wad of twigs which the companion has tied around his forehead. Afterwards

/852 con./

when the curtain once more hides the figure of Yetáita, each pupil is asked: "Whom did you see?" Timidly he replies: "Yetáita!" Then they say: "That was not Yetáita himself; he is much more dangerous!"

In most recent times this apparition is often omitted for the sake of convenience; the old people view this as a sad indication of laxity in the čiéxaus program, which formerly was seriously carried out. At my first initiation the Yamana let the so-called Yetáita appear out of consideration for me, and that is when I observed this performance. I did not see it again later.

γ. The Sponsors

In quick succession all the candidates are brought to the Great Hut on the same evening. After their reception each of them carries the fear of Yetáita deep in his very bones. He is constantly reminded of it, for the person who first appeared to him in this form now sits next to him as his "sponsor." How else is one to designate the position and task of the man or woman to whom each ušwáala is entrusted? /853/ Their task is to watch him continuously and never move from his side, day or night. In order that they may also pursue their other duties and participate in special performances in the Great Hut, they are regularly assigned in pairs to one ušwáala. Thus it is possible for them to take turns in this service. A boy is given either two men or a man and a woman, a girl, on the other hand, almost always two women as sponsors (272). At my first and second initiation Chris

272. Lothrop (b):168 reports inaccurately about this arrangement when he writes: "Each candidate had three godparents, two of his own and one of the opposite sex." I never heard of three godparents for a candidate. Usually they are satisfied with a single sponsor for each candidate. Compare the list of participants on p. 692.

X881
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and Gertie performed this service for me; Koppers had Santiago and his wife Adelheid as sponsors.

The uŝwā́ala does not sit between his two sponsors (273), but

273. This principle can be very clearly seen in Fig. 83. I also observed this practice during my first initiation.

next to the one who is his chief sponsor. We have already mentioned that their task is to take particular care of their protégé. In this respect they replace, as it were, his or her parents (274)

274. We must point out that upon entry into the Great Hut parental influence on the children is interrupted (p. 640), and training by the community now takes its place.

with whom they are either related or well acquainted. They call their protégé an adopted or foster child, hḗtakuxḗolan, also hḗtakumā́kuxḗolan. Soon after the struggle with the so-called Yetā́ita, the sponsor begins his duties. He says to his protégé: "Sit right!" Immediately the latter assumes the sitting position prescribed for uŝwā́ala. Then he says: "Always sit still, do not look around, do not talk, never laugh, remain composed," and so forth.

As soon as his word has achieved the external posture and bearing, he begins teaching him the goals of this celebration and threatens stern measures should he offend against the prevailing form. Finally he talks to him severely about vices, character faults, bad behavior, and negligence, which were recently observed in him or in some way attracted attention.

The sponsor also carefully supervises the handwork and exercises the uŝwā́ala must do. Two or three times a day he paints the face of the latter and also concerns himself with his physical well-being, daily serving him small amounts of food and drink. For each sponsor it is a serious duty, and more than that, a matter of deep feeling, to observe his protégé so carefully and to influence him so decidedly that this initiation will be as fruitful as possible for him.

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X881 608 [582]

According to the ideas of our Yamana, this intimate contact between sponsor and candidate during the long weeks in the Great Hut brings about a kind of kinship connection between the two. It is /854/ most clearly expressed in the fact that the two may not marry. Let us imagine that a male uswala occasionally has a female sponsor (275). For many years after the youth initiation

> 275. Besides a male sponsor, Koppers had a female sponsor and so did I, even twice, his was Adelheid, mine Gertie. That was by no means regarded as an exception.

every sponsor, male or female, not only has the right but also the duty to supervise closely the further conduct of his hetakuxeolan and, if necessary, remind him of the principles of that probationary period. Even the natural parents do not dare attempt such interference in the personal freedom of an adult, much less other people. The sponsor has a right to do it. The two are therefore intimately united throughout their lifetimes in a spiritual kinship; they are attentive to each other, visit each other, and give each other gifts.

Above all, a female sponsor concerns herself with maternal care for her protégé and attentively follows his later career. When I met my sponsor Gertie in Punta Remolino two years after my first initiation, she embraced me, beaming happily, and gave me a loud kiss on my forehead in the presence of the Indians and Whites who were standing around. To be concerned about one's aged and needy sponsors is a duty, just as much as it is for children toward their own parents.

The reception of the candidates and their assignment to their sponsors could also come under the heading of the more immediate preparations. In any case, everything is now taken care of so that the regular program of this long ceremony can begin.

3. Daily Program for the Candidates

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The long čexaus celebration proceeds according to unwritten laws. The old people faithfully preserve them in memory and each

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X881 leader adheres to them. What is prevalent today was also the rule among previous generations who kept much more closely to the prevailing customs than the last survivors of this tribe under the inevitable influence of disruptive European culture. We can be X881 all the more certain that even in modern times this youth initiation is repeated according to the manner and custom of the an- 609 cestors because it is the one thing that is anxiously withheld from the cognizance of all strangers and is open only to fellow-tribesmen as something particularly sacred. We must remember that not even the missionaries, despite decades of association with the natives, obtained a tangible notion of this institution or, even less, direct insight into it (p. 644).

X881 This section on the daily program of the candidates has been put together on the basis of what we ourselves experienced, sup- 128 plemented with explanations by our Yamana. The description has been built up according to certain points of view, which is why it seems formalistic, but it guarantees that all the details are really brought out /855/ and properly set forth (276). In

> 276. This treatment also facilitates a detailed comparison with the order of the day to which the candidates of the men's celebration among the Selk'nam must submit (Vol. I, 1008).

particular the educational principles upon which the initiation is built come out most clearly. The initiation is, first of all, a continuation of the child's early training which, up to then, it received from its parents in the family circle.

X881 A valuable bit of educational wisdom has been preserved down to our own day in this Ξiexam celebration, for it has been 177 proved that European culture has exerted no decisive influence on the shaping of the external procedure or the form of the dominant principles. This fact should once again be strongly emphasized. In particular, the religious basis underlying the instruction of the candidates and the causal derivation of the whole performance help us to judge effectively the religious belief of these Fuegians.

X881 Although fully preserving the traditional, the Yamana do not by any means treat the daily program as a rigid, inflexible

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Y881 arrangement. Each initiation has a definitely emphasized individual note, which is given to it by the personality, character, and mental traits of its overseer. One overseer will be stricter than another; this one will put more emphasis on physical exertion, that one on the teachings; one will devote more attention to the candidates, another to the adults. We might say that even the greater or lesser number of participants perceptibly influences the mood and spirit.

These and other unpredictable circumstances give each initiation a certain uniqueness and create a more or less different picture from one time to the next. It is difficult to put into words this individual note, which, according to external influences or the personality of the leader, dominates the entire celebration. Nevertheless, the opinion and statements of the Indians taking part now and then express it clearly enough (277).

> 277. I have pointed out several times the very different way in which each of the two initiations I experienced was conducted.

C. External Measures

In the initiation, our Yamana treat the young person as a whole, thus by no means neglecting to train him physically. In this connection they are chiefly concerned with great ability in self-control, which even young persons must attain. "Everyone must have his whole body and each of his limbs under control. If he has learned that, he has been a good uwaala in the ciexam!" This was clearly and definitely pointed out to me at the very beginning as an important goal by Alfredo, the leader of my first initiation. The Indians are guided by the surely justifiable idea that whoever /856/ is able to control his physical self is also master of his mental powers! The entire procedure makes it obligatory for the uwaala to exercise self-control.

In everything the candidates must show blind obedience, which rests almost entirely upon respect for ancient tradition. Ancient custom is sacred and imperative; to follow it unconditionally

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X881 is regarded as the most important law and as a rule of life that is taken for granted. The candidates are given ample opportunity to practice this.

X881 866 1. Physical Bearing. In the external forms of constraint the Yamana make no distinction between boys and girls; both are affected in the same way. It is well known that each uǩwā́ala has his place beside his sponsor. In other words, the principal sponsor has the secondary sponsor on one side of him and his protégé on the other (cf. Fig. 83). One of the two sponsors, who alternate, constantly watches over the hū́ukxḗolan.

X881 516 866 Immediately after his reception in the Great Hut, each candidate must assume the customary position (p. 703), squatting on his crossed legs which are bent at the knees at right angles. The upper part of the body leans slightly forward, the head is still more bent, and the eyes look at the ground directly in front of the knees. The arms are crossed over the chest (278). In this

[171] 278. The posture required by the Selk'nam of their candidates in the Great Hut (Vol. I, 1016) is different from the one described here, but they, as well as the Yamana, demand this external constraint with exaggerated strictness.

position everyone shows trained effort. Even if all the other marks of distinction were lacking, a new visitor could immediately differentiate the uǩwā́ala from the rest of the participants by this compulsory position.

This position, which is uncomfortable enough in itself, is made extraordinarily difficult because one must sit still. The candidate must do so for three hours or more, before he is permitted to move for some specific reason. He may not lean against anything, slump, bend sideways, slide around, unfold his arms, stretch, or lift his eyes and look around inquisitively; he may neither rub nor scratch any part of his body.

X881 866 The adults intentionally provide each uǩwā́ala with repeated opportunities to test himself. For instance, they secretly put a small weevil on his naked back, and while the insect is crawling around they observe him closely. Woe to him if he so much as

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X 881 866

twitches a muscle! Sometimes smoke whirls up from the long fire in the Great Hut. The others stretch out flat or turn their heads away; the candidate must remain motionless, even if thick smoke from the green wood envelopes him and irritates his eyes. Since his eyes usually begin to water, the helpless chap simply cannot avoid blinking, but even for that /857/ the older people call him to account with gruff reproaches, demanding that he control even reflex motions. When wood is placed on the fire, a man will purposely but inconspicuously poke about in the embers directly in front of the candidate to make the sparks fly. The candidate may neither turn aside nor brush off those that fall on him. I once saw rain come in through a rather large leak and drip directly on the right shoulder of an uǰwíala. They purposely let this go on for a whole day, whereas any adult in such a situation would have immediately sought relief.

Along with this motionless, compulsory posture, the Yamana also demand that the candidate to a certain extent assume a serious expression. He must maintain it and not brighten up, even if something nearby should give him reason to do so. A candidate would have to pay dearly for smiling or laughing. Even during the games and dances to which they, too, are invited, the candidates may not give up their serious composure, but are to act as though they were completely withdrawn. The adults provide special tests. Sometimes they tell amusing experiences and droll stories; some of them burst out laughing and others shake with laughter. Woe to the uǰwíala who so much as moves his lips or smiles!

The strict educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with this, however. They insist on an extreme curtailment of freedom for their candidates. The latter may not, except for a justifiable purpose, give up their squatting position, in other words, they may not stand up or leave the Great Hut to relieve themselves outside. Formerly they were permitted to attend quickly to natural functions only twice a day. Even these unpredictable demands of nature must be adapted to the strict rules during the ǰíexam celebration!

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Nevertheless, the much underrated Fuegians are good observers and understand human nature thoroughly. When the

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X881 compulsory position became almost unbearable and I did not know what else to do, I told my sponsor that I had to relieve myself. He nodded permission. An hour later I repeated my request. Outside I stretched my twisted limbs to my heart's desire each time, but quickly returned to the Great Hut. When, however, after a considerable time I repeated the same request, I was point-blank denied permission with a light shake of the head, and Chris merely said: "You don't have to relieve yourself that often!" The candidate who has been busy at something in the Great Hut or outside must return to his seat without delay and resume the squatting position exactly as before.

X881 785 866 2. Meager Nourishment. For every candidate his stay in the Great Hut is an uninterrupted hunger trial. During the first four or six days he is given only a single mussel in the late afternoon and, at the same time, a good swallow of water. He is served both these things by his /858/ sponsor. The uǐwǯala sucks the water out of the mussel shell with a small tube-shaped bird bone which the sponsor holds in one hand while he places his other hand on the throat of his protégé and presses slightly, as though to prevent the latter from drinking too much. The sponsor himself makes the small bone tube, ĕmbalim, hands it to his protégé each time he sucks water, and leaves him this article as a souvenir at the end of the čiĕxaus celebration. After the first few days the uǐwǯala gets a larger amount of food, even twice a day, at the same time that food is brought to the adults from the cookhut. It is the sponsor's duty to determine the amount that he wants the uǐwǯala to have each time. He takes into consideration the candidate's physical condition, but arranges everything so that he really suffers hunger. Later, drinking water is permitted several times a day, and the candidate asks his sponsor for it each time.

The young people are very much tormented by hunger, but in spite of it, they are made to eat very slowly. When small bits are distributed, perhaps berries and fungi gathered by the girls or roasted pieces of meat from a bird killed by the boys, the uǐwǯala may eat only after all the adults have been served. It is the duty of the sponsor to watch over these details. With all the strictness, however, he will not let matters go so far as to have his protégé collapse from exhaustion and become incapable

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of going on with the rest of the Kina celebration.

In front of the candidates, adults do not express themselves explicitly about the purpose of this harsh hunger trial. Occasionally the leader or the sponsor will make a remark, as though parenthetically: "Everyone must have learned to get along with little food! For it happens sometimes that a whole family will get into a situation of great distress." Previously I had learned another version from Alfredo: "When the ulwala are worn down with hunger, they are more receptive to the teachings, and the admonitions will go deeper!" There is always someone who accompanies the candidates when they go outside the Great Hut, so that they will not, on their own, make up for their many deprivations and perhaps eat a great deal.

X881 866

3. Little Sleep. Although we are justified in speaking of a program for the Kina celebration, this does not mean a definite division into hours. The length of time for this or that exercise is much too dependent on the prevailing mood at the moment, and no obligatory hour strikes for those fortunate Fuegians, either in their daily life or in this secret celebration.

If there is no fixed time for the adult participants to go to bed, even less is there such for the ulwala. There is, of course, considerable restriction, but it is the task of the sponsor to carry this out in detail. He watches the physical condition of his protégé, just as in the matter of food, and lets /859/ this guide his decision. Even so, the night's sleep at the beginning of the Kina lasts only five hours at most, which is obviously too little for young people. Of course the conscious intent is to weaken them.

In the evening, as soon as all the games and dances have ceased, the adults get ready to go to sleep. Not until two or three hours later will each sponsor independently grant his protégé permission to lie down also. By that time it is usually midnight. Between five and six o'clock in the morning the sponsor shakes the weary sleeper vigorously and merely says: "Sit up!" He has no choice but to obey. Half asleep he now squats in his place until it is light and the general cleaning in the Great Hut begins (279).

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279. In more recent times the Yamana in the Great Hut also adhere to their practice of washing

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themselves in the morning. Most of them use soap, which they also permit the candidates to use. Almost every day all the occupants of the hut arrange it so that after the dawn they all wash themselves at the same time. This is usually done in conjunction with making everyone's sleeping place orderly throughout.

I also learned from old Pedro that formerly very often in the middle of the night, sometimes as an interruption of the already very short sleep, the male ulwala were led to the beach, where they were obliged to take a bath, move about in the water for some time, and, following the example of the men accompanying them, carry on the monotonous singing of the fdzogo but in an audible voice. This repeated diving into the water served to harden them physically. The singing, however, was supposed to prove to Yetkita and all the malevolent spirits who approach the Great Hut that the candidates were constantly vigilant. During my first initiation we three ulwala were driven down to the water twice in the dead of night. The other two had to take off their clothes and dive into the cold water several times. I was spared this torture, but at any rate I was supposed to become acquainted with it.

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Not content merely to curtail the time for sleeping, they also prescribe the position of the body during sleep. The position assumed by the ulwala for sitting is retained as he lies down on his side, that is to say, arms interlocked and legs drawn up. There is nothing placed under the head to raise it. Everyone falls asleep immediately from utter exhaustion. Inadvertently the weary one stretches himself, unfolds his interlocked arms, and extends his legs. He cannot avoid touching his neighbor in doing so, for the space is very crowded. In any case, one of the sponsors beside him is always awake and gives the ulwala a push so that he wakes up. Immediately he must pull in his limbs again.

In this less than friendly manner the candidate's already scantily apportioned sleep is sometimes painfully interrupted time and again, but it is done intentionally. During my first initiation this torture almost /860/ brought me to the point of despair. One

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morning when old Alfredo noticed my troubled mind, he merely said indifferently but decisively: "One must have learned to get along with little room even for sleeping at night!" Later I again heard this explanation: "Sometimes bad weather overtakes several families, all of whom must find room in a single small hut. In the canoe, also, in dangerous seas, all the occupants must squat cautiously crowded together for a long period. Our young people learn such [skills] here in the Tukano!" If one of them should fall asleep from fatigue during the day, he is immediately shaken so hard that he soon gets over his sleepiness. With regard to these restrictions imposed on his prodigal every spouse is almost unbelieving.

The uninterrupted singing throughout the whole night is intended not only to ward off evil spirits, but is also supposed to make the people in the dwellings believe that no one in the Great Hut is sleeping and that all of them are always awake.

4. Body Decoration. The Yaminahua quite generally like to decorate their bodies on certain occasions. Chief among these decorations is body painting, which is quickly and easily done. The adults commonly wear certain facial designs which make them recognizable as such. At least twice a day these are touched up for them, because they unavoidably become blurred. The spouse himself regularly paints these designs on his prodigal. As is customary generally, he mixes the red or black powdered pigment with blubber, water, or saliva in a coconut shell or in the palm of his left hand and applies the mixture in lines up and down the face with a short little painting stick. Often he first covers the entire face with white paint, since on this background the drawings stand out better.

It is not customary to paint the candidate's entire body. He is characterized by one, two, or three thin lines extending from the nostrils or corners of the mouth to the ear lobes on either side. These are red and only very exceptionally black. Furthermore, a favored design for the adults consists of four red lines extending from the lower eyelid over the cheek, perhaps three in number or even up to 15.

These two basic patterns are the ones most often used for the candidates, but there is nothing to stop the adults from copying

/900 cont./

X 281 the same drawings for themselves (Fig. 84). To this extent, they
302 are not exclusively reserved for the ufwíala. Sometimes, especially for the nightly dances and if visits are expected, other patterns are also painted on the candidates' faces.

X 281 The adult participants really should always wear their hapayél,
292 the narrow headband (p. 693); the sponsor attends to this duty for the candidate. He himself makes the hapayél for his protégé, removes it from his head just before he goes to sleep at night, puts it on him again in the morning, and adjusts it for him /901/ several times during the day. It is carefully guarded; under no circumstances may it be left lying on the ground. Everyone hangs it up behind him on the /Fig. 84 appears here/ lattice work of the hut framework (280) when he removes it from his head.

280. This solicitude reminds one of the anxious attention that all the Selk'nam give to their own masks in the Great Hut of the men (Vol. I, 917).

X 281 Besides the hapayél, the sponsor at the very beginning hands his
293 protégé the customary dance staff. During the evening games it is held in the hand, otherwise it stands upright and firm in the ground (p. 694).

X 281 /902/ There is a lovely symbolic meaning connected with
292 these two objects. We have already briefly mentioned (p. 681)
293 that the ciéxaw hut, according to the original Yamana conception, actually represents an alin, a rock cave on the shore into which dashes the water of the sea. The dancing waves are crested with foam. The delicate white fluff on the hapayél symbolizes the evanescent foam on the crest of the waves; the rolling motions to and fro with the dance staff held crosswise are meant to indicate the undulating play of the waves which restlessly rise and fall. Because the waves in an alin ceaselessly ebb and flow, the occupants of the ciéxaw constantly wear the hapayél and several times a day lightly swing their dance staffs as they make a few dance motions.

[Text continues on page 715.—Analyst]

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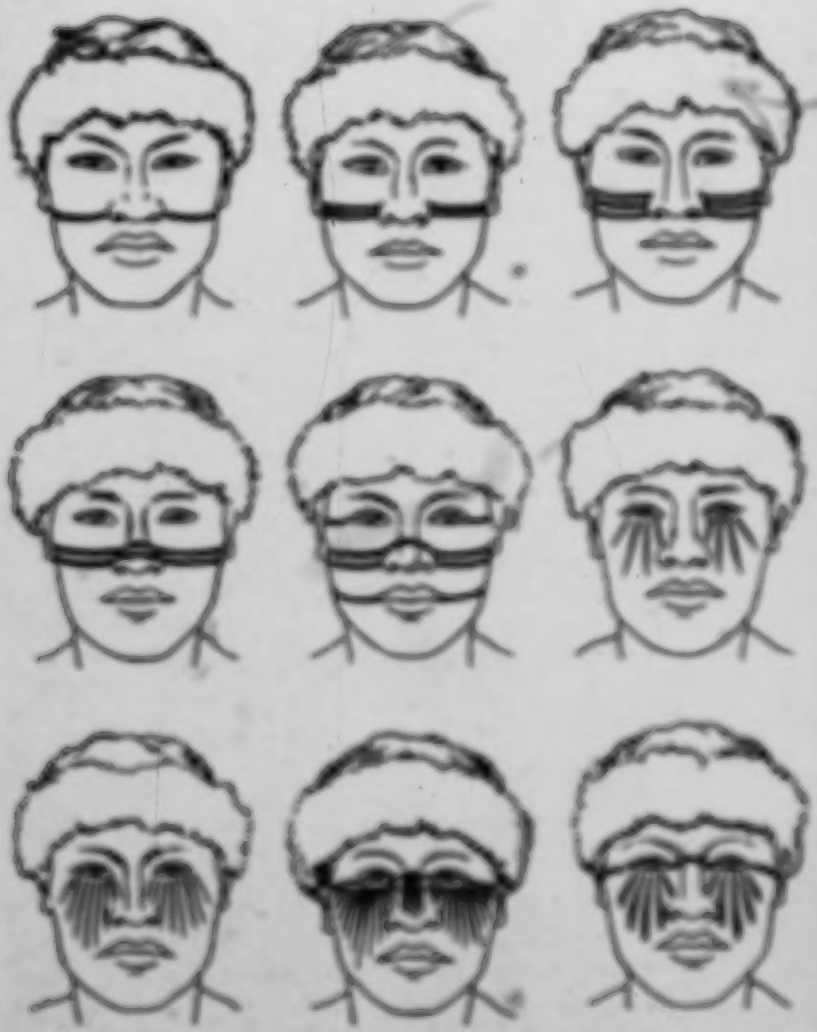

Fig. 86. Facial Painting of the Candidates.

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Finally we must mention here the only form of tattooing which was formerly customary among these Fueglans, but of which I could not find a trace on any of the Tamaco living today. The reports which I received on this subject may be regarded as reliable (201). Soon after the beginning of the long ceremony, after

201. Several men, as well as Billy Lawrence, spoke of this custom. The above data were given me by old Pedro, together with Whain. The latter is the oldest surviving Tamaco, and although I examined him very carefully, I could not find the faintest trace of tattooing on him. He told me: "When I was a candidate in the Great Hut my countrymen gave up these marks, for they did not wish to appear before the ceremonies with them!" I suspect that they wanted to avoid divulging their secret initiation with the tattooing which was done at that time.

the candidates have become somewhat accustomed to the new living habits, all the inmates of the Great Hut go down to the flat beach the first thing in the morning if the weather is good. Only one of the guards remains behind. They choose a sheltered inlet with a shallow sea floor. The men, who are completely naked, and the women form separate groups. In their midst they have the candidates, the men taking the boys and the women, the girls. The men who arrive first step into the water and stand close together. The women arrange themselves in such a way that they form a more or less closed circle around the men. Then they all jump and leap about, play with one another, splash each other, perform all kinds of movements with their bodies, duck the candidates and drag them along under water. They disport themselves in every conceivable way with the members of their own sex, the outer circle of women never mingling with the group of men. After a time they come out of the water in this formation, and it is not until then that the circle of women breaks up, opening an exit

/982 cont./
for the men (282). The *winnibigo* calls a warning over to the

> 283. I cannot avoid the impression that this play is possibly an imitation, in weakened form, of the so-called phallic dance which the Kalk'hara perform in front of the women at the beginning of the men's ceremony (Vol. I, 1913).

camp that old and /983/ young should hide in the huts and not let their glances stray, lest no one may watch the return of these two groups who then hurrey back to the Great Hut.

Here the tattooing of the *ohwigin* of both sexes begins immediately. Expert men and women smear a thick, wide band of *fini* across the candidates' chests and both upper arms to the back, so that only an area as wide as a hand over the spinal column remains bare. In the middle of the body this ring of color dips slightly. Within the band small vertical lines five to eight millimeters long and close together are scratched into the skin with a sharp mussel shell. They are careful to make the small lines very evenly and as even as possible. Soon after a few short incisions have been made, red pigment is smeared into them on the skin. It takes several hours to make this decoration, but it is not painful. After a short time the very shallow cuts are healed, but the pigment shines through the skin as a light blue line.

The *ohwigin* now wears on his body the visible sign of his first bath. Usually on that same evening, but at least within the next few days, all the adults of the camp are invited to the Great Hut and shown this marking on the candidates. The adults admire it and are pleased with it.

Within a few days all the occupants of the hut go down to the water to bathe a second and a third time, just as before. Afterwards a second and third row of small lines are tattooed on each candidate, directly underneath the first lines. This is his sign of having satisfied the demands of the *Tjilpuna* requirements. It is also a sign of his maturity. Asked about the meaning of the tattooing, the Indians themselves give no further information than to say: "It looks beautiful!" At any rate, it is proof for

/963 cont./
them that a person has dutifully sat through his term as uŋwɛ̃ʃa in the youth initiation.

They have not entirely forgotten this earlier custom, but have provided a neat substitute in the form of special body painting, which, however, only adult participants use. They paint the entire upper part of the body red and over this draw a white band the width of three fingers, which starts on either side of the spinal column and extends over the uppermost part of the arm and horizontally across the chest. I was definitely assured that this body painting is applied instead of the former tattooing. One day or another a man will still paint himself in this fashion.

The external measures to which each candidate of the Tahgan hut is subjected are really designed to batter his whole body thoroughly. All candidates show great fatigue even after the first three days. This is consciously sought; it is meant to make each uŋwɛ̃ʃa amenable and to prepare him for the further aims of the Tahgan.

/964/ β. Instruction

The participants never lose sight of the fact that this event is supposed to be a period of serious training for their young people. Accordingly, some hours every day are devoted to teaching and instruction. Unfortunately, at present even this essential part of the entire Tahgan is not taken as seriously as it was formerly. The old people feel that the youth of today have for some time been alienated from the old tribal traditions and have adjusted to European standards of living. Hence the adults do not spend nearly as much time and effort on the actual instruction as they did formerly.

During my first initiation, however, we were required to congregate regularly each evening with our venerable instructor, for at that time Alfredo, the leader, was particular about keeping strict order. During my second initiation old Whaits had all the uŋwɛ̃ʃa sitting at his feet on one occasion only, and at that time he could give us only a very small part of the wealth of earlier exhortations. Many conscientious Yamana regret this decline most deeply, but within themselves, faithfully shielded by a reliable memory, they carry everything that was once offered them in the

X881 867

/864 cont./
way of rules for living and that for them even today is the backbone of a model way of life.

1. The Teacher. The efforts made by the adults on behalf of their young people aim toward making them morally good human beings who are not only capable in all manual skills and faithful in the performance of their daily work, but who act properly from inner conviction and the dictates of conscience. Our Fuegians also have their own, definite, clearly defined ideal of education. This is kept constantly in mind by the teachers of youth in the parental hut as well as those in the čǐéxaus hut. The basic ideas seem so natural and beneficial that one would think they had been taken from our European world of ideas. The educational goal is summed up in one phrase: "Everyone must become a good and useful Yamana (283)!" The adults steer straight toward this

[171]

283. We should like to emphasize that this expression has been literally translated. It coincides exactly with the Selk'nam conception of the educational ideal, and they express it in the same words (Vol. I, 1020). The complete unanimity of the two tribes in this significant matter is not surprising if we realize that the social order is one and the same both here and there, in spite of the stronger effect of the matriarchal influence in certain respects among the Selk'nam.

goal with relentless severity, apply all kinds of methods, and struggle for it tenaciously.

In the čǐéxaus hut the general rules of life that are valid for the Yamana and dominate their public as well as personal life are presented to the candidates. Many of these rules have become familiar to the uǐwǐala early in the parental hut, but now they are placed before them as a compact, coherent body of individual /865/ regulations. In their entirety they serve the one great purpose of making a good and useful member of society out of every young person. Our Fuegians agree that society can maintain itself only if every individual adapts himself to the

/865 cont./

X881 unified order, if he functions in close alliance with his country-
867 men and does not disturb community life through personal errors. A far-reaching, uniform molding of young people therefore is one of the requirements of education. The common instruction serves this purpose. Actually, all young people, without exception and irrespective of sex, are sooner or later obliged to undergo this protracted event. It gives each of them a uniform stamp, the heritage of previous generations, and pledges them to the rules of conduct and the manners which have hitherto upheld tribal life and guaranteed peaceful community living. As we have said, every uǐwʃala is trained primarily to become a useful, valuable member of the tribe.

X881 Instruction is not given individually, but to the whole group
867 of candidates simultaneously. The teacher is a man of years, usually a venerable old man who acts in this capacity either from
888 choice or at the invitation of the leader and the overseer. Some-
.554 times one of these two men occupies this post, if circumstances demand it. In any case the teacher, known as uǐwʃala kinǎna, is always an estimable personality demanding respect, of irreproachable character and perfect moral conduct, of mental superiority and acknowledged uprightness, well versed in the law of the tribe and exemplary in valiant manly deeds. Only a person who can honestly boast of many good characteristics will venture to face the young people as their teacher. He need not fear that he himself will give the lie to the admonitions that he offers them. They have an effect on the uǐwʃala that is all the more lasting because such a teacher stands before them as the embodiment of the accepted requirements.

X881 His words flow with the deepest seriousness and out of inner-
867 most conviction. He prepares himself for his speech with a long period of self-communion, and in thoughtful deliberation on one
888 afternoon or another he prepares in his mind the precepts that he
537 feels impelled to present. When the manual work is finished and the participants are also inwardly at rest as they silently squat in their places, when night has spread her black veil over nature and there is deathly stillness round about, the teacher gives a sign. The candidates rise from their places and squat in a semicircle in front of him. They listen to his words with a serious mien and rapt attention. He speaks with the gentle sincerity and the perceptible

/865 cont./

X881 warmth of a well-meaning adviser, with paternal anxiety for the
867 future well-being of the individual and for the future of the whole
866 tribe. During his /866/ simple discourse, all those present listen
537 in complete silence to his soft voice, which deeply moves them, each word searching the conscience of the adults also. His warnings and exhortations to young and old sound like the last will and testament of a man who is standing at the end of life and looking back upon a career devoted to duty.

X881 Such addresses were the most consecrated hours that I spent
867 each evening during my first initiation. They are truly an experience for every youthful uŭwĕala also, and they do not forget them even in old age. For the rest of their lives, they preserve as their most precious treasure whatever has flowed into their souls during such a solemn hour as the greatest spiritual gift from the heart and soul of the teacher. Individual adults were able to repeat perfectly and with undiminished freshness the teachings which had been presented to them when they were uŭwĕala. Again these Fuegians prove to be excellent students of the psychology of youth and first-rate educators.

X881 Formerly the teacher addressed his words to the uŭwĕala two
867 or three times a week and never longer than an hour, although he
537 speaks slowly and often repeats. "Too much talking tires the candidates!" old Alfredo told me in this connection. At my first initiation he took turns with the venerable Whaits, so that every evening we were given instruction by one or the other. Afterwards he told me: "This time the čĕxaus was short, and that is why we were obliged to assemble you uŭwĕala every evening for the teaching, so that we could tell you everything (284). In

284. He wished to apologize because he and Whaits took up our time each evening. This was contrary to the earlier custom which left time for contemplation.

former times a day was left in between (285). The uŭwĕala are

285. This means that the two or three addresses by the teacher were, with interruptions, spread over a period of about a week.

/866 cont./

X881 supposed to meditate deeply on what has been presented to them
867 [by the teacher]!" When the latter has ended his address, the
537 candidates return to their places and there they crouch thoughtfully for many hours before they may lie down to sleep. The adults, too, give themselves up to serious mental concentration, for there are no dances or games afterward.

X881 In the common instruction the candidates are, of course,
867 offered all the rules of conduct which are universally binding.
861 The people are not content with this in the xíexan, however, since many participants have for some time observed faults, bad behavior, weaknesses, and shortcomings in one or another candidate and have been obliged to tolerate them angrily. Hence strictly personal training of the individual begins. The nearest kinsmen undertake this task, which is certainly not easy. First one and then another of them will squat beside the candidate, as they feel inspired or on the basis of observations which they themselves have made during the day. Each of them /867/ begins with a searching talk. He adds warnings and is not sparing with threats. He points out clearly and comprehensibly to the uŭwíala the weaknesses which have been observed in him in connection with some other circumstance. Everything is clearly mentioned by name and seriously censured: laziness and dullness, an aversion to work and a distraught manner, irritability and quarrelsomeness, a tendency to pilfer and untruthfulness, a greedy manner of eating and bumptiousness, impertinent interruption of adults and mocking words about aged people. Those of the adults who have previously objected to one thing or another without seeing results now intensify their threats. One adult will also join with another in order to reach their goal, and together they influence the uŭwíala.

Wherever possible they apply appropriate measures. They will often withhold food from a glutton and will say: "You must learn to forgo all excess!" Someone who is clumsy is often called upon to do small chores; they try to combat laziness with particularly difficult assignments. The adults make an effort to wipe out faults and vices with these and other effective measures. They will thoroughly take to task an uŭwíala who is regarded as headstrong and obstinate.

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X911 867 One understands the difficult position of many an ufwʔala in view of the fact that every adult has the right to criticize and correct him in anything that he feels is necessary. Many a relative and friend has previously perhaps made a fruitless effort in behalf of a boy or girl, his influence having been of brief duration. Here, however, the candidate is in the hands of the adult for a longer period. The latter makes the best use of this opportunity, for it is the last, so to speak. After his initiation every [18] candidate regards himself more or less as one of the adults. Time and again the ufwʔala is told explicitly: "You are now old enough. Up to now your father and mother have provided food for you, made a place for you in the hut, and helped you in everything. They [your parents] have taken enough trouble with you over a period of many years, you may no longer be a burden to them. Seek your life's companion soon and stay by yourself [in your own dwelling] (286)!"

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286. I, personally, experienced for myself how seriously they take the admonitions directed toward a prompt marriage. On my second visit I had shown the Yamana various photographs and pointed out each person as in some way related to me. I said to them: "This is my mother, my grandfather, my paternal uncle, and so forth." I was using this means to induce them to let me photograph them. After a while they asked: "Won't you also show us a picture of your wife?" When I assured them that I was not yet married, they found it incomprehensible that a person of my age should still be single. At the end of my first initiation that year, old Alfredo, the leader of the affair, said to me: "We have taught you many good things in the Great Hut, now act accordingly! When you get back to your people do not forget to take a girl as your wife!" In order to show myself obliging to the dear old man, I replied affirmatively: "I shall gladly comply with your words and also soon look

/867 cont./

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for a wife'" During the subsequent years I completely forgot this promise which, to begin with, was not meant to be taken seriously.

I did not see Alfredo again until my fourth journey (p. 187 /untranslated/). One day, within a circle of men, I passed around many photographs which I had taken the year before and gave a few explanations about them. The Yamana also made comments. Finally Alfredo turned to me and asked in so many words: "Didn't you also bring a photograph of your young wife?" I was not prepared for this question. The old man looked me sternly in the eye, and I stammered, half instinctively, half embarrassed: "Oh, well now, I completely forgot to get married!" The gentle features of the good old man suddenly changed, and after a short pause which was embarrassing to me, he exposed me in front of those present in a reproachful tone: "Here we let you enter the Great Hut, gave you good instruction, and you pay no attention to it!... Who gets your food for you?" I replied: "My father." He: "From whom do you get your clothing?" I: "From my mother." He: "Where do you live?" I: "With my parents." He continued with the forceful admonition: "Shame on you! Your parents have been working for you so many years already, and you are still a burden to them. They have certainly done enough for you!...Isn't there any girl among your people who likes you and would like to marry you?" I pretended to be very much ashamed, and I loudly assured the well-meaning old man: "This time when I get home, I shall really get married immediately and be very nice to my parents!" He calmed down after these words. All who were present took sides with him against me.

X 88 /868/ All those who on this occasion and unofficially trouble themselves about one of the candidates here in the čiexaus are motivated by the best intentions for his personal good and for the good of the tribal community. We cannot give figures for how often they give their instructions and how long these continue; it depends on the prevailing circumstances or necessity. This strict individual training does, however, form an important part of the entire training program.

X 88 86 2. Essence of the Teaching. I am unfortunately not in a position to reproduce the exact wording of the exhortations which during my first initiation were repeatedly impressed upon each Indian uwčala personally by one or another adult. Therefore much that is valuable in the art of education and the life experience of those simple people of Tierra del Fuego will escape us. A substitute is afforded by the teachings which a few of the adults were able to repeat verbatim from their initiations. They all assured me that these principles were only a part of everything that they learned as uwčala (287). Each teaching serves the one clearly defined

287. It is true, however, that one rule of conduct or another was held up to them several times in the same words on different days. Hence the account probably contains the essentials.

goal of making the candidate "a good and useful human being."

At my request my sponsor repeated the teachings that she received as an uwčala in 1907, that is, about 25 years ago. I shall set them down here as she gave them to me, without change.

/869/ "You will soon get married and then you will have your husband; do not quarrel with him.

"If other women speak injuriously about you, if they want to quarrel with you, keep silent and do not talk; that would only lead to a quarrel. Go quietly about your business so that the others will not see you. Finally they will be obliged to say: 'She is, after all, an industrious and quiet woman!'

"If at night your husband creeps stealthily away from his bed (288) because he thinks you are asleep, do not say anything

288. The implication is that he is going to

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seek another woman for illicit intercourse.

and let him go.

"You may not deprive other women of drinking water; that is something you must fetch for yourself.

"Get up betimes in the morning. Even if several men are in the hut, you must always get up early (289).

> 289. That is to say: "Sometimes men permit themselves somewhat more rest in the morning because they have hard work to do or because they are still very tired from a strenuous hunt. You may not take this as an excuse to be lazy yourself."

"If a visitor stays in your hut a long time, do not crossly find fault with him because he does not leave.

"If your father is already dead and you see an older man who needs something, give him what he lacks. Do not say: 'That man does not concern me, he is not my father.'

"If you have children, be happy over each one. Do not perhaps kill one or neglect it. Care for all of them and be fond of them. Other people will then praise you and say: 'She is a good mother, she loves her children very much!'

"If old women come to your hut who are weak and very infirm, do not become indignant and do not drive them out. Receive them pleasantly. Say to them: 'Sit down here by the fire. I'll get you something to eat immediately!' Fetch what you have and offer it to them.

"If you have gathered fruit or mussels, invite other people in and let them share what you have brought home.

"If several women are sitting together intimately and if they talk about all kinds of things, do not start gossiping and do not tell unfavorable things about other women.

"If your husband should associate with other women and you notice this, be quiet and do not say anything.

"Do not quarrel with your husband about every little thing, otherwise he will become irritated and discontent. If your husband has really made a mistake some time, you should not immediately

/969 cont./

shout and make a great fun about it; sometime he will realize his mistake.

"Do not cease really loving your husband and willingly doing all kinds of work for him: then he will like you, too, and also take good care of you.

"If the family [from which you come] is large and your brothers /970/ and uncles are very much esteemed by people because they are capable, do not preen yourself about it and do not unduly boast about it, for others would misconstrue this.

"If you want to live peaceably and happily with your husband, do not constantly quarrel with him. Be quiet if he has an opinion that differs from yours; later he will probably realize his mistake.

"Watch out for Wataginéjwa /the supreme being/, never forget about him. If you are dull and slow and lazily neglect your work, if you do not get up betimes in the morning, he will look at you; then it will soon be over with you (290). And do not

290. A favorite saying which we shall mention below expresses the same thing: "The Supreme Being will punishingly cast his eye on you and destine you to a premature death." In a later section such sayings will be more specifically explained.

forget what the ówągle often said in the morning here in the ríjage but when they got up early and stepped out: "hiis yíruni ówągle [kipe] hii, wii (291)!" That is what shaíin (292) did also.

291. This means: "Come on, we are new candidates, come on!"

292. Turdus magellanicus, the Magellanic thrush. The reference to the thrush has the following meaning. Once upon a time this bird was also a candidate in the youth initiation where it learned to get up early every morning. It has practiced this good habit so faithfully that on all subsequent occasions up to the

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present it has been a good example for the candidates. Since then, when the thrush sees a sleepy-head or a sluggard, it calls him with its "wat, wat," as though it wanted to say: "Soon you will die!" Thus every candidate must beat the thrush in getting up and, when he sees it in the morning, must quickly call to it, "wat, wat," in order to put the onus of the words "Soon you will die!" on it. At the same time the candidate is supposed to break a twig or a stick briskly and noisily to convince the thrush that he is active and industrious.

X 881
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"Do you see that bird there, all by itself, separated from all the others? That is what will happen to you if you do not observe all these teachings. You will gradually detach yourself from the others and will finally stand alone; then you will no longer be happy, you will become weak and ill and die prematurely. Before the sun rises blithely rise from your bed.

"The teacher told us repeatedly: 'If you do not pay attention to these teachings and neglect them, you will have few children later on and even those will soon die. Never forget my advice and my teachings!'"

Holly Lowenstein carefully noted the following sayings from her days as a novice and willingly repeated them.

"You will probably soon get married and build your own hut. If occasionally someone comes to you [on a visit] and helps himself to the mawels or crabs or fish that happen to be roasting at your fire, do not be angry. Rather, be glad, for it is an honor for you that a stranger comes to your hut and eats with you.

"When you are married carefully avoid arguing and quarreling with your husband.

/871/ "Be faithful to him. If he should forget himself and associate with another woman, bear [your sorrow] patiently. But do not suppose that you, also, may now secretly go to another man, for you are a woman. Your husband will realize that you are being faithful to him; he will be pleased with you and will soon break off with that other woman.

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"If you find a dog [that is lost], take him into your canoe and bring him to his master. Perhaps that man is looking for him. If you bring his dog back to him, he will be pleased and very content. He will tell other people and say about you: 'The one there is a good woman!'

"Never take anything away from other people. A person who steals is liked by no one, and everyone avoids him.

"Begin your day's work very early in the morning. Watauinčiwa observes every sluggard. Watauinčiwa will [as punishment] soon [i.e., permanently] cause you to die if you are a lazy lie-abed.

"Always be willing to fetch water and wood and to tend the fire. Also keep an eye open to be of service to aged men and women when they need something.

"Do not flare up about every little thing."

"Do not immediately gossip about something you have heard about others, for in that way you could easily stir up quarrels and discord.

"When you are walking along by yourself, do not look inquisitively at everything, but keep your eyes strictly in front of you on the ground and keep your head slightly bowed.

"I was told many other things in the čiexaus. At that time my own father happened to be the overseer. I earnestly assured him: 'I shall strictly observe all your instructions!' I faithfully followed these and the other admonitions. That is the way our Yamana like to have it."

Chris also repeated the teachings and the advice that he received on the occasion of his initiation in 1896.

"My old chekaia kinčhu [teacher] and also my sponsor of those days are both dead.

"After Yenčiu had departed (193), the piece of hide with

193. After the two of them had wrestled with each other directly after Chris had been brought into the Great Hut. See the description of this struggle on p. 835.

which my face had been covered (194) was removed. Immediately

194. He is referring to the following custom:

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the piece of leather that is thrown completely over the head of the candidate as he enters the hut is sometimes partially removed during the struggle with the "evil spirit," so that the candidate can glimpse the figure of the "evil spirit."

my sponsor placed himself before me and regarded me seriously. I trembled with fear. He said: 'Now I shall tell you how you must sit here in the Great Hut! Your eyes should always be cast on the ground, on the place where my feet are (295). Stay the

295. This means directly in front of the crossed legs of the squatting candidate.

way you are squatting here now, /872/ and keep your arms crossed over your chest. Do not shift back and forth. Do not lean to one side. Sit still and do not move. Don't let your eyes roam about the whole hut, and don't look at the entrance when someone comes in. Keep your inquisitive eyes in check and sit still!'

"Immediately my sponsor squatted down beside me and asked: 'Did you see that one there who leaped out of the fire?' I answered: 'Yes!' He continued: 'And do you know who it was?' Softly and full of terror I replied: 'He rose up out of the earth!' Then he assured me: 'Yes, indeed, that was Yetája who lives down in the earth. He came here!' Again I was seized with terror (296).

296. With this false assertion he wants to make the candidate believe that the apparition had really come out of the interior of the earth. By doing so, he intends to fill him with terror. Once he has achieved his goal, he finally tells the candidate the truth.

"After a time my sponsor again asked me: 'Do you believe that this was really Yetája?' Completely terrified, I replied:

/872 cont./

'Yes!' Then he smiled and said: 'It was I myself! I behaved just like Tetsita who lives down in the earth. Watch out for him! He keeps a sharp eye on whether you are scrupulously living up to everything that you are told here. But not everything that goes on here in this Great Hut is an illusion!'...After that my sponsor was constantly by my side.

"After a time he again emphasized to me: 'Pay attention to all the rules that apply to this Great Hut, follow every injunction carefully! You noticed how silent and motionless every candidate was when Tetsita appeared. Here contradiction is not permitted! The uwujala quietly listen to what is told them; they willingly obey every command. Do not look all around. Sit still without stretching. I, your sponsor, am observing you closely! Remain [in the position] in which you are now sitting; you are not permitted to shift your position constantly or to stretch your arms and legs. Keep your arms crossed [over your chest] and your legs crossed under you (297)!' If an uwujala

> 297. Thus, gradually, he gets the candidate into the exact squatting position that is prescribed (p. 707).

restlessly moves, his sponsor immediately says to him: 'What, you don't intend to obey? A person who does not follow the rules will later turn into a bad man. So sit still!'

"Later my godfather warned me: 'Never forget the instructions which you will soon hear [from the uwujala kinsfolk]. The person who fixes them in his mind and adjusts to them will become a good man. Do not talk in the dwellings about what goes on here. All this is very serious and secret. Outside you must be silent about it. But you will quietly think about it by yourself. Talking a great deal about these things will cause you to die prematurely. Know that not everything that takes place in this house is an illusion! /872/ Think of him who lives down here in the earth. Above you is the sun. Both of these see you and watch you closely. So be on your guard!'

"The next day all the uwujala went into the woods, each

/873 cont. /

accompanied by his sponsor. Mine said to me: "We are now in the woods. You must not think that these trunks here are wood! No, these are other people who in the great upheaval long ago turned into trunks; since then they have been residing here (298).

298. He is alluding to the myth of the great upheaval, which tells of the founding of the men's ceremony. Compare Guzinde (bb):337 and the rest of this myth below in the section, "The Kina Celebration."

They can all see how you behave. Now tell them: "I am an ofwala." This I did; I stood before one tree and another and said to it: "I am an ofwala!" The other boys did the same thing. Thereupon my sponsor said to me: "When the overseer sends you into the woods to fetch wood, work diligently. If you should lazily sit down or gather berries and mushrooms in order to eat them, be assured that these people here [the trunks] are watching you closely! If you do not properly arrange the little trunks that you have gathered, the pile (299) will collapse. If

299. He is referring to the Yamana practice of leaning the sticks and small trunks that have been gathered in the woods against a large tree. The obvious purpose is to keep the wood off the soaked ground and to dry it somewhat by exposing it to currents of air (p. 47).

these pieces fall over, you will never have any luck in life, for these people here see everything (300)!"

300. This means: "They will revenge themselves for the disrespect and lack of consideration with which you have treated them in the guise of tree trunks!" This reference, too, thus serves as a warning to the candidates never to behave as though they were unobserved, but to observe carefully all the precepts.

/973 cont./

"'Afterwards when you northward the Great Hat, do not walk crosscrass through the woods. Also do not play with other *shaman*, do not keep guilty part the tree trunks, but maintain a serious, quiet attitude and take a straight path. Do not look to right or left. Always believe properly!' This was what my spouse said.

"Toward noon we returned to the *Kilong* hut. In the late afternoon an aged man called on *shaman* together. We sat down [in a semicircle] on the ground in front of him. He talked to us in the following manner.

"'You must always think about what you see and hear in this place. Never forget it. Keep it [secret] to yourself and never talk about it in the dwellings, otherwise dire punishment will be inflicted. An *shaman* who afterwards blurts out everything will soon die.

"'Show great respect to old people. If several of them are gathered together, keep quiet and do not interrupt their conversation. Don't say of you gossip about what you have heard from others to any of the men.

"'If you hear something disparaging about someone, do not use it to go into a long discussion with others, for that makes bad blood. Sooner or /974/ later after all others will judge you and will say of you: "He is a bad person, he gossips about what is unknown to others!"

"'You may have many friends. But if you should start to gossip about anything and everything, they will soon learn about it. They will think: "He is a bad man!" Gradually they will withdraw from you. No matter how numerous your family is, no one will then support you and help you.

"'If you bring back rich booty from the hunt and if some of your special friends is in the camp, but rather a large number of other people, share everything with them. They will remember it well and everyone will praise you. If later on you should happen to come to their territory, they, too, will willingly help you. When you are sharing your booty, your relatives should copy him. Other people are watching you; they will say of you: "What a good man!" Even if you have but three reindeer, give them to others.

/TTO cont./

"If you have become a good human, you will often return home with a good bill. Share it all [with the neighbors]. Some day you are sure to come to a place where you will not be all by yourself. Then you may consume everything that you have obtained [as booty] all by yourself. But if other people or in the vicinity, you must invite all of them who are staying near you.

"If your wife comes from another region where you is not know anyone and if you visit them, those people will look up your wife and talk with her a great deal, whereas they will scarcely exchange a word with you. Do not become excited about this and do not show your displeasure openly, speak about it only to your wife. Instead of making a big fuss and getting excited about your wife, instead of determining to kill her, it is more advisable to let her go. This decision is much more advantageous for you, for your wife, and for both your families. Rather letter go, this solves everything at once.

"You must never kill anyone. This is always better in any kind of quarrel(for you and for all the others.

"Think constantly of this, my teaching and advice, ten you will live a quiet life.

"I repeat again to you: Never you will think of me! No matter what happens to you in life, you will immediately think of me! Then you will realize at once how you should conduct yourself and how you should decide. In this way you will guard yourself against hasty action and this will be better for around others. You will often be reminded of me!

"If people have realized that you have no one and a evil-minded person comes along who would like to hurt you, direct every about it! Other people will certainly speak in your /TTO/ and take your side. you yourself need not make any effort but specifically ask your well-meaning neighbors for help.

"If an old woman should begin to chew and bring up being matters that go far back and no longer interest anyone, do not leave the hut out of boredom, sit still and listen to it anyway. You will surely hear something good or a story that may beneficial to you. Wait, therefore, until the old woman has finished. If you yourself, when you are old, should on occasion relate something and then realize how one person after another excuse you and creeps out of the hut while you are talking or that a few people

/875 cont./

are meanwhile talking among themselves about something else, you will be very much annoyed by it. It will be extremely unpleasant for you to be left sitting alone [while you are talking]. Therefore always be attentive to others.

" 'Do not torture animals, least of all your dog. And do not mistreat other people's animals.

" 'Do not steal, it will not be advantageous for you. You don't like it either if someone takes your things. Protect things that belong to other people, treat them as though they were your own. If you need something, go into any hut and ask for it; it will be given to you there. Hence you do not need to steal at all.

" 'If you have fallen in love with the wife of another man, you would like to take her for yourself. This can end badly and her kinsmen could even murder you. You wouldn't like it either if someone took away your wife. Never lose respect for the wife of another man.

" 'Remember this advice and think of the teachings that I give you here.

" 'If an old man asks you -- it will probably not happen -- "Bring me some wood," then do it. If you are standing close to a man and he says softly, as though to himself, but so that you hear it: "Oh dear, I did not succeed today in getting enough wood for the night!" -- go immediately into the forest and fetch wood. The old man will be very pleased about it. He wanted to avoid coming out openly [in so many words] with his request.

" 'If you are near a woman who is apparently mumbling to herself: "It's too bad, I forgot to fetch water for myself today!"-- immediately pick up your bucket and carry the water to her hut. The other people will be pleased with you, they will say: "That is a nice boy!" The next day the woman will provide for herself in time. Help everyone. Then the old people will be pleased, because they did the same thing in their youth.

" 'If you have achieved great manual dexterity so that everyone values the things you make, give away first of all the things that have turned out best. Do not keep the nicest pieces for yourself and get rid of the inferior ones. /876/ If you give others only inferior things as a present, those people will think: "Why did he give me this poorly made object? The thing won't be any

/976 cont./

good to me anyway!" They will accept it [the object], but afterwards they will throw it away. Make useful, beautiful things and give only these to other people. Then they will say: "This is an excellent harpoon point! That man gave it to me. He did a clever piece of work which I shall show other people. I'll take good care of this piece!"

"'Take good care of your father-in-law and be constantly concerned about him. Make all the implements he needs. See what he needs and get him plenty of meat. You must give more attention and care to him than to your own father.

"'If you get into a quarrel with a man and you say to him excitedly, "I shall strangle you!" that is not wise behavior. You will not really kill him anyway; you just say that to make him afraid. Other people won't take your word seriously either. If you are actually planning to murder someone, you will surely not say a word about it to others! Therefore avoid such talk [not seriously meant]. It could even happen that the other one, fearing your threat, might promptly murder you.

"'Above all, never say a word in the dwellings of what you hear here. Otherwise we shall meet the same fate that overtook everyone back in Yiwoliga /a place name/ during the great upheaval. At that time two girls were talking outside the Great Hut of what went on inside. They turned into ducks and have since that remained in the lagoon. Now they can no longer talk and no one thinks of them because no one knows them (301).

> 301. Here again there is definite reference to the events that took place at the founding of the men's secret communion, which previous to that were held by the women. See Gualada (36):320 where these two girls, or ducks, are mentioned.

"'Have a care for this earth [for Yoliga lives under it] and for the rising sun. No matter how weary you are, leap up quickly from your bed as soon as the sun rises, so that it will not find you there. Get up regularly from your bed before the sun appears, otherwise you will soon die.

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976 "Heed all this advice faithfully. Wonsuifuwa wishes it, he watches carefully to see whether you will act accordingly.

977 "Everywhere and always be respectful toward old people. Do not be forward when you are with them.

"Always give other people what you have brought back from the hunt.

"Be industrious in your work. Don't quarrel with others.

"All these teachings you will surely remember forever. In the various situations of life you will think of me and you will immediately recall how I talked to you here on this occasion. Act accordingly and you will be a happy man!"

978 /977/ "During the last days of the Ofuwage we ofwgila frequently had to go hunting with the men, the girls gathered mussels and helped the women fish (302). Finally the big feast was

302. One of the chief reasons for the greater activity of the men and women, accompanied by the candidates, is their concern about obtaining abundant food for the great feast at the conclusion of the youth initiation.

held, in which all the people participated. Every ofwgila distributed meat to all these present; the last piece was for the ofwgila himself. After I had passed around the meat of a sea lion, my sponsor said to me: 'The last piece is for you! Before you eat it go into the forest and say to the tree trunks: "Some tiki wiingsna (I have distributed [meat to the many participants at the great concluding feast, ofwgila only])!" Then come back here again immediately!' This I did. I went into the woods and addressed the trees: 'I have distributed meat of the sea lion among the people!' Later I had to take the meat of birds to each of the many participants, the last piece I kept for myself. Again I went into the woods and addressed the trees: 'At the big feast I have now also distributed the meat of birds among all the people!' Then we ofwgila were also permitted to eat abundantly and we were very happy. Several times I had to address (in the manner described) the trees over there in the forest (303). Finally

303. Later it was explained to me that this

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X/31

address to the town by the candidate is to tell them that from now on he is no longer bound by the previous restrictions, but has ended his period of probation.

my sponsor said to me: "Now it is enough. From now on you may go everywhere and eat anything. Now all the town and all the people know that you have been an *ufwfgin* in the *ñfuwgi*." All this my sponsor taught me (304).*

304. It may seem surprising that Chris, with vivid clearness, repeated from memory the treatment that he had experienced as a candidate in the youth initiation. It is known that he lived among Europeans from his early boyhood, because his Indian parents met untimely deaths. On the occasion of his initiation he came into effective contact with the rich heritage of ideas of his tribe for the first time. The events of that long ceremony were a revelation to him and like a rebirth to a new life. He confessed to me: "There at the initiation I became a Yatiana, and I have been that since then with all my soul!" Nevertheless, the innermost Fuegian world of the spirit never quite became second nature to him.

The following teachings and exhortations come from Calderon who learned them as an *ufwfgin* about 15 years ago. His godfather said to him:

"Now you are in the *ñfuwgi* as an *ufwfgin*; you must endure it here until everything is over. You may no longer act and move about freely like one who is outside [outside the Great Hut]. Here you must obey every adult. You must faithfully follow in detail and with great willingness all the advice that we give you. Do this out of inner conviction, not only because it must be. Act accordingly throughout your life until you are old.

/377 cont./

"Keep to yourself what goes on here; do not talk about it everywhere outside in front of others (365).

365. The restriction is primarily against tattling in front of minors who should not prematurely lose their respect and fear of the Great Hut. For further reference to this restriction see also footnote 307 on page 746.

/378/ "Here we tell you: 'Be industrious in your work. Do your work gladly and quickly. Get up early in the morning, then you will always be prepared with everything [that is necessary]!'

"Show respect toward old people. Help orphans. Bring something to eat to the sick who cannot get up. Practice all this in later life also.

"If you meet a blind man on your path, go up to him and ask him: 'Where are you going?' He will tell you. Perhaps you will hear that he has gone astray. Say to him immediately: 'But you have taken the wrong path!' Gratefully he will reply: 'So I have lost my way!' Then ask him: 'Where do you want to go, so that I can lead you?' He will answer you: 'I want to go to my hut!' Then take him by the hand and lead him there. But do not let him go on [without querying him], so that he becomes lost; do not laugh at him. If he should stammer and act clumsily, do not smile to yourself and do not think: 'He doesn't see me anyway!' Rather, take him by the hand immediately and lead him to his hut. Other people will praise you for it and will say: 'That man is good!'

"If an old man is in need of something, give him what you have. Other people will praise you for this.

"If you have many relatives and one of them comes from a distance, take him into your hut without delay. Let him have what he needs. If his children should throw all your things into disorder or break something, do not get excited and do not scold. In any case the parents of the children will see to it that you suffer no loss, and they themselves will disapprove of their children's behavior. It may happen, however, that something of yours is

/878 cont./

867 X99

damaged. Well, they are children, after all! If, immediately afterwards, you should say in other huts, 'The children of my relative brought great disorder among all my things, they broke all kinds of things!' your talk will certainly one day reach the parents' ears and displease them very much. After that no one will want to stop in your hut.

"You will perhaps visit a hut where a sick man is lying on his bed. He needs something and will be talking to himself thus: 'I'd like that thing hanging there on the wall. If only someone would hand it to me!' Get up immediately and hand the old man what he wants. He did not want to order you about, that is why he expressed himself thus [in that formal way]. Now this man will speak of it everywhere and will say: 'That is a good man!' Afterwards, no matter where you go, the people will say appreciatively of you: 'That is a good man!' They will gladly take you into their hut and care for you.

/879/ "If you have found a girl whom you would like to marry, behave irreproachably toward her. Do not hasten the wedding improperly, but wait until her kinsfolk give the girl to you. Even now, however, be respectful toward the parents of your bride. Do not show impatience if they still hesitate to let you have their daughter.

"Do not gossip throughout the camp about things you have observed.

"If you are married, support your wife in every way. Fetch wood and water. Help her and relieve her in her work, for you are a man and have more strength. Do not listen hither and yon: 'What do other men and women say about me?' And do not unnecessarily try to find out what other people are doing. If you do, then your wife will also try to find out what is going on everywhere. The Yamana do not like such behavior, and it causes bad gossip. If your wife tells you gossip, don't pay any attention to it. Advise your wife thus: 'Be silent and do not meddle in the affairs of others and do not scold about everything! The others will calm down by themselves if you do not join their talk. Then all the men will praise you and the women will like you too!'

"If you go visiting in a hut, be friendly and inconspicuous.

"If many visitors come to your hut and you yourself have but little to give to them, think first of the strangers; afterwards give

/879 cont./

867 your friends and relatives what is left over. The latter will find
X881 it convenient to visit you again and have their fill of food, but not the strange visitors who came from a distant region to visit you. Serve these first and amply.

"If it should happen occasionally that you are sitting alone with your kinsmen, do not complain about your wife if she should not be present. You may never beat her. Your father-in-law will one day hear that you have beaten his daughter. He will say: 'That man took my daughter away from me, went with her to his family, and there he beats her!' Later on, if you should visit your father-in-law, he would not let you enter his hut; he will stay away from you and finally will take his daughter away.

"Do not seek to benefit only yourself, but think of other people also. If you yourself have an abundance, do not say: 'The others do not concern me, I need not bother about them!' If you were lucky in hunting, let others share it. Moreover, show them the favorable spots where there are many sea lions which can be easily slain. Let others have their share too occasionally. If you want to amass everything for yourself, other people will stay away from you and no one will want to be with you. If you should one day fall ill, no one will visit you because, for your part, you did not formerly concern yourself about others.

/880/ "If you come into the region where you were born and you want to set up camp with several other people, give them [the ones who are unfamiliar with the site] the sheltered place. You be content with a less advantageous spot. Do not think: 'What do I care if these strangers lose their canoe!' Rather, take good care of the visiting strangers, for they will return home and there they will praise you.

"If you know of a favorable hunting ground there [where you were born], encourage the visitors and say: 'Go to that place, there you will surely find rich booty!' Point the place out to them exactly so that they also can obtain large amounts of meat to take on their journey.

"Grant other people something also. The Yamana do not like a person who acts selfishly.

"No one likes a perverse, obstinate person; everyone speaks scornfully of him and avoids him.

/880 cont./

X 881 867 "If you and your family enter a hut as visitors and a sleeping place is offered you, remain there. You should, however, help the people in their work and, on your own initiative, lend a hand where there is something to be done. No one will ask you to help. Just open your eyes and you will soon see where you can help! Perhaps there is no water or wood, possibly there is snow in front of the entrance. Lend a hand there! That kind of person is liked everywhere and is willingly taken in by everyone. It is not proper for you to sit down quietly and let others work for you. Soon someone will make a wry face and you will wonder about it, but no one will tell you the real reason. It is best, after all, to help the others in their work; help with everything until the day you travel on.

"In case the man into whose hut you have moved [as a visitor] is having a feud with another, do not interfere. You will perhaps be told a great deal about it and all kinds of things will be explained [one-sidedly]. Listen to everything quietly, but do not take sides against the man toward whom hostility is shown. If later you have an opportunity, talk to him alone. Speak confidentially and tell him all about it, but with good intentions and disinterestedly; he will listen to you. But if he should not let you talk, withdraw quietly. Even though you should be stronger than he, do not start a fight, do not harm him and do not kill him, even if he should be your enemy. This would be a great disadvantage to his family who would take it very seriously. There might even be a fight, and you would have to make amends to the other family. It might also happen that you would later be obliged to hear that those opponents have murdered your father or your mother in revenge because you are a murderer. You won't like that. Hence, avoid that other man, keep away from your enemy as a matter of principle, so that you will not one day be overcome with anger and excitement. In that way no harm can come about.

/881/ "Every day when you wake up in the morning, think of the exhortations which we give you here in the [illegible]; remember them well and never cease practicing them. If today you omit a good habit, in a few days you will skip a second and third, and then a great many other things will soon be forgotten. But if you

/881 cont./

observe everything faithfully, you will be able to lead a pleasant life.

"If you are in a large group of people, do not slander one or another member of your own family, for that causes conflicts. One must also be skillful in speech and in self-control. Even if you have really quarreled with someone, your mutually strained relationship need not be brought out with your every word. Others listen sharply to your words and will soon notice the undertone. Hence do not speak scornfully of others.

"If evil talk is heaped upon you and you are attacked with wicked words, you will be aroused to brawl and quarrel; it is better to withdraw and not say anything. Later, talk to the man alone when both of you have calmed down.

"Help small children who accidentally have become lost, even if they do not belong to your family. Lead them back to their mother or to their hut. Do not laughingly enjoy the spectacle of a child who has fallen or is lying in the water; lift it up quickly and bring it to its parents. They will thank you [for this deed]. After all, you yourself want your children to get the same kind of help if they need it. If you are indifferent to strange children, other people will not bother about your children either, in case they are crying or have hurt themselves or are lying on the ground; no one will hasten to their aid. Accordingly, be concerned about the children of all the other people, for children do not harm anyone. Even if the children in question should be those of your enemy, help them, for they are not your enemies and have done you no harm. It may be that you have harmed your enemy and that he persecutes you for it, but if he sees how lovingly you treat his children, it may happen that he will forgive you. He will come to you and confess: 'I forgive you the wrong you have done because you have been so good to my children!' Thus it is profitable to help all children indiscriminately and to be kind to them. We Yamana appreciate it extraordinarily if someone is kind to our children.

"When you enter a hut, sit down decently, with your legs crossed under you. Look at everyone [present] pleasantly. Do not pay attention to one person only, and do not turn your back to anyone. If you devote your attention to only one person and concern yourself with him alone, the others will feel offended. Do

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not go visiting too often.

"In your own hut do not immediately talk about what you have just heard elsewhere. You may communicate important matters, but not /882/ aimless talk. It is much too easy to exaggerate and embroider. Later on people will find out more specifically who the gossip was, then they will find out that you were the guilty one. In fact, one of your enemies can exaggerate and misconstrue many of your words, if he wishes to bring you into ill repute.

"If you are having an argument with someone and even if you are right but the other person does not want to give in, it is better to be silent, for arguments and blows may possibly be precipitated. The other person will one day see that he is wrong.

"Do not take part in the silly talk and gossip of other people. Also do not be too trustful in exposing your secrets. Some day there will be gossip about something you have told a single person in confidence, and you might possibly lose many friends in this way. Be helpful to everyone but always sparing with words.

"Happily resume your work each morning, otherwise Yoûsta will overpower you. Save yourself from certain death, for every lazy person soon falls victim to Yoûsta. Therefore, get up on time in the morning before the sun rises.

If you have murdered another in a fit of rage, do not flee and do not hide, but give yourself up unafraid to the kinsmen of your victim. Now, too, show yourself strong enough to assume all the consequences of your deed, and do not perchance leave those consequences to your kinfolk. It is your fault alone, hence you must personally set things right again. A person who runs away from his deed will never make peace with himself; he will no longer feel comfortable even in his own hut.

"You must not steal from anyone, least of all from persons who are sick and infirm. If you need something, ask for it from your neighbor. But you have no right to take anything at all. People will soon notice it [the stolen goods in your hands], and after that everyone will learn that you have been stealing.

"If you should find something, do not immediately try to convince yourself: 'That belongs to me now!' For soon the owner [of the object] will appear. If he should see in your hands the

/882 cont./

he has lost, he will point this out to others and say to them: 'That one is a thief!' Possibly the owner will call his friends who will destroy everything you have and break up your canoe. In the end you will have nothing, all because of your stealing. No Yamana can stand a thief.

"Be careful never to forget these exhortations. Live up to them and you will be successful, people will be satisfied with you and will say of you: 'That is a good man!'

"If many people are sitting together in a hut and if some of them are talking so excitedly that a brawl threatens to break out, hold back with your words so that it will not come to that. When the other people have left, you may settle matters alone with your opponent. One must /883/ honor visitors and be considerate of them so that they will be happy to return. If a visitor is not treated well somewhere, he will soon withdraw and say to himself: 'I don't like it in that hut, fights spring up quickly there!'

"If you have given someone a present, you must not expect him soon to bring you a gift in return. Whatever you give away, give it completely voluntarily. Do not immediately afterwards say: 'I gave that person a present, but he did not offer me anything in return!' If you behave that way, no one will take a present from you, but everybody will think: 'That one gives presents only so that he can get presents in return!' If you offer something to others, do it spontaneously, do not talk about it, and do not accept anything for it.

"Remember, others also have a heart with human feelings. If you hurt them, they feel pain, too. Never forget that no one likes it if you speak disparagingly of him.

"If you take a piece of meat from your hut and bring it to another, the people there will invite you to eat with them. But do not consume the largest part. You yourself arrived there with the meat and your belly was full, but those people were perhaps suffering pangs of hunger. So let them have everything that you brought for them.

"Again I impress upon you: never forget these teachings! Every morning when you wake up, remember them and conduct yourself each day according to them!"

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Toward the end of my first initiation, old Alfredo repeated to me the words which he had just stressed to one of the uŭwĕ́ala alone:

"If later on you do not follow the precepts which we have given you here in the čĕ́xaus, we shall not stand in your way, for now you are big [have come of age] and independent. It is up to you, personally and privately, to keep our precepts and teachings or not [when you are by yourself]. But do not imagine that you will always get off without punishment. The one-up-there [Wataninĕ́wa] still sees you and will punish you with an untimely death. If he does not punish you personally right away, he will let your children die and then you will be all alone" (306).

306. Later on I shall discuss in detail how through the instructions to the candidates in the Great Hut I became acquainted for the first time with the religious ideas of the Yamana, especially with their Supreme Being, without completely understanding all this immediately. At that time any kind of discussion was impossible for me.

In conclusion I give here the first part of an address by blind Whaits in the late evening of March 12, 1922. He addressed the uŭwĕ́ala, including myself, in an impressive, soft voice as we sat in a semicircle on the ground in front of him, attentive and thoughtful:

"In olden times a man left the čĕ́xaus hut and went a short distance away. Outside he died. Later another man found him dead /884/ and told about it in the Great Hut. Then the people said to him: 'Why did you not bring this dead man in?' He replied: 'That one is dead forever. He must remain under the earth. It is Yetĕ́ita!'

"Now I want to tell you uŭwĕ́ala everything that I was taught and I shall tell you all the secrets that I know. Carefully guard these confidential words and do not say anything about it to those who do not yet know the čĕ́xaus. Everything that goes on here is an important matter, and no one may divulge any of it. Just as we [adults] and all the old people of former times have

/894 cont./

guarded this secret [the proceedings in this Great Hut] and just as I myself, now an old man, have never talked about it, so you, too, must keep deathly silent; this illusion [as though Yetáita really lived in the earth] is necessary. We must teach the alwáala that there is a Yetáita, so that they will be seized with fear and trembling. But we tell them this only so that they will believe in it. For that [this false belief] is good for them! -- Now you know it [the true situation]! But beware of now saying: 'Everything here [in the čiéxage] is illusion.' If you were to say that, others would take the wrong view and might laugh scornfully and say: 'Everything here [in the čiéxage] is a great fraud. One doesn't have to act according to what one is told there!' Therefore, be absolutely silent about Yetáita (307). But beware of

307. In this explanation the idea is again expressed that this evil spirit does not really live, but is only conjured up as an apparition for the benefit of the candidates. The latter are told about the special purpose of this procedure and are given the whole truth. But in order that this scary device does not lose its efficacy and will have its effect on the children who are later pledged to the initiation, no one may talk about the deception practiced on each candiate. They are very serious about this matter, as we have emphasized in footnote 305.

Wataxinéiwa, that is the real Yetáita (308).

308. This means that Wataxineiwa threatens and punishes as a truly living spirit, in the way that this is maintained of Yetaita who, however, is only an invention.

"A person wishing to eat may not lie on the ground but must sit up, for Hačéila (309) sees you; he observes everything that

309. The uncommon reference here to this

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Kina spirit is given as a warning in the way they usually refer to Wateminiwa and Tenaita. The meaning behind the whole sentence is that the candidates must never think that they are unobserved.

is given [as rules] here. One who wishes to eat must always have permission. Here you may not eat whatever you wish or desire, but only what is served you. The trees will see you [if you eat something that is against the rule]; they were once human beings and took part in the first kina festival (310).

310. This reference is to the great upheaval in connection with the women assembled for the secret Kina celebration. See Guninde (b): 337.

"It is not permissible [for uwala] to throw [stones] at birds. If anyone does this, his arm will grow cracked (311). No one may

311. The candidates are in this way forbidden to start roaming about freely or to lose the solemnity of their stiff bearing when they go into the woods or along the beach unsupervised.

drink water /885/ before he is permitted. A person [an uwala] going through the woods and hearing a sound should not look around. Even if someone should call him or frighten him, he should not look about, least of all if a boy [who is not uwala] tries to lure a girl. Never imitate the akkix (Turdus magellanicus, thrush) [in its chatter], for it carefully observes the uwala (p. 726), and because it chatters, it tells everything [that it has heard from you] to the other birds. Anyone going through the woods should be silent and tend to his work along a straight path [without ambling about].

"You must grasp firmly the wood you have gathered so that [in carrying it] nothing falls down. Place it upright near the hut

[Errata indicates this should read "yamalatamuna" in place of "Kina" — Analyst]

/885 cont./

and do not leave it lying on the ground. Arrange it well, otherwise one piece or another that is upright will fall over. Such things happen and it means: the wood that falls over warns to warn us that we shall soon die! If you have gathered wood in the forest, do not forget to tell it that you will come after it tomorrow. Tomorrow other people may perhaps pass there and not see the wood [which you have not yet removed] until they stumble over it. Then they will say: "Who in the world left this wood lying here? That man will soon die!" If the [illegible] gathers wood he should set each stick upright and say to it: "I shall fetch you later!" This comforts the stick and it is content. But if the [illegible] says nothing at all and goes away silently, the stick that has been set upright feels hurt. To the person who has gathered wood and carelessly left it lying on the ground it will say reproachfully: "Why don't you come after me?" And it will threaten him: "You will soon die!"

"A candidate who [inwardly] feels unwell and sad should take a [beech] twig with new shoots, place it on his head for a few minutes, and then gently tap his head with it on all sides. That will cause the pain and the sadness to disappear.

"From the day you get married you possess a wife. Do not watch too closely if others come to visit your wife; do not show jealousy. Be quiet and do not be suspicious. If your wife should behave badly and give herself to another man, do not kill her, but rather let her go her way. You may never beat or mistreat your wife. If you murder her, neither you nor your family will live long, for you, too, [you and your family] will be murdered.

"As soon as you have your first child, and also when additional children are presented to you, be careful in eating and consider our customs (p. 502). Also avoid the 'harmful places.' If you are in the canoe, you may not throw the left over bones into the water or /886/ eat ordinary things. Choose good things to eat. During those days [before and after the birth of your child] do not use the sling, otherwise your child would remain bald or another of your children would die. If you break the calcareous shell of a sea urchin, the child will be born with a flat head. A young mother should not split wood, otherwise she will split the skull of her newborn infant. She may not break the bones nor the spinal column of birds, otherwise her child will become a

1: Gamido--749 G-6 (1908-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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cripple. Do not eat the meat of the loggerhead duck, álakuš (Tachyeres leucocephalus), that you will prevent your child from becoming lazy and slow-witted (312).

> 312. These precepts obviously apply to both parents immediately before and after the birth of each child, particularly and most urgently their first-born. See further details, p. 312.

"Be industrious in your work. As soon as I finish these words, hasten into the woods without delay and do not wait until you are requested to fetch wood. You can see for yourself when the firewood is used up."

In his further admonitions old Whaits strongly emphasized the greatest respect for tradition and the prevailing law.

The individual decrees set forth here form the main ideas of the ušwala teachings. The reason they fill up so much time in the evenings during the long period of the čiexaus is chiefly because of the way they are presented by the ušwala kinana. He not only speaks slowly, but repeats the same idea several times in succession; he makes long pauses and weaves in frequent references to his own experiences. Frequently he also searches his memory for things he has observed in the candidate with regard to this admonition or that virtue or vice, and he describes with great precision what each one should strive for and how each one must adjust himself. Nevertheless, the fact is that the ušwala kinana sets forth the prevailing principles of conduct strictly dogmatically, without frequent and special consideration of the personal needs of one or another of the candidates. The latter procedure is left to relatives and friends.

The teacher almost never prolongs his address beyond an hour. When he comes to the end, he requests each candidate to go back to his place beside his sponsor. Then each ušwala meditates on the words which he has just heard from the old man, until his sponsor specifically permits him to lie down to sleep (p. 710).

3. The More Important Principles. The educational goal that the parents aim for in the dwelling with their own children and the

/886 cont./

881 one that the adults aim to achieve in the Kina but with the
867 uwala are identical. The rules of conduct that are set up in the two situations likewise coincide. The immature child is told briefly and definitely what he must do and must not do; he is won over by well-meaning persuasion to do his duty. It is different with the candidates in the /887/ initiation who are offered rational arguments and are made to realize the consequences of their actions, for they are supposed to act out of conviction. Of the principles frequently mentioned we shall here mention only the more important ones; furthermore, certain standards for judging the conduct of the individual will be set forth.

X881 Remarkably often the exhortations, whether they come from
867 the teacher or from another person, point to personal honor. The
156 following allusion is repeated again and again, almost word for
554 word: "People will commend you and say you are a good human being!" Indeed, the sense of honor is highly developed among our Yamana. Anyone who touches them here strikes their most sensitive point. Hence everyone makes a serious effort to acquire a good reputation and undoubtedly performs some good deed only in order to be thought of as honorable and blameless. Many a person will make a considerable sacrifice, remain silent during a verbal battle between others, forgo eating in spite of hunger, give away a valuable object, perform work for an aged man whom he dislikes very much, and do many other things merely so that he will be generally regarded as a paragon. To be the object of sad reproaches would humiliate any one of them to such an extent that he would avoid contact with those who knew about it perhaps for a period of years and even live alone in obscure retreats. There is a danger here that the conduct of the individual may turn to duplicity and hypocrisy. The way of life, however, counteracts this effectively, for neither falsehood nor deceit can permanently hide behind its simplicity and transparency.

X881 Closely allied to this is the explicit reference to the con-
867 siderable and evident punishment that, according to the belief
626 of these Indians, the Supreme Being inflicts upon a guilty person.
761 Specifically they mention a long illness and, even more frequently, premature death. A person who wants to avoid the latter or who does not want to be punished by the loss of his

/887 cont./
X 881 children should be particularly zealous about getting up early in
867 the morning. To die young is generally regarded as a punishment
626 for laziness or for some other misdeed that a person has been
761 guilty of. Thus, one who wants to attain a great age carefully obeys everything that has been lawfully valid among the Yamana from time immemorial.

If the references to personal honor and to the worst of all
X 881 punishments have the effect of actual threats, the following rules
867 of conduct emphasize the strictness of duty for subjective reasons.
577 Foremost is the reference to indiscriminate helpfulness. Everyone must, so to speak, render voluntary service to all others and must seize the first opportunity for performing services and favors of all kinds. This altruistic duty is not adequately fulfilled by gifts and presents; actions and work are also demanded. The candidates are definitely told that they should keep their eyes open and be on the lookout for every opportunity to be of service to others. These opportunities /888/ occur every day. They should seize them without being asked, that is to say, out of inner willingness. A person who needs something almost never asks for it.

To this category also belong the suppression of one's own desires in favor of others, the relinquishing of personal advantage, and the sacrifice of one's own comfort. The individual should be ready to perform voluntary services first of all out of consideration for himself, for in this way he makes others indebted to him, and they, out of a sense of justice, will repay him in like manner and will help him. Here the principle of self-love shines through again! It is extremely pleasant that every friendly service for others is supposed to be performed quite inconspicuously and quietly, as though taken for granted or as though this properly belonged to the daily round of duty. In my long association with the Yamana I had almost daily demonstrations of this.

The inner value of this attitude, which, in itself, is praiseworthy, is considerably increased by complete unselfishness. To
[431] give gifts to others without expecting anything for oneself, to invite others to a meal, to give others of one's booty, all this is part of the true Yamana. Anything that anyone needs and would like to borrow should be given to him without fuss. No one expects a reward for work he has performed for kinsfolk and neighbors.

/888 cont./
They are content to have helped a neighbor and thus to have enhanced their good reputation. Incidentally, however, they provide for themselves a guarantee of being helped in like manner by their fellow-tribesmen.

The above virtues are practiced not only by kinsfolk and friends among themselves, the ~~children~~ are also emphatically taught to show them toward strangers. They give specific reasons for this, not the least of which is that strangers will express themselves in laudatory fashion among their own people about those persons who have been helpful and friendly toward them. They also consider the fact that new arrivals in unfamiliar territory find it incomparably more difficult to help themselves or find their way around than in their home region.

This is usually linked with the general and surprisingly strict demand for courtesy. We Europeans with our self-exaltation would scarcely suspect this virtue among such much maligned savages! Nevertheless the attention of the ~~children~~ is specifically drawn to the proper way to sit. One should be particularly polite to visitors, least of all is one permitted to start a quarrel with them. With a gentle gesture they are invited to sit down in a favorable place and to take whatever happens to be roasting in the fire.

Courtesy extends to respect for everything that is old. Esteem for the customs of the tribe and the entire body of tradition must come from the heart of every Yamana. Accordingly, he is very punctilious about this and avoids any adverse criticism. Even when no one notices him, he lives according to the custom of his ancestors. He hands /889/ it on to his children and emphatically defends it among his fellow-tribesmen. In recent times, if Europeans presume to disparage mockingly this or that convention, the Yamana usually has no defense against the insult but to get away from the audacious offender in obvious haste.

It is not enough to hold the traditional institutions, principles, ideas, and conceptions in high esteem; a very special form of respect is no less due aged people of both sexes. Young people must be quiet and reserved in their presence, yield to their decisions without contradiction, and show greater willingness to serve them immediately. It would be very insulting to ridicule

/TOD cont./

them, to laugh at their helplessness, and to express oneself impatiently about their strange behavior. The words and advice of the elders merit extra consideration on the part of young people.

Only a person who through constant training has achieved a certain amount of self-control is capable of practicing all these rules of conduct. This favored virtue is recommended to its most diverse aspects. The Yamana demand that everyone control his appetite and his gastrolomism, that he suppress fits of rage and impulses toward hostility, that he conduct himself modestly in front of visitors and in a friendly manner toward strangers, that he patiently bear the boring behavior of an aged story-teller and occasional disturbances by strange children or strange dogs. Women and girls should be retiring in their behavior and above all keep their eyes in check. They should be faithful to their lawful husband even if he has long since deviated from the right course.

Only a few of the principles of conduct from the rich spiritual treasure of the Yamana have been assembled here; many others can be taken directly from the wording of the instructions to the ufwala. The ones given will suffice, however, to show the superior level of Fuegian wisdom in education (313).

> 313. The teachings and educational principles that have been set forth in these pages agree very well with the unfortunately brief account from the pen of Reverend T. Bridges in 1861 (p. 64).

4. Application of a Few Principles. Everything in the way of directions and admonitions that the teacher and many other persons offer the candidates surprisingly sound very fine. Our Fuegians are not content with that, however, and as capable educators of youth, they demand that as much of this as possible be forthwith put into action and practiced. They begin doing this even in the Yaghan hut.

The amazingly severe exercises of self-discipline which are binding on the ufwala consist of unbroken silence, a motionless sitting posture, constant reflection, the forbearance to overcome hunger and weariness, and willingness to listen to oft-repeated

/Yao cont./

[illegible]

[illegible] and their criticism. They /[illegible]/ are set into the woods alone, where they must take the shortest path and walk along gravely without talking to one another. They are watched from a hiding place. If they have succeeded in capturing an animal or have gathered manioc and fruits, the adults accompanying them sometimes begin eating these things on the way, while the hungry candidates watch this enjoyable repast. In the [illegible] but they must often wait a long time between meals, so that their willfulness is completely crushed. They are purposely left squatting in an unpleasant place on a special burden (p. [illegible]), and adults even put small animals on their backs to force them to attract self-control (p. [illegible]). Not until the last one of all those present has been taken care of may they have a little of what they have previously distributed, of which individual persons return something to them.

Our otherwise so simple Yaounde have thought up all kinds of trials of patience for the young people they are trying to educate. For example, a girl who is just having her face painted is intentionally moved by having an adult purposely creep by her quite closely, push her and knock her over. Meanwhile an old man or a [illegible] says to her: "I can see very plainly how angry you are and how you are seething inside, wanting to hit back at the one who is tormenting you. Control yourself! Here you may not give vent to your anger as you would like to do. Do not dare forget yourself, we would thoroughly tame you! Of course you do not care for these words of mine, but you'll just have to listen to them. Just control yourself, there will be many other things you'll have to endure (314)!" It is no less difficult for many sensitive boys

> 314. For these sentences I am indebted to old Black who in general behaved very quietly and was a man of gentle disposition. Other persons who are lively and inclined to vehemence use irritating and scornful words.

and girls to be loudly reprimanded in front of all those present, and this usually only for incidents that must be regarded more as due to childish lack of understanding than as transgressions.

/890 cont./

Closely connected with practice in self-control is equally frequent practice in unselfishness. In the Yáhgan hut the ulwala, in a manner of speaking, loses himself completely. He is unconditionally dependent on the will of the other participants, for he must obey everyone without contradiction. He must perform various tasks, and occasionally the adults wait purposely for unfavorable conditions in which to have these done. Then, at the bidding of the leader, he must gather and bring in the necessary firewood. He is most likely to be sent into the woods for it when there is a storm outside and it is raining heavily. If there are many people in the Great Hut so that the adults do not have enough room near the fire, the candidates must let themselves be pushed back against the wall of the hut. Here they do not get the radiating warmth from the fire and besides feel more the cold air coming in from outside.

/891/ If the center space of the Great Hut is needed for greater freedom in dancing, the ulwala are ordered to the exit of the hut where they must crowd together. Even for sleeping at night they are permitted only the space that is required for lying sideways in the crouching position. A candidate who unconsciously stretches himself in his sleep is immediately forced back into the narrow space by his sponsor. The ulwala is merely told: "Everyone must learn to get along with the least possible space, so that other people will also find a place (315!"

315. The Yamana of most recent times have become very lenient about this demand of old. Neither I nor the other candidates were hindered by the indulgent Santiago from comfortably stretching out. Although the space was small, we could nevertheless partly rest our legs on the outer edge of the wide place where the fire was. Inasmuch as the Great Hut in Puerto Mejillones was a good 11 meters long and there were nine people on one side and 11 on the other, it is easy to calculate how much each of us could stretch out. The fact that the Yamana are small in stature does not make much difference.

/891 cont./

Two years before, Alfredo, who was a strict leader, did not generally permit laxity with regard to the regulation. He made no exceptions, even for me.

In the matter of eating, the candidates are even more sharply held to the practice of unselfishness. Adults are regularly served their meals first. If it happens that after the food is distributed there is nothing left for some of the uŭwĕala, the adults do not worry about it, but let them wait until the next opportunity, without comforting or pitying them. Frequently the boys and girls go hunting and gathering to replenish the supply of meat for the many participants. They are required to bring absolutely everything to the Great Hut, or rather, to the cookhut and place it at the disposal of the adults. No matter how hungry they are, they may not eat anything on the way. They would have no opportunity, since they are almost always accompanied by adults. In any case, they are so thoroughly intimidated that they observe the prohibition even when they are alone.

In general there is no preparation of food or roasting of large quantities of meat in the ĕĭĕxam hut. As soon as the uŭwĕala have brought in the fruits of their industry, the girls take their filled baskets along the two rows of participants and shake about two handfuls of berries, fungi, or mussels into the lap of each person. When each of the girls has made the rounds, she sits down in her accustomed place. It is only now that one woman or another gets up, goes to the girl, and returns a few small pieces. Now the latter, along with the adults, may roast and eat what was given to her. Outside the Great Hut the boys cut up the birds and sea lions they have caught. Inside each of them goes along the two rows of adults and puts a piece of meat at the feet of each one. After all have been served and the last bits have been distributed, the uŭwĕala squats down in his place. /892/ Usually his sponsor or even another man lets him have a small portion, as a token of acknowledgment, so to speak, which only now may he eat.

A person requiring something that he does not happen to have simply borrows it from an uŭwĕala without further ado.

/892 cont./

867 One evening during my first initiation, Nelly stepped into the Great Hut just as the dancing had begun. Since she wanted to take part, but had no dance staff, she simply took one from the nearest candidate and began swinging it in her hands. The candidate was obliged to remain seated and forgo the dancing. Later I saw an old man who had lost his hapaxēl simply take this article from the head of the candidate sitting opposite him, and he kept it until he lay down to sleep in the evening. Chris explained to me: "An uswáala should feel honored if an adult uses one of his things!" The candidate must be prepared to have taken away from him, without demur, even the pieces of skin with which he covers his own body if an older person needs them.

Moreover, the adults repeatedly give the candidates an opportunity to practice what in general may be called devotion to duty. It is well known that they must squat motionless in their places until their sponsors permit them to lie down to sleep, usually not until after midnight. Sometimes, at a signal from the leader or overseer, all the adults crawl under their covers earlier, and the sponsors, too, pretend they are fast asleep, but for hours they secretly observe their candidates to see whether they are sitting motionless in their painful squatting position.

Our Yamana place particular stress on the exercise of strict, continued silence. Sometimes they send the uswáala, unaccompanied, to a particular place in the forest. Here and there, however, a man in hiding closely observes their conduct. They are intentionally brought up to believe that they are being watched everywhere. A few days before their installation, a man leads them into the woods. Here they must address the trees as though the latter were living persons and introduce themselves with the following call: "uswáala hāia hāi (I am now a candidate)!" Subsequently they conduct themselves respectfully in the forest and avoid chattering (p. 731). At the conclusion of the čiexaus celebration they again step up to the trees and announce to them that their trial period is now over (p. 838). Sometimes they find it necessary to say something else, but always this must be done in a low voice and as briefly as possible (306).

306. This rule generally also applies to the adult

/892 cont./

X881 867

participants, as we shall point out specifically below (p.780), although this obvious duty has already been referred to several times.

The leader and each sponsor expects from the uŝwāala quick and blind obedience to every order. It would never occur to a boy or girl to contradict or to show indolence. Sometimes strong measures are taken against their defects of character and obstinacy, but they may not show how rebellious they are inwardly /893/ and how their sense of honor has been offended. As a mere exercise in obedience a candidate is sometimes wakened in the middle of the brief period of sleep permitted him, in order to squat in his place for about an hour; afterward he is allowed to sleep again, but in the morning he has no right to rest longer. One or another of them is sent out in rainy weather or in the dark of night; he is left standing for some time under a tree. After he has been brought back into the Great Hut, he must first sit at the entrance before he may compensate for the cold and dampness by sitting beside the fire. Alfredo explained the purpose of these measures to me and said briefly: "By means of such [exercises in obedience], the obstinacy of young people is broken and later on they will more easily follow what is customary among us Yamana!"

This point of view will explain best of all why our Fuegians are remarkably strict about punishment. Minor offenses against the rules and involuntary movements which usually are due merely to carelessness are criticized with terse, serious words and characterized as major transgressions. Sometimes they are punished the very first time. Entreaties or excuses are not allowed. Mercilessly the culprit is sent to a narrow place next to the exit where, for a day or even two days, depending on his offense, he is deprived of every scrap of meat and swallow of water. It is bad enough just to sit there, for the cold air from outside pours in whenever anyone lifts the scrap of leather covering it, and this is repeated often if there is much traffic. Moreover, this is farthest away from the warming hut fire. Some uŝwāala have their sleep cut down to three hours for several nights, so that they will lose all resistance and become completely exhausted. Even in the cold of winter an uŝwāala will be put outside for some time in order to

/893 cont./

X881 wean him from the habit of comfort and softness.

867 Punishment is meted out either by the leader or the sponsor. The parents of the one who is being punished, who are present, would never take sides with their child against the rigors or against false condemnation, for as uswāala in the čiéxaus hut, their child is beyond their particular jurisdiction.

X881 Whatever a candidate must endure through the tortures mentioned above is felt directly and very painfully, but reference 869 to the Supreme Being, to Watauinéiwa, is of higher moral value 776 as a foundation for the prevailing order and respect for the whole čiéxaus institution. Watauinéiwa is regarded as the originator of the youth initiation and hence the stern guardian of everything that takes place there. The leader specifically spoke of this several times to the candidates at the very beginning: "Everything that goes on here in the čiéxaus is not a Yamana affair (317);

> 317. This means that the initiation was neither invented nor arbitrarily shaped by the Yamana, but that its actual originator is the Supreme Being mentioned.

it comes from /894/ Watauinéiwa! He made known to our ancestors how we should celebrate the čiéxaus! We conform to that very precisely, because he watches closely!" In the last analysis, anyone who is guilty of negligence acts in opposition to the institution created by Watauinéiwa himself. Therefore his name is constantly interwoven with the admonitions and is even mentioned in connection with the most serious punishment, namely, untimely death. Here in the initiation the adults teach the uswāala sincere piety. Usually here for the first time Watauinéiwa presented to them as the great law-giver and the avenger of all evil. The training in the čiéxaus rests on this religious idea. Every candidate is supposed to become familiar with this idea here, so that in his later life and action it can be a support and a warning, a guide and orientation. "Watauinéiwa čikáia kalakanāa sakumāsu (the 'old-one-up-there' watches you, you sluggard [and will let you die])!" The veneration that is due the Supreme Being keeps the Yamana here, too, from repeating his name more

Y 881 869 776

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often than is absolutely necessary (318). No matter from what

> 318. Again one should remember that it is not here in the initiation that the candidates first become acquainted with the Supreme Being. They have often heard his name before in their family circle, and on other occasions, too, they have had their attention called to his personality. Belief in Watauineiwa is a general concern of the whole tribe, from which even immature children are not excluded. For example, everyone, even every young person, is freely admitted to the great ceremonies of mourning at which everyone's attention is temporarily directed to the Supreme Being.

point of view one regards the training procedures of our Yamana, he must judge them as surprisingly purposeful and intelligent. They have a thorough understanding of human nature, and they make use of it in their treatment of young people.

5. Myths and Tales. The above statements unequivocally bring out the close connection between religious faith and moral obligation in the youth initiation. Watauineiwa, a personality who has been familiar to the candidates from childhood, is presented to them here as the one from whom not only many obligations originate, but also the institution of the ciexaus.

In contrast to this are the oft-repeated, conspicuous references to the so-called evil spirit, known as Yetajta. Heretofore the boys and girls have learned nothing about him, for he is as a threatening apparition. As we know, a younger man appears in the role of Yetajta, amid the yelling and howling of those present, directly after the candidate has been led into the Great Hut, and the candidate is dreadfully frightened at the very beginning of the affair. This apparition struggles with the chap and torments him until he is completely exhausted. When he is trembling in every limb and is unable to offer any resistance, he is induced to look more closely, whereupon he recognizes a person familiar to him, one of his /895/ kinsmen who will henceforth remain at his side

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X881 869 776

as his sponsor (p. 701). This candidate and the other uśwāala now hear in so many words: "The one who appeared here in the shape and outward guise of Yetāita is not really this evil spirit. Yetāita is far worse and more dangerous. Beware of him: he takes everyone who is insubordinate and disobedient!"

In the course of the admonitions given to each candidate, the teacher at first repeatedly threatens them with this apparition. The favored wording is: "Be obedient, comply carefully with everything we charge you to do here in the Great Hut, otherwise Yetāita will cause your untimely death!" A no less frequent warning is: "Beware of Yetāita who is always watchful. If he sees that you are lazy and indolent, he will make you completely exhausted and you will die!" Punishment by this evil spirit is also predicted in case a candidate talks about the things that go on in the čīxaus hut and betrays them to minors.

In collusion with a sponsor, a man will inconspicuously knock on the ground. Immediately the sponsor will ask his protégé: "Did you hear Yetāita down there in the earth?" Full of terror, the candidate says he did. Sometimes his face is meanwhile covered with a scrap of leather and then the knocking becomes even more mysterious. He is made to believe that Yetāita is bumping his head from below against the layer of earth directly under the place where the candidate is sitting or under the Great Hut in general, and that is his knocking.

The people outside the Great Hut, like the candidates, are also kept in check by the threat: "Yetāita will devour anyone who approaches our Great Hut or who acts disrespectfully!" They are likewise taught that whatever anyone carries into the hut in the way of food is immediately devoured by Yetāita. Outsiders therefore believe that this evil spirit exercises unlimited power in the Great Hut and is very much to be feared (319).

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319. In view of this, "Yetaita" is very much like an omnipotent female spirit known as "Xalpen," who in the Kloketen ceremony of the Selk'nam men rules everything and every individual with ruthless great power (Vol. I, 916). Among the Yamana, however, these threats are directed only toward children, for

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the few adults who remain behind in the camp to supervise them know all about Yetaita and the food in the Great Hut.

Whoever enters the čiéxaus hut is hailed with a loud call of hó ho ho. This tells the people outside in the camp: "This person disappears into the Great Hut and falls completely under the power of Yetáita!" These shouts are repeated in the same manner when wood or food is brought into the Great Hut; they say: "All these things are for Yetáita who confiscates them for himself."

The following custom is also intended for the candidates. At long intervals, usually after an excited dance by all the participants, /896/ the leader violently hurls himself flat on the ground, props up his face with his hands flat and turned up, and with unusual force yells a howling sound against the ground. This is supposed to signify that Yetáita has been driven so far away from this place that it is as though he were dead. Nevertheless, the uswáala must continue to fear this evil spirit, for he will return. Occasionally during the dance when the adults move upright back and forth, they will also ward off Yetáita by means of circular motions with their hands flat and arms outstretched. At the same time their heads are bent toward the ground and their eyes stare fixedly at the ground. Afterwards they act freer, as though relieved, as though they had rendered this evil earth-spirit harmless and pushed him off far into the distance.

It is difficult to determine the exact significance of Yetáita in the general world of ideas of the Yamana, for his personality is variously conceived by this person or that one. I talked in detail about it with Chris, but I could not find out whether his conception is shared by the majority. He explained: "Our ancestors demanded with extraordinary strictness that the uswáala observe all the rules of the čiéxaus. They were emphatically warned against talking about their experiences in this Great Hut and threatened with serious punishment by Yetáita who lives in the earth. The very fact that we tread on the same earth brings each of us very close to him. We shall never be able to lift ourselves up into the air and live up there. We are glued to the earth, as

X881 /896 cont./
it were. A person who disregards what we tell him, who becomes
869 lazy and bad, will have something like earth sticking to him.
776 This something will make him weak, dull, tired, and he will die in a very short time. Everyone who reveals the happenings in the čiexaus hut can expect the same [fate]. Our ancestors used the following example: 'Behold the cormorants! There they sit pressed close together on high rocks along the shore. They are also conducting their čiexaus. They discuss their way of life and their duties, each one adjusts to them. Thus they live together (320)

320. This means that their life together is possible and their living assured on the basis of dutiful, definite conduct. -- It is extraordinary for the Yamana that reference is made here to an example from the animal kingdom.

and find their food. When their young leave the nest as fledglings, they at first follow their parents for a while. Later they enter their čiexaus, where they are taught and are attentive. If a young one stays behind and does not join its parents, it does not find anything to eat by itself. It does not learn properly how to obtain food; it becomes weak, cannot follow the others [the adult birds], and soon perishes. After all, they must be obedient and follow everything faithfully, then their life is secure and they have enough to eat, they are gay and happy. In the same way the uswala must let themselves be taught by the old people and must adjust to everything [to all regulations].'

X881 "But a person who pays no attention to this is, as we have
869 said, punished by Yetaita /897/ and taken away by him [through
776 an untimely death]. It is good to implant the fear of him in the candidates! For now they will more faithfully follow all the
198 teachings and will live as good, industrious human beings. That is why they are often threatened with this villain! Finally the uswala believe that he is really present. The old people strengthen this belief of the candidates by all kinds of delusions. For example, they pretend that Yetaita makes his voice heard (321). This

321. This is done in the following way. A man places himself flat on the ground and leans his face

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against his hands which rest on his little fingers and encircle his mouth. This creates a small hollow space into which he yells a long drawn-out, howling sound. At a slight distance this sound seems to come from the interior of the earth.

Sometimes this howling is interrupted by a quick drumming on the ground with both fists. While this hocus-pocus is going on, all those present remain motionless. Beforehand the heads of the candidates have been covered with a scrap of leather.

helps to increase their fear and terror. Later, if they take part in an initiation, they plainly see (322) that such calls only come

322. Now, as adults, they are fully qualified participants who may carefully examine everything that takes place.

from the men, who in this way conjure up Yetáita for the uwíala. This realization does not destroy anything for them now, for they are already on the right path, which they will follow in the future also" (323).

323. This is supposed to mean that the fear and terror implanted earlier in the candidate through the appearance of this evil spirit were not without effect, but put him so firmly on the right path that he will not deviate from it even when he recognizes the true nature of this scary device.

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I should like to insert here a remark for which I am indebted to old Whaits. He pointed out that one must respectfully esteem all the decrees of the cíexaus. "A person who does not hold this opinion is devoured by Yetáita who sits in the earth. We teach outsiders this wholesome fear so that they will not approach the Great Hut; we threaten that they will be seized by this spirit.

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It is necessary to create fear, for a person who is made to be afraid will carefully observe the prevailing rules. That is why we often refer to Yetájta!"

After Chris expressed his view, I set forth my misgivings: "Why do the old people emphasize a fear of Yetájta, when in reality it is Watayinéiwa who really punishes?" He replied: "In olden times much more than now the fear of Watayinéiwa was inculcated, for he is always the mightiest one, that is, much stronger than Yetájta. The latter appears in the kina. The participants of the kina celebration maintain that he lives in the earth and devours human beings (324). That is why [in modern

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324. In the men's secret ceremony the Selk'nam maintain the same thing about Xalpen, the female, omnipotent spirit (see footnote 319).

times] we implant fear of Yetájta in the candidates of the čiéxaus. In olden times here in the čiéxaus, fear of Watayinéiwa was impressed on the uswála, for he /898/ is the mightiest. Yetájta is also called tánuwa (325); that is the name for Watayinéiwa.

325. The meaning is "my dear old man"; according to BD:421, also "(My) father, my old man" /cited in English/ (in the familiar sense). BD adds by way of supplement: "A being personified in the ceena [kina] drama, was supposed to come up out of the earth, he was an old man and did not come forth and leap about but lay still in the ceena and beat the earth and brayed" /cited in English/.

They are one and the same, only now we say they are different persons" (326). I inquired further: "How can you reconcile that,

326. Unfortunately I could not find out whether Chris was expressing a general opinion. If so, we can see in his words the confusion that a later body of ideas brought into the previously

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pure conception of the Supreme Being. Some misgiving about this explanation arises from the fact that Chris saw the men's secret ceremony for the first time along with me in the year 1922.

since Watauinéiwa is after all in heaven? He is called 'the one up there,' 'the old one in heaven,' and so forth" Chris was not at a loss for the answer: "Certainly Watauinéiwa is up there. He looks down from up there, however, and he punishes here on earth. So he is also on the earth! He reaches and punishes every lazy and good-for-nothing human being. In recent times the Whites have told us that there is a devil (327). Now we say

327. Later Chris said, by way of supplement: "This devil is also harmful to human beings and punishes them, so the Whites say, although there is, after all, a God."

Yetíita, as though he were different from Watauinéiwa; in olden times, you see, both were the same."

I am indebted to Calderon for the following clear summary. Without being asked, he explained: "Here in the Great Hut we constantly repeat to the uwíala: 'Down there in the earth lives Yetíita with his wife. Beware of him!' He is not fully made known to the young people until they are [mentally] mature, that is, when they have come to the čéxaus for the third time (328).

328. The first and second time they take part as candidates and are encouraged in a false belief. It is only afterwards, as full-fledged members, that they may follow each action with open eyes.

To threaten the candidates with Yetíita has its advantages! We do not tolerate a ne'er-do-well among us, one who gets up late [in the morning], who does not work, who is a burden to others. We say: 'Yetíita will soon take away such good-for-nothings!'

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X881 In order to give strong emphasis to the admonitions, Yetā́ita is
869 mentioned again and again.

"Of course, besides that, there is also Hidā́buan; he is
776 the strong one who actually punishes. Everyone must be particularly careful of him. But all that is taken for granted and that is why Hidā́buan is less frequently mentioned in the čiéxaus (329).

329. "Hidabuan," like "Watauineiwa," is a name for the same Supreme Being.

Here we want to make our teachings and admonitions to the candidates effective; that is why we threaten them with Yetā́ita. Our men give all the calls that the uswā́ala attribute to him. The young chap takes this into consideration after he enters the Great Hut for the third time, but previous to that, out of fear of Yetā́ita, he has been set upon the right course [of fulfilling his duty]. Later he is told that only men produce these calls. Then he says to himself: /899/ 'Hitherto I thought Yetā́ita called out from the earth!' Nevertheless, he remains on the good path, to which he has by now become accustomed."

[885] After the candidates have been dismissed from the second youth initiation they are legally adults. In general, except on special occasions, they do not receive further instructions or exhortations. Hence Yetā́ita is not mentioned outside the čiéxaus hut.

X881 In the mythology of the Yamana the tales concerning the
869 actual bearers of culture, named Yōálox, and their family have
773 a special place (330). In olden times this name was scarcely ever
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330. Here we should say in anticipation that among these Fuegians he embodies what the hero "Kwanyip" does for the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581). Both have created important institutions and prescribed the norm of life, so to speak.

mentioned to immature youths before their initiation (p. 178 /untranslated/); the girls heard it for the first time on the occasion of

/899 cont./

X881 their menarche (p. 575). In the čiéxaus, one or another deed of
879 the Yoflox siblings was told in more detail as a sort of first intro-
773 duction. Only the young men who were permitted entrance to the
538 kína learned the complete cycle of tales. When, at my repeated request, old Alfredo revealed the Yoflox cycle of legends to me as he sat in a circle of men, he emphasized: "Actually we tell these things only at the kína celebration." It is also regarded as a rare exception if men among themselves speak at length about this hero. Women avoid it in any case. In front of uswāla adults now and then will say: "The manner in which we Yamana should conduct ourselves [= the entire body of moral law] has been arranged by Yoflox!" Thus he is regarded more or less as the bearer of the decrees of Watauinčiwa to the Yamana.

On the other hand, the legends of more general content are treated differently. They are in large part repeated in the čiéxaus hut. It does not matter whether there is an obligation to tell them to the candidates; most of them actually are told, some even repeatedly. The decisive factor in this connection is the presence of persons who are able to tell a story well. They are urged by the rest of the participants to offer this or that story. If someone present knows the same story with some variations, he feels impelled to speak up also. If the čiéxaus celebration lasts a long time, many an older person will call for a repetition of the stories that were told at the beginning or that were particularly well liked. No matter what the procedure, the uswāla actually hear almost all the myths current in their tribe. They may have become familiar with some of them earlier through conversation in the dwellings.

At least one or two stories are told by the leader or overseer personally at each initiation, and he does it in a strong, clear voice so that everyone can understand him. Now and then he must offer this kind of variety to those present, /900/ either personally or through a suitable storyteller. They listen in suspense. Meanwhile the customary singing of several persons ceases; only very softly one person, perhaps supported by another, will audibly hum the melody apart from the storyteller. The adult participants in particular do not want to miss the enjoyment of hearing their old legends well told some evening in the čiéxaus hut. At the

/900 cont./

same time the uŕwʒala are introduced to this treasure. It cannot be denied that significant rules of conduct or customs, as well as good or evil deeds, are elucidated on the basis of many an example from a legend. Therefore the stories to some extent also serve the chief aim of the čiŕxaus, to train the young people.

γ. Work Drills

A surprisingly rich store of teachings and precepts, principles and rules of conduct, and excerpts from individual experience and from old legends are offered the candidates at the initiation. We see, therefore, how the long period during which they are together is filled. The experienced educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with theoretical instruction alone, however. They insist on practice and drill under their supervision. They are constantly affording the uŕwʒala an opportunity to transform into action the teachings and principles put before them, inasmuch as the best rules are of no avail if they are not practiced. When I openly thanked Alfredo for what I had learned in my first initiation, he said to me in a friendly tone: "Certainly, everything that goes on in the čiŕxaus hut is very good. But we Yamana are happiest if the uŕwʒala conduct themselves throughout their lives as we have taught them in the čiŕxaus!"

The young people entering there as candidates are at the age of maturity, that is to say, shortly before their marriage. Soon they will have the care of a family and the duties connected with those occupations which, according to the prevailing division of labor, fall to each sex. The community of fellow-tribesmen wishes to guarantee that the family soon to be established will really be prepared for life, that each of the two young spouses is equal to the problems of family life. The old people express it specifically: "In the čiŕxaus we ascertain the degree of manual skill possessed by each uŕwʒala. Whatever he lacks in the way of capability, he must acquire here!" For example, in some families the boys are given too little opportunity for independent hunting because the father personally does the main work. This deficiency is corrected in the initiation. Without discrimination,

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boys and girls are enlisted and forced to take part in all kinds of manual work.

1. Exercises for Boys. Among the Yamana the man's sphere of duty is definitely defined. Since each individual and his family /901/ are completely on their own, they must be capable of supporting themselves. Hence, our Fuegians reason, everyone must have a certain degree of manual skill. They mean by this the considerable dexterity and assurance required to stalk and obtain game animals. In particular it is a matter of surprising seals, getting close to cormorants in their rock cavities, and aiming for the best possible marksmanship in the use of their weapons.

This necessarily also includes an effort to increase fearlessness and courage in the young chaps, for both these qualities are sometimes strained to the utmost in a battle with large sea mammals. Our Yamana have learned through reliable experience that a critically high degree of dependence and timidity, cowardice, and fear persists in many chaps as long as they remain in the parental hut. The cikaxa should and wants to do away with all this. In each person it usually inculcates enough awareness of self so that he can stand on his own feet, confident of his personal power, as soon as he is dismissed from this training. The remarkably severe pressure on the ulwala for self-control which is engendered by the strict daily procedure (p. 753) is sensitively and consciously tied in with this goal. The person who has himself completely and firmly under control is master of the arsenal of all his powers.

Making the boys more capable is a specific and necessary aim of the training period. They actually do receive useful instruction which is supervised by the ulaitekuwa, or the overseer. There are no definite rules about which men are to be appointed to this task. It is customary for an uncle or an older cousin to devote himself to the ulwala during the entire cikaxa period in case the sponsor is unable to do so because of advanced age or physical infirmity. Ordinarily the sponsor himself performs this service. He is free to decide how often and at what times he arranges exercises for his protégé. He also decides whether one or another skill must be further developed. Sometimes these men get together and exchange views about individual candidates, at

/901 cont./

the same time agreeing on common undertakings. In these discussions the leader finds out what is being done in the practical training of the ufwala and gives his opinion on it. Despite extensive freedom in this area, there is no lack of supervision and control; the young chaps are sufficiently drilled and made proficient all around, and no one is neglected or slighted.

One can quickly and easily describe how this practice is actually carried out. Formerly, when the youth initiation lasted for months, at least two weeks were allowed to elapse during which time the ufwala became accustomed to the program in the Hut. After that period and after the overseer has been notified, on any day or at any time of the day or night, the spouse summons his protégé, and the two set out /902/ for the beach or a rock where the exercises begin. Whether several men have taken the ufwala or only a single one is alone with a boy, the latter must throw the harpoon hurl his sling or shoot his arrow in the presence of his teacher, depending on what has been planned. The teacher provides the weapons and knows how to handle them well. An old basket or a root of the large brown algae serves as a target. Naturally, a place is chosen where women or children would scarcely ever come, and teacher and pupil remain here for several hours. The men compare the achievements of the boys and discuss the progress of the individual. Practice with one weapon or another is repeated until the ufwala has learned to handle it skillfully. As a rule the men are more exacting in their judgment than need be.

Only after the candidate has learned to use the weapon properly and easily does the spouse begin to familiarize him with the methods of hunting. Each animal has its peculiarities which the hunter must take into account. The Yamana know this from long experience and they pass this knowledge on for the benefit of the younger generation. Accordingly, in hunting and trapping they not only adopt the most advantageous and the safest method, but this method remains the same throughout the centuries because, under the given circumstances, it cannot be improved (p. 210).

It is difficult for the young chaps to kill the very adroit sea lion in the water, whereas it is easier to overpower it on land.

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It is fascinating for them to climb around on rock walls where they plunder the nests of cormorants. In any case, however, it takes long practice and trained dexterity before each one has acquired adequate proficiency in this or that method of hunting. The older men exercise a great deal of patience with the uǐwǐala; and again the candidates must try first one way and then another. They are stimulated and encouraged; some of them are helped with much extra care. Time finally brings progress and ultimate success. I was sufficiently convinced about these details during my first initiation. In view of all this, it no longer seems strange that many a cǐexaus celebration lasted for months.

The attempts to rid a cowardly lad of timidity and fear are more serious. He is accompanied into the dense forest at night or taken to a lonely island where he is left by himself and obliged to hold out until he is called for. This procedure, with some changes, is repeated until the uǐwǐala promptly goes anywhere he is sent at any time of night (331). It is not customary among

331. This demand is certainly strange, for it is only on rare occasions and for serious reasons that one of these Indians decides to leave his hut at night and go a great distance.

the Yamana to frighten him in any /903/ way out-of-doors. About one thing, however, the men are implacable, and that is to rid a boy of the last remnant of cowardly fear, even if it takes a long time.

2. Exercises for Girls. There are no great differences from what I have just described for boys when the female uǐwǐala in the initiation are introduced to the manual work and occupational duties that fall to their sex in the family hut. They only need training here to supplement what they learned and practiced on the occasion of their menarche (p. 567). Moreover, at home they have much more often been called upon by their mother to co-operate fully in the work, in other words, they have been more thoroughly initiated into all manual skills than is the case with boys of the same age. They now take up whatever remains for them to learn.

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One of the girl's closest women relatives who has known her for a long time and is attentively concerned about her, together with her sponsor, gives her the necessary instruction. The leader of the ʔáxaus celebration is satisfied to know that no girl lacks the customary practical education. He leaves to these two women the details of how they handle the girl, all the more so since actually he does not in any way interfere with matters pertaining to the female sex. This much is certain, these women are no less serious in their drill of the girls than are the men with the boys; in fact, I had the impression that they are much more petty and insistent than the men.

Actually the exercises for girls are restricted to careful and industrious assistance in the women's work of obtaining food. They get the large mussels that are buried deeper, dive down to the shallow sea-bottom and catch sea urchins, fish with the line and bring up large crabs with the crab fork, get birds' nests in the thickets and on the ground, and gather fungi and berries, all under the direction of the women accompanying them. This work, too, demands dexterity and skill which must be learned but which does not require as much exertion as the hunting exercises of the boys. Instead, the tasks of the women are generally much more annoying, if we think for example, of the protracted wading in cold water. Besides the task of gathering food, the sponsor sometimes gives her candidate the easy manual work of plaiting small baskets and ornamental chains. This, however, may only be done outside the ʔáxaus hut when in good weather and after the food gathering they permit themselves a little rest and diversion out in the open.

All the instruction is regularly given in few words, very quietly, and, even more, with patient waiting for the result. The uwʔala obey their teachers with confidence; contradiction or disobedience would be unthinkable. A slight amount of effort by the sponsors suffices for the girls because they bring all kinds of experience and /904/ skill with them to the ʔáxaus hut. They help to provide food all the more efficiently and, together with the boys, make this work easier for the adults. It requires no little effort day by day and without interruption to feed a large number of participants for long weeks in the Great Hut.

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The [illegible] training is designed to enrich the candidates mentally, to discipline their character, and to give them manual skill. It attains this goal through weeks of effort and tenacious persistence. The young people, after the conclusion of this training, begin a life of self-sufficiency and independence from the parental family by establishing their own household. They have been reliably prepared to fulfill their important duties as husband and wife, as father and mother, as full-fledged members of the tribe. For its part, the community can now have full confidence in the new family which will soon be founded. This richly rewards the old people for all their care and efforts for the [illegible], since the perpetuation of the prevailing way of life and the dominant principles seems assured. The entire training process itself with its many individual aspects is also pleasing to the European; effective training methods are employed in beautiful proportion, without torture, repulsive hardness, and cruel brutality. The clarified, purely natural element in the training skills of our Fueglans has given them very fine and rare results throughout the centuries and up to the present time.

4. Daily Program for the Adults

Obviously the [illegible] institution is thought of first of all as a vitally important schooling of the candidates. In any event the need of the members of the tribe for social life is fully taken into account, and the consciousness of their solidarity is strengthened anew.

It is undeniable that, aside from all other considerations, the adults at certain intervals are seized by an inner urge "to celebrate the youth initiation once again!" This, and in no other way, is how they show their strong determination to hold fast to the old tradition, to renew themselves in it, and to hand it on in its entirety to the growing generation. Consciously and unconsciously they are governed by the power of the good things of old. That is why they do not let the [illegible] secret sink into oblivion; they safeguard it from the disrespectful eyes of Europeans and, even today, fight off as much as possible every relaxation of the burdening principles.

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They zealously see to it that every grown child without exception experiences the spirit and meaning of the initiation, as though the stability of their tribal life would be strongly shaken and the pattern of their social life broken up if some young person had no opportunity to do this. They believe that they have done a service to the people as a whole if, from time to time, they loudly demand that this event take place. This is the /305/ deeper meaning behind the continual urging of old people for the Tjilunga celebration, the necessity of it for the adults and for the society itself. It is not exclusively the duty of letting boys and girls experience it. As a result, the participants accept without demur anything in the way of unpleasantness and restrictions of their liberty that happens to them when they enter the Great Hut. All of them are animated by the strong desire to conform exactly with the important obligation handed down from early times. He willingly endures all the physical exertion demanded by the daily program and the curtailment of personal freedom that every participant voluntarily accepts.

It seems to show an insistent spirit of pertinen that these Pangkala in our day dare not relax any of the rigid formality of the prevailing order. With perverse unreasonableness they pay strict attention to what is important and what is unimportant, so that nothing is diluted or mitigated, nothing is distorted or omitted of all that has been handed down. They have lived and still live in the conviction that only a relentlessly rigid pertinence to the traditional pattern will ensure the continuance of their ethnic unity.

If, nevertheless, in the last two decades many things have been given up or curtailed or changed for the sake of the new spirit of the times, this has occurred as a result of the manifest knowledge of the younger people that their tribe is already in the process of dissolution. Today even the youth initiation could not bring about the firm cohesion of fellow-countrymen on the traditional basis of former times. With deep insight Nelly once complained to me: "The former strict order has for some time disappeared from the Tjilunga, we Tarnuna will not last much longer (as an ethnic unit)!" The experience of the vast world of primitive peoples confirms the fact that as soon as obligatory social

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arrangements devised from the traditional order, even at single places, their very essence is endangered and sooner or later they break up completely. This is also a sign of the simultaneous decay of the social order and the whole spiritual wealth of such primitive peoples.

At the eleventh hour I was privileged to experience the original mirrooma and the secular spirit of the Tjilungo celebration on the occasion of my first initiation in 1928. Even at that time, however, allowance was made for the physical weakness of the candidates and for many comforts which had become second nature to the adults. Two years later Ilintinga, as the leader, held the reins of the daily program very much looser. The older people not only deplored the excessive leniency, but were quite openly ashamed of it; for they realized only too clearly that they themselves, with their lax comforts, were digging an early grave for their traditional tribal heritage. Nevertheless, my two participations in the Tjilungo gave me fair insight into what this affair means to the group of adults also.

/NS/ C. General Regulations

It is well known that every Tumala who has twice gone through the Tjilungo ceremony as a boy may thereafter again take part in it with all the privileges accorded the adults. He is, of course, bound to the regulations as long as he is in or near the Great Hut. Everyone knows the meaning of this arrangement. To begin with there is no danger that anyone will risk obvious infractions against some regulation. The participants watch each other carefully and one is an example to the other in the gravity of his outward appearance of composure.

Inasmuch as the Tjilungo is a common undertaking, everyone must on occasion put his energy at its disposal. Younger persons help with the building and initial furnishing of the Great Hut and later on with obtaining food and supervising the candidates. These and other services are performed by each one under the jurisdiction of the leader, for even the adults are subordinate to him so that order is maintained and the ceremony will proceed

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X881 621 without interruption. Although he does not exert any noticeable pressure and does not in any way state his requests to individuals as though he were commanding them, nevertheless no one would ignore a wish that he expressed. If a participant should not like something, he is always free to withdraw from the čiéxaus.

In the Great Hut one can sometimes see amazing examples of powerful self-control. Occasionally one person will subordinate himself to another or this one will get together with that one, although formerly both were bitter enemies. Everyone puts aside all personal considerations if service for the community or the launching of a common enterprise demands it. For example, shortly before the beginning of the čiéxaus in March, 1922, Calderon had a serious disagreement with Santiago who was much older, but Santiago had scarcely initiated the preparations as the leader before Calderon, too, was following his slightest suggestion. When he was asked about the sudden change in his behavior, Calderon frankly admitted: "The rule is that among us Yamana everyone in the čiéxaus must obey absolutely!"

X881 805 Dependence on the leader is all the more necessary since there are no definitely determined, specific divisions of the day. There are, of course, general regulations, but the Yamana do not decide beforehand what is going to take place at one hour and what at another, what is to come up now or later, how each one is to conduct himself. In this celebration, too, our Yamana are true creatures of the moment, entirely dependent upon their moods. It would be unthinkable and a hopeless undertaking to try to put our freedom-loving Indians on a kind of schedule. The leader is, so to speak, constantly present in a supervisory capacity; he superintends the running /907/ of the whole, directs one person here, another there, and demands this or that service. It is due to the unconditional obedience with which every participant submits that the initiation proceeds without friction.

X881 788 Throughout the weeks of the čiéxaus a varied ceremonial runs its course, which has probably taken shape as a result of the natural disposition of the Yamana. Above all they demand the facial painting (p.788) without which no one formerly was allowed to sit in the Great Hut. A person who offers something or who has accepted something must observe a fixed formula. For example, the uswála who bring the fruits of their hunting or gathering into

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X881 788 the čiéxaus hut immediately begin distributing them. Each one places himself in front of an adult, moves whatever he holds in his hand up and down while uttering a soft hóhohohohō, and hands it to him. He receives it and in doing so repeats the same motions and utterance. Women and men who give something to another person observe a similar formality, as do the kitchen women in distributing the meal. A person coming in with something which is not passed on to others holds the object at shoulder-height in his upraised hands and capers around the room with it two or three times. For example, this is the behavior of women with a bundle of rushes which they have gathered outside and need here for plaiting baskets. Before a person takes the first bite of a piece of meat, he raises this, too, up and down a few times with a soft hóhohohohō. If someone steps into the Great Hut or leaves it, several people sitting near the entrance repeat this hóhohohohō. The singing must never cease completely, not even during meals and during the night's sleep. During the singing everyone must put on his hapaxél and hold his dance staff in his hand; if he goes outside he leaves both articles behind. Before the arrival of one of the customary groups of visitors, all the inmates renew their facial painting. If a few of the men go to the cookhut to visit the women there, they take along something for them, usually a little basket of ashes or glowing charcoal, even a burning stick of wood, for anyone who pays a visit must always bring a present. We shall mention below a few other ritualistic customs.

X881 626 The deeper reason for the unconditional submissiveness of all participants and for their zeal in faithful service is their great respect for the traditional čiéxaus arrangement and their insight into its universal social significance. They also regard their participation as a real duty, not only as enjoyment or as a good opportunity for a thorough exchange of ideas. There are no punishments for adults, for the simple reason that they are not necessary. Everyone knows, in any case, how carefully his way of life and his conduct are everywhere observed and discussed by the people at large. They minutely inspect important and unimportant details in connection with each person. In the čiéxaus hut particularly the individual is subjected to open observation and to the

X881 /908/ strict judgment of others. Even if he lacks the urge toward
626 devotion to duty for its own sake, he at any rate practices it for the sake of his good reputation, which means a great deal to everyone.

X881 Despite the almost complete lack of a daily schedule and the small amount of authority exercised by the leader, there are a number of circumstances that naturally combine to make all the participants work together in perfect harmony and strive toward the twofold goal of this institution.

B. Special Formalities

X881 The adults retain their personal freedom of movement only
577 to a certain degree. No one permits himself to make mistakes, although generally one cannot say what is and what is not permitted. It is a matter of general observation that the older and the very old persons are much more serious and concentrated in their conduct than middle-aged persons. This indication of decline goes back to
[177] the relaxation of the original strictness, for the most part a result of European influence.

An unwritten law regulates the behavior of the adult participants in this affair. Each person learns it from the example of the old people, without any special instructions. The leader keeps an eye on each one. He does not need to warn or admonish, but he does occasionally call upon one person or another for the required services. Each one is dominated by his determination to help in order that the traditional formalities be observed, even though it costs him personal sacrifices and the surrender of his own comfort. For the sake of order, everyone conducts himself irreproachably in the Great Hut and takes part in the common tasks, in song and dance.

1. Outward Calm. The adult participants regard their stay in the ciexaus hut as a period for collecting one's thoughts and deep meditation. They also absorb the admonitions and teachings imparted to the uswala. They recall their own period of probation and in their memory they renew the solemn pledge that they gave the overseer at that time (332).

332. Probably this oft-repeated self-reflection

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X881 577 is why almost all the adults can recall without a gap the exhortations that they received when they were candidates. Compare the examples given above on page 724.

X881 577 524 Their own desire is directed toward undisturbed self-reflection which is possible only through an enduring silence. Long conversations in the čiéxaus hut are not permitted. One may say whatever is necessary, but always briefly and in a low voice. This is done in such a way that it hardly seems as though a person is requesting something of another or asking his neighbor for something. Persons who are sitting farther /909/ apart resort to [201] unobtrusive signs. The čiéxaus hut is not the place to have a heart-to-heart talk or to chat. Nevertheless, since olden times it has been regarded as proper for related persons or friends to visit with each other, and during the first few days most of those present take advantage of this freedom. One person will leave his place and sit beside the person with whom he wishes to talk. He chats inconspicuously and in a very low voice, afterwards creeping back to his place. The hours just before and after the noon hour are chosen for these visits, but the conversation is usually terminated after a brief hour.

A person addressed by an outsider sometimes lets him know how annoyed he is to have been torn from meditation. He will answer briefly without relaxing his attitude of concentration. To begin with everyone is careful never to approach a person unless it is absolutely necessary. The late afternoon hours until shortly X881 before the nocturnal dances and games are a period of especially 577 serious concentration. This is also the time for the instruction of the candidates, during which the adults, without exception, are very quiet. During the forenoon when the uswáala are sometimes practicing outside the Great Hut or are busy getting food, one or another of the old people will devote himself to some minor manual occupation, and some of the women will occasionally look after things in their dwellings. Inside, however, the same calm prevails as during the afternoon, and anyone meditatively pursuing his own thoughts will not be disturbed.

X881 As for the candidates, they are expected not to move at all 577 (p. 707). Even the adults, however, maintain an almost motionless 516

/909 cont./

X881 posture. Everyone stays in the seat he chose for himself at the
S77 beginning, where he remains quietly and stiffly, avoids all un-
516 necessary movement, and almost continuously stares into space in front of him. He does not turn his head in all directions nor does he move his whole body back and forth. Even at night when the dances are going on, no matter whether a single person is moving about or several at a time, some persons continue to concentrate in their squatting position and do not even lift their eyes. A person who is doing some urgent manual work avoids making any kind of noise or noticeable movement. If someone would disturb his neighbors by making something, he must leave the čiēxaus hut to do it. The individual has every right to expect that his reflections will not be disturbed in any way by other participants. Everyone is concerned about this even before the start of the affair.

X881 With the same purpose in mind, the leader gives his in-
S77 structions to individual adults only in brief, unobtrusive words or
201 solely by means of signs. All of them are very good at this and there is no misunderstanding. The sponsors communicate with their protégés in the same way; even outside the Great Hut, in the chores and exercises, they limit themselves to only the most necessary words. A /910/ stranger can hardly believe how many thoughts, wishes, and directions these children of nature reliably communicate to one another by means of inconspicuous signs.

X881 2. Sleeping. In other respects, too, the adults quite no-
S77 ticeably restrain themselves by giving in very little or not at all
513 to comfort. In his own dwelling, as we know, everyone stretches out on his bed as he pleases, rolls from one side to another, and exuberantly extends his limbs in all directions. Here in the čiēxaus hut, however, a person does not dare behave in even a slightly relaxed fashion. If an old person now and then becomes very tired, he lies down, curls up, and remains motionless. He is gladly permitted a brief rest. Younger people must remain upright during the day.

Our Yamana are unfamiliar with the pressure of a schedule because they are dominated primarily by the mood of the moment. The entire group of participants does not get to sleep until

/910 cont./

X881 the individuals have calmed their inner excitement at the dances
577 each evening. These are the occasions when everyone is free
513 to get up and, to the accompaniment of the dance movements,
[152] loudly pour out his feelings and impulses. Sometimes this is done with profound, trembling emotion. Accordingly, it is late before those present can lie down to sleep, but they can do so earlier in case they have spent the day in tiring work and hunting. When quiet has been restored after the final lively dance movements and everyone has resumed his place, the leader, with a
[198] vigorous, drawn-out hṓ ho ho ho hō, gives the sign for the night's rest. They all join in the same call and, in a somewhat softer voice, repeat this hṓ ho ho ho hō. Immediately most of them wrap themselves in their covers and lie down to sleep. One or another of them will remain seated if he feels so inclined and continue the customary song in a low, soft voice.

X881 Their sleep is not entirely quiet, however, for the song may
513 never cease entirely and the many people lie close together. Our Yamana are used to this. In the early morning the candidates are awakened by their sponsors and immediately sit up again. After another one and a half to three hours, about six o'clock, the adults get up. The leader himself gets up when he thinks it is time and again gives the long, lusty call hṓ ho ho ho hō which he made the night before as the signal for going to sleep. At this summons the others also end their rest (333). The general move-

333. This happened at my first initiation in accordance with the old custom. Two years later, lively Santiago awakened the candidates, including myself, at about five o'clock with a thundering voice. The adults were allowed to sleep for another good hour, while a few women arranged the feeble fire.

ment in the Great Hut rouses the last sleepers. Everyone immediately gets up, straightens his sleeping-place, and squats down
X881 again. /911/ He rubs the sleep out of his eyes with his finger
515 and then combs his hair. This is the whole of the morning toilette. Formerly most of the people went outside to a brook and washed, the uswáala being accompanied by their sponsors. Nowadays all

X881 /911 cont./
the younger people wash with soap in the morning (334), usually
[515 177]

334. They have adopted this habit from Europeans, and they cling to it even in the Great Hut.

in front of the Great Hut. A few women busy themselves with the long fire and make bright flames leap up, while the men join in the continuous singing and give themselves up to their thoughts. [513] The night's sleep lasts only six to seven hours.

X881 3. Meals. Formerly during the ciexaus celebration the adults were also obliged to observe some restrictions in eating, as they 264 personally saw fit. To this day the Yamana uphold at least the rule that all food must be prepared exclusively in the secondary hut. In former times the kitchen women brought a meal from there to the people gathered in the Great Hut only twice a day, namely, a bite a few hours after arising and abundant portions toward four o'clock in the afternoon. The sponsors arranged it so that their protégés were usually not led outside before the first meal and that they were again present during the second. In case an adult missed the meals, he was permitted to go to the cookhut and receive something to eat there. It was not customary for extra food to be distributed in the Great Hut for latecomers after these two periods.

X881 In general the Yamana eat rapidly and even more so during the čiẽxaus celebration. Food is brought in from the cookhut as 264 secretly as possible. Since the preparation of the food cannot be 869 hidden, the adults and, above all, the children outside in the camp who do not take part in the celebration are led to believe that it is devoured by Yetáita or by other spirits (p. 761), but not by the inmates (335). In order to carry out this deception, at a

335. At the end of the celebration the candidates actually do appear very weary and weak when they come back to the actual camp and they are quite generally pitied (p. 829).

certain time before the meal a few men and women inside the

/911 cont./

X881 Great Hut shout: "We have been very hungry for a long time, the spirits take all the food for themselves and quickly eat it up!"

264 In order to convince outsiders of the supposed hunger of the

869 inmates, individual persons will go out and crowd around the secondary entrance without leaving. At the same time they act as though they could not wait until the kitchen women arrive and as though they wanted to make sure of getting a goodly quantity before the food is brought into the hut and the spirits pounce upon it. Finally the kitchen women approach. The vessel in which

[415] the food is brought was formerly a leather pouch, a little basket, or a bucket made of bark; today it is a bowl /912/ painted red and white. At the entrance the persons who were waiting outside crowd around them, apparently from hunger, but the kitchen women squeeze through, and as they step into the Great Hut they call out the hõhohohohõ in a moderately strong and high-pitched voice. All the inmates respond loudly and enthusiastically. The uǰwáala have had their heads covered in plenty of time, and now one of the men roars and pounds against the earth to impersonate Yetáita. At the secondary entrance where the kitchen women enter, the vessel is hastily drawn in, as though the evil spirit has been avidly waiting for it. Several women are standing ready here, and they immediately pour the food into another vessel and quickly toss the empty, painted bowl outside with a great racket. They do this very conspicuously for it is supposed to announce to the people standing outside that Yetáita himself, with inimitable haste and greed, is devouring the whole meal. To the outsiders the inference is supposed to be that within the few minutes from the time the kitchen women enter until the bowl is tossed out the abundant amount of food could neither be distributed to the people present nor consumed by them and the vessel emptied. Almost at the same time a few men within loudly call out: "The kéǰpiǰ [spirits] alone have eaten all the food. Again there is nothing left for us!"

While the adults in the Great Hut eat merrily, albeit hastily, the uǰwáala also consume the few bites that the sponsors hand them. Meanwhile, however, their faces remain covered. They are supposed to go on believing that Yetáita is at least taking part in the meal, even though he does not devour it all alone. While they

/912 cont./

X881 264 869 eat, the adults try to make almost no sound. Meanwhile the candidates, well covered with pieces of leather, are sent to the area near the secondary entrance, for they are not supposed to realize that the other people are eating. Before the cover is removed from the faces of the uǰwā̂ala, all the food remains which could arouse suspicion are removed. Meanwhile the uǰwā̂ala are told: "Every glutton or lazy person falls as prey to Yetā̂ita and is devoured by him!" Thus we see that this opportunity, too, is used to increase the candidates' fear and terror of Yetā̂ita.

If, in the course of the day, the adults wish to take a few extra bites, they hang something over the faces of the uǰwā̂ala or cover their faces entirely with a piece of leather. Some person while eating will throw a piece of meat into the fire and say in an audible voice: "This is for Yetā̂ita!" This, too, is supposed to encourage the candidates' false belief in this spirit.

X881 264 The actual meal is soon disposed of, for scarcely anyone has his fill. When a person eats he grasps the piece of meat with one hand, and with his other hand closed in a fist, he makes a rolling motion of the arm toward another person who is likewise eating or to whom he has given a piece. /913/ This gesture is supposed to indicate that one courteously extends an invitation to the other and is enjoying the food in his company.

Now and then, when the mood strikes the leader, a special delegation is sent from the čiē̂xaus hut to the cookhut to fetch something to eat between meals. The leader and two or three men selected by him break into the customary general singing with a very loud, high-pitched xox three times. This is repeated at intervals and finally sounds like hōxox̄. For the women in the cookhut it means nothing less than an urgent request to prepare something quickly which they can hand over to the delegation. Again, a few minutes pass and the hōxox̄ is repeated. Finally the two men dash out of the secondary exit, hasten to the cookhut, and disappear inside.

One evening I saw them take along a painted pot. Amid [272 262] continuous calls of "hōxox̄" it was filled with coffee for them; at the same time other women impaled a large loaf of bread on a pointed stick and placed it in the hand of one of the two men. With this "booty" they hastened back to the čiē̂xaus hut where they

/913 cont./

X881 were received with a loud hõhohohohõ. Immediately the coffee
264 was poured into another vessel and the painted pot was promptly and noisily tossed out of the hut. Although it could not be seen from the camp, one could at least hear it come banging out. The other man danced through the hut several times with the stick bearing the large loaf of bread before it was cut into pieces. Such an extra meal refreshes the people and stimulates them to more lively singing.

X881 Aside from these rare occasions, a delegation is appointed
264 and sent out by the leader on some days at the time of the regular evening meal, while the inmates are dancing. As we know,
535 they hold their dance staffs crosswise while they are dancing. Thus, when the two or three men leave the čiẽxaus hut at the proper moment, they dance over to the cookhut maintaining the same tempo, one behind the other, and swinging their dance staffs with rolling movements of their hands and arms. They do not enter, but the women there hand the food out to them, hanging the little basket of mussels, a large piece of meat, or a filled leather pouch on their dance staffs. As they return to the čiẽxaus hut, the dancing men constantly swing their dance staffs up and down, in spite of the burden. Whatever they bring is hastily received at the Great Hut, usually through the entrance before they step inside. The loud yelling and furious knocking on the ground are supposed to announce that Yetãjta is taking all the food for himself and disappearing with it into the earth. Without delay the little basket or the small leather pouch is again shoved on the proffered dance staff of the men, but instead of food it now contains ashes or a glowing stick of wood which they bear to the cookhut in dance step. They may /914/ not appear there without a return gift; indeed, they come purposely to bring it in recompense for the food, as it were. They conspicuously pour out what they have brought at the entrance. This proves to the people in the camp that the food brought over from the cookhut was quickly removed from the container and pulled into the čiẽxaus hut, but that the bearers themselves did not get any of it.

X881 All the food remains to the last trace are destroyed in the
264 fire immediately after the meal, partly out of cleanliness, partly in order to further the belief that Yetãjta alone consumes all the food that reaches the Great Hut. Outside visitors are admitted

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X881 244 into the čiexaus hut for a short time, because they must not have any occasion for suspicion.

An individual does not help himself; the distribution is made by the kitchen women who bring in the food already prepared. Usually an older woman appears, accompanied by a younger one. The latter carries the pieces of meat or the mussels. The former stands in front of each person squatting in his place, reaches into the basket of the woman accompanying her, grasps with both hands whatever is to be distributed, and first moves it up and down, meanwhile uttering a low hō hō. Then the person takes the piece of meat or the mussel in his hands, moves it up and down in the same way, and repeats the soft hō hō. The kitchen women move along both rows of participants, give something to each one, and return to their hut next door (336).

[415 177]

336. Recently the kitchen women have used European food and prepare the meal in large buckets or metal containers. They serve the food with ladles and give each person his portion on a plate or in a bowl. Nowadays everyone who enters the Great Hut is provided with these implements; he therefore makes use of them when the occasion arises.

They do not personally serve the uswala but give the sponsors somewhat more, and they, in turn, let their protégés have a little. Everyone immediately eats what he has received and forthwith cleans his plate of scraps. He is content with what was given him; to ask for a second helping would be a regrettable example of lack of self-control. Actually, the adults, too, must always forgo full satisfaction.

X881 356 4. Cleanliness. It is certainly noteworthy that our Yamana who, in general, show a limited sense of cleanliness are not guilty of offenses against it in the čiexaus hut. Everyone is painfully exact about removing all the food remains after the meal. Immediately after he gets up in the morning, he straightens out his sleeping-place and folds the covers that he does not need during the day. At least once a day all the

/914 cont./

X881 356 participants paint their bodies. Spots of color and everything indicating that such painting has been done are removed without delay. Anyone coming to the Great Hut finds no traces of painting nor any indication that eating is done here. The fire-area, too, is /915/ carefully kept in order and the ashes always scraped to the center again if a gust of wind or a strong movement has stirred them up (337).

> 337. Formerly the ashes were scraped together with a stick; today a broom is used and the floor swept, regardless of the thick clouds of dust stirred up. Often the ashes are simply heaped up with both hands.

These efforts at cleanliness are not applied to the body itself. Without doubt the participants become even dirtier in the Great Hut where they spend a long time. This offends no one.

X881 301 [178] 5. Body Ornamentation. Everyone, on the other hand, is conscientiously concerned with whatever is demanded in the way of body ornamentation. In the modern period, however, this strict obligation has also been somewhat relaxed. Originally everyone in the čiēxaus hut wore the feather crown, hapaxēl, even when no group singing or dancing was taking place. Although on these occasions adults nowadays tie this strip of skin with down-feathers around their foreheads, they take it off for comfort several hours of the day. This would never be permitted for the uswāala. The latter wear a hapaxēl of the same shape and size as the one worn by adults (p. 713).

X881 302 [178] According to the ancient rule, no one may sit in the Great Hut without some kind of facial painting. In this matter, too, the people nowadays have become negligent, for they paint themselves for the most part in the evening only, just before the dances. A single red line as wide as a finger from the nostrils across the cheek to the ear lobe suffices, and it is very quickly applied. Soon after getting up, instead of washing themselves as we do, every adult draws this line on his face. If it should be rubbed off, as is unavoidable, it is easily renewed. This is the simplest form of facial painting. A person who feels like it will decorate

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/915 cont./
himself somewhat better during the day; at least he does so in the late afternoon before the group dances begin.

Choosing one's ornamentation is a matter of personal taste and sense of beauty; the inspiration of the moment leads to one choice today and another tomorrow. A few basic patterns are expanded and varied in one way or another. Figure 85 shows the facial painting of women in the three upper heads and that of men in the three lower ones. We present only these few examples. In Drawing a, note a broken red line at the level of the eyes, ten fine red lines under each eye, and five on the nose. This is very much like Drawing b, where seven thin red lines are drawn under each eye and three on the nose. Drawing c is another variation; the whole face is painted red, and the white lines are then applied on this background. The latter ornamentation is generally used by the inmates of the čiéxaus hut when they expect outside visitors. In the next three examples of ornamentation a white background is first applied, upon which red lines are drawn according to the patterns reproduced in Figure 85. /916/ Sometimes the candidates are also decorated in this way. Now and then, in a fit of enthusiasm, someone will crush a little piece of charcoal and rub the fine powder all over his face and over his simple line paintings. Another person may do the same with white chalk powder.

In former times people were not satisfied with this ornamentation, but extended it to body painting for the nightly dances. /Fig. 85 appears here./ It was easily accomplished in these days because the body covering was very scant. Reminiscent of this is the men's present custom of rolling up their sleeves above their elbows and their pants above the knees in order to paint the exposed parts of these limbs. For their part, older women lay bare the entire upper body, including the arms, rub it with white color, and draw thick red lines and red dots in various arrangements upon it. Formerly this decoration was continued on the lower part of the body.

Since the painting must be renewed daily, considerable amounts of red and white pigment, namely, ímí and tumarápu, are used during the long period of the initiation. Everyone provides himself with sufficient amounts ahead of time. A person

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X881 302 who uses the latter pours the fine powder /917/ into a mussel shell or into the hollow of his left hand, stirs it with saliva or with a few drops of water, and smears this mixture on his body with the palms of both hands. It quickly dries near the fire and looks dazzling. In order to rub it into the hair, they use čílēr̥, a [824] small ball of fine wood shavings of Berberis ilicifolia, which is saturated with it. The red pigment is mixed with blubber, and

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Fig. 85. Facial Painting of the Adult Participants.

they use the little painting stick to draw the fine lines; wider lines and dots are made with the index finger.

Nowadays people generally deplore the indolence of many adults who are scarcely able to summon the energy for the simplest facial painting for a few hours a day. With these empty complaints, however, they let the matter rest. Formerly a glance into the čiēxaus hut must have excited remarkable reactions when the white color all over the bodies of the participants squatting on the

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floor in two rows was lighted by the glow of the fire. These white figures seemed like creatures from another world. The dull, dirty rags of culture into which the Yamana today wrap themselves have regrettably put an end to this strange and very effective costume.

γ. Song and Dance

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A person who enters the čiźxaut hut wishes above all to give himself up to self-reflection and undisturbed concentration. The disposition of human beings, however, calls for change within a certain time span, in order to refresh the spirit and give strength for new efforts. Hence almost every day is concluded with dances in the late evening.

The Yamana reveal no particular talent for either song or dance. Nevertheless, they have created a few very simple melodies in which either the same tone is repeated rhythmically or simple combinations, mostly thirds, alternate. They are not familiar with round dances or complicated dance figures, but instead, with amazing mimicry, they imitate the particular type of animal which they wish to portray. This ability of our Fuegians will be described in more detail below. Here we simply point out that particularly in the čiźxaut hut they enjoy dancing and singing to the point of satiety.

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1. The Constant Singing. There must never be complete silence in the Great Hut, either day or night. At least one person must sing in an audible voice. The reason given is that this is to prove to the spirits, especially Yetźita, that the people assembled here are awake. At the very beginning of the celebration, after the participants have assembled and have given themselves up for two or three hours to thoughtful meditation, the leader or overseer starts the low singing, other persons gradually join him, and after that it does not cease until the end of the long event. /918/ When most of the people present have gone to sleep in the late evening, some persons will remain in the squatting position and continue singing. If later on the latter, too, should abandon themselves to sleep, one of the sponsors will keep up the singing, for there is always one person awake to watch over each uźwźala.

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X 181 533

A special order on the part of the leader or a request to particular persons would be unnecessary, for all the people present are never asleep at one time. One or another of the old people prefers to spend the greater part of the night awake in order to abandon himself quite undisturbed to his thoughts, while humming to himself for hours. Thus the singing is never interrupted; as though it were passed mechanically, one person takes it up naturally from another and carries it on until he, too, is replaced without hesitation.

This type of singing is extremely simple, for it consists merely of the constant repetition of a single word with a slight deviation in pitch. Without exception, they utter a low *awij* which they repeat quickly four to eight times, heavily emphasizing the first *awij* and letting the subsequent ones diminish gradually until the final *awij* dies away completely. Each person chooses the pitch most agreeable to him, which becomes higher in his enthusiastic excitement. In the forenoon and in the dead of night the singing sounds weaker and softer, and it is loudest in late afternoon, leading into the group singing in the evening.

One must not imagine this vocal rendering as anything like an organized choir; quite the contrary, the individual suits himself in every respect as he sees fit and according to his personal inspiration. Everyone starts and stops and sings louder or softer when and however it suits him; no one pays any attention to the tempo and pitch of anyone else. In this respect the singing is a great hubbub. Nevertheless, the ear is not particularly offended because the individual rendering as such is low and sounds deep and hollow. Since everyone sings in an undertone and for himself alone, as it were, one does not, in any case, expect unison. Sometimes it seemed to me as though these people had no ear at all, since no one accommodated himself to his neighbor. This singing, however, as an expression of spiritual excitement, is strictly personal and hence cannot be in exact accord with that of another. As we have said, each individual changes his voice and the tempo and volume of his singing several times throughout the day, all depending on his inner state.

If one inquires as to the meaning and value of this constant singing, I should like to emphasize above all its psychological necessity. It seems to me to be a means for each individual to

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X881 533 hold fast to his thoughts about his own ego without any particular effort. The singing is so monotonous that it does not require the slightest attention, but the rhythm that carries it along is hammered into each one so strongly that, by means of it, he remains forcefully bound to the thoughts about his own ego, and would immediately be brought back to them should he become distracted. /919/ This evaluation explains a statement given by old Pedro: "I can reflect best when I am singing softly!" Persons who take up the singing are following their own personal urge. Now we realize why it may never entirely cease in the Great Hut.

2. Group Singing and Dancing. In contrast to the uniform singing described above, general participation in song develops in the late afternoon, accompanied by a sort of dance. This is the time when their inner agitation reaches its climax and seeks expression in voice and body movements. The singing is intensified, so to speak, to actual song. There is more modulation in the awji, the accent changes, and an actual melodic line comes in. Although it is brief, it is repeated with changing expression. Many of these melodies, which are full of moods, sound like Gregorian chants. In the final analysis they are an improved continuation of the constant, monotonous singing.

Almost without exception everyone present joins in this more accomplished way of singing; they do not all repeat the same melody together, but everyone now sings louder, with greater expression, and with lively participation. This evening song is a group affair and duty, whereas each individual loses himself in the monotonous singing throughout the day. The jumble of voices is even more confused than at other times, but still it is not annoying, since the ear involuntarily fastens upon one pleasant melody or another which takes its fancy. The impression of vocal confusion is in part reduced by the movement of the bodies of everyone present in time with the singing.

X881 535 Spiritual emotion makes the whole body tremble. The individual is no longer able to remain in his squatting position. He gets up, holds his dance staff horizontally between the outstretched fingers of both hands, and glides from one end of the Great Hut to the other through the central area where the fire is. Soon a second and third person follows. It becomes difficult to

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keep the fire going with a few glowing embers, because the center section has had to be cleared, and at times almost the entire group of participants is dancing simultaneously. The dance consists of a quiet, solemn, and yet graceful gliding motion. The body is held upright and is not stretched or distorted; it sways only slightly forward and to either side. The movement and placing of the feet in taking steps and the graceful litheness of the erect body are very important. Some women show an unexpected grace; other figures are clumsy.

The entire mass of crowded dancers moves more or less uniformly in this direction and that through the Great Hut. Here and there a person moves faster and glides past his neighbors, or one is slower and lets himself be pushed back. Often the sponsor will /920/ lift up his protégé so that he will take part in it. A few aged persons remain seated, but happily take an interest in the lively movement of so many persons. Usually the limited space inside does not permit everyone present to take part in the dancing at the same time. A few of them remain seated and wait until someone leaves the crowded cluster. Even those who remain crouched in their places move their bodies rhythmically in time with the song and with a corresponding rolling motion of their dance staffs up and down.

If there are only a few persons making the short, dance-like steps in the area of the fire, they arrange themselves in single file. The leader goes straight toward one of the exits; when he reaches it, he turns about-face and goes toward the other exit. The short row follows at his heels.

Sometimes the dancers arrange themselves in a compact knot so that each one can hardly take a step a few centimeters long. The space in which he can move is very limited, sometimes only one and a half meters. The entire cluster moves as far as possible from the spot, which inevitably presses it even closer together, and under this increased pressure each person makes a half turn, always in time with the song, followed by a movement in the opposite direction. A person can hardly hold his dance staff horizontally.

Now and then a single woman will place herself opposite a man or a single man opposite two women. Facing each other,

X /926 cont./
§33 they drag their feet, now in this direction, now in that, across the floor from one exit of the Great Hut to the other. At the same time they move the dance staff and sing continuously. This performance is a sort of competition to see who will continue the longest.

A sponsor who accompanies his protégé in the dancing stands beside him, grasps his dance staff with both hands, holds it vertically, and moves it straight up and down. This indicates that the ufwafale shall grow erect and straight and become strong and powerful. The ufwafale, therefore, joins in the same movements. Sometimes the candidate places himself behind his sponsor. The latter draws his dance staff horizontally across his back, and the ufwafale, as he dances, holds onto it with both hands, tripping along behind.

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§33 If the persons present are overcome with sleepiness from exhaustion, the leader must encourage them and stimulate them to renewed lively singing. One evening the singing threatened to die out. For several minutes Santiago remained very quiet and motionless. Then he suddenly came alive and with loud wailing began to shed tears. Aroused, he groaned in a mournful voice: "Now at last the spirit [enthusiasm] has come over me! Everyone has a part in it. Let us all go on singing vigorously!" In point of fact, this stimulation had a positive effect on everyone.

/933/ Then Gerrie stood up and resorted to the device sometimes employed to spur the indolent group to fervent singing. She picked up a burning stick, the length of an arm, and held it upright. Swaying along in time to the singing, she glided from one person to another as they squatted in their places and held the glowing end of the piece of wood very close to their faces. A shudder of fright passed through each person and thoroughly awakened him. No one would dare draw back his head, which would arouse the disapproval of his neighbors.

Another method is not quite so irritating. The few who are making an effort to sing and are being ignored by the majority grasp the upper end of their dance staffs, and with the lower tip they vigorously poke around in the fire so that the embers flare up and sparks fly in all directions. No one can misunderstand this sign, and immediately the singing becomes more animated.

/901 cont./

The leader sometimes shouts encouraging words. At that time Santiago spoke as follows: "My spirit [enthusiasm] is still alive and strong. Then I shall go on singing!" Black interrupted him: "Attention, everyone. We must sing with much more vigor!" Santiago continued: "So let us go on singing!" He himself made a great effort to stir up those present and make them take part enthusiastically. The vigorous singing lasted for 20 minutes. Suddenly Santiago cried: "Someone has painfully stepped on me. I feel very weak!" As a matter of fact, he was not feeling well at all that day. In order to make himself feel better, he jumped up and danced through the Great Hut. As he did so, he cried: "There in the land of my mother where I experienced the [illegible] for the first time, I was never stepped on. But here someone stepped on my foot very painfully. [illegible] But let us sing on!" He soon tired and slowed down, and the general singing again became weak.

It is solely the mental state of the participants and the prevailing mood that determine the length of these group performances. Anyone who has become somewhat tired, usually through being too active, sits down for a few minutes and lets the compact mass of dancers pass by. Afterward he again joins the great chance and acts as enthusiastically as before. Individual leaders inspire most of the others solely by their own attitude, and then the group singing and dancing sometimes lasts for more than two hours. Thick clouds of dust fill the whole interior of the [illegible] hut, but in their eager animation everyone disregards it.

While the singing proceeds with more or less uniform intensity, an individual is now and then seized with particular excitement. He will get to his feet as though he is furious and will move with trembling restlessness through the Great Hut from one exit to the other. In the process, a few people middling in the center are sometimes strongly shoved aside. They will say: /901/ "That person has been seized by [illegible] [spirit, enthusiasm]!" The aroused person will dance back and forth in the [illegible] hut until he is exhausted.

One evening Chanoy Mary suddenly jumped up and stepped into the center. She breathed heavily as though she were raving mad and her whole body trembled. Furiously she grasped a piece

/922 cont./

of meat in both fists and tore off great hunks with her teeth, heavily swallowing them. The other pieces that she tore off were thrown into the fire. She made a slight motion with her head and Gertie and Emilia stepped in front of her. Holding the larger piece of meat between her teeth, she let both of them tear off a scrap with their own teeth. Very much stirred, all three danced through the ʼdzawa hut, showing the pieces of meat held between their teeth. With a fixed gaze they stared in the direction in which they moved. Their frantic behavior continued until, tired out, they sought their places. The Tsimsns explain such an exhibition by saying that a great enthusiasm has suddenly filled the person, that "his belief seizes him!"

It is not a fixed rule but it is customary to conclude the evening singing and dancing almost always with the qʼaxa song, the so-called song of the yihamaf. It is begun by some person who gets up and strides through the entire room dancing. At the same time he holds his dance staff horizontally in front of him, a sign that he is asking for something. He is given pieces of meat, berries, or fungi, which he joyfully accepts, dances commendly through the hut, and gives some of these things to other persons. He keeps a small portion for himself and eats it, as do the others, with visible satisfaction. All the people present accompany the song with a forward, rolling motion of the right arm alone, or they hold the dance staff horizontally with both hands and roll it forward and upward. The singing and body movements increase until they become lively, for with this the entire performance is supposed to end for this time. Thus the qʼaxa song is a farewell to the day, a genuine evening song. It is also intended as an accompaniment for the "spirit" on their way home, for they, too, withdraw after their long stay here on this day. The arm movements, with or without the staff, are supposed to indicate the work of rowing as one glides over the waves. Since the qʼaxa song is also intoned at the end of the entire ʼdzawa celebration, these arm movements are meant to indicate the departure by boat of the many participants who now scatter in all directions.

The particular purpose of the qʼaxa song is "to attend to the spirits who have come from afar to the ʼdzawa gathering, to calm them down after their lively participation and make them

/922 cont./

X881 533 781 return, or rather, find their way back to where they belong." In referring to these "spirits" our Yamana mean in particular the memory-pictures and fantasies which take tangible form in their vivid imagination, with whom they associate in their thoughts and also converse in audible words. In the čiéxaus they feel they are in /923/ another state of mind and believe themselves to be in another world in which their imaginings appear to them as real persons. From this other imaginary world they first of all dismiss the "spirits" who have appeared and who are now returning to their own abode. After that they themselves turn back to their own everyday world by shaking off the extraordinary čiéxaus state of mind. That is why, at the conclusion of the táxer song, everyone present summons back "his own spirit" by making a wide sweeping movement with his arm and pulling it back again quickly, at the same time closing his outstretched hand in a tight fist. This means, in other words, that everyone now returns from the enthusiasm or ecstasy brought on by the singing to an everyday, calm frame of mind. In reality, therefore, the words of the Yamana about the various késpiX assembled in the čiéxaus hut do not refer to personified spirits but to a simple change of mood or a transfer from a world of very lively imagery to the passionless, prosaic activity of the mind.

X881 533 535 After the almost motionless squatting during the greater part of the day everyone regards the physical exertion of dancing and group singing as a boon. There must be such variety and it is regularly granted the uswála also. It is appropriately put at the end of the day, and directly after that the leader gives the signal for the night's rest (p. 782). Everyone sticks his dance staff upright into the ground, hangs his hapaxél on the wall of the hut, and settles down to sleep. Now it is quiet again in the Great Hut and only one or two low voices continue the uninterrupted singing.

X881 302 3. Memories of the Deceased. Let it be briefly repeated that everyone present paints himself expressly for these evening dances (p. 788). Formerly the women more than the men drew a great many patterns of red, white, and black lines in dots and circles all over their bodies; nowadays they are content to paint their faces, arms, and legs. Only a few women still paint the upper part of the body (p. 789). The facial painting of the uswála is, of course, renewed in the evening.

/923 cont./

X 881 302 769 152 Since every adult in the Ciexaus hut thoroughly reviews in his mind the events and experiences of recent years, the memory of his dead relatives is very vivid. He gives repeated and open expression to it, first of all by means of a painting executed in such a way that everyone immediately interprets it as a sign of mourning. Occasionally a person will, in his grief, very excitedly pick up a small piece of charcoal, crush it with furious haste between the palms of his hands, and in a frenzy rub the powder all over his face. This is a sign of deepest mourning over

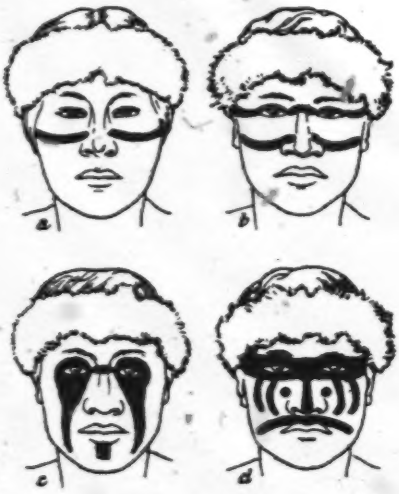

Fig. 86. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

the recent loss of a very close relative. In memory of loved ones who /924/ have been dead for some time, the face is covered with symbolic patterns inspired by an unpredictable fancy of the moment.

X 881 302 769 Figure 86 shows a few of these patterns. In a, a single black line is drawn straight across each cheek. Noticeably in contrast to this, the whole face in b is rubbed with imi powder, on top of which two medium-thick black lines are drawn. In c the unusual outlining of the eyes in black pigment and the short line below the under lip is likewise applied on a red background. /Fig. 86 appears here./ In d again the whole face is first painted red and afterward a complicated pattern is applied with black pigment. Still other

X881 /924 cont./
drawings and patterns are carried out, depending on the artistic
302 fancy that creates them. Each person present, of course, wears
769 the hapaxĕl and carries his short, decorated dance staff.

With this painted ornamentation and in memory of the de-
X881 ceased, the individual dances back and forth for a while, gliding
through the entire room. As is the case with these dance move-
535 ments in general, the body is held almost straight, the legs are
769 bent somewhat at the knees, and the feet are placed one behind
the other, close together. The left foot hops a few centimeters
forward and the right foot is pulled after it. The fingers of both
hands hold the dance staff horizontally or slightly diagonally and
lift it slowly up and down with rolling motions toward the body.
Sometimes both hands grasp the short staff held sideways and down-
ward and move it forward and backward as though rowing. It is
even grasped at the center with the right hand alone and held
horizontally at shoulder height, as though it were a harpoon. In
this position the dancing person will quickly glide along the area
of the fire, and another person will do the same in a path close to
him, but in such a manner that the two move past each other in
opposite directions from one exit to the other.

X881 Meanwhile the mourner will utter short laments. After a
few minutes he will sit down and repeat his show of grief in long
535 sentences. For example, on the second evening old Mary sadly
769 cried out while the dancing was going on: "At that time when my
152 parents, my uncle, and my aunt were still living and performed in
the čiĕxaus hut, a great many people were gathered together. All
of them knew the game well and all were enjoying it. Today we
are but a very /925/ few. We hardly know how to perform the
čiĕxaus beautifully. That makes me very sad!" On the next even-
ing I heard the following words from the same Mary: "Ah, how
poor we Yamana are today! Only a few of our people are still
living. That makes me indescribably sad. In my memory I see
the many who were with me in the čiĕxaus for the first time; to-
day I am the only one left of all of them!" She was immediately
joined by her husband Richard: "At the time when my mother
gave birth to me it was very nice among us Yamana; there were
still many people living and we were a large family. But today I
am in a very poor state, for I am alone in the world! My brothers
and sisters are dead, my parents have not been living for a long

/925 cont. /

X881 535 769 152

time, my uncle and aunt are long since gone. Who wouldn't be sad to be all alone here in this world as I am!"

Meanwhile Gertie was rubbing a lot of charcoal powder on her face. Then she excitedly rose from her place and began in a wild tone: "How sad is our lot! Last winter another of my kinsfolk died. Only a very small remnant of us Yamana has remained behind!" Then, as though mad, she glided back and forth through the Great Hut. Her sister Adelheid had drawn a single black line across her right and left cheek (Fig. 86, a) and remained squatting in her place. Both of them wept for an aunt who had recently passed away.

X881 769 152

Once old Whaits also cried out into the general singing the following words of grief: "Alas, poor me! I am completely orphaned, for last winter my very last kinsman died. Now I am alone in this world!" His wife who sat next to him sobbed loudly and wept bitterly: "Yes, it is true, you are all alone in the world! Your family had its home in the west and was once large. It is true, you are now the last of your large family. But these two Whites who have come to us (338) raise our spirits. They have

338. Very conspicuously, by glance and gesture, she points to Gusinde and Koppers.

become Yamana and are therefore related to you. So cheer up!"

Almost every evening some participant will show his grief. Occasionally several people or the greater part of them will follow this example, so that a general lamenting, weeping, whimpering, and moaning commences. After the group as a whole has calmed down, one person or another continues his sobbing until far into the night; no one stops him.

X881 533

4. Free Interjections. Proof of the complete freedom with which each participant in the Great Hut may express his innermost feelings is given by the impromptu words which he scatters through his singing. He is permitted to do this any time of day. Usually he contents himself with a few short sentences. The words of one will sometimes stimulate his neighbor to /926/ carry on the same thought or to supplement it. When almost all the people take part in the common singing in the evening, the various interjections not only follow one another directly, but also are given

X881 /926 cont./
533 simultaneously. They enliven the already excited movement still more. The spirit and content of these utterances will be shown in a few sentences which I shall give here.

X881 The people had already been loudly singing for about two
533 hours. The kitchen women enter with the meal and are greeted
264 with loud calls of hóhohohohō. Santiago, the leader, suddenly stops and simply calls out: "I am going to break off my song, for I am very tired and hungry!" Most of the people carry on the song; the rest eat hastily in order to take up the song soon after.

X881 One evening coffee is brought in very late. Everyone is
533 extremely happy about it. Every adult reaches for his cup, and
535 with outstretched arms bent only slightly at the elbow, he holds
264 it out. A few persons get up, skip back and forth, and lead the singing in a lively voice. Their gestures are lively because they are happy to be able to partake of something. They skip toward the kitchen woman with her large can, dance around her, and hold out their cups to her. As she fills each cup and also distributes bread, the others continue to hop all around her. Soon they draw away again, dancing with their filled cups, and sit down in their places. Their gay hopping is an expression of great satisfaction over the tasty drink. One of them says loudly: "How glad I am that I have been given something to eat and drink!" In a singing tone one woman cries: "Now there is something to eat and drink again; that is wonderful!" The kitchen woman who distributed food and drink brought joy and lively activity to the whole gathering.

X881 On the first evening when a short pause occurred in the group
537 singing, Santiago, the leader at that time, cried in a loud voice:
152 "Once again we have gathered here to celebrate čǐčexaus. We
609 want to do it well! This game came to us from the west; it came here from the Halakwulup. Today we have a Halakwulup (339)

339. He meant the youthful Julia who, several weeks before, had fled to the Yamana and who was invited to this initiation in Puerto Mejillones (p. 692).

among us. She will observe us carefully and afterwards tell her

X 881 537 152 609

/926 cont./
people how we conduct the čiéxaus. So we must do it particularly well this time!"

Shortly afterwards he interjected a personal remark into the song of the others: "Today two puāala [instead of palalāala, p. 333 /untranslated/] are sitting among us. We are putting on the čiēxaus for their benefit (340). We want to celebrate it well!"

340. He means by this that Gusinde and Koppers are being granted the distinction never before given a European of experiencing this secret performance from beginning to end.

On the same evening Clara also spoke up: "I have a Halakwulup [Julia] as my protégé. She is doing everything that is required of her here in the čiéxaus; /927/ she faithfully observes all the regulations and is enjoying our celebration. She came here to us because she no longer has any close relatives; she is an orphan. We are gladly taking her in; she may live among us peacefully and undisturbed, for there are only a few of us Yamana left. My family was once also very large; now not one of my relatives is still living. I alone am left, that is why I am so sad; čiéxaus!"

Afterwards Peine interrupted the singing: "I am very happy about those two Whites [Gusinde and Koppers]. They are influential men, and they respect our customs. They are proving themselves uswāala tes [genuine candidates]. They are sticking to the čiéxaus program. That is why I am sincerely sorry that they will leave us soon. They are genuinely good human beings!" She was immediately followed by Mary: "I, too, am happy that these two Whites have become well acquainted with our čiéxaus and have carefully adapted themselves to all [the rules]. They are splendid men!" Old Peine again came forward: "How sorry I am that these two men will leave us! They are heeding the order of this hut better than many of our own people!"

Once, late in the afternoon, Pedro sang a very long time. His soft legato voice sounded like a chorale. Interrupting himself, he said: "I am an old man and have but little vitality left. But now I am happy, for I have heard that this White [Gusinde] wants to

/927 cont. /

X881 537 152 609

to help us because he appreciates us Yamana! If only he can bring to pass what he has promised us, namely, to intercede for us [with the Chilean government] so that we may continue to live peacefully in this place (341). I am happy about this

[648]

341. He has the following in mind. For a number of years the Lawrence brothers had leased the region around Puerto Mejillones on the north shore of Navarino Island from the Chilean government who permitted the Yamana to settle in this small harbor. The lease would run out the following year, and there was danger that this piece of land would fall into other hands. This would make the future very uncertain for the Yamana, and they had reason to be afraid that they would be driven out of this place which they had learned to love. In view of this, I had promised them to present their wishes to the Ministerio de Colonisación in Santiago. Later I kept my promise. Now the few surviving Yamana are spending their last days in this small harbor. Compare Gusinde (d):60 and page 364 /untranslated/.

[pleasant prospect]. That is why I took up the song and carried it on for so long!" Immediately afterward he continued his singing. The other people listened attentively and fell into a solemn mood, for his high voice was extraordinarily pleasant. Soon he paused again: "Truly, I am an old man. For a long time I have not taken part in a čiéxaus. I am one of the last of the old people [of former times]. In my younger years I was always on hand wherever čiéxaus took place. I was always among the first who took up the singing. For a long time I have not taken part in it for I am old. When I was young we went down to the beach at night to bathe; we sang as we did so, and I was never absent. And yet, to this day I have some /928/ strength and joy left. Truly, it is not right that I have been inactive until now. I shall summon the last of my strength and all the younger people will see that I as an old man am not holding back. So I shall go on singing!" He sang even more vigorously than before; he even stood up to dance

/928 cont./

X881 537 152 609

and jumped with sheer joy. His behavior encouraged everyone present.

This time blind Whaits also took an extremely active part in the singing. He constantly interrupted it and interjected: "I am a man well along in years and the singing is a strain on me. If I were still a young chap, as formerly when I took part in the čiẽxaus with other young men, I would have more strength and fire, then I would sing better. You cannot expect more from an old, blind man than what I am actually offering." After a short pause he continued sadly: "I am well aware that this affair is not conducted as solemnly and seriously as formerly. I regret that very much. In olden times čiẽxaus was unsurpassably beautiful!" As he said this, he was seized with anger; he knew that we two were present: "I am shocked that this time we have even [European] strangers among us. Off with you two! It is a disgrace that our čiẽxaus is no longer as beautiful as it used to be, that everyone present no longer takes such an active and conscientious part in the dances as was formerly the rule. Off with you two; what is our čiẽxaus to you! Even less should you see it now when it is done so badly. Leave this Great Hut immediately (342)!"

342. It was a momentary surge of high dudgeon that provoked this old man to such insulting words. He soon calmed down, was later thoroughly enlightened by his two daughters, both of whom were our sponsors, and finally proved to be our sincere friend. Through the sponsorship of his daughters, we even became related to him. See Koppers (a): 70.

X881 537 152

While dinner was being distributed and eaten, great stillness prevailed. After that quite loud group singing started up again. While it was going on, Whaits said: "The song [the melody] that I am singing originated with my uncle. He taught it to me when I was uswãala; since then I have repeated it often. How lovely it was in those days when I was still a young chap. At that time there were many people living!"
Somewhat later he added: "All the beautiful šewãli [flints] come from the west. The long ũkeša [leather straps to capture the

X881 /928 cont./
537 candidates], too, were best there. They covered the framework
152 of the Great Hut there with the most excellent skins. Truly, everything [that is used for the čiéxaus ceremony] was incomparably more beautiful in the west than in the central part and in the east" (343).

343. In these words there is again a reference to the common view of the origin of this initiation in the extreme west and its infiltration into the central Yamana regions.

X881 After a while, the same Whaits again interrupted the general singing: "Tomorrow we shall leave the Great Hut. This
537 čiéxaus went off nicely and yet it put me in a sad mood. I am
152 an old /Plate 3 appears here/ /929/ man who does not expect
609 many more years of life. Among us there is a good White, I know him from former times (344). He will help us to keep this

344. On my first visit in February, 1919, I had met this old man in Punta Remolino, talked to him for a long time, and at that time received important data about Fuegian mythology. See Gusinde (a):39.

piece of land here [at Puerto Mejillones]; he promised us that. So, take advantage of his presence, young people! I personally will hardly benefit from it, for I am very old, I feel weak and tired of life. You young people may take advantage of his offer. I wish you success!"

Tormented by anxiety, blind Whaits again came back to this topic. Sadly he said: "Alas, poor me! I have been living in this place for many years. I have grown old. I always had enough to eat and my dwelling always stood here. But the Whites are betraying us Yamana. Now they will take this little spot away from us, then they will drive me and my wife from this island [Navarino]. Woe to us who are so helpless [against the Whites]! Where shall we turn? The Whites are already everywhere. If they should actually drive us away, then let them take

[Text continues on page 808]

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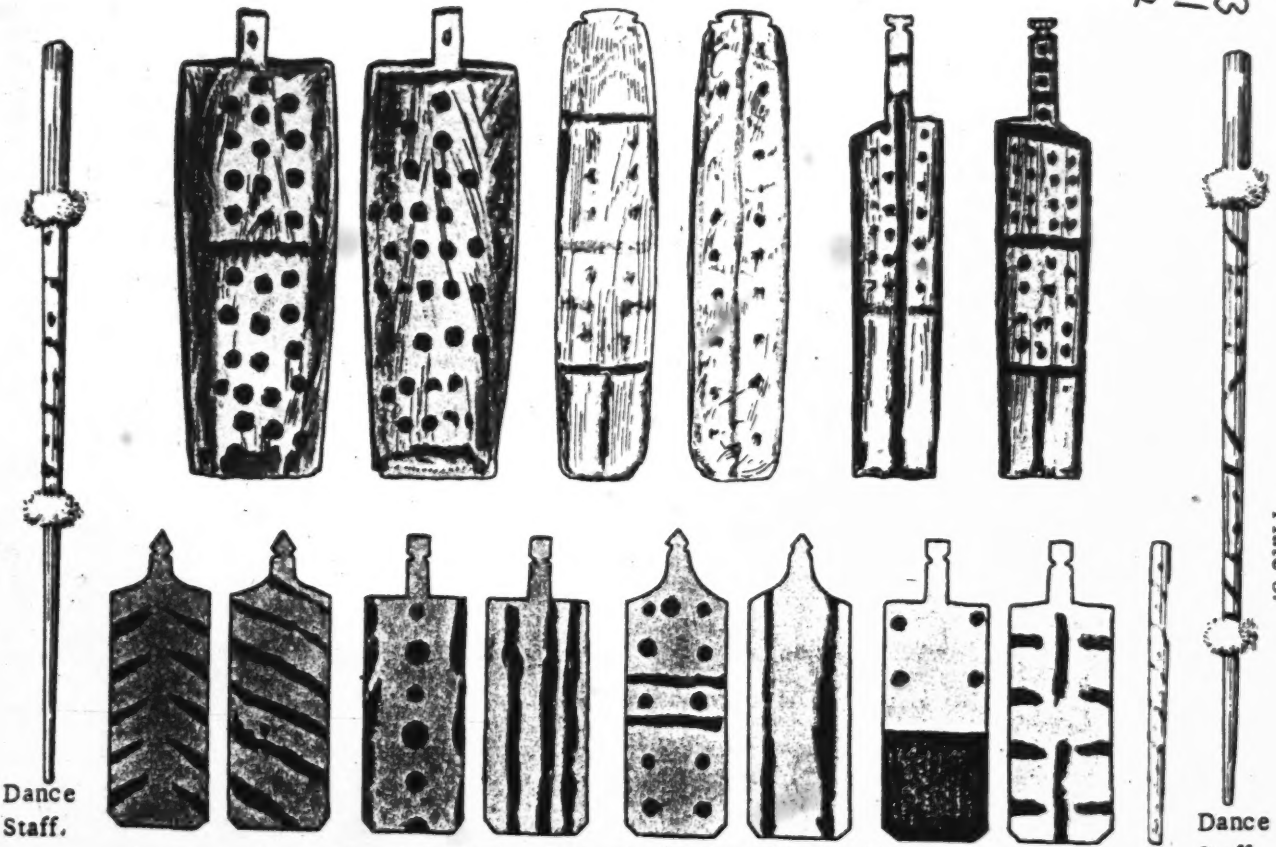
Plate 3.



Dance Staff.

Dance Staff.

Ornamental Plaques for the Initiation Hut.

X881 537 152 609 /929 cont./

the whole island [Navarino] away from here and drag it along with them wherever they wish!"

Each speaker and singer concludes his words with a loud X881 537 152 and vigorous call, "čiéxaus." This is correctly interpreted as giving force to their utterances and emphasizing their assertions, as well as a cry of confidence in the fulfillment of wishes expressed, and finally as a curse upon whatever they complain of and condemn. Sometimes this concluding cry of "čiéxaus" sounds like a cry of despair.

X881 533 535 152 Just as the singing in general is meant to drive away Yetãita (p. 781), particularly interjections have the same purpose. If any leading person sees this evil spirit approaching, he loudly calls upon all those present to drive him away. One evening (345) the

345. See Koppers (a):81 concerning this evening performance during the fourth day of the celebration.

women were very vigorously dancing, and Santiago felt an urge to incite them to a state of extreme excitement. He shouted to them from his seat: "Dance on! Yetãita is still very near and refuses to go away!" Soon he added: "Dance harder! Yetãita still shows no sign of withdrawing." After a few minutes he cried out, as though slightly relieved: "Just go on bravely! Already Yetãita is starting to retreat, he is sinking head-down into the earth!"

Our interpreters explained to us why Santiago and Pedro made such urgent demands for loud singing and vigorous dancing. As strangers and unbidden ones in this čiéxaus hut, they say, we attracted the special attention of Yetãita; the people present were afraid he could do us particular harm. Hence the greatest effort was required /930/ to push this Yetãita, who is very dangerous for everyone, deep into the interior of the earth so that he could not harm us in any way.

Again Santiago cried loudly: "Dance on! I still see Yetãita's feet sticking out of the ground." After a few minutes, as though relieved, he says: "I see only one foot [sticking out of the ground]. But go on dancing (346)!" Then: "Now I see only one toe of

346. Chris had meanwhile carefully observed Santiago, the leader. At these words, an

/930 cont./

X881
533
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> amused grin flitted over his face, and stealthily pointing with his finger, he whispered: "He [Santiago], too, has a foot sticking out of his blanket!"

Yetáita. Just go on dancing!" Fixedly Santiago stares at one spot on the ground. After about ten minutes he sighs with relief: "At last Yetáita has completely disappeared. But I still see the hole through which he descended. I must close that, too. So dance on!" After a few minutes he cries joyfully: "Even that deep hole is closed now. All I hear is a faint rumbling in the far distance. Yetáita has finally left us altogether! So stop dancing and rest yourselves!"... Scarcely an evening goes by during which Yetáita is not driven away with at least one or two loud utterances.

X881
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5. Interjections by the Guard. It is well known that the so-called guard, winefkéza, has a special position in the čiéxaus celebration. He is not only characterized by a particular facial painting (p. 684), but he may even wear a feather decoration reserved for the yékamuš. No one was able to explain why he has this privilege; they said: "It has always been like that!" Moreover, he has a definite song, more exactly, two melodies which are noticeably different from the group singing and which he alone intones. He does so when the group singing has died out. His rendition is very melodious and sonorous. Not even his assistants may accompany him.

X881
625

Outside the Great Hut the guard demonstrates that he is an alert guardian of this sanctuary who will terrify and drive away outsiders (p. 684). Inside the čiéxaus hut he repeatedly assumes the role of the furious winefkéza whose name he bears (347). In

> 347. This word means Leucophaeus scoresbii, the fierce predatory bird of the high seas (Fig. 82).

March, 1922, Richard held this position. In the late afternoon of March 11, after the participants had again taken their seats in the Great Hut, he placed himself next to the main entrance and acted as though he had just entered. His face was white; his mouth and

/930 cont./

X881 625

the lower part of the nose were painted red; the wreath of feathers was placed on his head in such a way that the feathers pointed downward. He cried in a loud voice so that the women in the cookhut especially could hear it: "I come here from the high seas! I expect to stay only a short time!" A reply came from the cookhut: "awaj (348)!"

348. This word means assent, such as: "Good!"; "So be it!"; "We heard it!"

/931/ Thoughtfully and with measured step the winefkē̄ra walked back and forth in the Great Hut. Suddenly his voice was heard: "Attention, now!" The answer from across the way was again: "awā̄i!" Immediately he continued: "To me the people in this hut seem dreadful! I don't know any of these people here, for I have just come from the high seas. That is why I am overcome with great fear, because I am alone here among the people [unfamiliar to me]. However, this hut is very beautiful!" After a brief pause the customary "awā̄i" followed.

Robert continued: "I come from a place where there is a great deal of snow and ice (349). It is a bad [unpleasant] place

349. He is referring to the extreme south where there are mighty icebergs floating around.

from whence I come. What kind of folk may this be among whom I have landed? I see two strangers here [Gusinde and Koppers]. I shall devour them! But at the moment I am full and satisfied; a little later I shall devour these two. If I should leave something, you out there [the women in the cookhut] will have some of it, too. -- The people here are very bad and evil; I don't know them, but I am very much afraid of them."

A pre-arranged interruption followed. Two women brought a can of coffee from the cookhut and immediately began pouring it out. The first three or four persons at the secondary exit let their cups be filled and realized with the first swallow that by mistake sea water instead of fresh water had been used for this coffee. They spit out this swallow, amid facial contortions,

/931 cont./

881 625

which many of the others observed. Richard noticed it, too, and cried loudly: "As far as food and drink are concerned, we here are not satisfied with it!" This time there was no answer from the cookhut.

After a brief pause he continued: "It seems to me that something bad will soon happen to these people here! My intention was to seize them all, but I caught only their feathers (350). --

350. We must imagine the situation. He believes himself to be a bird who, as such, attacks other birds and in the fight pulls out their feathers; he regards the people in the Great Hut as birds.

I shall prove to them that I am a crafty bird; I'll duck and crouch against the ground, I'll play stupid. Thus [in this position] I shall come on one, grab him, and take him away with me!" Immediately he pounced on old Pedro who was squatting nearest him on the ground. He seized him with both hands and pulled him upright. At the same time he yelled: "I've already caught one, this one I shall devour! One is enough for me. -- But no, I shall not devour him yet, because I am still full and satisfied. I shall save him for later! Those two strangers who are sitting there I shall also save for the end!" The women plaintively responded from outside: "Alas!"

Resolutely Richard seized an uśwā̆ala and cried: "Here I have grabbed a fledgling [a young bird, an allusion to the youthful age of the /932/ candidate]. I shall also lay him aside for myself, and shall soon eat him. Now I am still full and satisfied. But after a while it will be his turn!" Frightened, the women cried: "awā̆i!"

After a brief pause: "Poor folk here, I am truly compassionate! -- I am not in a hurry to leave, I should like to stay in this place for a short time. -- I almost seized them all [these people] and lifted them into the air with me!" From the cookhut the "awā̆i" was repeatedly heard between his utterances.

Through the main entrance Richard called to the outsiders, telling them what is now going on in the čiēxaus hut; he told

/932 cont./

X 881 625 the people inside what the others out there are doing. In the midst of the low singing of the others Chris said: "Alas, poor me! I do not know much [to say], but I feel the urge to sing. So I shall begin and sing with the melody of the others to give them courage and stimulate them to sing!" Interrupting him, Richard cried out loudly: "I almost flew upward!"

After a few minutes he slipped toward the main exit and outside crawled up the hut framework; he wanted to frighten everybody. He boomed out a command: "Start dancing with [535] hambá, hambá, hambá (351)!" After a pause: "I am still up

351. This word is constantly repeated during the rhythmic dance movement.

here [on the hut framework]!" Inside, the singing stopped. "The one that's crying over there [namely, a small child in the cookhut] I shall fetch over here, so that it won't die!" After a while the singing started up anew. "I almost caught this boy! -- This time he got away with a single wound. -- You can only see the feathers of another one (352). -- You over there [in the cookhut]

352. This furious predatory bird pursues one bird after another and is so rough with them that all their feathers fly (cf. footnote 347).

must bestir yourself and always have something on hand to eat. Be careful and pay attention to everything I say!" Repeatedly the answer was "awái." Then Richard climbed down from the hut framework and crawled back into the Great Hut.

After a while he began again: "I am inside here up on the ceiling [like a bird that has lifted itself in flight]!" Immediately Chris stopped singing and excused himself: "Unfortunately my voice is giving out and I cannot very well continue. So I shall stop singing."

Richard began again: "I am not going to hurry to leave here. Nevertheless I should like to set out soon." Voices from outside: "No, do not be in a hurry!" He: "It seems you do not like to see

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/932 cont./
me here!" Response: "Yes, we like you!" He: "Good, if that is true, I shall stay here longer and tell you about everything that goes on here." From outside: "We shall enjoy that." The winefkéʼa: "I feel like eating something." Response: "That is good." He: "Well, now these two here (353) are very gentle

353. He is referring quite generally to two persons in the Great Hut.

and quiet, just right to eat!" Meanwhile one of the kitchen women came in and passed around something to drink. Very softly /933/ the general singing continued; most of the people present were resting. All squatted motionless in their places, with downcast eyes.

After 20 minutes Chris took up the singing again. The guard walked hastily through the Great Hut and repeatedly cried: "hui, hui!" The group remained in their places in deep concentration and did not even glance up. Loudly the winefkéʼa cried: "The singing is beginning anew!" Response: "awij, awij!" He: "The people like me very much. -- I do feel like eating those two, but I'll wait and devour them later." The kitchen women repeated their cry.

The leader sent the uǰwíʼala out to fetch firewood, and soon they returned. The group singing continued. Richard cried out: "What goes on here is very solemn!" Response: "awij!" After a time the candidates were summoned and arranged themselves in a row, while an experienced woman immediately began to lead them in the dance. The uǰwíʼala moved awkwardly and clumsily because they lacked practice. After moving back and forth repeatedly, the line broke up. Again they were sent out for wood. The guard cried out: "Now, you women, be very careful because the uǰwíʼala have gone out [of this čiéxaus hut]. Restrain yourselves and do not look at them!" Meanwhile the candidates left the room.

Again the winefkéʼa began speaking: "Now I am going to change my feathers. I am plucking out the old ones so that the new ones will grow better." Response: "awij!" Anyone now leaving the čiéxaus hut is carefully observed to make sure that the

/933 cont./

kitchen women do not go up to the candidates or speak to them. "It seems to me that the people here are very courageous at the moment! -- There is foul air here in this hut; that is not good for the inmates. I wouldn't care to sleep here, just because of the bad air. I am used to the fresh, pure air of the high seas. -- The air in this hut is very foul." The "awé" followed at intervals. "Take care, you out there!" Then the candidates came in with the wood they had gathered. "I am keeping my eyes open and closely watching all the people here. -- Presently I shall stand on top of the hut. From there I can survey everything!" Meanwhile, with the wood they have gathered and led by the man who accompanied them, the ulwala danced through the Great Hut several times; then they put the wood down beside the secondary entrance and went to their places. The group singing concluded with a loud hóhohohó to which the guard added a strong wía.

After a few minutes the winéhkwa spoke again: "I notice that you [women] are looking at the ulwala there!" He said this only to intimidate the women, hence the answer: "No, that is not true." He: "Lively action is beginning again here!" Two girls had been chopping wood outside and brought it in. They went dancing through the Great Hut with a little bundle. Old Clara joined them and said: "I become very sad when I see these ulwala. They, too, are in a bad state of mind, because they have had to work a lot today." Meanwhile the dance /934/ continued. Peine spoke very animatedly: "Those two [Halakwulup] women came from a region where they even devour people. Why don't they demonstrate for us? We Tamana are not acquainted with such evil customs, but we'd like to have a look at something like that!" She became furious: "Why don't my countrymen get up and join my dancing? This Halakwulup woman is the only one dancing with me (354), and my own countrymen watch me dancing alone!"

> 354. The older Halakwulup woman, named Rosa, had meanwhile resumed her seat, so that only Julia, the other Halakwulup, continued dancing.

After some time their hóhohohó was heard, and both women

X 181 625

/1034 cont./
squatted down in their places.

Then the guard spoke: "They [these people] almost caught me, but I escaped by climbing up on the hut outside!" Response: "*ewii!*" After a long pause: "I am still staying in this hut. -- Everyone assembled here feels happy. -- I am looking at all of them. It is to be hoped that they will all, without exception, continue to be happy!" Low singing continued until the *winnitjpa* cried: "I am still here. I hear everything that is said here. -- Pay attention to everything that is about to happen!"

Old Pelize stood up and danced very animatedly. Meanwhile her *hapayili* slipped down a bit and covered her eyes. She said: "The fog almost covered me so that I would have been unable to see my country any longer!" Then came the loud *hhuhhuhuhi* of all those present.

Again the guard began: "Soon I am going off, for it is the hour of dawn. Perhaps another will come here who looks at everything and watches over it." The singing continued. "Yes, it is time for me to go. Soon now I shall leave this hut." The sound of *ewii* rang out loudly.

Suddenly cries of loud *hhuhu* were heard amidst the general singing. They announced to the kitchen women that in a short time a delegation would come to them to get food. Two men hurried over; they returned immediately with coffee and a large loaf of bread. While these persons were being served, the *winnitjpa* acted conspicuously uneasy. Then he took the long leather strap, *tingla*, which hung on the framework. Most of the adults stood up and likewise grasped this strap.

In a long row, they moved briskly back and forth through the interior of the hut. The guard shouted: "All you outside there, take care!" Response: "*ewii, ewii!*" This dance soon ended, and the long leather strap was again fastened to the hut framework (355). The guard cried: "I am afraid of those people here,

355. It is well known that the guards take the long leather strap down from the wall of the hut when danger threatens from those outside or when a candidate has escaped.

/996 cont./

I have been frightened by them!" Response: "*owly*!" Until now Chris in particular had led the general singing. He finished with the words: "Now I should like to stop because I am tired." /997/ The singing went on, and after about 10 minutes he, too, joined in again. Meanwhile some of the people had quickly eaten, and afterward Chris also took a few bites. Richard in the meantime had gone back to his place and was no longer impersonating *winefldgas*.

After an hour and a half old Thomas assumed this role. He painted himself and placed the feather crown around his temples, stationed himself inside the main entrance, and cried loudly: "What are you up to here? I am here now. The other one [*winefldgas*] sent me and told me I must carefully watch over you! -- I am quite full and satisfied. The little bones of the many birds and fish that I consumed on the high seas are heavy in my stomach. -- Be on your guard now!" Response: "*owly*!" The singing became more animated.

Thomas: "I came here very quickly. I did not even have time on the way to devour the bird that I had just caught. My beak is completely covered with fresh blood. That is how fast I flew here." Response: "*owly*!" Then he rubbed a thick layer of *ilmi* on his hands. "My feet and claws are dripping with blood. I had no time on the way to devour my heavy, for I came here without delay. The other *winefldgas* sent me to you pentheses!" Response: "*owly*!"

Meanwhile preparations began to receive the visiting cuckoos into the Great Hut. The *winefldgas* continued: "I came here to have a look at these people. What I observe I shall call over to you [over there in the cuckoos], so that you will know what goes on here. -- I discovered two strangers [Gwinde and Kuppan] here whom I have never seen in my life. The other *winefldgas* told me nothing about them. I am beginning to feel an urge to thrust my claws into them as swiftly as before when I seized that other bird. I have a desire to seize them at once!" A repeated "*owly*!" followed. After a short pause filled with singing, he continued: "For the moment I am holding back. I shall not yet devour these two, for my stomach is quite full!"

The visitors came to the *lidgas* hut and left again. Immediately Thomas began: "The people have stopped on my tree,

/5498 cont./

that hurts me. I arrived quite muffled, that is why I could not move fast enough!" Response: "swi!" He: "Now I shall wait until I feel a little more relieved, for my stomach is still quite full. -- There is nothing to eat here. In the place where I live there are many birds that serve as food for me."

Then he started a song. While he continued the melody, he said: "I am a good bird, I don't hurt anyone. -- I am very happy to see my mother here. -- Up to now I have only let myself be looked at here. -- These two I should like to take along to the high seas and devour them in peace!" The brief pauses were filled with "swi." The winefliers: "I prefer to stay here for the present. /5498/ My hearing is good. I want to communicate to you [out there] everything that goes on here. I have been sent here, therefore I shall be just as attentive as in that place where I usually am." Continuing to sing, he interrupted himself: "I am very satisfied with these people here, wi!" Soon after that: "You wish to be in my place! You would like to see everything that I am observing, wouldn't you. -- Now I shall rest a little. Meanwhile I shall pluck out my feathers in order to relieve myself somewhat. -- Since I have plucked out a few of my feathers, I feel better. Really, I have become lighter!"

Old Pedro began to sing loudly. While doing so, he said: "Tetigo gave me a kick and stimulated me to sing!" During Pedro's song Thomas cried: "A high mountain of waves is arising. I am frightened by these mighty waves!" Soon after the general singing ended with a loud hihuhuhuhuf, and the winefliers croaked a loud "hih." Pedro began to sob and weep. Thomas continued: "I feel very calm, hence I shall get ready to go to sleep. I shall stick my head under one wing and then go to sleep!" Response: "swi!" He: "The people here are moving, that excites me. I was always a good winefliers."

Three old women with beautifully painted tarsus stood up; they danced back and forth through the Great Hut. Thomas: "Again high waves are piling up. -- I am listening to what is being said here." Response: "swi." Greatly stimulated, many people danced and poked around in the fire to make the sparks fly. Their loud singing subsided, and Thomas continued: "Do you, too, wish to lie down to sleep?" Response: "Yes, we should

/936 cont./

like to do that!" He: "Certainly, it pleases you that I tell you everything!" Enthusiastic "awāj." He: "Good, I shall stay here for some time yet, until my stomach is empty. Afterward I shall fly back to the high seas." After a loud awāj and general singing again, Thomas interjected: "Now I feel relieved, cheerful, and fresh!"

The people in the one row held their heads up and their hands up to their eyebrows, as though they were looking into the distance over the heads of the people seated in the opposite row. This was a challenge to a singing competition, in order to stimulate the other row. The winefkēʔa cried: "Again high waves are rising!" After the awāj from outside, Walter said: "We began this ćiexaus so that those two Whites could see it. For ourselves we usually celebrate it at another time of year." He continued, very perturbed: "I am the Yetāita of this Great Hut (356).

356. He wants to say that rage is seething within him just as in that malevolent earth spirit.

-- Of all my kinsfolk and of all of us who once lived in the east (357), I am the only one still alive. Although I still have my

357. Walter comes from Lennox Island, northeast of Navarino Island.

home district [as native country], nevertheless it no longer belongs to me and has now become /937/ another region (358). Of my

358. This island which politically now belongs to Chile has for a long time been leased to farmers for sheep-raising. Therefore Chile arbitrarily keeps the natives away from the Europeans settled there.

kinsfolk and my [prior] native country only the waves are left to me. When I die, the waves will cover me, too; then there will be no one left of the people of the east!" Several persons, moved by sorrow, interrupted him. Walter continued: "I am very much

[Actually, southeast. — Analyst.]

/937 cont./

X881 relieved that I can accompany these two strangers here in the
625 čiéxaus!" Animated talk by the others.

533 Finally Thomas announced: "My stomach will soon be empty now. I shall probably be off again in a short time." Julia and Rosa, following the example of the others, exchange a few words in Halakwulup, their own language. The usual dance-competition begins between Mary and her husband. Then she says: "These two [Halakwulup] women speak the language of the west. When I was a little child I came to this region [in the central part], so I forgot the words of the westeners [the Halakwulup]." The winefkéwa cried: "Are you still awake?" Response: "awáj!" He: "That is good of you to be still awake, as I am, too." Again: "awáj!" He: "My stomach is getting lighter. Soon it will be quite empty!"

For about 20 minutes Pedro repeated a sonorous melody. It sounded so pleasant that everyone listened silently. Thomas continued: "I almost fell asleep, it is so warm here by the fire. Are all you women over there already asleep?" Response: "No." He: "Good, then tell me when you want to lie down to sleep!" They reply only with "awáj." He: "Well, then I won't tell you when I am going away from here." Response: "awáj."

X881 Suddenly all the uswála stood up, arousing all the adults.
[753] The general belief is that the candidates may not squat too long in one place. If they did so, they would become victims of an illness, they would be weak and sleepy, remain glued to the ground, as it were, and the illness would soon cause death.

Pedro talked to himself: "Those Whites have stayed a long time among us Yamana. Nelly Lawrence will be surprised that the two strangers have not returned to her [in Punta Remolino]. Well, they are safe with us and will stay some time longer!" The singing stopped because the people had become tired. Only Thomas took it up again and interjected in rhythm: "I am glad that soon I shall be able to end my song, for I, too, am tired!" Emilia joined him: "Fog from the west is covering my eyes, I can no longer see anything!"

X881 Several adults stood up. They arranged themselves in two
535 short rows. From the center of the hut one row extended to one exit, the other to the other exit; the men at the head of each row

/937 cont./

X881 535 faced each other. Their followers held their heads in the same direction. /938/ The two rows first moved away from each other without turning; they stepped backward until the last one in the row came up against the entrance. Then they again came toward each other, always with very short steps, swinging the dance staffs with a rolling motion up and down. While these two rows were moving back and forth, Emilia seized a glowing stick of wood and, swinging it up and down, danced past the two rows.

X881 625 Again the winefkēʔa called over to the kitchen women: "Are you already asleep?" They replied briskly: "No, we are not yet asleep!" He: "If I should leave here, I'll let you know." Response: "Good." He: "Be attentive now." Response: "awāj."

The singing went on for a long time without interruption. Meanwhile Mary took a bit of charcoal, rubbed it in the palms of her hands and smeared the powder first on William's face and then on her own, as a sign of mourning. She cried out: "We are all in mourning!" It was only after a long pause that Thomas spoke again: "It is not time to sleep yet." Response: "We are awake." He: "I am watching things here. In case I should notice anything, I shall let you know." Response: "awāj." He: "Pay attention, you out there!" Then the games began, with which this evening was concluded. The winefkēʔa was not heard from again.

X881 On March 12, 1922, the brief breakfast was over around eight o'clock. All the inmates of the čičxaus hut immediately started their painting. Everyone was eagerly concerned about the uswāala, for they were to go to the woods immediately to gather a lot of firewood. Meanwhile several persons, one after the other, joined the solo singer, and soon the rest of the group chimed in. Scarcely was the facial painting of the uswāala finished when they were summoned to the dance. They and a few adults stood pressed [535] close together. With very short, mincing steps they glided over the ground and moved very slowly beside the fire from one exit to the other.

Thomas had painted himself to resemble a winefkēʔa and stationed himself beside the main entrance. He cried loudly: "I delayed a little on my way here, that is why I arrived late!" The response came from the cookhut: "awāj, we heard it!" He meant

/938 cont./

X881 his words to indicate that he was now beginning the dance. Then he called: "The people here are beginning to get up, they are all in considerable motion!" He was answered: "awāj!" The dance lasted about 20 minutes. Immediately all the uswāala left the čiexaus hut and hastened into the forest for wood (359).

X881 .224

359. One should keep in mind the following custom. Two or three men, on repeated occasions, lead a small group of three to five candidates to hunt. If they set out to kill guanaco, they are gone at least two days, during which time they, of course, spend the night out-of-doors. Wherever they settle down for a longer or shorter rest, the leader watches carefully so that no intruder may approach. He often utters loud cries of ho-ho, which warn any stranger. For his part the guard at the Great Hut observes the movement of the people over in the camp and with loud cries warns anyone who sets out in the direction of the candidates. This applies to brief as well as to long outings by the candidates.

X881 The winefkeāa called loudly: /939/ "It seems to me a few of you over there are watching [as the candidates leave the Great Hut]." They replied: "pāf, no!" Nevertheless, he repeated: "Take care that no one looks!" Response: "awāj!" After a short pause he requested formally: "I should now like to eat something!"

X881 182 While the low singing continued, old Clara spoke: "Nowadays the uswāala are not as thoroughly taught as formerly. They scarcely learn [in detail] our old laws and institutions. This is because the older people take no interest in teaching the uswāala the essentials. We ourselves have become negligent and careless. For us personally this is a great disadvantage, too. Today almost every Yamana leads the life of the Whites; none of our younger people thinks earnestly anymore about our former customs and our old laws. If this [attitude] continues, the good old tradition will soon be completely lost and we shall cease being true Yamana! We must

/939 cont./

X881 really make a great effort to instruct our candidates carefully, for our old laws and customs are good. Every Yamana, old and
182 young, must adapt himself to them. I am very sad, for I see some of our younger people who neither know nor follow our habits of former times!"

After a few minutes the winefkę́a called one last time: X881 "Control your eyes and do not look at the Great Hut. I shall soon go away from here." At this moment the uśwą́ala returned.
625

In conclusion the particular duty of the guard should be remembered. He must keep intruders away from the čię́xaus hut and see to it that inquisitive glances do not discover anything that goes on there. In order to demonstrate his watchfulness to outsiders, he repeatedly steps in front of the main entrance and a few paces away from it. He also climbs up on the hut framework where he can be seen still more plainly. Finally, he makes himself noticeable by repeated calls. Everyone is afraid of the winefkę́a and no one dares to desecrate the sanctity of the čię́xaus hut.

X881 6. Social Games. In the course of time the daily program in the čię́xaus hut leads to weariness, not only for the candidates,
524 but also for the adults. Quite generally the participants are very punctilious about their duties, and individuals among them are even over-zealous, which is not surprising among good-humored children of nature. Even experienced nerves would be unable to stand too great a strain for any length of time if there were absolutely no relaxation at certain intervals. That is precisely the deeper significance of the custom of occasionally having social games interspersed through the serious čię́xaus celebration. To a superficial observer this custom seems strange and irreconcilable with the strictness of the prevailing order of the day, but the decisive factor is the psychological need of the participants for /940/ occasional refreshment by means of a game, which never deteriorates into boisterousness or licentiousness since it is restrained by certain guide lines.

Inasmuch as everyone present at the initiation is pledged more or less equally to silence and quiet behavior and to all kinds of exertions and discomforts, participation in the social games is, without exception, open to all, and of course also to the uśwą́ala.

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The latter in particular are involved in almost every game, whereas the adults are free to take part as they choose. There is another consideration in the case of the candidates, namely, that they get a certain amount of practice in the individual games. The social games repeated during the youth initiation are, throughout the year, played largely by adults; children may watch them, but only now and then take part in them. Although the children immediately begin to imitate the movements by themselves, they hardly attain any proficiency worth mentioning in this or that game. It is different here in the čiéxaus hut where the many movements are explained to the individual ušwāala and the exact procedure demonstrated, in other words, where he is given an actual introduction to them. It is part of the education of the candidates, so to speak, to acquire a certain proficiency in social games. The adults are unstinting in their praise of a candidate who becomes especially skillful or who is very limber.

The social games, in fact, are meant to relax the mind and to relieve the body. During the game the seriousness of concentration and the rigidity of the program of duties are inevitably relaxed. In order, however, that there be no disruption of the overall procedure of the serious youth initiation, social games are permitted only every second or third day at the most. They are repeated more or less often according to the temperament of the leader, especially if there is a death during the čiéxaus celebration. If the mood is joyous and gay, as, for example, in the immediate vicinity of a stranded whale, the games are played more often and each one lasts longer.

Whatever the mood of those present may be, the final evening hours of the daily routine are left free for social games. This is a time when everyone present feels very exhausted and many of them are already fighting off sleep. Just before this the ušwāala were given the customary advice, which is regularly followed by a long pause for serious reflection and quiet contemplation. After that it is the purpose of the games to refresh the spirit and limber up the tortured body. Sleep is particularly pleasant afterward.

It depends on the overseer or leader on which day and at what moment the games may take place. A few older people /941/ may occasionally also provide the impetus and stimulate one

/941 cont./

X881 S-4 person or another by specific words. Usually an indefinable expectation on the part of the participants is in the air, as it were, and it needs only a bit of assistance to be realized. Special formalities are not needed.

One cannot be precise about the various kinds of games and their order of succession, for there are neither specific rules nor unalterable regulations. One group of participants has a greater preference for certain games, another group for others. The group that gains a certain predominance will inconspicuously carry out its particular wishes. Usually they rely on the inspiration of the moment, for they do not beforehand make a definite plan of procedure, nor would they stick to it. After all, they want to be relaxed and refreshed by playing a game; hence they give themselves up to it with complete abandon.

In the end it is the leader who brings the people together for the game that he happened to think of or that he personally likes very much. For example, to the thoughtful, silent group he will softly give the gentle summons: "Let us play ǎmaxel!" Immediately a few people turn their attention to this game; they assume a different attitude and prepare themselves for it. After several minutes two or three women get up and clear the space where the fire is. If there are still a good many embers, they scrape most of them out-of-doors through the two exits, where they are extinguished, or they will make a small pile of glowing sticks of wood near the rear exit where it will be kept going. They sprinkle water over the ashes. The entire interior, except for the sleeping-places on either side, is now at their disposal.

A few persons gather without further urging, and soon others join them. Meanwhile an expert singer will begin the melody suitable for the game they intend to play, and soon all the people present take up the rhythm. Everyone throws himself into the game and goes through all the movements with complete devotion. The enthusiasm of one group will spur the others, so that at times they are all taking part in the game and are squeezed together in one spot. At the very beginning the sponsors lead their protégés into the center, for they are almost never excluded and must even participate longer and without interruption. If one or another of the adults wants to stop for a while and goes to his place to rest,

/941 cont./

X881 524 he is not prevented from doing so. Often the pressure of too great a throng makes this imperative; if everyone crowds together, there is almost no freedom of movement.

After a while the enthusiasm for this game subsides. Suddenly, in a loud voice, someone will spontaneously mention another game or will start its rhythm. Most of the participants become silent rather quickly and, without hesitating, switch over to the new game. /942/ A third and even a fourth game will follow in the same way, entirely according to the inclination and whim of the company. They will enjoy themselves for an hour or two, until they are thoroughly satisfied. If, after that, a good many of the people seem listless and bored, the leader will inconspicuously indicate that everyone should now seek his sleeping-place.

X881 513 533 The action and physical exertion have made most of them very weary, and without delay they begin to prepare for bed. One person or another will meanwhile lead into the customary low singing and continue it until he, too, gives himself up to sleep. Finally only the uǰwāala and a few sponsors are squatting upright in their places. When they, too, finally lie down, only a single voice will carry the song through the early hours of the night, until it is taken up by another. As we know, the singing may never entirely cease, for malevolent spirits must be kept at bay and outsiders must be convinced that all the inmates are constantly alert (p. 781).

X881 When the last game is over it is the duty of the uǰwāala to kindle the fire from the remaining faint embers, so that it will extend from one exit to the other and radiate abundant heat. All the services for the assembly and all the chores within the čiéxaus hut are, as we know, incumbent upon the candidates.

X881 524 The above description presupposes that the social games are held in the interior of the Great Hut. On a warm, quiet summer evening they may, for the sake of variety, be transferred to a level place outside, directly in front of the Great Hut. A few en-women will first start a fire, chiefly in order to illuminate the entire group. At a signal from the leader, the adults with the uǰwāala in their ranks, go outside and huddle together beside the fire. Gradually the singing begins, the dance movements following its rhythm. The games change in exactly the same way as

/942 cont./

X881 S24

inside. After they have amused themselves sufficiently, they all, in closed ranks, slip back again into the Great Hut. While the games are going on outside, the children and adults of the camp can, of course, freely approach and watch them.

[533] At least one person has stayed behind in the Great Hut to carry on the singing and keep watch over everything. The movements of the lively games in the fresh air are a boon to every participant, and immediately thereafter he will be blessed with sound sleep.

As we have said, there is no particular order in which the social games are chosen and repeated. They prefer those which are most familiar to a certain group or which are favorites. From my own observation I can report that the games most often played are ā́maxel, the game of the sea-lion ā́ma (Otaria jubata), and then këtē̄laxel, the game of the great gerfalcon këtē̄la (Polyborus tharus), then gërā́puxel, the game of the common albatross gërā́pu (Diomedea exulans), and finally, outside the Great /943/ Hut, the very popular uš̄pēr̄ǰčixel, the game of the oyster-catcher uš̄pēr̄ǰči (Haematopus ater). All of them, however, are eclipsed by the very popular hā̄iyekaš̄ā́naskwa. If they want to please the candidates particularly and thoroughly arouse them, they introduce the game called kaklē̄xana (360).

360. The last two games mentioned were described on pages 588 and 589; the others will be described below.

Most of the people take a very active part in these social games. Merely the desire to limber up the body thoroughly is a strong incentive. A person who is unable to join in the dance movements for a long period is all the more fervent in his singing. One evening when the games had already begun, Adelheid, coming from the cookhut, dashed into the čiē̄xaus hut with excessive eagerness, placed herself beside Richard who was singing lustily, and said loudly to him: "sē̄skin skā̄ja ki-wē̄la kū́pa hawē̄la mū́tu nanā̄a." "The heart of you [it] strong from above here may exist henceforth (May 'the-one-up-there' strengthen your heart here for vigorous singing!)." This one example proves that they even

X881 /943 cont./
524 invoke the power from above in order to be able to take part wholeheartedly in the social games.

X881 Every social game, just like every dance, finishes off with
524 a loud hō, hō... or hē, hē..., which anyone utters and which is
789 repeated by others. As we know, the constant singing is supposed to keep the evil Yetáita (361) and other dangerous spirits away

361. The following allusion does not seem to me superfluous: although soon after the start of the youth initiation the candidates are taught that "Yetaita" as such does not exist, nevertheless this supposed evil spirit is mentioned again and again, as though he were the essence of all evil powers and anxious fears which could bring great harm to the participants.

from the čiēxaus hut. The social games also have this secondary purpose. This is clearly shown during a game or during the transition from one to another when many a dancer, out of inner agitation, pulls vigorously on the hut framework and causes the whole structure to shake violently. As though alarmed, he utters the brief word "čiēxaus," shouting it loudly, as though it were an incantation or a means of warding off malevolent spirits. Finally another person will drum on the ground loudly and frantically with both fists, likewise to ward off all evil. The dancers are most stirred up to such outbursts of fear when they are already exhausted from singing and playing and are bathed in perspiration. Then their shouts and their desperate behavior have all the more threatening effects. Thus we see how these people, despite all their joy in the games, never depart altogether from the serious keynote of the čiēxaus celebration.

X881 There is another custom which has the same purpose. Oc-
789 casionally two, three, or four women run along the interior of the
751 hut wall and beat the back of their hands or their fists against the framework. They do so to scare away the evil spirits that might annoy the people present. They also want to drive off the spirits that cause illness, /944/ so that they will forever stay away from

/944 cont./

X881 789 751 this čiéxaus. In olden times it was the task of the yékamuš to "cleanse" the Great Hut from such evil influences, above all to ward off sickness and push it far away so that the nerves and muscles of the people present, which sometimes become tired and slack, remain vigorous. At the present time all this is the aim of the women who hasten through the interior and beat against the wall of the hut with their fists, with branches, or with a stick. The malevolent spirits are driven away, and all the participants retain their strength undiminished.

X881 524 Finally, something Nelly once told me belongs here. Among her western group, which was to a certain extent influenced by the Halakwulup, masks were worn in former times, and these also served to entertain and encourage all the inmates of the čiéxaus hut. Out-of-doors a man or woman would put on a disguise unobserved, for which they chose exclusively the long stems of a species of grass which is scarcely to be found today (362). The person would cover his head far below the neck

362. Presumably it was Dactylis (Poa) flabellata which was also used as litter for the sleeping-place (p. 25). The stems are sometimes longer than the height of the adult Yamana and therefore very suitable for this masquerade. Today one hardly ever sees such tall stems.

with a closely woven hood of this grass in the shape of a truncated cone. Two small holes were opened for the eyes. From the neck to the ankles another woven piece covered the whole body like a tight shift. Both arms could be drawn through two sufficiently large openings, and the arms, too, including the hands, were covered with this woven material and pressed close to either side of the body. At the proper moment, this masked person would shuffle into the Great Hut and for a considerable time would stand upright, motionless and stiff, in the center aisle. Sometimes the person very slowly moved a little farther inside so that the other people could look at him more closely. On rare occasions the masker would also sit down. The group would examine

/944 cont./

X881 him carefully and try to guess who he was, exchanging observa-
524 tions with glances or in a very low voice. The masker would leave after a while, without having identified himself. At any rate, this strange visit offered the gathering a refreshing change.

X881 7. Visits. It is convenient to add to our description of songs
574 and dances a brief discussion of the ceremonious visits of a separate group of people to the čiēxaus hut on any day. It is easy to guess the reason for this custom. Of necessity a few older persons remain behind in the camp while the čiēxaus celebration is going on in the Great Hut, either on account of illness or to care for the small children. They are, of course, free to come at any time, but the entire assembly also wants to thank formally those who /945/ devote themselves to the supervision of the camp. The solemn welcome is supposed to be a substitute to the outsiders for all the lovely things they must forgo. On their part, the inmates of the Great Hut feel honored by the interest of those persons who come on one occasion or another to the čiēxaus gathering. Naturally, only adults who have gone through an initiation may enter.

The visit would not take place under any circumstances unless there had been an announcement from one side or the other. Usually the outsiders who feel a compulsion to spend an evening once again among their fellow-tribesmen announce themselves. They inform the leader of their intention, either through the kitchen women or directly. Some preparation must be undertaken within the Great Hut; it would be quite impossible for the group of visitors to come there abruptly.

X881 A good, accurate facial decoration, such as is customary for
574 visits, is the only special preparation the visitors must make. It
302 is unnecessary for them to paint the body. This is not the case for the people in the čiēxaus hut, who, besides their facial painting, also decorate the whole body. A background of white pigment is first applied on the face and body. Over this a red line the width of a finger runs from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. Over the whole body, as well as on arms and legs, finger-thick red rings are drawn and spaced a hand's breadth apart. Everyone,
[301] of course, wears his hapaxēl. The uswāla are decorated with particular care on this occasion to prove to the visitors how attentively the candidates are cared for.

/945 cont./

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It is much more important, however, to put the Great Hut in order for the visitors. There is already a certain amount of order, and wherever some detail needs attention, everyone will lend a hand from the vantage point of his particular seat, but they are painfully exact about seeing to it that the remains of food and all signs of meals are removed. Nothing is to arouse the suspicion that eating goes on here. Hence everybody is very busy just before the visitors enter: the ground is swept, the fire and ashes tended to, dirt and refuse destroyed in the flames, and at his own place everyone puts his few possessions in order. A visit is always the occasion for an extraordinarily thorough cleaning of the whole interior of the hut. They wish to honor the arrivals with a room that is beyond reproach.

Visitors are not permitted to enter until impeccable cleanliness has been achieved. If someone should actually arrive too soon, that is, at a time when the occupants are still busy tidying up, they head him off in an effective, if impolite, manner. The person who sees the visitor lets out a loud roar and, with a stick, showers ashes and glowing embers through the entrance in his direction, so that he involuntarily /946/ steps back. This gives the occupants enough time to finish cleaning the Great Hut undisturbed.

At the proper moment a man inside will lift the piece of hide from the main entrance, and by doing so he clearly invites in all the visitors who have assembled in front of it. More often the winefkē̄ʍa steps out in front of the Great Hut through the main opening and invites them in. They follow his bidding and crowd through the entrance. They are received by extraordinarily loud cries of hō̄, hō̄... from all the inmates. For their part, they return these cries, and with short, dragging steps they meanwhile move through the interior of the hut in a compact line up to the opposite secondary exit. Here they turn around and go back again to the main entrance. Often the visitors are joined by a few of the regular inmates of the čiēxaus hut, and in time to the everyday singing, the entire group dances over the fire area, lifting their dance staffs with rolling motions of their hands.

After this dance the visitors take their place near the main entrance which has meanwhile been cleared. The formalities are

/946 cont./

X881 574 limited to a stay of about two hours during which time the visitors remain seated, observe the procedure of the čiéxaus hut, and take part in group dances and games. At the very beginning the uśwāala are all specially introduced to the visitors. The uśwāala were assembled beforehand near the secondary entrance and were then painted with special care. For the time being they were hidden from the eyes of the visitors behind a narrow curtain of animal skins which was hung up for this purpose, or they were obliged to crouch behind adults who sit crowded together. At a signal from the leader, every sponsor leads his hētakuxéolan to the visitors. They look at each uśwāala for some time, but do not say anything. Thereupon the sponsors accompany their wards back to their regular places. The purpose of this presentation of the uśwāala is to give the visitors a chance to see for themselves the candidates' healthy condition and well-being.

It is a particular honor for the inmates of the hut to have the visitors take part in the social games, which are, therefore, always introduced and go on for some time. In spite of all the gaiety and joy that predominate at this time, too, everyone present nevertheless maintains a recognizable well-bred reserve out of respect for the visitors. The latter finally leave without a farewell greeting and without any fuss, after they have had a satisfactory look at the activity in the čiéxaus hut. Those left behind now think about the participation of the visitors in their performances, while the visitors who have returned to the dwellings talk about their impressions for a long time. After a visit there is always deep silence in the čiéxaus hut; even the monotonous, uninterrupted /947/ singing sounds very soft and weak. There are no definite rules for the frequency of such visits.

X881 With this account we have probably exhausted everything in the way of formalities and duties that are incumbent on the adults during the čiéxaus celebration. They have been arranged in this presentation according to unified points of view. They show unequivocally how much the freedom of the adults also is curtailed. They love this restraint, however, and willingly accept it, for in it and by means of it every participant becomes "a genuine, true Yamana again," according to old Alfredo's convincing words.

/947 cont./

d. Conclusion of the Celebration

X881 Chance and many imponderable influences were the decisive factors in bringing about the čiexaus celebration (p. 664). They are also paramount in concluding this affair. From the very beginning no one commits himself to a definite period for the exercises and social intercourse; without concern the group yields to the circumstances of the moment that may advise termination. This is not a disorderly dispersal of the participants, however, but a regulated formality. Here, too, the Yamana taste for formal control and their appreciation of formality come through strongly. The individual customs that terminate the long youth initiation are just as important to them as the individual features of the daily program, and both are given the same attention. It would be a psychological outrage to assume that the whole group or the majority of participants would forgo the concluding ceremonies.

Even at the end of the long period of being together, the basic idea dominating the čiexaus clearly and characteristically comes through, namely, that the mature young people should now be introduced into the group of adults as useful members of the tribe and that the individual families form a closed community, united for mutual protection and for the preservation of the tribe as a whole. Every adult and every youthful participant leaves the čiexaus hut with renewed eagerness to practice the prevailing virtues of the tribe, and the memory of the čiexaus hut stays with him as an effective guide for future independent action.

1. Reasons for Termination

X881 182 As we have said, our Yamana do not pledge themselves to a definite period of time for the initiation, but they do hold themselves to one positive and by no means unimportant commitment: concern for the success of the candidates' training. It is no mere accident that the Yamana in the čiexaus, like the Selk'nam in their Kloketen celebration (Vol. I, 1047), /948/ plan to stay until the training goal for the uwala seems to have been achieved (363).

363. Some of the external circumstances which

/948 cont./

X881
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caused the termination of the men's ceremony among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1050) have the same effect in ending the youth initiation among our Yamana. In Tierra del Fuego calamitous natural forces are, after all, stronger than human wishes and desires.

The old people know very well that during the few weeks of training neither the young fellow nor the mature girl will become a wholly adult human being. Up to a certain point, however, they can judge whether the principles of life presented have made a sufficiently strong impression on them and whether they have acquired enough manual dexterity or skill so that with further practice they can achieve the requisite proficiency. External forces, of course, act directly and powerfully on the conclusion, and they can even push aside the consideration mentioned above.

In spite of all the precautions taken at the beginning, it sometimes happens that a serious food shortage develops during the course of the celebration. Even though the adults and the candidates are content with little food, at least this amount must be easily obtainable. If the people have been attracted to a place by a stranded whale, they pay no attention to how much of their customary food is to be found there, and they realize the actual state of affairs only when the huge animal has been cut up and consumed by the many people. If they are obliged to undertake excessively long journeys in their canoes or on treks through the woods and over rocks in order to obtain the required quantities of meat, the daily program cannot be carried on without considerable interruption. They must then either look for a new camping place or break up the meeting.

Sometimes the unfavorableness of the site is recognized only after some time. The change of season, for example, will alter the condition of the ground very considerably, so that floods and the saturation of the earth or piled-up snow will inevocably force them to move the whole camp. Adverse air currents or strong eddies, for example, will so unpleasantly and so frequently hamper canoe trips that food-seeking is impossible for days. It may

/948 cont./

X881 182 even become impossible to obtain much firewood conveniently in a particular place. Yielding to natural forces, the group will retreat to a more favorable spot.

[731] It is only in most recent times that an epidemic in the common camp around the čiexaus hut has forced the termination of the celebration. In olden times the people did not have to cope with this obstacle. Occasionally, however, the demise of a particularly beloved person during an initiation has been such a shock to the people present that they /949/ were unable to continue it and dispersed. Usually they met elsewhere for yamalaŝemójna, the great ceremony of mourning.

X881 In all this one must not overlook the fact that after a considerable length of time, especially when the affair has continued for several months, an oppressive boredom affects all the participants. In spite of its diversity, the daily program does not offer enough variety to keep the restless temperaments of these Fuegians interested beyond a certain period. Their wanderlust often strikes so forcefully that during the čiexaus celebration they now and then depart for a few days and seek the desired relaxation in another environment. Once the paralyzing leadenness has settled on a considerable number of the participants, hardly anything can restore their initial fresh enthusiasm. In such an instance, release comes only with the conclusion of the celebration.

The leader and the overseer watch the predominating mood. If some indication makes them uneasy, they first exchange opinions between themselves and afterward with older men. After a certain amount of consideration, the leader finally requests those present to prepare for the concluding ceremony. He need expect no contradiction from individuals or from a group, and everyone complies with his order. His word alone suffices, and with the announcement of his decision, which, of course, always is made with the consent of several influential men, the čiexaus celebration is actually over. The last act is a brief, but meaningful and stimulating formality.

On the evening of the same day on which the leader has announced the impending conclusion of the celebration, rarely on the following evening, a special ceremony must be held, based on two important ideas. First comes the formal adoption of the uwŝala

/949 cont./

Y 88 | into the adult circle. The ʍ̊ɪʃaʍ hut is thoroughly cleaned and decorated; the color on the ornamental plaques and sticks, as well as on the long leather strap, ʃ̊ɪʃɛ́ɲa, is touched up; everyone present arranges his own ornaments and paints himself carefully. In the rear of the Great Hut a curtain of sea-lion skins is hung, just as on the occasion of visits (p. 821), and the candidates immediately seat themselves behind it. Soon afterwards, notified by the wineʃ̊ɪʃɛ́ɲa, there is a gathering here of the people who had remained behind in the camp almost entirely throughout the ʍ̊ɪʃaʍ celebration. They, too, appear with extraordinarily beautiful facial painting and are equipped with the hapaʃ̊ɪ and dance staff.

A particularly solemn moment is at hand. All the adults very gravely squat in their places, and the uninterrupted singing by some one person sounds noticeably moved. At the direction of the leader a middle-aged man goes behind the curtain and bids the uʃ̊ɪʃala to follow him. They arrange themselves in single file,
[535] headed by the man. With short, mincing steps, holding their dance staffs horizontally /950/ and lifting them up and down in a circular motion, they dance back and forth through the long hut several times. Meanwhile all the adults take part in the singing. Finally the row of youthful dancers stops in the middle of the room. Their leader now accompanies one uʃ̊ɪʃala after another to his respective sponsor. The sponsor, without getting up, takes his hɪʃakupɛ́ɲan by the hand, moves slightly to one side, and invites him to sit down beside him. This act is regarded as a formal presentation of the ward to his sponsor and as an adoption of the young people into the adult group. The uʃ̊ɪʃala is herewith declared a full-fledged mem-
[152] ber of the tribe. On this occasion everyone present is gripped with strong emotion. They cannot hold back tears of sentiment at the happiness of the sponsors and their adopted children. They quite rightly see in this solemn act the climax of the entire youth initiation, for in the latter, as we know, maturing young people are to
[608] become full-fledged tribal associates. At the same time this also publicly and forever seals the spiritual kinship between the sponsors and their wards, hɪʃakuʃ̊ɪʃɛ́ɲan. Occasionally at this time, but
[431] usually not until the great feast, the ward receives from his sponsor a special gift consisting of three items.

/990 cont./

The general feeling of emotion is again dispelled, and the singing is carried on solely by individual persons. They are preparing for a change of mood. The people who came in a while ago as visitors remain seated if it is already evening. The solemn ceremony seldom occurs in the forenoon; if it does, the visitors assemble here in the evening.

During these solemn hours the occasionally necessary change of name of an ahq'ab also takes place. Not every candidate is given another name at the end of his initiation, only the so-called uxipix, uxipixin, that is, "the one without a birthplace," or the child who for some reason does not bear the name of his birthplace (p. 536). As a rule the Tamasa avoid giving the same name to two persons. One of two people born in the same place must, for the time being, be content with a nickname or with the general designation of b'iyuk'ajo or b'iyuxi'ju. At the end of the initiation it does become proper for him to bear the name of the place where he passed his first c'ulunq. Now that their b'iyuk'ajo is handed over to them with special formality, the sponsors pronounce the new name for the first time and it then comes into common usage. For example, until my first initiation in Xmatab'ej (Punta Remedios), I was an b'iyuk'ajo for the Tamasa; thereafter I was called Xmatab'ej. Koppers was named Xunhuch'ajo after Xunhuch (Puerto Mexicanos) where the initiation took place in 1935.

For the other formality which must still be observed, /991/ they regularly choose the last evening in the c'ulunq hut. It culminates in handing over the rule to the women for a few hours. At the proper moment, places are exchanged and the women crowd around the main entrance while the men move toward the center and the rear, beside the secondary entrance. During my first initiation the new song was introduced by Alfredo's wife and in March, 1935, by Pedro's wife; in each case the husbands were serving as overseers. The rest of the women were subordinate to this woman as their leader. All the women joined in the song she introduced and took part in it with unusual animation. Among the men, the actual leader was still very prominent. Santiago constantly made interjections to encourage the women to sing louder and to make a vigorous effort to drive away Tenejax who was nearby.

After the women had the song for almost an hour, they stopped, and Santiago, along with a few men, resumed the soft singing.

/361 cont./

Meanwhile the women rested. After about 10 minutes he loudly and repeatedly called out: Mbutubutuff. The women rose and the men followed their example. They respectively crowded into a cluster and assumed a threatening attitude. One cluster shuffled toward the other and they came so close to each other that they collided. Then they began strongly shoving one another; first one group retreated slightly in the face of the other's superiority, then the first group gained the upper hand. The triumph of victory constantly veered from one group to the other. One formed a strong wall against the other, and the two pressed against each other, body against body. Sometimes an individual woman would also oppose an individual man; each of them held a dance staff as shoulder-height, and in this manner she opposed him, and he, her, with the greatest possible effort. Each of the two groups struggled hard and intensely. The pushing and pulling lasted about 10 minutes. The men, who are stronger, kept the struggle undecided in order finally to help the women to victory by allowing themselves to be pushed back against the rear of the Great Hut and even partly out into the open through the secondary entrance. The women welcomed their victory with a loud howl of joy and vigorously expressed in gestures their satisfaction at their victory over the men. Triumphantly they went back to their seats at the main entrance; the men sat down in the center of the Great Hut, showing by their behavior that they were defeated.

The meaning of this dance battle is easily discernible. For one evening, at least, the women are to have sole sovereignty in the Bikoro hut (364). In their consciousness of victory they

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364. This exhibition definitely reminds one of the "Dance" scene in the Eleusinia of the Gelb'tam. Here, too, the feminine world is given an opportunity "to shake off completely, at least for a few hours, the depressing feeling of utter defenselessness against the powerful tormenting spirits of the Great Hut [and there are the men themselves] and to win back their own spiritual equilibrium" (Vol. I, 99).

actually /365/ do feel elated and are visibly refreshed by it (366).

365. Schmidt (p.363 regards this struggle

/366 cont./

of the two sexes and the victorious superiority of the women "as the first penetration of matriarchy in ancient primitive times, a concession to this new era through the adoption of a matriarchal scene in the otherwise complete parity of the youth initiation of primitive times."

With this single demonstration the final evening of the extended [illegible] celebration definitively ends.

2. The Final Celebration

The leader's speech pertaining to the planned conclusion of the youth initiation does not by any means invalidate the prevailing order of the day, and all the previous rules and regulations remain in force now as then. The speech is a request chiefly to the middle-aged men to bring in larger quantities of meat without delay. Hence they set out on the hunt, accompanied by the ufwala; the younger element must now take a more active part since abundant quantities of food will increase the general gaiety. For their part, the women and girls engage in gathering food more eagerly than is usual. In two or three days a great deal of meat is brought in, depending on weather conditions and luck in the hunt. Meanwhile the ufwala bid farewell to the men in the woods (p. 707).

Up to this point there has been no change in the daily program of the Great Hut. The people sit in their places practically motionless, silent and lost in thought. The monotonous singing never ceases. As soon as considerable quantities of food have been accumulated outside the Great Hut, either in the coolhut or in the branches of nearby trees, the leader waits for clear weather and then orders the kitchen women to prepare the general festive meal. These women, assisted by several helpers, start a large fire where they broil many pieces of meat and cook vast quantities of manioc and corn in the ashes. When the aroma of roasting meat begins to spread, the leader, along with the overseer, gets up from his place and leaves the Great Hut. He is followed by the winnifa's and his helpers, as well as the rest of the men and women. Finally

/952 cont./

X881 the uswala, surrounded by their sponsors, also shuffle through the exit into the open. This is the informal but actual farewell to the čiexaus hut.

Outside they all sit down beside the big fire, and soon small talk begins, quietly and in short sentences at first because they are no longer accustomed to a running conversation, then animatedly and joyfully excited. Everyone eagerly helps himself and enjoys the freshly roasted meat, although many a person who is excessively weakened endangers himself by overeating. As time goes on, the people mix more and more enthusiastically, for one seeks out another and wants to tell or ask about all kinds of things.

/953/ At this great dinner the candidates are required to serve older persons without pause. They offer first one and then another a freshly roasted piece of meat or a handful of mussels. They pass along the irregular rows of the company and distribute on all sides whatever they have in their hands. The adults are pleased with the industriousness of the uswala and exchange /Fig. 87 appears here/ opinions about the success and the prospects of one or another. All the inmates of the dwellings who have not spent the night in the čiexaus hut have, of course, also arrived beside the big fire. They are particularly affected by the sight of the emaciated and weak candidates; they discuss the many deprivations and the long fasting that the candidates have, after all, survived. The candidates cannot arouse themselves to fresh cheerfulness and unconstrained gaiety, for the trials which their weak bodies were obliged to endure for many long weeks were too difficult.

X881 608 431 [445] X881 608 431 515 The so-called sponsors are overjoyed, for during the long period of the čiexaus trial they have successfully led their hetakuxeolan to the goal. They talk a great deal with other adults about their protégé, and in detail with the parents. According to ancient custom, they give their protégé the tube-shaped bird bone embalim (ebelim), through which, day after day, he has sucked sparse amounts of drinking water from a mussel shell. He also receives a rather short carved stick, about 12 centimeters long and pointed at the end, with a shallow groove carved around the top. A tendon is wound around the groove and likewise around the upper end of the sucking tube, and both articles are joined with a string of tendon which is placed around the neck of the candidate (Fig. 87).

/953 cont./

X881 He is always supposed to have on hand, above all, the little stick
608 of wood, tamiyáki, since he uses it to scratch the lice-bites on his
431 head. It is said that young people should regularly use this little
515 stick after their dismissal from the čiéxaus hut; if they used their fingernails, the latter would become brittle. If the tamiyaki is lost or wears out, the young fellow or girl can make one, if the sponsor does not happen to offer a new one. There is no definite limit as to the length of time the young people must use the little scratching stick; sooner or later, however, they simply ignore it.

X881 /954/ A third and final
608 gift of less significance than
431 the two just mentioned, which only the female sponsor presents to her
415 hétakuxeqlan, is a pretty, dainty little basket made of rushes and specially decorated along the upper edge with a wreath of feathers. It is filled with ripe berries of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12 /in untranslated portion/).

X881 The ward receives these three items
608 as mementos. They are first of all supposed
431 to remind him of the male and female sponsors, but even more, of the teachings and admonitions of the čiéxaus celebration. With a certain pride the uswťala shows each

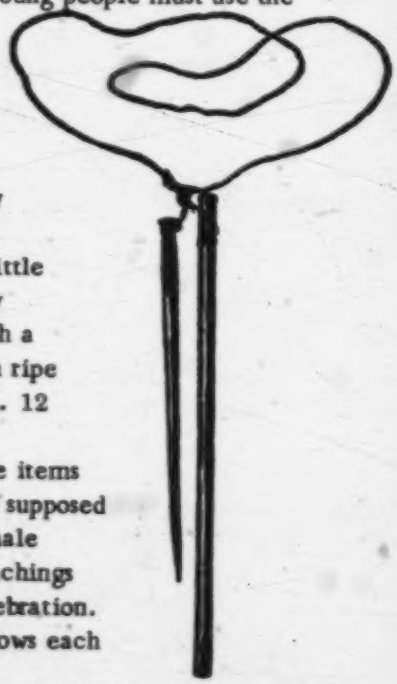

Fig. 87. Small Sucking Tube and Small Scratching Stick. One-half natural size.

of his acquaintances this certification of his successful initiation. Thus he publicly shows that he now lawfully belongs to the group of adults.

X881 For hours the people squat around the fire and enjoy the
524 abundant meal. Gradually they feel a desire for games. Once a beginning has been made, one game follows another. Real

/954 cont./

X881 enthusiasm develops and they all divert themselves for several
524 hours until they begin to feel exhausted. At times their eagerness borders on abandon. This is understandable, since now, no longer bound by the strict čiéxaus program, the people are free to burst out without restraint. The young people are called upon particularly often. Here in the open, in front of everyone, they are supposed to show also the skills they have acquired in the social games which they were often called upon to join in the čiéxaus hut (p. 813).

X881 The conversations and games after the big feast finally come
533 to an end. At the proper moment the overseer or some older person intones the táxer song, and all the participants promptly join in. They immediately try to assume a respectful pose and to make their voices solemn. This táxer song is the actual farewell song, during which all "spirits" arrange themselves and with which they are given an accompaniment back to their particular abode by the people here, just as this was done on almost every evening (p. 787). The people present, however, sing this song for themselves, too, before they take leave of each other, for today or tomorrow they will leave this place and probably not see each other again for a long time. This is why they put into the final táxer song all their feelings of joy and gratitude for their renewed vigor during this enjoyable, inspiring čiéxaus celebration. The song dies away full of melancholy, and silently and for a long time thereafter everyone gives himself up to his thoughts.

X881 Gradually one person and then another get up and go back once more to the Great Hut. Here he collects his utensils, tools, and ornaments, and takes final leave of this place. Everyone takes care of his own things and moves them over to his own dwelling where, after a long time, he again settles himself for the night. If the weather is good, a family may board their canoe that same day and depart. /955/ Most of the people definitely leave the following morning and enthusiastically welcome the longed-for freedom to rove far and wide without restraint. The place where many people were still gathered together for the common celebration just a short time ago becomes depopulated surprisingly
X881 quickly.
346 After that no one pays any attention to the Great Hut.

X881
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/955 cont./

Deserted and unprotected, it remains exposed to the raging natural forces; storms work havoc with the roof and finally with the whole framework, and sooner or later it collapses. The decorated sticks and ornamental plaques are also destroyed with it. After a few months only a person's memory can tell him where the čiěxaus hut recently stood.

X881

Now the place where for weeks many human beings meditated about their own egos and where they adapted themselves to a time of restraint is silent and deserted. The rough wind again bravely shakes the branches through which, shortly before, thin columns of smoke curled up into the treetops. It drives withered leaves over the grassy area on which young and old delighted in lively games.

3. Meaning and Value of the Initiation

No matter how one looks at the čiěxaus celebration, its individual components work together to achieve the one definite goal of making the maturing young people spiritually and physically competent to fulfill the duties of a grown man or woman independently. It is above all a training of the mind; hence the teachings and exhortations make up a considerable part of the whole affair. In order to make the minds of young people susceptible and receptive, their bodies are forced to become subservient to it through difficult exercises in self-control, including physical immobility, constant silence, curtailed sleep, and considerable fasting. Beyond the self-control to be achieved, the spiritual life of the young uswala becomes considerably enriched by the myths and legends, some of which are revealed to them here for the first time, as well as by the social games in which they must here, for the first time, publicly test themselves. Added to all this is the training in the required accomplishments and successful methods of work which make every man and every woman capable of obtaining a living as easily as possible for himself and his family.

Actually, the adults achieve this twin goal with their uswala through a faithful application of the principles esteemed in the čiěxaus. Convincing proof is furnished by those upright, virtuous

/955 cont./

X881 persons who live according to these principles all their lives and who are an honor to their people, in other words, a shining example for youth. Proper tribal members have little or no regard for adults who have not experienced the initiation because, through unusual circumstances, there was no room for them in previous times. /956/ As a single example we need mention only the two brothers Sarmiento and Balfour, sons of old Peine, each of whom had different Europeans as fathers. They constantly lived on farms and year after year they avoided participation in the youth initiation. The older men are very mistrustful of these two and obviously exclude them from their intimate circle.

Moreover, this long description clearly and unequivocally shows the moral value of the čiéxaus institution. One need only consider the individual instructions, and he will be unable to conceal his astonishment at their superior content. This opinion will be heightened by considering the original derivation of the youth initiation, for the Supreme Being himself is regarded as its founder. The uǰwíala are frankly told: "All that goes on here [the daily program with its details] is not our invention; Hidábuan himself wants everything to be done in this way!" They are admonished: "What we tell you here [in the way of precepts and instructions] originates with 'the-One-up-there'! He wants everyone [Yamana] to adapt himself faithfully to it. Fulfilling all this is your [personal] affair, we cannot force you. But Watauinéiwa always sees you, he will also see it if you secretly evade something that we recommend to you here in the čiéxaus. He himself will punish you for your faulty behavior by an untimely death, or he will let one of your children die. Therefore, observe what we tell you here, for that is the way Watauinéiwa wants it!" During the initiation the candidates are repeatedly told that the teachings and precepts presented come from the Supreme Being who watches over their exact fulfillment and punishes their neglect. If one considers the important place of the čiéxaus in all the educational work of the Yamana, he sees surprisingly clearly how deeply their educational principles are anchored in religion.

X881 113 Although the ideas inherent in the youth initiation are derived from religious conceptions, there is also a particular historical derivation. It does not disturb the Fuegian temperament

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X881 773 that the two trends of thought are incompatible. During the course of the celebration the story of "hamanăulum wătuwa" is told to the uĭwăala, and it was on this occasion that I, too, learned it.

In the eastern corner of the Bay of Ushuaia there were, once upon a time, several families camping. They heard that in the west there was a stranded whale. Three men got into a canoe. Two of them were yĕkamuš, the other was not. The former two were Hĕpul (366) and Yo'okalĭa (367). The three men rowed off

[825]

366. Taeniptera pyrope, a small sparrow of the Tyrannidae family. As a mythological personality it also plays an important role in other stories.

367. Milvago chimango, the hawk.

in a westerly direction. Their canoe was extraordinarily swift. Quickly it glided past Puerto Olla (368). Their canoe kept going

368. This small harbor is exactly opposite Punta Divide on the north shore, hence on the boundary line between the central and western Yamana groups.

farther and farther /957/ and came to Hapananúsĭ (369). The

369. The reference is to the channels west of the Darwin Sound as far as the ultimate projection of Brecknock Peninsula. The central and eastern Yamana speak of the inhabitants of this outlying district roughly as Halakwulup.

Halakwulup, a dangerous, bad people, live here. The three Yamana saw the huts of this people here, left their canoe, and climbed ashore. The two yĕkamuš were invited into the same hut, the third man was called to another hut (370). When the two

370. It was the deliberate intention of these

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/957 cont./

wicked people to separate the three visitors from one another, so that it would be easier to overcome them individually.

yékamuš entered the hut the many children inside shouted with joy. They cried loudly: "yárum káiya, but quickly now!" This means [in their language]: "We want to devour these two immediately!" The adults, however, replied: "hamašúnna, not until tomorrow!"

The two yékamuš soon understood [the meaning of these words]. One of them also saw a woman inconspicuously cut off a piece of her breast and put it on the glowing charcoal as a roast, for she wanted to invite the two of them to a meal. Héspul was shocked. He snatched the piece of meat from the fire and threw it out of the hut in a wide arc. Thereupon he said furiously: "I did not come here to eat human flesh!" He reached for his yékuš /arrowhead/ and cut off a piece of whale meat which he laid on the glowing coals. A thick smoke formed, which lulled the people in the hut to sleep, for he was a yékamuš (371). All

371. With his supernatural ability as a medicine man he intentionally rendered his opponents harmless through this method.

the people, even the vicious dogs, were overcome by deep sleep.

Then Héspul said to his companion, who sat next to him: "Let's quickly see which fatty parts are best. We'll put them aside for ourselves!" They looked around, cut out the best fatty parts and the nicest pieces of meat, and dragged them to their canoe. Soon the canoe was filled to the brim and hastily they went off. They rowed busily and worked all night until they came to Asúsiwaia early in the morning.

When they slipped past this little harbor, they heard the Halakwulup throwing large stones after them with their slings, for the Halakwulup had decamped and rowed after them. Every stone that fell made a loud bang. Without hesitating, the three Yamana threw many pieces of fat into the water, in order to lighten the canoe so that they could get away quickly. They rowed with the greatest effort and soon reached Ušuwáia. Here they noticed that

/957 cont./

the Halakwulup had, after all, been unable to overtake them and had turned back. After that Hěspul remained in Usuwáia.

Those Halakwulup got together. They decided: "The three men of the Yamana came here and wanted to murder us; they took away our meat and escaped into their territory. Now we want to /958/ build a very large hut and equip ourselves. Afterwards we shall build a long canoe, and we alone, without the women, shall row to the Yamana, seize them, and kill them. That is how the čiéxaus began there. From the Halakwulup it later came to the Yamana (372).

372. There in the west, Halakwulup and Yamana were in contact with each other. Thus the latter learned the youth initiation from the former, and gradually it was also adopted by the central and eastern Yamana. -- A variation of this myth is given below.

In order to imitate what the Halakwulup had planned, the Yamana capture live birds and bring them into the Great Hut where they remain (373). These birds remind them of the Yamana

373. This custom is not followed very strictly. It is more a kind of amusement for one of the participants to catch a bird and in doing so to meet the requirements of this custom.

whom the Halakwulup had intended to catch. -- So goes the story.

I was also told that some men and women of earlier generations gave certain directions and commands during the čiéxaus celebration in the Halakwulup language. The Yamana like to cite this as proof of the origin of the secret celebration in the west.

We cannot judge here the historical value of this myth, and it will suffice to point out that among the Halakwulup, exactly as among our Yamana, the youth initiation is an independent institution, separate from the men's ceremony (374).

374. These two affairs are known to be

X881 /958 cont./

blended into one, called "Kloketen," among the Selk'nam. Compare Gusinde (bb):370 and (dd):1083.

X881 182 177 Since the intrusion of European culture in the Cape Horn Archipelago, the strict procedure of the youth initiation has been relaxed, gradually and imperceptibly, but ultimately to the detriment of our Yamana. The initial indulgences obviously led to a regrettable deterioration of the original serious spirit of the čiéxaus celebration. It is the old people, who were brought up in the strictness of former times, who complain most of all about present-day laxity, inasmuch as they see in it a serious disadvantage to youth and a threat to the people as a whole.

X881 182 On March 5, 1922, Gertie told me in detail about a considerable length of time she had spent, as a girl, at the Tekenika Mission. No religious influence from that period was apparent in her and I became convinced that the teachings of the missionaries had left absolutely no impression. She said: "At that time there were still many Yamana living. But since then most of our people have died, precisely because they are very careless about observing the former strict customs and have become very indifferent about many things. When I first entered the čiéxaus as an ušwāala, I trembled with fear and terror. Full of awe, I showed my sponsors that I was willing and obedient. I carefully and faithfully fulfilled what was demanded by the daily program, which at that time was still very strict. At present even boys and small girls are admitted as ušwāala. They are not bound by strict discipline because they are still too young. /959/ Because of all this, the good ancient customs are given up. Even important arrangements are no longer taken seriously enough [she means, besides the initiation, the general conduct of the tribal members]. This is probably why our people are now dying in such numbers. The rules of conduct and precepts of our ancestors were excellent, although strict and serious, but people lived well by them and were a great people!" Gertie is a person who appreciates the value of strict tradition and clings to it tenaciously.

X881 182 576 Without doubt, even in the last few decades, the initiation was conducted, by and large, along the lines of ancient tradition. A minor incident in March, 1922, shows that, despite some laxity,

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X881 182 516 the former strict regard for the prevailing regulations of the daily program is still demanded. One evening, shortly before the general dancing began, Adelheid inconspicuously handed Koppers and myself a few swallows of red wine from a small tin container beside her. Soon afterward she stepped into the ranks of dancers. While she was moving with them back and forth in the hut, her sister Gertie, who had been quiet up to now, seized the vessel of wine and ran out with it. After a few minutes she unexpectedly dashed back into the Great Hut, behaved very excitedly, and loudly cried: "A while ago my sister [Adelheid] handed those two [Europeans] there some wine, and only them. Such [partiality] is not customary in this hut; here all [present] must be invited if there is anything to be distributed! That is why I took away the wine that stood in a container beside her. I filled a bottle with it and have brought it back. All the other people should have some of it too!" Then Gertie placed herself approximately in the center of the ciexaus hut and let the whole row of dancers pass by her. She handed the bottle to each one as he stood in front of her, so that he could take a swallow of wine. The dancer did not stop, but moved forward with short, mincing steps, swinging his dance staff. He merely bent his head to one side and opened his mouth. Walter stood at the main entrance as the winefkēxa, but since no one may be overlooked if there is something to be distributed, Walter likewise came dancing up to Gertie and let her put the wine bottle to his mouth, from which he took a swallow.

It is a general rule that everyone may help himself in case only individual persons have been remembered when edibles are being distributed. Anyone who has been passed by and wishes to retaliate will pull out a few branches from the covering of the hut or pick them out of his sleeping-place, light them, and excitedly rush up to the person who overlooked him. He terrorizes him by threatening him with the burning or smoldering branches; in fact, he sometimes burns him. No one is offended at this rough, violent treatment; rather, it is regarded as mild punishment for the monstrous selfishness displayed by the person in his partiality toward a few. Everyone present /960/ appreciates the indignation of the person seeking revenge, for their innermost feeling peremptorily demands that everyone conscientiously follow the most important rules of conduct, at least on the solemn occasion of the initiation.

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X881 182 576 Gertie's interference shows how well she is acquainted with the prevailing custom, and how conscientiously she respects all the details. Just the day before she had assured me: "What I was taught, as uswála I faithfully kept and ineradicably preserved in my memory. This [faithful fulfillment of duty] brings everyone happiness and benefit!" The whole conduct of this woman, who was my sponsor, showed conviction and loyalty to principles.

X881 182 177 If one wishes to be fair in judging the modern Yamana, one must consider a few reasons that justify their relaxation of the procedure during the last few decades. In modern times they cannot count on being free of annoying hindrances, nor are the families independent in choosing the locale and season for the initiation. Always and everywhere they must reckon with interference by the Europeans settled there or they are obliged to work on the farms. As a result, all or most of the tribal members can no longer join in this celebration for a long period.

X881 182 In view of these considerations, it happens that now and then immature boys and girls are admitted as uswála when their judgment is not yet sufficiently developed. No one knows when or whether the next čiéxaus celebration will take place, and they do not want these young people to be deprived altogether of this group training. Their lack of physical development forbids their being subjected to the original rigors of fasting and curtailed sleep. Nowadays strong measures are even less appropriate, since the middle-aged adults themselves are unable to summon enough will power to endure the rigorous regulations of their fathers. They lack the determination to make personal sacrifices. They realize this with shame, and they by no means conceal this situation from the young people. They say frankly: "In former times the uswála came back to the camp from the Great Hut completely emaciated, weak, and exhausted at the end of the čiéxaus; nowadays they are hardly bound by a few insignificant restrictions!"

X881 182 147 We cannot deny the obvious fact that in modern times the physical resistance of the Yamana has considerably diminished. The old people say: "In former times toothache was unknown, nor did one see gray heads among the aged. The Yamana of today are not as hardy as their ancestors. The decisive factor lies in their changed diet, in their consumption of sugar and alcohol, coffee

/960 cont./

X881 182 147 and tea, salt and tobacco. European clothing has also contributed a great deal to this decline. But no one has the courage /961/ today to go back to the life of the ancestors. Thus the ruin of our people draws ever nearer!" Concurrent with the physical weakness of the present generation is laxity in the general sphere of morals, which is continually spreading.

X881 182 The čiěxaus celebration, the principles of which have not essentially changed, is not without some effect on young people even in modern times. The logical application of these principles to life, however, has more or less ceased because the middle-aged adults no longer encourage this strongly enough by setting an example.

In the course of this description we have repeatedly mentioned the individual events which fill each day in the čiěxaus hut. An hourly time schedule is unknown; the group depends on the momentary mood of everyone, on personal whim, the weather, and unpredictable coincidence. Certain general trends, however, mark each day. Hence I believe that I may refrain from describing here the exact succession of each particular event on each day of the initiation, which I experienced twice. Anyone who wishes to know this is referred to Koppers (a):45.

The perpetuation of the Yamana as a people throughout the centuries is largely due to the high moral level of the educational work achieved with the young people in the čiěxaus hut. After the strict supervision of the original procedure was relaxed, the stability of the society disintegrated, and it inevitably drifted toward destruction. It is useful for the history of human education that the educational art of the much misunderstood Yamana, as it is clearly and completely revealed in the čiěxaus celebration (375),

375. The youth initiation of the Halakwulup, which I discovered on my fourth journey, shows the same essential characteristics as that of the Yamana. For the time being, compare Gusinde (o):541 and Schmidt (d):977.

has become illuminated and quite minutely known to us Europeans, even as the declining years of this people have set in.

/961 cont./

E. Property Relations

42 The orderly and peaceable coexistence of the Yamana is largely made possible by the fact that their property relationships are regulated according to ancient laws. No one questions how these arose or upon what they are based, since for each generation up to the present time traditional custom was the immutable guiding principle. Certain legal titles are based on fact; the prevailing laws of custom are primarily decisive. Actually our Yamana have an adequate number of legal concepts, which they followed in olden times as well as now (376). The economy and the social

376. With a view toward facilitating comparison as much as possible, this section was organized to some extent according to the pattern in Volume I, 423. Compare Krickeberg (a):331.

organization have played a part in the formation of certain relationships involving property. These relationships /962/ are particularly apparent in the social intercourse of persons or groups and in the relations between members of the most intimate family circle (377).

[171] 377. Since the economy and the social organization of our Yamana agree to a great extent with the Selk'nam forms, it is not surprising that the property relations of both are almost completely alike.

A careful observer can easily determine the prevailing legal conceptions of the Yamana insofar as they pertain to property, for they are simple and definite in themselves and are also translated into action. This is not to deny individual violations against the law, but the characteristics of the law may be recognized in these very transgressions. One need not be put off by the contradictory judgments of travelers and missionaries. Some facts and observations have simply not been correctly interpreted.

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42 Sometimes it can even be shown that this or that person expressed himself first one way and then another. If one takes the trouble to evaluate the actions of the natives from their standpoint, it becomes clear that they are almost never in violation of the legal norms of Europeans. The repeatedly circulated opinion that our Yamana have no feeling for "thine" and "mine" and that therefore they practice uninhibited theft and robbery is wholly unproved slander. If we were to assume such behavior, how would peaceful coexistence with their own kind be possible? Every Indian knows the laws pertaining to common property as well as personal property, and there are all kinds of considerations that force him to observe them carefully; otherwise he could not live in the society of his fellow-tribesmen.

a. Kinds of Property

In view of the unique position of the Yamana within the totality of lower primitive peoples and also for an exact understanding of the individuality of their culture traits, it is advisable to point out definitely at the beginning what a well-developed conception of property our Fuegians possess. They have a clear conception of "thine" and "mine"; accordingly, they understand occasional violations of property rights and actually observe the titles of possession which are current there. They use possessive pronouns [192] (Pronomina possessiva) to distinguish a specific person as the owner of certain things. There is a large selection of words designating theft and damage to goods belonging to others, and there are plenty of opprobrius terms for persons who seize the property of others (378).

378. Strangely enough, Spegazzini (a):177 maintains that among all three Fuegian tribes "the verbs to take and to steal are equivalent" /translated from Spanish/. A glance into BD and at the word lists of the Selk'nam and Halakwulup would easily have shown him his mistake.

421 /963/ They not only acknowledge that material goods have a definite owner who has sole right of disposal, but they also apply this acknowledgment to specific relationships between individuals. [859 736] Accordingly, children belong to both of their own parents as their property, and one spouse has an actual right to the other. Step-parents have similar rights to children who have only one parent or are completely orphaned. We shall soon discuss the fact that certain groups have a definite title of possession for sections of land marked off with boundaries.

The social order of the Yamana recognizes two types of property, namely, common possessions and personal property. The former is based on the absolute necessity of hunting and the roving mode of life. Since everyone, or rather the individual family, is thrown back on its own resources for a considerable time, it is also the sole, unrestricted master of everything it carries along, and it disposes of this quite freely. This distribution of possessions is natural; we come across it not only among all three Fuegians tribes, but quite generally among peoples with a low gathering economy.

It would be a mistake to regard the common property as a communistic form of possession, for the individual person only has the usufruct of it under certain conditions. In like manner it would [476] be incorrect to explain along these lines the obligation of mutual aid which is emphasized to a remarkable degree among the Yamana (379). Voluntary distribution of possessions in the form of

379. Hyades (q):243 opposed such an obviously false interpretation: "They like to share what they have with those around them, and one cannot say that this is because of the community of property. This community does not exist in Fuegia" /translated from French/.

booty and tools occurs as a result of social considerations, but leaves completely untouched the right of disposal itself.

1. Common Property

186 The consciousness of ethnic unity is very pronounced among 423 our Yamana, as among all primitive peoples. It is based on identity

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18 80 423 of language and way of life no less than on sharing the same native region. They regard the fragmented maze of islands within the triangle between the Cape Horn cliffs, Brecknock Peninsula, and Punta Julieta at Bahía Aguirre as their country, within whose boundaries they alone, from ancient times, have the exclusive right to live and to hunt. Actually they make their property rights, in the widest sense of the word, apply to this whole area.

423 649 They condemn the crossing of these borders by their Indian neighbors in the northeast, as well as in the southwest, as trespass on their land, simply because it belongs to them alone (380).

> 380. Spegazzini (a):168 has mentioned "that the boundaries of a tribe are well defined; no Alucilif /Alacalif/ canoe goes into Iajan /Yahgan/ territory unless it has a particular and important mission" /translated from Spanish/.

They do not drive off the intruders with weapons, but they regard their encroachment quite /964/ frankly as a legal offense. Only the families who reside in an area may grant their neighbors free entrance if personal reasons make it advisable.

423 649 797 They also regard it as robbery when Europeans settle on their land and crowd out their countrymen. For the last few decades they have become resigned to this condition of constraint because they feel too weak to resist. Formerly they overwhelmed many a European ship with hostility and made its landing difficult in order to deprive the unpopular Whites of any possibility or desire to settle here (p. 250 /untranslated/). For the same reason even the missionaries were made to feel the resistance of the natives. For example, it cost the former much toil and labor to found the mission station in Ushuaia, but this did not make that region the property of the missionaries, according to the Indians, and they actually had to submit to all kinds of annoyances. It was only after direct negotiations that Bridges (MM:IV, 133;1970) could content himself with the following solution: "I got full permission from the natives of Ushuaia to take possession of any land for house and gardens. Next time I intend giving them some thing as a small acknowledgment" /cited in English/. Although

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423 opposition for a long time has led to absolutely no result, the
648 Yamana have never given up their exclusive legal claim to their
791 native region.

They trace this claim back to their so-called revolutionary
423 myth, which tells that in ancient times the women who were play-
173 ing kina pushed into this region and continued their secret cere-
mony here. Since this time, they say, all the Yamana have re-
mained in one and the same place, and inasmuch as they were
the first to take possession of this land for themselves, it has be-
come their property.

423 The nature of the landscape has divided the whole Yamana
territory into five large districts in which an equal number of dia-
635 lects have developed (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each dialect group
regards its home as, in a special sense, the common property of
all its members. It is the field in which each one may devote him-
self to the hunt for food without restraint. To begin with, the
individual has no vested right to a specific animal and no priority
in obtaining special products of the land. Without discrimination,
everything within the boundaries of the dialect region is available
to everyone living there. Thus, with regard to the natural prod-
ucts of their circumscribed homeland, there is no personal prop-
erty right; this becomes valid only at the moment when a person
appropriates something for himself.

423 It is no less important to point out that only the members
635 of the same dialect group may take what their circumscribed
area /965/ holds. Persons whose homes are in a neighboring
685 district generally do not have the right to cross the boundaries. A
few exceptional cases are regarded as legally valid. If these ex-
ceptions are misused, however, disputes may be kindled and, to
be sure, precisely because of violation of the sovereign rights
which only the actual owners of this region enjoy. They alone
may indiscriminately appropriate in it whatever they need in the
way of animals and goods, even if some of it serves in barter with
people of another group.

It is obvious that every individual will defend the common
possessions of his dialect group, to which he belongs by birth or
marriage and in which he himself has a share. Whenever and
wherever he observes encroachment by a neighbor, he at least
disapproves of it and speaks of it to others in his immediate

/965 cont./

423 neighborhood. Sometimes the malefactor must atone dearly for
635 his offensive violation of land rights. The Fuegians are even
685 capable of ruthless intolerance toward him. The treatment accorded a certain Okokko may serve as an example. The missionaries with whom he had lived for many months on Isla Keppel wanted him to start a sort of "model farm," like the European prototype, in the center of the region of his countrymen, namely, in Liwya. This, however, was not his home. A small frame house was built for him and a goodly store of provisions left behind so that he could get along for about seven months. His native neighbors, however, would not tolerate him there, for, according to them, he was an intruder. They avenged the violation of their land rights in that "Okokko's house, and goats, and property, had been destroyed by fire" /cited in English/. In this case, envy doubtless intensified the mania for destruction (p. 297 /summarized/).

423 Despite due recognition of the land rights belonging to each
635 dialect group, certain circumstances have nevertheless created legally valid exceptions to the exclusion of one group by another. The basic idea holds for an emergency situation when all doors must be open to every member of the tribe from every direction. This applies first of all to the procurement of raw materials for objects which no one can do without. Uniform, thick beech trunks which furnish suitable pieces of bark for the canoe flourish only in certain places, and there are only a few spots where flint is to be found (p. 41). For anyone seeking these two indispensable kinds of objects the boundaries of the dialect groups, which are drawn on other occasions, do not exist.

Furthermore, anyone who suffers serious hardship in his own region and is threatened by hunger may, without formality, cross the boundary and supply himself in the neighboring territory. It would be inconceivable for our Yamana to deny anyone access to a place where he can save himself from death by starvation. He is permitted to remain there undisturbed until he can demonstrably find subsistence in his own homeland. The most common causes of temporary calamities are: persistent bad weather /966/ regions where canoe trips are difficult in any case, namely, near the outlying islands; no less frequently, the loss of one's canoe; less often, the death of a wife who leaves a man with several small

/PAGE CONT./

423 children while his relatives live far away.

635 Finally, there is a completely different kind of occasion

225 when all boundaries are ignored, namely, when a whale is stranded.

423 A certain priority is conceded to those in whose house district this

425 mighty animal is deposited on the shore, for sometimes they have

635 worked hard before the rich booty is spread out before them (p. 224). Nevertheless, their priority consists chiefly of the privilege to determine the so-called distribution of the fat and meat. It is not left to the discretion of the individual to go up to the animal and cut out a piece here or there for himself. Rather, it is the task of a few men to cut up the big animal properly and to give something to each one present if he wishes it (p. 225). This is the only way to prevent useless waste.

Anyone within the widest radius who learns of the stranding of a whale may head toward the spot considered and remain until all the suitable parts are consumed or distributed. The people native to the region arrive ahead of the visitors from a distance; nothing prevents them from taking the prized whalebone and from having the tastiest pieces cut out for themselves. Hence the people within the bounded area where the mighty animal was washed ashore do enjoy certain advantages. It is easy to see why other tribal members are also allowed to share this rich gift of Mother Nature, according to common law. A small number of people would be unable to consume the considerable amount of fat and meat quickly enough in the short time before it spoils. Therefore, nothing would be more natural than to apply, without restraint, the common principle of sharing with others, especially when there is abundance to be had without effort. Alerted by dense flocks of sea birds, the Indians come pouring in to the stranded whale, even from some distance, and they all enjoy the excellent taste of the blubber. No one would dare rebuff a visiting stranger nor hinder him. If one were to do so, he would be loudly decried as a selfish human being.

423 As for material goods that are common property, our Tlingits have only the two Great Stone Dolls for the [illegible] and the [illegible], the man's ceremony. Both serve in the fulfillment of a task for which the group as such is obligated, and the adult participants busy themselves at it quite as a matter of course. From the start

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613 it is their intention to work for the benefit of those events, hence they forgo a property right which otherwise would accrue from their personal work. Later, after the end of the ceremonies when the Great Hut is abandoned by the group, the latter automatically recognizes its right of disposal. Anyone who then establishes himself in it /MS/ or who wants to use a few sticks from it is not prevented from doing so, since he is appropriating something that has been acknowledged as ownerless.

613 615 Although the Tamana emphasize their right to sole possession of their native area and entirely guard the respective boundaries of their dialect groups, they are just as lenient when distress or expediency make it advisable to waive special rights. They put the life and livelihood of each of their fellow-citizens far above these rights.

5. Private Property

614 Like their neighbors, the Sulu'tawa (Vol. 1, 613) and the Gatatawiyap, our Tamana also make a sharp and clear distinction between common possession and personal property. The former belongs to a larger group or to the whole tribe; private property belongs to only one person as his individual possession, or, as family property, to members of the same family, in the limited sense of the word, who comprise an economic unit. In everyday speech this distinction between individual possession and family possession is clearly expressed (MS). For example, the men speak

MS. The data of other observers are not always clear and comprehensive. Thus Hyades (4:308) in one case states: "Property is individual, there is no chief, social hierarchy, or slaves" /translated from French/. In another place (p.310) he admits that there is common property, besides personal property: "Property is individual and hereditary without a will, but this applies only to personal effects: canoes, hunting or fishing implements, skins of animals, each person having only what is necessary of these objects" /translated from French/.

/987 cont./

421/ of his weapons, the woman of her little baskets, and the child of his ornaments, each one emphasizing his unlimited right of disposal, but each of them can only speak of "our hut," for it belongs jointly to the members of the same family. The designations for the right of ownership in the two cases are different.

d. Personal Possessions

422. At every turn the careful observer comes up against the unequivocal determination with which every Indian lays absolute claim to his personal possessions and defends them against misappropriation and damage. He regards himself as the exclusive master and owner of certain things to which other persons have no right. He alone disposes of them according to his own free will or he loans them for temporary use to a person who urgently requests them and pledges to return them. No one presumes to lay hands on the personal possessions of someone else, unless he is a thief.

It is easy to determine what belongs to the individual, because no one overloads himself with possessions and because /989/ clear, definite legal titles are behind them. Moreover, it follows from the nature of the simple economy of the Yamana that one person possesses no more, essentially, than another of his fellow-tribesmen. Finally, the little that one person carries with him is quite openly exposed to view and can easily be observed by his neighbors (989).

> 989. Bridges, in (1):22 and in MM:III, 115; 1869, listed the total number of objects that constitute "a Yahgan's property" /cited in English/. He does not mention which is the special property of the man, the woman, and the children.

Fully aware of having a general and actual right to the possession of his own things, everyone guards what he has with obvious jealousy. It takes forms that are incomprehensible to us, especially when someone owns things of European origin, for these

/968 cont./

422 more strongly provoke people to theft. Bridges describes with striking accuracy the concern of the Yamana for their few possessions: "The begging and stealing propensities of the natives discourage laying up stores of fuel or food, and engender slyness. When they sell skins or other things to us, they aim to do so unknown to their fellows, in order to keep what they receive to themselves. Thus they secrete what they bring under their clothes, or hide it near by, till obnoxious observers and waylayers have departed. Again, if they have any supply, they cannot keep it in their own possession, and so they leave it with us. A great powerful fellow lately bought some biscuit; he wished me very much to keep it for him. Twice or thrice a day this man came to our door, and would take out three or four biscuits at a time, and always watched for opportunities to time his visits privately. Before leaving our door he invariably concealed the little he used to take. As the man with his biscuit above-mentioned, so with those who have swedes; daily, or several times a day, will they come for two or three. The people here cannot leave the canoe furniture in the canoes for fear of theft, and so have to be constantly taking backwards and forwards paddles, spears, and every trifle" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 218; 1875).

Each one claims for himself the sole use of everything that he possesses in the way of property. One can most clearly recognize what belongs to an individual on the basis of this attitude (383).

383. Cooper:179 cites the following from the direct experience of reliable observers: "The sense of ownership of personal property, such as the spoils of the chase, artifacts, and the movable windshield or hut, is clearly marked, and the right definitely recognized" /cited in English/.

It is easy to keep separate the personal belongings of each member of the family. The man owns only what he wears and carries in his hand, that is to say, his clothing and his even more unpretentious body ornaments, as well as his weapons and the tools with which he makes them. Raw materials that he obtained for

/968 cont./

422 himself to use in making things also belong to him, such as sticks for shafts, tendons for cords, and the rib bones of whales for spear points. Finally /969/ his property consists of such objects as he has made for barter and which he saves for a suitable opportunity. His dogs and the live birds that he has caught and kept with him must not be forgotten. A Yamana man finds these few and very simple earthly goods sufficient for his way of life and his happiness.

The woman is not much richer. She does, however, own a greater number of smaller objects, whereas the man has a few substantial pieces which he calls his own. Her belongings consist of what she needs to cover and to ornament her body, furthermore a small basket or so in which she keeps small artifacts, such as fishhooks, fire implements, pouch for pigments, knife, scraper, strap, etc., and finally the mussel breaker and the long crab fork, although these two articles were made by her husband. Nowadays she also carries from one place to another the tin dishes, cloth garments, and all kinds of trifles that she obtains from the Whites.

[858] From its early years the child, like its father and mother, disposes of his own possessions, which include clothing and ornaments, playthings, and all the tame animals that were given to him for his amusement. There is no lack of examples from olden and modern times which clearly show that even the parents do not consider themselves entitled to dispose of some article belonging to the child without his consent (384).

384. Relying on several written sources, Cooper:179 comes to the conclusion that "women and children have well recognized property rights" /cited in English/. -- The same conditions hold no less strictly for children's right of ownership among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 432) and the Halakwulup.

[171]

It follows naturally from this segregation of goods that no one may arbitrarily dispose of something that belongs to another. Whenever Europeans wanted to trade for some object and approached the wrong person about it, they were always referred to the real owner. Fitz-Roy (a):76, 237 definitely became acquainted with

/969 cont./

422 this method of procedure by our Yamana on two occasions. Once he bartered tobacco with a man for a dog, but since the dog belonged to the man's wife, she forced Fitz-Roy to give the animal back to her. Snow (b):264 also confirms from his own experience: "I believe they have a sort of property right amongst them, and I have seen one of the oldest women exercising authority over the rest of her people. Wishing to buy a canoe, it was refused me on the ground that it belonged to her, and she would not part with it" /cited in English/.

Every Yamana is completely free to take good care of his property or to neglect it completely. No one even prevents him from wantonly destroying his things. If he lacks something he must personally look around for a replacement. Objects that are [425] found may not be appropriated by the finder, and if he nevertheless keeps them, he risks being labeled a thief. Whatever a person has owned in life /970/ remains his after his death. That is [768] why the belongings of a deceased person are burned and destroyed, inasmuch as no one could legally take them as his property. One does not even encroach upon a dead owner's right to his personal [428] property. The Yamana are unacquainted with the actual inheritance of anything whatever.

β. Family Property

Since every person owns his individual property, he also 422 brings it with him into his marriage, without, however, giving up 593 his exclusive right to it. He uses each article freely and without hindrance and replaces for himself anything and everything that has become unserviceable or is lost. As we have just said, one of the partners in marriage would not dare, at his own discretion, to dispose of an object belonging to the other partner.

When a marriage takes place, a new configuration of life is 423 always begun, for the family forms a very compact economic unit. 593 The word "family" is used here in its narrower sense, namely, as the social unit of father, mother, and unmarried children. The new configuration of life also demands its own right to certain implements common to the union as such. The solidarity of family

/970 cont./

423 593 members is visibly symbolized by the hut in which they all find shelter. The man and woman are simultaneously active in its construction, although he is obliged to do the heavier work and she the much easier light work. The children work, too, no matter how slight their participation is. In like manner, both spouses equally keep the hut in repair after it has been built. It is primarily the woman's duty to perform minor repairs. The skins needed to cover the hut framework are furnished by the man from hunting, while the woman dresses the skins. She stores and transports these pieces of leather in her canoe. No other articles are required as common property for the construction of the hut. Naturally, everyone, without discrimination, enjoys the benefit of the fire, since all the members of the family, in one way or another, see that it does not go out.

423 592 If, in an exceptional case, two or three families should erect a common dwelling (p. 32), they readily agree on the division of space, within which each one does as he pleases. If one family wanders off sooner than another, they take down their pieces of leather from the framework and load their own things into their canoe. The family that stays behind then closes off the space that they still want to occupy.

423 594 Only the husband or the wife has the right to permit this guest or that visitor to enter their hut. It is generally regarded as an encroachment to enter a hut without permission, although this is usually tacitly assumed. Once the family has given up their campsite /971/ and departed with their implements, the hut framework left behind is regarded as ownerless. Whoever first takes possession of it lawfully owns it and may settle in it undisturbed.

422 593 In a certain sense the various foods are also doubtless regarded as common property of the family, the idea being that the husband and the wife are obliged to seek food for themselves and the members of their family. The Fuegians' convictions concerning this obligation comes out most clearly when an indolent, lazy [626] man neglects his hunting and lets his family starve. The whole neighborhood expresses its displeasure, and the society even grants the wife the right to leave such a neglectful husband. The man collects meat for the whole family, and the woman gathers smaller animals for all her loved ones, indiscriminately, for

/971 cont./

422 everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and
593 sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing. Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

The little supplementary word "sē" clearly emphasizes the
422 urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather
593 simultaneously and without exception. BD:379 states: "sē [is] used
192 by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. sē čkālli manǰax ālan, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. sē kipajuin ēruf (a man to his wife)come, get us some mussels" /cited in English/.

Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in
422 the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother
593 puts the roast or the mussels on the fire in response to the wish of
264 the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a
576 special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid;
431 hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the things he
476 brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family
593 saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fuegians, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /978/ has lost his weapons, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family hut from his hunting or she herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

/972 cont./

431 Nevertheless this does not entirely deny a person a certain preroga-
47 tive over whatever he has brought in, and a completely equal right
593 to it in the communistic sense is never granted to the members of the family (385).

385. This opinion is clearly expressed in BD:319 in the explanation of the verb "mōtabaku: To take or make use of what is not one's own but yet is proper to take or use, as for instance a husband his wife's fish, or a brother, if hungry, fish belonging to a brother or sister during their absence, though when he saw them he would tell them what he had done" /cited in English/.

422 For the individual family, the vessel, whether it be a bark
593 canoe or a flat skiff, is no less important than dwelling and food. Although it is made by the man, it is the woman's duty to service it, guard it, and care for it (p. 134). During the trip through the channels she has authority in the canoe, because she alone usually rows or paddles. Also, after landing and before departure it is only her concern. Since, however, the canoe serves all the members of the family without exception and since neither the individual nor the family as a whole can do without it, all separate rights or privileges cease, although the husband built the canoe and the wife made it.

Hence we must regard the few things that rightfully belong to the self-contained family and each member of this familial unit as actual "family property." As such, this includes only the dwelling, the canoe, and food, and toward these an individual person cannot claim any special rights and privileges. Obviously this legal situation strengthens family ties and increases the feeling of responsibility of one toward the other with whom he is intimately associated in the life of the individual family.

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b. The Right of Possession

421 The Yamana recognize actual possessions as personal property, aside from a few common possessions. Institutions and principles pointing to pure communism are completely absent. They are familiar with several titles for the right of possession, which we must now discuss, after having described the actual forms of property. In this respect, too, our Yamana agree almost completely with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 434). The recog-
[171] nized legal titles are as simple and clear as the forms of the possessions of this tribal society.

1. Right of the Supreme Being as Creator

421 Later on we shall speak of the religious convictions of the
776 Yamana, which culminate in the recognition of a Supreme Being. Common names applied to this being are Watauinéiwa, "the /973/ ancient one," and Hidábuan, "my father." He is lord over all visible things and their supreme owner. The compound term Watauinéiwa-sír, which is often used, evidently means: the sír, or thing in the sense of property, of Watauinéiwa (386). Practically

386. BD:379 interprets this word with: "tools, implements, vessels, toys, goods, property, things in general" /cited in English/.

everything visible and tangible, without reservation, is regarded by our Fuegians as Watauinéiwa-sír; therefore the Supreme Being is the owner of visible creation.

421 Among all that has been created, the necessary daily food is
776 the most important for our Indians. Heading the list are the game animals hunted by the man and the many lower animals which the
825 woman gathers. Although the individual exerts himself personally for these, it is nevertheless as though he first had to ask permission from Watauinéiwa for each piece, hence his repeated request in actual prayers to the Supreme Being for the things he needs for his subsistence. In this procedure there is a faint hint that Watauinéiwa will benevolently give each human being some of that which he

/973 cont./

421 alone has the right to distribute. The Yamana accepts the slain
825 animal and every other thing as a gift voluntarily bestowed by the
776 Supreme Being; consequently he does not fail to thank his deity expressly for this now and then.

The Yamana have the same idea in mind when they say that everyone should kill and gather only as many animals as are needed for the moment. Beyond that it is punishable to destroy wantonly and aimlessly a number of animals which are not used in the household and which finally putrify. With this restriction they first of all want to check senseless waste of useful animals, but they do not overlook the fact that in such action there is also a violation of the primary property right which belongs only to Watauinéiwa. It is said that he voluntarily lets each individual Yamana have exactly as much as he needs for subsistence, and he punishes a person who, over and above that, wantonly destroys something of his.

If there is a ceremony for the dead or if, on another occasion, someone gives expression to his grief, he sometimes, in self-justification, lets the Supreme Being know that all his life long he has never illicitly, that is, through misuse, laid violent hands on animals which were made available to him for his own subsistence. If anyone has really done wrong in fits of anger and has given vent to his rage by unjustifiable destruction of many animals, he is soon remorseful and begs sincerely for the forgiveness of Watauinéiwa because /974/ of the harm he inflicted upon him. Sometimes an excited person will threaten Watauinéiwa with specific words, thus wishing to avenge himself for some misfortune, saying that he is going to slay masses of his living animals in order to harm him greatly. In these condemnations the deity is clearly set forth as the owner of available material goods, among which animals are regarded as primary.

The Yamana do not give a definite reason why the Supreme Being has the legal title to all creation, primarily all animals. Nevertheless, this idea lives very clearly and definitely within them and serves as a guide for their actions. We shall speak of supplementary details in our description of their form of religion.

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2. Taking Possession

425 The most common and the simplest way of making oneself the owner of an object is to take it and confiscate it. The assumption is that, as ownerless property, it really does not belong to anyone. This includes, first of all, the things that are indispensable for life, such as food, wood for the fire, and sticks for building the hut, as well as such things as bones and whalebone for tools, pieces of bark for the canoe, and rushes for basket-weaving, and finally snail shells and tendons for ornaments, mineral pigments for body painting, and pieces of leather for various uses. Obviously all these things come from the kingdom of nature over which Watauinéiwa actually has the primary right of disposal. The Yamana have a more or less distinctly pronounced conviction that everything around them has been granted by Watauinéiwa so that they may have the usufruct of it. They make use of this general dispensation, for in no other way would they come into possession of the things they need. They do not each time expressly remember this lawful condition, but now and then the commandment not to kill more animals than are directly required for the household flairs up in their memory.

Merely by his conduct a person shows that he intends to make himself the owner of an animal or a thing. Anyone who goes into the forest and gathers firewood, anyone gathering mussels and snails along the beach, anyone who kills a larger animal with his weapons or acquires something in a similar manner thereafter regards himself as sole owner of what he has acquired. At the same time his right is recognized by other people. If, after a certain [673] object has found its master, anyone should disturb the latter in his right of ownership, that person is unequivocally regarded as a thief. Thus it is sufficient for anyone simply to lay his hands on ownerless goods, for in this way he identifies himself as their owner. He remains such as long as he keeps these goods or until he has consumed them. Even married persons take this into account in their behavior 425 toward each other, as /975/ Bridges (I):21 has already assured us: 543 "What the wife caught or obtained was her own, the husband only used of it what his wife gave him, and she did not ask his permission

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425 [593]

when she would make presents to her friends" /cited in English/ (387).

387. Hyades (q):243 writes in a similar vein: "Each properly possesses what he has produced by his labor, what he has harvested in fishing or hunting, what he has found washed up on the beach; even small children themselves have full ownership of what has been given them" /translated from French/.

Sometimes the new owner does not immediately use what has hitherto been ownerless property. In a given case he will make known his right to it by special signs, if it is not obvious from the surrounding circumstances. For example, if someone comes across large pieces of a recently killed sea lion stored in tree branches, he immediately concludes that the successful hunter did not want to or was unable to take along the whole booty and left part of it behind which he will pick up soon. It is not permissible for another person to take possession of those pieces of meat. We know that the Yamana collect branches and trunks for firewood, place them upright against each other in the woods, and let them dry out for a few days. A person passing this bundle of wood immediately recognizes the work performed by another and does not take any of it. If someone finds a sling fastened in the grass (Fig. 59) in which possibly a few wild geese are caught, it would never occur to him to appropriate either of them, and he leaves undisturbed the claim of the one who laid the snare. The surrounding circumstances alone, therefore, make it clear whether goods are ownerless or whether someone has already made himself master of them. The Yamana do not use special property marks since these are for the most part superfluous or would be difficult to apply.

In general the Yamana derive the legal title for the assumption of ownership from the work and effort involved. The ensuing right of possession is recompense for the previous work. Therefore, anyone who of his own accord and with his own labor has accomplished this work enjoys possession of the goods earned. Naturally, in each case only the amount affected by individual effort passes from the ownerless state into that of personal possession.

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425 423 We know that the large territory of the Yamana is divided into five zones with boundaries (p. 199 /untranslated/) which also apply to the right of free food-seeking. Within one's home territory he has free access to everything that nature supplies, but if he goes into neighboring territory and there takes possession of something for his own use, he must be able to justify it. Obvious scarcity of the necessities of life in his more limited home territory or the stranding of a whale affords such justification. A friendly visit is also sufficient reason, for sometimes someone marries into another dialect group from which his nearest kin occasionally visit him. The stranger would not be able to stay too long in the neighboring territory without /976/ arousing displeasure among the local residents and even evoking grave hostility (388). Hence, there, too,

388. I believe that this is the meaning of the following words of Bridges in Hyades (j):180: "The natives dare not go to places where they do not have friends or where they are not known, for they would probably be killed" /translated from French/.

everyone knows (known) the owner of whatever he directly confiscates as ownerless property. The members of each dialect group, however, regard themselves as having priority over all natural stores and animals in their local area.

425 When the rightful owner of an object hands it over to another person, he relinquishes his right of ownership and it passes to the other person. The free decision of the owner himself is required in [428] such cases. The Yamana are unacquainted with an actual hereditary right in the sense that certain descendants can legally take over the possessions of an owner after his death, simply because of their [68] kinship with him. Actually, when a person dies, everything he has owned is purposely destroyed by fire because no one has a right to it as such. Anyone who has received something from another person or is keeping it for him soon returns it (389), simply because the

389. Snow (x):f, 245 confirms this from his own observations: "Several times I procured

/976 cont./

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wild fowl for them, and in so doing I always intimated that it was for the women and children; when, no matter to which of the men I gave the bird, it was invariably taken to those for whom it was intended" /cited in English/.

other person is the owner and is expecting it.

3. Procurement and Production

Often one must equate taking possession of goods as just described and so-called procurement, for in this form it is a matter of acquisition by bringing in something. It is not a matter of barter or gifts, but of seizure of ownerless goods which someone drags to his hut or his canoe. A particular effort is connected with their procurement, for example, in the case of the person who peels off pieces of bark from a beech trunk and trims them for canoe construction, or of the person who on a distant beach picks out the rib bones of whales, which he needs for his harpoon points, and finally of a person who undertakes a distant journey in order to dig out from a rock wall a piece of pyrite for striking fire. As we have pointed out, such procurement usually involves strenuous treks and long canoe trips.

Detailed argument is not needed to prove that all raw materials when purposefully worked become the property of the one who has produced the article. The primary and exclusive purpose of the worker is to produce an implement for his own use that will make his work easier or insure greater success. This /977/ has produced and still produces the manifold articles and the various weapons found in the possession of the Yamana. Whatever an individual has produced in this way for his personal needs belongs to him quite exclusively. From the start, in the fashioning of the raw materials, he proceeds according to his own wishes and the demands of his habits. Anyone who can more easily and surely handle a thick harpoon shaft or a longer sling or a markedly curved bow-staff will naturally fashion this characteristic form out of the raw material when he is making a new piece. A woman who likes to see herself in a

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425 particular type of necklace or other ornament will copy it again and again. A child time after time procures for himself the outstanding toy that is his favorite. Everyone puts his particular wishes into the fashioning of an object and it thereby becomes his property.

Many statements could be quoted which come from every Fuegian's conviction that by the mere production of an article he makes himself sole owner of it and that special confirmation of his right of disposal is not necessary. Other people keep their hands off it; otherwise the owner would defend his property by merely pointing out that he made it. Any object that has been fashioned has its particular owner, either the husband or the wife or the child belonging to the same family. No one would take liberties with the articles of another without making himself guilty of theft. These personal belongings should be kept distinct from those few things which, in the service of all the members of the family, are available to everyone equally as "family goods."

Obviously the lawful title to every article made arises from the work involved. The individual purchases with his own physical strength and skill the object that he makes out of the raw material. Everyone says: "I made this object, therefore it is mine!" Anyone who wishes to have an object that he sees in the hands of another and admires acquires it for himself most easily by making it. The above rules of common law are so very much taken for granted by the Yamana that in everyday life they are hardly ever mentioned by anyone, although old and young invariably conform to them in all their actions.

4. Barter, Loans, Gifts

421 The different treatment of possessions and the use to which they are put derive from the right of ownership. For example, the owner can let his things go to ruin or purposely destroy them. No one will stop him, although his behavior may be characterized as unwise and senseless. The Fuegian does not possess an abundance of goods, and everyone must /978/ sooner or later obtain or make for himself, sometimes with great toil, whatever is indispensable to him and what he has destroyed without reason.

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437 Although by and large every adult is able to make for himself the articles necessary for his way of life, nevertheless he obtains all kinds of things through barter. We mean by this the arrangement whereby, upon mutual agreement, one object is put up for another and the owners make an exchange. Our Indians lack [436] real media of exchange, such as money, shells, and the like, but they put a lower or higher value on each object, to which they decisively refer during the exchange. The value of a thing increases if it is naturally beautiful, for example, in the case of an [435] otter skin, or if it is carefully made and reliable in use, for instance, a long harpoon point, and finally in relation to the difficulty with which it was obtained, as in the case of soft pieces of guanaco leather. If a person wants an object, the owner evaluates it and compares it with the merit of the thing the other person offers in exchange. They try to make up for the lack of merit of one object as against another by increasing the quantity. The [434] Indians are unfamiliar with weights as measures. If both parties have agreed on the equivalence of the objects to be bartered, they make the exchange.

There are several expressions in the Yamana language from 437 which we may clearly recognize the customs involved in barter as 439 described above. For example, BD:307 gives matĕxgĭmatapai, "to make mutually an exchange with each other" /cited in English/; likewise, matĕxgĭmata, "a thing (things) given in exchange" /cited in English/. Earlier observers were convinced that there was lively barter among our Yamana (390). Darwin (d):261 wrote:

> 390. Cooper:179 is correct in his summary: "Barter between the Fuegians and the whites, between the three Fuegian tribes, and between members of the same tribe is a common feature of Fuegian life" /cited in English/.

"Several of the Fuegians definitely proved that they had a good idea of barter. I gave a man a large nail, without making any kind of sign that I expected a return gift. He immediately picked out two fish and handed them to me on the tip of his spear. Whenever there was a gift meant for a canoe and it was dropped

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near someone else, it was always given to the rightful owner." This last statement confirms what was mentioned above, namely, that no one keeps for himself something that belongs to another. "Strange to say," Snow (b):262 confessed, "I found all of the Fuegians I met very honest in barter" /cited in English/. In addition, we quote Lovisato's (b):140 testimony: "The Yahgan seemed to us to be quite familiar with barter...Upon receiving from us a piece of bread or any article whatsoever, they immediately offered some fish strung on a stick or some crabs" /translated from Italian/. The natives evaluated the merit of the object given them and in return gave something comparable (391).

> 391. Unfortunately some Europeans consciously or unconsciously disregarded this point of view of the natives. Hyades (c):243 also complains about this: "It often resulted in misunderstandings with strangers who planned to buy weapons and skins for furs in exchange for an insignificant trifle, while the Fuegians thought they themselves had made a gift which was not repaid in subsequent meetings /translated from French/. Having grown wise by many disappointments, the Indians use a well-known trick which Martial:204 clearly describes: "The seller never parted with the object that he wished to exchange until he had received the price, and when he had several objects he was very careful to show them successively, so as not to decrease the value of his goods" /translated from French/.

/979/ Since Europeans have dominated the Cape Horn Archipelago, our natives have also bartered with them, above all with the missionaries. How actively barter was sometimes carried on was described by Bridges on April 21, 1870, as follows: "There is no market in Fireland. The natives cover our food, clothing, and goods. Women, one after another, bring bundles of small fish for sale. One wants in exchange much biscuit, another a comb, another a handkerchief, another sugar, etc., others bring crabs and

/379 cont./

437 others shellfish, and oftentimes there is such a flow that we must
439 stop and refuse. . . Many come with baskets, spears, dolls, fish-lines, eggs, shells, and curios of every imaginable kind, -- mats, seals' teeth, birds' claws, feather headbands, clays, fungi, wood, etc. -- wanting every description of goods in return" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 217; 1875).

437 One is justified in assuming that the Tanaana greatly enjoy exchanging their articles and, indeed, for the sheer pleasure of having something in return as soon as possible. Bridges (ibid.) is also of the opinion that "the natives are always buying and selling, exchanging canoes and everything" /cited in English/. He also adds: "Their manner of doing so is very unsatisfactory" /cited in English/. True, to a certain extent everyone concerned with barter evaluates the articles to be exchanged, but they lack unequivocal measures of value, such as money, and hasty arbitrariness is unavoidable (305). The various unpleasantness sometimes results from

> 305. On April 11, 1875, Bridges mentioned an incident "that occurred a few days ago. Palakiian, a man about thirty-eight, has three wives and three little children, and had a good canoe. Another man, a widow here, not living with Palakiian, intends to give his canoe to Palakiian. Palakiian does not wish it, and hears of it indirectly, and is troubled what to give in return. He told me all about it. Palakiian at length is told that such and such a canoe is his, not, however, by the gives. Palakiian then seeks him, and gives him a large axe, well handled. Thus there is no mutual agreement previously made, and most of their transactions are performed in this loose manner" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 218;1875).

an exchange.

436 Our Tanaana practice lending less frequently, but sometimes they find themselves forced to resort to it because of need and unknown requirements. Almost always only articles that someone

/979 cont./

426 urgently needs will be borrowed wherever they are to be found, no matter whether it is a canoe or an insignificant ornament for a dance. The original owner puts his property at the disposal of the person who asks him for it for only a certain time. The borrower must, therefore, return the borrowed article to its owner at the end of the period agreed upon. If, in an exceptional case, the owner /980/ cannot be asked for the desired object, the borrower trusts that he will consent; in other words, he tacitly assumes that he will agree and afterwards explains what he has done.

Nowadays the Yamana obtain some European goods which, to a great extent, they leave behind in their little houses in Puerto Mejillones while they are on trips that last several months. I repeatedly saw one or another of them temporarily use an article from a neighboring house and later put it back. When I questioned him, his answer usually was: "The owner agrees to lend it, but I must return what I have borrowed!" It is not customary among the Yamana to admonish a person to return something he has borrowed; the owner waits patiently until the person remembers his duty. If anyone who has borrowed something should lose or damage it, he himself provides for an adequate substitute. The Yamana also did not fail to return the things they borrowed from the missionaries (393).

393. Bridges (MM:IX, 217,1870) says briefly: "Many come begging; many to borrow this thing and that thing, then afterwards to return the article borrowed" /cited in English/.

Their language has terms for borrowing and lending, as well as for the return of what was lent. BD:346 gives mîne, "to lend," manîku, "to borrow" /cited in English/. Making a fine distinction, BD:96 also mentions lmîtalîpata, "to take without asking, to take during the absence of the owner" /cited in English/. Other expressions also show that lawful conditions for lending are clear and familiar to our Fuegians (394).

394. Here is an example of how punctilious they are about returning things that have been lent to them. Stirling gave an iron axe to a certain Tweenot, with which he was to cut firewood for

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the mission ship. "When I lent him the axe, people on board the 'Allen Gardiner' thought and said, 'You will not see that axe again. As for the wood he promises to cut and carry, and get ready by the time the ship comes again, you may whistle for it'; but I made the experiment, and it answered well. The wood was ready, the axe was returned on our next visit some months after" /cited in English/ (MM:VI, 88:1872).

431 STT

Great generosity and unselfishness are conspicuous basic features in the character of the Yamana. The duty toward mutual assistance demands that everyone distribute his booty among others without reservation. Beyond that, some people take particular pleasure in lavishly remembering neighbors with the yields from hunting and gathering (980). We shall not speak here of this habit.

> 980. Hyades (q):243 gained the impression "that the natives especially enjoy ownership in order to have the right to distribute what they have and for the pleasure of being generous" /translated from French/.

431

Understandably, the giving of presents takes on considerable proportions. The articles involved are primarily foodstuffs which everyone can easily and quickly obtain, ornaments, and, finally, articles for daily use. It is taken for granted, so to speak, that women who occupy the same camp for a few days surprise each other now and then with gifts of meat and fruit. A visitor from far or near always brings something along /981/ which he offers the others, chiefly fresh meat or a beautiful skin. This makes it necessary for the recipient to show his appreciation as soon as possible. This is usually done by giving someone who is departing something special, above all tools and handwork. The men offer finished weapons or parts of weapons and raw materials, the women primarily ornaments and small baskets. The gift is given and received without any formality, without a word, without meaningful gestures expressing one's feelings.

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It is one of the inescapable obligations of every Tonsea to come now and then with a gift for someone. Anyone who neglected this beyond a certain time would inevitably acquire a bad reputation. It is just as much a matter of course for the recipient to respond to the attention paid him, not immediately, to be sure, but within a certain time, with a gift of equal value. No one would demand this, but one does not forget who owes him a return gift. This gift, no matter who has given it, is critically evaluated. Woe to the one who has behaved shabbily, that is to say, who has given insignificant, useless things in return! He is soon known far and wide as selfish and stingy. Someone who gives a person a valuable or rare present usually puts him in an embarrassing situation, for then some equivalent is expected of him which he usually does not have on hand. Actually, everyone would prefer not to receive special gifts from the man.

It is very significant that, according to Kuypers (d) 194, the Tonsea language "scarcely has an actual term meaning 'to ask for gifts,' but all the more terms for 'expecting gifts.'" BD-71 mentions lilgilim, "to expect as a man does gifts when visiting his relations who have much blubber" /cited in English/. Still other words express "not to give" and "to give no more." The conduct of a selfish, stingy person is described with the verb ralagiim, "to not take, bring, eat, show any food or other things in the sight or presence of friends nor they are one to give them a part. ralagegilomo, to be, act stingily by not letting others see one bring or use supplies of any kind and thus abstain from giving them a share" /cited in English/ (BD-57). The word ralgo, "a friendship formed between two persons, accompanied with exchange of gifts" /cited in English/ (BD-55), seems to promote a favorable mutual relationship by means of gifts.

As a rule, the giver does not pay any attention to the needs or wishes of the one to whom he gives gifts, rather, he gives him what he himself can easily do without. This increases the embarrassment of the recipient still more. Nevertheless, he must accept the gift with a certain show of satisfaction and with a certain amount of hypocritical pleasure. To refuse it would be the equivalent of a bad insult and public humiliation (106). Also, it

106. In this connection Kruijer (c) 209 has

/301 cont./

already said: "Gifts are most common, and it is considered a great affront to refuse a gift, which is also expected to be returned with something the giver wants" /cited in English/. Cf. Cooper 176.

It not customary among these Fuegians /302/ to wish for a particular present from someone. Such expressions would be rebuffed as bold presumptions. Anything a person needs he can and should obtain through barter. From all this we see that gift-giving, which, as such, is limited, has many unpleasant aspects.

5. Violation of the Right of Ownership

Our Fuegians anxiously guard their right to the various belongings which they call their own. Violations are judged very severely and are avenged by giving the person a bad reputation. Not a single reliable observer will deny that now and then there is a case of theft among these Indians. Many exaggerated judgments, however, must be rejected as false and unfounded assertions (303). For example, Admiral R.J. Fitzroy gives no justifica-

303. In Gusinde (g):13 we read the following obvious exaggeration: "The dogs, like their owners themselves, steal a good deal and, if not carefully watched, lost the more of provisions" /translated from Spanish/.

tion for representing them as among the most thievish of human beings (Abt.IV,131; 1881). Hyades (g):30 approaches the real facts of the matter in the following words: In the settlement of the Mission Ushuaia in Orange Bay, "Where they were permitted entrance and free movement throughout the day, there were nevertheless not the slightest thefts. In this respect, therefore, the Fuegians are decidedly better than their reputation." Dumont, on his journey through the territory of the Yaghans, was occasionally accompanied by Jemmy Button and his family.

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On Pizzin Island and in Wulaia, Jemmy had to defend himself energetically against the thievish behavior of his countrymen. Nevertheless Despard (8):734 comments upon this: "As on our former visits, not the slightest connection marred our harmony; we found no thieving attempted on our property on shore, though some small articles were stolen by a visitor or visitors on board" /cited in English/. Bridges warns in his judgment and once mentions that the Indians steal from each other when one pulls out the other's swedes where they are planted. Hence no one leaves his swedes in the ground until they are fully matured. "they are not half grown, but he cannot venture to leave them longer on account of the stealing" /cited in English/. The same missionary adds: "The natives respect our things much more than their own people's, and we oftentimes wonder that with so little power to repress or punish, we are so little troubled by the audacity, stealing, or vice of the people" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 12;1875) (398).

> 398. On August 15, 1875, Bridges corroborates his opinion with the following observation: "As usual, gave a contribution of cooked rice in school-room, and am truly thankful that on no occasion have we missed any of the spoons and vessels used promiscuously by the natives. There are twenty-four canoes here [illegible] 100 persons living in twelve different houses" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 193; 1875).

In April, 1884, he writes: "They cannot cease stealing, and parties on the eve of departure come /985/ into the gardens by night, and fill their sacks and depart, committing lesser thefts meanwhile. The temptation is great, and as they can do so, and suffer little, they hesitate not" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 183; 1884). A person who judges fairly must admit that theft occurs sporadically and is always branded as a crime (399).

> 399. In this respect Cooper:178 correctly says, "stealing is considered decidedly reprehensible" /cited in English/.

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674 Without wishing to detract from the true uprightness of the Yamana, it must be pointed out that a number of circumstances make stealing difficult. The total possessions of every person consist of only a few pieces. He can therefore easily keep an eye on all that belongs to him and would immediately notice something missing. As soon as it is missed, the one person who could be the thief is easily identified, for there are no crowds in which the guilty one could disappear. Everyone notes very carefully who has come near his hut on this or that day. A further difficulty is hiding a stolen article and keeping it safely concealed. The owner would immediately recognize his own work, and he watches attentively for what he has lost. The filched article would invariably stand out among the few items that anyone owns. Stealing would be just as unprofitable among our Yamana as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 439). Even an insignificant article that has been stolen never makes the thief very happy (400); sooner or later he will get

400. In this connection Dabbene (b):198 says: "They know perfectly well that when they steal they commit a punishable act, for they hasten to hide the object taken" /translated from Spanish/.

rid of it again (401).

401. On April 26, 1871, Bridges (i):20 had a surprising experience. "This evening, Oosiahgoo came to the door saying he had a dreadful pain in his stomach. I let him in and immediately he began to retch most dreadfully. Before I could pass him to get a light he gave me my knife which he stole last Friday evening. He pretended to have vomited it up, which of course I would not credit. However when he came into the kitchen I saw that the violent retching had brought great abundance of tears to his eyes, which had run profusely down his cheeks" /cited in English/. Then Bridges remembered

/983 cont./

674 the circumstances under which the Indian mentioned had filched the little knife unnoticed and probably immediately swallowed it in order to remain undetected.

685 558 626 The high degree of sensitivity of the Yamana is sufficient to explain why they seriously punish a thief. Thievish actions by one of their people affects them very painfully and unpleasantly, even if they themselves are not harmed by it. The thief is generally despised, and even after many years of irreproachable conduct, he rarely succeeds in improving his reputation. Only in exceptional cases is the thief given a few blows by the injured owner (402).

402. Only Dabbene (b):198 mentions that "the thief is castigated when he is discovered" /translated from Spanish/.

In case of aggravating circumstances, a theft may even lead to a dispute involving several families. In general the Yamana avoid associating with a thief or they turn away from him with unmistakable /984/ aversion, so that, excluded from the society of his nearest fellow-tribesmen, he stands alone (403). This punishment

403. Darwin (d):243 evidently met such an ostracized individual in Goeree Road near Lennox Island. "The man evidently lived by himself and York Minster said he was a bad man who had probably stolen something."

of being ignored and ostracized is more effective than scoldings and whippings.

673 577 The extent to which the Yamana abhor a tendency to steal can be surmized from their urgent warnings to young people, as well as from their many expressions and linguistic subtleties in the designations for stealing. Koppers (d):189 took most of the expressions from BD. "There are words for thief, stealing, robbing. Furthermore for: to cause theft, to accuse of theft, to punish it. Also, however: to return stolen goods, to steal no

/984 cont./

673 more. Finally: to guard against being robbed, and, with this in
577 mind, to entrust someone with the duty of watchman." The Indians are quite right in being concerned about their goods and chattels which, as such, are meager, for what they own is usually of vital necessity to them, and they could hardly relinquish them without seriously endangering themselves.

674 Since stealing does occur, however, in spite of being severely condemned, an explanation must be sought. One must never forget that the Yamana consider themselves to be at a disadvantage with Europeans and that they have been dispossessed by all those who have settled there as farmers or traders. They rob the Whites in order to get their rights and particularly to be repaid for losses. A person who is only trying to recover damages cannot be labeled a thief in the strict sense of the word (404). Moreover, the natives

> 404. Spears:67 makes the distinction that among the natives themselves "crimes against property were rare. As to the property of white men they were called thieves and robbers. Fitz-Roy is particularly severe on them in describing their lax notions about property" /cited in English/.

have been cheated in barter by many a European who did not know their principles and ideas of value. When this happened, they sought, by confiscating useful things, only what belonged to them according to their own ideas of justice. They saw an abundance of objects, whose value was unknown to them, in the possession of Europeans who visited them in the past century. According to their tribal custom, everyone shares his abundance with others; hence they thought they were justified in stretching out their hands toward the supposed abundance of the Whites.

Weddell's:182 supplies of iron were stolen twice, whereupon, by means of light punishment, he called the attention of the thief to his wrongdoing. A different attitude then developed among the natives and "they were ever after afraid even to lift a piece of iron without permission" /cited in English/. After that nothing was stolen from Weddell. He, as well as many another seafarer,

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674 expressly points out that the rich selection of the oddest things and the strangest implements fairly challenged these natives to reach out for them and /985/ entertain themselves with them, without actually intending to steal. They have pilfered all kinds of things just for amusement or in roguish high spirits.

How punctiliously our Yamana respect the property rights of Europeans is shown in recent times, since they have formed a clear opinion about their relations to the Whites. The belongings of the latter are just as safe in Tierra del Fuego as in other parts of the world, but anything that they leave lying around in the open is thoughtlessly abandoned to confiscation by the first person who comes along. No European in the Cape Horn region need fear major burglaries and premeditated banditry on the part of the Yamana. Although I lived with them for months, I never lost the most insignificant thing. On my third journey, as I was leaving Puerto Mejillones after the Kina celebration, I threw away a pair of worn-out stockings beside the wooden house of Santiago. I was already sitting in the canoe when Santiago came running and, waving them high in the air, called loudly: "Martin, you left your stockings here!" It was not until I told him, "I do not need them anymore, keep them for yourself!" that the faithful old man calmed down and went back into his house.

The relatively clear and definite regulation of property relations among the Yamana contributes very considerably to the orderly, peaceful existence of the tribal society. Each of them is very exact about the prevailing rules and customs, and violations of the rights of ownership and property of tribal members are actually rare.

F. Feuds and Blood Vengeance

156 578 Compared to the Selk'nam, the Yamana impress the superficial observer as peaceable people. We must also admit that protracted hawis do not occur as often among them as among the Selk'nam. All this, however, does not alter the scarcely surprising fact that our Yamana, too, are very excitable and easily offended out of an exaggerated feeling of honor. In many things pertaining to their person, things that we Europeans regard as utterly unimportant, they show a sensitiveness which is quite

/985 cont./

156 incomprehensible to us. They lose their equanimity particularly
578 in cases of intentional insults and humiliations. This is even more true in instances of a serious offense against their own rights and especially of murder, each case of which is sooner or later avenged if the culprit does not atone for it in time. Almost no one quietly endures insults, no matter how small; instead, he uses the first good opportunity to obtain satisfaction. One must realize, however, that a person is able to wait years for this, and he may take his revenge at a time when the other party has almost completely forgotten the incident. Since the Yamana have such /986/ character traits, less serious brawls between individuals and between small groups are by no means rare. Bridges (1):13 has correctly characterized them as "very quarrelsome and touchy and the weaker were very careful not to offend the stronger and were very courteous in their manner and language, often dissembling with smiles and words of peace their hatred and disapproval" /cited in English/.

627 Since the entire tribe is broken up into very small family communities or hordes(p.632), it is impossible from the start for considerable masses of people to band together for battles or wars. Inasmuch as actual revenge for murder is obligatory for the nearest kin of the murdered person, the matter is settled only between them and the opposite party. In any case, however, such occurrence rare in comparison with the above-mentioned quarrels. It would be entirely mistaken to assume that this ethnic group composed of several large divisions is constantly at war with its own kind. By nature they are anything but pugnacious, no matter how vengeful they are and how jealously sensitive of their personal honor. Anxious concern about their daily food requirements leaves them little time for the troublesome effort of constantly or almost constantly lying in wait for a hostile division.

648 We need not repeat here anything about the relations of our Yamana with the Selk'nam (p. 334 /untranslated/), whom they generally met with apprehension, and with their western neighbors (p. 341 /untranslated/) whom they feared as cannibals (405). Their

405. Hyades (4):240 speaks without sufficient proof of an alleged hatred which "shows itself especially with regard to the neighboring people, Alakaluf /Alacaluf/ that is often bloody"

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and Ona; in this case it results in strife /translated from French/. Cooper:174 sums up the situation correctly, namely, that "as a rule on border territories the relations have been fairly peaceful" /cited in English/.

relations with Europeans (p. 246 /untranslated/), especially to missionaries (p. 288 /untranslated/), has also been treated in detail and has long been known. Cooper:174 characterizes it correctly and briefly as follows: "More commonly, however, the white man has, deliberately or unwittingly, been the first to give offence" /cited in English/. After the Whites spread out in the Cape Horn Archipelago and confiscated the useful land for themselves, there was nothing for the former sole owners of this region to do but to give in without resistance and with quiet resignation.

a. Causes

The Yamana know no more than other primitive peoples how to control their hurt feelings, especially their feeling of injured honor, nor how to settle insults or humiliations in the amicable way of quiet, matter-of-fact explanation or through a sort of arbiter. /407/ Everyone personally and with his own fist seen to it that justice is done him and that he obtains what he believes to be adequate satisfaction. The individual is first of all sole judge and avenger; in certain instances his nearest relatives help him in protecting his rights.

The desire and passion for revenge are extraordinarily emphasized among the Yamana (406). Sometimes they are so carried

406. It is misleading when Hyades (q):240 maintains: "The desire for vengeance does not occupy the Fueglans much..." /translated from French/. The small number of words for the feeling of revenge is no measure of its strength. In this connection see other opinions in Waitz:III, 507.

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152 away that they are completely incapable of anything like a sensible judgment of an incident. A person will literally foam with rage, in fact storm around as though he had taken leave of his senses, and will even vent his wrath on persons who are intimately connected with the offender who is not within his reach (407). Nevertheless,

> 407. In agreement with Dabbene (b):198, Bridges and Furlong assert: "The Yahgan are very vengeful, and in the event of serious offenses or of homicide they are not so concerned about pursuing the criminal when he has successfully escaped, but in their fury they inflict vengeance on any member of the guilty person's family" /translated from Spanish/.

he can muster astonishing self-control when he realizes that he is too weak to stand against his opponent. He is even capable of hiding his feelings until he is sure of superior strength. This conduct obviously betrays genuine cowardice, and it was no different toward Europeans, for, as Cooper:174 definitely says, they have "often shown themselves hostile, aggressive, and treacherous, when they felt they were numerically superior" /cited in English/. According to the Indian, every satisfaction for an insult or an injustice is an actual act of revenge. This becomes clear from what Hyades (q):240 says, and even more so from the words of Bove (e):159: The family and friends of the injured person exact revenge. It is surely not love for the injured that causes a tribe [a family group] to take up arms, however; the spirit of revenge rules supreme in their hearts."

152 Closely connected with their exaggerated sensitivity and the desire for revenge which is constantly alive in them is a high degree
578 of suspicion. "There is, or was, a good deal of bad feeling for one another between the members of the three Fuegian tribes" /cited in English/ (Cooper:174). As a matter of fact, no one quite honestly trusts another, among men as well as among women, and everyone lies in wait, so to speak, as though at one time or another he expected a sign of hostile feeling or malevolent intent. Being conscious of this, the individual is more or less painfully exact and very cautious

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152 in associating with others. In spite of this, the suspicious eye of a
578 neighbor is always discovering something, even though he does not look for it in a decidedly malicious way, and so he interprets this word or that attitude as an offense or a slight, as a threat or a challenge. This kind of character promotes vehement /988/ arguments and wild brawls. The supposed opponent who is attacked is, in most cases, not only innocent, but even completely without presentiment.

578 Linked with this tendency toward constant active suspicion is a never-resting implacability. This is understandable to us and taken for granted by the Yamana. It is why people who have once had more or less serious altercations almost never find their way back to complete mutual trust, no matter how well they seem to get along outwardly. They simply can never forget the incident. No one can conceal his suspicious or hostile attitude toward another person to the point of complete deception. That is why everyone is on his guard if he meets another person or has dealings with him. From all this we now see that the urge of the individual family to be alone, completely cut off from other people, is perfectly understandable, for grave suspicion, together with cowardice and the feeling of the inadequacy of one's own powers, forces them far away from those who could do harm or exact vengeance. Even though the joy of social intercourse now and then brings individual families into contact, they are, as a rule, content with a short period of being together and feel relieved when, soon after, they are once more on their own, free from the glances of suspicious critics. Social intercourse with others is never sincerely friendly without a shadow of mistrust. They are, according to Lothrop (b):164, not an "amicable people, according to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence" /cited in English/. Hyades (c):375 emphasizes their implacability: "The offense which occasions the quarrel is sometimes very old, which proves that the Fueglans are vindictive" /translated from French/.

578 Inasmuch as the Yamana are incapable of completely hiding
152 their inner feelings and emotions indefinitely from a sharp observer, anyone who believes that he has been offended soon adopts a

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578 152 discernible counter-position. With such an attitude, insulting words soon follow. For example, several men will be sitting in a circle; someone will be talking with his neighbor and affecting a mysterious air, meanwhile casting a fleeting glance toward a person who is not fond of him. This alone may cause the latter to become falsely suspicious and to assume that the other is talking disparagingly about him. He watches them more sharply, confirms his preconceived idea, and becomes angry. When the circle breaks up or when he feels more confident among another group of people, he will go up to the other man and say to him excitedly: "You have evil designs on me!" The other, being unsuspecting, is dumbfounded for a few minutes and then replies vehemently: "You want to be hostile to me!" The eyes of both men blaze, and immediately, with growing /989/ excitement and more and more loudly, they hurl serious words of suspicion at each other. If they feel they are a match in strength or cowardice, they part sulkily after some blustering. Anyone who feels that a person has spoken disparagingly about his troublesome dog, his naughty child, a personal fault, his laziness in hunting, his neglect of his family, or his illicit relations with a woman, even if he has no further proof than his own suspicious assumption, will usually confront his supposed opponent on the spot and demand an explanation. Without exception, the latter will flare up and resort to invectives or threats which finally lead to blows. A person will be especially annoyed when insulting words and wounding opinions that were actually spoken are brought by a tale-bearer. This is especially the case among women. They are not only quicker to have it out with words, but are also ready with fists.

Such occasions for feuds are frequent and hence an everyday matter, so to speak, because they arise out of the association of a number of people. The situation becomes much more serious in case of adultery. It makes no difference how this becomes known. The mere suspicion creates a dangerous situation for both parties, even though one or the other is innocent. Actually, all the Tamana, without exception, are severe in their condemnation of this error, whether it is convincingly proved or merely probable, simply because they are decidedly jealous. This does not alter the fact that some of them in their own personal behavior may err even more

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571 152 seriously and habitually. The same serious situation arises when a woman leaves her husband, for she usually tries to steal away because of a love affair with another man.

627 674 The thirst for revenge is, of course, most deeply aroused by an actual, premeditated murder, and nothing sets families against each other so violently as this act. For the Yamana every human life, even that of a child, is most precious and sacred (Bridges [h]:200); hence murder is an utterly abhorrent deed (408). There

408. In this connection compare our account of infanticide (p. 328) and abortion (pp. 491, 526).

are exceptions, however. Most murders come about through adultery. [837] For example, if a married man is looking for a new tie and leaves his wife without cause, her relatives take her part, and they demand that the faithless husband give an account of himself or they simply take the law into their own hands and murder him. They say: "This woman joined herself to this man and they should live together to the end of their lives; since he failed in his duty, he must be punished!" Divorce without adequate cause is an offense against a generally recognized law. Each murder of this kind unleashes a serious /990/ danger for another human life because of the obligation for blood vengeance, and the danger is even greater in the case of a murder for an insignificant reason (409). In view

409. Bridges (VSA:XI, 200,1884) mentions: "If a man kills another carelessly, his relations are greatly displeased, since it brings each one of them into danger. This is a great preventive to blood-shedding" /cited in English/.

of the dangerous position one puts himself into by an act of murder, the individual holds himself in check, even on occasions of greatest excitement and the almost uncomparable passion for revenge.

674 It must be said that murder is rare among the Yamana, although we cannot give exact figures (Cooper:170). On June 20, 1884, Bridges (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884) attempted some statistics on murder:

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674 "Since her coming here in 1871, we enumerated with the natives twenty-two murders, or deaths from violence amongst the Yahgans" /cited in English/. Hyades (r):721 regards this figure as low: "it means an average of less than two violent deaths per year, and this in a country where each one redresses wrongs and exacts justice for himself" /translated from French/. He (q):375) believes that one reason for this low figure is a deeply rooted conviction of the Indians "in regarding human life as sacred" /translated from French/. Bridges later only very rarely mentioned a murder (410). All this,

> 410. Without further explanation he (MM.XVIII, 184, 1894) writes, for example: "There [near Ushuaia] I found the native John Willie, who killed his wife some two years ago" /cited in English/.

however, does not make me change my own opinion that murder occurred at least twice as often as Bridges and Hyades say. I am relying on the dependable reports of the Lawrence brothers and aged Indians. We must keep in mind the irascible nature of our Yamana and the many occasions for this deed, at a result of which they had to take the law into their own hands.

266 It would be unbelievable to imagine that they would murder a person out of cannibalistic intentions. There is no convincing proof of anthropophagy; reliable informants emphatically deny this custom, and the Lawrence brothers never heard of it, to say nothing of never having observed it. Instances of it, beginning with the L'Hermite fleet (p. 81 /unpublished/) which is referred to for affirmation, have never been absolutely settled. Bridges (l):14 decidedly opposes this false accusation, since for all of them "is human life a very sacred thing and for this reason all the relations of the murdered person were in honour bound to avenge his death" /cited in English/. The Yamana even detest animals that gnaw at human corpses, such as foxes, rats, and vultures. They do not even take water from brooks where there are many rats, and they give as their reason: "Animals that devour human flesh drink of this water!" If they see a dog come up to a corpse and start devouring it, or even try to dig out a body, they beat it on the spot, even

/990 cont./

266 though, as we know, they set great store by a dog. Whenever I
/991/ wanted to discuss anthropophagy with them, they persistently refused because of aversion and disgust, and they shook their heads as a sign that they regard such a thing as impossible even among other peoples.

627 Every murder, no matter how the murderer justifies or ex-
578 cuses himself, brings revenge in its wake and usually involves a number of persons. Details will be given below. The yékamuř with his machinations is a by no means surprising cause of serious quarrels. It would be premature to go into that at this point; his behavior must first be described in detail, which will be done later. Hostilities and acts of murder arising from his interference are, as usual, settled by the parties involved and with the help of friendly yékamuř. Thus, the causes of discord and disputes among the Yamana are the same as among other peoples; in view of their character traits, the causes are primarily "insult, theft, adultery, and the death of a relative" /cited in English/ according to Lothrop (b):164 and Hyades (q):374. Mistreatment of the wife should be added. In general, quarrels and discord are not prolonged and sooner or later they are settled again. As has already been reported in Outes (g):59, "small differences are settled among themselves without much difficulty" /translated from Spanish/.

b. Ordinary Quarrels

578 The Yamana certainly are extraordinarily irascible and vengeful; sometimes they simply cannot control themselves and are little amenable to appeasing words. They are neither warlike nor combative by nature, however. This characterizes their natural inclination, but it by no means denies that they easily become involved in quarrels and brawls. "They are," as Hyades (q):374 confirms, "very susceptible and, as a result, inclined to quarrels and strife" /translated from French/. Their predominant tendency is to live in peace with others as much as possible and not to become involved in disputes. This is the sole reason why a family will sometimes remain hidden for years and have no contact, or almost none, with any of their countrymen. Despard

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578 (b):717 has already pointed out "that warfare is not fashionable among them, since they have no chieftains, no military weapons of offence and defence, no fortified places, no war canoes" /cited in English/ (411). Gatherings of many people for warfare would

411. Bove (e):139 too obviously exaggerates: "until a few years ago only very few [Yamana] died a natural death, and the terrible scars which cover the bodies of the oldest ones prove how warlike the Fuegians were and still are. The *jus talionis* is still in full force among them." He probably relies on Bridges (i):13 who, however, exaggerates when he says: "Their many offences against the dearest rights of their friends and neighbours kept the community in a chronic state of unrest and fighting" /cited in English/.

therefore have been impossible. /992/ There are no reports anywhere concerning them. Finally, one must also take into account the undeniable fact that these Fuegians are very cowardly toward each other.

On the other hand, quarrels between two persons are a frequent occurrence. Martial:207 is right when he says that "quarrels between neighbors are frequent" /translated from French/. It would be hard to decide which of the two sexes outdoes the other in this respect. Usually false suspicion or unfounded vindictiveness starts a loud exchange of words, which becomes more intense. Excitement grows on both sides, the two who are quarreling come closer, seize each other or strike each other with the first stick they can lay their hands on, choke each other, and tumble until much blood flows or until sharp pain paralyzes them and their weakened strength fails. Only then do they silently let go of each other. The whole thing is a regular brawl (412) which is violent or more moderate, brutal

412. Spegazzini (e):188 says briefly: "Warfare, properly speaking, does not exist between these communities; usually it is a matter of quarrels over particular questions" /translated from Spanish/.

/998 cont./

or less furious, according to the nature of the combatants. Women, after a brief battle of words, flare up more quickly, seize each other more brutally, bite some part of the body, strike with their fists against mouth and nose and scuffle while pulling very painfully and convulsively on a thick bunch of hair. They do not say anything, but merely hiss and groan. Usually men or other women must pull the raging pair apart. From the start, men try to keep hostile women away from each other. Therefore, the women take advantage of a lonely meeting in the woods or on the beach, where they can really show each other their mutual dislike. Not every man is sufficiently confident of his strength and courage to fight with his opponent (413), and therefore he consciously avoids

> 413. Nevertheless, Bove (x):159 has correctly observed: "Quarrels and fights are common, even in Ochuwela itself, so that, after one has spent a few days there, their occurrence is no longer surprising."

the other's presence and finally forgets unimportant annoyances, but he always avoids coming in contact with someone who might involve him in a brawl.

We insert here an incident that Bridges (b):13 noted in his diary: "Ohuwela, March 24th, 1972. Hatawelangen very ill from the effect of injuries received from Cowlinj who was jealous of him (414). March 28th. This morning Hatawelangen died.

> 414. He suspected him of adulterous relations with his wife, according to Bridges (Mbl.VI, 15b, 1972). On May 22, 1972, he (Ger. cb.) described this quarrel in more detail.

He has been in a very dull state...I fear that the violence of Cowlinj has caused his death. March 31st. There have been some few demonstrations of anger by one and another for the death of Hatawelangen and Cowlinj has had to give away his blubber and other things, and in other ways to suffer. 8th [April]. Today a party of 16 canoes arrived with intent to avenge the death of Hatawelangen. /999/ Cowlinj made his escape...The occupants

/[illegible] cont./

657 of the 16 canoes, having landed, lost no time in meeting the people here. All on both sides, men and women, were armed with sticks, spears or paddles and all who were connected with (Ketowelangan or Cowlitz) indicated the same by the paint on their faces. They hastened on and Mescal presented himself as the chief object of their revenge, being the nephew on his mother's side of the murderer.... There was much shouting and rushing about, great noise and confusion, much downcasting and fierceness of manner, but very few blows. Mescal, after the affair was over, was obliged to lay down the principal of his possessions to further appease the angry feelings of the dead boy's relatives....July 11th. Went to seek Cowlitz who has been hurt by a cousin of the boy Ketowelangan of whose death he was the cause. His head is much hurt and he received several blows about the body" /cited in English/.

518 The fight between two men sometimes starts in a flash and is usually over after a few minutes. In the case of particularly angry opponents who are a match in strength it sometimes lasts longer, and now and then others are also embroiled, for anyone who sees his relative or friend fighting an opponent immediately comes to his aid. Thus, from a single fight a disorderly scuffle of two groups develops, and in the end even the women join in. A fight between individuals is the rule, however. The two seize each other by the throat, wrestle, scratch each other's faces, use their fists indiscriminately, grasp the head of their opponent in an effort to break his neck, and spend their strength. The individuals on the periphery of the entanglement attack themselves to the considerably locked pair or seize women and sticks which they hurl with great force. Even the wildest brawls of this kind die down after a few minutes. Panting and groaning, the excited opponents withdraw and creep into their huts where they sink down exhausted and therefore do not even mention the fight again. This is precisely the course of most of the fights. Of course if people notice that the two opponents are becoming excited and show signs of preparing for a scuffle, they try to calm them with amicable words, take their weapons, and forcibly keep them apart, but such mediation is not always possible. The situation is actually just as Bridges (1936:55, [illegible]) has described it: "A single combat often ends in two whole families fighting together, when they try not to kill, but

519

/[illegible] conc./

539 to exactly relative" /Aimed in English/. In the same note Kyaden (pp.374 adds: "All weapons are then good for the fight: fists, stones, sticks, clubs, harpoons, swords" /Translated from French/.

As an example here is an account of a fight reported by Bridgen (pp.[illegible], 1970) on March 7, 1970, which arose from unhappy marital conditions: "One day, a certain man named Richard Alexandrowsson, who has taken Joe's sister to wife, and through her and his own evil passions brought himself /[illegible]/ too much turmoil, went down to Jonnisson wigwam to fetch his eloped wife. He went in a very threatening manner, with spear in hand, into a hunter's tent. The ill-will of her relatives had often been stirred up by his violence to her, and now seeing him come among them in this threatening manner, their evil passions overflowed all bounds and a savage assault was made. Richard's friends came to his aid, and a scene of universal hell and violence was the result. It occurred during the dinner hour. As usual I rang the bell for work, but no workmen appearing, I rang a second time, still none came. At last Samuel came up to tell me all the people were in a great figure, and had hurt each other very much" /Aimed in English/.

Such brawls — there is no other name for these quarrels — are neither premeditated nor carried out according to a specific pattern (610). It would be inaccurate to speak of actual battles.

> 610. "When they fight, it is generally an affray of words, women, spears, and clubs, with many on both sides" /Aimed in English/, according to Bridgen (pp.[illegible]). This missionary has a number of times expressed himself in these words, and he is quite right.

"among the Tolagan there are seven expeditions of war" /Translated from French/, according to Kyaden (pp.[illegible]).

629 These public brawls and noisy scuffles are clearly distinct from the particular hostilities which I should like to characterize as exceptionally premeditated acts of revenge, with which someone will settle an injustice done far in the past. It is either dependency and convention on the knowledge of his opponent's superior strength

/994 cont./

627 that makes a wealthy act seem advisable to a person. This is a favorite procedure of the yékamuł. The following method has proved successful. A person who wishes to do away with his opponent inconspicuously will discuss his plan with two or three trusted friends. One day they invite the opponent in the most unobtrusive way possible to accompany them on a hunt for young or full-grown cormorants. The other may not and will not refuse the invitation because of the compulsory rules of social intercourse. Unsuspecting, he lets himself be tied to a rope at the top of the steep rock wall and slides down (p. 230). At the proper moment and without any kind of signal, his adversaries cut the rope at the top, and he plunges down and breaks his neck. These malefactors afterwards tell other people that the man, due to his own carelessness, was killed on the cormorant hunt. Spears:68 mentions this stealthy procedure, as Outes (g):50 did earlier, and is right in calling it "a favorite way of killing an enemy" /cited in English/; this method, however, is rarely used.

278 The plant kingdom offers not a single efficacious poison, but the blubber of the grampus ʍ́ɸáɸłi (Orca magellanica), a 825 pilot fish of the large cetaceans (p. 27 /unnumbered/), is re- 627 garded as poisonous. I was assured, confidentially, that this blubber had been given now and then, its efficaciousness having been discovered long ago. Mawenkum told me the following story which is widespread. Once in the west several people found a dead ʍ́ɸáɸłi lying on the beach. /995/ Its meat and fat were still fresh, so some of them ate some of it. Soon afterward these people died. Once Hawaum also came to this place. He was a crafty man. Before he ate, he wanted to find out whether this fat caused death. Unobtrusively he gave a man a small piece of it. The man immediately died. Thereupon he said to himself: "Good, that serves my purpose!" He took a large piece of fat from the ʍ́ɸáɸłi, cut it into small pieces, and filled a pouch made of the stomach of a łáłaf (Chloephaga hybrida). Then he returned to the east. If he wanted to kill someone, he stealthily stuck a small piece of the fat from the ʍ́ɸáɸłi into the person's food. He did this several times and a number of men died. Hawaum was quite generally hated and avoided because of his malevolent disposition. -- Thus it was through him that the actual or alleged strength of this poison became known.

/886 cont./

273 We should also mention that the present-day Tenene almost
578 without exception partake avidly of alcohol whenever they can get it. When intoxicated, they quickly lose control over themselves, become pugnacious, and get into noisy, brutal quarrels, in which many a man has been badly wounded, made a cripple, or forfeited his life. Even the gentle, quiet Richard killed his first wife in a state of complete drunkenness, as Paul Lawrence declared. Such disagreement with serious consequences was unknown in the better olden times.

c. Blood Vengeance

628 Premeditated, serious brawls between two large groups are always the result of a murder. Inasmuch as a person's life is regarded as precious and not to be bartered (p.888), murder is considered a most execrable deed which, for lack of an existing judicial power, must be avenged by the nearest relatives of the unfortunate victim. Blood vengeance in this case, therefore, is the equivalent of a demand for expiation of the crime which caused the death of a member of the tribe. It does not matter in the least whether death occurred immediately or some time after an attack. This idea of blood vengeance is complemented by the duty of the nearest relative of a victim to carry it out personally or to take part in carrying it out. All adults are in complete agreement on this point.

Without doubt, the fear of strict and inexorable expiation for every murderous deed contributes to everyone being carefully on guard to avoid it. Bridges (Mbl.33, 115,1870) confirms this: "Fear is the powerful agent, fear of man, fear of death; without the latter there would not be the former to any profitable degree. A man is restrained from taking life by fear, fear of his friends, as well as dread of those whose vengeance he has incurred by taking the life of one of their kin. For according to native usage, and necessarily springing from it, all the kindred /886/ of a murderer are held as sharers of his offence, and frequently suffer in his stead. For though they (willfully) may be ever so angry with their relatives, the murderer, for thus making them liable, yes, not only liable, but certain to be partners of his punishment, yet they will not give him up to death, but will avenge his death if he is killed" /tried to English/.

/[illegible]./

64 As we have said, there is among the Tswana a clear and definite duty for blood vengeance, which quite generally falls upon the nearest kin of the victim. On July 28, 1896, Dwapad (59-92, 5:1860) noted: "My lads told me that the law of retaliation for murder exists in their country, and is exercised by the nearest of kin" /cited in English/. Some after this he (5:[illegible]) adds: "A murderer must expect, sooner or later, to be killed by the blood-avenger, and next of kin to the victim" /cited in English/. This way of expressing himself is rather vague. Actually, the murderous deed involves everyone who for one reason or another was close to the victim, and together they more or less furiously strike out in revenge. Moreover, the Tswana feel that there are no limits to the measure of punishment, in case the guilty one remains alive. Bridgen, on March 7, 1878, mentioned these ideas, which the missionaries now exemplified a number of times, as follows: "Tswana etiquette and customs require that all the relatives of a murdered person should be lost and frantic in their angry demonstrations, and that they should visit their displeasure upon every connection of the murderer, each personally. Thus a man may be much hurt by a party of enraged and demon-like avengers, and though the poor fellow may have suffered ten times more than he deserved, yet another party of avengers who had not punished him themselves would not let him escape in virtue of what he had already suffered, but would, moved by their own law of vengeance, and prescribed customs, wreak upon him further punishment. Or suppose a man has many things, and the avengers are willing to accept /his/ gifts in lieu of their right to the infliction of suffering, then every avenger expects some gift from every person liable by family connection quite as much as by participation in guilt. That such a season is quite a harvest time to the aggrieved party if they have power to press their claim" /cited in English/. This means, in fact, that for the rest of his life a murderer cannot escape from the importunities and demands of each of the relatives and acquaintances of his victim. In fact, Bridgen (4:[illegible]) emphasizes: "The duties of vengeance were strictly carried out."

The murderer's deed has grave consequences not only for him, but also for all his kin and his intimate circle of friends. The avengers, however, pounce directly on the one actually guilty. The latter, realizing what is in store for him, always flees as quickly as

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possible or, hidden by his relatives, remains under cover. Hence the avengers attack the first person they meet who has connections with the killer. They are to a certain extent justified, for, although the relatives of a criminal do not in the least condone his murderous act, nevertheless the mutual /007/ ties of family solidarity are so close and strong that they not only refuse to hand him over to the opposers, but even protect and defend him against them (416). This does not prevent them from being extremely

> 416. Bridges (Mbid.IX, 111.1972) confirms this: "Society, as here is constituted, supports, aids, protects, not the innocent or injured, but each clan its member, guilty or not guilty" /tried in English/.

angry with him; positively because, by his fateful deed, he has put them all in a very embarrassing and disquieting situation, indeed, even in serious danger (417). Truly, a murderer can no longer enjoy

> 417. "A murderer imperils all his friends and connections more or less, and consequently estranges them from himself" /tried in English/ (Bridges, Mbid.XXI, 134.1972).

life, for not only the ancestors of his victim give him no peace, but even his own relatives never cease their reproaches. The whole group to which he belongs scorns him, pushes him aside, and positively casts him out (418). Everyone will agree with Bridges (Mbid.

> 418. "In general," as Dobbeme (Ib.138 says, "one who kills is deserted by everyone in the tribe and he must take refuge in the woods in order to live" /translated from Spanish/.

XXI, 134.1972) who characterizes this case of affairs, in its importance for the general safety of life, as "the greatest safeguard to human life we can conceive. I have witnessed the anxiety of man's minds after a quarrel, when any have been seriously injured, to

/901 cont./

know how the injured party is doing when fears are felt for his death, and I have heard them express the horrible sensations which creep over them when the sense of blood-guiltiness is likely to be charged against them" /cited in English/. The attention of the people in general and of every individual group is earnestly directed toward preventing any murderous deed.

Whenever such an act occurs, the nearest relatives of the victim adopt a special facial painting. Duepand (VP:VII, 9:1860) (419)

> 419. Earlier Fitz-Roy (r):177 noted: "White feathers, or white down, on the fillet, is a sign of hostility, or of being prepared for war. Their white paint is added to the red when preparing for war; but the marks made are more double, of the rudest, if of any design. Black is the mourning colour" /cited in English/. Dobbrow (b):198 and Hyades (q):375 write in a similar vein.

has already mentioned "white stripes dotted with black, in regular rows on the face" /cited in English/. Sometimes the whole body is uniformly smeared with black. All other persons who are close to the deceased also paint themselves in some way, but usually are satisfied with a few red, white, and black lines on their faces, in an arbitrary pattern. Around their foreheads they tie a narrow strip of skin with down, *spowlers*. In doing this they are following a custom that is general when death occurs. The actual decoration signifying a murder consists of several vertical red lines on the face, spreading out in rays from the level of the eyes.

The persons concerned set about spreading the news of the murderous deed without delay and, along with reliable friends, form a fighting group, for the duty of blood vengeance hammers insistently on everyone's conscience. It applies to every friend and relative, as is shown by the specific /908/ term *matija-magowa*, "a man against whom persons have a grudge and purpose to fight with and punish because he did not take up his and their murdered friend's cause as he ought" /cited in English/ (BD:304). When a considerable horde of avengers has banded together, the opponents,

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628 who anxiously watch every development, know it, and they, too, assemble in as great a number as possible. When both parties feel equal to each other, they prepare a regular attack. The able-bodied men and women get into their canoes, after they have provided themselves with ample supplies of stones and weapons (420).

420. I have nowhere found confirmed what Fitz-Roy (a):196 maintains: "When the Fuegians are inclined to attack an enemy with stones, they generally try to raise a breastwork of boughs or logs" /cited in English/. Another fact which he (a):186 mentions, however, is correct: "Hostilities are usually carried on with slings and stones rather than by close encounters" /cited in English/. Compare Bove (e):158 and Lothrop (b):164.

Persons who are old and feeble and children must remain behind in the camp. Usually it quite naturally happens that a capable yékamuł or a clever, reckless fellow commands and leads the whole [302] group. As a rule, the persons who were associated with the dead person paint their whole bodies black, and the opposing group, red.

The canoes then push off from shore and arrange themselves in an exact row so that their keels form a straight line, each about two meters apart. The so-called commander is very much on the alert to make sure that no canoe gets out of line. If it does, he hurls a stone from his sling into the water in front of the canoe as a warning. Thus lined up, the two fighting groups approach each other. During the slow journey, they stir up their excitement and fighting lust by means of loud talk, agitated gestures, and insulting calls directed at the opponents. When they are only about 20 meters apart, both sides begin hurling stones from their slings. When the two groups are close enough, they begin a furious scuffle, for as soon as the canoes touch lengthwise, the men face to face beat each other with clubs and poles, spears and harpoons. Meanwhile the women, paddling and maneuvering on either side, keep the boats of the fighting men close together. Soon the men shift over to actual wrestling: they seize each other and tug hard, opposing one

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another until both fall down or one falls overboard or the canoe slips away. In all this the women have a difficult task and are especially concerned with keeping their vessel from capsizing, since the men's movements are violent and completely unpredictable. The previous exact arrangement of the canoes is soon broken up, because, from the start, the group of attackers aims to get at the actual murderer among the opponents. When they see him, they noisily turn their entire attention to him and push toward him. The others take note of their movements and try to cover the murderer as much as possible. If the attackers succeed in getting hold of him, /999/ they beat him furiously and mercilessly. If he does not actually succumb, mortally wounded, he will at least be crippled (421). This is enough to satisfy the attackers, and they

421. Hyades (q):375 maintains that "the bodies of the slain enemies are often mutilated" /translated from French/. Among the Yamana it is not customary to mutilate the corpse of an enemy deliberately.

soon withdraw from the fight and return to their camp on the shore. The others, if they are not superior in strength, breathe a sigh of relief that some other person close to the murderer did not lose his life.

As the two groups separate, they continue to scold and sneer loudly, to hurl mockery and abuse, and to reproach each other for a long time. One person or another has suffered serious wounds, perhaps a canoe was shattered, or a fighter even drowned. In any case, each group was so hard hit that the injuries they have suffered are quite enough and they long for rest.

The lust for revenge, however, quickly flares up again if, for some reason, the murderer was not subdued. His relatives and adherents hide him or guard him in a hideout (422), but the others

422. In connection with this Bridges (VSA:XI, 260; 1864) says: "A murderer is generally disliked, but they very often escape their merited end" /cited in English/.

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(2) will not rest until one of them succeeds, perhaps only after many years, in ultimately killing the murderer. Some time after the fight, or particularly if it did not take place, the relatives will content themselves with a payment in compensation for the murder. BD:66 gives ťia, "gifts in atonement for murder" /cited in English/. This consists of many gifts which gradually must be paid to the individual relatives for an indefinite period, since the latter feel justified in making demands over and over again (423). This is

> 423. Bridges (a):207 asserts: "Sometimes the murderer is suffered to live, but he is much beaten and hurt, and has to make many presents to the relatives of the dead" /cited in English/.

further confirmation that, for the rest of his life, a murderer finds no rest from his pursuers.

The story of the fight and its outcome is told far and wide, which serves somehow to interdict any act of murder. In the language of the Yamana amaiiuťina is "a murderer" /cited in English/ (BD:21). The considerable number of words referring to an act of murder strongly suggests that it was not too rare an occurrence. Otherwise there would not be specific rules of procedure, such as Bridges (VSA:XI, 259;1864), for example, recognized: "If a man kills another, the friends of the dead man combine together, and hunt the murderer till they find him. If they are the stronger party, they demand the murderer to be given to them by his nearest male relative, which, if it is in his power to grant, and he refuses to comply, the avengers will take, if they can, his life, and let the murderer go free, and no more molest him. /1000/ But if the murderer is given into their power, they kill him, and it may be cut him up in pieces afterwards" /cited in English/. (Cf. Hyades [q]:375). They call the struggle of two hostile groups yamalaťemōina yťkuna mťja, whereas they refer to the small fights and brawls simply as yťkuna mťja (424).

> 424. Among these hot-blooded Yamana, a serious attack can take place merely on the basis of a false rumor; Hyades (q):375 mentions one of this nature.

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(2) 721 Although isolated quarrels and fights between two persons may have occurred often, a battle between two groups provoked by a murder was rare, for a murder is now and then secretly avenged by a single relative of the slain person. The Yamana are not familiar with actual marauding attacks by one group upon another, such as are customary elsewhere. Influential men sometimes try to mediate disputes with friendly words. Fitz-Roy (a): 179 reliably reported: "Warfare is so desultory, and on so small a scale among them, that the restraint and direction of their elders advised as they are by the doctors, is sufficient" /cited in English/. Despard (b):717 expressed himself just as definitely: "Warfare is not fashionable among them" /cited in English/. The basic way of life among the Yamana is not such as to permit them prolonged fights and constant quarrels (425). Every murder agitates them

> 425. Dabbene (b):194 is right when he says: "Wars, in the true sense of the word, whether between themselves or with neighboring tribes, have always been very rare" /translated from Spanish/.

terribly, and its effect is long-lasting. Persons who have more or less settled serious quarrels between them avoid meeting each other as much as possible.

G. General Social Obligations

101 The Yamana as an ethnic unit are separated from all their neighbors by natural boundaries alone. Everyone recognizes his membership in this ethnic unit by a common language and mode of life. Just as definitely as they differentiate themselves from other peoples by the name Yámana (p. 197 /untranslated/), they also simultaneously emphasize the solidarity of all fellow-tribesmen in the same area. This entails many personal rights, but also obligations of all for one and of one for the society. The rights to obtain food belong among the former; property relations are based upon the latter.

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643 On the basis of population, the Tamana were and are a small nation. In spite of everything, they lack a common head, whether we mean by this a person who through heredity or election is provided with special sovereign power, or one who has earned a dominant position as a result of accidental or successful activity, or one who is superior to his nearest kin, such as the first-born of a patriarchal extended family. /1001/ The influence which a tamana occasionally achieves is a certain moral prerogative resulting from personal virtues.

631 Again, it was the given geographical facts which divided the country of the Tamana into five districts and, on the basis of this, the people as a whole into five tribal groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Since these groups live more or less strictly apart from one another, certain peculiarities of speech and living habits have developed in the course of time. These are the factors which easily and naturally distinguish each group. Obviously this tribal division is purely external because it is spatially conditioned. Within each of the five large dialect groups geographical conditions have brought about further division into local groups (p. 620) which, in turn, are made up of a few kinship groups. The relations of the individual families in each of the latter are very close and firm; these families regularly and frequently have social intercourse with one another.

183 The above-mentioned organization of the Tamana people as a whole is a loose one and largely external, since unification under a common head is lacking. Nevertheless, fixed rules, with unavoidable obligations for everyone, determine the social intercourse of the divisions mentioned and of individual persons. They ensure coexistence without friction and a well-ordered social life. In an extremely simple society like that of our Tamana one might find it astonishing that there are certain arrangements to regulate intercourse with others, and, even more surprising, that they have subjective value and are successful and dependable. They guarantee, above all, the stability of the individual family and the harmonious coexistence of its members. Their vital significance stems from the fact that the unity of the whole ethnic group rests on the individual family as the single definitely determined social structure. They therefore protect and support many thoroughly effective general rules.

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13 Besides that, the great mass of people are led and ruled by unwritten laws which, in a word, can be designated as the demands of the traditional law of custom. Every adult knows it and is thoroughly familiar with it; the younger generation learns it in the family and in everyday association, as well as quite purposefully in the indispensable youth initiation (p. 717). The wiser and more influential old men regard it as their particular task to insist, over and over again and on suitable occasions, on the observance of traditional customs and on keeping their exact meaning unchanged and uncorrupted.

While this, directly and indirectly, ensures the common welfare, there are, in addition, specific rules of conduct for the general populace and for a larger group in the case of a specific misfortune of an individual. No matter how loosely these Fuegians /1002/ are held together as a people, they know that they are obliged to lend effective aid in case one of their members is in any kind of danger. On the basis of this they have developed rules for a kind of assistance that approximates a general welfare service for the needy and helpless. Earnest scrutiny shows that such things are not lacking in the extremely simple social order of the Yamana.

These many rules and regulations direct the individual in his conduct toward others and bind the people as a whole to certain needs and demands. They were not developed and are not observed merely for their own sake; rather, they clearly aim toward the personal safety of every member of the group and toward a peaceful existence of the whole. They have a power that dominates all members of the tribe and that, without exception and with a view to the well-being of society, binds everyone. This is nothing less than a power of state, although still modest in form. Even though it is unimpressive and its action has not yet been set forth in written formulas, it has at least held together in social amity the individual members of the widely scattered Yamana tribe and guaranteed the individual, as well as the society, an existence worthy of human beings within the possibilities offered by the environment (p.910).

In the following account we shall not discuss each and every thing that serves the common weal and that may be regarded

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183 as public welfare, for this would, after all, include the mutual relatives and members of the local dialect group, as well as the many precepts pertaining to the youth initiation (p. 719) and the menarche (p. 571). We shall list only the rules for social intercourse and the duties toward the needy which have not yet been mentioned in the preceding sections.

a. Custom and Justice

It would have been impossible for the Yamana people as a whole to have perpetuated itself as a vital entity if it had not been directed and unified by an all-embracing social order. The prevailing laws are nowhere to be found in writing, but they operate with relentless urgency as vital forces. Their success is obvious. The relations of individuals to one another and to the society as a whole disclose a balanced harmony (426); everyone feels completely safe in his common nationality /1003/ and knows that he is protected against possible dangers from other tribesmen. As a matter of fact, order prevails, which, in short, means that everyone in his attitude toward life completely submits to the recognized regulations, and that disobedience of any kind is exceptional and is always censured and punished.

426. It is inconceivable to me how Bridges (MM:IX, 218;1875) could write, on April 21, 1875, that "horrible looseness prevails through everything. No discipline, no order, no agreements or arrangements; hap-hazard, confusion, 'happy-go-lucky,' these are the usages of Fireland life. A general absence of confidence, faithfulness, and love is everywhere apparent. There is a great show of friendship, but little sincerity" /cited in English/.

These laws, or, as the Yamana themselves express it, "the traditional custom," are universally binding. Only in this way can they ensure the peaceful coexistence of all tribal members

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183 within a common society. As a matter of principle, no one claims an exemption for himself. If in some situation he occasionally lets himself be led astray from the path of recognized duty by passion or by the weakness of his nature, he himself clearly feels that he has made a mistake and is doing wrong. The disapproval of his wrong-doing by the members of the tribe who learn about it also has a definite effect on him. Naturally, certain regulations apply to every age and sex, without exception, others only to children or adults, man or woman. No one, no matter what the situation, would, by word or action, presume to intimate to others that some custom which everyone in his position observes has no meaning for him and does not obligate him. Such behavior would make it impossible for him to live in Yamana society. Quite the contrary, as we shall soon show, everyone is anxious to avoid any suspicion that he, on occasion or as a matter of principle, disdains any law of custom whatever.

183 The Yamana can justify this inescapable pressure on everyone by referring to Watauineiwa, their only deity. Their whole
196 body of custom, so to speak, embraces the true moral law in the narrower sense of the term, as well as all obligations for social coexistence and for the individual toward himself, in the widest sense of the term. The Fuegian has a general formula with which he derives this, his body of custom, that is to say, all the principles and guides practiced, from his deity as the ultimate source; he says: "Watauineiwa wants everyone to be a good human being! -- Watauineiwa wants it that way [as custom has hitherto decreed]; he watches carefully to see whether everyone is acting accordingly!" He does not remember his lawgiver on the occasion of every single act, which would be superhuman, but this general formula remains in his subconscious and at times he is very definitely openly conscious of it. Just as this deity remains the same and has in no way and at no time changed the obligations once set forth, so these obligations endure in unmitigated strictness and retain their unchanging character through all generations. For the Yamana the terse, definite wording above gives /1004/ the ultimate source and universal duty, embracing all times and persons, toward every kind of valid obligation. Further details will be given in the section on the actual moral law.

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183 Thus, in everyday reality the sole guide, the established norm of life, consists of the prevailing customs, the tradition of the ancestors, the conduct of former generations. Old and young take this so much for granted that it seems to have become second nature to them. It is neither criticized nor resented, never attacked nor altered. Everything characterized as ancient custom is regarded as legal and therefore binding; whatever is contrary to it is universally condemned as unjust or improper.

Everyone pays great respect to traditional custom for its own sake and as a compulsory expression of the will of Watauineiwa. Certain institutions, such as the Kina, kina, and kina, are cherished with exceptional care; other customs, such as the instructions for girls at the menarche (p. 571) and sharing of spoils brought home from hunting (p. 314), are cultivated with great conscientiousness. Everyone accepts his individual obligation as fact and yields without contradiction; it suffices for him to know that this or that has always been accepted among the Yamana, which is enough to make it binding for him, too, under like circumstances. It is the oldest persons of any group who, of their own accord, feel the greatest urge to follow exactly along the lines of ancient custom in their personal conduct. They are clearly aware of their duty to set a good example for the younger age levels, since this is more impressive than words. As often as there is an opportunity on public occasions and in private exchanges, they demand strict observance of the traditional order and good ancient custom. They also admonish anyone who in any particular point becomes negligent toward universal custom. Several men will even confer among themselves to see how they can stem the increasing offenses of a younger member of the tribe, with severity, if need be. Everything that was handed down by their forefathers is much too sacred to them to have it destroyed, even in small part, by thoughtless young people.

183 887

183 In this attitude their sound judgment concerning the value of the good things of old is a contributory factor. The group of young people cannot yet appreciate this value, but the old people are absolutely convinced of it and therefore base upon it alone the firm continuance of their society and the contented existence of the individual. Many an old Fuegian emphatically told me, "If our forefathers found all our institutions good, why should they not be just as advantageous for us!" Their rigid adherence to traditional

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183 custom is based on the tested experience of generations. They interpret every deviation from it, no matter how small, almost /1005/ instinctively as disadvantageous and harmful for their society. This judgment may rest to a considerable extent on the balanced harmony between their needs and their environment. It has been shown that they have adjusted in the best possible way to the vital demands of their homeland and have identified themselves so well with it that other wishes and needs do not arise, so to speak.

177 This rigid, infantile attitude of self-contained ethnic unity
183 at first excluded all the innovations that reached the Yamana from contact with European culture. Gradually a few new materials and
182 objects that seemed advantageous to them, iron, for example, came into their possession, but even the strong and continuous influence of the Anglican mission has been unable to change anything in their social order and their spirit world (p. 304 /unassimilated/). It is only in the last few decades that Indian culture has been torn asunder and more than once harshly opposed by foreign settlers. After that it was impossible to continue to live according to ancient custom, and the doom of our tribe was sealed. Many old men and women who had had the good fortune to grow up amid the unadulterated customs of their people were obliged, with tears in their eyes, to see the acceleration of this fateful grievous devastation. Their bitterest laments were unable to exercise the evil. They frankly stated that, with the initial relaxation of the strict customs of former times, the disintegration of the people as a whole began.

183 Among the more general fundamental considerations pertain-
626 ing to the value of traditional customs, the personal sense of honor is, in practice, still strong in its effect. No one wants to be regarded as an inferior member of the tribe, as disloyal to the customs of his fathers, as indolent and negligent, as quarrelsome and selfish. On various occasions the ideal image of the "genuine, proper Yamana" is very clearly unfurled, everyone sees it spread out before him in all its details and in bright colors. A person who deviates consciously or habitually from this ideal displays a considerable degree of wickedness and inner corruption of which he himself is aware, as well as his entire neighborhood. The disgrace

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183 is too profound, the infamy too humiliating for anyone to bear any
634 length of time if he finds himself shunned and rejected by many persons as disloyal to ancient custom! Ambition, self-love, and the desire to be esteemed among his fellow-tribesmen soon force every delinquent back on the path of universally observed proper behavior. For the Yamana this is the strongest motive forcing them to a way of life which is as blameless as possible, according to the example of their fathers. Not even the prospect of punishment by Wonaemu'ewa is as directly effective as a person's ambition to be regarded as a true Yamana by his fellow-tribesmen.

Everyone knows only too well how carefully he is being watched by all the people of his immediate /1006/ and more distant surroundings, how very much in detail his conduct, even in minor, unimportant matters, is discussed and judged by others. Sooner or later everyone learns clearly and definitely how everyone else feels about him and how they evaluate his conduct. The individual succeeds in swaying public opinion in his favor only by absolute, continuous rectitude, in accordance with prevailing customs. Thus a person's concern about his own good reputation (427)

> 427. In this respect our Yamana are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 463). Compare Gusinde (I):160.

is much more effective in forcing him to observe the customs of the ancestors than, for example, the threat of police or written laws. Anyone who habitually deviates from the good ways of old loses all esteem and value in the eyes of the people.

b. Social Intercourse

156 Since every Yamana consciously desires to count for some-
577 thing among his fellow-tribesmen and to be spoken of in terms of praise, he tries to accomplish these ends by his mere appearance and manners. He quite obviously makes an effort to be tactful toward everyone and to offend no one; he is anxiously concerned about his whole outward appearance. He is particularly careful to avoid open hostility with anyone, for he might suddenly, by the

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156 malevolent humor of overwhelming natural forces, find himself
577 in an embarrassing situation in which he is dependent on the help of any fellow-tribesman who happens to come along. The
[471] nomadic way of life in a native region fraught with dangers insistently demands that one person willingly aid another whenever it is necessary (428). A distressing situation which repeatedly

> 428. Bridges (MM:IX, 216;1878) confirms this: "The wandering habits of the natives result in making them servile to each other. Not knowing whom he may meet in any place, yet having to seek shelter with any one he may find there, a native would find it very awkward thus to meet a man and his friends whose enmity he had incurred, causelessly or otherwise" /cited in English/.

assumes different forms has developed rules and obligations for social intercourse which the Yamana observe very punctiliously, keeping in mind their personal advantage and the public good. Everyone can be sure that fate will soon strike him, perhaps even harder than it is now hitting his neighbor. Sympathy for every fellow-tribesman is very highly developed among our Fuegians, even if the thought of one's self and of praise may have something to do with it.

1. Special Forms of Social Intercourse

576 Among the considerable number of customs and rules that apply to the social behavior of the Yamana, there is a conspicuous absence /1007/ of marked formalities. They meet one another neither noisily nor excitedly, but rather with a definite repression of their really animated feelings of joy and friendship. We Europeans might interpret this cool, impolite way of meeting one another as dullness or lack of feeling if we were not certain of the sincere feeling behind it. This is not to deny that sometimes two good friends reunited after a long separation hurry toward each other with loud shouts, embrace and shake each other as though

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576 they were mad. Some women also behave with exaggerated impetuosity when they part after having had a good time together, for example, on the occasion of the Yaiagn. These are not everyday forms of behavior, however.

On the other hand, there is a definite, conscious calculation in the movements and the talk of people who visit each other. Quietly and inconspicuously the visitor enters the hut and squats down near the fire. It is not customary to offer a seat. The visitor keeps his eyes on the ground in front of him and never looks around freely and openly. When he speaks, even at length, he raises them only now and then and does not look fixedly at anyone present. His words are measured and fall as though each one were carefully weighed beforehand. At the same time his bearing, even when he sits, is noticeably rigid. In the presence of others one may not lean back negligently, lounge around comfortably, or luxuriously stretch oneself. Even very old people avoid behaving in an unmannerly way or otherwise acting without restraint. If a person is all alone, however, he rolls about in utter exuberance and stretches himself until he displays his whole body, for now he knows no inhibitions. All the more credit must be given him for the self-control which he imposes upon himself even in front of his own children, to say nothing of visitors.

157 As a matter of principle the Yamana behaves as quietly as possible and without conspicuous vivacity wherever he is, whether he is eating or working and whether or not he is being observed. To a European the movement of a Fuegian is like that of a thief creeping up and stealing off again. The Fuegian has himself firmly under control, and he does not lose his poise even when strange objects fascinate him or foreign visitors face him with their outlandishness. Artlessly he shows a silent, motionless reserve (429), /1008/ which most of the seamen of earlier times

429. Spegazzini (a):167 gives a pertinent opinion: "The Fuegian is very quiet and restrained, especially with a stranger, covering all his feelings, all his passions, with a cloak of indifference" /translated from Spanish/. He gives an example of

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> this attitude. Debenox (p.197) is still more explicit: "The Yaigans are somewhat mediative, melancholy, and taciturn, especially in the presence of a stranger. No object, even though new to them, is capable of arousing their interest or curiosity. They have a dismal look, like the land that they inhabit, and their physiognomy on all occasions shows complete indifference. For this reason it is very difficult to understand the emotions and feelings that dominate them" /translated from Spanish/.

interpreted as dullness and stupidity. Consciously or unconsciously, this was a false judgment.

The extent to which the Fuegian has cultivated self-control may be seen in his amazing ability to maintain silence. True, this is more calculation than virtue, but it is extraordinarily effective in his contacts with suspicious fellow-tribesmen. Except in cases of obvious and continual offenses against important laws of custom, everyone is cautiously reticent about his judgment of another in the presence of visitors and friends. Even less does he publicly make known his dislike or even hostility, and, cleverly calculating, he lets a large circle of people persist in their erroneous opinion about his relationship to a person. Although such behavior is neither distinguished nor courageous, it avoids unrest and excitement, altercation and quarrels in the group. Everyone is inclined to weigh carefully everything he says, but he is even more strongly impelled to do this by the suspicious alertness with which his every word is examined by others. He is just as careful not to expose anything that might cause other people to judge him negatively. The atmosphere of suspicious fault finding and the [626] tormenting fear of being exposed before one's own kind apparently are deadening pressures on many a circle of men and women and prevent a free exchange of opinion; most of them sit around as though they were utterly unable to speak. To a foreign visitor it seems at first glance as though they were intimidated or frightened and did not dare say anything because of anxious fear or justified

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15% bright. The presence of a heavy silhouette of ill repute has an even more deadening and paralyzing effect on any exchange of views within a group. In free gatherings, however, where all is games and after a successful hunt, the atmosphere is gaily noisy and merry without restraint.

15% 5% The restrain, quiet behavior of the Tongans is also an expression of their natural modesty. This characteristic is clearly apparent when one compares them with the proud, self-confident Sulu Moro (Vol. I, 1140). It is not the nature of our Tongans to be noisily conspicuous or to push themselves forward, to boast in front of their own people or to act important among their neighbors, to intimate others with their own feats of strength or to brag about real achievements. Careful European observers are struck by the shy reserve and timid anxiety of the women and girls. This disposition naturally determines social behavior. On their errands and in their wanderings the women generally keep their eyes on the ground in front of them; one scarcely ever meets a woman who animatedly and inquisitively glances all about her. In a circle of women squatting around the hot fire one is very much aware of how they have control of their eyes; they will sit for a long time as though they did not dare raise them and give them free play. As a matter of fact, /1009/ even in old age they retain the retiring, inconspicuous behavior that is imposed upon every girl on the occasion of her menarche (p.549). Molly Lawrence was particularly careful about it, which seems all the more strange since a free, self-confident bearing would have been justified by her higher social position. In spite of this, however, she was proud to follow exactly the ways of her ancestors.

Moreover, etiquette imminently demands, even for adults, 134 a degree of the separation of the sexes required of young people (p.549). If several families gather together, the men and women immediately separate, and each group stays by itself if there is a long conversation or entertainment. It is true that they often join in group games because they take place in the open and in front of many people. If they assemble in a dwelling, the women squat either in a closed group near the entrance or in a circle behind the men who sit down around the fire. It is not permissible and at the very least arouses suspicion if a man enters a hut in which a woman is sitting alone, nor would a woman enter a hut where a man is

/[illegible]/

[illegible] [illegible] In such cases the visitor is supposed to remain standing in front of the hut [illegible] and from here make known his or her wish, unless they prefer to wait for a more suitable occasion. As a rule, everyone first finds out whether the person to whom he wishes to speak is accompanied by others in the hut before he visits him. In order to prevent any misunderstanding or, above all, gossip, women who value their reputation carefully take a child along whenever they enter a strange hut. Molly Lewenson made it a rule to do this. Although she was the mistress of the house and on each of my four journeys I was a guest of long standing in her house, nevertheless she never visited the room assigned to me unless she was accompanied by at least one of her children. Gertie did the same. If a successful hunter has his wife distribute some of his booty among the neighboring huts, she observes the prescribed rules (p. 478). It is well known that, in spite of this, a man now and then secretly meets a woman for illicit intercourse, and the persons who arouse justified suspicion are carefully watched. It has been mentioned several times that gifts are never directly given to a woman by a man or to a man by a woman.

[illegible] What we have just said about prescriptions for social intercourse does not mean that it is basically undermined or seriously curtailed. As a matter of fact, frequent visits back and forth are not only a social requirement, but also a very human, psychological one. Under the pressure of the daily food quest the family must, in any case, again and again go their way alone while persons, as well as children, are fully occupied with the tasks assigned them. /1010/ It is only in the evening that they have a few hours of intimate social life, if indeed they are not too tired. In the long run, however, this is not enough. Hence, they gladly welcome every visitor who comes to them. He will surely have something new to tell them, report all kinds of incidents, and answer a few questions and inquiries. Both parties are pleased and stimulated by the meeting. Occasionally a family must seek aid among others, for example, when they have lost some implements in a storm, when they lack food or materials for implements, when they find themselves burdened with a helpless sick person, or have suffered loss by death. Since assistance in such cases can be obtained only from other families, they are urgently drawn to them,

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574 and they cleave to these families wherever they meet them.

Aside from that, each family must now and then appear among their nearest relatives; otherwise the latter might suspect dislike or even animosity, and the former could not count on aid in an emergency. Anyone who has a crime on his conscience, however, remains hidden and for many months avoids being seen by others. Even if a hostile person should arrive on a visit -- this would happen only if the person were impelled by urgent necessity or were in the company of others -- he would never be refused admission by a Yamana. The visitor may stay as long as he likes; the owner of the hut would not by the faintest sign give the impression that he is tired of him.

No matter who arrives, he is received with warm hospitality, and this is especially true of relatives and good friends. If a family in a canoe sees another family on the water, they hasten toward each other and usually agree to head for shore where they will erect huts next to each other. A man on shore who sees a canoe coming toward him will hasten down to the water and say to the one who is disembarking: "Come quickly into my hut. I have a good fire, rest yourself there!" He will call to the man's wife: "Tie up your canoe quickly. You, too, come immediately to my hut, it is wet and cold out here!" The two men immediately go to the hut and the wife of the visitor will soon follow. They warm themselves at the fire and eat what the mistress of the hut offers them. They stay near the entrance so that they can easily keep an eye on their implements and belongings. When they have refreshed themselves, are thoroughly warmed, and have rested sufficiently and talked a little, they get up and hasten out. The owners of the hut follow them, and all join forces to build a hut for the new arrivals. No matter who requests admittance into the huts of our Yamana, even if many people have to crowd together in the small space, they are always welcome and no one is sent away, least of all when the weather is threatening.

Just as every visitor is readily received, so that one scarcely /1011/ notices a difference in the treatment of friend or stranger, so is he generously provided with food. The owners of the hut spontaneously and regularly offer the best they have. They

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574 hold nothing back, for they aim to please and satisfy their guests, and they are not sorry if their entire supply is consumed. Even a person who has come for the express purpose of eating his fill for once -- perhaps he saw his last remaining home with rich spoils -- is not turned away, but can freely indulge his appetite. It is not customary for the visitor to ask for anything. The owner of the fish already knows the other's intention and serves him everything he has on hand. He is glad to do this also because, at the next opportunity, he will visit the one who is now his guest. Thus a person may eat first in one hut and then in another, but eventually he also must show that he is a generous host. No one expresses thanks for what he has eaten, even if choice tidbits have been offered him (430). Since everyone wishes to avoid being called

> 430. Bridges (k):260 was acquainted with this custom which is strange to Europeans: "The natives...never express thanks, but on every occasion are prompt to repay [the] services" /translated from Spanish/.

stingy or mean, he offers his guest everything he has with unmistakable generosity (431).

> 431. According to Dabbene (b):260 the Yamana are "hospitable, and however scanty the provisions may be, a new arrival will always find a place near the fire and some food. But they accept it coolly in silence, and if one has provisions, he must divide them with the rest" /translated from Spanish/.

576 264 In view of this, it might seem surprising that our Yamana also regard moderation as one of their social virtues. Everyone must act as though he did not care anything at all about eating. Not even in front of his own family, let alone as a visitor in front of others, would a person say that he is hungry. Quite the contrary, if something is offered, he acts almost as though he were offended and waits quite some time before he actually helps himself. At the same time his stomach often grumbles so loudly from hunger

/1011 cont./

576 that everybody in the vicinity knows about it. A person who be-
264 haves too greedily and hastily at meals, who audibly drinks and smacks, is unquestionably regarded as a glutton and sacrifices a great deal of standing. When one is hungry, he cleverly feigns otherwise and fills his stomach without making his hosts consciously aware of it. Very early Despard (b):680 observed this attractive trait: "They hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'small-eater'" /cited in English/. In this respect they are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 474).

When the Fuegians are by themselves, however, or in the
264 small circle of most intimate friends, their great voracity occasionally breaks all bounds, and the sight is sometimes repulsive even to their own countrymen (p. 331). As is well known, they grasp the usually very hot piece of meat /1012/ with their hands, put it to their mouths, and tugging hard, they tear off thick pieces with their teeth. The abundant blubber and meat juice ooze out of both corners of their mouths, and thick drops of it fall on their torsos and thighs. They rub it on their faces and bodies and lick their sticky fingers with their tongues. The scene around a stranded whale is almost disgusting, for everyone discards the customary cautious self-control and stuffs himself with such large amounts that his taut belly stands out prominently. In drinking, which
271 was formerly limited to water, no one need restrain himself. The Yamana drink large quantities daily.

574 Ordinary visits are quiet and without ceremony. The visitor
576 enters the hut, looks around, and sits down near the fire. Considerable time goes by before the owner of the hut addresses him, and then there is another interval before the visitor consents to converse or to make known his reason for coming. He leaves again just as wordlessly. Certain forms of greeting, however, are
576 customary among them (432): when they are separating to go long
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432. Therefore I reject what Spegazzini (a):166 says, for example, and what Despard (b):698 maintained in the following words: "There are no gestures of affection amongst them; they neither kiss, rub noses, nor shake hands. Nevertheless, the affection exists, and is strong" /cited in English/. The former,

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> however, admits: "Although there are no manifestations of love, neither kisses nor caresses, it nevertheless is much in evidence" /translated from Spanish/.

distances, when they have not seen each other for a long time, when they pass each other in their canoes without stopping, and when they have spent some time together happily. Intimate friends, whether men or women, rush impetuously toward each other after a long separation, embrace enthusiastically, and shake each other with impulsive hugs. They utter only sounds of joy, not definite words of greeting, until they let each other go. Snow: I, 346, for example, experienced the heartiness of their embrace: "It was in their friendly hugs that I felt most of their power, and the unpleasantness of too close a contact. The strength displayed in these hugs was greater than I could have supposed. It was, indeed, no joke to have this manifestation of their good-will. It was liked being pressed in a wedge" /cited in English/. Adults do not kiss, but even today, just as formerly, women and, occasionally, men press their mouths hard against the cheek of a baby among their relatives. This type of kiss, ūpásv (433),

> 433. Hence the assertion of Spegazzini (a): 166, for example, or of Hyades (p):334 that "the kiss is quite unknown" /translated from French/ is incorrect BD:101 translates the above expression as follows: "to make any smacking noise with the lips or mouth, or fingers; to kiss" /cited in English/.

means affectionate intimacy between parents and their darlings (p. 514).

576 Anyone who takes formal leave says loudly, "hála, yělla, I am going away"; according to BD:263, "I'm off, I'm going away" /cited in English/. According to BD:263, hála kātakīa, meaning "I will go, i.e., I will wait no longer, I think I had better go" /cited in English/, is more explicit, as is hála yellīa skáia. As Bridges (MM:VII, 118;1873) reliably maintains, /1013/ this is "the only form of farewell known here" /cited in English/.

/1013 cont./

516 This greeting is usually not answered. If someone wants to reply, he says: "ma yella, you may go"; "leave me, or You may leave me" /cited in English/.

If a person meets another in friendly fashion, he throws out an "ápa sá, how are you?" If the other has nothing special to report, he smilingly repeats this ápa sá. Often, however, he comes out, rather unconsciously, with: "bāf hāima, I'm not too well!" No one takes this seriously, however. Others who are not so close to each other walk past utterly mute and are content with a few mutual glances in which, however, they visibly express all kinds of feelings (434).

> 434. Spegazzini (a):167 who denies that our Yamana have any kind of social etiquette nevertheless confesses: "They exchange looks that are as eloquent as any speech..." /translated from Spanish/. Compare also the brief footnote 433.

514 From an earlier period Despard (b):716 describes a form of welcome which I cannot confirm from my own experience. "The mode of receiving strangers is strange. Comers are seen approaching -- wigwam people hear the news -- and consult as to who they may be, look about inside, and make as many spaces round the fire as there are guests to occupy them. Newcomers enter and occupy. Then the in-party turn their back to the fire and make a simultaneous talking. The newly-arrived make a general response. Then both parties assume the face-to-fire position and the ceremony of reception is concluded" /cited in English/.

514 302 An actual visit is quite generally referred to as tēppi, not just under the circumstances mentioned by BD:409. The visitor is not supposed to appear without any kind of body painting. At least a few white or red lines are drawn on the face, following the pattern customary for the uǩwāala in the čiēxaus. Women and children are much more punctilious about this duty than are older men. For simple visits one or two horizontal lines, say from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes, suffice. A person who wishes to honor the other particularly not only paints his face more elaborately, but also very precisely. Besides their faces, older women in particular also decorate the entire upper part of their bodies with

/1013 cont./

514 great care. This type of decoration, which is more or less com-
302 plicated, is used when a child appears before its parents, a bride-
groom before his bride, a woman before her intimate female friend. Young people who have already gone through the čiéxaus would not be permitted to present themselves before their sponsor or their adoptive mother, adakutŕuwaxípa, without this decoration. Such negligence would be tantamount to an insult or contempt. A person who hears that he will soon have the pleasure of a visit quickly paints himself to show how pleased he is. If he has not had time to do it, he paints himself in the presence of the visitor. The sponsor loves to visit her protégé of the čiéxaus and paint
[608] on his cheeks the lines customary for that occasion. All the neighbors praise this evidence of the pair's great intimacy and joyfully tell everyone: "She [the sponsor] painted him!" /1014/ He must appear before her now and then with this design, just as adults, according to the universal rule, are expected to appear with painted decorations when repaying a visit.

514 Linked with this requirement to decorate oneself for visits
515 is the related one of physical cleanliness. Everyone at least removes the worst dirt from his face and from hands and feet, arranges his hair, and puts on his cleanest back-cape. No one makes great demands in this respect, but every visitor must at least show that he has done a little something to appear clean. Naturally he puts on his most precious ornaments. All this is to show that the visitor esteems the one whom he visits.

514 Although the Yamana are unpretentious about physical
cleanliness (p. 28), they are remarkably strict with regard to their
516 natural functions. No one speaks of them. A person who wants to relieve himself quietly leaves the circle of people and goes some distance away. Two people would never do it close together; boys who venture to do so and are observed must expect to have stones thrown at them and be beaten. A person who has to go out at night must not show annoyance at having to go far away from the hut or he would be severely reproached. Children and young people may not loudly break wind in the circle of older people; the latter, however, are free to do so and reap smirks of approval.
516 Very loud and vigorous belching does not disturb anyone, nor do
515 the rasping clearing of the throat and the constant spitting. They are always scratching their heads and all over the body to relieve

/1014 cont./

576 the burdensome itch caused by lice. When they are not doing
575 that, they habitually pick their noses with their thick fingers, and with the flat of the hand they wipe off the phlegm from their noses and smear it on the ground or on the wall of the hut. In all these things our Yamana resemble the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 465), but the latter are in general cleaner than the Yamana. Every European is considerably repulsed by their offensive behavior which is so far removed from our rules of decency.

We must also briefly describe how conversation generally
574 takes place during ordinary visits. A person who has entered a
573 hut as a guest crouches silently by the fire for a while. He does not look about inquisitively nor make conspicuous movements (p. 914). Finally he manages to say a few words in a low voice and leads into unimportant matters. Presently he describes his canoe trip and his experiences with the weather during the last few days. If he happens to have had an exciting hunt, he takes particular pleasure in describing it in minute detail. Meanwhile he works himself into quite a lively state. After that he goes on excitedly and from /1015/ one experience to another, to the satisfaction of those present, and he stops only after many hours. No one dares interrupt him; no one would show boredom, no matter how much he felt it. No matter how great the suspense of those present about a certain incident experienced by the guest, no one would ask specific questions if the guest himself did not get around to telling about it. They do not want to annoy him in any way or to show inquisitiveness by a direct inquiry. The guest ends his tale when he feels like it; no one may presume to ask him to stop because of the late hour. Sometimes a long report is given by a talkative old man, which the company in the circle has heard more than once, but since memories concerning unwritten laws and ancient custom are always interwoven with it, such a story does not fail to have educational value for young people and does a great deal of good.

Frequently an account first given by a man alone develops into a real discussion, but there is never a loud confusion of voices or a disorderly hubbub because the younger people hold back their remarks in favor of their elders and by no means interrupt them. If women are present and something is discussed that concerns them, too, they may of course express their opinions within limits.

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551 If matters pertaining to a specific person come up in the conversation, his name is not mentioned but is indicated by circumlocutions. The Yamana are particularly adept at this. Two men or women are all the more likely to do it when, in low tones, they discuss someone present. A person is never addressed or called by his first name; this also applies to children. People
192 who are fond of each other avoid flirtatious and endearing expres-
201 sions in front of others. Also, no one shows his dislike for another person. The Yamana do not have expletives and swear words. They roar with laughter, double up and roll convulsively on the floor. When they answer in the affirmative, they utter a deep n sound between closed lips and slowly raise their heads; they express a negative with a long drawn-out "bāf."

It is not only improper but very serious to poke fun at anyone
576 present in such a way that he himself becomes aware of it. Peo-
574 ple who have a guest from distant parts are extraordinarily careful not to arouse the least suspicion that they are disparaging or disdainful about his countrymen or his country. They are governed primarily by the fear that out of revenge for bad treatment the strange visitors might cause them much harm through their yékamuš at home and might refuse to help anyone from this group who later came to them. They do not have this fear toward children.
522 Since the Yamana /1016/ have a tendency toward ridicule and
576 sarcasm, however, they do not hold back critical and joking opinions in front of those who cannot properly defend themselves. In March, 1923, I had sent a boat from Beagle Channel to the Wollaston Islands with a special message. After a few days it brought back a lad about ten years old, whom Gertie took in temporarily. On the very first evening I saw how all the people present openly made fun of the boy's unfamiliar accent. He spoke the pure southern dialect (p. 200 /untranslated/) of the Yéškusinālala /southern group/. When I expressed my astonishment that they were deviating from their customary behavior, they justified themselves: "That boy speaks a different language than we do. Some words we don't understand. Everything he says sounds so strange that it makes us laugh! After all, he is still young and small, so he can't hurt us if we openly show our amusement!" No one would dare behave this way toward adults from distant regions. When the guests have departed, however, intimate

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522 576 friends discuss in detail, even scornfully and with much amusement, everything they noticed about them or fancifully attribute to them.

431 574 Unlike the habits of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 470) our Yamana regard it as a duty, so to speak, to give presents to a visitor or guest from distant regions when he leaves. This is altogether in harmony with their unmistakable tendency toward unselfishness and noble generosity. According to Hyades (q):243, their "generous disposition is a characteristic trait of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. I personally had much more opportunity than he did to observe this and to appreciate it. Sometimes, under the influence of great enthusiasm, a person will bountifully give away everything he can possibly do without. One would obviously be unjust to these Indians in supposing that they were generous only so that they would occasionally be praised and repaid with a return gift. Admittedly, they certainly expect it. To that extent Dabbene's (b):200 assertion is correct: "If the Yahgan shows generosity, he does not do it spontaneously, but in the hope that his generosity will be generously repaid" /translated from Spanish/ (435).

435. Earlier Bridges (a):213 had pointed out that "these people like to be thought liberal. They therefore are often very generous, and often give away everything they have, but they know they will soon be well rewarded by gifts in return. When fish, or blubber, or any other food is divided, the divider reserves none for himself, and those who come first are sure to be helped the best" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (q):243, Outes (g):57.

Without much ado and without saying a word the owner of the hut places the gift into the hands of his guest and gives him a friendly look. The guest's face lights up with sincere pleasure, and he accepts it silently, without carefully examining or evaluating it. A man, of course, gives his friend the tools that he /1017/ uses in his work and in hunting. A favorite present is some object that is abundant in one region but scarce elsewhere. To this

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431 category belong bone points for the harpoon, made of a whale rib
574 (Fig. 45), lumps of pyrite (p. 41), guanaco leather, and so forth. A woman, on the other hand, will please her female guest with one of the various ornaments and chooses a form that is not made elsewhere. Whatever a person hands his guest at parting, as a souvenir, as it were, should be particularly valuable, without blemish, and of the finest workmanship! This is the attitude behind the instruction regularly given the uswala in the kizaus. When the other person reaches home, he will have leisure to examine the gift and evaluate it. He will soon tell his neighbor what he thinks of it. They speak favorably and respectfully of the giver only if generosity and magnanimity are reflected in his gift.

572 Besides the need for the company of others, a highly de-
574 veloped feeling of friendship impels certain individual families and smaller family groups to gather together more frequently. Inasmuch as they understand each other better, usually because of their natural disposition, they appreciate each other more and this awakens the desire to meet often and be together for a longer time. One really finds genuine friendship among the Yamana, which is self-sacrificing and entirely unselfish. The persons linked by such friendship are, like loving brothers and sisters, closely allied for mutual assistance.

574 Families who have little or no contact with one another
separate after a brief exchange without a formal farewell. When
576 they do not want to stay longer, they silently and without fuss drag their things to the canoe, load their meager belongings in a few minutes, and, without a greeting, row off in the chosen direction. When relatives and good friends take leave of each other, however, there is a noisy and animated farewell. They discuss their decision beforehand. If one family should remain behind, they help the other in moving. If two or more families have decided to abandon their common campsite at the same time, they have a last, long talk, then they soundlessly gather their things together and do not let another word fall as they depart (436).

436 Bridges (MM:III, 11;1869) soundly confirms this: "When there is a new arrival, a greater or lesser public

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demonstration in loud speaking and vociferation, according to the feelings of the person speaking. So also, when a canoe or canoes depart, a public notice in the same way is given" /cited in English/.

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There is an atmosphere of intimate friendship among families who travel together for a certain time and camp beside each other. They are constantly finding occasions for neighborly visits on the beach. In any case the hunting successes of one family will attract the other, or one brings home things that the other could not find, and these are now /1018/ exchanged. Moreover, implements must be mended or new weapons made. For all this they like to ask the help or at least the opinion of their neighbor, if only out of the need to chat once more. These people are so intimate that they are as much at home in each other's huts as in their own. Whenever a family comes home with rich spoils, these in themselves have sufficient power of attraction to draw the neighbors without an invitation. Sometimes they are specially called together (437). If the gathering is somewhat large, it is known as

437. Bridges (VP:XIII, 213;1866) refers to this: "Sometimes a man and his wife give a feast; they then make a great fire, and cook what food they have, and when all is ready, they call the people to come to partake. The host serves out the feast, and behaves very generously, and they are then very chatty" /cited in English/.

Ckinaspi and has a certain formality. No matter what the arrangement, however, the atmosphere is intimate and unconstrained.

2. More General Forms of Communication

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In the preceding we have described the everyday and more intimate intercourse between individuals and families. In what follows we shall speak of the regulations governing general communication and public order. The mutual relations of the Yamana are determined by a greater or lesser degree of unselfishness, according to personal disposition and the connection with the other person. I have repeatedly referred to this virtue of the Fuegians, for it is much practiced, and in order that it not be lost, it is more emphatically impressed upon the younger generation as a duty then are many other things. Most adults and children have an opportunity to practice it almost daily. A person who should fail in this would fall into hopeless ill-repute and open scorn. Everyone knows that he is closely watched, particularly when he distributes his spoils (p. 314), but it is not altogether out of fear of unfavorable talk that a person sometimes gives so much to others that he has nothing left for himself; he actually wants to show that he is unselfish. Whoever asks a favor of anyone can absolutely count on its being granted, no matter how much personal exertion and unpleasantness is connected with it. It is probably unnecessary to repeat the admonitions pertaining to this which are given the uwala in the [illegible]. Children, even in their earliest years, are taught to practice generosity willingly, and it is touching to see that even the smallest when they are eating give large pieces to their playmates. The Yamana feels uplifted and obviously happy to have served another unselfishly (438); it gives him

438. Dabbene (b):200 believes: "Among their defects....one can easily note a certain egoism which shows in most of their actions" /translated from Spanish/. It is true that they are not completely free of it. It is an obvious exaggeration, however, to maintain with Lovisato (b):146 or with Bove (e):159 and (g):234: "Selfishness is their dominant character trait." Even the parents, he says, are solely "governed by

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love of their own ego. How often when I entered a hut did I see the father devouring the food, and women and children with intent eyes, their faces distorted with hunger, sat beside the husband and father, timidly gathering the crumbs that fell from his meal..." A horrible picture such as could arise only in the wild imagination of a Bove! He must have been completely blind to the fact that Mother Nature did not scatter food so meagerly there, and everyone, large and small, can in most places conveniently gather it (p. 281). I also wish to refer to the detailed description, "How They Eat" (p. 322).

pleasure to give his guests beautiful presents and /1019/ his neighbors heavy pieces of game. Bridges (k):241 writes pertinently: [574] "The natives are accustomed to go freely to persons who have game or other excess food, in order to obtain part of it, and they always go away satisfied. They never beg for anything, but the purpose of the visit is understood perfectly. They never offer thanks, but on every occasion they are prompt to repay such services" /translated from Spanish/.

We have just shown (p. 877) that gift-giving is actually a well-developed and well-regulated custom. These Indians also help one another by lending various tools and utensils (p. 875). A person is immediately given anything he asks to borrow, and no matter how long he keeps it, the owner never asks that it be returned, although he does not forget it. Also, I never heard the owner press the other person or say, for example: "Take good care of this article!" Once I observed that someone had to interrupt his work for two days because he had lent his neighbor his iron chisel and did not want to ask for its return. No one, of course, would ask for food, no matter how hungry he is. The obligation to be frugal (pp. 327, 919) and personal pride would forbid it. A calm and optimistic feeling of great assurance gives everyone the happy conviction that he can everywhere count on the best possible help and assistance from the first person he happens to meet! Mutual aid is not limited to near relatives and

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577 friendly neighbors, but is willingly offered to every fellow-tribes-
476 man.

484 Each of the many individual families is constantly traveling about, not only under the pressure of the daily food quest, but also from a natural wanderlust (p. 363). They move slowly, but nevertheless cover long distances in the course of time. Definite boundaries separate the many local groups (p. 630) and the five dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) from one another. These boundaries may be crossed under certain circumstances, and no visitor from another region can be lawfully prevented from doing so by the local residents. In general every family stays within its narrower home area, if only because they do not like to meet strange groups.
[609] It is a universal characteristic of the Yamana to stay away from strangers in the first place or at least to avoid them; they feel constrained in the presence of strangers, and suspicion makes them almost ill (439).

> 439. Bridges (a):210 gives a reason for this which is not quite correct: "These people dare not go where they have no friends, and where they are unknown, as they would most likely be soon killed"/cited in English/. We have repeatedly mentioned that certain circumstances make it permissible for anyone to travel in the territory of another dialect group.

203 /1020/ The ceaseless travel of individual families who thus meet one another and whose travel routes intersect partly explains the remarkably good propagation of news, which works invisibly. Everything that happens and any event that is in any way noteworthy are circulated far and wide and with a speed that sometimes seemed inexplicable to me. This much is certain, the Yamana lack such means of communication as loud calls or drumbeats. I cannot reliably state whether or not they give each other digital signs within a visible range, but I infer this from careful observations. Every adult learns what has happened within the confines of a wide area and usually without much delay. Most news, of course, is communicated from mouth to mouth. The facts are inevitably altered

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213 in various ways, and it sometimes happens that even the report of a death or a murder is false, which causes grave complications and unnecessary excitement (440). Since messages travel very

> 440. Stirling (VS X, 196;1863) tells of an example. In the Wulaia region the rumor spread that Ukokko and his family, whose home was there, had been shipwrecked at Picton Island and murdered by the people living there. Without delay Ukokko's brother, along with a few friends, set out on an expedition for revenge and found himself in a very awkward situation when it became known that Ukokko had not been molested at all.

quickly in all directions, it is obvious that on certain occasions a large number of families flock together with amazing speed.

202 On special occasions this rather simple news service is supplemented by a few signal fires. BD:64 writes "aylna, Signal smoke or fires" /cited in English/. Earlier, Bridges (a):213 had already mentioned: "They signal to one another by fires, which they are very expert in making" /cited in English/. In reality it is less a fire than a thick cloud of smoke with which a signal is given. It is made in such a way that it cannot be confused with the ordinary smoke of the hut fire. First, rather thick pieces of dry wood are brought to a faint glow. Meanwhile the natives gather many branches of the evergreen beech (Nothofagus betuloides), which are the length of an arm and covered with dense foliage. A large bundle of these branches is then gathered together and pressed down on the glowing fire. Now no flame can arise, but a thick cloud of smoke immediately ascends. When it has reached a height of about five meters, the fire is quickly put out, and, as though cut off, the balloon-shaped cloud rises perpendicularly into the air. The thick mass of smoke remains intact for a long time, reaches a considerable height, and is recognizable for some distance as an actual signal. If /1021/ it did not have this balloon-shape but rose up in a long column or even as an irregularly shaped smudge,

/1921 cont./

282 it would remind one of a forest fire.

If the Yamana let a single cloud of smoke, ukéjli ukéf, rise up, they are announcing a serious illness or an accident and want other people, above all the yékamuf, to bring help soon. In order to make two to four clouds of smoke, they previously prepare the corresponding number of fires which are placed about four meters apart. With two smoke clouds, kémbíbe ukéf, they announce a condition of serious distress that might be caused by all kinds of reasons, for example, loss of the canoe and the hunting implements or serious damage to them, the loss of the hut fire, or total lack of food. Three smoke clouds, mérem ukéf, announce a death. With four smoke clouds, wíru ukéf, they announce that a whale is stranded. Finally it is customary to let one or more large smoke clouds ascend as a farewell to Europeans. They prepared this pleasure for me personally on two different occasions, when once a Chilean cutter, and the next time the "Garibaldi," picked me up in Punta Remolino and carried me westward. On the trip past Puerto Mejillones on the southern coast of Beagle Channel this sign of a final greeting arose with unmistakable distinctness. Long before, in March, 1834, Darwin (d) 263 was honored in this strange fashion. On the last visit of the "Beagle," after the well-known Jemmy "had reached land, he lit a signal fire, the smoke rose up and gave us a final and long farewell as the ship was on its way out to the open sea." The Yamana do not, however, greet each other with smoke signals; they use them only for the above reasons.

476 From the duty of mutual assistance there has arisen the rule that everyone must respond to an invitation for a common search for food, which applies particularly when a few men decide to search for cormorant nests. This enterprise is successful only if several of them join forces (p. 235). Anyone who is asked may not refuse to take part. Likewise they must join in an attack on a herd of seals (p. 38 /untranslated/) which is to be undertaken from a favorable shore. In the same way two or more canoes go out into a channel together where the women hunt for fish, crabs, and mussels for hours. They also invite each other to gather firewood in the forest. Such joining of forces is also necessary for personal safety in all kinds of dangerous undertakings.

511 Although many practices governing mutual association among the Yamana have arisen out of the necessity to help one another,

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571 a few go back to the clearly recognizable tendency toward gregari-
ousness. It not only draws individual families together often, but
keeps them together until urgent duties once more separate them.
If two canoes meet, one can /1922/ almost always rely on their
571 meeting toward the nearest landing place and building their huts
521 next to each other there. Then they sit huddled together hour
after hour and talk to their heart's content. "They are extraordi-
narily fond of long talks and stories, a good part of the day is
filled in this way" (Aspinall:270). Some but will have a special
attraction for all who are camping in the same place, without
any particular reason. Even before darkness has fallen, one per-
son after another will inconspicuously steal toward it and squat
down beside the fire. Everyone feels content in such a circle of
intimate friends, and the conversation fills long hours. Bridges
(VSA:XII, 7; 1863) says: "They are certainly much given to talk,
and when seated before a good fire, engaged in conversation, they
seem most happy. When they are cheerfully inclined, they are
much given to immoderate laughter, but when mildly inclined,
it is difficult to remove them to cheerfulness" /cited in English/(441).

441. Of the 12 Yamana who at that time were staying on Isla Keppel, Bridges (VSA:XII, 9; 1863) reported on September 16, 1864: "The natives are certainly of a social turn; of evenings they generally meet in one house or another, and spend their time in conversation and merriment" /cited in English/. Reports of other missionaries confirm that in the mission, also, families of all areas lived together amicably.

521 Minor happenings and the sometimes wholly insignificant details of a day are the subject for conversation; they are by no means as completely insignificant and meaningless for the Fuegians as for a European passing through. J. Rae (VSA:XI, 291; 1864) referred to this in his remarks on August 1, 1864: "Often I wondered myself about their long conversations which they keep up when they are by themselves; several times I thought what they were talking about. Once I listened, and I found they were talking about a subject of which others take not the slightest notice. For

/1022 cont./

52 instance, one told to the others in an evening, how he had seen, during the daytime a fanirook, a black bird, passing down a sloping hill, step by step; the bird looked round about, then at once it commenced to shake its feathers and flew off, about which they burst out into a loud laugh. Another began to tell what he had seen strange, when he was out on horseback, and the third what he had seen when he drove the cattle home" /cited in English/.

52 Meanwhile everyone rests comfortably, and anyone who feels
203 like eating is immediately served by the mistress of the hut. None of those present knows when there will be another opportunity for a comfortable time together. On its trips each family usually spends only one or two nights in the same place. If entertaining fellow-tribesmen offer them company on an evening, they take advantage of it until long after midnight, and yet early the following morning they are ready to travel on. The ample, unconstrained exchange offers the incalculable advantage of keeping the individual members of the tribe from far and near in close touch and of laying bare everyone's actions. In this way all their /1023/, traditions are kept alive and transmitted, and any deviation from ancient custom can be prevented if it should become noticeable in any way.

52a Finally we must mention a custom that is practiced by the
[171] Yamana exactly as it is among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 471), a diverting, half-serious, half-humorous talk contest between two people from different regions who have met in a hut. One of them will intentionally challenge his opponent with jokes and banter by praising the virtues of his own home and the capability of his own local group. Soon the other interrupts him with laudatory remarks about his region, his relatives and friends, the habits and qualifications of his group. The verbal exchange goes back and forth and is attentively listened to by all present. Finally when the two opponents have exhausted their repartee and their wittiness, they resort to mild insults and definite accusations. Now one tries to outdo the other in this without letting it become obvious that he feels hurt. At the dangerous moment, however, the bystanders, who unerringly recognize it, break off the talk contest between the two with very loud applause, thus preventing an unfortunate outcome of the initially

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522 harmless game. Naturally, only skillful talkers and quick-witted humorists take up this game. Each member of the two groups for a long time afterward discusses the retorts and opinions given by the friend and by the opponent. Here, too, obscenities or offensive remarks are not permitted.

431 There is another practice which seems strange. Out of sheer
152 exuberance a man will silently leave his hut, hurry down to the
522 beach, and smash the canoe of his guest. The latter watches the performance dumbfounded, and he says passively, half-jokingly, half-sighing: "What in the world is happening to my canoe there? If it lies shattered, how shall I get back home?" The other replies from the beach: "It shouldn't really matter to you if all your things are smashed!" Meanwhile he returns to the hut where a regular talk contest begins, which this man had intended all along. He finally justifies his action by giving his guest a new canoe which he had purposely made for him. His gift is supposed to become known everywhere as such, and that is why he destroyed the old canoe. It is only in exceptional cases that such a mad prank has dire consequences.

152 The same exuberant desire to smash and throw everything
522 into disorder sometimes seizes a whole group as, noisily and obtrusively, they assault the visitors from another region. Before these people can offer concerted resistance, their canoes, huts, tools, and utensils have long been chopped to pieces. They declare themselves conquered and withdraw as though defenseless until the opponents cease their raging, or they pull themselves together courageously, fall on the belongings of the others, and hack them to bits likewise. No one knows how this /1924/ mad prank is going to turn out. Usually the opposing parties come to terms and laugh heartily over their destruction. They quickly rebuild what they have lighheartedly destroyed. All effort seems slight compared to the great exuberance involved in their devastation.

Anyone who seeks diversion from monotonous daily work in the company of happy fellow-tribesmen can find it. To this end there are a number of practices which cultivate a community feeling and promote good fellowship.

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c. The Commonwealth

(27) The Tamana are linked together in a definitely circumscribed area by a common language and a uniform way of life, but as a whole they are not under the administration of an authoritative person (p. 904), nor are the various groups, large or small, led by a chief (p. 602). In reality there are a number of strong but invisible forces which command with coercive force and which without doubt must be deemed a supreme power. This imposes order upon relationships which lie outside the organization of the sole social structure, the family, and for which the public, so to speak, is responsible. In this category belong the administration of justice and many obligations or customs which have already been discussed. The public itself is responsible for the enforcement of individual regulations and vigilantly heals them.

1. Rules of Justice

(13) (27) The coherence of our Fonglan society is possible only on the basis of a conception of justice which protects each person and at the same time obligates him, both in an effective manner. Everyone retains his personal freedom and a far-reaching independence, but, along with these, there are also many obligations anchored in universal justice. One must not underestimate their number; moreover, like a net, they encompass all relationships. For example, these obligations determine the everyday life of the man and woman, the mutual relations of husband and wife, parents and children, closest relatives, local groups, and dialect groups, the public education of young people outside the family in the Zilange, and the further education of boys in the Kiwa; they secure material possessions and personal safety from any kind of danger. This system of justice is not written, and no one can boast of being permitted to administer it. It simply exists and is supported by the public, which sustains justice and guards against its being altered. Expressed in a few general formulas, it is traced back to Wanagulwa as its source, which determines its immutability and its binding force.

/1910/ Nevertheless, properly understood, public opinion would be regarded as the guardian and executor of the individual obligations which universal justice has created. The judgment of the public is reliable and decisive, not that of the individual person who speaks for his own advantage. Public opinion evaluates every concrete detail of traditional custom which is regarded as a reliable and immutable standard. No one concerns himself about purely theoretical considerations. Hence the judgment of public opinion is usually effective. Anyone whom it concerns must yield to it absolutely and immediately if he wants to save himself from being universally ostracized. This strikes every guilty person harder than severe blows. Our Tamaris are unfamiliar with any kind of formal judiciary. Instead, to put it briefly, just action is approved without reservation and every unjust act is definitely condemned by the public. In both cases the public expresses itself loudly and fearlessly, for it has the advantage in any case over the private individual. The great pressure it puts upon a person can be clearly seen from the fear which everyone, not only the average Indian, has of a bad reputation and even more of public correction. If he sees himself condemned by it, he promptly returns back to the path of virtue and commonly tries with exaggerated zeal to change the bad opinion about him into a good one. Those of this manner, however, to a dishonorable person who has lost all sense of shame. In larger cities such persons were scarcely to be found, only recently, under the influence of some Europeans have they sunk so low that they must avoid the company of their fellow-citizens. An attentive observer does not fail to note this state of affairs since it is so significant. Hyeden (p.263 writes: "When they steal among themselves, they seek to touch as possible to conceal their thefts; when the culprit is discovered and charmed, public opinion is satisfied. The murderer is ostracized by his companions, isolated from everyone, he is finally condemned to garish of hanging or someday to fall under the blows of a group of extemporaneous judges. Mr. Bridges in his conversations with us has put a great deal of emphasis on the importance of public opinion among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. One could speak of public opinion as the guardian of laws and as the avenger of serious transgressions. It acts no less successfully than a police force or a court of justice.

(2) In all this the individual is by no means without rights. In

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[67] fact, his specific rights are recognized and defended. Sometimes it is definitely up to him to seek his own justice. This is particularly true in case of a murder, and similarly if someone suffers damage to his vital possessions or if his reputation or that of his close relatives and friends is belittled. A person whose own life is threatened or whose close relative falls into the hands of a murderer has a right to exercise club law (642). This is most

[68] 642. Compare Gusinde [illegible] 165. Among the Tenenesa there is absolutely no trace of an actual death penalty applied in various ways and according to a particular type of crime, as is reported in Chaco (p) 18.

obviously revealed in the obligation for blood vengeance, which affects a wide circle of people (p. 861). /[illegible]/ Public opinion is the indisputable, sole power that preserves all their arrangements and their traditional customs. It also is the means for providing the individual and the community adequate satisfaction for any injustice which they have suffered. All kinds of proof of this are offered by each of the different age groups and in everyday life with its changing events.

[71] [72] Inasmuch as the individual is a member of the whole -- no matter whether this is thought of as a small or large circle -- his honor is also its honor, and from this our Yaghans derive the duty to protect and defend, not only the reputation, but the rights of the other person generally. Everyone must intercede in favor of his relatives and close friends, he must defend their good reputations and their possessions. For example, this implies that in the presence of guests one must not speak disparagingly of their habits or their home districts, should one do so, the guests would immediately have to defend themselves. Following this line one also finds an explanation for the fact that disputes between two or three persons are supposed to be adjusted as soon as possible by those who are close to them. It is even more imperative for everyone to see to it that he is on the best of terms with his relatives, they he does not treat them even in an unfriendly fashion, much less harm them or wrong them. The Tenenesa use a very meaningful word, according to SD-438, [illegible], "to relatives with much to-do the relatives

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577 or clansmen of a murdered or dead person for neglect or illtreat-
626 ment of him when living" /cited in English/. Bridges (MM:XIII, 153;1879) furnished an account of a noteworthy occurrence: "There was a man named Muriyan. This man has to wife the two sisters of Detamahgan, and as a consequence the two men were much together. But Muriyan was often weary of his dull and unattractive brother-in-law, and was often unkind to him. All very well so long as the man lives, but no sooner is he killed than his connections count up his grievances, and visit with punishment, more or less severe, those who in past times have been specially unkind. Muriyan was in this way called to account, and in hopes of escaping, lived away apart from the places or resort of these he had occasion to fear" /cited in English/. Moreover, this one example shows how the conduct and speech of the individual are closely watched and long remembered. The Yamana never forgets an injustice that he has suffered directly or indirectly.

888 The persons of more advanced age, men and women, are consciously or unconsciously regarded as the representatives and supporters of universal justice and traditional customs. They are shown respect and veneration on all sides. Even Fitz-Roy (a):186 learned that "much respect is said to be paid to age" /cited in English/. The more distinguished and conscientious an old man is, the more he is esteemed, the more willingly /1027/ does one defer to him. This is also true of older women whose words and advice even young men in a larger gathering take seriously. No one would have the audacity to interrupt an old person or to contradict him (443). Quite the contrary, everywhere the old people

443. Fitz-Roy (a):179 writes: "In each family the word of an old man is accepted as law by the young people; they never dispute his authority" /cited in English/. This applies also to every casual group made up of several families.

have the prerogative; when the food is passed around they are served first, the most agreeable place in the hut is left free for them, in their presence the younger people behave inconspicuously

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888 and speak only in a low voice. All this is proof of the respect which is shown them. A very experienced and upright old man fairly embodies the law of custom and tradition; he is, therefore, a living example and a constant admonisher for the younger tribal members.

2. General Welfare

577 A death or an accident on the one hand, sickness or physical disability on the other, can cause a person who is alone serious difficulty in case there is no definite person to come to his aid. The public knows that it is now duty-bound to come to his rescue, and in doing so it follows a certain course of action which has been accepted since ancient times.

888 Every human society counts among its members, temporarily or permanently, old persons with the infirmities of age. They are 737 no longer capable of acquiring their subsistence singlehanded. They must be cared for, according to the strict custom of the Yamana, by their own children, as well as by their nearest relatives and the neighbors who happen to be present. When it comes to fulfilling this duty, there are no degrees of responsibility; in fact everyone is required to look after an aged person who is staying near his hut. The old person is probably never left completely alone, except perhaps temporarily because of urgent work. Usually one of the grown children constantly takes the widowed parent along on his own trips. If both parents are still living, they always stay together; they are often visited by their children who cheerfully fulfill their needs for food and clothing, firewood and tools. Hyades (d):308 assures us: "Adults have due respect for their parents and old people are never badly treated" /translated from French/. It is also said, "They are cared for and fed until their death" /translated from French/ (La Nature:311), and Despard (b):698 asserts that "children care for parents and grand-parents with kind consideration" /cited in English/. As long as a person has the strength, he helps himself; otherwise he must accept the help of his children and friends. As Bridges (a):205 reports, "grown-up children are expected to support their parents when they become aged; the son generally makes his father, if he is past work, a canoe every /1028/ season, and if the aged man is a

/1028 cont./

888 widower he lives entirely under the charge of his eldest son"
737 /cited in English/ (444). Naturally some children are more tender

> 444. This hardly agrees, however, with what he (a):206 adds soon after: "The aged are often much neglected, yea, cruelly treated, and I have heard of cases where by their own children they have been killed, to get rid of the trouble of keeping them" /cited in English/. A person who is displeased with the treatment he receives from his own children easily finds refuge with relatives and friends.

and loving toward their aged parents than others. A person who no longer has any children of his own joins a related family or friends. This much is certain, no one is abandoned because of his infirmities. I personally repeatedly witnessed the willing care given even those persons whose lot in old age was a long, burdensome invalidism.

758 The nearest relatives and all the neighbors no less attentively care for a sick person. There are no medicines in Tierra del Fuego. They keep the sick person company and never leave him in some place all by himself. Hyades (d):307 and (p):331 repeatedly asserts: "The sick are not abandoned, and the feeble are helped" /translated from French/. Bridges (h):209 agrees: "The infirm are well cared for, especially by the women" /translated from Spanish/, and elsewhere (i):14 he says even more explicitly: "Great consideration was shown to the sick, they were well attended and as far as possible their wishes were fulfilled. The nursing chiefly fell to the lot of the women" /cited in English/. BD:427 even gives the special expression, tauuxdátu, "to often visit as a man his sick friend" /cited in English/. If their own child is seriously ill, the helpless parents are in actual despair; adults, too, are deeply affected by the physical suffering of one of their loved ones.
732 For decades old Whaits has been totally blind. It is touching to see the help and attention which his own daughters bestow on him, as do old and young in the neighborhood. Everyone is concerned about him, and one competes with another in loving service for him. It

/1028 cont./

732 was really superfluous to teach us uswáala in the čiéxaus how we were to take care of him.

Elsewhere (p. 514) the concern of the public for orphans has
736 been described in detail. The orphaned boy, wēšakíya, as well
597 as the orphaned girl, wēšakiyakípa, remains with the surviving parent until the latter marries again. Bridges (a):202, 183 correctly asserts: "If the father of a woman is dead, the mother has the right of disposal...If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/. The nearest relatives, too, in particular the so-called adoptive mother, adakutáruwaxípa, keep an eye on the orphans. If a nursing infant loses its mother, it is reared by another woman who gladly undertakes this service (445). Thus there is not the

> 445. The Yamana women, as Hahn (a):806 reports, "often rear foster children who do not belong to them, but the child is then regarded as their own and owes them the obedience and respect of an actual child" /translated from French/.

slightest doubt about the rearing of every orphan, which is assured.

/1029/ It is probably unnecessary to refute once more, as
888 a figment of the imagination, the opinion circulated by Darwin in his day about the fate of old women. Bridges (k):235 undertook to do this decades ago: "The tales that have been spread about their killing old women who were unable to work are pure fables. These old women had as much security as other individuals as the tribe, for they had children and grandchildren who certainly would have defended them against any assault" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g):35 has made clear how valuable they can still be to the entire tribe: "The old women are by no means as useless as [Darwin's] story presupposes; their experience makes them decidedly valuable in securing food, as well as in the other household tasks, and it is not at all rare that young people prefer to marry an experienced older woman rather than a young girl, even though she is prettier. Older women whose husbands are dead very definitely exercise all the rights of a family head; even when they

/1029 cont./

888 live alone, they always have a few children or grandchildren with them who are absolutely obedient to them." In common with reliable observers, I, too, have denied the false accusation of cannibalism among the Yamana (p. 252 /untranslated/).

734 763 It is often said that it is customary among them to strangle certain people who are dying (446). Early in 1863 young Bridges

446. It is known that the same assertion was made against the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 480), but they themselves energetically denied it.

(VSA:X,171;1863) first wrote about this: "Ookokko gives me a sad account of some of the Fuegian tribes. It is a practice with some when a man is very ill, and likely to die, to cut his time short in a violent manner, and kill his young children by suffocating them. But some of the tribes, he says, are very good to the sick, and show much commiseration for their pain" /cited in English/. Later he (e):332 relayed his opinion about this to a number of Europeans and said very emphatically: "Old and hopelessly sick persons were seldom done away with before their natural end; when the faculties of speech, sight, and movement were lost and if the case was of long duration, then the dying person was strangled, and thus the end was hastened for him and his family in a merciful manner." Later he (h):209 and (i):14 repeats the same thing: "The Yahgans occasionally hastened the end of their relatives by strangulation. This was kindly meant and there were good reasons for it. It was only resorted to in cases of long continued unconsciousness and utter weakness, preceding death, when the dying person neither ate nor drank, spoke nor moved. The act was done openly and with the consent of all except that of the victim, who was too inanimate to do anything. This act was called tabacana and it was done to any class of person in the above hopeless condition, either man or woman" /cited in English/. This spelling, tabacana, is probably a mistake; in BD:394 it is given /1030/ correctly as tatabŭ́ku, "to kill any person or animal which is sick and in pain in order to put him out of his misery" /cited in English/. Martial: 205, as well as Hyades (p):333, (g):39, and (q):235 have accepted this opinion from Bridges. The latter does not in any form mention

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T34 a definite instance which he might have observed, and Hyades
T63 (q):242, referring to alleged infanticide and the strangulation of individuals on the point of death, relies on statements of the missionaries and is careful to say that "personally we have not been able to verify these last two assertions" /translated from French/. As late as 1929, Spencer:88, leaned toward this view, without any kind of proof.

A way out of this uncertainty is provided by an opinion for
T63 which I am indebted to the brothers, Martin and Fred Lawrence, with whom I had long discussions. They said that it is possible and most likely that some one, at the sight of a relative caught in the death struggle, lost control of himself after several hours. In his agitation, driven by his own pain at the imminent separation from the dying one and impotent in the face of the hopelessness of recovery, he may have seized his throat and strangled him so that instantly the death rattle and any movement stopped. This happened, however, only when the dying person was completely unconscious and there was absolutely no hope of recovery. The desire was simply to terminate his agony.

Only once did I come across the following remark, "taken from conversations with Mrs. Burleigh" /cited in English/ (MM: XXVIII, 126;1894): "In some cases when the wife was near death the husband would put her into a canoe, take her miles away and leave her, hoping that exposure and starvation would hasten death" /cited in English/. Such behavior so obviously contradicts everything that has been definitely proved about the value of Yamana put on human life that any comment is superfluous. They have never been cannibals (p. 254 /untranslated/), nor does suicide
[T62] occur among them, according to definite assertions by Dabbene (b):203 and Bridges (a):211.

The entire social order of our Fuegians impresses one as kind
181 and worthy of human beings, for it rests on natural marital relations and favorable mutual relations between parents and children, between the members of a kinship group, and among all the local groups. The small population and the lack of serious disturbances from without facilitate the cohesion of the people as a whole. This social order is conditioned by the nature of the economy of our Yamana. The charming picture of the harmoniously balanced

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181 play of forces in this ethnic group on the Cape Horn Archipelago now belongs to the past. /Fig. 88 appears here./

/1031/ Part 4

The Spiritual World of the Yamana

114 There was a time not far back when people quite generally and as a matter of course inferred from the poverty and simplicity of the external arrangements and the objects used by a primitive people that they were lacking in ideas and that their spiritual world was limited. Ever since the Yamana were visited and superficially observed by European navigators, the entire cultured world has classed them among the most unworthy representatives of the human race on account of their inhospitable native land and the unfavorable conditions of their existence. Roskoff:49 and others often repeated: "The Fuegians are, according to Reinhold Forster's remarks, 'apparently the most miserable of all peoples.'" They were judged solely by what caught the eye and by the hasty first impression that their nakedness and unattractive appearance, their way of life, and their wild behavior inevitably makes upon every European. Once established, the general opinion became deeply entrenched and continued to be untouched by this or that report which sounded somewhat more favorable. How could such a report have brought about a complete change of the previously held view when the Yamana themselves did not change in any way externally!

114 It is not enough to evaluate a human group solely by what
121 strikes the eye; for that reason modern ethnography in all seriousness desires penetration into the spiritual domain of every tribe.

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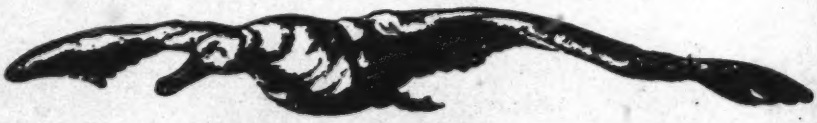

Fig. 88. Diomedea exulans.

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114 Unfortunately, the Europeans who had all kinds of opportunities
121 to do this during their sojourn on the Cape Horn Archipelago did not fully meet this demand. In their defense it is willingly admitted that they were given no particular assignment to do this, nor were they specially prepared. The English missionaries, who, in retrospect, must be loudly praised for their exemplary zeal in the study of the Yamana language, strangely enough made almost no effort to gain a deeper understanding of the souls of these Indians, despite the fact that they lived with them for decades. A small residual group of survivors was already on the brink of the grave into which a once populous tribe had by now disappeared, when as yet no full account of their /1032/ spiritual endowment had been offered by reliable research and preserved for the history of humanity. Hence I chose to make it my most important task to rescue these treasures at the eleventh hour. No less a person than W. Schmidt (d):879 declares "that, as far as the spiritual culture of the Fuegians is concerned, [my] four expeditions alone surpass in quantity as well as quality of achievements all the work of the previous authors put together."

121 A number of favorable circumstances helped me in this work, and these will have to be mentioned in the proper place. In spite of decades of contact with a great many features of European culture, the Fuegians have retained the total content of their spiritual heritage, not only practically intact, but also in its pristine state. This shows that it was vital and irreplaceable for them, and that after it was lost the undisturbed continuance of the people as a whole was impossible. The Yamana themselves know what it was that held them together and what was guaranteed them by orderly, peaceable conditions of life; they called it simply "that which was handed down to us by our forefathers in the way of habits and customs." They were also sensitively aware that their doom would be sealed the moment they deviated from it or were prevented by outside influences from carrying on their tribal life according to the previous patterns.

114 I remained aware of my serious responsibility while undertaking
123 the four expeditions into the Cape Horn region, and I ceaselessly tried to feel my way into the strange conceptual world of the Yamana. This required time and in this I was helped by the long free months away from Tierra del Fuego between the four separate

/1032 cont./

114 expeditions. My repeated return, on the other hand, properly
123 strengthened the Indians in their belief that I esteemed them and their various institutions highly. That is why they proved more accommodating and more trusting from one year to the next and were more willing to let me take part in one thing or another from which they had previously excluded me. The more I tried to rid myself of the European way of thinking and acquired values and to exchange them for those of the Fuegians, the more advance I made in learning their subjective qualities. The hoary connoisseurs of tribal tradition felt this approach very definitely and with great satisfaction, regarded me more and more as one of themselves, and finally let me penetrate into the immeasurable depths of the inner spirit of their tribe. After arduous research and by means of constant observation and thorough discussion, those treasures from the spiritual heritage of the much misunderstood Yamana which fill the following pages were brought to light. They are all the more valuable because they reach back into the early age of mankind from which they have been preserved down to our own day because of the complete isolation of the feared Cape Horn Archipelago at the southern tip of America.

/1033/ A. Religion and Morality

771 Because of their nomadic way of life the Yamana do not present the compact unity enjoyed, for example, by an agricultural society. It is probably for this reason that they have cultivated a high level of mental flexibility and that they show alertness in all spheres of their human endeavors. Hence it was possible for definite, universally binding forms to develop only to a limited extent, since, on the one hand, the numerically scant population lives scattered in many, small fragmentary groups and, on the other hand, each of these groups, as well as the single individual, strives to preserve for itself the greatest possible freedom and independence.

Even more striking is the scarcity of definite forms expressing their religious conceptions. As such, these are very limited, and people like our Fuegians do not parade them. Quite the contrary, everything supernatural is regarded by them with such seriousness and piety that they do not make it the subject of long, penetrating

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111 discussions even among themselves. Even less would they expose it in front of Europeans who, from the start, prove unworthy of it. This circumstance alone sufficiently explains why many travelers have learned absolutely nothing about the religious conceptions of our Indians. Moreover, they carry on their religious practices not only irregularly, but quite inconspicuously; hence, an outside student does not clearly understand and correctly evaluate the things that he might see or hear. I myself was obliged to take a roundabout course and to wait a long time for the favorable circumstances provided by chance or luck before entrance into the world of the religious conceptions of our Fuegians was opened to me.

Although their store of religious ideas and all of their moral precepts are very simple and straightforward, their import is surprisingly rich and deep. Their more important details seem humanly natural and impress one favorably. Distorted images and perversions which are found in the religious heritage and rites of many other primitive peoples, as well as among some civilized peoples, are totally lacking among our Yamana.

a. Investigations of the Yamana Religion

The imaginative world of our Fuegians is animated by many spirits which are differently rated and whose relationship to human beings is by no means uniform. Just as the Indian himself keeps them clearly separate, so must they be regarded in a careful description. The religious element in the strict sense of the word occupies an area by itself and it is difficult to define in relation to other conceptual areas. In this book the religious concept or the religion of the Yamana /1034/ includes everything concerned with the appreciation and veneration of their particular deity, a Supreme Being, who has several names and who is definitely contrasted with them as a supra mundane, spiritual personality. Everything that is involved with their knowledge of this Supreme Being must be regarded as a religious activity and worship, whether it be ceremonial services, prayer formulas, or spontaneous words. The sum total constitutes their true religious heritage. Most

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111 closely associated with it is the entire store of rules and regulations which can be described, in a word, as their universal moral law, which really involves moral responsibility. In this abstract limitation of religion there is no place in the religious sphere for the belief in other spirits, in souls living after death, in ancestors and culture-bearers; hence these beliefs will be discussed in separate sections. This sharp distinction, which is based on the different ideas and conceptions of the Yamana, is primary in giving an outsider clear insight and reliable judgment.

111 It must be surprising to learn that until the most recent
114 times travelers and missionaries have categorically denied that our Fuegians have any religious ideas and practices. Some Europeans did not even credit them with the necessary mental capacity. Hence the Yamana were universally regarded as irreligious. Occasionally there were references to a belief in spirits and certain supernatural beings, but, besides being extremely inadequate and inaccurate, they do not even pertain to the realm of the strictly religious. It was not until my journeys that this ideological heritage, which deserves consideration because of its richness and its characteristic value, was uncovered.

No other aspect of the cultural heritage of a people poses so many and such serious difficulties for European investigators as the religious. A definite method for its general evaluation can hardly be devised, but one who strives for any kind of success may not deviate from certain guide lines. Those navigators who had only fleeting contact for brief hours with individual Fuegians were obviously incapable of grasping anything tangible about the natives' religious heritage, for, as has been said, the Yamana certainly do not parade their faith.

It surprises everyone who reviews the situation, and justifiably so, that this field was not opened up even to the missionaries, in spite of decades of association with the Indians (1). Although the

1. Even Tylor, Anfänge der Cultur /Beginnings of Culture/, Vol. I, p. 411, acknowledged: "There is no people without a language and without religion, for even if individual peoples maintain that they have no religious concepts, it is to be suspected that they conceal

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their thoughts, especially since the missionaries are not always able to gain the confidence of savages or to understand their views."

missionaries tried to approach them, they did not take the right /1035/ course (2). It is a well known fact that, since the estab-

2. Despard (b):746 very early speaks of his efforts: "We used our increasing knowledge of the language, to ascertain their ideas on religious subjects, and we discovered that they have no knowledge whatever of God, or of a First Cause in creation, no idol or other object of worship, no custom of prayer or incantation" /cited in English/.

lishment of the Protestant mission, travelers in the Beagle Channel region have not only relied on the opinions of the missionaries living there for their judgment of the Yamana, but have almost imperceptibly adopted this opinion as their own, the foremost example being the members of the Mission Scientifique, whose publications have served others, in turn, as their only source. Individual efforts to grasp the religious ideology of the Yamana were only occasionally made by this or that traveler. If one examines their procedures more closely, he will realize why their efforts remained fruitless. For example, Spegazzini (a):191 declares: "I have asked the oldest people if they know where they came from and who their ancestors were; they looked at me in wonder, and answered that the grandfather had died in a neighboring bay, like their father, and that they had never said anything on the subject. Religious ideas, too, are completely lacking, and the sole belief is one about the spirits of the dead, but it is neither very nighly developed nor very definite" /translated from Spanish/. Even Hyades (f):587 realized that the goal would not be reached by direct questioning (3). Although he personally did

3. He clearly confesses: "I need not say that direct questions addressed to the Fuegian savages are useless for any light on the question

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of a special cult among their people. Similarly, they will never spontaneously make any disclosures on this matter" /translated from French/.

not notice any kind of religious activity, he had the right idea when he warned that on the strength of this alone one should not conclude that they were entirely without religion (4). His well

4. He (b):1346 says: "We have never seen evidence of any kind of cult; we have no clear proof of a belief in a future life. It might be beneficial to remark that these negative signs do not constitute positive proof of the absence of all religious feeling" /translated from French/.

considered words were completely ignored by others, which is precisely why there was a constant repetition of thoughtless statements about the lack of anything religious among the Fuegians. Adding up these voices does not in itself increase their credibility, for they all more or less go back to a single source, namely, the view of the English missionary Thomas Bridges (p. 144 /untranslated/) which has proved to be erroneous.

1. Opinions of Travelers

As may be expected, the navigators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in other words, of the older period, dismissed the religious views of the Yamana with a few superficial words. They were /1036/ unable to communicate with them even by means of elementary signs, let alone by speech. There are no visible portrayals of religious faith, any more than there are conspicuous rites. How, therefore, could these Europeans who had almost no preparatory training for such difficult observations learn anything about the strictly guarded treasure of spiritual possessions!

Weddel made a first attempt, which was seriously meant, but very inappropriate, when he "read them a chapter out of the

/1036 cont./

111 Bible." He himself was not surprised that the Fuegians "did not seem
114 to understand" him (p. 70 /untranslated/). Captain Fitz-Roy (a):
179 was not able to determine definitely whether they believe in any kind of divine being: "Ideas of a spiritual existence, of beneficent and evil powers, they certainly have; but I never witnessed or heard of any act of a decidedly religious nature, neither could I satisfy myself of their having any idea of the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. Wisely, he abstained from further opinions. The reports that Darwin sent out into the wide world about their spiritual life were very nearly disastrous for our Indians. We shall repeat here only a few sentences from (f):I, 123: "The belief in spiritual forces will easily lead to the belief in the existence of a god or of several gods, for savages will naturally attribute to spirits the same passions, the same lust for revenge or the simplest form of justice, and the same affection which they have experienced within themselves. In this respect the Fuegians seem to be in a middle state...And yet we could never find that the Fuegians believed in what we would call a god or that they carried out any kind of religious practices. Jemmy Button stoutly maintained, with justifiable pride, that there is no devil in his country, and this assertion is all the more strange since, among savages, the belief in evil spirits is more common by far than the belief in good ones..." Briefly and precisely he also assures us: "We have no reason to assume that they practice any kind of religious service" (p. 102 /untranslated/). He and Fitz-Roy refer to the same informants, namely, the three young Fuegians who were brought back to England in 1830 on the "Beagle" (p. 88 /untranslated/). They cannot be regarded as reliable because of the contradictions and inaccuracies contained in their statements (5).

5. For example, Darwin (d):245 relies on Jemmy Button in his assertion "that in winter when they are tormented by hunger they would rather kill and devour their old women than slaughter their dogs" (pp. 102, 235 /both in untranslated portion/). As for Button's companions, Darwin (d):246 also asserts: "The nearest approach to a religious

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feeling that became known to me was shown by York Minster, who, when Mr. Bynoe shot a few very young ducks as specimens, declared in the most solemn manner: 'oh! Mr. Bynoe, much rain, much snow, much blowing.' This was evidently meant as punishment in retaliation for devastation by human beings."

While these three young Fuegians were in London in 1830 they were carefully examined. In the "Phrenological Remarks" given in FitzRoy (b):148, "strong feelings for a Supreme Being" /cited in English/ are set forth. These few words are to me no proof for the definite and clear form of belief in a deity which our Yamana actually have. Compare Koppers, in Anthropos, Vol. 22, p. 286; 1927.

Nevertheless, from all sides Darwin's assertions have /1037/ received full credence and the opinions of subsequent decades continued to refer to him, although toward the end of his life he changed his opinion in favor of the Fuegians (p. 106 /untranslated/). On the other hand, Roskoff:49 did not take a stand until rather late when he briefly corrected Darwin as follows: "But this does not deny the Fuegians any trace of religion, even though it cannot be surprising that the Englishman does not find among them his own belief in a God."

A few decades after the second trip of the "Beagle," that is to say, in more recent times, English missionaries began their [197] activity on the Cape Horn Archipelago, and after that the number of European visitors to that region increased. They all, practically without exception, sought help from the missionaries, or at least had temporary contact with them. This is true first of Bove and his companions who crossed Tierra del Fuego in 1882 and 1884 and stayed for a while in Ushuaia with the missionaries there (p. 148 /untranslated/). Relying on their reports, he (g):236 first of all judges: "The Fuegians are not very superstitious and they have only very rudimentary religious beliefs" /translated from Italian/. He also (d):297 and (e):159 asserts: "They have a good and an evil

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deity, but the one is neither more nor less esteemed than the other. Cungi, the devil, sometimes avenges himself, however, with storm, snow, and rain. The rainbow is a sign of his anger; the women and children are afraid of its appearance, but the men scold and spit at it" (8). There is some value in repeating a num-

> 6. In Cojazzi:105, under the heading, "Religione in genere /Religion in General/," one finds this statement just as it stands, and not another word.

ber of false statements; they clearly show how cautious one must be about accepting other reports by this same authority. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find his companion Lovisato (b):149 maintaining in similar tones: "They do not have any notion of God, hence no religion and no amulets of any kind" /translated from Italian/. Spegazzini (z):171 also traveled there at the same time (p.147 /untranslated/). Of the Yamana he says only: "Religious ideas are completely lacking, and the sole belief is one about the spirits of the dead, but it is neither very highly developed nor very definite" /translated from Spanish/.

The members of the Mission Scientifique who, in their own opinions, were almost completely independent of the English missionaries, touched but lightly on the subject of religion for that very reason. They did not succeed in making successful observations of their own. Hyades (g):38 declares: "The French were unable to discover a trace of religious ideas among the Fuegians; as we know, the missionaries did not fare any better." Nevertheless, a number of indications made him (f):587 cautious in his judgment: /1038/ "All we can say about the religious feeling of the Fuegian savages is that it is limited, externally at least, to a hint of attention and feigned contemplation in the presence of a strange religious ceremony. Let us add that the Reverend T. Bridges positively told me that before his apostolate in Tierra del Fuego the Fuegians had no idea whatever of religion" /translated from French/. In his principal work he (q):253 repeats this view: "We have not verified any sign of religious feeling among the Fuegians..." /translated from French/. He is well aware of the grave import of his words, yet he persists in his

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111 114 conviction: "We do not believe that we can modify our opinion about the absence of religious feeling among the Fuegians. We observed them very attentively from this point of view during the year that we spent among them; we were never able to perceive the slightest hint of any kind of cult or religious idea" /translated from French/.

One has the impression that, in view of such definite statements, there could be absolutely no contradiction (7). Even later,

> 7. Martial:212 takes into account the serious difficulties of the investigation being discussed, as a result of which, he says, it would not be easy "to obtain readily a clear idea of their beliefs about the deity and a future life" /translated from French/.

Dabbene (b):202, for example, maintains: "There is no knowledge that a religion exists among the Yahgan, since they practice no rite that reveals any cult whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/. According to Spears:70, "they knew nothing of God, and had no word expressive of such an idea" /cited in English/. Furlong (b): 137 agrees. The Fuegian "has no religion in the general acceptance of the term...No word for God, Creator, or pray has ever appeared in his language, nor from any action, ceremony, or custom can a belief in these things be inferred" /cited in English/. Lothrop (b):171, however, already had access to some of my conclusions which he took into account. Thus, more recent research also comes to the opinion that the Yamana are without any kind of religion. Compare the data that Cooper:148 assembled.

2. Opinions of Missionaries

111 114 797 Although the men who put themselves at the service of the Fuegians through their mission work are only now being heard, this does not change the well-proved fact that they were the ones who told ignorant navigators and travelers of their own experiences and observations. They were obliged, for professional reasons, so to speak, to investigate the religious ideas of their wards.

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At the beginning of their activity they occasionally mention -- as did one or another navigator, for example, Parker Snow:1, 337 -- that during a brief religious service the Fueglans who happened to be present were silent and reverent. To me this is no proof of their own religious feeling, for such an attitude is not unusual among them. Despard wrote on October 4, /1038/ 1859 (VP:VII, 51;1860), as follows: "No word has appeared for God, or Creator, or pray. They have a word for Spirit Cashpeak, and they are very uneasy at hearing it, for they say they shall see it if named" /cited in English/. He (h):696 contradicts himself, however, in the sentence: "The Firelander has no religion at all. He knows neither God, nor idol, nor spirit, and has accordingly no word for either of these" /cited in English/. Stirling, on the other hand, nowhere expresses himself definitely about the religious ideas of the Yamana.

The position of the much-quoted Bridges on this question deserves all the more consideration inasmuch as most of the travelers in Tierra del Fuego during the last decades have adopted his opinion. In 1866 he (a):181 first published a general survey of the living conditions, institutions, and customs of the Yamana. He also devoted a few lines to their conceptions of supernatural things and so-called spirits. He disposes of the religious in the true sense with a single sentence and merely says: "They have no knowledge of God, no thoughts of a future state, either of reward or punishment" /cited in English/. Strangely enough, Bridges did not deviate from this first opinion even after decades of association with the Yamana and often repeated it, word for word. For example, he (b):207 says: "They do not acknowledge a creator and neither have any idea of the future nor expect anything after death" /translated from Spanish/. Moreover, he (k):227 says again: "They lacked any idea of a Supreme Being, although they believed in the existence of spirits or souls... They offer no sacrifices nor have any idea of atonement for sin" /translated from Spanish/. Finally the unequivocal opinion (e):332 follows: "As for religion, we can say that they had none." If occasionally an Indian showed signs of religious feeling, Bridges put it down solely to the success of missionary influence (8).

8. Once a lame man said to him "that God struck him. It is pleasant to realize that the

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knowledge of God is taking root in the minds of the people, and that they themselves attribute to Him the acts of his providence" /cited in English/ (MSS.X, 10,1878).

His co-workers in particular echoed him in this assumption, especially the younger men. The last two of them, John Lawrence and John Williams, emphatically assured me, independently of each other, that they had never come across religious expressions among the Indians which were their own. Each of these missionaries took the view of the other without examining it and blithely adhered to this conviction. Aspinall 270 noted it once more: The Tamana "devoid of all religious ideas and duties, know nothing except the vague concept of spirits of the dead which go about in the forests and which they fear."

Thus, like the Europeans who visited the Cape Horn region, all the missionaries labored under the false impression that the Tamana are completely irreligious. Every unprejudiced critic will realize that they did not come closer to the facts because of their negative attitude toward the /1040/ Indians. Elsewhere (p. 302 /unpublished/) it was proved in detail that Bridges especially had no desire whatever for a calm and just evaluation of the store of ideas of the Indians; in fact, faced with his ill-humor, they carefully and purposely concealed what was dear to them and what he would have defamed with his disdainful, disparaging remarks. After I personally had learned many of the prayer formulas with which they address themselves to their deity, I freely expressed my pleasure. More than once on such occasions Molly Lawrence would add: "We never told Thomas Bridges these beautiful things, for he would have been scornful and ridiculed us!" At the end of my fourth journey I again presented to the worthy Reverend John Lawrence a short summary of what I had learned about the religious heritage of the Tamana. This time, too, as on my third visit, he was sincerely pleased, for it meant that shortly before the end of his life he was permitted to see corrected a false opinion of the Tamana, to which the missionaries had also contributed.

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D. My Own Conclusions

It was anything but encouraging at the start of my journeys to be faced with the strange fact that all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego, as well as all the missionaries without exception, denied with emphatic, unequivocal words that our Indians had any kind of religious view and practice. Everyone regarded the Yamana as irreligious. On my first and second visit, therefore, I consciously avoided touching upon this subject in my conversation with the members of the Lawrence family and in my contact with the Indians. Besides, there were other, more immediate problems which first had to be solved.

The traveling investigator must be favored by fortune, otherwise his efforts are in vain. I obtained the first indications of the religious ideas of the Yamana quite incidentally and without my doing anything. One evening on my second journey I was again sitting with a group of several men who were explaining to me the ancient traditions of their tribe. It was then that I learned for the first time about their myth of a great flood which, in history or myth, had inundated their present homeland. All of us who had listened with obvious seriousness to the old storyteller were silent for some time and thought about the catastrophe of that flood. Afterward one or two men made some dour explanatory remarks. I now bravely ventured to ask:"Whence came that big flood?" Everyone present immediately became quiet and a painful silence followed. Embarrassed, they lowered their eyes and avoided my gaze so that they would not be forced to answer me. I repeated my question and in a friendly way asked for the desired explanation. Old Alfredo who had done the talking that evening replied /1341/ emphatically: "Lawaxlaga sent that tremendous flood." When he did not add anything more, I asked: "Is Lawaxlaga really so mighty?" Alfredo replied: "As a matter of fact it was strong Wenaxlagen who sent the general flood. Lawaxlaga persuaded upon him to do it; it was her intention to demolish the whole world. With Wenaxlagen she succeeded in having the great flood come!" Naively I asked again: "Who is this Wenaxlagen?" This very obviously increased the general embarrassment and everyone present maintained strict silence. I felt as though I had been guilty of an impropriety or had ventured on dangerous ground.

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124 After a good long time and probably also in order to break the general silence, Chris boldly said: "Wanaginiwa is [similar to] 113 what God is to Christians [Europeans]." His brief words were 116 spoken in a tone which made it clear to me that further questions would not be in order. The attitude of all the men was clearly aloof. Some of them had an expression suggesting that in this discussion some information had heedlessly slipped out which should have remained secret. After that the men timidly exchanged a few words and the gathering soon broke up.

On the next evening I dared not ask about Wanaginiwa again. I suspected that the people would misunderstand. It was partly caution and partly disappointment that made me think the missionaries had told them indeed the Biblical account of the flood, but that they had not completely understood it. Hence I entered the following remark in my diary: "Probably Christian influence by the missionaries" and marked the whole paragraph with a question mark.

123 A week later the secret gathering of the Yahgan began, in 116 which I was able to participate in March, 1920 (p. 176 /unexamined/). At that time I was treated as strictly as the Indian girls and was not allowed to ask questions or to take notes. I remember clearly that at this initiation the names Wanaginiwa and Hiuliagan were repeatedly used, but I was fully aware of what they meant only two years later when those names were again recalled to my memory. Although I did not grasp the fact on that occasion, I had actually discovered the Supreme Being whom the Yamana worship. I had finally come close to their religious faith.

123 On my third visit at the end of January, 1922, the men were not yet free for the planned Yahgan celebration (p. 184 /unexamined/). In order to spend the time profitably, W. Koppert, who accompanied me at that time (p. 101 /unexamined/), and I did a good deal of research during the day with the Indian women. Nelly Lawrence was regularly and gladly present and thanks to her personal mimeisation the women willingly answered our questions. We all wanted to be undisturbed, and so we assembled daily in the shed, a special corrugated tin house in which the /1042/ Lawrence family had major housework performed, laundry, for example. This house stood apart from the small dwellings of the Yamana families.

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124 776 Again one day old traditions were discussed, and the name Watauinēiwa was directly mentioned. Full of suspense we pressed for a further explanation. This caused great embarrassment among the women and there was deep silence; not even the otherwise brave Nelly ventured a word. Finally, in order to ease the constraint, old Mary summoned up her courage and said briefly: "Watauinēiwa is like God, like Christian God /cited in English/!" I was nonplused and again faced the same barrier that I had experienced two years before, apparently on the threshold of a new world of ideas to which the Indians refused admittance. Importunate questions on that afternoon would have been futile and would surely have evoked ill humor. Mary only disclosed that upon the death of an own child or a near relative, the neighbors point to [761] the mourner with the expression: "Watauinēiwa is punishing him!" This means that the deceased and his family have been punished by Watauinēiwa through this death.

After a long pause the Indian women attempted a digression. I could not accept this and ventured cautiously to come back to that anxiously guarded name. My efforts remained unsuccessful. The whole conversation flagged and our discussion simply could not get started again. In order to satisfy us and put us off once and for all, the women finally started to tell about ēkētēmakalowatauinēiwa. How craftily they had chosen this way out of their embarrassment! We surrendered our hope of finally finding out more about the real Watauinēiwa. Actually they only offered us the [713] story of the small band of people who, in olden times, had set out for ēkētēmaka, where there was stranded whale, and afterwards they remained in that region west of Ushuaia. In this combination the designation watauinēiwa has nothing to do with the name for the Fuegian deity. The crafty Indian women in this way slipped out of the trap and very smartly duped us without betraying their secret. In any case it was now clear that all kinds of things worth knowing were concealed behind that name, and to discover them would probably justify serious effort.

Several times Nelly Lawrence had willingly helped me obtain information I sought in my research on the institutions and customs of her countrymen, and this time, too, she did not fail me. As I definitely learned later, she valued the native heritage of religious ideas extraordinarily highly, and inasmuch as she

/1042 cont./

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124

assumed that I was of the same mind, she worked toward making it accessible to me. Three days after the discussion described above, on Wednesday, January 25, 1922, /1043/ she again invited us to the large workshed, with the enticing prospect: "Today Adelheid and I shall tell you everything about Watauinéiwa!" Nelly explained candidly why these two women were the only ones who came: "Watauinéiwa has punished neither of us, he has not let a single one of our children die, so we are not ashamed to have him mentioned in our presence. We may freely speak of him [in front of others also]. The other women, however, whose children he took away [through death which he caused], feel that they have been punished by him; they find it unpleasant if he [Watauinéiwa] is mentioned in their presence!" These very significant words contain a complete explanation of the strange behavior of the people when I asked about Watauinéiwa (9).

9. It is conceivable that this also explains the Yamana's cautious silence in the presence of earlier travelers. Some of them probably noticed this, for example, even Darwin (p. 102 /untranslated/); they were not aware of the ultimate and most profound reason, however.

Whenever I had questioned them, there were always a few persons present in their circle who were obliged to lament the loss of a close relative. It would have been the equivalent of pillorying them if the others present had spoken in detail about Watauinéiwa in my presence. Considerately, Nelly came only with Adelheid, for these two could describe Watauinéiwa, what he is and how he acts, freely and without embarrassment. On that Wednesday we learned most of the names which are given him, as well as a few definite prayers directed toward him.

Obviously, that discussion did not exhaust the subject and bring to light all that the Yamana carry within their hearts in the way of ideas about their Supreme Being. I realized that the rest could be obtained only through a wise procedure, and our course lay outlined in the explanation that Nelly had just given us. After that the other people probably learned that we were familiar with their conceptions of the person and actions of Watauinéiwa. When

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776 I subsequently directed the conversation toward their Supreme
124 Being on suitable occasions, I did it very considerately and with sympathetic understanding for the depressed feeling of a person who is reminded of one or several deceased persons who were dear to him whenever the name of Watauinéiwa is mentioned. This gentle manner, which was shown intentionally to avoid hurting anyone, was not only comforting to all the Yamana, but steadily diminished their aversion to brief discussions about that feared spirit. In the course of time the discussions gradually became more open and free, and finally, despite a respectful attitude, were almost completely without restraint. Our own attitude toward the ideas sacred to them also helped; we neither criticized nor made fun of them; rather, we valued them highly and treated them with the same respect that they themselves showed. /1044/ Even earlier I had repeatedly heard their comparison: "Christians speak scornfully of their god, revile him and even reject him. No Yamana speaks of our Watauinéiwa in this way!" It was obviously consoling to them that we, too, showed veneration toward him. Some of the Fuegians, however, continued to be reticent whenever Watauinéiwa was mentioned. Although this was always done with genteel reserve, nevertheless it seemed incredible to many of them that something which they themselves revere as sacred could be the same to us.

On that third journey I was permitted to experience the youth initiation a second time (p. 185 /untranslated/), where I heard new references to Watauinéiwa, which were in accordance with the ancient program for the čiéxaus (p.759). Finally on my fourth visit (p. 190 /untranslated/) I was offered an extraordinarily valuable addition to what I had previously learned with regard to a ceremony for the dead. Thus, several times, through none of my doing and quite suddenly, I came upon religious utterances of the Yamana. It was primarily for this that I sought uninterrupted and open discussions with all the older people. By doing so, I could bring to light what I have put together in the following pages. I know of no reason why they should have concealed anything from me.

114 There is no longer any lack of convincing explanations as to why these Fuegians have so anxiously guarded their heritage of

/1044 cont./

114 religious ideas and practices from every stranger since their contact with European culture and why they entrusted me alone with this precious heritage, albeit under very special considerations. I must say that the same is true of my participation on two occasions in their secret youth initiation, čiéxaus, as well as my direct experience of the men's ceremony, kina, and the school for medicine men, lójma-yékamuš. In their opinion I proved myself worthy of this extraordinary favor.

b. Content of the Yamana Religion

771 It is not a serious injustice to the Fuegians if, from the start,
128 one expects no systematic organization of their religious ideas, which do not form a complete, compact, interlocked chain of thought; in fact, wide gaps are sometimes apparent. Individual ideas are juxtaposed loosely and without connection. Although the Fuegian has these ideas, he does not bother to understand them completely, and also he does not seem to feel the need of having them arranged into a coherent whole. A summary and arrangement of what is presented here as the religious heritage of the Yamana would be entirely foreign to him. I have personally undertaken it in order to present a survey and to make possible a scientific evaluation.

776 On the preceding pages Watauinéiwa, the /1045/ sole deity of the Yamana in the more limited sense of the word "religion" (p. 949), has been designated as a "Supreme Being" (10). Although

10. For the same reasons I previously likewise referred to the deity worshipped by the Selk'nam as a "Supreme Being" (Vol. I, 496).

the Fuegian does not have this conception, he in fact knows no other spirit superior to Watauinéiwa. The latter is also the only one accorded a unique power and a superior position, whereby he stands far apart from every other being. Finally, his relationships to human beings are those of an absolute master and sole lawgiver; one renders religious homage to him alone. It is only in this sense that Watauinéiwa is called a deity, as is customary in theology generally.

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1. Personality of the Supreme Being

716 The thinking of the Fuegians is inclined (if one may express it thus) toward concreteness. Their conceptions have definite forms and clear outlines. Their Watauinéiwa especially is a sharply delineated, independent person standing by himself and far removed from every other spirit. For the Yamana he is not a completely formless creation of thought, but an individual spirit-being with an autonomous form and an independent manner of existence. He is never referred to with a universal, generic designation, but only a proper name or, in its place, a clear, conventional circumlocution. The characteristics attributed to him are evident in part from these names, but even more from the prayer formulas (11). He makes himself clearly felt as an altogether in-

11. Most of this has already been published by Koppers (e):12 and Schmidt (d):927.

dependent personality, in particular by his intervention in many ways in the life and existence of the individual, as well as in the destiny of the whole group.

a. His Name

Some of my informants were familiar to a certain extent with the meaning of the words "Dios" and "God" as they are used by the Whites. They never used them directly to refer to their Watauinéiwa, but always used the customary names, of which there are several. They are not proper names in the strict sense, of the type, for example, given each Yamana; rather, they are words with an emphatic meaning and of greatest import, which, as such, are applied exclusively to this deity. In this respect our Indians differ from the Selk'nam who use an actual personal name, Temáukel (Vol. I, 497).

Often they use Watauinéiwa in the sense of "the very ancient one," that is, the /1046/ unique very ancient one who, in permanence of being, surpasses every other old one. Sometimes this word

/1046 cont./

776 is also applied to the ancestors of antiquity, the first arrivals, the places which they settled in those times and which today are already fossilized. In this case its meaning is, of course, limited, for there is only one, namely, the Supreme Being, who is properly and truly the very ancient one. BD:632 also gives the word wātauīnaiwa, "the ancient one who changes not. A suitable term for God indicative of his eternity and unchangeableness" /cited in English/. Bridges here gives the basic meaning. The accompanying explanation confirms the occasional use to which this word is put in referring to ancestors: "This term was used specially of [82] the Rainbow which coming ever and anon was regarded as ever living and the author of death [?]. Used also of Heroes of old time" /cited in English/. In connection with this the Yamana form the word Watauinēiwa-sēf, "the very ancient one in heaven." BD:379 gives sēif instead of sēf, "the (blue) sky" /cited in English/; also Watauinēiwa-aizāku, "the very ancient one and the one of boundless strength." In BD:10 one finds aizŏka, "immense, huge, very large" /cited in English/. Tānuwa has the same meaning, according to BD:421, "(My) father, my old man (fam.)" /cited in English/, which is something like /in German/ "mein lieber, guter Alter."

The Yamana no less frequently use Hidābuan or Hitapūan [601] as "my father" and Hāu īmun, "my father" or, by shifting the possessive prefix hi, also haianānin īmun, "our father." Occasionally Hāua ūšu, "my grandfather" and Kalaiēxēn, "dear little old father," are also used.

The following names are also to be interpreted in such a way that their unique meaning, applied to the deity, is raised to the highest degree of intensity. Abailākin, "the strong, the mighty." BD:14 gives abāila, "strong, physically strong, firm, powerful" /cited in English/. The combination hāim hūlu Abailākin stands for a particularly great intensification. The first two words can also be repeated, which gives the greatest possible emphasis. This construction, however, is used exclusively for Watauinēiwa. According to BD:261 hāim means "in a great degree, very exceedingly" /cited in English/. The Yamana also use the construction Abāila-Watauinēiwa and Abāila-sēf.

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776 Manunākin is popular, as is Manauanākin, in the sense of "the sole mighty one." BD:285 gives these words in the combination manūnāki hauan, "this is valued" /cited in English/; it has the same root as auwēn, according to BD:65 auwōn, "true, sincere, in earnest, in truth" /cited in English/, and auwōnāki, "the good one" /cited in English/.

Only once was Tumūučikānaku used, "he who makes others angry and infuriates them." These words are also used by the Yamana in ordinary speech. Compare in BD:519 the expression tūmūučikāna, "cause, permit any person to učikana (BD:112), to annoy, trouble, vex by demands, requests, entreaties, etc." /cited in English/.

[761] On the occasion of a death and at a public funeral, Wēlapatux-sēf, "the murderer up in heaven," is often used and always with strong emotion. BD:619 clearly states "wōlāpatux, cruel, murderous; acting in a manner braving danger in a reckless manner as though one could not be hurt or as one was like hard stone and invulnerable" /cited in English/.

/1047/ Finally one also finds in BD:629 "wāgunāki, the upper or higher one, the one above, the highest one; a term for God as 'the Highest'" /cited in English/. I did not come across this word and Bridges does not give an explanation for it anywhere. A definite contradiction should be pointed out, however. In his dictionary he lists an expression for "God" and yet for decades he denied that the Yamana had any kind of religious conception.

The above terms for the Supreme Being are variously used, depending on the given situation, but never thoughtlessly and always with conscious reference to this deity. The expressions always show more or less veneration for the deity, except for the names which the poor human being angrily uses to relieve his soul concerning his own impotence in relation to him.

195 776 Often, though not to the same extent as the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 497), our Indians use circumlocutions in place of the designations just listed. On the basis of the position occupied by Watauinēiwa in visible creation, according to their belief, they more or less consciously connect striking events and important happenings with him as the true creator and ultimate cause. They say briefly: "This comes from above!" and use the particle kūp

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195 or kūpa. Compare BD:210, 211. This replaces the name, but
776 is clear to everyone who hears it. Calderon and other men regard this substitution as "palabra política," as a wisely calculated way of speaking, outwardly mild but actually perfectly clear and full of meaning, somewhat like a key symbol in cryptography. Out of respect they avoid addressing the Supreme Being with the customary names as much as possible. Moreover, they do not wish to
[765] hurt openly a person who is in mourning and who, if one of the customary designations were used, would be publicly shamed or reminded of the fact that the death just mentioned was sent as a punishment by Watauinéiwa. The nature of the conversation and the particular circumstances of an utterance safely prevent a misunderstanding of the circumlocution on the part of the persons present.

β. His Characteristics

776 The above names and the prayer formulas familiar to the Yamana both contribute their share to form a complete picture of the Supreme Being's uniqueness as it lives in the soul of these Fuegians. At first glance we recognize Watauinéiwa as an independent personality who is clearly distinguished from other beings of all kinds and, far removed from them, is completely independent. Watauinéiwa is a being apart; his whole nature is different from that of the other spirit-beings and even more from that of all human beings.

/1048/ We have already referred to his spirituality. For the concept "spirit" the Yamana use késpix. To them Watauinéiwa is the very great késpix who is properly, and more than other spirit-beings, a spirit in the real sense of the word. As such he is invisible and thus cannot be seen by human eyes. Repeatedly someone flies into a rage because Watauinéiwa has caused the death of a near relative, and he would like to confront him directly, but as késpix that one is inaccessible to any human being. Since he is incorporeal, no one has a perceptual idea of his person. I was emphatically told: "He does not have the body which every Yamana has down here [on earth]; he also does not die, as each

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776 of us will when his kēšpix́ leaves his body." There are no pictorial or material representations of his person.

His abode is always far away from the earth and, in the invariable phrase, "high up there" in space. "From this great distance and because of the air space intervening no Yamana can see him. No one knows what he looks like, for he is kēšpix́!" That is all they say about how and where he lives "up there," nor do they picture details in their own imaginations.

Nevertheless, Wataąinēiwa is close to every human being
776 through a sort of omnipresence attributed to him. This character-
626 istic is expressed more tangibly when he is described as omniscient, so to speak. "He sees everything. -- He knows what everyone is doing. -- He also observes how a person behaves in secret [unobserved by his countrymen]!" I often heard this and similar expressions. In the čiēxaąs Chris told me: "He looks down from up there and he punishes here on earth. So he is also on earth! He reaches and punishes every lazy and good-for-nothing human being" (p. 766). When this same Chris was an ušwāala in the čiēxaąs, his sponsor reminded him: "Heed all this advice faithfully. Wataąinēiwa wishes it; he watches carefully to see whether you will act accordingly" (p. 736). Every candidate is emphatically warned: "Watch out for Wataąinēiwa, never forget him!" The awareness that they are always being watched by him is not without effect on the personal conduct of our Indians.

In the last analysis, this conduct is likewise determined by him through the prevailing customs and traditional habits, in short, through the whole body of moral law, the authorship of which is attributed to him. The Fuegians say very simply and plainly: "Wataąinēiwa wants everyone to behave as has always been customary among us Yamana!" They link with this the conviction that in the beginning these laws were drawn up by him to serve as guides for subsequent generations. With his omniscience
776 he sees to it that they are rigorously observed and he avenges
626 serious transgressions. This type of activity on his part is /1049/
761 most often mentioned because of its perceptible effects. He is maligned as the "murderer up there in heaven," Wēlapatux-sēf, for he causes the untimely death of adults and immature children. He causes everyone to die; hence the persons themselves and their nearest relatives, even the entire group, are punished and hurt.

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776 He proceeds ruthlessly; he does not desist even in the face of the
761 tenderest age or the bitterest grief and greatest sorrow of a mother.
626 He is truly a Tumŭučikánaku, and the more helpless the poor human being feels, the more passionately he moves against him.

In his weakness the Fuegian is at the mercy of that Abāilā́kin, that hā́im hū́lu Abāilā́kin, the unlimited mighty one who punishes when and however it pleases him, heedless of the pain and woe of human beings. He alone is lord over the life and death of all. He grants life and therewith the child enters independent existence. He lets everyone have life as long as it pleases him. He takes it away and man dies. By way of punishment he sends a serious ill-
[753] ness; he liberates a person from it, but only occasionally. He causes dying "of his own free will, and no influence by natural forces or magic power is capable of prevailing upon him. The dying one resigns himself to the progress of a serious illness without much complaining about his fate. The relatives and friends also yield submissively; they say: 'Watauinḗiwa is much mightier than we, no one can stand up against him. He will carry this one off, we must let it happen, we can only weep!'" (Gusinde [2]:161.)

[821] In the same manner he bestows good and bad weather. If he wants to chastise someone, he has him tormented by storm and
776 rain; if he favors someone, he will let him be accompanied by
626 sunshine. He brings success in hunting to the men and success in gathering to the women, but sometimes he also arranges that they both come back empty-handed. In the final analysis, he is the author of every bad and fatal accident. A person who is dealt a severe blow regards it as a personal punishment; whether he is uncomplainingly silent or noisily abusive, he must accept it as one who is utterly defenseless. The threats with which our Indians try to ease their oppressed hearts do not touch that Abā́ilā́kin in the least. He does not use physical force, but operates merely by willing something. The Yamana express themselves as follows. For example, a girl was admonished in the čiéxaus: "Begin your day's work early in the morning. Watauinḗiwa sees every lazybones. Watauinḗiwa will [as punishment] make you die soon [i.e., prematurely] if you are a lazy lie-abed!" They also say: "He will look at you, then it will soon be all over with you!" Sometimes they also warn: "The one up there is looking at you!" This means: He has designs on you, he has long intended to punish

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776 you. Thus, as everyone knows /1050/ and must yield to without
626 defense: this Watauinéiwa-aizáku, the very ancient one and the one of boundless strength, "has at his disposal a power which all the Y amana together are unable to resist, especially not if he arbitrarily takes away our children." They are all convinced: "We must fear him and be on our guard against him!"

The visible world lies in the palm of his hand, "all things belong to him"; he is the lord and the owner of all creation. A Fuegian judges everything around him as Watauinéiwa-sirž, a very common expression. BD:379 translates sirž as: "tolls, goods, property, things in general" /cited in English/. There is a friendly feeling connected with this word formation; according to it every "thing" is a piece of property belonging to the deity (p. 866). Evidently this means living creatures, chiefly the large mammals and the birds. He granted the Yamana all of these for their use and benefit; hence they are a true gift of God to human beings. Everyone may use them, but only to the extent that he needs them for subsistence. To misuse them arbitrarily or to destroy them willfully would be to turn against the intentions of their owner and would evoke his vengeance. "He watches carefully to see that animals are not needlessly killed and that meat does not spoil," but is utilized! The Indians often and in all earnestness impressed these words upon me. Without exception they are punctilious about this rule; I never saw them heedlessly leaving a slain animal lying about.

776 Furthermore, the Fuegians, with unequivocal explanations, make it clear that their Watauinéiwa also holds the fate of men in his hands. It is well known that malevolent spirits and, above all, the yékamuš practice their baleful influence on individuals. The yékamus have enough power to cause someone to become ill. They may breed mischief, however, only to the extent and as long as Watauinéiwa permits it. Neither a spirit nor a yékamuš can harm a person against the will of the deity. If harm befalls one, he is really personally in favor of it, and he himself is ultimately responsible. If a yékamuš realizes that a serious illness has developed, against which his knowledge is of no avail, on his own initiative he delivers the sick person to Watauinéiwa as the only one left who can help, but since he is, after all, Manauanákin, everything

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116 significant that happens goes back to him, at least as something he has permitted. He also directs the forces of nature with his own hand; the Yamana definitely express this in various ways. In this connection compare Gusinde (l):161.

116 Is this ancient one to whom, as sole owner, everything visible belongs also regarded as its ultimate cause, as its creator?
113 It seems to me that the Fuegians do not have a clear conception of creation (12). /1051/ They never discuss in so many words the

> 12. I shall let Bridges (i):19 speak on this question although he cannot be regarded as authoritative: "They have no tradition of their origin; for them the world was always what it is, and ever will be the same. For them it had no maker or master and they had not the least idea of pleasing or displeasing anyone beyond themselves" /cited in English/.

work of creation out of absolute nothingness, nor do they definitely emphasize that Watauinéiwa existed before the actual creations did. Nevertheless, that actually is their view, and they also see in him the origin of all that was created. They do not clearly express these truths, but tacitly they recognize them, for example, when they say: "Watauinéiwa existed alone at first! Then he made all the animals, and it was there in Yáiaašága. All animals [therefore] belong to him." Apparently no one speculates about the exact origin of human beings and all the rest; they are content to describe Watauinéiwa as the unlimited master and true owner. In this way they recognize him more or less as the sole and ultimate cause of the existence of the visible world. Compare Gusinde (l): 160.

In March, 1923, I discussed this and similar ideas with old Mašemikens, and I asked him how human beings had originated. This time, too, he replied clearly and emphatically: "It is not the first time that I have been faced with this question. When I was a young man I learned the story of the many animals who were transformed back there in the great revolution at Yáiaašága. I

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776 asked myself and also other men, above all, the capable yĕkamuš
773 and the most experienced old men, how that took place. No one knew the answer as to how human beings actually originated and where they came from. So to this day I do not know. I have often and persistently searched and tried to answer this question. At that time Tā́ruwalĕm burned up the whole world and all the animals. And this I can't understand either, how afterwards everything was put in order again, how the huge fire was put out, and how he again restored plants and animals to this land. All this we do not know. In former years I often asked the experienced old people about this." A few days later, I sat in a circle of several old men, as was my custom, and quite spontaneously the conversation again drifted to these things. Richard repeated: "We really don't know exactly how everything came about at that time. Of course Watauinĕ̄iwa already existed in the very old days, for heaven was already here above the earth, there where the clouds are and where Watauinĕ́iwa also stays. Before Lĕ̄m [sun] and Hā́nuxa [moon] and Akā́inix [rainbow] wandered here on earth like human beings, Watauinĕ̄iwa was already here, for heaven existed before all of them. At that time women ruled. We do not know how and from where children came at that time, for none of the women who then ruled the men slept with their husbands and cohabited with them in order to conceive children. None of us can say where children came from in those days. It is only since the great /1052/ revolution that women are subordinate to the will of men. It was back in the time when the great fur seal
[825 tĕpĕ́ya (Arctocephalus australis) discovered how man and woman
842 should unite, she underneath and he on top of her; that gives them
833] pleasure. Since then they have done it that way to this day. When husband and wife unite in this way, then children follow. So we know where our children come from now. Where they came from before that, no one can explain. We know equally as little about where Lĕ̄m and Hanuxa and the stars come from, which at that time lived on earth just like human beings. When they [the ones mentioned] and sĕ̄f [heaven], too, were here, Watauinĕ́iwa was also here, and he was here even long before that." Thus, no Yamana can explain definitely and clearly how the visible world originated. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that a deeply thoughtful and meditative man like Mašemikens felt this gap and tried to fill it.

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776 If one carefully examines the words of the men mentioned, he can obtain from them a conception of the everlasting existence of the Supreme Being, without temporal limits in either direction. Our Fuegians do not even discuss a cessation of the existence of this "Kespix-up-there," and of all his characteristics they are most familiar with the one meant by the oft-repeated designation Watauinéiwa. According to their conception, this "very ancient one" has simply always existed, and no one questions where he actually came from or what his origin is. One may also assume that, according to the belief of the Yamana, this "very ancient one" has always remained the same. Nowhere do they imply, much less state, that he has changed his personal attitude toward human beings or the laws imposed upon them. In sum, he has remained personally the same, hence unchanging. In the strict sense of the word, he does not in any case let himself be influenced by human beings. "We Yamana often complain bitterly, but he deals with us as he pleases!" Mary said. She had explained to me that in distress and in serious illness those who are directly or in-
[782] directly affected turn to the Supreme Being, praying for deliverance. He takes cognizance, so to speak, of these prayers and sometimes proves well-intentioned, but he would by no means feel pressed or forced to change his absolutely free decision. The Yamana are clearly convinced of this.

Despite the decided arbitrariness with which Watauinéiwa now and then obviously interferes with the fate of individual human beings, he is generally regarded as benevolent and good. They like to address him as Hidárbuan, for he is truly a father to each one and to the Yamana as a whole. This designation most often occurs in the old traditional prayer formulas. With the happy conviction that he is concerned about everyone, and especially that he will provide each one with the animals necessary for his subsistence, the Yamana trust him and his providence. Many approach him with the naïve, childlike confidence with which, in /1053/ human relationships, a child confronts its good father. Although grievous blows sometimes make the individual lose his mental balance, in general "the conviction of the benevolence of the Supreme Being" (Gusinde [ℓ]:163) predominates. Hence they also venture to address him with the intimate Kalaiéxen, "dear little father" and the friendly Tánuwa, "the dear, good old man."

/1053 cont./

776 A complete picture of the Supreme Being as it exists in the imagination of the Yamana must show his absolutely independent position with regard to all the other spirits and human souls. In none of the many myths that I collected is he included in any way; in fact, there is a wide gap between him and all the mythological personalities and the so-called kĩna spirits. It has been shown on page 765 to what extent he is linked with the Tánuwa spirit in the ʒiẽxaus. He is not viewed as sharing the conditions of existence which the Yamana regard as vital, such as being married. On
776 one occasion, with studied carelessness, as though it were an
124 everyday matter, I asked a few people: "To whom, I wonder, is Wataninẽ́ʌwa married?" In response an expression appeared on their faces, showing what, in their view, a very stupid, gauche utterance deserves. Nelly Lawrence seemed disconcerted, and long seconds passed before she regained her composure after the impact of that strange question. This time, too, as in all her other statements, she wanted to be accurate, and she assured me innocently: "That is something I never heard about! I'll ask the old people whether they perhaps know something!" She was already fully convinced that anything like it was utterly unknown to the old people also; that is why she never came back to the subject. Soon afterward, when Chris alone was asked this question, he replied indignantly: "Who in the world maintained that!" Calming him, we explained: "As a matter of fact no one maintained anything like that; we just wanted to ask!" He then fell silent and showed pity for Europeans who confused themselves with such useless questions. The Yamana have no conception whatever of how Wataninẽ́ʌwa actually lives -- that is to say, his dwelling, food, weariness, sleep, etc. -- and they have nothing to say on the subject. They definitely know that he has a very unique manner of existence; this is enough for them and they have no desire to find out about details.

776 All the characteristics attributed to Wataninẽ́ʌwa add up to quite a richly endowed personality, despite the simplicity of the picture. He has a wholly independent position above all creation, as well as separate from other spirit-beings and from human beings. His intervention in the destinies of the inhabitants of the earth, and thus his activity in general, is revealed in the association

/1053 cont./

116 which the individual human being has with him and, above all, in the prayer formulas.

/1054/ 2. Religious Activity

116 All accounts clearly indicate that the Supreme Being of our
111 Yamana does not, like the chief personages in their myths, dwell far beyond the clouds, unconcerned with the events on earth. Quite the contrary, Watagin̄iwa truly and attentively follows the activities of the individual, often directing fate against the person's hopes and desires; indeed he is more active than is agreeable to many. Everyone knows him as an active, alert being. Thus, no one loses sight of him entirely; much less would anyone purposely and heedlessly ignore him altogether. It is true that some Indians are more eagerly concerned about him, more actively engrossed with his characteristics, and therefore think about him more often than do other fellow-tribesmen, but there is not a single Fuegian who is completely "godless." Without any effort on his part, everyone is often enough reminded of Watagin̄iwa by his relatives and neighbors and is included in their religious activity. For that very reason no one loses the religious customs as practiced and handed down by earlier generations. To what extent and how often each individual practices religion by himself cannot be determined precisely, nor can it be shown that women do more in this respect than men. As elsewhere, personal disposition and the influence of training in youth are decisive, as well as a person's immediate environment from early childhood.

a. General Practices

111 The amazing simplicity revealed in the Yamana way of life is, naturally, also apparent in the religious realm. Except for specific prayer formulas, their outward religious activity is remarkably limited. They have no actual portrayal of their Supreme Being or particular places reserved for his worship, nor do they have any kind of sacrifice. A priesthood and religious ceremonies are also lacking. The gathering of many families on the

/1054 cont./

711 occasion of a death cannot be regarded as a religious ceremony since this is held primarily because of grief over the loss of a dear relative. The religious heritage of our Indians is never seen by a European visitor, and that alone explains the agreement of all the travelers and missionaries who depicted them as absolutely irreligious (13).

> 13. I often spoke freely with the older men and women about the services and the religious functions to which in earlier days, as children and young people, they were invited with a certain regularity by the missionaries in and outside of the mission stations. Each time I had the impression that it was completely incomprehensible to them how one could please the deity by a public appearance and in an assemblage of many persons. It is much more in keeping with their own frame of mind for an individual to face the Supreme Being by himself and to settle with him alone whatever he has on his mind.

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One could probably describe as religious activity in its wider sense the firmly established, equable mental attitude of deep veneration toward /1055/ Wataginéjwa that the individual maintains. Not everyone is always conscious of it, but in some way it has a decisive influence on him to move along certain paths and to be led by universally valid principles. In its effect within the religious sphere this veneration is comparable to what a conscience is in the field of moral obligations, namely, a sort of leitmotiv by which the individual person is led. This mental attitude is the reason for the unchanging acquiescence of the Fuegian to the demands of the moral law. He submits to it without contradiction, although he cannot explain it in any other way than by repeating the well-known saying: "Wataginéjwa sees everything. -- He wants everyone to conduct himself in the way that has always been customary among us Yamana!" For him the rule of conduct lies in this and similar words, and that is why it has not changed through successive generations. It is true that the fear of punishment

/1055 cont./

781 often protects this or that person from lapses, but it is really be-
776 cause of the ancient tradition itself that they adhere to its de-
626 mands. No one would ever complain of the tight bonds imposed on free action. On the contrary, the customs of the old people are everywhere highly respected, because ultimately Watawineiwa appears as the guardian of public order.

781 Inasmuch as he must be approached with piety, no one dares
776 repeat his name without a special reason, much less hold it in
195 contempt. If the Supreme Being is mentioned, the Yamana shows decided piety and a certain solemnity in his whole outward bearing when he speaks his name, thus giving the spoken word a marked note of consecration. The various names applied to the deity are never thoughtlessly uttered. Another sign of pious respect is the use of circumlocutions. These are used most often when in the course of a ceremony of mourning an excited person struggles with Manunkin, "the sole mighty one." It is as though he wanted to dampen his improper conduct, as though he would not turn immediately and directly to the familiar deity. The habitual respectful attitude of the Yamana toward the person of the Supreme Being himself faces them, so to speak, to the greatest possible fidelity to tribal custom, particularly the moral obligations, and does not let the thought of contradiction or renunciation arise.

B. Prayers of Supplication

782 The Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 909) are exactly
[171] alike concerning the form and distinctive character of their religious veneration, but they are /1056/ conspicuously different in the use of prayers and invocations to their deity. Whereas the Selk'nam dedicate to their Temaukel a few more or less freely chosen words only on rare occasions (Vol. I, 510), our Fuegians have at their disposal a long list of established prayer formulas which everyone uses according to the given circumstances. They have adhered to them so strictly that they still repeat them even today, although individual words and expressions are no longer used in daily life and have even become incomprehensible, only the general sense of the whole formula has been preserved.

/1056 cont./

It is understandable that lamentations and formulas of remorse are most numerous, inasmuch as every death agitates our Indians to an extraordinary degree and stirs him to the depths. By comparison, the prayers of supplication are plain and simple. The latter will be given first, with brief explanations of the meaning, and afterwards the other prayers and related invocations. I may properly omit a grammatical analysis because we have Bridges' dictionary and because Hinnemann has undertaken special investigations on the grammar of the Tsimsia, to which we refer.

(1) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
My father, to me be merciful.

These words are a general supplication which the Supreme Being is asked to fulfill, for example, to grant success in the hunt or good weather during the canoe trip. -- BD.XII gives [illegible], "do act kindly, to do good, show pity or mercy" /cited in English/.

(2) [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
My father, now then, to me be kind

[illegible].
today.

Obviously this request is similar to the preceding one. It is uttered immediately before a trip, a hunt, and similar occasions.

(3) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
To do be merciful today,

[illegible].
my father.

This request is again like the others. It is most heavyweed in the early fourteen shortly before they set out on a major undertaking or a long canoe trip.

/[illegible] cont./

(4) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Show them, them, be merciful (to me), my father.

This petition seems to be a general one, but it is used especially by a mother whose child is ill, so that [illegible] will not let it die, but make it well again.

(5) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
My father, let me go, I am making it known to you.

A person who petitions in this way is really asking for good weather. Desire he announces to the Supreme Being that he will soon start on his trip. /[illegible]/ -- NO-DO gives [illegible], "to let walk about, to let wander" /tried in English/, and NO-DOO adds [illegible], "to show, cause to see" /tried in English/. -- The Tsimsie also often address the Supreme Being in spontaneous utterance. If a family has planned a long trip, the father will get up early from his bed, move to the hut entrance, and look appreciatively at the clouds or the direction of the wind. If good weather is in the offing, he says to the-see-up-there: "I thank thee, [illegible], that thou hast sent us favorable weather!" If the prospects are not so favorable, he fervently supplies: "[illegible], thou knowest that we wish to travel on, be kind to us and send us good weather!"

(6) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Show them, to us all be kind every day,

[illegible]
my father.

Before a family lies down to sleep in the hut, one of the older members repeats this saying. It sounds like a short evening prayer containing gratitude for the passed day and a request for success on the following day. According to the people who explained it, the emphasis is on the request that [illegible] let all the members of the family be well and happy during the coming day.

/1307 cont./

(7) Anna, ngwidge mbawdgara, Hizadge,
Now then, or receive mercifully, my father,

dingwaje.
also.

With this request a person turns back to Hadhgan after he was punished by the deity through a death, he had quarreled with him, so to speak. -- BD:351 gives mbawdgara, "to take a person under one's care, to be kind and merciful to a person" /cited in English/.

(8) Ngwanidge Mbatomadge, Hizadge.
Or he will [surely] push forward, my father.

A person who is rowing on the water and is aiming for a shore or an island where there is game repeats this request, confident that Hadhgan will let the canoe glide there quickly as though he personally were pushing it with a strong hand. -- BD:177 mentions mbandid, "to shove, push, press, bear against with the hands" /cited in English/.

(9) Dadge mbadandan, Wazagadgan.
To me give a good course, the old one above.

A person makes this entreaty during the canoe trip if bad weather threatens, so that he will reach his goal or the nearest safe shore.

(10) Dadge Mbadawadge, Hizadge, Shandin Ibam.
To me be merciful, my father, save the boat.

In bad weather they ask that the good father-up-there lift the canoe over all dangers. -- BD:401 explains shandid, "to uprise in one's arms, to raise or lift up" /cited in English/. /1308/

(11) Hizadge, Ndo adgo Mbadawagdan,
My father, to me with adgo be merciful,

Gdawa
Gdawa

/1058 cont./

782 This means: Send me help through an ašóula (the grampus,
539 Pseudarca crassidens) against the lakūma /water spirit/ that came near my canoe and threatened me. The word čiéxaus serves to strengthen the request and replaces the word Watauinéiwa. Although direct address is avoided, the old-one-up-there knows that these words are addressed to him.

(12) Sēskin	skāja	ki-wēla	kūpa	abājla
The heart	to you	[preserve]	from above	strong

mūtuna.
[in] sitting here.

This request means: May the-one-up-there help you who are sitting here so that you will freely develop your strength and be able to go on singing for a long time. Adelheid spoke these words during the youth initiation, as she looked at old Richard who had been exerting himself for some time as the leader of the singing. -- The word sēskin, "heart," also has a further meaning, as in German, and BD:383 acknowledges this: "the heart, the affections, the soul" /cited in English/. According to BD:14 abājla means: "strong, firm, powerful" /cited in English/. The word mūtu here, according to BD:366, means "to sit, to be sitting" /cited in English/.

γ. Prayers of Thanksgiving

The preceding prayers of supplication follow a recognizably uniform pattern. The prayers of thanksgiving for all kinds of gifts, which as such are multifarious and are bestowed by the Supreme Being, have more variety. It is actually amazing that our Fuegians often feel a special urge to give thanks for the benefits that Watauinéiwa bestows upon them. Such a practice points to the stable, close relationship that the Yamana believe they have with their deity. Because it is easy for them to express gratitude, this relationship must be favorable and satisfy them very much. It makes them feel truly happy.

/1058 cont./

782
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(1) Ašár^{x} Hitapūan. Ašár^{x} Kalaiexēn.
Thanks my father. Thanks, little old father.

With these short formulas the Yamana pays his debt of gratitude on various occasions. They are often used and are familiar to everyone. — In BD:45 we find ōšōs, "I am so glad! Well done!..." /cited in English/. This is undoubtedly the same as ašár^{x}.

(2) Ašár^{x}, Hitapūan, katūutux
Thanks, my father, favorable weather

uiāina.
accompanied me.

Thanks is given in this manner by a person who has again reached a safe shore after a canoe trip; while he is comfortably resting, he thinks about his trip.

(3) Ašár^{x}, hipikāja kēmētauwēxkete Hitapūan.
Thanks, to both of us was merciful my father.

/1059/ This sentence is likewise an expression of thanks for the favorable course or the successful outcome of some undertaking in which two persons were engaged.

(4) Ašár^{x}, Hitapūan, hāja kēmētauwāgude
Thanks, my father, to me was good

hauančimāalan.
today.

A person who is luxuriating in the enjoyment of some success, especially one who is enjoying rich hunting spoils, does not forget afterwards to make known in this manner his grateful acknowledgment to the kind giver and benefactor.

(5) Hajananikāja kēmaustuxmēnax Hitapūan.
Us has protected my father.

/1059 cont./

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With this formula one wants to express thanks for success, for some advantage which he achieved, or for particular protection granted him. One family greets another with this formula after they have returned home or when they meet on the water. -- BD:181 writes "kōmausteka, to go or come up in order to take care of; kōmaustuxmōni, to get up, or come up and stand guardian over" /cited in English/.

(6) Šābaguta Wačinēiwa Hitapūančikaia.
Satisfied I with the old one, my father.

Filled with gratitude, a mother who was worried about her sick child and is now happy that it is well again expresses herself in these words. According to BD:152, sabagūta is "to be happily, or at peace" /cited in English/.

(7) Annu, hāia kēgurat alagumutūkilē-
Now then, me it pleased to look upon

Watauinēiwa-sēī, hauančimāalan.
Watauineiwa in heaven, today.

One who was sick but has become well again gives thanks in this manner. Watauinēiwa had already "looked upon" him, that is, aimed at him with the intention of letting him die, but once more he desisted. -- BD:20 gives alagumūtū, "to gaze, look, watch sitting" /cited in English/.

(8) Annu hāia kētumāala tupāan Hitapūan.
Now then, from me bad time took away my father.

A person who was sick for a long time but who has completely recovered rejoices in this fashion; the torture of disease is over, and he experiences a new summer, so to speak.

(9) Annu, hāia kakūpa talagēnatupāan Hitapūan.
Now then, me from above looked upon my father.

/1059 cont./

782 These are the words of a man who felt he was near death because
539 Watauinēiwa cast his eye upon him. Because this man recovered, /1060/ he joyfully gives thanks for having escaped the threatening misfortune. -- BD:392 gives talagōnatapōna, "to look fixedly, gaze, be gazing intently" /cited in English/.

(10)	Annu,	hipāi	mērnārna,	ašárǰ; hipāi
	Now then,	we	new summer,	thank; for us

kutakētumāala	tupāan.
is winter	past.

782 As soon as the first signs of approaching spring appear, after the
539 long months of winter with its abundant snow, everyone breathes
825 more freely and joyfully expresses his feelings of renewed zest for life with these words. -- Compare tupāana in BD:556.

(11)	Hītēpan	hītēki	hakuāluš.
	I myself	saw	sea anemones.

More precisely this means: I was the first to see with my own eyes the sea anemone. -- According to BD:260, hītōpan is "I only, I by myself" /cited in English/; according to BD:270, hākūāluš, "the red sea anemones" /cited in English/. The small scarlet sea anemones, also called sea roses (Actiniaria), can be found all the year round; nevertheless it is always an occasion for great rejoicing when, in waning winter, one discovers the unusually bright-colored colonies of these small animals. They are greeted as harbingers of spring which everyone hopes to live through. The Yamana thank Watauinēiwa with the above prayer formula for this favorable prospect. In sheer exuberance the people dance and hop about, even in the fragile canoe, regardless of the great danger of treading a hole in it and smashing it. The person who first sees a bright-colored sea anemone behaves very boisterously.

782 (12) Annūēčia, hipāi mērnārna, ašárǰ;
539 Now then, us new summer, thank;

annūēčia,	hipāi	mērnārna.
now then,	us	new summer.

/1060 cont./

782 539 With this longer phrase the people thank the Supreme Being for providing them with a new summer and with it another new bit of life. -- BD:25 writes annūōčia.

(13) Ašárǰ, hipāi tumiāana,
Thanks, us we paint with egg yolk,

hākukísin.
summer is here.

In detail this phrase means: Thanks be to thee, Watauinēiwa, that [through thy grace] we may experience this new summer; as an expression of our joy, we are painting ourselves with egg yolk. -- BD:262 writes hākukísin, "the other, another summer" /cited in English/. BD:493 gives tūmīaana, "to beautify or adorn oneself in any way" /cited in English/. -- With this exclamation they in-
[302] vite each other to make a special facial painting as soon as the first birds' eggs are available in spring. With the yolk of a fresh egg they smear /1061/ a line the width of a finger, which begins at the edge of the hair, goes across the forehead and the bridge of the nose, and down to the upper lip. While this is going on there is lively and sometimes boisterous merriment. Filled with gratitude, they do not always address Hidābuah directly with this prayer formula, but it is done indirectly whenever they recite it.

(14) Annu, hāia, kēmaustuximaxuiāina yārum,
Now then, for me troubled himself for favorable weather

hipikāja kēmaustuximāgua Watauinēiwa.
for us troubled himself Watauinēiwa.

With these words, too, they thank the Supreme Being for the favorable weather which he provided for the canoes. An individual is speaking for himself personally and for his companions. -- Compare ūīaina in BD:66, as well as its use in Formula 5 (p. 983) and Formula 2 (p. 983).

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/1061 cont./

(15) Annu, hipikā̄ja kēmaustēkude Hitapū̄an,
Now then, us has protected my father,

wēlitës hipā̄i tauwarā̄gude ā̄nen,
merciful us he rescued the boat,

hipā̄i šabā̄gudagu Hitapū̄ančikā̄ja.
we congratulate [ourselves] on our father.

These longer words of thanksgiving are repeated by those who have found safe refuge after a dangerous sea voyage. One should visualize the sudden change of weather which sometimes overtakes a canoe in the middle of a wide channel. -- BD:428 gives tauwā̄gū, "to keep near to in order to support or aid by one's presence, . . . to defend, aid by being present" /cited in English/. Compare also, in BD:152, šabugūdā̄gū, "to congratulate oneself on a happy success" /cited in English/. -- The above words, therefore, express how glad the Yamana are to have a benevolent father-up-there who cares for them and rescues them; they are congratulating themselves on having him.

(16) Sēnnakite Hā̄učélla hā̄ian hajanēate čiēxaus,
Free from Hā̄učélla we united in the čiēxaus,

makainixā̄ala ū̄ska takā̄ja hā̄jan
with the strangers here with us we

šabagudiā̄te.
peacefully united.

Annu, hipikā̄ja kekajtauwanjā̄te, čiēxaus. Annu,
Now then, us to help promised, čiēxaus. Certainly,

këmëtawëgā̄na kënděi, hajananikā̄ja lēšā
well wishing both, to us [remains] piece of land,

hā̄jančí tīnamū̄tupe hajandēpan,
where we spend the winter we alone,

Wēlapatux-sēf këguraiminā̄ana
[in case] murderer in heaven does not intend to take away

/1061 cont./

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haiananikáia. ketēgede/1062/Watauinéiwa. Haiananikáia
us. Thanks, the old one. Us

mēštumulánude, ašárǰ. Watauinéiwa hūlu
here let awaken, thank [him] Watauinéiwa all

hēanikipan kēmaustekāana
these days was protectively concerned,

hauančispedāulum. Makáinix kēndéj káia kūkan
so also in future. Strangers two likewise furthermore

kēlumaustekuāna haianānin Imun; ketēgede Hidábuan,
will protect our father; thanks my father,

ketēgede Hidábuan!
thanks my father!

This long prayer was freely invented by Calderon at the conclusion of the youth initiation in March, 1922. An approximate translation would be: Without being molested by Hāučélla (14) we have

14. This Kina spirit is mentioned only occasionally during the initiation (p. 746).

celebrated the čiēxaus here in peaceful communion with the two strangers [Gusinde and Koppers]. They promised to help us (15).

15. I had assured the families settled in Puerto Mejillones that I would intercede on their behalf with the Chilean government to have this area ceded to them exclusively as their property. Compare Gusinde (c):434.

Because they are people of good will, they will fulfill their promise. Then this area around Puerto Mejillones will belong to us alone and be our property, and we shall be able to spend each winter here undisturbed. If only that "murderer-in-heaven" will not seize us and take us away! Thanks be to Watauinéiwa who still gives us life. Watauinéiwa will continue to protect us and care

/1062 cont./

782 539 for us, as he has these days. Our father will also protect these two Whites. For this, thanks be to thee, my father!

Just a reference to a few words which are also given in BD. BD:154 gives sönnakīta, "solitary, lonely, secluded" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives: sabagūdīa, "to lie down happily, to lie down in peace, to be or live happily" /cited in English/. BD:281 explains laša, instead of lēša given above, as, among other things: "shelving rocks with large spaces between them" /cited in English/, which is true of the coast at Puerto Mejillones. BD:177 mentions kögurāiūa, "to be impatient to get" /cited in English/. BD:181 gives kömausteka, "to go, or come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. The word ketēgede is the same as kategata in BD:170.

It is surprising, to mention this again, that our Fuegians have created definite formulas of sincere thanksgiving for various occasions and that they often address these to their Supreme Being to pay their debt of gratitude to him.

δ. Laments

765 152 The formulas with which bereaved persons filled with grief pour out their hearts and with which /1063/ people also unburden their souls of other forms of sorrow are more numerous and varied. In such situations they show their very human and altogether sensitive natures which they never before revealed to a European as ~~openly as they never before revealed to a European as~~ openly as they did to me on the occasion of a large funeral ceremony or on a few other occasions. Besides the laments given here, the people of former times had a larger number which must be regarded as hopelessly lost. I was assured of this several times. 765 539 The prayers follow here in a rather free order, beginning with those that are actual expressions of mourning.

(1) Hitapūan, kēmudēkun hāja ka-kūpa
My father, why indeed me from above

tutumeyuwakēte.
punished.

/1063 cont./

765 539 With loud cries and heart-rending sobs these words are repeated by women whose children have been allowed to die by Watauinéiwa. Each of them regards the loss of a child as a personal punishment. -- Anita who lost all her children without exception often speaks these words, according to her intimate friends, Nelly and Adelheid. The word kēmudékun is the same as kōmūdūa in BD:172: "what's the matter? what do you want?" /cited in English./ BD:564 gives tūtūmēiūa, "to punish, illtreat, correct by punishing" /cited in English/.

(2) Annūēčīa — Quare /why/
hāia ūla — me sponte /freely/
kūpa — desuper /from above/

tutumeyuwandēa — castigavisti /punished/
Hitapūan, — mi pater /my father/,

tālauwāja.
tālauwāja /translated from Latin; see p. 993 /.

Again a woman laments: Why did you punish me by letting my child die? -- BD:25 writes annūōčia. The word tālauwāja, frequently also talauwāja, serves here as an exclamation of emphasis, somewhat in the sense of: Great is my sorrow, I am completely crushed, thus I cry, full of sorrow. BD:389 also gives the word tellaaja, "being mourners or in mourning for the dead" /cited in English/. In this position and combination it corresponds to our "Woe!" Compare also the data on p. 1079.

(3) Kēnjūičīa — Therefore
hāja — me
kūpa — from above
matauuwēxmutākude; — helped;

kītu — he himself
kūpa — from above
tstumīnatupuwičīa — again take away

Watauinéiwa-sef — the old-one-in-heaven
ūpaj. — therewith.

A grieving mother realizes her plight and says: The-one-up-there seemed to be particularly benevolent to me; in reality, however,

/1063 cont./

765 he helped me to have a child with the intention of letting it die
539 and causing me great sorrow therewith. -- BD:307 gives matauuwōx́ or matauuwōštāgū, "to work with one another as companions" /cited in English/. From the use of this word one sees the Indians' idea that both the Supreme Being and the mother together help to produce a child. BD:494 gives tumīna, "to pick up with or in the hands" /cited in English/. /1064/

(4) Kënjūičīa hāia hixupa kičëxmutākude,
Therefore me the one-from-above afflicted,

tālauwāia.
alas.

Again the lament of a mother and father who have been punished by Watauinēiwa with the loss of their child. -- The word kičëxmūt-aku-dē is derived from ōx-dātū in BD:50.

(5) Kënjūičia hāia ūla kūpa
Therefore me sponte /freely/ from above

kūrat, alakëxmutakilēra, Hitapūan.
gave, to take away again, my father.

Like the preceding formula, this also means: The Supreme Being gave the child to the parents with the intention of taking it away again soon and thus punish them.

(6) Kënjūičīa hāia ūla kūpa
Therefore me sponte /freely/ from above

winānude, Hitapūan.
has dishonorably taken away, my father.

Here the Supreme Being is accused of a deceitful, false intent which the parents now in mourning did not realize earlier. -- BD:611 gives wīnana, "to betray, act treacherously, to trick" /cited in English/.

/1064 cont./

765
539

(7) Ka-kūpa (hu)winā́nude hā́ia,
From above has deceptively taken away me,

tā́lauwāia, Watauinḗiwa.
alas, Watauinḗiwa.

This formula differs from the preceding one only in appearance. The meaning is the same in both inasmuch as Watauinḗiwa is accused of consciously intending to deceive the parents to whom he gave a child.

(8) Kḗtakēn! ka-kū́pa makaitū́šude
Truly! the one-from-above let die

kalaiḗxēden čiḗxaus.
the old ones of the čiḗxaus.

Alfredo, who was the leader of the first initiation that I experienced (p. 179 /untranslated/), was constantly depressed by the knowledge that only a very small number of his countrymen were still living. He often lamented that the old friends whom he had formerly always joined in the čiḗxaus had long since been summoned by Watauinḗiwa. -- My informants assured me that makaitū́šude has not been current for some time.

(9) Aša hitēpā́ala ha-kū́tatumaiā́ala tupā́ana,
Indeed, I alone must find my way in summer,

tā́lauwāia, Hitapū́an.
alas, my father.

/1065/ The meaning is: Again I begin a summer and that alone, how shall I make out! A widow speaks these words in remembrance of her husband whom she has recently lost. -- BD:260 translates hitōpan as "I only, I alone" /cited in English/. Compare in BD: 495 tūmaiaana, "to be unable or find difficulty in doing anything" /cited in English/. I was told that tupā́ana is a word no longer current.

/1065 cont./

765
539

(10) Kagufwëmuǰátude, Hitapúan, háka,
Me he discouraged, my father, on my account,

tálauwāja.
alas!

One says this when he has lost a close relative and has been so deeply affected by the death that he sees himself facing his own demise. -- The above verb may be related to kāgufkilinata, in BD:200, "to get weat /sic/" /cited in English/.

(11) Watauinéiwa-sēf hāja kaguramínude,
The old-one-in-heaven me took away,

tálauwāja, ǰatambāančinéiwa Hitápuančikāja,
alas, I am angry with my father,

tálauwāja.
alas.

A person declares quite openly that his anger is directed at Watauinéiwa because he let his relatives die. -- BD:153 gives ǰatambaa, "dissatisfied, displeased, discontented" /cited in English/. Nelly and Adelheid asserted positively that this pure form of lament is difficult to translate.

(12) Annu, hája, k-úla
Indeed, for my sake, ipse sponte /he freely/

kúpa, tarawéna hauakipajémalim.
desuper /from above/ weep my relatives.

These words mean: Disaster has befallen me on account of the arbitrariness of the-one-up-there, namely, the loss of a member of the family. My nearest kin share this with me and weep with me. -- BD:422 mentions the commonly used tára and taratapōna, "to cry very much, to keep on crying as a young child in pain" /cited in English/. The word úla has been repeated several times.

765
539

/1065 cont./
Its actual meaning is: sponte /Latin/, freely, from one's own impulse, according to a personal decision, or, as BD:87 says: "without being bidden, i.e., on one's own responsibility, without being asked" /cited in English/. That is why I have translated k-ūla kūpa as "ipse sponte desuper." This describes the completely free, indeed arbitrary, behavior of Watauinēiwa, against which every human being defenseless.

(13) Annu, máte k-ūla kūpa yāiix tēpanāna
Truly, ipse sponte desuper tears he makes flow,

kičimundēn, tālauwāja, yāiix yāmala, yāiix dāra,
of the relatives alas, tears big tears all,

kandēn.
from them.

/1066/ The meaning of this is obviously similar to that of the preceding lament. The word tēpanāna is probably the same as tōpanana in BD:409. The meaning of this lament is impressive. --

(14) Kičikāi kipaiēmalim kakūpa makāi
Him from the old women the-one-from-above

tušākude, Hitapūan, tālauwāja.
has taken away, my father, alas.

While a few older women are grieving over a particular deceased person, someone present puts the situation into words: Indeed, the one whom you mourn was allowed to die by the one-up-there; that is truly a reason for mourning.

(15) Kíčin aizēx kīpa kakūpan,
His strong wife from above [afflicted],

tālauwāja; ašár sēskin āalasina
alas; luckily heart strengthened

/1066 cont./

765
539

aizéx	kípa	kakūpan,	tálaɣwāja.
strong	wife	from above,	alas.

Referring to her brother-in-law, the weaker, grieving sister says: His brave wife [= my sister] was afflicted by the one-up-there, but fortunately that-one-up-there also gave her a stout heart and so she will overcome this sorrow. -- BD:63 also gives ʒálasina, "strong, energetic, not easily subdued" /cited in English/. The word aizéx is related to aizāku, or aizōka, in BD:10.

(16)

Kītépan	hāja	ka-kūpa	ǰituxmūtuten,
He himself	me	the one-above	shall marry,

Hitapūan,	tālaɣwāja.
my father,	alas.

Here we have the very perturbed burst of anger of a despairing widow who, after the loss of her husband, sees herself helpless and abandoned. She wants to say: Since I am alone and do not know what to do, the one-up-there shall marry me and assume the cares of a husband. -- BD:573 mentions tuxmūtū and tuxmūtūtas, "living happily with one's wife" /cited in English/.

(17)

Apitēpan	kečimūta	ke-kūpa
Without anything	[I] here	[through] from above,

mamuāpi tēpána,	tālaɣwāja,	mičí.
we in poverty,	alas,	place.

A widow describes to the Supreme Being the desperate situation of herself and her children, somewhat as follows: Bereaved of everything through the one-up-there, I am sitting here at my campsite with my children. Who will feed my children now that I am completely impoverished since the one-up-there has let my husband die. -- Compare, in BD:409, tōpōna and tōpanana, which is also related to apitōpan. Possibly mamuāpi given above and mamūāpai in BD:299 are the same. Compare kečimūta with the compounds made with kičī and particles expressing direction in BD:171.

/1067/
765
539

(18) Ílatakíki ka-kúpa uwēxanīana,
Widower [I] [through] from above snatched away,

tálaywāja; ánno, sikíla
alas; now then, You-up-there

maułtexmíalawána Hidíbuan, Ajzíkun,
care for them, my father, [you] hard one,

tálaywāja.
alas.

This means: I have now become a widower through that-one-up-there who has snatched away my wife. Woe is me! Now then, you-up-there, my father, provide sustenance for my children, you hard-hearted one!

(19) Kuí tumutekiyáguа Wataynéjwa-sēfinčikája,
Where is to be found the old one in heaven,

tálaywāja?
alas.

This is the threat of a person who in his grief is at his wit's end, and he rages: Where could I meet Wataynéjwa, for I should like to have it out with him! -- BD:395 gives tekiíšgū, "to find what is one's own, to find and appropriate" /cited in English/.

(20) Akájakeyíwa hája tekiyágu Wataynéjwa-sēfinčikája.
I desire fervently me to meet with old-one-in-heaven.

Just like the preceding formula this expression is used by a person who is very perturbed and who burn with the desire to settle ruthlessly with the one-up-there for his sad plight.

(21) Kuí híletekiyáguа Wataynéjwa-sēfinčikája,
Where could I meet Wataynéjwa-in-heaven,

tálaywāja.
alas.

/1067 cont./

765
559

This is similar to the preceding formula. Since this fervent desire, too, cannot be realized, everyone resigns himself to the tight fetters of those who are helpless and have no power.

(22) Kā́ja hā́ja killakupenā́ŋin, cīlaywīja,
Also me shall be carry away, alas,

Hitapā́ŋn.
my father.

A person in mourning longs to have his life's companion by his side, and since he does not want to be alone any longer, he cries emphatically: May the one-up-there likewise take me away from here and grant me death. -- Compare the compound with killa in BD:171.

(23) Ŝapūru-ā́ʼin-hā́ŋwa Hitā́ŋpenʼīkā́ia,
How terrible on account of my father,

cīlaywīja, ukā́ali hja-kūpa mā́ʼin,
alas, only [child] from above in danger,

cīlaywīja, Ŝapūru-ā́ʼin-hā́ŋwa, calīŋwāja.
alas, I am afraid, alas.

/1068/ This is the lament of a mother who has already lost several children. She says: I have every reason to be afraid, for, since Hitā́ŋpen has let my other children die, the only one left to me is in danger of soon falling a victim to death. -- BD:186 gives mā́ala, "to expose oneself to danger" /cited in English/. BD:158 also gives sapurū-ā́ʼin-hatūla, "how dreadful, how horrible" /cited in English/.

(24) Hitā́ŋpenʼīx hā́ʼī ŝā́pagurʼī ŋā́ŋkūrʼī
Solitary I to feel happy in my hut,

mātalapā́ŋkūrʼī hā́ŋpenʼīŋkā́ʼīx, cīlaywāja.
quiet the hut and the hut of my children, alas.

Now that I am all alone in my hut, how could I be happy, for it is quiet in my hut and in the children's hut because it is empty. woe

/1068 cont./

765 is me! This is the lament of a mother who looks around in her
539 hut and seeks in vain for her children, for death took them all. --
BD:260 gives hĭtopaĭpan, "I by myself, without anybody else whatever" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives ĭabagĭr̄ĭ, "to do happily, to be happily or at peace" /cited in English/. The children's hut, ĕkĕli, was described on page 34. Compare mötalapĕna, "to become quite calm" /cited in English/, in BD:320.

In a frenzy of emotion a grieving woman sometimes treats
765 the hut to pieces immediately after the funeral of her child.
152 Whenever she looks around in the dwelling, she is aware of the gap which death made in the circle of her children. Therefore, she wants to destroy completely this picture which awakens the pain anew. At the same time she destroys the utensils used by the deceased child. John Lawrence and his sons assured me that they often witnessed this kind of wild behavior on the part of grieving parents.

765 (25) Hauakĭlunĕ̄i akĭluwajakĭpan kagicĕ̄ende
539 I am from the sea the woman he took away
hĭja, ĭōjma.
me, oh grief.

A widow mourns because the Supreme Being allowed her husband to drown in the sea. -- BD:16 gives akĭlĭaia, "a lake, pond, pool, puddle" /cited in English/. The above combination, a form familiar to the Yamana, says roughly: the woman who has something to do with the sea down there. BD:194 mentions kĭgicĕkĭ, "to rise up and get fast, so as not to be able to pull down!" /cited in English./ The exclamation ĭōjma here is synonymous with tĭlauwĭja. Compare laema in BD:282.

(26) Hĭla kĭpa-mĭyén mutĭpana, tĭlauwĭja,
Yet from above observe cease, alas,
Hitĭpuanĕikĭja.
my father.

Specifically this formula says: My father, I wish very much that you cease looking at me so sharply; otherwise I shall avenge myself soon enough and inflict a hurt on you, too. -- Compare mĭjalu,

/1068 cont./

765 539 "to observe, watch with a view to find out anything" /cited in English/, in BD:291; mutagwana, "to cease, desist" /cited in English/, in BD:366; hala and la in BD:277, 263. I heard this prayer several times at the great funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

/1069/

765 539 773 776 (27) Amumuni, hala ŋkpa dhuukimanaŋka
Desire, yet up there take to task

Tɛjaaŋkpa-dhɔnlum ŋkpdo ŋkka
in Tɛjaaŋkpa. up there be pleased

ghaatipaŋkpa, dhɔgwɔkpa.
women from the north, also.

In order to understand this sentence one must realize that, according to the Tamana conception, all the animals were made by Watsginŋwa in Tɛjaaŋkpa where there was a great revolution when the women from the north who performed the kina settled there. Thus, all the animals belong to him as his property. Anyone who wants to give full vent to his grief expresses in the above sentence his desire to cause Watsginŋwa serious harm by destroying his animals. If he should succeed in doing so, he would feel adequately compensated. -- The individual words can be found in BD:38, for example, amumuni, "to be longing for" /cited in English/. The word dhuukimana in BD:321 refers to the strict treatment of the candidates and to the serious order of the day in the kina school. BD:400 gives dhɔka, "to laugh, twinge" /cited in English/.

765 539 Old Malemikam, who repeated this fixed formula at the large funeral ceremony in March, 1923, added a few personal thoughts and spoke freely as follows: "All animals went out from Tɛjaaŋkpa. Watsginŋwa brought that about. Therefore, since I cannot touch his person, I shall kill all his animals which he made. This will calm me and make me content, this will satisfy my lust for revenge!" After a long pause he went on with this thought, as follows: "Unfortunately I cannot new harm 'the-one-up-there' seriously, for I am too old [frail] and do not have enough weapons. I cannot undertake anything any more, for strength fails me, an old man. Formerly I used to carry out this plan; then I wantonly killed many animals, burned down the forest, chopped everything

/1969 cont./

to pieces, just to hurt 'the-one-up-there.' Today I am no longer able to do it. I have grown too old. In those days I had fun striking about wildly and destroying everything to hurt Wenyenlipa. That was the only reason I killed many animals, it was not because I wanted to use them for food."

(38) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
A.N animals to Wenyenlipa

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
to enjoy stretch out the hands, others go hungry

[illegible] [illegible] Wenyenlipa.
enjoy also Wenyenlipa.

As in the preceding, this utterance also assumes that Wenyenlipa is Tilpalipa made the animals, hence they belong /[illegible]/ to him. A person who curses a deceased person who was dear to him knows that he is being punished by the one-up-there, as though he had violated the right of ownership to the animals that is held by Wenyenlipa. That is why he explains to Wenyenlipa, using the words above: I killed and consumed your animals only with the intention of protecting myself from hunger and staying alive; other members of my family, that is, my wife, did the same. We had no other purpose in acting as we did. You punished me nevertheless and now I'm in trouble. -- Only [illegible], "having a savory smell" /cited in English/, in RD:[illegible], and [illegible] in RD:[illegible] are to be specially noted.

(39) Aga Filia [illegible] [illegible]
Why again be on the back-out, also,

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
strong one, you? the line of me enjoy

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
I for enable, to all

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
up-there very angry, my father also,

1970 cont. /

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
at the same time	to act	we	further

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
discussed	with him,	our father,

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
also,	too,	ah,	the one-from-above

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
bequeath,	also,	the girl

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
the one-from-above	leave in peace,	also?

The meaning is roughly as follows: Why do you "strong-one-up-there" again look at me malevolently? Are you perhaps afraid that I will consume all your animals? One who is built as I am cannot even consume the fat and the meat of a wounded whale. So why are you angry with us all? We, too, are believing so that you can see, i.e., we, too, are showing you now that we are likewise displeased with you. Will "the one-up-there" leave me my son after he has taken away my daughter? -- I know all the words used here are listed in Kb.

(30) [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
my father-above	with me	up there is angry.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
also,	truly,	murderer-monster,

[illegible]	[illegible]
up there is angry,	also.

This means: I thought only [illegible] above up there is angry with me. But no, a human being has also become the murderer of my child, just as when that-one-there is angry. Instead of the word for "man" or "tribal member," the word for "monster" is used here.

/1937/
785
S91

(31) Tsenadha Wanagadzaa yadzaxdzip,
Strangely treats the old one with us,

xdzip tsenadlkuu nagatsenadhada, dzagwdzip.
alone must here every day alas.

A mother laments: Most strangely does Wanagadzaa deal with us! He took away my daughter and now I stand alone. -- The word Tsenadha is probably related to tlkinahi in 80-30.

(32) dzhaaxw nagadzaa tagdi
Why my father from above

xdzaghatsdlkuda, dzagwdzip.
inconsiderately took open, alas.

This laments says: Why does my father have no consideration for me, and why does he let my child die! -- This cry was repeated by several persons at the general funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

(33) Wanagadzaa kiyidzip tagdlkada ammanagata,
The old one as both whole stand,

tagadlagata tsenadlkuu kiyi, wanagata.
every day in the morning we to cut meat.

A person expresses his grief in the following strange manner: The old-one-up-there has again let one of us die. It would have been better if he had stranded a whole. Then we would have gone there and for many days we could have cut pieces of meat for ourselves every morning, he as well as I, too.

(34) Tsenadhi dlaa xdzi nadlkuu nadlada
March winter from above to weep

yanadlagadzip xdlaaa, dzagwdzip;
elder-sister her father, alas.

xdi xdzaaxw-xdzi dzaja xdzi
murderer-boy likewise from above

nadlkadzip xdi xdlaaa; tlagaa dha
many men her father; child

dha

/1071 cont./

765
539

kūpa	mayamutunāma,	tālauwāja;
from above	teeth show,	alas;

kēnnasigaja	wēj	elinājana	sīna	yāix	dērupe,
who may follow	cause		your	tears	to flow,

tālauwāja.
alas.

Old Emilia from the south, who never had any contact with missions, repeated these words. My informants emphatically assured me that they were unfamiliar with many of the expressions because the latter are old and belong to another dialect. The entire sentence has approximately the following meaning: On account of that-one-up-there an old man shed many tears for his daughter whom death carried away. He shed as many tears as flowed in Ushuaia where the-one-up-there /1072/ caused many people to die! The-one-up-there poured out his wrath [showed his teeth] on the daughter of this man. If only it were in our power to wrest from him the same great flood of tears.

[131] It is well known that after serious epidemics took the lives of many in the mission station of Ushuaia the Yamana referred to this region as wēlapatux-wāja, "the bay of the great murderer," i.e., of many deaths. See pages 298 and 340 /in untranslated portion/ for details.

(35)	Hāi	šatambāja	hāi	Hitāpuančikāja.
	I	discontent	with	my father.

Anyone who is in mourning can use this general expression, for the behavior of the Supreme Being is wholly inconsiderate.

765 All these sayings more or less clearly express the helplessness of the grieving human being before Watauinēiwa, the strong
116 one. The Yamana regard his action as arbitrary torture, for,
539 regardless of their sorrow and contrary to their pleas, he continues to treat them cruelly. They permit themselves such sharp threats only in case of death, and they think they are justified in ridding their oppressed hearts of their grief through bitter accusations and violent rage. They cannot defend themselves in any other way.

/1072 cont./

ε. Various Other Expressions

782
539

Finally there are a few more formulas with which the Yamana turn to their Supreme Being pleadingly or gratefully, as the situations of everyday life demand. All of them are brief and the meaning clear. Some of them are amusing, and it is surprising that our Fuegians, in child-like openheartedness, tell their Hidāʌuan even the most ordinary things.

(1)	Hitapūan	hāja	mētawēgūmeš,	ánnu,
	My father	me	protect,	now then,

hāj	mēčūan.
I	return.

When he bids farewell, the person leaving says: If my-father-up-there keeps his hand spread over me protectively, I shall come back to this place hale and hearty. -- BD:321 gives mōtawōgata, "to take a person under one's care" /cited in English/. BD:21 gives amaka, "place, position" /cited in English/. BD:311 has mōči, "to come home" /cited in English/.

(2)	Tūla	hāja	Hitapūan	talagēnakūru,
	Should	me	my father	want to take away,

tēneken	hāja.
seek me.	

With these words a person is thinking of the possibility that death might overtake him during his voyage. He takes leave and says to the others: If this apprehension should come true, you will have to look for me a long time and still you won't find me. /1073/

(3)	Ūla yēlla	hājn dēpan,	Watauinēiwa
	Yes farewell	really,	the old one

katalagēna	kuruāna	hipikāja.
take away	wants	from one another.

The meaning of this formula is exactly like the preceding one.

/1073 cont./

782
539

It is used when a person sets out on a major journey and says farewell for a long time. It says: Our separation is truly forever if it pleases Watauinéjwa to take one of us away in death. -- BD: 262 gives hain tōpan, "now is the time, in real earnest" /cited in English/.

(4) Tūla Hitapūan hajakāja kēmētauwagumūtu,
In case my father to me merciful,

ánnu hipāj čīla matauughājnan.
now then, us again unite.

This formula, too, contains the familiar idea: Should it please my father to preserve me from danger and death, we shall meet again, safe and sound, at the end of my long journey.

(5) Watauinéjwa hāja kumēkalēni.
The old one me westerly weather.

A person complains because Watauinéjwa surprised him on his voyage with westerly weather which is always unfavorable. -- BD:210 gives kūmōči, kumōka, "to go or come Westward" /cited in English/.

(6) Uxāja, lēmata wājauina, Hitapūan, uiāina
Ah, confused go about, my father weather

kēmūtua sa-t-arugatāra Hitapūan? kēmūtua
why you burden my father? why eyes

samunkēmbānata, Hitapūan, ikamāna.
closed, my father, with snow?

Angry old Peine suddenly spoke these words when she was obliged to wade through the snow in bare feet. Nelly had sent for her; it was on March 21, 1922. She meant the following: Hitapūan listen, I am so indignant that my head is swimming because I must stamp through the snow. Why do you annoy me with bad weather? Do you keep your eyes closed and not see how much snow there is here on the ground?

/1073 cont./

782 539

(7) Hāia čílla akigamāni Tānuwa asūnan
Me again hit the old one in the woods

lēkēskēta; kēndam hitaualašinānude?
my head; how I bear it?

[753] /1074/ In wandering through the woods a man was in danger of being killed by a falling tree trunk; again he once was lightly struck. This gave him such a shock that he developed a headache. He mentions the old-one-up-there as the cause of it. That is why his situation is particularly serious and he does not know how he will regain his mental balance. -- Most of the words used here are repeated in the following exclamation.

(8) Tānuwa hāja cílla akigamanita lēkēskēta
The old one me again hit my head

asūnan kēndam hitaualašinānude?
in the woods, how I bear it?

In content this saying does not differ from the preceding one and says the same thing, but it expresses more definitely and emphatically the intention of Watauinēiwa to let the man be killed. -- Compare the verb akigamata, "to hit unintentionally, or by mistake" /cited in English/, in BD:15. BD:183 translates köndām as: "such, so, in such a manner, in that way" /cited in English/. The word asūnan is evidently synonymous with ōsunna, "forest, wood, jungle, thicket" /cited in English/, in BD:46.

(9) Watauinēiwa čikāja kēlakanja sa-kumāsu.
The old one you will take away [if] you lazy.

[867] This formula is one example of the precepts which are given the candidates in the youth initiation. It warns the uiwala that the old-one-up-there does not tolerate a lazy person, but will let him die prematurely. -- The word kēlakanja is related to kōlenkōna, "to drive, shove, push away" /cited in English/, in BD:178, and to related forms.

782 197 Besides the formulas listed here the Yamana of former days used many others containing the same ideas, which now must be

/1074 cont./

782 197 regarded as lost. The few that were saved have unusual words and archaic sentence formations, showing their origin in the distant past. Even older persons were no longer able to give me an exact and detailed explanation of each formula, and they excused themselves by saying that such obsolete words and idioms were no longer used in everyday speech. It is therefore not surprising that old John Lawrence, as well as his sons who were versed in the language, was sometimes baffled by these sayings. The colloquial language of the present day is the result of considerable change since the time when the representatives of the individual dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) were more crowded together and intermingled. Thus, although almost always only the basic idea of any given formula can be determined, all of them together furnish a sufficiently complete picture of the Supreme Being whose image our Yamana carry in their hearts and whose characteristics are familiar to them.

/1075/ c. Originality of the Yamana Religion

771 177 The above details taken from the religious heritage of the Yamana are not inconsiderable in number. All of them were brought to light only through my travels. These facts contradict the unanimous agreement of earlier travelers and of the missionaries, active for many years, who, so to speak, flatly deny that our Fuegians have any religious conception and religious activity. This sharp contradiction demands a reliable explanation, all the more so since the religious heritage of the Yamana not only proves rich, but also has a determining, guiding influence on the whole moral attitude of these Indians. It has been repeatedly pointed out, and must still be treated in detail, that all the moral obligations and the traditional customs are, after all, bound up with the Supreme Being.

By way of negative proof it can be convincingly shown that neither the navigators who lay at anchor for only hours or days in the Cape Horn region nor those Europeans who took individual Yamana to Europe with them offered actual religious instruction (16).

16. One may certainly assume that if Fitz-Roy,

/1075 cont./

during the journey to England and back had influenced his charges in a religious way, he, and Darwin as well, would in some way have expressed themselves about the results. Their accounts do not contain a single word on the subject. Matthews (p. 94 /untranslated/) probably also did not do anything along this line.

Those three or four men who occasionally referred to the Christian idea of God or who read aloud a chapter from the Bible, Weddell (p. 69 /untranslated/), for example, were personally certain that their references had not the slightest influence. Incidentally, it is not like rough sailors when they land and happen to be with a few natives for a short time to fill those hours with preaching their own Christianity and Christian moral precepts (17). Even if one

17. On page 333 /untranslated/ it was described how many of the navigators in the Cape Horn region behaved toward the natives; they surely did not inspire respect for the white race among those primitive children of nature.

were to assume this improbability, no serious critic could concede that so brief an influence, which would necessarily have taken place without sufficient knowledge of the language on both sides, would provide a lasting effect and an inner transformation on the part of the Fuegians.

The definite determination to educate these people according to the Christian religion -- which, as has just been said, could not have been true of the sailors on their voyages through southern waters -- was, however, by contrast, the driving force among the missionaries who settled in that archipelago. Despite years of contact with the Yamana, they were the very ones, above all Bridges himself, who not only deny that the Indians had their own religious ideas and practices, /1076/ but who are constantly lamenting the poor success of their efforts which, in any case, reached only a few. None of these missionaries gives definite data about which Christian

/1076 cont./

771 truths and ideas the natives adopted, much less about whether they
797 adapted their everyday lives to them. The missionaries did not
177 achieve a genuine, inner transformation of their pupils and charges (p. 328 /untranslated/). In any case, no specific Christian idea is to be found in the religious heritage of the Yamana described above. What one Fuegian or another may have absorbed from the teaching of the missionaries remained, as can be shown, a mere bit of new information, for example, the English word "God." This slight increase of knowledge had no effect whatever; the Fuegian definitely separates it from his ancient heritage and even regards it as, for him, superfluous.

In particular one should note the small number of natives who, with few exceptions, always stayed at the various stations for only a short time (p. 312 /untranslated/), as well as the vast areas never reached by missionary influence, and, finally, the great fear the people had of coming near the mission stations after the ravages of epidemics. During the first decades mutual exchanges were greatly handicapped by insufficient knowledge of the language. The mere fact that small groups of natives listened attentively to English does not prove that they understood everything, much less that they would sooner or later have translated it into action from inner conviction (18).

> 18. On the subject of the natives sent to Isla Keppel, J. Lawrence (MM:VI, 37; 1872) writes, characteristically, on October 17, 1871: "Whenever I give them religious instruction..., they are most attentive, and while I endeavour, though very imperfectly, to explain to them some portion of Holy Scripture, they listen always with deep interest. If I question them as to their knowledge of Scriptural things, they confess they know very little, at the same time express their desire to know much more" /cited in English/.

They behaved as the missionaries wanted them to, and they also took part in the religious service and in the Bible reading as often

/1076 cont./

771 as they were urged to do so (19). Did this make them faithful

797

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19. The prayer meetings of the Indians are always described by the missionaries as good or successful. But what is to indicate that these "savages" took part from inner conviction? In his account Lewis (MM:VI, 90;1872), for example, mentions that the Yamana "George Despard informed me he himself had been to some of the other people's wigwams talking to them of all he knew concerning the future world, and remarked that some listened attentively to what he said, whilst others would not listen" /cited in English/.

Christians? Spegazzini (a):180, for example, emphatically denies it: "The catechized Indian generally does not believe, and when I asked some servants of the English missionaries if they believed, they replied: 'And you have seen the spirits of the woods /monte/ and of the water?'... Those who believe do so solely in order to make use of the missionaries /1077/... The children of the establishment [of the mission] leave and find themselves without tools, without social backing, without anything; they have to live, and they go back to living as their parents did" /translated from Spanish/. In this environment they quickly lose everything that teaching offered them. From the start Spegazzini (ibid.) regards any attempt to influence older children as useless: "An Indian older than ten is not responsive to civilization; he already has his principles of freedom and laziness too deeply rooted in his soul" /translated from Spanish/. The number of baptisms and marriages solemnized at the mission stations is remarkably small (p. 331 /untranslated/). Bridges, however, translated individual sections of the New Testament and recently Williams published a few prayers in Yamana (20), but I do not know of a single Fuegian

20. Cooper:73 and 135 collected the bibliographic details. Compare also my data on page 146 /untranslated/ and some supplementary material in Gusinde (1b):274.

/1077 cont./

771 who could have read these writings with understanding and profit.
797 It has likewise not been shown that those who received special in-
177 struction transmitted their knowledge to their compatriots (21).

> 21. Despard (b):733 praises Button's good memory and says that the latter told on Isla Keppel "whatever he had learnt of religion and morality -- not much of these last, to be sure...When questioned as to the efforts he had made to impart his acquired notions of religion to his countrymen, he replied, 'Yes; me tell God very good, make everything; Jesus Christ God's Son, very good -- die. My people stupid -- no sabby [no saber]; I no tell more'" /cited in English/.

If one carefully surveys the entire religious heritage of the Yamana, its individuality is clearly apparent and nowhere can an amalgamation with Christian ideas be demonstrated. The belief in Watauinéiwa is not the result of missionary influence.

Without any doubt it proves to be the special heritage of the Yamana, which they held and cherished long before their first contact with Europeans. My own research, and particularly the wholly unusual, accidental way in which I personally stumbled upon their religious heritage (p. 958), in itself explains why it was withheld from other visitors and even from the missionaries. It is not necessary to repeat the details; they have been fully presented.

1. Its Intrinsic Value

771 Many unequivocal circumstances definitely and clearly
776 testify that the Yamana have preserved their heritage of religious ideas and practices and have transmitted it from ancient times to the present. Quite generally, these ideas and practices are to them a logical postulate of their thinking. This is not to credit them with a particular gift for philosophical speculation, but their

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771 776 minds also demand a satisfactory answer to certain questions that arise. A person like Maŝemikens, for example, tried to fathom how people actually came into existence and how /1078/ animals began to appear after the universal flood (p. 972). Although certain situations continue to lack full and specific explanations, everyone rests content in the knowledge that although he lacks insight into the handiwork of Watauinéiwa, the latter, the true and actual Abálla, accomplishes everything that the human being is unable to grasp in detail. The pressure that traditional custom exerts on every Yamana without exception is, in the final analysis, regarded as an emanation of the will, as a command of Watauinéiwa. Everyone adapts to it as a matter of course, as though it could not be otherwise. It was always like this, ever since the Yamana existed, simply because "that-one-up-there" always existed and he himself does not change, any more than do his regulations. In the play of blind natural forces our Fuegians recognize the movement of their Supreme Being who guides them and holds them in his hands. Do they have any other choice, then, but to turn to benevolent Hidábuan with the request that he command those uncanny forces to desist when they might harm and endanger their own lives? New human lives arise from his sphere of power. The loss of a close relative through death, however, leaves a more enduring impression and is more keenly felt as an injury. This intervention is solely the work of the supramundane skill of brutal, heartless Wélapatux. Toward human beings he can permit himself evident high-handedness with the worst consequences, for he is safe far behind the clouds and inaccessible to all the lamenting and raging of helpless earthly pilgrims. From the closely linked chain of ideas concerning the personality and activity of the Supreme Being, only the most important have been mentioned here. On account of their simplicity they can be easily arranged into a well-ordered system.

Although no Yamana has undertaken a similar experiment for himself, the totality of his religious heritage is adequate for him because he is aware of its more important details in his everyday life on any given occasion. Actually, he accepts the various happenings, whether they be more agreeable or very bad, solely because he relates them to his Watauinéiwa. If the latter is the

/1078 cont./

771 driving power and active cause behind any occurrence whatever,
776 especially behind events of decisive import, then discussions, no matter how long, would change nothing, and the person affected has no recourse but to realize his own helplessness and to yield weakly to the situation imposed upon him. As may be expected, this decision restores his mental balance and calms even the greatest surges of fury against the severest losses and the bitterest disappointments. One must see these Fuegians on the occasion of a general funeral rite, yamalaŕemóina. Everyone in the company of others acts as though he were mad with grief, and a few hours later, at any rate by evening of the same day, ruefully and full of confidence, he again turns to /1079/ his Hidābuan with sincere requests for forgiveness and pardon for his excited, irreverent behavior which, he says, was, after all, not entirely unjustified.

771 The complete contentment which their religious heritage
791 gives the Yamana has prevented any desire for more. That is why
177 they regarded the Christian teachings presented to them by the English missionaries as utterly superfluous. It can scarcely be proved that a single one of them was drawn to these missionaries from a pure desire for Christian truths. In fact, the missionaries had great trouble getting a few children to stay in their stations for any length of time and occasionally gathering together a few adults for a religious service and instruction. The following statements illuminate the whole situation like a strong light. Mary told me that as a girl she was taken into the house of the Lawrence family in Ushuaia for a few months to do all kinds of work. She once described to me her usual occupations and also pointed out that every day ended with a short reading from the Bible, to which the missionary added a few explanations about his God. I asked her to tell me whether she welcomed this, whereupon she replied with surprising candor: "Oh well, I listened to everything. Mister Lawrence kept speaking about his God. He said: 'Our Lord' /cited in English throughout this pasage/ demands that everyone be a good human being, that everyone work hard, that no one steal from another, and that no man have anything to do with another's wife, that we should all get along with each other. And he repeated all kinds of other things. But what he told us about his 'Our Lord,' all this Watanineŕ revealed to the Yamana long

/1079 cont./

771 before, all this was always known to our own ancestors. So we
797 don't need his 'Our Lord'! Our Watauinéiwa is enough for us, and
what he has told us suffices. I always realized that, each time
177 Lawrence spoke of his 'Our Lord.'" As was proved by my questions, Mary actually adopted nothing from Christianity. The attitude of Nelly Lawrence is even more convincing. As the daughter-in-law of this missionary, she lived in the same house with him for several years and was in daily contact with this deeply religious man. After I became acquainted with Watauinéiwa through her efforts, she no longer hesitated to refer to him. She plainly showed me how pleased she was that I, too, sincerely enjoyed her religious views. Not for that reason alone, however, but out of innermost conviction she confessed to me that the traditional Watauinéiwa faith was perfectly adequate for her and that she felt no desire for the thing John Lawrence so often mentioned about his "Lord" /cited in English/. "Everything that the Yamana tell about our Watauinéiwa is incomparably more beautiful!" She repeated this conviction to me several times with proud self-confidence. In the general register of baptisms there is no mention that she was baptized /1080/ (p. 331 /untranslated/), and I never discovered any traces of Christian faith in her, but in her ideas about Hidábuan she felt happy and content; hers was really a deeply religious nature.

For the Yamana their Supreme Being is certainly no super-
776 natural figure passively hidden beyond the stars, but rather some-
781 one they feel close to. They connect many of the minor details of everyday life with him, and by no means only the startling events. On August 9, 1923, I was in Punta Remolino, sitting at supper with the Lawrence family. Fred had a hired man in his service who came from Chiloé and who was old and quite stupid. Once again he had proved extremely awkward in his work, and Fred's description of it was so vivid that we all had to laugh heartily. Only Nelly remained serious and warned her husband with the following words: "Don't talk disparagingly about that old man. Watauinéiwa doesn't like it at all and will punish you for it. One must not make fun of old people!" Her reprimand to the whole group was so natural and serious that we were dumbfounded and, without demur, stopped laughing.

/1080 cont./

A few days later the Chilean captain of the little cutter "Garibaldi" which belonged to this farm indulged in loud outbursts of rage because of the unfavorable weather situation. Nelly happened to be in my room and I paid no attention to the man outside the house. Before she left she said with grave emphasis: "In the early days we knew nothing of the habit which Europeans introduced of always being discontented with the weather. The Europeans complain: now there is too much wind and now too much rain, now too much snow and now too little sun! We must take the weather as it comes. If a person flies into a rage, it just makes it worse, for Watauinēiwa will become angry and then it will be really bad!" This sounded like warning for me as well.

An old Yamana spent the forenoon looking out in vain for bright sunshine, but he did not lose patience. In reply to my teasing which was meant to irritate him slightly, he said: "It is Hidābuan who sends the weather, the heavy snow and wind and frost. We can't do anything about it, we must take it as it comes! There is no use scolding loudly about bad weather. That doesn't help a bit; it can only make matters worse simply because Hidābuan will grow even more angry. It is better not to say anything and not to think anything bad about Hidābuan who in each case can send us still worse things."

The religious heritage of the Yamana is adequate for the conditions of life allotted to them and for the slight demands which they make upon it. It is in complete harmony with them. They make use of the individual ideas in their world of religious belief quite as a matter of course in their everyday life and at their ceremonious youth initiation, at a general funeral rite, and for hushed individual sorrow, and they apply these conceptions /1081/ naturally and unaffectedly, as is possible only with an indigenous body of ideas. They appreciate their value consciously and unconsciously, and lacking nothing, they feel no necessity to ask for more or to take what the missionaries have offered them. I never heard a word of regret or discontent over the fact that all missionary activity has been suspended.

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2. Its Characteristics

776 In a critical evaluation of the originality of the Watauinḗʌwa
797 faith the decisive fact is that the deity's characteristics and per-
177 sonality as imagined by the Yamana harmonize very well with the general psychology and the personal character of these Fuegians. To begin with it must be pointed out that clearly recognizable Christian characteristics are lacking. Not the slightest trace of the salient details which were constantly repeated in the teachings of the missionaries has remained among our Indians (22). Only

> 22. For example, Despard (VP:VI, 29;1859) asserts that he taught J. Button about Jesus Christ, and Lawrence (MM:XXXI, 143;1897) reports that for his part he constantly spoke of the Lord Jesus.

the words "God" and "Our Lord" /cited in English/ are mentioned, but their meaning is synonymous with what the Indians themselves have put into the name of their Supreme Being. They also remember the references of the missionaries and individual farmers to the resurrection of the body, for it completely disconcerted them.

The Yamana have come to the conclusion that both figures are more or less one and the same person, and they make comparisons. On March 8, 1923, Nelly once again came to my room, accompanied this time by Sara, the Lēpakērawā́jakīpa and wife of Pedro Maľemikens. Sara gave me a small basket as a present. In return I hastened to give her a string of beads and a small mirror. While Sara was looking at herself in the glass, Nelly discovered a picture of St. Joseph on the back. He was portrayed as a venerable older man with a long white beard. Nelly said to Sara: "Look at the other side, there is the Watauinḗʌwa of the Christians!" When this name was mentioned, Sara was somewhat taken aback, but not markedly, and she asked Nelly softly: "Does this Martin [Gusinde] know who our Watauinḗʌwa is?" Nelly nodded affirmatively. Sara was content with that and obviously relieved. Only then did she look at the picture thoughtfully and turned to me,

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saying distinctly: "Wataginéjwa kémagnéka (23) hananikája (the

23. BD:181 translates this word: "to come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. In the ancient prayer formulas it is often repeated with the same meaning.

old-one-up-there is concerned about us?" Her meaning was: Just as your Wataginéjwa takes care of you, the Whites, so /1082/ our Wataginéjwa is concerned about us! She said this quite naturally and without constraint while I was busy tying up the package from which I had taken the present; I did not influence her in any way. Among the Yamana the thought of their Supreme Being is actually ever present and not by any means concealed behind many other impressions and images from their everyday life. In judging this statement one must note the valuable fact that Sara's home is on the Wollaston Islands which were never influenced by English missionaries; she, therefore, had no definite conception of Christianity. Nevertheless she draws a definite dividing line between her own Wataginéjwa and a similar person who watches over the fate of Whites.

If our Fuegians are confronted with contrary or deviant European ideas, they usually refrain from asserting their own conception and defending it as the only correct one and as though the others were wrong. Nevertheless they once rebelled against their fellow-tribesman Ukokku whom the missionaries had sent to them as their teacher. Bridges (VSA:XII,276;1863) reports: "Lucca told me that Ookokkoo (he not being present) had often spoken to his people of God, or heaven and hell, and what sort of people should live in them; his people being very proud and had would not listen, and were sometimes very angry, and said that Ookokkoo told lies; that as he had never seen nor heard God they would not believe, and that man and all things had ever been as they are, without beginning and therefore without a Maker. One man, they said, pretended to be Jesus Christ; some were afraid to be in hell, and wished to become quiet as a requisite preparation for heaven; some threatened to kill Ookokkoo, but were afraid to" /cited in English/. The Yamana were particularly excited by the missionaries' references to the resurrection of the dead and a life of the

/1082 cont./

TB human soul after death under the most disparate conditions imag-
TB inable, in sharp contrast to their own faith. I myself experienced
TB this. During a burial, while the corpse in the grave was being covered with earth, an old man, in the helplessness of his grief, turned to me with the following words which sounded very scornful: "There he lies, my cousin. And yet you Europeans say: 'Every corpse will leave its grave and become that which it was in life.' No, there is no such thing!" This man, like all his countrymen, was simply not to be converted to the new teachings of the missionaries; he clung to the traditions handed down by his forefathers. They always know how to make a sharp division between their own indigenous body of ideas and newly introduced, foreign conceptions or views.

Furthermore, a characteristic feature of the religious ideas
TB of our Fueglans is their pronounced simplicity. The Supreme Being even lacks a proper name. Every Yamana is named after his /1083/ birthplace (p. 530). Is it not logical, therefore, that "the-one-up-there" has no such name because he was not born in the homeland of our Indians? Instead they use circumlocutions as ordinary social conventions. The names for the Supreme Being emphasize particular characteristics which are, however, intensified to the utmost. In both directions, therefore, tribal customs with regard to name-giving are transferred to him. If here below an aged person is shown general respect, all the more is this due the foremost and true "old one," Watayinewa. Similarly, the few remaining characteristics applied to him are part of the everyday events and social customs of the Yamana people. The fact remains, however, that he is a spirit and therefore exhibits forms of being that differ from people here on earth. Nothing specific is known about these forms. Truly, the Fueglan is consistent in his simple thinking, even concerning his deity.

Finally the considerable number and the diversity of their
TB prayer formulas must be noted. The archaic wording speaks for
TB itself. The Indians themselves vouch for the great age of these
TB short sayings because they contain many words and word combinations that have long since disappeared from ordinary speech. In addition there is the opinion of the aged John Lawrence and his sons who were well versed in the language and several times expressed

/1083 cont. /

themselves along the same lines. John Lawrence, after he had examined those formulas for the first time, assured me emphatically: "I have been associated with the Yamana for all of 53 years and I never learned anything whatever about this!" He examined them carefully and said afterward: "Neither the names for the native deity nor the prayer formulas disclose any kind of borrowing from our Christian conceptions. Everything throughout has the stamp of the original and genuine heritage of the Yamana!" He felt it necessary to point out emphatically and repeatedly that the words and grammatical construction of the prayer formulas are not current in the language spoken today (24).

> 24. The opportunity is open to everyone to examine these data, for we have Bridges' dictionary and a number of grammatical studies from the pen of Hestermann. Bridges' translations of the New Testament could also be used for comparison.

Stimulated by this new information, John Lawrence made personal investigations which added to the material. He began by asking general questions about Wataninewa of this or that aged Indian, all of whom were friendly and confiding. Later when he discussed with other people the religious ideas and prayer formulas which were now familiar to him, he obtained the same result: "This heritage of ideas is an unadulterated, genuine, and unique possession of the /1084/ Yamana!" The whole discovery gave him sincere and lasting pleasure. He realized how much more favorably these greatly misunderstood Fuegians must be judged if they possess such a beautiful, pure conception of God and practice religion. In the twilight of its existence this much maligned people had the great satisfaction of knowing that now at last European circles will obtain full knowledge of this ancient Wataninewa faith. John Lawrence expressed his admiration for the research work and frankly confessed: "Even if I could live here another 50 or 100 years, the natives would not give me the trust that you enjoy among them!"

He viewed his long years of mission work, which had ended earlier, in the light of this unexpected experience. He was honest

/1094 cont./

enough to recognize clearly how very much this work would have been facilitated and advanced if it had been joined to the indigenous store of religious ideas. As though to reproach himself, he candidly complained: "If only I had looked for these things 40 or 50 years ago, how very differently our work would have developed! But at that time we were constantly preoccupied with what Darwin maintained about these natives, that they were completely irreligious." Deceived by this, the missionaries all systematically avoided a deeper insight into the habits and practices of the Indians. Consequently, much was concealed and withheld from them which would have helpfully supported their efforts to educate the natives and to make Christians of them. Repeatedly and without reservation John Lawrence admitted that the many details which make up the religious treasure of the Tamana should by no means be regarded as something brought to them by the missionaries. This honest admission deserves consideration. One day I described to him in detail the procedure of a large funeral rite and the initiation of the medicine-man school, both of which I personally experienced. He grew enthusiastic, but complained anew: "If it had occurred to me in the early days to visit such demonstrations, I would certainly also have learned, to the great advantage of my mission work, what these Indians believe and how they pray. But we missionaries were never enlightened about the fact that primitive peoples also have their own spiritual treasures!" To excuse these brave men it must at least be mentioned that at the beginning of their activity terrific obstacles had to be overcome before the way could be prepared for contact with the Indians. One should not, however, cite the decades-long inexperience to native affairs of this worthy missionary as proof against the originality of the religious ideas of the Tamana.

During the discussions just mentioned the three sons of John Lawrence were also often present. Agreeing perfectly, they recognized /1095/ everything put before them as part of the ancient, unadulterated, unique heritage of the natives. Nelly, who liked to be present during our discussions, enlightened them about minor details. Albert said that now and then he had heard the name Wataginkes mentioned, but he did not pursue the matter. Fred, on the other hand, who was probably better informed by his wife

//1095 cont./

111 Nelly, frankly said: "I have long known that the Tutuna worship Wanyinlyen, that, according to them, he causes death, and that they have many other ideas, but I never asked the people more specifically about these things!" When we asked why he had not disclosed all this to us on his own initiative, he replied simply and candidly: "How was I to know that people in Europe are interested in finding out about the religious ideas of the Fenglans!" He, too, was unable to comprehend that his own father and, above all, Bridges were completely ignorant about what he had repeatedly experienced for a long time. Nevertheless this strange situation can be easily explained. The native unanimously said: "The missionaries never asked us about these things. How could we, without having been asked, tell them about Wanyinlyen?" The following thought was even more decisive: "Too often Bridges and many another [missionary] reproached us, saying that what we had [in the way of customs and institutions] is bad and worthless and that we would have to abandon it! Such words, accompanied by scornful laughter, hurt us. Besides, whenever they told us about their 'Our Lord' /cited in English/, we realized that for the White he was the same as Wanyinlyen is for us Tutuna." This explanation agrees with the repeated reference to the conscious reserve of the Tutuna in front of the missionaries.

111 The Tutuna, far from regarding the malignant footnote with which they expound their most precious spiritual possessions to us, are proud that we too venerate their Wanyinlyen. For decades they were obliged to accept disdainful treatment because of the lack of knowledge of Europeans and to be discredited by the missionaries because they clung to their Wanyinlyen. Now at last we show a genuine and fresh appreciation for their "Old-one-up-there" whom they call "father." This gives them great satisfaction. Now at last they see fulfilled a wish they have long cherished, namely, appreciation for their Wanyinlyen. Their eyes shine when we tell them frankly: "Your Wanyinlyen is for you what our God is for us Christians!" They regard this comparison as a sign of the sincere esteem of the White for the spirit-being whom they regard as most sacred and who sends conjointly above everything visible.

The facts which must be summarized and evaluated as the religious possessions of our Fenglans are rich and many-sided.

/[illegible] [illegible]/

111 Inasmuch as we have a considerable number of well documented details, the result of painstaking research and of a method which is beyond criticism and can always /[illegible]/ be examined, it will not be difficult for anyone to recognize the facts and abandon the long-held and widespread, but erroneous opinion that the Tehuelche are absolutely irreligious.

6. General Moral Precepts

111 The social life of our Fueguans and the behavior of individuals, regardless of age and sex, are regulated by definite, unchanging principles that obligate all tribal members without exception. They alone assure the tranquil continuance of the tribal society and guarantee peaceful coexistence for all its parts. These principles constitute the morals or the general moral precepts, and they, of course, reach beyond actual tribal morals and were rules for essential social intercourse.

This presupposes that our natives actually do have a moral consciousness. Obviously they do not lack the capacity for moral judgments and actions, they being it into the world as a natural endowment of blother Nature. With it goes an urge to exercise their spiritual power in the direction of what is good and just and to avoid what is unjust and impermissible. Conscience, which our Fueguans by no means lack, guides their unerring judgment in these matters. It teaches everyone the objective and subjective value of moral goodness and dictates the behavior of the will. To be sure these words describe a general human tendency, but one must state them specifically for the Tehuelche also (cf. Gusinde [c]: 188), for there is no lack of assertions to the contrary. Disregarding older statements, I shall here give space only to the amazing words of someone like Spegazzini (p.17), who spent insufficient time in Tierra del Fuego: "The Fueguans do not know this social convention that we call morals. They perform the natural functions of life, of any kind, in public, and what we call virtue exists only in rudimentary form among the women and, before marriage, consists of a reserve in granting their favors and of fidelity on the part of married women" /translated from Spanish/.

/1086 cont./

This opinion diverges considerably from reality and is invalidated, for example, by the following words of Bridges (b):236: "The ideas of this tribe with respect to good and bad are similar to those that prevail everywhere. Anything morally bad is also physically bad and, consequently, is condemned, not by the one who commits the act but by the one who suffers the consequences. In the same way, that which is just, right, and good is nearly always recommended because of its utility. But nowhere does the utilitarian system lead to virtue, and thus we see that bad is committed by those who in principle condemn it, and virtue, recommended by all, is practiced by few. It follows, then, /1087/ that in condemning others for what one does himself, a man always likewise condemns himself as a sinner. Virtue is gained by those who do not practice it" /translated from Spanish/. Although much of this seems inaccurate, he at least credits the Fuegians with a capacity for moral judgment (ib). Hyades (q):

> 15. Bridges (b):236 supplements his statement as follows: "It was said that they were anthropophagi and it was believed that they lived without any notion of social order. But when they became better known, it was discovered that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists, and that, in general, they respected the rights that come from family life" /translated from Spanish/.

1082 in his concise way judges more pertinently: "It is certain that the Fuegians have the feeling for good and bad and that they do not lack a moral sense" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):187 seems a little reserved in his opinion: "As to the moral qualities of the Yahgan, it can be said that, while they do not have much virtue, neither do they have great faults, and they do not wholly lack a moral sense" /translated from Spanish/. Thus he, too, sees in these Indians the universal human tendency toward morality.

The many facts which have been recounted in the preceding pages speak decisively for themselves; it is superfluous to give

/1087 cont./

517 further theories and explanations based on casual expressions of opinion by an occasional traveler.

1. Their Content

In the final analysis all the precepts and obligatory customs which our Yamana feel are binding upon them belong to general morality in its wider sense. It would be unnecessarily repetitious to list them and arrange them here in their entirety; a brief survey will surely be adequate. They are most concisely arranged in the teachings given the uswala in the ciexaus (p.724) and in the instructions to the girls at the menarche (p.570), in the statements about child rearing (p. 555), property relationships (p. 851), and social relations (p.912). In sharp contrast to my assertions, other observers have described the Yamana as very poor in moral laws. A reference to the pages above is the best refutation. At least the view of the well-meaning Despard (b): 678 and 746 should be repeated here: "His code of morals is very brief. To kill, to lie, to steal, to commit adultery, are crimes; but the sole reason they see is in the punishment commission entails upon the offender from the offended. A murderer must expect sooner or later, to be killed...Their only laws seem: 'Thou shalt not steal'; 'Thou shalt not murder'; 'Thou shalt not lie'; 'Thou shalt not commit adultery.' Property, life, truth, and marriage are protected by the letter of traditionary statute, but violated perpetually through inherent wickedness. Murder is punished by blood avenger. Theft and adultery are punished by beating, and sometimes so severely as to break bones" /cited in English/. Later on it will be shown that the sanctions are of an entirely different nature /1088/ than mere threats of punishment and crude club law. The paragraphs above can also be appropriately cited as counter-evidence.

517 716 The laws that our Yamana observe are clear and easy to understand, simple and definite. They are headed by duties toward the Supreme Being. After all, these duties in their entirety are derived from him as originator, and he carefully sees to it that they are carried out. A person who wants to stand in favor with him need only follow his precepts. It is not proper to

/1088 cont./

577 grumble about them or to resist them, and no one would presume
776 to do so. Similarly, no one expects that his blameless conduct will be rewarded by an especially advantageous destiny here on earth. In their naïve innocence the Fuegians are so reverential that they do not make such demands on their Hidābuan; moreover, no one regards himself as absolutely without fault. Besides, everyone has an adequate living; hence he neither needs nor expects more. If they make requests, they are driven to it by their own helplessness in the face of the invincible forces of nature and the threatening arbitrariness of the Supreme Being himself. The veneration due him demands that his name not be spoken thoughtlessly. Since all animals are his property, every human being becomes culpable who misuses them and who, with evil intent, willfully kills more than he needs for his subsistence, for everyone is permitted only this much by their lord and owner. On suitable occasions the adults do not fail to acquaint growing children with these ideas.

577 The duties of self-love are also clearly defined to a surprising degree. They are most clearly expressed in the descriptions of the ideal that should be striven for by a true Yamana. The motto, "May everyone be a good and useful human being!" summarizes the personal virtues which everyone strives for primarily because of ambition. Conspicuous rivalry impels many a person to outdo his other fellow-tribesmen in faithful fulfillment of duty and blameless conduct. Diligence and industry, a sense of order and cleanliness, compatability and a quiet nature, unselfishness and constant willingness to help, moderation in eating, and respect for tribal custom in its many details are qualities which the
577 society as a whole expects from each of its members. Their sense
834 of modesty is well developed (26). In front of women /1089/ and

26. Hyades (b):1346 asserts: "The sense of modesty exists among both sexes, but it is more developed among the women and is given a special name" /translated from French/. Cf. also Hyades (q):239. In addition he (f):573 also mentions: "Masturbation is very exceptional among the Fuegians.

[829]

577 834 /1089 cont./

Probably because of the continual cohabitation, sexual relations begin early among small boys and girls, but do not then become habitual" /translated from French/. The following testimony of Bridges (1):19, who usually speaks of the Yamana in a consciously derogatory fashion, is creditable: "In their personal habits whilst there was much room for increased decency and cleanliness, yet there were many good points that did them honour as men. Incest is a crime unknown and utterly abhorrent to the native mind. Although too often in other respects most immoral, as regards this hateful offence the native is quite pure. With the women there is a great sense of decorum, and man, unless he seek it, will seldom see anything to shock his moralities in their conduct" /cited in English/.

[835]

children men avoid offensive jokes or obscene talk. In the camp and in the huts all the adults are clothed at least with a modesty-apron; only very old men are sometimes without it (p. 55). It is a fact that the true Yamana fulfills these duties more eagerly because he cares about his good reputation than because of his consideration for the lawgiver beyond the clouds.

577 It is almost impossible to select from the wealth of precepts and decrees the ones which are the most important props of the social order. Personal unselfishness and constant helpfulness, which are regarded as the chief virtues, must be mentioned again. The mutual relations of a married couple are happy for both partners, and from the first this favorable relationship is made secure to an important extent by the free choice of partners. Marriage between related persons is not allowed (p. 421) (27).

27. In this connection Bridges (1):19 asserts that "incest is a crime unknown and utterly abhorrent to the native mind" /cited in English/.

/1089 cont./

577 and a departure from monogamous marriage is not looked upon with favor. Within the family the woman's position is almost exactly on a par with that of the man. Since, according to ancient custom, the necessary tasks are tactfully and purposefully distributed among each of them with a view to their physical and psychological characteristics (p. 450), household management is orderly and marital duties, as well as all daily work, are more a pleasant occupation than an oppressive burden. The parents carefully fulfill their duty of rearing their children, and the latter love their parents sincerely. Respect for parents-in-law and the constant willingness of relatives to help one another encourage close bonds uniting a local group (p. 606). The modest reserve of young people in the presence of older persons and caution in front of visitors from other regions prevent hostilities (p. 912). According to the prevailing custom, the people in general care for the sick and infirm (p. 942), orphans (pp.574 , 943), and widows (p.412), independently of what the nearest relatives do for them. The concept of private property is definitely developed, and the property of the individual is safeguarded by specific laws (p. 858). Infractions against them are rare, since no one could conceal stolen goods for very long (28). The individual groups

28. The following opinion contains strange contradictions. Phillips:183 repeatedly caught the natives stealing in Isla Keppel. "They were called to account, and the men became so angry at the accusation that they made threatening gestures to kill the missionary, Phillips. From these and subsequent instances one should have learned the lesson that the Fuegians, although incorrigible thieves, nevertheless regard being accused of dishonesty as the worst disgrace, as though among them it is not the stealing but being caught that is shameful." Cf. Phillips (a):1011.

have at their disposal extensive areas /1090/ as hunting territory (p. 629), and these are used by neighbors only under certain

/1090 cont./

577 conditions. Actual barter and the distribution of hunting spoils, reciprocal visits and groups affairs, such as the ʒíʒaas and kina, take place according to definite, unchanging rules. Although tribal members are not united under a common chief (p. 601), they nevertheless feel and act homogeneously, guided and obligated by one and the same tradition which, though unwritten, is like a book of laws. No one would venture to neglect it and go his own way or even less to oppose it with scornful comments. There is actually an unseen power of state (p. 635), even though it is limited.

As is convincingly proved in real life, this long list of rules and regulations is perfectly familiar to every Fuegian; he conforms to it with more or less punctilious faithfulness.

2. Their Originality

577 626 One would be doing the Yamana a grave injustice to disparage or to be suspicious of their honest attitude toward the individual demands of their moral law. The experiences of reliable Europeans contradict the very general accusation of Bridges (h): 205 that they are "immoral and lewd in their behavior and conversation" /translated from Spanish/ (29). Every Fuegian regards

29. Interpretations of their conceptions of morality and their conduct from the obviously prejudiced point of view of someone like Spegazzini (s):177, for example, do not deserve to be specifically mentioned.

conformity to the demands of the moral precepts as a compulsory obligation. In his youth he is given ample instruction within and outside the family, as well as compulsory training as uwʒala in the ʒíʒaas. In later life he is supported and spurred on, even against his own will and personal indolence, by the example of the people generally. Anyone who habitually dared to ignore important rules, especially those pertaining to social intercourse, would be putting himself in an impossible situation. Actually many a person, out of pure human weakness, becomes negligent in his

/1090 cont./

517 626 private duties or drifts into deviations in the field of sexual morality, but he knows it and is made to feel that by doing so he loses the respectful opinion of his neighbors and is avoided by them, as though in punishment. After a time his sense of honor or a threat from the Supreme Being forces him back on the path of duty. There is every indication that these demands of justice, /1091/ and hence the entire situation pertaining to justice, have been preserved unchanged among the Fuegians throughout generations up to the present time (30).

[171] 30. In this respect our Yamana are almost exactly like the Selk'nam. The moral law of the latter has been characterized and explained with an abundance of detail in Volume I, 519. A person who would take the trouble to compare the two would find surprisingly many likenesses and similarities.

517 776 626 An adequate explanation for the gravity of the demands of justice and the power of universal duty is offered by the references to the ultimae originator of all this, namely, the Supreme Being himself. Our natives derive the existing custom regarding obligatory rules and laws from Watauineiwa in definite terms. It is he who demands that the individual Yamana "adapt himself [in his conduct through life] as has always been customary," that is to say, according to the principles that he himself issued from the very beginning. The mental make-up of our Fuegians is not the kind that would split hairs over individual conceptions and arrange the result in a complex chain of ideas. A general reference to traditional forms of conduct of their ancestors satisfies their intellect. What has been shown to agree with them is legally valid, and only for this reason. Thus the entire body of moral law rests on the firmest foundation and the compulsion toward duty is given the strongest impetus. This is not changed even by the following minor factor. Now and then I was told, but without noticeable emphasis: "Yálox let us know how we Yamana should conduct ourselves!" People like to say this to the uswála in the čiéxaus when they acquaint them with the myths that surround this figure.

/1091 cont./

577 Thus he is recognized as the deliverer of the regulations that
776 Watauinēiwa wants the Yamana to observe. No one would ever
626 dream of asking what justification Watauinēiwa had for putting him and his fellow-tribesmen under the restriction of his laws nor of examining their meaning and goal in any way. It is clearly a matter of course for everyone to accept and take into consideration without the slightest objection all the moral regulations in the traditional form handed down from earlier generations as the expression of the will of the Supreme Being.

577 This way of thinking implies the close connection between
626 religion and morals (31). Moral duties with their compulsory de-

31. This connection could not be closer or firmer, and this alone corrects the opinions collected by Cooper:152 that the two are of different origin.

mands are not suspended in mid-air, but, as has just been said, rest on a firm foundation, from which the sanctions for either a dutiful or a faulty act derive their effectiveness. The Yamana definitely express their conviction that Watauinēiwa sees to it that his rules /1092/ are observed and that he punishes serious transgressions (32). The fear of this punishment has beneficial

32. According to the Yamana conception only the guilty one is punished; his crime does not implicate other tribal members. In this sense Bridges (k):239 is right when he maintains: "A wrong that is committed concerns only the agent and the victim" /translated from Spanish/.

effects, although occasionally someone will purposely avoid a mistake so as not to forfeit his good reputation among his people. This is especially true of old people who are always aware of their duty to set a good example to youth. Granting all this, nevertheless the decisive factor in a person's behavior is the judgment of the Supreme Being. Everyone is afraid of his punishments, all the more so since one is helpless and defenseless against him. The

/1092 cont./

577 fear of punishment is heightened by the idea that the individual
626 human being has no chance to rectify or be absolved of his transgression in any way, either by prayer or sacrifice. He must yield to whatever fate "that-one-up-there" inflicts upon him. He is Abāila, the truly strong one towering over all, with whom no one can compete. A person who does his duty, however, feels safe under the benevolence and special protection of Hidāhuan; hence he must fare well. An evil-doer, on the other hand, in view of the punishment which is almost sure to follow, will never again feel quite safe. In his evident lack of success in hunting and in all his work he can see clear threats calling for the severest atonement, namely, untimely death. There is also the attitude of fellow-tribesmen against the evil-doer who forgets his duty. They ignore him and obviously avoid associating with him; they cast aspersions on him and warn him about his delinquency. They give him no rest and even pursue him if he is a murderer or adulterer. In such a way the society itself takes part in the prosecution of punishment for a crime. No one, however, speaks of punishment which the culprit is to expect in the other world because in general the Yamana maintain that they do not know what form of existence the soul has there. Thus, since everyone knows that adverse and baleful consequences follow wrong-doing, this knowledge gives a person sufficient strength to stay on the path of universally binding duty.

577 Actually, conditions in the simple social organization of our Fuegians are more orderly, principled, and peaceful than many Europeans might believe, although they neither have a police force and courts of justice nor are under the leadership of chiefs. Their bleak homeland and their meager way of life have made them undemanding and content. Licentiousness and cruelty could not become doctrine among them. There are all kinds of circumstances that lift their personal and general morality above that of other primitive peoples.

000 /1093/ On the preceding pages the position and the relationship of our Fuegians to the deity they recognize have been characterized, as is required by the concept religion in its narrower sense. Their relations with other spirits and mythological personalities, which shall be discussed later, are very different.

/1093 cont./

000 Supplementary data on their religious activity will be given in the description of their great funeral rite, which follows in the next section.

B. Belief in the Soul and Mourning

774 811 Conceptions of the human soul and of its continued life after death are closely interwoven, and the customs of mourning, for which our Yamana have created definite forms, are connected with them. The latter are probably based principally on the fact that the loss of each tribal member affects all the natives very painfully. In the following description one must keep in mind that European ideas and expressions do not absolutely coincide in every detail with the thoughts and words of the natives because the latter are much more unpretentious and poorer in ideas. Much of their thinking shows gaps and is not carried to its conclusion. In general it is not the habit of the Fuegian to complete what is lacking or to provide a suitable substitute. In view of this the investigator runs the risk of consciously or unconsciously substituting his own interpretation for the deficient forms of expression of the children of nature, which would give a distorted picture. My informants were sometimes at a loss to give satisfactory explanations in response to my questions and inquiries. This is the typical primitive mentality which does not concern itself with precise descriptions of every image and complete interpretions of every idea according to the rules of logic. It must be frankly admitted that there are gaps in the following account. I would be guilty of distorting the material offered if I were to fill them out according to my own taste and provide them with meanings from my personal opinion. Unadulterated single facts, even though they are deficient and fragmentary, can be used in making comparisons and will safely lead to the desired goal, whereas unreliable and arbitrary additions imperil the course of research.

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a. The Human Soul

774 From the start the Fuegian differentiates between animate and inanimate objects. For him, human beings and animals, his Watauinéjwa, and the many different spirits are actually living creatures, whereas /1094/ he does not attribute life in the actual sense to plants and stones, the forces of nature, and his own implements. His idea of life and of being alive coincides with the possession of a soul. The soul is the true principle of life and, as such, it may exist by itself or be united with the human body. Hence, according to the clear conception of the Yamana, it is a being in itself, and thus something entirely different from a body. This interpretation more or less corresponds to what we Europeans mean by the words "soul" or "spirit."

775 The independence and individuality of a spirit-being is definitely emphasized by a distinct designation which, although a generic term, is used only for the human soul and actual independent spirits. It is "kĕspix," a word that has been repeated often enough by missionaries and travelers. The forms kĕbix and kăspix are also heard. BD:175 gives kŏspix, "a spirit, a ghost, an apparition, a man who has lost a brother or cousin" /cited in English/; the latter meaning was not mentioned to me. They use this expression exclusively with the basic meaning of "spirit-being." It was sometimes given unjustifiable limitations or inadmissible explanations. Bridges (I):15, for example, limits the meaning of the word kĕnif, as is sometimes permissible, as follows: "The Cushpij were spirits which at night could make themselves visible but not tangible. They were malign, and the yahgans associated them with sickness and death" /cited in English/. Nevertheless this description shows that pure spirit-beings have an independent form of existence. Hyades (q):255 has repeated this interpretation in an expanded form; he calls Kachpikh an "untranslatable term referring to fantastic beings" /translated from French/. Spencer:101 is more definite and uses the term only with reference to the human soul: "Cush-pik is the spirit part of man" /cited in English/.

Besides incorporeality, which seems to be an essential characteristic, at least externally, still other traits are attributed

/1094 cont./

115 to the kēspix. Above all, the human body is animated by it and it alone. Those kēspiſ who, to begin with, are not joined to a body have their own independent life, for example, the yefāčel, who, as forest spirits, can perhaps be compared to our fairies. The human soul, after its separation from the body, continues the same independent existence. As long as the kēspiſ remains in the body assigned to it, the human being remains alive. Dying begins, the Yamana say, when "the kēspiſ leaves the body; it is Watauinēwa who takes it away." Thus the soul outlives the body. Since, according to their conception, dying is a dissolution of the connection between body and soul, the isolated spirits, including the human soul, do not die after death; in other words, they continue to exist. Strangely enough, the Fuegians are unwavering in this train of thought. /1095/ They listened to my questions about a possible cessation of the spirit-beings with amazement, as though this imputation were in itself a contradiction.

It is also surprising that they do not admit any aging of the kēspiſ, for example, in the sense of the accumulating years of a man's life. They recognize, if one may so express it, differences in age and sex among the yefāče, adults and children of both sexes, just as among human souls after death. Once established, this condition continues without change, despite the passing of years, and "a child kēspiſ does not mature and become an adult spirit," as Malemihens emphatically assured me. The fact that the human soul does not cease to exist and does not change, even after ever so long a time, positively means that it is immortal. Several observers have pointed out this belief of the Yamana, while others have denied it (33). As early as 1866 Bridges (a):211

33. Cooper:150 has collected the individual opinions. An examination shows that some of the observers contradict themselves on this point. In view of this, one is probably justified in seriously doubting the credibility of the testimonies, and all the more so since even Bridges wavers in his opinions and maintains elsewhere (a):335: "They had no conception

775 /1095 cont./

of a future good or bad existence or of the presence of a spirit in man, which survives the body." In the first part he is right; in the second he contradicts himself.

reported: "They believe in the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. This is actually the case, and it is not worthwhile to consider contrary opinions.

774 Furthermore, the Yamana believe that the spirit-beings have unlimited freedom of movement, so to speak. During sleep, above all in dreams, the kēspiſ leaves the body temporarily and goes elsewhere. Spencer:101 also mentions: "When dreaming, the spirit goes out of him" /cited in English/. In this connection it is worth noting that the kēspiſ, after such a leave-taking, must be anchored to the body anew, as it were, by means of a ceremonial act, usually by a yēkamuš. This will be explained later. Several times my attention was called to an important distinc-
[828] tion: "While someone is dreaming, his kēspiſ merely goes for a walk, and of course soon returns, but if a person dies, Watauinēiwa takes the kēspiſ away and will not permit it to reunite with the body." When the Yamana say, "One cannot see a spirit-being, simply because it is kēspiſ," they mean: it is not corporeal, for only something corporeal is visible to the eye. Nevertheless they admit that such a spirit-being can occasionally make itself visible, but they do not explain this in detail. Once I asked: "If my
775 brother has been dead for a long time and then I, too, die, will my kēspiſ meet that of my brother, will it see him and be able to communicate with him?" In reply I was told: "We do not know that. We are completely /1096/ ignorant about how the kēspiſ behave over there." If the Yamana wish to explain their own vague idea about the existence of a kēspiſ, all they can say is: "It is something like the breath or the air that comes out of one's mouth."

774 It seems to me that their view of the derivation and origin of the human soul is not entirely clear. In a vague way they
761 admit that the Supreme Being plays a decisive role, namely, that the soul of the newborn child comes from him, whereas the body of the child owes its origin to its parents (34). Common

34. Spencer:102 says: "New born child gets

/1096 cont./

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spirit 'from nature'" /cited in English/. The Yamana does not express himself that way. Spencer adds, correctly: "Some imagine they see the spirits. Informant knows nothing of spirits' life except that they always remain" /cited in English/.

expressions also reveal this conception. For example, grieving parents say: "Watanine̓wa let my child die, the one he gave me," but they do not express themselves in more detail about the whole process.

714 815 Once I wanted to know whether animals also had their kĕspif. Apparently this thought had never occurred to them, for they shook their heads in denial. Then I said to them: "Animals are certainly clever, especially the dog. He understands the calls and gestures of his master, he helps in hunting and is faithful. How can that be?" They replied: "We care for the dog as for a child. He helps us a great deal. We never leave him behind all by himself in a deserted place, for if he were cut off from us we would always and everywhere be aware of the barking and howling of such an abandoned dog. Perhaps the dog does have a kĕspif of his own, but he is the only one, other animals do not have it." Thus, the Yamana do not in so many words attribute a kĕspif like that of the human soul to animals.

[171] 714 Their views are essentially like those of the neighboring Selk'nam about their kĕ̓pi (Vol. I, 537); even the names that the two tribes give to the human soul and to the spirit-being are almost the same.

b. Belief in a Future Life

715 Despite the contrary assertion of a few travelers who need not be taken seriously (35), the Yamana are, without exception,

35. Darwin (d):247 writes: "Captain Fitz Roy could never find out whether the Fuegians have any definite belief in a future life. They bury their dead sometimes in caves and

/1096 cont./

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sometimes in the mountain forests; we do not know what kind of ceremonies they have." Even Hyades (p):332 commits a serious error: "The idea of a future life does not exist" /translated from French/. Further references to incorrect views would not lead anywhere; hence they need not be specifically mentioned here.

convinced that the human soul lives on. They speak of this clearly enough in various ways. /1097/ It must be admitted, however, that they do not conceive of the other world as a secure situation or a definite place. This circumstance has led to the erroneous assertions of many observers who simply wanted to maintain that the Yamana, although adhering to the idea of the survival of the human soul, nevertheless are incapable of expressing themselves in detail about how the soul goes on living. The Fuegians do not waver in the one assertion that at death the *kiepif* leaves the body and continues a life of its own. Once soul and body have been separated by death, that is, as was said on page 1034, by the intervention of *Wataginjiwa*, any subsequent union is forever excluded. After that the soul stands alone, whereas the corpse decays.

Just as this belief must be regarded as reliably certain, so also it cannot be denied that our natives lack a fairly clear and substantial idea of the life of the soul after its separation from the body. They have only one answer to all questions pertaining to this: "We know nothing about those *kiepif* after death!" This answer occurs repeatedly in the accounts of earlier observers. Despard (b):698 wrote: "The Firelander thinks, when a man dies, his breath goes up to heaven; but for what, he has no notion, and is ignorant of a return to the flesh. He denies the upward ascent of breath to other animals" /cited in English/. In any case, it is certain that the Yamana have never maintained a transformation of the human soul or its transfer to another being. Bridges spoke of this several times. Very early he (a):211 said: "They believe in the immortality of the soul, their word *Cahgahgoolno*, signifying to fly up, evidences this fact" /cited in English/. Elsewhere, (i):18, (k):238, (h):207, he asserts: "They had no future, and expected

/1097 cont./

715 nothing after death. Anyway this was true for the most part; they had a word expressive of death Cagagulu, the meaning of which seems to convey an idea of an after spiritual state" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):292, Spegazzini (a):172, and others repeat the same view. This word, with which, at times, a kind of idolatry was set forth in many a treatise (Cooper:111), is an ordinary intransitive verb and means, according to BD:195, given as kāgāgulū, "to die, to cease to be, get used up; be all gone or spent" /cited in English/. Often this verb has its original meaning and is not used exclusively in the sense of "to die." One could use kāhēpana with the same meaning.

The complete uncertainty of the Yamana about the fate and condition of a departed soul evokes that unusually high degree of grief among the ones left behind which strikes every outside observer. Their demonstrations of mourning are likewise very pathetic and deeply moving because they are born out of despair, as it were, because after death a reunion is impossible. /1098/ I was repeatedly told: "With death everything [every connection] between us and the kēpif ceases. We do not know how the kēpif comes when a child starts to live; nor do we know where his kēpif goes afterwards. It goes far away, far beyond the sea!" Nelly Lawrence once showed me an old photograph. It showed several persons who were together at one of the mission stations, only four of whom are still alive. Emphatically and seriously, but

715 717 quite ironically she answered me: "The old Yamana, even my own father and I myself, have never been able to believe that we would all see each other again after death. The missionaries maintain this, but none of us can believe it. Why, everyone can see how the corpse is laid into the earth and decays there; after a few years nothing is left of it. The talk of the missionaries is trickery; they want to deceive us. We never believed them and we don't believe it to this day!" After a short time she repeated, with a mocking smile: "There simply cannot be a reunion because the corpse completely disintegrates!" Her words were not in any way provoked by me, but they brought her visible relief. She often discussed this topic in detail with her people, and it seemed to me that this time she also wanted to confess openly to me. We Yamana will not let ourselves be deceived by anyone, not even the missionaries; we shall inviolably cling to our own truths which seem plausible

/1938 cont./

115 to us! There is some tragicomedy in the fact that the daughter-
117 in-law of the missionary John Lawrence should have so expressed herself! With such tendencies on the part of our Fueguians it would be a psychological monstrosity to maintain that the figure of Watayinkwa was taken entirely from the Europeans. This one example shows how strictly they keep their own religious heritage separate from the teachings of their missionaries. They have their own explanation, derived from their characteristic habits of thought, for the divergent attitude of Christians. "The Christians," I was told by the Tamana, "do not show nearly as much pain and
[51] grief for a dead person as we do! They do not even change their name" (36). It grieves our Indians to repeat the name of a dead

36. The conditions under which someone changes his name if it is identical with that of a deceased person will be given on p. 1969.

person, but this does not affect the less sensitive Christians. Gusinde said, "We are immeasurably sad when one of our people
115 dies because we do not know what comes after death. We do not know whether we shall be able to see and speak to the *kikuli* or how they are and whether they are happy. All that we do not know, that is why we are so sad and why we weep a great deal!"

They do admit the possibility of seeing one of their de-
115 ceased relatives again, although they are not entirely logical about
117 it. Many a /1938/ Tamana said: "When I am very sad and long to see them, when I keep thinking about them, they finally come to me. I see them in my dreams. They are not just dream images, they are the real *kikuli*!" In my opinion these words point to particularly vivid dreams or actual visions which cause the delusion. It is all the more striking that in the *mahonlu* whose it is said that the *kikuli* of four deceased brothers and their nearest brother-in-law returned as actual human beings after their violent deaths and temporarily were in contact with their surviving nephew, like real people, but their behavior is described as that of mentally inferior persons. It is only in this story, not anywhere else, that the souls of deceased persons appear.

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715 The Yamana say nothing about future retribution, which is
828 logical in view of the general uncertainty about the fate of the human soul after death. They do, however, definitely separate their countrymen into good and bad. I said to them: "Many people are hard-working and diligent, honest and good. They are always that way, whereas some are indolent and lazy." Their answer was: "The Yamana learn in the ʔ̍ʌʌxsa how they should conduct their lives, what is proper for a decent human being. Each person, when he was an ulwʌla, promised faithfully to carry out what the old people recommended. That is why these people work for themselves and their family; they care for their relatives, they give part of their booty to neighbors, they are good people and easy to get along with. But besides that there are also bad people. They are lazy and burdensome gossips; they no longer remember what was taught them in the ʔ̍ʌʌxsa and what they promised there; they no longer pay any attention to what the Yamana practice. That is why we despise them. Everyone lets them go their own way and holds himself aloof from them. Their fate soon overtakes those sloths and gossips. Wʌlʌyinʌwa lets them die prematurely! There are good and bad human beings. A bad human being behaves badly simply because he is bad; a good human being behaves well because it is his nature to be good. Whether the ʌʌʌpif of these people will be the same afterwards [after death]? That we do not know!" It is clear from all this that the Yamana do not know the condition of the soul after death. They view an untimely death as a punishment which serves more or less as adequate atonement for various errors, so that probably the necessary penance has been made.

Our Fueguians, finally, are just as vague about a definite
715 place of abode of the ʌʌʌpif. The two statements of Bridges (a): 211 and (b):238 are justified: "They have no thoughts of a future state, either of reward or punishment /cited in English/. . . They do not fear a future life or cherish hopes beyond the grave" /translated from Spanish/. The general opinion is that "they go far away beyond the sea." This particular expression is repeated again and again. Richard asserted what other /1100/ people confirmed: "The ʌʌʌpif go far out to sea, there where the many ʌʌʌʌʌʌ /killer whale/ are. The ʌʌʌpif stay near them and sometimes come with

/1100 cont./

775 the *aiñula* through our region here [as though they were on a journey]. as the *yékamus* who can see both [groups] tell us!" Exceptions to this general rule are the *kúipuf* of the *yékamus* and of persons who have drowned. Of the latter it is said: "While a person is drowning he thrashes about violently. That is his *kúipuf* which is leaving him. After that the *kúipuf* stays in that place on water. Sometimes one hears his call. It sounds like the barking of a sea lion, but it is the call of the *kúipuf* of the drowned person." As for the *yékamus*, "all persons surrounding a dying *yékamus* must continually utter a wailing *ho ho ho*; at the same time they let their arms hang down and move their hands forward as though they were pushing sand or water. These movements quickly drive far away the *Hagúlla* spirit (37) that is leaving the dying *yékamus*.

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37. This spirit was characterized and described in detail on p. 748.

If this were not done, this bloodthirsty villain would remain at the place of death and harass all the people." Naturally, everyone present is painted with the white horizontal line from the nostrils to the ear-lobes. The *kúipuf* of certain persons, including those of the *yékamus*, are strongly attracted by *Hagúlla*. If they follow this woman, they actually go down into the earth with her and remain with her. Finally the Yamana also concede that sometimes a *kúipuf* appears near the hut and in the neighborhood of their own families. It whispers and groans, although so softly that the people can scarcely hear it, but that is how they recognize it (38).

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38. Bove (d):297 and (e):119 assert: "In general the Fueguians are not very superstitious; if someone dies, they believe that the spirit leaves the body and roams about through the forests and beyond the mountains, variously suffering if he was evil in life, happily and quietly if he was good." His traveling companions Lothaire (b):148 and Spegazzini (a):178 repeat the same assertion. I did not encounter this

/1100 cont./

115 view. Spencer:101 generalizes an idea which, as such, is correct: "When he dies, the spirit remains alive and roams around place where he died" /cited in English/.

115 The Yaganes assume that the souls far out where the sun sets about freely and are not limited to a definite place or
117 crowded together. Several times they clearly and definitely asserted: "It was the missionaries who first told us that the souls of good human beings are assembled in a place apart from those of bad people. Everyone will be reunited there! The Yaganes never said anything like this, and we still do not believe it. A person who has died remains invisible and inaccessible to all others. We do not know whether later on the souls recognize each other and whether they will remember this country here (their home). The missionaries wind to comfort us in our great sorrow with words like these. They did not succeed, for we know better what happens to the souls!" Without doubt the explanations of the missionaries /1101/ provoked determined opposition among the Fueguians. This example also shows how they consciously separate their own religious heritage from the new teachings. They are actually proud of themselves and regard themselves as wiser than the missionaries who acted in order to substitute their so-called false views for the truth contained in the old Indian tradition (98).

98. Spencer:71 says the same thing in different words: "When the missionaries would have spoken to the Yaganes of his dead relatives they could not without offending him seriously" /cited in English/. This kind of statement shows the great weight of actual facts.

115 For the souls of their dead collectively the Yaganes use the general expression Mahélgin, that is, the people of the Mahé. RO:81 means Mahé as synonymous with Mélgin. They know nothing

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185 about the fate of the spirits in the other world can do they fear Pana.

c. Mourning and Death Rites

185 The grief of our Fuegians over the loss of a tribal member to death has been described several times as unusually deep and lasting. It is caused chiefly by the uncertainty over the fate of the departed soul, for separation from a loss forever. For obvious reasons the Yaganes do not speak of events which agitate them and stir them to the depths. They hold back expressions of their grief especially in front of strangers. The travelers of earlier decades and the missionaries were able to furnish only brief and incomplete accounts. Favored by fortune, I had the opportunity to take part in the mourning of a small group of survivors, as well as in the general ceremony of mourning. Hence the following account describes my own experiences. At the very beginning it should be pointed out that, generally speaking, expressions of mourning among these Indians are not mere formalities without content, but come from the deepest feelings. From the most certain unreliable opinions from other parts are rejected (46). Anyone

> 46. For example, Lothrop (Ib.:140 see almost harrowing wonder: "Great grief for the deceased does not exist, the facial painting, the details, the blows, the wounds that the Fuegians make at the death of a relative, the destruction of the wigwam where the individual died, and so on... are mere mere practices, rules of custom, than sincere expressions of grief" /translated from Italian/.

[191] who compare the description of the mourning customs of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 142) with those of our Yaganes will find considerable agreement. One must accept this fact as it stands, and although historical connections may be mentioned as the only correct explanation for it, they can no longer be clarified in detail or even thoroughly investigated.

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1. Death

The Yaghan faces all uncertainty with astonishing equanimity and quiet self-control. He is able /1102/ to await death with open eyes, without fear and alarm. Hyades (p)-328 expresses himself conservatively and merely says: "They have little fear of death" /translated from French/, but this is admitting too much. Bridges (1)-34 expresses himself more accurately: "They feared death because of the suffering and misery attending it and because it was the end of life" /tried in English/. Certainly, everyone clings to life and loves it very much, for that reason also the threats of Wonaimihwa of an untimely death have a sure effect on the individual's conduct. As soon as he sees there is no escape, however, he submits at once without complaint. One never hears a person regretting that he must depart from this life, although he knows nothing about the new form of existence which he is entering.

In earlier centuries, as in most recent times, almost all Yamana died a natural death. Fatal accidents were exceptions and murder even more so. It has been shown that epidemics have wrought havoc in the Indian population only since their closer association with Europeans. Except for children's deaths, the greater majority of Yamana succumb to old age. "Old people die because they are old!" Although in this case the Indians place more emphasis on the natural process as something they take for granted, nevertheless they do not completely forget that Wonaimihwa causes death.

The indications of approaching death usually appear suddenly. If a person feels his strength leaving him, he stretches out on his miserable pallet and informs those present of his condition. They immediately take it into account, and from then on the nearest relatives stay close to him in order to observe the course of events. In such a situation death usually follows within a few hours. Strangely enough they make no effort to relieve the dying person by attending him, but squat around the fire, apparently quite indifferent. The person himself does not want or demand anything, for he rapidly becomes weaker. Actually the people present are waiting for a quick end and do not watch the dying one closely because they know they cannot help him. When the

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763 death rattle begins, they audibly start to moan and weep. This development almost always ends quickly.

The news has of course immediately spread to the nearest 763 huts. The neighbors remain quiet. They talk in subdued voices 152 among themselves and cease any work that might be disturbing. The longer this continues, the more silent, thoughtful, and sad they become. The reminder of death in the immediate neighborhood makes every Yamana serious. The neighbors, through messengers, keep other people in a wide area informed about the course of events. They are prepared /1103/ to appear at the place of mourning at the proper moment. It is not customary among the Yamana for many people to gather around the dying person. Distant relatives and neighbors arrive only after death has occurred. Every dying person, however, wants his intimate family to be with him during his last hours (41).

> 41. As Bridges (i):14 expresses it: "at the last closing scene all friends and relations were expected to be present and to make the occasion important by their united lamentations. It was a great gratification to the sick to have their friends around them and so much honour showing them" /cited in English/.

The nearest relatives of the dying person, however, observe him closely enough so that they can estimate when the actual death struggle will commence. The poor soul is by then already unconscious or at least insensible. Now the people standing around begin their loud weeping and pitiful moaning. They scream and lament as though in despair over the departure of this relative. They do not utter definite words, but constantly repeat their long drawn-out weeping and moaning cries, varying them in intensity and pitch and shedding copious tears at the same time. They get up and crouch down, or they throw themselves on top of the dying one and roll on the ground with dreadful contortions of their entire bodies. They can usually tell quickly and accurately when death is setting in, whereupon they cry out so shrilly and shriekingly that

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763 one's blood curdles. Some of them behave uncontrollably, like
152 lunatics, and tear the skin all over their bodies, rumple their hair, thrash about wildly, cramp themselves up and roll over the body, shake the hut framework, and scatter the fire with their hands, completely beside themselves. It is only when they are exhausted that they completely collapse, trembling all over. It is shattering to watch such individuals. The others present also behave in a very excited and wild fashion. Weeping and groaning, they bend their bodies, repeatedly clutch their hair, and pull it angrily while a stream of tears flows unhindered down their cheeks to the ground. The shrill cry has told the waiting neighbors of the dying person's release; weeping and lamenting, they hasten there (42).

42. Bove (e):159 is the only one who reports on this and only briefly: "The last moments of a dying person are announced by a dreadful wailing; all who are present take part in the grief of the family. Women and men paint their faces and hands black and the nearest relatives even pull out their hair and cut their bodies with shells and knives."

763 There is little difference in the procedure when a person is
134 released from a long illness by death. His relatives have carefully observed his condition and discussed it with neighbors and visitors. The sick person was obliged to remain in one place almost continuously with one or another of his nearest relatives; friends occasionally came to inquire about his condition and to bring him food or things he could use. Meanwhile /1104/ his strength deserts him. Those who have taken care of him are exhausted after watching him suffer for a long time. The nearer death comes, the more irritable and impatient they become, so that when the death struggle actually begins they behave as though they were completely mad. The suffering and agony that they have had to see their beloved relative endure have lasted too long. If the death struggle is considerably prolonged and if a person finally loses control of himself, it does not seem at all impossible

/1104 cont./

763 that he might strangle the dying one in order to release him from
734 the death agony (p. 944). Loud, shrill cries announce the end to the neighborhood, and people arrive without delay. I myself witnessed the two cases just described.

Fatal accidents are not uncommon. A whole family may
731 be taken if a canoe capsizes. A few men drag the body of a per-
766 son who has drowned or fallen from a rock into his hut if it is not too far away. Otherwise, if the men are far from their families on a cormorant hunt, they bury the victim then and there and hasten to bring the news quickly to the family.

The demonstrations of mourning begin while a person is
763 dying and immediately afterwards. All the neighbors assemble in
152 front of the hut of the deceased or inside and start a loud, irregular moaning. Copious tears flow from grief and sincere sympathy. Everyone is again vividly reminded of Wataníelwa who has taken this person away. As was learned earlier from Bridges (a):206: "When a person is very ill and likely to die, great grief is shown, and the near relatives keep near, so as to act as mourners at the decease of the sick. They show much grief, and when the sick actually dies great lamentation is made, and the mourners weep profusely" /cited in English/.

2. The Burial

764 There is a remarkable number of reports, most of them brief,
114 however, about the way our Fuegians treat the corpse. The dying one has scarcely ceased breathing when the persons present bury themselves over him. As Bove (e):159 says, this time accurately: "They wrap the body of the deceased, which is still almost warm in a few rags." They use large pieces of leather and nowadays also scraps of sacking. Usually they leave the body in the position it assumed at death. The entire sheath is fastened and tied with strips of leather which are tightly wrapped around it in various directions (43). This happens in any case; "the dead are always

43. Hyades (q):379 says briefly that "the body is wrapped in some old skins of otter or seal; it is then buried"; Lovisato

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(b):147 and Dabbene (b):193 say the same.

wrapt up in skins either when buried or burned" /cited in English/, as Bridges (a):206 confirms. Nowadays the /1105/ body is straightened out and the arms are placed at the sides, because burial in the ground is now the exclusive custom. The eyelids are not closed nor is the lower jaw lifted to close the mouth. The face is quickly covered with the shroud used for the entire body which is neither decorated nor ornamented. The corpse of a yékamuf, however, is specially treated; at least the face is painted and the customary feather ornament is wound around the forehead.

A few allusions and specific statements by old people leave no doubt that formerly cremation was more common and perhaps even the exclusive custom. This is confirmed by several travelers and missionaries (44). Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869), for example, states in so many words and without any qualification: "The dead are generally burnt to ashes" /cited in English/. It may be that this custom predominated chiefly in individual districts, for quite early Bridges (VP:XI, 259;1864) asserts that in the Wulaia region cremation was "the usual way of disposing of their dead" /cited in English/. It is not correct, however, to say that cremation is restricted to the yékamus (45). Nevertheless a few

44. Only the following will be mentioned: Bove (e):159, Bridges (a):206, (c):332, and (h):209, Despard (b):698, Hyades (f):585, (p):332, and (q):378, Outes (g):56, Spegazzini (a):168, and Spencer:74. Not a single one of these men definitely asserts that he personally witnessed a cremation.

45. Despard (b):698 was the only one to surmise this and gives the following reason: "Possibly to make sure that they may never return to trouble survivors, since in their life-time these practioners have been ever

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active in mischief" /cited in English/. In this instance he (VP:VI, 129;1859) relied altogether on the uncertain accounts of J. Button.

older reports admit that both types of interment were simultaneously known and used, for example, Stirling (VSA:XI, 198;1864) and Despard (b):696. At first Bridges (s):206 says: "Adult persons both male and female when they die are burned shortly after by the nearest male relatives, but sometimes (especially the females) are buried. Little children are generally buried when they die" /cited in English/. Later he writes: "Usually they bury their dead, but often they are burned." I know of no other place where it is said that they differentiated between adults on the basis of sex for cremation; in fact, local conditions were decisive for both sexes alike. Outes (g):56 made a certain qualification which in this general form is surely unjustified. He says: "If the death came about as the result of a fight or murder, the corpse is generally not burned, but is abandoned" /translated from Spanish/. Finally Hyades (f):385 tried to find out "in what situation they preferred cremation. They often told me that their practice was always to burn the bones of interred natives after they had been buried a certain time, but surely cremation is sometimes swifter..." /translated from French/. These words even indicate interment twice, for which there is absolutely no certain proof. Most of my aged /1106/ informants had experienced actual cremations. Under the influence of missionaries and European settlers this custom quickly had to give way to burial, which has been done exclusively for the last few decades. During the years when Bove (s):110 was traversing the south the following was still applicable: "Formerly the dead were burned, but nowadays this rarely occurs." According to my investigations, cremation was not the exclusive custom in olden times, but it was universal and predominant.

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Not one of the authors mentioned above has described the procedure of burning a corpse. I, too, must rely on the accounts of my Indians who gave me the following description. The corpse, which is wrapped in a large piece of leather and tightly

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764 bound with cord, is dragged out of the hut by a few men from among the close relatives. They take it to the nearest thicket or into the nearby woods. Here they lay it on a low bushy shrub with spreading branches. Smoldering sticks are pushed into the shrub and dry logs leaned against it. They fan it rapidly with leafy twigs, and in a few minutes the flames leap up. Usually after a short time the burned bush collapses. Then the burning corpse is covered with greater quantities of wood. The men alone do this first part, while the girls and women are obliged to fetch firewood incessantly and to keep the fire burning brightly until all the bones have been destroyed beyond recognition. Coarse sand or earth from the forest floor is dragged to the place with sticks or oars and scattered over the remaining small heap of ashes of the extinguished pyre. Finally the spot is covered with brush and fallen branches. After a few months it no longer is discernible. While this is going on, other people from the neighboring huts stand around the fire, watch the procedure, weep loudly, and sing their tálauwaia. A cremation does not take place on the open beach because the traces of it could not be quickly and completely eradicated. The corpse was laid upon a strong, thick shrub because igniting it is much easier than kindling a fire on the ever-damp forest floor.

766 Even in regions where cremation was preferred over burial, the body of a child was customarily buried in the ground. I was told: One man alone took this corpse and carried it into the forest where he quickly made a shallow hole in the ground and covered the body with earth and brush. This work was easy and not troublesome; the grave only required scratching away a bit of loose forest earth with a stick. Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869) also emphasizes that, in contrast to the burning of adult bodies, "young children are frequently buried" /cited in English/.

767 At all such cremations it was an absolute rule that the mourners left the spot only after the large bones of the corpse /1197/ had crumbled to fine dust in the strong heat and the scene of the fire had been made unrecognizable. They continued their weeping in the huts until far into the night. It is noteworthy, and contrary to the general conception of the Yamana, that every man and woman who helped in any way at the cremation received a gift [931] from the relatives of the deceased. This was by no means something that had belonged to the deceased, as a memento, for

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764 [431] example; rather, the relatives themselves gave something that must be regarded as recompense for work performed and as a token of the gratitude of the survivors for this service of love. The strong incentive that led our Fuegians to burn the corpse of every adult was the fear that animals, especially rats, otters, dogs, and foxes, would devour it or gnaw at it (46). The thought of the

> 46. There is no basis for the fear that "strangers to the tribe" might "make harpoon points out of the bones," as Krickeberg:322 maintains.

disgusting habits of those animals made them shudder, and they wanted to make sure that the bodies would not be desecrated. Other reasons mentioned by one traveler or another are not valid. Hyades (p):332, for example, writes: "Sometimes [the dead] are burned, especially when death has taken place far from the habitual residence of the family" /translated from French/.

764 114 The following reports must also be clarified. On March 9, 1864, Stirling (VSA:XI, 198;1864) landed with his company on Isla Button. He sums up in the following words what he observed there: "Here is the funeral pyre on which the body of one of Macoallan's brothers was recently burned. Here the wigwam, or framework of branches, where for a day the body lay in state. The body of James Button [who had died shortly before] has not yet been burned: it is merely interred. The return of his brother from Keppel Island has been waited for, and now the remains will be submitted to the flames. This information is given to us in a subdued voice by Ookokko [who took part in this round trip]" /cited in English/. Hyades (c):142 generalizes this assertion (47).

> 47. He says: "The Fuegians do not have a funeral rite; they inter the body near their dwelling at a shallow depth and later burn the bones" /translated from French/.

One might deduce from these words that after a temporary burial the body is taken out of the grave and burned. This surmise is completely erroneous and neither Stirling nor Hyades was reliably

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informed. The simple fact is that any human bones which have in any way become exposed after burial are consigned to the fire for complete decomposition. Spencer:74 may well appear as a witness for the cremation of bodies, but he is mistaken in his reasoning: "Old woman says that in olden times bodies were burned, which agrees with remnants of large fires met with in deeper parts of old middens, three and four and five feet down, where also are no shells, or very few, and only calcined light-coloured earth" /cited in English/. The ashes in the lowest layers of the shell mounds are known to be remnants of hut fires which, of course, only later were /1108/ built on a layer of mussel shells (p.356). This does not contradict the fact that some corpses were buried in shell mounds.

Besides the burning of the bodies of adults in ancient times, burial in the ground was also customary, at least for children and possibly also now and then for adults. Fitz-Roy (a):181 credits all the water nomads of the Fireland Archipelago with it (48) and

> 48. He asserts: "When a person dies, his family wrap the body in skins, and carry it a long way into the woods; there they place it upon broken boughs, or pieces of solid wood, and then pile a great quantity of branches over the corpse" /cited in English/.

there is also no lack of witnesses for it from more recent times. Lovisato (b):148 certainly deserves assent when he says that "the burial of corpses in that tribe dates from the time of the Ushuaia Mission" /translated from Italian/, in contrast to cremation as a "custom also practiced today by some, but very rarely, and doggedly combatted by the missionaries" /translated from Italian/. Actually, with the coming of Europeans, cremation, which formerly was almost universal, gave way to burial in the ground exclusively. It is inaccurate to maintain that the Indians traveled to certain places solely for this purpose. According to Bridges (a):206, to whom Lovisato (b):147 refers, "small islands are preferred for burying-places, as there are no foxes to disturb the dead...Sometimes also the dead are buried at the foot of cliffs among the rocks,

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764 in places safe from foxes" /cited in English/. The Yamana would
114 not take so much trouble; they customarily bury a corpse not far from the hut.

764 Soon after death the body is wrapped in pieces of leather or in strong scraps of leather and bound with long leather strips. Only occasionally is it placed on short poles which are also enclosed in the wrapping, the body being stretched out in this case. Several men who offer their services are occupied with all this for about an hour, while the rest of the people present sigh and weep. Then they lift up the body, each one putting his arm over it and pressing it against his hip, and carry it to the place agreed upon. According to my personal observation, four men arrange themselves around the corpse, two on either side. A few decades ago they chose a large shell mound. It is easy to dig a rather large hole in it with poles and oars, and the hole can be quickly and easily covered again. In recent times our Indians prefer to bury the corpse in a sandbank lying off the shore or in a low hill of coarse gravel. It is regularly laid in position on its back (48), which is

48. Only Spencer:62 maintains that the corpse is "always buried lying on back with head towards west" /cited in English/. There is no proof for this.

easy to arrange and maintain, and then covered with earth and gravel or with the mixture of sand and mussel shells. Now and then they insert a few short branches. They put a great many large stones over it to prevent dogs or predatory animals from getting at the body. If an animal should nevertheless succeed in doing so, /1109/ it is immediately killed, for the Yamana have a great aversion to seeing a corpse uncovered. Finally the spot is made to look exactly like the surroundings so as to be unrecognizable (50). Anyone

50. Hyades (g):33 has described the procedure of a burial somewhat more elaborately (cf. also Anuario Hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile, Vol. XI, p. 804; Santiago, 1889). It is briefly mentioned by Lavisato (b):147, Despard (b):630, Bridges (a):206, (b):208, and Spegazzini (a):188.

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765 who knows about it avoids it out of anxious fear. Other people, not the nearest relatives, accompany or assist the men who bury the corpse. When they have finished their work, they quietly and unobtrusively rejoin those who have gathered in a hut and are loudly mourning.

766 As has been said, as soon as death occurs, immediate preparations for burial are made unless one must await the coming dawn because of the darkness of the night. In exceptional cases the body is interred in a small cave nearby or in the cavity of a rock if there is earth or gravel available to cover it. Even in our day the corpse has been destroyed in the hut fire. If, for instance, a married couple were all alone in some spot and the husband died, and other people, although notified by the customary triple smoke signal, could not get there quickly because of high waves, the surviving wife would be obliged to make the best of it. Without any special preparation of the corpse, she would drag it into the hut fire and pile brush and firewood on top of it. Soon the flames would leap so high that the hut itself would catch fire. The woman would keep the fire going until the corpse was completely destroyed. The same thing was done if the path into the forest was blocked or the customary burial in the ground was in any way prevented. The concern of the survivors is always to do away with the corpse without delay, and even a person by himself is able to do that.

767 768 Among the Yamana, just as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 102), it has been customary from ancient times to destroy all the possessions of the deceased, by consigning them to the flames, throwing them into the sea, or placing the individual pieces in the grave with the corpse. Bridges (y):201 confirms that the deceased's "property is either cast into the sea or burned" /tried in English/, and Bove (z):159 adds: "In the grave of a man, they bury pieces of harpoons, spears, slings, etc., and with a woman, nets and fishing gear." These things are in no way meant as actual burial accessories; the survivors are guided solely by the desire to destroy in one way or another everything that belonged to the deceased. That is why it is a matter of course for them "to burn the hut of the deceased, which was his last abode, and to leave the area for some time," to repeat Bove's (z):159 words.

/1110/ Directly after the burial, as soon as their own things have been brought to safety, the widower or the widow usually sets fire to the hut, "setting fire to the grass and bushes of the neighbourhood" /cited in English/ (Bridges [i] :1). The meaning of this is that the survivors want to "do all they can to blot out all remembrance of the departed" /cited in English/, according to Bridges (VSA XI, 259,1954). There should be nothing to remind them of the great loss they suffered when that beloved person was taken away from them. This is especially true of parents and children, as well as of spouses. Many a person behaves like one demented and, in his excitement, does not even shy from sacrificing indispensable objects of his own. The individual articles need not be burned, since everything is indiscriminately destroyed. The surviving spouse even destroys the canoe if there is a prospect of fleeing from this place of death in another vessel. The canoe is regarded as the personal field of activity of the wife, and it would constantly remind the surviving husband of her. A mother is particularly ruthless with all the little things used by her deceased child. She furiously burns articles of clothing, toys, little baskets, and other things into the fire. She, too, feels as though she must leave the hut when she sees the empty places where her child ate, slept, and played. For a long time the parents are haunted by the bitterest sorrow. If a father whose daughter has been snatched away by death is lucky in hunting, he carefully examines his spoils. He abandons female birds and sea lions because they remind him of his daughter. A hunter who mourns a dead son acts similarly: he takes only the female animals of those he has killed and throws the males into the sea. Our Yamana have a specific name for the animals that a grieving man puts aside in memory of his deceased child: čiyellijara, which is perhaps related to čiyelli čiyelle in SD:129. The dog is the sole exception. Out of pity, and also because he is particularly valuable, they do not want to kill him. Hence he is given to the older son, brother, or a relative of the deceased.

Anyone who has helped at a burial and in the destruction of the possessions of the deceased is rewarded with gifts from the nearest relatives who dispense them voluntarily (p. 1050). Bridges (ib:256) has already pointed out that "liberal presents are made to those who assist at the burning or the burial" /cited in English/.

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768 Hyades (p):335 and (q):379 interprets this custom erroneously: "The heir divides among the friends of the deceased what belonged to the latter, as though the nearest relatives did not wish to draw any kind of profit from the death of one of them" /translated from French/. The idea of bequeathing the possessions of a deceased person to others is unfamiliar to our Fuegians. Rather, they emphasize that only the owner personally has a right to them, and therefore the belongings of anyone who has departed this life must be destroyed. BD:127 gives čiyellīara, /1111/ "to give away things specially those left by the dead, as a sign of sorrow for the dead, as near relatives were expected to do to those who were not connected by kin with the dead" /cited in English/. This statement, which in part is inaccurate, is valid only to the extent I have just indicated; I refer to the meaning of čiyellīara, which I obtained from present-day Yamana.

766 All the Indians are especially brisk in dealing with the corpse of a yākamuł; almost without exception it is burned. His tools and utensils are placed upon the fire from the start, and while the flames are consuming everything, the people present also toss in all kinds of things that they happen to have at hand, such as small baskets, ornaments, tools, and so forth. They want to show their esteem for the yākamuł and also that they are ruthlessly depriving themselves of even their own indispensable utensils and implements.

3. Minor Manifestations of Sorrow

152 Since our Fuegians do not know anything about the fate of souls after death and regard the separation from them as a state that will last forever, each death causes them untold sorrow. This is so sincere and so deeply felt that in this respect they surpass many Europeans. Not everyone who has traveled through those regions has had an opportunity to convince himself of this, since our Indians conceal their grief from strangers. I was a witness to it several times and can also rely on corresponding reports of missionaries. Bove (e):188, who does not even mention that he personally observed a funeral, nevertheless, and perhaps for that very reason, speaks of their "indifference toward the dead. The cries they utter, the way

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152 they beat themselves, the destruction of the hut in which the deceased breathed his last are reflections of custom more than true expressions of grief." Nevertheless, he admits that "there really are persons who feel the loss very deeply." All doubt is removed by the conduct of parents whose child has been torn from them by death. Now and then they actually behave as though they had taken leave of their senses. According to Hyades (g):20 the "loss of children is in general deeply felt and often the French [of the Mission Scientifique] saw the features of the savages cloud over and the women even burst into weeping and lamentation if there happened to be a reference to such a death." Spegazzini's (a): 168 observation alone shows what every Fuegian mother goes through when she must part from the lifeless body of her child (51).

152 766

51. He writes: "I have seen a young woman whose child had died take the corpse and go to the woods where the little body, cleaned and curiously painted, after having been pressed to her bosom several times, was wrapped in fox skins and enclosed in a framework of twigs, which she immediately buried under the leaves of a tree. Upon leaving she cast a look at the place where her little one was, one of those looks that would require a whole book to be explained and whose meaning could be appreciated only by a mother similarly stricken" /translated from Spanish/. Before that Fitz-Roy (a):179 had learned: "Matthews sometimes heard a great howling, or lamentation, about sun-rise in the morning; and upon asking Jemmy Button what occasioned this outcry, he could obtain no satisfactory answer; the boy only saying, 'people very sad, cry very much.' Upon one occasion when some canoes were alongside the 'Beagle,' a sudden howl from one of the Fuegians aroused several others who were near, and at the opposite side of the vessel, when a general howl of lamentation took place, which

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was ended by a low growling noise. By this, as well as by pulling their hair, and beating their breasts, while tears streamed down their faces, they evinced their sorrow for the loss of some friends who had perished, some days before the 'Beagle' 's arrival, by the upsetting of a loaded canoe" /Aired in English/.

15a Persons in particular /1111/ lose control of themselves and make loud and bitter accusations against Wesenindjwa, insult him, and swear revenge against him (p. 888). Sorrow breaks through uncontrolled among these compelled children of nature. The first utterance always exceeds all bounds, but the grief continues to be deeply felt for months and years and occasionally flares up in its initial violence. "The mourning lasts long, sometimes for two years, but it gradually becomes less, till the memory of the dead passes from the mind" /Aired in English/ (Bridges [a] :246).

While the dying person is still struggling with death, his nearest relatives are already weeping and howling. The strongest outbursts of their grief begins after life has departed. Loud, shrill cries are uttered at short intervals, and it seems as though each one is intended to surpass the other. Mixed in with them are uncontrolled howling and groaning by other persons. A loud and indescribable confusion of voices fills the little hut. The longer it lasts, the more neighbors harass there, and some stays away. Everyone squats on the ground, and sometimes they sit pressed so closely together that they can scarcely move. Once I even saw them remove the hut fire because of lack of room. Everyone present wants to be as close to the body as possible, at least to be inside the hut. Long hours are filled with whimpering and sighing, howling and lamenting. While this is going on, a few men begin wrapping the corpse in pieces of bandage. While it is being dragged out of the hut, the howling reaches its loudest and wildest pitch. The behavior of the persons present clearly shows their feeling that the deceased is now departing forever. They writhe with pain, throw themselves on the ground and get up again, wave their arms about wildly and full of despair, and clench one another as though they would tear each other apart. This continues

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TAP 150 for hours with tireless persistence, although the loud lamentations increase and diminish. Meanwhile the corpse has been buried. If it is buried, the howling and crying does not by any means cease while this is going on.

No matter how the corpse has been removed, it is only under /1112/ the compulsion of complete exhaustion that the neighbors who are not close to the deceased inconspicuously leave. After the hut of the dead person has been destroyed by fire, his nearer relatives crowd in elsewhere. Here they continue their lamentation for many more hours, headless of the night which has perhaps long since fallen. This stimulates the neighbors to resume their role of laments. For at least 10 hours after the soul's departure there is never an interval of complete quiet; the graves or hand tunnels of widows continue without pause. Even on the second and third day those who are nearest to the deceased barely interrupt their howling now and then for brief pauses, and the other people often fall in with them for two or three hours. All this depends on the disposition of the individual and on a number of incalculable motives. Almost all the adults become quite perceptibly exhausted. As though crushed, as though overwhelmed by grief, everyone remains in his hut almost without interruption. Now and then a person goes to those who have been directly affected by the misfortune, remains near them at least two hours, and weeps with them, as is demanded by sympathetic concern, according to the ideas of our Tungiaan. Out of the same consideration everyone must remain mild and quiet, even at a considerable distance from the mourning family. Even children may not talk loudly or laugh.

TAS 150 For the first few days after a death has occurred all is very quiet in the entire camp. It was simply impossible for me to get people in front of the phonograph and the camera during this brief period. They rejected all my urging, which they interpreted as a violation of their innermost feelings, with the decisive words: "We are now in mourning!" Then they told me, rarely and clearly, that they were simply unavailable for other matters.

TAS 200 The custom of announcing a death without delay by means of signal fires has been discussed (p.[illegible]). These thick clouds of smoke are sent up close together, which are chiefly meant to call other families to come quickly and help the family that has been

/[illegible] cons./

[illegible] 202 [illegible] [illegible] by death and is sometimes in a difficult position. The duty to give unselfish aid which burns silently in everyone's soul, especially at the sight of the universally recognized strike signal, compulsively drives them to the scene of misfortune. The consumers themselves appreciate it very much if every tribal member uses answer their summons.

After the initial, very lively outburst have somewhat abated, the painful event drives all present away from the scene of the misfortune with uncanny force. Within four days or the outside, after the but of the deceased has been burned, the scenario is changed. Usually each of the families [illegible] which have experienced the death departs in a separate direction. So each family wishes to be by itself if possible so that the others will not constantly remind them of the event. The ethnometer particular mentioned this conduct which is common to both the Tamata and the Sulu bans (Vol. 1, 969) (32). Hyndes (pp.[illegible]) also informs

> 32. There is one exception only, which Bridges (Vol. III, 33-1963) furnished on November 10, 1864. In Wulaia the younger child of the well-known Ukalita died, and he immediately left this region. "For it is an unwritten act that the Fuegians will not, sometimes for a long time, return to the place where their relatives have died" /Freed in English/.

[illegible] this: "In general the bar in which a native died is burnd, and the place where it stood is abandoned for a long time by the friends of the deceased" /translated from French/. They, of course, way away from this place for a certain time, ad meanwhile it is abandoned by the blind forces of nature. If the grave or the burial place has become open-approachable as a result of plant growth or other circumstances, no one feels any reminiscence to settling down there.

[illegible] 55 [illegible] The [illegible] of never mentioning the name of he deceased is in accord with the effort they make not to be reminded in any way of the deceased. There are several witnesses for this. The first is Fitz Roy (pp.[illegible]) who was refer directly to Jemmy Button: "He would not talk of a dead person, saying, with a grave shake

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of the head, 'no good, no good talk; my country never omen: "The Fueguians do not even like to mention their deceased friends"; likewise Bridges (MM:III,119;1869): the name of those who have died "is not mentioned for years, and they seek to utterly forget them" /cited in English/. That is not all; according to Bridges (VSA:XI,150;1884), "the name of the dead is sacred for a long time after, and it is a great provocation to mention the name of the dead" /cited in English/ (53). In case a survivor has a name

53. Elsewhere he (a):196 reports: "The name of the dead is not mentioned to the mourners, as it is considered very offensive, and would endanger a person's life" /cited in English/. When, in March, 1884, Stirling (VSA:XI,103;1884) spent some time in the Wulaia region, he was asked "not to allude to the deceased by name; for the Fueguians, like the Patagonians and other Indians, bury in silence the names of the departed" /cited in English/. Further confirmation is found in Hyades (g):30 and (g):273, Lovisato (b):148, Spencer:101, and others.

which is identical with that of the deceased, he must give it up (54). For example, he will exchange the name taken from

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54. Not only the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 365), but also other tribes of North and South America follow this custom. We give here an example from the more recent times. H. Baldus, "Erbfolge der Häuptlinge bei den Tuxem" /Hereditary Succession of Chiefs among the Tuxem/ (Ethnologischer Anzeiger, Vol. IV, pp. 38-42, Stuttgart, 1936), reports of these Indians in the southern Matto Grosso: "If one of the parents dies, all the children of the family are given other names, so that the surviving parent is not reminded of the past by their former names and thereby saddened."

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his birthplace, according to the common custom, for the name of the place where he experienced his first youth initiation, or, in changing the name, they may take into consideration a striking physical peculiarity.

The nearest relatives of a deceased person are designated by a special term for some /1115/ time after his death, which is to let people know that they are in mourning. RD-104 gives [illegible], "a name given a boy instead of his usual name in respect to the recent dead, when both have the same name" /cited in English/; also, [illegible], "a name given the surviving female who bore the same usual name as a person lately dead" /cited in English/; and, finally, [illegible], "a term given to a place instead of its proper name in respect to the dead who was named after it" /cited in English/. These terms are still in use today and were explained to me with these same meanings. I was also given the word [illegible]. It refers to one who bears the same name as one who has deceased. It is not given in RD. After some time, when the changed name (55) has become common,

> 55. Spencer-90, 100 cites particular details. "'Kauk' is a berry now called 'Kraun.' Berry /berry?/ used to be called 'kauk,' but most of this name died, so changed name of berry.... 'Lappa,' mound, was name of man who died, now called 'Cachuing.' 'Tawalla' is name of man who died, so changed to 'Gnak'" /cited in English/.

this temporary designation is also dropped because it is no longer necessary (56).

> 56. The custom trait of not giving children proper names until late in life must be mentioned. With the prevailing high infant mortality, frequent mention of the name would constantly remind the parents of their loss. Since, as Bridges (x):276 realized, "it is considered evil to name the dead, if the

/[illegible]/
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child had no name the parents are not vexed by hearing it named" /cited in English/.

Now and then, of course, mention is made of a dead person, and the Tonaca resort to circumlocutions which they easily invent and comprehend. For instance, if parents use an expression such as "my first child" or "my younger daughter," the people present, who are well aware of the number of children these parents have, clearly understand. Spagnoli (p).168 also speaks of this custom (17). Fred Lawrence assured me that

> 17. In view of all this it is very strange that Cooper.145 could maintain: "The Tolgan prayer /prayed?/ to the deceased" /cited in English/. The Tonaca do, of course, often remember their dead and remove them on the occasion of a general funeral ceremony, but without mentioning their names.

within a period of a few years he was twice given another name by the natives. Now one and then another person who died had the same name he did. It must be pointed out here how difficult research becomes as a result of the Tonaca custom of not speaking of deceased persons. I was told that a certain Filañiñone from the Williams Islands murdered five men who had lived there in the manner of the Salitaria. He alone knew about their way of life and briefly reported it to his countrymen. The latter, however, refused to repeat this information and excused themselves by saying: "We do not speak about the deceased, respect he does demands this (18)."

> 18. Dyeden (p).50 also mentioned this great disadvantage: "They avoid speaking of their dead ancestors as much as possible and it is particularly difficult to get them to mention their names, which, of course, makes historical accounts almost impossible."

/1115 cont./

765 Since our Fangwe are very dependent on everything visual,
302 actual outward signs of mourning are so low important for them. /1116/ Body painting is of primary importance. It is absolutely demanded -- and no one would be guilty of negligence in this respect -- that anyone who learns of the death must paint himself in some way. A person chooses the particular pattern he wears, but he must paint himself. This is the way one shows his participation in the event and his sympathy with those chiefly affected, and it is universally regarded as of primary importance. Even before death has set in, everyone present reaches for a small piece of charcoal, crushes it between his hands, and rubs the powder over his whole body. As soon as the dull emery from the lot of the dying person announces that he has expired, everyone in the neighboring huts immediately rubs his face with charcoal dust in the same manner. If a canoe approaches the coast and its occupants wear the decoration of mourning, the people on shore do not await its arrival and the message, but paint themselves without delay and, thus prepared, hasten toward the new arrivals from whom they hear the news. Everyone who receives news of a death from whatever source must immediately paint himself in some way.

The nearest relatives of the deceased always apply only the dry charcoal powder all over their bodies. They rub it into their faces several times a day, usually at times when their sorrow wells up more acutely. In their excitement they are not particular about distributing the color evenly. Irregular stripes and large spots cover their faces and bodies, and they look frightfully ugly. This appeals to them. For many days they must paint themselves anew each morning, most after they awaken and before they eat anything. They also immediately commence their song of mourning, which they accompany with loud weeping. This occupies the period roughly between four and six o'clock. Some people regularly begin their day in this manner for many months after the death of their relative, and this incessant manifestation of mourning has a distressing effect on all the people in the neighboring huts. During the day, of course, they also maintain the customary body painting for the deceased.

There are, however, some mourners who after about three weeks begin to take some pains with their facial painting and do it

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more carefully. Their favorite pattern is nonsymmetrical. They rub half the face with red pigment, the other half with black, the color having first been mixed with blubber. With the nails of the four fingers they scratch thin lines into this even layer from the eyelids across the cheeks to the edge of the jaw bone. These lines are supposed to indicate the paths of the many tears, as though they had washed the color away.

It is the general practice, then, for the nearest relatives of the deceased, as well as all the friends and neighbors, to rub dry charcoal dust all over the body /1117/ during the days immediately following death. A few women are satisfied to paint only their heads and the upper part of their bodies. Some of the men go further, however, and draw a white, arched line a hand's breadth wide from one shoulder to the other; others add to this pattern by drawing a similar vertical line from the throat to the navel. All this applies to the nearest relatives, who regularly follow the above style, whereas other people are free to choose any kind of pattern. On their faces they usually apply white or red dots, crosshatching, and lines in all kinds of arrangements on the black background (59). This type of body painting is used

59. This practice can be illustrated by a small group of mourners whom Aspinall (Mid:XXII, 191:1885) observed on May 31, 1885. "When we arrived they were all painted, and, on asking the cause, we found that on the morning of our arrival a canoe had upset and two children were drowned. The nearest relatives had their faces quite black, the chief friends had streaks of red radiating from the eyes over the cheeks, while one woman, to tell the cause of death, had two lines of white drawn from ear to ear across the bridge of the nose, with white spots between of graduated sizes from the nose to the ears" /cited in English/.

when the death was caused by illness or old age; in itself it means a natural death (60).

60. This is probably the reason that other

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observers quite generally call black the color of mourning. Hyades (g):39, for example, writes: "They also wear outward signs of mourning, black body painting."

In addition, particular drawings are used to indicate any kind of violent death. If a person has fallen from a cliff or from a tree, one first of all rubs his face with fine powdered charcoal and over that paints three vertical white lines, namely, from the bridge of the nose to the tip and on down from the mouth to the chin, and on both sides of the face from the outer corners of the eyes over the cheek bones and down to the edges of the jaw. These marks are separated by a white cross-stripe over the eyes and nose to complete the pattern. There is another somewhat more complicated design. First, a black background is put over the whole face. Over it, on one side of the face beginning at the eye, three white vertical lines are drawn to the edge of the jaw and a fourth stripe from the bridge of the nose to the tip of the chin. The other half of the face remains uniformly black or has three white cross-stripes from the corner of the mouth, the nostril, and the outer edge of the eye. The white lines, which symbolize the cliff or the tree, are sometimes also applied on a black background. Now and then the three cross-stripes are made with a mixture of white lime and black powdered charcoal stirred up with blubber. This last procedure is almost regularly used by the messengers who spread the news of the accident. Others recognize from afar the substance of their report.

/1118/ A considerable number of Yamana die by drowning. In order to announce this type of death the people mix white and black pigments and rub the mixture over the lower part of the face down to the mouth. This gray mixture resembles the slimy sediment on the sea floor with which the mouth of a drowned person is filled. In addition, they put a strip of skin with white down [301] feathers around their foreheads, which indicates the foam-crested waves in which the unfortunate one was drowned. The painted area which extends down to the mouth and not beyond is meant to show that a great deal of water entered the mouth (61). Sometimes

61. Bridges (MM:X, 80;1875) mentions that

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this type of accident is characterized by a special painting, but he does not describe it in detail: "By and by a company of Eastern arrived, they brought sad news; a canoe had been lost, with a large number of persons on board, among whom was the uncle and brother of this young fellow. He was very much troubled, yet mourned and grieved quietly. All those who came, and were in any way related to any of the lost party, had their faces painted in imitation of the waves of the sea, and all here, similarly circumstanced, did the same. This is their way of mourning and noted events" /cited in English/.

As "a sign of mourning for a drowned child," Aspinall:270 saw among the people of Wollaston "red lines on the faces of the men, as well as a dark cross-band with light dots on the faces of the women." This was merely common painting, not typical of this accident. Lovisato (b): 147 referred to specific kinds of painting for the various causes of death and probably based his statement on Bridges (i): 14, who clearly says: "There were regular systems of painting by which the nature of the death of the departed was indicated. Thus, for death by drowning the pattern was black bands with white edges, if by violence it was black or red with white spots, if natural a plain black" /cited in English/.

they also paint the upper half of the face a uniform black and add white cross-stripes close together or rows of dots. These horizontal lines are meant to indicate that the victim sank deeper and deeper which caused the rising water level to make

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765 successive marks above the mouth.
302 Now and then a murder is committed. The friends and relatives of the unfortunate one call attention to it by means of several vertical red lines on the face, which radiate out from the level of the eyes. They set out to find the culprit and gather helpers to expiate the crime. They want to make it visible from afar that this is their intention. The straight red lines indicate the paths marked by the flowing blood. If this occasions combat (p. 901), the relatives and friends uniformly paint their entire bodies black, while the opponents paint themselves red. Each of these two groups paints the same color on their weapons and clubs.

Our Yamana do not by any means strictly adhere to these particular decorations. They often give in to momentary whims. One afternoon at a common funeral rite I saw that all the people present had followed the request of an old man /1119/ and painted half the face a uniform black while the other half was covered with fine vertical red lines, the former indicating an ordinary death a few weeks before, the latter as a reminder of a murder long ago. Actually, it is incumbent on the nearest relatives to apply the painting that indicates the specific cause of death, but just as they may disregard this and choose another type, so also may the friends and people less close to them adopt the latter. I was also told of the rule that the nearest relatives of the deceased must rub their faces and the upper part of their bodies to the navel with a uniform layer of dry charcoal dust, and that the neighbors and friends cover their entire bodies with vertical black lines set close together, with rows of white dots running over them and beside them. Actually, however, this ancient pattern is found only occasionally nowadays, and people limit it to the face alone. In more recent times, however, almost everyone as a rule wraps the strip of skin with down feathers around his forehead. A corpse is never painted, as has already been mentioned; only the corpse of a yékamuf is thus distinguished, as will be explained later.

Whereas the paintings described above have been preserved to this day, the tonsure of mourning, which was a general custom in former times has been abolished. Long ago Bridges (b):209 mentioned that "they were obliged to cut the hair on the crown of their

/1119 cont./

765 heads as a sign of mourning" /translated from Spanish/. On the
302 day when a death occurred, the women and children, not so often the men, had the hair on the top of their heads shaved with a mussel shell. Only a wide wreath of hair was left around the head. Thus, "for some time the hair on the crown of their head was shorn like a tonsure," as Hyades (g):20 and (p):330 expresses himself. The head was shaved only once; after that the hair was allowed to grown in freely. A man who wore this tonsure was called kēpikun, a woman, kēpikipa. BD:175 also gives this last word exactly as it is given here, but the first one somewhat differently. The Selk'nam (Vol. 1, 556) have followed this custom more faithfully. Since Europeans have permanently settled in those regions, our Indians do not want to be conspicuous with a large tonsure and content themselves with cutting the hair all around their heads at the level of the ear lobes. They have recently given up even this symbol of mourning. The Yamana repeatedly assured me that formerly everyone took pains with the proper large tonsure of mourning. In recent times they all tie the strip of skin with down-feathers, apawūra, around their heads instead.

765 Finally, a person who has been particularly affected by a death inflicts superficial wounds upon himself as a special expression of his sorrow. He takes sharp splinters of a mussel shell or a piece of slate and scratches first his arms and legs and then his chest until blood flows. /1120/ Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869), along with Hyades (q):379, Lovisato (b):147, and Spencer:104, asserts: "It is a common practice for the kindred to wound and cut themselves" /cited in English/. Nowadays among our Fueglans it is usually only the mother who inflicts such wounds upon herself when her child dies. Among the Selk'nam (Vol. 1, 556) many more people do this.

The hours immediately following the death of a relative or friend, during which the corpse is burned or buried, are filled with the shrill crying and pitiful howling of those present. After their feelings have been somewhat assuaged, more moderate songs of mourning replace the outcries. Other observers have made only fleeting references to them, for example, Hyades (q):379: "When the Fueglans learn of the death of a relative or friend, they immediately show their sorrow with great vehemence through tears

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765 and lamentations" /translated from French/. Bridges (MM:III, 119,1869) speaks of "long-continued mourning and incantation for the dead" /cited in English/. Earlier, Despard (VP:VIII, 179, 1861) reported: "Afternoon, Oolukko enlarged upon the many deaths that happen in 'my uncle country,' and then described some of the concomitants. Men come, many come, sing much. Hah yang how yi ya say. Hawa bye-gya swaticca loopen wuta wenewan...Cut face with finger nail, make blood rub over face, cut hair head top, put on red, make body here red, here black, white round legs, all same tie stocking. Cry much, water run down face, make lines in black, red. Our men cry very much" /cited in English/ (62).

> 62. Shortly before, in Beagle Channel, Despard (VP:VI, 111,1859) observed something similar: "We noticed one lady, with a face deepened to a fine black by charcoal, and were informed she was in mourning. Afterwards a wailing and a monotonous dirge proceeded from her ucer [hut], being her funeral wail for two men and a boy belonging to her family, who have recently died, somewhere along the Beagle Channel" /cited in English/.

765 152 As I know from my own experience, the nearest relatives of the deceased avoid all distracting occupations during the first three or four days, and they remain almost constantly in the dwelling. This is the period of strictest mourning, which they spend in incessant lamentation and scarcely take any nourishment. Crouched by the fire, they weep and howl incessantly. With sad faces and mournful voices they repeat in a very simple rhythm a most monotonous melody with meaningless words, such as awáj awáj or ówaici and others. When their agitation is great, their singing is louder and stronger; when they are exhausted, it subsides and becomes a monotonous murmur. Usually they move the upper part of the body gently back and forth or sideways with the rhythm. They roll their eyes, distort their faces, tear their hair, scratch slight wounds on their faces with their finger nails, and even throw

/1130 cont./

765 152 themselves flat on the ground and for a time behave as though they were mad. This need not surprise one, for after their continuous exertion they finally lose all self-control and mental power. It is possible that /1131/ this strange behavior has caused a person in strict mourning to be called hannúšun, or hannuškipa. BD:265 explains this as: "A man, woman like a hámuł, i.e., insane, senseless" /cited in English/.

The people from the neighboring huts join the strict mourners several times a day, not all at once, but irregularly and freely in individual groups. The latter are still vigorous, and they fall in with the singing of those present and stimulate them anew; hence the singing does not stop day or night. Even if all the families have left the scene of death after two to four days, the mourners soon begin their weeping again at the place where they erect their hut. They stimulate the new neighbors here to take part in their lamentation. At first they devote a great many hours to it, and fewer later on, but they continue it even after two and three years, although then only at longer intervals (63).

> 63. Hyades (q):379 agrees: "This great sorrow soon subsides; nevertheless the women nurse their grief for several months, repeating the scenes of tears and lamentations almost every day" /translated from French/.

It is customary to interject the well-known, ancient formulas of lament and the reproaches against Watauinčiwa into the singing (p.769). This is done not only by the nearest relatives, but also by friends and neighbors who happen to take part in this song of mourning. Everyone, of course, appears with one of the customary body paintings of mourning. It is the absolute duty of every adult Tamana to accompany for a few hours every day those mourners who are relieving their souls of grief through loud whimpering and groaning. This goes on day and night and arouses the sympathy of everyone in the neighboring huts.

If someone dies during a čiéxaus or kína and the participants hear of it, they, too, devote several days and many hours to the customary song of mourning. As Nelly Lawrence asserted, the western Tamana customarily inserted a ceremony of mourning

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/1121 cont./

769 resembling a yamalaĻemóina into each čiĻéxau celebration, even if no one had died meanwhile. During this ceremony they vividly remembered in particular those persons who in former years had taken a very active part in the affair. The other groups now and then imitated this custom. While it was going on, the participants, each to himself, thought about the deceased person whose loss was most painful to them, and they painted themselves to indicate the manner of his death. A true Yamana can never quite forget his dead, even though their names are no longer mentioned.

765 It has already been mentioned that for a few days the nearest relatives of a deceased person take almost no nourishment.
262 Their neighbors and friends generally follow their example, especially if a murder is being mourned. Formerly even children were made to fast, and everywhere there was strict quiet. In order to carry out all this undisturbed, /1122/ the mourners sometimes retired into the nearby woods and stayed there for a few days and nights, weeping and moaning beside an open fire. After that they returned to their dwellings. The women who told me this were unstinting in their admiration for the hardiness of their countrymen of former times and frankly confessed that they themselves lacked the strength and perseverance for such feats.

767 Although everyone willingly participates in a song of mourning, there is a type of wailing woman who may on occasion assist someone. A person will invite these women if he himself has no near relatives, for with the loss that death has inflicted upon him he feels his isolation all the more painfully. Shame also plays a certain role in the case of a person who clearly feels that the death he mourns is a punishment for wrongdoing and who is made conscious of it by others. During the first few days nature quite impetuously demands her rights and the mourner expresses his grief without restraint; later he is sometimes overcome by consciousness of his guilt. According to ancient custom, the lamenting, groaning, weeping, and singing must continue for several weeks. Sometimes distant relatives or friends chosen at random are given this duty. On occasion, as so-called arnēmutu tálawaja, they render an outstanding performance. Men also may do this, and they act on special invitation; indeed they are enlisted, so to speak, and receive some reward for their efforts. These so-called weeping women simply repeat the customary

/1122 cont./

767 monotonous melodies, and if they are tired they content themselves with humming a barely audible, continuous hăĭ hăĭ... on the same pitch. It is these weeping women in particular who again and again refer to Wataginĕ̄ĵwa and who ceaselessly repeat one or another of the ancient formulas of mourning. BD:653 gives yinĕ̄ĵa and yinĕ̄kĭpa with the meaning "mourner" /cited in English/; arăĭmuta tăĭagwaja has the special meaning "weeping women."

765 533 An attentive observer will note that the Yamana vividly and often recall their dead and that, as Bridges (c):322 tersely expressed himself, "mourning was strictly observed." Individual persons often gather together to sing songs of mourning, even when there has been no immediate death. The most common term for this is tăĭagwaja, or tăĭĭagwaja, which emphasizes the private, everyday, inconspicuous nature of the performance. Only a few persons join in a tăĭagwaja, namely, the relatives and their intimate friends. There are no special invitations, and no involved preparations are necessary. The simple painting of mourning and participation in the singing suffice for all. Thus a person who is seized with grief for his beloved dead initiates /1123/ a tăĭagwaja, and he can count on an immediate response from those close to him. BD:398 gives tellaaja, "being mourners or in mourning for the dead" /cited in English/. If tăĭagwaja also means a person who is mourning, it is clear that, like a deep groan, it is meant to point to the grieving person when it is repeated in the cries of lamentation addressed to Wataginĕ̄ĵwa. Usually it stands at the end of a prayer and a request, and it could be translated as: woe is me, I am in mourning, how sad I am, this is the reason for my sorrow, and so forth (p. 989). Now and then lōĭma takes the place of tăĭagwaja. Strictly speaking, the former is a song by means of which one gets in touch with any kind of spirit. A person who mourns the dead recalls their souls to his own memory, as it were; he feels that they are near, devotes all his attention to them, and once more is with them. An association with them such as people enjoy in everyday life, however, cannot take place. Hence the pain of separation from these soul-spirits gains the upper hand again, and that is what the grieving person, full of despair, puts into his lōĭma cry.

/1123 cont./

769 A certain group of travelers has notoriously emphasized that our Fuegians are not afraid of corpses. Hyades (g):30 maintains: "They seem not to have the slightest fear of death and of corpses"; he refers to a man who "opened the grave of his recently deceased wife for the French." He may be speaking here of the same matter that he (i):618 mentions elsewhere: "I still have only one skeleton. It is that of a woman about thirty years old, which I bought from her husband seven or eight days after her death" /translated from French/. One should not generalize from the behavior of an individual Indian. Shortly thereafter another Yamana with his two wives came to the mission in Ushuaia where Hyades happened to be staying and where he had established a small hospital. The Fuegian, despite a severe illness, refused to let himself be cared for there; "the reason for his refusal, not concealed, was the fear that he would suffer the same fate as the exhumed woman" /translated from French/. Lovisato (b):149, too, expresses his surprise that a certain "Fred did not show any aversion to selling the skeleton of his father" /translated from Italian/. Nevertheless, there was no lack of resistance, as Bove honestly admits in (b):107 and in (MM:XVII, 262;1883): "At first my request for human skeletons met with some remonstrance from the Fuegians, but Ococco, understanding what my object was in making a collection, successfully arranged this matter. Some of them sold me offhand the bones of their fathers" /cited in English/. According to my inquiries, Bove exhumed the skeletons only from the cemetery of the mission station at Ushuaia. Since, as is known, all the Indians who had lost a relative in death purposely avoided this station, it is probably understandable that, under pressure or for ample remuneration, this or that Fuegian who had no interest in the graves there helped Bove. The isolated behavior of a few, /1124/ however, does not disprove the fact that the Yamana show a decided timidity with regard to human remains and that those which are accidentally exposed by nature's blind forces are immediately destroyed by fire (64).

64. In Bove (e):159 one can read: "The ease with which Bove obtained skeletons is incompatible with the veneration for the dead which

/1124 cont./

769

Fitz-Roy, as well as the missionaries, praise them for. One of the men accompanying Bove even sold the skeleton of his own father to which he addressed the following speech: 'Farewell, precious father! You who in life saw only our snow and our storm, now that you are dead are going far away. Farewell! May your journey be happy!'"

Today we shake our heads at the boldness with which such fantastic descriptions could be set forth a few decades ago. The Lawrence brothers to whom I showed the account absolutely declared it to be a bold invention. Finally one must keep in mind that Bove would never have accumulated his considerable collection of skeletons and skulls if it had not been furnished him from the mission cemetery. He does not maintain that the scattered, scarcely recognizable individual graves outside were ever pointed out and opened for him.

It is well known that they wipe out every trace indicating the site of a grave (p. 1052).

765 A touching example of the sincerity of their grief for a de-
150 ceased person exists from olden times. On November 27, 1866, Despard met a one-eyed man in Beagle Channel and inquired about the cause of his misfortune. The man answered that because of a deceased person dear to him he had wept so much that one of his eyes ran out. "Man die, here ashore, be very sorry, cry very much, eye ran away in water all over cheek; yes, sir!" /cited in English./ Our Fuegians never forget the loved ones whom death has taken from them.

765 It is well known that the tilagwaia gives the Yamana a very
533 welcome opportunity to unburden their souls of all that oppresses them. While the main body of those present carries the customary melody in its monotonous uniformity, this or that person interrupts with a more or less long discourse, speaking of things which at the moment happen to affect his feeling and his mood. He is usually quite excited by it, as is shown by his lively, agitated

/1124 cont./

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expression. As a rule he speaks of sad memories and threatening fears. The words of one encourage another, and thus such interruptions follow one another in short intervals. In the following we shall give the valuable texts of two tálaywaja discourses, which were obtained in a somewhat unusual way. I had already recorded with the phonograph about 30 songs which are repeated on various occasions, but my effort to get a tálaywaja song had always failed. The people had coolly rejected my request with the remark: "How could we sing tálaywaja now, since no one has died!" When Fred Lawrence heard that I still lacked this piece, he asked his wife Sally to help me to get it soon. She declared herself willing to do so. After a few days, on March 20, 1937, she mentioned the names of two Indian women, Gertie and Peine, who wanted to perform the tálaywaja song that day. /1125/ They would expect a considerable reward, however. Making a quick decision, I agreed. Moreover, Fred Lawrence held out the prospect of a lovely present for them. The two women arrived about 11 o'clock in the large laundryroom of the work house on the farm in Punta Santolino where there was nothing to disturb us. I put the phonograph ready for the recording, but the women put me off: "Not yet, we are still not at all in the mood!" A considerable time passed in patient waiting. The two Fuegian women squatted on the ground, motionless and quiet, in deepest concentration and lost in their own thoughts. Finally around three o'clock they said: "Now tálaywaja can begin!" From their attitude and their remarks it was clear that they were very agitated and completely dominated by their thoughts of mourning. Coldiron was attentively ready to translate the individual sentences which broke out with strong feeling and violent emotion.

At first both of them began with a monotonous melody. After about ten minutes Gertie continued it alone, and Peine interjected with much emotion: "Ah, how pitiful is our state, to sing tálaywaja because these two [Gusinde and Koppers] are leaving us. They come from a people that is very numerous, but there are only a few of us. The few that are left of our people resemble a few little birds who by chance escaped the hunter. Watayinéjwa has taken away the good ones; he has left

/1125 cont./

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only the ugly and unattractive ones for the last days of the Yamana people. We, the good-for-nothing, the sick, have remained here to this day. We are kept alive by him, we who are weak, who are few in number. He deprived me of my children, indeed of my whole family. And the two sons I have left will probably also soon have to tread the same path (65) that the others trod

65. She means Sarmiento and Balfour, both of whom are in poor health; the latter had already been given up once during a serious illness.

earlier. My [distant] cousin [Nelly Lawrence] has also lost several relatives, but at least she still has a brother [Calderon] who is blessed with a large troop of children. But I am all alone and only that one distant relative [Nelly Lawrence] is still with me. This relationship is through another man and is very distant. Ah, woe is me, Hidahuan, you make me suffer a great deal, you have punished me severely! How numerous the people in the west [where Peine's home is] once were; just two or three of us remain. He has kept alive only a single one of my relatives from there, and in the end he will take her away, too."

After a brief pause Peine joined Gertie in the singing. Then Gertie spoke with great emotion: "These two [Gusinde and Koppers] have come here and they urge us to sing tálauwaja. Although we have not repeated this song for a long time, nevertheless the two desire to hear it. Hitherto Wataxinéwa has /1126/ forced us to sing tálauwaja on account of a death, now these two urge us. The Whites have generally assumed that tálauwaja is a pleasure for us. No, for us it is a sad song. If I were a man, I would suffer under the hard work which our men have to do in the forest, on the sea, and everywhere. But as a woman I am usually busy in the hut. If all my relatives should die, I would summon the courage to suffer like a man. I would also work and suffer as they do in the forest, on the sea, and everywhere. I would over-exert myself so that I, too, would eventually have to succumb. There are only a few women left among my relatives, the men of my kingroup have been taken away by 'the one-up-there.' I cannot measure up to the women of former times among

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our people. They sang and spoke very well and beautifully, much better and more beautifully than we can today. All those lovely words [from ancient tradition] have been lost to us. Why, nowadays we are often forced to speak English and Spanish. At the same time we are forgetting our own beautiful old Yamana words. Our tongue is no longer as sure as was that of our ancestors. Ah, how pitiful is our state! And what must we not bear! How few of us are left! In the other regions where the Whites live, people are numerous. If someone dies there, it does not matter; there are still many left. But with us things are very different. If a single one of us dies, it means more than if a thousand die among the Europeans who are very numerous. What a sad state my old blind father and my mother are in. On the day they die I shall run into the forest and lose myself there [purposely]. I shall neither eat nor drink and shall die of sorrow. If I were a man, then I would storm out [anywhere] and kill all the animals out there, but bring nothing home. I would hack everything to pieces. I would carry on just like 'that-one-up-there' who also destroys and shatters everything, as though he needed it for food (66). Then, for once, he, too, would be

66. Gertie here uses a figure of speech which recurs in some of the cries of lamentation to the Supreme Being and which was explained in detail on p. 999.

made to feel what it is like for one [defenseless people] in such a situation. Then, however, he would have a legitimate reason for punishing me." For a long time after this the two women maintained a thoughtful silence.

The tilagwaja utterances expose the very depths of the soul and reveal the secret recesses of the heart; they reflect all the humanity of the Yamana. They show their nature and all their innate characteristics most clearly and transparently in the way they mourn their dead.

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4. The General Mourning Ceremony

965 Considering that the whole Tamana tribe is spread out over a wide area and that, moreover, it is split up into many tiny family groups, one is justified in wondering how a general /1137/ ceremony with many people participating can take place (67). It

67. Unreliable observers have too hastily and erroneously maintained with Spegazzini (6: 187): "When a Foegian dies, the survivors hold no great ceremonies" /translated from Spanish/.

is not only the consciousness of their homogeneity and the conviction that the departure of an adult results in a noticeable weakening of the group as a whole that draw them together, but also want to relieve their oppressed hearts of their personal sorrow and woe, as well as their grief for their loved ones. The so-called yamalaíemólna serves this purpose very well. In contrast to the ólagwaja which is intended for a small, more private circle, so to speak, it signifies a large public ceremony, in which many families participate when they have the opportunity to do so. They speak of ólagwaja when only a single person in his hut or in the solitude of the forest repeats a song of mourning, but the yamalaíemólna presupposes a certain amount of preparation and numerous participants.

This term appears early and first of all in the work of the missionary Despard (8:746, who writes: "Murder is punished by the yamma-shoo-moyna, or blood avenger" /cited in English/. In BD:640 this yamala ílmaolna occurs again. In both places the meaning is restricted to "blood revenge," but actually it is more comprehensive. To go back to its original meaning, yámala, according to BD:640, signifies "immense, terrible, tremendous, awful" /cited in English/. The word lemólna, or lumólna, was translated for me as: "Painful stabbing, deep pains in the chest." The meaning "to stab" must actually be contained in the root of the word, which is shown, for example, in ílmaolna ír[1], which according to BD:160, refers only to arrow and lance, to spear and dagger.

/1137 cont./

Any death can be the occasion for a yamalaémiqua which unites many people, but a murder always induces it within the shortest possible time. In individual cases, however, the Yaména do not follow a definite rule, but make it contingent on whether enough members of the tribe assemble. An example may explain this. In March, 1923, several men had conducted the medicine-man school on Navarino Island. The following night, on March 24, 1923, the wife of old Thomas finally died of a long illness. I was startled out of my sleep by loud cries and lamentation from all the huts. It was not until dawn that I went to the place where the dead woman lay, surrounded by many people who were weeping and grieving in genuine sorrow. I purposely presented myself as a sympathetic, but altogether silent onlooker, and they were all appreciative that I was not in the least disturbing. A deeply felt mood of sorrow lay oppressively on the small Indian settlement. I was reverently silent and very reserved so that the people should not be influenced in any way and could express their feelings without reserve, /1138/ for I was, of course, the only White among these Fuegians. I carefully observed each one and the group as a whole. I gained the impression that the mood and the emotions of everyone grew more animated from hour to hour. Toward eleven o'clock Santiago happened to pass me. Heedlessly and with a tearful voice he said to me: "We are all terribly sad, so we shall soon begin the yamalaémiqua!" And that is what happened. The fact that a considerable number of families were already gathered together proved favorable and probably decisive. On another occasion they would have had to wait and call together the individual families. Conditions are right for the yamalaémiqua if enough people are assembled and the requisite mood has developed either through the discussions of the old people or in view of an impending death.

It was incalculably valuable for me to have personally experienced the large funeral ceremony at the time on Navarino Island (p. 190 /untranslated/). The woman was buried around noon in exactly the way our Fuegians had learned from Europeans. After that they gathered in a spacious little house while I retired by myself to the house of Santiago. In the other hut the singing and wailing which had long been familiar to me soon began, and many people were taking part, as I could

/1118 cont./

gather from the vessels of vessels which reached me. This ceremony had been going on for about an hour when a man came to me and asked me in a pleasing tone whether I would go over to them. Persistently he made it clear to me that everything I should see and hear there would not please me personally because all the people were in an extremely sad mood, but that they would nevertheless appreciate it greatly if I consoled with them and showed that I shared their sorrow. The good old man had no idea how eagerly I had been waiting for an invitation, for how could I have offended to miss an opportunity of seeing these Pawnees open up completely and reveal their innermost feelings in front of everyone. I followed him without delay to the assembly of mourners. Truly, what I experienced far exceeded my expectations, and here I became fully acquainted with the innermost attitudes of these Indians. Without fear of men and without the slightest shame they loudly expressed their thoughts and feelings. They spoke of their Supreme Being with a matter-of-factness that seemed to come from daily habit and that surprised me, treating him as though he were one of them. At the same time, without any effort on my part and like a gift of grace, a goodly number of the ancient lessons and prayer formulas dropped into my lap. I was already familiar with some of them, but here I saw how the Indians see them in a state of utmost anguish and spiritual agitation. I was astonished at the very seriousness with which men as well as women absolutely represented the Supreme Being. Some of them seemed to me like naughty pupils who have been punished /1119/ and who, aware of their own helplessness, mildly discuss it with their teacher. All seemed to have freed themselves of any remains.

As may be seen from what has been said, there are no definite regulations for the participants in the *ramalowaqua*. For obvious reasons, the nearest and more distant relatives, friends, and neighbors gather with the family who is mourning a recently deceased person. Everyone wants to comfort the mourners and to accompany them in their daily *ilkawaja*. Word of the death soon spreads, and no one hesitates to seek out the survivors. Everyone says to himself: "Anyone who is in mourning expects others to condole with him. Some day, I, too, shall be in mourning and then I shall want to have many comfort

/1129 cont./

765 me with their support!" If many people happen to be together, a tilagwaja turn into a yamalalembina as a matter of course. As has been said, a special request goes out from the relatives of a murdered person because they are obliged to exact blood revenge and must solicit helpers. The final impetus for a general funeral rite is given by a few old people when they say that the situation and the mood of the people are appropriate for a general ceremony. Whoever happens to be on the spot takes part; no one would be excluded even if he came from a distant region. Sometimes families who are in the vicinity are notified, and they hasten there without delay.

765 302 If the people have quickly reached a decision in this simple and non-obligatory manner, they immediately begin the preparations. Actually, these involve nothing more than body painting which must be richer and more beautiful than for the inconspicuous tilagwaja. Everyone chooses a pattern according to his own taste and draws the stripes and dashes, rows of dots and lines in different colors and in various patterns of distribution on face, torso, and arms. Usually they develop the basic forms familiar to them from the tilagwaja, transforming them into richer and more elaborate combinations.

The desire for colorful variety and a rich diversity of forms cannot be curbed even in the painting for mourning. At each yamalalembina I saw patterns that ranged from very simple to complex; a few are reproduced in Figure 89. The man (a) displays only three vertical black lines. The woman (b) has her whole face uniformly smeared with red and has put vertical black lines over it. The man (c) also has black lines on a red background. The woman (d) has wide black lines drawn upon the red background, the former being outlined by broken white lines. The man (e) also displays a red background; on each half of the face he has five vertical lines and one such line on the bridge of his nose as well as between the inner corners of the eyes. Finally the woman (f) has five thin red lines radiating out from the lower eyelid; the rest of the painting, that is, the entire lower part of the face, is black. Other /1130/ no less elaborate patterns are shown in Figure 86 on page 799. All the patterns, however, are derived from a few basic forms.

/[illegible] cont./

765 382 Almost all participants prefer the design which indicates the cause of death of the one who is especially mourned. Actually the visitors exert a good deal of effort and care to show how honestly and sincerely they are participating in the event. /Fig. 89 appears here./ Definite pressure is put upon those present when a murder has been committed; they express this in their facial painting, for everything serves the

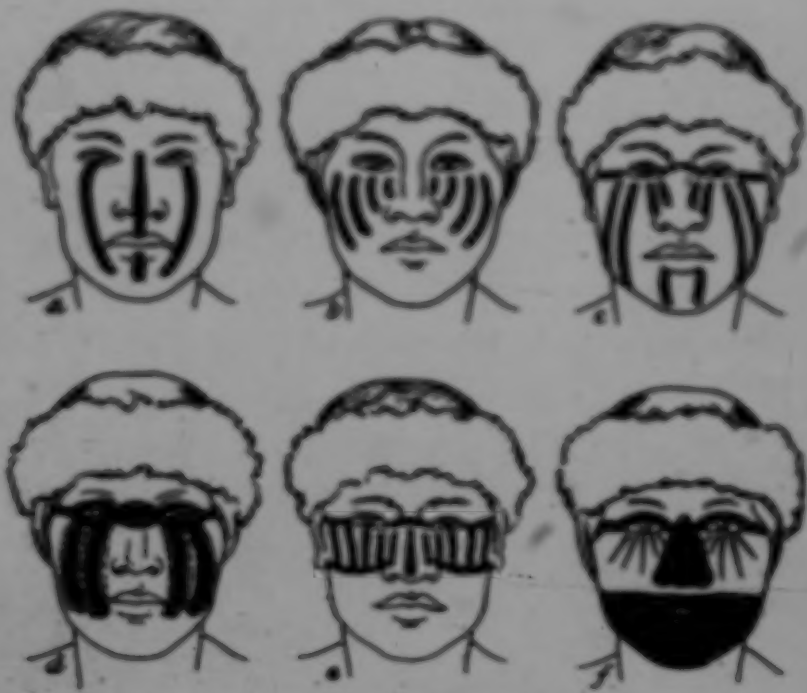

Fig. 89. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

purpose of intimidating the culprit and his circle of kinsmen. In this case they prefer the following design: one side of the face is uniformly black; on the other side are alternating vertical rows of red and white dots placed close together.

765 309 825 The people are busy for some time in preparing their facial painting; they also wind the hapakēl around their foreheads. This decoration, also called hapaxēl, is a rather large triangular piece

/1130 cont./

765 of skin with white down-feathers taken from
301 the male Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida
[825] /Kelp goose/). The people obtain this fore-
head decoration when these geese are nesting;
during this time /1131/ they are lean and the
thin skin does not have the abundant fat that
is present at other times. /Fig. 90 appears
here./ A hapakēl is like the kōčel of the
Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215) in size and shape.
In recent times not all the adults make an
effort to obtain this ornament which is
actually seldom used. Instead, at a general
funeral ceremony, they use the narrow band
of skin with down, also called hapaxēl, which
they always have available and frequently use.

765 The club is part of the equipment of
those who take part in the so-called fight of
293 the yamalašemōina. It is justifiably regarded
as an ornamental club. No one would be
permitted to come with a plain stick that he
has just picked up or one used to kill a sea
lion. This club is used for no other purpose.
It is carefully carved out of a flawless small
trunk, is about 160 to 190 centimeters long,
has an angular or rounded surface and gently
tapers from one end to the other (Fig. 90).
It is regularly painted white, or red if one is
commemorating a murder. Actually the
women should also provide themselves with
a club, but sometimes they do not have it
and make do with an ordinary paddle which
they paint. At the dances in the hut every-
one uses the short dance-staff carried during
the čiēxaus ceremony, for it obviously helps
to emphasize the rhythmic movements of
the body.

765 The long-continued singing and
533 lamenting, sighing, and groaning are
152

Fig. 90. Ornamental Club.

/1131 cont./

765 essential to the yamalašemōina in connection with the Īōima.
533 The actual mourners spend their time this way in any case.
152 Whenever neighbors and friends enter the hut with their freshly applied painting, they sit down near these mourners and follow their song. The polyphonic group sings in a medley of voices; each one chooses pitch and rhythm, melody, and tone color as he sees fit; he stops and begins anew as it pleases him. Each person's performance, however, is serious and sad, his facial expression shows great mental anguish, and his whole conduct indicates how much he is suffering. Throughout, everyone in a howling voice constantly repeats the same sounds in a monotonous melody, exactly as at the tālauwaja. The whole company devotes several hours to this collective demonstration of grief; they do not allow even brief general pauses.

765 Each person present occasionally interrupts his groaning and
781 fills in an interval or two with exclamations. These are chiefly
152 words addressed to the Supreme Being. One must remember that on these occasions everyone does not think merely of the recently deceased person -- who perhaps is even of secondary importance to him -- but of those loved ones whom he himself /1132/ lost through a recent death or an earlier one. The memory of them once more stirs him to the depths and makes him sharply feel anew his great loss. His own sorrow tortures him. That is why once again, as on earlier occasions, he confronts Watauinēiwa to argue and remonstrate with him, to accuse him and cast aspersion upon him. He angrily hurls heavenward one after another of the ancient cries of lament, although he is well aware of his helplessness against Abājla up there behind the clouds. His immeasurable pain, so he believes, gives him the right to the ruthless, coarse invectives against that brutal Wēlapatux who can be approached in no other way. These excited conversations with Watauinēiwa, as I was emphatically assured, form an important part of the yamalašemōina. "Again and again each person must address 'the One-up-there' and must constantly repeat the old sayings!" I was told this several times with emphatic conviction. Thus I had the impression that the individual words were nothing more than a normal outcry and a quarrelsome discussion with the Supreme Being. Through all kinds of adaptations

/1132 cont./

765 the expression may be used with reference to the recently de-
781 ceased person, to the speaker himself, to his own deceased rela-
152 tives and friends, to the Yamana people as a whole. With angry vehemence Gertie repeatedly impressed upon me: "Each one of us must incessantly and emphatically come to terms with Watauinéiwa on this occasion!" Thus reproaches and words of abuse continually alternated with the old cries of lament. Everyone present regarded this as justifiable for every speaker and approvingly confirmed his words.

Until that time I had never had on opportunity to observe how vehemently the expression of their deeply rooted faith in their god breaks out from the depths of their soul, and with what unrestrained force it seeks expression. Truly their religious faith is firmly anchored in their convictions and in their hearts! Here it became plain that all the adults are dominated by it. I shall now mention a touching feature of their childlike religious sense. In their greatest agitation they feel justified in freely hurling the bitterest reproaches against Watauinéiwa. After the yamalašemōina is over, however, and everyone has again sought the quiet of his own hut and by late evening has regained his mental balance, he feels deep within himself something like qualms of conscience. He is overcome with the feeling that he has offended the Supreme Being with his raging and scolding and that he has erred greatly with respect to the veneration due the deity. Ruefully he humbles himself, silently he thinks about the events of the day and his momentary position. A repentant and yet confident prayer of atonement softly slips from his trembling lips: "Hidábuan, you know it, today I was extremely angry with you! But the sorrow for my beloved dead was so violent that I lost control of myself. Don't be angry with me any longer, /1133/ Hidábuan!" Solaced and with his soul fully at ease, the Fuegian lies down to sleep; the supreme emotion which for hours shook his innermost being is past.

765 I shall add here a few words which I noted during the
152 yamalašemōina. Often several persons were saying different things at the same time and I could not follow them.

Santiago: "This morning that woman died. Each of us is in a wretched state, no one feels well. I once suffered the same fate as that widower who now has no wife. I personally felt what

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it is like to lose one's relatives. One loses all desire to live!"

Halupens: "It is certainly just as you [Santiago] say; everyone who loses the person dearest to him feels [the sorrow] most acutely. The others feel it less, they are only accompanying that person! -- We must strive to understand each other well so that we shall not wrong one another. For one day Watauinĕ̄wa will take us too [from the earth]. If we have lived in discord with someone and he dies, we will be sorry [for the way we behaved]. So let us live on the best terms with one another! After a quarrel everyone must quickly become reconciled with the other and make his peace with him."

Walter: "I, too, am thinking of the many whom I have lost. Today I feel somewhat relieved [at the thought] that it is not I who have lost his relative. But at the time when I lost my own children I was unutterably sad. Others probably thought it is not such a painful thing, but I spent whole days and nights in the forest and suffered terribly. -- How often Watauinĕ̄wa has punished me! I wonder why he did it? Now we [I and my wife] have only two children left. It is possible that he will soon take another child from me. Why will that happen? I wonder if he will again punish me soon? I do not know. -- At that time I was really unutterably sad, more than other people can believe. Again and again that happened to me (68). Here on this occasion

68. He is referring to his sad fate that nine of his eleven children have died.

all who belong to the family of the deceased will properly understand how much I suffered at that time. In the same way I now understand what those relatives of the deceased woman are suffering and why they so loudly lament."

Mary: "I have little peace now, for during the time when we must again bury one of our people we come straight out with everything that our heart dictates."

Clara: "When I was still a girl, we did not conduct ourselves the way girls do nowadays. We did not leave our parents, but faithfully remained with them in the hut. But today girls often look to [the behavior of] the Whites; they have discovered

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many things among them which they imitate. That is why they even run /1134/ away from their own parents; they do not give other countrymen any peace [because of their offensive behavior] and cause their own parents the greatest embarrassment. It is shameful for us, it is a disgrace for us (69)!"

69. She recalls that recently three girls left the camp alone in the late afternoon without their parents' knowledge. Cf. p. 488 .

Santiago: "I did you [Halupens] no harm."

Halupens: "That is correct, and I did not want to reproach you for anything."

Santiago: "Good, then we agree."

Halupens: "If it weren't for the Whites [who prevent us], we would have declared war on those people and killed them. But this way [the way things are today] we do not dare."

Santiago: "Truly, that is the real reason. At present our hands are tied [as far as free action is concerned]" (70).

70. Santiago is referring to a murder which Halupens' brother committed in his day.

Luisa: "Whenever we were in mourning in the old days, we caught many animals and killed them, tore them all to pieces or crushed them, and then strewed all the pieces on the ground or threw them in the water. We did that because we were angry with Watauinéiwa, for we wanted to cause him great harm. My parents-in-law were very prominent in that."

Halupens: "I had no idea that today I would be in deep mourning. Watauinéiwa has caused it. I, personally, have, after all, done no one any harm; I did not kill anyone. I did, of course, kill a few birds and sea lions to keep me from hunger and to stay alive. But I never killed a human being. Therefore Watauinéiwa has no reason whatever to hurt me so badly that today I am in mourning because he let that woman die. I did nothing except hunt a few of his animals which he made in Yáiaasága; I consumed them because I was hungry!"

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765 152 Santiago: "Today Watauinéiwa has brought great harm to us all. We are all without exception in deep mourning. It would have been better if today Watauinéiwa had allowed a whale to be stranded. Then we would have gone there tomorrow and would have cut off large pieces for ourselves. Instead he has let that woman die and the widower is now mourning bitterly!"

Evidently all the participants at this yamalaŝemōina often repeated the prayer formulas and lamentations listed above (p. 989), although most of them understand only the general drift and the basic meaning. I was present while the corpse was being wrapped, and old Asikansis happened to pass the hut. He stopped for a few moments and, pointing to the dead woman, murmured to himself: "Watauinéiwa has caused that, yes 'the one-up-there' has done this!" Then he continued on his way. Similar expressions were repeated by all those present.

765 769 152 It must be pointed out that although this general funeral rite is stimulated by recent death and occasioned chiefly by it, /1135/ nevertheless every participant remembers all the dead whom he personally mourns. He speaks of them loudly and openly, always without mentioning their names, distinguishing them as "my father," "my daughter," and so forth. He mentions details of their lives, certain traits of character, and the cause of death. In this way he thoroughly relieves his tortured soul of the misery of oppressive thoughts about his dead.

765 152 The gathering of many mourners, which lasts for hours, is regularly terminated with a sort of mock battle. All during the yamalaŝemōina one or another of the old men informally and yet decisively exerts his influence, like a kind of tiāmuna. They are above all anxious to direct the attention of the participants to Watauinéiwa, and they characterize him as the one who remains responsible for the death of this and every other person. They are familiar with the traditional prayer formulas and laments and often repeat them. In this way they also impress them upon the memory of the younger people who learn their meaning. The old people, however, never explain the meaning of the words in detail; the formulas simply issue from a grief-filled soul and are neither mentioned nor discussed in everyday life. As soon as the old people feel that the favorable moment has arrived, they call

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765 152 for the mock combat. The participants get up, reach for their clubs or paddles, and leave the hut. Sobbing and weeping loudly, they arrange themselves in two groups in an open place outside in no particular order. If the yamalaŝemōina commemorates a recent murder, however, a more definite division is made, and the party of the victim and that of the murderer face each other. Each of the adults is equipped with a club; women who lack a club use their paddles (p. 1084). These objects have previously been painted.

While the two groups are slowly approaching each other, they sob loudly and speak of the deceased for whom the ceremony is being held. They mention his good characteristics and qualities in words of warm appreciation and sincere grief. These utterances cease as soon as the two groups meet. The mock battle immediately begins, with an individual from one side rushing at anyone in the other group and attacking him. The two large groups thus split up into many fighting pairs. Each pair continues to duel for some time. They do not intend to injure one another; hence a blow is checked before it falls. Nevertheless one person or another may receive quite a blow if a pair becomes excited or if two opponents who have many a former account to settle should happen to meet.

765 152 578 /1136/ A more important feature of this sham battle is the utterance of mutual reproaches, making the other person responsible for the death, as though he were to blame for the grief which depresses all the people. A person who is met with reproaches of this kind from his opponent defends himself just as vehemently and heaps the accusations back on the other. If one says, "You caused that one to die, it is your fault that we are all sad now!" then the other replies, "Quite the contrary, you are to blame for everything!" Or one will maintain, "Why didn't you pay more attention to that one [who has just died] and help him?" Whereupon his opponent will defend himself, "You're the one who should have helped him, then he would not have been taken from us!" Another will shout, "You did not give that one any of your booty and that is why he starved!" The retort is: "I always gave him plenty of our booty. If you had done the same he would have been spared us!" Elsewhere one hears: "Why did you not

/1136 cont./

765 come to his aid with your canoe when he was drowning?" The
152 opponent replies: "I was much farther away from him than you,
578 I was on the Wollasten Islands. It was far easier for you to help him because you were near him." Alluding to the murder, one man says: "How could you be so carefree! You should have known that this murderer had murderous intentions!" The answer: "You are guiltier. For if you had an inkling of it it was up to you to inform everybody and that one [the murdered one] would have been spared!" The verbal exchange continues for a long time. It often leads to attacks on personal conduct, to reminders of former quarrels and differences of opinion. Many become excited, and the combatants seriously attack each other. For some of them this opportunity is very welcome because a long-suppressed desire for revenge can be gratified without punishment. There is great confusion during the battle and sometimes a certain amount of brutality, depending on how much tempers are aroused, for the opponents facing each other change about several times, or three or four persons will pounce upon a single one who is then in a serious predicament. After about an hour the combat is declared over when a few influential old people return to the assembly hut. The rest of the people follow.

765 Inside, the customary song of mourning is resumed and
533 continues for a time, its duration depending on the hour of the
535 day and the state of mind of those present. One person or another will get up and dance through the hut, following the simple rhythm of the song with his body movements and the gentle swing of the short dance-staff. Finally the yamalaĸemōina is concluded, following the clear, definite signal by one of the leading old people that all the participants should lay down their clubs, paddles, and dance staffs with an audible tap on the ground. While the singing was going on, /1137/ all the people were holding these things in their hands. After that each one spends long minutes in thoughtful concentration, and only then does he silently creep out. He goes to his dwelling and quietly resumes his ordinary tasks.

765 This affair regularly lasts eight hours and longer. Only the adults take part. In order to prevent any disturbance or distraction by their own or by strange children, none of the children

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765 may leave the dwellings, make a noise, or play.

If a yamalaŝemōjna is to be held anywhere or if it has already been held, the news about it spreads over a wide area. Everyone wants to participate in it. Occasionally a few families are late in joining the mourners. The latter, of course, are always in the mood for this ceremony and, stimulated by them, the new arrivals actually initiate it without delay. If a universally beloved and influential person is being mourned, one yamalaŝemōjna follows another at short intervals, perhaps throughout the whole year. There is probably never a cikuan celebration that does not have a regular yamalaŝemōjna on a particular day; the same is true of a lengthy kina festival. The participants, however, then remain in the large assembly hut and the customary sham battle is kept within limits.

765 628 The law of blood vengeance (p.808) is in force among our Fuegians and imposes an obligation upon the relatives and friends of the murdered person. They band together and attack the murderer along with his followers. The combat between these two groups is called yamalaŝemōjna yŝruna mōja and is obligatory after a murder. It is not impossible, although there is no definite proof, that the customary sham battle which has long been held after every ordinary death or in memory of all the dead at the public yamalaŝemōjna is derived from that first struggle after a murder, and that, in the course of time, this has become part of every general ceremony of mourning. The characteristics of the sham battle, especially the reproaches and accusations of the opposing pair, lead one to this assumption.

765 626 The general mourning ceremony always unites several families, and since it occurs often, an individual family takes part in it at least three times a year. Its extraordinary subjective value is obvious. Each yamalaŝemōjna irresistibly forces the individual to deep inner self-reflection and gravely reminds him of death. All those persons who have already concluded their life on earth come alive once more in his memory; their virtues and shortcomings are discussed and the transgression to which an untimely death is attributed is quite frankly noted. All this causes the individual conscience to be stirred to the depths with self-accusations. Furthermore, it is no less effective that the conduct of the individual is loudly censured during the combat by one or

/1137 cont./

another opponent who is permitted this opportunity for /1138/ ruthlessly setting forth his accusations. No one may take offense at being publicly accused. All kinds of things are disclosed in this way and reach the ears of the public: events long past; the quarrels and misdeeds of a murderer and all the members of his family are lengthily and inconsiderately dragged out into the open; the cruel behavior of a husband toward his deceased wife is loudly held up to him and his relatives for the hundredth time; the proved or suspected extra-marital relations of a dissolute woman are thrown in her face without the least restraint. Everyone who feels dislike for another or who has quarreled with him singles him out during the sham battle and gives him a piece of his mind. Disagreements between whole groups of families are also revealed and characterized in detail. As one can see, the loud reproaches of the sham battle are acts of undisguised and public conscience-searching of the other party by one who is far from offering palliation! The vivid warning which comes from the near and impending death also shakes up every participant and impels him anew to lead a blameless, orderly life, to make an effort to get along with others and to be on the best of terms with the members of his family, to be helpful to everyone, and in general to cultivate the virtues of a true, proper Yamana. Thus personal conduct and public order are inestimably improved by each yamalalemona. It is probably with the help of this institution that the general morality of the Yamana has been kept on a surprisingly consistent high level. Even though the motive which impels many a person to censure his opponent publicly may be neither noble nor fine, at any rate the outspoken accusation is not without effect.

The Yamana will not and cannot give up their general ceremonies of mourning as long as they persist in their ancient vague conception of the life of the human soul after death. The separation from each person who is snatched away by death is for them an everlasting farewell. Nelly Lawrence often and definitely assured me in so many words: "The missionaries constantly urged us to give up the long and disturbing gatherings after the death of one of our people. They advised us: 'Don't weep so much, for we shall all see one another again after death!' But

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115 no one believed them. How could it be true that we shall all meet again later? After all, the body disintegrates. So there will never be a reunion!" Each time she told me something about her people's doctrine of the soul, this noble woman spoke with a passion which sounded like hopelessness. The monotonous, lugubrious melody of mourning of the tálaɣwaja and the yamalaíemóina will not be silenced until the earth covers the last Yamana on the distant Cape Horn Archipelago.

/1139/ C. Cosmogony and Mythology

113 The world of religious ideas with which the doctrine of the soul is subjectively connected proves to be rich and comprehensive among our Yamana, but their world of mythological personalities is more vast and alive. These two broad spheres of ideas are sharply differentiated and distinctly separate from each other; each exists by itself, so to speak. Just as the figures in the myths and legends have not been closely connected with the figure of the Supreme Being at any point in our description above, so, too, the latter appears to be entirely separate from the former; moreover, Wataɣinéiwa is just as far removed from the actual spirits and medicine men. Every attentive observer can easily separate the ideas of these two disparate spheres of imaginative conception, just as the Yamana do.

113 182 In former times every figure described in their myths and legends was very familiar to our Fuegians; the individual representatives of the animal world and the celestial bodies, as well as of the objects of everyday use, often awakened the familiar combinations of ideas which were associated with those figures. Formerly favorite stories were told over and over again during the long hours of comfortable fellowship in the evening around the hut fire. Unfortunately, for the last few decades the former close ethnic unity has been disrupted and the remnants of the once large group are scattered over the broad areas of their homeland in detached fragments. The surviving families, no longer very numerous, are rarely in touch with one another, and when they do meet their exchange of opinions is limited to certain details of daily life. In view of this, it is not strange that

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773 the former general acquaintance with the rich mythological ma-
182 terial has been lost and that the younger generation devotes more attention to all the things that came with European culture. There are only a few old people who have still preserved most of it to the present day. Why they cannot transmit this precious heritage, as was so easily possible in earlier times when the European newcomers were not yet disturbingly active, need not be specifically pointed out. Many a young person frankly regrets that the old people hold back their lovely stories even when they find willing ears in a sizable gathering of fellow-tribesmen. At present, however, all is in the process of disintegration, and the old people suffer very much under the collapse of all the institutions and customs; for that very reason they are no longer available for things which already, so to speak, belong far in the past.

On rare occasions one or another of them will once more
538 offer to tell a story as in former times. /1140/ He himself takes the initiative; it would be a breach of respect if a younger person openly or with slightly veiled hints were to ask for an old myth. It is almost always an accidental circumstance that awakens remembrance of a mythological subject, and it usually happens that while someone is speaking of his experiences, his words, as though a self-contained unit, drift over into the other realm of thought. This adequately suggests the peculiar way in which the Yamana recite an old myth. Actually, the storyteller never tells the entire myth from beginning to end in the progressive continuity of a meaningful construction. Rather, the general habit is to select some part of it and add to it a personal event, an independent achievement, a unique experience. To begin with the storyteller does not care whether his own report ties up meaningfully, if one may use this word, with some part of the myth. The Yamana has a lively fancy which will not let itself be forced into rules of ordered logic. If one judges the recitation of an old Indian from this standpoint, he will be surprised to find, for example, that the thread is broken at an inappropriate point and that a short section of an entirely different nature is inserted without any justification whatever, perhaps even absurdly. An account built up this way, with a combination of elements which obviously disturb the sense, does not bother the

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538 audience in the least. It is enough to be entertained in lively fashion, and they direct their whole attention only to what is being offered at the moment.

Inasmuch as everyone present is all attention -- common decency demands this of our Fueglans -- a particular statement will sometimes move another old person to such an extent that he will interject his own thoughts into a brief pause by the storyteller. Occasionally his account then goes on at such length that no one is concerned any longer with the first man's story. Thus it may happen that even large sections of a particular myth which was started remain incomplete.

One must not overlook the fact that personal experiences and actual occurrences, if they are described by someone in lively discourse, are far more joyously received and animatedly discussed than the material of a myth which is, after all, familiar. Deep in his heart the Yamana wants to shine in front of others; he wants to count for a great deal among his kind. Hence he makes an effort to offer his own account as effectively as possible to his audience, to give it brilliant form by his choice of expressions, to spice it with surprising additions. Sometimes one has the impression that someone is beginning some small part of a legend with the conscious intent of using it as a pretext for recounting a personal experience, which takes incomparably more time, /1141/ in order to avoid the suspicion among his listeners that he is obtrusive or greedy for recognition and fame. If one put together the individual pieces of an evening of storytelling in any of the Yamana huts, he would come up with a strange conglomeration.

One must realize that the content and form of the material presented take their particular slant, that is, their actual individual coloring, from the personal qualifications of the storyteller. This is clearly shown in the undisguised preference of the people for one storyteller over another. If they see that he is in a good frame of mind, the happily excited neighbors are drawn to him and their eyes light up expectantly. They listen to his words for hours with untold enjoyment. Afterward individual persons will exchange their impressions and their opinions about a whole evening's recital and about the ability of the storytellers. They were quite frank about naming for me the men whom they like to hear

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538 much more than others. The differences between one storyteller and another lies in the manner of portrayal, the choice of words, the heartfelt participation in the content of the story. It is, of

539 course, inevitable that now and then some good old soul will re-

537 late a long chapter out of his life or repeat an experience to the assembled neighbors although he has almost no gift for story-telling and is more boring than entertaining. We Europeans call it a sign of senility when some old man tells something for the hundredth time that everyone knows by heart or exaggerates the importance of minor details for which others cannot work up any interest. Just such things happen among our Fuegians and are no less correctly judged by younger persons than they are among us; but their extreme veneration of old people obliges them to listen attentively and to bear it manfully, no matter how much self-control they are obliged to exert. There are specific admonitions to the young along these lines, and everyone observes this obligation.

538 The general remarks that I have set down here are for the most part applicable almost literally to the practices and conditions prevailing among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 568).

I personally recall with great pleasure and satisfaction many a gay gathering on one evening or another when I joined the Fuegians in a smoke-filled hut. The faintly flickering fire would blaze up now and then and show the attentiveness written on the faces of all present. Enthusiastically we listened to the animated words of the storyteller, completely lost in the kingdom of myth, unmindful of the storm that was vigorously shaking the loose posts of the little hut, heedless of /1141/ the hour far beyond midnight. When finally the company broke up, everyone crept out of the storyteller's hut refreshed and enriched with new thoughts and was swallowed up by the night. If stars happened to

[p.] be shining down from heaven, a knowing old man would insist on pointing his finger at this or that star, repeating its name, and characterizing its personality. Their brilliance illuminated the short distance to each Yamana's hut, and in his dreams the figures from the world of legend would stand before his paltry bed. Now and then a day ends in this way, which makes every Fuegian happy.

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124 The material in the following pages probably constitutes
113 the entire treasure of myths that has been at the disposal of our Fueglans since ancient times. In gathering it, I was remarkably favored by fortune on my second journey (p. 17 /untranslated/). Although it is not customary among our Fueglans for a woman in a mixed gathering to relate long episodes from her own experiences or from a myth, nevertheless some Fueglan women faithfully preserve much legendary material in their memories, and very willingly offer it at an occasional gathering of female friends and neighbors. It seems to me that vainglory and the desire to shine in front of others by relating one's own deeds and remarkable experiences is far less developed in women than in men and that it is therefore easier for a woman storyteller, without much digression, to adhere logically to the main point of the myth. For most of the stories current among the Yamana I am indebted to the mentally alert Julia, the wife of old Alfredo, who is unanimously regarded by her countrymen as the one best informed about them. I learned from her for days (p. 178 /untranslated/). Further material that I gathered on my third and fourth journey was made up of supplementary explanations and unimportant details. Many a myth was also repeated to me by other persons. Thus I believe that I have gathered all the mythological material that the Yamana have preserved from hoary antiquity down to the present day.

a. The Origin of the World

113 The mentality and the way of thinking of our Fueglans
15) have been only cursorily described above. Nevertheless, from what has been said, no European will expect much from them in the way of a clear conception of the origin of the world or a well-ordered picture of the universe. Actually they have only individual short trains of thought which can be either consciously combined nor linked together without rape. What may have happened at the beginning of everything visible is much too distant to merit special attention by our Fueglans, who are creatures of the moment, so to speak, for whom the given

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113 reality of each day is of decisive importance. /1143/ More-
153 over, those remote events are completed episodes and accomplished facts. The Yamana clearly and definitely separate them from everything that Yoālox introduced and from what the principal persons of the individual legends undertook. The Fuegian is reminded of their achievements almost daily without any effort on his part. Important inventions and significant regulations are attributed to the younger Yoālox and some of his brothers and sisters, but they were not predominantly active in the formation of the universe. The Yamana also say that the earth was destroyed; after that orderly conditions again developed.

As was just mentioned, the individual short narratives do
113 not form a continuous, well-ordered whole. It is quite likely that in recent times small connective pieces have been lost. I personally, however, consider it probable that the quite large gaps have existed since ancient times. I base my conclusion chiefly on statements to this effect by a few old people. I am also guided by my experience among the Selk'nam who up to the present time have preserved an imaginative conception of the origin of the universe in its final form, which is more or less complete, as well as rich in content. If the Selk'nam succeeded in preserving their ancient tales as complete, coherent units, why should the Yamana, who did not allow themselves to be robbed of many another heritage, have lost important connective portions? The fragmentary pieces that the Yamana do possess, however, will be valuable for a comparative study of myths if they can be related to some extent to the legends of other peoples.

1. Heaven and Earth

The Selk'nam are superior to the Yamana insofar as they recognize in the person of Kenós the creator of the visible world, who functions under the direction of the Supreme Being (Vol. 1, 570) and who is therefore on a par with the redeemer as he appears in other mythologies. Our Fuegians regard their homeland as an accomplished, given phenomenon; they do not ask and do not

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113 say how it originated. To this extent Bridges (b):236 is right: "The natives preserve no tradition about their past history, nor do they know where they came from" /translated from Spanish/. I repeatedly noted, however, that the lack of clarity and the ignorance about the early beginnings of their forefathers were by no means accepted indifferently by a few men who seemed to be more meditative. They more or less perceptibly feel the lack of this knowledge, and they actually concern themselves with such problems in their reflections. They are impelled solely by the general logical demand for an adequate explanation of the tangible reality that presents itself to them. They do not, however, express their own conclusions. They are prevented from doing so by their respect for the /1144/ ancient body of thought handed down to them; they would regard analyzing it or supplementing it on the basis of their own meditations as extremely improper. Hence, amplification or reconstruction of the mythological conceptions could not be achieved, and they have been full of gaps from ancient times, even though they were the object of reflection by many persons.

In the following I am offering the few individual conceptions still held by one or another old Yamana. They tell each other these bits which are limited but significant in content. Bridges (b):206 wants to deny this, unjustifiably, when he maintains: "They have no tradition about their origin. For them the world has always been what it is and will continue to be the same" /translated from Spanish/. Unfortunately, these details do not supplement each other to form a complete picture. They are only fragments which I was able to gather on various occasions. I arranged them in the order presented here according to their content.

G. The First Settlers

The events in the so-called myth of the upheaval are sometimes vividly contemplated in the minds of our Yamana. It must seem surprising that they associate the first appearance of actual people with that strange legendary material. The myth describes a great migration from the northern part of Isla Grande

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175 southward to the north shore of Beagle Channel and thence westward to the region of Tyanéiga where these wanderers settled down forever (Gusinde [16] :207). Quite apart from this long story, I was told:

"In very remote times many families came from the east and wandered to this region where we Tamata have since lived. They settled down right here. Immediately they began building their canoes, making weapons and all kinds of implements to hunt otter, sea lions, and birds, to gather mussels and crabs. Since then the Tamata have remained here."

It should be noted that these people were said to have come on foot and that they did not begin building their bark canoes until they were here in the present-day Tamata territory. My informants naturally assumed that the Tyalon family also arrived in this region in connection with that large group. The Tyalon brothers themselves showed the other men how to make the various implements and how to handle the weapons. At the same time the sun-man, Lôm, arrived with his family which includes his brother Aklyuio, the rainbow, whose wife is Ishnaga, the moon-woman. In January, 1920, I was assured by my aged informants that in this group of migrating families Tyalon-shenaiga /1165/ made her superior influence felt and that she played a decisive role. She enjoyed a very privileged position and commanded the other women who, in turn, dominated their own husbands. Two years later when the long myth of the origin of the Kina observance was told, this Tyalon-shenaiga was no longer mentioned. The real significance of this woman lies in her close relationship to her two brothers, the above-mentioned Tyalon. The latter also were not mentioned in the myth of the origin of Kina.

These groups of roving families who settled in the present home of the Tamata are not regarded as actual human beings, but are thought of as personalities of a unique nature and being. They are regarded as the inkalinaga who were the first to establish all kinds of things in this place, but who afterwards either climbed up to the canopy of heaven or changed themselves into animals. They form a separate small circle of significant or superior personalities who exist completely apart from those figures presented in all the actual myths. These first men are given sole credit not

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113 only for being the first to write in this region, but also for every a special achievement which has become significant and decisive for the actual human beings who followed. The Sahtaoin (Vol. I, 206) make a similar distinction and definite separation of the two very different groups.

β. The Chief Sun-Man

113 Dj One Penglaen make a very definite distinction between the once mighty and violent Tlowsilku, the old sun-man, and his son Likn, the son of the day. Both, in the very gap, came to this country long ago together with that large company of free settlers. These two personalities differ from one another in every respects. The following story is told about the old sun-man, Tlowsilku or Tlowsilku.

"At that time among the families who first arrived here, there lived a man who had a very bad character. He was not only unfriendly toward everyone, but quite openly hostile, and his sole thought was always to hurt everybody else. Everyone despised him. As a result, he became even more furious and tried even harder to inflict harm on everybody. He was extraordinarily powerful and had great power at his disposal. Once in high dudgeon he had everything burned up that lay within his domain. At that time he was much closer to the earth than he is today. At the same time he caused all the water of the sea to boil, for he persuaded a great heat wave to descend and all the lands burned up. After that the commonest caps were empty and bare and have remained so to this very day. All this happened because in his separate anger he sent the great heat.

"From the start Tlowsilku was very repulsive to everybody, but after that /1146/ they obviously hated him. They not only hated and abhorred him, but all his nearest relatives as well. His whole family was avoided and despised by all the people, for every member of that family behaved unkindly and was bent on hurting other people. Only Likn, son of old Tlowsilku, was a a conspicuous exception. He proved to be extremely benevolent toward all the rest of the people. He was in excellent humor and

/1148 cont./

was skilled in many things. He was kind toward everyone and always ready to help.

*The widows (71) then hallowed a long time in secret.

71. One must realize that at that time the women were said to rule the men and that everywhere they alone laid down the law. That is why they alone gathered for consultations and reached decisions which were binding for everyone, especially for the men. For the present compare Gwetsalo (July 30).

Finally they decided to resolve themselves and Throwaway. One day they made a surprise attack on him and tried to strangle him. Since he was very strong, however, he succeeded in extricating himself. He immediately hastened up to the canopy of heaven where he stands to this day as a bright star, but he forfeited his former power. Today one no longer sees him. It was not until after the great upheaval on the time of the women that they also climbed up to the canopy of heaven to join his father Throwaway.

The Tsimsyan repeatedly assured me that he has lost his former power, that he is probably standing somewhere in the heavens but that he is invisible. He is also mentioned in another connection. The Tsimsyan tell the following. "A long time ago all the ahlaat of the [at that time so-called] human beings who died here went far away to Sunset (72). There there ahlaat

72. The Tsimsyan use this designation for a far distant region which they are unable to describe more specifically.

formed a people of their own. All of them, young and old, enjoyed the game of ball, hilcoo. Once mighty Throwaway quite suddenly appeared in the east and set fire to the whole region. After a time he tried to take away the great heat, but he did not succeed. That is why the ahlaat left that region. Afterward, when Throwaway himself also left that region, it did cool off.

/1146 cont./

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821

At that same time the whole world burned up, and afterward everything cooled off again."

I find it impossible to link this brief story meaningfully with the other events of that first period, chiefly because it mentions the souls which were supposed to have assembled after death. Aside from that, however, old Tāruwalēm is clearly depicted as having once been an extremely mighty sun whose strength surpassed by far that of the actual day star. The Yamana point out that Lēm could not set fire to the whole earth in the way that his father did. They do not mention any other connections between these two personalities.

/1147/ 7. The Younger Sun-Man

The relationship between old Tāruwalēm and Lēm is that of father and son. In contrast to the father, the son is described as very benevolent and friendly toward human beings. This is tangibly expressed in the beneficial warmth that the day star provides. The Yamana have more to say about Lēm (73).

> 73. A first modest reference is found in Despard (b):698: "The Firelander supposes the sun and moon, male and female, to be very old indeed, and that some old man, who knew their maker, had died without leaving information upon this subject. Hence the ignorance of the present generation" /cited in English/.

"Lēm was an excellent man and had great influence upon all men. They willingly yielded to him, for he was friendly and benevolent toward everyone. He was so handsome and had such a fine figure that all the women wanted to stare at him constantly. But they all guarded against revealing this desire or even looking at him with open eyes, so that they would not be ridiculed by others. Lēm was quite charming. All the women were in love with him, and all the men regarded him highly.

/1147 cont./

773 "His wife was also very beautiful. No one knows her name.
825 Lēm had several beautiful daughters, namely, tákaša (Larus
821 belcheri), wémarʼkīpa (Larus glaucodes), the sea duck wīyen (Anas cristata), the gull kiwégu (Larus dominicanus), the Magellanic goose kimoa (Chloephaga picta /upland goose/), the duck wīpatux (Querquedula cyanoptera), as well as the she-fox čilawājakīpa (Canis magellanicus) and the rat wēsána. The last two secretly dragged off the meat that their father brought home from the hunt; they stole it from him regularly. They are doing it [stealing] to this day. Lēm also had other daughters, as well as several sons. One of them is Yēxalēm who constantly follows his father.

773 "Lēm was diligent and hard-working, good and always merry,
821 friendly toward everyone. He was on the best of terms with all the men. He set a fine example of an active, good-natured human being for everyone. In this respect [that is, in his whole character] nothing has changed to this day. Back in the time of the great upheaval in Yājaašága he helped the men considerably in gaining control of the kīna of the women. After that upheaval was over, he went up to the canopy of heaven. From there he is still proving himself benevolent and willing to help human beings; he bestows ample warmth and light upon everyone. All men are obviously proud of him, for he uncovered the kīna secret of the women and thus freed the men from their dependence upon the women.

"Actually there is still another world. That is why Lēm leaves the region of the Yamana every evening and betakes himself there. In that other world he also shines and bestows abundant warmth. The next morning he comes back to us once more. In this way he helps the people both here and there."

The portrayal as such shows clearly enough how gratefully /1148/ the Yamana regard the day star. Obviously this favorable attitude goes back to the feeling of well-being which sunshine induces in the Yamana, who are often shaken by frosty winds and severe weather. The planet Venus was pointed out to me as Yēxalēm, son of Lēm, for "this son invariably follows close behind his father, but is not as strong as the latter." This refers to the considerably weaker luminosity of Venus as compared to the

/1148 cont./

773 821 day star. Concerning "that other world" for which Lēm also kindly shines, the Yamana are referring quite generally to the territory of those peoples whom they assume live beyond their own territory. In more recent times they are thinking especially of the Whites whose home, as they are constantly assured, is far away from the Fuegian archipelago (74).

[171] 74. There are a number of points of similarity between this description and the Selk'nam story of the old sun-man and his son, the day star. The only special point to be noted is that the latter was also decisively active in revealing the Kloketen secret of the women (Vol. I, 600).

δ. The Rainbow

821 With weather conditions as they are in the Cape Horn region, the rainbow is anything but a rare phenomenon. Nevertheless, it always delights our Yamana. One can clearly see that they love to look at it and that it gives them a great deal of satisfaction. They are refreshed and gratified by its radiant colors. On many occasions I observed how adults and children, even in pouring rain, crawled out of their hut, stood outside, and, wide-eyed, enjoyed the intense glow of the rainbow (75).

75. Cojazzi:105 writes: "The rainbow is regarded as the harbinger of the wrath above [of the malignant god], and the women and girls shudder at the sight of it, but the men curse it and spit at it" /translated from Italian/. This report is altogether erroneous and contrary to my own observations.

773 821 At the same time I was told in a wholly matter-of-fact tone: "This Akáinix is the brother of Lēm and likewise an imposing, very handsome man. How could it be otherwise, since both belong to the same family. Of all men Akáinix knew how to paint himself best; even today he shows himself in unattainably

/1148 cont./

773 821 brilliant colors. Beautiful Hānuxa is his wife."

The combination Akāinix wātuwa is her complete name, little used in everyday speech. BD:265 writes hannūka, but also gives hannūkaiāgū, "moonlight" /cited in English/. This is the story of the rainbow.

"Old Akāinix was a magnificent figure. He knew how to paint himself much more beautifully than all the other men, for he belonged to a privileged family. The imposing Lēm is his brother; Hānuxēakuxīpa is his wife. She is also extraordinarily beautiful, for she is a woman. /1149/ Akāinix also has a number of sisters, all of whom are very grand, clever, and cunning. He himself also proved to all the people that he was a capable yékamuš.

"Once the sisters were again playing kīna in Yāiaašāga. Old Akāinix was permitted to enter the large kīna hut, for he knew all about that secret ceremony of the women. That is why he was admitted. One day his sisters amused themselves by trying to play dead. They decided to hold their breath and not to move for a long time, in imitation of a dead person. They wanted to fool their relatives and frighten them for fun.

"For some time they had been busy with these attempts and exerted themselves to the utmost, but no matter how hard they tried, they could not succeed. One day the girls were again trying these experiments when old Akāinix approached the kīna hut. He was the oldest among all his brothers and sisters. When his youngest sister saw him coming, she immediately told the others and said: 'It will be wise to stop our attempts and experiments immediately; our brother is close by and might see what we are doing.' But Akāinix was already standing inside the kīna hut. He asked his sisters: 'What are you doing here?' They all replied: 'Nothing special! As usual, we are devoting ourselves to our tasks and our songs in this hut.' Akāinix replied: 'What you are saying is not true at all. I know very well what you have just been up to; each of you tried to appear completely motionless, as though dead, without breathing for a long time. But you did not succeed as I know very well. Now then, I myself shall show you how to do this properly!' These girls, of course, wanted to dupe all their relatives living in the south and purposely frighten them in order to

/1149 cont./

TT3 amuse themselves. They were the only ones who had come here
821 from the south and they were taking part in the kīna in order to hide their real purpose. Akā́ᵢnix saw through all that and that is why he offered to help his sisters.

"So Akā́ᵢnix lay down on the ground and stretched out full length; he became completely still, soon stopped breathing, and remained motionless, just like a dead person. His sisters watched all this and conceded: 'Truly, our brother can do that very well, he is lying there just like a dead man'' Akā́ᵢnix was, after all, a capable yēkamuš.

"The kīna celebration was over and all the people left the great hut. Each family again turned homeward. Akā́ᵢnix and his sisters also climbed into their canoe. They set out in a southerly direction where their relatives lived. They had to travel several days, for the distance was great. Just before they approached the huts where their relatives were living, they stopped briefly. Akā́ᵢnix stayed behind here; he lay down on the ground, stretched out full length, and pretended he was dead. His wife, Hānuxēᵢakuxīpa, and all his daughters painted /1150/ their entire bodies black, as is done in deep mourning. Thus [prepared] they entered the hut of their relatives. Dismayed, the latter asked immediately: 'Where is Akā́ᵢnix? Why do you come with the painting of mourning?' The girls replied very sadly: 'Our brother just died, not far from here. We left him lying out there, quite near this hut. That is why we put on the painting of mourning!' After these words by the sad girls, a few men immediately got up and went to the place where Akā́ᵢnix lay. They soon brought him back and laid him in their hut. Akā́ᵢnix himself continued to pretend that he was dead. In view of this, the other people prepared for a yamalašemōᵢna. All the relatives gathered, wept loudly, and sang for several days.

"Meanwhile a few amorous men approached the wife of Akā́ᵢnix and his sisters. They began flirting, since these women were exceedingly beautiful. The men fondled them and slept with them. Akā́ᵢnix lay there completely motionless, but he observed very closely what happened. While all this was going on, several days passed. Finally the men became obtrusive and wanted the girls as their wives. They had flirted with them long

[Errata indicates this should read: sisters. —Analyst]

/1150 cont./

773 enough. The wife and sisters of Akā́inix had yielded to everything, for they knew that Akā́inix was not dead and would take
821 full revenge. Those men behaved more and more as though the women already belonged to them as wives.

"Now one day those amorous men set out on the hunt; there was no more meat in the huts. They planned to hunt for cormorants on the nearby cliffs. Their [female] relatives, kímoa and ílnux, šékuš and wípatux, stayed behind with the wife and sisters of Akā́inix.

"When the men were far enough from the hut, Akā́inix got up without being seen and hastened after them. He set out in another direction, however. He reached the cliffs before the men arrived to hunt cormorants. Akā́inix created a commotion among the many birds and frightened them. They flew up in swarms, circled around for some time, and then flew far out over the sea. He hid himself nearby. From afar the men saw how all the birds flew up from the cliffs. They said: 'Doubtless there is a man running around there somewhere, for all the cormorants are rising up, circling in the air, flying up and down, and finally drifting far out to sea. Who could that man be?' Meanwhile they came to the place, but the cormorants were hovering far out over the waves.

"Quite unexpectedly Akā́inix stepped out of his hiding-place and stood before the men. They were terribly startled when they suddenly found themselves face to face with Akā́inix. Immediately they realized what would now happen to them. Akā́inix spoke to them: 'You came here /1151/ to hunt cormorants? All the animals flew away. Only down there not far from the shore are there still a great many standing close together. Don't be afraid to step into the water, it is shallow!' The men obeyed at once, as though they had lost all capacity to think; they were so frightened that they had no idea what they were doing. So they pushed ahead far into the water in order to get quite close to the cormorants. As soon as they were in so far that they could move only with some effort, Akā́inix skillfully used his powerful sling and killed all the men. Thus he avenged himself, his wife, and his sisters.

"Without delay he hastened back to the hut. He did not reveal that he had killed all those men. After a while their

/1151 cont./

773 821 relatives asked: 'Why are our men gone such a long time? Did you perhaps see them out there near that cliff?' Akā́inix answered: "Certainly I saw them. They stepped into the sea in order to reach the cormorants who were swimming far out. Have patience, they will probably soon return!' The women again waited a long time, but the men did not return. After a while they became convinced that Akā́inix himself had murdered all the men. They were overcome with anger and seized with rage. They began to suspect Akā́inix openly and attacked him angrily. This aroused him and he began defending himself violently. Soon there was a terrific struggle between Akā́inix and the men who were present. He was hard pressed because his opponents were numerous. They held him fast, but did not succeed in killing him. For some time they choked him and tried to break his neck, but they did not succeed despite the greatest effort, for he was a mighty yékamuš. They only managed to bend his neck and his long back so far that since then he cannot quite raise himself up straight. Yā́j, the son of Akā́inix, also took part in this struggle and defended his father. The men, therefore, choked him just as they did his father and they also bent his spine. Since then Akā́inix and his son Yā́j (76) have remained deeply bowed and

76. This is the second, pale rainbow which sometimes accompanies the bright one.

curved to this day (77). The relatives of those amorous men whom

[171] 77. This clear mythical motif is also familiar to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 609).

Akā́inix murdered, however, also carried off something from that struggle. They soiled themselves with ímí while they were choking Akā́inix, for he was a yékamuš and therefore painted red all over, as is customary for a yékamuš who has died. To this day these birds (78) carry the stain of red color on their feathers."

78. They were not mentioned by name or described in any other way. -- The story assumes conditions after the great upheaval.

773 /1152/ This story was told me by Alfredo while I was sitting all alone with him and there were no women around. In one place in the story the kīna secret is mentioned, and they strictly keep this from the women. Later the same story, somewhat shortened, was repeated to me by old Mary. She omitted the brief reference to the kīna celebration. The Yamana designation Akā́inix obviously corresponds to Akā́inix of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 609), but the latter do not have a separate story about the rainbow. BD:15 gives akainix, "the rainbow" /cited in English/.

ε. The Moon-Woman

773 821 The Yamana usually use the name Hā́nuxa for this mythological person, less often the longer and more specific form Hānuxēakuxīpa. She is regarded as the wife of Akā́inix and as outstandingly beautiful and shapely. Neither women nor men speak of her in friendly terms, least of all the men. Once upon a time the moon-woman had a great influence on all women, and through them on all men as well. Everyone was obliged to yield to her commands and instructions. Her position of power was felt especially with regard to the kīna secrets of the women. Although at that time Yā́lox-tā́rnuxīpa had precedence, Hā́nuxa always had an influential part in the kīna. She was a malevolent, vicious woman and obviously hostile to all men. To this very day her hatred toward men has not diminished.

My informants did not agree about her children. Old Whaits told me briefly in 1919: "Hā́nuxa had three sons altogether, who soon died, one after the other (79). Today they stand up there

79. He was referring not to actual death but to a departure from the previous form of existence on this earth and subsequent life on the visible canopy of heaven.

near the lunar orb. None of the present-day Yamana knows her name." Since old Whaits was blind he could not show me the stars he spoke of. The next year I learned from Maśemikens: "Hā́nuxa had only one son who, like his mother, was outstandingly

/1152 cont./

773 handsome and shapely. He died very young. In her grief over
821 this great loss Hánuxa made numerous small cuts on her face so that much blood flowed. That is why to this day one sometimes sees her colored red all over, a sign of her sorrow (80). That son

80. Two well-known expressions of mourning are mentioned here, namely, surface cuts in the skin and body painting. The former meant more to the earlier generations than to the Yamana of today.

of hers became a star, no one knows his name."

To my surprise and contrary to the majority of old people, Whaits was of the opinion that Hánuxa caused the great flood. He said: "When Hánuxa is colored red all over, /1153/ she makes it plain that she is once again very angry with human beings (81)

81. This is the exact view of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 601).

and again threatens a great flood. That is why all the Yamana become terribly frightened when they see this sign." Others gave the reason previously mentioned for this phenomenon and emphatically declared that the old man was mistaken. They did say, however, that the great flood had actually come in connection with the general upheaval in Yájaašága and that the moon-woman played a decisive part in it.

Men and women agree that the phases of the moon are the course of her pregnancy: "At first, when Hánuxa is very lean and thin [beginning moon] she conceives a daughter. This child slowly develops in her belly and finally becomes quite big [full moon]. Then the child is born. After that the moon-woman's girth decreases, she becomes constantly leaner, sickly, and weak [waning moon]. Finally she dies and is no longer visible, but then the newborn daughter slowly grows. She, too, conceives, and everything is repeated again, just as in the case of her mother."

Two women explained the phases of the moon somewhat differently to me: "Slowly, like any child, Hánuxa grows very

/1153 cont./

773 slowly. She is still young and therefore small and thin. Gradu-
821 ally she becomes a full-bodied, adult woman. Then she conceives a daughter whom she carries under her heart [full moon]. After that her strength constantly decreases, and she becomes weaker and weaker [waning moon], in fact so weak finally that she nears the end of her life. Then she gives life to her daughter. Since she is giving birth, she makes herself inaccessible and avoids the glances of human beings. Soon she herself dies, but her daughter begins to live and to grow; she develops exactly like her mother. Sometimes this moon-child Hámuxa-xéolan comes down to earth. No one sees it except the yékamus. They can also hear it when it cries and weeps in its own peculiar way." According to this interpretation the appearance of the new moon is a progressive succession of generations and each moon's change is the development of a mother (82).

[171] 82. The Selk'nam (Vol. I, 601) have more to say about the moon-woman. Some of their views deviate, others coincide in significant details with what I learned from the Yamana.

The Yamana do not have anything further to say about the children of the parental pair, Akánix, the rainbow, and Hánuxéakuxípa, the moon-woman, or about their forefathers. They simply say that this couple came here along with the other families during the first immigration from the east.

5. The Deluge

773 Several times reference has been made to a general flood, about which every adult is well informed. This is probably the reason that the reports of several missionaries /1154/ contain casual references to this belief. In Outes (g):54 one reads: "They believe in a period of great tides, and when the waters covered a good part of the country, a box happened to come floating by and stopped on the summit of a high mountain. This box

/1154 cont./

113 contained a pair of Fuegians, small ones, completely like those of today, who procreated very large men, and later, these giants procreated little people, like the present-day Fuegians. Then a dispute broke out between the big people and the little people, the latter killing and destroying the former and thus remaining the single race that we know today. It is seen, then, that these tribes...have a conception of a deluge" /translated from Spanish/. Aside from the mere mention of a universal deluge, I can only be strongly suspicious of this whole account, for I did not come across similar ideas there. Bridges (a):211 expresses himself more reliably: "They have a tradition of the flood...Their tradition of the deluge is very whimsical and indistinct. The sun was submerged in the sea, the waters rose tumultuously, and all lands were submerged, save a lofty mountain where a few individuals had taken shelter" /cited in English/. According to Martial:213, the Yamana explain that universal flood: "by the fall of the sun into the sea; there it has remained and has left, as a sign of its passage on earth, only a small lake which one can still see near Ushuaia. This is sufficiently verified in their eyes by the presence of whalebones found in this lake which is actually about ten meters above sea level. The preservation of the human species was assured by the escape of one man and one woman who with their canoe found refuge on a high mountain" /translated from French/. The important thing in this description is that the deluge is linked with the general upheaval, even though this connection is not very clear. Even Spears:76 has this to report: "They had a tradition that in by-gone years a great flood raised the waters to the level of certain lines on the mountains, to which they point the traveller" /cited in English/. It is true, certain marks on a few mountain peaks, which our Yamana regard as traces of that universal flood, constantly remind them of the old myth, and they mention it to everyone to whom they point out these mountains. I myself experienced this several times and was thus made familiar with the basic ideas of that story.

Old Whaits, in 1919, was the first who told me: "The moon-woman Hanuxa caused the great flood. This was at the time of the general upheaval in Yáiaasága. Hánuxa was filled with

/1154 cont./

113 hatred toward human beings, most of all toward the men who had gained control of the kīna of the women. At that time everybody drowned with the exception of those few who were able to escape to the five mountain peaks to which the water did not rise. Scarcely had the great flood subsided when those few people came down from the mountain peaks to the /1155/ shores of our channels, and our country became populated anew." Concerning this description more reliable informants would not concede that the great flood was caused by the moon-woman.

Nevertheless, another version noted by Cojazzi:105 clearly speaks in favor of it: "A Yahgan tribe near Ushuaia narrated that the moon once fell into the sea, causing the water to rise so high that only the top of a mountain stood out, on which the swifter men and animals saved themselves. When the moon later returned to the sky, the water receded and then the men and animals, descending from the mountain, found in the lagoon below a dead whale which they ate" /translated from Italian/. Still another version is related to this one: "This legend is told somewhat differently by the other Yahgan west of Harbertón. Some men and animals did not save themselves on top of a mountain, 'but on Cable Island which, detached from the bottom of the sea, floated like a big boat (83) until, when

83. Here a motif is repeated which was mentioned earlier in Outes (g):54 (see p. 1113.

the moon returned to the sky, it became rooted again to the bottom of the sea" /translated from Italian/.

In January, 1920, I heard the following version from Alfredo, Charlin, and Richard in the presence of a few young men: "The very touchy Lɛxuwakīpa (84) was offended by human

84. This refers to the strong, rust-colored spectacled ibis, Theristicus melanopis.

beings. In revenge she caused a great deal of snow to fall. A huge mass of ice finally covered the whole earth. When this

/1155 cont./

773 began to melt, there was so much water that the earth became completely flooded. That woman planned to destroy the whole world and all the people. The ice came just at the time of the universal upheaval in Yájaalága, when the men were carrying on their battle with the women and gained control of the kína. -- In this connection see Lexuwakípa wátuwa on page 1232 /untranslated/.

"After the ice period the whole earth became flooded. The tremendous amount of water rose constantly and quickly. Everybody hastened to the canoes and sat down in them; they all wanted to save themselves. The water rose higher and higher; it even reached the mountain tops and covered one after the other. Finally there were only five peaks that rose above the great flood. The tremendous inundation came extraordinarily quickly and there were high waves so that the people could not provide themselves with food. Many of them did not even reach their canoes and almost all the human beings drowned in the huge flood. The distress everywhere was indescribable. There was no hope for the ones who could not flee in their canoes in time and hold out in some protected spot.

773 "The fortunate people were those who in their canoes
823 reached one of the five mountain tops which rose up out of the water. There they found safety. Those mountain peaks are [1] Úsiáka in what is now Packsaddle Bay on the Hardy Peninsula. High up one can still see broad bands which indicate how high the great flood reached. [2] Wémarʲwaja opposite O'Brien Island, where one sees a /1156/ cut reaching all around the rock. It was made when many canoes were tied up there, but almost all nevertheless perished. [3] Auwáratulêra in a hidden corner of Estero Ponsonby. At this place there is still a thick pole to which several canoes were fastened at that time. This pole has turned to stone, for it has been there a very long time. [4] Wêlalánux on Gable Island. There the high peak formerly rose still higher. It has become considerably lower because strong waves are constantly pounding it. [5] Pjatulêra, two steep eminences on either side of the mouth of the Rio Douglas. Today they are no longer as high as at the time when the great flood covered all the land.

/1156 cont./

773 "After the mighty flood had reached its highest level so that the above-mentioned five peaks were barely visible, the water remained at this level for two whole days. After that it quickly receded and drained off. Only a few families had succeeded in saving themselves; almost all the Yamana were drowned. After the great flood had drained off, those few people began building their huts again on the shore. From that time on the men dictate to the women."

773 776 After I had heard this story, I happened to talk to Alfredo the next day about the same subject, and I asked him pointedly: "Who sent those huge amounts of water? Does Lexuwakipa really have so much power?" The old man answered definitely and with conviction: "Actually it was mighty Wataginéiwa who permitted the mighty flood to come; Lexuwakipa persuaded him to do this. She wanted to destroy the whole world. At any rate she succeeded with Wataginéiwa so that the great flood descended."

It should be noted that on this occasion I was unable to find out anything more about the figure of Wataginéiwa. There was noticeable timidity in the mention of this name, as though my informant had let it slip out unconsciously and against his will. He refused to disclose anything further despite repeated requests. Later I was able to account perfectly for this strange behavior, but at that time, under the influence of the startled faces when the name Wataginéiwa was mentioned, I lost my head to a certain extent. I could not understand why Alfredo refused to give me further explanations. Finally I began to think that the story of the deluge had been given to the Yamana by the missionaries and that their uncertainty in Biblical matters in my presence had caused the embarrassment that I read in all their faces. I carefully noted this explanation in my diary. Later my doubts on this subject disappeared. A specific argument for the authenticity of the myth of the deluge is that neither Alfredo nor Maĕemikens had any contact worth mentioning with any mission station. Two years later, in 1922, Maĕemikens confirmed the entire content of this legend of the flood as I have just given it. /1157/ He did not, however, specifically speak of the direct influence of Wataginéiwa in the general deluge, although he conceded it indirectly.

/1157 cont./

173 The Yamana have not preserved a continent text of the myth of the deluge, although nothing has been changed in the basic idea. Fred Lawrence also realized that there was some uncertainty, and he once told me that since childhood he had observed that this myth was never told continently and with the same words by the various individuals. There were always small deviations. He himself, therefore, has never been clear about whether the general conflagration when the old sun-man was nearer the earth and let everything burn up and the great flood coincided approximately in point of time. Refer to the Selk'nam for comparison (Vol. I, 410). They, too, have a myth of a deluge which has a corresponding basic idea, but which is not clear in some parts.

η. Origin of These Personalities

The myths state quite clearly that the first settlers of the present-day Yamana region immigrated as adults. They do not say anything, however, about their origin, that is, their point of departure and how they came into being. The actual process of giving birth was first introduced by Yoltox and since then there have been real human beings, but the Yamana have no clear idea how those first heroes or pre-humans originated. This makes the distinction between the two groups all the more definite.

One day when I asked knowledgeable Maremikem how those personalities of former times had happened to come into the world, he paused to think seriously for some time and then replied: "This is not the first time that I have been faced with that question. As a young man I was admitted to the kina; there I was told [in the myth of the upheaval] how all the animals originated. Since then I have now and then asked myself, as well as others, especially the famous yékamof and experienced old men, about how those people originated [who afterwards transformed themselves into animals] and why they came here, but no one knew the answer. So I am not clear about it to this day, although I have thought about it for a long time and have often sought an answer to this question. At that time Tkowalkin

/1197 cont./

113 burned up the whole world and all the animals. But how everything became orderly again after that, how the country came alive again with plants and animals, who it was that finally extinguished the great fire -- all this we do not know. In former years I often asked the most experienced Tamans about it, but no one was able to help me."

On another occasion, in March, 1953, among a group of old /1198/ men, I again touched on the subject of how, in their opinion, the heaven and the first animals originated. I actually challenged them by saying: "You tell the story that Wataunéjwa made all the animals (bif) in Yiasiége. Very well, but how did human beings come into being at that time?" The answer was: "We don't know that exactly. Wotogindjwa, of course, existed a very long time ago, for heaven was already there above the earth where the clouds are. That is where Wotognéjwa always stayed. Back in the days when Lîm and Ilîmuga and Akîinix were still wandering down here on earth, they were exactly like us today. But Wotogindjwa existed before them, because heaven was already there as we see it now. At that time the sky was much closer to the earth than it is nowadays.

113 "At that time the women ruled, they gave orders to the
B3 men. But we do not know how children came into being in those days; since women played the leading role, they would not lie under the men [ad copulam perficiendam /to facilitate coitus/]. So we do not know how children originated. Since the great upheaval, the women are dominated by the men. At that time the great seal tîyâ'wa (Arctocephalus australis) discovered the place [on the body] where the îlinde sexualis is, and this he made known to the men. He said: "Vir incubus immittat membrum suum mulieri succubae /man, lying on top, puts his member in woman lying underneath/!" Since that time the men dictate to the women, they lie on top of them; this gives them great pleasure and in this way children come into existence. Even today the Tamans do the same thing. We do not know how Lîm and Ilîmuga and all the rest who now appear up there as stars originated. Long before that Wotogindjwa, as well as the canopy of heaven, was there.

113 "During that great upheaval in which the men rose up against the women who had brought the kîna game down here from

/1158 cont./

113 the north, Lēm with all the rest of his family rose up to heaven where they are still standing. At that time a woman tried to see if she could transform herself and turn into Hapčélla. She tried for a long time and finally succeeded. Since then she stays under the earth. We cannot explain how she managed to do this. After that this woman produced many other Hapčélla, and always when she slept with a man. She herself chose the man with whom she wanted to sleep, aroused him [libidine sexuali], and thus a child came into being."

This story clearly emphasizes a difference between those personalities who appeared as the first settlers of the Cape Horn region and the actual Yamana who followed them. The Fuegians do not know how the former originated. After the seat of libido sexualis and the union of the sexes per copulam was discovered, conception and birth take place, children originate, and they are the actual human beings who are separate from the earlier heroic personalities and who represent a later people of this region.

/1159/ 2. The Culture-Bearers

The picture of the world that the above-mentioned myths describe is limited. The Yamana are far more concerned with the details of how their own way of life and their material possessions came about. The extraordinarily significant inventions and important rules for community life which form the basis of the uniqueness of these Fuegians are traced back to the Yoálox family, the members of which must be recognized as culture-bearers in the fullest sense of the word. The youngest member of this family is outstanding and more influential than his brothers and sisters.

In general the Yamana are proud of the Yoálox family because it achieved great things and brought so much. The younger Yoálox is not a popular personality; he is purposely mentioned only rarely among adults. The young people become acquainted with him only when they mature. The uwíala in the čiéxat are told about this family in detail. For example, the adults will say: "Yoálox told us how we Yamana should conduct ourselves!" They are referring to the traditional habits of life and the moral precepts.

/1159 cont./

113 With these words they wish to show how influential he is himself and how significant everything is that he introduced. He is clearly identified as the bearer of the decrees that Wanagilaqwa himself issued to the Tamana. This intermediary position, however, has no effect in practical life. Girls learn about him on the occasion of their menarche (p.575). The complete set of Tqalioq stories is repeated in the kina.

In view of this it is not strange that earlier travelers did not hear a word about these mythological personalities. Spencer:181 was the only one to whom very brief hints were given: "Tqalhik, a Tahgan, was a woman who invented arrow-heads. Two brothers and a sister. Brothers used to kill seal with pointed stick. Sister thought and invented arrow-head. Sister one day put arrow-head at end of spear. When she died, Tqalhik went up to heaven, and is now a star" /cited in English/. During long conversations with the oldest men, I learned the following which I have arranged freely in my own fashion. Women avoid speaking of him out of marked aversion.

C. The Tqalioq Family

The Tamana all agree that the two Tqalioq brothers are quite superior personalities, extraordinarily intelligent and skillful in every respect, endowed with rich gifts of invention and full of the urge to do things. This is far more true of the younger Tqalioq who excels his older brother in every respect. "Their older sister, Tqalioq-tlenqiqa, was actually the cleverest person of all. She had great influence on her two brothers and stood by them in everything, for she was highly gifted and very skillful, extraordinarily capable in all things. There are two more sisters (p.1144), but no /1160/ one remembers their names or what they did." The mother of them all (p.#51) is likewise mentioned, but not the father.

On a number of occasions I was emphatically assured that the members of the Tqalioq family "are the first human beings." A first settlement has been mentioned above (p.1100). It consisted of creatures which became men and animals. If in this

//1125 cont.-/

773 connection the expression "first human beings" is again mentioned, it is merely to show that the Yaliny were present before the age of actual human beings. These Yaliny are not regarded as human beings in the strict sense of the word, but they are not associated with the personalities grouped around Lihn. It seems almost as though the preceding age had come to a close, and the Yaliny for their part inaugurate with their appearance a new type of existence as preparation for the actual, true human beings.

Then the story goes on. "The Yaliny family took long journeys throughout the wide world before they finally came here where the Tonsta live today. Here, then, they began all kinds of work. When soon the [actual] human beings appeared who were born here [on the spot], the Yaliny taught them how they should arrange everything, what attitude they should have toward one another, and how they should converse with one another. The Yaliny also showed people all kinds of implements, utensils, weapons, and tools and taught them to handle all these things successfully. They were, after all, very capable men, that is why they invented the various weapons and tools which we use nowadays in hunting and fishing, in gathering, and in killing animals. They also showed how animals are to be cracked in the water and on land, the great whales and sea lions, the otters and foxes, the crazy birds, the shellfish and crustaceans, how to skin them and make the skin serviceable, how to use and acquire the bones. All this the Yaliny invented and transmitted to human beings. Yaliny-Grandpa was the cleverest, and the younger brother, in turn, far surpassed the older one. Thus prove that a younger brother is often more capable and cleverer than his older brother."

All the Tonsta are in complete agreement about the description of the ancient set forth here. The stories that follow are more or less well known to every adult Tonsta.

β. The Invention of Fire

773 It is said. Once the older Yaliny collected many small
774 stones and assisted himself by hitting them against one another. Among them there was also a good spark (p. 77). When he hit

/1180 rows./

773 this against another stone, a small spark shot out. Surprised at
1b this, he hit them stones together several times and each time
/1181/ sparks shot out. Hastily he seized a handful of down-
feathers. He placed them on the ground. Once more he began
striking a spark from the Spirit. He placed himself in such a way
as to hit the stone from a certain direction so that the spark leaped
into the down-feathers. They began to glow, caught fire, and
soon a small flame leaped up. They Talking quickly brought bark
and wood and put it all on top. Then a big fire started. It gave
a most comfortable warmth. It felt good to Talking to sit beside
the fire during the day and to sleep beside it at night. The fire
also proved useful for many other things. It helped roast the
bears, dry the skins, and heat pieces of bark and sticks to
straighten them out.

Highly pleased, the elder Talking cried out. "The fire is
exceedingly beneficial and does many things. Let us keep it
burning constantly, so that it will never go out. Once lighted,
may it go on burning by itself so that human beings will have no
trouble using it. They should not have to make an effort to re-
kindle it every time (in every case of need) or keep on feeding
it with wood!" The younger Talking heard these words, and they
put him to a bed humpy. He did not at all like what his brother
was planning. He immediately replied. "I am not in favor of
what you wish. It is much better if people have to exert them-
selves. Everyone should make an honest effort for the fire and
should tend it carefully. May everyone have to rekindle the fire
anew if he has let it go out. Human beings should work!" Im-
mediately he reached for a long stick, poked around in the em-
bers with it, and scattered the smoldering logs. Then the whole
fire went out. Since then every fire without exception will go
out if it is not constantly and carefully tended. Thus everyone
is forced to work.

Talking taught human beings how they must light their fire
with the Spirit, how they must fan it and keep it going. Since
then a person whose fire goes out must relight it with a great deal
of effort. Talking wanted to force all human beings to guard the
fire with increased vigilance. Failing this, a person will have it
and will find himself forced to rekindle a new fire with great ef-
fort and keep it going.

/1101 cont./

8. Hunting Birds

73 The Yamana tell: The two Tyalong went hunting whenever they lacked meat for food. They always killed birds with their slings. The elder Tyalong found all this too much trouble and he always felt that it was a great chore. One day he said to his brother: "I would like it better if we killed birds merely with a glance; a bird that is given a penetrating look shall immediately fall dead. Let it be that: anyone who needs the meat of a bird shall cast a sharp eye on it and therewith kill it! In this way everyone can /1102/ effortlessly obtain his heavy and carry it home!" The elder Tyalong immediately tried it. A few birds happened to be flying overhead. He fixed them with his eye and at the same time willed them to fall to the ground dead. Sure enough, that is what happened; all these birds immediately dropped dead in front of him. The elder Tyalong was pleased beyond measure and said: "From now on it shall always be thus and we shall also teach human beings how to do this: anyone who stares at a bird in order to make it fall dead shall always be successful! In this way we shall save ourselves a lot of bother and trouble, the numerous journeys, and many dangers." The younger Tyalong heard these words. He very much disliked his elder brother's plan and opposed it angrily. He replied: "It is much more beneficial for people to make weapons and implements and we set out to hunt with them. They should exert themselves and are running when they creep up on birds and surprise them in order to kill them and seize them. It shall be that all must work and make an effort!"

The elder Tyalong was very much put out by his younger brother's words; he did not reply. On the following day he tried again to kill a few birds with a mere glance. A whole flock just happened to be flying above him. Immediately he stared hard at the animals and willed them to fall dead, but they kept on flying, unharmed. Disappointed and displeased the elder Tyalong looked after them. From that time on every human being must see running and effort if he wants to catch birds. Very often the prey escapes the awkward hunter.

/1162 cont./

δ. Hunting the Sea Lion

773 It is told: Once the elder Yoálox received a beautifully made harpoon from his elder sister. It proved very serviceable. This weapon never missed its mark. He always obtained booty with it and each time he carried it back in his hand.

One day he again returned home from the hunt, loaded down with a huge sea lion. Although he had killed it with the first blow, he broke his harpoon in doing so and lost it. So the elder Yoálox said to his younger brother: "How convenient it would be if I had a harpoon that I would never lose and that would never break! This is the way it ought to be: at the first thrust the sea lion ought to fall over dead and the weapon immediately return to the hand of the hunter. In this way we should save ourselves and human beings a great deal of trouble and bother. Then we would not have to exert any particular effort to make the harpoon carefully. Everyone would safely and easily obtain fat and meat from the sea lion; otherwise it requires a great deal of effort and cunning to kill a sea lion." The younger Yoálox had heard all this. He very decidedly opposed the proposition /1163/ of his elder brother and angrily replied: "It must never be as you say! It is good for human beings to work and exert themselves. It is very useful that everyone makes his own weapons; he would lose this [this benefit] if we let every man have a harpoon of the kind you propose. There is also some gain when a clumsy, careless hunter breaks his harpoon and forfeits it. May his prey escape if an awkward, bungling man hurls his harpoon badly. Everyone should, after all, make an effort and exert himself!"

The elder Yoálox could not object to these words. This explains why, to this day, the harpoon of a clumsy hunter breaks and is lost if he has not learned to hurl it properly and aim it well, or it remains superficially attached to the back of the sea lion and the animal swims away with it if the hunter has not hurled it powerfully enough. A person who has forfeited his harpoon in this way must simply take the trouble to make a new one.

Later Yoálox-tárnuxípa gave the elder of the two Yoálox other weapons and implements: the firm leather thong made from sea-lion hide, úkeła; the sharp knife made from the shell

/1163 cont./

113 of an edible mussel; the strong bone wedge, ĭla, with a stone as a hammer (p.111); the strong sling, šăfina (p. 172); the long snare-rod, akămuš (p. 179); and the joined lengths of the snare-line, ŭfka, for catching birds (p. 178), as well as the rest of the implements. He was greatly pleased with all these things, for whenever he used them, success was his. Hence he longed for nothing more than that all these tools should neither break nor wear out, that they should neither slip out of their owner's hand nor become lost in any other way. His purpose was to save people the trouble of having to make all their implements anew.

These fine plans of the elder Yoăloх were very definitely opposed by his brother. The younger Yoăloх aimed to make people work. The weapons of every stiff and awkward hunter should break and he should lose them so that he would learn to become skillful. All tools should wear out so that everyone would be forced to make new ones. In this way everyone would be busy. The younger Yoăloх followed this plan. Thus to this day no one is spared the trouble of putting effort and attention into all his implements, of always making new ones, and of handling them carefully. He will always be dependent on his tools in his daily occupations; he can under no circumstances do without them.

E. The Invention of the Arrowhead

It is told: Both Yoăloх were very adroit craftsmen. They had, after all, taken long journeys throughout the world and thus had become acquainted with many things. /1164/ They were also the first to come here to the territory of the Yamana. Hence they were obliged to make and design the first weapons and tools in such a way that the true Yamana could use them successfully. Their sister, however, the capable Yoăloх-tărmuxĭpa, surpassed her two able brothers in many respects by her clever judgment and far-sighted attitude. She had considerable influence on everyone. She gave instructions to all the other women who willingly yielded to her. The women, in turn, ordered their husbands about in such a way that they complied with their wishes in every respect. The sister of the two Yoăloх was really extraordinarily intelligent; she

/1164 cont./

113 surpassed everyone in wise insight, cunning, and talent. Whenever it seemed proper, she would help her two brothers and all the women in their work. At such times they were always very successful and their enterprises brought rich gains.

One day the two Yoálox brothers were working on a yěkuš. Although they were skillful craftsmen and had worked hard all day, the arrowhead did not seem to come out right. They had given it sharp edges that would cut well, but they were unable to fasten the point securely to the shaft. Securing the point to the shaft was obviously most important, for only then would the arrowhead be at all useful. The two Yoálox had rounded the lower edge of the arrowhead; therefore, the cords fastening it could not be secured properly and the arrowhead did not sit firmly in the narrow notch at the upper end of the shaft. Such an arrowhead was useless. They worked hard and tried over and over again, this way and that, to see how the arrowhead could be securely inserted in the shaft. They had already made quite a number of points and tried them out, but they were not satisfied with any of them, for each one fell out very easily because it was rounded. Dissatisfied, they gathered together the many arrowheads in a small basket and hung it up in their hut.

One day the two Yoálox had again gone hunting to get meat for food. When they were far from their hut, Yoálox-tárnuxīpa took down the little basket with the many arrowheads. It had not escaped her notice that her two brothers had toiled without any success whatever. She emptied the basket on the ground in front of her and picked up one arrowhead after another, working them over and perfecting them so that they could be used. At the bottom she fashioned a piece shaped like a stopper by making shallow notches on either side so that the lashing could not slide off. She corrected each of the arrowheads in this way, put them all back in the little basket, and hung it up again in the same place. In the evening her two brothers returned home, but she did not tell them that she had perfected the many arrowheads.

/1165/ Depressed and ill-humored the two Yoálox wanted to resume their work on the arrowheads the next day and see whether they could be securely lashed to the shaft and used. They

/1165 cont./

113 took down the little basket and emptied the many arrowheads on the ground in front of them. Completely surprised, they realized that the arrowheads had been worked over, for each one had a clearly defined stopper-shaped base. With amazement they looked at this change. Immediately they experimented with them; they placed an arrowhead in the notch on the upper end of the shaft and lashed the base with fine tendons. The point now actually fitted securely on the shaft and did not fall out. Now the arrow was serviceable. Then the elder Yoálox cried: "Who do you suppose worked over these arrowheads and made them serviceable?" The younger Yoálox replied: "Only our sister could have done that; after all, she is much more capable and skillful than we are. She succeeds in everything. She is the only one who could have improved these arrowheads and made them useful!" The elder Yoálox agreed with his brother: "Certainly, it is as you say, our sister surpasses us in cleverness and skill. From now on we shall give her all our tools so that she will help us [in making and perfecting them] !" For a long time the two Yoálox were very pleased over these effective arrowheads.

ζ. The Invention of the Harpoon Point

It is told: A short time after that the two Yaólox began long harpoon points from the bones of the whale. The bones of the whale are longer and harder than those of other marine animals, and so they penetrate deeper and more effectively into their prey. They put such a point on a long shaft and lashed it with a narrow leather band. They immediately went hunting in order to try out the weapon.

When a sea lion came near, they hurled this harpoon at it, but the animal was not killed, only superficially wounded. It quickly escaped by diving under the water, then soon came up again and disappeared far from shore. The superficial wound had not hurt it in the least. The two Yoálox did not succeed in killing a single sea lion with their harpoon. Several times they went out to hunt, but every animal hit by their harpoon was only slightly wounded and escaped without any trouble. Each time the two Yoálox returned home disappointed and without booty. They had

/1165 cont./

113 already lost ever so many harpoons, for if a sea lion was hit the harpoon remained loosely lodged near the surface of its body and it would swim away with it. On such hunts all their efforts remained unsuccessful; the harpoons proved unsuitable.

Annoyed at their many unsuccessful efforts, /1166/ the two Yoálox one day decided to question their elder sister. They said to her: "Why do you suppose it is that our harpoon hits the sea lion and the point enters its body, but it wounds the animal only slightly? We cannot succeed in killing it and so we ca[illegible]ver lay hands on it. For many days [illegible]ow we have returned home without booty'" The intelligent, understanding Yoálox-tárnuxípa replied: "Bring me one of your harpoon points, I should like to examine it carefully." They immediately fetched a bone point and showed it to her. She took it and examined it carefully. This piece tapered to a fine point and had a suitable base at the other end for the lashing, just like the arrowhead that Yoálox-tárnuxípa had improved. Hence the harpoon point was securely held in the notch at the end of the upper shaft and firmly lashed. The two sides of the long bone point, however, were smooth from top to bottom. Then Yoálox-tárnuxípa cut a large, pointed tooth in one side. When she succeeded in doing that, she looked at the bone point with the utmost satisfaction. Immediately she untied her modesty-apron, mašakána (p. 60), and cut off a long strip of leather. She knotted one end of this around the base of the point, then ran the leather strip along the side of the shaft, and tied it securely below, rolling up the long, free part (Fig. 35). Then she showed her brothers how to handle this harpoon: the right hand grasps the harpoon in approximately the center of the shaft and the left hand holds the long, free part of the leather strip loosely. Yoálox-tárnuxípa demonstrated to her brothers how to grasp this harpoon. Then she said to them: "Now try it!"

The two Yoálox thanked their sister because she had improved their harpoon and showed them how to use it. They left the hut immediately; they wanted to experiment with the harpoon and hunt sea lions. Scarcely had they reached the shore when a mighty animal swam by. The younger Yoálox grasped the harpoon exactly as his sister had shown him; when he hurled it, he held the free end of the thong securely in his left hand. Sure enough, the bone

/1166 cont./

113 harpoon point penetrated deeply into the back of the sea lion. Instantly it escaped under the surface of the water. It did not go far, however, for the long strap soon became taut and the tooth in the harpoon point tore the wound deeper the harder the sea lion tugged. The shaft had already become detached from the point, but the lower end of it was still held by the leather thong and floated on the surface of the water. The shaft showed Yoálox where the sea lion was. The animal was no longer tugging so hard on the long line, for the deep wound hurt very much and each tug was painful. Slowly the younger Yoálox now drew in line; as it became shorter, the sea lion was drawn nearer to the shore (85). When it was finally lying on land, /1167/ the

85. This gives a detailed account of how this large harpoon works and assures success (p. 161). It shows the amazing skill and cleverness of these Fuegian inventors.

elder Yoálox killed it with a club. With this harpoon they had thus safely and easily caught the first sea lion, which gave them a great deal of fat.

The two Yoálox were almost beside themselves with satisfaction at this success. They spent the whole day hunting sea lions. They collected an undreamed-of amount of booty. It was not until evening that they decided to return to their hut. This time they puffed and panted under the weight of the great amount of meat. Overjoyed, they told their sister about their great success and explained how they had quickly caught each animal and why none had escaped this time.

After that the two Yoálox abandoned all their crafts, for it gave them untold joy to hunt the sea lion with this harpoon. Later they taught all the men how to use the great harpoon. Since then the Yamana use this harpoon with the long leather thong whenever they go to hunt sea lions.

/1167 cont./

η. How Blubber Was Obtained

113 The Yamana tell: The elder Yoálox loved the fat of sea lion and the blubber of whale; they tasted very good to him and he was mad about them. He was anxiously concerned about always having an ample supply of blubber on hand. One day he considered a plan whereby all the water in all the channels, brooks, and lagoons should be transformed into whale blubber and seal fat. This huge mass was to keep uniformly fresh, never spoil or lose its good flavor, and never be used up. He said to himself: "If this could be arranged, people would always have fresh blubber on hand, they could save themselves dangerous journeys and laborious hunts, they would never have to do without this tasty morsel, and life would be much more pleasant!"

He then proposed these plans to his younger brother and tried to win him over, but the latter would not hear of it and refused his brother, saying: "It must never be as you plan. People must constantly be forced to work. Therefore men should go out to hunt. When they have killed whales and seals, the women will prepare the fat; then everybody will partake abundantly of the tasty blubber which will be particularly good after their tiring work. Human beings should not enjoy things without preliminary effort!"

Thus once again the elder Yoálox was obliged to abandon his plan and yield to the decision of his younger brother. Soon afterward the elder Yoálox took a long journey on foot; he grew very hungry and tired. He sat down on a stone and wanted to rest, /1168/ but the earth was swampy and water soon oozed up around his feet. Since he was hungry, the thought occurred to him: "How agreeable it would be if all the water that rises up wherever I or some other person sets foot should immediately turn to blubber. Then everyone would have plenty with which to appease his hunger!" This wish, too, he soon proposed to his younger brother. The latter, however, was annoyed and replied: "It must never be that way! May people suffer hunger if they do not work!" This again made the elder Yoálox sad, and he never realized his wish. This is the reason why, from that time on, hunting for the men and concern by all people about sustenance have been

/1168 cont./

713 inescapable laws. The attitude of the younger Yoálox on numerous occasions clearly shows that younger children are often wiser and more understanding, but also more obstinate, than their older brothers and sisters.

θ. The Beginning of Libido sexualis

The men tell among themselves: One day the younger Yoálox felt great lust, and he tried all kinds of ways of satisfying it. For this purpose he fashioned a human body. In it he put eye sockets and immisit membrum suum magnum /inserted his large member/, but he was not satisfied. Then he made two openings below the nose, but here, too, he felt no pleasure. Then he opened the ear cavities on either side, but he did not find satisfaction in these places. Thereupon he opened a wide mouth, but here, too, he found no satisfaction. He tried to satisfy his lust in other places, namely, the armpits, the breasts, the navel, but he could not find pleasure anywhere. Finally he made an opening between the legs, and here at last he obtained full satisfaction.

Later he taught this to the men. Since then they, too, have known how to satisfy their lust.

ι. The Beginning of Body Painting

It is told: In the beginning the two Yoálox lived only with their sister; neither of them had a wife. After a time they no longer liked being alone all day and sleeping alone at night. Finally they confessed to Yoálox-tárnuxipa: "As you can see, we are all alone here. We do not like living this way any longer. Help us to get a wife soon!" Yoálox-tárnuxipa agreed and promised to help her two brothers.

Then these three considered what they could do. The two brothers had excellent weapons and were very skilled. Hence they always brought home ample booty from hunting /1169/ and lived on the fat of the land. They had large supplies of meat in

/1169 cont./

713 their hut. By contrast, Hulušēnuwa (86) was always hard pressed;

> 86. This is the smaller species of the two Fuegian wrens, Troglodytes hornensis.

he always lacked meat because he had a great many wives. His wives had a great desire to visit the two Yoālox and to gaze at them. Once when Hulušēnuwa was again out of meat, he himself decked out each of his wives in extraordinarily fine fashion. He ordered each of them to decorate themselves still more and paint themselves with colors. Then he sent them one after another to the two Yoālox to obtain meat from them. Each of his wives had decorated herself with colors and designs according to her own taste. They were all different and all very beautiful.

This introduced the custom of painting one's face and entire body; people make themselves beautiful in this way and take pleasure in doing so. Since the time when the small Hulušēnuwa requested his many wives to decorate themselves with colored designs, the Yamana realize that they are obliged to paint themselves on certain occasions (87). Thus it has become

> 87. In the discussion which ensued, the following special occasions were mentioned: visits, the menarche, mourning and funeral rites, the youth initiation, and the Kina festival.

an unavoidable custom. The wives of Hulušēnuwa have to this day retained the beautiful body painting that they applied at that time. Whenever the men perform the kīna, they imitate the colors and designs in the fur and feathers of many animals by painting their own bodies in various ways (88).

> 88. One must realize, and this was specifically called to my attention in this connection, that all those wives, as well as the two Yoalox, are not considered true human beings. The former changed themselves into birds; the latter, along

/1169 cont./

773 with their sister, rose up to heaven where one can see them to this day as stars.

K. The Onset of the First Menstruation

773 841 Without delay (89) little Hulušénuwa first sent his wife

89. For clearer organization, I have made a special story of this on my own initiative. My informants told the whole story without this break.

Tákašakīpa (90) to the Yoálox. She entered the hut of the two

90. This is the loud seagull, Larus belcheri.

Yoálox and introduced herself. The two brothers looked closely at this woman for a long time. Then they said to their sister: "Give this woman lots of meat!" Yoálox-tárnuxīpa gave Tákašakīpa much meat and she was dismissed. The two brothers had arranged with their sister that they would look over every woman carefully to see whether she was beautiful and whether they liked her. Every woman that did not please them was to be given much meat by their sister and dismissed.

After a while Lášixkīpa arrived. The two Yoálox looked at her, but she did not please them. Yoálox-tárnuxīpa gave her much /1170/ meat and she was dismissed. Then little Hulušénuwa sent all the rest of his wives, one after the other: šékuš, kīmoa, lūrux, wāsénim, lēkakuta, wīpatux, malēpa, šánes, wémarᶻkīpa, kiwágu, dētēhūrux, čokóa (91), and many others, for he had

91. Only a few names are mentioned here in abbreviated form, without the "kipa" designating gender and without the more specific zoological designation, thus avoiding superfluous repetition.

many wives. No matter how beautiful they all were, one as

/1170 cont./

773 841 much as the other, the two Yoálox did not care particularly for any of them. Their sister gave each of these women much meat and they hurried back to their hut. In this way the many wives of little Hulušénuwa presented themselves to the two Yoálox, one after the other. The brothers carefully looked at each woman, but they did not like any of them. There were constantly more women coming. Each one entered the hut of the Yoálox alone, but each of them soon was given a large portion of meat and was in this way dismissed.

Finally Mákuxīpa arrived as the last and the most beautiful wife of little Hulušénuwa. When she entered the hut of the two Yoálox she pleased them beyond measure and they could not take their eyes off her. They whispered to their sister: "Do not give this woman any meat! We want to keep her here in our hut and not let her go back to her husband. We like this beautiful woman very much indeed!" Yoálox-tárnuxīpa said to Mákuxīpa: "Just sit down here beside my brothers, they both like you very much!" So Mákuxīpa sat down without embarrassment, as Yoálox-tárnuxīpa had told her to, on the pallet of the two Yoálox. The latter soon began to fondle the beautiful woman. Later they persuaded Mákuxīpa to stay with them in the hut. The two Yoálox both frankly confessed to her how much they were in love with her. She liked that very much and said: "Very well, I shall stay with you!" Then the two Yoálox were extremely pleased that this beautiful woman wanted to stay with them. They immediately began satisfying their lust. They thanked their sister especially, because she had helped keep this beautiful woman here.

In his hut little Hulušénuwa waited for his Mákuxīpa, but she did not return home. After a long time he finally learned that the two Yoálox were keeping his wife with them in order to amuse themselves with her. This made him sad beyond measure and he said sorrowfully: "Woe is me! They have persuaded the most beautiful of my wives and stolen her from me. They sent home all the rest who are less beautiful, after giving them much meat. How I miss my beautiful Mákuxīpa!" Little Hulušénuwa constantly lamented in this fashion.

/1170 cont./

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841

The two Yoálox continued to amuse themselves with Mákuxīpa. She, too, liked it very much in the hut of the two brothers. They took turns sleeping with her and were very glad that they no longer had to do without that (92).

92. This means frequent and free sexual intercourse for which they hitherto had had no opportunity. Thus their relationship to the woman is not to be interpreted as polyandry.

/1171/ One day, early in the morning, the elder Yoálox went to the forest to hunt animals and gather wood. His brother stayed behind, stretched out on his pallet, with beautiful Mákuxīpa lying at his side. Because the elder Yoálox was absent, they gave themselves up to their boundless lust. They spent all day on their bed and it did not occur to them to get up. The day passed all too quickly for them, and it was after dark when the elder Yoálox returned. He approached the hut cautiously and unobserved. Then he realized that those two were still caressing each other and rolling around on their bed. This aroused his curiosity. Then he listened closely; he wanted to hear what they were saying to each other. He heard Mákuxīpa whisper to the younger Yoálox: "Membrum tuum mihi summopere placet. Tantum est quantum repleat vaginam meam. Rubrum est sicut máku (93). Frater tuus membrum minutum habet, quod

93. The reference /máku/ is to the scarlet blossom of Embothrium coccineum (Fig. 78 on p. 495).

me non ita irritat. Ecce, multo magis membrum magnum tuum mihi placet quam fratris tui. Tecum tempus diuturnum concumbere malo." /"Your member is very pleasing to me. How much it fills my vagina. It is as red as máku. Your brother has a small member which thus does not arouse me. Indeed, your large member pleases me much more than that of your brother. I would rather have intercourse for a long time with you."/ These words

/1171 cont./

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841

delighted the younger Yoálox. His older brother who was standing outside the hut listened attentively and understood perfectly what those two were whispering to each other.

After a while he finally entered the hut. He threw down the heavy logs he had brought and immediately sat down beside the fire, for the heavy rain had made him soaking wet. Now the younger Yoálox inconspicuously moved away a bit from Máikuxípa, but both of them were still lying on the pallet. The elder Yoálox had been warming himself by the fire for some time when he finally addressed the woman in a very ill-humored tone: "How can you lie here with my brother from early morning until now!" She answered carelessly: "Well, I liked being with him!" This explanation made him still more ill-humored, and irritated, he said harshly: "I know very well why you liked being with him so much that you lay together the whole day. What was it you just whispered to him?" Embarrassed, Máikuxípa replied: "What could I have whispered to him? We talked about unimportant things." Whereupon the elder Yoálox replied: "In any case you enjoyed yourself immensely with my brother. And I distinctly heard you say to him: 'Membrum tuum mihi summopere placet. Tantum est quantum repleat vaginam meam. Rubrum est sicut máku. Frater tuus membrum minutum habet, quod me non ita irritat. Ecce, multo magis membrum magnum tuum mihi placet quam fratris tui. Tecum tempus diuturnum concumbere malo!' Aren't these the words you just whispered to him! Very well, I'll show you, tamen membrum meum magnum atque tumidum esse /my member may nevertheless be large and tumid/!" He approached the pallet on which she lay and his brother moved far away. He began /1172/ to caress and embrace Máikuxípa. Postea mulieri incubuit et immisit membrum suum in vaginam ejus. Membrum suum ita intumuit, ut laceraret mulieris vaginam. Statim copia sanguinis sat magna effluxit. Yoálox eam interrogavit: "Desiderasne utrum membrum meum adhuc succrescat, necne? Satisfacta es?" /"After that, he lay on the woman and inserted his member in her vagina. His member swelled so that it lacerated the woman's vagina. Immediately a great amount of blood flowed out. Yoálox asked her: "Do you still wish that my member would grow? Is it satisfactory?"/ Máikuxípa did not say a word.

/1172 cont./

773 841 So the elder Yoálox got up from the bed and said to her: "Now you are tú̄ʍi! Therefore you may now take my younger brother as your husband! Before that I want to give you a few instructions so that not too much blood will flow and you do not become too weak!" Then he gave her all kinds of advice which from then on applied to her and to all women. He emphasized: "You must remain quiet and silent and avoid all chatter. If possible stay in your hut the whole time. Stay away from men, and if you should meet them, give them a wide berth. Refrain from all food and eat only what I permit. Be content with a very small amount of water. Work particularly diligently during this time [your first menstruation], help the other women, fetch a lot of drinking water and firewood for everyone. Faithfully observe each of these admonitions!" The elder Yoálox imposed many other things on Mákuxīpa. She adhered to them all strictly. That is why her condition improved; she soon felt relieved, and the flow of blood finally stopped. After a few days she also did not have to renew the facial painting that Yoálox had made for her (94). Meanwhile Yoálox-tárnuxīpa sat beside Mákuxīpa,

94. These words refer to the special facial painting required during the menarche, which is shown in Fig. 79.

cared for her and instructed her diligently, and was constantly helpful. She gave her other bits of advice which Mákuxīpa faithfully followed. Finally Yoálox-tárnuxīpa proposed to her brothers: "Let's give a big feast, for this woman is now tú̄ʍi!" Her brothers agreed; they provided large quantities of meat and consumed them happily. This was the first tú̄ʍikipa tátu (95).

95. The details of this festive occasion were given on p. 579.

841 This is how the first menstruation, which the elder Yoálox brought about for Mákuxīpa, took place. Since then it happens to every woman and is repeated at the end of a moon (96). All

96. This expression is merely a designation

/1172 cont./

141

of time; it by no means establishes any kind of causal relationship between menstruation and the moon.

the rules that the Yɔ́klog brothers and their sister gave Mɔ́ŋkuʒípa on this occasion are still valid today and are strictly binding for girls at the menarche. Since that time the vagina mulieris has had its present form, blood still flows during every menstrual period, and every woman finds relief if she observes the well-known regulations faithfully. Thus when a girl's first menstruation appears, she must tell her mother or /1173/ a close relative. Immediately several women take this girl under their special care. They prescribe what foods she may eat and permit her an amount scarcely worth mentioning. They let her have only a little water which the girl must sip through a short hollow bird bone (97) so that she will not get too much. The older women

97. The candidates in the youth initiation drink in the same manner (p.709).

keep this girl extremely active at all kinds of tasks. She must fetch firewood for everybody, carry much drinking water to each hut, and assist other women in all kinds of ways. The girl should stay in her hut during this period and may not leave it without a special reason. Outside she must keep her eyes cast down, not linger anywhere, and generally keep her eyes in check. She may not start a conversation with anyone, much less become involved in quarrels. All the women of the camp watch over the girl carefully and see to it that she is not annoyed by any man. For a month after the first menstruation no man may have intercourse with this girl nor molest her. The mɔ́ŋkiʒípa is obliged to observe these rules very conscientiously for about eight days. Then she gathers a great deal of meat and much fruit, whatever is in season. She prepares a large feast and invites everyone to it. This is the public mɔ́ŋkiʒípa ɛ́ʒu which every girl is obliged to arrange on the occasion of her menarche. During these days she always appears with the facial painting appropriate to this occasion. The women impress upon the girl

/1173 cont./

that all these rules and recommendations come from the two Yo'llox and from Yo'llox-chmuxlpa. One who conscientiously adheres to them will not have any serious trouble during the monthly bleeding and in childbirth.

So the story goes. I learned that there was another view about the personality of Mi'kuxlpa. A few people said: She is actually the wife of Kho'lla (Polyborus thoro). He lost his wife, according to the account given in a separate story. The many women who presented themselves to the two Yo'llox actually did not belong to any particular man as his wives; they were unmarried and free. The reason they all came to see the two Yo'llox was because the latter's sister advised them to; her influence upon all women was great and that is why they all complied with her wish. Her purpose was to help her brothers find a wife. Because they liked Mi'kuxlpa, they kept this beautiful woman for themselves. Kho'lla was not considered because his wife had already run away from him earlier and returned to her father's hut. Later when all those women turned themselves into birds, Mi'kuxlpa did the same thing and since then she is called Hahahowakipa.

/1174/ To explain the name Mi'kuxlpa it should be remembered that the Yamana designate the body color of a child or adult that is most pleasing and beautiful to them by refering to the scarlet mi'ku blossom (Fig. 78).

A. The First Birth

The Yamana tell: After that the younger Yo'llox lived alone with Mi'kuxlpa, for she had become his wife. He slept with her and she became pregnant. Finally she gave birth to a son (98). Yo'llox was exceedingly pleased. He immediately

98. The particular aim of this story is to show that Yoalox first introduced conception and childbirth in the way that both events have taken place since then. Hence, before that children were not actually "born,"

/1174 cont./

113

> and there is no explanation anywhere of how they came into being. All persons of that first period are simply presented as adults. From then on, however, successive generations originate in the manner peculiar to human beings.

instructed his wife as to how she must conduct herself during the birth and shortly thereafter. To this day all Yamana women follow these directions.

113 That first child was a boy. He cried constantly and loudest of all at night. In fact, he never stopped crying; his father and mother had tried everything to make him stop, but in vain. Yóllox was extremely displeased; it was impossible for the mother to sit beside the child all the time because she had her work to do.

Finally, losing his temper, Yóllox ran out of the hut and left the boy alone. He built another hut for himself some distance away. Just as regularly as before, he went hunting and continued working on his weapons, but when he came from the woods or from the shore and approached the huts, he could hear his son screaming from far off. Then when he entered his hut next door, the boy would yell even louder. He continued to yell even when Yóllox made a lot of noise just to make him stop.

Thoroughly annoyed he one day again entered the hut in which his little son lay. With both hands he grasped the child under its armpits, lifted it up, stared sternly into its face, and shouted at it in a loud voice: "Listen now and stop screaming!" At that instant the little boy split in two. Thus Yóllox had two sons, and they did not cry. They were the first human beings (99).

> 99. These words mean: those two children are the first who came into the world through actual childbirth. In the strict sense, of course, this applies only to the one.

After a while Míkurīpa died. Since the younger Yóllox was constantly busy, he sometimes could not watch his two sons. So he looked around for a woman to take charge of his two boys. He

/1174 cont./

113 wou Ts̄ilawḵ̄ałkīpe (she-fox). /1175/ She immediately moved into the hut of Yałłoq and devoted herself to his two sons. Free of anxiety, Yałłoq could now undertake even long journeys.

The she-fox named the two boys Ḵ̄amanḵ̄ave. She was very crafty and clever. So she considered a plan to roast the two boys and consume them. At that time Yałłoq was far away; before he returned she could run away and hide in the forest. So she decided to carry out her plan. She told the two boys: "Go into the forest and gather a lot of dry wood; bring it to the hut, we shall kindle a big fire!" The two boys immediately hastened into the woods. But from the very beginning Ts̄ilawḵ̄ałkīpe had treated the two boys very badly and had made them work a great deal, so both of them were very indignant. They wanted to avenge themselves at last. Instead of gathering dry wood, they picked up green, wet wood and carried this to the hut. The she-fox then tried to light a huge fire with it, but she did not succeed. Angrily she scolded the two boys: "You have brought me green and wet wood; you can't kindle a big fire with that!" The next day she again sent the two boys into the woods to gather dry wood, but again they gathered only green, wet wood and dragged it to the hut. They had noticed that the she-fox was planning something bad, but in their distress they did not know what they could do, for their father was far away on the other side of the channel. They had long since grown tired of having to be with the cranky and ill-tempered Ts̄ilawḵ̄ałkīpe who pestered them every day with lots of work and besides that sent them into the forest for wood. Purposely they gathered only wet wood. This angered the she-fox each time, and she gave vent to her ill-humor in every conceivable way. The boys had to endure much hardship.

One day Ts̄ilawḵ̄ałkīpe lay on her pallet and slept very soundly. As quietly as they could, the two boys started a big fire (100),

100. A signal fire like the one actually used by the Tsimsians (p.972.) is meant here.

with which they wanted to summon a canoe. Sure enough, a man soon arrived on the beach. Hurriedly the two boys boarded his canoe and asked him to take them to the other shore. He did

/117B cont./

73 so and the two boys got out on the opposite shore. They went on in the direction where they thought their father would be. Suddenly and unexpectedly they came to a wide river; they did not know how to cross it for it was very wide. Then they were seized with great fear that the dw-fox would come after them. Their father, Tylkus, however, had already seen them hurrying along from afar. He knew that they were now standing perplexed beside the wide river. He quickly made all the water in the river run off and his two sons reached the other shore without effort. They soon came to the spot where he was sitting. He asked them: "Why /117B/ are you following me, what has driven you here?" Amid tears the two sons then told their father how badly they were treated by Clawfoldlye, how hard they had to work, how they were sent into the forest every day to gather dry wood, and that they had but little to eat. Then they added: "Scarcely had we climbed into the canoe of that man and had just reached the middle of the channel when we looked back. There we saw Clawfoldlye pounce on the corpse of Mikmaqlye and start devouring it! Without doubt she was planning to devour us, too. That is why she sent us into the forest every day where we were supposed to gather short dry wood for a fire in which she wanted to roast us!"

All this made the younger Tylkus very angry. Full of rage, he quickly made a [illegible]. He hurled it at Clawfoldlye and she instantly fell dead. From that on the two boys stayed with their father; meanwhile they had grown up (101).

> 101. In this story there are several details which are repeated in the story the Sells have tell about the two nephews of Kwanyip (Vol. 1, 208).

Since that time, however, one sometimes sees a fox dig up human corpses and gnaw at them (102). It is a disgusting animal.

> 102. It has been repeatedly pointed out that, the Tsimsim have a definite abhorrence of the fox's habit of gnawing at human corpses. It is also clearly expressed in this story.

//[illegible]/

β.- The Sister of the Twelve Falls in Love

TB

The every goes. The two Falling brothers had two more sisters, but no one remembers their names. These girls took particular pleasure in bathing and playing in the waves. They spent almost every day happily in the waves.

One day these girls approached a large sea lion. They were not in the least frightened by it. In fact, from the start it acted unusually amusing and offered to play with them. The two sisters were very willing. they swamd themselves for a long time, and finally the sister are became completely enamored of the sea lion. Incomprehensibly the two edged away so that the younger sister should not observe their play. Then they caressed each other and played together for a long time under the surface of the water.

The two sisters bathed regularly at the same place. Each time they entered the water the big sea lion also arrived. Swimming under the surface it came close to the older sister. This greatly pleased her because she had fallen very much in love with the sea lion. The two incomprehensibly edged away from the other girl, they did not want her to notice how they grew themselves up to their pleasure.

They had been meeting for a long time for their love-making, when one day the younger sister asked her older sister. "What in the world is that big black thing that you are so anxiously covering with your body? //[illegible]/ I see it between your legs. What is it?" The older sister replied evasively. "What ideas you have! Whatever it is you mean can only be the shadow of my body. There is nothing else!" The younger sister was not content with this reply and pushed further: "It doesn't quite seem to me that that black thing is supposed to be your shadow. A shadow is never so black. It has to be something else!" Perplexed, the older sister replied: "I can't understand what you are imagining. If I assure you that it is my shadow, why won't you believe me?" But the younger sister would not be dissuaded and replied: "It is impossible that that black thing is your shadow! It would be very strange indeed if your shadow always appeared in the water and only under your body." Then the older sister repeated emphatically: "Trust my words. There is nothing here but my shadow."

/1177 cont./

113 The younger sister realized that further discussion would not lead anywhere, so she simply added: "I cannot believe that that black thing is the shadow of your body, no matter how often you tell me it is!" In spite of all this the two girls continued to go bathing almost every day and each time the elder sister met the little sea lion man.

The elder sister had now been pregnant for a long time. When her condition was far advanced, she finally discussed with the sea lion how she should manage. The sea lion forthwith put the pregnant woman on his back and swam to his cave. Here he made her a soft bed and brought a great deal of food. Soon she gave birth to a little boy.

The sea lion was greatly pleased with his son, but after a few days he was seized with great fear. He said to the girl: "If your brothers, the Tshigen find out about our illicit intercourse, when they learn that you have given birth to a boy and are staying in my cave, they will become extremely angry and will blame me alone! Then they will lie in wait for me and murder me. It seems to me that it would be best for you to return to your brothers. Tell them how much we like each other; tell them how well we get along and how lively our little son is. Ask them if I may live with them." The girl replied: "Very well, I shall go back to the hut of my brothers and tell them everything. I shall ask them if you may live with them." She immediately prepared to depart. The sea lion again took her on his back and they made good progress.

The two Tshigen had long since had a strong premonitions of what had happened and what their sister was doing. When the sea lion was near enough to the hut of the Tshigen, he sent his wife on alone. He himself remained behind with the little boy. The woman quickly reached the hut of her two brothers and they happened to be at home. She entered and said without embarrassment: "How are you, my brothers! My husband, the great sea lion, wants me to inquire whether he /1178/ may come here and live with you. He would like to be near you and I, too, would like it very much. But he would only come if you promise not to kill him! He is willing to help you in hunting and in all your work, and he will be a good brother-in-law to you!" Agreeing, the two Tshigen replied: "You say the sea lion is your husband.

/1178 cont./

773 Well then, he may come, we shall take him into our hut. We promise not to do him any harm; if he behaves well, we shall not kill him."

The woman was pleased that they gave their consent. She immediately hurried back to the place where she had left her husband with the little boy. When she reached the sea lion, she joyfully told him: "I talked to my brothers. They want me to tell you that since you are now my husband you may come and *live with them. They will not do you any harm or kill you as* long as you behave well." These words reassured the sea lion, and with his wife and child he immediately set out for the hut of the Yo̯ǎlox. The woman, carrying the child on her back, entered first. The sea lion also tried to enter, but he was too enormous and bulky to pass through the narrow entrance. The two Yo̯ǎlox first had to take a few poles out of the hut framework at the entrance, and then at last the sea lion squeezed inside. He was extraordinarily large. The two Yo̯ǎlox assigned to him and his wife the place opposite the entrance as their sleeping place. These two then made themselves at home there as though they were in their own hut.

Early the next day the sea lion got up and hurried out to sea to fish. Sure enough, he soon brought back large fish, mussels, and crabs in great quantities. This was plenty for his wife and for his two brothers-in-law. Now they never had a shortage of anything, for on his own initiative the sea lion willingly set out to sea again and again and dragged back great quantities of meat.

One day the Yo̯ǎlox brothers sent the two women who were living in their hut, the wife of the sea lion and Mǎkuxīpa, far away (103). Only the two Yo̯ǎlox and the sea lion stayed behind.

103. Chronologically, this incident would have to come before the story told on p. 1144.

Before the two women left the hut, the wife of the sea lion took particularly fond farewell. As she did so, the sea lion whispered to her: "In case you should hear me roaring loudly and painfully, come back quickly. It could be that your brothers intend to kill me. Then I would need your help. So come back quickly if I

/1178 cont./

113 roar loudly!" She assured her husband: "I shall pay careful attention! However, I am sure my brothers will not do you any harm."

For their part the two Yo̯ālox had secretly told Mā̄kuxīpa: /1179/ "When you have gone far away from here with our sister and you then hear the sea lion roaring loudly and painfully, reassure her and say to her: 'It seems that the three men in our hut are amusing themselves very much with games and pranks; they must be extremely merry and happy, that is why the sea lion is roaring so loud out of sheer exuberance!' In any case you must keep our sister there by all means and not let her come running back here to the hut. We are planning to murder the sea lion as soon as possible. That is why we are sending you two far away." Mā̄kuxīpa understood all this very well. So the two women left the hut and set out for the distant point where they were to accomplish their errand.

Soon afterward, the two Yo̯ālox resumed their daily work. They sat down in front of the hut and readied their big harpoons. The sea lion, too, left the hut to go fishing. He hurried down to the beach. It was a beautiful day and the sun was very hot. Soon the sea lion became tired and sleepy. He stretched out on a big stone on the shore and fell into a deep sleep. At once he began to snore and gradually his snoring became so loud that the two Yo̯ālox heard it, for they were sitting in front of their hut. Immediately one of the brothers encouraged the other: "Now is the time to kill the sea lion. He is surely sound asleep for he is snoring mightily. Let's attack him now without delay! Besides, we are out of blubber for greasing the big harpoon. We have always used the fat of snails, but seal blubber is much better. That sea lion is unusually fat, he will give considerable blubber and meat. It will certainly pay to attack him!" The other brother was very much in favor of this plan. Quickly they went back into the hut; they wanted to consult their mother as to whether they should kill the sea lion. They said to her: "Mother, we are tired of oiling our harpoons with the fat of snails. It seems to us much better to kill that fat sea lion and remove the abundant blubber he has; we could oil our harpoons with it from now on!" This proposal did not suit the mother at all, and she complained loudly:

/1179 cont./

113 "Alas, what you plan to do does not please me. The sea lion always brought me many fish, and big ones of the kind I like best. If you murder him, there will be no one to supply me with many tasty fish. Besides, this sea lion is really good and willing to help!" The two Yoálox became angry at their mother's words and replied: "Certainly, what you say is true, this sea lion is really good and willing to help, but after all he is only an animal and not a human being like us. If we murder him, we shall have his abundant meat and fat. What a huge amount it would be! You, too, shall eat a great deal of it, for his meat is tastier and more succulent than that of fish and mussels. You will surely like the taste of it. We shall /1180/ let you have plenty so that for a long time you will be well provided for." The mother finally gave in and said: "Very well! Do as you like; murder the sea lion, I shall not prevent it any longer."

Then the two Yoálox quickly fixed their harpoon shafts and fastened the sharp bone points to them with the long line (Fig. 35). Cautiously and silently they crept up to the sea lion who was still sleeping soundly and snoring mightily. Then they lifted their harpoons high and took aim, hurling them with all their might. They did this so skillfully that the weapons penetrated far into the huge body of the sea lion and wounded him almost to the heart. The sea lion woke up in pain and knew he was badly wounded and near death. Then, with all his remaining strength, he gave a loud roar, full of pain, just as he roars today when he collapses, mortally wounded. He roared so loudly and so long that the two women far away could hear him distinctly. "Alas," the wife of the sea lion lamented to Mákuxīpa, "do you hear how loudly and pitifully my husband is roaring? He is surely calling me to help him, for the two Yoálox are now murdering him. I shall quickly run to the hut and see if he needs me!" Mákuxīpa tried to hold her back and to reason with her: "How can you think such things? The two Yoálox are surely playing with the sea lion; all three of them are surely happy and in high spirits, that is why the sea lion is laughing so loudly. Don't worry and just stay here with me, later we'll go back to the hut together." But the wife of the sea lion would not go a step farther; instead she kept urging that they go home and the other one realized that she could not hold her back.

/1180 cont./

113 So the two women changed their course and turned toward the hut. On the way Mákuxīpa kept trying to hold back the other woman.

While the two women were covering the long distance home, the sea lion died there on the stone where the two Yoálox had mortally wounded him with their large harpoon. They immediately began cutting up the huge animal and laid a few pieces on a fire out there in order to roast them. Later they sat down and consumed these pieces and found them superb. They dragged other large pieces to the hut and put them on the fire there in order to roast them. They wanted to eat again soon, for this roasted meat tasted very good to them.

When they set out to kill the mighty animal, the two Yoálox had left its little son alone in the hut. As soon as the boy realized that he was alone in the hut he crept out; he sat down on the sand beside the hut and began to play. The two Yoálox now saw him. One of them immediately brought the boy some meat and he ate it with great relish, for this roast was perfectly fresh meat. Scarcely had he consumed the big piece when he demanded a second. Then the Yoálox gave him a piece of roasted fat and that, too, tasted very good to him.

/1181/ At that moment the two women returned. They first came across the boy who was sitting on the sand near the hut and comfortably eating a piece of perfectly fresh meat. When his mother saw the fresh meat in his hands, a dreadful foreboding made her tremble; she suddenly realized that the boy was eating the meat of his own father! She collapsed, grief-stricken. Soon she was seized with a terrible rage. She took a large sea urchin out of the little basket she was carrying and threw it at the head of the boy with all her might. The boy immediately turned into a fish, but the barbs of the sea urchin clung to his head. That is
[825] the sūna (104).

104. A porcupine fish common in those waters. The Yamana do not eat it "because it was formerly a boy."

Full of sorrow and distress the wife of the sea lion entered the hut. She became terribly alarmed when she saw the many

/1181 cont./

113 pieces of meat hanging on short sticks to roast near the fire. All around the fire on the ground lay other parts of the dismembered sea lion, all cut up for roasting: the head, the flippers, the abdominal parts, the sides, the back. She gazed in horror on the dismembered body of her husband. She was overcome with boundless sorrow; in her despair she sat down and wept bitterly. No one spoke a word to her. Her two brothers, the Yoálox, remained outwardly quite calm and unobtrusive; they gave no sign that anything unusual had happened. They kept on cutting up the meat and watched the roast near the fire. Mákuxípa also remained very quiet.

Finally after some time the two Yoálox asked their sister: "Where is your little son? He was sitting outside in front of the door. Why doesn't he come in?" Excited and sad at the same time the woman replied: "When I came back I saw the little one sitting outside in front of the hut. To my horror I realized that he was eating the meat of his own father. Then I was seized with anger and lost control of myself. I took a sea urchin out of my little basket and hurled it at the boy's head; then he went into the water."

When the two Yoálox learned what had happened to the boy, they were very angry at their sister. Infuriated, they seized the pieces of meat of the sea lion which were lying all around the fire on the hearth. First they took the front part of the head with the snout and threw it at their sister's feet; mockingly they cried: "Here you have the mouth which spoke to you of love and covered you with kisses!" Then they seized the flippers, tossed them at their sister, and said insolently: "Take these flippers which embraced you and touched you lustfully." Then they threw the back at her feet and cried angrily: "Here you have the back, too, on which you sat and on which the sea lion carried you to his cave." /1182/ Finally the two Yoálox seized the large abdominal part of the sea lion, hurled it on the ground in front of their sister, and cried scornfully: "Now you shall also have the part with which the sea lion aroused and satisfied your lust!" The woman was speechless and beside herself with horror. She did not even dare look at the pieces of meat, much less touch them.

/1182 cont./

A long time passed. Every day this woman saw how good
773 the fresh roast of the sea lion tasted to her brothers and Mákuxīpa. Finally she, too, timidly reached for a little piece and tasted it. The meat tasted very good to her. Soon she helped herself to larger pieces. Gradually she grew calmer over her loss and little by little forgot her husband, the great sea lion. As time went on she ate the meat and fat of the sea lion with as much relish as her two brothers did.

ν. Dying Is Introduced

It is told: The mother of the two Yoálox finally grew old
773 and feeble; from day to day her strength failed. Weak and tired,
761 she remained in bed; finally she was unable to move. Since she had lost all her strength, the two Yoálox carried her outside the hut and laid her in a favorable place in the grass where the warm sun could shine on her.

The elder Yoálox sat beside his mother and looked at her steadily. Although he did not take his eyes off her, she did not utter a sound. It made him unspeakably sad to see his mother lying there completely motionless, but he did not disturb her profound sleep and confidently hoped that she would soon get up again.

Since the elder Yoálox did not take his fixed gaze from his sleeping mother for a long time, but kept looking at her intently, she finally began slowly to move again. Then she opened her eyes and moved slightly, and sleep departed from her. At first she moved scarcely at all, for she seemed to be recovering only very gradually and hardly perceptibly from the utter exhaustion of her infirmity. This was enough, however, for the elder Yoálox, and he became wild with joy. Quickly he ran into the hut; he wanted to tell his younger brother and said to him: "Listen and rejoice, our mother has awakened from her deep sleep. She began to move very slowly. I confidently hope that she will soon get up again!" These words annoyed the younger Yoálox very much and he opposed his brother, instantly replying: "This must not be! Our mother is now sleeping, for she is old

/1182 cont./

773 761 and quite feeble. Let her now sleep forever!" Whereupon this actually happened. Soon the mother hardly stirred and she did not get up again. When the elder Yoálox /1183/ again left the hut and reached the place where his mother was, he looked at her carefully. She lay there completely motionless. Again he fixed his gaze upon her for a long time, just as he had before, but this time she did not move. She lay there without stirring and without moving. Now she was truly dead.

This was the first death. Since then all human beings must die (105), for that is the way the younger Yoálox wanted it (106).

105. It is noteworthy that there are many points of agreement in this matter between the Selk'nam and our Yamana. Among the former it is the elder brother who was prevented by his younger brother from arising from his sleep of old age. This introduced dying in general (Vol. I, 588).

In Vol. I, 589, footnote 28, I pointed out that the Selk'nam like to use the expression "elder Kwanyip," instead of the real name. The Yamana have no real name for the "elder Yoalox."

106. As this story came to an end, there was much bitterness and grief written on the faces of the many people present at the thought that everyone sooner or later will die and will be unable to escape death. Without a word, they all left and silently crept back to their own huts. Every Yamana is at times very much depressed at the thought of dying.

On August 12, 1923, old Maŝemikens and his wife, both of whom came from the west, gave me a somewhat different version of this myth. He told the following story.

The two Yoálox were men of superior intelligence. When their mother had reached a great age, she finally lost all her strength. So she stayed in bed and was overcome by a very deep

/1183 cont./

773 761 sleep. After that she no longer moved. The two Yoálox wept bitterly, for they had lost their mother and were now left alone. They carried their mother out and buried her. The younger Yoálox, however, had little love for his mother; he did not weep nearly as much or as loudly as his elder brother. Their mother had been buried for some time when one day they heard her voice outside near the hut. Suddenly the elder Yoálox ceased his weeping and said: "I shall not weep any longer, for I hear the voice of my mother!" He hastened out of the hut and hoped to see his mother there. The younger Yoálox remained in the hut and furiously yelled at his mother: "How can you come back here? Go away at once and disappear from here forever!" Then the mother slowly withdrew and has never returned. The younger Yoálox simply said, as though he were displeased with himself: "Why did we not immediately (107) tell our mother that she must

107. These words mean: why did we not at the proper moment beforehand prevent our mother from rising up out of her death-sleep.

not come back!" Truly, from then on she remained away forever.

§. The Yoalox Go Away

The Yamana say: "The two Yoálox brothers gave proper names to all objects and places, all plants and animals. They remained here on earth for a long time. When they grew old, they ascended to the canopy of heaven with Yoálox-tárnuxīpa and their other sisters. They are still there as stars."

/1184/ This concludes the stories about the Yoálox family which is associated with the Yamana. All the men and women are, on the whole, proud of the Yoálox brothers and sisters, for they are regarded as the best and the most capable members of the tribe. The men, above all, appreciate the two Yoálox brothers as the most skillful huntsmen, the best craftsmen, the most gifted persons. These heroes are not worshipped in any way

/1184 cont./

773 among the Yamana, despite all the admiration with which men and women speak of the two brothers and their elder sister.

773 Two stars of the first magnitude are pointed out as the
821 Yoālox brothers, namely, Sirius in the Greater Dog and Procyon in the Lesser Dog. The stars of secondary magnitude close to Sirius are the other members of the Yoālox family, all of whom ascended to the canopy of heaven back in those days. BD:12 gives only iūālux, "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/, and iūālux-dāranakakīpa [our tārnuxīpa], "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/.

From the stories themselves one cannot infer any connec-
773 tion between the Yoālox family and Watauinēiwa; in fact, the
776 two seem to represent quite clearly and sharply distinct spheres of ideas. Several times I asked the Yamana point-blank whether the Yoālox brothers had perhaps been charged by Watauinēiwa to provide for the many well-known arrangements, as well as to instruct human beings in the prevailing rules and customs. They all heard this question with obvious astonishment, and from that I concluded that such a connection between the two lines of thought was not exactly familiar. It is true that from an earlier time I knew that the Yoālox are introduced to the uǰwāala in the čiēxaus (p.767) and to girls on the occasion of their menarche (p.575) as the intermediaries of the prevailing laws and habits of life sent to them by the Supreme Being. They are never mentioned at a funeral rite. In everyday life a person will only now and then speak of them. For example, it is said that Yoālox decreed that berries may not be picked prematurely, but must remain on the stalk until they are ripe (p.327). Accordingly, the intermediary role of the Yoālox is not to be interpreted as a special, definite, formal mission for Watauinēiwa, such as, for example, Temāukel gave the bringer of blessings, Kenōs (Vol. I, 572). The situation among the Yamana is somewhat different. Their way of life was actually decisively influenced by the Yoālox, but since, in the final analysis, every law and every custom is derived from Watauinēiwa, the activity of the Yoālox must also be regarded as his command in the broadest sense of the term. To a certain extent this is directly applicable to the regulations pertaining to girls at the menarche and /1185/ women at childbirth.

/1185 cont./

773 This circumstance, however, does not justify the view that there
776 is any close relationship between the Yoālox family and Wataąinēąwa.

I also inquired very definitely as to whether the Yoālox took part in the great upheaval in the kīna at Yāąaąšāąa. The most experienced old people replied: "By that time the Yoālox had surely already left the earth. The Yamana of earlier times never told us that the Yoālox participated in that great upheaval." In the myth about the origin of the kīna, also, they are not mentioned; hence there is no justification for connecting the Yoālox with the men's secret ceremony. However, as I was assured on one occasion in 1920, Yoālox-tārnuxīpa in her day had a great influence on all the women who came from the north to Beagle Channel (p. 1111). The Yoālox also are not associated with Lēm and his family. The only connection between the personalities mentioned is that they consecutively occupy a period that is separate from that of human beings (p. 1118), a period that can be justifiably designated as that of the heroes. Before the close of this period the younger Yoālox introduced actual childbirth (p. 1140), through which he was granted a son. This boy and his brother begin the succession of true human beings, the yāmana. The transition from the age of pre-human beings to that of human beings takes place without any disruption.

A survey of the status and activity of the two Yoālox brothers shows that apparently they are endowed with superior power and are the founders of the way of life of the Yamana people. They designed the way of life, arranged it, and guaranteed it for all time by means of rules and regulations of binding legal power. They are responsible for valuable inventions which make life bearable and work easier. Thus they are shown to be culture heroes in that strict sense which Ehrenreich (a):236 applied specifically to conditions among primitive peoples. Very
773 briefly it should be mentioned that there are a surprising number
776 of points of agreement between the Yoālox brothers and the
171 Kwānyip brothers and sisters of whom the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581) tell. Among the latter, most of the details are much clearer and more definite, and there is more accuracy and completeness in the succession of ideas. There is a striking basic connection

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773 between the unique and definite ideas that surround the figure of
776 the younger Yoálox among the Yamana and the figure of Kwányip
171 with her brothers and sisters among the Selk'nam. Unfortunately, space does not permit detailed comparisons (108).

108. Instead, see the separate essay by Gusinde (ii):687, as well as the general remarks in Ehrenreich (b):44 and Schmidt (d):1016.

In any case, it is noteworthy that in this so-called age of heroes the individual personalities, except for contemporaries, succeed one another at definitely distinguishable intervals and carry on the development. It has already been shown that the same is true among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 606). /Ed., Section b, "Myths and Legends," pp. 1186-1277, is omitted./

/1278/ D. Belief in Spirits and Superstitions

776 A special group of spirits, distinctly separate from the body of ideas surrounding Watauinéiwa and from the heroes and mythological figures, lives in the imaginations of our Fuegians. Far from having originated anything important or advantageous for the Yamana, they represent something like apparitions and demons to them. If an individual on his daily wanderings or canoe trips chances to meet these creatures, it usually does not fail to happen that he is at least threatened or endangered, sometimes even badly harmed and murdered. They are generally malevolent spirits, with the single exception of the good-natured Yefáčel. To the following description of this group of spirits a section on how the Yamana regard their dreams and on certain superstitious conceptions will be added.

a. The Groups of Spirits

In the preceding sections it has often been shown that the Yamana have the same accurate and comprehensive idea of an

/1278 cont./

776 actual spirit that is familiar elsewhere. Hence it is unnecessary to define the concept specifically. They use the word kéšpix́ primarily and directly for the nature of the human soul (p. 1033) and Watauineiwa (p.1068) and designate with it an independent, active, incorporeal being. Beyond these narrow limits, they use kéšpix́ also for those beings that their own imaginations, their superstition, have created, which appear in their dreams and fantasies as so-called apparitions. These beings, therefore, do not have actual existence or substantial reality. The Yamana distinguish several groups of such so-called spirits very distinctly, according to their nature, activity, and abode. Accordingly, one group has more importance than another. Their relationship and contacts with them are such that the Yamana fear and avoid these groups of spirits, for it is only as an exception that one of them is kind and friendly toward human beings. A Fuegian never worships or actually venerates them.

These general ideas are found in Bridges (k):237, and Cojazzi:106 repeats them verbatim: "They believed in the existence of spirits or souls that could become visible at night but were not tangible. These spirits were malevolent, and the natives associated them with sickness and death. They used the word cashpick [kéšpix́], soul, as qualifier...But the natives never worshipped or revered cushpik, hannush, or any other being" /translated from Spanish/. Elsewhere Bridges (e):332 and (i):15 adds: "Although the Yahgans had no religion, they had all kinds of superstitions. They believed in spirits who had the /1279/ form of human beings, but not their nature. They imagined that these creatures lived in caves in the woods and they believed that they hated and killed everyone who came too close to them...Persons from time to time believed they had seen these spirits and gave account of the apparition" /last sentence cited in English/. According to Bridges (h):209, there are several groups of spirits: "The Yahgans believed in apparitions, as well as in many supernatural beings, and in the existence of wild men in the woods" /translated from Spanish/. All these kéšpix́ however, are always distinctly different from living human beings and from the human soul after death because of their strange and peculiar nature (238).

238. This means, as Bridges (i):15 says:

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776 [578]

"To call a person Cushpij was a great insult" /cited in English/. In (e):332 and (k):237 it is said: "'Cashpik' is a name which they also gave people who were ridiculous or who had a bad character, and this was a great insult." Likewise Hyades (q):255.

Therefore, kɛ̃ʔpix́ is a general concept, not the proper name of a definite individual person (239).

239. Despard (b):717 made this mistake: "Firelanders have a dread of a being called 'Cushpeec,' and are loth to hear his name mentioned. He seems to be a very lean man. When met with, he makes doleful cries..." /cited in English/. In this connection see the detailed description of this generic term above, p. 1033.

776 778 If the Yamana extends the meaning of the word kɛ̃ʔpix́ he includes those strange spirit-beings which arise from his imagination and fantasy, his belief and his dreams, and which do not truly live, as do Watauinéjwa and the human souls separated from the body. Each of the various groups forms its own peculiar society. In this connection the Yamana also extends the designation kɛ̃ʔpix́ to include a rare individual case which deviates from the human norm. BD:466 refers to this with the word fūkōʔpigōna, "to say a person is cushpik [kɛ̃ʔpix́] or like one, to accuse a person of acting the part of a cushpik, i.e., of speaking or acting without any regard to truth or propriety" /cited in English/. Actual consciousness, presence of mind, personal alertness are also called kɛ̃ʔpix́, that is, the definite kɛ̃ʔpix́ which lives in the human being, and there is then no sharp distinction between this condition and the human soul. An unusual notion or impulse or even coincidence also belongs in this category. Earlier, on page 488, I related an unimportant incident. The daughter of old Pedro Maʔemikens, who was about seven years old, following a

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776 whim, went walking along the shore with some other girls from
778 Puerto Mejillones and traveled far from the parental hut. Darkness overtook them at Puerto Piedra and they stayed there. Full of anxiety, the parents set out to look for the children, found them, and brought them back to camp early in the morning. No one scolded the children; not even their own parents reproached them. That same night the wife of old Thomas, who had been ill for a long time, died. Everyone explained the behavior of the children by saying: "The kĕlpix of that woman prompted the children to go so far away before nightfall. They are not to be blamed." That is why no one thought of /1280/ punishing the children. As has been described, the adults who take part in the singing in the čiexaus hut (p.796) regard it as natural to consider heightened emotion and inner agitation as expressions of the kĕlpix, in short, as kĕlpix.

[756] This fact is important in understanding the influence of the yĕkamuł. Even the power by means of which a yĕkamuł operates, either on the spot or at a great distance, is called his kĕlpix.

Finally, the action of the wild forces of nature is sometimes pointed out as the expression of malevolent kĕlpix. This has given rise to expressions such as are used, for example, by Krickeberg:322: "The Fuegian animates the majestic natural surroundings of his homeland with demons." In this connection Fitz-Roy's (a):179 partially correct conjecture is also pertinent: "The fact of their believing that the evil spirit torments them in this world, if they do wrong, by storms, hail, snow, etc., is one reason why I am inclined to think that they have no thought of a future retribution" /cited in English/ (240).

240. This alone is enough to refute what Darwin (f):I, 123 reported: "With justifiable pride Jemmy Button stoutly maintained that in his country there is no devil." Rosskoff:51 is more accurate in his judgment: "Ideas of the sun as a mighty creature endowed with will power, upon which man feels dependent, are

/1280 cont./

178
178

implicit in what Missionary Phillips relates. One sultry day when he complained to a young Fuegian about the heat, the latter cried, alarmed: 'Do not say the sun to hot, immediately it will hide and the wind will blow cold.'"

Thus the conception of kilpix is very broad and contains many things which cannot be summed up in a terse formula. Hyades (q):255 discussed this word as "an untranslatable term referring to fantastic beings who live in deserted caves in the middle of dense forests" /translated from French/. The idea of kilpix must not be so limited, however, as will be adequately shown in the following discussion.

1. Cannibals

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From the start it does not seem strange that the Yamana, too, in one way or another, believe in cannibals. This belief may have originated in their apprehensiveness and fear of the Halakwulup (p. 205 /untranslated/) who are directly adjacent to the western group. A particular incident may have brought this about in the first place. One thing is certain, that almost all the Yamana designate a group within the Halakwulup tribe, about which nothing is definitely known, as the asikan, which is the same as calling them cannibals. Sometimes they include all the Halakwulup in this belief. There are others among the Yamana who include only the group living farther north somewhere near Smith Channel, some of whom it is believed now and then appear in Beagle Channel. Occasionally someone will even suspect the western Yamana, the so-called Inanumala, of practicing this habit (241). It is said: These asikan have long canoes

241. Bridges (VSA:XI,289;1884) had already learned: "These natives say there is a tribe speaking their language, but with a peculiar accent, they call them 'Ishawa,' who are cannibals, but they

/1280 cont./

196
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> strenuously deny any such cannibalism among themselves" /cited in English/. Hyades (b): 1346 and (g):301, on the other hand, definitely asserts: "There are no traditions of anthropophagy" /translated from French/. If he means by this that the Yamana themselves do not practice cannibalism, he is perfectly right (p. 288 /untranslated/).

of solid /1281/ construction, which accommodate many men. Because all of them row, the canoe moves with extraordinary speed. The *ashen* invade Yamana territory only at night. Anyone they catch at that time is dragged off and devoured. They take advantage of the dark so that they will be successful and meet no resistance. During the day they stay within their boundaries or hide in a sheltered spot in the territory of the Yamana until night falls, for only under its protection do they carry out their surprise attacks. Not only the western group but all the Yamana live in constant dread of the *ashen*, precisely because they come up very swiftly and then depart again. They are also called *wilapanya*, "murderer" (cf. SD:618), because they murder and eat anyone who falls into their hands. A third designation, *Hapanana-yémana*, "the people in Hapanandi," is derived from a myth (p. 1162). It is also pronounced "*Apanandi*" (p. 363 /untranslated/).

Even the young Bridges (a):207 came across traces of this belief: "Cannibalism is unknown, but they have reports that it is practiced by some people far to the westward, whom they call *Hapanandiandi*" /cited in English/. Later he (b):237 wrote more explicitly: "They believe in the existence of certain murderers in the west, called *ashen*, attributing to them wondrous powers and a fiendish wickedness. They supposedly wander at night, traveling in fast and strongly built canoes, with the object of killing anyone they meet. It is said that they conceal themselves with trickery in such a way that they could never be found, but stories tell of this one and that one who, having seen them at night, succeeded in escaping from them" /translated from Spanish/ (p.45).

[45]. Likewise Bridges (b):16, Dahlmann

186 /1281 cont./

(h):204, Hyades (f):588 and (q):259, and so forth.

BD:30 gives the meaning of asàsii, "persons who go about in the dark of night to kill persons" /cited in English/. To this Hyades (g):39 adds: "Anyone who sees the Ualapatu is lost; one often hears their voice, which resembles that of the seal, but which the Fuegians can immediately distinguish. If they think they hear it, they are frightened out of their wits; they carefully barricade every opening of the hut and, weapon in hand and trembling, they await the morning. Then they immediately leave the campsite and flee to another island. Often the specter follows them even there and harasses them for several nights."

From direct observation Bridges (i):15 tells how the fear of these cannibals affects the Yamana: "The Asayu, or Ayamanuiaula, people of the West, were much feared. During the afternoon (January 1st, 1872) Sisoiange's wife was sleeping and awoke hearing a strange noise in the next room, she got up, but could see nothing. She was in a great fright and spread a report that an Asayu had come into the house" /cited in English/. /1282/ Hyades (f):588 and (q):254 also repeats in detail the view disclosed to him by three Yamana men in Orange Bay on April 3, 1883. According to them, the murderers penetrate Yamana territory with large boats. "If the men are asleep, the inhabitants of the west immediately enter the hut, cut off the heads of everyone, men and children (except perhaps the women), and then eat them, cooking them over the fire" /translated from French/.

186 773 Moreover, the Yamana tell a separate story about the cannibals, Hamanfulum wiuwa, as follows. Once a few people from the central group were camping in Hamanfulum (243). They had

243. A short beach about three kilometers west of present-day Ushuaia.

noticed that many other families had traveled westward. A rumor was going around: "There in Wiuwa (244) a whale is lying on

244. This is the designation for the entire

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/1282 cont./

western part of Yamana territory, particularly the north shore of Beagle Channel (p. 255 /unrevised/).

the beach." So these people said to themselves: "We shall go there too, in order to get a lot of meat and fat. Only tonight we shall may have and get a good rest!" The next morning they boarded their canoes. They traveled all day and went farther and farther, even during the night, for they wanted to reach the whale as soon as possible. There were ten families and a yékamsil. Because they traveled all night -- and these nights were very dark -- they could not see the coastline very clearly. Actually, they rowed past that whale! But they kept right on rowing farther and farther. They had reached Hoyamsil (245) long before.

245. The designation for the bordering territory of the Halakwulup.

and they finally entered a harbor. They were all very tired. They disembarked in order to find out the actual location of the whale that they had been seeking for so long.

Many people had made a big camp here, but these people were cannibals. It was their custom to devour everyone who came here from the east. To make it easier to murder everyone, they always let only one stranger enter a hut to spend the night, for a family could easily cope with one stranger and quickly murder him.

Now when the ten families disembarked here, they were divided up among ten different huts, and the yékamsil was sent into another hut. He entered this hut; an old woman was sitting near the fire making a little basket. When the yékamsil entered, the old woman's husband said to him: "Sit down here near the fire! You are probably very hungry!" Whereupon the yékamsil replied: "Yes, I am very hungry, for we traveled a long time and looked for the stranded whale without finding it. Where do you suppose the whale is?" Then the husband took a knife and reached for his wife's left breast. It was long and heavy and he cut it off. He immediately hung this piece over the fire to roast it. The /1283/ yékamsil saw this. Horrified, he said: "Are you

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by any chance roasting this piece for me?" The other man replied, "Yes, that is for you because you are very hungry!" Thereupon the *ohkonsel* said, quite indignantly: "I shall never eat human flesh! What do you take me for? We came to hear the whale that we were told was stranded here in the west. We do not eat human flesh!" Saying this, he left the hut and looked around outside until he found a piece of moss. He came back to the hut with it, placed it on the fire, and roasted it. Then he ate it.

There was a basket hanging in the hut, and two small children were sitting in it. When they saw the *ohkonsel*, they jumped up happily in their basket and sang: "*ohkon hagkhoma, ohkon hagkhoma.*" This means: "Today we should like to eat this man." But the two adults replied, also very happily: "*hawakhoma hagkhoma, hawakhoma hagkhoma*" (1185).

> 1185. I was told that the word "hagkhoma" used here by the Haisla-speaking hut no meaning. The children wanted to say to the old people that they wanted to devour that man this very day, whereas the old people wanted to postpone the feast until the morrow. In order that the younger should not recognize what they had in mind, they merely emphasized the adverbs "today" and "tomorrow," in combination with a word without any meaning whatever. This was sufficient for the adults as well as the children, and they understood one another. Whether it is related to "hagkhoa" in 1183 I cannot determine. -- The term tomorrow was also the reason they were called "Hagkhoma-Tsawa" and their territory, "Hagkhoma" (p.194).

Then the *ohkonsel* had no inkling of what this was supposed to mean. He recognized the grave danger hanging over himself and his people! Because he was a great *ohkonsel*, he cased a piece of fat into the fire, smoothed. While it was burning, he

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caused a very deep sleep to come over all the people of this camp. Instantly all these people fell asleep and slept so soundly that no one stirred. The *ellaneaf* now ran quickly to his own people and told them that they all were in great danger. They all immediately seized their things and ran whatever they could that belonged to these cannibals, loaded everything into their canoes, and rowed off as fast as possible. They hastened toward the east to their homeland.

When they were already far away, a dog began barking loudly. He barked so vigorously that these people woke up again and immediately noticed that they had been robbed of all their things. They could just see the fleeing thieves in the far distance. They quickly made ready to pursue them. When the latter saw that the cannibals were coming after them, they were seized with great fear. They fled to *ellaneaf* (147). But the

147. This little inlet lies west of La Rencontre Bay, in the northwest branch.

Ingamanilli people noticed this and now buried a large *kayak* (1104) with the sling. It landed quite near the hiding-place of the fugitives. It here and gave off a loud report, like thunder. One can hear it to this day in that region (148). /1104/ The

148. This refers to the thunder-like noise or thunds, caused by a collision of icebergs or the breaking off of large ice floes from the glaciers.

fugitives then caused a large part of the stolen goods out of their canoes to make them lighter and speedier for their escape. They rowed on again, always toward the east, past *Lagaddy* and *Gennadiktan*, until they reached *Uladdy* once more, where they had previously had their camp. But the *Ingamanilli* people continued to hail large stones after them.

To this day, therefore, one can see large stones lying about in this entire region, especially in *ellaneaf*, *Lagaddy*, and *Gennadiktan*. The *Ingamanilli* people hurled all of them at the

/the cane./

(B 77) drawn, using their dings. All the things that they had stolen also turned into canoe and to this day he wondered about where the fugitives found them out of their canoes.

A variant of this story is always told to the chiefs at the end of their initiation. At that time it serves the special purpose of confirming the historical derivation of the Tahgan institution from the west and its transmission to the central region of the Tamana (p.[illegible]).

(B. The series portrayal shows clearly enough that the feared cannibals are merely phantoms created by the Tamana's terror of their western neighbors. Even Bridges (1):16 reached this view: "This Ayamanilli people are reported to be cannibals, but I do not believe the report, which is so like others we have proved to be false" /cited in English/. This much is certain, that the Halaiwadup possess actual plank-bows which they have had for several decades (245). It is obvious that these carry a larger

245. Besides the plank-bow, the Halaiwadup much more often make and use the dugout. Gustafson (1)/147 has already pointed out that they had these two articles. Our Tamana first became acquainted with the dugout among the Halaiwadup and took it over from them (p.[illegible]). The Tamana did not adopt the plank-bow because their region lacks suitable timber.

number of men than the fragile bark canoes. Bridges (1):16 frankly admits that he finally saw the first vessel of this kind on February 16, 1883, near Stuart Island. It was manned by Halaiwadup and is generally called Hahdu-dam (cf. in BD: 180, Hahdu, "a pole, leg, trunk of a tree /cited in English/). He adds the following remark to this personal observation: "It is very desirable for the sake of the Eastern natives to clear up the matter about these hamai-anan wooden canoes which have been for ages a source of continual fear to the Eastern. These hamai-anan were supposed to be manned by cannibals who turned about in them by night in order to kill any natives they

/1284 cont./

186 might meet. They drew up their canoes by day and secreted themselves and never lit a fire for fear of detection" /cited in English/. In any case, the fact is that not a single Yamana saw those murderers by day and that the crew of one of their canoes never attacked our Yamana and overpowered them. Hence, those Wēlapatux are nothing more than fantasy images.

/1285/ 2. The Water Spirits

116 Everyone is much more frequently and more vitally concerned with certain water spirits than with cannibals. These spirits are called Lakūma. They prefer to inhabit certain places favorable to them, but they traverse any inlet whatever. This sea monster has already been described as dangerous in the Asōulaxīpa wātuwa /"Story of Asōulaxīpa," untranslated; see pp. 1261-1262 in the original text/. It threatens every canoe, lifts out the occupants, and sucks them down into the depths. Each Lakūma has the habit of flattening himself out on the surface of the water so that his back protrudes a little. He waits in this fashion until a canoe approaches. It is hard to recognize the Lakūma from a distance. People often say that outwardly he is like a whale; others compare him to the calamary hūka (Loligo subulata or squid) which is not uncommon in those regions; still others to the ray. He is also said to be large and very strong, "a great monster like a huge worm" /cited in English/, according to Spencer:80. If the occupants of a canoe have unwittingly come within reach of the monster, they rarely succeed in escaping disaster, and only if the Lakūma is sleeping or in a good mood.

He does not merely attack a canoe and its occupants. It is also within his power to cause high waves and threatening storms if he wants to endanger a vessel. That is why the Yamana avoid the regions presumably occupied by a Lakūma. Emilia told me: "When I was still a girl, my family planned to leave Wulaia and travel north. On the very morning we intended to leave, the yēkamus who later became my father-in-law had a dream and told us, full of anxiety: 'Be careful, or disaster will befall you!' In his dream he saw a mighty Lakūma suddenly tip over our boat as it

/1285 cont./

776 was leaving Yaiaaŝága and pull it down to the bottom with the utmost speed. It hit bottom so forcefully that it immediately bounded back to the surface. This downward and upward movement was so instantaneous that the water on both sides formed a solid wall and not a drop entered the canoe. When the yékamuŝ told us that, we set out in another direction." Since then Emilia avoids even mentioning the Lakúma because she is so afraid of him.

Nelly Lawrence related a personal experience. "I was still a girl when a woman from the east came to my native region [in the west]. Once I rowed out in a canoe with her. Suddenly this woman discovered a large Lakúma lying flat on the bottom of the sea. The people in the east eat the meat of the Lakúma, which is something we in the west would never do. The woman immediately reached for her crab fork sírsa (Fig. 62, p.258) and said: 'I'll spear that one, he will give us a tasty morsel!' I was terribly frightened when I saw the animal, but the woman pierced his head with her sírsa. The Lakúma acted extremely wild and swam off with the crab fork. The woman clung to the fork for a while and the whole /1286/ boat was dragged along with it. Finally the woman was obliged to let go of her sírsa and the Lakúma escaped." Bridges (a)P211 also mentioned the action of this spirit: "They believe in a sea monster they call Lucooma, who causes tides and whirlpools, and instances are known, when canoes having been in danger from a whirlpool or tide rip, of children and dogs being thrown overboard to appease the wrath of Lucooma" /cited in English/. The assertion that a child is sacrificed to the Lakúma in order to appease him was repeated by a certain Fenton from Punta Arenas who only once in his life, on a two-day journey, crossed Yamana territory, as well as by Furlong (cf. Cooper:153). Not a single Yamana could tell me personally of a definite instance of this kind; they all unanimously and positively denied that a child or a dog had ever been sacrificed to Lakúma. Fred Lawrence regarded it as absolutely impossible that the Yamana could have decided to do such a thing. It is true that out of considerations of safety, if there is grave danger, they may let a heavy piece of wood or a large sea lion fall into the water to lighten the boat (250). In doing so someone perhaps once thought of

250. Spegazzini (a):172 maintains that the

/1286 cont./

176 Yamana believe in whirlwinds "produced by evil spirits, and to appease them, they throw some limbs and pieces of wood in the water" /translated from Spanish/. This statement probably rests on inaccurate observation; the Indians told me that such a custom was unknown to them.

Lakúma, but this is neither a general rule nor a sign of veneration of Lakúma or a cult. The mere fact that in their accounts the Yamana do not even agree about the size and shape of the Lakúma clearly shows that the latter are only figments of the imagination, which are more vivid in one person than in another. Moreover, it is said that every yékamuš has favorable relations with the Lakúma, and whenever he starts singing they let him pass unharmed.

173 The Yamana tell the following Lakúma wátuwa. In ancient
176 times some people traveled to Kaluwéllawaja. Here there are many Lakúma, but these people did not know it. Soon the Lakúma approached and all the people lost their canoes. They barely escaped with their live[illegible] a beach where there was no wood whatever. For a long time they were without fire, and finally they had nothing left to eat. On the other side there was a nice spot with plenty of wood. Then one day a man saw something lying on the surface of the water. It was quite broad and flat. Soon additional objects of this kind gathered. He looked closely and saw that these were only Lakúma lying there, one beside the other. Finally there were so many that they extended from one shore to the other. They were lying completely motionless. One of the men said: "If we quickly step over all of them, we shall reach the other shore!" He did this, ran quickly, and reached the opposite beach. Immediately the other two men tried it, as well as the women and children. The latter went too slowly, however, /1287/ and all the Lakúma submerged, disappearing into the water, and took all those people with them (250/sic/). The

250. The same strange motif is repeated in another context (p.1177).

/1287 cont./

773 776 Lakúma seriously harm everyone who happens to come within their reach.

The one man was saved, however, and he was a great yékamuš. He then went to the other people, called them together, and told them everything. He said: "We must now make many yékus and kill those Lakúma down there!" Immediately the men undertook this work. Then they attacked the Lakúma and killed many of them. They were lying on the bottom. If one comes to this place today, he will see many flat stones on the bottom. They are the Lakúma who, holding themselves flat, slowly sank with all those people and still lie in the water at that place.

Moreover, there is the following story about the disobedient girl, tū̂ʔkīpa wátuwa, for which I am likewise indebted to old Whaits (251). A girl who is tū̂ʔi may not eat berries. Now

251. A shorter version was told to me earlier by a few women and given on page 571.

there was once a tū̂ʔikīpa who felt a great desire to taste some berries. The girl ran away secretly, sat down in the woods, and ate many amáim. Actually the girl did not eat the berries and swallow them; she merely pressed them against her teeth and squeezed the juice out, throwing the solid parts away (252).

252. In this way the girl believed she could get around the literal meaning of the clear and distinct prohibition.

None of her family knew about it.

Soon afterward the family of the tū̂ʔikīpa was traveling across a wide inlet when a large Lakúma appeared on the surface and threatened them all. In their terror they immediately threw a lot of mussels, birds, and pieces of meat into the water, but the Lakúma did not release the canoe. The girl stayed hidden in the bottom of the canoe and did not look up at all. Then the people seized their dog and threw him overboard, but the Lakúma

/1287 cont./

773 was not satisfied with that either. In their despair the people
776 now took hold of a little girl and tossed her into the water; the girl sank very quickly. Nevertheless, the Lakúma still did not release the canoe. Finally the people seized the big girl, the tú̆ʷikīpa, and shoved her overboard. Lakúma seized her avidly and, quick as lightning, sank down into the depths with her. Soon the entrails [of that girl] rose up and floated on the surface. This made the people very sad. After a time the Lakúma reappeared on the surface and stretched out, making himself very flat. Then the people discovered on his back a great many mussels of such uncommon size that they had never before seen any like them (253). The men reached for them and /1288/ took a

253. It is well known that there are numerous parasites on the back of an old whale, especially Balanus and Coropula types. This sentence refers to them.

few off his back. Their shells were particularly sharp. In their rage the men quickly cut up the whole Lakúma with them, tore out his entrails, and dismembered him completely. The Lakúma was dead immediately and sank to the bottom of the sea. At the same instant the canoe began to move, although no one was using the oars, and in no time at all it reached the shore. The people breathed a sigh of relief. But the girl was lost, for she had tasted the berries as a tú̆ʷikīpa.

This story, which obviously has a pedagogic aim, is definitely regarded as a myth, wátuwa, not as an actual experience of a known family. I suspect that Bridges (a):211 heard something about it and interpreted the genuinely mythical material as an actual occurrence. In any case, it is certain that the Lakúma should be regarded as creations of the imagination and the fear of our exceedingly superstitious Fuegians.

3. The Forest Giants

171
773 Inasmuch as the figure of the giant and man-eater Čáskels
776 exists among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 593), it is not strange that

/1288 cont./

171 our Yamana tell about many giant-like spirits which make the
173 Cape Horn Archipelago unsafe. If one compares the mythologi-
176 cal material of the two tribes, it becomes clear that among the Selk'nam it is well organized and richer, but that there are also considerable differences. In any case, a comparison with the Yóĭi is recommended.

176 The giants are called Hánnuš. People say that there are a considerable number scattered through the country. Each one lives only in the forest, and he hides behind thick tree-trunks whenever a human being approaches. Each one also rules over a certain area where he lives all by himself; he regularly roams alone in all directions through it and only very rarely do several Hánnuš gather somewhere. Each one is at least twice as tall as an adult Yamana. He goes about stark naked, for his body hair is almost as thick as the wool of the guanaco.

If a Yamana wanders through a lonely forest all by himself or lies down to sleep in it, the Hánuš approaches him. Out of fear of meeting the giant, people therefore avoid penetrating far into the forest and usually stay close to the edge. Even from there they can hear the crashing of trees and the breaking of twigs wherever he sets foot. They also often hear a storm-like howling of the wind, which announces his approach. Thus warned, everyone who can hastens to safety. It is best for the person to get into his canoe and row out to the open channel where the Hánnuš cannot follow him. This giant prefers to surprise men and women who have fallen asleep; /1289/ he robs them and slays them. At night he also comes near the huts that have been erected at the edge of the forest, especially if they shelter only a few people, whom he murders. He watches particularly for lazy women who have come into the forest to gather wood or berries and instead have lain down and gone to sleep. Cautiously and softly he creeps up to them and makes them fall into a deep sleep. Then he lives with them and satisfies his desire. As for young women, he likes best to drag them to his quarters where they are at his mercy. Every Hánnuš is considered a lecherous fellow. He likes to give men a hard blow with his mighty club and leave them lying in the woods. He likes best of all to chase half-grown children, especially girls. When he

/1289 cont./

776 catches them, he drags them into the forest where he lives. His shelter is almost always a large cave deep in the forest in which on occasion this or that Hánnuš establishes himself. Here he keeps all the children he has caught; he paints their bodies uniformly red and often plays with them. Like himself, these children are stark naked. They must stay with him the rest of their lives. This Hánnuš folk is very numerous. In exceptional cases Hánnuš will let a child whom he does not like escape, especially during the first few days after he has caught it, so that it can return to its parents. All Hánnuš are male and they are always fully mature.

Some of my informants were of the opinion that the Hánnuš had formerly lived among ordinary human beings and that they had later retired to the forest. Since then they have been hostile to human beings, especially to men. The Hánnuš slays every man he can find for the sheer pleasure of murder. Naturally, the Yamana stay away from those places where they are more often aware of a Hánnuš; under no circumstances would they spend the night in the forest.

Bridges (a):211 referred to the Hánnuš: "These Indians believe in ghosts, in wild men of the woods, called Kanoosh /sic/... Some of them pretend to have seen and killed hanoosh, but they never prove their bravery by showing any part of the body, which is said to be very dreadful. They have many hanoosh tales. Ocoko supposes the hanooshes to be men who either in madness, or after a murder, have run away into the woods, and so became wild" /cited in English/. Later he (i):15 and (k):237 supplemented this somewhat; Cojazzi:106, Dabbene (b):203, and Hyades (q):256 rely on his authority (254).

254. Elsewhere Bridges (e):322 writes quite vaguely: The Yamana "believed in the existence of mad people in the woods, to which they attributed supernatural powers and the greatest hostility toward the human race. They were very much afraid of them and they never dared go great distances into the woods alone." This best fits the forest giants.

/1289 cont./

776 Still earlier Fitz-Roy (a):180 learned of these forest giants and reported a story that fits them, but he did not call them by their right name: /1290/ "A great black man is supposed to be always wandering about the woods and mountains, who is certain of knowing every word and every action; who cannot be escaped, and who influences the weather according to men's conduct. York related a curious story of his own brother who had committed a murder. 'In woods of my country,' said he, 'some men go about alone; very wild men -- have no belly (meaning probably that they were very thin), live by stealing from other men.' He then went on to say, that his brother had been getting birds out of a cliff, and, on coming down, hid them among some long rushes, and went away. Soon afterwards he returned, and, seeing feathers blown away by the wind from the spot, suspected what was going on; so taking a large stone in his hand, he crept stealthily towards the place, and there saw one of these wild men plucking a bird which he had got out of the cliff. Without saying a word, he dashed the stone at the wild man's head, and killed him on the spot. Afterwards York's brother was very sorry for what he had done, particularly when it began to blow very hard. York said, in telling the story, 'rain come down -- snow come down -- hail come down -- wind blow very much. Very bad to kill man. Big man in woods no like it, he very angry.' At the word 'blow,' York imitated the sound of a strong wind; and he told the whole story in a very low tone of voice, and with a mysterious manner; considering it an extremely serious affair" /cited in English/ (255).

255. Darwin (d):247 repeated some of this verbatim.

As may be gathered from this story, a Yamana will now and then tell about his personal encounter with Hánnus, of his struggle and combat with him (256). Nelly Lawrence repeated

256. Bridges (k):237 made the same observation: "Anecdotes about the exploits of the Hannushes pass from mouth to mouth

/1290 cont./

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and tell how one person or another met one of these beings, how he fought, conquered, and killed him, and other stories of the same kind" /translated from Spanish/.

the following to me on April 10, 1923: "My uncle was once staying on an island and was looking for trees in which cormorants were perched; he wanted to catch a few. He carefully noted the individual spots. In the evening he went back there and saw an unusually thick ball on a tree. He immediately threw his sling at it and the ball fell to the ground with a loud bang. Frightened, he hurried back to his hut; the night was dark. The next morning by daylight he and his brother [Nelly's father] went back to that spot. Very close to it there was a deep, inconspicuous cave. Here lay the disfigured body of a Hánnuš. To this day the large heavy bones of the Hánnuš are lying there; I saw them with my own eyes."

Somewhat later Nelly told me of another incident. "Many years ago my father hunted in the forest for bark for a new canoe. He was weary and sat down on a tree trunk and fell asleep. Softly a Hánnuš crept up and gave him a heavy blow on the head with his club. My father sank down and lay motionless. /1291/ Then the Hánnuš felt him all over and believed him to be dead. He laid my father on a grassy spot in the woods and covered him with brush. He left my father lying there and hastened away. Although my father was severely wounded, he carefully observed what the Hánnuš was doing and pretended to be dead. It was only after two days that he carefully got up and, unobserved, dragged himself back to his hut. On the beach his wife and we children had waited for him for a long time with anxious concern. We thought he had had an accident, for he was away three days. Then he told us what had happened. It was a long time before he recovered from that blow." Old Whaits told me in the presence of a few families: "I know a boy among my kinsmen who was very reckless and unafraid. Once, in the canoe with his family, he came to a place where there were a few Hánnuš. The boy did not know anything about it, so he walked all around freely and fearlessly. His mother warned him: 'Be careful and do not go too far away from us into the forest!' The boy paid

/1291 cont./

116 no attention to this warning, but ran farther and farther away and played, all unsuspecting, with his little harpoon. At twilight a Hánnuł surprised this boy and dragged him away with him."

There are even two actual myths which are devoted to
116 Hánnuł. The first one goes as follows. Once a Hánnuł fell in
113 love with Maxutuwěr'elakīpa. She was an extraordinarily beautiful woman, besides being sly and crafty. She herself would have nothing to do with Hánnuł and always repulsed him whenever he approached her and wanted to caress her. At first he was disappointed. Later it vexed him very much to have come so often in vain to the hut of Maxutuwěr'elakīpa. Finally he threatened to kill her if she did not give herself to him.

This woman lived on an island. It happened to be winter. When the Hánnuł threatened to return with many other Hánnuł to bring about her ruin, she began thinking seriously of defending herself. Quickly she erected a solid hut and covered it with strong pieces of bark. She left the entrance especially narrow and low. Opposite this entrance she left a little hole. She put brush in front of it and no one would have noticed it. She knew how to make fine, strong crab-forks, t'īrsa (Fig. 62), and she always had a supply of them.

One evening the Hánnuł again came to see this woman and brought with him a few companions. She was well prepared, however. When she saw the Hánnuł approaching her hut, which was covered with large pieces of bark, she quickly crawled through the narrow rear opening out into the open, and when Hánnuł entered, he did not find her. He turned to the entrance and looked out. While he was bending over and trying to squeeze through, the woman raised up slightly in her hiding place and forcefully thrust a crab fork into his seat. The Hánnuł cried out in pain and quickly squeezed out through the /1292/ narrow entrance. Another Hánnuł pushed into the hut; he wanted to see what had happened. But he did not find Maxutuwěr'elakīpa either. When he, too, bent over to crawl out, the woman, with a vigorous stab, drove a t'īrsa into his seat, also. He had to cry out, and instantly he forced himself out through the narrow opening. He dragged the t'īrsa with him, sticking in his seat. The other Hánnuł were astonished at this. Still a third ventured into the

/1292 cont./

116 hut, looked about for the woman, and, like the others, could not
113 find her. He stood at the entrance and from within called to the other Hánnuš: "I don't find the woman here!" As he bent over to slide out, Maxutuwěr'elakīpa from her hiding place thrust a crab fork into his seat also. He was hardly able to move because of the pain, for the sīrsa had penetrated very deeply. He squeezed out and dragged the sīrsa in his seat with him until another Hánnuš pulled it out. He yelled terribly. Then the other Hánnuš began to feel uneasy. They talked it over and decided: "It will be best if we all leave as quickly as possible!" They got up and hastened back into the depths of the forest.

The crafty Maxutuwěr'elakīpa over there on the island had long beforehand dragged all her things to another place on the beach. When the Hánnuš were far enough away, she crept out of her hiding place and hurried down to the shore. It was deep winter and the channel was frozen over. She walked on the thick coating of ice which did not break through. As she moved forward she broke off small pieces of ice behind her. Scarcely had she reached the center of the channel when the Hánnuš arrived at the top of the nearby hill. From there they saw Maxutuwěr'elakīpa. They were seized with rage and hurried down the hill to the shore; they wanted to murder that miserable woman who had hoodwinked them all. But Maxutuwěr'elakīpa called mockingly to the Hánnuš: "Come right along, I'll wait for you here!" Then the ones who were first ran out on the ice. They thought it was still that large, continuous piece of hard, immovable ice across which the woman had walked. But because she had cut up the solid sheet of ice into small floes, the first few Hánnuš sank immediately, for the small ice floes would not hold those large, heavy creatures. When the other Hánnuš on the shore saw the first ones drown, they stayed behind. They hurled threats at Maxutuwěr'elakīpa and turned back.

The actual purpose of this myth is to characterize the entire Hánnuš tribe as loutish and stupid. That is why they can be easily outwitted and fooled by a Yamana. Moreover, the Hánnuš are inferior creatures, as is shown in the following myth.

There was once a blind man who lived with his wife. Each of them slept /1293/ on a separate bed, with the fire between them.

/1293 cont./

116 One night a Hánnuš crept into this hut; he approached the woman
113 and forced her to sleep with him. When the Hánnuš left, the old man heard faint noises and asked his wife: "What is it that is rustling so strangely?" She replied: "Nothing is stirring here; don't become unnecessarily excited!" But after a while the old man realized that his wife was pregnant, and, indeed, she soon gave birth to a son. The blind man did not love this son at all; after all, he knew that it was not his child. And, indeed, this son was an unusual creature. After only a few days he was quite a bit larger, he could walk and climb, and he immediately worked diligently for his parents. He particularly helped the blind man because he thought he was his real father.

When this son went into the forest, he sometimes came across strange signs on the trees. He asked himself: "Where could these signs come from? My blind father surely did not put them there." One day when he again spoke these words, a Hánnuš looked out from behind a tree and said pleasantly: "I am the one who made these signs!" The little boy was silent because he was afraid of the Hánnuš. The latter continued: "So my own son is frightened of me?" The little boy wondered about this and ran back to the hut. The words of the Hannuš had offended him, so he asked his mother: "It can't be that I have two fathers, can it?" The blind father also heard his question. Full of anger, he now explained to the little one that his mother one night slept with a Hánnuš. The mother denied it and said: "That is not true. It was only in a dream that a Hánnuš once came to my bed!" In spite of that, the little one kept on working industriously for the blind old man, but he did not love the Hánnuš who was his real father.

One day the little boy was again busy in the woods. His father, the Hánnuš, approached him, took him in his arms, and carried him to the place where his large Hánnuš family dwelt in a spacious cave. Many Hánnuš were assembled here, but they were all very strange creatures. Some of them had four eyes, others only one; a few had no heads, others had their faces on their chests; some had but one leg, others but one arm, and still others were deformed in some other way. All of them without exception now came dashing up and gaped inquisitively at the

/1293 cont./

776 stranger. After a time old Hánnuĭ accompanied his son back to
773 place in the woods from where he had taken him. But the little boy was very ill at ease. Afterward he told the Yamana in minute detail what he had experienced with the Hánnuĭ folk. He continued to work industriously for the blind old man.

776 These two myths alone show clearly enough that the Hánnuĭ
538 spirits are not even remotely the objects of a cult or of religious veneration (257). The Yamana say that /1294/ a generation ago

257. Bridges (k):237 confirms this: "The natives never worshipped or revered cushpik, hannush, or any other being whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/.

the Hánnuĭ were seen for the last time here in their forests. Since then no one has seen a trace of them. On long winter evenings, if two or three families are living in the same hut or if a number of families are camping at the same place for some time, they love to tell stories of the Hánnuĭ and to repeat their own experiences with these creatures (p. 33). The stories are appropriate to the winter season, so to speak. In summertime the requisite mood is lacking. One evening, on my third expedition, the people spoke in great detail about everything they knew in connection with the Hánnuĭ. Blind Whaits was present. In the midst of the conversation he asked innocently: "Is winter so near at hand that you begin telling stories about the Hánnuĭ?"

The old men did not hide from me their regret that the young and middle-aged people no longer believe the stories and reports about Hánnuĭ and laugh at them as products of self-deception or imagination. They prove it by saying: "Sometimes we have worked for weeks deep in the forest (258) and never saw

258. This was work in sawmills for Europeans or on roads commissioned by the government.

the least sign of a Hánnuĭ; much less were we molested by Hánnuĭ!" This is the opinion of the modern, enlightened generation of Yamana. The old people nevertheless cling steadfastly to their

/1294 cont./

776 538 belief and are ready now and then to recount with firm conviction their favorite stories. Much of what the imagination of the Yamana attributes to the Hámuš is to be found among the Selk'nam in their Yóši (Vol. I, 697).

4. The Guardian Spirits

776 Yamana ideas about the Yefíčel are nowhere near as extensive and definite as those about the Hámuš. The reason is probably that the yékamuš to a great extent claim these spirits for themselves. That is why the rest of the people are not aware that they, too, actually have such a guardian spirit assigned to them.

The older Yamana, who are somewhat more thoughtfully concerned with this belief, are agreed about the personality of these Yefíčel. Richard, as well as a few Indian women, described them to me as follows. The Yefíčel are very small figures "only the size of a thumb." They are conspicuous because they are bald; each of them has only three or four long hairs which stand upright in the region of the crown of its head. There is about an equal number of male and female Yefíčel. They wear no clothes, but go about stark naked. /1295/ Maženihem was alone in the opinion that the Yefíčel are exclusively male, and everyone very definitely denied it. There is a considerable number of Yefíčel, but only a yékamuš is able to see them in dreams.

As for the relationship of the Yefíčel to human beings and in particular their power, our Indians believe that each person has his own Yefíčel. It is the task of the yékamuš, as soon as possible after a child is born to "settle" a Yefíčel on him, that is, to assign him one. "Everyone must have his Yefíčel!" is repeatedly and emphatically declared. The yékamuš gives every person a Yefíčel of the corresponding sex; thus a boy gets a male Yefíčel. If, by mistake, a newborn child has not been given this guardian spirit, the omission must be remedied at the next opportunity, at any rate at the next Mana yékamuš, the gathering of medicine men. The first and most important task of the

/1195 cont./

776 Tefkfel is to protect the person entrusted to him from sickness and physical harm. Beyond that, he also protects the person from all kinds of danger. In view of this, one may regard the Tefkfel as "guardian spirits" of human beings. If a child falls ill, the parents believe the chief reason is that it has not yet been assigned a Tefkfel. Immediately a yfkamuf is requested to do this. A person who has a Tefkfel enjoys good health throughout his life, and that is why "everyone must have his Tefkfel!" When a human being dies, his Tefkfel leaves him and thereafter wanders about alone as an orphan, independent of the others. The Tamana have nothing to say about the above and way of life of these Tefkfel. The yfkamuf, however, add that the orphaned Tefkfel prefer the so-called "dangerous places." From there they continue to be on good terms with the yfkamuf and are forever helpful to them.

The relationship of every human being to his Tefkfel, my informants unanimously agreed, is like that of father and son or mother and daughter, in other words, extremely favorable and very intimate. The yfkamuf has an even closer association with his Tefacel. Although the yfkamuf assigns a Tefkfel to each person, he need not direct him thereafter. I was assured with great earnestness, however, that all Tefkfel must obey Wotagnikwa and his decrees just as willingly and subserviently as most human beings, for "the Tefkfel are dependent upon him, just like all yfmana [human beings]!" On this occasion someone ventured the statement: "Wotagnikwa also has his Tefkfel." The other people present very definitely showed by their expressions that they did not agree with this assumption, nor was anyone able to explain who might have assigned such a Tefkfel to Wotagnikwa. From certain previous statements it is easy to conclude why the complete name of these guardian spirits is Tefkfel yfkin, "little spirit." Many indians use the word Tepkfel instead.

Bridges mentioned these little guardian spirits several times
776 and /1196/ always only in connection with the yfkamuf. It is
776 true that the Tefkfel means much more to a medicine man than to an ordinary human being, for the spirit performs special services for him in the activities of his calling. In Bridges (2):313 it is said: The Tefkfel "is a doctor's son and appears to doctors

/1196 cont./

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in their dreams, with them many things" /cited in English/ (159).

> 159. And again on (p).159: "The yacamah claims to have dealings with beings called yapaichai, and they are the ones who give him the power to see and do fabulous things, especially to cure and to kill" /translated from Spanish/.

In BD-661 one reads: "Tuligan, a being of more than human power and capacity whom the yihamaf claimed as their inspiring power and instructor" /cited in English/. If, referring to this, Bridges believes that this designation also means "spirits of men, especially such as have been killed by violence" /cited in English/, I must reject this as inaccurate. A special relationship between a yihamaf and his Tuligan is universally recognized, and it will be discussed below. There it should merely be pointed out that there is a belief in church-sized guardian spirits, from whose large number every person is assigned his Tuligan for the rest of his life.

b. Forms of Superstition

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Several groups of definite spirits have just been named and described. These are not independent beings which actually exist, but are present only in Tamaca belief. To this extent they must be regarded as objects of superstition. For various reasons they were treated separately. Not of all, because each group is an individual, definite phenomenon. This is one reason of the figures which appear in dreams and the many superstitious views which are linked with some definite circumstances.

1. Dreams

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The fact that the Tamaca dreams & great deal must be traced back to their alertness in everyday life and to their very vivid imaginations. Almost every morning one of the adults in a family

/1296 cont./

787 but will relate his dream. It is not regarded as unusual for
154 someone who is suddenly awakened in the middle of the night by a vivid dream to wake up his family and tell them about it. A yékamuf may even call out to all the neighboring huts from his bed and announce to the people what he just experienced in a dream, although this is generally without any significance to outsiders. It will be explained below how much the yékamuf pursue their calling in dreams. The Tamana believe that the
[B2] very frequent dream images come by themselves to ordinary people, and everyone is very much concerned about them /1297/ (260).

> 260. Hyades (q):253 says briefly: "Dreams are frequent, but in general no one seems to attribute any meaning or importance to them" /translated from French/. Only the first part of this statement is correct.

787 Everyone attributes more or less importance to a dream, depending on its content, the person's temperament, and given circumstances. There is no rule or any sort of criterion; the individual attaches more significance to one dream and less to another according to his own feeling and judgment. A person will be more vividly concerned and more excited by something that touches him directly or threatens him with grave consequences than by unimportant and insignificant everyday things. Everyone who hears about a dream accepts without contradiction the dreamer's interpretation of it. No one would ever dare minimize in any way or even reject the interpretation of a dream given by the one who experienced it and who evaluates it according to his own judgment. Anyone who is extremely disturbed about a dream turns to a yékamuf, who, for his part, will always confirm the seriousness of the whole matter and will usually prepare at once to ward off the harm threatened in the dream.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the Tamana believe implicitly in the dreams which agitate and alarm them (261).

> 261. Bridges (D):14 has reliably declared: "The Tahgans had great faith in dreams

/1697 cont./

181 and were consequently often troubled with anticipation of death without reason" /cited in English/.

This is chiefly the case when one's own life or that of his immediate family is in any way threatened. The Tarasco regards the dream figures, whether they be spirits from the groups named above, friendly and hostile acquaintances, souls of the dead, or even animals, as actual manifestations, as living creatures which present themselves on occasion, as [illegible]. Hence he treats their words, takes their warnings into consideration, fears their threats, and quietly reconciles himself to the trouble they announce. Our Indians are considerably strengthened in their confident belief in dreams by the fact that now and then some premonition contained by the dream is fulfilled or some foreboding comes true. They remember such so-called proofs of the reliability of dreams or of their faith in them throughout their lives and point them out over and over again on suitable occasions. Almost any Tarasco is able to point to such an experience, that is to say, to show the credibility of a dream. They attach the full force of truth especially to the dreams of the [illegible].

Bridges realized this: "Dreaming of a dwarf is much dreaded by these Indians, since they believe it surely foretelles ill -- either some sad disaster, or death caused by the dwarf dreamt of. Unopetowah told me that his mother, the day she died, told him that she had dreamt of a dwarf" /cited in English/ (VSA,XI,500,1884). Much earlier Fico-Ray (c)[illegible] described Sammy Bottom as /1698/ "a great believer in dreams" /cited in English/ and substantiated this as follows: "While at sea, on board the 'Beagle,' about the middle of the year 1833, he said one morning to Mr. Byron, whispered in his ear that his father was dead. Mr. Byron tried to laugh him out of the idea, but ineffectually. He fully believed that such was the case, and maintained his opinion up to the time of finding his relations in the Beagle Channel, when, I regret to say, he found that his father had died some months previously. He did not forget to remind Mr. Byron of their former conversation, and, with a significant shake of the head said, it was 'bad'. After that

/1298 cont./

181 crow he said no more about his father" /Aimé in English/.

The first belief in dreams, which I was able to observe directly in Molly Lawrence, is characteristic of all Tuvans. A few more examples follow. On July 26, 1933, Molly told me sadly that she had dreamed very bad things the night before: "A few families came here [to Purso Ravaline] from Mojilbaem [on Hovarlau Island] and told me that there was universal mourning over there. Today someone will surely come from there and tell us who has died. After this dream I woke up and did not go back to sleep again." She spoke with great firmness and could not shake off her depressed mood even when I tried to convince her that dreams are meaningless. It was true that for several days absolutely no visitors had arrived from Mojilbaem; we feared a sickness had broken out. To the surprise of everyone, Alexandra landed in Purso Ravaline toward noon of the same day and immediately told us: "Last night two women died over there among us, Anna, the wife of William, and Sara, the wife of Mahonchaem. Mahonchaem said she's seriously ill and will probably also succumb [to the sudden epidemic of grippe]!" After Alexandra had had a heart-to-heart talk with Molly for about an hour, she immediately came to me and told me in detail what she had just heard. "Do you see my dream of last night, which I told you about this morning, came true,"she said with sad earnestness; "I knew that something [some news] would have to come today! Whatever I dream always comes true, no matter how distressing! I am never mistaken in my dreams! How terrible this town is. Now we must fear that still more people will be taken away in this epidemic. The poor child of Mahonchaem has now lost its mother and if the father, too, dies, the girl will be orphaned (183). Now it is to be feared that soon

> 183. This girl, Ova, about seven years old, is the only child of Sara who has just died and of old Pedro Mahonchaem who is now very ill.

the last of my countrymen will pass away. Then I shall be the only one left and soon feel the hard, tragic fate of my countrymen. I, myself, as the only one, will be born for a short time,

/[illegible] cont./

781 and with me the last survivor of the Tuscans will visit over the graves." Anyone would have been touched to see this woman in her anxious grief over her own people. /[illegible]/ The primary aim here, however, was to show that the Tuscans evidence a great measure of truth to their dreams.

On my fourth journey I interrupted my way to Bengle Chen-sol by a prolonged visit to the Iolli tuen (p. 10; /unconclusive/). When I returned to Pueno Ramolino, Dolly said to me one morning: "Last night I dreamed again, but it was nothing worth mentioning. Why is it that we sometimes have very good dreams in which we see the future? Yet, when we so often see in dreams it rarely true? — But I haven't told you about the two dreams I had while you were with the Iolli tuen." Dolly now told me: "In that time [in March, 1950] I dreamed that Mademoiselle came here to Pueno Ramolino for a short visit. While he lived in Iowa, will he said sadly: 'I feel as though we were seeing each other today for the last time. You are a good woman, willing to help, and I should like to come again soon, but I feel that we shall probably not see each other again!' That is what Mademoiselle said. Sure enough, he did not come to Pueno Ramolino after that and later [in August] he died." Dolly mentioned another incident: "One morning Mamacha came to me all excited. It was the day before her death. She told me: 'Last night I had very bad dreams. My brother Tom [brother of Dorcomed and brother of Alfredo] came to me and said: "Where is Alfredo?" I said: "He is staying in the south!" I, too, would be glad if he would come back soon and tell our white friend [Gonzalo] a few stories. The latter is now returning from the region of the Iolli tuen.' Tom: 'It may be a long time before he comes. But I must go soon.' Mamacha: 'Stay a while!' Tom: 'I can't, my *hallpakiqua* /[illegible]/ is waiting for me; he is in a great hurry and will not permit me to stay.' Mamacha: 'Oh, well, the *hallpakiqua* can wait.' Tom: 'He won't allow that. I must leave immediately with *hallpakiqua*. I came to tell you!' Mamacha: 'But I want to stay here for a bit!' Tom: 'But I must go again. *hallpakiqua* is in a hurry and will grant me no further delay!' ... When he had gone a certain distance, he waved his hand toward me, as though to say: 'We shall see each other soon!' He removed further and

/1306 cont./

787 farther and finally disappeared completely." ...All this Mancha told me and wept and sobbed as she did so. Then she took three little baskets which she had made the day before and handed them to me, saying: "Take these little baskets. If I should really die soon, I could not give you anything any more. I would rather you take these little baskets and keep them!" I took the little baskets. On the afternoon of the same day Mancha felt very ill; she was stricken with fever and the next morning she was dead. All this happened just as I told it to you!" Each word had the tone of utter conviction.

The hafqwkpine mentioned above is to be explained as follows. This /1306/ is the common name of the mighty blue whale, Balaenoptera schlegelii (p. 36 /unpublished/). This Tom, Mancha's brother, had died long before her conversation with Sally; he came to his sister Mancha in a dream. It is said of him: One day, as he was walking along the shore, a hafqwkpine emerged from the water and for some time kept staring at Tom. Tom died that same year; the hafqwkpine took along his ahqwtl. From that time on the two were [somehow] connected. Tom, accompanied by that hafqwkpine, appeared to his sister Mancha in a dream. On this occasion hafqwkpine took her ahqwtl along, just as he had previously taken the ahqwtl of Tom. That is why Mancha died soon after her dream in which, actually, hafqwkpine carried her off. This strange interpretation must be regarded, according to the principles of the medicine men, as an isolated case. Accordingly, it does not run counter to the general conception of the ahqwtl, the human soul after death.

It is the individual person himself who more or less ennobles his dream image, giving it greater or lesser significance. He likes to attribute reality to those images that give him a vision of the future. Conjectures and forebodings that first appeared as dreams and afterward came to pass in some way strengthen him anew in his belief and increase his confidence in dreams.

2. Superstitious Ideas

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In the simple mental life of the Fuegians there is no lack of certain views and opinions which must be regarded as true

/1300 cont./

811 superstition in the strictest sense of the word. No one will find this surprising. An attempt to offer an explanation or a reason for the many notions and customs would be tantamount to robbing them of their superstitious character. They simply exist and one acts accordingly. I shall list here the considerable number of superstitious ideas by which our Yamana are governed in individual instances, including a few magical practices. The superstitions mentioned above in the section on the care of infants and children and in connection with the description of the material culture of the Yamana will not be repeated, and the belief in the various groups of spirits and individual fantasy images will not be discussed. A few earlier observers have noted that the Yamana are easily tempted to superstition (263).

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263. Fitz-Roy (a):180 writes, and Darwin (f):I, 123 agrees: "The natives whom I carried to England often amused us by their superstitious ideas, which showed, nevertheless, that their ideas were not limited by the visible world. If any thing was said or done that was wrong, in their opinion it was certain to cause bad weather. Even shooting young birds, before they were able to fly, was thought a heinous offence. I remember York Minster saying one day to Mr. Bynoe, when he had shot some young ducks with the old bird: 'Oh, Mr. Bynoe, very bad to shoot little duck -- come wind -- come rain -- blow -- very much blow'" /cited in English/. Lovisato (b):149 expresses himself in more general terms: "They are superstitious; they fear the wind and perhaps regard the elements in general as vindictive agents" /translated from Italian/. Hyades (q):253 also writes in this vein and asserts (q):387 that the efforts of the Anglican missionaries did not change anything concerning the superstitions of the Yamana: "The superstitions are the same as in former times"

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811 /translated from French/. Cooper:159, on the basis of the few data available to him at the time, surmised correctly: "Superstitions exist, but apparently in moderate number only" /cited in English/. Even now this judgment need not be changed.

/1301/

a Superstitions Related to the Animal Kingdom

825 The Fuegian is very dependent on the animals of his homeland. Hence it is not strange that they play a dominant role in his superstitious ideas.

825 If at night a dog howls miserably for any length of time,
787 its master interprets it as presaging all kinds of dire prospects for himself or for a proposed undertaking, such as a hunt, a journey, and important work. If all the dogs howl in the few huts that form a camp, an epidemic or at least serious illness among many persons is to be expected. If the howling of many dogs has lasted for some time, all the people come out of their huts and hurl everything at hand toward heaven, things such as stones and pieces of leather, tools and weapons, and preferably hot ashes and glowing logs. Meanwhile no one, with the exception of half-grown children, may stay in bed or rest. Everyone must be up and about until dawn. All night long everyone is very excited and behaves wildly. They wave their arms about in extreme agitation; they thrust their arms forward and upward with hands outspread and cry from constricted throats tetete... All this is supposed to ward off the menacing illness.

When people are sitting out in the open in front of their huts, it sometimes happens that a dog comes crawling up to a person, dragging himself along the ground, stretched out on all fours, and pushing himself forward on his belly. They interpret this to mean that the person himself or someone among his intimate family will soon die.

825 In contrast to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 707), our Yamana are neither friendly to the fox nor kindly disposed toward it, because it preys on human carcasses. The following story is told. When

/1301 cont./

825 the first Argentinian ships came to Ushuaia [in the '80's], ravaging diseases broke out (p. 300 /untranslated/). Practically all the Indians settled there lay around on the beach and in their huts, unable to help themselves. Many of them died. Sickness spread to the north shore of Navarino Island, and there, too, the beach was soon strewn with corpses. The many sick people saw the foxes coming out of the forest and gnawing at the corpses, /1302/ but no one was able to ward them off and chase them away. A woman already near death had her little son beside her, but he could not help her. One of the foxes even dared to start devouring this woman, although she was still alive. The little son threw a knife at the fox, whereupon it stopped. She died soon afterward, and the boy immediately started three signal fires. Soon a canoe arrived and took him aboard. Scarcely had the canoe left the shore when the fox again came up to the corpse of the woman and started devouring it.

The Yamana find the apawáta, the bat, almost disgusting because of its resemblance to the rat, wēsána (p.323). If it flies past the huts the people feel sick; they all remain silent until it has flown off again. Everyone turns his eyes away in loathing. Bridges (1):7 also confirms this: "There is a small Bat, loathed by the natives on account of its compound nature" /cited in English/. (Cf. Vol. I, 707.)

The Yamana regard the whale along with the many ever-present fish accompanying it (p. 37 /untranslated/) as a large family. They are particularly alert for the restless, raging aśōula, the smaller whale (Pseudorca crassidens /the "false killer" whale/), and the ēpájačí (Orcinus orca /the killer whale/). Our Indians are afraid of both. Bridges (a):208 thinks differently: The whales are killed "by swordfish, which they consequently esteem sacred" /cited in English/. On October 9, 1871, Lewis reported a "small whale, which ran ashore in the inlet. I hastened out, and heard a continuous thumping on the water, which Lucca informed me was a swordfish; he also observed, that if the dog barked, he [the swordfish] would be frightened and take the whale away. At early dawn we descended, and found the whale, minus any appearance of having been molested by a swordfish" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34;1872).

/1302 cont./

825 Our Yamana are no less superstitious about birds. Some among the great numbers of them prove to be helpful. They announce things that are important to human beings and warn them. The sea duck deŝka (Tachyeres patachonicus) is at times even included in food taboos (p.503). The mighty condor weŝiyáu (Cathartes aura) is said to lead the dance of the birds. The condor can be dangerous to little children, which is why a mother may never leave her infant unattended. It is said that one day a small child at play crept out of the hut and down to the beach. The child's mother sat at her work in the hut and did not notice it. A condor flew down from above and seized the child with its strong talons, dragging it to the nearest mountain. After a while the mother stepped out of her hut and looked for the child. In vain she searched all the other huts, and no one could give her any information. Everybody helped her look, but they did not find the child. The next day they walked around the whole region, but without success. Nevertheless the mother and her relatives kept on searching. Finally, on the peak of the nearby /1303/ mountain they found the remains of the child, its head and a few bones. It happened that the face was not mutilated and the mother recognized her child. The condor had dragged it off and devoured it because it had been sitting unattended on the beach. The mother wept bitterly and returned to her hut.

825 821 787 If a hawk, yo'okalía (Milvago chimango), acts unusually happy and flies about gaily, good weather is on the way. Anyone who is obliged to take a long journey starts out early when he sees this sign; beautiful weather will accompany him. When yo'okalía screams complainingly at night, snow and cold weather are in the offing; both annoy the bird.

825 787 Quite generally the light-colored horned owl, sítu (Nyctalops accipitrinus), is very carefully watched. If it persistently and anxiously flies around one or more huts standing close together, its cry means that someone in the neighborhood has died. If it lands on a hut, even for a few moments, it indicates that one of the inmates will soon die. When this sítu on its nocturnal flights utters the prolonged, intermittent cry kît, kît, kît... which sounds as though drops of blood were splashing on the

/1303 cont./

825 ground, it is an omen of murder and a person from the immediate
787 vicinity will be the victim. If someone approaches a small group of men or lands near a few huts and notices a sítá circling around the huts during the day, he recognizes this as a definite warning that these people are hostile to him and have evil intentions, are perhaps even planning to murder him. Hence he quietly slips away that very night and goes far enough so that none of the men can follow him. If in the next few days a horned owl should again appear in his vicinity or circle around him, he concludes that the men are on his trail. Without delay he hurries off to his own home. He is safe in the circle of his relatives.

825 The Yamana must show due respect for the small finch
821 hésipul (Taenioptera pyrope). Anyone who annoys it and throws stones at it must be prepared for very bad weather. Out of vengefulness and an injured sense of honor, it causes bad storms and heavy rains.

825 A person who hears the cry of the gray night heron tíwux
787 (Nycticorax obscurus), rejoices, for this bird tells him that a canoe with friendly visitors will soon come. They usually arrive the very next day and from exactly the same direction that the call of this heron came from or the direction from which the bird flew when it came. Even today the tíwux is venerated everywhere.

825 The large petrels, especially the albatross, which rise up
821 over the waves far out on the high seas and describe large circles *in the air, announce to the people that they must be prepared for* rough seas and foul weather.

825 /1304/ It is a universal custom for a hunter who has bagged
777 a Molinas goose téku (Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/) to break both its legs immediately; otherwise he will have no future luck at hunting. If the hunter has a newborn child at home, he may not break the legs of this goose with his own hands if he wishes to keep his child from harm (p.509).

825 A solitary sea duck, déika (Tachyeres patachonicus), fly-
788 ing over a hut fills all the inmates with fear and trembling. They are afraid that this déika will take with it the kispif of the children present. They quickly throw large pieces of skin over each baby and cover them well. Others will repeatedly stretch their arms out in front of them, palms forward, at the same time

/1304 cont./

825 [788] uttering a loud, hissing s̄ sound. The purpose of the latter is to weaken the baleful effect of the sea duck and hold in the kēspiš of the children. Immediately after confinement the mother and her husband may not eat the meat of the dēška (p.503). The [262] parents are advised to abstain from it until their child enters the second year of life. From then on it is completely out of danger, whereas before that it might possibly die if its parents should often eat the meat of the sea duck.

When the rust-colored spectacled ibis, lēxuwa (Theristicus melanopis), flies over the heads of mature girls, they cross their arms and press them against their breasts to hide them. If they [824] did not do this, lēxuwa would pull their breasts far down; this is a beauty flaw of which they complain a great deal. This lēxuwa is also known as a sensitive woman who anxiously guards her honor.

I did not learn that the Yamana are superstitiously afraid of any kind of insects, but Bridges (a):212 writes: "Many insects are also much dreaded, from a belief that they enter the ear, and work their way into the body, and thus kill those they enter" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):204 says the same thing. Unfortunately, these references are too general.

Sometimes an unusually large cap-shaped shell (Fissurella) clings to a rock along the coast, below the lowest water level. It is regarded as the mistress of that region. All the women who are gathering marine animals in its vicinity must remain silent and respectful. If they do not do this, the pāiakakīpa, as it is [823] called, causes strong eddies. The word pāiaka is not a proper name, but a general term (compare BD:370); here it has its special meaning. The little hole in the flat shell is "the eye with which pāiakakīpa sees everything that happens around it."

825 765 If a father has lost a son in death, he abandons the male animals that he kills or he throws them into the water. If a daughter has died, he does not touch the female animals that he catches. He does this for several weeks after the death of his child to express his grief over the loss and to avenge himself, as it were, on Watauinēiwa.

/1305/ β. Superstitions in Everyday Life

821 From careful, continuous observation the Yamana are familiar with their natural surroundings. Every unusual phenomenon attracts their attention more or less, and some have occasioned superstitious interpretations. They do not occupy themselves nearly as much or as thoroughly with the heavenly bodies as do the Selk'nam. If an eclipse of the sun or moon occurs, they all pick up some čiler /fine Berberis shavings/. Amid much shouting, men, women, and children rub their faces with it, as though they were washing and cleansing themselves. They shout and expect the sun or moon to become clean and shining once more. Since they themselves cannot reach that heavenly body, but it must nevertheless be cleaned, they rub their own faces continuously, for, to them, an eclipse of the sun or moon means an unclean, dirty face of that celestial body. They designate an eclipse of the sun (or moon) with lēm (or hānuxa) arugáta, meaning "sun or moon with a dirty, very disorderly, and unclean face" (compare ārugáta in BD:61). Similarly, they designate a star that conspicuously changes its color, or a shooting star and a comet with a visible tail, as apēnix ārugáta, "a star that is in disorder." If there is a ring around the moon and an opening in the ring at one point of the compass, they expect bad weather from this direction for the next few days. Children may not stare at a full moon for any length of time. The Yamana believe that while the child is gazing steadily at the moon it will see the moon's large mouth and invariably call out: "You, moon, open your mouth!" This would result in the child's soon becoming ill. The Yamana, too, see an entire face, with eyes and mouth, in the disk of the full moon.

Our Indians, of course, are also attentively concerned about the weather. If a number of people are traveling in their canoe and they eat something, they may not throw refuse and food remains into the water, for this would immediately cause high waves or storm. The remains are carefully burned in the canoe fire.

821 189 When a child is born, the Yamana notice whether there is good or bad weather. A child born in good weather has prospects of a happy life; above all he is capable of stopping bad weather.

/1305 cont./

821 789 If a few families are detained in an inlet because of storms and showers and are prevented from traveling on, they paint a club, a spear shaft, or an oar with red earth, accompany the "fair-weather child" to the beach, and give it the painted article, telling it to beat the sea with it and ask for favorable weather. If the child acts shy or ashamed, or if it is too young to do this, the father takes the child in his arms and sets it upright against his legs. He himself then recites the particular words /1306/ and administers the blows against the sea, making the child's arms help him a bit. It is absolutely necessary that the object used for beating be painted. The words addressed to the bad weather are to the effect that it should go away quickly, cease bothering people, and make way for good weather. A request is even sent up to Watauinéjwa that he change the weather situation as soon as possible, for after all he is responsible for unfavorable weather. For example, they say:

wéla	matauúgu	ĩkamána	yelaiígu
At once	to come to the beach	snowfall	good-weather

xéola,	sigája	kakúpa	áki.
child	set off	from here	you.

This is to say: "In order that you, bad weather, shall immediately go away from here, a privileged fair-weather child has come down to the beach and is beating you." Meanwhile the child stretches out its arms and reaches out into space as though it were grasping the clouds, tearing the fog asunder, and pushing back showers of rain. At the same time it utters forceful, hissing sounds. These efforts serve the purpose of quickly driving away the bad weather. The words used are clothed in a definite formula; an adult tells it to the child who repeats it several times while it beats the water.

821 A child born when the weather is unfavorable or when there are heavy storms arouses a slight uneasiness among people in the neighborhood as a result of this fact alone. They never forget this coincidence and in later years tell the child himself about it. Such a child must be reserved and moderate in its behavior when

/1306 cont./

821 the weather is calm and there is bright sunshine. The Fuegians generally hope that the good weather, which in any case is scarce, will last for a short time once it has set in, especially the warm quiet days. For this reason a "bad-weather child" must avoid noisy conduct along the beach, running gaily along the edge of the water, throwing stones into the sea, beating the waves with a stick or paddle, or dropping an object and letting it strike hard on the ground. To violate these rules would soon bring a change of weather. The adults do not fail to watch a "bad-weather child" carefully and to admonish it to behave cautiously. If a strong headwind and high waves make it im-
821 possible for a family to travel on, the wife will try a ceremony
789 of her own to remove these obstacles. She rubs one of her daughters who is not yet five years old from head to foot with ími, accompanies her down to the beach, pushes her into the water several times and ducks her repeatedly. The woman continues this procedure until her small daughter grows tired of it and begins to cry and scream. Only then does she release her daughter who, /1307/ yelling loudly, rushes out of the water to warm herself at the hut fire. The mother, however, stays on the beach a bit longer and addresses the following lament to the sea:

Yelajígu	xóqlan	sigíja	wéla	tumúru
Fair-weather	child	set off	immediately	have pity

ìkamána.
snowfall.

In other words: "You, bad weather, have pity on that 'fair-weather child' and set off immediately, taking with you this abundant snowfall." With this act, especially the ducking, the mother pretends that her child is drowning in the sea because of the bad weather.

The winter of mid-1923 was unusually severe and brought with it a great deal of snow. I was staying on Navarino Island, and the Indians often complained to me about the burden of the large masses of snow. One day they again tried an ancient ceremony which serves to ward it off. Near the huts two men erected

/1307 cont./

821
789

a snow figure resembling a human being. It was about 120 centimeters high, very clumsy and irregular, the kind of snowman that school children in Europe fashion without any care. The head, body, and arms were merely suggested on the figure and very inaccurately fashioned. The men made it in a few minutes. Meanwhile several children and a few adults had assembled in front of it. As soon as the two men declared their clumsy structure finished, everybody gathered in front of it at a distance of about five meters and pelted it with stones, logs, clubs, and spears, in a spirit of savage destruction, until the wobbly structure was completely torn apart and lay there as a chaotic pile of snow. The excited, wild behavior is supposed to make clear to "winter," who is believed to be embodied in this figure, how displeased, indeed embittered, everybody is with him and that he should take himself off as soon as possible. They anticipate prompt success with this ceremony which has been handed down by their forefathers, and they resort to it several times during the cold season (264).

> 264. As early as 1865 Bridges observed the same thing: "The Fuegians, to drive such unpleasant weather away, build a figure of the snow, in shape somewhat like a man, *ana'ulow spoons ainto ai; ana'ulomulini ai-wolai* paddles" /cited in English/ (VSA XII, 6,1865). -- The Selk'nam also try to change the weather by means of a certain magical custom, in which a so-called "bad-weather child" and a "fair-weather child" play the chief roles (Vol. I, 684).

[171]

Bridges reported another custom which is also of the type of genuine magic-by-analogy; I myself did not come across it. On a stormy day "all men were disguised with paint and charcoal. The men came along, many armed with clubs. One man, Lesgowloom, a vigorous, active young fellow, acted the champion and challenger, and stood prominently forward to meet the foremost and most excited of the opposite party. Like the man

/1307 cont./

921 789 who confronted him, he had a broad band of white from his chin downward, and his head was bound with the skin of a kelp gander with white down on it, and his hair was also whitened. He had a white stone in either hand. His antagonist, who came leaping along making much noise, was /1308/ armed with a club. He kept on demanding what facai [a term for seals, penguins, and other sea birds] would let him kill some one, as though he thirsted for blood. He held his club ready to use it, and they both spoke excitedly and loudly to each other. Presently Lasapowioom threw one of his stones a full yard behind his opponent's heels, and ran after its stone to pick it up again. Presently looking to where I heard much noise I saw two others, highly painted fellows, engaged in loud vociferations and earnest gestures, each with an arm round the other's neck, and bobbing their heads each to the other. The rest stood quietly looking on.... Lasapowioom acting the part he did, was according to custom, called uwuuu, or the arm of wind; the man who met him was called uuuuuuwuuu, or one who invited the storm to rage against him" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 13;1875).

I cannot help thinking that the superstitious customs and ceremonies aimed at influencing the weather in favor of personal wishes and intentions have developed among the Yamana only to a limited extent simply because their Watayinéjwa is regarded as the actual ruler of the forces of nature. Hence everyone turns directly to him as the first and surest helper, using the ancient traditional prayer formulas (p.978).

262 In addition, there are a few similar superstitious customs which are clearly wise food taboos. They are supposed to promote self-control and check selfishness. A few such decrees have already been mentioned. Thus, for example, no one may pick Pumuryo berries until they are ripe. If anyone should ignore this, the "berries would go away" (p.327). Anyone who gathers ouilgo at the proper time may nibble a few, but anyone who eats many of them brings on bad weather by his lack of restraint in eating. It is easy to catch this disobedient person, and he is severely reproached in case there is a sudden change in the weather. The primary object of this taboo is probably to force each individual to bring all the berries he has gathered into camp

/1308 cont./

262 and let the others share them, instead of selfishly enjoying them
824 alone. People from another region who land on strange territory
and find large quantities of amájm may neither pick them nor
[821] eat them. If they do, they must be prepared for threatening
weather when they continue their journey. Their taking the
berries would portend ǽnačiwa, rain and destruction for them.

The "rain berry," palaxǽačis, Rubus geoides (p.279), may
262 be eaten only in fair weather. If someone has discovered a spot
824 where there are great numbers of these berries and he wants to
821 gather them, he must first obtain permission from the tǽuina who
has the right to distribute them to adults and children. A person
who picks the palaxǽačix without such permission or in /1309/
rainy weather must be prepared for a sudden heavy storm with
rain on the open sea, which will endanger his life, as atonement,
hǽneči, for his disobedience. On March 16, 1923, there was an
unusually heavy cloudburst with floods. Two days earlier a few
girls had stolen off to a place that was well known for its many
palaxǽačix -- it is about an hour's distance from Punta Remolino --
and picked these berries. In all seriousness Nelly told me on the
evening of March 16th that the young Halakwulup, Julia, had
gone to this place with a few other girls. Julia was unfamiliar
with the taboo, and she had picked and eaten many of the berries.
The other girls followed her example. The heavy rain was a
punishment for this.

It is not at all seldom that sudden bad weather breaks out
262 over the wide inlets open to the south. In this region it is cu-
tomary not to eat certain game animals that have been caught
on the same day, but to keep them until the following day. A
person who does not conform to this must be prepared for a heavy
loss in the immediate future. This custom is probably meant to
teach people to provide for the next day, for all too often a fam-
ily is unable to travel because of unfavorable natural forces, and
they could suffer great hardship if they had not learned and were
not compelled to economize with their already meager supply.

The Yamana very seldom eat during a canoe trip and, if
264 they do, always very little. Anyone who eats may not throw food
821 remains and refuse overboard, but should destroy them in the fire
484 which is always kept burning. It is said that Yǽkiu decreed this.

/1309 cont./

264 When one fails to observe this rule, his child will scream just as
821 incessantly as did the child of Yoflox (p. 1140). Moreover,
487 other people say that his canoe will run into bad weather.
Spencer:87 writes: "When crossing one of the Sounds, a man will paint broad transverse bands of black across the woman's face. This is supposed to ensure a fairweather crossing" /cited in English/. I did not learn anything about this from my informants, but I did hear that bad weather will set in immediately if someone pulls out tall reeds in a lagoon.

823 Moreover, the Yamana are still imprisoned in a realm of superstitious notions about so-called baleful places. These are first of all the places that the Lakíma like to inhabit. No one should venture there in his canoe or gather mussels there. Besides the Lakíma and the malevolent Hapčella, certain animals who are in contact with the yékamuř make a place dangerous for human beings. Friendly, well-meaning yékamuř warn people about these places, for they know from their dreams what the situation is and the danger a person can get into on that account. A person who unwittingly enters such a zone suddenly feels unwell; he becomes utterly weak and immediately falls asleep. /1310/ He is lost if a yékamuř is not called in time to free him from the pernicious influence of this baleful place. On March 21, 1923, Whaits told the following story. "In Lapatija there is a fatal spot where even the fish are not spared. Once several men had set a net there. It was quickly filled with fish and the men began hauling it in. When they were near the shore with the heavy net, a strong force pulled out all the fish and the men stared astonished at the empty net." Earlier Bridges reported: "A certain Steenlenjis had made up his mind to settle out at a beautiful place some three miles from Ushuaia. Accordingly he went there with his wife and family, and one or two friends. These built a wigwam and had plenty of wood and water close at hand. But late in the afternoon they heard a strange voice or cry, whether from owl, hawk, bird, beast, or evil spirit they knew not and were too much frightened to go and ascertain, saying xapicoush, xapicoush, which means bloody arrow head. They forthwith packed up and hastened back to Ushuaia from the fatal spot" /cited in English/ (MM:XIII, 80; 1878).

/1319 cont./

Finally there are a few superstitious ideas of a different nature. Nelly assured me: "If half-grown children run away from their parental hut, if someone wounds himself badly with his ax or if he falls or stumbles and hurts himself seriously, it means that some person in his vicinity is going to die. The persons who have hurt themselves are not to blame, nor are those children who have run away. Their kikpik prompts them, and they can do nothing about it. The parents of a small child will not explain this to him if he has run away; instead they await with terror the death that has been thus announced." Nelly gave me this explanation when I told her that one day, late in the afternoon, the small daughter of Mademikoss had run away with some other girls (p.[illegible]). She pointed out to me that the wife of Thomas died that very night.

BD:274 gives hunff as a bad omen for the hunt, "a supposed evil influence arising from unclean and unwashed persons after sexual uncleanness eating animals, as guanaco or otter caught by dogs which caused them (the dogs) to cease to be successful in further hunting" /cited in English/. I did not come across this view; it does not agree with many ideas that have been definitely proved.

Young Darwin (f):II, 327 reports: "When York Minster was brought back to his own country the natives told him that he should pluck out the few short hairs on his face. They also threatened a young missionary who had been left among them for a time that they would strip him naked and pluck out the hairs on his face and body, although he was by no means very hirsute." Hyades (g):356 refers to this and asserts: "The Fueginos throw into the fire /1321/ hairs that have been plucked out or that have fallen out. They certainly do not destroy them as a hygienic precaution" /translated from French/. Actually, everyone is anxiously concerned about destroying every hair by fire with his own hands. Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 713), the Yamana do this purposely for fear a yékamal might pick up a single hair and, by means of it, more easily cause a person some harm. Anyone who is certain that he has nothing to fear does not resist having a sample of his hair cut off; I succeeded in doing this.

/1331 cont./

There is a mountain massif in the west, whose highest peaks suggest the figure of a hunter carrying two wild geese on his back and accompanied on either side by a dog. This man turned to stone there, it is no longer known why, but anyone traveling near there is supposed to remain quiet. Spencer:EE writes: "Ken told me story of boiling lake high up on Home Island behind the tall snow peak on Dutton Peninsula seen from Rio Douglas. Too hot to hold hand in and very dangerous to go near" /Aimed in English/. It is not generally known that there are warm springs here and there in the Cape Horn Archipelago. Not far from Puerto Remolino, at a considerable altitude, I myself visited a mineral spring. The following statement by Spencer:EE is vague: "There is a special cave on Tobatulin Bay with a cave in which lives a dangerous spirit. No Tehgan dare stay there at night. George told Ken, who had done so, that he was lucky to have got out alive. Strange noises are always to be heard there at night time" /Aimed in English/. In the Yamana language there are several expressions which correspond exactly to our terms "lucky devil" and "unlucky fellow." According to Bridges (Ij:360, BD:42 given, for example, mawakina, "successful in hunting" /Aimed in English/, and the combinations that can be formed with it. The superstitious beliefs of the Yamana show their tendency to be afraid and their active imaginations. /Fig. 88 appears here./

/1332/ 8. The Kina Celebration

The great significance of the youth initiation for the permanence of the social order of our Fueguians is outwardly expressed by the fact that the young people of both sexes are, without exception, obliged to take part in it on two occasions. By and large, the kina is obviously a continuance of parental rearing beyond the narrow confines of the family hut, and it has the special goal of making young people useful members of society. The definiteness of this goal is convincingly proved by the fact that, upon the conclusion of their initiation, the individual candidates enter adulthood and have the right to marry and found a family (p.[illegible]). Lower on, the knowledge that they have obtained

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] about the entire heritage of ideas and conceptions of the tribe is supplemented and amplified for the young men exclusively in the secret ceremony of *kina*, which on principle is reserved for the male population. Here the primary aim is not a clearly-defined goal to be achieved through training -- although training is not altogether ignored -- but rather an introduction to a unique sphere of mythological ideas which the men regard as their exclusive property. They guard it anxiously from the inquisitiveness of their wives, and sometimes, in their consciousness of this possession, they make the female population as a whole keenly aware of their superior position and their arrogance. The explanation for all this is that the *kina*, based on prejudiced ideas, shows a more or less marked stringency. This one-sidedness makes the *kina* fundamentally different from the *ciñaga*. The latter is available to both sexes at puberty, the former only to mature men (266 /[illegible]/).

[71]

266. I discovered the same conditions among the Halakwulup. These Fueguians have a separate men's ceremony besides the actual youth initiation. For the time being compare Gusinde (pp.[illegible] and pp.[illegible]).

[76]

Fig. 68. Sea Lions, *Otaria jubata*.

/1312 cont./

X 575 171

The Selk'nam in their Kloketen ceremony (Vol. I, 808) have an arrangement in which, if one can express it thus, the two Yamana institutions of the Ximage and the kina are, at least outwardly, combined. The basic character and the many details of the kina embrace precisely the kinds of ideas and the means of expressing them that may be summed up as constituting an actual men's ceremony. Everything that is included in such a ceremony is more pronounced in the kiléteen of the Selk'nam. This kiléteen proves to be a more original form, scarcely corrupted or weakened in any way, although it is at the same time an actual initiation of youth. In order to facilitate comparison of these secret ceremonies among the two neighboring tribes, I have arranged the following description with reference to the account of the kiléteen ceremony. The portrayal, which is not too voluminous, /1313/ has historical as well as factual value, because I was the first European to learn about the kina from personal observation and because it proved to be the last ceremony of its kind. It is a strange coincidence that I, as the first European, was permitted to experience and, through direct participation, to become intimately acquainted with the last kiléteen, which the Selk'nam held in 1923, and the last kina, which the Yamana celebrated in 1922 (287).

X 575 123

287. I reaped important benefits from having witnessed the Kina of the Yamana before seeing the more clearly defined and elaborate form of the men's ceremony of Kloketen among the Selk'nam. I have pointed this out in a number of places, compare at least Vol. I, 816, as well as Gusinde (p.970 and (p.277.

a. Information through Europeans

X 575 114

The Kina is a secret ceremony to which, on principle, only adult men are admitted. A Yamana will very seldom speak about it in everyday life. Even when men are among themselves, the word kina is scarcely ever mentioned. This circumstance alone

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/1819 cont./
is enough to explain why none of the English missionaries, the whites who have been settled there for a number of decades, or occasional visitors to that region become acquainted with the Kina of the natives. In these days the average Europeans who traveled among primitive peoples had far less appreciation for secret ceremonies than for many other arrangements which were easy to observe with the naked eye. These travelers generally rejected such things as products of a diseased imagination and as underdeveloped intellect, and they made no effort to understand them. Thus, there were reasons on both sides to explain why the Kina of the Tanaans, like the secret ceremonies of other primitive peoples, did not become known earlier to Europeans. During my third journey, as my informers, the Tanaans decided to hold such a celebration (p. 188 /unreviewed/). They had not held it for a long time and were therefore not quite sure about many of the details. Nevertheless, I have been able to ascertain the essential parts and to present the basic ideas of this complicated secret ceremony.

1. Earlier Accounts

The majority of the travelers who reported on our Tanaans were more or less completely dependent on the English missionaries, and almost exclusively on the Reverend Thomas Bridges, in their description of the many details of the culture of these Indians. Therefore, their accounts, like the little that this man set down about the Kina, are vague and contain only hints. Throughout, all the witnesses /1816/ have at best offered only short, obscure references. Their available citations are all the more useless because they do not make the underlying ideas of this ceremony comprehensible.

Here again, as has been shown with regard to many other important things in the heritage of the Tanaans, only Bridges among the missionaries furnished any details worth mentioning about the Kina celebration (1908). In 1888 he (p.104 hinted at it

188. Besides Bridges, the missionary Aspinall 270 very briefly mentions. "In order to maintain their rights and their

/1964 ends./

> authority as lack of courtesy, the men resort to secret acts which are carried on in a large group from which women are excluded." Once, in passing, Lewis mentioned that he happened to have conducted a religious service on the Wellington Islands in 1888, "in a Tonnanese tale, i.e., playhouse, formerly called a 'house,' a large wigwam, erected not to live in, but in which to perform certain necessary rites with the youth, etc." /cited in English/ (pp.xxxi, 110,1889).

for the first time in the following words: "When boys and girls come to the years of virility, they undergo a kind of discipline and teaching...It is called Cosse. During the rites the father and son is at Cosse, which is from a few days to about two weeks, neither father nor son see any female. food was then by the women, though some men or other, daily. The ceremonies here conducted are to impose upon the women, to effect which the men make large conical masks of bark which completely cover the head, they also paint their bodies peculiarly, and when all is ready they rush out of the Cosse, and dance and jump about as quickly as they can in view of the women, who look upon them as beings from another world" /cited in English/. He (p.111) supplements these passages with the following: "There is a female, a woman who comes up out of the sea, into the Cosse, and does certain strange things. There is also a being who is supposed to come from above, and he also visits the Cosse during the time the discipline of the youths is being conducted" /cited in English/ (1889). In these references it should be kept in

> 1889. The passage continues: "When the youths emerge thinner or heavier years, they are taken by their fathers or uncles to the Kwess, where they sit with their eyes fixed on the floor for a long time... The youths under training called Gadwanda.

/1314 cont./

> At the end of the day they come to the Kuma to sleep, and to have a very insufficient repast. No women enter or even go near to the Kuma, only men sleep there. Sometimes the youths are made to lie down with their faces downward, and Liwalompa, an evil cruel being, is summoned. The youth is very frightened, and does not turn his head in order to look at this dreadful being, who is supposed to come up out of the sea. He sings a great deal, and with his club beats the earth violently close by the frightened prostrate youth, who expects every recurring blow to fall upon him. At last Liwalompa goes away, and he is allowed to sit up again" /Aiwel in English/.

mind — as I have already emphasized on p.[illegible] — that Bridges commonly regards the so-called "trial of discipline and teaching" /Aiwel in English/ as the only communal ceremony of the Tamana. Actually, Tulagua and Ilau are two entirely different institutions.

These years have to mention "the wigwam called Kuma, and is wholly set apart for celebrating religious ceremonies and superstitious practices. It is in these places that the youths receive their severe training, which /1321/ is to introduce them to the privileges of man's estate, and every young fellow has to undergo it" /Aiwel in English/ (VV.III, 116.1909). Bridges (vy.100 and (fy.100 explains the ceremony and frequent meeting on this occasion as follows: The men "also performed half-dramatic, half-religious embodiments of various evil forces, but these performances, which in them were a source of excitement and amusement, took place only when a large number of them were assembled. The performers put on their masks in separate buildings which the women and children were not permitted to approach, and they were expected to show great fear of the dangs performed in front of them by the demons, during which he threatened them with all kinds of violence." The following in (fy.17 and (fy.200 belongs to this description: "The men would be occupied in the

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/1924 cont./

house, painting and variously disguising themselves with barbhats, and smearing themselves with blood, proceed by pricking the inside of their noses, to represent various characters. Some would appear as an evil being called Chinengo, others as another evil spirit known as Tenenwa, others again represented Uhoumenna, and others Leiacaiengo, a female demon. When all was ready, the women and children being waved outside their wigwams, these variously disguised men, unrecognizable even to their nearest relatives, would rush forth with club, spear or bow in hand, dancing and leaping about frantically, threatening the women with their weapons...In the hooma they would rest and, amidst roars of laughter, discuss the merits of the different actors. All dances and amusements were accompanied with singing or chanting for the variation of which they had special names, derived from birds and plants" /cited in English/. To supplement this, Bridges (b):330 adds: "The Tehgan have a number of dances of a semi-superstitious nature, and for each of them there are appropriate disguises, kind of performance, and style of special songs...The personages represented are all mythological beings who are supposed to have existed in other epochs; all are persons and have come from different places. One of them, for example, arrived on the water from the woods, another came out of the sea, some came from the clouds, and others came out of the ground" /translated from Spanish/. The names of many Kina spirits are mentioned in 3D. Altogether, therefore, Bridges gathered a considerable number of details about the Kina, although he lacked the understanding to go into them very far, to organize them, and to grasp their significance.

In comparison with what Bridges gathered through personal experience, the scant references from the pens of other travelers are negligible. The latter, without exception, depend on him. It is surprising to find in Martial:314 some ideas taken from the myth of the upheaval, in which there is a reference to the time when "women were in power" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):302 does no more than to repeat this verbatim. Hahn (c):340 and (d):44 expressed himself more specifically: "The Tehgan celebrate a festival called Kina, commemorative of the revolt of the men /1924/ against the women who, before that, had the authority in the family and held the secrets of sorcery. They

/1316 cont./

X575 114 masked themselves on this occasion, shouting and dancing as long as their strength permitted" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):377, for his part, refers to "an unpublished work" of the missionary Bridges. I cite this manuscript under (i) and have just quoted the pertinent sentences. The allusions offered by Spegazzini (a):170 are quite vague and scant. A sentence in Wieghardt:30 says even less on the subject. Finally, and most recently, Spencer:111 mentions the aim of this secret ceremony in the following brief words: "The initiation of the young men is supposed to prevent women from taking their dominion over men and making them again lead a dog's life" /cited in English/. Apparently he does not know the difference between the actual youth initiation and the men's ceremony.

2. My Personal Participation

X575 123 The vague references to the Kina celebration in widely scattered publications which were available up to the time of my journeys were not such as to give me any kind of guide, and even less so because čiéxaus and kina are almost always confused and deceptively linked. Instead, I obtained the first direct hint on my second journey from the Yamana themselves (p. 180 /untranslated/). On that occasion, when we had ended the čiéxaus, the people expressed their boundless joy over the undisturbed, smooth way in which the celebration had proceeded and also the tactful manner I had shown in taking part in it as an actual uswiala. In this connection they declared themselves willing, on a later occasion, to make it possible for me to participate a second time in the čiéxaus. This would earn me the right to enter the Kina (p. 658). At that time I already knew a good deal about the procedure of this celebration; I had also learned the basic ideas of the so-called myth of the upheaval and was thus able to anticipate with confidence a regular men's festival with its definite repudiation of the influence of the female world.

In that year, when I again took leave of the Yamana who were very affectionate toward me, I told them that I expected to come back the following summer, and, as a matter of fact,

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/1316 cont./
we were together again in the summer of 1922. At that time it was my special goal to repeat the čiéxaus and immediately to follow it with the kīna (p. 186 /untranslated/). Both events came about, and so I learned about the men's festival from direct participation at that time. This festival was nowhere near what it had been back in the days when the Yamana were completely independent and not yet decimated. The reason for this was largely the inexperience of most of the participants concerning the actual program, for a good 20 years had gone by since the last ceremony of this kind, and for all the men of middle age the Kina of March, /1317/ 1922, was the first of their lives, exactly as it was for me. It is understandable that a good deal of uncertainty about the many details had a decidedly paralyzing effect on the few old people who felt responsible for the smooth running of the affair. Formerly an unaffected, unconstrained joy and satisfaction made the heart of every Yamana man beat faster when he had been able to play a real trick in this secret hut on the defenseless women, but this time it did not fully develop. The constant pressure I exerted to bring about this affair had a decisive effect, I must confess. The old people became more and more timid the nearer we came to the planned opening. I schemingly worked on a few young men and persuaded them that they, in turn, must try to influence the old men to let them, at long last, experience a Kina. Yielding to pressure from two sides, Pedro Maĭemikens was finally won over, and in Puerto Mejillones in March, 1922, the men's ceremony took place. It was truly the last of its kind for the few surviving Yamana. At that time it immediately followed the čiéxaus and was limited to an unusually short period. The details have been described in Gusinde (c):426 (p. 186 /untranslated/). Despite many obstacles, the nature and goal, the program and procedure of this intrinsically complex affair could be observed and established in all its details. On my fourth journey I was privileged to take part in the lōima-yékamuš. On this occasion I was given the complete version of the myth of the upheaval, which tells of the origin of the kīna and many other things (270). In the following pages I have set down in logical

270. The specific conditions and circumstances are described in Gusinde (n):968.

X575 /1317 cont./
123 order the facts that I learned from personal experience and from the accounts of reliable Yamana about their men's festival.

b. Preparation for the Festival

X575 From whatever point of view one looks at kīna, it is far behind the čjéxaus in importance. Therefore it is not surprising to find that the entire program of this affair, from beginning to end, is by no means bound by the strict formalities of an ordered and rigid system comparable to those that hold together the richly varied čjéxaus. Nevertheless, in the orderly succession of individual events, the rules governing the kīna are adequate to achieve the goal concerning both the women in the camp and the young men who are getting their first introduction to it. There is much more scope here than in the čjéxaus for the free display of the personal talents of the leader and its effect on the prevailing mood of the men taking part.

/1318/ 1. Occasion and Duration

X575 From the point of view of character and aim, in other words,
885 for subjective reasons, the Kina is by no means as necessary for a given group within Yamana society as is the youth initiation. There is no really urgent reason why it should be held at one time rather than another. A person who has sat in the čjéxaus but twice as an uŭwjala is an adult through that alone; he can get married and establish his own independent household. The public is very watchful to see that every child of both sexes experiences the initiation (p.669) and even remains adamant toward a child who could not be made a čjéxaus uŭwjala and has meanwhile long since become an adult in years (p.669). The public, as well as man's kinsmen, however, are quite indifferent about whether or not he has experienced the Kina. Here the candidates do not receive an education in the strict sense of the word, and if a man temporarily has no knowledge of the men's secret or is deprived of it for some time, he does not thereby suffer any disadvantage worth mentioning.

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/1318 cont./

Again, as is so often the case in the life of these Fuegians, there are circumstances which, quite unforeseen, furnish the occasion for a Kina celebration. Merely a sudden inclination and desire, whipped up to enthusiasm within a small group by this or that man, may bring about the decision. A few dilatory neighbors are soon won over; no one dares to oppose it. If, for example, many people have been assembled in the čiŕaxas for a few weeks and have grown tired of being together, new visitors bring a fresh spirit, and if the campsite has certain advantages which none of the assembled families wishes to forgo, they simply remain in the same place and, for a change, start the Kina. This affair also comes about quite naturally, however, if several families settle down beside a stranded whale and if they had from the start made up their minds, possibly because it is winter, to stay here as long as possible. If a considerable number of adults have been brought together by a yamalaĕemóina /general mourning ceremony/ and if they soon find out that the food supply at this place is surprisingly convenient, they quickly decide to remain, and a Kina festival offers them pleasant amusement. Thus there is no pressure or obligation concerning the men's secret ceremony which may take place here or there, this year or after an interval of several years. It is true that one or another external, purely accidental opportunity may be a stronger stimulus than another, but such opportunities never give the decisive impetus.

In consideration of all this, it becomes obvious that the duration of such a men's festival cannot be predetermined in any given case and is simply unpredictable. The /1319/ natural circumstances that bring about the gathering of men remain effective for a longer time on one occasion and for a shorter time on another. Here in the kina as in the čiŕaxas, the mood that prevails after a certain time tips the scales. Of course, the question of the food supply is a very grave factor. For instance, if many families had gathered around a stranded whale so that all the fat and meat were consumed in a short time and if the site does not offer an abundance of mussels and birds to insure food for the large assembly, then the families are obliged to scatter to the four winds, no matter how enthusiastic, happy, and amused they were by the Kina. I was assured that formerly

/1319 cont./

X575 small groups of men sometimes stayed as long as four months in the Great Hut, but ordinarily these performances lasted only a few weeks.

One must not attach too little importance to the following circumstances. The Yamana offer almost no resistance to their restless instinct for moving hither and yon; it is impossible for them by nature, so to speak, to remain settled anywhere for any length of time. When they have stayed in one place for a few weeks, certain sources of food in the vicinity become depleted to such an extent that they must exert themselves beyond their strength in hunting and gathering. Since they cannot endure this state of affairs, and indeed are not obliged to, they soon change their abode. Finally, the presence of many people and the large amounts of refuse from meals make a place so dirty after a certain time that everyone is driven away from the place, although the Yamana generally are almost entirely indifferent to such things. Moreover, one must remember that the Kina does not have a definite goal that must be achieved in one way or another. Every young man who is privileged to be there for the first time becomes sufficiently familiar with its basic ideas and its dominant aim after a few days. None of the organizers, therefore, would be able to predict or definitely to determine how many weeks or months the assembly will be together. At best, he will assume -- and probably rightly so -- that winter will keep it together longer than a fair summer.

2. The Participants

X575 562 The Kina of the Yamana, as an actual men's ceremony, is, on principle, reserved for men, but for some time now exceptions have been made and a trustworthy woman may also be admitted. The original, consistent rejection of any woman may be explained with reference to the so-called myth of origin. The men should and must prevent the female population from ever again gaining possession of this secret ceremony. It can no longer be determined just when a milder attitude /1320/ in favor of a few women gained ground and some of them were given the secrets, but the fact as such is clear proof that the basic misogynic idea of the Kina of the

/1320 cont./

Yamana is not nearly as strict as that with which the Selk'nam exclude their women from the Kloketen (Vol. I, 827).

The sole condition imposed on a young man who is accepted as a candidate into the Kina hut has frequently been mentioned: he is obliged to have proved himself twice as an uŝwīala in the youth initiation. This legally valid principle has been applied without exception from ancient times, but the change in the living conditions of the Yamana, caused by European settlers, has obliged them to relax the strict demands in some cases so that for several decades now lads have been admitted to the Kina who attended the čiexaus only once as uŝwīala (271). Despite

> 271. I was thoroughly aware of this condition. Hence I presented myself for the initiation a second time, because I wanted to experience it once more to become more familiar with the facts -- I was greatly hampered the first time (p. 179 /untranslated/) -- and wanted, so to speak, to force the friendly Indian group to conduct the men's ceremonies as they had promised (p. 184 /untranslated/).

their yielding on many points, even in most recent times our Fueguians have not deviated from this minimum demand. It will not come as a surprise when I say that the old, influential men know very accurately which boys had become acquainted with the Kina and which had not. Those who are permitted to enter the Great Hut of the Kina for the first time are called uŝwīala, just like the candidates in the čiexaus. In BD:419 one finds tāmōm "a lad who has not yet been subjected to the ceena discipline" /cited in English/.

Every young man who has once patiently taken part in the kina as an actual uŝwīala is now regarded as an adept. As such he has the right to be admitted to any subsequent men's celebration wherever it is held. In reality, every adult male Yamana has previously become familiar with it, although there is no obligation and no pressure was exercised. It is taken for

/1320 cont./

X 578 granted that every man is sufficiently familiar with the wealth of information that is reserved for the male population. The desire for fellowship and the fun they have at this strange performance are, in themselves, strong enough to make everyone hasten to the spot where a men's ceremony is being held, provided that the distance is not too great or that a man is not prevented from attending by illness. Even if it is only curiosity that impels this or that man to join a particular group that is holding this affair, he is inevitably drawn to the gathering-place. The length of time that each individual stays depends on his personal inclination. For this reason one cannot generalize about the number of participants or give a minimum number for any particular day. /1321/ Even at the place where a Kina celebration is held, individual families constantly come and go in an indefinite, unpredictable succession, which is naturally more active when the influx to this celebration as such is stronger. Personal wishes and tendencies also play a part in that one man will almost never be absent and will stay from beginning to end while another will find little pleasure in it and, having had enough after a few days, will again seek the open spaces.

X 575 555 Every group that has finally decided to hold a men's ceremony must find an experienced old man who is willing to assume the office of leader, which demands skill and thorough familiarity with the many details. In addition, considerable moral superiority over all the men taking part stands the leader in good stead. Finally, he must be very alert mentally in order to direct the motley assortment of many spirits and their appearances. Certainly not every older Yamana makes a useful kĭna tagĕguwa, as the leader is called. He also is responsible for providing the candidates with everything in the way of training and admonitions that ancient custom demands. It is the leader alone who determines the order of events and the program for each day. He does not have a proxy. If he were unable to act for any length of time or if, for any reason, he had to quit altogether, the assembly looks for another kĭna tagĕguwa or disbands. There is no definite rule about it, but actually, without exception, a yĕkamŭ takes over the office of Kina leader. The basic ideas in the Kina are compatible with the conceptual world of the medicine man. The very fact that the leader is a yĕkamŭ gives him a decided advantage.

/1321 cont./

X 575 It has just been pointed out that in exceptional cases a woman may be admitted to the men's secret celebration. The 562 group of older men grants this privilege only to a woman who has proved herself worthy of such confidence. The assumption is that the men need not fear that their Kina secret will be misused by the woman or that their superiority is endangered if they are betrayed. These privileged women are treated exactly like the male ulwala in the Great Hut; outside it they are all similarly pledged to strict silence. Long discussions among influential men precede the permision to introduce a woman into the Kina hut. Anyone who is given this great measure of confidence by the men feels honored. A woman is not permitted to ask for this distinction; it is always her own husband or a close relative who proposes it to the men assembled. If he obtains an affirmative answer, he tells the woman in strict confidence, /1322/ and she immediately makes preparations to enter the secret hut of the men. In the Kina of March, 1922, only Gertie was singled out and introduced. I was told that she was the only woman in her age group who was trustworthy.

X 575 The larger the number of participants, the more stimulating and varied the festival is. The rather long list of spirits can be more or less completely portrayed only if there are many men, each of whom throws himself into a definite role. Many a man is sufficiently ambitious to demonstrate his ability and to display his agility. He enjoys appearing first as one spirit and then as another. There are also some performances which can be put on only if several men participate. Thus, the more participants there are in a Kina festival, the easier is the choice among the players, and the more complex the individual pantomimes are.

3. The Campsite

If a good-sized group of families have decided to put on the Kina celebration, they soon notify their nearest neighbors by definite invitation. A man will almost never miss an opportunity to amuse himself in the company of his own sex by clownishly intimidating the women, and thus in a short time even a few families from a distant local group are assembled. Moreover, if a famous yekamaf

X575

/1322 cont./

has been obtained as the leader, he exercises his own power of attraction. Thus, many families wait for definite instructions, according to which they will remain where they are or travel to another place.

The leader, of course, has the decisive word; he uses his own judgment to determine when the proper moment has come for the move and when the more immediate preparations must begin. He perhaps delays the decision until the arrival of a good friend who is reliably informed about the whole procedure of the festival and who is often consulted. A few other experienced old men gather around this leader and influence and advise him without any kind of importunity. The kina taqkowa makes his arrangements with the good-natured agreement of the older men, and the younger men comply without opposition. This explains the unobtrusive beginning and the smooth course of the whole affair, and, above all, the genial, jolly mood of the participants during the whole period.

X575
361

They do or do not move to a special place, depending on the external reasons that led to the decision to celebrate the Kina. It depends on the given locality in which the families have been camping. Certain conditions are demanded. The Kina hut must /1323/ stand on open land and on a slight rise so that the spirits appearing in front of the hut can easily be seen by the women and children who have remained behind in the dwellings. The open place itself must be as level as possible so that the men do not risk stumbling or falling while dancing. Of course, certain general conditions for a longer stay must also be fulfilled, namely, the availability of drinking water and firewood in the immediate vicinity, the convenience of getting food, and the complete lack of disturbance by strangers and curiosity-seekers. There are not many places on the Cape Horn Archipelago that meet these vital demands. A group of families prefers to meet at a place that has previously proved favorable for a Kina. The leader decides whether the people who happen to be settled at a certain place may stay there and simply move their huts a bit or whether a general move to a distant place is necessary. Everyone follows his instructions.

X 515 361 /1363 cont./

Not only must the Kina hut be erected on a favorable spot and on a slight rise in the ground, but the dwellings of the individual families must also be moved together in a certain arrangement and be set up in such a way that they are not within range of the wide entrance to the Kina hut. The dwellings are at least 15 meters away so that the conversation and activities of the men cannot be overheard or observed by the women and children. The elevation of the Kina hut permits the men to watch and follow every movement in the camp proper without undue effort and unobtrusively. Above all no intruder may approach their secret gathering-place (171). The closer the

[171]

171. Basically, the local conditions here are the same as those required for the camp arrangement at the Kinkoom celebration of the Sulk'nam (Vol. I, 232). The gathering-place of the men is like the stage of a theater, with the dwellings in front and at a certain distance, as though they were the auditorium for the women and children.

dwellings are to one another, the easier it is to survey them from the Kina hut. For that reason persons who are closely related are definitely urged to move into the so-called multiple-family hut (p. 31). Two to four families that live in the same room. This is not disturbing or uncomfortable for them because the men are almost always in the Kina hut.

4. Building the Great Hut

B 515 345 Scarcely have the families settled in the place assigned to them when the building of the Great Hut commences, following the request and directions of the leader. Middle-aged men willingly offer their services. First of all the chosen site on a slight rise is cleared of cones, low bushes, and many a /1364/ tree stump. If necessary it is also leveled off somewhat. The women and children may watch this work from their dwellings. Even now or they may come no closer.

/1904 cont./

Almost every Kine hut has the shape of a more or less sloping cone, depending on the dimensions of the always circular groundplan. First the Tamone set up two strong trunks which mark off the wide entrance. Each of these has a short fork at the top, and the forks interlock. They are called mísalěk ďigwina. At the place where the tops of these two trunks meet there rests a third, usually longer trunk which extends more or less obliquely to the ground toward the rear, which is called bělun ďigwina (273).

> 273. Compare on p. 6[illegible] the term for the main post of the Green Hut for the youth initiation.

This results in the more or less sloping conical shape of the framework, depending on how much longer this third trunk is than the height of the other two posts. If the groundplan is small to begin with, the Kine hut has a very regular conical shape. These three main trunks are the supporting framework; hence they are inserted a few centimeters into the ground. The two large free areas on either side of the opening up to the long center post are filled in with more or less thick trunks set close together. The men put each one on the ground, giving due consideration to the circular groundplan, without digging it in, and they lean it against the free ends of all the posts, forming a cluster on top. Each of these by its own weight helps to support all of them together. It is unavoidable that small gaps remain between the individual trunks. In order to fill them, clumps of turf are piled [illegible] around the outside, from the ground upward and against the [illegible]framework, and pressed close together about a meter high. The area above this is covered with long pieces of leather stitched together and extending almost to the peak where the smoke from the hut fire can escape freely. With all this the Great Hut seems adequately closed: not a ray of light reveals to outsiders the doings of the men inside and not a current of air disturbs the quiet glow of the hut fire. Usually the wide entrance, ídna ďíya, is open to the east because bad storms most often come from the west. It is no longer possible to determine whether the idea that this sacred ceremony came from the Tumana territory from the east played any part in this arrangement. The entrance to the

/1324 cont. /

Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam regularly faces east (Vol. I, 838).

In the interior of this Kina hut the actual resting places are now arranged in the following manner, unlike the Yámana hut. Clumps of turf are put around the central open space for the fire, and they are stamped down with the feet as evenly as possible. A layer of the long, broad-leafed grass /1325/ Ilka (Poa flabellata), which is used in the ordinary dwellings (cf. p.25), is often scattered on top, but it is permissible to use this grass only if the short, sharp-pointed pampas grass, mi'waska, cannot be obtained. The latter grows in bunches in open places, is very dry and hard, and scarcely 35 centimeters tall (274). A bunch of this grass can

274. Species of Calamagrostis are referred to here, which also flourish on the rocky coasts between stones. Cf. Spegazzini (6):84.

be pulled out only if one grasps it firmly and twists the roots. While the men are gathering many trunks and poles for the hut framework, the Kina leader directs the women and children to provide the necessary amount of grass; he tells them very definitely that they must bring in a great deal of mi'waska (275).

275. It is very remarkable that similarly in the Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam only this short, hard pampas grass is used for the men's resting place (Vol. I, 838).

On top of this layer of grass each man spreads his piece of leather on the place where he will sit throughout the entire festival.

It is noteworthy that this conical Great Hut for the Kina festival is specially decorated on the inside. All around the interior a red band as wide as three fingers is painted at the level of a man's head. Above that a white band of equal width is applied, and above that, a black one. All three are separated from each other by two spaces each as wide as a finger. These three bands, which serve as decorative painting, are symbolically interpreted as suggesting a rocky seacoast. The red color recalls the irregular stones on the beach, which are more or less thickly

/1335 cont./

X 5B 363 overgrown with red algae (Rhodophyceae); the white indicates the foam of the waves tossed over these stones; and the black signifies the many mussels that cling to the rocky coast in clusters. As though the Kina spirits, appearing out of the sea, were climbing up the coast, so the men masked as spirits appear from the Great Hut before the eyes of the women and children (276).

276. In this respect the Kinkamen hut of the Selk'nam is quite different, for it has no decoration whatever in the interior (Vol. I, 330). On the other hand, the Great Hut for the men's festival of the Halakwulup is even more elaborately decorated than is that of the Tenenen. Compare Gusinde (Mj 364).

X 5B 365 Although the design described above for the hut of the Kina festival is followed throughout Tenenen territory, the elongated dome shape which is chosen everywhere for the [illegible] hut is also permissible in the extreme west. The entrance on each of the narrow sides is made with two long, rather strong poles and is much wider and higher than in a [illegible] hut. The reason for this is obvious: the men wearing tall masks must be able to dance in and out comfortably. In the bordering southern territory of the Halakwulup the two shapes for the Kina hut are likewise used side by side, although the conical form is preferred. Further north only the elongated dome shape is erected /1336/ (277).

277. In this connection compare Gusinde (op 268). There in the west, a different kind of environment allows the shape of the ordinary hut used for dwellings, in contrast to the huts in the eastern part of the Tenenen territory (p. 7). The use of this dome shape for the hut of the Kina festival, however, is also a result of cultural influence from the neighboring territory.

/1956 copy./

It has previously been mentioned that the immediate area around the Great Hut must be smooth and even. To the left of this hut, or rather to the left of the wide entrance, Kine Kyo -- as seen by the spectator -- a passage two meters wide and ten meters long is cleared of grass and stones and made absolutely level. This is where the dancers who again and again appear from the Great Hut before the eyes of the camp inmates present themselves. The hut entrance is always away from the camp and is usually near the edge of the forest, whereas the dwellings are usually between the Kine hut and the beach. While the work of building the hut and arranging the interior is going on, a few men must drag up a quantity of thick logs and tree stumps until a considerable pile of firewood is marked beside the Great Hut. The women cannot be summoned with this because they would come too close to the secret gathering-place of the men. It takes a great deal of firewood to maintain a bread hut five day and night.

The length of time spent in preparation depends in each case upon several circumstances. Decisive factors at any time are the number of male participants and the convenience of the chosen locality. Once the men have been seized with a desire for the Kine performance and joyfully anticipate it, they fall to with a will and, even without a specific request from their leader, make every effort so that the actual affair may begin as soon as possible. Inclement weather, however, now and then causes considerable delays in the more essential preparations.

c. Procedure of the Festival

The chief goal of the group of men at their Kine is to remind the female population more of their superiority and to make all the women definitely feel their greater power. Consequently they surround their activities with all kinds of mystery and make very sure that the purposes behind their deceptive performances are not discovered by the women. They particularly avoid any situation that might arouse a suspicion of intentional deception. This secret gathering and illusory performance of the men is based

/1.000 cont./

on an old myth and is supposed to renew and strengthen the women's erroneous belief that their men are intimately associated with certain spirits who are helping them keep the women in subjection. For centuries the men have strictly guarded their secret.

Throughout the whole course of the festival, all the women and children /1.007/ are secluded with relentless severity. While it is convenient for the men gathered in the Grove that to adhere to their daily program, the women left behind in the camp are strictly controlled in their freedom so that they will under no circumstances discover the Kina secret. During this time the men are habitually seen with all the women and children, but they do offer them enough stimulation and variety so that these days and weeks are not in any way a period of unmanaged agony. Every woman knows that forward behavior and impertinent curiosity would be severely punished.

The program of the Kina festival is carried out according to definite rules that have developed from a long past. The many kinds of masks and spirit appearances in dramatic make any one ceremony different from the other through great diversity in the production of many animated participation by the performers. Obviously, the personal talents of the leader and the number of daily participants provide reasons for many differences. The basic features, however, are always the same. No regional differences have developed in the various parts of the Tuvaana homeland, but in individual areas sometimes one and sometimes another spirit-appearance has been given prominence.

In the course of the following description many points of agreement between the kina of our Tuvaana and the kilkuny of the Delbiano will come to light. A brief reference to this similarity should be made now. It would lead too far afield, however, to point out each individual detail. There is also considerable resemblance between the two versions of the so-called origin myth.

After repeated urging, old Mulbendiano finally, in March, 1903, declared himself willing to undertake the leadership of the Kina festival. He was really the only trustworthy man who could reliably carry out the many duties and responsibilities connected with this post. A few of the older Tuvaana still remembered that the man's secret ceremony was once held here in Pearse Mulbiano,

/1937 cont./

and they pitched on the place where the Green Hut had stood. Since this place was still advantageous, the Kina hut was once again erected on the same spot. The only difference was that the dimensions of the groundplan were smaller, namely, eight metres, which was adequate for the small number of participants. The size of the groundplan, of course, is always adapted to the number of men assembled for the secret festival.

3. The Beginning

When the construction of the Green Hut and the work on the Gamble was near completion, a few men incompletely and individually assemble the necessary articles in their own dwellings and take them to the Kina hut. These articles include a number of pieces of leather for the /1937 sleeping place, weapons and implements, and finally abundant quantities of pig-manure. Gradually all the men of the camp gather in hut secret hut and wait a bread line. When the first clouds of smoke appear, the women and children in the camp interpret this to mean that the festival has begun. Without a special summons and without noise or conspicuous movements, the men have assembled in the Kina hut, simply following their judgmatic chest in state of affairs and guided by their own consciousness that the preparations have ended.

The Tnimme do not have a special meeting arrangement for the men present in the secret hut. The leader alongside at the south part beside the entrance because from there he can easily survey the path marked out for the dances, which starts at the entrance. He can also conveniently map out whenever he wants to satisfy the camp. The experienced men chose their places on the spot of the moment without making any special demands, but sometimes friends or close relatives sit beside each other. In the back, that is, opposite the entrance, a few places are left open for the young men who are to be introduced for the first time as adults.

So men in the men hut chest and have given themselves up entirely to their own thoughts and received the rite of this

X575 /1928 cont./
performance, the leader begins with a talk. It is his duty to wit over the men who are suited for the role of a spirit and who must now commence rehearsing. It is no less important to select the lads who may be ulugiin on this occasion. The unanimous agreement of the influential old men decides this question. In former times a chap must have attended the Yalugen twice; nowadays there is more leniency in this respect, and the old men are satisfied if the youth has submitted to the initiation once. Actually, none of these lads is refused admission if he is halfway discrete and regarded as trustworthy. If suitable boys are present in the camp, the old men must agree to admit them. Unlike the Yalugen, however, the kine can take place even if ulugiin are lacking. Since in the past few decades a dependable Yalugen may also be invited into the secret hut, the men consult on this, too, at the beginning of the affair.

X575 2/2 Preparations are immediately begun for the appearance of the so-called spirits. This requires large amounts of pigment, which each man has severally brought along. Masks are also indispensable. A large piece of bark cut in the shape of a longitudinal triangle is used in making them. The free edges are tied together over the peak with whalebone; the lower edge, which rests on the shoulders of the wearer, forms a shallow arc. /Fig. 4 appears here./ /1929/ At the proper height small holes are cut out for the two eyes. This conical-shaped mask of bark is called kiyuk kiin (278) and is 50 to 60 centimeters high. If for any reason the

278. Originally this term meant bark quiver for arrows, also quiver made of leather (p. 59). RD:280 confirms this use designation for quiver and mask.

required pieces of bark cannot be obtained, a piece of leather may be substituted for the mask. The latter is called ulaiiku and has the same shape and size as the bark mask, but the lower part is usually wider and the whole piece comes to a sharp point at the top. Compare ulaiiku to RD:115. Bridges (p.17 mentioned the masks and called them "masklets" /cited in English/. If the Kine celebration is prolonged, the bark masks must be repeatedly

/1.000/ Plate 6

575
A82

Shells from the Kiao Hsu.

/1.000 masks./
replaced, for in the heat of the fire they unavoidably dry out and shrink to such an extent that they can no longer be used. Consequently the leather masks are more valuable and durable. A few of these masks suffice for the varied program, since only the painting needs to be changed to portray the various spirits. These masks are carefully preserved and usually lie in the inner section of the Great Hut where they are handy for each man who wants to use them. A brief comment should be inserted here. Because of the special significance of the masks, children are not permitted to play with objects that resemble a mask or suggest one (p.[illegible]).

While the discussion and immediate preparations are going on in the Great Hut, the mental attitude and the outward behavior of the women in the camp undergo a very apparent change. They actually have a slightly uneasy feeling, as though they were threatened and alarmed; they run back and forth restlessly and excitedly, as though at their wit's end; they talk to one another, first in one hut and then in another. By and large the thought of the approaching Kina with its many spirit-appearances has a trying and oppressive effect on all the women; some of them scarcely dare leave their huts and appear outside. The frightened behavior of the women has an effect on the children who huddle together in the hut and anxiously watch their mothers. This state of affairs lasts until shortly before sundown.

The women and children who are quietly and expectantly waiting in their dwellings have no idea what the men are doing in the secret hut after the first masks appeared. Not a sound, not a sign from the leader reaches the camp for long hours. It is this uncertainty that makes the women and children so extremely tense. Meanwhile, however, the men in the Great Hut are not idle. They are preparing for the first appearance of the spirits. In March, 1933, the men present began their painting about five in the afternoon. Before that they had painted their completely naked bodies. /1.000/ Now they undress except for a small covering. To begin with they paint decorations with white diagonal stripes a handbreadth wide on limbs and torso. Toward six o'clock the leader comes out and stands beside the Kina hut, demanding in a loud voice that the women of the camp come out of their

/1938 cont./

dwellings. They are to sit in a tight group approximately midway between the camp and the Kina hut. Then he goes back in. Immediately a fearful, threatening howl begins in the Great Hut; all the men howl and groan at the top of their lungs to indicate that the mighty Tĕnowa spirit has arrived in the Kina hut with intention of enslaving, torturing, malleweing, and assaulting everybody. The spirit does this personally as well as through various spirits which will soon appear before the eyes of all. Fear and terror are stamped on the faces of the women and children. The men howl and yell at intervals of several minutes, and each time the women tremble anew. Meanwhile it has grown dark.

Scarcely has the yelling of the men subsided when Mawmilkoma places himself in front of the Great Hut and rapidly waves his outstretched arm in the air horizontally, describing a half-circle. He makes a loud, drawn-out hissing sound which is to invoke the first spirit, known as Kĕnamĕkma. This spirit dances with mincing steps back and forth along the path on which the dances are performed. His arms are bent at right angles, and using both hands he carries a staff at eye level; his body has many red and black horizontal lines upon a white background. He glides along, dancing up and down the path several times, until the leader calls him back with a sign made with his arm. Instantly loud yelling and howling begin inside. Scarcely has it ceased when Mawmilkoma again places himself beside the Great Hut and loudly calls a warning to the women that they must all stay in their places and await the appearance of other spirits. At brief intervals the yelling of the men inside is repeated.

Again the leader steps outside and announces to the women in an anxious voice: "The feared Kalampĕlĕ has just come down and will present himself immediately!" Meanwhile the men have painted themselves with a few white diagonal stripes on their upper bodies and in the center a similar longitudinal stripe. Soon the entire assembly of men inside begins to sing hăj hăk, hăj hăk in a monotone and with a hammering rhythm. At first it is scarcely audible; then it grows louder and is slowly accelerated. Meanwhile six men arrange themselves close together in a row, each placing his arm over the shoulders and around the neck of each of his neighbors. Moving sideways in short steps this intertwined row

X 575 [535]

/1330 cont./

goes straight out to the dance place. Here it halts for about two minutes, merely repeating hāj huǐu...constantly. At a sign from the leader this Kalampáǐa troupe withdraws, singing, and its rhythmic call slowly dies away. A few minutes later it reappears in /1331/ exactly the same way. While it is still outside repeating its uninterrupted hāj huǐu, a very loud yelling begins inside the Great Hut with a clearly distinguishable rhythmic pux, pux, which soon drowns out the call of the Kalampáǐa group. The latter now marches slowly back into the Kina hut. By way of explanation it must be added here that this row does not represent the Kalampáǐa spirit himself, but that the men are putting on this dance at his direction.

Scarcely has this group disappeared when all the men begin howling in an unusually alarming way. Since I am sitting among them, I can observe how Santiago rolls up a thick, dry sea lion skin and vigorously beats it against the smooth ground. Each beat is followed by a sudden outcry of the men, which is repeated several times. The whole procedure is supposed to fool the women and say to them: The Tāmuwa spirit present in this Kina hut in its malicious rage intend to strike down all the men. But they are defending themselves, so that with their united superior strength they will succeed this time in freeing themselves from this mighty spirit and in suppressing it. But every man is wounded in the bitter struggle. Two old women who are permitted to be in the Kina hut dash out, filled with terror. Previously they have poked their nostrils with a small pointed stick, and thick drops of blood are falling for all to see. They run toward the women and children still assembled in front of the Kina hut. The group clearly recognizes the situation and is alarmed by it. Indeed, they all get up and hasten to their dwellings where they shut themselves in and remain quiet. Someone summons the courage to ask the two old women compassionately: "Whatever has happened to you?" The two answer with feigned terror: "We had to struggle with Tāmuwa over there; it beat us until we bled, we had great difficulty in saving ourselves!" These words fill everygody with terror.

For half an hour the women and children are given a little respite in their dwellings. Now and then a few howling cries are

/1331 cont./

X 375 repeated in the Kina hut. The leader of the festival again steps out and shouts over to the camp: "The women must again assemble and come closer, soon the son of Kalampáła will come down from above and present himself before the eyes of all!" All the inmates of the camp immediately follow this summons and again squat down in the spot they quitted just about thirty minutes before. Meanwhile Santiago is being prepared for the proposed spirit-appearance. He already has wide horizontal and vertical [302] stripes all over his body. Now four white rings are painted on his arms and the spaces between filled with red. His legs are covered from top to bottom with white. The mask that is slipped over his head has several narrow horizontal red lines on a uniformly white background.

Again the men in the Great Hut utter their howling calls. The women and children anxiously await the event that has been announced. /1332/ Inside, meanwhile, Santiago has been practicing the dance peculiar to this spirit. Again Maľemikens steps out beside the Kina hut; this time he keeps his face covered with a piece of dark material. He utters a strong hō in a high-pitched voice several times in the direction of the group of attentive women. Then he turns about-face, with his back to the group, turns his head toward the hut entrance, stretches out his right arm, and makes a semicircle in the air with a vigorous jerk, at the same time hissing a loud and long drawn-out s sound. Santiago obeys this signal and comes dancing out, portraying the son of the Kalampáła spirit. With his legs far apart, he steps side- [535] wise along the dance course, tripping lightly, extending one foot and drawing the other after it. He moves back and forth several times; Maľemikens follows him with his glance and finally summons him back into the hut with the same arm movement. Here he is received with a loud, howling, long drawn-out hō hō... by all the people present. This soon changes to a rapid la la... and gradually dies away as a sustained, low gā gā... The women interpret the complete quiet that now prevails in the Kina hut as a sign that the "spirits" have withdrawn. Hence they, too, leave their places and silently hasten back to their dwellings. The men, for their part, wash off the painting and get dressed. Now they can take a rest, knowing that they have struck terror in the hearts of the women and children.

/1332 cont./

X575 302 Half an hour passes in pleasant conversation. Meanwhile Santiago has again been violently pricking the inside of his nose; the blood falls in thick drops. He smears it all over his face and chest; the sight of him will call forth ample terror and pity. Since Santiago himself offers it, a few of the other men collect some of his blood and rub it on their faces, thus saving themselves minor pain and the loss of their own blood. The men marked in this way show themselves to their families to indicate that they have been mistreated by the violent Tāmowa spirit. They wear these marks of terror until they are worn off. The men repeat this same deception several times during the Kina festival (279). Naturally, the deplorable countenances of the

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279. The Selk'nam also have this strange way of deceiving their women, pretending that they have been mistreated by the so-called Klokstem spirits. Cf. Vol. I, 941.

men do not fail to have an effect on the women children.

X575 In former times the participants in the Kina festival were obliged to remain in the Great Hut almost constantly; they ate and slept there. This time, in March, 1922, they are concerned only with demonstrating the more important features of this performance. They omit what is superfluous because they do not wish to exert themselves unduly. As a matter of convenience they do not eat in the Great Hut, /1333/ but each one hastens to his own family and lets his wife wait on him. Only two younger men stay behind to keep watch over everything. Since the men were having a very jolly time together earlier, they all want to get back to the secret hut soon after the meal. Here they comfortably talk over the success they can boast of in their crafty deception and gather courage for further tricks to be played on the women. To finish off the day they want to give them one more particularly bad fright. Malemikem, the wily leader, points out to the men that a Kalampáia mím would terrify the camp inmates to their very bones. Everybody agrees enthusiastically. A white line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes suffices as painting, for, after all, it is dark and they need not fear that a woman will look

/1333 cont./

closely at the faces of the men. Kalampéla mám could be translated as "visit of Kalampéla." SD:348 gives mám, "to come as crabs do into shallower water when the winter is past, to come at any special season" /cited in English/. Actually the whole performance is a procession of men going over to the camp. The younger people are already trembling with curiosity and enthusiasm. Finally Maléemikens once more steps out beside the entrance to the Kina hut, looks down toward the camp, and shouts: "Have you gone to bed yet? -- I take it for granted that you are still up and about! -- So wait, something else is soon to happen!" During the next ten minutes the men confer and discuss the planned performance. Then Maléemikens cries out into the still night: "Kalampéla has just come down. I don't know what he has in mind. Possibly he will now visit your huts. Lie down [on the sleeping place] and cover yourself well. Beware of looking up or even moving if Kalampéla should step into your hut!" These instructions to the women are followed by a loud hō hō... by the men from the Kina hut. They take off their footgear, place themselves one behind the other, and creep in single file out of the hut. Each one is silent and his facial expression shows deep seriousness. A few women and children are gathered in Chris's dwelling. The men know this and the long line sets out for that hut. Carefully they creep inside. Sure enough, everyone in the hut is lying on the ground and is completely covered. The men make a closed circle around the fire; they have made sure that the women and children are well covered and do not stir. At a mute signal from the leader they all utter a loud sustained pē and at the same time stamp hard on the ground. For about two minutes the men stand absolutely motionless, then they again utter the loud pē. After another pause they start making short, rapid hō hō... calls, again stamp hard on the ground, and move out of the hut with short quick steps in the same formation with which they entered, straight toward the Kina hut. Scarcely are they safely there when their hitherto suppressed satisfaction over the very successful joke breaks out with complete abandon. For a long time they divert themselves with the /1334/ few and, to them, precious details and congratulate one another on the complete success of their prank. The younger men are almost

/1324 cont./

beside themselves with joy; they discuss with great earnestness the appearance planned for the following day.

The first day ends with the appearance of the spirits described above. Malemilkum, who is looking in an extremely good mood, now starts to tell the enthusiastically attentive group of men a few personal experiences from earlier Kina festivals which are still fresh in his mind. From that he leads into the old myth which describes the origin of this secret performance. Until about eleven o'clock we sit happily together in the spacious Kina hut. Malemilkum now is obviously overcome with sleepiness and leaves; the rest of the participants soon follow. In former times all the men were obliged to spend the night in the secret hut. Today they go to the much more comfortable beds in their own dwellings.

Even in former times every Kina festival began in the manner just described. After the customary announcement by the leader, some "spirit" would step before the assembled women and children, and thereafter others of this kind would follow in no particular order. At the start there is never a definite, binding program; the mood of the moment or the happy thought of one of the participants decides the succession of events each day and almost every hour.

2. Introduction of the Candidates

Immediately at the start of the Kina festival the responsible adults, in an informal conversation among themselves, select the young lads who are to be admitted as uwgala. They must, of course, be sufficiently mature mentally, since, as a rule, they have already been through the Zakaxa twice. Whoever has been granted this privilege is pleased about the distinction no less than about learning the strange secrets which shall now be disclosed to him. The father or a close relative informs the young man that he may take part in the Kina this time as uwgala.

After he has been notified, he remains almost continually in his dwelling, for he will be called soon after the start of the festival, although he does not know exactly when. A certain

/1194 cont./

I 558

formality must be observed. In March, 1922, this was done only when Gertie was introduced, at which time I became acquainted with it from personal observation. In former times, at any rate, it was required. After the performance has been going on for a day or two, the leader decides the hour when each uǐwǐala is to be fetched. A relative hastens over to the camp, finds the chosen lad in his dwelling, and blindfolds him with a wide strip of leather, whereupon he accompanies him to the Kina hut. Here, meanwhile, the fire has been removed and the hearth sprinkled with earth; /1335/ this has been done to make some room. With a few pieces of leather a sort of curtain is made beside the entrance, and behind it hide two painted men with masks over their heads. The uǐwǐala, led by a man, now steps in through the wide entrance and is led up to the opposite wall. A loud howling and yelling begin. Meanwhile the candidate and his guide sit down at the place designated, with their backs to the entrance. A few moments later the guide has his protégé lie down with his face to the ground so that he cannot see what is going on around him. After a while, when the yelling has subsided somewhat, all the men present get up; the two "spirits" step out of their hiding-place behind the curtain and jump on the ground beside the fire, at the same time uttering a loud cry of pax.

The uǐwǐala is still lying down, facing the inside wall. Behind his back, that is to say, in the center of the hut, the two spirits dance and leap. All the rest of the men can easily watch this because they form a tight circle around these dancers. The men yell and howl with brief interruptions during which the leader gives a few commands and speaks a few words of encouragement. Then he orders the uǐwǐala and his guide to get up. Scarcely has this happened when one spirit after the other leaps angrily at the uǐwǐala, as though they wanted to knock him over. Each of them comes so close to the youth that he is pushed back a little. It is a regular attack by the spirit which the uǐwǐala can feel plainly enough, but cannot see. The howling of all the men and the quick stamping on the ground produce a weird effect. This excited movement continues for a few minutes. Finally the guide removes the blindfold from the eyes of the uǐwǐala

/1335 cont./

575 who now sees the two "spirits" in front of him. Again he is terror-stricken. The leader calls to him: "Grab him by the head!" Resolutely the lad stretches out his hand and pulls the mask off the "spirit." Now he recognizes the man and winces in astonishment. He must immediately unmask the other "spirit" in the same way. This whole procedure has the effect of a revelation; he stands in front of the men who have been unmasked as though he had turned to stone. While this is going on, the tight circle of participants all around him yell and stamp with all their might. Now the ulwiala knows the nature of the spirits; further explanation is unnecessary.

The ulwiala must now sit down. As he does so, he can see that the two "spirits" take their places in the circle of men. Again his face is covered. Now all the men dance around the fire in wild haste and howl quite dreadfully (280). Suddenly they

[71]

280. It is noteworthy that in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam the candidate who has just been introduced unveils the secret of the so-called spirits in the same way, namely, by pulling off the mask himself (Vol. I, 853).

stop, jump once where they stand, utter a long-drawn out hô, /1336/ and the whole circle breaks up. Everyone sits down in his place; the two spirits sit in front of the ulwiala, and the guide next to him. Once again the ulwiala faces the wall and turns his back to the entrance. If two or three young men are introduced for the first time on the same occasion, the procedure described above is followed, except that one spirit dances in front of each ulwiala and the masks are pulled off by the ulwiala at the same moment, following a signal from the leader.

This unmasking is followed by a brief pause during which the frightened candidates calm down somewhat. The next few minutes are devoted entirely to their instruction. This is regularly given by the leader and actually consists only of an urgent admonition that the youths faithfully and conscientiously guard the Kina secret. The leader either has the candidates assemble in front of him,

/1336 cont./

squatting in a semicircle at his feet, or he sits beside the uwíala if only one is present. Several times he repeats in all seriousness: "You are now here in the Great Hut. You know now what our performances mean. It is only men who portray such [so-called] spirit. They do not come down from above nor do they arise out of the earth. Each [spirit] that appears to the women and children outside this hut is always merely one of us men. Now you know our secret. But beware of revealing it to anyone outside. This is a matter that only we men may know. Take care and be on your guard; the old people will watch you closely to see whether you are silent!" In March, 1922, Gertie was introduced to the Kina. Old Maléemilhana squatted down on the ground beside her and spoke these words of urgent warning to her. He also added: "Everyone knows you as a good Tamana woman. You cling faithfully to what is customary among us; that is why men and women esteem you. You now know the secret of the men. What is your opinion now about this Hut? You have just grasped the masks of one and the other ["spirit"]; afterwards you recognized the two men. So it will not be necessary for me to enlighten you further. From the [illegible] you know that no one may tell what goes on in this secret hut. Anyone who does will be murdered. You know that in many a swamp in which tall reeds grow there is a foul odor. Do you know why? I shall tell you. Long ago a young woman learned the Kina secret and told it. She was led to the swamp and she sank. The same punishment will overtake you if you reveal anything. Other men will disclose many more things to you; I am an old man and must limit myself to little. Say nothing about it to any other women. Never misuse the confidence that we men are entrusting to you today!" While these admonitions were being given, there was deep seriousness on the faces of all /1337/ present; they listened without moving and without saying a word. Usually considerable time elapses before the men make the transition from this intense self-reflection to the jovial mood of their amusing hoaxes. The subsequent treatment of the uwíala will be described later.

/1937 cont./

3. The Origin Myth

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The entire conceptual world of the Kina rests on an old legend which also establishes the misogynic trend of this secret ceremony. On that first evening, after the group of men has introduced the festival with a few spirit-appearances and has taken regalish delight in the initial terrorem, the leader in the ensuing conversation quite freely and naturally starts talking about the origin of the Kina. As I personally learned, back there in March, 1922, there are only a few principal ideas which he offers in condensed form. This suffices for the men who have long been familiar with the material. It is as though this were a justification of the secret gathering and the hostile attitude of the men toward the women, the former justifying their strange behavior before themselves, as it were.

Once the performance has begun, the introduction of the young lads chosen as ulla does not take long. Thus one evening, at the very beginning of the celebration, they are told the origin myth in its entirety and in its traditional form. This is the first time that these chaps hear it, and some formality is required. The leader, of course, is not always capable or talented enough to tell the story accurately and impressively. In any case, it is his duty to see to it that it is presented to the ulla properly. If he himself does not feel able to do this, he asks one of the elderly participants who has perhaps done it before on a previous occasion. It is largely due to this that the wording of the myth has remained the same throughout the centuries. It was not until my fourth journey that I heard it from Masemikens exactly as I have set it down here in the following pages (281). He repeated it to me in the presence of several

281. This version has already been published by Gusinde (a):278 and (b):337.

men in connection with the medicine-man school. It has a lasting effect on every young man who hears it for the first time. I give it here in the most literal translation possible.

Up in the northern part of Isla Grande (282) and then beyond

282. This definite statement clearly

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/1937 cont./

designates the northern part of the native country of the Selk'nam.

on the beautiful wide pampas of Tx'ónken (1935) the women were

1935. This is the name of the first country around Bahía Thetis.

the first to perform Kina. At that time /1936/ the women had sole power; they gave orders to the men who were obedient, just as today the women obey the men. The men also set in back of the stern, the women in front at the bow of the canoe. All the work in the hut was performed by the men, with the women giving orders. They took care of the children, tended the fire, and cleaned the skins. That is the way it was always to be. For this reason the women dismantled this Great Hill and everything that goes on in it. They said to the men: "We seek Tŕónows! We are trying to see whether she will let herself be found, whether she will come out of the earth and enter the Great Hut!" The men regarded this as the truth. They had to follow whenever the women broke up camp somewhere.

But they did not find Tŕónows in that region. So they traveled to another place, first along the north shore of Isla Grande up to the northeast tip. Whenever they stopped they built the Kina hut and performed once more. From there they wandered along the eastern shore of Isla Grande to the south. Whenever they performed, they made a wide, flat pampas. Everywhere they looked for the mighty, evil Tŕónows. They continued southward until they came to the vicinity of Cabo San Pablo. From here on they no longer traveled along the coast; that is the reason why even today one sees only woodland and mountainous country south of this cape. Then the women set out in a southwesterly direction, crossed the mountains, and reached Beagle Channel on the southern coast of this Isla Grande, in the region of Puerto Harberton. From here they traveled westward. Wherever they erected their Kina Hut and performed Kina, as at Puerto Brown, the surface of the ground changed and the country became level and open. They went along the [northern] coast

/1338 cont./

335 of Beagle Channel, always
373 Yékuáiga (Bay). There they

westward, until they finally came to
performed their Kina for a very long

time. They stepped out of the Great Hut, only one woman or
covered, painted all over, with a hilix [mask] on their heads.
Each time, a [illegible] would call to the men: "That is Sine-
yéka!", or again "That is Vasfoim-yéka!" And many other
spirits came out. The men believed this. But actually the
women had painted themselves, and since they covered their
faces with the masks, some of the men recognized them.

Despite their performances and their search, which con-
tinued for a long time, they could not find Tánuwa and bring her
out of the earth. So they decided not to travel farther, but to
remain here in Yékuáiga. This place has a lovely pampas plain;
they liked it very much and said: "We want to stay here! We
shall now fool the men and call to them: "We found Tánuwa;
the just now came out of the earth and is with us in the Great Hut!"
Immediately they rolled up a few dried skins, beat the earth
with them so that it shook, and yelled, roared, and howled as
though they were terribly frightened. The men heard this, /1339/
hastened into their huts, and hid, full of fear. They only whis-
pered to each other quite softly: "Sure enough, our wives have
now discovered Tánuwa! Before this they never yelled so loudly
and persistently when the spirits appeared." When this terrible
howling commenced and the earth shook, the men said to them-
selves, fully convinced: "That is surely Tánuwa coming out of
the earth. So the women found her after all!" The women then
continued their performances in Yéjaáiga. The men were held
in fear and submission and continued to do all the work as the
women ordered.

Lím, the sun-man, was an excellent hunter. Again and
again he was sent to hunt. He brought home abundant game.
The many women in the Kina hut needed a great deal of meat.
One day he had again killed a large guanaco while hunting (285)

285. It should be pointed out that in the

[illegible] 1984. Today commonly called "Boca del
Infierno," which [illegible] boldly under the influence
of that myth. This place is on the peninsula
jutting out toward the south in Ushuaia Bay.

/1329 cont./

central part of the Yamana territory our Fuegians almost never hunt guanacos which are seen there very rarely (p.266).

and hoisted it on his back. As he was approaching the camp he passed a lagoon and heard the voices of two girls. Lêm grew curious and said to himself: "I wonder what these two are going here." He crept up softly, hidden by bushes. Then he saw that the girls were washing off painting that was characteristic of the "spirits" when they appeared. At the same time they were practicing imitations of the voice and manner of his two daughters (the daughters of Lêm) (286), for she played a prominent role in

286. At this point in the story old Whaim mentioned only "one daughter of the man."

the Kina house. The girls said: "We want to practice hard so that we can perfectly imitate the daughter of Lêm. Then we shall help her sing and help her fool the men." They went on rehearsing and talking about the doings of the women in the Kina hut.

Suddenly Lêm leaped out of his hiding-place. He placed himself so close to the girls that they could not escape. He rebuked them and was extremely serious: "What are you doing here?" Frightened, they were silent. Then he commanded them: "You must tell me everything you are doing here, what you have talked about and what goes on in the Kina hut! I know quite a bit, because I have been eavesdropping." Then the girls blushed with shame and a cold sweat broke out on their foreheads. Finally they told Lêm everything and confessed: "It is the women themselves who paint themselves and put on masks; then they step out of the hut and show themselves to the men. There are no other spirits there. It is the women themselves who yell and howl; in this way they frighten the men. But Tênuwa does not do such things." The girls told him many other things. Then Lêm said: "Out of gratitude I shall give you a bit of advice. Stay here at the lagoon and do not go back to the camp or to the

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773

/1939 cont./
Kina hut, something bad is now going to happen!" So the girls stayed behind; later they turned into small fresh-water dwele /1941/ (197).

197. Back in January, 1939, old Wlaim told me this part of the myth in somewhat different form. The sun-man was an excellent hunter. Although he always brought abundant game back from the hunt, there was soon a shortage of meat again. So he had to go hunting constantly. Too soon, the meat was stolen by the women. One day when he turned toward the camp, laden with a heavy gamem, he passed a lagoon in which two girls were bathing. Undetected he crept up and listened to their conversation. Then he heard them say: "Lâm always brings much meat back from the hunt. Today he is out again and will surely not come home empty-handed. But the crafty women steal all his meat and take it to the Kina hut where they all consume it. Lâm knows nothing about this." Now when the sun-man suddenly stepped out of his hiding-place, the girls saw him. Frightened, they ducked down under water. But he called to them: "I've already seen you and recognized you, so come here!" Frightened, they approached. Lâm said to them: "What are you saying? I overheard you!" They stammered: "We only said: Lâm always brings home a lot of meat, here it is stolen and that is why he must hunt every day." Then Lâm demanded: "Since you know who steals my meat you must tell me who these [persons] are!" The girls, with fear and trembling, told him: "All the women gathered in the Kina hut steal the meat that you bring and consume it. That is why they stay in the Kina hut such a long time, whey they go on performing and frightening the men!"

[illegible]

The two girls who betrayed the secret remained behind in the lagoon on the advice of Lihu. They turned into ducks and are very timid.

Then Lihu angrily hoisted his gunnera on his shoulder once more and turned toward the camp. On the way he considered how he should avenge himself on the women. When he arrived in front of his hut, he threw down the gunnera and said angrily: "So that is why I provide plenty of game every day, so that my daughters can make fun of me and deceive all on me!" "They take our meat away from us as though it were for Tikanea, but they themselves consume it in the Kina hut!" All the women who were cooking near his hut listened astonished and asked themselves: "What has happened? What is Lihu talking about? Why is he so angry?"

Tikanea (288) happened to be sitting nearby and was

288. A type of sparrow with yellow feathers, which is now rare in that region.

working on a bamboo point. She heard the excited words of Lihu and said to herself: "Somebody must have told him about the women! Perhaps he overheard the girls who went to the lagoon to bathe." She blushed with shame, for she suspected that the deception by the women had been revealed. Then she considered: "How could I manage to make Lihu be quiet about it and say nothing so that the other men will not discover anything. This woman was sitting in the front of a hut where many men were lying covered up, but still awake. She alone was sitting up; she after all, did not have to crawl under the cover (289). So when

289. During the Kalampaea performance the people in the camp are supposed to assemble in one dwelling if possible and here await the visit of this spirit. This performance has already been described on p. 1323.

[illegible] /

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Lika answered the hut, the women in a wonderful way tried to hush up everything and keep him from talking. She said to him: "We women have just given the men here a [illegible] terrible scare! We all came into the hut here and the men immediately crept under the covers, because they believed that we were Kalanguik." She said this to confuse Lika and divert him, so that he would not talk and the men would not find out anything.

He then ran back to the Kina hut and told the women: "Lika knows everything that is going on here!" All the women were very much upset by these words. They got up, yelled very loudly, painted themselves, put on their masks, and went back to the hut where all the men were assembled. They wanted to terrify them more than ever now. This time, however, a few of the men secretly peeked out from under the skins with which they were covered. They said to themselves: "This time we shall not let ourselves be frightened, but shall look closely to see whether these are really our wives who are coming here!" They kept their hands over their eyes, but sneakily peeked between their fingers. While the women were dancing and yelling with their masks close to the ears of the men, the men watched closely but restrained themselves. When the weary women departed after the long dance, the men uncovered themselves and said to one another: "That [person] was my daughter. -- That was your wife. -- That was my wife, I recognized her. So that was not Kalanguik, but our wives!"

Thus the fraud was exposed. Lika told the men to detail what he had seen and heard at the lagoon. Now the men wanted to make sure by means of further information. They considered what was to be done. They immediately sent off the swiftest one among them to run after the women. He ran behind them and slipped into the Great Hut. The women were sitting around the fire, and each woman had her mask leaning against the hut wall behind her. The little man clearly recognized the face of each woman. His name was Kalalalim; today he is a small bird (290).

[Bas]

290- This timid, swift bird is found in swampy places; its feathers are chocolate-brown, and it has a sweet voice. SO:152 also mentions it.

/[illegible] copy/

He slipped into the Great Hut and went around the circle behind the squatting women, tripping over all the cradle. He escaped on the side opposite the wide entrance. The women suspected that a swift-footed man must have run through the hut, for how else could all their cradle have fallen over? They gnashed their teeth and yelled loudly in shame and anger. Meanwhile little Kalalakina said the man: "I crept into the hut, quickly ran from one side to the other and tripped over all the cradle. But I did not see Tikaera. Only women are sitting there in the Great Hut!" The man listened to him.

Nevertheless, they thought that they should be even more certain. They wanted to know whether the women were really only sitting there with all that they had mentioned about Tikaera. /[illegible]/ So they sent out first one and then another of the men who could run quickly, first the smaller men, then the bigger men. Each of them crept in on one side, whirled through quickly, and escaped on the other side. The women soon noticed this and reached for their bows and arrows. They sent an arrow after every man who ran through the hut and knocked over their cradle. The arrow stuck fast and became a tail. The clumsy animals (which at that time were men) in particular were easy to hit with an arrow, that is why to this day they have a tail. The women threw a harpoon after the man, that is why to this day it has a broad tail. They hit the fox with the Bikfita shrub (291)

Ill. This is Winter's bark, Drimys winteri
(p. 18 /[illegible]/).

which was lying there with all its leaves and little twigs. It stuck fast and so the fox's tail is bushy. Every man who ran through the Great Hut was driven off in this manner by the women.

Finally when there were no more swift-footed runners among the men, they stopped. Then they armed themselves with clubs and slings, harpoons and spears, bows and arrows, and set out against the Great Hut. The women were seized with terrible fear, but the men stormed ahead and there was a great battle. The men attacked the women furiously. Only two of them escaped unharmed; all the others were severely beaten and were changed into animals.

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/1343 cont./

One can tell that all of them at that time suffered heavy blows. While this struggle was going on, Lîm poured that quantities of water on the Kina but in order to extinguish the fire, for the hut had started burning. He poured out a great deal of water. It became a huge wave. This wave surged far out to sea and took along the big marine animals, for there is no place for them [to move about] on the earth. To this day one can see this wave: there are the heavy breakers that dash against the high outlying rocks. Into this conflagration Lîm tossed a bucket, ulim, filled to the brim with water. It made a great hissing noise. This hissing also went out to sea and to this day one can hear it even through the mighty booming of the waves.

All the women were killed or transformed, a few escaped, and only the small children remained unharmed. Soon after this great struggle, Lîm, the sun-man, ascended to the firmament along with his brother Akîmix, the rainbow, and the latter's wife Tâmuxa, the moon-woman. From that time on the men perform in the Kina hut; they do this in the same manner as the women before them.

By way of supplement I shall now give the short version of the myth of the upheaval, which Mâmîmkem told on the evening of March 8, 1922, when the secret celebration had just begun. He explained: "We men long ago took the kina away from the women. High up in the northern part of /1343/ Isla Grande, in the region of Yajyîkan the women performed their first kina. Who can tell whether or not these were Selk'nam women? Perhaps at that time the Selk'nam were not yet as different from us Yamana here in this country as they quite obviously are today. On their journey down here from the north the women looked everywhere for Tâmuwa, but could not find her. In vain they tried at the various places where they erected their Great Hut. Finally they came to Yâlaasîga. They liked it here and decided to stay. Immediately they fooled all the men and pretended they had finally found Tâmuwa here. All of them made a lot of noise, yelled, leaped, and danced very excitedly. The men were supposed to believe that Tâmuwa was causing all this, but she did not do it. The things that Tâmuwa really brought about are the considerable slopes of stones, gravel, and rubble which one

/1942 cont./

will soon want of Tthuain. It was Tthawa who lifted all this moss, shook it up, and moved it. If she herself had raged so wildly and struck out so violently as those women in the Kina hut, the whole region would have been demolished and destroyed. All the noise and fury were carried on by the women themselves; they made the men believe that Tthawa was giving vent to her fury in this dreadful way.

"One day when Lêm returned from the hunt he surreptitiously on two girls beside a lagoon. While he kept himself hidden in the tall reeds, the girls chatted: 'Let's practice some more.' At the same time they kept trilling their lo lo lo... Finally they said: 'Now we can do it just as well as the women in the Kina hut!' When they were ready to end their vocal practice, Lêm rose from his hiding-place and stepped up to them. In his anger he addressed them gruffly and reproachfully: 'So it is our own women who deceive us men with their singing! The ulamina (295)

295. A particular kind of Kina spirit. Concerning this designation BD:113 says: "Certain men or beings supposed to be the sons of a certain ilîapîna, who acted parts in the ceema drama" /cited in English/. Thus here, too, there is again a reference to the Kalampaua-appearance (p. 1228 and p. 1942), as in the other version of this myth.

also do not come down from above into the Kina hut! I shall inform all the men of this without delay!' The girls trembled with fear and dismay. But Lêm commanded them: 'Now tell me everything!' In their helplessness they revealed to him: 'Only our women are staying there in the Kina hut; they alone are the ones who put on everything. But the men are deceived and their false belief maintained.' Lêm was satisfied with this and assured the girls: 'All right, I shall save you two. Stay here at this lagoon and hide, then you will escape with your lives!' When Lêm reached the camp, he angrily tossed the guanaco on the ground and said distinctly: 'As far as the meat is concerned,

/1343 cont./

X 575 713 the women are fooling me and all the men!' These words startled Tēšur'kīpa. Filled with fear /1344/ she hastened to the Kina hut and told the women: 'Lēm must have learned something [about our deception]!' The women were seized with dread and noisily prepared a spirit performance [the Kalampása mátu]. But the men looked out from under their covers and distinctly recognized their women who were painted and masked.

X 575 713 825 "Soon the great struggle began there in Yáiaašāga. The men ousted the women from the Kina hut and in the process the women all turned into animals. The men threw a harpoon or a spear after each one. Thus one can still see that each animal has a tail (293). The man who was trying to hit čilawáiakīpa no

293. In the first version of this myth (p. 1244) the same Mašemikens said that the women had thrown various weapons after the fleeing men, and that these weapons are still recognizable today as tails.

longer had a spear handy, so he threw the next best thing after her, Winter's bark with its twigs and leaves, hence the bushy tail [of the fox]. The yékēslëf ran away without throwing off her mask and fled into the water; she is still wearing her mask (294).

294. This is the name for the squid (Loligo subulata). BD:646 probably also means this species, "a species of cuttle fish with a hard bill or horn" /cited in English/. The cephalopod referred to has a pair of wide, triangular fins on the pointed end of its elongated, cigar-shaped body. This formation is interpreted as a "mask" which it was supposed to have worn at that time.

The hafēim behaved in exactly the same way; to this day one can recognize the mask that she had over her head at that time (295). Likewise the tēpē'akīpa (296). The wémar'kīpa

295. This is a trunkfish, about as long as a hand, with short spines all over its body.

X 575 773 825

/1344 cont./

296. The formation of the snout of this fur seal, Arctocephalus australis (p. 41 /untranslated/, is interpreted as a mask that was formerly worn by the animal.

(Larus glaucodes) was hit by many arrows; this is shown by the many dark stripes and dots on the wing coverts. The small whale ašóula (Pseudorca crassidens) happened to be absent when the general fighting began. Later when he returned to this spot, he noticed that there were only a few people. He said: 'Something must have happened here. How I should have liked to help in this fight!' He seized a smoldering club -- it was still smoldering from the general conflagration -- and burned himself under his armpits and on other places of his body. These are the light spots that one can still see on him.

X 575 773

"The mighty spears and harpoons that our men hurled at that time still lie near that lagoon in Yáiaašága; they are covered by tall grass. They attract the attention of everyone who comes there. Scattered among them are mammoth stones; these, too, our men hurled at the women at that time. In the general fray all the women who had performed the Kina were turned into animals, into land animals, birds, and marine animals. At the same time Lēm left this earth. He took part in the Kina as a sort of servant to the women, for he had to provide them all with meat. Along with him his brother Akáinix and the latter's wife Hánuxa, as well as many others, ascended to the canopy of heaven. There they all became /1345/ stars. Since then the men rule in the Kina hut and no woman may approach unauthorized, much less enter the meeting."

These two versions of the old legend clearly set forth two main ideas. First, the Kina celebration was originally in the hands of the women. Second, the disclosure of the deception by the sun-man resulted in a general upheaval, as a result of which the men came into possession of this secret performance and all the persons who had taken part were transformed into animals, trees (pp. 791, 747), or stars. The legend explains that since then a new world order prevails and that at that time the world became populated with many kinds of animals. The story emphasizes the

X575 773 /1345 cont./
transformation of the people taking part, for it was a struggle between men and women for existence or nonexistence (297).

[171] 297. There is justification for a brief reference here to the surprisingly complete agreement between the basic ideas of the origin myth and those underlying the secret men's ceremonies of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 859), Yamana, and Halakwulup. All three are juxtaposed in Gusinde (q):261. Cf. the summary in Schmidt (d):995.

[173] Another familiar idea should be repeated here: Under the leadership of the women who performed the Kina, the families immigrated from the north to Beagle Channel, which at that time was unpopulated. They were the first settlers here. The Yamana refer to this as the basis for their legal claim to the region, and they have occupied it since then as the sole owners (p.855). The text of the two versions given above differs in details and in minor incidents. Naturally, all mature men who have personally experienced the Kina are acquainted with the basic ideas of this origin myth, and it is also familiar to a number of women, as will be further explained and shown below.

4. The Daily Program

X575 To this day the Yamana men feel justified in assembling in the Great Hut and celebrating the Kina, while excluding the women as a matter of principle. They definitely maintain that in former times the women, for their part, kept all the men in subjection by means of the same celebration. Hence, they say, their action is an absolutely fitting retaliation for all that was once carried on in exactly the same way by the group of women. The men regard the content of the origin myth in all seriousness as true and reliable; they base their vindication upon it. While the esteem that the men have for the women in everyday life is not basically altered and the social position of every woman is a

X575

/1345 cont./

worthy one in all respects, during the Kina celebration all these innate considerations and traditional customs are cast aside as though they had been completely eradicated from memory. Naturally, this causes an inner conflict which they do feel in one way or another.

/1346/ Nevertheless, during the secret ceremony all the men cling steadfastly to the goal which they strive for by means of it, namely, to force all the women into subjection and submission. The men once again want to make the women aware of their superior position and make them feel their greater power. The feeling of solidarity among all the men is amazingly absolute and effective on this occasion; they regard themselves as the guardians of the existing social order and feel responsible as such, hence also their inner unity and smooth co-operation as they strive for the goal of the Kina festival.

The mental attitude described here is characterized outwardly by the unwavering and decisive seriousness with which the tight group of men insists on the traditional daily program with its manifold details. Up to the present nothing has been changed in the basic essentials and none of the principal ideas has been weakened. This is not by any means to imply that the men regard their position as threatened; rather, they wish, in accordance with their natural inclination, to do justice to the demands of an obligation handed down from ancient times and, incidentally, for their personal advantage, to put on an air of importance. It must be conceded that they are very punctilious, as has been shown, in bringing forth the individual so-called spirits and in the duties imposed by the daily program. By and large, however, their secret gathering is still an enjoyable affair with an unrestrained exchange of ideas and free surrender to carefree loafing, particularly -- as in most cases -- when the Kina festival has been initiated in the immediate vicinity of a stranded whale. While the men luxuriate in comfort and ease behind the scenes, so to speak, all the women and children in the camp must put up with many an uncomfortable restriction of their personal liberty and their otherwise generally conceded freedom to roam about. The men do not feel that there is any injustice in this situation.

In order to make this description sufficiently complete, it is advisable to describe in detail how the men in the Great Hut and

/1346 cont./
X575 the women and children in the camp must conduct themselves during this celebration. This will be followed by a reference to the treatment of the uš̌wā́ala who participate for the first time. After that an account will be given of the things that go on during each day and a considerable part of the night.

a. Daily Program for the Men

Every Yamana man who has passed through the čiēxaus twice as an uš̌wā́ala thereby obtains the right to experience the kína on the next occasion. Taking this lawful formality for granted, it always depends on the /1347/ opinion of the influential old people whether a particular boy is admitted to the present festival or whether they will have him wait for the next occasion. In one way or another the boy must have proved himself absolutely reliable. For example, since a kína now and then directly follows a čiēxaus, an uš̌wā́ala of the latter would not have had an opportunity to test himself with regard to the principles he has just been taught. Thus the old people, wisely cautious, give him an opportunity to do so by letting him wait until the next kína.

Anyone who has once proved himself as an uš̌wā́ala in the Kina enjoys unrestricted freedom for the rest of his life to take part in every affair of this kind. Moreover, his presence is always desired, for the affair is more enjoyable and more varied when many participants are assembled. The greatest advantage, however, is gained by each man personally because he is offered a great deal of stimulation and his whole inner being is renewed and enriched; therefore, everyone of his own accord gladly hastens to a Kina festival. A fellow-tribesman has never been formally excluded. Anyone who has made himself unpopular because of his quarrelsome nature or who must fear revenge and just punishment from others avoids a gathering of men who would rise up against him in a body.

From among the circle of participants an experienced, mature man is selected without any definite formality to conduct the whole performance as leader. He is not chosen and named according to certain rules, such as prevail among the Selk'nam,

/1347 cont./

X515 for example (Vol. I, 829). The more or less accidental choice among the Yamana is, however, a better guarantee that a competent man will take over the direction of this affair. His arrangements and instructions, his commands and assignments are followed by every participant. This need not be specifically demonstrated in view of the innate submissiveness of our Yamana.

If one closely observes the personal attitudes of individuals among the sometimes considerable number of participants, it is easy to see that everyone as conveniently and deliberately as possible, surrenders himself to carefree idleness. Here the so-called struggle for existence does not touch him at all, and he lulls himself with the belief that now he need not bother about his family in the camp; genuine manly duties await him here in the Kina hut, which as such, however, are anything but strenuous. After all, the leader will see that everyone has plenty to eat. If the necessary food must now and then be brought from a distance, he assigns this duty exclusively to younger people who find pleasure in joint hunting expeditions. Similarly no one here lets himself be harassed by unavoidable tasks. Merely to pass the time, a man will sometimes busy himself with his tools or weapons, but he does not by any means work at it seriously or urgently. For /1348/ most of the day each man is left to himself; the appearances of individual spirits occur almost entirely during the period from sundown to midnight. Anyone who prefers to give himself up to undisturbed idleness simply wraps himself in his blankets at any hour of the day and stretches out on his sleeping-place. No one will molest him; in fact, many another will follow his example. During the period from sunrise until after the noon hour almost no one is active in the Great Hut. During the late hours of the night, however, when the spirit appearances are over and everyone present has taken part directly or indirectly, the whole company is very alive and jolly, the men describe their observations and experiences to one another, and they hardly know when to stop with their stories and jokes.

This unrestricted independence and the greatest possible comfort to which every participant surrenders himself are perfectly in accord with the program of the celebration, provided certain demands are fulfilled. First and foremost is the duty of

/1348 cont./

X575 making one or another spirit appear before the eyes of the inhabitants of the camp almost daily. This performance provides so much personal enjoyment and satisfaction to the one who plays the role of the spirit that the middle-aged men vie for it. They must practice the unusual dance movements for a considerable time, however. For this they choose the late hours of the night when they cannot be observed by the people in the camp. Even during the day some of the men engage in these exercises in the Great Hut when there are only a few persons present and there is plenty of room. They all find them an enjoyable pastime. Occasionally, however, as has just been said, the younger people must go on joint hunting expeditions. Thus, for every man the time spent in the Kina hut is refreshment for body and soul, a rest and a renewal of the whole person. They are all equally obliged to be very alert to see that no woman or child approaches the secret gathering, that they hear and see nothing that might give away the huge deception, but this certainly does not require the slightest exertion on the part of the men. The Great Hut may never be completely empty, not even for a few hours; at least one man must remain behind and guard it. Someone is always willing to do this.

Not even the seating is compulsory. Everyone likes to select a place beside a relative or intimate friend and thus from the start be assured of a good time. During the day everyone is free to sit here or there, to sit in front of the Great Hut, or to go over to the camp. Naturally, no one is forced to be present throughout the entire festival. Anyone who finds something not to his taste, who for personal reasons feels uncomfortable, or who is annoyed by the presence of an enemy will inconspicuously gather up his few belongings, /1349/ notify his wife and children in the camp, and again seek the open spaces. Not a single Kina participant will interfere with him in any way.

A general rule, however, requires the participants to spend the night in the Great Hut. Concern about guarding the Kina secret has probably given rise to this rule. It is too likely to happen that someone would not completely wash off his body painting, that someone, in his excitement, would become talkative and drop suspicious hints or would dream aloud and blurt out the secret. Of course, sleeping beside one another is

/1349 cont./

X575 somewhat difficult and uncomfortable because of the limited space, but to make up for it a man can rest undistrubed during the day. Actually, a few old men will take the liberty of spending the night in their dwelling; no one can stop them, and everyone grants them this slight comfort without envy. In March, 1922, all the participants, without exception, sought their family huts for the night. To me this is silent proof that much of the former seriousness of this obligation has been lost. There is another reason why the men should spend the night in the Great Hut. Formerly they tried to gather the women and children into community huts if possible. There was more room for many people if special sleeping places did not have to be reserved for the men. Keeping watch over the camp inhabitants was also easier when more persons were housed in a community hut.

The women are very much deceived about the manner in which the men in the Kina hut get their food. They are made to believe that the men do not eat anything at all in their secret hut. If a man wishes to satisfy his hunger, he goes to his own dwelling and has his wife wait on him. Of course, he pretends that he is excruciatingly hungry and fills up each time. Even though he is not hungry at all, he must nevertheless give the appearance of being hungry to confirm the belief of the women and children that every man is tortured and maltreated by the spirits, that he has over-exerted himself and is weak. Their pity is supposed to be aroused and their fear of the spirits intensified. Since the uǰwǯala may not leave the Great Hut, a relative or an acquaintance of his mother or wife gets his meals for him several times a day and carries them over to the Great Hut. This man who brings his meals always assures the woman that some spirit almost always seizes the meal and consumes it; hence the uǰwǯala is at a disadvantage. Impressed by these words, the woman sends a great deal of food to the Great Hut at frequent intervals, hoping that some portion of it will reach the right person. The fact is -- and this is strictly concealed from the women -- that secretly the men provide themselves with large quantities of food, gathered chiefly on joint hunting expeditions. /1350/ They first drag their booty to the vicinity of the Kina hut and then transfer it inside under cover of darkness. Here they immediately fall to and almost

/1350 cont./

always feast in abundance. The men also consume a large part of what the women have prepared for the uśwźala, they let the latter have only a small amount. Every indication that there has been not only eating but lavish feasting in the Kina hut is carefully removed by the men. Nevertheless, not a day goes by when they do not, by word or gesture, arouse the sympathy of their wives, chiefly because of the alleged pangs of hunger that the spirits make them suffer.

The men are extraordinarily sly in playing their deceptive roles in front of the women, and they cover up their jolly doings in the Great Hut with amazing discretion. In order to prevent any possible carelessness, younger men are advised to avoid contact with their relatives in camp as much as possible and to appear there only for urgent reasons. Many a man actually stays away from his dwelling for the duration of the Kina. In front of the women the men invariably wear a serious expression to remind them of the tortures and the mistreatment by the many spirits to which each of them is exposed in the Great Hut. Hence there is a somber, oppressive mood in the dwellings, brought about by the concern of the women and children for their husbands, fathers, and relatives. The men consciously strive for this with their cleverly planned dissimulation and their sly deception, without hurting themselves in the least or exerting any effort.

β. Daily Program for the Candid[illegible]

The young lads who have endured the čźexus twice as uśwźala are introduced to the kźna for the purpose of making them familiar with the secrets reserved for the men only. At the very beginning they hear the so-called origin myth which tells them the meaning of the whole affair. Moreover, they may now view with open eyes all that goes on behind the scenes, as it were. Beyond this primary and principal goal, the uśwźala are also given training if necessary. In view of these two considerations, the kźna proves to be a continuation of the čźexus, just as the latter is a continuation of parental rearing in the small family group. The treatment given the uśwźala in the kźna coincides

/1350 cont./
exactly with that experienced by all the uswala without exception in the čiexaus, although the teachings and exercises are much more extensive in the youth initiation (p.717). Here they are offered the complete cycle of stories woven around the Yoalox family. They heard some of them earlier in the čiexaus (p.767).

/1351/ The chosen candidates (p. 1214), without discrimination, are conducted to the Great Hut with the formality described above (p. 1233). Women and children are supposed to learn from direct observation which young man has been granted the privilege of participation. They are told that the spirits demanded this or that chap as uswala. Not to comply with such a request would put all the men in great danger. The man who accompanies the candidate to the Great Hut as a rule continues to act as a sort of sponsor. As such he chooses his place beside his protégé, observes and instructs him constantly, and takes charge /Fig. 96 appears here/ of his food and sleep. The two are not as closely united as are candidate and sponsor in the čiexaus, for the daily program and everything that goes on in the Kina are by no means as strictly observed and carried out as in the čiexaus. No duties are attached to the office of sponsor beyond the duration of this celebration. Usually a relative willingly offers to put himself at the disposal of the uswala; there is no need for a detailed discussion of the matter between the participants. The leader is satisfied when some man offers to be the sponsor in the case of each uswala selected; no particular aptitude is required for this service.

Like the uswala of the čiexaus, those of the kina are also externally marked by a painting which is restricted to the face. In olden times the face was evenly rubbed with white pigment, and a red stripe, the width of a finger, was painted all the way across the center of the forehead. Now, however, as has been the case for an indeterminable length of time, each candidate is given instead a forehead decoration resembling a diadem. It is made of a band of leather about 55 centimeters long and scarcely three centimeters wide, the ends of which taper slightly before they are knotted together (298). It is thickly smeared with white pigment

298. Each end of this leather band is split in

X 575 302 292

/1351 cont./

the middle, and these little strips, which are about three centimeters long, are securely knotted together.

before it is loosely tied around the head (Fig. 96). The candidate is distinguished by it /1352/ as long as he crouches in his place. Now and then his sponsor paints a more complicated decoration on his face: thirteen fine red lines on a white background, which, beginning on the bridge of the nose or the lower eyelid, are evenly distributed and radiate downward. /Fig. 97 appears here./ A horizontal red line as wide as a finger connects the two inner

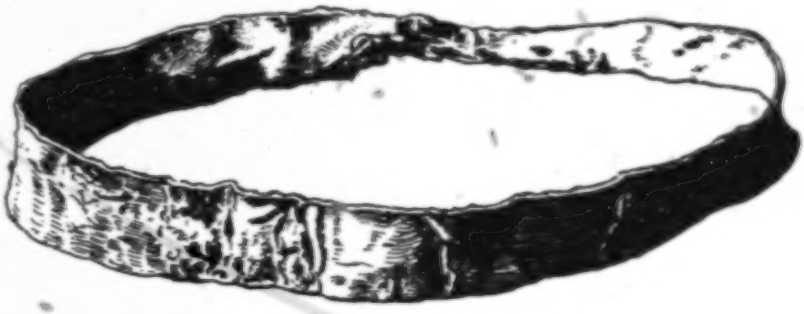

Fig. 96. Forehead Decoration of the Candidates. Two-thirds natural size.

corners of the eyes by way of the bridge of the nose and continues on either side from the outer corner of the eye to the ear (299).

299. This same decoration, with the exception of a slight difference on the number of lines, is worn by a participant in the youth initiation, as is shown in Fig. 85, b (p. 790).

X 575 293

Soon after the beginning of the ceremony the sponsor carves two little sticks for his protégé, about 20 centimeters long and about one and a half centimeters thick in the middle, with four edges, forming a long rectangle in cross section. One end is tapered more than the other. The tapered end points upward when the stick is held in the hand. During the instruction and the narration of the origin myth or the Yoźlox stories, the candidate holds

X 575 293

/1352 cont./

one of these little sticks in each hand. He grasps it in his closed fist which rests on the ground. Afterwards he inserts the sticks into the hut wall where they are kept until used again. The sponsor often rubs them with dry imi powder (Fig. 97) (300).

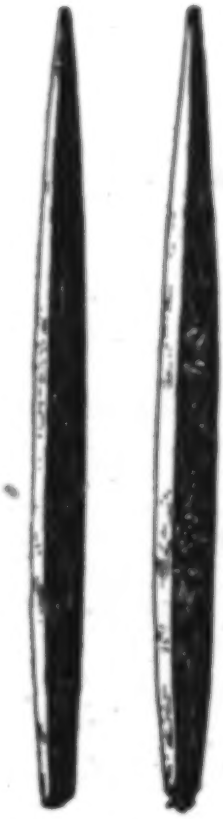

Fig. 97. Kina Sticks.

300. These two short little sticks have their counterpart in the longer dance staff which each participant of the youth initiation holds in his hand (p. 718).

X 575 516 785

If it has not been possible to fetch the selected candidates to the Great Hut on the first day, they are all brought there the second day after the start of the celebration. Here they immediately meet a "spirit," followed by the first important explanations (p. 1235). The candidates are usually given seats opposite the wide entrance. When they have recovered from their terrible fright and calmed down somewhat after the first spirit appearance, each of the sponsors shows his protégé the unnatural position of the body which he is more or less strictly obliged to maintain throughout the entire affair. A piece of leather is spread out over the litter of grass and the uwfala crouches on it with his legs under him, the upper part of his body bent slightly forward, his arms folded on his chest, and his eyes fixed on the ground. He is supposed to remain this way as motionless as possible /1353/ and, of course, absolutely silent, paying no attention to the others. He may neither laugh out loud nor manifest his satisfaction over the jolly doings of the men, neither lean against the hut wall nor relax in a slouch, neither scratch any part of his body nor repulse annoying insects. He must also endure,

/1353 cont./

X 515 516 785 without moving, the discomfort of a strong draft or smoke from the hut fire. It is only when the fire temporarily gives off too much heat that the sponsor builds a low protective screen of twigs and brush between the candidate and the fire. During the first few days the uŁwĒala observe these requirements with painstaking exactness, but after that neither the sponsor nor the leader prevents them from raising their eyes and looking directly at the various spirit appearances or even smiling when the men laugh about some successful deception. The initial strictness is considerably relaxed, and finally the individual makes himself quite comfortable. He is never given the complete freedom of movement which the other participants enjoy, however. After a few days an uŁwĒala may slip into a negligent posture and let his eyes roam about practically unrestrained, but in any case he must constantly remain crouched in his place.

X 515 785 While some of the men stretch out comfortably in their sleeping places during the day, the candidate must remain upright. The program itself curtails his sleep at night, for when the spirit appearances have ended and the men have ceased their subsequent conversation, midnight is usually already past. It is only after the rest of the men have wrapped themselves in their blankets and deep silence has descended on the Great Hut -- which is supposed to announce to the women outside that all the spirits have departed -- that each sponsor gives his protégé permission in so many words to go to sleep. The uŁwĒala may stretch out and make himself comfortable insofar as the limited space in the Great Hut permits, but as soon as the gray dawn appears in the eastern sky, he is again awakened by a call or an unmerciful nudge from his sponsor. Immediately the candidate sits up and takes the required position. He rubs his sleepy eyes with his hand and hastily arranges his hair. This completes his morning toilet. The constant curtailment of sleep makes the candidate weary and weak.

The short daily rations also contribute to this weakness. The uŁwĒala is never permitted free access to the meat which on some days is brought into the Great Hut in excess. The sponsor himself always gives it to him as he sees fit. As a rule he gives him /1354/ a larger piece of meat in the morning or about 20

X 575 775

/1304 cont./

mussels and at the same time as much water as the shell of a Voluta snail will hold. In the late afternoon, before the spirit scenes begin, he again gives his pendgl a few bites. If at one time or another during the day the candidate is again thirsty, he may ask for water and it is given to him, but he does not get more than the small quantities of meat mentioned. The men present repeatedly express their satisfaction over the fact that the ulwala is visibly wasting away and has become physically weak. They believe that in this condition he is more receptive to the teachings and the seriousness of the impression he receives will be more deeply engraved (301).

> 301. For the same purpose the candidates in the youth initiation become weak from hunger and are more receptive to the teachings (p. 709).

X 575

At the request of the leader the candidates are delegated to do the necessary work in the Great Hut. The boys are then always under the supervision of the sponsor or a group of younger men. Considerable piles of firewood are required, which must sometimes be brought from a distance. The necessary amounts of meat are procured on joint hunting expeditions. In all this the men see to it that the candidates exert themselves far beyond their strength and become exceedingly weary. Other chores are easier. Every morning and at night after the spirit appearances, they must sweep the Great Hut, rearrange the fire, carefully scrape off all the spattered color, and smooth out many pieces of skin. Besides these tasks, one man or another will call upon an ulwala for small personal services when he is devoting himself to manual work or fixing a weapon. Such tasks and the long walks are obviously advantageous and desirable for the candidates. The dull, nearly motionless crouching on the same spot exhausts them far more than a strenuous hunt with plenty of physical exercise. The following rule is conscientiously carried out as soon as the ulwala have been introduced. They may go in and out of the Great Hut only on the side that lies north of the fire. Everyone can easily conform to this duty since the broad entrance, as it

X595 /1364 cont./
known, opens toward the east (p. 1219). The Tomana can give no other reason for this rule than that the custom governed the women back in the days when the Kina was still in their hands. "In this Great Hut we men stick closely to everything that was once customary among the women!" This was the answer I received when I asked for the meaning and origin of this rule (302).

> 302. This custom could be interpreted as an indication that the Kina celebration originated in the northern regions, as the origin myth clearly states (p. 1237).

X595 868 /1365/ The leader now and then makes a candidate try out the exercises for the dances and spirit appearances and work at them, and some of the young men do this on their own. They are all willing, for each one likes to appear before the others in the role of a spirit. An experienced man will give directions and probably also perform, while the men in the audience give their opinions. Such rehearsals, of course, take place inside the Great Hut; under the cover of a dark night they also take place outside near the entrance. It is only after a young man or a candidate is able to perform the dance movements perfectly and very lithely that he is permitted to assume the role of a spirit in front of the women and children. Such exercises also show which man is more suitable for this or that role. Accordingly, he must then perfect himself in whichever role suits him. In this way the group of men makes sure that well-trained young people are able to portray the long list of spirits.

X595 867 In addition to the above-mentioned formalities pertaining to the personal appearance and posture of the candidate, there is, of course, also the explanation of the meaning of the celebration, which is given at the very beginning along with the myth of its origin. Beyond that, this or that uwala will also receive instruction and admonition in case a few of the men feel that he needs it. It is not at all rare for the old people to observe that an uwala dismissed from the Tatigan is not sufficiently serious about the teachings and principles he received there. The adults carefully note evidences of weakness and improper behavior on

X-575 867 /1355 cont./
his part and they tell each other about it quite openly with a view to correcting the lad's mistakes at the next Kina festival. Naturally this is always only a matter of the individual personality of the uŠwźala in question and certain weaknesses of character. Usually a close relative takes it upon himself to impress the lad with exhortations and to correct whatever has given cause for worry and complaints. A Kina festival is truly the last opportunity at which a young man can be seriously influenced by the weight of authority enjoyed by an older fellow-tribesman. Here, after all, he is an uŠwźala, and as such he is at the mercy of the entire assembly, to be supervised and taught by them. Out of honest conviction and far-seeing concern for the public welfare, the old people are anxious to repress thoroughly those inclinations and tendencies among the young people which might develop into serious faults of character. That is why the man who takes care of the candidate and who is also related to him asks one or another of the participants to help him, not infrequently the leader himself. All of them, one today and another tomorrow, talk seriously to the uŠwźala insofar as his faults or his weaknesses of character demand it. They teach him in all kindness, solicitously warn him and do not hesitate to /1356/ predict that his faulty development will lead to a bad end. A person who takes an interest in an uŠwźala in this way feels that he is fully justified and obligated to do so. If it is shown years later that his efforts have been without success, this man justifies himself before the group and reminds them of all the things he did for the uŠwźala back in the Kina. Thus, even during the men's celebration at least a few young people are taught according to the general principles that they were given in the Ťźexaus. One is surprised at the general solicitude shown once again in the Kina for the rising generation, to make each one "a good and useful human being."

X-575 It has already been mentioned that in exceptional cases the Yamana also admit a woman to their men's celebration (p. 1216). They explain this strange lenience as follows. In former times a woman would occasionally approach the Great Hut out of curiosity. Instantly several men set upon her and dragged her away with them by force. As punishment they held her captive in the Great Hut for a few days. Although she was blindfolded and the men behaved

X 575

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very cautiously during the spirit performances, the nevertheless recognized their action as a crafty fraud. Hence the men had no alternative but to expose themselves before this woman and to enjoin her, on pain of death, to guard the secret. From that time on, this woman was permitted to come to the Kina hut on later occasions, for she was now amply informed about everything. Later some other inquisitive woman suffered the same punishment: a few men dragged her to the Great Hut by force where they let her sit at one side with her eyes blindfolded and made her go without food for a long time. Such inconsiderate treatment was intended also to warn the rest of the inmates of the camp. Clara and Flora also suffered this fate when they were still middle-aged women. The decisive reason, however, is probably the one mentioned to me in March, 1922, when Gertie was initiated: in the presence of at least one trustworthy woman the men want to drop the mask of their deception with which they have consciously duped all the women, and it seems almost as though they wished in this way to make amends to a certain extent for their undignified behavior. I myself observed the formality with which the two women mentioned above introduced Gertie into the men's group (p. 1233). After that they were obliged to conduct themselves in the Great Hut exactly like every young man who is present for the first time as uwĕala. Naturally none of these women is called upon to assume the role of a spirit, but they learn the complete origin myth. An outside observer can confidently infer from the fact that a woman is admitted at all to the men's secret gathering-place that the Yamana are not as serious as the Selk'nam about keeping their Kina secret strictly to themselves.

/1357/ The details given above show that the daily program with all its duties is quite strenuous for the uwĕala. It is intended that the young men should once again experience strict discipline and strenuous trials. The picture of a young man's mistakes and shortcomings which have already aroused misgivings in the group is held up before him as a final warning. Every Yamana who has become acquainted with the Kina thereby becomes a full-fledged man because he has now been entrusted with the secrets reserved for the male world. With this final

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tent the public has fulfilled its educational obligations with honest effort, for it has trained the young man thoroughly enough so that it can expect him to prove himself a good and useful member of the community.

Y. Daily Program of the Women

Basically the secret Kina performance is consciously and emphatically misogynous. The men try to deprive the women of any opportunity to recognize and expose this fraudulent game for what it is. As a matter of principle, therefore, women are excluded from taking part. The few who have earned the men's confidence and have obtained the privilege of entering the Kina hut are pledged to strict silence about everything that they experience there. Similarly dire punishment awaits every male uwala who dared divulge the Kina secret. It is neither difficult nor onerous to live up to this strict duty of silence. In everyday life no one talks about the Kina festival.

While it is going on, the men supervise the women and children very strictly. Their freedom of movement is considerably curtailed. From the start the men try to put several families together in community huts huddled close together, as are the individual huts. Since the Kina hut is erected on a slight rise, the camp can be easily and inconspicuously surveyed from this vantage point. Whenever the women wish to look for the indispensable firewood and to gather mumeh, they must make a wide arc around the Great Hut, so that under no circumstances will they cast glances inside the wide entrance. Any woman who comes too close knows from the start that the man will severely punish and mistreat her. In the late afternoon, before the spirit appearances begin, a man calls from the Great Hut to all the women and children, ordering them to creep immediately into their dwellings. In anxious haste young and old in the camp seek their own dwellings, hang something over the entrance, and, intimidated, remain almost motionless beside the fire. After some time another call from the Great Hut announces how the women and children are to conduct themselves further; if

/1927 cont./

X595 a few spirits appear on the scene, the women and children may /1928/ come halfway toward the Great Hut'in a tight group and from this point observe all the proceedings. They may until a man from the Kina hut again orders them back to the dwellings. During other spirit appearances they must remain in their sleeping-places and crawl under the covers. At any hour of the day, if the men are busy with complicated preparations for a major performance, the women must be content not to step out of their huts during this time. They all know that a few spies are watching closely to see that every woman and child complies with the loudly conveyed instructions. It need not be specifically pointed out that with such restrictions the men arbitrarily give vent to their arrogance toward the women (202).

> 202. If one compares this with the inconsiderate treatment of the Sela'tsem men toward their women during the Klokstan ceremony (Vol. I, 227, 230), he will find that the Tsimsin women are much luckier and are treated incomparably more gently.

In spite of all this, not only must the women continue to take care of their families and provide food, but the men also demand some chores of them in the service of the Kina hut. They are often requested by a loud announcement to gather firewood. Several women immediately leave into the forest, load themselves down with good-sized bundles, and place them approximately midway between the camp and the Kina hut. A few young men step out of the Kina hut and carry all the wood inside while the women leave back to their dwellings. Whenever the men run short of rations, one of them will step outside the Great Hut and shout down to the camp: "The spirits again need meat!" Several women, in any case all the younger ones, comply with this request without hesitation. Whatever they have gathered along the beach is put down a good distance from the Great Hut. While they silently move off, the men gather up all the morsels and take them away. Along with these occasional general requests there are also frequent personal wishes which every man

/1358 cont./

addresses to his wife. She must often give him small quantities of white and red clay, secure meat for the Kina but beyond that used in her own dwelling, and perhaps even hand over a large piece of leather which the man appropriates and uses for a mask.

One can say that throughout the entire Kina celebration the women are under orders day after day, and in general they feel very much burdened. Their freedom is considerably curtailed and they realize that they are threatened by the very irritable and harsh behavior of the men. The latter also do not want anyone in the camp to mention the things that go on in the Great Hut or to talk about them in detail in a group. Everything that the women say is secretly overheard by individual men. If the latter /1359/ catch some suspicious statement, they immediately inform the secret gathering in the Kina hut, and they, in turn, instantly take a stand. Since the women know how much suspicion surrounds them, they do not say a word about what goes on during the Kina celebration and are obviously reserved. This is the very thing that the anxious, mistrustful men wish and work for. Again and again they insistently demand, even intercessorily, that the children be strictly supervised and held in check. Even though all the spirit appearances may offer the women considerable enjoyment, the Kina celebration as such is disagreeable to them and unwelcome. Their consent, however, is never requested when the men wish to assemble for these lessons. They breathe a sigh of relief when the festival is over.

5. The Spirit Appearances

Unavoidably the following description must be treated schematically, so to speak, in order to be complete. This procedure is justified by the fact that the preparation and the presentation of the spirit appearances are by and large quite uniform. Even though a long list of spirits is presented, most of them differ from each other only in slight peculiarities of body painting, but they are exactly alike in their movements. For this reason the Kina celebration becomes monotonous after a time. This becomes obvious and the men taking part, as well as the women in the camp, do not by any means conceal it.

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a. Preparation and Presentation

X575 The men assembled in the Kina hut see to it that a few spirits are presented to the women every day. They choose the evening hours as a suitable time for this, when people stay at home anyway. The obscurity of the night is also supposed to contribute its share in covering the performer so well that he cannot be recognized by the audience in the camp. If the men are in a good mood, the spirit appearances go on until long after midnight. Rain and snow often interrupt and hinder the men's performance, but they will not let their gay mood be spoiled, and on another occasion they fully make up for what was impossible earlier. In any case they can prolong the entire affair at will.

Even though women may be admitted to the Great Hut, it is a matter of principle that only men may assume the role of spirit. It gives each of them great satisfaction to be able to appear before the others. Older men, however, are not so bent on doing it, and no one is permitted to step outside who has not learned the remarkable dance of the spirit to be portrayed. Again and again the younger men /1360/ rehearse, also merely for their own entertainment; the men present instruct and criticize them. Each one has a favorite role in which he feels most comfortable. This means that some spirits are presented to the women much oftener than others for which it is not easy to find a performer.

X575 535 It is strange that the Yamana content themselves with a single type of movement for the great majority of spirits to be portrayed. The performer draws the bark mask over his head and supports it on either side with the palms of his hands pressed against the region of the ears. He holds his bent arms at shoulder level. The movement itself is a sidewise stride. One leg is placed far to one side, the body is inclined in the same direction, and the other leg is slowly drawn in. It is a light, springy dance and at the same time a gentle skip and a lively stride up and down the long dance course. At the end of the course the performer, without stopping, merely changes direction and once more disappears into the Great Hut. In exceptional cases a

/1360 cont./

X575 spirit will sometimes stand motionless for a few minutes at the
535 end of the dance course. As a rule every spirit reappears after an interval of a few minutes, and this may be repeated from two to five times as he chooses or according to his effect on the audience if they are enjoying it.

X575 If the women and children are to be shown one of the many
302 spirits, the performer must, of course, appear with a particular painting. The men are content to use the customary colors, black, white, and red. It is not necessary to be painfully exact in the drawing because the spectators stand far away. Most often red or black lines and stripes, small circles and semicircles, dots and dashes are painted on a white background in a certain arrangement. Using his incisors a man will scrape off a layer from a lump of chalk the size of a fist, mix the fine powder with saliva by making chewing motions, and apply this mixture by rubbing it on with his hand or fingers. A person who has been smeared with it stands beside the fire so that the color will quickly dry. Red and white pigments are sometimes mixed with blubber, sometimes applied dry. The mask is painted with just as little care, and the drawings on it coincide roughly with those on the body of the performer. The latter does not do the painting himself. This is done by other men, and the leader likes to take part because he is usually the one who decides on the decoration. It is applied only to the front of the body, for only this is visible to the eyes of the women and children. After each appearance the men carefully wash off the colors. While the painting is be-

X575 ing done, the men constantly amuse themselves with all kinds of
522 jokes. Once when they were preparing for the Histuku performance and the large amount of white pigment applied to their bodies was dry, many of them could hardly be recognized. /1361/ Mašemikens, with a smirk, surveyed the group of men and asked jokingly: "Where in the world is the man who calls himself Thomas? I don't see him any more! He was here just a minute ago." Thomas understood the jest and replied: "I am big enough so that everybody ought to see me (304)!" The whole company laughed.

304. He was about a head taller than Mašemikens himself.

X 515 /1361 cont./

While the men were still busy with their painting, Mašemikens requested his wife Sara to get the women out of their dwellings and lead them to the middle of the field, for soon the spirits would appear. Sara may not have summoned the women sternly enough or the women themselves may not have taken her words seriously -- who knows? In any case, no one appeared. Annoyed, Mašemikens placed himself beside the Great Hut and hurled a few threatening words at the women in the camp. The rogue in him soon gained the upper hand, however; he was obliged to withdraw quickly and pour out his hearty laughter in front of the men in the Great Hut.

As has been said several times, the same type of performance by the individual spirits is repeated again and again. The leader or an older man selected by him stands beside the entrance of the Great Hut and looks out at the camp. If the women are not yet assembled, he calls them together. Then he immediately makes a brief announcement about the spirit that will soon appear; at least he mentions the spirit's name. For example, he will call out: "Kalampása has just announced himself. I don't know what draws him here to our hut. Now he is keeping us waiting again!" Or: "Kinamjáma is at present here among us. He is being very friendly, soon you [women] shall see him!" Once I heard: "Several spirits are coming up, they are acting very restless and impetuous. If only they would not annoy us so terribly!" Another cry: "Strange, at such a late hour a spirit is approaching our hut; he is coming down from above. Who could it be? We men would prefer to be left in peace. Sure enough, he is already arriving; it is Asepakájaka. He has a message for you [women] and says that he has come a great distance. Look closely at him." Finally, the following: "Just now two spirits have come down to our hut simultaneously. I don't recognize them yet. They seem to be in a good mood, however, and enjoying themselves here." After such an announcement or a similar one the leader turns about-face with his back to the women. He peers into the Great Hut and, with a sharp hissing sound accompanied by a sweeping gesture of the arm, be brings the spirit out. The latter has been waiting for such a sign as he sits among the group of men. He now moves back and forth along the dance

/1361 cont./

X575 course and soon disappears again. The leader follows him into the hut immediately, without any words or any kind of sign to the spectators. If this spirit or another one is supposed to appear again, the leader calls him out in the manner just described. A spirit never steps out of the Great Hut suddenly before the eyes of the women.

X575 756 /1362/ In exceptional cases a yĕkamuš will accompany some spirit along the dance course. Shortly before the end of the Kina celebration in 1922, Asikansis unexpectedly stepped into the Great Hut and announced that he had been requested in a dream to let Calderon portray the spirit of a particular fish. No one dared to contradict this old man who was already somewhat feeble mentally or to point out to him that the night was far advanced. So Calderon painted his whole body and the mask white, and over [302] this he drew several vertical red lines two fingers wide. Asikansis, who is a yĕkamuš, wore his feather diadem; his face and the upper part of his body were painted white, with a red horizontal line extending from below the nose to either ear lobe. The two men stood facing each other. Calderon, as is customary, supported his mask, while Asikansis stretched his two arms out sidewise at shoulder height. Then Asikansis indicated the rhythm with low sustained cries of hŏhŏng. First they danced inside the hut as though they were practicing; then they performed their short, leaps sideways along the dance course. They stepped out five times and moved back and forth, each time after a pause of a few minutes. Asikansis always turned his back to the camp and unavoidably hid Calderon a little. After both had ended their dance, Asikansis sat down by the fire and softly sang on for a long time, completely absorbed. Calderon washed off his painting.

X575 Just as the leader calls together the women and children at the beginning of the spirit appearances, so he also announces the end of the performance with a brief word. He says: "Now the last spirit has left this hut, not a single one is now sitting among the group of men. You, too, go back to your huts!" The men regularly announced the entrance of a spirit into the Kina hut with a warbling lalala..., which warned the women to be on their guard; now all is silent there, a sign that the spirits have all withdrawn.

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β. The Individual Spirits

The various personalities which are presented as spirits comprise an astonishingly large number. They are not definite character types with pronounced characteristics, such as the Kloketen spirits, but rather are portrayed chiefly as spirits of well-known animals with slight indications of the characteristic coloring of the skin or feathers of these animals. The spirit is not recognizable by his peculiar behavior or characteristic dance, but the leader designates him loudly by name. The body painting of the dancer also suggests the natural outward appearance of whatever animal is portrayed.

Each spirit that is in any way mentioned in the Kina performance, even if it should not appear before the women, has a name. Usually this is nothing more than the customary designation for a particular animal species, /1363/ combined with the word yāka, "performance" (305). A few spirits also have their

305. In BD:659 one finds yāga and yāka, "Imitation of resembling, after the different names of birds which or rather the traditional accounts of which were acted in the various drama like scenes of the ceena and murana and others" /cited in English/.

own proper names. These are the personalities to whom special power is ascribed here in the Kina, and their names indicate their distinctiveness or ranking. The long list that I became acquainted with follows.

At the top of the list is Lēxakīpa. According to the Yamana, she is the guardian spirit that rules over everything here in the Great Hut. She assumes importance solely during the Kina celebration, and otherwise she is not even mentioned, much less invoked. During the course of the celebration, however, she proves to be a helper and rescuer for all the participants. This female guardian spirit is favorably disposed toward the men and invariably benevolent. I was told: "Just as Watauinēiwa stands over everything in the čiēxaus [over the whole affair], observes [ruling] all

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the participants, and is kindly disposed toward everyone, so Lẽxakīpa stands in relation to the Kina hut. She regulates everything, guides all the participants, and protects everyone. Therefore everyone must yield to her. In the Kina we do not speak of Wataụinẽjwa, but of Lẽxakīpa. Our ancient tradition determines how each participant should behave during this celebration; this is our law, the way Wataụinẽjwa wants it. Anyone who acts contrary to these rules and divulges the secret is called to account by Wataụinẽjwa and is punished by an untimely death." Accordingly, the Supreme Being is the ultimate basis for the Kina arrangement, too, but without any direct connection with this celebration or with Lẽxakīpa. In answer to my question as to how this guardian spirit became connected with the Great Hut, I was told: "We do not know that. This festival was taken over by the men exactly as the women performed the kīna at Uŭwāja. We ourselves have added nothing new. So Lẽxakīpa must have been a guardian spirit of the Kina even at that time!" To the extent that Lẽxakīpa possesses supreme power, she towers above mighty Tānuwa and all the spirits. The Yamana do not say that these spirits are commanded by her or directly subservient to her. As a guardian spirit it is incumbent upon her to defend the men present against the illusory arbitrariness and torture of the other spirits, to heal the wounded men, and to restore to life those who have been killed. Such details are shouted over to the camp by the leader who each time places himself beside the Great Hut. He puts as much seriousness and conviction into his words as though real events were taking place, yet his explanations are nothing more than conscious attempts to dupe the women. Lẽxakīpa is never shown in any form to the others outside the Great Hut (306).

306. The same superior position that Lexakipa occupies in the Kina is accorded to Xalpen in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 916).

One of the dangerous Kina spirits is Tānuwa who surpasses all the others in brutality /1364/ and is therefore feared the most. Only Lẽxakīpa is able to curtail his actions effectively. The men

/1364 cont./

X575 776 imitate his temporary sojourn in the Great Hut in noisy excitement. They call attention to him chiefly when they want to frighten and warn the uśwąąla. During an alleged appearance of Tąnuwa in the Great Hut, the faces of the candidates are covered, and they are all required to lie down so that the salutary dread induced by this spirit will penetrate deeply and last a long time. The men then communicate with one another only by signs. The anxiously trilled lalala...does not lead one to expect a good-natured spirit. The women outside soon recognize the various signs that mean Tąnuwa has arrived.

X575 To begin with, in order to intimidate the candidates, the leader pours a small amount of water on the embers of the hut fire to produce a soft sizzling. He asks distinctly for the benefit of the uśwąąla: "What's going on here?" Soon afterward a broad stream of water is poured on the embers. A cloud of steam with a quantity of ashes rises up with a loud sizzling, and the men set up an alarming roar. They get up hastily and dance around the fire in wild leaps while a single man beats on the ground a few times with a wad of dry leather. This noise suddenly ceases and complete silence follows. After about ten minutes old Thomas goes outside and stands in front of the hut entrance. He cries sorrowfully: "Attention! I do not know what has happened here and what we must be prepared for. Something is soon going to happen. Watch out!" Sure enough, soon all the men get up, leap back and forth and stamp on the ground, seize one another and struggle amid a frightful howling and bellowing cries of desperation. Some of them beat the ground with a ball of leather, while amidst all this shrill cries of alarm resound; the greatest effort is made to feign dreadful confusion. Then the noise gradually subsides and finally ceases altogether with faint gurgling sounds. At the same time the men lie down on their sides and remain motionless in an irregular heap. The air is filled with an impenetrable cloud of dust and ashes.

After many minutes Santiago gets up and asks in a loud voice so that the pupils in the Kina hut as well as the people in the camp can hear his words: "What a picture before me! All the men around me have been slain. Woe is me, I, too, feel weak because I have suffered a bad blow. This man and that one are dead, all of them lie there motionless. I go from one to the

X575 /1364 cont./
other, I feel them, shake them. No one moves, they are all dead; truly, all are dead!" After a brief pause he continues in a broken but audible voice: "Oh, woe is me, I, too, am about to die." His /1365/ words fade away like those of a dying man. At a mute sign from the leader two men start poking around violently in their noses so that blood flows. They let all the men have plenty of it and they rub it on their faces. Some of them cannot suppress a contented smirk at this crafty hoax which is not recognized as such by the blindfolded uśwā̆ala present or by the women outside in the camp.

Ten minutes pass, then a soft, light lalala... begins, performed by two men. It is supposed to announce the arrival of Lēxakīpa from the heavens. Then the men get up slowly, as though they were waking from a deep sleep. They stretch as though they were still suffering considerable pain. One of them complains pitifully: "Tā̆nuwa seized me unmercifully when I offered resistance. He beat me with a thick club. I tried to parry the blow, but he forced me down. I defended myself for a long time, but he quickly overcame me and threw me out of the hut, trampled on me, and mistreated me dreadfully. I have such pains I can scarcely move!" Another groans: "All my limbs ache, for Tā̆nuwa choked me dreadfully. I don't even dare lift my arms, I would have to cry out in pain!" A third man complains: "What can I say, I feel so crushed? Tā̆nuwa has broken all my bones. I am only slowly getting better!" With these words he indicates the healing and recovery that Lēxakīpa will bring about. Others among the men complain in similar fashion, but let a ray of hope for speedy recovery break through. Everyone says something in a weak voice, suitable to his "condition." That is enough, however, and the uśwā̆ala hear every word. After a few minutes the men break into a loud hohū, hohū... They pause for a few seconds and repeat this cry more forcefully. Soon after that they bawl out their hoihōhū... loud and long. This is meant to announce that in their great need Lēxakīpa has finally hastened to them and that, at her approach, Tā̆nuwa has fled from the Great Hut, that Lēxakīpa has brought all the men back to life and quickly healed them.

/1365 cont./

X 575 They finally all get up, arrange themselves in a row, one behind the other, and, in a stooped position and with short steps, they go over to the camp. In a monotone and with a well-defined rhythm they constantly repeat sakamakasá... They go close to the huts so that every woman can see their bleeding faces and their pitiful expressions. After completing the circuit of the huts they again disappear into the Great Hut. Then without making a sound but in very explicit pantomime they give full expression to their satisfaction over the successful prank. It is not until later that one of the men finally removes the blindfolds from the ušwā̄ala. The latter are still trembling in fear of Tā̄nuwa and believe that he and Lē̄xakīpa have actually appeared. Obviously the purpose is to frighten first the candidates and second the women with Tā̄nuwa, in order to fill everyone with fear and respect fot the Kina secret. /1366/ Thus a person who is in the Great Hut for the first time as an ušwā̄ala does not learn the true nature of Tā̄nuwa; this is revealed to him only when he participates later at another ceremony. This spirit is never portrayed in any kind of mask. BD:421 says of Tā̄nuwa, "a being personified in the ceena drama, was supposed to come up out of the earth, he was an old man and did not come forth and leap about but lay still in the ceena and beat the earth and brayed" /cited in English/.

[776] Čīníku, who is also a man-murdering spirit, is more malevolent than Tā̄nuwa. He comes down from heaven to attend a Čīníku-yā̄ka; the men announce his arrival with very frightened hóho calls. He likes best to murder the men and drag them away, just as a hunter kills sea lions and loads them up. This spirit is painted red all over, with a few white spots the size of the palm of one's hand. His head is covered with a loosely hanging piece of leather painted white. His son is decked out in the same way. He scarcely steps inside the circle of men when they set up a frightened howling and desperate screaming. One after another yells as though he were being murdered and then falls completely silent. Čīníku now rolls all these men to the hut entrance where they lie in a confused heap without moving; they have been "murdered" by him! He pushes the last few men farther away from the hut entrance. The women watch his fit of rage against

/1366 cont./

X575 them all from the vantage point of the camp. He has leaned several harpoons against one of the entrance posts so that they are visible from afar; the women are supposed to believe that Čīníku has murdered all the men with these weapons. Before-
[824] hand a long, thin stalk of Macrocystis alga smeared with blood had been fastened to one of the harpoons. Now Čīníku himself steps out, looks at the man lying farthest to one side, and screams: "It seems to me this man is not yet dead. So I shall finish him off with the harpoon!" He reaches for the harpoon just mentioned and throws it at the man. He pretends to be using a lot of force, but he aims close by, hurls the weapon, and almost simultaneously runs after it in order to cover his deceptive action. He quickly unfastens the alga stalk and pulls it up in such a way that the spectators at a distance have the impression he is pulling the man's entrails out of his belly. Frightened and horrified, the women cry out, shouting to Čīníku: "Do you think you have a sea lion in front of you? You villainous murderer, how can you murder our husbands so brutally! Get away from here at last and release us!" Angrily Čīníku seizes the man and pretends that he wants to drag him into the Great Hut. At the same moment, as though by chance -- this had been prearranged without the women's knowledge -- a yékamuš steps out of one of the dwellings and conspicuously takes a few steps in the direction of the Great Hut. Čīníku notices him and hastily disappears inside. /1367/ The performer has now concluded his role; he sits down beside the fire and rests. The circle of men is pleased with the successful hoax.

After a very brief pause the so-called son of Čīníku appears before all the women, decked out exactly like his alleged father. The man chosen for this role is somewhat shorter than the one who portrayed the first Čīníku. He merely leaps back and forth along the dance course three times, then disappears. This happens because meanwhile the yékamuš has arrived at the Great Hut. He circles several times around the heap of men who are still lying there motionless, makes sweeping motions with his arms, and is very active until all the men have been brought back to life and get up again. They drag themselves into the Great Hut as though they had lost their strength. All the women, who up

/1367 cont./

[575] to now have been standing in front of their huts watching, hasten back in, overjoyed. Each one draws a white line, a handbreadth wide, from her neck to her navel and a red line, the width of a finger, from the corners of her mouth to her ear lobes. Inside the Great Hut the yékamuš paints his whole body red, and over this he paints a few large white dots and a white line the width of a hand from his neck to his navel. Again he steps out of the Great Hut and all the men he has brought back to life follow him. The women hasten toward them from the dwellings. In accordance with instructions from the yékamuš, the men crowd together and [535] the women form a ring around them. Immediately this ring around the men begins to move in a rhythm which the men accompany by stamping and rapidly and continuously repeating šikušúli in a monotone. The women enjoy themselves in this way for some time; they want to announce their happiness over the fact that their men have been given back to them. At a signal from the yékamuš the two groups disperse and separate (307).

[171] 307. This performance shows a great deal of similarity to the appearance of Kataix in the Kloketen; he, too, takes great pleasure in torturing and murdering the men (Vol. I, 960).

BD:135 gives činūgū, "painted all over with spots and bands of white, danced about naked and in frantic manner, and was supposed to come up through the earth and pretended to kill the man in the Ceena" /cited in English/.

The performance of Yamāalakemana is disquieting and exciting for the women. This spirit was and is a dangerous murderer. He is not visible to the women in the camp; instead he rages about among the men and the women can plainly hear it. There are no special preparations necessary for this performance. The leader simply stands beside the hut entrance once, and in a voice filled with fear, he calls over to the camp: "We are faced with something terrible; a dangerous spirit has just announced himself! Woe to us defenseless men!" The latter immediately commence a pitiful howling. The women show outward signs of pity and

X575 /1367 cont./
sympathy. Then for several seconds there is deep silence in the Great Hut. One of the men rolls up a large, stiff piece of leather; another cleans a spot on the ground that has been stamped down. /1368/ The first man lifts his arm in a wide sweep and strikes down hard. One of the participants cries agá in a terribly loud voice, as though he had been mortally wounded by this blow, and lets his voice slowly fade away as though he were dying. After a pause there is a second blow; again a man cries out and lets his cry trail off in the same way. This goes on until all the men, including the candidates, "have been killed by the spirit." The women know how many men are assembled in the Great Hut and pay careful attention to the number of death cries. None of the men disguises his voice in order that the members of his family will recognize him. During the next few minutes nothing stirs in the Great Hut, "for they are all dead." At a signal from the leader two or three men commence a joyous, rapid, high-pitched lalala...which is supposed to announce the approach of their deliverer Lẹ́xakīpa. A few minutes later all the men utter a loud, high-pitched, jubilant xā. This is to announce that they have been restored to life by Lẹ́xakīpa. Now, however, they also want to prove to the women what tortures they have suffered. One or two of them will poke around in his nose with a small pointed stick until blood flows. He not only smears this on his own face, but willingly gives some to other men. With these "proofs" of mistreatment by Yamā̀alakẹmana each appears before the members of his family, who look at him sympathetically and silently pity him. When after an hour or two the men have again assembled in their Kina hut, they are immensely pleased over their successful performance.

Similar to the spirit that has just been described is Kōyutulā̀ikīpa, a murderess. She visits the Great Hut twice at the most during the Kina festival and "murders" the men just as Yamā̀alakẹmana does. The leader announces her arrival in a loud voice. After this appearance, too, all the men show themselves to their families in the camp with blood on their faces.

X575 776 302 Besides Lẹ́xakīpa, who is superior to all the spirits, the Yamana also mention a few subordinate guardian spirits who are well disposed toward the assembled men and helpful to them in all

X 575 776 302

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kinds of situations. In the final analysis each spirit is more or less kindly disposed toward all those who have assembled in the Kina hut. Kínamiāma chiefly sees to it that no woman approaches the Great Hut or does any kind of damage. He is presented soon after the beginning of the festival. He can be recognized by the many red and black transverse lines, the width of two fingers and separated by spaces equally wide, which are drawn on a white background and run from the tip of the mask to the knees. All the spirits have their shanks and feet painted uniformly white, no matter what name or characteristics they have.

Tulē̃ᵃa-yā́ka. This good-natured guardian spirit also appears at the very beginning of the festival. On the right and left side he wears two vertical stripes a handbreadth wide upon a white background. Apparently this identification is connected with tulē̃ᵃatē̃čix, the name for the small Centrites niger.

/1369/ Tukā́čí-yā́ka is likewise a benign helper and protector of the men. The man who portrays him paints several vertical rows of red dots set close together on a white background all over his body.

Kīnaiagēllum. It is said of this spirit that he takes extraordinary pleasure in sitting with the men in the Kina hut. That is the only reason he comes down from heaven. The man who portrays him first rubs his body with red color; from his neck to his genitals there is a white stripe the width of three fingers, from which three transverse stripes originate. There are four white rings on either arm. BD:165 also briefly mentions kīnaiagōllum without giving any explanation.

Ulamiēaka, the performance of the forest spirit. This spirit is regarded as having an especially close connection with the Kina. He is portrayed with a red body painting upon which are drawn a few vertical white lines leading down from the shoulders. BD:88 says of ūlōmīna, "he was a man disguised by paint and a conical bark hat who acted the part of a lustful spirit in the presence of women whom he went to meet and speak to" /cited in English/.

Wongoalē̃aka, the performance of the sea spirit. He is shown with elaborate painting. On a white background many small red semicircles are drawn close together to represent fish scales. This spirit is shaped like a fish, is the "son" of a whale,

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/1369 cont./

and appears as such, usually accompanied by two men painted in the same way. The Yamana say that he is well disposed toward human beings. It is said that sometimes he emerges from the depths beside a canoe and shows himself to the occupants; his head and torso are as beautiful as those of a mature girl; in place of legs he has the hind parts of a large fish, and around his forehead there is a thick wreath of beech twigs. One can be sure of recognizing him by this sign. Once, adorned only with this wreath of twigs, he left the Great Hut and, in the company of two young men who were unpainted, he went over to the camp. His arrival had been announced to the women by loud cries. Because there was a shortage of red pigment, he was supposed to fetch new supplies. Sure enough, every woman placed a small bag of ĭmi outside her hut. The spirit passed along the huts, quietly and without saying a word, took each packet, gave it to his companions, and hastened back to the men's hut with the abundant presents (308).

308. This description reminds one of the performance of Haše in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 926). He, too, visits the dwellings and gathers red pigment for the "spirits" in the Great Hut.

Mēʼarāka is likewise a spirit who is kindly disposed toward the assemblage of men. On a white background he wears several vertical black dots the size of the palm of a hand which are distributed over his whole torso.

Yagáruwa-yāka, the performance of the spirit of the high seas. The performer's body is painted white and has only three evenly distributed vertical red stripes the width of a hand.

Hāni-yāka, the performance of the northern sky. This spirit, too, is a helper of the /1370/ men in the Kina hut. He supports them, above all, in singing and constantly gives them new strength. The performer paints his whole body, as well as the mask, uniformly white, adding seven black transverse lines as wide as a finger to the mask. BD:270 says: "hāniaka, a play enacted in the ceena drama accompanied with painting, singing, and acting in supposed imitation of the N. wind" /cited in English/.

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Asgpakālaka, the performance of the southern sky. The painting for this is elaborate. The mask and the body are rubbed with white pigment. In addition the mask has seven black transverse lines as wide as a finger; the torso and arms have eight of these lines, and the legs, six. In each of the areas thus formed a red transverse line is added.

X 575 776 302 825

Haływāpisa-yāka, the performance of the mighty blue whale (Balaenoptera intermedia). Powdered chalk mixed with blubber is rubbed on the body of the performer in vertical lines, the width of a finger, drawn close together and beginning at the peak of the mask. BD:269 writes "hāsūāpisa-iaka, a certain play in the ceena drama imitative of whales" /cited in English/.

Sauyānux-yāka, the performance of the short-beaked dolphin (Lagenorhynchus fitzroyi). The front part of the body and the center of the mask are covered with a vertical white stripe about 20 centimeters wide, on either side of which black color is applied.

Kixinteka-yāka, the performance of the gray gerfalcon (Circus cinereus). The performer paints his body and his mask white, and upon this background he distributes irregular black dots.

Akimagāja-yāka, the performance of the falcon (Ibycter australis). The dancer paints his body white and applies a red line the width of three fingers from the peak of the mask across his chest to the genitals and another line around his body at the height of his navel.

Kilaxīla-yāka, the performance of the buzzard (Buteo poliosomus). Dry īmi powder is first rubbed over the entire body, and a few black dots are applied over it with the tip of the index finger.

Lūrux-yāka, the performance of the gray-headed goose (Cloephaga poliocephala). The body of the performer from the armpits down is completely white, having been rubbed with powdered chalk. Above the armpits, and including the mask, it is rubbed with īmi powder and is light red.

Kīmga-yāka, the performance of the Magellan goose (Chloephaga picta). The entire body is painted red, and large white dots are painted on the chest (309).

309. The Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida

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/help goose/), which is related to the two species above, is not portrayed. The Yamana say that it was already present at the time of the general upheaval, as it is to this day.

Alaiuł-yā́ka, the performance of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus). The entire body and the mask are painted with white pigment. The nose and mouth are painted on the mask with red pigment. A black line as wide as three fingers is painted in a shallow arc from one shoulder to the other across the chest. /1371/

Wémar-kipa-yā́ka, the performance of the small gull (Larus glaucodes). The performer paints his body and the mask white and applies short, fine, horizontal red lines all over it.

Tox̌wiśiwa-yā́ka, the performance of the diving petrel (Puffinus griseus /sooty shearwater/). It suffices to paint the entire body uniformly black, an exact imitation of the natural coloring of this bird.

Wilaułéaka, the performance of the brown gull-teaser wilaułła (Megalestris skua chilensis). To portray this spirit the men paint their bodies and masks white. They draw six evenly spaced rows of short red lines from the upper part to the ankles. The mask is painted differently. On a white background four red stripes two fingers wide are drawn from the peak of the mask to the lower edge, and white transverse lines the width of a thumb are put in each stripe at close intervals.

Gérāpu-yā́ka, the performance of the white albatross (Diomedea exulans, Fig. 88). For this performance mask and body are painted with powdered chalk mixed with water; the former, in the region of the nose, has a vertical red line as long as a finger. BD:246 writes "gérāpll čis, the initiatory rite of the ceena drama" /cited in English/. -- The gérāpu-lóima-yā́ka is peculiar. The men and the candidates paint their faces all white. A thin little stick which is slightly springy stretches from each corner of the mouth to the upper eyelid, so that the face is horribly distorted. They all squat close together at the low entrance, as though to barricade it. The uwāła are in the center of the group. Each of them holds a bow and a quiver in his hand. These articles must be specially made, but are not carefully

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X 575 776 302 825

worked because they are not meant for use in hunting. With his front teeth each man holds a yĕkuł, that is, an arrowhead or spear point; in his hands he holds an unfinished basket on which he is working. When the group is assembled in this manner, one of the men summons the women and children. They may come up to within a few steps and silently look over the group. Neither words nor looks are exchanged, the men steadfastly keeping their eyes on the ground. After a few minutes the women are sent back again. The Yamana of the south and west have the same performance, but with the following variation. The men and the candidates paint their faces white and draw a black line the width of a finger from the outer corner of each eye to the ears. They all have a yĕkuł between their teeth and in addition hold in their hands a drawn bow and an arrow which they aim at the women who are standing outside in front of the entrance. This pantomime also goes on in complete silence and lasts only a few minutes. No one was able to tell me its meaning.

Katāmux-yāka, the performance of the sea dove (Daption capensis). The performer paints his body and mask completely white and then adds many black dots with his index finger. This is precisely the way this marine bird is marked.

/1372/ Taperōla-yāka, the performance of the small diver (Podiceps calipareus). This bird, the size of a pigeon, has brownish-black feathers and a white tail. The person who portrays him as a spirit rubs a piece of dry charcoal all over his body, including his mask, and draws a white line, the width of a hand, from the navel to the genitals.

Yĕšex-yāka, the performance of the black cormorant (Phalacrocorax atriceps). The performer wears no mask. He rubs charcoal dust mixed with a little blubber all over his body. He paints his chest, the hairy part of his head, and his cheeks white and holds his arms as though he were supporting a mask. According to BD:274, hauwurł means "the black shag" /cited in English/ and this performance. Compare Figure 58 on page 233.

Wāsénim-yāka, the performance of the hooded cormorant (Phalacrocorax gaimardi). The person who portrays this spirit wears a mask that is painted white. He rubs his body with dry charcoal dust and draws a very wide white stripe from his neck to his genitals.

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Ubwiler-yāka, the performance of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater). A red line, the width of two fingers, runs from the peak of the mask down the center. The whole body is white, with a black arc the width of a hand running across the chest from one shoulder to the other. BD 117 also mentions this performance. Compare Figure 76 on page 825.

Sūrīa-yāka, the performance of the spectacled penguin (Spheniscus magellanicus). The performer paints his chest and belly white, the rest of his body, black. There is a wide black arc above each of the eye-holes of the white mask. BD 160 gives ussa-lama.

Hājmus-yāka, the performance of the robalo (Eleginus maclovinus). A few vertical white lines from the neck over the chest and belly, as well as a few vertical black lines beginning at the armpits, suffice to portray this spirit. BD 261 also mentions haimus-yaka.

Sūna-yāka, the performance of the porcupine fish. On the uniformly white mask a red transverse line, the width of a finger, is painted at the level of the mouth. Many red semicircles are placed close together all over the body of the performer to represent fish scales. This design is very effective (310).

> 310. It is well known that, according to the legend, the child whose father was a sea lion and whose mother was the sister of the Yoalox brothers turned into this fish (p. 1149).

Ilēčī-yāka, the performance of the herring (Clupea pectinata). The mask and the entire body are painted uniformly white. On either side of the body a black line as wide as a hand runs from the armpits to the ankles.

Imakaj-yāka, the performance of the sea trout (Atherinichthys). The dancer draws many vertical white lines as wide as a finger and as long as a thumb irregularly all over his body and his mask.

Kalampāia-yāka, the performance of the fish Kalampāia. This fish has a broad head and its body tapers evenly from the head to the tail fin. The performer characterizes this spirit by means of small red semicircles over his entire body which he first painted white. His white mask /1373/ has a red transverse line, the width

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of three fingers, in the region of the mouth. Now and then this spirit orders the men either to step out of the Great Hut in single file, or, in the so-called Kalomplia-mino, as individuals, to see how the women are conducting themselves in their dwellings. BD:178 also lists kilaplia-iaka.

Jepfiuf-yika, the performance of the little redfish. The performer must paint a great number of fine, vertical, finger-length red lines close together and on top of one another all over his body. The mask is white.

Hikufkalila-yika, the performance of the jellyfish (Medusa). This also requires fine, vertical red lines about three centimeters long all over the body and the mask, but not in so great a number as in the preceding performance.

Hika-yika, the performance of the small cuttlefish (octopus). The person who represents this spirit, sometimes also called Finiko, rubs dry imi powder on his body and hangs a square piece of leather similarly colored loosely over his head in place of the painted mask.

Yikilif-yika, the performance of the calamary (Loligo subulata). The dancer smears his whole body and the mask uniformly red. It is well known that Yikilifkiga escaped when the men starved the Kina hut. The painting just described is like the one that the were at that time and which she still displays on her diminutive figure (p. 1247).

Kinjuf-yika, the performance of the bluebottle fly. The person who presents this spirit to the women paints his body and mask black all over this irregularly distributes many white dots with his index finger. According to BD:165, kinjin also means wasp and bee.

In the east the so-called wengka-yika was performed. Several men step out of the Kina hut as a group without any kind of painting. Each one carries a stick that is pointed at the lower end and a meter long. At some distance from the Great Hut the men move close together, form a circle, and drive the stick into the ground several times. They poke around like this for a few minutes without looking up and without saying a word. Then they silently go back again. No one could tell me the meaning of this performance. BD:625 gives wiggus-gimata, "to dig, hollow" /cited in English/.

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The *Hamatsa* performance has historical value, so to speak. While the men are preparing for it, the leader gives a signal and there begins an unvarying, constantly repeated *hôpu, hôpu*... on the same pitch and with sharp emphasis. The force and tempo of this call slowly increases in order to attract the attention of the women in the camp. Meanwhile the participants paint their bodies white. A red arc as wide as a finger is drawn across the forehead, with its ends pointing downward. Then, dancing loudly, the men arrange themselves one behind the other. They squat down so far that they support themselves with both fists and their buttocks almost touch the ground. They can move forward only in short steps. When the first men in this column are just visible, a few older /1974/ women hasten to the field and swab the men. The latter keep their squatting position, but form a closed circle. The women approach and walk along the outside of the circle. They gently slap each man with a piece of leather or with the hand, and the man immediately falls over as though he had been killed. The women hastily depart. Not until after about ten minutes, during which no one in the camp stirs, the men cautiously get up and, deeply bent over and one behind the other, go back to the Great Hut without a sound. They quietly wash off their painting and in an undertone converse very gaily, for, after all, they have not been killed and have not been murdered by the women. *Hamatsa* is the spirit of the far west, *tsêxa* (*Corvus caurinus*). At the time of the great struggle in *Tlôqêlqu* he moved in the same clumsy way he does today, and many women fell upon him in order to kill him. That is exactly what happens now in this performance (311).

311. This scene is almost exactly like the Hamatsa scene in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 99). BD:302 also speaks of this performance "before the women and children as spectators" /cited in English/.

All the plays listed here, which I experienced personally, do not exhaust the long list. BD mentions many additional ones. For example, BD:170, *hôlîlgwâka*, the performance of the sea

/1374 cont./
gull kiwlga (Larus dominicanus). BD:413, tlhalaiska, the performance of the loud tlhala (Larus belcheri /a gull/); BD:112, tlhalaiska, the performance of the whale ellgla (Pseudorca crassidens); finally, BD:383, haiyelga, BD:277, lamtlhaiska, the performance of the whale, BD:276; laiahklipa, add BD:247, ghanna, or "tlelhwa's son, one of opening scenes and characters in the kenna drama" /cited in English/. BD also mentions a few more performances. In any case, see the explanations of ellgl in BD:212.

In conclusion the so-called kina-tlagwlja, the death rite, should be specifically mentioned. Now and then it happens that in the course of this men's festival one of the participants or one of their relatives dies. Then one evening the participants assembled in the Great Hut put on an actual tlagwlja for only themselves. The men adorn themselves with the body painting customary for this occasion (p. 1081), depending on the degree of their relationship to the deceased. This is not enough, however. An influential yahamuf appoints a man, preferably the leader, to paint himself in a special way. In March, 1932, Malemikens, who was then the leader of the Kina, volunteered to do this himself. The entire body is painted white and over this are painted four black stripes the width of a hand, beginning in the center of each collar bone and in each armpit and extending to the knee. These stripes, but narrower, are continued on the white mask up to its point. The performer dances out of the Great Hut just like any one of the many other "spirits" and moves back and forth several times on the dance course. The people in the camp immediately recognize him /1375/ by his painting. On the evening of a tlagwlja the men remain very quiet and appear to be sad out of sincere sympathy. The Tamana have no proper name for the spirit portrayed in this manner. It would not be correct to call him the ellgla of the deceased person who is being mourned. The whole performance is meant to be reminiscent of his departure and of the sorrowful participation of the survivors.

The Tamana emphatically assured me that there is no portrayal in the Kina of the spirits of those animals that were already living here as actual animals at the time of the great upheaval.

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X575 This applies to the raven vulture wēxwiyāu, the hawk yo'okalía,
776 the gerfalcon kētéla, the common sea gull kiwágu (312), and
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312. BD:170, however, mentioned this spirit.

particularly the many small birds. The specific painting with which every spirit appears adds a certain variety to the course of the Kina festival, but after a time the monotonous dance movements become noticeably boring to the women and also somewhat to the men. The arbitrary decision of the leader and the general mood of the participants determine the number of spirits and the sequence of their appearance on each evening. In view of this, one Kina festival is sometimes very different from another, and this provides a change.

d. End of the Festival

X575 Obviously it is the environment, especially the urgency of matters of subsistence, which forces the participants to terminate a Kina festival. Here, too, the decisive factor is that same play of forces that leads to the termination of a youth initiation (p.832). The most important of these would be lack of food, flooding of the campsite, insufficient firewood, the illness of a number of persons, or a death.

Even if these unforeseen and yet decisive circumstances were not taken into account, at practically every Kina the attention of the dancers and spectators begins to lag after only a few days. The men must stimulate and renew the interest of all the participants in the affair. If all their efforts fail, boredom is clearly written on the faces of all those present. From the start, the women do not welcome the Kina. For their part they certainly make no effort to prolong it. For a time, however, the men feel quite content in their closed group, especially if there are many of them and the individual members take an active part. Thus they are unaware of the threatening and unavoidable monotony of each passing day. The Yamana are much too restless by nature to /1376/ bear unvarying monotony for very long, and the many spirit appearances certainly do not offer enough

/1376 cont./

X575 variety to refresh them and arouse them to great enthusiasm. In the final analysis, of course, the deceptive performances of the masked men lack any urgent necessity. When their curiosity, which is sometimes extreme, and their fun in deceiving the women by supposed spirit appearances are satisfied, further performances do not hold enough enjoyment for them to counteract their slowly mounting boredom and the weariness caused by the same repetitions. In that case quite unimportant external reasons bring about the desire to terminate the Kina festival and there is not the slightest inner resistance on the part of any of the participants. I was assured that the men were usually content with two or three weeks, but they have stayed together a shorter or longer time according to whether they felt so disposed or were obliged to separate for some reason.

Each time, however, the leader discusses the matter with the older men, and if all more or less agree he chooses the same evening or the next evening for the so-called Makāinkīna, the formal closing scene. The younger men, of course, yield; the ušwāala are particularly pleased to be freed from their unnatural position. The purpose of this final ceremony is to drive away all melevolent spirits from the Kina hut and its vicinity. All the
[302] men paint only their faces with a simple decoration, a white transverse line as wide as a finger, which starts below the septum of the nose and extends to each ear lobe. To this is added either a red line along the entire bridge of the nose or a varying number of fine red lines between the lower eyelid and the above-mentioned white transverse line. Each man winds his apawē̄ra around his forehead. Thus adorned, all the men form a closed circle around the hut fire. The leader or an influential yēkamuš
[293] holds a stick -- similar to the dance staff used in the čiēxaus (p. 694) -- the upper third of which is painted white. He holds the stick vertically, like a baton, in his right hand with his arm outstretched. When he lifts it, all the men break into a wild hit hit... which they repeat for two or three minutes. Suddenly they cease and immediately add sharp, shrill š sounds which are followed by croaking cries of te te... in quick succession. Meanwhile each man again and again stretches out both his arms, his open palms forward, in unmistakable warding-off motions. After

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X 575

a time the cries revert to the initial hit hit... and continue in the manner described above, but much louder and more excited. The men go on like this for about half an hour and conclude with a very loud pū. Immediately each of them seizes a club which is at least a meter long, strikes the ground passionately with it, and at the same time stamps hard with both feet.

/1377/ This noise and stamping have not yet ceased when the whole group moves out of the Kina hut in one long row to the free space in front of it. The leader heads the row, followed by the yěkamuš, the older and younger men, and finally the uš̌wā̱ala. As they go out, each one seizes a club that is scarcely one and a half meters long. As soon as the first men in this row become visible, the loud hit hit... begins again, followed by the shrill ṣ sounds and the croaking te te... cries. All this goes on amid very excited warding-off motions, with each man swinging his club threateningly in the air. Remarkably enough, this raging and storming are at first very emphatically directed toward the north, signifying that all the malevolent spirits should if possible be forced back and driven in a northerly direction. Whereas up to this point the men stood next to each other facing north, they now, in conclusion, crowd together to form a closed circle. They hit the ground vigorously with their clubs and stamp hard with rapid movements of both feet. In due time the women and children also form a tight group in front of the camp, approximately opposite the men whom they accompany with loud cries and a wild beating-about with their arms. Their warding-off motions are also directed toward the north. The circle of men breaks up and forms a long row facing north. They all utter a very loud pū and accompany it with a vigorous outward thrust of both arms. The men do not stop to rest, but turn in the row in such a way that the leader, as an end man, slowly makes a half turn to the right on the same spot, which each man, to the very last in the row, follows exactly. Now this long row faces east. Again the cries and warding-off motions begin as before, this time toward the east. All this, too, ceases with heavy stamping after about twenty minutes. Then the men drop their clubs, bend their heads low, and utter a howling hū against the earth. At the same time they thrust their outstretched hands

/1377 cont./

X575 downward a few times as though they wanted to press all the spirits into the earth. This concludes their warding off of the spirits, and they return to the Great Hut in no particular order.

They enter singly, first the leader, then one after the other, and finally the uǰwāala. They all stand in the middle in a crowded circle. The wild hit hit...cries, the shrill ǰ ǰ... sounds, and finally the croaking te te...are repeated with a gesture that resembles blind fury, and this is concluded with a stamping on the ground amid the loudest hō hō...cries. As though in fits of frenzy, each man places both flattened hands against his head and, with light pressure, lets them slide down along the sides of his body. Once again he places both hands on his head and makes a loud crack by snapping his tensed fingers. /1378/ Immediately he shakes his head violently in a sideways motion and utters a sustained, shrill ǰ. Finally the men end their contortions with a madly furious brandishing of their arms, for "now the spirits have been driven away." Everyone, completely exhausted, washes off his body painting and rests for a few minutes. A normal conversation does not begin again. Each one looks around for his things, quickly gathers them together, and silently leaves. He goes straight to his dwelling in which he inconspicuously disappears. The Kina hut becomes empty in a few minutes. The leader is the last to leave; he has had the masks destroyed in the fire and every suspicious sign removed, so that nothing is left to reveal to the women and children the deceptive performances of the men.

After that no one visits the Kina hut. From then on it is exposed to the disintegrating influences of natural forces. A day or two after the Makāinkīna most of the families are already preparing to leave, and soon the whole camp breaks up. The return to the daily routine means a release and liberation from the oppressive bonds of the program of the men's festival for all the families. No one says a word about what has gone on during the preceding days and weeks; each family is again content in its familiar occupations and its complete detachment from others. There is not a single sign among these people to indicate that they have just performed and experienced a Kina celebration. Only the uǰwāala have gained something worth mentioning, since

/1378 cont./

X575 they are now full-fledged members of the men's group. From now on they will have free access to every Kina festival, and those details which up to now have remained unexplained or undisclosed will be presented openly before them on the next occasion.

In March, 1922, the Kina was held for the last time among the Yamana. The men who took part crowded it all into a few days, but nevertheless displayed the rich variety of this festival. Although up to that time it was not known in detail among Europeans, it was, thanks to a kind fate, rescued from total oblivion by this final repetition on my third journey.

e. Significance for Culture History

X575 196 The entire Kina arrangement must be briefly characterized with respect to its place in the general social order of the Yamana. On the whole, but also on account of many details, it strikes one as strange; its peculiar significance is unmistakably obvious. This is confirmed by the very word kína, for whose original meaning I did not find a satisfactory explanation. /1379/ In BD:165 it is equated with "flock, troop, herd" /cited in English/, as well as with "wigwam built apart and of logs always for superstitious purposes" /cited in English/, in fact, even with "to burn, flame up, kindle, to be burning up as a fire to catch" /cited in English/. One asks himself, how can the same word at one time mean "herd, troop, flock" and at another time, as a verb, "to burn, flame up..."? Even if one concedes that the fire is always burning in the Great Hut or that the meaning of "wigwam" /cited in English/ could be related to "grouped together" /cited in English/, nevertheless "hut, flock, burn" cannot be the same. A comparison of the other expressions relating to the Kina that are given in BD makes it easy to believe that Bridges consciously put the "superstitious purposes" /cited in English/ into the foreground. This judgment is correct insofar as the many Kina spirits actually do live in the belief and imagination of the Yamana. The Kina does originate in the realm of myth and fantasy, and its origin is told in the so-called myth of the upheaval (p. 1237).

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X575 The narrative of this myth about the origin of the secret ceremony has been handed down as the conviction of the men from one generation to the next. The Yamana attach the same value to the events related in it as they do to the content of any one of their many myths, and they gather together to celebrate the Kina believing that they are obliged to do so. This obligation arises less from the fear that the women might once again reverse the present social order than from their respect for a traditional custom. It is only because the preceding generation now and then gathered in the Great Hut and acquainted the young men as ušwǯala with their secret doings that the present generation does likewise. A serious or even threatening obligation arising from the basic ideas of this deceptive affair has certainly never driven the men into the Kina hut.

The opinion of the women moves along the same line of unequivocal thinking characteristic of the Yamana. One need only ask how they themselves feel about the Kina in general and to what extent they are familiar with its basic ideas. The terse answer is that the women without doubt are more or less definitely informed about the deceptive performance of the men, but that at the same time they cling to their firm faith in the existence and activity of the spirits that are mentioned or that appear. In particular it cannot be determined which of the two opinions predominates in this or that person and whether there is any kind of common evaluation of the many different details, for the women never exchange detailed opinions among themselves. Many of them probably know that the spirits mentioned so often neither enter the Great Hut nor sit among the group of men gathered there, but they never talk about it specifically.

The following story is told among the women. Once a /1380/ woman spoke in a disdainfully mocking way about her husband because, as she said, he was ugly and crippled, his appearance was all wrong, and he had a bad gait. The man's relatives were annoyed at this and finally told the man about his wife's disapproving opinions. He quickly decided on revenge. He proposed to his relatives and friends that they prepare for a Kina, in the course of which he would intimidate and frighten his wife. Sure enough, many men soon assembled for the secret

/1380 cont./

X575 festival. The woman was very crafty, however; she soon noticed that this time the men were plotting against her. She did not hesitate to defend herself. In the dead of night she painted her whole body exactly the way she assumed that the men inside the Great Hut would be painted, and, unnoticed, she crept up on them. The men were sitting crowded around the fire, their heads bent very low in serious meditation. Very softly she slipped in on one side of the entrance, quickly crept along behind all the men and in passing drew a line on the back of each of them, and disappeared again on the other side of the exit. In the camp she told all the women that she had put an identical mark on the back of each man by means of which the women could see that only their husbands were sitting in the Kina hut, not spirits. Sure enough, when the men stepped out, each bore the line drawn on his back. Since then all the women have known the true state of affairs.

It must be admitted that probably all the women actually recognize their own husbands in their roles as individual spirits, but nevertheless their faith in these spirits is unshakable. A European observer can hardly explain how their knowledge and their faith can be reconciled. Since all the women and children are convinced that the men are in communication with the Kina spirits, they naturally acknowledge and obey all the instructions of the men as commands of the spirits. They are decisively guided in this judgment and attitude by the example of former generations, for the living generation regards every general view and custom handed down from the preceding one as immutable law. It is precisely for this reason that no woman would dare alter her conduct in any way during a Kina celebration (313).

> 313. The faith of the Selk'nam women in the Kloketen spirits is deeper and more certain (Vol. I, 901), but for them, too, the duty to conform to traditional rules of behavior is of decisive importance.

X575 756 In judging the basic ideas upon which this men's secret ceremony rests, it is important to keep in mind the active participation of the yékamuř. One of them, as a rule, takes over not only

/1380 cont./

X575 the leadership of the entire Kina, but also, nearly always, the
756 duty of calling each of the spirits out of the Great Hut with the customary arm movement. /1381/ In all the deliberations and decisions of the men the yékamuš have the decisive voice (314).

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314. It is exactly the same in the Kolketen. -- A detailed comparison of the men's festivals among the Selk'nam and the Yamana may be omitted here, since this has already been done by Gusinde (q):291, with the secret ceremony of the Halakwulup also included. At first glance it is striking that among the Selk'nam the actual youth initiation and the characteristic celebration of the men are united in a single affair (Vol. 1, 1083).

They are regarded as closely associated with the spirits. It is only one of them, one who feels an urge to do so, who is permitted to perform the customary dance with one of the spirits outside the Great Hut. Again and again this or that yékamuš will approach a dancer or performer and give him renewed strength and firmness of limbs by means of his peculiar kind of magic massage. Among the Yamana there is no other sizeable group affair whose program, so to speak, is so entirely in the hands of the yékamuš as it is in the Kina.

X575 With all the curious peculiarities of the Kina, it must not be overlooked that candidates are almost always introduced and are subject to strict treatment. The chief purpose is to familiarize them with the origin myth; actual training is only secondary. Only those chaps who have shown serious defects of character or whose behavior leads one to fear bad consequences are subject to strict discipline and personal influence. Out of consideration for the general welfare, the older members of the tribe may not miss any opportunity to protect the individual and the group as a whole from harm and injury. The Kina festival is not required to fulfill the task of educating all the ušwáala.

Finally, if one regards the Kina in connection with the entire social order, it clearly seems to be a foreign body. Even if one is not inclined to attribute historical value to the origin myth, nevertheless the suggestion that the Kina is supposed to

/1381 cont./

X575 have been brought into the present homeland of the Yamana from the northernmost part of the Selk'nam territory demands some consideration. The prevailing form of household management with its division of labor within the family between husband and wife is so fortunate, sensible, and altogether natural that a reversal would obviously endanger the existence of the whole group. Not a single man seriously feels that there is any danger, for instance, of reversion to the original conditions described in the myth; nor would it enter a woman's head to reverse the state of affairs and shake off her truly not very oppressive subordination to the men, as it is vital to the permanence and well-being of the family. The activity of the men during their secret gathering does not even remotely indicate any urgently necessary resistance /1382/ against any kind of threat to their superior position on the part of the women. The women devote themselves to this performance with less seriousness and enthusiasm than do the men, and the attitude of both sexes cannot be compared to that which they display for the čiéxaus, for example. After all, this secret festival is not, as elsewhere, put on by a permanently active men's society, but every chap who has experienced the strict čiéxaus twice is lawfully admitted to it as often as it is held, first in the role of ušwąala, later as a full-fledged participant. For the men, all the restrictions of personal liberty imposed on the woman during the daily program and spirit appearances mean no more than an amusing farce at the women's expense, which they allow themselves after the long interval between one Kina and the next. Any serious hostility is completely foreign to them.

X575 776 Since, as has been said, the yékamuš have a prominent place in the Kina activities, there is no direct reference to the Supreme Being. This omission during such an elaborate affair is all the more striking since there are many even insignificant details in daily life which the Yamana link up with their Watąuinéjwa. Not a single one of the many so-called spirits is mentioned in any way outside this men's celebration; even less do they have any influence on the social life or the behavior of the individual, for they are merely those kéšpix which were in part portrayed by the women in former times or which belonged to the women who were at that time transformed into animals.

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X 575 When the Kina is over, all their social life with its balanced harmony in the distribution of energy goes on as quietly and matter-of-factly as though no one knew anything about this performance, and no one feels that it is necessary to hold it again after a certain time.

There are several factors, therefore, that characterize the Kina as a foreign body in the total culture of the Yamana. It is true that they have made allowances for it now and then in their tribal life, but in such a way that the latter is not affected. The activity of the men in their secret gathering is not seriously meant as obvious hostility against the women, and besides it is at variance with the men's innermost nature. For this reason they justify their action by referring to the origin myth, although they do not remotely believe it possible that the women could rise up against the existing relations of the sexes. There are many indi-
[177] cations that the Yamana have derived their men's celebration from the Selk'nam. W. Schmidt (d):954 has pointed out an important feature of the Kina in a general evaluation of such performances when he says: "Probably nowhere else in the world is the character of this men's celebration as a reaction of the men against the matriarchal superiority of the women so clearly expressed in an absolutely classic way in the myth itself." Space is lacking for further comparisons.

/1383/ F. The Medicine-Man System

X 756 171 From the reports of missionaries and travelers it has long been known that the Yamana are not without persons who function basically in the same manner and for the same ends as the well-known medicine men among the North American Indians. In the Cape Horn region they are called yĕkamuš. Their field of activity is extensive; the individual and the people in general must reckon with the yĕkamuš and are dependent upon them. If one compares the medicine-man system of our Yamana with that of the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 717), he finds many points of agreement. The details need not be compared here. It will simply be pointed out that, by and large, the xon of the

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X756 171 Selk'nam are believed to be far more powerful and more malevolent in their activities than are the full-fledged yékamuš of the Yamana. Whereas the body of thought of the medicine-man system among the Selk'nam is consistently worked out and elaborately developed, there are very often gaps in the train of ideas pertaining to the yékamuš. The Yamana, however, have a well organized medicine-man school which the Selk'nam have not achieved; it is well known that the primary goal of the latter's Pešére is not the training of young members of the calling (Vol. I, 787).

X756 It was often tiring to follow my informants in their involved lines of thought through the realm of yékamuš conceptions. [123] I was substantially helped by the extraordinary advantage of being permitted to attend the so-called lōima-yékamuš, a medicine-man school in the actual sense of the word. The many observations and explanations that I gathered on this subject in the course of my journeys follow in an arrangement for clarity. When I translate the designation yékamuš as "medicine man," I am by no means giving an exact and clear explanation or a definition. I am well aware that hitherto neither ethnology nor particularly ethnopsychology has attempted to draw a sharp line of distinction between the content of the terms: medicine man, sorcerer, witch doctor, magic priest, and shaman. The term "sorcerer" does not include a large part of the purely suggestive influence on ordinary people by the yékamuš, and neither "witch doctor" nor "shaman" indicates that the yékamuš is believed to have considerable influence upon natural forces. "Medicine man" is a term whose varied connotation is familiar from conditions in North America. Terms such as "doctor," "physician," and "healer" are either not very appropriate or wholly unsuitable for our purposes because each implies the conception of an activity directed against a physical ailment or against infirmities of the sick body. In contrast to this the yékamuš exerts his influence on the psychic life of the tribesmen, which is why he deserves far more to be called "physician of souls" (315) or "spiritual adviser." The following

315. An attempt to clarify these terms among the South American Indians according to

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definite principles was undertaken in Gusinde (kk):286. In the many references to the yekamus, the names constantly vary. Compare the source material assembled in Cooper: 159, as well as Bridges (i):18 and Outes (g):54.

account /1384/ justifies the translation of the word yékamuš which has been chosen here. Although for a number of decades the entire culture of the Yamana has yielded to steady, progressive deterioration, the medicine-man system continued to the time when I made my observations without surrendering its essential parts. I was still able to comprehend its characteristics fully. Even middle-aged men who, through much contact with Europeans, sometimes showed perfectly clear signs of something like "emancipation" from traditional views and customs remained firmly and unshakably firm about their conceptions of their yékamuš system.

a. Personality of the Medicine Man

The Yamana ascribe an extraordinary power to their yékamuš, a power which, under certain circumstances, is really used to the harm and detriment of a tribal member. Although the yékamuš work perhaps even more frequently to the advantage of their immediate neighborhood and render great services to many a person, nevertheless the attitude of the individual Fuegian toward the yékamuš is such as is dictated by respect and awe, mistrust and fear (316). More specifically, the people know little about the

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316. The same situation exists among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 718). This is mentioned only in passing, since detailed comparisons would be too long.

medicine men's method of operation or about their connection with the many spirits with whom they co-operate, to say nothing of the manner of their influence on natural forces which they purport to control. This supposition explains the feeling of

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X756 uncertainty that everyone has in dealing with the yĕkamuš and the individual's fear which is sometimes extreme. The yĕkamuš are also said to be wholly different physically from the other members of the tribe, and this belief widens the gulf between them. In daily association the restraint of the people, inspired by their fear of the yĕkamuš, is almost never clearly recognizable, and the latter's activity is usually quite inconspicuous. Nevertheless, no one forgets that the medicine man, as a creature of a strange species, is to be carefully treated and most wisely avoided, because he has forces at his disposal and is equipped with capabilities which are denied the majority of Yamana and against which they are defenseless.

1. His Relation to the People

If one were to count all the natives of both sexes in the Cape Horn Archipelago who work in one way or another as yĕkamuš, either with their whole personality or /1385/ with less ability, even down to the ones who make bungling attempts, he would arrive at a considerable figure. A closer look reveals [887] that many an aged man more or less confidently regards himself as a medicine man (317), but this does not mean that each of

317. Bridges observed that "most of the older men are doctors, but very seldom a young man, unless he is particularly cunning and clever" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 258;1864). Later he (h):209 and (i):18 asserts more definitely: "Men over thirty or forty years of age usually entered the ranks of doctors or exorcists" /translated from Spanish/. Even a third time he (e):332 says briefly: "Almost every older man was a sorcerer." Cf. Hyades (q):256.

them is fully accepted as such by the public and by his neighbors. The call to this office in younger years is an unavoidable condition. In BD:73 one finds the term ūaana, "a man who is not a

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X756 yecamoosh" /cited in English/.

The yékamuš are not united in a group or society; rather, each one is independent and operates by himself. It is a general rule that each family group, that is, the combination of a few related families, has its own yékamuš. In this group, of course, he has a certain superiority. Such a distinction has no legal basis, but exists in fact. In this sense blood ties bind the yékamuš to his group for the time being. He profits by his greater age no less than by his rich experience and the many superior achievements which he has to his credit. His sphere of duty is extensive, and the family group with which he is connected expects all kinds of help from him. If he grants this willingly and successfully, his reputation steadily grows. Finally they all become so generally dependent upon him that he seems like a legally appointed person of authority (318), but it

> 318. Fitz-Roy (a):211 accurately judged this state of affairs: "I never could distinctly ascertain whether the eldest man, or the doctor of a tribe had the most influence; but from what little I could learn, it appeared to me that the elder of a family or tribe had a sort of executive authority, while the doctor gave advice, not only in domestic affairs, but with respect to most transactions" /cited in English/.

would be false to assume that the individual is to any extent hindered in his freedom of movement or in his independent way of life by the yékamuš. It is only occasionally that the medicine man acts in such a way that the tribal member who displeases him must give in or is forced in a direction contrary to his desires. In the main the yékamuš extends a great deal of help to his group and relatives in the exigencies and sorrows of everyday life. He, as well as those around him, sees this as the primary duty of his calling.

X756 754 578 The benevolent influence of the yékamuš is cheerfully admitted, but beyond that he is definitely a cause of great

X756 /1385 cont./
754 disturbances. This is chiefly true of one who is accused of hav-
578 ing caused the death of a beloved person or /1386/ a widespread sickness. For many people a yékamuš may cause almost constant fear and anxiety. They cannot even flee for safety because the yékamuš extend their influence over wide areas. The missionaries often complained about this. Burleigh, for example, wrote on October 29, 1893: "Death has removed from us one poor woman who gave us much trouble at Wollaston with her sorceries, and by causing the death of those she hated, and who went so far as to try her evil designs upon us because I reproved her and some others for their sins" /cited in English/ (MM:XXVIII, 57;1893). The anxiety of a family group may continue for a considerable time if several yékamuš fight each other in their own peculiar way.

X756 In spite of all this, the people place their entire confidence in the yékamuš at times of personal distress and general need. He must help them in case of serious illness, protect them against the threat of malevolent natural forces, lead an expedition of revenge, and defend each individual against all kinds of dangers which are part of everyday life. In general his activity is actually more beneficial and advantageous than harmful and detrimental to the individual and his group. For this reason a capable, helpful yékamuš is loved by his people; they appreciate and respect him, obey him and confide in him. If one yékamuš is more capable than another, there is even serious jealousy among the individual family groups. In general each family follows its guiding yékamuš, entrusts itself to his care, and defends him against others. From all this one can see how closely a yékamuš is associated with his immediate neighborhood.

X756 Although the natives themselves speak of women who act
462 as yékamuš, and many Europeans confirm this, such accounts must be qualified. Usually a woman does no more than accompany her husband in singing now and then, or silently and patiently sits beside him when he gives himself up to deepest concentration. I was often a witness to this. Old Emilia, who was married to middle-aged Manuel, and Sara, the wife of Mašemikens, were pointed out to me as yékamuš (319). Neither

319. Hyades (q):257 also writes: "Mr. Bridges

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adds that he happened to meet an old woman who is yakamouch" /translated from French/.

in former times nor today has a woman operated quite independently in this field or appeared in public with the feather ornament reserved for all full-fledged yékamuś. Some people, however, really believe that a woman whose attitude arouses suspicion is capable and evil enough to cause harm and sickness to come to her opponents, like the medicine men. The people suspect such a woman and call her a yékamuś only if she exerts such influences. She does not go beyond that. Thus her ability is nowhere near as extensive as that of a /1387/ full-fledged medicine man. In general these are isolated cases of aged women who are not well liked and are avoided by their neighbors on account of their unpleasant dispositions and disagreeable character. In view of this it is not strange that they are the very ones who are considered capable of working with secret powers and of maliciously inflicting some kind of harm on other people.

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The Yamana without exception believe in the ability of their medicine men and are convinced of their power. This faith is most clearly demonstrated by everyone's attitude of awe and genuine fear toward the yékamuś, by the trust the individual shows when he approaches the yékamuś with his requests, and finally by the confidence with which the general public expects help from him for major and minor needs. In his extreme helplessness, many a Yamana has only the medicine man as a last resource. It is true that the people recognize greater or lesser ability in their yékamuś and they probably also deprecate the good reputation of one or another of them, making him out to be weak and incapable. Nevertheless everyone fears them, and a person must expect their revenge if they hear of his expressing disdainful opinions of them. Bridges repeatedly begged the Yamana: "Do not believe what your yékamuś say and do, for their deeds and their behavior are crafty deceptions! Do not believe the cunningly calculated nonsense that they use to trick you!" As a matter of fact, he expressed himself so scornfully

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X756 554

about their effectiveness that it was bound to shock everyone, especially the medicine men. After biding their time, two of the insulted yékamuš decided to avenge the slander cast upon their calling, and said: "We shall have our revenge! Perhaps we shall succeed in inflicting real harm on that European (320)!"

320. They are here expressing doubt as to whether their ability can reach beyond their own countrymen and affect a European stranger.

Then each of them hurled a yékuš which supposedly hit Bridges and penetrated deep into his abdomen. From that time on Bridges was ill, and to the end of his life he complained of a severe abdominal ailment. All the Yamana are convinced that his illness was inflicted by those two yékamuš, named Kalasakun and Kalakein; they had met in Lapataia and from there they hurled their yékuš against Bridges who was living in Ushuaia. The people also told me: "The moment the two yékuš entered his belly he felt violent pain; he immediately realized the actual cause and cried: 'Ah, woe is me! I made fun of the yékamuš, that is why they have avenged themselves on me. Now I know that they have great power!' Although Bridges twice traveled far away [to Buenos Aires], he never got rid of that complaint. Those two yékamuš really wanted to make him feel their revenge for the rest of his life." This incident was repeated to me several times, /1388/ in order that I, too, should be convinced of the superior accomplishments and the successful operations of the yékamuš (321).

321. In February, 1878, Bridges (i):18 declared: "The natives, strange as it may seem, had great faith in these doctors' alleged powers and entertained some fear of them" /cited in English/. He himself is convincing counterevidence for the incorrectness of the following assertion: "But this state of things has long

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since passed away, there are no more doctors" /cited in English/. Bove (e): 158 depends altogether on Bridges' words when he declares: "In the Ushuaia Mission the Jakumusch are already so ashamed of their trade that they go out only at night and practice their trade without fanfare, without song and without any kind of noise." The medicine men of the Yamana are as extensively active today as formerly; I need say no more about this.

X756 My informants quite frankly expressed their conviction that the yĕkamuĭ, broadly speaking, were formerly cleverer and more skilled in their arts. Present-day medicine men do not deny such assertions; they admit their inferiority in comparison with their predecessors without getting excited about it and excuse themselves by saying that they personally did not have the services of the really great masters. When I asked the men why they lacked capable yĕkamuĭ at the present time, I received a characteristic answer: "It is because of the abundant and good [nourishing] food that the Europeans eat and that we, too, have now learned to prefer. It makes body and spirit heavy, our dreams are no longer so vivid. In former times the yĕkamuĭ did not take any nourishment until noon and were satisfied with two or three mussels a day when they wanted to heal a sick person or drive out an evil spirit or question their guardian spirits in a dream. They did not know about wine or tea or coffee, whereas now we often drink these things. Those capable yĕkamuĭ of former days were content with a few drops of water; at night they permitted themselves only a short period of rest and took this in a squatting position. The yĕkamuĭ of the present time have abandoned all that."

In order to illustrate the competence of the earlier yĕkamuĭ, Nelly Lawrence told me the following story which she had heard from her aunt Flora. Among Flora's relatives were two yĕkamuĭ who must be regarded as the most capable of all time. Once the people in the west were in great distress, for they were unable to hunt sea lions or gather mussels for a long time because of bad

/1388 cont./

weather. The yikamuf were aware of this emergency. Therefore one of them gave himself up to sleep in order to be active in his dream. The next morning he said to his people: "Travel farther to the west and keep to the southern shore!" Immediately all the families packed up and set out for that place. The next night that yikamuf again had a dream and the next morning he said: "I saw [in the dream] two whales approaching us. They are sisters. Both of them are with young, each of them has an almost mature offspring in its belly. Out on the open sea an allgia [the small whale, /1389/ Pseudorca crassidens] approached them and angrily threatened them. The two sisters pleaded with him: 'Do not kill us! If you should kill us, the little ones in our belly will also die, and you would be bringing death to four living creatures at once!' But the allgia would not be moved and mercilessly killed the two whales. Soon they will come into view and be driven up to this beach." The people were extremely happy about what their yikamuf had told them. Sure enough, on that same evening the flood tide deposited two mighty whales there on the shallow coast. They were females. When their bellies were opened, the people found an offspring in each one. The people could not get over their amazement for a long time. -- When Nelly had concluded this story, she very clearly reaffirmed her own faith in the power of the yikamuf and several times expressed regret that nowadays not a single medicine man is capable of such accomplishments. As this story reports, a yikamuf who bestows such benefits upon his group obviously gains the high esteem and gratitude of everyone.

2. His Physical Nature

The yikamuf do not form an association or a separate social class any more than they live apart from the rest of their fellow-citizens. Nothing differentiates them from the latter in everyday life, neither special behavior nor any outward sign. Each of them, just like any other Tanana, must procure food, his hut and his material possessions in all respects resemble those of his neighbors (322). In a group of other men a medicine man

322. Spegazzini (x).169 is wrong when he

/1289 cont./

> maintain that their huts "differ by having the upper part cone-shaped rather than spherical" /translated from Spanish/. See the general description of the dwellings on p. 9 .

is sometimes incomprehensibly given precedence, and the men willingly follow his decisions. The whole neighborhood expects him to be far more willing to help and more unselfish than other persons.

Whenever the yikamuf is working toward some goal in connection with his sexual calling, he puts on an ornament which he alone is permitted to wear. This outward token is intended to show that the guardian spirit associated with him has taken possession of him and he is now acting with this spirit and may not be disturbed in any way by anything around him. Naturally, everybody who sees that the yikamuf is busy at his calling behaves accordingly (32b). As Dempsey (b:717 briefly states, he

> 32b. What Bridges (b:107 has said in this connection is wholly misleading: "In order to give the appearance of age, they were in the habit of rubbing their heads with ranwaps" /translated from Spanish/, namely, red earth.

wears as a "distinguishing mark: white down on the head, and pipe-clay lines across his face" /cited in English/. The feather ornament, ayawkpa, resembling a diadem, is characteristic. They use the finger-long, pale gray feathers on the underside of the body of the night heron (Nycticorax /1300/ obscurus), arranged close together in three woven strands of thin tendons. The yikamuf ties this ornament around his head like a headband, with the feathers pointing downward. When he removes his ayawkpa, he rolls it up and keeps it in a small leather pouch so that it will not be damaged. He prefers white pigment for painting his face and entire head. It is obviously an exaggeration when Bridges (c:300) reports that the medicine men "made their heads white with chalk every morning." This would differentiate them from all their countrymen, which is not their intention. Instead,

/1300 cont./

it is the rule that they paint themselves only when they are working toward some goal of their calling. Hence they reach for their pigment even in the dead of night if they awaken after special dreams and give themselves up to serious meditation. Most often the yékamuf rube his face and hair with dry powdered lime. In former times he also applied it to the upper part of his body, that is, before he covered it with European clothing. Sometimes he contents himself with drawing a finger-thick white stripe under his nose from one ear lobe to the other. It is rare that he draws this line in red. Sometimes, of course, he forgoes any kind of painting, but even then he can be recognized clearly enough by his xpawéwa. Later on the painting of candidates in the medicine-man school will be described; this, too, shows clearly the preference of the yékamuf for white (304).

304. Earlier reports, for example, by Spegazzini (a):169, which mention another kind of outfit for the medicine man do not correspond to my experiences.

It is difficult to explain how the Yamana imagine the physical constitution of their medicine men. The latter have -- as I learned -- a phantom body which, to the eyes of ordinary Yamana, looks like the body of one of their own people. The skin of the yékamuf, above all, is supposed to be indescribably tender and thin, while the entire periphery of the body is supposed to exceed that of any other human being by far. According to measurements given to me, the diameter of a medicine man exceeds even 100 meters. Nevertheless, he looks like an ordinary Yamana to the eyes of the people around him. In the final analysis, it seems to me that this so-called periphery is best explained as the zone of influence of the yékamuf, for it is said: "the yékamuf knows everything that is present and that goes on within this periphery as definitely as though it were inside his body." This explanation is confirmed by the following. The Yamana also say: "If a yékamuf wounds himself or if his body changes in any way, our eyes are deceived. We see all this in the way in which such things happen to our own body.

/1390 cont./

X-756 but in reality it is not the same in the case of a yĕkamuš." No
826 one is able to give more specific explanations, and many Yamana
/1391/ themselves undoubtedly do not have a clear conception
of what it is that they always affirm in these same words. It
[171] seems to me that a reference to the view of the Selk'nam about
their medicine men is justified (Vol. I, 740). Many details that
they attribute to their xon exactly fit the yĕkamuš of our Yamana,
for example, the extreme sensitiveness of the skin that it is so
easily injured. In the following lines there are a few more supplementary remarks about this strange conception of the Yamana concerning the physical being, or rather the physical make-up, of their yĕkamuš.

3. His Psychic Nature

X-756 In view of the preceding description it is not surprising
that the Yamana are able to say little about the mental side and
the psychic make-up of a medicine man. They do not try to
penetrate this area, which is difficult of access, and content
themselves with what they comprehend with their senses about
the operations of the yĕkamuš. The latter is primarily dependent
upon personal feelings and incomprehensible fantasy images,
which he neither clearly reveals nor describes in plain words.
Thus one can only describe the manner in which the yĕkamuš
operates as it presents itself to careful observation. The Selk'nam
have a lucid body of ideas about their xon and their basic thoughts
about their medicine-man system are well developed. In this
respect the notions of what surrounds and constitutes the personality of the yĕkamuš are far inferior. This difference in scope
as well as in the comprehension of the ideas and conceptions of
the medicine-man system between the two Fuegian tribes is of
decisive weight from a culture-history point of view.

A few basic facts about the manner of operation and the
sphere of action of the yĕkamuš will at least permit a clear
judgment. This is all the more important inasmuch as there is
a widespread view that everything a medicine man does is only
a refined type of deception and minutely calculated swindle.

/1391 cont./

X756 Let it be stated with all firmness that every yĕkamuš is an altogether normal, mentally healthy human being. Persons who are mentally inferior and in an advanced state of senility are not taken seriously even in everyday life; how, therefore, could they attain that pre-eminence which every capable medicine man enjoys? Rather, it can be taken as a general rule that the yĕkamuš is talented above the average, that he is more active and more capable than the men around him. His greater ability and richer mental gifts alone place him above his neighbors; his extensive and more profound knowledge gained from experience give him standing. These natural advantages give a medicine man's activity considerable importance.

X756 Naturally, there is a difference in their ability, depending on the talent and knowledge of the individual. The people 578 /1392/ know and name those few yĕkamuš who have performed 764 impossible things, and they are satisfied with the majority who have not gone beyond mediocrity. In view of the disposition of our Yamana, it is not surprising that the greater ability of one yĕkamuš has caused petty jealousies on the part of another group whose yĕkamuš is not as highly regarded. The one who feels insulted challenges his rival to one of the customary feats of strength. Basically they take place as follows. A yĕkamuš throws an object, for example, a yĕkuš, at his adversary. In case the yĕkamuš who is attacked does not recognize the approaching foreign body or cannot nullify its effect, he is wounded, weakens, and dies. If from the start the attacker does not succeed in hurling the yĕkuš far enough, so that it falls before reaching its goal or is caught by the medicine man who is attacked, then the attacker is regarded as the weaker one and loses the competition. All this takes place in the mental field of vision of the medicine men, which remains inaccessible to the ordinary Yamana. The latter learn only as much as the competing yĕkamuš themselves tell them and only as much as they choose to reveal.

X756 On March 19, 1923, the Yamana told me the following 773 ancient tale. Once upon a time there were two brothers who were capable yĕkamuš. For a long time they lived together peaceably, but one day they had a serious quarrel. All the

/1392 cont./

756 773 people who were together with these brothers in Agā́ia-wā́ja [a coastal strip in Seno Ponsonby] likewise split into two groups, each joining the yékamuš they preferred. Each of these two groups left that place. They both selected a long channel in the west. One group settled on the south shore, the other on the north shore. The hostility between the two brothers and the opposition of the two groups continued; each of the two yékamuš regarded himself as more capable than the other and each group praised the one whom they had joined. Finally the one said (325)

> 325. All this took place in a vision or in a dream state, and each of the two opponents was as well informed about it as though it were happening in everyday life. That is the peculiar way in which the medicine men operate.

to the other there in that long channel: "I shall now prove to you that I am stronger and can do more than you!" Immediately they both prepared themselves [for the test of strength]. One of them left his hut [in his dream], boarded his canoe, and rowed to the middle of the channel. Here he met his brother who had come from the opposite shore. Instantly he began the struggle with him and hurled a pointed yékuš into his heart. Then he returned to shore and proceeded to enter his hut. The other brother had also dreamed that he left his hut, boarded his canoe, and rowed to the middle of the channel. Here he met his brother who had come from the opposite shore. Instantly he began the struggle /1393/ with him and hurled a pointed yékuš into his heart. Then he returned to shore and proceeded to enter his hut. The next morning both of the yékamuš woke up. Each of them felt very weak and weary, each of them said to those around him: "I shall soon die, much blood is flowing from my mouth and my nose. Last night my brother mortally wounded me!" Sure enough, the yékamuš died even before the sun reached the zenith. Immediately his people lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore that a lōima would soon be sung here. At exactly the same time the people on the other shore also lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore

/1393 cont./

X756 773 also lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore that a lōima would soon be sung here. From each of the two shores a canoe carrying messengers set out without delay to bring the news to the opposite shore. The two canoes met in the middle of the channel, and the people of one told the people of the other: "Our yēkamuš has just died, his brother killed him!" Soon all the people knew what had happened and that those two yēkamuš were equally capable.

X756 754 The power of the medicine man also reaches out beyond the boundaries of his own home; it overpowers Europeans, as was shown in the case of Bridges (p. 1304), and the neighboring Selk'nam according to Clara who told the following story in March, 1923. Once several Yamana were camping near Puerto Habertón. Not far from them a number of Selk'nam had erected their hut. When they saw the Yamana there, they stepped out and began making fun of them. The Yamana felt insulted, but did not dare attack the others. Finally a yēkamuš said: "I shall inflict harm upon them!" Without being observed he hurled a yēkuš against the last one of those Selk'nam who were retreating into the hut. The next morning when this man awoke he was blind in one eye. Later, when he started to walk a short distance, he fell over dead. That is how quickly the yēkuš of that medicine man took effect. -- All the people present confirmed this incident and were convinced that it was the plain truth.

X756 [828] Sufficient proof that the yēkamuš themselves believe in their ability has now been cited. They are convinced that their dreams and the things they undertake in the dream state have reality, that their influence on natural forces brings about the desired result. Whenever someone requests help from a friendly yēkamuš, the latter usually begins working at it without delay. If he should not attain the desired goal immediately, he will repeat his efforts a second and a third time. The whole neighborhood gratefully acknowledges each success and the fulfillment of each wish, above all the person who obtained the greatest benefit. Thus it would be utterly unjust and false to call the medicine man a deceiver and swindler (326). After all, he has

326. Bove (g):235 pronounces this unfair judgment without any qualifications. He

/1393 cont./

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(c):131 gives the following as proof: "His ability to hide objects in his mouth is surprising" /translated from Spanish/. Wieghardt:48 repeats this sentence verbatim, and Spegazzini (a):169 voices the same suspicion.

real and obvious /1394/ results in which he personally, as well as those around him, believes. Of course this does not explain how he achieves the desired goal. No one cares about that, but each group is very proud of the superior achievements of its own yékamuš.

b. The Calling of the Medicine Man

X756 776

When a yékamuš acts as such, it is not he personally who works and operates, but one or more of his guardian spirits acts for him to attain the goal he desires. The individual joins these guardian spirits for the first time when he is actually called to this office. A person who has not been won over and advanced by them in his younger years will never become a capable, full-fledged yékamuš. The call is a more or less definite summons for the chosen one by a spirit to devote himself to the work of a yékamuš. The individual and those close to him or a few medicine men decide whether there has been a real call and whether the individual thus chosen must immediately respond to it.

1. Personal Calling

X756

Our Yamana are very susceptible to stirrings and movements in their psychic life. Everything unusual agitates them very much, and they are extraordinarily easily captured by the many so-called spirits in which they believe. From the time they are children they learn about the method of operation of their yékamuš: they can observe it with their own eyes; they hear it talked about by adults; and they receive many explanations about it from the

/1394 cont./

X756 yēkamuš themselves. It is true that ordinary people do not understand the inner relationships in the work of the medicine men, much less their alleged connection with the oft-mentioned spirits, but they do have some notion of all this and that suffices to give them some understanding of the medicine-man system. Every Yamana knows more or less accurately the sphere in which the yēkamuš operate, what means they use, what external conditions are linked with success, and to what extent one yēkamuš differs from another in ability. These specific facts are common property, for the yēkamuš devote themselves to their task quite publicly and before the eyes of their close fellow-tribesmen. In this process, everyone who pays a certain amount of attention easily learns the observable techniques of a medicine man. If he supplements this with the explanations of the yēkamuš, he will finally become acquainted with the latter's entire body of thought. If a Yamana becomes firmly convinced of his own ability, /1395/ time will decide when he will begin to work as a yēkamuš. This brief sketch outlines the process of development of those persons who on their own initiative and later in life begin practicing the trade of medicine man within modest limits.

X756 787 Such individuals, however, do not have a calling in the strict sense of the word, and without this no one becomes a full-fledged yēkamuš. First of all I believe that one can speak of an indirect or intermediary calling. This expression has a threefold meaning. If the relatives of a young man or yēkamuš who are friends of his have discovered a talent in him for this office and if they feel that he is qualified to make contact easily with the čōwánni spirits by quickly putting himself into the dream state, then the people who have observed this tell the man of their conviction and advise him to become a medicine man. It can also happen that some yēkamuš is requested by spirits in a dream to introduce to his art a man they designate, so that he may later practice it. This yēkamuš assiduously trains the man designated, for he wants to show the spirits that he is obliging and he takes great pleasure in giving a pupil his start. Finally one must add here all those persons who on their own initiative devote themselves to the duties of yēkamuš. They do this because they have become personally convinced that they are capable of the same accomplishments that they have observed in full-fledged yēkamuš.

/1395 cont./

X756 787 One can least of all speak of a calling with regard to this last class of yékamuš, to which a few women also belong. The two groups first mentioned have a somewhat higher standing. Under no circumstances need a person expect any kind of harm or fear revenge from the spirits if he decides not to adopt the vocation of yékamuš despite the above-mentioned requests, for these are regarded merely as invitations and are not compulsory. It is true that if certain spirits seriously want a man for this service, they call him with unequivocal positiveness. Similarly, no one needs to answer a summons expressed through other influences or indefinite impressions. This was explained to me in March, 1923, by Crees on the basis of a personal experience. "Years ago I once passed through a dense forest alone. Suddenly I heard very beautiful singing, like the voice of a bird. I had never heard anything like it. I started to go in the direction of the voice. When I was quite near, the singing sounded even more beautiful, but I saw no one. Then I threw a spear in the direction of that voice. I did not see anyone, but the singing suddenly ceased. Shortly after that I felt very weak and unwell; I dragged myself along with effort and reached my hut. The yékamuš in the neighborhood immediately realized that something special must have happened to me, and they advised me to become a yékamuš. But I had no desire to do this and so the men did not urge me further. A year after that I had a dream. I saw an old man who seriously /1396/ warned me: 'Never become a yékamuš! On the day that you perform as one you will die!' I do not know who that old man was; I have heeded his warning." A person who takes on the tasks of a medicine man under such circumstances always plays a subordinate role.

In contrast to this there is the uncommon or direct, or immediate call, with which there is decided compulsion. It can come about in various ways. For instance, a young man will be walking through the forest looking for a small tree trunk for his harpoon shaft. He roams about for a long time, much longer than usual, looks hither and yon, but no sapling seems just right. He does not recognize himself in this behavior, he is surprised at himself, it is almost as though he were changed and under a spell. Suddenly he stands before a little tree that he likes extraordinarily

/1396 cont./

X756 787

well and exactly suits him. He immediately applies his ax, but it is only after many a heavy blow that he reaches the center. Instantly a considerable amount of water gushes out. He is startled and recognizes this sign. Without hesitation he turns his back on the little tree and hastens back to his hut. He briefly asks his wife and children not to touch him, talk to him, or disturb him, but to remain perfectly quiet. He lies down and is immediately fast asleep. Then he again sees his kēšpiš standing in front of that little tree in the forest, out of which abundant water is still flowing. Numerous other kēšpiš are standing about, some of whom he knows, but not most of them. He discovers some friendly yēkamuš among them. One or another of the yēkamuš points to the dreamer's own kēšpiš in the group and acts very friendly and well-meaning toward him. Gradually all the spirits sit down at that beautiful spot. Then they offer fine presents to the kēšpiš of the dreamer and give him things to eat and drink, for everything is there in great abundance. The kēšpiš of the dreamer is happy among them, everything is magnificent and quite in accord with his wishes, every detail is to his liking. The kēšpiš talk together for a long time; they discuss all kinds of things and enjoy themselves. Suddenly all the spirits get up, and each one hastily bids farewell to the kēšpiš of the dreamer. Soon the man wakes up and finds himself alone again in his hut. In an anxious voice he calls together his neighbors. They recognize his condition of spiritloss and the yēkamuš who are present begin the čōwánni song. The heart of this man is filled with sorrow, and he longs and yearns for those friendly spirits in whose company he but recently felt indescribably happy. Soon the čōwánni song brings back those friendly spirits, he again finds himself in their company and is quite happy. When the people stop their singing, the spirits go away again and the man finds himself back in everyday life. He has calmed down, for now he knows that the /1397/ spirits have accepted him in their society. The very next night he dreams again. His kēšpiš hastens back to that little tree in the woods, from which water is still gushing. That happy company also arrives there without delay and greets him warmly as a friend and associate. One or another of the spirits is particularly friendly, offers to help this kēšpiš, and tells him frankly that he must become a yēkamuš. The next morning this man wakes up. All his

/1397 cont./

X756 neighbors can see that he is feeling well; the memory of that
781 company of spirits is still alive in him. Without talking about it he gathers up his things, leaves his family, and sets out to go to that experienced yékamuš whose spirit he saw the night before. He stays with him for some time and is taught by him.

There is another call that comes in a similar manner. If
X756 someone is walking dreamily through the forest, lost in thought
776 and unconscious of himself, so to speak, he may suddenly see a
781 large number of spirits in front of him. These are people of small stature but like human beings with respect to the shape of their bodies. Soon the man collapses and is overcome by a deep sleep. In his dream he now sees those little people much more distictly. He realizes that many spirits are sitting there around a fire, warming themselves and softly talking among themselves. They wave to the kēšpiš of the dreamer in friendly fashion, and one of them seems particularly favorably disposed. They all invite him to sit down with them beside the fire; he does so and feels content among them. After some time the man wakes up, and it is only with some effort that he rubs the sleep out of his eyes. The dream is very vivid to him and that kēšpiš who was particularly favorably disposed toward him becomes his guardian spirit. The latter will give him his song and that makes him a yékamuš. The type of spirit referred to is called hésteka-yékamuš. They like to stay in old tree trunks. They sometimes move the trunks in such a way that they bend extremely low, turn around, and shake and tremble violently. These hésteka-yékamuš live in old decayed tree trunks.

The direct call can also come from actual čōwánni spirits. A man will be roaming along the shore alone, as though sunk in a world of dreams, without definite thoughts. Suddenly he finds himself in a visionary state, known as asikāku; before him swarms a vast number of herring, whales, swordfish, vultures, cormorants, petrels, and other animals. They all speak flatteringly to him, are very gracious, and show great devotion to him; they act like the most friendly human beings. The man is completely out of his mind and does not know what is happening to him. His whole body is numb, and he sinks down and lies there motionless. His késpiš is communing with those čōwánni spirits and feels an

/1397 cont./

756 extraordinary happiness. Suddenly the spirits take their leave
787 and disappear. Awakening from his deep dreams, the man
776 staggers home. He hardly knows what is going on around him. He lies down on his bed /1398/ and sinks back into his dream. Again the swarm of animals appears to him; they are all friendly to him and entice his kéšpiɣ. Soon the latter follows them far out to the high seas. One of the spirits is concerned about this kéšpiɣ and treats it with extravagant kindness; he will become the special guardian spirit of this man. All the other spirits are also at the man's disposal as friends and helpers. The immediate neighbors of this man, particularly the yékamuš, realize from his behavior what is going on. He is left alone and everybody waits patiently until he has shaken off his deep dream.

Sometimes a person is also called by Haučéllakīpa, the most powerful spirit in the lōima-yékamuš. The man chosen sinks into a deep dream quite suddenly. Haučéllakīpa appears to his kéšpiɣ in the form of a huge whale which is considerably larger than any representative of this species. The kéšpiɣ understands what this vision means; he can no longer escape and must become a yékamuš. The old masters are told by their own guardian spirits about every asikáku call. A person on whom such a vision is conferred loses complete control over himself for a few days; he does not eat or drink and stays away from everyone. He spends the time dreaming and his kéšpiɣ often returns to the group of spirits where he feels more and more at home. Soon one of those spirits puts himself at the disposal of this kéšpiɣ as his yefáčel and personal guardian spirit with overwhelming friendliness. The yefáčel finally gives this kéšpiɣ his song, and then the owner of the kéšpiɣ is a yékamuš. When, lost in the dream, he himself begins singing this song aloud, everyone around him knows what has happened to him. Every man who has received such a direct call goes to an experienced medicine man for a few months to be taught by him. When he returns to his family group, he puts himself at their disposal.

One can become a full-fledged yékamuš only by way of an asikáku. In one of the subsequent "visions" a special guardian spirit introduces himself to the dreaming person and remains attached to him from then on as his personal helper. He will not

/1398 cont./

X756 787 776 release him; hence the person must operate as a yĕkamuš. If he refuses, the yefáčel, more accurately known as yefáčel-xĕǫla or aõna-xĕǫla, soon takes severe revenge by letting the person die. Sometimes an alert yĕkamuš can prevent this grave outcome. Nelly Lawrence told me about her call; she did not obey it and on that account ran the risk of extreme mortal danger: "Once I was walking through the forest with my little daughter. Suddenly a strange, loud pãx sound came from a tree trunk. I looked back and saw in that decayed trunk a cunning aõna-xĕǫla waving to me in a very friendly way. I did not take it for an asikãku, but for an ordinary kĕspiť. I dragged myself along as though I were in a coma; I was seized by an uncanny fear, /1399/ and irresistible exhaustion made me drop on my bed. I dreamed, and once again that aõna-xĕǫla was standing before me. It smiled at me in a very friendly way and showered me with all kinds of gifts, with skins and little baskets, ornamental chains and yĕkuš; it even gave me a special song. After I awoke sluggishly that song kept running through my head for a long time. I was weak and sick for several days; I felt lifeless and deprived of energy. A yĕkamuš kĩpa addressed me: 'How weak you are now! Just a short time ago I saw you vigorous and healthy!' I did not tell her anything definite, but offered her a cup of tea. She took the cup and recoiled: 'Why do you offer me this disgusting animal?' I was taken aback and said: 'But I offered you a cup of tea!' The woman answered excitedly: 'No, that is a disgusting animal!' That aõna-xĕǫla had not released me since my dream; it followed my every step. Gradually I became convinced that I must practice as a yĕkamuš, for that is what this spirit was trying to make me do. But I could not decide to do it. That yĕkamuškĩpa was enlightened by her spirit as she held the cup of tea in her hands, and immediately she realized what had happened to me. 'You must become a yĕkamuš!' she said to me. This is what she saw: that aõna-xĕǫla had put a fur cloak around me and it was fastened around my neck with a leather thong. It was this cloak that was weighing me down so that I often fell to the ground! Full of anxiety for me, that woman hastened back to her hut. She soon went to sleep. In her dream she saw how that fur cloak was constricting my throat more and more so that in a few days I would have choked. Early in the morning she began

X756 /1399 cont./
787 her song, full of anxiety. She called me to come there and
776 asked: 'Did you have an asikāku there in the woods and since then do you have the feeling that someone is choking you so that you sometimes fall down because you can't breathe?' I said: 'Yes, that's the way it is!' Then I had to get down on the ground in front of her. With both hands she grasped the fur cloak and the many gifts that had been showered on me by the aōna-xēola. She energetically threw all of them aside until I was finally rid of them. She also took the song and the asikāku away from me. Not until then did I feel relieved, and since then I have had no further difficulty. To this day I am grateful for the help of that yēkamuškīpa; she saved me from imminent death." The complete designation for a person who, through a vision, has received his calling to practice as a yēkamuš is, accordingly asikāku-yēkamuš.

2. The Medicine-Man School

X756 Although it is true that the yēkamuš of the Yamana are not joined together in a society, nevertheless everyone who is active in this domain is quite generally known. Occasionally yēkamuš who are on friendly terms with each other even join forces to effect a cure in common. An aged master, /1400/ of course, sees to it that a young man of his family is trained for this service, for a large family group is, after all, dependent on the activity of a yēkamuš and could not forgo it completely without harming itself. If, at a certain time, several yēkamuš feel the necessity of preparing this or that young candidate for their calling, they instigate a lōima-yēkamuš. The goal of a meeting thus designated is clearly implied in the term. It is, in other words, an actual school for prospective medicine men.

As though by chance I learned that the yēkamuš now and then meet in a special hut for the purpose of winning over younger successors to their calling (327). On my fourth journey I directed

327. At that time I knew nothing about the Pešere of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 786), which, in part, serves the same ends as the medicine-man school of the Yamana.

/1400 cont./

X756 my efforts toward witnessing this noteworthy arrangement (Gusinde [n]:968). At first my Fuegian friends would not hear of this plan. They felt unsure of themselves because about 25 years had passed since the last occasion of this kind, which took place under the leadership of Ašikansis in Šowatōyawaia (Punta Pantalón on Navarino Island) and because the yēkamuš of the present time regard themselves as weak and less capable than their predecessors. Nevertheless, I was accorded the rare privilege of becoming acquainted with this observance, which is very significant in some respects, through personal participation (p. 190 /untranslated/). Since then it has not been repeated and thus it was really the last lōima-yēkamuš in the actual and strict sense.

a. Preparation

In case this or that group of medicine men firmly intends to initiate a lōima-yēkamuš soon, they come to an agreement in ordinary conversation as to the place where they wish to gather. They have no special requirements for the location, but it must be suitable for a sojourn of several families for some time. The conditions which must be met are like those required for the čiēxaus or kīna. Above all it must be a place where they need not fear major disturbances of any kind.

X756 As soon as several families have settled down in the place agreed upon, the erection of the special hut begins without delay.
34b The hut is called lōima tarnēkēx, sometimes more definitely lōima tārna ēkēx. It resembles the one for the kīna celebration; in other words, it is a spacious hut in the usual cone shape. The base is circular or lengthened to an oval shape, depending on whether it is erected for a few or many participants. The individual small trunks of this construction /1401/ are planted a few centimeters in the ground for greater stability and are placed close together. This framework is covered on the outside with pieces of leather. If not enough of them should be available, thick beech foliage is used as a covering. The maximum interior height is about three and a half meters. The interior is decorated with a white line the width of a hand, which runs all

/1401 cont./

X756 the way around about a meter above the ground. In some ex-
346 ceptional cases, the interior up to about two meters from the ground may be painted uniformly white. The fire is kept burning constantly in the center of the hut, and a narrow passage is left free around it. Between it and the wall there is enough space for the participants to sit or lie down. This whole area is covered with a layer, eight centimeters thick, of branches with dense foliage from the evergreen beech (Nothofagus betuloides). On top of this is a layer of short, stiff pampas grass, mēčašuka (Calamagrostis), which is also used in the kīna hut for the same purpose. Firewood is piled up outside the hut, furnished by younger men who take part as spectators or visitors, that is, who are neither yēkamuš themselves nor intend to become such. In the seating arrangement the leader of this affair has the place to the left of the entrance; farther inside the yēkamuš and candidates alternate in such a way that one to three of the latter sit between two yēkamuš. Naturally the Great Hut is so situated that its broad entrance opens to the east and does not face the camp with its family dwellings.

X756 As has already been indicated, a very influential older medicine man fills the office of leader. He is called lōjmatučnuwa. He is usually responsible for the decisive stimulus that has instigated the affair; he makes the initial preparations and gathers together a few friendly colleagues to discuss the details of the program. He automatically becomes the leader, without being definitely or formally chosen, and everyone submits to his leadership without opposition. Only a man of superior knowledge and rich experience is considered for this post; he is held in high esteem by everyone because of his great ability and his incomparable achievements. This leader then gives detailed instructions to the participants, following the traditional program with which he must be familiar. Above all he sees to it that no disturbance or distraction of any kind interferes.

In accordance with the purpose of this occasion, a number of yēkamuš, of course, arrive as participants, for this is properly their own undertaking and they, obviously, are primarily concerned. They hasten to it from the surrounding vicinity, and sometimes a yēkamuš will come from a great distance in case he has some friendly connection with this gathering and wishes to

/1401 cont./

X756 display his superior achievements before it. The apprentices admitted young men who, on their own initiative, wish to devote themselves to the office of yékamuš, /1402/ who show talent and aptitude for it, and who are introduced by their relatives. Many a chap is under pressure if a yékamuš has been told in a dream that he has been directly called to this office by the spirits. Thus the lōima-yékamuš is a gathering of these chosen ones. Naturally persons who perform no services and simply want to satisfy their curiosity would not be permitted to remain. In the case of the so-called uśwāaléxamuš (derived from uśwāala yékamuš), they must have an earnest desire to learn the skills of the yékamuš in order to practice them themselves later on. Many a father brings his grown son, hoping that in this school he will feel the desire to become a yékamuš, but no one is put under serious pressure by relatives or friends.

The wife of a medicine man may come for a few hours every day. During this time she accompanies him in the customary songs, just as she often does outside of the Great Hut. At night she goes back to the camp. Her husband may not accom-
[834] pany her; during the entire affair, which lasts a few months, they cannot sleep together or have sexual intercourse. A few middle-aged men are requested by authoritative yékamuš to remain throughout or for a certain period in the lōima house. They are entrusted with the necessary work and services so that the yékamuš and all the apprentices may be left to themselves undisturbed and not be in the least distracted by manual work. These men who are the helpers, tend the hut fire, provide food, no matter how meager this may be, and are very alert to prevent any kind of disturbance of the lōima tarnékēr. The leader alone directs these helpers, although they may also assist the other participants in these ways. More than 15 persons at least assemble for a lōima-yékamuš. Besides that, a number of men are admitted on some evenings with the consent of the leader. They wish to convince themselves of the progress of the candidates and at intervals follow the proceedings with their own eyes. These visitors must be absolutely quiet; they may neither talk nor make a disturbance in any way. They sit motionless near the entrance and inconspicuously watch what goes on before them.

/1402 cont./

X756 Finally, one or two women who have been active as yékamuł to a limited extent come as participants to receive further instruction, so to speak, in the lóima-yékamuł. At the beginning the leader must assure them that they may participate. From the behavior of the three women who entered the lóima house for the first time on March 19, 1923, I realized the respect and timidity that every person feels toward it. It is regarded as a particularly feared place. At first these women remained in their dwellings for two to three hours in earnest concentration; then they stepped out and turned toward the lóima house. Each woman kept /1402/ her head bowed low and her eyes more closed than open. With actual trepidation she placed one foot in front of the other as slowly as though she were feeling the earth. She glided forward about 150 centimeters and then back about 80. She stood still for a few minutes, then started moving again. From time to time she raised her head timidly and, full of fear, turned her eyes toward the lóima house. Faint-hearted and trembling, she quickly looked away again as though she had seen something dreadful. It took this woman all of an hour and a quarter until she finally reached the entrance of the lóima hut. Here she was obliged to wait a few minutes; the leader addressed her from inside and bade her enter. Frightened, she came in very slowly and sat down at the place pointed out to her. Everyone who approaches the lóima house feels that he is being delivered up, without any defense, to the power of many spirits who will severely punish even slight disrespect. Trembling and completely intimidated, of course the ułwałaléxamuł also set out for the assembly hut. Among other women who have no particular desire to take up the vocation of yékamuł, curiosity does not conquer the fear of the spirits; they very definitely avoid the Great Hut. Several times I was told in all seriousness: "Anyone who approaches without deep respect and serious concentration incurs severe punishment from the spirits!"

Our Yamana regard the quiet winter months which are conducive to self-reflection as the most favorable time for a lóima-yékamuł. In any case the general desire for travel has abated then, and every family prefers to stay in the same place

/1403 cont./

X15b as long as possible. The outward peace which prevails in nature has a favorable effect on the psychic state of the yĕkamuĭ; they consciously take this into consideration. This affair continues for several months. Sometimes it is prolonged if, according to the opinion of the masters, the apprentices' progress is slow. It is strange, in view of the restless disposition of our Yamana, that the medicine men are able to remain in one place for several months in pursuit of their goal, although day after day they are forced to maintain a uniform attitude and strict control of their mental powers.

β. The Procedure

All fully qualified participants, the really active yĕkamuĭ and the apprentices, must remain in the lōima house uninterruptedly. They may not even leave it in order to work for any length of time in the family hut or to sleep there. All distractions cease during the entire period; the daily program itself serves to maintain serious concentration. The participants remain in their places all the time. Toward four o'clock, when it begins to grow dark, the general singing starts. It continues
[805] without pause "until the two Yoālox have crossed their highest point on the heavens" /1404/ that is, until two or three o'clock. It is not until then that everyone may go to sleep. As soon as the dawn appears, everyone shakes off sleep and collects his thoughts, motionless, until after the sun has crossed the zenith. Then, on certain days, a few chores begin for the ulwāgalĕxamuĭ, which they perform silently. The purpose of these chores is to give them the physical exercise that nature requires, although they need sleep even more. They put the hut fire and their sleeping places in order or gather firewood in the forest and pile it up in front of the Great Hut; some of them, led by women, go down to the shore and look for mussels. About three hours are permitted for these occupations. After that everyone sits down in his place and, without moving, gives himself up to meditation. This program continues day after day without change, always with the greatest composure and strict silence.

/1404 cont./

X756 Our Yamana, as a matter of principle, forgo eating their
264 fill on some occasions, which are well known. They content
785 themselves with as little nourishment as possible in the ítima
house. On this occasion the mussel is regarded as the most suitable food for insuring that the old people and the apprentices will reach their goal. They all eat but once a day, soon after getting up. The uwʃalékamuĭ are given three mussels at the most; all the other participants impose the same restriction upon themselves, and sometimes a person takes nothing all day. In individual cases the pupil is permitted to eat a fish instead of a mussel, but he may eat only the tail end; he destroys the front end, along with the head, in the fire. A little tumʃrapu powder (328) is sprinkled on each bite that the apprentice eats.

> 328. No one could tell me the reason for these strange rules.

All the food is cooked in the Great Hut itself, and the remnants are immediately destroyed in the fire. If the pupil is making obvious progress, the three mussels a day are cut down first to two, later even to one for the duration of the affair. This is done so that he will steadily and quickly perfect himself. He is given water which he sucks in limited quantities through the well-known ʃmbalim, a thin hollow bone (p. 909) made out of a large Mytilus shell, which is handed to him by a yékamuĭ. Every participant knows, and the apprentices are repeatedly told by the leader, that the less food and drink a person has, the more promptly his dreams will come to him, the more vivid his intercourse will be with the spirits, and the more capable the older yékamuĭ will be for his accomplishments. If a uwʃalékamuĭ should give in to the pangs of hunger and secretly eat something, for instance, when he is gathering wood in the forest, then it is said that the yeĭčel tell the yékamuĭ of this infraction. Thereupon one of them will call the chap to account: "We know that you have secretly eaten outside this ítima hut!" /1405/ Punishment does not follow, however, for the boy is sufficiently intimidated and accepts the rebuke without contradiction. He has learned his lesson forever.

X756 Body painting is prescribed for the actual participants, the
302 yékamuĭ and the uwʃalékamuĭ. All of them are completely naked

/1401 cont./

X756 302 during the entire time that they remain in the hut. To paint themselves, each one scrapes lime powder from a lump of lime or clay with his incisors and mixes it with saliva by chewing it. He spits this on the palm of his hand and rubs it over his whole body. Before the mixture dries another man helps him complete the design. This man puts his fingertips where together and with his nails scratches vertical grooves into the pigment from the forehead to the ankles, that is, down the whole length of the body. These grooves later give the impression of dark lines that have been drawn in the pigment. Some men do not bother to use more than one finger to scratch in several grooves. On some days the leader also reaches for *lini* powder, a signal that all the participants are likewise to paint themselves red and to put the many lines on this background. Some of the men merely rub the white or red powder into the hair; most of them smear a good deal of the sticky *tumpfen* on their heads. Everyone ties the *ayawiya* around his forehead, the feather ornament reserved exclusively for the *yikamaf*, not the strip of skin with down feathers known as *kayarfi* (p. 7/5). Everyone renews this body painting every day, usually in the afternoon when they all do it at once. The persons who are in the hut as helpers or spectators and all the women *yikamaf* must paint their faces and the upper part of their bodies white. They must also draw a finger-thick red line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. No one may remain in the *lipma* house without being painted.

X756 785 516 Each actual participant is assigned a definite seat at the very beginning of the celebration. The seats are divided off on either side by a short stick. Everyone stretches his legs out in front of him; his upright torso is pressed so close to the hut framework that the back of his head touches it. Behind their necks they place a short, thick piece of soft, fungus-like wood known as *halakkina*, as though it were a pillow. The men press it against the hut wall and thus it remains in position. Everyone must remain seated, still and motionless. His arms fall loosely on either side of his body. In the long run this position is a great strain and becomes indescribable agony. A person is permitted, however, to draw his feet up to his rump in a squatting position; in exceptional cases he may also sit for a

/1408 cont./
time with his legs crossed under him, at the same time holding his arms crossed over his chest. The impression that the circle of motionless, pelisse white figures made upon me was indescribably strange.

It has been mentioned several times that very little sleep is permitted for the gentlemen, and is taken during the four or five /1409/ hours before daybreak. As ancient custom recommends, the qualified yihamuf sleep in the sitting position described above. Some of them draw their legs up slightly and slide back a little so that the bent back touches the hut wall while the neck still holds up the piece of wood. A person who can no longer do this may lie on one side and stretch his legs a bit, but he absolutely must have the piece of wood under his neck. The yehfel live in the old town from which the [illegible] wood is taken; thus, the person who keeps the piece of wood behind his neck retains his yehfel-state even during sleep. The posture indicated induces many lively dreams during sleep. The sensitivity and irritability of the nerves are increased to the limit by the fact that, after the strain of the uncomfortable sitting position, even sleep at night is considerably curtailed; this is the goal sought by this means and by the limited diet and prolonged silence.

According to Tarzana belief, a full-fledged yihamuf merely seems to have the same type of body as the ordinary human being (p. 1308). The transformation of the body begins here in the [illegible]-yihamuf for those [illegible]yihamuf who have experienced a real call. First the entire face is affected. After the medicine-man school has continued for a few days each apprentice, according to instructions given by experienced yihamuf, begins the following process which he may not interrupt. He takes a ball of fine wood shavings from the lemon-yellow wood of [illegible] (it is known as [illegible]), dips it into the white [illegible] powder and rubs his cheeks with it. For about half an hour his hand moves slowly with scarcely perceptible pressure; then he stops for the same length of time and begins anew. Each apprentice carries on these exercises by himself; he does it for a shorter or longer time, but he must continue the process all day long. Its purpose is to make a new, softer, more delicate skin appear in place of his actual skin. When, after continuous

/1406 cont./

156 87

painting and rubbing, the new skin finally becomes visible in about three weeks, the old masters interpret it as a sign that the ulwalékamuf in question really has a call for their vocation, and they show their joy in mutual mental visions. Now the apprentice must rub the cheek region with renewed diligence until, after another three or more weeks, this second delicate skin also disappears, and a third, still finer and more sensitive, appears. This skin is so soft and sensitive that it cannot be touched without causing penetrating pain. The ulwalékamuf who is the first among all the apprentices to develop this third, extremely fine skin arouses the greatest hopes and is regarded as the most successful pupil. As soon as this third, extremely sensitive skin is formed among the rest of the apprentices, the elders conclude the ólyma-yékamuf. Naturally, the experienced teachers recognize this alteration of the skin in /1407/ their mental visions and inform each other in brief words which are understandable to all the pupils. This is not a case of mechanically destroying the real skin of the face; rather, by a process of auto-suggestion, the ulwalékamuf believe in the alleged changes which the old teachers audibly discuss. They also say that this extraordinary sensitivity of the facial skin gradually disappears, but that the skin remains very delicate. In connection with the alteration in the skin of the face, the rest of the skin and the entire body are transformed into that phantom body which all yékamuf are supposed to have.

156 89

In the course of the ólyma-yékamuf the old masters repeatedly perform two kinds of movements for which they show great preference. They pass both cupped hands over the hot fire and capture, so to speak, a handful of warmth which they pour out, as it were, over the head of an apprentice. They do this at least three times in succession. They also catch warmth from the hot fire in only one cupped hand, with the arm outstretched, and move it along in such a way that their cupped hand rests on the mouth of an apprentice; they fairly pour warmth into him. It is said that these two movements remove a sort of impenetrable wall of fog from the eyes of the ulwalékamuf; from now on he can see the spirits without interference and nothing can hinder his singing.

/1407 cont./

X756 It is well known that the yékamuš carry out their works in
781 a dream, as it is commonly said, which means a vivid imagina-
828 tion or auto-suggestion, a lively weaving of fantasies. It is maintained that the yékamuš loses his own personality and that it is replaced by his spirit, namely, the kēšpix or yefáčel-xéola that belongs to him. The latter carries out what the yékamuš is trying to do or wishes. The yékamuš is most closely united with his yefáčel "in the dream." Therefore, it is of decisive importance for him to be able to put himself quickly and effortlessly into the dream state. Every apprentice is supposed to acquire this art above all in the lóima-yékamuš. He observes the experienced masters present, who, after singing briefly, succeed in being completely absent mentally while sitting there; they have lost their own personalities. Either they slump over and remain motionless, as though sleeping, or they move the upper part of the body gently back and forth, singing softly, their heavy and half-closed eyes glazed and fixed on one point. The ušwāaléxamuš imitates all this; the old people watch him, but give no definite instructions. He himself does not say whether his power of imagination has increased and his fantasies are more vivid. It is not until later that ordinary people discover his skill, after the ušwāaléxamuš has begun to practice independently.

X756 Every yékamuš has the power of invoking his own guardian
781 spirit and any other spirit with his singing. During the asikáku the
S33 yefáčel-xéola gives the man his /1408/ song. When the chosen one has adopted this song and made it his own, he has the key which gives him admission to the realm of the spirits, for the personal guardian spirit, above all, listens to this song and sooner or later puts himself at the disposal of his protégé. The Yamana now maintain that it is not really the yékamuš who sings, but his yefáčel. In other words, the yékamuš starts the song given him by the yefáčel, but in a short time the yefáčel takes it over and carries it on for a long time. Finally the yefáčel withdraws from the dream image of his yékamuš and the latter wakes up. These songs are very simple melodies on a single tone or melodies with an added interval of a third or fourth at the beginning or the end. The syllables hāiyang hāiyang hō are repeated to these melodies, or hōh yō yō, or finally hainím wagán harán and similar variations.

/1408 cont./

X756 787 533 A uśwałéxamuš has been familiar with these melodies from his youth. Here in the lōima-yékamuš he takes up a definite melody and continues it while his imagination is vividly at work. He is animated by the belief that he received this melody from his yefáčel-xéola. This explains its suggestive power over the ego whenever a yékamuš repeats it. Here in the lōima-yékamuš the candidate must learn how to put himself into the dream state after briefly singing, for it is in the realm of dreams that the spirits are at his disposal. Singing is not permitted outside the lōima hut, for this would lure the yefáčel out. Nevertheless, if a yefáčel should follow an apprentice who has gone into the forest and is gathering wood, and should move him to sing, then the apprentice must take up the song and his companions must accompany him softly. The practiced yékamuš are regularly stimulated to sing in their dream, and after they wake up they naturally continue singing as long as the stimulation lasts, that is, as long as their yefáčel is with them, in exceptional cases even beyond the noon hour.

X756 787 In the medicine-man school the apprentices are almost completely dependent upon their own observations and practice; they observe every little thing the old masters do, copy it as best they can, and make it their own. There is no detailed instruction in the lōima-yékamuš. Auto-suggestion makes every candidate aware of the extent to which his wishes have become reality. The old masters, for their part, know through their visions what the apprentice has attained and what may still be expected of him. They do not discuss this in so many words, but communicate among themselves in that dream realm in which they carry on all their activity.

In the above description only the apprentices in the lōima house have been considered. Many details about the conduct of the old masters could be given, but it may suffice to give a few basic characteristics. Although I have just said that everything the yékamuš see and do takes place in their visions, it is nevertheless true /1409/ that in the late evening hours they tell many things about their hallucinations in plain words and with very lively performances. Above all they describe the appearance of their own yefáčel, his behavior in the lōima house, and his leave-taking.

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X756 They also describe their own kespix in the realm of the spirits and his being with them. All this takes place in the following manner. During the common singing one man will suddenly make his voice louder and louder, his whole body starts to tremble, his eyes are fixed on one point, and he moves toward it as he slides a bit closer to the hut fire. Suddenly he cries -- I repeat Mašemikens' words: "My yefáčel is already quite close!" He gets up, goes all around the fire, with the upper part of his body bent far over. He touches one man and then another and asks: "Who are you?" Each one answers: "Karendáulum mútu, I am a native of this region!" After Mašemikens has sat down in his place, he continues: "I see my yefáčel and other yefáčel going to Anjawája; they are gathering a few yefáčel there. They are preparing all kinds of things! Be on your guard and watch everything they are going to do!" After some brief singing and wailing, Mašemikens says: "Everybody has to paint himself again!" He reaches for čílēr[1] and tumarápu and rubs his cheeks with them. Meanwhile several yékamus stretch their cupped hands toward the warmth rising from the hut fire; they scoop it up, so to speak, and pour it over their bodies. Then Mašemikens, trembling all over, cries: "My yefáčel is here already, he is just stepping into this lójma house!" At the same time he slides toward the hut fire, for the yefáčel love warmth. Mašemikens cries: "My yefáčel is now with me! Are you all courageous and strong enough to sing along out loud? Many yefáčel are crowding into our lójma-hut!" Now loud wailing and a terrified yelling begin, present trembles with agitation, as though he were out of his mind, everyone lifts his eyes and stares absently into the distance. Into this commotion Thomas yells: "I am singing with all my might! My yefáčel is already here, too, and is listening to my song!" Whaits says loudly: "I cannot understand what the yefáčel are saying to one another. There are many of them here in the lójma house. We must all sing lustily!" Suddenly Emilia, like one demented, beats about with both arms. Mašemikens explains this in the following words: "Emilia has just caught hold of a yefáčel and pushed it into the fire. But it quickly escaped!" The singing continues excitedly. Mašemikens cries: "I see, the yefáčel are very angry! They are throwing stones at us with their

/1409 cont./

X156 slings because Emilia pushed a yefǎčel into the fire. Emilia did
181 this because that yefǎčel would not sing along with us." Soon afterward Emilia takes Santiago's hand and rubs the palm of his hand with hers, saying: I have caught the yěkuš that the yefǎčel hurled with his sling; it now belongs to you [Santiago], I'm giving it to you!" While everyone present goes on singing, she adds: "I have great power over Haučella. My first /1410/ husband was a capable yěkamuš; I learned a lot from him!" After a time the song becomes somewhat weaker, and Emilia cries anxiously: "Everybody here seems to be very discouraged! They are no longer making an effort and act as though they were dead. Please help me sing, my yefǎčel loves singing. It came from a great distance, from šęgetęx-tulēna [on the Wollaston Islands]. Are all the ušwāaléxamuš present?" There is a "Yes" from many voices. Emilia continues, her eyes still staring into the distance: "I see other yefǎčel there on Cape Horn. Some of them are constantly slipping on the smooth ice. But others are coming with lightning speed. They are already standing here. I must sit down in front of them!" A bit later Emilia squats in front of me, she excitedly draws her open hands over my body from the top of my head to my knees; then she presses her hands hard against my chest, and finally says, straight into my face: "Herewith I give you your own yefǎčel. It comes from the extreme south where there is all that ice. From now on it belongs to you!" Thomas cries loudly: "This yefǎčel is behaving in a very friendly way!" Loud singing follows and continues for ten minutes. Finally Maěmikens announces: "Now all the yefǎčel are leaving. Mine is sad because it must leave me, but the other yefǎčel demand it. They are already out on the high seas!" Quickly silence again falls on the lǒjma hut; only one person continues singing in a weak voice.

Similar performances go on evening after evening, and everyone present takes part. Words and gestures are expressions of the confused fantasies of each speaker, who is free to clothe his feelings in words. Now and then the yěkamuš also engage in their well-known feats of strength, namely, a contest held in the visions of usually two opponents. The rest of the yěkamuš carefully follow this struggle and let the people present know

/1410 cont./

X156 what they observe. The results of such tests of strength are, of
781 course, disappointment and displeasure among those whose yékamuš has been defeated, joy and satisfaction among those whose yékamuš has won. The old masters enjoy this very much, for the lōima-yékamuš gives them their best opportunity to prove their ability in front of others. Such feats of strength are relieved by loud singing and the interspersed cries of those present. At a sign from the leader, song and cries suddenly break off. Immediately everyone bends far forward and presses his hands flat against the ground, as though pressing it down. This is meant to hold back the many spirits here in the hut or in the immediate vicinity. Afterwards everyone again assumes the rigid posture and remains silently in his place. If someone leaves the lōima hut, the others seize his kēspix to hold it back so that it will continue to accompany all of them in their singing.

X156 The Haučéllakīpa have been mentioned several times.
781 These spirits are regarded as the rulers of the lōima-yékamuš.
776 There are many Haučélla, both male /1411/ and female, and they constitute an evil band. Each yékamuš has his Haučéllakīpa, just as he has his own yefāčel. When they say that Haučéllakīpa is the mistress and female ruler of the lōima-yékamuš, they mean that spirits of this type often make themselves felt inside the hut, carry on disputes among themselves with great fury, and let all the men feel their deep resentment. They arrive in the Great Hut every day; several Haučélla will even join together and threaten the circle of men with death. In their visions the yékamuš observe all the details, hence the constant fear and alertness of the yékamuš with respect to the Haučélla. Although each of them is at the service of her own yékamuš in everyday life, nevertheless here in the Great Hut she sometimes behaves like a violent foe. No one here is safe from her; she gives vent to her fury and keeps all the men in a state of panic. This is what the people mean when they refer to Haučéllakīpa as the ruler of the lōima-yékamuš. The greatest agitation and most threatening attitude of these spirits are shown when they force everyone present to repeat rapidly hēte, hēte, hēteteteēte in marked rhythm and on the same pitch. It is called the song of Haučéllakīpa. While it is going on, the men get up to offer

X 756 /1411 cont./
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[776]
resistance; they struggle with these spirits and either subdue them or are overcome by their superior power.

One evening, during the customary singing, Emilia was excited beyond all bounds. She cries: "A Haučéllakīpa has overcome Mašemikens! I shall kill her without delay!" Mašemikens has to squat in front of her on the ground. She sings and with her index finger scratches a line on the ground all around him. Then she yells loudly, clenches her fists, beats them against the ground, wails dreadfully, gnashes her teeth, places her mouth against the ground, and bites it furiously. While the other people apprehensively continue singing, Emilia sits up and makes a few quick motions with her outstretched hand as though she were cutting up some large object on the ground and were distributing the pieces in every direction. She heaps sand over that spot on the ground. Then she repeatedly throws her arms around Mašemikens and holds him tight, embracing him from the shoulders to his knees as though she were obliged to hold him together. Meanwhile she wails loudly. The whole performance means that Emilia has killed the Haučéllakīpa and thus freed Mašemikens. Now the jealousy of Mašemikens' wife comes out, for she cries: "For some time I have noticed that my husband was under the spell of that woman!" Emilia interrupts her: "One can show no mercy toward a Haučéllakīpa! One must quickly murder her, she is always most dangerous! A man to whom Haučéllakīpa attaches herself will not live long; he would soon be destroyed by her!" Angrily she beats her fists in the air and cries: "Now I see that my yefčel is perturbed because I murdered that Haučéllakīpa; /1412/ it is returning in order to release its blazing anger on us all. I shall tell it frankly that I, alone, was the murderess; then it will leave you unharmed!" As she continues singing, she makes motions as though she were hurling stones with a sling against that spirit. Finally she cries, happily excited: "I see that my yefčel is retreating once more!" At these words Mašemikens breathes a sigh of relief and confesses: "For a long time I have been completely discouraged, I was quite weak, I felt very oppressed. Now I am free again!" Thereupon the entire circle of participants calms down. Scenes such as these are repeated almost daily. Sometimes the men join forces and

/1412 cont./
756 advance on Haučélla (p. 1334). The women in the camp are
787 seized with fear whenever they hear the howling of the men, indicating that the latter are again obliged to struggle with Haučélla.

γ. The Conclusion

From the preceding description one can easily see the goal of the lōima-yékamuš, namely, maximum development of the power of imagination and auto-suggestion, stimulation and cultivation of the dream-fantasy, and increased ability to fuse external phenomena and everyday occurrences with individual fantasies. A yékamuš, by means of his singing, must be able to put himself quickly into the dream state in order to feel that the dream images and fantasies are living personalities; he must associate with them and deal with them, offer resistance to them, and give them orders as though they were human beings. It cannot be definitely determined to what extent an ušwāaléxamuš succeeds in this accomplishment; in all these things he is left to his own imagination. Whatever the old masters say on the subject is not regarded as a judgment that must be taken into account. They decide on special treatment only in the case of a candidate who is very slow in his progress. Mašemikens experienced this himself and described it to me. A capable yékamuš will make the unsuccessful apprentice stand up in front of him and will say to him: "I shall try to strangle you!" He seizes a stout leather strap, puts it around the boy's neck, and says: "Now watch out!" The yékamuš chokes the apprentice as hard as he can, until the boy falls over. Repeatedly he shouts at him: "Remember, this lōima house is a place for Haučélla!" Soon the apprentice sees many Haučélla sitting around the fire warming themselves. Then the apprentice's kešpix approaches these spirits, but he begins to feel uneasy in their company, and full of fear, he withdraws. Now the yékamuš removes the leather strap from the neck of the apprentice. After that the latter has no difficulty in quickly transporting himself to the realm of the kešpix; Mašemikens assured me of this from his own experience. Naturally, a yékamuš

/1412 cont./

X756 787 does not literally strangle the apprentice; rather, this act, too, takes place in a visionary state, and the yékamuš merely describes it in words that can be understood.

With the lōima-yékamuš the old masters strive to train a number of candidates /1413/ to make them sufficiently skilled in their calling. Hence the length of the training cannot be determined beforehand. Most of the yékamuš, though not all, remain together until they have achieved the desired results, that is to say, for the entire winter, perhaps even for five months. The daily monotony wears down the ušwáaléxamuš and puts their nerves in a state of extreme irritability. On such soil there is a luxuriant growth of those fantasies and hallucinations which are sought by auto-suggestion and striven for by the immediate circle. After the lōima-yékamuš is over, each apprentice attaches himself to the man who was his particular guardian during the affair. He takes further instruction from him alone, until he can independently begin to practice the art of the medicine man. The rest of the yékamuš also continue to observe each one who was trained in the lōima hut and follow his activities. They exchange opinions about whether or not unusual achievements may be expected of him.

When the goal of the old masters has been achieved, they discuss the conclusion of the affair with the leader. They soon agree, the visitors are notified, and everyone renews his body painting with particular care. The formal farewell from the lōima house consists of a čōwánni song, by means of which the spirits of the many different kinds of coastal and deep-sea animals are invoked. Thus on the last evening the people present intensify their singing at the given hour, put themselves into a state of spiritual excitement, and first of all invoke the kēšpix of those yékamuš who have died in that particular region, calling them into the lōima house. After a brief period of singing every participant thinks he feels their presence, and from then on the singing goes on, but faintly. Meanwhile everyone thinks about the čōwánni spirits. After a while the singing grows louder and stronger. At the same time everyone makes running movements along the ground with the fingers of both hands. These are supposed to show that his kēšpix is walking down to the beach with

/1413 cont./

756 787 the penguins, as far as the water line. From this point his kēšpiš begins a flight far out to sea in order to fetch the čōwánni spirits from the distance. This is immediately followed by arm movements which look as though the cupped hands were constantly shoveling water from below upwards, which means that the kēšpiš of the ílēščí (herring) are rising out of the depths of the sea and assembling. They are joined by the kēšpiš of whales and seals, marine and beach birds. Mašemikens cries: "Foam is appearing on the waves, it constantly increases! Soon the čōwánni spirits will turn toward our lōima hut!" Immediately Emilia clears the ground a bit in front of the entrance, "so that the canoes of the kēšpiš can easily glide in." As she does so, she calls: "Those čōwánni spirits have a great many vessels!" Now she gazes outside in a particular direction and moves her arms vigorously, "so that those spirits will quickly come." The singing of all the participants becomes more excited. Emilia cries enthusiastically: "The čōwánni spirits are quite close!" She stares at the ground in front of her /1414/ and cries joyfully: "All the canoes are now here where I am sitting! There are a great many. We must be alert or one of the canoes will hasten off with our kēšpiš!" Immediately Black sprinkles ími upon the many vessels, that is, on the spot in front of Emilia, because he, too, sees the many canoes in his mind. Emilia behaves most excitedly. She stares at the ground as though she were looking for something and declares: "These kēšpiš are bringing a lot of paddles, the men have a great many harpoons. I shall now distribute a few of these things!" She gesticulates as though she were taking hold of paddles or harpoons and rubs the hands of all the women and men, thereby handing these things over to them. Then all the women begin making rowing motions and all the men gesticulate as though they were hurling harpoons. In between there are shrill cries of hi hi hi...All this is done to please the kēšpiš who are present. Mašemikens repeatedly interrupts with cries of "Be on guard!" The singing grows fainter. Emilia looks around the circle as though mentally absent and says in a croaking voice, as though she were short of breath: "My own kēšpiš is now sitting in a canoe of the čōwánni spirits. I know many of them!" Once more the singing becomes animated, with all the people taking

/1414 cont./

Y756 787 part with full force; it is always the monotonous melody on the same pitch, without unison. It is only after some time that the voices grow weaker, and Emilia says loudly: "Now I shall send all the canoes back again!" While the faint singing goes on, all the people present get up and keep thrusting their arms forward parallel to each other, their hands stretched out and upright. These movements are accompanied by loud cries of kēkétz, which are supposed to push the čōwánni spirits out of the lōima house and far away. Then they vigorously stamp the ground with both feet in order to make the Haučélla spirits climb far down into the interior of the earth. Finally the song dies down. One person or another is still looking into the distance with tired eyes, as though he were following the departure of the čōwánni spirits.

With the agitated čōwánni song, which lasts about an hour, the people present have taken final leave of the spirits which appeared in the lōima hut. Each one gathers up his things and leaves the hut without any formality. The daily monotony in the family hut now starts again for everyone. The large lōima hut is abandoned to its fate. Soon the families are scattered in all directions.

Y756 773 Not only the lōima-yēkamuš, but the entire medicine-man system has been in the possession of the Yamana for a long time. They do not know anything definite about its origin; there is no myth that tells about it. Old Thomas gave me the opinion of authoritative persons: "The yēkamuš arrangement is very old. A long time ago the people who were the first to migrate into our region with the kīna also brought along the yēkamuš arrangement. They invented it, just as they invented the kīna. Then when the general upheaval occurred in Yāiaaišga /1415/ and the kīna was taken away from the women by the men, the great yēkamuš of that time changed themselves into stars and animals, Lēm and Akīnix, Alōula (Pseudorca crassidens), Yo'okalia (Milvago chimango), and many another capable yēkamuš. The few men [yēkamuš] and women who did not perish in that upheaval became the teachers of all the subsequent yēkamuš. There were some of these at all times." This reference to the origin of the yēkamuš system in the north points also to its connection with the kīna; this has been stressed in Gusinde (n):972. This explains the

/1415 cont./

X756 773 designation ǒna-xéola which is the equivalent of yefǎčel-xéola. The lǒima-yékamuš is not linked up in any way with Watauinčiwa. I asked point-blank: "What is the attitude of Watauinčiwa when the yékamuš gather in the lǒima house?" My informants replied unanimously and without hesitation: "He simply looks on and lets them do as they please!" A lǒima-yékamuš gives the experienced masters great satisfaction, especially if they win over a few young men to their calling.

c. Activities of the Medicine Man

X756 781 533 Whenever a yékamuš wishes to act as such, he must put himself into a state of auto-suggestion. The people say he acts "in a dream." Now it may be that in his sleep an ordinary dream image excites him very much and awakens him. He continues to occupy himself, in a semi-conscious state, with the image thus received. In order not to lose it, he sings his monotonous melody while holding the upper part of his body bent forward and gently rocking back and forth. Briefly, what has happened is that his own yefǎčel or another spirit has made contact with the yékamuš; this contact continues for as long as he goes on singing, during which time there is an exchange of messages. More often the desire for contact with his yefǎčel comes from the yékamuš himself. In order to bring forth the yefǎčel, the yékamuš sits down on his pallet, fights off all distraction, fixes his thoughts upon his guardian spirit, and sings his own melody uninterruptedly while gently rocking the upper part of his body (329). After a

329. Bridges (e):332 and (k):237 reported: They "began singing many and long magic songs, if the senseless and monotonous noise and constant rocking back and forth of the body can be called such...": "Through spells, fasting, and rocking the body, they were able to induce a state of overexcitement and, when in this condition, claimed to possess extraordinary powers" /translated from Spanish/.

/1415 cont./

X756 time the singing suddenly becomes more lively. That is the
787 moment at which the yefáčel itself takes over the melody and
533 carries it on. At this point the medicine man's personal effectiveness is eliminated, and thereafter the yefáčel takes over. It recognizes the aims and intentions that the yékamuš is striving for and, for its part, makes an effort to /1416/ realize them. The yékamuš is aware of everything that the yefáčel does; he assesses the attitude and actions of the yefáčel and consults with it. When it leaves him, the singing stops and the yékamuš awakens from the absorption of his dream state.

With these brief words I have described the basic features of the co-operation between the yékamuš and his yefáčel or other spirits. No matter what the yekamuš plans and strives for, the force that carries it out is his yefáčel or another spirit. The people express this co-operation by saying: "The kěšpiš of the yékamuš gives way to the yefáčel; the latter acts by itself as long as the singing lasts." Thus the yekamuš who is trying to accomplish something starts on his own initiative to attract his yefáčel by singing. Sometimes it does not come although the yekamuš has been exerting himself for more than an hour by singing. Confronted with this lack of success, he stops singing and frankly tells the people around him: "Today my yefáčel has forsaken me!" Sometimes he makes a second attempt.

1. His Efforts for Fellow-Tribesmen

X756 Even if he starts singing in the middle of the night, the
302 medicine man never omits his simple outer trappings. They consist of the apáwēra which he ties around his forehead (p.1307) and a simple facial painting. For the latter he rubs his face and head with dry white powder or he draws a single finger-thick white or red line from one ear lobe to the other. He always carries these things within reach and his wife sees to it that he has pigments.

X756 From earlier communications and reports one can clearly infer that the activities incumbent on the yékamuš are varied. Despard (b):717 declared: "His business is to allay the storm;

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X756 and as he must lead in funeral ceremonies, his qualifications must be to weep whenever he desires. His practice is to outshout, if possible, the roaring of the wind, and to stay the pitiless pelting of the storm by pelting mussel shells into it" /cited in English/. Bridges writes: "Doctors are believed to have great power in their dreams, even to eat persons, that is, to kill them" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 259;1864); he (h):209 and (a):213 also says: "They are said to possess supernatural powers to bring about good or bad weather, to cure the sick, etc." /translated from Spanish/. According to Burleigh, "the yékamuš practice a kind of witchcraft and profess to be able to see into the future and foretell events" /cited in English/ (MM:XXIII, 245;1889). This is really true.

Because of these multiple duties of the yékamuš they specialize, so to speak, each one generally devoting himself to a special area in which he achieves a certain mastery. Thus some yékamuš /1417/ are very well informed about the heavens and the sun, moon, and stars; others about clouds and the weather, rain and snow, frost and ice; still others about air currents, namely, winds and storms and the movement of the water, especially waves and eddies; other yékamuš are reliably informed about everything that moves in the forest, chiefly the habits of the guanacos and foxes, rats and owls; still others carefully observe the habits of whales, seals, and schools of fish in the water and flocks of birds along the coasts; finally, certain yékamuš are outstandingly capable in combating illness. Thus a Yamana who is in any kind of distress turns to a friend who is a "specialist" and requests from him counsel and enlightenment, help and support.

X756 787 Again it must be emphasized that every medicine man performs only "in the dream," that is to say, in a mental vision. He sings continually, as though lost in dreams, and whatever he sees in this awake visionary state has reality for him. He names and describes in audible words the details of his actions and those of his spirits, and on the basis of this the people around him follow his activity. Nothing that he shows or describes, grasps or gives away during his singing is actually present as such; the other people cannot perceive it with their senses or feel it with their hands. Only the yékamuš in his dream state deals with all the different things he mentions, yékuš and sling, weapons and tools, késpix of

/1417 cont./

X756 787 human beings and animals, yefáčel, and Haučella as though everything were absolute reality. The people around him to whom he gives more or less explicit reports believe them and regard them as true. For example, if he cries, "I have caught this yékuš, hurled by a hostile yékamuš, with my right hand and and I am placing it on the ground in front of me," this means that the yékamuš performed this act in his vision, whether or not he moved his arms. All the people who hear his words accept them with the same credulity as that shown by a European who listens to his neighbor's report about his dream images. Our Yamana, however, regard everything that happens "in the dream" of their yékamuš as an actual event and believe in its direct effect or in the success proclaimed.

a. Healing the Sick

X756 753 755 The field in which the medicine men are most active and in which their help is demanded by their countrymen is that of healing the sick. In order to evaluate this correctly it must be kept in mind that the yékamuš does not combat actual physical suffering. If an ailment has appeared, it is quite possible that a hostile yékamus, an enemy of the person afflicted, has sent it, and the medicine man recognizes this situation "in the dream" or through a message of his yefáčel. /1418/ If this is truly the case -- the origin of such an ailment might be identified as magical -- then a stronger yékamus must release the afflicted person from it by neutralizing the sorcery of the hostile yékamuš. For example, if a person has stumbled and fallen or has an upset stomach, he applies a tested remedy which he himself knows or which a member of his family advises. Beyond that, however, in order to be on the safe side, he does not fail to go to a friendly yékamuš to be treated by him in his magical way. /Fig. 98 appears here./ An ordinary human being cannot tell whether his ailment derives solely from natural causes or whether a malevolent medicine man has a hand in it. Most ailments, especially those unfavorably affecting mental activity, are intentionally caused by a vengeful yékamuš in order to make the person ill or even to make him die.

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The medicine man proceeds as follows. By means of his singing he puts himself "in the dream." Now he sees the kĕspiĭ of the other person; he seizes a yĕkuĭ and hurls it against the person, who is wounded in a more or less dangerous spot, just as the yĕkamuĭ intended. He immediately recognizes the effect of his yĕkuĭ, although the person who was hit becomes aware of what has happened to him only after some time. The malevolent yĕkamuĭ is pleased over his success, especially if he has performed this act at the special request of a fellow-tribesman. Sooner or later the other person feels sharp pains; perhaps he will have feelings of fear or, without any reason, will be filled with alarm. Since he cannot find any external reason and cannot explain his condition as due to obvious causes, he will reveal it to a friendly yĕkamuĭ. The latter puts himself in the dream state, discovers and observes how the kĕspiĭ of the person was treated, finds the impaled yĕkuĭ, pulls it out, examines it carefully, and recognizes in it the person who hurled it. Simply because he is strong enough, that is, stronger than the first yĕkamuĭ, he succeeds in freeing the wounded person of the yĕkuĭ and making him well. Otherwise, he is powerless to help and the person must die if the yĕkuĭ has not been removed in time in one way or another (330). Soon after he has awakened, no matter

Fig. 98. Yekuĭ. Two-thirds natural size.

330. This interpretation was indicated earlier, but in each case inaccurately, by Alvarez:147, Bridges (i):18, Cojazzi:106, Dabbene (b):192, and others. In one instance Bridges says more definitely: "Yecoosh, they suppose, is driven into their bodies by some ill-disposed doctor or

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other. This Yecoosh, which can only be seen by a doctor, and can only be held by him, the doctors pretend to suck out of the body of the sick person, who afterwards is supposed to recover his health quickly" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 258;1864).

how /1419/ his effort has turned out, he notifies the person of his condition and also identifies the yékamuŕ who wounded him. Moreover, he soon thereafter turns to that yékamuŕ, "in the dream" naturally, reproaches him for his destructive act, and rebukes him thoroughly: "Know that I am stronger than you! Beware of harming any of my relatives or friends! Look at this yékuŕ which you hurled against X [he gives the name] and of which I relieved him!" The other yékamuŕ realizes that he is exposed and does not contradict him. Sometimes the successful yékamuŕ shows the people around him the yékuŕ that he took out of the wounded person. Everyone who sees it -- naturally, only in their imagination, as presented by the yékamuŕ -- is amazed at its size and the ability of the medicine man. The people's admiration increases if the yékamuŕ has brought relief to a friend who was in great danger from a hostile yékamuŕ without being aware of his condition. Many medicine men spend considerable time in the broad realm of imagination and fantasy, and they are obviously the cause of all kinds of provocations by individuals or whole groups against one another.

[S78]

Usually the yékamuŕ applies his cure directly to the sick person. He has rubbed his own body with white pigment and tied his apawŕ's around his forehead. He sometimes also puts two or three of them around his torso. This external wrapping lends special solemnity to his activity. The sick person is lying on his pallet, and the yékamuŕ squats beside him. Usually members of the sick person's family are present. The medicine man begins his song, and in his awake vision he points with his finger to the part of the body where the yékuŕ is lodged. First he presses and massages the spot with his hands; then he puts his mouth to it and sucks as though he were drawing the yékuŕ up to the surface. Finally, at the moment of greatest agitation, while his whole body

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is trembling in a frightening manner, he gives a tremendous jerk and lifts up the extracted yĕkuš in his convulsively clenched fists. In another instance he will bend the upper part of his body far forward, press hard against his belly, and make strenuous vomiting motions, meaning that he is trying to get rid of the yĕkuš which he has sucked into his own body from the sick person (331). When

331. Bridges (i):18 describes the activity of the medicine men as follows: "They oftentimes handle the sick very roughly when in this wrought-up state, excited through much chanting and violent controtions they exorcised the pain and its cause from the body of the sufferer, pretending to do this by the hands and suction and to swallow the malady and its cause, which was supposed to be an arrow or spear pointed flint called yecoosh, of which the doctors always professed to have a supply in their stomachs" /cited in English/.

the yĕkuš or the stone or harpoon point /1420/ has been extracted in one way or another, the yĕkamuš shows it to the people present, as it lies on the palm of his hand. Then he brings his outstretched hand with the palm upward toward his mouth and with a short, vigorous puff blows the yĕkuš far away so that it is lost. After singing briefly the yĕkamuš gradually awakes and regains full consciousness. Everyone thanks him for his efforts. The person who has been treated also gets up and feels some kind of relief (332). We would interpret this sort of phenomenon as the

332. The writings on the treatment of the sick, for example by Bridges (k):237, Bove (e):158, and others, must be corrected on the basis of the above description.

effect of auto-suggestion.

In the case of superficial injuries or if someone has merely lost his footing, in the case of a slight mental indisposition or after unpleasant dreams, the Yamana goes to the yĕkamuš with

/1420 cont./

X756 755 whom he is on familiar terms. He immediately treats the petitioner with what I may call his "magical massage." Thereupon the latter departs in a state of relief. The yékamuf gently rubs the painful spot with the palms of both hands, or he massages the joints, or, in the case of an eye disease, he passes his open hands in circular motions in front of the face several times. After that he rubs both hands together, holds the palms upward, and with a vigorous puff that sounds like a shrill ft, he blows the "evil" far away. He makes the same movements over a person who has inadvertently stepped on a "harmful spot" (p. 1390) or over certain foods in order to render them harmless to eat (p.505).

X756 753 755 The common people, as well as the medicine men, make a very definite and clear distinction between an evil and disease caused by a yékamuf and one that is caused by Wataginéwa. Every yékamuf can make certain of this "in his dream" or by asking his yeffel, and he notifies the people around him. If a sufferer wretchedly groans ɛ̄, ɛ̄, it is obvious that Hayčélla has caused the evil and is crying out from the sick person. If, however, an illness is very violent from the start and develops so rapidly that the victim is soon at death's door, the people recognize this as the work of Wataginéwa. In each case, in order to reassure the people and above all, the sick person, the yékamuf will try his method of healing. He knows just as well as those around him that the malady has been inflicted on the person by Wataginéwa himself as a punishment and that it is areal illness which only he can take away, that the cause is neither a buried yékuf nor a Hayčélliakipa. Well aware that only Wataginéwa

X756 755 can help, the yékamuf tries his best and at the same time begs in the name of the sick person: "May the-one-up-there give you back your health!" If the medicine man realizes his helplessness in the case of /1421/ a certain disease, he, too, turns directly to that higher power which has caused the serious illness. Indeed, even more. Before the yékamuf begin his treatment in the case of a particularly serious illness, he prays to Wataginéwa and says: "Heal this man! But if you will not let him get well because you are justifiably angry with him, take the illness away from him for my sake! At least be kind to me, for it is very important to me to make this man well. Be good to me and give me enough strength

/1421 cont./

to make him well! Give the sick man courage and give him back his health, for my sake!" Obviously the yikamuf is sincere when he addresses these words and other ancient prayer formulas to Wanyinkiwa so that the sick person will be quickly cured. The yikamuf, however, is also impelled by ambition, since he wants to prove his ability to the people by any means, he even calls on Wanyinkiwa for help and relies on his favorable relations with him. If a few members of the same family have died in quick succession, it may happen that a friendly yikamuf will say to the survivors: "That yikamuf [he designates him by name] has caused these deaths!" It is a universal belief that only Wanyinkiwa can cause a person to die. In the case just mentioned the people will complain to Wanyinkiwa, they will accuse him of being in collusion with that yikamuf and of acting with him. They will say, for instance: "Hinkiyin, why did you join that yikamuf and, with him, kill our relatives?" This is a cry from a heart tormented by grief and is similar to the well-known cries of mourning (p. 889).

B. General Animism

The individual Tonsna, as well as the independent family groups, will turn to a friendly yikamuf in all kinds of daily distress. Although I often heard, "Hinkiyin causes bad weather, Hinkiyin sends the heavy snow and the bad storm!" nevertheless the Tonsna also attribute to their yikamuf a definite influence on the weather (933). Who would not like to have calm, clear,

> 933. Bridges (b.18 and (b).227 assumed in his day that the medicine men "had power to procure good weather and drive away bad" /cited in English/.

and warm weather down there in the Cape Horn Archipelago? In winter the families like to crowd their dwellings together so that a few yikamuf are together for a longer period. If on occasion heavy snowstorms continue and the people become sad, the yikamuf will promise them: "Be quiet and remain brave, tomorrow [or the

/1451 cont./

day after tomorrow] favorable weather will set in!" The children, above all, become quiet, and the old people are full of expectation. Sure enough, on the day announced the snowmen at least shrink and perhaps there is even a cloudless sky. /1452/ Once on a rainy day I also heard: "Tomorrow *ushpu* [the constellation Orion, p. 1278 /unreviewed/] will appear!" On another winter's day a *ulkamuf* assured the people: "Tomorrow we shall see *Yakiny-chenuyin* again and that will usher in good weather!" Sure enough, each time the prognostication was fulfilled. The question is whether these *ulkamuf* were guided by knowledge derived from experience and careful observation? I cannot decide. In any case, the people ascribe the change of weather to the superior knowledge and ability of the *ulkamuf*. As is known, a number of medicine men gather together in the *Ulamo-ulkamuf*. Since they jointly exert their influence on the forces of nature, the people say that favorable weather prevails for the duration of that affair.

When there are persistent snows, the people are hindered in their freedom of movement and sometimes suffer great privation. Then the *ulkamuf* must save them by furnishing food. He lies down to sleep, starts his *Ilwdani* song, and thus invokes the *Ilwdani* spirits. The latter have whole swarms of hunting with them and these, of course, are accompanied by many other species of animals. They soon cover the beach near the people as dawns. In the same way the *Ilwdani* spirits drive many round crabs (*Lithodes aequispina*, Fig. 10 /in unreviewed portion/) up on the beach or cause many birds to light on nearby snows. The *ulkamuf* also was another helper. In his dream he calls an *ahlula* to him and describes to it the threatening situation of his family group. Thus prevailed upon, the *ahlula* returns to its region, and from there on the next day it lands a whale with its accompanying animals to the stricken group (p. 1260 /unreviewed/). As soon as the people see the many animals, they rejoice and thank their *ulkamuf* for this rescue. He finally releases the helpful spirits with his *Ilwdani* song, and they once more retire far out on the high seas. If the men plan a joint hunting expedition the following day, the *ulkamuf* assembles the day before and sent the *Ilwdani* song. This is supposed to assure them the help of these spirits on the following day and at the same time guarantee the

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L156 789 825 banners woven. While they sing, they stare into the distance, stretch out both arms, open their hands and clutch the air, draw their closed hands back to their bodies, open them, press them against the chest and, with gentle pressure, down to their knees. As they do so they repeat a skrill ư several times. With these movements they wish to invoke the hêfûif of the game animals, attract them, and gain power over them. The next day the men set out full of confidence.

L156 787 The Yamana believe that their medicine men can see into the future and that they have infallible prescience. The yêkamuf themselves are especially convinced of this and give advance warnings to individuals. They also may admonish their whole group to be careful or may announce the prospect of a favorable event. On March 28, 1932, I was standing with several people when Mâmmîbem said very distinctly: "Outside I see a long /1423/ canoe approaching with ngwîîwa [Phalacrocorax olivaceus]!" Sure enough, the following day the people sighted unusually dense flocks of these birds which seldom cross a channel in such numbers. On another occasion Emilia stared out at the ocean like a seeress and cried: "The sea is getting white, mountains of waves are forming and a great deal of foam is gathering!" Her words sounded strange to us, since the surface of the water was entirely smooth. The next morning, however, bad weather came up from the east, causing high waves, and we remembered that Emilia had announced this change at noon of the preceding day. A few people said in wonder: "How remarkable it is that our yêkamuf know so many things in advance!"

L156 755 If the population in general is struck by illness, either because they have eaten spoiled meat or, more recently, because of an epidemic brought by Europeans -- something that the yêkamuf occasionally foresee in a dream -- the medicine men feel obliged to help immediately. They are told in a dream at what place all the people must assemble. They announce the place and without delay call the people together to a makîpkîna. First, a big fire is kindled. All the adults and children stand around it. As soon as this circle begins to move, everybody raises his fists, wails in hollow sounds, and interjects frequent loud cries of tg tg. Finally they seize glowing sticks of wood and toss them high in the

/1423 cont./

Y 756 755 air. They believe that Watauinēiwa-sef sent the affliction (p. 910); therefore, the wrath of all of them is directed against him. After that they repeatedly strike at the fire with their hands with fingers outstretched, as though they were pushing the "sickness-evil" into the flames. After this agitated performance the yēkamuš promise the people that they will soon be freed of their suffering.

Y 756 At this point it should be recalled that the medicine man is sometimes a sort of leader. This is apparent in the lōima-yēkamuš and in the kīna (p. 1215). When a murder is to be avenged, he usually leads his people (p. 901), and two hostile groups attack one another under the direction of their yēkamuš. In everyday life, too, everyone likes to get advice from the medicine man with whom he is friendly and acts accordingly; especially if any kind of danger threatens the entire group appeals to him. The following will show that the yēkamuš feel obligated toward their groups. If a depressed mood, a psychic malady, or a general feeling of fear has seized the people, for example, during widespread illness, the yēkamuš arrange the makāinkīna, which is also the concluding ceremony of the Kina festival (p. 1289). This remedy dispels the particular spirits that have brought about melancholy and general despondency. If the yēkamus wish to calm the people after a day of excitement and prepare them for undisturbed slumber, they start the tīxer song. This is a real evening song, a soothing farewell to the waning day (pp. 797, 841).

/1424/ Y. Harmful Practices

Y 756 754 If the yēkamuš himself has quarreled with a person and wants to cause him grave harm, or if he intends to avenge a personal insult, or if he is carrying out the secret order of a friend who wishes to do away with an opponent, then he must first of all capture the kēspiš of the person and lock it up in a little bag, no matter how far away this kēspiš is. He needs a tiny bit of something that is closely connected or in close contact with that person, either a hair from his cloak of skin, a bit of wood from his hut, or a tendon from his bag; it may even be a

/1424 cont./

756 754 hair from his head, a bit of fingernail, or any insignificant thing. He takes it in his hands, stares fixedly at it for some time, kneads it and presses it, pulls it and shapes it, until it has taken on the shape of the person who is to be harmed. He can observe this transformation in his awake vision. Then he hides this little piece in an insignificant little bag called wŭkur$^{\underline{i}}$ (334). Now the kĕspiſ

334. I cannot decide whether it is this that BD:275 designates as "humuluf, a skin bag in which yekamuſ kept their odds and ends" /cited in English/. Hyades (q):307 gives this word as "bag of the healer" /translated from French/.

of that person is locked up as in a prison, and he cannot get out by himself. For his wŭkur$^{\underline{i}}$ the yĕkamuſ prefers to use the conical [825] cocoon, about three centimeters long, of the Thanatopsyche chilensis (Bombycidae), an insignificant-looking Fuegian butterfly whose caterpillar usually hangs its cocoon on Berberis bushes. From time to time the yĕkamuſ takes the little piece out of his wŭkur$^{\underline{i}}$, squeezes it and kneads it, crushes it and presses it, pulls and yanks it, drops it on the ground and stamps on it with his feet, tosses it high into the air and catches it again convulsively in his hands, and worries it in every conceivable fashion with emphatic and limitless malevolence. Finally the person from whom this little article was taken feels somewhat weak and unwell. As time goes on his feeling of sickness increases more and more, for he lacks his kĕspiſ which the yĕkamuſ retains in his wŭkur$^{\underline{i}}$ and constantly torments. Since the body of the person must do without his kĕspiſ for such a long time, he uses up his vitality and grows progressively weaker. If a stronger yĕkamuſ does not see the situation in his dream and, aware of the threatened position of that person, order a halt, the person is doomed. If he is stronger than the other yĕkamuſ, he must immediately free the person's kĕspiſ from the wŭkur$^{\underline{i}}$ and lead it back to its body. As a rule the sufferer does not realize soon enough that a yĕkamuſ has robbed him of his kĕspiſ. It is only after much blood has flowed from his nose and mouth and he is very weak that a capable yĕkamuſ will reveal the situation and offer to make the urgently necessary rescue. He does

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X156 754 this by freeing the person's késpix from the power /1425/ of the malicious medicine man, catching it with his own hands, and restoring it to the suffering person. Usually this rescuer calls the other yékamuš to account for his base behavior.

Almost all yékamuš practice the above method of harming another person and torturing him to death. Each késpix caught is put in a separate wúkur. When he is not being observed, a yékamuš will take out the little pieces representing the individual persons and their késpix, one after another, mention each person by name, torture each one in a special way, and once again lock each one in his own wúkur. He frequently fills the bag with blubber, so that the késpix will remain motionless, and sews it shut with tendons. He puts the separate wúkur safely away in a secret place. He continues his torture of each individual késpix until the person in question collapses from weakness and dies. In the mental visions of the medicine man the késpix has the same form and shape peculiar to the living human being to whom it belongs, but the yékamuš sees it only in diminutive size.

If a medicine man wants to create a lasting impression among his people, he will call them together and, after singing briefly, put himself into an awake visionary state. Then he shows the people a real wúkur, takes from it an infinitesimally small object, and stares fixedly at a particular person. He says to the person: "Herewith I give you back your késpix, it was in the power of X (335)!" The same thing is repeated with other

335. He specifically names a medicine man, usually one who he knows is hostile to himself or to the person addressed.

persons. They are surprised and believe that they remember having felt more or less exhausted. Now they are released from serious danger and loudly thank the yékamuš for their rescue. They have still more respect for him.

A capable medicine man sometimes succeeds in murdering another person within a few days. He either attacks a personal enemy or he acts on the special request of a fellow-tribesman. As he sings he puts himself into the dream state; his own késpix

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X756 754 leaves his body and meets his Haučéllakīpa somewhere. The two now undertake a serious attack against the kēspix of the person they wish to destroy. They choke him, wrestle with him, and stamp on him. No matter how bravely the kēspix defends itself, Haucélla is stronger and finally hurls a yēkuš at him so that he falls down dead. The poor man wakes up in a state of utter exhaustion; blood flows from his nose and mouth, and vomiting and other serious difficulties occur. He is so weak that his kēspix does not even remember having fought so hard the night before. /1426/ His physical strength wanes perceptibly and within a few days he is dead. I was told that if a Haucélla fatally injures a kēspix with the yēkuš of her medicine man, there is no hope for the wounded person, but only a few yékamuš succeed in obtaining such capable co-operation from their Haucélla. No one explained to me whether and how the procedure just described can be reconciled with the unlimited right of Watauinéjwa over human life and death. This much, however, is obvious, namely, that the yékamuš are the cause of constant uncertainty and disturbance for their fellow-tribesmen and that everyone must seriously fear and avoid a malicious, hostile yékamuš.

δ. Feats of Strength

X756 787 [555] There are all kinds of occasions when a yékamuš wants to prove his ability to his own family group or his superiority to his colleagues, for the more one of them achieves, the greater will be the people's faith in him and the more he will be esteemed by all. Younger men, especially, are obliged to demonstrate such feats of strength, for they must gain acceptance among their countrymen. It should be noted, however, that all achievements of this kind are performed by the yékamuš in their mental visions, and they clearly describe all the details. For example, one of them will be sitting in front of his hut fire, and during his singing he will become extraordinarily excited. Suddenly he cries: "Now I am seizing hot coals and filling my belly with them!" In the awake vision he stretches out his arms to the fire, as though he were tossing burning pieces into his mouth; after a time he makes

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vomiting motions, as though he were spewing out the burning embers. Afterward, when he awakes, he is, of course, unharmed, but the people around him believe that everything took place just as he described it. Nevertheless, it happens now and then that he really does seize a burning ember and instantly tosses it away; during this brief interval, noticeable burns cannot form, but his action, which is certainly not deception and is not intended to be, makes an impression (336). On one occasion I was told: "The

336. It is only in this sense that one can interpret what Bridges (k):237 and (l):18 observed: "I have seen one of them hurl himself on the fire and throw the burning embers up in the hut among the people assembled there; meanwhile he danced on the superheated hearth. It is to be supposed that the hard skin of his feet was somewhat burned, and it is probable that he took the precaution of wetting them well beforehand" /translated from Spanish/.

medicine man Inois from the eastern group once had an asikíku in a lonely section of the forest and remained in the dream state for a long time. He saw many čówánni spirits who sat down all around him, were very gay, and invited him to a meal. When he woke up, the fire that the čówánni spirits had kindled was still burning beside him. He seized a few glowing pieces of wood, put them in his mouth, on top his head, and behind his neck and /1427/ then went to sleep again. Later he told his relatives about it. They looked him over carefully, but discovered no signs of burning and were very much astonished." Obviously all this took place in the mental vision of the medicine man. In March, 1923, Charlin told me: "Once there were several yékamuš assembled in Bahía Moat. As it happened, a dead whale was drifting in the broad channel just opposite this place. There were high waves; no one would venture out in a canoe. They had no recourse but to draw the whale to them with their 'strength.' They sat down at the edge of the water and began to sing. Meanwhile each of

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them hurled a few yĕkuš at the whale. They hit their mark and it drifted to shore. When the people learned of this act of their yĕkamuš, they maveled at their ability." Again this is an incident that occurred in the mental vision of the yĕkamuš and afterward was told to the people.

Moreover, two yĕkamuš will also have an actual contest in which one will try to outdo the other. An example of this has already been given on p. 1310. Usually the procedure is for each one to aim his yĕkuš at a particular goal. The one whose yĕkuš reaches this goal or even flies beyond it is the winner. In another type of contest one yĕkamuš will catch in flight the yĕkuš hurled by his opponent and send it back. The one who cannot muster up the strength to do so loses. The other yĕkamuš can observe such proceedings in their mental visions, and they inform ordinary people of them. The superiority of one yĕkamuš over his opponent is also shown when he forces him to cease his harmful acts. Examples of this have been mentioned on pages 1345 and 1353. They also show how easily a yĕkamuš can disturb the peace and conjure up ill-feeling (p. 1301).

Y156 714

Every yĕkamuš, without any undue effort, can make the kĕspix of an ordinary human being subservient to him, and the younger the person is, the easier this can be done. The yĕkamuš keeps the "spirit" in his power as long as he chooses, unless a stronger yĕkamuš frees him. If this does not happen and the kĕspix is not released, the "soulless" body will gradually waste away and the person will die. For example, if a medicine man commences the Ōima song in his hut and is disturbed by a child, he will seize the child's kĕspix. During the brief period of the song this has no perceptible effect on the child, but the people present are anxiously concerned that the yĕkamuš soon restore the kĕspix to the child. Therefore after the singing is over, he will make violent retching motions, recover the kĕspix, and hand it back to the child by drawing his open hands up and down several times along the child's body. If the kĕspix were not returned in this fashion, the child would die after a time. Every yĕkamuš is closely watched by those around him, which is necessary and advisable since this determines the favorable or unfavorable opinions that his fellow-tribesmen have of him.

/1428/ 2. His Relationship to Spirits

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The previous description leaves no room for doubt that all the activity of the medicine man takes place on a spiritual level. Thus he is completely dependent on certain spirits. When he practices his calling, he has no connection with Watauinéiwa, but in individual cases he realizes that he can achieve nothing in opposition to the Supreme Being (p. 1347). Once Mašemikens said to me very definitely: "Watauinéiwa does not bother about the things that the yékamuš do. They ignore him entirely. Sometimes, however, they ask him for help." Similarly the Yamana do not mention any connection between the yékamuš and Yetáita, who is mentioned in the youth initiation (p. 760), or Tánuwa, who plays an important part in the Kina, or the Yoálox family, which rendered important service to the Yamana (p. 1120). The water spirits, Lakúma, which threaten ordinary people, are well-meaning toward a yékamuš and let him pass unharmed if he identifies himself by his singing. He is directly dependent on the Yefáčel and Haučélla (337) in his calling, but occasionally he also

337. Bridges (k):238 has already mentioned this: "The yecamush pretends to have dealings with beings called yapahchel and hoachiella, and they give him the ability *to see and do fabulous things, especially to* cure and to kill"/translated from Spanish/.

turns to other spirits.

I was told about the following lakúm-asikáku yékamuš, that is, the visionary intercourse of a yékamuš with a lakúma. A yékamuš was married to a woman who was very jealous of him. He was very much concerned about the welfare of his countrymen, which she did not like. Once when the two were on a canoe trip, she said mockingly: "I thought you were a capable yékamuš! You get all kinds of things to eat for other people; for me you do not let a whale or fish be driven ashore, you do not let birds land or crabs come to the surface. You ought to take much better care of your wife!" The yékamuš was very upset by these sarcastic words,

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X 756 and, without replying, he lay down. Although he kept his eyes
787 closed, his wife continued to taunt him. She did not stop until the medicine man was snoring loudly. She steered her canoe toward Kāawaja. Meanwhile the yēkamuš slept and called to two Lakūma from Kāluwa [in the west], which was far away. They finally arrived in Kāawaja, immediately seized the canoe, and lifted up the bow. Full of fear, the woman called to her husband, who was still sleeping: "Get up and help me in this danger; after all, you are a yēkamuš!" Very calmly he replied: "Try to get along by yourself. You have often told me that I cannot do anything!" She begged: "I entreat you to help me, otherwise the Lakūma will kill me!" After his wife had trembled for a long time, he sat up, but he still did not lift a hand. The woman was in an agony of fear. Finally he told her: "Paint both Lakūma with white pigment!" She replied: "Impossible, /1429/ I am unable to do that!" So he said: "Then give me the pigment!" With it he approached the bow, leaned over, and painted both Lakūma; one was on the right, the other on the left side. The Lakūma did not offer any resistance. Then the yēkamuš got up, stretched out both arms, and laughed hī hī... The two Lakūma slowly let the boat down and dived. Instantly they sent the canoe favorable weather and it soon reached its destination. The woman was completely convinced and ruefully confessed to her husband: "Hitherto I have made fun of you and regarded you *very contemptuously; now I know that you are truly a competent* yēkamuš!"

α. The Yefacel

X 756 It is well known that every Yamana has a guardian spirit
776 known as yefačel. Whereas ordinary people act little or not at
787 all on this belief, every yēkamuš maintains the most intimate connections with his yefačel. Even in BD:661 this fact is confirmed: "yāpačāl, a being of more than human power and sagacity whom the yēkamuš claimed as their inspiring power and instructor" /cited in English/.

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The medicine man treats the yefčel somewhat like his child. He calls it to him with tender singing and discusses things with it quite intimately. He gives it all kinds of duties which it fulfills without opposition. The kēpif of the yēkamuš associates with the yefčel in all kinds of things, just like human beings. They see each other in visions and consult with one another. As a matter of fact, it is the yefčel that carries out the work of the medicine man. While it acts by itself far away, he remains completely motionless, stretched out on his pallet, waiting until it has fulfilled the duty given it (338). If it stays

338. Bridges (i):18 also mentioned this state of affairs: "When under the influence of the yapachel they pretended to be insensible to outward things, the burning of the fire and the presence of their friends. They at such times acted as though really possessed" /cited in English/.

near by, it continues the song begun by the yēkamuš, that is, it sings through him. The yēkamuš calls his guardian spirit by means of the song that the yefčel gave him long ago when he received the call to this office (pp. 1318, 1330). This singing is called ušīna yefčel and ašīna lōima. If in an exceptional case the yefčel does not appear, the yēkamuš feels abandoned and disappointed. Loudly enough so that those around him can hear, he complains: "Where is my yefčel today? It probably stayed behind in the woods and is keeping me waiting here. My song is not successful now. I shall have to repeat it later!" The yefčel converse among themselves and with the yēkamuš in a special language. To ordinary people this sounds like a low, resonant tē, tē, but in it are hidden words that are intelligible to all yēkamuš and yefčel. /1430/ The yēkamuš is content in the company of his yefčel. In order to keep it with him now and then, he presses both hands hard against his chest or puts them against his throat. On his own initiative the yefčel will report to his yēkamuš various things which he ought to know. This guardian spirit is the active force in the practice of the yēkamuš and, always at his disposal, is his most intimate companion throughout his life.

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β. The Haucella

Besides a yefǎčel, the medicine man is supported by a Haučellakipa. Although the two do not often meet, the Haučella is incomparably mightier than the yefǎčel. The origin of these spirits, which are both male and female, has already been described (p. 1119). To supplement it, here is what Maĭemikem told me in August, 1923. Back in the time when the general upheaval took place, a few women hastened out of the Kina hut and hid on the Wollaston Islands. There they became Haučéllakĭpa and entered the earth. They are hostile to human beings. Each of them succeeded in pulling a man down into the interior of the earth where he became a Haučella. All of them are bent upon ensnaring our men and women with their flirtations. It is very bad that sometimes [male] Haučella even assault our men and Haučéllakĭpa do the same to our women (339).

339. With these words homosexual intercourse is clearly admitted, but only as a rare transgression by the bad spirits mentioned.

Anyone who is ensnared by these spirits is lost, unless he is saved in time by a yékamuĭ, but this is not genuine love. For example, if I should be going to a brook, lost in thought, an enchantingly beautiful woman may suddenly appear before me, enticing me with flattery and breaking down my resistance. This is a Haučéllakĭpa. Thereafter I cannot get rid of this image; it is constantly before my [mind's] eye, and I am caught by the spell of love. Wherever I go, wherever I sit and work, this image hovers before me and follows me everywhere. Months go by and still the image of that woman overpowers me. While all this is going on within the man, he finally comes to his senses and says: "Every move I make is difficult for me, I feel unwell, my strength has long since failed me. But I cannot part from that woman, I am as close to her as though we were married. I am so filled with this woman and so dominated by her, it is as though an illness had penetrated my body. She has

/1430 cont./

X 156 776 787 long since subdued me, I must die!" That is the way such a man will talk. Sure enough, Haučéllakiya draws him down to her under the earth; his kilpuf remains married to her forever and his earthly body dies. In the same way a [male] Haučéll a bewitches a Yamana woman, until she, too, falls completely into his power. A yékamuf realizes perfectly what is happening between one of our people and /1431/ the Haučéll a. He must free a person in time from the power of those evil earth spirits or the person will surely die.

X 156 828 776 787 Maňermikens added the following to the above description: As a young man I traveled with my cousin south through the Molinare Channel. He was involved with a Haučéll a without admitting it to himself. He had not eaten anything for several days. Although I offered him something to eat several times, he did not take anything. He always replied: "I have no desire to eat! I don't know what is happening to me!" We passed a place where we found many birds' eggs. My cousin did not eat anything. As we traveled on I suddenly realized: my cousin is under the spell of a Haučéll a! After we had traveled on for some time, he leaped up in the forward part of the canoe and cried apprehensively: "A threatening storm is coming up!" I replied: "Not at all! We are having wonderful, calm weather!" He was completely out of his mind. When we reached Arákuwělla, my cousin ordered: "Light a big fire! She is approaching and bringing many asiya [round crabs] with her." I did as he asked, and soon he again ordered: "Make the fire bigger. She is considerably vexed by the cold!" I was speechless. Then my cousin cried: "Now she is here and is seizing me!" Instantly I picked up a stick and beat the air all around my cousin. Gradually he calmed down; we lay down and went to sleep. Since my cousin was feeling better the next morning, we rowed to Ilakěteyiňka. Having arrived there, we landed. Full of despair he said to me: "Let me warn you! -- I must soon die." In my anxiety I again seized a stick and beat the Haučéllakiya close beside my cousin. She, however, escaped under the hut wall and out into the open. My cousin immediately hurried after her and cried longingly: "My wife is running away!" After he had gone a few steps he collapsed and was dead.

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In general the interior of the earth is designated as the regular abode of the Haučélla. These spirits live together there in an extremely spacious hut. In his visions a yékamuš can more or less clearly observe what everyone is doing there. Maiemikens assured me: "If a yékamuš suddenly falls down, collapses as though drunk, and lies there motionless, that is when he sees quite clearly what is going on in the spacious hut of the Haučélla." The lóima hut is called "house of Haučélla," because these spirits give the men more trouble there than elsewhere. Individual Haučélla like to inhabit the so-called "dangerous places" which every Yamana anxiously avoids (p. 1200). Calderon said: "If a man alone inadvertently enters such an area, he suddenly becomes weak, sits down exhausted, and falls asleep. In his dream he sees himself lying beside a Haučéllakīpa who fondles him and has illicit intercourse with him. Since he feels utterly weak, he cannot defend himself and must let her have her way. After he /1432/ wakes up, he recalls but faintly what he experienced in his dream, and it frightens him to think that he has lain in the embrace of the Haučélla. His own weakness forces him to lie down again, and he is filled with dreamy bliss. Haučéllakīpa brings all this about because she wants to have sexual intercourse with him. Such a state lasts for many weeks, until a competent yékamuš frees the helpless man. The yékamuš sees what a Haučélla does to every man whom she has charmed into her embrace. With his singing the yékamuš calls together the čówánni spirits, who must release such a man from the spell of that woman. A bitter struggle commences, which the yékamuš watches in his dream. The spirits seize the man [his kéšpix] and pull him away; he is bleeding and his entrails hang out. Haučélla fights for him against the spirits and wards them off. But finally the many čówánni spirits triumph, free the man from the spell of the Haučélla, and bring him back on earth. He is now forever free of that evil woman and slowly recovers from his weakness. The čówánni spirits are the helpers of the yékamuš. They behave like human beings; they see and know everything. He associates with them as with his own kind and gives them instructions which they carry out according to his wishes. The yékamuš is completely free to use these spirits, but he helps only persons

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756 he wants to help. He realizes that many other Yamana are under
776 the spell of the Haučélla, but he does not bother about them."
787 As an exception, a yékamuř will have a female yeřčel as his guardian spirit. It is like his daughter, and he may not be guilty of improper behavior toward her. If a yékamuř should force his [female] yeřčel to make love, his Haučéllakípa will grow jealous, come to him in a dream, give herself to him, and make him believe he is embracing the yeřčel. The yékamuř will be overjoyed, for he does not know that he is being deceived by his Haučéllakípa. Slowly he grows weaker, his condition grows constantly worse, and finally, when he is dying, he comes altogether under the power of Haučéllakípa. Such a yékamuř must, from the start, be on his guard toward his female yeřčel. Again it becomes evident that all the Haučélla spirits are unfriendly and spiteful, indeed, hostile toward ordinary people as well as toward the yékamuř.

Children may result from the union of a Yamana with a Haučélla spirit. "They are always full-fledged Haučélla; they remain with the Haučélla in the earth, and now and then let a person feel their dislike for him. The Haučélla spirits are very numerous. A yékamuř is well acquainted with each of them."

756 Although even the yékamuř must be on his guard against a
776 Haučéllakípa, she is a reliable helper for a particularly difficult
787 act. If he wants to do away with an enemy quickly, he sends his
755 Haučéllakípa against him. She enters his body, which swells up enormously, and the end soon comes. For some people it is a pleasure to follow the enticements /1433/ of Haučéllakípa into the earth and to remain with her (p.1041). I was given the following explanation of this. "If someone dies at the instigation of a Haučélla spirit, his kéřpif goes on living among the Haučélla, but he himself does not turn into a Haučélla and does not harm anyone. The yékamuř must see to it that no Yamana lets himself be ensnared by the Haučélla or destroyed by them." If a person is under the spell of a Haučélla spirit, the yékamuř will invite several men and have them form a closed circle around the sick person. He himself holds the evil spirit back for a time within this circle, so that the spirit grows weak. After that the yékamuř angrily bites the ground and wounds the Haučélla spirit fatally:

/1433 cont./

456 the sick person is then relieved. It may happen that a malevo-
776 lent medicine man is accompanied by his Hauʼéllakipa as he
787 walks through the camp. If the two pass an unsuspecting child,
255 she will take its kéipif away. Quickly an alert yékamuf must
match the kidnapped kéipiz from the Hauʼéllakipa and give it
back to the child. He calls the child to him, rubs his open hands
in a gently stroking motion up and down along the child's body
several times, makes retching motions and coughs violently. Fi-
nally he kneads the child's body and announces: "Now you have
your kéipif back!"

456 I see a certain consistency in the fact that the Yamana as-
776 sociate the first illness with these spirits. They say: "Before
253 the general upheaval in Yíjaaliga, there was not a single sick
person, but afterward one man suddenly felt persistent violent
pains. He was ill and could not get up. Excitedly many men as-
sembled and considered how this illness could have come about.
After searching for a long time they discovered that the disease
came from that malevolent woman who at that time escaped and
fled to the south where she entered the earth (340). The men

340. In one instance it was said that "a woman tried to see whether she could transform herself and become a Haucella" (p. 1120); another time it was said that "a few women on the Wollaston Islands turned into Haucella and entered the earth" (p. 1360). The difference in the number of persons is unimportant; the significant thing is the agreement concerning the act described.

called this dangerous woman Hauʼéllakipa. Then they con-
sidered how they could protect themselves against being ill, and
they requested the yékamuf to offer their help to all Yamana."
This account is a good explanation of the first activity of the
medicine men.

/1433 cont./

d. Characteristics of the Medicine-Man System

X756 The preceding description definitely shows that the yfkamuf occupies a unique position among the Yamana. The medicine man is more or less feared, no matter how much help he gives his family group. Since he does, after all, attempt at times to bring considerable harm and death to other fellow-citizenmen, whether on his own initiative or at the request of a friend, /1434/ he is remote from the frequently recommended virtue of universal helpfulness. The privileged position which is granted him on some occasions is at variance with the equality that is generally conceded the members of the tribe. As a result, every yfkamuf is exaggeratedly anxious about his personal honor, as is shown in the stories about the medicine man (p. 1266 /unpublished/). Linked with this is selfishness which is strictly prohibited in the everyday life of our Yamana. If a yfkamuf has cast his eye on a beautiful, capable woman, she will marry him even though she has little desire to do so. She is governed by the consideration that he could do her serious harm if she refused. The special feather decoration, apawkra, a unique body painting, and the ikima-yfkamuf, are reserved exclusively for the yfkamuf. If several medicine men are sitting together in a group, other people, especially children, must be particularly respectful and quiet, so that the medicine men are not disturbed. Often a yfkamuf will seize the spirit of the person who comes near him. It is advisable, therefore, to pass in front of him, not behind him, so that one can observe his attitude. If someone is obliged to pass him when his back is turned, he should do this very slowly and cautiously. The medicine men do not trust one another. A person who takes a piece of meat or a swallow of water should first remove the "harm" which an enemy has possibly put into it, or he will become ill. Hence he makes certain movements, as though he were scooping out the "evil"; he places it on his open palm and blows it far away.

X756 766 The corpse of a medicine man is given careful treatment. Soon after his demise he is painted in the manner peculiar to him and decorated with the apawkra (p. 1048). He is also painted red all over (p. 1110). His material possessions are placed beside him

/1436 cont./

and the hut is set on fire (341). The many people who have

341. Despard (9):717 maintains: "When yaccomoob dies, his body is burned to ashes, and these ashes thrown to the winds he rules so mightily, for them to make sport withal" /cited in English/. The last part of this statement is incorrect.

assembled throw all kinds of objects into the fire, whatever they can lay their hands on. They do this in honor of the deceased (p. 1056). Since in recent times even medicine men are buried, the people see to it that his face is turned upward. The community of souls of all deceased yéhamaf and of people who have drowned is regarded as the actual Ehéhelgle. This term, which also has a general meaning (p. 1048), is related to Éléhef in SD:91. These souls move toward the east where they dwell (342). As

342. Bridges (1):19 writes that "drowning men were spoken of as the dead wizards of their people" /cited in English/. I did not encounter this belief. It is well known that the Selk'nam regard drowning men as the "prey of the medicine men" (Vol. I, 880).

night they sometimes return to their homes and every living medicine man can see them. Molly Lawrence said in all seriousness "Since our éléhef like to travel to the east when we dream at night or are drowsily beseeling during the day, the yéhamaf meeting /1435/ and when being back the éléhef, or they would be lost in that distant region where the éléhef of dead yéhamaf actually dwell." All this shows the unique position of the medicine men, even though they cannot be noticeably distinguished from their countrymen in everyday life, but conform to tribal tradition as may Tamana.

If one examines the meaning and nature of the medicine man system, its uniqueness becomes apparent. It does not correspond either to the natural disposition of the Tamana or to the

/1435 cont./

X756 182 basic features of their mental attitude. Legend puts the origin of the medicine-man system outside the boundaries of present-day Yamana territory and connects it with the Kina. Maŕemikens designated Hǵípul, Yo'okalīŋ, and other birds as the first yékamal (pp. 1268, 1271 /both untranslated/). "They taught their art to a few people and that is how it came to us!" There is no connection between the medicine-man system and the other institutions of our Fuegians; it is clearly a peculiar form within their culture as a whole.

G. Mental Capacity

181 114 No people on American soil has been rated as low and esteemed as little by the entire European world as our Yamana. The seed for this unjust opinion was sown by the crew of the Dutch fleet of L'Hermite, the first Europeans seen by the inhabitants of the Cape Horn Archipelago (p. 50 /untranslated/). The description that enjoyed the most notoriety was the inadequate and inaccurate account set down by Charles Darwin, then 22 years old (p. 97 /untranslated/). Although he occasionally made an accurate statement in his writings (343) and, as an old

> 343. He (f):I, 234 said: "The Fuegians belong among the lowest savages; I was constantly surprised, however, at how closely the three Fuegians on board the 'Beagle' ...resembled us in general traits and in most of our mental abilities."

man, changed his opinion very much in favor of our Fuegians (p. 106 /untranslated/), nevertheless this did not effect the bias of the general public. Anyone who leafs through the amazingly large number of accounts by missionaries (p. 146 /untranslated/) will find it strange that the latter almost uniformly speak disparagingly, indeed, contemptuously of the mental performance of these natives, and their opinions of them have not improved despite decades of contact. Bridges outdoes all the other

/1435 cont./

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missionaries in his underestimation of the entire cultural heritage of our Fueguians (p. 303 /untranslated/), and none of the missionaries would have succeeded in persuading him otherwise. The Yamana soon realized that Bridges, with emphatic disdain, rejected their ideas and customs, which, without exception, were valuable to them and worthy of respect. Consequently they drew away from him and /1436/ made many of their spiritual possessions unavailable to him (p. 144 /untranslated/). Their attitude did not change even when Bridges, in exceptional cases, spoke a brief word in their favor (344). Actually, Bridges was the

> 344. These statements, such as the one in (1).12, therefore have much more value for an outsider: "These natives have usually been described as a great deal worse than they were. I will know they were bad enough as all ignorant, lawless people must be, but they were falsely reported to be cannibals, and the sketches of them have been rather caricatures than likenesses" /cited in English/.

adviser and the decisive source of information for all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego who consulted him during his long years of missionary activity. His many publications were also regarded as those of an authoritative observer whom others had no opportunity to correct. Although the members of the Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn, for example, maintained close contact with a group of natives there for an entire year, nevertheless their publications prove how dependent they were on Bridges, especially in their evaluation of the spiritual equipment and mental assets of the Yamana. This state of affairs explains the uniformly low opinion of almost all the travelers who commented on the mental capacity of our Fueguians. Nevertheless, favorable testimony, such as that of Snow (b).D06, is not altogether lacking: "I will only venture to call your attention to the fact, that these savages have a heart and feeling as well as we have. And I saw many instances of warm love and affection for the children, and for each other" /cited in English/.

/1436 cont./

181 Experts on primitive peoples were not doubt upon the trustworthiness of all these reports on Tierra del Fuego, and from insignificant accounts as well as fair judgments, they brought out many a favorable detail. Wuttke07 emphasized: "One must not believe that the mental dullness [of the Fueginos] prevails throughout among them. . . The four Fueginos whom Captain Fitzroy took with him to London showed altogether good qualities." Ratzel2,120 appreciates their material possessions and social institutions. Beyond that he declares: "The more one learned of their sensibilities and mental capacities upon closer contact, the higher one evaluated them in this respect. The Fueginos, even though they are oppressed by the misery of their situation, are basically indians like all the rest. The inadequate results of missions cannot prove anything to the contrary." Thus, if the Yamana are judged to be genuine Indians, they must also be regarded as capable human beings. The fact that they are indeed such is convincingly proved by their way of life which has been described in the foregoing pages. The following pages will be a not inconsiderable supplement to this. It seems strange to us who have been privileged to obtain such deep insight into the mental life of most of the primitive peoples still available today that it seems necessary to prove that the Yamana, too, are alegitimate human beings.

/1437/ a. Mental Power and Sensory Activity

153 I regard as beside the point the oft-repeated question as to whether the Yamana are an "intelligent people" and capable of meeting the demands of our culture. One will obtain a just evaluation of their mental powers only after he has learned to understand the Fueginos with respect to their mastery of their environment. They have adapted themselves excellently to their country: they have learned to use the available materials for serviceable implements and have asserted their superiority in their struggle with the forces of nature. Indeed, they contrasts themselves to their environment and have attained several not inconsiderable achievements of which many Europeans would be

/1437 cont./

incapable if they were suddenly transplanted to that environment. The reality of their cultural possessions, properly understood or having been fashioned from their natural surroundings, is persuasive testimony as to the mental capacities and well-developed senses that our Fuegians enjoy. They needed to develop their mental aptitude only to a certain degree, and were able to do so, in accordance with the external demands made on them. Once this equilibrium was achieved (340), there was not only a

340. Darwin did not see this state of equilibrium. Seeing his discussion on the poverty of that corner of the globe, he (1/147) judges quite falsely: "How little the higher mental powers can be exercised here; what can the imagination picture there, what can reason compare, judgment decide? To break off a bowlful of mussels from a rock does not even require craftiness, this humblest mental capacity of an animal. In some respects their skill can be compared to animal instinct, for it is not refined by experience; their canoe, their most ingenious invention, unbearable though it is, has remained the same for the last 100 years, as we know from Drake.

lack of pressure for greater accomplishments, but these would have resulted in a disturbance of the equilibrium. Hence there was an actual standstill, with a steadfast persistence throughout centuries in the particular form of culture with its many striking and insignificant details which was finally achieved after an inestimable number of separate experiences and which ensure the Fuegian an adequately satisfying existence.

1. Mental Activity

Far from being forced and led by blind instinct alone, the Yamana's actions often follow long, thorough consideration. He

/1437 cont./

makes a plan for a particular goal, considers the ways and means of achieving it, tests the forces at his disposal, and carefully observes the development of his undertaking. Sometimes he discusses it with others and secures the advantages of their advice, experience, and co-operation. He wisely takes into consideration what seems to be most useful for his purpose. Whether the attempt succeeds or not, he mercilessly renders an account of it to himself and his neighbors. In /1438/ so many words he judges this act a failure and that one as the decisive turning point toward success. To their own dismay many a man and woman will frankly complain to others: "I should have done this or that some other way, then I would not have made a useless effort!" Every outsider who carefully observes the Yamana can find hundreds of examples to prove their causal thinking. True, our Fueglans often act without much reflection and do not thoughtfully go over a matter if they must make a momentary decision. Their thoughts then come in fits and starts and their decisions are made without premeditation. Aside from the fact that in this form of behavior they resemble all other groups of human beings, in such a situation they are at least guided by an instinct trained through experience and enlightened by quick thinking. Their language has plenty of bluntly descriptive words for persons who always act thoughtlessly or who behave stupidly.

A person who often considers his own experience and who more than others thinks about the behavior of persons around him will attain considerable keenness of judgment with which he protects himself against mistakes. It is not surprising that a sharp-witted Yamana likes to emphasize: "What our forefathers taught us is most preferable, is most suitable!" He realizes that this or that arrangement or specialty proves to be far better than new experiments, hence everybody's respect for tradition, for the many details and individual items of their cultural heritage. The members of the tribe seek advice from a person who is mentally superior; they follow this advice whenever unusual circumstances arise. To act after judicious consideration, to evaluate calmly the effects of an act, and to adapt to all the knowledge gathered by experience -- all this has led our Yamana to adopt whatever is most serviceable in their country. All subsequent generations

/1438 cont./
have clung to it (346).

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346. It is meaningless to say, as Hyades (q):248 maintains about the mental capacities of our Yamana, "that they are little developed, are not applied to bettering existing conditions, and seem incapable of improvement" /translated from French/, or, as Lovisato (b):144 declares, "the Fuegians have little intelligence, very little memory, no retentiveness" /translated from Italian/.

182 The meager natural products that the region offers could probably not be better utilized for modest requirements than they have been by our Fuegians. In particular, the technical perfection of their weapons and implements should be noted (p.210), the efficiency of which could probably not be increased. Men, as well as women, have at their disposal only inadequate resources and raw materials. After all, the tools they use are their own handiwork. One must marvel at the usefulness and effectiveness of all the objects that their patient labor fashions from the rough material. The "artisans" pay careful attention to /1439/ beauty and regularity, which are, correspondingly, more or less praised by other people. Further endeavor and the urge to perfect a piece in order to achieve greater efficiency thus lie beyond the wish and will of the Yamana. For them the traditional goods are the best and most effective because they have been tested by previous generations. With these and similar words the retiring generation justifies itself to the rising generation for its definite resolve, in its own day, to cling to the form of culture achieved and handed down by their forefathers and to abide by it steadfastly (347). Recognizing the useful service of the dog,

347. Weddell (a):6 gave an incorrect explanation: "It has been denied that the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego have any capacity for mental development and they are credited with an animal instinct. I believe

/1439 cont./

182

> this condition is merely the result of their remote location, and that it would soon improve with frequent visits from outsiders. I found them obliging and friendly, indeed, in some respects active and inventive."

which was introduced only about two centuries ago, they adopted this animal within a short time (p.292) and accordingly have used the bow and arrow less (p. 155). The material possessions that in recent times have passed from Europeans to the Yamana certainly do not represent an enrichment or an improvement of their conditions of life (p.382).

153 Anyone who compares the mental activity of our Yamana with that of the neighboring Selk'nam will realize that there is an easily recognizable difference. The slowness of the Selk'nam in making decisions and their obvious perplexity in a suddenly altered situation is by no means as widespread among the Yamana. The latter are, by comparison, more animated, more active, and quicker in making decisions. It is particularly striking that the Yamana will immediately understand a joke or a humorous remark, whereas the Selk'nam almost always needs to have it explained. The two tribes, however, resemble one another in their amazing memory which does not fail them under any circumstances (Vol. I, 1089). This is especially true of their memory for places. Finally one must point out a very reliable gift of observation which has helped the Yamana to know in detail everything about their own country and to notice immediately any change. This gift also makes it possible for them to imitate exactly the movements and sounds of animals (348). They have

> 348. My statements are abundantly confirmed by definite examples given by Hyades (q):249 and by many statements of missionaries.

many opportunities to show this accomplishment, not only on the hunt or in the Kina, but especially in their social games.

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2. Character

157 The character of the Yamana can be sketched in a few strokes, for in general it is simple and transparent, and it can be easily recognized in the behavior /1440/ of individuals. Our Fuegians are extraordinarily shy and reserved toward strangers, which accounts for the incorrect statements of hasty critics (349).

349. For example, Forster (b):244 maintains of the few natives he met in December, 1774, in Christmas Sound: "Their situation was far from any kind of comfort; hence one never notices an expression of joy or contentment on their faces. In fact, these moral, social feelings were foreign to them and were completely swallowed up in their concern for necessities."

In their hearts the Yamana are good-natured and genial, peace-loving and definitely averse to disturbances caused by animosity and hatred (350). They are unpretentious and content with even

350. Aspinall:270 writes similarly: "Generally they are by nature easy-going and helpful. They never speak an untruth or try to appropriate things belonging to others. All the more emphatically, on the other hand, do they insist on what belongs to them 'by right,' and even resort to weapons in order to obtain what is their due." Hyades (c):142 and (d):307 declares: "The character of the Fuegians is generally gay, laughing, changeable, but not very expansive" /translated from French/. Compare Spegazzini (a):167. Bridges (a):293, using ugly colors and untrue assertions, draws a badly distorted character sketch of the Yamana.

/1440 cont./

157 a little comfort; although they demand nothing for themselves, they freely give help to everyone. A person who puts himself into the hands of a certain group is well taken care of, even if he is a European, and is provided with the best they have to offer. Just as they praise and practice unselfishness, they condemn and loathe egoism in any form. An astonishing delicacy of feeling for dealing with others and for the behavior of the individual in a group has set up rules of conduct (p. 912) which would be appropriate and could be recommended even in Europe.

A strong sense of duty makes their often unpleasant daily work a welcome occupation for our Indians, to which they devote themselves without grumbling (p. 218). They conform to the traditional customs out of respect; they defer to traditional religious and mythological conceptions in their opinions and avoid any kind of fault-finding and quibbling about their inherited fund of ideas. They can hide their feelings to the point of complete unrecognizability if they are confronted by suspicious or hostile persons; in gay company they are sometimes boisterously unrestrained. They pour out their grief, which is always deeply felt, without reserve in a large circle of fellow-tribesmen. Hyades (p):33 describes these traits in the following words: "Their character is serious and concentrated. They do not laugh easily; their laughter is always boisterous" /translated from French/. It is not maintaining too much when I say that every Yamana, man or woman, can momentarily flare up and give free vent to his exuberant temperament. After a few hours, when calm consideration has set in, he collapses like one who has been completely disarmed.

Everyone defends his rights with stubborn persistence and accepts personal praise with satisfaction, although he does not show it. To be treated scornfully hurts even children /1441/ to an extraordinary degree, and adults all the more. They are all quite vain. The Yamana is bold and unafraid toward any kind of danger; confident of his powers, he persists in carrying out his plans. Bridges (e):338 declares that the Yamana "were stronger and wiser in their own appraisement than were the pale faces."

My contact with these people was pleasant and comfortable. I did not have this feeling of well-being to such an extent among

/1641 cont./

157 the Selk'nam. To the brief portrayal of character given here I add the following testimony from Hyades (q):244: "When one has been among them for a long time and become familiar to them, so to speak, one realizes, as we did, that the general traits of their character are good rather than bad" /translated from French/(351). In their character traits the Yamana appear wholly

351. Along with those words Hyades (q):244 also offers a special section entitled "Expression des émotions."

human. This is corroborated by the opinions assembled here and the many accounts on the preceding pages. Even Darwin (f):I, 234 confesses: "When I lived with the Fueglans on board the 'Beagle,' I was constantly surprised by many minor character traits which showed how similar their mental characteristics were to our own."

156 The character formation just described is fostered by the
577 many principles that are followed in training the young in the parental hut (p.704). No less beneficial for adults is the pressure for many kinds of social duties (p.905). Morality in the widest sense of the term is held in universal esteem (p.1022): the majority of tribal members try to fulfill their duty faithfully. Even Bridges (e):333 did not suppress the following acknowledgment: "Among the Yahgan, vices of all kinds were condemned on account of their evil consequences, while virtue, because of its good results, was recommended." Once again it is to be admitted that many a Fueglan stays on the proper path, especially in the realm of sexual morality, primarily because he wishes to retain his good reputation among his neighbors. The feeling for proper modesty, more among women than men (352), and for justice in general is

352. Snow (s):I, 326, 349 expressed his amazement at this a number of times. He (t):262 says of the women, happily surprised: "The modesty of their conduct was very remarkable, and nothing would induce them to come on deck" /cited in English/. Hyades (d):308, too, declares:

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"Modesty exists in both sexes, but it is more developed among the women" /translated from French/. Compare the same opinion in Bridges (h):208. Hyades (p):335 and (q):230 goes even further in the following words: "One will perhaps be astonished to read here that the feeling of modesty is very highly developed among the Fuegians, who are in the habit of going naked" /translated from French/.

well developed; the form and content of Fuegian rules of etiquette are surprising. Bridges later corrected many of his false assertions when he confessed: "The native mind is much more settled in approval of what is good and against evil than ever I have known before, and they are consequently better behaved, and exercise more self-control" /cited in English/ (MM: XVIII, 31, 1894). The licentiousness imported by Europeans has very considerably undermined the former strictness of moral obligations and duties, to the great detriment of the natives (p. 352 /unpublished/).

/1442/ 3. Development of the Senses

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What has been said about the mental powers of our Fuegians also implies that they have an adequately developed imagination. It is lively, though not very creative. Nevertheless, its achievements are not slight, considering the many spirit figures in the Kina and the numerous personalities in their mythical world, as well as the considerable variety of games and decorations, ornaments and body paintings. The gift of invention which has created all this and many other things cannot be regarded as limited. The fact that it is still alive is proved by the curiosity of these children of nature toward strange objects. Not infrequently their behavior is even importunate in this respect. Agreeing with many travelers, Despard confirmed: "The Fuegians are very curious, and naturally watch all you do; they like to touch, and feel everything they see" /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 167:1859).

/1442 cont./

153 This healthy curiosity is combined with a goodly measure of desire for knowledge and aptitude for being taught.

151 In the development of their sensory activity the Fuegians by far surpass us Europeans, and the acuteness of their senses sometimes amazes us, as all critics agree. The sharp eyes of the Yamana miss practically nothing, not the least change, no matter how insignificant, along his path, in his tools, in another person. With sure judgment he recognizes the tracks and traces of animals along the ground, as well as the occupants of a canoe appearing on the horizon. His eye is unerring in observations close at hand or at a distance. Even in old age everyone enjoys excellent vision, although some older people become farsighted, so that if they are looking at or working over smaller objects they must hold them farther away from their eyes. The eyes of the natives can stand direct sunlight and strong light from the hut fire far better than would be possible for European eyes. Hyades (f):580 and (p):329 declares: "The Fuegians have satisfactory visual acuity and...they are, in general, gifted with a great power of accommodation" /translated from French/. Darwin (f):I, 43 affirms briefly from his experience: "I had ample opportunity to observe the extraordinary eyesight of the Fuegians" (353). Their amazing skill in sign language must also

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353. He (d):239 also says by way of supplement: "Their eyesight was remarkably acute. York and Yemmy both were considerably superior to all the sailors on board; several times they said what some distant object was, and, although everyone doubted it, they proved to be right when the object was examined through a telescope. They were well aware of this ability." Bove (c):125 and others agree.

be mentioned here. In a way unintelligible to others they can reliably send even important messages to a person and transmit them to the person for whom they /1443/ are intended. This explains the mistrust of everyone toward all those who form a

/1443 cont./

151 larger social group. Hyades (q):196 conducted careful investigations in order to determine the physiological soundness of the eyes of our Yamana.

Since the Fuegians must very attentively note everything around them, they also need their sense of hearing, day and night. The softest sound or the slightest noise does not escape them any more than it does a watchful dog; one would think that they were constantly pricking up their ears. It may be, as Hyades (q):329 says, that "their hearing is as sharp and has the same range as that of most Europeans" /translated from French/, but our Fuegians are more alert; hence they consciously absorb more than Europeans. Constant practice makes it very easy for them to trace individual noises accurately back to their cause, to distinguish the voices of birds and mammals, and to interpret even very faint sounds reliably. It is strange that an unusually violent rending of the air, for example, a loud bang or a shrill whistle, neither startles nor annoys them.

To judge from what was said about our Indians' feeling for cleanliness (p. 87), one might regard their sense of smell as highly insensitive. Hyades (q):209 expresses himself in this vein: "Olfactory sensitiveness is quite blunted among the Fuegians; they do not seem to make a distinction between what we call good and bad odors" /translated from French/. With all this, however, I do not mean to say that their sense of smell is less effective than that of a European. Even the Yamana many times lets his nose decide whether a piece of meat has started to decay and hence has become inedible, or whether putrid matter makes a certain spot uninhabitable for him (p.28). The stench of human or dog excrement arouses passionate repugnance. They have become so completely accustomed to their own skin odor, which is disgusting to Europeans, that they do not seem to notice it at all.

In seeking food and in eating, the Yamana are obviously selective (p.325). Their sense of taste decides clearly enough what appeals to their palate more or less or not at all. They are crazy, so to speak, about the taste of a few things, for example, liquid blubber in a short piece of gut (Fig. 99) and certain pieces of whale meat (p.310). Their country furnishes them extraordinarily few sweets (p.301): hence in recent times people eat

/1443 cont./

151 extravagant amounts of sugar. Their desire for salt is slight for obvious reasons; they get enough of it in their exclusively meat diet (p.301). They do not really enjoy alcoholic beverages, but most present-day Yamana desire them very much because of their intoxicating effect (p. 302). Even if a person is tormented by hunger he will refuse things abhorrent to his taste.

/1444/ At first glance it seems as though there were some-
151 thing peculiar about the sense of touch of our Fuegians. In
147 reality this is not the case; according to Hyades (p):328, also, "their tactile sensitiveness is neither more nor less developed than among the French observers" /translated from French/. The Yamana, however, is not sensitive and plaintive to the same extent as a European. He feels cold and heat, frost and the sun's rays, the sharp stones on the ground and the hardness of his bed, injuries and wounds, but he accepts all hardship with equanimity and bears it silently. If a person must constantly endure considerable pain, he merely groans and whimpers softly. Whenever he can easily /Fig. 99 appears here./ make himself a little more comfortable, he does not fail to do so, but if the annoyance cannot be avoided, he pays no attention to it and makes the best of it. Certainly his skin, especially that of hands and feet, does not react as much as that of Europeans who are constantly protecting themselves with clothing and closed dwellings. He has, however, also hardened himself to a great extent against outward stimuli, and therefore he controls his feelings far better. The many delicate and precise objects made by him show that there is fine feeling even in his heavy hands and clumsy fingers. Moreover, the dexterity that every Yamana shows on the hunt and in setting traps argues for well-developed senses (354).

354. Even Darwin (f):1, 62 was amazed at this and says: "To hit a mark accurately with a stone, as a Fuegian can when he is obliged to defend himself, or to kill birds requires perfection in the efficient correlation of the muscles of the hand, arm, and shoulders, not to mention a fine sense of touch."

/1444 cont./

b. General Knowledge

The endowment that each child brings into this world as his heritage from his parents and as his natural equipment shows many different gradations even here in Tierra del Fuego. The aptitude of the individual is developed in actual education, at first in the parental hut, later in the *Eikaxar*. Adults regard their own /1445/ efforts to train growing youngsters as a serious duty which they perform daily, so to speak. Tirelessly they teach their children, they show them this and that operation, explain one thing and another to them, demonstrate this and that, ask their own questions and

[351]

Fig. 98. Piece of Gut Filled with Blubber. Two-thirds natural size.

answer those of youthful questioners, observe the larger's progress and warn them of a wrong course. Although this instruction is primarily designed to help the younger generation obtain great proficiency in the use of weapons and implements, nevertheless in their daily contact the adults also give general information and occasionally special knowledge about definite usage and customs, about religion and mythology in the broadest sense of the term. Step by step and gradually, as circumstances advise and the mental maturity of the young person demands it, he learns more and more about the rich and manifold fund of knowledge of his tribe. There can be no question of orderly lessons, explanations and comments are given on occasions offered in everyday life, the boys being taught primarily by the male, girls by the female adult tribal members, chiefly by relatives within the family group.

/1445 cont./

Without noticeable coercion, the young people improve themselves, one more than another, according to their natural gifts and personal diligence. Someone who is particularly alert and mentally active makes more rapid progress; the adults are more willing to take trouble with him and they teach him many things earlier than they do his contemporaries. The fact that among the Yamana, also, some persons have a good deal more knowledge than the average can be traced back to inclination, industry, and a desire to learn. Some are extraordinarily limited and know only what is most necessary. A person who commands superior knowledge attracts those around him, influences them, and is highly regarded far and wide. The superior position of great *yékamal* rests on the fact that they surpass their countrymen in their possession of things of the mind.

If one should gather together all the knowledge gained by experience and the numerous individual facts that every Yamana possesses, he would build up an astonishing fund of information. Borrowing from this source, every generation enriches itself anew and finds it adequate to meet the demands of existence, to satisfy the needs of the mind, to attain the economic goals, and to lead an ordered, harmonious tribal life beneficial to each individual. Relying on his knowledge and his powers, the Fuegian, as master of the animal kingdom and the strong forces of nature in his unfriendly country, strives toward his goals and is confident of victory.

/1446/ 1. Measuring and Counting

The Yamana lack a universal standard of value, such as money or other various kinds of measures. They must resort to estimating actual value in one way or another. This is done according to certain considerations, not the least of which, and often decisive, are the beauty and perfection of the object. The scarcer a thing is, the higher its value. These and other considerations are usually decisive in barter. They also determine whether the recipient of a gift rates it higher or lower. On page 173 there are examples showing a kind of scale of value. It is obvious that our Yamana are unable to evaluate the things given to them by

/1446 cont./

435 Europeans, and therefore no one should find it strange that the Indians neither protect nor take good care of costly or rare objects. It is quite generally true that they do not handle their tools carefully or protect them; they carelessly trust their own ability and manufacture what they need without much trouble. Any kind of wealth and an accumulation of objects would be nothing more than a burden to them.

802 Their material possessions are amazingly meager. Hence they can do without numbers even more easily than without a complicated scale of value. There are definite designations: one = yĕkĕ́ll; two = hompĕ́ine; and three = mĕ́ten. In general the Yamana do not count beyond that. They designate anything beyond three as wĕ́ru = much. "Very much" is designated either as wĕ́ru wĕ́ru or čĕ́lla wĕ́ru. For an extraordinary amount the expression manĕ́ana wĕ́ru is used. A few compounds are also used to express numbers above three. They say yĕkĕ́ll yĕ́r, "one hand," and hompĕ́i yĕ́r "two hands," which mean "five" and "ten," respectively. BD:235 gives dauačĕ́i, "a few as from five to twenty" /cited in English/. A few other forms are also given in BD. Constructions such as mĕ́ten čĕ́lla mĕ́ten probably first arose under the influence of Europeans. Compare Hyades (q):217. If the Yamana wish to express a figure beyond three, they prefer to use their fingers, and they indicate the number by shaking the specific finger, without forming or expressing a special word for the number. Our Fuegians are unacquainted with measures of length and height. To indicate an insignificant length they make a fist with both hands and, by holding them apart, show the specified length. At the same time they say ketĕ́muka, from ketĕ́m = like this here, mŭ́ka = long. The Yamana do not strive for any particular accuracy either in counting or measuring.

192 A few words that our Indians use as exclamations should be
201 mentioned briefly. If they agree with a word or a request, they utter a faint ŋ, without opening the mouth; sometimes they also bow the head slightly. If they are very much interested, they utter a loud ĕ́ŋ = good, right, very well; or an excited tas = yes, yes; finally, /1447/ wĕ́r = splendid, excellent. They lack what we imply with "no." If a person does not agree with the words of

/1447 cont./

192 another, he remains silent and motionless; sometimes he turns
201 his head gently to the left and at the same time utters a barely perceptible ɣ. Compare Hyades (q):247.

2. Time Designations

905 The differences between day and night and between one season and the next are too great for our Fuegians not to have designated them with special words. They do not have an expression corresponding exactly to "day"; they use mɨ́ɨla = light, brightness. From this they derive the much used mɨ́ɨlan = daily, and a number of other compounds. Compare BD:251. Although the Yamana do not have a definite division of time in hours, they divide the day into sections of about four hours. They say ɨ́ɨka or mɨ́ɨla tuyɨ́ɨna for the time from dawn to the time when the sun is about halfway to the zenith, that is, about ten o'clock. The basic meaning of ɨ́ɨka is "dawn." BD: 550 gives tuyɨ́ɨna as "to spread as light does so that day is spread abroad" /cited in English/. This is followed by yɨ́ɨnatapa mɨ́ɨla, noonside, from ten to two o'clock. Compare yɨ́ɨnta, "to cross over..." /cited in English/ in BD:555. Then comes ɨ́ɨnɨ́ɨnata, the afternoon, the time to about six o'clock. BD:181 gives ɨ́ɨnɨ́ɨnata, "to get distant, to go a long way off" /cited in English/. This is followed by yɨ́ɨnum ɨ́ɨkagɨ́ɨna, the time of evening twilight until about nine o'clock. The Yamana are familiar with all these expressions.

They also divide up the night. The above-mentioned ɨ́ɨkagɨ́ɨna is followed by ɨ́ɨkɨ́ɨy, the time from the first darkness to midnight. This is followed by the period yɨ́ɨnatapa ɨ́ɨkɨ́ɨy, from midnight to about three o'clock. Finally there is mɨ́ɨlapa yapɨ́ɨnata, the time when it grows light in the morning, between three and seven o'clock. Although these expressions are universally understood, an expert on the stars will now and then also indicate the time of night by their position in the sky.

The Yamana divide the year into definitely recognizable, though not sharply separated periods which they appropriately call seasons. Nature appears in a different garb four times, the change

/1447 cont./

being very apparent. Therefore, our Fuegians speak of four seasons. The word ôrna means "spring". BD:61 writes ôrna, "spring, season of spring" /cited in English/. The word kôi is "summer". kôiskâf is "autumn." The latter word is a combination of kôin, "green beech of summer" (Nothofagus pumilio), and kâf, "red," in other words: time of the red-colored beech leaves. The word ôse means "winter." Compare BD:3 and the word yôkan, "the early part of winter" /cited in English/, in BD:630. The above designations are used in various word combinations, for example, kôiôrna, "next spring," and kôiskâfôse, "next summer." Compare BD:202 and Bridges (1):26. The general concept "season" is not absent. BD:61 also gives ôrum, "season, time" /cited in English/. The Yamana, therefore, favor the following division of the year:

/1448/ kôiôrum: "the time when the bark is loose," when the sap rises in the beech trunks and the bark is easily peeled off. This means early spring, September and October, when the first shoots come out. A person who wants to know "whether the bark is already loose," listens for the sound ôgô, ôgô, the call of the great or the small snipe, known as ôgôsiu or yôlokuchi. This call sounds exactly like the noise one makes when he loosens a strip of bark, tearing it off with a sharp pull. The word ôgôsiu is probably related to ôka, "to make come" /cited in English/, in BD:132. BD:270 also gives kôiuôrum, "the early season for making spring comes early in October" /cited in English/.

ôrno: "the time when one finds the first birds' eggs," the height of spring. A person who now finds the first fresh egg breaks it open and with the yolk drawn a vertical line across his forehead and the bridge of his nose as a sign of joy (p. 986). At this time, also, everyone combs the down for kaiyâf, the sea anemone (Actinaria). He rejoices if he finds particularly luminous colonies of these small animals, for to him they are harbingers of spring (p. 985). BD:61 also gives kôiôrum, "very early in spring" /cited in English/. They are not satisfied, however, with a single indication of spring's arrival. A reliable sign is the ascending sun. A person who knows how to observe it keeps careful watch for a few days through a small hole at a particular spot in his hut, always holding his body in the same position. If he has proved to himself that the sun is ascending, he also concedes the other indications

/1449 cont./

86 mentioned above and joyfully announces to the whole neighborhood: "Spring is here!"

[illegible]: "the time when birds' eggs are heavy," because the birds are already sitting on their eggs and the embryo is developing. This means early summer.

[illegible]: "the time when birds' eggs are empty," for hatching is over. This is the beginning of midsummer. This term is nothing more than a combination of [illegible], "egg," and [illegible], "to be empty." BD-181 says more briefly, "[illegible], the season of the year when empty shells are in the nest, answering to January" /cited in English/.

[illegible]: "the time when young birds happily stretch and expand," for their large wing feathers are forming and they will soon be able to fly. The height of summer. This word, according to BD-84, 181, is made up of [illegible], "the young of any animals or birds" /cited in English/, and [illegible], "to lie or sit down in the sun to enjoy its heat" /cited in English/.

[illegible]: "the time of the red-colored beech leaves," autumn proper, the whole of March. Now the female otters with their young come back to the coast from the brooks and lagoons in the interior of the islands, to where the male animals stayed throughout.

[illegible]: "the time of the first snow," early winter, April and May. Snow first falls in the mountains, then advances in deeper layers, and finally reaches the coast. A thin coast of ice covers brooks and lagoons. /1449/ Now all the mammals and birds are fat, the marine animals particularly tasty, and hunting profitable for these eight weeks.

[illegible]: "the time when the sun goes west," that is, when it stays longest in the west or north, the time of year around the solstice when the days are shortest. This word is a simple compound of [illegible], "the sun," and [illegible], "to move going W." /cited in English/, according to BD-210. The time of deepest winter. The Yurosse explain: "The sun-man hides in his dwelling and under the large mass of snow, he wants to conceal from the people that he will again return." Some of the older men watch the lengthening days with particular attention. They pass on their observations, and their announcements awaken lead expressions of joy. Hunting is still very good.

/1949 cont./

These eight periods form the complete cycle of the year. In order to mark them off approximately, the Tonsea at the same time observe the position of certain stars. They wish to prove that their position in the heavens coincides with the corresponding events here on earth. The position of the sun and compliance weather conditions are decisive. In order to emphasize these movements of the sun, the Tonsea use the word [illegible], "time of return of the sun E.-ward after midwinter" /cited in English/, according to BD:104. Or the word [illegible], "strong E. or SW. winds accompanied with rain and clear prevails at the beach up of winter" /cited in English/, according to BD:105. Furthermore, the word [illegible], "the late autumn, early winter, referring to the rainy, overcast, dull weather then prevalent" /cited in English/, according to BD:174. The Tonsea even use compliance phenomena connected with certain species of animals to characterize the seasons. They point to [illegible] (p. [illegible]); they use [illegible], "the time of the young crabs, Oct. and Nov." /cited in English/, according to BD:11. Finally, they speak of [illegible], "dull time when the young birds are hatched, i.e. January" /cited in English/, according to BD:181.

Even regular changes in vegetation, especially in fungi, serve the Tonsea for determining the seasons. They use the word [illegible], "the time of the withering of plants, i.e., early winter" /cited in English/, according to BD:187. The expression based on the growth of [illegible], [illegible], is a great favorite. According to BD:88 this fungus is "the chief summer fungus" /cited in English/, which grows on the healthy parts of bamboo branches (Fig. 8 /in unmentioned portion/). The general term is [illegible], the mature stage is called [illegible] (p. [illegible]).

[illegible]: the fungus when it has just appeared.

[illegible]: the fungus in its maximum size.

[illegible]: the fungus in the sweat, its surface is still smooth.

[illegible]: the fungus with its surface riddled with holes.

[illegible]: the fungus with lessened hyphae, which falls of easily.

[illegible]: stages all fungi have fallen off, but are still somewhat soft.

/1449 cont./

ɔ̨ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, the fungi lying on the moist forest floor are turning black and beginning to rot.

/1450/ The development of Cyttaria darwinii described above takes place from the beginning of December to the end of February. The growing period of the smaller Cyttaria hariotii, ɔ́ɔ́m (p.277), also serves to determine time.

maximix is the name of this tiny fungus when it appears in January.

ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ is its name as long as its surface is still smooth at maximum size.

ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ is the fallen, decayed fungus. This development takes place from January to the end of April. The Yamana refer in the same way to the various stages of development of the large tree fungus, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́n, and divide up the first half of winter accordingly.

As is evident, the Yamana have a number of time designations, each of which is connected with phenomena in their immediate environment. Besides the expressions just mentioned, one also hears the following: "I'll come back when the first green shoots appear, -- when the young ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ crawl out of their shells, -- when the ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ are ready to fly, -- when the red beech leaves fall, -- when the water [in the channel] becomes brown (355), -- when the mussels are poor" (356). These

355. Actually, only the algae change color in the spring; the Yamana expression makes it appear as though the water changed color.

356. This means departing winter.

expressions are simple and perfectly clear to everyone.

3. Astronomy

The appearance and disappearance of a number of stars and their highest and lowest positions likewise characterize the individual periods in the yearly cycle. In former times, before

/1450 cont./

124 there were actual people, all the stars, whether or not they are now known by name, were independent personalities on this earth. Special myths are devoted to some of them. It is a fact that some individuals among the Yamana, especially certain yékamal of former times, were well acquainted with the peculiarities and movements of the stars and informed their countrymen about them. Most recently, during my stay in Tierra del Fuego, I often used outside with a few old people on a clear, starry night in order to learn something definite from them about the stars, but their knowledge was surprisingly deficient. To their sorrow, these persons confessed that many details had been lost to them since they had adopted the European way of speaking.

The irregular juxtaposition of a few stars is regarded as a family group, in which the larger stars are the adults and the smaller ones the children. The dense clusters of small stars are regarded as a mass of omúyu, berries. Girls like to stretch out their arms as though reaching for them, and they then gesture as though they were scattering a handful of them about. In doing so, they promise themselves an abundant harvest of omúyu. The constellation ushpu, the belt of Orion /1432/ (p. 1274 /unnumbered/), is particularly bright in midwinter. As long as it is visible one may neither split wood nor make a loud noise. Nor may one at this time carry a glowing stick of wood uncovered; it must be wrapped in a piece of bark. Next to it is hiúsepa, Rigel. Aldebaran, α Tauri, is called Yaltúy-ómusipa. The two very-visible nebulae, hámulaf, are described as pockets of the Yaltúy brothers, who keep all kinds of things in them and keep sharp watch over them. The bright, reddish Betelgeuse, α Orionis, is hámusipa, which, as a star, is generally called Lílipa, the first wife of the two Yaltúy brothers (p. 1135). The Milky Way, hámuka chowina, has the same meaning in the canopy of heaven as a wide, pointed post that is used in the framework of the ʼáhuwa hut (p. 677). A few Yamana deduce the direction the wind is expected to take from the brightness of the stars. A closed ring around the sun is regarded as a sign of good weather; if it is open in one spot, there will be strong winds from that direction.

Our Fueguians, of course, observe the striking progressive changes of the moon, and they have special terms for its individual

/1401 cont./

phases. Then, ŋáuuqa wuyíqma is the full moon, ainíkha, the completely invisible new moon, yhum ŋáuuqa, the waxing moon, and, finally, ŋáuuqa téqta, the waning moon. The word téqta is probably the same as tatá, "another, the other" /cited in English/, in 80-302. There are also other designations in 80 for the phases of the moon. The Yaména like to measure time by the whole course of the moon. For example, someone will say: "Yhum ŋáuuqa téqa-mul ter-i-tayqh, I shall come again at the new moon" (80).

307. Hyades (p).360 and Spegazzini (e).169 also briefly referred to the various designations of time used by the Yaména.

As a result of their nomadic life, our Yaména are obliged to observe carefully the extremely changeable weather of their country and to interpret reliably every peculiar phenomenon. In the course of long experience they have attained positive mastery in this, and one can absolutely rely on their opinion. In their observations they usually take two or three phenomena into account at once, not least the behavior of animals. Nevertheless, a family will sometimes be overtaken by a sudden change in the weather and their lives endangered. The Yaména certainly do not lack expressions for individual aspects of the weather. Thunder, kóóka, is almost never heard in that region; our Fuegians have no definite explanation for it or for lightning (p. 33 /unknown/) which is just as rare.

4. Geographical Knowledge

On their constant trips through the narrow channels of the Cape Horn Archipelago our Yaména are confidently sure of themselves because they have a well developed sense of orientation to the quarters of the heavens. They have a wide choice of terms for them. /1402/ The basic terms are: ŋa, ŋa, "the south, southward"; ŋa ŋa, "east, in an easterly direction";

//5410 cont./

{23} [illegible]. "northerly, the north"; finally [illegible], "in a westerly direction, the west." These root terms serve for all kinds of connections. Instead of listing them, I refer the reader to 80. They are used very often, not only to describe the distribution of the large ethnic groups, but also to designate the directions of air and water currents, of swarms of birds and fish, or of a journey on foot or in a canoe. Accordingly, they say: [illegible], "people of the east." A more complete form of this is [illegible]. The word [illegible] or [illegible] means "from this place, from yonder." In contrast, there is [illegible], "the east wind." It can be stated as a rule that an expression for a motion or an activity of motion at the same time indicates the particular direction. This kind of accuracy, which, as such, is still no proof of the richness of the language, may seem to be exaggerated, but it is valuable and sometimes of vital necessity to a nomadic Fuegian. An example may make this clear. If I am standing to the north and at some distance from a channel, looking south, I call the north coast of this channel [illegible], but its southern coast [illegible]. Using this latter formation, the Yamana says [illegible], namely, a channel extending south of me, or, "[illegible]," a channel which runs from my position to the north. As may be seen from these examples, the relationship of one thing to another in space is specifically designated. This is usually done with reference merely to the quarters of the heavens, often the vertical relation of a thing in space is expressed together with its horizontal relation, that is, according to the quarters of the heavens (308).

> 308. Bridges (b):306 several times confirmed the strikingly frequent use of designations for directions. Compare Furlong (c):171, Hyades (c):181, Lawlors (b):151.

{8} Even more surprising is the almost unbelievably large number of place names. Coves that are more frequently visited and sought out by individual families, above all those along Beagle Channel and Argentine Tierra, have their own names which characterize very short distances or only one spot, a small projection or a rather large stone, a shallow or deep bend, a steep or

/1450 cont./

(83) flat shore. Every special peculiarity, though it may appear insignificant, is named and provided with the appropriate supplementary term. The following words belong to this category: wólakip, "projection, point"; ólége, "channel, arm, branch"; yóka, "coastal strip, beach"; wíja, "large and small inlet"; yóka, "island, isolated rock, stone protruding out of the water." I entered the least common names on a geographic map of the native country of the Yamana, and I counted more than 370. Most of them are true proper names; the rest are simple descriptions with a supplementary term. Examples of the first group are to be found on pages 300 /unpublished/ and 537; examples of the second group are /1451/ halóuaka-ólma-yóka, the "island of the dirty water," between Tierra Mayor and Goble Island -- halóuaka, "dirty, muddy"; ólma, "water"; yóka, "the island" -- and the longest word in the Yamana language, introduced on page 591. Naturally, there are special names for every large arm of water, for example: ólé(a)-ólége, eastern Beagle Channel, wéjmun-ólége, Brazo Nordeste; lóuf-ólége, Brazo Sureste. Similarly, for a large island or an entire group of islands: Wólíja-yóka, Isla Bonnet in front of Wulaia Bay; Ulúkuz, Hoste Island, Yálúkin, Wollaston Islands. For a large bay: Agíjra, Puemeby Sound; Hórowíja, New Year Sound. For a long coastal stretch: Wasanígja, the southern edge of Navarino Island. Finally, for extensive areas near the shore: Anjowíja, the valley between Ukowíja and Lapwíja. Any large area in the interior of an island, more or less distant from the coast, is commonly called ólla; there are no specific local designations for such areas. The Yamana are also content with the general term mólóra, "mountain," without distinguishing one height from another with a proper name. The wide ocean is called hóka. Very occasionally a larger brook or river also has a special name, for example, Yóll-hóka, Rio Mayor at Puerto Harberde (359). The Yamana use

359. This typical Yamana name is found on maps as "Lastyarchac."

the many individual names with astonishing accuracy.

/1453 cont./

823 They are aided by a no less reliable and very accurate knowledge of places which they acquire by their frequent visits to each locality. Their memory of places is refreshed every time they take a canoe trip or stay anywhere. Thus one thing explains the other. Actually, the region comprising their native land, which every family constantly traverses, is not very extensive. They go beyond these boundaries only on special occasions and then they let themselves be guided by a family native to that region. Moreover, thanks to the excellent gift for observation with which our Fuegians are equipped, old and young really know every nook and rock, every inlet and coast, every brook and beach. The story of the origin of the many wide and narrow, quite irregular channels that make the whole Cape Horn Archipelago look like a land savagely torn to pieces is told in the tale about the Laławája rock (p. 1216 /untranslated/); the origin of the little brooks running down from the hills and mountains is explained in the Čilawája-wátuwa (p. 1207 /untranslated/); legend even tells about the origin of the magnificent glaciers, known as dáun, in Brazo Nordoeste (p. 1233 /untranslated/).

805 823 Contrasted with this wealth of place names, the lack of designations expressing distances, intervals, and time is all the more striking. They usually refer to the position of the sun or the stars in order to determine the approximate time of day or night. Such estimates, of course, leave a wide margin of uncertainty which disturbs the Fuegian not at all. On his journeys and canoe trips he is, in any case, dependent on the quite unpredictable influences /1454/ of natural forces. He never knows beforehand how they will affect him. Those unbridled natural forces to which he is exposed are stronger than he; hence it would be senseless to set a goal to be reached in a short time under any circumstance. If our Fuegian wishes to designate a great distance, he speaks of two or three or many travel-days and estimates from six to eight hours for a single day of the journey. He does not lose or gain anything worth mentioning whether he reaches his goal sooner or later. In a most literal sense, no hour strikes to mar a person's happiness down there in the Cape Horn Archipelago!

/1454 cont./

5. Botany and Zoology

824 Only a few species of higher plants are represented in Yamana country, but there are considerably more kinds of higher animals. Our Fuegians have an accurate knowledge of the one as well as the other. This means, first of all, that they know the special characteristics of each plant that is of any use in the household, and they have selected it from those available to them on the basis of its suitability for their purposes. I pointed this out most emphatically when I described their individual implements and weapons. The vegetable kingdom does not offer the Yamana any food worth mentioning, but the extremely little that it does offer in luxuries (p.299) -- if one may call it that -- is well known and utilized. One could hardly estimate the number of experiments and the long series of observations by former generations that must have been necessary before this knowledge became a universal possession of the entire tribe. It was then transmitted throughout the centuries to each subsequent generation.

825 The Yamana is vitally dependent every day upon the animal kingdom; to it alone he owes his subsistence. Everyone is therefore obliged to observe carefully the habits and movements of the species useful to him. If the Yamana gives a proper name to every larger plant family, this is all the more true of every animal species, with the exception of insignificant lower animals that are in no way useful to him. He has originated and developed the various hunting methods on the basis of his knowledge of the habits of each species (p.213). His booty by no means has equal value; he distinguishes the various species, and even different parts of the body of the same species, according to the tastiness of the meat, the greater or lesser usefulness of bones and feathers, fur and skins, even sections of gut, according to their durability and efficiency. All this is based on rich practical knowledge. The Yamana can creep up on their game animals with amazing skill, and they imitate the movements of certain species in some of their games. Here, too, one can see how carefully /1455/ our Fuegians observe the animal realm surrounding them. On this, in turn, they base their rules for the hunt, for the gathering

/1455 cont./

825 of eggs and shellfish. With clever calculation they observe a closed season for certain species, and they know the time of year when it is not advisable to eat certain species. Our Indians very much enjoy watching the harmless play of animal parents with their young; /Fig. 100 appears here/ they marvel at the wonderfully majestic flight of the mighty stormy petrel and thoroughly enjoy the clumsy movements of penguins (Fig. 100) and cormorants; the graceful agility of the pinnipeds in the water amazes them no less than the awkward behavior of these animals on land (Fig. 95) makes them laugh. The hunter approaches a certain species with extreme caution or with the assurance of victory, all depending on its nature, physical strength, and mobility. From the unmatched character delineations in many of the myths one sees how well the hunter is acquainted with all the characteristics of the most common animals. From early youth, through frequent play with young animals and daily observation, the Fuegian acquires his rich knowledge of the peculiarities of the not inconsiderable number of animal species that, like he himself, inhabit the storm-tossed Cape and provide a livelihood for him and his family.

Fig. 100. Pygoscelis adeliae.

Our Indians cannot be blamed for giving a superstitious interpretation to much of the strange behavior of their animals (p. 1189). After all, they want to explain this behavior, and their judgment is usually based on what happens under similar circumstances among people. Thus they say, to mention still another

/1455 cont./

example: If a dog groans in the family hut, as though in despair, this is a sign of mourning, for it knows that a close relative of its master has just died or will soon die.

/1456/ 6. Medicine

In the following pages the work of the yékamuf, which is based on suggestion or on peculiar visions of spirits, will, of course, not be discussed. Similarly, the infections and epidemics that have been imported by Europeans (p. 340 /untranslated/) will not be considered. The Yamana are a healthy, resistant people, even though their physique may have little or no appeal for Europeans (p. 214 /untranslated/). They are as unfamiliar with transgressions against sexual morality as they are with alcohol. Although once or twice a year they overload their stomachs when a whale has been stranded (p.313), they must now and then suffer a temporary food shortage (p.306). They lack many things that could make their lives more agreeable (p.298). The fact that many people have reached a considerable age is due to their mode of life and the atmospheric conditions of their country, but it would be arbitrary to mention age in figures. The infirmities of age, which undoubtedly occurred, seldom annoyed a person seriously. Without protracted suffering, most of them died an almost sudden, gentle death from actual old age (360). Fitz-Roy (a):186 found it

> 360. Hyades (f):573 also declares: "The Fuegians can reach an advanced age (70 to 80 years). They then show external signs of decrepitude, but their physical capabilities are, for the most part, retained. The infirmities of advanced age are almost exclusively chronic rheumatic ailments" /translated from French/.

surprising that he met neither men nor women "who appeared to be very old -- certainly no one was decrepit" /cited in English/.

/1456 cont./

147 Our Fueguians are anything but complaining. They bear physical pain with courageous patience; their feeling of pain is by far not as acute as that of Europeans. Compare Hyades (p): 228. The very first missionaries, Despard (b):698 and Bridges (a):202, mentioned the most common ailments, and Hyades (f): 580 and (c):222 gave an accurate list. I am able to give a few supplementary data from my own observations. The most frequent are regular accidents, namely, burns and wounds (361).

164

> 361. Burleigh is absolutely right when he declares: "To meet a person of mature age who has not received an injury in some form or other, either violence or accident, is a rare occurrence" /cited in English/ (Mbl.XXV, 23,1931). What Hyades (f):585 says is pertinent in this connection: "It is probable that accidents and injuries carry off a large number of natives, for they do not give any care to the injured" /translated from French/.

Persons of all ages complain of headaches, ilúkpi-ʌ́n a great deal. Rheumatism, alutar-ʌ́ʌn or alutapílio, is a common ailment, but its acute form is rare. The first designation probably corresponds to alítʌ́ʌlʌn, "to chop off" /cited in English/, in RD:18. Gout affects an individual limb for many people, but it soon passes. The respiratory organs are rarely affected by bronchitis and only in quite exceptional cases by pneumonia and pleurisy. Ailments of this kind are called ʌ́ʌmʌ́ʌn-ʌ́ʌn, that is, "stabs, pains in the chest" (p.1079). Older /1457/ persons frequently cough. Abdominal diseases are rare; instead, there are a great many digestive disorders, chiefly diarrhea caused by immoderate eating or spoiled meat. Eczema and other slight skin troubles are more frequently seen; they usually heal within a short time. It is obvious that untended wounds lead to phlegmon and gangrene. Hyades (f):581 declares: "I have not had to see a single cancerous disease" /translated from French/. It is also true that originally the Yamana were free of syphilis, gonorrhea, and all forms of tuberculosis. Most people suffer from inflammation of the eyes

/1487 cont./

because they are constantly exposed to smoke from the hut fire. Mental disorders occur very rarely, but "idiocy is unknown" /translated from French/, as Hyades (p):339 asserts. Many an aged person suffers from impaired hearing, ufkir̄tāuwa. Infectious general diseases, actual epidemics, lēkhāja, lēmāja, did not occur before there was contact with Europeans.

Thus our Yamana suffered very little from disease. This was especially advantageous because effective remedies are totally lacking in their country (362). They try to alleviate the

362. This has been confirmed a number of times. Fitz-Roy (a):186 writes: "When ill, however seriously, they know of no remedies but rubbing the body with oil, drinking cold water, and causing perspiration by lying near the fire, wrapped up in skins" /cited in English/. Despard (b):698 asserts: "Remedies are simple indeed; they burn the part where pain is felt, or produce counter-irritation by whipping with stinging nettles" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (f):585, "the Fuegians do not know any medicines" /translated from French/. Finally, Aspinall:270 says briefly: "The art of medicine is limited to rubbing and the infusion of a few roots."

pain or ailment with procedures recommended by general health care. For some reason they expect great results when they are unwell by totally abstaining from food for a whole day. As Bridges (i):19 also declares, everyone expects that this will even bring "good health and efficiency in hunting" /cited in English/. For this reason a hunter considers it beneath his dignity to take refreshment with him when he goes hunting. A sick person sits huddled up in his hut, remains motionless, and lets the warmth of the hut fire have its effect on him. When he requests something, a member of the family hands him what he wants. The Yamana often recommend perspiring; the sick person is placed beside the fire and covered with many skins. Blubber is often used: for rheumatism, the affected part of the body is rubbed with it; for

/1457 com./

757 an ear ailment the blubber is warmed in a mussel shell and drops are put into the ear canal. As an alternative, especially to clean the ears of small children, a bit of milk is squeezed from a woman's breast, warmed in a mussel shell, and trickled into the ear passage. The same remedy is used to cleanse the eyes of newborn babies and generally for eye diseases in small children. If a person has a cramp, kelĕki, in some limb, it is rubbed with fresh leaves of Drimys. In case of lumbago, a man is treated in the following manner. He lies down on his belly. His wife warms her right foot at the fire and places /1458/ it gently on his back. Then she lifts her left foot so that the entire weight of her body rests on her right foot. After some time, when the warmth has gone out of her right foot, she climbs down and again warms it. She treats the entire back, section by section, in this way, beginning at the buttocks and proceeding up to the neck.

As a laxative the Yamana recommend chewing the leaves, [278] liuĭ, of ufkútta (Drimys winteri); this is also effective for heart and stomach ailments. Still more effective are large quantities of blubber which must be drunk at brief intervals. Finally, the sap of young beech trees is used in the following manner. The small trunk is broken off or chopped off, the end held over a fire, and the dripping sap caught in a mussel shell. They swallow the sap, as is, and await its laxative effect. This remedy also heals inflamed eyes. In the case of inflamed eyes, téllа sĕx, an actual eye bath is recommended, that is, dipping the face in salt water and opening and closing the eyelids several times while doing so. For cases of violent vomiting, amĕla, one drinks a great deal of [278] salt water. The large beard moss, tŭxalapajĭla (Usnea barbata), is effective against the type of diarrhea, ufpalaxĭna or yikĕna, that is common there. One chews small amounts of it, swallows the juice, and spits out the wood fibers. Nowadays an extract is prepared in a suitable pot. Celery, hŭfun, is recommended for dis- [278] eases of the respiratory organs; stalks of this plant are chewed and the juice swallowed. For coughs the Yamana rub the outside of the throat with spittle, perform a brief, actually magical massage, and finally blow away the coughs, hĕfa, with lively motions of the hands. A person who coughs up blood drinks salt water; better still, he stands in the water, ducks under a few times, swallows

/1458 cont./

759 the water a number of times, and then dries himself and lies down beside the hut fire. For strong palpitations and shooting pains in the heart the patient must remain motionless on his bed. A person who feels feverish, a rare phenomenon, lies down on the beach in such a way that the waves cover him; sometimes he stays under water for 20 minutes or longer. He does not eat blubber, fat, or the meat of whales, seals, or birds.

As a remedy for the very common headache, fresh nettles are put around the forehead and secured with leather bands. The entire head is also gently whipped with a bunch of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12, p. 121 /in untranslated portion/), whose small leaves, as is known, end in sharp, hard points. The yékamus also helps in his way by grasping a bunch of the sufferer's hair and suddenly pulling upward, which causes a faint crackling sound. As an alternative, according to Despard (b):698, "they roast their heads, and take repeated draughts of stagnant sea-water to produce nausea" /cited in English/. Bridges (i):19 maintains, as I, too, observed: "Headache was relieved by making the nose to bleed by cutting it within the nostrils" /cited in English/. Painful areas are relieved by short superficial cuts, causing a slight flow of blood. For sharp pains in the chest and laboged breathing, flat /1459/ stones the size of a hand are placed on the chest after being heated in the fire; when they cool off, they are reheated. A magical effect is obtained if someone hits the painful part with a piece of skin and with each blow loudly and with great exertion exhales a stream of air.

759 The Yamana heal suppurating wounds and abcesses, alax, 278 in various ways. The bark of young branches or long twigs from any kind of tree are held with one end over the fire. The sap dripping off the other end is allowed to fall on the affected part. In the winter finger-thick stalks of Macrocystis are used. Certain growths on beech trunks, about the size of a cherry, contain a sticky substance that is dripped into the wound after crushing the growth. Then down feathers are spread over the wound, which stick to it and dry it up. For skin eruptions, eczema, and similar conditions, chalk powder is rubbed over the entire body or the resinous, gum-like discharge of the cushion plant (Azorella) is

/1459 cont./

751 spread over it; the latter is a reliable remedy for growths resem-
274 bling carbuncles. Pustules are dashed and rubbed gently with saliva. Fresh small twigs and leaves of Macrocystis are put on swellings; they develop a slimy substance which is allowed to take effect. Fresh barberry shavings are put on an aching tooth. Loose teeth are broken and pulled out with the fingers. Hyades
[15] (y):209 says something that I cannot confirm from my own observations: "Insanity, if it exists, is very rare. The mad are treated with cold baths" /translated from French/. A broken arm is treated
752 by first placing thin sticks and a few pieces of leather around it; then this is bound with most strips of leather. The bandage is kept in place until the pain and swelling have subsided. These are the procedures that the Fueglans know for helping themselves in case of accidents and physical ailments.

5. The Language

192 It is well known that the language of the Yamana has often
114 been described in general accounts and there is an astonishing amount of material. Many a writer has let himself be carried away in repeated references to an unusually rich vocabulary. Bridges himself started this trend. I tried to explain in (gg):102 why he said that his dictionary contained 32,430 words. I have also emphatically pointed out that the Yamana language does not have that number of words and that a rich vocabulary by no means indicates a high level of development for this language. "Quite the contrary," I (hh):183 said earlier, "one will recognize the considerable poverty of a language from the fact that it requires many words." Long before, Garbe:336 pointed to this decisive condition. No one is to be blamed for the fact that a critical study of Yamana grammar as a whole has not yet been carried out -- F. Hestermann worked on a number of parts -- /1460/ for texts are lacking. The comprehensive dictionary of the Reverend T. Bridges was only published in 1933 by Hestermann and Gusinde, and the well-known translations of the New Testament that Bridges made six decades ago are not suitable for this purpose. I, too, should not be reproached and told that I failed to collect original texts. To exonerate myself, I may point out that on my journeys I was

//1400 cont./

192 completely absorbed by no less urgent tasks. Serious consideration should also be given to the fact that the language in use today has been altered and corrupted as a result of the banding together of the last survivors of the five original dialect groups and their contact with European culture. For example, their own word for "nothing" has dropped out of use completely, and old and young have substituted "nothing" /cited in English/ for it. I was thus faced with the lamentable fact that at the beginning of my journeys it was too late to record the pure, uncorrupted linguistic heritage of the Yamana. However, I was still able to determine the boundaries of the former dialect groups, as I called them (p. 199 /untranslated/), and the phonetic system. Compare Gusinde (1):1000.

197 This is not the place to describe in detail the more important peculiarities of Yamana grammar. Nor need I repeat that in (bb): 183 I maintained that "the low stage of development of the language is in perfect agreement with the whole mental constitution of the Yamana as it is revealed in other areas. This does not in the least cast any doubt on the fact that these Indians, judged by their mental capacity, are fully mature human beings." For the time being one must regard Yamana as an isolated language which is not even closely related to neighboring Selk'nam and Halakwulup. Comparative studies will show whether Yamana can be related to the meager remains of a definite Chaco language.

193 Only the following characteristics of this language will be mentioned. The root and the word are seldom the same. Usually verb and noun are separated; this is less often true of adjective and substantive in the noun, but always of the pronoun. Word formation, as well as every other grammatical formation, occurs through the use of actual prefixes and suffixes. Verbs and nouns abound in formations. The richest of all is the pronoun; on this account it has a prominent place among all the other languages of the world. Nouns are monosyllabic and polysyllabic, the latter being always recognizable as compounds. Often prefix and suffix occur in the same formation. There is no grammatical gender, but number and case are all the more elaborate. The noun has three numbers: singular, dual, and plural, the last two being formed only with suffixes. The genitive is prominent.

/1460 cont./

193 The suffix added to the genitive, however, also occurs as objective case. The adjective changes in value by its mere position: if it precedes, it is /1461/ attributive; if it follows, it is predicative. The pronoun has a uniform root, but in form it differentiates verbal and personal, possessive and subjective. The diversity of all pronouns is surprisingly great, especially because designations of place are expressed in horizontal and vertical relationships and because the qualification "toward" as a prefix and "away from" as a suffix are joined with a single word (1463).

> 1463. It would lead too far afield to give examples of this; a good selection of them may be found in Hestermann (b), Bridges (k):235, and even more in Hyades pp.200.

The verb can be constructed from a nominal basis by numerous suffixes. Verbs can also be compounded and stand as coordinates. There are four conjugations according to the four different final vowels. The place variation of the noun as described above also extends in every respect to the entire verb. There are at least six different forms of verbal negation. As Hestermann declares, "the inflections briefly alluded to here, along with those affecting the noun, form a veritably inexhaustible phenomenon distinguished by consummate brevity of form as well as sensitive elegance. Yamana is a melodious type of Indian language, tense, rich, precise, and full of meaning." If, in this study, I
197 have several times mentioned dialect differences (p. 200 /untranslated/), I certainly did not mean substantial deviations between one group and another, but merely slight differences in words and appellations for the same thing, as well as in some sounds. These insignificant local peculiarities obviously do not constitute dialects in the strict sense of the word.

c. Artistic Sense

517 All the thoughts and endeavors of our water nomads on Cape Horn are directed toward the inescapable food quest; it almost completely absorbs the individual. Whatever remains of leisure

/1461 cont./

517 time and unspent energy is devoted to rest or modest social demands. The Yamana do have a feeling for beauty and an understanding of proportion, but the conditions of life are not conducive to a rich development of these tendencies. The Yamana does not receive much stimulation for aesthetic enjoyment or artistic activity from his environment, which is clothed in dull colors and presents wildly chaotic forms. A desire for them emerges now and then from his innermost nature, however, and actually expresses itself within modest limits in one way or another.

1. Sense of Beauty

832 On some occasions our Fuegians indisputably demonstrate their well-developed sense for physical beauty. They prefer a slim, mobile, well proportioned, moderately tall figure, /1462/ full of healthy energy. Such a figure is particularly impressive to youthful representatives of the opposite sex, who quite openly speak about it in company. Marriageable boys and girls are sometimes considerably influenced and affected by the physical form of the person of their choice (p.399). /Fig. 101 appears here./

[856] Parents and close relatives are anxious that a baby develop a beautiful figure from its earliest years. This is the chief purpose of a kind of light massage (p.525), although this alone does not always guarantee success. It is said that a particularly attractive and graceful baby usually changes to the opposite and becomes ugly, whereas often a less beautiful child becomes very well formed after a few years. In the eyes of our Fuegians body hair

302 is unpleasant; hence they pluck out underarm and pubic hair, as well as beard hair (p. 82). For this purpose they like to use two mussel shells that fit together like a pair of pincers. Some people take great pains with the hair, oiling it with blubber and combing it several times a day (p. 85). Most of them have it shortened in due time, so that it hangs about shoulder-level (p.81); it is not gathered into braids. When, in exceptional cases, some men have their head hair cut off before a fight, it is because they wish to prevent their opponents from grabbing their hair and pulling them

832 by it. A European also finds the same satisfaction in the figures

/1462 cont./

822 that are regarded as beautiful among the Yamana. Spegazzini (a):185 refers to this specifically. The various types of ornament are supposed to increase the allure of physical beauty. The impulse for this sort of thing /1463/ varies according to the person, his age and sex, but coincides almost exactly with what one observes in Europe under the same circumstances.

[985 415]

Fig. 101. A Well-made Little Basket.

517 In making implements and utensils, weapons and ornaments, everyone tries to achieve a certain degree of symmetry, solely because it is agreeable to his eye and feelings. There are even special designations for persons who make certain things perfectly and according to the rules of good workmanship. Some of these expressions are based merely on considerations of usefulness. They use the word wIlEpitas, "clever, expert, careful in cutting up a

/1483 cont./

517 whale," /cited in English/, according to RO:630, or wáaima for a man who makes a good canoe. People who make a small basket or an ornament with particular care are known far and wide, and the accurate construction of such things is talked about by others because it gives them satisfaction and true enjoyment. One often hears expressions like the following: "What a pretty thing! -- How good-looking that is! -- The workmanship is very accurate and shapely!..." Everyone praises the effort made by an artisan. When they see a perfect specimen, old people encourage the young ones to imitate it. Any kind of praise is gratifying to the Tamana, and he makes an effort to obtain it. Beyond that, however, he also finds particular pleasure in the qualities of the beautiful object. A European, if he wants to be fair in his judgment, must take into consideration the difficulties that hamper the Tamana in the making and fashioning of his implements. For example, he does not have the use of metal tools and measuring instruments, but is dependent solely on his hardened, but very limber fingers and upon the measurements of his eye. For this reason, obviously, the various rows in a little basket (Fig. 101) or an ornament and the lines in a painting are never absolutely perfect. The indolence and the carelessness of persons who do not want to take pains and trouble are, of course, also reasons for many an inadequate piece of work.

531 The Tamana enhance the beauty of certain objects and their
302 own bodies by means of painting. They use the well-known ma-
303 terials (p. 90) for the three colors that are the only ones applied: ítí = red, scarlet; yégu = light, luminous, white; finally, ítmbi = black. The pigments are either rubbed to a dry powder or first mixed with water or blubber in a large Mytilus shell (Fig. 102) to form a thick paste and then applied with the finger or with a painting stick (pp. 95 , 712 , 790). Designations for other tones of color are not altogether lacking, but are seldom used. For instance, one says lakíma, "gray," only for human hair and for fur, whereas the word pówajígu is used for the gray, faded, and pale color of any other object. Light red or a reddish yellow is designated by pójallí. There is no particular significance attached to any of these colors (p. 94) (364), although one or

364. Martius: 188 and Spegazzini (a):170

/1481 cont./

531 have maintained the contrary,
without justification.

532 another is preferred on certain occasions, for example, in the case of /[illegible]/ mourning (p. [illegible]). Insofar given the Yamana intense pleasure (365), the color of the [illegible] blossom serves as a

365. This has been confirmed a number of times. Hyades (b):1361 and (d):398 says: "The favorite color is red; the other colors are often confused" /translated from French/. I also agree with the last part of his statement. The designations that he (d):391 lists for all kinds of colors are worthless.

standard of comparison for them (p. [illegible]). The Yamana use the
531 well-known pigments to paint their faces or their entire bodies
532 on various occasions. The gay and rich variety of their designs very clearly expresses their by no means limited sense of beauty. This is even more definitely shown in their ornaments and in the patterns of color with which they cover various objects, such as the Kina mats and the ornamental mats used in the [illegible] hut (Plates 2, 3, 4). /Fig. 102 appears here./ The Yamana have a considerable number of special designations for the various types of painting. The word [illegible] means "to paint horizontal lines upon the face with [illegible] as a mark of friendship" /cited in English/, according to BD:410; the word [illegible] means "to paint the face with up and down bands or lines of either red or black" /cited in English/. The painting is sometimes supplemented with a feather
532 decoration. I observed neither a special gift nor an inclination to draw among the Yamana (366). I never saw children scratch simple

366. Differing on this point, Phillips (a):1011 reported: "It was strange that the Fueglans showed a great inclination to draw. Without being told, they collected strips of paper and drew caricatures on them with charcoal, which were supposed to represent their comrades. They were then given pencils, and they eagerly

/[illegible] /

§32 continued to practice their skill, copying this and that, chiefly parrots, albeit with very creditable success." Aspinall 271 does not prove his statement that "they have a great talent for drawing."

Some of drawings in the sand with their fingers or with small sticks of [illegible] on the hut framework or the canoe with pieces of charcoal. Although I very often /[illegible]/ wrote and drew in my diary, this did not even stimulate the adults, much less the youngsters, to imitate

§33

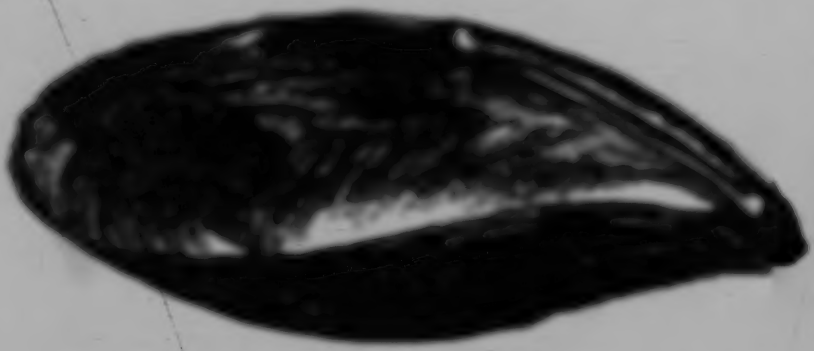

Fig. 105. Shell of a Large Mytilus Mussel. Three-fourths natural size.

me (367).

367. What Know (x):1, 320 has to say proves the curiosity of the Fuegians in Banner Cove: "They were all greatly astonished at my writing in pencil on blank paper.....and they eagerly begged of me some magic wood. Of course I gave them some, and they soon set to work trying to write as I did" /cited in English/.

/1465 cont./

2. Art Activity

301 The many occasions that show how much the Yamana loves ornamentation have already been mentioned. For some of the people, body cleanliness is far less important than their desire to please others with the beauty of their bodies or with special ornaments. This type of vanity is consciously instilled even in children, and no one sees anything wrong in it. For this reason many persons acquire several ornaments at once and prefer to display those that are conspicuous or that come from a remote region. There are also persons who paint themselves every day just for the fun of it. Since a visitor, as a rule, is supposed to wear a facial painting when he presents himself (pp. 96, 922), many people spend a great deal of time and effort on it, so that they will be admired. It would not do, however, to maintain with Bove (c): 187: "The eagerness for ornamentation seems to be even stronger among the men than among the women." In the one sex as well as the other there are individuals who far surpass most of the people in their passion to please.

237 301 Their excessive desire to please leads them to avail themselves of definite ornaments, besides the actual body painting in all its forms. Ankle bands (p. 99) are of a simple type; necklaces are more elaborate. Either the fine fibers of guanaco or whale tendon are plaited into a long cord and worn in several loops, or the latter is used to string short pieces of bone or small shells, ʷóu̯ ʷlpúka, of Photinula violacea are tied to it close together. These are the basic forms of the necklaces worn by the Yamana. Each of them also has certain unique touches. The small pieces of bone may be longer or shorter; clearly recognizable rings are incised in each of the longer ones, which are then supposed to look like small pieces. Moreover, the pieces that are naturally whitish are alternated with some that have been purposely blackened (p. 103). Finally, as a special pendant, the red beak of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater, Fig. 76) is attached in the center, or four to six of these beaks are distributed along the lower half of the necklace (Fig. 103). Instead of the short pieces cut from thin, hollow bird bones, the Yamana, for variety, also string the short calcareous tubes of sea worms on a long tendon. Such small pieces

1: Gamble--1410 2-5 (1915-1924) 1927 [illegible] Tulagan [illegible]

237
301

Fig. 103. Necklace. Two-thirds natural size.

/1465 cont./

237 are not very regular, however; hence /1466/ /Fig. 103 appears
301 here./ /1467/ this whole assemblage is not valued very much (Fig. 104). The simplest ornaments are those with only a single mussel shell or a small beak of a bird, or several of these pieces, hanging on the tendon. A long string of Photinula shells is regarded as the most beautiful and valuable neck ornament, for it

Fig. 104. Necklace. One-third natural size.

requires great care to make (Fig. 23). /Fig. 104 appears here./
301 For this reason no woman who thinks well of herself is without this piece, which is sometimes more than three meters long. Fitz-Roy (a):201, and later Bridges (i):23, recognized that "the Fuegian necklaces show some ingenuity in those who make them, ... that one is, at first, inclined to doubt their being the manufacture of such uncouth savages" /cited in English/. Spegazzini (a):161, too, does not refuse to acknowledge that these things represent "such careful work that they do not lack beauty" /translated from Spanish/. They indicate a well-developed, sensitive taste. The

/1467 cont./

301 same thing must be said about the feather ornaments, which can be seen on various ceremonial occasions in the čiéxaus (pp. 713, 790) and at the ceremonies of mourning (p. 1083) as hapaxēl, a larger triangular piece of skin, or kwaxwēxeni, a band of skin two fingers wide and covered with down. The apawēxa is only worn by the yékamuš, who regularly puts it on when he is practicing his calling (p. 1307).

304 It has been proved that the Yamana do not practice any kind of intentional body mutilation (p. 106), and Hyades (b):1345 agrees with various observers that "there are no deformations or ethnic mutilations" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy (a):138 is also correct when he maintains: "No ornaments are worn in the nose, ears, or lips, nor on the fingers" /cited in English/. Bridges (h):206, Bove (e):157 and (g):234, and Hyades (d):306 and (p):329, as well as other travelers, emphatically deny that the Yamana are acquainted with tattooing. Nevertheless, I was able to prove that, to a modest extent, it was formerly practiced on the candidates in the čiéxaus (p. 715), not, however, for beauty. In the

302 most recent times it has been replaced by a special body painting, either that described on page 717, or the entire upper part of the body is painted uniformly white and two finger-thick, red parallel lines are drawn close together from the farthest lateral projection /1468/ of one shoulder to the other in an arc that extends over the chest and back (cf. Fig. 21 of the photogravure plates /at the end of this work/). This painting is used only for the čiéxaus.

[538] Our Yamana are acquainted with neither poetry nor proverbs,

533 but in the syllables constantly repeated in their songs, there is an agreeable rhythm and a rich sound; they do not have a definite meaning, however. The melodies are always merely short movements with simple motifs. The syllables, made up of the same or a few different sounds, are either repeated on a single pitch or in a variant in which the third predominates. Gay melodies are clearly distinguishable from sad ones (368). The Yamana like to sing;

368. Bridges (a):207 established that "The singing of these Indians is of different kinds" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (p):330, "the song is usually gay; it is made

/1468 cont./

533

up of a single word or even a single syllable, repeated indefinitely" /translated from French/. In Spencer:111 it is said: "The words, they say [in their songs], have no meaning to them, and have been handed down in parrot form from their ancestors, and all their songs originally came from the Alakaluf tribe" /cited in English/.

how else would the considerable variety of their songs have come about. One may find it strange that, without exception, they are sung by a smaller or larger group. A person going his solitary way or quietly gliding over the water in the canoe with his family would never feel the urge to sing a little song. A mother does not [854] sing any kind of cradle song to her darling whom she cradles in her arms or watches over in his bed. She is content to hold the child in her outstretched arms and gently rock it back and forth. She performs these movements rhythmically, and each time she sways back and forth she repeats the sounds hūš hūš. The rhythms of a few of the social games are accompanied by children and adults with simple melodies set to long words (p.585).

The songs in the čiéxaus, which fall into two groups, are unique. An uninterrupted repetition of a few sounds on the same pitch, carried on at night sometimes by only one person and during the day simultaneously by most of the people, is part of the daily program (p. 791); more elaborate melodies accompany the special dances and social games on most evenings (p.822). In songs of mourning, especially in the yamalašemōjna, the same word, consisting of three to six syllables, is repeated on the same pitch; the melody is constantly interrupted by interjections and loud laments (p.1070).

I would broadly characterize the tā́xer as a mood-song. It concludes a mourning assembly, a festive gathering, or a čiéxaus (p. 841). The brown meadow bird, tā́xer, invented this song and first sang it when, as a capable yékamuš, it once stranded a whale and invited everybody to an abundant feast. A person who now introduces this song wants to please his countrymen with a surprise and create a happy mood, after the example set by that bird.

/1468 cont./

533 While the singing is going on, a person moves around the circle /1469/ and distributes a bit of meat or a roasted mussel to everyone present. The kēšpiš of each person present abandons, so to speak, the body, which is bound to that place, and goes to the festival of the tāxer bird. Far out on the high seas these kēšpiš meet other kēšpiš and those of their deceased relatives. The latter are hosts to the arriving kēšpiš and they all enjoy themselves for some time. Toward the end of the gathering, the hosts motion with both hands as though they were grasping things and showering gifts on their guests. Thereupon these kēšpiš take leave of one another and return to the hut from which they departed; the other kēšpiš remain far out over the ocean. During the tāxer song the kēšpiš of a human being leaves its body, exactly as it does when the person is dreaming. The song is always sung seriously and calmly; sometimes it is reminiscent of a true song of mourning. What the Yamana express with the word kēšpiš in this explanation clearly corresponds to what we Europeans call "state of mind" or "mood"; the tāxer song is supposed to bring everyone back to calm mental balance after great mental agitation. Every yékamuš has a particular song that was given to him by his yefáčel (p.1918). The čōwánni song, with which the spirits of the sea animals, especially those of schools of herring and those of whales, are enticed, has a set melody, the introduction of which is reserved for the yékamuš (p.1349); in the east the čōwánni song is called uwāwen-yékmuš, in the west, atuíle-yékamuš. It is well known that a medicine man practices his calling only in the "dream state" into which he puts himself by his singing. This singing is also called lōima-yékamuš because during it every medicine man makes contact with his spirits.

The pasánna may be regarded as a kind of jolly folksong; 533 177 the designation tapalisánna is less common. Everyone may sing them wherever and whenever he chooses, following his own inclination without pressure from the outside. There are few people, however, who enjoy them and occasionally entertain their neighbors with them. My informants assured me that all the pasánna were first given to the western Yamana group long ago by the Halakwulup, and that later the former transmitted these songs to the central group. This also explains the fact that the word

/1469 cont./

533 177 underlying the melody is a clearly recognizable Halakwulup word, not otherwise current among the Yamana. The word ariwa, as well as acagwarafka -- each of which is repeated to a separate melody -- are designated as genuine Halakwulup words. The song based on the latter word is called the "pasánna of the drunken ones": it is sung with great merriment and accompanied by clumsy swaying of the entire upper part of the body. In Halakwulup the word ēk'soxwar means "water, drinking water, alcoholic beverage" (Gusinde [s]:1013). In another pasánna the expression guanāko seftihōx is repeated. The word guanāko possibly /1470/ found its way into Yamana only in recent times through this pasánna, for otherwise they use only amēxa. This pasánna, like the previous one, clearly shows that in the not too distant past the Halakwulup have transmitted one or another of their songs to our Yamana. Gertie and other informants assured me that in their youth, on trips through the west, they learned a song or two which was unknown in the central Yamana region. Just as today a jolly group will occasionally burst into a pasánna, so, in earlier times, this was done on the rare occasion when a European ship passed by as a sign of joy and surprise. The Yamana mother is certainly not fond of singing, but it is true that one of them will occasionally amuse her baby with a pasánna.

533 302 It is customary among the Yamana to pass around some pigment while singing is going on. Everyone present takes a little of it and paints his face, a sign that he is taking part in the singing. A single woman will sometimes sing the so-called akāinix song in jolly company. In the middle of it she will stretch both arms in front of her with the palms of the hands turned upward. Suddenly a little piece of charcoal will be lying on each hand, and with it the singer draws lines on the face of everyone present. No one could tell me the meaning of all this (369).

126 369. On my last two trips through Tierra del Fuego I made phonograph recordings for each of the three tribes living there. E. M. von Hornbostel has arranged this material, but his comparative study, which I received in manuscript, can only appear in the third

/1470 cont./

126 volume of the present work. For the time being, I wish to call attention to his shorter account, "Fuegian Songs," in the American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 357-367, July-September, 1936. -- At this point I need not discuss the erroneous view of someone like Spegazzini (a):169 and others. Bridges (i):18 briefly mentions a few songs of the Yamana. Cf. in Cooper:90 the report on the songs that Furlong recorded on the phonograph.

533 868 532 It is amusing to learn that occasionally an older man who enjoys singing will call young people into his hut -- a few adults will join them -- in order to practice songs with them. Ašikanšis is known as such a person. They stay together for a few hours, learn or repeat one song after another, and conclude their jolly gathering with the so-called ánawē, a merry performance. A clownish man will step outside and wrap himself in skins so that only his face is uncovered, upon which he draws many red and white dots. Between each corner of his mouth and a nostril, as well as between each pair of eyelids, he stretches short sticks which distort the face. This joke, a favorite among boys (p.580), is called hanaxwénteg, and the little sticks are flexible twigs of the parasitic plant Myzodendron punctatum, appropriately called hánis tauwēla, "basket of the beech," because of its shape. In this disguise the man suddenly steps into the gathering of youthful singers, acts very officiously toward each one, and joins in the general laughter. Sometimes several immature /1471/ youths will dress up in the manner described, and they all end the singing lesson with lively leaps outside the hut of their "teacher." This gay conclusion is called hanaxwérentega (cf. Fig. 4 of the photogravure plates /at the end of the work/).

534 The Yamana do not have actual musical instruments. It is true that children take the short hollow bones of a bird or the hollow lower part of a thick quill, hold the object vertically, and place it against the lower lip, producing soft whistling tones with short puffs of air. These simple objects, called umáku, certainly 533 cannot be regarded as musical instruments. Nevertheless, the

/1471 cont./

533 various songs, the diversity of body painting, and the delight in ornaments show the not inconsiderable aesthetic feeling of the Yamana. For an evaluation from the viewpoint of culture history, a distinction that was often pointed out to me is significant. The Yamana say: The čōwánni song and every yékamuš song are peculiar to the five ethnic groups alike, but the tāxer song, the [177] čiéxaus song, and the pasánna songs belonged to the Halakwulup and were first transmitted to the western Yamana, who gradually transmitted them to the central Yamana groups so that they, too, have had them since then.

d. Sociability

571 As a result of the type of economy imposed on our Fuegians by their environment, the individual throughout most of his life is dependent upon himself alone or his immediate family. By nature he is capable of getting along by himself and of being self-sufficient. He is constantly stimulated anew by everything around him, and the pressure of food-seeking incessantly arouses his desire for action. Hence he can never be inactive for any length of time and become bored; his temperament is far too lively and active. He knows how to keep himself busy even if he has to be alone. There are many middle-aged and older persons who prefer continuous solitude far more than one visit after another by a related family or a family of friends. The Yamana has many inner resources and likes to give himself up to his own thoughts. He finds great satisfaction in sitting by himself and occupying himself in one way or another. Nevertheless, the great enjoyment that lively social intercourse can offer often drives one or another of them into the company of his fellows, where he can enrich his knowledge and his spirit and where mind and soul derive new stimulation. His happy nature comes into its own in group games; he is a very agreeable companion.

/1471 cont./

1. Gatherings

571 From previous accounts the Yamana is known to be a person
593 who has himself under perfect control and who usually behaves in
521 a very /1472/ reserved manner in the company of others (p. 914).
This attitude is not determined solely by mistrust of others and the traditional rules for social intercourse (p. 913); it is far more a natural characteristic of our Indians, to which their training, of course, contributes its share. Within the family circle every member is very reserved and taciturn. For hours at a time individuals will sit beside each other in the canoe or in the hut without exchanging a word. If they chat with one another now and then, their talk almost always centers around what the present day has brought. Loud gaiety and spontaneous outbursts of joy are more or less rare within the individual family. Nevertheless, many a father will amuse himself with his young sons and many an active mother will do the same with her daughters in every conceivable way. Parents really enjoy playing with their young children and fondle them very lovingly from the day they are born (p. 513).
593 As soon as children have some understanding, the parents confide
861 in them about their own experiences and the knowledge derived
521 from it, as well as much of their religious and mythological belief. In this way the children obtain a rich heritage of ideas and learn to think about it when they are alone. In the evening after the long day's journey, the parents, squatting around the hut fire or stretched out on their hard beds, repeat in detail just about everything that the day has brought. They make comparisons and recall other things, confirm this thing and warn about that, discuss their plans for the morrow, and toy with hopes for the future. This is the particular kind of social life, maintained within narrow (in fact, the narrowest) limits, that the Fuegian family can offer them.

571 On a land or canoe trip individual persons usually pass each
521 other without stopping; both parties are content with a brief greeting, a modest question and an equally brief answer (p. 921). If, however, several families of friends or relatives brought together by chance after a long separation are camping together, there is great liveliness in the group. The greeting of two friends is sometimes loud and impulsive, and on such an occasion the discussion

/1472 cont./

571 521 between individuals may last far into the night (370). There is

370. If, as Bridges (h):205 reports, several families had joined around the fire, "they were very animated, spending most of their time in jovial conversation and in the most exuberant demonstrations of happiness. Their laughter, natural and cordial, was excessive in the extreme" /translated from Spanish/.

an exchange of personal adventures and experiences, they report and discuss what has happened in their own families, and they cover in detail their lives and activities as these unfold day by day in a smaller or larger group. This kind of exchange keeps everyone informed about the actions of his relatives and friends.

571 Of far greater significance are those gatherings that come about in connection with a universal obligation, such as /1473/ to instruct young people in the ćiéxaus (p.705) and kīna (p.1295), to express sympathy to mourners in the yamalaĭemōina (p.1079), or to demand atonement for a crime against life, as happens in the case of revenge for bloodshed (p.898). All these gatherings are occasions for renewed acknowledgment of prevailing custom and lawful tradition, occasions when adults are reminded anew of their valuable heritage and it is passed on to young people. I am thinking here primarily of religious belief and [illegible] social and moral precepts, but also of the historical and mythological tradition (371). It has been mentioned a number of times that a gift

371. The assertions of Bridges (k):236 and Hyades (p):338, namely, "The natives neither preserve any tradition about their past history nor know where they came from" /translated from Spanish/ and "there are two or three legends of fantastic exploits, each telling of some ancient actual deed..." /translated from French/, do not need special refutation in view of what is contained in Part 4 of the present volume.

/1473 cont./

571 for story-telling is greatly appreciated (pp. 934 ,1096) (372).

372. Bove (e):159 declares: "The Fuegians have an amazing gift of speech [i.e., talent for story-telling!]; very often an old man in the huts will start talking and tell about battles, violent storms, meetings with the evil spirit, and hunting adventures for hours without stopping."

These gatherings are indispensable for the assured and orderly continuance of the entire tribe; they enrich the individual and promote the general welfare. When a gathering breaks up, the participants scatter to the four winds, fully satisfied by the experience and with renewed strength within themselves, willing to conform faithfully to the prevailing obligations and laws.

Thus the larger as well as the smaller gatherings of families are extraordinarily valuable; the individual derives the most benefit from them, and the group as a whole gains many advantages. In this connection there is also the half-serious, half-humorous verbal contest known as wólaʔka (p. 955) which is sometimes followed by a regular fist fight between two groups who finally smash all the implements at hand belonging to each other. It starts out of sheer exuberance, and although the participants become very excited during the mad encounter, they end it with their tempers calmed. Finally, the Ikinalpi, a social celebration on a more modest scale, must be mentioned. It takes place when a few people gather for some happy occasion, for example, if the hunt was very successful or if a girl's parents give their daughter to a young man as his wife. The persons arranging it gather a great amount of meat and invite everyone available to a common meal. The almost commanding influence of a tiāmuna has already been described (p. 635). He is never at the same time a yékamuí. He is very conspicuous at a mourning; he speaks comforting words to those who are most affected, pointing out to them that Watauinéjwa has let their relative die out of righteous indignation and as a punishment. In kindly words, he constantly points out tribal customs to the younger people. Thus, each tiāmuna exerts his influence through precept and example.

/1474/ 2. Amusements

517 524 The way the children play when several families camp in the same spot for a few days has been described (p.576). The way they tease each other in true childish fashion is shown, for example, by the use of Adenocystis alga (Fig. 80, p.598) with which wily boys surprise unsuspecting girls. Smaller as well as larger children have a great deal of fun with the swing (p.585); concerning even middle-aged persons, Bridges maintains that "the swing also they are very fond of" /cited in English/ (VSA: XII, 53;1865). The adults, too, take advantage of being together for mutual diversion and general entertainment (373).

373. Bridges (k):240 says in a very general way: "Their principal amusements are wrestling, playing with a ball, and practicing with spears, arrows, slings, and stones" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (a):209, Outes (g):53, Spegazzini (a):170, Whaits in MM:X, 12;1876, and others speak of dances. These reports and the few expressions in BD are, unfortunately, incomplete. Bridges (a):209 maintained that "most of their amusements are very childish" /cited in English/; these words alone show plainly how little he understood the characteristics of those Indians.

526 The popular ball-game does not require special preparation. Anyone may call the people out of the huts to a smooth, grassy area where they form a large circle. The ball, kálaka, the size of a fist, is made of the web of the albatross, first blown up to dry, stuffed with down feathers, and finally sewn up. It is tossed up perpendicularly with the flat palm of the hand; when it returns, another player must again toss it into the air and make sure that it ascends as vertically as possible. Otherwise, it usually falls to the ground outside the circle of players, which is supposed to be avoided. Lawrence, along with Bridges (i):16, declares: "The Indians are very fond of playing at ball" /cited in English/ (MM: VI, 128;1872), which they call kálaka áraku. This is almost the

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526 same as the other game of ball, known as kálea. BD:201 mentions only kílaka, "a ball of any kind" /cited in English/. For kílea one needs the stomach of a seal, which is dried and blown up. With the hand flat it is tossed vertically into the air, but since the shape of the ball is irregular, its flight is uncertain and it often falls to the ground outside the circle of players.

Whereas men and women join in ball-playing, only two men take part in wrestling, which is less popular. It is called kílaka múlaka. The name is easily explained: Before the match begins, a person chooses his opponent from the audience and challenges him by placing a little ball, kílaka, at his feet. This man must accept if he does not want to be called a coward, and with the other man he immediately steps inside the large circle of spectators. At once they seize each other and wrestle until one of them is held down by the other in such a way that his entire back is on the ground. The spectators follow the match with loud cries and enthusiastically acclaim the victor. Tripping a person is not permitted, but one man can use his knee to kick the shank of the other so hard /1475/ that he sways and is more easily knocked over. The one who is defeated suffers a considerable affront to his own honor and that of his best friends. One of the latter immediately steps inside the circle of spectators, grasps the ball, and places it at the feet of the winner who has no choice but to prove his skill with the new opponent, and the two grapple. As Bridges (i):16 asserts: "they never tried more than twice when those matches proved equal" /cited in English/. Before the fight a yékamuš gives strength and stability to the knees of the wrestlers by his magic massage. The one who is defeated is called ūiya or takupēna. The winner, ášaša kílaka, who is unmarried is very much desired by girls for marriage (cf. the wrestling match of the Selk'nam in Vol. I, 1134). A general struggle, known as hamkajyīwa, takes place if a man has been successively victorious over several men of another group. In order to vindicate their wounded honor, the latter appear before this man, and one of them places the little ball at his feet. The two start wrestling within the large circle of spectators which has quickly formed. If the previous victor keeps the upper hand, a friend of the defeated one will immediately challenge him, and a new struggle begins. A third and a fourth man follow.

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526 Soon a second, fourth, and sixth pair have come together, and finally all the men of one group are wrestling with those of the other. Then the women also pitch in and push the wrestling pairs to the ground. Finally, in the general melee, no one knows who can boast of having won. Thus, the ones who began the wrestling believe that their reputation has been restored and both groups separate peacefully. The women do not care for this general wrestling, for it ends in a nasty brawl.

The so-called imitative games are more enjoyable and
527 much more agreeable to the Yamana because they are in such perfect accord with their nature. They reproduce the movements and the calls of certain kinds of animals with amazing accuracy. Mimicry is only a supplementary aspect, for often they repeat the melody without the body movements. These games are permitted only during the čiéxaus celebration, either in the Great Hut or in front of it (p. 222): it is the duty of the winefkēra to keep curious persons away. At the general concluding ceremony, however, old and young may look on (p. 811). Sometimes only men or only women take part, but usually both together. Each of these games has its own melody.

The ímaxēl, the game of the sea lion (Otaria jubata). Both men and women, clumsily and ponderously, lie down close to one another in an irregular group. Some of them stretch slowly, others look around in a bored way, some prop themselves up with their hands flat, while others, half upright, drag themselves along the ground. One person will scratch his back as though his hand were a flipper; another wallows exuberantly in the sand. One person will snore loudly until his neighbor lies down on top of him, whereupon he shoots up angrily and bares his teeth to the one who disturbed him. Two other persons fondle each other, imitating male and female. This or that one will repeatedly snap shut /1476/ his wide-open mouth, as though he had caught fish in the water, make loud chewing motions, and smack his lips with delight. In the midst of all this a few persons will roar in a deep, threatening voice. While this confused tangle moves and stirs about, the spectators nearby repeat the melody and often clap their hands. The players themselves intermittently call out hoxhox... or rūkrūk... After some time a woman gets up and gently taps one player after

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534

another with a short piece of leather. Immediately each one collapses and is "dead." Lying in jumbled confusion, they remain motionless until the same woman puts a mussel shell, filled with water, to the mouth of each one; he takes a small swallow and is "alive" again. When all the players have resumed their places, the whole company concludes this extraordinarily charming game with loud, high-pitched cries of hō hō.

The haĭ̯wā́pisa-xēl, game of the blue whale (Balaenoptera intermedia). This is a game for men only. At least 12 of them sit down on the ground; each one spreads his outstretched legs apart and leans with his back close against the chest of the man behind him. The latter puts both arms under the armpits of the man in front of him and holds him tightly. The man sitting at the head of the row rests both fists on the ground and braces himself firmly against the man behind him. Swaying from one side to the other, the whole row clumsily slides slowly from the spot, naturally in the direction opposite the one they are facing. At short intervals all the men howl while the women present uninterruptedly carry on the slow, rhythmic song. Finally a woman hastens along the entire row and gently slaps each man with a piece of skin, whereupon the men in the row lie down on their sides and "the whale is now dead." This game is supposed to show the final clumsy movements of a whale that has been tossed up on the beach.

The ałōula-xēl, game of the small whale (Pseudorca crassidens /the "false killer" whale/). First of all the men form a long row in the manner described above, and the row leans against an identical, shorter one. The former represents haĭ̯wā́pisa, and the latter, ałōula. The accompanying song is similar to the previous one, but the howling of the long row is fainter and more doleful. Both rows slide along simultaneously, but very clumsily. After a while the men in the shorter row brace themselves with all their strength against the men in the longer one. The latter groan most pitifully, the cry gradually subsides, and the row collapses: the ałōula has "fatally wounded" the haĭ̯wā́pisa and the latter "dies."

The ilawā́ja-xēl, game of the kite (Catharista atratus). The men and women crowd close together and assume a squatting position. Their half-open hands rest loosely on the ground and scratch in the sand. They very accurately imitate the rustling beat of the hard, stiff wing feathers of the vulture. A few persons hop about happily,

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54 turning in one place or moving forward stiffly. They often interrupt their constant singing with screeches of joy. They grasp a /1477/ a piece of skin with both hands and slap it against the ground or pull it through the sand. This vulture ploughs up the ground in exactly the same way with its wings. Other persons move forward in long steps, spasmodically, as it were. Still others hop with their arms partly raised. In all this one recognizes the movements of ilawkia. Compare Figure 10 of the photogravure plates /at the end/.

The yo'khalla-ell, game of the hawk (Milvago chimango). This is almost the same as the preceding one in its movements, but the melody is different. Besides, the gestures are much more amusing and livlier; the striding motions are slightly springy and graceful. The short, thrill cry repeated by individual persons cannot be distinguished from that of this predatory bird.

The hêlla-ell, game of the great gerfalcon (Polyboru tharus). When the special song is in full swing, a few men and women step out of the circle of participants to the open fire. Here they squat down, resting their open hands lightly on the ground. They repeatedly shake their outstretched arms, just as the falcon shakes its half-open wings. They also make brief rolling motions, exactly like the falcon when it lifts itself up to fly. At the same time their hands are three-quarters open and their fingers spread apart. With the upper part of their bodies bent forward, they scratch busily in the sand with their hands, an activity that the gerfalcon very much enjoys. A gay, thrill cackle is often heard. The people present toss a piece of meat into the circle of players. One or another will grasp the piece with his teeth. Immediately another player jumps up, bites at the piece of meat, and tugs at it impatiently until someone else comes up. Anyone who has torn off a piece cackles loudly and hides it from another person who might snatch it away from him. All the movements are very lively, the leaps gaily excited, and the thrill cries of hêr hêr... or xî xî...or yo yo...are loud. Toward the end, all the players utter several croaking kî kî sounds and the spectators answer with loud cries of ho ho as the conclusion.

The ghîpu-ell, game of the great albatross (Diomedea exulans, Fig. 88). After the people present have introduced the

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524 proper melody, a few men and women step inside the small circle. Some of them remain standing; others kneel down and lift their outstretched arms to shoulder height. They keep their arms in this position. The people standing then step slowly forward, gliding past one another and bending the upper part of the body calmly and sedately to one side and then the other. At the same time they move their outstretched arms in wide arcs through the air, but without hitting one another. The moderately loud hoō hoō cries of the gĕrăpu are uttered sporadically and very realistically, sounding like a long drawn-out cooing of doves. The players do not actually make striding motions, but glide along the ground. All their movements are extremely elegant, for only /1478/ slim persons play this game which is supposed to show the majestic flight of the albatross over a raging sea. After some time all the players form a circle, take each other's hands, their arms only slightly held out from their bodies, and slowly walk around the fire. They huddle down several times for a few seconds and then get up again, for the albatrosses, too, sometimes alight on the water close together. While this circle is slowly moving, a woman approaches it; in passing, each one takes a swallow of water from the mussel shell which she holds up to his mouth, for the albatross, too, occasionally comes to the shore for water. When the loud, high-pitched cries of ho ho resound from the group of spectators, the players cease their graceful body movements. Compare Figure 11 of the photogravure plates /at the end/.

The tăkaĭa-xēl, game of the loud gull (Larus belcheri). The participants are mainly girls and young women, who crowd close together and remain for some time in a squatting position. They get up, hold hands, and move about in a circle several times. After they have crouched down, one of them will try to induce another to get up by uttering shrill xa xa cries. Indeed, one or another of them jumps up, bends the upper part of her body partly forward, and keeps her arms bent at the elbow at right angles. This is a favorite position of this gull when it sights its prey. Later when the players again squat on the ground in a closed circle, a woman hastens past them and lets each one take some water out of a mussel shell, for tăkaĭa, too, drinks fresh water. Amid loud cries of xa xa the players all get up and go back to their places.

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524 The sĕkuĭ-xĕl, game of the Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/). The men and women who step inside the open circle bend their bodies slightly forward from the waist, bend their knees considerably, hold their upper arms horizontally at shoulder height, and let the lower arms fall down loosely from the elbow at right angles. They remain in a squatting position until the song of the people present is loud enough. All get up and again assume the position just described, while the men utter lively xi xi calls and the women joyous xa xa calls. Then they hop every which way in a crowded heap, and amid loud pe pe calls, every man seeks either his own wife or a woman friend. This pair hops happily up and down on the same spot; the two gaze at each other lovingly and beat or stroke each other with their "wings." The man repeats his pe pe calls and the woman her xa xa calls very animatedly; he taps her on the shoulders and she taps him on the hips. This pair hops and giggles until another man moves up to the woman and shoves the first man aside. The happily excited song of the spectators encourages the pair in their charming love-play, until it is ended with loud cries of ho ho. It is well known that sĕkuĭ is strictly monogamous.

The kĭmpa-xĕl, game of the Magellan goose (Chloephaga picta). In this game, too, the people leave a central circular area free. The players /1479/ assume the position they take in the sĕkuĭ-xĕl. First a few of them remain in the squatting position for a short time; then a man rises, moves to a woman he is fond of, taps her on the shoulders, and thus invites her to the love-play. She rises at the same time. These two persons, facing each other, take turns in loudly twittering xa xa... and xi xi... and hop hither and yon. Then they separate again and form couples with other persons. The short striding motions are stiff, like those of kĭmpa. As in the sĕkuĭ-xĕl, the love-play of this species is also portrayed very realistically indeed. The two games are clearly distinguished by their melodies.

The ulpĕ̆ĕ̆ĕ̆ĭ-xĕl, game of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater, Fig. 76). Several persons, huddled together, hop into the circle. Again and again they bow their heads almost to the ground, support themselves on their arms, and constantly repeat short pit pit calls. Three or four hop simultaneously to the same place, bow their heads several times, and repeat the pit pit calls. This is

/1479 cont./

exactly the way the oyster catcher behaves on the beach. Amid shrill sounds of ì ì, all the players rise up at once, as though a flock of these birds were flying off. They disperse to loud ho ho cries of the spectators.

The toywilwa-xēl, game of the Vigua cormorant (Phalacrocorax olivaceus). Several women squat beside the fire or in the open space amidst the group of people who have begun singing the melody. They use their fists for support in such a way that thumb and forefinger are pressed against the earth. Hopping gently, they move in this crouched position and give a good imitation of the waddling walk of the cormorant (Fig. 103). Now and then they twitter xì xì...as they push past one another. Finally they form a circle, hold hands, rise, and go around the circle a few times. A woman stands beside this circle, holding a mussel shell filled with water in her left hand and a little twig in her right hand, with which the bespatters everyone who glides past her, "for when toywilwa build their nests, they come to the shore, drink water, and spatter it in all directions." At a sign from the leader, this game is ended with loud cries of ho ho.

Sometimes the calls of the winelwa are heard during the course of the individual games. The games are put on in the ʔiʔkaxa but and not in full view of the public because "the animals imitated were formerly human beings and much of what happened to them is known." I did not have an opportunity to see some of these games, for example, the lakēma-xēl, the people were not nice enough of the melody. Instead, Nelly Lawrence and elderly women told me about the following custom. Formerly the Yamana made these games even more realistic by actually masking the participants. Each one wrapped himself up completely in a sea-lion skin from which the head had not yet been cut off, or he placed /1480/ a piece of skin over his head so that only part of his face was uncovered and put a few large teeth of the sea lion into his mouth so that they protruded very prominently. All the people thus masked very carefully imitated the movements and the behavior of the sea lions while they moved from the ʔiʔkaxa hut to the shallow water at the beach. Clumsily they slid into the sea and squirted themselves with water out of sheer exuberance. If while this was going on several women succeeded in surrounding a man, they kept

/1480 cont./

him encircled and led him back to the [illegible] hut. It was only here that the victorious women released him amid loud laughs. The Yamana of earlier times also had appropriate masks for the other imitative games. In any case, however, the games gave all the participants great enjoyment. Naturally, the men to this day also entertain themselves now and then with games for practice, some of which are popular among young people (p.578). during these games they try, at the same time, to become more proficient in handling their weapons. They never have races, however, which Bridges (a) 209 mentioned. Their many other amusements, which never bore them, are amply sufficient for them and relax them.

H. Characteristics of Yamana Culture

The numerous details presented in this book characterize the economy of the Yamana as one at the gathering stage. Everything that these natives need and use is simply taken by them in the form offered voluntarily by nature. They themselves make no effort to produce the materials they need or to raise plants and animals. Thus, these people are wholly dependent on their environment.

Such a relationship, however, is not one of total inactivity or indifference on the part of man. His entire attention and untiring efforts were always directed toward utilizing the conditions imposed by the given environment and controlling natural forces as much as possible. By doing so he finally achieved an adaptation to his environment which could scarcely be improved upon under existing conditions. In my opinion, his economy, as a whole and in its details, represents optimum adaptation. I have often referred to the high degree of efficiency of most of the arrangements of the Yamana and the amazing effectiveness of their weapons which require a minimum of human effort. The reason that the Fuegian did not achieve more in his economy is by no means because he lacks the necessary physical equipment or mental powers. It is the environment itself which has set insurmountable barriers to his efforts toward progress. He has truly pushed ahead to these barriers by creating his unique, very

/1450 cont./

functional implements. The bark canoe has no counterpart /1451/ anywhere in the wide world. Even that of the neighboring Halakwulup shows differences imposed by the material used. Could a more effective weapon be invented with such simple materials as those used by our Foegian for his large harpoon? Using the possibilities offered by his environment and by existing conditions, he has created the characteristics of his form of economy.

Such achievements are true works of culture in the narrowest sense of the term, accomplished in the given locale. The ancestors of the Yamana, in their wanderings through the extensive American continent from the far north to the southernmost tip, possessed, of course, various cultural assets of a material and spiritual nature, which they brought with them to their ultimate homeland. However, all the special forms that have an "indigenous smell," if I may so express it, were created by these immigrants in Tierra del Fuego itself. This means true cultural progress beyond that enjoyed by those first newcomers up to that time, and by means of these accomplishments they actually made cultural history. All the new achievements with which they, as the first proven settlers of the Cape Horn Archipelago, must be credited were, to be sure, not transmitted to other peoples, because the Yamana have remained completely isolated. Nevertheless, this cultural heritage has absolute value and therefore is an enrichment of the culture of mankind as a whole. Moreover, the Yamana developed their achievements to the degree of perfection permitted by the material itself. If this limit had not been imposed, who could doubt that our natives commanded sufficient mental power to have accomplished even greater things. The environment itself made it impossible for them to develop further the economy they adopted. Morton (d) 378 is of the same opinion, that "this apparent inferiority is due to the land environment in which they obtain their food, principally by fishing in the fjords in their canoes" /tried in English/. When, after long observation and experimentation, those forms and peculiarities were chosen and permanently adopted, which made possible a calm equilibrium between the inhabitants' demands and necessities of life on the one hand, and the meager supply of raw material and the unpropitious living conditions of the Cape Horn Archipelago on the other,

/1481 cont./

182 the Fuegian was satisfied with this harmonious balance. For that reason he stubbornly persisted in maintaining his traditional material heritage. Once he was offered from the outside the possibility of a slight change and a certain amount of progress through the introduction of the dog, he resolutely adopted it and made this new source of strength an integral part of his previous economic arrangements. This is proof enough that the limitations of the economic form actually achieved by the Fuegian were imposed upon him from the outside; there was still more vitality for progress within him, but it could not become effective.

/1482/ Fuegian social organization is closely connected with this state of affairs. A livelihood through gathering does not permit an organization of all tribal members and a close, permanent union. Their religious awareness culminates in the assumption of a personal Supreme Being with definite characteristics. The image of his deity that the Fuegian has created does not show any kind of environmental influence. Quite the contrary, it is the result of simple reflection, of a direct demand for causal thinking. It is quite different from mythological and superstitious conceptions.

086 Historical relationships between these Fuegians and other peoples, as well as comparisons of their culture with that of other ethnic groups, would be in order, for merely to ascertain facts, describe objects, and evaluate institutions is not culture history. I am well aware of this, and I shall comply with these justifiable demands in the third volume of this work. With abundant satisfaction I shall now conclude this long description. It presents a total picture of the strange and unique culture of this tribe of people that lived on the inhospitable southern tip of the Americas for centuries and has only recently been driven to destruction by the intrusion of European culture. The last two dozen surviving Yamana will soon have sunk into their graves. To this people misunderstood by Europeans for three centuries, the tossing, foaming waves of the eternally restless sea around Cape Horn will sing a never-ending dirge. /Fig. 105 appears here./

1: Gusinde--1432 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

136

/1482/

Fig. 105. Phalacrocorax olivaceus.

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If several works by one author are listed, I have adopted the symbols used by Cooper, Analytical and Critical Bibliography of the tribes of Tierra del Fuego and adjacent Territory, namely, small letters of the alphabet in parentheses. Thus, his bibliography and mine correspond.

The following abbreviations have been used in the text:

BD = T. Bridges: Yamana-English Dictionary

Vol. I = M. Gusinde: Die Feuerland-Indianer /The Fuegian Indians/, Vol. I.

VP = The Voice of Pity for South America, London, 1854-1862.

VSA = A Voice for South America, London, 1863-1866.

MM = South American Missionary Magazine, London, 1867-1915.

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113 /1484/

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113

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1: Gusinde--1439 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/1498/ List of Some Yamana Words

104 /Page numbers refer to the pagination of the original text; an asterisk following a page number indicates that the page is untranslated./

Abailäkin, Supreme Being, 1046

adakutäruwaxípa, foster mother, 713

äjapux, sea otter, Lutra felina, 36*, 536, 1193*, 1277*

akäinix, rainbow, 1148, 1342

älëm, brother-in-law, 1250*

amäjm, berries, 556, 1450

amëxra, guanaco, 1240*

änan, canoe, 448

aóna-xëola, guardian spirit, 1398

apananüši, land of the Halakwulup, 243*, 1282

apawëxra, feather diadem of the yékamuš, 1389, 1416

apawáta, bat, 1302

appi, paddle, 449

asánu, pouch for fire-making materials, 393

asikäku, apparition, 1398, 1426

asína, necklace, 434

astëla, shelter, 371

104 /1498 cont./

ašāga, channel, arm of water, 1452

ašīm, Cyttaria harioti, 554

ašōula, false killer whale, 37*, 1261*, 1302

auilāf, common otter, Lutra felina, 536

auačix, fungus, Cyttaria darwinii, 554

axiya, round crab, Lithodes antarctica, 364*, 489

āyušuēkēr, multiple family hut 386

čiexaus, youth initiation, 176*, 184*, 805, 823

čilawāja, čilaāja, large fox, 25*, 537, 1207*

čilēr, Berberis shavings, 397

čōwánni, spirits, 1397, 1413, 1426

dāšalux, albatross, Diomedea melanophrys, 43*

dāun, glacier, large mass of ice, 1453

dēska, sea duck, 1304

dētēhūrux, small woodpecker, 42*, 1197*

ēkēli, children's hut, 388

ēmbalim, small sucking tube, 573, 953

ēpāiačī, killer whale, 37*

ēma, spring, 1447

ēmuf, mussel, Mytilus chilensis, 487, 1464

/1498 cont./

104 ésēf, fungus, Cyttaria darwinii, 554

é'ętex, cormorant, Phalacrocorax magellanicus, 43*, 1189*

gullēkēr, cone-shaped hut, 375

halakwúlup, Halakwulup, 246*

hānislus, autumn, 1447

Hánnus, forest giant, 1288

hānuxa, moon woman, 1152, 1342

hapananūši, land of the Halakwulup, 243*, 1282

hapaxēl, forehead ornament, 846, 860, 1130

hašuwāpisa, blue whale, 36*, 1299

hašamāif, beech branch with excrescence, 554, 1250*

hášaxuwa, elephant seal, Macrorhinus leoninus, 40*, 1225

hātus, neck ornament, 435

Haučélla, evil spirit, 884, 1062, 1100, 1158, 1309, 1398, 1410, 1425, 1430

héspul, sparrow, 956, 1271*, 1303

héšteka-yékamus, spirit, 1397

Hidābuan, Hitapuan, Supreme Being, 1046, 1048

hīka, ocean, 1453

hīlix, mask of bark, 1329

/1498 cont./

104 híyal, pumice, 471, 497

hulušēnuwa, wren, 42*, 1169, 1274*

hupuxkēmak, neck ornament, 434

hūruf, giant fulmar, Macronectes gigantea, 43*, 1237*

ikamāna, to draw, to paint, 429

ílla, bone wedge, 441

ílalumāala, southwest group, 205*

ílešči, herring, 549

ílu, south, southward, 1452

íman, maternal uncle, 648

ími, red pigment, 428

ína, winter, 1447

ínalumāala, west group, 205*

indāruwa, paternal uncle, 648, 662

ínu, west, westward, 1452

íŋga, north, northward, 1452

íškun, meat, 579

ítu, east, eastward, 1452

ítulumāala, east group, 201*

kāla, bark container, 501

/1498 cont./

104 kālaka, ball, ball game, 772, 1474

kālaka mūláka, wrestling match, 1474

kalāna, mussel fork, 487

kālea, ball game, 1474

kečōin, mussel, Mytilus edulis, 487

kēspix, soul, 1094, 1278

kētēla, gerfalcon, Polyborus tharus, 42*, 1205*

kēti, sausage, 584, 1191*, 1267*

kili, sandals, 404

kīna, men's ceremony, 1312

kīna tagāguwa, leader of the Kina, 1321

kisi, summer, 1447

kiwāgu, gull, Larus dominicanus, 43*

kixinteka, gray gerfalcon, Circus cinereus, 42*, 1201*

kompēipe, two, 1446

kuhūrux, great horned owl, Bubo magellanicus, 42*, 1190*

kun, blubber, 584

kusimēxa, shell mound, 598

/1499/

kwaxwēxeni, band of skin with down feathers, 1467

/1499 cont./

104 kwínan, widow who has remarried, 647

láka, fire tongs, 396

lakū́ma, water spirit, 1236*, 1285, 1309, 1428

lā́na, large woodpecker, Ipocrantor magellanicus, 42*, 1199*

lā́ła, leather pouch, 499

lā́šix, the swift, 1227*

lē̆xuwakīpa, spectacled ibis, Theristicus melanopis, 42*, 1155, 1232*, 1304

lēm, younger sun-man, 1147, 1339, 1342

lē̆xakīpa, Kina spirit, 1363

lōima-yékamuš, medicine-man school, 1399

luš, red, scarlet, 1463

makā́inkīna, ceremony to calm everyone, 1376

mā́ku, bush, Embothrium coccineum, 702, 1243*

mā́kuxīpa, wife of Yo̯ā́lox, 1169, 1451

Manunā́kin, Supreme Being, 1046

mápi, a rush plant, Marsippospermum, 503

mašakána, modesty apron, 406

mā́ten, three, 1446

mā́ala, day, light, 1447

/1499 cont./

104 meranēkēr, cone-shaped hut, 378

mērana, cone-shaped hut, 375

mun, ankle band, 434

omōxa, humming bird, Sephanoides, 42*, 1206*, 1211,* 1215,* 1218*, 1276*

pálala, European, 333*

pasánna, song for amusement, 723, 1469

pušáki, fire, 392

sēx, physical pain, 1458

Sīnuluwatayinēlwa, 547

sírsa, crab fork, 544

síta, horned owl, 42*, 1303

stekáluš, round crab, Paralomis granulosus, 489

šafína, sling, 481

šewāli, flint, 392

šēkuš, Molinas goose, Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/, 43*, 1197*, 1304

šéggex, kingfisher, Ceryle torquata, 42*, 1219*

škínašpi, social celebration, 1473

šōn ūšpúka, Photinula violacea, 1465

104 /1499 cont./

ŭpun, bachelor, 1256

tĭlaywaja, mourning, 1122

talaxikamĭna, painting stick, 429

Tĭmuwa, Supreme Being, 1046

tĭmuwa, Kina spirit, 1338, 1363

tăruwalĕm, elder sun-man, 1145

tĭxer, song, 922, 1423, 1468

tekeenika, geographical name, 194*, 209*, 237*

tĕli, round stone, 491, 547, 1212*

tĭmuna, influential old man, 803, 1473

toywĭlwa, Vigua cormorant, Phalacrocorax olivaceus, 43*, 1259*, 1482

tŭku, ladle, 450

tulĕra, mountain, 1453

tumarăpu, white pigment, 427

tŭy ikĭpa, girl at the menarche, 743, 1172

tŭtu, small bird, Myiotheretes, 1230*

tuwĕaki, back cape, 401, 405

tuwĭn, meadow bird, Spinus icterius, 42*

tŭwuy, night heron, Nycticorax obscurus, 42*, 1219*, 1303

ufkĕrĕ, scraper, 492

/1499 cont./

104 ū́kēła, long leather strap, 440, 840

ū́lulufāła, a band of certain souls, 1101, 1434

ū́xwi, bast fibers, 445

ū́šipin, a person without a birthplace, 950

ū́ška, European clothing, 411

uškéyonaōna, a legendary people, 201*, 243*

ušmīna, leather mask, 1329

ūšpúka, neck ornament, 435

ušxnim, comb, 422

ušwāła, candidate, 1320

ušwāléxamuš, yékamuš apprentice, 1405

ušwúmi, tendon fibers, 416

uxāpu, constellation of stars, 1276*

wāła, bay, 1452

wāikul, awl, 495

wākimāła, central group, 205*

wāsénim, cormorant, Phalacrocorax gaimardi, 43*, 1187*, 1216*

Watauinéiwa, Supreme Being, 1045, 1156, 1158, 1184

wēojna, blackfish, Globicephala melas, 37*

wélakiš, tip of a cliff, promontory, 1452

/1499 cont./

184 wĕ̄lapetuɣ, Supreme Being, 1046

wĕtĕ́wa, sling, 1258*

wĕ̄ʷtyĕ́ɣ, condor, Cathartes aura, 42*, 1302

winefkĕ́ɣa, predatory bird, Leucophaeus scoresbii, 43*, 838

wĕ́yen, duck, Anas cristata, 43*

wolakĕ́men, twins, 708

wĕ́kuɣ̆, bag of the yĕ́kamuɣ̆, 1424

wĕ́ɣe, much, 1446

xĕl, imitative game, 1475

yaaga, yahgan, yagan, 190*

yĕ̄ɣ, yĕ̄ɣi, pouch for pigments, 429

Yajaalĕ̄ga, a place name, 1069, 1338, 1344

yamalalemŏ̄ɣa, general mourning, 1127

yámana, human being, 197*, 332*

yamatkĕ́na, a call, 103*, 133*, 198*, 268*, 283*, 333*

yapulĕ́ke, charcoal, 427

yetĕ́čel, guardian spirits, 1294, 1398, 1430

yĕ́kamuɣ̆, medicine man, 190*, 1383

Yetĕ̄ɣa, spirit, 850, 894

/1499 cont./

144 yéxil, one, 1446

yéxuf, arrowhead, 486, 490, 1418

yéfla, dog, 369

yéfélinjala, southern group, 209*

yéxadéfi, maternal aunt, 682

yéxalem, the star Venus, 1148

yéka, island, rock, 1452

Yéfiu, culture hearer, 179*, 1144, 1158, 1168

yo'ohalí, hawk, Milvago chimango, 42*, 1364*, 1383

yéfa, beach, coastal strip, 1452

1: Gunnday—1450 8-5 (1910-1924) 1927 1098 Yahgan 1098

142
362
291

Tamata Man

Tamata Woman

Tamata Children

Children at Play

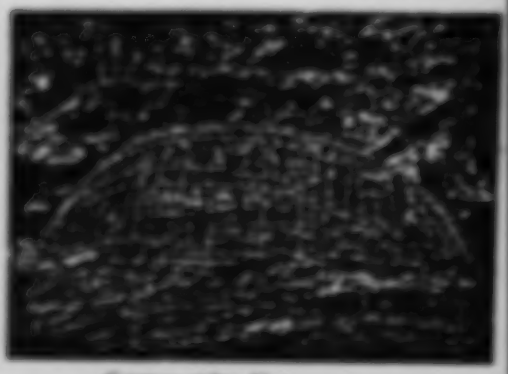
133

Beach of Beagle Channel

1. Gottinde--1451 E-5 (1918-1924) 1927 508 Yahgan 508

342

Single Hut



Community Hut

524

Wolyenbelle Game

Wolyekanenashwa Game

[341]

Former Clothing

Voltaire Game

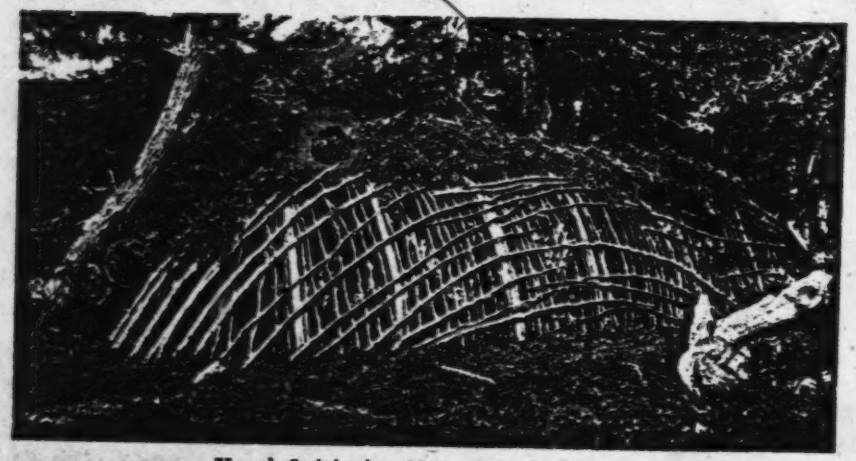
Albatross Game

1: Gusinde--1452 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

881
346

Watchmen in Action

Youth Initiation Hut, Interior



Youth Initiation Hut, Exterior

302
881

Ciexaus Painting

Watchman

Watchman's Assistant

1:Gusinde--1453 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

881
302
142

Čiexaus Participants, 1920

Yékamuš Aspirant

Čiexaus Participants, 1922

Čiexaus Painting

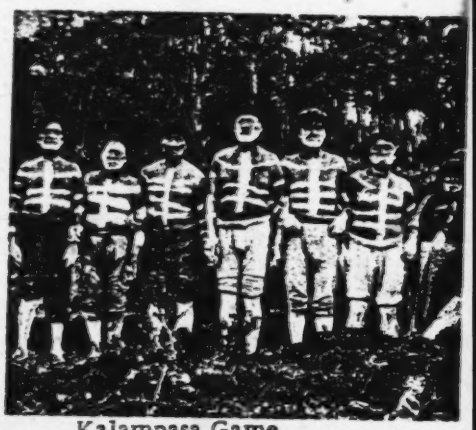
Gusinde with his Sponsors

Yékamuš

1: Gusinde--1454 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

575
302
[345]

Kina Hut



Kalampasa Game

[292]

Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit

133

Ushuwaia at the Foot of Mount Olivia

1: Gusinde--1455 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

525
302
292

Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Kina-talauwáia

142
302
765
301

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

1: Gusinde--1456 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

142
302
765
301

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

1: Gusinde--1457 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

137

Antarctic Beeches

142
301
302
765

Mourning Painting

Men Painting Themselves

Mourning Painting

133

Northeast of Beagle Channel

1:Gusinde--1458 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section A/

102
103
133
491

1:Gusinde--1459 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

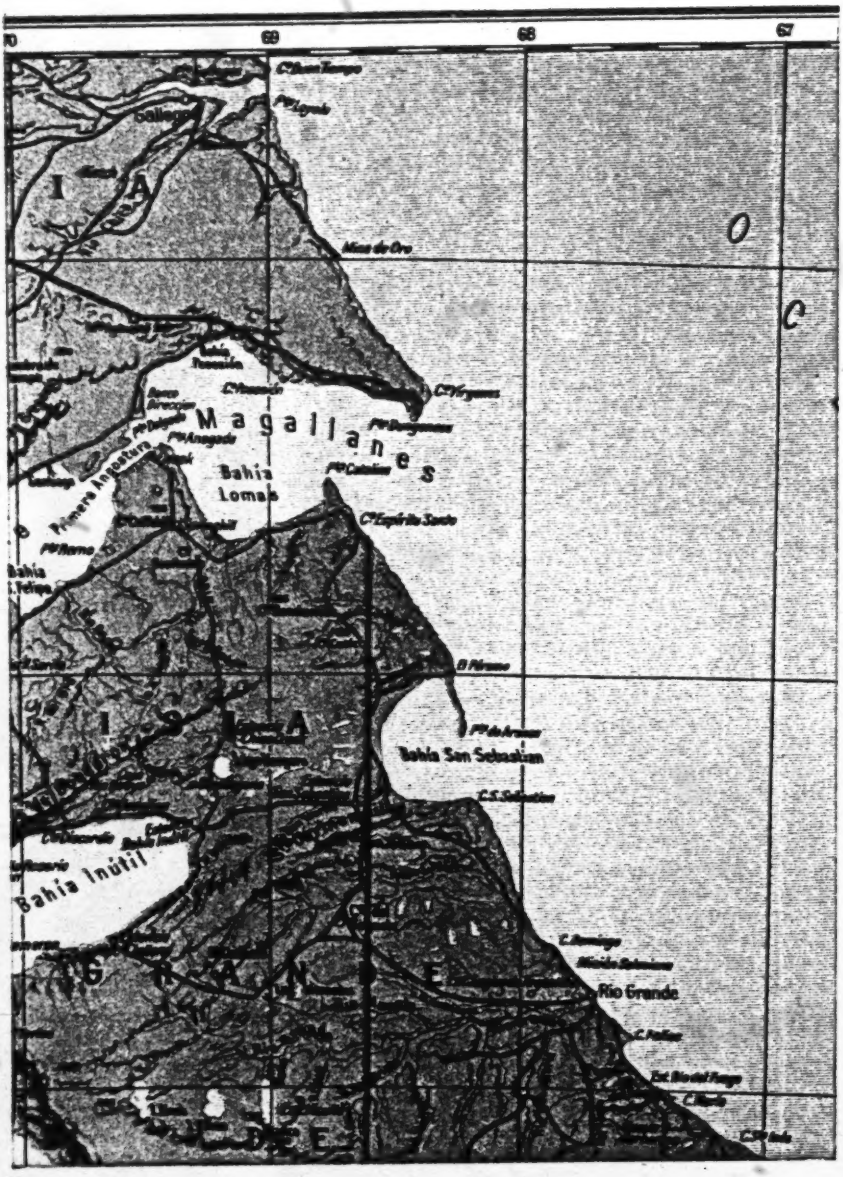
/End Map I, Section B/

102
103
133
491

1:Gusinde--1460 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

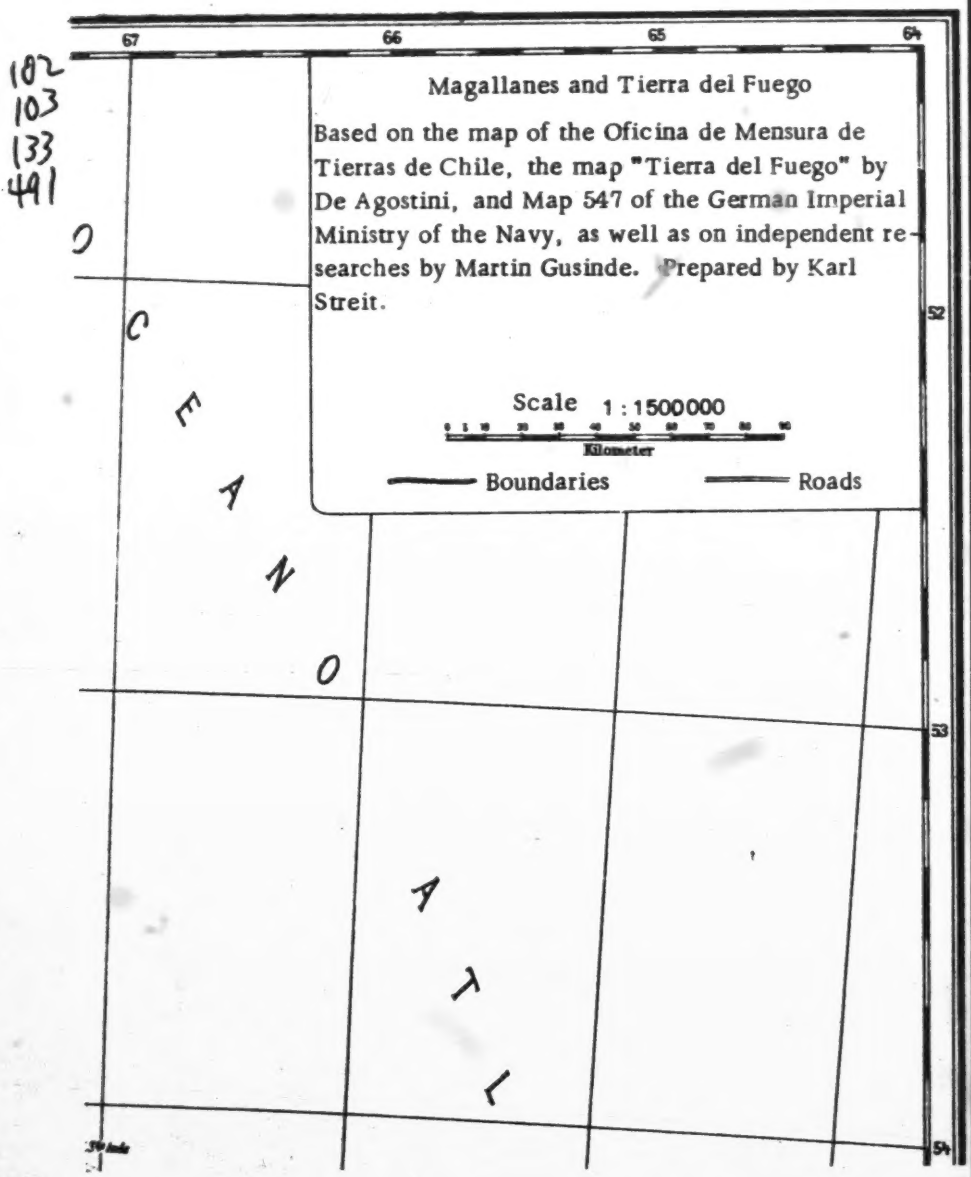
/End Map I, Section C/

102
103
133
491



1:Gusinde--1461 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I. Section D/



1:Gusinde--1462 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

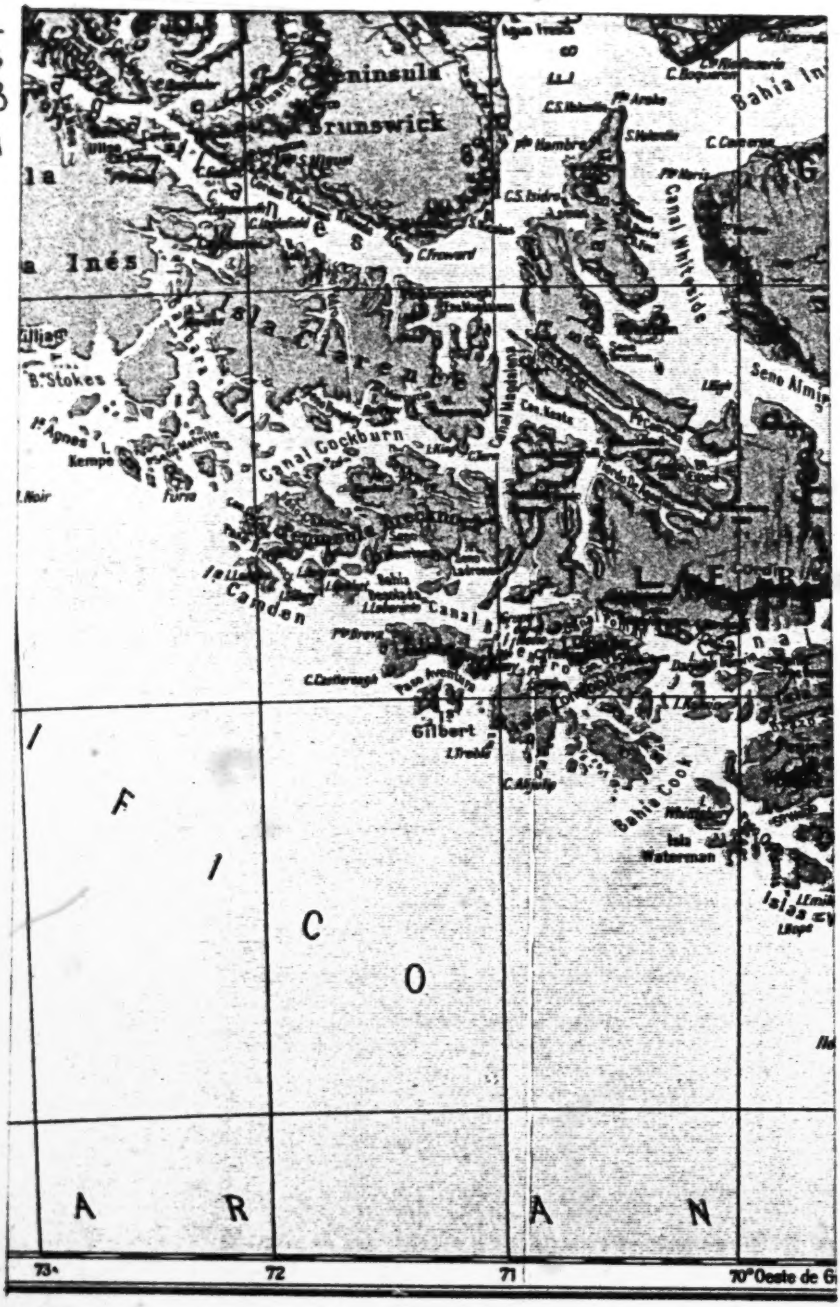
/End Map I, Section E/

102
103
133
491

1:Gusinde--1463 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section F/

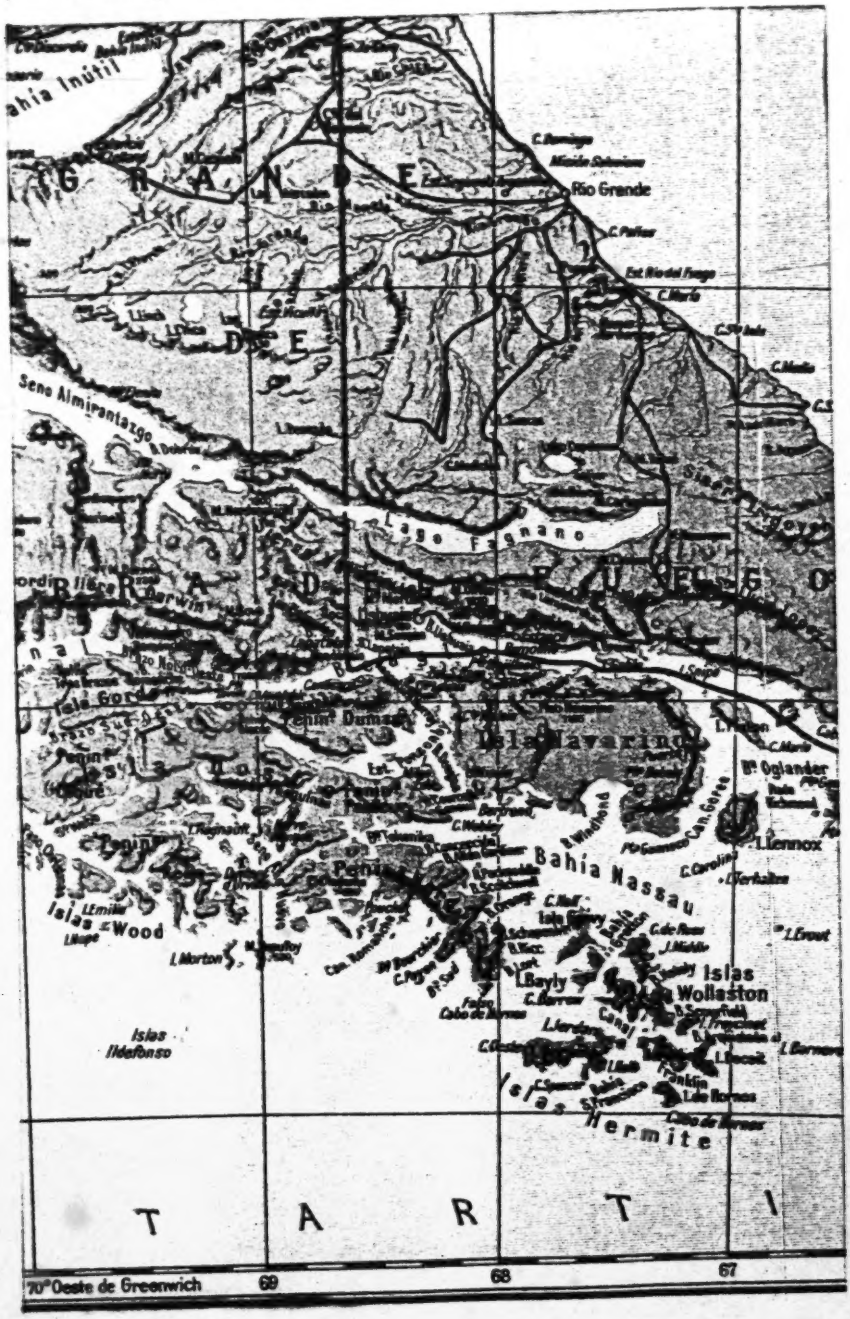
102
103
133
491



1:Gusinde--1464 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section G/

102
103
133
491



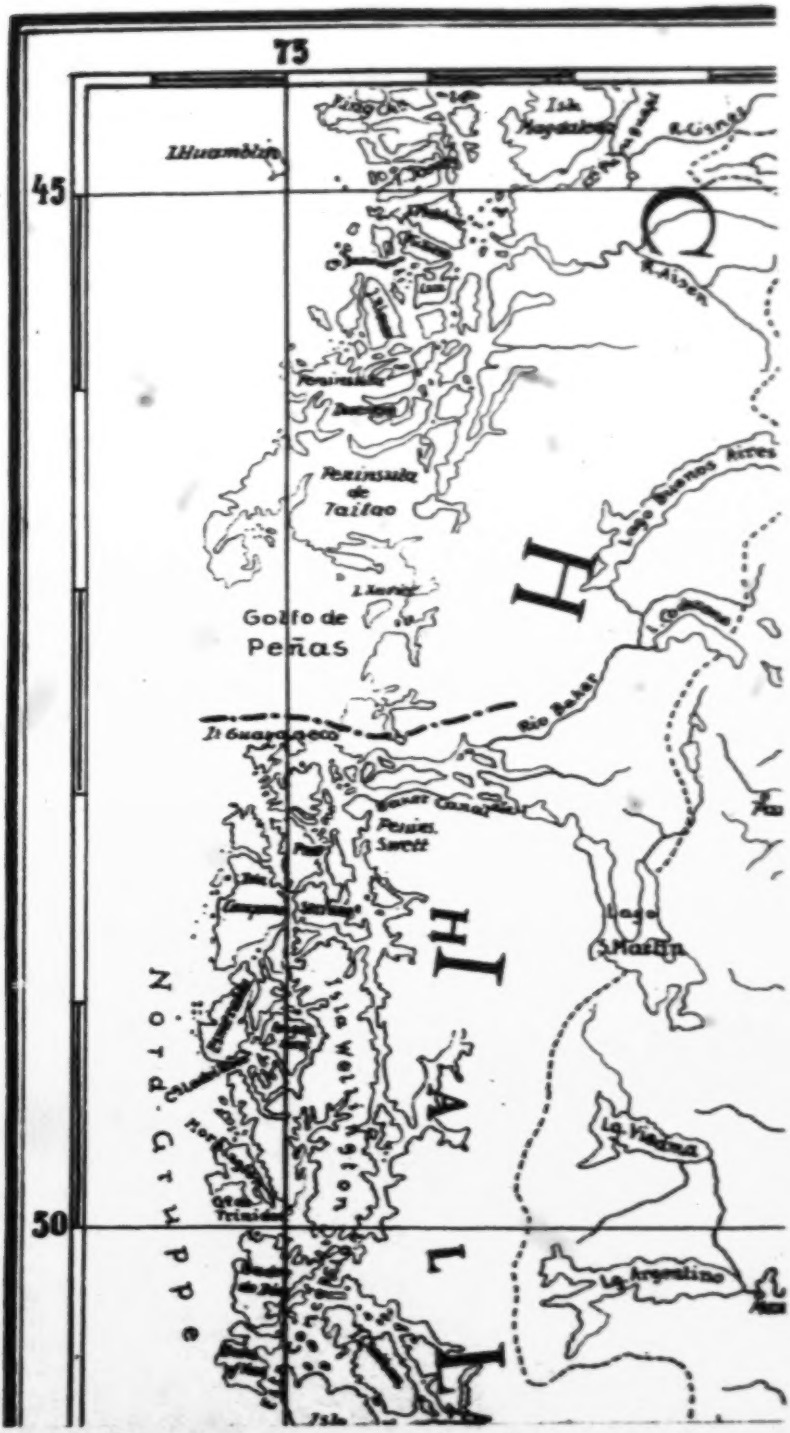
1:Gusinde--1465 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section H/

102
103
133
491

1:Gusinde--1466 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

101
102
131



/End Map II, Section A/

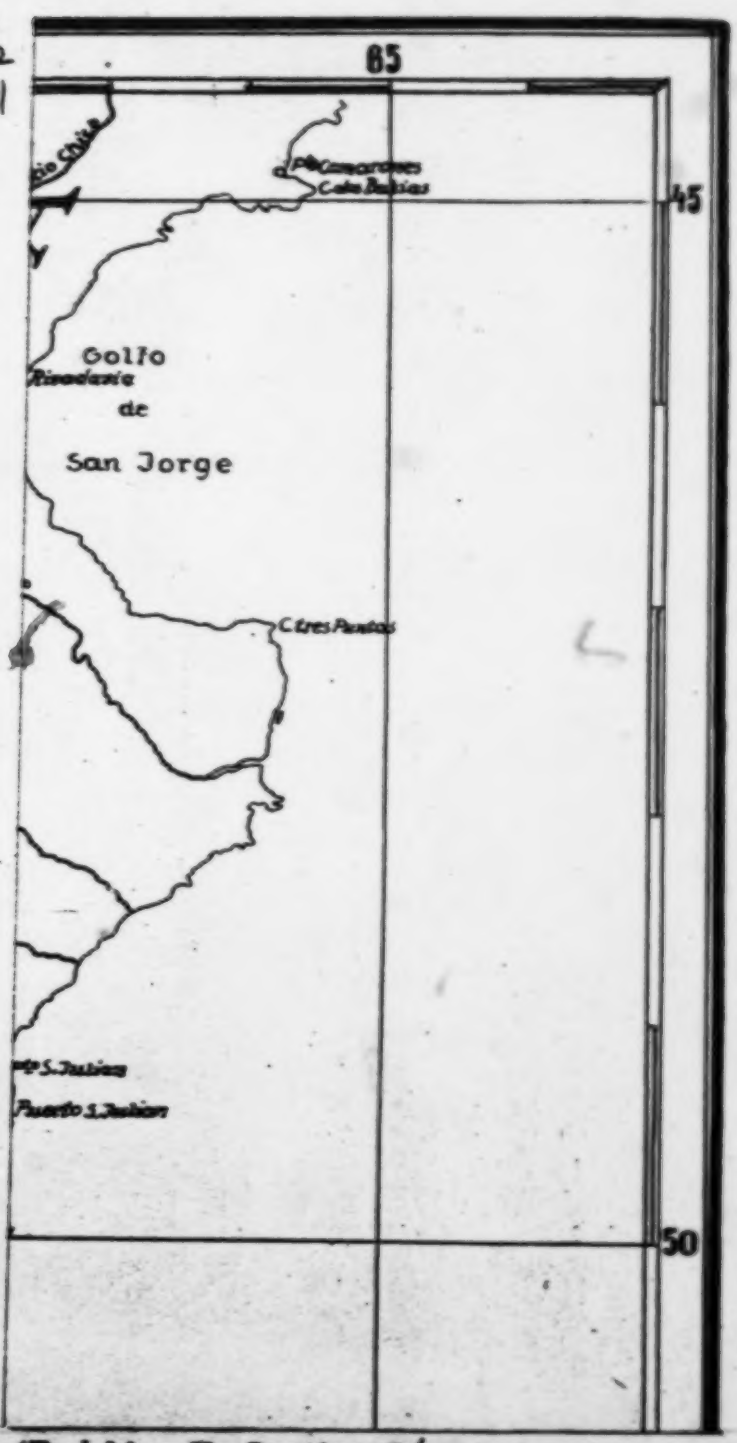
1:Guninde--1467 E-5 (1918-1926) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

101
102
131

/End Map II, Section B/

1:Gusinde--1468 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

101
102
131



/End Map II, Section C/

1:Gusinde--1469 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 S116 Yahgan S116

101
102
131

Geographic Distribution of the Indians of Tierra del Fuego.

Based on the researches of M. Gusinde and on the official maps of the German Imperial Ministry of the Navy, prepared by K. Streit.

/End Map II, Section D/

1:Gostinde--1470 E-6 (1918-1924) 1937 SOS Telegra SOS

181
162
131

/End Map II. Section E/

/End Map II. Section F/

II Gusinde 2005 Tulgan

ANTHROPOS-BIBLIOTHEK
EXPEDITIONS-SERIE
II.

MARTIN GUSINDE

Die Feuerland-Indianer

II.

[i]

I: Gusinde SHG Yahgan

DIE FEUERLAND INDIANER

ERGEBNISSE MEINER VIER FORSCHUNGSREISEN

IN DEN JAHREN 1918 BIS 1924, UNTERNOMMEN IM AUFTRAGE DES MINISTERIO DE INSTRUCCION PÚBLICA DE CHILE

IN DREI BÄNDEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

MARTIN GUSINDE

PROFESOR DE ANTROPOLOGIA GEN. EN LA UNIVERSIDAD CAT. UND EHEM. SEKTIONS-CHEF IM MUSEO DE ETNOLOGIA Y ANTROPOLOGIA ZU SANTIAGO, MITGLIED D. KAISERL. L. DEUTSCHEN AKADEMIE DER NATURFORSCHER, MIEMBRO DE LA ACADEMIA DE CIENCIAS NATURALES DE CHILE, ACADEMICO CORRESP. DEL MUSEO DE LA PLATA, MEMBRE CORRESPONDANTE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DES AMÉRICANISTES DE PARIS

BAND II

DIE YAMANA

MÖDLING BEI WIEN

VERLAG DER INTERNATIONALEN ZEITSCHRIFT „ANTHROPOS"

1937

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

DIE YÁMANA

VOM LEBEN UND DENKEN DER WASSERNOMADEN AM KAP HOORN

VON

MARTIN GUSINDE

MIT 105 ABBILDUNGEN IM TEXT, 5 FARBENTAFELN, 8 TIEFDRUCK-TAFELN, 2 GEOGRAPH. KARTEN

MÖDLING BEI WIEN

VERLAG DER INTERNATIONALEN ZEITSCHRIFT „ANTHROPOS"

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[IV]

Vorwort

Mehrere Ursachen verschiedener Art haben das Erscheinen des vorliegenden Werkes verzögert. Eine davon ist sein ansehnlicher Umfang. Man wird es mir wohl nicht verübeln, daß ich die gesamte Darstellung so ausführlich als möglich geboten habe. Als ich im September 1923 von dem kleinen Häuflein der Yamana, die sich noch des Lebens freuten, für immer Abschied nahm, wußten es sie sowohl wie ich selber, daß ihre Volksgemeinschaft nicht mehr lebensfähig wäre und daß binnen kurzem der Letzte ihres Stammes ins Grab sinken würde. Während der Niederschrift und Drucklegung dieses Werkes habe ich in größeren Zeitabständen zuverlässige Nachrichten aus dem Kap Hoorn-Archipel erhalten, die mir den Tod so mancher meiner feuerländischen Freunde meldeten. Zu Beginn dieses Jahres 1937 erreichten die Überlebenden, einige Bastards eingerechnet, nicht einmal mehr die Kopfzahl 25. Nach einigen Jahren wird es keinem europäischen Forscher möglich sein, weder Yamana in ihrem eigentlichen Heimatgebiete anzutreffen, noch weniger ihren einstigen Kulturbesitz kennenzulernen. In Anbetracht einer solch betrüblichen Sachlage habe ich in diesem Buche alle jene Kenntnisse und Beobachtungen niedergelegt, die ich auf meinen vier Reisen gewonnen habe. Sie zu erweitern oder zu vertiefen, da manche Einzelheiten ungeklärt geblieben sind, ist heute nicht mehr möglich. Mag man das eigenartige Völkchen der Yamana noch so sehr bedauern, es ist für immer vorüber.

Der Beschreibung der Pflanzen- und Tierwelt des Kap Hoorn-Archipels habe ich bewußt eine reichliche Ausdehnung gegeben. Jeder Leser wird sich davon überzeugen, daß die dort heimischen Tierarten, noch mehr als die Pflanzenarten, auf die wichtigen Glieder der gesamten Kulturform, nicht zuletzt auf das eigentliche Geistesleben dieses Volkes, einen durchaus bestimmenden Einfluß ausgeübt haben. Die Tätigkeit der englischen Missionare während eines halben Jahrhunderts hat unvermittelt die uralte Lebensweise der Yamana in gänzlich andersartige Bahnen gelenkt. Dieses grundstürzende Geschehnis, erläutert an ungewöhnlich zahlreichen Berichten, verdient es wohl, daß es unter mehrfacher Rücksicht eingehend behandelt wurde. Die geographischen Bezeichnungen wurden hier in der Form wiedergegeben, die an Ort und Stelle gebräuchlich ist. Die wissenschaftliche Klassifikation der Vögel erfolgte vorwiegend nach der bekannten Abhandlung Roberto Darbene's, da mir die wertvolle Monographie Charles E. Hellmayr's erst nach Abschluß meines Manuskriptes zugänglich wurde. Personennamen erscheinen immer in Majuskelschrift und die Namen von Schiffen stehen regelmäßig in Anführungszeichen. Einige wenige Yamana bezeichne ich hier mit ihrem christlichen Namen; ihre ortsüblichen Namen, die teilweise sehr lang und schwer leserlich

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

sind, werde ich bei einer späteren Gelegenheit bekannt geben. Über die Sprache der Yamana liegen mehrere Einzelabhandlungen vor und in vielen Berichten finden sich kürzere oder längere Angaben. Da sie ansehnlich viele Ungenauigkeiten enthalten, habe ich die zahlreichen vorliegenden linguistischen Einzelheiten bei meiner Bearbeitung nur selten berücksichtigt; jetzt, da das Yamana-English-Dictionary des Rev. T. Bridges veröffentlicht ist, braucht sich niemand mehr abzumühen, aus zweiter oder dritter Quelle zu schöpfen. Die häufig verwendeten phonetischen Zeichen in Yamana-Wörtern sind in meiner kurzen Abhandlung (s) erklärt worden.

Sämtliche Darstellungen auf den Tiefdrucktafeln sind Wiedergaben eines geringen Teiles meiner eigenen photographischen Aufnahmen; die erste Farbentafel ist eine Nachbildung einer farbenphotographischen Aufnahme mit einer Lumière-Platte. Die in den Text eingestreuten Zeichnungen hat Herr Eduard Samer in Wien hergestellt; ausgenommen die Nachzeichnungen einheimischer Tierarten in den Abbildungen 9, 13, 58, 76, 82, 91, 92, 94, 95, 100 und 105, welche ich Frau Koller S. in Wien verdanke.

Sowohl das Bundes-Ministerium für Unterricht in Wien, als auch der Hwste Herr P. J. Grendel, Sup. gen. SVD. in Rom, hat durch hochherzige Zuwendung einer eigenen Geldsumme zur Drucklegung dieses Buches beigetragen. Öffentlich dafür zu danken, ist mir eine angenehme Pflicht.

Bereits im Vorwort zum Band I dieses Werkes habe ich in aufrichtiger Anerkennung jener hochherzigen Personen gedacht, die zur Förderung der Wissenschaft vom Menschen durch ihre persönliche Hilfe und die erforderlichen Geldmittel dazu beigetragen haben, daß meine vier Reisen nach der Südspitze der Neuen Welt zustande gekommen und von reichem Erfolg begleitet gewesen sind. Der gastfreundlichen, immer hilfsbereiten Familie Lawrence am Canal de Beagle bleibt das unbestreitbare Verdienst, in derart selbstloser Weise mich bei meinen Forschungen unterstützt zu haben, daß ich nach ergiebiger Feldarbeit das vorliegende Werk zusammenstellen konnte. Insbesondere hat Nelly Lawrence, dieser vollendete Typus einer Yamana-Frau, mit besorgter Aufmerksamkeit mir den Eingang in die eigenartige Geisteswelt ihres Volkes geöffnet, die in solchem Ausmaß andern Europäern nie zugänglich gemacht worden ist. Dieses Buch ist ein untrüglicher Zeuge meines aufrichtigen Dankes an jene schlichte, liebenswürdige, edle Feuerländerin vom Kap Hoorn-Archipel.

Laxenburg bei Wien, im Mai 1937.

Martin Gusinde SVD.

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

Inhaltsverzeichnis

Seite

Erster Teil: Heimat und Geschichte 1

A. Die Heimat 4

a. Die örtlichen Bedingungen 7
1. Die Landschaft 9
2. Die Witterung 18

b. Die Pflanzenwelt 26

c. Die Tierwelt 33

B. Geschichte der Yamana-Forschung 45

a. Berichte aus älterer Zeit 48

b. Forschungen seit Eröffnung der Mission 135

c. Meine eigenen vier Reisen 161
1. Meine erste Reise 164
2. Meine zweite Reise 172
3. Dritte Reise gemeinsam mit W. Koppers 181
4. Meine letzte Reise 187

C. Die Yamana einst und jetzt 192

a. Stammesname 193

b. Stammesgruppen 199
1. Die fünf Dialektgruppen 199
2. Andere Einteilungsversuche 208

c. Allgemeine Körperform 214

d. Volksstatistik 222
1. Schätzungen aus älterer Zeit 222
2. Zählungen aus neuerer Zeit 223
3. Ursprüngliche Volksstärke 227

e. Herkunft 230

f. Verhältnis zu Nachbarstämmen 233
1. Yamana und Selk'nam 234
2. Yamana und Halakwulup 241

g. Unter Einfluß des Europäertums 246
1. Die Yamana im Urteil älterer Zeit 247
2. Die Yamana im Urteil der Neuzeit 256
α. Aussagen verläßlicher Beurteiler 256
β. Rettungsdienste der Yamana 264
3. Einige Yamana in Europa 267
4. Die letzten Yamana im Film 286

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

Seite

5. Die Tätigkeit englischer Missionare 288
α. Geschichte der Mission 288
β. Erfolge und Mißerfolge 308
6. Die Europäer im Urteil der Yamana 332
α. Benennungen für Europäer 332
β. Geringschätzung der Europäer 333
7. Vernichtung und Untergang 339
α. Eingeschleppte Krankheiten 340
β. Andere europäische Einflüsse 348
γ. Heutige Daseinsform 356

Zweiter Teil: Das Wirtschaftsleben 365

A. Die Wohnung 367

1. Dauersiedlungen fehlen 368
2. Die zwei Hüttenformen 371
α. Die kegelförmige Hütte 375
β. Die kuppelförmige Hütte 378
3. Die Hütte als Wohnung 379
4. Das Gemeinschaftslager 390
5. Das Feuer 392

B. Die Kleidung 399

1. Kleidungsstücke des Mannes 401
2. Kleidungsstücke der Frau 405
3. Kleidungsstücke der Kinder 407
4. Zweck der Kleidung 409
5. Bearbeiten der Felle und Häute 412

C. Reinlichkeit und Körperschmuck 416

1. Körperpflege 417
2. Reinlichkeit in der Hütte 424
3. Körperbemalung 427
4. Schmuckknochen 433

D. Gerätschaften, Werkzeuge, Waffen 437

1. Das Rindenkanu 438
α. Die Rindenstücke 440
β. Sein Aufbau 443
γ. Sein Zubehör 448
δ. Seine Leistungsfähigkeit 452
ε. Einbaum und Kahn 457
2. Bogen und Pfeil 461
α. Der Bogen 464
β. Der Pfeil 466
γ. Der Köcher 469
3. Die kleine Harpune 470
4. Die große Harpune 474
5. Wurfspieß und Speere 477
6. Dolch und Lanze 479

Seite

7. Die Schleuder 481
8. Fanggeräte 485
α. Die Schlingenleine 485
β. Der Schlingenstab 486
γ. Muschelgabel, Muschelbrecher, Krabbengabel 487
δ. Die Angel 490
9. Handwerkszeug 491
α. Der Schaber 492
β. Das Messer 494
γ. Der Pfriemen 495
δ. Keil und Hammer 496
ε. Verwendung des Eisens 497
10. Gegenstände aus Leder, Haut, Rinde 498
11. Körbe 502
12. Technische Fertigkeiten 508

E. Der Nahrungserwerb 511
1. Jagd auf Robben 514
2. Jagd auf Wale 517
3. Jagd auf Vögel 521
α. Pinguine 523
β. Kormorane 524
γ. Wildgänse 528
δ. Dampfschiffenten 530
ε. Andere Entenarten 532
ζ. Besondere Fangweisen 533
4. Jagd auf Guanacos, Ottern, Füchse 534
5. Die Frau auf Nahrungssuche 538
α. Nahrungsmittel aus dem Tierreich 539
β. Nahrungsmittel aus dem Pflanzenreich 553
6. Der Nahrungserwerb im Jahresverlauf 558
7. Der feuerländische Hund 560

F. Die Ernährungsweise 568
1. Was sie entbehren müssen 569
2. Wie sie die Beute zerlegen 576
3. Wie sie die Nahrung zubereiten 581
4. Wie sie essen 585
5. Wie sie Lebensmittel aufbewahren 594

G. Die Muschelhaufen 596
1. Ihre Anlage 596
2. Die eingebetteten Gerätschaften 604
3. Ihr Entstehen 608

H. Das Nomadendasein 611
1. Der Wandertrieb 612
2. Unterwegs im Kanu 614
3. Auf dem Lande 619
4. Umweltbedingtes Wanderleben 623

Seite

Dritter Teil: Gesellschaftsordnung und Stammesbrauch 627

A. Freite und Ehe 628

a. Brautwerbung und Heirat 630
1. Das heiratsfähige Alter 631
2. Werben der Heiratsfähigen 634
3. Das Gatten-ideal 637
4. Freiheit bei der Gattenwahl 639
5. Pflicht zur Witwenheirat 646
6. Beteiligung der Verwandten 648
7. Ehehindernisse 650
8. Die Hochzeitsfeier 654
9. Schwiegereltern und Schwiegerkinder 658

b. Das Eheleben 661
1. Monogamie 663
2. Polygamie 665
3. Arbeitsteilung der Gatten 671
α. Betätigung des Mannes 673
β. Betätigung der Frau 675
γ. Zusammenarbeit der Gatten 677
4. Wechselbeziehung der Gatten 680
5. Ehescheidung 688
6. Ehelosigkeit 691

B. Eltern und Kind 693

a. Der Säugling und seine Pflege 694
1. Freude am Kinde 694
2. Das Gebären 700
3. Die Eltern des Neugeborenen 707
4. Behandlung des Säuglings 714
5. Kindermord 724
6. Kindersterblichkeit 726
7. Namengebung 729
8. Entwicklung des Säuglings 733

b. Das ältere Kind und seine Erziehung 736
1. Trennung der Geschlechter 737
2. Erzieherische Betätigung 741
α. Die Erzieher 742
β. Erzieherische Maßnahmen 744
γ. Erzieherische Erfolge 751
3. Mädchen in der Menarche 753
α. Vorschriften für die Mädchen 753
β. Frauen in den Monaten 757
γ. Deutung der Menstruation 758
4. Das Spiel der Kinder 759
α. Spiele der Knaben 760
β. Spiele der Mädchen 763
γ. Gesellschaftsspiele 766
5. Wechselbeziehung der Eltern und Kinder 773

1:. Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

Seite

C. Verwandtschaft und Stammesgemeinschaft 777

a. Die Verwandtschaft 779
1. Die Einzelfamilie 779
2. Der Verwandtenkreis 782
3. Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen 784

b. Die Stammesgemeinschaft 797
1. Ihre Gliederung 798
2. Ihre Leitung 802

D. Die Jugendweihe 805

a. Kenntnisnahme durch Europäer 808
1. Die ersten Anzeichen 809
2. Meine Anteilnahme 812
α. Meine erste Jugendweihe 813
β. Meine zweite Jugendweihe 818

b. Vorbereitung der Feier 821
1. Anlaß und Dauer 823
2. Entferntere Vorbereitung 826
α. Die Teilnehmer 826
β. Die Prüflinge 827
γ. Leiter und Vorsteher 828
δ. Der Versammlungsplatz 830
3. Nähere Vorbereitung 831
α. Bau der Großen Hütte 832
β. Bau der Küchenhütte 837
γ. Ordnungsdienst 838

c. Verlauf der Feier 841
1. Zusammenkunft der Erwachsenen 843
2. Einführung der Prüflinge 848
α. Abholen im Lager 849
β. Empfang in der Großen Hütte 850
γ. Die Paten 852
3. Tagesordnung für die Prüflinge 854
α. Die äußeren Maßnahmen 855
β. Die Belehrungen 864
γ. Die Arbeitsübungen 900
4. Tagesordnung für die Erwachsenen 904
α. Allgemeine Bestimmungen 906
β. Besondere Förmlichkeiten 908
γ. Gesang und Tanz 917

d. Abschluß der Feier 947
1. Die Anlässe 947
2. Das Schlußfest 952
3. Sinn und Wert der Jugendweihe 955

E. Eigentumsverhältnisse 961

a. Die Eigentumsgüter 962
1. Gemeinschaftsgüter 963

Seite
2. Sondereigentum 967
α. Persönlicher Besitz 967
β. Familienbesitz 970
b. Das Besitzrecht 972
1. Urheberrecht des Höchsten Wesens 972
2. Besitznahme 974
3. Beschaffung und Herstellung 976
4. Tauschen, Leihen, Schenken 977
5. Verletzung des Besitzrechtes 982

F. Fehden und Blutrache 985
a. Die Anlässe 986
b. Gewöhnliche Streitereien 991
c. Die Blutrache 995

G. Allgemeine gesellschaftliche Pflichten 1000
a. Brauch und Recht 1002
b. Der wechselseitige Verkehr 1006
1. Besondere Umgangsformen 1006
2. Allgemeine Verkehrsweise 1018
c. Das Gemeinwohl 1024
1. Rechtliche Bestimmungen 1024
2. Allgemeine Fürsorge 1027

Vierter Teil: Die Geisteswelt der Yamana 1031

A. Religion und Sittlichkeit 1033
a. Erforschung der Yamana-Religion 1033
1. Urteile der Reisenden 1035
2. Urteile der Missionare 1038
3. Eigene Ergebnisse 1040
b. Inhalt der Yamana-Religion 1044
1. Persönlichkeit des Höchsten Wesens 1045
α. Sein Name 1045
β. Seine Eigenschaften 1047
2. Religiöse Betätigung 1054
α. Allgemeine Übungen 1054
β. Bittgebete 1055
γ. Dankgebete 1058
δ. Klagerufe 1062
ε. Rufe verschiedenen Inhalts 1072
c. Ursprünglichkeit der Yamana-Religion 1075
1. Ihr Eigenwert 1077
2. Ihre Eigenart 1081
d. Allgemeine Sittenvorschriften 1086
1. Ihr Inhalt 1087
2. Ihre Ursprünglichkeit 1090

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

Seite

B. Seelenglaube und Trauer 1093

a. Die menschliche Seele 1093

b. Jenseitsglaube 1096

c. Trauer und Totenfeiern 1101

1. Das Sterben 1101
2. Die Bestattung 1104
3. Kleine Trauerkundgebungen 1111
4. Allgemeine Trauerveranstaltung 1126

C. Kosmogonie und Mythologie 1139

a. Das Werden der Welt 1142

1. Himmel und Erde 1143

α. Die ersten Ansiedler 1144
β. Der ältere Sonnenmann 1145
γ. Der jüngere Sonnenmann 1147
δ. Der Regenbogen 1148
ε. Die Mondfrau 1152
ζ. Die Sintflut 1153
η. Herkunft dieser Persönlichkeiten 1157

2. Die Kulturbringer 1159

α. Die Yoalox-Familie 1159
β. Die Erfindung des Feuers 1160
γ. Die Jagd nach Vögeln 1161
δ. Das Erjagen der Seelöwen 1162
ε. Die Erfindung der Pfeilspitze 1163
ζ. Die Erfindung der Harpunenspitze 1165
η. Der Erwerb von Tran 1167
θ. Der Anfang der Libido sexualis 1168
ι. Der Anfang der Körperbemalung 1168
κ. Der Anlaß zur ersten Menstruation 1169
λ. Das erste Gebären 1174
μ. Die Schwester der Yoalox verliebt sich 1176
ν. Das Sterben wird eingeführt 1182
ξ. Die Yoalox gehen fort 1183

b. Mythen und Sagen 1186

1. Erklärende Mythen 1187

α. Die Geschichte von den Kormoranen 1187
β. Die Rache der Haubenscharbed 1188
γ. Die Geschichte vom Uhu 1190
δ. Die Geschichte vom Fischotter 1193
ε. Die Geschichte vom Seegans-Pärchen 1195
ζ. Die Geschichte vom kleinen Specht 1197
η. Die Spechtgeschwister 1199
θ. Die Geschichte vom Spechtpärchen 1201
ι. Die Rache des Geierfalken 1201
κ. Wie der Geierfalke sein Weib verlor 1205
λ. Der selbstsüchtige Fuchs 1207
μ. Die Geschichte vom Steinmenschen 1209
ν. Die Geschichte vom Seelöwenfels 1214

Seite

ξ. Die Geschichte vom Lalawala-Fehen 1216
ο. Die Geschichte von der Reiherfrau 1219
π. Die Geschichte von der kauzurigen Großmutter 1220
ρ. Die Geschichte von der Wasserassel 1222
σ. Die Geschichte von der Elefantenrobbe 1225
τ. Die Geschichte vom Grindwal 1226
υ. Die empfindliche Brillenibis-Frau 1232
φ. Von den Beeren der Brillenibis-Frau 1233
χ. Die Geschichte vom Schwiegervater 1238
ψ. Die Geschichte vom alten Guanaco 1240

2. Belehrende Mythen 1243
α. Die Geschichte vom jugendlichen Schwager 1243
β. Die Geschichte vom böswilligen Schwager 1250
γ. Eine Geistergeschichte 1252
δ. Die Geschichte vom Junggesellen 1256
ε. Eine Junggesellengeschichte 1257
ζ. Die Geschichte vom tüchtigen Schleuderer 1258
η. Die Geschichte von den Vigunkormoranen 1259
θ. Die Geschichte vom Hochseevogel 1260
ι. Die Geschichte vom Schwertwal 1261
κ. Die Geschichte vom Alleswisser 1262

3. Geschichten vom Medizinmann 1266
α. Die Geschichte vom Habich 1266
β. Die Geschichte vom unehrerbietigen Schwiegersohn 1269
γ. Die Geschichte vom Sperling 1271
δ. Die Geschichte von den Steinspitzenmachern 1273

4. Ergänzende Bemerkungen 1276

D. Geisterglaube und Aberglaube 1278

a. Die Geistergruppen 1278
1. Die Menschenfresser 1280
2. Die Wassergeister 1285
3. Die Waldriesen 1288
4. Die Schutzgeister 1294

b. Die Formen des Aberglaubens 1296
1. Träume 1296
2. Abergläubische Vorstellungen 1300
α. Abergläubisches aus der Tierwelt 1301
β. Abergläubisches aus dem Alltag 1305

E. Die Kina-Feier 1312

a. Kenntnisnahme durch Europäer 1313
1. Frühere Angaben 1313
2. Meine persönliche Beteiligung 1316

b. Vorbereitung der Feier 1317
1. Anlaß und Dauer 1318
2. Die Teilnehmer 1319
3. Der Lagerplatz 1322
4. Aufbau der Großen Hütte 1323

Seite

e. Verlauf der Feier 1326
1. Der Beginn 1327
2. Einführung der Prüflinge 1334
3. Die Ursprungsmythe 1337
4. Die Tagesordnung 1343
α. Tagesordnung für die Männer 1346
β. Tagesordnung für die Prüflinge 1350
γ. Tagesordnung für die Frauen 1357
5. Die Geisterauftritte 1359
α. Vorbereitung und Darbietung 1359
β. Die einzelnen Geister 1362

d. Abschluß der Feier 1375

e. Kulturhistorische Beurteilung 1378

F. Das Medizinmannwesen 1383

a. Persönlichkeit des Medizinmannes 1384
1. Seine Volksverbundenheit 1384
2. Seine körperliche Beschaffenheit 1389
3. Seine geistige Veranlagung 1391

b. Berufung des Medizinmannes 1394
1. Die persönliche Berufung 1394
2. Die Medizinmannschule 1399
α. Die Vorbereitung 1400
β. Der Verlauf 1403
γ. Der Abschluß 1412

c. Betätigung des Medizinmannes 1415
1. Seine Wirken für Stammesgenossen 1416
α. Krankenheilung 1417
β. Allgemeine Hilfeleistung 1421
γ. Schadenbringende Betätigung 1424
δ. Kraftproben 1426
2. Seine Beziehungen zu Geistern 1428
α. Die Yefaiel 1429
β. Die Hautella 1430

d. Eigenart des Medizinmannwesens 1433

G. Die geistige Befähigung 1435

a. Geisteskraft und Sinnestätigkeit 1437
1. Verstandestätigkeit 1437
2. Charakter 1439
3. Ausbildung der Sinne 1442

b. Allgemeines Wissen 1444
1. Werten und Zählen 1446
2. Zeitbestimmung 1447
3. Himmelskunde 1450
4. Geographisches Wissen 1481
5. Pflanzenkunde und Tierkunde 1484

Seite

6. Heilkunde . . . . . [illegible]
7. Die Sprache . . . . . [illegible]

c. Kunstgefühl . . . . . [illegible]
1. Schönheitssinn . . . . . [illegible]
2. Kunstbetätigung . . . . . [illegible]

d. Gesellschaftlichkeit . . . . . [illegible]
1. Versammlungen . . . . . [illegible]
2. Bekleidungen . . . . . [illegible]

H. Eigenart der Yamana-Kultur . . . . . [illegible]

Quellennachweis . . . . . [illegible]
Stichwörter-Verzeichnis . . . . . [illegible]
Verzeichnis einiger Yamana-Wörter . . . . . [illegible]
Personennamen-Verzeichnis . . . . . [illegible]

[XVII]

Verzeichnis der Abbildungen

1. Abbildungen im Text

1. Winter am Canal de Beagle 1
2. Immergrüne Buche, Nothofagus betuloides 5
3. Sommergrüne Buche, Nothofagus pumilio 9
4. Maytenus magellanica 15
5. Sommergrüne Buche, Nothofagus antarctica 29
6. Ribes magellanicum 31
7. Senecio Darwinii 32
8. Buchenast mit Wucherung 34
9. Elefantenrobbe, Macrorhinus leoninus 60
10. Erste Darstellung der Yamana vom Februar 1624 33
11. Homme du canal de Noël dans la Terre de Feu, Dezember 1774 60
12. Pernettya mucronata 121
13. Lithodes antarctica 364
14. Die Feuerzange 396
15. Sandale 404
16. Schamschurz für Mädchen 408
17. Berberis ilicifolia 420
18. Delphin-Oberkiefer als Kamm 422
19. Kamm aus Walknochen, nach Lorenzer (b): 130 423
20. Farbenbeutel 430
21. Gelenkhund aus Guanacoleder 434
22. Nebelschnur des Fischotters als Gelenkhund 434
23. Halskettchen, nach Lorenzer (b): 126 436
24. Aufreihen der Schneckengehäuse 436
25. Das Rindenkanu 441
26. Knochenkeil 442
27. Knöcherner Rindenablöser, nach Brunner: 137 442
28. Handschuh aus Leder, nach Hyades (q): Pl. XXXII 448
29. Ruderformen 449
30. Schöpfer aus Rinde der Drimys Winteri 451
31. Tau aus der Binse Marsippospermum grandiflorum 451
32. Pfeilspitzen aus Schiefer, Bein, Kieselstein, nach Hyades (h): 35 467
33. Kleine Harpune 471
34. Wie ein Schaft aus einem Stamme herausgeschnitten wird 472
35. Die große Harpune 473
36. Zweizackige Harpunenspitze 475
37. Der Fischspeer 479
38. Der Dolch 480
39. Dolch- und Lanzenspitzen aus Stein 481
40. Die Schleuder 482
41. Der Mann trägt die Schleuder um den Hals gehängt 485
42. Muschelbrecher aus Berberis ilicifolia 489

Seite
63. Schaber 488
64. Schaber, nach Hyades (g): Pl. XXXII 489
65. Seitenklinge, nach Lenoner (h): 190 494
66. Pfeilmesser mit Schaftdülle 495
67. Lederbeutel 499
68. Kamm aus Knochen von Pferdefüßen 502
69. Harpunenspitzen, gemischtform 505
70. Das feste Korbgeflecht, nach Lenoner (h): 135 506
71. Randstück des festeren Korbgeflechtes, nach Lenoner (h): 137 507
72. Randstück des offenen Korbgeflechtes, nach Lenoner (h): 139 507
73. Das offene Flechtwerk, schematische Zeichnung 510
74. Lange Knochenspitzen 515
75. Kleine Harpune 522
76. Gebrauch der Schleuder, aus „Science et Nature", Paris 1884 525
77. Vogelpfeil 535
78. Phalaenarum strictus 539
79. Die große Schlingpflanze 541
80. Der Schlingstrick 540
81. Wurfkeulchen 543
82. Krebskorbchen 547
83. Fischkorb aus einem Algenstengel 549
84. Fischkorb aus einer Schneerose 551
85. Korb zum Fischen 554
86. Barkenset mit Wurfkorb 556
87. Pecten pamilo 563
88. Hand und Stiefel, aus „Science et Nature", Paris 1884 573
89. Gebrauch des Sengstiefelchens, aus „Science et Nature", Paris 1884 577
90. Äußere Darstellung einer Muschelkette, aus Wilson (c): I, 139 587
91. Muschelkette bei Bahía Buchanan, nach Lenoner (h): 192 591
92. Muschelkette bei Puerto Mejillones, nach Lenoner (h): 196 601
93. Dolch- und Pfeilspitzen, nach Lenoner (h): 191 605
94. Verschiedene steinerne Gerätschaften, nach Vanoni (e): 111 606
95. Steinerne Schaber, nach Lenoner (h): 190 607
96. Amazonfischer, Kanonenpfeil aus 616
97. Bemalung der Brust 742
98. Embothrium coccineum 757
99. Bemalung in der Menarche 772
100. Bemalung, Adrenarzyte entziehend 834
101. Gerät der Großen Hütte 839
102. Lenzpfeifen aravdyi 845
103. Photoverteilung bei der Jugendweihe i. J. 1922 861
104. Gesichtsbemalung der Prüflinge 918
105. Gesichtsbemalung der erwachsenen Teilnehmer 924
106. Manier von Trauerbemalung 952
107. Sengstiefelchen und Kreuzstiefelchen 1000
108. Dämonen erahnen 1030
109. Manier von Trauerbemalung 1130
110. Zierbande für Trauerzeremonienbinden 1131
111. Phalaenarum magnificentia 1180
112. Der große Spatel, Spatulator magnificus 1200
113. Der schwarze Kopfbinde 1210
114. Fischotter, Lutra felina 1277
115. Seehund, Otaria jubata 1292

96. Stammbaum der Kiss-Fröhlige . . . . . [illegible]
97. Kiss-Bildnis für die Fröhlige . . . . . [illegible]
98. Tabak . . . . . [illegible]
99. Stammbaum mit Tree gefüllt . . . . . [illegible]
100. Pragnin, Pyramide ähnlich . . . . . [illegible]
101. Bildnis in ähnlicher Anfüllung . . . . . [illegible]
102. [illegible] . . . . . [illegible]
103. Bildnisbaum . . . . . [illegible]
104. Bildnisbaum . . . . . [illegible]
105. Phänomenon ähnlicher . . . . . [illegible]

2. Abbildungen auf farbigen Tafeln

Tafel I. Bilder von mittleren Canal de Bergh, nach einer Farbenphotographie . . . 1
Tafel II. Bilder von Einbrennung in der Jugendzeit-Bilder . . . . . [illegible]
Tafel III. Zeichnis und Tonnitäl für die Jugendzeit-Bilder . . . . . [illegible]
Tafel IV. Bilder von der Kiss-Bilder, zwei aus Blau, eine aus Leder . . . . . [illegible]

3. Abbildungen auf Tiefdrucktafeln

1. Tonnen-Bilder
2. Tonnen-Pyra
3. Tonnen-Kinder
4. Kaufen beim Spiel, vgl. Seite [illegible]
5. Am Strande des mittleren Canal de Bergh, mit Blick auf die Bernstein
6. Garten für die Kiss-Bilder inmitten einer Marschlandschaft
7. Garten für eine Gesellschaftsbildnis
8. Das Wäscheleine-Spiel, vgl. Seite [illegible]
9. Das Bratwurstessen-Spiel, vgl. Seite [illegible]
10. Das Jungfrau-Spiel, vgl. Seite [illegible]
11. Das Ähnlichen-Spiel, vgl. Seite [illegible]
12. Frühere Einübung, der Schwanzfeiern
13. Wäscheln bei der Jugendzeit beim Fröhlige Seelen
14. Bilder für die Jugendzeit, Sonnenseite
15. Bilder für die Jugendzeit, Schattenseite
16. Einfache Gesichtsbemalung im Grunen, vgl. Seite [illegible]
17. Bemalung des Wäschers im Grunen, vgl. Seite [illegible]
18. Bemalung des Wäschergesichtes, vgl. Seite [illegible]
19. Die Grunen Gebrüdern, mit Gunnen als Fröhlig, s. 2. [illegible]
20. Die Grunen Gebrüdern, mit Gunnen und Kurnen, s. 2. [illegible]
21. Die Grunen-Bemalung nach der Tonnierung, vgl. Seite [illegible] und [illegible]
22. Gunnen mit seinen Pyra Gunnen und Gunn
23. Bemalung des Jugendzeiers in der Mohnblumenschule, vgl. Seite [illegible]
24. Der alte Ameisler als Mohnbaumer
25. Garten der Kiss-Bilder mit Mohnbaumer
26. Wimmer beim Kaiserpalm-Spiel, vgl. Seite [illegible]
27. Kiss-Geist
28. Kiss-Geist
29. Kiss-Geist
30. Kiss-Geist

[illegible] Gipfelzone von Pelle der Nuova Olivia
[illegible] Kaar-Gletscher
[illegible] Kaar-Gletscher
[illegible] Bildung bei Kaar-[illegible]
[illegible] Transfluenzbahn, stellenweise Schnee auf Gestein weiter Strecke über der Baum, vgl. Seite [illegible]
[illegible] Transfluenzbahn bei Tal durch Gletscher, vgl. Seite [illegible]
[illegible] Transfluenzbahn bei Tal durch Gletscher
[illegible] Transfluenzbahn bei Tal durch Gletscher
[illegible] Transfluenzbahn bei Transfluenzbahn
[illegible] Transfluenzbahn bei Transfluenzbahn
[illegible] Transfluenzbahn bei Transfluenzbahn
[illegible] Transfluenzbahn bei Tal durch Gletscher
[illegible] Transfluenzbahn bei Transfluenzbahn
[illegible] Transfluenzbahn bei Transfluenzbahn
[illegible] Ausschliffene Rinnen
[illegible] Transfluenzbahn bei Tal durch Gletscher
[illegible] Gletscher begrenzt sich für Transfluenzbahn
[illegible] Transfluenzbahn bei Moräne
[illegible] Im Nordwest-Arm der Canal de Dragle

4. Verzeichnis der geographischen Karten

Maßstabsangaben und Umrißbild
Geographische Verbreitung der Transfluenzbahnen

5. Druckfehler-Berichtigung

Seite [illegible], Zeile [illegible], soll es heißen: "Lyon Bahnhof", nicht "Lyonnaiseus Bahnhof".
Seite [illegible], Fußnote [illegible], soll es heißen: "Transfluenzen-Gebiet", nicht "Kar-Gebiet".
Seite [illegible], vorletzte Zeile, soll es heißen: "Gletscherzungen", nicht "Gipfelzone".
Abbildung [illegible] der Farbtafelseite soll es heißen: "Nordwest-Arm", nicht "Nordpunkt".

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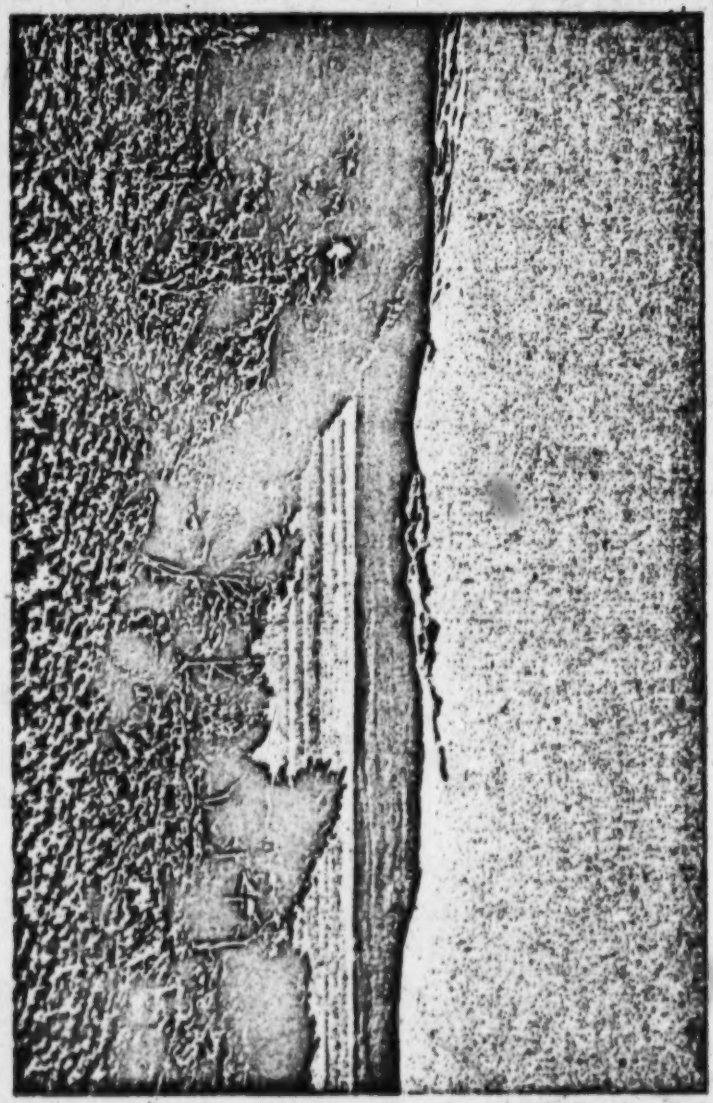

[FACING p. 1]

ERSTER TEIL

Heimat und Geschichte

Kap Hoorn und seine sturmgepeitschte See sind seit ihrer Entdeckung der Schrecken aller Seefahrer. Trutzig und sieghaft ragt dieser Felsenblock in die kalten Wasserströmungen und in die eisigen Winde hinein, die das lebenmordende Reich des Südpols entsendet. Wie an einem unerschütterlichen Eckpfeiler nimmt hier der amerikanische Erdteil seinen Anfang und zieht sich, lang sich streckend und sich verbreiternd, hoch hinauf in das gegenüberliegende Reich von Eis und Schnee. Wilhelm Julius Schouten, ein holländischer Flottenführer, und sein jugendlicher Begleiter, Jacob Le Maire, haben als erste Europäer das Kap Hoorn am 29. Januar 1616 gesichtet. „Sie glaubten, daß es der südlichste Punkt und Bergpfeiler aller nordwärts liegenden Länder und Inseln der Tierra del Fuego und ganz Amerika's sei, und gaben ihm den Namen 'Het Kap van Hoorn' zu Ehren der Stadt Hoorn, aus welcher der Kapitän Schouten und die Mehrzahl ihrer Rheder, so wie auch einige ihrer Reisegefährten gebürtig waren. Sie erkannten damals noch nicht, daß das Cap Hoorn bloß die südlichste Spitze einer kleinen Insel sei. Weil sie diese südlichste Partie Amerika's nur von ferne sahen, erschien ihnen der ganze dortige Insel-Archipel als ein zusammenhängendes Ganze" (Kom.: 445). Tatsächlich schließt sich, wie es die genaue Forschung in den folgenden Jahrhunderten erwiesen hat, jenem südlichsten Felsen nach Norden und Nordwesten ein wildzerzaustes Inselgewirr an, das sich wie ein Bollwerk der Südspitze des eigentlichen Festlandes vorlagert; zwischen diesem und dem eigentlichen Archipel windet sich die enge Magellan-Straße durch. Auf der

[p. 1]

Ostseite sind es die langgezogenen, schweren Wogen des Atlantischen, auf der Westseite die stürmischen, unruhigen Wellen des Stillen Ozeans, die dagegen fast unaufhörlich mit drauender Stoßkraft anschlagen und selten nur die unverrückbaren Felsenufer leicht plätschernd umschmeicheln.

Die Gesamtheit jener vielgestaltigen und verschieden großen Eilande nennt man einfachhin "Das Feuerland". FITZ-ROY (a): 132 rechnete hierzu, ohne irgendwelche Einschränkung, „all the islands southward of the Strait of Magalhaens (including Staten Land), as far as the Diego Ramirez islets". Eigentlich gebührt nur der größten Insel im Osten die Bezeichnung "Isla Grande de la Tierra del Fuego" (Bd. I, 1). Der wohlberechtigte und brauchbare Vorschlag der MISSION SCIENTIFIQUE du Cap Horn, man möchte sich auf die Benennung "Magellanische Inselwelt" einigen, fand leider keine Beachtung und die geographische Namengebung für jene Gegend blieb nach wie vor schwankend. Die Eilande im Süden des Canal de Beagle, letzteren in seiner ganzen west-östlichen Ausdehnung einbezogen, bezeichnet man gern als den "Kap Hoorn-Archipel". Diese Umschreibung soll, wegen ihrer Einfachheit und Bestimmtheit, auch im vorliegenden Buche bevorzugt werden.

Einem Dreieck gleich läßt sich der sogenannte Kap Hoorn-Archipel mit langen, geraden Strichen umgrenzen. Er ist die Heimat der südlichsten Feuerland-Indianer und somit der am meisten nach Süden vorgeschobene, von menschlichen Wesen erfüllte Lebensraum auf der Erde. Nächste Nachbarn dieser Yamana sind die Selk'nam (Ona) auf der Isla Grande im Nordosten und die Halakwulup (Alakaluf) in jenem Inselgewirr, das sich als das sogenannte westpatagonische Inselreich von der Peninsula Brecknock beim westlichen Ausgange des Canal de Beagle bis weit nach Norden hinauf ausdehnt.

Mit vollem Recht genießt der äußerste Süden der Neuen Welt seinen schlechten Ruf und seine gefürchtete Berühmtheit; denn für manches stolze Schiff ist er zum Verhängnis geworden und seine tückischen Gewässer haben den kühnsten Wagemut vieler erprobter Seefahrer gebrochen. Seit Jahrhunderten braust nun schon bedrohlich der heulende Sturm über die zerrissenen Inseln und zerklüfteten Felsen hinweg, oder er peitscht sie unter klatschendem Aufschlag mit eisigkalten Regenschauern, oder er hüllt sie in dichte Schneewirbel ein; das ewig unruhige Meer bedroht auch weiterhin einen jeden, der sich seinen unberechenbaren Launen vertrauensselig überläßt, mit sicherem Untergange in seinen schaumgekrönten Wogen, die über grundlose Tiefen mächtig dahinrollen. Alle jene Einzelunternehmungen unerschrokkener Seeleute und die Entdeckungsfahrten kühner Forscher, die während der letzten vier Jahrhunderte in ihren kleinen, schwankenden Fahrzeugen den Kampf mit den Wogen und Stürmen in der Kap Hoorn-Nähe aufgenommen haben, sind eine glänzende Geschichte übermenschlichen Heldentums und großartiger, unerreichbarer Entdeckerleistungen. Außergewöhnlich stark fühlt man sich angeregt, darin herumzublättern. Indes, in die vorliegende Abhandlung können nur jene Forschungen und Beobachtungen einbezogen werden,

die zur Kenntnis und zum Verständnis der körperlichen Eigenart, der Lebensgewohnheiten und Einrichtungen jener dort beheimateten Eingeborenen mehr oder weniger beigetragen haben. Dieses Buch ist ausschließlich der Ethnographie der Yamana, den alteingesessenen Urbewohnern des gefürchteten Kap Hoorn-Archipels gewidmet.[1]

Kein Wunder, daß die ersten in Europa verbreiteten Nachrichten über menschliche Lebewesen, die auf jenen abgelegenen, unfreundlichen Eilanden ihr Dasein fristen, großes Befremden erregt haben und daß deren Erforschung von den Seefahrern bei weitem nicht mit der Aufmerksamkeit betrieben wurde, mit der eine zügellose Phantasie und eine uneingeschränkte Beurteilung sich deren Daseinsweise auszumalen beliebte. Bis in die Neuzeit hinein blieben völkerkundliche Mitteilungen aus dem Feuerlande immer lückenhaft und unzureichend. Erst jetzt, kurz vor dem unaufhaltsamen Aussterben der wenigen letzten Yamana, kann eine in etwa vollständige Beschreibung der Kulturform jenes südlichsten aller Indianerstämme der Öffentlichkeit übergeben werden. Die Gelegenheiten zu deren Erforschung waren früher unvergleichlich vorteilhafter[2] und jene entfernten Gewässer sind von vielen Schiffen verschiedener europäischer Nationen durchquert worden; ihr Ziel jedoch war die Entdeckung neuer Welten und die Eroberung fremder Länder, nicht aber die Kenntnis und das Verstehen andersgearteter Menschen. Überdies trieben die von allen Seiten eindrängenden ernsten Gefahren in der Kap Hoorn-Gegend alle Seeleute zu eiliger Fahrt an; sie trachteten unterschiedslos dem drohenden Unheil möglichst schnell zu entfliehen. Trotzdem gelang es nicht allen, diese gefährliche Stelle zu umschiffen und sie fanden einen kläglichen Untergang in den erbarmungslosen Wellen. Kaum ein anderes Küstengebiet dürfte so dicht und so reichlich, wie jenes, mit den zermalmten Trümmern gescheiterter Fahrzeuge und zerschellter Schiffe besät sein.[3]

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[1] Einen guten geschichtlichen Überblick über Entdeckungsfahrten und Forschungsergebnisse in der Antarktis gibt Deus: 241—257. Vgl. zur Ergänzung auch den Abschnitt: "Historique des voyages au Détroit de Magellan", in Martial: 56—72.

[2] Für einzelne Reisende waren die Forschungsmöglichkeiten allerdings knapp und beschränkt, für andere aber sehr günstig. Daß ihrem Bemühen sich zuweilen starke Hindernisse in den Weg gestellt haben, sei unumwunden zugegeben. An sie erinnert Dabarnay (b): 276 mit folgenden Worten: „Todas las historias están llenas de las horrores de aquellas sombrías regiones; y desde que el esfuerzo de los españoles, de fundar una colonia en Puerto Hambre, había fracasado, se miraba sólo con el más profundo terror la tierra de los esquiretes gigantes y el vecino archipiélago habitado por la raza más infima del género humano. De modo, que si las penas de aquellos cuyo oficio es luchar contra los elementos, si los triunfos de la conquista han enriquecido con datos positivos la ciencia ésnica de la virgen América."

[3] Hierher gehört es nicht, die gutbegründete Erfahrung der bedeutendsten Seeleute von der schwierigen Schiffahrt in jenen Gegenden zu wiederholen. Wer diese heute durchquert, wird in seinem mit neuzeitlicher Technik ausgestatteten Dampfer oder Motorboot nicht weniger von der unverminderten Vernichtungswut der dort rasenden Naturgewalten bedroht und erschüttert. Er erlebt an sich selber die Schrecken des gefürchteten Inselreiches und sieht, um mit Pereyra (d): 168 zu reden, „con cuanta se hallan cubiertas de

Mit der sich steigernden Sicherheit der Seefahrt[4] häufte sich das Zusammentreffen der Europäer mit den dortigen Eingeborenen. Die fast nur gelegentlichen Beziehungen, die dabei angeknüpft wurden, dehnten sich langsam weiter aus. Später faßten anglikanische Missionare sogar mitten unter jenen Feuerländern festen Fuß. Selbstverständlich schlossen sich diesen Glaubensboten außer Siedlern schnell noch Geschäftsleute an, die alle mitsammen heute das ganze Gebiet beherrschen und für sich allein beanspruchen. Je mehr jedoch das Ausländerwesen sich dort ausbreitete und einnistete, um so schneller wich unter seinem übermächtigen Andrange das uralte Indianertum zurück. Heute ist es nur noch in einigen unvollständigen Resten und zusammenhangloosen Trümmern erhalten, die längst schon dem baldigen Untergange rettungslos überantwortet sind. Wenige Jahrzehnte europäischer Beeinflussung haben auch in jenem abgelegenen Weltwinkel genügt, um das dort festverwurzelte, uralte und lebensfähige Volk mit unheilvollen Todeskeimen ganz zu durchsetzen und von der Erdoberfläche restlos abzudrängen.

A. Die Heimat

Eine engbegrenzte, unfreundliche Inselwelt ist den Yamana, den südlichsten Erdenbewohnern, als Lebensraum zugefallen. Ihr weites Vorrücken an den südlichen Polarkreis heran läßt von vornherein auf sehr ungünstige Witterungsbedingungen schließen, die der Pflanzen- und Tierwelt nur einen knappen Raum zur Entfaltung freigeben. Wo die Sonne ihre Licht- und Wärmefülle nicht ausschüttet, gedeiht das Leben nur spärlich und kümmerlich. All das wirkt sich hemmend und einschränkend auf die Daseinsmöglichkeiten, im besonderen nachdrücklich bestimmend und richtunggebend auf die Wirtschaftsform der Eingeborenen aus. Sie sind und bleiben auf das, was sie umgibt, scheinbar so notwendig angewiesen, als könnten sie von dort nicht

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Signaboos vestigios, de cuerpos y mástiles destrozados, de maderas destrozadas y fierros torcidos, testigos mudos de algún drama ignorado, de algún cuadro de terror, de algún grito de desesperación ahogado por las saladas aguas del Océano". Vgl. hierzu "Anuario Hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile", año V, VI, VII; Santiago 1879, 1880, 1881, sowie FACALDE: 95, MORRAL, PORTER (a): 75 und a. m. KOHL: 315 und MARTIAL: 54 geben eine vollständige Zusammenstellung der wichtigsten Quellen für Berichte über die früheren Entdeckungsfahrten durch das Kap Hoorn-Gebiet.

[4] Früher waren die kühnsten Seeleute allen erdenklichen Zufällen wehrlos ausgeliefert und eine verhältnismäßig gute Kenntnis der örtlichen Bedingungen nützte ihnen dagegen fast nichts. Das ersieht man beispielsweise aus "LA PEROUSE'ns Entdeckungsreise in den Jahren 1785 bis 1788", wo es u. a. heißt: „In dergleichen offenen Buchten (wie Bahia de Buen Suceso), wo die See mit dem größten Ungestüm an das Gestade schlägt, muß man nicht selten halbe Tage lang warten, ehe man es wagen darf, die Boote ans Land zu schicken. Hätten sich überdies Südwinde eingestellt und mich in die Notwendigkeit gesetzt, eine Zeitlang in dieser Bay zu bleiben: so würde mittlerweile die schöne Jahreszeit vorüberhin seyn, mein Schiff konnte den größten Schaden leiden, auch meine an Bord befindliche Mannschaft durch Strapazen so abgemattet werden, welches dem Fortgang der ganzen Reise gewiß nachtheilig gewesen wäre" ("Magazin", Bd. 14, S. 155).

mehr heraus. Die Schöpferkraft indes, mit welcher der Mensch sich über die Naturkräfte hinaushebt und mit der er auch diese in seinen Dienst einzwängt, feiert trotzdem seine Triumphe. Ein Zeugnis dafür liefern auch die Feuerländer. Im Vergleich mit dem Kulturgut anderer Völkerschaften ist im besonderen ihre Wirtschaftsform, ohne Deuteln und Übertreibung, außerordentlich bescheiden und dürftig; der genaue Beobachter aber erkennt sie mit überraschender Deutlichkeit als eine vorzügliche, vielseitige Anpassung an die Umwelt und als die einzig vorteilhafte für ein Naturvolk, das allein auf sie und auf seine eigenen Kräfte angewiesen ist. Man mag an der Sonderkultur, die unsere Yamana sowohl wie ihre beiden Nachbarvölker zur Ausgestaltung gebracht haben, den mächtigen Einfluß ermessen, den der Lebensraum auf Völkerschaften mit einfachen Kulturformen auszuüben imstande ist.[3] Kaum je wird man die Umweltbedingungen eines Naturvolkes zu ausführlich schildern können; denn erst sie vermitteln ein volles Verständnis jener Kulturform und Lebensgestaltung, die es im Rahmen solchen Zwanges und solcher Beschränkung geschaffen hat.

Abb. 2. Immergrüne Buche

Mit der vorhin angedeuteten Ungunst der Verhältnisse ist vor allem die niedrige Jahrestemperatur und das rauhe Klima gemeint, verbunden mit ungewöhnlich reichlichen Niederschlägen in einer hohen Luftfeuchtigkeit. All dem, was auf das Gemüt und auf die gesamte geistige Haltung eines Menschen nichts weniger als günstig einwirkt, gesellt sich noch das ständige Stürmen aus dem eisigen Süden und das Gefahrdrohende der nimmermüden Meereswogen[4] bei. Das alles behindert aber auch das Gedeihen der höheren Pflanzen in einer Weise, daß man sich wundert, wie trotzdem die antarktischen Buchen (Abb. 2) sich zu einem teilweise prächtigen Waldbestand

[3] Wie offensichtlich diese Tatsache für die nördlichen Nachbarn auf der Isla Grande zutrifft, lehrt der besondere Abschnitt: "Der Selk'nam in vollendeter Anpassung an seine Heimat", in Bd. I, 305. Die örtlichen Bedingungen der Halakwulup stimmen weitgehend mit denen unserer Yamana überein, was im III. Bande dieses Werkes noch zu zeigen sein wird.

[4] Auch in neuester Zeit, trotz des staunenswerten Fortschrittes der Schiffsbautechnik, wiederholen sich noch entsetzliche Schiffsunglücke in der Nähe des Kap Hoorn. Einige

zusammenschließen und als Einzelstücke sogar die Felsen des Kap Hoorn selber verschönern. Die niederen Pflanzen, zumal die Moose, entwickeln sich in der reichlichen Feuchtigkeit sehr üppig. An Landtieren kann man nicht viel erwarten; statt dessen aber gibt es eine gute Auswahl an individuenreichen Seesäugetierarten und eine fast unübersehbare Menge von Seevögeln vieler Gattungen. Eine stark betonte Einförmigkeit bildet den Hintergrund der gesamten dortigen Pflanzen- und Tierwelt.

An dem düsteren Anstrich des Landschaftsbildes hat auch die europäische Besiedlung nichts verbessert. Von vornherein war an eine merkliche Umgestaltung der Boden- und Wachstumsverhältnisse nicht zu denken. Für die Wohnungen, Werkstätten und Maschinenanlagen mußte man einen Haustyp wählen, der dem reichlichen Niederschlag genügend Rechnung trägt. So entstanden die einstöckigen, kistenförmigen Bretterbauten mit grauem Wellblechbeschlag. Widerlich sind sie anzuschauen und außerordentlich langweilig nehmen sich ganze Reihen dieser Häuser aus, die das heutige Ushuaia bilden. Dieses Städtchen entstand aus den bescheidenen Anfängen einer Missionsstation, die als Zweiggründung der Zentralstelle auf Isla Keppel hier von den anglikanischen Missionaren im Jahre 1869 eröffnet worden ist. Um den Missionar THOMAS BRIDGES sammelten sich nach und nach die Indianerfamilien, die aus verschiedenen Gegenden heranströmten. Im Oktober 1884 richtete die argentinische Regierung hier eine Sub-Prefectura für den ganzen Süden der Republik ein und damit begann die Besiedlung jener den Eingeborenen sehr vertrauten Bucht mit einigen zehn Häuschen für Europäer. Im Laufe der nächsten Jahrzehnte vermehrte sich deren Zahl, besonders seitdem die geräumige Strafanstalt erbaut worden ist. Die Bevölkerungsziffer schwankt ständig, im Mittel aber rechnet man etwa 700 Ansiedler und 500 Sträflinge. Ushuaia liegt malerisch schön am Fuße einer hohen, schneebedeckten Gebirgskette, deren Fuß dichte Buchenwälder bedecken. Auch ist es gut geschützt gegen Nordwinde, erhält aber während der langen Wintermonate keine Mittagssonne; im kurzen Sommer bietet es einen angenehmen Aufenthalt. Wachstum und Lebensfähigkeit dieses Städtchens hängt allein von der größeren oder kleineren Zahl der Gefängnisbeamten ab; denn Vieh- und Holzwirtschaft sind in jener Gegend bedeutungslos.[7]

Schon 1889 wurde in der Bahía Buen Suceso eine weitere Sub-Prefectura eingerichtet und gleichzeitig damit ein Militärposten in der Bahía Sloggett. Die Notwendigkeit hierfür ergab sich aus dem massenhaften Andrange von Goldsuchern (Bd. I, 154). Als aber nach wenigen Jahren planlosen Raubbaues die Erfolge ausblieben und die vielen Arbeiter sich von dort wieder verzogen, wurden auch jene beiden Behörden abberufen.

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besonders beklagenswerte Ereignisse hat PORTA (d): 166 zusammengestellt. Anschließend daran schildert er sehr anschaulich das unheilvolle Wüten der unbezähmbaren Naturgewalten.

[7] Ausführliche Nachrichten über Ushuaia bringen ANCHORENA: 162, HYADES (q): 388, NORDENSKJÖLD (f): 214 und ROSSOUW: 233.

1: *Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

Bald darauf versuchten andere Neuankömmlinge dort ihr Glück mit Schafzucht, seitdem der frühere Missionar THOMAS BAMGES im heutigen Puerto Harberton und auf Isla Gable sich eine eigene Farm eingerichtet und von den Falkland-Inseln die ersten Zuchtschafe am Canal de Beagle eingeführt hatte. Nach und nach erstanden einzelne Farmen, so in Puerto Eugenia, in Punta Remolino, in Puerto Rosa und an einigen anderen geschützten Stellen des östlichen Canal de Beagle. Über die Bahía Yendegaia hinaus nach Westen ist kein Versuch unternommen worden; die außerordentlich hohe Feuchtigkeit ist für Zuchtvieh unerträglich. Wohl aber nach Süden hin versuchte mancher sein Glück, ermuntert durch das Vorgehen der Missionare bei Eröffnung einer Missionsstation in der Bahía Tekenika, und es entstanden Farmen in Bahía Windhond, in der Caleta Wulaia, an der Mündung des Rio Douglas, auf Isla Bertrand und anderswo. Kurz vor meinem ersten Besuche brach ein derartiges Unternehmen auf Isla Hermite zusammen. Sogar in der allernächsten Nachbarschaft des Kap Hoorn hat es ein gewinnsüchtiger Unternehmer gewagt, Zuchtschafe auszusetzen! An einzelnen Orten wurden Sägewerke eingerichtet, beispielsweise in Lapataia, in Punta Remolino, in Puerto Brown; aussichtsreich jedoch sind diese Unternehmungen nicht.

Auch dann, wenn nach wenigen Jahren die letzten Ureinwohner verschwunden sein werden, bietet jener äußerste Süden keine Aussichten auf wirtschaftliche Erfolge. Die großartige Pracht seiner Gebirge und Landschaft ist von volkreichen Städten zu weit abgelegen, als daß sie eine starke Anziehungskraft auszuüben vermöchte. Nach wie vor steht die rauhe, unfreundliche Natur unbesiegbar im Besitze ihrer Vorherrschaft da.

Fast der ganze Heimatbereich der Yamana rechnet politisch zu Chile. Erst einige Jahre nach der internationalen Einigung über die Grenzen im ganzen Feuerlande wurden, vom Cabo Espiritu Santo auf dem Ostufer der Isla Grande längs des Grenzmeridians (68° 36' 38.5" W.) bis nahe der Bahía Lapataia, 25 Pyramiden in zwei Arbeitsabschnitten (Januar bis April 1894 und November 1894 bis März 1895) aufgerichtet. Dadurch ist endgültig festgelegt, daß nur das Nordufer des östlichen Canal de Beagle zu Argentinien gehört.*

a. *Die örtlichen Bedingungen*

Deutlich und scharf ist der sogenannte Kap Hoorn-Archipel, die Heimat der Yamana, durch natürliche Schranken vom Heimatgebiet ihrer feuerländischen Nachbarn getrennt. Die Nordgrenze verläuft dem Nordufer des Canal de Beagle entlang und zwar östlich bis etwa zur Bahía Aguirre an der Südostspitze der Isla Grande, nach Westen bis zum äußersten Vorsprung der Península Brecknock. Sein Nordufer bilden schroffe und steile Felswände der

* Vgl. H. STEFFEN: Bemerkungen zur Karte der chilenisch-argentinischen Grenze im Feuerland; in "PETERMANN's Geographische Mitteilungen", Band 43, S. 177—179 und 1 Karte; Gotha 1897.

Isla Grande, während ein vielgestaltiges Inselgewirr sich zu seinem Südrande zusammendrängt und ihn gegen die Wogen des Stillen Ozeans deckt. Am 14. April 1830 wurde er von FITZ-ROY, dem Befehlshaber der "Beagle", entdeckt, nach der er seinen Namen erhielt. Der eigentliche Lebensraum der Yamana aber ist alles, was an Inseln und Eilanden, an Wasserarmen und Kanälen, an offenen Häfen und stillen Buchten südlich von jener langen Uferlinie bis zum Kap Hoorn selber liegt.

Diese Inselwelt wird fast genau vom 55. und 56. Grade südl. Breite, sowie vom 66. und vom 72. Längengrade eingeschlossen. Auf die nördliche Erdhälfte übertragen entspricht der gleichen geographischen Breitenlage die der dänischen Insel Seeland mit Kopenhagen. Die geradlinige Entfernung der am meisten nach Osten und nach Westen vorspringenden, bereits genannten Grenzpunkte beträgt etwa 380 km, vergleichbar der Entfernung zwischen Berlin und Kopenhagen. Daß trotz dieser fast mittleren geographischen Breitenlage der Kap Hoorn-Archipel seine berüchtigt ungünstigen Witterungsbedingungen aufweist, braucht nicht zu befremden, empfängt er ja doch unmittelbar den eisigen Wind und die kalten Meeresströmungen aus der Antarktis, während Dänemark nach Norden hin durch die skandinavische Ländermasse gedeckt wird und die Vorteile des warmen Golfstromes genießt. Völlig schutzlos liegt dieses Inselreich dem Wüten der Naturgewalten ausgeliefert und offen da.

Die zuverlässige Forschung hat erwiesen, daß jenes Dreieck zwischen Kap Hoorn, Peninsula Brecknock und etwa Punta Julieta bei Bahía Aguirre von den Yamana selber als ihr ausschließliches Heimatgebiet immer und ununterbrochen betrachtet worden ist. SPEGAZZINI (a): 160, einer der neuzeitlichen Reisenden, äußert sich folgendermaßen: Die Volksgruppe „de los Yagan vive en todas las costas e islas del Sur hasta el Cabo de Hornos, no pasando nunca en sus emigraciones al Oeste, más allá de la isla de London, y del canal de Brecknock, al Este de la isla Nueva y de la Bahía de Sloggett". Von vielen anderen Forschern ist diese Umgrenzung, wie noch weiter unten ausführlicher wird zu beweisen sein, bestätigt worden.*

Eine verhältnismäßig geringe Ausdehnung besitzt dieses Heimatland der Yamana: trotzdem unterscheidet man sehr deutlich morphologisch und landschaftlich zwei verschiedene Gebiete. Der regenreiche, dichtbewaldete Westen ist ein genaues Bild des weiter nach Norden sich hinziehenden westpatagonischen Inselreiches; hier hat sich bis in die Gegenwart hinein eine ausgedehnte Masse von mächtigem Inlandeis erhalten, das sich als prachtvolle Gletscher in die salzigen Fluten ergießt. Die östliche Hälfte jenes Landes zeigt den Einfluß der bis fast zur Mitte der Isla Grande übertragenen typischen Pampaformation des Festlandes; diese prägt sich zwar ganz so

* Am allerjüngster Zeit noch findet sich bei SEUNCZA: 105 folgende Fußnote: „Mim HAMILTON, from Mr. BURNOUGH: 'Western limit of Yaghans, end of Gordon Island; eastern limit, Sloggett Bay'." Früher sogen diese Eingeborenen tatsächlich ein wenig weiter, nämlich bis zur Halbinsel Brecknock im Westen und zur Bahía Aguirre im Osten.

deutlich dort nicht mehr aus, bildet aber doch noch weite, offene Ebenen, die mit Buchenbestand (Abb. 3) abwechseln. Hier sind die Niederschläge viel geringer als im Westen. Die Grenze zwischen dieser West- und Ostzone, die selbstverständlich ganz scharf sich nicht zeichnen läßt, ist eine wellige Linie, die von Punta Divide durch die Angostura Murray zur Bahía Nassau verläuft.

Die hier nur kurz angedeuteten, nicht unerheblichen Unterschiede spiegeln sich in einigen Sonderformen im Wirtschaftsleben der dortigen Eingeborenen wieder. Aufgabe der folgenden Zeilen ist es, das Landschaftsbild nur insoweit aufzurollen, ferner die Pflanzenwelt und endlich die Tierwelt nur unter der Rücksicht zu beleuchten, als sie die Lebensweise der Eingeborenen zu verstehen helfen und die Haltung dieser zur gegebenen Umwelt erklären. Sowohl Geologie wie Meteorologie, Flora und Fauna jener südlichsten Ecke der Neuen Welt sind von Fachleuten verschiedener Nationalität, am meisten von schwedischen Forschern gründlich und fast vollständig untersucht worden; ihre weit zum Südpol hin vorgeschobene Lage hat doch die Aufmerksamkeit der Wissenschaft in Europa auf sich gelenkt und eine starke Anziehungskraft ausgeübt.

Abb. 3. Sommergrüne Buche

1. Die Landschaft

Der Kap Hoorn-Archipel zeigt weder in Form noch Aufbau eine erkennbare Regelmäßigkeit. Wo immer man hinschaut, erscheint er dem Auge wie eine wirr zerrissene Landmasse, durch die mit jeder Flut stark gepreßte Wogen sich schlängeln. Man trifft dort Inseln der verschiedensten Größe und Gestalt an, entweder als nackte, niedrige Steine, über die jede Sturmwelle hinwegfegt, oder als hohe, bewaldete Felsen mit sanft ansteigenden Ufern und mit glatten, aufrechten Wänden, in die sich die salzige Flut unablässig hineinfrißt. Der Meeresboden fällt fast überall bereits unweit vom Ufer in unerreichbare Tiefen ab und die steil herausragenden Felswände werden nur bei außergewöhnlich starkem Zurückweichen der Ebbe ein wenig freigelegt. In jenem Gebiete gibt es ungezählte Stellen, die dem Indianer das

Landen mit seinem leichten Rindenkanu sehr bequem machen; aber bei weitem nicht alle bieten ihm auch den Schutz, den er zum Übernachten und zum Aufrichten seiner Hütte nötig hat. Am größten ist die Isla Hoste, mit ihren nach allen Seiten in merkwürdigen Formen ausgreifenden Halbinseln. Östlich von ihr, nur durch die enge Angostura Murray getrennt, zieht sich die viel kleinere Isla Navarino mit einer in etwa geschlossenen Form und mit abgerundeten Küsten hin. Nördlich der Península Cloué liegt die ansehnliche Isla Gordon, die den westlichen Canal de Beagle in einen Nordwest- und in einen Südwestarm spaltet; beide trennen sich voneinander an der Punta Divide. Rund um die größeren Landmassen herum lagern sich regellos verschiedengeformte Eilande, zackige Riffe und trotzige Felsen, wie die von einem großen Block wüst heruntergeschlagenen Trümmer; sie halten sich standhaft und unerschütterlich in dem ruhelosen, tosenden Meere. Die schaumgekrönten Wellen zernagen aber doch das harte Gestein und machen es an der Oberfläche brüchig, sie bohren tiefe Höhlen und geräumige Grotten aus, in denen unübersehbare Massen von Seevögeln und ganze Herden von Seesäugetieren reichlichen Schutz und sichere Deckung finden.

Die kleinen Eilande und streckenweise auch die größeren Inseln werden meist von einem schmalen Küstenstreifen aus schwerem Geröll und grobkörnigem Kies umkränzt, den Ebbe und Flut blendend weiß waschen und teilweise zu feinem Sand abscheuern. Bei Hochflut wird er meistens vom Wasser überdeckt. Angefangen von dieser Grenze höchsten Wasserstandes landeinwärts ist das Erdreich mit Moos und Gras, mit Buschwerk oder Baumwuchs bestanden. Jede größere Insel ist ein Fels oder Hügel oder Berg, vereinzelt ein Gebirgsstock mit mehreren Ausläufern; ihre Ufer steigen entweder sanft vom Wasserrande her auf oder erheben sich schroff als steile Wände mehr oder weniger senkrecht aus dem Wasser, ohne dem Rindenkanu für eine Landung den geringsten Raum freizugeben. Manche Gipfel erreichen eine ansehnliche Höhe. Als bedeutendster überragt der Pico Navarino auf der Insel gleichen Namens mit 1195 m alle übrigen Erhöhungen dieses Inselgebietes. Das ganze Jahr hindurch sind sie mit Schnee und Eis gekrönt. Im Frühsommer ergießen sich die Schmelzwasser als schäumende Sturzbäche oder als tiefeingeschnittene, silberhelle Wasserbahnen in die Tiefe, wo sie in steilwändige Fjorde oder in stille Lagunen oder in ausgedehnte Moore einmünden. Außerordentlich zahlreich sind die größeren und kleineren Bäche, auch gibt es einige Flüsse. Sie haben in ihrem kurzen Unterlauf ein sehr geringes Gefälle und schlängeln sich oft in vielen Windungen dahin. Nicht selten laufen sie in Moore aus, mit denen die meisten Kordillerentäler angefüllt sind. Häufig zeigen die Täler eine gewisse Ausdehnung und werden von steilen Wänden eingefaßt. Auf ihren Torf- und Wiesenmooren gedeiht eine üppige Sumpfvegetation. Hir und da übertönt ein verborgener Wasserfall den ruhigen Wellenschlag einer zurückliegenden Bucht, plätschernden Bächlein mit kurzem Lauf begegnet man auf Schritt und Tritt, um die schneeverhüllten Bergesgipfel heult ruhelos der Sturm.

In dieser unübersehbaren Abwechslung von Inseln und Eilanden gleicht kaum eine Uferbildung der anderen; in welcher Richtung auch immer man geht oder fährt, unaufhaltsam ändern sich Form und Gestalt des Landschaftsbildes. So folgt auf eine steile Küste ganz unerwartet eine stille Bai, der sich eine zerrissene Felsklift anschließt, und nicht weit hiervon zerstückeln tiefeinschneidende Einbuchtungen eine ausgedehnte Landmasse. Überall drängt sich ungeduldig die salzige Flut landeinwärts vor, zerfetzt nicht selten selbst hohe Felsmassen mehrere hundert Meter tief und schlägt unaufhaltsam gegen die harten Steinwände. Breite Strandflächen fehlen fast ganz.[10] Indes gibt es verborgene, gesicherte Plätzchen allerorts, obgleich sie manchmal erst nach weiten Abständen zwischen langgezogene Steinwände und enge Fjorde eingeschoben sind; liebliche Buchten mit schneeweißem, schmalem Uferrande erhalten Deckung durch trutzige Gebirgsgipfel oder durch überhängende Felsen. Deutlicher hier wie sonstwo erkennt man das Bestreben des Waldes, bis zur Wasserlinie sich vorzudrängen. Das sind die Stellen in jenem verwirrenden Durcheinander verschlungener Wasserarme und unregelmäßig gewundener Kanäle, an denen der Indianer einen sicheren Unterschlupf sucht, wenn die allmächtigen Naturgewalten ihm erbarmungslos ein jähes Verderben androhen. Die wüst zerzauste Umrißgestalt jener vielen Inseln und Eilande ist das Zerstörungswerk der ewig bewegten salzigen Flut.

Weite Ebenen sucht man in jenem Inselreich vergeblich, alles ist hügelig und gebirgig.[11] Eine in etwa einheitlich ausgeprägte Richtung der Gebirgszüge erkennt man auf den ersten Blick; denn die großen Massive verlaufen vorwiegend von Westen nach Osten, mehr oder weniger als Fortsetzung der durch die Magellan-Straße unterbrochenen Cordillera de los Andes. Die Gipfelreihe auf Isla Inés und Isla Clarence ragt über 1000 m zwar nicht hinaus, ist aber das ganze Jahr hindurch mit Schnee und Eis bedeckt. Auf dem südlichen Teile der Isla Grande jedoch, der ganz nahe an den Canal de Beagle heranrückt und sozusagen sein nördliches Ufer bildet, gewinnt die Kordillere ihren Hochgebirgscharakter wieder zurück und erreicht im Monte Bove ihre bedeutendste Höhe, nämlich 2400 m. Ihn umstellen einige andere Berge, die nur wenig niedriger sind und die als Massiv die Cordillera Darwin von etwa 130 km Länge bilden. Weiter nach Osten erhebt sich der kürzere, nordwest-

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[10] „Muy raras veces se halla una formación de playa, las hay especialmente en las bahías, en conexión con los conos de deyección de los arroyos que ahí desembocan; pero tales playas apenas si tienen unos pocos metros de ancho, porque pronto empieza el monte más espeso, en el que es casi imposible penetrar" (Kuzun: 157).

[11] Für größere europäische Ansiedlungen eignen sich die im Kap Hoorn-Gebiet naturgegebenen Bedingungen deshalb nicht, weil die wenigen ebenen Flächen nur sehr geringe Ausdehnung aufweisen. Das kleine Städtchen Ushuaia kann sich allein als zaun schmale Häuserreihe in östlich-westlicher Richtung am Fuße des hohen Monte Olivia hinziehen. Hierzu sagt Kuzun: 158, daß „por lo general la costa fueguina es una costa acantilada, inaccesible; sólo en algunas pequeñas bahías hay lugar para un establecimiento (estancia o aserradero), como Harberton, Brown, Almanza, Lapataia, que yacen en una soledad casi absoluta".

lich-südöstlich verlaufende Gebirgszug der Las Pirámides, der fast in seiner ganzen Länge und auf jeder seiner beiden Seiten von den Wellen der tief einschneidenden Bahía Lapataia und der Bahía Yendegaia umspült wird. Zu der nördlich davon gelegenen Sierra Valdivia gehört der Monte Olivia,[32] nach Acostini: 192 über 1320 m hoch, der den Hintergrund der Bahía Ushuaia bildet. Auf diese Kette folgt nach Osten die Sierra Sorondo, deren Ausläufer sich noch weit über Puerto Harberton hinaus hinziehen; ihre Gipfel aber halten sich niedrig. Also nicht nur der westliche, sondern auch der östliche Abschnitt des nördlichen Canal de Beagle-Ufers wird von steil aufsteigenden Bergketten gebildet.

Diese Höhen, angefangen vom Monte Navarro im Westen bis etwa zur Bahía Ushuaia, tragen ein langgesagenes Schnee- und Eisfeld, das nirgendwo eine nennenswerte Unterbrechung erfährt und aus dem einzelne scharfkantige Gebirgszacken sich trutzig in den freien Luftraum recken. Fast das ganze Jahr hindurch sind sie von undurchsichtigen Wolkenballen eingehüllt und die leichten Nebelschleier darunter zerfetzen an den spitzen Steinrändern. Dieses ungeheuere Eislager entlädt sich nach Süden als prachtvolle Gletscher, die dicht nebeneinander sich herunterwälzen und meist unmittelbar in die salzige Flut einmünden. Vereinzelt nur baut einer dieser gewaltigen Eisströme an seinem unteren Ende eine Stirnmoräne auf und er selber schmilzt in der Tiefe nach beiden Seiten hin ab. Der eine und andere Gletscher, wie im Puerto Garibaldi und im Seno Ventisquero, liegt weit im Inneren eines engen, malerischen Fjordes zurück, und seine vielen Eisblöcke von ansehnlicher Größe werden mit jeder Ebbe in den offenen Canal de Beagle abgetrieben. Durch sie und noch mehr durch solche Eismassen, die in dieser Wasserstraße selber zuweilen in bedrohlicher Menge sich von ihrem Gletscherstrome loslösen, wird der sogenannte Nordwest-Arm für die gebrechlichen Rindenkanus der Eingeborenen sehr gefährlich. Letztere vermeiden es bekanntlich, sich hier länger als nötig aufzuhalten.

Die größeren Gletscher sind durch die Mission Scientifique untersucht worden.[33] Auf ihr Ergebnis beruft sich Nordenskjöld (i): I, 28 und schreibt: „Der Yendegaya-Glacier kommt von einem großen Eisfeld an der Nordseite des Darwinmassivs und endet in einer Entfernung von 7 km vor dem Fjord; an zwei Stellen bildet das Eis bedeutende Abstürze, welche dem Ganzen ein stufenförmiges Aussehen verleihen. Der Avalanche-Gletscher[34] kommt von der Südseite desselben Massivs und erreicht das Meer, wo losgerissene, mehrere

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[32] Irrtümlicherweise hat sich die Bezeichnung Monte Olivia eingebürgert, weswegen ich hier diese Schreibweise beibehalte. Richtiger muß man Monte "Ulewaia" sagen. Dieses letztgenannte Wort ist indianischen Ursprungs, Kuzne: 138 benutzt ausschließlich diese Form.

[33] Martial: 128. Vgl. auch Anderson: 54 und Kuzne: 47; endlich Hyades: Géologie; in Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn, vol. IV; Paris 1891.

[34] Dieses Namen erhielt der Gletscher vom jugendlichen Charles Buxton selber, der an dessen Rande beinahe um Leben gekommen wäre.

Kubikmeter betragende Blöcke umherschwimmen. Seine Länge mit mindestens 10 bis 20 km. Unter dem Namen 'Glacier Darwin' wird ein anderer Gletscher, wie es scheint der Ostspitze der Gordoninsel gegenüber gelegen, beschrieben und abgebildet. Er kommt aus einem großen Eisfelde an der Südostseite von Monte Darwin. Die vordere Zunge hat eine Länge von mehreren Kilometern und läuft in einer Entfernung von etwa 1 km von dem Meere in eine bis 50 m hohe Eismauer aus, die zuweilen senkrecht, zuweilen zerklüftet 'wie die Türmchen einer Cathedrale' ist. Vor der Eismauer liegt ein hoher Erdwall, wahrscheinlich eine frühere Endmoräne, die jetzt mit Wald bewachsen ist.[10] Vielleicht das größte Eisgebiet des ganzen Archipels ist das, welches die Halbinsel Cloué (NW. Teil der Isla Hoste) bedeckt. Ein großer Gletscher, welcher in einem schmalen tiefen Fjord mündet und Glacier Pasqui benannt wurde, endet in dem Meere mit einer 200 m breiten und 40 bis 50 m hohen Eismauer ... Einige kleine Gletscher in der Umgebung von Ushuaia sind alle nur kleine Hängegletscher. Gegenüber der Romanche Bay liegt ein schmaler Eisstrom, der für mehrere andere typisch ist. Das Eis füllt ein ziemlich niedriges Kerbtal aus; vorne liegt etwa an der Waldgrenze ein moränenartiger Wall. Gegen die See endet dieses Kerbtal mit einem verhältnismäßig breiten, sehr steilen Abstoßen, frei von aller Vegetation, während die steilen Seitenwände waldbedeckt sind; über dieser Wand bildet der Gletscher einen Eisfall. Es scheint fast sicher, daß das Eis selbst diese Einsenkung ausgehöhlt und in später Zeit ausgefüllt hat." Die an sich reichlichen Niederschläge fallen auf den Höhen auch im Sommer fast nur als Schnee statt als Regen. Die übrigen Wetterbedingungen helfen dabei mit, daß sich solch ausgedehnte Eisfelder bilden, die sich kaum verkleinern, trotz ihrer Lagerung in verhältnismäßig niedrigen Breitengraden.[11]

Aus eigenartigen Formenreichtum und aus unaufhörlich wechselndem Farbenspiel dieser wunderbaren Naturgebilde, die häufig in das Düster einer feuchtigkeitsschwangeren, eintönig grauen Lufthülle eingefaßt sind, kann sich das beständig schauende Auge vielmal sättigen. Im östlichen Abschnitt des Canal de Beagle fehlen Gletscher ganz und gar. Die Gebirgszüge sind eben

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[10] Eine ausführliche Beschreibung dieses Gletschers findet sich in Martinez: 486.

[11] Die Gletscher, die sowohl am Canal de Beagle wie auch an der südlichen Abdachung der dortigen Gebirgszüge sich unmittelbar ins Meer ergießen, sind eine überraschende Eigenart des Feuerlandes. Sie schildert sich folgendermaßen: „Die ungewöhnliche Entwicklung dieser Gletscher und ihre Ausdehnung bis zum Meeresspiegel wird in der Hauptsache durch die große Feuchtigkeit des Klimas bedingt, die eine tiefe Lage der Schneegrenze (900 m) zur Folge hat. Es ist heute erwiesen, daß zur Bildung und Entwicklung von Gletschern an ungeheuer Schneemassen nötig sind, daß die Sommerwärme nicht imstande ist, diese völlig zu schmelzen. An der westlichen Abdachung des Feuerlandes und der patagonischen Anden vereinigt sich tiefe Temperatur mit reichlichen Niederschlägen die unerläßliche Voraussetzung für Gletscherbildungen" (Aznarez: 141). Und damit stimmen die Beobachtungen von Lozano: 93 überein: „Hallándose el límite inferior de la nieve sólo a una altura entre 900 y 1000 metros, resulta que la cordillera fueguina, a pesar de su altura poco considerable, está muy cargada."

niedriger, sie fallen etwas sanfter zur Küste hin ab, die bereits sich stellenweise verbreitert und zum trockenen, freiliegenden Schwemmboden konnte; erst weiter landeinwärts beginnt der Wald. Landungsstellen für die Rindenkähne der Yamana gibt es demnach im Osten viel mehr als im Westen."

Der eigentliche Gebirgs- de las Andes gleicht die französische Gebirgswelt fast ganz in ihrem geologischen Aufbau. Überwiegend wird sie von dunkelgrauen kristallinischen Schiefern der paläozoischen und mesozoischen Erdperiode gebildet, die bereits jene charakteristische Formgebung der einzelnen Berge und Gipfel bestimmen. Die vielen unregelmäßigen Verschiebungen der geologischen Schichtenlager lassen auf starke Umwälzungen in der Frühzeit unserer Erde schließen. Auch tertiäre Ablagerungen finden sich mancherorts und deren „Anordnen verdient in den verschiedenen Gegenden recht bedeutend", wie Nordenskjöld (II: I, 19 [illegible]) hat. Die geologischen Verhältnisse können hier nicht weiter erörtert werden;[*] hinzuweisen ist nur noch darauf, daß breite Flüsse gänzlich fehlen. Durch tiefeingeschnittene Täler ergießen bemooste Sturzbäche der einzelnen Schmelzwasser ins Meer.

Zwar zeigt der östliche Kap Horn-Archipel viele schöne Landschaftsbilder, aber der Westen übertrifft mit seiner wunderbaren Pracht viele ausgesucht herrliche Gegenden in der Alten und Neuen Welt. Vor allem im Nordwest-Arm des Canal de Beagle „eröffnet sich dem Fremdling eine der großartigsten Szenerien der Erde. Er nimmt selbst eine Breite von 5 km an. Zu beiden Seiten erheben sich die eisbedeckten Alpen, von welchen große Gletscher ausgehen, die oft gebirgiger als die schönsten in Norwegen oder in der Schweiz zu schwellen sind. Die unübersehbaren dünnen Urwälder erstrecken sich längs des Kanales in einem breiten Gürtel von der Schneegrenze nieder bis zu den Moorbeeren und Moosrasen, wo das herbstende Strandgebüsch stellenweise ganz unerwartet von einem Gletscher, der sich schlängelnd durch den Wald verwärts bis zum Meere drängt, unterbrochen wird. Und hier kann man dicht neben dem üppigen Grün des Strandes bläuliche Eisstücke nahezu schwimmen sehen ... Über die ganze Natur liegt hier die Freiheit und Ungebundenheit einer Wildnis gebreitet, die nicht von den wenigen Kanälen, die dicht am Strande errichtet sind, gestört wird. Udmain selbst sagt hat diesen Gegräge

[*] Der ganze Südwestteil der Isla Grande ist in seiner besseren Bildung noch sehr unzulänglich erforscht, obwohl bereits sehr wertvolle Untersuchungen durchgeführt worden sind. Erwähnt sei an die Bearbeitungen von Sieg, Fitz-Roy, Martens, Moreno, Steinmann, Nordenskjöld und Anderson. Einen bedeutenden Fortschritt brachten die Filmaufnahmen, die Kapitänleutnant Pommerenke von seinem Flugzeug aus gemacht hat.

[*] Vgl. die Sammelveröffentlichungen von Darwin: Geological Notes on South America, London 1846; Nordenskjöld (vi, vii, ix), und (xi-i), Bresson: Mission historique du Cap Horn, vol. IV, Paris 1887; Gerstmann: [illegible], Steinmann: Die Alter der Schichtformationen in Patagonien, Berlin 1906; Quenzel: Geologisch-Petrographische Studien in der Patagonischen Cordillere, Upsala 1913; Lamarque: Gli [illegible] geologiche nella Patagonia e nella Terra del Fuoco, Roma 1905; Kaiser: Der in [illegible] der [illegible] Cordillere de la Terre de Feu, Paris 1906.

der Wildnis" (Dom: 81). Das Farbenspiel der Gletscher und der kleinen Eisberge hat es Fitz-Roy (a): 216 besonders angetan. Er, der Entdecker dieser Welt des Eises, preist in bewegten Worten ihre Wunder: „Wherever these enormous glaciers were seen, we remarked the most beautiful light blue or sea green tints in portions of the solid ice, caused by varied transmission or reflection of light. Blue was the prevailing colour, and the contrast with its extremely delicate hue, with the dazzling white of other ice, afforded to the dark green foliage, the almost black precipices, and the deep, indigo blue water, was very remarkable. Miniature icebergs surrounded us; fragments of the cliff, which from time to time fall into a deep and gloomy basin beneath the precipice, and are floated out into the channel by a slow tidal stream." Diese gewaltigen Eismassen sind eingefaßt in das tiefe Grün dichter Buchenwälder, die, in moorigem Boden wurzelnd, ganz nahe an die Gletscher heranrücken. Sie schieben vor sich die blühende Fuchsie und die antarktische Veronika her, deren Blüten bis zum Eisrande hinüberreichen und hier sogar noch den scheuen Kolibri anlocken. Die bunte Farbenmischung im feuerländischen Landschaftsbilde hält auf Schritt und Tritt das staunende Auge gefesselt."

Abb. 4. Mayteno magellanica. ½ n. Gr.

Zwar ist das Gebiet klein und ein Fernstehender vermutet, dort nur einheitliche Gleichförmigkeit in Form und Gestalt anzutreffen; vielmehr stößt man überall auf die größten, kaum glaublichen Gegensätze. Sie äußern sich auf verschiedene Art und Weise, einerlei ob man die Inselgruppe im orographischen oder geologischen, im klimatischen oder tier- und pflanzengeographischen Sinne betrachtet: sowohl aus dem Bau des Landes selber wie auch aus den dort herrschenden physikalischen Verhältnissen erklären sie sich.

* Von vielen Reisenden, bei Darwin angefangen, sind die Wunder dieser Gletscherwelt mit staunenden Blicken betrachtet und mit begeisterten Worten gepriesen worden, namentlich von Agassiz und Spencer: 56, ebenso von G. Pannwitz in seinem Buche: "Silberhunder über Feuerland". Diese Beschreibung trägt auch der von ihm aufgenommene prachtvolle Film.

Wer bedauert nicht schon das Hinsterben der ungeheuren Eisriesen in den immergrünen Wald? Über beiden tummeln sich Vögel, die man nur warmen Erdstrichen kennt. Dazu ein üppiges Wachsen niederer Pflanzen auf dem durchnässten Boden und im Unterholz, in dem ein ganzes Heer niederer Tiere kriecht und krabbelt, genau so wie im Tropenwald. Verläßt man aber die inneren, geschützten Wasserpartien und wagt man sich bis an den aufbrausenden Sunde vor: Wie ist die Natur hier so tot und kahl, so bedrängend und gefahrdrohend! Die nackten Felsen starren einem als wie Grabmale, blasse Grabsteine all jener, die von der tückischen Flut in die Tiefe gerissen worden sind. Alles, was hier sein Leben fristet, erscheint mit dem Fluche schwerer Lähmung beschwert. Remuna Fenrens erscheinende in dieser tollen Öde, die nur im Sommer ein wenig belebt wird und dann, wenn so irgendwelcher Jahreszeit die ungeheuerlichen Naturgewalten sich wieder für eine Zeitlang entfernte. „Wie öde, wie tot ist alles auf den gefrorenen Klippen des Feuerhundes! Wie kaum die Jahreszeit, in welcher sich dort auch einige Lebenskraft regt! Was ist die träge Bewegung der einzigen Geschöpfe dortiger Gegend, der Walfische, der Robben und Pinguine, im Vergleich mit der Schaffkraft und dem Feuer, welche unter einem wolkenlosen Himmel in allen Thierarten wirkt?" (Gemma Fenrens [b]: 110).

Man erschrickt, wenn man sich an den Sinn der Namen erinnert, den viele der dortigen Inseln, Felsen und Kanäle tragen; sie erzählen, ein jeder für sich, wie gefahrdrohend dieser südliche Rand des Feuerhundes jedem kühnen Eindringling empfingt. „Die ersten Entdecker dieser Küste nannten sie die Küste der Verwüstung (Coast of Desolation), oder die öde Küste, und diese Benennung kommt ihr mit vollem Rechte zu." So äußerte sich Gemma Fenrens (a): II, 373, während Admiral Amun sie mit erhabenster Stimme als „the most horrible country which it was possible to conceive!" bezeichnet. Mag man auch auf Felsengrunde stehen oder in sicherer Bucht vor Anker liegen, das Dröhnen der gewaltigen Wogen vom Südwestwind her und die dumpfen Anschläge gegen den harten Stein macht einem doch erzittern. Wie von höllischer Angst gepeitscht beschleunigt jeder die kurze Fahrt an der Halbinsel Brockmark vorbei, um, von Nordwest kommend, mit dem Blick in den offenen Ozean an den Farlan-Felsen vorbei, schließlich in den geschützten Pass Brockmark einzubiegen. Sogar der Riesendampfer "Cap Polonia", den ich auf meiner vierten Reise von Punta Arenas bis Udamia benutzen durfte, gerieth auf dieser kurzen Strecke durch die Gewalt der allseitigen Wogen in bedenkliches Schwanken: Unsagenerhöhlich gefährlich war es, wie dieser Gigantenriese gegen die Übermacht der wütenden Wassermassen ankämpfte! Und er retirirte sich doch blutiger in die Bucht des Kanals. Sogar bei geglätteter See ist die Fahrt um diesen Felsen ein Wagnis. Vor wenigen Jahren schrieb Wanna: 116, ein experimentirter Matrose: „Wir hatten eine günstige Wetterprognose erwartet und fanden am nächsten Morgen den Ozean heftiger bläuk vor. Trotzdem nahen die kahlen, glattgewaschenen Felsen drohend nun, und die ungeheure Dünung ging immer noch sehr stark auf und nieder. In tiefe Wasser-

Sicher Schritt wie Steinbock, von im schönsten Moment hervorauf zu eilen. Wie ein kleiner Inselchen kreuzen wir auf dem unendlichen Meere Gottes von den Brodkamb-Felsen herum. Die Kanten schimmern gewaltig, wenn sich die hohen Wogen an dem massiven Stein brechen. Mit donnerartigem, unbeschreiblichem Getöse schlagen die Wassermassen über den Uneinfluss zusammen." Das erlebte jeder heute auch, der beim Umschiffen des Brodkamb glücklicherweise eine glatte See traf. Ist er narrenhaft der Gefahr entronnen, eilt er sich sofort in die schrecklichste Pracht der Gletscherwelt versetzt.

Wunderbar erhebt ist diesen Fleckchen Erde, beunruhigend jeder, der es betreten und mit offenen Augen genießen darf. Ich kann nicht umhin, noch einmal diese erhabene Herrlichkeit in mir aufleben zu lassen und mitzuteilen, was Max Strasser dort empfunden hat: „Die wunderschönen, oft 15 bis 20 Meilen langen Gletscher bestehen aus dem schönsten blauen und grünen Eis und dem reinsten Schnee; ihre mächtig aufragenden Wände ragen gerade aus dem Wasser empor, und die ungeheuren Eismassen, welche sich beständig bedrohen und mit donnerähnlichem Getöse in die Flut hinabstürzen, bauen dann in gewaltigen Wellen am jenseitigen Ufer brandend hoch emporschlagen. Die Berge sind hier keineswegs so hoch, wie die Alpen in Europa; aber sie machen trotzdem einen weit überwältigenderen Eindruck, weil sie in ihrer ganzen Höhe vom Fuße bis zum höchsten Gipfel deutlich sichtbar sind; die schönsten Gletscher Norwegens und der Schweiz erscheinen neben diesen verhältnismäßig unbedeutend. An diesem Theile der Mauerwand glänzten die mit dem reinsten Schnee bedeckten jungfräulichen Spitzen gaukelnden Tirmen. Gewöhnlich sind diese Gebirgsgipfel in einen Schleier von Nebel, Schnee und Regen eingehüllt, und nur selten erblickt man sie so deutlich, wie wir sie dann sahen ..." Ein Naturerlebnisgipfel unvergleichlicher Herrlichkeit ist die Frauenmalgrang bei wolkenfreier Luft. „Hoch am Himmel prangte klar und hell der Mond; der jungfräulichste Schnee der Firnen war von einem leichten rosigen Schimmer überhaucht, allmählich wurde der Mondschein kräftiger, heller und höhere einen wunderbaren Contrast an den tiefen Schluchten, welcher Felsen, Eisberge und Alles eingaben wie mit einem dichten Schleier umhüllte. Majestätisch ging die Sonne empor; die zarte Dämmerung der Berge ging in ein brennendes Gold und dann in blendendes Weiß über; die Schnee-Decklen senkten sich immer tiefer in die dürftenen Thäler, durchdrangen die verschiedenen Wärmegrade und brachten die mannichfalten Farbenmischungen und Schattierungen von Grün, Roth und Grau hervor. Je weiter wir kamen, um so prächtiger gestalteten sich das Bild. Die wunderschönen Alpenblumenbeete dehnten sich vor unseren Blicken aus; über den ungeheuren Kuppeln der Berge ragten schlanke, eingeschneite Spitzen und Zacken empor; wundersam dehnten sich blendendweiße Schneefelder; schauerlichst tönten die Wellen den Fall bisweilen herabstürzender Gletscher; mächtige Grün schmückte die Ufer, unbeschreiblich jedes Vergnügen; vielfachige Flechten schmiegten sich an nackt-kahlen Felsen, rankten an steilen Klippen sich empor. Die phantastischen Gestalten der Eisberge glichen mährchenhaften Ungeheuern; die schönsten blauen Inseln

gewagten in Angig gelbem Schwanke, und die kreuzfarbene Fleck, welcher an Höhe mit der Farbe des Elements wechselte, erzeugte jedes Bild mit solcher Klarheit und Deutlichkeit zurück, daß man wieder an unerschöpfliche verwunderte, wo die Wirklichkeit aufhörte und die Täuschung begann."

Knapp 200 km von dieser gut gelungenen Wanderung entfernt regt der ewige Kap Hoorn-Fahrer um der Schiffer besser und mehr unerschütterlich im Tuche einhaltenden, gewaltigen Wogen.

3. Die Witterung

Von den ersten Entdeckern jener Gegend bis herauf in unsere Tage wird unerschöpflich die derzeit außerordentlich wechselnde Witterung beklagt und gefürchtet, die für viele zum Unterzum geworden ist. Man vermutet nicht zu verdienen eine das ganze Jahr fast sich gleichbleibende Kälte, die mit außerordentlich hoher Feuchtigkeit verbunden ist, denn der Kap Hoorn-Archipel liegt ja noch in mittleren Breitengraden. Eine häufige Erfahrung hat bereits Cameron(8) ausgesprochen: „Alle Eingeborenen stimmen darin überein, daß es in der südlichen Hemisphäre unter gleichen Breitengraden doppelt so kalt, wie in der nördlichen ist." Aber auch Wind und Wetter haben ihre Schwächen.

Außer der ungünstigen Lage ohne geborene Deckung auch Nähe bis an die kalte Westwindzone, die von dorther sich bemerkbar, für die Witterungsbedingungen unerhörtlich verantwortlich. Die Kap Hoorn-Schwenkung stößt genau auf den Ausläufer kalten und verläuft von hier aus in südlicher Richtung weiter. Bald erreicht sich im Osten der Ende die ungemeinen "Cordoses de Falkland", die von hier an sich in weit Ausgeglitzt und auch Nordwestwärts (Karten 100). Eingangs wieder diese Bedeutung ein ganz wahr an das Festland heran. Sie besitzt eine Durchschnittstemperatur von nur 6° und eine Sonnenscheindauer von 1 bis. Auf den Lufterscheinungen im Kap Hoorn-Gebiet erhalten, nach Amerson 16, nach „die vorher, ungemeinen Brasilianische Wasserscheinung einen geringen Einfluß ausüben, ein Lumen im Süden herrscht, begleitet die pataguinischen Küsten und insonderlich eine kleine Ader zum Gestade des Feuerlandes. Diese vorne Wasserscheinung, die eine Erwärmung und somit ein Anfangen der ein begleitenden Luftmassen hervorruft, stehe die von der Kordillere herabkommenden kälteren und schwereren Luftmassen an sich heran und begünstige so die Entwicklung und Stärke der Winde, die in jener Zone ganz besonders heftig auftreten." Unzählbarer Einfluß auf die Kondition der derzeigen Umgebungen übt weiter diese auch jene Wasserscheinung aus, denn die Inlanse entfernen sich so wenig als möglich von den Küsten.

Hier die gemeinen Strömungen, vor allem der Kap Hoorn-Strom, sind die Ursache für die mehrere englischsächsen Westwindbewegungen, die sich wiederholt an gleichem Tage in den Winter und Sommermonaten vollziehen. Der Wetterwechsel erfolgt meist plötzlich, einerlei ob im Nach-

[illegible] Wasserversorgung beschränkten, oder ob auf einem reihigen, sonstigen Vorsprung ein einfacher Regenschutzer den ganzen Siedelbing ausfüllt. Von einer mehr oder weniger sich gleichbleibenden Regelmäßigkeit der Wetterungsbedingungen im Sommer und im Winter konnte man dort nicht sprechen. Bennett (s): 229 äußerte sich hierzu folgendermaßen: „Les conditions climatologiques varient considérablement de site en site. Aux en la Tierra del Fuego austral se lave entièle grandes eaux devenir el verano, causando graves perjuicios, pero los extremadas la gravamentos de la sensible baste hallarse desnudada avanzada la estación, dépenses sino las frías y las heladas permanecen con la constancia. Sucle ser el viento nuevamente cesa siempre, por lo general, en la estación más Revisos del año." Plötzlicher Schneefall ist auch im Hochsommer keine unmöglichkeit Erscheinung, ich habe sie erwartet erlebt. Zu Weihnachten 1954 lag Wanne-Eickel mit seinem kleinen Fahrzeuge „eisfest in einer Bucht der Hellmut Bucht auch vor Anker. Obwohl wir auf der südlichen Halbkugel waren, hatten wir doch Weihnachtswetter, es hatte geschneit und die ganze Gegend war in ein weißes Kleid gehüllt. Was sagte sich Kap Horn dazu, ob es Winter oder Sommer war, es gestaltete das Wetter nach seinem Vergnügen". Die Jahrhundert Gäste hatte Fitz-Roy (s): 214 den Sommerlichkeiten Sommer durchgemacht: „Northerly winds usually begin again, during the summer months; but all manner of shifts and changes are experienced, from north to south by the west, during that season, which would hardly deserve the name of summer, were not the days so much longer, and the weather a little warmer. Rain and wind prevail during the long, much more than in the short days." Die derzeitigen Eingeborenen empfinden sogar einen plötzlichen, sehr bedeutenden Wetterumschwung kaum merklich; langsamer gewinnen empfindliche Amerikaner und andere Siedlerer dadurch unwohlen im Verkehrsleben.

Um die Witterungsbedingungen in dem an sich kleinen Kap Horn-Archipel richtig zu beurteilen, ist es wohl angebracht, [illegible] Wetterverhältnisse zu umgrenzen. Der Westen, nördlich vom Meridian über Punta Dirdis bis Brookbank, als natürliche Fortsetzung des Westpatagonischen Inselreiches, bildet die ganze breite Sequenzen mit dem "Regenschleier", wie die Seemänner sich ausdrücken. Die Niederschlagsmenge ist hier ganz unverhältnismäßig groß. Obwohl genaue Beobachtungen nur in der Bahia Orange von der Mission Ingenieros durchgeführt worden sind, behauptet Dante (s): 417, daß die Niederschlagsmenge „wenigstens über die Höhe von 4 m als von 3 m erreicht. Allerdings ist die Niederschlagsmenge hier so groß, daß die Regenmesser für einen der regenreichsten Tage des Erdballes gehalten werden soll. Sie ist ebenfalls gleichmäßig über das ganze Jahr verteilt". Man darf aber nicht übersehen, daß die Bahia Orange, mit einer Niederschlagsmenge von 1200 mm sich in einer gegen die vorherrschenden Winde geschützten Lage befindet; je weiter man nach Süden und Südwesten vordringt, eine bis an den außerfegenden Inseln, um so mehr erhöht sich die Niederschlagsmenge in dem von Dante gemessenen Ausmaße. Der schwedische Botaniker Skottsberg (s): 11 beschreibt „den Kilma des westpatagonisch-feuerländischen Kanal- und Inselgebietes

gebietes als kalttemperiert mit sehr geringem Unterschied zwischen Sommer und Winter, sehr stürmisch, sehr regenreich mit Regen zu allen Jahreszeiten."[30] Die Osthälfte des Yamana-Gebietes ist eine "mittelfeuchte Zone" und zwar die der "Mischwälder", weil die typischen Sommerwälder erst weiter im Innern der Isla Grande beginnen. Für Ushuaia, das in dieser Zone liegt, wird, nach Mitteilungen von Dusen (a): 446, die Niederschlagsmenge mit 511 mm angegeben. Nur 50 km genau südlich davon liegt die Bahía Orange, in der bekanntlich eine Niederschlagsmenge von 1500 mm nachgewiesen worden ist. Noch weitere 20 bis 30 km nach Süden und nach Westen erhöht sie sich zumindest um das Doppelte. Die Übergänge von der einen Zone in die andere vollziehen sich zwar allmählich, aber mit schnellem Ansteigen.

Meistenteils sind die N i e d e r s c h l ä g e, Regen mehr noch als Schnee, vom Wind und Sturm begleitet: Am häufigsten ziehen sie aus dem Südwesten herauf. Was Lehmann: 171 für die Bahía Orange festgestellt hat, gilt mit geringen Schwankungen nach unten und nach oben für das ganze Inselgebiet: „La précipitation de l'eau sous toutes ces formes, pluie, neige, grêle ou grésil, cristaux de glace, est extrêmement abondante sur les pentes ou sur les sommets des montagnes voisines du Pacifique, aussi bien que sur les rivages occidentaux de l'archipel Fuégien. Dans ces regions, d'un bout de l'année à l'autre, la pluie ou la neige ne cesse guère de tomber, hiver comme été." Zahlreich sind schwere Platzregen, die fast immer strichweise fallen. Erst prasseln sie mit lautem Aufschlag auf die außenliegenden Felsen und Inseln nieder, die deshalb fast durchgehends bis zum Meeresspiegel herunter nackt abgewaschen sind. Über sie hinweg zieht das Unwetter weiter, entlädt sich teilweise über den Wasserarmen und inneren Inseln, und stößt schließlich auf höhere Gebirgszüge, die es nur selten überschreitet. Oft und oft erreichen die schweren Platzregen sogar den Canal de Beagle. Noch häufiger hüllt feiner Staubregen die ganze Landschaft mehrere Tage ein; er ist zuweilen fast undurchsichtig wie dichter Nebel. Mit viel Gewalt fegen Schneewirbel über die Gegend hinweg. Ruhig und sanft, in dicken Flocken, fällt der Schnee nur selten; dafür aber umso öfter in Form von ganz feinen, kristallenen Körnchen. An den vielen geschützten Stellen, in Tälern und Buchten, die zu nordwärts gerichteten Wänden und Abhängen liegen, dort lagert er drei bis vier Monate am Boden. Von jenen weiten Flächen aber, die vor den Süd- und Südwestwinden gar keinen Schutz haben, wird er baldigst weggewischt. Daraus erklärt sich der seltsame Anblick, daß ausgedehnte Schneeflächen von niedrigen Höhen an bis hinauf zu den Bergesgipfeln nur die Ost- und Nordostseite der Gebirge, die oft allein mit Baumwuchs bestanden sind, als zusammenhängende oder unterbrochene Flecke bedecken." Hagel mit kleinsten und großen Schlossen

[30] Er fügt Tabellen an, aus denen „die Variation in den Niederschlagsmengen" von einigen Punkten in dieser Regionzu ersichtlich ist.

[31] Schon Fitz-Roy (b): 312 ist darauf aufmerksam geworden, daß an den südwestlichen, außenliegenden Inseln: „the higher land is covered with snow throughout the year, and you find the heights close to the sea thickly wooded towards the east, though

ist nichts seltenes in jener Gegend, er wird meist vor stürmischen Luftbewegungen hergetrieben.[19] Dafür wird sie von sehr dichten Nebeln fast ganz verschont, ebenso von Blitz und Donner. Mächtige Böen steigen vom Süden und Südwesten her auf und künden warnend durch dicke Wolkenmassen ihr Kommen an; furchtbar werden sie, wenn sie Schnee und schweren Hagel mitbringen. Klare Tage und zumal solche, an denen die helle Sonne vom wolkenlosen Himmel herniederscheint, gibt es außerordentlich wenige. Großartige Wolkengebilde zeigen sich oft, meist aber ist der graue, eintönige Vorhang schwerer, regenschwangerer Atmosphäre vor das Himmelsblau gezogen. Zusammenfassend sagt FITZ-ROY (b): 313 hierzu: „Fogs are extremely rare on this coast; but thick, rainy weather, and strong winds prevail. The sun shows himself but little; the sky, even in fine weather, being generally overcast and cloudy. A clear day is a rare occurrence." Düster und unfreundlich ist diese Gegend, es regnet das ganze Jahr hindurch und im Westen fast jeden Tag."

Selbstredend steht in ursächlichem Zusammenhange mit alledem auch eine ungewöhnlich hohe Luftfeuchtigkeit. „Die Atmosphäre in der Gebirgszone des Feuerlandes und auf den südlichen Inseln ist häufig nahezu voll gesättigt; der jährliche mittlere Feuchtigkeitsgrad wird auf 83 Prozent geschätzt, monatlich schwankt er zwischen 75 und 85 Prozent" (ACOSTINI: 96). Damit stimmt sehr gut überein, was HYADES (f): 554 in der Bahia Orange beobachtet hat: „L'état hygrométrique de l'air est, par suite, très élevé et correspond à 82 pour toute l'année. Il varie peu entre l'hiver et l'été, qui ne sont pas, d'ailleurs, au cap Horn, des saisons bien marquées." An diese Bedingungen sich zu gewöhnen, gelingt nicht jedem Europäer; den dortigen Eingeborenen sind sie selbstverständlich. Man bedenke, daß nach den von LEPRAY: 169 durchgeführten Untersuchungen „l'atmosphère de la région maritime de la Terre-de-Feu, est souvent dans un état très voisin du point de saturation". Hingegen ist der Luftdruck niedrig. Nach GAUGEN: 509 beträgt er für den ganzen Süden durchschnittlich 752 mm, für die Bahia Orange, nach LEPRAY: 148, genau 747,18 mm als Jahresmittel. Dieser niedrige Barometer-

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barren on their western sides owing to the prevailing winds. These heights are seldom covered with snow, because the sea winds and the rain melt it soon after it falls".

[19] LEPRAY: 172 berichtet: „A plusieurs reprises, pendant que les sommets de 250 m à 300 m des collines voisines blanchissaient sous une épaisse couche de grêlons, nous avons remonté, au niveau de la mer, une ondée abondante aux gouttes larges et glacées qui, bien certainement, représentaient des grêlons fondus à leur passage dans la couche atmosphérique inférieure."

[20] Die meteorologischen Beobachtungen der Mission Scientifique in der Bahia Orange während eines ganzen Jahres (1882 bis 1883) haben nach HYADES (f): 551 ergeben, „qu'il y a eu, pendant l'année, 278 jours pluvieux et 70 jours de neige: la hauteur totale de l'eau tombée a été de 1 m, 333, dont 2 m, 60 de neige qui correspondent à 0 m, 30 de pluie. On a compté chaque mois en moyenne 25 jours pluvieux, dont 7 sur 8 au moins de grêle ou de neige". Hierbei ist zu beachten, daß die genannte Gegend längst nicht die größte Niederschlagszone im Kap Hoorn-Archipel aufweist.

stand muß als Ursache für die während des ganzen Jahres stürmisch bewegte Atmosphäre bezeichnet werden.[24]

Wiederholt wurde schon darauf hingewiesen, daß in dortiger Gegend, und zwar während des ganzen Jahres, die Winde mit ungewöhnlicher Stärke auftreten. Am häufigsten sind die aus dem Südwesten bis Nordwesten und sie herrschen fast ununterbrochen durch nahezu neun Monate. Im Sommerhalbjahr machen sie 75 Proz. aller Winde, im Winterhalbjahr 47 Proz. aus; während des letzteren betragen die Ostwinde 22 Proz. Die mittlere Geschwindigkeit der Winde ist im Sommer größer als im Winter, abgesehen von denen aus dem Nordnordwesten und Nordosten. Der Januar ist der am meisten bewegte Monat; denn alle drei bis vier Tage kehren die Stürme wieder und zwar fast ausschließlich aus dem Süden und Südwesten. Im Mai beginnen die warmen und trockenen Ostwinde, auch Nordwinde setzen ein; beide halten bis Juli an. Westwinde nehmen wieder im Oktober überhand und sie gewinnen bis Januar, dem subantarktischen Hochsommermonat, beständig an Stärke (Lepray: 146). Man kann von einem andauernden Windzug aus dem Süden oder Westen sprechen.[25] Hyades (f): 555 nennt 23 km 766 m als mittlere Stundengeschwindigkeit, „avec une vitesse maxima diurne de 52 kil, 82 en été et de 44 kil, 4 en hiver. La plus grande vitesse de vent observée a dépassé 39 mètres à la seconde". Windstöße sind fast immer sehr stark und plötzlich. Nach Fitz-Roy (b): 313, „gales of wind succeed each other at short intervals, and last several days ... South-west and southerly winds rise suddenly as well as violently". Eisigkalt sind die Winde aus dem Südsüdwesten und Südosten, hingegen linde die aus dem Nordosten. Mit Recht wird die ganze Kap Hoorn-Gegend wegen ihrer unberechenbaren, stürmischen Unruhe von den Segelschiffen gefürchtet und die mächtigen Windstöße haben ihr eine berüchtigte Berühmtheit eingebracht.

Dabei ist die Luft nur selten ganz klar und durchsichtig. Fast immer hängt am Himmel irgendwelche Bewölkung, häufig eine schwere Dunstschicht und noch öfters das gleichförmige Grau eines unmittelbar bevorstehenden Regens. Sonnige Tage sind selten, immerhin im Winter ein wenig häufiger als im Sommer. Hyades (f): 555 bestätigt, daß „le soleil brille ra-

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[24] Fitz-Roy (b): 314 macht folgende Bemerkung: „Much difference of opinion has prevailed as to the utility of a barometer in these latitudes. I may remark, that during some year's careful trial of a barometer and sympiesometer (Adie's), I found their indications of the utmost value."

[25] Nach Hyades (f): 555, „le vent est presque continuel dans les parages du cap Horn; les vents d'Ouest dominent toute l'année". Genauer drückt sich Fitz-Roy (b): 314 aus: „Westerly winds prevail during the greater part of the year. The easterly wind blows occasionally in the winter months, and at times very hard, but it seldom blows in summer ... When the fury of the north-wester is expended, which varies from twelve to fifty hours, or even while it is blowing hard, the wind sometimes shifts suddenly into the south-west quarter, blowing harder than before. This wind soon drives away the clouds, and in a few hours ensues clear weather though perhaps with heavy squalls passing occasionally."

remont: il y a en moyenne 1 heure de soleil pour 4 heures de ciel couvert. En juin 1883 on n'a constaté que 28 heures de soleil pendant tout le mois". Vergleicht man die Verteilung des Sonnenglanzes auf die Tagesstunden innerhalb eines gewissen Zeitraumes, so ergibt sich die auffällige Erscheinung, daß, um mit LEPRAY: 177 zu sprechen, „les chances de voir briller le soleil augmentent avec sa hauteur."[16] Im Jahre 1882/83 betrug die Bewölkung 7,9 für das ganze Jahr, 8,5 für den Sommer und 7,5 für den Winter. FITZ-ROY (h): 314 schreibt: „The most usual weather in these regions is a fresh wind between north-west and south-west, with a cloudy overcast sky." Er gibt auch zu, daß „at times the weather is comparatively fine and settled for perhaps a fortnight but those periods of quiet are few". Dem gegenüber aber sei betont, daß zwei bis drei zusammenhängende Tage schönen Wetters eine große Seltenheit sind.

In all den vorher gezeichneten Bedingungen ist selbstverständlich kein Raum für eine angenehme, günstige Temperatur. Die vorherrschende Feuchtigkeit, das trübe Wetter mit schwerer Bewölkung, der kalte Wind und die häufigen Niederschläge lassen keine rechte Freude aufkommen. Will man die Wirklichkeit genau schildern, wird man sich auf eine lange Beschreibung einlassen müssen; denn die örtlichen Unterschiede sind in dem an sich kleinen Gebiete doch ganz ansehnlich. So hat es den Anschein, als ob in den Berichten dieser und jener Reisender auffällige Widersprüche lägen; tatsächlich traf der eine ausnahmsweise sehr günstiges und der andere schauerlich schlechtes Wetter an.[17] Am sichersten geht, wer die Temperatur an den verschiedenen Punkten genau beobachtet. Ganz allgemein jedoch gilt, daß weder starke Hitze noch bedeutende Kälte auftritt. Nach HYADES (g): 6 stellte die Mission SCHIRRTSQUE, während ihres einjährigen Aufenthaltes in der Bahía Orange, das Folgende fest: „Die Mitteltemperatur des Dezember, des wärmsten Monates, überstieg nicht +7,9° C, während allerdings die des Juni, des kältesten, nicht unter +2,2° C fiel." Das allein beweist den geringen Ausschlag nach oben und nach unten. Doch hat HYADES (f): 555 und (g): 33 auch bestimmte Zahlen für die gleiche Stelle genannt: „Von einer strengen Winterkälte ist hier keine Rede; die Mitteltemperatur beträgt zwar nur +5,40°, sie übersteigt im Sommer nicht +7,17° und fällt im Winter nicht unter +3,56°." Der höchste Thermometerstand war +23° am 20. Februar, um 11 Uhr vormittags; der

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[16] „Ce résultat, au moins curieux, est facile à expliquer par la considération des autres parties des nuages auxquelles donne lieu le soleil à diverses hauteurs au-dessus de l'horizon" (ib.).

[17] Demgegenüber hat bereits WEDDELL (a): 119 den richtigen Standpunkt genannt: „Das Clima dieser Gegend ist von den verschiedenen Reisenden sehr verschieden geschildert worden, sie mögen wohl alle Recht haben, aber sie urteilen nur nach einem kurzen Zeitraum. Es hängt hauptsächlich vom Wind ab, der in der Mitte des Sommers aus Süden kommt, wo er über das bereits Süd-Schottland weht, wodurch das Thermometer auf 38° fällt; kommt der Wind von der entgegengesetzten Seite, so ist die Witterung so schön wie in England während des Sommers."

niedrigste war —7°, um 3 Uhr morgens am 7. August 1883.[30] Doch haben extreme Temperaturen niemals lange an. Nach HYADES (f): 555 beispielsweise, „dans le mois le plus chaud (février 1883) les températures extérieures ont varié, à 7 jours d'intervalle, de +24,5° à 9°; dans le mois le plus froid (août 1883), cette variation a été de +11° à —7,3°, à 10 jours d'intervalle". Aus Ushuaia wurde für das gleiche Jahr ein Maximum von +25° und ein Minimum von —9° gemeldet. Stellt sich, wie ich das selber einigemale erlebt habe, große Hitze oder empfindlicher Frost ein, sind beide immer nur von kurzer Dauer, was frühere Reisende längst beobachtet hatten. Zweifelsohne ist das eine angenehme Erscheinung in den sonst wenig erfreulichen Wetterbedingungen. An jedem Tage das ganze Jahr hindurch bewegt sich, nach Mittelmaßen, das Thermometer nur zwischen einigen Graden, nämlich „de 4°, vers 3 h du matin, cette température moyenne diurne s'élève, vers 1 h du soir, à 8° environ; c'est donc un écart de 4° au plus qui existe entre ces extrêmes moyens diurnes" (LEPRAY: 160). Als eine übersichtliche Zusammenfassung sind die folgenden Zahlen, die GANZAN: 509 für die ganze Inselgruppe aufgestellt hat, zu werten: das Jahresmittel wäre 6,1°, die mittlere Temperatur des Sommers 10,8° und die des Winters 1,3°. Somit ist es weder ungewöhnlich heiß noch kalt. Die Temperatur des Bodens unterliegt demzufolge noch geringeren Schwankungen.[31]

Da die Wärmeunterschiede während eines ganzen Jahres sich nur zwischen engen Grenzen bewegen, fehlt demzufolge eine deutliche Trennung der Jahreszeiten voneinander. Man würde letztere noch viel weniger, ja zuweilen fast gar nicht empfinden, blieb das buntfarbige Wechselspiel der sich ändernden Flora aus. Vor allem sind es die blattwerfenden Buchen, die mit den auffälligen Gegensätzen ihrer kräftigen Farbentöne jedes Jahresviertel unübersehbar deutlich in die Landschaft zeichnen. Der Sommer fällt auf Januar, Februar und März, der Winter auf Juli, August und September; der wärmste Monat ist Januar und der kälteste ist Juli. Die Übergänge vollziehen sich sehr sanft und die Unterschiede verwischen sich zuweilen ganz und gar. Im Sommer erlebt man nicht seltener Schneefälle als warme Tage im Winter. Für beide Erscheinungen kann ich mich auf eigenes Erleben berufen.[32] Besondere Ausnahmen treffen überdies noch ein. So berichtet BOVE beispielsweise: „A milder winter than that (1882) which we spent in Beagle Channel, had never been known within the memory of man. We were only

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[30] Aus LEPRAY: 158 ist diese Angabe genommen. HYADES (f): 555 schreibt: „La température moyenne, pendant l'année des observations, qui a compté 73 jours de gelée, s'est élevée à +[illegible] avec un maximum de +19°,5 et un minimum de —7°,3."

[31] Für die Bahía Orange nennt HYADES (f): 555 als mittlere Jahrestemperatur +5°,92 in einer Tiefe von 0,15 m und +5°,64 bei einer Tiefe von 0,30 m. Genaue Einzelheiten ersieht man aus LEPRAY: 163.

[32] Kurz und bündig drückt sich BOVE: 32 aus: „Now white man at Ushuaia told me that it was a climate in which winter and summer alternated every week, and that describes the matter fairly well."

visited by snow on two or three occasions. It fell in very small quantities, and disappeared in a very few days. The months of June and July, the depth of winter, were unusually fine. For days and days together there was not a breath of wind, nor was there a cloud to be seen. I asked myself several times, if these could be the same lands that FITZ-ROY and DARWIN depicted in such sad colours! Ours, however, was an exceptional year. The mild temperature was no doubt due to the unusual prevalence of the north-east winds" (MM: XVII, 235; 1883). Im Gegensatz hierzu sagt DUSEN (a): 419 vom Jahre 1897, „daß man seit Menschengedenken keinen so heißen und trocknen Sommer erlebt habe, und als Wirkung dieses trocknen Sommerklimas wurde besonders hervorgehoben, daß der Waldboden ziemlich vollständig ausgetrocknet sei".

Nach den genauen Beobachtungen des bekannten FITZ-ROY (b): 315 sind in der Nachbarschaft des Kap Hoorn die Äquinoktialmonate die schlechtesten des ganzen Jahres und um diese Zeiten herrschen schwere Stürme vor. Von August bis Oktober gibt es vorwiegend sehr schlechtes Wetter, häufig treten starke Winde, Schnee, Hagel und Kälte auf. Dezember bis Februar sind die wärmsten Monate mit langen Tagen und einigem Schönwetter. Während dieser ganzen Zeit finden sich vorübergehend starke Winde mit viel Regen ein. Der März ist sehr bewegt und wegen seiner Stürme der ungünstigste Monat, obgleich er nicht so viel Regen wie der vorausgegangene Sommer bringt. Vom April bis Juni zeigt sich das beste Wetter und obwohl die Tage kurz sind, ist es mehr als zu den übrigen Zeiten des Jahres sommerlich. Ostwinde stellen sich häufig ein, die von gutem, klarem und beständigem Wetter begleitet sind. Schlechtwetter fehlt zwar nicht ganz, ist aber nicht so häufig wie in den übrigen Monaten. Im Juni und Juli geht es genau so, allerdings blasen die Ostwinde im Juli stärker. Im Kap Hoorn-Archipel ist also, wie man sich ausdrücken pflegt, der Typ eines konstanten Klimas vertreten. *Trotz der auffällig geringen* Temperaturschwankungen während des langen Jahres herrscht dennoch in der dortigen Gegend fast ununterbrochen schlechtes, regnerisches Wetter, *fegend* schwere oder leichte Stürme oft darüber hinweg und der Himmel ist fast beständig mit Wolken verhangen.[21]

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[21] Meteorologische Beobachtungen mit ausführlichen Tabellen enthalten fast alle Tagebücher jener Schiffe, die den südlichsten Abschnitt des Feuerlandes durchquert haben. Besonders seien noch erwähnt, als Ergänzung zu den bereits aufgezählten, die von FITZ-ROY (b): 311—317, mit "Some Observations upon the Appearance and Character of the Sea Coast of Tierra del Fuego; a brief Description of the Anchorages: and a few Remarks upon the Seasons, Wind and Weather", aus dem Jahre 1830; ferner seine Mitteilungen in (b): 1—64. L. F. MOUCHEZ: Mission du Cap Horn: Rapport sur les recherches hydrographiques de la "Romanche", dans l'archipel du cap Horn; Comptes Rendus hebd. des séances de l'Académie des Sciences, tome 98, Janvier—Juin 1884, p. (19)—(21): Paris 1884 J. LEVASSEUR: Mission du Cap Horn: Sur le climat du cap Horn; ibidem p. (25)—(31) bringt kurze Beobachtungen und Übersichtstabellen über die einzelnen Monate von September 1882 bis August 1883. Vgl. ANSORGE: 23, BANSONS (b): 291, DUSEN (a): 445, HAMOY: 323, SARTORIUS (f): 14 und (g): 9 u. a. m.

Zum Abschluß lasse ich eine eindrucksvolle Beschreibung aus der Feder Barclay's (a): 62 fc'gen. Die Heimat der Yamana „presents the aspect of a submerged mountain chain, whose summits now are alone visible. The islands thus formed are exposed to the full force of continual southerly gales. Their steep sides, naked save for the moss that clings to some meagre crevice, are streaked 500 feet high with the white sea-drift. On their lee side, and in less exposed situations leading to the inner channels, they are covered with a dense growth of stunted beech woods. In a latitude of only 55° to 56° S., the line of perpetual snow comes as low as 1500 feet above sea-level. During a short week the summer climate will present all the variations which, in the same latitude north, might reasonably be looked for throughout a twelve month. Hurricane gusts alternate with breathless calms, showers of rain and sleet with a hothouse sun. This is the land of the Yahgans, the men who mark the limit of human life in the south, whose hunting-grounds are disputed only by the sleek seals and screaming gulls that play around the Horn". Gar so fürchterlich, wie manche Seefahrer es an vielen Einzeltagen erlebt haben, ist das Klima in jener südlichsten Inselwelt das ganze Jahr hindurch denn doch nicht.[32]

b. *Die Pflanzenwelt*

Angesichts der wenig vorteilhaften Witterungsbedingungen möchte man einen nennenswerten Baumwuchs im Kap Hoorn-Archipel kaum vermuten. Skottsberg (g): 11 folgend, muß man „das Klima des westpatagonisch-feuerländischen Kanal- und Inselgebietes als kalttemperiert mit sehr geringem Unterschied zwischen Sommer und Winter, sehr stürmisch, sehr regenreich mit Regen zu allen Jahreszeiten" bezeichnen.[33] Um so mehr überrascht die Pracht der subantarktischen Buchenwälder und zwar dann am meisten, wenn diese in das zarte, frische Frühlingsgrün gehüllt sind oder wenn sie den purpurroten Blättermantel im Herbste tragen. Bald aber gewahrt man eine empfindliche Artenarmut, verbunden mit weitgehender Einförmigkeit der gesamten Pflanzenwelt. Anders kann es auch nicht sein, fehlt doch sowohl die Kraft der Sonne wie eine anhaltende Wärme. In fast gesättigter Luftfeuchtigkeit, unter häufigen Stürmen und Schneefällen gedeiht eben

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[32] Sehr beachtenswert ist neben Wenzel's Urteil (vgl. Fußnote 27) auch das von Agostini: 23: „Der Gegensatz in den Berichten der Reisenden erklärt sich einfach daraus, daß die einen das Feuerland nur an der Südwestküste längs dem Stillen Ozean berührten, von der Isla Desolación, deren Name gewiß wenig ermutigend klingt, bis zum Kap Hoorn, während die andern in die Kanäle vordrangen und das Land weiter im Norden und Osten erforschten. Nach unserer eigenen genauen Kenntnis des Landes können wir feststellen, daß der feuerländische Archipel nicht entfernt so abstoßend ist, wie ihn manche beschrieben haben, weder im Klima noch in der Beschaffenheit des Bodens."

[33] Hamont: 323 sagt: „La température n'est jamais extrême, jamais chaude, jamais froide non plus; mais on tout temps il neige et il pleut. C'est bien là le type d'un climat constant, à variations peu nombreuses, mais régulières."

kaum eine beschränkte Zahl von höheren Pflanzenarten. Um so üppiger wuchert die Kleinwelt der Kryptogamen.[34] Eine jede der beiden Gruppen weist etwa 300 Arten auf. Die meisten in Europa heimischen Familien haben hier ihre Vertreter, manche allerdings nur einen einzigen.

Das ganze Heimatgebiet unserer Feuerländer bildet den südlichen und östlichen Abschluß des etwa im Golfo de Peñas beginnenden Regenwaldes. Die Botaniker pflegen zwar die unmittelbare Umgebung von Ushuaia, also den Kern der mittleren Yamana-Zone bis etwa Puerto Harberton im Osten, noch in den Bereich der Sommerwälder einzubeziehen. Indes glaube ich darauf nicht eigens Rücksicht nehmen zu brauchen, weil jener schmale Streifen einer etwas anderen Waldform sich im Wirtschaftsbetriebe unserer Eingeborenen nicht auswirkt; dem aufmerksamen Auge eines Europäers entgeht er keinesfalls. Die geschlossene Ausdehnung des Regenwaldes ist trotzdem beschränkt; denn erstens steigt er nur zwei- bis dreihundert Meter hoch an und zweitens sind bei weitem nicht alle unterhalb der Baumwuchsgrenze liegenden Flächen bewaldet. Dunkelgrüne Waldflächen wechseln mit offenen rotbraunen oder braungelben Wiesenmooren und schütter bestellten Waldmooren ab, aus unregelmäßigen Rasenflächen erheben sich nackte Felsen. Über die Verteilung des Waldbestandes entscheidet offensichtlich das Klima und die Ortslage. Ohne sich der Übertreibung schuldig zu machen, muß man sagen, daß der Regenwald eigentlichen Windschutz sucht. Am deutlichsten erkennt man dieses sein Bestreben darum, daß die nach Norden und nach Nordosten abfallenden Gebirgswände fast vollständig und dicht mit Baumwuchs bestellt sind, hingegen die vor dem Süd- und Südwestwinde offen daliegenden Flächen ganz nackt sind. Auch umsäumt dieser Wald die kleinen Häfen und stillen Buchten, er füllt geschützte Täler und verborgene Schluchten aus, sogar in Fugen und Ritzen hoher, steiler Felsen *auf der Lee* klammern sich die Wurzeln einzelner Bäume fest. Doch bin ich weit entfernt davon zu behaupten, daß sich die wirkliche Verteilung der bewaldeten Flächen allein aus den Windverhältnissen erkläre."[35]

Der Regenwald erscheint ganz eindeutig durch die fast ausnahmslose Alleinherrschaft der schönen, immergrünen Buche *šŕ'ŽÍ* (Nothofagus betuloides) gekennzeichnet. Ihre Neigung, dichtgedrängt zu stehen, schafft den eigentlichen Urwald. In seiner dunkelgrünen Tönung unter einem fast ständig bedeckten, nebelgrauen Himmel macht er einen düsteren, zuweilen

[34] Dusen (a): 140 hat den südlichsten *Zipfel* der Neuen Welt in drei Zonen verlegt. An Hand übersichtlicher Tabellen beweist er die schnelle Abnahme der Zahl der phanerogamen Arten vom trockenen über das mittelfeuchte zum feuchten Gebiete, während die Artenzahl der Kryptogamen von jenem zu diesem erstaunlich ansteigt. Wie weit diese drei Gebiete voneinander abweichen wird darum ersichtlich, daß nur wenige Arten in ihnen gleichzeitig vertreten sind.

[35] Nach Hyades (b): 1341, „au fonds n'existent que dans les endroits abrités des vents d'ouest; les collines servent de rempart contre cet agent destructeur qui maintiennent constamment au niveau des plateaux montagneux les sommets des arbres avoisinant sur les pentes exposées à l'est".

unheimlichen Eindruck; aber unglaublich verschieden gestaltet sich der Anblick, wenn die Sonne ihr helles Strahlengold darüber ausgießt. Eine bedeutende Höhe erreicht die immergrüne Buche nicht, meist strigt sie nur bis etwa 12 m empor, ausnahmsweise bis 15 m oder gar 20 m, und dabei zeigt sie eine Dicke von höchstens 35 cm Durchmesser. Die schönsten und kräftigsten Bäume findet man nicht in der regenreichen Gegend, sondern an der Grenze zum mittelfeuchten Gebiete hin. Eingestreut als Einzelstücke, hauptsächlich in den Niederungen und an Lichtungen, beobachtet man eine Magnoliacee, den Winterrindenbaum *ülkütta* (Drimys Winteri), der durchschnittlich nur 10 m hoch wird und zuweilen die beträchtliche Stammdicke von 20 cm erreicht.[24] Er zeigt sich sehr empfindlich gegen den Westwind, der schnell seine Blätter und Rinde zum Trocknen bringt. Am Waldesrande steht häufig die Leñadura *ïyakur* (Maytenus magellanica), die durchschnittlich bedeutend kleiner bleibt (Abb. 4). Der einzige Nadelbaum, der sich bis zum Canal de Beagle vorgeschoben hat und in versprengt gestellten Einzelstücken westlich der Punta Divide angetroffen wird, ist eine Cypresse *Ilpaix* (Libocedrus tetragona); sie wird hier nie über 10 m hoch und kommt als waldbildend nicht in Betracht. Schließlich gedeiht als Kurzstammbäumchen mit scharlachroten, weithin leuchtenden Blüten der *máku* (Embothrium coccineum). Mit Vorliebe stellt er sich in die Küstenwälder, an Waldränder und Flußufer; hier bildet er nicht selten einen wichtigen Bestandteil der Uferdickichte, selbst an Stellen, wo starker Wind die Waldbäume nicht hochkommen läßt.

Was im besonderen die subantarktischen Buchen betrifft, so spielt, wie gesagt, Nothofagus betuloides die alleinherrschende Rolle im feuchten Urwalde und zwar ganz ausschließlich westlich von Punta Divide. Nach Osten hin, auf beiden Ufern des Canal de Beagle, erscheint in Form von kleinen Beständen auch die sommergrüne Buche *kónis* (Nothofagus pumilio) eingestreut, die auffällig die Nordküste der Isla Navarino bevorzugt, aber nicht weiter nach Süden vordringt. Sie bildet hier nicht mehr, wie inmitten der Isla Grande, stattliche Wälder. Die andere blattwerfende Buchenart *kóthrus* (Nothofagus antarctica), die in der Gegend südlich des Rio Grande auf Isla Grande in herrlichen Beständen gedeiht, vereinigt sich hier an Bächen oder am Seeufer zu kleinen Hainen oder Galeriegehölzchen und besetzt größere Flächen regelmäßig nahe den Gletschern oder sieht von unten aufstrigend in breiten Streifen bis oben zur Grenze des Baumwuchses

[24] Berrio Gaspar Fonseca (s): II, 375 erwähnte „unter anderen diejenige Baumart, deren Rinde als ein trefflicher Gewürz durch den Capitain Winter zuerst nach Europa gebracht und ihm zu Ehren Winter's-Rinde genannt worden ist ... Der eigentliche Winter-Rindenbaum gedeiht an den Ufern der magellanischen Meerenge, desgleichen auf der Halbinsel von Tierra del Fuego, an einer unwirtlichen Gegend; hingegen an diejenigen unwirthbaren Küste dieses Landes, wo wir uns jetzt befanden (Christmas Sound), erreichte er nicht über zehn Fuß Höhe und bleibt auch dann noch gemeiniglich ein krummer, unnützlicher Busch".

hinauf. Wenn im Herbste ihre Blätter sich in Scharlach- oder Weinrot verfärben, heben sich diese leuchtenden Flecken glühend aus der weiten Landschaft heraus. Nicht minder farbenprächtig ist im Frühling der auffällige Gegensatz des jungen Blattgrüns zur dunklen Tönung der immergrünen Buchen. Die Nothofagus antarctica (Abb. 5) entwickelt eine staunenswerte Anpassungskraft und gedeiht noch auf Höhen, welche die beiden anderen Buchenarten nicht erreichen.[27] An geschützten Orten wird sie 15 m hoch und sogar noch mehr; wo sie schweren Winden ausgesetzt ist, bildet sie ein dichtes Buschwerk und preßt sich eng dem Boden an. Dergleichen Bestände zu überqueren geschieht am leichtesten dadurch, daß man darüber hinwegschreitet. Ein eigenartiger Anblick ist es, einzelne Bäume dieser Buchenart mit nur wenigen Wurzeln in Felsenspalten fest verankert zu sehen, wie sie dem wüsten Sturm, der sie beugt und zerzaust, immer noch siegreich Trotz bieten. Die merkwürdigsten Wachstumsformen bilden sich dabei heraus. Sogar auf den Felsen des eigentlichen Kap Hoorn hat, neben der Nothofagus betuloides, auch jene blattwerfende Buche Wurzel geschlagen (vgl. Dusen [a]: 421). Indes trifft man Drimys Winteri nur auf den nördlichen Inseln Wollaston und noch bis zum Cabo Falso de Hornos an.

Abb. 5. Sommergrüne Buche

Die matte Beleuchtung bringt es mit sich, daß die ganze Landschaft einförmig und traurig erscheint. Aber das Waldesinnere ist unvergleichlich düster und dunkel, weil die Baumkronen ein dichtes Blätterdach bilden, das nur an vereinzelten Stellen ein Sonnenstrahl zu durchdringen vermag. Blätter und Äste, Zweige und Stämme triefen vor Feuchtigkeit und

[27] Entgegen der Ansicht Hrusa' (r): 294 sei festgestellt, daß die Nothofagus antarctica im allgemeinen erst etwa 300 m über dem Wasserspiegel beginnt und mindestens bis auf 500 m hinaufreicht, während die Nothofagus betuloides sich unter 300 m hält. Dusen (a): 138, 300 berichtet: „Nothofagus antarctica verkrüppelt, wenn sie sich aufwärts verbreitet, allmählich und findet sich in der alpinen Region nur als niedriges Gebüsch oder am häufigsten als zwergartige, an den Boden gedrückte Sträucher, die einen Durchmesser von kaum 0,5 m erreichen. So weit ich mich erinnern kann, gibt es kaum einen Baum, dessen Form und Größe innerhalb so weit von einander entfernten Grenzen schwankten, wie Nothofagus antarctica."

der Erdboden ist von der reichlichen Nässe ganz und gar durchweicht. Unter solchen Bedingungen erkranken die Stämme sehr bald und brechen zusammen. In wüstem Durcheinander bedecken sie den Boden und vermodern unter schweren Mengen von allerlei Flechten, Moosen und Farnen. Zwar fehlt es im subantarktischen Buchenwalde fast ganz an dem niederen Buschwerk und an dem sogenannten Unterholz; jetzt sind es jene Massen von verfaulenden Stämmen, die eine Wanderung außerordentlich behindern.[*] Übel wirkt allein schon der schwere Moderduft und der hohe Wassergehalt der Luft. Zur Sommerszeit sind diese düsteren Buchenwälder trotzdem etwas belebt; oft und oft hört man das aufdringliche Hämmern des Spechtes und das Gekreisch kleinerer Papageienschwärme, auch lassen vereinzelte Vögel kurz ihre Stimme vernehmen, kleine Wasserratten schleichen leise dahin und silberhelle Bächlein murmeln; zumindest aber schüttelt der Wind rauschend die Äste oder heult der Sturm durch die dichten Blätterkronen. Still und einsam jedoch ist der Wald im Winter, wenn auf weiten Strecken die Buchen mit entblätterten Zweigen dastehen und wenn aus dem Geäst der immergrünen Bäume die munteren Vögel entflohen sind. Dann sind auch die lustigen Bächlein zugefroren und die ganze Landschaft liegt erstarrt unter einer dicken Schneedecke. Gegen den bleifarbenen Himmel heben sich nur einige steile Gebirgsrücken ab, die weder Eis noch Schnee halten; sonst ist alles in eine gleichmäßig düstere Farbentönung eingetaucht. Nahe dem Meeresufer und noch mehr von gewisser Höhe an wird der Wald oft und unregelmäßig von nackten Felsen oder von dünnbestellten Wiesen oder von zugedeckten Moosen unterbrochen; erst auf den höchsten Abhängen der Berge, weit jenseits der Baumgrenze, gewahrt man größere oder kleinere Schneeflecken, die auch während des Sommers liegen bleiben. Abgesehen vom jungen Frühlingsgrün flimmert über den bewaldeten Flächen, wenn man sie von weitem betrachtet, eine leichte bräunliche Farbentönung.

Fast überall umsäumt den Urwald ein mehr oder weniger geschlossener Dickicht von Sträuchern, die zuweilen, je nach den Lichtbedingungen, auch ein wenig in das Innere vordringen. Zu dieser Strauchflora gehört vor allem die in hellem Gelb blühende Berberis ilicifolia und Berberis microphylla, Rubus magellanicus mit seinen großen Blättern (Abb. 6) und Chiliotrichum diffusum mit seiner reichen Fülle weißer Blüten. Viel niedriger hält sich die zarte Fuchsia magellanica, die den Schatten der Waldränder anscheinend nicht entbehren kann, dafür aber den größten Teil des Jahres hindurch

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[*] Hammerschmidt (II): 314 hat sich im gleichen Sinne geäußert: „Kreuz und quer liegen gewaltige, halbverwesende, von Moos überwachsene Stämme und niedrige Büsche, wie die ausdauernde Berberis, Ribes decaisnei und mit den Stämmen auf weite Strecken ungemeinbare Dickichte. Je westlicher man kommt, um so undurchdringlicher wird der Wald, bis man auf den westlichsten Inseln jene üppig gewachsenen Urwälder antrifft, die mit ihren immergrünen Pflanzen so sehr an die Tropen erinnern und wo man auch im Fall nur langsam und mit der größten Anstrengung vorwärts kommt".

blüht.[20] Auf offener Fläche steht die Pernettya mucronata dichtgedrängt, daß man sich kaum einen Weg hindurchbahnen kann, mag sie nur 20 cm oder bisweilen sogar 80 cm hoch sein. Ähnliches gilt von der immergrünen Baccharis magellanica und Baccharis patagonica, die mit Senecio-Arten abwechseln (Abb. 7). In den Mooren und Heiden wuchern als wichtigste Zwergsträucher Empetrum rubrum, Gaultheria serpyllifolia und Myrteola nummularia. Ausschlaggebend wird die Physiognomie des feuerländischen Regenwaldes dadurch bestimmt, daß die Chusquea-Arten fehlen.

Abb. 6. Ribes magellanicum. 2/3 n. Gr.

Auf die Kräuterflora, im besonderen auf die vielen einjährigen Pflanzen hier einzugehen ist unmöglich. Kurz sei noch hingewiesen auf die biologisch sehr merkwürdigen phanerogamen Polsterpflanzen in stattlicher Artenanzahl, die weite Flächen bedecken, einerlei, ob als Flachpolster oder als Kugelpolster. Keine einzige Liane tritt hier auf und meines Wissens überschreitet weder Philesia noch Prionotes, welche beide im südlichen Westpatagonien so häufig sind, die Halbinsel Brecknock. Höhere Epiphyten kommen nicht vor und auch die epiphytische Farnflora ist arm; am häufigsten sieht man Asplenium magellanicum, Polypodium Billardieri, Hymenophyllum secundum und

[20] Plattmann (a): XXXVII wiederholt ein Wort des Botanikers Gmelbach: „An den stürmischen, ungastlichen Küsten von Fuegia verbeitet es dem Buchenwalde einen eigenthümlichen Reiz, wenn auf dem moorigen Boden oder unmittelbar am Gletscherrande das Auge durch die Blumen der Fuchsia und des asterähnlichen Veronicastrauches erfreut wird."

tortuosum, ferner an schattigen Stellen das zierliche Hymenophyllum pectinatum und endlich Blechnum magellanicum. Der Reichtum an Kryptogamen ist fast unübersehbar; denn „peu de régions sont aussi saturées d'humidité" (Hariot: 323). Im Walde wuchern viele Pilzarten in Masse, die, weil nicht giftig, fast ausnahmslos genießbar sind. Auf besonderen Wulstungen an Buchenästen (Abb. 8) entwickeln sich die beliebten Cyttaria-Arten, von denen Cyttaria Darwini, weißlich gelb und von der Größe einer Walnuß, am meisten auffällt. Weite Flächen des Feuerlandes sind vermoort. Zu den Charaktermoosen dieser Moore zählen, außer dem alles verdrängenden Sphagnum, besonders Discranum- und Rhacomitrium-Arten; zwischen ihnen schießt Marsippospermum grandiflorum hoch. Auch Waldboden, Steine und die Baumstämme sind von Moospolstern überdeckt. Von Lebermoosen (Hepaticae) behauptet sich Lepicoles am stärksten. Aus der Gruppe der Flechten sind, neben Stictaceen, einige boreale Typen zu nennen, beispielsweise Cladina, Cladonia, Stereocaulon u.a. Außer einigen anderen Parasiten verleiht das vielverbreitete Myzodendron punctulatum,* neben Usnea barbata, dem subantarktischen Buchenwalde mit seiner schwachen Beleuchtung einen märchenhaften Schimmer. Am auffälligsten von den vielen Meeresalgen tritt schließlich die gewaltige Macrocystis pyrifera hervor.

Abb. 7. Senecio Darwinii. ½ n. Gr.

Die geringe Wärme und der Mangel an Sonnenlicht sind die letzten Ursachen dafür, daß nur eine kleinblätterige Flora aufkommen und daß eine buntfarbige, reiche Blütenpracht sich im Kap Hoorn-Gebiete nicht entfalten kann. Einige genügsame, neuestens von Europäern eingeführte Nutzpflanzen erfordern auf gutem, geschütztem Boden sorgfältige Pflege, trotzdem tragen sie nicht viel. Wie Hyades (g): 6 berichtet, wurden bereits durch die Mission Schmidtiques in Bahia Orange 1882 „zwei Versuchsgärten angelegt, der eine im Walde, der andere in sandigem Boden am Meeresstrande; Bohnen, Erbsen, Kohl, Salat, Rettig, Petersilie wurden in verschiedenen Varietäten angepflanzt, im Strandgarten auch Kartoffeln. Letztere

* Vgl. die Sonderabhandlung von C. Skottsberg: Myzodendraceae, in: Das Pflanzenreich, IV, 68, von A. Engler, Leipzig 1914.

1: Gusinde 5316 Yahgan

allein geben einen kleinen Ertrag, Salat und Rettig wachsen kümmerlich, die anderen Sorten gar nicht. Auf dem Terrain der Missionsstation [Ushuaia] hat man erheblich günstigere Resultate erzielt; der Boden ist freilich dort besser und die Lage geschützter, auch der Sommer, da das offene Meer weiter abliegt, wärmer, wie der Winter kälter." Der dortige Erdboden könnte also weder die Eingeborenen noch die angesiedelten Europäer ernähren. Die wenigen gesunden Baumstämme, die gefällt werden, haben sehr geringen Wert und finden nur beschränkte Verwendung. Dem reichen Holzvorrat allerdings ist es zu danken, daß die Feuerländer in den ungünstigen Witterungsbedingungen ihrer Heimat ein beschränktes Dasein fristen können."

c. *Die Tierwelt*

Die Seefahrer der frühesten Zeit bereits hatten ihr Augenmerk auf die Vertreter aus der Tierwelt, die den südlichsten Ausläufer des amerikanischen Festlandes bevölkern, gerichtet. Seinerseits hat CHARLES DARWIN jenes Inselreich als eine selbständige geographische Provinz beurteilt und mit ihm neben auch andere Beobachter in der Magellan-Straße eine deutlich einschneidende tiergeographische Grenze, als ob die Eigenart der Fauna nach Süden hin von jener des Festlandes verschieden wäre. Indes, wie neuerdings NAUMANN (i): 6 erweisen konnte, haben „spätere Untersuchungen dies nicht ganz bestätigt und besonders CUNNINGHAM's Fund einer feuerländischen Eidechse (Ptygoderes pertinatus Dum.) und die Arbeiten der französischen Cap Horn-Expedition haben die Ansicht von einer feuerländischen, vielleicht gar antarktischen Provinz von Landtieren erschüttert". Die genauen Forschungen seit Mitte des verflossenen Jahrhunderts haben jene für die Tiergeographie wichtige Frage endgültig in dem Sinne beantwortet, daß die

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[*] Außer den genannten Abhandlungen über die Pflanzenwelt des südlichsten Feuerlandes seien noch erwähnt:

S. ARAMBURU: La naturaleza en la Tierra del Fuego. Lecturas públicas. La Plata 1896.

X. ARAMBURU: Rasgos de Plantas coleccionadas de la Tierra del Fuego "Anales del Museo de La Plata", 1902.

ARAMBURU et KURTZ: Enumeración des plantes du canal de Beagle; "Revista del Museo de La Plata", tomo VII, p. 353—401; 1896.

GUSTAVO BURMEISTER: Tierra del Fuego y sus turberas, 119 pgs; Buenos Aires 1917.

HAPPER: Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn, tome V. Paris 1887.

F. LORENTZ: Plantae de viaticum ex la Tierra del Fuego; "Revista del Museo de La Plata", tomo VIII, p. 1—24; 1897.

K. RAUNIER: Grundzüge der Pflanzenverbreitung in Chile; Leipzig 1907.

C. SPEGAZZINI: Plantae per Fuegiam collectae; "Anales del Museo Nacional", tomo V, pgs 39—104; Buenos Aires 1896.

C. SPEGAZZINI: Relaciones botánicas; "Bollettino de la Soc. Geographica Italiana", anno XVII, vol. XX, serie II, vol. VIII, p. 126—136; Roma 1883.

W. H. H. WARDEN, vol. II, p. 290—299: Vegetation of Staten Island and Cape Horn. Vgl. auch Burmeister (h): 232, Spegazzini in Bern (c): 117 und die ausführlichen Quellenangaben in Spegazzini (g): 353.

Magellan-Straße eine gewisse Grenze bildet, hinter der nach Süden hin die Flora sowohl wie die Fauna plötzlich weit ärmer erscheint, und zwar in viel zu hohem Grade, als sich dies aus der geringen Breite der Straße selber und aus dem unbedeutenden Unterschiede des Klimas erklären ließe. Jedoch treten weder Pflanzengattungen noch Landtiere im Feuerlande auf, die auf dem Festlande fehlen würden. Einige Landsäuger indes haben die Magellan-Straße nicht überschritten, nämlich Strauß (Rhea Darwini), Puma (Felis concolor),* Hirsch (Cervus chilensis) und Stinktier (Conepatus Humboldtii). Weiters vermißt man im Süden die Schlangen und Batrachier (Frösche, Laurchen, Kröten), die Skorpione und viele Insekten, denen man auf dem Festlande begegnet. Zur Erklärung dieser Erscheinung nimmt Nauman[illegible] (1) an, „daß klimatische Verhältnisse oder andere Umstände erst in sehr später Zeit die Einwanderung der nördlicheren Formen erlaubt hätten."

Abb. 8. Berberitzenzweig mit Wurzelstock. ½ n. Gr.

Und somit unter dem verhältnismäßig kühlen Klima des Kap Horn, dessen eigenartige zoologische Sonderformen nicht zu erwarten, möchte man das unerwartete Auftreten von Seevögeln und die Vielheit der Hochdichtung einiger Singer nicht dadurch hinwegzudeuten, daß die dortige Tierwelt [illegible] ist.

Nur eine gewisse Anzahl von höheren und niederen Tieren findet die erforderlichen Lebensbedingungen. Wären die rauhen Küsten nicht, so dürften einige Strandläufer und sicher auch viele Vögel hinzutreten, aber man in jenen kleinen Insektenbrüter nur sehr wenige Lebewesen. Tatsächlich trifft man auf dem Lande selber kaum einige Vertreter höherer Tierspezies an, die weder durch ihre Gestaltung noch durch ihr Äußeres hervorstechen. Zwar erheben sich manche Vögel einen lauten Gesängen; doch auch deren Farben sind matt und blaß, dunkel und unauffällig, wie die aller übrigen Lebewesen. Dergleichen Abtönungen im Unterbinden gleiten allgemein in das dürftige Dunkel einer vom grauen Himmel überzogenen, an Bäumen armen Landschaft hinein, wo die Sonne nur selten durch Wolkenlücken zeigt und Regenschauer mit schweren Stürmen abwechseln. Es ist als ob auch die Tiere erschaudern vor der Unguust des trostlosen Feuerlandes.

Als größtes der Landsäugetiere hat die wiederkauende Art der südamerikanischen Cameliden, nämlich das Guanaco, andere (Lama huana-

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* Zwar behauptet Hamner in Rates 1878, daß „the footprints of a puma were noticed by him (Lieutenant Kinnear) on several places". Sicher hat er sich hierbei getäuscht und die Fußspuren stammen vom großen Fuchs herrühren.

[illegible], wegen dem Canal de Beagle [illegible] und bewohnt die Isla Navarino. Da er gut schwimmen kann, hat er diese Insel wohl über Isla Gable, wo er früher angetroffen worden ist, erreicht. Westlich der Augustinus Bucht kommt er innerhalb des Yamana-Gebietes nicht vor.* Nach seiner Größe und Gestalt gleicht er am meisten dem europäischen Eichhörnchen und lebt gewöhnlich in kleineren oder größeren Rudeln. Seine Eigenschaften und Gewohnheiten werden, weil er das einzige bekanntwichtige Jagdtier der Selk'nam ist, bereits in Bd. I, 11 ausführlich dargelegt.* Im Wirtschaftsleben der Yamana hat er eine verwaltnismäßig geringere Bedeutung, vor allem deshalb, weil er nur im Canal auftritt. Seiner wählen die östliche Gruppe unserer Eingeborenen nicht gern verlassen; denn sie müssen es so vollständig tun, wie die Selk'nam das tun. Auch jagen sie es mit Bogen und Pfeil, in der gleichen Weise wie diese, vollständig verwiegend im Winter, wenn es die bewohnten Höhen verlassen muß und an den Uferrändern sich aufhält.

In allen Teilen, doch nicht sehr häufig, begegnet man dem großen Fuchs (Canis sive Cerdocyon magellanicus), einem kräftigen Tiere, das nach seiner Entwicklung und Stärke dem nordischen Wolfe gleicht. Dieser Fuchs ist bekanntlich der größte seiner Art in Südamerika. Er trägt einen dichten, fast langhaarigen, schön gefärbten Pelz.* Früher gab es auf Isla Hoste die meisten Füchse, seit einigen Jahrzehnten hat ihre Zahl ebenfalls unendlich abgenommen. Wenn ich [illegible], auf der Halbinsel Brecknock „Jagen wir schnitzwieder wegen zwei Füchse; ihre Felle waren natürlich ebenso wertvoll wie die Gegend und mir war es ein Rätsel, wie sie überhaupt da hinein kamen. Es war doch immerhin der westlichste Zipfel von Feuerland".* Außer diesem großen Fuchse trägt sich auch der kleinere Canis griseus an einzelnen Stellen. Die Yamana schenken weder diesem noch jenem eine nennenswerte Beachtung. Anders ist es jedoch mit dem Fischotter (Lutra felina), der in sehr deutlich erkennbarer Fährte auftritt.* Die Eingeborenen

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* Unsere Tatsachen bei Dorbigny (s) 187 bestätigen erfahren. „Unser Beweis" dieses of the Yahanna, being convinced of Mission Station, never shown gentleness; but the other dreamer, who he convinced of that small passage, where left them in vicinity and at other times of the year they sometimes get them by lying in wait, and shooting them with arrows, or by getting into a tree near their track, and spearing them as they pass beneath the branches." Im gleichen Sinne schreibt [illegible] Bessers (k) 190, daß „gewisse [illegible] schwanzen von Guanaco y la isla de Navarino".

* Der Eigbrung ist auch die Bedeutungsbedeutung von Yamana (g) erwähnt.

* R. Pasquier hat als unter 1890 diesen schönen Tier beschrieben. Vgl. die Bedeutungen von Dyamana (c) 130, Gusinde (1), Dyamana (3) u. a.

* Das Lebenbild eines Wesens bei dessel bin, daß „auch Gelehrsamen bisher den Gesellschaft [illegible] Sonne und Jahreszeiten besonders bisher. Diese Sonnenbrüne [illegible] sich dagegen Gesetz, die nicht an der offenen Gewohnheit in der Sohne Beachtung, sondern in den sich [illegible] Kindlen bisher. Der Gelehrsamen jedoch besonders die [illegible] [illegible] Gelehrsamkeit und von Sehr-und bisher. Wissen bisher ein dritte Gelehrsamen, die [illegible] dem Besten dies [illegible], jedes hatte seinen besonderen Gefahrung. Gebete an der Art der Bessen ich ich, von Ihr ein Ton ich von sich hatte Sagen in dem Gesellschaftlichen [illegible] sich [illegible]".

selber halten beide durch besondere Namen auseinander und bezeichnen den großen Innenotter als djapag, den viel kleineren Außenotter als djijiji. In Gewohnheiten und Lebensweise weichen sie von ihren europäischen Verwandten nicht ab. Beide werden ihres Felles wegen von den Indianern verfolgt, in neuester Zeit aber so rücksichtslos von europäischen Pelzjägern angehetzt, daß die Eingeborenen ihr Glück in sehr versteckten Kanälen und in fast unzugänglichen Wasserarmen versuchen müssen.[*] Die Feuerländer verschmähen das Fleisch der Otters.[**]

Von den drei Arten aus der Ordnung der Fledermäuse (Chiroptoren) sieht man Vespertilio magellanicus und die graue Fledermaus mit den langen Ohren, genannt apuréte (Myotis chiloensis), am häufigsten. Abgesehen von einer schwarzen Ratte aréuina, die neuerdings durch die stärkere europäische graue Ratte Mála aréuina verdrängt worden ist, und von dem erst kürzlich eingeführten, heute verwilderten Kaninchen yamdrau[***] gibt es noch einige Mäusearten als Vertreter der Nagetierordnung (Rodentien).

Ehedem tummelten sich in unerhaltlicher Zahl die gewaltigen Meeresungeheuer aus der Unterordnung der Wolfiocha (Cetaceen) nicht nur ganz nahe den feuerländischen Küsten, sondern auch weiter nach Norden hinauf. Jahrzehntelange Ausbeute mit wirksamen Geschossen durch gewinnsüchtige Walfänger hat jene Geschöpfe auf einen kleinen Restbestand zurückgeführt und bereits einige Arten gänzlich vernichtet. Gegenwärtig verirrt sich nur selten noch ein jüngeres Tier in die Kanäle des Kap Hoorn-Archipels; früher war es gar keine Seltenheit, daß einer jener ungeschlachten, lebensmüden Ungeheuer auf die Küste gerettet oder gegen eine Insel abgetrieben wurde.[*] Die größten Tiere sind die Blauwale, nämlich Balaenoptera intermedia, genannt Antipodyim, Balaenoptera Schlegelii, genannt

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[*] Bougainville berichtet über einen gemmten Wanen (1768), der mit zwei Blasrohren von einem kleinen Kutter aus diesen Tieren nachgegangen war: „Am 18. Dezember 1924 [also nach einer Jagd von kaum sechs Wochen] hatten wir schon siebenundzwanzig Otters erbeutet. Am 23. Dezember beschlossen wir, den Fang abzubrechen und die Strecken auszuwerfen. Hundertzwei Otters und fünf Fischen hatten wir erbeutet."

[**] Früher erwähnte Bennett (BM: III, 113; 1869) „an animal called by the Indians 'yaquina', which is very shaggy, about as large as a sheep, has very large and powerful claws and front teeth; it lives in the deepest forests on the beaches, foraging, and eat of roots. It climbs with ease. I think this animal must be a sloth." Sydney berichtigte er (ib.: 224) sich selber und sprach von dem „porcino de agua dulce llamado Yaqui". Also war jenes mysteriöse Tier weiter nichts als ein Flußotter.

[***] Dumeril (1): 330 behauptet: „En la Isla Rabbid en el canal de la Bragle hay una especie de conejo; el Lepus (Oryctolagus) magellanicus, variedad del Lepus cuniculus que ha vuelto al estado salvaje." Doch ist es Tatsache, daß diese Kaninchen sich auch an vielen anderen Stellen finden und beispielsweise den Boden der Isla Navarino gänzlich unterwühlt hat.

[*] Anläßlich seines Aufenthaltes in der Bahía Buen Suceso schrieb James Cook (1): IV, 31 im Dezember 1774: „Le Lieutenant venu apporte que la Baie Anse remplie de baleines en de venue nuejen. Nous quitons aussitôt ainsi des baleines dans la Détroit, comme on vient le dire; car le vent de la terre de Feu ne particulier, il y en a en grand nombre."

hepatopodipius, und *Balaenoptera patagonica*, genannt *colilaja*. Außerdem leben dort der Südwal, *Balaena australis*, *nanuca* (Mensch), der Schnabelwal, *Ziphius spec?*, genannt *tijila*, und endlich der Buckelwal, *Megaptera longa*. Sie alle sind unserer Feuerländerin eine ergiebige Bezugsquelle für mannigfaltige Dinge, die sie benötigen. Es verlohnt sich, die in biologischer Hinsicht wertvollen Beobachtungen einzelnigen, die Gannes Feuerrea (s): 309 im Dezember 1774 bei der Bahia Buen Suceso gemacht hat: „... Einige dreißig große Wallfische und eine unendliche Menge Seehunde machten sich im Wasser um und neben uns lustig. Die Wallfische schwammen nahezu halb parallel beisammen, welches anzeigen schien, daß dies die Zeit ihres Begattens sei. Sie alle sie auf der Seite des Schiffes, wo der Wind herkam, Wasser von sich blasen, hatten wir jedesmal einen unerträglich faulen und ungesunden Geruch wahrzunehmen, der drei bis vier Minuten anhielt. Hierzu begaben sie sich auf den Rücken und plätscherten mit ihren langen Brustflossen auf dem Wasser, welches einen Knall verursachte, als wenn ein halbpfündiges Stück abgefeuert wird. Dieses Spiel hat vermutlich zu dem Mutmaßungs-Märchen Anlaß gegeben, daß der Drache und der Wallfisch unerbittlich miteinander fechten. Der Drache wird gewöhnlich als ein langer Fisch vorgestellt, der aus dem Wasser springt, um dem Wallfisch einen derben Schlag beizubringen. Oft wünschen sie auch den Schwertfisch mit hinein, der diese Gelegenheit wahrnehmen soll, um dem armen Wallfisch den Bauch aufzuschlitzen. Der geringen Entfernung wegen, in welcher sich die Fische von uns befanden, konnten wir bei der oft wiederholten Bewegung der Flossen deutlich sehen, daß die inneren Seite dunkelrot, ingleichen der Bauch weiß, das übrige hingegen schwarz ist. An einem, der sich keine 200 Fuß weit vom Schiffe herumwälzte, nahmen wir viele in die Länge laufende Falten oder Runzeln auf dem Bauch wahr; diesem Kennzeichen zufolge gehörte er zu der Gattung, welche beim Nitze von Lenni Balaena Bonga heißt. Ihre Größe umgreifet, die der Länge nach nicht weniger als 10 Fuß und im Durchmesser 10 Fuß beträgt, sah man sie unweites ganz und gar aus dem Wasser springen und dann fühlen sie jedesmal mit gewaltigem Getöse zurück, so daß es uns ist bis ... " Der obere gemeinte Drachen oder Schwertwal ist Orca magellanica, *Spalatti*, eine Varietät von Gladius orca (Orca gladiator), der wütendste Verfolger aller Wale und Anfälliger der Sagenhaftigkeit, vor allem der kleinen Schwertwale. Paradoxa ornatissima, bekannt als *ulalajo*. Häufig sieht man den Tümmler, Tursio sea Delphinus Peronii, der im Zwischenhalbrit spielt und im Nähhalbrit mähen hilft, ferner den Grind, Globicephala melas, genannt *ulaina*, und endlich den Kurzschnabelhelphin, Lagenorhynchus Fitzroyi, *nanuca* *ancyduna*. In den mythologischen und abergläubischen Vorstellungen der Bewohner des Feuerlandes spielen gerade die Delphine[*] eine bedeutende Rolle.

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[*] Vgl. R. A. Philippi: Los delfines de la costa central de la América del Sur. "Anales del Museo Nacional de Chile", Santiago 1893.

Indes sind in dem Wirtschaftsleben die Pinnipedier (Pinnipedier) von einer Bedeutung, die gar nicht hoch genug veranschlagt werden kann. Denn manche hohe Gattung und Art, die sich unseren Blicken einer Anzahlung. Verwandtschaftsverein sind die Robben in dieser Beziehung nicht nur nahezustellig, sondern auch als Arten kaum minder reich vertreten, wie in den nördlichen Meeren. Überdies erfüllen die nördlichen Formen eine mitbilligere Gestalt. Zwar fehlt in den neuseeländischen Gewässern die Familie der Walrosse (Odobenidae), dafür aber stellt die der Ohrenrobben (Otariidae), sowohl wie die der Seehunde (Phocidae) mehrere Arten. Denn Seltenheit im Wasser sind diese Tiergruppen durch mächtige Fettmassen ausgezeichnet, die unter der Haut liegen und die eine glatte Abrundung des äußeren spindelförmigen Körperbaues bewirken.

Unser Pinnipedier bewirkt und erzeugt gar sehr die Fettschichten, das Fleisch und das Fett, dicke Leder dieser Pinnipedier, deshalb jagt er allen jenen Tieren, die an den Küsten seiner Heimat sich aufhalten, eifrig nach. Er kennt sie genau nach Art und Gewohnheit, nach Alter und Herkunft, mit dem Lebensgewohnheiten und natürlichen Anlagen ist er vollkommen vertraut; er schätzt die Verwertbarkeit des Felles, die Schmackhaftigkeit des Fleisches und Fettes, die Dauerhaftigkeit der Knochen dieser und jener Art mehr oder weniger, und endlich gibt er einer jeden dieser bestimmten Eigenschaften. Unterschiedslos gilt er ein jeder dieser Tiere auf die gleiche Weise an, sei es auf dem Lande, sei es auf dem Wasser. Bekanntlich sind alle Robben, von meistens in dieser Jugend, sehr zutraulich und von Natur aus neugierig. Der Jäger, der von einem Kanu aus ingend einen dieser Tiere beobachtet, vermag durch eintönigen Pfeifen, durch leises Klopfen mit einem Stockes, durch sanftes Rasseln mit Steinen, durch geschickliches Schlagen gegen die Wasseroberfläche mit dem Ruderblatte dasselbe näherhin zu sich heranzuziehen, daß er es mühelos mit Speeren oder Harpunen tödlich verwunden. Tagelang liegen einzelne Tiere und ganze Herden, sich sonnend und schlafend, auf den Felsen und Klippen herum; denn vorzugsweise der nachts gehen sie im Wasser ihrer Nahrungssuche nach. Fast und gewöhnlich erwachen sie sich auf dem Strande um und gehen allein dadurch deutlich zu erkennen, wie lustig ihnen jede Bewegung ist und wie ungern sie gestört werden wollen; schwerfällig nur verharren sie in langen Zwischenräumen ihrer Lage, um bald den Bauch und bald den Rücken, bald die eine und bald die andere Körperseite den verschiedenen Sonnenstrahlen vorzugsweise zu kehren. Nähert sich ihnen der Mensch, so entschließen sie sich meist erst im äußersten einen Dummerwerden unwillig zur Flucht.

Da, wo hinreichend bekannt ist, alle Robben sehr gewillig sind, versammeln sie sich dort an großen Herden, wo die Gegend bilbar und einsam ist, wo Störungen durch andere Wesen ihnen fast ganz unmöglich bleiben; deshalb werden sie hier eher auch von so lebhaftiger und sie schützenden Lebensweise zu bemerken, wenn menschenscheuer ein Mensch in ihre Nähe aufmarsche. Gern halten sie nur gleichen Seite an der Küste, in die einsamsten Bühle, auf die

[illegible] Körper [illegible] und führen sich an diesem Lieblingsgetränke [illegible] wohl.

Je gewandter und geschickter die Fischerbilder im Wasser sind, um so unbeholfener bewegen sie sich auf dem Lande. Das ist mehr ein Kriechen als ein Laufen. Das Tier schleift seinen Körper [illegible] nach dem Verhältnis [illegible] Bauges vorne, denn es wird sich auf die Brust, bringt den ganzen Rumpf an einem [illegible] Stückel zusammen, stützt sich dermaßen auf die vorderen Flossen und schnellt endlich durch plötzliche Streckung seines ganzen Körpers nach vorne. Bei [illegible] bleiben die Gliedmaßen nur geringe Dienste und doch kommt das Tier nach vorn der Stelle. Vorzugsweise stützen es sich, nur Kleinfische einen Gegenstand, auf Hinterfuß und Vorderflossen vorgeschoben [illegible] Bewegung nach vorne, um [illegible] vorne über zu kippen, denn wird [illegible] Kopfe wird nach beiden Seiten [illegible], [illegible] Gleichgewichte zu verlieren. Unter Umständen können dieses und dadurch gehen sie [illegible] Bahn [illegible] vor vorne zu, [illegible] vor der Seite.

Jedes [illegible] Wesen [illegible] seine Wohnung auf Leben und Tod, [illegible] Mutterpflanze [illegible] Jungen. Zur Zeit [illegible], die die Bahnen [illegible] Tiere [illegible], verwirrten sie [illegible] Wesen in gemeinsamer Gesellschaft auf dem Strande und [illegible] in [illegible] Jäger [illegible] Leichtsinn, [illegible] Interessenkreise zu [illegible]. Auch dann noch, wenn die jungen Tiere [illegible] sind, bleiben die Mitglieder einer Bahnfamilie noch eng miteinander verbunden. Jedes [illegible] Wesen bringt [illegible] weitere Wohnung [illegible] Grunde und hält sie für sich allein [illegible] zusammen. Jedes [illegible] Jäger [illegible]. Auf dem Lande [illegible] Jäger [illegible] Jungen [illegible], [illegible] Unterschied, der [illegible] Familienbahn die Bahnenjagd ganz bedeutend erleichtert. Das [illegible] Lieblingsgut dieser Tiere [illegible] Reiz und eine [illegible] Verwandtschaft durch die [illegible], [illegible] Bewegungen [illegible] sich [illegible] verfeinerten Körpern.

Im Kap Hoorn-Archipel [illegible] nach [illegible] nach [illegible] Bahnen [illegible] Ohnetie [illegible] in großer Zahl und in [illegible] Herden auf. Das [illegible] Tier [illegible] [illegible] Jäger, [illegible] Wohnung [illegible] und [illegible]. Die Farbe des [illegible] Felles ist [illegible] Schwarz, bei allen Tieren [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] Übergängen durch. Überall [illegible] man diese Art an, auf dem Körper und am Strande, im Bereiche und in den engen Durchlässen [illegible] der Ortschaft. Sie [illegible], [illegible] Bahn gleicht dem einer großen, alten Dunkel. Die Bewegungen der jungen Tiere im Wasser sind von [illegible] Geschicklichkeit und [illegible] Gelenkigkeit. Im [illegible] [illegible] die Bahnen, [illegible] dieser geringeren Körpergröße und beweglicheren Beweglichkeit, auf dem Lande [illegible] gleich [illegible] Verwandten.

In diesem [illegible] [illegible] Bahnenfamilie [illegible] Ohnetie [illegible], [illegible], wird sich bei den Bahnen das [illegible] Bahnenhaar [illegible] einer [illegible]

Bären, die den Weißbären tötet, vertilgert. Erstere werden bis 2 m lang und 14 Zentner schwer, diese bleiben merklich kleiner. Die Färbung der erwachsenen Tiere ist ein schmutziggelbes Braun, die der jungen ein glänzendes, dichtes Sammetschwarz. Der sehr starken, bebärtigenden Gebeißl wird man abwechselnd braune Linien, wenn die ganze Herde einstimmt; er Gewähne dann eigen eine prächtig rosarbende Brustbrust. Die Jungen bilden

Abb. 9. Grönlandische Bärenrobben (weibliches)

ein Schutz. Die Bärenrobben haben die Gewohnheit, während die jungen Tiere gebären werden und die diese sich begatten, ununterbrochen auf dem Lande zu verweilen und auf jeweilige Nahrung gleichlich zu verzichten. Erst erste Wochen nach ihrer Geburt sind die jungen Tierchen imstande im Wasser zu gehen, so lange ernährtenen Jungen die Alten auf dem Strande; allerdrüberen erhalten sie sich nur vom eigenen Fett und magern allmählich sehr viel ab. Diese Erscheinung ist wohl auch unter dem Namen geographischer Sterben bekannt.

Merklich kleiner als die beiden genannten Ohrenrobben ist der südamerikanische Seebär, die Bärenrobbe *tāpēwa* (Arctocephalus australis), in dortiger Gegend als "lobo de dos pelos" bekannt. Nur selten noch läßt er sich gegenwärtig in der Nachbarschaft des Kap Hoorn sehen. Die Tiere dieser Art, einst in bedeutender Zahl, sind wegen ihres kostbaren Pelzes von Robbenjägern rücksichtslos verfolgt und sehr verringert worden. Bekanntlich bleiben sie den größten Teil des Jahres ununterbrochen auf hoher See und kommen nur anläßlich der Fortpflanzung für insgesamt vier Monate an eine Küste, wo sie jahrein, jahrein die gleiche Landungsstelle wählen, um nachher wieder in der Hochsee zu verschwinden. In nennenswerter Menge ist endlich noch die falklandische Robbe *lēfkgōma* (Otaria falklandica) vorhanden. Das erwachsene Tier mißt etwa 1½ m und ist auf dem Rücken gleichförmig hellgrau gefärbt."

Die östliche Elefantenrobbe *hōinguma* (Marrorhinus leoninus) ist eine Bauchrobbe aus der Familie der eigentlichen Seehunde. Früher war sie bis zur Isla Juan Fernández hinauf an der chilenischen Küste anzutreffen; heute sieht man sie in der Kap Hoorn-Gegend selten und weiter im Süden leben nur noch wenige Vertreter. Die Elefantenrobbe (Abb. 9) gleicht in ihrem Äußeren und in ihren Lebensgewohnheiten den anderen Robben, übertrifft *sie* aber weit an Körpergröße, die bei männlichen Tieren sogar 6 m,[13] bei weiblichen reichlich 3 m beträgt. Die Nase der ersteren verlängert sich zu einem kurzen, stumpfen Rüssel, daher der Name Rüsselrobbe und See-Elefant. Aus der Unterfamilie der Mönchsrobben treten dort noch die Seeleoparden *pēigus* (Ogmorhinus seu Leptonychotes Weddelli), ferner *mokōjinzugyōmx* (Ogmorhinus leptonyx) und endlich der sehr seltene *alcinuma* (Lobodon carcinophagus) auf. Alle drei erreichen eine mittlere Größe.[14] Damit schließt die Reihe der in jener Gegend heimischen Säugetiere ab.

Die langgestreckten flachen Küsten, die vielen steilen Felswände und zerklüfteten Steinmassen sind ein günstiger Standplatz für weit mehr Vertreter aus der V o g e l w e l t, als das Innere der Inseln, das Dunkel der Wälder und die Höhe der Bergesgipfel. An unübersehbaren Massen von

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[13] Wilczynski (a): 82 hat von den Lebensgewohnheiten der falklandischen Robbe, des See-Elefanten und der verwandten Arten eine ausführliche und genaue Schilderung hinterlassen. Daraus ersieht man, wie bereits zu seiner Zeit jene Tiere in ungeheuren Mengen vernichtet worden sind.

[14] Dabbene (c): 250 behauptet sogar, „que alcanzan hasta seis metros de largo". Er fügt hinzu: „Los Romanches ebefantes de mar han sido desde mucho tiempo objeto de taleprecauciones por parte de los balleneros norteamericanos, a causa del aceite que de ellos extraen, que es ahora muy difícil encontrarlos cerca de la Tierra del Fuego e islas vecinas. Se han refugiado más allá del límite de los témpanos de hielo y sólo de vez en cuando aparecen por casualidad algún ejemplar sobre las costas magellánicas." Auch Hyades (b): 1312 bestätigt, daß „quant à l'Éléphant de mer, c'est une espèce presque entièrement détruite."

[15] Vgl. R. A. Philippi: Los restos chilenos del Museo Nacional. "Anales del Museo Nacional de Chile"; Santiago 1892.

Scharben, Möwen und Pinguinen wimmelt er auf einzelnen Stellen. Wenige Arten kleinerer Vögel treten in Schwärmen auf, so der Papagei und der Austernfischer, die Strandläufer und die meisten Finkenarten. Die übrigen Vertreter des Federvolkes zeigen sich in beschränkter Zahl. Flüchtig seien hier nur jene genannt, die durch ihre Anwesenheit jene Landschaft beleben und kennzeichnen.

Von den Tagraubvögeln (Raptores diurni) sieht man den mächtigen Condor oder Rabengeier *ṇëṇiyáṇ* (Cathartes sura), den großen Geierfalken *kötlu* (Polyborus tharus), den Hühnergeier *ilaváṇ* (Catharista atratus), den grauen Geierfalken *kiginteku* (Circus cinereus), den Bussard *kilagila* (Buteo poliosomus), den Habicht *yookallg* (Milvago chimango), den eleganten Falken *ahimagdin* (Ibycter australis), den Habicht (Accipiter chilensis) und vereinzelt den starken Bussard (Geranoaetus melanoleucus). Die Nachtraubvögel (Raptores nocturni) jener Gegend sind der große Uhu *kuhárux* (Bubo magellanicus), die hellfarbige Ohreule *sta* (Nyctalops seu Asio accipitrinus), die Tag- oder Erdeule *vefutíla* (Speotyto cunicularia), die gesprenkelte Nachteule *hátunatëfkir'* (Syrnium rufipes) und endlich der kleine Waldkauz *Ëfkóiyu* (Glaucidium nanum).

Sperlingsvögel und Stieglitze, Drosseln und Meisen beleben Wiese und Wald. Oft hört man den Schrei kleiner Schwärme vom grünen Papagei *klnër* (Microsittace ferruginous) und das Hämmern des großen Schwarzspechtes *lána* (Ipocrantor magellanicus), sowie das leise Klopfen des kleinen Spechtes *dërëhárux* (Dendrocopus lignarius). Zutraulich nähern sich die kleinen Baumläufer *tëëikúina* (Aphrastura spinicauda) und *ëllix* (Cistothorus platensis), der winzige Zaunkönig *čúnux* (Zonotrichia canicapilla) und der noch kleinere *hulusënuwu* (Troglodytes hornensis) schaut neugierig aus seinem Dickicht hervor auf den Fremden, der den stillen Wald durchschreitet. Am Rande der Bächlein fliegt der schöne Eisvogel *čégetë* (Ceryle torquata var. stellata) auf und hier, wo offene Fuchsiablüten sich sanft neigen, schwirrt als seltener Gast sogar ein Kolibri *omóru* (Sephanoides sephaniodes) vorüber. Der rothrüstige Star *sëëlg* (Trupiales militaris) wie auch die vielköpfigen Scharen der grüngelben Finken *tyuin* (Spinus seu Chrysomitris icterricus) und *lukuimlág* (Spinus seu Chrysomitris barbatus) bringen frische Farbe und etwas Leben in das Fleckchen Erde, auf dem sie sich niederlassen. Im hohen Grase versteckt sich die gewöhnliche Schnepfe *čukág* (Gallinago nobilis), die häufige Santschnepfe (Thinocorus orbignyanus) und das ihr nahestehende Rebhuhn (Attagis malouinus).

Den Strand beleben kleine Gruppen von Austernfischern *nimiller'* (Haematopus ater), sowie die Schwärme niedriger Wasser- und Stelzenläufer, unter die sich der kleine Haubentaucher *twiána* (Podiceps americanus), der Seetaucher *taperdla* (Podiceps calipareus) und der größere Strißfuß *kuyóma* (Aechmophorus major) mischt. In den Sümpfen geht der dunkelgraue Nachtreiher *tlurug* (Nycticorax obscurus) und der kräftige, rostbraune Brüllenibis *Ilyuma* (Theristicus melanopis) seiner Nahrungssuche nach.

Sehr günstig ist das ganze Gebiet für Enten, die reichlich und in verschiedenen Größen vertreten sind, aber matte Farben zeigen. Am stärksten sieht man *wíyen* (Anas cristata), die Dampfschiffente *álukuł* (Tachyeres brachypterus), *dółin* (Tachyeres patachonicus), *mułłpu* (Nettium flavirostre), *wlpatax* (Querquedula cyanoptera), *łáwł* (Querquedula versicolor) und *włcabiż* (Dafila spinicauda). Drei Arten von Wildgänsen kennzeichnen auffällig jene Landschaft, nämlich die Magellangans *łímçu* (Chloëphaga picta), die buntgefärbte Graukopfgans *łárux* (Chloëphaga poliocephala) und endlich die streng monogam lebende Molinasgans *łółuł* (Chloëphaga hybrida). Auch der Schwarzhalsschwan *włoume* (Cygnus melanocorypha) und der mächtige Pelikan *łłkukuta* (Pelicanus thagus) zeigt sich zuweilen. Dauernd schießen Möwen durch die Luft und sammeln sich raubgierig dort, wo etwas zu erhaschen ist; dichtgedrängt sitzen sie auch auf niedrigen Felsen und bedecken flächenweise den ebenen Strand. Genannt seien hier nur *łiwáqu* (Larus dominicanus), *włmarłkipa* (Larus glaucodes), die laute *łółuła* (Leucopheraus Scoresbyi) und die weißbäuchige Seeschwalbe *łółix* (Sterna hirundinacea).

In Klüften und Felsenhöhlen, die zum Meere hingewendet und den Stürmen ausgesetzt sind, nisten massenhaft die Scharben. Das Kap Hoorn-Gebiet besitzt seine eigenen Arten; am häufigsten sieht man die Haubenscharbe *wúçnim* (Phalacrocorax gaimardi), die schwarze Scharbe *yłłex* (Phal. atriceps), den magellanischen Kormoran *çetex* (Phal. magellanicus) und den farbenschillernden Vigunakormoran *tugułłiwu* (Phal. olivaceus). Auch die Pinguine sind hier zu Hause, obenan der Brillenpinguin *łółła* (Spheniscus magellanicus), außerdem der kleinere Felsenpinguin *kełłiwu* (Spheniscus Humboldti), der goldhaarige Pinguin *kúlawiwu* (Catarrhactes chrysocome) und der Goldschopfpinguin *gerónuq* (Catarrhactes chrysolophus), endlich der Riesenpinguin *łaiumłnapi* (Aptenodytes patagonica), der nur selten sich zeigt.

Im tosenden Unwetter tummeln sich auf der Hochsee die gewaltigen Sturmvögel und schwingen sorglos über den schaumgekrönten Wellen in majestätischer Anmut auf und nieder. Stundenlang möchte man ihrem selbstbewußten Schweben durch das Wüten der Naturgewalten zuschauen! Am bekanntesten sind die beiden großen Albatrosse *gerápu* (Diomedea exulans) und *dółułuq* (Diomedea melanophrys), sowie der kleine schwarze Albatros *yłłpudółułuq*. Im Wetterleuchten zeigen sich der langschwingte *kóru/* (Macronectes giganteus) und der *kiłółum* (Phoebetria fusca) mit den Sturmtauchern *tugułłiwu* (Puffinus griseus) und *ółóin* (Pringella glacialoides) vergesellschaftet. Wütende Raubvögel der Hochsee sind *wilmółu* (Megalestris skua chilensis) und der gefürchtete *winełkłłwu* (Leucopharus antarctica). Noch viele andere, weniger charakteristische Vögel[10] sind den dortigen Eingeborenen gut bekannt und tragen auch besondere Eigennamen; doch jagt man sie nicht. Manche Arten ziehen sich im Winter nach Norden zurück, dann ist die Gegend sehr einsam und fast ganz leblos.

[10] Vgl. die ausführlichen Darstellungen von Chaworth, Dabbene (a) und (d), Dem. Hyades, Ornothèse in: Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn, tome VI. Quelques n. a. m.

In den vielen und reißenden Bächen, die immer eiskaltes Wasser führen, gibt es nur wenige, kleine Fische, darunter Galaxias maculatus. Der Reichtum, den die Meeresarme bergen, ist unergründlich. Dies bestätigend schrieb Bancas: „Fish are plentyful and of many kinds, such as the trout, mullet, smelt, eels, mackerel, red hering, and many other large fish, whose names in English I do not know" (MM: III, 114; 1869). Nach Crawshay: XXVIII, „most of these Fishes are edible, but among them the Atherines (Atherinichthys), misnamed Smelts, take the first place". Für die Eingeborenen haben dichtgedrängte Heringsschwärme *Illi* hohe Bedeutung, die dann und wann sich auf ebene Uferflächen schieben und von einigen anderen größeren Fischarten begleitet sind. Jene Arten echter Heringe sind Clupea sprenta und Clupea pertinata. In seichten Buchten stehen zur Sommerzeit armlange Elegiana macloviana am Grunde und verschiedene kleinere Arten leben im dichten Gewirr der schwimmenden Macrocystis-Stämmchen. Außerdem finden sich Makrelen, Rochen, Schleimaale,[*] Beersen und Schellfische. Doch besteht zu Recht, „as regards Freshwater Fishes, the Antarctic region generally is poor in variety of types" (Crawshay: XXVIII). Die jene Gegend kennzeichnenden Familien sind Nototheniidae und Galaxiidae. In der Bahia Orange hat Hyades (r): 294 beobachtet, daß acht bis zehn verschiedene Arten mittelgroßer Fische im Dezember erscheinen und nach März wieder verschwinden. Diese allein haben ein schmackhafte Fleisch. Von kleinen Fischen verhältnen dort drei Arten während des ganzen Jahres, die man bei Ebbe leicht mit der Hand faßt, die aber selten gefangen werden, weil ihr Fleisch weniger gut ist.

Die Zahl der Insekten- und Spinnenarten ist verhältnismäßig gering;[*] auch die der Muschel- und Schnecken, obgleich letztere in unübersehbarer Menge auftreten. Das gilt vor allem für die Miesmuschel *kwaf* (Mytilus chilensis) und *kyéja* (Mytilus edulis), für Trochus, Fissurella, Patella, Porten, Sabo, Photinula, Valuta, Chiton, Venus, Mactra u. a. m. Die Mehrzahl der Mollusken ist dort bodenständig, sie bilden somit eine eigene malakologische Gruppe. Von den vielen Krebstieren sind die große Krabbe *aplya* (Lithodes antarctica) und die kleinere *ayhálai* (Paralomis vestrocosus) zu bekanntesten, bei ersterer beträgt der Abstand der Spitzen der vierten Beinpaares zwischen 50 cm und mehr. Endlich seien von Stachelhäutern (Echinodermen) noch die vielen Seesterne und der schmackhafte Seigel (Echinus) genannt.[*]

[*] In reichlicher Menge tritt Mixine australis im mittleren Canal de Beagle auf.

[*] Bancas (k): 232 behauptet ebenfalls, daß „en la Tierra del Fuego hay relativamente pocos insectos, y los que existen no son muy numerosos. Hay que exceptuar, sin embargo, los mosquitos, que en algunas ocasiones son insoportables." Vgl. Dumont (p): 317.

[*] Die Mannschaften der "Adventure" und der "Beagle" haben eine umfangreiche Sammlung von Säugetieren, Vögeln und sonstigen Arten angelegt und nach England zur Untersuchung mitgenommen. Kerr: 329—334 veröffentlichte darüber einen "Catalogue of the more interesting Specimens of Natural History that were collected during the voyage". Vgl. auch Commerson und endlich O. Nordenskjöld: Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Schwedischen Expedition nach den Magellanländern 1895—1897, Band 3; Stockholm (1902).

In mattem, blassen Farben ist die Tierwelt des südlichsten Feuerlandes gehalten, durch große Sonderformen fällt sie ebensowenig auf, und als Gesamt stellt sie sich passend hinein in die graue Beleuchtung unter dem wolkenschwer verhangenen Himmel. In das leise Rauschen und in den schwachen Wellenschlag der nimmermüden Fluten mischt sich das heisere Krächzen der Möwen und das schrille Lachen der Seeschwalben, unterbrochen vom Brüllen einiger träger Seelöwen und vom pfeifenden Heulen eines kurzen Windstoßes. Aber wenn der Sturm sich erhebt, der schaumgekrönte Wellen und schwere Unwetter tobend vor sich herstößt, dann verbirgt sich angstvollst alles Getier und nur die mächtigen Sturmvögel wiegen sich im weiten Bogen über den erregten Fluten. Auch die Menschen erschaudern unter den entfesselten Naturgewalten im Bereiche des Kap Hoorn. Selten nur grüßt in einer sternenklaren Nacht vom pechschwarzen Himmel her friedenverkündend und hoffnungsfreudig das leuchtende Kreuz des Südens.

B. Geschichte der Yamana-Forschung

Als der iberische Flottenführer Fernando de Magallanes unter unsäglichen Mühen die Ostküste des südlichen Amerika abgesucht und trotz offener und heimlicher Meuterereien seiner Mannschaft die enge Meeresstraße erreicht hatte, die heute seinen Namen ehrt, da führte ihn sein Glück auf diesem schwierigen Wasserwege vom 21. Oktober bis zum 28. November 1520 weiter bis zum Ausgange in den Stillen Ozean. Die Verbindung der beiden Weltmeere war damit eröffnet.[*] Im Februar 1570 zeigte vom Sarmiento de Gamboa erstmalig, daß man nicht minder vom Westen nach Osten die vor wenigen Jahrzehnten aufgefundene Wasserstraße überwinden könne, so gefährlich auch ihre engen und gewundenen Ufer sein mochten. Mit unsagbarer Freude hatte Europa diese hochbedeutsame Entdeckung umjubelt, durch welche sich für die Beurteilung der Erdoberflächengestalt und für den Weltverkehr ganz ungeahnte Möglichkeiten eröffneten.

Erneut wurde Europa auf die Vorteile dieser W a s s e r s t r a ß e hingewiesen, als der deutsche Seemann Gerrit Schaats im holländischen Auftrage auf einer durch seltenen Glück gebrüderten Reise in der kurzen Frist von nur neunundfünfzig Tagen, nämlich vom 28. März bis 6. Mai 1615, die mühelos durchquerte. Die jetzt wiederum aufflammenden Eifersuchtskämpfe zwischen Spaniern und Holländern waren der Anlaß dazu, daß weitere Flotten ausgesandt wurden.[**] Diese waren es, die neben ihren Hauptzielen ganz anderer Art viele bislang noch dunkle Stellen im Weltbilde aufzuhellen halfen.

[*] An dieser Stelle sei wenigstens kurz hingewiesen auf die leicht zugänglichen Werke über die erste Weltumseglung von Morales, Pigafetta und Kunzmann.

[**] Die politischen Hintergründe dieses scharfen Gegensatzes und die nationalen Ziele der kampfgierigen verschiedenen Unternehmungen sind in S. Rosen: Geschichte des Entdeckers

Für den Süden der Neuen Welt erhielt die Vermutung eines selbständigen und zusammenhängenden Südkontinentes bald ihre endgültige Berichtigung. Bereits MAGALLANES hatten die zahlreichen Wasserarme, die im westlichen Feuerlande nach Norden und nach Süden hin sich erstrecken, ahnen lassen, daß sie unmittelbar in das sogenannte "Südmeer" einmünden. Dieser Tatbestand wurde bei DRAKE volle Überzeugung, da er glaubte, die Südwestküste und überhaupt die Südspitze des Feuerlandes erreicht zu haben, von der aus sich der offene Ozean nach Süden hin weitet. Einwandfreie Klarheit brachte wenige Jahrzehnte später, im Januar 1616, die überraschende Entdeckung durch die beiden Holländer LE MAIRE und SCHOUTEN jener von ihnen selber so benannten "Meerenge Le Maire", durch die sie bis zum südlichsten Felsen jenes Archipels vordrangen und der von ihnen den Namen "Het Kaap van Hoorn" [41] erhielt. Damit war das besondere Ziel dieser holländischen Flotte erreicht, die ausdrücklich mit der Aufgabe betraut worden war, einen anderen Verbindungsweg zwischen dem Atlantischen und dem Stillen Ozean im Süden der Magellan-Straße zu suchen. „Die neue Le Maire-Straße ist mithin, wie KOBL: 126 begründet, ebenso planmäßig und nicht zufällig aufgefunden, wie die Magellan's-Straße selbst." Durch diese Tat der Holländer wurde die Entdeckung des iberischen Flottenführers fast ganz in Schatten gestellt; denn der soeben aufgefundene Seeweg durch die Le Maire-Straße versprach größere Bequemlichkeit und höhere Entfaltungsmöglichkeit als die Magellan-Straße.

In der Folgezeit trat der Inselcharakter des Feuerlandes immer deutlicher in die Erscheinung und das offene Südmeer wurde der von den späteren Schiffahrtsunternehmungen meist bevorzugte Durchgang von einem Ozean in den anderen. Jenen beiden Holländern waren auf der gleichen Spur, auf der neuen "Via Regia", unmittelbar die beiden NODALES gefolgt, die als erster das östliche Feuerland wirklich erforscht haben (Bd. I, 26).[42] Demnach war mit dieser zweiten glücklichen Durchquerung der Le Maire-Straße ein weiterer Beweis erbracht, daß dieser neue Verbindungsweg gegenüber der Magellan-Straße tatsächlich ganz erhebliche Vorteile den Seefahrern bietet. Verständlich in Holland und in Spanien erwachte das lebhafteste Verlangen, sich diesen „so weit geöffneten Tor, das viel breiter und dabei achtzehn Mal kürzer sei, als die Magellan-Straße", ausgiebig zunutze zu machen. Schon mit der staatlichen Flotte von elf großen, bestversorgten Schiffen, der sogenann-

der Entdeckungen (Berlin, 1881), S. GÜNTHER: Geschichte der Erdkunde (Leipzig 1904), A. HEIM: Die Entwicklung der Anschauung über die Erde (Potsdam 1931), und in ähnlichen Werken dargelegt.

[41] Diese Bezeichnung wählten sie, wie KOBL: 128 nach dem Urtext wiederholt, „zu Ehren der Stadt Hoorn, aus welcher Capitän Schouten und die Mehrzahl ihrer Rheder, so wie auch einige dieser Kriegsführer gebürtig waren".

[42] „Es ist überhaupt, so unglaublich es erscheint, die erste Forschungsreise längs dieser Partie des Feuerlandes, die wir sicher nachweisen können ... Noch im Jahre 1788 wünschte man in Spanien diese vielverschlungene Gestalt des Feuerlandes nach der Aufnahme Cook's" (KOBL: 126).

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

ten "Nassauischen Flotte" (S. 51), die bereits 1623 auslief, traten die Holländer wieder in offenen Krieg mit den Spaniern. Nacheinander folgten sich in längeren oder kürzeren Zwischenräumen Seefahrtsunternehmungen verschiedener Art, an deren Masten die Fahnen der maßgebenden europäischen Staaten flatterten. Zeit zu gewinnen auf jenem neuen Weltwege und unbehelligt den bald berüchtigten Stürmen der Kap Hoorn-Gegend zu entkommen war ihr ängstliches Sorgen in jenen südlichen Gewässern. Die Küsten und Buchten selber genau zu untersuchen lag ihnen fern: denn die Ungunst der Witterungsbedingungen riferte sie an, je eher je lieber den unheimlichen Stürmen und gefährlichen Wogen zu entrinnen. Viel weniger noch hätten sie sich dazu verstanden, der dortigen Eingeborenen wegen vor Anker zu gehen und sich bei ihnen länger aufzuhalten. Nur wenn das Unwetter sie zwang, wider Willen in einem Hafen eiligst Schutz zu suchen, trafen sich Europäer und Indianer gegenüber. Dergleichen Besuche waren also, trotz ihrer Seltenheit, jedesmal nur eine übel erzwungene Gelegenheitssache.

Erst seit einem Jahrhundert hat der Fortschritt des allgemeinen Wissens auch im Erforschen jener fernen Gegend deutlich Wandel geschaffen. Mit den Fahrten der "Adventure" und der "Beagle" begann das sachgemäße Erkunden und Untersuchen der vielverzweigten, wenig bekannten Feuerlandinseln, sowie gleichzeitig damit ihrer Bewohner.[*] Kurz darauf erschienen englische Missionare auf dem Plane, deren langjähriges Zusammensein mit den Eingeborenen die Kenntnis ihrer Sitten und Gebräuche steigerte. Als Erfolg dessen begann das wissenschaftliche Bemühen weiterer Kreise Europas um die kulturelle Eigenart der Feuerländer, häufiger besuchten von jetzt an ausländische Schiffe den Kap Hoorn-Archipel mit handelspolitischen Absichten und als die Grenzregelung zwischen Argentinien und Chile zustandegekommen war, wurde auch ein mehr oder weniger regelmäßiger Verkehr mit den inzwischen dort angesiedelten Weißen eingerichtet. Parallel zu dieser aufsteigenden Entwicklung der Verkehrsverbindungen mit dem äußersten Süden und zum Besitzergreifen aller verwertbaren Naturgüter durch die Weißen läuft der beklagenswerte Niedergang und die unaufhaltsame Verminderung der Zahl der Eingeborenen, so daß merkwürdigerweise mit dem erreichten Beherrschen des Kap Hoorn-Archipels durch die Fremden auch der Untergang der einheimischen Bevölkerung vollendet erscheint.

Aufgabe dieser Zeilen kann es nicht sein, die Geschichte der Entdeckungs- und Aufklärungsfahrten durch den Süden Amerikas zu wiederholen, mögen einzelne derselben sich auch noch so bedeutungsvoll und außerhalbgewöhnlich her-

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[*] Daß bereits frühere Reisen mehr oder weniger in den Dienst der kontinentalen Erdforschung zur Aufhellung des noch unbekannten Weltbildes gestellt worden waren, wird niemand leugnen. Eine gewisse Berechtigung kann man der Einteilung, die Mazzucchi vorschlägt, nicht absprechen. Er beginnt erst die ozeanischen Untersuchungen bis einschließlich der J. L'Hermite'schen ab und führt dann fort: „Les voyages exécutés jusqu'alors avaient eu toujours pour but, soit une opération de guerre, soit une affaire commerciale: de cette époque datent les expéditions scientifiques."

zusammenstellen. Vielmehr werden aus der älteren Zeit nur jene Reisebeschreibungen und Tagebücher herausgegriffen, die kürzere oder längere Mitteilungen über die Eingeborenen enthalten. Im Anschluß an jene Quellenzusammenfassungen werden einige kritische Bemerkungen über die Reisen der neuzeitlichen Forscher, die das feuerländische Inselreich aufgesucht haben, eingeflogt.

a. *Berichte aus älterer Zeit*

Einem glücklichen Zufall ist es zu danken, daß L'Hermite, dessen Flotte als erste den Seeweg durch die Le Maire-Straße rund um das Kap Horn in den Stillen Ozean eröffnet hat, gleichzeitig damit als erster Europäer die Bekanntschaft mit den dort beheimateten Yamana machen konnte. Ihm sind andere kühne Seehelden durch jenen offenen Verbindungsgang zweier Weltmeere gefolgt, die sich noch viel weiter in den einigen Süden vorgewagt haben. Was sie anstrebten waren in erster Linie handelspolitische Ziele, denen die geographische Forschung und die Erweiterung oder Bereicherung des Kartenbildes untergeordnet blieb. Weder die Ländereien noch deren Bewohner boten ihnen nennenswerte Vorteile, weswegen sie diesen sowohl wie jenen schnell wieder den Rücken kehrten, um in den sturmbewegten Gewässern ihre Fahrzeuge nicht zu gefährden. Unmöglich konnten sie von vornherein eine Landung in dem Wirrwarr unbekannter oder unsicher bestimmter Ufer an vielen Inseln und Eilande, die von Winden und Wogen dauernd gepeitscht werden, auf ihren Reiseplan setzen; vor der Übermacht rasender Naturgewalten fliehend, suchten sie notgedrungen Schutz in stillen Buchten und in sicheren Häfen des feuerländischen Archipels.

An derglichen Stellen war es, wo ihnen gelegentlich einzelne oder mehrere Eingeborene unter die Augen traten, deren ungewöhnlichen Benehmen sie befremdete. Erst später, nämlich mit Knox und Fitz-Roy, werden auch die Indianer selber zum besonderen Gegenstande eingehender Beobachtung gemacht. Seither fällt in England und bald danach im übrigen Europa der Gedanke festen Fuß und wurde der Wunsch zur Tat, jenen rückständigen Menschen die Vorteile einer christlichen Zivilisation zugänglich zu machen.

Kein einziger jener Männer, die gewissenhaft das Tagebuch ihrer schwierigen Segelfahrt führten, konnte und wollte sich um eine zeitgemäße, gründliche Beschreibung der Eingeborenen bemühen. Das war auch gar nicht anders zu erwarten. Sie nahmen eben ihre wenigen diesbezüglichen Beobachtungen als Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen im gleichen Sinne auf, wie jene über die fremdartige Tierwelt oder über die außergewöhnlichen Naturerscheinungen. Obwohl ihren Schilderungen ganz offensichtlich System und Methode abgeht, hatten sie dennoch einen unschätzbaren Vorzug, nämlich den einer naturwahren Genauigkeit. Eine außerordentlich schwierige Beobachtungsgabe war das natürliche Eintrittsgeld, mit dem diese wetterfesten Männer bedacht waren. Daher erweisen sich so viele ihrer Mitteilungen als

unerschöpfbar bedeutsig. Was im besonderen ihre völkerkundlichen Aufzeichnungen anbelangt, so fehlte von vornherein jeder Anlaß, die Beurteilung der Eingeborenen sowie deren Sitten und Einrichtungen zu fälschen und zu färben oder auch irgendwelcher Richtung hin zu übertreiben. Der gewaltige Eindruck und die unerwartete Überraschung, die unbekannte Körperform, bizarre Bemalung, allgemeine Aufregung und unsagbare klingende Sprache der Indianer ihnen vorzauberten, waren so mächtig und wirkten, daß sie wie zwangsweise die Feder bei der Niederschrift über die Grenzen des wirklich Erschauten nicht hinausgleiten ließen. Mit der handschriftlichen Wiedergabe der Erlebnisse war es sich so viel Neues, Überraschendes und Ungewohntes freigelegt, daß ein Wunsch zu Ergänzungen und Übertreibungen, herzustammen aus dem Reiche der blauen, lebensuneuchten Phantasie, keine leise sich regte. Allerdings knüpften die Seeleute an die von ihnen erschaute, sehr lebensnahe Wirklichkeit gar manche Erwägungen und Schlußfolgerungen an, die immer auf Vergleiche mit europäischen Verhältnissen hinausliefen. Derjenigen Erweiterungen und Anwendungen jedoch lassen sich auf den ersten Blick von all dem trennen, was als unverfälschter, echter Eigenheit der Indianer dargestellt wurde.

Was den Mitteilungen der übrigen Seefahrer über ihre Erlebnisse mit den feuerländischen Eingeborenen ein ungewöhnliches Gepräge verleiht, ist die herzhafte, derbe, unverhüllte Offenheit ihrer Ausdrucksweise, verbunden mit kaum geschätzter Bestimmtheit. Wetterzerpeitschte Seeleute sind immer karg in Worten und da ihr Zusammensein mit den Indianern sich meistens auf nur wenige Stunden beschränkte, deshalb sind ihre Aufzeichnungen regelmäßig sehr kurz ausgefallen, so sehr wir heute das bedauern. Mit dem, was sie erzählenden, hielten sie sich an das Äußerliche, an das Sinnfällige. In unbeschränktem gedankenlosem Verkehr fehlte es hüben wie drüben an der Kenntnis der Sprachen und mit Zeichen allein konnen sich seelische Empfindungen, religiöse Anschauungen und mythologische Vorstellungen nicht ergründen. Aufklärungen um diesen Gebiete würde man vergeblich in jenen übrigen Reisewerken suchen. Um so wertvoller aber sind die genauen Angaben über das weit entwickelteste Bestehen jener einheimischen Gerätschaften und Einrichtungen, die sich in der Folgezeit ganz verloren haben, oder die abgeändert worden sind, oder die verschwunden bis in die Gegenwart hinein sich erhalten konnten. Eben dadurch werden jene Aufzeichnungen zu ethnologischen Fundgruben von außerordentlichem Werte. Sie belehren uns, wie nicht anders zu erwarten, das überwiegend Ungewöhnliche in Körperform und Kleidung, in Wohnung und Ernährungsweise, in geographischem Bereich und das besonders Auffällige im Ausdruck ihrer Gefühle während der Anwesenheit der Fremden.

Nachweislich fehlte es damals noch an jeder Beeinflussung durch Europäer und europäische Kulturgüter. Das Lebensbild, wie es in jenen Darstellungen gezeichnet wird, bewahrt demnach in unverfälschter Ursprünglichkeit auf. Um den Eindruck des Unmittelbaren, der die ihnen Bereiter

[illegible] Anmerkungen jener Quellen nicht zu verzichten, habe ich die Texte, die zu dem Ziele dieses Werkes beitragen, in empfehlenter Fassung wiedergegeben. Freilich gibt es bei dem und bei jenem Berichterstatter einzelne Abschnitte, die sich inhaltlich wiederholen; dieser Umstand ist kein Nachteil, vielmehr bestärkt er den Leser in der Sicherheit und Gewißheit des Mitgeteilten.

In dieser Einführung ist das Anschließende enthalten, was die Kritik von der Beurteilung und Wertung der Aufzeichnungen jener Reisen lediglich fordert und erwartet. Nur so weit sie Nachrichten über den Verkehr der Tamaroa mit den Weißen, über deren Einrichtungen und Lebensweise enthalten, werden sie herangezogen.[*] Im Verlaufe der weiteren Ausführungen verweise ich nur gelegentlich auf bestimmte Einzelheiten aus diesen alten Quellen, die ja als Gemeinguut für sich allein sprechen und so sich von selbst Worte sind.

JOHANNES van WALBEECK: Im Verfolgerzeit zur Ausnützung der kürzlich entdeckten Magellan-Straße, in der bewußten Absicht, die Vormacht über das "Mar del Sur" zu erringen, folgten auf die schon den Spaniern bereits entgegenwesenen Engländer auch bald die Holländer. Der bemerkenswerte Nebenzweck waren die "Gewürzinseln", die sie auf dem Seewege westlicher Richtung schneller und sicherer zu erreichen hofften. Mehrere Schiffe wurden ausgerüstet und verfolgten nacheinander die heimatlichen Häfen; die Flotte waren zuerst Sawan de Weer und Simon de Cordes im Jahre 1598, dann Jacob van Swanenburg im Jahre 1601 und gleich darauf auch Le Maire und de Sweerte im Jahre 1615 (S. 1).[*] Dieses folgte Jacques L'Hermite im Jahre 1623, vor allem um die neuentdeckte Le Maire-Straße für die Holländer wirtschaftlich auszunützen. Dieses kühne Flottenführer war es beschieden, als erster Europäer mit dem Stamme der Tamaroa bekannt zu werden und die ersten Mitteilungen über sie in seine europäische Heimat zu bringen. Sehr bald wurde im Zusammenhange mit diesen schlimmen Neuigkeiten sogar eine Zeichnung von jenen Eingeborenen, ihren eindrücken Menschen verfertigt (Abb. 10).

Die Beschreibung der Eingeborenen und deren Gebrauchsgegenstände aus erster und ältester Quelle ist unbestreitbar von größter Bedeutung.[*] Dieselben erscheinen so völlig gleichgültig, welchem Teilstamme an jener Entdeckungsfahrt der gute Bericht zu danken ist. Wahrscheinlich hat Wuamoa den Tag-

[*] Die ausführlichen Gesamtberichte über die diesen Seefahrern durch den indianischen Gäste Amerikas bildet es nicht. Ihre erwähnen Ich, schon Di Bar, Vanoa y Pasco, Bennett, Bennet und Kuen, von den Veröffentlichungen von neuerer Zeit auch Fernow, Gerstenmann Vanoa, Bennet (1) und Bennet (sp.).

[*] Die Tagebücher dieser verschiedenen Flottenführer bei Bennet enthalten und Kuen [illegible].

[*] Auch Gerstenmann bezeichnet diesen Bericht als „gute reiche und an bemerkenswerten [illegible] an der Tahgana, enthaltend a rather lengthy and detailed description of the natives met in the Nassau Bay district".

[illegible] der L'"Heimat"schen Flotte gehört." Ein Mitglied dieser "Nassauischen Flotte" war der Offizier der Landschiffsmen Armand Duzan, der, von jeuem [illegible], einige eigene Beobachtungen niederzuschreiben pflegte. In der Heimat hat er den unpublizierten, aber bisweilen fast engen "offiziellen" hellfindlichen Reisebericht, der aus einer anderen Feder stammt, ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit Bemerkungen aus seinen gewissenhaften Erlebnissen erweitert." Ehre dem edlen Niederschrift wurde ich hier nun und zwar in der [illegible] Wiedergabe, die Bemmann 271 veröffentlicht hat."

Unter Führung des kundigen Piloten Vicente Jonas, der schon unter den beiden Narvaez gegen Gegenden kennen gelernt hatte, ging die "Nassauische Flotte" im Februar 1820 am Südufer der Isla Navarino, wahrscheinlich in deren indianischen Tribe, nämlich in der heute als Bahia Nassau bekannten großen Einbuchtung, vor Anker. Dazuzu schreibt: „Als die Matrosen Wasser holten, kamen Wilde an diesen, die sie durch Gebärden sehr freundschaftlich anredeten. Gleich darauf entstand ein so heftiger Sturm, daß 19 Mann von uns an Land blieben mußten, indem sie nicht wieder zu ihren Chaloupen kommen konnten. Den folgenden Tag fand man von diesen 19 Mann nur noch zweien ein Leben. Die Wilden waren gegen Abend gekommen und hatten 17 mit ihren Schleudern und Keulen getödtet, welchen Tod jene leicht gefallen war, weil die Unsrigen kein Gewehr bey sich hatten. Indessen hatte keiner von ihnen diesen Barbaren die geringste Beleidigung angethan. Man fand an dem Ufer nur 3 Todte, vermutet sich auch der oberste Steuermann und zween Schiffbrüchige befunden. Diese hatte man in vier Theile zerschnitten, und jener war auf eine unmenschlichste hin geschlachtet worden. Die übrigen hatten die Wilden schon fortgeschleppt, als wir kamen. Man erkletterte nun bei dem keiner Chaloupe [illegible], wenn sich nicht in jeder 8 bis 10 Mann zur Vertheidigung befunden; es war zu spät, denn dieses wilde Volk ließ sich nicht weiter sehen ... Der Vicecadmiral kam an die Küste in derjenigen Gegend, wo man in einer anderen

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* Diese Anzahl wurde die größt anwesende Partie Arthur Tonz: Memoire bibliographique sur les premiers des navigateurs [illegible], p.99. Amsterdam 1867.

* Über die Zusammenkunft dieser Reisebeschreibung [illegible] Kritiker [illegible] [illegible] Kaiser, 140 sagt: „Im Jahre 1828 kehrte auch der oben genannte [illegible] Gegenden [illegible] und hielt dann [illegible] 1829 seine [illegible] Untersuchung in Bestellung [illegible] Spanien [illegible] und in [illegible] Werken wieder abgedruckt wurden."

* Gemäß der [illegible] Übersetzung [illegible] Jahrbuch [illegible] 271 beschlagen wurden, [illegible] Verfasser dieses Berichts, [illegible] Navarino [illegible], von Bemerkung gebracht, von Gegenstände der Landeseinwohner auf dem [illegible] Schiffe der Flotte. Er ist ein [illegible] und [illegible] Mann und scheint [illegible] zu sein, als die Seeleute gewöhnlich pflegen. Dies ist [illegible] Sprache abgefaßte Tagebuch ist [illegible] in Frankfurt, [illegible] bei Hechtsch 1828 in dem 12ten Theile von Th. der Beschreibung von Jahre 9.1.Kap. 9. und [illegible] in der Beschreibung von Amerika Th. 12. Jan.1. bey Hanser 1830 mit [illegible] Kupfertafeln gedruckt. In dem 9.Th. der Beschreibung der [illegible] Gesellschaft befindet sich auch eine französische Übersetzung. Diese Reisebeschreibung ist eine der besten in dieser Gattung."

Bay, die wir Wintbend nannten, Rauch gesehen hatte, und fand einige Hütten der Wilden, die ihn anredeten; worauf er in einem Kanal innerhalb einer Insel[10] ankerte, die man nach dem Capitän unserer Landtruppen Terhalten nannte."

In der hier angeschlossenen Beschreibung fehlt Dereux all seine Beobachtungen zusammen. Man ersieht daraus, daß er Eingeborenen an mehreren Stellen begegnet sein muß und auf gewisse örtliche Unterschiede, die er gewissenhaft unterstreicht, aufmerksam geworden ist.

„Die Einwohner dieses Landes sind so weiß, als die Europäer, so wie wir an einem jungen Kinde sehen. Allein sie reiben sich den Leib mit einer rothen Farbe, und malen sich mit verschiedenen anderen Farben und auf mannichfaltige Art. Einige haben das Gesicht, die Arme, Hände, Schenkel und andere Glieder roth und den Ueberrest des Leibes weiß gemalet, allein aber mit Punkten von anderen Farben gefleckt. Andere sind halbroth, oder ganz roth auf der einen Seite und ganz weiß auf der andern; mit einem Worte, jeder malet sich nach seinem Gefallen. Sie sind stark und wohlgebaut, und überhaupt mit den Europäern fast von einer Größe. Sie haben schwarze dicke und lange Haare, welche ihnen ein fürchterliches Ansehen geben; ihre Zähne sind so scharf, als die Schneide eines Messers. Die Männer gehen ganz nackend, allein die Weiber bedecken ihre natürlichen Theile mit einem Stücke Leder. Sie sind wie die Männer gemalet, und tragen um den Hals, Halsbänder von Muschel- oder Schneckenschalen. Einige haben eine Haut von Seehunden auf den Schultern, die sie aber nicht sehr wider die Kälte, die hier sehr heftig ist erhitzen kann, daher es zu verwundern ist, wie sie solcher ertragen können. Ihre Häuser, oder vielmehr ihre Hütten sind von Bäumen verfertiget, unten rund, und endigen sich oben, wie die Gewölbe, fast in eine Spitze,[11] worin sich eine kleine Oefnung befindet, um den Rauch durchzulassen. Sie sind inwendig 2 oder 3 Fuß tief in die Erde gegraben, von Außen aber mit Erde überzogen. Alles Hausgeräthe in diesen Hütten besteht in einigen Körben von Binsen, worin sich die Werkzeuge befinden, deren sie sich zum Fischfang bedienen, nehmlich Seile und Angeln, welche letztern aus Stein sehr künstlich und fast wie die Unsrigen verfertiget sind; sie hängen Muschelig daran,[12] und bekommen auf diese Art so viele Fische, als sie nur wollen. Sie sind auf verschiedene Art bewaffnet; einige haben Bogen und Pfeile, an deren Ende sich steinerne und sehr künstlich gearbeitete Spitzen befinden; andere bedienen sich langer Wurfspieße mit einem scharfen Knochen an der Spitze, der mit Hakeln versehen ist, damit er desto besser in dem Fleische halte; auch

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[10] Diese liegt etwa 10 km südlich von der Isla Lennox.

[11] Im östlichen Gebiete der Yamana wurde die Wohnhütte fast ausschließlich in Kegelform errichtet. Sehr beachenswert ist es, daß schon der erste und älteste Beobachter darauf hinweist.

[12] Dieser Wendung betreffs, daß eigentliche Angelhaken nicht gebraucht wurden und daß man nur ein Stückchen Fleisch als Köder am Ende des Angelhakens festklemmte, kleine Beibaden dienen als Senker.

andere haben Keulen, Schleuder und sehr scharfe Messer von Stein. Sie gehen niemals ohne ihre Waffen, weil sie, so viel wir erfahren konnten, beständig mit einem anderen Volk in Krieg verwickelt sind, welches einige Meilen von ihrem Lande in Osten von Gueron und auch der Insel Tierhaltera zu wohnen. Dieses Volk ist ganz schwarz gemahlet, so wie dasjenige, welches an der Bay Schapenham wohnet. Die Einwohner der Windhundbay aber gehen fast ganz nach...

Ihre Canots sind sehr sonderbar. Sie schälen einen der grössten Bäume aller Rinde ab, und krümmen solche so gewichtig, daß sie die Gestalt der venetianischen Gondeln bekommen. Zu dem Ende legen sie die Rinde auf ein gewisses Holz, fest an, wie man in Holland die Schiffe auf dem Zimmerplatz legt. Wenn sie die gehörige Gestalt bekommen, bestreichen sie solche inwendig von einem Ende zum andern, mit Querhölzern, solche fest zu halten, und bedecken diese Hölzer mit einer andern Rinde, verunitzlirt deren das Fahrzeug dicht, und für dem Wasser sicher wird. Diese Canots sind 10 bis 16 Fus lang, und fast 2 Fus breit; sie können 7 bis 8 Mann fassen, ohne daß man an den Seiten einen Vorsprung nöthig habe, wobey sie denn so geschwinde gehen, als eine Chaloupe mit Ruderen.

Was ihre übrigen Sitten und Gewohnheit betrifft, so sind diese Leute den Thieren ähnlicher, als den Menschen. Denn anfänglich, daß sie die Menschen verzehren und das Fleisch derselben roh und blutig essen, so bemerket man bey ihnen nicht den geringsten Funken der Religion oder Furcht. Im Gegentheil leben sie wie das Vieh; wenn sie sich bey einander befinden, und genötheiget hat, ein Wasser abzuschlagen, lassen sie solches einander auf den Leib, wenn sich nicht dasjenige, der in der Nähe ist, aus dem Wege macht. Sie lessen die Wurzeln der Farnpäer nicht, und können sich, wenn sie einen Spiel oder eine Pfeife sehen, nicht einbilden, daß man damit verwandte Töne, dahero sie auch kein Bedenken tragen, die Klinge einer Säbels in die Hand zu nehmen; indessen bestehen sie Geschicklichkeit genug, beschaft, lustig und munter zu seyn. Sie erbrechen gegen die Fremden freundschaftlich, machen aber zu gleicher Zeit nur Gebärden sie zu überfallen, sie anzupfeifen und zu verwundern so wie sie es in Anmahnung der 17 Matrosen von ihrem unsere Schiffe machten. Mit einem Worte dasjenigen, welcher Lustig in die Bay Nassau einlaufen wollen, können sicher hoffen, Wasser, Holz und Fische daselbst zu finden; wie aber haben auch der Bay Schapenham zu, welche Vieh auch Fische anzeiffen können, und weiter nichts als viele Menschen gewahren. Vor allen Dingen muß man sich hüten, daß man den Wilden nicht trauen, so gut sie sich auch stellen, man muß immer im Gewehr seyn, und sich um Vieh zu bekommen, nicht tief in das Land wagen, wo, wie wir wissen, es Vieh, und andere Erfrischungen giebt; denn diese Verhängen und die Mannsgröße, die man zu denen Beleidigung nehmen könte, würden sehr unglücklich ausschlagen. Wegen wirrhaftlichen, daß es in dem Frauenhande Vieh[*] gehen mögen, ist dieses, weil wir an ver-

[*] Gänzlich sind hiesige Gegenden gewesen, die sich auf der Gelegen Seite Dieselbe besonders wirklich finden, jedoch auf den andern Inseln der Bay Nassau Anfänglich nicht anfänglich (S. 96).

schiedenen Grade Tüchtigkeit und Gebrauchsamkeit gemacht haben. Uebrigens berichtete ein Soldat, als die Jacht vor Gaeten [Canal de Gaeta] vor Anker lag, und derselbe ein wenig im Land hinein gegangen war, dem Vorgesetzten, daß er vielen Vieh auf einer Wiese weiden gesehen."

So sehr jedenfalls die Ausführlichkeit dieses Bericht über die Tonerde begrüßt, so wird er trotzdem nicht minder den verhängnisvollen Anfang dieses ersten Zusammenstoßes mit Europäern beklagen. Die Vorgänge werden sehr unmöglich geschildert und somit erscheint es unsicher, die Ursachen oder Anlässe der Erscheinung von eisbemalter Matrosen heute noch klarlegen zu wollen. So viel jedoch ist wohl sicher, daß man nicht gezwungen ist, mit Dennis auf Menschenfresserei zu schließen.

Der Wert dieser ersten Mitteilung über die südlichsten Bewohner der Erde wird außerordentlich durch das eingefügte Bild (Abb. 18) gesteigert. Offensichtlich lebt dieser Zeichnung die merkwürdige Gesinnung einer Photographie; demnach versteht sie an viel Naturwahrheit im allgemeinen und gestattet einen einheitlichen Blick in den gegenständlichen Besitz der Eingeborenen, daß sie als bedeutsamer kulturgeschichtlicher Erkenntnis um weit zurückliegender Zeit je länger je mehr geschätzt werden wird. Dem Texte ist vorzüglich die um nahezu Stücken zusammengestellte Gesamtes zu entnehmen."

Außerdem sind wichtige geographische Entdeckungen dieser "Nassauischen Flotte" zu danken. Die zusammenfassenden bei Kern: 145 zusammengestellt: „Bei der Untersuchung der Nassau-Bai bemerkte L'Hermite auch, daß das Cap Hoorn, welches Sarmiento und La Maire als einen continentalen Theil und Ausläufer des großen Feuerlandes dargestellt hatten, nur einer kleinen Inselgruppe angehöre, die man von nun an nach dem Entdecker 'die L'Hermite-Inseln' nannte, welchen Namen sie noch tragen. Es wurden auch noch einige andere neue Buchten und Häfen des Feuerlandes gefunden und benannt. So die 'Wachtel-Bay' (nach einem Schiffe der Flotte 'de Wachtel' genannt), der Canal 'Goeree Road', die 'Schagenhoeve's-Bay' (an Ehren des Vice-Admirals der Flotte Schagenhoeve so genannt), deren holländische Namen man bedauern an die Expedition L'Hermite's, welcher mehr nur Kenntnis der Geographie des Südens, des Feuerlandes beigetragen hat, als irgend einer anderen Entdeckungsreise, noch jetzt auf den englischen Admiralitäts-Karten figurieren." Als Ergänzung dieses Bildes ist noch das maßgebende Urteil James Brooke's: III, 10 am: „The mathematician J. Van Wassenaer, made a chart of 'Nassau le Maire' and of the NE part of the 'Terra del Fuego', which is here copied from the 'Journal'. It furnishes the most authentic geography, we have of Nassau Bay, and of the land within Cape Horn, and bears the marks of having been done with much care and examination."

Nach vorher gemeldeter Vernichtung verwendete sich derselbe die Schiffe dieser "Nassauischen Flotte" bei Jean Fernandez.

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* Weil mir das Original dieses Buches nicht zugänglich war, habe ich diese Bild von dem bekannten Sammelwerke De Bry's, Collectio peregrinationum in Indiam occidentalem, pars VIII, genommen.

JOACHIM d'ARQUISTADE: Unter den Unterschrift "Note sur la Baie Saint François" veröffentlichte Marrou: 366 ein wenig bekanntes Schriftstück und zwar „une Note de M. R. de Caumont, relative à son exploration de la baie Saint-François, remontant à 1715, et qui démontre que la baie Grange n'est autre que la baie découverte et appelée Saint-Bernard, il y a deux siècles, par le capitaine d'Amporteaux, de Saint-Malo". Die Bahia Grange liegt auf der

Abb. 56. Dorn Durchfahrung der Tamara vom Palmen 5555

Gemälde der Provinzials Hardy. Während die im April 1715 von der Gesellschaft erbaute Missionsschiff ausgeschickt wurde, entdeckte vom siebenen Ignorant von der Anwesenheit der dort beheimateten Tamara.[*]

„Ayant trouvé dans un bois des cendres et braises qui couvrent ceté ravages par les moins, et non par nosses Sauvages, ce qui considérable que ce gain d'autrefois par nous habitions, et que d'autrefois ravages, et nos nombreux de nos nombres quantité de coquillages desquels la pointes ceté qui ceté et ravagé par nos ravages, le 8 E Sur trouvé dans la cabane nous E, deux cabanes de

[*] Mehr noch dem Gegenbeweisstück der d'Amporteaux, nachdem noch dem Schreiben Gaudiers in Marrou: 366 gehört ich die Gegendgen Indien Ihre ziehen.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

nicht mehr begegnet. Schließlich verließen er den heimatlichen Hafen am 1. Juni 1771.

Bereits ein Jahr später, am 13. Juli 1772, mag er an einer zweiten Weltumsegelung teil und führte nun die beiden Naturforscher Joseph Banks und Daniel Solander als wissenschaftliche Arbeiter mit. Drei südlichen Amerika näherte sich die Flotte diesmal von Neu Seeland kommend, und zwar den Inseln am Westausgange der Magellan-Straße. Das beschwerliche Unkosterbrauen in den Wärmungsverhältnissen dieser unbewohnten Gegend mußten die neuen Reisenden bald erfahren. Sie erblickten, wie Hermann Forster schreibt, „am 13. [Dezember 1774], nicht lange nach Mitternacht, Land. Es war die Gegend um den Cap Deseado ... Dreyzehn Tell von Amerika, den wir jetzt vor uns hatten, sah höchst traurig aus! Gegen drey Uhr Morgens Sahen wir dicht an die Küste heran, die unbewegbarlich in dickem Nebel gehüllt war ... Um eilf Uhr kamen wir an einer weit in See ragenden Landspitze vorüber, die Capitain Cook Cap Gloucester benannte ...“ Beim Cap Noir, „dieses bloßer Name, seit Anson's Zeiten, allen Seefahrern eine Schreckens geworden ist, hatten wir die heftigsten Stürme, nicht aber eine so milde Witterung erwartet. Drei mehr Leute an uns, verursachte eine ganz entgegengesetzte Erfahrung, gewiß Wahn ein Ende machen zu können“ (Georg Forster [a]: II, 369). Nahe dem York Minster-Felsen, auf der Isla Waterman südlich der Bahia Good, gingen sie „nach einer einunddreyßigtägigen Fahrt, auf welcher wir von Neuseeland bis zum Cap Deseado, so schnell als glücklich quer über das ganze Südmeer weggesegelt waren, zum erstenmale wieder vor Anker“ (ib. II, 372). Hier verließ die Flotte etwa eine Woche. Die beiden Forster widmeten sich der Beobachtung der dortigen Tierwelt und haben davon sehr reichhaltige, ausführliche Schilderungen niedergelegt. Die Mannschaft feierte hier auch das Weihnachtsfest und „diese Bahia, den wir jetzt verließen, ward der Name Christmas Sound (Weihnachtsbuchten) beigelegt“ (ib. II, 380). Am 28. Dezember 1774 wurden die Anker gelichtet und die Flotte nahm Richtung auf das Kap Horn. Bald ließ sie die Isla Diablesses rechts, umsegelte die südlichste Felsenspitze und verriehte am nächsten Tage, am 29. Dezember, abermals die Bahia Buen Suceso (Bd. I, 15).

Während einer kurzen Ankerstatt bei Isla Waterman hatte die Besatzung nur zweimal Gelegenheit, wenige Eingeborene,[1] denen Cook das Wort "Feuerholz" aus dem Munde kam, zu sehen. An einer analogen Stelle im Heimatgebiete der Yaruma Nahua sie sich nicht aufgehalten. Kapitän Cook, dessen ausführliche Logbuchaufzeichnungen (s. über die zeitgenössischen Verhältnisse des südlichen Feuerlandes ein neues helles Licht werfen, schildert die Indianer mit den Worten Hermann Forster's. Dadurch habe auch ich mich

[1] Georg Forster (b): 242 sagt selber: „Wir fanden die Einwohner des Feuerlandes in der Gegend der Christmasbay, in gar geringer Anzahl. Andere Seefahrer haben diese Indianer Südpatagonien von Amerika ebenfalls sehr wenig beschäftigt gefunden, und scheint die Anzahl der hiesigen Feldmenschen, außer einigen Erfahrungen von der dortigen Wärmung Ursache zu Gunsten, daß sich nur wenig Menschen daselbst aufhalten können.“

an die Mitteilungen dieses unvollständigen Naturforschers; er hat sie seinem eigenen unfehlbaren Bericht* gelegentlich eingefügt, die wir hier später als Grundlagen in deutscher Sprache verfassen soll. Was ich davon hier wiedergegeben wiederholte, bezieht sich auf die Isle Waterman und deren allernächste Umgebung. Gennes Fenerua (s): II, 174 weist hin auf eine „Art von Wildnis unter denen Schatten etliche unbewohnte Hütten standen. Die Beschreibung und Abbildung einer solchen Hütte, welche in der gedrucktem Nachricht von Capitain Cook's zweiter Reise um die Welt befindlich ist,** gefällt vollkommen auf diese Ansicht, nur mit dem Unterschied, daß die Hütten hier nicht mit Beschmidelfiber bedeckt waren. Vielleicht wird diese Deckung auch nicht allzeit gebraucht, oder, je nachdem die Wilden dieses Wohnsitz verlegen, als ein unwichtiger Teil der Wohnung überall mitgenommen. Hier war blos das Gerüppe der Hütten vorhanden, und das bestand aus etlichen Zweigen, die gottbewahrt nach grüner Hütten hatten, mithin nur höchstens von so diesem Behelf mehrere angewandt worden wie ....“

Während ein kleiner Teil der Mannschaft den einbeiligegrabenen Wasserwan durchfuhr, um das Innere zu lernen, „hatten sich einige Eingeborene in eine kleinere Canoe beim Schiffe gewagt. Sie wurden von ihr abwärts, sowie, ohne besondere Geschicklichkeit bemerkbar, die dort Speere, Beschmidelfiber u. dgl. freiwillig und unentgeltlich weggegeben. Es ist uns bekannt, daß wir sie nicht gerufen hatten, durch ward dem Schiffer bald abgeschlossen, denn um Edgeradere Mangel hatten sie, den Regeln angewiesen, wieder. Neue Canoes waren nun Bemerkbar vorhanden, welche, der Gefahr nach zu verhüten, wohl schwerlich in diesem Hafen gewachsen wie konnten. Einige kleine Insulaner dieses neuen Rippen, um die Hände in der Hütte, oder da wo der größter Bauch des Paleuragen ist, anzuschlagen, den Bord machte auf jeder Seite ein langer Bambus aus, über den die Hände herausgeschlagen und hingeschlagen war. Mitten im Canot lagen etliche Steine neben einem Haufen Erde und konnten unterschiedene die Wilden beständig ein Feuer.“ Dies war auch insofern nötig, weil sie durch allmählichen Rudern sich eben nicht zu erwärmen vorhatten. Die Ruder waren nur klein und schlecht geschnitzt. In jedem Canot waren Graf im ein Pomaren, Kinder mit eingerechnet, allein, ohne daß alle andere Nationen in den Häfen gewei-

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* Die [illegible] Reisewerk hat Jean Rennes Fenerua [illegible] „Observations made during a Voyage round the World on physical geography, natural history and ethic philosophy“ (London 1778) herausgegeben, der später von seinem Sohne unter dem Titel „Jeanne Rennes Fenerua's Beobachtungen über Gegenstände der physischen Erdbeschreibung ...“ (Wien 1783) veröffentlichte [illegible] Übersetzung [illegible] Jeanne Rennes Fenerua's Reise um die Welt ... beschrieben und herausgegeben von deren Sohne und Reisegefährten Gennes Fenerua“ (Berlin 1790) als selbständiges Werk [illegible] „Gennes Fenerua (s)“.

** Gennes (s) [illegible] Abbildung der Hütten jener Eingeborenen, die Cook bei Nacht [illegible] Bambus-Speere angewendet haben und die den Neu-Seeländern gehören (Bd. I, 30).

*** Durch einen [illegible] Abbildung bei Gennes Fenerua (s) [illegible] gezeigt [illegible].

möglich unter keinem Zweifeln, oder wenigstens mit einem Irrtum Zweifel ausgesagen konnte, ging bei diesem hier alles in der einfachen Stille so und sagte dabei am Schiffe, wo wir eine Anrede oder Begrüßung erwarteten, gaben sie fast keinen anderen Laut von sich, als das Wort Pneumöl.* Diejenigen, welche Ihre von Bernstorff in der Hagelsteinschen Strafe, nicht weit von unserm geringen Hause gerichtet, Gleiches ohne diesen Wort fast beständig im Munde, weshalb es auch diesem Nation den Namen Pneumonia beilegten. Auf vielfältiges Zureden konnten etliche von diesen Leuten im Schiff, doch hielten sie nicht das geringste Zeichen von Freude blicken, erkieteten auch ganz ohne Neugierde zu sein".

Ihre Körperpartie und Kleidung indem sich Pneumon (ca. 11, 302 wohl deshalb so unähnlich, weil ihre die unerhörtlicher Umschreibung der Namen von den Nidenchinesen in die Augen fiel. „Sie waren von kurzer Statur, keiner über 5 Fuß 6 Zoll (englischen Maßes) lang, hatten dicke gerade Köpfe, breite Gesichter, sehr platte Nasen und die Backenknochen unter den Augen sehr hervorragend, die Augen selbst waren von besonderer Farbe, ohne Licht und matt, das Haar schwarz, ganz gerade, mit Thran eingerieben und lang, hart wild und rottig um den Kopf. Anstatt des Bartes standen einige einzelne Haarre auf dem Kinn, und von der Nase bis in das Mähnlein, wie oftmal Mal war ein beständig Blutrauber Canal vorhanden. Diese Dinge machten zusammen genommen das vollständigste und erbärmlichste Bild von dem tiefen Elend aus, welche dies unglückliche Geschlecht von Menschen dahinlebte. Ihre Hautfarbe hat von jener dieser Physiognomien eine sehr eigenartige, charakteristische Zeichnung verliehen. Schultern und Brust waren breit und stark gebaut, der Unterleib des Körpers aber so mager und eingeschrumpft, daß man sich kaum vorstellen konnte, er gehöre zum ebenen. Die Beine waren dünn und krumm und die Knie viel zu stark. Die einzigen etwaigen Kleidungsstücke bestand in einem alten blauen Seehundfell, welches vermittels einer Schnur um den Hals befestigt war. Ihrigeren gingen sie ganz unbekleidet, aber auf dem, was Anständigkeit und Sittlichkeit bei uns fordern würden, die geringste Rücksicht zu nehmen. Ihre Lebensalter war allerdings mit einem kupferfarbigen Glanze und bei manchen auch durch aufgeregtere Stellen von rothem oder weißem Ocker erhöhet. Es scheint folglich, daß die Begriffe von Schmuck und Zierath über und vielgenommen bei uns sind, als die von Reinlichkeit und Schamhaftigkeit. Die Weiber waren beinahe wie die Männer gestaltet, nur etwas kleiner, den Gesichtszügen nach nicht minder häßlich und wildig (1686, 11).

Einige wenige hatten jedoch außer dem Felle, welches die Schultern bedeckte, noch einen kleinen Lappen, kaum eine Hand groß, vom am Schamhaarbehängen, der vermittels einer Schnur um die Hüften befestigt war. Die

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* Wahrscheinlich hängt es, daß von diesem eigenartigen Gruppe der Pneumon die erstere Hand, die bei den Begrüßungen dieses von gebraucht wurde. Eine Erklärung dieses hat Cramon (p) 30 versucht.

Inbrunst Bezug mit Menschein bunterer steuere dem Hals und auf dem Kopfe trugen sie eine Art Mütze, aus etlichen langen Glasröhren zusammengefügt, die gewöhnlich aufrecht in die Höhe standen. Ein einziger Kerl hatte sein Sonntagskleid durch ein durch gradlinen Stöckchen Gummiseen-Fell verlängert und sich dadurch etwas mehr Schutz gegen die Kälte verschafft. Die Kinder hingegen waren völlig nackt und schon seitens dem Mützen von den im Gesicht

Abb. 11. Bonner Ur-vorst der Bell dem in Tiere der Fee. — Dingelbor 1776. Nach Jenner Gem.

[illegible] Frauen, eisernen oder donnergrollenden beschädigt vor Kälte. Sie [illegible] nicht leichte ein andere Wort von sich hören, als den Ausruf Pesarrik, und dieser wurde hinweiten wie eine Liebkosung, gewöhnlich aber in einem jammernden, klagenden Tone ausgesprochen.

Gleichzeitig und andere Kleinigkeiten nahmen sie mit ihrer der Gleichgültigkeit und Achtlosigkeit an, mit welcher sie auch ihre Waffen, je nager der erlangten Seehundsfelle annimmt, oder gegen das erste besten, das Ihnen gelassen wird, wegwarfen. Überhaupt war die Charakter die schnellste Wirkung von Unendlichkeit, Gleichgültigkeit und Unbeständigkeit ...

Bogen und Pfeile waren ihre einzigen Waffen. Die Bogen sind sehr klein, [illegible] und aus einer Art Rindenfelsen gemacht, die Pfeile hingegen von anderem Holz, zwischen zwei und drei Fuß lang, an einem Ende gefiedert und am anderen zugespitzt. Die Spitzen werden nur abdaten und, wenn der Pfeil gebrauchte wird, angewirkt, und an diesem Behuf trägt sie der Schütze in einem kleinen bedeutenden Beutel bei sich. Sie dienen eigentlich zur damit und wollten nur nicht mehr als eine einzige solcher Spitzen ankommen lassen, die aus einem schlankem dreieckigem Stückchen Schiefer bestand. Nächst diesen Waffen haben sie auch Speere, die aber blos zum Fischfang dienen. Der Schaft ist sehr Fuß lang und oben wie unten dreikant gleich dick. Am unteren Ende ist ein Spaß befindlich, in welchem es seiner Zeit ein spitzgemachtes, etwa zwölf Zoll langes und nur mit einem Widerhaken versehenes Knochen eingefügt und festgehalten wird" (ib. [a]: 302).[7]

Ihre gesamtes Wissenschaft war so unmöglich, sich diesen Eingeborenen durch die Sprache verständlich zu machen.[8] Doch ergab die Einfachheit ihrer Lebensweise unsere Naturforscher zu lerninhaltlichen Betrachtungen an, die trotzdem die heidnischen Gedankengänge jener Zeit durch das Reich der Natur-völker wiedergegeben.[9] Diese allen werden schließlich die Beobachtungen über die Lebensbahnung der Yaraana ausgeschlossen.

„Diese unglücklichen Bewohner einer Felsigen und unfruchtbaren Landes [illegible] nahen, hoffnungslosen Seehundsfleisch, welches indessen wichtig noch. Das dasselbige abscheuliche Fett genossen sie am Lebenen und besten auch dem

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[7] An einer anderen Stelle schilt Gerstner Pesarrik (ib.: 218) mehr und mehr sagt: „Alle Gleichmuth, die wir bey diesem schlichten, bestand in einem gefühlosen Liebhaben, unser Zelt Tuchen, oder Stücke von Kamtschatka, einem Stücke von Kanoten, an einem langen Stab von bestimmte Stab befestigt, wandt sie der Schneeburn von den Felsen abhaben, einem schlanke geschlossenen Bogen und schlanke Pfeiles."

[8] Gerstner Pesarrik (ib.: 206) klagt sehr deutlich, „denn" bei unserer Zeichengenerale, die auch unser Herrell gegeben hatten, war bei diesen Leuten hier nichts unentschieden, Gebrauchen, die der einfachste und einfältigste Menschenverstand einem Kind in den Sinnen verständlich begreift hier der Eingeborenen nicht. Ihnen so wenig Gut es denen sie von den Spanier bekommen gaben, da auf dem Schiffe nichts dem Neugierde oder Verlangen entgegen, es war es ihnen auch gleichgültig, ob wir sie verstanden oder nicht ..."

[9] „Man bemerkte sich, wie Gerstner Pesarrik (ib.: 206) erkundete, durch nur einzig und allein die höchsten, bedeutungsvollsten Gesichten dieser Pesarrik verwandelten, um [illegible]

Seevolk davon an. Vielleicht ist es Instinct, der ihnen dies ranzige Fett verzehren heißt, denn alle in kalten Erdstrichen wohnende Völker sollen es für Leckerbissen halten und dadurch in Stand gesetzt werden, die Kälte besser zu ertragen. Die natürliche Folge einer solchen Nahrung war ein unerträglicher fauler Gestank, der aus ihrem ganzen Körper ausdunstete und sich allem, was sie nur an und um sich führten, mitgetheilt hatte. Dieser Gestank war uns dermaßen zuwider, daß wirs unmöglich lange bei ihnen aushalten konnten. Mit geschlossenen Augen konnte man sie bereits in der Ferne wittern. Wer die Seeleute und ihre sonst eben nicht ekle Begierden kennt, wird kaum glauben, was doch wirklich geschah, nämlich, daß es ihnen, dieser unerträglichen Ausdünstung wegen, gar nicht einmal einfiel, mit dem sauberen Frauenzimmer genauere Bekanntschaft zu machen. Die Matrosen gaben ihnen Pökelfleisch und verschimmelten Zwieback; sie machten sich aber nichts daraus und konnten kaum dahingebracht werden, es zu kosten. Lehrte sie etwa der Instinct, daß diese Speisen vielleicht noch ungesunder wären, als halbverwestes Seehundsfleisch?...

Wir bemerkten unter ihnen nicht den mindesten Unterschied des Standes, weder Oberherrschaft noch Abhängigkeit. Ihre ganze Lebensart kam dem thierischen Zustande näher, als bei irgend einem andern Volk. Es dünkt mir daher überaus wahrscheinlich, daß sie keine selbständige Nation ausmachen, sondern nur als einzelne, von den benachbarten Völkerschaften ausgestoßne Familien anzusehen sind, die durch ihren Aufenthalt im ödesten unfruchtbarsten Theil von Tierra del Fuego fast jeden Begriff verloren haben, der nicht mit den dringendsten Bedürfnissen in unmittelbarer Verbindung steht. Sie irren, der Nahrung wegen, aus einer Bucht in die andre..."

Am 27. Dezember 1774, am Tage vor der Ausfahrt der Flotte aus dem Paso Christmas, kamen die nämlichen Eingeborenen „wieder zu Bord, doch hielten sie sich nicht lange auf, weil wir ihres unleidlichen Gestanks wegen uns nichts mit ihnen zu schaffen machten. Sie riefen ihr Losungswort *Pesserüh* manchmal mit einer so kläglichen Stimme und so gedehnt aus, daß wir glaubten, sie wollten damit betteln; wenn wir sie aber darauf ansahen, so war in ihren Mienen nicht die geringste Bestätigung dieser Vermutung, nichts begehrendes, nichts als das unbedeutende Angaffen der tiefsten Dummheit

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überzeugt zu werden, daß wir bei unserer gänzlichen Verfassung unendlich glücklicher sind. So lange man nicht beweisen kann, daß ein Mensch, der von der Strenge der Witterung beständig unangenehme Empfindung hat, dennoch glücklich sei, so lange werde ich keinem noch so beredten Philosophen beipflichten, der das Gegentheil behauptet, weil er entweder die menschliche Natur nicht unter allen ihren Gestalten beobachtet, oder wenigstens das, was er gesehen, nicht auch gefühlt hat. Möchte das Bewußtsein des großen Vorzugs, den uns der Besitzer von so vielen unserer Mitmenschen verliehen, nur immer zu Verbesserung der Sitten und zur strengern Ausübung unserer moralischen Pflichten angewandt werden; aber leider ist das der Fall nicht, unsre civilisierten Nationen sind vielmehr mit Lasten beflecht, deren sich selbst der Elende, der unmittelbar an das unvernünftige Thier grenzt, nicht schuldig macht. Welche Schande, daß der höhere Grad von Kenntnissen und von Beurtheilungskraft bei uns nicht bessere Folgen hervorgebracht hat!"

ausgedrückt"... In eben diesem Sinne ist auch das Schlußwort gehalten, in das GEORG FORSTER (a): 455 einen Vergleich der Feuerländer mit andern Naturvölkern[*] zusammenfaßt. Er sagt: In jenem „Winkel der Erde hatten wir nicht ohne Mitleid die armseligen Wilden vom Tierra del Fuego gesehen; halb verhungert, betäubt und gedankenlos unfähig sich gegen die Rauhigkeit der Witterung zu schützen und zur niedrigsten Stufe der menschlichen Natur bis zu die Grenzen der unvernünftigen Thiere herabgewürdigt".

RAYMOND FORSTER hat sich einmal (in GEORG FORSTER [b]: 261) zu dem unwandelbaren Behaften der Yamana auf ihren einfachen, altbergebrachten Gerätschaften folgendermaßen geäußert: „Auffallend war es mir, daß dieses blödsinnige Volk, den Vorrath des schönsten Baukolzes, der in der dortigen Gegend angetroffen wird, nicht besser benutzt, und bessere Häuser und Kähne daraus verfertigt. Man möchte vielleicht einwenden, sie wissen das Holz nicht zu zerschneiden und zu einem Behuf zu verarbeiten, es fehlt ihnen an Werkzeugen u. s. f.; allein dies ist nicht der Fall, sie können allerdings das Holz bearbeiten, denn die Stangen, wozu sie ihre knöchernen Muschelhaken befestigen, sind zehn bis zwölf Schuhe lang, ganz gerade, glatt und achteckig. Eben so sehr muß man sich wundern, daß sie bey einem Vorrath von Robben-, Fuchs- und Guanacofellen, an welche sie doch hin und wieder lederne Riemen genähet hatten, sie darauf verfallen sind, zu ihrer eignen Bequemlichkeit noch einen Schritt mehr zu tun, und die Felle dergestalt zur Kleidung zuzuschneiden und zusammenzunähen, daß sie dadurch gegen die Strenge der Witterung vollkommen geschützt würden. Nichts stellt uns ihren tiefen Verfall so lebhaft vor Augen, als diese mit Blödsinn vergesellschaftete Unbehulfenheit. Es ist wahr, eben diese Eigenschaften machen sie gleichgültig und unempfindlich gegen ihr Elend; allein schwerlich ist es bloß angeborene Indolenz und Gleichgültigkeit, die sie zu einer genärblichen Lebensart unfähig macht; sondern man muß vielmehr aus allem obigen schließen, daß sie die unglücklichen Opfer der Rache oder des Uebermuths ihrer stärkeren Nachbarn geworden, und von denselben hieher, in die unfreundlichste Gegend von Südamerika, vertrieben worden sind."

Die Eigenart der feuerländischen Kulturverhältnisse, die jeden Beschauer auf den ersten Blick befremdlich anmutet, hat scharfsinnige Beobachter, wie die beiden FORSTER es waren, unwiderstehlich zu allerhand Erklärungsversuchen gedrängt. Mögen diese letzteren auch überwiegend verfehlt ausgefallen sein, die nüchterne Schilderung alles Gegenständlichen, das damals noch von jedweder Vermischung mit europäischem Einfuhrgut frei war, ist dessungeachtet außerordentlich wertvoll. Die Zeichnung von einem Feuerländer jedoch, die JAMES COOK in sein großes Reisewerk aufgenommen hat und hier (S. 60) wiedergegeben ist, vermittelt keinen zuverlässigen Eindruck und ist für die Beurteilung der Geisteksbildung der Yamana nicht maßgebend.

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[*] In anderer Verbindung erhält GEORG FORSTER (b): 243 kurz: „Die Feuerländer selbst sind allen Anscheine nach, das elendeste aller Völker."

ANDREAS SPARRMANN: In den gleichen Tagen, an denen die Schiffe des englischen Flottenführers JAMES COOK dort vor Anker lagen, erreichte auch SPARRMANN[96] mit dem schwedischen Schiffe "Schloss Stockholm" den südlichsten Teil des Feuerlandes. Obwohl er nichts über die Bewohner erzählt und er sich nur wenige Tage dort aufhielt, verdient sein allgemeines, knappes Urteil es doch, hier eingereiht zu werden; es beweist nämlich, wie es mancher Seefahrer der damaligen Zeit gar kein Verständnis für die Eigenart der fremden Völkerschaften aufbrachte. Er schreibt: „In einer Zeit von sechs Wochen waren wir über den Ocean zwischen Neuseeland und der südlichsten Spitze von Amerika weggesegelt, so daß wir den 29 December an der mittägigen Küste des Feuerlandes die Anker warfen. Hier sahen wir die allerelendesten Menschen in der Welt. Den 29sten segelten wir Hoorns Vorgebirge vorbey, und den 31sten, den Tag vor dem Neujahre, gingen wir bey einer kleinen Insel, nahe bey Staatsland vor Anker." Weiteres berichtet er über die Feuerländer nicht.

JAMES WEDDELL: Erst fünfzig Jahre später erhalten die Yaména wieder den kurzen Besuch zweier europäischer Schiffe. Dem wenig bekannten seemännischen Unternehmen des englischen Flottenführers WEDDELL kommt auch deshalb eine besondere Allgemeinbedeutung zu, weil ihm nicht unwichtige Entdeckungen im Antarktischen Meere zu verdanken sind. Er beginnt seinen Bericht[97] mit folgenden Worten: „Da es mir auf meiner Reise gelang, zu einer höheren südlichen Breite zu dringen als bisher geschehen war, so hielt ich es für nützlich, besonders in hydrographischer Hinsicht, die Hauptumstände meiner Reise bekannt zu machen. Unser Zweck war, Robbenhäute zu holen; die dazu bestimmten Fahrzeuge waren die Brigg 'Johanna' von 160 Tonnen und der Cutter 'Beaufoy' von 65 Tonnen, beide auf gewöhnliche Weise ausgerüstet und auf zwei Jahre verproviantiert: die Brigg, mit 22 Personen bemannt, stand unter meinem Befehl, der Cutter, mit 13, unter dem des Hrn. MATHEW BRISBANE." Am 17. September 1822 verließ diese Flotte den heimatlichen Hafen und steuerte geradewegs auf das südliche Eismeer los. Die genauen Beobachtungen über die antarktische Tierwelt und die zahlreichen Mitteilungen über die Falklandinseln müssen hier beiseite gelassen werden. In der Bahía S. Francisco, zwischen Isla de Hornos und Isla Hermit, also im Südwestlichen der Wollaston-Gruppe, begegnete diese Flotte am 26. November 1823 den ersten feuerländischen Eingeborenen, die in zwei Kanus herankamen. Ausführlich schreibt WEDDELL (a): 92—98 darüber:

„Als die Feuerländer näher kamen, erhoben sie eine Art Gesang und machten eine Menge Pantomimen, wie ich später erfuhr, lauter Zeichen der Freundschaft. Als sie 8 bis 10 Yards vom Schiff waren, machten wir ihnen

[96] Vom englischen Originalwerke ist eine deutsche Übersetzung angegeben worden. Weil dieselbe durchaus richtig und zuverlässig ist, wie meine Überprüfung ergab, habe ich ausnahmsweise für den Vergleich gegenüber der ursprünglichen Niederschrift gegeben und führe sie unter der Abkürzung: WEDDELL (a) an.

Ähnliche Zeichen und winkten ihnen an Bord zu kommen, aber sie blieben in der Entfernung. Ihr Betragen bewies großes Erstaunen, sie waren so lebhaft bewegt, daß sie über eine Viertelstunde ohne Unterbrechung laut sprachen. Endlich als sich ihr Stimmen etwas gelegt hatte, ruderten sie um das Schiff herum, betrachteten es von allen Seiten und schienen ungewiß, ob es todt oder lebendig sey, denn da sie nie zuvor ein Schiff gesehen hatten,[1] wußten sie nicht, was sie daraus machen sollten. Endlich erhielten sie mehr Zutrauen, kamen an die Steuerbordseite und zwei Männer stiegen herauf. Da sie jämmerlich aussahen, so glaubte ich ihnen mit Nahrungsmitteln den besten Dienst erweisen zu können, sie erhielten Hanfbrieh, Wein und Brodt: Fleisch aßen sie wenig, Brodt und Wein wurden gar nicht angenommen.

Ich bemerkte, daß sie ihre Weiber nicht aus den Canoe's herausließen, was ich mit Recht der bei den Wilden gewöhnlichen Eifersucht zuschrieb, doch wollte ich die Damen nicht vernachlässigen, ich schickte ihnen also etwas Wein in einer Porzellanschale. Das Gefäß erregte ihre Aufmerksamkeit so, daß sie bei der Untersuchung derselben den Wein verschütteten, und es einer Umstände bedurften. Ich dachte nicht daran, es wieder zu verlangen und glaubte, sie würden es herausnehmen, um darum zu trinken, aber am Tage zuvor sah ich es in kleinen Stückchen am Hals der Weiber hängen.

Die Männer staunten Alles an, was sie sahen, das Eisenwerk zog besonders ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf sich, und vor einem Kessel am Gallieren, der 200 Gallonen hielt, schienen sie zu erschrecken. Da ich eine Menge eiserne Reifen an Bord hatte, so schenkte ich jedem ein Stück, worüber sie sehr erfreut waren; sie verließen uns mit diesem Geschenk zufrieden, und begaben sich nach ihren Hütten, die in der Nähe des Hafens lagen.

Am 27. [November] bei Sonnenaufgang erschienen die wieder und erhoben ein großes Geschrei, das ihre Angst über unsere Dahlchen ausdrückten schien. Ich hatte Befehl gegeben, daß keiner eher an Bord gelassen werden sollte, bis die Mannschaft auf dem Deck versammelt wäre, was um 4 Uhr geschah. Nach einiger Zeit erschien noch ein drittes Canoe, das ebenfalls an das Schiff kam, was bewies, daß unsere ersten Gäste ihren Landsleuten unsere freundliche Aufnahme geröhmt hatten. Nun waren 22 Personen an Bord, Männer, Weiber und Kinder und jetzt, da sie von unserer Freundschaft überzeugt waren, wurden sie immer zutraulicher. Ich zeigte ihnen die Cajüte, wo besonders der glänzende Ofen und der Spiegel sie zu interessieren schien. Vor dem Spiegel betrugen sie sich ganz wie Affen, und suchten eifrig das zurückgeworfene Bild hinter dem Glas, und ob sie sich gleich gewiß oft genug im Wasser gesehen hatten, so war doch ihre Urtheilskraft nicht scharf genug, um die Ähnlichkeit beider Erscheinungen zu entdecken. Da ich die Neigung der Wilden zum Diebstahl wohl kannte, so ließ ich beständig Acht auf sie geben, aber als der Hauptbootsmann vom Hafen zurückkam, meldete er,

[1] Natürlich war ja seiner auch sie ein europäisches Schiff an jenen abgelegenen Inseln vor Anker gegangen.

daß sie die Rolle von einem Fall abgemühtigen hatten. Auch hatte, trotz unserer Aufmerksamkeit, ein Meister in der Kunst, zu stehlen, einen starken eisernen Nagel entwendet. Ich hielt es dadurch für ziemlich, ihnen eine Idee von der Sinnfluchtigkeit des Diebstahles zu geben; der Nagelchen wurde zu dem Tauwerk gebunden und erhielt einen dicken Blick mit den neuen Seilungen, wobei ich ihm deutlich zu machen suchte, wofür er benutzt würde. Dieß Verfahren hatte die erwünschte Wirkung, keiner nahm von nun an auch nur den kleinsten Stückchen Eisen ohne Erlaubniß.

Am 27. [November] hatten wir schönes Wetter; die Zimmerleute führten Bäume und zogen sie in Bretter, was den Französchen vielen Spaß zu machen schien, die Säge gefiel ihnen so wohl, daß sie sie gewiß gestohlen haben würden, wenn wir sie nicht über die Nacht an Bord gebracht hätten. An diesem Tage kamen 1848 Männer und Knaben an Bord, wahrscheinlich waren die Frauen anderweit beschäftigt. Unter ihnen war ein hübsch gewachsener Bursch von 14 bis 15 Jahren, den ich gern bei mir behalten hätte, aber als er meinen Wunsch bemerkte, kehrte er schnell in das Canoe zurück und kam nicht wieder an Bord.

Am 28. [November] war der Wind so veränderlich, daß er rund um den Compaß herumging. Am Morgen erschienen die Französchen wieder, aber in einer anderen Tracht oder eigentlich Farbe, denn die Weiber, die zuvor roth waren, waren jetzt pechschwarz, und die Männer waren mit weißen und rothen Streifen verziert, die horizontal und kreuzweise über den Gesicht liefen. Sie glaubten sehr schön gepatzt zu seyn, hatten aber ein sehr greuliches Ansehen.

Im Anfang unserer Bekanntschaft gaben sie mir die Kleinigkeiten, die ich von ihnen verlangte, ohne Weiteres, jetzt aber hatten sie schon eine Idee vom Tauschhandel und verlangten gewöhnlich irgend etwas Glänzendes, wie Knöpfe u. dgl., zu Ersatzes Bäuchen ihnen aber doch die eisernen Beile, und ich bin überzeugt, daß sie das Eisen für unsere größere Reichthum hielten. Den letzten Handel machte ein hübscher junger Matrose, mit dem sich vorzüglich die Weiber abgaben, doch weiß ich wirklich nicht, ob sie sich nicht vielleicht in seinem Gewehrlicht irrten. Durch ihn erhielt ich einen jungen Hund, der sich durch seine Klugheit auszeichnete; sie haben nur diese eine Art Hunde, die dem Fuchs sehr gleich und ziemlich die Größe eines Schäferhundes hat. Sie lieben ihre Hunde sehr, und wenn sie irgend einem Object eine übernatürliche Kraft zuschreiben, so sind es wahrscheinlich die Hunde, denn ihre Aufmerksamkeit und Sorge für den Wohl derselben ist außerordentlich.

Am 29. [November] war das Wetter schön, am Morgen kam der "Bonfay", der zugleich von den Französchen einen Besuch erhielt. Sie begingen bei dieser Gelegenheit mehrere kleine Diebstähle, von welchen ich nur einen als Beweis ihrer Nachahmungsgabe anführen will. Ein Matrose hatte einem Französcher einen eisernen Topf voll Caffee gegeben, er trank ihn aus und wendete alle Kunst an, ihn zu stehlen. Nach einiger Zeit fiel dem Matrosen ein, daß er den Topf nicht zurückerhalten hatte, er verlangte ihn, aber statt

den Topfe gab ihm der Feuerländer jedes seiner Worte deutlich zurück. Endlich wurde der Matrose ärgerlich, nahm eine drohende Stellung an und rief in heftigem Tone: Du kupferfarbiger Spitzbube, wo ist mein Zinntopf? Der Feuerländer nahm genau dieselbe Stellung an und rief mit demselben Tone: du kupferfarbiger Spitzbube, wo ist mein Zinntopf? Alle Umstehenden lachten überlaut, denn die Nachahmung war sehr täuschend, nur der Matrose blieb ernsthaft und untersuchte den Dieb, der den Topf unter dem Arm verborgen hatte: er sollte bestraft werden, aber Hr. Bennett erbrachte ihm die Strafe und schickte den Roß in sein Canoe mit dem Bedeuten, nicht wieder an Bord zu kommen.

Am 2. Dezember [1823] um Mittag versammelten sich die Feuerländer an der Küste und fuhren mit den Canoes aus dem Hafen heraus, ohne daß wir früher bemerkt hatten, daß sie wegziehen wollten. Ich vermuthete, sie hätten uns einige Kleinigkeiten gestohlen, und wollten sich nun mit ihrer Beute heimlich entfernen; statt ihres gewöhnlichen Geschreies hörte man auch nicht einen Laut und sie ruderten so dicht an der Küste, daß man sie kaum bemerkte. Ich ließ sogleich ein Boot bemannen, und verfolgte sie, sie ruderten mit allen Kräften, aber vergebens, ich holte sie ein, und sie schienen allerdings eine Unternehmung nach gestohlenem Gut zu erwarten. Aber ich beschenkte jeden Mann mit einem Stück Reif und jede Frau mit einem glänzenden Halspanzer, der durchlöchert war, damit sie ihn an den Hals hängen konnten: sie waren sehr erfreut über diese Gaben, die sie keineswegs erwartet hatten, und als ich mich einem Händedruck von jedem Abschied genommen hatte, ruderten sie mit ihrem gewöhnlichen Freudengeschrei davon.

In Ehren der Menschheit möchte ich gern diesen so geringgeschätzten Menschen einen andern Achtung in intellectueller Hinsicht verschaffen, aber ich muß leider eingestehen, daß sie noch auf der allerniedrigsten Stufe stehen. Bei dem Alter der Welt erscheint es beinahe unglaublich und ist gewiß nicht wahrscheinlich für das menschliche Geschlecht, daß ein Volk so lange in seiner alten Unwissenheit stehen, bleibt.

Da ich bei den Feuerländern nichts fand, was eine fremde Hand verrieth, so läßt sich wohl daraus schließen, daß wir die ersten waren, welche sie besuchten, wenigstens für die jetzige Generation waren wir es gewiß. Bei diesen gilt dieselbe Sitte, wie bei vielen andern Wilden, nämlich daß den Weibern alle Arbeit aufgebürdet wird, sie rudern, während der Mann ruhig im Canoe sitzt, sie sammeln die Muscheln, erziehen die Kinder, bauen die Hütten, kurz sie verrichten Alles, was Mühe kostet, dagegen zeigen die Männer viele Zärtlichkeit für ihre Weiber und Sorgfalt für ihre Kinder. Einen Zug ihrer liebenswürdigen Liebe bemerkte ich bei einem unerwarteten Besuch ihrer Hütten, wo sie in der Furcht, ich käme, um ihre Kinder zu stehlen, diese mit ihren Armen umschlungen und trotz allen Zeichen der Freundschaft von meiner Seite ließen sie sie nicht wieder los.

Diese Feuerländer waren kleiner Gestalt, ich maß zwei Männer, von denen einer 5 F. 4 Z., der andere 5 F. 5 Z. hatte. Ihre Gesichtsbildung und die

Form ihrer Köpfe ist bei den meisten Indianern gewöhnlicher: sie haben flache Nasen, kleine Augen, volle gut gebildete Brüste, schwache Arme, ihre Schenkel sind dünn und schlecht gestaltet, wahrscheinlich weil sie die Gewohnheit haben, auf den Waden zu sitzen, in welcher Lage sie ein höchst unbehelfenes Ansehn haben. Die Frauen sehen besser aus, als die Männer, manche unter ihnen haben interessante Züge, und meinen Erachtens zeigten sie auch einen lebhafteren Beobachtungsgeist. Das einzige Bekleidungsstück der Männer ist ein Fell, das von den Schultern bis auf den halben Rücken herabsteht; einigen fehlte auch dies kümliche Gewand. Die Frauen tragen ein größeres Fell und sind überhaupt so bekleidet, daß sie die Sittlichkeit nicht verletzen, und selbst die kleinsten Mädchen sind so verhüllt, was ein Gefühl der Schamhaftigkeit beweis't, wie man es selten unter so ungebildeten Völkern findet.

Diese kurze Schilderung mag dem Leser einen allgemeinen Begriff von diesen entfernten Südländern geben, in der Folge werde ich noch mehrmals auf die Bewohner jener Gegenden zurückkommen und durch genaue Mittheilungen aller meiner Beobachtungen den Leser in den Stand zu setzen suchen, ein richtiges Urtheil über ihren Character zu fällen." Daß WEDDELL (a): 92 selber ein erhebliches Vorurtheil gegen sie mitgebracht hatte, ist seinen Zeilen unschwer zu entnehmen.

Wenige Tage später ging die Flotte im südlichen Seno Aha Nuevo vor Anker. „Wir hatten eben das Loth ausgeworfen, als wir vier Canoes voll Feuerländer sahen. Zuerst schienen sie erstaunt, dann machten sie ihrem Gebrauch gemäß ein Freudengeschrei und allerlei lächerliche Pantomimen. Wir ruderten bis auf 12 Yards auf sie zu und zeigten ihnen Stücken von eisernen Reifen, um ihre Aufmerksamkeit zu fesseln. Wie unsere ersten Gäste, waren auch diese eifersüchtig oder sehr besorgt für ihre Weiber, die Männer stiegen in zwei Canoes und kamen allein zu uns gerudert. Wir suchten ihr Zutrauen zu erhalten, und machten ihnen Zeichen, mit uns nach den Schiffen zu rudern, was sie thaten und selbst ihre Weiber mitbrachten: jetzt, wo die Männer selbst mit ruderten, blieben sie in der hohen See neben unserem Walfischboot. Da diese Feuerländer von einem anderen Stamme[*] waren, und ein besseres Ansehen hatten, als unsere früheren Gäste, so versprachen wir uns neue Unterhaltung von diesem Zusammentreffen. Sie zeigten übrigens dasselbe Erstaunen, wie jene, und besaßen gar nichts, was eine Bekanntschaft mit Europäern verrieth, weßhalb ich auch von diesen glaube, daß wir die ersten Fremden waren, die sie sahen. Sie hatten allerlei selbstgefertigte Dinge bei sich, die wir größtentheils durch Tausch zu uns brachten. Auch ihnen waren unter allen Dingen Eisenstückchen das Angenehmste, denn die einzigen Instrumente, die sie zum Schneiden hatten, waren Muschelschalen, und unsere Geschenke werden noch nach vielen Jahren zum Beweis unseres freundschaftlichen Verkehrens dienen.

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[*] Genauer gesagt, müßte es heißen, diese gehörten einer anderen Dialektgruppe an als jene; obwohl damit allein ein bedeutender Unterschied im Körperbau nicht gegeben ist.

Da wir nach der Trennung von dem 'Beagle' nur zwei Boote zu unserer Disposition behielten, so hielt ich es für nützlich, ein Canoe von den Feuerländern zu uns zu taufen. Da Bilder ein solchen Fahrzeug viele Mühe und Arbeit kosteten, so glaubte ich mich freigebig zeigen zu müssen, ich bot ihnen zwei ganze eiserne Reifen, wofür sie vor Freude aufjauchzten; in weniger als 5 Minuten war die ganze Familie mit allen ihren Geräthschaften in ein anderes Canoe gestiegen, und hatte uns das ihrige übergeben. Ich ließ es sogleich auf das Schiff bringen, bei welchem Transport sich meine Leute über die Schwere desselben beklagten, was sich daraus erklärte, daß der ganze Boden 6 Zoll hoch mit Lehm als Ballast belegt war, wodurch das Canoe vor dem Umkommen gesichert war, denn sie haben beständig Feuer darin. Es war 12 F. 4 Z. lang, und hielt an der breitesten Stelle 2 F. 2 Z.; es war aus starken Birkenrinde gebaut, die breiter erhöht als sie die Männer an der Küste liefern, und wahrscheinlich aus dem Innern herbeigebracht worden war. Das ganze Fahrzeug bestand aus drei Stücken, zwei bildeten die Wände und eins den Boden, alle waren durch dünne Zweige an einander befestigt. Die Rippen waren von halbcirkelförmiger Gestalt, mit der flachen Seite nach unten, so daß sie sich vertical berührten, und durch den Leim zusammengehalten, ein starkes Canoe bildeten, das selbst gegen den Wind rasch geht. Die innere Einrichtung zeigt von einer gewissen Ordnung: in der ersten Abtheilung liegen die zum Fischen nöthigen Geräthschaften, in der zweiten sitzen die Weiber, die das erste Ruder führen, in der vierten sammelt sich das Wasser, das ausgeschöpft wird, dann kömmt der Aufenthaltsort der Männer, hierauf der der Weiber, welche das hinterste Ruder führen, und endlich kommt der Raum, in welchem sie ihre sonstigen Geräthschaften aufbewahren. Ihre Speere liegen gewöhnlich quer über dem Steven." Wie wertvoll diesen Leuten Eisen erschien, ist aus obigem Zitat sehr deutlich zu erkennen.

„Nachdem ich das Canoe und die Ruder in Sicherheit gebracht hatte, kehrte ich zu den Feuerländern zurück, die ich noch immer sehr erfreut über ihren Handel fand. Sie fingen jetzt an zu hungern und richteten deßhalb ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf einige meiner Leute, die Fischbein rissen, um Beere daraus zu bereiten, wie sie die an den Knochen sitzende schleimige Substanz bezeichnen, erhielten sie sie ab, und aßen sie begierig. Dieß Mahl erschien mir schon sehr unappetitlich, aber an einer anderen Stelle traf ich sie bei einer noch ekelhafteren Mahlzeit; sie verzehrten nämlich schmutziges ranziges Robbenfett, das schon mehrere Tage da gelegen hatte. Dieß Schauspiel war mir so widerlich, daß ich sie zwang aufzuhören, und ihnen frischen Thran und etwas Brodt geben ließ, das sie sogleich in ihr Canoe trugen. Da wir keinen Branntwein an Bord hatten, so gab ich ihnen Wein, aber er behagte ihnen so wenig als ihren Landsleuten am Cap Horn.

Das gewöhnliche Wurfzeug der Feuerländer ist die Schleuder, die sie aus Robben- oder Otternhäuten verfertigten; sie ist etwa 3 Fuß lang und hat die gewöhnliche Gestalt, die Bänder bestehen gewöhnlich aus schmalen Därmen, die gut zusammengeflochten, und durch geschickt geschlungene Knoten ver-

besuchen sind.*" Ich tauschte einige Schlenkern von ihnen, und bei einem der geschickteren war die Art sich dieser zu bedienen, so zeigte, er that es, ohne Hr. Bennett verstand es wenigstens ebenso gut, weniger sie nicht wenig erstaunt waren. Ihre Speere bestehen aus feinen Knochen, sind 7 Fuß lang, scharf zugespitzt, und haben vier Zoll von der Spitze, einen Widerhaken an der einen Seite; sie haben auch eine andere Art, die auf einer Seite mit vielen kleinen spitzigen Widerhäkchen besetzt ist, und an einer 10 F. langen, glatten, gerade hölzernen Stange befestigt wird. Am Knochen ist ein kürzerer oder längerer Streif von Haut befestigt, und diese Waffe dient ihnen bei allen Jagden. Sie halten den Speer in der Mitte, ziehen mit dem rechten Auge, und werfen dann mit großer Sicherheit.

Nach dem Mittagsmahl suchte sich das Schiffsvolk mit unsern Gästen einen Spaß zu machen, ein lustiger Matrose fing an zu singen und zu tanzen, wo denn die Feuerländer sogleich einen Kreis um ihn bildeten und Gesang und Tanz auf das Genauste nachahmten. Endlich artete der Tanz in ein Kampfspiel aus, in welchem ein Matrose und ein Feuerländer rangen; ich hoffte der Fremde würde geworfen werden, aber trotz dem, daß der Matrose ein kräftiger 22jähriger Bursche war, täuschte ich mich, er stand fest und war wenigstens ebenso gewandt, als der Matrose, so daß es befürchtet war, dieser würde endlich unterliegen. Einige Feuerländer glaubten ihren Landsmann in Gefahr, und sprangen ihm zu Hülfe, worauf ich sogleich dem ganzen Kampf ein Ende machte. Die Feuerländer schienen eine Art Triumph zu feiern, was mir sehr unangenehm war, ich verbot streng jeden ähnlichen Kampf, weil es gefährlich war, den Fremden die Idee einer gleichen Kraft und Gewandtheit beizubringen.**

Ich bemühte mich sehr zu erforschen, ob sie eine Idee von einem göttlichen Wesen hätten, ich las ihnen ein Capitel aus der Bibel vor, nicht als wenn ich geglaubt hätte, sie würden es verstehen, sondern nur ihnen dabei durch Zeichen Tod, Auferstehung und Gebet deutlich zu machen. Sie schienen mich nicht zu verstehen, ahmten aber genau Alles nach, was ich that, und bei'm Nachsprechen hielten sie ebenso, wie ich, die Stimme fallen, und erhoben sie wieder. Übrigens zeigten sie die größte Aufmerksamkeit, und sahen mir mit Erstaunen starr in das Gesicht. Einer von ihnen hielt sein Ohr an das Buch, und schien zu glauben, es sprächen; ein anderer wollte es in sein Canoe mitnehmen, kurz alle zeigten ein Interesse dafür.

Auch bei diesem Stamme fehlte es nicht an Dieben, als man ihnen den Gebrauch eines Feuerzeugs wies, entwendete einer den Stahl und verbarg ihn unter seinem Arm. Ich schickte den Verkäufer unter ernsten Drohungen, die er sehr gut verstand, in sein Canoe zurück. Sie erhielten Eisenarbeitwerkzeuge

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* Die einzelnen Angaben sprechen dafür, daß die vermeintlichen "Zähne" dicke zusammengepreßte Schneckenarten waren.

** Später hat auch Fuegien am Klopfentwickelchen seiner Mannschaft verbieten müssen, sich in Wettspiele und in Ringkämpfe mit den Eingeborenen einzulassen.

mit einem Feuersteine zusammen, und fingen die Funken in einer trockenen [illegible] Substanz auf. Unsere Matrosen verschenkten ihre alten [illegible] Kleider, und die Feuerländer erschienen nun in einem sehr liebenswürdigen Costüme, einer hatte eine Jacke an, der andere ein Hemde, der dritte einen Wamse u. s. w.

Einen Aufführer schienen sie nicht zu haben, auch keinen zu beachten; sie bewegten sich gegenseitig mit der größten Liebe und benahmen Alles gemeinschaftlich, durch einigen jeder einen Eifer, etwas von uns zu erhalten, sey es um den Ehre willen, es erwerben zu helfen, oder um es zuerst zu besitzen. Diese [illegible] Verhältnisse und die formelleren Bewegungen gegen uns sprechen gewiß sehr zu ihren Gunsten; ihre geringe Civilisation ist bloß eine Folge der Gottlosigkeit, sie zeigen übrigens mehr Gelehrigkeit als alle andern wilden Stämme, mit denen ich je zusammenkam."

Nach einer sehr gewagten Fahrt an den südlichen Inseln Diego Ramirez kehrten die Schiffe in den Sund Isla Nueva zurück. In der Bahia Inglesa beobachtete Wimmer (c): 108 am 24. Dezember 1833 eine andere Gruppe von Eingeborenen. Darüber schreibt er: „Die Wohnungen der Feuerländer waren auf einer Insel am Eingang der Bai, so daß sie unsere Ankunft sogleich bemerkten, sie kamen bald in mehreren Canoes heraus, erhielten die gewöhnlichen Geschenke und bestiegen ihre Armes um, deren Anwesen auch mit einem aus Furcht und Freude gemischten Gefühl. Ich bewog sie bald an Bord zu kommen, wo ich mehrere bemerkte, die eine andere Gesichtsbildung hatten, sie hatten hohe Nasen und waren etwas größer als die übrigen Feuerländer. Es schien mir, als wären diese Abkömmlinge von den Spaniern, die sich vor 244 Jahren an der Magellans-Straße niederließen, aber nur 7 Jahre dahinlebten; meine Vermuthung wurde dadurch bestätigt, daß sie zwei spanische Wörter kannten, *Canoa*, das Canoe und *Perro*, der Hund. Mein Provianmeister, ein geborener Spanier, sprach unbeirrt mit ihnen spanisch, aber er fand keine weiteren Spuren ihrer Kenntniß dieser Sprache. Da sie unsere Worte immer wiederholten, so war es sehr schwer, ihre Sprache kennen zu lernen, doch gelang es mir endlich den Sinn folgender Wörter zu erfahren: *Sayano*, Wasser, *Alaiah*, das Weib, *Sheeno*, Billigung, *Nash*, Vordeck. In allen Wörtern scheint das S und Sh vorzuherrschen . . .

Am 27. Dezember erhielte ich den 'Beagle' mit einem Zusatz von 14 Mann von der Brigg nach dem Diego Ramirez-Inseln. Gegen Mittag kamen gegen 40 Feuerländer an Bord; ich ließ sie durch einen Matrosen gesammelt bewachen, aber da sie überall herumgingen, so waren kleine Diebstähle nicht ganz zu verhüten. Ich schenkte ihrem Häuptling und einer jungen Frau, die etwa 8 Wochen alt war, aber dennoch stahl ein 60jähriger Mann eine kleine Flasche, die ein Matrose für sich aufbewahren wollte. Gewöhnlich lachen die Feuerländer, wenn man sie bei einem Diebstahl ertappt, aber dieser alte Mann war sehr bestürzt, ging sogleich in sein Canoe und kam nicht ehe wieder an Bord, als bis ich ihm mehrmals durch Zeichen zu verstehen gegeben hatte, er sey wieder zu Gnaden aufgenommen.

[illegible] wie die andern, doch waren einige [illegible] Ocker, mit dem sie bemalt waren, für ein Geschenk geben lassen will. Wir hatten nur wenig Kleider mehr zu verschenken, weil sie [illegible] waren, doch gab ich mehreren für die Gesichtsfelle, die sie auf dem Rücken hatten, irgend ein Kleidungsstück. Einem schenkte ich ein weißes [illegible] Hemd, das er sogleich anzog, und [illegible] Perlen unter seinen Gefährten herumhüpfte; dies Geschenk wurde sehr geachtet, jeder trug es 10 bis 12 Minuten lang; dann rissen sie es in kleine Stücken, die sie gewissenhaft untereinander vertheilten.

Da ich, um das Schiff voraus in die Höhe zu bringen, im hintersten Raum [illegible] Wasser auf[illegible] ließ, so ließ ich die Feuerländer Wasser tragen, was sie bald eben so gut verrichteten als meine eigenen Leute. Auch zum Ziehen und Stoßen benutzte ich sie, wenn Kraft nöthig war, wo sie [illegible] Eifer zeigten, nur war ihr Gesang dabei kaum zurückzuhalten; besonders als sie bemerkt hatten, daß ein Matrose bei der Arbeit sang, glaubten sie, es gehöre dazu und arbeiten alle zusammen. Die Weiber blieben mit den kleinern Kindern hart am Schiff in den Canoes, wo wir sie von Zeit zu Zeit mit kleinern Geschenken erfreuten. Um zu erfahren, welchen Eindruck die Musik auf sie machen würde, ließ ich die Violine spielen, was ihnen zu gefallen schien, doch fand die Quadrille noch mehr Beifall und am besten gefiel ihnen Vocalmusik. Die Weiber schienen von dem Gesang eines jungen Menschen, der eine hübsche Stimme hatte, ganz bezaubert. Ich zeigte ihnen einige Streichhölzer, die ihre Aufmerksamkeit nur kurze Zeit fesselten, am längsten besahen sie die mit hellen glimmenden Farben angemalten.

Als sie im Schiff ein Fell voll Lobos fanden, den wir von den Falklandsinseln mitgebracht hatten, beschmierten sie sich am ganzen Körper damit und schienen über ihre neue Kleidung sehr erfreut. Die Weiber legten nicht so viel auf, und wenn der Lobos trocken geworden war, riehen sie ihn wieder ab.

Da ich bemerkte, daß ein Feuerländer an bösen Augen litt, so bereitete ich eine Salbe und bestrich ihn damit. Er begriff meine Absicht sogleich und war nach 3 Tagen völlig hergestellt. Ich schnitt ihm das über die Augen hängende Haar ab, um jedem Reiz zu verhüten, aber seine Landsleute glaubten, daß dieses zur Verschönerung und kamen alle zu mir, um sich die Haare schneiden zu lassen, welchen Wunsch ich gern erfüllte und sie noch obendrein mit Mehl puderte. Den Weibern gefiel dieser Kopfputz außerordentlich wohl, aber ich fand ihn wegen unseres geringen Vorraths für die Zukunft nicht räthlich.

Ich machte sie mit der verwüstenden Wirkung der Feuergewehre bekannt, bei'm Abbrennen einer Kanone erhoben die Weiber, die Männer wurden blaß und sahen mit einem gedankenvollen Staunen nach dem Geschütz. Ich bemerkte einen verschmitzten muthigen Burschen unter ihnen, der der angeketteten Dieb dieses Stammes zu seyn schien; er wurde eines Tages erwischt, als er beschäftigt war, das Eisenstück von der großen Stange abzubrechen; ich befahl ihm durch Zeichen, herabzukommen, aber er achtete nicht darauf;

um ihn zu ersticken, nähte ich mit einer Tauchergummiplatte nach ihm, worauf er herabstieg, aber auf dem Deck nahm er eine drohende Stellung an und warf mir einen Lappen in das Gesicht. Um diese Grobheit zu bestrafen, ergriff ich meine Vogelflinte und legte sie auf ihn an, wo er dann sogleich nach dem Vordertheil des Schiffs lief, wohin ihm seine Gefährten mit großem Geschrei, in welches auch die Weiber einstimmten, folgten. Ich legte das Gewehr nieder und schickte den Übeltäter in sein Canoe, doch war für heute das gute Verstehen gestört und unsere Gäste entfernten sich viel früher als gewöhnlich.

Da ich jetzt nur 8 Mann an Bord hatte, worunter zwei Knaben waren, so hielt ich es für nöthig, sie mit Säbeln und Pistolen zu bewaffnen, im Fall die Feuerländer sich irgend einer Feindseligkeit erdreisten sollten. Am Morgen des 30sten, um 4 Uhr, kamen 40 bis 50 Feuerländer an Bord, ehe es meine Leute nur bemerkt hatten. Der Unterstuhlfer kam sogleich in meine Cajüte und meldete, die Feuerländer wollten das Schiff in Besitz nehmen, ein Verdacht, der nicht ganz unbegründet war. Als ich, die Pistolen in der Hand, die Treppe heraufstieg, fand ich mehrere im Begriff, herauszuspringen, sie flohen sogleich und die auf dem Deck befindlichen brachte ich bald zur Ordnung. Ich nahm von diesem Versuch weiter keine Notiz und in kurzer Zeit trat das alte freundschaftliche Verstehen wieder ein. Um Mittag versammelte ich sie um mich herum, und versuchte wie bei dem vorigen Stamm, ob sie eine Idee von Gott und der Zukunft nach dem Tode hätten. Es schien mir, als hätten sie irgend eine solche Ahnung, sie sahen einander mit großem Erstaunen in das Gesicht und sprachen mit leiserer Stimme; übrigens bemerkte ich nie eine Art Gottesdienst unter ihnen.

Ich tauschte eine Menge Kleinigkeiten von ihnen ein, als Halsbänder, Körbe, Bogen und Pfeile. Die Halsbänder bestanden aus gewundenen Muschelschalen von schöner glänzender Farbe, die nahe an der Oeffnung durchlöchert und auf eine sehr zierlich geflochtene Schnur aufgeschnürt waren. Das Band war nicht dicker als eine dünne Pfeifenschnur, bestand aber aus 5 einzelnen Streifen, und war so kunstreich geflochten, daß man sich kaum denken kann, daß es bloß mit der Hand gearbeitet sey. Die Körbe bestanden aus starkem Gras und waren ebenfalls künstlich gefertigt, alle Halme waren in rechten Winkeln verbunden wie ein Gewebe und oben war ein Griff, der die halbe Circumferenz des Korbs hatte.

Die Bogen waren gewöhnlich 3 F. 8 Z. lang und aus einem glatten, festen, elastischen Holz bereitet; die Schnur besteht aus Robbenhaut oder geflochtenen Därmen.[*] Die Pfeile sind von hartem Holz und frin polirt, 25 Zoll lang und vorne mit einem eingeklemmten dreieckigen, spitzigen Stein versehen. Wenn der Pfeil irgendwo eindringt, so kann das Holz herausgezogen werden, der Stein aber bleibt stecken. Sie besitzen noch eine andere Waffe, nämlich

[*] Auch hier handelt es sich um mehrere zu einer dicken Schnur geflochtenen Schnüren, die allerdings den Eindruck einer Darmsaite erweckt.

sie ihnen so gutmütiger Kissel wird vorne in einem 9 Zoll langen Griff eingepaßt und dient wahrscheinlich als Dolch. Krieg schienen übrigens diese Männer nicht zu führen, doch sah ich drei Männer unter ihnen, die Narben am Körper hatten, welche von Wunden herrührten schienen.

Am Hafen [Dunwalter] kam der 'Brawley' mit einer Quantität Rehbockfellen an. Gleich nach der Ankunft des 'Brawley' erschienen die Feuerländer, wahrscheinlich in der Hoffnung auf einen Schmaus von Rehbockfleisch und Fett, wie sie auch von Hr. Bauman erhielten. Unsere Leute schnitten den Thran von den Fellen ab, zu welcher Arbeit sich auch unsere Gäste anbieten, um die Fettstreifen zu erhalten. Sie stellten sich ziemlich geschickt an, aber bald bemerkte ich, daß sie noch anderer Absichten hatten, einer hatte ein ganzes Fell in kleinen Stückchen auf eine listige Weise unter seinen Arm verborgen. Der Unterschiffer bemerkte es, als der Dieb sich eben entfernen wollte, der Feuerländer lachte herzlich, aber als ich hervortrat, sprang er in sein Canoe, weil er wohl wußte, daß er sich gegen mich vergangen hatte. Seit sie einer Idee vom Tauschhandel bekommen hatten, stahlen sie auch mehr und zwar suchten sie das auf dem Cutter gestohlene Gut auf der Brigg für Dinge zu vertauschen, die ihnen besser gefielen.

Da wir jetzt wieder stark genug waren, um sie nicht zu fürchten zu brauchen, so ließ ich den Burschen, der mir den Lappen in das Gesicht geworfen hatte, wieder an Bord und machte ihm deutlich, daß er jetzt ganz in meiner Gewalt sey, da er aber sich sehr furchtsam und unterthänig bezeigte, so wurde er begnadigt.

Nachmittags ging ich mit Bauman auf die Insel zu den Feuerländern, denen ich unsere Absicht vorher deutlich gemacht hatte; sie ruderten vor uns her und einige empfingen uns am Ufer, von wo sie uns nach ihrer Stadt führten, die aus wenig schlecht gebauten Hütten bestand und von etwa 60 Personen bewohnt wurde. Der erste Umstand, der mir auffiel, war, daß sie alle Weiber und kleinen Kinder entfernt hatten, sie waren in den Wäldern, wo sie überall Feuer anzündeten. Es schien dieß eine Art Freudenbezeugung über unseren Besuch, vielleicht aber war es auch ein Signal, für andere Feuerländer; wirklich kamen zwei fremde Canoes an. In einer Hütte fand ich eine ganz zahme Seemöwe, was die Neigung dieser Völker zu den Thieren beweis't. Ich ließ der Sicherheit halber das Boot in der Nähe und die ganze Mannschaft war bewaffnet, so daß wir unbesorgt unter ihnen herumgehen konnten. Da ich Muscheln zu essen wünschte, so zeigten sie mir zugleich welche und jeder beeilte sich, mir die heitern zu bringen. Der alte Mann, der die kleine Robbe gestohlen hatte, zeigte sich hier zum ersten Mal wieder und ich gab ihm zu verstehen, daß ich ihm verzeihen habe. Um sie etwas zu schrecken, schoß ich auf einen Schuß mit meiner Doppelflinte zwei Möven, worüber sie, besonders die neu angekommenen, sehr erstaunt waren.

Meine Leute tanzten und sangen mit den Feuerländern, aber als einige in die Wälder gehen wollten, so wurden sie besorgt für ihre Weiber, weßhalb ich die Matrosen zurückhielt. Diese Schonung von unserer Seite vergalten sie

[illegible] ganz und gar nicht, ein Französischer Infanterist [illegible] unserer Infanteriejungen, dem er für ein Mädchen hielt, so unverschämt, daß er sich erkundigt in den Boot zurückzukehren wollte, um [illegible] Nachrichtungen zu empfangen. Nachdem wir unsere Neugierde befriedigt hatten, engten wir Ihnen Lebensmittel und Lebewohl an Bord zurück.

Einen Kranken sah ich nicht unter diesen Frauen, auch keinen Leibarzt, bis auf einen einzigen, den der Schiffs gestellten hatte. So viel ich bemerken konnte, betrug die Zahl der Weiber etwa ½ von der der Männer und von den Alten betrifft, so konnte sich alle in 4 Classen abtheilen. Die Jüngsten waren 2 Mädchen, die ich zwischen 60 und 70 schätzte, dann kamen 24 Männer und Weiber gegen 40 Jahre, dann 27 von 20 bis 30, und die übrigen 26 bestanden aus Knaben, Mädchen und Kindern.

Am 1. Januar [1824] landeten die Französinder an der Spitze der Bai und einnahmen das Gebäude an. Da der Rauch, der Richtung des Windes gegenüber, gerade auf uns zukam, ließ ich eine Flinte über ihre Köpfe abschießen, aber sie kehrten sich nicht daran und fuhren fort vorzudringen, so daß wir ganz in den Rauch eingehüllt waren und ich mich genöthigt sah, einer Kanone abzufeuern an Land, natürlich nach einer Seite, wo keine Menschen standen, aber durch so nahe, daß sie das Pfeifen der Schaaren hörten. So wie sie den Knall hörten, eilten sie in ihr Canoe und ruderten so schnell als möglich nach ihren Hütten. Da sie recht gut wußten, daß uns der Rauch sehr unangenehm war, so mußte ich das Betragen für eine wirkliche Neckerei halten und durch eine kräftige Maßregel ihr ein Ende machen.

Am andern Morgen kamen die Französinder an Bord, aber an denen, die wir gestern irgend etwas vorgeschwätzt, sie betrugen sich sehr höflich. Um 10 Uhr kehrten wir die Anker und gingen bei W. nach dem Dorpe Kamiroe-Insulin, der "Broadley" blieb hier liegen. Bis zum 3ten [Januar] blieben wir bei jener Insulin unter Segel, dann kehrten wir zurück. Als uns die Französinder sahen, erhoben sie einen Streit zu Gunsten und ruderten eilig auf die Seite. Da der ganze Stamm sehr mehrere Freunden, im Canoe über 11 Canoes um die Brigg herum waren und deren jedes wenigstens 7 Personen enthielt, so hielt ich es für rathlich, dem "Broadley" ein Signal zu machen, der auch sogleich ein Boot abordnete. Hr. Brennan kam selbst und versicherte, die Französinder hätten sich sehr anständig betragen und es habe nicht den geringsten Auftritt mit ihnen gehabt."

Abschließend legt Wesseel (s): 119 seine Beurtheilung der Lebensbedingungen und Kulturverhältnisse der dortigen Eingeborenen vor: „Was nun endlich meine Erfahrungen über die Französinder betrifft, so kann ich wohl sagen, daß ich niemals so unerfahrne Menschen sah, übrigens meine ich nicht, wie so viele Reisende, daß dieß einer mangelhaften geistigen Organisation zuzuschreiben ist, im Gegentheil sie erkennen mir ziemlich bildsam. Beinahe alle Reisenden, die mit den Französinden[*] zusammengetroffen sind, stellen

[*] Damit sind auch Vertreter der beiden anderen Stämme, besonders die Kalabrinhy gemeint, von denen man um diese Zeit in Europa schon ebenfalls gehört hatte.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

dessen diese Expedition begegnete. Ein furchtbarer Wetter entwickelte sich englisch gegen die Mannschaft, die man weiter Mole sich so weit in den Sturm vorgewagt hatte. Im Logbuch heißt es: „30th January 1830. A continued gale, with rain and thick weather throughout the day. During the night the weather became rather more moderate; but on the morning of the 31st, the wind again increased to a gale, and towards noon, the willowers were so violent, that our small cutter, lying astern of the ship, was fairly capsized, though she had not even a mast standing ... Considering that this month corresponds to August in our climate, it is natural to compare them, and to think how hay and corn would prosper in a Fuegian summer. As yet I have found no difference in Tierra del Fuego between summer and winter, excepting that in the former the days are longer, and the average temperature is perhaps two degrees higher, but there is also then more wind and rain." The gale still continued, and prevented any thing being done out of the ship" (Kno: 290).

Weil das Boot schon einige Tage ungeschützen war, heißt dem Platzmeister berechtigte Unruhe. „At three this morning (5th February 1830), I was called up to hear that the whale-boat was lost-stolen by the natives; and that her coxswain and two men had just reached the ship in a clumsy canoe, made like a large basket ... They had been sent by the master, who, with the other people, was at the cove under Cape Desolation, where they stopped on the first day. Their provisions were all consumed, two-thirds having been stolen with the boat, and the return of the natives, to plunder, and perhaps kill them, was expected daily" (Kno: 291). Ohne Verzug eilte der Kommandant den gefährdeten Matrosen zu Hilfe. Er erreichte sie, trotz ungünstiger Witterung, an ihrem Unglücksorte und erkundigte sich unverzüglich nach dem Verbleib des Bootes, das „must, indeed, have been taken away, just before daylight, by the natives". Als die Matrosen den Verlust gewahr geworden waren, merkten sie längstlich darauf und obwohl sie Anzeichen von der Anwesenheit mehrerer Eingeborener entdeckten — „they found the wigwams, evidently just deserted: the fire not being extinguished" —, war ihr Suchen nach dem Fahrzeuge einige Tage lang vergeblich. Sie kamen aber schließlich den Dieben auf die Spur, ohne indes das gestohlene Boot zu erlangen und ohne den Ort zu erfahren, wo es versteckt gehalten wurde. „Disappointed in the hope of obtaining a guide, we determined to prevent those people [eine kleine Gruppe von Indianern] from escaping far, and spreading any intelligence likely to impede the return of our boat, which we daily expected: we therefore destroyed two canoes, and part of a third, that the natives were building, and burned every material which could be useful to them in making another canoe."

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[*] Die in jenen Gegenden herrschenden unberechenbaren Witterungsverhältnisse hat Fitz-Roy (b): 311—317, auf zutreffenden Beobachtungen fußend, in einem besonderen Abschnitt seines Werkes zusammengefaßt. Er überschreibt denselben mit: "Some Observations upon the Appearance and Character of the Sea Coast of Tierra del Fuego; a brief Description of the Anchorages; and a few Remarks upon the Seasons, Wind, and Weather."

Die Matrosen konnten die Suche nach dem für sie wichtigsten Boote nicht aufgeben und fuhren von einem Beiwohl zum andern. Schon vier ganze Wochen lang hatten sie sich erfolglos bemüht und konnten endlich wieder zur Bibile zurück, wo der fehlende Boot entwendet worden war. Sie hielten jene Eingeborenen, denen sie hier von neuem ansichtig wurden, für die Bootsdiebe und überfielen sie. In einem wüsten Handgemenge wurde ein Indianer getötet, andere entwichen und mehrere Personen — zwei Männer, drei Frauen und zwei Kinder — wurden gefangen genommen. „When fairly embarked, and before we asked any questions, the natives around very anxious to tell us where our boat was; but pointed in a direction quite opposite to that which they had previously shown us." In der Hoffnung, endlich das langgesuchte Boot zu erreichen, suchte die gelungene Mannschaft in der angegebenen Richtung weiter. Die Eingeborenen wurden scharf bewacht; trotzdem entwichen einem Nachts drei Männer in den dichten Wald, wo sie nicht mehr eingefangen werden konnten.

Unerwartet erreichten die Matrosen ihre durch einen besonderen Umstand erschwerten Bemühungen fast. „Next day (19th February 1830) I passed over to Gilbert Island, and in a cave found such recent marks of natives, that I felt sure of coming up with the chase in the course of the day. When the Fuegians stop anywhere, they generally hack a few trees, to repair their canoes or cover their wigwams; but those whose traces we were following, had made long journeys without stopping; and, where they did stay, hacked no trees, which was one reason for supposing them to be the party in our boat. In the course of the day we pulled nearly round the Gilbert Islands, looking into every cave."

Entmutigt durch die Nutzlosigkeit aller Anstrengungen gab der Kommandant endlich weitere Bemühungen auf. In Händen einzelner Indianer, denen er begegnet war, hatte er wohl Stellfeder und kleinere Gegenstände entdeckt, die der Mannschaft des verlorenen Bootes entwendet worden waren; dieses letztere jedoch konnte er nirgends auffinden. Wieder waren einige Tage untätig vergangen und so entschloß man sich schließlich zum Hauptschiffe zurückzukehren. „We reached the 'Beagle' in the evening (23rd Febr. 1830), but found that all the other prisoners, excepting those children, had escaped by swimming ashore during the preceding night. Thus, after much trouble and anxiety, much valuable time lost, and as fine a boat of her kind as ever was seen being stolen from us by these savages, I found myself with these young children to take care of, and no prospect whatever of recovering the boat ... Much time had certainly been spent in this search, yet it ought not to be considered as altogether lost"; denn verschiedene Beobachtungen von Bedeutung für die allgemeingeographische Auffassung und für die Schiffbarkeit jener Gegend sind währenddessen durchgeführt worden.

Mit vollem Rechte konnte somit der Oberbefehlshaber folgendes Ergebnis buchen: „Considering the extent of coast we had already examined, we ought to be thankful for having experienced no other disaster of any kind, and for having had the means of replacing his loss" (King: 389—405).

Das erste Zusammentreffen des Kapitäns Fitz-Roy mit den Yamana war für ihn mit so viel Enttäuschung und Benachteiligung verbunden,[*] daß aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach diese unangenehme Erfahrung mit ihnen nicht ohne Einfluß auf seine spätere Gesamtbeurteilung jener Eingeborenen und ihrer Einrichtungen geblieben sein konnte. Eine überaus wichtige Überzeugung aber hat er bereits hier, im Stewart Harbour in der Bahía Desolada gewonnen, die er am 20. Februar 1830 niederschrieb: „I became convinced that so long as we were ignorant of the Fuegian language, and the natives were equally ignorant of ours, we should never know much about them, or the interior of their country; nor would there be the slightest chance of their being raised one step above the low place which they then held in our estimation. Their words seemed to be short, but to have many meanings, and their pronunciation was harsh and guttural."

Die Schiffe hielten sich noch immer bei den außenliegenden Eilanden. Der Flottenführer schickte am 2. März 1830 den Obermaat mit einigen Matrosen zu Vermessungen aus und „he might have been expected to return in a week or ten days... Two of the three children, left by their mother at Stewart, Fuegians he might find most to the westward, whence they would soon find their friends. The third, who was about eight years old, was still with us: she seemed to be so happy and healthy, that I determined to detain her as a hostage for the stolen boat and try to teach her English" (King: 409). So kam dieses unmündige Mädchen auf die englische Flotte.

Endlich glaubte sich der Kapitän frei von den lästigen Eingeborenen. Doch schon am Morgen des nächsten Tages „some Fuegians in a canoe approached us, seeming anxious to come on board. I had no wish for their company, and was sorry to see that they had found us out; for it was to be expected that they would soon pay us nightly as well as daily visits, and steal every thing left within their reach. Having made signs for them to leave us, without effect, I sent Mr. Wilson to drive them away, and fire a pistol over their heads, to frighten them. They then went back, but only round a point of land near the ship; so I sent the boat again to drive them out of the harbour, and deter them from paying us another visit. Reflecting, while Mr. Wilson was following them, that by getting one of these natives on board, there would be a chance of his learning enough English to be an interpreter, and that by his means we might recover our lost boat, I resolved to take the youngest man on board, as he, in all probability, had less strong ties to bind him to his people than others who were older, and might have families. With these ideas I went after them, and hauling their canoe alongside of my boat, told a young man to come into it; he did so, quite unconcernedly, and

[*] Hohes Lob gebührt dem Flottenführer wegen seines maßvollen Verhaltens gegen die treulosen und angriffslustigen Eingeborenen. Er betont nachdrücklich: „I mention these incidents to show what was our behaviour to these savages, and that no wanton cruelty was exercised towards them" (King: 396).

sat down, apparently contented and at his ease.[36] The others said nothing, either to me or to him, but paddled out of the harbour as fast as they could. They seemed to belong to the same tribe as those we had last seen. This afternoon (4th March 1830) ... FUEGIA BASKET[37] told YORK MINSTER[38] — the man I took out of the canoe — all her story; at some parts of which he laughed heartily. FUEGIA, cleaned and dressed, was much improved in appearance: she was already a pet on the lower deck, and appeared to be quite contented. YORK MINSTER was sullen at first, yet his appetite did not fail; and whatever he received more than he could eat, he stowed away in a corner: but as soon as he was well cleaned and clothed, and allowed to go about where he liked in the vessel, he became much more cheerful" (KING: 409).

Wenige Tage später traf FITZ-ROY, in einem kleinen Hafen, auf eine aus vierzehn Männern und zwei Frauen bestehende Schar von Eingeborenen. Aus Furcht vor ihnen, „I resolved to drive them out of the harbour, as it was absolutely necessary. Already they, or their countrymen, had robbed us of a boat, and endangered the lives of several persons; and had they been allowed to remain near us, the loss of that part of another boat which was already built would have followed ... Another motive for searching the canoes, arose from seeing so many men without women ... At all events they came prepared for war, being much painted, wearing white bands on their heads, carrying their slings and spears, and having left all their children and dogs, with most of their women, in some other place. Two boats being manned and armed, I went with Lieut. KEMPE and Mr. WILSON to chase the Fuegians, who were paddling towards another part of the harbour. Seeing the boats approaching, they landed and got on the top of a rock, leaving the canoes underneath with the two women. From their manner I saw they were disposed to be hostile, and we therefore approached leisurely. Their canoes being within our reach, I told the bowman to haul one alongside that we might search it, but no sooner did his boathook touch it, than a shower of stones of all sizes came upon us; and one man was knocked down, apparently killed, by the blow of a large stone on the temple. We returned their volley with our firearms, but I believe without hitting one of them. Stones and balls continued to be exchanged till the cutter came to our assistance. The Fuegians then got behind a rock, where we could not see them and kept close. Their canoes we took, and finding in them some bottles and part of our lost boat's gear, we destroyed them" (KING: 413). Nach diesem Vorfall fürchteten sich die Indianer und

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[36] Auf diese Weise kam der zweite Vertreter des Yamana-Stammes an Bord des englischen Schiffes, wo kurz vorher bereits die kaum achtjährige FUEGIA BASKET aufgenommen worden war.

[37] Diesen Namen gab FITZ-ROY dem Yamana-Mädchen „in remembrance of the basket-like canoe by which we received intelligence of the loss of our boat" (KING: 410).

[38] Wie begreiflich, wurde dieser Name dem südlichen, freien Felsvorsprunge mit doppeltem Gipfel auf der Isla Waterman entlehnt, den JAMES COOK zum ersten Male beschrieben und sogar gezeichnet hat (Vgl. KING: 407, 411).

verstockten sich im Walde auf der Isla Wittlebury. Als sie am nächsten Tage das Boot ihrer europäischen Angreifer sich nähern sahen, löschten sie ihre Feuer aus, um ihren Gegnern die Möglichkeit zu nehmen, sie zu erkennen. Die Matrosen indes durchforschten den Lagerplatz, fanden jedoch nur leere Hütten und daneben „a piece of 'King's white line', quite new, was picked up; therefore our boat had been there, or these were some of the people who stole her. . . Looking round on the other side of that island, we saw two canoes paddling right away from the islands. Knowing . . . that they were the fugitives from the wigwams, we gave chase, and came up with them before they could land, but so close to the shore that while securing one canoe, the other escaped. From that which we seized a young man and a girl jumped overboard, deserting an old woman and a child, whom we left in order to chase the young man; but he was so active in the water that it was fully a quarter of an hour before we could get him into our boat. Having at last secured him,[*] we followed the others, but they had all handed and hidden, so we returned across the sound with our captive" (King: 415). Die Jagd auf eine andere kleine Gruppe erwies sich bald als erfolglos und wurde eingestellt. „So by thus harassing them I hoped to be freed from any more of their visits while we remained in the neighbourhood."

Die bisherigen Erfahrungen zugrunde legend macht Fitz-Roy gerechtfertigte Schlüsse auf die Art, wie Europäer jene Eingeborenen behandeln müssen und begründet das folgendermaßen: „The bodily strength of these savages is very great (York Minster is as strong as any two of our stoutest men), which, with their agility, both on shore and in the water, and their quickness in attack and defence with stones and sticks, makes them difficult to deal with when out of their canoes. They are a brave, hardy race, and fight to the last struggle; though in the manner of a wild beast, it must be owned, else they would not, when excited, defy a whole boat's crew, and, single-handed, try to kill the men, as I have witnessed. That kindness towards these beings, and good treatment of them, is as yet useless, I almost think, both from my own experience and from much that I have heard of their conduct to sealing vessels. Until a mutual understanding can be established, moral fear is the only means by which they can be kept peaceable. As they see only vessels which when their boats are away have but a few people on board, their idea of the power of Europeans is very poor, and their dread of fire-arms not nearly so great as might be imagined" (King: 415). Sicherlich aber wird zur Befriedung jener Eingeborenen der betrübliche Umstand nicht beigetragen haben, daß wieder ein junger Indianer von jenen Europäern auf ihr Schiff verschleppt wurde.

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[*] Dieser Mann ist der dritte Yamana, der der Übermacht dieser Engländer sich ergeben mußte und von ihnen, gleichzeitig mit seinen beiden Landsleuten, fortgeführt wurde. In England erlag er schon nach einem Monat den Blattern und hat sein Heimatland nie mehr wiedergesehen.

Fitz-Roy fährt mit seiner Beschreibung fort: „From this cove we returned to the 'Beagle'. My Fuegian captive, whom I named 'Boat Memory', seemed frightened, but not low-spirited; he eat enormously, and soon fell fast asleep. The meeting between him and York Minster was very tame, for, at first, they would not appear to recognise or speak to each other. Boat was the best-featured Fuegian I had seen, and being young and well made, was a very favourable specimen of the race: York was one of the stoutest men I had observed among them; but little Fuegia was almost as broad as she was high: she seemed to be so merry and happy, that I do not think she would willingly have quitted us. Three natives of Tierra del Fuego, better suited for the purpose of instruction, and for giving, as well as receiving information, could not, I think, have been found" (King: 416).

Dem soeben eingefangenen Yamana-Manne fiel es besonders schwer, sich an das Leben auf dem Schiffe und an das Zusammensein mit den beiden anderen Stammesgenossen zu gewöhnen. Schon am folgenden Tage, dem 10. März 1830, machte Fitz-Roy einige Beobachtungen, die ihn über seine Absichten mit den drei Feuerländern etwas beruhigten. Er schreibt: „This morning, having been well cleaned and dressed, Boat appeared contented and easy; and being together, kept York and him in better spirits than they would probably otherwise have been, for they laughed, and tried to talk, by imitating whatever was said. Fuegia soon began to learn English, and to say several things very well. She laughed and talked with her countrymen incessantly." Der Flottenführer nahm sich seiner Gefangenen gleich anfangs mit aufrichtiger Menschenfreundlichkeit an und hat sie alle später aufs beste in England betreut. Seine Bemühungen um diese drei Vertreter eines sehr primitiven Volkes werden weiter unten noch ausführlich dargestellt. Zum Verständnis aber all dessen schien es angebracht zu sein, bei welch merkwürdigem Spiel des Schicksals jene drei Yamana auf die englischen Expeditionsschiffe gekommen sind.

Wenige Tage später, am 14. März 1830, traf Fitz-Roy abermals mit einigen Feuerländern zusammen: „most of whom were armed with slings, spears, and cutting weapons made with pieces of iron hoop fastened on a stick. They were very troublesome, expecially at night, and obliged him [den Bootsmaat] to keep them at a distance. Their respect for a musket was not so great as might have been expected, and unless they saw it tolerably close, and pointed directly at them, they cared not. The boat's crew bought some fish from them, for buttons and other trifles. From forty to fifty men, besides women and children, were seen in one place alone; and many were met elsewhere" (King: 417).

Auf der Weiterfahrt kamen den Engländern zunächst keine Eingeborenen mehr zu Gesicht. Am 3. April 1830 verzeichnete Fitz-Roy in seinem Tagebuch: „Our Fuegians were becoming very cheerful, and apparently contented. We gave them as much fresh provision (birds and fish) as we could obtain with guns and lines, and hitherto they had fared very well. All that was shot

went to one stock, from which it was divided in rotation to the messes, the sick being first provided for, and then the Fuegians" (King: 427).

Doch schon nach zwei Tagen stellten sich wieder andere feuerländische Besucher ein, wahrscheinlich Leute der Wollaston-Dialektgruppe. Nur so erklärt sich die sprachliche Verschiedenheit der drei Yamana an Bord von den neuen Gästen, die hier in der Bahia Schapenham, im Südosten der Peninsula Hardy, auftauchten. Fitz-Roy indes „was sadly grieved at finding that some Fuegians who arrived were not of the same tribe as our captives, nor even spoke the same language. On the contrary, much enmity appeared to exist between them, though their colour, features, and habits were similar. At first, York and Boat would not go near them, but afterwards took delight in trying to cheat them out of the things they offered to barter, and mocked their way of speaking and deck; but the instant she saw them, screamed and ran away. Some one told her, in jest, to go into their canoe and live with them, which frightened her so much, that she burst into tears and ran below to hide herself. After they were gone, Boat and York made us understand they had had fights with that tribe, and showed the scars of wounds received from them. By the help of signs we could comprehend much of their meaning, but very few words were yet learned on either side" (King: 427). Dieses Erlebnis bringt deutlich zum Ausdruck, daß sich Feindschaften zwischen den einzelnen Gruppen entwickelten, die zuweilen sehr lange anhielten.

Am gleichen Tage beobachtete der Flottenführer die besondere Form der Wohnhütte und der Fischangel der dortigen Eingeborenen. Auf Grund dessen gab er sich auch jetzt wieder klar Rechenschaft von den örtlichen Verschiedenheiten der indianischen Gebrauchsgegenstände innerhalb des eng-begrenzten Heimatgebietes.

Währenddessen war der Schiffsoffizier Murray damit beschäftigt, den nördlichen Teil der großen Bahia Nassau auszukundschaften. Wie er seinem Befehlshaber, dessen Schiff gut verankert in der Bahia Orange lag, am 14. April 1830 berichtete, sah er „great numbers of natives near the narrow passage [100] and upwards of a hundred canoes were seen in one day, each containing from two to six people. These Fuegians had much guanaco skin, and many of the bones of that animal made into spear-heads, but very little seal-skin. The wigwams were large and commodious, compared with those of the western tribes, being built of small trees piled up endwise, and tied together at the top, their outside being covered with bushes, grass, etc, to keep out the cold, and the earth inside scooped out much below the surface of the ground. Some could hold about twice as many people as the western wigwams: but all were not so large. Every canoe gave chase to our boat, eager to see the strangers, and exchange small fish, spear-heads, or arrows, for buttons,

[100] Damit kann wohl nur die Angostura Murray gemeint sein, die durch einen engen Wasserarm den Canal Beagle mit der Bahia Nassau verbindet.

beads, and other trifles. No arms or offensive weapons were seen among them, excepting fish spears, bows, arrows, and slings: they had not even clubs nor such lances as are used by the western tribes. They seemed to be more tractable, and less disposed to quarrel than those of the west. Wherever the boat went, she was followed by a train of canoes, each full of people, and having a fire smoking in the middle. Where they got the guanaco skins was a question not easy to answer . . .[101] One native showed how they ran, and their shape, and how they were killed, also the kind of noise they made" (King: 429).

In den folgenden Tagen wurde die Erforschung der Isla Kap Hoorn und ihrer nächsten Umgebung durchgeführt. Bei nördlicher Fahrtrichtung erreichte die Flotte vorerst die Isla Nueva und ankerte in einem Hafen der Isla Lennox. Ein Teil der Mannschaft suchte nun die südlichen und östlichen Ufer der Isla Navarino ab. Am 5. Mai 1830, nahe der Bahia Windhond, „we saw four fine guanacoes feeding close to the water. They did not seem to be much alarmed; but walked away from us round a projecting part of the shore" (King: 439).[102] Auch hier wurden „several canoes, full of natives" gesichtet.

Am Abend des 6. Mai 1830 richteten sich die Seeleute nahe der Angostura Murray ein einfaches Nachtlager ein. In der Morgenfrühe des nächsten Tages, „soon after we set out, many canoes were seen in chase of us: but though they paddled fast in smooth water, our boat moved too quickly for them to succeed in their endeavours to barter with us, or to gratify their curiosity . . . When we stopped to cook and eat our dinner, canoes came from all sides, bringing plenty of fish for barter. None of the natives had any arms; they seemed to be smaller in size, and less disposed to be mischievous, than the western race: their languages sounded similar to that of the natives whom we saw in Orange Bay. We found a very large wigwam, built in a substantial manner,[103] and a much better place to live in than many of the huts which are called houses in Chiloe. I think twenty men might have stood

[101] Dennoch läßt sich diese Frage leicht beantworten; denn auf der Isla Navarino gab und gibt es eine gute Zahl von Guanacos. Mitglieder der "Nassauischen Flotte" haben diese großen Tiere bereits entdeckt (S. 35, Fußnote 43). Daß von dorther jene Gegenstände herstammen mußten, deutet Fitz-Roy (ib.) selber an; schreibt er doch, daß „the people made signs to Mr. Murray that they came from the eastward", wo die genannte Insel liegt, und „none pointed towards the north". Einen Monat später sah er selber an den Ufern der Bahia Windhond „several guanacoes near the shore as we passed along" (King: 445). Sogar auf der Isla Nueva beobachtete Murray „a large guanaco, and just afterwards a whole herd feeding, for which he seemed to be doing the duty of a sentinel . . . Traces of, and paths made by guanacoes, were very numerous in every direction" (ib.).

[102] Fitz-Roy (ib.) hat diese Tiere genau beobachtet. „They appeared to be much larger than those I had seen near Port Desire, on the Patagonian coast, their bodies being far heavier, and their tails longer and more bushy." Zwar nicht in diesen, wohl aber in anderen kleinen Äußerlichkeiten unterscheiden sich die Guanacos in den beiden genannten Gebieten voneinander (Vgl. Bd. I, 11).

[103] Die Möglichkeit wäre nicht von der Hand zu weisen, daß diese außergewöhnlich große Hütte für irgend eine der geheimen Zeremonien, wie sie bei den Yamana üblich sind, errichtet worden war.

upright in it, in a circle; but, probably, of these Fuegians, it would house thirty or forty in the cold weather" (King: 439). Bald traf Fitz-Roy hierselbst mit Eingeborenen zusammen. „These Fuegians appeared to think the excrescences which grow on the birch trees, like the gallnuts on an oak, an estimable dainty. They offered us several, some as large as an apple, and seemed surprised at our refusal. Most of them had a small piece of guanaco, or sealskin, on their shoulders or bodies, but not enough for warmth: perhaps they did not willingly approach strangers with their usual skin dress about them, their first impulse, on seeing us, being to hide it. Several, whom I surprised at their wigwams, had large skins round their bodies, which they concealed directly they saw me. Fish and the birch fungus must be their chief food, for shell-fish are scarce and small: but they catch an abundance of excellent rock-fish, smelt, and what might be called a yellow mullet. Guanaco meat may occasionally be obtained by them, but not in sufficient quantity to be depended upon as an article of daily subsistence" (King: 440).

Die Flotte gelangte bald in den Canal de Beagle hinein und fuhr in westlicher Richtung weiter. „No natives were seen, though a few wigwams of the round-topped kind, were passed. The westernmost sharp-pointed, or Yapoo wigwam, was on the main-land, close to the island of the Devil; it was made of small trees, piled up in a circle (the branches and roots having been broken off) with the smaller ends meeting at the top." Wegen ihrer größeren Maßverhältnisse hielt man diese Hütte für ein "Meeting-House"; auch deshalb, weil man diesen Platz als neutrale Stelle zwischen den beiden benachbarten Gruppen deutete.

„Next day (11. Mai 1830) we landed, for dinner and rest, near the Murray Narrow, and close to a wigwam, whose inmates ran away; but soon returned, on seeing us seated quietly by their fire. We bought fish from them for beads, buttons, etc, and gave a knife for a very fine dog, which they were extremely reluctant to part with; but the knife was too great a temptation to be resisted, though dogs seemed very scarce and proportionably valuable. Afterwards we continued our route, but were stopped when in sight of the Narrow by three canoes full of natives, anxious for barter. We gave them a few beads and buttons, for some fish; and, without any previous intention, I told one of the boys in a canoe to come into our boat, and gave the man who was with him a large shining mother-of-pearl button. The boy got into my boat directly, and sat down.[104] Seeing him and his friends seem quite contented, I pulled onwards, and made sail. Thinking that this accidental occurrence might prove useful to the natives, as well as to ourselves, I determined to take advantage of it. The canoe, from which the boy came, paddled towards the shore; but the others still paddled after us, holding up fish and skins to tempt us to trade with them. 'Jemmy Button', as the boat's crew called him,

[104] So kam der vierte Vertreter des Yamana-Stammes auf das englische Schiff. Niemand konnte ahnen, welche bedeutende und einflußreiche Rolle er später spielen würde.

on account of his price, seemed to be pleased at his change, and fancied he was going to kill guanaco, or wanakòye, as he called them — as they were to be found near that place." Während der Fahrt durch Bahia Windhound „two canoes had come, at different times, to the ship; but the natives were extremely quiet and inoffensive, and, sold our people a large quantity of fish".

Über die vier jugendlichen Eingeborenen an Deck der "Beagle" schrieb Fitz-Roy am gleichen Tage, den 13. Mai 1830 ganz kurz: „Our Fuegians were in high spirits, and the meeting between them and Jemmy Button was droll enough: they laughed at him, called him *Yapoo*, and told us to put more clothes on him directly" (King: 445).

Nicht ungenau ist es, zu sagen, daß die Isla Nueva die Ostgrenze des Yamana-Gebietes darstellt. Murray bestätigt dies: „Near Cape Graham we saw a large party of Indians, with several canoes, one of which, paddled by two men and a woman, came alongside of our boat, and they sold us some fine fish, for the large price of two metal buttons and a small string of beads" (King: 446). Als bald danach, am 19. Mai 1830, die "Beagle" selber am östlichen Ufer der Isla Lennox vor Anker ging, „natives had come alongside at various times, to sell fish for old buttons and other trifles. It was amusing to witness York and Boat taking in these people, by their bargains. The same men who, two months back, would themselves have sold a number of fish for a bit of glass, were seen going about the decks collecting broken crockery-ware, or any trash, to exchange for the fish brought alongside by these '*Yapoos*', as they called them; not one word of whose language did they appear to comprehend" (King: 449).

An dieser Stelle endlich verließ die englische Flotte die Heimat der Yamana und steuerte nordwärts in den Atlantischen Ozean hinein. Die "Adventure" und die "Beagle" liefen in Rio de Janeiro am 6. August wieder aus und erreichten Plymouth Sound am 14. Oktober 1830. King führte noch den Oberbefehl über die gesamte Flotte, indes sind die meisten der oben nachgedruckten wertvollen Abschnitte dem Tagebuche des Fitz-Roy, der bereits die "Beagle" befehligte, entnommen. Ein so inhaltsreiches und vielgestaltiges Bild der Lebensgewohnheiten und Besitzgüter jener fernen Inselbewohner hat er auf Grund seiner unmittelbaren Beobachtungen entworfen, daß man dasselbe beim Studium der feuerländischen Kulturverhältnisse nicht missen möchte, deshalb, weil doch bis dahin die Eingeborenen noch nie in so anhaltende Berührung mit den Europäern gelangt waren.[100]

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[100] Ein Mitglied dieser Expedition des Kommandanten King war John Macdonald, der ebenfalls seine Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen mit den Eingeborenen in einem besonderen Werke niedergelegt hat. Da dieselben aber über die oben wiederholten Mitteilungen bemerkenswert nicht hinausgehen, so habe ich davon Abstand genommen, sie hier einzuschalten. Zur Begründung kann ich auch auf Cooper: 108 hinweisen, der den Verfasser folgendermaßen einschätzt: „He seems to have been an exact observer, but his account is sketchy, popular, anecdotal, and lacking in detail."

ROBERT FITZ-ROY: Seit 1828 gehörte Kapitän Fitz-Roy der englischen Forschungsexpedition "Adventure" und "Beagle" an, und zwar als Befehlshaber des letztgenannten Schiffes. Auf der Heimfahrt in der ersten Hälfte des Jahres 1830 befanden sich an Bord seines Schiffes die drei jugendlichen Yamana-Männer York Minster, Boat Memory, Jemmy Button und die kleine Fuegia Basket. Ununterbrochen war er darauf bedacht, sie genau kennenzulernen und dadurch einen Einblick in die Gedankenwelt und Geistesverfassung des ganzen Stammes zu gewinnen. Diese Bemühungen setzte er auch weiterhin fort. „During the time which elapsed before we reached England, I had time to see much of my Fuegian companions; and daily became more interested about them as I attained a further acquaintance with their abilities and natural inclinations. Far, very far indeed, were these of the number from deserving to be called savages — even at this early period of their residence among civilized people — though the mother, named York Minster, was certainly a displeasing specimen of uncivilized human nature" (Fitz-Roy [a]: 1). In England selber, wo die Flotte am 14. Oktober 1830 einlief, sorgte er für seine feuerländischen Schützlinge nach bestem Wissen und Können (S. 136). Trotzdem starb Boat Memory an den Blattern bereits November 1830, obwohl er gute Pflege im Royal Naval Hospital zu Devonport erhalten hatte.

In der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres 1831 wiederholte die britische Admiralität ihre frühere Entscheidung, die "Beagle" nochmals in die Kap Hoorn-Gegend zur Fortsetzung der hydrographischen und geographischen Beobachtungen zu entsenden. Der Oberbefehl wurde Fitz-Roy übertragen. Mit Sorgfalt und Eifer traf man die Vorbereitungen für die vielen und verschiedenartigen Bedürfnisse, die "Beagle" selber mußte [illegible] in Dock gehen und gut verstärkt werden. Als diese Arbeiten sich de[illegible] näherten, wurden die drei jungen Yamana mit einer reichen Auswa[illegible] [illegible]lerhand Gegenständen aus Walthamstow geholt, und schließlich besorgte [illegible] genügend Vorräte an guten Lebensmitteln und den besten Instrumenten.[**] „Anxious that no opportunity of collecting useful information, during the voyage, should be lost; I proposed to the Hydrographer that some well-educated and scientific person should be sought for who would willingly share such accomodations as I had to offer, in order to profit by the opportunity of visiting distant countries yet little known. Captain Beaufort approved of the suggestion, and wrote to Professor Peacock, of Cambridge, who consulted with a friend, Professor Henslow, and he named Mr. Charles Darwin, grandson of Dr. Darwin the

[**] Wie Fitz-Roy (a): 43 selber anerkennt, „never did a vessel leave England better provided, or fitted for the service she was destined to perform, and for the health and comfort of her crew, than the 'Beagle'. If we did want any thing which could have been carried, it was our own fault; for all that was asked for, from the Dockyard, Victualling Department, Navy Board, or Admiralty, was granted". In einem Briefe an Professor Henslow vom 15. Nov. 1831 sagt Charles Darwin (e): 195 übereinstimmend damit: „Kein Schiff hat England je mit einem solchen Satz von Chronometern verlassen, nämlich vierundzwanzig, und ähnlich sehr gute."

poet, as a young man of promising ability, extremely fond of geology, and indeed all branches of natural history. In consequence an offer was made to Mr. Darwin to be my guest on board, which he accepted conditionally; permission was obtained for his embarkation, and an order given by the Admiralty that he should be borne on the ship's books for provisions. The conditions asked by Mr. Darwin were, that he should be at liberty to leave the 'Beagle' and retire from the Expedition when he thought proper, and that he should pay a fair share of the expenses of my table" (Fitz-Roy [a]: 18).

Als die "Beagle" den englischen Hafen verließ, waren 74 Personen an Bord. Wegen anhaltender Stürme hat sich die Ausfahrt bis Ende Dezember verzögert; am 27. Dezember 1831 endlich ging sie von Barnpool aus in See.

Nach wiederholtem, verzögerndem Aufenthalt an der östlichen Küste Südamerikas waren gegen Ende des Jahres 1832 die magellanischen Gewässer erreicht. Als das Schiff am 15. Dezember am Cabo Peñas auf dem Ostufer der Isla Grande vorbeifuhr, zeigten sich mehrere Eingeborene. „They were tall men, on foot, nearly naked, and accompanied by several large dogs. York Minster and Jemmy Button asked me to fire at them, saying that they were 'Oens-men', very bad men. Our Fuegian companions seemed to be much elated at the certainty of being so near their own country; and the boy was never tired of telling us how excellent his land was, how glad his friends would be to see him, and how well they would treat us in return for our kindness to him" (Fitz-Roy [a]: 119).

In Bahía Buen Suceso besuchten Darwin, Hamond und andere eine kleine Gruppe von Eingeborenen.[107] „One of the Fuegians was so like York Minster, that he might well have passed for his brother. It was amusing and interesting to see their meeting with York and Jemmy, who would not acknowledge them as countrymen, but laughed at and mocked them. It was evident that both of our Fuegians understood much of the language in which the others talked; but they would not try to interpret, alleging that they did not know enough." Am 22. Dezember wurde Kap Hoorn gesichtet, Bahía Nassau nach schwerem Kampfe mit Sturm und Wellen erreicht, Bahía Windhond vorübergehend als Zufluchtsstätte genommen und in der sicheren Gorre Road der Anker geworfen.

Am 18. Januar 1833 unterbricht Fitz-Roy (a): 129 seine Tagebuchaufzeichnungen und schiebt in sein Werk einen besonderen Abschnitt[108] über die "Southern Aborigines of South America" ein. Er bekennt: „Of the tribes which scantily people Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, far less is yet known than might generally be expected. Although frequently seen by white men,

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[107] Dieses Zusammentreffen auf der Isla Grande am 17. Dezember 1832 hat Darwin (d): 231 sehr anschaulich geschildert (Bd. I, 36). Der Originalbericht ist betitelt: Journal of Researches in Geology and Natural History of the various countries visited by H. M. S. "Beagle" under the command of captain Fitz-Roy (London 1839).

[108] Gemeint im "Chapter VII" seines Buches: "Proceedings of the Second Expedition..."

and often holding intercourse with them, probably no person even moderately educated, excepting FALKNER, has staid among them long enough to become acquainted with, and describe their peculiarities." Über die Bewohner des Feuerlandes „a few notices are to be found in narratives of various voyagers; but the imperfect description here given is principally derived from the natives who went to England in the 'Beagle'; and from Mr. Low, who has seen more of them in their own country than any other person".

Diese Selbstbewertung ist quellenkritisch von hoher Bedeutung; denn nachweislich hat FITZ-ROY das heimatliche Gebiet der Yamana nach allen Richtungen hin durchkreuzt und überall kleinere wie größere Gruppen derselben gesehen; für Erklärungen und Deutungen all seiner Beobachtungen blieb er ausschließlich auf das Urteil der jugendlichen Personen angewiesen, die er an Bord der "Beagle" mit sich führte. Allein schon ihr geringes Alter und ihre nicht unbedeutend lange Abwesenheit von den eigenen Landsleuten lassen es begreiflich erscheinen, daß sie selber über viele Dinge keine genaue Anschauung besessen haben konnten. Überdies war ein freier Gedankenaustausch dadurch behindert, daß sie selber der englischen Sprache auch später noch nicht mächtig waren. Wie weit sie sich überhaupt darin mit ihren europäischen Freunden verständlich machen konnten, findet sich nirgends bestimmt angegeben.

Demnach befremdet es nach den Ergebnissen neuzeitlicher Untersuchungen nicht, wenn FITZ-ROY's geographische Abgrenzungen und besondere Benennungen der einzelnen Stammesgruppen meistenteils unzuverlässig sind. Das gilt bereits für die Kennzeichnung der Yamana als Volkseinheit; schreibt er doch: „Beyond a range of high mountains to the southward of the *Yamana* [die südlichsten Tehuelche], is the tribe formerly called *Key-uhue*, now probably the *Tekeenica*. These are the smallest, and apparently the most wretched of the Fuegians. They inhabit the shores and neighbourhood of the Beagle Channel. The number of adults in this tribe may be about five hundred."

Auch weist er mit sicherer Beurteilung auf die Schwierigkeiten der Forschung hin: „The difficulty of obtaining either language or information from the Fuegians can only be well appreciated by those who have had intercourse with them, or with the New Hollanders; whose mimickry of what one says is as perplexing as the same trick is when speaking to the Fuegians" (FITZ-ROY [a]: 132). Geographisch trennt er von den Nachbargebieten die eigentliche "Tierra del Fuego" ab und rechnet hierher „all the islands southward of the Strait of Magalhaens (including Staten Land), as far as the Diego Ramirez islets".

Die körperliche Beschreibung der Yamana ist treffend ausgefallen, weil der Wirklichkeit und vielen Beobachtungen entnommen: „The Tekeenica, natives of the south-eastern portion of Tierra del Fuego, are low in stature, ill-looking, and badly proportioned. Their colour is that of very old mahogany, or rather between dark copper and bronze. The trunk of the body is large, in proportion to their cramped and rather crooked limbs. Their rough, coarse, and extremly dirty black hair half hides yet heightens a villainous expression

of the worst description of savage features. Passing so much time in low wigwams, or cramped in small canoes, injures the shape and size of their legs, and causes them to move about in a stooping manner, with the knees much bent; yet they are very nimble, and rather strong.

They suffer very little hair to grow, excepting on their heads. Even their eyebrows are almost eradicated — two muscleshells serving for pincers. This aversion to the smaller tufts of hair does not extend to the thatch-like covering of their ugly heads, which is lank, covered with dirt, hanging about their ears, and almost over their faces. Just above their eyes it is jagged away by a broken shell, if they have not a piece of iron hoop for a knife, the pieces cut off being scrupulously burned. In height varying from four feet ten to five feet six, yet in the size of their bodies equalling men of six feet, of course they look clumsy and ill-proportioned: but their hands and feet are rather small with respect to the size of their bodies, though not so in proportion to their limbs and joints, which, excepting the knees, are small. Their knees are all strained, and their legs injured in shape, by the habit of squatting upon their heels. Awkward and difficult as such a posture appears to us, it is to them a position of easy rest." Über die Gestalt der Frauen fügt er hinzu: „They are short, with bodies largely out of proportion to their height; their features, especially those of the old, are scarcely less disagreeable than the repulsive ones of the men. About four feet and some inches is the stature of these fire-Fuegians — by courtesy called women. They never walk upright: a stooping posture, and awkward movement, is their natural gait. They may be fit mates for such uncouth men; but to civilized people their appearance is disgusting. Very few exceptions were noticed. The colour of the women is similar to that of the men. As they are just as much exposed, and do harder work, this is a natural consequence: besides, while children, they run about quite naked, picking up shell-fish, carrying wood, or bringing water. In the colour of the older people there is a tinge of yellow, which is not noticed in the middle-aged or young. The smoke of wood fires, confined in small wigwams, hurts their eyes so much, that they are red and watery."[109]

Aus den Angaben über Kleidung, Schmuck und Körperpflege sollen an dieser Stelle nur wenige wiederholt werden, alles Weitere findet sich an passenden Stellen dieser Abhandlung eingestreut: „Sometimes these satires upon mankind wear a part of the skin of a guanaco or a seal-skin upon their backs, and perhaps the skin of a penguin or a bit of hide hangs in front; but often there is nothing either to hide their nakedness or to preserve warmth, excepting a scrap of hide, which is tied to the side or back of the body, by a string round the waist."[110] Women wear rather more clothing

[109] Noch ausführlicher ist die Beschreibung der körperlichen Besonderheiten der Feuerländer, die Fitz-Roy (a): 175 weiter unten gibt und die fast ausschließlich für unsere Yamana gilt.

[110] Ungenau indes ist es, wenn er diesen eigentlichen Röckenbehang folgendermaßen deutet: „Even this is only for a pocket, in which they may carry stones for their slings, and hide what they pick up or pilfer."

[than men], that is, they have nearly a whole skin of a guanaco, or seal, wrapped about them, and usually a diminutive apron. The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an infant. Neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes."

Nun folgen noch einige Worte, die den Gesamteindruck dieser Indianer auf Europäer vervollständigen: „The effects of their oiling, or greasing themselves, and then rubbing ochre, clay, or charcoal, over their bodies; of their often feeding upon the most offensive substances, sometimes in a state of putridity; and of other vile habits, may readily be imagined" (Fitz-Roy [a]: 139).

Nach knappen Angaben über die Wohnhütte und das Kanu der Yamana beschließt er seine Mitteilungen über sie mit einer eindrucksvollen Schilderung der Landschaft: „The country of this people may be briefly described by saying that deep but narrow arms of the sea intersect high mountainous islands, many of whose summits are covered with snow, while the lee or eastern sides of their steep and rocky shores are more than partially covered with evergreen woods. Between projecting rocky points are sandy or stony beaches, fronting very small spaces of level land, on which the huts of the natives are generally placed. Almost throughout the year, cloudy weather, rain, and much wind prevail; indeed, really fine days are very rare. Being so near the level of that great climate agent, the ocean, frost and snow are far less frequent than might be expected in a high latitude, among snow-covered mountains, of which the sight alone inclines one to shiver."[111]

In den darauf folgenden Tagebuchaufzeichnungen finden sich noch sehr viele Beobachtungen über die Eingeborenen eingestreut. Um jeden falschen Schluß aus seiner Schreibweise zu verhüten, macht er selber eigens aufmerksam und betont: „As there is much similarity in the habits of all the tribes above-mentioned who use canoes, and we know little of the Yacana [die Yamana],[112] I shall speak . . . of the Canoe Indians, as one body" (Fitz-Roy [a]: 143).

Will man demnach jene Mitteilungen herausgreifen, die sich bestimmt und ausschließlich auf die Yamana beziehen, kann man nicht umhin, den Reiseweg der "Beagle" genau zu verfolgen und dabei zu beachten, ob sich die Mannschaft im Gebiete dieses Indianerstammes oder in der Heimat der Halakwulup aufhält. Indes paßt folgendes Verhalten in gleicher Weise auf beide

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[111] Ausführlich und zusammenfassend hat Fitz-Roy (b): 1—64 und (b): 311—317 die Wetterbedingungen jener Gebiete beschrieben.

[112] Seine Bedenken über die unzulängliche Schreibweise der befremdlich klingenden Worte und mancher Eigennamen hilft er nicht stärkt; zum mindesten kann man daraus ersehen, wie sehr er sich um möglichste Genauigkeit in all seinen Beobachtungen bemüht. Unumwunden bekennt er: „There is so much difficulty in deciding upon the orthography of words whose sounds are variously given by individuals even of the same tribe, and which, caught by ears of varying acuteness, are written down according to the pronunciation of different languages, that one may trace some connexion between the names Ky-es, Ky-yus; Kyuhuns or Kyuhus; Kokwiha, or Tekenica, and Kenecka. This last term is taken from Van Noort (Burney, vol. II, p. 215). Perhaps the country there called 'Cain' may be that inhabited by Jemmy Button's Gua-mers."

Schmerr: „When discovered by strangers, the instant impulse of a Fuegian family is to run off into the wood with their children, and such things as they can carry with them. After a short time, if nothing hostile is attempted by the intruders, and if they are not too numerous, the men return cautiously, making friendly signs, waving pieces of skins, rubbing and patting their bellies, and shouting. If all goes on quietly, the women frequently return, bringing with them the children; but they always leave the most valuable skins hidden in the bushes. This hasty concealment of and or other skins in the woods of visits from seamen,[100] who frequently robbed Fuegians families of every skin in their possession, before the natives understood the motives of their expeditions in boats into the interior waters of Tierra del Fuego. Sometimes nothing will induce a single individual of the family to appear; men, women and children hide in the thick woods, where it would be almost impossible to find them and do not show themselves again until the strangers are gone; but during the whole time of their concealment a watchful look-out is kept by them upon the motions of their unwelcome visitors.

Scarcity of food, and the facility with which they move from one place to another in their canoes, are, no doubt, the reasons why the Fuegians are always so dispersed among the islands in small family parties, why they never remain long in one place, and why a larger number are not seen many days in society. They never attempt to make use of the soil by any kind of culture; seals, birds, fish, and particularly shell-fish, being their principal subsistence; any one place, therefore, soon ceases to supply the wants of even one family; hence they are always migratory. In a few places, where the meeting of tides causes a constant supply of fish, especially, porpoises, and where the land is broken into multitudes of irregular inlets and rocks, whose shores afford an almost inexhaustible quantity of shell-fish, a few families may be found at one time, numbering altogether among them from twenty to forty souls; but even these approaches towards association are rare, and those very families are so migratory by nature, that they do not remain many months in such a spot, however productive it may be, but go wandering away among the numerous secluded inlets or sounds of their country, or repair to the outer sea-coast in search of seals, a dead whale, or fragments of some wrecked ship" (Fitz-Roy (a): 177).

Der englische Flottenführer, der ein offenes Auge für die merkwürdige Lebensart der Feuerländer besitzt, bemüht sich auch weiterhin, seine Erfahrungen und Beobachtungen treu und wahr niederzuschreiben. So gelingt es ihm, ein ziemlich vollständiges Bild von der gesamten gegenständlichen Kultur und täglichen Beschäftigung dieser Eingeborenen zu entwerfen, zwar nur in groben Zügen und in allgemein gehaltenen Andeutungen, doch immerhin im Wesentlichen unterrichtet. Was er über Religion und Geisterfurcht, über Seelenglaube und Bestattung der Toten, über gesellschaftliche und ehelichen Ein-

[100] Diese Gewohnheit gewissenloser Matrosen und Robbenschläger haben auch die folgenden Jahrzehnte beibehalten und ist auch heutigentags noch nicht ganz verschwunden.

richtungen, über Nahrungsverzehrung und Jagdwaffen, über Wohnung und Kleidung, endlich über Waffen, Werkzeuge und Geräthschaften aufgezeichnet hat, soll weiter unten in die eigentliche Abhandlung eingefügt werden. Auffallen dürfte es, wie nachdrücklich er für die bei den Yamana übliche Menschenfresserei eintritt, obwohl es, wie auch Capitan Dumont, sich dafür doch nur auf wenige, durchaus ungewöhnliche Ausnahmen der jugendlichen, von den nach England geführten Eingeborenen eximiren kann. In jedem Kapitel seiner Tagebücher finden sich noch manche für die Ziele des vorliegenden Werkes geeignete Mittheilungen; mehr Raum indes stellt es im 2. Bande der "Narrative" für all jene Ereignisse frei, die sich an die Rückkehr der drei Yamana aus Europa an ihren Landsleuten und an den allerdings mißglückte Einpflanzen einer englischen "Kolonisationsi" unserm MATTHEWS in ihr Gebiet knüpften.

Fitz-Roy (II: 285) setzte seine Schilderungen wirklich ab und zwar in „Jemmy's 'own land', which he called Woollya"; trotz mancher Bedenken hielt er nach dem englischen Kaufmann MATTHEWS bei den Eingeborenen zurück.

Eigenartig war das erste Zusammentreffen der drei aus Europa Heimkehrenden mit ihren Landsleuten nach langem Getrenntsein. Bei der Einfahrt in die Angostura Murray am 20. Januar 1833 „several natives were seen in this day's pull; but as Jemmy told us they were not his friends, and often made war upon his people, we held very little intercourse with them. YORK laughed heartily at the first we saw, calling them large monkeys; and JEMMY assured us they were not at all like his people, who were very good and very clean. FUEGIA was shocked and ashamed, she hid herself, and would not look at them a second time. It was interesting to observe the change which three years only had made in their ideas, and to notice how completely they had forgotten the appearance and habits of their former associates; for it turned out that Jemmy's own tribe was as inferior in every way to the worst of those whom he and York called 'monkeys — dirty — fiends — bad men'. We gave these 'Fuegians' to York, called them, some presents, and crossed over to the north side of the channel to be free from their importunities; but they followed us speedily".

Auf der Weiterfahrt „we passed along a tract of country where no natives were seen. Jemmy told us it was 'land between bad people and his friends'; (neutral-ground probably)". Kurz danach wurde „a small party of Tekeenica natives, Jemmy's friends" sichtbar. Die Sprache dieser Gruppe, „who were the first of Jemmy's own tribe whom we met, seemed softer and less guttural than those of the 'bad men' whom we had passed near the clay cliffs; and the people themselves seemed much better disposed, though as abject and degraded in outward appearance as any Fuegians I had ever seen". Hier erlebte Fitz-Roy (II: 294) einige merkwürdige Überraschungen und erfuhr manches über die feindlichen Einfälle der Selk'nam in das Yamanagebiet.

Als sich die kleine Flotte zur Weiterfahrt einrichtete, sah sie von allen Seiten die Kanus der Eingeborenen herankommen; um aber von ihnen, die mit

JEMMY und YORK befreundet waren, nicht belästigt zu werden, eilte sie schnell davon. „In a very short time there were thirty or forty canoes in our train, each full of natives, each with a column of blue smoke rising from the fire amidships, and almost all the men in them shouting at the full power of their deep sonorous voices ... After a few hours (pulling hard to keep ahead of our train) we reached Woollya, and selected a clear space favourably situated for our encampment, landed, placed sentries, and made the various arrangements necessary for receiving the anticipated visits of some hundred natives." Ohne Verzug wurden dortselbst für MATTHEWS und seine drei indianischen Begleiter geräumige Blockhäuser errichtet, in denen sie bequem wohnen und ihre vielen Geschenke unterbringen konnten. JEMMY sah hier auch seine Mutter und Brüder wieder. Die Erzählung über das Verhalten und Schicksal der soeben Gelandeten möchte ich hier abbrechen und in anderem Zusammenhange später wieder aufnehmen.

Danach begab sich FITZ-ROY (a): 210 mit seinen beiden Booten durch die Angostura Murray in den westlichen Canal de Beagle zu neuen Forschungen. Öfters begegneten ihm größere und kleinere Gruppen von Eingeborenen, denen er regelmäßig auswich. Bis Cabo Desolación drang er vor und kehrte bald in östlicher Richtung zurück; überall machte er geographische Entdeckungen und benannte u. a. den "Darwin-Sound" nach seinem jungen, wissenschaftlichen Begleiter. Am 4. Februar 1833, „nearly opposite to Shingle Point, we met a large party of natives. All of them appeared in full dress, being bedaubed with red and white paint, and ornamented, after their fashion, with feathers and the down of geese. One of their women was noticed by several among us as being far from ill-looking: her features were regular, and, excepting a deficiency of hair on the eyebrow, and rather thick lips, the contour of her face was sufficiently good to have been mistaken for that of a handsome gipsy. What her figure might be, a loose linen garment, evidently one that had belonged to FUEGIA BASKET, prevented our noticing. The sight of this piece of linen, several bits of ribbon, and some scraps of red cloth, apparently quite recently obtained, made me feel very anxious about MATTHEWS and his party ... At daybreak next morning (6th Feb.) we were again hastening towards Woollya".

Die Überraschung und Enttäuschung war nicht gering. Angesichts der anscheinend bedrohlichen Haltung der Eingeborenen glaubte FITZ-ROY den hilflosen MATTHEWS in dieser Wildnis nicht zurücklassen zu dürfen. Letzterer fügte sich und begab sich auf das Boot. Eiligst wurden all seine Sachen verladen, ohne daß die Indianer zu Gewalttaten oder Räuberien schritten. Ergebnislos also endete der schöne, bestgemeinte Plan, unter der Anleitung und durch das Beispiel eines opfermutigen, selbstlosen Engländers die dortigen Eingeborenen zu einer bequemeren Lebensweise und höheren Gesittung zu führen.

Währenddessen lag die "Beagle" im Canal Gerre verankert. Dorthin steuerten nun die beiden Boote wieder zurück und fanden alles in bester Ord-

sung. Indes schon nach zwei Tagen, am 10. Februar 1833, segelte sie abermals zu Vermessungen aus, durchquerten Bahia Nassau „and explored the western part of Pennemky Sound. Natives were seen here and there, but we had little intercourse with them" (Fitz-Roy [a]: 223). Noch einmal landete die Mannschaft für einige Stunden an der Küste von "Woollya" [Walaia], um nach dem Befinden der drei sechzehn aus Europa heimgebrachten Yamana zu schauen. Diese schienen sich, trotz einiger Mißhelligkeiten, bei ihren Landsleuten wieder zurechtgefunden zu haben. So nahmen Fitz-Roy, Matthews und die englischen Matrosen vom ihnen Abschied, kehrten in ihren Booten zur "Beagle" zurück und rüsteten sich zur Fahrt nach dem Norden. Am 21. Februar gingen sie unter Segel und kamen schon in der folgenden Nacht in der Bahia Buen Suceso die Anker werfen. Weil die Flotte dringend sich neu verproviantieren mußte, fuhr sie über die Falklandinseln nach Montevideo.

Noch war die umfangreiche Forschungsarbeit dieser englischen Schiffe im unbekannten inkognito Süden der Neuen Welt nicht beendet. Am 6. December 1833 aber, „with a supply of provisions and coals, sufficient for at least nine months, the 'Beagle' and her tender [the 'Adventure'] sailed together from Monte Video" (Fitz-Roy [a]: 314), abermals südwärts. Bei günstiger Witterung „on the 25th Feb. 1834, we anchored at the Hermite Islands, on the north-east side of Wollaston Island. Thence, on the 27th, we crossed Nassau Bay to Gower Sound, and the following day entered the Beagle Channel. The 1st of March passed in replenishing our wood and water at a river, where we had an opportunity of making acquaintance with some Tapoo-Tekwanika natives, who seemed not to have met white men before".

Am 5. März 1834 zeigte sich die "Beagle" vor der Walaia-Küste. Nach einigem Warten wurde das Kano des Jemmy Burton und der seines Bruders Tommy Burton sichtbar, die kurzig dem englischen Schiffe entgegenruderten. Das unverhoffte Wiedersehen der Freunde war herzlich. Jemmy erzählte die sonderbaren Vorgänge, die sich hierwelbst während der Abwesenheit der "Beagle" abgespielt hatten,[99] und begleitete Fitz-Roy an jene Stelle, wo vor einem Jahre die drei Blockhäuser aufgerichtet worden waren. Einige Kartoffeln schienen wirklich aufgegangen zu sein und wurden ausgegraben; von den anderen Pflanzungen war nichts mehr hier zu sehen. Besonders betrübend klang die Erzählung Jemmy's über das Verhalten seines früheren Begleiters Yoas, der ihm vieler Gegenstände beraubt hatte.

Ihrer unerwartet neue Entdeckung beunruhigte Fitz-Roy in seinem Entschlusse, nicht noch ein zweites Mal den zweifelhaften Versuch zu machen, Matthews als einzigen Europäer bei diesem Volke zurückzulassen. Und so gab er sich schweren Herzens mit der Hoffnung zufrieden, daß all sein Bemühen um die drei jugendlichen Fremdlinge, die er nach England geführt, dort in beste Pflege und Erziehung gegeben und später in die Heimat zurückgebracht hatte, für eine spätere Zeit nicht ganz vergeblich sein dürfte.

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[99] In anderen Zusammenhängen sollen die wichtigeren Einzelheiten wiederholt werden.

Für immer nahm er damit Abschied von Jemmy und denen Yaghs. Am 9. März 1834 war die "Beagle" bereits vor den Falklandinseln und hat seitdem die Wogen der Kap-Hoorn-Gegend niemals mehr durchkreuzt.

In schiffsmoral Fitz-Roy's zwiblicher Mitteilungen sind, weil die einer frühen Zeit entstammen, in der die Tonnen westlicher europäischer Schiffe noch nicht beträchtlich beziffert waren, daß man doch nicht verkennen, daß sie an Genauigkeit und Vollständigkeit nichts zu wünschen übrig lassen. Die Bedingungen zu einer gründlichen Forschung waren eben noch nicht gegeben und die verlangenswerte wirkliche Schätzung der Eingeborenen trübte das ruhige Beurteilen wenigstens allzumenschlichen Tatsachen. Es ist von vorzüglich einbrechend, daß die Angaben der drei indianischen Gewährspersonen, deren in dieser jugendlichen Alter die volle Kenntnis der grossen Stammeseinrichtungen und die eingehende Beurteilung, die nur eine lange Lebenserfahrung zur Reife bringt, fehlten, nur sehr geringe Zuverlässigkeit hatten.[illegible] Von denen aber war Fitz-Roy (a): 181 fast vollständig abhängig; denn er bekennt: „I prefer relating all that I know of these tribes, in consequence of the intercourse carried on with them by the 'Beagle'; officers and myself, and the visit of Yaga, Jemmy, and Fuegia to England." Er verschweigt eine der größten Schwierigkeiten nicht, nämlich die Unmöglichkeit zu freien Gedankenaustausch und bekennt (a (c)): 180): „Of the Fuegian language we know but little, although three of the natives were so many months with us." Endlich bringen auch einige gute Zeichnungen wichtige Einzelheiten der Yaghs deutlich zur Darstellung. Diese wenigen Ausstellungen schmälern jedoch nun nicht die hochbedeutsamen Verdienste, die sich King und Fitz-Roy samt ihrer Mannschaft um die Geographie, Hydrographie und Meteorologie jener unwirtlichen und schwierigen Gebiete (S. 8) erworben haben, und die ihnen alle Zeiten lebend anerkennen wird.[illegible]

CHARLES ROBERT DARWIN: Aus eigen Beobachtungen und Studienschilderungen, die von diesem Seefahrer über die südlichsten Feuerland-

[illegible] Die seinem Gewährsmann für die westlichen Gebiete sagen er Wanda Lee. Dieser traf am 6. Februar 1834 mit der "Adventure" zusammen „and immediately offered his services as a pilot; they were accepted, provisionally, ... trusting that the Admiralty would approve of my so engaging a person who, in pilotage and general information about the Falklands, Tierra del Fuego, Patagonia, and the Galapagos Islands, could afford as much information than any other individual, without exception" (Fitz-Roy (a) 181).

[illegible] Sehr bezeichnend ist der Eindruck, den Fitz-Roy (a): 184) gewann, als jene Dinge nach langer Abwesenheit dem Engländischen Landsmann wieder gegenüber traten: „It was interesting to observe the change which these years only had made in their ideas, and to notice how completely they had forgotten the appearance and habits of their former associates."

[illegible] Außer vielen anderen Schriftstellern hat auch Kane (18) hingewiesen auf die wichtigen Resultate dieser Untersuchung, die für die Hydrographie und Geographie der südlichsten Pacific Mid-American meter ist, als Ingwal einer Gebiete.... Außer dem allgemeinen Werke [Narrative of the surveying voyages...], der Geschichte-Erzählung der Expedition, gingen von derselben auch noch mehrere andere die Patagonien betreffende

[illegible] Darwin, Die Geschichte Indiens 13

[illegible] angegeben worden sind, hat keine so allgemeine Verbreitung gefunden und keine so nachhaltige Übernahme gefunden, wie die der jungen Dorcas. Weit über den Charakter einer bloßen Mitteilung hinaus wurde sie [illegible] und als sogar bei einer Allgemeinbetrachtung [illegible] primitiver außereuropäischer Völkerschaften [illegible] gelegt, man gibt wohl nicht fehl, wenn man behauptet, daß er die europäischen Dialekte [illegible] Jahrzehnte in Bezug auf die Naturvölker beeinflußt hat.

In einer Zeit, in der die dunne [illegible] Gesinnungsbildung der ersten Tuki der Naturvölker nicht nur nur verkennenden, sondern, sogar von [illegible] Richtung gewesen war, gaben die protestantischen Missionare der South American Missionary Society die günstigen Erfolge ihrer Arbeit und Predigt unter den vielgeschmähten Feuerländern in übereinstimmenden Mitteilungen bekannt. Angesichts der [illegible] Beichte und der [illegible] Tatsachen hat Darwin selbst, prüft selbst sie einer Menge, die [illegible] und unmöglichkeiten Übertragung von seiner Jugendzeit [illegible] und den übertragenden Erfahrungen der Missionare, die auf ein jahrzehntelangen Zusammenleben mit den Eingeborenen hinweisen konnten, [illegible] gestanden. Ein ganz eigenartiges Spiel des Schicksals war es, daß unter der Feindschaft des jugendlichen Darwin immer und überall wiederholt, hingegen seine spätere wesentliche Unterstützung mit einem allgemeinen Übergriffe [illegible] wurde. Darwin Dankend hat es verschuldet, daß die Feuerländer selbst im [illegible] Lichte [illegible] Einschätzung, in dem der [illegible] jungen Naturforschers sie bereits vor Jahrzehnten schon [illegible] hatten, auch weiterhin verblieben.

Kaum waren die "Adventure" und die Beagle-Schiff, die "Beagle", von dort [illegible] Feuerländer wieder in England gelandet (1.10), als Fitz-Roy den Plan zu baldiger Rückkehr in die Kap Horn-Gegend [illegible]. Dem [illegible] Begleiter gleicher er persönlich an dem Landbesitzer [illegible] zu nehmen.[illegible] Durch Verfügungen der britischen Admiralität wurde [illegible] der Gleichfeld über die [illegible] Pläne[illegible] [illegible] und [illegible]

[illegible] und [illegible] Schriften, [illegible], "Valley Journal", [illegible], [illegible] Unterstützungen von [illegible], und alle diese Werke [illegible] hätten [illegible] Grundlage [illegible] Kenntnis dieser Eingeborenen, an der [illegible] Nachfolger [illegible] und die [illegible] und [illegible] [illegible]". [illegible] will [illegible] 150 die Bekehrung und die [illegible] [illegible] Verwandlungen [illegible], [illegible] in [illegible] Verbindung [illegible] „Zelt [illegible] und [illegible] Nachfolger [illegible] Verwandlungen der Adelaide von Gate und [illegible] hatten eine [illegible] Reise [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Gedichte [illegible] er in seiner Begleitung einen [illegible] gebildeten Mann sah, Die Wahl Tell und Gessler Dichter, der damals bei [illegible] Lebensgefahr stand und der sich gern zur Verfassung an jener langen Tolen entschloß (3, 20).[10]

Innerhalb seiner Mitteilungen sind auf [illegible] Gegenstände und einzelnen Entdeckungen beschränkten, und sie dienen wesentlich dem Dichter von, ebenso wie Friedrich, ein guter Beobachter und an dauerndem Zeit lebhaft [illegible] Einblicken in den Lauf Hauptgegenstand auch gute Tolen Dichter gewisser Unterhaltungen und [illegible] Beobachtungen, die in den gesellschaftlichen, geistig-charakterlichen und religiösen Gebieten jener Eingeborenen [illegible], hatte Dichter sehr wenig Glück, Selbst ein war wenig [illegible] Einblicken in den Gesellschaftskreis der Indianer, dessen er begegnete, war [illegible] einzelner Unkenntnis der [illegible] Sprache nicht möglich und die drei [illegible] Tonnen, die sich mit ihm auf dem gleichen Schiffe befanden, [illegible] in Englisch sind, deutlich genug [illegible].[11] Dementsprechend [illegible] sich jeder vor Augen halten, der Humboldt's Berichte [illegible] zu [illegible] gewonnen hat.

Die Photo, die am 27. Dezember 1831 den Hafen [illegible] verlassen hatte, half genau die Jahre später in die Bahia Dora Sorna ein; hier [illegible] Dichter [illegible] den [illegible] Bewohnern der Isla Grande einen [illegible] Besuch ab (Bd. I, 30).[12] Bald danach bewegte sich die Photo in den gelben

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Freiheit und unsere Hilfsmittel, daß an [illegible] Wright] [illegible] sie, ohne einen einzigen Spanier [illegible], und daß er uns in einem einzigen der [illegible] Häfen, welche er an besuchen hatte, in großer Gefahr war."

[10] Die Reise, welche [illegible] Dichter [illegible] Humboldt [illegible] und [illegible] zu [illegible] Aufgabe [illegible] und [illegible] zu [illegible] Bedeutung [illegible] Prof. Gerard zu [illegible]. (Vgl. Gen. Werke, [illegible], [illegible]). Sie [illegible] Dichter [illegible] und [illegible] Werk [illegible] geschlossen [illegible].

[11] Dieses Schlagen [illegible] (S. 28) [illegible] Dichter [illegible] Englisch [illegible] Dichter [illegible] Tonnen, [illegible] Dichter [illegible] Tonnen [illegible] Dichter [illegible] Tonnen [illegible] Dichter [illegible] Tonnen

lichen Gewässern der Kap Hoorn-Gegend und das Grausen in den sturmgepeitschten Wogen bleibt selten einem Seefahrer erspart.[133]

Ehe DARWIN seine Erlebnisse mit den dortigen Bewohnern schildert, erwähnt er (in [d]: 237) die drei „Feuerländer, welche wir an Bord hatten ... Die Eingeborenen wurden von einem Missionär R. MATTHEWS begleitet, über welchen, ebenso wie über die Eingeborenen, Capitän FITZ-ROY einen ausführlichen und ausgezeichneten Bericht veröffentlicht hat". Am Weihnachtsabend 1832 mußte die "Beagle" in Wigwam Cove, nahe dem Cap Hoorn, Schutz suchen und hier war es, wo DARWIN (d): 243 die ersten Spuren der Lebenshaltung dieser Eingeborenen sah. „Die Bucht erhielt ihren Namen 'Wigwam' von einigen Feuerländer-Wohnungen. Doch könnte jede Bucht in der Nähe mit gleichem Rechte so genannt werden. Die Einwohner, welche hauptsächlich von Muscheln leben, sind genöthigt, beständig ihren Aufenthaltsort zu wechseln; sie kehren aber nach Zwischenräumen zu denselben Stellen zurück, wie offenbar aus den Haufen alter Muscheln hervorgeht, die oft viele Tonnen im Gewicht betragen müssen ...

Der Wigwam der Feuerländer ist in Größe und Dimension einem Heuschober ähnlich. Er besteht einfach aus einigen wenigen abgebrochenen in die Erde gesteckten Ästen und ist an der einen Seite sehr unvollkommen mit ein paar Gras- und Binsenschichten bedeckt. Das Ganze kann nicht mehr als die Arbeit einer Stunde sein und wird nur für wenige Tage benutzt. In Goeree Road sah ich einen Ort, wo einer der nackten Leute geschlafen hatte: er bot absolut nicht mehr Schutz dar, als das Lager eines Hasen. Der Mann lebte offenbar allein für sich, und YORK MINSTER sagte, er sei ein sehr schlechter Mann, der wahrscheinlich irgend etwas gestohlen habe. An der Westküste sind indes die Wigwams im Ganzen besser, denn sie sind dort mit Robbenfellen bedeckt ...

Während wir eines Tages in der Nähe der Wollaston-Insel ans Land gingen, ruderten wir neben einem Canoe mit sechs Feuerländern. Es waren dies die verächtlichsten und elendesten Geschöpfe, die ich irgendwo gesehen habe. An der Ostküste haben die Eingeborenen, wie wir sie gesehen haben,

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„Doch hat auch das Gefühl der Erhabenheit, welches ... die waldbedeckten Berge des Feuerlandes in mir erregt haben, einen unauslöschlichen Eindruck auf meinen Geist gemacht. Der Anblick eines nackten Wilden in seinem Vaterlande ist ein Ereigniß, welches niemals wieder vergessen werden kann."

[133] Eine einzige Bemerkung aus den wiederholten Hinweisen DARWIN's mag hier genügen. Er erwähnt (in [e]: I, 223): „Der südlichste Teil des Feuerlandes ist ein entsetzlicher Ort; Sturm folgt auf Sturm und zwar in so kurzen Intervallen, daß es schwierig ist, nur irgend etwas auszuführen. Wir waren 23 Tage lang auf der Höhe von Cap Hoorn und konnten auf keine Weise nach Westen vorwärts kommen. Der letzte und entscheidende Sturm, ehe wir den Versuch aufgaben, war ganz außerordentlich schwer. Eine See zertrümmerte eines der Boote, und es war so viel Wasser auf dem Verdeck, daß es überall schwamm; beinahe alles Papier zum Trocknen der Pflanzen und die Hälfte der naturwissenschaftlichen Sammlung ist verdorben." An anderer Stelle (in [d]: 240—243) äußert er sich ausführlicher darüber.

Guanaco-Mäntel[124] und auf der Westküste besitzen sie Robbenfelle.[125] Unter diesen centralen Stämmen haben die Männer meist eine Otterhaut oder irgend einen schmalen Streifen ungefähr so groß wie ein Taschentuch, der kaum hinreicht, ihren Rücken bis hinab zu den Weichen zu bedecken. Er wird quer über die Brust durch Schnüre festgehalten und, je nachdem der Wind bläst, von einer Seite zur andern geschoben. Diese Feuerländer aber in dem Canoe waren völlig nackt, und selbst eine ganz erwachsene Frau war absolut nackt. Es regnete stark und das Süßwasser zusammen mit dem Spritzen von den Rudern rieselte an ihrem Körper hinab. An einem andern nicht weit entfernten Hafenplatze kam eines Tages eine Frau, welche ein vor kurzem geborenes Kind stillte, an die Seite des Schiffes und blieb dort aus bloßer Neugier, während die Schloßen herabfielen und auf ihrer nackten Brust, ebenso wie auf der Haut ihres nackten Säuglings tauten.

Diese armen elenden Geschöpfe waren in ihrem Wachstum verkümmert, ihre häßlichen Gesichter waren mit weißer Farbe beschmiert, ihre Haut schmutzig und fettig, ihre Haare verwirrt, ihre Stimme mißtönend und ihre Geberden heftig. Erblickt man solche Menschen, so kann man sich kaum zu dem Glauben bestimmen, daß sie unsere Mitgeschöpfe und Bewohner einer und derselben Welt sind ... Des Nachts schliefen fünf oder sechs nackte und kaum vor dem Winde und Regen dieses stürmischen Klimas geschützte Wesen auf der Erde wie Tiere zusammengekrümmt. So oft Ebbe ist, müssen sie Winter oder Sommer, Tag oder Nacht aufstehen, um Muscheln von den Felsen zu sammeln; und die Weiber tauchen entweder, um See-Igel zu sammeln, oder sitzen geduldig in ihren Canoes und schnellen mit einer mit einem Köder versehenen Schnur ohne irgendwelche Haken kleine Fische heraus. Wird eine Robbe getötet oder das treibende Aas eines Walfisches entdeckt, so gibt es ein Fest; und solche elende Nahrung wird nur durch einige wenige geschmacklose Beeren und Pilze gewürzt.

Sie leiden oft von Hungersnöten; ich hörte, wie Mr. Low, der Capitän eines Robbenjägers, der sehr genau mit den Eingeborenen des Landes bekannt war, eine merkwürdige Schilderung des Zustandes von einer Gesellschaft von hundertfünfzig Eingeborenen an der Westküste[126] gab, welche sehr mager und in großer Not waren. Eine Reihe von Stürmen verhinderte die Frauen, Muscheln von den Felsen zu sammeln, auch konnten sie nicht in Canoes ausfahren, um Robben zu fangen. Eine kleine Partie dieser Leute machte sich eines Morgens auf den Weg und die anderen Indianer erklärten ihm, daß sie

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[124] Das gilt nicht etwa für die östlichen Yamana, sondern für die in Bahia Buen Suceso beobachteten "Fuß-Indianer". Vgl. Darwin (d): 234.

[125] Mir scheint es nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß diese Angabe sich auf die eigentlichen Halakwulup im westpatagonischen Inselgebiet bezieht.

[126] Aus dieser Ortsangabe wird ersichtlich, daß die folgende Schilderung fast sicher von den Halakwulup hergenommen ist. Doch stellten sich die gleichen Verhältnisse auch bei den Yamana ein. Daß diese letzteren ebenfalls der Menschenfresserei beschuldigt wurden, ist bekannt.

sich auf eine viertägige Reise aufmachten, um Nahrung zu holen: bei ihrer Rückkehr ging Low hin, um sie zu treffen, und fand sie äußerst ermüdet: jeder trug ein großes viereckiges Stück fauligen Walfischspecks mit einem Loch in der Mitte, durch das sie ihren Kopf gesteckt hatten, gerade so wie die Gauchos ihren Poncho oder Mantel tragen. Sobald der Speck in einen Wigwam gebracht war, schnitt ein alter Mann dünne Scheibchen davon ab, murmelte ein paar Worte über sie, röstete sie eine Minute lang und verteilte sie dann an seine verhungerte Gesellschaft, welche während der ganzen Zeit ein tiefes Stillschweigen bewahrte. Mr. Low glaubte, daß, sobald ein Walfisch an das Ufer geworfen wird, die Eingeborenen große Stücke davon im Sande begraben als Hilfsvorrat in Zeiten der Hungersnot, und ein eingeborener Knabe, den wir an Bord hatten, fand einmal einen in dieser Weise begrabenen Vorrat.[107]

Sind die verschiedenen Stämme miteinander im Krieg, so sind sie Kannibalen. Nach den übereinstimmenden, aber völlig unabhängigen Zeugnissen des von Mr. Low mitgenommenen Knaben und Jemmy Button's ist es gewiß richtig, daß, wenn sie im Winter vom Hunger geplagt werden, sie eher ihre alten Weiber töten und verzehren, ehe sie ihre Hunde schlachten. Als der Knabe von Mr. Low gefragt wurde, warum sie dies täten, antwortete er: ‚Hunde fangen Ottern, alte Weiber nicht.' Dieser Knabe beschrieb die Art und Weise, in welcher sie durch Halten über Rauch und daher durch Ersticken getötet werden; er machte ihr Geschrei zum Scherz nach und beschrieb die Teile ihres Körpers, welche als die besten zum Essen betrachtet werden. So schrecklich ein derartiger Tod durch die Hand ihrer Freunde und Verwandten sein muß, so ist es doch noch peinlicher, an die Furcht der alten Weiber zu denken, wenn der Hunger anfängt zu drücken. Es wurde uns gesagt, daß sie häufig in die Berge davon laufen, daß sie aber von den Männern verfolgt und zu dem Schlachthaus an ihren eigenen Herd zurückgebracht werden.

Capitän Fitz-Roy konnte niemals sicher ermitteln, ob die Feuerländer irgend einen bestimmten Glauben an ein künftiges Leben haben. Sie begraben zuweilen ihre Toten in Höhlen und zuweilen in den Bergwäldern; wir wissen nicht, was für Ceremonien sie ausführen. Jemmy Button wollte keine Landvögel essen, weil sie todte Menschen äßen, sie erwähnen nicht einmal gern ihre todten Freunde. Wir haben keinen Grund zur Annahme, daß sie irgend eine Art religiösen Dienstes ausüben; obschon vielleicht das Murmeln des alten Mannes, ehe er den fauligen Speck seiner verhungerten Familie austheilte, etwas Derartiges sein mag. Jede Familie oder Stamm hat einen Zauberer oder Beschwörungsdoctor, dessen Geschäft wir niemals sicher ermitteln konnten. Jemmy glaubt an Träume, aber wie ich gesagt habe, nicht an den Teufel; ich glaube, daß unsere Feuerländer viel abergläubischer waren als einige von den Matrosen." Die Betätigung höherer Geisteskräfte erkennt Darwin (d): 246 diesen Eingeborenen demnach nicht zu: er hält ihr ganzes Wirtschaften für

[107] Daß die Yamana übrschüssige Fett- und Fleischmengen tatsächlich auf besondere Weise zu konservieren pflegten, wird weiter unten noch erörtert werden.

Instinkthandlungen, obwohl er das Kanu als „ihre ingeniöseste Arbeit, so elend es ist", beurteilt.

Sechs Tage währte der Aufenthalt hier in Wigwam Cove wegen schlechten Wetters. Vom neuen Landu[illegible]latze im Canal Goree ruderte Fitz-Roy mit drei großen Booten und einer Schaluppe in den östlichen Ausgang des Canal de Beagle hinein, um seine drei indianischen Schützlinge in Wulaia an Land zu setzen (S. 94). „Am nächsten Tag (20. Jan. 1833) glitten wir auf der glatten Fläche mit unserer kleinen Flotte weiter und kamen in einen bewohnteren Bezirk. Wenige, wenn überhaupt einer, dieser Eingeborenen konnten jemals einen weißen Menschen gesehen haben. Sicherlich konnte nichts ihr Erstaunen beim Erscheinen der vier Boote übertreffen. Auf allen Punkten wurden Feuer entzündet, sowohl um unsere Aufmerksamkeit zu fesseln, als auch um die Neuigkeit weit und breit zu verbreiten. Einige der Männer liefen Meilen weit dem Ufer entlang. Ich werde niemals vergessen, wie wüst und wild eine Gruppe uns erschien: es erschienen plötzlich vier oder fünf Leute am Rand einer überhängenden Klippe; sie waren absolut nackt und ihr langes Haar hing um ihr Gesicht herum; sie hielten rohe Stöcke in ihren Händen und von der Erde aufspringend, schwangen sie ihre Arme um die Köpfe und stießen das widerlichste Geschrei aus.

Um die Mittagszeit landeten wir unter einer Gesellschaft Feuerländer. Anfangs waren sie nicht geneigt, freundlich zu sein, denn bis der Capitän an der Spitze der anderen Boote heranruderte, hielten sie ihre Schleudern in der Hand. Wir entzückten sie aber bald durch unbedeutende Geschenke, wie z. B. rotes Band, was sie um ihre Köpfe banden. Sie hatten unsere Zwiebacke gern: als aber einer der Wilden mit seinem Finger etwas von dem in Zinnbüchsen präservirten Fleisch berührte, was ich aß, und es weich und kalt fand, zeigte er so großen Widerwillen dagegen, wie ich vor faulendem Speck gezeigt haben würde. Jemmy war durch und durch beschämt von seinen Landsleuten und erklärte, sein eigener Stamm wäre hiervon ganz verschieden, worin er aber in unseliger Weise sich irrte. Es war ebenso leicht, diese Wilden zu amüsieren, als es schwer war, sie zufrieden zu stellen. Junge und alte, Männer und Kinder hörten nicht auf, das Wort '*Yammerschooner*', was 'gib mir' bedeutet, zu wiederholen. Nachdem sie fast jeden Gegenstand, einen nach dem andern, selbst die Knöpfe an unseren Röcken bezeichnet und ihr Lieblingswort in so viel Ausdrucksweisen, als nur möglich, gesagt hatten, sprachen sie es dann in einem neutralen Sinn aus und wiederholten tonlos '*Yammerschooner*'. Nachdem sie für jeden einzelnen Gegenstand sehr eifrig geyammerschoonert hatten, wiesen sie, einen sehr einfachen Kunstgriff brauchend, auf ihre jungen Frauen und kleinen Kinder, was soviel heißen sollte als: ‚Wenn ihr's mir nicht geben wollt, dann werdet ihr es doch denen da geben.' Am Abend waren wir genötigt, ... nicht weit von einem Truppe Eingeborener zu bivouakieren."

Danach wiederholt Darwin (d): 251, was Jemmy dem Kapitän Fitz-Roy über die gefürchteten "Oens-Männer" mitgeteilt hatte. Bei der Augostura Murray gingen die Boote vor Anker. „Des nachts schliefen wir dicht an der

Verbindung des Ponsonby Sound mit dem Beagle-Canal. Eine kleine Familie von Feuerländern, welche in der Bucht lebte, war ruhig und harmlos, und vereinigte sich bald mit unserer Gesellschaft um ein prächtiges Feuer.

Während der Nacht hatte sich die Nachricht verbreitet und zeitig am Morgen (23. Jan. 1833) kam ein frischer Trupp an, welcher zu den Tekenika oder zu JEMMY's Stamm gehörte. Mehrere von ihnen waren so schnell gelaufen, daß ihre Nasen bluteten, und ihr Mund schäumte infolge der Schnelligkeit, mit der sie sprachen. Und mit ihren nackten, über und über mit Schwarz, Weiß und Rot beschmierten Körpern sahen sie aus wie so viele Dämonen, die miteinander gekämpft haben. Wir gingen dann (von zwölf Canoes, von denen jedes vier oder fünf Leute hielt, begleitet) weiter Ponsonby Sound hinab, nach dem Orte, wo der arme JEMMY erwartete, seine Mutter und Verwandten zu finden. Er hatte bereits gehört, daß sein Vater tot war; da er aber in Bezug hierauf einen 'Traum in seinem Kopfe' gehabt hatte, so schien ihm das nicht sehr am Herzen zu liegen; er tröstete sich wiederholt mit der sehr natürlichen Betrachtung: ‚Ich nicht helfen.' Er war nicht imstande, irgendwelche Einzelheiten in Bezug auf den Tod seines Vaters zu erfahren, da seine Verwandten nicht darüber sprechen wollten ...

Wie früher angeführt, beabsichtigte Capitän FITZ-ROY, YORK MINSTER und FUEGIA zu ihrem eigenen Stamm zu bringen; da sie aber den Wunsch aussprachen, hier zu bleiben und da der Fleck eigentümlich günstig war, entschloß Capitän FITZ-ROY, die ganze Gesellschaft mit Einschluß des Missionärs MATTHEWS ans Land zu setzen. Fünf Tage wurden darauf verwandt, ihnen drei Wigwams zu bauen, ihre Effekten zu landen, zwei Gärten zu graben und Samen zu säen.

Am nächsten Morgen nach unserer Ankunft fingen die Feuerländer an, hereinzuströmen, auch kamen YEMMY's Mutter und Bruder. YEMMY erkannte die Stentorstimme eines seiner Brüder schon in einer ungeheuren Entfernung. Die Begegnung war weniger interessant als zwischen einem frei auf das Feld gelassenen Pferde und einem alten Gefährten, dem es wieder zugesellt wird. Kein Zeichen von Zuneigung machte sich bemerklich; sie starrten einfach einander eine kurze Zeit an und die Mutter ging augenblicklich wieder fort, um nach ihrem Canoe zu sehen. Durch YORK hörten wir indes, daß die Mutter über den Verlust YEMMY's untröstlich gewesen sei und überall nach ihm gesucht habe, da sie glaubte, daß er uns, nachdem wir ihn in das Boot genommen hatten, bald wieder verlassen haben würde. Die Weiber zollten der FUEGIA viel Aufmerksamkeit und waren sehr freundlich mit ihr. Wir hatten bereits bemerkt, daß JEMMY beinahe seine Muttersprache vergessen hatte. Ich sollte meinen, es habe kaum ein anderes menschliches Wesen mit einem so kleinen Sprachvorrat gegeben als ihn, denn auch sein Englisch war sehr unvollkommen.

Während der nächsten drei Tage ging alles friedlich fort, in welcher Zeit eben die Gärten gegraben und Wigwams gebaut wurden. Wir schätzten die Zahl der Eingeborenen auf ungefähr hundert und zwanzig. Die Frauen arbeiteten hart, während die Männer den ganzen Tag lang herumlungerten und uns

beobachteten. Sie baten um alles, was sie sahen, und stahlen, was sie konnten. Sie waren entzückt über unser Tanzen und Singen, und interessierten sich ganz besonders daran, uns in einem nahegelegenen Bach waschen zu sehen: allem anderen schenkten sie nicht viel Aufmerksamkeit, nicht einmal unseren Booten ... Am 27. Jan. 1833 verschwanden indes plötzlich alle Frauen und Kinder. Wir waren darüber etwas beunruhigt, da weder York noch Jenny die Ursache ausfindig machen konnten ... Matthews beschloß mit seiner gewöhnlichen ruhigen Stärke, bei den Feuerländern zu bleiben, welche an sich keine Unruhe zeigten; und so verließen wir sie denn, um ihre erste schreckliche Nacht zuzubringen. Bei unserer Rückkehr am Morgen waren wir sehr froh, sie alle ruhig und die Männer damit beschäftigt zu finden, von ihren Canoes aus Fische zu speeren ..."

Auf der Weiterfahrt erreichten die Boote unter Führung Fitz-Roy's am 29. Januar 1833 die Punta Divide, „wo sich der Beagle-Canal in zwei Arme teilt. Wir fuhren in den nördlichen [Brazo noroeste] ein. Die Szenerie wird hier selbst noch großartiger als vorher. Die hohen Berge an der nördlichen Seite bilden die granitische Achse oder das Rückgrat des Landes. An vielen Stellen erstrecken sich prachtvolle Gletscher von der Seite der Berge bis an den Rand des Wassers. Es ist kaum möglich, sich irgend etwas Schöneres vorzustellen, als das beryllartige Blau dieser Gletscher. Die vom Gletscher in das Wasser gefallenen Bruchstücke schwammen fort und der Canal mit seinen Eisbergen bot für eine Meile lang ein Miniaturbild des Polarmeeres dar". Selbst Darwin (d): 257 wurde von diesen Naturwundern überwältigt.

Als die kleine Flotille am 6. Februar 1833 nach Wulsia zurückgekehrt war und mit der eben eingerichteten neuen Siedlung ganz unerwartete Enttäuschungen erlebte, wie Fitz-Roy (a): 220 sie geschildert und Darwin (d): 259 sie wiederholt hat, war auch Matthews aller Mut entschwunden und er verließ diese Gegend.[128] Darwin erwähnt dann noch, abweichend von der Ansicht des Kapitäns Fitz-Roy: „Obschon unsere drei Feuerländer nur drei Jahre lang unter civilisierten Menschen gewesen waren, so bin ich doch sicher, sie würden gern ihre neue Lebensweise beibehalten haben; dies war aber offenbar unmöglich. Ich fürchte, es ist sogar sehr zweifelhaft, ob ihr Besuch ihnen von irgendwelchem Nutzen gewesen ist."

Weitere Einzelheiten über das Verhalten der Eingeborenen und über den Fortgang der Fahrt hat Fitz-Roy fast wörtlich mit Darwin übereinstimmend niedergeschrieben, sie brauchen nicht nochmals angeführt zu werden (S. 96). Was aus des letzteren Werken hier wiederholt wurde, verrät eine offensichtliche Geringschätzung der Eingeborenen und zwar aus einer sehr starken Voreingenommenheit heraus, die selbst eindeutige Tatsachen nach jener Richtung hin umbiegt. Diese Einstellung Darwin's (e): I, 223 kann man sogar aus einem ganz durchsichtigen Werturteile ableiten: denn er schreibt: „Die

[128] Schließlich wurde dieser erbittete Mann, wie Darwin (d): 259 erzählt, von dieser Flotte „im Neuseeland gelassen, wo sein Bruder Missionär war".

Feuerländer leben in einem elenderen Zustande der Barbarei als ich jemals ein menschliches Wesen zu sehen erwartet hätte. Sie sind in diesem unbarmherzigen Clima absolut nackt, und ihre temporären Häuser sind denen gleich, wie sie Kinder im Sommer aus Baumzweigen sich bauen. Ich glaube nicht, daß irgend ein Schauspiel interessanter sein kann als der erste Anblick von Menschen in ihrer ursprünglichen Wildheit." Jeder Kritiker wird sich nun gegenüber dieser Beurteilung selber einzurichten wissen; ihm kommt vorteilhafterweise die spätere Meinungsänderung DARWIN's zur Hilfe. Darauf hier schon hinzuweisen scheint mir nötig, um von vornherein die Mitteilungen über seine Erlebnisse mit den Feuerländern in das rechte Licht zu rücken.

„Als JEMMY am 9. März 1833 die 'Beagle' verlassend das Land erreichte, zündete er ein Signalfeuer an, der Rauch stieg auf und sagte uns ein letztes und langes Lebewohl, als das Schiff auf dem Wege in das offene Meer hinaus war." Es vergingen einige Jahrzehnte und das in den 50er Jahren begonnene Wirken der Missionare aus der South American Missionary Society zeitigte seine ersten schönen Früchte. Früher hatte DARWIN (d): 263 noch geschrieben: „Ich glaube, in diesem äußersten Teile von Süd-America existiert der Mensch in einem niedrigeren Zustand der Veredelung, als in irgend einem anderen Theile der Welt." Obwohl die Arbeiten der Missionare inzwischen einen guten Verlauf genommen hatten, beurteilte DARWIN dieselben immer noch als gänzlich zwecklos. Der spätere Vice-Admiral B. J. SULIVAN, sein alter Freund und früherer Begleiter an Bord der "Beagle", der inzwischen mit jener Missionary Society in engere Verbindung getreten war und der den Fortgang des missionarischen Wirkens unter den Yamana genau verfolgte, ließ DARWIN die verschiedenen Berichte darüber nach und nach zukommen. So konnte es nicht ausbleiben, daß dieser sich nun endlich von der Unrichtigkeit seiner früheren Behauptungen überzeugte und für die Ehrenrettung der vielgeschmähten Feuerländer sowie für eine richtige Beurteilung ihrer geistigen Veranlagung eintrat.

Die öffentliche Meinung griff diese Sinnesänderung in lebhaften Erörterungen auf und es folgten sich allerhand Auseinandersetzungen deswegen. In übersichtlicher Kürze und Vollständigkeit sind die wichtigsten Vorkommnisse in einer Randbemerkung zu einem Briefe DARWIN's an SULIVAN, die dessen Sohn zum Verfasser hat, zusammengetragen. Ersterer hatte am 30. Juni 1870 von seinem Wohnsitze Down aus an seinen langjährigen Freund geschrieben: „. . . Ich hatte noch niemals ein Wort über den Erfolg der Mission im Feuerlande gehört. Es ist äußerst wunderbar und beschämt mich, denn ich hatte immer ein gänzliches Mißlingen prophezeit. Es ist ein großartiger Erfolg. Ich werde stolz darauf sein, wenn Ihr Committee es für passend hält, mich zum Ehrenmitgliede Ihrer Gesellschaft zu wählen . . ." (DARWIN [e]: III, 123). Diesem fügt der zweitälteste Sohn DARWIN's noch an: „Meines Vaters Zusammenhang mit der südamericanischen Mission, auf welchen im vorstehenden Brief Bezug genommen ist, hat Veranlassung zu einigen öffentlichen Bemerkungen gegeben und ist in gewisser Ausdehnung miß-

verstanden worden. Der Erzbischof von Canterbury sagte in seiner Rede bei der Jahresversammlung der südamericanischen Missionsgesellschaft, am 21. April 1885, ‚daß die Gesellschaft die Aufmerksamkeit CHARLES DARWIN's erregt und ihn bei seiner Erforschung der Wunder des Reiches der Natur zu der Ueberzeugung geführt habe, daß es noch ein anderes Reich gebe, ebenso wunderbar und dauernder'" (DARWIN [e]: III, 124). Einige Erörterungen über diesen Gegenstand erschienen in den "Daily News" vom 23., 24. u. 29. April 1885.[129]

Auch schrieb Admiral Sir JAMES SULIVAN persönlich an dasselbe Journal und erklärte ausführlich: „Ihr Artikel in den 'Daily News' von gestern veranlaßt mich, eine correcte Darstellung des Zusammenhanges zwischen der südamericanischen Missions-Gesellschaft und Mr. CHARLES DARWIN, meinem alten Freunde und fünf Jahre lang meinem Schiffsgenossen zu geben. Ich habe in naher Verbindung mit der Gesellschaft gestanden von der Zeit von Captain ALLEN GARDINER's Tod, und Mr. DARWIN hatte oft gegen mich seine Ueberzeugung ausgedrückt, daß es gänzlich nutzlos sei, Missionäre zu einem solchen Volke von Wilden zu schicken wie die Feuerländer seien, wahrscheinlich die niedrigste von allen Menschenrassen. Ich hatte ihm immer erwidert, daß ich nicht an die Existenz menschlicher Wesen glaube, welche zu niedrig ständen um die einfache Botschaft des Evangeliums von Christus zu verstehen. Nach vielen Jahren, ich denke ungefähr 1869 [es scheint im Jahre 1867 gewesen zu sein], ich kann aber den Brief nicht finden, schrieb er mir, daß die neueren Berichte der Mission ihm bewiesen, daß er Unrecht und ich Recht gehabt hätte in Betreff unserer Schätzung des Characters der Eingeborenen und der Möglichkeit, ihnen durch Missionäre Guthes zu thun: er bat mich, der Gesellschaft einen beiliegenden Cheque auf 5. engl. Pfund zu schicken als ein Zeichen des Interesses, welches er an ihrem guten Werke nehme. Am 6. Juni 1871 schrieb er: ‚Ich freue mich sehr, so gute Berichte über die Feuerländer zu hören, es ist wunderbar!' Am 10. Juni 1879: ‚Der Fortschritt der Feuerländer ist wunderbar und wäre es nicht wirklich so gekommen, so würde es für mich ganz unglaublich gewesen sein.' Am 3. Januar 1880: ‚Ihre Auszüge [aus einem Journal] über die Feuerländer sind äußerst merkwürdig und haben mich sehr interessiert. Ich habe oft gesagt, daß der Fortschritt von Japan das größte Wunder der Welt wäre, ich erkläre aber, daß der Fortschritt der Feuerländer beinahe gleich wunderbar ist.' Am 20. März 1881: ‚Die Schilderung der Feuerländer hat nicht bloß mich, sondern meine ganze Familie interessirt. Es ist wahrhaft wunderbar, was Sie von Mr. BRIDGES über ihre Ehrlichkeit und ihre Sprache gehört haben. Ich würde sicherlich vorausgesagt haben, daß alle Missionäre der Welt das nicht hätten thun können, was gethan worden ist.' Am 1. Dezember 1881 schrieb er mir, als er mir seinen jährlichen Beitrag für die Waisenanstalt bei der Missionsstation schickte: ‚Nach dem [Missionary Jour-

[129] In den "Daily News" vom 24. April 1885 wird auch ein Brief DARWIN's an Kapitän PARKER SNOW erwähnt, in dem er ausdrücklich betonte: „Der Erfolg der Missionsniederlassung beweist in der Tat, daß ich eine ganz irrige Meinung über Natur und Fähigkeiten der Feuerländer gehabt habe."

nal] zu urtheilen scheint die Mission im Feuerlande einen wunderbar guten Fortgang zu nehmen.'[120]

Die unparteiische Anerkennung der Erfolge jener Missionare und die vornehme Art, mit der DARWIN seine frühere irrige Ansicht zurückgenommen hat, ist ein günstiges Zeugnis für sein ehrliches Wahrheitsstreben. Was nach kritischer Sichtung aus seinen Berichten zu weiterer Benützung für die Ethnographie der Yamana übernommen werden kann, läßt sich unschwer erraten.

W. H. B. WEBSTER: Im gleichen bedeutungsvollen Jahre 1829, da die Untersuchungsarbeiten des englischen Flottenführers KING sich ihrem Ende zuneigten, bahnte sich die "Chanticleer" mühsam, doch erfolgreich ihren Weg durch die gefährlichen Gewässer der Antarktis. Sie hatte Portsmouth am 21. April 1828 mit dem besonderen Auftrag verlassen, „to ascertain the true figure of the earth, by a series of pendulum experiments at various places in the northern and southern hemispheres".

Als sie, fast ein Jahr später, vor Deception Island die Anker lichtend das antarktische Gebiet verließ und wieder den feuerländischen Gewässern zusteuerte, lief sie westlich von Kap Hoorn in die Bahía San Francisco ein. „We continued our course into the bay, and entered the second opening on its western side, named St. Martin's Cove.[121] Here all the beauties of the wildest Alpine scenery burst upon our view. As we passed into the cove, a wigwam was discovered, the smoke from which was curling among the trees. Shortly after a canoe, with several of the Indians, was observed paddling out towards the vessel. They were apparently inclined to come on board, to which no encouragement was given, as they were likely to prove troublesome" (I, 173). Es war der 25. März 1829.

„During a few days after our arrival, we were much gratified with the company of some Fuegian people, as the natives of Tierra del Fuego are called. A friendly intercourse was opened between us and a party of them, whose wigwams we found at the bottom of the cove. The usual presents were made them of a few trinkets and stained glass beads, with which they were much pleased, and proceeded to ornament their persons. As it was our intention to remain in St. Martin's Cove some time, we made a point of conciliating these people, and keeping on as friendly terms with them as possible. We frequently paid visits to their habitations, carrying with us some articles

[120] Diese Angaben habe ich aus DARWIN (o): III, 122 genommen. Sie finden sich auch im MM: XXII, 54; 1888 und wurden unter dem Titel "DARWIN's Urteil über die Feuerländer" von Pfarrer NEUBERG im "Kosmos", Handweiser für Naturfreunde, Bd. VI, Heft 8; Stuttgart 1909 der deutschen Leserwelt abermals ins Gedächtnis gerufen. Besondere Beachtung verdient "Mr. CHARLES DARWIN's opinion in 1832 of the Fuegians, and in 1880 of the Society's Work in Tierra del Fuego", die in schöner Gegenüberstellung unter "Interesting Records" als Anhang zu MM: XVIII, 20; 1884 veröffentlicht wurde.

[121] Ausführliche hydrographische und naturkundliche Beobachtungen über diesen geschützten Ankerplatz hat Kapitän H. FOSTER aufgezeichnet; sie wurden als "Memoirs on St. Martin's Cove, April 1829" in WEBSTER: II, 265 veröffentlicht.

of trifling value: gilt buttons seemed to attract their attention very much, and they expressed great delight when presented with them. Among other things we gave them some hatchets, and showed them their use. They received them, but did not seem to take much interest in learning their application to any useful purpose. A very little labour seemed to exhaust them; and instead of doing it themselves, they were continually applying to our men to cut wood for their fire. They would even ask them to launch their canoes, and appeared to possess neither the spirit of industry nor exertion; and in consequence of not employing themselves in pursuits which required exercise, they seemed to be weak and incapable of undergoing labour.

The Fuegian wigwam is probably one of the most wretched of this kind of structure. A few green boughs of trees is all that the Fuegian can find to construct the habitation which is to protect him from the cold, wet, and boisterous climate of Tierra del Fuego. It is of a circular form, generally not larger than will afford room for a family of five or six persons, who squat themselves round a fire in the middle in listless apathy. This miserable habitation boasts not the meanest or most common utensil, and the bare ground forms its floor. Here they sit, with occasionally a seal-skin covering thrown over their shoulders, and some times an apron of some animal's skin tied round their middle; but neither of these appear by any means to be indispensable articles of dress, and many are in a state of nudity; all suffering alike from the effects of smoke on their eyes. The dog, the faithful companion of man in every clime, lives on terms of the most intimate friendship with them, sharing alike their bed and board. The Fuegian dog is an animal of a good size, and of a better appearance than might be expected from the nature of his food. The animal bears considerable resemblance to a fox in his general appearance: he is very ferocious, and not unlike an Esquimaux dog.

In one of my visits to their wigwams, with the view of instructing them how to be useful to themselves and to each other, a red pocket-handkerchief attracted their attention. This I presented to the youngest female in the company, which consisted of five persons. The girl, to my great surprize, deliberately tore it into ribands, and began to ornament her hair with it; she also tied some pieces round her wrist, having previously offered me some dried fish in return for my present. We had given them fish-hooks, lines, knives, needles and thread, scissors etc. and I endeavoured to instruct them how to use the latter articles, so essential to the economy and manufacture of dress among ourselves. The Fuegians are decidedly a tractable and docile people, fully capable of receiving instruction: and I took no small pains in teaching one of the women the art of using a needle and thread to the best of my humble abilities in that line. I might have spared my trouble; for the woman on whom my pains had been bestowed, deliberately made a hole with the needle and then drew the thread out of it, and proceeded quietly to insert it into the hole the needle had made. This was the more provoking, because, in spite of all my instruction, she still persisted in doing it.

Those people betrayed great apathy and indifference at our appearance. In the course of our attempts to obtain a knowledge of their character and disposition, we found them uniformly mild and good-natured, with most frequently a smile on their countenance. There was nothing ferocious either in their manners or appearance, but at the same time we found no symptoms of fear or cowardice among them. They would scarcely listen to the sound of a flute, but they would join in a song, or rather endeavour to follow the air with their voices, and gave us the opportunity of hearing that they were soft and melodious. On our showing a glass to one of the women, after looking at herself in it, she rubbed it over her face and then laid it aside.

The Fuegian men are an indolent race of beings; they cultivate no ground, and like the women take little or no exercise. The riches of a Fuegian family consist of a canoe, a dog, and their fishing tackle. They are of a chubby appearance, generally well-conditioned, of moderate stature, but rather inclining to be short than otherwise. They have no beards, and only a few short hairs on their upper lip; they have dark glistening eyes, with long fine and soft black hair; their teeth are white and regular, and the calves of their legs are very small.

The Fuegian women are rather less in stature than the men; they are also stouter, and have slender wrists with rather small hands and handsome tapering fingers, which they use with a gracefulness not to be found elsewhere among their class in the scale of the creation. Their habits are simple and inoffensive; their general demeanour modest and becoming. They are remarkably quick in speech, and imitated our words frequently with considerable success, repeating what was said with great rapidity. They have a filthy habit of daubing soot and grease mixed together on their faces: they disfigure their legs with streaks of a white pigment, the principal ingredient of which is grease: they also anoint their hair with a mixture of grease and red ochre; all of which tends not a little to render the vicinity of their persons by no means desirable. They wear necklaces made of shells, the principal of which is a little red snail-shell; and their persons are also decorated with various bone ornaments strung together. The only emblem of cleanliness which we could discover was the jaw of a porpoise, for it appears that the minuteness and regularity of the teeth enable them to use it as a comb, a contrivance which cannot be considered but as highly creditable to these people. The children are in general potbellied, but good looking.

The women, as is the case with most other Indians, are the obsequious servants of the men, their idle lords and masters. They paddle the canoe and fish while the men indolently look on; in fact, the women perform all the laborious duties which belong properly to their male companions. The first canoe that came to us after our arrival was paddled by two women, while the men in her were idly looking at us.

The Fuegians subsist principally by fishing, and have recourse to a remarkable expedient to supply the place of a hook. They fasten a small

limpet in its shell to the end of a line, which the fish readily swallows as bait. The greatest care is then taken by them not to displace the limpet from his stomach in drawing the fish gradually to the surface of the water; and when there, the woman watches a favourable moment, and with great dexterity, while she retains the fish by the line with one hand, seizes hold of it with the other and quickly lifts it into the canoe. It is evident that there is no little care required in this operation, and some degree of management is necessary to keep the limpet-shell, the substitute for the hook, in the possession of the fish; for, by any sudden jerk which the fish is likely to give, it would be very easily displaced, and he would find himself at liberty. The women, however, are particularly expert at this method of taking fish; and we were more than once amused by it. There are a vast number of limpets and muscles, on which they principally subsist, although they manage to catch a porpoise now and then, or a seal,' which affords them a temporary luxury. They live much on berries, and are sometimes so fortunate as to catch a few birds. In order to do this, the Indian secretes himself, and decoys them by imitating their notes, until they are sufficiently near to be within the range of his arrow.

The canoes of the Fuegians are constructed principally of the bark of the beech-tree wrapped and secured round a series of half-hoops of the wood of the same tree, which serve as ribs, and are placed at short distances apart. They are plastered with clay, which renders them heavy, although they are not more than nine feet in length. The upper sides of the canoe are kept together by means of three thwarts or cross pieces, and the persons in them are generally seated on the bottom. They never make use of a sail, but invariably propel them with paddles; a small fire is generally seen in the middle of them; and they use a little cup made of a peculiar flat sea-weed much resembling leather, for the purpose of baling the water out of it. The canoe constitutes the principal riches of a Fuegian family: it affords them the means of transporting themselves from one place to another, and also enables them to obtain the principal part of their food.

The only weapons we observed among these people were slings, bows and arrows. The latter are neatly made, and pointed with obsidian. Their bows and arrows are employed for the destruction of birds; warfare appears not to trouble these people; happily for them it has not reached their shores. They use a dried lichen as tinder, and procure fire by the friction of two pieces of pyrites, a fire-stone with which their country abounds. One night we fired some rockets for the purpose of obtaining difference of time, and the poor Indians were so alarmed by them, that they fled into the woods and stayed there the whole night. In fact, they were so alarmed, by them that they forsook us early the ensuing morning, and never returned again, imagining that we were in possession of an evil spirit which we could always let loose among them at pleasure" (I, 185).

CHARLES WILKES: Zu einer Weltumsegelung war die nordamerikanische Flotte unter dem Oberbefehl des Kapitäns WILKES im Jahre 1838 ausgezogen und erreichte Ende Februar 1839 die Bahia Orange am Ostufer der Peninsula Hardy. Der Flottenführer hat die eigenen Beobachtungen über die feuerländischen Eingeborenen ausführlicher dargelegt, als seine beiden Reisebegleiter COLVOCORESSES und JENKINS, die ebenfalls ihre Erlebnisse niedergeschrieben haben.[143] Bei Bewertung der folgenden Aufzeichnungen darf man nicht aus dem Auge verlieren, daß die Eingeborenen während der vorausgegangenen Jahrzehnte zwar noch sehr selten, aber immerhin doch einige Male mit den Weißen in Berührung gekommen waren. Der lange Bericht verliert trotzdem nicht an Bedeutung, weswegen ich ihn fast ungekürzt wiederhole.

„During our stay, we had, at various times, visits from the natives. They were all at first very shy, but after they found our friendly disposition towards them, they became more sociable and confiding.

Before our departure from Orange Harbour, a bark canoe came alongside, with an Indian, his squaw, and four children. The tribe to which they belonged is known by the name of the *Petcherai* Indians. They were entirely naked, with the exception of a small piece of sealskin, only sufficient to cover one shoulder, and which is generally worn on the side from which the wind blows, affording them some little shelter against its piercing influence.

They were not more than five feet high, of a light copper colour, which is much concealed by smut and dirt, particularly on their faces, which they mark vertically with charcoal. They have short faces, narrow foreheads, and high cheek-bones. Their eyes are small and usually black, the upper eyelids in the inner corner overlapping the under one, and bear a strong resemblance to those of the Chinese. Their nose is broad and flat, with wide-spread nostrils; mouth large; teeth white, large, and regular. The hair is long, lank, and black, hanging over the face, and is covered with white ashes, which gives them a hideous appearance. The whole face is compressed. Their bodies are remarkable from the great developement of the chest, shoulders, and vertebral column; their arms are long, and out of proportion; their legs small and ill made. There is in fact little difference between the size of the ankle and leg, and when standing, the skin at the knee hangs in a large loose fold. In some, the muscles of the leg appear almost wanting, and possess very little strength. This want of developement in the muscles of the legs is owing to their constant sitting posture, both in their huts and canoes. Their skin is sensibly colder than ours. It is impossible to fancy any thing in human nature more filthy. They are an ill-shapen and ugly race. They have little or no idea of the

[143] In übersichtlicher Beurteilung seiner Arbeiten im südlichsten Amerika schreibt KOBL: 170 etwas zurückhaltend: „Der Amerikaner CHARLES WILKES ... teilte in seinem Werke (vol. I. pag. 119—161) manche nützliche Bemerkungen über die südlichen Partien des Feuerlandes, die dortigen Wellington-Inseln, das Cap Hoorn, die Diego Ramirez-Inseln und die Bewohner dieser Gegenden mit. [Diese Reise wurde jedoch] hauptsächlich nur für die Kenntnis der entlegenerern antarktischen Gegenden, Inseln und Eismeere wichtig."

relative value of articles, even of those that one would suppose were of the utmost use to them, such as iron and glass-ware. A glass bottle broken into pieces, is valued as much as a knife. Red flannel, torn into strips, pleases them more than in the piece; they wound it around their heads, as a kind of turban, and it was amusing to see their satisfaction at this small acquisition.

The children were quite small, and nestled in the bottom of the canoe on some dry grass. The woman and eldest boy paddled the canoe, the man being employed to bale out the water and attend to the fire, which is always carried in the bottom of the canoe, on a few stones and ashes, which the water surrounds. Their canoes are constructed of bark, are very frail, and sewed with shreds of whalebone, sealskin, and twigs. They are sharp at both ends, and are kept in shape as well as strengthened by a number of stretchers lashed to the gunwale. These Indians seldom venture outside the kelp, by the aid of which they pull themselves along, and their paddles are so small as to be of little use in propelling their canoes, unless it is calm . . .

Their huts are generally found built close to the shore, at the head of some small bay, in a secluded spot, and sheltered from the prevailing winds. They are built of boughs or small trees, stuck in the earth, and brought together at the top, where they are firmly bound by bark, sedge, and twigs. Smaller branches are then interlaced, forming a tolerably compact wicker-work, and on this grass, turf, and bark are laid, making the hut quite warm, and impervious to the wind and snow, though not quite so to the rain. The usual dimensions of these huts are seven or eight feet in diameter, and about four of five feet in height. They have an oval hole to creep in it.[1] The fire is built in a small excavation in the middle of the hut. The floor is of clay, which has the appearance of having been well kneaded. The usual accompaniment of a hut is a conical pile of shells opposite the door, nearly as large as the hut itself.

These natives are never seen but in their huts or canoes. The impediments to their communication by land are great . . . They appear to live in families, and not in tribes, and do not seem to acknowledge any chief.

On the 11th of March three bark canoes arrived, containing four men, four women, and a girl about sixteen years old, four little boys and four infants, one of the latter about a week old, and quite naked. The thermometer was at 46° Fahrenheit. They had rude weapons, viz., slings to throw

[1] Daß hiermit eine kuppelförmige Hütte gemeint ist, wird aus dem besonderen Hinweis ersichtlich, den WILKES: I, 133 auf die davon abweichende Form im Osten des Yamana-Gebietes macht: „In a small cove on New Island, a different description of hut was seen by the officers of the 'Relief'. Not having met with any natives, it was not in their power to ascertain if it belonged to the same tribe. It was built of logs, with their upper ends leaning together in the form of a cone, and nearly circular at the base; the interstices were filled with grass, leaves, and earth, in which some grasses had taken root, and were growing." Und um jeden Zweifel auszuschließen fügt er an: „It is represented in the tail-piece." Diese ganze Schilderung stammt von CHAVOCOUNSES: 36 und wird von mir weiter unten (S. 117) mit deren eigenen Worten wiederholt werden.

stones, three rude spears, pointed at the end with bone, and notched on one side with barbed teeth. With this they catch their fish, which are in great quantities among the kelp. Two of the natives were induced to come on board, after they had been alongside for upwards of an hour, and received many presents, for which they gave their spears, a dog,[100] and some of their rude native trinkets. They did not show or express surprise at any thing on board, except when seeing one of the carpenters engaged in boring a hole with a screw-auger through a plank, which would have been a long task for them. They were very talkative, smiling when spoken to, and often bursting into loud laughter, but instantly settling into their natural serious and sober cast.

They were found to be great mimics, both in gesture and sound, and would repeat any word of our language, with great correctness of pronunciation. Their imitations of sounds were truly astonishing.

Their mimicry became annoying, and precluded our getting at any of their words or ideas. It not only extended to words or sounds, but actions also, and was at times truly ridiculous. The usual manner of interrogating for names was quite unsuccessful. On pointing to the nose, for instance, they did the same. Any thing they saw done they would mimic, and with an extraordinary degree of accuracy. On these canoes approaching the ship, the principal one of the family, or chief, standing up in his canoe, made a harangue. He spoke in *C* natural, and did not vary his voice more than a semitone. The pitch of the voice of the female is an octave higher. Although they have been heard to shout quite loud, yet they cannot endure a noise. When the drum beat they invariably stopped their ears, until it ceased. On hearing a pistol or gun fired, they immediately did the same. They always speak to each other in a whisper. Their cautious manner and movements prove them to be a timid race. The men are exceedingly jealous of their women, and will not allow any one, if they can help it, to enter their huts, particulary boys.

The women were never suffered to come on board. They appeared modest in the presence of strangers. They never move from a sitting posture, or rather a squat, with their knees close together, reaching to their chin, their feet in contact and touching the lower part of the body. They are extremely ugly. Their hands and feet were small and well-shaped, and from appearance they are not accustomed to do any hard work. They appear very fond and seem careful of their young children, though on several occasions they offered them for sale for a trifle. They have their faces smutted all over, and it was thought from the hideous appearance of the females, produced in part by their being painted and smutted, that they had been disfigured by the men previous to coming alongside. It was remarked that when one of them saw herself in a looking-glass she burst into tears.

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[100] Es soll nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß Wilkes: I, 129 außergewöhnlich hohen Preis Hund von den Eingeborenen eintauschen konnte, während Ross: II, 385 dies nicht erreicht hat.

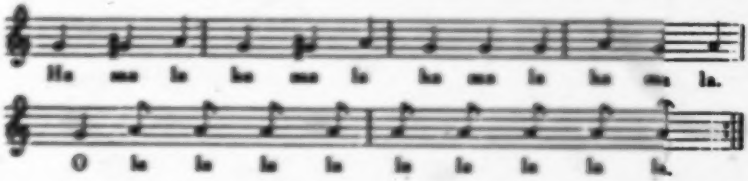
The men are employed in building the huts, obtaining food, and providing for their other wants. The women were generally seen paddling their canoes. When this party of natives left the ship and reached the shore, the women remained in their canoes, and the men began building their temporary huts: the little children were seen capering quite naked on the beach, although the thermometer was at 40° [Fahrenheit]. On the hut being finished, which occupied about an hour, the women went on shore to take possession of it. They all seemed quite happy and contented . . .

Towards evening, Messrs. Wallnan and Drayton visited their huts . . . On landing, one of the men seemed anxious to talk with them. He pointed to the ship, and tried to express many things by gestures; then pointed to the southeast, and then again to the ship, after which, clasping his hands, as in our mode of prayer, he said 'Elouh, Elouh', as though he thought we had come from God.

After a little time they gained admittance to the hut. The men creeping in first, squatted themselves directly in front of the hut to crack their bodies. The women were squatted three feet behind the men, the oldest in front nursing the infants.

After being in the hut Mr. Drayton endeavoured to call the attention of the man who had made signs to him before entering, to know whether they had any idea of a Supreme Being. The same man then put his hands together, repeating as before, 'Elouh, Elouh'. From his manner it was inferred that they had some idea of God or a Supreme Being.

Their mode of expressing friendship is by jumping up and down. They made Messrs. Wallnan and Drayton jump with them on the beach, before entering the hut, took hold of their arms, facing them, and jumping two or three inches from the ground, making them keep time to the following song:



Their food consists of limpets, mussels, and other shell-fish. Quantities of fish, and some seals, are now and then taken among the kelp, and with berries of various kinds, and wild celery, they do not want. They seldom cook their food much. The shellfish are detached from the shell by heat, and the fish are partly roasted in their skins, without being cleaned.

When on board, one of them was induced to sit at the dinner table, when, after a few lessons, he handled his knife and fork with much dexterity. He refused both spirits and wine, but was very fond of sweetened water. Salt provisions were not at all to his liking, but rice and plum pudding were

agreeable to his taste, and he literally crammed them into his mouth. After his appetite had been satisfied, he was in great good humour, singing his '*Hey mek lek*', dancing and laughing. His mimicry prevented any satisfactory inquiries being made of him relative to a vocabulary.

One of these natives remained on board for upwards of a week, and being washed and combed, he became two or three shades lighter in colour. Clothes were put on him. He was about twenty-three years of age, and was unwell the whole time he was on board, from eating such quantities of rice, etc. His astonishment was very great on attending divine service. The moment the chaplain began to read from the book, his eyes were riveted upon him, where they remained as long as he continued to read. At the end of the week he became dissatisfied, and was set on shore, and soon appeared naked again. It was observed on presents being made, that those who did not receive any began a sort of whining cry, putting on the most doleful-looking countenances imaginable.

They are much addicted to theft, if any opportunity offers. The night before they left the bay, they stole and cut up one of the wind sails, which had been scrubbed and hung up on shore to dry. Although we had no absolute proof of it, we are inclined to the belief that they bury their dead in caves."

Was WILKES: I, 125 bisher mitgeteilt hat, gilt für die Eingeborenen in der Bahia Orange und ihrer nächsten Umgebung. Am 29. März 1839 bewegte sich die Flotte durch den nördlichen Teil der Bahia Nassau, wo ihm (I, 146) andere Eingeborene entgegenkamen.

„We were here visited by a canoe with six natives: two old women, two young men, and two children. The two women were paddling, and the fire was burning in the usual place. They approached the vessel singing their rude song, '*Hey mek lek*', and continued it until they came alongside. The expression of the younger ones was extremely prepossessing, evincing much intelligence and good humour. They ate ham and bread voraciously, distending their large mouths and showing a strong and beautiful set of teeth. A few strips of red flannel distributed among them produced great pleasure; they tied it around their heads as a sort of turban. Knowing they were fond of music, I had the fife played, the only instrument we could muster. They seemed much struck with the sound. The vessel at this time was under way, and no presents could persuade them to continue any longer with us ... We found them also extremely imitative, repeating over our words and mimicking our motions. They were all quite naked.

I have seldom seen so happy a group. They were extremely lively and cheerful, and any thing but miserable, if we could have avoided contrasting their condition with our own.

The colour of the young men was a pale, and of the old a dark copper colour. Their heads were covered with ashes, but their exterior left a pleasing impression. Contentment was pictured in their countenances and actions, and produced a moral effect that will long be remembered."

Nicht überflüssig scheint es mir, den mit obigem Berichte wörtlichend übereinstimmenden aus der Feder des Lieutenants Colvocoresses, der zur Mannschaft WILKES' gehörte, ohne Kürzung sofort anzufügen.

GEORGE MUSALAS COLVOCORESSES: Als Mitglied der nordamerikanischen Flotte des Kommandanten CHARLES WILKES hat sich auch Lieutenant Colvocoresses an der Weltumseglung in den Jahren 1838 bis 1842 beteiligt. Sehr knapp berichtet er über die Eingeborenen der Isla Grande, die als kleine Gruppe von vierzehn Männern in der Bahia Buen Suceso zwischen dem 22. und 24. Januar 1839 ihm unter die Augen kamen. Auf der Weiterfahrt traf er mit den gleichen Familien der Yamana zusammen, die auch WILKES und JENKINS in jenem südlichen Gewässern beobachtet haben (S. 112).[*]

In kurzgefaßter Erzählweise führt Colvocoresses: 36 aus: „On the 24th we quitted Good Success Bay ... On the 25th, at 5. P. M., anchored off north-eastern side of New Island. On the following morning, after breakfast, we visited the shore. We saw no human beings, but found near the beach a hut, which bore many traces of being inhabited. It contained a large number of muscle-shells, which looked fresh, a part of a seal-skin, and a large heap of ashes. We also observed that the ground about the entrance was hard and destitute of vegetation. The hut was constructed of logs, the lower ends of which were spread round so as to form nearly a perfect circle, while the upper ends leaned against each other.'[*] The interstices were filled with earth and grass. In the centre was a hole, about two feet in circumference, for the smoke to pass through. The entrance was from the west, and was about three feet in height and two feet wide. We had not time to examine much of the interior of the island, but that which did come under our observation presented a scene which we did not expect to witness in so high a latitude. There

[*] Zum wissenschaftlichen Stabe der Expeditionsteilnehmer gehörte auch CHARLES PEARSON, der den Teil "The races of man" als Vol. IX des vom Kommandanten CHARLES WILKES geleiteten umfangreichen Reisebericht geschrieben hat. Er selber ist keinen einzigen Yamana unmittelbar gewesen, wie seine eigenen Worte (pag. 18) beweisen: „In February, 1839, the 'Vincennes' came to anchor in Orange Harbour; and on the day of our arrival, a small canoe made its appearance, coming from the direction of the isle of Cape Horn, which was nearly in sight. I was on shore at the time; and before I could reach the ship's side, the canoe departed, without giving me a distinct view of the occupants. During the nine following days, that elapsed before the sailing of the 'Relief', no other natives made their appearance; and nevertheless, I landed at different points almost every day, and extended my walks as far as six miles inland, the whole country appeared to be a solitude. Sometimes, however, in following the coast, I would come upon a deserted hut ... After the sailing of the 'Relief', the natives made their appearance more frequently; and from oral descriptions, and the drawings of the artists, I was enabled to satisfy myself of the physical identity with our Northern aborigines." Sein Werk beschreibt ich also hier nicht weiter an berücksichtigen.

[*] Diese Angaben sprechen unzweideutig für eine kopfübrige Hütenanlage, die auch von früheren Reisebeschreibern hier im südlichen Feile der Yamana-Heimat bereits erwähnt worden war.

was no abundance of vegetation, and much more advanced than any which we saw at Good Success Bay . . .

Visited [Jan. 27] a hut [in a harbor 55° 20' 30" S, 67° 27' 00" w] in which was found a knife and a piece of Guernsey frock; the knife was originally a part of an iron-hoop . . .

On the following day we quitted the harbor above referred to, and coasted along in search of Orange Bay. Passed a number of islands, which answered to the description given of those in the vicinity of Orange Bay by Captain Kane. At 6 P.M., came to in a large, beautiful bay; it was nearly circular in shape, and was bounded on all sides with undulating hills, covered with evergreen foliage, to their very summits.

We had scarcely hitch the anchor when a canoe, with five natives, three men, a woman and child, came alongside. Upon invitation two of the men came on board without manifesting the slightest hesitation or distrust, and we were not a little surprised to find them so entirely different from those we had seen at Good Success Bay. They spoke an entirely different language, were of a low stature, ill-shaped, and wore their hair long. So great, indeed, was the difference that we could no longer doubt that those seen at Good Success were Patagonians, and had in all probability come there in quest of game; while these were the real Terra del Fuegians.

They were not more than five feet high, of light copper-color, which was much concealed by sweat and dirt; indeed, it would be impossible to imagine anything in human nature more filthy and disgusting. They had short faces, narrow foreheads, and high cheekbones. The hair was long, lank and black, hanging over the face, and was covered with ashes. Their bodies were remarkable, for the great development of the chest and shoulders; their arms were long and out of proportion; their legs were small and very much bowed. The woman was young, but no better-looking than the men. She was seated at one end of the canoe, and appeared to take an equal share with the men in the labors of the paddle. We invited her on board repeatedly, but she would not venture; doubtless she was afraid of offending the men, who are very jealous. The child had an interesting countenance, and was I should judge, about three years of age, though it was still in arms. It was attired in the same manner as the rest; a piece of sealskin, about a foot square, tied around its waist, being all the poor little thing had on to protect it against one of the coldest days that we had yet experienced.

Our two friends appeared to be much pleased with their visit; their countenances and manner plainly indicated the pleasure which they felt on seeing so many new objects. When about to leave, we made them some presents in the way of clothes, with which they all appeared to be greatly pleased, and insisted upon giving us in return some bows and arrows. It was very amusing to see them in their new dress; they moved about with amazing affectation of dignity, and gave themselves a thousand consequential airs.

Their imitation of sounds was truly astonishing; we tried them with the

Flute and guitar, and they followed the sounds accurately. They were also found to be great mimics in action; anything they saw, they could mimic, and with an extraordinary degree of accuracy. They were very talkative, and often burst into a loud laughter when with each other; but whenever they discovered that we were watching them, they looked as grave as judges, and said but little. We also observed that they spoke to each other in a whisper.

Their arms consisted of bows, arrows, and spears. They use the latter for killing the seal, which is found in great abundance in all the bays, and which they esteem as an excellent food.

At an early hour next day another canoe, with seven natives, came alongside, and asked permission to come on board, but finding it could not be granted on early in the day, they paddled off again, and we saw no more of them.

In the afternoon we visited the shore, and very soon fell in with the natives, who came on board on the day of our arrival. They immediately commenced jumping up and down, which is their mode of expressing friendship. One of them, who had a pair of pantaloons given him, had them torn round his neck, and another had the skirt of his coat cut off; the reason he assigned for doing so was that they were in his way. Their hut was constructed after the manner of that we saw at New Island, and bore quite a neat and comfortable appearance. The ground was swept clean, and in the centre a large fire was burning, over which hung a string of fish. The other articles which it contained were some shells, which were carefully laid upon some clean leaves, and the blanket we had given to the woman on the previous day. They seldom cook their food much. The shell-fish are detached from their shell by heat, and the fish are partly roasted in their skins without being cleaned. It was evident that not withstanding our long ignorance of these people, we had not gained their confidence; for, on seeing us approach the hut, the women fled with her child, nor could we prevail upon the men to come here to return....”

The Indonesian Mitchelmore brothers sick and Unknown, die in Puerto Bahia’ uncovered wreck. The Photo ping bahi dwarfs in Bahia Orange was Author and Circumstances: El cruiseb writer:

„On the morning after our arrival [at Orange Bay] a canoe with six natives, five men and one woman, came off to the ship, bringing with them spear-heads and necklaces made of shells, which they readily exchanged for cotton handkerchiefs and pieces of iron. They were invited to come on board, but at first only would venture; this was a young man about nineteen years of age, and rather good-looking. They were evidently of the same race as those we had seen at Bahia Harbour; they spoke the same language, and resembled them in their features and dress. The woman was old and extremely ugly, and as unlike in her appearance as any of the men. She declined coming on board. Her face was painted black and red in vertical lines, and she wore a necklace made of shells; her posture while she remained in the boat was that of a squat. Their canoe was made of strips of bark, sewed together, and strengthened by ribs and planks; it was about twenty-five feet long and

[illegible] feet wide. The blades of the paddles were so narrow as to be of a very little use in a sea way. The bottom of the canoe was covered with a layer of clay, upon which a fire was kept burning. It would seem from the great care they appear to take of their fire, that, when extinguished, it is no easy matter for them to rekindle it.

When this party left the ship, they employed themselves for several hours in fishing amongst the kelp, and then they pulled up towards the head of the bay where their hut was located, and which was found to be quite differently constructed from any we had previously seen. It was built of boughs, leaves, and reeds, in shape it resembled a beehive,[17] and was impervious to wind and snow. The entrance was low and ornamented. The floor was formed of clay, and in the centre was an excavation which contained the fire.

January 21st 1839. Mr. C. with six seamen, took possession of Sweet Island, for the purpose of making observations on the tide. He met there several of the natives who had visited the ship; they were not gathering berries of which we had grown here in great abundance, and has a very pleasant flavor, its color is bright red.[18]

Die Mittheilungen des Lieutenant Cavenaugh gehen, wie die Fitzroy'sche Vorgeschichte zeigt, lange zurück über die des Photenhiboos Wappo hinaus. Das gilt auch für die ethnologischen Aufzeichnungen, die *James S. Jewett*, ein anderer Offizier dieses [illegible] Photos, hinterlassen hat.[19] Jewett [illegible] es für die Zeit dieses Berichts [illegible] Verhaut, wenn ich diese Beziehungen hier nicht [illegible].

JAMES CLARK JEWETT. Während seiner Wahrnehmungen mit sich der englische Photenhiboos J. C. Beers II, 204 gewonnen, am 20. September 1842 in St. Martin's Cove im Sonn Ahn Nuwo von Anker an gehen und hier verbrachte Tage an verweilen.

„Where near the end of the lake we saw a canoe and there were standing near it, one of them approached us unarmed, and without the least appearance of fear, pointing out the most convenient spot for us to land, for the surf was heavy on the beach, and continually calling out 'Tamana Cayna', words which have been differently interpreted by Captain FitzRoy and Mr. Darwin. I am fully persuaded the former is right in considering them to be an expression of welcome, for the man could hardly be calling to us to give him any thing, when we were so distant from him that his voice was at times scarcely audible; nor when we landed did they hold out their hands.

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[17] Mit der gleichen Bemerkung, mit der man an den Bechtelsberg erinnert, über die Gestalt einer Kapitänin erkennen lassen, wurde man an diesen Angaben die Gegenüberlage Mitte.

[18] Die [illegible] Bericht des Premiers [illegible] (1839, 72) und gemeint.

[19] Jewett [illegible] Jewett' Vorgeschichte (S. 19–22) [illegible] of the Nations of Gold Sources Bay, Orange Harbor, and Tamana Bay were by Adopted Wappo' party, with the addition of some further details from Beers and Darwin".

as if in expectation of receiving any present from us. They were perfectly naked, with the exception of a small otter skin thrown over their shoulders, which greatly surprised us, for the ground was still thinly covered with snow. Their women and children they had probably sent out of the way when they saw us approaching; and there was not an article of any kind to be seen in their miserable 'wigwam'. We stayed a short time with them to establish a friendly confidence, and at parting they again shouted to us '*Yamma Coyna*', which we adopted as a symbol of friendship. They embarked in their canoe soon after we left the shore ..."

Zu allerhand genauen Beobachtungen, beispielsweise über die verschiedenen Arten von Speeren, bot sich hier gute Gelegenheit und Ross: II, 303 stellt sie in folgenden Zeilen zusammen: „During our stay in St. Martin's Cove we had frequent visits from the natives: they came in small parties, and always took up their quarters in the wigwam at the head of the Cove, which seemed to be a kind of joint property. It was a most miserable shelter from the inclement weather of this period of the year; but so inured to it are these people that it was not unusual to see them walking knee-deep in the snow on some of the bitterest days, without any covering beyond a small otter skin over the shoulders, reaching about half way down the back. The Fuegians are truly described as the most abject and miserable race of human beings ...

Abb. 12. Pernettya mucronata ⅓ n. Gr.

Overawed by our superior numbers, they were kept in good order, with the exception of a few trifling instances of petty theft. They are admirable mimics, and were fond of the company of our people, singing and dancing with them, and entering into every kind of fun, for which seamen are so famous; and it was both amusing and interesting to witness their attempts to repeat the words and tunes of their songs, which they accomplished with a wonderful degree of facility. Landing one morning unexpectedly, I found our people teaching them to wash their faces; but the soap making their eyes smart, their ablutions were afterwards confined to the feet and hands: they then powdered their hair with flour, and decorated them with ridiculous ornaments, the natives greatly enjoying their altered appearance, brightened

in no small degree, by the present of a complete suit of clothes each, and many useful articles they got on board the ship: they went away in the evening rich and happy.

The greatest number we saw at one time amounted to on more than fifteen. They were living together like one family, near the beach in Joachim Bay, and the parties which visited us generally consisted of three men, two women, and two or three children. The men came on board the ships without hesitation, but the women were never allowed to leave the canoe, and employed themselves diving for sea eggs, or picking up limpets, which are their principal food.

The only weapons we saw in their possession were spears of three kinds . . . They were of various sizes, according to the purpose to which they were applied, and to suit the power and size of the person using them. The largest was a beech wood staff, nine feet long and four inches in circumference, with a strong bone head, thirteen inches long, quite straight, and tapered to a fine point: the bone head, which was fitted into a socket at the heavier end of the spear, was secured by a strong seal skin thong, about a foot from each end of the spear, and used only for the destruction of the largest kind of seals. The bone head, when struck into the animal, trips out of the socket and acts as a toggle, whilst the released staff performs the part of a buoy.

Another spear, longer and lighter than the above, stained with red ochre, and armed with a barbed bone head, finely pointed, but without any seal skin thong attached, was probably employed against the smaller kinds of seals, or perhaps in warlike meetings, for the first party we met had spears of this nature concealed in the wood.

The third kind of spear was hardly five feet long, and proportionably slender, armed with a bone head with seventeen notches, increasing in size from the point to the heel, securely fixed to the spear by a lashing of seal skin, and probably used for killing birds.[140]

In one of the canoes that came alongside the ship, we observed three arrows of very rude make, pointed with obsidian, which they were unwilling to part with,[141] and the bow they kept carefully concealed. In the same canoe was a white dog, which they were so much afraid of losing that I could not prevail upon them to let me see it. This party were strangers; and, on landing at the head of the cove, they were received in silence, and with a solemn countenance, by our first friends. They walked up to the wigwam, and seated themselves in a circle round the fire, without speaking a word

[140] Eine solch genaue und ausführliche Beschreibung der wichtigen und jedem Besucher zugänglichen Harpunen bzw. Speere ist von keinem Seefahrer der früheren Zeit verwahrt worden.

[141] Auch anderen europäischen Besuchern haben die Yamana überhaupt nicht oder nur sehr ungern ihre Pfeilspitzen abgegeben. Daraus läßt sich wohl schließen, wie mühsam und umständlich es für sie selber war, sich dieselben anzufertigen oder zu erwerben, und wie notwendig sie dieselben benutzten.

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

or manifesting any expression of satisfaction or otherwise, at meeting. The women, as usual, remained in charge of the canoe, and in about an hour they all left the harbour. They had come from one of the neighbouring islands, and were in a more filthy state than any we had before seen; their bodies and heads being smeared with red ochre, mixed with oil or grease of intolerable smell . . .

They are an indolent race, throwing the labour of paddling the canoes and collecting shell-fish upon the women. Their conduct throughout the whole period of our stay was peaceable and inoffensive, and their cheerfulness and good temper rendered their presence agreeable to us rather than otherwise; and, from the number of useful presents they received in the shape of knives, axes, saws, and all kinds of carpenters' tools, fishing-lines, hooks, and a great variety of other articles, I trust our visit will not have been without considerable benefit to them.

Their language is most difficult and unpronounceable, so that we could only communicate with each other by signs, and of course could not gain any knowledge of their religious ideas . . .

They do not entertain that objection to having their hair cut, which Captain King mentions of the Fuegians in Fortescue Bay.[142] After reading that anecdote I thought it right to proceed with caution to induce them to let my coxswain cut a lock from off some of our visitors; on presenting each of them with some hair they had seen him cut off my head, they did not make the least objection to his cutting theirs and giving it to me; and before we left the harbour, nearly all of them ad their long dirty hair removed, and expressed much satisfaction at their short crop, which greatly improved their appearance."

Manche wertvolle Ergänzung erfährt diese immerhin ausführliche Beschreibung durch die Eigenbeobachtungen eines Offiziers des Ross'schen Geschwaders, die hier sogleich angeschlossen werden.

ROBERT M'CORMICK: Auf drei ausgedehnten und bedeutungsvollen Reisen hatte sich dieser englische Seeoffizier eine reiche Erfahrung gesammelt, so daß er dem Flottenführer J. C. Ross auf der neuen Reise um die Welt (S. 120) ein wertvoller Begleiter war. Die drei Schiffe fuhren am 19. September 1839 von England ab. Nach einem kurzen Aufenthalt bei den Falklandsinseln warfen sie Anker am 20. September 1842, also genau drei Jahre nach Abschied vom heimatlichen Hafen, in nächster Nähe des Kap Hoorn, nämlich in St. Martin's Cove, am östlichen Ufer der Isla Hermite.

Die selbständigen Mitteilungen M'Cormick's: (I, 303) über das Benehmen der wenigen Eingeborenen an jenen Gestaden enthalten einige brauchbare Einzelheiten, die es verdienen, neben den Erfahrungen des Flottenführers Ross, hier wiederholt zu werden. Darin heißt es: „The morning was fine; both

[142] Diese letzteren gehörten zum Stamme der Halakwulup.

captains landed before breakfast to select a spot for the observatory. I could see from the ship the smoke curling up from the native hut or wigwam, and five of the Fuegians on the beach, all naked, with the exception of a seal-skin mat thrown over one shoulder, the shoulder to windward. They shouted for us to come on shore, and exhibited no appearance whatever of fear or astonishment. Their canoe was lying on the shingle beach. The weather in the afternoon became overcast with snow squalls . . .

I landed for the first time at eight a. m. [21. Sept. 1842] on the shores of Tierra del Fuego in the boat taking the observatory on shore. Three of the natives met us as we landed, saluting us with their customary expression, whatever it meant; the words were '*Yammer skooner*'. I shook hands with them all round, giving each an anchor-button from my uniform jacket. In their canoe I saw the white pigment with which they smear themselves over. I went to the wigwam, a dome-shaped hut,[143] about the size and form of an ordinary haycook, formed by a number of branches of trees driven into the ground and forming a circle, having the ends brought together at the top, and the interstices filled in very rudely with the smaller branches, leaving a small opening fronting the beach as a doorway. In the centre of the interior a few embers were still smouldering on the bare ground; a bag made of the skin of the steamer-duck, having the feathers inside, and a piece of the skin lay in one corner; from the roof was suspended a calabash-shaped bottle made of kelp, near which stood two spears with barbed bone heads, and on the ground lay four pieces of sticks tied together at their ends by means of rushes, the whole forming an oblong square, the use of which I could form no notion of.

Whilst I was examining the spears, the youngest of the three Fuegians, a youth of about seventeen perhaps, entered the wigwam, and I struck a barter with him for one of them, giving him half a dozen anchor-buttons from my jacket in exchange, with which he appeared to be highly satisfied. He had a goodnatured expression of countenance."

Der 22. September 1842 war „a fine, mild, sunny day. At nine a. m. a canoe containing six Fuegians, three of them men, two children, and one woman, came round the north head into the cove. They first went alongside the 'Terror', and then paddled towards us. Two of the men came on board, the oldest remaining with the woman and children in the canoe. One of those on board had several necklaces, and a fillet bound round his head, and the hair smeared over with the white pigment, giving him the appearance of being powdered. He had a mat over one shoulder in the usual fashion, and, with the exception of this, naked as he was born; his face was streaked transversely with bars of some brown pigment. They made very significant signs for something to eat, and accompanied by their stereotyped expression of '*Yammer skooner*', which probably meant 'Give me'; so I gave them some biscuit, which

[143] Es ist beachtenswert, daß frühere Reisende an diesem Ankerplatze die gleiche kuppelförmige Wohnhütte angetroffen haben.

they ate readily enough. In the centre of the canoe was a fire placed on some clay.

In the after-part of the canoe lay four or five spears, near them the old man was seated, his face barred with black pigment. In the bows the woman reclined with a paddle in her hand, and a young child in her lap; near her lay an old rush basket or two and a spear-head. I handed her a few anchor buttons, and part of a gilt percussion-cap case for the basket and the spear-head. The cap case seemed especially to take her fancy, for she at once suspended it round the child's neck. In the bottom of the canoe lay a pile of firewood, with some rabbits and upland geese they had got from the 'Terror', and under which a dog had ensconced himself out of sight.

Their coarse, black hair, daubed over with the white pigment, contrasted strangely with their dark, copper-coloured skins, all smeared with paint, which together with their very crooked, spindle-like, ill-shaped lower extremities, gave them no very prepossessing aspect. All these defects, however, were counterbalanced by their good natured, inoffensive manner, and singular talent for mimicry, repeating every word spoken in the most clear and distinct imitation. On leaving us they paddled towards the wigwam containing the cove family of natives, but their meeting seemed one of a very apathetic character: not a word appeared to be exchanged between them. The woman and children did not land at all, never leaving the canoe. About noon they paddled round the north headland, the way they came, and were soon afterwards followed by all the party from the wigwam in their own canoe, leaving the cove wholly to ourselves; I heard the dog barking on shore before they left.

On Saturday, the 24th, the two canoes returned to the cove about eight a. m. with six men, four women, and four children, but left again at one p. m., after calling alongside both ships. Weather overcast, with drizzling rain . . .

Sunday, 6th [Nov.] Captain Ross to-day brought on board with him the two stranger natives I saw last evening. They walked about the decks dancing and singing and eating biscuit, seemingly quite happy. The captain gave them two small saws and some fish-hooks, and I gave them a knife and some buttons, of which they are exceedingly fond. One of them in return took a fillet of beads from his head and presented me with it. I measured their heights; one stood five feet one inch, and the other four feet ten inches, and they were the bestlooking we have seen. They left the cove this evening" (I, 303).

Gelegentlich sah M'Cormick während seines Verweilens in jenem Hafen noch den einen und anderen Eingeborenen, ohne sich näher mit ihnen einzulassen. Auch an ihren Hütten ging er vorbei. Jedoch über seine oben wiederholten Eindrücke hinaus hat er nichts niedergeschrieben.

WILLIAM PARKER SNOW: Um das Jahr 1855 bot sich diesem „late commander of the mission yacht 'Allen Gardiner'" wiederholt Gelegenheit, kleinere Gruppen von Yamana an verschiedenen Stellen (Isla Picton, Isla

Lennox, Canal de Beagle und Wulaia) zu beobachten. Sein Zusammentreffen mit ihnen war immer nur zufällig und der Verkehr mit ihnen stets kurz. Erwägungen religiöser Art waren mitbestimmend bei seinem Entschlusse zur Fahrt nach dem fernen Süden Amerikas,[144] wo Kapitän ALLEN GARDINER samt seinen Begleitern, ehe er sein edles Werk unter den Eingeborenen beginnen konnte, des Hungertodes gestorben war. Daher auch als Einleitung die "brief history of Captain GARDINER's Missionary Labours" und die im Reiseberichte oft wiederkehrenden Hinweise auf missionarisches Wirken überhaupt. Die Gesamtdarstellung hält sich im leichten, ansprechenden Lesertone.[145]

Snow (a): I, 4 war sich von vornherein bewußt, wie verschiedentlich die Eingeborenen von dem und jenem europäischen Besucher beurteilt werden. „Of the inhabitants, their character and habits have been variously represented. Some voyagers speak of them as being among the very lowest of the human race, others give them a more favourable position. Some assert their character to be a compound of stupidity, indifference, and inactivity. But what I found them to be will appear in this narative. I may, however, here observe, that in the accounts given I find that much of what is said arises, as I imagine, from a slight or a longer acquaintance with them, as the case may be" (Snow [a]: I, 4).

Das Unternehmen wurde von der *Patagonian Missionary Society* eingeleitet, und zwar für ein zivilisatorisch-missionarisches Ziel; deshalb hatte man zur Bemannung „no one but strictly religious men and belonging to the Church" zugelassen, denen sich ein eigener Katechist anschloß.[146] Einen fertigen Missionar jetzt schon mitzuschicken, ließ sich nicht ermöglichen, (Snow [a]: I, 22), auch rechnete man mit einem nur kurzen Verweilen des Schiffes dortselbst.[147] Am 24. Oktober 1854 fuhr die "Allen Gardiner" aus.

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[144] Anderswo (b): 261 schreibt er: „My particular object was to get acquainted with the natives and try to discover JEMMY BUTTON."

[145] Auch COOPER meint, „his account is sympathetic and seems to be careful and exact as far as it goes".

[146] Beim "Farewell Meeting" am 15. Oktober 1854 erhielt der Kapitän u. a. noch folgende Weisungen: „As the 'Allen Gardiner' is a mission yacht, the Committee direct that she should be employed only in such wise as you may justly consider likely to promote the interest of the objects in view, namely, the instruction and civilization of the natives of South America. You must ever hold yourself in readiness to carry the missionaries to Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia, for the purpose of visiting the natives, and to aid them in intercourse with such; and to bring back to the station whatever people they may induce to accompany them. The Committee expect that you will be also ready to help the party on shore with your counsel and personal exertions, and with the employment of your crew, whenever the necessities of the vessel can dispense with them, and the mission party ashore requires such additional strength. It is considered desirable, as soon as the station is somewhat arranged, and the clergymen and catechist, or one of them, can accompany you, to proceed to Woollya, in Navarin Island, to search for JEMMY BUTTON."

[147] „The visit of the vessel was but short in Tierra del Fuego, and nothing in the way of teaching the natives could be attempted by persons wholly ignorant of their language" (VSA: XIII, 79; 1866).

Nach längerem Aufenthalte bei den Falklandinseln mußte das Schiff zweimal nach Montevideo steuern und war jedesmal bald wieder zur Stelle. Am 11. Oktober 1855 endlich versuchte man eine Fahrt in die Kap Hoorn-Gegend. Dem Andenken des Kapitäns ALLEN GARDINER und seiner heldenmütigen Begleiter wurde über ihrem Grabe im Puerto Español an einem Baume eine Gedenktafel befestigt, sowie eine kurze religiöse Feier gewidmet. Wenige Tage später warf die "Allen Gardiner" in Banner Cove am Nordufer der Isla Picton wieder Anker. Hier sah SNOW (a): I, 324 die ersten Yamana-Leute. „We had no sooner made all fast, and stowed the sails, before a canoe was observed approaching us from the long arm of the cove running to the southward; and ere the natives could be well made out their stentorian voices were heard as if quite near, shouting '*Yamma Scoona! Yamma Scoona!*' In a few moments more (for they paddled very swiftly) they were alongside.

There were three men and two women in the canoe, and all of them gesticulating and shouting with great vehemence, except one of the women, who seemed to be more quiet than the rest. Frothing at the mouth, and making rapid motions with their arms, they at first appeared as if they were savagely indignant at our having violated the quiet of their native waters; but in a few moments we had them on the most friendly terms, laughing and mimicking whatever we did. They were fine, powerful-looking men, each in a state of savage nudity, and though shaggy as regards their uncombed hair, and otherwise repulsive, I could not help being greatly surprised at finding them so superior to what I had been led to expect the Fuegians really were. As regards the women I was particularly struck with some peculiarities which showed — savage and degraded as they otherwise might be — a certain degree of modesty and decorum exceedingly gratifying to witness; nor had I afterwards occasion to lessen this feeling of my mind in reference to them.[148] The men, though in the primitive garb I have described, had no notion of its being repugnant to us, or that it was at all singular. On permission being given they leaped on board, and were speedily clothed with some old apparel belonging to us. My wife gave each of the women part of a coloured shawl, and their childish expressions of delight afforded us great satisfaction. As it was important that this their first visit to us should give them a favourable impression, I did everything I could think of to create such an impression, and not without success.

They had but few things worth bartering for, as memorials of our visit — bone spears, rush baskets, slings, a skin that DAUT-A-WAIE had with him, and put on when he came on board, were among those I obtained. They were very fair and honest in their dealings with us; and when in the canoe they invariably handed me the article I made them understand I wanted, when giving a glass necklace, beads, or buttons for it expressly. They first received

[148] Fast die gleichen Zeilen über den äußeren Eindruck, den ihre körperliche Gestaltung hervorrief, wiederholen sich in SNOW (b): 262.

the, to them, valuable goods from me, and then handed me up what was expected in exchange. On one occasion there was misconception about an article, and they immediately returned me what I had just bestowed, which of course I again gave them, if only for their honourable dealing. Nor would one take what was intended for another, but if a button or trinket was meant for a particular person, it was passed on to him or her without delay. All these things I noticed on their first visit to us, and it gave such a favourable impression of them, that I could not help feeling greatly delighted. Towards sunset I made signs that it was time to go to bed, and soon comprehending me, they departed with many friendly expressions, and much good humour.

Thus ended this our first day amongst the haunts of these dreaded savages! And how truly gratifying it had been to me I need hardly mention. I was amazed! And even now I cannot help looking back to it with wonder! There was a total absence of everything that could make us afraid of them; and to express in words all that I experienced of delight and joy at this friendly meeting would be more than I can fitly do."

Am nächsten Tage fuhr Snow (a): I, 334 in einem Boote die Küste ab. Von ferne entdeckte er eine indianische Einzelfamilie, der er sich erst nach langem Zaudern und unter allerlei Befürchtungen näherte. Als er ans Ufer gesprungen war, sah er sich augenblicklich von den Eingeborenen umringt. Diese aber zeigten sich sehr gutmütig und begleiteten ihn zum Lagerplatze, der sich im Hintergrunde befand. „Their wigwam a good sized one, was close to where I was seated, and I could perceive a large fire in the middle of it, the smoke from which hung heavily inside, or came slowly through an opening left at the top. Their small, sharp, ferret-like dogs were exceedingly troublesome; but the men who had visited the ship on the preceding day, seeing how I was annoyed, drove the animals away, though they quickly returned to bark at the stranger. Seeing the natives were friendly, . . . I made signs to those around me, collected them in a circle, and knelt down, and uttered aloud a brief and earnest prayer to Almighty God that he would bring these poor creatures to a knowledge of Him. During this brief act of devotion, the natives were quiet and observant in a remarkable manner, and seemed as if they after my using the word, their cessation from the hitherto incessant *Yamma Scoona*, and their kneeling down as I knelt, struck me as if they had a sense of what addressing the Deity was. However, when I had concluded, and taught them to say after me in a quiet, reverent manner, 'God', pointing at the same time to the sky faintly seen beween the trees, I moved from my position, and allowed them again to use their tongues freely as before . . .

It was enough; I had won their hearts, even before I had bought their good-will with the trinkets that I now began to give. To the women and children I gave first, and then finding they wished me to go inside their wigwam, where some of the more aged were seated, I did so; and there in a place pointed out to me as more free from the smoke, and with the principal portion of the family, twenty-two in number, squatted in a circle around,

I soon got myself entirely into their good graces, and in less than a quarter of an hour from the time I jumped out of the boat uncertain what would be the issue, I was upon the most friendly terms with them all ... Some of the women and girls were marked with red and black ochre, and one young woman, who would have been really handsome if washed and clothed, seemed as if in mourning, with her face so blackened. All the females wore girdles around their bodies, and some had skins on their shoulders and about the waist. The men, too, had painted marks about them ...

I found in the woods two canoes they were building, but no endeavour of mine to purchase one of them proved successful. They appeared to be well made, of the bark of the tree, having ribs of stout and strong pliable twigs, and stretched open by sticks thrown across from the upper edges. On the water they carried a fire in the canoe, which was fixed upon a bed of earth, and attended to by the women. There was a space left as a sort of well in the bottom, and one man was always using a small calabash to bale the water out. Here on shore, as in their canoe, I noticed signs of delicacy and propriety on the part of all the females, which struck me as most remarkable.

As it was now our dinner hour, ... I departed from them, making signs that we would soon return; but some of them speedily followed us, and one canoe was alongside the ship when, in the afternoon, I prepared with my wife to pay them another visit. For particular reasons I gave orders that no canoes were to be allowed close alongside whenever I was absent; and on this occasion I called upon our Fuegian friends to follow me in the boat. This they did; and bidding them give me their line made of grass, I gave them a tow. And now behold, what was here occurring in Banner Cove! The ship quietly at anchor, and one of the boats gliding swiftly over the water, pulling after it a native canoe filled with the poor savages, men and women, all of whom were screeching with delight and child-like pleasure; no could we refrain from a game of play between two lots of grown-up children than a first day's intercourse between the Christian inhabitants of a highly-civilised land and the wild denizens of a distant region not far from the southern pole. The laugh, however, was soon changed; for owing to their being unable to comprehend about the rope, and fastening it to the bows instead of well towards the midship part of their canoe, they were propelled along somewhat crab-like, first to their astonishment, and then to their alarm. The fat woman was very earnest to be cast off; accordingly I let them adrift, and then preceded them to the vicinity of their wigwam.

On landing again, men, women, children, and dogs, received us with the usual noise, and my wife and I walked to their encampment amidst a perfect din, expressive of pleasure at our arrival; the men hugging me (rather too closely on account of their want of cleanliness), and the women, surrounding and in loud tones *maquisce-ing* my wife, as they made signs of glad welcome. The young women and children all made a great deal of my wife — their eyes

expressing their friendly feelings. They admired her apparel, and when she gave a red shawl and dress to the fat woman (to whom the rest seemed to defer), their *Cutta-cuttas* knew no bounds. But the showy trinkets, beads, and ornaments were their greatest delight; and to show us that nothing of what we had before given them was destroyed, all the presents were brought out, and each individual selected and put on what belonged to him or her, the pie-a-ninnies receiving the articles which had been given for them. In the wigwam, which we were again invited to enter, the women and children were this time assembled alone, one old man excepted. They squatted down in a peculiar way, and left a vacant place, which was the clearest from smoke, for my wife and myself to occupy; but we preferred standing.

While inside I had an opportunity of counting their number, the men being close by the door outside. I found this family to consist of two old women and two old men; four young women, say from 16 to 20 years of age; two girls about 14; four young and middle-aged men; with six grown-up boys and two infants. I could see nothing of what they lived upon, except heaps of mussel and limpet shells; but I afterwards came across some of their edible fungus.

After stopping with them for an hour or so, during which time my wife had much ingratiated herself with the women — especially the mothers, who were pleased with the way in which we patted and took notice of their children — we left the wigwam." Bald hatte sich ein ungezwungener freundschaftlicher Verkehr des Ehepaares Snow (a): I, 336—341 mit den Eingeborenen entwickelt. „They were always very glad to see my wife, and whenever I went alone invariably asked for her by signs and words ... A laugh was created among us on one occasion by the fat old woman, who, on being asked by the catechist for a piece of the food she was eating, actually pulled a bit out of her mouth, as a sailor would his quid, and offered it to him. As may be imagined, it was shudderingly declined. They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves ..."

Wertvoll ist ein Hinweis auf die Körpergröße. „As regards the stature of these natives, I can only say that I found it different, both at Banner Cove, Lennox Island, and Beagle Channel, to what I had expected They were robust-looking, and of the middle height, as the measurement I took of one or two showed me [5 feet 4 inches; 5 feet 3½ inches, average]. Their legs are the most diminutive portion of their frames" (Snow [a]: I, 346).

Nochmals wird die Form und Bauart der Wohnhütten erwähnt: „Their wigwams are not only well built, and of good size, but display some taste and ingenuity — primitive though such may be. The last wigwam made by them was about ten feet in diameter. The ground was sunk into a hollow of some inches below the surface; stout poles of a tapering form are placed with their thickest ends in a circle on the ground, and their points, meeting at the top, are bound together and then covered with grass — apertures being

left for the smoke and a doorway. This doorway, in the wigwam I am speaking of, was made to look something like an arch by a curved piece of timber which had been selected for the purpose, and made the entrance appear like the letter h. In this wigwam the whole party took up their abode, apparently sleeping on tufts of grass — many of which I noticed inside, hanging up to dry.

At this new wigwam I one day found the whole family, having apparently moved here from the old place I had seen them in on the first and second days of my visit. Here, the girl ANUNCIATA seemed to be even more attractive than before; whether she thought herself a belle or not I am unable to say, but certainly she did not attempt any vain display. Nevertheless she seemed in this new abode, where there was less dinginess and smoke, considerably more interesting than when we first noticed her. She was, as I have already said, a rather handsome girl of, as I should imagine, about fifteen years old. She had brilliant dark eyes, with a fairer countenance than the rest, soft and agreeable features, and a particularly reserved and modest deportment. Her limbs were well formed; and had she been dressed, or even properly washed, I have no doubt she would have been considered as entitled to the name of a beauty. She won our hearts in particular — I speak of myself and wife — by her naive manner, her quiet attention to what we said, her gentle ways, ready desire to learn, and the evident wish she had to keep some sort of garment about her when amongst strangers. But all the women were alike as regarded that deportment which, whether amongst civilised or savage, always tends to elevate their character more, and enhance their claims to our respect."

Eine beachtenswerte Beobachtung fügt SNOW (a): I, 349 hier ein: „They were very fond of their children, and any notice we took of the little ones always gave them pleasure. This I observed on my first visit; and it was, in addition to firearms in my breast coat-pocket, one of the means I was prepared to use, had there been occasion when I went alone amongst them. A child in my arms was, I considered, a guard against any sudden attack upon me, if they loved their offsprings as most savage tribes do. But I also noticed that their dogs claimed a large share of affection, as well as the children. Indeed, it has been said that they will not hesitate, when pressed with hunger, to first sacrifice the old women, and then the second wives, before the dogs will be attacked — but of this I have no proof.

They did not appear to know the use of tobacco or pipes, nor understand the gun, though they comprehended that by some means I managed to deprive the birds I brought them of life. I took care never to fire unless sure of my aim, and this convinced them of my power to insure death. Neither music nor fire makes them express any wonder. Late at night they go fishing; and some mornings, at low water, I have seen them hunting for shell fish. They were always delighted with my whistling, dancing, and singing amongst them — all speedily imitating and joining with me in the fun; and undoubtedly it was a strange sight, as I know some of my crew

amazingly thought, to see me capering round and round a circle made by united hands of myself and a dozen of those savages, men, women, and children, the latter in particular screaming with joy and laughter. But many of my crew could not understand my motives, nor what led me to do it. Those who have been far afield amidst wild tribes, will readily comprehend them.

I found the Fuegians in this place remarkably quick in catching our words, and uttering them tolerably well; and this led me to again consider that here, amongst them, ought to have been the mission station, not in the Falkland Islands" (Snow [a]: I, 351).

Etwa eine Woche hatte sich Snow bei diesem kleinen Lager in Banner Cove auf Isla Picton aufgehalten. Am 29. Oktober 1855 steuerte er auf die Wulnin-Gegend zu, wo er JEMMY BURTON zu finden hoffte. Erst nach vielen Bedenken, trotz dringlicher Warnungen von verschiedenen Seiten[100] her, hat er sich zu dieser Fahrt entschlossen. „Snowstorms, showers, and squalls now came on in rapid succession; and soon the hills and surrounding scenery were covered with a mantle of white, very different to the look they presented in the early morning." So ging Snow (a): I, 361 bei Isla Lennox vor Anker.

Bald kamen zwei Männer und zwei Frauen heran. „If I had thought well of the appearance of the natives in Banner Cove, I had still more reason to think well of those here; for without the smallest exaggeration, I consider two of the men we met with were really very fine specimens of the human race. Like the Picton islanders they yelled as if trying to force the words into our heads; and like them, also, they soon became very friendly, with us. I gave them a few trifles and before dark they returned on shore. We remained at this place part of two days. I found only one wigwam on the main island where I landed, and its occupants were the two men and their wives, with the three children that had visited us on board. I stopped some short time with them ... I now crossed over to a small island, where I observed more smoke. There I found another solitary family, consisting of one man, his old blind mother, and three boys. This wigwam was prettily situated in a small valley, surrounded by evergreens. This man was the other individual I have spoken of as being much different to the notion we have of the Fuegians. He was erect, powerful, tolerably well proportioned, and showed signs of possessing great physical strength. Like all his brethren, he wore nothing round him, and shirt I afterwards gave him I have reason to believe was torn up and divided fairly. Two of the boys in this family

[100] Snow (a): I, 356 beruft sich auf einen Brief des "Committee of the Mission Society" und erwähnt darum: „Lastly, it was the doubt, as I was cautioned, of numerous natives who could surround us with a hundred canoes at once, and if caught in a storm and our sails were to split we should probably never be heard of any more; while if becalmed or at anchor, the number of the natives would make our position very dangerous'. Thus Woollya, though in some respects desirable to reach, was in others a place that required from me a great deal of consideration about visiting." Aus diesen und anderen Mitteilungen ist ersichtlich, welch unüberwindlicher Schrecken vor den feuerländischen Eingeborenen viele Kreise Europas beherrschte.

willingly came off to the ship in our boat, their father himself taking them to the beach, and leaving them with us. One of them was a shrewd knowing lad of about 14, the other a pretty looking little fellow of about 6 years old. They remained with us that afternoon, and received some presents and trifling articles to clothe them. But I could not induce them to stay. There was everywhere a great repugnance shown to our having possession of the children after a certain length of time. One of these began to cry bitterly; and my wife had much trouble in attempting to pacify the little fellow, the father on shore shouting and making signs for us to return his children; I therefore landed them, and they were much pleased to get to their home again."

Nach einem vergeblichen Versuche, die Bahía Nassau zu erreichen, lief die "Allen Gardiner" in den Canal de Beagle ein. Weiter westlich, „canoes on both sides the channel shot out from behind some craggy corner or sheltered nook (and there were many such places, and apparently pretty ones too), and endeavoured to overtake us, making signs that we should stop, and shouting with all their might. It was evident that many of them, if not all, had never seen a ship or strangers like us before. Astonishment was depicted on their features; and one or two amongst them even ceased from their common *yamma scooma*" (Snow [a]: II, 11).

Je mehr sich das Schiff der Angostura Murray näherte, um so zahlreicher wurden die Kanus, die von allen Seiten herankamen. „In these canoes were several rather robust men, and one or two women. The latter had the same peculiarities about them as those at Banner Cove, except that it struck me their breasts were more elongated ... I bartered with them for whatsoever they had for disposal, giving buttons and ribbons for bone heads, necklaces, and spears. While they were alongside, a sunfish passed, and our visitors immediately speared it, and threw it from their spear on to the deck for us. And though they tried to take bits of iron, ringbolts, or anything else that struck their eye and was within their grasp, yet the same honesty in bartering was evinced here as at Banner Cove. The men, however, were not at all to be despised ... After some short consultation together, the men all got into one canoe, and, sending the women off in another, began, through the two old men, to clamorously demand something from us. Their noise, and the stunning effect it had, made me try to stop it by outdoing them; and I therefore took the speaking trumpet, and made a much greater noise than they. This had the desired effect. From a daring vociferous cry, they fell to laughing, and seemed pleased that I had made myself on a par with them — becoming, afterwards, quite as talkative, but not quite so bold.

Those on the other side of the ship and under the counter were the reverse. They had but little to say, were apparently living in their astonishment, and had a ready and pleasant smile whenever I looked over the side at them. They had all come from the south of the channel, Navarin Island, and, from their having nothing to say to the others, I imagine they were of a totally different tribe" (Snow [a]: II, 12).

Ohne Aufenthalt wurde Angostura Murray erreicht. Unweit der Isla Button ruderten zwei Kanus auf die "Allen Gardiner" zu, und, wie durch ein Wunder, ertönte aus einem derselben der laute Ruf: „Jan-mes Button, me!" Die Überraschung war auf beiden Seiten unsagbar groß. Snow suchte sogleich Jemmy zu überreden, daß er auf sein Schiff käme; denn er wollte ihn gewinnen und zugleich vorbereiten für eine spätere Christianisierung der eigenen Landsleute. Doch weder er noch seine nächsten Verwandten wollten ihre Heimat verlassen![100] Obwohl Snow seine Hoffnungen enttäuscht sah, ließ er trotzdem die natürlichen Rechte jener Eingeborenen ungeschmälert und betont: „Savages they may be: degraded, miserable, wretched beings! But they have hearts as well as we; and their way of thinking may not be the same as ours on the question. Let us then go to them; not inveigle them to us."

In der Morgenfrühe des nächsten Tages hatte sich Jemmy mit etwa hundert seiner Landsleute wieder eingefunden und Snow (a): II, 45 befürchtete, doch gänzlich grundlos, einen Überfall.

„Jemmy, when he got on board, was dressed as he had left us on the previous evening, but looking more hideous and deplorable than I could have imagined. He had evidently lain down in his clothes upon the earth, — a light red clayey substance as it appeared, — and covered his new pink-striped shirt with some of the soil. He was dirty, and, by contrast, with garments on like ourselves, more wretched than his companions. However, I soon gave him the things I had selected; and then requested him to have his wife and daughter on board, that Mrs. Snow might bestow something upon them. There was some slight hesitation on their part about this. Mrs. Button evidently did not like to come; but at last, mounting the ladder, and, assisted by her husband, she got on deck, and, with her daughter, soon went below into the cabin.

I here observed the same womanly delicacy as I had noticed at Banner Cove. She seemed to be shy about coming from her canoe, where she had been squatted in the usual way, and evidently did not like mounting a ladder, crossing over the bulwarks, and appearing amongst strangers. And similar to this was the daughter, though in a less degree. They were both without a single rag of covering upon them, except the mother, who had the smallest fraction of a badge ... However, in a few moments after they had gone below, my wife had clothed them, and then, with Jemmy, I descended to the cabin, and we had another talk together."

Da schlechtes Wetter drohte, mußte der Kapitän die Anker lichten lassen. Sein Abschied von Jemmy und dessen Landsleuten fiel kurz aus. Die "Allen Gardiner" wandte sich südwärts, erreichte, trotz schwerer See, die Wollaston-Gruppe, fuhr um das Kap Horn herum, wo Rauch und menschliche Wesen vom Deck aus gesichtet wurden, und ging an der früheren Landungsstelle auf

[100] Er schreibt: „I expressly put the question in every possible and attractive form, both as regarded the adults, and the younger branches, but a decided and positive negative was the reply from one and all."

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Isla Lennox vor Anker. Ohne weiteren Zwischenaufenthalt und ohne erneut mit Eingeborenen zusammenzutreffen lief die "Allen Gardiner" in Puerto Stanley auf den Falkland-Inseln ein.

Über seine Erfolge war Snow (a): II, 102 sehr erfreut und seine Genugtuung wurde noch durch die Zufriedenheit gesteigert, die das Committee of the Mission Society dem wackeren Kapitän aussprach. „Thus ended the 'Allen Gardiner's' first visit to Tierra del Fuego."

Seitdem verblieb W. P. Snow noch einige Zeit in Diensten der Patagonian Missionary Society als Kapitän des Missionsschiffes. Wegen gewisser Unstimmigkeiten schied er aus. So warm er zwar für die Verchristlichung der Feuerländer begeistert war, konnte er doch die Absicht der Patagonian Missionary Society, die Eingeborenen nach den Falkland-Inseln zu verpflanzen, nicht billigen.[101] Die Erfahrungen der Missionare in der Folgezeit haben seiner Beurteilung überzeugend Recht gegeben. Was er im letzten Teile seines Werkes über Pläne zur Gründung einer Mission auf Isla Keppel erwähnt, kann hier übergangen werden.

Nachdem Snow (b): 261 den Befehl über die "Allen Gardiner" niedergelegt hatte, kehrte er nach England zurück. In einem Vortrage, den er vor der Ethnological Society of London i. J. 1861 hielt, faßte er seine Erfahrungen mit den Yamana kurz zusammen. Dabei betonte er: „In speaking of these savages, I cannot help saying that I do not consider them so degraded as many persons do. I look from effect to cause, and thus trace their present condition to the nature of circumstances." Er steht somit als der mutige Mann da, der es in der Mitte des XIX. Jahrhunderts als erster gewagt hat, die Feuerländer etwas besser als halbtierische Wesen einzuschätzen.

Mit diesem Berichte schließe ich den älteren Abschnitt in der Geschichte der Yamana-Forschung ab. Was ihm ein besonderes Gepräge verleiht ist das sehr seltene und immer nur kurzfristige Zusammentreffen von Indianern mit Weißen. In Wirklichkeit sind es ja doch nicht einmal zehn Expeditionsschiffe, die in der langen Zeit von mehr als zweihundert Jahren ihre Erlebnisse mit den Eingeborenen in die damalige Kulturwelt mitbrachten. Sie haben die Kulturform der Yamana nicht zu ändern vermocht, weswegen die Darstellungen aus dieser langen Periode, zwar zahlenmäßig gering, ein ungetrübtes Bild unverfälschter Ursprünglichkeit aufrollen.

b. Forschungen seit Eröffnung der Mission

Der Kap Hoorn-Archipel wurde seit seiner Entdeckung von den europäischen Seeleuten gefürchtet und gemieden. Vom Jahre 1616 an, da der holländische Flottenführer Schouten jenem südlichsten Felsen seinen Namen gegeben hatte, bis zu den umständlichen Vermessungen in dem von King

[101] Ausführlich erörtert er dies alles in einem besonderen Abschnitt, betitelt "Missionary Plans", im Appendix zu Snow (a): II, 309—317.

und Fitz-Roy entdeckten Canal de Beagle haben selten Schiffe die unruhigen Gewässer jener Gegend befahren. Nur die wenigsten von ihnen haben sich für einige Stunden oder Tage mit den dortigen Eingeborenen abgegeben. Trotzdem genügten diese spärlichen und kurzen Zusammenkünfte, daß letztere von den Europäern einen ersten Eindruck und für das Europäertum etwas Sinn bekamen. Doch waren es bloß einzelne Personen oder einzelne Familien, die im Verlaufe langer Jahrzehnte und meist für ein einziges Mal in ihrem Leben mit jenen europäischen Fremdlingen ganz vorübergehend etwas zu tun bekamen. Ein nennenswerter Einfluß ist von diesen auf sie nicht ausgegangen.

Mit Beginn des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts trat hierin eine Wendung ein. Der englische Kapitän Robert Fitz-Roy wurde, nachdem er die äußeren Lebensverhältnisse der Yamana kennengelernt hatte, von der edlen Absicht beseelt, den ganzen Stamm kulturell zu heben. Er wählte vier jugendliche Eingeborene aus, die er nach England führte, um sie hier ausbilden zu lassen. Zu ihrer erzieherischen Förderung wurde tatsächlich das Beste getan, damit ihr Aufenthalt in Europa nutzbringend ausfiele (S. 88). Als sie später in ihre Heimat zurückgebracht worden waren, gingen sie in ihrem Volke wieder unter. Nachweislich haben sie ihre Stammesgenossen nicht merklich gehoben und die aufgewandten Mühen sind wohl ihnen persönlich, nicht aber einem größeren Kreise ihrer Umgebung zugute gekommen (S. 96).

Zweifelsohne durch den Versuch des Fitz-Roy angeregt, entschloß sich wenige Jahre später ein anderer englischer Seemann, der vielgenannte Allen Gardiner, zur ersten Gründung einer Missionsstation unter den Feuerländern, weil er den verlassensten Eingeborenen Südamerikas einige Hilfe bringen wollte. Zwar scheiterte sein von ihm persönlich geleitetes Unternehmen: denn er und seine heldenhaften Begleiter besiegelten es mit dem Tode. Trotzdem sollte sein Gedanke und Plan bald danach doch Wirklichkeit werden. In England bildete sich eine bereits von Allen Gardiner angestrebte Missionsgesellschaft, die ihr Hauptaugenmerk auf die südlichsten Bewohner des Feuerlandes richtete und ihre besten Kräfte dafür zur Verfügung stellte. Im Februar 1855 wurde die erste Missionsstation auf der Isla Keppel in der westlichen Falkland-Gruppe gegründet. Nach mancherlei Erfahrungen und einigen empfindlichen Enttäuschungen eröffnete man Anfang 1869 eine neue Niederlassung in Ushuaia, inmitten des Yamana-Gebietes, von wo aus später noch weitere Versuche zu kleineren Gründungen gemacht wurden. Ununterbrochen waren mehrere Personen, die näher oder entfernter dem Verbande der South American Missionary Society angehörten, im Missionsdienste für die Yamana tätig, bis diese letzteren an Kopfzahl sich so sehr verringert hatten, daß die Missionare im Jahre 1916 ihr Werk endgültig aufgaben.[102]

[102] Die Geschichte der anglikanischen Missionstätigkeit wird anzugsweise weiter unten dargestellt werden, inzwischen sei verwiesen auf die ziemlich vollständigen Abhandlungen von Mazel, Pinzano und Mazel und Serrano, die als beste Quellen gelten. Vgl. auch Martial: 216.

Mit dem Eindringen der Missionare ins Heimatgebiet der Yamana[154] erfolgte ein tiefer Einschnitt in dem bisherigen Ablauf ihres Stammeslebens und es vollzog sich die große Wendung zur Abkehr von ihrem uralten, durch die Jahrhunderte unverfälscht bewahrten Erbgut ihrer Väter. Das besondere Ziel der Missionare war es, die bisherige Daseinsform und die geistige Verfassung der Eingeborenen gründlich umzugestalten, sowie aus ihnen selber ganz andere Menschen zu bilden. Ihre Absichten und Pläne setzten sie mit bestimmter Entschiedenheit und zäher Ausdauer durch, ließen sich weder von manchen Mißerfolgen wankend machen noch bei Enttäuschungen entmutigen, ja regten unermüdlich die Hände für ihr Werk, je mehr sich ihre Hoffnungen zu verwirklichen schienen. Die Missionare also waren es hier, die bewußt auf eine Umbildung der feuerländischen Kultur hinarbeiteten.

Der Einsatz so vieler und wirksamer Mittel mußte endlich denn doch das äußere Bild der Lebenshaltung unserer Yamana, je länger je mehr, verändern. Ihnen wurden im Laufe der Zeit auch viele neue Bedürfnisse und Wünsche anerzogen, deren Erfüllung sie nach und nach sogar mit Einsatz ihrer Körperkraft und Arbeit anstrebten. Das führte sie in den jüngsten Jahrzehnten schließlich auch in eine Geistesrichtung hinein, die offensichtlich von dem, was bei den früheren Geschlechtern herrschend und maßgebend gewesen war, abwich. Eine innere Umgestaltung dieser Feuerländer zum moralisch Besseren und zum geistig Höheren haben die Missionare zwar angestrebt. Daß sie dabei erfolglos geblieben sind, gereicht ihnen wahrhaftig nicht zum Vorwurf; denn die Bedingungen auf Seiten der Eingeborenen zu einer wirksamen Beeinflussung waren außerordentlich ungünstig, überdies besaßen sie von alterher ihre eigenen hohen sittlichen Werte, die ihrem Menschtum vollauf genügten. Zweifelsohne hat die Mission es erreicht, daß neuerdings einzelne Personen aus dem Yamana-Volke ihrer ursprünglichen Kultur etwas entfremdet wurden und es hätte noch eines Aufwandes von vielen Jahrzehnten bedurft, ehe diese Menschen alle in die Vorteile der europäischen Kultur hineingewachsen wären und ehe ihre Verchristlichung sie auch innerlich erfaßt hätte. Die erforderlich lange Zeit hierfür war ihnen nicht vergönnt; denn alles Unheil, das die verheerende Begleitschaft des Europäertums bildet, ergoß sich auch über sie und überlieferte ihr ganzes Volkstum samt seinen einst zahlreichen Trägern einem vorschnellen Untergange.

Bald nachdem sich die Missionare in Ushuaia niedergelassen hatten, strömten andere Europäer in jenes Inselreich ein. Zunächst die Goldgräber, die zwar viele Landstriche überfluteten, die aber nach einer kurzen Frist von wenigen Jahren von dort gänzlich wieder verschwanden. Anders die Farmer, denen es um eine dauernde Ansiedlung in jenen Gebieten, die sich in etwa zur Viehzucht oder zur Anlage von Sägewerken eigneten, zu tun war. Thomas

[154] Auf der Isla Grande war es ein Mitglied der gleichen anglikanischen Missionsgesellschaft, Thomas Bumgarn, der vom Canal de Beagle aus eine erste Annäherung an die Selk'nam zustande gebracht und damit ein Einfallstor für die vielen nachströmenden Weißen geöffnet hat (Bd. I, 42).

Bennett hat das Verdienst, von den Falkland-Inseln die ersten Schafe an den Canal de Beagle gebracht und deren Zucht hierher verpflanzt zu haben. Sein Beispiel hat andere Wagemutige zu gleichen und ähnlichen Unternehmungen angereifert, so daß gegenwärtig alle ertragfähigen Flächen, sogar bis zu den südlichsten Inseln hinunter, von den Weißen besetzt sind (S. 4).

Während diese Entwicklung abläuft, werden die Eingeborenen nach und nach zurückgedrängt, ja bis auf die außenliegenden Inseln und Wasserarme abgetrieben. Allerlei Äußerlichkeiten haben sie als Gewohnheitseinrichtungen bei den Fremden beobachtet und trügerisch nach ihrer Zweckbedeutung erfaßt. Dies und jenes gewöhnten sie sich selber schließlich auch an und hüllten dafür manches Unheimliche ein.

Die Missionare, vor allem Dowson, Stirling und Bennett, treten in den nach unerfüllbaren Kulturbeute der Yamana ein. Auf ihre Anregung und unter ihren Augen vollzog sich langsam die Wandlung bei einzelnen Personen. Über das Ursprüngliche und über die Neuerungen vermachten sie in ihren Schriften die beste Auskunft zu geben, aus ihrer Erfahrung haben fast alle späteren Besucher des Canal de Beagle reichlich geschöpft. Ein beachtenswertes Kennzeichen dieser neueren Zeit in der Geschichte der Yamana-Forschung ist es, daß sie bis vor etwa 25 Jahren vollständig von den Berichten der Missionare beherrscht wird. Sogar Hyades bezeugt sich in seinen zergliederten Veröffentlichungen immer wieder auf Bennett. Was Wunder also, wenn in den Mitteilungen von dem und jenem Reisenden gewisse Gedankengänge und Auffassungen genau wiederkehren, bestimmte Einzelheiten sich wiederholen, gleichgerichtete Werturteile betont werden und das so sich weite Gebiet des Geistigen nicht nur kaum notdürftig angedeutet, sondern mit einigen dürren Worten teils abgetan teils völlig verzerrt dargestellt wird. Wirklich zuverlässig sind die wenigen Mitteilungen, die dieser und jener Reisende den Brüdern Lawrence verdankt. Letzterer kennen die Yamana von Grund auf und sind in ihrem Urteil streng sachlich. Den übrigen Ansiedlern und Seebuten gelten die Indianer insgesamt nicht mehr wie eine überflüssige, unliebsame Bande, die man sich je weiter je lieber fortwünscht; ihr Urteil ist gänzlich wertlos und nicht selten bewußt gefälscht.

Gegenüber so mancher unrichtigen und unvollständigen, einseitig übertriebenen und unangebrachten Bewertung der Einzelgebiete aus dem Gesamtbereich der feuerländischen Kultur, je nach den verschiedenen Quellen, erwächst dem Kritiker eine schwere Aufgabe. Dieser wird er nur so leichter genügen können, je mehr er selber in den äußeren Bestandteil und in die gesamte Geisteserfassung jener Indianer eingedrungen ist. In den folgenden Zeilen werden die Arbeiten jener Reisenden kurz besprochen, die über unsere Yamana etwas Neuenswertes veröffentlicht haben; darin nehmen die häufigen Mitteilungen der Missionare einen bevorzugten Platz ein. Die kritische Erörterung von Einzelangaben erfolgt erst später im Text, nämlich bei Gegenüberstellung verschiedener Quellen oder als Stützen anderer Behauptungen.

Vergleicht man das gänzlich Eindruckslose in den wiederholten Stich-

[illegible] Bemühen um neuerliche vorzügliche Schriftzeichen bis zur Mitte des XIX. Jahrhunderts mit der mühsamen Richtungsbestimmung, welche durch die Mannigfaltigkeit in die Lebensform dieser Igoloten hineingetragen worden ist, erscheint die Grammatik für die Forschungsgeschichte, unserer Tonnen sehr gleichig durch das Jahr 1955 gesagt.[**]

THOMAS BRINCKER: Jeder einzelne Jahrgang der Monatsschrift der South American Missionary Society beweist die [illegible] Bemühungen dieser Missionare in der Bewältigung. Sie haben [illegible] viel geschrieben und die [illegible] Einzelheiten [illegible], sogar [illegible] gewinnbare Erkenntnisse und die [illegible] Durchführung einer Schriftsprache [illegible] zu. Infolgedessen wurde in jenem "Magazin" eine Unmenge von Beurteilungen und Bedeutungen zusammengetragen und aufgeführt, die dem Erkenntnis [illegible] Wenn sind. Außerdem kommt dies auch der gleichgiltigen Vorteil zustatten, daß die vielen Mitteilungen und Abhandlungen der Missionare fast ausschließlich in jener Monatsschrift vereinigt sind.[**]

Ein [illegible] Wort sei [illegible] jenen Missionaren gewidmet, die sich mit dieser schriftsprachlichen Tätigkeit besonders hervorgetan haben, [illegible] auch dies Veröffentlichungen [illegible] der Feder des Rev. Brenner, nach Umfang, weit [illegible].

Bei jenen Missionen, die zur Gründung der ersten Niederlassung am 1. Februar 1855 auf der Isla Keppel [illegible] waren, stand auch Clement Pascoe. Nun war es auf seiner ersten Reise mitten in den Kap Hoorn-Archipel hinein [illegible], mit dem war [illegible] Jahrzehnten von Feuerland und England gefährlichen Jener Herren [illegible] und mit den Eingeborenen bekannt zu werden. Während er sich in diesen ersten Wochen um Verständnis für dies Lebensart und Gesinnung, für dies Sitten und Gebräuche bemühte, bestieg in England am 1. Juni 1855 Rev. C. Pascoe Dawson mit seiner Familie und seiner zwei japanischen Adoptivsöhnen, [illegible] mit einigen Begleitern, dem Segler "Hyderapes". Bald nach seiner Landung auf Isla Keppel am 28. August übernahm er die Superintendency, während war sein

[**] Die gleiche Linie war auch Gaston 60 gewichtet: „The modern study of the Yahgans and their language really begins with the arrival of the missionary party under the Rev. Mr Dawson at Gran Bay Station, Navarin Island, in the spring of 1857. Yes, if the Rev. Mr Dawson was the pioneer in the field of Yahgan linguistics, it is to the genius and labors of a successor, the Rev. Thomas Bridges, that we are indebted for most of what we know of the Yahgan tongue ..... Other papers from his pen covered nearly the whole field of Yahgan culture."

[**] Allerdings sind die (fast) Jahrgänge unbrauchbarer [illegible] und Gaston 129 hat [illegible] Band, daß „the British Museum has the whole series, complete as nearly complete [illegible] are owned by the La Plata Museum and by Prof. Gagnebin, of Berne". Ich fand die auch in der Bibliothek von Göteborg in Schweden. Wie [illegible] kommen, es habe auch ich die Bände nicht gesehen, [illegible] Jahrgänge durchzuarbeiten und auch [illegible] Mitteilungen über die Yaghan [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] „Er die [illegible] Freunde [illegible] gleichig."[illegible] Der junge Heinze gewann [illegible] Anhang an großen Vorzügen. Als Heinze sich Ende 1861 mit einer Familie in die "Alten Gardens" von Kirkdale nach England übersiedelte, wurden ihm dennoch [illegible] Heinze die gesamten Angelegenheiten der Eingeborenen anvertraut und diese [illegible] Jahre für [illegible] Jahre [illegible] und je besser er ihre Sprache verstand, desto geschätzter lernte er die auch kennen.

Heinze lernte beim Studium der Tonga eine ganz eigenartige Bildgleichkeit und eine wortmäßigkeiten Fleiß. Seine Adoptivmutter Rev. F. Heinze hatte ihm durch ein gutes Beispiel gegeben. Die am 4. Oktober 1859 war der besonnene Gesamtbestand [illegible] Vokabeln auf ein Tonnend angewachsen. Daß er bei der Niederschrift von verdorrten auf mögliches Genauigkeit bemühte, gibt er am 23. Januar 1859 ausdrücklich an: „The system I follow is that of A. Ellis, commonly called phonetic" (VP, VII, 20; 1860). Diese wortmäßige Verschreibung, hauptsächlich die Verständlichkeit durch die Übersetzung einer [illegible] phonetischen Systems, ähnlich Heinze für seine Sprachstudien [illegible]. Von einem Jahre [illegible] Umfang seiner Aufzeichnungen an, [illegible] er in seinem Briefen den [illegible] mitgeteilt. Am 13. September 1862 schreibt er beispielsweise: „I have today finished a new vocabulary of Fanqion, and have reason to think it is generally correct."[illegible] Nach [illegible] einem Jahre, am 24. August 1862, schreibt er „[illegible] upwards of 7000 words in the dictionary .... I hope soon to be able to send you a grammar and dictionary of this language" (VM; XI, 27; 1864). Die Arbeit war, wie leicht einsehbar, hart und [illegible]. Am 16. September 1864 beklagte er sich: „Their language is horribly corrupt, and though improved often, yet the habit is so strong that they overcome it very slowly."

Für wenige Monate unterbrach er seinen Aufenthalt auf den Fidschi-Inseln, um sich am Dreifaltigkeitsseminar 1865 in London zum Diakon weihen zu lassen. Kaum nach seiner Rückkehr, nämlich am die Wende von 1865/66, verlegte man den Hauptsitz der englischen Mission von Lifu [illegible] nach Uiduma, dem Hauptsitz im [illegible] Tonga-Gebiete, und [illegible] Heinze zum Superintendent. Volle [illegible] Jahre seiner arbeitsreichen Laufbahn sollte Heinze diesen Amt verwalten.

[illegible] „Heinze [illegible] the Tongans by his knowledge of their language." [illegible] „Les paroles [illegible] par les [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

In seinen Bemühungen um genaue Kenntnis dieser feuerländischen Sprache ließ er nicht nach. In seinen Briefen weist er gelegentlich darauf hin und äußert sich am 19. September 1877 ausführlicher.[102] Welche Fortschritte er im Laufe der Jahre machte, drückt er in bestimmten, ständig anwachsenden Zahlen für die zusammengetragenen Vokabeln aus. Am 1. April 1880 behauptet er schließlich: Die Yamana-Sprache „has a considerable compass of words, at least 30.000, which was ample for the people who spoke it when we found them".

Seitdem nahm diese überraschend hohe Zahl, gleichsam als Gradmesser für den Reichtum der Sprache, ihren Weg in Bücher und Zeitschriften verschiedener Art; denn sie erregte berechtigtes Aufsehen gegenüber der außerordentlich einfachen Kulturform dieser Feuerländer, über welch letztere ins besonderen DARWIN ein unverdient geringschätziges Urteil abgegeben hatte. Sechs Jahre später nennt BRIDGES eine noch höhere, von ihm selber errechnete Zahl und sagt: „My dictionary of Yahgan has 1081 pages, each averaging 30 words which multiplied make 32,430 words. In forming this work it was not my object to multiply labours." Diese wenigen Mitteilungen beweisen zweifelsohne eine ganz ungewöhnliche Arbeitszähigkeit; denn Verbesserungen und Ergänzungen nahmen eben kein Ende.

Aus der Feder des Rev. TH. BRIDGES liegen drei zusammenfassende größere Manuskripte bestehend aus Vokabeln und Wortverbindungen der Yamana-Sprache[103] vor, außerdem noch kürzere Abhandlungen über einzelne Teile aus der Grammatik.[104] Nicht genug damit, hat er sogar einige Übersetzungen geliefert, nämlich vom Lukas-Evangelium, von der Apostelgeschichte und vom Johannes-Evangelium, die er zum Gebrauch der Indianer drucken

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[102] „My chief occupation apart from my regular duties ... has been the thorough sifting of many words (Yahgan), which I was not quite sure of, and the thorough examination of a portion of my latest dictionary, with a view to the writing a standard one of the Yahgan from it, and also, yet chiefly to perfect my own knowledge of this wonderful language. JOHN MANSO is my valuable assistant in this work, and for the past month I have been seated with him at least 4½ hours a day. I write up each day if possible what we go through, and I find on comparing what we have done with what remains to be done that this work will occupy me at least 7 months uninterruptedly at the rate of 50 hours steady work a week in revising and copying. I realise that I shall thus speedily perfect my knowledge in Yahgan. I find the standard will contain at least 15.000 words, simple and compound, and I could even double this number if I put down every combination" (MM: XII, 31; 1878).

[103] In einer eigenen Abhandlung habe ich (gg): 171 die Aufeinanderfolge dieser drei Manuskripte festgestellt und gleichzeitig wahrscheinlich gemacht, daß eine andere Niederschrift des umfangreichen Wörterbuches nicht vorhanden ist.

[104] Vgl. hierzu die drei kurzen Mitteilungen von M. GUSINDE: Unveröffentlichte Dokumente über die Feuerländer; "Ethnologischer Anzeiger", Jhrg I, Heft 4, S. 274—277; Stuttgart 1927. Ferner: Die Manuskripte über die Yamana-Sprache des Pastors THOMAS BRIDGES; ibidem, Jhrg. I, Heft 5, S. 371; 1928. Endlich: Kurze Notiz über das Yamana-Wörterbuch-Manuskript des Rev. T. BRIDGES; ibidem, Jhrg I, Heft 6, S. 210; 1928. Ergänzende Bemerkungen finden sich in GUSINDE (gg): 177 und (hh): 188.

ließ, ohne daß sein Name genannt ist.[165] Legt man all diese Stücke zusammen, so steht man staunend vor einer gewaltigen Arbeit, die BRIDGES neben seinen zeitraubenden Verpflichtungen als Missionar und als Superintendant des ganzen Unternehmens überwältigt hat.[166]

Auf das Wörterbuch-Manuskript waren, seitdem FREDERICK A. COOK es nach Europa gebracht hatte, die Augen vieler Sprachwissenschaftler gerichtet. Ein wechselreiches Geschick war ihm beschieden, da es durch mehrere Hände ging. Zwei Versuche, dasselbe drucken zu lassen, erst in London und dann in Brüssel, blieben aus diesem und jenem Grunde schon in den ersten Anfängen stecken. Weil es an sich einen unschätzbar hohen wissenschaftlichen Wert darstellt und weil es eine glückliche Ergänzung zu der hier vorliegenden Monographie über die Yamana abgibt, habe ich mit entschiedenem Kraftaufwand dieses umfangreiche Werk endlich doch aus dem Drucke heben können, dank der unumgänglichen Unterstützung, zu der die Kinder des Rev. TH. BRIDGES hochherzig sich entschlossen hatten und dank der fleißigen Hilfe, die Dr. F. HESTERMANN mir dabei geleistet hat.[167]

Die aufmerksame Beschäftigung mit der Sprache, weit mehr aber noch der jahrzehntelange engste Umgang mit den Yamana vermittelte diesem Missionar auch eine Fülle von Einzelkenntnissen der Lebensart und Gebrauchsgegenstände, der Sitten und Gebräuche, der Vorstellungen und Gedankengänge jener Eingeborenen. Er hat sie tatsächlich gut in seinen Briefen, im Wörterbuch und in einigen besonderen Aufsätzen angebracht. Ein aufmerksamer Leser wird bald merken, wie BRIDGES' Wissen allmählich anwuchs und wie seine Beurteilung des gleichen Dinges im Laufe der Jahre sich klärte. Demnach sind in seinen älteren Berichten die Angaben über alles Augenfällige um so zuverlässiger und wertvoller, als damals eine fremde Beeinflussung noch nicht Platz gegriffen hatte; hingegen gewährleisten die neueren

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[165] Diese drei Stücke wurden von der South American Missionary Society in London herausgegeben und sind von der gleichen Größe, nämlich 11 × 10 cm:

Gospl Loac Ecamanwuri: The gospel of St. Luke translated into the Yahgan language. 120 pgs; London 1881;

Apos'ndian Wushtwagu: The Acts of the Apostles translated into the Yahgan language, 118 pgs; London 1883;

Gospel Jon Ecamanwuri: The gospel of St. John translated into the Yahgan language. 94 pgs; London 1886.

[166] Als erster hat KOERNER (b): 123 eingehend BRIDGES' Abhandlungen über die Yamana-Sprache gewürdigt. Vgl. auch seinen Aufsatz: "Wo befindet sich das Manuskript letzter Redaktion des großen Yamana(= Yagan)-Lexikons des TH. BRIDGES?", im "Anthropos", Bd. XXI, S. 991—995; Mödling 1926. Endlich sei noch hingewiesen auf Fußnote 164.

[167] Die vollständige Geschichte dieses Yamana-Wörterbuches, von seinen ersten Anfängen bis zum fertigen Druck, hat GUSINDE (gg): 159 und (hh): 179 zusammengestellt. Auch BARCLAY hat sich ausführlich darüber in BD: IX ausgesprochen. Dieses Werk liegt nun vor und ist betitelt: "Yamana-English, a Dictionary of the speech of Tierra del Fuego", by the Reverend THOMAS BRIDGES, Superintendant of the South American Missionary Society in Tierra del Fuego from 1870 to 1887; edited by Dr. FERDINAND HESTERMANN and Dr. MARTIN GUSINDE; printed for private circulation only. XXIV and 664 pgs. Mödling 1933.

Mitteilungen über die gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen und über das eigentliche Geistesleben die meiste Sicherheit oder höhere Wahrscheinlichkeit.[100]

Bei Bewertung dieser Quellen darf man nicht aus dem Auge verlieren, daß BRIDGES niemals eine gründliche Bildung genossen, nicht einmal den vollständigen Lehrgang einer Volksschule durchgemacht hat. Außerdem wuchs er auf und verbrachte sein ganzes Leben in einem ungewöhnlich engen Kreise. Beide Umstände haben von Grund auf und richtunggebend seine geistige Verfassung bestimmt, was aus seinen vielen Briefen ganz deutlich zu ersehen ist. Eine stark betonte Engherzigkeit, die zur empfindlichen Unduldsamkeit bei Dingen sich steigerte, die ihm auf seiten der Eingeborenen nicht genehm waren oder die er nicht verstand, wird von letzteren ihm auch heute noch nachgesagt. Weiter unten erst kann es im einzelnen dargestellt werden, mit welcher Voreingenommenheit er alles Einheimische als niedrig und wertlos oder als verderblich und unsittlich einschätzte, wie hart er sogar Einrichtungen und Gewohnheiten aburteilend verdammte, die, wie beispielsweise ihre Jugendweihe, offensichtlich hohe erzieherische und sittliche Werte enthalten. Er besaß nicht genügend geistige Selbständigkeit, um etwas Wertvolles oder Lobwürdiges bei den Yámana zu sehen und anzuerkennen. Daher die düsteren, unfreundlichen Farben, mit denen er gewohnheitsmäßig die Teilgebiete aus der Yamana-Kultur zeichnete, daher die schroffe, unduldsame Art, mit der er alles Einheimische mit der Wurzel auszureißen bestrebt war.

Als Persönlichkeit war er, wie kaum anders aus dem Gesagten zu erwarten ist, bei den Eingeborenen nicht beliebt; viele mieden ihn wegen seines herrischen Auftretens und blieben der Mission fern, um nicht ihre überlieferten, gehaltvollen kulturellen Einrichtungen aufgeben zu müssen. Die meisten der bejahrten Leute bewahrten sich ihren gesunden Sinn für den Wert des guten Alten und gaben es auf übles Bereden oder verständnisloses Beschimpfen hin nicht preis. Je mehr sie sich überzeugen mußten, daß BRIDGES für ihr eigenes Empfinden und Fühlen, für alles, was ihnen lieb und teuer war, nicht nur kein Wohlwollen, sondern offensichtlich Widerwillen empfand und betonte, um so mehr verschlossen sie vor ihm viele ihrer Gebräuche, um so strenger verbargen sie vor ihm ihre religiösen und mythologischen Anschauungen. Auffällig ist es ja, wie kärglich wenig sich gerade hiervon in den umfangreichen Aufzeichnungen BRIDGES' findet. Weil dieser Missionar den Feuerländern seelisch nicht nahegekommen ist, hat sein Wirken nicht den Erfolg aufzuweisen, daß sie innerlich vom Christentum erfaßt worden wären.

Kurz muß noch erwähnt werden, daß die anglikanischen Missionare nach ihren ersten sichtbaren Erfolgen bei den Yamana glaubten, auch die benachbarten Selk'nam in ihren Einflußbereich einbeziehen zu müssen. Zur gleichen Zeit setzten nämlich ernsthafte Versuche gewissenloser Europäer ein,

[100] Abgesehen von anderen wertvollen kurzen Abhandlungen begann er unter dem Titel: "Tierra del Fuego" eine ganze Reihe von Aufsätzen im MM: XXII, 207; 1888, die aber durch spätere Veröffentlichungen überholt wurden.

weite Landstriche auf der Isla Grande von den Indianern mit Feuerwaffen rücksichtslos zu säubern. Vorerst war es den Missionaren darum zu tun, den hilflosen Eingeborenen sicheren Schutz zu bieten. Im Januar 1878 durchquerten Bischof STIRLING und Rev. BRIDGES mit ihren Begleitern den nordwestlichen Teil der Isla Grande (MM: XII, 102; 1878). Vier Jahre später brachten zwei andere Versuche, mit den Selk'nam am östlichen Ausgange des Canal de Beagle zusammenzutreffen, keine Erfolge. Wohl aber lief bald danach ein dritter Versuch gut aus. Nochmals begab sich BRIDGES im Juli 1885 zum Nordufer der Isla Grande; doch mit den bereits sehr geängstigten und erschreckten Selk'nam konnte er keine Verbindung bekommen. Von weiteren Annäherungsversuchen der anglikanischen Missionare an diese Eingeborenen findet sich nichts in den Berichten.[169]

Gegen Ende 1886 unternahm BRIDGES die ersten Schritte, um sich von der South American Missionary Society zu verabschieden. Er verschaffte sich das argentinische Bürgerrecht und erwarb ein größeres Landstück auf dem Nordufer des östlichen Canal de Beagle. Nach seiner Entlassung aus jenem Missionsverbande[170] richtete er unter Aufwand vieler Mühe seine eigene Farm ein und lebte als Gutsbesitzer nur noch seinen Geschäften.[171] Die Verbindung mit den Yamana hat er nicht nur nicht aufgegeben, sondern zog letztere sogar viel heran und gab ihnen Beschäftigung auf seiner Farm. Am Manuskript seines Wörterbuches hat er nicht mehr weitergearbeitet, wohl aber noch Kleinigkeiten in das seiner Grammatik nachgetragen. Nach einem arbeitsreichen Jahrzehnt auf seiner Farm bei Puerto Harberton begab er sich schwer erkrankt nach dem Norden und starb auf der Rückfahrt von Buenos Aires am 28. April 1898 gegenüber dem Cabo de Corrientes. Seine wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten sind für immer mit dem Namen der südlichen Feuerländer unzertrennlich verknüpft.

Zum Nachfolger BRIDGES' in der Superintendancy wurde Rev. JOHN LAWRENCE bestimmt, sein langjähriger Mitarbeiter in Ushuaia. Als dieser sein Amt antrat, hatte der Verfall des Yamana-Volkes samt ihrer kulturellen Eigenart bereits eingesetzt und steuerte seitdem unaufhaltsam der völligen Auflösung zu. LAWRENCE hat dem Volkstum dieser Feuerländer wenig Auf-

[169] Ausführlich sind die Bemühungen dieser Missionare um die Bewohner der Isla Grande in Bd. I, 46 geschildert worden. Dort werden auch die verschiedenen Quellenschriften genannt.

[170] Sein Austritt veranlaßte verschiedene Gerüchte. Ihrerseits gab die South American Missionary Society bekannt: „Feeling that this enterprise [der Erwerb einer eigenen Farm] is scarcely compatible with the purely Missionary work of the Society, Mr. BRIDGES tendered his resignation, and the Committee have felt bound to accept it, although they did so with much regret, recalling the essential services which he has rendered." Bei dieser Gelegenheit wird ihm das ehrenvolle Zeugnis nicht versagt, daß „Mr. BRIDGES' career has been so unique that all missionary societies have learnt to honour his name" (MM: XXI, 127; 1897).

[171] Er hat es zu einem ansehnlichen Reichtum gebracht, wie aus dem offiziellen Census, den der argentinische Gouverneur GONOT 391 in Ushuaia aufgestellt hat, zu entnehmen ist.

merksamkeit geschenkt, obwohl er ihre Sprache beherrschte; nur einzelne Kleinigkeiten aus seinen Briefen wird der Ethnologe verwenden können. Er erfreute sich einer ungewöhnlich aufrichtigen Hochschätzung bei den alten Indianern, die ihn oft und gern in Punta Remolino besuchten. Im Oktober 1932 ist er gestorben. Mit einer zweimaligen Unterbrechung von einigen Monaten hat er sechzig Jahre am Canal de Beagle zugebracht.

Seitdem auch LAWRENCE wegen seines hohen Alters aus dem tätigen Missionsdienst ausgeschieden war, führte Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS bis 1916 an der Mündung des Rio Douglas die Betreuung der kleinen Herde weiter. Er hat die Yamana-Sprache gut gelernt und ließ im Druck ein dünnes Heftchen von Gebeten erscheinen, das er in einer zweiten Auflage[172] sehr erweiterte. Da die Eingeborenen bereits viele Äußerlichkeiten von den Europäern übernommen hatten, schrieb er nichts über ihre Lebensweise und Anschauungen.

Man muß jenen anglikanischen Missionaren das ehrenvolle Zeugnis ausstellen, daß sie durch ihre zahlreichen Briefe und durch einige Schriften unsere Yamana weiten Kreisen in Europa bekannt gemacht haben. Im besondern werden die Ethnologen und Sprachforscher ihnen alle wissenschaftlich verwertbaren Mitteilungen und Aufzeichnungen aufrichtig danken.

ENRICO H. GIGLIOLI: Zwar hat sich dieser junge Marinelieutenant am Viaggio intorno al globo della reale pirocorvetta italiana "Magenta" in den Jahren von 1865 bis 1868 beteiligt und die Magellan-Straße dabei durchquert, doch gilt als sozusagen sicher, daß er keines einzigen Yamana ansichtig geworden ist. Aus seiner Feder stammt eine Beschreibung verschiedener Gerätschaften dieses Feuerländerstammes, die nicht in allen Teilen zuverlässig ist.

GIACOMO BOVE: Auf die ursprünglichen Forschungspläne in den antarktischen Gewässern dieses italienischen Marineoffiziers hier näher einzugehen, läßt sich nicht rechtfertigen. Darüber enthalten genug die "Informes preliminares presentados a S. S. E. E. los Ministros del Interior y de Guerra y Marina de la República Argentina". Seinem Unternehmen wurde das Schiff "Cabo de Hornos" zur Verfügung gestellt, das der Kapitän PIEDRABUENA befehligte. Außer BOVE befanden sich der Geologe LOVISATO, der Zoologe VINCIGUERRA, der Botaniker SPEGAZZINI und der Lieutenant G. RONCAGLI an Bord.[173]

Am 25. Dezember 1881 verließ das Fahrzeug den Hafen von Montevideo, lief erst in Santa Cruz, dann bei den Staaten Inseln und endlich in Punta

[172] Es ist überschrieben: Oración matutina y vespertina, Colectas (Yahgan). 107 Seiten, Größe 11 × 14 cm, herausgegeben von der S. Am. Missionary Society, London [1907].

[173] Vgl. BOVE (g) über Organisation dieses Unternehmens, über Begleiter, Reiseweg und Ergebnisse. Auch hat er darüber eine briefliche Mitteilung an HYADES geschickt, welche dieser (k): 619 veröffentlichte. Als gute Ergänzung erweist sich JUAN M. NEGUERA: Conferencia sobre la expedición a los mares australes y Tierra del Fuego realizada por el capitán BOVE; im "Boletín del Instituto Geográfico Argentino", tomo V, p. 147—165; Buenos Aires 1884.

Aronas an. Hier trennten sich die Expeditionsmitglieder und zerstreuten sich auf kleineren Schiffen nach verschiedenen Richtungen. Bove erlitt bei der Bahia Sloggett mit seinem Schooner "San José" am 31. Mai 1882 einen schweren Schiffbruch.[174] Am 5. Mai wurde ein Boot nach Ushuaia geschickt. Ehe das Missionsschiff "Allen Gardiner" zu Hilfe kam, hatten sich bei den Verunglückten am 9. Juni einige stattliche Selk'nam eingefunden, deren ganzes Äußere auf jene einen überraschenden Eindruck machte. Auf der Missionsstation Ushuaia fanden jene Schiffbrüchigen die beste Aufnahme, wofür später die italienische Regierung offiziell dankte (MM: XVII, 30; 1883). Am 1. September 1882 traf Bove wieder in Buenos Aires ein.

Ein zweites Mal verweilte er vom Februar bis April 1884 in feuerländischen Gewässern. Dabei lernte er die dortigen geographischen Bedingungen des Archipels und die kulturellen Eigenheiten der Yamana besser kennen. Er (d): 288 hebt eigens hervor: „Il breve tempo da me passato tra gli Alacaluf e gli Ona, non mi concede di parlare dettagliatamente di essi. I segnenti cenni sopra i Fuegini dovranno quindi considerarsi come appartenenti ai Yagan, tra cui sono stabiliti i missionari, e dai quali io ottenni gran parte delle informazioni da me raccolte in queste brevi pagine."[175] In der Tat sind es nur wenige Mitteilungen, die Bove gemacht hat; sie scheinen nur umfangreicher zu sein, weil seine kurzen Aufsätze als wörtliche Übersetzungen in italienischer, spanischer, englischer und deutscher Sprache veröffentlicht worden sind. Auch er verdankt die meisten seiner Angaben den Missionaren. Jene wenigen Ergänzungen, die er von sich aus angefügt hat, widersprechen den übereinstimmenden Beobachtungen anderer zuverlässiger Reisender offensichtlich. Viel Vertrauen erwecken seine Mitteilungen demzufolge nicht.[176]

Später wurde Bove von der italienischen Regierung zu Forschungen an den Congo-Fluß geschickt. Im Januar 1887 nahm er seinen Abschied von der italienischen Marine und endete durch Selbstmord am 14. September 1887.[177]

CARLOS SPEGAZZINI war Bove's Begleiter auf dessen erster Reise. Neben botanischen Arbeiten, denen er sich fleißig widmete, beobachtete er in jenen wenigen Wochen auch die Eingeborenen. Selbstverständlich machte er sich die Erfahrungen und Mitteilungen der Missionare zu eigen. Viele völkerkundliche Einzelheiten brachte er nicht zustande, dafür fehlte es an Zeit. In einem öffentlichen Vortrage zu Buenos Aires am 12. Oktober 1882 hebt er trotzdem nachdrücklich hervor: „Todo lo que communico, fué observado por mí, o se refiere a datos de personas dignas de fé; no os aseguro, sin

[174] Dieser erregte Szene schildert Bove (c): 99 sehr ausführlich. Anonym: 223 bietet sie in deutscher Übersetzung.

[175] Das wiederholt sich bei Bove: Fuegia and the Fuegians, in MM: XVIII, 187; 1884.

[176] Auf seine geographischen Berichte vor allem bezieht sich Holmberg's (a): 12 Empfehlung: „Recomiendo a quien tenga que estudiar nuestro lejano Sud, el conocimiento de la obra de Bove."

[177] Vgl. den kurzen Nachruf im "Boletin del Instituto Geográfico Argentino"; tomo VIII, p. 225; Buenos Aires 1887.

embargo, que no incurra en algún error, por el espacio de tiempo relativamente cierto, que permanecí entre ellos, y por las dificultades que se me presentaban para entenderlos y hacerme entender de ellos." Auch legt er (a): 164 Wert auf den Nachweis, noch „indios que no han sufrido ninguna influencia civilizadora" angetroffen zu haben. Unvergleichlich wertvoller indes sind seine botanischen Beobachtungen und Sammlungen, hat er doch ein Herbarium mit 1108 Species und Varietäten zusammengestellt.[177] Aus seiner Feder ist endlich eine lange Reihe von Yamana-Wörtern und Redewendungen erflossen, sogar eine vergleichende Wortliste des Selk'nam und Yamana mit italienischer Übersetzung; doch sind diese Dinge bislang noch nicht veröffentlicht worden.[177]

DOMINGO LOVISATO: Dieser gute Beobachter ging vom 1. Mai bis 17. Juni 1882 dem geologischen Aufbau des Feuerlandes nach. Mehr Möglichkeiten, die dortigen Eingeborenen kennen zu lernen, als seine Begleiter Bove und Spegazzini, hatte er nicht. Auch gab er (b): 132 sich unumwunden Rechenschaft über die Notwendigkeit, deren Sprache zu verstehen und wies auf die bedenklichen Fehler in der Schilderung der feuerländischen Indianer durch King und Fitz-Roy hin, die auf unzuverlässige Dolmetscher angewiesen waren. Lovisato's besonderes Verdienst ist die gute Beschreibung einiger alltäglicher Gegenstände aus dem Besitze unserer Yamana.

MISSION SCIENTIFIQUE du CAP HORN: Mit diesem Namen bleibt eine unschätzbar wertvolle ethnographische Leistung im Feuerlande für immer verknüpft. Das Hauptziel dieses Unternehmens waren genaue, nach einheitlichem Plane durchgeführte meteorologische und erdmagnetische Beobachtungen, auf Grund internationaler Übereinkunft und zwar für die Zeit vom 1. September 1882 bis zum gleichen Tage 1883. Frankreich hatte sich entschlossen, eine derartige Beobachtungsstation in der Kap Hoorn-Gegend einzurichten. Dem Kommandanten Martial wurden die allgemeine Leitung und die hydrographische Untersuchung anvertraut, der Schiffsarzt Paul D. Hyades zu anthropologisch-ethnographischen und Dr. Hahn zu naturkundlichen, im besonderen geologischen Beobachtungen auserseien. Ein Stab von Helfern stand ihnen zur Seite. Die französische Regierung stellte die Fregatte "La Romanche" zur Verfügung und wünschte, daß noch genaue Vermessungen und Sondierungen vorgenommen würden. Mit bester und reichlicher Ausrüstung verließ das Schiff den Hafen von Cherbourg am 17. Juli 1882 und ging am 6. September dieses Jahres zu jenem Punkte, der für die Untersuchungen erwählt worden war, in der Bahia Orange vor Anker.

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[177] Vgl. Informe VIII: Relación botánica, por Carlos Spegazzini, in Bove (c): 167 bis 121; ocaio Plantae per Fuegiam anno 1882 collectae; "Anales del Museo Nacional"; tomo V, p. 29—104; Buenos Aires 1896.

[177] Diese Manuskripte hat Prof. Dr. R. Lehmann-Nitsche mir auf meine besondere Bitte dankenswerterweise zugänglich gemacht.

Am 26. September begannen die regelmäßigen Beobachtungen, zu denen auch der Venus-Durchgang am 6. Dezember 1882 zählte. Während sich die einzelnen Forscher ihrer Sonderaufgabe widmeten,[100] befuhr die "La Romanche" den Canal de Beagle und viele seiner Nebenarme; dabei wurden 2470 km Küste untersucht. Auf Grund dessen erfuhr die bis dahin geltende Marinekarte tiefgreifende Änderungen, die Ancot: 275 leicht ersichtlich eingetragen hat. Hahn (e): 341 sammelte eifrig Pflanzen und Tiere. Rückblikkend auf seine eigene Arbeit sagte er: „Pendant toute une année nous n'avons cessé de réunir des observations et des collections, et nous espérons que, au point de vue de l'Histoire naturelle des regions magellaniques, l'expédition de la 'Romanche' aura donné d'utiles résultats."

Die nächste Nachbarschaft der Beobachtungsstation hat zwar auch Hyades nach Pflanzen und Tieren abgesucht, sein Hauptaugenmerk war jedoch auf die Eingeborenen gerichtet. Über das erste Zusammentreffen mit ihnen sagt er (g): 2 nur: „Schon bei der Ankunft des Schiffes sah man an verschiedenen Küstenpunkten Rauch aufsteigen und am folgenden Morgen kamen ein paar aus Rinde erbaute Piroguen, jede eine Familie enthaltend, langsam, um Lebensmittel und besonders Schiffszwieback gegen die geringen Erzeugnisse ihrer Industrie, Halsbänder aus Knochen oder aus kleinen Muschelschalen, Harpunenspitzen und dergleichen einzutauschen. Sie erschienen nicht im geringsten erschreckt oder beunruhigt: Tabak und Branntwein waren ihnen noch unbekannt, alte Kleider nahmen sie wohl, aber in erster Linie stand ihr Sinn auf Eßbarem." Später gestand er (ibidem): „Es ist nicht gerade leicht, den Eindruck genau in Worte zu fassen, welchen die erste Begegnung mit diesen sonderbaren Geschöpfen auf uns machte. Wohl hatten wir während der langen Überfahrt alles zusammengelesen, was frühere Besucher, wie Wedgell, Fitz-Roy, Darwin, Wilkes über die Feuerländer geschrieben und nach der übereinstimmenden Aussage aller hielten wir sie für die erbärmlichsten, am niedrigsten stehenden Bewohner unseres Erdballes. Nun kamen sie an Bord ohne das geringste Mißtrauen, Männer, Weiber und Kinder, nackt vom Scheitel bis zu Sohle oder höchstens mit einer erbärmlichen Otterhaut oder Robbenhaut über den Schultern und wir mühten uns ab, an ihnen die charakteristischen Züge zu finden, welche wir nach den Beschreibungen erwarteten. Was uns am meisten wunderte, war, daß wir kein Wort von ihrer Sprache verstanden, obwohl wir die Vokabularien der Alikhoolyp (Alaculoof bei Bumgez) und der Tekinika bei Fitz-Roy sehr eifrig studiert hatten."

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[100] Den Reiseweg beschreibt Ancot umständlich. Seinerseits schildert Hahn (e) die Fahrt der "Romanche" im ganzen Archipel bis zu den Falklandinseln, sowie seine Beobachtungen über die Pflanzen- und Tierwelt. Von Hyades (d) und (g) endlich werden die reichen ethnographischen Ergebnisse eng zusammengefaßt. Eine gute Abbildung in Ancot: 273 zeigt die Anlage der Beobachtungsstation in Bahia Orange. Allgemeine Bemerkungen über die Expeditionsmitglieder und über die verschiedenen Arbeitsziele macht Martial: Physique du Globe: Rapport sur l'expédition française du cap Horn: "Comptes rendus de l'Académie des sciences"; tome 97, p. 1117—1120; Paris 1883.

Am 11. November lief das Missionsschiff "Allen Gardiner" in der Bahía Orange ein, an dessen Bord sich auch Rev. Thomas Bridges befand. Dieser bat Hyades um seine ärztliche Hilfe, weil unter den Eingeborenen in Ushuaia eine fieberhafte Krankheit ausgebrochen war, die arge Verheerungen anrichtete. So kam letzterer in Beziehung mit Bridges, der ihn in seinen völkerkundlichen Forschungen[181] richtunggebend gefördert hat. Immer und immer wieder beruft sich Hyades, besonders in seinem Hauptwerke, auf jenen Missionar.

Das Arbeiten mit diesen Eingeborenen selber war nicht leicht, wie er (g): 39 bald erfuhr. „Im längeren Verkehr mit den Franzosen legten die Feuerländer wohl nach und nach einen Teil der ursprünglichen Scheu und Zurückhaltung ab, aber sie blieben durchaus ihren alten Sitten getreu und zeigten nicht die geringste Lust, etwas von den Fremden zu lernen. Nur zur Essenszeit kamen die benachbarten Familien regelmäßig und hockten vor dem Stationsgebäude nieder, um die Überbleibsel in Empfang zu nehmen ... Die Bevölkerung wechselt übrigens ziemlich rasch; länger als zwei Monate hielt kaum eine Familie in der Nähe der Fremden aus, trotz der gebotenen Vorteile, es schien sie eine Art Heimweh nach ihrem herumschweifenden ungebundenen Leben zu ergreifen und sie verschwanden ohne Abschied, um alsbald durch andere ersetzt zu werden. Dreißig bis vierzig Individuen lagerten gewöhnlich in der Nähe der Station, und, als nach Verlauf der ersten paar Monate die Franzosen eine gewisse Anzahl der gebräuchlichsten Worte gelernt hatten, entwickelte sich mit denselben auch ein einigermaßen freundschaftliches Verhältnis. Einzelne ließen sich sogar zu Dienstleistungen herbei; halfen beim Wegebau und trugen Holz, doch schien ihnen das nicht recht zu gefallen und man konnte sie auf sie rechnen; große Ansprüche machten sie freilich auch nicht dafür und mit einigen Brocken Brot oder Zwieback waren sie jederzeit zufrieden. Nur einer oder zwei blieben der Station treu und entschlossen sich zu regelmäßigen Arbeiten." Freilich war es eine starke Behinderung auf beiden Seiten, daß man sich durch die Sprache nicht verständigen konnte.

Von diesem allerdings sehr bedeutungsvollen Umstande abgesehen, befand sich Hyades in den bestmöglichen Forschungsbedingungen; denn die Eingeborenen dort im Süden führten ihr Leben von ehedem ohne erkennbare fremde Einflüsse. Nicht wenige hat er (f): 552 zu Gesicht bekommen. „A la baie Orange, après avoir appris les mots usuels de la langue indigène, j'ai observé, dans de très bonnes conditions pour leur étude complète, 120 individus de tout âge et des deux sexes qui ont séjourné plus ou moins longtemps immédiatement à côté de la mission scientifique française, en menant la vie de parfaits sauvages, sans que notre voisinage parut en rien influencer leurs coutumes ou leurs moeurs." Auch versichert er (d): 305, daß einige

[181] Ausdrücklich entschuldigt sich Hyades (j): 148 und erklärt, „comment il ne m'est pas arrivé de demander à la Société des instructions ethnologiques spéciales sur les recherches à faire au Cap Horn".

Familien, „provenant des environs, dans un rayon de 40 à 50 kilomètres, venaient successivement à la Mission par groupes de deux ou trois familles qui passaient près de nous plusieurs jours et quelquefois plusieurs semaines. Très souvent nous avons vu revenir d'anciens visiteurs après une absence plus ou moins longue."

Das lange Zusammensein mit so vielen Eingeborenen — ob es nun 120 waren oder knapp 150, wie HYADES (j): 150 an anderer Stelle erwähnt — hat es den Franzosen ermöglicht, das Wirtschaftsleben der Yamana genau zu beobachten und eine vollständige Sammlung ihrer Gebrauchsgegenstände zustande zu bringen. Leider fehlten ihnen die erforderlichen Sprachkenntnisse, um die gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen und das reiche Geistesleben aufzuhellen. Sie alle, im besonderen HYADES, bemühten sich um eine gerechte Würdigung all des Fremdartigen, dem sie gegenüberstanden; ganz entschieden nahmen sie Stellung gegen die falschen Behauptungen von Menschenfresserei oder geistiger Minderwertigkeit dieser Feuerländer.

Die anthropologischen Beobachtungen wurden zu eingehenden anatomischen Untersuchungen erweitert. Gewiß, HYADES (c): 142 und (d): 306 hebt hervor, daß es ihm ein Leichtes gewesen ist, „prendre un très grand nombre de mesures anthropologiques, de moulages, de photographies. Hommes et femmes se prêtaient avée complaisance à toutes ses recherches". Doch darf ich nicht verschweigen, daß mir gegenüber, also nach etwa vierzig Jahren noch, die älteren Leute sich über Gipsabdrücke, die von den Geschlechtsteilen einiger junger Frauenspersonen gemacht worden waren, höchst empört geäußert haben. Auch das Benehmen einzelner Hilfspersonen aus jener Expedition hat wiederholt schweren Anstoß bei den Eingeborenen hervorgerufen. Die Einzelheiten, welche mir erzählt worden sind, übergehe ich hier. Aber man trifft, wie ich betonen möchte, bei vielen primitiven Völkern mehr Schamgefühl und reineres sittliches Empfinden, als bei manchem Europäer, der zu ihnen kommt.

Sogar fünf Leichen in Alkohol konnten nach Paris befördert werden. Bei seinen sprachlichen Aufzeichnungen hat HYADES aus den Manuskripten des Rev. TH. BRIDGES geschöpft, aber viel auch selber gesammelt.[102] Kurze Angaben macht er sogar über die Halakwulup, weil eine Frau dieses Stammes damals in der Bahía Orange lebte; nicht aber über die Selk'nam, mit denen die Franzosen keine Verbindung bekommen konnten.[103]

Obwohl HYADES (f): 552 sich bemühte, in seinem Urteil gerecht zu sein, war er nicht frei von Voreingenommenheit. Nach dem langen Verweilen der "La Romanche" in jenen Gewässern schrieb er: Die Yamana „ont conservé à la baie Orange les mêmes habitudes et les mêmes moeurs: s'il pouvait maintenant les revoir en passant, le regretté DARWIN porterait sur eux le même jugement

[102] Vgl. HYADES (q): 280. Nach GUSINDE (gg): 165 hatte BRIDGES drei Jahre vorher die letzte Niederschrift seines Yamana-English Dictionary beendet.

[103] Mißmutig äußert sich HAMY (e): 340 hierzu: „Malgré notre vif désir de faire ample connaissance avec eux, nous n'avons pu les voir de près."

sévère; je ne doute pas non plus que s'il était resté en 1832 au milieu de ces sauvages une année entière, comme nous venons de le faire, il n'eut présenté sur leur compte une appréciation moins rigoureuse".

Stellt man das gesamte Ergebnis der MISSION SCIENTIFIQUE zusammen, so wird man die ausgedehnte wissenschaftliche Leistung mit Recht bewundern. Außerordentlich wertvoll ist es, daß durch sie die Volkseigenheiten der Yamana zu einer Zeit sichergestellt worden sind, da sie noch ihre unverfälschte, ursprüngliche Reinheit besaßen.

JOHN RANDOLPH SPEARS: Dieser von einer nordamerikanischen Zeitung ausgesandte Berichterstatter hat sich anfang 1891, vom Norden der Isla Grande kommend, nur zwei Tage in Ushuaia aufgehalten, ohne anderwärts mit unseren Eingeborenen näher bekannt zu werden. Anscheinend hat ihn die Absicht geleitet, die geschäftliche Ausbeute des Landes und besonders der Goldwäschereien zu beobachten.

Für seine harten, teilweise sehr vorwurfsvollen Urteile über die Missionstätigkeit der Anglikaner und im besonderen über das Verhalten des damaligen Superintendant THOMAS BRIDGES gegen die Eingeborenen bleibt er persönlich verantwortlich. Wie COOPER: 129 meint, sind seine ethnographischen Angaben, „it seems, based chiefly if not entirely on good written sources".

ALEJANDRO CAÑAS PINOCHET: Einem gelegentlichen Hinweis entnehme ich, daß der genannte Verfasser im Sommer 1894/95 das Feuerland bereist hat. Nirgends erwähnt er, wie lange er sich dort aufgehalten und welche Stellen er besucht hat; nur einmal spricht er ganz flüchtig über seine Fahrt zur Isla Dawson. In seiner langen Abhandlung vermißt man die deutliche Scheidung der drei feuerländischen Stämme voneinander. Wie er zu dem Stoffe, den er vorlegt, gelangt ist, sagt er: 331 selber: „Nosotros que hemos visitado la Tierra del Fuego, que hemos estado en medio de esos indios, que hemos recogido datos e informaciones de personas serias y conocedoras de ellos, porque han podido observarlos por mucho tiempo de cerca, estamos en situación de decir la verdad, y de describir a esos naturales tal cual son y al través de relaciones, en las cuales si se halla alguna verdad, es la falta casi absoluta de verdad."

Seine Beschreibung des dinglichen Kulturbesitzes der Feuerländer ist gut, alles Weitere aber lückenhaft und unbestimmt. Die zwei Tafeln mit der Unterschrift "Grupos de indios onas: hombres y mujeres" und "Grupo de mujeres onas" stellen nachweislich Indianer des Chaco an der Nordwestgrenze von Argentinien dar.

Anerkennenswert ist das redliche Bemühen dieses Verfassers; denn seine Absicht war es, „a describir a los fueguinos, sin otro interés que el de pintarlos bajo su verdadero aspecto, bajo su verdadera faz". Zweifelsohne hat sein Aufsatz zu einer unvoreingenommenen Beurteilung der Feuerländer vonseiten einzelner leidenschaftsloser, überlegender Leser beigetragen. Doch

bietet er nichts Neues über das hinaus, was bis dahin schon durch andere Reisende veröffentlicht worden war.

OTTO NORDENSKJOELD: Zunächst in einer vorläufigen Mitteilung über sein Forschungsunternehmen hat NORDENSKJOELD (f): 212, der bekannte schwedische Geograph erklärt: „In der Absicht, vergleichende Untersuchungen zwischen dem Norden und dem südlichsten bewohnten Teil der Erde anzustellen, legte ich im Jahre 1894 der Stockholmer Geographischen Gesellschaft den Plan einer wissenschaftlichen Expedition nach den Magellanländern vor und fand auch für die Sache so viel Interesse, daß schon im folgenden Jahre von Schweden eine derartige Expedition ausgehen konnte, an welcher ich nebst den Herren DUSEN (als Botaniker) und Dr. ODLIN (als Zoologe) teilgenommen habe. Im November 1895 machten wir [von Buenos Aires aus] an Bord eines argentinischen Kriegsdampfers die Reise nach dem Feuerlande ... Nach 14 tägiger Reise landeten wir in der Bucht von San Sebastián." Von hier aus versuchten diese Schweden erst einen Streifzug durch den nördlichen Teil der Isla Grande und dann einen anderen bis zum Fuße der Kordillere im Süden. Nach mühsamer Forschungsarbeit von etwa zehn Wochen in jener Gebirgsgegend erreichten sie Ushuaia, „die wichtigste Ortschaft in dieser Zone, Hauptstation der englischen Mission und Residenz des Gouverneurs des argentinischen Territoriums Tierra del Fuego. Sie hat etwa ein paar Hundert Bewohner: Regierungsbeamte, Deportierte und Leute, die unter den in der Umgebung lebenden Kolonisten und Goldgräbern einige Geschäfte treiben" (in [f]: 215).

NORDENSKJOELD und seine Begleiter verfolgten andere wissenschaftliche Ziele, weswegen sie sich eingehender Untersuchung der Yamana nicht widmen konnten. Deren Kopfzahl allerdings schätzte der Expeditionsführer damals auf etwa 300. Auch läßt er es sich angelegen sein, die irrigen Behauptungen DARWIN's über diese Eingeborenen zurückzuweisen, ohne zu leugnen „la miserable vida que llevan, tal vez más miserable que la de ninguna otra raza del jénero humano ... Todo el que conozca la vida de esos hombres podrá convencerse de que son más dignos de compasión que de desprecio". Schließlich nennt er (e): 163 noch „otras circunstancias que dan la prueba positiva de que no son faltos de intelijencia". Den englischen Missionaren vorwiegend dankt er seine Kenntnisse von den Lebensverhältnissen der Indianer.

Es waren eben ausschließlich geologische und geographische, botanische und zoologische Beobachtungen, denen diese schwedischen Fachleute sich gewidmet haben. Ihnen ist eine bedeutende Aufhellung der landschaftlichen Bedingungen jener fernen Gegend geglückt und ihre Abhandlungen sind wirklich grundlegend.[124] Im besonderen maßgebend für die Besiedlung des südlichsten Amerika durch den Menschen sind die geologischen Ergebnisse:

[124] Vgl. die zahlreichen Einzeluntersuchungen, veröffentlicht von OTTO NORDENSKJOELD: Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der schwedischen Expedition nach den Magellanländern 1895—1897; 3 Bände, Stockholm (o. J.).

denn „die gemachten Sammlungen von Tier- und Pflanzenversteinerungen deuten auf ein Klima der Tertiärzeit hin, das e t w a s, aber nicht viel wärmer war als das jetzige. Nachher trat eine Eiszeit ein. Das Eis hat die Feuerlandinsel fast vollständig bedeckt und die Magellanstraße ausgefüllt, ist aber nördlich von 52° S. Br. nirgends nach der jetzigen atlantischen Meeresküste vorgedrungen. Es könnte scheinen als ob diese verhältnismäßig geringe Ausbreitung den Beobachtungen widerspreche, welche in den subtropischen Gebirgsgegenden gemacht wurden. Wahrscheinlich hat sie aber mit einer allgemeinen Landsenkung in Verbindung gestanden, und das damalige Festland war vielleicht noch viel nördlicher vollständig eisbedeckt. Als die Glacialzeit aufhörte, lag das Feuerland nur etwa 60 m niedriger als jetzt. Es hat sich nachher gehoben, aber jetzt scheint die Erhebung unbedeutend zu sein oder gar nicht stattzufinden". Dieser Tatbestand, weil noch ungeklärt, kann leider bei Beurteilung der alten Muschelhügel nicht verwertet werden. Auch hat NORDENSKJOELD (f) als erster m. W. eine genaue geologische Karte vom Feuerland entworfen.

EXPEDITION der "BELGICA": Auf ihrer Fahrt zum südlichen Eismeer ging anfangs Dezember 1897 die "Belgica" in Punta Arenas vor Anker. Sie lag hier vierzehn Tage, „in welcher Zeit die Vorräte ergänzt und das Schiff wieder vollkommen in Stand gesetzt wurde, während wir die Umgebung durchstreiften" (COOK [d]: 81). Am Abend des 21. Dezember legte das Schiff im Hafen von Ushuaia an. „Am folgenden Morgen gingen wir nach dem Frühstück an Land. Die Art unseres Auftretens war vom anthropologischen Standpunkt aus interessant ... Den Herren JOHN LAWRENC und THOMAS BRIDGES sind wir für ihre wertvolle Unterstützung bei unserer Indianerforschung zu lebhaftem Dank verpflichtet." Unmittelbar danach kündigt COOK (d): 86 an, „die anthropologischen Beobachtungen, Messungen und Sprachforschungen sollen in einer eigenen Publikation veröffentlicht werden". Auf diese wird man vergeblich warten!

An der Erforschung der Yamana haben sich die Mitglieder der "Belgica" nicht ansehnlich beteiligt. Insofern nur verdient dieses Unternehmen erwähnt zu werden, als COOK, nach Rückkehr der "Belgica" zur Magellan-Straße, wo die Expedition sich auflöste und jedes Mitglied nach eigenem Plane einige Beobachtungen weiterführte, das Manuskript des Yamana-Wörterbuches aus der Feder des kurz vorher verstorbenen Rev. T. BRIDGES von der Witwe übernahm und nach Europa brachte. Wie sich das Schicksal dieses Werkes in späterer Zeit gestaltete, ist auf S. 143 nachzulesen.[105]

[105] Die genauen Einzelheiten finden sich bei GUSINDE (gg): 170 zusammengetragen. Daß aus der Feder COOK's die angekündigte Veröffentlichung nicht mehr zu erwarten ist, hat mir G. LECOMTE, der damalige Kapitän der "Belgica", vor nicht langer Zeit zuverlässig mitgeteilt (Bd. I, 58). Ursprünglich hatte nämlich COOK, was LECOMTE: 220 seinerzeit bestätigte, folgende Arbeiten in Aussicht gestellt: Medical Report, Report upon the Ones, A Yahgan grammar and dictionary.

Am 3. Januar 1898 fuhr die "Belgica" in östlicher Richtung weiter und gegenüber Puerto Harberton lief sie auf ein Riff.[106] Als es heller Morgen wurde, erschien LUCAS BRIDGES mit einigen Indianern und bot seine Hilfe an. COOK ging ans Land. Nach einigen Stunden hob sich das Schiff wieder und war gerettet. Am folgenden Tage fuhr die "Belgica" weiter. Auch bei dieser Gelegenheit konnte COOK keine nennenswerten Beobachtungen machen.

JOSÉ J. ALVAREZ: Im leichten Stil der Unterhaltungsschriftstellerei, die nur dem Leser mit einigen Neuigkeiten die Zeit vertreiben will, ist das kleine Büchlein dieses FRAY MOCHO gehalten. Alle Seiten des Lebens und Treibens im Feuerlande werden in kurzen Strichen gezeichnet, die Mühen der Ansiedler, die Anstrengungen der Goldgräber, die Arbeiten der Missionare und die Eigenart der Eingeborenen knapp dargestellt. Doch fehlt jener Redeweise der bestimmte Ausdruck und die scharfe Umrißlinie. Als verläßliche Quelle kommt dieses Werkchen nicht in Frage. Sein Verfasser scheint anfangs 1898 in sehr kurzen Wochen das Feuerland durcheilt zu haben, bestimmte Zeitangaben fehlen.

JERMÁN WIEGHARDT: Dieser deutsche, seinerzeit in Santiago de Chile tätige Lehrer, den ich persönlich dort kennengelernt habe, gibt nirgendwo genaue Hinweise über seinen Aufenthalt im Feuerlande. Aus einem kurzen Worte geht hervor, daß er im Jahre 1896 dort gereist ist.[107] Anscheinend hat er nur einige leicht erreichbare Siedlungen der Europäer und die Goldwäschereien besucht, wirkliche Verbindung mit den Eingeborenen hat er indes nicht angeknüpft.

Sein Aufsatz enthält keine neuen Entdeckungen. Er erweist sich vielmehr vom Anfang bis zum Ende als eine Blütenlese aus neueren Reisewerken, denen ganze Abschnitte wörtlich entnommen sind, doch ohne die mindeste Quellenangabe. Die meisten seiner Zeilen hat WIEGHARDT aus BOVE und HYADES herausgeholt und sich, wohl aus Unkenntnis des Stoffes, der eigenen Beurteilung enthalten. Seine einzige Abhandlung: El territorio de Magallanes, tomo VI; Indijenas fueguinos i patagones, primera parte, sowie die beiden Heftchen: Estudios sobre la Jeolojía del Territorio de Magallanes (Santiago 1904) wurden in Santiago bald als wortgetreue Abschreiberei erkannt und gewürdigt.

W. S. BARCLAY: Im Januar und Februar 1902 weilte dieser Reisende als Gast auf der Farm der Geschwister BRIDGES am östlichen Canal de Beagle. Seine Kenntnis von den dortigen Feuerländern verdankt er fast restlos den Mitteilungen, die LUCAS BRIDGES ihm gemacht hat. Auf der Isla Grande ist er (a): 62 mit ROBERTO DABBENE (a): 3 und mit CARLOS GALLARDO zusammengetroffen, in deren Gesellschaft er eine kurze Strecke durchquert hat.

[106] COOK (d): 106 schildert diesen Unfall kurz, LEZENAYE: 54 aber sehr ausführlich.

[107] In seinen Estudios sobre la Jeologia del Territorio de Magallanes, primera entrega (Santiago 1904), schreibt er pág. 11 nur: „Cuando en 1896 visité a Lennox e islas adyacentes..."

Von Fred Lawrence erfuhr ich noch, daß Barclay sich auch einige Tage in Ushuaia aufgehalten, hier aber keinen Verkehr mit den Yamana angestrebt, sondern sich mit Photographieren viel beschäftigt hat. Lawrence war wiederholt sein Begleiter bei kurzen Ausflügen in die Umgebung von Ushuaia und später auf der Fahrt nach Punta Arenas. Auffällig gerecht und sachlich beurteilt Barclay (d): 130 manche ernste Mängel in der Arbeitsweise der Missionare, aus welchen den Eingeborenen zuweilen schwerer Schaden erwachsen ist.

Auf dieser Reise nahmen die freundschaftlichen Beziehungen Barclay's zur Familie Bridges ihren Anfang, die seitdem weiterhin unterhalten worden sind. Hieraus erklärt es sich, daß er von ihr aufgefordert wurde, zum Yamana-English Dictionary des Rev. Thomas Bridges eine längere Vorrede zu schreiben (S. 143).

ROBERTO DABBENE: Als Begleiter des Carlos Callardo (Bd. I, 59) hat der genannte Ornithologe in den wenigen Wochen vom 19. Januar bis 26. Februar 1902 den langen Weg von Montevideo über die Isla Grande zu den Falkland- und Staaten Inseln und von da über Isla Dawson nach Punta Arenas zurückgelegt.

Zu völkerkundlichen Untersuchungen fehlte es an Zeit und Gelegenheit. Später ließ er zwei Aufsätze erscheinen, in denen er den Sitten und Gebräuchen der Yamana einen breiten Raum gewährt. Doch legt er (b): 168 darin nicht ausschließlich Eigenbeobachtungen vor, sondern macht eine Zusammenstellung, „reuniendo algunas observaciones personales a los numerosos datos suministrados por los distintos viajeros que han visitado el archipiélago fueguino". Erfreulich ist immerhin sein Bemühen um gerechte und verständige Beurteilung der Eingeborenen und ihrer Einrichtungen. Er gesteht (a): 78 auch ein, daß „la mayor parte de estos datos sobre las costumbres de los indios me fueron suministrados por mi apreciado amigo y compañero de viaje Sr. W. S. Barclay, el cual a su vez los obtuvo del señor Lucas Bridges". Dieser Hinweis betrifft hauptsächlich Mitteilungen über die Selk'nam.

CHARLES W. FURLONG: Den Lesern seiner kurzen Aufsätze, die etwa ein Dutzend ausmachen und in verschiedenen Zeitschriften erschienen sind, stellt sich dieser nordamerikanische Oberst als „Artist, Author, Scientist and Explorer" vor. Im Sommer 1907/08 durchquerte er die Isla Grande und besuchte mehrere Punkte am Canal de Beagle in etwa drei Monaten. Hast und Eile trieb ihn voran, für gründliche Kleinarbeit blieb ihm keine Gelegenheit.

Was ihm die Brüder Bridges über die Selk'nam und die Brüder Lawrence über die Yamana mitgeteilt haben,[188] verquickt er mit den eigenen Erkundigungen. Seine Effekthascherei[189] ist durchsichtig und Einzelbeobach-

[188] Auch Coursen: 90 betont: „Many of his cultural data are, moreover, derived verbally from the very best first-hand authorities, the Lawrence and Bridges brothers."

[189] Hierher gehört seine (r): 182 Behauptung: „While ethnic work has been done by an

tungen verallgemeinert er, harmlose Vorkommnisse und Alltäglichkeiten deutet er als Abenteuer oder drohende Gefahren. Beispielsweise hat der Indianer SELKNAM weder auf FUEGINO (a): 345 noch auf sonst jemand einen Angriff geplant, als er das Messer zu seinem Gürtel wieder in die richtige Lage brachte. Eine arge Übertreibung ist es, wenn er (b): 127 behauptet, daß schiffbrüchige „sailors have managed to enter the archipelago only to be brutally butchered by the Fuegians. It is no enviable lot to be found by them defenceless in any of the innumerable out-of-the-way places of their habitat".

Die Eingeborenen haben ihn mir als ungeduldig im allgemeinen und als stürmisch bei seinen Fragen geschildert.[109] Als er vom alten CHAMLER einen Gesichtsabdruck in Gips machen wollte, ging er dabei unvorsichtig vor, daß jener Indianer fürchtete zu ersticken. Seitdem hat sich kein Yamana mehr zu ähnlichen Versuchen bereitgestellt. Die selbstbewußte Redeweise dieses Reisenden könnte leichtgläubige Leser irreführen.[110]

ANTONIO COJAZZI: Das Werk dieses Schriftstellers aus dem Salesianerorden erschien fast gleichzeitig mit CARLOS GALLARDO's: LOS ONAS. Bekanntlich (Bd. I, 61) hat TONELLI „brevemente nell 1910" die Isla Grande besucht und wohl auch die Yamana gestreift. Seine eigenen Beobachtungen sind in des erstgenannten Verfassers Werk mit früheren Aufzeichnungen der Salesianermissionare vereinigt worden. Dort heißt es u. a. auch: „Finora i Salesiani non hanno un vero centro stabile di missione fra questi Indi; però un missionario ogni anno fa un' escursione dall' isola grande ad Harberton ed isola Navarino, istruendo gli Indi che incontra; ad Ushuaia risiede permanentem e un sacerdote salesiano, il quale ha l'occasione di istruire questi Indi quando si recano alla capitale per gli scambi coi civilizzati" (COJAZZI: 105). Wer die bis dahin nicht bekannten Einzelheiten, die dieses Werk enthält, entdeckt hat, wird an keiner Stelle angegeben.

ALBERTO DE AGOSTINI: Im Südosten der Isla Grande hat dieser bekannte italienische Forscher, Priester der Salesianer-Genossenschaft Don Bosco's, als erster einige herrliche Fjorde entdeckt und manche schwierige Bergspitzen erstiegen. Ihm sind künstlerisch hochwertige photographische Aufnahmen und eine verbesserte geographische Karte von Magallanes zu danken. Er hat somit einen bedeutenden Anteil an der wissenschaftlichen Aufhellung jenes Gebietes in neuester Zeit.

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occasional scientist or explorer along the coasts, it fell to my lot to be the first to pass through certain interior sections of their country alone with Onas . . ." Tatsache ist, daß er von LUCAS BRIDGES sowohl Führer als auch Pferde erhalten und auf den längst bekannten Reisewegen die Isla Grande durchquert hat.

[109] Über seinen kurzen Aufenthalt auf der Farm Rio Douglas sagt er (b): 130 bezeichnend: „My time was entirely occupied in close study of these Indians, and leaving no stone unturned in acquiring information and data of this all but vanished people."

[110] Manche Angaben in seinen ersten Veröffentlichungen hatten schon im "Globus", Bd. 96, S. 228 (Braunschweig 1909) berechtigten Widerspruch hervorgerufen.

Kurze Monate war er zunächst in Ushuaia angestellt, wo er vorübergehend mit den Yamana in Berührung gekommen ist. Weit eingehender hat er im Sommer 1910 und 1913, sowie auf einer späteren Reise im Sommer 1922/23 die Selk'nam beobachtet. Zu seiner kursen Beschreibung der Eingeborenen hat er geschöpft aus „den eigenen persönlichen Beobachtungen und genauen Bezeugungen der Salesianer Missionäre Borgatello, Zenone und Beauvoir" (Bd. I, 61).

Keine Bucherscheinung der letzten Zeit hat das Feuerland in solch farbenprächtiger Naturwahrheit zur Darstellung gebracht, wie sein Originalwerk in italienischer Sprache, an dessen glänzende Ausstattung die deutsche Ausgabe nicht heranreicht.[192]

Ein anderer Italiener namens G. B. de Gasperi hat sich an dem Forschungsunternehmen des Dr Agostini zur Cordillera de Darwin von Januar bis März 1913 beteiligt. Die von ihm veröffentlichten kursen statistischen Angaben über die Volksbewegung der feuerländischen Indianer verdankt er den Mitteilungen von E. A. Zwank und Lucas Bridges.

JOSÉ E. RODRIGUEZ: Aus einzelnen Angaben im Büchlein: Riquezas y Bellezas Australes (Buenos Aires 1921) ist zu entnehmen, daß sein Verfasser im Sommer 1920/21 das Feuerland eilig durchquert hat. Seine Mitteilungen über die Selk'nam sowohl wie über die Yamana sind weiter nichts als das oft wiederholte, oberflächliche Gerede von Leuten, die sich hoch erhaben dünken über die „miserable existencia de los últimos seres humanos (yaganes) que habitan una zona conceptuada por todos los viajeros como imposible de sustentar la vida" (pg. 315).

Ein besonderer Abschnitt: Apuntes referentes a los indios de Tierra del Fuego (pags 315—335) ist von Percival A. Reynolds eigens für dieses Büchlein am 15. Februar 1920 geliefert worden. Er erweist sich als sachlich und inhaltsreich; denn der Verfasser ist Schwiegersohn des Rev. Thomas Bridges und hat lange Zeit auf der Farm Vismonte bei Rio del Fuego zugebracht. Die Mitteilungen über die Selk'nam sind unvergleichlich ausgedehnter als die über unsere Yamana.

Der genannte argentinische Oberst hat in diesem Werkchen auch vier Photographien von Selk'nam-Indianer eingefügt, die ich auf meiner ersten Reise aufgenommen und von denen ich Abzüge den Indianern auf meiner zweiten Reise geschenkt habe. Wie ich in Erfahrung bringen konnte, hat er diese Bilder für je einen argentinischen Peso den Indianern abgekauft und sie dann in seinem Büchlein veröffentlicht, ohne aber daran zu denken, die Herkunft derselben anzudeuten.

[192] Vgl. meine Besprechung dieses Werkes und seine Erwiderung im "Anthropos", XX, 368; 1925 und XXI, 718; 1926. Gleichzeitig sei hingewiesen auf seinen Aufsatz in der "Rivista Illustr. della Esposizione Missionaria Vaticana"; anno II, Nr. 26, p. 812; Roma 1925. Endlich auf: Turismo argentino nella Terra del Fuoco, in "Le vie d'Italia e dell' America Latina"; anno XXX, nro 2, Febbraio 1924.

MILCIADES A. VIGNATI: Zu Beginn des Jahres 1921 hat dieser argentinische Ethnologe die Muschelhaufen auf der Ostküste der Isla Grande und in der Umgebung von Ushuaia als erster gründlich untersucht. Die Gerätschaften, die er persönlich eingesammelt hat, sind von ihm nachher mit anderen, die früher schon nach Buenos Aires gelangt waren, ausführlich beschrieben worden. Jene Muschelhaufen reichen zumindest bis kurz vor den Eindringen der ersten Europäer in den Kap Hoorn-Archipel zurück und „el carácter del contenido arqueológico de los conchales difiere tan en absoluto de lo que se ha descrito hasta ahora como propio de los aborígenes fueguinos, que la simple comparación evidencia que aquellos pertenecen a una época anterior libre de toda influencia exótica". So beurteilt er (c): 142 zusammenfassend seine Ergebnisse.

Weitere Grabungen würden wichtige Aufschlüsse über die Vorgeschichte der ersten Besiedler des untersten Südamerika vermitteln. Zumindest konnte dieser Forscher (b): 5 bereits jetzt feststellen, „que las pirnas provenientes de los conchales fueguinos, no obstante la indiscutible arcaicidad de sus formas, pueden englobarse, en conjunto, dentro del instrumental patagónico. Surge, así, nuevamente, el problema del parentesco étnico que se debe asignar a los indios fueguinos en relación a las demás tribus del sur". Seine Untersuchungen werden teilweise ergänzt durch jene, die Lovenor an anderen Muschelhaufen nur drei Jahre später durchgeführt hat.

SAMUEL K. LOTHROP: Kurz nachdem ich selber im März 1924 das Feuerland nach meinem vierten Aufenthalte verlassen hatte, kam dieser nordamerikanische Ethnologe an, nämlich im November des gleichen Jahres. Von Punta Arenas begab er sich in Begleitung des GONZALOS BEMOSS nur Farm am Rio del Fuego und erbeutete seiner ersten Aufmerksamkeit den Selk'nam in zwei Lagern am Lago Fagnano. In Puerto Harberton (a): 238 „we were entertained by Captain and Mrs. SOUNES NEILSON and Mrs. Jane LOMBARD for several weeks. Accompanied at times by Captain NEILSON and Mr. Ernest FOGELSAT we travelled in the boat to visit Ushuaia, Remolino, Puerto Magellanes [sic?], Puerto Eufrosia, and other points on Navarin island; also Cable island, Picton island, and Cambaceres bay. As a result we came into contact with almost all the surviving Yahgan Indians and obtained a collection which includes practically everything listed by Dr. COOPER, as well as other objects as yet not described in print. In addition we imported nearly eighty ancient canoe-skins, thus obtaining a small archaeological collection".

Insgesamt drei Monate, nur Sommerzeit 1924/25, hat Lovenor (b): 11 im Feuerlande verbracht und dabei sich hauptsächlich um eine möglichst vollständige Sammlung der Gebrauchsgegenstände der Selk'nam und der Yamana bemüht. In seinem Hauptwerk hat er sie gut beschrieben, hingegen den geistigen Besitz derselben nur kurz abgehandelt. Er gibt dafür folgende Begründung an: „Although the studies of COOPER and KOOPMAN had not then appeared in print, I was told that they had worked chiefly on the religion,

initiation ceremonies, folklore and linguistics." Nun, in sehr kurzer Zeit hätte er wirklich nicht mehr leisten können, als was er tatsächlich [illegible] hat. Da er die bedeutendsten früheren Quellen gut ausgewertet hat, wurde sein Werk zur besten zusammenfassenden Darstellung der Ethnographie der Sek'ana und Tanana.

BALDWIN SPENCER: Erst als die Tokmanbriefe veröffentlicht wurde, ist in europäischen Kreisen bekannt geworden, daß dieser verdiente Australienforscher in seinem hohen Alter noch eine Reise nach dem Feuerlande unternommen hatte. Aus dem Tagebuch, das er geführt hat und das bald nach seinem Hinscheiden veröffentlicht wurde, ist eingesehen das besondere wissenschaftliche Ziel ersichtlich, dem er durch diese Unternehmung zustrebte.

Er verließ London am 17. Februar 1929 und traf in Punta Arenas mit Gustav Wanzow, dem Sohne des noch lebenden, bisher englischsprechenden Missionars Juan Wanzow (1.11.94) zusammen, in dessen Begleitung er am 4. Mai seiner nächsten Reise. Nach vier Tagen landete er in Ushuaia. Am nächsten Abend war er bereits auf der Farm Sta Douglas. Kurz Wanzows hatte drei Indianer Gamen mit Familie von der Isla Hoste herum und Swanson-M begann sofort Heil auszuhagen; doch dieser weigte sich „positively disturbed to discuss any important matters, so said nothing about this". Auch im Verlauf der folgenden Wochen bestand Swanson's hauptsächlichste Arbeitens im Bringen von vier Eingeborenen und deren Familienmitgliedern, mit denen er vielfältig zusammenwohnt.

Mit Gamen machte er eine üble Erfahrung, die er 71 vollbewahrigt verallgemeinerte: „It looks much as if the only way to get anything out of the natives nowadays is by giving them drink."** Nachdem dieser Indianer unserem Forscher dem Wiener Gesellschaft gebietet hatte, entfernte er sich wieder und ging sich nach Isla Hoste zurück. Während der ganzen Zeit war er mit seiner Familie von Swanson 71 vollständig beköstigt und am Schluß auch mit 190 ausbezahlt worden. Schon diese wenigen Angaben zeigen, wie mühsam und kostspielig die Forschung gegenwärtig bei den Tanana ist; trotz dieser Opfer [illegible] das Ergebnis meist spärlich aus.

Seit seinem Eintreffen durchfuhr, also seit 9. Mai, [illegible] sich Swanson [illegible] Schwierigkeiten. Schwierig gestaltete er sich nicht, ja [illegible] auf den gegenüberliegenden Ufer, auf Westkünste der Isla Hoste an der Ansiedlung Murray. Die letzten Zeilen trug er am 10. Juli in sein Tagebuch ein. Wie seine Begleiterin Miss Hamerton mitteilt, ist er in der Nacht vom 13. zum 14. Juli 1929 an [illegible] einsamen Stelle gestorben.

Mit gewöhnlich erscheint es unbegreiflich, warum dieser erfahrene Forscher gerade zur strengsten Winterzeit nach Feuerland gekommen ist. Er war nicht mehr jung, hatte er doch auf jenen Insel am 22. Juni nach seinem

** Seine vorsichtige ging so: [illegible] bei seinen Arbeitsbesuchen von Miss Hamerton mit dieser sah: „The Professor has no faith in these half-civilized young Tokgans, and will accept nothing until he has talked with some of the old men."

[illegible] Gebrauchsanweisungen, die [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Um die letzten Reste der südwestlichen Feuerländer nach den Forderungen der neuzeitlichen Völkerkunde zu untersuchen, schien daher Eile geboten zu sein. Möglicherweise verdanken wir, Bedeutende Nachrichten von dem neuzeitlichen Eingeborenen jener Eingeborenen überzeugen sich mit 1911. In diesem Jahre war ich nach Chile gekommen und hatte von Anfang an jede Gelegenheit und besonders Aufmerksamkeit gewendet.

Trotz unserem, was in Mitteilungen und Gerüchten englischerseits und erfahrungsweise, sondern Nachrichtenbriefe über die Neuerlöffnung und Gedeutung von Schul-Farmen eine unverkennbar deutliche Sprache, neuerer Erfolgen gelten es als besonderen Glücksfall, ein einzelnes Kind mit Feuerländern vom Dampfer aus beobachtet zu haben, immer mehrere endlich bei uns von Daten in den Zeitungen von Punta Arenas und in dem Monatsblatt der Salesianer-Missionare; letzteres hatten zwei Jahrzehnte vorher eine regelmäßige Tätigkeit unter den Yahgan und Halakwulup eingeführt. Sogar das offizielle South American Missionary Magazine beschäftigte sich auf keine Nachrichten über die Familie der letzten letzten Missionare Lorenzen und Wilkens, ohne weiter auch der Eingeborenen zu gedenken; es gab 1916 sogar den endgültigen Abschluß der missionarischen Wirkung unter den Yamana öffentlich bekannt.

Sehr enttäuschend war es, wenn ich immer und immer wieder von Leuten, die den Süden bereist hatten, erfahren mußte, die Eingeborenen zählten nur noch noch wenigen und hätten ihre frühere Lebensweise längst aufgegeben; was einige von ihnen noch beibehalten hätten, erschöpfe in der Vergleichung mit dem Europäerum als widerliches Zerrbild und sei selber schon durch Alkoholgenuß und Unsittlichkeit gänzlich ungesund geworden. Gegenüber den stets gleichbleibenden Urteilen über die Lage der wenigen indianischen Überlebenden und gegenüber dem unbegreiflichen Sachverhalt, daß europäische Siedlungen bereits das ganze Feuerland beherrschen, erschien noch mir unerhört die Langsamkeit Fahrt nach Innern Süden als unnütz und zwecklos.

Im Jahre 1911 hatte ich von einer Reise durch das weite Gebiet der chilenischen Araukanen eine reiche Sammlung ihrer Gebrauchsgegenstände zum Museo de Etnologia y Antropologia in Santiago mitgebracht. Dabei kam mir bildlich zum Bewußtsein, wie wenig bis dahin die Eingeborenen im südlichen Chile bekannt waren und daß sie verschiedig Abstämmigkeit noch nicht unterscheidet worden sind. Das gesamte, im Jahre 1912 durch meinen ersten Chef Dr. Max Uhle eingeleitete und seit 1916 durch Dr. Aureliano Oyarzun weitergeführte Museo hatte es sich zur Aufgabe gestellt, den gesamten prähistorischen Kulturkreis der in chilenischen Grenzen ansässigen Eingeborenen zu umfassen. Hierbei hätten die Feuerländer um so weniger fehlen dürfen, da gerade sie als Träger dieser eigentümlichen Kulturform einen bedeutsamen Platz im geschichtlichen Werden des südamerikanischen Völkerbildes einnehmen. Ingesamtlicher Dinge, so sagte ich mir, würden bestimmt, trotz der verhältnismäßigen Lebensverhältnisse, noch in dem Hinder sein, die so unserm und unbedeutenen der Süden weit sein. Außerdem glaubte ich anthropologischer Messungen und ethnologischer Beobachtungen durchführen. Diese

erachtete ich als um so notwendiger, weil diesbezüglich nur sehr bescheidene Versuche vorlagen; sie wurden um so dringender gefordert, weil die Feuerländer wegen ihrer Stellung zu anderen südamerikanischen Völkerschaften vermutlich auch ihre besonderen Rasseneigenheiten entwickelt hatten.

Gewiß, es lagen Veröffentlichungen über diesen und jenen Stamm mehr oder weniger reichlich vor.[204] Einige von ihnen erschienen als sehr wertvoll und durchaus zuverlässig, angefangen von den Mitteilungen jener Seeleute, die als erste Europäer die Magellan-Straße befuhren und jener der "Nassauischen Flotte", die mit den südlichsten Feuerländern die ersten Beziehungen angeknüpft hatten (S.51). Bei mühsamer Auswertung der Quellen konnte man ein verhältnismäßig vollständiges Bild der Wirtschaftsform jener Eingeborenen zusammenstellen, überdies einige Grundzüge ihres Gesellschaftslebens erkennen. Daß sie aber auch ihren besonderen geistigen Besitzstand aufzuweisen hätten, mochte dieser immerhin sehr gering sein, durfte man, trotz DARWIN's anderslautenden Behauptungen, mit gutem Recht vermuten. Nie konnte ich mich der Ahnung ganz erwehren, daß im Gedächtnis einiger alter Leute zumindest noch wenige Bruchstücke der religiösen und mythologischen Vorstellungen ihres Volkes sich erhalten haben dürften, die unbedingt gerettet werden mußten; denn wenn europäischer Einfluß auch das äußere Bild der Lebensform eines primitiven Volkes schnell abzufärben imstande ist, bleibt die Seele der Eingeborenen noch lange in der Vorstellungswelt ihres Volkes verwurzelt.

Diese Erwägungen und einige Rücksichten rein persönlicher Natur bestimmten mich schließlich, die Vorbereitungen zu einer Reise nach dem Feuerlande entschieden zu betreiben. Zumindest konnte ich über die Lage der Eingeborenen und über die Möglichkeit, sie nach dieser oder jener Richtung zu erforschen, endgültig Klarheit schaffen.

Was an wertvollen und brauchbaren Berichten über die Feuerländer bislang vorlag, war der Feder solcher Personen erflossen, die verschiedener Nationalität angehörten, hingegen stieß ich nur sehr vereinzelt auf chilenische Quellen. Berechtigterweise erwartete man allgemein, daß chilenische Kreise sich an der Aufhellung des Kulturbildes der Feuerländer beteiligen, weil letztere, ausgenommen den östlichen Teil der Isla Grande, innerhalb der politischen Grenzen des Freistaates Chile beheimatet sind. Jenen Erwartungen entsprach schließlich die chilenische Regierung und im besonderen die Leitung des Museo de Etnologia y Antropologia in Santiago dadurch, daß sie das ausgedehnte und langwierige Forschungsunternehmen mir anvertraut und durch ihre hilfsbereite Unterstützung zu einem ergebnisreichen Erfolge geführt hat.

Bereits im Bd. I, 62 habe ich die Grundgedanken, die mich bei meinen Forschungen geleitet, und die Arbeitsweise, die ich eingehalten habe, mit

[204] Die große Menge von Abhandlungen über die Feuerländer, die JOSE M. CORREA in seiner Analytical and Critical Bibliography of the Tribes of Tierra del Fuego (Washington 1917) bis dahin fast vollständig zusammengetragen hat, überrascht auf den ersten Blick. Aber der Wert einer jeden derselben ist sehr unterschiedlich.

reichlicher Ausführlichkeit dargelegt. Somit kann ich mich im Folgenden darauf beschränken, den tatsächlichen Ablauf meines Unternehmens bei den Yamana in knapper Form zu berichten. Unvermeidlich werde ich dann und wann mein Arbeiten unter den Selk'nam und Halakwulup streifen müssen.

Wenn ich heute, von einer gesicherten Stelle aus, an die beschwerlichen Reisen und an die mühevollen Anstrengungen zurückdenke, gleichzeitig aber auch den Umfang und Gehalt dessen überblicke, was sie mir eingetragen haben, so fühle ich mich reichlichst entlohnt. Herzlich danke ich allen, die an meinen Reisewegen gestanden und mich durch ihre aufrichtige Hilfsbereitschaft auf diese oder jene Weise wirksam gefördert haben.

1. Meine erste Reise

Mit frohen Hoffnungen verließ ich in der Nacht zum 8. Dezember 1918 den Hafen Valparaiso im Dampfer "Magallanes". Selbstverständlich war es nicht meine Absicht, im fernen Süden unbekannte Landstriche zu entdecken oder neue Indianerstämme aufzuspüren. Die landschaftlichen Bedingungen der feuerländischen Inselwelt waren damals hinlänglich bekannt, obwohl im gebirgigen Südwesten der Isla Grande einige Strecken noch auf ein genaues Vermessen warteten. Mein ganzes Bemühen zielte darauf ab, möglichst viel vom Kulturgut jener wenigen Feuerländer zu retten, die als letzte Vertreter ihres einst starken Volkes übriggeblieben waren: denn ich wünschte die Lücken in früheren Berichten auszufüllen und manche Ungenauigkeiten richtig zu stellen.

Da ich diese Forschung im Auftrage der chilenischen Regierung ausführte, waren mir von vornherein bedeutende Erleichterungen und ansehnliche Förderungen sicher. Nicht nur die behördlichen Personen haben mich tatkräftig überall unterstützt, ich konnte mich auch vertrauensvoll an private Unternehmer und beliebige Ansiedler wenden, die sich zur Mithilfe an meinen Plänen stets bereit gezeigt haben. Wer in jenen Gebieten ansässig ist, kennt aus eigener Erfahrung die vielen Nöte und Bedrängnisse, in die ein Einzelreisender ganz unverhofft gerät; er leistet schnell und gern Hilfe, weil alle, die im gleichen Raume aufeinander angewiesen sind, von einem stark betonten Gemeinschaftgefühl beseelt werden.

Obwohl die geringen Mittel, über die ich verfügte, mir kaum eine andere Wahl gelassen hätten, so war es doch von vornherein mein überzeugter Entschluß, auf einen eigentlichen Begleiter zu verzichten und die Lager bzw. die Hütten jener Eingeborenen ganz allein zu besuchen. Letztere sind scheu und mißtrauisch gegen jeden Fremden; sie geraten in Angst, wenn mehrere ihnen entgegentreten, dir, wie es meistens sich ereignet, schwer bewaffnet sind. Was die Feuerländer an gemeinsten Gewalttätigkeiten von den Europäern erfahren haben, war keinem ehrlich denkenden Menschen, der darnach sich ein wenig umsah, unbekannt geblieben. Was Wunder, wenn die Eingeborenen, nach den übelsten Erlebnissen mit den Europäern, aufs Höchste eingeschüch-

tret waren und jedem Fremden mit stärkstem Argwohn begegneten. Eben um sie von dieser Haltung abzubringen und ihnen von vornherein den Weg zum Vertrauen zu eröffnen, glaubte ich ganz allein in ihre Gemeinschaft eintreten zu sollen. Ein unzweideutiger Beweis meines Vertrauens auf ihre Menschenfreundlichkeit und liebevolle Behandlung lag offensichtlich darin, daß ich sorglos vor sie hintrat und sonder Furcht mich ihnen überließ, mochten sie ein geschlossenes Lager bilden oder als Einzelfamilien die Wildnis durchqueren. Tatsächlich, es ist eine sehr wirksame Empfehlung, wenn man ganz allein und ohne die gefürchteten Feuerwaffen sich ihnen nähert; jeder Argwohn fällt innerhalb weniger Tage, wenn man, unbekümmert um den Lebensunterhalt und um die persönliche Sicherheit, in den Ablauf ihres Tageswerkes sich einstellt und sich ganz in die Abhängigkeit von ihnen begibt.

Für die Forschung selber erfließen aus diesen Voraussetzungen unschätzbare Vorteile. Hat der fremde Gast mit einer für seine Arbeit unerläßlich notwendigen Einfühlungsgabe sich im Alltag der Indianer schnell zurechtgefunden und deren ganzes äußeres Gebaren tunlichst so weit übernommen, daß er sonderlich gar nicht mehr auffällt, sondern wie ein Mitläufer reibungslos ihrem Verbande eingegliedert erscheint, eröffnet sich von diesem Augenblicke an die Möglichkeit zu einer einwandfreien, ergebnisreichen Forschung. Jeder einzelne Indianer gibt sich unbeengt und hemmungslos, im Familienkreise wickelt sich der Wirtschaftsbetrieb ohne Behinderung ab, die Äußerungen des Gemeinschaftslebens erfolgen so natürlich, als wäre der Fremde überhaupt nicht anwesend. Eine solch vollständige Eingliederung in Sein und Leben des fremden Volkes, das nur kleine Gruppen bildet und meist sogar in alleinstehende Familien aufgelöst ist, gelingt nur dem Einzelforscher. Als solcher ist er nämlich ganz und gar auf die wenigen Eingeborenen seiner nächsten Umgebung angewiesen, wird von ihnen schärfstens beobachtet, hat nicht einmal die Möglichkeit zu einem kurzen Gedankenaustausch mit Seinesgleichen und bleibt den Eingeborenen, wie diese sehr bald fühlen, wehrlos ausgeliefert. Diese Hilflosigkeit kommt dem Forscher zugute, wenn er sie auszunützen versteht; die Eingeborenen werden sie von sich aus niemals zu Übergriffen gegen dessen Freiheit mißbrauchen. Daß die Indianer zuweilen auch ihre Forderungen an den Weißen stellen, dem sie durch lange Wochen Tag und Nacht für unausgesetztes Fragen und für allerhand Dienstleistungen zur Verfügung stehen, und daß sie dabei, in ihrem Unverstand, sich zuweilen von merkwürdigen Werturteilen leiten lassen, befremdet einen erfahrenen Reisenden nicht.

Die soeben bezeichnete Lage zwingt ihn unausweichlich, sich wegwerfender Urteile über das, was er sieht und erlebt, zu enthalten und den Eingeborenen selber als vollwertigen Menschen zu begegnen, vor allem auf dem Gebiete der geschlechtlichen Sittlichkeit eine blanke Untadelhaftigkeit zu beweisen. Man darf eben nie aus dem Auge verlieren, daß auch jeder "Wilde" sein Rechtsurteil und Ehrgefühl immer bei sich trägt; er läßt es, ohne mehr oder weniger schwer gekränkt zu werden, nicht verletzen, auch nicht von einem Europäer, welchem gegenüber er nur in bestimmter Richtung ein Minderwertigkeits-

bewußtsein verspürt. Weiters soll man nie übersehen, daß ihre Gebräuche viel sinnvoller und manche Einrichtungen weit zweckdienlicher sind, als es auf den ersten Anblick scheint. Vertieft man sich nämlich dahinein, wird man zuweilen sogar zur eigenen Beschämung wahrnehmen, wie die hohe Erfahrungsweisheit und die genaueste Beobachtung mehrerer Geschlechter am Zustandekommen von dem und jenem mitgeholfen haben. Endlich sei auf einen Umstand hingewiesen, der eine noch stärkere Wirkungskraft als die beiden genannten Rücksichten besitzt. Vor allem was Sitte oder Gewohnheit ist oder was die Vorväter überliefert haben und als Stammesbrauch gilt, zeigt die Volksgemeinschaft der Primitiven und jeder Einzelne von ihnen eine unbegrenzte Ehrfurcht und gesteigerte Hochachtung. Falls ein Fremder es sich herausnimmt, darüber zu spötteln oder nur verächtlich zu reden, hat er für immer die Gunst jener Leute, zu denen er gekommen ist, verspielt.[106] Der Wohlerzogenheit jener Wilden ist es zu danken, daß mancher Europäer, trotz schwerer Verunglimpfung, deren er sich durch sein unvorsichtiges Benehmen schuldig gemacht hat, mit heiler Haut davonkommt; einzelne Völker schlagen schnell zu und mancher dieser heißspornigen Eindringlinge hat es allein sich selber zuzuschreiben, daß er umgebracht worden ist.

Die Erörterungen in diesem Sinne weiterzuführen ist hier nicht der Ort. Als aufrichtiger Freund meiner Indianer will ich unumwunden eingestehen, daß ich zuweilen in flammenden Zorn geraten bin, wenn ich Zeuge war, mit welch hochnäsigem Protzertum hohle Dummköpfe die indianischen Sitten und Gebräuche beredet haben, mit welch angequälter Großsprecherei sie die geistige Veranlagung und charakterliche Befähigung der Eingeborenen heruntersetzen sich bemühten, mit welch ekelhafter Selbstüberhebung, hinter der sich gemeinste Lüsternheit verbarg, sie die unbesiegbare geschlechtliche Sittlichkeit standhafter Frauen und Mädchen begiferten. Eine Frage an jene Leute, woher sie das Recht zu dergleichen erniedrigenden Urteilen und zu ihrer wegwerfenden Behandlung der Eingeborenen nähmen, wäre von ihnen unbeantwortet geblieben; denn nur eßockdummer Eigendünkel, der sich unter Eingeborenen ohne Kontrolle zu sein glaubt, ist solch bedauerlicher Entgleisungen fähig. Mir aber wird, um die positive Seite hervorzukehren, jeder Forscher darin beistimmen, daß er die größten Erfolge immer dann erzielte, wenn er sich bemüht hat, den Primitiven in jeder Weise gerecht zu werden. Ganz besonders aber dann, wenn er trachtete, sie niemals in ihrer Hochschätzung für alles, was ihnen heilig und wert ist, zu verletzen.

[106] Auf bestimmte Einzelheiten hier einzugehen lohnt sich nicht. Ist es doch erwiesen, daß Rev. Thomas Bennett während seiner jahrzehntelangen Missionstätigkeit kein wahres Verständnis für die Lebensform der Yamana, noch viel weniger den rechten Sinn für ihre geistige Veranlagung und für den Inhalt ihrer gesamten Überlieferung zu erkennen gegeben hat. Eben weil ihm die Einfühlung in die Seele dieser Feuerländer ganz und gar abging, haben sich letztere ihm innerlich kaum in etwa geöffnet. Unter seinem starken Einfluß wurden auch die übrigen Missionare in der seelischen Annäherung an die Eingeborenen behindert. Welchen Erfolg demnach das gesamte Missionswerk erzielt hat, ist nunmehr zu erraten.

Nach glücklicher Fahrt durch das westpatagonische Inselgebiet landete ich in Punta Arenas. Von den gastfreundlichen Salesianerpatres bin ich in all meinen Bestrebungen während meines ganzen Aufenthaltes in Magellanes tatkräftig gefördert worden. Infolge eines Streiks der Hafenarbeiter mußte ich, um keine empfindliche Einbuße an Zeit zu erleiden, meinen ursprünglichen Arbeitsplan ein wenig ändern, fand aber bald Gelegenheit, auf die Isla Grande zu kommen, wo ich mehrere Wochen bei den Selk'nam mit gutem Erfolg beschäftigt war (Bd. I, 68). Ein kleiner Unfall zwang mich, meine Untersuchungen bei ihnen vorschnell abzubrechen. In nächster Nähe vom Indianerlager am Lago Fagnano arbeitete damals vorübergehend eine argentinische Vermessungskommission; diese rüstete sich eben, das Gebirge im Süden zu überschreiten, um zu den Canal de Beagle zu gelangen. Mein gesundheitliches Befinden war zwar ernstlich gefährdet, doch hatte ich einige Gewähr, in jener großen Gesellschaft den beschwerlichen Ritt wagen zu dürfen. Die schweren Anstrengungen durch ganze elf Stunden trieben allerdings das Fieber immer höher und in bedenklichem Zustande am späten Abend des 18. Februar 1919 erreichte ich schließlich die Häuser der Farm bei Puerto Harberton. Das ist der Grundbesitz, den Rev. THOMAS BRIDGES nach seinem Ausscheiden aus der South American Missionary Society erworben und eingerichtet hatte. Wer die Kordillere in nördlicher oder südlicher Richtung überqueren will, kommt unvermeidlich hier durch; denn von hier aus hat seinerzeit der genannte BRIDGES, im Einverständnis mit der argentinischen Regierung, den einzigen Reitweg nach Norden angelegt.

Was ich auf dieser Farm fand war nicht nur eine gewisse Bequemlichkeit, sondern weit darüber hinaus auch eine verständnisvolle Pflege. Ich mußte unweigerlich zurückbleiben, während jene argentinische Kommission bereits am nächsten Tage abzog. Mit hohem Fieber blieb ich ans Bett gefesselt. Bald trat Besserung ein und am fünften Tage konnte ich aufstehen. Mühsam nur bewegte ich mich, gestützt auf zwei Stöcke, benützte aber die Abwesenheit von Mischlingen und Weißen an jenem Sonntage, um mit einem chilenischen Arbeiter an einer nicht weit abliegenden Stelle das Skelett eines jugendlichen Yamana und den Schädel eines älteren Indianers zu heben. Die sorgfältige Pflege, die mir der norwegische Kapitän SOLVEIG NIELSEN im Verein mit seiner liebenswürdigen Gattin durch jene sechs Tage gewidmet hat, werde ich stets in dankbarer Erinnerung bewahren.

Wie man in jenen Gegenden nicht nur vom hörbat unbeständigen Wetter, sondern auch von allerlei Zufällen abhängig ist, so bot sich mir ganz unerwartet in aller Morgenfrühe des 24. Februar die günstige Gelegenheit, in einem kleinen Kutter nach Ushuaia zu fahren. Nichts hätte mir mehr erwünscht sein können als diese einladende Bequemlichkeit. Der Weg zu Pferde ist sogar für einen tüchtigen Reiter ermüdend und lästig, während man vom kleinen Fahrzeuge aus die herrliche Landschaft mit ihren wechselreichen Umrissen und Farben unbeschwert genießt und in weniger als der halben Zeit das Ziel erreicht.

An jenem Morgen war der östliche Canal de Beagle spiegelglatt und ein fast wolkenfreier Himmel wölbte sich darüber. Begeistert deutete ich diese wunderschöne Wirklichkeit als verheißungsvolles Vorzeichen für ein ergebnisreiches Arbeiten unter den Yamana, in deren frostiger Heimat ich mich bereits befand. Noch war ich keines einzigen von ihnen ansichtig geworden. Wohl aber haben die ausgedehnten Muschelhaufen an den vielgewundenen Ufern der Bahía Harberton meine Aufmerksamkeit auf sich gezogen; darin herumzugraben war ich leider behindert. Während der Fahrt fielen mir andere, nicht minder mächtige Muschelhaufen an den Ufern der Isla Gable und noch viele kleinere wie größere zu beiden Seiten des Canal de Beagle auf.

Nach reichlich zwei Stunden wurde Puerto Remolino sichtbar, wo heute die Familie des ehemaligen Missionars Rev. JOHN LAWRENCE, ein langjähriger Mitarbeiter des Rev. THOMAS BRIDGES und sein Nachfolger in der Superintendancy, eine Schaf-Farm und ein Sägewerk besitzt. An dieser Stätte durfte ich keinesfalls vorbeifahren; denn sie ist seit vielen Jahren ein Sammelpunkt der Eingeborenen. Sie wissen sich hier nicht nur sicher vor allen Unbilden und Übergriffen, die sie durch gewissenlose Europäer erfahren, sie werden auch bestens unterstützt und reichlich beschenkt, erhalten gelegentlich Arbeit auf der Farm und erledigen manche Aufträge, für die sie mit Lebensmitteln oder Bargeld entlohnt werden. Im wahrsten und weitesten Sinne des Wortes ist Punta Remolino für sie eine Zufluchtstätte und eine immer fließende Quelle bei ihren vielen Bedürfnissen. Später sollte ich das alles überzeugend erfahren. Längst war mir bekannt, wie oft die Familie LAWRENCE früheren Reisenden eine erhoffte Verbindung mit den Eingeborenen ermöglicht hat; ihre Hilfsbereitschaft ist dort im Feuerlande weit und breit bekannt. Also betrat ich zuversichtlich ihr Haus.

Schon bei meinem ersten Besuche hätten meine Pläne und Ziele, die ich kurz darlegte, kaum mit mehr Verständnis und mit tiefer empfundener Anteilnahme aufgenommen werden können. Leider nur wenige Stunden durfte ich hier verweilen, da die übrigen Reisenden Ushuaia noch bei Tageslicht erreichen wollten; der leichte Südwestwind hatte sich inzwischen bedrohlich verstärkt. Als ich von der freundlichen Familie LAWRENCE kurzen Abschied nahm, sicherte sie mir die bestmögliche Aufnahme zu; ich versprach, in wenigen Tagen zurückzukommen.

Beim Verlassen des Hauses begegnete ich drei Erwachsenen. Das waren die ersten Yamana, die ich sah. FRED LAWRENCE nannte mir ihre Namen und zeichnete mit einigen Worten ihren Charakter. Auf den ersten Eindruck hin, den sie auf mich machten, kam ich mir völlig ratlos vor. Diese drei Personen waren tatsächlich himmelweit von jener Vorstellung verschieden, die ich mir bereits in meinen Jugendjahren auf Grund von CHARLES DARWIN's "Reise eines Naturforschers um die Welt" gebildet hatte. Menschenwürdig sahen sie aus. Sie steckten in schmutzigen, überweiten Kleidungsstücken, die ihnen am Körper schlaff herumhingen und die sie eher verunstalteten als zierten. Gesicht und Haltung aber stimmten zu den Bildern, die in reicher Auswahl

von der Mission Scheppersque du Cap Horn veröffentlicht worden sind; ihr scheues Wesen und der mißtrauische Blick waren echt indianisch. Ich starrte diese Menschen an, während sie vorübereilten, wie versteinert stand ich da. Erst ein lauter Ruf des Kapitäns aus dem Kutter heraus löste mich von dieser Stelle und ich eilte zum Fahrzeug. Bald werde ich doch wieder an diesem Orte sein, dachte ich; also fiel mir die Trennung nicht schwer. Jene Gestalten schwanden mir nicht mehr aus dem Gedächtnis und während der Weiterfahrt ließ ich mir vom Führer des kleinen Kutters, trotz unruhiger See, andauernd über die Yamana erzählen. Nach reichlich zwei Stunden landeten wir in Ushuaia.

Glücklicherweise konnte ich bereits nach zwei Tagen mit Hilfe eines Stockes fast unauffällig herumgehen. Sogleich machte ich dem argentinischen Gouverneur meinen Besuch, legte ihm meine Pläne vor und erreichte leicht die Erfüllung meiner besonderen Bitten. Nachdem ich das große Gefängnis besichtigt hatte, begegnete ich auf der einzigen breiten Straße dieser kleinen Ortschaft nahe dem Strande einem bejahrten Indianer, der mit seiner Frau eben an Land gestiegen war. Alfredo hieß er, der liebe Alte, wirklich ein Stück verkörperter Yamana-Überlieferung! Wir sind ein Jahr später miteinander sehr vertraut geworden und unter seiner strengen Leitung habe ich bei diesem Indianerstamme meine erste Jugendweihe erlebt. Den nächsten Vormittag verbrachte ich auf der kleinen Halbinsel, die durch viele Jahre der Mittelpunkt der anglikanischen Missionstätigkeit gewesen war. Damals hatten sich hier viele Eingeborene nacheinander zusammengefunden. Gegenwärtig trifft man hier nichts mehr von den ehemaligen Gebäuden an, wohl aber Handwerkereinrichtungen, eine Schlächterei und einige Wirtschaftsräume, die kürzlich erst errichtet wurden. Keiner der heutigen Yamana betritt mehr diese Halbinsel, liegt doch hier der Friedhof der ehemaligen Missionsstation, durch den jeder abermals an das rasche Hinschwinden seines Volkes schmerzlich erinnert würde. Wenige Tage später zählte ich die letzten Reste und fand kaum noch sechzig reinblütige Yamana.[104]

In Ushuaia hielt es mich nicht länger; denn zuverlässige Mitteilungen über die Indianer hätte ich doch nicht so reichlich sammeln können, daß ein ausgedehnter Aufenthalt sich rechtfertigen ließe. Obwohl ich nur mühsam meinen kranken Fuß gebrauchen konnte, besorgte ich mir entschlossen ein Pferd und ritt wieder nach Punta Remolino. Sieben Stunden war ich unterwegs. Der beschwerliche Reitweg verläuft eng am Nordufer des Canal de Beagle durch wirren Waldbestand; er war durch starken Regenfall in der letzten Nacht sehr aufgeweicht worden und streckenweise gefährlich. Doch bildet er die einzige Verbindung zu Lande zwischen den genannten Punkten.

Die Aufnahme im Hause der Familie Lawrence war so herzlich, daß ich mich von Anfang an wie daheim fühlte. Ein nettes, bequemes Zimmer erhielt ich angewiesen, in dem ich all meine Sachen für die geplante Forschungs-

[104] Vgl. Bd. I, 91 und die gedrängte Zusammenstellung der Zählungen und Schätzungen der Yamana-Bevölkerung aus früheren Jahrzehnten in Gusinde (a): 35.

arbeit zurechtlegte. Sofort nahm ich engere Fühlung mit den einzelnen Mitgliedern dieser Familie. Der ehrwürdige Rev. John Lawrence sah auf eine fünfzigjährige Missionsarbeit im Dienste dieser Eingeborenen zurück. Sein zweitältester Sohn Fred war neben ihnen aufgewachsen und hatte zeitlebens die engste Berührung mit ihnen. Etwa zwanzig Jahre lebte er schon in glücklicher Ehe mit Nelly, einer Yamana von reinstem Blute, die in ihrem ganzen Wesen und Denken die Eigenart ihres Volkes ausdrückte. Bei ihren sechs Kindern, mehr bei den drei älteren Mädchen als bei den drei jüngeren Knaben, überwiegt der Indianertypus um vieles. Das Yamana sprachen sie von Kindesbeinen auf und verkehrten darin regelmäßig mit ihrer Mutter, während sie mit ihrem Vater meistens englisch redeten. Jedoch kannten sie von den Gebräuchen der Eingeborenen nur das alltäglich Augenfällige. Der jüngere Bruder Alberto Lawrence hat sich mit Einzelheiten der Yamana-Kultur nicht abgegeben, verstand aber die Sprache. Ganz hervorragend ist in allem Martin Lawrence, der älteste der drei Brüder beschlagen, der mir schon in Ushuaia sehr behilflich gewesen war. Bald fühlte ich heraus, wie bestimmt meine Fragen beantwortet wurden und wie ergebnisreich alle Erkundigungen ausfielen. Mit den örtlichen Bedingungen machte ich mich schnell vertraut. Einige einfache Bretterhäuschen mit Wellblechdach, in kurzem Abstande das eine vom andern, schlossen sich landeinwärts an die Hauptgebäude an und bildeten zwei Reihen, zwischen denen ein breiter Fahrweg verlief.

Als ich in Punta Remolino eintraf, waren bloß sechs ältere Yamana anwesend. Die Schafschur war längst vorüber und unmittelbar danach hatten sich alle Familien, die dabei beschäftigt gewesen waren, wieder in die entfernteren Kanäle zurückgezogen. Jene wenigen suchte ich unverzüglich auf und Fred Lawrence bemühte sich in den ersten Tagen, mich immer besser bei ihnen einzuführen. Mit dem blinden Whaits, nach Ansicht des John Lawrence der älteste aller Yamana, und mit seiner Frau hatte ich mich bald angefreundet. Zusehends legten auch die anderen ihre Scheu und ihr noch größeres Befremden ab, weil ich in ausgesucht zutraulicher Form, die sie bislang von den Weißen nicht gewohnt waren, mit ihnen verkehrte. Ganz offen hat mir Whaits das eingestanden. Ob aus Genugtuung und Freude darüber oder ob aus einem anderen Grunde, ich weiß es nicht, zeigte sich dieser gute Alte ungewöhnlich redselig, wenn ich auf mythologische Vorstellungen zu sprechen kam. Er deckte mir Dinge auf, die in früheren Reiseberichten nicht einmal angedeutet worden waren, und ich kam Einzelheiten auf die Spur, die ich mit gutem Ergebnis später verfolgt habe. Bei den ersten anthropologischen Untersuchungen stieß ich auf keinen Widerstand.

Einer anderen Kulturform, als jener der Selk'nam, die ich soeben verlassen hatte, stand ich hier gegenüber! Das fühlte ich deutlich bereits in den ersten Tagen. Wichtiger indes und bedeutungsvoller für ein ergebnisreiches Arbeiten war die Überzeugung davon, wie so ganz verschieden von den Bewohnern der Isla Grande diese Yamana behandelt sein wollten. Nicht geringe Mühe mußte ich, aus der Empfindungswelt der Selk'nam kommend, aufbieten, um mich auf

die Voraussetzungen für das Vertrauen dieser Eingeborenen umzustellen. Die richtige Art der Annäherung und des Umganges mit ihnen fand ich schließlich heraus. Wäre mir diesmal kein weiterer Erfolg beschieden gewesen, ich erachtete ihn viel höher und bedeutsamer für die spätere Forschung als diese oder jene Mitteilung.

Von einem Tage zum andern erfaßte ich es deutlicher, daß Punta Remolino der günstigste Platz ist, an dem ich zuverlässig die Untersuchung der Yamana durchführen könnte. Daß sich noch vieles aus dem Kulturleben dieses Volkes würde herausarbeiten lassen, erschloß ich aus vielen Anzeichen. Endlich liebäugelte ich mit der Hoffnung, die Grundgedanken des Volkstums der beiden anderen feuerländischen Stämme um so bestimmter und sicherer erfassen zu können, nachdem ich einmal die vollauf erlebt hätte, von denen das gesamte Kulturgut der Yamana getragen wird. Die zuletzt genannte Erwägung hat mich entscheidend bei meinem Arbeitsplane bestimmt, auf sie führe ich den reichen endgültigen Erfolg zurück. Auf Forschungsreisen kommt man wiederholt in die Zwangslage, so oder so zu wählen; das Glück muß einem hold sein, damit man sich dorthin wendet, wo der größere Erfolg liegt.

Tatsächlich hat mich das Glück außergewöhnlich dadurch begünstigt, daß es mich mit Nelly Lawrence zusammenführte. Diese Frau war ganz Feuerländerin: ihr Äußeres zeigte die typischen Eigenheiten ihrer Rasse und am Kulturgute ihres Volkes hing sie mit jeder Faser ihres Herzens. Ich weiß selber nicht, wie es gekommen ist, daß sie mir von Anfang an mit ganz besonderer Gewogenheit gegenübertrat: oft habe ich beobachtet, daß sie vor europäischen Gästen der Regel nach eine scheue Zurückhaltung zu erkennen gibt. Sobald sie mein aufrichtiges Bemühen um das unverfälschte Erbgut ihrer Väter durchschaut hatte, galt ihr keine Anstrengung zu schwer, um mir alles zu gewähren und jedwedes zu verschaffen, was mich fördern konnte; auch bot sie ihren ganzen Einfluß vor ihren Landsleuten und vor ihrem Gatten auf, um alles Wünschenswerte mich wissen und erleben zu lassen. Dieser regsamen und klugen Frau sei es aufrichtig gedankt, daß ich bei Erforschung der Yamana unerwartet schöne Erfolge erzielt habe.

Die erste Fühlungnahme mit den Yamana und die Anfangsarbeiten waren gelungen, mein Entschluß, hier abermals einzusetzen, stand fest. Die gastfreundliche und hilfsbereite Familie Lawrence lud mich zu einem neuen Besuche im nächsten Sommer ein, im besonderen sicherte mir Nelly, in ihrer stillbescheidenen aber bestimmten Art, ihre tatkräftige Mithilfe zu. Nachdrücklich stellte sie mir in Aussicht, eine große Zahl ihrer Landsleute zusammenzurufen, damit ich sie alle insgesamt sehen und kennenlernen könnte. Wichtige Erkundigungen zog ich noch ein und erbat mir mancherlei Erklärungen, die ich bei den Vorkehrungen zur nächsten Reise berücksichtigen wollte, um gut gerüstet hier wieder auf dem Plane zu erscheinen. Als ich Abschied nahm, sah ich bereits einen guten Teil meiner Hoffnungen für den nächsten Sommer erfüllt, dafür bürgten mir die vertrauensvollen Worte, mit denen die Familie Lawrence zur baldigen Rückkehr einlud.

Ein längeres Verweilen hier in Punta Remolino oder an einer anderen Stelle des Kap Hoorn-Archipels hätte nur geringen Erfolg gehabt; denn die einzelnen Indianerfamilien hatten sich überallhin verloren und jede war willens, den Winter eben dort zu verbringen, wo sie von ihm überrascht würde. Auch die wenigen Personen, denen ich hier zufällig begegnete, waren nur zu kurzem Besuche abgestiegen. Der Frühsommer ist die Zeit, da die Yamana-Familien sich im Canal de Beagle sammeln. Wir standen bereits am Ende des Sommers. Demnach mußte ich nächstes Jahr bedeutend früher zur Stelle sein, dann würde ich die Mehrzahl von ihnen antreffen.

Den Heimweg nahm ich über Ushuaia nach Punta Arenas. Auf der Fahrt durch den westlichen Canal de Beagle bin ich keinem einzigen Feuerländer begegnet. Von einem Besuch der schwer zugänglichen Halakwulup mußte ich diesmal absehen, denn meine Zeit war um. Zumindest hatte ich in den vergangenen Wochen einen oberflächlichen Überblick über die heutige Daseinsweise der Selk'nam und Yamana gewonnen, auf Grund dessen mir die Fortführung der Forschung als lohnend erschien. In großen Umrissen lag mein Arbeitsplan bereits fest, nämlich im nächsten Frühsommer bei den Yamana mit ganzer Kraft einzusetzen, unbekümmert darum, ob mir noch Zeit und Gelegenheit zu einem Besuche bei den Selk'nam und Halakwulup übrig bliebe. Auf dieses Ziel waren während der folgenden Monate in Santiago alle Vorbereitungen der nächsten Reise gerichtet.[197]

2. Meine zweite Reise

Wo immer sich Gelegenheit bot, war ich seit meiner Rückkehr aus dem Feuerlande bemüht, über die Lebensverhältnisse der dortigen Eingeborenen aufklärend zu berichten. Tief eingewurzelte Anschauungen ließen sich selbstredend nicht so bald austilgen und mancherorts brachte man meiner Darstellung sogar Mißtrauen entgegen. Nicht selten beurteilte man mich als einen, den die Schwärmerei für das Indianertum gänzlich blind für die Tatsache ihrer Minderwertigkeit gemacht hätte. Einzelne sogar erachteten meine Zukunftspläne nach wie vor als zwecklose Geldverschwendung und unverantwortlichen Zeitverlust. Immer deutlicher kam es mir zum Bewußtsein, daß ich erst eine erdrückende Fülle von Beobachtungen und Beweisen heimbringen müßte, ehe in weiteren Kreisen eine gerechte Beurteilung der Feuerländer sich durchsetzen würde. Manche vergebliche Bemühungen und sogar bittere Enttäuschungen überwand ich im Hinblick auf die aussichtsreichen Möglichkeiten der Forschung und ließ mich in den Vorarbeiten für einen nächsten Besuch des Feuerlandes nicht aufhalten.

[197] Viele Einzelheiten aus meiner ersten Reise, auch solche, die unsere Yamana betreffen, sind in Bd. I, 89 und in Gusinde (a): 31 und (b): [18] zusammengetragen.

In diesem Berichte wie auch in den folgenden über meinen Aufenthalt im Feuerlande sind Schilderungen der Landschaft und der Wetterbedingungen bewußt vermieden worden. Nur der allgemeine Verlauf der Forschung sollte in großen Zügen gezeichnet werden, um das Verständnis für meine Arbeitsweise und für die Ergebnisse im allgemeinen zu vermitteln.

Drückend war die Sorge um die erforderlichen Mittel. Wie in Argentinien so traf man mehr noch in Chile gerade damals umfangreiche Vorbereitungen zur Feier der 400. Wiederkehr des Entdeckungstages der Magellan-Straße. Auf diesen Anlaß wies ich in chilenischen Kreisen nachdrücklich hin und erinnerte an die Pflicht, daß die im Magellan-Gebiet beheimatete Indianergruppe nun endlich, kurz vor ihrem Untergange, erschöpfend erforscht und daß ihr Kulturgut für die Geschichte Chiles gerettet werden müßte. In den maßgebenden Kreisen fand mein Vorschlag verständnisvollen Widerhall. Abermals übertrug mir das Ministerio de Instrucción Pública die Forschungsreise nach dem Süden und versprach, einen Teil der Kosten zu decken. Wieder war es der Hochwürdigste Herr Erzbischof von Santiago Don CRESCENTE ERRAZURIZ sowie eine kleine Gruppe von gebildeten Chilenen, die mich ausreichend mit Geldmitteln versahen.

Am 5. Dezember 1919 fuhr ich zum zweiten Male hinaus ins Feuerland. Der Küstendampfer "Chiloé" brachte mich nach Punta Arenas, das ich nach drei Tagen bereits mit der Escampavia (Aufklärerschiff) "Yelcho" der chilenischen Marine wieder verließ. Sie steuerte auf die Halbinsel Brecknock zu. Ausgerechnet bogen wir bei diesem gefährlichen Felsen in den stillen Canal de Beagle an einem der 10 Tage des Jahres — wie die Seeleute sich auszudrücken pflegen — ein, an denen die immer tosende See sich glättet und ein wolkenfreier Himmel sich spiegelt. Ich fragte nicht, ob ich dazu berechtigt wäre, ich tat einfach so, als wäre die Gunst jenes Tages ein Schicksalswink für eine gedeihliche Forschung! Glänzender Sonnenschein war über die prachtvolle Gletscherwelt im Brazo Noroeste ausgegossen, an der wir ruhig vorbeiglitten. Als die "Yelcho" in Ushuaia für einige Stunden vor Anker ging, waren wir wieder außer Bereich der überwältigenden Allmacht einer unberührten Natur.

In der Angostura Murray an Wulaia vorbei fahrend widmete ich einige Minuten der Erinnerung an das Blutbad vor genau fünfzig Jahren, am 6. Nov. 1859, in dem der Missionar G. PHILLIPS und die Mannschaft der "Allen Gardiner", insgesamt acht Personen, einen gewaltsamen Tod gefunden hatten.[100]

Auf der Weiterfahrt wurden die nebelhaften Umrisse der Islas Wollaston immer bestimmter. Langgezogene schwere Wellen rollten vom Süden herauf, daß unsere kleine "Yelcho" mühsam stampfte. Da und dort lagen zertrümmerte Schiffskörper und geknickte Masten herum. Die wildzerzausten Buchen wandten sich vom eiskalten Südwinde ab. Alles war in tiefgrauen Nebel gehüllt. Im Heulen des Sturmes glaubte man die Stimmen vieler Toten zu hören, all jener Eingeborenen, die noch vor wenigen Jahrzehnten dieses Inselreich bevölkert hatten und heute nicht mehr sind. Menschenleer sind die Küsten und Buchten, die Inseln und Wasserarme. Es schaudert einem in dieser Gegend!

Am Abend des 22. Dezember 1919 fuhren wir in die Mündung des Rio Douglas ein und wurden vom Verwalter dieser Farm Señor SCHILLING freund-

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[100] Dieses traurige Geschehnis ist ausführlich in G. W. PHILLIPS und in MARSH (a): 100 geschildert. Weiter unten kommt es nochmals zur Sprache.

lich begrüßt. Der Pächter selber, Señor CARLOS CROOKE, befand sich ebenfalls an Bord. Er hatte vor zwei Jahren diese Farm vom Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS übernommen. Dieser hat bekanntlich als der letzte der anglikanischen Missionare hier seine Tätigkeit bis zum Jahre 1916 weitergeführt, nämlich bis die South American Missionary Society endgültig dieses Arbeitsfeld aufließ. Einige bescheidene Gebäude, die vordem für die Indianer aufgerichtet worden waren, standen noch. Der kleine Friedhof lag etwas abseits, ihn hielt seit Jahren niemand instand. Merkwürdigerweise hatten sich diesen Sommer keine Yamana hier eingefunden. Nach Gründen dafür zu suchen dürfte kaum zu einem Ergebnis führen; denn sie sind in ihren Entschließungen nicht minder unberechenbar als die Witterung in ihrer Heimat.

Den günstigen Vorteil der langen Tage nützte ich zunächst zu Arbeiten auf dem Friedhof aus, wo 30 Indianer beerdigt lagen, ein jeder in einer einfachen Kiste als Sarg. Die Bodenbedingungen waren derart, daß alle Särge unter Wasser standen, weswegen die Skelettreste sich gänzlich aufgelöst hatten und nicht mehr gehoben werden konnten.

Nachher fand ich Gelegenheit bis zur Isla Bertrand vorzudringen und ein gutes Stück am Südwestufer der Isla Navarino entlang zu laufen. Überall begegnet man größeren oder kleineren Muschelhaufen, die es laut verkünden, daß viele Familien sich durch manche Jahrhunderte an diesen Stellen vorübergehend niedergelassen hatten.

Durch Herrn SCHILLING wurde ich auf einen unvollendeten Einbaum aufmerksam gemacht, der südlich von den Gebäulichkeiten und etwa 700 m von der Küste entfernt im Walde lag. Zumindest zwanzig Jahre dürfte keine Hand mehr an ihm gearbeitet haben, so deutliche Anzeichen der Zerstörung durch die Witterung trug das feste Buchenholz. Durch Feuer ist er ausgehöhlt worden und nur das eine schmale Ende stand offen. Die Wände waren, weil erst ein wenig bearbeitet, noch sehr dick. Eine europäische Eisenaxt hatte man verwendet. Dieses Stück, das den Übergang vom Rindenkanu zum flachen Boote der allerjüngsten Zeit bildete, ließ ich von den Matrosen an die Küste schleifen und an Bord der "Yelcho" bringen. Heute wird es im Museo Histórico de Chile zu Santiago aufbewahrt.

Zufällig brachte ich in Erfahrung, daß kürzlich eine ansehnliche Gruppe von Eingeborenen in Punta Remolino zusammengekommen sei. Deshalb verzichtete ich auf die Überfahrt in die Bahia Tekenika, an deren Ufer vorübergehend eine Niederlassung von anglikanischen Missionaren bedient worden war. Mehr als Grabungen auf dem Friedhofe und in den Muschelhaufen hätte ich dort sowieso nicht ausführen können. Ob sie erfolgreich gewesen wären? Viel mehr durfte ich mir vom Zusammensein mit den Indianern selber versprechen. Deshalb ließ ich mich gegen Mittag des 26. Dezember nach Punta Remolino überführen, von wo die "Yelcho" zu ihrem Ausgangshafen Punta Arenas zurückkehrte.

Meine Erwartungen wurden weit übertroffen. Die Familie LAWRENCE empfing mich mit ausgesuchter Liebenswürdigkeit und ein reichliches Dutzend

Indianerfamilien hatte sich nahe den Wirtschaftsgebäuden eingerichtet. Gleich am ersten Tage eröffnete mir die gute NELLY, daß sie zeitig genug nach ihren Landsleuten ausgeschickt und daß sie selber mit ihnen auf mich gewartet hätte. Sie ließ mir nicht einmal Zeit, meine Sachen auszupacken und mich in dem Zimmerchen, das mir schon im vergangenen Jahre angewiesen worden war, etwas einzurichten; es drängte sie, mich durch die einzelnen Hütten zu führen und mit den Indianern bekannt zu machen. Diese gaben vor mir weder Scheu noch Befremden zu erkennen; denn ich kam ja in NELLY's Begleitung. Sicherlich erkundigte sich jeder noch gar manchen Dingen, über die NELLY ihnen Auskunft gab. Ob alles, was sie erklärte, der Wirklichkeit entsprach, weiß ich nicht; denn sie unterhielten sich in ihrer Sprache, die ich nicht verstand. Wir gingen also von einer Hütte zur anderen, in jeder redete man kurz über mich und dabei lernte ich die ganze Indianersiedlung kennen.

Als am Abend die Mehrzahl der Männer sich in ALFREDO's Hütte zusammengefunden hatte, trat auch ich ohne Umschweife ein und setzte mich unverfroren in ihren Kreis; jenen Alten begrüßte ich herzlich und überlaut, weil wir uns ja schon vor einem Jahre in Ushuaia begegnet waren (S. 169). Sogleich begann ich damit, von meiner Reise zu erzählen und zwar in leichtem Spanisch, so daß die meisten bequem folgen konnten. Ich ließ sie wissen, daß ich lange bei ihnen zu bleiben beabsichtigte, weil ich sie alle sehr gern hätte. Endlich zeigte ich ihnen Photographien von der Landschaft, von den Selk'nam und von ihren eigenen Landsleuten, die ich im vergangenen Jahre aufgenommen hatte. So vertraulich und selbstverständlich ging es in jenem Kreis her, als wäre ich ihnen seit langem bekannt. Um wie viel leichter als die mißtrauischen Selk'nam sind doch diese Yamana zu gewinnen! Das war eine wertvolle Erfahrung, die ich gleich am ersten Tage machte. Nach Mitternacht erst gingen wir auseinander.

Seitdem verbrachte ich tagtäglich mehrere Stunden in der Gesellschaft dieser Leute. Zuweilen begleitete mich NELLY zu den Frauen, die am Feuer ihrer Hütte saßen, und die sich doppelt lebhaft benahmen, zumindest redseliger zeigten, wenn sie dabei war. Ihnen hatte es NELLY eindringlich beigebracht, daß sie mich über alles und jedes belehren, mir ihre Gerätschaften und Gebrauchsgegenstände zeigen, ihre Arbeiten und Beschäftigungen erklären, die früheren Einrichtungen und die Lebensweise der Vorfahren schildern. Also brauchte ich nach den ersten Tagen, in denen die Frauen und Männer ihre leichte Zurückhaltung ablegten, nur irgendwo mich hinzustellen oder herzudrängen, schon fingen sie von selber mit ihren Erklärungen und Beschreibungen an. Je mehr ich mich darüber freute und je begieriger ich aufhorchte, um so geschäftiger schilderten sie und um so eindringlicher erklärten sie mir, was sich gerade bot. Schnelle Fortschritte machte ich in dem Verständnis für ihr ganzes Wirtschaftsleben und viele aus ihren gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen beobachtete ich tagtäglich. Einige Leute standen mir immer zur Verfügung; ich brauchte ja nur ihre Hütten zu betreten, wo sie jedesmal mich gern sahen. Mit sorgender Aufmerksamkeit schaute NELLY oft zu. Sie erkun-

digte sich, ohne daß ich es merkte, bei einigen ihr ergebenen Indianerinnen, was mir erzählt und gezeigt worden war. Anschließend daran beriet sie mit ihnen, was ich noch wissen und erfahren müßte. Wirklich, sie war dauernd hinter ihren Landsleuten her, daß ich über alles und jedes, was sie ihr eigen nennen, genau und ausführlich unterrichtet würde. Günstigere Forschungsbedingungen brauchte ich mir nicht zu wünschen.

Die ersten zwei Wochen füllte ich mit unmittelbaren Beobachtungen sowie mit Fragen nach dem und jenem aus. Überdies begleitete ich die Indianerinnen an den Strand, wo sie Muscheln suchten, und in ihren flachen Kähnen auf den Kanal hinaus, wo sie Fische fingen und Krebse aufspießten. So machte ich mich mit der tagtäglichen Beschäftigung einer Yamana-Frau sehr vertraut. Hingegen bot sich vorderhand weniger Gelegenheit, die Verpflichtungen der Männer gut zu beobachten; denn sie waren durch die Schafschur in Anspruch genommen. Am Sonntag und an regnerischen Tagen allerdings blieben sie sich selbst überlassen und dann hielt ich mich zu ihnen. Wann immer einige etwas unternahmen, was ich noch nicht mitgemacht hatte, schloß ich mich ihnen an. Dabei sah ich, wie sie die Seelöwen auf dem Lande beschleichen und zur Strecke bringen, wie sie diese Tiere von ihrem Boote aus anlocken und harpunieren, wie sie die verschiedenen Seevögel im Wasser töten und den Fischotter erlegen. Eines Nachts begleitete ich sie beim Scharbenfang an einer Felswand nahe Puerto Brown. Die Zeit von einem Samstagmittag bis zum späten Sonntagabend verbrachte ich mit elf Indianern in Puerto Róbalo; dabei suchten wir die Muschelhügel nach alten Gerätschaften ab. Hier stellten sie geschickt auch ein großes Fischnetz, das wir von der Farm mitgebracht hatten, und machten einen ergiebigen Fang. Was immer sich bot, machte ich mit: denn ich wollte das gesamte Wirtschaften dieser Indianer erleben und ihr Arbeiten mit eigener Hand erproben. Dadurch bewahrte ich sie vor dem lästigen Fragen: zu ergänzenden Erklärungen, die man sich erbittet, sind die Indianer gern bereit. Eines Abends sagte mir der alte Alfredo unvermittelt: „Wie merkwürdig tun doch die Weißen, daß sie bei allem, was sie an uns hier sehen, immer wieder fragen: Warum? — Je nun, bei uns ist eben alles so, wie es ist; deshalb fragt niemand von uns: Warum ist dieses so und jenes so!"

Die Yamana hatten sich nicht nur an meinen ungezwungenen Verkehr gewöhnt, ich war ihnen allmählich auch lieb geworden. Regelmäßig verbrachte ich den Tag in Gesellschaft der Frauen und Kinder, abends suchte ich den Kreis der Männer auf. Diese traten am liebsten in Alfredo's Hütte zusammen. Ergab es sich aber, daß ich in einer anderen Hütte mich niederließ, kamen die Männer wie gewohnheitsmäßig dorthin nach.

Eine Zeitlang hatten sie mich nun schon mit ihren mythologischen Vorstellungen vertraut gemacht, als eines Abends bei der üblichen Ansprache, anschließend an eine bestimmte Mythe, das Wort *čiḱyus* fiel. Als ich dessen Bedeutung erfahren wollte, wirkte meine Bitte höchst eigenartig. Jeder hüllte sich in befremdliches Schweigen und nahm eine Haltung ein, als wäre jenes

Wort überhaupt nicht gefallen; aus dem Benehmen der ganzen Runde mußte ich schließen, daß hier aus Unachtsamkeit etwas ausgeplaudert worden und ein Name gefallen war, der nie hätte verraten werden dürfen. In dieser peinlichen Lage wagte ich nicht mehr zu reden, noch viel weniger nach dem Sinn des Wortes *čiḱ̯ɣuɣ* zu forschen; der Faden unserer bislangen flüssigen, angeregten Unterhaltung war plötzlich zerrissen und jedermann vermied es ängstlich, ihn nochmals aufzugreifen. Lange starrte jeder schweigend vor sich hin; auf ihren Mienen las ich einen stillen Vorwurf gegen jenen, den die Vorsicht um Wahrung eines bedeutsamen Geheimnisses verlassen hatte. Als plötzlich draußen einige Hunde mit lautem Kläffen sich ins Fell gerieten, sprangen die Männer mit betont übereilter Erregung auf, als müßten sie ein großes Unheil verhüten! Der Bann der peinlichen Lage war plötzlich gelöst und jeder ging ganz verstohlen in seine Hütte zurück. Ich selber wagte es nicht, jemanden anzusprechen.

In dieser Nacht mied mich der Schlaf bis in die frühen Morgenstunden. Ruhelos warf ich mich auf meinem Lager hin und her; denn ich erkannte deutlich genug, daß ich mit dem Worte *čiḱ̯ɣuɣ* einer Sache auf die Spur gekommen war, der ich nachgehen mußte. Wie gequält überlegte ich, welcher Weg mich am sichersten dorthin führen könnte; denn aus den Männern etwas herauszupressen schien mir, nach ihrem Benehmen am Abend zu urteilen, ganz aussichtslos. NELLY galt mir schließlich als die einzige, auf die ich meine Hoffnung setzte. Wie aber sollte ich mich ihr mit dieser Angelegenheit nähern, da durch meine Frage auch sie möglicherweise in größte Verlegenheit geraten könnte? Und wenn es sich gar um einen Gegenstand handelte, den Frauen nicht wissen dürfen? Erst am anderen Morgen kam ich zu einem bestimmten Entschluß. Wo immer ich ihr begegnete, zeigte ich eine jammervolle Miene, daß sie unwillkürlich auf eine ungewöhnlich mißliche Stimmung oder auf ein schauerliches Unglück bei mir schließen mußte. Zwei Tage hielt sie diesen meinen Anblick aus; am dritten endlich näherte sie sich mir in ihrer schlichten, wohlwollenden Art mit der leisen Frage, ob ich krank wäre. „Ja je", erwiderte ich ihr mit zaghafter Stimme, „sehr krank bin ich, und zwar im Gemüte!" Mitleidig machte sie mir Mut und versprach, mir zu helfen. Zwar redete sie sanft und etwas unbestimmt; aber nach erster Frauenweise lag ein deutlich fühlbares Fragen darin. Da sagte ich ihr ohne Umschweife: „Am vorvorgestrigen Abend saß ich mit den Männern zusammen. Außerordentlich Schönes haben sie mir von den Yamana der früheren Zeit erzählt. Ich hörte zum ersten Male vom *čiḱ̯ɣuɣ*. Sicherlich ist das etwas ganz besonders Schönes! Doch als ich die Männer darüber befragte, biß jeder auf seine Lippen und verriet mir nicht eine Silbe ... Eben deshalb bin ich so traurig! ... Seitdem ich hier weile, haben mir Frauen und Männer unvergleichlich herrliche Dinge der Yamana von ehedem erzählt; aber über *čiḱ̯ɣuɣ* verraten sie mir nichts. Das kann ich nicht länger ertragen! Ich bin sehr traurig!" Mit ruhigen Augen schaute NELLY mich an und in ihren Blicken las ich, daß sie richtig mit mir fühlte. Da sie sich sogleich entfernte, ohne ein Wort zu sagen, hatte ich die

Gewißheit, sie wird mich bald aus meiner Lage befreien. Ihre genaue Art war mir längst bekannt. So brauchte ich jetzt nur abzuwarten, was *sie* in die Wege leiten würde.

Seit einigen Tagen hatte ich mich jeden Nachmittag regelmäßig mit den alten Frauen zusammengefunden. Meistens gesellte sich auch NELLY zu uns. Auf die Mythen nämlich bin ich aufmerksam geworden, die dieser Stamm als kostbares Erbgut durch viele Geschlechter gehütet hat. Die alte JOLLA, ALENEO's Frau, kannte die meisten und wußte sie am besten zu erzählen; darüber war man sich allgemein einig. Jedoch war sie des Spanisch nur wenig mächtig und ich somit auf eine gute, verläßliche Hilfskraft angewiesen. Bevor ich mich an FRED LAWRENCE wandte, damit er mir in dieser wichtigen Sache mit seinem Rate behilflich sei, hatte NELLY von ihm bereits erwirkt, daß ihr Bruder CALEUMAN zu meiner Verfügung stünde, so lange ich ihn benötigte. Er war ein gewechter, junger Mann und beherrschte sich des Spanisch mit Leichtigkeit; manche altertümliche Wendungen des Yaména waren ihm weniger vertraut und einige ganz unbekannt, hier half NELLY selber aus. Zusammen waren es vier Personen, mit denen ich eine möglichst wörtliche Übersetzung der alten Erzählungen zustande brachte. Standesgemäß nahm wir einen Tag um den andern beisammen und dabei gewann ich den reichen Mythenschatz der Yaména. Auf den beiden folgenden Reisen suchte ich wohl darnach weiter; wirklich Neues über das hinaus, was ich diesmal zusammengetragen hatte, fand ich nicht mehr, abgesehen von kurzen Ergänzungen und belanglosen Einzelheiten. Als besonders wertvoll beurteile ich den mannigfaltigen Erzählungsstoff, der die Person der beiden *Ypéley* und ihrer Schwester umkleidet. Der jüngste dieser drei Geschwister nimmt die Stelle eines Kulturheros ein, wie *Kanayip* in der Vorstellung der Selk'nam.[100]

Vier Tage, nachdem ich NELLY wegen des Wortes *Ajéyaga* angesprochen hatte, saß ich wieder mit ihr im Kreise ihrer Frauen. Von der Schwester der beiden *Ypéley* war die Rede gewesen und nach einer kurzen Pause fügte sie an: „Die Erzählungen, die wir in diesen Tagen wiederholt haben, wurden den im Rollstuhl sitzenden Kindern eigentlich erst während des *Ajéyaga* bekannt gemacht. Von den *Ypéley*-Geschwistern spricht man ihnen vorher niemals; die Mädchen allerdings, entsühnt ihrer ersten Menstruation, erfahren davon einen geringen Teil. Zum *Ajéyaga* kommen die Familien reihenweise zusammen; dann werden alle Knaben und Mädchen, die den Rollstuhl erreicht haben, eingeführt. Eine harte Schule[101] ist es für sie. Nachher gelten sie als Erwachsene und dürfen sich verheiraten. Das *Ajéyaga* ist das Schlimmste, was wir haben. Ich selber möchte es wieder einmal erleben; wir langen haben wir es nicht mehr wiederholt. Wir werden es in nächster Zeit abhalten und es auch *dir* zeigen!" Ihre Worte klangen mir wie eine bestimmte Zusicherung.

[100] Vgl. die Gegenüberstellung dieser mythologischen Gestalten in Gusinde (II).

[101] Dieses Wort, dessen Inhalt NELLY vom Schulkameradin auf der Missionsstation gut kannte, verwendete auch andere Yaména für jene Zeremonie. Ich schildert darnach einen auf einer gebrauchen Jugendschule und habe mich dazu nicht geäußert.

Deshalb sprach ich ihr meine Freude darüber aus, daß sie es mir ermöglichen wollte, das Schönste von dem, was ihre Landsleute besitzen, zu erleben. Am nächsten Sonntag konnte ich unbemerkt beobachten, wie FRED LAWRENCE den um ihn versammelten Männern während zwei Stunden nachdrücklich zuredete. Bald darauf kam er zu mir und erklärte ausführlich, daß er die Männer aufgefordert habe, unmittelbar nach Beendigung der Schafschur die *čiſ̌ŋgo*-Feier zu veranstalten und den Wunsch seiner Gattin NELLY zu erfüllen, mich daran teilnehmen zu lassen. Nach langem Widerstreben hatte er deren Bereitwilligkeit hierfür erreicht. Was mich betrifft, forderten die Männer, ich müßte als eigentlicher Prüfling jene Veranstaltung mitmachen. Ohne Zaudern versprach ich ihm, diese Bedingung zu erfüllen; denn ich durfte mir die Gelegenheit, eine Jugendweihe zu erleben, selbst unter schwersten Opfern nicht entgehen lassen. Am Nachmittag verhandelte FRED LAWRENCE abermals mit den alten Indianern, die jetzt sich ruhiger benahmen, weil ich auf ihre Forderung eingegangen war.[101]

Durch NELLY wurden nun auch die Frauen mit jenem Plane vertraut gemacht. Sie sorgte in ihrer stillen, aber sichtlichen Regsamkeit, daß ihre Landsleute die erforderliche geistige Verfassung für jene Feier anstrebten und sich sofort darauf einrichteten. „Je mehr Leute beisammen sind, um so schöner ist es!" hatte mir NELLY wiederholt versichert. So war es ihr auch darum zu tun, alle Familien in Punta Remolino zurückzuhalten. Als die tüchtigen Arbeiten der Schafschur beendet waren, wirkte FRED LAWRENCE nochmals auf die Indianer ein, daß sie ohne Zeitverlust mit der *čiſ̌ŋgo*-Feier beginnen sollten. Da er ihnen so viele Hammel zusicherte, als sie währenddessen benötigen würden, war ihnen die letzte Ausflucht versperrt und es lebte stark auch in ihnen die Freude an jener Veranstaltung wieder auf.

Eifrig rührten sie die Hände zum Bau der Großen Hütte, die sie nahe den Wirtschaftsgebäuden aufrichteten. Lieber wäre es ihnen gewesen, auf eine einsame Insel zu ziehen, um von vornherein vor jeder Störung durch Fremde sicher zu sein; aber sie wollten und mußten NELLY berücksichtigen, die sich zu beteiligen wünschte und ihnen auf eine abgelegene Stelle nicht hätte folgen können. Kaum waren die entfernteren und näheren Vorbereitungen beendet, als eines Abends, genau wie die beiden anderen Prüflinge, auch ich mich in die Große Hütte einführen lassen mußte. Darin verbrachte ich allerdings nur zehn Tage, lernte aber in dieser kurzen Zeit den ganzen Verlauf der Feier genau kennen und erlebte sie vollständig. Eine harte Probe war sie für mich, weil ich alle Anstrengungen und Einschränkungen, denen die eigentlichen Prüflinge unterliegen, ausnahmslos auch über mich ergehen lassen mußte. Ungemein schmerzlich empfand ich es, daß es mir während der ganzen Zeit verboten blieb, schriftliche Aufzeichnungen zu machen und Fragen zu stellen, galt doch für mich die gleiche strenge Ordnung, die jeden indianischen Prüfling verpflichtet, regungslos zu sitzen und mit niemandem zu reden. Aus

[101] Diese Vorgänge wurden bereits in Gusinde (b): 139 kurz geschildert und kommen weiter unten ausführlich zur Sprache.

dem Großhäuptling trug ich zwar nach Abschluß der Feier in meine Tagebücher der meinte nach, konnte aber über vieles keine Auskunft erhalten, weil diese Feuerländer außerhalb der Großen Hütte über den Verlauf des *Ajiyaga* nicht redeten. Trotzdem freute ich mich des seltenen Glückes, als erster Europäer dieser geheimen Veranstaltung beiwohnen zu dürfen. Mit diesem Erfolge allein war der Aufwand an Zeit und Geld der ganzen Reise vollauf gerechtfertigt.

Von der Entkräftung, die mir jene sechs Tage in der Großen Hütte eingebracht hatten, erholte ich mich schnell. Die einzelnen Indianerfamilien hielt es hier in Puntas Arenas nicht länger zurück. Eine wie die andere nahm bald Abschied und machte sich davon. Gleichzeitig damit entschwand mir die Möglichkeit zu weiteren Beobachtungen und Erkundigungen. Vergeblich hätte ich mich bemüht, einen Großteil von ihnen zurückzuhalten; mehrere Wochen waren sie bereits fortgewesen und der Wanderetrieb regte sich in ihnen wieder sehr stark. Für die Mühen und Umstände, die es mir machte, nochmals hierher zurückzukehren, hatten sie kein Verständnis. Aufrichtig wünschten sie mir, ich möchte mich im nächsten Sommer abermals bei ihnen einfinden, dann würden sie mir weiter zur Verfügung stehen. Die älteren Männer riefen im besonderen, ich möchte die Jugendweihe ein zweites Mal über mich ergehen lassen, um mir die Berechtigung zur Teilnahme an der geheimen Männerfeier zu erwerben. Sie gaben mir, voller Freude über den günstigen Verlauf der Jugendweihe, ihr eigenes begeistertes Verlangen nach dem hier zu verstehen, das seit langem nicht mehr wiederholt worden war. Aus ihrer neuerwachten Stimmung heraus versprachen sie mir noch mancherlei andere Dinge und ihre Angehörigen klangen so überzeugend, daß ich ihnen meiner Rückkehr für Ende dieses Jahres 1920 versicherte. Wir schieden voneinander in der frohen Hoffnung auf ein baldiges Wiedersehen.

Eine Genugtuungsempfindung erfüllte ich, wenn ich freudig in aller Offenlichkeit anerkenne, daß mein reicher Erfolg auf dieser zweiten Reise fast ganz dem Eingreifen von NEGRI und Pater LAWRENCE zu danken ist. Hätten sie jenen starken Druck auf die Yaganes, denen diese sich schwerlich entziehen konnten, nicht ausgeübt, wäre die *Ajiyaga*-Feier niemals zustande gekommen und mir die Teilnahme nicht möglich geworden. Überaus war es mir gelungen, eine ansehnliche Zahl von Gebrauchsgegenständen und Werkzeugen der Yaganes zusammenzutragen. Von hohem Wert ist ein Kindskorb, den auf meine vorjährigen Bitten Pater LAWRENCE von einer Frau hatte anfertigen lassen und den er für das Museo de Etnología y Antropología in Santiago bestimmte. Dieses Stück ist das letzte seiner Art, das ein größerer Meister hergestellt hat, dessen schon damals war, von Frauen abgesehen, kein Yaganes mehr zu diesem Kunstwerk fähig. In einer geschützten, seichten Lagune hat man es mir bis zu meiner Wiederkehr aufbewahrt, um verschiedene Einwendungen und verhängnisvolle Verwirrungen zu vermeiden. Selbstverständlich hielt ich es mir nicht entgehen, durch einige Fahrten auf dem Canal de Beagle hinaus zu unternehmen, um auch selber zu erfahren, welches hohe Unsicherheits- und schwankende Gleichgewichtsgefühl man empfindet, wenn man in einem derart leichten und

[illegible] Fähnrich Jacks. Diese Kanu und die weiteren von mir gemeinsam von Gegenstände hält ich später durch einen Kurier nach Puerto Arenas bringen.

Ophrwirk war seine Aufmerksamkeit bei den Yamana und viele Überredungen hat er gebraucht, mich an dem Unternehmen und an den [illegible] Transporten zu gewinnen, der von Seinen Körper und von Seine Fähigkeiten ausströmen. Hinsichtlich dessen war das Arbeiten unter ihm weit angenehmer als unter den Selk'nam. Bei letzteren jedoch war die Lebensführung viel bescheidener und die einförmige Kost kam einer harten Entbehrung gleich. Freundlichen und zugänglicher sind die Yamana auch in den Unwirtlichkeiten, in der sie sich befinden, die Bescheidenheit, mit der sie mir gefallen haben, werde ich ihnen jederzeit herzlich danken.

Während ich nur Alacalufe rüstete, überlegte ich durch einige Tage meine Arbeitsweise und die Ergebnisse. Ein guter Griff war es bestimmt, daß ich mir unter bei den Yamana den Eindrücken in die Gesinnung und Denkweise der Familiäder verschaffen hatte. Dieser Vorsprung half mir dabei, den verschlossenen Selk'nam näher zu kommen und auch sie in ihrem Innersten zu verstehen. Die Familie Lawrence zeigte sich für alle von der aufgebotenen Hilfe reichlich entlohnt, angesichts der vollen Gewinnung, die mir dieser zweite Aufenthalt verschafft hatte. Für eine spätere Rückkehr hat sie mir erneut ihre Hilfe und Unterstützung zu. Puerto Bremdlau verließ ich in der sicheren Überzeugung, daß ich bald wiederkommen würde.

Den Weg zu den Selk'nam legte ich diesmal in umgekehrter Richtung zurück, nämlich von Puerto Bremdlau zurückzu nach Puerto Harberton, von dort nach Harberton über den Gebirge zu den Lago Fagnano und dann weiter zum nördlichen Lager der Selk'nam an der Mündung des Río del Fuego. Von hier wandte ich mich über die katholische Missionsstation der Salesianer am Río Chico zurückzu in den Hafen der Isla Grande zur Estancia Viamia, über den Ober der Bahía Inútil entlang und erreichte schließlich die kleine Ortschaft Porvenir, von wo ich nach Puerto Arenas übersetzte. Für kurze Zeit eilte ich noch in die Gegend von Ultima Esperanza[**] und schiffte mich am 26. Februar in Puerto Arenas endlich zur Rückfahrt nach dem Norden ein. Damit endete meine zweite Feuerlandreise, während welcher ich den Hauptteil der Zeit den Yamana gewidmet habe.[**]

3. Dritte Reise gemeinsam mit W. Lawrence

Bislang hatte ich mich überall im Magellanes-Gebiet um vielfältige Angaben über die Bahnverbindungen bemüht, denn ich hoch es für notwendig, möglichst bald auch mit diesen die weiten Reisebeziehungen auszubauen. Im umgekehrten

[*] Im anderen Teile habe ich über meinen Besuch in jener bretonischen Mission berichtet, nämlich in Abs. 100 und in dem Aufsatz: Estudio acerca de la cuenca del Seno Última Esperanza, Patagonia austral, "Revista Chilena de Historia Natural", tomo XXV, p. 200–219, Santiago 1921.

[**] Ausführlich wurden die Ergebnisse dieser Reise im Bd I, 90 und in Sonnen-Abs. 100 dargelegt, dem offiziellen Bericht an das Ministerio de Instrucción Pública de Chile.

[illegible] und die Schulmeister, gegenwärtig jedoch haben sie sich fast ausschließlich im nördlichen Teile der Kanäle zwischen der Magellanstraße und dem Golfo de Peñas auf.[illegible] Um dieses sehr so komplexe und mit dieser langsamen verbunden zu bleiben, wäre es ein empfehlenswertes gewesen, in einem eigenen Fahrzeug die einzelnen Wasserstraßen zu durchfahren und sie in allen Bähen und Winkeln aufzuschließen; doch für eine solch langwierige Unternehmung fehlten mir die Mittel.

Mitte 1959 hatten mich die ungarischen Forscher F. Baumann und C. Hanzer mit dem Plane vertraut gemacht, einen nahezuunbekannten Teil der patagonischen Zentralcordillere nahe dem Innen Chiles, nämlich das St. Valentin-Massiv zu erreichen. Der bedeutsamen Arbeitszeit fällt sich gut mit dem von mir geplanten Besuche der Gletscherwelt vereinigen. Eine übereinkünft dem Indem Ministerium de la Marina de Chile einen amtlichen Beschluß mit der Bitte, es möchte man für diese doppelte Forschung ein geeignetes Schiff zur Verfügung stellen. Der Gesuch wurde günstig verbeschieden und man die Ausrüstung gebaute, wie bisherige Mitte Dezember abfahren. Eine unvorhergesehene Notwendigkeit zwang die Marinebehörde beider, das für uns bestimmte Schiff plötzlich anderweitig zu verwenden. Wir erhielten zwar bald durch und ohne Zeitverlust ein anderes Schiff zugewiesen; da dieses aber bedeutend kleiner war, blieb mir keine andere Wahl, als meine Studienaufenthalte kürzen aufzugeben. Der Gesamte hatte bereits begonnen, daß ich mich auf einen anderen Beispielen nicht mehr einrichten konnte. So verzichtete ich in diesem Sommer auf einen Besuch bei den Franciscanern und schloß mich jenen beiden ungarischen Forschern an deren geographischen Unternehmen an.[illegible]

Kaum war ich von der vorübergegangenen Konferenz in Mitte 1961 nach Santiago zurückgekehrt, als ich meiner Verbindungen für eine dritte Reise in den Tamaya wieder aufnahm. Diesmal waren erneut Schwierigkeiten zu überwinden, denn eine außergewöhnliche Finanznot nahm mir jede Hoffnung auf Unterstützung vonseiten der chilenischen Regierung. Allerdings erhielt ich mir den dreimaligen Aufbau zur Weiterführung meiner ethnographischen und sprachwissenschaftlichen Arbeiten im Franchado. Wieder war es der Hochverdiente Herr Erzbischof von Santiago, Don Caesarino Sanchez, der bereitwillig mir aus der Verlegenheit half und die erforderlichen Mittel zur Reise spendete. Das war es vorallem deswegen so wichtig, daß durch eine weitere Erforschung der Franciscaner die letzten Vorgeschichte Chiles noch offener Lücken sich schlüssen.

Um diese Zeit hatte ich Herrn P. Wenceslao Sanzano S.J.D., den verdienstvollen Begründer der "Antiquen" in St. Gabriel-Stiftung bei Wien, über

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[illegible] Die ungefährlichen Grenzen dieses Gebietes und seine geographische Gliederung sind Gegenstand in Gestalt der [illegible] Die vorläufige Begründung sind im [illegible] dieses Werkes enthalten.

[illegible] Auf den vorläufigen Bericht unserer Expeditionsleiters Gustavo Baumann hin veröffentlichte die Sociedad General Geográfica Hungarica, "Geo", volumen 1, pag. [illegible] Baumann [illegible] ausführlichere Angaben enthält Bd. 1, [illegible].

[illegible] Fremdenbesuch beschränkt und mit meinem kleinen Pferde [illegible] gemacht. Da er gegen Ende 1911 den Gedanken an eine Reise nach Nordamerika [illegible], bot ich ihm, auf Anregung meines Direktors Dr. Arnoldi [illegible], an einem Besuche nach Chile mit; gleichzeitig erlitt ich ihm [illegible], sich an meiner dritten Fahrt an den Feuerländern beteiligen zu wollen. Diese Einladung übertrug er auf Herrn P. Wilhelm Kaerner S.V.D., meinen Gehilfen und Studiengenossen, der sich auch bald bei mir einfand. Mit Rücksicht auf das erste ich den dreijährigen Erlaubnis [illegible] und traf Vorsorge, daß unsere meinen Zeit auf die Tonnen verwendet würde, wo [illegible] auch viel zu tun übrig geblieben war. Der Aufenthalt in Punta Arenas und an anderen Stellen am Canal de Beagle ist gänzlich gefahrlos, [illegible] wenig Gelegenheit zu besonders bemerkenswerten Anstrengungen. Mit den [illegible] Feuerländern hatte ich mich bisher so gut angefreundet, daß ich [illegible] Gelegenheit darauf bauen durfte, sie würden auch meinen Begleiter [illegible] wollen [illegible].

Nachdem P. Kaerner in Santiago eingetroffen war, benutzten wir Ende Dezember in Puerto Montt den Dampfer zur Fahrt nach dem Süden. Gegen meinen Vorgesetzten überzeugte ich die gesamten Reisekosten und hat alles auf, damit auch dem dritten Forschungsgenossen von Nutzen wäre. Auf der mehrtägigen Fahrt erhielt ich [illegible] meiner bisherigen Ergebnisse und Erfahrungen, um gewissermaßen die Untersuchungen erfolgreich weiterführen zu können. Bei unserer fast täglichen Ausspracht gab er mir wertvolle Anregungen, für die ich hier noch öffentlich danken möchte. Unsere Zusammenarbeit ist angenehm verlaufen und hat ein günstiges Gesamtergebnis eingebracht.

Die Bekleidung in Punta Arenas kannten mich von früher. Da ich selbst mit den Verhältnissen hinreichend vertraut war, hielt sich alles so einfach, daß wir unverzüglich weiterfahren konnten. Die Brüder Lovegren hatte ich seitig gesagt verständigt und tatsächlich erwarteten uns in Ushuaia der Kutter "Cordillera", der uns sofort nach Punta Bonaldo brachte. Mit der gleichen Gastlichkeit, die ich früher erfahren hatte, hielt diese bekanntschaftige Familie diesmal uns beide willkommen. Nur allerdings empfahl mir einen anderen Vorwand wählen, weil ich im vergangenen Sommer angeblichen war. Als ich mich bei meinen lieben Indianern erkennen ließ, fragten auch sie fast wie gewohnt, warum ich sie im letzten Jahre, entgegen meinem Versprechen, im Stiche gelassen hatte! Mehrere Familien waren hier! beisammen und das hielt meiner lieben Freunde auch andere überzeugen; dadurch konnte auch sie in gemeinsamer Gesinnung und wir feierten das Wiedersehen in aller Form.

Bald hatten wir uns abermals miteinander geeinigt; ich verhandelte in dem Hause und wurde mich in dem Kreis so selbstverständlich, als gehörte ich schon lange zu ihnen. Mein Begleiter hielt sich zag an mich und wiegand wegen einem Einwand, wenn er dawäll mitzog. Ingenieurlichen Bedenken und Bedenken begegnete ich von vornherein bereits dadurch, daß ich ihm zu allem mitnahm, wie wenn er unzertrennlich mit mir verbunden wäre.

Wieder brachten es die äußeren Umstände mit sich, daß wir tagsüber fast ganz die Indianerinnen beobachteten und uns mit ihnen unterhielten. Am Abend, nach ihrer Arbeit auf der Farm, sammelten sich die Männer in dieser oder jener Hütte und hockten um das Feuer herum; nun traten wir in ihren Kreis ein. Bei dem diesjährigen Aufenthalt waren zwar noch einige Ergänzungen aus dem Wirtschaftsleben nachzutragen, hauptsächlich aber mußten bedeutsame Einzelheiten aus der allgemeinen Gesellschaftsordnung sichergestellt werden. Unauffällig, aber zielbewußt lenkte ich bei passender Gelegenheit auf die Jugendweihe hinüber, um herauszufühlen, ob diese Leute sie jetzt wieder abhalten würden. Später sprach ich es offen aus, daß ich gekommen wäre, um die geheime Männerfeier zu sehen, und daß ich die dazu erforderliche Vorbedingung gern erfüllen würde, nämlich ein zweites Mal als Prüfling in die Jugendweihe einzutreten.

Mit dem gleichen Erfolge wie auf meiner vorigen Reise trug ich auch diesmal meine besonderen Wünsche zunächst der immer hilfsbereiten Nelly vor: denn sie hatte es längst erfaßt, wie sehr ich jede Einzelheit aus dem Erbgut ihres Volkes schätzte. Sie selber hegte den sehnlichsten Wunsch, daß alles und jedes, was sie so hoch wertete, durch mich bei den Weißen bekannt würde. Nicht der geheimen Männerfeier wegen verwendete sie sich bei ihren bejahrten Landsleuten, sondern wegen ihrer besonderen Vorliebe für die Jugendweihe allein, an der sie teilzunehmen plante; sie drängte also, daß letztere wiederholt würde. Gar nicht lange dauerte es, bis in der Allgemeinheit die Absicht, das *ziẽ̃ɣus* abzuhalten, handgreifliche Form annahm. Doch nicht mehr in Punta Remolino, das etwas ungünstig lag, sondern in dem geschützten Puerto Mejillones sollte es stattfinden. Meinerseits hatte ich zugesichert, für Lebensmittel, zumal für Mehl und Hammel zu sorgen. Daß an die Jugendweihe sogleich die geheime Männerfeier sich anschließen würde, klang aus den Unterhaltungen mit den führenden Alten wie selbstverständlich. Das Hauptziel der diesjährigen Reise schien also gesichert.

Während des ganzen Januar wurden die Männer tagsüber durch Arbeiten bei der Schafschur oder beim Wegebau in Anspruch genommen. Wir blieben demnach bei unserer Beobachtung und Aussprache größtenteils auf die Frauen angewiesen. Ihnen ist es zu danken, daß wir zu unserer eigenen Überraschung tiefen Einblick in die religiösen Anschauungen dieses Stammes erhielten, der seit langem bekanntlich als Musterbeispiel einer völlig religionslosen Menschengruppe mit Aufdringlichkeit vorgeführt worden war. Außerdem halfen sie bei Erkundigungen nach der Sprache und im besonderen bei der genauen Bestimmung der Sprachlaute. Vier Dialekten innerhalb des Yamana kamen wir auf die Spur, die ich im nächsten Jahre richtiger auf fünf erweiterte und für die ich die genauen geographischen Grenzen zeichnete. An den langen Abenden unterhielten wir uns selbstverständlich allein mit den Männern, die zwar von ihrem Tagewerk ermüdet, aber zu leichten Aussprachen gern bereit waren.

Voraussichtlich für zwölf Tage waren diese Indianer noch auf der Farm

beschäftigt und die Frauen wünschten sich inzwischen auf die bevorstehende Jugendweihe unbehindert vorzubereiten. Schnell entschloß ich mich, diese kurze Zeitspanne mit einem Besuch der Selk'nam auszufüllen; denn die guten Beziehungen zu ihnen durfte ich nicht erkalten lassen, wollte ich meine früher aufgenommenen Arbeiten gelegentlich zu einem erfolgreichen Abschluß bringen. Auch lag mir daran, meinen Begleiter mit diesem feuerländischen Stamme wenigstens vorübergehend bekannt zu machen.

Bereitwilligst stellte uns Fred Lawrence zwei Führer und die Pferde zur Verfügung. Am Morgen des 1. Februar brachen wir auf und schlugen die Richtung nach Puerto Harberton ein. Von dort überquerte ich zum dritten Male das Gebirge. In dem mir bekannten Lager am Lago Fagnano trafen wir nur einige Selk'nam an, unter ihnen war mein lieber Freund Ventura. Leider konnten wir uns nur kurze Zeit bei ihm aufhalten, trotz der Freude, die das Wiedersehen ihm bereitete. Unzweideutig ließ ich ihn wissen, daß ich möglicherweise mit beginnendem Winter, sicherlich aber im nächsten Sommer zu einem längeren Aufenthalt zurückkommen würde. Damit schieden wir voneinander. Auf der Farmabteilung Nueva Harberton, zum Grundbesitz der Geschwister Bridges gehörig, waren viele Selk'nam-Männer vereinigt, die hier große Viehherden zusammentrieben. Einige gute Bekannte begrüßte ich herzlich und wechselte mit ihnen freundliche Worte.

Am nächsten Tage ritten wir weiter, um die Hauptgebäude der Farm Vismonte an der Mündung des Río del Fuego noch vor Abend des 4. Februar zu erreichen. Groß war unsere Enttäuschung, als wir in dem früher dichtbevölkerten Lager nur fünf Familien antrafen (Gusinde [c]: 100). Zu wertvollen Beobachtungen und kleineren, vornehmlich sprachlichen Arbeiten bot sich *trotzdem gute Gelegenheit. Schließlich traten wir am 11. Februar den Rückweg an, um bei unserem Yamana nicht zu spät einzutreffen* (Koppers [a]: 23).

Während sie ihre Farmarbeiten in Punta Remolino abschlossen, sammelte ich die Lebensmittel und Geschenke, sorgte auch für gute Stimmung durch Tabak, den ich unter die Männer, und durch begehrte Gebrauchsgegenstände, die ich unter die Frauen verteilte, und regelte das Geschäftliche mit Fred Lawrence. Erst im letzten Augenblick klugerweise ließ Nellay uns wissen, daß sie sich nicht sofort uns anschließen könnte und später nachkommen würde.

In der Morgenfrühe des 1. März wurden alle Habseligkeiten der Indianer, unser eigenes bescheidenes Gepäck und schließlich die reiche Menge an Lebensmitteln auf den Kutter "Garibaldi" verladen, wir alle stiegen ein und fuhren quer über den Canal de Beagle zum Puerto Mejillones auf dem Nordufer der Isla Navarino. Unverzüglich begannen die Vorbereitungen zur Jugendweihe. Beim freundlichen Perno, dem die Leitung dieser Veranstaltung zufiel, hatte ich es nach einigem Zureden erreicht, daß mein Begleiter unter den gleichen Bedingungen wie ich daran teilnehmen durfte. Wer zum zweiten Male als Prüfling das *čiêyuys* über sich ergehen läßt, wird nicht mehr zu den Strengheiten verpflichtet, denen er bei der ersten Jugendweihe unterliegt. Demzufolge hinderte mich jetzt niemand daran, schriftliche Aufzeichnungen zu

machen und gelegentlich mit leiser Stimme um einige Erklärungen zu bitten; diesmal war es mir ein Leichtes, den gesamten Verlauf der Feier ununterbrochen auf dem Papier festzuhalten. Solch bedeutsamer Vorteil, der mir vor zwei Jahren versagt war, kam sofort auch meinem Begleiter zugute. Mit lebhafterer Anteilnahme als vordem wickelte sich dieses *čifzuus* ab, was sich wohl daraus erklärt, daß mehr Leute beisammen und alle ungestört unter sich waren.

Mit großer Genugtuung schloß man diese Feier am Abend des 6. März ab, um sogleich zum *kloo* überzuleiten. Als es wirklich begann, sahen wir uns am Ziele des diesjährigen Arbeitsplanes. Eine kegelförmige Hütte war eigens aufgerichtet worden. Die einzelnen Geisterauftritte liefen genau so ab, wie es bei diesen Indianern ehedem üblich war. Einzelne Szenen allerdings mußten sie sich vorher ernstlich überlegen; denn seit drei Jahrzehnten wiederholten sie jetzt erst wieder einmal dieses Fest. Jüngere Männer, die es zum ersten Male erlebten, empfanden dabei eine außerordentliche Freude; doch auch die Alten vergnügten sich mit großer Lust. Am 12. März schlossen auch diese Veranstaltungen.

Für kleinere Arbeiten boten sich in den folgenden Tagen günstige Gelegenheiten und manche Erklärungen zu jenen beiden geheimen Feiern wurden nachgetragen. Phonographische Aufnahmen fielen gut aus und auch meine Pflanzensammlung erweiterte sich ganz ansehnlich. Am 17. März verließen wir Puerto Mejillones, diese kleine indianische Siedlung, in den flachen Booten unserer Eingeborenen.

In Punta Remolino mußten wir der lieben NELLY ausführlich über alles berichten, was sich in Puerto Mejillones abgewickelt hatte. Sie empfand eine unaussprechliche Freude über unsere eigene Genugtuung und Zufriedenheit. *Die Yamana selber zerstreuten sich am gleichen Tage, da wir abzogen,* in den vielverschlungenen Wasserarmen ihrer Heimat.

Trotz günstiger Aussichten einer Weiterführung der Forschung bei den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 101) rüsteten wir zur Heimreise und verpackten die umfangreichen Sammlungen. Auf meine Bitte an die chilenische Marinebehörde in Punta Arenas holte uns der Minenleger "Orompello" am 7. April in Punta Remolino ab. Mit herzlichem Dank schieden wir von der gastfreundlichen Familie LAWRENCE und von unseren Yamana. Überraschend reichen Erfolg nahmen wir auch von dieser Reise mit nach Hause. In Punta Arenas fanden wir sofort Anschluß zur Rückkehr nach Santiago.[1]

[1] Ausführlich wurde diese Reise und das gute Ergebnis von Koppers (s) und in seinen folgenden Mitteilungen geschildert:

Die Feuerlandreise von Gusinde-Koppers zu Anfang 1922; "Anthropos", Bd. XVI/XVII, S. 520—524; Mödling, 1921/22.

Bericht über die von Gusinde-Koppers zu Anfang 1922 zu dem Feuerlandstamme der Yaganen veranstaltete Forschungsreise. "Annales de XX Congrès Intern. de Américanistes", vol. I, p. 309—316; Rio de Janeiro 1924.

Vgl. auch Bd. I, 96 und Gusinde (s): T. Endlich: Drei Fahrten zu den Feuerländern, "Anthropos", Bd. XIV/XV, S. 1130—1132; Mödling 1919/20.

4. Meine letzte Reise

In den verflossenen Jahren hatte ich auf drei Besuchen bei den Yamana eine wahre Fülle ihres Kulturgutes gehoben, so daß alle Wesensteile ihrer Wirtschaftsform, ihrer Gesellschaftsordnung und ihres Geisteslebens als bekannt vorlagen. Kleine Lücken blieben trotzdem offen; denn man könnte von Jahr zu Jahr immer neue Nebensächlichkeiten aufdecken, die das Gesamtbild vervollständigen und erweitern. Unausweichlich aber mußte ich einer bedeutsamen Einrichtung nachspüren, deren Auswirkungen die Seelenverfassung des ganzen Stammes beherrscht, nämlich der sogenannten Medizinmannschule. Bei den Selk'nam hatte ich früher eine weit umfangreichere Arbeit noch unerledigt gelassen; im besonderen hoffte ich es zu erreichen, ihre geheime Männerfeier zu sehen und ihren Mythenschatz mir anzueignen, der, nach meinen Erfahrungen bei den Yamana, hier kaum geringer sein dürfte. Schließlich oblag mir noch, die vielseitige Untersuchung der Halakwulup in Angriff zu nehmen, von denen ich bislang nur einige sprachliche Beobachtungen aufgezeichnet hatte. Allerdings war ich jetzt endlich über ihre geographische Verbreitung im westpatagonischen Inselgebiet und über jene wenigen Stellen, an denen Einzelfamilien vorübergehend lagern, hinreichend sicher unterrichtet. Für eine neue Reise fehlte es also nicht an Arbeit, um unsere Kenntnis von den Kulturverhältnissen der drei feuerländischen Gruppen zu vervollständigen.

Mache man mir keine Vorwürfe, daß dieses Forschungsunternehmen sich sehr in die Länge zog. Mit Schwierigkeiten ganz eigener Art hat die gründliche Untersuchung eines Nomadenstammes zu ringen; diese steigern sich, wenn derselbe in Einzelfamilien aufgelöst ist, von denen eine jede sich in unzugängliche Wasserarme verliert. Der aufmerksame Forscher fühlt es bald heraus, daß alle Ergebnisse unzuverlässig bleiben, wenn er sich mit dem Befragen und Beobachten nur dieser und jener Personen oder Familie zufrieden gibt. Sie allein werden ebensowenig imstande sein, ihm die ganze Fülle des Stammesgutes zu übermitteln.

Eine Tatsache ist es, deren forschungsmethodischer Wert nicht hoch genug veranschlagt werden kann und dem ich auf meinen Reisen oft begegnet bin, daß Einzelpersonen, die dem weißen Forscher allein gegenüber stehen, bei ihren Aussagen sich nicht nur unsicher fühlen, sondern es auch wirklich sind. Sie können sich meist nur sehr schwer auf Fragen, die häufig ungeschickt gefaßt sind und unvermittelt ihnen vorgelegt werden, gar nicht so bestimmt und so schnell einstellen, daß sie zu einer verläßlichen Antwort fähig wären: aber da man sie drängt und wenigstens irgend etwas herauszupressen versucht, reden sie schließlich kurzerhand dies oder das daher, sich selber kaum ihrer Worte klar bewußt. Sind jedoch mehrere beisammen und läßt der fremde Besucher eine Frage fallen, beteiligen sich alle Anwesenden an der Lösung, wenigstens in ihren Überlegungen, sie tauschen ihre Ansichten aus und einigen sich auf eine einzige Antwort, die wirklichen Wert besitzt. Nicht minder bedeutsam ist der andere Umstand, daß der Forscher sich das Vertrauen eines ansehnlichen Teiles der primitiven Bevölkerung erwerben haben muß, wenn

er geheime Veranstaltungen erleben will. Gegen seine Zulassung wehrt sich von vornherein der starke Widerstand einer überwiegenden Mehrheit, die umstimmen einzelner Stammesmitglieder nicht einmal wagen, viel weniger erreichen. Geraume Zeit braucht es offensichtlich, bis der günstige Eindruck, den der Europäer auf einen kleinen Teil des Volkes gemacht hat, sich so nachdrücklich herumspricht, daß auch viele andere das Verlangen spüren, ihn kennenzulernen. Erst wenn er die Mehrheit des Stammes für sich gewonnen hat, kann er damit rechnen, bei einer vorerst den Eingeborenen selber günstigen Gelegenheit zu den gemeinschaftlichen Feiern zugelassen und mit den streng gehüteten Kultgütern vertraut gemacht zu werden.

So ließ ich nach jeder der drei ersten Reisen vom Herbst zum Frühjahr diese Eingeborenen beider Stämme sich in ihren Gedanken und Unterhaltungen mit dem beschäftigen, was wir gemeinsam gerodet, getan und erlebt hatten. Vom ersten Zusammentreffen an war es mein aufrichtiges Bemühen, sie zu verstehen, ihnen vollauf gerecht zu werden und sie nicht im mindesten zu verletzen, am allerwenigsten ihre Einrichtungen, in des Wortes weiterem Sinne, in Lächerlichkeit oder mindere Bewertung zu zerren. Für diese Art der Behandlung haben die Primitiven insgesamt ein überaus feines Empfinden und danach richten auch sie ihr Verhalten gegen den Europäer ein.

Während sie ihre Erfahrungen und Urteile für sich allein überdachten und in ihrer Stammesgemeinschaft weitertrugen, blieb auch mir Zeit und Ruhe, in deren Geistesverfassung und charakterliche Anlagen, in deren Vorzüge und Schwächen, in deren Gedankenfolge und Handlungsweise mich einzufühlen. Immer wieder überlegte ich, wie diese anscheinend von uns weit abstehenden Menschen am schnellsten und sichersten zu gewinnen wären. Die Wirklichkeit überzeugte mich, daß genau die gleichen Kräfte, die in europäischen Verhältnissen wirken, auch bei den "Wilden" rasch zu gutem Erfolge führten; denn ganze Menschen sind auch sie und darüber hinaus naturwahr. Vornehme Würdigung des Fremdartigen und feines Gefühl für die Umgangsformen mit diesen einfachen, aber aufgeschlossenen und empfindsamen Menschen benötigen eine gewisse Entwicklungszeit; diese lag für mich zwischen den einzelnen Reisen, in der ich die letzten Erlebnisse überdachte und auswertete, um das richtige Vorgehen beim nächsten Besuch einzuschlagen. Auch das Vorgehen muß gelernt werden, mag man noch so glückliche Veranlagung besitzen. Wem aber diese sogar fehlt, der soll lieber daheim bleiben.

Auf ein ganzes Jahr richtete ich mich ein. Das Ministerio de Instrucción Pública de Chile gewährte mir den erforderlichen Urlaub und gute Freunde stellten die Mittel bei. Besonderen Dank bin ich auch meinen Gönnern schuldig, die mich von meinen Verpflichtungen im Liceo Alemán zu Santiago entbunden haben, sowie meinem Direktor, Herrn Dr. Adelbert Grabow, der mich während der Vorbereitungen tatkräftig unterstützt hat.

Zunächst wollte ich bei den Yamana längeren Aufenthalt nehmen, die während der Monate Januar und Februar sich in ansehnlicher Zahl auf der Farm Punta Arenas zu sammeln pflegen. Vor Beginn des Winters würde

es an der Zeit sein, das Gebirge in nördlicher Richtung zu überschreiten, um in den langen Wintermonaten bei den Selk'nam die geheime Männerfeier mitzumachen. Im Frühjahr oder beginnenden Sommer könnte ich endlich versuchen, in den westpatagonischen Kanälen den Halakwulup nahezutreten. Nach diesen großen Linien habe ich meine vierte und letzte Feuerlandreise wirklich durchgeführt.

Im Dezember 1922 nahm ich von Santiago wieder Abschied und eilte auf dem kürzesten Wege nach Punta Arenas. Dank dem liebenswürdigen Entgegenkommender chilenischen Hafenbehörden und dem freundlichen Kapitän der "Cap Polonio" konnte ich schon nach zwei Tagen an Bord dieses Luxusdampfers nach Ushuaia weiterfahren. Hier stieg ich sofort in das einfache Fahrzeug einer Yamana-Familie und überwand mit einem einzigen Sprunge den ungeheuren technischen Aufstieg vom Indianerkanu zum Wunderwerk der neuzeitlichen Schiffsbaukunst. Ohne Verzug begab ich mich nach Punta Remolino; denn in Ushuaia findet sich nur in langen Zeitabständen die eine und andere Yamana-Familie ein. Auf der Farm der Familie LAWRENCE wurde ich wieder als lieber Gast aufgenommen und sofort fühlte ich mich wie zu Hause.

Wenige Indianer nur waren anwesend, aber die Nachricht von meinem Eintreffen verbreitete sich schnell und in knapp zwei Wochen liefen in Puerto Mejillones etwa fünfzig Leute zusammen. Eine sichtbare Freude und helle Begeisterung, mich wiederzusehen, hatte sie erfaßt. Gern kamen sie herbei: denn die Vereinigung vieler, so gering auch die Zahl der noch Überlebenden war, bot jedem Einzelnen reichliche Genugtuung bei den gemeinschaftlichen Spielen und bei dem ergiebigen Gedankenaustausch. Ungeduldig hatten sie auch in diesem Sommer auf mich gewartet. Eine Woche lang beschäftigte ich mich in Puerto Remolino damit, die Ereignisse der letzten neun Monate aufzunehmen, sowie reichliche Lebensmittel, Geschenke und Andenken für die Indianer zusammenzustellen. Damit übersiedelte ich nach Puerto Mejillones, wo ich mit hellem Jubel von der gesamten feuerländischen Gesellschaft empfangen wurde.

Denn war ich mir bewußt, daß dieser Besuch mein letzter sein würde. Den kleinen Rest dieses Stammes noch einmal hier zu versammeln, bemühte ich mich von Anfang an. Etwa sechs Personen streiften auf den Wollastoninseln mit einigen Robbenschlägern herum und nach ihnen sandte ich eigens ein Boot aus; leider gelang es nicht sie aus der Abhängigkeit von jenen Europäern zu befreien. Von ihnen und wenigen Einzelpersonen samt Mischlingen abgesehen waren alle Yamana um mich vereinigt; ihre Gesamtzahl reichte damals nicht mehr an 70 heran. Oft erschauderte ich beim Anblick dieser Handvoll von Menschen, denen als Überbleibsel eines vielhundertköpfigen gesunden Volkes das grausige Schicksal nur noch wenige Lebensjahre gewährte!

Auf der vorigen Reise, nach dem erfreulichen Verlauf der *kina*-Feier, hatten die ältesten Männer mir in Aussicht gestellt, zum *ldima-yékomuš* zusammenzutreten. Ihre anderen beiden großen Veranstaltungen, nämlich die

Jugendweihe *čiźzous* und die geheime Männerfeier *kina* hatte ich bereits erlebt. Jene einzigartige Versammlung wollten sie mir nicht vorenthalten, damit, wie sie sagten, „ich alles Schöne erführe, was sie besitzen"! Im Verlauf der folgenden Wochen bekam ich es wiederholt zu spüren, wie der und jener aus innerem Drange mir Ergänzungen und Erklärungen nachtrug, gleichsam um sich nicht etwa einer Pflichtverletzung schuldig zu machen.

Als wichtigstes Ziel stand auf meinem diesjährigen Reiseplane die Anteilnahme am *Ídima-yékamui*, das man passend mit Medizinmannschule umschreibt. Als ich mit meinem Ansuchen an die alten Männer herantrat und nachdrücklich die drei eigentlichen *yékamui* anging, zeigten sie sich mutlos und sehr zaghaft. Sie redeten sich dahin aus, daß die Zeit der tüchtigen, mächtigen *yékamui* längst vorüber wäre, daß sie selber nur sehr kleine Medizinmänner abgäben, daß sie endlich sich unfähig wüßten zu den überraschenden Künsten und unerreichbaren Proben, mit denen ihre Vorgänger im Amte alle Leute in Staunen gesetzt hätten. Gutwillig und wohlmeinend waren sie, das fühlte ich aus ihren Worten heraus; deshalb sagte ich ihnen sehr bestimmt und entschieden: „Tut, was ihr könnt! Jedenfalls verlange ich nicht zu viel, wenn ich wünsche, daß ihr zusammentretet und mit der Unterweisung der Prüflinge beginnt. Dabei braucht ihr keine besonderen Kunststücke vorzuführen! Ich gebe mich gern mit dem zufrieden, was ihr zeigen werdet; das läßt sich bestimmt machen. Wer der beste *yékamui* ist, das will ich am Schluß der Veranstaltung entscheiden, nachdem ich alles erfahren und einen jeden beobachtet habe. Mir kommt es darauf an zu sehen, wie die Teilnehmer in der *Ídima*-Hütte leben und was den Prüflingen gelehrt wird, genau nach dem Brauch der Alten!" Damit hatte ich ihnen alle Mutlosigkeit genommen und gleichzeitig ihren Ehrgeiz angestachelt; es wurde ihnen leicht ums Herz und ihr Entschluß war bald reif. Der eine nach dem anderen verließ diesen Platz, wo wir verhandelt hatten, suchte seine Hütte auf und griff zur Axt, die er sich aufschulterte. Im Walde wählten sie passende Stämme aus, legten sie um und schleppten sie herbei. An der Stelle, an der im letzten Sommer die *kina*-Hütte gestanden hatte, errichteten sie die gleiche kegelförmige Hütte. Ohne Verzug begann das *Ídima-yékamui*, das ich in all seinen Teilen beobachten konnte. Meinen feuerländischen Freunden werde ich es zeitlebens aufrichtig danken, daß sie mir die seltene Auszeichnung gewährt haben, in der Schule ihrer Medizinmänner[297] gesessen zu haben.

Mehrere Tage nach Abschluß dessen ereignete sich ein Todesfall, der die Aufmerksamkeit aller Leute, wie üblich, vollauf in Anspruch nahm. Die Frau des alten THOMAS, die seit Jahren an einem schmerzlichen Unterleibsleiden gelitten hatte, starb. Weil viele Leute anwesend waren, ergab es sich von selber, daß sie zur gemeinschaftlichen Totenfeier *yamalaiemdjna* zusammentraten. Auch mich lud man dazu ein. Mit einer Naturhaftigkeit, der ich noch

[297] Die ersten vorläufigen Veröffentlichungen über das Medizinmannwesen finden sich bei GUSINDE (d): 9 und (n): 968, sowie bei KOPPERS (a): 178.

nie begegnet war, ließen sie ihren schmerzlichen Empfindungen freien Lauf, ohne Menschenfurcht und ohne Verschämtheit; mit einer fast alltäglichen Selbstverständlichkeit wandten sie sich, einer nach dem anderen, mit Gebeten und Drohungen an ihre Gottheit *Watagindwu*. Hierbei erlebte ich wirklich ihr religiöses Bewußtsein und schaute ihre religiöse Betätigung. Eine unschätzbar wertvolle Ergänzung zu den Mitteilungen über die Religion dieses Volkes vom Jahre vorher brachte mir dieses Ereignis.

Manche Einzelheiten sammelte ich noch ein, Unklarheiten aus den früheren Besuchen stellte ich richtig, an Gebrauchsgegenständen und Pflanzen erwarb ich, was mir noch fehlte. Nun wollte ich meine Forschung bei den Yamana endgültig beschließen. Wieder hatte ich zwei Monate auf Isla Navarino verweilt, ausschließlich umgeben von diesen Feuerländern. Ein strenger Winter hatte sich bereits angekündigt, darum durfte ich meinen Ritt ins Innere der Isla Grande nicht weiter hinausschieben. In voller Überzeugung, daß ich Bedeutsame Ereignisse bei Fortsetzung meiner Arbeit hier nicht mehr erreichen könnte, weil alles erschöpft zu sein schien, richtete ich mich auf den Abschied ein. Die alten Leute versicherten mir wiederholt, daß sie alles erzählt und jedes gezeigt hätten, was ihnen durch die Vorfahren überliefert worden war. Sie hatten mich nicht betrogen, so viel Ehrlichkeit mußte ich ihnen zutrauen. Mit Wehmut trennten wir uns; denn sie sowohl wie ich selber wußten und fühlten es, wir würden uns nicht mehr wiedersehen!

Während ich auf einem flachen Kahn, der dem alten SANTIAGO gehörte, den Canal de Beagle in der Richtung auf Punta Remolino durchquerte, überdachte ich das traurige Lebensschicksal dieses Volkes, das, wie so manches andere, im Verlauf eines halben Jahrhunderts durch das Europäertum an den Rand des baldigen Unterganges getrieben worden ist.

Auf der Farm der Brüder LAWRENCE rüstete ich mich unverzüglich für den Ritt zum Lago Fagnano. Die Zeit drängte; denn auf dem Gebirge, das ich nun abermals überqueren mußte, lag bereits Schnee. Das Wetter zeigte sich günstig und obwohl die Gipfel vereist waren, erreichte ich das kleine Lager der Selk'nam auf der anderen Seite. Bei ihnen blieb ich, erlebte die geheime Männerfeier und erwarb eine schöne Sammlung von Mythen. Als ich mit geschwächter Gesundheit Mitte Juli, im strengsten Winter, von ihnen mich trennte, geriet ich beim Überschreiten des Gebirges in ernste Lebensgefahr. Dem wackeren Tom danke ich es, daß ich mich heute noch des Daseins erfreue (Bd. I, 116, Abb. 10).[100]

Am Canal de Beagle bin ich keinem Yamana mehr begegnet, wohl aber unterhielt ich mich noch oft und lange mit NELLY. Für sie war jeder meiner Besuche ein Ereignis besonderer Art. Beim letzten Abschied beteuerte sie mir, daß sie nun ruhiger das schwere Los ihres Volkes in dem frohen Bewußtsein trage, alle meine Beobachtungen, die ich in einem umfangreichen Buche zu

[100] Ein eigener Bericht über die Arbeiten bei den Selk'nam in diesem Winter findet sich bei Gusinde (d): 22 und (e): 522, sowie in Bd. I, 101.

zusammenzustellen beabsichtige, werden auf ewige Zeiten eine Ehrenrettung für ihre vielgeschmähten Landsleute sein! Ihr versprach ich damals, daß ich dieses Werk auf das beste auszustatten plane. Leider hat sie dessen Erscheinen nicht mehr erlebt.

Noch einmal wiederhole ich es laut, daß ich den überraschend reichen Erfolg meiner vier Reisen der großzügigen Unterstützung und unschätzbar wertvollen Mithilfe der Familie LAWRENCE und im besonderen der nimmermüden NELLY verdanke. Die gründliche Kenntnis der feuerländischen Kultur, die ich mir bei den Yamana erworben habe, erwies sich bald als eine glückliche Vorbedingung für die Forschungsarbeit bei den Selk'nam und Halakwulup. Damit, daß ich hier angefangen habe, erhielt ich die günstige Richtung für mein ganzes Unternehmen.[199]

Mit nächster Gelegenheit fuhr ich in Begleitung von MARTIN LAWRENCE nach Punta Arenas zurück, wo ich am 7. September 1923 landete. Nach zwei Wochen brachte mich die Escampavía "Piloto Sibhold" der chilenischen Marine in das Gebiet der Halakwulup, wo ich einige Monate zubrachte. Nach einem kurzen Besuch des Tehuelche-Lagers am Fuße der argentinischen Kordillere kam ich wieder nach Punta Arenas. Hier verpackte und verschiffte ich die reichhaltigen Sammlungen.

Mit aufrichtigem Dank gegen die chilenischen und argentinischen Behörden, die gastfreundlichen Patres des Salesianerordens und viele hilfbereite Privatleute verließ ich das Magallanes-Gebiet und traf Mitte April 1924 in Santiago ein. Auf ein ergebnisreiches Forschen schaue ich mit Genugtuung zurück und das Feuerland wird mir ein unauslöschliches Erlebnis bleiben.

C. Die Yamana einst und jetzt

Die als "Nassauische Flotte" bekannte holländische Expedition unter dem Befehle des Admirals L'HERMITE hatte im Februar 1624 in der Bahía Nassau einige Bewohner des Kap Hoorn-Archipels kennengelernt und in einem blutigen Überfall sogar einige Matrosen verloren; sie hat auch von jenen "Wilden" die ersten Nachrichten in Europa verbreitet (S. 50). Bis zum Beginn des XIX. Jahrhunderts sind nur selten die Mannschaften europäischer Schiffe mit den dort beheimateten Eingeborenen in Verbindung getreten. Seitdem um das Jahr 1850 die anglikanische Mission sich ihrer angenommen hatte, steigerten sich die bis dahin sehr lückenhaften Kenntnisse von ihrer völkischen und rassischen Eigenart, von ihren Sitten und Gewohnheiten, von ihrer Sprache und geistigen Verfassung. Dafür gebühret jenen Missionaren reichlichster Dank; denn durch ihre ersten Arbeiten und zahlreichen Beobachtungen wurde für die Forschungen in späterer Zeit, für das restlose Erfassen des gesamten Kulturbesitzes jenes Indianerstammes der Grund gelegt.

[199] Allgemeine Angaben über meine Arbeitsweise, sind niedergelegt, außer in den bereits genannten Quellen, in Gusinde (c): 186 und (h): [34].

Während früher jene ferne Inselwelt allgemein gefürchtet und gemieden wurde, setzten mit den 80er Jahren die ersten Versuche europäischer Ansiedlung ein; diese führten im Laufe der nächsten Jahrzehnte dahin, daß nach und nach alle verwertbaren Landstriche von den Fremdlingen besetzt und die früheren Besitzer beinahe gedrängt wurden. Die anglikanische Mission hat eine ausgedehnte Tätigkeit entfaltet und es von vornherein darauf abgesehen, den ganzen Stamm zu erfassen. Je leichter aber, von ihr unbewußt vorbereitet, das Europäertum sich dort entfalten konnte, um so mehr Nachteile und Schäden erwuchsen daraus für die Eingeborenen.

Von allem Fremdartigen, das ihnen gewollt oder ungewollt angetragen wurde, müssen die eingeschleppten Seuchen als erste Ursache einer verheerenden Vernichtung genannt werden. Andere Umstände, obgleich jeder für sich von geringerer Wirkungskraft war, haben, zusammengerechnet und in Verbindung mit den Krankheiten, einen Angriff von solch entsetzlicher Wirkung auf die Lebenskraft des Yamana-Volkes geführt, daß von ihm heute nur noch eine Handvoll Vertreter übrig geblieben ist. Während durch die vereinzelten Besuche europäischer Schiffe in den früheren Jahrhunderten die Wohlfahrt und Volksgesundheit jener Indianer keinen Schaden gelitten hatten, ist es den letzten acht Jahrzehnten vorbehalten geblieben, sie bis auf einen kleinen Rest aufzureiben. Wer den geschichtlichen Verlauf aller Geschehnisse nachprüft, wird unumwunden zugeben: Wäre das Europäertum in jenen entfernten Erdenwinkel nie vorgedrungen, die Feuerländer hätten zwar auf ihrer dürftigen Lebenshaltung und den sehr einfachen Gebrauchsgegenständen verharrt, aber ihre unveränderte Volkseinheit würde noch heute mit unterhöhlenem Lebenswillen über die Machtentfaltung aller unfreundlichen Naturkräfte ihrer Heimat obsiegen. Die Warnungen lauter Stimmen aus den letzten drei Jahrzehnten, den Untergang der Feuerländer hintanzuhalten, sind von den berufenen Stellen überhört worden. Bald hat die letzte Lebensstunde eines Volkes geschlagen, dessen Kulturform als eine der ersten auf amerikanischen Boden vorgefunden worden war und die ihre bedeutsamsten Bestandteile fast unverändert in der rauhen feuerländischen Umgebung durch Jahrhunderte so lange erhalten hatte, bis das Europäertum ihm den Todesstoß versetzte.

Nachdem ich zu Beginn des Jahres 1924 die noch verwahrten Kulturgüter bei den letzten Überlebenden des Yamana-Volkes gesammelt und für die Wissenschaft gerettet hatte, schloß ich meine Forschungen ab. Genau dreihundert Jahre waren bis dahin verflossen, seitdem diesen Feuerländern in der Volkskraft ihrer unversehrten Urwüchsigkeit die ersten Europäer sich genähert und auch gegenübergestellt hatten.

a. Stammesname

Von vielen Stellen der Erde ist es bekannt, daß der eigentliche Stammesname einer bestimmten Volksgruppe, erst lange nachdem man mit ihr selber vertraut geworden war, eindeutig festgelegt wurde. Diese Erscheinung, die

ene von den Selk'nam her noch in frischem Gedächtnis ist (Bd. I, 121), wiederholt sich auch bei den Yamana. Die Seefahrer der älteren Zeit hielten sich durchgängig an die von MAGALLANES gewählte Benennung und waren zweifelsohne im Recht, wenn sie die Bewohner des Kap Hoorn-Archipels ganz allgemein als "Feuerländer" ansahen.[110] D. ihnen durchgängig eine scharfe Beobachtungsgabe eigen war, versuchten sie nach gewissen äußeren Merkmalen und auffälligen Unterschieden die Eigenart der jeweiligen Gegend und die Abweichungen der Bewohner des einen Bezirkes vom anderen hervorzuheben. Meist benannten sie jene Völkerschaften in Anlehnung an den Namen der geographischen Örtlichkeit. Zuweilen gaben selbst geringfügige Verschiedenheiten der einen Gruppe von der nachbarlichen jenen Seeleuten schon Veranlassung, die Zusammengehörigkeit beider zum gleichen Volke in Zweifel zu ziehen. Was an Benennungen, die als eigentliche Stammesnamen gedacht waren, von ihnen für die Bewohner dieser südlichsten Inselwelt aufgestellt worden ist, sind durchgehends Ableitungen vom Namen des jeweiligen Wohnortes dieser und jener Gruppe.

Als erster hat FITZ-ROY (a): 132 eine bestimmte Namengebung für die heute als Yamana bekannten Eingeborenen versucht. Im Zuge der Abgrenzung der verschiedenen Völkerstämme am späteren Ende Südamerikas erwähnt er, daß „westward of these people [gemeint sind seine *Yacana-kunny* or foot people, teilweise die eigentlichen Selk'nam[111]], separated from them by a ridge of mountains, was a tribe called *Kay-dnie, Kay-yus*, or *Kay-es*". Das gilt offensichtlich zunächst für die westlichen Yamana,[112] wenn nicht gar für die Mehrheit dieses Stammes, und dürfte nach Auffassung des englischen [illegible] für die Bewohner der südlichen Inseln des Feuerlandes sein.

Doch mag ein besonderer Anlaß zum baldigen Abweichen von dieser Bezeichnung ausschlaggebend gewesen sein; denn FITZ-ROY verbessert sich selber und bemerkt, daß südlich von den eben erwähnten *Yacana* „is the tribe formerly called *Kay-ahnu*, now probably the *Tekeenica*".[113] Dieser letzte Ausdruck ist es nun, der von vielen späteren Schriftstellern bis in die neueste Zeit hinein übernommen und gebraucht wurde, und zwar entweder ausschließ-

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[110] Vgl. hierzu die Ausführungen und Quellenschriften in Bd. I, 22, ferner bei KOENIGSWALD: 110 und bei GUSINDE (b): 38.

[111] Vgl. "Hoga Sudoro de la parte central del continente sudamericano", angin. V. PAZZIS. Diese Karte wurde wiedergegeben durch PRATENAM (b) und verbessert durch LOMNAM-NEWCOMB (b): 18. Eine ausführliche Begründung findet sich bei LOMNAM-NEWCOMB (d): 209. Daß auch dieser hinzu diese Bezeichnung beibehalten war, ersieht man aus SERRANO (a): 176.

[112] Allerdings beschränkt LOMNAM-NEWCOMB (b): 18 diesen Namen nach den Gewässern in seiner Karte auf die südlichsten Bereiche.

[113] Von diesen Stämmen der südlichen FITZ-ROY (a): 137 auch eine ausführliche Schilderung, in der er ihre Heimat genauer umgrenzt und die folgendermaßen beginnt: „The Tekeenica nations of the south-eastern portion of Tierra del Fuego, are low of stature, ill-looking, and badly proportioned." Demnach meint er mit seinem "Tekeenica" die südlichere Gruppe der Feuerländer.

lich zur Bezeichnung der südlichsten Yamana-Gruppe oder teilweise auch als Benennung des gesamten Yamana-Stammes. Viele Jahre mußten erst verstreichen, bevor die richtige Bedeutung dieses seltsamen Wortes, das FITZ-ROY (a): 137 selber als eigentliche Stammesbezeichnung aufgefaßt hatte, klargestellt wurde. Wie er zu jener Wortbildung gekommen ist, erzählt BRIDGES (h): 207 ausführlich. Als nämlich FITZ-ROY sich auf einer Erkundigungsfahrt durch den Kanal "Putrusia" [*Putrusája*[115]] befand, fragte er „a un muchacho aborigen, llamado JEMMY BUTTON, el nombre del estrecho. No comprendió la pregunta y dijo en su propia lengua: *Tekianaka*, con lo cual quería decir que le era un sitio desconocido. *Teci* significa 'ver', y *Tekianaca* quiere decir 'extraño, no visto antes'". Diese Antwort des Indianerjünglings, die FITZ-ROY nicht verstanden hat, gab er selber als eigentlichen Stammesnamen[116] an die Nachwelt weiter.

Nicht nur von ihm wurde er benutzt, sondern er wurde auf Grund seines eigenen Vorgehens auch bald Allgemeingut der Europäer. Noch bei HYADES (j): 149 beispielsweise, etwa fünfzig Jahre später, liest man: „On connaît suffisamment l'habitat, la zone de distribution de ces *Tekeniha*, qui se trouvent depuis les parages du cap Horn au sud, jusqu' au centre du canal du Beagle." Zweifelsohne besitzt die letztgenannte Benennung gegenüber der ersteren ebensowenig Berechtigung.

Eine zweite, ebenfalls von FITZ-ROY vorgeschlagene Stammesbezeichnung, "*Yappú*" bezw. "*Yappoos*", fand indes nirgendwo Anklang. Offensichtlich ablehnend klingen die Worte, mit denen BRIDGES (h): 207 sich äußert: „*Yappú* viene de *aiapuk [áipuɣ]*, una nutria.[117] Ninguno de estos términos *[Tekiniha, Yappúa]* es conocido por los yahganes."[117]

Demgegenüber verschaffte sich eine andere Benennung, die allerdings nur rein äußerlich der eigentlichen Stammesbezeichnung nahe kam, überall Eingang.[118] Wieder war es THOMAS BRIDGES, der, nachdem er die Be-

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[115] Das ist der einheimische Name für das Gebiet, welches heute als "Bahía Tekeniha" in die Landkarten eingezeichnet wird. MARTIAL: 209 schreibt "Pontoursoya".

[116] So wiederholt HYADES (q): 14, daß die südlichste Abteilung der feuerländischen Indianer „a été appelée Téhéniha par FITZ-ROY, dans l'idée erronée que Téhéniha ou Téhiniha était le nom indigène d'une grande baie de l'île Hoste". Die gleiche Begründung bringen DARWIN (b): 169, LEHMANN-NITSCHE (b): 17, LOTHARIO (b): 97, MARTIAL: 209 u. a.

[117] LEHMANN-NITSCHE (b): 19 vermutet, hinweisend auf die Mitteilungen von FITZ-ROY (a): 183, 203, daß „Japu es apodo dado por los Alakaluf a los Yámana, en general". Mir scheint dies unwahrscheinlich; doch ist sicher, daß die Halakwalup für Fischotter eine andere Bezeichnung besitzen.

[117] Die von verschiedenen Beobachtern angegebenen Stammesnamen für die Yamana haben BARROS ARANA (b): I, 39, HYADES (j): 149 und LOTA (b): 56, neuerdings FERLOUNI (r): 176 und CORTESI: 2 zusammengestellt.

[118] Diesen Unterschied betont HYADES (j): 150 folgendermaßen: „C'est le directeur actuel de la mission anglaise du canal de Beagle, qui leur a donné le nom d'Yahgan, lequel a sur le mot Tekeniha, qui n'avait aucune réalité de sens, l'avantage de désigner une localité (détroit de Murray ou Murray's Narrows), dans le nom indigène est Yahgo, et dans le voisinage de laquelle il y a une certaine agglomération de Fuégiens."

nennung für die südlichste und mittlere Yamana-Gruppe "*Tekesnika*" in ihren wahren Sinn aufgeklärt hatte, das Wort "*Yahgan*" als Eigennamen für den ganzen Stamm, also für das südlichste Volk der Feuerländer, vorschlug. Er selber gesteht dies ein: „Los yahganes fueron así llamados por mi por un distrito central llamado *Yahga*" (BRIDGES [h]: 207).[219] Das bestätigt der Missionar ASPINALL: 270 ausdrücklich: „Der Stamm, unter welchem die Mission Ushuaia gegründet wurde, hat von Rev. BRIDGES den Namen *Jahganen* erhalten, nach einer von ihm frequentierten Lokalität südlich vom Beagle Kanal."

Die Wahl dieser Benennung ist in weitem Maße willkürlich.[220] Bei den Yamana heißt die am Ostende liegende Nordspitze der Isla Hoste *yége* oder *yike yiike* und die von dorther genau nach Süden sich erstreckende Angostura Murray *yégan aiége* oder *yikan aiéike*. Weil nun diese Gegend im Herzen des Yamana-Gebietes liegt und weil BRIDGES — allerdings irrtümlicherweise — hier das Zusammenströmen vieler Einzelfamilien aus allen Richtungen vermutet hatte,[221] deshalb benannte er darnach den ganzen Stamm mit "*Yahgan*".[222] In der gleichen Richtung liegt auch der Umstand, den allein ELLIS: 36 namhaft gemacht hat: „The language is called *Yaugan* because *Yauga* is a district in the centre of the land, and the dialect spoken by the people inhabiting it, is that which Mr. BRIDGES has learned, and which he considers to be the best standard, because it is central, and differs less from the extremes than they do from each other. The name *Yaugans* includes all the *Yaugan* — speaking people who occupy both shores of the Beagle Channel and the shores of all the islands south of it. But the natives do not use the term."[223] Einerlei nun, was BRIDGES bewogen haben mag, er war in *jener Zeit* der einzige Sachkenner und deshalb tonangebend; auch bediente er selber sich überall dieses Indianer-

[219] Erstmalig hat BRIDGES sein Vorgehen im "South American Missionary Magazin", vol. XVII, London 1870 begründet (Vgl. auch MM: XXVII, 77; 1888). Sie dahin wurde von den englischen Missionaren, die ausschließlich bei diesem feuerländischen Stamme tätig waren, der Bezeichnung: Fueglandern, Fuegians und sogar auch Tekesnika pilgrimis verwendet.

[220] Der Versuch FUMAGAL's (c): 176, dieses Vorgehen durch Hinweis auf die Namengebung, die bei den Yamana üblich ist, zu rechtfertigen, kann nicht als stichhaltig gelten. Er schreibt: „Bridges called them 'Yahgan', wisely adopting, in the case of a tribe, a custom applied by them to individuals, for their names mostly are taken from the place of birth." Die Entstehung des Stammesnamens geht ganz anders als die eines Personennamens vor sich.

[221] HYADES (q): 14 wiederholt, daß „le terme de Yahgan [fut] décrété, dit M. Bridges, du nom indigène des passes de Murray, entre le canal du Beagle et la baie Pasaoubay, lieu de réunion d'un grand nombre de familles indigènes, aujourd'hui éparses ou disparues". Vgl. LAGRANGE-NEUGRIS (h): 12, der dieses Wort mit "Canal chico" übersetzt. Das ist deshalb nicht zutreffend, weil Yagan ein Eigenname ist; das Wort yaha allerdings bedeutet: klein.

[222] Von BRIDGES selber wurde BOVE (o): 136 darüber unterrichtet, der erläuternde berichtet: „Bove Nauru erhielten die Yagan von dem Kanale Jagamembaga, welcher die Insel Ualle (Navarin) von Uoin (Hoste) trennt und den Mittelpunkt der bewohnten Gebiete dieses Teiles von Feuerland bildet." Vgl. BOVE (o): 135, CABAO P.: 324, CAGNONI: 104, SIMMERS (k): 170, ELLIS: 36, FUMAGAL (j): 3 und (c): 176, GIUSSANI (h): 72, HYADES (q): 14 u. a.

[223] Aus dieser Darstellung ist eindeutig zu entnehmen, daß BRIDGES erläuternde einige wirklich vorhandene Dialektverschiedenheiten im Gebiete der Yamana erkannt hat.

worten. Zwar erfuhr es durch andere bald geringe Abänderungen in der Schreibweise, man findet *Yagan*, *Yaghan*, *Jagan*, *Jahagan* u. ähnl. m.; von fast allen Schriftstellern jedoch wurde es beibehalten und gebraucht. Trotz allem läßt sich nicht verhehlen, daß Bancroft mit dem Hinweis auf die Gegend um *yágan ukúku* [die Angostura Murray] bewußt oder unbewußt einen guten Griff getan hat. Dieselbe nimmt wirklich die Mitte des ganzen Yamana-Gebietes ein und um diese Zentralgruppe mit eigenem Dialekt lagern sich die vier anderen Dialektgruppen, die damals von Bancroft in ihrer Selbständigkeit innerhalb bestimmter Grenzen noch nicht deutlich genug erkannt worden waren.[144]

Sogar heutigentage ist diese Benennung überall noch so geläufig, daß unscheinend die einzig richtige Stammesbezeichnung *Yámana* sich nicht durchzusetzen vermag. Kein geringerer als Bancroft selber hat den letztgenannten Ausdruck zuerst bekanntgegeben. In einer seiner späteren Abhandlungen äußerte er sich ausführlich: „*Esta palabra yámana aplicada especialmente a la humanidad, es altamente significativa, pues expresa la idea de que el hombre es la forma más elevada de la vida. Esta palabra, en efecto, significa vivo; como sustantivo quiere decir vida, y como verbo vivir, revelar la vida o la salud.*" (Bancroft [b]: 207) Die Allgemeinbedeutung des Wortes *Yámana* im Sinne von menschliches Wesen, Mensch, Volk, ist durch spätere Forschung sichergestellt worden.[145]

In einem mehr einschränkenden Sinne betrachten sich jene Eingeborenen als die eigentlichen Yamana, so daß das Wort *Yámana* so viel wie unser Volk, wir bedeutet. Insofern bewerten sie sich selber, in unverkennbar egozentrischer Einstellung, als die wirklichen Menschen, die nur gleichen Volkscharakter zusammengeschlossen sind und die vergleichsweise Nachbarvölkern getrennt dastehen. Durch diese Namensgebung betonen sie auch gleichzeitig ihren Unterschied von den nicht-menschlichen Wesen, also von Lebewesen aus dem Tierreiche und aus ihrer Geisterwelt.[146]

[144] Näheres Hinweise auf diese Verhältnisse liegen vor bei Gusinde (d): 12, (k): 13 und (n): 1018.

[145] Bove (c): 156 schreibt: „Sie selbst legen sich den Namen *Jamana* (menschliches Wesen) bei." Bancroft: 200 wiederholt: „*Los Yaméanos entre el Cabo de Hornos y la isla Grande se llaman a sí mismos simplemente yamana (hombres) como la nueva Ipsalanata nuestra nueva nacionaes.*" Wenig Beachtung hat sein Ausdruck gefunden: „*Llamándose entre sí mismos vivos (dichos. Pero el vocablo Bancroft prefiere llamarlos yahgan que corresponde la palabra yágois (habitar).*" Nicht in allen Teilen zutreffend ist, was Bacon: 36 ausführt: „They call themselves simply Yamana or Man, and their language Yámana' bóochs or Man's Talon. Yámana literally means sound, whole, healthy, well, living, and yámana to live, be living, recover life or health, recover after sickness, or to heal or a wound ...." Estudios Bryant (g): 11, „*Se nomo que los Yahgan se denominan á sus mismos es que traqué de su dialecto que entre paréntesis sus yamana, qui significa hombres, individuos, gente*". In gleichem Sinne äußern sich Cucurpe: 11, Dyemerre (h): 138, Fenzelaw (o): 176, Lemaire-Simonin (d): 238, Lawrance (h): 24, Gusinde (d): 136, Platzmann (a): 25 u. a. m.

[146] Diese Deutung teilt Bove (c): 155 in folgender Weise: „*Entre ellos se llaman Jamana y hacia este nombre se sienten por los otros como superiores.*"

Nichts scheint deshalb so allseitig gerechtfertigt, als das einheimische Wort Yámana ganz ausschließlich zur Bezeichnung dieses südlichsten Feuerländerstammes zu verwenden. Im vorliegenden Werke geschieht es jedenfalls, wie ich dieserhalb auch in früheren Schriften folgerichtig mir gleich publiziert hin.[97]

Der Vollständigkeit halber bleibt schließlich noch zu erwähnen, daß einige Reisende zu Beginn des XIX. Jahrhunderts jene Eingeborenen nach dem Rufe yamanáhna betitelt haben, mit welchem letztere eben jeden Fremden bis zum Überdrusse anzusprechen pflegten. Diesen Anweg schlugen jene Europäer in Ermangelung einer sicheren Stammesbezeichnung ein; unbewußt wohl auch deshalb, weil das ununterbrochene Wiederholen des gleichen Wortes auf sie sehr belästigend wirkte. Man vermutete hinter ihm den Sinn: „Sei gütig, sei freigebig!" Gusinde: 362 und Martial: 30 sagen mit Hyades (q): 314 dafür: „Seyes généreux." Als Stammesname jedoch kommt dieses Wort ernstlich nicht in Betracht.

Rasmussen Feuerländer ist der einzige, dem wir entnehmen, daß den bei Isla Waterman im Dezember 1774 angetroffenen „wenigen Eingeborenen öfters das Wort 'Yrschrill' aus dem Munde kam" (Vgl. James Cook (b): 182). Die dortigen Indianer gehören zweifelsohne zu den Yamana und auch nur von dieser kleinen Gruppe wird berichtet, daß sie dieses Ruf angewendet haben. Ist der Ursprung dieses Wortes von vornherein unklar,[98] so bleibt m. E. als nächstliegende Möglichkeit, daß es sich von den südlichsten Halakwulup bis zu den westlichen bzw. südwestlichen Yamana verbreitet hat. Weil es aus früherer Zeit nur ein einziges Mal erwähnt wird und die von mir befragten Indianer es gar nicht kannten, ist zweifelsohne der Schluß berechtigt, daß der Ursprung dieses Wortes nicht hier im Yamana-Gebiete zu suchen sei (S. 57).

An dieser Stelle läßt sich passend einfügen, daß unsere Eingeborenen gleichzeitig mit den benachbarten Halakwulup als "Kanu-Indianer" und auch als "Wasserbewohner" bezeichnet werden, im Gegensatz zu den Selk'nam auf der Isla Grande, die man "Fuß-Indianer"[99] nennt. Beide Worte wollen und können keine Stammesnamen sein; sie geben nur schlaglichtartig die Grundform der Wirtschaft dieser und jener Gruppe, wodurch sie sich in auffallender Weise voneinander unterscheiden, zu erkennen.

[97] Die zahlreichen Quellenschriften, aus denen die verschiedenen Bezeichnungen der Stämme der Yamana zu entnehmen sind, hat Gusinde-I zusammengestellt. Vgl. auch Gusinde (b): 74.

[98] Die Fremdenanrede, welche von den Halakwulup der Selk'nam verwendet wird, trägt den gleichen Namen (Bd. I, 386). Auf Grund dieses ist der Erklärungsversuch von Gusinde (g): 29 unternommen worden. Vgl. auch die Bemerkungen Lamanon-Fleurieu's (d): 56.

[99] Bekanntlich nennen diese Ureinwohnerinnen von Feuerland (a): 132, Spöhr bei Bessere (1836: 137, 112, 1840) sie übersetzen, der "Ausdruck ist Fuß-Indianer" schreibt, auch bei Bulnes (Bd. I, 16, 1911) ist "Fuß-Indianer" (1896: 117, 182, 1919) bezeichnet er die Selk'nam (Bd. I, 16, 1911) als "Fuß-Indianer".

5. Stammesgruppen

Angesichts der zu allen Zeiten geringen Kopfzahl des gesamten Yamana-Volkes verzichtet man heute meist auf Aufteilung in Stammesgruppen, indem wird man bei Berücksichtigung der örtlichen Bedingungen seiner Heimat einen anderen bekennen. Innerhalb des langgestreckten Inselbereiches, den sie in ihrem geschichtlichen Einbruchsraum durchquerten, hat Mutter Natur selber da und dort hindernde Schranken aufgerichtet. Bekanntlich suchten sie auch Gegenhin den Südwestfuß der Isla Grande ab, ohne bis zur entwickelteren Lennox-Straße weiterzufahren. Nach Süden und Südwesten wagten sie sich über die Felsengeröller des Kap Horn und der Isla Hermite kaum je hinaus. Im Westen gehört Ihnen der letzte Ausläufer der Brookneck-Halbinsel eindringlich Halt; denn um ihn herumzufahren ist nur an dem einen oder anderen Tage des Jahres, an dem die dort immer bewegte See sich für wenige Stunden glättet, möglich.*** Was in dem umgrenzbaren Dreieck zwischen den genannten drei Eckpfeilern an Wasserarmen und Kanälen, an Eilanden und Inseln liegt, stand für den Aufenthalt der Kanus und für die Bärenjäger der Yamana offen.

Ebensowenig wie die einen spezifischen Stammesnamen gebraucht haben und sich mit Nachdruck eben nur als die Yámana, als die Menschen hier in diesem Gebiete bezeichnen, besitzen sie einen eigenen Namen für das Land, das ihnen zur Heimat geworden ist. Geographisch lassen sich leicht fünf Bezirke unterscheiden, in denen bestimmten Gruppen sich auch die gleiche Zahl von Dialektgruppen gebildet hat. Diese Bezirke wurden und werden durch Wasserläufe und durch Bergzüge der Landschaft voneinander abgesperrt, was jede einzelne zwingt, für sich allein zu stehen. Auf Grund dessen haben sich wenige Eigenheiten ausgebildet, die einer jede von ihrer unmittelbaren Nachbarin gemeinsam besitzen. Von allen gegenseitigen Abweichungen sind offensichtlich die dialektischen am größten. Demnach bestehe eine Aufteilung des gesamten Stammes einzig und allein nach den fünf Dialektgruppen zu Recht, die entsteht zu werden verdient. Aus Dialektmitteln dieses sind frühere anthropologischen Vermerke aufzuzeichnen wurden, die deshalb hier nicht ganz übergangen werden dürfen, weil sie zur Klarstellung mancher Verhältnisse heimatmäßig geeignet sind.

1. Die fünf Dialektgruppen

Die Inselwelt innerhalb des andern geschlossenen weitgegegenseitigen Umfängnisses Bild auf den ersten Blick ihre unterschiedlichen Gliederung erkennen. Die besonderen landschaftlichen Eigenart einer jeden der fünf Bezirke mag geringfügig und belanglos erscheinen; sie genügen vielleicht, um einige

*** Im gleichen Sinne schreibt Gusinde (S. 172) daß „Brookneck Peninsula was a remarkable barrier to intercommunication between these two tribes (Yamana and Shiskwabapi). With an overall crowd of about hundred days of rain and snow and the other sixty-five sun pleasant, according to Emil Lumen the weather side of the bounding cliffs of Brookneck Peninsula was something which only the most daring or hardy ventured, and it was impossible for these canoe men to pass over the barren, mountainous summits beyond".

Sonderformen in das Kulturbild jeder einzelnen Gruppe einzufügen. Man erkennt darin die Auswirkung der unterschiedlichen Umwelt einer jeden Zone auf ihre jeweiligen Bewohner. Das unvermeidliche Abgeschlossensein der einzelnen Stammesgruppen voneinander hat am deutlichsten und tiefsten die Sprache beeinflußt und zur Entfaltung von den fünf Dialekten geführt.

Eine jede besitzt ihre auf geographischen Bedingungen begründete Selbständigkeit und deutlich erkennbare Eigenart. Von allen übrigen Inseln sondert sich auffällig die abgerundete Gesamtheit der Islas Wollaston ab. Überdies ist der von Südosten und von Südwesten her offene, breite Zugang zur Bahía Nassau nur selten gefahrlos zu überqueren. Die Wollaston-Bewohner bilden die Südgruppe der Yamana und heißen Yáhthinjáin, Yáhuidmalin, das Wort Yáhthin bedeutet Gruppe am mehreren Inseln bestehend. Die Genannten werden von den übrigen Landsleuten als besonders wild und gefährlich geschildert, ihnen ist auch die Mehrzahl schiffbrüchiger Europäer in die Hände gefallen. Gerade nahe dem Kap Horn sind so manche menschliche Fahrzeuge gestrandet, Wind und Wellen haben wiederholt Schiffstrümmer und verunglückte Seeleute gegen seine steilen Felsinseln getrieben. Zweifelsohne ist dieser und jener Europäer von den Eingeborenen umgebracht worden, den Anlaß zur Plünderung ganzer Schiffe wird man in jedem Einzelfalle nicht mehr mit Gewißheit ausfindig machen können. Das alles hat man jener südlichsten Yamana-Gruppe — und gleichzeitig damit ihren ganzen Stamm — auch bei den Europäern in sehr schlechter Beurteilung gestellt. Daß die Wollaston-Leute im allgemeinen eine charakterlich und sittlich niedrigere Stellung als die anderen Gruppen ihres Volkes eingenommen hätten, läßt sich zwar nicht erweisen; aber es ist nun einmal Tatsache, daß eine unbestimmte Furcht und eine unbegründete Abneigung sie verbindet mit der Gesamtgruppe, im Urteil der übrigen Landsleute, in dunklerem Lichte geschaut hat, als sie wirklich verdienten.

Wiederholt wurde mir gesagt, auf Isla L'Hermite hätte eine lange Reihe von Geschlechtern ohne das bekannte Kano gelebt. Erst im April 1922 erfuhr ich vom alten Pamu, wie es dazu gekommen ist, daß jene Leute das unentbehrliche notwendige Fahrzeug entbehren mußten. Die Bewohner der Isla L'Hermite waren mit ihren Nachbarn, den südlichen Wollaston-Leuten, in Streit geraten und ihrer Kanos beraubt worden. Mehreren Geschlechtern war es seitdem unmöglich, auf anderen Inseln überzusetzen, wo sie sich geeignete Rindenstücke hätten erwerben können. Denn da die Bäume auf Isla L'Hermite weniger gut gedeihen und nur in geringer Größe sich entwickeln, fehlt dort die für den Kanobau passende Rinde. Wiederholtemal waren sie darauf angewiesen, am Strande zu jagen und zu sammeln. Als nach längerer Zeit endlich einige Nachbarn sich auf Isla L'Hermite einfanden, ermöglichten sie es den dortigen Bewohnern wieder zu Fahrzeugen zu gelangen.[*]

[*] Entsprechendes sind die Worte gemäßen, wenn Fitz-Roy (a): 187 sagt: „Some of the families of this roving division of the Tekenika have no canoes, living constantly at a distance from the shore, and subsisting upon berries, birds-eggs, gleanings, and birds. The bows and arrows of these men are longer and heavier, and they have some very fine dogs, which

Jenes Gebiet der Yamana, das sich nördlich der Isla Wellington, vom Längengrade 67° 30' bis zur La Maire-Straße erstreckt, gehört der Ona-gruppe, dem Indianerstamm. Das Indian, Indian bedeutet der Ona, entspricht. Es umfaßt die östliche Küste der Isla Navarino, angefangen vom Westrande der Bahía Windhund, verläuft am Canal Goree bis etwa zum Puerto Leiva auf dem Nordrande der gleichnamigen Insel. Außerdem das diesem Hafen gegenüberliegende Nordufer des Canal de Beagle bis zum Estrecho de Lemaire, einschließlich der Isla Gable, Isla Picton, Isla Nueva und Isla Lennox, sowie der benachbarten kleineren Inseln. Die östliche Ausdehnung der Ona-Yamana an die Bewohner der Isla Grande, wieso es zum Haus oder Sch'kaus, hatte nicht nur Verkehrsfolgen, sondern auch Handlungsmuster verursachende Gedankenfolgen zur Folge (Bd. I, 138). Hieraus Umstande muß man es zuschreiben, daß die Onaten sich von ihren übrigen Landsleuten weit abgesondert haben. Bemerkenswert ist, daß ihr Wohnsitz genau auf den Punkt fällt, bis zu welchem die Sch'kaus kam. Haus verzichtet sich am Canal de Beagle nach Westen vorgewagt haben. Daß die Onaten ein durchschnittlicher Körperwuchs die anderen Yamana-Gruppen überragten und daß sie zwischen mit Bogen und Pfeil ausgerüstet waren, bedarf nach den ohne genauere Anführungen weiterer Erklärung nicht mehr. Bildes aber hat den Anfall dazu, daß sie von ihren übrigen Stammesgenossen besonders gefürchtet wurden.

Vielen von der allgemeinen Furcht der übrigen Yamana-Gruppen vor den bedrohenden Sch'kaus mag unterwegs auf die Onaten übertragen worden sein, die sich dessenthalb in einiger Selbstüberhebung den Stolz und Zornesbeiwort übertragen fühlten. Vorzugsweise Überfälle pflegt auf diese Weise erklärt sich nun Glaubens zu den fast cosmopolitic Volk der Oldyamaiten. Mit unverhohlener Angst verfolgen sich die Leute der nördlichen und westlichen Gegenden auch heute immer noch von einem urbrüdigen Volke vom Schlage und von der Eigenart der Sch'kaus (vgl. Bd. I, 122 den Wort gibus, nördlich, gibus yámanas, Nordleute, d. h. Sch'kaus), das vor Jungerer Zeit im Innern der Isla Navarino gelebt haben soll. Es waren starke, kräftige, bedrohenden Menschen, ganz gleich den Sch'kaus, die sehr gewandt als alleinige Waffe ihre Bogen und Pfeile führten und sich in großer Menge aus Gummiwäldern einhüllten. Ihr Gesicht und ihr Körper, so weit es unbedeckt blieb, war ganz schwarz. Obwohl dieses Volk im Innern der Isla Navarino lebte, wagten sich mehrere Männer einst den Ufern an den Strand von, um einmalige Familien der Yamana zu überfallen und zu bestehlen. Eines Nachts, unter bei Wahrheit, hatten sie wieder die geringe Zahl der dort aufgeschlagenen Hütten überrumpelt und die Insassen getötet. Dabei gelang es einem Mädchen zu entkommen und sich vor den Mördern zu verbergen; aus seinem Versteck hörte es, wie diese sich unterhielten und was sie planten, weil sie in der Sprache der Yamana redeten. Als die Mörder wieder abgezogen waren, berichtete das Mädchen von

ere trained to crawl for and bring home food. The dogs often require the longer bridle, which leading on the ground, as well as when they are at rest, as quietly do they so if upon their pony." Die Ona bewohnen die Südwestecke der Isla Grande.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Sah jene visiten Männer gestehen, wir haben uns gewiß nicht geschämt? Wir wollen hier nicht länger bleiben, wir gehen sofort weg und werden uns an einem sicheren Ort verstecken." Darüber beiten die Männer jene noch mehr und die beiden Frauen schämten sich. Sie eilgerten nicht, nahmen ihre Sachen, bestiegen schnell ihre Kamele und verbrten sie nächsten Stadt. Hier mußten sie sich im Dunkel der Wüste eine kleine, unscheinbige Hütte und bleiben sich verdingen.

Kurzer Zeit, nachdem jene beiden Weiber abgeführen waren, begaben sich die Leute im Lager dort zur Nachtruhe nieder. Doch war es nicht bald geworden um andere Morgen, als schon einige Männer und Weiber in aller Eile zur Zeit kamen, wo die beiden Frauen ihre Hütte heimlich aufgeschlagen hatten. Augenscheinlich und voller Scheuchen verkündeten sie diesen, daß mehrere viele gaste und starke Männer heimlich sich zum Lager hereingeschlichen und diesen einen mitgenommen. Unerhört heimlich hatten mit wenigen von diesen war es gelungen, hinüber zu entweichen und sich zu retten. Die engten jene beiden Frauen: „Das waren eben jene Männer, die wir am letzten Abend dort eben auf den Kamelen gesehen hatten, eben die Leute im Lager wollten es nun nicht glauben?

Nach zwei Tagen lehrten diese beiden Frauen mit den anderen Leuten, die hinüber sich geflüchtet hatten, heimlich zu ihrem früheren Lagerplatz zurück. Hier sahen sie all die Leichen ihrer Verwandten und Freunde herumliegen, sämtliches Besitztum war geraubt oder niedergebrannt. Sie weinten sie alle sehr. Sie engten sich jene: „Das waren jene Männer gewesen, die vor vierzehn Jahren, Frauen, herbeiholten, wandten, vergaben. Wie haben jene Weiber nicht glauben wollen und haben sie engen angeschrie?"

Der Ort, an dem Tamanna Abschiedlos wurden waren, heißt: Dawaiba (Ort), im Tuaz de Sanna Bana, kam vor der eigentlichen Augustinus Mission. Aber seit der Zeit hat man dort nie mehr jene Männer in größerer Anzahl gesehen."

Wiederholt bezeugte Gaumen, daß niemand an der Wahrheit dieser Begebenheit zweifle, die einzelne Leute der Ulâd-Sulaim-Leute dort diesem berichtet wurden waren. Geschichtlich hat sich auch der alte Wunsch wie eigenen Erlebnisse bestätigt. Es ist von gewisser Zeit gewesen um das Jahr 1900 durch den Tuaren der Ida Nawaiten gewandert. Plötzlich erblickte er von großer Entfernung zwei starke Männer jener Ersählerin Volkes. Diese blieben auf der Stelle, als sie seiner ansichtig wurden, stehen. Schnell er sich diesen näheren wollte, verschwanden beide in einem Versteck. Eilgst ging er seinen Wegen weiter und wandte nicht beachtigt. — Selbstverständlich habe ich Wunsch in seinem Glauben bestanden. Daß er einer Arbeitsübertragung erlegen war, bewirkt allein schon eine Bekanntgang, die mir der alte Tuaren gemacht hatte. Dieser versicherte nämlich, daß kein Tuaren es selber auf die Welt kam — vor 70 bis 80 Jahren, also zwischen 1850 und 1860 —, der Ersten Mann der Ulâd-Sulaim-Leute verschwunden und seitdem Leiner von diesen mehr gesehen worden wäre.

Aus der geschilderten Entwicklung geht mit großer Sicherheit hervor, daß die Ukhsymphos kein selbständiges Volk waren, daß vielmehr wohl verschiedenartige, wirkliche Überfälle der Gebiete, und in der Folgezeit Furcht und Angst vor den gleichen Geschehnissen, im Glauben der Zentralgruppe des ungeschulte Volk auf der Isla Navarino geschaffen haben. Daß sich ebenfalls dort eine größere Zahl von Menschen aufhielt, verhinderte die natürlichen Bedingungen; denn in geringer Entfernung von allen Küsten erhebt sich ein steiler Gebirgszug, der auf etwa 1300 m Höhe jedweden Bewuchs verliert und von da an den nackten Stein zeigt. Wegen dieser geologischen Bildung der Isla Navarino fehlt es dort im Sommer, auch wegen der sich anhäufenden gewaltigen Schneemassen im Winter, an jedweden Jagdtieren ganz und gar.

Die Sage vom Volke der Ukhsymphos mag folgendermaßen entstanden sein: Eine kleine Anzahl von Gelbsten drang weiter in das Gebiet der mittleren Yamana mit dickischen Abkömmen vor. Da sie neuerlich neuhen sich der Mittel zum Gemeinwohlen bedienten, begnen sie sich dieselben jetzt erst recht zu und, um nicht erkannt zu werden, bemalten sie sich den ganzen Körper mit Rückbildsmerkmale. Bogen und Pfeile wollten sie geschickt zu handhaben. Nach diesen Vorbereitungen erhielten sich etwa sechs oder acht Männer an den Lager dieser Nachbarn heran. Ihre Frauen und Kinder pflegten sie weit entfernt zurückzulassen, aber dieses dient wirklicher Absicht mitzunehmen. Vielleicht hatten sie von keine Wiggamp von den Belgen die einigen Sachen zusammengestellt, sich ein ganzes Stück, versteckte geschlichen und nahe dem fremden Lager durch Wirkung dieser Kleidung und Waffen, sowie durch Bemalen ihrer Körpers sich für den Überfall vorbereitet. Dann führten sie den geplanten Anschlag auf Leute aus, die ahnungslos in ihren Hütten saßen und auf eine unvorbereitete Verteidigung nicht vorbereitet waren. Daß diese Kinder ihre Opfer niederwarfen, lag in ihrem Plane, um von diesen nicht etwa erkannt und entlarvt zu werden. Was an brauchbaren Gegenständen sie nicht wegschleppen konnten, zerstörten sie durch Feuer. Bei diesen Vorgängen verkamen sie immer oder zumindest fast unerkannt. Deshalb erhielten sie ihre Kindesweise lange Zeit erfolgreich weiter. — Das dürfte der einzige Wahrheitskern jener Geschichte von den Ukhsymphos sein.

Man erinnert sich noch, daß jene Kinder einst ahnungslos am Südufer der Isla Navarino erhielten, hier aber von vielen Yamana überrascht und umgebracht wurden wären; mit jener Zeit habe man keinen von ihnen mehr wahrgenommen. Wenn sich dies zweigent haben soll und wer dabei beteiligt gewesen sei, weiß niemand.

Den ohne vorgeschlossen Gut-Lesenen ist die mittlere oder Zentralgruppe der Yamana bewohnt. Ihre Gegenzone liegt kaum vor der Isla Gable; Punta Divide, an der sich der Canal de Beagle in den nordwestlichen und in den südwestlichen Arm (Brazo Noberto und Brazo navarino) spaltet, bildet die Westgrenze. Sie gehören die beiden Ufer des Canal de Beagle, ferner nach Süden bis die Ausgrenzen Murray mit dem Estero Pomondy, einschließlich der Inseln Navarin und Hiber-Edwards, und endlich der Westufer der

Isla Navarino bis hinunter zur Bahía Douglas mit der ihr vorgelagerten Isla Button. Den natürlichen Mittelpunkt dieser Landschaft bildet offensichtlich die Ushuaia-Gegend. Nach allen Seiten hin sind die Grenzen dieses Bezirkes deutlich bestimmt. Als allgemeine Bezeichnung für die Zentralgruppe der Yamana benutzt man *Wáhinčgla*. Daneben gibt es noch eine besondere Benennung für die Bewohner des ganzen langen Nordufers des Canal de Beagle, nämlich *Wéjemančgla*, bzw. *Wéjemandéjalinančgla*; für die Leute an der Bahía Lapataia *Lapatéjalinančgla*, für jene in der Ushuaia-Gegend *Ushuéjalinančgla*, für jene um die Bahía Yendegaia *Yendegéjalinančgla*, für die Bewohner der Angostura Murray *Yagaingandéjalinančgla* bzw. *Yagandéjalinančgla* und *Yáhalanančgla*; für die Bewohner des Estero Ponsonby *Agéjalinančgla*. Diese Benennungen sind Wortbildungen mit den geographischen Bezeichnungen für jeden einzelnen Bezirk.

Zwischen Punta Divide und dem äußersten Vorsprung der Halbinsel Brecknock, also in einer Ausdehnung von wenig mehr als drei Breitengraden, bewegt sich die W e s t g r u p p e der Yamana. Bis zu die sturmgepeitschten, außenliegenden Inseln dringen sie nur selten vor; wohl aber befahren sie die Bahía Cook bis nahe zu dem Cabo Kekhlao auf der Halbinsel Clouet herum, halten sich indes den Außenküsten der Inseln Londonderry fern. Als die *Inalumčgla*, seltener *Inalumandéjalinančgla* bezeichnet man sie. Von den anderen Stammesgruppen werden sie gefürchtet, wohl deshalb, weil man sie den gefährlichen Halakwulup teilweise verbündet glaubt, teilweise sogar für diese hält.

An fünfter Stelle endlich ist die S ü d w e s t g r u p p e, die der *Halamčgla* zu nennen. Ihr gehört die ausgedehnte Inselwelt, die sich vom Cabo Kekhlao in der Bahía Cook zum Cabo Falso de Hornos und von da bis hinauf zum Südrande der Isla Milne-Edwards gegenüber der Bahía Douglas erstreckt. Von diesen Eingeborenen ist bekannt, daß sie sich bis zu die außenliegenden Inseln im Süden vorwagen. Um das Cabo Falso de Hornos sind sie wohl nie herumgefahren, dafür aber benützen sie an schmalen Stellen zweier sich nahelegender Buchten kurze Landübergänge, auf denen sie ihre Kanoe mitschleifen. Die Leute an der Halbinsel Hardy sind als die *Ufyérapančgla*, die am Seno Año Nuevo und westlich davon als die *Hatuwéjalinančgla* bekannt. Endlich gehören noch zur Südwestgruppe die Leute am Südufer der Isla Navarino, angefangen vom südlichen Ausgange der Bahía Douglas bis zum Westrande der Bahía Windhond, die *Wanaiggančgla*, die nur wenige zählen. Von anderen Mitgliedern der gleichen Südwestgruppe findet sich äußerst selten eine Familie an dieser ungeschützten Navarino-Küste ein, weil sie nur spärlichen Holzbestand und wenige Seetiere aufweist, mag auch die Jagd auf Guanacos hier immer ergiebig sein.

Aus den beiden erstgenannten Benennungen geht hervor, daß die weitverzweigte Südwestgruppe in zwei Abteilungen zerfällt, und zwar infolge der naturbedingten Verhältnisse. Die *Hatuwéjalinančgla* verkehren zwischen dem Ostrande der südlichen Bahía Cook und dem Seno Año Nuevo. Hinter den vielen Inseln, zumal im Seno Año Nuevo selber, bietet sich ihnen ein günstiger

Aufenthalt; hier finden sie sicheren Schutz gegen Stürme und Meeresströmungen sowie reichliche Nahrungsmittel. Offensichtlich weniger glücklich sind die *Ufyárugumájala* gestellt, die nördlich der Peninsula Hardy die weite Bahía Nassau vor sich sehen und südlich von dieser Halbinsel bis zur Isla Duperré am Osteingang zum Seno Año Nuevo nur spärliche Deckung finden. Beide Abteilungen dieser Südwestgruppe verkehren seit alterher nur wenig miteinander. Von den Westleuten aber bleiben sie scharf getrennt; denn es wäre ein gefährliches Wagnis, die offene Bahía Cook zu überqueren, an deren Ostufer immer eine starke Dünung hochgeht.

Sucht man nach den Gründen dieser Aufteilung des Yamana-Stammes in fünf Gruppen, so geben allein die tiefen Einschnitte des Ozeans in die langgezogene Inselwelt eine ausreichende Antwort. Höchstens an dem und jenem Tage während des Jahres, wenn überhaupt einmal, ist es für die Bewohner des Wollaston-Archipels möglich, die offene, breite See zu den Südleuten oder gar zu den Ostleuten hin zu überqueren. Die gleichen Behinderungen stellen sich zwischen die Süd- und Westleute. Wenn die Zentralgruppe sich bei Punta Divide gegen die Westleute und vor Isla Gable gegen die Ostleute abschließt, so dürfte dafür eine gesellschaftliche Rücksicht maßgebend sein: denn sie betrachtet jene als den Halakwulup verbündet und diese als im Verkehr mit den gefürchteten Selk'nam stehend.

Infolge der immerwährenden Absperrung der einen Gruppe von der anderen bildeten sich dialektische Verschiedenheiten heraus, die da und dort einen größeren oder geringeren Grad erreicht haben. Nur die sprachliche Abweichung der *Hatawáijalájala* von den *Ufyárugumájala* ist so gering, daß man beide in die eine Südwestabteilung zusammenschließen muß. Somit bleiben fünf Sprachgruppen bestehen.

Auf der Dialektentwicklung also beruht der eigentliche und tiefgehende Unterschied, welcher jede der geographisch getrennten Abteilungen deutlich kennzeichnet. Demnach ist man nur berechtigt, von fünf Dialektgruppen zu sprechen;[232] die Abweichungen nämlich der einen von der anderen wirtschaftlicher und gesellschaftlicher Art sind gegenüber den sprachlichen unbedeutend und nebensächlich. Einige wenige seien hier genannt. Am auffälligsten ist der Gebrauch von Bogen und Pfeil sowie von Mänteln aus Guanacofellen bei den Ostleuten; diese weisen im Durchschnitt überdies eine etwas höhere Körpergröße auf, wohl wegen vereinzelter Heiraten mit Selk'nam. Die Wollaston-Leute nähren sich von Muscheln, die an ihren Inseln eine außerordentliche Größe erreichen, weit mehr, als die Leute im Zentrum, die

[232] Thomas Bridges, der sich mit jahrzehntelangem Eifer der Erforschung der Yamana-Sprache erfolgreich gewidmet hat, stieß schon ziemlich früh auf die bestehenden dialektischen Unterschiede (Vgl. seinen Brief vom 26. August 1863, in VSA: XI, 27; 1864), doch ist er in seinen vielen schriftlichen Mitteilungen weder zu einer genauen Aufstellung der Zahl noch zu einer deutlichen geographischen Abgrenzung der Gruppen gelangt. Erst mit der wertvollen Hilfe von Fred Lawrence und seiner Gattin Nellie ist mir dies anläßlich 1923 gelungen (Vgl. Gusinde [d]: 17), was weiter unten nochmals zur Sprache kommen wird.

eifriger den Vögeln und Seesäugetieren nachjagen. Die Yamana im Westen bevorzugen neben den großen Krabben noch die Seigel, welch letztere im Gebiete der Ostleute sehr spärlich sind. Neben all dem stößt man noch auf geringe Unterschiede in der Kleidung, insofern die Zentralgruppe die Felle von Seelöwen leichter erreicht, während von den Leuten des Südens, Südwestens und Westens die schöneren Felle vom Seehär und vom Fischotter, die sie sich bequem zu verschaffen wissen, bevorzugt werden.

Demungeachtet fühlen alle Abteilungen eine gewisse Zusammengehörigkeit und betrachten sich als ein selbständiges Volk. Tatsächlich fehlt es nicht am Wechselverkehr einzelner Familien aus verschiedenen Gruppen, so sehr derselbe auch auf außergewöhnliche Anlässe und sehr seltene Gelegenheiten beschränkt bleibt. Innerhalb der Grenzen der eigenen Abteilung erfreut sich jeder selbstverständlich uneingeschränkter Bewegungsfreiheit, wo er nach Belieben jagen und fischen, landen und wohnen kann. Die naturgegebenen Behinderungen und das bewußte Absperren des Verkehrs der Vertreter aus diesem und jenem Gebiete sind nicht überall gleich. Das Westufer der Halbinsel Cloué beispielsweise wird sehr gefürchtet; deshalb kommen die Westleute mit den *Haturáialinájala* äußerst selten in Berührung, mögen sie auch noch so oft im Brazo suroeste bis zu dessen Einmündung in die Bahía Cook vordringen. Den letztgenannten *Inalumájala* fehlt zudem ein allzüglicher Antrieb, ihr engeres Heimatgebiet zu verlassen, wo sie reichliche Nahrung und allen weiteren Bedarf für einen gesicherten Lebensunterhalt finden; sie stehen sich vergleichsweise in jeder Hinsicht weit besser als die übrigen Teile ihres Volkes. Am schlechtesten kommen zweifelsohne die *Yéikálinájala* weg, die dem unaufhaltsamen, wüsten Toben der Naturgewalten nach allen Seiten hin schutzlos ausgesetzt sind. Selten nur landen Kanus an der langgezogenen Südküste der Isla Navarino; denn obwohl die Jagd auf zahlreiche Guanaqos dorthin einladet, fehlt jeder Schutz gegen die offene Bahía Nassau.

Geschichtlich steht fest; daß die Abgeschlossenheit der einzelnen Gruppen gegeneinander vor einigen Jahrzehnten zur Gründung einer eigenen Missionsstation in der Bahía Tekenika zwang. Weil nämlich die Bewohner der Wollaston-Inseln und der Südwestgegend unentwegt den Missionaren in Ushuaia fernblieben, sahen sich die letzteren gezwungen, jene Eingeborenen in ihrer engeren Heimat aufzusuchen. Die Mehrzahl der wenigen heute noch lebenden Yamana entstammen dem Süden und Südwesten.

Die hier dargelegte Aufteilung des Yamana-Stammes in fünf Dialektgruppen mit eigenen Grenzen verdanke ich vorwiegend Franz Lawrence[***] und meinen zu seiner Mitteilungen sich anschließenden Aussprachen mit seiner Gattin Nelly und mit älteren Eingeborenen während meines vierten Aufent-

[***] Gleichfalls macht Lawrence (b): 130 auf diese fünf dialektisch geschiedenen Abteilungen mit ihrer geographischen Lagerung aufmerksam und beruft sich dabei auf den nämlichen Franz Lawrence, den er etwa ein Jahr nach meinem Weggange dorthin bringt hat. Seine Angaben allerdings lassen viel an Genauigkeit zu wünschen übrig. Vgl. "Antiquity of the Yahgan dialects" in Lawrence (b): 1-6.

halten darstellbar i. J. 1922. Bereits zu Anfang 1922, nachdem erstmalig Koppers (a): 19 eine eigener Beobachtung auf dialektische Verschiedenheiten im Yamana gestoßen war, hatten wir diesen Gegenstand erörtert, allerdings viel zu flüchtig und ohne die Hilfe erfahrener Indianer. Damals hatte Fritz Lawrence nur vier Dialektgruppen namhaft gemacht; später gestand er sein Versehen offen ein und half mit, den wirklichen Sachverhalt klarzustellen.[...]

2. Andere Einteilungsversuche

Angesichts der erweisbar richtigen und genauen Gliederung des gesamten Yamana-Volkes in fünf Dialektgruppen genügt es, die Vermutungen und Bemühungen früherer Reisender in Kürze zu erwähnen. Die betonten Unterschiede und die versuchte Aufteilung der Yamana, von denen die Seefahrer der ältesten Zeit sprechen, sind von vornherein nicht ernst zu nehmen. Ihnen kamen jeweilig anmahnende ganz wenige Familien an dieser und jener Stelle, die oft weit voneinander entfernt lagen, zu Gesicht; sehr geringfügige Sonderformen Tieren ihnen deshalb stark auf und diese haben sie in ihren Tagebüchern weit über die Wirklichkeit hinaus hervor.[...]

Seit mehreren Jahrzehnten wurden die Mitteilungen über die im Volksganzen der Yamana bestehenden Abteilungen etwas bestimmter.[...] Der erste ernstere Versuch geht auf Fitz-Roy (a): 132 zurück, der eine allgemeine Verteilung der Eingeborenenstämme des südlichen Südamerika geben wollte. Die eigentlichen feuerländischen Völkerschaften wären, je nach den Gewässern, die er für dieselben gezogen hat, die *Yaruin-kunny* oder "foot people",[...] dann „westward of these people, separated from them by a ridge of mountains, a tribe called *Kay-nahr*, *Kay-yna*, or *Kay-es*", also unsere Yamana (S. 96), und endlich schiebt er zwischen diese letzteren und die Chonos noch die „*Pay-yna*, living on the sea-coast", sie, ähnlich die mittlere Schicht[...] der

[...] Vgl. hierzu: Gusinde (d): 17 und Koppers: Die fünf Dialekte in der Sprache der Yamana auf Feuerland; im "Anthropos" Bd. XXXII, S. 465—476; Mödling 1927.

[...] Viel zu wenig wird dem Urteil, das der maßgebende Bessere (d): 289 in dieser Hinsicht über den gesamten Yamana-Bestand mitgeteilt hat, berücksichtigt: „Among them are great differences of appearance, manners, dwellings and language." Dergleichen individuelle Eigenheiten und Sonderentwicklungen halten sich jedoch innerhalb der Variationsbreiten, wie sie einem Volke von der geographischen Ausdehnung und von der unwirtlichen Kopfzahl unserer Yamana unterstellen werden müssen.

[...] Was hierüber Bessere Anatu (b): I. 39, Bove (c): 158, Hyades (j): 148, Lista (k): 66 und Bessereau (e): 160 mitgeteilt haben, ist bedeutungslos.

[...] Zum ersten Male taucht hier die Bezeichnung "Fellfischer" für die Selk'nam und auch für die Patagonier auf, als Gegensatz zu den "Kanoefischern", womit die Yamana und Halakwulup, vielleicht auch die Chonos gemeint sind. Beide Bezeichnungen hat später Thomas Bessere in seinen vielen Schriften vollständig gemacht. Schon S. 198 ist davon gesprochen worden.

[...] Auch die Halakwulup zerfallen in drei geographisch gesonderte Zweige. Vergleiche Gusinde (a): 220.

Haiskwalup.[...] Sich selber ergänzend erwähnt er als südlich von den Yaruma-Anuny wohnend nochmals „the tribe formerly called Kay-ahoo, now probably the Tekeenika". Mag er sich auch hier wenig bestimmt ausdrücken, eine dreifache Unterabteilung kann man für seine "Tekeenika" doch herauslesen; auf Einzelheiten innerhalb einer jeden derselben geht er nicht ein.[...] Zu genauerer Abgrenzung sind erst spätere Seefahrer gelangt.

Mit geringer Abweichung von den Aufstellungen Fitz-Roy's nennt Parker Snow sieben Volksstämme und bezeichnet die Bewohner der Isla Grande statt Yaruma-Anuny glattweg als Oenenen. Diese Bezeichnung, bzw. *Oena*, allerdings ohne solch bestimmte Anwendung, hatte bereits Fitz-Roy (a): 205, 215 und auch Darwin gebraucht. Schon hier sei vorweggenommen, daß man gewiß nicht fehlgeht, wenn man, im Urteile unserer Stammes selber, jene gefürchteten *Oena-enen* als die östliche Gruppe der Yaruma betrachtet.

Der eben genannte Snow (a): I, 346 hat als erster nicht allein auf Unterschiede in der Körperbilde der Yaruma aus verschiedenen Gebieten[...] berechtigterweise hingewiesen, sondern auch mit gewisser Bestimmtheit dialektische Verschiedenheiten im Osten und in der Wulaia-Gegend, wo dergleichen wirklich bestehen, aufgedeckt. Er schreibt: „I found that the *Tekeenika* column of words in the vocabulary contained in Capt. Fitz-Roy's appendix to his narrative, is the correct key; and by it therefore, so far as it goes communication can be held with the natives in those parts, though not with the *Yappo Tekeenika* at Banner Cove [auf Isla Picton] and neighbourhood" (VP: III, 68; 1856). Nachdem die englischen Missionare die sprachliche und auch kulturelle Verschiedenheit der Yaruma von den benachbarten Selk'nam und Haiskwalup erkannt hatten,[...] ist es auch Bennett gelungen, unabhängig von Snow und mit Hilfe des Katechisten Oenenen, die dialektischen Abweichungen der westlichen von der östlichen Abteilung ausfindig zu machen.[...] Bei allem Fleiß und unermüd-

[...] Wahrlich Stammes der gleiche Fitz-Roy (a): 180 mit den Schooe-koonoy meint, die südlich von den Kay-ahoo angesiedelt seien, soll in Band III dieses Werkes übergeordnet werden. Auf den hier geschilderten Einteilungsversuchen basiert T. Parkers eigene Völkerkarte auf. Vgl. Lamaison-Vernaux (b): 18.

[...] Zum gleichen Ergebnis ist auch Lamaison-Vernaux (b): 19 auf Grund von Fitz-Roy's Bericht gelangt.

[...] Folgendermaßen schreibt: „As regards the manner of these natives, I can only say, that I found a difference, both at Banner Cove, Lennox Island, and Beagle Channel, to what I had expected." (Diese Beobachtung ist bald durch die richtig berichtigt worden (S. 190).

[...] Schon 1859 äußerte sich Dumas (VP: VI, 82; 1859) dahin wie bestimmt. Der Chef Jokes spricht, am 24. August 1863, schreibt Bennett aus Gennesse (VPA: XI, 17; 1863) noch deutlicher: „I have good reason to believe that three distinct languages only are spoken in the archipelago of Tierra del Fuego, viz., the language we are now learning, which is spoken in the southern division, the Alikoolip spoken in the north-western division, and the language of the Fuegian Indians, who are confined to Tierra del Fuego."

[...] Allerdings hat Fitz-Roy (a): I selber die ersten Andeutungen an einer dialektischen Verschiedenheit gemacht. Die Leute vom Christmas Sound, die als Gäste eingeladen worden waren, hatten ihm an Bord über die Bewohner der südlichen Küste von Isla Navarino und den gegenüberliegenden Ufern erzählt, daß sie ihre Feinde seien „and that they spoke of a different language".

Eifer, mit dem Bridges das Studium der Yamana-Sprache betrieben hat, mußte er unausweichlich auf die wirklich vorhandenen Dialekte stoßen[205] und in seinem umfangreichen Dictionary sind einer guten Anzahl von Wörtern die Bemerkungen "East dialect" oder "South dialect" u. ä. angefügt. Demgegenüber befremdet es berechtigterweise, daß jener zuverlässige Kenner dieser Indianersprache sich an keiner Stelle seiner vielen schriftlichen Mitteilungen eindeutig und klar über die dialektische Verzweigung des Yamana-Volkes ausgesprochen hat. Erwiesenermaßen sind ihm dergleichen sprachliche Abweichungen zum Bewußtsein gekommen; im besonderen indes hat er sich dazu nirgends geäußert und hob nur wenige Unterschiede anderer Art hervor, ohne eine deutliche Scheidung durchzuführen oder die bestehenden Grenzen zu nennen.[206] Weil Bridges überall mit vollem Recht als einziger und maßgebender Gewährsmann in Sachen der Yamana-Sprache galt und er in unerklärlicher Weise den bestehenden Dialekten keine nennenswerte Aufmerksamkeit schenkte, ging die übrige Welt der Sprachwissenschaftler und Ethnographen arglos daran vorüber. Darum erklärt es sich, daß es erst mir im Jahre 1923 vorbehalten war, die fünf Gruppen des Yamana-Volkes mit ihrer genauen geographischen Umgrenzung endgültig zu bestimmen.

Eine eigene Gliederung der Yamana, die vorwiegend ihre körperliche Gestalt berücksichtigt,[207] hat Fuegino (r): 176 versucht. Er meint, „there seem to have been among them four principal groups. These are the Beagle Channel and Murray Narrows group, who are the best formed; the Lennox Islanders, big-headed, ugly, powerful men; the Southwesterns, about Hoste Island, the most warlike and murderously inclined; and the Wollaston Islands group, the most wretched and most dwarfish".[207] Die gezeichnete

[205] Im Anhang des vorhin angeführten Briefes fügt Bridges noch hinzu: „The natives we found at Picton Island perfectly understood Ouanana, but they spoke a different dialect to him."

[206] Gelegentlich betont er nämlich geringfügige Unterschiede einzelner Gruppen in der Lautbildungsweise und schreibt z. B. am 1. Sept. 1880 (MM: XIV, 196; 1880): „The natives of the outer coasts of Tierland consider the natives of the inner waters inferior to themselves, because they live more upon vegetable food, and eat the cockle fish, all which they despise. On the other hand the natives of the inner coasts (not ocean coasts) called Wiiscoooofo Ou., creek men), despise the Atiolmanalu (or ocean coast men), because they eat cockle and such things, which they consider unfit for food, and because of their strange brogue, which they are much given to imitate derisively." In Mißachtung oder Unkenntnis der viel tiefer einschneidenden Dialektverschiedenheit läßt er also ganz selbstverständlich als unterscheidendes Merkmal nur die "belvedrische Mundart" der einen Bevölkerungsteile gelten.

[207] Auf weitreichende Unterschiede in der Körperbildung hatte Parker Snow (a): I, 246; Jahre früher aufmerksam gemacht. Später berichtete Dumont (VP: III, 69; 1856): „The whole tribe [der Wulaia-Gegend] around us inferior in physical qualities to those to the Beagle Channel and eastward." All diese Angaben beziehen sich auf bedeutungslose Einzelerscheinungen.

[207] Nach dieser Darstellung wäre neben körperlichen Abweichungen die geographische Verteilung der Unterschiede bei den einzelnen Gruppen. In unverkennbarem Gegensatz dazu betont der gleiche Fuegino (j): 7 an anderer Stelle, daß die „Yahgans comprised four

Charakteristik ist zumindest unvollständig, teilweise offensichtlich unrichtig, da nach dem von ihm selber aufgestellten "migratory principle" jene Wollaston-Leute als „the weaker are forced south".[108] Sprachliche Unterschiede hat auch FURLONG nicht erkannt; er wiederholt nur mit unnötiger Weitschweifigkeit, was BRIDGES an linguistischen Arbeiten geleistet hat.

Bestimmter im Ausdruck als die Genannten sind BARCLAY (a): 63, HAHN (a): 804, MARTIAL: 129, 208 und SERGAERDS: 162; denn sie nennen kurzerhand zwei Dialektgruppen. Angesichts dessen nimmt sich die abwehrende Haltung eines HYADES (p): 339 und (j): 149 merkwürdig aus; man könnte fast von einer Erziferung seinerseits jenen gegenüber sprechen: „Je crois nécessaire d'exprimer les réserves les plus formelles au sujet de l'opinion émise par le Dr. HAHN ... d'après laquelle les Tekeruika ou Yahgan se diviseraient en plusieurs branches, dont l'une, appelée *Atdamilirua*, vivrait dans le New-Year's Sound, et aurait été étudiée à la baie Orange [par la Mission SCHMITSQUE]. J'ai vu, en effect, à la mission, et j'ai pu observer plusieurs individus provenant du New-Year's Sound, d'une baie appelée *Atdamaya* ... mais ils ne formaient nullement, pour moi, une tribu dans les Yahgan, ou bien il faudrait subdiviser les Tekeruika en autant de tribus qu'il y a de localités fréquentées de préférence par quelques groupes d'indigènes." Damit je kein Zweifel über seine an sich deutliche Meinung aufkomme, fügt er hinzu: „Il est certain qu'ils n'ont pas de nom particulier pour désigner leur pays ni leur race. Ils disent bien: les gens de la baie Packsaddle, *Pamkrouaya yamana*, du Pennsuly Sound, *Aamakouarke yamana*; mais à peu près comme nous ferions dans une ville en parlant de tel quartier ou de telle rue."[109] Freilich benennt sich jede Einzelperson nach ihrem Geburtsorte und jede Familiengemeinschaft nach der von ihr bevorzugten Gegend; diese allgemein herrschende Gewohnheit hat jedoch nichts mit den Grenzen der großen Dialektgruppen zu tun. HYADES hat somit durch sein irriges Bemühen die fortschreitende Forschung bedenklich aufgehalten.

Wer sind nun die von den Zentral-Yamana, besonders von den Bewohnern der Augustus Murray-Gegend so sehr gefürchteten *Oens'men*? Zuerst hat FITZ-ROY (a): 205, 225 diese *Oens* erwähnt, bald darauf PARKER SNOW und später manchen englische Missionare. Nach der gebräuchlichen Auffassung der

family groups". Demzufolge würde das Band der Verwandtschaft den Zusammenhalt der einzelnen Gruppen bedingen. Bereits DAMMER (b): 170 hat im vorhinein mit guter Begründung derjenigen unseiner Aufstellungen abgewiesen.

[108] Zwar bezeichnet sich CORNEUS: 1, die von FURLONG (r): 136 und die von BRIDGES (d): 200 vorgenommene Einteilung auf die gleiche Linie zu bringen, indem er schreibt: „The considerable differences noted by Prof. FURLONG correspond with that the Rev. Mr. BRIDGES remarked regarding the noticeable individual and local differences in the Yahgan's physical appearance and culture." Das wirklich Trennende jedoch sind, wie ich es an anderer Stelle begründet habe, nur die Dialektverschiedenheiten, die von keinem der beiden Beobachter gewürdigt worden sind.

[109] Die gleiche Ansicht sprach HYADES (l): 710 noch an anderer Stelle aus, wo er sich auf BRIDGES (WM: XVIII, 224; 1883) berufe, ohne indes bestimmt richtig zu verstehen.

zentralen und westlichen Yamana ist die Ostgruppe ihrer eigenen Landsleute gemeint, obwohl ursprünglich damit die im Südosten der Isla Grande wohnhaften Selk'nam bzw. Haus bezeichnet wurden.

Eine dem naheliegende Vermutung hat bereits Snow (a): II, 12 ausgesprochen, hielt er doch jene Eingeborenen, die östlich der Augustus Murray vom Nordufer des Canale de Beagle her — im Gegensatz zu jenen, die vom Südufer dieses Kanals, d.h. von der nördlichen Navarino-Küste her — an sein Schiff herzuruderten, für die "dreaded Ona's-men".[100] Gewiß, man findet diesen Namen auf die Selk'nam bzw. Haus angewendet, weil beispielsweise ein solch gewichtiger Gewährsmann wie Jemmy Button selber in seinem Ausagen sich nicht gleich blieb.[101] Auf ihn sich berufend und vielleicht auch die Erfahrungen des Missionars J.G. Phillips verwertend,[102] vertritt Dumont (VP: VI,82; 1859) die „Ona men on the main-island", nämlich auf die Isla Grande. Der genannte Indianer hat, wie Snow erguet, „when in England, stated that this tribe [die zentralen Yamana] was always at war with the Ona's men", mit denen hier nur die östliche Abteilung seiner Volksgenossen gemeint sein kann. An dieser Deutung hat er auch einige Jahrzehnte später noch festgehalten. Wegen des mörderischen Überfalles auf den Katechisten J.G. Phillips und seine Begleiter in Wulaia, am 6. November 1859, wurde ein gerichtliches Verhör aufgenommen, in dem es heißt: „The massacre is attributed by Jemmy Button wholly to the Ona's men ... We feel convinced that the Ona's men were the real movers in the matter" (VP: VII, 121; 1860).[103] Jemmy Katechist, einer der Opfer in jener Metzelei, hatte ein Jahr vorher, am 1. Januar 1859 geschrieben, daß bei der Abfahrt des Missionsschiffes "Allen Gardiner" dort in Wulaia drei Eingeborene für Isla Keppel an Bord genommen wurden, „who

[100] Unklar bleibt Snow in seiner Erklärung trotzdem, weil er auch die Bewohner der Grados Insel zu den "Onaemen" rechnet, was man vielleicht auch auch bei späteren Schriftstellern findet. Z.B. schreibt Stanner (MM: XVI, 115; 1869) von "Onaemen or Foot Indians".

[101] Fitz-Roy (a): 224 schreibt: „Jemmy told us that these Ona-men crossed over the Beagle Channel, from eastern Tierra del Fuego, in canoes which they seized from the Yapus Tekenika. To avoid being separated they fastened several canoes together, crossed over in a body, and when once landed, travelled over-land and came upon his people by surprise, from the heights behind Woollya. Jemmy asserted that he had himself killed one of his companions."

[102] Er sagte bereits am 30. Dezember 1858 die „Ona's-men a neighbouring tribe", die im Kano nach Wulaia gekommen waren (C. W. Phillips: 144). Nach Phillips (a): 1018 sind der „Ona-Leute von der Lennox Insel, einer benachbarten Bemannung, welcher gelegentlich Besuch in Wulaia abstattete".

[103] Im Colonial Secretary's Office auf den Falkland Inlands schrieben Jemmy Button am 12. März 1860 u.a.: „Ona's country men killed Captain Fitz; all come to Patagonians, here and never men. My country is small channel, others from big women; my country at Woollya, there never Patagonia" (VP: VII, 136; 1860). Wie können wir viele Selk'nam bzw. Haus-Leute in die Wulaia-Gegend kommen lassen, ohne eine große Zahl von Wasserfahrzeugen zu besitzen? Allen erklärt sich sofort und sehr leicht, wenn man als "Onaemen" die östliche Abteilung der Yamana annimmt. — Die hier abgebildeten Schreibweise jener Eigennamen ist beibehalten.

are of the Ona's men, living chiefly on Lennox Island and about Good Success Bay". In die begrifflichen Grenzen, die unsere westlichen Yamana der Bedeutung jenes Namens ziehen, passen die Selk'nam bzw. Haus nicht hinein; eben deshalb nicht, weil diesen beiden Stämmen Kanus und andere Wasserfahrzeuge fehlen. Indes, wegen gewisser Beziehungen der Ost-Yamana mit den Bewohnern der Isla Grande, haben Europäer zuweilen beide unterschiedslos als die Onamen angegeben; doch das geschah zu einer Zeit, in der man sich der Stammesunterschiede bei den Feuerländern noch nicht bestimmt bewußt war.

Für die Herleitung dieses Wortes fehlt jeder geschichtliche Anhaltspunkt, eine sprachliche Deutung indes liegt nicht so fern. Die letzten Zutaten, *ona* und *mon*, werden auf englische Berichterstatter oder Fragestellen zurückgehen; dann ist es nicht unbeweisbar, in *ona* einen Zusammenhang mit *gôna* zu vermuten. Sollte das wirklich zutreffen, gelangen wir auf diesem Wege zu dem bereits bekannten Ergebnis. Die Yamana bezeichnen ihre hochgewachsenen Nachbarn *auf der* Isla Grande, die Selk'nam und Haus, als *die gôna-yémana*, die Nordleute, und die Gebiete des Canal de Beagle als *gôn-eléyan*, der nördliche Wasserarm (Bd. I, 122).

In dieser Deutung unterstützt mich Dumont (b): 717, der schreibt: „Natives of the large island [Isla Grande] — called *Ou-e-na Thin-en*, anglicised *Onemen*, coming from *Ouv-ondin-ouker*" *[gôndin ôkin*, nördliche Insel]. In BD: 10 finden sich ana, the Fuegian Indians. Gewiß sind darunter mit *Onamen* zunächst die Falklandinsel gemeint,[**] aber auch die östlichen Yamana. Aus der Ferne den mittleren und westlichen Yamana-Gebieten wurden jene beiden Abteilungen an ihre Bevölkerungsmasse weniger streng auseinander gehalten und wirkliche Überfälle von Leuten aus dem Osten konnten nur von den Indianerjägern, die Kanus besaßen, ausgeführt werden.[***] So spricht vieles dafür, daß in der näheren Vorstellung jener Eingeborenen mit den *Onamen* fast ausschließlich die Ost-Yamana gemeint sind. Überfälle dieser letzteren wurden der Anlaß, um ihnen den Phantasiegebilde des Ulôfyamana-Volkes zu schaffen.

Viel zu spät ist das Bestehen von fünf deutlich getrennten Dialektgruppen der Yamana erkannt worden, um jetzt noch die sprachlichen Eigenarten einer jeden darstellen, neben einigen wenigen auf dem Gebiete der wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Ordnung, sogar in der Grundwerk, vollständig und sicher herausarbeiten. Die wenigen Überlieferungen der ganzen Yamana-Stämme aus allen Teilen ihres Gebietes haben sich in den letzten Jahrzehnten mehr oder weniger eng zusammengeschlossen; bei diesem andauernden gegen-

[**] Bei BD: 300 finden sich: *ewiyo* for *ona* of the natives of New Fleuse and neighbouring islands and main.

[***] Aus Dumont's Berichten (b): 717 Water skills on islands Ona, which did also Onamen, called by natives, Yaruki, coast down upon canoes, bring on the shores of Wardsbrown (Beagle Channel), bow and sometimes kill them, and take away their wives, but they do not, as supposed, cross the channel to Navarin Island, as they have no skill or confidence in canoes".

einigen Versuche ging ihre sprachliche Eigenart verloren. Nur durch Fragen, die zuweilen unendlich beantwortet werden, läßt sich andeutungsweise ein Bild der früheren Wirklichkeit entwerfen.[**]

c. *Allgemeine Körperform*

Kaum je dürfte ein Naturvolk so einstimmig von vielen Beobachtern in den empfindlichsten, je bei widerlichen Farben gezeichnet worden wie die Yamana. Würde man zu diesem Bilde noch den trüben Hintergrund zugesellen, den die trostlose, wilde und unbeständige Natur, in die dieses Volk hineingestellt ist, abgibt, und der greift seine unerfreulichen Schatten auf die Bewohner selber wirft,[***] man würde nicht viel zum Vorteile dieser gewinnen. Sie würden um so mehr erschreckend abstoßend, wenn man Gelegenheit hätte, kaum vorher die schlanken Gestalten, die vornehmen Gesichtszüge und das sicheren Selbstbewußtsein in Gang und Gebärde der benachbarten Selk'nam zu bewundern.[****]

Das einzelnige Urvolk aller Seefahrer und Reisenden seit der Entdeckungszeit bis in unsere Tage verkörpert wird Wirklichkeit und liefe sich trotz übereinstimmender Vorbilder für dieses stillstehende Volk auf der Erde nicht von der Welt schaffen. James Cook (s.): 99, der in sein Reisework die Zeichnung von einem Yamana-Mann aufgenommen hat (Abb. 11), beurteilt diesen Indianerstamm unter zweifacher Rücksicht sehr ungünstig: „They are dwarfish in stature, dwarfish in mental development." Viel zu bekannt und überall leicht erreichbar ist die Zeichnung, die Darwin von der körperlichen Gestalt der Yamana entworfen hat, als daß sie hier wiederholt zu werden brauchte. Fitz-Roy (s.): 127, der sie als "natives upon wretched" bezeichnet, bewegt sich mit dem in fast gleichem Ausdrücken, wenn er beispielsweise schreibt: „The Tekenika, natives of the south-eastern portion of Tierra del Fuego, are low of stature, ill-looking, and badly proportioned. Their color is that of very old

[**] Knapp vier Jahre nach seinem letzten dortigen Aufenthalte schrieb Lawrence (b): 138 auf die gleichen Schwierigkeiten: „Today it is difficult to learn just what dialect was in bearing, because the few surviving Yahgans live regularly south of the river and have learned their speech." Die sprachlichen Spezialstudien bei diesem Volke zu lesen, die Eric Hagen verfaßt.

[***] Bishop eine Dissertation (b): 178, „que hay un punto de comparación en el colorido de nuestra campiña, los que han detenido a los Yahganes como centro respectivo y de superficie muy fina y casi impalpable. Esta comparación parecía haber sido sentada por el mismo naturalista de Abandonar en que se representaban una hoja pues los que quedaban en nuestro Mar". Dagegen eingewendet Hornung, von Bel. Pyrenaeum (s): 111 zu lesen ist: „Bishop sind die Leute sicher, aber auch sicher zu abschreckend, wer von einiger Observation Indianer diesem Bericht."

[****] Auf diesen fast unbeschreiblichen Eingeborenen machte Fitzroy (b): 124 mit folgendem Wortlaut aufmerksam: „A tribe de este grandioso espectáculo de la naturaleza, digno ciertamente de alguna y estimación, vive, casi ocupan a Dios, en pequeñas canoas hechas de cortezas de árbol, sin casa de ningún tipo, sin ropa, sin mujeres, sin manufacturas, que conozcan en ellos, pues prácticamente son inferiores antediluvianos, no conocen comparación con los hombres que a pesar lograse de diversos habitan la misma tierra", ebenfalls mit den Selk'nam.

mahogany, or rather between dark copper and bronze. The trunk of the body is large in proportion to their cramped and rather crooked limbs. Their rough, coarse, and extremely shiny black hair half hides yet heightens a villainous expression of the worst description of savage features . . ."[20]

Aus den vom Bremen anderfach veröffentlichten Beschreibungen der Körperform jener Eingeborenen genügt hier ein einziger kurzer Auszug: „The people are invariably stout in their trunk, having little or no narrowing at the waist, and are short-necked, deep-chested, and of a vigorous frame. But in these particulars there are all degrees, some being even in health decidedly slender. In limbs, upper and nether, they are small, and their hands and feet are smallish . . . Features vary greatly as well as complexion, and the bone of the persons depends upon whether exposed or exposed. Some have flat and very wide noses to an ugly degree, and others quite are the reverse. With many the eyes have the Chinese dip, but in many this cannot be traced. The colour of the eyes varies from light hazel to deep black. The height of the men varies from 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 9 inches" (Bremen[d]: 299).

In der ersten Hälfte des Jahres 1902 hat Sievers (c): 125 reichliche und genaue Beobachtungen gemacht; aus anderen hat er sich bei den Zentral-Yamana aufgehalten, von denen er sagt: „Los varones es arbustada, ancha y gruesa, las piernas sobresalientes, la frente baja y estrecha hacia la línea de los ojos; la nariz chata y ancha, los ojos en general muy oscuros, pequeños, vivos, llenos de siniestros animales. Los labios son gruesos. Tienen las quichadas muy fuertes y sobresalen de dentro hoffitiamente, entre los cuales los incisivos son, por el constumo son, tan agudos que difieren muy poco de los de sus perros. La desproporción entre la cabeza, el tronco y los miembros es tan notable, que parecen pertenecerse a dos especies diferentes. Los pieruas y los brazos son de una flaqueza sorprendente y aun se adelgaza como aquellas partes, contrario una cabeza tan voluminosa, y un pecho tan desarrollado. Es admirable también la pequeñez de sus manos y pies."[21] Einige gute Ergänzungen hierzu bietet Lovisato (b): 120, Sievers Beobachtungen, der sagt: „Trovammo uomini e donne di [illegible] piccolo bassa, raggrinzaprati in media 1 metro e 22 cent., testa con [illegible], cervelli, sopraffatti, [illegible] spaziali, sempre liscri, mai molto lunghi, [illegible] schiacciata, larga, piatta, di colorito olivastro; fronte bassa e larga sulla linea degli occhi, che sono inclinati, piccoli, chiusi, lacrimevoli, aperti, incrociati; naso schiacciato, narici molto pronunciate, zigomi sporgenti, denti bianchi, brillanti; viso ed collo cortissimi, braccia e gambe corte

[20] Das wurde von spätern Beobachtern (Sievers erläuterungsweise, Reisigbrecher bekannt: J. G. Paterson, als Sitz der ersten Yamana am 21. Oktober 1833 auf Isla Lennox an Gerichtsbeamter: „They were not so indescribably as the photo in Captain Fitzroy's book represents them" (Paterson: 14). Wenige Wochen darauf schrieb er über die Eingeborenen der Wulaia-Gegend: „Some of both sexes among the natives are good-looking, and the children are pretty fat. Fingers: I have been agreeably disappointed in this respect."

[21] Diese Stelle wurde von Englische übersetzen und findet sich unter "People and the Fuegians" in [illegible] 1903, 180, 181.

e sottili che sostengono un corpo grossissimo di larga cintura; mani e piedi piccolissimi; muscoli di pelo in tutte le parti del corpo." Noch im Jahre 1902 schrieb Dom: 82 u. a.: „Sie sind klein und hässlich, krummbeinige und zusammengeschrumpfte Gestalten, in denen Darwin einmal fast das fehlende Glied [missing link] zu finden vermeint hatte." Fast gleichlautend klingt das Urteil, das Anserme: 272 im Jahre 1924 gefällt hat und demzufolge „die Jahgan und Alakaluf mittelgestaltet, schwächlich und rachitisch sind".

Doch genug der Urteile aus dem letzten Jahrhundert. Unvermeidlich drängt sich die Frage vor, ob die körperliche Ausrüstung der Yamana wirklich so mangelhaft und ihre Gestalt tatsächlich außergewöhnlich unschön ist.[*] Darauf gibt Hyades (q): 122, der viel länger als die vorher genannten Beobachter, nämlich ein ganzes Jahr lang im Gebiete jener Eingeborenen sich aufgehalten und als Verfasser genauer Untersuchungen über ihre Körperbildung ausgeführt hat, folgende Antwort: „La plupart des voyageurs, surtout les anciens, parlent des Fuégiens[**] comme d'une race rabougrie et chétive. Les qualificatifs de 'laid', 'chétif', 'mal fait', 'maingre', 'dégénéré' se rencontrent à chaque pas dans leurs descriptions. Il nous semble qu'il y a là beaucoup d'exagérations. Si l'on rencontre, en effet, parmi les Fuégiens, des individus laids et amaigris par suite de jeûnes prolongés, il y en a d'autres qui, étant bien nourris, présentent des formes très régulières et propres aux hommes de petite taille en général. La même remarque s'applique aux femmes; si certaines d'entre elles ressemblent à de vieilles sorcières, d'autres, au contraire, pourraient rivaliser par la beauté de leur corps avec les femmes européennes le mieux faites. Dans l'aspect des femmes extérieures, la question de nourriture prime toutes les autres, et tel individu affamé et exténué de fatigue, qui paraît laid et mal fait, acquiert souvent une grâce et une beauté de formes inattendues après quelques jours d'un bon régime alimentaire." Mit absoluten Maßen und mit Verhältniszahlen begründet er ausführlich seine Aussagen.

Zu dieser zweifarben, sich widersprechenden Beurteilung meinerseits Stellung zu nehmen fällt nicht schwer. Zunächst kann ich aus eigener Beobachtung die Meinung anderer Reisender bestätigen, daß es, um mit P. Snow (a): I, 325 zu reden, dem Yamana-Stamme nicht an „fine, powerful-looking men" fehlt. Unter den ersten Yamana, denen der Katechist J. C. Parker auf Isla Lennox im Oktober 1855 begegnete, befand sich „a very fine-looking young man, who had regular features, expressive eyes, and a beautiful row of white teeth"; neben ihm standen aber „two women, to whom an opposite description would apply" (C. W. Parker: 63). Von den Brüdern des vielgenannten Jemmy Button heißt es, sie seien „fine featured men" (VP: III, 69,

[*] Da für den III. Band dieses Werkes eine umfassende Darstellung der Körperform aller drei feuerländischen Stämme vorgesehen ist, genügt vorläufig eine kurze Zeichnung der hervorstechendsten äußeren Merkmale der Yamana. Vgl. Gusinde (ee).

[**] Aus dem Zusammenhange erhellt, daß diese Erklärung sich ausschließlich auf die Yamana, keineswegs auch auf die beiden anderen feuerländischen Stämme bezieht, denen mit keinem im Wesen nicht in Betrachtung gekommen.

1856). Demnach kann es unter den jüngeren Frauen an ungewöhnlich Gestalten nicht mangeln, was auch unbefangen unmittelbar hervorgehoben wird. Bei diesen Personen beiderlei Geschlechtes, mehr bei Frauen als bei Männern, prägt sich mit den fortschreitenden Jahren das Mißverhältnis zwischen Rumpf und Gliedmaßen stärker aus. Daß hierfür ganz allgemein die Lebensweise der entscheidende Anlaß ist, bedarf keines Beweises. Die Frauen verbringen den Großteil des Tages in zusammengekauerter Hockstellung, sei es in ihrem Faltenrock oder in ihrer Hütte; dann gesellt sich im Kanu noch die starke Belastung der Arm- und Brustmuskeln durch anhaltendes Rudern. Demzufolge entwickelt sich der Oberkörper unverhältnismäßig unter Benachteiligung der Unterarme und der Beine.[***] Obwohl jenes Mißverhältnis sich bei Männern im allgemeinen in engeren Grenzen hält,[****] erreichen weder sie noch die Frauen einen ganz aufrechten Gang; durch den auffällig weiten Vorwärtsneigen der Knie bei beiden Geschlechtern wird der Eindruck einer völlig unsicheren Stellung erweckt. Zu wirklichen Jammergestalten werden diese Indianer durch Abmagern bei unhaltbar ungenügender Ernährung. Läuft schließlich noch ein Zittern im eiskalten Winde oder im schweren Regenschauer über diese nackten, zusammengeschrumpften Körper, dann ist für den erstmaligen Beobachter das vollständige Bild des Elends fertig. Aber wenn man sich einmal daran gewöhnt hat, die unbeholfenen Gestalten zu sehen und ihre Form zu erkennen, ohne sich beim Anschauen von dem auffallenden Schmutze behindern zu lassen, wird man rasch entdecken, was auf den Augen und auf das Schönheitsgefühl eines überhöflichen Europäers gänzlich und sogar ungewohnt wirkt.[*****] Sehr gefällige Längenverhältnisse der einzelnen Körperteile untereinander, ungewöhnlich Formen und weiche Glättung der gesamten Körperoberflächen treten sonst bei regelmäßig gebildeten jüngeren Personen in die Erscheinung.

Überprüft man die Urteile der meisten ernsthaften Beobachter, wird man gewisse Übereinstimmungen merken und auch erkennen, daß dieselben fast ausschließlich über diese Personen gefällt sind. Doch gilt es in Wirklichkeit auch unter diesen bestens gepflegten Gestalten. Allerdings starben, wie

[***] Nach Lesson (II): 48 „the women Yahgans, it is asserted, had better developed legs than the other groups because they hauled more frequently on shore".

[****] Bernin Wessels: I, 191 hat durchaus beigestimmt, „that being cramped in sitting their legs are ill formed, and the females, who are the bearers of the canoes, from that circumstance are worse shaped in the lower extremities than the men".

[*****] Dieglichkeit mag Bernatzik (VP.IV, 101, 102) schon bald nach seinem Besuch mit entschlossenem Zusammenstellen mit jenen Völkern erfahren haben, wo seine eindrucksvolle Schilderung erfolgtem hat: „It is a strange sight to see placed side by side the savage and civilized man. The first impression is one of disgust, the naked form, the long matted hair, which increased the apparent size of the head, the distinct of the groins, and the strange unsteady gestures, all contributed to produce an unfavourable impression. The women particularly appear very ugly. But as the eye becomes accustomed to the naked form, and the entire want of attention to the toilet, and observes more fully the form and expression of the features, the impression of ugliness wears off, and some appear even quite looking."

Körperform entstehungs, die Männer nicht selten kürzer den Frauen erreicht.[*] Ein wenig Körperpflege schafft bei beiden Geschlechtern innerhalb kürzester Zeit eine überraschend günstige Umwandlung.[**]

In einem anderen Zusammenhange werden die Beobachtungen früherer Reisender und meine eigenen Untersuchungen über die Körperform der Tonsen zur Darstellung gelangen. Als Ergänzung der oben zusammengestellten Angaben folgt hier eine knappe Zeichnung der körperlichen Besonderheiten dieses Stammes. Die Tonsen sind eine kleinwüchsige Rasse. Als Mittelwert ergeben Sarn (k): 166 für 14 Männer 157.4 cm, Kunz für 27 Männer 158.7 cm, Hvamm (g): 116 für 26 Männer 157.1 cm Ivet, was für diese 67 Tonsen im Mittelwert 157.7 cm ergibt. Dumm (k): 179 nennt 158.5 cm als mittleren Maß von 209 Männern. Ich selbst (w) gewann aus den Messungen von 14 Männern 160.0 cm. Weitere Einzelheiten, auch solche über die Variationsbreite der Körpergröße, lasse ich vorläufig beiseite[***]; es genügt, daß nach Hvamm (g): 117 bei Männern „le taille le plus fréquente est celle de 156 cm". Naturgemäß liegt die Körpergröße der Frauen unter der der Männer; hier aber ist sie niedriger als man erwarten würde. Von 23 Frauen haben Hvamm (g): 119 genau 147.4 cm, Sarn 147.5 cm und Kunz 147.1 cm errechnet, was im Mittel 147.3 cm ergibt. Am häufigsten findet sich bei Frauen eine Körpergröße von 145 cm und 146 cm. Somit beträgt der Höhenunterschied zwischen beiden Geschlechtern im Mittel 10.4 cm.[****] Ich selbst habe bei 19 Frauen ein Mittelmaß von 147.8 cm gefunden und daraus ergibt sich der mittlere Größenunterschied zwischen beiden Geschlechtern auf 12.2 cm. Das vom Normalen abweichende Längenverhältnis zwischen Rumpf und Gliedmaßen[*****] stimmt gut mit dem bei anderen kleinwüchsigen Rassen überein. Demnach sind

[*] Auf diesen Unterschied der Geschlechter hat besonders (k): 180 hingewiesen. „Devant par leur destination les gît souvent à le dénier dégât assez. Cependant l'enfant sans parents, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] sont [illegible] alle dessus. Ils quitt quitté [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

Im Vergleich zu [illegible] Gilb, den Kopf [illegible] groß und der [illegible] Hals zu dick [illegible]. Bei Frauen [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

sehr wenig pflegen und kaum oberflächlich ordnen.[...] Die Körperbehaarung ist sehr schwach.[...]

Die natürliche Hautfarbe zu bestimmen ist nicht leicht, diese Frage läßt sich ebensowenig mit einem Worte sagen. Als Grundton mag allgemein ein hier Braun oder hier Gelb künstlicher schwarz abgetönter Weiß vorhanden sein, das aber an allen gezeigten Stellen bis in tiefe Dunkelbraun übergeht, teils unter dem Einfluß des Rauchens vom Nikotinfarben, teils unter der Schärfe der rauhen Luft. Da für Körperreinlichkeit fast nichts getan wird, zeigt die ganze Oberfläche, sowohl ein volles Gesicht, einen spiegelnden Fettglanz, der einen weiten Hut etwas hebt.

Die Yaruros sind in ihrer Körperbildung dem Hakkwadup etwas ähnlich, durch gibt es auch bedeutende Unterschiede. Sehr Übereinstimmungen bestehen bei den Männern beider Stämme. Das Gesicht der Hakkwadup ist zweifelsohne größer und massiger als das der Yaruros, dafür aber besitzen diese letzteren im Durchschnitt einen geringeren Körperumfang. In den letzten Jahrzehnten hat die bequemere Lebensführung dieses Stammes den Fettansatz bei Frauen sehr begünstigt und einige sind zu unförmlichen Fettklumpen angeschwollen, daß ihre Erscheinung als Abbildung vieler Unerkindlichkeiten wirklich abschreckt.[...] Ohne diesen Unterschied zu tun, muß man sie, so weit es sich um die Schärfe der Erscheinungen handelt, als eine Rasse im großen und ganzen mit unsymmetrisch gebildeten Körper und mit unmutigem Ausdruck bezeichnen.[...] Dieses rohe Bild, das jeden Beobachter unbefriedigt läßt und den tellurischen sogar abstößt, wird allerdings nur wenig aufgehellt durch seltene sympathische Personen,[...] denen sich einige Männer in mittleren Lebensjahren und die meisten jugendlichen Personen erfreuen.[...]

[...] Über Unerkindlichkeit gibt Pausset (1898 [illegible]) einen treffenden Wert: „Die geistig, bewegungs und indirekt erkenntnisgebundenen Mere verdeckt einen und unsere unbewusste den sichtbaren Ausdruck, dieses Gesichtes."

[...] Nada Estando und ich selber [illegible] (1[illegible]: 161 bis), der schreibt: „Se [illegible] cuando no el [illegible], y cuando no los [illegible] [illegible] y no la [illegible]." Diese Beiseite pflegen sie [illegible].

[...] Diese Bilder es [illegible] nicht [illegible], durch [illegible] es nicht die Regel. Kaiser [illegible] veröffentlichte eine Beobachtung Pausset's vom 3. Februar 1898 in der Revue Scientifique: „The women, just mentioned, was the best looking I have seen among the Yaquinas, and really well-featured; her hair was glossy, and her manner seemed to suggest one used to class of the sex. Though young she, was unmarried, but, and did justice to a dress of fingers and muscles. Both she and her husband were globically naked."

[...] Kaiser sagt Bern (1898: 1[illegible]), 186, 1[illegible]): „The Yaquas have the bearing of a [illegible] race."

[...] Bei diesen Verzeichnis spielte das [illegible] Empfinden mit. In [illegible] (1[illegible]: I, 1[illegible]) [illegible] geringe Erscheinungen in [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] sich [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

d. Fischerstadt

Die Kapitale eines Stammesvolkes einer bestimmte Stammesgliederung genau zu erkennen ist mit erheblichen Schwierigkeiten verbunden. Sie stellen sich auch, wenn dieses Volk, wie eben unsere Yaruna, in kleinere, nach Zahl schwankende Verwandtschaftsverbände zerfällt oder gar in Einzelfamilien sich auflöst, die, jede für sich, in dem unübersichtlichen Gewirr von Wasserläufen und Kanälen sich auch freier Wahl zusammen. Die Mitteilungen aus der ersten Zeit des Zusammenstoßes dieser Eingeborenen mit Europäern beschränken sich den Wert von wenig sicheren Vermutungen. In glaubwürdiger Bestimmtheit gelangen später die englischen Missionare wegen ihres unbefriedenden Verkehres mit der Mehrheit jener Völker. Aus dem Vergleich ihrer Mitteilungen mit den Handzeit Überlieferungen, die sich bis in unsere Tage noch am Oberlauf erhalten konnten, erwächst nun das farbenbunte Gemälde, das innerhalb von etwa achtzig Jahren die ehemals ungeschmälerte Vehemenz und dann sich verminderten Stoß, so daß nunmehr die Lesenen dieses Stammes in kürzester Zeit vom Erdboden verschwunden werden.

1. Schlußsätze aus älterer Zeit

Die Forschungsgeschichte der Yaruna beweist zur Genüge, daß sich den Seefahrern der früheren Zeit kaum je die Möglichkeit geboten hat, ausführlichere Schilderungen über diese Volksstamm zu verwerten. Ihre Schiffe gingen nur an einem oder höchstens noch an einem anderen Hafen vor Anker, wo sie den zufällig dort anwesenden Eingeborenen unbeachtet wurden und sich diese kaum durch Zeichen während einer kurzen Zeitspanne verständlich machten. Da viel aber haben sie mit Bestimmtheit versichert, daß jene Gegend nur sehr dünn bevölkert war. Dieses gaben sie sich besonders dann Rechenschaft, wenn das gleiche Kanu mit seiner Insassen diesen Hafen nach Verlassen einen Hafen bald darauf an einer anderen Stelle wieder begegnete, wo andere Leute meist nicht zu sehen waren.

Aus älterer Zeit bilden dennoch genaue Nachrichten über die Kapitale der Yaruna. Einzig Hermann Fuerten hat im Dezember 1771 eine bemerkenswerte Vermutung ausgesprochen. Im Pater Christmann hat er mit anderen Eingeborenen Bekanntschaft gemacht und gelangte zu folgender Erwägung: „Die Zahl der Fischfänger ist so gering, daß ich auf diesem gesamten Lande, welches durch wenigstens mit der Hilfe von Inland gleicher Größe hat, ebenmäßig weder als vorgenannt Menschen ausfinden kann, die dauerhaft in ganz kleinere Familien zerstreut wohnen, oder vielmehr herumirren" (Fuerten Fuerten [Ed.] 1900). Bei dieser Schätzung hat er sich unbewußt von der

gerade besonders, daß sondern hier nur einige Photographien zu Gebote. Die geringen Mengen dies ist so, daß es die bekannten Unterschiede zwischen den Kanu und den Fischfängern, die beide im Grundsatz an Ebene sind, gleichfalls übersehen hat. Eine gedrängte und doch erschöpfende Beschreibung der Siedelungen unserer Yaruna haben Lemmen (?) und "Globus", Band 41, Seite 201 (Braunschweig 1882) veröffentlicht. Vgl. auch Fuerten [illegible] 1900, Fuerten [illegible] 1900, Wrasen [illegible] 1900 u. a. m.

[illegible] zur wenig [illegible], was man in [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

ich aber die Polizeiquelle durin, daß er die an den Rändern der Tamana-Gebiete lebhaftesten Familien nicht einbezogen hat. Im gleichen Bericht, dem die vorhergehenden Sätze entnommen sind, erwähnt er: „There were some twelve years ago, I believe, more than double their present numbers." Englisch Sigt er die genaue Verteilung der Bewohner auf die einzelnen Bezirke an: „The coast of Wallaia or Navarin Island, has 237 inhabitants, Hatu Island 258, Pitoun, Lemuro, and Nou Islands, 55; the coast of Gnaloud, from Spanford Harbour to Brockmark Peninsula, has 219 the Woullaiton and Hewett's Islands, 65; Gardon Islands, 30; Cooperdal, 20; other western islands, 60" (MM. VVIII, 254; 1896).[40]

Grüner nach Jahre nach der letzten Volkszählung, nämlich am 15. Juni 1896, berichtet er wieder: „I lately made a census of the Tabgan tribe, and find it slightly exceeds 600 persons. Of these 118 are men, 138 women, 95 boys, and 24 girls. These occupy the south coast of Gnaloud, and all the coasts of the islands south of it, even to Hatu Island itself. Fully three-quarters of these people visit Gnaloudia from time to time" (MM. XX, 217; 1896). Sollte wirklich innerhalb weniger Jahre die Bevölkerungsziffer sich um mehr als die Hälfte vermindert haben? Gewiß wirkten einige Faktoren damals schon verheerend. Aber dann ist es mit dieser Angabe unvereinbar, wenn Damann gegen Ende des gleichen Jahres 1896 „the entire native population of some 900 souls or more" (MM. XXI, 6; 1897) vermutetete. Diese letztgenannte Ziffer kommt vielleicht der damals dem wirklichen Stand der Kopfzahl am nächsten; denn bis zum Mitte des Vorjahres hatte eine erheblichere Mortalität[41] gewütet, der weit mehr Männer und Frauen zum Opfer gefallen waren,[42] so daß vor dieser Katastrophe die Bevölkerung viel über 2.000 betragen haben dürfte.

Bislang war Damann Superintendent der Inselhäuptlinge Mission. Auf dieser Stelle verunglückte er im Jahre 1896 und erlitt ganz am jungen Missionsschiffe. Während der letzten Jahre hatten Krankheiten die indianische Bevölkerung schwer heimgesucht und Udonia war zu einem gefürchteten Hort für Seuchen geworden, denn die Eingeborenen je weiter um so lieber dort blieben. Schließen lassen die Berichte der Missionare über die Volkszählungen auch, daß wieder Siedelfälle auch weiterhin auch erwähnt.

Inzwischen war auf Isle Grey von der Wallaiton Gruppe eine kleine Station eingerichtet und dem Katechisten Bonnaven übertragen worden. Um den Inselnen sich bis Ende 1899 etwa 80 Eingeborene gesammelt. Dort erfuhr der Missionar Antonsen (MM. XXIII, 216; 1899), daß die Gegend des Sean Adm Nurvo von 300 bis 400 Leuten bewohnt wäre. Sicherlich ist das eine Übertreibung:

[40] Auch diese Statistik wurden nachmals geographisch aufgeteilt und mit dem oder geringen Bevölkerungsstand gemessen. Die einzelnen Angaben hat Brunen (g): 300 nachgerechnet.

[41] Die Amerikanische Bibelgesellschaft (Jan. etc.) berichtet: sie als „une épidémie de coqueluche".

[42] Kann bestätigt: Brunen (g): 300 Minuten: „A la fin de l'année 1894 la coqueluche a fait une apparition en Tabgan, où elle a enlevé plus de la moitié de la population indigène." Vgl. Brunen (b): 418 und (a): 368.

denn nach einem unveröffentlichten Briefe des Rev. Th. Bomboy vom 24. Dezember 1898, auf den Hyades (q): 391 sich beruft, reichte die Gesamtzahl der Yamana damals nicht mehr an 300 heran; „dont 100 aux îles Wellington, 60 à Downevat sur la propriété de M. Bomboy, 40 à Ouchouaya et les environs, le reste errant en pirogues".[200]

Unaufhaltsam verringerte sich auch weiterhin die Zahl der Yamana. Mitte 1899 schrieb Bischof Stirling: „The number of natives (Yahgans) now living to be found in different places is less than 200; and during the year we came in contact with the majority of them" (MM: XXXIII, 217; 1899). Etwas später, Anfang 1902, erfuhr Lawrence auf seiner Fahrt von Ushuaia über Tekenika nach Punta Arenas und zurück, „that there are upwards of seventy Yahgans who frequent Tekenika,[201] and upwards of sixty more in the neighbourhood of Ushuaia and Punta Remolino, including Navarin Island. Outside of this there is scarcely a Yahgan to be found" (MM: XXXVI, 173; 1902); also im ganzen 130 Personen.

Die 1892 in Bahía Tekenika eingerichtete Station wurde 1906 nach der Bahía Rio Douglas, wo sie wegen günstigerer Lage die wenigen Eingeborenen mehr anziehen sollte, verschoben. Der damalige Vorsteher Rev. J. Williams errechnete für 1905 allein noch 130 Yamana (MM: XXXIX, 75; 1905). Da aber im gleichen Jahre weitere 32 starben und nur drei oder vier Kinder geboren wurden, blieben insgesamt 100 Seelen. Bei dieser Aufstellung scheint indes ein Irrtum unterlaufen zu sein; denn der genannte Williams erwähnt 1908, daß von den noch etwa 150 Eingeborenen sich 36 bei ihm aufhalten (MM: XLIII, 141; 1909).

Kurz bevor ich selber zum ersten Male jene Gegend betrat, hatte die South American Missionary Society endgültig ihre Tätigkeit dortselbst eingestellt, nämlich im Jahre 1916. Damals war, die wenigen Mischlinge eingerechnet, kein volles Hundert mehr am Leben.

Die von den Missionaren versuchten Aufstellungen stützten sich zumeist auf eigene Beobachtungen. Was hingegen Seeleute und Reisende über die Volkszähle mitgeteilt haben, ist häufig nur eine Wiederholung missionarischer Berichte. Aus persönlicher Erfahrung heraus beurteilt Martial: 215 die von Fitz-Roy angegebene Zahl 500 als zu niedrig und glaubt, daß für das Jahr 1883 „la population actuelle yahgane doit être comprise entre 1300 et 1500 âmes". Bove hat auf seiner Reise keine Zählung vorgenommen. Wenn er die Yamana auf etwa 2.000 (MM: XVIII, 187; 1884) vorzuschlagt und Lovisato (b): 129 die gleiche Ziffer nennt, so stützen sich beide nachweislich auf Bridges. Das taten auch die Mitglieder der Mission Schwyzuegel. Anfang 1902 hielt sich Barclay (a): 64 wenige Wochen in jenen Gegenden auf und schätzte die

[200] Nur wenig später schrieb Bomboy (h): 233, die „2000 Yaganes de entonces fueron reducidos a unos 300, que es el número con que cuenta hoy la tribu".

[201] Hierher ist die im Jahre 1888 auf Isla Gran eingerichtete Missionsstation im September 1892 verlegt worden, weil der erstgenannte Platz sich unter mehrfacher Rücksicht als ungeeignet erwiesen hatte.

Yamana auf etwa 200;[...] „in 1908 the total number of the Yahgan tribe was only 170 all told" (Barclay [d]: 140), doch gibt er nicht an, wie er diese Zahl gewonnen hat. Holmberg (a): 53 bekannte im Jahre 1906: „Bridges calculaba en 1883 en 3000 los yaganes . . .; hoy, si hay más de 100 yaganes es mucho."[...] Zwei Jahre später zählte Furlong (r): 175 noch 175,[...] und 1916 kaum 100 Köpfe. Gusinde: 163 hat im Jahre 1913 E. A. Zwanck und Lucas Bridges über die Kopfzahl der Eingeborenen befragt, was ihn zur folgenden knappen Übersicht[...] befähigte: „Nel 1864 e fin verso il 1880 il numero dei Fuegini di razza Giagan (indios de las islas) era di circa 3000; nel giugno 1884, un vero censimento fatto a cura del Rev. Bridges fa ammontare i Giagan a 949; due anni dopo, nel 1886, la popolazione è ridotta a meno della metà, a circa 400 persone; nel dicembre 1890 i rappresentanti di quel gruppo son 300; sono circa 200 nel 1898; non arrivano a queste numero nel 1904, oggi [1913] sono una novantina, forse 110 contando i dispersi e gli ibridi."

Was meine eigenen Zählungen von 1918 bis heute ergeben haben, findet sich weiter unten S. 230 zusammengestellt. Bald darauf, nämlich im Jahre 1924/25, veranschlagte Lothrop (b): 25 die reinblütigen Yamana samt Mischlingen auf 40 bis 50, was etwas zu niedrig gegriffen ist. Die letzte Veröffentlichung stammt von Miss Hamilton, die am 29. Juni 1929 klagt, daß „only 50 are surviving of a tribe which numbered at one time nearly 3000" (Spencer 109).

Darin stimmen gleichen sich die Mitteilungen der Missionare und der Reisenden, daß sich die Volksstärke der Yamana seit Gründung der Mission und seit Einrichtung der Regierungsstation zu Ushuaia im Jahre 1884 andauernd und unaufhaltsam vermindert hat.

3. Ursprüngliche Volksstärke

Die oben nachgedruckten Zahlen und Ziffern aus der zweiten Hälfte des letzten Jahrhunderts sind auf Grund unmittelbarer oder mittelbarer Beobachtungen von verschiedenen Männern aufgestellt worden. Doch verlohnt es sich, die durchschnittliche Bevölkerungsdichte in den früheren Jahrhunderten ausfindig zu machen. Offensichtlich kann unter den vorliegenden Bedingungen eine solche Schätzung nicht mehr als ein Versuch sein, doch darf ihm immerhin eine ausreichende Wahrscheinlichkeit zugemessen werden.

[...] Er behauptet: „Since the seal-fisheries opened up thirty years ago, followed by the gold rush of later years, their numbers dropped from 2,500 till to-day they number a bare two hundred all told."

[...] Uhlhor drückt sich Pocock (d): 162 aus, wovergen seiner Mitteilung kaum zu verwerten ist: „El número de indios yaganes que frecuentan la orilla argentina del canal de Beagle, no llega a 100."

[...] Damit stimmt eine Angabe von Kaschatzow: 318 überein, daß die Yamana „durch Suchen von etwa 3.000 Individuen (1862) auf 175 zusammengeschmolzen sind".

[...] Etwas Ähnliches hörten auch Cooper: 4 und Hyades (q): 309. Die von Furlong (r): 175 vorgelegte Zusammenstellung weist nicht nur Lücken, sondern auch Fehler auf und ist deshalb unbrauchbar. Verläßlicherer Zahlen nennt Wheeler: 8.

Nichts hindert vorzunehmen, daß die örtlichen Bedingungen des Kap Hoorn-Archipels mit einer Reihe von Jahrhunderten mit den gegenwärtigen übereinstimmen. Sie gestatten weder Ackerbau noch Viehzucht, wodurch einer gesteigerten Volkszahl der Unterhalt gesichert wäre; die dorthin verschlagenen Eingeborenen blieben somit auf die übliche Form der Sammelwirtschaft angewiesen. Letztere aber forderte von vornherein einen erweiterten Raum. Da überdies die einzelnen Sippen oder der Zusammenschluß derselben zu den sogenannten Dialektgruppen sich in einem begrenzten Jagdgebiete halten mußten, das ihnen ein uraltes Gewohnheitsrecht zugewiesen hatte, durfte dasselbe niemals zu sehr eingeengt werden. Jeder Jäger verlangte in einer derart umgrenzten Spanneweite sich bewegen zu können, daß er an den verschiedenen Stellen, die er nacheinander aufsuchte, jeweils wieder die Tiere antraf, die durch seinen letzten Aufenthalt verscheucht worden waren. Das aber erforderte einen beträchtlichen zeitlichen Abstand des einen Besuches vom anderen an gleichem Orte, damit die erschreckten Jagdtiere sich inzwischen beruhigten. Währenddessen aber mußte die Familie weiterziehend sich an anderen Stellen die notwendige Nahrung besorgen. Keineswegs genügte ihr für all diese Forderungen ein eingegrenztes Gebiet.

Hätten sich je Ansätze zu einer Übervölkerung gebildet, sie wären bestimmt im Keime erstickt worden. Mehr als eine gewisse Zahl von herumschweifenden Bewohnern trägt ein bestimmter Bezirk eben nicht; würde sie überschritten, zeigte sich bald der Mangel an Nahrungsmitteln und einzelne Familien wären zum Wechsel ihres Standplatzes gezwungen. Als Überzählige brächten sie nun auch ihre Nachbarn in Bedrängnis. Demnach würde eine zahlenmäßige Steigerung der gesamten Bevölkerung den Bestand des ganzen Volkes überhaupt gefährden, weil eine Abwanderung aus dem Kap Hoorn-Archipel ausgeschlossen ist.

Für das unumgänglich zu wahrende Gleichgewicht zwischen Bewohnern und Gegend waren Kräfte, die sich außerhalb jeder menschlichen Beeinflussung hielten, in Wirklichkeit immer tätig. Die schweren Lebensbedingungen in der Ungunst der äußeren Natur haben für den Ausgleich zwischen Geburten und Todesfällen gesorgt, so fruchtbar auch die feuerländischen Ehen durchgängig waren und so hoch das mittlere Lebensalter der Erwachsenen stand. Jene Härten, die zuweilen noch durch Hungersnöte oder durch sehr nachteilige Witterung verschärft wurden, setzten eine wirksame Auslese fort, machte sie auch noch so sanft und unauffällig sein. Streitereien, Feindschaften und Kämpfe kosteten zwar dem einen und anderen das Leben, sie haben jedoch niemals einen Umfang angenommen, daß sie als ausmerzende Kraft gelten könnten. Die Unfälle, bei denen Erwachsene ihr Leben einbüßten, standen weit hinter der Säuglingssterblichkeit zurück; beide aber wurden durch den allgemeinen Kinderreichtum aufgewogen. Allerdings vermochte letzterer nur so lange alle Verluste an Menschenleben wieder auszugleichen, als verheerende Seuchen fernblieben. Die Zahl der Personen, die früher durch eine Krankheit ihr Leben vorzeitig beschließen mußten, ist kaum nennenswert. Die weiten

Lücken jedoch, welche neuerdings eingeschleppte Allgemeinerkrankungen bei schneller Aufeinanderfolge in die unverbrauchten Eingeborenen gerissen haben, lassen sich nicht mehr ausfüllen; unvergleichlich stärker als jede andere Ursache haben eben sie dieses Volk rasch in den Untergang getrieben.[...]

Als ausschlaggebende Triebfedern bei der Regelung der Bevölkerungsstärke haben sich unter den Yamana vor ihrer Berührung mit den Europäern demnach nur die äußeren Naturverhältnisse betätigt; was außerdem noch daran sich beteiligt haben mag, war von sehr untergeordneter Bedeutung. Erst mit dem, was die Neuzeit eingeschleppt hat, wurde das frühere Gleichgewicht so empfindlich gestört, daß es niemals mehr zurückgewonnen werden konnte.[...]

Mit alledem glaube ich eine verläßliche Voraussetzung für die Annahme geschaffen zu haben, daß das Verhältnis zwischen der Leistungsfähigkeit oder Ergiebigkeit des heimatlichen Bodens und den Forderungen einer bestimmten Bevölkerungszahl mit vielen Jahrhunderten bis zur Einnischung der Weißen ausgeglichen war. Die gegebene Volksstärke an sich darf als die höchste, die in jenen Grenzen unter den herrschenden Verhältnissen erreicht werden konnte, gelten. Berechnungen von verläßlicher Gültigkeit, die den für eine einzelne Familie erforderlichen Lebensraum bestimmen, lassen sich im ausgedehnten Kap Hoorn-Archipel schwer durchführen; dort gibt es eben Berghänge und Wasserarme genug, die von Europäern nur ungenügend untersucht worden sind.[...] Wenn man die bekannten fahrbaren Küsten abmißt, erhält man eine der Wirklichkeit sich nähernde Ausdehnung, die etwa 150 Kanoe die freie Bewegung zur unbehinderten Nahrungssuche gestattet. Gibt man nun jedem Fahrzeuge im Mittel sechs Insassen[...], dann würde die ursprüngliche Volksstärke ein wenig unter 3000 bleiben. Darüber hinaus dürfte die Bevölkerung wohl nie angestiegen sein. Mir scheint trotzdem die Zahl 2500 als am besten

[...] Gusinde: 161 hat acht Ursachen des Untergangs dieses Volkes genannt. Selbstverständlich sind sie untereinander von sehr verschiedenem Wert, was hier wenigstens kurz angedeutet sei.

[...] Wie sehr diese Verhältnisse bei unseren Yamana mit denen der benachbarten Selk'nam übereinstimmen, habe ich (Bd. I, 107) ausführlich aufgezeigt.

[...] An dieser Fehlerquelle für statistische Berechnungen hat W. H. Stevens mitgewirkt, der am 29. Juni 1867 über die südliche Gruppe, die er "Tekenica tribe" nannte, folgendermaßen schrieb: „They live, however, so scattered, and principally within the quiet precincts of creeks and secluded bays, that apart from special investigation with the aid of natives it is difficult for strangers to estimate their numerical force" (MM: I, 154; 1867).

[...] Zu dieser Durchschnittszahl bin ich unabhängig von Martens: 255 gelangt. Gewiß stimmen also der volle Übereinstimmung mit ihm. Er hatte die Gesamtzahl der Yamana-Bevölkerung während des Aufenthaltes der Missionsstationen auf 1000 bis 1500 veranschlagt. „Pour établir ce chiffre, nous ne nous sommes appuyé que sur le nombre des pirogues différentes que nous avons vues (200 environ), en supposant chacune d'elles occupée par six personnes; cette moyenne résulte des observations faites sur 65 pirogues où nous avons compté 300 indigènes." Daß sie seiner berechtigten Voraussetzung, den 121 Missionsbesuchen und 118 Frauen nur 149 Kinder gegenüberstanden, erklärt sich damit, daß viele Kinder sich damals auf der Missionsstation befanden und daß eine verhältnismäßig hohe Zahl von ihnen durch Seuchen hinweggerafft worden war.

in alle gegebenen Verhältnisse eingegangen. Damit verlasse ich mich nur wenig von dem, was Bonnet angenommen hatte, und weiß mich ganz einig mit Lawrence, der mir mündlich erklärte, man müsse vor 1870 die Yamana auf 2500 schätzen.** Von dieser Höhe ist die Volkszahl mit der Gründung der englischen Mission unaufhaltsam heruntergegangen.

Die nach neuesten noch feststellbaren und nach unbeschreiblich wirkende Verringerung der Yamana habe ich im Laufe meiner vier Reisen von sichtbare Nähe beobachtet. Leider gibt es keine Aufhaltung mehr. Konnte ich bei meinem Weggange anfangs September 1923 noch 70 Überlebende zählen, in die wenige Hütchen eingepferchert sind (Gusinde [d]) 88), so vermagen mich Nachrichten, die mir seitdem eingelaufen sind, diese unbedeutende Zahl auf fast die 1000/o herunterzudrücken. Das beginnende Jahr 1933 (alt?) kann noch 40 Yamana an (Gusinde [ee]) 145). Die wenigen Jahre sind leicht abzusehen, bis der Letzte dieses Volkes dahingeschieden wird. Aber einem jeden Menschenfreund erfüllt Entsetzen bei dem Bewußtsein, daß etwa 70 Jahre nach Beziehungen zu den Europäern es erreicht haben, jenes vertrauensvolle und gutgesinnte Volk in seiner unwirtlichen Heimat zu vernichten.

c. Herkunft

Ebenso reizvoll wäre es, die Geschichte der Wanderungen des Yamana-Volkes und die Bestimmung seiner gegenwärtigen Heimat bis auf ihre ersten Anfänge zurückzuverfolgen zu können. Denn Kap Hoorn-Archipel selber sind diese Indianer nicht eingewandert, ihre Herkunft aus der unwirtlichen Eisregion vorzuzeitlich sind Entgleisungen einer höheren Phantasie und vor glaubt, sie hätten in Besitz von Gewässern hier die südlichste Wasserhütte der Neuen Welt erreicht,** der unwirtlichster die unfruchtbarlichsten Tiefen des einsamsten südlichen Pazifischen Ozeans. Einzig und allein vom Norden her ist der Einfall dieses Volkes in die wüste, unwirtsame Landschaft erfolgt, die ihm letzte Schutzstätte geworden ist.** Wurde sie ihm nur Zufluchtsort vor nachdringenden, mächtigeren Völkerschaften? Man wird fast zu dieser Annahme gezwungen, denn freiwillig dürften die ersten Yamana sich in diesem einsamsten unwirtlichsten Gebiet kaum niedergelassen haben! Anderseits im Norden,

** Durch Irrtümer noch so „die Zahlen 5000 als Höchstzahl nach Ihr erfolgt" (Gusinde [b]) 75.

** Vgl. Pont, Henri: Les Australiens en Amérique. "Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris"), t. XXVI, num. 102, Paris 1925. P. Rivet: Les Mélanésiens-Polynésiens et les Australiens en Amérique. "Congrès mondial d'anthropologie et Ethnologie-Lettres", p. 205—212, Paris 1924. P. Rivet: Les Melanesiens-Polynesiens en Amérique. "Journal des Américanistes de Paris"), t. XVIII, p. 141—156, Paris 1926.

** Die Hoorna's 300 eichenspanaler Wandung „Ein Tahgem vom geschlossenen entgleiten, einmal bei Abendhelle, die auf die vorderen zurückzieht", im abwendenden gebildeten abwechselnd mit dem Bestre, daß „Ihr vorder Abendhel den Bogen wählt gute gewesen qu'ils sont tel intendants à des dépenses sale dépenses dans les régions qu'ils occupent aujourd'hui". Gleich hier ist die Bekämpfung von einem "vamana origin" (Bibl. XVIII, 102, 1904) die Yamana und Selknamdag.

abgesehen von den heute durch die Halakwulup besetzten Teilen, sind überall die Lebensbedingungen günstiger und der Nahrungserwerb ist weniger mühsam.

Diese kurzen Erwägungen sind allgemeiner Natur. Darüber hinaus liefern die Yamana selber für ihre Vorgeschichte oder Herkunft keinen einzigen Anhaltspunkt. Bridges (q): 18 sagt treffend: „Ils n'ont aucune histoire." Überhaupt fehlt ihnen ein klarer Begriff für Zeittiefe; denn obwohl sie das weit zurückliegende Einst von der Gegenwart unterscheiden, vermögen sie doch nicht die Zeitspanne selber zu messen. Persönliche Erinnerungen wissen sie zwar nach ihrer zeitlichen Aufeinanderfolge zu ordnen; aber das Wissen der Gesamtheit um frühere Ereignisse allgemeinen Charakters und um Geschehnisse universaler Bedeutung ist sehr schwach und lückenhaft. Schließlich mag ihre eigenartige Denkweise ihnen den Verzicht auf Vergleiche mit anderen Völkerschaften zur zweiten Natur gemacht haben, womit jeder Rest einer Erinnerung an entfernte Verhältnisse außerhalb des Kap Hoorn-Archipels geschwunden ist.

In der Erzählung vom Ursprung der Männerzeremonie, *kina* genannt, stößt man gewissermaßen auf einen Anklang an eine Wanderungsmythe. Darauf hinweisend meint Martial: 214: „Une seule de ces légendes se rapport à l'histoire du pays: elle traite à l'histoire d'Ousshousia, où de nombreux vestiges prouvent qu'à une époque reculée vivait une population considérable." Schwerlich wird man diese Mythe als sicheres Beweisstück für einen geschichtlichen Vorgang gelten lassen; aber eine schwache Wahrscheinlichkeit für den tatsächlich von den *kina*-spielenden Frauen eingeschlagenen Weg dürfte man für wohl annehmen, zumal sie geographische Einzelheiten aus abgelegenen Gebieten wirklichkeitsgetreu erzählt. Außerdem heißt es darin, daß mit jenen Frauen auch gleichzeitig die Gesamtheit des Yamana-Volkes ihren Lagerplatz verließ, bis die Gegend der Ushuaia-Bucht erreicht war und seitdem bewohnen sie diesen südlichen Landstrich. Damit wäre allein die Herkunft der Yamana aus dem nordöstlichen Teile der Isla Grande sichergestellt, mehr aber nicht.[100]

In Anlehnung an jene geheime Feier zeigt sich Montes(d): 578 unentschlossen: „It is impossible to decide to-day whether these two races [Yamana and Halakwulup] proceed from the Southern Brazilian stock; but serveral of their usages undoubtedly belong to a former manner of living. Their masked dance and ceremonies, for example, are remembrances of an old sunny fatherland. In their present cruel surroundings they are losing much of the better culture brought by their ancestors." Daß fremdartiger Kulturbesitz bei unseren Yahgan tatsächlich Eingang gefunden hat, ist leicht zu erweisen; aber die Herkunft des Volkstammes und die Eigenart seiner ursprünglichen Kulturform ist damit noch nicht sichergestellt.

Ist es berechtigt, eine von den heutigen Yamana abweichende, andersgeartete frühere Bevölkerung im Kap Hoorn-Archipel anzunehmen?

[100] Die genauere Einzelheiten dieser Mythe macht weiter unten die Beschreibung der Männerzeremonie ersichtlich. Ausführlich liegt sie bereits bei Gusinde (q): 271 und (bb): 337 vor.

Ein einziger Hinweis auf diese Möglichkeit findet sich bei SPEGAZZINI (a): 180, dem LAMBAMA-NEUCEUS (h): 18 einige Bedeutung beimessen möchte. Er besagt: „Por lo que he podido averiguar, parece que existen algunos restos de otras tribus, destruidas o absorbidas por el desarrollo vigoroso de los Jajan; tienen muy pocas diferencia fisica de las demás fueguinos aculiches, solo hablan entre el un dialecto o una lengua especial; me han dicho que uno de estos grupos vive en la isla Ermita y lleva el nombre de *Pürri*, mientras otro permanece en las islas Londonderry y se conoce bajo la denominación de *Adaipilin*."

Diese Vermutung beinhaltet, nach meinem Urteile, weiter nichts, als die Tatsache von den dialektischen Verschiedenheiten innerhalb des Yamana-Volkes; denn trotz bedeutenden Übereinstimmungen werden ausschließlich sprachliche Abweichungen geltend gemacht. Diese allein aber begründen noch nicht die Wirklichkeit eines fremden Volkes. Die vermeintlichen Stammesnamen zeigen keine der Yamana-Sprache fremdartige Wortbildung, soweit dies aus der etwas ungenauen Schreibweise zu ersehen ist; sie dürften Ortsnamen sein. Was also SPEGAZZINI angedeutet hat, besteht insoweit zu Recht, als dialektische Abweichungen der südlichen Yamana von den anderen Gruppen dieses Volkes gemeint sind.[100]

Ausschließend hierzu verdient auch erwähnt zu werden, daß die Yamana selber keine Erinnerung an ein Volk besitzen, das vor ihnen dieses Land bewohnt hätte, und daß unter den fast unübersehbaren geographischen Bezeichnungen sich keine einzige fremden Ursprungs findet[101]; vielmehr betonen sie, selber die ersten Bewohner und alleinigen Besitzer dieser ihrer Heimat immer gewesen zu sein.

Der Hinweis auf die vielen Muschelhaufen bestätigt ihre Behauptung. Eine Beschreibung dieser Gebilde, denen man in kurzen Abständen überall begegnet, wird erst weiter unten gegeben. Doch steht einwandfrei fest, daß die darin eingeschlossenen und von den blinden Naturkräften bloßgelegten Gegenstände aus Stein und Knochen das Gepräge der neuzeitlichen tragen; noch viel weniger sind Gerätschaften gefunden worden, die im Besitze unserer Zeitgenossen fehlen. Damit ist die Kulturgleichheit der Erbauer alter wie ältester Muschelhaufen und der jetzt lebenden Volksschicht erwiesen.

Da nun die wenigen Anzeichen für eine Besiedlung des Kap Hoorn-Archipels vor den eigentlichen Yamana bei einer genauen Prüfung durchaus versagen und auf der anderen Seite manches dafür spricht, diese als die ersten

[100] Diese Lösung hatte bereits LAMBAMA-NEUCEUS (h): 18 gegeben, der richtig die Abweichungen der von verschiedenen Seefahrern aufgezeichneten Wortlisten voneinander als Dialekte erklärt, „de los cuales uno sólo fué estudiado detenidamente por la admirable labor del misionero anglicano Reverendo 'Thomas Bridges'".

[101] In einem "Memoire inédit" hat auch BRIDGES, wie HYADES (q): 18 mitteilt, diese beiden Beweisgründe geltend gemacht. Mit vollem Recht mißt er (o): 332 dem letzteren eine durchschlagende Bedeutung zu: „Es kann aus den geographischen Benennungen der sichere Schluß gezogen werden, daß die gegenwärtigen Bewohner die einzigen Besitznehmer des Landes gewesen sind, da keine Spur von einer anderen Sprache in den Benennungen der verschiedenen Plätze und Punkte wahrzunehmen ist."

Bewohner zu betrachten, müssen wir uns vorläufig mit dieser Wahrscheinlichkeit bescheiden. Sie wird noch durch das Ergebnis der sprachlichen und ethnologischen Untersuchungen eine erwünschte Stütze erhalten. Schließlich verdient auch die Überzeugung des Rev. Bennett einige Beachtung, „qu'il n'y a jamais eu aucun indigène dans l'archipel du cap Horn avant ceux qui l'habitent maintenant" (Hyades [q]: 18). Über Zeit und Richtung, in der die Einwanderung der Yamana erfolgt sein könnte, fehlt jeder sicherer Anhaltspunkt; nur so viel darf als erwiesen gelten, daß sie vom Norden her in ihr Inselreich am Kap Hoorn eingefallen sind.

f. Verhältnis zu Nachbarstämmen

Das Wohngebiet der Yamana zieht sich zwar in die Breite, doch ist ein Verkehr mit den Selk'nam nur im äußersten Osten und mit den Halakwulup nur am westlichen Ausgange des Canal de Beagle möglich. Allein schon durch örtliche Bedingungen werden die Beziehungen unserer Eingeborenen zu ihren beiden Nachbarstämmen auf ein sehr geringes Maß eingeschränkt. Dazu kommen noch Behinderungen anderer Art. Aus alledem erhellt, wie wahrscheinlich die Verhältnisse während der vergangenen Jahrhunderte gewesen sind. Mit dem Einbruch der Europäer in jene Gebiete hat sich die Lage der Eingeborenen bedeutsam verschoben; denn sie wurden zwangsweise einander näher gebracht. Daraus entstandenen Verwicklungen, die in den ungestörten früheren Lebensverhältnissen unmöglich gewesen wären. Indes konnte sich diese unmittelbare Lösung der ursprünglichen Absperrung der einzelnen Stämme voneinander[100] nicht mehr merklich auswirken, weil nämlich nicht allein die Yamana erlosch, sondern auch ihre beiderseitigen Nachbarn im gleichen Schnellschritt ihrem Untergange entgegengeeilt und alle insgesamt heute auf einer Handvoll Überlebender zusammengeschrumpft sind.

Engen also allein die örtlichen Bedingungen einen Verkehrsverkehr sehr stark ein, so stärkt im besonderen die verschiedene Wirtschaftsform eine hohe Scheidewand zwischen Selk'nam bzw. Haus[101] und Yamana auf. Beide Rückschlüsse erkennen fast alle früheren Berichterstatter, die sich über das

[100] Die Selk'nam flüchteten von um die Wende 1890 vor heimtückigen Indianerjägern aus ihrer ehemaligen Heimat in das Yamana-Gebiet, wo sie tollwütige Schutz fanden. Vergleichbar Band I, 161.

[101] In diesem Abschnitt gebrauche ich, der Einfachheit halber, nur den Wort Selk'nam zur Bezeichnung beider Gruppen, obwohl sicherlich die Haus einen großen Teil der Südküste ihrer Ide Grande besetzt hielten. Bennett war sich der wirklichen Unterschiede jener beiden Abteilungen anfänglich nicht bewußt. Am 9. August 1927 schrieb mir sein Sohn Gonzalo: „Lo que Thomas Bennett Bana ona es realidad es housh... Los Yahganes también ignoraban la existencia del idioma ona por no haber tenido contacto con ellos. Ramando a los haush con quienes algunos veces trataban, iteiam-ona, tina del Fuego." Die Trennung beider Gruppen läßt sich für die früheren Jahrhunderte nicht bestimmt urkundlich machen. Doch ist so viel sicher, daß Haus wie Selk'nam den Yamana gegenüber die gleiche Haltung bewahrt haben. Vgl. Bd. I, 136. Über die Kopfzahl der Haus vgl. Bd. I, 130 und Ernesto A. Holmberg: 75.

Verhältnis dieser Stämme zueinander geschildert hatten, gänzlich von dem Auge verloren zu haben. Leider durchzieht die Abhängigkeit des einen Schriftstellers vom anderen und dadurch verliert sich der Nachdruck dieser Behauptungen.

Zu erneuter Prüfung sieht sich der Kritiker angesichts widersprechender Urteile, die einander scheinbar gegenüberstehen, verpflichtet. Der katholische Schulinspektor Bacevan (a): 6 sagt: „Lejos de una cosa otra y tratar o los de los otros, conjeturaban nuestros lenguas y antepáganos, sin entenderse entre sí." Dieser allgemeinhaltlichen Charakterisierung halte ich das Urteil des protestantischen Missionars Bennett (b): 234 entgegen: „Cuando estas tribus ocupaban distintas linderos, eran frecuentes las matrimonios entre los individuos de una y otra tribu .... Al Oeste y Sud, los paganos tenían tanto latitud con sus vecinos a cada costado, comercian ambos lenguas y se acomodaban perfectamente al estado de vida de unos y otros." Desgleichen Widersprüche lassen sich mannigfaltig leicht lösen: Bacevan kannte die Yamana ebenso wenig wie Bennett die Selk'nam[...]. Damit aber ist der wirkliche Sachverhalt noch nicht geklärt und ich selber sehe mich gezwungen, die beiden oben genannten Kriterien, die den Wechselbeziehungen der feindlichen Eingeborenen engr Grenzen gezogen haben, deutlich herauszustellen.

1. Yamana und Selk'nam

Auf dem langgezogenen Nordufer des Canal de Beagle gab es für ein Zusammentreffen von Yamana und Selk'nam nur Raum auf dem östlichen Endstück, also etwa von Puerto Brown bis Puerto Harberton bis Bahia Slaggett oder Bahia Valentin, je nach dem Gewaltfeld, den man für die Ausdehnung der Yamana nur Le Maire-Straße bis anfindet[...]. Weiter nach Westen vorgerückt hatte Gebirgskette den Selk'nam das Vordringen bis zum Ufer des Canal de Beagle. Die mit jener Gegend sehr vertrauten Söhne des alten Missionars Juan Lawrence haben mir, sich stützend auf die Aussagen der Yamana und auf ihre Eigenerfahrung von mehrfig Jahren, versichert, daß die Selk'nam niemals die Gebirgszüge Sarmiento und Valdivia überquert haben, um an ihre Nachbarn herauszukommen. Nun ist zu beachten, daß die westliche Grenze der Ost-Yamana genau auf die Linie fällt, bis zu welcher die Selk'nam nach Westen vorzurücken imstande waren. Daraus erklärt sich auch, daß eine Beeinflussung der ersteren durch die letzteren unmittelbar nur hier erfolgen konnte und daß daraus die übrigen Yamana-Gruppen frei geblieben sind.

Mehrere über die Beziehungen beider Stämme wurde bereits in Bd. I, 138 gesagt. Vor der Tatsache kann man sich nicht verschließen, daß sowohl die einen wie die anderen nur selten jenen östlichen Teil des Nordufers

[...] Ebenso (b): 238 behauptet selber: „Según cuanto sé St. Tomas Bennett muy pero habia estado con los Ona, ... aparte si los habia visto y tratado algunos que otra vez, no habia abrazado o comerciado, ni a entendedlos mucho menos."

[...] Siehe Gesamtes über die Gegenwart des Yamanagebietes weiter oben auf S. 8.

aufgemacht haben.[illegible] Den Seß'nam war die Unerschrocken[illegible] an den Küste[illegible] unangenehm, um so mehr an jener Stelle, die [illegible], [illegible] Windes ausgesetzt ist. In guter Entfernung vom Strande hat der dichte Wald [illegible] dieser Schutz.[illegible] Mehr noch als den Wind meiden die Yaganes [illegible] den Mangel an geschützten Landungsplätzen an jenen Küstenstrecken [illegible], gegen den bei oft plötzlichem Wetterwechsel hohe Wellen [illegible]. So ist die Vermutung, von dort rechtzeitig fern zu bleiben. Ebenfalls ist die ganze [illegible] ungeeignete Strecke für den gegenseitigen Verkehr sehr ungünstig; einige Teile liegen ganz offen da und andere besitzen eine steile Küste, die [illegible] vom Landen, wenn es überhaupt möglich ist, dringend ab. Somit blieb der Verkehrsverkehr der beiden Stämme auf die Gegend um Puerto Bories und Puerto Harberton beschränkt. Wasserhaltende gibt es hier zwar in reicher Menge, doch nimmt die Holzzahl derselben von unserer Zeit; Reste alter Stellungen fehlen jedoch nicht ganz. Das sind auch heute [illegible] die Anzeichungen der gegebenen Gesetzmäßigkeiten.

Ein ähnlicher Sachverhalt bedingt auch nicht gesellschaftliche Beziehungen. Daher die Frage: Welche Anlässe hatten sich jenen beiden Stämmen zu gegenseitigem Verkehr? Davon gab es nur wenige. Obenan steht Tauschhandel. Weil die Yaganes weder gute Hütten noch sicheren Pfeile und Köcher so leicht wie ihre Nachbarn herstellen konnten, versahen sie sich diese Dinge gegen Kahlschlägen, Spreuplatten aus Walknochen, Farbstoffen und Halbfertigen aus Schneckengehäusen. Damit wird auch erklärt, warum die gesamten Waffen von den Ona-Yaganes unverhältnismäßig häufiger als von ihren westlichen Stammesgenossen gebraucht wurden. Demnach dürften die Verkehrsbeziehungen zwischen den Seß'nam bzw. Ona und den östlichen Yaganes, wenn auch nicht regelmäßig, so doch nicht gar so seltener gewesen sein.[illegible]

Verkehrsintensive jedoch hielt dieser Umstand nur in beschränkterer Zahl [illegible] konnten. Auch erschien es nicht an Zeit, daß die beiden Heiratsbeziehungen sich hätten kennen lernen können, weil das Zusammenstoßen zweier Familien der verschiedenen Stämme meist vom Zufall abhing. Mehr noch war eine ausgesprochenere Abneigung der Seß'nam gegen die niedrige Körperpflege

[illegible] Wiesemann: I bestätigt, daß die Fuegianer „[illegible] von [illegible] als [illegible] [illegible] der [illegible] Canal Beagle". Damit [illegible] Dumont (b): 258 [illegible], daß behauptet, „[illegible] Regeln [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

und gedrungene Gestalt dieses Yamanas unschlaggebend. Nur die Verbindung eines Yamana-Mädchens mit einem Selk'nam-Burschen könne noch in Frage. Daß besonnene dem Spott des eigenen Landsleute über seine kleinwüchsige Gattin entgangen hätten, erscheint mir unwahrscheinlich; und daß ein älterer Mann eine jugendliche oder ältere Yamana in seine Hütte aufzunehmen versucht hätten, ohne den Widerstand seiner Gattin zu erfahren, ist einleuchtend. Das sind beachtenswerte Bekundungen der Wechselheirat. Schwerwiegender als diese Rücksichte sind kulturelle Erwägungen und solche wirtschaftlicher Art, die mehr bei den Yamana in die Wagschale fielen. Darüber sind sie sich einhellig im Klaren, daß für den Lebensunterhalt und für die Pflichten in ihrem Alltag ein Selk'nam-Mädchen keine wesentliche Vorbereitung besitzt und daß es dieses nur Last fiele. Mag es auch in jungen Jahren in ihren Volksverband aufgenommen worden sein, so ganz harmonisch gliederte es sich trotzdem nicht ein. Umgekehrt waren die gleichen Rücksichten beim Verlangen des jungen Selk'nam nach einem Yamana-Mädchen gebend. Sie müssen um so mehr erwogen werden, als die Bedeutung der Frau im Wirtschaftsbereiche dieser Naturvölker unverzichtbar ist. Das Nomadenleben des einen wie des anderen Volkes besitzt seine faszinierende Eigenart, die sich nicht überbrücken läßt.[***]

Was früheren Berichten über Frauenraub der Selk'nam behauptet haben, ist kriminelle immer sicher erwiesen. Den Selk'nam hätten noch so viele Yamana-Frauen, die sich in den Lebensbedingungen auf der Isla Grande wieder zurechtzufinden nicht verschmähten, nichts oder fast nichts genützt. Also bildete es diesen Stamm an geeigneten Anlaß zu Raubzügen, um sich Frauen der Nachbarn mit Gewalt anzueignen. Gewiß, wenn es einmal zum Kampfe zwischen beiden Gruppen kam, blieb es nicht aus, daß Kinder und Frauen der Yamana von den Selk'nam verschleppt wurden, wie das bei diesen allgemeiner Brauch war; aber wenn man sie nicht tötete, blieben sie wohl nur selten unrein und entflohen früher oder später. Von europäischen Beobachtern wird nur berichtet, daß die Raubzüge durch Selk'nam ausgeführt worden seien, nicht aber umgekehrt. Man sollte man meinen, wenn die Gefahr für die Yamana gar so groß gewesen wäre, hätten sie sich jener Küste ferngehalten, was dann um so leichter sein mußte, als sie gegenüber ihren Feinden vorteilhafterweise allein im Besitze von Wasserfahrzeugen waren. Da aber der Tauschhandel höchst wahrscheinlich ungestört weiter gepflegt wurde, erübrigen Überfälle oder Kämpfe zu den seltenen Ausnahmen. In diesem Sinne sind die Behauptungen früherer Reisender zu berichtigen.

[***] Man darf sich darüber nicht hinwegtäuschen lassen etwa durch den Hinweis, daß der nördliche Yamana gelegentlich Gemüse jagte, oder durch das Verhalten eines gewissen Enos, von dem Bennett (1870: VIII, 198, 1874) erzählt: „He knows much of the Foot Indians, or Ona. He and his people (Ont-Yamana) are venue natives in the summer, and wander about, like the Ona, in search of Guanaco in the winter, and they know in part the Ona tongue, and their travels extend to Paltenque Cove, to St. Diego, and Valentyn and Aquirre (Aguirre) Bays." Wesentlich sind die Yamana eben „Wassernomaden.

So viel ist sicher, daß die Yamana in einer heilosen Angst vor ihren einzelnstehenden, schadfähigen Nachbarn lebten und noch leben. Diese verwachte selbst die Annäherung Heider, an der die Neuzeit gewungen hatte, nur wenig zu ändern. Mir selber fiel die Scheu und Bezeugenheit auf, die geschlossene Yamana-Gruppen in ihrem eigenen Gebiete und im Schutze einer nahen Farm überfiel, wenn gelegentlich eine kleine Schar von Selk'nam-Leuten vorübergehend auftauchte. Dieses waren letztere sich vielmal bewußt und wurden erneut im Gefühl ihrer Selbstüberhebung gestärkt.[*] Anscheinend gab diese andauernde unverhaltbare Angst der Yamana vor den Selk'nam schon früher ihnen die Worte des Entsetzens ein, wenn sie über diese von Europäern befragt wurden. Dieses Unterton hört man aus dem Urteil heraus, das Jemmy Button vor Fitz-Roy[**] und Darwin abgegeben hat. Letzterer erzählt: „Jemmy Button sagte uns oft, wie die wilden Orno-Männer, 'wenn das Blatt roth', von der östlichen Küste des Feuerlandes die Berge überstiegen und auf die Eingeborenen dieser Seite des Landes Angriffe machten. Es war höchst merkwürdig, ihn zu beobachten, wenn er so sprach, seine Augen glänzen und sein ganzes Gesicht einen neuen und wilden Ausdruck annehmen zu sehen" (Darwin [d]: 252). Da bald danach unter den Begriff *Oneonen*, außer den Selk'nam, auch die Ost-Yamana gefaßt wurden,

[*] Die Erfahrungen, die Lista (b): 132 mit seinen Yamana-Führer Samuel gemacht hat, sprechen an sich nicht für einen häufigen Verkehr beider Stämme. Eine Einzelperson begründet noch nicht eine Allgemeinverbreitung.

[**] Er (a): 206 berichtet: „We heard many long stories from Jemmy about the Oono, or Coin men, who live beyond the mountains on the south side of the Beagle Channel, and almost every year make desperate inroads upon the Tekeenica tribe, carrying off women and children, dogs, canoes, spears, and spears, and killing the men whom they succeed in making prisoners. He told us that these Oono-men made their usual excursions at the time of 'red leaf', that is in April or May, when the leaves of deciduous trees are changing colour and beginning to fall; just the time of year also when the mountains are least difficult to pass. At that period these invaders sometimes come down to the shores of the Beagle Channel in parties of from fifty to a hundred; some upon canoes belonging to the Tapoo division of the Tekeenica tribe, cross over to Navarin island, and thence sometimes to others, driving the smaller and much inferior Tekeenica people before them in every direction. By Jemmy's own account, however, there are hard battles sometimes, and the Oono tribe lose men; but as they always continue to carry away their dead, it seems that the advantage of strength is on their side."

Gemäß den östlichen Angaben sind die Selk'nam gewesen; doch erhielten sich Einzelschilderungen an, die sich mit der Eigenart dieses Stammes nicht reimen.[*] Das östliche Nordufer des Canal de Beagle beherbergte immer nur wenige Einzelfamilien für einen kurzen und mühligen Aufenthalt. Hieraus hätten die Angreifer unmöglich eine reiche Beute abnehmen können. Im April oder Mai, also im Spätherbst, ist es wegen Schneefall meist unmöglich den Gebirge zu überschreiten. Wenn aber regelmäßig diese Monate zu Überfällen ausersehen wurden, warum entfernten sich die dortigen Yamana nicht von dieser Küste, da sie sich ebenso gut auf der gegenüberliegenden einrichten konnten? Dort waren sie um so mehr geschützt, als ihnen die Angreifer, denen jeder Wasserüberweg fehlte, nicht folgen konnten. Vorausgesetzt, diese wären in einer Stärke von fünfzig bis hundert Mann angerückt, hätten sie sich erst seit bis zwanzig Kanus erobern müssen, um die Küste verlassen zu können. Nun ist es glaublich anzunehmen, daß zur gemessenen Zeit der Überfälle

Überzeugung sich, wegen ihrer Verhältnisse mit jenen, die Angst der westlichen Landbewohner auch auf sie. Diese war wirklich begründet; denn die Ona-Yaganes haben vereinzelt Einbrüche in das Gebiet ihrer benachbarten Landsleute unternommen.

Im Zusammenhange mit dem erwähnten Feuerraub steht die einzigartig wiederholte Behauptung, daß die südlichen Selk'nam lebe. Hyades, aber die Fellmänner, an der Bestätigungsmeinung beider Stämme im Besitze von b l o n d w ä c h s i g e n F r a u e n wären. Auf einer seiner anfänglich mißlungenen Beutefahrten nach dem Ortes mit Bumenes im Juni 1882 erobernden Eingeborenen an der Bahia Skyggett. Er sagt darüber: „As in former times, we now, we find among these Eastern and Southern Ona a large minority of Yahgan women, who were very apparently shorter than the Ona women" (MM. XVI, 224; 1882). Zu solchem Vergleichen bezeß er nicht die geringsten Vorkenntnisse; denn den wirklichen Selk'nam war er vorher, auf seinem Marsch durch den nördlichen Teil der Isla Grande, anfang 1878 nicht mehr gekommen[illegible] und zwei spätere Versuche, mit östlichen Selk'nam am Canal de Beagle in Verbindung zu treten, erfolglos blieb.[illegible] Weiteres ist nicht ersichtlich, welches Material er bei seinem Vergleiche angelegt hat.[illegible] Wahrscheinlich benahm die Hyades imponierend einer um wenig niedrigere Körpergröße als ihre Nachbarn auf der Isla Grande, somit auch deren Frauen (Bd. I, 179). Schließlich wird es sich

Übrigens mögen die gleichen Zahl von Yamana-Familien in der Gegend von Harberton gelegen hätten, denen es viele Kanoe eingenommen worden wären. Nahezu ausgeschlossen bleibt es, daß die Selk'nam sich in die westlichen Bezirke gewagt hätten, um den Canal de Beagle zu überqueren, da sie der Schiffahrt völlig unkundig sind. Was hätten sie wirklich mit ihrem bewirkt? Waffen, Kanoe und Hunde benötigen sie nicht, gefangene Frauen und Kinder waren ihnen so nicht nützer und um blutiger Kampfhat begaben sie sich nicht auf die westlichen Wellen. —

Mit Absicht habe ich obigen Bericht eingehender gestaltet, um an einem Beispiele zu zeigen, wie gefährlich die Verallgemeinerungen für die verwandtschaftlichen Charakter der Selk'nam auf die Yamana sind.

Später sprach Bridges (b): 717 im gleichen Sinne von Einbrüchen der Selk'nam; wahrscheinlich dieses auch Bas der gleiche Jemer Berrow als Gewährsmann. Doch verbesserte er, daß „they do not, as supposed, cross the channel to Navarin Island, as they have no skill or confidence in canoes".

[illegible] Unterscheidung, daß die Mannsleute der Selk'nam einfacher seien, wurde bereits in Bd. I, 46 eingehend besprochen. Vgl. MM. XII, 102; 1878.

[illegible] Im Anfange er in seinen Briefen vom 5. Januar und vom 16. Juni 1882 (MM. XVI, 102, 224; 1882). Eine kaum darauf, bei einem dritten Versuch, hatte er so viel Glück, daß er „fifty persons having since different fires and hearths" (MM. XVI, 224; 1882) antraf. Wenn, der Kapitän der "Allen Gardiner", schildert (ib. p. 224) diesen Besuch ausführlich. Vergleiche Mamm.: 7.

[illegible] Vorsichtiger drückt sich Lovisato (b): 130 aus: „La donne degli Ona sono discretamente belle e non molto alte, almeno la maggior parte di quelle che abbiamo veduto; abbiamo pur altre volte in regioni di confine oppartenenti non alle tribù dei Yahgan, ai quali degli Ona vengono rubate." Auch Mamm.: 135 behauptet, daß sich unter den Selk'nam viele Yamana-Frauen finden, „que l'on reconnaît aisément à leur taille plus petite". Wie wenig glaubwürdig seine Worte sind, läßt der Nachsatz erkennen: „Ils ne possèdent que peu de prisonniers sur les Ona, qui sont les plus moins connus de ces indigènes"; er hat sie jedenfalls nicht gesehen.

[illegible] lassen, ob jener geringere Durchschnittswert — falls er vorhanden war — nur Kreuzungen mit Yamana-Frauen entstanden ist.[illegible]

Gleichzeitig begegnet man Hinweisen auf einen beträchtlichen Körperbau und auf eine von weniger gutsituierten Körperpflege bei den östlichen Yamana gegenüber ihren westlichen Nachbarn. Um Belege nachzuprüfen ist Sagot die Gelegenheit vorzuziehen, wenn sie wirklich vorhanden, gesagt zu sind, dafür Wahrscheinlichkeiten als einzige Begründung gelten zu lassen. Immerhin ergeben einige Verweisungen in dieser Richtung das gewiß nachdrückliche Bild, daß die Körperpflege von den eigentlichen Selk'nam an den Hoas über die Ost-Yamana nach den Süd-Yamana hin, die als die südlichste Gruppe dieses Volkes gelten, fortschreitend sich verringert. Bleibt wenn gegenwärtige Hinweise sicherlich nicht allein übrig.

Endlich liest man noch, daß beide Stämme an der Berührungszone sich sprachlich miteinander verständigt hätten. In Wirklichkeit war es nicht nötig, als daß der eine und der andere hüben und drüben einige wenige der gebräuchlichsten Wörter zu wiederholen wußte. Nähige oder gar tiefe Kenntnis der Nachbarsprache vorzuspiegeln ist unrichtig. Eine Probe davon liefert Bonnerz selber, der auf einer Fahrt an Bord der "Allen Gardiner" einige Yamana als Matrosen bei sich hatte und am 19. Mai 1867 fand, „that these natives have intercourse with the 'Fuegians', and some of them know their language. I have give a few words: Wiamin [wiaw?], dog ..." (MM: I, 163; 1867). Als Bonnerz Anfang 1870 von Nordwest her in die Isla Grande eindrang, war er von dem jugendlichen Dorcasmen begleitet, „who is the partly Ona we obtained at Spaniard Harbour" (MM: XII, 120; 1870). Sagot dieser Bemerkung entnehmen wegen seiner so geringen Sprachkenntnisse dessen, daß Bonnerz bekannte weiter: „I find Dorcasmen's knowledge to be very imperfect concerning the Ona and their country" (ib. p. 121). Bezüglich der verhängnisvollen Begegnung scheitert Lawrence am 25. März 1867 entschlossener, weshalb sein Urteil genauer an seine scheint: „I was greatly surprised to hear some of the Ona women in talking to Cameron use many words of Yahgan, showing that the intercourse the eastern Ona has had with the eastern Yahgans had give facilities for acquiring a little knowledge of the language" (MM: XXI, 174; 1887). Einige Wechselbeziehungen zwischen beiden Stämmen bezeugt überzeugt und diese bestätigen es mit sich, daß die Ost-Yamana einzelne Worte der Selk'nam übernahmen. Ob umgekehrt diese bisweilen von jenen etwas gelernt haben, kann heute zwar nicht mehr erforscht werden, darf aber als sicher gelten. Von jenen südlichen Selk'nam, mit denen ich selber lange in Verkehr gestanden habe, wußte keiner auch nur ein einziges Yamanawort.

Seitdem sich die protestantische Mission im Kap Hoorn-Archipel niedergelassen hatte, schwand immer mehr die äußere Grenze, die beide Nachbar-

[illegible] F. A. Coon (4): 90 gab die obenen hilfige wie nichtsagende Bekanntgung ab. Bemerkenswert, um Fremdes zu entfliehen, „geschehen (eher so häufig, daß im südlichsten Teile der [Grande] Insel ein neuer Stamm entfiehlt, eine Mischrasse von Yahgan und Ona".

[illegible] Ende dem bei den Feuerlandindianern, beide einander selten zu bringen. Während der schweren Verfolgungen, denen die Selk'nam im Innern der Isla Grande ausgesetzt waren, siedelten sie Ushuaia auf dem Festland und auf der Missionsstation am Canal de Beagle. Zweifellos [illegible] Gruppen zusammenlebten [illegible] Ushuaia vorübergehen, wo im Jahre 1891 von der ungeschlachten Regierung eine Sub-Prefectura eingerichtet worden war. Um das Jahr 1900 hatte die Anwesenheit der Weißen gegen die Selk'nam einen gewissen Höhepunkt erreicht und einzelne Pfahlbürger tauchten sogar in Ushuaia auf, wo sie sich ernsten sicher fühlten. Beispielsweise berichtet Lawrence am 18. Juni 1894 darüber: „We have another party of Ona Indians now at Ushuaia, part of the natives who formerly known to frequent the Argentine Sub-Prefectura at Canal Sarmiento Bay. They seeming have run spontaneous."[illegible] Some of the men seem to have learnt a little Spanish, and most of them are semi-civilized, but they have no knowledge of English or Yahgan .... The men frequently visit the Mission Station. We can do but little for them under present circumstances, though the number is small ... But we must not be too hasty about the matter, as they may mean they feel disposed to return to their own tribes" (BM. XXVIII, 139, 1894). Knott *Zeit* darauf, am 20. März 1896, schreibt er wieder: „At the present time there are more Ona Indians [over hundred] at Ushuaia than Yahgans, which has never been the case before, at least during our long residence in this country, and not very probable that such a thing happened previous to that, as there would have been some verbal tradition of it among the Yahgans" (BM. XXX, 127, 1896).[illegible] Einige gingen, andere kamen und „some of the Ona Indians are still here", wie Lawrence am 20. Mai 1896 (BM. XXX, 141, 1896) mitteilt. In jenen Jahren gab es eben unbemerkt Bewegung in der Bevölkerung, weil „they have been badly treated, and ... now seem to be scattered and driven from place to place" (ib.). Gleichzeitig beschäftigt sich die Leitung der Missionsstation einige Selk'nam herzusiedeln und in Ushuaia einzubauen, um diese Vollen Sprache und Eigenart zu studieren, damit es spätere ethnologisch brauchbare wurden könnte. Man behandelte sie gut und pflegte sie nach Kräften, so wenig verbrecherisch man auf die zweifelos gutte *Zahl* dieser Besucher war.[illegible] Lange indes blieben sie in den dunen angewiesenen Verhältnissen nicht und kehrten sich allgemein den Tennen fern.

[illegible] Die Strecke von etwa 140 km haben sie an Fuß zurückgelegt, immer am Nordufer des Canal de Beagle entlang laufend.

[illegible] Er führt dazu fort: „We have now about a hundred of the Ona natives at Ushuaia, most of them were brought here a few weeks' ago in the Argentine steamer "Uruguay" from San Sebastian Bay. There were between thirty and forty children, and the majority of adults are women. They are in the sole care of the Governor, who wishes to show them every possible kindness to induce them to remain at Ushuaia in peace." Vor Abschluß des gleichen Briefes fügt er an: „A number of Ona (about eighty in number) have arrived, and are all clothed in their gaunaco skins" (ib.).

[illegible] Vgl. die Briefe von Bennett vom 25. August 1893 (BM. XVII, 272), von Lawrence vom März und Mai 1894 (BM. XXX, 127, 141) und von Mrs. Bennett vom 27. Mai 1896 (ib. 144).

[illegible]

2. Yaunde und Halakwalap

Der Archipel von Kap Hoorn ist in seiner westlichen Hälfte unwirtlich kalt weder wärmeren als in seinem anderen Teile. Die Lamont dort [illegible] Eingeborenen sehr rugös. Hinter den vielen Inseln und in den engen Wasserstraßen finden die reichlich Schutz vor dem Unwetter; auch bietet sich dem

[illegible]

hier ungeheure Beute an wilden Tieren, die reichen Pflanzen hervorrufen. Die zwei Wasserstraßen des Paso Bonchamck oder des Canal Gonzáles, die beide gegen die Halbinsel Bonchamck zu nebeneinander in Verbindung stehen, dringen sie vor. In dem weitgeöffneten Canal Corkhorn verursachen, in den fast ununterbrochen eine schwere See vom Südwesten herauf eindringt, ist für sie jedenfalls ein Wagnis. Die Westküste der Peninsula Bonchamck bildet eine scharfe Grenze, an der die Yamana grundsätzlich Halt machen. Die Naturgewalten entfalten dort nahezu eine Allmacht, der zu widerstehen weder ihre körperlichen Kräfte noch ihre schwachen Bootskonstruktionen ausreichen. Wenige Tage im Jahre — und die sind gezählt — glättet sich die See, ohne daß die immer hohe Dünung ganz nachläßt. Aber wer würde sich trotzdem getrauen, wenn er zufällig dem Canal Corkhorn nahe ist, hinzusteuern und sich nordwärts zu wenden! Eine glückliche Rückkehr ist ihm nicht sicher, da Windstille sowohl nach wenigen Stunden in schweren Unwetter umschlägt. Für die Halakwulup wirken sich diese Hindernisse um so mehr aus, als sie ja längere Strecken gegen die herauswälzende Dünung zu kämpfen haben, die nach nahe den Küsten nur wenig von ihrer Stärke verliert.

Daraus kann man entnehmen, wie selten jener geschlossenen Gruppe von der einen und von der anderen Seite durchschritten wurde. Allem Anscheine nach sind die Yamana kaum je im Canal Corkhorn hoch hinaufgefahren, wohl aber drangen Halakwulup bis zum Canal Ballenero und sogar weiter nach Osten vor. Ihr Kommen war und ist immer eine vereinzelte Erscheinung. Abgesehen von den natürlichen Schwierigkeiten, die überwunden werden müßten, fehlte es an bedeutsamen Anlässen. In diesem gegenständlichen Kulturbesitz gleichen sich beide Stämme fast vollständig und der eine besaß nichts, was für den anderen hätte begehrenswert sein können. Ebensowenig gab es Unterschiede in den Jagdbetätigungen, sogar die gesamte äußere Natur zeigte sich hier wie dort gleichmäßig unfreundlich. An Frauenraub als Anlaß zu Einfällen zu denken, ist unbegründet, obwohl die eine und andere Verhaftbeirat, bei denen eine weibliche Person in den Nachbarstamm überging, sicherlich zustande gekommen sind. Kann man dem gegenüber von bewußter Absicht der Halakwulup, den Yamana nahezutreten, noch sprechen? Sicherlich nicht. Ich halte die Besuche der ersteren im Gebiete der letzteren als das Ergebnis zufälliger und unbeeinflußbarer Entschließungen des Augenblicks.[225]

[225] Zu allgemein hat sich Bridges (a): 168 ausgedrückt, „que los límites de una tribu están bien definidos, como una como Alacalaf es el territorio Jagan, si no es por un asunto particular o importante; observándose que las relaciones de los habitantes de la frontera son cordiales, y a veces hasta amigas, efectuándose matrimonios entre Jagan y Alakalaf." Sehr verschieden hiervon hat sich der wenig verläßliche Fitz Roy: 146 geäußert: „La raza Jahgan fué en un tiempo muy numerosa, pero hoy va desapareciendo poco a poco, debido, atribuíamos a su opinión, a los robos de mujeres que en tiempo atrás le hacían los Alacalaf, quienes habían conducido casi las de su raza a fuerza de asesinarlas muy niños al rudo trabajo de la pesca. Cuando se vieron sin mujeres, tuvieron gran desesperación y con indios, que son malos y perversos como hijos del diablo, comenzaron

Trotz der Bekämpfung durch die Missionarinnen war der Verkehr zwischen West-Yamana und Süd-Halakwulup[...] *in alter Zeit* etwas weniger intim als der zwischen Ost-Yamana und Selk'nam. Die Gleichheit der Wirtschaftsform[...] bei jener beiden Gruppen hat dies bewirkt. Die eine Gruppe hatte von der anderen mehrere Worte aufgelesen, die bei Zusammenkünften der gegenseitigen Verständigung dienten. Zu einer gründlicheren Kenntnis der Sprache kam wohl niemand, weder hüben noch drüben, nicht einmal in neuester Zeit, als der Verkehrsverkehr häufiger und lebhafter wurde. Deren glaube ich, entgegen den Bemerkungen der Miss Lawrence, festhalten zu müssen. Sie hatte mir zwar öfters versichert, daß die westlichsten dieser Landleute sich mit den benachbarten Halakwulup sprachlich zu verständigen wüßten und sogar Lieder von diesen übernommen hätten. Aber weder sie selber noch andere West-Yamana konnten mir ein einziges Wort dieser Sprache vorsagen, obschon mit einiger Zeit Zusammenkünfte auf den mähder eingerichteten Farmen nicht selten waren.[...]

Obwohl Eheschließungen und Lebensdauer auf beiden Seiten der Grenze gleich waren, zu Verhaftbleiben kam es nur ausnahmsweise; denn allgemein empfand der eine Stamm gegen den anderen starke Abneigung, ausnahmsweise unsere Eingeborenen gegen jene. Ganz krß kommt dies im Vorwurf der Yamana gegen die Halakwulup, die sie als Menschenfresser verachteten, zum Ausdruck. Sie erzählten in einer alten Geschichte, heutzeit hanamiphan ednwen, die Erlebnisse einiger ihrer Familien dort in *Apamanili*, im eigentlichen Heimatlande der Halakwulup. Möglicherweise nahm diese Erzählung ihren Stoff aus einem Überfall, der phantastisch ausgestaltet wurde und der sich auf die folgenden Geschehnisse als Tat jener vermutlichen Menschenfresser verwebt hat. Ihr Seitenstück hat sie in der Erzählung von den *Ulikiyanghna*, die jener gegenüber reicher ausgestaltet ist. Ist auch die

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o inmediatamente contra los yaghanes. Se se veían frecuentemente por Brecknock, que no podían franquear, sino que tratábanse se metían por unos pasos que ellos sabían conocían y que quedaban, según los viejos, una allá en el fondo de Bahía Desolación — y el otro a un costado de Yendegaia, en el Canal del Beagle. Cuanto habían guerreado o venían de los amjeres, yahganes y alacalufs."

[...] Dieser auf ein langgezogenes Gebiet verteilte Stamm zerfällt in drei durch deutliche Grenzen geschiedene Gruppen, die ich auf meiner Reise 1923/24 entdeckt habe. Vgl. Gusinde (a): 539 und Lamana-Steward (b): 21. Bennett beurteilt die südlichen Halakwulup, die am 8. Oktober 1873 zur Mission in Ushuaia gekommen waren, als „a harder people, more Yahgan, however, than Alacalufans; but they know much of the latter language" (MM: VIII, 190; 187-8).

[...] Sogar für eine und dieselbe Herkunft beider Stämme tritt Bove (a): 156 ein: „Alcohol und Jagen, die von gemeinschaftlichem Ursprung sind, liegen gleichwohl fortwährend miteinander im Streite." Vgl. MM: XVIII, 187; 1884. Diese Ansicht vertritt auch Wuttzmann: 6.

[...] Bezeichnend dafür ist meine Beobachtung, daß mit den zwei Halakwulup-Frauen, die Anfang 1922 zufällig nach Punta Remolino geführt waren, kein einziger Yamana sich zu unterhalten vermochte. Vgl. Gusinde (c): 433. Gleiches berichtet Martial: 13 von den drei Überlebenden, die nach Europa verschleppt und von dort nach Ushuaia gebracht worden waren: „Ils ne comprennent pas un mot de Yahgan."

Tatsache eines beschränkten gegenseitigen Verkehrs nicht zu leugnen, so herrschen darüber für die alte Zeit widersprechende Ansichten,[229] die den wirklichen Sachverhalt nicht klären. Man darf weiters nicht verkennen, daß die mittleren und südlichen Gruppen dieses Volkes ihre westlichen Landsleute mit den Halakwulup gleichsetzten, was ein Seitenstück zur Bedeutung des Wortes *Oens men* ist. Infolgedessen wurden Eigenheiten jener als Stammesgut dieser gedankenlos ausgegeben.

Seit der Mitte des XIX. Jahrhunderts entfaltete sich das Europäertum im südlichsten Amerika. Die dadurch geschaffenen Veränderungen brachten es mit sich, daß in neuerer Zeit Yamana und Halakwulup sich an der Berührungszone nähertraten. Die Mission in Ushuaia dürfte eine gewisse Anziehungskraft ausgeübt haben und die Missionare selber bemühten sich wirklich um jene Eingeborenen.[230] Die genauen Beobachtungen ergaben auch für diese Zeit ein sehr seltenes Erscheinen von nur kleinen Halakwulup-Gruppen im Gebiete der Yamana.

Wie viel die Niederlassungen der Europäer in Ushuaia zur gegenseitigen Annäherung beigetragen haben, ersieht man daraus, daß jene Indianer einen Landweg vom Seno Almirantazgo zur Bahía Lapataia benutzt haben, auf dem sie nachher zu ihrem Ausgangspunkte zurückgekehrt sind.[231] Nicht unwahrscheinlich ist es, daß den Halakwulup dieser Pfad am Río Roca durch das Lapataia-Tal oder von der Bahía Yendegaia aus schon seit altersher bekannt war;[232] sicherlich wurde er nicht viel benutzt. Früher fehlte dort die Massenansammlung, zu der die Anwesenheit der Missionare erst den Anstoß gab. Da die Besucher ihre Kanus zurücklassen mußten, besaßen sie beim Eintreffen am Canal de Beagle nur ihre Waffen, und weil Landtiere dort nur wenig auftreten, war ihr Aufenthalt wegen der schwierigen Nahrungsversorgung gefährdet. Auf die Yamana, die dauernd unterwegs sind, konnten sie sich von vornherein nicht verlassen. Erst mit der Missionsstation kam

[229] Bove (e): 158 und (g): 235 behauptet: „Dieselben Alakaluf, welche früher jährlich regelmäßige Streifzüge über den Nordwestarm des Beagle-Kanals machten, raubend und mordend, wo sie Jagan fanden, überschreiten jetzt [seit der Gründung der Mission von Ushuaia] nur selten die Insel Stewart und leben in gutem Einvernehmen mit den angrenzenden Jagan." In offenem Widerspruch dazu liest man bei Bridges (h): 234: „Al oeste y sud, los yaganes tuvieron trato intimo con sus vecinos a cada costado, conocian ambas lenguas y se acomodaban perfectamente al método de vida de unos y otros."

[230] „Pendant longtemps, M. Bridges a espéré pouvoir entretenir à Ouchouaya quelques-uns de ces indigènes pour apprendre leur dialecte, les familiariser avec la civilisation, les renvoyer ensuite dans leur pays et en faire venir d'autres ... Nous pensons que jusqu'à present ses tentatives ont été vaines" (Martial: 13).

[231] Ähnliche Landübergänge gibt es mehrere im Gebiete der Halakwulup. Darüber berichtet der III. Band dieses Werkes.

[232] Wenig verläßlich klingt, was Bove (MM: XVII, 262; 1883) behauptet: „Tradition reports that Yendaghia formed an easy means of communication between the Fueginos of the Beagle and for the Admiralty channels, but when that communication ceased is unknown." Diese Wanderung war nur während weniger Wochen im Herbst möglich und beanspruchte mehrere Tage; sie kann demnach als „bequemer" Übergang nicht gelten.

die für sie günstige Wendung;[232] allerdings in einer Zeit, da kein Eingeborener mehr vor der Verfolgungswut der Weißen sicher war.

Die Ankunft von zwölf Halakwulup-Männern in der Bahía Lapatáia, im August 1885, war ein Ereignis, das man dort bislang noch nie beobachtet hatte. Am 2. September suchte BRIDGES sie auf und schrieb darüber: „To our great surprise and pleasure we found a party of twelve fine men from Dawson Island and neighbourhood. They had come a few days before, having crossed over from Admiralty Sound to Lapatia, and thence here. These men are as much Ona as Alaculoof, both in language and appearance. In fact, DATAMINIK[233] could speak with at least one of them in Ona, though he is a native of Spaniard Harbour; and with other OOMCUSHTOWAR, from Londonderry Island in the west, could converse intelligibly, though with difficulty. Our old acquaintance PEDRO,[234] from Europa was with them, and brought them here.[235] They were well clad in new guanaco hides, and were well provided with good bows and arrows. They had spent the winter inland, between Admiralty Sound and Lapatia, with their families, living on guanaco. Their condition was robust, showing they had good nourishment. We hear they wish to come here to live, and purpose bringing their families here. They asked permission to do so; of course I freely assented. We gave them assistance in food during the week they were kindly received by the natives here, who were much interested in them. At my suggestion, several of these accompanied them on their way back, but did not care to go more than two days' journey with them.... The Dawsonians say they wish to live here at Ooshooia because they can do so without fear of being shot, which is not the case in their own country, and in Ona-land. No doubt this move of theirs will lead to a large influx of Ona natives to Ooshooia, via Lapatia" (MM. XX, 33; 1886).[236]

Am 20. Februar 1886 berichtet er kurz: „Two Dawson Islanders came here from the north-west two days ago, and they say many others are coming. It is certain that from this time there will be constant communication with these people and their neighbours the northern Ona by way of the pass [zwischen

[232] HYADES (a): 283 stützt sich auf das, was ihm BRIDGES über diese Besuche mitgeteilt hat. Die Mitglieder der Mission SCHÄFERSQUEZ haben im Yámana-Gebiete nur zwei Halakwulup-Frauen gesehen. Vgl. MARTIAL: 13.

[233] Diesen Indianer hatte BRIDGES als Begleiter auf seiner Erkundigungsreise durch den Norden der Isla Grande mitgeführt (Bd. I, 46).

[234] Zu den drei Überlebenden, die 1881 nach Europa verschleppt und von dort erst nach Ushuaia geführt worden waren, ehe sie ihr heimatliches Gebiet erreichten, gehört auch dieser PEDRO, ein echter Halakwulup.

[235] In Ushuaia hatte jener PEDRO die Einrichtungen der englischen Missionare kennengelernt und davon seinen Landsleuten erzählt. Erst daraufhin haben sich zwölf Männer zu dem langen Marsch entschlossen, an dem sie diesmal ihre Frauen und Kinder lieber nicht teilnehmen ließen.

[236] Etwas später (l. c. 54) gibt er diesbezüglich noch einen ausführlichen „Account of a trip to Lapatain in quest of a partly of Alaculoof and Ona families encamped there waiting assistance by boat to come to Ooshooia."

Seno Almirantazco und Bahia Lapatzia] they have found" (MM: XX, 101; 1896). Die Zusage jener beiden Männer erfüllte sich indes nicht. BEMCKE gestand am 15. Juni enttäuscht: „Of the Alaculoofs we have not heard anything for a long time, as they have not repeated their visit since December last" (ib. 217). Aus Ushuaia schrieb LAWRENCE drei Jahre später: „We have had the pleasure of welcoming to the Mission station a party of Alaculoof Indians. We were not altogether surprised at heir arrival, as some of them have previously visited Ooshooia. Once only on a former occasion have we had the opportunity of seeing the women and children. They have travelled many miles on foot, crossing mountains and valleys, and several rivers, some of which are sometimes impassable, the current being too strong to allow of their swimming across. On the present occasion the men only first reached Ooshooia, guanaco skins being their chief covering. The women and children were halting at Lapatia, about eight miles from our settlement" (MM: XXIII, 217; 1899). Von weiteren Besuchen der Halakwulup erzählen die Missionare seitdem nichts mehr, sie dürften sich später kaum wiederholt haben.

Auch die neuzeitlichen Berichte lassen also keinen Zweifel darüber, daß die Halakwulup sich mit den Yamana nur s e h r s e l t e n zusammengefunden haben, daß überhaupt weder hüben noch drüben ein Drang zu wechselseitigem Verkehr vorhanden war. Darin unterscheidet sich das Verhältnis der West-Yamana zu ihren Nachbarn von dem der Ost-Yamana zu den Selk'nam; denn die Letztgenannten hielten zumindest einen beschränkten Tauschhandel aufrecht. Von den Yamana sind weder in den Wortschatz der Selk'nam noch in den der Halakwulup nachweislich Wörter übergegangen; die ersteren haben von ihren beiden Nachbarn ebensowenig sprachliches Gut aufgenommen. Das spricht wohl am deutlichsten dafür, wie streng die schon naturbedingte Absperrung des einen Volkes vom anderen auch bewußt eingehalten wurde.

Unsere Eingeborenen gebrauchen für ihre westlichen Nachbarn die Bezeichnung *hálakulup yámana*, für ihre nordöstlichen Nachbarn *qóna yámana* in der Bedeutung von „Nordleute". Jenes Wort ist wohl als Eigenname zu betrachten; denn *halakwúlup* nennen sich die westlichen Feuerländer selber,[228] die damit sich ihrerseits von den Yamana absondern.

g. Unter Einfluß des Europäertums

Eine ernste Anklage gegen Vertreter der weißen Rasse enthalten die folgenden Zeilen. Was von zahlreichen Völkerschaften in anderen Teilen der außereuropäischen Welt berichtet wird, hat sich auch im entlegenen Feuerlande ereignet: Seit dem Einbruch der Weißen[229] in das Heimatland der

[228] Vgl. vorläufig GUSINDE (b): 74, ausführlicher wird hierüber der III. Band handeln. LEHMANN-NITSCHE (b): 42 versucht eine andersgerichtete Erklärung dieses Stammesnamens.

[229] Wenn ich hier und weiter unten das Wort "Weiße", "Europäer" ohne bestimmte Angaben gebrauche, meine ich damit allgemein die Vertreter der europäischen Zivilisation, einerlei, ob sie in Europa oder in Argentinien bzw. Chile gebürtig sind.

Yamana haben letztere unaufhaltsam an Zahl und an Widerstandskraft verloren, bis sie rettungslos dem Untergange verfielen!

Seit dreihundert Jahren sind sie den Europäern bekannt. Niemals standen sie bei diesen in günstiger, freundlicher Beurteilung. Das Heimatland an sich wurde wegen seiner rasenden Stürme, seiner trügerischen Wogen und seines rauhen Klimas gefürchtet, die Bewohner selber galten als wilde Gesellen und gefährliche Menschenfresser. Gewinnsüchtige Fischer und Robbenfänger sind trotzdem in den gefahrdrohenden Archipel vorgedrungen. Sie haben den Eingeborenen keinen nennenswerten Vorteil gebracht, ihnen aber unleugbar schweren Schaden zugefügt. Aus aufrichtiger Menschenfreundlichkeit nahm die anglikanische Missionsgesellschaft sich jener Verachteten und Geschmähten an; doch kann leider auch ihr der Vorwurf nicht erspart bleiben, durch unkluges Behandeln dieses Naturvolkes und durch Einführung unzweckmäßiger Neuerungen seinen Untergang beschleunigt zu haben. Entschuldigungsgründe sollen gelten, sie ändern indes nichts an der beklagenswerten Wirklichkeit. Heute reicht die Zahl der noch lebenden Yamana an ein halbes Hundert nicht mehr heran. Bald sind auch jene Wenigen vorüber und dann liegt ihre Heimat menschenleer da.

Die Yamana standen niemand im Wege und ihr Gebiet ist so unwirtlich, daß es sich für eine geschäftliche Auswertung durch den Europäer nicht eignet. Ein übelwollendes Schicksal hat die Weißen zu ihnen hingeführt und das allein genügte, um den ganzen Stamm zugrunde zu richten. Wann werden sich die Europäer endlich darüber Rechenschaft geben, daß Träger ihrer vielgepriesenen Zivilisation die Vernichtung oder zumindest die Schwächung fast sämtlicher primitiven Völkerschaften auf dem weiten Erdenrunde verschuldet haben!

1. Die Yamana im Urteil älterer Zeit

Zum Verständnis der folgenden Ausführungen ist es unumgänglich, in den Aussprüchen der einzelnen Reisenden immer den Maßstab europäischer Beurteilung zu sehen. Was dem Auge des fremden Beobachters am Eingeborenen gefiel oder mißfiel, das wurde niedergeschrieben. Die allgemeine und besondere Bewertung all dessen, was beobachtet wurde, nimmt weder Rücksicht auf das Empfinden und Schätzen des Indianers, noch auf Vorteile und Zweckdienlichkeiten, die sich vor der oberflächlichen Betrachtung des Europäers verbergen. Demnach, weil diese Naturkinder sich anfänglich nackt zeigten, erklärte man sie für bar aller Sittlichkeit; weil man sie in dürftigen Lebensverhältnissen antraf, galten sie als erbärmliche Wesen; weil ihre äußere Erscheinung wenig ansprach, hielt man sie als das Übergangsglied vom Tier zum Menschen.[249] Wie wenig der europäische Maßstab neben andersgearteten

[249] Gegen dieses rein europäische Werturteil wendet sich Bunzes (k): 234: „En otra época los yaganes fueron apenas tenidos por seres humanos, se decía que eran antropófagos y se creía que vivían sin idea de orden social. Mas cuando fueron bien conocidos, se des-

äußeren Umständen und neben Völkerstämmen mit einer weit von der unsrigen abweichenden Geistesbildung angebracht ist, bedarf heute keines Nachweises mehr; die frühere Zeit kannte nur ihn.

Durchgehends galten primitive Völkerschaften in der Wertung der Seefahrer der vergangenen Jahrhunderte nur wenig; sie betrachteten die scheuen, arglosen Naturkinder als rechtlosen Spielball ihrer Willkür und erlaubten sich grobe Verbrechen gegen sie. Nicht anders erging es unseren Yamana. Um sie zu erschrecken oder zu verscheuchen, wurden Kanonen und Gewehre abgeschossen;[241] um den eigenen Landsleuten in der europäischen Heimat ein ungewöhnliches Schaustück vorzuführen, wurden einzelne Eingeborene eingefangen und gewaltsam verschleppt. Die scheue Zurückhaltung der feuerländischen Frauen und Mädchen aus naturgegebener Schamhaftigkeit stellte sich zwar schweren Verfehlungen von vornherein entgegen, aber das Benehmen der Mannschaft im allgemeinen verletzte doch jene harmlosen Naturkinder. Allmählich entwickelte sich bei den Eingeborenen eine bewußte Abneigung gegen jene, die ungerufen in ihr Gebiet eindrangen, und wurde sie durch neue Ungerechtigkeiten zu Haß und tödlicher Feindschaft geschürt. So erklären sich die Überfälle und Mordversuche, durch die sie ihrer Rachelust volles Genügen verschaffen wollten.

Durchblättert man die Tagebücher der Seefahrer, wird man ihren Mitteilungen durchaus mit der Behauptung gerecht, daß die Yamana den Fremden im allgemeinen freundlich und friedfertig begegnet sind. Argwohn und Verdacht, so ungerechtfertigt er war, zwang die Weißen zu allerhand Vorsichtsmaßnahmen und behinderte einen vertraulichen Verkehr. Trotzdem bekannten die Indianer eine furchtlose Offenheit und zutrauliche Arglosigkeit; willig gingen sie auf Späße und manche andere Art der Behandlung, die sie von den Seeleuten erfuhren, ein. Später, gewitzigt durch üble Erlebnisse und durch enttäuschte Vertrauensseligkeit, wurden sie zurückhaltender; sie hatten gelernt, im Weißen ihren Feind zu erblicken. Nicht selten verbargen sie sich beim Herannahen eines Schiffes aus Furcht, bestohlen und vergewaltigt zu werden. Schon zu Beginn des XIX. Jahrhunderts hatte Fitz-Roy (a): 177 beobachtet: „When discovered by strangers they always leave the most valuable skins hidden in the bushes. This hasty concealment of seal or otter skins is the result of visits from sealers, who frequently robbed Fuegians families of every skin in their possession, before the natives understood the motives of their expeditions in boats into the interior waters of Tierra del Fuego." Das ist eine wirkliche und in dieser bestimmten Form die einzige Ehrenrettung der Yamana aus alter Zeit. Allerdings verschweigen einige Be-

rubrik que no eran caníbales ni polígamos y que, por lo general, respetaban los derechos que resultan de la vida de familia." Man bekommt den Eindruck, daß diese Ehrenrettung der Yámana direkt gegen die falschen Urteile Darwin's gerichtet ist.

[241] Furlong (b): 127 schreibt: „One American sealing master, passing within hailing distance of a group on shore, with wanton destruction poured a gun-load of grape-shot into them."

obachter nicht das sittsame und schickliche Benehmen der Frauen und Mädchen, das um so auffälliger auf sie wirkte, je weniger sie eine tadellose Haltung erwartet hatten.[242]

Abgesehen davon liest man viel häufiger sehr geringschätzige, wegwerfende Urteile als Vorteilhaftes und Angenehmes. Am meisten wird die dreiste Aufdringlichkeit und das anmaßende Fordern der Eingeborenen getadelt. Alles, was sie sehen, möchten sie sich aneignen; nie geben sie sich mit dem, was sie erhalten haben, zufrieden. Wurden sie am gestrigen Abend mit größerer oder geringerer Mühe vom Deck entfernt, so umkreisten sie schon beim nächsten Morgengrauen wieder das Schiff und schrien ihre zudringlichen Wünsche ununterbrochen hinauf, bis man sie, um sich ihrer zu entledigen, wenigstens mit einigen Geschenken bedachte. Gleichzeitig damit und nicht minder häufig wird ihre diebische Art von den Seeleuten gerügt. Zu ihrer Entlastung muß man gelten lassen, daß sie durchaus nicht immer die Absicht hatten zu stehlen. Zunächst dachten sie an Tauschhandel und waren darin nachweislich ehrlich. Darüber hinaus aber wurden sie fast unwiderstehlich von den fremdartigen Dingen bezaubert und ihr Verlangen, sich ihrer zu bemächtigen, sprengte alle Fesseln ihres Rechtsempfindens für Mein und Dein. In richtiger Beurteilung dessen spricht Snow (a): I, 347 ihnen unumwunden „honesty in bartering" zu und legt glaubwürdige Entschuldigungsgründe für ihr Benehmen vor.[243] Von der Schuld, daß seit altersher „as to the property of white men they were called thieves and robbers", spricht Spears: 67 sie aus folgenden Erwägungen heraus frei: „When they saw among white men a superabundance of good things, the taking of what they saw did not seem the evil thing that it would have been to the conscience of a white thif. They were in short socialists rather than thieves."

Zufolge der herrschenden Stammesgewohnheiten war es bei ihnen eine Selbstverständlichkeit, von dem eigenen Überflusse so viel zu verteilen, bis alle Nachbarn sich mehr oder weniger gleichmäßig bedacht sahen. Die Flottenführer der älteren Zeit haben ihrerseits ganz außer acht gelassen, daß das plötzliche Erscheinen ihrer Schiffe mit allen Einzelheiten des Baues und Takelwerkes auf die Eingeborenen einen überwältigenden Eindruck machte, der sich in Worten gar nicht wiedergeben läßt. Daher ihr ungestümes Heranrudern, ihr drängendes Verlangen, ihr ungeduldiges Fordern, alles und jedes zu sehen und zu befühlen. Für eine richtige, uns eigene Wertung und Verwendung so vieler ungewöhnlicher Dinge fehlte ihnen jeder Begriff und jede

[242] Am lautesten geben Parker Snow und seine ihn begleitende Gattin ihrer Überraschung darüber Ausdruck.

[243] Er sagt: „That their cupidity is easily awakened cannot be denied; but I perfectly agree with what Captain Fitz-Roy has said on this subject and conceive that they are no more to be blamed for it, than civilized Europeans for yielding to extreme temptation if placed in the midst of abundant riches, and suffering from excessive poverty. Nay: I rather think they are to be more excused for this natural longing of theirs to possess our riches, even if they are not lauded for the honesty they undoubtedly evince in many of their transactions." An einem kleinen Vorkommnis erklärt er dies.

Erfahrung, sie streckten ihre Hände nach allem und jedem aus, allein schon deshalb, weil es eine neuartige, seltene Form oder eine schillernde Farbe oder einen metallenen Glanz besaß. Da blieb den Schiffsführern und Matrosen nichts anderes übrig, als alle erdenkliche Aufmerksamkeit aufzubieten, um von jenen flinken Gesellen an Geschicklichkeit im Zugreifen und im Wegschleppen nicht übertrumpft zu werden. Lästig wurde es ihnen, einen verschärften Wachedienst aufrecht zu erhalten, immer wieder die unheimlichen Besucher abzuwehren und trotzdem nachher entdecken zu müssen, daß manche Gegenstände entwendet worden waren. Nicht lange also währte es und die Yamana standen weit und breit in dem trüben Lichte, aufdringliches Gesindel und verwegene Spitzbuben zu sein.

Einen greifbaren Anlaß, gefürchtet zu werden, gaben diese Eingeborenen selber durch ganz wenige unleugbare Überfälle auf europäische Schiffe. In der Beurteilung der Weißen wurde es für sie verhängnisvoll, daß aus der ersten Flotte, die unter dem Befehl des Admirals L'Hermitz ihre Gewässer durchquerte, siebzehn Matrosen von ihnen ermordet worden sind (S. 51). Man kann sich heute nur in schwachen Vermutungen über den Anlaß jenes traurigen Ereignisses ergehen, die Verantwortung dafür fällt eben doch auf die Eingeborenen zurück. In den folgenden Jahrzehnten hat sich etwas Ähnliches in gleichem Umfang nicht mehr wiederholt. Indes, die Ermordung des Katechisten Phillips und seiner Begleiter zu Wulaia am 6. November 1860 reicht an jenen Zwischenfall heran und geht auf besondere Ursachen zurück (S. 294).

Abgesehen von dem letztgenannten Vorkommnis entsprangen die früheren Überfälle auf Europäer höchstwahrscheinlich dem Wunsche der Eingeborenen, in ihrem Gebiete keinen einzigen Fremdling zu haben. Sie duldeten es deshalb nicht, daß ein Weißer an Land ginge, und sie brachten zuweilen einen Schiffbrüchigen um, der nicht entweichen konnte. Diese Vermutung erfuhr ich aus dem Munde älterer Indianer, die ich über jene Ereignisse der früheren Zeit befragte. Zur Bestätigung, den richtigen Anlaß genannt zu haben, wies man darauf hin, daß es ihren Landsleuten der früheren Zeit nicht um Raub und Plünderung zu tun gewesen ist und daß sie die ans Land geworfenen Seeleute eben deshalb, um sie los zu werden, getötet haben; diese waren ja jeder Güter bar. Fred Lawrence hat mir wiederholt den gleichen Grund für dieses rücksichtslose Beseitigen der gestrandeten, hilflosen Europäer genannt.

Weil die europäischen Schiffe bei ihrer Fahrt vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ozean und umgekehrt fast allein an den außenliegenden Inseln vor Anker gingen, kamen sie eigentlich nur mit den Wollaston-Leuten und deren nächsten Nachbarn in Berührung. So erlangten diese die traurige Berühmtheit, die gefährlichste Gruppe der Yamana zu sein. Die meisten Schiffsunglücke haben sich nachweislich an ihren Küsten ereignet. Als dann in neuerer Zeit der Schiffsverkehr um das Kap Hoorn anstieg und seitdem manches Segelschiff in kürzeren Zeitabständen vom Sturm gegen die Küste geworfen wurde,

hatten die Indianer gelernt, daraus N u t z e n zu ziehen. Ihre eigene schwere Lebenslage und der Reiz, den die fremdländischen Gegenstände auf sie ausübten, haben sie wohl dazu gedrängt, den Vorrat an Lebensmitteln und beweglichen Dingen aus dem gestrandeten Schiffe herauszuholen. Unausbleiblich kam es dabei zu Streitereien mit den europäischen Matrosen. Da diese in ihrer Hilflosigkeit oder wegen geringer Zahl auf die Dauer ihren Widerstand nicht aufrecht erhalten konnten, fielen sie unter den Keulen der Yamana, denen eben kein einziger Fremdling erwünscht war.

Unvorsichtiges und gewalttätiges Vorgehen der Weißen, verbunden mit Zudringlichkeiten gegen Indianerinnen, hat die Eingeborenen gereizt und zur blutigen Abwehr veranlaßt. Unter sich erörterten sie das Benehmen der Europäer und wenn später andere sich einfanden, nahmen sie an diesen Rache. Mit dieser B e g r ü n d u n g deckt sich fast vollständig die Ansicht, die lange vorher Dampier (a): 210 einigen Eingeborenen in seiner nächsten Umgebung herausgelockt hatte und die ich erst später in Europa gelesen habe. Er hatte sie gefragt, ob jene ihrer Landsleute, denen er noch nicht nähergetreten war, „would massacre a shipwrecked party; they unhesitatingly answer they would, on account of the following reasons: 1. They would be afraid to let strangers live among them, they would distrust them; they would think the strangers whose language they could not understand had evil designs against them. 2. They would kill them in order to take undisputed possession of all they might have. 3. They know sufficiently well strangers to be jealous and fearful of them; for they have heard of ship visiting their shores to steal their skins, ravish their wives, and do other deeds of violence. There are persons now living whose parents experienced such treatment, and there are several individuals over there, and descendants of these marriages. Thus through ignorance, covetousness, revenge and distrust, they would certainly murder all foreigners indiscriminately. And thus the wickedness of some men is dreadfully revenged upon the innocent." Die verruchten Weißen dürfen sich hier nicht festsetzen! Das war der ausschlaggebende Gedanke und die stärkste Triebkraft zu Mordanschlägen der Yamana gegen jene Eindringlinge.

In europäischen Kreisen wurde jedes Schiffsunglück ausführlich besprochen und die Eingeborenen sanken immer tiefer in der Achtung der gesamten Kulturwelt; jeder Flottenführer, der die Fahrt durch jene Gewässer dennoch wagen mußte, war froh, wenn er mit den wilden Gesellen dort nicht zusammentraf. Einen Vorteil aber hat ihnen diese schlimme Beurteilung und die nicht unbegründete Angst der Weißen gebracht, den nämlich, daß letztere sich möglichst fernhielten und gegen Frauen nicht zudringlich werden konnten.[344] Anscheinend zeigten also die Yamana ein ungleiches, u n t e r s c h i e d l i c h e s B e n e h m e n bei Ankunft von Europäern, insofern sie einigen freundlich, harmlos gegenübertraten und andere rücksichtslos umbrachten.

[344] In schöner Fassung hat Serano: 75 diesen Gedanken gebracht: „The Yahgan's deliberate ferocity — ferocity that was exercised with a purpose — was the sufficient protection of the Yahgan maidens."

Dennoch glaube ich folgende Doppelregel zu erkennen: Seeleuten, die auf ihren Schiffen und in ihren Booten geblieben waren, trachteten sie nicht nach dem Leben; von solchen aber, die ans Land gestiegen waren, befürchteten sie, dieselben würden zurückbleiben und Schaden anrichten.

Mag man das Verhalten der Eingeborenen so oder so beurteilen, geschichtlich genau erwiesene Zusammenstöße ereigneten sich in früherer Zeit nur mit der "Nassauischen Flotte" in Bahía Nassau im Februar 1624 und mit der "Allen Gardiner" in Wulaia im November 1855. Rechnet man den Bootsdiebstahl, der an King's Flotte verübt worden war, sowie gelegentliche Zwistigkeiten mit der Mannschaft des einen und anderen Schiffes dazu, das dort vor Anker ging, dürften sämtliche Streitfälle zwischen Indianern und Weißen genannt sein. Aber, wie immer bei solchen Dingen, vielen Gerede hat den geringen Sachverhalt aufgebauscht, verallgemeinert und weit übertrieben.

Sowohl die Überfälle auf Fahrzeuge, die dort angelaufen sind, wie auch das Ausbleiben jener Einzelpersonen, die aus gekenterten Schiffen sich ans Ufer gerettet hatten, leiteten den besten Vorschub dafür, daß es allmählich in Europa üblich wurde, die Yamana als Menschenfresser zu bezeichnen. Die sogenannte "Nassauische Flotte" ist als erste mit diesem Eingeborenen bekannt geworden (S. 50). In seinem Berichte erzählt Dudzeele, „daß sie die Menschen zerreißen und das Fleisch derselben roh und blutig essen". Sieben zehn Matrosen waren überfallen worden und am folgenden Tage „fand man an dem Ufer nur fünf Todte, ... die übrigen hatten die Wilden schon fortgeschleppt, sie zu essen". Dieser kurzen Darstellung ist deutlich genug zu entnehmen, daß jene Mannschaft keinen einzigen der Eingeborenen beim Verzehren von Menschenfleisch beobachtet hat. Trotzdem hat ihre Behauptung von Anfang an in europäischen Kreisen festen Glauben gefunden.[555]

Lange Zeit nachher wurde er durch [illegible]kräftigt, was Fitz-Roy (a): 2 als Tatsache ausgab: „The acts of cannibal[illegible] occasionally committed by their countrymen, were explained to me [durch die [illegible] jugendlichen Yamana an Bord der "Beagle"] in such terms, and with such signs, that I could not possibly misunderstand them; and a still more revolting account was given, though in a less explicit manner, respecting the horrible fate of the eldest women of their own tribes, when there is an unusual scarcity of food. This half-understood story I did not then notice much, for I could not believe it;

[555] Etwa anderthalb Jahrhunderte später hat Gusinde Fuegia (a): 387 sich hierauf berufen: „Die holländischen Seefahrer und besonders Jacob L'Hermite, der die Nassauische Flotte im Jahr 1624 ins Südmeer führte, behaupten, daß die an den südlichen Küsten von Tierra del Fuego wohnenden Indianer, wirkliche Menschenfresser sind, die einander nicht etwa blos aus Hunger, sondern auch so oft sie sich eine gute Mahlzeit machen wollten, umbringen. Sollte diese gräßliche Gewohnheit irgendwo aus wirklichem Mangel an Lebensmitteln entstanden sein, so könnte sie höchstens bei einer kleinen Anzahl unglücklicher Menschen entstanden sein, die aus ihrer fruchtbaren Heimat in die Inbersten wüsten Enden der Erde wären vertrieben worden. Ein solcher Stamm würde aber unmöglich lange bestehen können." Er selber beschuldigt sie dieser Sitte nicht.

but on, since that time, a familiarity with our language has enabled the Fueguans to tell other persons, as well as myself, of this strange and diabolical atrocity; and as Mr. Low was satisfied of the fact, from the concurrent testimony of other Fueguans who had, at different times, passed months on board his vessel,[346] I no longer hesitate to cite my firme believe in the most debasing trait of their character which will be found in these pages." Außerdem gibt er (a): 183 hierzu erklärende Einzelheiten: „From the concurring testimony of the three Fueguans above-mentioned, obtained from them at various times and by many different persons, it is proved that they eat human flesh upon particular occasions, namely, when excited by revenge or extremely pressed by hunger. Almost always at war with adjoining tribes, they seldom meet but a hostile encounter is the result; and then those who are vanquished and taken, if not already dead, are killed and eaten by the conquerors. The arms and breast are eaten by the women; the men eat the legs; and the trunk is thrown into the sea. During a severe winter, when hard frost and deep snow prevent their obtaining food as usual, and famine is staring them in the face, extreme hunger impels them to lay violent hands on the oldest woman of their party, hold her head over a thick smoke, made by burning green wood, and pinching her throat, choke her. They then devour every particle of the flesh, not excepting the trunk, as in the former case. JEMMY BUTTON, in telling this horrible story as a great secret, seemed to be much ashamed of his countrymen, and said, he never would do so — he would rather eat his own hands. When asked why the dogs were not eaten, he said 'Dogs catch *iappo' (iappo [ʃáupuz]* means otter). YORK told me that they always eat enemies whom they killed in battle; and I have no doubt that he told me the truth."

Mehr noch durch DARWIN's Veröffentlichungen wurden die Feuerländer in aller Welt als Menschenfresser verschrien. Um diese Urteilssammlung zu vervollständigen, bleibt schließlich der kurze Satz zu nennen, den SNOW (b): 264 ohne irgendwelchen Beweis angegeben hat: „They are cannibals from necessity, but I believe, not from choice."

Obwohl insgesamt vier Stimmen für das Bestehen der Menschenfresserei laut geworden sind, kann der Kritiker dennoch erweisen, daß jeder einzelnen die sachliche Begründung fehlt. Was DECKER und SNOW sagen, sind leere Redensarten, und der Bericht FITZ-ROY's, mit dem DARWIN übereinstimmt, hält bei genauer Prüfung ebensowenig stand. Die bestimmten Worte des jugendlichen JEMMY BUTTON erkläre ich mir entstanden aus dem abfälligen Gerede der zentralen und südlichen Yamana über ihre westlichen Nachbarn, als wären diese wirklich Menschenfresser; dies taten sie, ohne sich auf sichere Begebenheiten stützen zu können.[347]

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[346] All das bezieht sich auf die Halakwulup, in deren Gebiet dieser englische Seemann einige Jahre geweilt ist.

[347] Sie wiederholen eine alte Erzählung von den "Menschenfressern" im Gebiete der Halakwulup, wenngleich sie sich voll Abscheu von diesen abwenden. Auch BRIDGES bezieht

Auf die von allgemein herrschenden gesellschaftlichen Gewohnheiten und Pflichten her leicht zu begründende Unmöglichkeit einer solchen Gewohnheit hier einzugehen, verlohnt sich nicht. Wirksamer dürfte die Stellungnahme aller späteren Reisenden und Beobachter gegen jene falsche Anschuldigung sein, die von den Teilnehmern an der Expedition der "Beagle" ausgestreut worden ist. Weitläufig ging HYADES (g): 35 darauf ein: „Die Erzählungen von gewohnheitsmäßiger Anthropophagie, wie sie seit den Reisen von FITZ-ROY in allen Büchern spuken, ... beruhen bekanntlich alle auf den Erzählungen der von Kapitän FITZ-ROY nach England mitgenommenen jungen Feuerländer, welche der "Beagle" nach ihrer Heimat zurückbrachte. Diese erzählten, daß sie, wenn sie im Winter allzu arg vom Hunger geplagt würden, die alten Frauen, die doch unnütz wären, lieber schlachteten, als sie einen Hund opferten; denn 'Hunde können Ottern fangen, alte Frauen nicht'. Die Schlachtopfer würden über das Feuer gehalten, bis sie erstickten und dann kunstgerecht zerlegt. DARWIN erfuhr noch, daß die bejammernswerten alten Frauen in solchen Fällen manchmal in die Berge zu flüchten versuchten, aber von den Männern verfolgt und zurückgeschleppt wurden. An dieser ganzen Erzählung scheint kein wahres Wort zu sein; weder die seit fünfzehn Jahren im Feuerlande angesiedelten Missionare noch die französischen Forscher haben jemals einen solchen Fall von Anthropophagie konstatieren können, auch in längeren Hungerszeiten nicht, und auch die im Kampfe getöteten Feinde werden nicht aufgefressen." In mehreren Veröffentlichungen hat HYADES (p): 340 sich bemüht, jene Behauptung als falsch zu erweisen[340] und er (q): 257 hat sich verpflichtet gefühlt, all das nochmals übersichtlich zusammenzustellen „en raison de la singulière persistance avec laquelle on a continué à reproduire le récit de FITZ-ROY, accepté d'ailleurs par DARWIN."

Die gleiche Entschiedenheit und sogar Entrüstung ersieht man aus den Worten, deren sich Missionare und neuzeitliche Forscher bedient haben. Schon DESPARD (b): 680 betonte: „They are not cannibal at all." Er war gleichzeitig mit SNOW im Gebiete der Yamana (S. 125). Wenig später schlug BRIDGES (k): 234 eine noch schärfere Tonart an: „Sus costumbres hacian imposible el canibalismo, pues profesaban gran respeto por la vida e inculcaban el condigno castigo a los asesinos. Las historias propaladas de que mataban a las ancianas ineptas para el trabajo son pura fábula."[340]

sich hierauf und erklärt: „Ils tirent le cannibalisme en horreur. Leur tradition d'une tribu de cannibales dans l'extrême Ouest, est, je pense, une pure fable; toutes les fois que j'en ai causé avec les indigènes, ils se sont invariablement mis à rire; leurs idées sur cette tribu sont si peu définies qu'ils doutent, entre eux, de son existance" (nach HYADES[q]: 259). Vgl. BRIDGES (a): 207 und VSA: XI, 259; 1864.

[340] Sogar damit hält HYADES (d): 308 nicht zurück zu behaupten, daß „FITZ-ROY et DARWIN, écrivant le contraire, ont été très vraisemblement les dupes d'une plaisanterie de Fuegiens".

[340] An anderer Stelle nennt er (h): 205 als Gegengründe: „El canibalismo es absolutamente imposible entre ellos, por la naturaleza misma de la sociedad aborigen, en la cual

Diesem Missionar, der ein ganzes Menschenalter im engsten Verkehr mit den Yamana zugebracht hat und der das wirklich verdiente Lob ihnen jedesmal nur mit sehr knapperm Maße zuteilt, muß man in solch ernsten Angelegenheiten ohne Einschränkung zustimmen. Nicht nur er, sondern auch der Missionar DESPARD haben lange mit dem inzwischen zum Manne herangereiften JEMMY BUTTON, dem Gewährsmanne des FITZ-ROY, zusammengelebt. Wenn nun beide so entschieden gegen dessen frühere Behauptung auftreten, ist vorauszusetzen, daß sie ihn überführen konnten, dem englischen Befehlshaber der "Beagle" Unrichtigkeiten mitgeteilt zu haben.

Reisende der letzteren Jahrzehnte sind in ihrem Urteil zwar von BRIDGES abhängig oder zumindest von ihm beeinflußt; aber sie betonen daneben, daß sie jenen Brauch selber nie beobachtet noch von Eingeborenen direkt erfahren und daß letztere sogar sich erregt gegen derartige Anschuldigungen aufgelehnt haben.[550] LOVISATO (b): 151 widmet einen ganzen Abschnitt, überschrieben mit „I Furghini non sono cannibali", der Abwehr jener grundlosen Verdächtigung und führt darin aus: „Non è vero che siano cattivi, che siano antropofaghi ... Soffrono la fame, ma non mangiano carne umana."

MARTIAL: 193, der eines Sinnes mit HYADES (f): 564 ist, übergehend, gebe ich letzterem nochmals das Wort, weil er sich sozusagen gedrängt fühlt, „de disculper les Fuégiens de l'abominable accusation d'anthropophagie qui pèse sur eux depuis les récits de FITZ-ROY et de DARWIN ... C'est là une pure invention, une fable comme les Fuégiens aiment à en raconter aux voyageurs et qui n'a rien de fondé." Kürzlich hat noch LOTHROP (b): 118 jene aus einem vergangenen Jahrhundert stammende falsche Meinung gründlich abgetan.[551] Ich selber beurteile die Angaben jener vier Ankläger nicht nur als ungenügend bewiesen, sondern, aus vielen Einzelheiten in den Anschauungen und Gewohnheiten dieser Eingeborenen heraus, als eine hochgradige Ungeheuerlichkeit: Menschenfresserei ist dort einfachhin unmöglich. All das genügt, um die Yamana von einer schweren, falschen Anschuldigung ganz rein zu waschen, die ebensowenig — um das hier einzufügen — ihre beiden Nachbarstämme verdienen.[552]

Bis vor wenigen Jahrzehnten galten die Yamana in der Allgemeinbeurteilung durch die Weißen als eine verachtungswürdige, geistig minderwertige

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la vida humana es sagrada, por el hecho de que todo pariente de una persona asesinada cree su honor comprometido a vengar su muerte."

[550] So sagt BRIDGES (e): 332: „Den Kannibalismus verabscheuen sie und haben ihn immer verabscheut." SPEGAZZINI (a): 164 beispielsweise berichtet: „En cuanto a la antropofagia, me parece que no la practican, a lo menos al presente, y todos han protestado siempre a mis preguntas referentes a ella." Vgl. OBERG (g): 56.

[551] Er schreibt: „No white man has ever witnessed the act of anthropophagy among any of the Fuegian tribes, while in recent years those who have lived with the natives and come to know them well all agree that the idea of eating human flesh is as repugnant to a Fuegian as to a European."

[552] Eine übersichtliche und durchschlagende Widerlegung hat bereits COOPER: 176 veröffentlicht. ANDREE: 90 und KOCH-GRÜNBERG: 21 haben ohne Kritik die alten Berichte über

und sittlich niedrigstehende Horde.*** Die wenigen günstigen Berichte einiger Seefahrer haben eine Änderung der öffentlichen Meinung nicht rückgängig bringen und durchsetzen können.

2. Die Yamana im Urteil der Neuzeit

Seitdem die englischen Missionare sich auf den Falkland-Inseln zur Christianisierung der Yamana niedergelassen hatten, begann für diese eine tiefgreifende und andauernde Beeinflussung durch das Europäertum. Behutsamst drangen die Missionare in jene gefürchteten Gegenden vor und die Annäherung an die Gesamtheit jener wenig bekannten Eingeborenen war ihr Ziel. Erst nach ihren ersten Versuchen und unbrauchbaren Erfolgen auf breiterer Grundlage rückten andere Europäer nach, die vor allem von der Aussicht auf wirtschaftlichen Gewinn und auf schnelle Bereicherung an jenes Ende der Welt getrieben wurden. Fast plötzlich sahen sich die Yamana von allen Seiten durch europäische Ankömmlinge bedrängt, sie waren außerstande, sich auf die Dauer deren Einfluß zu entziehen und mußten sich schließlich den Stärkeren ergeben. Mit Recht kennzeichnet man das erste Auftreten der englischen Missionare als den Abschluß des ungestörten indianischen Volkslebens und als den Beginn eines neuen Werdegangs unter fremder Einwirkung, der in einer völligen Auflösung des altbergebrachten Stammesgutes sein Ende fand.

a. *Aussagen verläßlicher Beurteiler*

Mit dem häufigen und andauernden Verkehr zwischen Weißen und Indianern war so von selber gegeben, daß letztere seitdem besser beobachtet und richtiger eingeschätzt wurden. Demnach ist es überraschend, wie innerhalb kürzester Zeit fast ausschließlich g ü n s t i g e U r t e i l e über die bisheng schwer verdächtigten Indianer von einer Seite erflossen, die alle Voraussetzung einwandfreier Aussage erfüllte. Gemeint sind die Missionare, die zwar den gesamten äußeren Kulturbesitz der Eingeborenen als äußerst einfach und sehr armselig schildern, die Träger desselben aber nicht nur als vollwertig betrachten, sondern ihnen sogar günstige Veranlagung und gute Charakter-

Anthropophagie nur vorübergehende, erwähnen aber nachdrücklicherweise Bumaxe nicht. Bestimmt haben sich u. a. Bove (4): 298 und Cocchi: 110 dagegen ausgesprochen. Seiner eigenen Beweisführung gibt Hyades (9): 259 folgende entschiedene Wertfassung: „La question est donc définitivement jugée: il est certain que les Fuégiens du cap Horn ne sont pas anthropophages; quant à leurs voisins, Alakaloufs et Ona, rien n'autorise à penser qu'ils aient, ou qu'ils aient été adonnés au cannibalisme." Weiterer Zeugnisse bedarf es nicht, da mit alledem der Sachverhalt sichergestellt ist. Demnach behält Rudolf (2): 63 recht, daß „although this statement has since been repeatedly disproved, it has some time been gained popular credence".

*** Frey Hucme. 146 schreibt: „Le cœur yaghan ne, a notre a la que dieux les sentiments inghnes que le lion estoffado, la sapopatitée mis miserable du bandeau que hay entre le superficie de la tierra ..." Nach Kükenthal können diese Feststellungen „bien considérés comme des mensonges surtout les derniers depuis de l'échelle de la civilisation".

eigenmächtiges unternahm.[*] Andere Europäer, die ähnlichen gelernt hatten, die Zweckmäßigkeit der indianischen Gebrauchsgegenstände und die Wesensart jener unentwickelten Naturkinder zu verstehen, schlossen sich dem Zeugnis an, die von Missionaren bereiteten. Alle zusammengenommen klingen fast wie eine Ehrenrettung der Yamana, deren Ruf in den zwei vorhergegangenen Jahrhunderten übelblich und ungerecht geschändet worden war.

Vorerst einige Urteile von Missionaren. Mit dem Verhalte an verwaisten Menschenkindern wurde die Eröffnung der englischsprachigen Missionstätigkeit erkauft, ohne daß man die tödlichen Yamana für den Untergang Anne Gunnison's und seiner Begleiter verantwortlich machen darf. Kaum hatten die ersten Missionare festen Fuß unter jenen Eingeborenen zu fassen versucht, als, wahrscheinlich veranlaßt durch unklugen Vorgehen des Kapitäns, die gesamte Besatzung des Missionsschiffes "Allen Gardiner", allein der Koch ausgenommen, von den ersteren Indianern am 6. November 1859 ermordet wurde.[**] In der Folgezeit haben sich ähnliche Unfälle nicht mehr wiederholt, vielmehr gestaltete sich das Verhältnis der Eingeborenen zu den Missionaren und damit gleichzeitig zu anderen Europäern von Jahrzehnt zu Jahrzehnt günstiger.

Gewiß, die Klagen der Missionsgesellschaft über manche Unbilden und Charakterfehler ihrer Schutzbefohlenen verstummten nie; daß sie immer berechtigt waren, erlaube ich mir zu bezweifeln. Viel Gutes wird ihnen dennoch doch nachgesagt. Beispielsweise erwiesen sie sich unbekannten Fremden gegenüber verschen. Als der Katechist Pennazzi zum ersten Male auf Isla Lennox am 22. Oktober 1855 mehrere Eingeborene antraf, behandelten ihn diese zwar rücksichtsvoll, ließen ihn jedoch in die Hütten nicht eintreten. Der Gattin des Schiffskapitäns wurde dies gestattet und sie erzählte nachher, wie die Indianer bei ihrem Eintreten „were most anxious she should have a comfortable seat, and not be inconvenienced by the smoke. This is another proof of the kindness of their disposition, and that savages though they be, they possess a politeness and amiability which sometimes are not found amongst those who are considered to have advanced to a high state of civilization" (Pennazzi: 59). Fast gleichzeitig damit hat der Missionsbruder selber, Rev. Despard, auf einer Fahrt durch das Gebiet der Yamana, einen noch günstigeren Eindruck gewonnen. Er trug am 1. Januar 1859 in sein Tagebuch ein: „We may now say, that during our four week's stay among

[*] Daneben liefe sich eine lange Reihe von Ausgrabungen zusammenstellen, die deutlich zu erkennen geben, wie wenig Verständnis die meisten Missionare, trotz langjährigen Verbleibens mit den Yamana, für eine richtige und neuere Wertung der geistlichen und kulturellen Eigenart dieses Stammes erreichte haben. Sogar noch im Jahre 1870 empfahlen Bischof Stamm mit einer sehr geringschätzenden Unrichtigkeit: „I need not tell you of the degraded and wretched condition of the Fuegian Indians. They are to all intents and purposes without God in the world, and sunk to the lowest state that our humanity admits of" (BSM, IV, 9, 1870). Man wird durch diese Worte an Bekenntnisgegen Darwin's sehr deutlich erinnert.

[**] Die ausführliche Beschreibung dieses folgenschweren Überfalles hat Pennazzi geliefert.

the Fleshpots, there has been no breach in our unity; and save in the instances mentioned under their data, no case of dishonesty. We have gone in and out among them, at one time 170 in number, without fear or hesitation. We have gone simply into their wards; we have gone, two with their four and five. We have left our boat undefended on their shores; have left our vessel for hours with only 'rais' on board, and have had no reason to regret our confidence. I need hardly say, that we never took any weapon with us where for defence. Their habits we have entered with repulsion, and their ignorance we have detected with pity, and with many an attempt, not all unsuccessful, to reform the one, and remove the other" (VP: VI, 146; [illegible]).

Kein einziger der Missionare hat mit dem Yanomo so vertraut gewerden wie Dennison.[illegible] Deshalb bemühte er sich (ib: 205), die früher ausgegrabenen Scherben Gestalten zu ergänzen. „Estas naturales han sido siempre mal apreciados y pintados peor de lo que eran. Así, se les dicen que son caníbales, hechiceros bonapujas de ellos que son más cortesanos que semblanzas." Wie unvorteilhaft er sich unter ihnen gebungen wollte, gibt er (e): 333 zusammenfassend an: „Mit zwei Kameraden übernahm ich das Werk im Jahre 1871 [d. h. die Missionsstation in Urbania], und erbauten wir unsere Residenz in Ilhanera auf, die wir selbst errichteten.... Mit keiner anderen Gewalt, als derjenigen der moralischen Überzeugung und der Gewöhnung an Arbeit ist es uns möglich geworden, diese 13 Jahre in vollkommener Sicherheit unter ihnen zu leben, obwohl an Zeiten drei bis vierhundert Personen zugleich in Urbania gewesen sind, und es das Jahr hindurch von einigen siebenhundert verschiedenen Personen besucht wird."

Als Dennison den Versuch machte, die erste Missionsstätte im eigentlichen Bereiche der Yanomo zu gründen und einzurichten, lebte er als einziger Europäer viele Wochen in Urbania inmitten dieser Eingeborenen und berichtet am 22. Februar 1869 (XXII: 111, 112; 1869) wieder Zusammenhängendes, daß er von ihnen wieder belästigt nach bedrohlich wurde. Weitere Zeugnisse aus der Feder anderer Missionare erübrigen sich. Nur sei noch angefügt, daß der jetzt beschäftigte Rev. John Lowmann, der seit 1949 im Feuerlande weilt, nach wie vor mit hoher Wertschätzung von den Yanomo spricht, ohne deren Schwächen und Fehler zu verkennen.

Nicht nur sich mitunter auf die Meinung der Missionare, sondern selbst von der unsichtbaren Beobachtung her nahm sich noch sensationelle Reisende zu günstiger Beurteilung der Yanomo veranlaßt. Machten diese unwillkürlich auf jeden europäischen Besucher einen erhabenlichen, zumeist wider-

[illegible] Nicht nur in seinen vielen Mitteilungen kommt dieser Vorzug zum Ausdruck, er bekräftigte sie noch durch persönliche Worte: „Diesen Sommer kommen wir sehr gutes, da wir mit dem ersten 1868 gebiete haben (ib. 139). In jenem Jahre wurden mehrere Familien aus Guayabita von der Bartenfamil nach der Kopfjäger in der Fahlmadagruppe gebracht, wo die [illegible] Missionsgesellschaft dann ersten Station einrichtete. In wenigen Jahren wurde jene schwierige Sprache erlernt" (Dennison (e): 333).

lichen Eindruck,[60] trotzdem erkannte beispielsweise Lennard (b): 151 *ihr* gutmütige Gesinnung: „Non è vero che siano cattivi, che siano antropofaghi; noi, usando con quei selvaggi maniere umane, li abbiamo trovati tutti buoni." Gleichzeitig äußerte sich Bove, allerdings nur über eine kleinere Gruppe, im nämlichen Sinne: „The inhabitants of Yendaghin unfortunately do not enjoy a very good reputation; they number about forty, and are considered the most turbulent people of the Beagle Channel. But my experience was quite the contrary. I believe however, I gained them over by means of the influence of Ozmen, a Uruguaiene of uncommon intelligence. I shall always hold this good fellow in kindly remembrance" (MM: XVII, 262; 1883).

Um die Bedeutung solch freimütiger Bekenntnisse richtig einzuschätzen, muß man sich vergegenwärtigen, daß in damaliger Zeit die falschen von Darwin aufgestellten Anschuldigungen in weiteren Kreisen als unstreitbare Wahrheit galten. Erst Bove (c): 159 „widerspricht mit Entschiedenheit den Angaben Darwin's über die Anwohner von Agua (Pennemby Sound der Hoste Insel), welche letzterer als barbarisch beurteilt: als Bove zu ihnen kam, wurden gerade einige Kriegsgefangene freigegeben und zwei der ältesten streckten die Hand nach dem Branntwein aus. Die Beschuldigung der Menschenfresserei und schlechten Behandlung der Gefangenen, welche der große Naturforscher gegen sie ausgesprochen, findet Bove ebenso unergründet wie so manche ähnliche Beschuldigung, die bei näherer Untersuchung sich in ein Nichts auflöst."

Seit Ende der siebziger Jahre bemühte sich der Admiral Sullivan, ein begeisterter Förderer der South American Missionary Society und aufrichtiger Freund Darwin's, sogar dieses selbst von der militärischen Beurteilung der Feuerländer und des missionarischen Wirkens unter ihnen abzubringen. Schließlich gelang ihm das und Darwin hatte so viel Wahrheitsliebe, unter dem Zwange der richtig erkannten Wirklichkeit seinen früheren Irrtum vorbehaltlos einzugestehen.[61] Seine Sinnesänderung gegenüber den Feuerländern drang in der Weltanschauung nur langsam durch. Demnach muß es fast als verwegen hingestellt werden, daß von anderer Seite damals Darwin's falsche Ansicht zurückgewiesen wurde. Wie kaum anders zu erwarten, wurde die wahrheitsgetreue Schilderung keineswegs begeistert aufgenommen; denn manchen Kreisen war es höchst unerwünscht, von liebgewonnenen Gedankengängen abschwenken zu müssen. Auch hat Darwin die Änderung seiner Ansicht über die Feuerländer während seiner letzten Lebensjahre nicht in solch wirksamer Form einer sehr breiten Leserwelt zugänglich gemacht, wie seine

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[60] Besonders hat Bryant: 52 das abermals begründet: „Living then, 'shelterless and naked in a land of frost and freezing snow', one need not wonder that even scientific observers believed the Yahgan 'the most miserable specimen of humanity to be found on earth'".

[61] Nachdem sei auf die "Interesting Records" als Anhang zu MM: XVIII, 20; 1884, und auf Neumann: Darwin's Urteil über die Feuerländer, "Kosmos", Bd. VI, Heft 4, Stuttgart 1909, hingewiesen.

ersten Eindrücke im jugendlichen Alter. Daraus erklärt es sich, daß die von ihm selber eingegebene Überzeugung jener Indianer sich nur schwerfällig den Weg in die Öffentlichkeit bahnte. Um so erfreulicher ist es, daß andere Reisende selbständig mit den Unzulänglichkeiten der früheren Zeit aufgeräumt haben.

Am gründlichsten taten dies die Mitglieder der Mission Sonnenaupt. Roulin hat Hrzano (q): 257 den falschen Vorwurf wegen vermeintlicher Menschenfresserei bewiesen; die von anderen, vorwiegend von Fray-Ruz geschilderte unwürdige Stellung und starke Arbeitsüberlastung der Frau besteht nach seiner Meinung (q): 271 nicht; endlich beweist er durch die ausführliche Schilderung vieler Einrichtungen und Gebräuche die durchaus menschliche Denkungsart und zweckdienliche Handlungsweise der Ureinwohner. Von der etwas kürzeren Abhandlung Marcoux's: 186—229 gilt das Gleiche. Bei genauerem Zusehen erkennt man, daß mit geraumer Zeit die europäischen Besucher ein größeres Verständnis für die Eigenarten der Eingeborenen zu erkennen geben und daß dadurch allein diese letzteren in ein günstigeres Licht der Beurteilung rücken.

Vielleicht wendet jemand gegen diese Deutung ein, daß die wirkliche Ursache der verbesserten Verhältnisse auf das Wirken der Missionare zurückzuführen sei. Wiederholt liest man, beispielsweise bei Marcoux: 220, von „influence favorable de la mission sur les Fueguiens".[*] Selbstverständlich sind es die Missionare selber, die oft und oft auf die Fortschritte der Indianer in der Annäherung an die europäische Zivilisation hinweisen und dafür Belege aus der unermüdlichen Bearbeitung beisteuern. Manche Schilderungen erwecken sogar den Eindruck, als ob wahre Gesittung und vollwertiges Menschentum den Ureinwohnern erst durch die Mission vermittelt worden sei. Demnach stehe ich dll diesen Behauptungen mit Vorbehalt gegenüber und will kurz beweisen, welch große Aktivität gemacht werden müssen. Nicht im geistigen allein dadurch die heute Absicht und die Arbeitsleistung der Missionare gewürdigt werden.

Zweifelhaft wurden die erstwellig auf der Missionsstation ansässigen Personen äußerlich umgewandelt.[**] Sie legten sich europäische Kleider an und wurden zu körperlicher Reinlichkeit verpflichtet. In Uhsuaia kosteten sie sich sogar feste Blockhäuschen. Ausländische Besucher eisen überrascht die Augen auf, besonders dann, wenn sie andere Yaganen-Familien in ihrer ursprünglichen Schnerzing beobachteten und den Gegensatz zwischen

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[*] Gut unterscheidet er 185—220, daß „nous l'opinion religieuse, il donne que indigènes sont réservées gradualmente, capable de les influencer plus que ne pourraient le faire les visites ministres d'une religion."

[**] Von den ersten Häuptlingen Pressura, der im Leute der Zeit auch bis Kapitän gebrauchte wurden wurde, sagt Marcoux: 220, daß sie „s'habitent mal pour familiarisés avec la civilisation". Das bezogt allgemein nur ein äußerlichen Eingewöhnen in europäischer Lebensweise; diese tendierte dieser Leuchtkäfer Gehen sie bedeutet in die wahre Bedeutung zurück. Das überzeugendste Beispiel dafür ist Jemmy Button (S. 194).

hier und dort fortzufliehen konnten.[*] Die Kleidungsweise der Missionsindianer wurde der unserigen angepaßt; alle mußten sich mehr oder weniger einer bestimmten Tagesordnung fügen, an der das Beten, der Schulunterricht, das Handwerk und für die Kinder das Schlafen in einem gemeinschaftlichen großen Raume gehörte. Die Männer lernten mit europäischen Handwerkszeugen und Pflügen umgehen, Käse und Schafe pflegen, sogar kleine Gärten bestellen; den Frauen zeigte man das Nähen und Flicken, das Zubereiten von Hülsenfrüchten und Gemüse, sogar das Handhaben eines einfachen Ofens.

Sind nun durch all diese Neuerungen die Eingeborenen wirklich auf eine höhere Stufe der Gesittung erhoben, sind sie äußerlich und innerlich bereichert worden? Ganz allgemein gesagt: Nein! Denn die europäische Ernährungsweise und Kleidung, der Aufenthalt während des Tages und bei der Nacht in den großen Häusern hat ihre körperliche Abhärtung geschwächt und ihre Gesundheit geschädigt. Fortgebaute Hütten können ihnen nur für wenige Wochen des Jahres ein angenehmeres Wohnen bieten, wenn sie sich einen Einzelne zu erwerben imstande sind. Dergleichen kommen für sie im freien Leben nur edlere Werkzeuge in Betracht, die von Europäern zu ihrem Eingebrachte werden. Gewehr, Eisengeräte und Streitäxte bedeuten eine fühlbare Erleichterung; sie alle aber haben den Fremdlinder selbst nicht vervollkommnet. Statt dessen haben sie ihn nach gewisser Richtung o f f e n s i c h t l i c h v e r d e r b t. Denn er wurde unbändig im Gebrauche seiner früheren Gebrauchsgegenstände und Waffen, einige freilich er wirkten überhaupt nicht mehr an. Gleichzeitig verlor er die einzigartige Geschicklichkeit und Sicherheit, die ihm bei Anwendung derselben eigen war. Schließlich ging die Handwerkskunst — wenn man sich so ausdrücken darf — überhaupt verloren. Der Hinweis auf die Bauart des Hüttenhauses allein soll genügen, um in Erinnerung zu bringen, welches Leistungen der Yamana fähig war.[*] Von seinem übrigen gegenständlichen Besitz sagt Lucas-Fuenzalida 168 treffend: „Tout ce objets sont d'une extrême exiguïté." Die ehedem beliebten Jagdwerkzeuge wurden nicht mehr angewendet, körperliche Geschicklichkeit ersetzte in gewohnter Schnelligkeit, vollkommen Wagemut und Sich, an dem die Jagd auf dem Wasser und auf dem Lande herausgefordert hatte, fand nur Entfaltung nur noch ein begrenztes Feld. Ein unerhörter Gefahrenzuwachs hat der minimalerhafte Einfluß binnen wenigen Jahrzehnten

[*] Viele Zeilen widmet Martinez 231 der Schilderung des gänzlichen Niederbruchs, der den europäisierten Indianer Feuerlands und seiner Gattin auf den gewaltig lahm. Dieses tut 200 seine darauf hin, daß bei seiner Anwesenheit in jener Gegendes die Bevölkerung des südlichen Kap Hoorn-Archipels noch keine Gewehre, Äxte, Messer und Pfeiler, erhielt. „Les naturels ne sont en conséquence transformés d'une manière notable au contact du canal de Beagle, dans les indigènes de la mère prophète, mais l'influence de la nouvelle transplantation exagérée. Elle consommerait à ce modèles par la fondation sur Ushuaia d'un poste sanitaire à l'entrée de la baie d'Ushuaia."

[*] „Leur nature", so urteilt Lucas-Fuenzalida 168, „demeure plus d'habileté et d'ingéniosité qu'on n'en voit déployer dans la construction de leurs pirogues par la plupart des peuples sauvages." Gleichbedeutende Urteile sind weitere mehr zusammengestellt.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

richtungen? Wenn er (ib. 386) es als Mangel anrechnet, daß „le sentiment religieux était nul chez ces indigènes", so hat er objektiv mit dieser Behauptung wohl Recht, aber seine subjektive Beobachtung war falsch. Schließlich verschweigt er nicht, wie leicht, von innerem Drange getrieben, jede Familie sich nach längerem Verweilen auf der Missionsstation von der aufgezwungenen europäischen Art wieder trennt, um zum freien Leben nach altem Brauch zurückzukehren,[*] das, weil naturhaft, auch ohne die scheinbaren Annehmlichkeiten der Zivilisation sie vollauf beglückt.

Hat die anglikanische Mission wirklich unsere Indianer auf eine höhere Kulturstufe erhoben, hat sie jene Menschen mehr gesittet gemacht und innerlich bereichert? Wenn man unvoreingenommen urteilt, sind es fast nur augenfällige, rein äußere Neuerungen, wie Kleidung und Gerätschaften, die von den Missionaren eingeführt worden sind; daß auch eine innere Umgestaltung der Allgemeinheit erfolgt wäre, ist nicht erweisbar. Etwas, das über diese Feststellung hinausreichen würde, ist nicht einmal den Worten des Bischofs STIRLING zu entnehmen, der am 12. Februar 1894 von Ushuaia aus schrieb: „The change from what the Indians were to what they are is, Mr. FIQUE [ein dort wohnhafter Kaufmann] says, remarkable. They are, as a rule, honest and trustworthy, and not given to violence; but latterly, through the evil influence of the miners, have been given to drink, the women not excepted" (MM: XXVIII, 70; 1894). Was MARTIAL: 117 von den Bewohnern der sechs Hütten sagte, die er Ende Januar 1883 in Bahía Yendegaia angetroffen hat, nämlich daß „ils paraissent doux et inoffensifs", verdient mit Recht auf die Allgemeinheit angewendet zu werden. Gegen die bereits sprichwörtlich gewordene „Inferiorität" der Yamana erhebt sich MORENO (d): 577 und behauptet: „I have known personally the two individuals [eine Yamana und ein Halakwulup] who have been photographed and can state certainly that they do not in any way answer to the popular idea of the inferiority of these races ... This apparent inferiority is due to the land environment in which they obtain their foot."

Das engere, häufigere Zusammensein der Europäer mit den Yamana hat jenen die tiefere Einsicht in ihre Kulturverhältnisse und geistige Veranlagung vermittelt. Die daraus schöpfende Beurteilung fiel genauer und wahrheitsgetreu, deshalb günstig für die so lange verkannten Feuerländer aus.

β. Rettungsdienste der Yamana

Seit Mitte des letzten Jahrhunderts verkehrten europäische Schiffe häufiger in jenen südlichen Gewässern. Das trug dazu bei, daß die Eingeborenen

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[*] HYADES (q): 387 bekennt offen: „Même ceux qui ont habité plusieurs années cette mission, qui y ont vécu comme des agriculteurs presque civilisés, finissent souvent par abandonner cette existence régulière pour retourner à leur pirogue, à leur vie errante et indépendante, en reprenant leur moeurs primitives sans que rien dans leur attitude puisse déceler leur contact prolongé avec la civilisation."

sich allmählich an das Auftreten der Fremdlinge gewöhnten und sich diesen weniger feindlich gegenüberstellten. Die Anwesenheit der Missionare, die mit vielen Familien engste Beziehungen angeknüpft hätten, halfen am meisten dabei mit.

Diese im Urteile der Feuerländer vollzogene Änderung duldete seitdem nicht nur nicht die weißen Seeleute, sondern ging bei Schiffsunglücken zu hilfsbereiter Tat über. Mehrere Mitteilungen liegen darüber vor. Als die Schiffbrüchigen der Fregatte "Oracle" am 7. März 1883 die Isla Herschell, nördlich der Isla de Hornos, erreicht hatten, sahen sie sich bald von Eingeborenen umringt. DOMINGUEZ: 142 versicherte: „Esta pobre gente ... mostraron por los náufragos la mejor voluntad." Wenige Monate später ereignete sich ein anderer Unfall, über den BRIDGES am 25. Juli 1883 (MM: XVII, 271; 1883) berichtet. Auf dem deutschen Kohlenschiffe "Erwin" war Feuer ausgebrochen, welches auf einen großen Teil der Ladung übergriff. Nahe dem Kap Hoorn verlor die Mannschaft die Fahrtrichtung, verpaßte in der weiten Bahia Nassau die Einfahrt in die Angostura Murray und fuhr um das ausgedehnte Ostufer der Isla Navarino herum. „Afraid of the natives they did not like to land, though they suffered very much ... They also picked up with a native who piloted them into Oushuia. During the boat journey of eight days they only landed three times from fear of the natives." Am wirksamsten wurden diese Seeleute eines Besseren eben dadurch belehrt, daß ein Indianer aus freier Selbstentschließung sie sicher nach Ushuaia zur Missionsstation führte.[370] Übereinstimmend damit bestätigt DABBENE (b): 199, daß diese Eingeborenen „más de una ocasión han socorrido a náufragos cuyo buque había sido arrojado sobre los escollos de sus islas."[371]

Belehrt durch Enttäuschungen und Ungerechtigkeiten, die sie von seiten der Europäer immer wieder erfahren hatten und aushalten mußten, zeigten sie sich diesen gegenüber zurückhaltend und argwöhnisch. Das früher bis zur Aufdringlichkeit gesteigerte freudige "*Yamaskuna*" oder "*Peacheräh*" hatten sie sich längst abgewöhnt und sie rechneten nicht mehr auf Geschenke. Ihre angeborene Gutmütigkeit und Hilfsbereitschaft verpflichtete sie trotzdem, den in Seenot geratenen Weißen beizustehen. Rührend ist es, wenn man erfährt, was diese einst so "gefürchteten Wilden" für die Mannschaft der verunglückten "San Rafael" getan haben. R. J. STURSON berichtet (MM:

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[370] Auch HYADES (j): 166 hatte erfahren, daß „l'équipage d'un navire allemand, qui avait pris feu en pleine mer au large du cap Horn, et qui cherchait à gagner le canal du Beagle dans ces embarcations, a été conduit jusqu'à la mission anglaise par un Fuégien, qui, spontanément, a offert au capitaine de le piloter".

[371] Wie menschenfreundlich sogar die Selk'nam und Haus sich der Schiffbrüchigen, die an ihre Küsten geworfen wurden, annahmen, ist in Bd. I, 150 geschildert worden. Ein Beispiel für mehrere. Der "Mercurio" von Valparaiso veröffentlichte am 4. Juli 1869 den Untergang des nordamerikanischen Schiffes "Dreadnought" am Cabo Peñas auf dem Ostufer der Isla Grande und berichtet von den vierzehn Leuten der Mannschaft: „The Indians treated them well, not offering them the slightest violence" und zwar durch siebenzehn Tage. (Vgl. hierzu MM: III, 178; 1869).

XVI, 237; 1882): „The poor crew were most tenderly cared for by the Fueglans, two of whom went sixty miles and brought the Rev. THOMAS BRIDGES to see the poor dead white men and bury them. Not a single article was stolen from the wrecked mariners, and the utmost humanity was displayed. Our beloved Queen was so much struck by the circumstances that she sent a message and presents to the kind-hearted natives that had thus cared for her poor sailors."

Wie wenig es in der Absicht dieser Indianer lag, die Europäer zu berauben, ersieht man aus dem, was Kapitän WILLIS anläßlich eines Schiffsunglückes mitteilte. Anfang 1876 war bei Indian Cove ein Segler gekentert, weswegen er persönlich bald danach diese Stelle besuchte. Schiffstrümmer und neun Leichen waren ans Land geschwemmt worden. Von den Eingeborenen sagte er: „They did not take anything of the corpses, and on relating what they saw to their fellows, tears fell from their eyes, while their hearts bled for the woes which befel the white men" (MM: X, 221; 1876). Sogar aufrichtiges Mitleid empfanden die Indianer über das Unglück der weißen Seeleute.

Gegenüber den Erlebnissen der Seefahrer aus früherer Zeit haben sich anscheinend im äußeren Benehmen der Eingeborenen durchgreifende Änderungen vollzogen. Die günstigen Urteile häuften sich neuerstens, so daß auf den englischen Seekarten der besondere Hinweis zur Beruhigung der Schiffahrer eingetragen wurde, sie hätten von den Indianern nichts mehr zu befürchten.[372]

Ob nun der Wandel im Verhalten der Yamana den Weißen gegenüber wirklich auch auf eine Änderung ihrer Gesinnung zurückzuführen ist, mag dahingestellt sein und wird sich wohl nicht mehr erweisen lassen; man kennt eben zu wenig die Umstände, die in der ersten Zeit den Angriff auf die Mannschaft der "Nassauischen Flotte" (S. 51) und einzelner anderer Schiffe verursacht haben. Will man aber zumindest zu einem gerechten Urteil kommen, darf man nicht aus dem Auge verlieren, welch grobe Übergriffe die Europäer selber sich an den ahnungslosen Indianern erlaubt hatten, wodurch letztere zu Racheakten und zur Selbstverteidigung getrieben wurden.[373] Aus genauer Kenntnis der Verhältnisse heraus erklärte der Kapitän

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[372] Er lautet (nach MM: XXII, 55; 1888): „Notice to Mariners: The Mission station Ushuaia, is established on the North shore of Beagle Channel, and which may be used as a place of refuge and relief to mariners shipwrecked in the vicinity of Cape Horn.

Mr. BRIDGES reports in August 1883 that the natives of Ponsonby Sound may be as safely trusted as those of other parts, and that they would be ready to pilot any shipwrecked men to Ushuaia; further, that a great change has been effected in the character of the natives generally, and that the Yahgan natives from Cape San Diego to Cape Horn, and thence round to Brecknock Peninsula, can be trusted. By command of their Lordships, FRED J. EVANS, Hydrographer. Hydrographic Office, Admiralty, London, January 12, 1884."

[373] Kürzlich hat LOTHROP (b): 116 ebenfalls hervorgehoben: „What provoked these attacks is a secret intombed with their victims. Early voyagers habitually kidnapped natives to serve as pilots and thus aroused merited resentment."

WILLIS am 25. Mai 1876 in furchtloser Unparteilichkeit: „Sailors have been killed, but in most cases have been the aggressors, or have been killed in revenge, as all heathens avenge the deaths or injury of their countrymen. We have heard of some sealing men being killed by Indians near the Fury Islands, but the reason was they interfered with their women" (MM: X, 223: 1876).

An den sicher erwiesenen, sehr seltenen Überfällen auf fremde Schiffe und europäische Mannschaften tragen sicherlich die Yamana nicht allein alle Schuld. Wie wahr das ist, beweist eben ihr menschenfreundliches und selbstloses Bemühen um Schiffbrüchige.

3. Einige Yamana in Europa

Eine üble Gewohnheit der Seefahrer früherer Jahrhunderte war es, aus dieser oder jener Eingeborenensiedlung eine Person gewaltsam nach Europa zu verschleppen; sie wollten den eigenen Landsleuten das seltene und seltsame Schauspiel eines andersfarbigen Wilden bieten. SARMIENTO de GAMBOA, der als erster Europäer die Feuerländer zu Gesicht bekommen hat, ist ebensowenig zurückgeschreckt, schon gleich einen Menschenfang zu versuchen (Bd. I, 25). Andere und zwar bestgemeinte Absichten hegte FITZ-ROY, der im Jahre 1830 vier jugendliche Yamana nach England mitführte. Wie er einen solchen Eingriff in das Recht auf freie Selbstbestimmung, die auch jedem Indianer zusteht, rechtfertigt, ist seine Angelegenheit. Manches Gute ist jenen vier Feuerländern zweifelsohne zuteil geworden. Aus ihrer Reise erwuchs später den Missionaren in den schweren Sorgen der beginnenden Fühlungnahme mit den Eingeborenen ein unschätzbarer Vorteil. Ein schnelleres Eindringen des Europäertums in jenen Volksstamm wurde vorbereitet, die Entwicklung der anglikanischen Mission auf ein sicheres Gleis gebracht und das Schicksal der Yamana selber in ihrer Heimat folgenschwer bestimmt. Diese Erwägungen rechtfertigen es, die Geschichte jener vier Indianer ausführlich abzuhandeln; sie erzählt auch einen Teil der ersten Missionsversuche.[374]

Unterhaltend ist es zu erfahren, wie FITZ-ROY jene jugendlichen Yamana unter seine Obhut nahm. Damals, auf der ersten Reise der englischen Schiffe "Beagle" und "Adventure", war Kapitän KING der Befehlshaber der gesamten Flotte und FITZ-ROY mit seinem Schiffe ihm unterstellt. Er (a): 4 berichtet seinem Vorgesetzten am 12. September 1830 in Form einer dienstlichen Angelegenheit, „that there are now on board of his Majesty's sloop, under my command, four natives of Tierra del Fuego. Their names and estimated ages are YORK MINSTER ... 26, BOAT MEMORY ... 20, JAMES BUTTON ... 14, FUEGIA BASKET (a girl) ... 9 [years].

[374] Den breiten Originalbericht kürze ich nur insoweit, als die Schilderung des Schicksals jener vier Yamana keine Unterbrechung erleidet. Andere Mitteilungen werden ausgeschaltet, um diesen Abschnitt nicht zu überlasten.

I have maintained them entirely at my own expense, and hold myself responsible for their comfort while away from, and for their safe return to their own country; and I have now to request that, as senior officer of the Expedition, you will consider of the possibility of some public advantage being derived from this circumstance. I am now to account for my having these Fuegians on board, and to explain my future views with respect to them.

In February last, the "Beagle" being moored in 'Townshend Harbour', on the south-west coast of Tierra del Fuego, I sent Mr. MATTHEW MURRAY (master), with six men, in a whale-boat, to Cape Desolation ... Mr. MURRAY reached the place and secured his party and the boat in a cove near the cape; but during a very dark night, some Fuegians, whose vicinity was not at all suspected, approached with the dexterous cunning peculiar to savages and stole the boat. Thus deprived of the means for returning to the "Beagle", and unable to make their situation known, Mr. MURRAY and his party formed a sort of canoe, or rather basket, with the branches of trees and part of their way back to the "Beagle", by his directions. Assistance was immediately given to the master and the other men, and a chase for our lost boat was begun, which lasted many days, but was unsuccessful in its object, although much of the lost boat's gear was found, and the women and children of the families from whom it was recovered, were brought on board as hostages. The men, excepting one[275] of them, escaped from us, or were absent in our missing boat.

At the end of February the "Beagle" anchored in Christmas Sound; but before this time all our prisoners had escaped, except three little girls, two of whom we restored to their own tribe, near 'Whale-boat-Sound', and the other is now on board.[276] From the first canoe seen in Christmas Sound, one man was taken as a hostage for the recovery of our boat, and to become an interpreter and guide.[277] He came to us with little reluctance, and appeared unconcerned. A few days afterwards, traces of our boat were found at some wigwams on an island in Christmas Sound, and from the families inhabiting those wigwams I took another young man, for the same purpose as that above-mentioned. No useful information respecting our lost boat was, however, gained from them ... Some time afterwards, accidentally meeting three canoes, when away in my boat exploring the Beagle Channel, I prevailed on their occupants to put one of the party, a stout boy, into my boat, and in return I gave them beads, buttons,[278] and other trifles. Whether they intended that he should remain with us permanently, I do not know; but they seemed contented with the singular bargain. We pulled on along.

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[275] Man nannte ihn BOAT MEMORY, um eine Erinnerung an den Verlust des Walfischbootes zu schaffen (S. 82). Er ist im November 1830 in London gestorben.

[276] Dieses etwa neunjährige Mädchen wurde FUEGIA BASKET benannt (S. 81).

[277] Ihm gab man den Namen YORK MINSTER (S. 81).

[278] Deswegen erhielt dieser Bursche den Namen JAMES (JEMMY) BUTTON (S. 86).

When about to depart from the Fuegian coast, I decided to keep these four natives on board, for they appeared to be quite cheerful and contented with their situation; and I thought that many good effects might be the consequence of their living a short time in England. They have lived, and have been clothed like the seamen, and are now, and have been always, in excellent health and very happy. They understand why they were taken, and look forward with pleasure to seeing our country, as well as to returning to their own.

Should not his Majesty's Government direct otherwise, I shall procure for these people a suitable education, and, after two or three years, shall send or take them back to their country, with as large a stock as I can collect of those articles most useful to them, and most likely to improve the condition of their country-men, who are now scarcely superior to the brute creation."

Dieses dienstliche, inhaltlich klare Gesuch leitete der Befehlshaber King an die Admiralität weiter. Die unverzügliche Antwort war in dem Sinne gehalten, daß die persönlichen Bemühungen Fitz-Roy's nicht nur nicht behindert, sondern auch von der höchsten Marinebehörde gefördert werden würden; sie wolle „afford him any facilities towards maintaining and educating them in England, and will give them a passage home again".

Mit überzeugtem Ernste und mit rechtschaffener Mannestreue erfüllte Fitz-Roy (a): 7 die schwierigen Pflichten, die er gegenüber den aus der Heimat entführten Yamana übernommen hatte. Er war ein Mann von Erfahrung, daher seine klugen Verfügungen: „I was, of course, anxious to protect the Fuegians, as far as possible, from the contagion of any of those disorders, sometimes prevalent, and which unhappily have so often proved fatal to the aboriginal natives of distant countries when brought to Europe; and immediately after our arrival in England, they landed with me, after dark, and were taken to comfortable, airy lodgings, where, next day, they were vaccinated, for the second time. Two days afterwards they were carried a few miles into the country, to a quiet farm-house, where I hoped they would enjoy more freedom and fresh air, and, at the same time, incur less risk of contagion than in a populous sea-port town."

Trotz sorgfältiger Pflege erkrankte schon Anfang November der etwa zwanzigjährige Boat Memory und „the symptoms of his disorder were like those of the small-pox". Auf Anraten der Ärzte und mit Erlaubnis der Admiralität wurden sämtliche Yamana in das gut geleitete Naval Hospital zu Plymouth gebracht, wo man ihnen ausgesuchte Pflege zuteil werden ließ. Trotzdem erlag Boat Memory seiner Krankheit noch im November 1830.

Wegen dienstlicher Verpflichtungen hatte sich Fitz-Roy für kurze Zeit aus London entfernen müssen. Unaufhörlich indes gedachte er seiner feuerländischen Schützlinge und schreibt (a): 9: „I had hardly reached London, when a letter from Dr. Dickson informed me of the untimely fate of Boat

Murray. He had been vaccinated four different times; but the three first operations had failed, and the last has just taken effect, when the disease showed itself. It was thought that the fatal contagion must have attacked him previously." Er widmet ihm eine schöne Charakterzeichnung: „This poor fellow was a very great favourite with all who knew him, as well as with myself. He had a good disposition, very good abilities, and though born a savage, had a pleasing, intelligent appearance. He was quite an exception to the general character of the Fuegians, having good features and a well-proportioned frame. It may readily be supposed that this was a severe blow to me, for I was deeply sensible of the responsibility which had been incurred; and however unintentionally, could not but fell how much I was implicated in shortening his existence."

Glücklicherweise verschonte die Ansteckung die drei anderen Yamana, die noch einige Zeit im Hospital verblieben. Fitz-Roy dachte weiter; denn er „was anxious that no time should be lost in arranging a plan for their education and maintenance" und ließ sie schließlich in einer Kutsche zu Rev. Joseph Wigram nach Walthamstow bringen, unter Aufsicht des Mr. Murray, des bekannten Maat der "Beagle". Wie dieser beobachtete, waren die seltsamen Ankömmlinge „much pleased with the rooms prepared for them at Walthamstow; and the schoolmaster and his wife were equally pleased to find the future inmates of their house very well disposed, quiet, and cleanly people; instead of fierce and dirty savages."

In Walthamstow blieben sie von Dezember 1830 bis Oktober 1831. Während der ganzen Zeit wurden sie gepflegt „with the utmost kindness by the benevolent men whose names I have mentioned; by their families, and by many others in the neighbourhood, as well as casual visitors.

The attention of their instructor was directed to teaching them English, and the plainer truths of Christianity, as the first object; and the use of common tools, a slight acquaintance with husbandry, gardening, and mechanism, as the second. Considerable progress was made by the boy and girl; but the man was hard to teach, except mechanically. He took interest in smith's or carpenter's work, and paid attention to what he saw and heard about animals; but he reluctantly assisted in garden work, and had a great dislike to learning to read. By degrees, a good many words of their own languages were collected (the boy's differed from that of the man and the girl) and some interesting information was acquired, respecting their own native habits and ideas. They gave no particular trouble; were very healthy; and the two younger ones became great favourites wherever they were known." Sogar ins englische Königshaus wurden sie im Sommer 1831 geladen und erhielten hier allerhand Geschenke.

Da vorübergehend von der britischen Admiralität der Plan erwogen wurde, die Erforschung der Kap Hoorn-Gegend nicht weiterzuführen, fühlte sich Fitz-Roy verpflichtet, persönlich die jungen Feuerländer auf einem passenden Schiffe in ihre Heimat zu begleiten; ihm schien es unverantwort-

lich, sie einer anderen noch so zuverlässigen Person anzuvertrauen.[379] Kaum hatte er mit einem Privatunternehmer[380] seine endgültigen Abmachungen über die Fahrt ins Yamana-Gebiet getroffen, als die Admiralität ihn wissen ließ, er möchte sich bereithalten, um abermals dorthin als Kommandant der "Chanticleer" zurückzufahren. Gleichzeitig bot sich WILSON in Walthamstow an, den heimreisenden Feuerländern zwei freiwillige Begleiter mitzugeben, „in order to attempt to teach them such useful arts as may be thought suited to their gradual civilization". Er fügte hinzu, daß „a subscription has been set on foot by gentlemen who are extremely desirous that this opportunity of extending the benefits of civilization should not be lost". Ein gleichzeitiges Schreiben der britischen Admiralität erlaubte, daß auf dem Marineschiffe nicht nur die drei Feuerländer, sondern auch zwei Begleiter befördert werden dürften. Die andere Verfügung wurde dahin abgeändert, daß die "Beagle" selber nach einer gründlichen Ausbesserung die Fahrt machen sollte (S. 88).

Schnell hatte FITZ-ROY daraufhin seine Entschließungen getroffen. Zwei geeignete Begleiter zu finden war nicht leicht, einer konnte bis zur Abfahrt der "Beagle" von Mr. WILSON bereitgestellt werden. Als noch im Oktober die drei Yamana von Walthamstow nach Plymouth kamen, „not a few boats were required to transport to our ship the large cargo of clothes, tools, crockery-ware, books, and various things which the families at Walthamstow and other kind-hearted persons had given. In the small hold of the "Beagle", it was not easy to find places for the stowage of so many extra stores ... Instructions were given, by the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, to the young man[381] who wished to accompany the Fuegians" (FITZ-ROY [a]: 15).

Im Dezember 1831 verließ die "Beagle" abermals England. Die drei Feuerländer überstanden die lange Seefahrt gut. Nach kurzem Zusammentreffen mit einigen Haus-Indianern in Bahia Buen Suceso erreichten sie Bahia Windhond am 15. Januar 1833, konnten aber erst in der Goree Road am Südostufer der Isla Navarino vor Anker gehen. „Here, to my surprise, YORK MINSTER told me that he would rather live with JEMMY BUTTON in the

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[379] In einem Gesuch vom 23. Mai 1831 an die britische Admiralität weist er darauf hin, daß die drei Eingeborenen bereits vierzehn Monate von ihm abhängig wären und daß bis zur Rückkehr in ihre Heimat mindestens weitere fünf Monate verstreichen würden; sie erwarteten zur nächsten Sommerszeit (d. h. gegen Ende des Jahres) daheim zu sein „and should they be disappointed, I fear that discontent and disease may be the consequence". Er erbat sich einen Urlaub von zwölf Monaten, der ihm im Juni zugestanden wurde; denn er wollte auf eigene Kosten seine Schützlinge in die ferne Heimat begleiten (FITZ-ROY [b]: 90).

[380] Er (b): 90 nennt einen gewissen "Mr. MAUMAN, a ship-owner, of London" und deutet die vertragliche Vereinbarung ab.

[381] Ein gewisser MATTHEWS, der vor der Ausreise allerhand an Ausrüstung und Gerätschaften, sowie Anweisungen über seine späteren Arbeiten und sein Verhalten gegen die Eingeborenen mitbekommen hatte (FITZ-ROY [b]: 93–97).

Tekeenica country than go to his own people. This was a complete change in his ideas, and I was very glad of it; because it might be far better that the three, York, Jemmy and Fuegia, should settle together. I little thought how deep a scheme master York had in contemplation.[222] Having moored the "Beagle" in security, I set out with four boats, carrying Matthews and the Fuegians, with all the stock of useful things which had been given to them in England.[223]

My intention was to go round the north-east part of Navarin Island, along the eastern arm of the Beagle Channel, through Murray Narrow, to the spot which Jemmy called his country: there establish the Fuegians with Matthews: — leave them for a time, while I continued my route westward to explore the western arms of the Channel, and part of Whalebost Sound: and at my return thence decide whether Matthews should be left among the natives for a longer period or return with me to the "Beagle"" (FitzRoy [a]: 127).

Genau nach diesem Plane kamen die Boote am 20. Januar 1833 in die Nähe der Angostura Murray. Hier sollten die drei Europabesucher die ersten ihrer L a n d s l e u t e w i e d e r s e h e n. „Several natives were seen in this day's pull; but as Jemmy told us they were not his friends, and often made war upon his people, we held very little intercourse with them. York laughed heartily at the first we saw, calling them large monkeys; and Jemmy assured us they were not all like his people, who were very good and very clean. Fuegia was shocked and ashamed; she hid herself, and would not look at them a second time. It was interesting to observe the change which tree years only had made in their ideas, and to notice how completely they had forgotten the appearance and habits of their former associates; for it turned out that Jemmy's own tribe was as inferior in every way as the worst of those whom he and York called ‚monkeys — dirty — fools — not men'". York nannte diese Leute "*Yapoos*".

Am Abend des 22. Januar war eine kleine Bucht bei Angostura Murray erreicht, „and from a small party of Tekeenica natives, Jemmy's friends, whom we found there, he heard of his mother and brothers, but found that his father was dead. Poor Jemmy looked very grave and mysterious at the news, but showed no other symptom of sorrow. He went for some green branches, which he burnt, watching them with a solemn look: after which he talked and laughed as usual, never once, of his own accord, recurring to the subject of his father's decease."

Der Bericht geht weiter: „There were three men and two women ... Jemmy and York then tried to speak to them; but to our surprise, and much to my sorrow, we found that Jemmy had almost forgotten his native

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[222] Seine wirkliche Absicht war jetzt schon, wie sich später zeigte, Jemmy zu berauben.

[223] By far the larger part of their property, including Matthews's outfit, was sent by Mr. Coates, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

language,[204] and that, of the two, York, although belonging to another tribe, was rather the best interpreter. In a few minutes the natives comprehended that we should do them no harm ... Being within a few hours' pull (row) of Jemmy's 'own land', which he called Woollya, we all felt eager, though anxious, and I was much gratified by seeing that Matthews still looked at his hazardous undertaking as steadily as ever, betraying no symptom of hesitation.

The attentions which York paid to his intended wife, Fuegia, afforded much amusement to our party. He had long shewn himself attached to her, and had gradually become excessively jealous of her good-will. If any one spoke to her, he watched every word; if he was not sitting by her side, he grumbled sulkily; but if he was accidentally separated, and obliged to go in a different boat, his behaviour became sullen and morose" (Fitz-Roy [a]: 205).

Wahrscheinlich wurde Jemmy's Erinnerung durch die heimatliche Landschaft geweckt. An den letztvergangenen Abenden erzählte er nämlich „many long stories about the *Oena*, or *Coin* men, who lived beyond the mountains at the north side of the Beagle Channel and almost every year make desperate inroads upon the Tekeenika tribe."

Bald war der Küstenstrich "Woollya" erreicht, wo Matthews mit den drei feuerländischen Europabesuchern a n g e s i e d e l t werden sollte. „We selected a clear space favourably situated for our encampment, landed, marked a boundary-line, placed sentries, and made the various arrangements necessary for receiving the anticipated visits of some hundred natives. We had time to do all this quietly. We were much pleased by the situation of Woollya, and Jemmy was very proud of the praises bestowed upon his land. At our first approach, only a few natives appeared, who were not of Jemmy's family. The women ran away and hid themselves, but Jemmy and York contrived (with difficulty) to make the men comprehend the reason of our visit ... Many of our own party were occupied at a distance, cutting wood, digging ground for a garden, or making wigwams for Matthews, York and Jemmy ...

Canoes continued to arrive. While I was engaged in watching the proceedings at our encampment, and poor Jemmy was getting out of temper at the quizzing he had to endure on account of his countrymen, a deep voice was heard shouting from a canoe more than a mile distant: up started Jemmy from a bag full of nails and tools which he was distributing, leaving them to be scrambled for by those nearest, and, upon a repetition of the shout, exclaimed "My brother!" He then told me that is was his eldest brother's voice ... When [the canoe] arrived, instead of an eager meeting, there was a cautious circumspection which astonished us. Jemmy walked slowly to meet the party, consisting of his mother, two sisters, and four brothers. The old

[204] Er sah sich nur einem fremden Dialekt gegenüber; denn es wäre unbegreiflich, daß er nach knapp zwei Jahren, in ständiger Umgebung von zwei Landsleuten, die eigene Sprache vergessen hätte.

woman hardly looked at him before she hastened away to secure her canoe and hide her property, all she possessed — a basket containing tinder, fire-stone, paint, etc. and a bundle of fish. The girls ran off with her without even looking at JEMMY; and the brothers (a man and three boys) stood still, stared, walked up to JEMMY, and all round him, without uttering a word[305] ... JEMMY was unable to talk to his brothers, except by broken sentences, in which English predominated.[306] After a few minutes had elapsed, his elder brother began to talk to him; but although JEMMY understood what was said, he could not reply. YORK and FUEGIA were able to understand some words, but could not or did not choose to speak.

This first evening of our stay at Woollya was rather an anxious one. JEMMY passed the evening with his mother and brothers, in their wigwam, but returned to us to sleep. YORK, also, and FUEGIA were going about among the natives at their wigwams, and the good effect of their intercourse and explanations, such as they were, was visible next day (24th January 1833) in the confident, familiar manner of the throng which surrounded us while we began to dig ground for gardens, as well as cut wood for large wigwams, in which MATTHEWS and his party were to be established. Canoes still arrived, but their owners seemed as well-disposed as the rest of the natives, man of whom assisted us ... One wigwam was for MATTHEWS, another for JEMMY, and a third for YORK and FUEGIA. YORK told me that JEMMY's brother was ‚very much friend', that the country was ‚very good land', and that he wished to stay with JEMMY and MATTHEWS."

Ein kleines Stück Land nahebei wurde besät mit „potatoes, carrots, turnips, beans, peas, lettuce, onions, leeks, and cabbages. JEMMY soon clothed his mother and brothers, by the assistance of his friends. For a garment which I sent the old woman she returned me a large quantity of fish, all she had to offer; and when she was dressed, JEMMY brought her to see me. His brothers speedily became rich in old clothes, nails and tools ... An old man arrived, who was said to be JEMMY's uncle, his father's brother; and many strangers came, who seemed to belong to the *Yapoo Tekeenika* tribe. JEMMY did not like their visit; he said they were bad people, 'no friends' ... We discovered that JEMMY's eldest brother was a 'doctor' ... At sunset they went away as usual, but looking very grave, and talking earnestly."

In der Morgenfrühe des 27. Januar 1833 fuhren die Eingeborenen eiligst fort — „not half a dozen natives remaining. Even JEMMY's own family, his mother and brothers, left us ... In the evening, MATTHEWS and his party — JEMMY, YORK and FUEGIA — went to their abode in the three new wigwams. In that made for MATTHEWS, JEMMY also took up his quarters at first; the

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[305] Diese kühle Begegnung von Mutter und Sohn erschien FITZ-ROY so ungewöhnlich, daß er erklärte: „Animals when they meet show far more animation and anxiety than was displayed at this meeting."

[306] Wohl absichtlich und zwar zur Selbstüberhebung tat er das, es wurde bei ihm allmählich zur Gewohnheit. Vgl. DESPAGNE (b): 733.

space overhead was divided by a floor of boards, and there most of MATTHEWS' stores were placed. MATTHEWS was steady, and as willing as ever; neither YORK nor JEMMY had the slightest doubt of their being all well-treated; so trusting that MATTHEWS, in his honest intention to do good, would obtain that assistance in which he confided, I decided to leave him for a few days. At dusk, all that we could do for them being completed, we left the place sailed some miles to the southward."

Inzwischen richteten sich die neuen Ansiedler ein. „During the four days in which we had so many natives about us, of course some thefts were committed, but nothing of consequence was stolen. Notwithstanding the decision into which I had reasoned myself respecting the natives, I could not help being exceedingly anxious about MATTHEWS, and early next morning our boats were again steered towards Woollya ... We landed and ascertained that nothing had occurred to damp his spirits. JEMMY told us that these people, who arrived at daylight that morning were his friends, that his own family would come in the course of the day, and that the 'bad men', the strangers, were all gone away to their own country.

I set out on a westwards excursion, accompanied by Messrs. DARWIN and HANSOND: my intention being to complete the exploration of Whale-boat Sound, and the north-west arm of the Beagle Channel; then revisit Woollya, either leave or remove MATTHEWS, as might appear advisable, and repair to our ship in Goree Road."

FITZ-ROY (a): 210 trat diese Fahrt an, durchfuhr den westlichen Canal de Beagle bis zum Cabo Desolación und kehrte wieder um. Besorgnis um das Los der zurückgelassenen Freunde trieb ihn zur Eile an. Als er am 6. Februar 1833 durch die Angostura Murray fuhr, „several parties of natives were seen, who were ornamented with strips of tartan cloth or white linen, which we well knew were obtained from our poor friends. No questions were asked; hurrying on, at noon reached Woollya. Several canoes were on the beach, and as many natives seemed to be assembled as were there two days before we left the place. All were much painted, and ornamented with rags of English clothing, which we concluded to be the last remnants of our friend's stock. Our boats touched the shore; the natives came hallooing and jumping about us, and then, to my extreme relief, MATTHEWS appeared, dressed and looking as usual. After him came JEMMY and YORK, also dressed and looking well; FUEGIA, they said, was in a wigwam. Taking MATTHEWS into my boat, we pushed out a short distance to be free from interruption, and remained till I had heard the principal parts of his story."

Das war eine empfindliche Enttäuschung. DARWIN (d): 259 schrieb über diesen 6. Februar 1833 u. a.: „MATTHEWS machte uns eine so schlechte Schilderung des Betragens der Feuerländer, daß Capitän FITZ-ROY beschloß, ihn zum "Beagle" zurückzubringen. Seit der Zeit unserer Abreise hatte ein regelmäßiges System des Plünderns begonnen. Beständig kamen neue Trupps von Eingeborenen; YORK und JEMMY hatten viele Sachen verloren, beinahe

alles, was nicht unter der Erde verborgen worden war. Jeder Artikel schien von den Eingeborenen zerrissen und geteilt worden zu sein. MATTHEWS beschrieb die Woche, die er beständig zu halten genötigt war, als äußerst ermüdend; Tag und Nacht wurde er von Eingeborenen umgeben, die ihn damit zu ermüden suchten, daß sie einen beständigen Lärm dicht an seinem Kopfe machten. Eines Tages kam ein alter Mann, den MATTHEWS gebeten hatte, seinen Wigwam zu verlassen, unmittelbar darauf mit einem großen Steine in seiner Hand zurück. An einem anderen Tage kam eine ganze Partie mit Steinen und Stöcken bewaffnet und einge der jüngeren Leute und JEMMY's Bruder schrien beständig. MATTHEWS beschwichtigte sie mit Geschenken. Ein anderer Trupp machte ihm mit Zeichen bemerklich, daß sie ihn nackt auszuziehen und alle Haare von dem Gesicht und Körper auszureißen wünschten. Ich glaube, wir kamen gerade zu rechter Zeit, um sein Leben zu retten. JEMMY's Verwandte waren so eitel und albern gewesen, Fremden ihren Raub zu zeigen und die Art und Weise ihn zu erhalten. Es war geradezu melancholisch, die drei Feuerländer bei ihren wilden Landsleuten zu lassen; doch war es ein großer Trost, daß sie selbst keine persönliche Furcht hatten."

FITZ-ROY berichtet weiter: „MATTHEWS only partizans were the women: now and then he left JEMMY to guard the hut, and went to the natives' wigwams, where the women always received him kindly. The men never took the trouble of going with him on these visits. YORK and FUEGIA fared very well: they lost nothing; but JEMMY was sadly plundered, even by his own family. Our garden, upon which much labour had been bestowed, had been trampled over repeatedly, although JEMMY had done his best to explain its object and prevent people from walking there. When questioned about it, he looked very sorrowful, and with a slow shake of the had, said, ‚My people very bad; great fool; know nothing at all; very great fool'. It was soon decided that MATTHEWS should not remain. I considered that he had already undergone a servere trial, and ought not to be again exposed to such savages." Ohne Zwischenfall konnten die vielen Sachen MATTHEWS' auf die beiden Boote gebracht werden (S. 95). „When the last man was embarked, I distributed several useful articles, such as axes, saws, gimblets, knives, and nails, among the natives, then bade JEMMY and YORK farewell, promising to see them again in a few days and departed from the wondering throng assembled on the beach. When fairly out of sight of Woollya, sailing with a fair wind towards the "Beagle", MATTHEWS must have felt almost like a man reprieved . . ." (FITZ-ROY [a]: 211—222). Bald war die "Beagle" erreicht, doch schon am dritten Tage zog die Mannschaft wieder zu neuen Erkundigungen und Vermessungen aus.

Nach einigen kurzen Fahrten (S. 96) wünschte FITZ-ROY (a): 224 seine feuerländischen Freunde nochmals zu sehen. Daher, am 14. Februar 1833, „with considerable anxiety I crossed over from Button Island to Woollya. In a few minutes after we saw JEMMY, YORK and FUEGIA, in their usual dress. But few natives were about them, and those few seemed quiet and well

disposed. JEMMY complained that the people had stolen many of his things, but YORK and FUEGIA had contrived to take better care of theirs. I went to their wigwams and found very little change, FUEGIA looked clean and tidily dressed, and by her wigwam was a canoe, which YORK was building out of planks left for him by our party.[47] The garden was uninjured, and some of the vegetables already sprouting.

JEMMY told us that strangers had been there, with whom he and his people had 'very much jaw', that they fought, threw 'great many stone' and stole two women (in exchange for whom JEMMY's party stole one), but were obliged to retreat. JEMMY's mother came down to the boat to see us: she was decently clothed, by her son's care ... Finding that they were all quite contented and apparently very happy, I left the place, with rather sanguine hopes of their effecting among their countrymen some change for the better. JEMMY's occupation was hollowing out the trunk of a large tree, in order to make such a canoe as he has seen at Rio de Janeiro."[48]

Haben sich nun FITZ-ROY's hohe Erwartungen, die er auf so viele Mühen und Sorgen gesetzt hatte, erfüllt? Beim Abschied sagte er sich: „I hoped that through their means our motives in taking them to England would become understood and appreciated among their associates, and that a future visit might find them so favourably disposed towards us, that MATHEWS might then undertake, with a far better prospect of success, that enterprise which circumstances had obliged him to defer,[49] though not to abandon altogether." Danach kehrten die Seeleute wieder zur "Beagle" zurück. Am 21. Februar 1833 verließ sie ihren Ankerplatz im Canal Goree und wandte sich gegen Bahia Buen Suceso.

Genau ein Jahr später war die "Beagle" wieder in den feuerländischen Gewässern, um die früheren Untersuchungen weiterzuführen (S. 96). Die Bahia Nassau und der Canal de Beagle wurden abermals befahren, doch bot sich kein Zusammentreffen mit Eingeborenen. Deswegen plante FITZ-ROY einen letzten Besuch bei seinen Freunden, die er aus England vor Jahresfrist hierher zurückgebracht hatte: auch wünschte er zu erfahren, ob ein nennenswerter Erfolg ihrer europäischen Erziehung jetzt noch nachweisbar wäre.

Am 5. März 1834 hatte die "Beagle" wirklich das bekannte Wulaia erreicht (S. 96). „The wigwams in which I have left YORK, JEMMY and FUEGIA, were found empty, though uninjured; the garden had been trampled over,

[47] Der flache Kahn hat sich später allgemein eingebürgert, seitdem unsere Indianer von den dort errichteten Sägewerken die passenden Bretter und Eisennägel erwerben konnten.

[48] Möglicherweise ist das der erste Versuch im mittleren Yamana-Gebiet, ein Einbaum-Fahrzeug anzufertigen und zwar als Ersatz für das allgemein übliche Kanu aus drei langen, breiten Rindenstücken. Jenes aber ließ sich nur mit einer europäischen Eisensäge herstellen und diese fehlte JEMMY nicht.

[49] Nach Feuerland ist er nicht mehr zurückgekehrt, sondern hat sich zu seinem Bruder begeben, der in Neuseeland Missionar war (DARWIN [d]: 250).

but some turnips and potatoes of moderate size were pulled up by us. Three canoes were seen in the offing, paddling hastily toward us, from the place now called Button Island. Looking through a glass I saw that two of the natives in them were washing their faces, while the rest were paddling with might and main: I was then sure that some of our acquaintances were there, and in a few minutes recognized Tommy Berryan, Jemmy's brother. In the other canoe was a face which I knew yet could not name. It was indeed Jemmy Berryan — but how altered! I could hardly restrain my feelings, and I was not, by any means, the only one so touched by his squalid miserable appearance. He was naked, like his companions, except a bit of skin about his loins; his hair was long and matted, just like theirs; he was wretchedly thin, and his eyes were affected by smoke. We hurried him below, clothed him immediately, and in half an hour he was sitting with me at dinner in my cabin, using his knife and fork properly, and in every way behaving as correctly as if he had never left us. He spoke as much English as ever, and, to our astonishment, his companions, his wife, his brothers and their wives, mixed broken English words in their talking with him. Jemmy recollected every one well, and was very glad to see them all. I thought he was ill, but he surprised me by saying that he was 'hearty, sir, never better', that he had not been ill, even for a day, was happy and contented, and had no wish whatever to change his way of life. He said that he got 'plenty fruits', 'plenty birdies', 'ten gunnero in snow time', and 'too much fish'. Besides, though he said nothing about her, I soon heard that there was a good-looking young woman in his canoe, who was said to be his wife. While he was below, his brother Tommy called out in a loud tone: 'Jemmy Berryan, canoe come!' After some time the three canoes went ashore, laden with presents.

Next morning Jemmy shared my breakfast, and then we had a long conversation by ourselves; the result of which was, that I felt quite decided not to make a second attempt to place Matthews among the natives of Tierra del Fuego. Jemmy told me that he knew very little of his own language — that he spoke some words of English, and some of Tekoenica, where he talked to his family; and that they all understood the English words he used. Yoax and Fuegia left him some months before our arrival, and went in a large canoe to their own country; the last act of that running fellow was to rob poor Jemmy of all his clothes; nearly all the tools his Tekoenica 'friends' had left him; and various other necessaries. Fuegia was dressed as usual, and looking well, when they decamped; her helpmate was also well clothed, and had hardly lost anything I left with him. Jemmy said, 'Yoax very much jaw', 'pick up big stones', 'all men afraid'. Fuegia seemed to be very happy, and quite contented with her lot. Jemmy asserted that she helped to 'catch (steal) his clothes', while he was asleep, the night before Yoax left him naked.

Not long after my departure in February 1833, the much-dreaded

Gwemewe[*] came in numbers, overland, to Wualiya; obliged Jemmy's tribe to escape to the small islands, and carried off every valuable which his party had not time to remove. Until this time Yanu had appeared to be settled, and quite at ease, but he had been employed about a completely large canoe, just finished when the inroad was made. He saved this canoe, indeed escaped in it, and afterwards induced Jemmy and his family to accompany him 'to look at his land'. They went together in four canoes (Yanu's large one and three others) as far west as Devil Island [près les Fuegia Divide]; there they met Yanu's brother and some others of the Alikhoulip tribe;[**] and, while Jemmy was asleep, all the Alikhoulip party stole off, taking nearly all Jemmy's things, and leaving him in his original condition. Yanu's fine canoe was evidently not built for transporting himself alone; neither was the meeting with his brother accidental. I am now quite sure that from the time of his changing his mind, and desiring to be placed at Wualiya, with Marruwe and Jemmy, he meditated taking a good opportunity of possessing himself of every thing.

He told Mr. Bryant that he had watched day after day for the sprouting of the peas, beans, and other vegetables, but that his countrymen walked over them without heeding any thing he said. The large wigwams which we had erected with some labour, proved to be cold in the winter, because they were too high; therefore they had been deserted after the first frosts. Since the last depredations of the Gwemewe, he had not ventured to live any longer at Wualiya; his own island, as he called it [greenist in his Button], affording safer refuge and sufficient food."

In allerdeutlichsten Selbstbekenntnis scheint sich Fuegia (ab 324 nicht einzugestehen, daß sein Plan auszuführbar sei, durch einen einzelnen Missionar das Volk der Yamana in christlichem Sinne zu beeinflussen. Von allem, was er jenen drei jungen Leuten und der langen Fahrt und in Europa gehört hatte, verspracht er sich demnach einigen Erfolg: „I cannot help still hoping that some benefit, however slight, may result from the intercourse of these people, Jemmy, Yanu and Fuegia, with other natives. Perhaps a ship-wrecked seaman may hereafter receive help and kind treatment from Jemmy Button's children.

That Jemmy felt sincere gratitude to, I think, proved by his having so carefully preserved two fine otter skins [for me]; by his asking me to carry a bow and quiver full of arrows to the schoolmaster of Walthamstow, with whom he had lived; by his having made two spear-heads expressly for Mr. Darwin; and by the pleasure he showed at seeing me all again. As nothing more could be done, we took leave of our young friend and his family.

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[*] Es liegt kein Grund vor, hier an andere Eingeborene als an die von Yamana zu denken (S.278).

[**] Zweifelsohne ist die westliche Gruppe der Yamana gemeint, nicht die benachbarte Volk der eigentlichen Alakaluf (S.280).

every one of whom was loaded with presents, and sailed away from Woollya" (Fitz-Roy [a]: 327).

Mit bitterer Enttäuschung sah dieser aufrichtige Seemann schöne Pläne und frohe Hoffnungen, die er auf seine Bemühungen um die drei Yamana-Indianer gesetzt, jählings zerschlagen. Seine Opfer und Anstrengungen blieben indes nicht ohne einige gute Wirkungen; denn Jemmy Button hat später wenigstens den ersten Missionaren der South American Missionary Society bedeutungsvolle Dienste durch seine Kenntnis der englischen Sprache und durch seine Vertrautheit mit europäischen Verhältnissen geleistet.

Ehe dies erörtert wird, verdient eine deutliche Charakterzeichnung, die Darwin von jenen drei Europäerneuerern entworfen hat, eingeschoben zu werden. Auf der Rückfahrt der "Beagle" nach Südamerika war er an Bord und konnte monatelang jeden einzelnen im täglichen Verkehr genau beobachten. Er (d): 237 schreibt, daß „in den Jahren 1826 bis 1830 Capitän Fitz-Roy eine Anzahl Eingeborener als Geiseln ergriff für den Verlust eines Bootes, welches gestohlen war; einige dieser Eingeborenen, ebenso wie ein Kind, welches er für einen Perlmutterknopf gekauft hatte, nahm er mit sich nach England, entschlossen, sie auf seine eigenen Kosten erziehen und religiös unterrichten zu lassen. Diese Eingeborenen in ihrem eigenen Vaterlande wieder einzuführen, war einer der hauptsächlichsten Beweggründe für Capitän Fitz-Roy, unserer gegenwärtige Reise zu unternehmen. Die Eingeborenen wurden von einem Missionär R. Matthews begleitet. Zwei Männer, von denen einer in England an den Blattern starb, ein Knabe und ein kleines Mädchen waren ursprünglich mitgenommen worden, und jetzt hatten wir an Bord York Minster, Jemmy Button (dessen Name sein Kaufgeld bezeichnet) und Fuegia Basket.

York Minster war ein erwachsener, kurzer, dicker, kräftiger Mann. Seine Disposition war zurückhaltend, schweigsam, mürrisch und, wenn er gereizt wurde, leidenschaftlich heftig. Seine Zuneigung zu einigen wenigen Freunden an Bord war sehr stark, sein Intellect gut.

Jemmy Button war ein ganz allgemeiner Liebling, doch war er gleichfalls leidenschaftlich, sein Gesichtsausdruck zeigte sofort seine zärtlichen Anlagen. Er war heiter und lachte oft und war merkwürdig mitfühlend mit Jedem, der Schmerzen hatte: wenn das Meer unruhig war, war er oft etwas seekrank und pflegte dann zu mir zu kommen und in einer schmerzlichen Stimme zu sagen: "armer, armer Kerl". Aber nach seinem an das Wasser gewöhnten Leben die Idee in sich aufkommen zu lassen, daß ein Mensch seekrank wäre, war ihm zu lächerlich, und er mußte sich meist nach der Seite umdrehen und ein Lachen verbergen, worauf er dann sein "armer, armer Kerl" wiederholte. Er hatte viel Patriotismus und Behagen, seinen eigenen Stamm und sein Vaterland, in welchem, wie er mit Recht sagte, Massen von Bäumen wären, zu lieben; dabei schimpfte er auf alle anderen Stämme: er behauptete steif und fest, daß es in seinem Lande keine Teufel gäbe. Jemmy war kurz, dick und fett, aber auf seine persönliche Erscheinung eitel. Er pflegte stets

Handschuhe zu tragen, sein Haar war nett geschnitten, und er war empfindlich, wenn seine blank geputzten Schuhe beschmutzt wurden. Er liebte es, sich in einem Spiegel zu bewundern, und ein kleiner Indianerknabe mit einem heiteren Gesicht vom Rio Negro, den wir einige Monate lang an Bord hatten, merkte dies sehr bald und pflegte ihn zu necken. Jemmy, der immer etwas eifersüchtig auf die diesem kleinen Jungen gewidmete Aufmerksamkeit war, hatte das durchaus nicht gern und pflegte mit einer etwas verächtlichen Wendung des Kopfes zu sagen: "zu viel Lorche". Mir scheint es immer noch wunderbar, wenn ich an alle seine vielen guten Eigenschaften denke und mir durch sagen muß, daß er von derselben Rasse und ohne Zweifel auch von demselben Charakter war, wie die miserablen abtrünnigen Wilden, die wir zuerst hier trafen.

Fuegia Basket endlich war ein netten, bescheidenen, anziehenden jungen Mädchen mit einem im Ganzen angenehmen, aber zuweilen trotzigen Ausdruck. Sie lernte sehr schnell Alles, besonders Sprachen. Ihre heiteren Augen dadurch, daß sie etwas Portugiesisch und Spanisch aufgeschnappt hatte, als sie eine kurze Zeit in Rio de Janeiro und Monte Video am Lande gelassen worden war, und in ihrer Kenntnis des Englischen. Yamm Messrem war sehr eifersüchtig auf irgend welche ihr gewidmete Aufmerksamkeit, denn offenbar war er gewillt, sie zu heiraten, sobald sie sich am Ufer niedergelassen hätten.[**]

Obwohl alle drei ziemlich gut Englisch sowohl sprachen als verstehen konnten, so war es doch eigentümlich schwierig, viel Aufklärung von ihnen in Betreff der Lebensweise ihrer Landsleute zu erhalten.

Fitz-Roy hatte sich mit den nach England übersiedelnden Feuerländern ein zukünftiges Ziel gesteckt. Innerhalb einer Jahres konnte selbst die beste Erziehung unbeschädigte Kinder der Wildnis nicht so übereinstimmend mit den Grundlagen der europäischen Kultur erzogen werden, daß diese Ihnen auch später in den heimatlichen Verhältnissen eine Lebensunterstützung gewähren wäre. Unwiderstehlich überwiegt die Macht der Umwelt, die sie wieder zurück zur Lebensart ihrer Vorfahren zieht, diese hat wirklichen Genuß und Nutzen aller Bedürfnisse in höherer und weiterer Hinsicht zur! Nicht verwunderlich ist es, daß jene drei Europäerinnen schon nach kurzem Zusammenleben mit den eigenen Landsleuten sich ihnen in allem wieder anglichen.

Über das hinaus, was Fitz-Roy mit dem Volke der Yamana durch jene Drei erreichen wollte, hatte er sich noch ein allgemeineres Ziel gesteckt, das er (S. 90 in seinem Briefe vom 23. Mai 1831 an die britische Admiralität kennzeichnete: „By supplying these natives with some animals, seeds, tools, etc. and placing them, with some of their own tribe, on the fertile country lying at the east side of Tierra del Fuego, I thought that, in a few years, ships might have been enabled to obtain fresh provisions, as well as wood and

[**] Diese Beobachtung und andere Angaben werden von W. Koppenfels: Individualforschung unter den Primitiven, im besonderen unter den Yahgan auf Feuerland (in: Festschrift P. W. Schmidt", S. 349—361, Mödlingerhof, Gabriel, 1928) widerlegt.

were, during their passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, on a part of the coast which can always be approached with ease and safety"... Die reiche Natur des Feuerlandes bietet sich diesen Bestrebungen entgegen gestellt, beispielsweise wären die durch Eingeborene allein durchgeführt worden.

Demnach war, abgesehen vom geschichtlichen Nutzen für die drei Feuerländer selbst, nicht allen Beteiligten vergeblich. Für das spätere geplante missionarische Wirken war tatsächlich eine bedeutsame Vorarbeit geleistet worden. Als erst Jahre später durch die Unternehmen der englischen Marineoffiziere Anson Cummins im September 1851 ein so bahnbrechendes Ende genommen hatte und im Schoße der „Patagonian Missionary Society" die Errichtung einer Missionsniederlassung im Feuerlande erwogen wurde, erinnerte man sich auch lebhaft jener Drei, die, aus dem fernen Süden herübergeholt, über ein Jahr in England unterrichtet worden waren. Wenigstens einen von ihnen auch lebend anzutreffen, war die Hoffnung vieler, die jenen Plan zur Tat machen wollten, er sollte Lehrer und Führer der neuen Missionare sein, die dort die Werk beginnen. Kurz vorher hatte unser Jacob Cummins selbst beabsichtigt, den an seinem verschollenen Jemmy Button aufzusuchen.[**]

Als der Missionsgeist bald nach Eröffnung der Missionsstation auf Isla Keppel im Februar 1855 seine erste Fahrt in das Innerste der Yamana unternahm, hatte er Kapitän Fitzroy Snow (a): II, 11 durch' eingeschärft, „[illegible] Indianer aufzufinden an unserm (S. 134). In seinem amtlichen Bericht wiederholt er bereits die Geschichte der drei Schiffbrüchigen Fuegier's und schildert sein überraschendes Erlebnis so. Kaum hatte nämlich die "Allen Gardiner" die Augustus Murray durchquert, als sowohl der Isla Button wie Kaum herauskamen, um dem eben vor Freudigen Verwunderung der gesamten Mannschaft der Barke, wiederholten Ruf: "Jemmy Button ist!" erklingen. Verblüfft standen alle da, als Jemmy bekleidet auf Deck der Barke stand und nun freudiger Erregung abwechselnd Fragen in gebrochenem Englisch hervorsprudelte. Snow (a): II, 12 berichtet dieses schönste Zusammentreffen: „Jemmy was easily recognized from his resemblance to the account given of him in Captain Fitz-Roy's narrative. He was, as on the occasion of that gentleman's second visit in 1834 (S. 178), quite naked, having his hair long and matted at the sides, cropped in front, and his eyes affected by smoke. The same words used by Captain Fitz-Roy to describe him are applicable now, as well as of his wife, who was also 'good-looking', and seemed to be much attached to Jemmy and the children.

I should mention that by this time we had around us and upon deck most of Jemmy's family and connections. There must have been at least sixty or seventy persons from various parts, surrounding us.... From what

[**] Diesen Plan gab er bei Isla Picton am 7. Dezember 1859 bekannt: „As soon as the 'Green Quest' leaves me, I propose going to Button Island and endeavoring to find my Jemmy, in the hope of persuading either himself or some of his relations to become here" (Shaw-Simpson (b)).

I could learn, it seems that he has had two wives, and a family of three children grown up, and one quite young. One of his sons was married, and his daughters, apparently not more than fourteen years of age, was betrothed to a man old enough, as he supposed, to be her father. This daughter was mild and gentle in her manner, like her mother, delicacy in the legs and dwarfish. The brothers of Jomo were, however, fearless and were, though the whole of the native households seemed to be inferior in physical qualities to those we had seen in the Bongle Chasseri, and upwards .... They seemed as quiet and peaceable as if we had previously obtained upon guests were them. But I understand from Jomo that not all the natives I saw were of his "sequence". Some "bad men" were amongst them. So long as they remained quiet, were the occasional "passes around,"[*] I only took favourable notice of them."

Nach III Jahren [illegible] Aufenthalts waren wieder Leute [illegible] bei dem Indianer die englische Sprache, [illegible] wieder [illegible] Lebensbedürfnisse [illegible] Jomo [illegible] Bei [illegible] Jomo [illegible] Tage [illegible] Leute [illegible] Gorlinski [illegible] Jomo [illegible] Jomo [illegible] Jomo

seiner englischen Freunde erhielten später durch Bere, daß er noch am Leben war.

Weil die Missionare die Werk bald beginnen wollten, traute die "Alten Gartlade" noch vier drei Jahren wieder in die Gegend von Wabula gerudert.[illegible] Kapitän Bere hatte in der Umgebung von Isla Bertran wiederholt nach Jawer Berrem gesucht. Obwohl er sich mit den Eingeborenen nur durch Zeichen verständigen konnte, verbrachte am 11. Juni 1858 im Norden jener Insel eine Nacht, nur durch einen Ort bleiben der Ruf „Jawer Berr" erhielt. Es war wirklich der gesuchte Berrem! Sofort wurde er auf Deck gerufen, begrüßt und mit einem Kürbis voll Trinkwasserkanaps bewirtet. Eine lange Aussprache folgte. Am nächsten Tage hatte er sich entschlossen, der Einladung nach Isla Koggel Folge zu leisten. Wirklich kamen am 14. Juni die "Alten Gartlade" mit Bere und seiner Familie an Bord den kleinen Wabula wieder vorbeiten.[illegible] Berrem (b): 732 beurteilt Berrem's Gattin, von den sieben nach Gramme (Berlin), die „[illegible]... in colour, features, and form, looked like a middle-aged gypsy-woman"; der älteste Sohn war vierzehnjährig, die Tochter achtjährig und der jüngste Kind vierjährig. Sechs Monate lebten diese Tonnen mit den Missionaren zusammen und halfen Bere in den schweren Anfängen der Sprachstudien. Leicht und schnell lernten sich jene Kinder der Wildnis in den neuartigen Verhältnissen zurechtfinden, waren aber auch an langen Verweilen gern die Rückreise an.[illegible] Wegen der Ermordung des Kaiserlichen Pensers und seiner sieben Begleiter an Wabula am 6. November 1859 (S. 140) mußte Berrem wohl keine Schuld. Bald nach diesem Unglück war er wieder auf Isla Koggel, doch nur für kurze Zeit. Seitdem dieses Kanale über das nur vorbeigeh bis an den Missionare. Als Sonnen am 7. März 1861 wieder einmal in Wabula eintraf, erfuhr er von einem dort umgehenden Gerücht, die viele Leute und auch Jawer Berrem kürzlich hinweggerafft hatte (VSA: XI, 194; 1861).

Damit scheidet dieser eigenartige Indianer aus der Geschichte der englischen Mission im Pazifikum aus. Der hat er wertvolle Dienste geleistet und damit sich[illegible], was Fitz Roy an Liebe und Opfern für den aufgebracht hatte. Unter seiner leidvollen Begleitung auf der Reise nach England fand ich im unveröffentlichten "Extract from Note Book" des Rev. Th. Samson die Lesarte Angabe, daß um das Jahr 1871 „Tom Bearem and Franco Rosser are said to be still living". Beide haben nicht im entferntesten die Bedeutung des Jawer Berrem für die eigenen Landsleute und für die Mission erreicht.[illegible]

[illegible] Vgl. die ausführliche "Journal of the Voyage of the 'Allen Gardiner' to Wadjin, April 1861 to June 1861, 1858", in: VS: I, 219–238, London 1862.

[illegible] Wie Jawer mit seiner Familie im neuen Heim sich einrichtete und wie das alt schlich die Eingeborenen an England entfernteren hat. Bedenke (VS: I, 238–243, 1858) eingehend beschrieben.

[illegible] Rev. T. Samson schildert eingehender den Familienkreis Berrem's, der seine neue Frau und drei Kinder bei sich hatte, und die Tonnette Bere Gatten, deren Sprache sich allmählich anzeigten (VS: I, 231–235, 1858).

[illegible] Wie ich VS: I, 192, 1858 vermuten, ist in London eine kleine Schrift unter dem

Ein ähnliches Unternehmen wurde später in viel bescheidenerem Ausmaße wiederholt. Im August 1865 landete Rev. W. H. Stimpson in London, begleitet von vier jugendlichen Yamana.[666] Das war der zweite Besuch von Feuerländern dieses Stammes in Europa. Er diente fast nur dem Zwecke, die Tätigkeit der Missionary Society einer breiten Oeffentlichkeit bekannt zu machen, weshalb häufige Berichte über diese seltsamen Gäste verschiedenerorts ausgegeben wurden. Doch hatte man einen gewissen Vorteil für diese Indianer selbst nicht ganz außer Acht gelassen und es mit ihnen darauf abgesehen, „that they may be improved by the grand spectacle of our civilised life" (VSA: XII, 49; 1865).

Die Auswahl seiner Begleiter hatte Stimpson persönlich getroffen. Ein älterer Mann war kurz vor der Ausreise zurückgetreten, weil er sich von Weib und Kindern auf längere Zeit nicht trennen wollte. Von den vier anderen wird hervorgehoben: „They were free from entangling alliances, young, healthy, and capable of being easily stowed away in the 'Allen Gardiner'. One of them [sein Name war Thekelpoys],[667] whose age is at a guess eighteen, is the son of the now deceased James Button, who visited England in 1830. He naturally was pleased at the prospect of visiting a country, where his father so many years before had been for a while resident. Another lad — Unoopa, a contraction of Unoopatoosaloon — who is about the same age as J. Button's son, had proved himself a cheerful, and most good humoured, and ready hand on ship-board in the "Allen Gardiner"s coasting voyages. Of the other two one is an orphan, having lost both parents, and therefore it was less difficult to decide upon bringing him, when he had earnestly expressed his wish to come. His name is Maraatugadekenges. The fourth lad is called Semoenges, yet intelligent and curious enough to wish to visit England, and not too young to profit by doing so. We put down the ages of the two last mentioned at twelve years, and eleven respectively. All four boys are healthy in appearance."[668]

Ihr Verbleiben in England war auf ein halbes Jahr berechnet. „Meanwhile they receive instruction for part of each day from a lady friend of the Mission, and spend another portion of the day in a carpenter's shop".[669]

Titel: „Providence: or the Early History of These Barbarians" zur Zeit des Aufenthaltes jener drei Feuerländer dortselbst erscheinen. Trotz emsiger Suchens konnte ich dieses Schriftchen nicht erwerben.

[666] Irrtümlicherweise gibt Hyades (q): 6 das Jahr 1852 für den Besuch in England an.

[667] Wie dieser befremdliche Name entstanden ist, hat Bridges (i): 26 erklärt: „In the early days of the Mission this same James Button was asked the name of his son. He, thinking he was asked how many sons he had, replied 'three boys', which accordingly was understood to be the boy's name and clung to him even after, though his only name at the time was Maraatugadekenges from Mamoshtogadaga, the place of his birth".

[668] Vgl. "Our foreign guests", in VSA: XII, 217—223; 1865. Hyades (j): 151 weist nur kurz auf die kleine Gruppe hin.

[669] Ein gewisser Dr. J. Brown hat zu Clifton am 31. August 1862 einige Kopfmaße dieser jugendlichen Indianer bestimmt, die jedoch wissenschaftlich nicht verwertbar sind.

Dazwischen wurden sie größeren Versammlungen und einzelnen Missionsfreunden vorgeführt.[403] Im Dezember 1866 nahm die "Allen Gardiner" diese vier jugendlichen Indianer wieder an Bord und brachte sie nach bewegter Fahrt zu den Falkland-Inseln, wo sie von dem dort anwesenden kleinen Teile ihrer Landsleute empfangen wurden. Die anhaltend schwere See seit Montevideo hat die schwache körperliche Veranlagung URUPA's empfindlich getroffen; denn seine Mattigkeit nahm auf der Weiterfahrt immer bedrohlichere Formen an. Er starb am 2. April 1867 an Bord und wurde drei Tage später auf dem kleinen Friedhof der Missionsstation beigesetzt. So hat dieses immerhin gewagte Unternehmen ohne größeren Schaden geendet.[404]

Zeitigte der erste Besuch von vier bezw. drei Feuerländern in Europa als Ergebnis, daß durch sie das Wirken der bald nachfolgenden Missionare unter ihren Landsleuten eingeleitet und vorbereitet wurde, so machte die zweite Gruppe die vielen Missionsfreunde in England auf dieses Arbeitsfeld der South American Missionary Society erfolgreich aufmerksam.

4. Die letzten Yamana im Film

Obwohl dieser Abschnitt die geschichtliche Reihenfolge der Ereignisse durchbricht, findet er doch hier seinen besten Platz. Weniger um der Wissenschaft zu dienen, vielmehr bestimmt durch die neuzeitlichen Erfolge der Filmindustrie plante eine französische Gesellschaft eine Reise nach Feuerland für Anfang 1925, um die dortigen Eingeborenen im Filmstreifen aufzufangen. Sie lud mich unter günstigen Bedingungen zur Teilnahme ein und zwar mit der Verpflichtung, sowohl die geeigneten Orte zu nennen, wo reichliche Bilder von den Feuerländern gemacht werden sollten, als auch diese selber zu bewegen sich zur Verfügung zu stellen. Diesen Antrag anzunehmen, war ich wegen anderer Arbeiten verhindert, außerdem hielt ich die veranschlagte Zeit zur Reise durch das ausgedehnte Inselreich für viel zu kurz.

Jene Unternehmer führten tatsächlich ihren Plan aus. H. WERNER: 185 schildert im letzten Abschnitt seines Büchleins diese "französische Kinoexpedition mit deutscher Besatzung" und sagt u. a.: „Wir schifften uns am 20. März 1925 [in Punta Arenas] ein. Der "Jupiter"[405] war ziemlich beladen ... Die Expedition war acht Köpfe stark. Ein französischer Professor, Monsieur CASTELNAU, war der Expeditionsleiter, besonders für wissenschaftliche Zwecke Ihm zur Seite stand ein kleiner, sehr gewandter Kinooperateur der Gaumont-Gesellschaft, Monsieur LE SAINT. Ein Dolmetscher präsentierte sich in der Gestalt eines Chilenen französischer Abstammung, Señor MAJORKA.

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[403] Von Isla Keppel aus empfahl BAIRDEZ dies unter anderer Rücksicht: „It is good that they be shown about as much as possible, so that they may on their return home have much to tell their people (VSA: XIII, 180; 1866).

[404] Vgl. den ausführlichen Bericht: "Four Fuegian Youths brought to England", in MARSH: 38.

[405] Diesen Kutter hatte die Expedition erst in Punta Arenas gemietet.

Außer PAGELS[607] war dann noch der Sohn eines deutschen Schlächtermeisters mitgekommen, der auch gern einmal so etwas sehen wollte. So waren, wir drei [Matrosen] mitgerechnet, acht Köpfe zusammen.

Die Franzosen hatten gute Karten und Bücher mit und wollten in erster Linie Indianer filmen, möglichst Wilde. Um wirklich etwas Gutes zu filmen, mußte meines Erachtens die Dauer der Expedition viel länger berechnet werden. Die Strecken in den Kanälen waren zu groß und die Gelegenheit, die Indianer richtig zu bekommen, nicht allzu häufig. Einige Tage würde man außerdem bei Sturm verlieren.

Unser erstes Ziel sollte Muñoz Gamero im Canal Smith[608] sein, wo die Franzosen hofften, einige Indianer zu treffen." Nachdem sie dieses Gebiet befahren hatten, wandten sie sich direkt nach Ushuaia am Canal de Beagle. „Nach einem Aufenthalt von fünf Tagen fuhren wir weiter östlich zur Estancia Remolino, wo sich ab und zu auch Indianer in der Nähe aufhalten sollten ... Aber auch dort fanden wir keine Indianer[609] vor. Wie uns der [Farmbesitzer] sagte, bestand nur eine Möglichkeit, Indianer anzutreffen, und zwar in Mejillones, auf der großen Insel Navarino ... Am nächsten Morgen fuhren wir weiter nach Mejillones, wo wir noch vormittags anlangten. Wir alle sahen zum ersten Male diese Station, die zu Chile gehört und die einen kuriosen Eindruck machte.

Durch Missionare waren die Yaganes schon zivilisierter geworden und hatten sich ein richtiges Dorf angelegt. Das Ganze machte mit den Bretterbuden und einer großen Festhalle mit einem überbrückten Fluß davor einen behaglichen Eindruck. Vier Tage lagen wir dort und filmten während dieser Zeit alle möglichen Bräuche der Yaganes. Wegen der beschränkten Zeit wurde viel Gekünsteltes gefilmt, denn die Franzosen hatten vor, einen Abstecher nach dem Kap Hoorn zu machen."

Außerdem wurden auf dieser Reise noch viele landschaftlich bemerkenswerte Stellen im Film aufgenommen. „Am 6. Mai [1925] liefen wir in Punta Arenas ein, die Kino-Expedition hatte ihr Ende erreicht. Allem Anschein nach waren die Franzosen mit dem, was sie erreicht hatten, zufrieden; sie hätten aber viel mehr haben können, wenn sie sich mehr nach uns gerichtet hätten." Da ich diesen Film nie gesehen habe, enthalte ich mich jeden Urteils über seine ethnographische Bedeutung: doch ist so viel sicher, daß er bemerkenswerte Bilder nicht zeigt, weil nur eiligst "Gestelltes" zur Aufnahme gelangt ist.

Zur Ergänzung sei hingewiesen auf den Film des Fliegerkapitäns GUTTUSO

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[607] Ein in Punta Arenas sehr bekannter deutscher Seemann.

[608] Die chilenische Marine hat hier eine Kohlenstation eingerichtet, die von Halakwulup-Familien besucht wird. Auf meiner vierten Reise habe ich diese Stelle zum Ausgangspunkte meiner Forschungen bei dem genannten Stamme gewählt. Vgl. GUSINDE (d): 41.

[609] Zu dieser Farm der Brüder LAWRENCE kommen sie nur während der Schafschur im mittleren Sommer.

PLUEGSCHOW[410] aus dem Jahre 1929, der wunderbare Landschaftsbilder und Höhenaufnahmen zeigt, jedoch nur ganz flüchtig ein einziges bejahrtes feuerländisches Ehepaar im Kahn.

Diese beiden Filme sind nicht mit so viel Sorgfalt und Sachkenntnis ausgeführt worden, daß sie das Kulturgut der Yamana für die Nachwelt als getreues Bild aufbewahren.

5. Die Tätigkeit englischer Missionare

Über die Wirksamkeit der englischen Missionare sind mehrere, leicht erreichbare Abhandlungen geschrieben worden,[411] weswegen im Rahmen dieses Werkes ein kurzer Abriß des geschichtlichen Verlaufes genügt. Der vielseitige Einfluß jedoch, der von jenen Männern auf die äußere Form des gesamten Stammeslebens und auf die geistige Haltung der Eingeborenen ausging, erweist sich bei genauer Betrachtung für die Völkerkunde im einzelnen und für die Menschheitsgeschichte im allgemeinen als so bedeutungsvoll, daß er kaum zu breit aufgerollt werden kann. Ob die Nachteile für den ganzen Stamm und für den einzelnen Indianer, die sich an das Auftreten der englischen Missionare hefteten, von den Vorteilen überholt worden sind, ist eine Frage, auf welche die geschichtlich erweisbaren Tatsachen selber eine unzweideutige und ausreichende Antwort geben.

a. *Geschichte der Mission*

Die gesamte, später weitverzweigte Tätigkeit der englischen Missionsgesellschaft in Südamerika wurde in ihren ersten bescheidenen Anfängen durch ALLEN FRANCIS GARDENER begründet. Er wurde am 28. Juni 1794 zu Basildon in der Grafschaft Oxford geboren und diente später als Offizier in der englischen Marine. Nach längeren Reisen in Afrika, Indonesien und Ozeanien verließ er Südafrika am 15. Mai 1838 und fuhr, begleitet von seiner Familie, über Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires und Mendoza nach Chile, das er vom Norden bis Süden durchquerte. Dabei streifte er auch Patagonien. Nach einem Besuche in Bolivien entschloß er sich zur Gründung einer Missionsniederlassung unter den elenden und mißachteten Feuerländern, weil

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[410] Dieser Film wurde angekündigt mit "Silberkondor über Feuerland". Die gleiche Aufschrift trägt auch die Reisebeschreibung selber.

[411] Vgl. DESPARD (b): 677, PHILLIPS (a): 1009, VSA: XIII, 73—84, 1866; BRIDGES (b): 205, MARSH, MARSH-STIRLING, MARTIAL: 216, GUNDERT: 13, HYADES (j): 151 und (q): 380, HOLMBERG (a): 15, MYERS: 97, KOPPERS (b), LOTHROP (b): 21 und BARCLAY (d): 130—150.

Die Zeitschrift der South American Missionary Society enthält eine sehr reiche Fülle von Einzelheiten aus dem missionarischen Wirken und aus dem Leben auf den Missionsstationen, ist aber als vollständige Sammlung sehr selten. Sie erschien in London von 1854—1862 (vol. I—IX) zunächst als "The voice of pity for South America", von 1863—1866 (vol. X—XIII) als "A voice for South America" und endlich von 1867 bis zur Gegenwart als "The South American Missionary Magazine".

er zuerst den Verlassenen zu Hilfe eilen wollte,[412] Nach kurzen Vorbereitungen ging er mit vier Begleitern an Bord der "Clymene", die am 7. Januar 1848 in Cardiff auslief und um die Südspitze von Südamerika an die peruanische Küste fahren sollte. Am 23. März 1848 war der kleine Hafen Banner Cove am Nordufer der Isla Picton erreicht und am Land wurde schnell ein einfacher Schuppen für die Lebensmittel und Gebrauchsgegenstände errichtet. Schon der erste Besuch von Eingeborenen überzeugte ALLEN GARDINER davon, daß es hier an genügender Sicherheit fehlte.[413] Widerwillig, d[illegible] besserer Einsicht folgend, wurden die Z[illegible]te abgebrochen und die vielen Sachen zur "Clymene" zurückgebracht. Alle verließen am 1. April wieder jene Insel.

Durch das Scheitern dieses Versuches nicht entmutigt,[414] warb ALLEN GARDINER für seinen Plan in England energisch weiter; auch diesmal nicht ohne Erfolg. Ein kleiner Ausschuß bildete sich, als dessen Vertreter er selber mit der mährischen Herrnhuthergemeinde persönlich in Verbindung trat: seine Vorschläge wurden von ihr jedoch abgelehnt. Als kurz darauf ein Versuch des Anschlusses an die Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland ergebnislos blieb, stellte A. GARDINER sein Unternehmen auf eigene Füße und machte dafür eine umso rührigere Propaganda. Eine glückliche Fügung brachte ihn mit Rev. GEORGE PAKENHAM DESPARD zusammen, der als „a man of courage, energy, and piety" geschildert wird, „and a warm friendship sprang up between them" (MARSH-STIRLING: 50). Im März 1850 tagte der Ausschuß wieder in London und dabei wurde DESPARD mit den Aufgaben eines honorary secretary betraut.

Die inzwischen gesammelten Gelder reichten nicht aus, um den weitgespannten Plan A. GARDINER's zu verwirklichen. Trotz der gebotenen Einschränkungen konnte er mit sechs Begleitern, unter denen der Arzt RICHARD WILLIAMS[415] und drei Matrosen aus Cornwallis waren, an Bord der großen Barke "Ocean Queen" gehen, die Liverpool am 7. September 1850 verließ. Zwei Boote und reichliche Lebensmittel nahm er mit. Als Isla Picton am 5. Dezember 1850 erreicht war, verließen diese mutigen Männer die Barke und richteten sich für einen kurzen Aufenthalt ein. Die Ungunst des Siedlungs-

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[412] Sein ganzes Lebenswerk war von religiösen Gedanken getragen, was sich von seiner guten Erziehung herleitet. „Carefully trained in the principles of the Christian faith, he was ever thankful for the debt he owed not only to God but to godly parents" (MM: XXVIII, 4; 1894). Die ausführlichste Lebensbeschreibung haben MARSH-STIRLING geliefert.

[413] DESPARD (b): 677 berichtet: „Brief experience of the character of the natives here persuaded him that their thievishness requiring a constant watch by him and his men over the boat afloat as well as over the house and stores on land, would soon wear them out."

[414] „He did not regard his recent attempt as a failure, but as a voyage of observation, showing what further means were required" (MARSH-STIRLING: 48).

[415] Dieser stand erst im Alter von 33 Jahren, als er der Einladung A. GARDINER's nach Feuerland folgte (MM: XXVIII, 37; 1894). Vgl. HAMILTON: Memoir of Richard Williams; London.

platzes und das aufdringliche Benehmen der Eingeborenen, mit denen A. Gardiner sich nur durch Zeichen verständigen konnte, veranlaßten ihn, das Lager nach Puerto Español in der offenen Bahía Aguirre zu verschieben. Aus Ursachen, die noch nicht klargestellt worden sind, starb bis Mitte September 1851 einer nach dem anderen dieser Männer, als letzter von ihnen A. Gardiner selber, der seine Aufzeichnungen bis zum 6. September geführt hatte.[416]

Nachdem das Missionskomitee in London lange schon vergeblich auf Nachricht gewartet hatte, wurde — merkwürdigerweise zwanzig Tage nach A. Gardiner's Tode — von Montevideo aus Kapitän Smyley mit dem Kutter "John Davison" zum Canal de Beagle geschickt, um Nachforschungen anzustellen. Als er am 21. Oktober 1851 in Banner Cove Anker geworfen hatte, sah er auf einer Felswand die Inschrift: „Gone to Spaniard Harbour". Schon am anderen Tage befand er sich an dieser Stelle, die ihm das entsetzliche Schicksal der gesuchten Männer zeigte. Während die traurige Nachricht den Weg nach England machte, traf die "Dido", von den Falklands Inseln kommend, in Banner Cove ein, von wo sie sofort nach Puerto Español hinüberfuhr. Kapitän Morshead untersuchte am 22. Januar 1852 das traurige Geschehnis und bereitete den Überresten dieser Missionshelden ein würdiges Grab.

1. Erste Missionsstation auf Isla Keppel: Der Schreckensbericht erschütterte weite Kreise Englands und weckte die Anteilnahme vieler Helfer. Nach mehreren Monaten waren ausreichende Mittel zusammengetragen, daß ein eigener Segler, auf den Namen "Allen Gardiner" getauft, am 24. Oktober 1854 von Bristol aus in See gehen konnte. Kapitän Parker Snow, der ihn führte, erhielt den Auftrag, den Katechisten Garland Phillips und den Superintendant Ellis nach Isla Keppel in der westlichen Falkland-Gruppe zu führen.[417] Diese Insel wurde bei der Landung am 5. Februar 1855 durch die gesamte Besatzung für die Patagonian Missionary Society in Besitz genommen. Die neuen Ankömmlinge hatten viele Bedarfsartikel mitgebracht und richteten sich erträglich ein, so weit es unter den gegebenen Verhältnissen möglich war.[418] Harte Arbeit mußten sie leisten, bis ein fester Hausbau vollendet war. Phillips: 87 schrieb am 12. März 1856: „Here we must cook, wash linen, mend clothes, garden, row, tar roofs, attend to cattle, shoot for game and provision for dogs, and — study. Real missionary pioneering this." Am 30. August 1856 wurde ihre Zahl durch Rev. G. P. Despard

[416] Das ausführliche Tagebuch ist bei Mansu-Spialmo: 53—81 abgedruckt. Im Anschluß daran werden die verschiedenen Möglichkeiten erwogen, die jene festen Männer dem Hungertode überantwortet haben.

[417] Wie es bei ihrem Eintreffen dort aussah, ist in VP: V, 34; 1858 niedergelegt worden.

[418] Sie hatten ein Holzhaus von England mitgebracht, das hier zusammengesetzt und aufgebaut wurde. Der Grundstein dafür trug folgende Aufschrift: „Patagonian Missionary Society. Cranmer Settlement, Keppel Island, West Falklands. This is to commemorate the laying of the foundation-stone of this house, to be called 'Sulivan House', on the 28th of May, 1855. Present — J. Ellis, Superintendent; J. G. Phillips, Catechist; John Weeks, mason; Richard Dyas, carpenter" (Phillips: 49).

und seine Begleiter verstärkt, die in Port Stanley eingetroffen waren. Auf dem kleinen Schoner "Victoria" mußten sie zu ihrer Station übersetzen, weil Kapitän Snow sich zu dieser kurzen Fahrt nicht herbeiließ.[419] Einer von den beiden Adoptivsöhnen, die jener Missionar mitgebracht hatte, war der damals dreizehnjährige THOMAS BRIDGES.[420]

Isla Keppel war mit einem bestimmten Ziele als Missionsniederlassung gewählt worden, das DESPARD (b): 678, in Übereinstimmung mit dem Komitee in London, unverhüllt nennt: „The main object of the plan was to bring over willing boys and girls for instruction and preparation to become teachers in their turn."[421] Selbst wenn man den Plan der Missionare von weiter Ferne aus betrachtet, kann man doch nicht umhin, ihn als befremdlich und wenig aussichtsvoll zu beurteilen. Diese Insel lag vom heimatlichen Gebiete der Yamana nicht nur zu weit entfernt, sie war überdies wegen der starken Meeresströmungen bei der Isla de los Estados mit kleineren Fahrzeugen gefahrlos kaum zu erreichen.

Im Dienste des genannten Zieles fuhr schon kurz nach Eröffnung dieser Niederlassung die "Allen Gardiner" am 11. Oktober 1855 in den Canal de Beagle; des Kapitäns Snow besonderer Auftrag war es, den von der Expedition FITZ-ROY's her bekannten JEMMY BUTTON aufzufinden. Man landete zuerst in Puerto Español, wo PHILLIPS am Grabe A. GARDINER's und seiner Begleiter am 19. Oktober 1855 eine religiöse Feier abhielt und eine Gedenkplatte anbrachte. Zwei Tage später wurde in Banner Cove das erste Kanu gesichtet, in dem drei Männer und eine alte Frau saßen, die „in ehrerbietiger Entfernung unter heftigen Gebärden das Schiff umkreisten ... Der Anblick dieser Leute war ein widerwärtiger. Sie trugen nur ein Seehunds- oder Biberfell wie einen Pilgerkragen um die Schultern geworfen, ihr langes Haar aber fiel in verwilderten Massen über die Schultern" (PHILLIPS [a]: 1009). Als sich andere Kanus eingefunden hatten, wünschte PHILLIPS einige Kinder sofort mitzunehmen, stieß aber beim Kapitän auf Widerstand, „who was not desirous of bringing any children to Cranmer at the present time, until the Mission is more completely organized" (PHILLIPS: 66).

Ein glücklicher Zufall führte den Kapitän wirklich mit dem gesuch-

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[419] Die Unstimmigkeiten dieses Schiffskapitäns mit dem Leiter der Missionsstation hatten kurz vorher begonnen, die Anlässe nennt er in seinem eigenen Werke. Er schied bald danach aus seiner Stellung. Vgl. VP: V, 169—178; 1858 und VP: VII, 1—6; 1860.

[420] Später (MM: XXVIII, 53; 1894) nahm der Dean BRANDON in seinen "Report of Keppel" vom 28. Dezember 1893 Folgendes auf: DESPARD hatte kurz vor seinem Eintreffen auf Isla Keppel zwei Waisenknaben adoptiert „by way of thankoffering to God for success given to his school, and took them with him to Keppel. One died early. The other — by name THOMAS BRIDGES — so profited by the training bestowed upon him that he became the chief missionary in the Southern Mission for many years". Vgl. auch BARCLAY's "Preface" in BD: IX, endlich GOODAL (gg): 168.

[421] Schon am 19. Dezember 1855 hatte PHILLIPS: 68 einem Freunde in England offenbart: „I have made a proposition to the Comittee to let us bring JEMMY BUTTON with his wife, girl, and boy, to Cranmer. There will be so many advantages attending it."

ten Indianer zusammen. Er machte ihm den Vorschlag, nach Isla Keppel zu folgen, doch vergeblich (S. 134). DESPARD, der als Vorsteher dieses Unternehmens inzwischen eingetroffen war, mußte schon im April 1857 eine kurze Reise bis zum Ostausgange des Canal de Beagle unternehmen und machte im Puerto Cinco de Mayo am Nordostufer der Isla Navarino seine erste Bekanntschaft mit den Yamana.[422] Später besuchte er mit Mr. TURPIN an Bord der "Allen Gardiner" die Gegend von Wulaia und kehrte mit JEMMY BUTTON und dessen Familie am 24. Juni 1858 nach Isla Keppel zurück.[423] Eine außerordentliche Freude erfüllte sämtliche Missionsmitglieder, da sie sich von der Anwesenheit jenes Indianers einen guten Anfang ihrer Berufstätigkeit versprachen. Wirklich half er ihnen bei Erlernung der Sprache[424] und der Lebensgewohnheiten seines Volkes; er selber fühlte sich wohl in seinem neuen Heim und „quite at home with us all".[425]

Diese feuerländischen Besucher blieben bis zum 16. November. Dann führte DESPARD persönlich, wie vereinbart war, sie auf der "Allen Gardiner" wieder nach Wulaia. Am 4. Dezember trafen sie hier ein und zwei Tage später gingen sie an Land. J. BUTTON begann sofort „to build himself a wigwam of poles and branches, and took inside all his gifts from Cranmer" (PHILLIPS: 143). Außerdem wurde „unter Leitung des Zimmermanns der Bau des künftigen Missionsgebäudes begonnen. Etliche 30 Feuerländer hielten sich damals in der Nähe auf und schauten der Arbeit schweigend zu. Am 25. Dec. war das Haus bereits so weit fortgeschritten, daß man den anwesenden Eingeborenen darin mit vier großen Plum-Puddings einen Weihnachtsschmaus geben konnte. Übrigens litt man schon jetzt von den Diebsgelüsten der Eingeborenen. Die Rindenbekleidung des Hauses wurde mehrmals abgebrochen, wahrscheinlich um der eisernen Nägel sich zu bemächtigen. Die Diebereien kamen aber vorläufig auf Rechnung der *Oen*-Leute von der LENNOX-Insel, eines benachbarten Stammes, welcher gelegentlichen Besuch in Wulaia abstattete. Das Haus sollte übrigens erst in künftigen Jahren

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[422] Seiner (b): 679 bemächtigten sich eigenartige Gefühle: „Having been prepared to see persons preposterously ugly, and dirty to the offending of every sense, we could not well be painfully disappointed in them. We had the opposite feeling rather. Though they presented themselves, both sexes, stark naked, they did not look dirty, and whatever in them was offensive to the olfactory nerve proceeded from the wood-smoke, not from secretion in their skin." Weitere Einzelheiten über diese Reise sind in MANSS-STIRLING: 92 wiederholt.

[423] J. BUTTON hatte seine erste Frau namens LASHAWYAKEEPA bei sich, die „in colour, features, and dress, looked like a middle-aged gypsy-woman", außerdem seinen vierzehnjährigen Sohn namens THREEBOYS, seine achtjährige Tochter und sein jüngstes Kind, das erst zwölf Monate zählte (DESPARD [b]: 677, 732). Vgl. S. 284.

[424] DESPARD (l. c. 98) hebt hervor: „It is wonderful how well J. BUTTON remembers his English ... We are doing our best to learn as many Fuegian words as we can, but this is difficult to accomplish, as this people do not like to speak their language before us, and converse with each other in a whisper" (vgl. HYADES [j]: 151).

[425] MANSS-STIRLING: 98. Dort finden sich auch Einzelheiten über diese Reise und über den freudigen Empfang, der dieser feuerländischen Familie auf Isla Keppel bereitet wurde.

benutzt werden" (PHILLIPS [a]: 1010).[425] Ohne Zaudern schlossen sich dem Missionar andere Eingeborene an. „Am 1. Januar 1859 verließ der Schooner wieder Feuerland mit neun eingeborenen Zöglingen, nämlich zwei älteren Ehepaaren und zwei jungen Burschen vom Wulleia-Stamm, einem jungen Ehepaar mit einem zweijährigen Mädchen vom *Oen*-Stamme und setzte sie am 5. desselben Monats bei Cranmer auf der Keppel-Insel ans Land. Ein gewisser OKOKKOENCES erwarb sich bald bei allen Europäern volles Lob" (PHILLIPS [a]: 1010).

Ein Jahr hatte man diese Eingeborenen zurückgehalten und am 6. Oktober 1859 ging J. GARLAND PHILLIPS mit ihnen an Bord der "Allen Gardiner", um sie heimzuführen.[427] DESPARD (l. c. 100) beschreibt sie folgendermaßen: „They are now decent in their habits, tidily dressed, and as far as our imperfect medium of communication goes, they have been taught the knowledge of God."[428] In Begleitung des genannten Katechisten befanden sich, außer den Indianern, acht Europäer, nämlich Kapitän R. S. FELL, sein Bruder JOHN als Master, ALFRED COLE, der Koch, ein Zimmermann und vier Matrosen, darunter drei Schweden. PHILLIPS hatte geplant, Kaninchen mitzunehmen und sie auf einigen feuerländischen Inseln auslaufen zu lassen; es fehlen die Angaben, ob er dies ausgeführt hat. Am 1. November langte das Schiff in Wulaia an. Obwohl die Reise ohne weitere Störung verlaufen war, schienen durch die Eingeborenen einige Sachen aus dem Besitz des Schiffes entwendet worden zu sein. Bei der Landung wurden, auf Weisung des Kapitäns, alle Säcke und Beutel der Indianer genau durchsucht. Das erbitterte sie sehr und zeitigte bald schlimme Folgen.[429]

In den nächsten drei Tagen hatten sich etwa 300 Eingeborene in 70 Kanus

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[425] Als der Missionar ihn noch fragte, ob er später zurückkehren möchte, antwortete er ausweichend: „Perhaps, by and by, me no tell now!" Das deckt sich mit folgender Bemerkung aus PHILLIPS (a): 1010: „Die Missionäre bildeten sich ein Wunder wie glücklich sie ihre fuegianischen Zöglinge durch Waschen, Kleiden, Beten und Arbeiten gemacht hätten. JEMMY BUTTON scheint sich jedoch auf der Keppel-Insel gründlich 'ennuyiert' zu haben. Als er in die Nähe seiner Heimath kam, konnte er nicht erwarten bis der Schooner Wulaia erreicht haben würde, sondern verlangte schon früher ans Land gesetzt zu werden, um zu Fuß nach Hause zu wandern, aus Furcht, die Missionäre möchten doch vielleicht das Schiff wieder umkehren lassen und ihn noch einmal nach Cranmer mitnehmen." Seine Landsleute bereiteten ihm einen Empfang ganz nach ihrer Art: „Kaum waren die Zöglinge gelandet, so fielen die Feuerländer über sie wie die Geier her und wollten ihnen ihre Kleider rauben. Auf seinen Hülferuf stieß daher ein Boot ab und nahm JEMMY und die Seinigen wieder an Bord auf."

[427] Genau eine Woche vorher hatte PHILLIPS: 181 einem von ihnen ein glänzendes Zeugnis ausgestellt: „A more industrious, good-tempered boy than OKOKOWENSMY cannot be found, I am sure, in England; and he is of such an affectionate disposition, that cold indeed must be the heart that could withstand, or not reciprocate his kindly feelings."

[428] Für sich selber buchte er bei dieser Gelegenheit auch einen Erfolg: „I have got nearly a thousand words of Tekeniea, but am still a long way from ability to make a grammar of it."

[429] DESPARD (a): 1011 bemerkt hierzu: „Obgleich sie beschenkt ihre Heimat betraten, zeigten sie doch finstere Gesichter, weil man ihre Reisebündel kurz vor ihrer Entlassung

eingefunden, während die Europäer ein Blockhäuschen, das früher hier aufgestellt worden war, für eine kleine religiöse Veranstaltung herrichteten. Unauffällig hatten die Eingeborenen einen Überfall auf die Weißen geplant und zwar wohl aus Rache für das Mißtrauen, das den vom Schiffe Entlassenen bekundet worden war. „In den älteren Instructionen war streng angeordnet worden, daß stets etliche Personen an Bord zurückbleiben, nie alle zugleich ans Land gehen sollten, denn schon einmal hatten Feuerländer ein Schiff überfallen. Zur Einweihung des Missionshauses sollte aber Sonntag, 6. Nov. ein Gottesdienst am Lande gehalten werden, und zu diesem verfügten sich sämtliche Leute ans Ufer mit einziger Ausnahme des Schiffskoches. Dieser folgte vom Schooner aus den Seinigen mit den Augen. Als sie nach dem Hause giengen schlichen sich ein paar nackte Kerle an ihr Boot und schleppten die Ruder nach einem Wigwam, offenbar in der Absicht um ihnen das Mittel zum Rückzug abzuschneiden. Bald darauf sah er die Missionsleute aus dem Hause stürzen, verfolgt von den Feuerländern, die mit ihren Keulen nach ihnen schlugen. Die beiden Fell sah er unter diesen Streichen sinken, ebenso geschah es den andern. Hr. Phillips und ein schwedischer Matrose allein erreichten noch das Boot, dort aber war es Billy Button, also einer der älteren Missionszöglinge, der den ersten Streich gegen den Geistlichen [G. Phillips] führte: er taumelte und wurde gleich dem Schweden erschlagen. Nur Ukockowenschen, der 15 jährige Missionszögling, weinte laut und wollte den Mord hindern. Der Koch indessen hatte keine Zeit zu verlieren. Er holte ein Gewehr, ein paar Laib Brot, ließ das Gig ins Wasser und ruderte nach dem Ufer. Ein feuerländisches Canoe setzte ihm nach."

In wenigen Augenblicken hatte sich der Menge eine schnell aufwallende Erregung bemächtigt, die fast alle zu Tätlichkeiten trieb. Keulen und Steine hagelte es plötzlich auf die wenigen Europäer nieder, die wehrlos dem großen Haufen ausgeliefert und in ihrer Ahnungslosigkeit zur Gegenwehr unfähig waren. Viele Frauen allerdings, sowie Jemmy Button mit Okokko bemühten sich, die erregte Masse zu beschwichtigen, blieben aber erfolglos. In wenigen Minuten lagen die acht Europäer fürchterlich zerschlagen am Boden.

Dem Koch war es gelungen, früher als sein Verfolger zu landen und er entsprang in den nahen Wald, wobei er leider sein Brod aus der Tasche verlor. Von dem Wipfel eines Baumes, den er erkletterte, konnte er wahrnehmen, daß man ihn nicht mehr verfolge, sondern nur das Gig ins Schlepptau genommen hatte. Er irrte nun in östlicher Richtung weiter über sonniges Land, wo er Guanacoheerden und große Scharen von Gänsen antraf, volle vier Tage, ohne eine andere Nahrung als einige Beeren und Muscheln. So traumhaft kam ihm seine Lage vor, daß er sich oft einbildete er sey vom Schiff böswillig entlaufen. Endlich trieben ihn Hunger und Kälte nach Wullein

einer strengen Durchsuchung unterworfen und dabei auch einige vermißte und heimlich von ihnen annexirte Gegenstände gefunden hatte. Sie wußten indessen ihren Ärger zu verbergen und sechs Tage vertrieben ohne irgend eine Verdrießlichkeit."

zurück. Er begegnete einem Canoe mit Eingeborenen, rief es an, weil er bekannte Gesichter sah, und wurde aufgenommen. Nach der Landung nahmen die Feuerländer oder 'erbaten' sich stückweise alles was er auf dem Leibe hatte, bis auf die Ohrringe und einen Gürtel. In Wulleia selbst fand er die fremden Banden abgezogen und überhaupt nur wenige Personen noch anwesend, darunter auch JEMMY BUTTON, von denen allen er freundlich behandelt wurde und die mit ihm ihre elende Nahrung theilten. Sie waren sogar mitleidig genug ihm bald darauf einige seiner Kleidungsstücke zurückzugeben, während sie an dem Tage als sie ihn beraubten sogar versucht hatten ihm auch seinen Bart wie ein Stück Wäsche auszuziehen" (PHILLIPS [a]: 1011).[420]

Anscheinend beruhigten sich die erhitzten Gemüter sofort nach dieser gräßlichen Untat und sie zerstreuten sich auf dem Wasser. „So endete diese thörichte Missionaspielerei mit einem abermaligen Verluste von acht Menschenleben" (ib.).[421]

Nach vergeblichem Warten durch lange drei Monate, „Mr. DESPARD became anxious for the safety of his friends, and went to Stanley Port as soon as possible to take measures for ascertaining the cause of their detention" (ib. 101). Der Schoner "Nancy", von Kapitän SHULEY befehligt, lief sofort aus. In Wulaia fand er die "Allen Gardiner"[422] und erfuhr teils durch den Koch COLE, teils durch J. BUTTON von dem furchtbaren Unglück. Ohne vor Anker zu gehen — denn es waren viele Kanus zusammengeströmt —, nahm er den Koch an Bord und nachdem er J. BUTTON dazu vergeblich eingeladen hatte, eilte er unverzüglich nach Isla Keppel zurück. Die Schilderung der Vorgänge, die der Koch gab, löste hier größte Bestürzung aus.[423] In London, wohin man sie sofort gelangen ließ, wurde angeblich die Aufhebung der feuerländischen Mission erwogen.

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[420] Wohl oder übel mußte sich der Koch mit seinem Lose abfinden und sich den Indianern anbequemen. „Mit seinem Gewehr begab sich der Abenteurer auf die Gänsejagd, und den Ertrag seines Jagdglückes theilte er dann redlich mit den vergnügten Wulleianern. Gelegentliche Ausflüge nach dem Schooner und nach den benachbarten Inseln wurden in Gesellschaft der Feuerländer unternommen, auch Schwimmpartien ausgeführt, letztere jedoch, weil auffallender Weise die Männer nicht schwimmen können, nur mit den Frauen, welche den Koch dabei an Fertigkeit weit übertrafen" (ib.).

[421] Eine unter mehrfacher Rücksicht wertvolle Bemerkung wird diesem Satze angefügt: „Auch wurde Hrn. PHILLIPS kurz vor seinem Tode nicht der Schmerz erspart die Fruchtlosigkeit seines Eifers einzusehen. Unterm 2. Nov., vier Tage vor der Katastrophe, schreibt er selbst in seinem Tagebuch: ‚Ein Canoe kam heran und wir sahen darin den armen JEMMY BUTTON nackt und so verwildert aussehend wie nur je zuvor. Dieser Anblick war sehr niederschlagend, denn er schien zu beweisen, daß alle unsere Bemühungen weggeworfen waren. Etwas ganz verschiedenes von dem bisher Versuchten muß geschehen, wenn die Eingeborenen einen Nutzen davon haben sollen'."

[422] Der Schooner lag noch verankert da, „but a perfect wreck as far as all the property contained in her was concerned — nothing remaining but the bare hull and the spars" (PHILLIPS: 194).

[423] Weitere Einzelheiten dieses Überfalles finden sich bei MARSH-STURLING: 101.

Da die "Allen Gardiner" zwar restlos ausgeplündert, jedoch nicht verbrannt worden war, holte Kapitän SHYLEY sie im April 1860 zurück. Ihm schloß sich freiwillig OKOKKO mit seiner Frau CAMILENNA und ihren beiden Kindern an. Diese waren lange Zeit die einzigen feuerländischen Besucher auf Isla Keppel und erwiesen sich als sehr gelehrig.[434]

In Port Stanley wurde bald nach Rückkehr des Kochs COLE eine Untersuchung des Unglücksfalles eingeleitet. Darüber ließ niemand einen Zweifel bestehen, daß die Besatzung der "Allen Gardiner" zu vertrauensselig gewesen war. Einige Angaben deuten darauf hin, daß die heimgeführten Yamana die Durchsicht ihres Gepäcks auf gestohlenes Gut als schwer beleidigend aufgefaßt und dafür zu jenem entsetzlichen Racheakt sich entschlossen hätten, aufgereizt durch die Eifersucht J. BUTTON's.[435] Demgegenüber vertritt Rev. C. BULL, chaplain at Stanley, in seinem "Record" vom 9. Mai 1860 die Ansicht, „that J. BUTTON did not take a part in the awful tragedy, though afterwards he joined in the plunder", und daß der ganze Überfall „was not a premeditated act. I believe it to have been revenge, for what the natives deemed insults" (PHILLIPS: 212).[436] Der Schaden, den die junge Missionsgründung durch den plötzlichen Verlust von acht Menschenleben erlitten hatte, ließ sich durch nichts ersetzen. Die verwitwete Mrs. PHILLIPS verließ mit ihrer Tochter die Isla Keppel am 10. September 1860 und landete bald in Liverpool.[437] Der Schoner "Allen Gardiner" wurde nach England geführt und hier wieder instand gesetzt.

Als DESPARD mit seiner Familie Ende 1861 den Süden verließ,[438] übernahm der jugendliche BRIDGES die ganze Verantwortung für das schwierige Unternehmen. Am 30. Januar 1863 traf Rev. W. H. STIRLING als Superinten-

[434] Schon am 17. Oktober 1860 schrieb DESPARD (VP: VIII, 126; 1861) über sie: „We have succeeded beyond hope with them. I wish You could see the change in OOKKOWEECHE that I do from the time when I saw him a stark naked savage among the bushes of Fireland"... Später sagte er: „They proved to be most tractable and affectionate. OKOKKO made progress in reading and writing, besides working in the garden, and digging post, and returned from work to find his table neatly laid and dinner prepared by CAMILENNA, who received daily instruction from Mrs. DESPARD and her daughters in all sorts of housewifery, as well as reading and writing" (MARSH-STIRLING: 103). Vgl. Briefe von DESPARD und BRIDGES in VP: IX, 1862, die wiederholt über diese Yamana berichten. Am 6. Januar 1861 gab er seiner Genugtuung vollen Ausdruck: „Yesterday two years he first landed here: what was he then? what is he now? God be praised for the difference" (VP: VIII, 126, 1861).

[435] COLE behauptet sogar, „that the cause of the massacre was that J. BUTTON felt jealous that he did not get as much as he thought he had a right to, and that he was at the head of the whole proceedings" (PHILLIPS: 208).

[436] Später hat COLE (MM: XLVI, 109; 1912) nochmals betont: „I am sure that J. BUTTON was the ringleader." Mrs. H. E. O. WIRN (l. c. 178) führt das Unglück auf mangelhafte Wachsamkeit der Besatzung zurück und nimmt diesen Indianer in Schutz. Andere Urteile finden sich in VP: VII, 121; 1860 und in VP: VIII, 11, 14; 1861.

[437] Vgl. die kurze Lebensgeschichte des Katechisten J. G. PHILLIPS in VP: VIII. 116; 1861.

[438] Er kehrte dorthin nicht mehr zurück und starb als Canon of Melbourne im Jahre 1881 (MM: XXVIII, 53; 1894).

dant auf Isla Keppel ein. Nicht mehr Indianer als zwei Erwachsene und deren zwei Kinder waren damals anwesend. Er unternahm bald, von Okokko und Bumgess begleitet, eine Fahrt durch das Yamana-Gebiet. Da letzterer sich durch die Sprache[439] schon gut mit den Eingeborenen zu verständigen wußte, war dieser Besuch erfolgreich; denn mit elf anderen Gästen, Okokko und seine Frau nicht mitgezählt, kehrte das Schiff zum Hafen am 12. April 1864 zurück, obwohl eine größere Zahl sich zur Mitfahrt gemeldet hatte. Hier mußten sie sich ausnahmslos der aufgestellten Tagesordnung fügen, die von den Missionaren als sehr erfolgreich geschildert wurde.[440]

Nach monatelangem Fernsein der Heimat hatte Okokko den Wunsch geäußert, bald dorthin zurückzukehren. Entsprechend dem Plane der Missionare sollte er in Liwya eine Art "Musterwirtschaft" nach europäischem Vorbilde einrichten und seine Landsleute zur Nachahmung anregen. „Camilemma, his wife, was no longer to fish and wander in the canoe. Her position for the future was to resemble that of an English wife; she was to stay at home, take care of the children, and present to her people an example of domestic life" (Mason-Stirling: 118). Am 18. Februar 1864 endlich bestiegen diese Yamana, von Stirling und Bridges begleitet, wieder die "Allen Gardiner" und auf Isla Button wurden für Okokko so viele Lebensmittel abgeladen, daß er damit etwa sieben Monate auskommen konnte. Traurige Nachrichten erfuhren die Missionare auf dieser Fahrt; denn eine Seuche hatte viele Eingeborene, auch Jemmy Button, weggerafft.

Mit dreizehn Indianern erreichte das Schiff glücklich wieder die Missionsstation. Bei einer späteren Ausfahrt im Oktober 1864 waren über zwanzig Yamana an Bord. Im März 1865 zu Wulaia „it was found, to the great regret of all, that Okokko's house, and goats, and property, had been destroyed by fire." Das war das Werk mißgünstiger Stammesgenossen. Damit endete der Plan, den die Missionare mit diesem Indianer hatten verwirklichen wollen. Angesichts dessen reifte der Entschluß, ihn mit seiner Familie nochmals nach Isla Keppel zu holen, ihn besser vorzubereiten und das Unternehmen auf festere Grundlage zu stellen. Er sagte zu und so bestieg er wiederum, mit anderen Indianern, das Missionsschiff. Auf Isla Keppel wurden sie der Obhut Bumgess' empfohlen, während Stirling sich von hier aus mit vier jugendlichen Yamana[441] nach England begab (S. 285).[442]

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[439] Vgl. VP: X, 218; 1863. „Mr. Bumgess had diligently applied himself under favourable circumstances, to the acquisition of the Fuegian language." Okokko, der damals allein mit seiner Familie auf Isla Keppel war, hatte seinerseits gute Fortschritte in der englischen Sprache gemacht (Mason-Stirling: 105).

[440] Siehe alle Einzelheiten in Mason-Stirling: 114-118.

[441] Sie hießen Threekboys, Unoopa, Jack und Shoyekes. „Of these the first was for some months under the instruction of Mr. Despard and Mr. Phillips, having gone to Keppel with his father and Mr. Allen Gardiner in 1858; Unoopa went there for the first time in 1863; and the other two boys first came under instruction in 1861." In England wurden sie einem Erzieher übergeben (Mason-Stirling: 131).

[442] Vgl. den Abschnitt über: "Four fuegian youths brought to England", in Mason: 38.

2. Die Missionsstation in Ushuaia: Auch nach der Rückkehr dieses Superintendant behielten die Missionare ihr bisheriges Vorgehen bei, die "Allen Gardiner" befuhr in größeren Zeitabständen den Bereich der Yamana, brachte dorthin einige Familien zurück und nahm andere mit. Während BRIDGES, nach einem elfjährigen Aufenthalt im Süden, endlich wieder einmal in England weilte, um sich zum Diakon machen zu lassen,[441] eröffnete STIRLING im Januar 1869 eine neue Niederlassung mitten unter den Feuerländern auf der Peninsula Mac Clinton. OKOKKO wurde herangezogen und er selbst lebte als einziger Europäer lange Monate hier unter den Eingeborenen.[442] Ushuaia wurde bald, wegen seiner günstigen Lage, der Hauptplatz des missionarischen Wirkens.[443] Im gleichen Jahre erhielt er seine Ernennung zum ersten Bischof für das südliche Amerika und JOHN LAWRENCE traf als neuer Helfer ein.

Die Missionare hatten sich längst davon überzeugt, daß ihnen ein dauernder und allgemeiner Erfolg nie beschieden sein würde, wenn sie weiterhin den Eingeborenen fern blieben. Ushuaia sollte deshalb für letztere ein Sammelpunkt werden. BRIDGES verließ England schon am 9. August 1869, um STIRLING schnell abzulösen. Auf Isla Keppel wurden im Dezember BRIDGES und LEWIS mit ihren Frauen, sowie REPYER für Ushuaia bestimmt, während LAWRENCE und BARTLETT mit ihren Familien dort zurückblieben. Nach einigen Personaländerungen übernahm ersterer diese Station Ushuaia Anfang 1871 endgültig. Was dort im Laufe der nächsten fünfzehn Jahre geschaffen wurde, ist fast ausschließlich sein Werk, bei dem er von den missionarischen Mitarbeitern unterstützt wurde.

Man richtete sich von vornherein auf eine Dauersiedlung ein. Die Wohnung der Missionare wurde bisweilen "das eiserne Haus" genannt, im Gegensatz zum "roten Haus" auf Isla Keppel;[444] doch war es nur ein Holzbau mit Wellblechverkleidung. Auf wiederholten Fahrten des Missionsschiffes hatte einer nach dem andern aus dem gesamten Missionspersonal die neue Niederlassung besucht und gleichzeitig allerhand Gerätschaften hierher mitgebracht. In kurzer Zeit konnte die ausgedehnte Einrichtung in Gebrauch genommen werden.

Aus Neugierde waren viele Eingeborene herbeigeeilt und schauten verwundert dem Treiben der Missionare zu. Solche, die einige Tage verweilten, wurden freundlichst behandelt und unterrichtet, so daß STIRLING, als Bischof aus England zurückgekehrt, bei einer gemeinschaftlichen religiösen Feier gleichzeitig 36 Eingeborene taufte und sieben Paare traute. Allerdings „the service took place in the open air, in the presence of, I suppose, a total of

[441] Vgl. "Ordination of Mr. THOMAS BRIDGES in MARSH: 67.

[442] MARSH: 57 hat diese Gründung ausführlich beschrieben. Vgl. HYADES (j): 151 und NORDENSKJÖLD (h): 129—150.

[443] Die geographischen Verhältnisse schildert MARTIAL: 221 besonders gut.

[444] Bei PHILLIPS (a): 1011 heißt es: „Die Zöglinge wurden dort im 'rothen Hause' untergebracht, so genannt nach der rothen Farbe seiner Backsteinwände."

150 persons, including ourselves" (MAHM: 129). Bei dieser Gelegenheit erhielt OKOKKO den christlichen Namen GEORGE DESPARD.

Bald erstand eine Siedlung aus mehreren Häusern,[107] die Wohnungen der Missionare, ein Kirchlein, das Schulhaus und das Waisenhaus. Anfänglich mußte die Kapelle auch für den Schulunterricht benutzt werden. Auf der anderen Seite des breiten Weges, der an den genannten Baulichkeiten vorbeilief, gab es einige Häuschen und die Gerüste von etwa zwanzig Hütten der Indianer.

Diesen indes kam es nicht in den Sinn, hier sich endgültig niederzulassen, zumindest nicht bald nach Gründung der Missionsstation. BAUCCIS äußerte sich folgendermaßen: „None of the natives are really resident here. Only at such times as there is employment for them, and as assistance given them towards their support, do they remain here; but the ordinary number of men more resident here than elsewhere is about 20; their wives, 20; their children 35; and occasionally this number is doubled. Some times only two or three men are here, and the people often make long absences" (MM: IX, 23; 1874). Diese Worte lassen erkennen, wie wenig seßhaft die Besucher waren und wie unregelmäßig sie sich einfanden. Ein geregelter Unterricht konnte nur schwerlich für Kinder und noch weniger für Erwachsene eingeleitet werden. Für das folgende Jahr 1875 hat jener Missionar die Durchschnittszahl der täglichen Schulbesucher, Erwachsene und Kinder eingerechnet, festgestellt, die anscheinend beträchtlich anfiel, nämlich im Juni 20, im Juli 25%, im August 43%, im September 30, im Oktober 25%, im November 19, im Dezember 19, im Januar 11%, im Februar 19% (MM: X, 146; 1875). Der unaufhörliche Wechsel in diesen Zahlen zeigt ein andauerndes Kommen und Gehen einzelner Familien an und läßt darauf schließen, daß jede von ihnen nur eine mehr oder weniger kurze Zeit dort den Unterricht genoß.

Da diese Siedlung der Weißen allmählich unter den Yamana bekannter wurde, zog sie nach und nach auch Familien aus entfernteren Gegenden an. Übertrieben indes ist folgende Schätzung BAUCCIS' aus dem Anfang von 1880: „Ushuaia is easily approached by the whole Yahgan tribe, from east, west and south. There are seldom less then 150 Indians there, and often over 300. In the course of a year from 1000 to 1500 persons visit the settlement, coming for all kinds of purposes" (MM: XIV, 17; 1880). Die gleiche Familie fand sich nämlich mehr als einmal dort ein und tat dies um so öfter, je vertrauter sie mit den Europäern wurde. Im gleichen Jahre berichtet LAWRENCE über seine Arbeiten in der Schule, die von etwa zwanzig Kindern, fast vollzählig im Waisenhause untergebracht, besucht würde (MM: XIV, 100; 1880).

Bewußt oder unbewußt, jedenfalls zweckentsprechender war der Schwerpunkt des missionarischen Wirkens nach Ushuaia verschoben worden. Die

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[107] Vgl. "The Christian Village at Ushuaia", in MAHM: 129, wo auch ein Gesamtbild nach einer Photographie der Mission Sarmiento eingefügt ist. Außerdem MAHM: 225.

Erfolge blieben nicht aus, obwohl der Arbeiter wenige waren.[1] Damit gaben sich die Missionare selber eine nicht zu lösende; denn es fehlte immer noch die langsamhaltende, zeitlich ausgedehnte Beschäftigung der Eingeborenen, um eine Umgestaltung ihrer Interessen und ihrer gesamten Lebensweise herbeizuführen. Die bisherige Methode, bei gelegentlichen Besuchen auf den einen und anderen einzuwirken, konnte unmöglich zum erstrebten Ziele führen und man sah sich genötigt, den überwiegenden Teil des Volkes s o B h a f i s u m o c h o n.[2] Dann rief auch eine unverhältnismäßige Unlust der Eingeborenen, sich weiterhin in Ushuaia einzufinden. Der wichtigste Grund dafür, daß viele frühere Besucher fernblieben, waren die epidemischen Krankheiten,[3] die in kurzen Zeitabschnitten auftraten und allgemeinen Schrecken verbreiteten.[4] Von Anfang an war jener Platz für eine Ansammlung von vielen Familien, falls diese nach Väter Art sich hätten um ihre Ernährung kümmern müssen, nicht geeignet. So lange die Missionare an die Besucher freigebig Nahrungsmittel und Kleidung austeilten, kamen sie gern; doch blieben sie weg, als die Geschenke eingestellt wurden. Für diese Erscheinung hatten die Missionare ein offenes Auge[5] und gleichzeitig einen Ausweg in der Richtung zu finden, daß sie die Eingeborenen selbst zu machen pflanzen, ohne den damit verbundenen großen Kostenaufwand zu überwinden.[6] Auf eine Statistik des Rev. Bennett (in MM: XVIII, 223; 1884) verweisend hebt Hyades (k): 619 hervor, daß Anfang Juni 1884 sich nur 25 Personen in Ushuaia aufhielten und er führt diese Erscheinung auf die Angst der Indianer vor der seit drei Jahren herrschenden Schwindsucht zurück. Wenig später berichtet der gleiche Bennett, daß im gesamten Monat die Zahl der erwachsenen indianischen

[1] "Synopsis of the South American Missionary Society" aus dem Jahre 1881 (MM: XVIII, p. 12) stellt fest: „The Rev. Tom. Bennett now occupies the Station, surrounded by about one hundred and fifty natives, dwelling in improved wigwams and cultivating plots of land. About one hundred and eighty natives have received the rite of baptism, many of whom have been trained at Keppel. Mr. Bennett is assisted by Mrs. Bennett, Mr. Lawrence, catechist and gardener, and Mrs. Lawrence, also by Mr. Waters, compositor, Rev. Waite, who is in charge of the Orphanage, and Mr. Wm. T. Bennett, catechist. In addition to these, the Mission benefits by the voluntary services of Mrs. Waters, Miss Harris, and Mr. Waite' daughter."

[2] Wiederholt führt die Missionare diesen Plan in ihren Briefen aufwärts. Vgl. Kerrens (k): 112.

[3] Als die Mission Bennetts sich im Bau befindlich, brach eine schwere Tuberkulose-Epidemie aus und kostete 25 Personen Leben auf der Missionsstation Ushuaia zurück (MM: XVIII, 223; 1884). „Il est probable que ce nombre ci fallait tout à ce que les indigènes ont reconnu qu'ils avaient plus de chances d'échapper les maladies et en conséquence plus heureux en vivant dehors." (Hyades (k): 619).

[4] Die Indianer „hallucinés [e le mistéri] ordinaire venaient [illegible] [illegible], que le Rameau "Consolatrice des Les Yahgans"" (Hyades (k): 212).

[5] Ebenso wiederholt Bennett: „Life at Ushuaia to children is not happy and scarcely possible, unless they are largely supplied by the Mission with daily food, and this is out of the question. Instead of receiving more visits we receive fewer from distant parts" (MM: XVII, 160; 1883).

[6] Bennett verzeichnetlich seine neuerlichen Bedenken diesbezüglich im MM: IX, 219; 1875.

Besucher sogar 70 erreichte, doch haben sie sich bald wieder entfernt (vgl. HYADES [1]: 716).

Inzwischen, nämlich im Oktober 1884, hatte die argentinische Regierung in Ushuaia eine Subprefectura[*] eingerichtet. Alle Eingeborenen waren durch die erneut ausbrechenden Krankheiten in entfernte Kanäle verscheucht worden. Sogar die Missionsstation selber mußte, um sich vor Störungen und Belästigungen der neuen Ansiedler zu schützen, allmählich ihre Lage ein wenig verschieben. Das alles hat die Verwirklichung jener Pläne, die Eingeborenen seßhaft zu machen, durchschlagend verhindert. Die Volksdichte dieser Naturkinder war Mitte der 80er Jahre unwiderbringlich gebrochen, ihr Vertrauen auf die Mission schwer erschüttert und mit den Ansiedlern in der Subprefectura war ein neues Element in ihre Heimat hineingeschoben worden, das bewußt oder unbewußt die Auflösung ihres Volkstums vorbereitete. Um 1886 befreite sich Bennett von seinen Verpflichtungen gegenüber der South American Missionary Society und schied aus. Auf eigene Verantwortung gründete er eine Farm im Gebiete der Isla Gable, am heutigen Puerto Harberton; die argentinische Regierung hatte ihm jenes Landstück geschenkt.[**] Als sein Nachfolger wurde Juan Lawrence zum Superintendent

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[*] Das ist ein offizieller Regierungsposten, „une station composée d'une troisième d'hommes" (HYADES [4]: 309).

[**] Der Anlaß zu diesem Vorgehen des verdienten Missionars ist nur keiner mir zugänglichen Quelle entnehmbar, es groß auch das Anlaßes war, das er hervorgerufen hatte. Wahrscheinlich hat er sich beim Erwerb von persönlichem Eigentum weiter vorgewagt, als den Grundsätzen der S. A. Missionary Society entsprach. 1884 hatte Bischof Stirling den Plan erwogen, wie die Missionare, in gewisser Abhängigkeit von der Missionsleitung, Land erwerben und auf ihrem Grund den Eingeborenen zur Seßhaftigkeit verhelfen könnten; dem letzteren wären hier sicher vor der Anderung durch die weißen "hostile gangsters", die schließlich „will simply exterminate the Indians" (SSC: XIX, 249; 1885). Dies dürfte Bennett angespornt haben, sich gleichfalls selbständig zu machen; er erwarb sich das argentinische Bürgerrecht und richtete seine eigene Farm ein.

Ein guter Zeugnis stellte sich die S. A. Missionary Society damit aus, daß sie sich dieser Entwicklung der Dinge widersetzte. „Finding that this enterprise is scarcely compatible with the purely Missionary work of the Society, Mr. Bennett tendered his resignation, and the Committee have felt bound to accept it" (SSC: I; XXI, 127; 1887). Seine Übersiedlung nach Puerto Harberton (Devonport) vollzog sich in den Jahren 1886 bis 1888. Er hatte im Juli 1885 zum zweitenmale den Nachfolger der Isla Grande bewirbt, um dort Verhandlungen mit den Selk'nam anzuknüpfen (B4. I, 47).

Wie nicht anders zu erwarten war, zog Bennett auf seiner Farm viele Yaganen, sowohl die der östlichen Teile, wo er trug ihnen allerlei Arbeiten auf, weil andere Kräfte versicher ganz fehlten oder nur gegen hohe Entlohnung zu haben waren. So brachte er es bald zu ansehnlichem Reichtum, der später durch ungeschickten Landkauf im Innern der Isla Grande bedeutend vermehrt wurde. Eine feindselige Haltung hat Bennett der von ihm verlassenen S.A. Missionary Society gegenüber niemals eingenommen. Auch als Farmer arbeitete er an seiner Yamana-Grammatik weiter (BD: VIII), nicht aber an seinem Wörterbuch (Gusinde [gg]: 173). Er starb auf der Rückfahrt von Buenos Aires am 28. August 1908, im Alter von 54 Jahren. Seine Witwe und seine Kinder übernahmen das solide Erbe. Ersterer starb am 28. Dezember 1922. Weitere Mitteilungen über die Persönlichkeit und das Lebenswerk dieses arbeitsamen Mannes bringen MATHEWS: 222, KOCHEN (d): 128, BD: 137 und B4. I, 46.

der Mission bestimmt.[*] Er hatte bereits am 24. Oktober 1869 England verlassen und war seitdem auf diesem Arbeitsfeld tätig.

Die damaligen Verhältnisse und die Stimmung unter den Eingeborenen waren nicht dazu angetan, die Missionare zu bedeutenden Neuerungen in ihrer Arbeitsweise anzuregen, auch weniger zur Verwirklichung ihrer Pläne, die Yaunde selbst zu machen. Kurz vor seinem endgültigen Scheiden, am 15. Juni 1896, hatte Bonnet eine Volkszählung durchgeführt, die auf etwa vierhundert Indianer schließen läßt. Diese alle auf Kosten der Mission zu beköstigen schien ihm ein zu schwieriges Unterfangen, als daß er es hätte wagen dürfen. „Fully three-quarters of these people visit Gaboonia from time to time, and, if employment could be found for them, all would come and remain here. Their employment would entail minute supervision, and the instruction, clothing, and lodging of the children. Though the people are but 400, the work would be great owing to the state of the people" (MM. XX, 217; 1896). Ob die Aussichtslosigkeit, weitere durchgreifende Erfolge bei diesem durch Sklaven sehr gemischten Volke zu erringen, mitbestimmend gewesen ist, daß er dem Unternehmen der S. A. Missionary Society den Rücken kehrte?

Die Zahl der Weißen, die sich in Libreville und in seiner Umgebung niederließen, wurde von Jahr zu Jahr, immer offensichtlicher wurde das Scheitern der Hoffnungen der Missionare und Libreville selber hätte, je länger je mehr, eine Bedeutung für die Indianer sie.[**] Der Schooner "Allen Gardiner" war 1874 durch eine Jolle und diese 1884 durch einen kleinen Dampfer ersetzt worden; da letzterer sich wenig geeignet erwies, ging man bald zu einem Dreimaster über, der 1900 verkauft wurde.[***] Auch das ist ein Zeichen von dem fortschreitenden Niedergange der missionarischen Wirkung.

3. Die Missionsstation Tokouiko: Zum Teil waren es die Sklaven, zum Teil die Weißen selber, die den Yaunde das Verlangen nach einem Besuch Libreville's verleideten. Die Missionare gaben sich von dieser Erscheinung deutlich Rechenschaft und hatten sich sie verleidet, daß ganze Gruppen ähnlich wohnender Indianerfamilien dem Bistum ferngeblieben waren. Diese Ereignisse veranlaßten Bishop Strauss, eine neue Missionsstation im tiefen Süden auf Ido Bayly in der Wallanton Gruppe im Auge zu fassen; er wollte vor allem den Schwerpunkt der missionarischen

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Ein erhöhter Bedarf hatten den vielen Kinder mit der Verhältnisbildung eines vielfach wechselnden Wanderlebens gezeitigt, das von Hermannsburg und Gossner für die Beschäftigung verwaister und 1900 herangegeben worden ist. Vgl. Gossner (gg) und (hh).

[*] Vgl. einen Brief des Rev. Jerrmann vom 1. März 1896, in MM. XXIX, 101; 1896.

[**] Am 22. März 1896 schilderte Pasmore diese Zustände: „Mr. Lowrence has difficult work to do here ... c in Libreville so many people employ them [the natives] on the south shore, and that as early hours, that it is quite impossible to gather many together each morning for prayers, and even on Sunday the other influence is strong enough to make the congregation small" (MM. XXIX, 114; 1896).

[***] Als Begründung für diesen Verkauf gab man an: „The services were no longer deemed necessary, in consequence of the dwindling of the Yaghans before the advance of civilisation or occupation by the Argentine" (MM. XXIV, 18; 1900).

[illegible] Wirken von Udonda in einer von der europäischen Einwanderung unberührten Gegend verlagern. Sein Plan entsprach ganz auch den Absichten der chinesischen Regierung.[illegible]

Am 14. Oktober 1908 begab sich der Kurator L. H. Swanson mit seiner Gattin, nachdem er auf Isle Gobry vergeblich nach einem passenden Platze gesucht hatte, nur Isle Bayley, um die neue Niederlassung einzurichten und zu eröffnen. Wenn auch die Witterungsbedingungen dieser Reise überaus ungünstig,[illegible] mussten trotzdem die Missionare den derzeitigen Eingeborenen endlich nahe. Manche Leute sich sie und wurden mit den Wellen ebenfalls zu vertraut, daß sie dann den Kinder für kurze Zeit zur Erziehung überließen. Der Gründer Amt Amerikas, der nun general und medical Superintendent of the Foreign Mission ernannt worden war, traf dort Ende 1909 eine achtzig Eingeborene an; er erhielten mit sichtlicher Überredung die Zahl der Tuscan jener Gebiete auf 300 bis 400.

Auch hier erhielten sich die gleichen Schwierigkeiten, die Indianer lange auf der Mission zu halten. Der Missionar hätte sie verhältnismäßig wenig, wenn die Mittel fehlten. Sie erhielt sie nicht von vornherein unmöglich und so blieben alle Bemühungen um deren Verbesserung fast ganz erfolglos.

Das einzige Leben auf jener unfruchtbaren Insel verursachte die Missionare immer wieder[illegible] und so sollte der Versuch, diese Niederlassung ganz wieder nach Norden zu verschieben. Nach drei aufeinander folgen „and accompanied by suffers of Wellness, in September 1910, the missionaries migrated thither", und ganz nach Legrain in der Bahia Tokoshin. „There were now many more natives to be dealt with, coming from New Year's Sound and elsewhere and the prospects of useful work were considerably enlarged" (MM. LXVIII, 11, 1910).

Für das missionarische Wirken erwiesen dieser Plätzegkeiten gewiß als der vorige, doch es sich nur so „ungemeinlich bäßlich, was auf einem Felsgerbeach, den Gilbertes Missionaren (Bonanza) bewohnen. Dieser kam ebenfalls von den Falklandinseln, und ungewohnt, Wild zu schen, mußten er keine Bäume in der Nähe der Gebäude dulden, weshalb er diese ganz Schlafplätze von den Indianern allmählich niederkommen ließ" (Bonanza III).

Die neue Siedlung wurde von Rachel Swanson bald zur Hauptstation

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[illegible] Indianer. „Die gouvernment children, Kinder Gerichte in ein [illegible] der von Frauen und die in Begleitungen, a [illegible] ganz die [illegible] ganz [illegible] 27 [illegible] 1908, 1 [illegible] Mission [illegible] von den Ihre Wellness (The Gobry), [illegible] [illegible] 1 [illegible] die [illegible] [illegible] (The Bayly, [illegible] [illegible] (The Wonder." [illegible]

[illegible] Indianer [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]. Man lernt die meisten Buchstaben in Tekwita ab, auch die Wissenschaft hat man durchs Skriftbrev.[illegible] Gleich zu Anfang wurden zwei Männer, zwei Knaben und Mädchen [illegible], aufgeschlossen. Am 14. November 1892 schrieb Duncan mit: „The children in both Kwaw are number twenty-eight, and others want to come" (NW, XXVIII, 16, 1894). Diese Zahl ist wohl niemals überschritten worden; auch wird eingeräumt werden, daß Erwachsene sich dort dauernd angesiedelt hätten. Am 23. Dezember erwarb jener Kaufleute von Unverzichtigkeit. Wie später Rudolf Duncan berichtete, hatten die Eingeborenen anfänglich diesen Unglücksfällen eine allzuviele Anhänglichkeit in die Mission zu erkennen gegeben (Ib.[illegible]). Die Gattin des Verunglückten reiste bald danach von Tekwita ab. Seitdem widmete sich Miss Lewanna mehrere Monate der Überwachung der Kinder, bis an dieser Verhältnisse mit Mr. Duncanson (NW, XXIX, 115, 1893). Am 4. Februar 1893 traf Rev. Jonn Wiccum aus England kommend in Port Simon ein und übernahm gleich danach die Missionsstation Tekwita (Ib. 70). Unvermählt waren auch hier die verhaltnisse Sowohl auf und Mitte 1896 mußte das Kinderheim für mehrere Wochen geschlossen werden. Am 15. Februar 1897 gab es dort überhaupt nur noch fünf Pflegtage (NW, XXXI, 79, 1897).[illegible]

4. Die Missionsstation Rio Douglas: Durch Krankheiten und vorzeitiges Lebensende verringerte sich die Zahl der Tonsure zwischen von Jahr zu Jahr. Man schätzte die Mitte 1899 nur noch auf ungefähr 200. Tekwita hatte längst seine Anziehungskraft verloren und wohl ein regelmäßiger Unterricht der Kinder noch ein allgemeiner Gottesdienst für die Erwachsenen konnte aufrecht erhalten werden. Der Verkehr der Eingeborenen mit der Missionsstation beschränkte sich auf bloße Zudringlichkeiten, wenngleich Lewanna im Jahre 1899 (NW, XXXIII, 110) eine ziemlich eine gewisse Zahl der noch lebenden Gläubigen anzugehen versuchte. Auch in Tekwita fanden sich Indianerfamilien nur selten noch ein.

Den letzten Beweis dieses Falles erbrachte die Missionsgemeinde schließlich auf einem neuen Platze einer sicheren Zufluchtsstätte einzurichten, nämlich an der Mündung des Rio Douglas, an der Bucht des gleichen Namens, auf dem Wasserfall der Isla Nevarino, etwa 20 km südlich von Wahala. Wiccum, im Jahre 1900 seinen Stützpunkt Plato verlassend, begab sich dorthin und führte das ganze Werk weiter. Allerdings blieb dem nicht mehr viel zu tun übrig, weil die Indianer keiner merklichen Anhänglichkeit an die Mission zu erkennen gaben und von der durch Indirekte Wolle bewegte Eingeborenen wurden. Weil sie dann niemals einen dauernden Aufenthalt durch kostspielige Spenden an Lebensmittels und Kleidung zu gewährleisten bestrebt gewesen

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Hinsichtlich der dem derzeitigen Stand der indianischen **Bevölkerung** sind folgende Mitteilungen: „Mr. J. Lawrence reports that since the Bishop's visit, rather more than a year ago, thirty-two of the Yahgans had died, and during that time he had heard of only three or four births. He estimates that the remnant of the Yahgans must now be reduced to less than one hundred" (MM: XL, 136; 1906). Weniger Mission spricht heute von (Ib. 200): „A recent very careful census made by the Yahgans themselves gives their total number as 170. During twelve months to March last there were twenty deaths, an unusually high number, and eight births." Ende 1908 schätzte Wuscow die gesamte „Yahgan population of 150", von der durchschnittlich 36 einige Zeit bei ihm verweilten (MM: XLIII, 141; 1909). Weil er in diesen Dimensionen sich nicht ausgiebig heiligen konnte, richtete er sich auf einen kleinen landwirtschaftlichen Betrieb ein und stellte Eingeborene her, der in jenen Gegenden noch nicht bekannt war.

5. **Das Ende der englischen Mission:** Je mehr der dortige Archipel durch Europäer besiedelt und die Kopfzahl der Eingeborenen vermindert wurde, um so schneller fanden die missionarische **Wirksamkeit** ein. Inzwischen war Erwann F. Evans zum Nachfolger des Bischofs Stamers für die Falkland-Inseln bestimmt und am 13. Juli 1902 konsekriert worden.[illegible] Der bereits beschäftigte J. Lawrence, der letzte Superintendent, hielt sich bere noch 1900 bei unserer Station in Punta Remedios auf, wo seine Söhne eine Schulwirtschaft eingerichtet hatten. Im Jahre 1908 wurde er endgültig seiner Aemter entlassen. Bei den Indern sich noch wie vor die meisten Indianer-Familien an keinem Bereiche ein und er bestätigte diese Gelegenheit, sie für einige Stunden zu unterweisen. Zu Weihnachten 1912 waren unter gleichzeitig 36 erwachsene Yamanas, die gelegentlich auf der Farm beschäftigt wurden, in Punta Remedios versammelt; er hielt diesen eine eigenen Gottesdienst und taufte dabei fünf Kinder. Aber er bekannte offenen Herzens: „The time for giving them regular and systematic teaching would almost seem to be past. Most of them are continually on the move" (MM: XLVII, 143; 1913).

Viel weniger Bemühe widmete der Feuerländer erhielt Wuscow in Ile Douglas. Die Missionsstätigkeit auf Isla Keppel war inzwischen eingestellt worden. Dem L. E. Bearcroft hatte von dort aus am 28. Dezember 1903 berichtet: „Fourteen, twenty-seven yaghs and boys are on the island, besides the native catechist, Mr. Gaston Lowes, and his wife" (MM: XXVIII, 44; 1904). Allerdings sind auch diese Kinder in den Heimat verschgeschickt, aber durch

[illegible]

[illegible]

andere nicht mehr ersetzt werden. Längst war den Eingeborenen die Lust vergangen, auf so weite Entfernungen sich von den Ihrigen zu trennen.

Ein neuerlicher Aufwand an Personen und Mitteln im Dienste der Verchristlichung der Yamana verlohnte sich wirklich nicht mehr, ihre Kopfzahl war nun doch schon zu gering. Den leitenden Stellen in der S. A. Missionary Society drängte sich die Entscheidung eindeutig auf. Im Jahre 1916 wurde die Missionstätigkeit endgültig eingestellt und der letzte noch bedienstete Missionar J. Williams zum Chaplan der anglikanischen Kolonie in Punta Arenas bestimmt. Der Entschluß der obersten Leitung lautete kurz und entschieden: „After many months of thought and prayer the Committee has decided that the time has now come to chose the Mission at Rio Douglas ... It was with profound sadness that the decision was reached" (MM: L, 129; 1916). Das missionarische Wirken durch reichlich sechs Jahrzehnte in bester Absicht für die vielverkannten Yamana fand damit seinen Abschluß.

6. Missionarische Arbeiten für die Selk'nam: Diese Darstellung bliebe unvollständig, wenn nicht noch ein kurzes Wort über die von den englischen Missionaren den Selk'nam gebotene Hilfe angeschlossen würde. Ursprünglich war nur eine religiöse Betreuung der Yamana geplant; aber die Umstände drängten dazu, den enggesagenen Kreis zu durchbrechen. Seit den 80er Jahren dachten die Missionare ernstlich daran, auch die Selk'nam unter ihren Einfluß zu nehmen. Bridges hatte zweimal versucht, von Norden her in die Isla Grande einzudringen und die ersten Verbindungen mit den dort wohnhaften Indianern anzuknüpfen (Bd. I, 46), später wünschte er wiederholt Bewohner des Südostufers der Isla Grande nach Ushuaia zu ziehen,[555] auch um die Kenntnis ihrer Sprache bemühte er sich (MM: XV, 156, 255; 1881).[556] Da inzwischen die katholischen Salesianer-Missionare auf den Plan getreten waren, gaben die anglikanischen Missionare ihre Absicht, inmitten des Selk'nam-Gebietes eine Niederlassung einzurichten, aus vornehmer Gesinnung auf.

Als seit Anfang der 90er Jahre die grausamen Verfolgungen gegen die Selk'nam wüteten und sie sogar im gebirgigen Süden ihrer heimatlichen Insel

[555] Er hatte längst gefühlt, daß das Tätigkeitsfeld der Missionare weiter gezogen werden müßte; denn die Yamana schwanden von Ushuaia immer mehr ab. Neuer Nachschub von Selk'nam wäre erwünscht gewesen. Diese aber bewiesen der Mission noch mehr Zurückhaltung als ihre östlichen Nachbarn. Seine Sorgen enthüllte Bridges am 25. August 1883: „The Ona have not visited us as they said they would. As time goes on it becomes more necessary for us to travel if we would enlarge and develop our work. Life at Ushuaia to visitors is not happy and scarcely possible, unless they are largely supplied by the Mission with daily food, and this is out of the question. Instead of receiving more visits we receive fewer and fewer from distant parts, because the few who have visited are not encouraged to do so again" (MM: XVII, 273; 1883).

[556] Am 3. August 1882 enthüllte er folgenden Plan: „We decided ... that Mr. Bartlett should devote himself to the acquirement of the Ona, and Mr. Lawrence in learning Alacaloof. I am to revise and arrange the words so collected. We find our vocabularies of these two languages, compiled years ago, fairly accurate. There is no similarity between them" (MM: XVI, 253; 1882). Hierbei dürfte es sich nur um kurze Wortlisten gehandelt haben.

keinen ausreichenden Versteck mehr fanden, flüchteten einzelne Gruppen nach Ushuaia. Die Regierungspersonen konnten sich ihrer nicht viel widmen und schoben sie über kurz oder lang auf die Missionsstation ab. Da diese Flüchtlinge ganz unerwartet und zuweilen in beträchtlicher Zahl dort eintrafen,[407] waren die Missionare meist außerstande, ihnen allen für längere Zeit ein Unterkommen zu gewähren. Welche Verlegenheit die Ankömmlinge bereiteten, schildert LAWRENCE ausführlich am 20. März 1896: „At the present time there are more Ona Indians at Ushuaia than Yahgans, which has never been the case before ... We have now about a hundred, more or less, of the Ona natives at Ushuaia. There are between thirty and forty children, and the majority of adults are women" (MM: XXX, 127; 1896). Obwohl sich die Missionare vorwiegend der Kinder annahmen, eine geregelte Unterweisung scheiterte an dem Widerstande, den deren Eltern entgegenstellten. So lange eine religiöse Beeinflussung dieser Indianer noch nicht möglich war, benützten die Missionare jede Gelegenheit, um deren Sprache zu lernen.[408] Dieser Eifer verdient vollste Anerkennung. Seitdem aber BRIDGES seine eigene Farm in Puerto Harberton eröffnet hatte, eilten die gehetzten Selk'nam mit Vorliebe dorthin, wo sie für Taglöhnerarbeit auch etwas zu essen erhielten. Eine planmäßige Beeinflussung war auch hier nicht möglich, weil BRIDGES deren Sprache nicht kannte und weil diese Indianer sich noch weniger als die Yamana zur Seßhaftigkeit bewegen ließen. An diesem Umstande scheiterte auch der Plan des Bischofs STIRLING, die flüchtenden Selk'nam am Canal de Beagle anzusiedeln (MM: XXIX, 143, 193; 1895). Die trüben Erfahrungen, die man in Ushuaia mit der Einrichtung des Waisenhauses gemacht hatte, bestimmten LUCAS BRIDGES, den zweitältesten Sohn des Rev. THOMAS BRIDGES, der sich inzwischen mit den Lebensbedingungen der Selk'nam vertraut gemacht hatte, nachdrücklichst von ähnlichen Versuchen bei diesen Indianern abzuraten (MM: XXXIII, 86; 1899). Schließlich ließ das grausige Kesseltreiben gewinnsüchtiger Europäer gegen die feuerländischen Bewohner der Isla Grande nach, Ushuaia übte auf sie keine Anziehungskraft mehr aus, der Schwerpunkt der anglikanischen Mission war bereits nach Süden verschoben (S. 303) und die Zahl der überlebenden Selk'nam bedeutend verringert worden. Was zu ihrer Verchristlichung und zu ihrem Schutz vor Ungerechtigkeiten der Europäer geschehen konnte, leisteten jetzt die katholischen Salesianer-Missionare. Somit war für die Anglikaner kein Anlaß mehr vorhanden, sich auch noch jenen Indianern zu widmen. Was sie für diese getan haben, geschah in bester Absicht.[409]

Ein fühlbarer Einfluß auf die Halakwulup westlich der Halbinsel

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[407] Vgl. den Brief LAWRENCE's vom 18. Juni 1894 (MM: XXVIII, 159).

[408] LAWRENCE versichert: „Meanwhile, we hope to become better acquainted with the Ona people, and in some way or other to learn something of their language" (MM: XXX, 143; 1896).

[409] Die vielen einzelnen Bemühungen der S. A. Missionary Society für die Selk'nam habe ich ausführlich genug bereits in Bd. I, 179 zusammengestellt.

Brocknock ist von der anglikanischen Mission nicht ausgegangen. Die Missionare selber, Bamoza nicht ausgenommen, hatten vereinzelt Gelegenheit, mit ihnen in Berührung zu kommen, und das Zusammensein währte jedesmal nur kurze Zeit. Auch diesen Stamm zu vorchristlichen ist zwar vorübergehend in Ushuaia erörtert, doch niemals ernstlich versucht worden. Demnach war Bamoza auch nicht in der Lage, sich eingehend mit dessen Sprache zu beschäftigen."[479]

Seitdem sich die anglikanischen Missionare aus jener Gegend im Jahre 1916 zurückgezogen haben, blieben die wenigen überlebenden Yamana ohne jede religiöse Betreuung. Als drei Jahre später Bischof Aguilera zum Apostolischen Präfekten für Magallanes mit Sitz in Punta Arenas ernannt worden war, unternahm er bald eine Reise durch den Archipel von Kap Hoorn, weil die katholische Pfarrei in Ushuaia ihm unterstand. Er nahm dabei auch kurzen Aufenthalt auf dem Nordufer der Isla Navarino und eröffnete seine Absicht einigen dort anwesenden Eingeborenen. Eine geregelte Missionierung der Yamana ist jedoch nicht mehr ins Leben gerufen worden. Deren waren es eben zu wenige, die ihr unstetes Wanderleben nicht aufgeben wollten noch konnten.

β. *Erfolge und Mißerfolge*

Während die katholischen Missionare mit ihrem Hilfswerke auf der Isla Grande dann einsetzten, als die Volkskraft der starken, lebensfähigen Selk'nam unter der Verfolgungswut gemeinster Europäer bereits zusammenbrach, waren die anglikanischen Missionare etwa vierzig Jahre früher in das Heimatgebiet der Yamana eingerückt, das bislang nennenswerte fremde Beeinflussung noch nicht erfahren hatte. Diese grundverschiedenen Voraussetzungen darf niemand übersehen, der beide Unternehmungen miteinander vergleicht.

Eine betrübliche Erscheinung steigt alsbald jedem auf, der neben den geschichtlichen Verlauf der missionarischen Wirksamkeit im Kap Hoorn-Archipel die Volksstatistik des jeweiligen Jahres hält: Seit dem Beginn der Missionstätigkeit verringerte sich die Kopfzahl der Yamana unaufhaltsam, bis sie schließlich nach genau sechzig Jahren so unbedeutend wurde, daß die Missionare selber sich wieder zurückzogen. Eine schwere, ungerechte Anschuldigung wäre es, für den Untergang jenes Indianerstammes allein oder hauptsächlich die S. A. Missionary Society verantwortlich zu machen; denn unheilvoll zerstörende und vernichtende Kräfte ganz anderer Art haben

[479] Cooper: 74 glaubt, auf einige Belegstellen sich berufend, daß Bamoza ein ausführliches Wörterbuch der Halakwulup-Sprache zusammengestellt habe. Nach Auskünften, die mir Rev. Jean Lawrence und sein Sohn Franz machten, ist dies ausgeschlossen. Zwar hatte Bamoza gehofft, „pouvoir entretenir à Ouchouaya quelques-uns de ces indigènes pour apprendre leur dialecte" (Hyades [q]: 12), doch hat sich dieser Wunsch nicht erfüllt. Verstreute Wörter allerdings hat er gelegentlich gesammelt. Ebensowenig hat der Missionar Wharton sich mit jener Indianersprache beschäftigt und was Swanson (e): 131 ihm diesbezüglich unterstellt, ist aus der Luft gegriffen. In diesem Sinne ist das, was Cooper: 8 aufgestellt hat, zu berichtigen.

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

sich dort zugewirkt, wie der folgende Abschnitt dartun wird. Gewiß sind auch in der Arbeitsweise der Missionare und in ihrer Behandlung der Eingeborenen manche Mängel und Fehler erweisbar, die zweifelsohne zum Nachteile und Verderben ausschlugen. Darauf hier hinzuweisen ist unumgänglich. Dieser Tatsache, daß mit Eröffnung der Mission auch der Niedergang der Yamana einsetzte, kann sich niemand verschließen; sie fordert geschichtlich eine Erklärung. Dabei werden auch die ungeheuren Schwierigkeiten, die sich der Missionierung eines nomadisierenden Volkes mit sogenannter Sammelwirtschaft entgegenstellen, auf die Oberfläche steigen; sie können, belehrend und warnend, anderen Unternehmungen der gleichen Art zum Vorteile sein. Entschieden aber verwahre ich mich von vornherein gegen die mögliche Unterstellung, als beabsichtige ich das Werk der anglikanischen Missionare aus irgendwelchen Sonderrücksichten zu verkleinern. Einige Reisende waren voll des Lobes über das, was sie als deren Schöpfung am Ort und Stelle, besonders in Ushuaia, bestaunen konnten; sie haben aber nie das ganze Unternehmen bis in seine Auswirkungen verfolgt. Weil ich letztere ebenfalls in die kritische Beurteilung einbeziehe, muß ich, so schwer es fällt, einige aus jenen Lobsprüchen als unberechtigt abweisen.

Bringt man die Bestrebungen der Missionare auf folgende einheitliche Formel: Sie haben zu schnell und zu ausschließlich die Europäisierung der Yamana betrieben — so scheinen gleichzeitig alle Vorteile und Nachteile auf. Letztere überwiegen erstere ganz bedeutend. Von wenigen Brennpunkten aus sollen die einen wie die anderen kurz beleuchtet werden.[271]

1. Überführung auf Isla Keppel: Teilweise unter dem Zwange des schlechten Rufes, in dem die Feuerländer damals standen, teilweise im Hinblick auf den unglücklichen Ausgang des zweiten Versuches Allen Gardiner's und seiner Gefährten (S. 289) reifte im Schoße der Leitung der "Patagonian Missionary Society" der Entschluß, die erste Siedlung der Missionare außerhalb der Heimatgrenzen des Yamana-Volkes einzurichten. Dafür kam außer den Falklands-Inseln keine andere Stelle in Frage. Dorthin sollte zunächst Jemmy Button und bald danach auch mancher seiner Landsleute verpflanzt werden, damit die Missionare mit der Sprache und Lebensform dieser Indianer genügend vertraut würden, bevor die eigentliche Missionsarbeit begänne.

So vorteilhaft dieser Plan auf den ersten Blick erscheinen mag, kein geringerer als Kapitän Parker Snow stellte sich ihm entschieden entgegen und zwar wegen der Nachteile, die damit für die herbeigebrachten Eingeborenen verbunden wären. Später gelang es zwar der Überredungskunst der Missionare, wenn sie in ihrem eigenen Schiffe die feuerländischen Kanäle

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[271] Die bedeutsameren Umstände habe ich bereits in (h): 71, durch ohne weitläufige Beschreibung, aufgezählt, später hat Koppers (h): 139 einen jeden derselben zum Quellenbelegen begründet. Hier möchte ich die biologische Erörterung in den Vordergrund stellen, wodurch Wiederholungen nicht nur vermieden werden, sondern die eine Darstellung die andere ergänzt.

durchkreuzten, die eine und andere Indianerfamilie zur Mitfahrt nach Isla Keppel zu bewegen. Recht wohl fühlte sich dort keine. Sogar J. Burton war froh, als er nach der vereinbarten Frist wieder die Rückreise antreten konnte und vornehm verweigerte er die Zusage, ein zweites Mal zu kommen (S. 293). In späteren Jahren sind fast nur Kinder, meist verwaiste, und unverheiratete junge Leute dorthin gebracht worden, deren jugendlicher Übermut leichter zu solchem Wagnis trieb. Nur so erklärt es sich, daß einzelne sich freiwillig dafür anboten. Wer aber einmal längere Zeit dort verweilt hatte, verspürte keine sonderliche Lust mehr zurückzukehren.[172]

Die fremde Umgebung, das Fernsein von den eigenen Verwandten und Freunden, die gänzlich ungewohnte Lebenshaltung, der Zwang, unausweichlich an fremde Menschen und an deren Willen gebunden zu sein — das alles legte sich, je länger je schwerer, als empfindliche Last auf Geist und Gemüt eines jeden, das stimmte ihn unmutig und traurig, das ließ ihn die baldige Rückkehr zu den Seinen immer stärker herbeisehnen. Denn zu plötzlich war der Übergang aus der Wildnis ins Europäertum und viel zu gewaltsam die Umstellung vom Althergebrachten auf Lebensgewohnheiten der Weißen, als daß diese weite Spanne der Gegensätze von den einfachen Naturkindern hätte leicht überwunden werden können. Obwohl die Missionare aus bester Absicht handelten, genau so unklug war es, die ungeheuren Abstände zu übersehen, die jeder Eingeborene, der in den neugeschaffenen Verhältnissen sich zurechtfinden sollte, überbrücken mußte.[173] Deshalb beklagten sie sich über die langsamen Fortschritte ihrer Schüler, rein sachlich erwogen, zu Unrecht.

STIRLING schrieb am 8. Januar 1864 (VSA: XI, 95; 1864): „Though considering the time in which they [die Yamana in Cranmer] have stayed with us, we might have expected more; yet if not all that we desired, some real improvement has certainly taken place. We must not forget that they were heathens, and have grown up in the ignorance and darkness of their mind, so that they have no guide but their own vain imaginations. There is however one good point, a most important one too, which is, that they have great reverence for the name of God, and are willing (to listen), and attentive, when they are instructed about religious and spiritual things."

Jene bislang in völliger Ungebundenheit aufgewachsenen Naturkinder waren außerstande, die Enge, in die sie durch Tagesordnung, Dauerwohnung

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[172] Ohne Einschränkung wird von PHILLIPS (a): 1011 angestanden: „Übrigens konnten die Zöglinge kaum den Tag erwarten, wo man sie heimbringen würde. Obdach, warme Kleider, Wochöhungen und Syrup hend wogen ihnen nicht das goldene Elend ihrer Freiheit auf. Daß auch die sonstigen Lehren die alten Vorstellungen nicht verdrängt hatten, konnte PHILLIPS aus einem drolligen Zwiegespräch mit einem der Knaben entnehmen."

[173] Gleich zu Anfange, als BURTON von seiner Fahrt im Oktober 1864 acht Kinder nach Isla Keppel brachte, entwickelte er folgenden Plan: „My intentions toward the natives, are: to teach them daily for two hours, to see well to their conduct; to come them all to board together, whereby their keep will be much simplified and less expensive" (VSA: XII, 32; 1865).

und regelmäßige Arbeit eingezwängt wurden, zu ertragen, naturgewaltig bäumte sich früher oder später ihr ganzes Inneres gegen jedwede Einschränkung ihrer Bewegungsfreiheit auf und trieb sie mächtig zu der Lebensform zurück, die sie als Erbteil ihrer Vorfahren übernommen hatten. Oft und oft mußten es die Missionare beobachten, auch später in Ushuaia noch, daß selbst die engste Verbindung monatelangen Zusammenseins mit den Eingeborenen von diesen plötzlich zerrissen und später nie mehr aufgenommen wurde. Das bezeugt Bovz (e): 94 beispielsweise: „El señor Ramons me contó que no es extraño el caso de ver una familia después de uno o dos años de trabajo, abandonar casa, hortaliza, animales, y volver a su vida primitiva nómade y de privaciones. Gran parte de esas deserciones son debidas a la localidad misma en que se encuentra la Misión, localidad excelente para los europeos que allí viven, pero muy desventajosa para los indígenas, los que prefieren aguas tranquilas para sus canoas, para dedicarse a la pesca en todo tiempo y abundancia de agua y leña ..." Gewiß, sie verrichteten eine Zeitlang die ihnen anbefohlenen Arbeiten und fügten sich in die aufgestellte Ordnung, doch deren Wert für sich selber erfaßten sie nie.

Der gesamte Betrieb überraschte günstig jeden europäischen Beschauer. Aber hier trügte der Schein gar sehr, weil den Eingeborenen für alles, was sie taten, Sinn und Verständnis nicht aufging. „On est vraiment surpris et l'on éprouve une sorte d'émotion inoubliable, quand, visitant pour la première fois Ushuaia, on voit ces Fuégiens ainsi transformés en cultivateurs, en bergers, en ouvriers... S'ils n'ont pas réussi à répandre autour d'eux la civilisation en proportion de leurs efforts, cela tient à ce que le Fuéguien, si capable de s'adapter à cette civilisation, n'aime pas la subir et retourne avec délices à sa pirogue, à sa vie indépendante, errante, sans préoccupations et sans souci. C'est ainsi que nous avons vu les Fuégiens de la baie Orange mener l'existence de l'homme aussi primitif qu'on peut l'imaginer" (Hyades [j]: 166).

Die äußerliche Gefügigkeit der Indianer befestigte die Missionare wenigstens in den ersten Jahren auf der Isla Keppel in der Überzeugung, daß sie den richtigen Weg eingeschlagen hätten. Sie blieben also dabei. Aber verborgen reifte bei jenen Eingeborenen, die den ganzen Betrieb mitgemacht hatten, eine Abneigung heran, die sich später nie mehr verlor und die sich meist noch steigerte. Schließlich mußten die Missionare sich dem geheimnisvollen Zwange der sich entwickelnden Verhältnisse doch beugen und sie machten Ushuaia im Herzen des Yamana-Gebietes zum Mittelpunkte ihrer Wirkung. Leider führten sie die Europäisierung der Eingeborenen auch hier nachdrücklich weiter und sahen darin das Ziel aller ihrer Anstrengungen.

2. Bemühungen um Ansiedlung der Indianer: Das unruhige Wanderleben der Yamana galt den Missionaren als Gradmesser tiefen Kulturstandes und um diesen zu heben schien ihnen die Gewöhnung an Seßhaftigkeit das beste Mittel.[114] Dem diente auch das Sammeln vieler

[114] Vorzeitig gab Ramons seine Grundsätze den Eingeborenen, die darauf noch längst nicht vorbereitet waren, bekannt. Im Oktober 1884 hatte er wieder eine Reise nach der

Kinder in gemeinschaftlichen Sälen und das Ansiedeln einzelner Familien nahe den Stationsgebäuden. Den Geschmack an der seßhaften Lebensweise sollten die Eingeborenen sich zunächst auf Isla Keppel erwerben, wo sie tatsächlich bestimmte Räume zugewiesen erhalten hatten. Aber dieses Ziel wurde nie erreicht, weil der Wandertrieb auch mit der Lust zur altgewohnten Betätigung und mit dem Verlangen nach Mutproben verbunden war, die so stark im Inneren eines jeden pochten, daß er ihnen hemmungslos nachgab, sobald sich ihm die Gelegenheit dazu bot.

Um allen Indianern die Vorteile der Dauersiedlung greifbar vor Augen zu führen, versuchten es die Missionare durch Okokko eine Art „Musterwirtschaft" auf Isla Button einzurichten (S. 297). Statt davon zu lernen, haben mißgünstige Stammesgenossen, die ein bedeutendes Mehr in den Händen eines der Ihrigen nicht ertragen konnten, den gesamten Vorrat gewaltsam verstreut und zerstört. Bei diesem Stamme ist es üblich, daß jeder vom eigenen Überfluß an andere verteilt. Aus dem, was den drei aus England mit Frrz-Roy zurückgekehrten Feuerländern widerfahren war (S. 275), hätten die Missionare zumindest die Befürchtung schöpfen müssen, ihr neuerlicher Versuch werde ähnlich enden.

Unerklärlich erscheint es, warum die Missionare sich niemals vor die Schwierigkeit gestellt haben, die bei einer Dauersiedlung für den Nahrungserwerb sich ergibt. Leicht kann man dort eine Familie seßhaft machen, wo Jagd, Ackerbau oder Viehzucht den erforderlichen Ertrag mehr oder weniger mühelos liefern, wo sie aus diesen Quellen, unbekümmert um Wetter und Jahreszeit, jedesmal nach Bedarf schöpfen kann. Doch dergleichen günstige Voraussetzungen gibt es im Kap Hoorn-Archipel nicht. Da müssen ruhelos der Mann auf der Jagd und die Frau beim Sammeln bald hier, bald dort, ihr Glück versuchen und dürfen am gleichen Orte nur so lange verweilen, als er ihnen Nahrung gewährt. Zu Viehzucht oder Ackerbau, den die Familien betreiben könnten, eignet sich jenes Gebiet nicht. Überall vermochte eine Familie nur so lange zu verweilen, als sie mit europäischen Lebensmitteln durch die Missionare ausgerüstet war. Warum versuchten es diese trotzdem, die Indianer für Seßhaftigkeit zu gewinnen, da der Erwerb europäischer Waren für sie aussichtslos war? Einen ganzen Stamm hätte die Missionsleitung niemals allein versorgen können. Die Missionare klagten wiederholt darüber, daß sie zeitweilig außerstande wären, all jene Einzelpersonen zu ernähren, die bei ihnen untergebracht waren,[274] und rieten

Gegend von Wulaia gemacht und dort seine feuerländischen Bekannten aufgesucht. „My instructions to the natives were briefly these: To live in mutual good will; to help one another; to be industrious in digging the ground, and to prepare for themselves a settlement" (VSA: XII, 51; 1865).

[274] Der Hunger trieb manche, die sich in Ushuaia niedergelassen hatten, von dort wieder weg. Bumens nennt diese Ursache: „On account of the scarcity of mussels, limpets, crabs, and swimming fish here, and also of the important winter fungusses, or rather parasites, or diseased growth on trees, and also the distance of the food supply, almost our

deshalb ihnen manchmal, einen anderen Platz aufzusuchen und auf ihre Art sich den Lebensunterhalt zu erwerben."[176]

Trotzdem erwog Bamous einen großzügigen Plan, der letzten Endes zur Anlage größerer Sammelsiedlungen geführt und darin alle Yamana-Indianer zusammengefaßt hätte. „Insure a very large and constant residence here by a general employent as lucrative as possible and to supply them in return with needful shelter, food, and clothing... The young should be fully supported, and lodged in suitable buildings entirely away from their parents... The young persons should be well watched, guarded, warned, exhorted, instructed, and also suitable employed, to prepare them for life's duties, guard them from its snares, and leave them in all things so to live as to glorify God. As one and another became fitted, they should be assisted to follow various occupations according to their own leadings; some should be teachers, others tailors, cobblers, sawyers, fishers, bakers, gardiners, farmers, carpenters, smiths, vendors, etc. To accomplish this, and to make the people capable of living a happy Christian life, would require a great number of agents, extensive errections of buildings, and, in fact, would be a complicated and extensive business" (MM: IX, 219; 1875).

An den unüberschbaren Schwierigkeiten der Durchführung scheiterte dieser wirklichkeitsfremde Vorschlag;[177] er wäre weder zum Vorteil der Yamana ausgefallen noch hätte er deren Untergang aufgehalten. Im Gegensatz zu Bamous kam es anderen Missionaren schließlich doch zum Bewußtsein, daß es unmöglich sei, jene Eingeborenen, wegen der dort allein zulässigen Wirtschaftsführung, von ihrem unsteten Wanderleben abzubringen und zur Seßhaftigkeit hinüberzuführen.

3. Einzwängen in geschlossene Wohnungen: Eine besondere Wohltat glaubten die Missionare den Eingeborenen und zumal den Kindern dadurch zu erweisen, daß sie sich bemühten, dieselben in eigens errichteten Gebäuden unterzubringen. Ausführlich schildern sie die kleinen Räumlichkeiten, die sie den ersten feuerländischen Besuchern auf Isla Keppel zur Verfügung gestellt hatten. Später haben sie in Erweiterung dieser Bestrebungen ein Waisenhaus in Ushuaia aufgebaut, das schließlich nach Tekenika verpflanzt wurde.

Dem äußeren Anscheine nach waren die Eingeborenen in festen Holzbauten gut geborgen und gegen Witterungsunbilden geschützt. Viel bedeutungsvoller als das Dach über dem Kopfe, unter dem sie oft frieren mußten,

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usual residents will disband and go to other places where these supplies are comparatively plentiful and handy" (MM: XV, 291; 1881). Mit der Zeit fehlte es in der weiteren Umgebung von jener Siedlung sogar an Bäumen, die zum Kanubaum hätten geeignete Rindenstücke liefern können (MM: XVII, 56; 1883).

[176] Lawrence gesteht das in seinem Briefe vom 18. September 1886 unumwunden ein (MM: XX, 261; 1886).

[177] Trotzdem entwickelte Bamous zwölf Jahre später den Plan zu einem noch ausgedehnteren Unternehmen, für das er insgesamt 900 Personen einstellen wollte und in das auch die Seh'nem und Halakwulup hätten einbezogen werden sollen (MM: XXI, 8; 1887).

wäre für ihr leibliches Wohlsein ein offenes Feuer gewesen, das sie aber in den geschlossenen Räumen jener Bauten entbehren mußten. Manchmal fehlte darin, auch zeitweilig im Waisenhause, jedwede Heizung vollständig. Nun war die Körperbedeckung der Eingeborenen immer so spärlich, daß sie dadurch nicht erwärmt wurden; sie blieben unbedingt auf Feuer angewiesen, das ihnen eine Lebensnotwendigkeit war. Gar nicht ausdenken läßt sich die Schädigung der Gesundheit durch gänzliches und teilweises Fehlen der Heizung. Gegenüber einer Ofenfeuerung besitzt für sie das offene Feuer unvergleichlich mehr Vorteile; vor allem trocknet es die Haut und durchwärmt es den ganzen Körper viel schneller. Kurz sei auch erwähnt, daß das immer feuchte Buchenholz in einem Ofen viel langsamer brennt und weniger schnell Hitze abgibt als auf einer offenen Herdstätte.

Der Fußboden in einem geschlossenen Raume war durch Luftzug und Erdfeuchtigkeit fühlbar kälter als der Erdboden rund um die Feuerstelle in einer offenen Hütte. Dagegen konnten die Eingeborenen sich auch nicht durch vermehrte Decken und Felle schützen.

Um die erforderliche Wärme nicht entbehren zu müssen, hielten sie möglichst ihre Räume geschlossen. Selbstverständlich entwickelte sich darin durch Hautausdünstungen, feuchte Kleider, angehäufte Lebensmittel und eingeschleppten Schmutz eine derart dicke, stockige Luft, daß die Atmungsorgane schwer in Mitleidenschaft gezogen wurden. Schließlich nahm die allgemeine Unreinlichkeit in den Räumen, in die Sonne und Luft der Eingang verwehrt war, um so häßlichere Formen an, je weniger dagegen anzukämpfen es jene freiluftgewohnten Indianer verstanden. Dergleichen Zustände abzustellen reichte alle Sorgfalt der Missionare nicht hin, weil den Eingeborenen das notwendige Maß von Sinn für Reinlichkeit am Körper und im Wohnraume abging, um ohne Schädigung ihrer Gesundheit in einem geschlossenen Bau längere Zeit bei Tage und bei Nacht zu verweilen. Der physiologische Hunger nach frischer Luft hat sie unbewust und oft mit überraschender Plötzlichkeit aus den Missionsgebäuden wieder zur gänzlichen Ungebundenheit in der freien Natur zurückgetrieben.

Eine üble Folgeerscheinung des Beisammenseins vieler im geschlossenen Raume, zumal in einem größeren Schlafsaale, war die schnellere Verbreitung von Seuchen. Irgendwie dagegen sich zu schützen war jenen Eingeborenen unbekannt. Man geht wohl bei der Annahme nicht fehl, daß ein längeres Verweilen der Kinder in den Gebäulichkeiten der Mission eine gewisse Empfänglichkeit für Krankheiten geschaffen haben, die um so furchtbarer sich auswirkten, je mehr deren Körper überdies noch durch unzweckmäßige Kleidung und Ernährung geschwächt worden war.[472]

[472] Die unverhältnismäßig hohe Sterblichkeitsziffer unter den Kindern des Waisenhauses konnte nicht unbeachtet bleiben. Bannen meinte: „In explanation of the mortality in the house I must say that much of it is evidently to be attributed to disease contracted through want and neglect before entrance" (MM: XVIII, 33; 1884). Doch ist diese Ausrede zu durchsichtig, um als gänzlich verfehlt noch eigens begründet werden zu müssen.

Zu spät leider begriffen die Missionare die hier aufgezählten Mängel zum Schaden der Eingeborenen.[99] Letztere haben wenigstens in der Mehrheit durch Flucht in die Freiheit, einem naturhaften Drange folgend, dem Unheil etwas vorgebeugt, ohne ihm ganz entrinnen zu können.

4. Benachteiligung durch europäische Kleidung: Seitdem Darwin seine wahrheitsgetreue Schilderung von der spärlichen Körperbedeckung — richtiger wäre es, von der Andeutung einer solchen zu reden — der Eingeborenen des regenreichen, frostigen Feuerlandes in alle Welt ausgestreut hatte, zitterte allein schon bei der Lesung gar mancher Europäer vor Entsetzen und hätte gern vieles aus Mitleid hergegeben, um jene nackten Menschen durch reichliche Kleidung gegen alle Ungunst der rauhen Witterung zu schützen. Daß die ersten Missionare, die den Eingeborenen dort begegneten, von dergleichen Gefühlen beseelt waren und nach Maßgabe ihrer Mittel vor allem deren körperliche Blöße mit Kleidern zu decken sich bemühten, wird niemanden befremden. Gern will ich eingestehen, diese Indianer machen den dankbar beklagenswerten Eindruck, wenn man sie in gänzlicher Nacktheit bei zusammengekrümmtem Körper unter Kälte und Hagel zittern sieht. Aber ebenso sicher ist es auch, daß bei der von ihnen eingehaltenen Lebensweise eine vollständige Bekleidung unzweckmäßig ist.

Damals, als dort das missionarische Wirken einsetzte, galt in europäischen Kreisen die spärlichere oder reichlichere Körperbedeckung als Wertmesser für den niedrigeren oder höheren Grad der Kultur eines Volksstammes;[100] um ihn zu erhöhen, hielt man die Einführung von Kleidern für sich allein schon mehr oder weniger als ausreichend. Sogar heutigentags gibt es noch Leute, die unsere europäische Zivilisation bereits bei einem Volke eingewurzelt sehen, das sich in die bei uns üblichen Modefetzen, mögen sie noch so unschön, unpassend und unzweckmäßig sein, gewohnheitsmäßig einhüllt. Also hielten auch jene Missionare es als ihre erste Pflicht, nach allen Seiten hin reichlich Kleider an die Indianer zu verteilen.[101]

Weiter unten werde ich, manchem Leser zur Überraschung, die keineswegs unbedeutenden Vorteile der vom Feuerländer gebrauchten Körperbedeckung, die auf ein noch geringeres Maß wirklich nicht herabgedrückt werden könnte, begründen. Das mag unglaubwürdig klingen. Doch, um etwas

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Aus dem Munde der Eingeborenen hatte es Hyades (q): 388 öfters vernommen. „que pour eux Ouchouya était un cimetière où ils n'osaient pas le désir d'habiter."

[99] Beispielsweise empfahl Stirling im Jahre 1890, die Kinder aus dem Waisenhause zeitweilig zu entlassen und ihnen längere Fahrten im Kanu zu gestatten (MM: XXIV, 102; 1890), damit sie sich durch die Lebensweise ihrer Väter wieder auffrischen.

[100] Leider bestätigt sich auch heute noch vielerorts, was Barclay (d): 147 im Hinblick auf die Yamana ausgesprochen hat: „The conviction common to all proselytising sects, that the regeneration of an Indian can only begin when he dons the clothing of his well-wishers is so deeply rooted that it usually dies out only with the Indian himself."

[101] Das gegenwärtig liegt abgedroschene Wort: „Indian's body all over like white man's face" war ihnen damals leider nicht bekannt.

verweg zu nehmen, sei kurz angedeutet, daß, je weniger er seinen Körper einhüllte, um so reichlicher dieser die Wohltaten des immerwährenden Feuers empfing und um so besser sich eine unabsichtliche Körperpflege vollzog. Mit Widerstreben nur ließen sich deshalb die Indianer anfänglich in Kleidung einzwängen. Waren sie wieder in völliger Freiheit, entledigten sie sich ihrer mit Behagen.[422] Weder die eine noch die andere Erscheinung haben die Missionare genügend beachtet und richtig gewertet. Bei ihnen galt als ausgemacht, daß jeder Indianer, ob groß oder klein, auf der Missionsstation vom Kopf bis zu den Füßen eingehüllt werden mußte. Jenen, die außerhalb derselben lebten, wollte man diesen Zwang noch gewisse Zeit ersparen; wenigstens ist in diesem Sinne DESPARD's Erkenntnis zu deuten, daß „in their present mode of life clothes are of little service" (VP: VI, 114; 1859).

Aus dem eingangs gekennzeichneten Empfinden mancher europäischer Kreise heraus erklärt es sich, daß ansehnliche Mengen von Kleidern zur Verteilung unter die Feuerländer sich aufhäuften, wenn Missionare aus der gefürchteten Kap Hoorn-Gegend ihre mitleidigen Bitten vor ihren Landsleuten in England klagend erhoben.[423] Jahrzehnte hindurch wiederholten sie diese Rufe in ihren Briefen und unermüdlich drängten sie diese Stücke den allmählich darnach verlangenden Eingeborenen auf, bis das heranwachsende Geschlecht sich an die europäische Kleidung so fest gewöhnt hatte, daß es dieselbe nicht mehr entbehren mag. Aber dieses Geschenk war von sehr zweifelhaftem Werte, mochten auch die Missionsschüler in ihrem Anzug nach Uniformschnitt manches Europäerauge vor Rührung zum Überlaufen bringen.

Kurz seien folgende augenfällige Schädigungen durch europäische Kleidung genannt. Diesen Indianern war früher eine geregelte Körperpflege unbekannt, doch wirkten Sonne, Luft und Regen unbehindert auf die Haut, häufig besorgte der Regen selber ein gründliches Abwaschen. Die Haut konnte, weil sie sehr fettig war oder so gehalten wurde, von den auffallenden Niederschlägen nie gänzlich durchnäßt werden; immerhin brachte eine unbehinderte Annäherung an das offene Feuer in wenigen Minuten jedwede Feuchtigkeit zum Verschwinden. Luft und Sonne reizten leicht die Haut und

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[422] Was PHILLIPS: 56 bei seinem ersten Zusammentreffen mit Indianern auf Isla Lennox am 21. Oktober 1855 erfahren hatte, schien ihm unverständlich: „Although they had been furnished with some clothes yesterday, they came without them, their only covering being a piece of sealskin hung over the shoulder." Das gleiche Benehmen haben später auch andere Europäer beobachtet.

[423] Im Anschluß an DARWIN's Schilderung sagt BARCLAY (d): 145: „It is difficult to imagine any picture more harrowing to the feelings of the good folk at home, who muffle themselves snow from head to foot with every threatened change of temperature. The mere reading of that passage caused tons of blankets and breeches to be dispatched to Tierra del Fuego, apparently without a suspicion on the part of the donors, of the missionaries, or of the resident officials, that such gifts could be anything but an unmixed blessing."

regten nicht nur die Hautatmung an, sondern förderten auch eine lebhafte Durchblutung. All das wurde durch die dicke Kleidung, die den Körper einhüllte, unterbunden. Überdies sammelte sich viel Schmutz auf der Haut und im Kleidungsstücke, das fast nie gewechselt oder gewaschen wurde, wodurch Hautausschläge und Ekzeme entstanden. Endlich entwickelte sich eine bedenkliche Schwächung des gesamten Organismus daraus, daß die feuchte Kleidung nicht durch trockene ersetzt, sondern auf dem Leibe zum Trocknen belassen wurde; hierzu mußte der eigene Körper die Verdunstungswärme liefern. Schnell war mit alledem ein guter Nährboden für Keime verschiedener Krankheiten, die einen beträchtlichen Anteil am vorschnellen Untergange dieses Volkes haben, vorbereitet. Rede sich aber niemand in Selbsttäuschung damit aus, daß die Feuerländer seit Einführung europäischer Kleidung allgemein sittlich besser geworden wären.[444] Ganz im Gegenteil erzählen manche Erscheinungen im Leben des Einzelnen und des ganzen Volkes während der letzten Jahrzehnte von einem Tiefstande, den die alte Zeit nicht gekannt hat. Der Zwang zu europäischer Kleidung hat unleugbar dem ganzen Yamana-Stamme schwere Nachteile gebracht.[445]

5. Schädigung durch ungewohnte Nahrung: Seit altersher haben die Yamana ihren Lebensunterhalt ausschließlich dem Tierreiche entnommen. Fehlte es auch an Zubereitung — sowieso wurde alles Fleisch gebraten und gedünstet —, diese Kost war leicht, bekömmlich und abwechslungsreich. Die Verdauung wurde durch reichliche Fett- und Tranmengen, die jeder zu sich nahm, gut gefördert. Bestimmte Mahlzeiten kannten die Indianer nicht, sondern sie aßen öfters am Tage kleinere Mengen, wann die Lust dazu sie überkam. Sich unnötig aufzufüllen geschah nur ausnahmsweise. Die vielen körperlichen Bewegungen und das häufige Wassertrinken wirkten ebenfalls günstig auf die Verdauung.

Diese altgewohnten Unregelmäßigkeiten wurden mit einem Schlage abgestellt, wenn Kinder oder Erwachsene auf der Missionsstation unterkamen.[446] Hier mußten sie sich eben der Tagesordnung fügen, die

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[444] Nicht einmal der neue Bischof der Falkland-Inseln, E. T. Avery (in: "My first visit to the River Douglas Station", June 1908) läßt diese unrichtige, zwar gutgemeinte Deutung gelten.

[445] Nur wenige Reisende kennzeichnen diesen Mißgriff so unumwunden, wie Barclay (d): 146 dies getan hat: „Instead of introducing the Yaghan to such (to him) unwholesome luxuries, the event plainly shows that it would have been better to have allowed him to remain cold and hungry, but healthy."

[446] In der ersten Zeit hatten sie auf Isla Keppel noch gewisse Freiheit: „Jeden Morgen 7 Uhr gieng der Missionär zu ihnen ... Auf Kosten ihrer Erzieher erhielten sie dann ein Frühstück, nämlich ein Stück Schiffszwieback mit Syrup bestrichen. Für die übrigen Tageszeiten mußten sie sich aber ihre Nahrung selbst suchen, und zwar fehlte es den Burschen nicht an eßbaren Muscheln, sowie an Wasservögeln, welchen die Feuerländer mit ihren Stöcken niederschlugen konnten. Im Ganzen — so bildeten sich die Missionäre wenigstens ein — waren ihre Pfleglinge besser daran als in Wulhein, und nahmen zu an Fett und Fleisch ... War nicht scheinbar bekam aber auch keinen eßbaren Zwieback" (Pimlaud: [a]: 1811).

gewisse Stunden zur Nahrungsaufnahme im gemeinschaftlichen Speisesaale vorgesehen hatte. Das war ein befremdlicher Zwang für den gesamten Organismus; denn er wurde zeitweilig mit Nahrung bedacht, wenn kein Hungergefühl bestand, und er mußte, falls Hunger in den Zwischenzeiten sich einstellte, trotzdem bis zur nächsten Mahlzeit warten. Zumindest litt das körperliche Wohlbehagen darunter.

Weiters hat es, wie aus mehreren Berichten der Missionare hervorgeht, zeitweilig an der ausreichenden Nahrungsmenge auf jeder Missionsstation gefehlt. Ungerecht wäre es, den Vorwurf zu erheben, sie hätten aus Geiz die Eingeborenen hungern lassen;[487] aber an der bezeichneten Tatsache ist nun einmal nicht zu zweifeln und die fiel zum Schaden der Missionsschüler aus. Erwachsene wurden in Zeiten der Knappheit hinausgeschickt, um sich die ihnen beliebte Nahrung am Strande zu suchen. So lange sie, wie anfänglich auf Isla Keppel und in Ushuaia, reichlich Muscheln, Seevögel und Robben erreichten, erwuchs daraus für sie der besondere Vorteil, den eine bekömmliche Speise bietet. Aber jene Stellen waren bald dieser Hilfmittel bar. Wer selbständig genug war, entfernte sich sofort von der Missionsstation und entschädigte sich gründlich in abseits gelegenen Kanälen. Waisenkinder indes waren dazu außerstande und mußten zu Zeiten knappen Nahrungsvorrates wohl oder übel durchhalten.

Ernsten Schaden hatte die gänzlich ungewohnte, fremdartige Kost für sich allein im Gefolge. Brot und Hülsenfrüchte, die den Hauptbestandteil bildeten, vertrug mancher fleischgewohnte Indianermagen überhaupt nicht, mancher nur schwer. Ersatz in anderer Form wurde nicht geboten. Dergleichen Schädigungen schienen anfangs harmlos oder wurden überhaupt nicht beachtet; aber sie wirkten je langsamer um so verderblicher und wurden nach ihrer Ursache nicht mehr erkannt, als unheilbare Erkrankungen bereits eingesetzt hatten.

Merkwürdig, daß nur selten einem Missionar die Erkenntnis darüber aufging, wie unzweckmäßig die europäische Ernährungsweise für diese fleischgewohnten Naturkinder und im besonderen der plötzliche Übergang zu ihr war. Dafür ist eine briefliche Mitteilung BURLEIGH's vom 4. August 1890 bezeichnend: „The people [der Tekenika-Gegend] are very frequently out of sorts; this I attribute partly to indigestion and a species of blood-poisoning, with fever caused by eating large quantities of unwholesome food, often putrid, always far gone; and strange to say that though

[487] Wohl ist erwiesen, daß die Eingeborenen für ihre Arbeiten im Dienste der Mission durch Lebensmittel entlohnt wurden. Ob dabei ihnen mit voller Gerechtigkeit zugemessen wurde, läßt sich heute nicht mehr für jeden Fall nachweisen. Für das, was SPEARS: 81 behauptet, muß er selber einstehen: „It is a fact, that the missionary gave to the heathen, in return for a day's hard work, only so much food as that heathen himself needed. To the squaw only so much as she needed was given. Under that system of pay an able-bodied man and an able-bodied woman could not together earn even enough food above their own wants to supply one child."

they will acknowledge the cause, yet they continue to eat it. The mixture of good nutritious food we are able to give them is of untold value. Indeed, were it not for this help, many would die" (MM: XXV, 23; 1891). Gänzlich verfehlt urteilte dieser Missionar; denn gerade europäische Nahrungsmittel hatten den Eingeborenen erhebliche Verdauungsstörungen verursacht, die sie von sich aus leicht und schnell durch Rückkehr zu ihrer altgewohnten Ernährungsweise zu beheben pflegten.

Folgendes Beispiel spricht überzeugender als viele Worte. NELLY LAWRENCE, die als Gattin des zweitältesten Sohnes des Rev. JOHN LAWRENCE sich schon seit einigen Jahren vor meinen vier Reisen an ihren eigenen Haushalt gewöhnt hatte und darin allein das Wort führte, also auch den Küchenzettel für die ganze Familie nach ihrer Wahl bestimmte, hielt unverrückbar an ihrer Gewohnheit fest, etwa jeden zehnten Tag mit einer anderen Indianerin auf den Canal de Beagle hinauszufahren. Seit der Morgenfrühe suchte sie Muscheln und Krebse, die sie ohne besondere Zubereitung und ohne Zukost genoß. Diesen ganzen Tag nach Indianerdiät, um mich so auszudrücken, betrachtete sie als notwendig für ihre Gesundheit; sie äußerte sich wiederholt, daß dieses zeitweilige Abweichen von europäischer Ernährungsweise für sie eine gründliche Erneuerung ihres körperlichen Wohlseins bedeutete.

In den letzten Jahrzehnten hat sich bei den wenigen Überlebenden dieses Stammes eine Art gemischter Kost eingebürgert. Wenn sie nämlich für einige Wochen auf einer Farm bedienstet sind, nehmen sie die Mahlzeiten entgegen, die ihnen gereicht werden, hauptsächlich Bohnen, Nudeln und Brot. Sobald sie sich selber wieder überlassen sind, suchen sie die Kanäle nach Muscheln und Krabben, Robben und Seevögeln ab, die ihnen während des größten Teiles des Jahres ausschließlich zur Nahrung dienen. Selten schieben sie einen in Fett gebackenen Brotfladen dazwischen ein und wenn sie Gelegenheit finden, kaufen sie sich Kaffee und Thee, Zucker und Backwerk, Zwiebeln und Reis. Allmählich hat sich ihr Körper an diese gemischte Kost gewöhnt, weil er durch langsame Übergänge dazu geführt wurde.

6. Der Zwang der Tagesordnung: Die bisher aufgezählten Umstände haben unmittelbar das körperliche Wohlsein der Missionsschüler geschwächt und geschädigt. Der Zwang zu einem geordneten Leben und zu regelmäßiger Arbeit wirkte bei diesen Indianern nicht nur im gleichen Sinne, sondern weit nachhaltiger noch auf ihre geistige Verfassung. Wie wilde Schößlinge waren sie ihrer heimatlichen Erde entsprungen und hatten sich nach Lust und Laune getummelt, bevor sie auf der Missionsstation zugelassen wurden. Hier aber mußte der ganze Tag für alle nach einheitlichen Gesichtspunkten und für bestimmte Aufgaben eingeteilt werden. Das bedeutete für jeden Missionsschüler ganz offensichtlich das Ende seiner schrankenlosen Freiheit und das schwere Joch beengender Unselbständigkeit.

Die genaue Bestimmung jeder Tagesstunde mochte für ein euro-

plötzlich Kind wohl passend sein, für ein Indianerkind war sie unerträglich. Am 3. Juni 1863 schrieb STURLING über den Eifer der Missionare und über den Fortschritt der jugendlichen Feuerländer beim Unterricht. Abgesehen von der Sonderbehandlung, die einzelne erfahren, galt: „From 9.30 A. M. till 10.30 or 11 o'clock they are taught reading and writing ... Our daily morning prayers are performed. Prayers are at 9 A. M., and half-past school commences. Mr. RAY in the evening gives a short lesson to his scholars. The evening the boys generally spend either in play or sewing. At seven we have evening prayers, after which the boys retire to bed" (VSA: X, 242; 1863). Bestimmter hat BARGES am 29. August 1864 die Aufgaben zusammengefaßt, mit denen die Missionsschüler jeden Tag ausfüllten: „Daily, after morning prayers, at 9 o'clock, the natives are taught, I teach my boys reading, writing, numeration, the divisions of time, and English, also the only way to true peace here, and bliss eternal hereafter" (VSA: XII, 5; 1865).

Grundlage der ganzen Erziehung war die Einführung in die englische Sprache, um die Erklärung der religiösen Wahrheiten zu ermöglichen.[20] An den Unterricht in eigentlichen Schulfächern schloß sich eine Unterweisung im Gartenbau an. Wie die einzelnen Aufgaben miteinander verbunden wurden zeigt ein kurzer Auszug aus dem "Report of Keppel by Dean BRANDON" vom 28. December 1893 (MM: XXVIII, 45; 1894). Er stammt aus einer Zeit, da 21 Kinder und der feuerländische Katechist GEORGE LYDIA mit seiner Gattin auf jener Insel waren: „The gardens — at present showing chiefly potatoes, cabbages, etc. and swede turnips were being sown — looked well; the boys were busy hoeing them, to destroy the weeds and self-sown potatoes. In the evening Mr. WHAYS took the night-school from seven to eight o'clock, at which arithmetic is just now the chief subject taught. The tables were said very well indeed, both by the whole class and individually. The simple addition and subtraction sums were worked out accurately and quickly by the upper class. The school was closed with prayers — the singing of a hymn, the reading of a chapter from Bible, address, thereon, and prayer — at which the Fuegians were present. On Tuesday there were full morning and evening services; a good many were able to answer the responses, and to follow the whole service with intelligence and interest. After morning service, the Fuegians went out to gather the ewe flock for lambmarking."

Abwechselnd wurden die älteren Buben außerdem noch zu leichteren Diensten im Haushalt herangezogen und die Missionare beurteilten diese Einrichtung als erfolgreich: „Every week in regular turn, two boys are told off, one as house boy to keep the House and surroundings clean, and

[20] MEDEN-STURLING: 115 betonen diesen Ziel ausdrücklich: „The basis of Christian instruction must be the English language. Accordingly, by line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little, the young lads are familiarised with Christian truths in English, and their memories are crammed by verses of Scripture, or hymns, which they are taught to repeat."

another to cook, to attend to the cooking, etc. When the cows had cooked continuously, it was observed that he became overfat from constant picking and eating, and then died. One young lad acts as house boy to Mrs. WRATTS and another to Mrs. LEWIS; at certain hours they go to bring in water, peat, take away ashes, etc., a peat which is very much esteemed; another acts as cowboy, milks the cows, goes after the calves etc. . . . " (Ib.) Endlich werden sie oft den Vieh hüten.[...]

Wer die Tagesordnung an sich allein schon eine schwere Last für die bildung ungewohnter aufgewachsener Jugend,[...] so wurde sie durch den harten Zwang zu r e g e l m ä ß i g e r A r b e i t noch empfindlicher gemacht. Nach willkürlichen Zeitabschnitten sich anstrengen und ruhenden Indianer Sitte aufzudrängen, bereitete noch den erwachsenen Indianern dieses Dasein mehr Pfeile als Vorteil. Aber die täglich gleichmäßigen und unentrinnbaren Verpflichtungen konnten sie einfachhin nicht leisten; es war, wie wenn sie dann die zuerstörende Nervenkraft nicht besäßen. Je mehr sie in solchen Zustanden der Unlust von ihren Lehrern gedrängt wurden, um so gewaltsamer bäumte sich ihr ganzes Inneres auf, das sich bei höchster Spannung in unberechenbarer Richtung früher oder später neuerlich verhängnisvoll entlud.

Man konnte an den Tamaas die gleiche Beobachtung machen, wie sie durch Missionare und Farmer von den Sioux berichtet worden ist. Was ich damals bereits habe, wiederhole ich noch hier, nämlich daß man an Unrecht jene Naturkinder der Trägheit und Schlaffheit zeiht; denn weder ihr Körper noch ihr Geist war für die Anstrengungen einer regelmäßigen, alltäglichen Arbeit vorbereitet. Ihrer Unmut liefen die Missionare verständlich leider zu deutlich den einen und anderen Indianer Pfeiles; diese wurden dadurch noch mehr verstimmt und anderes lauerhend das Weite. Kinder waren auf der Missionsstation in angenehmerer Lage und machen trotz Widerstreben die Arbeiten vorzüglich; in ihrer Seele aber bildete sich Abneigung gegen diese Weisen an. Gelegentliche Äußerungen der Missionare lassen erkennen, daß

[...] Am 16. September 1864 berichtete Brunson, daß eine Indianerfamilie bestehe 24 Wochen auf Ida Koppel verbracht bleiben, „during which time they have received daily instructions, from half-past nine till eleven, a.m. Two of them have constantly cooked Rations, before breakfast, with the cattle, and all have, when the weather permitted, taken their share in whatever work have been to hand" (Ib. 111, 6, 1864).

[...] Nicht minder anschaulich ist für die Missionare selber sowohl Brunson's Tagebuchaufzeichnungen vom 3. Juni 1865 gewesene eines Mission Rabbits: „In the early morning reading and writing, or work, and preparing lunch, and cows, and myself for the day. Breakfast, cleaning up, prayers at 9, lessons till 12, at work with natives, digging potatoes, till 12½ p.m. then getting dinner ready, etc. At 1 o'clock dinner, then made Sunday cake for natives, and a week's supply of bread for myself. Cleaning up house, and washing, and reading hymns, etc. Tea at 5½, then company and conversation, and music, prayers with natives, attended Tamaas-school's sermon, then writing, and finished the day with reading. Thus this day and many like it has gone" (Ib. 111, 7½, 1865).

sie sich allmählich daran gewöhnten, von einem Indianer nicht das gleiche Tagewerk wie von einem Europäer zu erwarten.[**]

Endlich war es für die Arbeitsfreudigkeit der freiheitsgewohnten Kinder und Erwachsenen durchaus nicht belanglos, welche Art der Beschäftigung ihnen zugewiesen wurde. Machte die eine oder andere sie anfangs erfreuen, das gleichförmige Einerlei bei andauernder Wiederholung wirkte ermattender, als man glauben sollte, auf sie ein. Gewiß, allgemein gesprochen ist die Erziehung der Naturvölker zu geordneter Beschäftigung und zu geregelter Arbeit eine dankbare Aufgabe. Dazu aber bedarf es langsamsten Vorgehens und einer unerschütterlichen Geduld, die sich mit kleinsten Fortschritten nach jahrzehntelangem Bemühen zufrieden gibt. Weil es an einem Maßstabe fehlt, die Erfolge der jugendlichen Indianer im Rechnen und Schreiben, in religiöser Unterweisung und im fremdsprachlichen Unterrichte zu bemessen, würden Erörterungen kaum zu einem brauchbaren Ergebnis führen. So viel aber ist gewiß, daß manche Anstrengungen der Missionare in der bezeichneten Richtung für ihre Schüler ohne bildenden und praktischen Wert geblieben sind.

7. Unterschätzung der indianischen Eigenart: In der europäischen Öffentlichkeit standen die Feuerländer unter jeder Rücksicht in schlechtem Rufe, sie galten als „die elendesten Geschöpfe", in denen das Menschliche vom Tierhaften weit überboten wurde. Mit der gleichen Voreingenommenheit traten ihnen auch die Missionare gegenüber und begannen entschlossen damit, aus diesem Tiefstande ihre Schutzbefohlenen herauszuholen.

Die Behandlung, die man einschlug, war von der rücksichtslosesten Unterschätzung bestimmt, die Eingeborenen wären geistig minderwertig oder ungenügend entwickelt. Nach dieser falschen Voraussetzung beurteilte man all ihre Einrichtungen und Gebräuche. Kleidersinnigkeit und Wohnungsweise, Gerätschaften und Waffen, Nahrungserwerb und unterer Lagerwechsel galten nichts im Urteil der Missionare, die demnach auf gründliche Beseitigung oder gänzliche Umgestaltung all dessen von vornherein hinzielten. Alles Einheimische mußte kurzerhand dem Europäischen weichen. Weniger bei anderen Missionaren, dafür um so mehr bei Bridges begegnet man sehr geringschätzigen Äußerungen und verächtlichen Worten über die einzelnen Gewohnheiten der Indianer. Damit nicht genug, hat er sich — was mir wiederholt von älteren Leuten bestätigt wurde — ihnen gegenüber gar oft verletzend und beleidigend ausgesprochen. Ihm fehlte jeder Sinn dafür, die Zweckmäßigkeit dieser Dinge oder jener Gewohnheit zu erkennen; deshalb forderte er mit sichtlicher Unbeholfenheit, daß alles abgestellt würde, was

[**] Schon Pennant klagte: „The work they will do is very little, they seem tired, and think all to their honour" (VP: VI, 205; 1819). Bemerkenswert dazu „disinclination to regular daily labour ... The Indians seem tired of regular daily labour" (MM: IX, 317; 1875). R. A. Inst. sag sogar den Vergleich, daß „six native men would not do what one strong Englishman could" (MM: XXII, 78; 1888).

In seinem Angesicht lebten Gustavo Sand. Er beschäftigte nur dem menschlichen Mitleidsinn; je mehr gewann dessen ähnlich, um so gefährlicher und desgleichen der mehr so beständig wurden. Mit diesem sittlichkeitsbewussten Verständnisgefühle schuf Bonnesen für sich selber keinen guten Lorenzend unter den Schöffigen Menschlichkeiten; von allem wurde er gefährdet, obwohl die gewonnen waren, [illegible] dem sich bei Bonnesen durch Integrierung hatte, hielt sie dessen unähnlich, Bonnesen Unrecht und Bonnesen Rechtsgefühlen sittlich Ausdruck zu verleihen.

Noch unbeständiger für den minimumsicher Arbeiten wählte sich die sehr verfehlte Unterschätzung des gemeinen geselligen Kulturgutes und der unfehlbaren Verwirklichung dieser Eingeborenen war. Vom abhängigen Inferior Eindruck darf man nicht gewährsamp auf sittliche oder sittliche Verfassung schließend. Dieses schwerere Fehler haben leider die englischsinnlichen Missionare begangen. Manchen Zeter Anspräche sittlich sollte man glauben, die Yaunsen wären eine ganz verlorenste, erbärmlichste Rasse und so wäre die dringlichste Aufgabe der Missionen „the moral regeneration of these humanoid and degraded race" (MM, XVII, 138; 1882) mit allen Mitteln zu bewirken.[**] Bei schwerf Bonnesen in seinem Jahrbuch Urteile war, so strong ging er gegen Fehler und Unzugänglichkeiten war. Er schreibt: „I have much occasion to frequently and severely rebuke the natives for indolence, disorder, and vice, but I endeavour to do this wisely; and for their benefit" (MM, XXII, 191; 1888). Ob er sich dabei wirklich immer gegen „Jung" gewagt hat?[***] Zumindest gilt er als strong und er selber glaubte damit im Rechte zu sein.[***] Bei beständigenge sucht Bonnesen beim Yaunsen-Volke in keinem guten Eingewöhnung.

Leider bietet man darum ab, welch geringen Mut von Yaunsen und Zuneigung unsere Eingeborenen einem solchen Manne entgegengebracht haben. Vor allem wahrte er selber einen großen Abstand von Dem.[***] Für ihre lebensverhängnisvollen Unrichtungen und altertümlichen Gewohnheiten, die für sie abscheulig waren, hatte Bonnesen nur verletzende Worte der Ver-

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[**] Bonnesen bekennt sich beispielsweise: „I deep down plainly what the inevitable consequences must be of them if they continue idle, thoughtless, lazy and immoral lives and wanderers" (MM, XV, 256; 1881). Dieses ohne Wert bringt deutlich genug, wie er auch bei anderen Gelegenheiten sehr abfällig urteilt.

[**] Dieses Bezeugt ebenso wie gewiß auch durch das Mißverhältnis. Von Sohn Valentin von Bonnesen, der Gattin des Missionars, am 16.September 1890: „I have always found that with Europeans, straight with brothers, they have very willingly done what I have ordered" (MM, XXVIII, 26; 1890).

[***] „I am afraid many thoughts are wrong, but a number of these natives must be wrong if he would permit them and do them good" (MM, XXII, 26; 1888). ....„It is necessary to exercise strict discipline on them" (MM, XII, 172; 1873). So lautete seine Verwirklichung.

[***] Johan Wheelwhite Andrew schreibt, über Bonnesen „And little faith in the nature of these missionaries who as natives those have believed they could have made the brothers learn by living with the brothers, suffering their hardships, learning to understand their page and so on. Mr.Bonnesen would not do that" (Bonnesen 90).

[illegible] ohrung, je dichter Sonne um, [illegible] Wunsch zu schaffen, wenn sie dieses nicht [illegible]. Niemals kam es hier in den Sinn, auch Bedeutung und Zweckmäßigkeit all dessen zu fragen, was er unverständlich vorstellte. Gerdens Unbeholfenheit legte den folgenden Worte in den Mund: „It is high [illegible] so, for instance, fantastic paintings of the body, dancing longings and pilfings .... I further let them know that we should admit no painted face, nor any who were not decent (BM: III, 111; 1879) .... Most of their esoteric dance practices are childish, and unworthy of notice" (TSA: III, 4; 1882).

Gar begeistert hätten sich deshalb die Eingeborenen, den [illegible] über den hiesigen gutmeinenden, war sich nun einmal nicht ungeheim. Gott, Nach viel weniger Gütiges sie sich dann vorstellt, ist in ihre religiösen und mythologischen Vorstellungen hineinzuzwängen zu lassen oder ist in ihre bestimmten Vorstellungen, die sie auch wie vor unter strengster Entschlossenheit abhielten, einzuführen. Dieser Sachverhalt verhinderte die geringe Annäherung des Tanna-Volkes an die Mission und das Wirken dieser Mission an der Christliche hatten, [illegible] Eroberungen auch [illegible] Ungestörung dieser Indianer verhindern. Infolgedessen [illegible] mit den nur die jene Gruppen an, die einzige Beziehungen mit der Mission [illegible].[illegible] Hiesse bingt dieses Endurteil über die jahrzehntelangen Anstrengungen der Missionare. Daß sie den heiten Willen hatten, [illegible] [illegible], Mühen dieser Mühseligkeit [illegible] zur Warnung dienen.

8. Ergebnis der Missionsarbeit: Bedeutung sind [illegible] zur Mängel und Fehler in der missionarischen Wirksamkeit mit den die die Eingeborenen [illegible] Nachteilen gemacht worden. Es läßt sich nicht leugnen, daß das [illegible] Bemühen und die gute Absicht dieser ganz [illegible] Leiten Missionar und Pioniere, die sich in den Dienst jener [illegible] Gewichtigkeit gestellt haben, jedenfalls [illegible] Anerkennung abringen. Unglücklicherweise jedoch bildet [illegible] [illegible], der die besonderen Schwierigkeiten, wie sie dem missionarischen Wirken unter jenen [illegible] Indianern entgegengesetzen, [illegible] [illegible]. Viel Gutes ist unbestreitbar geleistet worden! Nach dem [illegible] Jahresbericht hat Bonnes eine geschätzte Übersicht der Erfolge von: „Over fifty individuals have been brought over from their own country to Cameron, where they have enjoyed regular religious instruction; many of them have been taught to read and write;[illegible] have been taught the art of cultivating the ground, the art of raising potatoes, turnips, cabbages, and grains; have been taught to make and mend their clothes, to bake bricks, to wash clothes, and some of the women have learnt those arts of order and management, which tend to make a good housewife. They

[illegible] Nach im Jahre 1882 und [illegible] Indianer an, „que se han [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]".

[illegible] Die Briefe dieser [illegible] von Indianer Lehrmeister in Tanna [illegible] [illegible] Brief, der [illegible] am 4. Oktober 1882 an [illegible] Powell in England [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Aus nebenstehenden Gründen wird wiederholt auf das verhaltene Benehmen der Franziskaner gegenüber europäischen Sachen hingewiesen; denn deren [illegible] Bildsäulerung bei Schiffbrüchen überwunden alle, die von erbosten Unglück herrührten wurden. In Sonnenuntergang ashing das Urteil über diese Eingeborenen mit Beginn der zweiten Hälfte des XIX. Jahrhunderts [illegible] Grenzen [illegible]. Wenn man den Ursachen dieser Verhaltung nachgeht, zeigt es sich, daß dafür eine allgemeine Gewöhnung der Franziskaner an das seitdem von Jahrzehnt zu Jahrzehnt zunehmende Auftreten europäischer Schiffe zusammenhängen hat, nicht aber beschränkter oder entschiedener Einfluß der Missionare.[illegible] Die Indianer wollten sich unglücklich jedweden Frevelling vom Halse halten, um durch sie in keiner Weise gestört zu werden (S. 250); allmählich erkannten und entnahmen sie von dem Verkehr mit diesen gewissen Vorteile, denen sie durch Ehrfüllen sich nicht vorhaftig zu machen wünschten.[illegible]

Gleichwohlgut Anzeichen bestätigen, daß die Europäer endlich gelernt hatten, die Eingeborenen als Menschen zu betrachten und zu behandeln. Das Benehmen der Letzteren war somit ein Spiegelbild davon. Die Missionare haben in dieser Richtung unmittelbar die Indianer nicht beeinflußt. Ebenso unbegründet ist es, von einer sittlichen Hebung des ganzen Volkes, wie man wunderbar hört, die gesamte Kindheitung abhängig zu machen; denn dazu ist es nicht gekommen und es wäre unmöglich, sie in wenigen Jahren erreicht worden. Doch soll nicht abgestritten werden, daß der durch die Mission eingeleitete häufigere Verkehr dieser Vertreter mit jenen Kindern der Wildnis diesen die Möglichkeit gebotten hat, die Vorteile guter Beziehungen zu den Weißen besser zu verstehen.[illegible] Die Hilfe und Förderung, die so manche Schiffsmannschaft durch die dortige Mission erfahren hat, dürfte unbewußt der Urteil günstig beeinflußt haben.

Bevor Einzelheiten genannt werden, darf man berechtigterweise ganz allgemein sagen, daß die stark betriebene Europäisierung der Tamoana (S. 211) ihr Ziel verfehlt hat; denn weder waren diese selber auf dieses, noch hat sie, im Hinblick auf die dortigen Lebensbedingungen, diesen merklichen Vorteile gebracht. Selbst so wurden verhindert der Zwang zur Sonnenuntergangsarbeit; denn machten sich die Indianer auch so gut im Gartenbau vorgebildet haben, sie konnten damit allein sich nicht

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[illegible] Tamoana (s.) 21 hat noch im Jahre 1900 die Tahgan-Mission besucht. An den Eingeborenen konnte er wahrnehmen, daß „les insulaires salvajes ya no son tan conflictivos como eran al comienzo de la civilización y los pobladores del misionero".

[illegible] Tamoana (s.) 207 lobten Missionare jene Eingeborenen wenigstens „A veces los encontrábamos, y respetaban particularmente la presencia d'europeos [illegible] que [illegible]". Dieses gebrach [illegible] zu [illegible].

[illegible] Nur im Lichte dieser Deutung [illegible] Tamoana (s.) 144 Bekanntgabe [illegible] „Tamoana [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

am Leben erhalten.[504] Einige Freude hatten sie zwar am eigenen Gärtchen: aber um es pflegen und ernten zu können, mußten sie zu bestimmten Zeiten dorthin zurückkehren, was nicht immer leicht war. Sämereien anzusondern haben sie nie gelernt; also konnten sie ihren Garten nur dann bestellen, wenn sie sich dergleichen von Weißen verschafften, was sich nur selten ermöglichen ließ. In ihrer Abwesenheit bewachte niemand diesen Flecken Erde. Eben deshalb, weil eine Familie höchstens kurze Zeit an einem bestimmten Orte verbleiben durfte, dachte sie an Viehzucht noch viel weniger. Erfahrungen, die einige Eingeborene sich in dieser Hinsicht erworben hatten — und das gilt auch von den Kenntnissen in manchen Handwerken —, waren ihnen fast ausschließlich nur für den Dienst bei weißen Farmern nützlich. Unleugbar haben sie viele Arbeiten der genannten Art zum Besten der Mission verrichtet; teilweise war das durchaus berechtigt, erhielten sie ja von ihr verschiedene andere Güter.[505]

Die viele Zeit, die auf Lesen und Schreiben, auf Rechnen und Singen, zumal auf den Gebrauch des phonetischen Systems verwendet wurde, darf man als mehr oder weniger vollständig verloren betrachten. Daß keiner jener Schüler zu praktischer Verwertung all dessen gekommen ist, gestanden mir jene wenigen ein, die als Kinder darin unterrichtet worden waren. Wie sie, dürften auch alle übrigen davon nichts Nennenswertes in ihr Erwachsenenalter hinübergerettet haben. Vom Unterricht in der christlichen Religion gilt das Gleiche; denn er bestand vorwiegend im Nachsagen von Bibelsprüchen und Gebeten, deren Inhalt dem unvorbereiteten Verstande jener Wildlinge verschlossen blieb.[506] Sehr bezeichnend ist es, was die Missionare auch

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[504] Als MACPHAIL 117 Ende Januar 1893 in die Bahia Yendegaia einfuhr, bemerkte er „un petit établissement composé de six huttes; les naturels cultivent avec soin quelques parcelles qui leur fournissent des pommes de terre et des navets, qu'ils viennent échanger contre du biscuit et de vieux habits". Zu diesem Tauschgeschäft drängte sie nicht etwa ein Überfluß an der Ernte, vielmehr das Verlangen nach nützlicheren Dingen; denn sie selber gewannen dem Gemüse keinen Geschmack ab.

[505] Gegen den zweingeschränkten Vorwurf, die Indianer ausgebeutet zu haben, nehme ich die Missionare entschieden in Schutz. Zumindest ist erwiesen, daß jene, „que trabajan para la misión reciben en cambio el alimento y ropa para vestir" (DARGENE [a]: 33). Aus einigen ihrer Briefe greift SPEARS: 93 einzelne Sätze über die Verwendung von Eingeborenen heraus und sagt zusammenfassend: „The Yaghans were employed on road-making, chopping, pitsawing and other work of the hardest kind. The white man had sufficient influence over them to keep a good many so employed. In return he gave to the laborers what he calls 'a sufficiency of food', but he here distinctly admits that they ‚would have been glad to have eaten all'; in other words, it was a bare sufficiency." SPEARS: 121—123 wirft Bennett außerdem noch vor, er habe in Puerto Harberton zu seinen Gunsten durch Tauschhandel die Indianer ausgebeutet.

[506] Nach nach einem vierzigjährigen Wirken der Mission gab Mrs. BOSLEMAN am 18. September 1893 in Bahia Tekenika zu: „We have to be so simple in our words, for they are just like little children. We feel and hope that some are trying to lead better lives" (MSS: XXVIII, 25; 1894).

erfahren mußten, daß die Predigt, die ihr bester Schüler Ozozo an seine Landsleute richtete, von diesen nicht verstanden wurde."[107]

Von einer nachweislichen moralischen Umgestaltung des ganzen Volkes zum Besseren zu sprechen, dafür gibt es keine genügenden Gründe. Um dieses zu erreichen, hätte das Wirken der Missionare, durch lange Jahrzehnte anhaltend, viel mehr in die Tiefe des Einzelnen und der Gesamtheit eindringen müssen. Dafür wäre die Kenntnis der einheimischen Sitten und Gebräuche, sowie engstes Zusammenleben mit den Eingeborenen unumgängliche Voraussetzung gewesen. Kitt einziger Reisender hat vor Gründung der anglikanischen Mission einen sittlichen Tiefstand der Yamana nachgewiesen, er hat nur deren wilden Äußere und aufdringliches Gebaren beschrieben, deren Nacktheit und primitive Lebensbedingungen gestattet. Später machten die Indianer, in europäische Kleider gehüllt, auf gewisse Besucher dadurch allein einen günstigen Eindruck. Das aber war wirklich die einzige Veränderung, die an ihnen sich vollzog; denn in ihrem Innern blieben sie, was sie waren. Für manchen Beurteiler indes bedeutete das Tragen abgelegter Modekleider moralischen Aufstieg und Zivilisation.[108] Zu solchen Errungenschaften reicht der alleinige Zwang eines einzigen Tages auf der Missionsstation. Indes, um einen ganzen Volksstamm innerlich umzubilden, bedarf es der jahrzehntelangen Anwendung bester und geeignetster Erziehungsmittel.[109]

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[107] Den Missionsfreunden in England wird diese Entdeckung folgendermaßen verdeutlicht: „Our readers will not misunderstand, or give an exaggerated force to the word 'preaching'. They will bear in mind the very imperfectly informed state of mind of the native who addressed his people, and the incapability of the people at this time of taking in the meaning of such words as God and Jesus Christ, or heaven and hell; and the chief effect, therefore, of Ozozo's address to his countrymen must have been derived from the earnestness of his manner, and the assurance which he gave of a friendly spirit on the part of the missionaries" (Mazzo-Stallmann: 113). Demgegenüber ist nicht einmal das Wort „Erfolg der religiösen Unterweisung" berechtigt.

Mit beißendem Hohn zeichnet Fray Mazzo: 147 die handgreifliche Auswirkung der unverstandenen religiösen Unterweisung: „Pues sí, Capitanchalan, el Dios inglés era el más bueno de todos los dioses; ayudaba a los hombres a vivir, les pagaba bien los cuerpos de marino que le vendían y a veces regalaba ropa y té. En cambio de sus hondades, no pedía nada sino que no mataran las ovejas y vacas del Sr. Bennett o de cualquier otro poblador y que leyeran todos los días, en rato, la biblia que aquel había escrito."

[108] Ähnlicher Urteilsdeutlichkeit wie Stallmann: 185 mit derben Worten entgegen: „The missionaries declare that the whole tribe is civilized. Their civilization — or the evidence of their civilization, rather — consists in the use of wretched and dangerous dugouts in place of graceful and safe bark canoes; the ragged cast off clothing of prospectors and seamen; wretched little shanties like those in the New York poor districts, and a partial knowledge of English and Spanish."

[109] Leider ließen sich die Missionare durch Äußerlichkeiten blenden. Obwohl Bennett bis zum August 1883 mit einem Großteil der Yamana kaum flüchtig in Berührung gekommen war, behauptete er ganz allgemein, „that a great change has been effected in the character of the natives generally". Wenn er anfügt, „that the Yaghan natives from Cape San Diego to Cape Horn, and thence round to Brecknock Peninsula, can be trusted"

Die günstigen Berichte aus der Neuzeit über die Yamana sind also nicht von einer charakterlichen Verbesserung, sondern von einer genaueren Kenntnis der naturhaften Güte dieser Indianer eingegeben worden, sofern sie nicht nur die Veränderungen in ihrer rein äußerlichen Erscheinung meinen. Übrigens hätten, eine bedeutende innere Umwandlung der Yamana vorausgesetzt, die Klagen und Unzufriedenheiten der Missionare von Jahr zu Jahr mehr nachlassen und endlich fast verstummen müssen. Doch sind es gerade sie, allen voran BRIDGES, die unaufhaltsam Ausstellungen an der Trägheit, an der Neigung zum Diebstahl und an der Harthörigkeit ihrer Schüler machen. Ihre Urteile über die Yamana aus den Jahren des ersten Zusammenseins klingen weit günstiger, als die aus jüngster Zeit. Dergleichen offene, unbeeinflußte Zeichnungen der allgemeinen Lage wiegen bestellte Berichte auf.

In mehreren Briefen (z. B. vom 19. I. 1859 und vom 29. IX. 1859) hat PHILLIPS: 183 auf Schwierigkeiten mit den Eingeborenen auf Isla Keppel wegen Diebstählen hingewiesen. Hier zwei dieser Vorkommnisse. „Eines Tages vermißte Frau DESPARD eine Figur aus dem Schachspiel ihres Mannes, und da DUTHRY-WEIELL-KIPA, eine *Tuku* (Frau) aus dem 'Rothen Hause', ein paar Minuten im Zimmer gewesen war, so gieng ihr PHILLIPS nach, durchsuchte ihren Raritätensack, fand den vermißten Schachstein und schalt sie verdientermaßen aus. Als er abends die Zöglinge wieder besuchte, waren mittlerweile die Männer vom Muschelsuchen heimgekehrt, und unter diesen empfieng ihn der Gemahl der diebischen Elster mit einem Wuthgeheul und den sarnigsten Gebärden über den Schimpf den man seiner Ehehälfte durch Aufdeckung ihrer geheimen Sünde zugefügt habe. Dem Missionär gelang es jedoch ihn sein Unrecht einsehen zu lassen und alles schien friedlich abgemacht. Ein andermal, Anfangs September 1859, entdeckte man Spuren, daß die Feuerländer in das Missionsvorrathshaus hatten einbrechen wollen ohne daß es ihnen gelungen war. Man setzte sie darüber zur Rede, und die Männer geriethen wegen der Beschuldigung in solchen Zorn, daß sie dem Missionär PHILLIPS durch Gebärden den Tod androhten. Aus diesen und späteren Fällen hätte man sich die Lehre ziehen sollen daß die Feuerländer, obgleich unverbesserliche Diebe, dennoch es für den höchsten Schimpf halten der Unredlichkeit geziehen zu werden, gleichsam als ob bei ihnen nicht das Stehlen, sondern das Ertapptwerden als schändlich angesehen würde" (PHILLIPS [a]: 1011).

Freilich war es sehr vorteilhaft, daß Kinder und Erwachsene auf der Missionsstation zu Ordnung und allgemeiner Reinlichkeit, zu kluger Zeitverteilung und geregelter Arbeit angehalten wurden. Doch hörte die Übung sol-

(MM: XXII, 55; 1888), so ist das Letztere keineswegs eine Folge des Ersteren. Nur Selbsttäuschung hat ASPINALL am 3. Februar 1890 bei einem Besuch auf der Wollaston-Station folgende Worte in den Mund gelegt: „I was myself led to marvel at the change that has taken place in the people in sixteen months. They were then the purest savages, and now they are quiet, docile, clean people, the women and girls clothed in dresses sewn by their own hands" (MM: XXIV, 188; 1890).

cher Tugenden in eben dem Augenblicke auf, da sie sich wieder auf die eigenen Füße gestellt sahen. Gleichzeitig wurden alle guten Lehren und die erreichten Fertigkeiten, für die es seitdem kein Betätigungsfeld mehr gab, über Bord ihres schwankenden Kanus geworfen.

Bei einzelnen, die längere Monate auf der Missionsstation verweilt hatten, brach nachher eine nicht unbedenkliche Minderwertigkeit durch; denn sie hatten manches verlernt und vieles vergessen, was sie für ihre indianische Lebenshaltung unumgänglich benötigten. Alle Einbuße an Mut und Gewandtheit, an praktischem Sinn und hoher Schärfe der Sinnesorgane rächte sich sehr empfindlich. Sie waren in Dingen unterwiesen worden, die von ihren Lebensbedürfnissen oft zu weit ablagen, um je für sie brauchbar zu werden; hingegen hätte man ihnen manches andere beibringen sollen, was ihnen persönlich näher gelegen und den dortigen Verhältnissen besser angepaßt gewesen wäre.[514] Der sonst fast ausschließlich zu Lobsprüchen hinneigende Hyades (g): 6 hält mit gerechten Bemängelungen nicht zurück: „Nur ein kleiner Bruchteil der Eingeborenen hat durch fünfzehnjährige Arbeit [bis zum Besuch der Mission Schmitzique] gewonnen werden können; die große Majorität nimmt zwar die Hilfe der Missionare zeitweise in Anspruch, aber sie zeigt nicht die geringste Lust, sich dauernd dort niederzulassen. Selbst mancher, der völlig für das zivilisierte Leben gewonnen schien, wirft auf einmal die Kleider wieder ab, läßt Haus und Garten im Stiche und kehrt zur alten Lebensweise zurück. Aber auch die Bleibenden verlieren schnell die Fähigkeit, sich mit den Hilfmitteln des Landes selbständig zu ernähren; ihre auf der Mission erzogenen Kinder verlernen den Pirogenbau und die Seehundsjagd, und da der Gartenbau und die Viehzucht im rauhen Klima nicht zureichen, sie zu unterhalten, sind sie völlig von den Missionaren abhängig und auf deren Unterstützung angewiesen. Auch leiden sie von Krankheiten viel mehr, als im wilden Zustande."[515]

Tatsächlich hat die Ansammlung vieler auf der Missionsstation die Verbreitung eingeschleppter Seuchen sehr begünstigt. Als aber die Eingeborenen diese Gefahr mit ihren schweren Folgen[516] zu begreifen gelernt hatten, entfernten sie sich fluchtartig. Eine nachteilige Unterbrechung ihrer erziehe-

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[514] Leider kommt ein Vorschlag, den Bridges (d): 146 gemacht hat, reichlich spät: „In place of attempting teaching these Indians to plant turnips in the water-logged Fuegian soil, their natural genius as fishermen might have been turned to catching and preserving the shoals of sardines, mullet and shellfish which abound in the Beagle Channel. A sufficient food-supply would thus have been secured without altering their diet or withdrawing the stimulus to work. Surplus supplies would always have found a ready sale among the shipping at Sandy Point."

[515] An anderer Stelle (g): 287 ergänzt er: „Les superstitions sont les mêmes qu'au temps jadis". Das bekümmert er von jenen Indianern, die eine gewisse Zeit auf der Missionsstation zugebracht hatten.

[516] Rasend schnell griff fast jede Ansteckung um sich. Am 15. November 1884 schrieb Walsh von Ushuaia, daß an einem Tage „nearly all the Indians here were taken ill of measles, so that in a few days the whole population were stricken down at once. There was

rischen Beeinflussung durch die Missionare war damit eingeleitet und was mühsam ihnen anerzogen worden war, verlor sich um so schneller, je weiter die Einzelnen sich entfernten. Dort aber fielen sie in jene Lebensverhältnisse und Gewohnheiten zurück, aus denen sie gekommen waren; trotz europäischer Bekleidung und einiger nichtiger Kleinigkeiten gaben sie sich als das, was sie immer geblieben waren, als echte Yamana.

Den Erfolg der Missionstätigkeit, wie Zahlen ihn ausdrücken vermögen, zeigt ein "Register of Baptisms", das J. Lawrence in Verwahrung hatte und das er mir bereitwilligst überließ. Da es noch niemals veröffentlicht worden ist, seien hier die wichtigsten Angaben vorgelegt. Das Buch beginnt mit den Worten: „Baptisms solemnized in the Parish of Tushcapelan, Mc Clinton Peninsula in the Country of Fireland, South America, in the year One thousand eight hundred and seventy two." Die Anlage ist wie folgt: [When baptized] 1872, march 5. [Child's Christian Name] Adult: Gannex Deyaxe. [Parent's Name: Christian-Surname] Heathens. Cooyammoolar; Umbaiana-oilaxepa. [Abode] Tushcapelan. [Quality, Trade, or Profession] Fisher Indian and Killer of seal. [By whom the Ceremony was performed] Thomas Bridges.

Damit war die erste Taufe eingetragen. Am gleichen Tage wurden vom genannten T. Bridges noch weitere 36 Taufen an erwachsene Yamana gespendet. 1873 wieder 12, 1874=4, 1875 durch Bischof Stirling 2 Taufen, 1876=8, 1877=18, 1878=8, 1879=27, 1881=23 zu zwei verschiedenen Zeiten, 1882=5, 1884 und 1885 je 2, 1886=31, 1887=13, 1888=31, die sämtlich, eine ausgenommen, von Bischof Stirling gespendet wurden. 1889=13, 1890=9, in den beiden folgenden Jahren gab es keinen Täufling. 1893 und 1894 je 1, 1895=9 und wieder fiel das Taufen in den beiden folgenden Jahren aus. 1898=3. Von 1899—1911 gab es in Ushuaia keine Taufen mehr. 1912 taufte J. Lawrence in Punta Remolino seine drei Enkelkinder, die Töchter seines Sohnes Fuen, und 1914 dessen beide jüngeren Söhne. Deren Mutter ist bekanntlich Nelay, eine Yamana-Frau; ihren Namen fand ich in diesem Register nicht. In den Jahren 1912 bis 1921 sind die Kinder jener wenigen Indianerfamilien eingetragen, die auf der Farm Punta Remolino fast ständig arbeiten. Als letzte indianische Täuflinge werden am 9. Oktober 1921 vier Kinder des Calderon und ein Mädchen des Walter, sowie Jane, das etwa zweijährige Kind der jugendlichen Halakwulup Julia genannt.

Diese niedrigen Zahlen überraschen, wenn auch zugegeben werden muß, daß auf den übrigen Stationen vereinzelte Taufen gespendet worden sind. Näheres spärlich waren die Eheschließungen auf der Mission in Ushuaia. Die ersten sieben sind dort am 5. März 1872 im "Register of Marriages" verzeichnet, von 1873 bis 1891 wurden insgesamt 41 eingetragen. Mit den Namen eines Farmers und einer Indianerin im Jahre 1892 schließt das Register.

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not a house in which one could wait on the other; she in one house, all the children were down at the same time. We have now last forty-three persons in three weeks at Gusinde" (SIM: XIX, 5b; 1893).

Auch dieses hielt JOHN LAWRENCE in Gewahrsam. Ob die Register von anderen Stationen sich erhalten haben, konnte ich nicht in Erfahrung bringen.

Unnütz und belanglos war trotz alledem das Arbeiten und Mühen der anglikanischen Missionare keineswegs. Zumindest haben sie in den späteren Jahren die charakterliche und sittliche Veranlagung jener Indianer ein wenig besser verstanden als die älteren Seefahrer, wenngleich sie all jene guten Seiten darin irrtümlicherweise als Erfolge ihrer eigenen Tätigkeit ansahen. Sie haben auch die Sprache dieses Volkes für die Wissenschaft gerettet.[313] Einige europäische Werkzeuge und Gebrauchsgegenstände, die den Indianern wirklich dienlich waren, haben sie eingeführt und ihnen manche Seiten des Europäertums enthüllt. Unterricht und Unterweisungen indes haben kaum erkennbare Spuren zurückgelassen, Ermahnungen und ernste Worte blieben ohne Dauererfolg. Aus diesen Naturkindern haben die Missionare selber manchen Vorteil gezogen. Zum Verhängnis aber für beide Teile wurden die entsetzlich wütenden Seuchen.

Wie auch immer man Für und Wider bewerten mag,[314] die unheilschwere Tatsache bleibt unverrückbar bestehen, daß mit Eröffnung der anglikanischen Missionstätigkeit auch der Untergang des Yamana-Volkes eingesetzt hat. Welchen Schicksalslauf jene Feuerländer genommen hätten, falls die Missionare nicht in den fernen Süden vorgedrungen wären, ist eine müßige Frage; sie ändert ja doch nichts mehr an der beklagenswerten Wirklichkeit, vor der wir jetzt stehen.

6. Die Europäer im Urteil der Yamana

Naturvölker besitzen ein feines Empfinden und einen geschärften Rechtssinn für die Absichten und das Benehmen der Fremden, die zu ihnen auf Besuch kommen. In unverantwortlicher Voreingenommenheit haben das jene Europäer fast ganz übersehen, die den Yamana nähergetreten sind. Auch sie dürfen durchaus nicht als eine urteilslose Bande gelten, die sich unbesehen jedes Unrecht einzustecken und die jede Vergewaltigung widerstandslos hinzunehmen gewillt wäre. Tatsächlich lebt in diesem Volke ein gutes Stück von Selbstbewußtsein und genügende Urteilskraft.

a. *Benennungen für Europäer*

Bekanntlich bezeichnen unsere Eingeborenen sich selber als die *Yámana* bzw. als *yamangqla*. Dadurch wollen sie sich als eine geschlossene Volkseinheit zu erkennen geben (S. 197) und eine Unterscheidung von ihren beiden Nachbarvölkern ausdrücken. Für jedes der beiden haben sie besondere

[313] Vgl. GUSINDE (gg): 159 und BARCLAY in BD: IX.

[314] Bei Zweifeln über den Entscheid hat DARWIN's (a) 37 Ansicht viel für sich: „Si estas colonias no han mejorado mucho la suerte de los indígenas, merecen siempre la consideración y la simpatía universal por los esfuerzos que han hecho en otros tiempos por introducir entre ellos la civilización."

Namen (S. 234, 241). Eine Überraschung war es für sie, als zum ersten Male die Vertreter eines anderen, ihnen bis dahin unbekannten Volkes in ihrem Bereiche auftauchten und als sie in deren Besitz höchst merkwürdige Dinge beobachteten. Gemeint sind ganz allgemein die Weißen oder die Europäer, für die seitdem die Bezeichnung *pálala* mit ihren Nebenformen, z. B. *palalána*, *palalǫ́gla* und auch *palalayámalim* in Umgang kam.

Bridges gibt für *pálala* als Erklärung: „This strange word to the natives seemed best to represent the jargon of the English language when they first heard it and thus it was used as descriptive of that language and the people who spoke it" (BD: 371). Die Herleitung von *upalálana* ist einleuchtend, es bedeutet: „To make a noise by vibrating the tongue in the mouth violently" (BD: 99). Nur darin irrt Bridges, daß er das Auftreten von Engländern allein mit der Entstehung jener Benennung in ursächlichen Zusammenhang bringt; denn auch die Schiffe anderer Völker hatten sich den Weg zu den südlichsten Feuerländern gebahnt. Allmählich befestigte sich für *pálala* der ausschließliche Sinn, den Bridges (e): 332 richtig bestimmt: „Die Bezeichnung, die sie für Fremde gebrauchen, ist *patalsala*,[118] was die 'Geschickten' oder das 'unverständliche Volk' besagen will, ein Ausdruck, der sich auf die Geheimnisse unserer mechanischen Arbeiten jeder Art bezieht." Damit wird erklärt, daß *pálala* keinesfalls Geringschätzigkeit oder Verachtung zum Inhalt hat.[119] Wie Hyades (q): 14 sich ausdrückt, besagt *palalayámalim* „gens ou individus mystérieux et s'explique par l'étonnement des indigènes en voyant à bord d'un navire des outils de fabrication civilisée, et dont la confection a toujours été pour ces sauvages un mystère complet." Für diese Eingeborenen ist alles Außergewöhnliche, Fremdartige, Neue, sofern es von außen her zu ihnen gelangt und europäischen Ursprung zu erkennen gibt, eben *pálala*. Im Gegensatz hierzu hat *mégmug* und *makáinixǫ́gla* ebenfalls die Bedeutung von fremd, Fremdling, fremdartig, doch betont es den indianischen Ursprung.

Der früher vor den Schiffen der Europäer bis zum Überdruß wiederholte Ruf *yamaskána* war keine eigentliche Benennung (S. 198).

β. Geringschätzung der Europäer

Anknüpfend an die Bedeutung des Wortes *pálala* könnte man vermuten, daß alle Weißen, die Schöpfer und Besitzer der angestaunten Wunderdinge, von den Eingeborenen als Wesen höherer Art angesehen wurden. Vielleicht ist es auch eine Zeitlang so gewesen; allerdings nur bis zu dem Augenblick, da jene Fremdlinge selber ihre niedrige Gesinnung und ihre gemeinen Absichten den ahnungslosen Kindern der Wildnis eindeutig und aufdringlich

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[118] Diese Schreibweise ist offensichtlich fehlerhaft, sie findet sich im BD nirgendwo.

[119] Nur in diesem Sinne darf eine andere Erklärung Bridges (h): 207 gedeutet werden, nämlich daß diese Indianer „se contentan con usar para sí mismos términos que significaron hombre, persona, gente ... No consideran a los ingleses como personas en el mismo sentido con que aplican la palabra a su propio pueblo."

enthüllten. Als manche diesen allein gegenüberstanden und sich von allen Banden der Schicklichkeit und der Gerechtigkeitspflichten frei glaubten, brach ihr unmoralisches Begehren wie eine Eiterbeule auf. Dessen glaubten sie vor den "minderwertigen Wilden" sich nicht schämen zu brauchen und sie gaben ihren niedrigen Leidenschaften freie Bahn.

Im Folgenden werden ausschließlich Urteile über die moralische Einschätzung der Europäer durch die Yamana aufgezählt. Was letztere an Schädigungen anderer Art erfahren haben, ist teilweise genannt worden oder kommt weiter unten zur Sprache. Vorauszuschicken bleibt indes, daß diese Indianer niemals zur Zielscheibe planmäßiger Ausrottung durch Menschenjäger, unter deren grausamen Wüten die Selk'nam verbluten mußten (Bd. I, 161), gemacht worden sind, obwohl vereinzelte Überfälle auf kleine Gruppen sich ereignet haben.

Trotz der Überraschung und des nachhaltigen Eindruckes, den die europäischen Schiffe mit ihrem verwirrenden Takelwerk den harmlosen Eingeborenen bereitet haben, trotz der seltsamen Gegenstände und Gerätschaften, die sie in mannigfaltiger, bunter Fülle mit sich führten, konnte der Eigendünkel und die eigene Überheblichkeit der Yamana nicht erschüttert werden. So überwältigend all jene sonderbaren Dinge anfangs zu wirken schienen, sie waren für die Indianer doch größtenteils wertlos; denn deren Verwendung kannten und ahnten sie nicht, weshalb es beim Beschauen und Bestaunen aus reiner Neugierde blieb. Sie vertrauen auf das eigene Können und der kleine Besitz an Waffen und Gerätschaften genügt ihnen; mit diesen beherrschen sie voll und ganz ihre Welt.[517] Daraus erwächst ihr Selbstbewußtsein und ihr Stolz.

Dies vorausgeschickt, wird man richtig abschätzen, wie tief das anmaßende Auftreten der Europäer sie verletzt hat. Allgemein dünken sich die Weißen über Eingeborene himmelhoch erhaben und sie tragen ihre Gesinnung so unverhohlen zur Schau, daß sie schwer beleidigen. Dreistes, rechthaberisches Gebaren und rücksichtsloses Fordern deutet jeder Indianer, der davon betroffen wird, als Verachtung seiner selbst; um so empfindlicher fühlt er es, wenn er sich nicht wehren kann. In dieser Stellung des hilflos Ausgelieferten befanden sich die Yamana fast jedesmal gegenüber dieser und jener Schiffsmannschaft, gegenüber einzelnen Missionaren und Farmern; im Bewußtsein ihrer Ohnmacht beleidigte sie das protzige, mutwillige Auftreten der Weißen doppelt und die verhaltene Rachlust quälte sie anhaltend. Nur zu oft wurden sie zum Narren gehalten und zum Spielball unberechenbarer Launen jener Fremdlinge gemacht, die nach dem Gelingen ihrer Späße allen ihre eigene Genugtuung deutlich zu erkennen gaben. Die Indianer begriffen jetzt erst recht, daß sie übertölpelt worden waren und an jeder

[517] Snow (b): I, 264 hat in feinem Empfinden erfaßt, daß „in their rude state wild men often fancy themselves our superiors in many things, and to rightly deal with them we must show that we can hunt, fish, sing, talk, dance, and endure hardship as well as they."

Ehrenkränkung hatten sie um so länger zu leiden, je weniger sie sich dafür rächen konnten. Im Tauschhandel sind sie immer wieder überlistet worden, sei es offensichtlich, sei es heimlich; auch davon gaben sie sich früher oder später Rechenschaft.[110] Einzelne Europäer entrissen den Eingeborenen böswillig irgendwelchen Gegenstand, bloß um sie zu reizen, um sie aufzuregen, um sie in Wut zu bringen. Nichts half es ihnen, wenn sie vor Ärger knirschten, waren sie doch ohnmächtig und unfähig für wirksame Gegenwehr. In neuerer Zeit hatten manche Yamana sich eine gewisse Kenntnis der englischen und der spanischen Sprache erworben; dadurch waren sie instandgesetzt, die wegwerfenden Redensarten der Weißen gegen ihre Landsleute und gegen ihre Einrichtungen zu verstehen. Was sie aus Gebärden und Benehmen jener erraten hatten, bestätigten auch deren Worte, nämlich Hohn und Verachtung gegen alles Einheimische.

Jahrzehnt um Jahrzehnt haben sie in ihrer Ohnmacht das beleidigende Protzertum der Europäer mit verhaltenem Ingrimm dulden müssen, Abneigung und Haß haben sich in ihrer Seele angehäuft; ganz allgemein ist ihnen der Fremde zum Abscheu geworden. Das ihren Reden zu entnehmen hatte ich oft Gelegenheit und vereinzelt sahen sie es bewußt darauf ab, mich über ihre Gesinnung vorbehaltlos aufzuklären. Demgegenüber kann man sich über ihre Selbstbeherrschung, mit der sie alle Verunglimpfungen schweigend ertragen haben und noch ertragen, nicht genug wundern. Sie folgten der Klugheitsregel: Still aushalten, wenn Gegenwehr aussichtslos ist! Man sagte mir: „Die Weißen überheben sich in Eigendünkel. Doch wissen wir sehr genau, daß sie in unserem Lande zum Fischen und Jagen, zum Kanubau und Feuermachen, zu den Künsten der *yékamuš* und zur Anfertigung unserer Waffen unfähig sind. — Sie reden verächtlich über uns und meinen, wir verstünden weder ihre Reden noch ihre Gebärden. Diese verstehen wir sehr gut und wissen auch, es sind nur nichtssagende Worte, mit denen sie auf uns einwirken wollen. — Ihr verächtliches Gelächter tut uns weh. Aber weil das [deren Benehmen] unschön ist, deshalb ahmen wir es nicht nach. — Es schmerzt uns sehr, wenn die Weißen geringschätzig über uns und über unsere Gewohnheiten reden, wenn sie mutwillig uns reizen, wenn sie uns Unrecht tun. Aber wir sind zu schwach, uns verteidigen zu können, deshalb schweigen wir still!"

Einem gewissen Minderwertigkeitsbewußtsein, das sich allmählich herausgebildet hat, entstammte die auffällige Zurückhaltung und Scheu, die unsere Indianer neuestens bei Begegnung mit Weißen an den Tag legen. Sie wahren den Schein, um vor ärgeren Verunglimpfungen sich zu schützen; aber in ihrem Innern lodert das Feuer des Hasses und der verhaltenen Rache. Nicht

[110] Überwiegend ist der Handel mit Otterfellen gemeint, später haben die Indianer auch andere Gegenstände abgegeben. Sehr zeitig hatten sie damit begonnen, kleine Muster ihrer Kanus zu bauen, um sie zu veräußern und um damit ein Geschäftchen zu machen. Einem Briefe Bauzas' vom 20. Februar 1886 bereits kann man entnehmen, daß „by the sale of small canoes and other things they obtain a great deal of money" (MM: XX, 101; 1886).

minder hegten sie Abneigung gegen die Missionare, allerdings unterschiedlich je nach der Person.

Noch empfindlicher wurde das gut ausgebildete Ehrgefühl der Yamana durch die unverfrorene Dreistigkeit getroffen, mit der viele europäische Besucher den Frauen und Mädchen sich näherten. Die Mannschaft bestimmter kleinerer und größerer Schiffe schien nur deshalb zu landen, um auf einige Stunden sich mit ihnen belustigen zu können. Unsagbar ist es, wie frech und zudringlich sich einige benahmen. Gern sei zugegeben, daß Matrosen und Seesoldaten, Robbenschläger und Fischer eine weniger zarte Art besitzen. Für diese Einschränkung indes haben unsere Yamana nichts übrig; denn sie urteilen und empfinden nach dem, was sie selber sehen und erleben. Ist es schon grob unanständig, wenn ein Fremder ungerufen in eine Hütte eindringt, so beleidigt es alle Anwesenden, wenn er sich unter zynischem Gebärdenspiel dreist an eine Frauensperson preßt und ihr aufdringlich zusetzt, ihm sich hinzugeben oder ihm an eine andere Stelle zu folgen. Halb so viel unverfrorene Zudringlichkeit dürfte sich ein Europäer unter seinesgleichen nie herausnehmen.

Durch häufige Erfahrung belehrt, meinen diese Eingeborenen ganz allgemein, daß Seefahrer und Goldgräber an ihren Küsten nichts anderes als den vorübergehenden Verkehr mit Indianerinnen suchen.[419] Um dem, was sie selber als ungeziemend und schamlos beurteilen, vorzubeugen, war es durch viele Jahre Gewohnheit, sich zu verstecken oder zu entfliehen, sobald sie eines europäischen Fahrzeuges ansichtig wurden.[420] Jene unanständigen Besucher besaßen in ihren Verführungskünsten gute Übung. Falls man sie nur mit Widerwillen empfing, versuchten sie die kleine Indianergruppe durch Geschenke zurückzuhalten; war das erreicht, verteilten sie Alkohol in reichlicher Menge und schließlich war jede Frauensperson ihnen gefügig. Streit und Schlägereien beendeten zuweilen solche Zusammenkünfte. Hatten die überlisteten Indianer nachher den Verstand wieder klar, um den Schaden zu besehen, regte es sich in ihrer Seele wie Beschämung, die nicht selten in

[419] Die Missionare boten den Indianerinnen auf ihren Niederlassungen immer Schutz. Dadurch gerieten sie selber in Gefahr, von eiferden Weißen überfallen zu werden. Im Briefe an seine Mutter vom 23. Dezember 1892 aus Tekenika weist PRIDDLE darauf hin: „We have been having an anxious time again this past fortnight. Gold-miners came here the week before last pretending to search for quartz; but their real intention we heard was to steal some young native women. This has been amply proved by their course... Mrs. BURLESON went into the settlement one night, and spoke to the women, asking them to come up at night to the Orphanage, and to her surprise every woman came. Not even the old women stayed in the huts. The Spanish villains came over as usual, but found their intended prey gone. Next day one of them again appeared with a rifle, and some knives and revolvers in his belt. He told the natives that he had come to shoot BURLESON and PRIDDLE ..." (MM: XXVIII, 59; 1893).

[420] Manche Beobachter stimmen mit dem überein, was BOVE (MM: XVII, 239; 1883) festgestellt hat: „The communication which the poor islanders had had with whalers had been disastrous to them; it was therefore not surprising that the sight of a sail caused them so much fear."

Rache gegen die längst verschwundenen Matrosen umschlug und in dem Versuch gipfelte, jedwedem Weißen künftighin aus dem Wege zu gehen und die weiblichen Angehörigen noch besser zu schützen.[321] Versuche einzelner Matrosen, Frauen zu rauben, glückten zuweilen und diese Vorfälle steigerten die Wut der zurückgebliebenen Verwandten aufs höchste. So war es früher.

Leider haben unablässige Zudringlichkeiten der Weißen die Beurteilung dieser Fehler durch die Indianer in der Neuzeit sehr abgeschwächt; denn jetzt wehren sie solche Vergehen mit weniger Entschiedenheit ab als ehedem. An diesem nicht unbedeutenden Wandel sieht man, wie verderblich die Europäer, seitdem sie den Alkohol zu Hilfe geholt hatten, auf die Indianer eingewirkt haben.

Für Verfehlungen auf dem Gebiete der geschlechtlichen Sittlichkeit, die in ihren Augen schwer sind, haben unsere Indianer ein gutes Gedächtnis. Gelegentlich kam ich im März 1923 auf jene Europäer zu sprechen, die sich vor langer Zeit, nämlich vor genau einem halben Jahrhundert, ein ganzes Jahr hindurch in der Bahía Orange eingerichtet hatten. Gemeint sind die Mitglieder der Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn. An sie erinnerten sich alte Personen noch gut, redeten aber nicht gern von ihnen. Beim Hinweis auf sie konnte Emilia ihren neu entfachten Unmut nicht meistern und sie erzählte so erregt, daß durch den Inhalt ihrer Worte die Anwesenden von Wut und Unwillen erfaßt wurden. Weil ich anwesend war, drückte sie sich für mich möglichst unverständlich aus; auch die anderen Leute beschränkten sich darauf, durch kurze Worte anzudeuten, was sie verstanden hatten. Ich verhielt mich still, bis ich nachher Gelegenheit fand, Calderon darüber zu befragen. Nur mit Widerwillen machte er mir einige Angaben und gestand: „Alles kann ich dir nicht sagen, denn es ist gar zu häßlich!" Doch etwas ließ er mich wissen: „Wenn ein Kranker aus der Mission in Ushuaia nach dorthin [Bahía Orange] gebracht wurde, oder ein anderer Kranker dort Hilfe suchte, starb er jedesmal. Man hat ihn umgebracht. Denn wir sahen dort bei jenen Häusern menschliche Knochen, die sicherlich von jenen Kranken stammten. Die Europäer haben diese Knochen mitgenommen, aber nicht beerdigt."[322] — Dort lag einmal ein kranker Mann, der etwas Englisch verstand. Er hörte, wie der Arzt zu seinem Gehilfen sagte: „Jenem müssen wir etwas geben, daß er stirbt!" Er sollte vergiftet werden. Das verstand der Kranke. Er nahm seitdem nichts mehr von dem zu sich, was jene Weißen ihm reichten, und noch in der nämlichen Nacht machte er sich davon. — Einst war Emilia selber in das Haus gegangen, wo der Arzt die kranken Yamana empfing. Da viele Blutflecken vorhanden waren, bekam sie Angst und lief eiligst hinaus. — Wenn Kinder sich

[321] Sogar zu eigenartigen Hilfsmitteln haben sie greifen müssen: „Le visage peint en noir s'indique par spécialement le deuil; souvent les maris obligent leurs femmes à employer cette peinture pour les rendre plus laides et moins désirables pour les étrangers" (La Nature: 311).

[322] Tatsächlich haben jene Franzosen einige Skelette von Yamana dort mazeriert und nach Paris befördert.

dem Zelte näherten, wo das Essen bereitet wurde, hatte der Koch sein besonderes Vergnügen daran, die Ahnungslosen mit heißem Wasser zu begießen, daß sie wegen ihrer Brandwunden laut aufschrien." — Schließlich deutete CALDERON mir kurz an, was eben der Gegenstand ihrer längeren Aussprache vorher gewesen, daß Mädchen und Frauen von jenen Weißen mißbraucht und zu seltsamen Dingen gezwungen worden waren; er meinte das Anfertigen von Moulagen von den äußeren Geschlechtsteilen und das Photographieren von nackten Personen. Welche Mitglieder der MISSION SCIENTIFIQUE jener Vergehen schuldig sind, sei es in dieser oder jener Form, soll hier nicht untersucht werden. Man ersieht aus dieser Mitteilung, wie lange die Eingeborenen jedes schwere, von Weißen verübte Unrecht in ihrem Gedächtnis bewahren.

Anschließend an die Worte der EMILIA sagten am folgenden Tage, als wir wieder um das Feuer saßen, einige ältere Leute: „Wir fühlen bitter das schlechte Benehmen der Weißen, aber wir denken, es ist besser, schweigend auszuhalten. Jene Weißen haben ja auch ein Herz und wir wollen ihnen nicht Gleiches mit Gleichem vergelten. Wenn wir sie reizen, fällt es noch schlimmer für uns aus; deshalb halten wir uns ruhig und dulden still. — Manche Europäer meinen, wir empfänden Beleidigungen und Zurücksetzungen, Entehrungen und andere schlimme Dinge nicht; sie meinen, wir wären dumm und gleichgültig: Das durchaus nicht! Wir sind nicht so dumm und gefühllos, wir haben aber Verehrung für die anderen und Mitgefühl mit ihrem Lose, weil auch sie Menschen sind und ein empfindsames Herz haben. Deshalb wollen wir sie nicht beleidigen und wollen ihnen nicht wehtun, obwohl sie uns das zumuten. — Wenn wir uns mit jemandem aus unserem Volke verfeindet haben, gehen wir ihm aus dem Wege; denn wir wollen ihm nicht mehr unter die Augen kommen. Es ist ja nicht vorteilhaft und nicht nötig, immer gleich zuzuschlagen und mit dem anderen zu streiten. Deshalb vermeiden wir es, mit böswilligen Europäern zusammenzutreffen und diese zu reizen. Wir tragen lieber geduldig und schweigend, was Übles sie uns antun. Wir sind aber nicht dumm und gefühllos, wie manche Europäer glauben."[122]

Offensichtliches Unrecht und protzige Überheblichkeit der Europäer hat die Yamana in ihrem naturhaften Stolz und Ehrgefühl durch viele Jahrzehnte so schwer beleidigt, daß ihre Verachtung des gesamten Europäertums vollauf begründet ist. In ihrer Abwehr eines jeden Weißen sind sie um so mehr im Recht, weil ihre Gutmütigkeit leider zu oft enttäuscht worden ist und weil sie sich für alle Zurücksetzung, die sie erdulden mußten, nie ausreichend rächen konnten. Der verhaltene Groll aber frißt sich um so tiefer in die Seele ein, je weniger er sich nach außen hin entlädt. Trotzdem anerkennen sie, allerdings immer mit Vorbehalt, alles Gute und Schöne, das sie von einzelnen Europäern empfangen, wie auch das vornehme Wesen und die gerechte Handlungsweise, die sie an jenen wenigen beobachtet haben. Grundsätzlich jedoch verabscheuen sie jeden Weißen mehr oder weniger.

[122] Diese Gedankengänge decken sich genau mit jenen Sätzen, die ich bei einer anderen Gelegenheit gehört hatte und oben S. 334 wiedergegeben habe.

7. Vernichtung und Untergang

Um die Zeit, da die Missionsstation in Ushuaia eingerichtet wurde, setzte ein Massensterben bei den Yamana ein. Unheimlich wütende Seuchen, die niemand abzuwehren verstand, sind es gewesen, die dem Volksganzen den Todesstoß versetzt und den Zusammenbruch dieses Stammes so schnell heraufbeschworen haben. In jüngster Zeit hat der Alkohol seine vernichtenden Wirkungen entfaltet und die Anlehnung der Eingeborenen an europäische Lebensweise schließlich ihre Widerstandskraft völlig untergraben. Eine Handvoll Überlebender, in europäische Modefetzen gehüllt, hält zwar noch einige unvollständige Überlieferungen ihres Stammes aufrecht, indes nach wenigen Jahren ist es mit den Yamana und ihrem Volkstum für immer vorbei.

Nochmals sei erwähnt, daß direkte Verfolgungen und bewußtes Morden der Eingeborenen durch Europäer nur sehr vereinzelt vorgekommen sind.[324] Hier fehlte der Anlaß, in regelrechten Treibjagden den ganzen Archipel von seinen Ureinwohnern zu "reinigen"; denn er übte auf gewinnsüchtige Weiße keine merkliche Anziehungskraft aus. Schlägereien und Handgemenge mit der Mannschaft dieses Kutters oder jenes Seglers blieben auf einzelne Familien beschränkt. Beispielsweise waren mehrere Indianer an Bord der Goleta "La Chilota" gestiegen, als diese bei den Wollaston-Inseln vor Anker lag. Da sie, wie es heißt, auf Bitten des Kapitäns STOHL das Schiff nicht verlassen wollten und sogar eine drohende Haltung einnahmen, ließ er sie niederschießen und ihre Leichen ins Wasser werfen.[325] Ob bei diesen und ähnlichen Zusammenstößen die meiste Schuld immer auf Seiten der Eingeborenen zu suchen ist? Die Antwort hierauf wird leicht, wenn man sich daran erinnert, wie die europäischen Seeleute im allgemeinen jenen Naturkindern gegenübergetreten sind.[326]

Die wirksamsten und tödlichen Kräfte, die in kürzester Frist das Yamana-Volk zum Aussterben getrieben haben, wurden soeben bezeichnet. Auf den Beobachtungen anderer Forscher fußend[327] nennt GASPERI: 164, mit genauerer Zergliederung, die gleichen Ursachen, und zwar in der Reihenfolge von ihrer größeren zur geringeren Wirksamkeit: „1. Malattie importate, 2. Guerre fra indigeni,[328] 3. Persecuzioni da parte dei colonizzatori, 4. Diminuzione di sel-

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[324] Einige Angaben darüber hat PAVNO gemacht.

[325] ASPINALL (MM: XXIII, 245; 1899) erzählt von einem Schiffskapitän, „who was said to be the aggressor in killing the natives of Wollaston, four or five years ago..." Als dieser sich der Missionsstation näherte, „the natives at once knew the vessel, and also recognised the Capitain, there was much excitement". Der Missionar mußte sich anstrengen, um die Indianer ruhig zu halten.

[326] BOVE (a): 92 überträgt nicht: „Han tenido por lo general como pobres salvajes tan malo acogida de los halloñeros que frecuentan la Tierra del Fuego, que no debe asombrar que la simple vista de una vela lleve entre ellos un terror pánico."

[327] Er stellt eine lange Liste von Belegstellen auf.

[328] Hierin irrt sich GASPERI; denn weder bei den Yamana noch bei den beiden anderen feuerländischen Stämmen kann dieser Umstand für ihren Untergang herangezogen werden.

vaggina, 5. Cambio di costumi di regime de vita, 6. Ibridismo, 7. Alcoolismo, 8. Esportazioni di indigeni."[520] Seinerseits bestätigt Bamozz (k): 233 mehr als einmal: „Los naturales están desapareciendo bajo las influencias combinadas de los abusos, la violencia y las enfermedades importadas." Zu eindeutig sind die Tatsachen, um einen Zweifel darüber aufkommen zu lassen, daß das Europäertum d i e S c h u l d am Untergange der Yamana trägt. Im Kampf mit den unfreundlichen Naturgewalten ihrer düsteren Heimat waren sie jahrhundertelang Sieger geblieben,[521] ein halbes Jahrhundert europäischer Beeinflussung hat sie vorschnell dem Untergang überliefert.

a. *Eingeschleppte Krankheiten*

Von allem Unheil, das den Feuerländern durch das Europäertum gebracht worden ist, reicht nichts an die Verheerungen heran, die verschiedene Krankheiten angerichtet haben. Eine unbestreitbare Tatsache ist es, daß v o r A n k u n f t der Weißen die Eingeborenen nicht nur ein widerstandskräftiger Menschenschlag waren, sondern auch von eigentlichen Krankheiten kaum heimgesucht wurden. Von einem Unfall und von körperlichem Leid wurde nur selten eine Einzelperson betroffen; Seuchen gab es überhaupt nicht[522] und frühzeitiges Sterben erreichte einen Erwachsenen kaum je.[523] Wenn Bamozz (k): 233 behauptet: „En un tiempo eran muy sanos, no conocían las enfermedades escrofulosas", so ist zu ergänzen, daß sie auch von jedweder anderen Massenerkrankung früher völlig frei waren.[524]

Das Massensterben nahm seinen Anfang kurz nach Einrichtung der anglikanischen Missionsstationen. Weil hier zu gewissen Zeiten des Jahres eine größere oder geringere Zahl von Eingeborenen vereinigt war und auch die europäischen Schiffe vor Anker gingen, erklärt es sich, warum gerade dort die eingeschleppte Ansteckung ausbrach und alle Anwesenden überfiel. Somit wurden diese Siedlungen, Ushuaia unvergleichlich mehr als die anderen kleineren, zum Schauplatz der Verheerungen. Diese griff von jener Stelle häufig bis in die weitere Umgebung über. Aus nächster Nähe und zu ihrem Leidwesen

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[520] Der letztgenannte Punkt hat nur für die Selk'nam volle Geltung.

[521] Jeder gewissenhafte Beobachter stimmt mit Spegazzini: 53 über die körperliche und geistige Eignung des Yamana zum erfolgreichen Daseinskampfe überein: „He was about the healthiest and happiest savage that ever smashed the head of an epileptical, moribund white man. The Yaghan was built for the climate where he was found. He was in one respect like the whole that lived in the waters about him." Demgegenüber unterschätzt Hadelay (a): 64 die Lebenskraft jener Eingeborenen; doch behält er Recht, daß Krankheiten verheerend gewirkt haben.

[522] Unsicher ist, was Bamozz (a): 292 bereits im Jahre 1884 schrieb: „There are times and seasons of sweeping epidemic diseases, which keep the population very low".

[523] Am 3. Januar 1885 stellte Lawrence (MM: XIX, 129; 1885) fest: „Since the first sealing vessel arrived, five or six years ago, the Indians have not been free from diseases; previous to that time long illness and premature death were very rare."

[524] Was an Einzelerkrankungen dieser Stamm plagte, hat Bamozz (a): 292 ziemlich genau und vollständig aufgezählt.

mußten die Missionare Zeugen so vieler Unheils sein. Ihre Nachrichten sind deshalb auch zahlreich und sehr genau.

Insoweit es sich ermöglichen läßt, sollen die Hinweise auf die fortschreitende Aufeinanderfolge der Seuchen gepaart von einer Beschreibung der jeweiligen Eigenart der Krankheit gemacht werden.[100] Die ersten zahlreichen Opfer hat, wie Bennett in seinem Briefe an Hyades (a): 203 erörterte, eine „epidemic of bloodpoisoning" gefordert. „On peut dire que la moitié de la population a été ainsi enlevée de 1863 à 1870. Les pauvres survivants sont fréquemment malades, se plaignent de souffrir de la poitrine et de l'estomac." Hyades hielt dafür, „que c'est simplement une infection purulente se développant rapidement." Diese Seuche dürfte eine echte Lungenschwindsucht gewesen sein.

Ein noch größeres Sterben unter den Yamana setzte in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres 1881 ein.[101] Lawrence hat am 17. August 1881 als erster den Anfang[102] und Bennett am 5. Januar 1882 den Verlauf geschildert: „During the last seven months great number of the people have died, and chiefly of congestion of the lungs, and the mortality among those most subject to our influence has been very decidedly less than among those at a distance, and there can be no doubt that the adoption of clothing and civilized ways and order of life and feet is beneficial to the health of these natives even as to ourselves" (MM: XVI, 104; 1882). In seiner Begründung irrt sich dieser Missionar sicherlich, desgleichen in der Behauptung, jene Krankheit sei für die Yamana nichts Neues.[103] Obwohl bis dahin genaue Angaben noch fehlen,[104] wissen alle Umstände deutlich auf Lungentuberkulose hin. Am 10. Februar 1882 sprach Bennett es bestimmt aus: „The health of the people improves slowly, though tubercular consumption is still affecting them considerably, and carrying off its victims, chiefly children and young men" (MM: XVII, 102; 1882); und am 3. September 1883 nochmals: „I am grieved to say that sickness and death from tuberculosis still continues" (MM: XVII, 274; 1883).

Wie schnell Bennett von seiner irrigen Meinung, die in der Mission angesiedelten Indianer litten weniger unter der Seuche, durch die Gewalt der

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[100] Eine geschlossene Zusammenstellung ähnlicher aus den Berichten der Missionare bei Lucas Keynes (b): 142 vorgelegt. Eine Folge ich nach die Beobachtungen anderer Europäer ein.

[101] Nach Hyades (j): 147 ist in diesem Jahre die Lungentuberkulose dann eingeschleppt worden, der Tuberkelbacillus konnte sicher nachgewiesen werden.

[102] „During the winter there has been much sickness and many deaths among the natives, at Ushuaia and other places" (MM: XVI, 20; 1882).

[103] Am 18. September 1882 schrieb er: „Concerning the disease now rampant here, I say unhesitatingly it is not new, but one which has always prevailed, and more than any, or even all others, kept the population low. They called it by various names" (MM: XVII, 54; 1882). Aus den „Namen", die er auf die Krankheiten Tuffen hinweisen, ist der Schluß nicht beweisbar, jene Erscheinungen wären den Eingeborenen vor je her bekannt.

[104] Auch noch am 14. Juni 1882 berichtete Bennett (MM: XVI, 21; 1882) „the death of many natives, owing to a widespreadd sickness among them, affecting chiefly the separate membranes of the throat and lungs."

Tatsachen abgeschlagen wurde, erschien neue eine seltene Gesellschaft vom 20. September 1882, daß „sickness is certainly far more general here [in Usiusia] than at other places" (MM, XVII, 10, 1883).[xxx]

Den Ernst der Lage kennzeichnen auch andere Missionare mit besorgten Worten. Lewanson am 4. Januar 1883 beispielsweise: „The past year ... has been one of much affliction among the natives and great trial to us; the continued sickness and mortality has exceeded anything of the kind previously known to us ... We all feel the loss of so many of our baptized people. It almost seems to us impossible to ascertain the immediate cause of so much sickness among the natives in general" (Ib. 194).

Während die Missionare vielerlei nicht allein für die Indianer, sondern sogar für sich und ihre Familien Fürchten mußten, traf am 24. November 1882 die gesamte Mission Samoyaqan in Usiusia ein, drei wenige Tage vorher Hyanes herein seine freiliche Hilfeleistung begonnen hatte.[xxxi] Die allgemeine Not schien dem Häuptling Hyanes entsetzt zu haben. Am 27. Januar 1883 jammerte Waters (MM, XVII, 102, 1883): „Since I last wrote to you our trials have been very heavy ... The cause of the sickness nobody seems to know. In some cases whole families are gone"; ja, „the depression caused by so much sickness and death" hat der indianischen Bevölkerung Lida sich überhaupt nicht in Worte kleiden. Die französischen Zeuge hatten nach bestem Können, aber die vielen Kranken erhielten sich nur langsam.[xxxii] Hyanes erhielt gleich danach einen guten Eindruck von den Yamana und gibt offen zu: „All the natives there were good-natured people. There was one shadow over that pleasant picture; it was the disease and mortality prevailing among the Fuegians" (MM, XVIII, 59, 1884).

In den folgenden Monaten forderte die Seuche immer neue Opfer,[xxxiii] Mitte Oktober 1884 lief in Usiusia ein ungeschlachtes Schiff ein. Während es

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[xxx] Tatsächlich indessen ist am 24. Oktober 1882 nicht Usiusia, daß „the fatal sickness is, as it always has been, the disease of the country, and must continue so, owing to the bad climate" (MM, XVIII, 30, 1883). Das Kommandantenboot auf der Missionsreise gleichen an dieser sehr schlimm an Usiusia, „that much of it is evidently to be attributed to disease contracted through want and neglect before marriage" (Ib. p. 32).

[xxxi] Hyanes, 38 Indianer, „Missionare und ihre Familien in einem der vier Häuschen, schmutzig gar nur Spitäler da gleiten und Schule beschreiben die Kranken dann in gutmütend die Pfahlbauten, ist ein gastlicher und bei seinen sensibel. 1 Pfahlbauten.

[xxxii] Am 4. Januar 1883 besuchte Lawanson mitteilen: „There are a few who apparently are recovering, these are cared for by the medical officer of the French Scientific Expedition. His wife and indefatigable efforts for the good to all were highly appreciated" (MM, XVII, 194, 1883).

[xxxiii] Waters schreibt am 15. November 1884 (MM, XVII, 65, 1885): „We had heard of two families at some distance from here (Usiusia), who wished to see us. In the first house we found eleven people sick, and one dead, women who had recovered, they told us three had died, and pointed out several others which they said would die. In the next place we found three women, a little boy, on a mere trying to get to the house to assist in Usiusia. The man said as he had hunted from, but was so weak, that he could not bury the others who were in the house. We went to and found one dead little fellow on the bank, and quite dead; he

dort vor Anker lag, „a typhoid epidemic broke out with violence among the natives", wie Bennett am 8. November 1884 (MM: XIX, 32; 1885) berichtete. Zu dem herrschenden Unheil gesellte sich also ein weiteres schweres Übel, ein verhängnisvolles Geschenk der ersten argentinischen Schiffe![108] Drei Wochen später, am 24. November 1884 schildert Lawrence die rasend schnelle Ausbreitung der aufgeflammten Masernseuche und die Bestürzung der Missionare: „What we have witnessed and experienced the last few weeks (concerning the terrible sickness among the natives, and the number we have lost in a short space of time) is almost more than we can describe. In a very few days ... the fatal disease spread through every house and wigwam, even to our own children. At one time nearly all the natives were in such a helpless condition — scarcely one to be found to give us necessary assistance" (MM: XIX, 81; 1885).

Seitdem enthält fast jeder Brief der Missionare ernste Klagen über den Gesundheitszustand der Eingeborenen.[109] Ausschließlich sind damit jene gemeint, die bei der Missionsstation angesiedelt waren oder sie besuchten; Leute indes, die abseits wohnten, blieben von den Seuchen verschont.[110] Bis zu den letzteren drang eben die Ansteckung nicht vor, während die ersteren ihr unmittelbar zum Opfer fielen.

Die Eingeborenen rangen noch in der kürzlich eingeschleppten Krankheit mit dem Tode und schon brachte ein anderes Schiff neue Versuchung. Am 18. Januar 1890 klagte Lawrence: „Soon after the arrival of the Argentine relief steamer from Buenos Ayres some of the natives were taken ill with

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died a few minutes after. Near him we found a man who I found was Lawrence Bennett's father, his mother having died a few days before. In the same house we found a man who had been dead two days and in his arms a poor little boy, not dead. When I took him away, he asked to go back to his father. We took him to Ushuaia, but he died on the way. But I will not write more of this sad picture."

[108] Hierauf berichtet sich Stamm (g): ib. wenn er schreibt: „Eine offizielle Kommission, welche die chilenische [!, argentinische] Regierung im Jahre 1884 nach Ushuaia sandte, brachte die Masern mit und gegen 100 Eingeborene, wirklich die Hälfte der Yahgan-Stammes, fielen dieser bei uns so harmlosen Krankheit zum Opfer."

[109] Beispielsweise schrieb Aufmann am 30. August 1887 (MM: XXII, 30; 1888): „We have had a serious epidemic among the natives and the mission party ... Almost every native has been ill, including all the orphans but one." Am 6. Januar 1890 berichtete Lawrence: „We have had much sickness. Typhoid fever has visited almost every native dwelling; most of the natives have suffered" (MM: XXIV, 62; 1890).

Damals war Bennett bereits von der S.A. Missionary Society ausgeschieden und befand sich in Puerto Harberton auf seiner eigenen Farm. Am 14. Februar 1890 gab er bekannt: „We have now 13 families here, comprising 56 persons. Of these 14 are men, 20 women, and 21 children. I am very sorry that their health is so flashy, yet wonderfully they are strong" (ib. 106). Wieder ein Beweis dafür, daß gerade die Eingeborenen in der Nähe europäischer Siedlungen gesundheitlich stark geschwächt worden sind.

[110] Bald nachdem die Masern in der Ushuaia-Gegend gewütet hatten, verkündete Lawrence am 3. Januar 1885, „we have frequent visits of natives from other parts, who have not suffered in like manner, and are comparatively in good health" (MM: XIX, 139; 1885). Zwei Jahre später sagt er von einer der vorgenannten wilden Gruppen aus dem Westen: „They

typhoid fever. It has passed through almost every native dwelling at the Mission station. We have not had anything to equal it since the epidemic of measles" (MM: XXIV, 180; 1890).[xx]

Der Ende des gleichen Jahres sah weitere Verheerungen durch eine andere Krankheit, worüber Arnwine am 17. Oktober 1890 berichtete: „Hooping-cough was brought down by one of the children of the Arapuim school-master at the same way as the smallpox; this has, notwithstanding all efforts and care, proved most destructive to the children, and is still raging among the people. The death-rate this year has been exceptionally large" (MM: XXV, 7; 1891).

Während dieser traurige Zustand in Uhumbe herrschte, klagte Wesche am 24. Oktober 1890 von seinem Posten aus: „In Stanley we found much sickness; the doctor and nurse busy day and night. The poor children suffered very much" (ib. 36). Weniger Tage später, am 29. Oktober 1890, kam Rosenvi' traurigster Bericht bis hin Kapapi: „Everybody at present is unwell, all are suffering from very bad colds" (ib. 39). Um den Unglück voll zu machen, schlägt Bonzaven auf der Wallaroo-Station auch weiteren Tod Tagen, also am 3. November 1890: „Just now we have much sickness in the place, most of the people have very severe colds; some with strong inflammation and high fever; nearly all the children, too, are very ill, and we are much concerned" (ib. 51).

Noch immer nahm die Sterblichkeit Verhältnisse, die über jene Pockenfieber hinzugekommen war, k o i n E n d e. Am 1. Dezember 1890 schrieb Arnwine, ein neuer Eintreten in Uhumbe: „We are in the midst of an epidemic of smallpox. Last time that the "Tyr" came down she brought a case of smallpox; and notwithstanding my protest and request, all the natives were sent on board to get vaccinated for the vessel; the consequence is that already nine have died, and seven are lying sick with it ... Before this sickness came I had much work and worry with other sickness ... I find twenty-three have passed away,[xx] being nearly one-third of our resident people. I know not how many more we shall lose" (MM: XXIV, 171; 1890).

Allerorts nahm sich die Missionare von einem e n c o f h o l i s e m e n S t e r b e n angeboren, das auch weiteren Lücken in die bereits aufgeschlossene

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were apparently in good health but always desirous of clothing" (MM: XXI, 96; 1887). Und am 20 November des Jahr Rosenvi, die bei Dezember 1890 den Missionar Bonzaven auf seiner Wallaroo-Station besuchten, wurden von ihm als „all in fairly good health" (MM: XXIV, 90; 1890) geschildert. Allgemein bekannter Wesche (gl) & Jane Sullivan, „the oldest was the Missionary children and not down Unterstützung experience such, before was Krankheiten sich unter sie in einem Entwicklung".

[xx] Dieses Ähnlichen Schreibt bei Arnwine am 10. Januar 1890 berichtet: „The prevailing sickness has been typhoid" (MM: XXIV, 36; 1890).

[xx] Eine beschreibende Mitteilung Arnwine's vom 17. Oktober 1890 sagt: „Our fellow Bechuanaliens: „I will pay that so far thirty-three have died since the Lusitanian left for England in April last. We under sentence were I come to the end of my stock of medicines for the hooping-cough and other chest-diseases" (MM: XXV, 6; 1891).

[illegible] Bevölkerung ab. Dieser gab Gustado seit einigen Jahren die „der Friedhof [illegible]" und sie nannten diese Bilder nur bildhafter Angst.[illegible] Wieder der Gesundheit für die Erwachsenen wurde der Bildhauerstatus für die Kinder bald sich [illegible] erschöpfend erschöpfen schien.[illegible] Dieser dem Zwange der Verhältnisse wurde die Hauptsächlichkeit der Mission weiter auch. Nicht vorhanden, wo auch einige Familien sich gesund erhalten hatten und wenn die wenigen Überlebenden von den schrecklichen Tatsen gefährdet waren. Die unbewunderlich starke Veränderung der Eingeborenen einigen bald dem entdeckerischen Wirken ein Ende auf.

Obwohl im Verlaufe dieser Beschreibung die Eigenart der eingeborenen Kranken [illegible] angeführten worden ist, verdient es sich, jede [illegible] Krankheit genauer zu kontrollieren. Für Anwendung von [illegible] sind Kinder der Wildnis ganz [illegible] ein Kulturvölker, diese Tatsache wird durch die [illegible] Wirksamkeit, die [illegible] Krankheitsbilder [illegible], deutlich bewiesen.

Man [illegible] sich keiner Übertreibung schuldig, wenn man den Lungenschwindsucht[illegible] den größten Teil der Todesfälle zuschreibt. Für diesen Umstand hat die Europäisierung, in der viele Indianer auf den Missionsstationen eingewiesen wurden wurden, verschiedene [illegible] Ursachen, nämlich die pathologische Disposition geschaffen. Stevens (1: 30) beschreibt die geschilderte Art dieser Ansteckung: „Le développement et grand de la tuberculose chez les Patagons doit être sans [illegible] pour la conquête des Tehuelches de la vie en plein air, pour ce mets. Comment se passe d'existence [illegible] complètement à la sédentaire complète? Là, les Patagons vivent pour ce mets [illegible], dans des cabanes bien closes, chauffées [illegible]. Ils sont garantis du froid, c'est vrai, mais l'air qu'ils respirent est vicié, car ils sont [illegible] dans ces cabanes; ils ne vont plus chercher du [illegible] au mets leur nourriture le long des plages; ils sont [illegible] par les [illegible] en échange d'un [illegible] spécifiques [illegible] consommer [illegible] de la sédentarisation [illegible] dans l'impossibilité de leur fournir à profusion des aliments [illegible]."

Er [illegible] noch den Gebrauch für das [illegible] Wissen jener Kranken seit [illegible] drei Jahren. Die eine Mehrung [illegible] Tod „par complètement de la vie nomade, en plein air, par une existence plus sédentaire, dans des hutts en des cabanes plus closes" [illegible]. Die andere weist auf „une importation de microbes de la tuberculose" (Stevens (1): 148) hin. Die [illegible] Wahrheit ist es, daß die verhaltene Lebensweise in den

[illegible] „Dans [illegible] ... beaucoup de Tehuelch [illegible] ont [illegible] [illegible] que ce [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]" (Journal Ethnographique de la Société de Paris, [illegible] 31, p. 49), Santiago 1904.

[illegible] Lungenkrankheiten [illegible] „The school has the native children has been very [illegible] and [illegible] of late ... [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] die fast gleichzeitig eingeschlagenen Kriegführungen ein gewaltiges Feld zu dieser Entwicklung vorbereitet hat. Beide Unterfälle erfüllen jedoch nicht nur, die neuzeitliche Schnelligkeit, mit der das Ziel von sich geht, und den endlichen Ausgang, der fast jeder Anstrengung folgen, zu erklären. Unbedingt muß dabei eine ganz eigenartige Empfänglichkeit für den Tabakbaumgift vorhanden gewesen sein. Damals konnte noch keine Möglichkeit daßin, daß Singlinge sich im Inlanderen Alter mit Tabakbaumgiften infizierten; denn wurde ja niemals die Milch von Kühen oder Ziegen gemischt. Die Ausrottungsfeldzüge sind vom Anfang der 80er Jahre des Vorjahres von Europäern gebraucht worden. Und haben dort ein schnelles Zweckmäßigkeit vollendet. Dennoch I Infanteriegeneral sagen: „Finden man die ersten sichtbaren Spuren dieser Krankheit an den Lungen, kann man einzelnd sicher annehmen, daß der Erkrankte binnen weiter Wochen[*] tot ist."

Die Mittel gebrauchten Europäern bedeutend an und für sich schon eine große Ansteckungsgefahr für den Indianer. Wie Wunder, wenn Tausende dahingemäht wurden, die sich in Gebieten, wo hier und wieder Schüsse von Indianer gingen, eingebildet hatten, während dort Landsleuten in den ähnlichen Ingenieuren Kanäle auch ein war sich besser Gesundheit erhoben.[**] Dazu war demnach eine ungeheure Indianer Bauernfingerpatrioten. Die Langenschlachten bei den Tausenden verhinderten, daßen erlitten sie die schwersten Verluste zu verzeichnen. Verhaß war mit dem Tage, da der Bazillus selber dieses von Europäern gebraucht wurde. In der besten Zeit von damals hin besser hat eine Immunität gegen diese Krankheit sich mehr bildete können und dadurch und die besseren Überlebenden den einen vollständigen Sieges auch besser durch sie gefördert.

Mit der Langenschlachtenbeute verteilteten die M o s s o s in Verhandlungen und Verwirklichung. Sie waren dort das erste Mal gegen Ende des Jahres 1884 auf. Dieses hat 442 berichtenen an Hand einer Bericht von Bonnaz vom 9. März 1885 wie folgt: „A venir dans, la population indigène avait diminué de plus de moitié de ce qu'elle était au commencement du mois de juin 1884. La cause de cette mortalité effrayante était la phtisie, mais surtout la rougeole." Über die Verbreitung der Mosso-Infektion sich Bonnaz Ende 1885 geschilderte Dieses hat 302 Infiguendemalbes: „L'épidémie s'est étendue rapidement, mais des indigènes résistent gain de la maladie anglaise et à ont épargné."[***] Il semble résulter de ces renseignements, que cette épidémie a commencé chez les Abkéchaof du Pâturer, qu'elle a progressé vers l'Est."

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[*] Diese Bestimmung dürfte sich genau mit einer viel früheren Bedeutung, daß alle Indianer „mourrides par une enfermedad, Indian necessitée et selon de ne tirages sale a mesure longs, que ne gouttes de 1 y 4 semaines" (Domaine Bibliographique de la Mortes de Gide, [illegible] [illegible], Santiago 1886).

[**] Bonnaz 2 Gilb. sur gauche Bonte Ile compromettre: „Mon dard ainsi Gilbert Ile Bonnaz, sagen, daß Indier singulierem Pestbeulen, der Gelegenheit hat, dessend sich Wolfen in Bedürfung zu bessern, zu Langenschlachten engrenzte gabe."

[***] Singgeng, ein Bonnaz hat 300 unabhängiger Inseln, „Les indigènes étant à la fois Orange d'une en mesure sur de rougeole."

Gegen die Wahrscheinlichkeit dieser Entwicklungsschaffe schätzte ich indes einwenden, daß die Yaganen mit ihren westlichen Nachbarn nur sehr Fühlung hatten. Das wirkliche Verhältnisses würde so mehr entsprechen erscheinen, daß die westlichen Yaganen unmittelbar von Weißen angesteckt worden seien und diese Krankheit an ihre östlichen Stammesgenossen weitergegeben haben.

Gegenüber den schwächlichen Vorfahren an Menschenleben, die schon der Langsamkeitsbeinde nach die Menschen gefordert haben, bedeutetens die Todesfälle durch **endemische Krankheiten** wenig. Allerdings, sie vollendeten das unerbittliche Zerstörungswerk. Bryson (p) 291 nennt „la syphilis,"[1] la coqueluche [Keuchhusten] la fièvre typhoïde [das sogenannte Nervenfieber] et la variole [die Pocken] importées plus récemment encore chez les Fuégiens."[2] Das waren verhängnisvolle Geschenke, die unsere Yaganen von ihrem Verkehr mit den Weißen, sowohl von den Missionsniederlassungen wohlhaben haben. Jene, die sich in der Wildnis verborgenhalten hatten, blieben noch manche Jahre vom allem Unheil von dem Europäertum frei, bis auch sie sich vermischten und dem schwächlichen Leben ihrer neuen Stammesgenossen anbeimfielen.[3]

Hier ist die passende Stelle, in kurzen Strichen abermals die rasend **schnelle Entvölkerung** im Kap Hoorn-Gebiet seit Eröffnung der ersten Missionsstation gegen 1860 zu zeichnen. In jener Zeit zählten die Yaganen zwischen rund 2500 und heutigentage machen sie kaum halbes Hundert unter sich. Offensichtlich sind sie innerhalb von etwa 70 Jahren vorzugsweise durch die gewaltsamen Seuchen fast gänzlich hinweggefegt worden. Bereits die erste Allgemeinerkrankung „Influjenzaseuche" verminderte bis 1870 die Bevölkerung um etwa die Hälfte. Bis zum Abschluß des Jahres 1885 fiel der Langsamkeitsbeinde und den Masern der größte Teil der Überlebenden zum Opfer, daß bis dahin der Verlust an Menschenleben auf 300%, vorgeschlagen wurde (Bryson (p) 292). Im Juni des folgenden Jahres schätzte Bryson (p) 295 in einem Vortrage für die Sociedad Literaria Inglesa en Buenos Aires: „Dudamos decir que esta tribu pulgua, que hace treinta y seis años contaba alrededor al menos 3000 personas en tiene ahora más de 600 ahora. La expansion mortifidad empezó en 1868. Diversas enfermedades[4] las diezmaron en pocos meses." Ende 1889 war Nervenfieber (typhoid fever?) eingeschleppt worden und bald danach trat neben Masern noch Keuchhusten

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[1] Kaum weiter scheint es (p) 292 weiter: „La syphilis n'a pas été importée chez les Fuégiens." Wie ich durch eigene Beobachtung bestätige, war sie diesen Stämmen schon vorhanden als Indianer lebten.

[2] Wenigen eingeschleppt Infizierte sich Gonnen 146.

[3] Zur relativen Bedeutung schreibt Bryson (p) 291 dem gesellen Gegenstück Bd/ Jaegers Gesagte, die sich „à l'état sauvage" leben, „ont conservé et le gaîté, et le bien au cœur vivement, et les fièvres exaspérées (malade, exagérée, exaltation), et le sourire, et les attitudes typiques, et les mobiles pédalisments."

[4] Bei Bryson (p) 292 nennt er als hauptsächlichste Krankheiten „la variole, la tuberculose et diverses fièvres typhoïdes."

mit anderen Erkältungskrankheiten auf. Angesichts dieser Verwüstungen bestätigt auch Bascaz (k): 233 im Jahre 1893, daß „la tribu fué asolada por epidemias de sarampión, viruela e influencia, quedando los 3000 yaganes de entonces reducidos a unos 300, que es el número con que cuenta hoy la tribu."

Unter den Nachwirkungen dieser schweren Seuchen und anderer verhängnisvoller Dinge, die nach und nach von Europäern im Kap Hoorn-Gebiet eingeführt worden sind, sank bis Ende 1933 die Kopfzahl der letzten Yamana unter ein halbes Hundert. In absehbarer Zeit werden auch sie nicht mehr sein.

β. *Andere europäische Einflüsse*

Die meisten der Schäden und Nachteile, die den Feuerländern aus dem Eindringen des Europäertums in ihr Gebiet erwachsen sind, kamen schon bei unserer Beschreibung der anglikanischen Missionstätigkeit zur Sprache. Man kann nicht umhin, es als folgenschweren Mißgriff zu bezeichnen, daß die Missionare mit unerbittlicher Rücksichtslosigkeit ihre Pfleglinge in europäische Kleidung und in geregelte Tagesordnung eingezwängt haben. Alle Farmer, die sich später dort niederließen, haben das Vorgehen der Missionare mehr oder weniger nachgeahmt. Überdies brachten sie Alkohol und Tabak unter die Indianer, wodurch sie den Boden, auf dem allerhand Unsitten sich entwickelten, absichtlich vorbereiteten.[344]

1. Europäische Kleidung: Alle früher (S. 315) gekennzeichneten Überstände, als Begleiterscheinung der übernommenen Kleidung, wirkten sich bei den unabhängig lebenden Yamana gefährlicher aus als bei jenen auf der Missionsstation. Denn hier wurden alle Schüler zur Reinlichkeit erzogen und mußten ihre Kleider sauber halten. Sobald dieser Zwang aufhörte, wurden Kleider und Wäsche nicht mehr gepflegt. Aus Stolz vor den Europäern und aus Überhebung vor ihren ärmeren Stammesgenossen hängten sich jene, die aus den Siedlungen der Missionare kamen, die fremden Lumpen um, mochten diese noch so zerrissen und eingeschmutzt sein.

Ansehnlicheren Schaden nahm ihre Gesundheit an der durch Regen oder Seewasser durchnäßten Kleidung. Nicht nur bei Reisen lag sie dem Körper stundenlang auf, sondern auch während des nächtlichen Schlafes. Es gab lässige Indianer genug, die die Anstrengung scheuten, ihre Kleidung zu wechseln; sie sollte am eigenen Körper trocknen. War es nicht dieser Grund, dann häufig der Umstand, daß jemand eben nur ein einziges Kleidungsstück besaß, weswegen er sich von ihm nicht trennte, mochte es noch so durchnäßt sein. Jedwede Unbequemlichkeit und Beengung nahm man gemächlich hin, ja verlor schließlich das Gefühl für das Wohlbehagen bei völliger Nacktheit, die der Luft, der Sonne und dem Regen freien Zutritt zu der ganzen Körperoberfläche gewährt hatte und der Hautatmung sehr förderlich gewesen war.

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[344] Zusammenfassend hat Bascaz (k): 233 erklärt: „Los naturales, muy numerosos en otra época, están desapareciendo bajo las influencias combinadas de los abusos, la violencia y las enfermedades importadas".

Die Schicht von Schmutz und Fettigkeit auf den bedeckten Flächen des Körpers wuchs um so mehr, je dauerhafter das Kleidungsstück war. In ihm häufte sich mit der Zeit immer mehr Unreinlichkeit an und es zu wechseln fiel niemandem ein. Immer seltener hatte seitdem der Regen unbehinderten Zutritt zum nackten Körper des Indianers, den er früher oft und oft abgespült hatte. Daraus erwuchs eine höhere Empfindlichkeit nicht nur der Haut, sondern auch des ganzen Organismus gegen Witterungseinflüsse und Krankheiten, welche die Widerstandskraft des Körpers untergrub.

Jene Europäer, die in bester Absicht die Feuerländer mit reichlicher Kleidung versorgt haben, glaubten ihnen in ihrem Elend helfen zu müssen. Sie haben die längst erreichte Gewöhnung der Indianer an ihre rauhe Umwelt entweder gar nicht erkannt oder weit unterschätzt. Letzteren, trotz mancher Unannehmlichkeiten, war der kleiderlose Zustand unvergleichlich zuträglicher, bei dem ihr ganzer Körper sich die Wohltaten des offenen Feuers zu eigen machte. Der Schutz, den die mangelhafte europäische Kleidung bot, war zweifelhaft und jedesmal mit Schädigungen verbunden, die jene geringen Begünstigungen nicht aufwiegen. Ich wüßte keinen bedeutenden Vorteil unserer Kleidung für jene Eingeborenen in der Wirtschaftsform, die sie unter dem Zwange der Umwelt ausgebildet haben, zu nennen, wohl aber vieles über die Zweckdienlichkeit der früheren Blöße zu sagen, in der sie sich durch Jahrhunderte stark, gesund und lebensfroh erhalten hatten. Seit langen Jahren, von heute an gerechnet, fühlen unsere Eingeborenen selber, wie empfindlich und zimperlich sie gegenüber der Witterung geworden sind. Jüngere Leute wagten es nicht einmal mehr, bei Windstille und heiterem Himmel ihre Kleidung abzulegen; diese belassen sie sogar nachts am Körper, obwohl sie im Bretterhäuschen auf europäischen Bettgestellen und in Decken eingehüllt schlafen. Mancher sprach mir seine Verwunderung über die Abhärtung seiner Landsleute der früheren Zeit unumwunden aus und fühlte nicht, wie sehr seine eigene Verweichlichung ihn beschämte.

2. Europäische Nahrungsmittel: Bis in die jüngste Zeit hatten unsere Yamana die von ihren Vätern ererbte Ernährungsweise, in Anpassung an das, was ihre ungastliche Heimat zu bieten vermochte, unverändert beibehalten. Gegenüber der regelmäßigen Gleichförmigkeit dessen, was sie alltäglich zu sich nahmen, war es völlig belanglos, daß bei dem sehr seltenen Besuche eines Schiffes etwas Zwieback oder Brot für sie abfiel. Wenn überhaupt, dann nur aus Neugierde steckten sie diesen Bissen in den Mund.

Seitdem auf den Missionsstationen sowohl Jugendliche wie Erwachsene für längere Zeit untergebracht und seitdem nach Einrichtung mehrerer Farmen indianische Arbeiter dort auf Wochen und Monate eingestellt wurden, begann für sie der Zwang zu regelmäßigen Mahlzeiten und zu europäischer Kost. Obwohl in den Berichten von hier und dort kaum je die Wirkung der veränderten Ernährungsweise, die bei Kindern stärker als bei Erwachsenen gewesen sein muß, erwähnt wird, blieb diese trotzdem keineswegs aus. Unsere Eingeborenen waren ausschließlich auf Fleisch eingerichtet, das nur ungrü-

grad zubereitet und ohne Zukost genossen wurde. In den Siedlungen der Weißen jedoch erhielten sie überwiegend Brot und Hülsenfrüchte, aus denen sich ein klumpig derber Darminhalt ergab, dessen Folgeerscheinungen störende Blähungen und Verstopfung waren. Einzelne Leute halfen sich in dieser Lage, falls sie dazu Gelegenheit fanden, durch schnelle Rückkehr zum indianischen Küchenzettel; dem fehlte es nämlich nicht an reichlicher Zutat von Tran, Fett und Speck, wodurch Darmbeschwerden sich schnell wieder verloren.

Längst nicht so günstig waren die Missionsschüler auf Isla Keppel gestellt, weil auf jenem kleinen Eilande bei weitem nicht die reiche Auswahl an Schalentieren, Vögeln und Robben zugänglich war, die ihre engere Heimat ihnen bot. Wohl oder übel mußten sie sich mit dem abfinden, was der Küche des Missionars entstammte. Nicht selten trugen sie volle Formen und ein wohlgenährtes Äußere zur Schau, die über richtige Störungen in Verdauungsorganen hinwegtäuschten;[500] doch mit schleichender Heimtücke verschlimmerte sich inzwischen der krankhafte Zustand und schließlich war die Auflösung da, von deren letzter Ursache sich niemand Rechenschaft gab. So steht es außer Zweifel, daß die plötzliche Überführung der Kinder zur europäischen Ernährungsweise an sich allein manches Menschenleben schnell vernichtet oder für alle Zukunft ernstlich gefährdet hat.

Für die gleichzeitig damit geforderte Regelmäßigkeit der Nahrungsaufnahme wären jene ordnungsfremden Kinder der Natur ebensowenig vorbereitet. Ihre Lebensweisheit gipfelte darin, eine Kleinigkeit zu genießen, sooft leichtes Hungergefühl sich einstellte. Davon mußten sie auf der Missionsstation und auf den Farmen lassen, also bis zum Augenblick der Mahlzeit warten, bei der sie entweder aus Heißhunger sich auffüllten oder wegen Appetitlosigkeit nichts genossen. Kein Kenner wird die daraus abzuleitenden physiologischen Störungen mit ihren üblen Folgen unterschätzen.

Allmählich bekamen der und jener auch Geschmack an Salz und Zucker, an Gewürzen und anderen scharfen Zutaten, die sie nicht selten in überreichlichen Mengen einführten. Wer würde bezweifeln, daß manches davon zum Schaden der Gesundheit unserer Feuerländer ausfiel. Wenn man sie heute über den mäßigen Gebrauch dieser Dinge unterrichtet, nehmen sie wohl Belehrung an; doch sie vergessen darauf wieder, wenn ihnen das gierige Verlangen nach beißenden Genüssen und nach übertriebener Süßigkeit aufsteigt. Diese und ähnliche Vergehen an der Natur rächen sich zwar nie sofort, aber im Laufe der Zeit um so ernster. Schwierig ist es, im Einzelfalle die Benachteiligung der Gesundheit durch die plötzlich veränderte Ernährungsweise zu bestimmen, gleichzeitig damit setzt sie dennoch ein.

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[500] Eine Mitteilung Gusinde's: 166 ist sehr lehrreich: „Mi raccontava Mr. Bonomo (Lecco), i bimbi tenuti ed educati alla missione erano robusti e paffutelli; mentre altri, refrattari alla scuola, giovanto nella spiaggia raccogliendo conchiglie, magri e sparuti da far pietà; ma poveri i vent'anni, quei selvaggi scheletriti erano divenuti dei pezzi d'uomini robustissimi, mentre i bei cresciuti erano per la più passati all' altro mondo!"

3. **Alkoholische Getränke:** Den Yamana war ursprünglich jedwede Art gegorener Getränke unbekannt. Sie herzustellen ist ihnen nicht nur nicht in den Sinn gekommen, es fehlte dazu auch an geeigneten Naturerzeugnissen. Einzelpersonen, denen zum ersten Male von Seeleuten etwas Schnaps oder Wein gereicht worden war, fanden darin keinen Reiz und lehnten die geschmackfremde Flüssigkeit ab. Häufigeres Kostprobieren, mehr noch das Wohlgefühl des auf reichlicheren Genuß folgenden Durchs weckte ihr Verlangen danach und dieses artete zeitweilig in stürmische Gier aus. Unbezähmte Leidenschaftlichkeit zerriß nicht nur früher alle Bande der Schicklichkeit, wo Entgleisungen weniger auffällig hervortraten, sogar in den letzten Jahren noch scheuten einige Indianerinnen davor nicht zurück, unter den Augen vieler Stammesgenossen und Europäer betrunken aufzutreten und sehr anstößig sich zu benehmen. Einige Frauen liefen zu den Siedlungen der Weißen und gaben sich für eine zur völligen Bewußtlosigkeit erforderliche Alkoholmenge den Männern hin. Auf meiner zweiten Reise habe ich beobachtet, wie die alte EMMA, um selber im Schnapsgenuß schwelgen zu können, die damals dreizehnjährige LOLA heimlich von Punta Remolino nach Ushuaia führte und dort feilbot. Ihr Mann, der alte ALFREDO, fand sie erst nach mehrtägigem Suchen und brachte sie mit jenem Mädchen zurück. Schamgefühl war ihr nicht anzumerken, obwohl alle anwesenden Stammesmitglieder sich bewußt von ihr fernhielten.

Dergleichen Erscheinungen sind Auswirkungen der schlimmen Beeinflussung gewissenloser Europäer seit mehreren Jahrzehnten. Hatten es letztere doch zur Gewohnheit, mit Vorbedacht reichlich Alkohol an eine kleine Gruppe von Eingeborenen zu verabreichen, um die Männer widerstandslos und die Frauen sich ihnen gefügig zu machen. Ein betrunkener Indianer, noch mehr eine betrunkene Indianerin sind jedem Schamgefühles bar. Die Wonne des betäubten Zustandes ist ihnen ein Hochgenuß und deshalb treten sie lieber ihr Ehrgefühl mit Füßen, als daß sie auf den Alkohol bei gebotener Gelegenheit verzichten. *Je mehr die Zahl der europäischen Besucher und Ansiedler im Kap Hoorn-Archipel anstieg, um so größer wurde die Gefahr für* Alkoholgenuß und für Trunkenheitsunfug der Eingeborenen. Dieses Verlauf konnten am besten die Missionare beobachten und in seiner Aufwärtsbewegung verfolgen. Nicht selten hatten sie unter schweren Ausschreitungen, seitdem in Ushuaia die Subprefectura eingerichtet worden war, auch selber zu leiden. Sie wurden wiederholt durch europäische Trunkenbolde belästigt und bedroht, wenn sie auf ihrer Niederlassung den Indianerinnen Schutz angeboten hatten; denn nicht alle Frauen überließen sich dem Laster. Mehrmals erzählte LAWRENCE,[100], der damalige Superintendent von Ushuaia, daß die Eingeborenen ihn des Nachts gegen zudringliche Forderungen der betrunkenen Seeleute und Goldgräber zu Hilfe gerufen hatten. Trunkenheit macht die Europäer vor Kindern der Wildnis unbeschreiblich derbst.

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[100] Vgl. beispielsweise seine diesbezüglichen Mitteilungen im BSG. XXVIII, 164; 1894.

Das Urteil eines einzigen Missionars genügt hier: „Drink is the curse and the enemy of foreigner and native alike. It exerts a tremendous power over these natives. Numerous fatal effects of its power are witnessed among them. All the natives here [in Tekenika] appear to have a great dread of the advent of strong drink among them, and they may well have, for it is a fearful curse, and it is killing the poor people of Tierra del Fuego as fast and as surely as possible. Do make a strong front against its invasion, or, in a very short time the Fuegians will be a thing of the past" (MM: XXVIII, 56; 1894). So schrieb Bomasun am 14. November 1893, zwei Tage vor seinem Untergange in den tückischen Wellen (S. 304).

Mit ihren abschreckenden Mitteilungen sind die Missionare grundsätzlich sehr zurückhaltend gewesen; sie haben viele und sehr traurige Vorfälle erlebt, die ihr ganzes Wirken aufs schwerste gefährdeten. Sogar ein Lais, der in Usbuaia ansässige Kaufmann Popsi klagte um die gleiche Zeit: „The Indians, through the evil influence of the miners, have been given to drink, the women not excepted. The next generation, if saved from drink and other evils attendant upon what is called civilization, will be a much improved and better working race."[100] Diese Worte sind der überzeugten Hoffnungslosigkeit, die eine sittliche Hebung der damals lebenden Erwachsenen als unerreichbar erkannt hatte, entsprungen. In jenen Jahren war in den Kap Hoorn-Archipel ein breiter Strom von Goldgräbern eingebrochen.

Die schwersten Schäden der Verwachung dieser Eingeborenen durch Alkohol machten sich, wie eben angedeutet, auf dem Gebiete der geschlechtlichen Sittlichkeit breit. Sie hatte auch unauslöschlich eine empfindliche Schwächung des Charakters zur Folge, die sich vollständig in schlaffer Energielosigkeit und Nachlässigkeit äußerte. Betrunkene Männer lagen tagelang in ihrer Hütte herum und sorgten weder für Fleisch, wenn ihre Familie hungerte, noch für Holz, wenn sie fror; sogar ihre Sänglinge halten einzelne Frauen, so lange der Kauerzustand anhielt, vernachlässigt. Hierzu kamen, nachdem sie aus den Bretterhäusern und Trinkstätten der europäischen Zechkneipen abgeschoben worden waren, ihre eigene Hütte zuweilen nicht mehr erreichen und blieben bewußtlos auf halber Strecke liegen; die kalte Nacht, in der ihnen bei ungenügender Kleidung das offene Feuer fehlte, beschwerte ihnen eine schwere Erkrankung, die zuweilen tödlichen Ausgang nahm. Sogar das gebrechliche Kanu hat mancher Betrunkene mit seiner Familie in nächtlicher Dunkelheit bestiegen und sich auf offene Kanäle hinausgewagt, wo die trügerischen Wellen nicht selten denen, die ihrer Sinne nicht mächtig waren, ein kaltes Grab bereiteten.

Bei der in diesen Indianern allmählich entstandenen Vorliebe für berauschende Getränke, seitdem sie einmal deren Genußwert kennengelernt hatten, war es ein rettendes Hindernis, daß sie meist einen weiten Weg von ihrem Aufenthaltsgebiete bis zur Stätte des Genusses zurücklegen mußten. Der

[100] Aus einem Briefe des Hirtenpfarrers Bomasun vom 12. Februar 1894 (MM: XXVIII, 78; 1894).

einzige Lichtblick in diesem dunklen Bilde ist, daß man bis heutigentags wenige Personen antrifft, die Wein und Schnaps ausnahmslos abweisen.

Manche Indianer, auch Frauen, haben von Europäern das Zigarettenrauchen gelernt und sich damit befreundet. Mißbräuche waren ausgeschlossen, weil sie sich nur bemoldene Mengen verschaffen konnten. Die allgemeine Leidenschaftlichkeit aiordings, die den ganzen Charakter schwächte, erhielt auch dadurch einige Förderung.

4. Sittliche Verlotterung: Im schroffen Gegensatz zu den aufopferungsvollen Missionaren, die ihr bestes Können zur leiblichen und geistigen Förderung der Yamana eingesetzt haben, stehen gewinnsüchtige Goldgräber, gewissenlose Seeleute und gemeingefährliche Banditen, die bis in jene ferne Gegend vorgedrungen sind und die eine tiefgreifende Entsittlichung in die einfältigen Bewohner hineingetragen haben. Wirkliche Bahnbrecher durch den gefährlichsten Kap Horn-Archipel waren auch diesmal die Missionare, jenes Gesindel aber hat sich ihnen gar bald an die Fersen geheftet. Die erste Farm für Wollschafe hat Bridges um die Wende des Jahres 1886/87 eingerichtet und kurz vorher, im Oktober 1884, hatte die argentinische Regierung das Ushuaia für eine Sträfefectura[503] ausgesucht. Beide Stellen zogen nach und nach Europäer an, die durch günstige Gerüchte und vermeintliche Erfolge erwartigt waren, dort ebenfalls ihr Glück zu machen.

Um die nämliche Zeit erwiesen sich die ersten Goldfunde im östlichen Canal de Beagle als aussichtsreich und sofort wälzte sich ein dichtgedrängtes Heer vorwegnaner Goldsucher heran. Seitdem wimmelte es in den einst stillen, fast menschenleeren Gegenden von Fremdlingen.[504] Gold trat reichlicher auf Isla Lennox,[505] auf der Ost- und östlichen Nordküste der Isla Navarino und um die Bahia Sloggett[506] am Südostrande der Isla Grande zu Tage, also im äußersten Osten des Yamana-Gebietes. Alle, die dort zusammenliefen, waren nicht die besten Vertreter europäischer Gesittung, keine Behörde sorgte für Ordnung und bei jenen Hunderten von Abenteurern ging es zuweilen drunter und drüber.[507] Das elende Gesindel ließ, wie kaum anders zu erwarten, die dortigen Eingeborenen, damals noch in ansehnlicher Zahl,

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[503] Der Anfang wurde mit einer Mannschaft von dreißig Köpfen gemacht. Vgl. Ricardo (q): 208.

[504] Schon am 9. März 1883 schrieb Bridges „There are between fifty and sixty men at work in different directions seeking gold in Oueland, and I hear with considerable success" (BBS: XVII, 156; 1883).

[505] „Das Metall findet sich in Blättchen oder als geröllgemischter Goldsand, zuweilen auch in Körnern, die von Bachbächen aus den Quarzen ausgewaschen und dem Meere zugeführt werden" (Anonymus: 222). Vgl. Spears: 16 und Krauss: Om Förekomsten av nyttige mineral i Magellanslandskapet, Helsingfors 1930.

[506] Bridges: 50 bemerkt: „The gold of Sloggett Bay is marvellous gold. It is, so said, 'nuggets as big as kernels of corn' are to be had there."

[507] Am 6. Mai 1889 hat sich der sehr maßvolle Lawrence hierüber geäußert: „The gold fever is over. We have but little of it, only that men kill each other, and die in each other's embrace; ships are wrecked and all hands perish; men tied up, and their gold taken

keineswegs in Ruhe, sondern machte sich mit frivoler Dreistigkeit an Mädchen und Frauen heran. Diese unterlagen leider oft den zudringlichen Verführern, ließen sich mit alkoholischen Getränken betäuben und streiften ihre angeborene Schamhaftigkeit ab. Doch nicht allein auf den Osten beschränkten jene lasterhaften Gesellen ihre erbärmlichen Frevel; mit ihrem lümmelhaften Draufgängertum machten sie den ganzen Bereich des Canal de Beagle unsicher. Den Eingeborenen gereicht es zur Ehre, daß viele Indianerfamilien sich vor ihnen im unzugänglichen Gewirr der Kanäle versteckten und daß andere in den nächsten Bereich der Missionsstation flüchteten. Indes, sogar bis zu deren Grenze wagten sich die frechen Lotterbuben vor.[347] Erst als nach einer Bearbeitung von wenigen Jahren die Goldfelder keinen entsprechenden Ertrag lieferten, wurde es in jenen Gebieten wieder ruhiger.

Was die goldgierigen Abenteurer mit all jenen Eingeborenen, die sich zum Widerstand nicht aufzuraffen vermochten, aufgeführt, welche Unsitten sie ihnen beigebracht, wie viele wertvolle Güter aus alter Überlieferung sie zerstört, zu welch übler Verlotterung sie den Anstoß gegeben haben, das können Worte nicht fassen. Eine sittliche Verheerung schlimmster Art blieb als unauslöschliche Spur ihrer Anwesenheit zurück und dieser unübersehbare Schaden am Volksganzen ließ sich nie mehr gut machen, auch dadurch nicht, daß die Missionare sich nach wenigen Jahren mit verdoppeltem Eifer ihrer Aufgabe widmeten. Gewiß, Missionare und Indianer atmeten auf, als jenes sittenlose Gesindel die rauhe Luft am Kap Hoorn weiterhin nicht mehr verpestete;[348] aber die ausgestreute Vergiftung fraß am verderblichsten auf dem heiklen Gebiete der geschlechtlichen Sittlichkeit zerstörend weiter. Da sank manche Frau so tief herab, daß sie offensichtlich in einem freien Verhältnis mit einem Europäer monatelang lebte; war ein Teil des andern überdrüssig, führte dieser sowohl wie jener mit neuen Gesellschaftern das gleiche Treiben weiter. All das geschah angesichts der Männer und Frauen des Stammes, die wohl eine Zeitlang darüber redeten, doch es gewähren lassen mußten, und die schließlich sich auch daran gewöhnten.

Bei den oben gezeichneten Entgleisungen lebten jene Einzelpersonen getrennt vom Stammesverbande bzw. von den indianischen Familien. Doch blieb es nicht aus, daß sie in deren Bereich zurückkehrten und hier unbewußt, aus ihrem gewohnten Wünschen heraus, ihr freieres Auftreten und zeitgen

from them, and have to return penniless. So I thank God that I am what I am" (SIM: XXIV, 23; 1899).

[347] Wie weit sich leidenschaftliche Menschen vergehen können, zeigt, so unglaublich es klingt, die bereits oben S. 351 kurz angedeutete Mitteilung Lawrance's vom 16. Juni 1894. In den Jahren der lebhaftesten Bewegung unter den Goldgräbern, so versichert dieser Missionar, „it was not unusual to call me up during midnight hours to some disturbance at the native's houses through women and the drink" (SIM: XXVIII, 146; 1894).

[348] Dem soeben angeführten Briefe entnehme ich noch: „Most of the miners have now left the country, as [gold] is not found to be so plentiful as was reported. Consequently we are now living in very peaceable times" (ib.).

Reden beibehielten. Ihre Umgebung nahm widerspruchslos auch das hin und mußte nebenbei noch wahrnehmen, wie solche Frauenpersonen nach längerem Zeitraumen für wenige Tage wieder zu ihrer europäischen Männerbekanntschaft liefen.

So verlor sich die sittliche Feinfühligkeit, die früher Gemeingut des ganzen Stammes gewesen war, in kleineren und größeren Familienkreisen von einem Jahre zum anderen immer mehr. Zur Zeit meiner Reisen tat diese und jene Frauensperson nicht im mindesten verlegen, wenn sie plötzlich in einem neuen Kleide auftrat, obgleich alle Nachbarn die untrügliche Überzeugung davon hatten und sich zuflüsterten, jenes Stück sei die Entlohnung für einige Nächte, in denen jene sich einem Europäer hingegeben hatte. Die Gatten der Treulosen nahmen das Geschehene mit stummer Gebärde hin. Was hätten sie daran ändern können? Die öffentliche Meinung der Gegenwart urteilte über Entgleisungen dieser Art, allein schon wegen ihrer Häufigkeit, eben anders als der Ernst früherer Zeiten, in denen die Zurückhaltung der damals noch nackten Frauen und die eifersüchtige Wachsamkeit der Männer sogar derben Seelenten unerwartet Ehrfurcht abzwang. Bis auf diesen sittlichen Tiefstand haben europäische Lotterbuben die letzten Yamana hinuntergedrückt, daß Frauenehre für billigen Entgelt käuflich ist und daß die übrigen Stammesmitglieder sich mit diesem Zustande abgefunden haben. Ihre Liederlichkeit greift gleichzeitig gern nach Alkohol, um den niedrigsten Trieben in der Betrunkenheit die Zügel zu ungehemmter Ausgelassenheit schießen zu lassen.[*]

Seitdem das Schamgefühl so sehr abgestumpft war, seitdem die Bande geschlechtlicher Sittlichkeit fast ganz aufgelöst waren, seitdem reichlicher Alkoholgenuß viele Personen energielos und matt gemacht hatte, erlitt die Straffheit der Lebensführung und die Treue gegenüber der Stammesüberlieferung — so wenig beide früher nach außen hervortraten, so fest waren sie doch im Pflichtbewußtsein der Allgemeinheit verankert — die schwerste Einbuße. Das gute Beispiel vor dem heranreifenden Geschlechte, um das die Alten sich früher mit naturhafter Gewalt bemüht hatten, empfand dieser und jener allmählich als eine unmögliche Leistung, für die er die Kraft nicht mehr aufzubringen vermochte. Die Sorgfalt in Bewachung und Erziehung der eigenen Kinder, in Belehrung über fehlerhaftes Betragen und in Schulung für die handgeschickten Fertigkeiten, die jeder fürs spätere Leben benötigte, kosteten den meisten Eltern zu viel Anstrengung, die ihr lahmer Wille vermied. Der Eifer, den Jugendlichen beiderlei Geschlechtes den reichen Inhalt der alten Überlieferung vorzutragen, ermattete bei manchem gutgesinnten

[*] Von den Weißen sind die Eingeborenen zu diesen widerlichen Ausschweifungen verführt worden und in der unverhüllten Anklage, die Dumont (b): 190 erhebt, liegt keine Übertreibung: „No se avergonzaba decir, que se con frecuencia encontraba con los laborios, mineros y aventureros de todas clases, gente en gran parte sin conciencia y forajidos de toda parte del mundo, los Yahganes han tomado la escuela del vicio, del robo, y del robo." In Ushuaia scharfer Weise verurteilt Lawrence (b): 118 manche Europäer.

Alten gegenüber der Aussichtslosigkeit, von der er sich überzeugen mußte. Schließlich riet die eigene Überlegung jedem an, mit Mahnungen und Warnungen, die man durch das eigene Verhalten auf Schritt und Tritt entkräftet hätte, zurückzuhalten. Sonnenhell stach bei gewissen Gelegenheiten die Lebensführung solcher Leute, selbstverständlich jugendlichen und mittleren Alters, gegen jene ab, die durch die Schule des früheren Ernstes gegangen waren; die Indianer selber machten mich nachdrücklich auf tiefe Unterschiede aufmerksam. Man kann es kaum ausdenken, in wie viele verzweigte Einzelheiten die Nachwirkungen schwerster erzieherischer Vernachlässigung der Jugend ausliefen. Hingewiesen sei nur auf den Ausfall des religiösen und mythologischen Wissens, des gesunden Empfindens für den Umgang mit dem anderen Geschlechte, des Pflichtbewußtseins gegenüber der eigenen Familie, den nächsten und entfernteren Verwandten, den Kranken und Hilfsbedürftigen. Jede Nachlässigkeit in Unterweisung der Jugend, bei den Rechtsverhältnissen, durch die bei diesem Indianerstamme das geordnete Gemeinschaftsleben sichergestellt worden war, hat einer Auflösung seines festen Bestandes mehr oder weniger Vorschub geleistet, und zwar so lange, bis sie in einem völligen Zusammenbruch endete.

Ungerecht wäre es, nicht anzuerkennen, daß unter jenen Yamana, die ich noch angetroffen habe, sich Personen mit festem Charakter, mit guten Grundsätzen und hoher Selbstbeherrschung befanden; diese waren noch durch die alte, gediegene Schule gegangen. Die anderen aber, die Schicht des mittleren und jugendlichen Alters, wären allein nicht mehr fähig, das Stammesleben, das ihnen nie zur zweiten Natur geworden ist, auf der gleichen sittlichen Höhe der Vorzeit weiterzuführen. Dazu gehört zumindest mutiger Lebenswille, reicher Gehalt an geistigen Gütern und erprobte Fingerfertigkeit. Weder das eine noch das andere, viel weniger alles zusammen besitzt heute jene Altersschicht, die bei ungestörtem Verlauf des Stammeslebens berufen gewesen wäre, Träger und Vermittler der gesamten Volksgüter an das kommende Geschlecht zu sein.

Die vielfachen Angriffe auf das körperliche Wohlsein und auf die geistig-sittliche Verfassung der Yamana durch das Europäertum trafen mit solch wuchtiger Durchschlagskraft die Gesamtheit dieses widerstandslosen Volkes, daß es kurz nach dieser tödlichen Verwundung der restlosen Auflösung seines Jahrhunderte alten Bestandes verfiel.

7. *Heutige Dasseinsform*

Nachdem sich die Europäer im Bereiche des Kap Horn eine Vormachtstellung erobert hatten und die Zahl der „Eingeborenen erschrecklich vermindert worden war,"[*] haben auch die rein äußeren, natürlichen Bedingungen

[*] Die amtlichen Gebieten für die Gesamtheit der Eingeborenen, die mit der Einrichtung der Salpeterfabrik in Usborne am 30. Oktober 1884 ins Land eingen, hat Bridges (s): 200 mit sicherem Blick vorausgesehen.

manche Änderungen erfahren. Zwar ist die Witterung nicht besser geworden; denn nach wie vor zerzaust der Sturm den tiefgrünen Buchenwald und reitet das nimmermüde Meer die schaumgekrönten Wellenberge gegen Felsenufer, gießt der Sommer den schweren Regen aus und schüttet der Winter viele Wochen lang die leichten Schneeflocken über Berg und Tal. Aber das Reich der Tiere hat der geldgierige Europäer von Grund auf verwüstet, daß einige Arten ausgerottet und andere auf wenige Vertreter eingeschränkt worden sind. Zuchttiere weiden heute auf geeigneten Flächen und drängen die einheimische Tierwelt weiter zurück. Fremde Fahrzeuge durchkreuzen häufig einige verkehrswichtige Kanäle und die vielen Ansiedlungen der Europäer haben das Landschaftsbild verändert.

In jenem Inselreiche, das jeder Yamana auch heute noch als seine Heimat liebt, ist er selber nicht mehr Herr und Besitzer. Das weiß er sehr wohl und empfindet es bitter. Entfliehen kann er nicht und so gibt er sich mit dem Zwitterdasein zufrieden, das allein ihm noch übrigbleibt. Am besten zeigt es sein gegensätzlicher Besitz und seine Ernährungsweise, daß er teils nach Art seiner Väter, teils nach den Gewohnheiten der Fremden lebt. Diesen Zwischenzustand als Überleitung von seiner urzeitlichen Dasinsweise in die europäischen Vollkommenheiten zu betrachten wäre sehr verfehlt. Auch die einfachste Kulturform ist eine wohlgeordnete, gegliederte Gesamtheit vieler Einzelteile, die nur im Zusammenhange ihre volle Geltung besitzt und ihre hochgradige Zweckdienlichkeit entfaltet. Die Zusammenstellung vieler artfremder Stücke ergibt nie ein ausgeglichenes Gefüge. Das fühlen die Indianer zuweilen empfindlich und auf den Gebieten, auf denen es sich noch ermöglichen läßt, greifen sie zeitweilig, mit unbewußtem Drange, zur Gewohnheit ihrer Väter zurück.

Die unglückliche Verquickung halb indianischer mit halb europäischen Kulturen ersieht man deutlich aus den Wohnungsverhältnissen in den letzten Jahrzehnten. Oberflächlichen Beobachtern ist es eine reizende Gewohnheit, die einfachen Holzhäuschen zu betrachten, für die unsere Indianer sich das günstig gelegene Puerto Mejillones auf dem Nordufer der Isla Navarino ausgesucht haben; andere sehen in diesen Errungenschaften den Triumph unserer Zivilisation über jene einst gefürchteten Wilden. Die Mehrzahl der Familien besitzt je ein kleines, einfaches Haus aus Bretterwänden mit Wellblechdach, das geschickte Männer gezimmert haben. Zuweilen sind sogar Fensterchen aus Glas eingesetzt, das sie, wie Bretter und Wellblech, von Europäern erworben haben. Indes, nicht inneres Bedürfnis nach günstigeren Einrichtungen und gesundheitsfördernden Verhältnissen hat jene Häuschen geschaffen, sondern mehr der Wunsch, es den Europäern gleich zu tun.[271] Denn diese Wohnungen wirklich gemütlich zu gestalten versteht der Indianer nicht, sie

[271] Lawrence (b): 129 schreibt: „Under missions influence the Yahgans in late years built small plank houses of European type. They were windy and waterright, and some had wooden floors, beds and stoves. The material for them, corrugated iron boxes, etc., was picked up on the beach."

bieten gegen Wind und Regen ungenügend Schutz, sie reinlich zu halten ist ein Unding und der Eisenofen kann bei weitem nicht die Wohltaten des offenen Feuers ersetzen.[671] Keine einzige Familie würde ununterbrochen das ganze Jahr darin aushalten, auch wenn sie durch Nahrungsversorgung nicht zu den monatelangen Fahrten durch fraliegende Kanäle gezwungen wäre. Draußen kauern sie Tag für Tag in der althergebrachten Hütte und empfinden nicht nur kein Unbehagen, sondern fühlen sich offensichtlich wohl. Einige Winterwochen verbringt zwar fast jede Familie in Puerto Mejillones, die meiste Zeit des Jahres indes ist sie unterwegs, in einem flachen Bretterboot ihr Inselreich durchquerend.

Weit weniger ist den heutigen Yamana die sozusagen gemischte Ernährungsweise erträglich, die bei ihnen Eingang gefunden hat. Davon war oben (S. 319) die Rede. Bisweilen können sie nicht anders, weil sie auf den Farmen und in den Sägewerken das Essen, so wie man es ihnen bietet, entgegennehmen müssen. Zum Vorteile ist es offensichtlich für sie, daß sie dort auf für Wochen regelmäßige Beschäftigung finden; danach kehren sie zu ihrem freien Leben zurück. Gleichfalls ist ihr Verdienst sehr gering, weswegen sie sich nur das eine und andere Mal beim Kaufmann eine beschränkte Menge Mehl, Zucker, Kaffee, Tee, Reis und ähnliches erwerben können. Ist das aufgebraucht, locken wieder die noch lange nicht erschöpften Schätze des Meeres. Wenn Europäer ausnahmsweise freigebig auftreten, sei es bei gelegentlichem Besuch, sei es im Austausch gegen Otternfelle, fließt ihnen der herbe Rotwein aus der Mendoza-Gegend zu.[672] Sie selber besitzen nicht so viel, um sich diesen Genuß öfters zu verschaffen. Ebenso selten haben sie Gelegenheit zum Rauchen. Doch wo und wann sie sich bietet, wird sie gut ausgenützt.[673]

In ihrer Verlegenheit nähern sie sich die Ernährungsweise der alten Zeit wieder an und dabei frischen sie sich körperlich wieder auf. Sie geben es offen zu, daß ihnen die Erzeugnisse der eigenen Heimat bekömmlicher sind als die schönsten Dinge aus dem Kaufladen der Europäer.[674]

Im Zusammenhange damit steht auch das häufige Klagen der Yamana über Ausrottung und Zurückdrängung einzelner Tierarten, die für ihren Nahrungserwerb früher lebenswichtig waren. Die Robben sind längst nicht mehr so zahlreich wie ehedem, die Seevögel, wie Gänse und Enten, Kormorane und Pinguine, sind den vielen Störungen durch Schiffe in verkehrsreichen Kanälen

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[671] Einige Familien haben unterdessen auf einen Ofen verzichtet und ziehen auch in dieser Hinsicht das offene Feuer vor; deshalb gibt es hier keinen Fußboden aus einer dünnen Bretterschicht.

[672] Heute sind die Indianer gewohnt, sie können sich von den Weißen nicht mehr trennen, damit diese sie bequem über Nacht berauben können. In früherer Zeit war dieses Vergehen allgemein. (Vgl. Bennett, in PP: XIII, 210; 1864).

[673] Mehr als das will die Mitteilung von Mrs Hammond (in Bennett: 110) nicht besagen: „The Indians have had no much communication with Spanish and Chileans owing that most of them drink, smoke and smoke cigarettes whenever they can get them."

[674] Neuere Lebensmittel sind dieser Lebensweise dienlich für diese Behauptung ohne Beweis (S. 319).

zugewichen, Wale endlich tauchen nahe den Inseln kaum je noch auf.[576] Durch den Wegfall so vieler Tiere hat der Indianer schwere Einbuße erlitten. Wie gut für ihn, daß das überreiche Meer ihm noch genug schenkt, um mit Aufwand geringer Mühe seine tägliche Nahrung zu gewinnen. Ohne diese vorteilhafte Abwechslung wären die Yamana der europäischen Ernährungsweise allein längst erlegen.[577]

Eine Erscheinung, die in ihren letzten Ursachen sich kaum wird vollständig ergründen lassen, die aber, neben allen ernsten Folgen, auch den Gemütszustand der heutigen Yamana eindeutig bestimmt, ist der verringerte Kinderreichtum. Damit meine ich zunächst eine im Vergleich zur Zahl der Familien zu niedrige absolute Zahl. Diese wieder ist die Folge einer geringeren Fruchtbarkeit der Frauen von heute gegenüber denen der früheren Zeit. Beispielsweise ist Gertie kinderlos und ihre Schwester Adelheid erfreut sich nur einer einzigen Tochter. Dergleichen Erscheinungen gehörten ehedem zu den allergrößten Seltenheiten. Endlich spricht der Umstand mit, daß es heute an jungen Mädchen für manchen heiratsfähigen Burschen fehlt. Die Störung des Gleichgewichtes ist teilweise noch Nachwirkung verheerender Seuchen.

Ob für die Verminderung der Fruchtbarkeit einiger junger Frauen von heute — die in geringerem Maße bereits bei den jetzt gealterten Indianerinnen eingesetzt hatte — europäische Lebensweise irgendwie als Ursache in Frage kommt? Unmöglich wäre das nicht. Allerdings kann Syphilis nicht genannt werden; denn in jenen Familien ohne Kinder war sie nicht zu erweisen. Über die Unzulänglichkeit an Nachkommenschaft für den Fortbestand ihres Stammes[578] sind sich die erwachsenen Leute voll und ganz im klaren. Sie tragen auch diese überaus quälende Gewißheit mit indianischer Gelassenheit und klagen ihr Schicksal nur selten mit lauter Stimme an. Wenn aber aus dem kleinen Kreise der Kinder von heute wieder eines ins Grab sinkt, erreicht ihr Trauerschmerz eine ganz ungewöhnliche Heftigkeit.

Die heute zu niedrige Zahl von Kindern wird teilweise aus den häufigen, zuweilen notwendigen Mischehen erklärt, die einzelne Yamana mit Vertretern der beiden Nachbarstämme bzw. mit Europäern eingegangen

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[576] Vor fünfzig Jahren schrieb Hyades (g): 3, als ein amerikanischer Robbenfänger am 1. Oktober 1882 zur "La Romanche" kam: „Auf einer Fahrt hatte er in fünf Tagen auf den Inseln Diego Ramirez und Ildefonso ungefähr 300 Stück Robben erlegt, an einem Tage einmal 70. Man tötet sie nur um der Haut willen ... Bei dieser Verfolgung nimmt die Zahl der Robben mit reißender Geschwindigkeit ab. Daß dadurch den armen Eingeborenen das Hauptmittel für ihren Lebensunterhalt entzogen wird, kümmert die Amerikaner wenig." Seitdem sind die großen Seevögelcolonien in jenen Gebieten zum rücksichtslosen Gewinnsucht noch mehr verfolgt worden. Vgl. Lowe Kent: Zur großen Eismauer des Südpols; Stuttgart 1925.

[577] Vgl. Gusinde: 165. Die Behauptung Bancroft' vom 5. Januar 1882: „Human nature is everywhere the same, and it is foolish of people to say that savage races find civilized modes of life destructive" (MM: XVI, 104; 1882), ist sehr verfehlt.

[578] Am 24. Januar 1882 hatte Lawrence von Punta Remalino aus auf die Kinderlosigkeit einer bedenklich großen Zahl von Familien hingewiesen (MM: XXXVI, 117; 1902).

sind. Seit wenigen Jahrzehnten war es üblich, daß einzelne weiße Arbeiter oder Beamte sich Indianerinnen als Gefährtinnen nahmen. Falls das Zusammenleben mehrere Jahre anhielt, war es nur selten mit mehr als einem Kinde gesegnet;[555] mehrfach blieb es überhaupt kinderlos. Diese Mischlinge traten, falls sie das Reifealter erreichten, später zu ihren indianischen Landsleuten über. Trotz genauer Erkundigungen konnte ich unter den heute lebenden Indianerinnen keine einzige in Erfahrung bringen, die, nachdem sie ihr Verhältnis mit dem Europäer aufgegeben und sich mit einem Manne ihres Stammes verheiratet hatte, erneut mit Kindersegen beglückt worden wäre.[556] Bei der geringen Zahl feuerländischer Überlebender machte naturgemäß das Ausscheiden mancher Frauen bei der Mitbeteiligung am Nachwuchs durch ihr Zusammenleben mit Weißen einen ansehnlichen Bruchteil aus.

Für den männlichen Nachwuchs fehlte es, wie soeben gesagt, an heiratsfähigen Mädchen. Einer alten und verwitweten Frau sich anzuschließen, sagte jungen Burschen nicht nur nicht zu, sondern wurde ihnen durch alleinstehende Männer streitig gemacht, die mit einem Antrage von vornherein ihres Erfolges sicher waren. Also blieben reife Burschen und junge Männer sehr lange Zeit Junggesellen. Wem sich die seltene Gelegenheit bot, verband sich mit einer Selk'nam- oder Halakwulup-Indianerin. Zufällig hatten sich Ende 1921 zwei der letzteren nach Punta Remolino geflüchtet. Nach einigen Monaten nahm CLEMENTE sich die ältere, nämlich ROSA, zur Frau, die aus der Ehe mit einem Chileneu bereits ein Mädchen hatte. Vorher war CLEMENTE mit einer Selk'nam-Frau, die zeitig starb und ihm als einziges Kind den AGUSTIN geschenkt hatte, verheiratet gewesen.[557] HOMESTEAD, der damals, im Januar 1920, neunzehn Jahre zählte, begleitete mich auf meiner zweiten Reise vom Canal de Beagle ins Lager der Selk'nam. Bei jenem Ritt beabsichtigte er nicht nur seinen weitläufigen Großvater TOMAS zu besuchen, sondern

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[555] HOLMBERG (a): 56 erwähnt Kreuzungen zwischen Weißen und Indianerinnen, „y del mestizaje se obtienen ejemplares más hermosos más; viimos en Puerto Eloas una India que tenía tres hijos: uno de italiano, otro de austriaco y el otro de español". Gewiß ist die alte Panai; zwei ihrer Söhne, Isamaya und Bozoum leben noch. Daß eine andere Indianerin aus ihrem Verhältnis mit Europäern mehrere Kinder erhalten hätte, ist mir nicht bekannt. Vgl. GUSINDE: 166.

[556] Für die frühere Zeit geht der Ausfall von Kindersegen unter den gegenwärtigen Bedingungen noch stärker. BRIDGES hat vor langem erwähnt, daß Indianerinnen von europäischen Seelenen vergewaltigt worden waren, „and there are several individuals over there, the descendants of these marriages" (VP: XIII, 210; 1866).

[557] Das Durcheinander bei ehelichen Verbindungen hat SERMANN 185 im Juli 1929 außerordentlich überrascht. Zustände, die mir sehr vertraut sind und die ich später eingehender darlegen werde, seien hier mit seinen kurzen Worten gewürdigt worden: „Yahgans ... used to marry with Onaks of Great Sarmiento Bay. Camanes got his Onak wife from here. 'Wallace' has had nine wives, and one is still alive. First wife had ten children, but all dead. One woman has had nine husbands, no children. One woman (Alacalufs) married to white man kills all her children ... Camanes with Alacalufs wife (Rosa). One grown boy by Onak wife. One half caste girl by Chilean father. Two girls, young, by Alacalufs woman."

hauptsächlich wollte er nach einem heiratsfähigen Mädchen umschauen.[...] Diese wenigen Beispiele weisen auf die seit mehreren Jahren bis in die Gegenwart herrschenden unnatürlichen Zustände hin, unter denen der Fortbestand des Yamana-Volkes unmöglich ist.

Nicht genug des bisher gezeichneten Unheiles, das über unsere Feuerländer mit dem Europäertum hereingebrochen war, müssen sie auch noch eine außerordentliche Schwächung ihrer Begabung und ererbten Fähigkeiten beklagen. Die Anlehnung an europäische Lebensweise und die Übernahme anderer Dinge hat ihre Geschicklichkeit beim Handhaben ihrer eigenen Geräte, Waffen und Waffen bedeutend vermindert. In fortschreitender geistiger Verarmung ging vielen die Fertigkeit zur Herstellung aller nötigen Gegenstände verloren. Da sie weder die Jagd noch den Kampf mit dem Unwetter so häufig wie ehedem aufnahmen, ermattete ihr Wagemut und Draufgängertum. Schließlich ließ ihre ganze physische Widerstandskraft in solch bedrohlichem Umfange nach, daß jede Tatenlust in einer völlig gleichgültigen Mattigkeit erstickte. Wäre der Hunger nicht, der sie zur Arbeit aufpeitscht, sie blieben zum und sonders in schläfriger Untätigkeit sitzen. Lust und Liebe zu Beschäftigung belebt eigentlich nur noch wenige bejahrte Personen, hingegen haben sich Leute mittleren und jüngeren Alters jedwede Anstrengung vom Leibe.[...] Heute schämt sich keiner seiner allbekannten Trägheit und wenn ein Mann, wie bei CASTERMAN es sich oftmals wiederholte, seine Familie hungern läßt, wagt es niemand mehr, ihm deswegen ernstlich zuzusetzen. Mancher geht tatsächlich in Unlust und Faulheit unter.[...]

Unbehaglich ist den Yamana dieser Zustand, weil unnatürlich. Die ganze leblose und belebte Umgebung lockt sie heraus und eifert sie an, durch sie vorzugehen. Sie fühlen weder Kraft noch Schwung in sich, jene Probern zu wagen und mit jenen Mühsalen zu ringen, aus denen ihre Väter immer als Sieger hervorgegangen waren. Auffällig ist, daß ihre Sommerwohnsitze weit hinter der von ehedem zurückbleibt und weil ihre ungeübten Sinne häufig nicht mehr ausreichen, wählen ihre Mutlosigkeit zu. Von dem Siegesbewußtsein im Daseinskampfe, in dem die Vorfahren geschwelgt haben, läßt die gegenwärtige Bevölkerungsschicht der jüngeren Leute keine Spur erkennen.

Jene Höchstleistungen in der Ausbildung ihrer Sinnesorgane und jener Hochstand geistiger wie charakterlicher Erstarkung liefen mit Gefahr-

[...] Weder in Bd. I, 94 noch in Gusinde (Sc) 133 sind diese Aufläufe genauer verfolgt, weil sie im Rahmen jener Darstellungen bedeutungslos waren.

[...] Den Grund zur ehemaligen Untätigkeit und schwerfälligen Geschicklichkeit hat die englikanische Mission gelegt. Bei den in Usuaia ansässigen Leuten konnten Bennett (p) 207 feststellen, daß sie tatsächlich verlernt hatten, ihren Eigenbedarf an Lebensmittelvorräten zu decken. Noch bedauerlicher war, daß „les Indiens de la vie nomade, constamment en plein air, ont été complètement par une existence beaucoup plus douce, à l'abri des intempéries." Dieses erweckte die große Empfänglichkeit für ansteckende Krankheiten.

[...] Die schwachen, abgleich nur für einige gebrauchen Urteil bei Bennett (p) 64 gefällt. „This summer have the name of making excellent and fearless sailors, but both men and women have a passion for drink, are incurable liars and lazy."

dung der Missionarsleute auf Isle Koppel auch.[...] Zu lange blieben dort und später in Udonia die Kinder von jener Umgebung herausgerissen, in der sie sich für den Kampf mit den Naturgewalten und für den Erwerb des Lebensnotwendigen in ihrer Heimat, unter Anleitung ihrer Eltern, üben sollten können. Manche fremdartige Dinge, die anderwärts nützlich sind, hatte man ihnen zwar beigebracht und sie dürften sie teilweise verstanden haben; zu wirklichem Fortschritt, zu verkümmertem Aufstieg hat es ihnen nicht gefehlt. Bald erhoben sich gegen die unzweckmäßige Zielsetzung im Unterricht warnende Stimmen,[...] nicht zuletzt von dem Kreise der Missionare selbst.[...] Aber das verhängnisvolle Streben, die Yaneen möglichst tief in die "Segnungen" der Europäerzeit einzutauchen, hat sie gleichzeitig dem Gesamtbesitz ihrer Väter, dem gebieten auch Handfertigkeit und Ausbildung der Söhne, entfremdet. Vieles und Wertvolles haben sie dabei eingebüßt. Als ich im Februar 1919 mich bemühte, ein Bindenkanu zu erwerben, wurde mir bedeutet, daß nur noch der alte Pawee die Eigenart besaß, es zu bauen. Selbst er besaßen nicht mehr so viel Geschicklichkeit auf, den früher viel gebrauchten Bogen und Pfeil anzufertigen.

Wie diese Indianer an einheimischen Gegenständen gegenseitig bereicherten, verschiedene merkt, obwohl sie sich europäischer Handwerkszeuge dabei bedienten, bei weitem nicht die Eigenartigkeit und Schönheit der Ausführung, die alte Stücke kennzeichnen. Technisches Können und Fingerfertigkeit, Sinnerschärfe und Unterscheidungsgabe schwanden um so mehr, als fremde Waren und Gewohnheiten überhand nahmen. Vorzüglich sind wirtschaftlich die heutigen Yaneen schlimmer daran, als ihre Väter.[...]

Sogar weit höhere geistige Güter haben die Europäer und ihre sich gegenseitig bekämpfenden Kulturen verschleudert, sie haben den Indianer von heute in die Tragödie einer *geistigen Verarmung* abgedrängt. Schlechen den Stammesältesten von den abgewandten Bahnen gehalten wurden war, anfangs die ernsten Rügen der Einfallsreichen Häuptlinge Alter auf die heute Schlechte gegenüber Leute sich bekehrten, wurden für diese das Unzulänglichmachen seiner ursprünglichen Wert und seiner unbeschreiblichen Wirkung. Immer mehr schwand die Erinnerung an das, was den Yaneen geistigen Rückgang und seelische Entfremdung gewonnen. Die Lehren der Missionare hatten den Verfall nicht auf.[...]

[...] Man [illegible] bedenke sich, was Gustinde [illegible] die Nahrung [illegible] durch „Fingerfertigkeit [illegible] auf [illegible] Jahre [illegible]."

[...] Anfang der 90er Jahre hatte Brunner (S. 107 [illegible]) [illegible] Polygamie [illegible] [illegible] Frauen [illegible] [illegible] Ehelosigkeit [illegible] [illegible] Frauen [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

einzelige Regierungsbehörde gehoben, so entstehe ein wertloses Landstück auf dem Nordufer der Isla Navarino für die Yamana eingegrenzt werden, wo sie ungestört ihre letzten Tage verbringen könnten (Gusinde [c]: 494); so wäre für Weiterbestand um wenige Jahrzehnte verlängert worden. Indes, in jenen Regierungskreisen fand mein Ansuchen, das eine so sich leicht erfüllbare Forderung enthielt, kein Gehör. Mit erschreckender Schnelligkeit hat sich seitdem der innere Zerfall fortgesetzt. Heute können alle Rettungsversuche zu spät.

Vor den Augen des gegenwärtigen Europa sinkt ein Volk ins Grab, das als Träger einer eigenartigen Lebensform zu den eigenartigsten Indianergruppen gehört. In seiner Ausgeschlossenheit ist es mit den kärglichen Lebensbedingungen entstanden gewesen, die ihm Mutter Natur in der unfruchtbaren Nähe des Kap Hoorn angewiesen hatte. Mutig Jahrhunderte überdauernd hat jedes Geschlecht ein reichliches Lebensglück gekostet. Da ist vor achtzig Jahren das Europäertum in jene geschlossene Volkseinheit eingedrungen und hat in wenigen Jahrzehnten ihre Lebensquellen gebrochen. Nur noch einige Jahre, und auch der Letzte dieses Stammes sinkt in die Vergangenheit unwiderruflich, von niemand betrauert, kaum. Denn nicht eine Zahl mehr auf der langen Schuldliste des völkervernichtenden Europa.

ZWEITER TEIL

Das Wirtschaftsleben

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Überraschend wirken bei den Yaruro, genau so wie bei den benachbarten Salivaren (Bd. I, 192), die entfalteten Verhältnisse geschlecht- und berufsmäßig auf die Grundlagen ihrer Wirtschaftsform. Da die unumgänglichen Verrichtungen für Garten- oder Ackerbau wie auch für Viehzucht fehlen, können sie sich nur als einfache Sammler oder Jäger bei unserer Lebensweise betätigen. Die Männer dem Fischfange einen auf dem Wasser und auf dem Kleinen Indianerwege Yaluro. Weniger als Fischer, mehr als Jäger und Sammler obliegen sie ihrem Nahrungserwerb, wenngleich man sie gewissermaßen als "Wasserpflanzer" bezeichnen. Fast den ganzen Tag befahren sie mit dem Kanu die einbrechenden Wasserarme oder jagen am Strande. Wenn sie das nicht tun, halten sie in der Hütte, die immer auf dem Strandwall neben der Wasserfläche errichtet wird. Gelegentlich nur und mit besonderem Dabei entfernen sie sich von der Küste landeinwärts und dringen tiefer in das Innere einer Insel vor. Die Wasserbewohner und die schnellen Kanuruderer sind das Betätigungsfeld und das Lebensgebiet der Yaruro. Was hier an Pflanzen und Tieren dem begegnet, bestimmt ihren Wirtschaftsbereich und ist für ihre Lebensbedürfnisse unentbehrlich. Die wichtigste Rolle fällt ihm gerade Wasserbewohnern zu, den dort heimischen Schildkröten und Wasen. Die Fischarten und Seevögel sind nicht weniger bedeutungsvoll. Endlich holen sich nur der Gruppe der nördlichen Yaruro die Mauerschnecke und die grossen Krebsfische durch eigene Gleichwertigen nicht vorhanden. Dieses Dingen jagend oder wenigstens nachgehend machen den Hauptteil der wirtschaftlichen Betätigung des Yaruro-Volkes aus. Das Pflanzenreich bietet wenigstens gar nichts und demnach sind unsere Eingeborenen unentbehrlich auf Fleischkost angewiesen.

Die Pflanzenwelt und die Erzeugnisse der Jagd liefern dann die Rohstoffe zu ihrem täglichen Bedarfsgebiete. Diese sind gewissermaßen Gebiete zu gewinnen, daß sie ein bemerkenswerten Bewusstseinsfelder nicht nur nicht bekämpfen, sondern die Aneignung aller bemerkenswerten Dinge sichern und vor allem der Jagen und Sammeln erleichtern. Ist der Rohstoffe beschränkt sich auf das unumgänglich Erforderliche. Das macht, an sich betrachtet, so wenig aus, daß die umgebenden Kulturmenschen sehr eingeschränkte Bedürfnisfähigkeit erkennen. Letzteres enthält einer gewissen Folgerichtigkeit, denn jedes Eingeborenen über die Grenze des Unentbehrlichen bisweilen eine Bedeutung, die man es empfindlichen Arbeiten nennen, je Jäger man die unbedingtesten wählt.

Die Beschränkt an unentbehrlichen Bedürfnissen verbindet man vorzüglich beim Wohnungen, auf an die Bekleidungsmaterialien, auf an die gesellschaftlichen Stellungen. Der Unterschied für eine Hütte oder für wenige Tage dient eine Behausung, mißliche erfordern Hütte, Kleidung, Schmuck und Bemalung können keine Geschlechter und geringer sein. Die Waffen und Geräte erhalten vorzüglich gerade in ihrer Mannigfaltigkeit viel Gutes Gutes. Was jemand benötigt, das weiß er selber herzustellen und zu beschaffen; ja Jäger von den Dingen sind jeder auf eigenen Füßen und

Lebensalter seiner Eigenart, Gewohnheiten Bereits haben sich nicht verwischt und die gewohnheitliche Gleichstellung aller Personen hält dementsprechend eine gewohnheitliche Schätzung verwischen. Der eine, gleichen Bereich gibt Ihr alle. Jeder scheint sich voller Unbeständigkeit von anderen, vorzugsweise nur die Gleichheit der Stimme und Gewohnheiten, der Sprache und Bewegungsart dem Inhalten und innerem Zusammenhalt aller Tonnen an einer Volksstadt bestimmt.

Zweifelhaften hat die Lebensweise und Bedingung der Tonnen als Wanderer nur Ausgestaltung dieser eigentümlichen Körperform zwischen Leibgestalten. Wie weit diese für sie verständlich ist, läßt sich hier nicht erkennen. Dem einzigen Gesetz läßt sich so weiter auf, als dem Nachbarn, die Schlitten, gleichzeitig mit den Tonnelchen auf dem Fachwerk, die besonderen Körperspielen unter allen sichtverschiedenen Inhalten erreicht haben. Unsere Tonnen sind eben nicht nur Mode, sondern überhaupt wenig abwechslig verwischt (S. 114). Auf schwächlichen, dünnen Beinen ruht ein breiter, kräftiger Körper, mit überaus breiteren Muskelnetzen der Brust und der Arme. Die Anschlung in die Breite läßt Pressen wird mehr als bei Mimosen und, auch stellt man bei jenen weit kräftiger und plumper Figuren als bei diesen. Den gleichen Fehlen einer beschränkenden Körperpflege, als gewisse grobe Züge, der wirre Gesichtsausdruck und der ungeordnete Haar verschlechtigen den wenig ungeordneten Bild der Tonnen-Schlosser. Nicht einer wirklichen Grund haben fast alle vorgeschrieben Schlosser dieselben ungünstige Urteile über die Körperbildung unserer Eingeborenen ausgesprochen (S. 114). Unbeweglich aber erkennen sie sich einer kräftigen Gesundheit und einer ungeschlachten Widerstandsfähigkeit, die sie als Gebilde dieser lustigen Rasse leicht überstehen läßt und die den ungeschlachten Widerstand dieses Volkes durch Jahrhunderte geschlossen hat. Dann wird der Tonnen bei Wettstreit mit anderen Bevölkerungen von Schlesien den Leiben besser verteidigen, seine körperliche Eignung für die Stärke seiner Lebensweise und für die Gegner seiner Lebensweise bei selbstverständlich. Unser wirklicher Wirklichkeit bei so seiner Rasse gut angepaßt.

A. Die Wohnung

Die Wohnungsbeschreibung bildet einen beachtenswerten Teil der Wirtschaftsform der Tonnen-Völker und erinnert vielfacher mit seiner schwach Ähnlichkeit Zigeuner Sinnlos. Nur einen vorübergehenden Schutz benutzt sie zu Nächten, auf so für eine einzige Nacht, auf so für wenige Tage. Wenn aus gutem Gründen sich die Zigeuner Aufenthalt an gleichem Ort ausgeschlossen, läßt der an sich leichten, bedeutet Rast ein wenig Ruhe aus; Die geschlossene geeignet ein schwachen Gerüst. Nach der Ankunft Anlage unterscheiden sich die Zeltgestänge von der Zeltgestänge Hütten.[1] Dorfgebäude wird an

[1] In such den Lebensweise gibt es so Hütten, einige Tonnen für 100, gross Stadt — die [illegible], so wenigen Leuten und die [illegible], so einem Leuten?" Das unsere schon von

von einer einzigen Familie bewohnt.[1] Der andauernde Zusammenschluß vieler Familien, etwa nach Art einer Dorfsiedlung, wäre gleichfalls unhaltbar. All den vielgestaltigen dazu bei, die Wohnungsentwicklung der Tuareg in dieser äußerst beschränkenden Dürftigkeit unentwickelt zu belassen.

Weder beim Aufbau noch während des Bewohnens vermögen die Insassen für ihre wenigen Hütte merklichen Mühe oder Sorgfalt auf; denn sie dient nur für wenige Stunden oder Tage den dringendsten Bedürfnissen nach Schutz gegen die Unbilden der Witterung. Glaubt man ja nicht, der Indianer erstrebe wohlige Behaglichkeit oder angenehme Bequemlichkeit in seiner Hütte. Nein, sie soll ihm nur einen geringen Deckung bieten und gleichzeitig den unerschöpflichen Feuer unbehindert sich entwickeln lassen. Was darüber hinaus noch vorgeschriebener Bestrebung einer Wohnung nicht fehlen dürfte, bedeutet für den Tuareg vergeblichen Kraftaufwand und unnützige Belastung; denn alles, was nicht ist, muß er unablässig mit sich herumschleppen und er dürfte sich nach diesem nicht trennen.

1. Dauersiedlungen fehlen

Weil ein anderer Nahrungserwerb außer Jagen und Sammeln für die Eingeborenen am Kap Horn nicht möglich ist, sind alle Stammesmitglieder in Einzelfamilien aufgeteilt und sie müssen, höchstens zu wenigen gelegentlich vorgenommenen Festen, gleich wie auf Nahrungssuche aus. Sie ist es, die den Zusammenschluß vieler nach Art einer Dorfsiedlung verhindert.

Die Nahrung beschränkenden Mittel die Hauptsorge des Mannes. Weite und nicht selten vergeblichen Reisen machen sich notwendig, bis er jenen Fahrten nahe kommt, auf denen Robben fangen, oder bis er an jenen Klippen gelangt, in denen Kormorane nisten, oder bis er Muschelbänke antrifft, auf denen die Eingeborenen sich verlaufen. Immer sieht er sich der Willkür der ewig wechselnden, Wellen und der dauernd veränderlichen Winde ausgeliefert; trotz besten Willens, trotz äußerster Anstrengung und trotz größter Not kann er keine Gewähr dafür bieten, das erwählte Ziel zu erreichen, die eingeschlagene Fahrtrichtung beibehalten und den Ausgangspunkt seiner Kanufahrt wiederzugewinnen. Die unerschütterliche Abhängigkeit vom wechselnden Wetter, das nicht selten für mehrere Tage ungar jede Bewegung hindert, gestattet weder ein geregeltes Beisammensein vieler Leute, noch eine gleichmäßige Bindung der Jäger an einer Dauersiedlung. Wer merkbildende

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

und auf Nahrung, die andere beibringen sollten, warten müßte, stöße sich nur zu oft dem Hungertode ausgeliefert.[1]

Aber auch nähere Rücksichten auf die Jagdtiere selber, auf die unser Indianer nun einmal angewiesen ist, würden das längere Verweilen in geschlossenen Siedlungen als wenig ratsam erscheinen lassen. Die Tiere wechseln ganz unberechenbar ihren Standort. Falls sie jedoch gewisse Plätze bevorzugen, finden sie sich dort nur so lange ein, als der Mensch sie nicht stört. Wurden sie aber verscheucht, vergehen Tage, bis sie das Gefühl der Sicherheit wiedergewinnen und dort abermals sich niederlassen. Vorausgesetzt nun, es wollten viele Familien am gleichen Fleck beisammen wohnen, wäre innerhalb weniger Tage jenes Gebiet im weiten Umkreis bestimmt von allen Jagdtieren, einerlei ob sie getötet oder verscheucht wurden, geplündert. Demnach müßte sich der Jäger bis auf immer weitere Entfernungen von seinem Lager vorwagen, bis er auf Beute stößt. Abgesehen von den bereits aufgewandten Anstrengungen würde sich für ihn die Rückkehr beschwerlicher und unsicherer gestalten; besorgter müßten auch jene ausschauen, die ängstlich auf ihn warten. Nur sehr kurze Zeit dürfte verstreichen und schon müßte ein neuer Lagerplatz, in beträchtlichem Abstande vom vorhergehenden, aufgesucht werden.

Diese kurzen Andeutungen rücken die Vorteile einer unabhängigen Freizügigkeit der Einzelfamilie gegenüber einer längeren Seßhaftigkeit vieler Leute am gleichen Fleck in das entscheidende Licht der Überzeugung. Freilich, das sei jetzt schon erwähnt, sammeln sich viele Familien um einen gestrandeten Wal und bilden hier eine zufällige Siedlung von beschränkter Dauer. Diese aber hat nur so lange Bestand, als der Vorrat an Fleisch und Fett anhält; denn auch ein Seeungeheuer von der riesigen Ausdehnung dieses größten Säugetieres liefert keineswegs unbegrenzte Nahrungsmassen. Eben dieser vereinzelte Anlaß neben dem und jenem anderen beweist es, wie wenig irgendwelche feste Siedlungen als Dauereinrichtung für unsere Eingeborenen geeignet wären. Zum Vorteil für alle ist ihr ausgedehntes Heimatgebiet mit wenig Menschen bestellt, so daß jeder Einzelfamilie ein langer Weg nach allen Richtungen hin offen steht, wo sie sich ungestört ihrer Nahrungssuche widmen kann.

Demzufolge ist die Wohnung der Yamana, sowohl nach ihrer Form und Bauart, als nach dem Orte, an dem sie zustande kommt, eine Gelegenheitssache. Wer auf Reisen ist, erstrebt bei gutem Wetter wohl ein bestimmtes Landungsziel; doch erreicht er es manchmal nicht, weil ihm unterwegs eine gute Beute über den Weg läuft oder weil die Verfolgung eines Tieres ihn in andere Richtung abdrängt oder weil Wind und Wellen sich ihm entgegenstellen. Er will ja letzten Endes auf Nahrungserwerb zusteuern; wo

[1] Diese entscheidenden Umstände sind von jenen europäischen Beurteilern übersehen worden, die in Verkennung der Sachlage unsere Eingeborenen deshalb als rückständig eingeschätzt haben, weil sie weder feste Wohnungen noch Dauersiedlungen errichteten.

und wenn ihm etwas in die Hände fällt, dort macht er entschlossen halt und landet. Demnach bestimmt er der jeweilige Ort der Landung, ob die Familie nur ein kleines Schutzdach oder eine kegelförmige Hütte oder das etwas umständlichere Werk einer kuppelförmigen Wohnung herrichtet. Für letztere benützt man viele lange, geschmeidige grüne Stämmchen und dichtes Blattwerk, für jene genügen mehrere kurze Stangen, für ersteres reichen die wenigen Fellstücke aus, die jeder in seinem Kanu mit sich führt. Was die äußeren Umstände ergeben, was der Landungsplatz bietet, was augenblicklich als das Passendste erscheint, eben das wählt der Indianer und dafür entscheidet er sich. Pläne auf weite Sicht würden sich für ihn nicht nur als unpraktisch, sondern meist als undurchführbar erweisen; deswegen gibt er sich damit überhaupt nicht ab. Wie zum Ersatz dafür besitzt er eine rege geistige Beweglichkeit schneller Entschlußfassung, die ihm in jeder Lage zu augenblicklicher Entscheidung verhilft.

Das von Dauersiedlungen am meisten abliegende Gegenstück ist der kurzfristige Wetterschutz, den die plötzlich herreinbrechende Not schnell aufzurichten lehrt. Was der Indianer eben vorfindet, rafft er zusammen und damit hilft er sich, so weit es möglich ist. Wohnungen kann man solche Notvorrichtungen nicht nennen, weil sie nur für kurze Stunden, etwa während Sturm und Regen oder während Sonnenschein oder wegen einer nicht überwindbaren Gegenströmung, einige Deckung bieten sollen. In wenigen Minuten sind sie aufgestellt und immer so eingerichtet, wie es die jeweiligen örtlichen Bedingungen ermöglichen.[a]

Oft verkriecht man sich unter einem überhängenden Felsen oder in einer seichten Vertiefung im Stein oder in einer flach höhlenförmigen Einsenkung des Bodens und verstellt mit dichtem Reisig oder mit aufgespannten Ledertüchern dem niederprasselnden Regen oder dem vorbeiwirbelnden Winde einen offenen Zutritt. Meist gibt man sich mit den geringen, mühelosen Handgriffen zufrieden, die dazu ausreichen, daß das Feuer gleichmäßig weiterglimmt oder daß eine große Flamme sich entwickelt. In tiefere Felsenlöcher und eigentliche Höhlen, deren es dort nur wenige gibt, würde eine Yamana-Familie kaum je eindringen, weil das Verweilen ihr nicht behagt und weil die starke Rauchentwicklung des unentbehrlichen Feuers sie wieder hinausjagen würde.[b]

Ebensowenig wie Höhlenwohnungen benützt man eigentliche Windschirme von der Art, wie sie den nördlichen Selk'nam unentbehrlich sind (Bd. I, 197).

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[a] Nur in Bezug hierauf geben folgende Worte: „Les Fuégiens ont plusieurs genres de huttes: ils modifient leur construction suivant le nombre des gens où ils se trouvent, ou suivant le temps qu'ils doivent y séjourner" (Le Nature: 274).

[b] Nur als Unterschlupf dienen einige geeignete Felsüberhängen und Höhlen, die unsere Indianer aufsuchen, um für wenige Stunden gegen plötzlich hereinbrechendes Unwetter notdürftig geschützt zu sein. In dieser Bedeutung handelt es sich, wie Hyades (f): 288 sagt: „Ils s'installaient quand bien même au couchant qui empêchait, dans cette grotte fraîchement accueillie, l'emmaillé pour cuire où de pouvoir faire leur feu."

Man errichtet wohl, für kurze, erzwungene Lagern oder zu dringend gebotener Rast, ein einfaches Schutzdach aus größeren und dichtbelaubten Ästen, deren freie Endep oben zusammenstoßen, oder aus einigen Stangen mit aufgelegten Lederstücken nach Art einer Schutzwand, oder endlich aus niedrigem Buschwerk, das möglichst enggestellt in den Erdboden gesteckt wird. Aber dabei folgt man keinem einheitlichen, unwandelbaren Plane, sondern entscheidet sich jedesmal für das Mögliche und Zweckdienliche, je nachdem die Sonne scheint oder die Belästigungen des Unwetters gemildert werden sollen, je nachdem viel Laubwerk zur Hand ist oder rund herum nur steiniges Feld sich ausdehnt. Eine derart gelegentliche und flüchtig errichtete Schutzwand nennt man *ostla*. Wenn die Familie weiterzieht, überläßt sie selbstverständlich diese Vorrichtung unbekümmert den zerstörenden Kräften der Natur und gibt ihr Eigentumsrecht darüber auf.[6] Die hier genannten drei Grundformen habe ich in mannigfacher Verschiedenheit gesehen.[7]

2. Die zwei Hüttenformen

Im weiten Yamana-Gebiete, von der Halbinsel Brecknock bis Isla Nueva und hinunter zum Kap Horn, haben sich zwei Formen der Wohnhütte ausgebildet, nämlich die kegelförmige und die kuppelförmige. Vorläufig soll es unentschieden gelassen werden, welcher von beiden hier im Feuerlande ein höheres ethnologisches Alter zukommt.

Für diese Frage ist die Tatsache nicht ohne Belang, daß jede der beiden Hüttenformen ihre bestimmt umgrenzte geographische Verbreitung besitzt: Im feuchten, waldreichen Westen ist die kuppelförmige, im trockneren, offenen Osten die kegelförmige Hütte zu Hause. Daß für diese wie für jene die landschaftlichen Bedingungen zumindest mitbestimmend, vielleicht sogar ausschlaggebend gewesen sind, lassen beachtenswerte Umstände erschließen.

Die Indianer gaben mir Begründungen, die für sich allein ausreichen dürften, um den Ursprung beider Arten zu erklären. Im Westen überwiegt Feuchtigkeit und Nässe bei weitem. Die Erdoberfläche ist viel unregelmäßiger und entbehrt auf der Höhe des Meeresspiegels fast überall ausgedehnter Ebenen mit Kies- oder Schotterboden. Die nordwärts gerichteten Seiten der Felsen erhalten nicht nur die belebende Kraft der Sonne, sondern sind auch gut gegen Sturm und Unwetter gesichert; deshalb entfaltet sich hier ein dichter, gedrängter Baumwuchs und sogar in kleinsten Spalten finden die festen Wurzeln der antarktischen Buchen noch genügenden Halt. Dicke Bäume gedeihen im Westen nur in geringer Zahl; dafür überwiegen dünne, unregelmäßig hochgeschossene, geschmeidige Stämmchen. An jedem Ufer er-

[6] Als einziger vertritt Rae (in Gurney [g]: 57) die irrige Ansicht, daß „ihr erbauen zu pertmanent o quieren lo hacen, sino son propiedad comun." Wer eine Hütte verläßt, zerstöret eben auf die Gerätestücke und gibt diese für jeden, der sie später benützen will, bewußt oder unbewußt frei.

[7] Von Brauns (q): 142 werden sie als "una carta de hacerse de fundaga" bezeichnet. Auch Bourne (b): 680 spricht davon.

reicht man sie aus allerdächster Nähe und mühelos lassen sie sich umreißen, weil ihre Wurzeln sich nicht in den felsigen Grund einbohren.

Weil der Wind in den Niederungen seine volle Gewalt nur an wenigen Stellen entfalten kann, sind die Möglichkeiten für die kuppelförmige Hütte, die gegenüber der kegelförmigen manche Vorteile hat, gegeben. Erstere ist besser geschlossen. Deshalb verteilt sich im Innern die Wärme gleichmäßig bis an die Wände und die feuchte Luft wird getrocknet; die gute, allseitige Deckung verhindert, daß Regen und Schnee belästigend eindringen. Der hier im Westen schwächere Wind wird von den verhangenen Seitenwänden abgehalten, wozwegen das Feuer ungestört glimmt und der Rauch geradewegs nach oben abzieht. All diese Vorzüge der kuppelförmigen Hütte, die einem Fremden geringfügig erscheinen, wissen die Indianer zu schätzen. Für das Gerüst dieser Hüttenart eignen sich die biegsamen, langen, dünnen, teilweise unregelmäßigen und gebogenen Buchenstämmchen ganz gut; die kegelförmige Hütte benötigt gerade, gleichmäßige Stämmchen, die sich im Westen am gleichen Fleck nur selten in erforderlicher Anzahl finden. Die Umwelt also ist es, die dem Bau der kuppelförmigen Hütte begünstigt.

Hingegen besitzt der Osten bedeutend weniger geschützte Stellen am Rande des Wassers. Wenn man am Nordufer des Canal de Beagle von Ushuaia ostwärts entlang läuft, sieht man, einzelne Schlupfwinkel ausgenommen, die Küste für jeden Wind und Sturm aus dem Süden und Südwesten offen daliegen; noch mehr gilt das für die lange Südküste der Isla Navarino und für die drei Inseln im östlichen Ausgange des Canal de Beagle. Würden die Indianer auf den offenen, weiten Flächen der sanft ansteigenden Ufer die geschlossene Kuppelhütte aufstellen, müßten sie damit rechnen, daß ihr Werk von einem nachdrücklichen Windstoß umgeworfen wird. Eine kegelförmige Hütte hat dieses Schicksal nur im schwersten Sturm und Wirbelwinde zu fürchten; denn die lose nebeneinander gereihten Stämmchen gewähren dem Winde ausreichenden Durchzug und bilden keineswegs jene breite Angriffsfläche, wie dies eine kuppelförmige Hütte tut. Im Osten zeigen die jungen Buchenstämme ein übermäßiges Wachstum; das flächenhafte Erdreich bildet die Voraussetzung dazu, so daß sie langsamer in die Höhe schießen und gleichzeitig sich in die Breite entwickeln. Leicht erreichbar stehen sie herum. Sie eignen sich vortrefflich für die kegelförmige Hütte, weil auch die Schwere des Stämmchens selber zur Festigkeit des ganzen Baues beiträgt. Da er Wind und Luftströme jederzeit ausgesetzt ist, die sogar die Luft des Innenraumes in Bewegung bringen, muß der Rauch einen bequemen Abzug immer offen finden; diesen gewährleistet die kegelförmige Hütte viel besser als die andere. Bei Sonnenschein und regenfreien Tagen, die im Westen viel seltener sind als hier im Osten, sieht die Frau mit leichtem Handgriff die durchnäßten Lederstücke vom Gerüst herunter und das Innere trocknet bei der bequemen Durchlüftung schnell aus. Die kegelförmige Hütte läßt ihre Anpassung an die Witterungs- und Landschaftsbedingungen des Ostens leicht erkennen.

Tatsächlich fällt auch die Grenze für beide Hüttenformen mit der

für die repräsentiertere westliche und repräsentiertere östliche Zone [illegible]. Es ist das eine etwa wellige Linie von Punta Divide um durch Augustus Harvey zur Bahía Nassau. Demnach waren die Ona- und Tenetet-Yamana im Besitz der kegelförmigen Hütte, während die Walkatam-, die Shá- und Waulwata die andere Hüttenform benützten. Das Gutachter der Hahnel Hardy ist als eine Art Übergangsgebiet zu betrachten, insofern auch Rindenhütten[*] zwecklos die eine wie die andere Form dort angetroffen wurde. Ob sich die kegelförmige Hütte dort erst mit Einführung der europäischen Elements vollständig eingebürgert hat, läßt sich heute nicht mehr entscheiden.

Auffällig ist es, daß manche der früheren Seefahrer mit Bestimmtheit für den Osten und für den Westen den ihm eigentümlichen Wohnbau beobachtet haben. Bei Pasaje Snow (s): I, 264 liest man: „Their dwellings on the eastern part of Tierra del Fuego are the conical wigwam built from branches of trees over a hallowed space of ground. On the west part their habitations I believe are somewhat different.“[*] Bestimmter drückt sich Cox-[illegible]: 36, 38 aus: Die Hütte, die er auf dem westlichsten Ufer der Isla Navarino gesehen hatte, „was constructed of logs, the lower ends of which were spread round so as to form nearly a perfect circle, while the upper ends leaned against each other.“ Das gilt ausschließlich für die Kegelform. In Bahía Orange stieß er auf die andere Hüttenform: „it was built of boughs, leaves, and earth; in shape it resembled a bee-hive, and was impervious to wind and snow.“ Sogar der Vertreter der bestgemessenen Bauart gegenüber der weitgemessenen gibt er sich Rechenschaft. Spätere hat Hyades (f): 356 auf beide Hüttenformen hingewiesen; die eine vergleicht er „à un tas de foin, par un fermier et par un grandeur ... sauf que la hutte est souvent plus exiguë qu'un tas de foin.“ Bereits in der ersten Nachrichtt über die Feuerländer sieht sie keiner Hinweis auf ihre Wohnungen. Dagegen (in Hyades-Anmerkung: 275) sagt von denen, die er auf dem Südufer der Isla Navarino (wahrscheinlich in Bahía Windhond) beobachtet hatte, sie „sind von Rinnen verfertigt, unten rund, und endigen sich oben, wie die Gewölbe, fast in eine Spitze, worin sich eine kleine Öffnung befindet, um den Rauch durchzulassen.“[*] Zufolge der wenigen hier wiedergegebenen Angaben besitzen sich die Ona-Yamana wahrscheinlich eine kegelförmige Wohnung.

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[*] Vgl. weiter unten die Hütten von Pasaje, Paseaman, Hoonet Sanamyam, Dumana und Lemanu.

[*] Im Vol. I bringt er als Tafelbild "Women of Fuegia and child". Beide stehen vor einer spitzkegelförmigen, offensichtlich gemeinsamen Hütte, die wiederum die dreigeteilte Eingangsöffnung der Indianerin aufweist. Auf dem Tafelbild des Vol. II "Fuegian and his hut" sieht man ebenfalls eine spitzkegelförmige Hütte. Beide Bilder wurden in Bayony Cove auf Isla Picton angefertigt. Pasaje-Snow (s) stellt auf seinem Tafelbild einen Yagan-Eingeborenen dar, im Hintergrunde eine Partie von dem kegelförmigen Hütte. Diese Zeichnung stammt aus Parrots Cove in der Gabelbucht des Canal de Beagle.

[*] Beachtl sein Vergleich „wie die Gewölbe“, als auch die Erwähnung dieser Hütte auf dem Bilde von jener Landungsstelle Lapas Lobos. Deutlich deuten, daß er die kegelförmige Hütte meint (Vgl. Abb. 18, S. 35).

Über die Hüttenform des Westens liegen nicht minder bestimmte Bemerkungen vor. Aus früher Zeit berichtet Gonnor Fourrex (b): 243 über die Bewohner im Paso Christmas: „Sie wohnen unter etlichen zusammengebundenen dünnen Zweigen, die das Gerippe einer niedrigen, runden, offenen Hütte ausmachen; über diese werden einige Sträucher, etliche Bündchen trockenen Grases gelegt, und die Lärken hie und da, höchstens mit einer Rohrdecke bedeckt." Ein halbes Jahrhundert später beschreibt Pickersgill 18 eine Hütte in der Bahia Orange also: „In shape it was hemispherical, having the apex unfinished for the passage of smoke: and it seemed to be the work of but a few hours with the unassisted hands." Merkwürdigerweise hatte in der gleichen Bucht Fitz-Roy wenige Jahre früher, am 9. April 1830, eine andere Hüttenform angetroffen: „We afterwards found that these Yapoos built their wigwams in a manner differing from that of the western tribes [westliche Yamana und Halakwulup], being made of a number of poles, or pieces of wood, placed on end around a small space, and meeting at the top" (Kano: 428). Später drückte er (a): 140 sich noch deutlicher aus: „A Tekeenika wigwam is of a conical form, made of a number of large poles, or young trees, placed touching one another in a circle, with the small ends meeting. No Fuegians, except the Tekeenika, make their huts in this manner." 19 Die Hütten der anderen, nämlich der westlichen Stammesgruppen „are shaped like beehives." Jenes Ostufer der Halbinsel Hardy muß als ein Gebiet betrachtet werden, auf dem die beiden Hüttenformen sich gemischt haben. Durch diesen abgesehen, kannte der Westen nur die kuppelförmige Hütte.[20]

Das Vordringen der Europäer hat die Abspernung der einzelnen Volksgruppen voneinander immer mehr gelockert und seitdem überschritten West- und Ostleute auch jene Grenzzone der Hüttenformen; sie bekämpften aber tunlichst beim kurzen Besuche im fremden Gebiete jene bei, an die sie von alterher gewöhnt waren.[21] So traf noch die Mission Schmitz-Cuyot in der Nachbarschaft des Kap Horn die kuppelförmigen Hütten an, neben denen bereits kegelförmige Hütten auftauchten, während die Ufer des mittleren und östlichen Canal de Beagle allein mit kegelförmigen Hütten besetzt waren (Hyades [q]: 343). Die Neuzeit hat nun mit Einführung der europäischen Eisenzeit eine noch tiefergreifende Änderung veranlaßt, weil man mit ihr und mit anderen Eisenwerkzeugen auch im Westen und Süden dicke Stämme fällen kann, die sich zum Bau einer festen Kegelhütte eignen.[22]

[18] Sein Irrtum dürfte darum entstanden sein, daß er seine Beobachtungen überwiegend im westlichen Kap Horn- und im westpatagonischen Archipel durchgeführt hat, wo allein die kuppelförmige Hütte anzutreffen ist.

[19] Für diese geographische Verteilung spricht unverdächtig auch Lovisato (b): 138 ein.

[20] Die genauere Fitz. (VP: VI, 136; 1839) berichtet, daß im Wulaia-Gebiet „all the wigwams are much inferior to those we saw at Picton Island, and so are also the people". Indes scheint es nicht wahrscheinlich, ob die kegelförmigen oder die kuppelförmigen Hütten gemeint sind.

[21] Sehr bezeichnend weist Lovisato (b): 138 auf diesen Umstand hin: „The introduction of the axe has increased the use of the pointed house form." Er bildet in Fig. 32 ein „moderno Yahgan house" dieser Bauart ab.

Daraus erklärt es sich, daß an wenigen Stellen der mittleren Zone beide Hüttenformen nebeneinander aufgerichtet worden sind und daß von einem bestimmten Orte der eine Reisende über diese, der andere über jene Form sprach.[*]

Seitdem sich der Westen ganz entvölkert hat, haben die letzten Yamana sich meist im Zentrum und Osten auf, wo den europäischen Reisenden nur kuppelförmige Hütten mit einem Gerüst aus dicken Stämmen begegnet sind.[*] Man geht nicht fehl, wenn man diesen standhafteren Kuppelbau als eine Gefolgschaft der dort eingeführten Element beurteilt. Die Gerätschaften der Alten hatten nicht ausgereicht, um mit geringem Mühaufwand ausreichende Stämme und schwere Pfosten, die für diesen festeren Hüttengerüst erforderlich sind, anzubringen. Mit der Beschränkung der letzten Yamana, denen die Element schnell unentbehrlich geworden ist, auf das mittlere und östliche Gebiet war es gegeben, daß die kuppelförmige Hütte nahezu vollständig ganz verschwand und nur noch die kegelförmige Hütte gültige als Wohnung sich erhielt.

Wirft man einen Blick auf die beiden Nachbarstämme, so erscheint im Gebiet der Halakwulup, das die gleichen Wetter- und Landschaftsverhältnisse der regenreicheren westlichen Yamana-Zone aufweist, nur die kuppelförmige Hütte, während im Süden der Isla Grande von den Selk'nam, den Nachbarn der östlichen Yamana, allein die kegelförmige Hütte aufgebaut wird.[*]

a. *Die kegelförmige Hütte*

In früherer wie in neuerer Zeit richtete die Einzelfamilie, je nachdem sie nur gleichen Platz kurz oder länger zu verweilen gedachte, einen leichteren oder einen festeren Bau auf. Für letzteren waren schwerere Stämme nötig, die herbeizuschaffen mehr Arbeit und Zeit erforderte. Mit der Element, die seit wenigen Jahrzehnten jeder Mann besitzt, beschafft er sich ohne besondere Anstrengung eiserne ausreichende Stämme. Zum leichteren Bau genügen wenige

[*] Auf den Inseln der Kap Hoorn-Bucht hat Dumont (b): 178 im Februar 1902 den festeren, kuppelförmigen Hüttenbau gesehen, der ihm bedeutlich erschien. Die Bewohner Feuerlandes hatte vorzeitig Jahre früher bei den Yamana den Bau auch die kuppelförmige Hütte angetroffen.

[*] Aus den unbestimmten Angaben anderer Reisender kann man zu einem sicheren Urteil über die Verteilung der beiden Hüttenformen während ihrer Aufenthalten in jener Gegend nicht gelangen. Bei Bove (a): 157 (und im MM: XVIII, 199; 1902) heißt es: „Die Hütten haben im allgemeinen eine kuppelförmige Gestalt und sind ebenfalls dementsprechend gepolsterte Türen." Es hatte, auf seiner ersten Reise, der Bremiker Bremerhaven (a): 140 begleitet, der nur die Tätigkeiten Lemuyaghanes und Indianerverhandlungen von einer „Hütte beschrieben" gesehen hat. Der andere Begleiter Lawrence (b): 132 spricht ebenfalls nur von einer einzigen Hüttenform, bei der „i vent di ellere come indiani sul terreno e pingeni coperti ermente in cuoio alle volte coperte da ciuffi erbe intrecciati ..." Aber sogar in den Mitteilungen dieser drei Männer, die gleichzeitig jenen Gebiet besucht haben, gibt es offensichtliche Widersprüche.

[*] Eine Abhängigkeit der Hüttenform unter dem Einfluß der europäischen Element bei den südlichen Selk'nam habe ich wahrscheinlich gemacht (Bd. I, 198).

Stäbe, die meist an vielbesuchten Lagerplätzen herumliegen. Auch im Hüttenbau erweist sich der Yamana als ein Mensch, der sich ganz und gar von den gegebenen Umständen in einem bestimmten Augenblicke abhängig macht; hierbei gibt er sein klares Erfassen der Sachlage, aus der heraus er unverzüglich seine Wahl trifft, zu erkennen.

Fordert es der ganz offene, ungeschützte Lagerplatz oder die Ungunst der Witterung oder der Wunsch nach einem Verweilen für mehrere Tage, so erstreckt man von vornherein den widerstandsfähigen festeren Bau. Man trägt etwa zehn bis zwanzig armdicke Stämmchen, verwilten auch dickere Pfosten von 2 m Höhe zusammen, setzt sie dem flachen Erdboden auf und gibt allen die Neigung zur Mitte. Die eigene Schwere lehnt sie genügend fest gegeneinander und sie werden nicht erst eigens zusammengebunden. Die Zwischenräume füllt man mit Erdklumpen, Wurzelwerk und Rasenstücken aus, auch mit Ballen aus trockenem Seetang und aus Baumflechten, die man mit blättertreichen Zweigbüschen und kurzen Rindenstücken überdeckt. Größere Flächen behängt man auch mit trockenen Seelöwenhäuten, die vermittels Schnurfasern oder dünnen Lederriemen festgebunden werden müssen, weil leichte Luftströmungen sie lockern und die eigene Schwere sie nach unten zieht. Nicht nur reinigt man vorerst den Erdboden von aufgeworfenen Algen, morschem Holze und frischem Grashäufchen, man scharrt auch eine mehrere Zentimeter tiefe Erdschicht aus; demnach liegt die ganze Innenfläche ein wenig unter der Höhe der Umgebung.[*]

Die Größenverhältnisse dieses Baues schwanken unbedeutend, meist gibt die höhere oder niedrigere Zahl der Insassen den Ausschlag. Ungefähr beträgt die senkrechte Innenhöhe bis zur höchsten Spitze 1,80 m, der Durchmesser des annähernd kreisförmigen Grundrisses etwa 3,50 m, die geradlinige Breite des Eingangs, am Boden gemessen, 0,90 m und die Länge der Hauptpfosten, auch jener, die den Eingang begrenzen, 2 m und mehr.[**] Um den Eingang abzusperren, hängt man ein Lederstück darüber oder man lehnt wenige Stämmchen davor an.[***] Selbst stärkeren Winden trotzt diese Hütte.[****]

Außerdem richtet man einen etwas leichteren Bau von der gleichen Form auf. Man stellt einige zwölf glatte, gerade Stäbe, von der Dicke eines

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[*] Zuweilen wurde viel Erde im Hüttenraum angehäuft. Pfau hatte in der Wulaia-Gegend eine Hütte besessen. „The so-called floor is about three feet beneath the surface of the ground, so that when the inmates enter, they have to go as if under ground" (TP: VI, 198, 1883).

[**] Bryson (g): 242 sagt über die Maße der kegelförmigen Hütte, daß „often so depressed quite 2 m in the interior even in front, or four diameters, 4 in back, varies in 3,50 m x 3 m." Hiervon abweichend nennt Bryson (f): 256 ungefähr halbe Maße.

[***] Diese Hüttenform wurde von Bennett (1836: III, 110, 1840), von Bryson (g): 242 und von Lawrence (b): 120 genau beschrieben.

[****] Ein Vergleich mit der kegelförmigen Hütte der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 194) läßt viele Übereinstimmungen mit dieser Wohnungsform der Yamana, aber auch bedeutsame Abweichungen erkennen.

Stahlrohren und von einer mittleren Länge bis zu 1,50 m, kreisförmig und in geringen Abständen dem Erdboden auf und neigt sie mit den freien Enden gegeneinander. Der Durchmesser des Grundrisses übersteigt kaum je 2,50 m. Über diesen ähnlich lockeren Gerüst gerader Stäbe breitet man gebiegsame, trockene Rohrmatten aus, die mit kurzen, schmalen Riemen festgebunden werden. Liegen an der erwähnten Lagerstätte bereits von früher die erforderlichen Stämmchen bereit, ist die Wohnung in wenigen Minuten hergerichtet; doch auch in fast der gleichen knappen Zeit kann man sie zustande bringen, wenn der Mann eine Riemsäge zur Hand hat. Weil dieser Bau in sich selber wenig Halt besitzt, darf man ihn nur an geschützten Stellen oder bei Windstille aufrichten; denn ein stärkerer Luftzug macht ihn sofort zusammenfallen.

Von vornherein soll diese Hütte nach der Absicht des Erbauers nur ein flüchtiger Notbehelf sein, um für wenige Stunden oder für eine einzige Nacht die lagernde Familie zu decken. Sechs weniger Minuten ist es, die Lederstücke nachher herauszuziehen und zusammenzulegen; die Familie ist zur Weiterfahrt wieder bereit.

Jenen lockeren Kegel glatter Stäbe läßt man stehen. Bald wird ihn ein Windstoß durcheinander und eine Familie, die später an der gleichen Stelle landet, kann leicht sich die schützende Wohnung aufrichten.* Oft und oft stößt man auf verlassene Siedlungsstätten. Meist liegen dort so viele trockene Stäbe beisammen, als für den lockeren Hütteaufbau erforderlich sind. Die vertrauten Stellen oder die günstigen Jagdplätze werden eben immer wieder von verschiedenen Familien in kürzeren oder längeren Zeitabständen aufgesucht.

Den beiden andern beschriebenen kegelförmigen Hütten ist ein einziger Eingang gemeinsam, der planmäßig der Windrichtung abgewendet liegt.* Jener festere Bau zeigt einen ausgebildeteren Innenraum als der, dessen Gerüst aus kaum Stämmchen besteht. In dieser erhebt man keine Vertiefung der Grundfläche im Innern aus; dafür aber baut sich außen ein niedriger, ringförmiger Wall aus Abfallstoffen von den Mahlzeiten auf, der den kalten Luftströmungen den Eintritt erschwert. Die Spitze des Kegelgerüstes überdeckt man nicht und durchlässt entweichen der aufsteigende Rauch; die Feldstücke vereinigt man vorzüglich vorzüglich außen aufsteigen, daß ein schwacher Luftzug den Rauch gewöhnlich nach oben entweichen läßt. Bei allzuoft halten Regen und Schnee sehr leichten Zutritt, was anscheinend keinem der Insassen sonderlich lästig. Vom Eingang der Hütte führt ein gewundener Pfad zur Wasserstelle und zum Kanu, das auf dem Strand gezogen worden ist und hier bis zur Weiterfahrt liegen bleibt.

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* Pamphlet (a) III hat beobachtet, daß die Hütte einer Hütteneingeborenen einmals ähnlich lich zusammenfiel und wieder aufgerichtet wurden. „Die meisten aber thun es dann natürlich, bei neuer windiger Witterung dieses."

* „L'ouverture d'entrée est toujours orientée par des bourrelets en des vents d'orbes. Cette ouverture est en général orientée en sens opposé au vent" (Brunet (2) 224).

β. Die kappelförmige Hütte

Im Westen und Südwesten des Yaunde-Gebietes, einschließlich der Wallonen-Gruppe, war einig und allein die kappelförmige Hütte „heimischbar" bekannt. Sie zeigt gegenüber der kegelförmigen Hütte eine Anpassung an die Eigenart der Gegend.

Verhältnismäßig bei einer etwas abgeplatteten Halbkugelform, die sich für eine größere Bewohnerzahl ein wenig in die Länge zieht, wobei der Grundriß an einem gestreckten Oval wird. Diese Hütteform bedingen die vom Gerüst verwendeten Stäbe. Man wählt die schlanken und biegsamen, dünnen und langen Stämmchen junger Bäume, die bekanntlich im Wachstumstrieb bei einem ungemeinen Längenwachstum schnell emporgeschossen sind und sich lassen, gemäß an der Oberfläche liegenden Wurzelwerk entfalten. Mitunter sind sie ungeschoren, mit geringerem Kraftaufwand läßt sich das spärliche Wurzelgeäste und die dürftige Blätterkrone abbrechen. Man erhält damit möglich einen fast glatten Stab, der biegsam wie eine Gerte ist und der seiner ganzen Länge nach wenig dem Dickenabnehmen kennt.

Das Gerüst, das man aus jenen Stäben anfertigt, wird man, soll es die erforderliche Festigkeit haben, notwendig an einem Flechtwerk. Man stellt zuerst einige stärkere Stäbe in den Erdboden und zwar auf mit abnehmenden Punkten der Grundfläche. Dann geflochten auch jene beiden Stäbe, die den Umgang begrenzen sollen. Man verbindet mit diesen durch Verbinden und durch gegenseitiges Verknüpfen von vorderwärts die Kappelform, wiewohl man die Richtung und Stellung der Stäbe umkehrt, sowie die Punkte des spätern Verknüpfens außer acht läßt. Dieses anfänglich Grundgerüst wird nach und nach durch weitere Stäbe ausgefüllt und verstärkt, indem man die ergänzend anbrachten die früheren einschiebt. Sie sind in ihrer Mehrzahl so lang, daß sie mit über die Kappelhöhe hinaus auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite hinausreichen,[*] wodurch das Gerüst als Ganzes in einer verschiedenen Schrägstellung gebildet wird. Dort, wo die einzelnen Stäbe sich kreuzen, werden sie durch Bengel der Musiqapapyrusrohr-Blätter und durch junge Triebe von Rodelgras oder Mayoum, die sich gang und biegsam wie dicker Bindfaden sind, miteinander durch einzelnige Verknüpfung zusammengeflochten. Diese gedrehenartigen, unverhältnismäßig geschlossenen Knoten helfen sich dieses Hilfsmittel vorgeschrieben.

Von außen kann man verschiedenes, bis auf etwa halbe Höhe, Erdklumpen, Blechdächer und Kanonenfelle wie ein geschlossenes Mauerwerk an, das den Wind abgewert. Dies etwaige Teile legt man größeren, bedeutenden Zwecke auf, die durch Unwetterdach und Überschwemmungen gewährleistet Mit bekannt man. Auch dieses Mittel langen Grasen bedient man verschiedene aus und verwendet Erdklumpen dazu, um eine Tecto Aufflage zu erhalten. Nicht

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[*] Nach einer [illegible] einzelnigen Beschreibung sollen die einzelnen Stäbe eine [illegible] Elegance [illegible] Bruno [illegible] von „den besonderen Stäben zu [illegible] zu [illegible] zu [illegible]".

[illegible] Lederstücke, die an den Kanten [illegible] und durch eigene Schwere den lockeren Zusammenhalt der Masse ersetzen.[*] An der leichteren Stelle schafft man dem Rauche des Hüttenfeuers dadurch einen unbehinderten Abzug, daß man weder Reisig noch Lederstücke auflegt. Man vermeidet damit gleichzeitig die Gefahr, daß die Hütte selbst in Brand gerät.

Bei einer derartigen Anlage kann man den Grundriß beliebig in die Länge ziehen, wenn zwei bis vier Familien eine gemeinsame Wohnung oder wenn viele Personen die *Alipaga*-Hütte aufsuchten. Ebenso läßt sich die Deckung und Auflagerung von Erde oder Reisig oder Lederstücken häufen, um größeren Schutz gegen starken Wind, gegen gesteigerte Kälte und gegen schweren Regen zu schaffen. Mag eine solche Hütte sich noch so sehr der Länge nach ausdehnen, der höchste Aufstieg der Kuppel eggt sie über 1,80 m hinaus. Im allgemeinen hält sich dieses Ö h e n m a ß bei Einfamilienhütten um 1,75 m, die Breite schwankt zwischen 2,60 m und 3,30 m. Der einzige Eingang gestattet es nur einer einzigen Person, sich mit seitlicher Wendung des Körpers durchzuschieben. Gibt man der Hütte eine ungewöhnliche Länge, dann gleichzeitig auch zwei Eingänge an den beiden Schmalseiten, für die Einfamilienhütten genügt selbstverständlich der eine Eingang.[**]

2. Die Hütte als Wohnung

Wieder die kegelförmige nach die kuppelförmige Hütte schafft den feuerhaltenden Innenraum voller und bequemer Behaglichkeit, sie ist weit mehr ein Schutz gegen die gröberen Unbilden der Witterung und gegen die Schwerkraft der Nacht. Ein Europäer, ein verwöhnterer Beobachter, empfindet am besten, welch unangenehmer Selbstzwangsgrad mit einem Aufenthalt in jenen engen, dämmrigen Wohnungen verbunden sind.[***] Dieses Ungemach aber reicht im Urteil der Eingeborenen bei weitem nicht an die unerträglichen Beschwerden heran, die ein Verweilen unter freiem Himmel im Gefolge hätte. Wenn immer aber die äußeren Unbilden zu fordern, kann man selbst im schwersten Un-

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[illegible] Die über den Hüttengerüst gespannte Lederdeckung ist nicht ein einziges Stück; [illegible] Lessons (1): 120 sagte, „a heavy and cumbersome object to handle". Sondern [illegible] sich einzelne große Felle, die so aufeinanderlegt werden, daß ihre [illegible] [illegible] (1): 1, 192) verwendet. Dieses stellt ein einziges Stück aus vielen Einzelfellen vom Guanaco dar, welche halbmondförmig zurechtgeschnitten, von vorderhin sind die bedeutend [illegible] und zweckmäßiger hingegen als die dicken, schweren Rehfellhäute.

[*] Die Wohnhütten der Yamana wurden nach Pyne und Bignoret mehr oder weniger [illegible] Bourcier (4): 178, Dumont (4): 488, [illegible] (1): 121, Lessons (1): 120, Gusinde (4): 170 u. a. Die vielfältigen [illegible] bei Gusinde 170 zusammengestellt.

[**] Man soll der Beschreibung eines Lessons (1): 120 [illegible] „Leur [illegible] sont [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

wetter die Hütte auf, entweder fester und dauerhafter nach der Kuppelform oder nur als leichte Deckung nach der Kegelform.

Nicht immer steht einer Familie die Wahl des Ortes frei; denn ein plötzlicher Wetterwechsel oder ein Unglücksfall zwingt sie unweigerlich, sich unverzüglich ans Ufer zu retten. Hier muß sie sich nach den gegebenen Naturbedingungen einrichten, vielleicht sogar mit einem notdürftigen Unterschlupf im Felsen vorlieb nehmen. Wenn ihr jedoch kein Zwang aufgenötigt wird, entscheidet sie sich frei, wie es die örtlichen Witterungsbedingungen und die landschaftliche Eigenart empfehlen.* Allgemein aber hält sich jeder auf dem trockenen Kieshaufen möglichst nahe der Grenze des höchsten Wasserstandes. Die eigene Beweglichkeit ist dringlich dazu. Alle Gebrauchsgegenstände, die eine Familie mit sich führt, werden nämlich vom Kanu zur Hütte geschleppt; das Ein- und Ausladen würde sich bedeutend erschweren, läge die Wohnung von der Landungsstelle weit entfernt. Wenn eine eigene Hütte nicht aufgebaut werden kann, sucht man Deckung und Schutz hinter Erdwällen und niedrigen Felsvorsprüngen, am Fuße hoher Steilwände und am Waldesrande. Weit in den Wald hinein verlegt man niemals eine Hütte, dort herrscht zu große Feuchtigkeit; gern aber läßt man sich unter den am meisten herumstehenden Bäumen nieder, die Regenschauer und Schneewehen abhalten. Wer nur eine Nacht am gegebenen Platze verbringen will, scheut auch dem Wetter zum, ob er ein Lagern an wenig gedeckter Stelle erläßt; wenn nicht, oder wenn man erst nach einigen Tagen weiterzuziehen gedenkt, empfiehlt sich gewisse Vorsorge. Daraus erklärt es sich, daß auf der offenen, ungeschützten Küste nicht weniger alte Lagerstätten anzutreffen sind, als an den geschützten, verhältnismäßig ruhigen Plätzen. Einen unverkennbaren Vorzug gibt man den stillen Buchten und den durch vorgelagerte Inseln geschützten Küstenstrecken. Allem Ungemach des unberechenbaren Wetters entgeht indes auch hier niemand,** weil die Hütten selber nur ein schwaches Bauwerk sind. Diese Angaben erklären die für manchen Europäer überraschende Erscheinung, daß man im ganzen Tuamuu-Gebiete heute auf Schritt und Tritt die Spuren von ehemaligen Lagerstätten entdeckt.

Ebensowenig wie eine Familie völlig frei sich den Lagerplatz jedesmal auswählen kann, bleibt sie unabhängig im beliebigen Verweilen an einer Stelle. Wanderungen über Land unterbleiben schon deshalb, weil das Kanu sich nicht leicht mitschleppen läßt; für Fahrten auf dem Wasser bestimmen Wind und Wellen die Richtung oder machen ein Fortkommen unmöglich. Zuweilen

* Wo der Indianer sich frei entschließen kann, wählt er für seine Hütte einen geschützten Platz aus. So gibt es allgemein, daß Byron (BM. XVII, 134; 1882) glaubte durch sich sicheren zu können: „Generally the presence of migrant Indians is hardly discovered from the outlet and the most frequent winds".

** Hiervon schreibt Byron (ebd. 137): „Ihre beschädigten Hütten lagen gewöhnlich an der besonnten Seite der Uferbäume Bäume, welche sich in den Frostbeul einschlichen. Wenn sie auch in dieselben einigen Schutz gegen den Winter finden, so kommt es doch vor, daß die ganzen Bauchsäcke am Morgen halb begraben im Schnee oder vom Regen halb ersäuft sind".

dürfen diese Leute tagelang ihr Lager nicht verlassen, weil die Erregung der Naturgewalten anhält, und sie sind jetzt außerstande etwas zu unternehmen, selbst wenn der Hunger sie quält. Haben sie wegen drohender Gefahr eiligst an der erstbesten Stelle landen müssen, ist ihnen vielleicht nur eine mondige Felsklippe oder der durchnäßte Wasserboden beschert* und erst bei ruhigem Wetter entfernen sie diesen Ungeruch des Ortes. So verbindet sich mit der Unrast dieser Nomadenleben sehr häufig Lebensgefahr, viel Entsagung und sogar der Verzicht auf die lebensnotwendigsten Forderungen menschlichen Wohlbefindens. Kleine Annehmlichkeiten jedoch bietet die an geeigneten Plätzen noch freier Wahl und für einen vielstündigen Aufenthalt schnell feste Wohnung.

Ob man eine kuppelförmige oder eine kegelförmige Hütte vor sich hat, hier wie dort trifft man die gleiche Inneneinrichtung. Eigentlich gibt es eine solche überhaupt nicht, um genauer zu sprechen. Bettel und Wohnungsgerätschaften fehlen vollständig, weder Schemel noch Bänke sind vorhanden. Die Innenwand wird weder bekleidet noch verziert. An harten Zapfen von abgebrochenen Zweigen hängt man Kübelchen und Lederschläuche, Fleischstücke und Felle auf, zwischen die Gerätschaften schichtet man Handwerkszeug und Gerätschaften, Schmuckachen und andere Kleinigkeiten. Die eigentliche Fußbodenfläche wird nicht hergerichtet, nur daß während des Aufhaltens der Boden festgetreten wird. Gern gräbt man die ganze Innenfläche aus, manchmal bis auf 30 cm tief, und diese flache Senkung ist ein guter Schutz gegen Wind und kalte Luft von außen. Man bevorzugt als Lagerstätte den trockenen, harten Kiesboden, den man meist nicht erst zu ebnen braucht und den man von Schnecken, Algen und feuchtem Laubwerk reinigt. Selbst der Untergrund aber muß sein oder bei anhaltendem Regen sogar eine Lache sich bilden, etwa man Kiesbrocken aus, um nicht im Wasser zu sitzen. Zuweilen muß man sogar auf der Feuerstelle einen Kiesschicht aufbauen und das Feuer selber höher legen, wenn gar zu viel Wasser einsickert.

In dem gewöhnlichen Wohnungen bereitet das Feuer in der Mitte und die Insassen hocken im Kreise herum. Man schreit darauf, daß sich eine Lücke, gleichmäßige Glut erhält, die wenig Rauch entwickelt, aber reichlich Hitze ausstrahlt. Ungemein peinlich sind die Stunden, in denen starker Schnee den Rauch in der Hütte herumwirbelte. Dann verstellt man den Eingang mit Baumstämmen oder deckt den mit einem Lederverhang zu. Nachts bringt man regelmäßig etwas zu, um den Zustand einigermaßen, Tagsüber und bei gutem Wetter läßt man die Luft unbehindert in die Hütte eintreten. Die Insassen ziehen sich an den Ausgang, hocken sich sogar draußen nahe der Hütte und unterhalten außerhalb derselben noch ein zweites Feuer. Der Rauch hat verhindert es trotz guter Durchzug nicht, daß Regen und Schnee

* Strabon (7) 307 hat beobachtet: „Unmittelbar die Kimmerier vor jener Zeit [illegible] Thrakien [illegible] Sie [illegible] die [illegible] zu [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Weil der Innenraum verhältnismäßig kleine [illegible], [illegible] wohl die Insassen bald hinein bald draußen, [illegible] aber schließlich alle Umgewandt über sich ergehen lassen und gehen sich damit zufrieden, daß das Feuer dann etwas Wärme ausstrahlt.

Unmittelbar auf dem Erdboden und rundherum an die Innenwand ausgebreitet stehen zum die Schlafstätte her. Man breitet zum Beispiel mit oder ohne Bärenfell, verschiedene Farbe Rindenstücke aus, legt darüber [illegible] Beispiel oder viel Bearfellstücke (Ursus horibus) und endlich ein langes Stück Gummi- oder Robbenleder. Dieses besonders fähig [illegible]. Ganz wichtig [illegible] Stückchen der langen Stangel von Pen Sabellaria, welche Gummi [illegible] dort oder anderen gewachsen ist.[illegible] Wer sich nur Ruhe einrichtet, lehnt sich ganz zusammen und deckt sich mit seinem [illegible] oder mit dem etwas größeren Mantel zu. Hierzu verwendet man sogar eine Art Beutelchen zum mehreren zusammengenähtelchen Fellen, die ihre einzige Kinder oder ihre zwei bis drei Erwachsene gleichzeitig gemeinsam wird. Alle Personen stehen während des Schlafes aufgeblasen sog aufmerksam, weil sie sich gegenseitig ihre Körperwärme mitteilen wollen. Dadurch genügt für zwei bis vier von ihnen eine einzige mitgebrachte Fellstücke, die ihnen durchaus nicht jede Familie besitzt.[illegible] Das Feuer selber strahlt so viel Wärme aus, daß jeder darum gemeinsam mitbekommt. Später er kälter, rückt er näher an die Glut heran, mitbekommen dessen, ob er seine Nachbarn bei Schlafe stört. Übrigens drehen sich die jeder manchen oft den Rücken zu die eigene Körperwärme, denn durch die lockere Hüttenwand strömt kalte Luft ein und notwendig wirkt das Feuer unerträglich, weswegen jeder bald in dieser und bald in jener Lage etwas Behaglichkeit sucht.

Eine bestimmte, vorgeschriebene Platzverteilung kennt man nicht. Abweichend von dem Grundgesetzen der Schlaue (Sk. I, 200), nach der Mann ganz an der einen Seite und die Frau an der anderen Seite des Eingangs, weil beide unentbehrlich beieinander zu leben scheinen. Demzufolge bleibt das Hinzugesellt der Hütte für die Kinder frei. Falls erwachsene Weiber oder größere Begrenzlichkeit oder ein anderer Umstand einen Platzwechsel erzeugen, ist jeder dazu entbehrlich bereit. Nur ein Mann gebraucht zwei Frauen, so

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Nicht nur bloßes [illegible] in der Schlaf der Indianer an sich, sondern [illegible] in allgemeinen [illegible] auch [illegible]. Was bildete [illegible] einen [illegible] Schlafzusammenhang [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Die gleichen Bedingungen haben mit bei der Siffrien gemacht und noch [illegible] die [illegible] bei dem Siffrien und [illegible] [illegible] (Bd. I, [illegible]).

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Nun diese die einzige kleine Hütte vielen Zwecken; nicht nur die Mitglieder der Familie, auch die Hunde und der ganze Hausrat finden bei gleichem engen Raume ein Unterkommen. Wie sollte dabei Ordnung und Sauberkeit gedeihen können und sich erhalten können!

Fast alle kleinen Kinder, die in diesen Unterkünften wandern durcheinander hingen und ihre unfertigen Bedürfnisse innerhalb der Hütte erledigen. Die Hunde durchwühlen die Schlafstätten und die engsten hingewiesenen Sachen. Der Kaum einmal jede Person unter am Feuer hockend sitz. Obwohl vielen von den Abfällen sofort in die Glut geworfen wird, alles läßt sich nicht beseitigen. Hier und dort liegen Teilchen von Fleisch und Speck, unverzehrte rohe Maisbeln und Kerben, Reste von Kaffeegrün und Fischen herum.

Der reichliche Tran, der diesen Dingen anhaftet, übertragt sich auf die Leute selbst, die ihre durch trieffendes Fleisch nach dem Essen entweder an ihrem eigenen Körperteilen oder an der Lagerstätte hin und herwischend reinigen. Vom ganzen Hüttenlinnen, von allen Gegenständen und von den Personen strömt dazwischen ein schwerer Tranigeruch aus, an den sich ein Kenner nur schwer gewöhnt. Die alles durchdringende Feuchtigkeit fördert ein schnelles Faulen und Verwesen der verschiedenen pflanzlichen Stoffe, die den Schlafplatz bilden, wie auch der Lederteile und Felle, die besonders auch auf Bearbeitung warten. So allerdings gesellt sich die Hausgemeinschaft von Menschen und Hunden. Eine vorzugsweise Nischung von allerlei Dingen ist es, die in dem kleinen Raume herumliegend aufeinander und die von einem Tage zum anderen an Stärke zunimmt, je länger dieselbe Hütte benutzt wird. Daran leidet auch die Leichtigkeit nicht, mit der frischer Luft durch den lockeren Bau hindurchdringt. Man kann zwar nicht sagen, daß eigentlicher Gestank sich entwickelt, aber ein stickiger, dumpfer, schwerer Dunst erfüllt den ganzen Innern.[*] An diesem wenigen Tage lockert man zwecklos die Hüttendeckung und nimmt einige Lederstücke ins Freie hinaus — ein Beweis, daß die Leute ein Gefühl für die notwendige Lüftung haben —; aber viel Besserung bringt auch das nicht.[**]

Die endgültige Abhilfe schafft einer Familie sich schließlich dadurch, daß sie in kurzer Entfernung eine neue Hütte aufbaut, wenn wichtigere Phänomenen, z. B. ein gestorbener Wal, ein längeres Verweilen am gleichen Orte erzwingen. Wird auch der Standplatz für die neue Hütte wenigstens verändert — weil der Siedlerplatz oder weil bei oder weil den Umwelten begegnenden dichtere bestätigt —, in dem Größeren Raume bedeutet es diese Innenseite einen

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[*] Nach mit Geschichtsdarstellung gibt, von Bancroft (II, 507) als unter dankenswerthaften Erfahrung mitgeteilt: „Leider ist Unreinlichkeit unzertrennlich von ihnen. Oder ich [illegible] gewöhnlich gar nicht [illegible] Ungeheuerlichkeiten der Indianer."

[**] Bancroft (II, 508) sagt: „Einmalige [illegible] dieser Art [illegible] ist, wie [illegible] ist [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

Der Wohnungsverkehr machte sich [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Boden [illegible] zu gehen, da jeder der letzten Schwärmer [illegible] Anfall [illegible] Eingang, der mit einem Lederriemen verbunden wurde. Man benützte beide, so auf diese, daß an starkem Wind verhältnismäßig nur der einen oder der anderen Hälfte fehlt.

Im Innern erhielt sich jede Familie ihren besonderen Platz, den sie beibehielt, ohne eine eigene Abgrenzung[*] aufzuführen. Die Mitglieder der gleichen Familie schliefen sich ganz auf einer Seite vom Feuer ausgestreckt. Es erhielt sich wenigstens eine einzigen zusammenhängenden Raum, der sich der Länge nach durch die ganze Hütte zog. Wenn jedoch verschiedenartige die Mitglieder einer jeden Hauptfamilie an beiden Seiten der Mittelfläche ihren Platz einnahm, einhielt jede von diesen sich noch ein eigenes Feuer her, so daß man an den Zahl der gewöhnlichen Feuerstellen die der anwesenden Familien erkannte. Die Gleichen beobachteten man sowohl in den gewöhnlichen Sommerhütten, wenn man besonderen Anfall durch zwei oder drei Familien für wenige Tage beherbergen wurde.[**]

Als Schlafstätten, auf denen man tagsüber hockte oder lang ausgestreckt lag, dienten die breiten Flächen an beiden Seiten der Mittelfläche, auf der die Feuer brannten. Als Unterlage benutzten man Binsen, von den langen Bergen mit den schmalen Blättern der Pau Schalfbaumes. Diese eigneten sich gut und wurde von nach gewonnen. Ich mußte diese erfahren man so und ersetzte es durch eine neue Lage. Der unterste Teil der Außenverkleidung wurde gut gedichtet, um den Wind abzuhalten und um ein einziges Bemühen den Feuern zu sichern; andererseits erhielt der Rauch hervorgeschlich, der hier nicht leicht abzog, weil im oberen Teile der Hütte sich nur wenige durch Geziegt Rollen befanden. Der ganze Bau war allerdings gut abgeschlossen, denn er sollte besonders Schutz gegen die Unbilden der Witterung bieten. Da man den im besonderen Wetter aufführten, wo trockenen Bernsteinhölz nicht in Menge zur Verfügung stand, behalf man sich, indem man dazwischen gelbes Holz in die Hütte zog und so aufrichtete. Wenige Tage hindurch trockneten so auf gelangte nicht man Verfassungen. Sogar vom Tunnelfeuer (Pau Schalfbaum) legte man einen Vorrat an, denn diese Bemühungen für den Schlafplatzen mußte noch aufbewahrt werden. Wurden erwartet wurden.

Die erforderliche Nahrung für ihre Familien beschafften die Männer auf gemeinschaftlichen Jagden, die gewöhnlich regelmäßig stattfanden, daß ein ganzer Teil der Beute als Vorrat für mehrere Tage aufgespeichert werden konnte. Dieses half über die Zeiten unserer Bekleidung der Jagd durch unbefriedigenden Umstände hinweg. Ungefähr erkannte man darauf, daß mannigfaltigere einer reichlichen Fischfangmenge zur Verfügung stand, wenn nicht gar ein Wal

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[*] Durch gab es dieses ganze [illegible]. Brown (1) (30) erzählt: „Dies [illegible] in dem Ort. O. Ich habe Gesagt die Leute, gebrauchen I. an O. [illegible] Schlafen an Leute die [illegible] an [illegible] die [illegible] Familie [illegible]. Ein [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] die Gegenseite. O. O. an O. gemeinsam."

[**] Brown (30) (1) (1) (30) erzählt einmal: „Dies [illegible] [illegible] Ort [illegible], und [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

um Brennholz lag; denn wenn wie das Zusammensitzen vieler Leute um gleichen Platz und in einer dicken gebauten Hütte nicht nur erwähnt, sondern auch gebilligt geworden. Unmöglichkeit verschwindet die Anstalter als Bestimmer auf immer weiteren Entfernung von der Wohnung, von die Jagd so wichtiend verdrängt; denn waren es allein die reichlichen Vorräte, die den dominiert Gegenpart des Hungers abwehrten.

Ausschließlich für die Wintersuit lang man eine Mehrfamilienhütte; der Wunschtrieb war so stark, als daß andere Gründe eine Familie Hunger am gleichen Ort verhältnisgebaltet hätten. Die Erfahrer einer Gemeinschaftshütte konnen vielleicht auch für einen zweiten Winter dieses zusammen, dorthin können aber nicht mehr; denn die Bestimmer waren auf weite Umgebung verhältnisgebaltet und sie selber verschwanden der Überfall am leidigen Schlafstrom. Man dürfte die hier beschriebenen Einrichtung wohl als "Wintersitze" bezeichnen; in dieser Hütte lag eine Art von Winterverkehrs verhältnisgebaltet. Das Wohnen war in der bedeutend sicheren Deckung etwas behaglich, außerdem wiederholte man in den langen Zeiten des wichtigen Schlafzusammenseins die heiligen Mythen und Sagen, aber man erzählte sich Eigenerlebnisse und Stammesgeschichten. Daß Mehrfamilienhütten im Osten nicht aufgerichtet wurden, erklärt sich leicht, hier waren die Witterungsverhältnisse und die Jagdverhältnisse weit günstiger.

Dabei sich einige Familien in der angenannten Mehrfamilienhütte einquartiert, führen sie nicht selten gleich derselben einen zweiten Ton auf, der für die halbwüchsigen Kinder bestimmt ist und der Englisch als „K i n d e r s l e e p e r" bezeichnet wird. In dieser Form und Ausgestaltung gleicht sie der vorigen, nur ist sie kleiner. Meist am Kamineingang in der großen Hütte schafft man für Kinder diese Sondereinrichtung, die immer als Notbehelf gilt, denn nur gezwungen trennen sich Eltern von ihren Kindern. Obwohl bisweilen einige Stunden des Tages und die ganze Nacht unter sich bleiben, verweilen sie trotzdem ganz und viel bei ihrer Familie, sicher lieber doch der Zerstreuung großer Hütte jederzeit offen. Eine ältere Frau beaufsichtigt jene kleine Gesellschaft und bringt zeitweilig einige Lebensmittel heraus; öfters aber holen sich die Kinder die Essen bei den eigenen Eltern.

Selbst verschiedenste sie bisheriger Umstand dazu zwingen, z. B. Krankheit einer ältern Person, herumstreichende Nachbarschaft der Mutter u. s. w., nicht nur die Einrichtung unsere dieser Hütte auch eine eigene für die Kinder auf, so sagten sie sich dafür verschlichtet. Diese Einrichtung ist eben ein Notbehelf und man wählt sie hinzusagen deshalb, um von Gnadenel und Lärm nicht gestört zu werden; denn die Indianerkinder sind so sich ruhig und still.

Endlich lassen sich die Kinder zum Spielzeug auch mit eigenem Hinaus ein Hüttchen neben den Wohnungen ihrer Eltern, wenn andere Familien am gleichen Platze für wenige Tage lagern; sie wollen sich dann gelegentlich etwas ausruhen. Das verursachen die einzelnigen Eltern bereitwillig, indem sie den Kindern zeitweilig Platzch bringen und deren vergnüglichen Beisammensein wohlgefällig zuschauen. Man nennt diese Kinderhütte dann. Daß

die keine eigentliche Wohnung sein kann, sondern nur der Bequemlichkeit und der spielerischen Geschicklichkeit der kleinen Gesellschaft dient, ist offensichtlich und einleuchtend."

Sieht man sie europäischer Beurteiler vor einer Indianerhütte, einerlei welcher Form sie auftreten, fragt man sich unwillkürlich: Welchen Schutz gewährt dieses dürftige Machwerk? Von Natur aus besitzen unsere Eingeborenen ein hohes Maß von Anspruchslosigkeit. Will man deutliche Beweise hierfür haben, braucht man sie bloß in ihrer Wohnung zu beobachten. Sofern sie ein wenig gegen den schwersten Regen und den dichtesten Schneegestöber, gegen die bitterste Kälte und den wütendsten Sturm geschützt sind, scheint geben sie sich bloßlos zufrieden, vorausgesetzt, daß sie bei ihrem Feuer backen. Dieses wendet sich all ihrer Aufmerksamkeit zu. Deshalb verstellen sie den ersten Eingang und öffnen einen anderen, wenn der Wind aus verkehrter Richtung bläst; um ihn den Einblängen durch die Winde zu verwehren, steckt man große Lederstücke bald hierhin und bald dorthin, verstopft offene Stellen und sichert gebrechliche Teile. Sollte ein starker Windstoß die ganze Hütte niederlegen, warten die Leute einer jede Deckung, nur wenig durch ihre dürftige Kleidung geschützt, den Unwetter geduldig ab und geben sich mit einem Unguasch zufrieden, solange ihr Feuer einigermaßen weiterglimmt. Der Europäer sieht unter dem Eindruck, einmal ein Blick auf die Wohnungseinrichtungen der Seh'ians (Bd. I, 198) solcher Vermutungen unterlegen, daß an Urteil des Tunnels die Hütte mehr ein Schutz für sein Feuer als für seinen eigenen Körper sein soll.

Die Wohnung selbst bietet weder Behaglichkeit noch Bequemlichkeit. Sie verdankt dem Familienmitgliedern ein enges Zusammensein bei, auf der Fahrt im offenen Kanu sind sie zwiesen beisammen. Deshalb verzichtet sie während des Tages die Hütte nicht, wenn das Wetter in etwa ruhig bleibt, und für die Nacht nehmen sie vorlieb mit der Annehmlichkeit ihrer einfachen Hütchen." Das unruhige Wanderleben zwingt sie zum Verzicht auf die Annehmlichkeiten einer festen, geräumigen Behausung."

In gewissen Tunnus-Gebieten begegnet man beutigentage noch einer einzigen und zwar der lockeren, kegelförmigen Hütte; unmöglich für die gebeinen Jagdzelte (Hyaqu) verzichtet man die langgezogene kappelförmige Hütte. Doch gewährt ihr unmöglicher Hütchen nicht einmal mehr den kaum nennenswerten Schutz der feilbaren Wohnungen, weil gegenwärtig die Indianer sich nicht die Mühe nehmen, einige Seelbaumzweige zu trocknen und über den Hütengerüst zu stehen. Statt dessen verschließen sie

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* Diese unzureichende Beurteilung der eigentlichen Wanderhütten (siehe unten) ist durch, von Bremen (s) 345, als auch in dem, von Bremen (s) 180 durchaus widerlegt. Letzterer fällt sich wahrscheinlicher als jener.

* Die Unbequemlichkeiten der dürftigen Wohnungseinrichtung bei Bremen (s) 179 von eigener Anschauung deutlich geschildert.

* Im gleichen Sinne äußert sich Bremen (s) 187 hierzu: „Es gebrauchen die von diesem so dicht umfaßte o la vida errante, que vuelve dificultosa o Bremen."

sich die leichte Sackleinwand, die Regen und Schnee durchläßt und den Wind kaum etwas abhält.[47] Vollständige Erschlaffung und sozusagen Trägheit hat die letzten Überlebenden des Stammes so weit dem Fleiße ihrer Väter entfremdet, daß selbst die peinlichsten Witterungsunbilden sie nicht mehr aus ihrer faulen Regungslosigkeit bringen. Einige Familien haben sich zwar in Puerto Mejillones kleine, sehr einfache Bretterhäuser nach europäischem Vorbilde aufgebaut.[48] Darin verbringen sie jedoch nur einen geringen Teil des Jahres. Lange Wochen ziehen auch sie in ihrem Kanu auf Nahrungssuche herum und begnügen sich währenddessen mit einer Sackleinwanddeckung auf dem kegelförmigen Gerüst ihrer schwachen Hütte.

4. Das Gemeinschaftslager

Eigentliche Siedlungen mit Dauerbestand am gleichen Orte kennen die Yamana nicht. Immerhin gibt es wenige Anlässe, die viele Familien zusammenziehen und für längere Zeit an der gleichen Stelle zurückhalten. Strandet ein Wal, so finden sich Leute sogar aus weiter Entfernung ein und die vielen Hütten beim toten Seungeheuer täuschen den Anblick eines Dorfes vor. Deshalb nämlich können sich jetzt zahlreiche Familien nebeneinander niederlassen, weil Fleisch und Fett in Fülle vorhanden ist und keine die andere behindert. Wer sich zwischendurch ein lebenswichtiges Ding besorgen muß, zieht für einige Tage ab, läßt aber seine Hütte stehen und nimmt sie bei der Rückkehr wieder in Gebrauch. So bequem, wie bei einem gestrandeten Wal, kann sich niemand anderweitig reichlichen Nahrungsvorrat verschaffen. Gleichzeitig befriedigt das Zusammensein vieler Familien ihr Bedürfnis nach Geselligkeit und sie können sich ihr um so ungestörter überlassen, je länger alles Sorgen um die Notdurft des Lebens behoben ist. Selbstverständlich rät die große Zahl von Menschen und ihr Freisein von der Unrast der Nahrungssuche zu anregendem Zeitvertreib, den vor allem das *Jiğaga* und das sich anschließende *Jina* bieten. Im Vergleich zu diesen langwährenden Veranstaltungen verharren die weniger zahlreichen Familien anläßlich einer gemeinschaftlichen Totenfeier weit kürzere Zeit am gleichen Platze, oft nur den einen und andern Tag.

Was auch immer diese Familien zusammenführt, überall wahren sie sich ihre Unabhängigkeit von anderen. Verwandte und befreundete Gruppen rücken wohl ihre Hütten näher aneinander, es bleibt aber ein Abstand von einigen Schritten; denn trotz vieler Vertrautheit mit dem Nachbar erstrebt jeder eine zumindest kleine örtliche Trennung der Wohnung. Die

[47] Lessner (b): 128 urteilt in gleicher Weise: „Then houpd they have had immeasurably poorer protection from the weather than in the days when hunger drove them to secure many seals and consequently many seal-skins were available for housetops".

[48] Die Rohstoffe hierfür erwerben sie sich durch Arbeit als Taglöhner oder erhalten sie als Geschenk (S. 267). Nach Lessner (b): 129, „the material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach".

Verteilung der Hütten in einem derartigen Lager fällt höchst unregelmäßig aus, weil der einzelne sich nach der eigenen größeren Bequemlichkeit einrichtet. Für seine Wohnung wählt er vor allem ein trockenes Plätzchen und den Schutz eines Felsens oder einer Baumgruppe; das Trinkwasser darf nicht zu weit abliegen. Wer zuerst auf der Bildfläche erscheint, hat größere Wahlfreiheit und die Nachzügler nehmen mit jenen Stellen vorlieb, die freigeblieben sind. Niemand hat ein Recht und würde es sich niemals anmaßen, auf die Verteilung der Hütten irgendwelchen Einfluß auszuüben. Wen es drängt, diese Siedlung zu verlassen, der kann abziehen oder wiederkommen, ganz nach unbehindertem Belieben. Hier ist es, wo zwei oder höchstens drei Familien eine einzige Hütte gemeinschaftlich bewohnen, wenn sie sich nahe stehen, sei es als Geschwister oder als aufrichtige Freunde. Doch sind diese Ausnahmen selten. Man baut dann die gewöhnliche kuppelförmige Familienhütte nach erweiterten Maßen, nicht aber die sogenannte Winterhütte (S. 388).

Über seine Zeit verfügt selbstredend ein jeder gänzlich frei und sucht sich seine Beschäftigung nach Gutdünken. Mit Aussprechen und Unterhaltung verbringt man den größten Teil des Tages, an den langen Abenden trägt man gern die alten Sagen und die Eigenerlebnisse vor. Die Männer sieht man viel mit dem Anfertigen solcher Gerätschaften beschäftigt, die, wie große knöcherne Harpunenspitzen, lange Zeit beanspruchen; Frauen und Mädchen widmen sich ihren Schmuckkasten oder flechten Körbchen. Vorwiegend verbringt jeder seine Zeit in hemmungslos ausgedehnter Untätigkeit, es sei denn, daß jene großen Veranstaltungen stattfinden, die zu einer bestimmten Tagesordnung verpflichten.

Das Beisammensein vieler Menschen durch lange Wochen hat unausweichlich viel örtliche Unsauberkeit im Gefolge. Besonderen Sinn für Reinlichkeit zeigen die Yamana überhaupt nicht und stehen insofern hinter den Selk'nam zurück (Bd. I, 223). Die Folgen davon machen sich zwar wenig fühlbar, wenn die Einzelfamilie kurze Tage irgendwo rastet und nachher weiterzieht; anders aber beim gemeinschaftlichen Lagern vieler Personen. Das Hin- und Herlaufen macht das Erdreich kotig und morastig, Abfallstoffe von den Mahlzeiten verwesen und verschlechtern die Umgebung, zuweilen wird die Luft in den Hütten dumpf und stickig. Zwar tritt der Regen öfters reinigend und säubernd dazwischen, viel Besserung indes schafft er nicht. Dem aufgehäuften Unrat ausweichend, entfernen sich einzelne Familien zeitweilig und überlassen ihre Wohnung samt nächster Umgebung dem reinigenden Einfluß der Naturkräfte.

Man versetzt jetzt die knappe Schilderung einiger europäischer Reiseurder von einem Lager vieler Indianer nahe einem gestrandeten Wal, deren Gesamtnicht unangenehme, ja widerliche Eindrücke hervorrief;* wirkt doch allein schon die Art ihres Essens und ihr vernachlässigtes Äußere abstoßend.

* In früheren Reiseberichten fehlen bedauerlicherweise genauere Mitteilungen über das gemeinschaftliche Lagern vieler Familien. Dies erklärt sich daraus, daß es hierfür nur seltene Anlässe gab, und so ist es auch in der Neuzeit.

Über dem allen lastet ein dicker, schwerer Trauermut. Wer daran von Jugend auf nicht gewöhnt ist, dem muß übel werden,[10] wenn er nicht schleunigst das Weite sucht. Wie eine große, moorartige Tranlache nimmt sich die nächste Umgebung des angeschwemmten Wales aus und rund um die Wohnhütten verwesen Speck- und Fleischreste; denn der reichliche Überfluß macht in der Verwendung nachlässig. Um dergleichen Zustände länger schadlos aushalten zu können, muß man ebenso ein Yamana sein. Sie wiederholen sich indes selten, sind dann aber wegen unverkennbar wichtiger Vorteile und bedeutender Erleichterungen, die sie bringen, unsern Indianern erwünscht; während denen verrichten diese ganz auf jedwede Bequemlichkeit und Reinlichkeit.

5. Das Feuer

Vielmehr überflüssig ist es, die lebensnotwendige Bedeutung des Feuers im Haushalt, im Wirtschaftsbetriebe und im Dienste der südlichsten Feuerländer eigens zu beweisen. Ohne Feuer könnten sie in ihrer feuchten, kalten Heimat nicht bestehen und auch für sie gilt[illegible] ich bei den benachbarten Selk'nam beobachtet habe (Bd. I, 204), daß das Feuer unentbehrlicher als irgendwelcher Wohnungsschutz ist. Hyades (q): 345 umschreibt diese Notwendigkeit folgendermaßen: „A cause de la rigueur du climat et de l'absence de vêtements, les Fuégiens ont la passion du feu." Deswegen fehlt es ihnen nirgendwo. Schon Fitz-Roy (a): 187 hatte beobachtet: „Fire is always kept alive by these savages wherever they go, either in their canoes, in their wigwams, or even in their hand, by a piece of burning wood; but they are at no loss to rekindle it, should any accident happen."

Mit besonderem Eifer wacht man darüber, daß das Feuer pünktlich in der Hütte und im Kanu niemals erlischt. Trotzdem geht es einer Familie verloren, wenn das Fahrzeug kentert oder ein schwerer Platzregen mit plötzlichem Sturm die Wohnung zerstört.[11] Die Feuerbereitung gleicht jener der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 207) und erfolgt durch Schlagen des Feuersteins kpuál gegen Schwefelkies oder neuerdings gegen einen dicken Nagel. Wilson (a): 105 hatte bereits beobachtet: „Sie reiben Eisenkiesel mit einem Feuerstein zusammen, und fangen die Funken in einer trockenen menschlichen Substanz auf." Gewöhnlich ist das Pyrithorn etwas größer als der Feuerstein: beide betrachtet man als ein Pärchen mátáku und demzufolge ist jenes das Männliche ua, dieses das Weibliche kipa.[12] Das herausspringende Fünkchen fängt man in einem lockeren Bausch von Daunenfedern ójtáku auf; auch

[10] Man denke an die Arbeitsmethoden der Walfischfänger an einigen Punkten der chilenischen und argentinischen Küste, die wohlbis mit unangenehmen Gerüchen die Luft oder beträchtlich verschlechtern.

[11] Demnach urteilt Hyades (f): 199 durchaus richtig: „Le feu ne s'éteint jamais, si on n'est accidentellement".

[12] Vom Feuerstein sprechend, behauptet Hyades (q): 304 und (d): 309 beziehungsweise, daß „les Fuégiens abusent habituellement le feu en choquant l'une contre l'autre deux de ces pierres d'indigène grossier". Dasselbe liest man bei Bonnet (j): 19

Daher greift man zu einem Beutel als Zunder dienen, dessen trockenes Sporenpulver leicht im Glimmen gerieten;[*] auch hilft man sich mit Filz[*], feingeschabten Spänen von Berberis-Strauch. Durch sanftes Anblasen bringt man die glimmenden Teile zum Aufflammen, gibt zugleich Federn oder feine Rasenflechten hinzu, später endlich Zweigspäne und Äste. Vorher legt man den Beutel auf ein Lederstückchen oder auf Kies, damit er nicht feucht werde; der Mann neigt sich tief und bläst die Schlagsteine ganz nahe hin. Lange Minuten muß er sich anstrengen, weil die Gegenstände angefeuchtet sind oder weil eine wasserreiche Luft weht oder weil die Funken gar nicht zünden wollen.

In früherer Zeit führten die Erwachsenen, meist Greise und Greisin, einen kleinen Lederbeutel neben mit sich, in dem sie den Zunder und die beiden Stücke zum Feuerschlagen trocken aufbewahrten; so konnten sie sich überall helfen. Dennoch haben und selbst Beutelen sicherten sie noch eigens in der trockenen Schwimmhaut eines großen Seevogels, obwohl die Beuteln so lange gegen Luftfeuchtigkeit geschützt blieben, sie ihre Inhalte nicht platzt. Jede Familie verfügt immer über eine gute Zahl trockener Beuteln, die im Herbst eingesammelt und während des ganzen Jahres gut verwahrt werden. Pyrithäufer finden sich an mehreren Stellen des ausgedehnten Tamaná-Gebietes, hingegen sind Feuersteinknollen seltener und bilden einen beliebten Handelsgegenstand. Die am meisten geschätzten Ipuéll (ID: Ipuéll) hat das Anjamáin-Tal geliefert, das zwischen Uhuaia und Lapataia liegt.[**] Hier treten sie allerdings in geringer Menge auf. Die Yamana bilden deshalb meist auf dem Tauschhandel mit dem Feuerstein angewiesen, der sich im Canal Cockburn, auf dem Nordufer der Halbinsel Brecknock, unterhalb des Canal de Beagle fand. Dieser war sehr hart und bruchsicher. Um ihn gegen Verlierens gut zu sichern, hat der und jener Mann eine Rille eingeschnitten, durch den eine Ende einer Schnurfaden befestigt und das andere Ende an ein Kätzchen oder an einen größeren Gegenstand gebunden.

Jedermann weicht gern der Mühe aus, die er zum Aufsuchen eines neuen Feuers aufbieten muß. Ehe er zur Selbsthilfe greift, schaut er sich um, ob bei

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und bei Bridges (a): 143. Bridges (b): 194 schreibt: „Il fungo, se lo governano galgamente sino ancora vivo, dan qualcosa da pinchia que contiende pietra de bisacce". Schäbes Beutelhen bildet ohne Erfolg, wie jedermann weiß. Vgl. Cooper: 238.

[*] „The cinder used in the inner down of birds, will drink, very fine dry moss or a dry kind of fungus found on the under side of half-rotten trees," nach Pyne-Rev (a): 187.

[**] Vgl. Lovisato (b): 130. In Begleitung einiger Yamana hat auch Thomas Bridges einmal im April 1884 derartig gesucht. Er berichtet: „We ascended the large valley called Anjiain, celebrated for its flints, as the source of supply of arrow and spear flint heads for all Yaghan land. We searched in vain for the spot whence the large supplies in former times were obtained" (RGS: XVIII, 183; 1901). Feldner, im Juni 1883, hatte den gleichen Eindruck geschildert, (RGS: XVII, 170; 1883), daß der Feuerstein sich nur auf Isla Gordon finde (vgl. Bridges (a): 10 und Bd. I, 207). Bridges hatten die Yamana jedoch wahrscheinlich auch im nördlichen Teile Isla Gordons entdeckt und angezeigt. Pyne-Rev (a): 187 schreibt: „Where the pyrites is usually obtained, I do not know; but it cannot be plentiful in the Tekenika country." Gewiß, diese Dinge gab es dort nur spärlich.

[illegible] Nachbar ein glimmendes Holzstück zu holen ist. Das hält er sich hier und [illegible] damit sein eigenes Feuer an.

Seine wichtigste Verwendung findet diesen wahrhaft [illegible] Element als Hüttenfeuer. Es nimmt die Mitte des runden oder ovalen Grundrisses ein, jedoch in besonderen Bauten sieht es sich Tage durch die ganze Hütte (S. 387). Wenn Schutzen- oder Kindbetten fehlt, legt man einige flache Steine unter oder [illegible] andere [illegible] Steine und viele Muschelschalen[illegible] auf; nach genauer Zeit dehnt eine breite Aschenschicht dieses Feuer gegen alle Feuchtigkeit des Erdbodens. Die Feuerstelle selber heißt dyen. Man gebrauscht nur Buchenholz. Die Stämme vom Wintersteinbrecher (Drimys Winteri) enthalten einen [illegible] Quelle und brennen schwer, weswegen man sie beiseite läßt.

Helle Flammen unterhält man gern tagsüber. Man legt deshalb das Mittelstück dickerer Stämme und langer Knüppel in das Feuer; ist es durchgebrannt, schiebt man die beiden Enden von rückwärts allmählich weiter in die Glut hinein. Weil solche Stücke gerichtet übereinander gelegt werden, entwickelt sich gradgerad Luftzugstrom; sollte er fehlen, hilft jemand nach, indem er sich platt auf den Boden legt und mit vollen Backen in die Glut bläst, oder indem [illegible] einen Lederstück, sogar mit einem Vogelflügel während einiger Minuten kräftig Luft zufächelt. Dicke Balken brennen schlecht, wenn man sie nicht auf dünnen, kreuzweise gelegerte Stäbe legt und wenn man ihnen nicht dazwischen glimmende Teile nahe rückt.

Für die Nacht scharrt man das angefachelte Feuer zur Mitte hin sogar zusammen. Damit schafft man für die Glut mehr Tiefe und für die Hütteninsassen zum Nachtlager mehr Fläche. Sie wünschen jetzt nicht hohe Flammen, sondern eine ruhige Glut, die gleichmäßige Wärme entwickelt und die weder Hütte noch Schläfer gefährdet. Reichliche Aschenbildung verhindert es, daß sie bis zum nächsten Morgen erlischt. Rundherum lagern sich die Anwesenden einer bestimmten Anordnung und sind nur darauf bedacht, die Wohltat des Feuers ungestört zu empfinden. Deshalb die unruhige Bewegung in diesem Kreise von schlafenden Menschenkörpern während der ganzen Nacht, weil der eine bald so, der andere bald so sich dreht und wendet.

Gegen den unvermeidlichen Rauch sind diese Indianer trotz langer Gewöhnung nicht unempfindlich, je öfters ihn sie lästig und für die Augen schädlich.[illegible] Oft findet sich nur frisches Holz zur Feuerung, das unvermeidlich starken und beißenden Qualm entwickelt. Sorgfältig deckt deshalb

[illegible] Lemuria (S. 133) berichtet, Sucht sich in der Mitte der Hütte „[illegible] von spitzen pfeilen [illegible] spitzbäumen [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

die Feuer jener Stellen der Wohnhütte zu, die dem Wind abkehren, der im Innern den Rauch herumwirbeln würde. Obwohl die Leute durauch trocknen, daß der Hüttenbesitzer sich neue Brennholz Effect, um leichte Ihr Kanu und die Wasserstellung beobachten zu können, indem sie unbedingt diesen Platz, obwohl Wind ihr ruhiges Feuer stört. In dem langen kuppelförmigen Hütten befindet sich von vorderwärts zwei Eingänge (S. 279); man schließt den einen oder den anderen, abwechselnd und willkürlich, je nachdem der Schutz für das Feuer es so oder so verlangt. Weil trotz bester Deckung das Gerüstes abwechselnd sich kühle Luft einströmt, die dem Innern lästig wird, vertieft man die gemeinte Bodenfläche im Innern sogar bis zu 50 cm nach unten (S. 281). Denn sind jene vor der eindringenden Luft geschützt und die aufsteigende Wärme des Feuers, das ruhig brennen kann, verliert sich nicht. Die gleichen Vorteile gewährt ein Wall von Menschenhänden, der sich eingeflochtig an Stellen aufbaut, die sie später nach dem anderen zur Wohnung erwählt werden. Hier erübrigt es sich, die Innenfläche durch Ausgraben tiefer zu legen, der äußere Wall übernimmt die Arbeiten.

Zu Zeiten, die ein Sturm besonders Stärke entfaltet und jede Deckung des Feuers vereitelt, ziehen sich die Leute in eigenen Hüttenzelten in dichte Wolken von Asche und Rauch eingehüllt. Sie legen sich willenschlossen platt auf die Erde und decken sich mit Lederstücken zu. Manchmal erst nach Stunden erhebt sie sich, um die Aschenschicht von ihrem Körper und von ihrem Zelten abzuschütteln. Zuweilen nehmen sie schwere Rappenhäuser über sich, ungefähr Leute, die sie vor Kälte schützen sollen. Schadet sie endlich lassen sie sich wieder ein heftig flammendes Feuer und rücken sehr nahe heran, um nach allem Umgemach sich gründlich durchzuwärmen.

Ebenso wenig wie in einer Hütte, sei es bei Tage oder bei Nacht, können die Indianer ihr Feuer im Kanu entbehren, weil sie auf dem Wasser fahrend nach Mißlingen allen Wetterunbilden ihrer unfreundlichen Heimat ausgeliefert sind. Sie führen es ununterbrochen und überallhin mit sich. Sollte schwerer Regen es auslöschen, steuern sie geradewegs auf den Strand zu. Auf einer sicheren, mitunter neuen Unterlage von Rasenblumen, Kies und Erdballen[*] im mittleren Teile, die ein Durchbrennen verhindert, bereitet man das ungefährdete Feuer. Man umschließt es mit kurzen, dünnen Holzscheiten, damit eine breite Glut sich entwickeln zu können. Stündig denkt man an die Gefahr, der das Bindenbaust von diesem Feuer her droht. Sollte das Fahrzeug in sturmbewegten Schwenken geraten, bindet man zu seiner Sicherung die glühenden Kohlen mit, indem man Wasser aus der See darüber schöpft. Auch während ruhiger Fahrt fürchtet man bloß ein schwaches Glimmen und wer sich wärmen will, rückt nahe genug heran. Knaben und Mädchen kochen meistens im mittleren Teile des Bootes. Bereitschaft haben sie vor der Abfahrt eingeladen und nahe dem Feuer aufgestapelt; hier trocknet es ein wenig und

[*] Mandlon schreibt Gomez (g): 32 nur: „El fuego, especialmente en los canoas, le hacen sobre piedras y tierra". Ausführlichere Angaben empfiehlt Hesse (g): 204.

liegt gleich bei der Hand, wenn es benötigt wird.[*] Die Kinder bedienen das Feuer auf Weisung ihrer Eltern.

Nach Möglichkeit führt man sehr trockenes Holz im Kanu mit; denn da rauhes Holz unangenehmen Qualm entwickelt, könnte man ihm kaum ausweichen. Beim Verlassen des Fahrzeuges, sogleich nach der Landung, tragen die Kinder glimmende Holzscheite an den Strand und legen sie an die Stelle, die als Mittelpunkt der neuen Hütte geplant wird; hier fachen sie alsbald ein größeres Feuer an. Mit peinlicher Gewissenhaftigkeit lischt man alle glimmenden Kohlenstückchen des Kanufeuers aus, indem man reichlich Wasser darüber schüttet. Geht die Fahrt am nächsten Tage weiter, sind es wieder die Kinder, die einige glimmende Holzscheite zum Kanu tragen und darin ein neues Feuer anzünden.

Wenn immer eine Familie ihr Feuer verläßt, sei es im Kanu oder in der Wohnhütte, achtet sie sorgfältig darauf, daß selbst das letzte glimmende Teilchen a u s g e l ö s c h t wird; das Feuer könnte leicht wieder aufleben, um

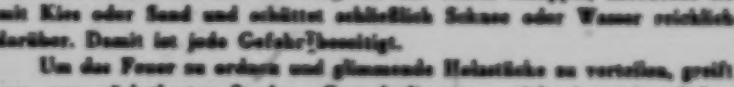

Abb. 14. Die Feuerzange

sich greifen und arge Zerstörung anrichten. Man streut die glimmenden Stücke auseinander, zerstößt und zerschlägt sie mit einem Knüppel, überdeckt sie mit Kies oder Sand und schüttet schließlich Schnee oder Wasser reichlich darüber. Damit ist jede Gefahr beseitigt.

Um das Feuer zu ordnen und glimmende Holzstücke zu verteilen, greift man zum nächstbesten Stocken. Gern bedient man sich einer eigentlichen F e u e r z a n g e, die keiner Familie fehlt. Hier heißt sie lókn, nach BD: 278 auch *lókka*, und stimmt genau mit einer *lókyy* der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 205) überein (Abb. 14). Man wählt einen gerade, dazumendicken Stock der Berberis Ilicifolia aus, befreit ihn von Blattwerk, Ästchen und rissigen Borkenstellen, gibt ihm eine glatte Oberfläche und spaltet ihn auf zwei Drittel seiner ganzen Länge, die kaum 65 cm überzeigt; nachher flacht man das gespaltene untere Ende ab. Weil die Spannung der Holzfasern beide Hälften ein wenig auseinanderzuspreizt hält, läßt sich diese Feuerzange durch bloßen Druck leicht handhaben.[**]

Zum Vorteil der Eingeborenen, den sie wahrhaft zu schätzen wissen, findet sich Baumwuchs in allen Teilen ihrer Heimat, selbst auf dem gefürchteten Kap Hoorn. Er fehlt nur auf niedrigen Felsen und glatten Steinen, die den

[*] Für jede angebrochene Fahrt versorgt man sich reichlich mit Brennholz und hütet es, wie Hyades (q): 304 beobachtet hat, an einem der beiden Bootsenden auf.

[**] Dieses Gerät haben auch Hyades (q): 304 und Lothner (b): 130 kurz beschrieben. Letzterer verzeichnet die Namensähnlichkeit im Selk'nam und Yamana, von einem „zuckend hervorzieh" zu sprechen, was man nicht von der Hand zu weisen braucht.

Wellen und Stürmen einer jeden Schutz ausgesetzt sind. Wo immer in den Gewässern flache Sprünge oder geschützte Schlupfwinkel eingeschnitten sind, dort halten sich schwarze Seeländer und dickere Binsenbusch fest, die den Stürmen erfolgreich Widerstand leisten. Der Indianer findet den notwendigen Brennstoff ununterbrochen an jeder Landungsstelle, allerdings erreicht er den hier bequemer als dort. Für sein Feuer bevorzugt er trockenen Buschwalde; denn er fürchtet den nachteiligen Rauch von grünen Stämmen.[*] Er findet so als Treibholz, das von den Wellen auf den Strand geworfen wird. Auch geht er einige Schritte in den Wald hinein und bricht trockene Äste mit der Hand ab. Stehen sie höher, wirft er seinen Lasso mit der Lederschlinge darauf, zieht fest, denn das Buschwalde ist sehr zäh, und reißt sie herunter. Dickere Baumstämme legt er mit der Schwere seines Körpers um und spaltet sie. Sobald eine Familie landet, verstreuen sich die Kinder in die nächste Umgebung und sammeln Holz, das sie zum Lagerplatz bringen. Dem widmen sich auch die Frauen, wenn weitere Holzmengen nötig sind. Sogar die Männer helfen mit, hantieren sich einer darauf, schwere Stämme zu entwurzeln oder dicke Äste abzubrechen und sie zur Hütte zu schleppen. Bisweilen klettern sie auf einen Baum, was Frauen niemals tun; die herabgeworfenen Äste tragen die anderen Familienmitglieder zur Hütte. Ein jeder beschäftigt sich so oder so um den lebenswichtigen Brennstoff.

Davon legt man hin und wieder sogar einen gewissen Holzvorrat an, hauptsächlich deshalb, um schnell trockenes Holz bei der Hand zu haben. In der einfachen Familienhütte stapelt man neben dem Feuer oder beiderseitig des Eingangs so viel auf, als der freie Raum gestattet. Größere Mengen bringt man in der ungemeinen Winterhütte (S.300), sowie in den erweiterten Hütten für die Feier des *tijipuga* und des *kina* unter. Viel macht es schon aus, wenn das neue Holz einige Zeit unter Deckung gehalten und von der Hitze des Feuers bestrichen wird. Im Kanu führt man nur kleinere Mengen mit, die man so sorgfältiger behandelt werden (S.295). Was der Sammelfleiß einer Familie zusammengetragen hat, stellt man außen lose gegen die Hütte gelehnt auf; die Luft dringt und ein leichter Zustrom warmer Luft von innen wirken zusammen, daß die Nässe abtropft und langsam schwindet. Im Walde selber läßt man das gesammelte Holz nie zurück, weil es dort kaum trocknet. Lieber stellt man es, wie es einem Bündel geschnürt, auf einen freien, für Sonne und Wind zugänglichen Platz, wenn es sich neben der Wohnhütte nicht aufschichten läßt. Derjenigen Holzvorräte kennzeichnen sich von selbst als Eigentum einer Familie und werden von anderen Leuten nicht angerührt.

Im Winter ist es unvergleichlich schwieriger, das Feuer zusammenzubauen und zu unterhalten; denn die Luft ist mit Feuchtigkeit gesättigt und der Boden schwimmt in Nässe. Mühsam trocknet man während der Fahrt einige Knüppel am Kanufeuer und nach der Landung verhüllen diese man erstes

[*] Anhaltender Tränenfluß und leichte Entzündung der Augenlidränder sind die Folgen des heftigen Rauches. Vgl. Brauns (a): 344 und Lommer (b): 120, sowie Fuhlmann 94.

Feuer am Strande. In diesem Nähe liegt man selbst weitere Hütchiffen, die vorgewärmt sind, ehe man die Hütmanderung über dem neuen Feuer vollendet. Dieses ist man in seinem Bestande gesichert und einer kleine Rauchentfaltung wurde gleichfalls vorgebeugt. Die Yamana wissen sehr genau, wie viel besser sich das Holz vom Hütmanderer eignet, das eine einzige Stunde und mehr der heißen Glut ausgesetzt blieb oder durch das der Wind auf offenem, freiem Platze fegte; daher die unterschiedenen Benützen von trockenem Brennholz.

Die an sich lebensrettende Bedeutung des Feuers wird noch zusätzlich durch seine mehrfache Verwendung gesteigert. Ein unübertreffliches Schutz ist es hauptsächlich gegen Kälte und Feuchtigkeit. Was es für diese Menschen bedeutet, die tagtäglich fast spätsommerlich Regen und Schnee, Nebel und Winden, Schlechten und Erkältungen ausgesetzt sind, weiß nur der Beurteiler ganz zu würdigen, der an seiner eigenen Person in den derzeitigen Verhältnissen die Wohltat des Feuers erfahren hat. Das in der Hütte und im Kanu immer zugängliche Feuer durchwärmt jene Körperteile, an denen man Unbehagen verspürt. In wenigen Minuten ist das Kältegefühl behoben und die Erstarrung der Glieder beseitigt, sowie Dampfbäder entstehen der vom Regen überspannten Körperoberfläche und wer ein kleines Finger am Feuer weilt, wird neu belebt. Wer denen Kraft Finger wirken lassen will, der macht sich an seiner Lagerstätte oder an seinem Sitzplatz ein kleines Nebenfeuer zurecht; dem bringt er seine Arme und Beine ganz nahe oder zeigt sein Gesicht und seinen Oberkörper darüber. Auf gleiche Weise hilft sich jeder, der zu weit vom Feuer in der Hütmanderer abrücken muß.

Das unzertrennbare Zusammensein mit dem Feuer erklärt es auch, daß kaum ein Yamana ohne Narben von Brandwunden angetroffen wird.* Kleine Kinder verbrennen sich oft und schwer. Eine große Narbenbildung, die auf erstaunen Unfall schließen läßt, sah ich am ganzen rechten Beine einer erwachsenen Mädchens, der Tochter des Fauna.**

Daß die ganze Körperoberfläche dieser Indianer und auch jeder größere Gebrauchsgegenstand einen eindringlichen Rauchgeruch annimmt, bedrückt jetzt nicht mehr. Die unbedeckten Körperteile werden außerdem tief gebräunt. An mir persönlich bemerkte ich schon nach wenigen Tagen häufigen Verkehrs in den Indianerhütten, daß sich meine Gesicht und meine Hände verfärbten; dahein verschwand diese Verhärtung erst nach mehrfachem, gründlichem Abseifen mit warmem Wasser einige Wochen hindurch.

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* Nach zuverlässigen Beobachtungen sollen Brauen (1): 139 sagen [illegible] „Il n'y a pas de Fuégien qui ne porte des cicatrices sur le corps et surtout sur les jambes, dans à l'action prolongée, sur le pieds, du voisinage immédiat du feu". Bove schreibt (MM: XVII, 256, 1882): „Professor Brauenen examined more than fifty Fuégians, and did not find one amongst them free from the mark of serious burns".

** Aus unserer Zeit, vom 19. Juli 1962 berichtet J. Wessum (MM: XXXVI, 177, 1962) von einem Tatsächlich „of a woman from Ivanna. The whole of the lower part of her body was badly burnt, in some places the bones were exposed".

[illegible] Belauschungsstoff [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Ihm das Feuer ist es, das theoretischen Sinnes für das gänzliche Fehlen einer erhitzenden Körperbedeckung bietet. Ein leicht zugänglicher Brennbestand bietet jeder Person den erforderlichen Brennstoff; damit kann sie eine erwärmende Glut in der Hütte und im Kanu, an jeder offenen Stelle und an jedem beliebigen Lagerplatz unterhalten. Das Feuer allein ermöglicht ein Leben in jener Gegend.

Die kurzen Bekleidungen aus Fell ist das einzige Kleidungsstück, was gleicher Form und gleicher Knappheit für alle Geschlechter und Altersstufen. Zweckmäßig ist es vor allem deshalb, weil es dem wärmenden Feuer einen empfindlichen Zutritt zur ganzen Körperoberfläche gestattet.

Um ihre Gebrauchsgegenstände herzustellen, sind unsere Indianer vorzugsweise auf Felle und Häute als Rohstoffe angewiesen. Das gilt auch für den Wenigen, der man ihre "Kleidung" nennen möchte. Eine unmittelbare Art der Verwendung ist nicht möglich, weil es an Gerätschaften dazu fehlt; die würde sich auch nicht verlohnen, weil die hohe Feuchtigkeit rundherum schnell verrottend wirkt. Allen aber zeugt von einer weitreichenden Anpassungsfähigkeit und völligen Selbstständigkeit dieser Eingeborenen, die jeden Beobachter überraschen.

Wohl verdient es, nachdrücklich darauf hinzuweisen, daß nicht die Menge der Kleidung an sich jeweilig den besten und gesündesten Körperschutz bietet. Verhältnismäßig leicht wird es sich für jedes Volk aus, wenn die in Jahrhunderten als zweckmäßig erprobten Einrichtungen von falschen Beurteilern, die aus anderen Lebensverhältnissen kommen, gewaltsam unterdrückt oder beseitigt werden."

Schließende Anregung bietet ein Vergleich der Bekleidungsweise, die bei den Yamana und bei ihren benachbarten Nachbarn üblich ist. Die Halbinsel im Westen, unter den gleichen Witterungsbedingungen und in den ähnlichen wirtschaftlichen Verhältnissen, stimmen mit den Yamana voll und ganz in der Körperbedeckung überein. Die Selk'nam indes, in einem weniger regnerischen Landgebiet beheimatet, sind tagsüber auf der Wanderung und nähern sich am Abend zwar zum Schutze für die kalte Nacht ein offenes Feuer bei. Sie erhitzeren ihren Körper weit weniger mit fettigen Stoffen ein, hüllen ihn jedoch in einen weiten, gutsitzenden Mantel aus weichem Guanacoleder. Weil bei ihnen die Möglichkeit zum Verweilen am offenen Feuer geringer ist, suchen sie Ersatz in einem wärmeren Kleide. Daraus geht überzeugend hervor, wie jeder Stamm für sich das zweckmäßig Vorteilhafteste aus dem Wenigen, das seine Umgebung bietet, klug und feinfühlig ausgewählt hat.

Wenn man den geringfügigen Lederstückchen zur Körperbedeckung, die sich die Yamana anhängen, heranzieht zu Rocht, was Lovenor: 121 schreibt: „It is no exaggeration to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in

* Vgl. hierzu S. 331 die vielen Nachrichte, die den Yamana aus der Ehrenbaum ausgeführten Kleidungsstücke auf der Missionsstation und später noch erwähnen sind.

die wurde." Ein Weniger an Körperschutz, als es die Yamana in der heutigen Kap Hoorn-Gegend besitzen, kann man sich nicht denken.

Zur weiteren Begründung folgen hier noch einige Urteile früherer Reisender. Dumas (S. 52) sagte kurz und bestimmt: „Die Männer gehen ganz unbekleidet, abgesehen die Weiber bedecken ihre entblößteren Teile mit einem Stücke Leder."[10] Über die Eingeborenen im Fuse Christmas schrieb Gannet Fenerson (b): 243 im Dezember 1774: „Sie hatten keine andere Kleidung, als ein Stück Robbenfell, welches finem kaum bis auf die Hüfte der Lenden herabreichte, und eben kaum die Schultern bedeckte. Seitdem gestalt blieben ihre Hände und Füße und der ganze Leib, einer Kälte hingegestellt, die auch uns, obwohlbest wie gut dagegen versorgt waren, empfindlich war." Wenige Zeilen weiter fügt er ein: „Die Kälte schien finem sehr empfindlich zu seyn, denn sie zitterten am ganzen Leibe . . ." Nahe der Augustura Harvey wurde Snow (a): II, 16 von vielen Eingeborenen umdrängt. „They were all unclothed, except one or two of the women, who had fragments of some garment, or seal-skin, thrown across the shoulder." Die europäischen Kleidungsstücke, die Snow (b): 262 ihnen schenkte, empfanden sie lästig auf ihrem Körper. „The men directly they came on deck were clothed by us, but evidently they did not like such confinement of their limbs." Bald nach seiner Ankunft berichtete Dumas über den Eindruck, den die armseligen Yamana auf ihn gemacht hatten: „Their destitution is great, and they have but the pretence of clothing in a strip of seal or other skin over their shoulders" (VEA: XIII, 81; 1866). Etwas ausführlicher hat sich Bove (d): 290 geäußert: „Un pizzolo mantelletto di pelle di foca o di guanaco gettato sulle spalle, e tratto intorno da una fettuccia che giva attorno al collo, erano i soli indumenti di un Fuegino. Talvoi non hanno pel neppure il povero mantelletto." Das heißt, wie er (g): 234 kurz auch sagte: „Vanno presocchè nudi in quel rigido e tempestoso clima." Ihm stimmt Lothaire (b): 141 bei, daß „tutti sono perfettamente nudi, uomini e donne. Solo vediamo talvolta qualche donna od anche qualche uomo colla spalle coperte da una pelle di lontra o di otaria, usata ad uso di mantelletto". Angesichts dieser nackten Wilden im rauhen Kap Hoorn-Gebiet staunte jeder Europäer über ihre Lebenskraft, ihre Widerstandsfähigkeit und ihre feste Gesundheit.

1. Kleidungsstücke des Mannes

Eine eigene Kleidung für jedes Geschlecht benützen die Yamana nicht, jedes gibt sich durch seine fast unbedeckte Körperpartie mehr als deutlich zu erkennen. Als wesentliches Stück besitzt der Indianer sein zuvörderst, einen Rückenbehang. Damit dürfte man sein einziges Kleid richtig benannt haben. Fast nie ist es größer als seine eigene Rückenfläche, die unregelmäßigen Ränder zeigen mehr oder weniger Rechteckform. Durch einige Löcher an der schmäleren Kante zieht der Mann einen kaum

[10] Vgl. Abb. 14, S. 15, die erste Darstellung der Yamana aus dem Jahre 1834.

[illegible] um [illegible] Hüften legt und unter seinem Kinn verknotet. Das frei herabhängende Lederstück schlägt er entweder nach vorne oder nach hinten, je nachdem er diesen oder jenen Körperteile erhitzen will. Wird es ihm lästig oder hinderlich, bindet er den Riemenknoten unter seinem Kinn auf und wirft es ab.

Women: 137 beschreibt diesen Behang der Männer als „a skin over their shoulders, reaching little, more than half way down the back; some have not even this scrap garment".* Sommer wie Winter dient dem ungeschlachten Tehuelche das gleiche Stück, sagt: Für die kalte Jahreszeit verlangt er nach keinem besseren Schutz. Auch Bove (c): 137 berichtigt: In jenem schneidigen Klima, reich an Schnee und Regen, an wildem Schnee und empfindlichen, frostigen Kälte benötigt jeder nur „una pequeña capa de piel de foca o guanaco atada al pescuezo con una cinta de cuero".

Nie ist das Lederstück groß und weit genug, den ganzen Oberkörper einzuhüllen. Wer seine Hände verlässt, reicht es über die Schultern weg nach oben der Körperseite, die zur Windrichtung hingewendet ist, hängt es durch sehr locker an einem einzigen, um den Hals laufenden Lederriemchen. Zum nächtlichen Schlafe bindet man diesen Behang los und benützt ihn als Decke. Glücklicherweise verstehen unsere Indianer die beneidenswerte Kunst, sich so sehr zusammenzukrümmen, daß reichlich viel ihres Körpers unter diesem einzigen Lederstücke Platz findet.

Vorhanden ist es der kleine Seelöwe, der sein Fell zu diesem Bekleidungszwecke liefert. Bisweilen näht man zwei kleine Stücke zusammen. Die Kaninchenbekleidet man in etwa regelhaftig. In den südlichen Gebieten benützt der Mann auch ein Mäntelchen von zwei oder drei Fischotterfellen, während die Bewohner des Ostens sich ein gleich großes Fellstück vom Guanaco nehmen. Bekanntlich sind Guanacos auf der Isla Navarino und auf dem Nordufer des östlichen Canal de Beagle leicht zu erreichen; Seelöwen treten weniger häufig auf. Möglich, daß auch dem Beispiel der benachbarten Selk'nam die östlichen Yamana sich erst in neuester Zeit einen weiteren und längeren Mantel anfertigen, der ihren ganzen Körper umschließt; ursprünglich war er bei ihnen ebenso wenig im Gebrauch wie bei den anderen Gruppen.**

Schonung fordert der Behang nicht und ist er schadhaft geworden, läßt er sich leicht ersetzen. Man trägt die kohoerto S-lto vorzüglich verdient nach außen. Läge die Hauptseite der Haut auf, würde darin sich viel Schmutz und Schweiß ansammeln, die Haut selber durch stärkere Reizen

* Wenige Jahre später hat Fitz-Roy (a): 130 bei den Bewohnern der Tehuelche-Bucht beobachtet: „Sometimes these robes were worn mantled, wear a part of the skin of a guanaco or seal skin upon their backs; but often there is nothing, either to hide their nakedness or to preserve warmth, except a scrap of hide, which is tied to the side or back of the body, by a string around the waist".

** Bennett schreibt: „The natives of the shores of Beagle Channel are frequently clothed in a guanaco skin; not the beautiful guanaco robes used by the Patagonians, but the coarse shaggy skins of the guaco animals which the Patagonians use only as tent covers" (VP: III, 127; 1860).

gebrochen oder geschält und die grüne Schale, weil das Leder dessend dem Regen ausgesetzt bleiben, bald hart und rissig. Die Lederschuhe aber, obwohl mit Tran durchtränkt, wird immer wieder von der feuchten Körperwärme, der sie anliegen, erweichen eingeschnitten und löst sich Stoppe weiter, außerdem taugt der Regen von der nach außen gewendeten Hauptschicht leicht ab und verzweig den grünen Schuh nicht so durchdrücken. Auschlaggebend aber ist, wie ich erfahre, daß die Hauptschicht auf der nackten Körperhaut für die Indianer unbrauchbar wäre. Was Wunder, wenn unter dieser leichten Bekleidung oft ein Heilig oder ein Jungmann erkältet wird. In der Hütte und im Kanu, bei der Arbeit und auf der Jagd läßt das der Mann, mit leichtem Anfliegen des Lederkleides, ungeschoben und er fühlt sich jetzt wohler als sonst; er will ohne ganz frei sein für den Blick, den er jeweils vorhängt. Zwar ist das Schuh leichtes, leder wird es durch Imprägnierung und Bearbeitung nicht geschont. Bereits nach einigen Wochen ist es schlüssig und es dem Bäumer eingeschwung, durch weit über ein halbes Jahr hinaus schlüpft er der Mann mit sich herum.[*]

Die Bekleidung der Männer trägt jedoch und überall eine eigentliche Schambedeckung, die etwas größer ist als jene der Frauen. Sie bewegen sich glatten, gleichfalls nackenartigen Lederstreifen. Schamverschließen dient es allein der Schicklichkeit. Immerhin werden einige alte Männer so empfindlich, daß dann der Schamschurz fast gewohnheitsmäßig fehlt. Zwar fällt der Bewegung beim Stehen und Sitzen etwas Verschlossenheit auf, jedoch ist diesen Empfinden bei Dauer nicht mehr auch gering, daß sie sich von einem Schamschurz beraubten würden. Bei Frauen nicht und nicht. Aber nicht die Allgemeinheit eine gleichliche Nacktheit nicht gern; ohne Männer haben sogar einmal keine Verhaftungen zu machen. Trotzdem scheint bisweilen bei Dauer durch, daß ihre Blicke die Augen der Anwesenden nicht verfeuern. Willkürliches Nachgehen wird gewohnheitlich nicht geübtlich.

Die alte Zeit kannte weder Fußbekleidung noch Fußbedeckung irgendwelcher Anwendung. Während die den Lesern der Kap Horn-Gegend besser bekannt, wie Hyades (p) 248 behaupten,[**] haben sich wohl nur verwöhnlich bei schlechten und deshalben Gehörte eigentliche Sandalen von Gummi- und Robbenfell eingeführt. Eine Bestätigung durch die Sch'ness (Bd. I, 213) ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen, während sie bei Wyatra von den Halbkrabbe eingegangen sein dürfte; dem letzteren, wie auch ihre nächstlichen Nachbarn, die jetzt eingewirkenen Chonos und die ursprünglichen Eingeborenen des Chiloé-Archipels, tragen Sandalen aus Robbenfell.[**]

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[*] Diese Bekleidung der Männer erwähnen: Aymonier 178, Bove (a) 107, Dumont (b) 176, Hyades (p) 107, Lesson (b) 155, Snow (a) II, 16, Swanson (g) 161 u. a.

[**] Von den Bäumern hat schon de Pedro Sarmiento (a) 130 berichtet, daß „neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes".

[**] Am 23. Mai 1907 hat Bonnin über eine Reise nach Chonos berichtet: „The snow is about a foot deep, and it freezes hard every night, and some of the men wear moccasins" (RGG I, 144; 1907). Diese Sandalen bestehen aus einer, die dieselben von den Bäumern Hyades sowohl sah.

Die Tuareg-Sandalen (III) haben fast den gleichen Schnitt wie die der Beli'nen (Abb. 11). Ein etwa 45 cm langer und 30 cm breiter Lederstreifen vom Gazellen- oder vom Rindleder wird in ungefährend rechteckige Form zurechtgeschnitten, in die beiden Schmalseiten und in die vorderen Ecken werden, wie den Rändern und auch sonst Folge, einige Löcher. Der Fell wird so aufgenommen, daß der vordere Lederlappen über die Zehen umgeschlagen wird und auf den Fußrücken zu liegen kommt. Nun schlägt man die Ränder von beiden Seiten her nach oben und verschnürt die vorderen Teile über der Ferse mit einem leeren Lederriemchen. Unterhalb über den Zehen beginnend sieht man abwechselnd durch die gemäßt an den Rändern durchgeschlagenen Löcher auf jeder Seite die beiden Enden der einzigen Riemen und verknüpft sie am Ende der Ferse. Über oder Ferse dieser als Füllung, in welchem der Fell ruhen und warm sieht. Weil die Schmerze Seite sehr lang, kommt der Fell auf dem Rücken geschlossen Stelle, überdies rücken sich die Ränder auf der Innenseite immer noch vorn, wodurch ein kaum bemerkbarer Verschluß wird. Schnell ist das Leder in der Sandalen Erde verwischt und der Fell sehr gut geschützt sich jeder Unterlage an. Unter dieser Bedingung verdienen sich die Sandalen besonders auf Wanderungen über den unwegsamen, steinigen Wüstenboden bisweilen die vorzüglichen Dienste.

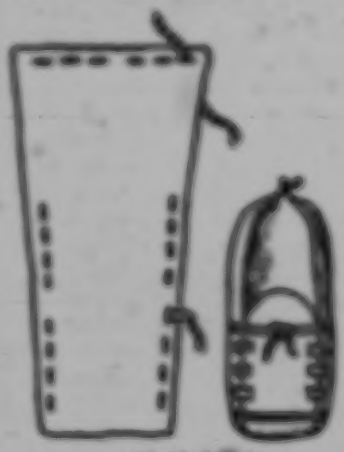

Abb. 11. Sandalen

Trotzdem ziehen die Sandalen nur Schlechtwetter, wenn von der Nässe der Kälteschaum verwischt, noch unangenehmer" als die von Gazellenfell, die „Sandalen" heißen. Letzteres trägt der Tuareg wohl seltener, hat er durch den Kälteschaum beqemer und leichter zur Hand. Fast nur bei längeren Märschen durch den Wüst legt er Sandalen an, lassen ja in der Hitze oder bei Kamel-Treiben manchmal Vorzüge, die sie gewähren, trotzen die meisten Männer die ein, obwohl das Kälteschaufen unbequemer oder unangenehm ist (Vgl. Demaison in VSA: XI, 269; 1964).

Im Osten, wo das Gazellen leicht zu erjagen ist, lassen die Männer gewöhnlich, vorzüglich unter dem Einfluß der Beli'nen, eine Art Gamschen

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* Lenzner (S): 120 „Sand dem, wenn wir zwei nach Hof dem die gesamte zurückgelegt, und nicht zu weit, nur zu unbequem für wahrlich". Dieses Unmöglichkeit erscheint bisher Sandalenzeugen heute ich nicht beobachtet.

* Die Wan-Tuareg kennen diesen Wert nicht, sie gingen fast immer barfuß.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

bei schlechtem Wetter [illegible] Mantel nähen will, kehrt die Lederseite [illegible] nach außen; manchmal deckt sie den Rückenschlitz wieder zu.

Nach jeder Richtung hin sind die Urteile von zwei Völkern Polynesiens beschäftigt. Seem (a): II, 14 schreibt über eine kleine Gruppe, die er im Canal de Bougle antraf: „They were all naked, except one or two of the women, who had fragments of some garment, or rag, which, thrown across the shoulder." Bers (c): 157 drückt sich eingehender aus: „Schamrock und ein kleines Mäntelchen von Gummi- oder Seidenstoff bilden die Ausrüstung einer Fremdlerin; manche besitzen nicht einmal einen Mantel, sondern mit bloßer Brust, nackten Armen und Beinen trotzen sie allen Unbilden der schlechten Witterung." Auch Frauen, die sich in etwa gegen Wind und Wetter schützen wollen, hüllen sich zuweilen, infolgend der Empfindsamkeit der Männer, diesen kurzen, schmalen Mäntelchen vor die am meisten betroffenen Körperseite. Hyades (p): 337 sagt hierzu: „Le plaquart du temps, chaque individu possède une peau, de phoque ou de lontre qu'il plante sur ses épaules pour s'abriter tant bien que mal contre le vent". Longe vorher hatte Arbousset: 270 geschrieben: Die Bewohner des Canal de Bougle „gehen für gewöhnlich vollkommen nackt, bis auf ein kleines Fell um die Schulter".

Unerläßlich ist jeder Frauenperson der unter von den meisten Männern angelegte kurze Schamschurz.[17] Dieser, unbedeutend, nichtsnutzig genannt, fehlt fast nie. Hierauf sei deshalb besonders hingewiesen, weil einige europäischer Reisende diesen Schick als so selbstverständlich voraussetzen, daß sie es in ihrem Berichte entweder nicht ausdrücklich oder nicht bestimmt genug nennen. Derart notwendig gehört es zur Ausstattung einer Frau, daß Hyades (p): 230 schreibt: „Aucune différence entre les deux sexes, quel une petite 'feuille de vigne' en peau de guenaque pour les femmes."[18] Ein Nachtgehen der Frauen und Mädchen gibt es nicht.

Wilhelmi Damman (b): 176 versichert, daß Männern hierzulande jedwede Bedeckung fehlt, betont er demgegenüber ohne Einschränkung: „Les mujeres usaban siempre una chiruca con un pequeño pedazo de piel que cubria solamente las partes genitales". Wie begreiflich jede Frauenperson an diesem Schamschurz festhält und eine gänzliche Entblößung vor Männern vermeidet, erhellt aus einer Beobachtung, die Hyades (q): 499 in die Erklärung der Bilder seiner Monographie eingefügt hat. Die Tafel XII stellt ein nackiges Mädchen dar, namens „Kamanakar Kipa: la figure 1 la représente au moment où, par une exception très rare, elle était dépourvue de son petit tablier; notre

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[17] Diesen Brauch erwähnen beispielsweise Dumas (S. 12), Cannes Pouvoir (S. 19), Wesen (S. 68), Seem (b): 242 u. a. „Il est employé par toutes les petites filles et les femmes du pays depuis les plus jeunes jusqu'aux plus âgées. Il est extraordinaire que qu'une femme indigène se dépare de ce vêtement et dès que, pour une raison quelconque elle le peut, sa première préoccupation est de s'en procurer un autre" (La Nature: 212).

[18] In anderer Verbindung spricht Hyades (q): 248 nochmals von diesem „vêtement qui rappelle exactement, par sa situation et son dimension, la feuille de vigne qu'on laquse à certaines statues".

[illegible]

Eine einzige Fundstelle der Schädelbinde und der Schmuckbinde ist durch diese Schnur, nicht einmal sondern lagen die Funde fest ab.[illegible] Bekanntlich zeigt er eine Breitschleife von etwa 15 cm oberer Breite und etwa 19 cm unterer Länge, darüber gibt es auch Tragen- und Rückenschleifen, besser schlich man ein weiteres Lederstück und herumgig Gummiriemen, das beliebig gleich gemacht und mit Tran eingeschmiert wird. Mädchen und jüngere Frauen benützen Lederstücke vom Fischotter und vom Gummen, aber diese zu entbehren; sie trugen dieselben an, daß die bekannte Seite durch den Körper anlegt.[illegible] In die beiden oberen Ecken bohrt man je ein Loch; in einem verknotet man einen schmalen Lederstreifen oder eine gefärbtere Schnurschnur, führt sie rund um die Hüften und verknüpft sie an der anderen Ecke des Schmuckbandes. Es hängt frei herunter, legt sich gut an, wird auch ein wenig zwischen die Beine geklemmt und erfüllt seinen Zweck.[illegible] Eine auch heutigen Gebrauch wird dieses Stück durch ein neues ersetzt, es an wundern ist nicht übrig.

Frauenpersonen legen einmals Sandalen an, b o r f u S schreiten sie viel bequemer. Überdies nützen sie oft im Wasser treten und im nassen Erdreich herumkriechen. Jedweder Kopfbedeckung fehlt[illegible] ihnen sowohl, wie auch den Männern und Kindern; das dicke, kräftige und reichliche Kopfhaar ist allen Frauenkindern jedem Alters eine ausgiebige Deckung gegen Wind und Regen.

3. Kleidungsstücke der Kinder

Nicht nur im Wasserlichen, selbst in den geringen Einzelheiten stimmt die Körperbedeckung der Kinder mit jener der Erwachsenen überein. Auch die Kleinen kennen keinen anderen Körperschutz als den kurzen R ö c k e n h e n g, der, ihrem unentwickelten Körper in etwa angepaßt, aus weichem Leder jüngerer Tiere angefertigt wird. Ihn umfänglich zu beschreiben, das scheinen die Indianer nicht zu können. Also hängt er wie ein aller Fetzen oder wie ein Lappenstück am schmutzigen Körper des Kindes. Ihn zu schu-

[illegible]

[illegible] Vgl. auch Wyman (b): 1246.

[illegible] „grobkörniment pour que son contact avec l'épidermes soit plus doux que celui du cuir".

[illegible] Lowmer (b): 133 nur: „A triangular pubic covering of skin was usually worn by the women". Ausführlicher schreibt Wyman (g): 330 wieder: „Les femmes portent ordinairement du pubis, un petit tablier triangulaire en peau de gamagon, de 12 à 15 cm de longueur et de 7 à 8 cm de largeur à la base".

[illegible] Fox-Ber (e): 176 hatte beobachtet: „A small fillet is all that is worn around the head. Usually this is a mere string, made of the sinews of birds or animals." Dieses Stück ist ein einfacher Kopfschmuck.

nen kommt niemandem in den Sinn. Kurz sagt Hyades (q): 330: „Vers trois ou quatre ans les enfants, de temps à autre, portent une petite peau sur l'épaule." In solch mangelhafter Bedeckung machen diese kleinen, scheuen Wesen auf jeden Europäer den Eindruck großer Vernachlässigung und bedauernswerter Verwahrlosung.

So lange sie noch auf die besondere Pflege der Mutter angewiesen sind, kriechen sie nackt herum. Beginnen sie selbständig zu laufen, erhalten sie ihren Rückenbehang, den sie je nach Laune und Lust tragen oder abwerfen. Er dient ihnen auch als "Decke" für den nächtlichen Schlaf. Etwas später, im Alter von vier Jahren erhält das Mädchen seinen *malakána, mälagána*, den dreieckigen Schamschurz, von dem es sich seitdem nicht mehr trennen darf. Alle Frauenspersonen achten darauf, daß es sich in kindlichem Unverstande nicht entblößt. Die Maße für die Schambedeckung bestimmt die Körpergröße des Kindes (Abb. 16). Knaben erhalten dieses Stück erst im Alter von sehn Jahren oder später, je nach Gutdünken der Eltern oder der Verwandten; man fühlt keine Notwendigkeit, daß Buben einen Schamschurz tragen, da ja auch alte Männer ihn gelegentlich beiseite lassen. Aber mit Beginn der körperlichen Reife zeigen sich die Knaben ohne ihn nicht mehr in Gesellschaft von Erwachsenen.

Abb. 16. Schamschurz für Mädchen. $^{1}/_{3}$ nat. Gr.

Der Mutter obliegt es, ihren Kindern die einfachen, bescheidenen Stücke der Körperbedeckung anzufertigen. Das fordert keine besondere Mühe. Trotzdem schaut manche Frau regungslos zu, wie ihr Kind in einem schäbigen, zerrissenen Mäntelchen herumläuft und sie läßt lange auf sich warten, bis sie das unbrauchbare, schmutzige Stück durch ein besseres ersetzt. Die Kinder schonen ihr Kleid ebensowenig wie die erwachsenen Personen; sie zerren es durch Kot und Asche, benützen es als Unterlage und Decke beim Sitzen und Schlafen, hüllen Fleisch und Muscheln darin ein, behelfen sich damit, wann und wie immer es ihnen dient. Die Witterung ihrerseits wirkt auf jedes Lederstück stark zersetzend. Obwohl es mehr oder weniger von Tran durchtränkt ist und immer wieder bewußt oder unbewußt eingefettet wird, nützt sich durch vielen Gebrauch schnell die Haarschicht der Außenseite ab

und man hat die Feuchtigkeit von beiden Seiten leichten Zutritt. Andauernde Schimmelpilzbildung bewirkt in kurzer Zeit ganz durchweichte Stellen nach Art von großen, unregelmäßigen Flecken, die leicht reißen und zu offenen Löchern werden. Nun endlich schafft die Mutter die schon lange nötige Abhilfe. Flechotternfelle sind zwar wertvoller als Robbenfelle; trotzdem verwendet jede Mutter lieber die ersteren, weil sie weicher und schöner sind als diese, unbekümmert darum, daß sie weniger haltbar sind.

Ein Sorgen und ein quälendes Sichmühen um Kleidung kennen diese Naturkinder nicht. Wenn ein Knabe auch tagelang auf ein neues Mäntelchen warten muß, weil er das alte verloren hat, tagsüber entschädigt er sich durch die Glut des Hüttenfeuers und nachts drängt er sich eng an die Geschwister heran, die ihm etwas von ihrer Körperwärme mitgeben oder ihm ein wenig Raum zugestehen unter dem eigenen kurzen Rückenbehange, der ihnen allen als Zudecke dient. Mit jedem Mindestmaß sind sie zufrieden.

4. Zweck der Kleidung

Selbst beim besten Willen wird man die beiden Lederstücke der Yamana, die nur kleine Flächen ihres Körpers decken, nicht als Kleidung veranschlagen dürfen. Ohne viel Überlegung erkennt man den kurzen Dreieckschurz als eine Forderung grundsätzlicher Art, die vom Schamgefühl aufgestellt wird. Dafür spricht im besonderen die Form dieses *Mashakana* an sich und die Verpflichtung für alle weiblichen Personen, sich niemals ohne dasselbe sehen zu lassen. Tatsächlich erscheinen vor Frauen alle Männer jüngeren und mittleren Alters sozusagen ausnahmslos mit dieser Bedeckung; nur alte Männer erregen in ihrer gänzlichen Entblößung keinen offenen Anstoß mehr (S. 403), so ungern ihre erwachsene Umgebung sie darin sieht.[53] Auch die allgemeine Gewohnheit, den Mädchen schon im kindlichen Alter diese Schambedeckung anzulegen, ohne daß irgendwelche Feierlichkeit oder Zeremonie damit verbunden wird, besagt alles. Wenn Frauen sie wechseln oder aus irgendwelchem Grunde ablegen, entziehen sie sich den Blicken anderer Personen.[54] Mädchen lernen ein schickliches Verhalten beim Stehen und Sitzen nicht nur am Beispiel der Erwachsenen, sondern auch durch besondere Belehrung.

Zwar ist dieser Lederlappen nur von der Größe einer Hand und hängt an einer einfachen Hüftschnur; indes, wie Hyades (g): 33 beobachtet hat, „ohne diese *Mashakana* zeigen sie sich niemals, aber sie genügt ihnen auch vollständig, obschon man durchaus nicht sagen kann, daß es ihnen an Schamgefühl fehle". Beim Sitzen schließen sie gewöhnlich die Oberschenkel und stellen den einen Fuß so, daß mit der Ferse die Schambedeckung gegen den

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[53] Auf diese Fassung muß die so allgemein gehaltene Behauptung, „that individuals of both sexes and all ages often went entirely naked", die Lovenor (b): 121 ausgegeben hat, eingeschränkt werden.

[54] Vgl. S. 406 das Verhalten der jugendlichen Kamaskakaripa, die ohne ihren Schamschurz von einem französischen Offizier überrascht wurde.

Körper angedrückt wird. Mit gespreizten Beinen und ohne Bedeckung hocken nur vereinzelt dieser und jener der alten Männer am Boden.

Von diesem kleinen Fellstück sagt Hyades (p): 338 treffend, „c'est un emblème de pudeur". Frauen empfinden es sogar als unschicklich, davon nur zu sprechen. Deshalb mußte ich mit besonderer Vorsicht eine zuverlässige alte Frau gewinnen, dieses Stück, das ich meiner Sammlung einreihen wollte, anzufertigen; heimlich stellte sie es her und übergab es mir mit dem Bemerken, darüber vor anderen Leuten zu schweigen. Manchmal bedecken jüngere Frauenspersonen ihre Brust mit dem kurzen Rückenbehang, jedenfalls dann, wenn Männer mit eindeutigen Blicken sie belästigen sollten.

An und für sich kann das kleine Mäntelchen nur ein notdürftiger und unvollständiger Schutz gegen Wind und starkes Unwetter sein. Eine andauernd kalte Luftströmung aus der gleichen Richtung gegen die nämliche Körperstelle wird für jeden Menschen unerträglich; dennoch kann eine Person, die im Kanu sitzend ein bestimmtes Ziel erreichen muß, dagegen sich nicht anders wehren, als daß sie eben den kurzen Rückenbehang als Deckung vorschiebt. Tatsächlich schützt er fühlbar und bewahrt vor argen gesundheitlichen Schäden. Er darf weder breiter noch länger sein, sonst würde er die Wärme des nahen Feuers abhalten und die Arme beim Rudern oder Arbeiten behindern. Hauptsächlich diese Rücksichten sind ausschlaggebend, wenn die Yamana ihren Rückenbehang in der üblichen Form und Größe anfertigen. Vorübergehend mag ein umfangreicher und wolliger Fellmantel, etwa wie die Selk'nam ihn gebrauchen, den Körper gut einhüllen und gleichmäßig durchwärmen; er gestattet jedoch die freie Bewegung der Arme nicht, die jedermann besonders im Kanu unbedingt fordert.

Wollte der Europäer jene armselige Körperbedeckung nach dem Urteil der Indianer werten, würde er sich von ihrer überraschenden Zweckdienlichkeit überzeugen und fände dabei Gelegenheit, die Findigkeit und Anpassungsgabe jener Menschen zu würdigen. Nicht nur dann ist dem Eingeborenen immer und allein die Kleidung von Nutzen, wenn sie seinen ganzen Körper einhüllt.[40] Brauchbare, dauerhafte Felle und Tierhäute stehen unserem Yamana wohl zur Verfügung, die sich mühelos zu einer geschlossenen Kleidung für den ganzen Körper verarbeiten ließen; aber so unumgänglich notwendig ist sie deshalb nicht, weil jede Person überall leichten Zutritt zum offenen Feuer findet. Dieses aber, neben der frischen Luft, die dauernd den Körper umflutet, bietet jedem viel mehr als eine geschlossene Kleidung, die in jenem regenreichen Klima kaum je vollständig trocken bliebe und nie sich sauber halten ließe. Die Indianer klappern zwar manchmal mit den Zähnen vor Kälte und Frost, oder krümmen sich durchfroren unter Platzregen und Schneegestöber zusammen; dergleichen Unannehmlichkeiten braucht jeder eben

[40] Eure sagt Kuczynski: 221: „Eine schützende Kleidung fehlt fast ganz. Ein kleiner Mantel aus Robben- oder Otterfell hängt dem Manne von den Schultern herab, ein dreieckiger Schurz aus Guanacohaar ist die ganze Kleidung der Frau". Noch mehr ließe sich diese Ausstattung selbst nicht im tropischen Afrika verringern.

nur so lange zuzuhalten, bis er wieder ein Feuer erreicht oder neu angezündet hat. In kürzester Frist ist hier der ganze Körper gleichmäßig durchwärmt und die Haut vollständig getrocknet; denn man wendet abwechselnd diese und jene Körperseite dem Feuer zu, jedesmal den Rückenbehang mit leichter Handbewegung in die entgegengesetzte Richtung schiebend.

Falschverstandenes Mitleid allerdings, das sich niemals mit den Vorteilen aller Hilfsmittel zum Körperschutz im Besitz unserer Eingeborenen vertraut gemacht hat, bedauert letztere ungebührlich und unterschätzt deren klugen Urteilen in dem, was sie für sich als zweckdienlich erfunden und ausgewählt haben. In der Tat, vielen gesundheitlichen Schäden weichen sie dadurch aus, daß sie keine anliegenden Stoffe auf ihrem Körper dulden. Häufiger Regen und Schnee, nasse Luft und kräftige Wellenspritzer, die dauernd ihre Haut waschen, fördern die Hauttätigkeit, die dem ganzen Organismus zum Vorteil gereicht; der kurze Rückenbehang, der mit seiner rauhen Lederseite aufliegt, übt gleichfalls eine sanfte Reibungstätigkeit aus. Fiele dies alles durch die Änderung der Kleidung weg, mit welchem gleichwertigen Ersatz könnte der Indianer rechnen? Er hat eine ungleichmäßige Erwärmung und Verweichlichung einzelner Körperteile, die bei anderen Völkern bedeckt werden, von vornherein nicht zu fürchten. Dem bloßen Empfinden, noch mehr dem einsichtigen Urteil dieser Naturmenschen sind all die Schäden nicht entgangen, die der späteren Einführung einer ihnen ungewohnten Bekleidung auf dem Fuße gefolgt sind. Ihr Bemühen, den fremdländischen, ungesunden Zwang abzuschütteln, war naturhaft begründet. Heutigentags machen die letzten Überlebenden kein Hehl aus ihrer Überzeugung, daß europäische Kleidung dika und Ernährungsweise, verbunden mit eingeschleppten Krankheiten und alkoholischen Getränken, den schnellen Untergang ihres Volkes bewirkt haben (S. 339).

Mit außerordentlich starker Kälte brauchen die Bewohner jener fernen Inseln nie zu rechnen. Allerdings sind Wetter und Luft dauernd feucht und kühl. Sollte die Hitze des offenen Feuers nicht ausreichen oder steht eine längere Wanderung bevor, hilft man sich bei scharfer Kälte damit, daß man den ganzen Körper mit einem Gemisch aus Tran und rotem Pulver von gebranntem Lehm gründlich einschmiert. Für gewöhnlich hält sich an der reichlich eingefetteten Körperhaut kaum etwas Feuchtigkeit und manchmal sieht man das Regen- oder Meerwasser in Tropfen abfallen. Jene Schicht dicker Schmiere schützt auch insofern, als sie die eigene Körperwärme zurückhält.[60] Das tat gleichfalls ein einmaliges Einölen mit Tran vom Wal

[60] Dieses Hilfsmittel erwähnend schrieb Agnella: 270: Sie „pflegen ihren Körper mit einer Schmiere aus Thran und roter Erde einzureiben, was wohl auch einigen Schutz gegen die Kälte gewährt". Vorher hatte Snow (b): 264 darauf hingewiesen: „The only thing they do to keep more warm is to rub themselves over with grease and ochreous earth". Den gleichen Zweck deutete Fitz-Roy (a): 139 an: „Both sexes oil themselves, or rubb their bodies with grease." Auch Bridges: 53 erwähnt diesen Brauch und fügt an: „Had the early explorers imitated instead of despised the Jahgan, they would have had fewer tubs of suffering to sell."

oder Seelöwen. Darin erschien jede Person fettglänzend von oben bis unten und wirkte höchst befremdlich auf die europäischen Reisenden und Missionare, bis sie sich an solchen Anblick gewöhnten. Dieses leichte und sehr wirksame Mittel hatte jeder zur Hand und griff gern darnach, wenn rauhe Winde blasen oder starker Regen niederging. Unter der heute üblichen europäischen Kleidung ließe sich eine solche Traneinreibung nicht mehr anbringen. Dafür aber starrt jedes einzelne Kleidungsstück von Schmutz und Fettigkeit.

Trotz allem beweist der überaus d ü r f t i g e K ö r p e r s c h u t z unserer Indianer ihre hochgesteigerte Widerstandskraft gegen die schweren Unbilden der Wetterwichte ihrer Heimat und ihre anspruchslose Genügsamkeit; denn neben der Zweckdienlichkeit ihres einzigen Kleidungsstückes und neben der unschätzbarlichen Vorteile des offenen Feuers fänden einige leichte Bequemlichkeiten immerhin noch gut Platz. Im Vergleich zu den benachbarten Selk'nam sind unsere Yamana offensichtlich etwas ungünstiger gestellt.

5. Bearbeitung der Felle und Häute

Nicht nur zum Anfertigen ihrer geringfügigen Kleidungsstücke, auch zu allerhand Gerätschaften und Gebrauchsgegenständen benötigen unsere Indianer die Häute und die Felle ihrer Jagdtiere.[47] Der Fischotter und der Fuchs werden eigentlich nur ihres Felles wegen verfolgt. In d i e A r b e i t des Zubereitens teilen sich Gatte und Gattin nach alter, gesetzmäßiger Gewohnheit, so zwar, daß die größeren Anstrengungen ihm und die leichteren Handgriffe ihr zufallen. Vorteilhafterweise sind die Felle außerordentlich fettig und tranig; wenn abgezogen, halten sie sich mehrere Tage, trotz gänzlicher Vernachlässigung, unversehrt. Die zuweilen andauernde Ungunst des Wetters behindert gar oft den Mann in dringlichen Arbeiten, während welcher Zeit manche Gegenstände aus Mangel an sofortiger Sicherung und an zweckdienlicher Behandlung schweren Schaden nehmen.

Wo es angängig ist, bemüht sich der erfolgreiche Jäger, die Robbe unverzüglich dort abzuhäuten, wo er sie zur Strecke gebracht hat oder an der erstbesten Landungsstelle. Sein Hauptaugenmerk richtet sich auf den leckeren Tran und das frische Fleisch. Vorher muß er das F e l l a b z i e h e n. Er legt den Seelöwen oder eine verwandte Art mit dem Rücken und langgestreckt auf den Erdboden. Den ersten und einzigen langen Schnitt führt er vom Halse über Brust und Bauch zum Ende des Rumpfes. Eine geschärfte Muschelschale dient ihm als Messer. Der zweite und tiefere Schnitt verläuft rund um den Hals; er trennt den Kopf zwar noch nicht vollkommen ab,

[47] An manchen Stellen hatte der Indianer gute Auswahl. So schrieb Bauzes am 4. Juni 1864 über seinen Besuch in der Wulaia-Gegend: „The greater part of the skins we saw on the natives, were Otter skins; there were very few Guanaco skins... Seal skins, both fur and hair, were numerous. Many of the skins were sufficiently large to cover the whole person" (VIA: XI, 260, 1864).

dringt aber mit seinem Messer so weit ein, daß der ganze Kopf, mit beiden Händen gefaßt, nach Herausbrechen des Genickwirbels und unter starkem Zug abgerissen werden kann. Oben an der einen oder anderen Kante beginnend, in der rechten Hand das Messer, mit der linken Hand die Haut fassend, löst er sie von der anhaftenden Fettschicht durch kurze, ununterbrochen quergeführte Schnitte. Die Flossen schält er aus den Gelenken unter dem rundherum abgetrennten Felle als Ganzes heraus, weswegen sie darin hängen bleiben. Stück für Stück arbeitet er voran, bald auf dieser und bald auf jener Seite, immer zum Rumpfende hin, bis der ganze Körper auf dem ausgebreiteten Felle, von diesem jetzt abgelöst, daliegt. Er achtet darauf, daß nur dünne Fettschichtenreste am Felle haften bleiben; denn sie gehen ihm als Nahrung verloren, weil er sie später nicht abkratzt. Dann schält er als Lappen von Handtellergröße bis viermal mehr die dicke Unterhautfettschicht rund herum vom Körper ab, die Frauen und Kinder mittlerweile zur Hütte tragen. Erst jetzt öffnet er die Bauchhöhle, holt die Gedärme samt Magen und Lungen heraus, die er den Hunden hinschiebt oder ins Wasser wirft, und legt für sich selber das Herz zurück. Durch Wenden des Körpers macht er das Blut ausfließen und zerschneidet ihn schließlich in mehrere große Stücke.

Sobald die Umstände es gestatten — auf wenige Tage kommt es nicht an — wird das Fell getrocknet. Bis dahin ist Vorsicht nötig, damit die Hunde es nicht auffressen. Das Spannen übernimmt der Mann. Vorerst schneidet er die noch im Felle hängenden vier Flossen aus und seine Frau vernäht sofort diese Löcher mit starken Sehnenfasern. In Abständen von Fingerlänge sticht er dem äußeren Rande entlang kleine Löcher in das Fell, hinein steckt er, unter Spannung und von einer Seite zur andern, fingerdicke Stäbe längs und quer, die roh zugespitzt sind und nur wenig aus dem Loche herausstehen. Dickere Stäbe werden stärker belastet als dünnere, alle aber so gedreht und geschoben, daß sich durch die Gesamtspannung des Felles keine Fältchen ziehen. So unregelmäßig und wirr dieses Flechtwerk aussehaut, das Fell selber ist durchaus gleichmäßig gespannt.

Zum Trocknen lehnt man es gegen die Außenwand der Hütte und stößt einen hervortretenden Stab in die Erde, daß das gespannte Fell frei aufgerichtet dasteht und von beiden Seiten unbehindert Luftzug erhält. Damit die Innenseite, der noch viele Fettreste anhaften, nicht beschmutzt wird, bringt man über ihr und nicht über der behaarten Seite das Flechtwerk an. Die strömende Luft ist es, die schnell trocknet; deshalb verschlägt es nichts, wenn das noch weiche Lederstück manchen Regenschauer erfährt. Ein Trocknen am Feuer hätte Verzerrungen und Schrumpfungen einzelner Stellen, sogar ein Faulen anderer Stellen zur Folge, weswegen sich die Indianer damit nicht abgeben. Je nach der Jahreszeit und der Dicke des Felles ist dieses nach zwei bis drei Wochen in all seinen Teilen so steif und hart, daß die Geflechtstäbchen entfernt werden können.[*]

[*] Dieses Flechtwerk zur Fellspannung ist genau so einfach und nach den gleichen Richtlinien ausgeführt wie bei den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 210 und Abb. 21). Vor Hungerer Zeit

Beim Spannen und Trocknen der Felle von einem Fuchs und einem Flughotter geht man in gleicher Weise vor; doch vereinfacht sich die Arbeit, weil diese Stücke leichter und kleiner sind. Eine gewisse Vorsicht fordert das Abhäuten der Pinguine und Scharben, sowie das Spannen dieser Häute *ipun, minal*, die dünn und zart sind. Felle und Häute anderer Tiere kommen für eine Bearbeitung nicht in Betracht.

Bestimmt man die trockenen, steifen Robbenfelle zur Hüttendeckung, fordern sie keine eigene Zurichtung. Für die vielfache weitere Verwertung jedoch ist es nötig, sie zu r e i n i g e n. Das gewöhnliche Messer oder eine scharfkantige Muschelschale dienen als Schaber. Mit der ganzen Breitseite der Schneide kratzt die Frau, Stück für Stück, die Innenseite ab. Das ausgebreitete Fell liegt mit der Haarseite dem Erdboden auf, sie kniet oder hockt darauf und rutscht stückweise weiter. Mit mäßigem Druck und in kurzen Strichen führt sie den Schaber in ununterbrochenen Armbewegungen auf ihren Körper zu; deswegen erscheinen die Kratzer schichtenweise in die gleiche Richtung gestellt. Jedenfalls ergibt sich ein unregelmäßiges Bild auf der ganzen Kratzfläche, weil die Schärfe des Schabers und die Kraft des Armes unablässig schwanken. Vor allem das eingetrocknete Fettgewebe und die oberflächliche, durchscheinende Hornschicht sollen entfernt werden; denn sie gerade neigen leicht zu Fäulnis. Die Frau hat es mehr im Gefühl, als daß es sich bestimmt sagen ließe, wie weit sie beim Abschaben in die Tiefe gehen soll; entscheidend bleibt die Dicke des ganzen Felles.

Öfters macht sich noch ein E n t h a a r e n nötig, wenn man Lederstücke zum Rückenbehang, zu Taschen oder zu Riemen braucht. Von kleineren Stücken kratzt man die Haare mit dem Schaber herunter, weit häufiger leitet man einen Fäulnisprozeß ein. Einmal legt man das ganze Fell unter die Schlafstätte, zu der vorher eine flache Erdschicht abgehoben wurde, bedeckt es wieder mit feuchter Erde, mit Gras oder Moos, und ordnet darüber das Lager wie zuvor. Unbekümmert darum wickelt sich das Leben in der Hütte wie gewöhnlich ab. Die Feuchtigkeit von unten und ein wenig Wärme von oben leiten eine Art Gärung ein, bei der sich die Haarschicht lockert. Sie läßt sich schließlich mit der flachen Hand leicht abstreifen, sobald das Leder sich mit einer dünnschleimigen, schmierigen Schicht übersogen hat.[20] Erfolgreicher ist die Frau bei einem anderen Vorgehen. Sie sammelt ihren eigenen Urin auf dem ausgebreiteten, mit der Haarschicht nach oben gewendeten Lederstück und läßt ihn eine Zeitlang eindringen, einerlei ob dieses Stück in oder außerhalb der Hütte mehrere Tage liegen bleibt und gleichzeitig die Feuchtigkeit des Erdbodens erhält. Als wirksamer beurteilen die Leute den menschlichen Urin, wenn er auf dem Lederstück gesammelt und warm sogleich mit der

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[19] Schon sprach Dumas von einer Bearbeitung der „skins by stretching them in wooden frames, till quite dry; then scraping and rubbing with stones, till soft and smooth, and white inside" (VP: VI, 86; 1859). Dieses Verfahren ist uralt und auch den Halakwulup geläufig.

[20] Mit harten, allgemein gehaltenen Worten erwähnt auch Hyades (q): 34 diese Art der Fellbehandlung zur Entharzung.

flachen Hand oder mit einem kleinen Besen aus Holzspänchen vorsichtig wird. Hat man dieses Verfahren mehrmals wiederholt, überdeckt man das Fell mit einer dünnen Schicht feuchter Erde, setzt sich öfters darauf oder streckt sich zum Schlafe darüber aus, damit es von der eigenen Körperwärme viel mitbekommt. Nach etwa zwei Wochen lassen sich die Haare durch einfaches Abtreiben leicht entfernen. Nun ist das Lederstück außerordentlich weich, bequem schneidet man die lange Leine oder kürzere Riemen heraus.

Mühsamer ist das Zurichten eines Otternfelles. Hat die Frau es in dem oben genannten Gitterwerk aus Stäbchen vollständig getrocknet, rupft sie die langen, groben Haare einzeln mit ihren Fingern oder vermittels zweier aufeinander passender Muschelschalen aus. Zwar ist diese Arbeit langwierig; aber schließlich erscheint der gleichmäßige, sammetweiche Pelz, den jeder mit Behagen anschaut und über den jeder aus Wohlgefühl gern mit der flachen Hand auf- und abfährt.

Die harten, dicken Robbenfelle, auch wenn ihre Innenseite gut beschabt wurde, fordern nach dem Trocknen noch ein gründliches W a l k e n, damit sie weich und biegsam werden. Feste Hände gehören dazu, die den Yamana-Frauen nicht fehlen. Diese Arbeit drängt nicht, weil das trockene Fell, wenn vor starker Durchfeuchtung geschützt, keinen Schaden mehr leidet; auch wird sie in kleinen Abschnitten durchgeführt, weil jede Frau dabei schnell ermüdet. Sie faßt ein Teilstück mit beiden Händen, schließt diese zur Faust und drückt sie knetend gegeneinander, so daß allein durch diese Bewegungen das Leder sich erweicht. Mehrmals läßt sie jeden einzelnen Teil durch die Hände gleiten und knetet in verschiedener Richtung. Harte, vernarbte Stellen nimmt sie zwischen die Zähne und nach langem Beißen unter viel Speichelbildung werden auch sie schließlich weich. Überhaupt zieht sie kauend all jene Lederstücke durch die Zähne, die sie ganz geschmeidig machen will.

Ein eigenes Verfahren, dem Leder hohe Dauerhaftigkeit durch Gerben und Durchtränken mit besonderen Stoffen zu verleihen, kennt das Yamana-Volk nicht. Die bearbeiteten Felle besitzen von vornherein reichlich Fett und Tran, ja werden unbewußt damit so oft bestrichen, daß ein gewisser Schutz gegen Fäulnis durch Feuchtigkeit und gegen Brüchigwerden durch Eintrocknen gegeben ist. Zumal der Rückenbehang erfährt von der fettigen Körperhaut durch das bloße Tragen reichliche E i n f e t t u n g. Nur vereinzelt nimmt man ein Lederstück oder einen fertigen Gegenstand aus Leder her und ölt ihn gründlich ein; noch seltener vermischt man Tran mit rotem Pulver von gebranntem Lehm zu einer kittartigen Masse, die man unter Druck der flachen Hand über die Lederfläche verreibt.[40] Will man kleinere Lederstücke weich und geschmeidig machen, durchtränkt man sie geraume Zeit mit viel Tran. Häufiger Gebrauch allein verhindert, daß Leder hart und steif wird.

[40] Bei den Seri'nam (Bd. I, 212) wird dieses Verfahren allgemein geübt, wohl deshalb, weil die Gazellenfelle an sich wenig Fett enthalten und weil dem Körper dieser Indianer eine nur schwache Fettschicht aufliegert, die sich auf die alltäglichen Gebrauchsgegenstände ohne bewußte Absicht von selber überträgt.

Wenn immer nötig, wie bei einem größeren Fellmantel, z. B. beim Mantel von Otterfellen unnötig, weiß man auch Lederstücke bequem und kaltbar zusammenzunähen. Man beschneidet die Kanten in etwa geradlinig und legt sie seitlich nebeneinander. Nahe dem Rande der beiden Stücke öffnet man erst ein Löchlein, indem man eine Ahle oder einen spitzen Knochen durchsticht, und führt dahinein eine im Munde angespitzte Sehnenfaser ahuémi, die man mit Daumen und Zeigefinger hält. Nun wird ein weiteres Löchlein gebohrt und von einem zum andern führt man in einer Spirallinie den Faden über die beiden freien Kanten hinweg weiter. Abschließend klopft man die aus der Ebene etwas hervorstehenden Kanten mit einem runden Steine platt, damit sie ihre Härte verlieren und nicht unangenehm reiben. Sehr grob und ungleichmäßig fällt eine solche Arbeit aus; denn es fehlt an bequemen Geräteschaften. Lederstreifen und Riemen befestigt man miteinander oder verbindet sie mit anderen Dingen durch einfaches Verknoten.

Die eben erwähnten Sehnenfasern, genannt ahuémi oder ándna, werden häufig beim Nähen und Zusammenfügen einzelner Lederteilchen verwendet. Wer Sehnenstränge vom Guanaco, die zerfasert werden, nicht erreichen kann, verschafft sich die Sehnenfasern im Schwanze des Flachotters oder des Bibers (Myocastor coipus), wenn letzterer allerdings dort nur selten auftritt. Wurde dem Tiere das Fell abgezogen, schneidet man den Schwanz an seiner Wurzel ab. Man läßt ihn einige Zeit trocknen und bricht die einzelnen Wirbel durch, ohne die Sehnen zu zerreißen; die zwei oder drei letzten Wirbel beläßt man vereinigt. Die durch dieses Vorgehen gebrochenen Sehnen zerfasert man mit den Fingernägeln so lange, bis die Fasern zum Nähen dünn genug geworden sind. Wie ein Büschel hängen sie dann [illegible] kleinsten Schwanzwirbeln und lassen sich davon durch einen kräftigen Zug abreißen.

C. Reinlichkeit und Körperschmuck

Das unsaubere, ungepflegte Äußere der Yamana stößt jeden Fremden ab.[10] Ein widerlicher Anblick ist es, jene Menschen, fettglänzend wie mit Flechten übergossen, zwischen dem bunten Durcheinander ihrer Gebrauchsgegenstände in den rauchgeschwärzten, dunsterfüllten Hütten oder ängstlich zusammengekauert in den überlaufenden, von Unrat strotzenden Kanus hocken zu sehen. Haben sie denn gar kein Gefühl für das Wohlbehagen, das ein Reinigungsbad einem sauberen Körper entströmen läßt, oder für die Auffrischung, die einer gründlichen Waschung folgt, oder für die Notwendigkeit einer reinlichen Wohnung? Vieles lange entbehren müssen macht durch die Gewohnheit gefühllos!

Unsere Indianer mußten sich in das Ärmliche und Unzulängliche ihres

[10] Aus Unwillen früherer Reisender führe ich nur an, was Snow (a): I, 248 aufgezeichnet hat: „They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves."

Lebensmittelmangel hineinfinden, wo ihnen Stoffe und Gerätschaften fehlen, ohne die andere Völker sich nicht wohlfühlen könnten. Die Sorge um Erhaltung des eigenen Lebens nimmt besonders während der Kanufahrt ihre Aufmerksamkeit so vollständig in Anspruch, daß sie auf Schonung ihres Körpers oder ihrer wenigen Gebrauchsgegenstände nicht achten dürfen. In den Hütten, die eine einzige Nacht oder wenige Tage nur eine geringe Deckung gegen lästige Witterungseinflüsse bieten sollen, etwas Behaglichkeit oder Bequemlichkeit anzustreben, verlohnt sich nicht der Mühe. Endlich ließe die Unrast des unaufhörlichen Wanderlebens sie aller Anstrengungen um Sauberkeit nicht recht froh werden. Der Sinn dafür geht ihnen durchaus nicht vollständig ab und man begingo an ihnen ein Unrecht zu meinen, sie erstarren im Schmutz. Ja sogar einen verhältnismäßig reichhaltigen körperlichen Schmuck, als Ziergegenstände und als einfache Bemalung, haben sie ausgebildet,[*] der seinerseits nicht unterschätzbar über die fehlende oder sehr mangelhafte Reinlichkeit hinwegtäuscht. Manches, was ihre eigene Anstrengung unterläßt, ersetzt ihnen vorteilhaft die immer hilfsbereite Mutter Natur.

1. Körperpflege

Auf sich selber zu achten, hält zum Reinlichkeitssinn, kennt der Indianer nicht; seine Sorgen um die alltäglichen Lebensnotwendigkeiten gehen ihm weit vor. Dicke Schmutzkrusten und widerlichen Trangeruch auf seiner Körperhaut fühlt er gewohnheitsmäßig gar nicht. Ihm fehlt im W a s c h e n jedwede Regelmäßigkeit. Jede Person erhebt sich frühmorgens vom ärmlichen Lager und reibt sich die verschlafenen, verklebten Augen einfach trocken mit dem Zeigefinger aus. Mancher liebt es, mit beiden flachen Händen die Wangen sanft zu streichen. Selten nur geht jemand zu den nahen Bach hinunter, wo er sich kaltes Wasser ins Gesicht spritzt. Irgendwann aber, falls sich einer mit Aschenstaub überschüttet sieht oder auf dem Erdboden beim Jagen und Arbeiten sehr eingeschmutzt hat, fühlt er doch die Notwendigkeit, in den nächsten Tümpel zu treten und seinen ganzen Körper abzuspülen. Mit den flachen Händen und mit einem Bausch aus Bartflechte oder geschabten Holzspänchen *ilâr*', sogar mit einem nassen Moosballen hilft man reibend nach; hinterher trocknet man sich an der strahlenden Hitze des Hüttenfeuers (vgl. Hyades [q]: 348).

Im Wasser untertauchen und b a d e n ist bei Männern nicht beliebt; Frauen steigen sowieso öfters ins Wasser, um niedere Seetiere zu sammeln oder um zu ihrem Kanu zu schwimmen. An den sehr seltenen heißen Sommertagen hospitieren sich gelegentlich einige Männer am Strande, ohne sich mehr als drei bis vier Schritte ins Wasser vorzuwagen; dies dient jedoch mehr dem

[*] Gusinde, Feuerland (h): 324 hat den offensichtlichen Widerspruch erkannt: „Merkwürdig ist hierbei, daß man, bei so gänzlicher Entbehrung der Kleidung, dahmokgesichtet auf Schmuck und Zierrathen bedacht ist. Der Feuerländer beschmiert sich das Gesicht mit rötlichbrauner Ochererde."

Bedürfnis, sich gegen die ungewohnte Hitze durch Erfrischung ein wenig zu wehren.[80] Das Wasser der See und der Bäche ist immer kalt, ausnahmsweise erwärmt es sich etwas in seichten Buchten.

Häufig haben diese Leute im Wasser zu tun und oft werden sie von schweren Regenschauern übergossen. Wohl deshalb fehlt ihnen der Antrieb, darüber hinaus das nasse Element in Anspruch zu nehmen. „C'est surtout la pluie ou les immersions accidentelles dans l'eau de mer qui font tous les frais de propreté fuégienne", bestätigt Hyades (q): 348. Weit in die See sich vorwagen ist immer gefährlich; die vielen kleinen Sturzbäche und Rinnsale sind nicht tief genug, um zum Baden einzuladen. Nach europäischem Urteil gehört die Gefühllosigkeit eines Indianers dazu, tagelang allen Schmutz und Staub und Rauch mit sich herumzutragen." Indes regt die frische Luft, die dauernd um den nackten Körper streicht, die Haut günstig an und täuscht über anderes Unbehagen hinweg.

Allen Leuten ist ein trockenes Abreiben viel lieber. Das erstreckt sich über den ganzen Körper. Wen die schmutzige Haut juckt, der greift zu einer grauen, fettigen Tonerde, die an manchen Stellen zutage tritt, oder zu dem weniger häufigen hellgelben, auch rostbraunen Lehm, verrührt ihn mit Wasser und Speichel in der hohlen Hand zu einem dicken Brei und schmiert ihn auf den ganzen Körper. Nahe dem Hüttenfeuer trocknet diese Schicht langsam ein und wird als feines Pulver mit der flachen Hand abgerieben. Dieses Verfahren reinigt ähnlich der Seife; es nimmt vor allem den Fettglanz, den der viele Tran mitteilt, und auch die oberflächliche Bräunung, die der stickige Rauch verursacht, von der Haut weg. Findet sich jene graue Tonerde nicht in der Nähe, greift man zu einem kalkreichen, fast pulverähnlichen Sande, der allerdings weniger gründlich reinigt.

Geeigneter Stoff zum Abtrocknen fehlt diesen Leuten. Sind sie naß geworden, rücken sie in die Nähe des Feuers, dessen strahlende Hitze alle Feuchtigkeit vom Körper schnell wegnimmt, oder sie halten Hände und Gesicht über die Glut. Zuweilen greifen sie nach einem trockenen Moosballen, falls er erreichbar ist; erwünschter ist ihnen *čilēr*[1], ein Ballen feiner, lockerer, gelber Spänchen von der großblätterigen Berberitze (Berberis ilicifolia, Abb. 17) *hāma, čęlig*. Diesen Stoff gewinnt man auf folgende Weise. Einem daumendicken Ästchen schält man die Rinde ab, kratzt die oberflächliche weiche Faserschicht weg und schabt nun unter leichtem Druck mit einer scharfkantigen Muschelschale durch Auf- und Abwärtsbewegung vom Holze

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[80] Nach Hyades (q): 348, „pendant l'été, lorsque le temps est beau, ils prennent quelquefois des bains de mer, mais simplement comme distraction". Außerdem berichtet er (g): 38 noch: „Nur selten, bei relativ warmer Temperatur, hatten die Franzosen [der Mission Schmidt] Gelegenheit, zu beobachten, daß die Feuerländerinnen auch zu ihrem Vergnügen ins Wasser sprangen und ohne einen bestimmten Zweck lustig darin herumspielten. Zu tauchen, wie öfter angegeben wird, schienen sie indes nie."

[81] Was Snow (b): 263 sagt, ist frei von jedweder Übertreibung: „The Fuegians are excessively dirty, and contact with them might well cause a man to shudder".

feinste Spänchen herunter, die auf einem Lederlappen gesammelt werden und nahe dem Feuer trocknen müssen. Beim häufigen Zusammenpressen des lockeren Ballens entsteht sogar grobes Pulver, das jede Feuchtigkeit schnell aufsaugt. In einem Darmstück verwahrt man diese Spänchen und wer sie benötigt, holt sich eine Handvoll heraus. Er gebraucht diesen Stoff genau wie einen Schwamm. Meistens benützt ihn eine Mutter, die ihren Säugling wäscht und abtrocknet. Doch greifen fast alle Leute öfters darnach, um sich die Achselhöhlen auszuwischen; so verlangt es die Gewohnheit, damit, wie es heißt, sich kein übler Geruch entwickle.

Fast nie sind es diese feinen Holzspänchen, um so öfter aber die mit Wasser getränkten Moosballen, die zum nassen Abreiben des Gesichtes und Körpers dienen. Anscheinend trifft auch HYADES (q): 348 diese Unterscheidung: „Lorsque les indigènes aperçoivent sur leurs corps quelque souillure plus grave, surtout au matin, ... ils s'essuient avec de fines raclures de bois formant une sorte d'étoupe, ou bien, ils se nettoient par une simple friction avec de la mousse prise autour de leur hutte, très humide et formant éponge".

Wer seine Hände beschmutzt hat, einerlei ob mit Blut und Kot beim Arbeiten oder mit Tran und Speck beim Essen und beim Ausweiden eines Tieres, streift sie im Sande des Erdbodens oder an den nächstliegenden Fellen oder an der Hüttendeckung ab. Das bei einem leckeren Braten von den Fingern abtropfende Fett verreibt man gern im Gesicht und auf dem Körper, um die Haut geschmeidig zu erhalten und gegen Wettereinflüsse zu decken. Daher der starke Fettglanz dieser Leute, der ihnen ein befremdliches Äußeres verleiht (S. 411). Selbstverständlich ist derselbe keine natürliche Ausstattung und wird nicht etwa aus Schönheitsbedürfnis angestrebt, sondern er dient dem Körperschutz. An sehr kalten Tagen übergießt sich der und jener sogar mit reichlicher Menge dünnflüssigen Tran. Niemals bleibt die Haut von einer deutlich erkennbaren Fettschicht ganz frei, zu der die dauernde Berührung mit Fleisch, Fett und tranigen Gegenständen verhilft. Die Hornschicht der Körperhaut dieser Indianer ist ein wenig dicker als die der Europäer, gänzliche Schutzlosigkeit gegenüber der rauhen Luft hat sie geschaffen. Daher auch ihre geringere Hautempfindlichkeit.

Im Zusammenhange damit sei erwähnt, daß ein ausgeprägter, dieses Volk kennzeichnender Hautgeruch nicht auffindbar ist. Wäre er vorhanden, käme er kaum oder gar nicht zur Geltung gegenüber dem vielen Tran, der aufgeschmiert wird, und gegenüber dem starken, qualmenden Rauche, der dauernd auf die Haut einwirkt. Welchen Einfluß letzterer ausübt, erkennt man gut an der dunkelbraunen Färbung, die er hervorruft; und daraus wird ersichtlich, daß er sogar in die Tiefe wirkt. Erhält die Haut eine leichte Anfeuchtung durch Nebel oder schwere Luft, entströmt ihr ein noch bedeutend stärkerer, fast stechender Geruch, den man am nachhaltigsten in einem geschlossenen Zimmer spürt. Selbstverständlich überträgt er sich auf die Hunde und auf alle Gebrauchsgegenstände, die in der Hütte herumliegen. So strömt dem europäischen Besucher eine undefinierbare Mischung aus

Rauch- und Trangeruch vom Indianer selber, von seiner Hütte" und von allem, was er besitzt, entgegen, den zu überwinden nicht jedem gelingt.

Zu alledem und zur allgemeinen Unsauberkeit gesellt sich als besonders widerlich "ein schmutztretendes, von Ungeziefer wimmelndes Kopfhaar." Bei jeglichem Mangel an Körperpflege entwickelt sich die Kopflaus (Pediculus capitis) umso vorzüglich, die alt und jung dauernd auf dem Kopfe kratzen macht, am meisten während des nächtlichen Schlafes. Unmöglich ist es für die Yamana, sich dieser Plage zu erwehren. Die alten Leute erinnern sich, daß in früherer Zeit eine kleinere, schwärzliche Laus sie belästigt und daß diese, seit Anwesenheit der Europäer, einer größeren, grauen den Platz geräumt hat. Trotz einer nicht zu verkennenden geringeren Empfindlichkeit ist dieses Ungeziefer den Indianern dennoch eine Qual. Aus Mitleid sucht eine Mutter ihrem Kinde die Läuse ab, die sie zwischen den Fingernägeln oder zwischen den Zähnen zerquetscht." Niemand stört sich daran, daß sein Nachbar ruhelos sich auf dem Kopfe kratzt; in den stillen, langen Pausen am abendlichen Hüttenfeuer sind diese Geräusche, bald von diesem, bald von jenem Anwesenden verursacht, eine häufige

Abb. 17. Berberis Shúlelke. Natürl. Größe

Unterbrechung. Alles Abwehren bringt indes dem einzelnen keine Erleichterung, und sie verlieren unter dieser Qual ihre Geduld kaum je.

In den letzten Jahrzehnten hat sich die Kleiderlaus (Pediculus vestimentorum) dort auch überall verbreitet, eingeführt durch Europäer. Die älteren Leute erinnern sich nicht an diesen Ungeziefer, für das die allgemeinen Entwicklungsbedingungen sowieso schlecht waren. Wer sich entkleidet — weil jeder heute ausschließlich europäische Kleidung trägt —, zeigt auf seinem ganzen Körper die bekannten Läusespuren. Andauernd kratzen sich diese Leute auf allen Körperstellen. Pediculus pubis konnte ich nicht nachweisen, doch dürfte auch diese Art nicht ganz fehlen.

Von Natur aus ist das Kopfhaar der Yamana schwarz, hart und dick. Obwohl es reichlich mit Tran eingefettet wird, lassen Schmutz und Läuse es nie geschmeidig und schön glänzend werden. Außerdem ist das Längenwachstum mäßig und reicht bei Frauen etwa bis auf die Schultern hinunter, weswegen es sich wenig zu einer besonderen Haartracht eignet. Alle Personen tragen ihr Haar offen und lose, es liegt ihnen in dicken Strähnen um den Kopf herum. Einige Frauen schneiden das Haar über der Stirn bis auf Augenbrauenhöhe ab.[10] Gelegentlich, wenn jemand nicht belästigt sein will, sieht er einen schmalen Riemen, eine Schnurschnur oder einige Binsenstengel um den Kopf, die das Haar festhalten; sogar seine Schlender benützt ein Mann dazu. Neigen die Frauen ihren Kopf, fällt ihnen das Haar nach vorn und verdeckt ihr ganzes Gesicht; doch ermüden sie nicht, es immer wieder auf die Seite zu streichen. Bove (z): 157 schreibt: „Männer und Frauen tragen sehr langes, auf die Schultern fallendes Haar, einige nur befestigen es mit einem Lederbande; die meisten aber lassen es so wild wachsen, daß beide Geschlechter eher wie Furien als wie Menschen aussehen."

Gern kürzen die Männer ihr Kopfhaar. Darin allein besteht ein Unterschied in der sog. Haartracht der Geschlechter. Man benützt eine flache Muschelschale, auf die man ein kleines Haarbüschel ausbreitet und führt darüber mit einer scharfkantigen Muschelschale eigend hinweg, bis die Spitzen abfallen; dann wird das nächste Büschel vorgenommen, bis auf diese Weise der ganze Kopf abgemacht ist. Daß der Haarschneider dabei ermüdet, der andere viel Zapfen und Zerren aushalten muß und das ganze Werk sehr unregelmäßig ausfällt, läßt sich nicht umgehen.

Doch fehlt eine bescheidene Haarpflege nicht ganz. Dumas hat von

[10] Bridges (a): 143 bemerkt: beobachtet: „Si bien, si clair, ne sauf peut-être si de bas cuisse, y avoir incessamment polissement de cuisse salissant, obligeant sauf presque si continuel violentes a subir".

[10] Wie das auf einem Europäer wirkt, gibt Bove (z): 1.346 zu verstehen: „It may be mentioned, that vermin swarmed about them and in everything they had. Whatever we purchased or obtained from them, had to be several times subjected to a purifying process."

[10] Kurz erwähnt Hyades (q): 248 nur „Je chasse sous parasites (Pediculi capitis) à laquelle ils se livrent dans leurs moments de loisir".

[10] Hyades (q): 250 spricht von den „cheveux, coupés sur le front 'à la chien'". Abgesehen davon ändert sich Lesson (bb) 194.

einem Indianer erfahren, daß „only women use oil to make fine hair; then comb very smooth with porpoise jaw" (VP VI, 55; 1859). Als unschön und geschmacklos gilt bei beiden Geschlechtern unerwünschtes das sekundäre Körperhaar. Dagegen ergeben die Männer ihre spärlich gestellten Bartheare, alle Erwachsenen das Achsel- und Schamhaar mit den Fingerspitzen oder mit zwei aufeinander passenden Muschelschalen aus. Ältere Personen werden darin nachlässig. In neuester Zeit lassen die Männer ihren Bart bewußt stehen, um es den Europäern gleichzutun. Jetzt erst recht sieht man, daß ihnen nicht mehr als einzelne Haare auf Lippen und Kinn gedeihen.* Überhaupt besitzen sie nur sehr wenig und immer schwachen Körperhaar; darin gleichen sie den Selk'nam.

Abb. 18. Delphin-Oberkiefer als Kamm. Nat. Größe

Unter dem Einfluß der Weißen haben es die Yamana jüngeren und mittleren Alters gelernt, sich nicht nur anständig zu kleiden, sondern auch ihr Gesicht mit Seife zu waschen und ihr Haar mit einem Kamme zu ordnen. Eitle Burschen rasieren sich mit eingeführten Messern.

Um das von Schmutz und Läusen verfilzte Haar wieder zu lockern, weniger aus Reinlichkeitsbedürfnis als aus Unbehagen, gebraucht man den etwas großen Kamm in dreifacher Ausführung. Am leichtesten erhältlich ist der etwa 12 cm lange Oberkiefer vom Delphin mit seinen beiden Reihen kurzer Zähne (Abb. 18). Man findet ihn gelegentlich am Strande, wo er durch Aasgeier und andere niedere Tiere von allen organischen Stoffen vorzüglich gereinigt wird, daß man ihn ohne weiteres Herrichten in Gebrauch nehmen kann. Anfänglich ist dieser Kamm noch trocken, was dem Haare zugute kommt; jedenfalls ist er sehr handlich und dauerhaft. Dieser Kamm heißt aldeinin. Sogar der von allen Fleischresten gereinigte Schädel eines Fisch-

* Hierzu sagt Bove (a): 136, daß „los hombres, además de ser lampiños, suelen afeitarse la poca barba que tienen; y los dos unos no pueden pelar de ningunas clases por el cuerpo." Lawrence (b): 129 erinnert dem bei Fitz-Roy (a): 175 hierzu erwähnten: „They would have a straggling beard, but scrupulously pull out every hair with tweezers made of mussels-shellos". Nach Dumont (VP: IV, 18; 1837) „they were beardless. One or two of the older men had some hair on their faces, which, while talking, they were continually engaged in twitching out". Und Bove (MM: XVIII, 198; 1884) sagt: „The men have very little beard, and even that little they are accustomed to tear out or cut off with shells".

otters, ohne Unterkiefer, dient zum Kämmen, so lange die wenigen und sehr ungleichen Zähne im kurzen, schmalen Oberkiefer noch festsitzen.[100]

Der andere Kamm muß eigens hergestellt werden und findet sich deshalb nicht in Händen aller. Er ist ein flaches Stück einer Walharte, von der Größe einer Kinderhand, in die fünf bis acht Zähne eingeschnitten sind; diese treten aus dem ganzen Stücke ohne einen breiten Zwischenraum unten heraus (Abb. 19), im Gegensatz zum Kamm der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 222). Im mittleren Yamana-Gebiet, wo Delphine weniger häufig auftreten, gebraucht man gewöhnlich diesen *tumaktamesir*'.[101]

Als Nothbehelf, wenn jene genannten beiden Stücke fehlen, stellt man mehrere starke Vogelfedern zu einem Bündel zusammen und umwickelt es in seinem unteren Teile mit einer Sehnenfaser. Die Kiele dieses von der ganzen Faust gefaßten Federbüschels sieht man durch das Haar, wo sie wie Kammzähne wirken.[102] Gern verfertigen sich die Mädchen für ihre spielerischen Tändeleien diesen *ûftûku uitánim* und lockern damit bequem ihr Haar.

Abb. 19. Kamm aus Walharte. $^{1}/_{3}$ n. Gr.

So wenig die Yamana auf einen sauberen Körper achten, schätzen sie doch jede reinliche Person, die sich öfters wäscht und ihr Haar in Ordnung hält. Manche Mutter pflegt ihre Kinder gut, andere erscheinen widerlich schmutzig und ganz verwahrlost. Solche Unterschiede bilden nicht selten den Gesprächsgegenstand der Alten, die hier tadeln und dort loben. Immerhin ein Beweis dafür, daß es am naturhaften Empfinden für Sauberkeit nicht gänzlich fehlt. Trotz mancher brauchbarer Dinge, die ihnen von Europäern gebracht worden sind, werden sie sich niemals über einen gewissen Grad von Unreinlichkeit erheben, weil sie mit ihren L e b e n s b e d i n g u n g e n unzertrennlich verbunden bleiben. Die europäische Kleidung, die alle heute tragen, strotzt ebenfalls von Schmutz und Tran. Sie läßt die frische Luft und den wohltätigen Regen nicht mehr unmittelbar auf die Körperhaut einwirken, demnach erscheint ihr Körper immer mit einer übelriechenden, dicken Schmutzkruste übersogen. So schädigt das Abgehen von der früheren spärlichen Körperbedeckung langsam aber schwer die Lebenskraft und Gesundheit dieser Indianer, die davon sich selber Rechenschaft geben.

[100] Das bestätigt auch Hyades (q): 303 ganz ausdrücklich.

[101] Beide Arten nennt Lovenzo (b): 187 und sagt: „The Yahgan sometimes comb their hair". Hyades (q): 348 nennt den zuletzt beschriebenen Kamm nicht, wohl aber „un morceau de machoire supérieure de dauphin ou de marsouin garnie de ses dents".

[102] Die Haarpflege der Indianerinnen beschränkt sich, nach den knappen Worten Pyne-Rev's (a): 139, auf Folgendes: „The hair of the women is longer, less coarse, and certainly cleaner than that of the men. It is combed with the jaw of a porpoise, but either plaited nor tied; and none is cut away, excepting from over their eyes."

2. Reinlichkeit in der Hütte

Von wenigen und seltenen Ausnahmen abgesehen, dient die Hütte hauptsächlich dem notdürftigen Schutz gegen Witterungsunbilden für eine Nacht oder für wenige Tage. Oft wird sie von Leuten aufgerichtet, die mit knapper Not dem Unwetter entwischt sind, die in aller Eile ihre wenigen Habseligkeiten im Kanu zusammenraffen und sich unter eine unzureichende Deckung flüchten mußten, zitternd vor Kälte und Nässe. Das Feuer anzünden und unterhalten ist die erste Sorge eines jeden, um sich gründlich durchzuwärmen; später erst denkt er in seiner Ermüdung daran, den Hunger zu stillen und der Ruhe zu pflegen.

Alles, was die Indianerfamilie im Kanu mitgeführt hat, wird regellos unter die Hüttendeckung geworfen, wo es naß, zusammengeknüllt und wüst durcheinandergewürfelt liegen bleibt. Braucht jemand irgendein Stück, wird der ganze Knäuel auseinandergezerrt und dadurch die wirre Unordnung noch erhöht. Man kennt keine Schonung für die eigenen Sachen. Sie geordnet und gut gefaltet hinzulegen, sie zu trocknen oder zu reinigen, sie hochzuhängen oder aufzustapeln, kommt niemandem in den Sinn. Im Körbchen wühlt man schonungslos den bunten Kleinkram durcheinander, wenn man ein besonderes Stückchen sucht. Größere Gegenstände, die in der Hütte zu einem Häufchen aufgetürmt werden, zerrt man hierhin oder dorthin, ungeachtet des Schadens, den sie dabei nehmen. Der europäische Beobachter erhält den Eindruck, als ob diese Indianer ihren Gebrauchsgegenständen gar keinen Wert beilegen und als ob sie die Mühen bei deren Herstellung gänzlich vergessen hätten. Wirklich klebt niemand an seinem geringen Hab und Gut, das er sowieso leicht und häufig verliert, aber ebenso bequem sich wieder verschafft. Die hauptsächlichste und fast einzige Sorge bleibt für jeden überall eben die, das eigene Leben sich zu erhalten, es notdürftig gegen das Ungemach der Naturkräfte zu schützen und den Hunger zu stillen. Demgegenüber rückt die schonende Pflege der dinglichen Besitzgüter weit in den Hintergrund; auch dann kümmert sich der Indianer nicht darum, wenn er es sehr bequem tun könnte.

Ein Europäer schüttelt leicht den Kopf über die grenzenlose Gleichgültigkeit dieser Leute, die angebrochene Stücke und teure Kleider, frische Lebensmittel und wertvolle Gegenstände durch dicken Schmutz ziehen oder der sofortigen Zerstörung durch Kinder und Hunde überlassen. Sie aus ihrer Nachlässigkeit gegenüber ihrem sowieso bescheidenen Besitztum herauszuheben und sie zu einer wenigstens geringen Pflege dessen, was sie benötigen, anzuleiten, wird nie gelingen. Manche Familie hat sich gegenwärtig ein einfaches Häuschen in Puerto Mejillones aufgebaut und teilweise eine Inneneinrichtung mit europäischem Geschirr geschaffen (S. 357); doch bleiben sie sorglos diesem allen monatelang fern und empfinden es kaum, wenn schwere Verluste sie treffen. Preiswerte Dinge, die man ihnen schenkt, schätzen sie wohl aus Neugierde für einige Stunden; nachher lassen sie alles gedankenlos im Kot und in der Nässe verkommen. Je weniger sie besitzen, um so be-

quemer reinen sie, und was zugrunde geht, wissen sie gelegentlich zu ergänzen. Demnach ist ihnen jeder gegenständliche Besitz durchaus gleichgültig.

Trotzdem verwahrlosigen sie sich selber nicht so weit, daß sie in Schmutz und Unordnung untergehen. Für die **notwendige Sauberkeit** tragen sie bewußt Sorge. An übelriechenden, morastigen Stellen und dort, wo eine größere Tierleiche zerfällt, bauen sie sie ihre Hütte auf. Den Geruch von verwesenden Tierresten vertragen sie nicht. Deshalb werfen sie alle Abfallstoffe von ihren Mahlzeiten und die Reste von Häuten oder Lederstücken, die bearbeitet worden, sogleich ins Feuer. Erjagte kleinere Tiere und Fleischstücke hängen sie außerhalb der Hütte an Ästen auf, wo sie gegen Hunde und gegen ungleichmäßige Erhitzung durch die Glut geschützt sind. Faulendes oder muffiges Fleisch entfernen sie rücksichtslos, sein Geruch belästigt sie außerordentlich. Der schwere, üble Dunst von Tran und Seetieren indes, der ihre Hütte erfüllt und jeden Europäer abstoßend, scheint ihnen nichts anzutun; ebensowenig verspüren sie die Fäulnisgerüche aus den langen Haufen von Algen und Tang, von Seetieren und Muschelschalen, die der aufgeregte Ozean in wirrem Durcheinander am Ufer wirft und die nachher den heißen Sonnenstrahlen ausgesetzt bleiben. Hat ein Mann guten Erfolg auf der Jagd, bringt er bisweilen das erlegte Tier unversehrt zur Hütte; doch weidet er es in einiger Entfernung davon aus. Häufiger gehen die Frauen an den Rand des Wassers hinunter, wenn sie Vögel rupfen und ausnehmen, damit die Wellen alle Abfallstoffe mitnehmen. Die Stern der Lagerhütte erneuert man nach wenigen Tagen; denn die Feuchtigkeit des Erdbodens fördert Schimmelbildung und Fäulnis. An wenigen Tagen sieht man sogar die großen Lederstücke vom Hüttengerüst herunter, damit das Innere austrocknet und durchlüftet. Bleibt man längere Zeit am gleichen Ort, verlegt man nach gewisser Zeit die Hütte auf einen anderen Fleck; denn trotz aller Sorgfalt sammeln sich viele Abfallstoffe an, die schädlich wirken (S. 383).

Einen außerordentlichen Abscheu zeigen die Indianer vor tierischem und menschlichem Kot. Freilich sind sie auffallend peinlich bei ihrer **natürlichen Notdurft**. Um Wasser zu lassen entfernt sich jeder mehrere Schritte von der Hütte; einen weiteren Weg macht er, um die größeren Bedürfnisse zu erledigen.[100] Über diese Dinge spricht man nicht. Wer die Hütte, einem natürlichen Drange folgend, verlassen muß, erhebt sich stillschweigend von seinem Platze und nimmt seinen Weg in den Wald oder hinter einen Sandhügel. Niemals würden zwei Personen miteinander gehen, vielmehr schlägt jeder seine eigene Richtung ein und hält sich in weitem Abstand vom anderen. Nahe einer Hütte stößt man nie auf menschlichen Kot. In frühester Jugend schon werden die Kinder dazu angehalten, ihre Notdurft weit abseits von der Hütte zu verrichten. Selbst Hunde sind darauf eingewöhnt. Den Schmutz von jungen Tieren und Säuglingen, der vorläufig sich in einer

[100] Einmal aus, bei Deniker (S. 13) findet sich die Bemerkung: „Wenn jemand nötig hat, sein Wasser abzuschlagen, lassen sie sich einander auf den Leib, wenn sich nicht derjenige, der in der Nähe ist, aus dem Wege macht." Übereinstimmig für diese Angaben sind

Hütte nicht verunreinigen lässt, überdeckt man sehnell mit Sand oder Erde und schickt ihn mit Steinen weit fort. Jede Mutter achtet darauf, ihr neugeborenes Kind mitig genug in guter Entfernung von der Hütte abzulegen und dasselbe zu reinigen. Sogar machen vorzüglich jede Person, die zu mitig hat, ihre Hütte und entfernt sich wenigstens einige Schritte.

Dieses Verhalten der Yamana wird durch Beobachtungen Hyades' (p. 242 beestätigt: „Les Fuégiens ont pour règle de ne pas souiller la hutte avec leurs déjections: pendant la nuit, par exemple, la miction a toujours lieu hors de l'ouverture d'entrée, et la défécation s'opère, comme dans le jour, sous bois de l'habitation, et la nuit est claire; dans le cas où l'obscurité est épaisse, c'est dans le voisinage de la hutte, mais toujours en dehors de celle-ci, que les indigènes satisfont leurs besoins naturels". Niemand dürfte es unterlassen, sich nachher gut zu reinigen; wer mit blossem Gesäche nur Hütte verbrächtes, würde ausgewiesen. Man bedient sich einer Muschelschale und einer Handvoll Sand; lieber greift man zu einem Grashalmbüschel und zu einem Moosballen. Mit den mehrst grassiven Dingen oder auch mit einem Federbusch reinigt die Mutter ihres Säuglings.[*] Im geistlichen Bestreben um diese Art von Sauberkeit wetteifern unsere Indianer mit den hemmbaarsten Sell'ssen (Bd. I, 224).

Genau wie diese haben unsere Yamana die Gewohnheit, den ganzen Tag und wann immer sie nachts erwachen, zu opachon. Wer nun seinen Mute in ihrem Kreis tritt, den sie um das Feuer schlichen, wird verwirrt von den unentwickelnaren Schnaufen, Rämpfen und Aumpfen, bei dem der eine den anderen ablöst. Die Erwachenen von den gänzlich unbewegt und niemand rührt sich daran. Sie erwachen im Aumpfchen einer unnennenwerten Tatsächlichkeit; sogar wer auf sein Lager hingestreckt ist, schlummert den Anwurf in gerdem Bogen mitten im Feuer, ohne sich zu erhalten. Einer dieser Personen ist darin wohl angeschickt und bemerkt die Nachbarn; diese werden dadurch nicht angeschickt, sondern reinigen sich gleichgültig, ohne Ekel zu empfinden. Den Rämpfen Spaltbeil spritzen sie sinnend durch die locker zusammengeprellten Schneidenhaar.

Was nun der gute Ton zu verdecken hilft, was diese Indianer aus ekonomischer Unbefangenheit ganz offen. Mit dem dicken Finger und den schwarzumrandeten Fingernägeln bohren sie, unter Gesichtsverzerrungen, lange in den aufgeklärten Nasenlöchern herum; nachher reinigen sie den Fingernagel reinlichen den Zähnen. Die Nasenentleerungen sie durch einen starken Luftstoß von innen, der den Schleim auf die Erde schleudert. Oft bleibt er von selber an und wird mit dem Zeigefinger abgestreift. Kinder bestreichen die Rechte Hand dann und fahren damit von unten nach oben vor den Nasenlöchern her; nachher ziehen sie die Hand durchs Gras oder Moos. Rämpfen und Aufstoßen, lautes Schnaufen beim Essen und starkes Glucksen

[*] Explorerad Tierra Del Fuego (S. 168 Hyades: „Ils ne vomissent, ils ne crachent, ils ne mouchent, qu'à l'air, spontanément pour la vue ou pour l'odorat, de ne laisser avoir au temples de propreté et de pouvoir le tout au dehors. Les enfants font de même, dès qu'ils peuvent marcher; quant aux enfants plus jeunes, la mère a soin de les nettoyer."

[illegible]

Zum Unterschiede von einem Lappenpelze auf dem Strandhof kann sich im Kaua, obwohl es die Familie fast täglich zu ihren Fahrten benützen, ebenso viel Schmutz und Unreinlichkeit ansammeln. Von allen Seiten dringt etwas Wasser herein, auch die Regen und Schnee stehen es offen, wenngleich der flache Innenraum häufig ausgepumpt wird. Freilich liegen kleine Abfälle von Lapp und Jagdtieren, auch Speisereste und Menschenkoten herum, die einen empfindlichen Geruch verbreiten; die Schaffel jedoch verhindert die weit ältere Verwesung. Dem Indianer kommt es ebenso ist dem Sinn, wie Kaua gut zu reinigen, um so hemmungsloser von es die Naturkräfte. Während der Fahrt erledigt jeder seine natürlichen Bedürfnisse über den Rand hinaus, wenn er bis zur Landung nicht warten kann. Am guten Gebäuden essen die Leute im Kaua nur selten und dann immer wenig. Abfälle werden sie im Freien, das ebenfalls unreinhalten wird, oder hinterhand über Bord.

3. Körperbemalung

Nur jene Bemalungen der Yaluna kennen wir zur Sprache, die ihren Verhängen sich zu gebrauchen und sich zu verschönern entgegengen. Einem anderen Zwecke dient der Bemalung, sich den Körper gegen Kälte oder bei starker Beschwerung mit Tran oder pomadeartiger Kohle einzureiben (S. 411). Bemalung des Gesichtes und des ganzen Körpers ist die hauptsächlichste und häufigste Art sich zu zieren, demgegenüber treten eigentliche Schmuckgegenstände weit zurück.[illegible] Wahl jeder Bemalung liegt therefore ein bestimmter Sinn und eine erkennbare Zweckbestimmung zugrunde, einerlei, ob der eigene Körper oder ein Gegenstand damit geziert wird.

Wie dem Nachbarn im Nordwest und Nordwesten, die Selk'nam und Halakwulup, so kennen die Yaluna nur drei Farbstoffe zu ihren Bemalungen, nämlich schwarz, weiß und rot,[illegible] die sie als Pulver mit Wasser oder Tran vermischt auftragen. Am begehrtesten erlangen sie den schwarzen Farbstoff (qapuhlin, auch Ulh-ilil auch yapuhlin, der weiter nichts als verrußtes Holzkohle ist. Meist verreibt man diesen Stoff trocken auf dem ganzen Körper, im Gesicht aber mit Tran angerührt. Diese Mischung dient außerdem zum Zeichnen von Linien und Strichen.

Der weiße Farbstoff (wapqin) ist Kalk. Man schützt vor allem die reinen, feinen Kalksteine, die sich in Puerto Bilbao und Puerto Engaño, beide im nördlichen Nachbar der Isla Navarino, finden. Man holt sie herunter, zerreibt und kocht sie mit Wasser, formt sie zu einem Klumpen und bewahrt sie gebrauchsfertig in einem Durchschnitt auf. Kleinere Mengen für einen dringl-

[illegible]

[illegible]

lichen Bedarf erlangt man dadurch, daß man einige Schalen der Mytilus-Muschel im Hüttenfeuer glüht und nachher zwischen Steinen zu Staub zerquetscht. Dieses Kalkpulver rührt man niemals mit Tran oder Öl an, weil es seine glänzend weiße Farbe einbüßen würde; statt Wasser nimmt man den eigenen Speichel, der die Mischung haltbarer macht, wenn man Striche oder Punkte ins Gesicht und auf den Körper zeichnet. Vom harten Klumpen schabt man mit den Schneidezähnen etwas Pulver herunter und vermischt es durch eifrige Kaubewegungen mit Speichel[107] zu einem dicken Kleister. Nun steckt man den Finger zum Anfeuchten in den Mund, wenn man grobe Striche ziehen will; führt man feinere Zeichnungen mit einem Stäbchen aus, speit man den Brei auf den linken Handteller und tunkt es dahinein. Soll der ganze Körper bemalt werden, vermischt man das weiße Pulver mit wenig Wasser und verschmiert den dicken Brei mit flachen Händen über die Haut. Freilich fällt nach dem Eintrocknen diese Farbschicht allmählich wieder ab.

Etwas Mühe verwendet man auf den Erwerb des roten Farbstoffes, *lmi* und häufiger *lówu* genannt, der weit ausgiebiger gebraucht wird. Die gefühlsbetonte Vorliebe für helles Scharlachrot mag hierbei mitspielen; denn „ils préfèrent les couleurs vives, et surtout le rouge", wie Hyades (p): 329 bestätigt.[108] An mehreren Stellen im Westen stößt man häufiger als anderswo auf dünne Schichten einer gelblichen oder rötlichen oder rostbraunen mineralischen Ablagerung, die um so höher geschätzt wird, je weniger fettig und je mehr trocken sie ist. Hyades (q): 350 schreibt, die Indianer „recueillent cette ocre des cailloux où elle est assez adhérente; elle provient probablement du séjour de ces pierres dans une eau ferrugineuse". Einen faustgroßen Klumpen verrührt man auf einem ausgebreiteten Lederlappen oder flachen Steine mit Süßwasser, knetet ihn gut durch und hält ihn im Lederlappen bis zu einem sonnigen, windstillen Tage feucht. Jetzt erst schürt man die Glut des Hüttenfeuers mit trockenem, gesundem Holze neu an, wartet, bis der Rauch vorüber ist und kein Luftzug die Asche aufwirbelt, und nun legt man den noch feuchten Lehmklumpen vorsichtig in die Glut, daß er stark durchgeglüht wird. Zinnoberrot holt man ihn mit einem Stecken heraus, kratzt Kohlen- und Aschenteilchen von der Oberfläche herunter und zerstößt ihn zwischen Steinen zu feinem Pulver. Dies sammelt man in einem Darmstück vom Seelöwen. Fast abergläubisch peinlich geht man beim Herstellen dieses roten Farbstoffes vor; denn man schützt außerordentlich seine leuchtende Helligkeit, die weder Schmutz noch Asche beeinträchtigen dürfen. Verschiedentlich und häufig gebraucht man ihn, am liebsten zu Gesichtsbemalungen, und dann fast immer als dicken, mit Robbentran angerührten Brei. Weniger in der hohlen linken Hand, weit häufiger in einer mittelgroßen Mytilus-

[107] Hierfür gibt es sogar, nach Hyades (q): 300, ein eigenes Zeitwort, nämlich „Jamho (ou Jampa) tomoropou: mâcher l'argile, pour la délayer avec la salive".

[108] Er sagt auch: „La matière colorante favorite des Fuégiens est le rouge." Aus der chemischen Analyse, die er anfügt, wird ersichtlich, daß Eisenoxyd den Hauptbestandteil dieser Erdmischung ausmacht.

Schale stellt man ihn her, damit die Mischung gut verrührt werde und gleichmäßig sich auftragen lasse. Die Rotfärbung soll einheitlich ausfallen.

Wie bereits angedeutet, nicht man bei Verwendung aller drei Farbstoffe eine Mischung des trockenen Pulvers mit Öl oder Tran zuweilen dem trockenen Verreiben vor. Will man eine regelmäßige Strichelung und genaue Punkte erzielen, schnitzt man ein geeignetes Malstäbchen, das *talaxikamána* (im Westdialekt) und *pusčitákutušéna* (im Zentraldialekt) heißt; abgeleitet von *ikamána*, malen, zeichnen. Das Stöckchen ist etwa 10 cm lang, am einen Ende scharf und glatt abgeschnitten, am andern spätelförmig abgeflacht. Man benützt es, um Striche zu ziehen. Will man Punkte zeichnen, tunkt man das andere Ende in die Farbe und setzt es nach Art eines Stempels den Hautstellen auf. Wohl jede Frau führt dieses Stäbchen überallhin mit sich, täglich gebraucht es eine Patin zur Bemalung des Prüflings während der langanhaltenden Jugendweihe *čiẹxaus*. Wem es fehlt, der stellt es sich bequem und schnell wieder her.[109]

Da der weiße und noch mehr der rote Farbstoff immerhin einen gewissen Wert darstellt, verwahrt man ihn sorgfältig in einer Art von Farbenbeutel, genannt *yái* und auch *yáiyi*. Hierfür wählt man mit Vorliebe die Speiseröhre von der Dampfschiffente (Tachyeres brachypterus), genannt *álakuš yáiyi*, oder den Dünndarm der Robben.[110] Ein 25 bis 45 cm langes Stück wird herausgeschnitten, am einen Ende mit geradliniger Kante vernäht, mit Luft prall aufgeblasen und sogleich am anderen Ende mit Sehnenfasern verschnürt. Zuweilen beläßt man im unteren Teile die Rundmuskeln des Cardias am Magenmunde, die sich selber schließen; dadurch vereinfacht sich die Arbeit. Schnell trocknet jene Luftblase und ihr oberer Teil wird geradlinig abgeschnitten. Höchstens bis zur Mitte füllt man den länglichen Beutel mit Farbstoff an, die obere freie Hälfte drückt man flach und rollt sie, mit der oberen Kante beginnend, nach unten hin ein (Abb. 20). Damit erhält das Ganze nicht nur einen sicheren und bequemen Abschluß, auch der Inhalt bleibt gegen Feuchtigkeit und Verschütten gesichert. Vereinzelt umwickelt man dieses eingerollte Päckchen noch, parallel zur Längsachse, mit einigen Sehnenfasern, damit es geschlossen bleibt. Der weiße Farbstoff *tumǫrápu* erhärtet trotzdem nach gewisser Zeit zu einem festen Klumpen, was indes seine Verwertung nicht beeinträchtigt. Im Verhältnis dazu benützt man den schwarzen Farbstoff *yapušáke*, nämlich zerstoßene Holzkohle, weit weniger; sie eigens aufzubewahren verlohnt sich nicht, weil sie überall erreichbar ist.

Erst weiter unten soll die Bedeutung der einzelnen Farben innerhalb der mannigfaltigen Muster ausführlich besprochen werden. Aber jetzt schon sei die ungenaue Ansicht gewisser Beobachter richtiggestellt, die jeder Farbe an

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[109] Hyades (q): 300 spricht von einem „poiçon ou spatule de bois". Er nennt überdies sprachliche Wendungen für die vielfachen Bemalungen und Zeichnungsmuster, die BD noch ausführlicher und wohl auch vollständig enthält.

[110] Hyades (q): 350 erwähnt sie als „des sacs faits avec des trachées-artères de phoque ou de marsouin", und Lothrop (b): 133 als „small sacks made from the throats of seal".

sich einen bestimmten Sinn oder eine einzige und ausschließliche Bedeutung beilegen. Ohne Einschränkung behauptet Dabbene: (a): 38, daß „los tres colores, blanco, negro y rojo que emplean para pintarse, tienen su significación, pues les usan respectivamente como señal de guerra, duelo o alegría". Der Wirklichkeit nähert sich Bridges (e): 332 weit mehr; er schreibt: „Äußeres Zeichen der Trauer war das mit Kohle geschwärzte Gesicht. Weiß war die in Flecken und Streifen aufgetragene Farbe der Rache für Mord, und Roth war das Emblem der Freundschaft und Freude." Ein alleiniger und ausschließlich

Abb. 20. Farbenbeutel. Natürliche Größe

eindeutiger Sinn kommt keiner der drei Farben zu,[111] wohl aber ihrer Zusammenstellung oder alleinigen Verwertung zu gewissen Bemalungen und Mustern nach übereinstimmender Gewohnheit und in bewußter Absicht. Daß verschiedene Gegenstände nicht nur aus Zweckdienlichkeit, sondern auch zur Verschönerung bemalt werden, bleibt noch zu erörtern; ebenso die Sonderform der Körperbemalung bei bestimmten Anlässen, wie bei Hochzeit und Trauer, bei Jugendweihen und Männerfeiern, bei größeren Streitigkeiten und Veranstaltungen der Medizinmänner. Die alltäglichen Beweggründe und allgemeinen Anregungen werden anschließend hier schon genannt, jene besonderen Bemalungen werden an geeigneter Stelle zur Sprache kommen.

Zweifelsohne bleibt zu Recht bestehen, was Aspinall: 270 betont: „Jede Bemalung hat bei diesen Indianern besondere Bedeutung". Im Alltag kennt man nur eine Zierbemalung, die dem Schönheitsbedürfnis und den Forderungen der Höflichkeit entspricht. Nach Hyades (g): 33 sind Frauen und Mädchen „durchaus nicht gleichgültig gegen ihr Aussehen und suchen ihre Gesichter durch Querstriche und Tupfen mit weißem Thon nach besten

[111] Damit weise ich die unrichtigen Behauptungen eines Fitz-Roy (a): 177, Dabbene (a): 38 und (b): 176, Lothrop (b): 126, Spegazzini (a): 170 u. a. zurück. Hyades (q): 349 wiederholt ausführlich die Ansicht von Bridges, auf den auch Knickenberg: 331 sich stützt.

Kräften zu verschönern". Ungenau ist es demnach schon, wenn Barbeza, wie Hyades (q): 349 versichert, „considère cette peinture comme un passe-temps".

Jeder Eingeborene wünscht seine Schönheit zu erhöhen und putzt sich, indem er verschiedene Farben als Striche und Punkte, als Strichelung und Kreise nach freier Wahl zusammenordnet.[112] Angeregt fühlt er sich dazu jedesmal dann, wenn viele Leute beisammen sind, die der Zufall an den gleichen Ort geführt hat. Ohne Unterschied des Geschlechtes und Alters bemalt sich jede Person wenigstens das Gesicht und achtet auf Ebenmaß in der Zeichnung. Völlig willkürlich bleibt die Anordnung und die Wahl der Zeichen, selbst bei der nämlichen Person wechselt das Muster von einem Tage zum andern. Einige verwenden mehr Sorgfalt darauf als andere, je nach ihrer Charakteranlage, manche verstehen sich gut auf Zusammenstellungen aller drei Farben, die meisten geben dem Weiß den Vorzug. Jüngere Leute handhaben das Malstäbchen mit peinlicher Vorsicht, während ältere Personen sehr nachlässig damit umgehen. Den Oberkörper und die Arme besetzt man mit senkrechten und wagrechten Strichen und Punktreihen, seltener die Beine. Allgemein indes schenkt man der Bemalung des Körpers weit weniger Aufmerksamkeit, als dem Gesichte.

Weil sich jedermann bei dieser Zierat vollste Freiheit wahrt, wäre es ein vergebliches Bemühen, ein gewisses System oder eine grundsätzliche Bedeutung herausfinden zu wollen; sogar die gleiche Person gefällt sich heute in dieser Bemalung und morgen in jenem Zeichenmuster. Ein eigentlicher Wetteifer zwischen den Anwesenden entwickelt sich nicht, obwohl es an Eifersüchteleien und Neid wegen körperlicher Vorzüge nie fehlt.

Eine Verpflichtung zu einer bestimmten Bemalung, und zwar aus Wohlerzogenheit, besteht für Besucher. Hier trifft wirklich zu, daß an der Zeichnung allein ihr Sinn und Zweck erkennbar ist. Jedwedes noch so einfache Farbenmuster im Gesichte, fast immer weiß, genügt; je nach Zeit und freier Wahl ziert man sich damit und geht zur Nachbarhütte. Der Besucher ehrt durch seine Gesichtsbemalung den Hüttenbesitzer und dieser weiß zu schätzen, was jener bewußt erstrebt. Erwartet jemand einen Besuch, bemalt auch er sich zeitig genug. Kommt der Besucher indes unverhofft, greift der Hüttenbesitzer während der Anwesenheit seines Gastes nicht zum Farbstoff, um sich zu bemalen, sondern tut dies erst später, erwidert den Besuch in der Hütte des andern und dankt dadurch für die Ehrung, mit der dieser ihn vorher erfreut hatte. Trotz innigster verwandtschaftlicher Beziehung der einzelnen Personen unterbleibt eine derartige Liebes- oder Ehrenbezeugung grundsätzlich nie und man entzieht sich der geringen Mühe einer Gesichts-

[112] Mit wenig Genauigkeit schrieb Bove (e): 157: „Sie bemalen sich auf allerlei Art; meistens sind es Parallellinien von verschiedenen Farben, quer über das Antlitz, krumme Linien auf den Wangen und der Nase, die sonderbarsten Zeichnungen auf Brust und Armen. Die Meisten aber begnügen sich damit, eine oder mehrere Farben auf Haare, Gesicht und Körper recht dick aufzutragen." Ebensowenig wie er haben Reisende der früheren Zeit Sinn und Bedeutung der Körperbemalung unserer Yamana erkannt.

bemalung nicht etwa mit dem Hinweis auf ein gutes Einvernehmen zwischen nahen Verwandten. Jedermann hält sich sehr genau an diese Verpflichtung.

Allgemein gilt es als tadelnswerte Gleichgültigkeit und fast verächtliche Geringschätzung, wenn Kinder ihre Eltern, wenn die *čiḱxaya*-Prüflinge ihre Paten in späteren Jahren, wenn jüngere Leute ihre älteren Verwandten und Freunde in deren Hütte aufsuchen, ohne sich vorher mit einer Gesichtsbemalung verziert zu haben. Diese soll zum Ausdruck bringen, daß der Besucher dem andern die Freude seines Kommens schenkt und daß er sich glücklich schätzt, bei ihm zu verweilen. Deshalb antwortet der Hüttenbesitzer früher oder später ebenfalls mit einer Gesichtsbemalung, die seine Freude über den Besuch und seine Dankbarkeit gegen den Gast ausdrücken soll.

Man muß von einer eigentlichen Verpflichtung zu dieser Verzierung sprechen, die ausnahmslos alle Personen jugendlichen und mittleren Alters trifft; auch bejahrte Frauen halten sich daran, während alte Männer saumselig werden. Obwohl bei Besuchen jedwedes Farbenmuster im Gesichte zulässig ist und genügt, zieht man doch vorwiegend zwei dünne, parallele, rote Striche, beiderseitig zu den Nasenlöchern beginnend, wagrecht über die Wange bis zum Ohr. Diese Gesichtsbemalung hat unter Erwachsenen einen durchaus eindeutigen Sinn.

Jugendliche, die ihre älteren Verwandten, auch Kinder, die ihre Eltern, ferner *čiḱxaya*-Prüflinge, die ihre Paten, endlich jeder Verliebte, der seine Auserwählte besucht, diese alle malen sich einige rote, dünne, strahlenförmig gestellte, gerade Striche über die mittlere Wange. Diese Verzierung bringt gesteigerte Liebe und Anhänglichkeit zum Ausdruck. Einem sinnigen Brauche hierbei Rechnung tragend, erscheinen die *čiḱxaya*-Prüflinge regelmäßig mit dieser Zeichnung in der Hütte ihrer Paten, mit denen ein besonders inniges Verhältnis sie verbindet; wurde ihnen doch durch sie eben diese Bemalung täglich in der Großen Hütte der Jugendweihe aufgetragen. Ausnahmslos ist es die Patin, weil sie die Stelle einer zweiten Mutter einnimmt, die aus lauter Freude über den Besuch ihres Patenkindes sofort ihm seine Verzierung wegwischt und dafür die oben genannte Bemalung der Besucher aufzeichnet. Andere Leute sehen dies und freuen sich ebenfalls; aus ihrer eigenen großen Genugtuung über das günstige Einvernehmen jener Beiden sagen sie: „Jenen Burschen [jenes Mädchen] hat seine Patin gemalt!" Nicht selten sucht diese Frau ihr Patenkind in seiner Hütte auf. Um ihm und der ganzen Umgebung ihre eigene Freude zu bekunden, nähert sie sich ihm und zeichnet ihm die roten senkrechten Striche auf die Wangen, wie sie es so oft während der Feier des *čiḱxaya* getan hat. Ihre Handlungsweise verfehlt bei den Nachbarn eine günstige Wirkung nie.

Die bei Besuchen von unseren Yamana allgemein verwendete Zierbemalung ist als Tatsache eine ausreichende Erklärung zu den vielen Berichten aus der Zeit der ersten europäischen Reisenden, die immer wieder betonen, jene Eingeborenen hätten sich den fremden Schiffen mit einer ungewöhnlichen und eigenartigen Gesichtsbemalung genähert. Eben aus der ihnen

gelässigen Verpflichtung heraus, die für Ihresgleichen gilt, haben sie dieser Forderung auch den weißen Fremdlingen gegenüber entsprochen.[113]

Noch strenger als bei Besuchen halten sich die Indianer an die durch Gewohnheit festgelegten Bemalungen bei anderen Anlässen, die weiter unten genannt werden müssen. Anzufügen bleibt noch, daß manche Einzelperson sich selber und manche Mütter ihre kleineren Kinder aus bloßer Putzsucht mit Gesichtsbemalungen ziert, je nachdem sie sich dazu angeregt fühlt. Niemand legt ihr dies vorwurfsvoll als Eitelkeit aus und würde noch viel weniger sie deswegen mit Anklagen belästigen. Man gewährt eben jedem volle Freiheit zu tun, was die bestehende Gewohnheit billigt. Ein Europäer, der das nicht weiß, schüttelt bedenklich den Kopf, wenn er unerwartet einem mit Gesichtsbemalung gezierten Indianer begegnet, dessen Nachbarn sie nicht trägen, die sie aber mit alltäglicher Selbstverständlichkeit hinnehmen.

4. Schmucksachen

Spärlich ist die Körperbedeckung dieser Indianer, reichhaltiger sind demgegenüber ihre Zieraten und Schmucksachen, die unterschiedslos von beiden Geschlechtern getragen werden. Was sie an Rohstoffen dazu verwenden, liefert ihnen das Tierreich; mineralischen Naturschätzen legen sie keine Bedeutung bei, nicht einmal dem Golde, das in dortiger Gegend zutage tritt. Diese wenigen Gegenstände dienen ihrem Wunsche, sich zu zieren und die körperlichen Reize zu steigern.[114]

Bei Frauen und Mädchen sieht man ein Gelenkband, das am Fußgelenk fast niemals fehlt und das außerdem noch häufig um das Handgelenk gewunden wird (Abb. 21). Eine männliche Person trägt dieses Stück kaum je, weswegen es als Sonderbesitz der weiblichen Bevölkerung beurteilt werden darf. Man wählt mit Vorliebe einen 2 bis 3 cm breiten Streifen aus Guanacoleder, weniger wertvoll ist der aus Robbenleder, und schabt meist die Haare und Wolle herunter; läßt man diese stehen, kehrt man die Wollseite nach innen. Dieses Stück wird um das Gelenk fest angezogen. In ein Ende, das etwas breiter ist, bohrt man ein Löchlein; durch dieses steckt man das zugespitzte andere Ende, zieht stramm an und verhindert durch Unterschieben der freien Spitze ein Lockern (vgl. Hyades [q]: 349). Häufig zieht man auch durch die beiden Enden des regelmäßigen Streifens einen Sehnenfaden oder

[113] Das Erlebnis des Rev. Despard (b): 679 auf seiner ersten Reise im April 1857 in Cisco-May Harbour genügt als Beispiel aus neuerer Zeit: Die Eingeborenen „had painted their cheeks, some with red ocre, some with charcoal; one had white lines horizontally drawn across the nose and eyes; another had white dots, in three rows, on each cheek, and a single row down his nose; none were tattooed". Vgl. Lovisato (b): 147.

[114] Hier einige Zeugnisse: „Il desiderio di ornamenti è forse presso i Fueghini più potente nell'uomo che nella donna", sagt Bove (d): 290. „La passione degli ornamenti è la predominante nei Fueghini non solo nelle donne ma anche negli uomini", betont Lovisato (b): 139. Endlich ergänzt Hyades (e): 142: „Les femmes, coquettes comme partout, portent beaucoup plus d'ornements que les hommes".

eine Walbartenfaser und verschnürt sie zu einem festen Knoten. Hierbei stehen unvermeidlich die Fasern heraus, was als weniger schön gilt; deswegen geben manche Personen der erstgenannten Art den Vorzug. Um diese Stücke zu verschönern, bestreicht man sie noch mit rotem Farbstoff.[110] Ebenso häufig sieht man als Handgelenkschmuck die getrocknete Nabelschnur des Fischotters, die bis zu 30 cm mißt und etwa 9 mm breit ist. (Abb. 22). Durch Unterschieben der beiden freien Enden bleibt sie haften. Das eine wie das andere Stück heißt *mun* (im Ost- und Westdialekt) und *tęmunĝnaka* (im Süddialekt).

Abb. 21. Gelenkband aus Guanaco-Leder. 2/3 nat. Gr.

Entgegen aller Wirklichkeit schreibt Hyades (q): 296, daß „les femmes n'en portent jamais plus d'un à chaque membre". Trotzdem hat er (auf Tafel XII) drei jüngere Frauenspersonen abgebildet, die diesen Schmuck an beiden Fuß- und Handgelenken tragen. Nur insofern besteht ein Unterschied, als der genannte Lederstreifen an den Handgelenken merklich schmäler zu sein pflegt.

Drei dünne, feine Sehnensträhne vom Guanaco, vom Seelöwen oder vom Fischotter flicht man zu einer einfachen Halsschnur, genannt *asina*. Seltener wählt man hierfür die steifen Fasern der Walbarten. Die freien Enden werden verknotet. Diese so geschlossene Schnur führt man über den Kopf, daß sie frei um den Hals hängt. Zuweilen wird die Schnur von Anfang an so geflochten, daß sie in zwei oder viele Windungen gelegt werden kann, also mehrere Meter mißt; dickere Sehnenbündel hält man dadurch zusammen, daß man in gewissen Abständen quer zur Längsrichtung einen kurzen Faden wickelt. Diesen Halsschmuck nennt man *hupuxkłmak*. „Ces tresses représentent à elles seules une variété de collier: elles forment alors des circulaires nombreuses, formées en un seul ou en plu-

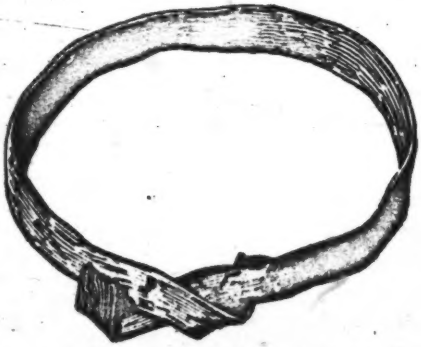

Abb. 22. Nabelschnur des Fischotters als Gelenkband. Nat. Gr.

[110] Irrtümlicherweise behauptet Lothrop (b): 125, dieser Lederstreifen würde weiß bemalt. Sicher ist, er erschiene dadurch zu auffällig, was unsere Indianer gern vermeiden.

sieurs points au moyen d'une petite mèche de cheveux" (Hyades [q]: 349).[116] Obwohl jedes dieser Stücke an sich fettig ist, bestreicht man es mit Tran allein oder mit einer Mischung aus Tran und rotem Farbstoff, damit die kurzen Fasern nicht abstehen und unschön wirken.

Die feingefaserten Sehnenfäden vom Guanaco heißen allgemein *amêra ušwimi*, die aus den Walbarten, gleichfalls zum Nähen und zum Flechten verwendet, *wápisa ušwúmi*. Auf diese einfachen, geflochtenen Sehnenfäden reiht man zuweilen kurze, in etwa gleichlange, ebenmäßige Stückchen von Röhrenknochen eines Vogels, meist des Kormorans auf, seltener die bekannten Kalkgebilde der Röhrenwürmer, die man zu Teilchen von 30 bis 40 mm Länge zerschneidet. Je kleiner und gleichmäßiger sie sind, um so mehr wertet man sie. Gelegentlich schiebt man in passenden Abständen zwei oder vier rote Schnäbel des Austernfischers (Haematopus ater) dazwischen, seit einiger Zeit sogar Münzen, Glasperlen und anderen europäischen Tand.[117] Endlich schafft man eine beliebte Eigenheit, indem man ein schwarzes auf ein weißes Knochenstückchen folgen läßt; es gibt auch Schmuckkettchen, die allein aus schwarzen Stückchen bestehen. Man schwärzt sie dadurch, daß man sie mit Tran durchtränkt und einige Zeit in heißer Asche beläßt. Die letztgenannten Spielarten werden sämtlich mit *hátus* bezeichnet.[118]

Als schönste Halszierde gilt *üšpúka*. Hierfür sammelt man erbsengroße Gehäuse der Photinula violacea, *šôn üšpúka* genannt. Man schabt die oberflächliche, rauhe und schmutzige Kalkschicht herunter, indem man diese Gehäuse mit einer nassen Sandmenge zwischen beiden Händen reibt oder sie in rollenden Kies an den Rand eines seichten Bächleins mit starker Strömung legt, wo die gleiche Scheuertätigkeit sich auswirkt. Dadurch erhalten die kleinen Schneckengehäuse einen matten, opaleszierenden Schimmer auf himmelblauem oder rosahellem Untergrunde. Nahe dem Außenrande wird ein Löchlein gemacht, indem man das Schneckengehäuse auf einem rauhen Steine reibt. Erst stellt man alle Stückchen genau nach ihrer Größe zusammen, angefangen von den kleinsten bis zu den größten; doch wählt man von vornherein so, daß die Größenunterschiede der beiden äußersten Gegensätze sehr gering bleiben. Zum Aufreihen benötigt man eine aus drei Sehnenfasern geflochtene Schnur *aslna*, die doppelt gelegt wird (Abb. 23). Die untere fädelt man durch das Löchlein eines jeden Schneckengehäuses und legt die obere an, indem man vermittels eines spiralig verlaufenden Fadens jedes einzelne Gehäuse an das vorherige fest andrückt (Abb. 24). Dieses Schmuckstück, je

[116] Außerdem sagt er (q): 299 hierüber: „Une autre espèce de collier est constituée seulement par plusieurs tours de tresse portés au cou; à ce collier était quelquefois suspendue une perle de verroterie de la Mission française."

[117] Wirgandi: 23 schreibt: „El collar de dos o tres vueltas alrededor del cuello i a veces lleva colgado un pico de ostrero [Haematopus ater], dientes de animales o pequeños caracoles que sirven de adorno".

[118] Hyades (q): 349 erwähnt nur eine dieser Formen: „Une espèce de collier, très communément portée, consiste en petits cylindres d'os d'oiseaux, régulièrement coupés et enfilés." Diese Form sieht man tatsächlich sehr häufig.

nach seiner Länge, wird zu zwei bis fünf gleichgroßen Kreisen geordnet; an einer Stelle umwickelt man sie alle mit einem kurzen Faden, um sie zusammenzuhalten. So trägt man dieses *ālpúka* am Halse. Plant man von vornherein nur eine einzige Reihe von Schneckengehäusen, dann verlegt man das größte in die Mitte und ordnet die anderen nach ihrer Größe sehr genau, daß die kleinsten beiderseitig den Abschluß bilden.[110]

Höher als dieses wertet man ein anderes Halsband, bei dem auf einer geflochtenen Sehnenschnur kurze Stückchen der getrockneten Luftröhre des

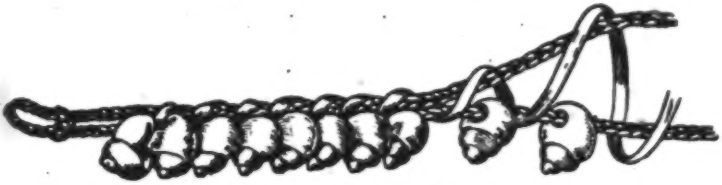

Abb. 23. Halskettchen. Nat. Gr.

wilden Schwanes (Cygnus melanocoryphus) aufgereiht ganz locker nebeneinander stehen. Mit Recht sagt J. L. Myres: 97, daß dieser „type of necklace is rare and much prized"; denn nur selten taucht der Schwan dort im Süden auf und ist äußerst schwierig zu erreichen.

Endlich beschreibt Hyades (q): 299 einen weiteren Halsschmuck, den ich nicht zu Gesicht bekommen habe. „Collier tressé: *Oupakh' ouana;* ce genre de collier est tressé en fibres d'intestins de jeune phoque: *Aouia ama;* au centre: *Itakoun,* il y a une fine tresse: *Açina,* en nerf de baleine, lequel forme

Abb. 24. Das Aufreihen der Schneckenhäuschen

aussi la tresse double de l'extrémité des rangées du collier; la ligature: *Yamacéta* du collier est une tresse en tendon de baleine. Ce collier est porté seulement par les femmes: *Kipa tapan makou*".

Die hier genannten Halsgehänge, ungeachtet ihrer Ausführung und Herstellung, legen sich alle Leute jeden Alters und Geschlechtes an. „Les hommes portent ces colliers aussi bien que les femmes et que les enfants", bestätigt Hyades (q): 349. Weniger schmücken sich ältere Männer damit, mehr indes

[110] Dieses für die Yamana bezeichnende Schmuckstück, das gelegentlich beim Tauschhandel zu den benachbarten Haus und Halakwulup gelangt ist, wurde von früheren Reisenden wiederholt genannt. Häufig sieht man es in ethnographischen Sammlungen der europäischen und amerikanischen Museen. Vgl. Bove (c): 126, Colini: 722, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (q): 300, 348, Lothrop (b): 125, Wischardt: 23 u. a.

ältere Frauen, am meisten die jüngeren Leute. Für Kinder bedeuten sie fast nur eine Spielerei, ihren Säugling schmückt eine Frau damit vor allem aus Mutterglück. Alle derartigen Zierraten verfertigen die Mädchen und Frauen für sich selber und für ihre männlichen Verwandten; denn das ist eine Beschäftigung für Frauenhände. Dem persönlichen Schmuckbedürfnis und der Eitelkeit eines jeden einzelnen bleibt es überlassen, wie oft und wie lange er sich mit dem oder jenem Stücke ziert. Die unbehinderte Selbständigkeit, die einen der Charakterzüge dieser Indianer bildet, beläßt jedem auch vollste Freiheit im Gebrauch von Schmuckgegenständen, genau so wie im Anlegen von Körperbemalungen (S. 427). Niemand findet es befremdlich und keiner würde an gesteigerte Eitelkeit oder an Putzsucht denken, wenn heute diese Person und jene morgen unerwartet und ohne äußeren Anlaß mit einem reichen Schmuck behangen auftritt.

An sich betrachtet ist der Bestand an Zierraten und Schmuckstücken dieser Indianer gering und einfach, genau so wie ihr gesamter, äußerer Besitz überhaupt. Dies übertrieben einschränkend behauptet Bove (e): 26 sogar: „Dos o tres lineas de pintura sobre el rostro, y unos collares de conchas o huesos de ave, son los únicos adornos de un fueguino." Gewisse Anlässe indes, wie allgemeine Zusammenkünfte und größere Veranstaltungen, haben diese Leute angeregt, darüber hinaus noch besonderen Körperschmuck zu schaffen, nämlich die beliebten Stirnbänder aus Vogelfedern und Daunen. Diese Dinge sollen weiter unten dargestellt werden. Bisher wurde nur genannt und beschrieben, was in den Alltag gehört. Die Schmuckgegenstände unserer Yamana gleichen mehr oder weniger denen der Selk'nam, sind aber im ganzen schöner, kunstvoller und mannigfaltiger. Allerdings fehlen hier Schmucknarben, die bei den Nachbarn in bestimmter Form und Häufigkeit beliebt sind (Bd. I, 229). Jedwede andere Art von Schmuck, wie Ohrgehänge und Edelsteine, eigentliche Trophäen und Körperverstümmelungen kennt man dort unten im unfreundlichen Kap Hoorn-Gebiete nicht.

D. Gerätschaften, Werkzeuge, Waffen

Ausschließlich auf die geringen Erzeugnisse seiner Heimat ist der Yamana bei Herstellung der nötigen Gebrauchsgegenstände angewiesen. Somit überrascht es nicht, daß er einzig und allein aus Holz, Bein und Muschelschalen die Werkzeuge anfertigt, die er bei seinen täglichen Arbeiten und beim Jagen benötigt. Zu einer nennenswerten Verwendung des Steines ist er nicht gelangt. Das Kupfererz, das dort an gewissen Stellen zutage tritt, ist niemals beachtet, viel weniger ausgebeutet worden. Beurteilt man den Feuerländer nach den Stoffen, die er für seine Gerätschaften benützt, wird offensichtlich, daß er eine niedrigere Stufe der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung einnimmt, als der vielgesuchte europäische Steinzeitmensch; jener steht uns Gegenwartsmenschen noch wirklich vor Augen, dieser ist seit einer langen Reihe von Jahrhunderten längst verschwunden.

Je spröder der Stoff ist, aus dem unser Indianer seine gegenständlichen Besitzgüter herstellt, um so überzeugender tritt die schaffende und ordnende Kraft seines Geistes, um so deutlicher seine scharfe Beobachtungsgabe und gewandte Fingerfertigkeit zutage. Oft wiederholte Versuche müssen den Formen und den Einzelstücken vorausgegangen sein, die zum festen Besitzstande dieses Stammes ausgewählt und von vielen Geschlechtern beibehalten worden sind. Überprüft man jedes Einzelstück, so scheint dessen hohe Zweckmäßigkeit nach jeder Richtung und mit einer Deutlichkeit auf, daß sich an dem Dinge selber kaum noch eine nennenswerte Verbesserung, die gleichzeitig auch die Brauchbarkeit steigern würde, anbringen ließe. Der Gegenstand für sich allein sieht armselig und kunstlos aus. Wer aber zuschaut, wie er angewendet oder gebraucht wird und wie er bei geringem Kraftaufwand mit hoher Bestimmtheit arbeitet, kann sich des Staunens über seine Vorzüge nicht enthalten.

Vergleicht man die Mitteilungen aus den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten, in denen Europäer und Yamana zusammentrafen, mit den Angaben seit der Mitte des XIX. Jahrhunderts, wird offensichtlich, daß sich in der Verwertung einzelner Gegenstände ein Wandel vollzogen hat. Damit meine ich nicht, daß europäische Waren, wie eiserne Messer und Äxte, übernommen worden sind, sondern ein allmähliches Zurückweichen von Bogen und Pfeil zu Gunsten der Schleuder. Die eigentliche Ursache dafür — um dies jetzt schon anzudeuten — scheint die Einführung und schnelle Verbreitung des Hundes zu sein. Er leistet dem Indianer einige Dienste auf der Otternjagd. Bekanntlich ist es nicht leicht, vom Kanu aus Bogen und Pfeil zielsicher zu handhaben. Damit habe ich offen ausgesprochen, daß der Hund erst nach der Entdeckung der Yamana durch die Europäer zu dem unausbleiblichen Begleiter geworden ist, als den die Reisenden seit der Mitte des letzten Jahrhunderts ihn erwähnen. Abgesehen von jener kleinen Wandlung haben sich alle Dinge des täglichen Gebrauches in ihrer ursprünglichen Eigenart bis zur Gegenwart erhalten.

Die Gerätschaften und Waffen unserer Feuerländer kann man nicht gründlich genug untersuchen und in ihrer Verwendung beobachten. Sie offenbaren eine schöpferische Erfindungsgabe dieser fälschlich unterschätzten Indianer, die so oft als die "elendesten Menschen" bedauert worden sind, die aber ein Handwerkszeug sich geschaffen haben, das ihnen den Nahrungserwerb und die Anfertigung des Körperschutzes sehr erleichtert.

1. Das Rindenkanu

Auf dem Lande unternehmen unsere Yamana keine längeren Märsche und begnügen sich mit den notwendigen Gängen, um Holz oder Muscheln zu sammeln und um die Jagdtiere zu erreichen; denn das Gebiet eignet sich nicht zu Reisen über Land. Von einer Insel zur anderen, von einem Ufer zum anderen verkehren sie ausnahmslos in ihrem Rindenkanu. Auch wenn sie

einen weiten Weg am Strande zurücklegen könnten, ziehen sie es vor, zu fahren, was leichter und bequemer ist. Das Kanu ist ihnen einfachhin unentbehrlich. Falls die Einzelfamilie oder eine kleine Gruppe desselben verlustig gegangen ist, befindet sie sich in einem Notzustande, der, je eher um so besser, aber unbedingt behoben werden muß. Als Wassernomaden könnten sie auf dieses Verkehrsmittel keinesfalls länger verzichten.[120]

Seine Bauart ist etwas Eigenes und unterscheidet sich auf den ersten Blick von den Booten anderer Völker. Die an sich spärlichen Erzeugnisse des Landes wählt man mit kluger Umsicht aus und benützt sie, jedes für sich eben so, daß ein immerhin widerstandsfähiges und dauerhaftes Fahrzeug zustande kommt. Als ganzes Stück erscheint es dem Auge zierlich, seine Form ist gefällig, es läßt sich leicht handhaben und besitzt ansehnliche Tragfähigkeit; geschmackvoll ist die Ausführung im einzelnen und der Verlauf der Linien wirkt angenehm.

Unbekümmert um die vielen Nebensächlichkeiten erscheint es jedwedem Beurteiler als ein Meisterwerk bester Zweckdienlichkeit und als eine Höchstleistung des technischen Könnens dieser Indianer.[121] Nicht jeder von ihnen ist im Kanubau gleich geschickt; wer aber etwas Tadelloses zu leisten imstande ist, steht bei der Allgemeinheit in hoher Achtung. Hier gilt, was Despard (b): 679 in die knappen Worte zusammengedrängt hat: „The manufacture of a canoe is a most important work; on it chiefly depends their subsistence; to excel in it is a coveted distinction; to have effected it marks manhood; to accomplish it taxes strength, skill, and time." Dieser für unsere Indianer lebenswichtige Gegenstand verdient es, ausführlich beschrieben zu werden; dabei fällt unbeabsichtigt ein hohes Lob auf ihr Können ab.[122] Kurz

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[120] Die unumgängliche Bedeutung des Kanus für unsere Eingeborenen ist verschiedentlich hervorgehoben worden. Spegazzini (a): 161 nennt es „el objeto de mayor importancia", und Dabbene (b): 180 „un objeto de primera necesidad para el Yahgan." Andere Urteile lauten ebenso.

[121] Luschan: 8 kam zu folgender Überzeugung: „Im Vergleich zu [den kahnartigen Fahrzeugen in Zentral-Brasilien] sind die Rindenboote, die wir vom äußersten Süden von Süd-Amerika kennen, wahre Luxuskähne, wenn sie auch hinter denen der nordamerikanischen See-Region, was Schönheit und Sorgfalt der Arbeit angeht, noch immer weit zurückbleiben." Die Indianer Nordamerikas besitzen eben einen unvergleichlich geeigneteren Stoff. In dieser Beschreibung Luschan's bringen Abb. 12 und 13 eines der bekannten kleinen Musterstücke, das irrtümlicherweise als "Modell eines Rindenbootes der Ona" unterschrieben oder bezeichnet wird.

Andere Beobachter halten ebensowenig mit ihrem Lob auf das Rindenkanu zurück. Spears: 56 sagt: „It had a sheer at once pleasing to the eye and well adapted to ride the most tempestuous seas in the world." Seine kurze, aber genaue Beschreibung beschließt Lovisato (b): 134 folgendermaßen: „Queste canoè per quanto povere sono certamente l'opera più ingegnosa per gli abitanti della Fuegia, ma da Drake a noi per 300 anni circa sono rimaste sempre le stesse." Eine nennenswerte Verbesserung hat sich an keiner Stelle als notwendig erwiesen und ist deshalb auch nicht durchgeführt worden.

[122] Auffällig ist es, daß frühere Reisende zwar wiederholt den zierlichen Bau und die hohe Leistungsfähigkeit des Rindenbootes nachdrücklich hervorgehoben, die Einzelteile aber

sei erwähnt, daß dieses Rindenkanu *ónon*, vollständiger *aiyálu ónon*, nach seiner Anlage und seinen Wesensteilen mit dem, das die benachbarten Halakwulup herstellen, wirklich sehr weitgehend übereinstimmt (Abb. 25).

a. *Die Rindenstücke*

Das den Yamana seit alterher eigentümliche Fahrzeug ist ein aus drei großen Rindenstücken zusammengesetztes Kanu. Nur diesem gilt die folgende Beschreibung. Die meisten unserer Eingeborenen sind in jüngster Zeit zum Einbaum und zum flachen Kahn übergegangen, doch erst, seitdem Europäer ihnen die Eisenaxt gebracht haben.

Zwar ist das ganze Gebiet mehr oder weniger dicht mit antarktischen Buchen bestellt; aber gerade und dicke Stämme, die ein glattes, gleichmäßiges Rindenblatt von ausreichender Länge liefern, trifft man nur vereinzelt an und zwar meist tief im Innern einer Insel. Sie ausfindig zu machen ist wohl der einzige Anlaß, daß ein Mann sich weit in den Wald hinein vorwagt. Meist begeben sich zwei oder drei gemeinsam auf die S u c h e. Schon deshalb, weil ein einziger sich schwer tut, die dicke Rinde *aiyálu* vom Stamme abzulösen, und weil niemand weite Strecken des Waldes allein durchquert.[123] Dieses Hin- und Herlaufen ist nicht selten mühsam und anstrengend. Fast immer entscheidet man sich für Nothofagus betuloides *šêr¹či*, die eine regelmäßige, glatte Stammsäule entwickelt und dabei dicker wird als die beiden anderen Buchenarten; auch wird ihre Rinde nicht so leicht rissig (S. 28).[124]

Sind die Männer auf einen Stamm gestoßen, der ein brauchbares Rindenstück liefern kann, begeben sie sich an die Arbeit. Einer zumindest ist im Kanubau tüchtig, der nach Augenmaß die Größenverhältnisse abschätzt. Zum Ablösen der Rinde verteilen sie ihre Kräfte, nachdem sie das tadellose, von Ästen und Narbenwulstungen freie Stück gut beschaut haben. Die glatte Fläche muß wenigstens 5 m ausgeben. Über einen höheren Ast wirft man den mittleren Teil eines langen Riemens aus Seehundhaut *ûkęła, wuščkęła*, dessen beide Hälften zunächst frei herunterhängen. Das eine Ende läuft in eine Schlinge aus. Diese legt sich ein jüngerer Mann um die Hüften und verschnürt sie. Während nun sein Begleiter das andere Ende anzieht, klettert jener, mit den Füßen sich stützend und mit den Händen den Stamm mehr oder weniger umfassend, nach oben. Dort beginnt er mit dem E i n s c h n i t t, den er senk-

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nur sehr oberflächlich gekennzeichnet haben. Die besten Beschreibungen hat Cooper: 197 als einfache Quellenangabe aufgezählt.

[123] Wie Hyades (q): 250 mitteilt, „le premier soin des Fuégiens est de choisir de belles écorces; il leur faut souvent accomplir un long voyage pour les trouver." Despard (h): 679 ergänzt, daß „a man, having associated three others, proceeds into the forest for four or five miles."

[124] BD: 661 betont: „The bark especially of the hanis [Nothofagus pumilio] is consequently unfit for canoes." Bernaez (h): 223 sagt nämlich: „Los indígenas emplean la corteza de la haya perenne [Nothofagus betuloides] para la construcción de sus canoas, pues para este propósito es inútil la de las otras especies."

recht bis unten weiterführt. Weil er angeseilt ist und vom anderen Manne langsam heruntergelassen wird, hat er beide Hände für diese Arbeit frei. Unten angekommen, muß er nochmals aufsteigen. Jetzt führt er den waagrechten Einschnitt rund um den ganzen Stamm aus. Ist dieser außergewöhnlich dick und genügt ein Rindenausschnitt, muß er diesen in der erforderlichen Breite durch einen zweiten Längsschnitt von oben bis unten umgrenzen. Der zweite waagrechte Einschnitt ein wenig über dem Boden läßt sich bequemer ausführen.

Der Mann bedient sich bei dieser Arbeit eines Knochenkeiles und eines passenden flachen Steines als Hammer. Ersterer findet eigentlich nur beim Einschneiden in die Rinde eine Verwendung, ganz selten auch beim Spalten dickerer Stämme zu Brennholz. Man verfertigt ihn aus einem breiten Rippenknochen vom Wal und gibt ihm eine Länge von etwa 35 cm. Ein eigentlicher Handgriff fehlt. Das Knochenstück wird auf einem rauhen Steine so lange abgeschliffen, bis die Keilform mit einer scharfen, leicht gerundeten Schneide erscheint (Abb. 26.) Die linke Hand umfaßt diesen Keil *lla* in seiner oberen Hälfte, setzt ihn der Rinde mit leichtem Druck auf und die rechte Hand treibt ihn hämmernd mit einem Steine so tief ein, bis er auf die Holzgewebe stößt; man handhabt ihn wie einen Meißel. Wem der Knochenkeil fehlt, der macht die Einschnitte in die Rinde mit einer geschliffenen Muschelschale oder mit dem eigentlichen Muschelmesser;[10] diese Arbeit dauert allerdings länger und ermüdet auch bei weitem mehr.

Nachdem das Rindenstück mit dem Knochenkeil als ein langes Rechteck umgrenzt worden ist, erhebt sich der Mann wieder zum oberen waag-

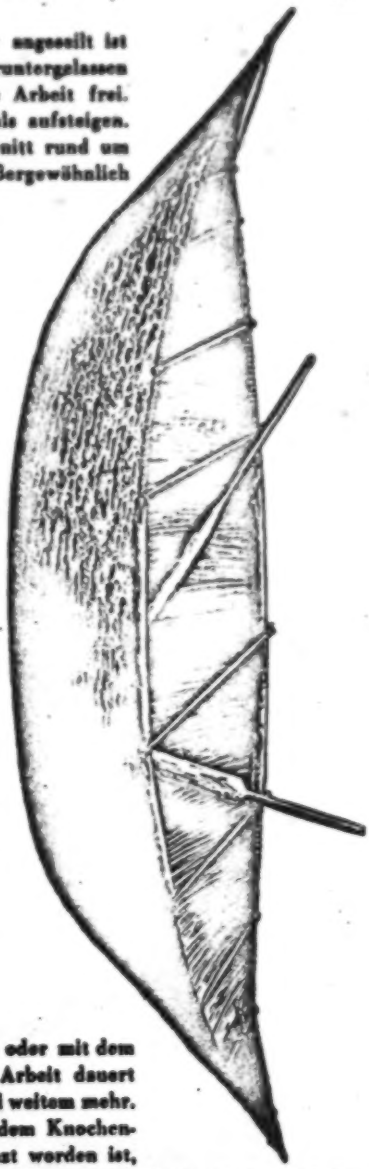

Abb. 25. Das Rindenstück

rechten Einschnitt. Hier lockert er mit dem gleichen oder mit einem feineren Knochenkeile den oberen Rand, immer darauf achtend, daß die Rinde nicht einreißt. Dann neigt sie um so mehr, je stärker sie gekrümmt ist.

Manchmal bedient sich einer knöchernen Ablösers, genannt *sôfm*, nach BD: 383 „a bone bark stripper". Lorenzo (b): 143 schreibt einfach. Er ist etwa 60 cm lang, ganz flach, 7 mm dick und besitzt die Form eines geschweiften Papiermessers. Aus einer Walrippe stellt man ihn her. Man schiebt ihn fortschreitend unter die Rinde, etwa 15 cm tief, und durch leichte Hebelbewegungen lockert man sie rundherum um so sicherer, da der Ablöser ein wenig federt (Abb. 27).[100]

Abb. 26. Knochenkeil. 1/3 n. Gr.

Abb. 27. Rindenablöser

Hat der Mann von oben her die Rinde vom Stamme abgetrennt und einigen Raum freigemacht, setzt er erst den einen und bald den andern Fuß dahinein. Nun wirkt die Schwere seines Körpers. Je mehr vom Rindenblatt sich löst, um so tiefer sinkt er nach unten; endlich erscheint er wie zwischen Rinde und Stamm eingeschlossen. Gegen letzteren lehnt er sich mit seinem Rücken und faßt die Kanten des Rindenstückes mit beiden Händen, oder er drückt es mit seinen flachen Händen von seinem Körper weg. Stampfend mit den Füßen in seiner Einklemmung trennt er es schließlich bis nach unten vollständig ab.

Man kann sich leicht ausmalen, daß diese Arbeit anstrengend und unbequem ist; denn die zähen Bastfasern haften fest und der Riemen bietet keinen sicheren Halt. Vereinzelt hilft sich der Mann dadurch, daß er in gewissen Abständen kurze Holzpflöcke (*sôHalôna*) übereinander an den Stamm bindet, die ihm etwa wie Stufen dienen. Er benützt sie jedoch nur so lange, bis er zwischen die abgelöste Rinde und die davon entblößte Stammfläche schlüpfen und sich darin halten kann.

Jeder kennt die Zeit, die am besten sich zum leichteren Ablösen der

[100] Nur von diesem behauptet Hyades (a): 258, daß die Poutéléndar „emploient l'osselet sur l'arbre, au moyen de leurs coquilles de moules, aiguisées et emmanchées."

[101] Hiervon sagt Spencer: 131: „The Yahgans make incisions with shells or with stone knives, and prise off the slabs with a long, slightly curved and flat bone tool." Dieses Stück meint wohl auch Dumas (b): 679, das er beschreibt als „A whale's bone made into the fashion of a curved knife".

Rinde eignet. Das sind die Frühlingswochen von Mitte September bis Ende Oktober,[107] in denen ein lebhafter Stoffwechsel durch die Rustung sich bewegt und die Turgoszeiten der Gewebe sehr hoch ist. Freilich bietet es nicht zu, daß eine Familie zu anderer Zeit des Jahres Pe Boot verliert und ein Mann notgedrungen sich entschließt, ein neues anzufertigen. Ohne Aufschub muß er sich Rindenstücke verschaffen, mag das auch mit größerer Anstrengung verbunden sein. Er weiß, daß die außerhalb des Frühlings abgelöste Rinde brüchiger ist und leichter einreißt, mithin weniger brauchbar ist.

Aus gewisser Vorsorge erhält mancher gelegentlich im Frühlinge das eine oder andere Rindenstück ab, das er augenblicklich zwar nicht benötigt, das ihm aber später zu einer dringlichen Ausbesserung dienen kann.[108] Trotzdem nützt es ihm nichts, wenn er zu einer weit davon abliegenden Stelle seines Fahrzeuges verlustig geht und niemand in der Nähe ist, der ihn zu jenen Rindenstücken hinführt. Zumindest merkt sich jeder die Bäume, von denen sich passende Rindenblätter ablösen lassen; wenn die Not drängt, braucht er keine Zeit mit Suchen darnach zu verlieren. Vereinzelt bleibt nichts anderes übrig, als bis zum nächsten Frühjahr zu warten und dann erst einen neuen Bau in Angriff zu nehmen.

Jedwedes Rindenblatt von der erforderlichen Größe schützt man vor Eintrocknen und Verzerrung dadurch, daß man es unter Wasser aufbewahrt. Man legt es in einen Tümpel mit Moosgrund, dessen Auftrieb ein Verbiegen verhindert; die aufgelegten mittelgroßen Steine halten ein Herumstehen über die Wasseroberfläche und eine unregelmäßige Dehnung hinten.

β. Sein Aufbau

Jeder Indianer weiß, daß die im Rindenblatt einmal eingetrockneten Stellen nicht mehr biegsam gemacht werden können. Demnach läßt er die Rinde im allgemeinen erst unmittelbar vor ihrer Verwendung ab oder bewahrt sie peinlich genau unter Wasser so lange auf, bis er die Verschnürung beginnt. Sogar während er damit beschäftigt ist und eine Unterbrechung von wenigen Tagen eintreten lassen muß, wegen sehr schlechten Wetters oder zum Nahrungsmangel, bleibt es ihm sowieso nicht erspart, das Rindenblatt unter Wasser zu setzen. Je früher er die Arbeit beendet, um so haltbarer bleibt die Rinde.

Zum Kanubau sind drei große Rindenstücke erforderlich,[109] zwei breite für die Seitenteile und ein langes, schmäleres, dickes als Mittelteil.

[107] Lothrop (b): 154 dehnt diese Zeit so weit aus, ähnlich von Oktober bis Februar, Bonnor (MM: VIII, 156; 1874) jedoch nur bis Januar.

[108] „Ne pouvant construire son embarcation qu'en printemps, le Fuégien prépare ou fait quelquefois deux, mais toujours, il met de côté des morceaux d'écorce pour en réparer les fréquentes avaries" (Le Nature: 272). Lothrop (b): 144 sagt ergänzend: „The skins were placed under water in a running stream to keep it flexible."

[109] Dazu kommen noch zwei dreieckige Stückchen für die Spitzen am Bug und Heck. Jüngstens fand Bürke, einmals sieben, wie Kaudern: 219 behauptet.

Diese schleppt der Mann aus dem Walde heraus und legt sie auf einer offenen, ebenen Rasenfläche nieder, wo er seine Arbeit fertigstellen will. Mit einem Schaber oder Messer, sogar allein mit einer geschliffenen Muschelschale werden die lockeren Bastfasern auf der Innenseite heruntergekratzt; hernach wendet man das Rindenstück und glättet die Außenseite, indem man die Borkenteile abhobelt. Ist das geschehen, wird ein Rindenstück nach dem anderen biegsam gemacht und zwar durch Erhitzen.

In ein langgezogenes Feuer mit gleichmäßiger Holzkohlenglut legt man das Rindenblatt, indem man es unaufhörlich wendet und verschiebt, damit alle Teile auf beiden Seiten gleichmäßig erhitzt, aber auch vor Verbrennen geschützt werden. Dabei wird das ganze Blatt biegsam wie dickes Leder und in diesem Zustande kann man ihm die erwünschte Form geben.

Das Auge trifft nun die Auswahl unter den drei Stücken. Wie gesagt, müssen die Seitenteile *ɓnže (ɓnja)* breit, der Mittelteil *ulɓé*, der den Bootsboden abgeben soll, lang und dick sein. Wieder vom Augenmaß abhängig beginnt der Mann damit, jedes Stück zurechtzuschneiden; eines Maßstabes oder irgendwelcher ähnlicher Hilfsmittel, einer Schnur oder eines Stöckchens oder der eigenen Handspanne, bedient er sich nie. Das Mittelstück erhält die Form einer Zigarre, verjüngt sich also im rechten und linken Drittel seiner Gesamtlänge und endet in eine etwa 10 cm breite Kante beiderseitig, zumindest aber an einem Ende, falls das andere spitz auslüuft. Dieses wird für den Bug, jenes für das Heck verwendet. Die anderen beiden Rindenblätter werden derart beschnitten, daß der eine Rand fast geradlinig, der andere geschweift verläuft; beide Enden jedes Stückes laufen schief in schmale Spitzen aus. Nachdem das Mittelstück zugeschnitten ist, werden ihm die Seitenteile durch wiederholtes Anlehnen genau angepaßt. Sie müssen möglichst biegsam sein, weswegen sie immer wieder durch Süßwasser und nachher durch das Feuer gezogen werden.

Zwei gleichmäßige, dünne Stangen sind nun nötig, die als oberer Abschlußrand bezw. als Dollbord dienen sollen. Den Größenverhältnissen und der Umrißform des geplanten Baues entsprechend stößt man auf jeder Seite etwa ein Dutzend kurzer Stöcke in den Boden, die als Gerüst und Stütze der noch nicht miteinander verbundenen Teile nötig sind. Sobald die drei Rindenstücke durch genaues Beschneiden aufeinander passen, stellt man sie dort hinein. Zuweilen schaufelt man auch noch die Erde nach der Form des geplanten Kanus aus. Nun wird eine nach der andern jener beiden Stangen *kélki* an die gerade Kante des seitlichen Rindenblattes als Bord angenäht; ihr vorderes Ende bildet später die äußerste Spitze des Bugs, die nur selten zwei bis drei Zentimeter über die Rinde hinausragt.

Man benötigt hierfür die etwa 1 mm dicken und 3 mm breiten Streifen aus der jüngsten Holzschicht unter der Rinde junger Stämmchen von Nothofagus antarctica, die außerordentlich biegsam sind und wegen ihrer Zähigkeit auch eingetrocknet weder fasern noch brechen. Wer über die geeigneteren Streifen aus Walbarten verfügt, wählt diese; andernfalls sieht er sich

auf jene angewiesen, die er sorgfältig vorbereitet.[100] Nahe dem oberen Rande des Rindenblattes bohrt man mit einer spitzen Knochenahle ein Löchlein und steckt den Holzfasernstreifen *dri* durch, führt ihn über das Stämmchen, zieht stramm an und führt damit in Spiralwindungen, die voneinander etwa 12 cm abstehen, fort, bis dasselbe seiner ganzen Länge nach an den Rindenrand geheftet ist. Dieses selbst sitzt eine jede der beiden Stangen zuverlässig.

Ehe man das lange mittlere Rindenstück an den unteren Kanten der beiden Seitenteile befestigt, bringt man oben etwa acht Querstäbe an. Zu diesem Zwecke wählt man daumendicke Äste des *djuhur* (Maytenus magellanica), dessen Holz sehr zäh und hart ist. Man schabt die Rinde herunter und arbeitet an jedem Ende einen klötzchenförmigen Knopf heraus. Um den etwas dünneren Hals davor legt man den *dri*-Faden, vermittels dessen man jedes Ende des Querstabes an den oberen Rand des Rindenblattes anbindet. Die starke Verjüngung der Querstäbe kurz vor ihrem Ende dient dem *dri*-Faden als Lager, was ein Abgleiten nach beiden Seiten verhindert. Selbstverständlich ist der mittlere Querstab am breitesten und die anderen sind um so kürzer, je näher sie dem Bug und Heck stehen. Sie spannen die beiden Kanowände auseinander und halten sie in ihrer Lage. Der Verlauf der beiden oberen Ränder des Kanus liegt nun fest.

Bislang standen die beiden Seitenteile in der Begrenzung, die jene in das Erdreich gerammten Knüppel bilden; sie bleiben darin auch weiter, wenn jetzt der Boden, das schmälere dritte Rindenblatt eingesetzt wird. Zeitweilig wird der Bootskörper umgestülpt oder auf die Seite gelegt, zur größeren Bequemlichkeit bei der Arbeit. Damit jenes Mittelstück sich sehr eng den Seitenteilen anschließt, schneidet man in der ganzen Länge seiner beiden Ränder eine stufenförmige Kerbe ein und paßt dieser eine kleine vorspringende Kante am geschweiften Rande jedes Seitenteiles an. Diese sehr genaue Schnitzarbeit wird mit scharfen Splittern von Muschelschalen ausgeführt, was sich am Bodenstücke, das dick ist, leicht ermöglichen läßt. Nun wird dieses mit den beiden Seitenteilen vermittels der Fischbein- oder *dri*-Streifen vernäht. Ehe diese stramm angezogen werden, füllt man die Fugen abschnittweise mit Moos, Heublüteholz und feingliedrigen Rotalgen an, um sie möglichst undurchlässig für Wasser zu machen,[101] auch in der Absicht, ein Brechen des Holzfadens zu vermeiden.[102] Beim Dichten hilft die Frau mit oder sie besorgt es allein, sie besitzt dafür mehr Geschicklichkeit als der Mann.

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[100] Wie sie hergestellt werden, beschreibt Hyades (q): 351: „Ils divisent les fibres des tissures en de l'extérieur en tiges d'égale longueur et de même diamètre, puisent sur les bords, en les rentrant avec des aiguilles brisées." Man bewahrt sie unter Wasser auf, damit sie nicht vorzeitig eintrocknen oder sich verziehen.

[101] Außerdem, wie Hyades (q): 351 schreibt, „on les enduit avec des tiges de salicé mazeppa ou d'autres plantes." Das erwähnt Bennett, der sagt: „The canoes are caulked with soaked and bleached stalks of wild celery, to which clay is sometimes added" (BOC: III, 30; 1869).

[102] Darauf macht Dumas (h): 479 aufmerksam: „A rope of hay placed on the seam inside prevents the thread from cutting through."

Der Rumpf des Kanus ist nun beendet. Danach werden die beiden dreieckigen **Endstücke**, genannt *lâulinis*, auch *xamapâ*, *xpaj*, am Bug und Heck eingesetzt. Zuweilen begnügt man sich mit einem einzigen am Bug, wenn die Vorsätze der großen Rindenstücke von jenem am Heck Abstand nehmen lassen. Man sagte mir, der Bau des Kanus besitzt mehr Festigkeit, wenn die drei großen Rindenstücke an beiden Enden nicht ebenflächig in feine Spitzen auslaufen, sondern geradlinig abgeschnitten werden; die an der Schnittfläche angewähnten kurzen, dreieckigen Endstücke verhüten dadurch, weil sie breiter auslaufen, jedes Einreißen oder Spalten des Kielstreifens. Auch diese beiden *lâulinis* werden durch Vernähen mit *drô*-Fäden befestigt. Außerdem legt man einen aus *xnipi* (Marsippospermum grandiflorum) geflochtenen Faden stramm um die äußerste Spitze und verknotet dessen freies Ende am letzten oder vorletzten Querstäbchen. Dadurch verhindert man, daß die feine Spitze sich nach auswärts krümmt; sie zeigt dann, weil sie häufig feucht wird und wieder eintrocknet.

Das mittlere Drittel des Kanurumpfes ist beiderseitig am meisten einer Verletzung ausgesetzt; denn hier steigt man ein und aus, hier verlädt man auch die meisten Sachen. Zur größeren Sicherheit schafft man deshalb ein eigenes **Dollbord** aus Rindenstücken von einem urwüchsigen Stamme der Maytenus magellanica. Man schält die Rinde ab und spaltet sie in gleichgroße Hälften; diese legt man ohne Verzug dem Kanurumpfe zwischen je zwei Querstäben auf. Hier krümmt sich jedes Stück zu einem Halbzylinder zusammen und klemmert sich selber fest; weiterer Befestigung bedarf es nicht. Noch einen anderen Vorteil gewährt diese Rindenverkleidung zudem. Weil sie sich nämlich über jenen Raum ausdehnt, in dem die rudernde Frau sitzt, schützt sie diese vor Verletzungen ihrer Arme, die oft sich auf das Dollbord beim Rudern und Steuern stützen.

Der äußere Aufbau des Kanukörpers ist jetzt beendet, er bedarf nur noch einiger Ergänzungen, die ihm Halt und Festigkeit verleihen. Diesem Zwecke dienen schmale, fingerdicke **Spanten** oder Holzrippen, ähnlich in der Mitte gespaltene Äste der Drimys Winteri oder einem Nothofagus. Die beiden Enden werden zu einer kurzen Spitze zusammengeschnitten, die einzelnen Spanten zu einem Halbkreis gebogen. Man ordnet sie je nach der Länge und preßt sie in den Kanubauch hinein, daß sie stramm der ganzen Innenwand anliegen und sich unter das Dollbord jeder Seite klemmen. Die eine Holzrippe zwischen stellt sich rag an die andere an, etwa fünfzig bringt man unter. Bevor man sie endgültig einspannt, füllt man die kleinen Rissen und Löcher zwischen ihnen und der unteren Hälfte der Kanuwand mit Moos, Algen und Gräsern aus; denn der dünnwandige Bau verlangt viel Dichtung. Die hinfällig verwundenen pflanzlichen Stoffe führen den Innenraumes füllen. Unter die nach oben gebogenen Enden dieser Spanten schiebt man kurze Querhölzer, die als eigentliche Füllung ihnen selber mehr Halt und feste Lagerung bieten. Man will ohne ihre Spannung auswerfen; denn auch sie verstärkt und schützt die ganze Rindenwand.

Die andere Bohrung erfüllt der mittlere Teil des Kanalbodens. Da die Gefäße beweglich, durchgeschoben zu werden, sichert man ihn durch einige flach aufgelegte **Rindenstreifen**, die man der Länge nach hin und her jede Bohrung über die Spanten legt. Zu zwei Reihen ordnet man sie. Sie lassen sich sehr bequem mittels aussinnenbeweglicher und an der rückwärtigen Stelle, in der Kammer, schöpft man das eingeströmte Wasser von Zeit zu Zeit aus. Man legt diese Rindenstücke Qay mit dem Dachkanäle dem Kielboden auf, sie passen sich ihm gut an. Das Gewicht der Insassen verteilt sich mittels auf eine breite, federnde Grundfläche.

Damit gibt man sich aber noch nicht zufrieden; denn die andern aufgelegten Rindenstreifen gewähren weder ausreichende Tragfähigkeit für den, der sich niederläßt, noch garantieren sie ein sicheres Sitzen. Man schafft aber überdies eine sonnige besondere **Verkleidung** der Kammer durch mehrere handbreite, längere Rindenstreifen, die über jene andern erwähnten Qay gelegt werden. Ihre Rückseite, die rauhere gegliedert wird, scheint nach oben; das trägt dazu bei, daß der ganze Sessel wasserabstoßende Fläche bietet. Die beiden Schmalkanten scheinen eben von gewaltiger ab und so geeignet man diese zum Halbkreis gebogenen Bäte unter den Dollbord auf jeder Seite. Sie werden vorher gerade zugeschnitten, wenngleich sie den Spanten in dieser geraden Länge eng anliegen. Sie verdecken die hölzernen Qay auf dem Boden der Kanne. Einen Bäte-Streifen legt man sehr genau neben den andern; zwischen den beiden scheinen Stäbchen Bäte; man einen schmalen Schlitz frei, um das Sickerwasser ausschöpfen zu können. Diesen Bäte und den ohne beschriebenen Spanten hat man die erforderliche Halbkreisform durch wiederholtes, federndes Biegen gegeben, nachdem sie mit Wasser durchtränkt und im Feuer erhitzt worden sind. Sehr genau müssen drei vier Kanten beschnitten werden, damit sie Rindenstreifen sich eng an den andern reihen; denn nur so erfüllen sie ihren Zweck,[107] den Insassen die möglichst trockenen Sitzplätze zu diesen.[108]

Die Kanne ist nun fertiggestellt. Ein tüchtiger Mann benötigt zwei bis drei Wochen, falls er ungestört sein Werk fortsetzen kann und die erforderlichen Teile in nächster Nähe findet. Er arbeitet immer im Schatten; denn Sonnenstrahlen würden die Rindenstücke erhitzen und verzerren. Die **Maße** dieser Fahrzeuge richten sich in etwa nach der Kopfzahl der Familienmitglieder, Ausnahmefälle aber sind 5 m als gerade Länge zwischen den beiden Außenkanten Endes; die größte Breite, von einem Dollbord zum andern gemessen, hält sich unter 1 m, die Tiefe in der Mitte schwankt um 70 cm.[109]

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[107] Die Länge dieser Rindenstücke wird von den Maßen der Kanne bestimmt. Stevens (a) 332 hat diesen Umstand übersehen.

[108] Das gemeinte Bäteboot beschreibt auch Mc Ilwraith „there planes of bark placed in canoes where the people sit to strengthen the canoe and guard it from injury as well as to give comfort to the occupants."

[109] Boas (a) 157 und Gerard 142 schreiben: „Die Länge schwankt zwischen 4 m und 6 m, die Breite zwischen 70 cm und 90 cm."

Vergleiche man das Kanu der Tanoma dann mit dem der Kolokwalog, überzeugt man sich die Unterschiede in den Maßverhältnissen sicherlich nicht; jenes ist merklich kleiner und schmäler, vorne auch etwas flacher als dieses.[20]

3. Sein Zubehör

Mehr als die Hälfte der Tage eines Jahres und die meisten Stunden eines Tages verbringt die Gesellschaftliche Familie im Kanu. Da sie sich erhalten von einem Lagerplatze zum anderen begibt, führt sie ihre gesamten Hausgeräte, so wenig es deren auch sein mögen, ständig mit sich. Dem Manne sind seine Waffen unentbehrlich und die Frau muß einige Kleinigkeiten ständig bei der Hand haben. All diese Dinge kommen hier nicht nur Sporadica, wohl aber jene, die zur unumgänglichen Ergänzung eines dazu gehören.[21]

Abb. 36. Handschuhe aus Leder. $^{2}/_{3}$ n. Gr.

Zum Allerzweckmäßigsten rechnet man die Rodex. Der Mann fertigt sie für die Frau aus Dachsleder an. Aus einem etwa 20 cm dicken Stamme spaltet er mit Knochenkeilen (Abb. 24) ein Brett heraus, das er mit geschliffenen Bildern von Menschenfiguren bemalt und behobelt. Um letzteres besser fassen zu können und um auch seine Hand gegen Holzsplitter zu schützen, bedient er sich einer Lederkappe nach Art einer Fausthandschuhes (Abb. 36). Dieser wird aus der dicken Haut eines Seelöwen fast rechteckig herausgeschnitten und die beiden Ecken an einer Schmalkante verbindet man mit einem Bindelchen aus Bisonsehnen. Durch die damit geschaffene schmale Öffnung steckt man die drei letzten Finger der rechten Hand, jetzt überdeckt das Lederstückchen den ganzen Handrücken und die gemeinsamen Finger, daß sie gestreckt gerichtet sind.

[20] Mehr oder weniger ausführliche Beschreibungen des Kolokwalog finden sich bei Swanton (1) 32, Boas (4) 291 und (a) 137, Cybo-Pomeroy 204, Gunther 108, Dawson (b) 106, Sheraton (b) 475, Pace-Rice (a) 146, Brown (a) 216, Lemmon (b) 143, Harrison 194, Swanston (a) 102, Swanton in Wilk 22, 237, 1904, Waterman I, 184, Waterman (a) 94, Waterman 30 u.a. Im 30 sind die einzelnen Teile, aus denen er sich zusammensetzt, aufgeführt und auch die Handwerkzeuge, die dabei verwendet werden, genannt. Viele Bezeichnungen bei Swanton (a) 102 gemischt und aufgeschlüsselt.

[21] Lemmon (b) 143 sagt: „When fully equipped, the Tahgan canoe carried the following articles: two or more paddles, three kinds of baskets, two fish-traps, four spears (fish, seal, sea-lion and bear), dipnet, club, gun, sounding rope or thong, bark basket, fish-line."

Das Beschaben und Glätten des Holzes ist langwierig. Besondere Schwierigkeiten bietet das Abscheren des Schaftes vom Ruderblatt, weil letzteres an der Übergangsstelle meist kantig und breit belassen wird. Bei den meisten Rudern, die sämtlich eines besonderen Handgriffes entbehren, leitet der eine Teil zum anderen sanft und allmählich über; sie sind sozusagen lanzettförmig. Der Schaft macht etwa ein Drittel der Gesamtlänge aus. Bemerkenswerterweise hebt sich das Ruderblatt niemals ganz scharfkantig vom Schafte ab, sondern es gleitet mehr oder weniger langsam zu jenem über[116] und läuft unten in eine schmälere Abrundung aus. Die Mitte des Ruderblattes ist immer dicker als die Ränder und deutet eine ganz flache Mittelrippe an. Lothrop

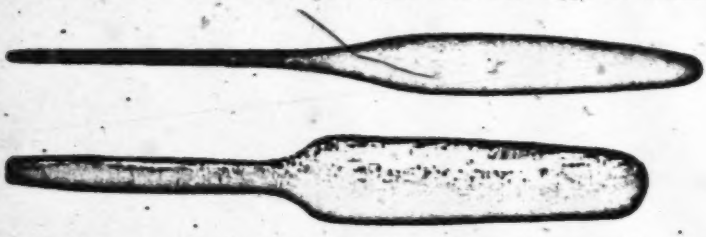

Abb. 29. Ruderformen

(b): 147 sagt kurz: „The old-fashioned paddle had a long pointed blade and a short rounded handle. The blade was diamond-shape in section, so there was a tent-like ridge centrally down each side." Die Länge ist niemals einheitlich bestimmt, sondern ergibt sich aus der zufälligen Länge des Brettes und schwankt um 150 cm; das Blatt mißt an seiner breitesten Stelle etwa 10 cm; die Dicke des gut abgerundeten Blattes richtet der Gatte nach dem Wunsche seiner Frau ein (Abb. 29).

Sollte Not oder Gefahr während der Fahrt einen Mann zwingen, ebenfalls zum Ruder zu greifen, handhabt er es in gleicher Weise wie jede Frau. Er besitzt aber kein eigenes Ruder, wie Collin: 237 irrtümlicherweise behauptet.

Die gebräuchlichste Bezeichnung für diese Ruder, sogenannte Pagaien, ist *dppi*; man sagt auch *tstatôga* und *tulwêna*. Jede Familie führt in ihrem Fahrzeuge zumindest zwei Ruder mit.

Während der langen Fahrten können unsere Eingeborenen das Feuer unmöglich entbehren, sie unterhalten es dauernd im Kanu brennend (S. 395). In der Mitte des Bodens befindet sich eine eigens hergerichtete Herdstelle und es ist genügend dafür gesorgt, daß die Rinde unter ihr nicht durchbrennt. Zuunterst legt man einige flache Steine, die lückenlos aneinander stoßen.

[116] Dadurch unterscheidet es sich sehr auffällig vom Frauenruder der Halakwulup, das ein genau rechtwinkliges Blatt besitzt, wie ich seinerzeit nachgewiesen habe (Gusinde [c]: 547). Die Maße für die Ruder der Halakwulup sind im ganzen auch größer. Schon Pfennsme: 19 hatte beobachtet: „The [Yamana-]Fuegians [are] making the blade [of the paddles] even narrower than do the Northwestern tribes."

Auf diese Schicht setzt man einen größeren Rasenklumpen, der mindestens 7 cm dick ist und dessen Wurzelgewirr mit dem groben Kies nach oben schaut. Statt dessen bildet man auch eine Schicht aus zertrümmerten Muschelschalen, vermengt mit Kies und Lehmklumpen. Von unten steigt aus dem Sickerwasser unaufhörlich und reichlich Feuchtigkeit auf; demnach kann weder diese dicke Schicht sich erhitzen, noch viel weniger der Rindenboden durchbrennen. Da Luft von allen Seiten freien Zutritt hat, bleibt ein hohes Aufflammen des Feuers aus. Das muß unter allen Umständen hintangehalten werden, um die Seitenwände nicht zu gefährden. Es genügt eine mäßige Glut ohne leuchtende Flamme.

Das Brennholz bringt man teils nahe dem Feuerherd *ôf*, teils im Heck unter. Man stößelte es gutgeordnet auf, um nicht unnötig Raum zu verlieren. Die Westleute sind in der Notlage, immer größere Holzmengen mitzuführen; den Leuten des Ostens genügt ein kleiner Vorrat, den sie nahe der Herdstelle aufhäufeln. Wo sie landen, finden sie leicht angeschwemmtes, trockenes Holz, womit die Erstgenannten kaum je rechnen können. Sorgfältig wählte man für die Fahrt ganz trockenes Holz aus; denn feuchtes entwickelt Rauch, dem die Insassen im engen Kanu kaum ausweichen können. Holz vom Drimys Winteri, das einen beißenden, dicken Qualm entwickelt, läßt man von vornherein am Ufer.

Mädchen sind es, die nahe dem Feuer hocken und es nach Anweisung der Mutter bedienen. Ihre Aufgabe ist es, vor der Ausreise vom Hüttenfeuer ein glimmendes Holzscheit zur Herdstelle im Kanu zu tragen und hier neue Glut anzufachen. Bei der Landung dient ihnen ein anderes glimmendes Holzstück aus dem Kanu zum Feuer in der neuerrichteten Hütte. Mit peinlicher Sorgfalt löschen sie alle Funken von der Glut im Fahrzeug aus, damit es nicht etwa in Flammen aufgehe.

Selbst der genaueste Kanubau schließt es nicht aus, daß unaufhörlich weniger oder mehr Wasser zwischen den Nähten durchsickert.[199] Es sammelt sich, nahe dem Feuerherd, an einer Stelle, die man als handbreiten Spalt zwischen den eingelegten Rindenstücken *ifax* absichtlich offen gelassen hat. Hier heben es die Mädchen mit einem besonderen Schöpfer heraus. Dieser besteht entweder aus Rinde oder aus Seehundleder. Für beide Arten schneidet man zunächst ein rechteckiges Stück zurecht; dieses wölbt man, das Rindenstück in der Richtung der Längsfasern. Nachdem man zwei gerade Kanten durch Naht mit einem Fischbeinstreifen oder einigen Binsenstengeln verbunden hat, schneidet man den Boden für diesen Zylinder passend zurecht, der ebenfalls angenäht wird. Nicht selten bringt man in der Mitte der Längsnaht einen kleinen Henkel aus Binsenstengeln an. Ein solcher *itáku* braucht nicht besonders gedichtet zu werden; kleine Mengen kann man bequem ausschöpfen, wenn man ihn öfters und schnell bewegt, was den

[199] Wie bei Wisnarsky: 31, liest man auch anderswo: „Siempre entra tanta agua que la jente tiene que desalojarla permanentemente."

Mädchen sogar Spaß bereitet. Größe und Durchmesser dieser Schöpfer (Abb. 30) werden vom Zufall bestimmt; es gibt solche von 12 cm, andere von 22 cm Höhe und die meisten von Größen, die zwischen jenen liegen. Haltbarer als die aus Rinde von Drimys Winteri oder Maytenus magellanica, die meist benützt werden, sind die aus Leder; erstere lassen sich indes bequemer fassen.[140] In jedem Kanu liegen mehrere dieser Schöpfer herum.

Als letztes Stück zum Zubehör, das allerdings zuweilen fehlt, bleibt noch ein aus Binsenstengeln geflochtenes Tau zu nennen, das Hyades (q): 414 als „tresse en jonc" bezeichnet. Es ist ein einfaches Flechtwerk aus drei Strähnen und zumindest 160 cm lang (Abb. 31.) Um ein Auflösen zu verhüten, schließen beide Enden je mit einem Knoten ab. Dieses Tau, entweder als Knäuel zusammengelegt oder zu einigen Windungen aufgerollt, beläßt man jederzeit im Kanu. Man bedient sich seiner an steilen Ufern, die es nicht gestatten, das Fahrzeug aufs Land zu ziehen. Ein Ende verknüpft man am ersten oder zweiten Querstab *witêga*, das andere wickelt man um einen Stein oder Baumstamm. Nur in ganz ruhigen Gewässern legt man das Kanu an dieses nicht allzu feste Tau, um ein Abtreiben durch Ebbe und Flut zu verhindern; hierfür eignet es sich wegen seiner Leichtigkeit viel besser als ein schwerer Lederriemen.[141]

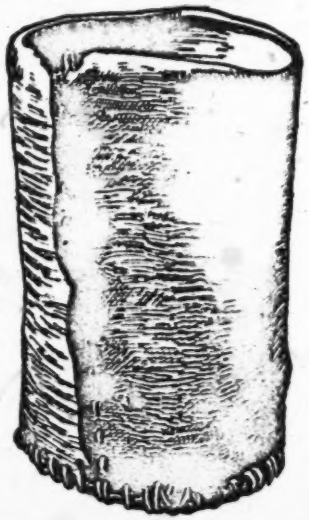

Abb. 30. Schöpfer aus Drimys-Rinde. 1/4 nat. Gr.

Die hier aufgezählten wenigen Dinge, Ruder, Herdstelle, Schöpfer und Tau sind notwendige Bestandteile bzw. Ergänzungen des Fahrzeuges. Auch

Abb. 31. Tau aus Marsippospermum. 1/2 nat. Gr.

über diese verfügt die Frau und sie sorgt zeitig genug für Ersatzstücke, um nicht eines Tages in ernste Verlegenheit oder in Gefahr zu geraten.

[140] Hyades (q): 307 nennt mehrere Einzelheiten dieser Schöpfer. Von „Schaufeln aus Baumrinde" mit Bove (e): 157 zu sprechen, ist unrichtig. Vgl. Lorenzoni (h): 147.

[141] Seinerzeit hatte Snow (a): II, 16 aufmerksam gemacht: „The ropes they had to fasten their canoes were made of grass rudely platted."

6. *Seine Leistungsfähigkeit*

Das unruhige Wanderleben zwingt die Yamana, überallhin ihre gesamten gegenständlichen Besitzgüter ausnahmslos mitzuschleppen. Sie gehören zwar nicht notwendig zum Kanu, aber keine Person kann sich davon trennen. Sie werden so verteilt, daß der Mann seine Waffen vorn unterbringt, die Frau alle sonstigen Gerätschaften und Körbchen, Häute und Fleischstücke in der rückwärtigen Hälfte. Den mittleren Teil nehmen die Kinder ein, die außer den unbedeutenden Kleinigkeiten, mit denen sie sich ihren Körper behängen, nichts besitzen. Das Kanu an sich ist außerordentlich leicht, weswegen es sich zum Befördern von Lasten nicht eignet. Obwohl man ein bestimmtes Gewicht für die den Erwachsenen notwendigen Gegenstände schwerlich nennen kann, ist offensichtlich, daß sie nicht viel ausmachen. Höchstens wird ein großer Seelöwe, den ein Mann erlegt hat, eingeladen.

Die Zahl der Leute, die ein bestimmtes Kanu aufzunehmen vermag, ist bald größer und bald kleiner, je nach deren Gewicht und den augenblicklichen Witterungsbedingungen. Das Durchqueren einer ruhigen Bucht wagt man mit einer Überlastung, mit der man niemals auf einen offenen Kanal hinausfahren würde. Die Frage, wieviel Personen in einem Kanu unterkommen, läßt sich mit einem einzigen Worte nicht beantworten; jedenfalls bietet es für die Eltern und für die unverheirateten Kinder einer Familie genügend Raum. Das sind insgesamt etwa sechs oder sieben,[143] DABBENE (b): 180 nennt „hasta ocho o diez personas". Sie treten in die von den Querstäben geschaffenen Abteilungen. Hier hocken sie ausnahmslos auf dem Kanuboden und verharren still in ihrer zusammengekauerten Haltung, abgesehen von der Frau, die paddeln muß. Wer sich aufrichtet, gefährdet das schwankende Gleichgewicht. Die Kinder sitzen tief drinnen im mittleren Teile und zuweilen reichen ihre Augen nicht einmal bis an die Ebene des Dollbordes heran. Dadurch tragen gerade sie viel zur Standhaftigkeit des leichten Fahrzeuges bei. Vorn hat der Mann seinen Platz, das letzte Drittel gehört der Frau. Eine gewisse Beschwerung von wenigstens zwei Erwachsenen ist bei unruhiger See notwendig; eigentlichen Ballast kennt man nicht.

Wiederholt wurde darauf hingewiesen, daß das Rindenkanu unserer Yamana, wegen seiner leichten Bauart und der geringen Belastung, sich auf dem Wasser im labilen Gleichgewicht hält. Eben deswegen vermeidet jeder der Insassen größere Körperbewegungen und eigentliches Rudern ist hier nicht am Platze. Die Indianer besitzen ein reichliches Maß von Selbstbeherrschung und sogar die Kinder halten stundenlang am gleichen Fleck fast regungslos aus, um Schwankungen des Fahrzeuges zu vermeiden. Schon L'HERMITE wurde angesichts der Rindenkanus in Bahía Nassau an „venetianische Gondeln" erinnert (S. 53) und der schöne Vergleich, den GOGUETA für das Fahrzeug der Halakwulup gebraucht hat, paßt auch für

[143] Nach HYADES (q): 304 faßt es „comme charge ordinaire, 7 personnes dont 3 enfants, l'un de ceux-ci étant porté sur le dos ou tenu sur le sein de sa mère."

das unserer Feuerländer; auf der Wasserfläche erscheint es wirklich „como luna de cuatro días, con unas puntas elevadas", regungslos vorüberschwebend.

Den Europäer überkommt ein eigenartiges Gefühl, wenn er darin fährt. Für das Museo de Etnología y Antropología in Santiago de Chile hatte Fred Lawrence auf meine Bitten vom alten Pedro ein Rindenkanu bauen lassen,[143] das eine größte Länge von 410 cm und eine größte Breite von 103 cm aufweist; er übergab es mir Anfang 1920. Bis zum Verladen hatte man dieses wertvolle Stück in einer geschützten Bucht nahe Punta Remolino aufbewahrt, damit es nicht trockne und rissig werde. So nahm ich die Gelegenheit wahr und machte damit mehrere Fahrten in Begleitung von Indianern. Dieses Kanu ist tatsächlich das letzte seiner Art, das die geübten Hände eines Feuerländers gebaut haben.[144] Beim ersten Anblick befremdet es nicht wenig, daß vom Kiel nur ein kurzes Stück im Wasser steht. Setzt man als erster den Fuß hinein, muß man ihn auf die Mittellinie stellen, sonst legt sich das Fahrzeug fast ganz auf die Seite. Macht man drinnen einen noch so kurzen Schritt vor den anderen Fuß, der Schwerpunkt wird doch verschoben, was beträchtliche Schwankungen in der Längsrichtung veranlaßt. Jede weitere Person, die einsteigt, ändert das labile Gleichgewicht des ganzen Fahrzeuges erheblich. Zieht währenddessen dem ungewohnten Insassen ein peinliches Gefühl der Unsicherheit durch den ganzen Körper, so wird es ihm noch wiederholt während der Fahrt abwechselnd stärker und schwächer betont, sei es durch geringfügigen Wechsel in der Strömung, sei es durch einen höheren oder niedrigeren Wellenschlag, sei es endlich durch Luftstöße, denen das weit herausragende Kanu eine ausgedehnte Angriffsfläche bietet.

Jede Frau besitzt im Paddeln eine erstaunliche Fertigkeit. Ihr gelingt es, zu vermeiden, daß mit jedem Ruderschlage das Fahrzeug ruckartig gestoßen und die leichte Zickzacklinie der Fahrtrichtung scharf ausgeprägt wird. Wer mitfährt, bekommt diese Bewegungsart trotzdem leicht zu spüren. Das wirkt je länger je stärker auf das allgemeine Empfinden eines Europäers; ein Unbehagen übler Art überkommt ihn und in dieser Lage gesteigerten Unsicherheitgefühles sehnt er den Augenblick herbei, in dem er seinen Fuß wieder auf festen Boden stellen kann. Mochte ich es mir noch so oft versagen, daß meine indianischen Begleiter durchaus verläßlich sind, jede Fahrt im Rindenkanu war für mich nichts weniger als besänftigend; je länger sie dauerte, um so mehr wuchs meine Empfindlichkeit für die kleinste Gleich-

[143] Vgl. die ausführlicheren Angaben in Gusinde (b): 153.

[144] Auf diese Tatsache lege ich Wert. Jenes Kanu wird im Museo Histórico de Chile zu Santiago, mit dem die früher selbständige Sammlung des Museo de Etnología y Antropología seit 1929 vereinigt ist, aufbewahrt. Weil es von einer feuerländischen Familie nicht in Gebrauch genommen worden ist, besteht unter dieser Einschränkung zu Recht, was Lovisato (b): 143, Abb. 72 unter die Nachbildung einer älteren Photographie, die vermutlich aus dem Jahre 1893 stammt, geschrieben hat: „The last Yahgan bark canoe ever used." Auf das gleiche Fahrzeug weist Dangerus (b): 181 hin: „La última canoa en cortezas de Fagus que crece aun existe, la vi en la misión de Tekenika. Estaba allí sin uso y únicamente conservada por los misioneros como un specimen de la antigua industria."

gewichtsschwankung und ich war am Ende nervös gereizt. Unsere Indianer allerdings sind längst an diese Gefühle gewöhnt, nicht zwar in dem Sinne, daß sie unempfindlich geworden wären; bei alledem obsiegt ihr Sicherheitsbewußtsein und ihr lange erprobter Wagemut.

Daraus erwächst bei dem und jenem eine gewisse Vertrauensseligkeit, verbunden mit einem Überschätzen des eigenen Könnens und der Beurteilung jeweiliger Witterungsverhältnisse. So kommt manches Kanu zum Kentern, vorwiegend allerdings durch die unberechenbare Tücke des dortigen Wetters. Gar nicht selten wird eine Familie mitten in einem breiten Wasserarme vom Wirbelwinde erfaßt oder von Sturzwellen bedroht, die niemand ahnen konnte; da das Kanu nur langsam sich bewegt, unterliegt alles menschliche Bemühen der Übermacht der Naturgewalten.[144] Im Gedächtnis der Yamana lebt mancher Unglücksfall bis heutigentags weiter, auch die Berichte der Missionare und der europäischen Reisenden verweisen darauf. Bei Hyades (q): 352 liest man: „Les naufrages en pirogue sont assez fréquents et entraineraient annuellement une sérieuse mortalité. M. Bridges cite dans son travail inédit plusieurs accidents de ce genre: naufrage de cinq pirogues, trente-trois personnes noyées; naufrage de deux pirogues, treize noyés ..." Meist verursacht eine übergroße Zuversicht das Unglück. Die Leute sind außerordentlich wagemutig und, wie Bridges (i): 15 sich ausdrückt, „venturesome in trusting themselves with comparative strangeness", was jeder Beobachter bestätigt. Neuestens allerdings vernichtet gewissenlose Leichtsinnigkeit manches Leben, wenn Indianer im Zustande schwerer Betrunkenheit sich auf die trügerischen Wellen hinauswagen, obwohl sie ihrer selbst nicht mehr mächtig sind.

Aus großer Zuversicht auf das eigene Können entschließen sich diese Leute sogar zu sehr weiten Reisen in ihrem gebrechlichen Fahrzeuge. Der Regel nach halten sie sich zwar in den engen Grenzen des heimatlichen Bezirkes, der einer jeden Dialektgruppe gehört (S. 199). Besondere Anlässe jedoch, fast immer die Jagd nach der großen Bärenrobbe *tëpêrn* (Arctocephalus australis) und das Verfolgen eines kranken, lebensmüden Wales, machen sie in ihrem Eifer vergessen, wie weit sie die Küste hinter sich zurückließen. Erwiesen ist, daß einige Familien die Isla Ildefonso besucht, andere sollen sich sogar bis zu den Islas Diego Ramírez vorgewagt haben. Die genaue Ortskenntnis und eine vorzügliche Orientierungsgabe leitet sie auf ihren Fahrten.

Bald nach Eröffnung der Missionsstation in Ushuaia fanden sich dort einzelne Kanus aus weiter Ferne ein, selbst die der Halákwulup. Beispielsweise erwähnt Bridges (i): 15 gelegentlich: „I know several natives of Cuchawulaf who come to Ushuaia in the East and in the opposite direction as far as Port Gallant and Mercury Sound; this distance is considerably over two

[144] Ein trauriges Vorkommnis sei nach Hyades (q): 353 wiedergegeben: „Un gran nombre de Fuégiens avaient voulu traverser une baie avec deux pirogues, pour aller chercher des champignons sur la rive opposée; les pirogues, trop chargées, coulèrent, la mer étant mauvaise, et deux personnes seulement furent sauvées."

hundred miles." Die staunenswert weiten Reisen vermögen unsere Feuerländer deshalb auszuführen, weil sie überall dort, wo sie landen, sich mit dem versorgen, was zum Leben gehört, nämlich mit Fleisch von den verschiedenartigsten Tieren, mit Holz zum unumgänglich notwendigen Feuer und mit Fellstücken zum Körperschutz.

Grenzenlose Kühnheit gehört dazu, Reisen bis in fernste Gegenden in einem äußerst gebrechlichen, völlig schutzlosen Fahrzeuge auf trügerischen Wellen zu wagen. Dessen ganze Bauart beweist seine beschränkte, kurzfristige Haltbarkeit. Die Frau mag sich noch so ängstlich bemühen es zu schützen, die Rinde wird früher oder später unausweichlich brüchig und rissig, allein schon wegen der verschiedenen Erwärmung einzelner Teile durch die Sonne, mehr noch durch manche unvermeidliche Stöße, durch das Hin- und Herzerren auf dem Ufer, wo man es in Sicherheit bringt, endlich durch die wechselnde Belastung beim Ein- und Aussteigen. Zwar federt und biegt sich die Rinde; aber damit lockert sich der feste Zusammenhalt der feinsten Fasern, was langsam zu offensichtlichen Rissen führt.

Bleibt ein Kanu von wirklichem Unfall und außergewöhnlicher Beschädigung verschont, dient es einer Familie, die darauf sorgfältig achtet, ein ganzes Jahr oder etwas länger. Das haben mir meine indianischen Freunde und europäische Gewährsmänner versichert. In früheren Berichten werden niedrigere Zahlen genannt. Hyades (g): 38 und (q): 304 schreibt: „Im allgemeinen nimmt man an, daß eine gute Pirogue nicht über ein halbes Jahr brauchbar bleibt,[146] trotz aller Sorgfalt, welche Mann und Frau gemeinsam auf ihre Erhaltung verwenden." Despard (b): 680 meint sogar, daß „these canoes last only about three months".[147] Allerdings stimmt Dabbene (b): 180 mit mir überein, daß dessen „duración podría calcularse aproximadamente en un año".

Die Unklarheit in dieser Sache bei europäischen Beurteilern dürfte daraus entstanden sein, daß sowohl im Frühjahr wie auch im Herbst dieser und jener Mann sein Kanu baut. Wer nämlich beobachtet, daß sein erst im Frühjahr hergestelltes Fahrzeug den Winter kaum überdauern wird, bemüht sich zeitig genug, also im Herbste, um ein neues. Auf das letztgenannte verwendet er nicht viel Sorgfalt, eignet sich doch im Herbst die Rinde weniger gut; denn im Frühjahr geht er sowieso einen neuen, besseren Bau an. Nur so erklärt sich der Ausspruch Bridges' (i): 23, daß „the canoes are made twice a year in the Spring and Autumn. The former are called *hákua*, the latter *Een-ánan* [besser *kisaánan*] i. e. Winter Canoe. The natives are specially careful to make the latter well". Das Frühjahr ist eben die Zeit, in der die überwiegende Mehrheit der Familien ein neues Fahrzeug herstellt (S. 443).

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[146] Auch Bamous sagt: Die Kanus „are very fragile, and it is necessary to make a new one every six months" (MM: III, 115; 1869).

[147] Falls das stimmt, besteht der Nachsatz zu Recht: „So a man has to make a good many [canoes] in a few years, and must become pretty expert by the time he is forty."

Jeder Mann erreicht im Laufe der Jahre eine gewisse Fertigkeit für diese Arbeit. Aber dieser Umstand allein hält keinen Erwachsenen ab, dem Kanu größte Schonung und aufmerksamste Pflege zuzuwenden. Falls er seiner im Laufe des Jahres verlustig ginge, brächte er sich und seine Familie in arge Verlegenheit, zuweilen in die Gefahr, hungern zu müssen. Starke Stöße gegen Felsen und Stämme sind besonders schädlich, weil dabei die Rindenteile brechen oder reißen; Reibungen auf Kies und Sand scheuern den Boden und die Nahtfäden schnell durch. Eben deshalb beläßt man das Fahrzeug häufig auf offenem Kanal, nachdem die Familie von der Frau ans Ufer gebracht worden ist. Wo der flach ansteigende Strand es gestattet, legt man eine Art Rutschbahn aus feuchten Macrocystis-Algen an, über die man das Kanu schleift und auf der es gut ruht. Beim Einsteigen setzt jeder den Fuß vorsichtig auf, wie er überhaupt jede Erschütterung und starke Bewegung vermeidet; denn die Nähte platzen leicht und die Nahtfäden werden um so brüchiger, je älter sie sind. Beim Ein- und Ausladen behandelt man jeden größeren Gegenstand sanft und vorsichtig.

Obwohl der Mann fast allein das Kanu herstellt, gilt es dennoch nicht als sein Eigentum; die Frau bedient und pflegt es. Ihr wird es vom Manne übergeben und es gehört eigentlich ihr bezw. der ganzen Familie. Alle Besorgungen während der Fahrt sowie vorher und nachher obliegen ihr. Sie allein paddelt. Im letzten Drittel des Fahrzeuges hockend, eng an das rechte Seitenteil herangerückt, faßt sie den Ruderstiel mit beiden Händen, die linke über der rechten, und stößt das Ruder schräg nach rückwärts mit einer leicht S-förmigen Bewegung in das Wasser. Dadurch erhält das Kanu den Antrieb nach vorwärts und eine bestimmte Richtung zugleich. Das Paddeln wird dadurch erschwert, daß die Frau ihre Füße nirgendwo fest anstemmen kann und eines eigenen Sitzes entbehrt; ebensowenig stützt sie die Arme auf das Dollbord, sondern hält sie ganz frei. In diesen Worten liegt eine Erklärung für die ungewöhnlich mächtige Entwicklung ihres Oberkörpers und ihrer Arme (S. 219). In der Regel paddelt sie allein.[140] Bedarf sie der Hilfe bei schwerem Seegang und ist Eile geboten, ruft sie eine andere Frau oder ihre erwachsene Tochter auf, zum Ruder zu greifen; diese paddelt dann auf der linken Bootseite. In täglicher Übung lernt es jede Frau, das Ruder geschickt zu handhaben. BD: 32 bringt die Benennung *atégoatax*, clever in paddling. Sie ist es auch, die anordnet, wie die Last eingeladen bzw. ausgeladen und verteilt werden, welchen Platz jedes Kind wählen, wer das Sickerwasser ausschöpfen und das Feuer bedienen muß.

Stellt man alles zusammen, was ihr an Rechten und Pflichten zukommt, so erscheint sie als die alleinige Beherrscherin des Kanus; ihr Gatte dürfte es sich nicht anmaßen, ihr diese Vorzugsstellung auf dem Wasser streitig zu machen oder ihr dreinzureden. Beide vereinbaren am Ufer die Fahrtrichtung,

[140] Somit ist es eine Übertreibung, wenn Hyades (q): 252 behauptet, daß „habituellement la pirogue est conduite avec deux pagaies, manœuvrées chacune par une femme dans le plus grand compartiment médian."

unterwegs äußert der Mann seine besonderen Wünsche, falls ein Jagdtier sich nähert; aber die gesamte Leitung und Bedienung des Bootes liegt ausschließlich in ihrer Hand. Sofern es nötig wird, fordert sie sogar auch ihn auf, seinen Platz am Bug zu verlassen und in ihrer Nähe sie beim Rudern zu unterstützen. Zumindest zwei Ruder führt jedes Fahrzeug mit sich. Wo etwas auszubessern ist, legt sie Hand an, es sei denn, daß größere Arbeiten, wie das Einsetzen eines Seitenteiles, nötig werden; dergleichen Besorgungen fallen in den Pflichtenkreis des Mannes. Die Dichtung zu erneuern ist ihre andauernde Sorge; denn in der beständigen Nässe faulen Moos und Gras, Binsen und Algen schnell.

Mann und Frau haben ihren besonderen Anteil am Fahrzeug, er baut es und sie hält es instand. Die Verhältnisse bringen es mit sich, daß jede Familie nur e i n e i n z i g e s K a n u besitzt, was deshalb um so sorgfältiger behütet wird.[149] Ein Stück ist dem anderen niemals bis in alle Einzelheiten gleich, obwohl die nämliche Schablone alles beherrscht; Größenunterschiede werden durch die zugänglichen Rohstoffe bedingt und mancher Mann ist weit mehr geschickt als seine Nachbarn. Mit der Bezeichnung *wôglina* bedenkt man einen, der schwerlich ein Kanu zustande brächte. Beim Bau helfen die Männer sich gegenseitig und einer entgilt dem anderen seinen Dienst mit Waffen oder sonstigen Wertgegenständen. Zu handwerksmäßigem Erzeugen würde sich kein Yamana hergeben; er arbeitet indes für einen nahen Verwandten, der krank und hilflos ist. Das Kanu ist, wie aus allem hervorgeht, für diese Feuerländer ein lebenswichtiger, durchaus unentbehrlicher Gegenstand.[150]

a. Einbaum und Kahn

Mit den Werkzeugen, die unsere Yamana bis zu ihrer näheren Bekanntschaft mit europäischen Eisengeräten besaßen, war es ihnen unmöglich, ein anderes Fahrzeug als das soeben beschriebene Rindenkanu zu bauen. Erst seit fünfzig Jahren stellt dieser oder jener Mann statt dessen den eigentlichen Einbaum her. Später ging man zum flachen Kahn über.

1. D e r E i n b a u m : Sicherlich haben unsere Yamana dieses Fahrzeug zum ersten Male im Besitze der benachbarten Halakwulup gesehen. Diese waren dazu schon lange vorher übergegangen und sind gelegentlich im Gebiete der Yamana damit erschienen. Ihnen ist die Eisenaxt, mit der allein erst sie den Baumstamm passend auszuhöhlen imstande sind, viel früher

[149] Hyades (q): 352 bestätigt, daß „les Fuégiens prennent le plus grand soin de leurs pirogues." Andere Urteile lauten ebenso.

[150] Mitte 1868 hatte der damals jugendliche Bamous zwei Rindenkanus nach England gebracht. Es heißt, das eine wäre für einen Knaben und das andere für ein Mädchen bestimmt gewesen. In Wirklichkeit handelt es sich um eigentliche Muster, die als solche bei einem Indianer bestellt worden sind. In der Folgezeit haben unsere Feuerländer dergleichen kleine Modelle oft und oft den Europäern feilgeboten. Jene beiden Boots-Modelle haben die "Illustrated London News" vom 18. August 1868 eingehend beschrieben (MM: III, 28; 1869). Viele Museen besitzen gute Stücke dieser Art.

von den Weißen gebracht worden. Für diese neue Einführung bei unseren südlichsten Feuerländern den geschichtlichen Nachweis zu erbringen bietet keine Schwierigkeiten. Anfang Juli 1876 befand sich BRIDGES (i): 15 auf Isla Smoke im Seno Ladrones, genau nördlich von der Isla Stewart. Hier trug er in sein Tagebuch ein: „A native of these parts is on board, who by report is a maker of wooden canoes. It is very desirable for the sake of the Eastern natives to clear up the matter about these *luputuj-anan* wooden canoes which have been for ages a source of continual fear to the Eastern." Die mittleren und östlichen Yamana-Gruppen beurteilen die äußersten Westleute tatsächlich als Mörder und Menschenfresser, was im einzelnen weiter unten noch zu schildern sein wird. Am 25. Juli 1876 also fand BRIDGES ein derartiges Stück, das außer Gebrauch im Walde lag, „a hallowed tree, 29 ft. long, 2 ft. through in widest part and 3 ft. high. It is well hollowed out, but being so narrow is very crank and was left by its maker as of no use". Erst nach zwei Jahren, am 2. Februar 1878, sah BRIDGES (i): 16 in Yendegaia den ersten vollbesetzten Einbaum: „The wooden canoe of which we have heard so much came alongside this morning. It is a most ungainly object. It is very large and contains twenty persons easily. It was an immense piece of work." Nach diesem Vorbilde[161] haben später auch einzelne Yamana der mittleren Gegenden ihr uraltes Rindenkanu ersetzt.[162] Das bestätigt eine Mitteilung in "La Nature": 275 ausdrücklich: „Les Yahgans . . . plus rarement creusent un trone d'arbre et lui donnent la forme de pirogue (pendant toute l'année, "La Romanche" n'a vu qu'une seule embarcation de ce type)."

In den folgenden Jahren hat diese neue Form in allen Teilgebieten unserer Feuerländer das Rindenfahrzeug fast ganz verdrängt.[163] DABBENE (b): 181 sah sich zu dem Geständnis veranlaßt: „Hoy ya no se fabrican más de estas clases de embarcaciones [de corteza] y las que usan actualmente los yahganes, están cavadas en un tronco de árbol." Ebenso erwähnt FURLONG (b): 126 ohne Einschränkung, daß „the Yahgan constructs his canoe of a heavy beech log".

Etwa zwanzig Jahre hindurch führte der Einbaum tatsächlich die Alleinherrschaft, während welcher Zeit das Rindenkanu immer mehr verschwand. Seitdem tauchte ein flacher Kahn auf, den heute jede Familie besitzt.

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[161] LORENZ (b): 145 versichert, abweichend von meinen Angaben: „The first dugout canoe used by the Yahgan was made near Ushuaia about 1880 by an Indian known as Juan Funzera." Daß „this innovation apparently was an independent invention," kann ich nicht anerkennen; obige geschichtliche Angaben sind hierfür Beweis.

[162] Zum eigentlichen Plankenboot, das BRIDGES (i): 16 am 16. Februar 1883 zum ersten Male im Besitze der Halakwulup gesehen hat und das aus fünf langen, aneinander gereihten Bohlen bestand, sind die Yamana nie übergegangen, wohl deshalb nicht, weil sie bald den Kahn zu bauen gelernt haben.

[163] Am 2. Januar 1902 schrieb Mr. PRIDDLE: „The Yahgans now make very few bark-canoes; they mostly use dug-outs" (MM: XXXVI, 49; 1902). Genau zwei Jahrzehnte früher hat MARTIAL: 191 bekanntgegeben: „Nous avons trouvé dans le canal du Beagle une de ces pirogues creusée dans un trone d'arbre."

Über Herstellung und Form des Einbaumes ist nicht viel zu sagen. Man benötigte hierfür einen gesunden Baumstamm, den fast immer die Nothofagus betuloides bot. Ganz glatt, gerade und so hoch mußte er sein, daß er nach seiner Bearbeitung die mittlere Länge des Rindenkanus ergab. Er war etwa um ein Drittel schmäler als dieses, mochte der auserlesene Stamm noch so dick gewesen sein. Mit Axtschlägen legte man den Baum um und trennte den oberen Teil mit der Krone ab. Nun wurde der Stumpf behauen. War die Rinde abgeschält, nahm man einen kurzen Teil der Rundung des Stammes weg, dessen beide Kanten später das Dollbord abgaben. Nun begann ein Aushöhlen, das man so lange fortsetzte, bis die Wände auf eine Dicke von 3 bis 5 cm zurückgeführt waren. Der Außenfläche beließ man ihre natürliche Rundung und nur den Bug spitzte man stumpf zu. Das Arbeiten erleichterte sich außerordentlich, wenn man am Hinterteil keinen Querabschluß bestehen ließ. Man nagelte statt dessen ein U-förmiges Brettchen an und mußte hier sorgfältig dichten.

Zuweilen half man sich durch Ausbrennen des noch aufrechten Stammes von unten her, bewachte aber die Tätigkeit des Feuers, damit der in Aussicht genommene Bootsrumpf nicht etwa Löcher erhielt. Dieses Vorgehen empfahl sich bei einem Baumstamme, dessen innere Gewebe größtenteils verfault waren, ohne daß eine dicke Holzfasernschicht unter der Rinde irgendwelchen Schaden gelitten hätte. Solchen Erscheinungen begegnet man häufig im antarktischen Buchenwalde.

Den dünnwandigen Bootskörper erweiterte man oben an der langen offenen Seite folgendermaßen. Auf den Boden streute man der Länge nach eine dicke und etwa 20 cm breite Sandschicht zum Schutze, die Seiten beschmierte man dick mit Tran. Nun legte man auf die ganze Sandschicht glühende Holzkohlen, gleichmäßig verteilt. Die große Hitze übertrug sich auf die Wände und machte sie etwas dehnbar. Hieraus erklärt es sich auch, daß jeder Einbaum wie verbrannt und angekohlt erscheint. Durch passende kurze Querstäbe, die zwischen beide Seitenwände eingepreßt wurden, trieb man diese etwas auseinander und verbreiterte damit für immer die obere Hälfte. Der einmal ausgehöhlte Baumstamm, sobald er am Heck abgeschlossen war, forderte weitere Ergänzungen nicht und wurde sofort in Gebrauch genommen. Mit einem kleinen Feuer mußte man sich begnügen, das man während der Fahrt in einer viereckigen Blechdose unterhielt.

Gegenüber dem Rindenkanu jedoch, das den Yamana jahrhundertelang als einziges Verkehrsmittel gedient hatte, zeigte der neuzeitliche Einbaum beträchtliche Nachteile. Unvergleichlich schneller kenterte er, weil er weder federte noch irgendwie nachgab und weil er zumindest ein Viertel weniger tief war als jenes. Hinzu kam noch, daß man ihn nur außerordentlich mühsam auf dem Lande bewegen konnte. Gewiß, man bereitete auch für ihn eine Art Rutschbahn aus frischen Algen *tuwéška*, über die man ihn herauf und herunter zog; trotzdem mußten dabei alle Familienmitglieder ihre Kräfte aufs äußerste anspannen, sonst brachten sie ihn nicht vom Fleck. Das Holz der

antarktischen Buchen ist schwer. Endlich gelang es kaum je, den Einbaum auf offenem Kanal zu verankern, wenn die felsige Küste es nicht erlaubte, ihn aufzuziehen. Er war zu schwer und zu glatt, um sich in ein schwimmendes Macrocystis-Gewirr verwickeln zu lassen; Taue aus Binsen-Bündeln (Abb. 31) sind zu schwach, um ihn damit nahe der Küste zu halten. Falls man ihn trotzdem draußen belassen konnte, war fast jedesmal zu gewärtigen, daß er umkippte;[184] ihm nachher wieder die richtige Stellung zu geben, kostete der Frau viele Anstrengung und das Ausschöpfen des Wassers nahm längere Zeit in Anspruch.

Neuestens behalf man sich sehr vorteilhaft, indem man rundherum das Dollbord des Einbaumes durch einen Bretterstreifen, der angenagelt oder vernäht wurde, ein wenig erhöhte. Eine größere Sicherheit bei der Fahrt war damit gegeben, aber auch eine beträchtliche Gewichtszunahme des ganzen Stückes.

Unbestreitbar weist der Einbaum eine längere Dauerhaftigkeit auf; doch diesem einzigen Vorzuge stehen bedeutende Nachteile gegenüber. Demnach verwundert es nicht, wenn die Familien von damals nach einigen Versuchen sich wieder von dieser Neueinführung abgewendet haben. Heute stößt man noch auf den einen oder anderen Einbaum, der zu kurzen Fahrten benützt wird; ein neues Stück ist seit drei Jahrzehnten nicht mehr angefertigt worden

Von meiner zweiten Reise habe ich einen Einbaum, der im Walde bei der Mündung des Rio Douglas seit Jahren unberührt herumgelegen hatte, zum Museum in Santiago gebracht (Gusinde [b]: 145). Wie Lothrop (b): 146 mitteilt, „the last double-ended dugout afloat was purchased and is now in the Museum [of the American Indian in New York]. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy." Kurzum, wer, wie der alte Pedro, seinen Einbaum besitzt, verwertet ihn, so lange er noch gebrauchsfähig ist; Männer mittleren Alters haben längst zum Kahn gegriffen. In einem Zeitraume von etwa vierzig Jahren ist der Einbaum bei den Yamana aufgekommen und auch wieder verschwunden.[185]

2. Der flache Kahn: Seitdem am Canal de Beagle durch Europäer größere und kleinere Sägewerke in Betrieb gesetzt worden sind, haben es die Eingeborenen leicht, sich gute Bretter von verschiedener Dicke zu verschaffen. Nägel und Eisenbänder gibt man ihnen ebenfalls; Handwerkszeug leihen sie sich überall aus, wenn sie es sich nicht als Eigenbesitz erwerben. An Geschicklichkeit fehlt es ihnen nicht, einen niedrigen und kurzen Kahn herzustellen. Breit muß er deshalb sein, weil er kurz und niedrig ist. Man schweift das Dollbord, daß ein merklich erhöhter Bug mit einem scharfen, nach rückwärts geneigten Kiel zustande kommt. Dieses Machwerk[186] hat

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[184] Lothrop (b): 146 sagt von dem Einbaum, den er nach New York mitgenommen hat, „it was the most unstable vessel in which the writer has ever set foot."

[185] Knapp nur sagt Spencer: 88 hierzu: „Bark canoe precedes dug-out, which has now and for some years past entirely replaced bark."

[186] Davon liefert Lothrop (b): 146 eine kurze Beschreibung und eine Abbildung.

vor einem europäischen Erzeugnisse nichts voraus, abgesehen von der Blechdose, die man für das Feuer in die Mitte stellt. Im Vorderteil nagelt man ein schmales Querholz auf den Boden, das in der Mitte ein kleines Loch besitzt; hierhinein stellt man eine kurze Segelstange. Kommt ein leichter Windzug von rückwärts, sieht man ein Stück Sackleinwand, Reste von einem Frauenrock oder einen anderen Fetzen als Segel an jener Rahe hoch, dessen Spitze man durch zwei oder drei dünne Stricke mit dem Bootsrande verbindet. Zuweilen begnügt man sich damit, den Fetzen zwischen zwei Leisten zu spannen und diese so lange hoch zu halten, bis die Arme ermüden.[155]

Von einheimischer Kunst zeigt dieser flache Kahn nichts mehr. Die letzten Überlebenden des Yamana-Volkes sind nur durch Europäer in die Lage versetzt worden, den hier beschriebenen Kahn zusammenzustellen, der gegenüber ihrem ursprünglichen Rindenkanu manche Vorzüge aufweist. Ersterer gestattet es auch, ein Segel *sétel* irgendwelcher Art zu benützen, was die leichte Bauart des letzteren nicht vertragen würde. Mit diesem neuen Fahrzeuge übernahm man auch die langen Ruder, die wegen ihrer Form zum eigentlichen Paddeln nicht geeignet sind.

Alle erreichbaren geschichtlichen Quellen, angefangen bei den ersten Aufzeichnungen des holländischen Flottenführers L'Hermite, bestätigen einwandfrei, daß das Rindenkanu bis in die letzten Jahrzehnte hinein das einzige Verkehrsmittel der Yamana war und jederzeit in genau der gleichen Weise zusammengestellt wurde.[156] Seine Vorzüge und seine Leistungsfähigkeit sind eben ausführlich beschrieben worden. Jeder genaue Beobachter wird zugeben, daß weder der Einbaum noch der flache Kahn an die kunstgerechte Ausführung und an die zweckmäßige Gestaltung des Rindenkanus heranreichen.

2. Bogen und Pfeil

Niemand zweifelt ernstlich daran, daß die Selk'nam mit Bogen und Pfeil sozusagen verwachsen sind (Bd. I, 230). Die Bedeutung dieser Waffen für die Yamana indes wird meistenteils unterschätzt oder völlig verkannt. Diese Dinge haben früher, wie ich vermute, eine wichtige Rolle gespielt und g e s c h i c h t l i c h e A n g a b e n erhärten es. Wer die ältesten Reiseberichte einsieht, findet Bogen und Pfeil häufig genug erwähnt, zumindest so oft wie die anderen Waffen und Gerätschaften, das Rindenkanu ausgenommen.

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[155] Wilkinson: 31 schreibt: „Se ata un trapo cualquiera o un cuero de foca a guisa de vela, cosida con fibras de junco o una pequeña verga centenida por un palo asegurado en uno de los travesaños." Vgl. Martial: 198. Früher kannten die Yamana dieses Hilfsmittel nicht; denn wie Wilkes: I, 184 behauptet, „they never make use of a sail."

[156] Auch Cooper: 197 gelangte zu dem Ergebnis, daß „throughout the whole territory, the bark canoes were constructed in the same way of three or more pieces sewed together, with thwarts and ribs and with pointed ends." Lovisato (a): 199 bezeichnet das Rindenkanu als „l'opera più ingegnosa per questa povera gente della Fuegia, che può da Dazze a noi, per 200 anni adunque, è rimasta sempre la stessa".

Auf der ersten zeichnerischen Darstellung der Yamana, die L'Hermitte zu danken ist (Abb. 10), erscheinen Bogen und Pfeil in den Vordergrund gerückt, während die Speere zurücktreten; Decker nennt jene an erster Stelle und nachher erst die "langen Wurfspieße" (S. 52). An gegenständlichen Besitzgütern hat J. d'Arquistade bei den Bewohnern der Bahía Orange nur „de quelques arcs et flèches, et de quelques colliers de nacres" zu Gesicht bekommen (S. 56). Später behauptete George Forster (a): 382 sogar von den Feuerländern bei Isla Waterman: „Bogen und Pfeile waren ihre einzige Waffe". Fünfzig Jahre danach, im Dezember 1823, tauschte Weddel (a): 110 von den Indianern im Seno Año Nuevo, außer anderen „Kleinigkeiten", auch Bogen und Pfeile ein. „Die Bogen waren gewöhnlich 3 F. 8 Z. lang und aus einem glatten, festen, elastischen Holz bereitet; die Schnur besteht aus Robbenhaut oder geflochtenen Därmen. Die Pfeile sind von hartem Holz und fein poliert, 25 Zoll lang und vorne mit einem eingeklemmten dreieckigen, spitzigen Stein versehen. Wenn der Pfeil irgendwo eindringt, so kann das Holz herausgezogen werden, der Stein aber bleibt stecken." Im April 1830, etwa sieben Jahre nachher, berichtete Murray an den englischen Flottenführer King: 429, die Eingeborenen der Bahía Windhond besitzen als Waffen „fish spears, bows, arrows, and slings". Kurz darauf lieferte Fitz-Roy (a): 184 folgende Beschreibung: „These arrows are of hard wood, well polished, and quite straight. They are about two feet in lenght, and in a notch at the point have a sharp triangular piece of agate, obsidian, or broken glass. The bow is from three to four feet long, quite plain, with a string made of twisted sinews." Fast zur gleichen Zeit war Webster: I, 184 in der Bahía San Francisco beim Kap Hoorn vor Anker gegangen und dort einigen Feuerländern begegnet. Ihre Waffen waren „slings, bows and arrows. The latter are neatly made, and pointed with obsidian. Their bows and arrows are employed for the destruction of birds" (S. 111). Über diese Waffen äußerte sich Wilkes: 129 zwar nicht ausführlich, tatsächlich hat er sie bei unsern Feuerländern eingetauscht und ein Bogenstab wird heute noch im Peabody Museum zu Salem U. S. A. aufbewahrt. Colvocoresses: 40 jedoch, der als Lieutenant jenem Befehlshaber unterstellt war, sagt ausdrücklich, daß „their arms consisted of bows, arrows, and spears" (S. 119).[159]

Als gegen Mitte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts die anglikanischen Missionare mit unseren Feuerländern die ersten Beziehungen anknüpften, waren Bogen und Pfeil durchaus noch nicht verschwunden, wohl aber etwas zurückgedrängt. Beispielsweise tauschte sie Stirling im März 1864 gegen europäische Dinge ein (VSA: XI, 237; 1864) und Bridges (j): 314 erwähnt sie wiederholt.[160]

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[159] Coerze: 208 gibt zu, daß „some of the explorers who visited the Yahgans in the earlier part of the last century found them in possession of the bow and arrow". Seine Einschränkung, „but is was not common", scheint mir nicht berechtigt zu sein.

[160] Wenn er (h): 239 von der Kina-Feier spricht, bei der die Männer mit ihren verschiedenen Waffen den Frauen drohen, soll das nicht heißen, daß der Bogen zu damaliger Zeit nur noch ein Spielzeug der Männer war.

Allerdings kamen sie später fortlaufend mehr außer Gebrauch und die Mitglieder der Mission Scientifique begegneten ihnen nur noch sehr vereinzelt. „Elles sont, wie Hyades (q): 360 und (h): 34 unumwunden zugibt, actuellement du moins, bien rarement employées." Immerhin behauptet Martial: 192, daß „les Yahgans qui demeurent dans la partie Est du canal du Beagle emploient aussi l'arc et les flèches pour chasser le guanaco"; wohingegen sie, nach Hyades (q): 300, im Zentralgebiet bei der Jagd auf Vögel verwendet wurden.[161] Die italienische Expedition unter Boyd, die im folgenden Jahre jene Gebiete bereiste, hat weder Bogen noch Pfeil zu Gesicht bekommen. Worüber Spegazzini (a): 162 für sich selber klagt, das gilt auch für seine Begleiter, nämlich daß den Feuerländern „el arco y las flechas les son conocidos, pero no vi a ninguno de ellos llevar estos instrumentos". So wenig war Lovisato (a): 198 und (c): 721 das Glück hold, daß er verzweifelnd ausrief: „I Jahgan . . . non hanno freccie nè archi, anzi non ho trovato alcuno di questa razza, che sapesse prepararmi una punta di freccia."[162] Auf meinen vier Reisen habe ich auffällig nach Bogen und Pfeil gefragt, indes nicht ein einziges Stück war mehr vorhanden. Ebensowenig vermochte Lothrop (b): 155 davon etwas aufzuspüren.

Aus diesen Mitteilungen und Berichten, die durch unwesentliche Einzelheiten noch vermehrt werden könnten, läßt sich die unleugbare Tatsache ableiten, daß dieser Indianerstamm wirklich Bogen und Pfeil gebraucht hat. Viel zu wenig sind die Verhältnisse unserer Eingeborenen in den vergangenen Jahrhunderten untersucht worden und durch lange Zeit hindurch gingen die europäischen Schiffe nur an einzelnen Stellen im Osten und Süden für wenige Tage vor Anker. Den vorliegenden Reiseschilderungen könnte man entnehmen, daß diese Waffen häufiger im Osten und weniger im mittleren Gebiete gebraucht worden sind; unwillkürlich denkt man sie aus dem Westen überhaupt weg.[163] Das wäre sicherlich nicht zu rechtfertigen; denn die dort sich anschließenden Süd-Halakwulup waren immer im Besitze von Bogen und Pfeil. Ohne den bestimmten Nachweis zu erbringen, darf demnach niemand behaupten, die zwischen Zentral-Yamana und Halakwulup eingeschobenen West-Yamana hätten jene Waffen nicht gekannt. Früher hat eben kaum je eine ausländische Flotte deren Heimatteil besucht. Allerdings besteht zu Recht, daß die Leute des Ostens häufiger als ihre übrigen Landsleute die genannten Waffen führten; denn diese tauschten sie meistens bei den nur ihnen benachbarten Selk'nam ein. Bogen und Pfeil eigneten sich ja auch besser als andere

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[161] „Ces flèches sont très peu usitées à la baie Orange; les Fuégiens disent qu'elles leur servent quelquefois à tuer des oiseaux" (ib.).

[162] Ausführlich beschreibt er (b): 137 diese Waffen als einzige der Selk'nam; auch erwähnt er, sie stehen im Gebrauch bei den Halakwulup, nicht aber bei den Yamana. Vgl. Koppenfels: 318.

[163] Beispielsweise behauptet Dabbene (b): 188 ohne Begründung: „El arco y las flechas, eran usados solamente por los yahganes que habitaban los costas del canal de Beagle, y parece que nunca han sido armas de predilección."

Gerätschaften zur Jagd auf Guanacos, welche nur den östlichen Canal de Beagle und die ganze Isla Navarino bevölkern. Endlich läßt sich nachweisen, daß seit Entdeckung der Yamana die Verwendung von Bogen und Pfeil unaufhaltsam abnahm, bis schließlich bei Ausgang des XIX. Jahrhunderts sich auch nicht ein einziges, letztes Stück mehr in ihren Händen befand.[144]

a. *Der Bogen*

Einem berechtigten Befremden von vornherein vorbeugend, sei nachdrücklich betont, daß alle drei feuerländischen Stämme ihren Bogen und Pfeil genau gleich anfertigen, nur in untergeordneten Einzelheiten machen sich kleine Unterschiede geltend. Diese Waffen sind die bedeutsamsten und fast einzigen der Selk'nam, weswegen ihnen an anderer Stelle eine umfangreiche Beschreibung gewidmet wurde (Bd. I, 236). Indes auch Bogen und Pfeil der Yamana verdienen es, eigens gezeichnet zu werden.

Zu unserem Leidwesen haben sich aus dem älteren Kulturbesitz der südlichsten Feuerländer nur vier echte Stücke erhalten; diese werden vorwiegend in die folgende Schilderung einbezogen. Zum Bogenstab, genannt wéyna, wéjana, wéiyana verwendet man ausnahmslos das Holz einer antarktischen Buche, fast regelmäßig der Nothofagus betuloides.[145] Im ganzen ist er etwas kürzer und auch etwas dünner wie der bei den Selk'nam. So erklärt es sich, daß er eine höhere Krümmung aufweist; dadurch soll die Schnellkraft der Sehne gesteigert werden. Man beschabt ihn so lange, bis der gerade Durchmesser des Mittelstückes höchstens 22 mm beträgt. Von der Mitte aus, die einen rundlich mandelförmigen Querschnitt erkennen läßt, verjüngt sich der Bogenstab nach beiden Seiten und läuft in kurze, stumpfe Spitzen aus. Die geradlinige Entfernung dieser beiden voneinander schwankt, nach der allgemeinen Ausdrucksweise Martial's: 193, zwischen 120 und 160 cm.

Die Ethnographische Sammlung der Universität Göttingen rühmt sich mit Recht, zwei Bogenstäbe zu besitzen, die durch James Cook's zweite Reise nach Europa gelangt sind; der eine von ihnen gehörte eine Zeitlang zur Privatsammlung des Naturforschers Reinhold Forster, welcher mit seinem Sohne George an jener Weltumseglung als Wissenschaftler teilgenommen hat.[146]

[144] Dies anerkennt auch Lovisato (b): 188 als sicheren Tatbestand.

[145] Irrtümlicherweise behauptet Hyades (c): 298, die Yamana benützen zum Bogenstab den Holz der Myrtaceen mugellanica. Dieses findet tatsächlich fast gar nicht.

[146] Diese Angaben gestatten einen Schluß auf die Herkunft der beiden Bogenstäbe. Bekanntlich hatte sich Cook's Flotte bei der Isla Wateruna im Paso de Navidad gegen Ende Dezember 1774 etwa eine Woche aufgehalten, in welcher Zeit sie von den dort beheimateten Feuerländern zweimal besucht wurde (S. 57). Auf der Weiterfahrt wurde sie kurz vor der Bahía de Buen Suceso von einer vollkommenen Windstille angehalten und am 29. Dezember schickte der Kapitän dort ein Boot an Land. Dem Lieutenant „empfingen östliche Bewohner", als er bei ihnen anlangte. Georges Forster (a): II, 390 fügt hinzu: „Unsere Leute hielten sich nur zwei oder drei Minuten bei ihnen auf, schifften sich dann wieder ein und eilten an Bord zurück" (Bd. I, 34). Nun ist kaum anzunehmen, daß in dieser kurzen Zeitspanne die Matrosen mit zwei Bogen von den dortigen Hom bzw. Selk'nam beschenkt worden sind. Viel glaubwürdiger erscheint es mir, daß zumindest

Jene seltenen Stücke weisen eine gerade Länge von 149 cm und 152 cm auf. LOTHROP (b): 156 veröffentlicht die leider zu undeutliche Photographie zweier ebenfalls alter Bogen, die im Peabody Museum zu Salem aufbewahrt werden, „one the gift of Capt. B. MORRELL, Jr., who obtained it in 1825, the other collected by Lieutenant WILKES, probably at Orange harbor or Wellington island". Der gerade Abstand der beiden Spitzen voneinander beträgt bei dem einen 3 ft. 9½ in. und bei dem anderen 4 ft. 1 in.

Die genannten Einzelheiten sind sowohl dem Bogenstabe der Yamana wie dem der Selk'nam eigen; letzterer zeigt außerdem eine deutliche, für eine Handarbeit anerkennenswert regelmäßige Riefelung. Diese fehlt, wie LOTHROP (b): 156 nachdrücklich hervorhebt, jenen beiden alten Stücken im Peabody Museum; ebensowenig läßt sie sich auf denen im Museum zu Göttingen nachweisen. Mag dieser Umstand nebensächlich erscheinen, tatsächlich waren die früheren Yamana beim Anfertigen eines Bogenstabes nicht so genau wie die Selk'nam; deshalb haben sie jene feine Zierkantung, auf welche diese letzteren großes Gewicht legen (Bd. I, 233), niemals angebracht. Die Bewohner der Isla Grande haben nachweislich manchen Bogen an die ihnen benachbarten Kanufahrer abgegeben; indes, weil den hier beschriebenen alten Bogenstäben die gleichmäßig und zart gerippte Oberfläche fehlt, geben sie sich fast sicher als ein echtes Erzeugnis der Yamana zu erkennen. Letztere haben während der drei vergangenen Jahrhunderte an der Form und Gestalt ihrer Bogenstäbe tatsächlich nichts geändert.[147]

Im Gebiet der Selk'nam und Haus benützt man ausnahmslos die dicken Sehnenstränge aus den Beinen der Guanacos zur B o g e n s e h n e. Die östlichen Yamana tun das Gleiche; die anderen Gruppen wählen hierfür auch dicke Sehnenbündel von den Flossenraubtieren (Pinnipediern), die westlichsten Yamana, wohl in Nachahmung der Halakwulup sogar einen 3 mm breiten Lederstreifen vom Seelöwen.[148] An den beiden Bogen, die JAMES COOK

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der Bogenstab aus der Privatsammlung FEUERTER's von diesem selber auf der Isla Waterman einem Yamana abgenommen worden ist, weist er je in seinem Berichte eigens auf diese Waffe hin. Eine Bekräftigung erfährt diese Wahrscheinlichkeit noch dadurch, daß die anderen Gegenstände in Göttingen, die COOK von seiner zweiten Reise mitgebracht hat, charakteristische Stücke aus dem Kulturgut der südlichsten Feuerländer sind. Ich meine drei knöcherne Speerspitzen, Halskettchen aus Muschelschalen und eine Schleuder, zu deren Mittelstück ein Lederlappen vom Flachetter verwendet wurde. Die Selk'nam benützen zur Schleuder bekanntlich nur Leder vom Guanaco (Bd. I, 243).

[147] HYADES (q): 361 bestätigt, „que l'arc et les flèches de l'époque actuelle ne paraissent pas avoir varié depuis les premiers voyageurs européens en Fuégie." Er bildet in seinem Werke (b): 31 und (q): Tafel XXXI einen Bogen ab, den BOUGAINVILLE in Puerto Galant an der Magellan-Straße im Januar 1768 aufgegriffen hat. Unzweideutig entstammt dieses Stück dem Halakwulup. Da es, wie HYADES behauptet, „ne diffère en rien de l'arc actuel" der Yamana, so begleubigen seine Worte den, was ich eingangs von der weitgehenden Übereinstimmung der Bogen einstiger feuerländischer Stämme behauptet habe.

[148] Dagegen sagt HYADES (q): 298, daß „le cordé est réprouvé par nos hottes de peau de phoque ou par nos tresses en nerf de baleine"; denn wir häufiger wurden Sehnenfasern von großen Robben benützt.

mitgebracht hat, fehlen gegenwärtig die Sehnen; von den beiden im Peabody Museum sagt Lothrop (b): 156, deren „bowstrings are of gannaco-sinew".[20] Letzteres, oël genannt, erscheinen genau so wie am Bogen der Selk'nam befestigt, nämlich an der einen Spitze vermittels einer Laufschlinge und an der anderen Spitze durch mehrere Umwicklungen (vgl. Abb. 31 in Bd. I, 221). Ein Lederstreifen als Bogensehne federt offensichtlich bedeutend weniger.

β. Der Pfeil

Die Seefahrer der früheren Zeit haben zwar den Pfeil in den Händen dieser Feuerländer wiederholt gesehen; statt ihn eingehend zu beschreiben, begnügten sich die meisten von ihnen damit, ihn kurz zu nennen. Wagner hat wenige Einzelheiten aufgezeichnet. Der Pfeil der Yamana gleicht in allem und jedem ebenfalls dem der Selk'nam, letzterer ist durchgehends etwas länger; Lothrop (b): 155 nennt ihn „short, clumsy, and untapered — very crude indeed compared with Ona workmanship". Ein Pfeil aus älterer Zeit wird m. W. nirgendwo aufbewahrt und die vorliegenden Beschreibungen aus den letzten Jahrzehnten sind mehr oder weniger ungenügend. Was ich über diese einst bedeutsame Waffe erfahren konnte, verdanke ich hauptsächlich dem alten Wagner, der als junger Mann noch einzelne Stücke verfertigt hat. Persönlich habe ich keinen Pfeil zu sehen bekommen, der von Yamana-Hand hergestellt worden ist.

Wie auf der Isla Grande wählt man auch hier die Stämmchen der Berberis ilicifolia, zuweilen sogar die Äste von Maytenus magellanica zum Pfeilschaft. Daher bezeichnet man diesen ebenfalls mit ákyakur, ein Name für den letztgenannten Baum. Der noch grüne Stab erhält durch unablässiges Schaben mit scharfrandigen Muschelschalen seine endgültige Form. Das mittlere Drittel zeigt gegenüber den beiden Enden eine leichte Anschwellung. Die feine Politur und die letzte Glättung der Oberfläche gibt man dem Schaft durch sanftes Reiben mit einem Bimsstein. Vorher wird er wiederholt gerade gerichtet, indem der Mann ihn mit den Zähnen faßt und die herausstehenden Stücke federnd biegt. Mühsam und vorsichtig muß man eine Kerbe an jedem Ende eingeschnitten werden; die für die Pfeilspitze ist tief und kantig, die andere flach und gerundet. Durch langwieriges Reiben und Feilen mit einem schmalen Sandsteinsplitter oder mit der rauhen Kante einer Muschelschale erreicht man es.

Sowohl Schiefer wie auch Quarz findet sich an verschiedenen Stellen des Kap Hoorn-Archipels, beide Gesteinsarten werden für die Pfeilspitzen, genannt ókhua, ináu, yóhuá, verwendet. Am bequemsten ist Schiefer zu bearbeiten. Man wählt ein passendes Plättchen aus und erzielt durch Schaben auf einem feinkörnigen Sandstein erst die erwünschte Dreiecksform mit den scharfen Kanten auf beiden Seiten, die zu einer flachen Spitze zusammenlaufen. Nachher wird vorsichtig der genau rechtwinkelige Zapfen herausgeschnitten.

[20] In einigen Museen Europas werden sie zwar fälschlich als "Sehnen" ausgegeben.

gearbeitet. Diese Spitzen fallen immer klein aus. Ihre Gesamtlänge beträgt etwa 30 mm, von denen etwa 7 mm auf den Zapfen kommen; die weitere Entfernung der mittleren Ecken hält sich bei 12 mm (Abb. 32).

Zuweilen sind die Pfeilspitzen aus Quarz[109] ein wenig länger und die Grundfläche der Dreieckform verfällt in einem leichtgeschwungenen Bogen. Um letzteren zu erhalten und um den notwendigen Zapfen herauszuarbeiten, geht der Yanomamö[110] genau wie der Eskimo vor. Er hängt einen weichen Lederlappen über seinen linken Handteller und durch diesen faßt er den gewonnenen Steinsplitter mit Daumen und Zeigefinger; während der Arbeit stützt er die linke Faust seinen Oberschenkel auf. Ein stumpfes Knochenstäbchen, das seine rechte Faust umschließt, setzt er von der Kante jener Steinstäbchen auf und durch starken Druckstoß unter kurzer Drehung splittert er kleinste Teilchen und in kürzesten Abständen voneinander muschelförmig aus. Er preßt eine sehr feine Blättchen fortschreitend vom ganzen Stück heraus, bis die erwünschte Form erreicht ist. Die obere und untere Fläche sind leichter zu bearbeiten, weil hier größere Splitter gebrochen werden; viel schwerer gelingt es, den Zapfen genau zu umgrenzen. Seit einigen Jahrzehnten verwendet man Glasscherben statt Quarz, sie lassen sich unvergleichlich leichter und sogar auch viel schneller bearbeiten.

Abb. 32. Pfeilspitzen aus Feuerstein, Knochen und Elfenbein. Nat. Gr.

Auf meiner zweiten Reise habe ich dem alten Azteken ein Stück dickes Flaschenglas gegeben und ihn gebeten, eine 9 cm lange Dolchspitze von der gleichen Dreieckform mit dem anstoßenden Zapfen zu bilden. Ihn machte es eine besondere Freude, wenn unter dem Druck des Knochenstäbchens knisternd die feinsten Glasteilchen absprangen. Mit der Überzeugung stellte er jene erhabene Spitze in 25 Minuten her, ohne sich dabei nennenswerte Mühe zu machen. Er gestand: „Eine Spitze aus Quarz von der gleichen Größe für einen Pfeil anzufertigen, dazu benötigt ein tüchtiger Yanomamö einen ganzen

[109] Allgemeine spitzige Steinform (s. S. 139) von „quarzo hendido, cuchillos, agujas, etc. [illegible]" wurde oder wenigstens unterstützt hat.

[110] Lumholtzschwestern glaubt Wanderungen 24, daß „unsere gewisse Art Schaben bei uns, gewiß bei [illegible] zu erlernen [illegible] ist ich [illegible] ich [illegible]."

Tag.* Bei den früher üblichen Kanonenrüstungen konnte man sich [illegible] einen dicken Eisenmagnet oder einen Eisenstab,** vor Kompasse eingeführt.

Den Seil'sche gegenüber haben unsere Versuche voraus, daß sie neuer Kanonen zu Pfeilgeschossen verwendeten. In welchem Einflußbereichbereich diese zu jenen von Schießer und Quarz stehen, läßt sich nicht mehr feststellen.*** Zwar zeigen auch sie die Drehschlüsse, durch der umlaufende Zapfen beginnt bereits zwischen den beiden Seitenarmen und verjüngt sich, je mehr er sich verlängert. Während das Drehrohr allein eine Höhe von etwa 22 mm aufweist, ist der Zapfen 12 mm lang. Die Zähnchen an den beiden Rändern werden mit feinem Kanten und mit Einschnitten einen Sondersinn eingeführt. Scharf sind diese Ränder zwar nicht, weil leicht abgerundet, wenngleich diese beschnittenen Spitzen mehr infolge ihrer Einschlagkraft als wegen ihrer scharfen Kanten wirken (Abb. 22).

Der Zapfen der gezeichneten Spitzen wird ohne Verkittung in die obere Kerbe des Pfeilschaftes eingepreßt. Nur den strammen Umwickeln einen feinen Schnurfaden gibt, wenn er eingeschnitten ist, die erwünschte Festigkeit. Dieser Schnurfaden wird für eine Kanonenspitze so schwach. Letztere wird demnach mit einem erhaltenen Lederstreifen durch viele fortgesetzte Windungen in der Kerbe gehalten. Daß der Pfeilschaft hin und wieder abzusetzen, während die beiderseitigen Spitzen in einem verwandelnden Tiere stecken bleiben, damit rechnet man von vornherein.

Am anderen Ende wird schließlich die Fiederung nach dem Vorbilde der Seil'schen-Pfeile angebracht. Man wählt mit Vorliebe die kurzen Schwanzfedern vom Flügel der Schwalben. „Ils étaient ainsi de cette extrémité en fine une plume dont le tuyau a été fendu, ouvrir en marque de fines bandelettes d'intercalés d'aiguillons*** qui permettent à distances à peu près égales entre trois ou quatre barbes de son petites plumes. Les plumes sont si bien attachées que l'on croirait qu'il n'y en a qu'une seule" (Hermann [b]: 37). Beide Flügel dieser Fiederung stehen genau senkrecht dem Schafte auf und stehen sich gegenüber. Die Fiederung reicht bis kurz vor die untere Kerbe hinunter und ist longmenant etwa 35 mm lang, während der ganze Pfeil etwa 70 cm mißt.

Hauptsprünge läßt sich nicht mehr erweisen, welches Mengen von derartigen Pfeilspitzen unserer Vorzeit von dem Seil'schen unmittelbar übernommen haben, tatsächlich ist es geschehen. Nicht nur haben wir dies durch Mitnahme bewiesen, auch in den Muschelhaufen von Aitibidem Canal de Bangle finden sich derartige Spitzen von Obsidian, die in mittleren Tallen [illegible] sind, im Westen fast ganz fehlen. Ob die Anregung zur Herstellung dieser charakteristischen

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* Hermann [b]: 34 und [a]: 349 erwähnen, daß „le Polynésien [illegible] le vent qui [illegible] les pointes en [illegible] en [illegible] de [illegible] à [illegible] de [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Pfeilspitzenfabrik von den Tanana zu den Selk'nam oder von diesen zu jenen übergegangen ist, erscheinet als eine Frage, die sich in diesem Zusammenhang allein nicht lösen läßt, die aber nicht ohne einige Bedeutung ist.

3. *Der Köcher*

Offensichtlich sind die feuersteinernen Pfeile empfindliche Gebilde und man bewahrt sie sorgfältig auf. Am kostbarsten ist der Köcher aus dem harten Leder der Flamingoschlüsse; mehr geschätzt, weil schöner, ist der aus Otterfellen. MARTIUS 192 erwähnt überhaupt nur letzteren. Der Köcher stellt eine Hohlform, schmale Tasche dar, an die man oben eine Schlinge als Henkel anfügt. Um diese Form zu erreichen, schneidet man ein langgezogenes Rechteck aus dem Leder, legt die beiden Längskanten aufeinander und vernäht sie. Unten nimmt man als Boden ein längsovales Lederstückchen ein, das ebenfalls angenäht wird. Der Köcher fällt immer ein wenig länger als die Pfeile aus, damit letztere nicht herausstehen und sich abstoßen; in der Breite mißt er etwa 15 cm. Man schiebt jeden einzelnen Pfeil mit der Spitze nach unten gewendet hinein. Schadet man ihn benötigt, faßt man mit der Fingerkuppe von Daumen und Zeigefinger den Schaftende zwischen der Befiederung und setzt so unmittelbar der Bogensehne auf.

Diese kurze Beschreibung paßt auch genau auf den Köcher der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 240), der allerdings ein wenig länger und breiter ist. Die östlichen Tanana kennen nur diesen aus Leder, während die Leute der Mitte und des Westens nicht selten einen Köcher aus zwei mäßig gewölbten Rindenstücken, dem ein schmaler Boden ebenfalls aus Rinde eingesetzt wird, herstellen. Die Rinder vernähen sie mit Hohlsehnen, oder Fischbeinstreifen, wie die alten Wasserschläuche aus Rinde (Abb. 30). Selbstverständlich ist dieser Köcher, der wie der Lederköcher den gleichen Namen kilic führt, weniger widerstandsfähig und weniger haltbar.

Daß kein einziger der früheren Seefahrer, auch ein Besucher aus neuerer Zeit, von MARTIUS 192 abgesehen, den Köcher erwähnt, brauchte nicht zu befremden; denn er spielt eine untergeordnete Rolle gegenüber Bogen und Pfeil. Letzteren sogar übergeht manchmal mit Stillschweigen. Die Abbildungen von Bogen, Pfeil und Köcher, die im Bd. I, 231, 238, 240 enthalten sind, können man nebeneinander auch für diese Gerätschaften der Tanana verwenden; nur fiaren erkennt man im großen und ganzen, abgesehen von geringen Einzelheiten, wie diese Dinge der südlichen Feuerländer beschaffen gewesen sind. Hierdurch gab es Männer genug, die imstande waren, für ihren Eigenbedarf die gesamten Gegenstände herzustellen. Auch ist es unwahrscheinlich, daß sie von den östlichen Tanana bei den benachbarten Haus bei Selk'nam im Tauschhandel erworben worden sind.

Bei der Jagd auf dem Lande bilden sie als Fernwaffe gegen Gemsen gute Dienste und werden durch von keiner anderen Waffe im Besitze der Tanana übertroffen. Hingegen sie im schwankenden Kanu zu handhaben,

ist an sich nicht leicht und von hier aus kann ein geübter Schütze sie vorteilhaft eigentlich nur gegen den Otter anwenden. Wer sich auf dem Lande befindet, geht Vögel zweckmäßiger mit der Schleuder und mit den Vogelschlingen, Seelöwen mit der Keule an. Überdies entfernen sich die Yamana nicht gern weit weg von der Küste und dringen tiefer in den Wald, wo keine ihrer Waffen sich gut handhaben ließe, nur aus besonderer Notwendigkeit vor.

Man sieht, daß sich für Bogen und Pfeil, unter Berücksichtigung der örtlichen Bedingungen, keine allgemeine Verwendung empfiehlt und daß sie sich wirklich gut nur für die Jagd auf Guanacos eignen. Das Verbreitungsgebiet dieser Tiere indes schließt bei den mittleren Yamana ab. Demnach standen Bogen und Pfeil im Osten am meisten in Gebrauch, weniger im Westen, wo das Guanaco gänzlich fehlt. Da hier diese Waffen überwiegend auf der Otternjagd gebraucht wurden, erklärt es sich, daß sie mit dem fortschreitenden Eindringen des Hundes an Bedeutung verloren. Weiter unten erst können diese Veränderungen im Wirtschaftsbetriebe der Yamana beschrieben werden, sie verdienen Beachtung unter mehrfacher Rücksicht.

3. Die kleine Harpune

Bei ihrer Ernährung sind die Yamana auf die Flossenraubtiere fast mit der gleichen Notwendigkeit wie auf die Miesmuscheln angewiesen. Zum Glück liegen diese Tiere auf den dortigen Felsen und Inseln in kopfreichen Herden herum und durchqueren die einzelnen Kanäle nach allen Richtungen (S. 38). Der Jäger geht sie mit der kleinen Robbenharpune (Abb. 33) an. Ich gebrauche diese Bezeichnung, um die hier zu beschreibende Waffe von anderen Stücken ähnlicher Ausführung zu unterscheiden.[178]

Die kleine Harpune ist eine starke Wurfwaffe, deshalb muß der Schaft lang, schwer und ganz gerade sein. Man wählt hierfür fast ausnahmslos das Holz der immergrünen Buche (Nothofagus betuloides); denn ihr Stamm hat meist eine sehr regelmäßige Form und jüngere Bäume bewahren sich ihr Holz lange gesund. Ein gutes Auge gehört dazu, den geeigneten Stamm zu finden; denn er muß fehlerlos sein, soll die Waffe zuverlässig arbeiten. Den Baum umzulegen ist mühsam. Nahe über dem Boden schneidet man einen handbreiten Ring von Rinde heraus und schabt nun mit dem Muschelmesser oder mit einer geschärften Muschelschale die Holzfaserschichten, eine nach der anderen, herunter, bis der Einschnitt tief genug ist. In die hochstehenden Zweige wirft man die Laufschlinge von einem langen Riemen *wuŭtkgle* und zieht sie zu; nun hängt sich ein Mann daran und zerrt, unterstützt durch das eigene Körpergewicht, bis die bearbeitete Stelle durchbricht. Den oberen Teil mit der Krone trennt er zugleich in der eben beschriebenen Weise ab

[178] Lothrop (b): 152 beschreibt diese Waffe als bestehend aus „a heavy shaft and a detachable head joined to the shaft by a thong".

und hat nun einen etwa 4 m langen Stamm vor sich liegen. Aus ihm das geeignete Stück herauszuschneiden, ist nicht minder anstrengend und langwierig. Der Mann strebt nach dem mittleren Drittel zwischen Mark und Bastzone. Mit dem Knochenkeil *tukalapêna* (Abb. 26) und einem passenden Steine als Hammer spaltet er fast die Hälfte ab; am restlichen Stücke ist noch ein zweites und drittes Spalten der Länge nach notwendig. Aus dem, was zurückbleibt, hebt er endlich durch vorsichtiges Absplittern das Kernstück heraus (Abb. 34). Diese Holzschichten sind weder zu weich noch ganz steif, sondern besitzen leichte Federung und sind kerngesund.

Von der langen Stange wird weiterhin durch immerwährendes Schaben mit Quarzsplittern oder mit geschärften Muschelschalen oder mit dem eigentlichen Messer so viel heruntergekratzt, bis sie einen Durchmesser von etwa 25 mm zeigt und genau achtkantig ist. Auf diese Regelmäßigkeit achtet man aus einem betonten Schönheitsempfinden; die Kanten aber gestatten es, den Schaft fester und sicherer zu fassen. Nach unten verjüngt er sich sanft und endet mit einer stumpfen Spitze. Oben wird vorsichtig eine 12 cm tiefe Kerbe eingeschnitten. Zur letzten Glättung des Schaftes reibt man über ihn sanft drückend und sehr regelmäßig mit Bimsstein *Alyal* hinweg. Eine Länge von 2,80 m bis 3,10 m weist der Schaft[m] dann zum Schluß noch auf.

Im Juli 1923 habe ich den alten WALTER gebeten, mir genau zu erklären, wie die Harpunen- und Speerschäfte in früherer Zeit hergestellt worden sind. Er lud mich zu einer Wanderung durch den nahen Wald bei Punta Remolino ein; auch mein treuer Freund und verläßlicher Führer, der Selk'nam-Indianer Tom (Bd. I, 116) schloß sich uns an. Manchen Buchenbaum beschaute WALTER prüfenden Blickes und es brauchte geraume Zeit, bis er sich entschloß, einen passenden umzulegen. Zwar arbeitete er mit einer Eisenaxt, zeigte aber uns beiden daran genau, wie die früher unvergleichlich mühsamere Arbeit sich abgewickelt hat. Auf dem Heimwege betonte er mehrmals, daß nur das von ihm ausgeschnittene Stück die erforderliche Eignung aufweise und daß der Schaft gut vibrieren müsse, wenn man ihn in der Mitte faßt; nähme man andere Holzschichten, bleibt zu befürchten, daß sich der Schaft biege oder verziehe, nachdem er wiederholt naß geworden ist.

Abb. 33. Kleine Harpune

Der andere Teil dieser Harpune ist die Knochenspitze mit einem einzigen großen Zahne. Man wählt hierfür jenes Stück einer Walrippe aus, das die geringste Krümmung aufweist. Durch langes Feilen mit einem Sandstein trennt man die überschüssigen Enden ab.[177] Dem erwählten Knochenstück gibt man die erwünschte Form, indem man es über einen flachen Sandstein unter leichtem Druck hin- und herschiebt. Ist die geschweifte Rückenkante und die obere Spitze fertiggestellt, wird im unteren Drittel eine etwa 10 cm lange Kerbe eingeschnitten, die oben durch eine nach unten geneigte Zacke abgegrenzen ist. Die ganze Arbeit ist weiter nichts als ein

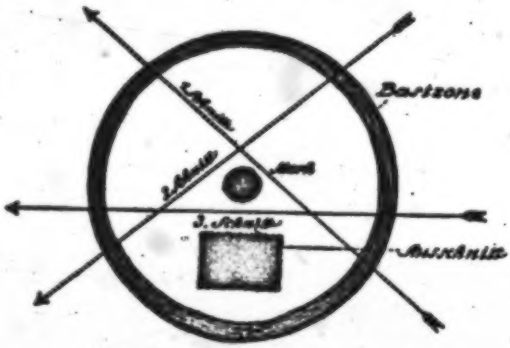

Abb. 34. Wie ein Schaft ausgeschnitten wird

unaufhörliches Schleifen und Feilen mit schmalen Sandstein- und Bimssteinstückchen, das lange Zeit und viel Geduld erfordert; denn das Knochengewebe ist außerordentlich hart. Das untere Ende, ein etwa 6 cm langes und 3 cm breites Rechteck, läuft keilförmig aus; die Seitenflächen dieses Zapfens läßt man absichtlich etwas unregelmäßig, damit er fester in der Kerbe sitzt. Etwa 22 cm bis 40 cm Länge und 36 mm Breite sind Maße, die man am häufigsten an diesen großen Knochenspitzen der kleinen Harpune beobachtet. Die eine und andere bleibt ein wenig unsymmetrisch oder nach einer Seite gebogen, wenn die natürliche Biegung der Walrippe sich durch Schleifen nicht gänzlich ausmerzen ließ. Am meisten geschätzt ist der Unter-

[177] Eine genaue Beschreibung hat Wendell (a): 96 geliefert: „Ihre Speere bestehen aus festen Knochen, sind 7 Fuß lang, scharf zugespitzt, und haben 4 Zoll von der Spitze, einen Widerhaken an der einen Seite, die ... an eine 10 F. lange, glatte, gerade hölzerne Stange befestigt wird. Am Knochen ist ein kürzerer oder längerer Streif von Haut befestigt." Snow (a): II, 15 ergänzt: „Their spears were about twelve feet long, made of hard wood, octangular, but about half an inch thick and one inche broad, tapering at one end to a point, and the other end to a butt."

[177] Neuerdings bedient man sich eiserner Werkzeuge. Schon Dumas hat beobachtet, daß die Yamana jenen Walfischknochen „chop with axe, then cut with knife, then scrape with mussle shell, then burnish with smooth stone" (VP: VI, 52; 1859).

kieferknochen *isfaka* vom Wal, aus ihm läßt sich eine sehr feste und ganz regelmäßige Spitze herausholen, der auch erhöhte Treffsicherheit zukommt.[175]

Diese große Knochenspitze fordert, wenn man sich so ausdrücken darf, eine zweifache Befestigung. Ihr unterer Zapfen wird in die offene Kerbe des Holzschaftes hineingepreßt. Da er keilförmig ist und jene eng gehalten wird, klemmt er sich. Trotzdem wickelt man in etwa neun Windungen einen schmalen Lederstreifen *tuwardrum*, der vorher gut eingeweicht wurde, unter festem Anspannen herum und verknotet sein freies Ende. Trocknet er ein, zieht er sich noch mehr zusammen und bietet erhöhte Festigkeit. Keineswegs erstrebt man, die Spitze in jener Kerbe besonders zu sichern; vielmehr erwartet man, daß sie im geeigneten Augenblick herausrutscht. Demnach bezweckt eine zweite Befestigung, die Spitze freibeweglich mit dem Schafte verbunden zu halten. Über den Zapfen der Knochenspitze, also um den unteren Teil der Kerbe, legt man einen etwa 12 mm breiten Lederriemen aus einer Robbenhaut und verknotet ihn hier; das andere Ende verknüpft man sicher am Holzschaft selber, nicht mehr als 70 cm von der Kerbe entfernt. Dabei zieht sich der Riemen nicht stramm und absichtlich läßt man ihn locker hängen. Bevor man die Spitze in die Kerbe einklemmt, dreht man den Riemen um seine Längsachse, bis er sich der Länge nach eingerollt hat und eine starke Spannung, sich wieder aufzuwickeln, verspüren läßt. Am Aufwickeln wird er behindert, sobald er oben festsitzt. Zuweilen hängt dieses kurze Riemenstück flach und locker.

Jetzt erst kann der Jäger diese Waffe in Gebrauch nehmen. Überraschend zweckmäßig ist sie eingerichtet. Weil sie geworfen wird, verleiht der schwere Holzschaft ihr reichlich Nachdruck. Ist die Knochenspitze in den Körper einer Robbe oder einer verwandten Tierart eingedrungen, versucht diese sofort den lästigen Fremdkörper abzuschütteln. So oder so löst sich die Spitze vom Schaft. Sogleich stellt sich dieser etwas schief und er dreht sich im Wasser meist so lange, bis der eingerollte Riemen sich aufgewickelt hat. Absichtlich wurde der Riemen nicht in der Mitte des Schaftes, vielmehr im oberen Drittel befestigt. Hat er sich nämlich von der Spitze gelöst, stellt er sich nicht genau quer, sondern im größeren oder kleineren spitzen Winkel zur Richtung, in der das Tier vorwärts strebt; dadurch ist er außer Gefahr zu brechen und bremst dennoch ziemlich stark. Zuweilen verwickeln sich schwimmende Algen mit diesem Schaft und Riemen, wodurch der Widerstand im Wasser bedeutend erhöht wird. Das verwundete Tier ist am schnellen Entfliehen oder am tiefen Untertauchen bedenklich behindert und der erfolgreiche Jäger kommt ihm bequem nach. Flüchtet es in einen schwimmenden

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[175] Bumann (h): 14 erwähnt: „De la mandíbula de la ballena hacen puntas para lanzar." Über die Herstellung der Harpunenspitzen sagt Hyades (q): 355 mehr allgemein, daß „Les Fuégiens emploient un os de baleine, quelquefois un os de phoque, mais les os de baleine sont préférés". Früher hatte Snow (a): II, 361 berichtet: „Their principal spear-heads are entirely constructed of hard bone, and are about seven inches long, finely pointed, with a barb on one side four inches from the point."

Algenknäuel, verwickelt sich darin der nachgeworfene Schaft unabwendbar und das schwer ermattete Tier fällt bestimmt in die Hände seines Verfolgers.

Außerordentlicher Scharfsinn hat diese Waffe erfunden und zu einer vollendeten Ausgestaltung gebracht, sie wirkt überraschend sicher.

4. Die große Harpune

Was soeben als Wirkungsprinzip der kleinen Harpune herausgestellt worden ist, das beherrscht auch die von mir als große Harpune (Abb. 35) bezeichnete Wurfwaffe: Das verwundete Tier darf dem Jäger, der ihm bereits einen empfindlichen Stoß versetzt hat, nicht mehr entweichen. Beide Stücke unterscheiden sich voneinander nur durch einen Nebenumstand, der immerhin ein glänzendes Zeugnis für die scharfsinnige Erfindungskraft der Indianer ablegt. Frühere Beobachter sprechen zwar von den Harpunen; aber wie diese so sicher und leicht dem Indianer seine Beute in die Hand spielen, wird nirgendwo beschrieben. Eben dadurch offenbart sich die hohe Leistungsfähigkeit jener Waffen.

In den meisten Einzelheiten ist die große Harpune der kleinen gleich und diese läßt sich auch durch wenige Handgriffe in jene umwandeln. Vor allem muß der Schaft, für den man das schwere Holz der immergrünen Buche wählt, ganz regelmäßig und etwa 3 m lang sein. Wäre er auch nur etwas verbogen oder sonstwie schadhaft, böte er keine genügende Treffsicherheit. Im allgemeinen gehen unsere Eingeborenen wenig behutsam und vorsichtig mit ihren Gerätschaften um. Seine Wurfwaffen aber behandelt jeder Mann mit Sorgfalt und einiger Aufmerksamkeit; er stellt sie neben seine Hütte möglichst senkrecht aufgerichtet und lagert sie sicher im Vorderteil des Kanus, damit sie sich nicht verziehen. Das Holz zum Schaft wird in der Weise aus jenen Jahresringen einer jüngeren Nothofagus betuloides entnommen, die Abb. 34 zeigt.

Frühere Mitteilungen hierüber sind ungenau und unvollständig. Wer die feuerländischen Holzarten gut kennt, wird Hyades (h): 24 und (q): 352 niemals zustimmen, daß sich für den Harpunenschaft auch der Stamm der Drimys Winteri (S. 28) eigne. Anders ist es mit den jungen Stämmchen der feuerländischen Cypresse (Libocedrus tetragona) *Ilpaix*, die immer kerzengerade wachsen und wegen ihrer Schwere einen großen Vorteil bieten. Am Canal de Beagle gedeihen sie jedoch nur an einer oder zwei Stellen im Westen[179] und sind für den überwiegenden Teil der Yamana einfachhin unerreichbar. Man sieht demnach in den Händen aller nur den Schaft von der immergrünen Buche *Ïŏr'Ei*, der gleichmässig achtkantig ist. Außerdem kann man

[179] Auf meiner vierten Reise habe ich Vertreter der Libocedrus tetragona im Puerto Edwards, am Südufer der Peninsula Brecknock als sicher nachgewiesen; das ist die äußerste Grenze für die Verbreitung dieser Art. Suarezenas (g): 28 vermutet, daß sie noch ein wenig mehr nach dem Süden hinaufreicht, nämlich bis zur Isla Chair im Canal Darwin.

als mittleren Durchschnitt ein Rechteck von etwa 35 mm Breite und 28 mm Höhe beobachten, deren vier Ecken abgetragen wurden, woraus ebenfalls die Achteckform entstanden ist. Schäfte mit sechs gleichmäßigen Seitenflächen sind nicht so häufig wie die eben genannten.

Die schmale durchgehende Kerbe am oberen Ende ist selbstverständlich auch bei dieser großen Harpune für eine Knochenspitze bestimmt, welche hier eingeklemmt wird; darüber legt man einen schmalen Lederstreifen in etwa 10 engen Windungen fest an. Soll ein Flossenraubtier harpuniert werden, wäre es auch das gewaltige Männchen der Elefantenrobbe *Mirounga* (Macrorhinus leoninus) (Abb. 9), wählt der Jäger eine mittellange Knochenspitze mit einem einzigen großen Zahne oder die noch kürzere mit zwei großen Zacken (Abb. 36).[100] Letztere mißt etwa 15 cm. Die erwähnten Tiere tragen unter ihrer dicken Lederhaut eine dünnere Speckschicht als die Wale unter ihrer feinen Oberhaut, die Knochenspitze soll aber möglichst tief in die Muskelschicht eindringen, wo die beiden seitlichen Zacken als Widerhaken sicherer wirken. Damit ist auch der Grund genannt, weswegen zum Harpunieren der Wale eine über 40 cm lange Knochenspitze mit einem scharfen Zahn bevorzugt wird; eine kürzere Knochenspitze bliebe nämlich größtenteils in der Speckschicht stecken und deswegen fast wirkungslos.

Was diese Waffe von der sogenannten kleinen Robbenharpune auffällig unterscheidet, ist eine lange Lederleine von 20 m und mehr. Sie erscheint gleichmäßig gearbeitet, aus der frisch abgezogenen Haut eines Pinnipediers hat man sie herausgeschnitten und immer aufgerollt belassen. Das eine Ende ist fest an der Kerbe der

Abb. 35. Die große Harpune

Knochenspitze verknüpft. Von hier aus zieht man sie den Schaft entlang und hält sie daran mit zwei oder drei lockeren Kreuzschlingen fest. Beim Zielen und Abwerfen hält der Mann etwa die Mitte des Schaftes in der rechten Hand und der Kranz mit den Leinewindungen hängt ihm am linken Unterarme.[101] Hat er das Tier getroffen, bleiben Knochenspitze und Schaft eine Zeitlang miteinander verbunden; doch ist es für das verwundete Tier viel nachteiliger, wenn es den gelösten Schaft, der unregelmäßig sich bewegt, nachzerren muß. Durch schlagende Bewegungen mit der Leine — denn dazu ist sie durch Kreuzschlingen mit dem Schaft verbunden — gelingt es dem Manne, den Schaft von der im Tiere steckenden Knochenspitze abzutrennen. Nun gibt er dem Tiere so weit als möglich Leine; nachdem es sich ermüdet oder schwer verblutet hat, zieht er es sanft und langsam heran, indem er die Leine gemächlich wieder einrollt.

Abb. 26. Zweischeiige Harpunenspitze. $^{2}/_{3}$ nat. Gr.

Man möchte es kaum für möglich halten, wie sehr der Mann jene entfliehende Robbe durch den lockeren Schaft in nächster Nähe der im Fleische steckenden Harpunenspitze richtunggebend beeinflussen kann. Sollte die eine und die andere Kreuzschlinge sich am Schaft lösen oder verschieben, er stellt sich trotzdem nie genau quer, sondern im spitzen Winkel zur Bewegungsrichtung; damit ist vermieden, daß er beim starken Vorwärtsdrängen des verwundeten Tieres bricht.

Meist wirft der Jäger diese Waffe dann ab, wenn er festen Boden unter den Füßen hat. Gebraucht er sie vom Kanu aus, ist größte Vorsicht geboten, vor allem, wenn damit ein Wal verwundet wurde. Endlich gelingt es manchem, nachdem er mit glücklichem Wurf das Tier getroffen hat, an den Strand oder auf einen Felsen zu springen, während er das Ende der langen Lederleine festhält oder sich um den Leib wickelt. Nun hat er einen sicheren Stand und das Kanu ist außer Gefahr; dieses kann sich zuweilen dem verwundeten Tiere nähern und ein anderer versetzt ihm den Todesstoß. Mit der langen Lederleine dieser Harpune ziehen mehrere Männer sogar einen schwimmenden toten Wal an die Küste heran.

Trotz vieler Übereinstimmungen ist die Brauchbarkeit der großen und der kleinen Harpune etwas unterschiedlich. Beider Vorzug besteht in der

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[101] Zu Unrecht behauptet Hyades (q): 256: „Il est très rare de voir des pointes de harpon en os, mobiles, avec une entaille de chaque côté en forme de fer de lance." Diese Form wird nicht minder häufig hergestellt und verwendet, als die mittelgroße und ganz große Knochenspitze mit einem einzigen Zahne.

[102] Snow (s): II, 361 sagt: „To the bone is attached a string hide of various lengths. In using the spear, they hold it nearly by the middle, and, with the right eye cast along it, they dart it with great precision." Genauer ist Bove's (e): 158 Beschreibung.

beweglichen Knochenspitze.[188] Die längste, die man überhaupt herstellt, setzt man immer auf die kleine Harpune und auch dann auf die große Harpune, wenn ein Wal angegriffen wird; mit ihr strebt man eine tiefe Verwundung an.

5. Wurfspieß und Speere

Außer den Wurfwaffen mit beweglicher Spitze bedient sich der Yamana noch solcher mit einer festsitzenden Spitze. Jene nenne ich Harpunen, bei diesen unterscheide ich den Wurfspieß von den Speeren. Der Wurfspieß besteht ebenfalls aus dem bereits beschriebenen achteckigen, etwa 3 m langen Schaft *ídja*, dem man meist die lange Knochenspitze mit einem Zahne *ɣowaja* aufsetzt. Beide verbindet man zuverlässig. Denn wenn die Spitze dem Tiere im Leibe steckt, darf der Schaft nicht ausrutschen, sondern muß durch seine Schwere die Wunde vergrößern und das Tier am Entfliehen behindern. Der Jäger greift vornehmlich dann zu diesem Wurfspieß, wenn er eine auf dem Lande überraschte Robbe angeht oder wenn er einem todesmatten Wal große Wunden beibringen will. Dazu eignet sich diese Waffe ganz besonders; denn ihr Schaft ist schwer und die geschärfte, lange Knochenspitze dringt tief ein. Gegen kleinere Tiere, die eine weniger dicke Speckschicht auf dem Körper tragen, bewährt sich auch die zweizackige kürzere Knochenspitze *wáixil*, sogar die lange gezahnte Knochenspitze *ídžuwaja*. Obwohl beide sich weniger tief in den Körper einbohren, weil sie stumpfer als die *ɣowaja* sind, haften sie ausreichend fest, daß beim Nachschleifen des Schaftes die Wunde aufgerissen und größerer Blutverlust veranlaßt wird. Der Wurfspieß ist also dann am meisten wirksam, wenn der Jäger festen Boden unter den Füßen hat und die ganze Kraft seines Armes beim Abwerfen in die Waffe legen kann.

Als leichtere Wurfwaffen haben unsere Yamana die Speere zur Verfügung. Man kann einen Vogelspeer und einen Fischspeer unterscheiden. Der Schaft für den ersteren ist ebenfalls eine regelmäßig bearbeitete Stange, meist aber ein junges Stämmchen von Maytenus magellanica oder von Nothofagus oder von Drimys Winteri, dem die Rinde abgeschält wurde. Er überschreitet gewöhnlich 3 m Länge nicht. Das dickere Ende wird ganz gerade abgeflacht. Hier schneidet man von einer Seite her die Kerbe ein, ohne sie bis zur anderen Seite durchzustoßen. Etwa ein Viertel des Dickendurchmessers bleibt bestehen und das dient der hier einzuschiebenden Knochenspitze, die mit ihrer Rückenkante dagegen stößt, als Halt. Ihr unterer Teil besitzt einige kurze, geradstehende Zähne. In deren Zwischenräumen liegen die Windungen des schmalen Riemens, der fest herumgewickelt wird. Den gleichen Schaft mit dieser eben beschriebenen unvollständigen Kerbe benützt man auch für die *ídžuwaja*; denn diese sitzt darin sicher und fest.

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[188] Deshalb bezeichnet Hyades (q): 353 und (b): 24 sie als „harpons mobiles" und Dabezac (b): 184, übereinstimmend damit, als „arpones a punta móvil".

Kennzeichnend für die Speere sind gezahnte Spitzen aus Knochen oder Holz. Für erstere benützt man ausschließlich die Rippen vom Wal. Man bearbeitet sie zunächst mit grobkörnigem Sandstein, dann mit Quarzsplittern oder Muschelschalen und glättet sie endlich mit Bimsstein. Die beiden Kanten laufen oben in eine Spitze aus, der Rücken wird abgerundet[183] und auf der gegenüberliegenden Kante sägt oder schneidet man ein Zähnchen nach dem andern mühsam mit scharfen Muschelschalen oder Quarzsplittern ein. Diese Zähnchen sind schmal und mehr oder weniger gleichmäßig, sie stehen demnach eng nebeneinander und neigen sich stark nach unten. Das untere Endstückchen bleibt unregelmäßig gezahnt und verschmälert sich; es wird in die Kerbe eingesetzt und hier umwickelt.

Zur Jagd auf Vögel bedient man sich dieses Speeres mit der Knochenspitze. Am häufigsten wirft man ihn gegen Pinguine, die ein hartes Fleisch haben, in das eine Holzspitze nicht tief genug eindringen würde.

Dieser Vogelspeer, wie man ihn nennen könnte (Abb. 37), ist fühlbar leichter als eine Harpune. Ein noch geringeres Gewicht weist der Fischspeer auf. Um ihn bequem und schnell handhaben zu können, muß er, bei entsprechender Länge, möglichst leicht sein. Zum Schaft wählt man ein ausgesucht dünnes Stämmchen der immergrünen Buche, schneidet am dickeren Ende ebenfalls eine unvollständige Kerbe ein und bringt hier eine kürzere Knochen- oder Holzspitze mit gezahntem Rande an. Für letztere eignet sich am besten das Holz der Berberis ilicifolia, das sehr zäh und biegsam ist. Somit bietet diese Holzspitze *hāma ámpa* den großen Vorteil langer Dauerhaftigkeit; auch ist sie unvergleichlich schneller als eine gezahnte Knochenspitze fertiggestellt.

Weil der Fisch eine nur schmale Angriffsfläche bietet, hilft sich der Yamana mit dem doppelspitzigen Speer.[184] Er wählt einen Schaft, dessen Durchmesser ein breites Achteck bildet; gewöhnlich aus einer Nothofagus betuloides arbeitet er ihn heraus. Oben schneidet er zwei lange, flache Kerben heraus, die sich einander gegenüberstehen und durch eine dünne Holzschicht voneinander getrennt bleiben. In jede setzt er eine gezahnte Knochenspitze, die beide mit dem gleichen Riemen umwickelt und festgehalten werden. Der geschweiften Rückenkante einer jeden Spitze ist es zuzuschreiben, daß beide voneinander ein wenig abstehen; dadurch wird die Möglichkeit, den Fisch zu treffen, ansehnlich erhöht (Abb. 37). Sollte die

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[183] Mit Sicherheit läßt es sich nicht erweisen, ob die Yamana eine Knochenspitze, deren beide Kanten gezahnt waren, hergestellt haben. BD: 64 bringt allerdings: 'aussie', the single or double notched spear head used for seals, porpoises. Bei den Halakwulup habe ich die doppelreihig gezahnte Speerspitze aus Holz sowohl wie auch aus Knochen zuweilen sogar nebeneinander angetroffen.

[184] SPEARS: 58 behauptet, daß zum Fischspeer zuweilen sogar drei Spitzen benützt worden seien „and the barbs were all on the inside". Das ist mir unbekannt und wird von keinem anderen Reisenden berichtet. Bei den Halakwulup allerdings habe ich dergleichen Fischspeere gesehen.

Spitze auch nur wenig eindringen, jeder geneigte Zahn wirkt als Widerhaken und der Schaft als Ballast, weswegen ein Entrinnen ausgeschlossen ist.[165]

Um seine verschiedenen Jagdtiere zu erreichen, hat der Yamana mehrere Wurfwaffen erfunden, die, jede für sich, überraschend zweckmäßig sind. In seinem Kanu nimmt er sie überallhin mit und legt sie gebrauchsfertig in den Vorderteil, daß sie weit über den Bug hinausstehen. Fürs erste wählt er, wenn ein Jagdtier in die Nähe kommt, die dafür geeignetste Waffe; nachher ergreift er, was ihm am nächsten liegt, um der Beute nicht verlustig zu gehen. Aspinall: 270 behauptet, „drei Arten solcher Spieße führt [der Mann im Kanu] stets mit sich". So viele und von jeder Art zwei bis drei Stück sind es bestimmt. Zu vielseitiger Verwertung eignet sich der Wurfspieß mit der zweizackigen und der Vogelspeer mit der gezahnten Knochenspitze, das leuchtet ein.

Jeder Erwachsene ist fähig, diese Waffen herzustellen und auszubessern, sie sind ihm beim Lebenserwerb unentbehrlich. Nicht jedem allerdings gelingt es, einen gleichmäßigen Schaft aus dem Buchenstamme herauszuschneiden; einzelne Männer erreichen darin eine wirkliche Meisterschaft. Deshalb tauscht mancher Mann einen guten Schaft, den er benötigt, gegen andere Dinge aus. Einige lose Spitzen hat jeder immer vorrätig, die er in einem länglichen Lederbeutel *yānūku* aufbewahrt. Jene wenigen Männer, die ganz ebenmäßige große Harpunenspitzen anzufertigen imstande sind, werden allgemein belobigt.[166] Abschließend sei noch erwähnt, daß die Harpunen- und Speerschäfte zuweilen mit *lmi* eingerieben werden. Das geschieht in der Absicht, sie zu verschönern, und aus der erprobten Erfahrung, daß sie von der Faust sicherer gefaßt und gehalten werden.

Abb. 37. Der Fischspeer

6. Dolch und Lanze

Begreiflicherweise sind die Berichte der früheren Zeit in manchen Einzelheiten nicht so genau und ausführlich, wie wir es uns wünschen. Auf den Unterschied von Dolch und Pfeil ist mancher Beobachter nicht eingegangen und hat ersteren mit letzterem, wohl wegen der großen Übereinstimmung der Spitzen

beider, gleichgestellt. Was die Neuzeit aus den Muschelhaufen zutage gefördert hat, war jenen Seefahrern völlig unbekannt. Um so mehr verdient der allein von WENDELL (a): 110 im Dezember 1823 gebotene Hinweis beachtet zu werden, daß der Pfeil vom Dolch zu trennen ist. Nachdem er den Pfeil als „vorne mit einem eingeklemmten dreieckigen, spitzigen Stein versehen" beschrieben hatte, fügte er an: Diese Eingeborenen „besaßen noch eine andere Waffe, nämlich ein oben so gestalteter Kiesel wird vorne in einen 9 Zoll langen Griff eingepaßt und dient wahrscheinlich als Dolch".

Tatsächlich gebrauchen die Yamana diese kurze Stoßwaffe, die man füglich mit D o l c h benennen kann (Abb. 38).[107] Er besteht aus einem daumdicken, etwa 30 cm langen Schaft, für den man das zähe Holz der Berberis ilicifolia bevorzugt. In die ganz offene, schmale Kerbe am dickeren Schaftende klemmt man eine Steinspitze ein, die man durch mehrere Windungen

Abb. 38. Der Dolch. 1/3 nat. Gr.

eines schmalen Riemens oder dicker Sehnenfasern festhält. Die Steinspitze, unterschiedslos *yékui* genannt, zeigt Dreieckform, der meist ein fast rechteckiger Zapfen anhängt (Abb. 39); letzteren schiebt man in die Kerbe hinein. Von entscheidender Bedeutung ist der Längsdurchmesser, beträgt er doch gewöhnlich mehr als das Doppelte einer Spitze, die dem Pfeilschaft aufsitzt. Jene erscheint wegen ihrer Größe und Schwere als Pfeilspitze nicht geeignet. Da sie überdies an einem kurzen Stock befestigt wird, betrachte ich die Bezeichnung Dolch für diese Waffe als passend. Man führt sie auch als solchen. Ein Mann faßt das letzte Drittel des Schaftes und sticht gegen einen Seelöwen, dem er auf dem Lande begegnet. Von vorn, niemals von der Seite geht er ihn an und kann sich ihm so sehr nähern, daß er ihm den Dolch, ohne gebissen zu werden, in den Hals stößt.

Früher wählte man für die Dolchspitze flache Blätter von schwarzem Gesteinschiefer und grünlichem Jaspis; neuestens bevorzugt man dickes Flaschenglas, das sich leichter bearbeiten läßt. Die Kanten der gläsernen Dolchspitze schneiden schärfer, stumpfen sich allerdings schneller ab. Bei ständigem Absplittern unter Druck mit einem kurzen Knochenstäbchen entsteht

[106] LOTHROP (b): 153 erwähnt noch einen „Guanaco-speer" als im Besitze der östlichen Yamana. Er stützt sich m. E. auf zweifelhafte Mitteilungen. Was er abbildet, ist offensichtlich der Fischspeer der Selk'nam. Vgl. Abb. 40 in Bd. I, 245.

[107] Beschreibungen dieser Wurfwaffen finden sich u. a. bei BOVE (a): 132, COJAZZI: 109, DANGUIN (b): 184, HYADES (b): 22 und (q): 302, 353, LOTHROP (b): 148, MARTIAL: 191, SPEGAZZINI (a): 163, SOUNCZIN: 123 und WENDELL (a): 94.

[108] Bei den Halakwulup habe ich diese Waffe öfters angetroffen. Aus ihrem Besitz stammen vier schöne Dolche mit Glasspitzen, die das Naturhistorische Museum in Wien gegen Ende der 60er Jahre durch HAGENBECK erworben hat.

die Form mit den scharfen Kanten und der dicken Spitze. Auf meiner zweiten Reise hat der alte ALFREDO einen Dolch von insgesamt 48 cm mit langer Glasspitze für mich angefertigt;[188] dabei konnte ich sehen, wie er entstand, und währenddessen im einzelnen erfahren, wie er eigentlich gehandhabt wird.

Vom Dolch zur Lanze ist nur ein kleiner Schritt. Bisweilen trägt auch sie eine große, schwere Spitze von Dreieckform. Auffallen muß es, daß Lorbeerblattformen, die zu den häufigsten Oberflächenfunden auf der Isla Grande gehören (Bd. I, 263), im weiten Kap Hoorn-Archipel bis heute nur ganz vereinzelt nachgewiesen worden sind. Dieser Lanze bedient man sich in der gleichen Weise und

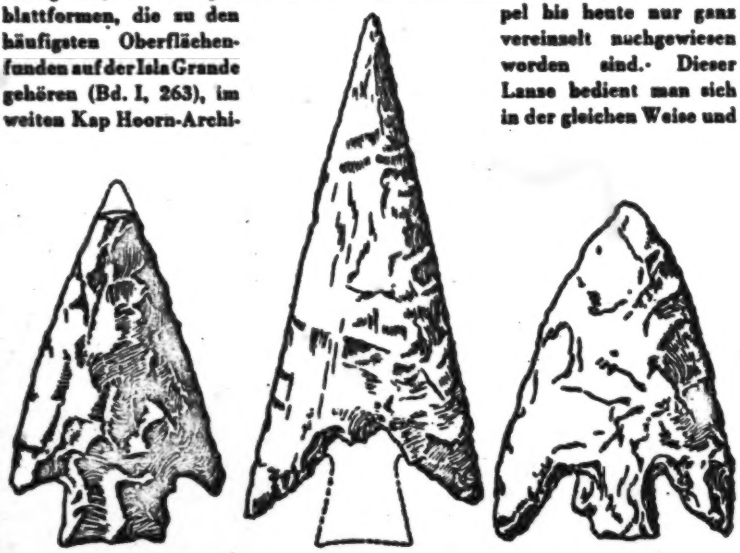

Abb. 39. Dolch- oder Lanzenspitzen. Natürl. Größe

zum nämlichen Ziele wie des Wurfspießes. Letzterer unterscheidet sich durch seine Knochenspitze von der andersgeformten Steinspitze der ersteren, die sozusagen ausnahmslos einem runden, langen Schaft *yéyakŏr*[1] aufsitzt.[189]

7. Die Schleuder

Zwar etwas weniger als die Harpunen und Lanzen, aber immerhin sehr häufig wird von unseren Feuerländern die Schleuder gebraucht. Sie hat den besonderen Namen *lăfina* und der damit geschleuderte Stein heißt *watăyuwa*, *wŏtăuwa*. Die beiden letzten Benennungen gibt man zuweilen der Schleuder

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[188] Dieses Stück wird heute im Museo Histórico zu Santiago de Chile aufbewahrt. Vgl. die Beobachtungen, die HYADES (q): 360 mit dem Indianer namens YAKAW gemacht hat.

[189] KNOCHENHAUER: 318 nennt als „ursprüngliche Waffen" den Wurfspieß und die Harpune. „Bogen und Pfeile, Schleudern und Beile haben die Yahgan und Alikulaf wohl erst

Abb. 40. Die Schleuder

selber. Der geschichtliche Beweis bestätigt es eindeutig, daß sie, seitdem unsere Eingeborenen bekannt sind, immer in ihren Händen war und noch ist. In der ersten Mitteilung, die der Offizier der Landsoldaten A. Decker im Februar 1624 in der Bahía Nassau aufgezeichnet hat, führt er unter den Waffen der dortigen Indianer auch "Schleudern" auf (S. 53). In den Berichten der Folgezeit wird auf sie immer wieder hingewiesen. Weddell (a): 94 hat sie eingehend beschrieben und Snow (a): II, 361 noch ausführlicher: „The Sling is made of the skin of the seal or otter. It is generally about three feet long, and of the common forme: the strings are sometimes made of small gut, handsomely plaited, and terminated by knots of ingenious workmanship." Pickering: 19 war 1839 bei diesen Feuerländern und behauptet, ihre Waffen „consist only of slings and spears." Später haben die Missionare und die Reisenden der letzten Jahrzehnte diese Waffe noch immer angetroffen.[100] Ich sah die Eingeborenen viel damit spielen und nach kleineren Tieren jagen.

Hält man die Schleuder unserer Eingeborenen (Abb. 40) neben die der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 243), wird man kaum auf einen deutlichen Unterschied stoßen; tatsächlich ist die Zusammensetzung beider sozusagen vollständig gleich. Als Mittelstück wählen die Yamana ein Lederläppchen vom Otter oder von einer Robbe. Während die Selk'nam die Haarschicht herunterschaben, lassen unsere Indianer sie regelmäßig stehen und verwerten sie häufig als Innenseite, seltener als Außenseite.[101] Hierin unterscheiden sich beide Stücke denn doch. Der genannte Umstand mag nebensächlich erscheinen, hat aber eine wirkliche Bedeutung, die mir der alte Alfredo genannt hat. Die Yamana bevorzugen ein Lederstückchen, das dicht behaart ist; denn alle Steine, die sie zum Abwerfen ergreifen, besitzen eine glatte Ober-

fläche, sei es, weil sie eigentliche Rollsteine, sei es, weil sie vom Seewasser befeuchtet sind. In einem behaarten Mittelstückchen sitzen sie nicht unbeträchtlich sicherer als in einem enthaarten. Letzteres können die Selk'nam mit gutem Erfolge verwerten; denn was sie als Wurfsteine benützen, weist eine rauhe Oberfläche auf und ist zumindest mit einer feinen Staubschicht bedeckt. Trotzdem halten einige Männer das Lederläppchen mit der Haarseite auch nach außen gekehrt.

Das Mittelstück zeigt längsovalen Umriß und ist etwa 22 cm lang, bei einer Breite von 8 cm. Durch häufigen Gebrauch wird es außerordentlich weich. An den spitzen Enden bringt man beide Schnüre auf der gleichen Seite an, und zwar auf der haarlosen. Jede Schnur läuft in einen kleinen Knoten aus und davor vernäht man sie mit Sehnenfasern. Die Schnüre werden aus drei Sehnensträhnen fest geflochten. Bei einem Stück in meiner Sammlung beträgt die eine Schnur 66 cm und die andere 62 cm. Eine jede schließt wieder mit einem Knötchen ab und dieses ist in ein haselnußgroßes Kügelchen aus Otternleder eingenäht. Die von J. Cook mitgebrachte Schleuder in der Ethnographischen Sammlung zu Göttingen zeigt eine Gesamtlänge von 167 cm. Diese Maße entsprechen der sogenannten langen Schleuder. Daneben gibt es noch eine kurze, die der Mann im Kanu gebraucht. Hier fehlt ihm ein sicherer Standpunkt und der Raum ist zu beengt, um die lange Schleuder mit Kraft, und ohne die Insassen zu verletzen, in Schwung zu bringen.

Frühere Beobachter haben den Gebrauch der Schleuder eindeutig festgelegt. Tatsächlich wird sie viel verwendet und zwar zur Jagd auf Vögel. In Colim's: 161 Worten liegt keine Übertreibung, daß „l'arme più usata dai Fueghini è la fionda." Martial: 191 bestätigt: „Ils emploient plus ordinairement la fronde pour les oiseaux." Man schleudert Steine ab, die etwas kleiner als ein Hühnerei sind und die dort in Massen herumliegen; damit versorgt man sich für das Kanu jedesmal vor der Abfahrt.

Je nach Belieben legt der und jener zwei oder drei Steine auf, zumal wenn man gegen eine dichtgedrängte, engstehende Vogelherde einen Wurf wagt. Andere Männer haben es zur Gewohnheit, immer nur einen einzigen größeren Stein aufzulegen. Den Abschlußknoten der längeren Schnur legt man in die hohle Hand zwischen den kleinen Finger und den Ringfinger, daß die Schnur über den Rücken des kleinen Fingers stramm bis zum Lederstückchen verläuft; den Abschlußknoten der kürzeren Schnur faßt das obere

von den Ona übernommen. Daher sind Bögen und Pfeile bei den Yahgan ziemlich selten, bei den Alikuluf schlecht gearbeitet, und nur die Alikuluf besitzen Bolas und verstehen die Schleudern gut zu handhaben, was man von den Yahgan keineswegs behaupten kann." Meine Beobachtungen stellen diese verschiedenen Einzelheiten richtig.

[500] Gute Beschreibungen haben geliefert: Bove (b): 156, Cojazzi: 109, Colim: 161, Dabbene (b): 185, Hyades (b): 29 und (q): 301, 357, Lothrop (b): 156, Martial: 191, Spegazzini (a): 162, Spencer: 131, Wilckens: 25 u. a.

[501] Das ist ersichtlich aus der Zeichnung, die sich bei Hyades (b): 30 und (q): pl. XXX, 14 findet. Die hier eingefügte Abb. 40 zeigt jene weniger übliche Gebrauchsweise, nämlich die behaarte Seite des Mittelstückes nach außen zu kehren.

Glied von Daumen und Zeigefinger. Nun ergreifen die Finger der linken Hand das Mittelstück mit dem Steine und die rechte Hand beginnt mit leichtem Anstoß die gespannte Schleuder waagrecht zweimal oder mehrmals über dem Kopfe zu drehen. Im passenden Augenblick wird die kürzere Schnur freigegeben, die Schleuder öffnet sich und die Steine fliegen in gerader Richtung vor dem Schleuderer ab. Je kräftiger vorher die Drehungen waren, um so stärker schlagen die Steine ein. Mancher Mann begnügt sich mit einer einzigen Halbdrehung der gespannten Schleuder.

Sollen die Steine erfolgreich wirken, wirft man sie nicht über eine 12 m entfernte Grenze hinaus und jedermann zielt gegen die Köpfe der eng beieinander stehenden Vögel; der eine oder andere dürfte den Wurf erhalten und betäubt werden. Mit der Schleuder einen bestimmten Punkt auf die gleiche oder auf größere Entfernung zu treffen, gelingt auch dem Feuerländer nicht; denn sie gewährt von vornherein geringe Zielsicherheit. Wohl aber trägt sie einen Stein im hohen Bogen 80 m weit weg.[172] Trotzdem muß man zugeben, um HYADES' (g): 35 Worte zu gebrauchen, daß die Yamana „in deren Handhabung sehr geschickt sind"; denn sie gehen damit auch aus bloßer Spielerei oft und oft tagsüber um.[173]

Selbstredend müssen unsere Indianer die Schleuder nahe bei der Hand haben. Ihre Art, sie zu t r a g e n, ist überraschend vorteilhaft. Die meisten legen sich die beiden Sehnenschnuren um den Hals und ziehen das letzte Drittel ohne irgendwelche Knotung über das zusammengelegte Mittelstück hinweg; die Enden hängen dabei frei herunter. Mit einem einzigen Griff der linken Hand, die das Mittelstück faßt, ist die Schleuder gebrauchsfähig; während die rechte Hand im gleichen Augenblick die Steine auflegt und schon die Enden zum Abwerfen faßt (Abb. 41). Andere ziehen die beiden Sehnenschnuren, die eine so und die andere so, um den Kopf, daß das Mittelstück rückwärts aufliegt; die freien Enden überschlagen sie zu einer einfachen Kreuzschlinge. Einige wenige endlich binden sich die Schleuder um die Hüften.[174] Wie gesagt, um die Schleuder schnell und überall bei der Hand zu haben, legt man sie sich leicht erreichbar um einen Körperteil, nicht aber gilt sie als Schmuck.[175] Die Yamana bedienen sich ihrer nicht nur um Vögel zu betäuben, sondern auch im Kampfe gegen ihresgleichen.

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[172] Diesbezüglich haben BOVE (e): 158 und CELINI: 161 sowohl wie LOVISATO (a): 198 und (b): 136 weit übertrieben. Gegen ihre Behauptungen, die wörtlich übereinstimmen, hat sich bereits HYADES (h): 32 und (q): 357 erhoben.

[173] Das könnte man deutlicher, als BRIDGES es getan hat, kaum ausdrücken: „The amusement these natives are most fond of is slinging at birds; they often go along the shores here with their slings" (VSA: XII, 53; 1865).

[174] Schon FITZ-ROY (a): 138 hat wahrgenommen, daß „a man always carries his sling around his neck or waist, wherever he goes".

[175] HYADES (b): 33 hat die befremdliche Ansicht ausgesprochen: „Il faut donc admettre que la fronde des Yahganes est autant un objet d'ornement pour les hommes qu'une arme de chasse ou de guerre."

Alle Anzeichen sprechen eindeutig dafür, daß die Schleuder in allen Teilen des Kap Hoorn-Archipels gehandhabt wurde. Jedweder Mann und Knabe besaß und besitzt sie. Bei Ankunft der Mission Scientifique in der Bahía Orange trug, nach Hyades (q): 357, jeder Indianer seine Schleuder; so war es auch im ganzen Heimatgebiete dieses Stammes üblich. Lothrop (b): 157 ergeht sich in der müßigen Erörterung über die Herkunft der Schleuder und meint, „that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yaghan". Dieser Ansicht kann ich mich nicht anschließen, auf seine und meine Beweise gehe ich hier noch nicht ein. Statt dessen mache ich mir den Satz aus Snow (b): 264 zu eigen, daß die Yamana „are remarkably expert with their slings". Offensichtlich beweist der Besitz und Gebrauch der Schleuder aber auch „their ingenuity".

Abb. 41. Mann mit Schleuder

8. Fanggeräte

Unseren Yamana ist es gegeben, eine große Auswahl unter den Tieren ihrer Heimat für die Nahrungsversorgung zu treffen. Jeder Art suchen sie auf besondere Weise beizukommen, um ihrer möglichst bequem und sicher habhaft zu werden. Außer den bereits aufgezählten Waffen bedienen sie sich noch einiger Gerätschaften, die hier kurz gezeichnet und weiter unten ausführlicher beschrieben werden sollen. Unter einem Sammelnamen sind sie in diesem Abschnitt vereinigt. Sie helfen dem Manne und der Frau, kleinere Vertreter der feuerländischen Fauna, nämlich die Vögel und die sogenannten niederen Tiere, wie Muscheln und Krabben, zu erreichen.

a. *Die Schlingenleine*

Für den unauffälligen Massenfang ist dieses zusammengesetzte Gerät bestimmt. Die Yamana nennen es *áška*, ich halte die Bezeichnung: große Schlingenleine am geeignetsten; auch Schlingenfalle wäre eine passende Benennung. Sie wird häufiger von den Halakwulup als von unseren Feuerländern verwendet. Hyades (q): 359 erinnert mit Recht daran, daß sie von *Bougainville bereits im Jahre 1769 an den Ufern der Magellan-Straße beobachtet worden ist.

Sozusagen der Grundpfeiler dieser großen Schlingenleine ist eine dicke, geflochtene Schnur aus langen Sehnenfasern vom Guanaco. Da die wenig-

sten Leute sich diese verschaffen können, begnügen sie sich mit den Sehnenfasern vom Wal und machen aus drei kräftigen Strähnen ein festes Geflecht. Mit Fett wird dieses Stück durchtränkt und wiederholt eingeschmiert; denn lange Zeit oft liegt es auf dem nassen Erdboden, wo es gegen Verfaulen geschützt werden muß.

An die lange Schnur bringt man in Abständen von etwa 60 cm so viele einzelne Laufschlingen an, *kŏr-ŝ/* genannt, als Platz finden. Eine jede von ihnen besteht aus einem einzigen, etwa 4 mm breiten Fischbeinstreifen, dessen Kanten nicht fasern dürfen; sie brächten sonst die freie Bewegung des kleinen Schlingenknotens am oberen Ende zum Stocken. Das andere Ende, nachdem es durch diesen geführt worden ist, schließt man durch einen einfachen Knoten ab und verknüpft es an der langen Schnur. Alle Laufschlingen kommen auf die gleiche Seite zu liegen. Jede zeigt, wenn sie ganz offen steht, einen Durchmesser von nahezu 20 cm.

In Wirklichkeit ist also die große Schlingenleine *ŝ/ka*, nach Hyades (q): 304, „un jeu de collets" (Abb. 59). Martial: 195 nennt sie „un lacet", den er beschreibt als „un cordon en tendons de phoque, sur lequel des noeuds coulants en fanons de baleine sont placés de distance en distance".[100]

Am besten eignet sie sich zum Fang der Wildgänse, die gewisse Standorte bevorzugen. Hier wird diese Schlingenleine dem glatten Boden aufgelegt, dann gespannt und schließlich mit ihren Enden an je einen eingerammten Pfahl festgebunden. Zum Fang anderer Vögel eignet sie sich wenig oder gar nicht. Hyades (q): 304 drückt sich zu allgemein aus, wenn er sagt, „on se sert de ce piège, pour prendre les gros oiseaux". Darin liegt es auch begründet, daß nur vereinzelt eine Yamana-Familie dieses Stück, weil es mühsam hergestellt und außerordentlich sorgfältig aufbewahrt werden muß, tatsächlich besitzt und gebraucht; es stellt also einen hohen Wert dar.

β. Der Schlingenstab

Dient die lange Schlingenleine dem Massenfang, so ein anderes Gerät, das ich als Schlingenstab bezeichne, dem Einzelfang von Vögeln. Hauptsächlich an Gänse und Enten pirscht sich der Indianer damit heran, aber auch an Scharben und Pinguine. Fast in jeder Familie sieht man deshalb diesen *akámul*, wie man das ganze Stück nennt.

Man unterscheidet an ihm zwei Teile. Eine leichte, lange Stange als Schaft, genannt *yŏyukŏr*[1], mit gerundeter, glatter Oberfläche ist weiter nichts als ein durch langes Schaben bearbeitetes junges Stämmchen von Nothofagus betuloides oder von Maytenus magellanica. Es muß sehr leicht sein, deshalb eignet sich Drimys nicht. Man verkleinert den mittleren Durchmesser sogar

[100] Eine gute Abbildung findet sich in Hyades (q): pl. XXX. Lothrop (b): 187 verweist auf die große Schlingenleine der Selk'nam; er übersieht dabei, daß diese in Anordnung der Fischbeinlaufschlingen von der unserer Yamana abweicht (Bd. I, 263).

bis auf 15 mm. Nach oben und nach unten verjüngt sich dieser Schaft sehr wenig und ganz allmählich. Je länger er ist, um so besser eignet er sich.

Oben bringt man eine größere **Laufschlinge** aus Fischbein an und das Ganze erscheint somit, wie Hyades (q): 359 sich ausdrückt, als „une longue tige mince, munie d'un nœud coulant en faisan de baleine". Das Endstück wird durch einen Knoten in der Sehnenfasern-Umwicklung an der Schaftspitze festgehalten. Es überrascht, daß diese Fischbeinschlinge *kfr-ā/* aus zwei Stücken, einem langen und einem ganz kurzen zusammengesetzt ist; beide liegen einige Zentimeter weit nebeneinander und sind mit Sehnenfasern umwickelt, das kurze endet in einem kleinen Schlingenknoten. Eben diese Zusammensetzung zeigt auch jede einzelne Fischbeinschlinge an der langen Schlingenleine der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 253), während an der unserer Yamana jede Fischbeinschlinge nur ein einziger Streifen ist (Abb. 59). Ein *kfr-ā/* aus zwei Teilen ist wirksamer und dauerhafter, davon sind die Yamana überzeugt. Warum sie diese zusammengesetzten Schlingen nicht auch an der langen Schlingenleine anbringen, wußte mir niemand zu begründen; wahrscheinlich weichen die Leute der größeren Anstrengung bei der zweiten mühsamen Herstellungsarbeit aus.

Besonderer Erklärung über die **Verwendung** dieses Schlingenstabes bedarf es nicht. Selbstredend wird er von einem Manne, der an geeigneter Stelle sich verborgen hält, unbemerkt vorgeschoben, einem Vogel über den Kopf geführt und sofort durch starken Ruck angezogen. Im Prinzip arbeitet die Laufschlinge hier genau so wie bei der langen Schlingenleine. Sogar eine einzelne Fischbeinschlinge ohne jedweden Schaft benützt man zum Vogelfang. Damit ist die dreifache Art, nach der die Fischbeinschlinge von den Yamana verwendet wird, ausführlich genug beschrieben und gekennzeichnet.

7. *Muschelgabel, Muschelbrecher, Krabbengabel*

Die Schaltiere des Meeres haben für die Ernährung der Feuerländer die gleiche Bedeutung, wie etwa das Brot für den Europäer. Viele kann er am Strande absammeln, andere muß er aus dem Wasser heben. Die beiden Miesmuschelarten, die dort auftreten, nämlich *ferwf* (Mytilus chilensis) und *kpēdje* (Mytilus edulis), sind in unübersehbaren Mengen vorhanden. Sie sind um so größer und schmackhafter, je reichlicher sie auch bei tiefster Ebbe vom Wasser bedeckt bleiben und je lebhafter die Strömung ist, die über sie hin- und herwirbelt. Unmöglich ließen sich diese Tiere mit der Hand lösen, etwa wie jene kleineren und weniger schmackhaften, die jedwede Ebbe bloßlegt.

Um die traubenförmigen Anhäufungen im tiefen Ufersande zu lockern und um jene Einzeltiere abzuhrecken, die den Stämmen der Macrocystis-Algen aufsitzen, bedient sich die Indianerin der sogenannten **Muschelgabel**, die sie *halāne* nennt. Der Gatte muß ihr dieses Stück anfertigen; denn nur er besitzt das erforderliche Handwerkszeug. Man wählt als Schaft

ein möglichst hohes, jungen Bäumchen und bewegungsfähiges Kopfmaterial, dessen Höhe schwerer als das von der Breite ist. Das Bäumchen wird von der Rinde befreit und gut gepflegt; sein oberes Ende flacht man seitlich ein wenig ab. Man bohrt ihm eine Länge von 1,50 m und mehr.

An diesem Schaft pfropfen[1] bindet man mit einem schmalen Lederriemen die eigentliche Gabel fest, die etwa ein Pfundel nur so lang wie jener ist. Hierfür eignet sich ebenso das Holz der Esche, der gemeine Rotbuche (Fagus), ist es doch außerordentlich zäh und dauerhaft oder ähnlich. Man spaltet ein dickeres Bäumchen, der Länge nach, flacht die gespaltenen Hälften unten spatelförmig ab und macht einen Bogenrest Einschnitt, daß eine zweizinkige Gabel entsteht. In diesen Spalt schiebt man ein kurzes Holzpflöckchen ein und verschraubt es mit einem gefluchtenen Bimsstabchen oder mit Flachbeisen,[2] dadurch bleibt es immer offen. Durch die eigene Tragsamen verziehen sich die Schäften des Holzgewebes und zwar verzöllfaltenweise so, daß das ganze Stück nach außen gerundet erscheint. Diese natürliche Neigung erleichtert das Eindringen in die trockenförmigen Achselwinkel der Mimosenbäume. Den oberen Teil der Gabel beschneidet man noch von allen Seiten und verbindet ihn mit dem Schaft (Abb. 41).

Dieses langgestreckte Gerät hilft die Indianerin von ihrem Kanu aus ansteuerbar in die Tiefe gleiten, bedient sich seiner indes nur an Tagen, da die See ruhig und das Wasser durchsichtig ist.[3] — Sie bockert jede einzelne Mimosenbaumkrone, bricht sie von ihrer Ansatzstelle ab und hebt sie hoch. Die Mimosenbaumkrone liegt fast regelmäßig im Vorderteile des Kanus, zwischen den Harpunen und Speeren der Mannes; denn hier ist sie am meisten gesichert.

Wenn die Indianerin, bei Ebbe auf dem Felsgelegenen Mimosenbaumkrone lagernd oder im Wasser watend, die Mimosenbaumkrone abbricht, verlangt sie ihre angestrengten Hände dadurch Hilfe, daß sie sich einen zugespitzten Stocken oder den von mir so bezeichneten Mimosenbaumkrone bedient (Abb. 42). Dieser ist weiter nichts als ein kräftiger Stamm oder dicker Ast der Rotbuche (Fagus). Der Mann bearbeitet ihn für seine Frau. Er trennt die Äste glatt ab, bohrt aber die Rinde; denn deren rauhe Oberfläche gewährleistet der Hand jederzeit ein sicheres Fassen, mag der Stab vom Meerwasser noch so stark durchfeuchtet sein. Sodann wurde erwähnt, daß das Holz dieses Stockes sehr zäh, doch weich und biegsam ist; die Schwaden Bewegungen, die man Abtrennen der Mimosenbaumkrone notwendig sind, würde ein anderes Holz nicht gut ertragen können. Durch diesen Mimosenbaumkrone hangen und tief genug in die trockenförmigen Achselwinkel der Mimosenbäume eindringt, flacht man ihn unten mulldförmig ab und gibt ihm eine stumpfe Kante. Die Frau versteht es gut, ihn mühelos zu handhaben.

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[1] Lemmer (S) 194 bildet einen von Ihm so benannten „Jungenpfropf" ab, bei dem der junge Pfropf mit einem schmalen Pfeilschaftstab verbunden ist. Abb. 41 dieses Werkes zeigt eine Verbindung von gefluchtetem Bimsstabe.

[2] Brown (a) 300 schreibt: „Ich gebe mir Ihr wegen gleichzeitig so dunkel so dunkel gleichzeitig so tiefen Schlitzelbaumen wurde die Fragen qui sont à Fallmann."

Falls sie das zufällig nicht besitzen, greift sie zu einem spreizigen Stock, den sie meist an einer kurzen stumpfen Spitze besitzen. Mit diesem umfaßt sie in die Mundhöhlende hinein und bewegt den einen Ende so lange hin und her, bis die einzelnen Tiere gebohrt sind.

Die sehr schwarzhaarigen Rundköpfchen erhöhen auch den Tamanu als einen Lockvöglinnen; die große sylpe (Lithodes antarctica) und die kleine sylphid (Paralomis granulosa) sind gemeint. Diese Tiere finden sich dort in unendlicher Zahl und Tiefen, entsprechend den Bewegungen von Ebbe und Flut, ausnahmsweise am Meeresboden die Küste hinauf und hinunter, allerdings immer unter einer beträchtlichen Schicht von Wasser. Sie durch Taucher zu erbeuten, glückt nicht immer, weil sie sich in der Tiefe halten und so entkommen können. Aber hat man sie langen Gerät erbeutet, das passend mit Krebsbeugeln bewickelt ausbeutet und der die Tamanu dem nennen (Abb. 42). Seine Grundform stimmt genau mit der Menschengabel überein. Die vollständige Beschreibung ist an anderer Stelle nachgeschrieben, wo auch ihre Verwendung beschrieben wird.

Einem gewissen Stämmchen der bemaspitzen Rinde schälte man die Rinde ab und machte die Oberfläche gebrauchfähig. Zum Ausstreuell wählt man ein dickes Stämmchen der großen Bambusen Abbau, dessen besonders Eignung wirklichkeit gebrauchsfähig ist worden ist. Kunstvoll spaltet man es durch zwei Drittel seiner Gesamtlänge und hält die vier Enden durch zwei kurze Holzpflöckchen auseinander. Diese Enden werden stumpf zugespitzt. Nachdem das andere Ende passend abgeflacht worden, bindet man es mit einem Bindchen oder mit einem Bröckchen eine gefiederten Bambusstangeln am Schaft fest. Gesamt 141 benutzte ein Stück von 3,35 m Gesamtlänge, die meisten Bambusrohre dieses Mal nicht. Je dünner, um so mehr eignet es sich.

Sodann hält die Indianerin von Sorne Kaua um diese lange Gabel in die Tiefe gleiten und stößt die Zinken in das Rundmaule Kalkjärtlet der sogenannten Kopfbrust einer Krebbe. Die Spannung und Klemmung, die dann zwischen den unbeschossenen Teilchen schaffen, verhindert es, daß beim Herausziehen das ganze Tier abreißt, wenn es mit seinen langen Beinen noch so lebhaft strampelt. Im Kaua streift die Indianerin es mit den eigenen Füßen von den Zinken ab, während sie die lange Krebbengabel senkrecht in den Windes hält, und es fällt auf den Boden.

Selbstverständlich ist es Pflicht der Gattin, auch diese Krebbengabel für seine Frau anzufertigen. Während er den Schaft bearbeitet, schlägt er seiner Hand mit einem besonderen Lederlappen (Abb. 39).

Abb. 41. Wunderkleinkind

4. Die Angel

Das sanfte, friedliche Fischen der Fischer in den Tanganjika eine wesentliche Abwechslung in ihrer etwas einförmigen Ernährungsweise. Der Mann wirft zuweilen seinen Speer nach einem größeren Fische, der in einer sehr seichten Bucht steht oder der anderweit einen sicheren Zielpunkt bietet. Viel häufiger ist die Inflanzerin mit der Angelleine beschäftigt, die sie nur vom Kanu aus ins Wasser gleiten läßt, sitzende vom Strande aus und noch viel weniger verwendet einer langen Angelrute irgendwelcher Art.

Zwei Arten von Fischleinen sind im Gebrauch voneinander nur durch den ägyptischen Angelfaden unterschieden. Der eine ist nicht mehr und nicht weniger als ein bindfadenähnliches Stückchen der großen Bananenfaser (Musa sapientum sativa), von dem man mit dem Fingernagel die Verfärbungen so tief unten abspaltet, daß er fast ganz glatt erscheint (Abb. 63). Nach jedem Gebrauch rollt man ihn zusammen; er trocknet dabei nur sehr langsam ein und wird nicht leicht brüchig. Benötigt man ihn, genügen etwa zwanzig Minuten, bis er im Wasser völlig aufgeweicht und wieder biegsam ist.

Die andere Angelleine wird aus drei dünnen Schnurmacherfäden geflochten; sie erreicht, wie die erstere, eine Länge von 8 m und mehr (Abb. 64). Um die Finger aufbewahren zu können, wickelt man auch sie, allerdings zu einem festen Knäuel, jedesmal nach Gebrauch auf.[illegible] Letztere ist unvergleichlich dauerhafter und sie erweist sich als viel sicherer beim Einziehen.

Sowohl diese wie jene endet in einer Schlinge mit laufendem Knoten aus einer Federspule. Langgestreckt mißt sie etwa 12 cm. Da die eigentliche Leine mit einem blinden Knoten abschließt, verknüpft man das obere Ende jener Federspule von diesem. Auf der glatten Oberfläche bewegt sich die Laufschlinge ohne jede Reibung. Sie nimmt als Köder ein Stückchen Rehbraunfleisch oder eine kleine Muschel auf.

Weil der Köder zuweilen in beträchtlichen Tiefen hinuntergelassen werden muß, macht sich ein Senker unentbehrlich. Man greift zum nächstbesten Stein, der zufällig abgeflacht ist und unregelmäßige Ränder besitzt. Etwa 3 cm lang ist er heute. Um umwickelt man mit der Leine etwa 8 cm oberhalb der Schlinge. Zuweilen wählt man in den nördlichen Tanganjika-Gebieten den schwarzen Kugelstein (Abb. [illegible]), den heute nur sehr wenige Frauen bei der Hand haben.

Jede Inflanzerin hat beim Angeln außerordentlich geschickt. Weil sie keinen eigentlichen Angelhaken besitzt, wartet sie ab, bis der Fisch den Köder hinunterzugeschluckt hat und zieht dann erst die Leine sehr rasch hoch. Ist der Fisch ganz nahe an die Wasseroberfläche herangezogen worden, greift sie nach unten und faßt ihn mit ihrer sicheren Hand, indem sie den zweiten und dritten Finger unter je einen Kiemenschlitz schiebt. Hat sie ihn aus dem Wasser gehoben, beißt sie ihm das Genick durch und tötet ihn.

[illegible] Bei Bemerkungen [illegible] Inflanzerinnen (1898: [illegible]). Bemerkungen [illegible] „Die Leinen werden nicht am gemeinsamen Tang [Musa sapientum sativa] angebracht, sondern an Bäumen und durch einen angebundenen Stein versenkt." Vgl. Bemerkungen [illegible] und Bemerkungen [illegible].

Was unsere Yamana zu Fanggeräten gebrauchen, verrät höchste Zweckmäßigkeit. Bei einem jeden dieser Dinge läßt es sich erweisen, daß es den Indianer mit einem geringen Aufwand von Kraft in den Besitz des Beutetieres bringt, auf das er es jeweils abgesehen hat oder dem er nachgeht.

9. Handwerkszeug

Zu einer allgemeinen oder nur überwiegenden Verwendung von Steinwerkzeugen haben es die Feuerländer noch nicht gebracht. Dafür das nur spärliche Auftreten von Quarzgestein und von Schiefern in jenem Gebiete verantwortlich zu machen, genügt nicht. Als durch Europäer das Eisen und Glas eingeführt wurde, haben die Eingeborenen sich diese Stoffe sofort, doch nur in beschränkter Verwendung zunutze gemacht, ohne indes die ursprüngliche Form ihrer Gerätschaften zu ändern oder letztere durch andere zu ersetzen. Eine eigentliche Bearbeitung des Steines erscheint nur bei den steinernen Pfeil- und Dolchspitzen (S. 480) als notwendig. Ob diese Feuerländer auch den schwarzen Kugelstein mit einer Rille *tâli* geformt haben, ist nicht als sicher zu erweisen. Die ganz ansehnliche Mehrheit ihrer Handwerkszeuge besteht demnach aus Muschelschalen, Holz und Knochen. Aus den Angaben der früheren Seefahrer ist diese Tatsache leicht zu ersehen.

Die folgende Beschreibung gilt jenen Stücken in ihrer vom Europäertum noch nicht beeinflußten Zusammensetzung. Als ein erheblicher Kulturfortschritt muß es unseren Eingeborenen angerechnet werden, daß sie mehrere Gerätschaften von verschiedener Ausgestaltung und Form mit einer jeweilig ganz bestimmten Verwendung zustande gebracht haben.

Auf ein eigenartiges Benehmen der Yamana, das auch Lorenzer (b): 139 angedeutet hat, sei hier kurz hingewiesen. Falls sie irgend etwas für ihre Gerätschaften benötigen, nehmen sie sich nicht erst die Mühe, gründlich nach einem sehr guten Stücke zu suchen oder eine Gelegenheit, die ihnen vorteilhaftere Teile in die Hände spielt, abzuwarten; vielmehr greifen sie das Erstbeste auf, sofern es ihrem augenblicklichen Bedürfnis genügt und den Zweck, dem es dienen soll, zu erfüllen verspricht. Eine besser geformte Muschelschale als Messer, ein gerader Stein als Handgriff liegt vielleicht nur wenige Schritte weiter von der Hütte entfernt. Das aber kennt der Indianer nicht, sich zu erheben und ein wenig herumzusuchen, sofern er von seinem zufälligen Sitzplatze aus das eine oder andere gewünschte Stück, falls es ihm halbwegs genügt, erreicht. Wenig oder gar keinen Wert legt er auf ein schönes und dauerhaftes Handwerkszeug; er begnügt sich damit, daß es ihm eine Zeitlang dient. In etwa erklärt sich seine Lässigkeit und Gleichgültigkeit daraus, daß er seine Sachen weder genügend schützen noch sicher aufbewahren kann; schnell verliert sich ein Stück oder wird unbrauchbar. Wozu also besondere Mühe auf seine Herstellung aufwenden?

In dieser Gedankenrichtung liegt auch die Erklärung dafür, daß unsere Indianer sich nicht übermäßig eifrig um europäische Eisengeräte bemühen.

Falls sie das eine und andere besitzen, geben sie sich damit zufrieden und benützen es als Universalinstrument. Als eiserne Streifen, Klingen und Nägel noch eine große Seltenheit für sie waren, also in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten seit ihrer Entdeckung durch die "Nassauische Flotte", stahlen sie sich diese Dinge eifrig zusammen; sobald sie damit leidlich versorgt waren, rührte sich ihr Verlangen darnach sozusagen überhaupt nicht mehr.

a. *Der Schaber*

Ein von Frauen und Männern gleich häufig benütztes Stück ist der Schaber *ufkér*[1]. Cooper: 217 behält Recht, wenn er schreibt: „Among skin-using tribes like the Fuegian the scraper naturally takes an important place" (Abb. 43). Jeder Erwachsene besitzt zumindest einen als sein persönliches Eigentum; er ist ihm notwendiger als das Taschenmesser dem Europäer.

Durchgängig setzt dieses Ding sich aus d r e i T e i l e n zusammen. Der bedeutsamste ist eine große Muschelschale, die eine eigentliche Klinge vertritt. Hierfür wählt man ein besonders starkes, langes Stück, für das man die eigene Bezeichnung *pélu/*[200] gebraucht. Muscheln von höchstem Ausmaß gedeihen an besonders günstigen Stellen, wo unruhige, kleine Wasserstrudel ihnen reichlich Nahrung zuführen. Die erwählte Schale ist zumindest 10 cm lang. Man bricht die gewölbten Seitenränder vorsichtig herunter, um das fast flache Mittelstück zu erhalten, und verschmälert schließlich jenes Ende, an dem das Gelenk sitzt. So entsteht eine keilförmige Grundform, allerdings mit geschweiften Rändern, und das zugespitzte Ende wird dem Handgriff angelegt.

Dieser ist ein etwa 12 cm langer, abgerundeter oder kantiger Stein, den man am Ufer findet. Ihn etwas zurechtzustutzen oder zu glätten kommt niemandem in den Sinn. Die feste Hand der Feuerländer weiß ihn so oder so, doch sicher zu packen. Nur darauf achtet jeder, daß er das Muschelplättchen einer flachen Stelle dieses steinernen Griffes genau anpaßt; läge es nämlich teilweise hohl, bricht es unvermeidlich schon bei leichtem Druck. Um das sowohl zu vermeiden, als auch um eine geringe Federung zu ermöglichen, schiebt der Indianer eine dünne Zwischenlage von *čilér*[1], geschabte Spänchen von der Berberitze, oder von Moos, unter den Vorderteil des Schaftes, soweit er jenem Muschelblatt aufliegt; sie bildet gleichsam ein Bett, in dem dieser federnd ruht. Ein schmaler Lederriemen oder eine geflochtene Sehnenschnur, die mehrmals herumgewickelt werden, halten beide Stücke hinreichend fest zusammen (Abb. 44).[201]

Jedermann faßt den Schaber so, daß der Handgriff in der ganzen rechten

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[200] A large, strong shelled mussel whose shell is used as a skipper; nach BD: 245. Das ist ein großes Tier von Mytilus edulis, nicht aber eine andere Art, wie Lovenor (b): 139 irrtümlich angibt. Vgl. Hyades (q): 299.

[201] Eine gute Beschreibung liefern Chilm: 161, Hyades (q): 299, Lovisato (a): 196 und (b): 136, Lovenor (b): 139 und Spegazzini (a): 143. Coopers Übereinstimmungen mit dem Schaber der Selk'nam springen sofort in die Augen (Bd. I, 242).

Hand liegt und die Muschelschale, mit der konkaven Fläche zum Körper hin, beim kleinen Finger heraussteht. Er bewegt ihn strichweise auf sich selber zu. Seine Verwendung ist vielseitig. Man bedient sich seiner vor allem beim Abläsen und Reinigen der Felle, beim Zerlegen der Tiere und Zerstückeln des Fleisches, beim Bearbeiten der Schäfte und Stäbe für Lanzen und Harpunen, für Speere und Fanggeräte, beim Loslösen der Rinde und Zubereiten der einzelnen Hölzer, die zum Kanu nötig sind, beim Einkerben von Ästen und Stämmchen, die man umbrechen will, beim Beschneiden einer Tierhaut und verschiedener Lederteile, endlich bei manchen anderen Arbeiten. Lovenor (b): 140 bestätigt: „The scraper was the most important tool to the Yahgan and served a great variety of purposes." Einen überaus günstigen Vorteil bietet dieses Gerät, weil seine Schneide genau so schnell, wie sie abstumpft, auch wieder geschärft werden kann. Dazu genügt ein kurzes Schaben auf rauhen Steinen, die das Ufer der Kanäle bilden, oder eine kurze reibende Behandlung mit einem länglichen, flachen Steinsplitter als Wetzstein.

Abb. 43. Schaber. 2/3 nat. Gr.

Abb. 44. Schaber. 2/3 n. Gr.

Wahrscheinlich hat dieser Schaber das Vorbild für einen Stechbeitel oder eine Art von Meißel abgegeben, den die Yamana seit Einführung des Eisens anfertigen und den sie *tuxalapêna* nennen. Hyades (q): 299 beschreibt ihn als „un ciseau moderne, fait avec un morceau de fer". Außer *ufkôr*[1] bringt BD: 573 auch *tufkôr*[1], a chisel like piece of iron bound to a handle of wood and also to a suitable stone to add weight to it used as a kind of chipper. Wer sich nämlich ein eisernes Plättchen von einem Faßreifen oder anderswoher verschafft hat, gibt ihm eine rechteckige Form und legt die eine Schmalseite an einen abgeflachten, steinernen Handgriff oder klemmt ihn in ein gespaltenes, kurzes Holzstück ein, wo er es fest mit einem schmalen Riemchen verschnürt. Die Schneide schärft man ebenfalls an einem rauhen, flachen Steine.[200] Es leuchtet ein, daß dieser Stechbeitel, sowie der, den die Selk'nam benützen (Bd. I, 248), erst so lange besteht, seitdem die Feuerländer einige flache Eisenstückchen von den Europäern übernommen haben. Wie

[200] Sowohl Lovenor (b): 140 wie auch Hyades (q): pl. XXXII haben diesen Stechbeitel oder Meißel in verschiedenen Ausführungen abgebildet.

sehr sie deswegen es manche Schiffsmannschaft beklagt haben, sei hier nur angedeutet. Bald haben sie für sich selber dieses Werkzeug angefertigt.[303]

β. Das Messer

Allerhand Dinge vermag der Feuerländer mit dem Schaber zu schneiden, zu gewissen Arbeiten ist ihm eine Art *Messer wíja, wijlâki* vorteilhafter. Verfehlt wäre es, hierbei an einen Gegenstand zu denken, der unserem Messer gleicht; handelt es sich doch um nichts mehr als um die ebenmäßige Schale der Messerscheidemuschel (Solen). Das Fleisch dieses dort im Sandboden eines flachen Ufers häufigen Tieres ißt man nicht; man gräbt es nur zu dem Zwecke aus, um die etwa 12 cm lange und 3 cm breite Schale von gleichen Hälften zu gewinnen.

Abb. 45. Steinklinge. N. Gr.

Ihrer bedient man sich hauptsächlich bei feinen Arbeiten in Rinde, Leder und Knochen, weniger zum eigentlichen Durchschneiden oder, wie Hyades (q): 300 sich ausdrückt, „à découper les écorces de pirogue, ou plus exactement à tracer, sur les écorces, comme avec un poiçon, la courbe suivant laquelle on devra les découper". Man greift zur Schale der Scheidemuschel, wenn man ganz genaue Einschnitte ausführen will. Kommt es weniger auf Regelmäßigkeit an, nimmt man die nächstbeste Mytilus-Schale oder auch ein passendes Schieferplättchen und wetzt sie auf einem rauhen Steine; damit kann man tiefere Schnitte machen als mit der Schale von der Messerscheidemuschel.[304]

Während diese Dinge noch heutigentags viel verwendet werden, haben sich aus früherer Zeit in den Muschelhaufen echte Steinklingen erhalten (Abb. 45), die hin und wieder wohl auch als Messer gedient haben. Lothrop (b): 141, 190 bezeichnet sie tatsächlich als "knives". Sie sind meist längsoval und besitzen geschärfte Ränder. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach war es ihre erste Bestimmung, als Lanzen- oder Speerspitzen zu dienen. Sogar Lothrop (b): 190 kann nicht umhin zuzugeben, daß die von ihm abgebildeten Stücke „may well have served as knives or conceivably might have been barbless tips for spear or arrow". Von einem Volke, das nur wenige Gerätschaften besitzt, wird selbstverständlich ein und dasselbe Werkzeug in mehrfachem Sinne verwendet.[305]

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[303] Fitz-Roy erwähnt in Kiw: 417 einigemale, während seiner Reisen seit 1829 bei diesen Indianern „cutting weapons made with pieces of iron hoop fastened on a stick" beobachtet zu haben.

[304] Dumas (b): 679 spricht von einem „curved knife of whalebone for cutting bark". Das ist kein Messer, sondern der oben genannte Rindenschneider (Abb. 27).

[305] Oberdies wird die Bezeichnung „Messer" auch für verschiedene andere Dinge gebraucht und Coreen: 217 beispielsweise nennt sogar drei Arten von Messern.

Was auch immer man im gleichen Sinne wie unser Messer gebrauche, die Zusammensetzung dieses letzteren besitzt es nie, sondern ist weiter nichts als die nackte Muschelschale. Nachdrücklich betont Hyades (q): 300: „Les Fuégiens n'ont pas d'outil indigène analogue à notre couteau; ils le remplacent par le cisseau en coquille ou en fer, quand ils peuvent se procurer celui-ci." Um die Muschelschale zum Einschneiden sicher fassen zu können, legt man sich vorerst in den Handteller einen dünnen Lederlappen und hält jene durch diesen hindurchgreifend reichlich genug fest.

Abb. 46. Pfriemen. $^1/_2$ n. Gr.

7. *Der Pfriemen*

Häufige Verwendung findet der Pfriemen oder die Knochenahle *ómj*, einerlei, wie man dieses Stück nennt. Man wählt am liebsten den Oberarmknochen einer Scharbe, den man von allen Fleischteilen befreit hat. Dessen dünneres Ende bricht man ab und feilt diesen Teil zu einer scharfen Spitze zu. Nun weist er eine Länge von etwa 13 cm auf und ist leicht zu handhaben. Doch auch den Knochen eines anderen Vogels nimmt man gelegentlich.

Um die Spitze zu sichern, macht man ein daumendickes Bündel von Binsenstengeln und umwickelt es mit einem ebensolchen Stengel, damit es zusammenhält. In dieses Bündel *ómu*, das etwa 8 cm lang belassen wird, sticht man die Pfriemenspitze hinein; infolge der Pressung rutscht sie nicht ab und wird wie von einem Futteral geschützt (Abb. 46). Zuweilen ist dieser Pfriemen weiter nichts als ein zugespitztes Stöckchen aus dem harten Holze einer Buche. Es ist etwa fingerlang und wird regelmäßig beim Flechten der Körbchen von sämtlichen Frauen und Mädchen benützt.[264]

Mit diesem Pfriemen sticht man kleine Löchlein, entweder ins Leder, das man zu Mänteln und Decken, zu Taschen und Beuteln verbinden, oder in die Rindenteile eines Kanu oder eines Schöpfers, die man zusammennähen will. In neuester Zeit haben die Yamana gelernt, einen echten Schusterpfriemen anzufertigen. Einem fingerlangen Eisennagel feilen sie den Kopf ab und treiben dieses Ende in einen kurzen, zylinderförmigen Handgriff aus Holz hinein; das andere Ende wird spitz zugefeilt. Dieser Pfriemen *ométkuj* dringt selbstverständlich viel schneller in Leder und Rinde ein und die Leute arbeiten gern damit.[265] Eigens sei erwähnt, daß Bohrer den Feuerländern von altersher unbekannt sind; deshalb sind sie nicht imstande, Löcher in ein Stück Holz zu machen. Hierfür benützen sie neuerdings einen eisernen Nagel, den sie bei Europäern erwerben.

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[264] Ausführlich beschreibt Bryant: 134 drei Knochenahlen, die von einem Hundehaufen auf Isla Navarino stammen. Eine davon ist aus dem Knochen eines jungen Königspinguins hergestellt.

[265] Lamaze (b): 142 hat zwei dieser neuzeitlichen Pfriemen abgebildet.

5. *Keil und Hammer*

Gar nicht selten ist es, daß ein Mann zu einem Knochenkeil greifen muß. Unumgänglich notwendig wird er ihm, wenn er die Rindenstücke für sein Kanu zu einem Buchenstamme einschneidet. Dieses einfache und doch wertvolle Stück ist I. 441 beschrieben worden (Abb. 26).[300] Zum Spalten dünnerer und dickerer Stämme tut der Knochenkeil *Ila* noch wichtigere Dienste, wenn es sich darum handelt, den unteren Teil der Krabbengabel oder die Muschelgabel herzurichten. Auch spaltet man damit gesunde und morsche Baumstämme, die man als Brennholz verwenden will, und dickere Baumstämme, die man nachher mit der eigenen Körperschwere umbricht.

Zu Keilen eignen sich allein die großen Knochen vom Wal; ich habe nicht erfahren, daß man es je mit Knochen von großen Robben versucht hätte. Sie waren seit altersher in den Händen dieser Feuerländer. SPENCER: 132 schreibt: „Many wedges of whale-bone were found in middens on Navarin Island. These are roughly made, more or less parallel-sided, cut and ground at one end to a curved cutting-edge. The other end is squared and most of the examples show signs of crushing by heavy blows at this end, caused, no doubt, when the wedges were driven in for splitting wood. The bone used appears to be cetacean ribs, a very suitable material for making wedges"...

Den Knochenkeil treibt man durch Hämmern mit einem Steine in eine kleine Rinne, die man vorher mit einem Messer oder Schaber einschneiden muß. Jenen Stein als Hammer zu bezeichnen ist nur insoweit berechtigt, als man damit Schläge auf den Knochenkeil ausführt; irgendwelche Bearbeitung erfährt er nicht. Zu schweren Arbeiten sucht man sich einen größeren und abgerundeten Stein mit flachen Seiten, den man bequem mit den Fingern umklammern kann, ohne daß diese übergreifen. Dadurch bleibt die mittlere Fläche des Steines frei, mit der man auf den Keil schlägt. Unvermeidlich bleiben an der Schlagstelle deutliche Spuren zurück. Den in Muschelhügeln herumliegenden Hammersteinen begegnet man oft. Wie man den erstbesten Stein zum Hämmern dort aufhebt, wo man ihn benötigt, so wirft man ihn unbekümmert auch wieder an der Stelle weg, an der man seine Arbeit mit ihm beendet hat. Kleinerer Hammersteine, sogenannter Handstücke bedient man sich tagtäglich zum Aufschlagen von Schalentieren und zum Zertrümmern von Tierknochen.[300] Einleuchtend ist es, daß für diese einfachen Zwecke der Stein keiner Schäftung bedarf.

Der soeben beschriebene Keil wird aus dem schweren Gewebe der großen Walfischknochen herausgearbeitet und zwar durch Hin- und Herreiben unter Druck über einen flachen Stein. Sobald in etwa die erwünschte Form erscheint, wird die Schneide sorgfältig geschärft. Schließlich bleibt noch übrig, die gesamte Oberfläche zu wetzen und zu glätten. Hierfür eignet sich ein

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[300] Andere Abbildungen finden sich in HYADES (q): pl. XXXII, 9 und in SPENCER: 139.

[300] Auch LOTHROP (b): 141 spricht von den „Hammersteinen. These stones never were lashed." Er bildet einen ab und nennt „5 inches" als dessen Länge.

faustgroßer Bimsstein, den das Meer an vielen Stellen aufs Ufer wirft. Wiederholt wurde betont, daß unsere Indianer oft zum Bimsstein *hiyal* greifen müssen; denn all ihre knöchernen Harpunen- und Speerspitzen, sowie die vielen hölzernen Schäfte glätten sie allein mit diesem sehr brauchbaren Stoffe. Lothrop (b): 143 erwähnt: „For polishing, in place of our sandpaper or the Ona fox-skin and grit, the Yahgan used pumice *hiál*". BD: 262 schreibt *hiúal*. Freilich nützt sich der Bimsstein an dem harten Knochengewebe schnell ab, doch kann man ihn überall an den Küsten auflesen.[210] Auch die Selk'nam (Bd. I, 235) benützen bekanntlich den nämlichen Bimsstein nicht wenig häufig.

2. *Verwendung des Eisens*

Das Eisen in irgendwelcher Form auszunützen war den Yamana der ersten und ältesten Zeit völlig unbekannt. Ihre Heimat bietet es nicht und durch Tauschhandel konnten sie es ebensowenig erwerben. Sobald sie aber auf europäischen Schiffen seiner ansichtig geworden waren und seine Brauchbarkeit erkannt hatten, verstanden sie es auch, sich diesen Stoff sowie Stahl- und Kupferplättchen rechtlich oder durch Diebstahl anzueignen. Ihr ungestümes Verlangen darnach zeitigte bisweilen üble Folgen für sie selber.

Erstaunlich ist es, wie schnell sie sich das Eisen zunutze gemacht haben, das sie als Nägel, als kleine Beschlagplatten und als Faßreifen übernahmen. Gänzlich neue Formen von Handwerkszeugen oder Gerätschaften haben sie damit nicht gestaltet. Der Pfriemen mit dem Eisennagel (S. 495) ist nur eine Umbildung ihres ursprünglichen Pfriemens aus einem Vogelknochen (Abb. 46) und beim Messer wird seitdem als Klinge ein Eisenplättchen statt der Muschelschale eingeschoben. Wie es scheint, haben unsere Feuerländer schon nach kurzem Erproben jene für das Auge unbedeutenden Verbesserungen mit dem übernommenen Eisen geschaffen und daran in der Folgezeit nichts mehr geändert.

Bekanntlich reicht ihr Bemühen, sich Metallstücke zu erwerben, in die Zeit der ersten Besuche europäischer Schiffe zurück und es hat auch späterhin nicht nachgelassen. Noch Wendell (a): 93 schrieb, was mehrere Jahre später Colvocoresses: 41 mit ähnlichen Worten wiederholte: „Ihnen waren unter allen Dingen Eisenstückchen das Angenehmste, denn die einzigen Instrumente, die sie zum Schneiden hatten, waren Muschelschalen." Aus den Anfängen der Missionstätigkeit berichtet Rev. Jacob Rau am 1. August 1864 über die wenigen Yamana, die nach Isla Keppel gebracht worden waren: „The Fuegians have now learned to value everything which might be in future profitable to them. Pieces of iron which lie about they pick up, and grind them, and make knives out of them" (VSA: XI, 290; 1864).

Selbstverständlich gewöhnte sich dieser und jener auch sehr schnell an

[210] Lothrop (b): 143 bestätigt: „It frequently floats down Beagle channel and may be picked up on the beach." Zu Unrecht behauptet Lothrop (a): 197, Bimsstein finde sich nur auf Isla Nueva und Isla Lennox.

fertiges Eisengerät, das er zufällig von einem Europäer erhalten konnte. FITZ-ROY hatte seinerseit JEMMY BUTTON, außer vielen anderen Dingen, eine Eisenaxt überlassen. DESPARD machte am 11. Juni 1858 über einige Indianer, die er in Wulaia besucht hatte, folgende ergötzliche Bemerkung: „It was surprising to see the dexterity with which they handled their rude axes. One of them, JEMMY said, was given him by Captain FITZ-ROY; so it must have been in use for twenty years. It was a very big one originally, but is worn down almost to nothing." Auf der Missionsstation gab man den Knaben und Männern nicht nur die alltäglichen eisernen Gerätschaften in die Hand, sondern lernte sie aufmerksam an, dieselben richtig zu gebrauchen. In den späteren Jahrzehnten haben die meisten sich das eine und andere Handwerkszeug als Eigentum erworben. Heute sieht man in den Händen eines jeden Erwachsenen das Eisenmesser und den Schusterpfriemen; die Männer arbeiten mit Hammer und Zange, mit Hobel und Eisennägeln, während gleichzeitig jede Frau eine Schere und mehrere große Stahlnadeln besitzt.

Was unsere Indianer mit dem Eisenwerkzeug anfertigen, unterscheidet sich nur in der Ausführung von dem, was sie früher gemacht haben; die Grundform bei allem und jedem halten sie bei. Eine Ausnahme bildet der Ersatz des Rindenkanus durch den flachen Kahn. Man kann deshalb eine Verbesserung oder Verfeinerung der gesamten feuerländischen Technik als Ergebnis der übernommenen Eisengeräte keinesfalls namhaft machen.

10. Gegenstände aus Leder, Haut, Rinde

Keiner der drei feuerländischen Indianerstämme kennt die Töpferei. Lehmige Erden sind wohl vorhanden und werden in geringer Menge durch Glühen zu jenem roten Farbstoff gemacht, den man für Bemalungen benützt. Gefäße daraus herzustellen kam ihnen nie in den Sinn. Sehr arm sind sie an dinglichen Besitzgütern. Immerhin benötigen sie manche Kleinigkeiten, die sie in Taschen und Beuteln aufbewahren müssen, um ihrer beim ruhelosen Herumziehen nicht verlustig zu gehen. Dauerhaft sind all diese Dinge keineswegs, dafür aber um so leichter und schneller durch andere ersetzt. Die meisten Gebrauchsgegenstände dieser Art sind in den Teilen des vorliegenden Buches genannt, die jeweilig von deren Verwendung sprechen; unter Berücksichtigung des Stoffes, aus dem sie verfertigt werden, sind sie hier mehr oder weniger vollständig zusammengeordnet.

Aus der Umwelt, in die unsere Feuerländer hineingestellt sind, erklärt es sich, daß sie viele Dinge aus Leder anfertigen. Ihre Körperbedeckung, die nicht einmal den Namen Kleidung verdient, sind Lederstücke und Felle, wie bereits S. 400 gesagt worden ist. Gelegentlich dessen wurde auch die Behandlung und Zurichtung des Leders beschrieben (S. 412). Kurz sei wiederholt, daß dem erlegten Tiere, Otter, Guanaco, Robbe, vom erfolgreichen Jäger selber das Fell abgezogen wird; er löst es, stückchenweise mit einer Muschelschale einschneidend, von der Fettschicht, die den Körper umhüllt. Sogleich

schabt die Frau von der noch weichen, nassen Haut die größeren Klümpchen von Fett, von Muskel- und Bindegewebe herunter und spannt sie stramm vermittels kurzer Holzpflöcke über dem Erdboden aus, oder in ein Netzwerk von kurzen Stöckchen ein. Sobald die Haut durch Eintrocknen hart geworden, beschabt sie die unbehaarte Schicht mit dem *ufkêr*[1]. Zuweilen schafft sie die Haarschicht durch einen Fäulnisprozeß fort. Durch Walken und Kneten mit beiden Händen macht sie das Stück noch weicher und biegsamer. Nun erfolgt das Abtrennen der unregelmäßigen Ränder und schließlich das Zuschneiden, je nachdem man dieses oder jenes Ding eben anfertigen will.

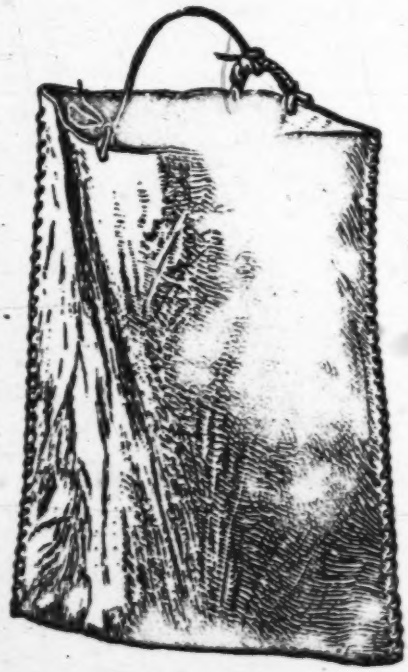

Abb. 47. Lederbeutel

Was zur Körperbedeckung gehört und wie es hergerichtet wird, braucht nicht nochmals aufgezählt zu werden. Die vielen Beutel, Taschen und Säckchen aller Größen zeigen eine einheitliche Form; sie sind durchgehends länglich hoch. Dazu treibt naturgemäß die Art und Weise, wie sie entsteht. Die Indianerin schneidet aus einem großen Lederfetzen ein mehr oder weniger längliches Rechteck heraus und faltet es so, daß die beiden Schmalkanten nebeneinander zu liegen kommen. Diese sind als oberer Rand der Tasche gedacht. Nun bringt sie rechts und links in Spiralwindungen die Naht vermittels einer dickeren Sehnenfaser an und der Beutel ist geschlossen. Am oberen Rande werden zwei, drei oder vier Löchlein eingestochen und diese mit einem kurzen Henkel verbunden. Letzterer ist meist ein schmaler Riemen, aber auch eine geflochtene Schnur aus Sehnen oder Binsen (Abb. 47). Der Nahtfaden mag noch so fest angezogen worden sein, trotzdem rinnt der Beutel, wenn man ihn mit Wasser füllt; nach längerem Gebrauch allerdings schiebt sich feinster Schmutz dazwischen, der wie eine Dichtung wirkt.

Selbstredend zeigen diese Lederbeutel *Idis* verschiedene Größe, aber keine voneinander merklich abweichende Formen. Man kann sagen, daß für bestimmte Zwecke die in etwa gleichen Maße eingehalten werden, zuweilen sogar dieselbe Lederart herangezogen wird.[11] Zum Aufbewahren für das

Schlagfeuerzeug bevorzugt man ein Beutelchen *gloónz* aus Guanacoleder, etwa 10 cm breit und hoch. Entweder bindet man es mit Sehnenfasern wie einen Sack oben zu, oder man hat beim Zurechtschneiden ein kurzes Läppchen hängen gelassen, das man über die Öffnung klappt; nun wickelt man Sehnenfasern quer um dieses ganze Stück. Wichtig aber ist, die Wolle zu belassen; sie verhindert nämlich, daß das Leder durchnäßt und dadurch der Inhalt unbrauchbar wird. Vielfach benützt man ein etwas größeres, im übrigen aber gleiches Beutelchen zum Aufbewahren der Farbstoffe. Die langen Harpunenspitzen aus Walknochen hebt der Mann in einem schmalen, höheren Ledersack auf, das Handwerkszeug mit allerlei Kleinigkeiten in einem breiteren, kurzen Beutel. Die Frau bringt ihre Schmucksachen und Gerätschaften in einer großen, weiten Ledertasche mit Handgriff unter.

Aus Leder werden überdies Riemen und Leinen geschnitten. Viel Arbeit fordert der lange Lasso *ákgàs* für die große Harpune (Abb. 35) und für andere Zwecke.[212] Man gewinnt ihn aus der dicken Haut der erwachsenen männlichen Bärenrobbe *tòpdra* (Arctocephalus australis) und beginnt diese Arbeit gleich nachdem die Frau durch den erwähnten Gärungsprozeß (S. 414) die Haarschicht abgetragen hat. Flach legt der Mann die sehr weiche Haut dem Boden auf, sticht in der Mitte ein und mit geschärften Muschelschalen der Solen schneidet er von da aus einen fingerbreiten Streifen in einer ununterbrochenen Spirallinie so lange weiter, als die Haut ausgibt. Dann bindet er das eine Ende an einem Baumstamme fest und zieht den ganzen, langen Hautstreifen hinter anderen Stämmen unter möglichster Spannung her. Diese erhöht sich begreiflicherweise beim Eintrocknen. Da man es aufmerksam vermieden hatte, diesen Riemen um die eigene Längsachse zu drehen, erscheint er nach vollständigem Eintrocknen regelmäßig und glatt.

Einen etwa 5 m langen und 1 cm breiten Lederstreifen gebrauchen die die Frauen häufig als Tragriemen *mun*. In einer Breite, die der des Rückens entspricht, legen sie den mittleren Teil zu Längswindungen übereinander und verschlingen darin rechts und links die Endstücke. Letztere kommen über beide Schultern zu liegen, während das Mittelstück rückwärts hinter einem Bündel Holz oder Gepäckstück vorbeizieht, das jede Frau sich vorher bei tiefgeneigtem Oberkörper aufgeladen hat. Durch straffes Anziehen hält sie diese Last unbeweglich.

Zum Vernähen und Verschnüren, für Wasserschöpfer und den Handschutz, sowie zu manch anderen kleinen Zwecken verwendet man Leder in dieser oder jener Form. Man hat es immer zur Hand und kann es sich leicht verschaffen.[213] Jedoch leidet alles Leder unter der reichlichen Feuchtigkeit.

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[212] Auch Lessner (b): 123 nennt die verschiedene Verwendung der einzelnen Beutel.

[213] Er dient bekanntlich mehrfach bei der Nahrungssuche, was bereits Fitz-Roy (a): 186 beobachtet hat. Auch die Selk'nam bedienen sich seiner (Bd. I, 254). BD: 79 umschreibt ihn als „a long piece of hide freed of hair used for many purposes".

[214] Neuzeites benützen die Yamana das Fellstück vom Otterschwanz zu einem Beutelchen für Zigarettentabak mit betonter Vorliebe. Vgl. Lessner (b): 123.

Wenn oben auch noch andere Behälter oder Beutel aus Haut genannt worden sind, so meinte ich hier damit irgendwelche Vogelbälge *minuł*. Als sehr geeignet beurteilt man die von Scharben und Pinguinen; denn sie gewährleisten höhere Dauerhaftigkeit wegen der Härte ihrer Federn. Nach einem langen Einschnitt auf der Unterseite des Tieres löst man den ganzen Balg ab und trennt von innen die Flügel und Beine, endlich den Hals in den obersten Wirbeln ab. Den Kopf läßt man manchmal auch stecken. Vereinzelt schneidet man von außen den ganzen Hals samt Beinen und Flügeln herunter und vernäht nachher sowohl diese Stellen wie auch den langen Einschnitt am Bauche bis auf einen handbreiten Schlitz, der als Eingang offen gelassen wird. In solch einem Vogelbalge bewahrt man leichtere und feinere Dinge auf, also die Schmuckkettchen und Farbstoffe, die Federdiademe u. dgl. m.[214] Selten nur stülpt man den frisch abgezogenen Vogelbalg um, daß die mit Federn besetzte Seite sich nach innen kehrt.

Getrocknete Darmstücke und den getrockneten Magen von kleineren Robben benützt man ebenfalls als Säckchen. Mit Vorliebe hebt man Farbstoffe und den flüssigen Tran darin auf; denn sie sind undurchlässig. Diese Dinge sind als *yáj* bekannt (Abb. 20).

Weder große Festigkeit noch nennenswerte Dauerhaftigkeit ist den genannten Gegenständen aus Leder und aus Haut eigen. Noch mehr gebrechlich und empfindlich sind Kübel und kleinere Gefäße, die aus Rinde verfertigt werden. Für die Lebensform der Selk'nam eignen sich dergleichen Behälter nicht; den Yamana jedoch leisten sie gute Dienste, weil sie sich im Kanu bequem aufheben und mitnehmen lassen. Es gibt eine größere Form *kála*, *xála*, und eine kleinere *tákı*. Auch BD: 201, 469 unterscheidet *kála*, a bark bucket von *tákı*, a bark boiler. Der vollständige Name des großen Eimers ist *aiyálu xála* im Westdialekt und *áta*, *xála* im Ostdialekt.

Will man einen Eimer herstellen, schält man mit den üblichen Knochenwerkzeugen einen Ring aus der Rinde einer immergrünen Buche heraus. Man schabt außen die Borke und innen die trockenen Bastfasern herunter; dann beschneidet man alle Ränder sehr gleichmäßig. Noch bevor das Rindenstück sich durch Eintrocknen zusammenrollt, vernäht man seine Längskanten und achtet darauf, daß sie sich gegenseitig gut decken. Unten setzt man einen kreisrunden Boden aus der gleichen Rinde ein und hält ihn vermittels einer Naht, die rundherum geführt wird, fest. Um zu verhüten, daß der obere Rand einreißt, legt man ein biegsames Leistchen aus der weichen Holzschicht von Drimys Winteri darum entlang und vernäht es. Sowohl Flechbeinstreifen als auch dünne Bastfaserbündel benützt man zum Vernähen. An der Öffnung oben verknüpft man ein kurzes Lederriemchen oder eine geflochtene Binsenschnur als Henkel. Damit läßt sich der Eimer bequem handhaben, der bis 30 cm hoch ist und einen Durchmesser von 13 cm aufweist (Abb. 48). Für

[214] Hyades (q): 206 hat mehrere dieser Beutelchen zusammengestellt und ausführlich beschrieben, ebenso Lothrop (h): 132. Vgl. Swanson (a): 142 und Cooper: 238.

kleinere Gefäße nimmt man die Rinde der Drimys Winteri und sogar der Maytenus magellanica; denn beide besitzen eine weit geringere Neigung sich zusammenzurollen, weil ihre Rinde dicker als die der Buchen ist. Man begnügt sich bei ihnen damit, nur eine Längsnaht zu machen und einen Boden einzusetzen.

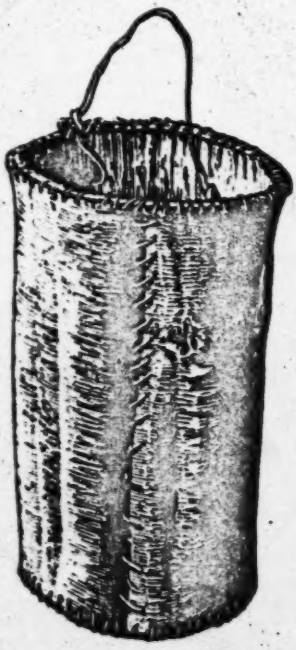

Abb. 48. Eimer aus Rinde

Um ein ungleichmäßiges Zusammenrollen und tiefes Einreißen des aus feuchter Rinde eben fertiggestellten *kála* zu verhüten, stopft man nasses Moos, mit frischem Gras vermischt, unter starkem Druck hinein und füllt ihn damit ganz an; überdies vermeidet man, daß er vom Hüttenfeuer oder von der Sonne ungleichmäßig erwärmt wird. Gleichzeitig mit der nassen Füllung trocknet die Rinde sehr langsam ein, sie bewahrt ihre Form und erhält sich lange tadellos. Zuweilen preßt man bei den großen Rindengefäßen als Dichtung noch einige Moospflänzchen zwischen die einzelnen Nähte.[218]

Die kleinen Rindengefäße dienen als Becher und Wasserschöpfer, andere Verwendung haben sie nicht. In die großen Rindeneimer, die mindestens fünf Liter fassen, steckt man zwar vorübergehend allerlei Gerätschaften hinein, ihr eigentlicher Zweck aber ist, als Wasserbehälter zu dienen. Dies weniger für Leute, die sich in einer Hütte am Ufer niedergelassen haben, als vielmehr für jene, die sich im Kanu auf die Fahrt begeben. So unglaublich es klingen mag, gut gedichtete Rindeneimer halten wirklich eine kleine Wassermenge während einiger Stunden. Die älteren Mädchen vor allem besorgen mit kleinen Rindengefäßen das Ausschöpfen des Sickerwassers im Kanu, auch holen sie das Trinkwasser aus nahen Bächen und Lagunen in den großen Rindeneimern heran.[219]

11. Körbe

Zum Einsammeln und Aufbewahren der immer nassen Schalentiere eignen sich die Körbe vorzüglich. Diese liegen in den Hütten und in den Kanus

[218] Lothrop (b): 122 erwähnt: „In general the Yahgan buckets are taller in proportion to their width than those of the Alacaluf." Aus eigener Erfahrung kann ich diese Behauptung nicht bestätigen, ein Unterschied scheint nicht vorhanden zu sein.

[219] Diese Gefäße aus Rinde erwähnen und beschreiben Cañas Pinochet: 358, Dabbene (b): 181, Hyades (q): 307, Lothrop (b): 131, Martial: 192, Spegazzini (a): 163, Wilckens: 27 u. a.

unserer Feuerländer in größerer Zahl als bei den Selk'nam herum. Sie sind Eigentum der Frau, weil sie von ihr hergestellt wurden. Nur Frauen und Mädchen, seltener Knaben, greifen darnach, wenn Muscheln und Schnecken, Beeren und Früchte gesammelt werden; ein Mann trägt niemals ein Körbchen in seiner Hand.

Nach der Flechttechnik beurteilt besitzen unsere Indianer drei verschiedene Arten. An dieser Einteilung glaube ich festhalten zu müssen, obwohl Lothrop (b): 138 von vier Arten spricht. Weiter unten muß noch ein netzförmiger Behälter *čaɯwénux, čaɯwénnuJ* beschrieben werden, den er und andere als Korb ausgeben. Zu dieser Beurteilung aber fehlt m. E. die Berechtigung. Die einzelnen Binsenstengel werden bei ihm nämlich nicht geflochten, sondern reihenweise nebeneinander gespannt; man bedient sich seiner wie eines siebförmigen Schöpfers an einem langen Stiel. Die drei eigentlichen Körbe[217] lassen einen spiralförmigen Aufbau ihres Geflechtes erkennen. Von der Seite gesehen zeigen sie einen sehr deutlichen kurzovalen Umriß.

Ausschließlich verwendet man die dort heimische Binsenart Marsippospermum grandiflorum, *mápi* genannt. Sie gedeiht im Sumpf und Moor üppig, besitzt einen kräftigen, runden Stengel, wird bis 50 cm hoch und ist dunkel-grün (Abb. 49). Die Indianerin rupft mit einem Griff drei bis fünf Stengel gleichzeitig aus und legt sie zu einem Bündel zusammen. Nur so viel sammelt sie auf einmal ein, als sie mit einer Hand bequem umfassen kann; denn eingetrocknete Stengel brechen leicht und eignen sich nicht mehr zum Flechten. In ihrer Hütte ordnet sie kleinere Bündel von etwa zwanzig Stengeln, faßt jedes mit beiden Händen und hält den unteren Teil ins Feuer, wo er bis

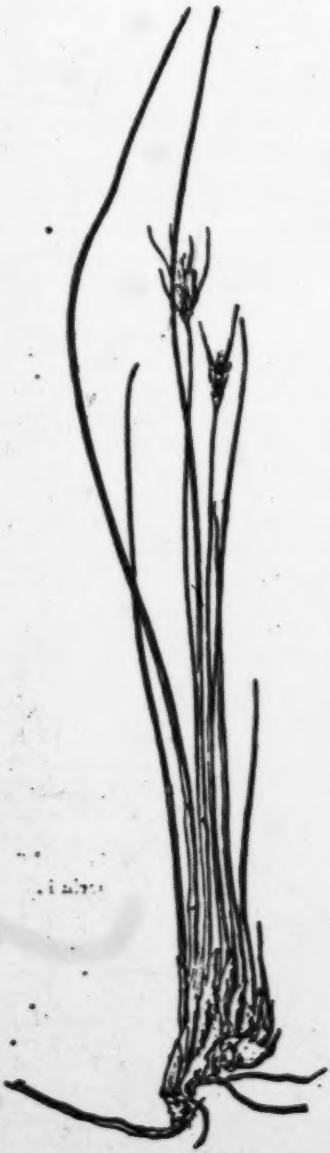

Abb. 49. Marsippospermum grandiflorum

5 cm von der Wurzel entfernt abbrennt. Sogleich zieht sie es der Länge nach flüchtig durch die Flamme. Die Hitze macht den harten, aber feuchten Stengel außerordentlich biegsam. Unverzüglich, während dieses Bündelchen noch heiß ist, biegt sie es in der Mitte nach unten, faßt diese Mitte mit den Zähnen und wickelt die freien Enden der Länge nach spiralförmig umeinander. Sogleich löst sie diesen Binsenzopf wieder auf und streckt das Bündelchen gerade, indem sie die beiden Enden anzieht und das Ganze mit ihren fast geschlossenen Händen abstreift. Immer noch sind die einzelnen Stengel heiß; denn all jene Handgriffe macht die Indianerin in Eile. Man ist erstaunt über die Biegsamkeit der soeben noch ganz steifen, harten Binsenstengel. Ihre Geschmeidigkeit bewahren sie durch einige Tage, während welcher sie verflochten werden müssen. Jeden einzelnen Stengel, ehe er ins Flechtwerk aufgenommen wird, serrt die Indianerin durch ihre sanft geschlossenen Zähne, um ihn abzuflachen; sie beißt aber nicht so fest zu, daß sie den Saft auspreßt. Bei dieser Behandlung wird der Stengel vollends ganz weich. Binsenstengel, die länger als eine Woche zugerissen herumlagen, ohne verwendet zu werden, sind unbrauchbar; man wirft außerdem jene beiseite, die in der Sonne oder beim Feuer liegend ungleichmäßig erwärmt worden sind.

Besondere Hilfsmittel beim Flechten benötigt die Indianerin nicht. Nur ein fingerlanges, zugespitztes Stöckchen oder eine kurze Knochenahle nimmt sie unaufhörlich zur Hand; damit stößt sie in das Geflecht ein Löchlein, durch das sie den laufenden Binsenstengel einführt und anzieht. Das Flechtwerk wird nach einer einheitlichen Methode ausgeführt, die aber drei verschiedene Besonderheiten zuläßt, für die es eigene Bezeichnungen gibt.

1. *Tagwélu:* Diese Art ist das aus Feuerland am meisten und am besten bekannte Flechtwerk.[210] Die Indianerin beginnt damit, vier oder fünf Binsenstengel zusammenzulegen und das Ende dieses Bündelchens um den linken Zeigefinger zu rollen. Sogleich streift sie den Ring wieder ab und umwickelt ihn mit einem Stengel vermittels halber Verknotung. Dieser Ring wird einmal den Mittelpunkt und die tiefste Stelle des Korbes bilden (Abb. 50). Sobald er geschlossen ist, beginnt das Flechten nach der den *tagwélu* kennzeichnenden Verknotung. Zu dem dünnen Bündelchen oder Wulst aus vier oder fünf Stengeln, zu dem die Indianerin immer wieder greifen muß, wählt sie bewußt verschiedenlange Stöcke. Bevor ein Wulst durch die Verknotung verdeckt wird, schiebt sie einen neuen ein. Sie vermeidet dadurch, daß dieser ganze Wulst

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[210] Zwar schreibt Bonomo: „The women has three kinds of baskets, called respectively tawwélu, *cijim* and *jaw-wanaouk*" (MM: III, 115; 1869); offensichtlich wußte er damals die Bezeichnungen noch nicht genau zu unterscheiden. Mangelhaft hat Hyades (b): 5 beobachtet, der behauptet, daß „les paniers sont de deux espèces; les uns à mailles étroites nommés tawwélu, les autres à mailles larges appelés *kalijimo*". Lawrence (b): 140 nennt drei Arten, ihm schließt sich auch Cooper: 206 an.

[211] Cooper: 204 sagt unzutreffend: „The common form of babbatry found among the three Fuegian tribes is of the half-bitch called variety made of rush with or without foundation."

an einem einzigen Punkte beginnt. Die Schlingen, die man mit einem laufenden, oft erneuerten Stengel um diesen Wulst gelegt werden, stehen auf ihm mehr oder weniger senkrecht. In spiralförmigem Zuge zieht sich das Geflecht der einfachen Halbschlinge weiter, selbstredend im Sinne des Uhrzeigers. Den letzten Abschnitt vom freien Ende des laufenden Stengels bingt man mehrmals zurück und schiebt ihn unter eine Verknotung, die straff angezogen wird. Anfänglich steigert die Frau die Zahl der Verschlingungen auf jedem geflochtenen Ringe und somit verbreitert sich das Flechtwerk von unten nach oben; erst über der halben Höhe setzt wieder eine schwache Verschmälerung ein.[100]

Bald nach Beendigung der ersten Windungen wünscht die Frau ihre beiden Hände für diese Arbeit frei zu haben. Irgendwo, entweder an einem Pfosten des Hüttengerüstes oder an einem kurzen Stock, den sie in die Erde rammt, hängt sie ihr Flechtwerk vermittels einer Schnurfaden, Lederriemchens oder Binsenstengels so auf, daß die Korböffnung zum Boden hin gewendet ist. Jenen Faden zieht sie durch das Löchlein, das sie gleich zu Anfange als tiefste Stelle des Korbes belassen hat. So aufgehangen, ist das Flechtwerk außerordentlich beweglich und zur Weiterführung der langwierigen Arbeit an jeder Stelle bequem zu fassen.

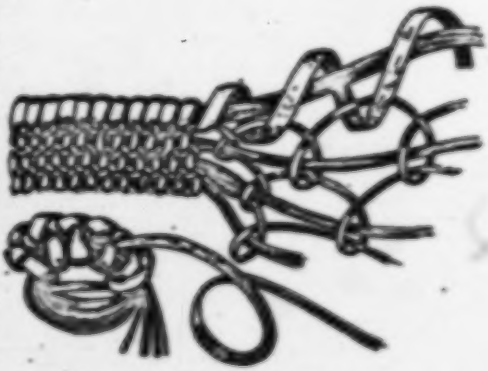

Abb. 58. Das feine Korbgeflecht. Nat. Gr.

Hat es die Größe erreicht, die der Indianerin genügt, wird als Rand der übliche Wulst aus Binsenstengeln ein wenig verdickt und über diesen eine etwas breitere Binse als laufender Faden geführt. Ihm setzt man dennoch zwei niedrige, sich gegenüberliegende Henkelchen auf, die ebenfalls mit einem breiten Binsenstengel spiralig umwickelt werden. Beide verbindet man durch eine aus wenigen Stengeln geflochtene Schnur, verweben auch mit einem schmalen Binsenchen als Henkel.[101] Dieses Korb findet man in allen Größen und in der entsprechenden Breite, von etwa 8 cm bis 30 cm Höhe.

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[100] Der nach dieser Flechtmethode hergestellte Korb ist die einzige Form, die auch die Selk'nam ausschließlich verwenden (Bd. I, 354).

[101] An seiner Beschreibung dieser Flechtmethode knüpft Lamman-Eb. 126 einige vergleichende Bemerkungen an und erwähnt: „This binding is typical in South America only of the Yahgan, Ona, and Alacaluf, but it turns up sometimes in the Amazon valley and to the northward."

2. *Cafiḑgáqo:* Der Korb mit dem lockeren Flechtwerk, wie ich diese besondere Art nennen möchte, wird bei weitem nicht so häufig angefertigt wie tagaffa.[*] Als Grund gab man mir an, daß er weniger haltbar sei als dieser, seine Herstellung trotzdem fast die gleiche Arbeit fordere und er für viele Bedürfnisse nicht zu brauchen sei. Der Gruppe der Flechttechnik, den tagaffa zeigt, gehört auch durch diesen *Cafiḑgáqo*, den Lowmer (b): 136 mit nicht zutreffender bezeichnet. Beide sind sich im ersten Anfang ganz gleich. Der Unterschied zwischen ihnen besteht nur darin, daß man hier den laufenden Bastmotengel, der verknotet wird, jedesmal um das glatte Bastbündel

Abb. 51. Randstück des lockeren Korbgeflechtes. Nat. Gr.

nicht mit einer einfachen, sondern mit einer wenigstens gedrehten Schlinge einführt (Abb. 51). Dadurch wird der ganze enge Anschluß der einzelnen Windungen zueinander verhindert und das Flechtwerk an sich bleibt etwas lockerer als bei tagaffa. Auch diesen Körbchen erhält zwei einfache Henkelohren, die oben am Rande einander gegenüberstehen und die durch einen losen Henkel aus gefleichtenen Bastmotengeln miteinander verbunden werden. Am häufigsten trifft man den *Cafiḑgáqo* in einer Höhe von etwa 22 cm an und im allgemeinen ist er nie so grosse geschnitten, auch so gleichmäßig in seiner ganzen Oberfläche, wie der tagaffa-Korb aus tagaffa.

3. *Kéjjim:* Von den beiden bisher genannten Körben unterscheidet sich dieser Art auf den ersten Blick. Dieses Flechtwerk darf man als offenes ansprechen. Lowmer (b): 138 bezeichnet es als „a knotted wayre without any foundation". Es ist weiter nichts als eine fortlaufende Reihe von geknüpften Schlingen, die in regelmäßiger Aufeinanderfolge miteinander verknotet sind (Abb. 52). Allerdings bilden gewisse Schlingen, die nicht frei angelegt werden, als Kreise nebeneinander übereinander; in diesem Sinne Bündel von etwa

[*] Lowmer (b): 136 bezeichnet diese von eigener Erfahrung: „This wayre is very rarely employed among the Tahgans, and a single specimen was secured only with difficulty."

fünf lockeren Binsenstengeln.[555] Schematisch ist diese Anordnung in Abb. 53 dargestellt. Um dieses lockere Gewebe noch etwas zu festigen und um seine ganze Breite offen zu halten, zieht man einen schmalen Holzreifen durch die oberste Reihe der dort weiteren Schlingen. Mit Vorliebe schneidet man ihn aus einem Stämmchen der weichen, zähen Berberis ilicifolia. Leicht beweglich hängt an ihm das ganze, lockere Flechtwerk. An jenem Holzreifen

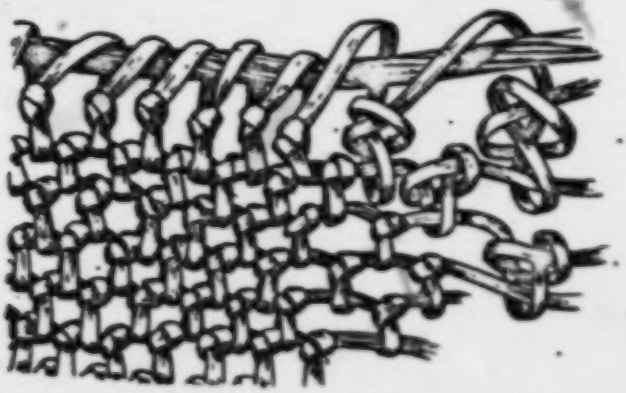

Abb. 52. Randstück des offenen Korbgeflechtes. Nat. Gr.

bringt man einen Henkel aus drei geflochtenen Binsenschnürchen an, die an der höchsten Stelle, wo sie zusammentreffen, miteinander verknotet werden.

Da die Körbe nicht nur viel gebraucht werden, sondern auch leicht Schaden leiden, ist jede Indianerin mit mehreren Stücken jederzeit versorgt. Sie beschäftigt sich in ihren freien Augenblicken unaufhörlich mit dem **Korbflechten**. Wie in Europa eine Hausfrau, die sich etwas zur Ruhe setzt oder die sich mit einer anderen Person gemütlich unterhält, ihr Strickzeug hervorholt, so greift die Feuerländerin in ähnlicher Lage zu ihrem Flechtwerk. Wie viele Stunden sie einem Körbchen widmet, läßt sich kaum berechnen; denn es sind eben viele und verschiedene lange Zeitläufen, die sie mit dieser Beschäftigung ausfüllt. Zuweilen bewegen sich ihre bereits ermüdeten Hände langsam, einzelne Frauen sind außerordentlich flink hierbei. Man braucht die Bezeichnung yetánáipa und auch yetanáplitáipa für eine tüchtige Korbflechterin.[556] (Vgl. das yetánai to make a basket, nach BD: 650).

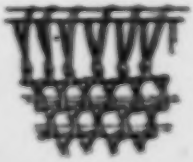

Abb. 53. Das offene Flechtwerk.

[555] Darauf haben Hyades (h): 4 und Lucas (h): 130 weder in ihren Beschreibungen noch in ihren Zeichnungen hingewiesen.

[556] Nach BD: 650 bedeutet es so viel wie „schwer, sagen in yetanáipa, weil yetanai".

Selbstredend ist die Ausführung dieses und jenes Kürbisses verwellen oder unterschiedlich, je nach der Fertigkeit, die diese und jene Indianerin sich erworben hat. Um die endgültige Form möglichst gleichmäßig zu erhalten, preßt man sofort nach Beendigung des Flechtwerkes das Kürbischen mit frischem Gras oder mit nicht zu nassem Moose voll. Lediglich *pur* soll es trocknen, weil mit einem raschen Eintrocknen manchmal Verzerren unvermeidlich gegeben wäre. Leert man dann nach 3 bis 4 Wochen diese Füllung, nimmt man das Kürbischen sofort in Gebrauch. In den nächsten Wochen verfärbt es sich zu einem einförmigen Strohgelb. Zwar wird es bei der häufigen Verwendung wiederholt durchfettet und verbraucht; immerhin achtet die Indianerin darauf, daß es beim Eintrocknen die ursprüngliche regelmäßige Form merkwürdig behält. Schwerlich geht einmand mit seinem Kürbischen um.[***]

12. Technische Fertigkeiten

Der äußere Bestandteil dieser stählichsten Feuerländer erscheint auf den ersten Blick ungewöhnlich spärlich und dürftig; schaut man aber genauer zu, wird man von einer nennenswerten Mannigfaltigkeit der Geräteschaften und Handwerkszeuge überrascht. Gar so arm sind unsere Eingeborenen also doch nicht. Durch das Vielerlei ihrer Gebrauchsgegenstände übertreffen sie zweifelsohne beträchtlich die benachbarten Selk'nam. Schon das Kano an und für sich ist ein so unschätzbar wertvolles Verkehrsmittel, daß es mit Paßwanderungen nicht in Vergleich gebracht werden kann.

Die Umwelt, in die unsere Yamana hineingestellt sind, war ihnen eine gute Lehrmeisterin. Mit ihrer eigenen Findigkeit und scharfen Beobachtungsgabe, mit dem in langer Geschlechtsfolge angewachsenen Erfahrungswissen haben sie schließlich Waffen und Geräteschaften von derart hoher Zweckmäßigkeit geschaffen, daß diese sich innerhalb der Entfaltungsmöglichkeit, die ihnen ursprünglich gebotten war, kaum noch sonderlich steigern ließe. Wer die Anstrengung nicht scheut, sich hineinzudenken in die Mechanik und in das Wirken der physikalischen Kräfte eines jeden Gerätes, dessen die Feuerländer sich bedienen, wird ihrer geistigen Schaffenskraft hohe Anerkennung zollen.

Vor ihrem Kianen hat sogar ein Beamter (h): 242, der sie jahrzehntelang aus allernächster Nähe zu beobachten in der Lage war, sich gebeugt und er hat ihnen, wohl mit nicht geringem innerem Widerstreben, das glänzende Zeugnis ausgestellt: „Los indígenas han demostrado todos los conocimientos más

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[***] Eine ausführliche Beschreibung dieser drei nach der Flechtarbeit verschiedenen Körbe finden sich bei Lamaison (b): 135. Vgl. Bonnemère (b): 183, Gusinde (g): 33 und Wuttunee: 17. Einer Liste der hierher gehörigen Bezeichnungen bei Wuttunee (g): 208 zusammengestellt.

In die Flechtarbeit bei den Selk'nam und Yamana sich gleichs und die Natur dafür bei beiden Stämmen eines Übereinstimmens, schließlich Gusinde: 204, daß „die Guaiaba bevorzugt wird, während ebenso from the Canoe Indians". Hiervon werde ich mich erst im III. Band dieser Monographie in einer ausführlichen Arbeit.

dáles para la vida que llevan; una manera son perfectos de su clase, y otra tanto pueda decirse de todos sus utensilios e implementos. Con los materiales de que disponen no compondría nunca podrían ser mejorados. Se adaptan perfectamente al modo y clase del país en que se encuentran."[10] Unter der wunderbaren Form und kreativen Einfachheit der traditionellen Gebrauchsgegenstände verbirgt sich eine multifunktionale Zweckmäßigkeit.

Im allgemeinen fertigt jede Person all das, was sie an dinglichen Basis benötigt, mit eigenen Händen und für sich allein an. Eine Ausnahme machen jene Dinge, die im normalen Wirtschaftsbetriebe von der Familie oder von Mann und Frau gleichmäßig benötigt werden und die unter jener Rücksicht er für sie und sie für ihn besorgt. Das Hausgerätes ist eine Sache der Einzelnen. Ein besonderer Handwerkerstand, der beruflich für den übrigen Teil der Bevölkerung eine bestimmte Sache erzeugt, ist nicht vorhanden. Niemand bewahrt Bestand oder wiederstreben Wettbewerb zu fürchten, weil jeder nur für seinen Eigenbedarf arbeitet. Die verschiedenen Anlagen und das persönliche Bestreben der Einzelpersonen sind offensichtlich sehr verschieden; während der Stoff, dessen man sich bedient, im allgemeinen immer gleich ist. Wer Sinn für eine schöne Form besitzt und wer an einem abwechselnd angefertigten Stücke seine Freude hat, erreichte in seinen Arbeiten sowohl eine hohe Meisterschaft.

Um diese Tätigkeit auf den verschiedenen Gebieten der alltäglichen Beschäftigung zu konzentrieren, besitzen die Tonga besondere Ausdrücke. Eben aus wurde das Wort pankulipe für eine richtige Lochflechtarbeit gemacht; mitingipile (nach BD:411 ebenso, engagé, sorgt in work) bezeichnet einen, der im allgemeinen durch seine Handfertigkeit andere in Schwierigkeiten, pilimdwa hat den gleichen Sinn.

Ein gewisses Merkmal der Eigengesetzlichkeit, verursacht der eigenen Arbeitsweise geht sich demnach, obwohl ohne bewußte Absicht, jedem Gegenstande von dem her auf, der ihn anfertigt. Selbstverständlich erkennt durch jedermann seine eigenen Erzeugnisse, was noch dadurch erleichtert wird, daß der Besitz einer Dienstperson sehr eingeschränkt bleibt. Für ein geübtes Auge sind die Unterschiede zwischen zwei gleichartigen Dingen sowohl sehr groß. Wer verständlich angefertigt oder besonders gut angefertigt hat, wartet jedenfalls nicht minder richtig als mangelhafte und schlechte Stücke. Lessu, die geschickt arbeiten und gute Sachen verfertigt bringen, erhalten man, wie und heute?[10] an Hand dieser Erzeugnisse eitert nicht selten ein Vater seinen Sohn an geneuer und sorgfältiger Handfertigkeit an.

Die persönliche Tätigkeit, um der besten Dinge und jener einen bestimmten Gegenstand herzustellen verlangt, hat nur Folge, daß einzelne Dinge auf dem Wege des Tauschhandels in andere Hände übergehen. Es ist nun einmal Tatsache, daß der eine für diese und der andere für jene mehr

[10] Johann Baptist (S): 707 schreibt: „Nie dessinen ignes, polliés, ont ... le bâtir ... et ... pendant ... ce bandjaunes."

[illegible]
Lange [illegible]

Fingerfertigkeit und Geschicklichkeit besitzen. Es sei [illegible] [illegible] gestattet: „It is rather curious that usually each of these nations is trained to a particular pursuit; thus, one becomes an adept with the spears, another with the sling, another with a bow and arrows; but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others." So ist es verständlich.

Wem ein Ding fehlt, das er sich zum Mangel an Rohstoffen oder infolge seines eigenen Unvermögens nicht herstellen vermag, der versucht es sich durch Tausch von einem, der es ebenfalls entbehrt in der Lage ist, Belagsbesitzer haben nur wenige Minuten vollen Glück beim Schießen und Fischen der langen, kaltbrauen Harpunenspitzen (Abb. 34), beim Zusammenstreuen einer Pfeife, beim Abblasen einer heißen Blasebälgerin für den Kamelhaar. Unwesentlich wird der einzelne neuerdings doch in etwas von anderen abhängig, wenn er seinen Bedarf an gewissen Gebrauchsdingen decken muß. Das nicht das Zusammengehörigkeitsbewußtsein, aber Zusammengehörigkeit beschränkt.

Von vorherein jedoch denkt kaum jemand daran, den Gegenstand, welchen er gerade unter den Händen hat, für Tauschzwecke zu verwenden, denn bei all seinen Mühen und Arbeiten ist es ihm wenig und gewöhnlich nur den eigenen Bedarf zu tun. Es liegt dabei sein eigenes Heil zugrunde. Das will besagen, Länge und Breite, nur allein die besondere Ausgestaltung einer Waffe oder einen Gegenstand wählt er so, wie es ihm persönlich zur bequemsten ist, je nach seiner Veranlagung und nach seinem Geschmack, je nachdem er sich eingeübt oder an sich anderes angewöhnt hat. Daher der Unterschied zwischen den Gebrauchsgegenständen dieser und jener Menschen, zwischen den Kleinigkeiten, wie Kämmen, Nähnadeln u. dgl. m., welche die eine und die andere Indianerin pflegt für sich gewöhnlich anfertigt.

Weil jede Waffe und jeder Werkzeug [illegible] nur eigenen Heil gilt, daher auch die Geschicklichkeit, mit welcher jeder Eingeborene für eigenen Bedarf an

handhaben weiß. Oft und oft ist deren Geschicklichkeit und Treffsicherheit, deren vorbildlicher Griff und zielsige Faust, deren Abschätzungsvermögen und scharfer Blick von Europäern mit vollem Recht angestaunt und bewundert worden.[20] Gewiß, durch unentwickeltere Übung bringt jedermann viel zustande. Gar mit Inklinik und man Gelbkörper der Indianer hat sich manchmal Europäer angestellt, der es mit der Schleuder oder mit der Harpune oder mit einem anderen einheimischen Gerät versucht hat.

Ein Ausfluß des Selbstvertrauens ist es, daß einmal mehr als hätten ein Erwerbstrieb der häufig beständigeren Gebrauchsgegenstände besitzt. Je weniger er auf den unendlichbeschwerlichen Fahrten mit sich herumschleppen muß, um so bequemer ist es für ihn und um so leichter fühlt er sich. Erst wenn Mangel und Not ihn zwingen, den Verlust eines Gerätes wieder wettzumachen, packt er augenblicklich und entschlossen zu. Da nicht einmal der Gedanke an den Eigenbedarf unseren Indianer zwingt, dieses und jenes auf Vorrat herzustellen, ist noch weniger zu erwarten, daß er irgendwelche Dinge für den Tauschhandel anfertigt.

Unsere Feuerländer verschaffen und erarbeiten sich ihre Gerätschaften mit einem geringen Mißverhältnis. Sie handhaben dieselben überaus geschickt und sicher. Auf die eigene Kräften und die Wirkung ihrer Waffen dürfen sie sich restlos verlassen.[21] Was eine sollte sie dringen und treiben, ihr dinglichen Kulturgut aufzugeben! Der Fortschritt am Alten, ihr Behaarren auf dem, was sie von den Vätern erbt haben, begründen sie auf Befragen damit, daß es für ihren bescheidenen Bedarf und ihre Lebensnotwendigkeiten vollauf genügt. Die Ausgestaltung ihrer Werkzeuge stellt eine Höchstleistung im Rahmen dessen dar, was ihnen zugänglich ist. Mit diesen dinglichen Hilfsmitteln haben sie sich das Leben bequem, angenehm und menschenwürdig gemacht. Was Darwin (1): 480 von den Vorzügen des Kindenkanus behauptet, gilt uneingeschränkt für alle Gebrauchsgegenstände: „Yet no improvements are thought of; what served the father serves the son for a pattern, and would never be departed from for a thousand generations." Verschwindend wenig, z.B. die Eisen, haben sie von Europäern übernommen. Die Grundform ihrer Gerätschaften blieb eine durch lange Jahrhunderte unverhaltene.

E. Der Nahrungserwerb

Das Indianers einziges und lebenswichtiges Sorgen dreht sich um die notwendige Nahrung, auf dem Lebensunterhalt richtet sich sein Streben und Trachten bei Tage und bei Nacht. Besitzt er zumindestens einen reichlichen Vorrat, fühlt er sich außerordentlich erleichtert und empfinde Überfluß er sich

[20] Wie dem Uriel Bent's (1): 186 erinnern sich andere Stimmen, daß die Feuerländer ihre Waffen „sowie mangelnden von schwäbiln dimensions o gewöhnlich".

[21] Jedoch gewisse Bedürfnisse wird Bennett (1) Recht geben: „Does any doubt whether the Yahgans owing above greater ingenuity than Yahgans weapons and implements for obtaining food, do?"

der stets erwünschten Ruhe. Für gewöhnlich indes stellt ihn der drohende Hunger Tag für Tag wieder auf die Füße, zwingt ihn, die Hütte abzubrechen und den Lagerplatz zu wechseln, treibt ihn zur Kanufahrt oder zur Wanderung an, je nachdem ihm hier oder dort die Aussicht auf Beute winkt.[200].

Der Nahrungserwerb in des Wortes weitester Bedeutung stellt letzten Endes die einzige und eigentliche Arbeitsleistung unserer Eingeborenen dar. Wäre diese Anstrengung nicht für alle dauernd zwingend und zusammenhalten unausweichlich, so bestünde die große Gefahr einer Verkümmerung ihres leiblichen und sittlichen Wohlseins. Bisweilen führt ihr Arbeiten nur Entkräftung oder zur Verminderung ihrer Leistungsfähigkeit. Ganz im Gegenteil, trotz Ermattung und Erschöpfung, trotz Überanstrengung und höchster Kraftsteigerung, die sich gelegentlich wiederholen, bietet vor allem die Jagd dem Manne und das Sammeln der Frau so viel Anreiz und Aufmunterung, Befriedigung und Siegeserfolg, daß schon deretwegen jeder Erwachsene sich mit den unvermeidlichen Beschwerden des Wirtschaftsbetriebes widerspruchslos abfindet. Dadurch aber verringert sich das Bedrückende ihres Sorgens um die alltägliche Nahrung. Weiters wird dieser Zwang noch gemildert durch die untrügliche Aussicht, hier und dort das Notwendigste immer und verhältnismäßig bequem zu finden.

Zum Unterhalt der Familie, bestehend aus Vater, Mutter und Kindern, tragen beide Geschlechter das Ihrige bei; nicht zwar jeder im gleichen Umfange, wohl aber nach einer seinem Geschlechte angepaßten Art. Unumgängliche Pflichten sind es, welche die Frau stärker an die Hütte fesseln, wo sie das Wohl ihre Kinder hüten muß, als den Mann und was er mehr auf dem einen Gebiete leistet, das tut sie auf dem anderen. Beide Gatten sind im ganzen gleichmäßig mit Pflichten bedacht und ihr Zusammenwirken sichert den gedeihlichen Bestand der Einzelfamilie.

Als naturgegeben erscheint es auf den ersten Blick, daß der Mann die kraftfordernden Anstrengungen des Jagens übernimmt und daß die Frau sich mit dem leichteren Sammeln kleinerer Dinge beschäftigt.[200] Diese Arbeitsteilung besteht als uraltes Gewohnheitsrecht. Nicht minder reicht die planmäßige Art und Weise der Betätigung beider Geschlechter bis in die ersten Anfänge dieser Volksgemeinschaft zurück.

Nachweislich haben sich die üblichen Jagdmethoden vom Vater auf den Sohn unabänderlich vererbt; denn sie gewährleisten sicheren Erfolg bei einem geringen Kräfteaufwand. Die dort beheimateten Tiere haben gleich-

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[200] Nach Dumont's (b): 679 Urteil haben diese Indianer nur für den Nahrungserwerb: „The great want with them is of food, naturally; and their habits are formed with a view to supply it, and all their implements are to serve in procuring it... Hence are they constantly roaming."

[200] Diese Scheidung der Arbeiten hat Hyades (b): 23 deutlich bestimmt: „Tout ce concerne la chasse et même le déplacement des animaux rentre est l'occupation exclusive des hommes, de même que nous avons vu la pêche occupée exclusivement aux femmes." Das Wort "pêche" bezieht hier das Einsammeln mit Fangen kleiner Seetiere.

falle ihre Lebensgewohnheiten beibehalten und auf sie ist der Jäger angewiesen, will er seine Beute erreichen. Abgesehen vom Guanaco, das nur in einem kleinen Abschnitt der Yamana-Heimat auftritt, spürt der Indianer ausschließlich Bewohnern der See nach, weswegen er das Kanu nicht entbehren kann; es ist ihm also ein lebenswichtiges Verkehrsmittel.

Aber nicht auf alles und jedes, was das unermeßliche Meer enthält, richtet sich sein Wünschen. Unter den Tieren trifft er bewußt eine gewisse Auswahl, so wenig Freiheit ihm auch von vornherein belassen wurde und so beschränkt immerhin die Zahl der für ihn brauchbaren Tierarten ist. Noch mehr gilt das für die Sammlertätigkeit der Frau; denn mit Erzeugnissen aus dem Pflanzenreiche, die der Mensch zu seiner Ernährung verwerten kann, kargt Mutter Natur dort am Rande des Lebensraumes gar sehr. In reichlicher Fülle sind die niederen Tiere vertreten, die einen bedeutenden Beitrag zum Lebensunterhalt liefern und die zusammenzutragen eine dauernde, bequeme Beschäftigung der Frau ist.[200] Wie sie dabei vorgeht und welcher Hilfsmittel sie sich bedient, ist das Erbe der Erfahrungsweisheit vieler vergangener Geschlechter.

Nun versteht man, warum das dort übliche Vorgehen beim Jagen und Sammeln sogar noch von den letzten wenigen Yamana unverändert beibehalten wird. Durch ihre kaum zu überbietende Zweckdienlichkeit empfehlen sich die uralten Methoden und Handgriffe von selber. Damit ist es vollauf begründet, warum die Vertreter dieses Stammes an ihrem wertvollen Erbgut mit unnachgiebiger Zähigkeit festhalten. Die Grundlagen des Wirtschaftsbetriebes der Yamana, vorwiegend das Jägertum des Mannes, verbunden mit einem beträchtlichen Beitrag aus der Sammlertätigkeit der Frau, wurden ihnen von der Umwelt sozusagen aufgezwungen. Diese besondere Art der Nahrungssuche zwingt jede Einzelfamilie zum unsteten Nomadenleben.

Stimmen in diesen grundsätzlichen Belangen die Yamana mit ihren nordöstlichen Nachbarn überein, so erfreuen sie sich überdies beachtenswerter Vorteile. Während die nördlichen Selk'nam auf das Cururo (Bd. I, 277) und die südlichen Selk'nam auf das Guanaco angewiesen sind, so steht den Yamana-Männern in allen Teilen ihrer Heimat eine beschränkte Vielheit von Jagdtieren offen, weswegen sie niemals von einer einzigen Art abhängig bleiben. Vorteilhafterweise kann auch die Yamana-Frau bei ihrem Sammeln eine reichere Auswahl treffen als ihre Selk'nam-Nachbarin. Dieser bieten sich nur einige Pilze und Fische, jene aber hat außerdem noch eine Unmenge der fast unentbehrlichen Muscheln und Krebse leicht zugänglich. Mit alledem vereinfacht sich die Nahrungssuche und verbessert sich die Lebenshaltung der Yamana nicht unbeträchtlich gegenüber ihren Nachbarn.

[200] Über den Nahrungserwerb im allgemeinen urteilt Bonnem (e): 231. Bove (a): 157 sagt: „Das Meer liefert ihnen den Hauptbestandteil ihrer Nahrung in Gestalt von Fischen, Muscheln, Krabben, Seehunden und Wasservögeln; im Sommer finden sie zuweilen in den Wäldern etwa zwanzig genießbare Schwämme und einige essbare Gräser." Vgl. Bove (g): 234. Nach Lovisato (b): 129 sind die Yamana „pescatori e solo talvolta cacciatori di conte".

1. Jagd auf Robben

Unbestreitbar lieferten die Robben zu allen Zeiten und in allen Teilgebieten einen überwiegenden Zuschuß zum Unterhalt der Yamana. Früher haben mehrere Arten herdenweise die vielen Inseln und Felsen, Strandplätze und Küsten des Kap Hoorn-Archipels bevölkert, sogar die Riesen aus dieser Tierordnung, die Bärenrobbe *tāpēra* (Arctocephalus australis) und die Elephantenrobbe *kālagwa* (Macrorhinus leoninus) waren dabei. Während der letzten Jahrzehnte verblieben nur noch die kleinen Seelöwen *āma* (Otaria jubata) und die Mähnenrobbe *tjāta* (Otaria byronia) in der Nähe unserer Indianer, gelegentlich taucht sogar die größere Bärenrobbe (Arctocephalus australis) wieder auf. Die anderen Arten indes bleiben fern. Europäische Robbenfänger haben diese für den Nahrungserwerb der Eingeborenen so wertvollen Tiere bereits seit langem an jenen Küsten ausgerottet.[221] Da die Zahl der Eingeborenen sich seitdem ebenfalls ansehnlich verringert hat, reichen die übriggebliebenen Vertreter der kleinen Otaria jubata hin, um den Nahrungsbedarf zu decken und die erforderliche Abwechslung im Essen zu bieten. Die Robbenjagd gehört sozusagen zu den alltäglichen Aufgaben des Mannes, was indes nicht besagen will, daß er an jedem Tage sie wirklich betreibt. Sie wird hier füglich an erster Stelle genannt.

Tagsüber liegen einzelne Tiere gern auf niedrigen, flachen Steinen und überlassen sich dem Schlafe. Zwar gewährt ihnen ihre Körperfarbe eine vorzügliche Deckung, das scharfe Auge des Indianers erspäht sie doch. Wenn es ihm möglich ist und ratsam erscheint, geht er das Tier meist mit einer K e u l e oder einem schweren Knüppel[222] an. Er hat Übung genug, um lautlos herauszurudern und sich nahe heranzuschleichen. Mit einem wuchtigen Schlage betäubt er das schlafende Tier, daß es nicht mehr entkommen kann. Wenige weitere Keulenhiebe, mit Vorsicht vor der Wut des Tieres ausgeführt, bringen es zur Strecke. Sollte einem Manne, der unerwartet einer Robbe begegnet, eine Keule fehlen, wagt er sich sogar mit einem mittelgroßen Steine an sie heran. Er wiederholt diese Schläge schnell hintereinander, bis das Tier betäubt umsinkt.[223]

Sind einige Männer beisammen, wagen sie sich sogar an eine ganze Herde heran, die auf dem Strande liegt. Sie stellen sich nach einem bestimmten Plane auf und gehen so vor, daß einzelne Tiere sich von der geschlossenen Masse der Herde absondern; nur diesen dürfen sie sich ganz nähern, daß sie mit der Keule dreinschlagen können. In ihren Bewegungen sind die Robben auf dem Lande unbeholfen. Werden sie angegriffen, richten sie sich zur Verteidigung auf. Nach vorn kippen sie leicht über, wohingegen

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[221] Über die Elephantenrobbe hat HYADES (r): 295 seinerzeit berichtet, „c'est une espèce presque entièrement détruite."

[222] BRIGGS (i): 23 macht eine zu feine Unterscheidung und spricht von „three kinds of clubs, the largest of which called Yoj, pointed at one end. The second is called Wonin, and the third Kooo. This is the smallest and is also used as a missile".

[223] Diese Art, kleinere Robben anzugehen, hat bereits FITZ-ROY (a): 184 beobachtet.

sie sich nach beiden Seiten, dank der stützenden Kraft ihrer beiden Flossenpaare, weit vorrecken können, ohne das Gleichgewicht zu verlieren. Das wissen die Indianer, weswegen sie jeden Seelöwen immer nur von vorne angehen.

Weit häufiger werden die Robben auf dem Wasser gejagt. Ihre zutrauliche und neugierige Veranlagung (S. 38) macht sich der Jäger zunutze. Beobachtet er eine spielende Robbe, die aus Lust und Übermut sich an der Wasseroberfläche tummelt, lockt er sie durch ein sanftes Pfeifen, durch ein gedämpftes Singen oder durch ein regelmäßiges Plätschern mit dem Ruder an. Das führt er anhaltend auch dann weiter, wenn das Tier unter dem Wasserspiegel verschwindet. Gleichzeitig benützt er diese wenigen Sekunden, um mit einigen kräftigen Ruderschlägen ihm näher zu kommen und die Harpune bereit zu legen. Mehrmals noch taucht vielleicht die Robbe auf und unter. Währenddessen halten sich die Insassen regungslos im Kanu, um sie nicht zu verscheuchen. Ist sie nahe genug, stößt ihr der Jäger, der inzwischen unbeobachtet sich aufgestellt hat, kraftvoll die kleine Harpune in den Leib (Abb. 55). Er achtet darauf, daß die Waffe ihr tief in den Körper eindringt. Auf eine bestimmte Stelle zu zielen bleibt ihm keine Zeit, weiß er doch *nie, in welcher Stellung ihm die Robbe, aus* dem Wasser auftauchend, entgegentreten wird.

Zur kleinen Harpune hat er deshalb gegriffen, weil er in der Nähe breite Knäuel der Macrocystis-Alge auf der Oberfläche schwimmen sieht; dorthin wird die verwundete Robbe ihre Zuflucht nehmen. Steckt ihr nämlich die gezähnte Knochenspitze im Leibe, bemüht sie sich in ihrem Schmerz dieselbe abzuschütteln. Sie versucht zunächst mit den Zähnen, die meistens nicht heranreichen; also hofft sie in den vielverschlungenen Stämmchen des Algenknäuels sich zu erleichtern. Vor Todesangst zwängt sie sich dort hinein und wühlt sich hindurch, veranlaßt indes, daß die Knochenspitze sich aus der Kerbe des Schaftes löst. Beide

Abb. 55. Kleine Harpune

Stücke bleiben durch einen kurzen Riemen miteinander verbunden. Da dieser sich in das nähe Algengewirr verwickelt, ist die Robbe an jeder weiteren Bewegung gehindert. Je mehr sie sich anstrengt, um so größere Schmerzen empfindet sie, da der scharfe Zahn der Knochenspitze ihr im Fleische sitzt und alles Zerren die Wunde vergrößert. Der Blutverlust macht sie schnell matt. Sie selbst und der lose Harpunenschaft sind regellos gespannt in den Algenknäuel verwickelt und ein Entkommen ist unmöglich. Inzwischen kam das Kanu herangerudert und der Jäger tötet die Robbe mit dem Wurfspieß oder der Keule. Mühsam löst er seine Beute aus dem Algengewirr und hebt sie voller Genugtuung in sein Fahrzeug. Meistens gewinnt er dabei auch noch seine Harpune zurück.

Zuweilen hat er noch einen ernsten K a m p f mit der durch die Wunde gereizten Robbe zu bestehen, falls die Harpune nicht tief genug eingedrungen oder kein lebenswichtiges Organ getroffen worden ist. Ein andermal sinkt sie sofort unter, wenn die Verletzung tödlich war. Auch entwischt sie, sofern sie nur leicht und oberflächlich verwundet wird. Damit verliert der Jäger nicht allein seine Beute, sondern auch seine Waffe.

Diese Jagdmethode wendet man am häufigsten an. Doch muß jeder Mann darauf gefaßt sein, daß dort, wo er seine kleine Harpune gegen eine Robbe geschleudert hat, die sonst häufigen schwimmenden Algenknäuel fehlen. Jetzt kommt ihm die zweckdienliche Bauart seiner Waffe nicht minder zu Hilfe. Sollte es nämlich der verwundeten Robbe glücken, die Knochenspitze vom Schaft zu lösen, erfährt sie dewegen keine Erleichterung. Während sie voranschwimmt, stellt sich der Harpunenschaft schief zur Bewegungsrichtung und bremst nicht nur ihr Vorwärtskommen, sondern erhöht auch den Schmerz ihrer Wunde, die sich bei anhaltendem Nachzerren des Schaftes noch erweitert. Sogar dann wirken diese beiden Hemmungen, allerdings weniger stark, wenn Spitze und Schaft der Harpune miteinander verbunden blieben. Das verletzte Tier ermattet je länger je mehr. Der nachgezerrte Harpunenschaft gibt die Richtung an, in der es entweicht und hindert es daran, lange unter Wasser zu bleiben.[224] Das Kanu des Jägers kann ihm schnell genug folgen und erreicht es vielleicht doch in einem Algenknäuel, wo es sich zu verstecken trachtet. Durch einen Schlag mit dem Ruder oder mit einem Knüppel tötet er das verwundete Tier.

In offenen Buchten und an jenen Stellen, wo Anhäufungen von schwimmenden Macrocystis-Algen fehlen, wo der Jäger kaum der verwundeten Robbe folgen könnte, greift er zur sogenannten g r o ß e n H a r p u n e mit der mittellangen einzahnigen oder mit der kurzen zweizahnigen Knochenspitze (Abb. 36).[225] Wurde das Tier gut getroffen, dann sitzt die Knochen-

[224] Hyades (q): 253 sagt mit Recht, daß der gelöste Schaft „sert alors de bouée et guide le chasseur qui peut poursuivre sa proie et lui infliger de nouveaux coups jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit tuée". Vgl. Dabezac (b): 194.

[225] Ohne Berechtigung spricht Lothrop (b): 132 von „regional differences in the kind of point attached to the cypress shaft: in the east a single-barbed head was used; in the

spitze fest im Fleische und infolge seiner unruhigen Bewegungen löst sich der Schaft. Das liegt in der Absicht des Jägers (S. 476). Je weiter die Robbe entweicht, um so mehr Leine gibt er, bis der lange Lasso abgelaufen ist; das Ende hält er fest. Die Zugkraft der verwundeten Robbe kommt nun dem Kanu zugute, doch ist wegen ihrer unruhigen Bewegung größte Vorsicht für die Kanu-Insassen geboten. Inzwischen tobt sich das verwundete Tier aus und der andauernde Blutverlust entkräftet es bis zur Regungslosigkeit. Allein die Last, die an der im Fleische steckenden Harpunenspitze hängt, zwingt die anfangs sich wild gebärdende Robbe, ihr eiliges Entfliehen zu verringern und dem langsamen Enziehen der Leine, mit dem der Mann sofort beginnt, nachzugeben. Jäger und Beute kommen sich schließlich so nahe, daß ein Schlag mit dem Ruder und eine Verwundung mit der kleinen Harpune oder mit dem Wurfspieß den ermatteten Tiere ein Ende bereitet. Nach Möglichkeit bemüht sich der Jäger noch um den Harpunenschaft, der zuweilen in der Nähe frei herumschwimmt.

Mit Vorliebe greift man zur großen Harpune, wenn man Seelöwen in Höhlen am Wasser überrascht. Der Jäger lauert auf seine Beute vom Strande oder von einem das Wasser überragenden Steine aus. Von hier wirft er seine gefährliche Waffe gegen die vorbeischwimmende Robbe und läßt unverzüglich die lange Leine abrollen. Meist hat er sich schon vorher ihr freies Ende um den Leib gebunden[224] Weil er festen Boden unter den Füßen hat, kann er um so sicherer das verwundete Tier heranziehen und töten. Wann immer die erwähnten Wurfwaffen auf einer Robbenjagd[227] in Anwendung kommen, sie sichern dem Jäger, bei geringer Anstrengung, einen schnellen Erfolg.

2. Jagd auf Wale

Unglaubwürdig klingt es, daß die kleinwüchsigen Yamana in ihren gebrechlichen Rindenbooten sich an die gewaltigen Ozeanriesen heranwagen. Tatsächlich tun sie es im Vertrauen auf ihre persönliche Geschicklichkeit und auf die Wirksamkeit ihrer großen Harpune. In früherer Zeit bot sich häufig Gelegenheit, einem Wale nachzugehen;[228] seit wenigen Jahrzehnten verliert sich ein einzelnes Tier nur selten noch in die feuerländischen Ka-

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vent a double-barbed form was employed". In Wirklichkeit gebrauchte man beide Formen im genau umgrenzten Heimatgebiete der Yamana.

[227] Diese eiligsame Jagdmethode hat auch Bonnerz (MM: XIII, 158; 1879) genannt.

[228] Wieder Hyades (g): 24 und (q): 353 nach Lorenzo (b): 152 hat die große Harpune erwähnt, die nicht weniger häufig auf der Robbenjagd gebraucht wurde als die kleine Harpune. Bonnerz (MM: XIII, 158; 1879) allerdings hat auf sie hingewiesen.

[229] Wie häufig sie früher mit diesen reichen Geschenken bedacht wurden, ist aus einer Mitteilung Bonnerz' (MM: IX, 14; 1875) vom 2. Mai 1874 zu entnehmen: „The new visitors ... brought much whale from Agin, where we hear three whales have lately been supplied to the people by a bountiful God, through the instrumentality of sword fish and whale boats ... Another whale is reported at Cunagosh."

nile.[200] Kinder und Personen mittleren Alters, die ich darüber befragte, hatten das Stranden eines Wales an ihren heimatlichen Ufern nur vereinzelt erlebt.[201] Europäischen Walfischfängern ist es anzurechnen, daß diese einst zahlreichen Ozeanriesen in der Kap Hoorn-Gegend fast gänzlich ausgerottet sind. Am häufigsten traten Balaenoptera intermedia und Balaenoptera patagonica auf, erstere übertrifft alle anderen an Körperlänge und Umfang (S. 36). Mit einer Enttäuschung mußten die Yamana immer rechnen, wenn ein čiyix (Ziphius) strandete; dessen Fett ist nicht bekömmlich und wirkt abführend, was ihnen aus alter Erfahrung sehr gut bekannt ist.

Von einer wirklichen Jagd kann man dann nicht sprechen, wenn ein toter Wal von den Wellen langsam gegen die Küste getrieben wird. Schwimmt er in erreichbarer Entfernung, macht man den Versuch, ihn ans Land zu ziehen. Der dichte Schwarm bekannter Hochseevögel verkündet den Leuten weit und breit dieses freudige Ereignis und von allen Seiten rudern sie heran. Unerschrocken wagen sie sich weit in die offene See vor und vereinigen ihre Kräfte, um das ungeheure Tier an den nächsten Strand zu schaffen. Sie nehmen eine günstige Meeresströmung zu Hilfe und ordnen sich in der gleichen Richtung. Jeder Mann stößt seine große Harpune dem Tiere tief in den Leib und läßt die lange Leine (Abb. 35) ablaufen. Im Kanu muß er sich vorsichtig verhalten, sobald diese sich strafft. Nun rudert jede Frau ihr eigenes Kanu auf die nächste Küste zu, während die Männer mit dem aufgerollten Lasso den Wal nachziehen. Lautes Schreien bringt Gleichmäßigkeit in ihre Anstrengungen hinein. Sind etwa zwanzig Kanus beisammen und hilft die Meeresströmung reichlich mit, nähert sich dieser seltsame Zug langsam dem nächsten Ufer. Damit ist der Erfolg eigentlich schon erzielt, weil *weder schwere See noch Unwetter diese Beute den glücklichen Indianern* entreißen kann. An der langen Lederleine ihrer Harpunen halten sie das Tier in nächster Nähe des Landes. Noch sicherer sind sie, wenn sie auf das Ufer springen und von da aus den Wal heranziehen können. Sie bemühen sich, das noch im Wasser schwebende Tier zu einer flach abfallenden Stelle dieses Strandes weiterzubefördern. Parallel zur Küste halten sie es und der lange Lasso ihrer großen Harpune bleibt stramm gezogen. Sollte die Knochenspitze sich lösen, wird sie abermals und tiefer in den toten Tierleib hineingestoßen. Je nach der Stärke der Strömung müssen viele Männer die gewaltige Beute ganz nahe der Küste sichern und zuweilen bei Nacht ihre Wachsamkeit fortsetzen; denn die unruhige See triebe sie bestimmt an eine andere Stelle oder wieder weit hinaus. Man wartet eine Sturzwelle oder eine hohe Flut ab, die den Wal mit einem kräftigen Stoß auf den Strand setzt. Bis das erreicht ist können Tage vergehen. Inzwischen machen sich einige Leute heran und schneiden große Fettlappen aus dem Tierkörper heraus, die sie

[200] Crawshay: XXVII hat übertrieben, als er noch 1907 schrieb: „Whales are plentiful in these waters, from those of the largest size known to some of the smallest."

[201] Am 19. Juli 1902 noch meldete Wilkens (MM: XXXVI, 277; 1902) aus der Missionsstation Tekenika: „A little time ago a whale was found on the beach in Canoe-coach."

in ihren Booten zum Strande bringen. Früher oder später setzt ihn die Strömung doch auf festen Grund. Nun können sie diese reiche Beute genießen.

Noch glücklicher sind sie dann, wenn die Sturmflut allein einen Wal aufs Land wirft, ist doch dadurch der Tisch ohne ihr Zutun reichlich gedeckt. Einerlei, wo dieses sehr begehrte Geschenk der Mutter Natur hinfällt, viele Familien entbehrt es für einige Zeit der alltäglich drängenden Nahrungssorge.

Zu einem wirklichen Angriff sammeln sich die Leute um einen kranken oder todesmatten Wal. Er wird leicht erkannt; denn er hält sich fast regungslos schwebend an der Oberfläche. Dadurch werden die großen Seevögel in Menge angezogen, die ihn umkreisen. Wenn er nach langen Pausen nur noch wenige Bewegungen macht, nähern sich ihm mehrere Kanus und die Männer werfen ihre großen Harpunen gegen ihn ab. Viele und schwere Wunden wollen sie dem Tiere in kürzester Zeit beibringen; deshalb schleudern sie alles ab, was sie an Waffen besitzen. Merkwürdig schaut der mit vielen Wurfspießen, Speeren und Harpunen gespickte Wal aus, zumal er sich immer noch etwas bewegt. Stunden um Stunden bemühen sich die Männer, stoßen mit äußerstem Kraftaufwand ihre Waffen dem matten Tiere in den Leib, reißen sie wieder heraus, wenn ihr Vorrat an Harpunen und Spießen erschöpft ist und ermüden bei der erregten Kraftanstrengung nicht eher, bis sie ihrer Beute sicher sind.[241]

Nicht selten entwischt auch ein Wal, unangenehm gereizt durch die vielen Wunden und schmerzhaften Belästigungen. Die Männer zerren nämlich stark am Lasso, nachdem sie die große Harpune tief hineingestoßen haben, um die Wunde zu erweitern und stärker bluten zu machen. Das aufgeregte Tier bringt nicht selten mehrere Kanus durch starke Bewegungen seines Körpers oder durch kräftige Schläge mit seiner Schwanzflosse zum Kentern. Die gefährdeten Insassen finden zuweilen den Tod in den Wellen.

Gelingt es den vielen Männern, das Tier wirklich zu töten, zerren sie es an den Strand. Daneben bauen sie ihre Hütten auf und tun sich gütlich an der reichen Beute. Zuweilen aber verbleibt der kranke Wal nicht an der gleichen Stelle, sondern schwimmt weiter. Die meisten Familien versuchen es, ihm zu folgen. Während die Frauen das leichte Fahrzeug lenken, stoßen die Männer ihm die große Harpune tief in den Leib und lassen den langen Lasso ablaufen, dessen Ende sie mit beiden Händen fest fassen. Dabei zieht der Wal das Kanu hinter sich her. Nun beginnt eine sehr gewagte Fahrt! Steigt der Wal in bedeutende Tiefen hinunter oder beschleunigt er seine Flucht, muß jeder Mann im gefährlichen Augenblicke die Leine freigeben. Er verliert zwar seine Waffen, aber rettet sich und den Seinigen das Leben. Vielleicht taucht das verfolgte Tier in erreichbarer Nähe nochmals auf; dann gehen es die

[241] Eine derartige Jagd schildert Bonsons (MM: IX, 12; 1875) sehr erstaunt: „This evening some ten or more canoes came, each having a share of the poor whale, which literally was filled by inches, having received into its body somewhere about a hundred spears, and from first to last was being followed and wounded from Friday, four p. m., till ten p. m. (Saturday, 28. April 1874)."

Männer mit erneutem Mute an. So lange ihnen Aussicht auf Erfolg winkt, sind sie dahinter her und äußerster Lebensgefahr setzen sie sich aus; denn diese ergiebige Beute zu verlieren, bedeutet für sie einen empfindlichen Verlust, ohne die vielen Waffen zu vermeschlagen, die nutzlos aufgeboten wurden.

Etwas günstiger sind ihre Jagdaussichten, wenn sie einem vom Schwertwal *ēpéjáli* (Orca magellanica) verfolgten Wale nachgehen. Allerdings gestaltet sich ihr Unterfangen dabei weit bedenklicher. Bekanntlich hat es jenes Tier zur Gewohnheit, jüngere, kleine Wale anzugreifen. Mit seiner kräftigen Rückenflosse schlägt und sticht er gegen den Wal, der sich nur durch Flucht retten kann. Letzterer steuert engen Wasserarmen und seichten Buchten zu. Sein Verfolger eilt ihm nach und verwundet ihn sogar schwer, der Wal sucht sich durch öftere Sprünge aus dem Wasser zu helfen (S. 37). Das ist den Indianern gut bekannt.[242] Der *ēpéjáli* ist nicht nur von einigen Vertretern seiner Art, sondern mehr noch von kleineren verwandten Tieren begleitet; ihn selber betrachtet man als den "Herrn", dem die anderen seines "Volkes" nacheilen. Sieht sich der verfolgte Wal arg bedrängt, nähert er sich in seiner Verzweiflung der Küste. Jetzt werden auch die vielen Begleiter deutlicher sichtbar, die vorher oft über die Wasserfläche emporgestiegen waren. Seine letzte Zuflucht findet der bisweilen schwer verwundete Wal darin, daß er sich auf den seichten Strand einer stillen Bucht gleiten läßt, wo seine aufdringlichen Verfolger endlich von ihm ablassen.

Der scharfen Beobachtung unserer Yamana entgeht ein auffälliger Kampf der großen Seetiere nicht und sie eilen ihnen entschlossen in den Kanus nach; sie wissen, daß der verfolgte Wal sich mit Vorliebe in eine flache Bucht flüchtet. Eiligst stoßen sie ihm ihre großen Harpunen in den Leib und zerren an der aufgerollten Lederleine, daß die Wunden sich erweitern. Sind viele Männer beisammen, erhält der Wal unaufhörlich einen Harpunenstoß nach dem anderen und der beträchtliche Blutverlust macht ihn todesmatt. Gehetzt von den Delphinen und von den Indianern beendet er sein Leben in einer geschützten Bucht, meist dem flachen Strande aufliegend. Augenblicklich machen sie sich über die Beute her. Vielleicht müssen sie den Untergang eines oder mehrerer Kanus beklagen, die der Wut des todesmatten Wales zum Opfer gefallen sind.

Offensichtlich ist es sehr gefährlich, im schwachen Rindenboote einem Wal sich zu nähern. Dennoch entschließen sich mutige Männer dazu, wenn sie aus manchen Anzeichen entnehmen können, daß er krank oder von Delphinen schwer verwundet ist.[243] An ein gesundes, ausgewachsenes Tier wagt sich niemand heran; denn sie könnten es mit den schwach wirksamen Harpunen nicht töten. Daß die Indianer mit diesen Waffen überhaupt etwas erreichen, ist der Erfolg ihrer ununterbrochenen Anstrengungen. Immer wieder müssen sie eben ihre Harpunen und Speere tief in das ermattete Tier

[242] Illustration (a): 34 scheint auffällig hierüber.

[243] Die zu kurzen Angaben, die Hyades (b): 22 macht, geben nur ein unvollständiges Bild von einem derartigen gefährlichen Unternehmen, an dem viele Männer beteiligt sind.

hineinstoßen, bis es zum vielen Stichen blutet. Tage hindurch wird es verfolgt, bis es endlich seinen zahllosen Wunden erliegt. Staunenswert ist der Wagemut dieser kleinen Menschen. Allein mit der Harpune, wie Bove (e): 158 und mit ihm Lovisato (b): 136 anerkennt, „einer so einfachen Waffe ausgerüstet, ziehen sie aus, den Walfisch anzugreifen, aber oft genug werden Canoe, Harpunierer und Ruderer durch einen Schlag vom Schwanz des gereizten Tieres in die Luft geschleudert". Sie denken an die reichliche Fülle von Speck und Fleisch, sowie an die anderen wichtigen Dinge, die ein einziger Wal, sei er groß oder klein, vielen Familien oft ganz umsonst liefert.

3. Jagd auf Vögel

In der Heimat der Yamana wimmelt es von Landvögeln und Seevögeln. Eine buntfarbige, vielgestaltige befiederte Gesellschaft belebt die Inseln und Felsen, bevölkert die Buchten und Lagunen, durchquert in Scharen die vielverschlungenen Wasserarme und den weiten Luftraum bei stürmischem und sonnigem Wetter. Alle sind sie dem Indianer nach ihren Gewohnheiten und Eigenarten g u t b e k a n n t; doch finden sie besondere Beachtung bei ihm nur insofern, als sie ihm etwas zu bieten oder zu sagen haben. Einige liefern ihm ein schmackhaftes Fleisch und andere die frischen Eier im Frühling, diese überlassen ihm begehrte Federn zum Körperschmuck und jene ihre Knochen zu Halsketten, einzelne verkünden ihm den Wechsel des Wetters oder der Jahreszeiten und wenige sind ihm Verkünder wissenswerter Ereignisse in der Ferne, selbst in der Zukunft, alle aber leben sie in seinem Glauben als die Nachkommen jener Bevölkerungsschicht weiter, die lange vor den heutigen eigentlichen Menschen diese Gegend bewohnt hatten.

Doch, wie nicht anders zu erwarten, bedeuten für ihn am meisten jene Arten, *die seinen Lebensunterhalt sichern. Nicht jedwedes fliegende Tier, das* in Reichweite des Indianers kommt, *reizt seinen Gaumen und seine Eßlust:* er unterscheidet mit gutem Urteil und w ä h l t b e w u ß t, was ihm bekommt. Wenige Arten nur sind es, die er aus der reichhaltigen Vogelwelt seiner Heimat für den eigenen Bedarf in Anspruch nimmt. Was ihm nicht dient und seinen Wünschen nicht entspricht, läßt er leichten Herzens beiseite. Wählerisch und klug bevorzugend zeigt er sich überall, nicht zuletzt beim Auswerten der ihm erreichbaren Vogelarten.

Von vornherein sieht er über kleine Tiere hinweg: was sie an Fleisch ihm überlassen könnten, wäge seine Anstrengungen nicht auf. Reiher und Enten bedeuten für ihn *ebenso wenig, sind sie doch nur* Haut und Knochen. Hochseevögel *und die* leicht erreichbaren Rauchmöven, *vor allem die* Tagesraubvögel, wie Condor und Falke, Aasgeier und Habicht, stoßen ihn ab, weil sie sich vom tierischen Abfallstoffen nähren. Andere Vögel indes mag er in seiner Speisenauswahl nicht missen, *sie sind ihm eine willkommene Abwechslung in der* faden Schmackhaftigkeit *seiner* einförmigen Fleischkost. Vorwiegend sieht er es *auf die Pinguine und Kormorane, auf die Wildgänse und*

Enten, endlich auf Austernfischer und Seetaucher ab. Der vorherrschende Trangeschmack ihres Fleisches belästigt ihn nicht; er fühlt das zwingende Bedürfnis nach reichlichem Fett in jener kalten Gegend, in der er bei ungenügender Körperbedeckung und dürftigen Wohnungsbedingungen aushalten muß.

Aus der Art, wie er Vögeln nachspürt, erkennt man seine scharfe Beobachtungsgabe. Deren Lebensgewohnheiten bilden die Voraussetzung für seine Jagd- und Fangmethoden. Letztere lassen wieder auf seine Geistesgaben schließen, weil die Zweckmäßigkeit seiner Gerätschaften kaum zu übertreffen ist.[266] Den Naturmenschen weit mehr als den von vornherein in bequemere Bedingungen gestellten Kulturmenschen erzieht die Umwelt, die Sorge um den notwendigen Lebensunterhalt macht ihn zum genauesten Kenner seines Gebietes und zu einem unübertrefflichen Erfinder im Bereiche seines Wirkungskreises. Das gilt in höchster Steigerung von einem Volke, das, wie unsere Feuerländer, auf der sogenannten wirtschaftlichen Sammelstufe steht. Es ist und bleibt ja ganz und gar von dem allein abhängig, was ihm die Natur in seinem Heimatgebiete freiwillig bietet. Will es sich also am Leben erhalten — und dazu zwingt ihn der stärkste Trieb —, muß er sich in scharfer Überlegung und bei oft wiederholten Versuchen aus der Erfahrung das entnehmen, was ihm dient und was ihn sicher zum Ziele führt, bei einem möglichst geringen Aufwand von Anstrengungen.

Abb. 56. Gebrauch der Schleuder

Trotz des Reichtums an Vögeln bevorzugen die Yamana, wie gesagt, bestimmte Arten, vor allem die Pinguine und Kormoräne, die Wildenten und Seegänse. Unter diesen treffen sie nochmals Auswahl und bringen in ihr Mahl etwas Abwechslung. Auch zielen sie auf die riesigen Hochseevögel (Diomedea, Querquedula, Phoebetria, Puffinus, Thalassoica), auf Möven (Larus), Seeschwalben (Sterna) und Schwäne (Cygnus melanocoryphus), dann und wann auf Landvögel, wie Reiher (Nycticorax), Schnepfen (Gallinago), Brillenibis (Theristicus), Regenpfeifer (Charadrius), Wasserläufer (Totanus), Wasserhühner (Fulica) und Austernfischer (Haematopus); schließlich auf die kleinen Sing-

[266] Das tritt nicht in die Erscheinung, wenn man die verschiedenartigen Fang- und Jagdmethoden mit knappen Worten abtut, wie beispielsweise Orrego (g): 53 oder wie Martinez: 195. Abweichend davon betont Bonomo (h): 240 nachdrücklich die Geschicklichkeit der Yamana auf der Vogeljagd: „Tienen diversos métodos de cazar y matar pájaros, y en todos ellos manifiestan mucha destreza."

vögel, wie Drosseln (Turdus, Curaeus), Sperlingsvögel (Cinclodes) und auf die Papageien (Microsittace).[244] Manche töten sie durch Steinwürfe aus der bloßen Hand oder aus der Schleuder (Abb. 56), andere mit Bogen und Pfeil, andere mit dem sogenannten Vogelspeer (Abb. 57), andere mit Schlingen und Fallen, je nachdem das Vorgehen einen Erfolg verspricht. Die wichtigeren Vogelarten werden nach bestimmten Methoden erjagt, die von der Geschicklichkeit, List und Tatkraft des Jägers ein sehr günstiges Zeugnis ablegen.

a. *Pinguine*

Befremdlich klingt es nicht, daß der Yamana am häufigsten den Pinguinen nachjagt. Sie bevölkern dort in ansehnlichen Gruppen die Felsen und Wasserarme. Schon Fitz-Roy (a): 184 hatte beobachtet, daß „penguins are much prized". Am leichtesten erreichbar, weil am häufigsten in den Kanälen anzutreffen sind der Brillen-Pinguin *lárla*, *lálla* (Spheniscus magellanicus) und der Felsen-Pinguin *kplóina* (Spheniscus Humboldti), denen an Individuenzahl und Körpergröße die zwei verwandten Arten, der goldhaarige Pinguin *kálawina* (Catarrhactes chrysocome) und der Goldschopf-Pinguin *kérnuz* (Catarrhactes chrysolophus) nachstehen. Der bedeutend größere Königspinguin (Aptenodytes patagonica) bevorzugt die südlicheren Gewässer und tritt im eigentlichen Wohnbereich der Yamana sehr selten auf.

Tagsüber verweilt die Mehrheit der beiden erstgenannten Arten auf außenliegenden Eilanden und Felsen. An windstillen Tagen, die selten sind, rudert die Familie mit ihrem Kanu dorthin. Der Mann steigt an Land und erreicht mühelos die schwerfälligen Tiere, die er mit einem Knüppel niederschlägt. Bequem tötet er ein gutes Dutzend in einigen Minuten, wirft sie in sein Fahrzeug und verläßt diese Stelle wieder.

Für gewöhnlich sieht er sich darauf angewiesen, jene Einzeltiere zu erlegen, denen er dann und wann auf seinen Fahrten begegnet. Die Pinguine bilden gerne kleine Gruppen und sind nicht scheu. Mit einiger Geschicklichkeit kann sich der Jäger ihnen nähern. Die Frau rudert das Kanu auf sie zu, während der Mann sowohl die Schleuder als auch den Vogelspeer bereit hält; in einem Augenblick muß er sich so oder so entscheiden. Von der Schleuder verspricht er sich wenig, weil nur ein sehr günstiger Steinwurf den starken Pinguin betäubt. Deshalb bemüht er sich, ihm ganz nahe zu kommen. Den Vogelspeer wirft er lieber ab. Ob dieser nun eine oder zwei Knochenspitzen hat (Abb. 57), fast immer wird das Tier tödlich getroffen; denn die schwere, grobe Waffe reißt eine weite Wunde auf, an der es schnell verblutet. In die Tiefe sinken kann es nicht, das verhindert teilweise der hölzerne Speerschaft. Bequem hebt man es in das Kanu.

Eine Einzelfamilie fährt also auf jene Stellen zu, an denen diese Vögel sich tummeln und versucht auf die erwähnte Art ihr Jagdglück. Bisweilen

[244] Eine fast vollständige Namensliste der von den Yamana gejagten Vögel hat Wenzel (f): 162 aufgestellt. Aus ihr ersieht man sehr leicht die große Auswahl.

Abb. 57. Vogelspeer Nat. Gr.

schließen zwei oder mehrere Fahrzeuge eine kleine Pinguinenherde umkreisend ein; sie werfen ihre Speere aus größerer Entfernung ab oder schwingen die Schleuder mit schweren Steinen. Einem verwundeten oder betäubten Vogel ist leicht sowohl auf dem Wasser wie auf dem Lande beizukommen. Da der Pinguin strecken weise ganz wenig unter der Oberfläche schwimmt und sich durch ein sanftes Pfeifen anlocken läßt, unterrichtet der Jäger seine Gattin, wie sie das Kanu steuern soll. Er beobachtet die Bewegungen des Vogels und versucht, dem aus dem Wasser aufsteigenden Tiere im Abstand von 2 m und weniger plötzlich zu begegnen. Den Augenblick, da der Pinguin aus dem Wasser emporsteigend seinen Kopf über die Wasseroberfläche erhebt, muß der geistesgegenwärtige Jäger ausnützen und ihm den Speer in den Leib stoßen; die Nähe des Bootes, die das ahnungslose Tier erschreckt, ließe es sofort wieder untertauchen. Das Jagen der Pinguine zeigt, wie Mann und Frau aufeinander angewiesen sind und wie ihr Zusammenarbeiten den Erfolg bringt, zum Vorteil für sie und ihre Familie.

β. Kormorane

Nicht minder wertvoll als die Pinguine sind für den hungrigen Yamana die dort fast ebenso zahlreichen Kormorane, auch Seeraben und Scharben genannt. Für diese Indianer kommen vorwiegend vier Arten in Betracht, nämlich der Vigunkormoran *tagulkiwa* (Phalacrocorax olivaceus), der magellanische Kormoran *ḱgteg* (Phalacroc. magellanicus), ferner die Haubenscharbe *mānānim* (Phalacroc. gaimardi) und endlich die schwarze Scharbe *yēlēg, yēgēlē* (Phalacroc. atriceps) (Abb. 58). Andere Arten, wie Phal. verrucosus, besuchen nur gelegentlich die inneren Kanäle. Das Fleisch dieser Vogelarten ist zäher und trokkener als das der Pinguine, trotzdem ist es dem Indianer willkommen. Auch für deren Knochen und Federn hat er Verwendung.

Man sieht die Scharben meist zu kleinen Gruppen vereinigt auf dem Wasser und auf dem Strande. Der Jäger versucht ihnen nahe genug zu kommen, daß er seine Schleuder erfolgreich gebrauchen kann, falls mehrere Tiere eng beisammen stehen. Er wählt zwei bis vier mittelgroße Steine, die er gleichzeitig mit Kraft abwirft.[208] Gegen den Kopf der Tiere zielt er und ein Steinwurf betäubt sie so sicher, daß er sie leicht ergreifen kann. Jenen, die weniger verletzt wurden und noch zu entkommen trachten, geht er nach, sei es im Boote oder auf dem Lande; er tötet sie mit dem Vogelspeer oder mit einem Knüppel. Im Wasser sind sie schwerfälliger als die Pinguine.

An Tiere, die auf flachem Gelände übernachten, schleicht er sich in der Dunkelheit bei ruhigem Wetter heran. Ihr Schlaf ist jetzt nicht tief. Werden sie aufgeweckt, pflegen sie wegzulaufen, nicht aber aufzufliegen. Ein Stück trockener Rinde, die nur wenig an einer kleinen Stelle glimmt, verbirgt er vorsichtig, bis er vor den Vögeln steht. Plötzlich schwingt er das Rindenstück oder einen glimmenden Knüppel, dessen freies Ende in dünne Teilchen gespaltet wurde, nach Art einer Fackel *lógo*, rasch in der Luft herum; es leuchtet auf und blendet die erschreckten Tiere. Ehe sie sich recht

Abb. 58. Phalacrocorax atriceps

besonnen haben, schlägt der Jäger mehrere mit einem Knüppel nieder und läuft nach jenen nach, die flüchten. In kürzester Frist gibt er sich mit seiner Beute, die bei solchem Vorgehen immer reich ausfällt, gern zufrieden.

In stürmischer, regnerischer Nacht haben die Scharben einen festen Schlaf; sie stecken ihren Kopf unter einen Flügel und vergraben ihn tief in den Federn. Auf allen Vieren kriechend erreicht der Jäger sie bestimmt, ohne besondere Vorsicht aufbieten zu müssen. Mit sicherem, festem Griff beider Hände packt er den gekrümmten Hals des Tieres, schlägt augenblicklich seine Zähne in das Halsstück, das er zwischen seinen beiden Fäusten frei gelassen hat, und während er in das Genick hineinbeißt, brechen er beide Fäuste durch. Lautlos sticht der Vogel. Der Jäger ergreift unverzüglich den nächsten in der gleichen Weise. Zuweilen gibt trotzdem ein sterbendes Tier einen leisen Ton von sich oder zappelt krampfhaft. Dadurch werden nahestehende Vögel geweckt. Sie beruhigt der Jäger dadurch, daß er mit seinen

[98] Hyades (g): 38 erwähnt kurz: „Zum Töten der Vögel bedienen sie sich der Schleuder, in deren Handhabung sie sehr geschickt sind."

Händen ein totes Tier aufrichtet und geschickt von einer Seite zur anderen zeigt. Dank der nächtlichen Finsternis und des unregelmäßigen Stürmens läßt sich der aufgerichtete Vogel schnell kaltstellen und getäuscht steckt er seinen Kopf wieder unter den Flügel. Der Jäger versucht noch weiter sein Glück, bis die reiche Beute ihn genügt.[107] Die getöteten Tiere läßt er bis zum nächsten Morgen liegen und unauffällig, wie er gekommen, zieht er sich wieder zurück. Ihm ist es jetzt darum zu tun, diese Vogelgesellschaft nicht zu erschrecken, weil sie wohl auch in der nächsten Zukunft noch an dieser Stelle nächtigen wird und er nicht vergeblich sich hier wieder einfinden möchte.[108]

Bei dieser Fangmethode bekunden die Yamana eine unglaubliche Geschicklichkeit im Beherrschen ihres ganzen Körpers und im Täuschen der erschreckten Vögel. Einen Nachts begleitete ich zwei Männer und wollte sie nur beobachten. Hinter ihnen schlich auch ich mich heran. Dadurch allein, weil mir jede Übung fehlte, hätte ich sie fast um ihren Jagderfolg gebracht.

Am liebsten nisten die Kormorane auf den glatten, steilen Felsen, die weit in die offene See vorgeschoben sind. Manche Wände, in denen Hunderte dieser Tiere ihr Nest einrichten, von unten zu erklettern ist unmöglich. Bisweilen läßt sich ein Aufstieg an der gegenüberliegenden Seite erzwingen und den Yamana fehlt der Wagemut hierfür nicht, wenn die Nahrung knapp geworden ist. Mehrere Männer ziehen gemeinsam in einer schwarzen, stürmischen Nacht los, nachdem sie sich über die örtlichen Verhältnisse bei Tageslicht einige Sicherheit verschafft haben. Sie erreichen die Höhe des Felsens und nähern sich dem Rande der steilen Wand, an der die vielen Nester eingelassen sind. Ein jüngerer Mann bindet sich einen festen, langen Riemen dicht um die Lenden. Von den anderen Männern, die einen sicheren Halt gewonnen haben, wird er vorsichtig heruntergelassen. Vorher vereinbaren sie bestimmte Klopfzeichen, die jener Mann denen dort oben durch Schlagen gegen den Riemen geben muß, damit er sich erfolgreich bewegen kann. Den schlafenden Kormoranen, der seinen Kopf unter dem Flügel versteckt hält, packt er am gekrümmten Halse und beißt sein Genick durch. Augenblicklich stirbt das Tier. Je nach dem Gelände läßt er seine Beute nach unten fallen oder bindet sie an einer um die Hüften gespannten Schnur oder an einem herabgelassenen Riemen. Sofort faßt er nach einem anderen Vogel. Das Stürmen und Brausen der finsteren Nacht begünstigt ihn und wegen der reichen Menge von Vögeln ist ihm guter Erfolg sicher, sollten auch manche Tiere aufwachen und entweichen. Überkommt ihn Ermüdung oder sieht er sich bereits schwer mit Beute beladen, läßt er sich heraufziehen. Meistens löst ihn ein anderer Mann bei dieser Arbeit ab; denn man will

[107] Zweimal beschreibt Bonnow (MSS: 111, 114; 1869 und MSS: 1111, 117; 1879) einen Angriff der Yamana auf Kormorane oder ähnliches.

[108] Ähnlich wird von Fitz-Roy (a): 184 berichtet: „the unmidnight night, birds are caught when roosting, not only by the men but by their dogs, which are sent out to seize them while asleep upon the rocks or beside; and so well are these dogs trained, that they bring all they catch safely to their masters.“ Weitere Geschichtsquellen erwähnen nichts davon.

dieser gleichige Gelegenheit gut ausnützen und für die Sommermonate Anwesungsgrün sich sorgfältig entschädigen. Daß solchen Unterfangen gefährlich ist, wissen die Leute sehr wohl;[**] aber wenn die Not sie treibt, entschließen sie sich auch dazu[**] und ersuchen sich gegenseitig an besonderer Vorsicht.

Noch mit einer anderen Schwierigkeit hat der Jäger hierbei zu rechnen, die ihn mitunter in größte Gefahr bringt. Seine Frau soll ihn an jenen bekannten Felsvorsprung oder einsteigen Gedeckt Seitens hinaufsetzen, auf denen er die Schnüren legen will. Er landet bei Tage und hält sich hier verborgen, bis am Abend die erwarteten Vögel ihre Nester aufsuchen. Inzwischen ist die Kunde in eine nahere Bucht auf einer anderen Insel weitergeleitet, bei ihrer jenem Mannes etwas Fleisch und Trinkwasser mitbringlassen. Doch wehe ihm, wenn plötzlich schlechtes Wetter eintritt und er länger als geplant an dieser Stelle weitergehalten wird. „Many days may pass before his wife can venture to come over the inlet to take him off. The solitary man then hankerals to the utmost his limited supply of fresh water. The rising billows nearly overflow the inlet, sometimes quite so, and threaten to wash him away, and the spray keeps him thoroughly wet. I have heard of very distressing cases, when the men have had to drink dog's blood and to eat them raw, and when they have nearly perished with the cold." (Diese Schilderung, von Bennett (MM. XIII, 156; 1879) der Wahrheit entsprungen, gibt die vielen Gefahren und Opfer an erkennen, die dem Tamana auf der Jagd nach den Schnüren begegnen. Allerdings kommt ihm seine genaue Ortskenntnis und seine sichere Beurteilung des Wetters gut zustatten, wenngleich er sich nie vorwegen in Gefahren erhebt (Vgl. Hyades [a]: 300).

Sogar auf einsamen Felsen, die mitten dem Wasserstande ersteigt und leicht zu erreichen sind, überwachen diese Vögel. Solche Felsen werden wegen der erwähnten Gemeinschaftsgrünsten erbaut ab. Wenn die Männer hierzu erstiegen dorthin, sind sie den Schnüren auch mehr erreichbar, also schleichen sie auf den Zehen in reicher Zahl. Auch an die schlichtet sich der Indianer heran, schleicht vorsichtig einen jener Männer auf bringt ein schlichtenden Tier auch dem anderen um, indem er ihm den Genick durchbeißt und es auf den Boden fallen läßt. Um gut gedeckt zu sein, benutzt er seinen Körper gelbe schwarz. Auch für diesen Unterfangen wird eine meisterhafte Geschicklichkeit vom Jäger gefordert. Der bereitige Bennett (MM. XIII, 156; 1879) abschließt: „All are not able to signalize themselves in the difficult art of dog catching, but such as do become valued members of society," und ihrer Führung versuchen sich die übrigen Männer an.

Endlich liegt man die Schnüren auch auf einer anderen, doch einfacheren

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[**] Das besondere Schicksalsgebiet des Bennett (MM. XIII, 157; 1879) gemeinte hier: „Many accidents occur in following these risky pursuits. Sometimes dogs make out the dangerous ledges the men climb, but go for the hold, and falls into the ranging sea below."

[**] In gleicher Weise haben diese hier die Lummenvögel Bennett (ib. VIII, 214; 1884 und in MM. XIII, 156; 1879), Swanson (ibid. 156), Swanson (ibid. 59 und ap. MM. Swanson (ap. 59 u.a. dargestellt.

und empfiehlt eine Weise, nämlich mit eigenem K ä d e r in einer Art von Falle, *ôtaur*' genannt. Diese Vorgehen empfiehlt sich für ebenen Erdreich und für solche Stellen, an denen höhere Felsen mit Nistlöchern fehlen. Man rammt einen festen Pfahl in die Erde, an dem man mehrere lange, dünne Schnurschlingen befestigt; eine jede endet in ein kurzes, beiderseitig zugespitztes Knöchelchen, das man mit einem toten Fisch überzogen hat. Mit einer sehr lockeren, dünnen Schicht trockener Algen überdeckt man unvollständig den Köder und legt einige Fettstücke obendrauf. Diese sollen zunächst Möwen anziehen. Mit ihnen treffen bei diesem Köder auch Kormorane ein, die jene verankerten, toten Fische verschlucken. Das darin verborgene spitze Knöchelchen stellt sich ihnen im Magen quer und sie möchten das Unbehagen los werden; doch je länger sie würgen und würgen, um so sicherer verklaten sie sich.[201] Der Fallensteller kann sie leicht erreichen.

Auf Bauchen sich stützend beschreibt HYADES (q): 359 eine andere ähnliche Köderanlage. Diese „consiste en trois arêtes de bois dur, bien aiguës, fixées ensemble au bout d'un bâton recourbé; leurs pointes, divergeant un peu l'une de l'autre, sont enfoncées et masquées dans un appât de chair de poisson: les cormorans se prennent à ce piège, en avalant, avec l'appât, les éclats de bois qui pénètrent profondément dans la gorge de l'oiseau, et entraînent sa mort". Sogar mit dem sogenannten Schlingrutenbe (Abb. 60) fängt man einzelne Kormorane ein. BD: 465 schreibt rückständig, to catch shags with a noose at the end of a long rod. Selbstverständlich wählt man die eine oder die andere Methode, je nach den örtlichen Bedingungen.

7. Wildgänse

Noch mehr als die benachbarten Selk'nam (Bd. I, 282) schätzen unsere Yaganes das Fleisch der Wildgänse, *Mutí*, generic term for geese, nach BD: 291. Am häufigsten treten *Ainga* (Chloëphaga magellanica) und *Mrug* (Chloëphaga poliocephala) auf; die streng monogam lebende *Mhal* (Chloëphaga hybrida) ist sehr selten und schwer erreichbar.

An flachen, mit frischem Gras bedeckten Plätzen finden sich die Wildgänse gegen Abend ein. Diese Gelegenheit benützt man, um die g r o ß e S c h l i n g e n l e i n e, wie ich diese Falle nennen möchte, zum Massenfang auszubreiten (Abb. 59). An einer starken, aus Schnurfasern vom Wal *ainimi* *wépaw* geflochtenen Schnur oder an einem festen Ledersimmen vom Robbenfell *dóna* *ména* werden, in Abständen von etwa 60 cm und mit einfachem Knoten, so viele einzelne Laufschlingen aus Flachsbein *kórôl* angebracht, als die etwa 20 m lange Leine zuläßt. Jede geöffnete Schlinge hat einen Durchmesser von höchstens 20 cm und besteht aus einem einzigen Stück. Deshalb schließt sie sich nicht so sicher wie die aus zwei verschiedenlangen Flachsbeinstäben zusammengesetzte Schlinge der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 283, Abb. 63); diese

[201] Dieses Köderen meint BEAUCHE (h): 118, wenn er schreibt: „Pour les cormorans o bien se valse de semaine du moulin."

letztere Arbeit bewerkstelligt ich derartigen als vollkommener. Außerdem liegen bei ihr diese Schlingen auf beiden Seiten der Leine, während die Tomans sie nur an einer Seite anbringen.[**] Die beiden Enden der langen Leine befestigt man

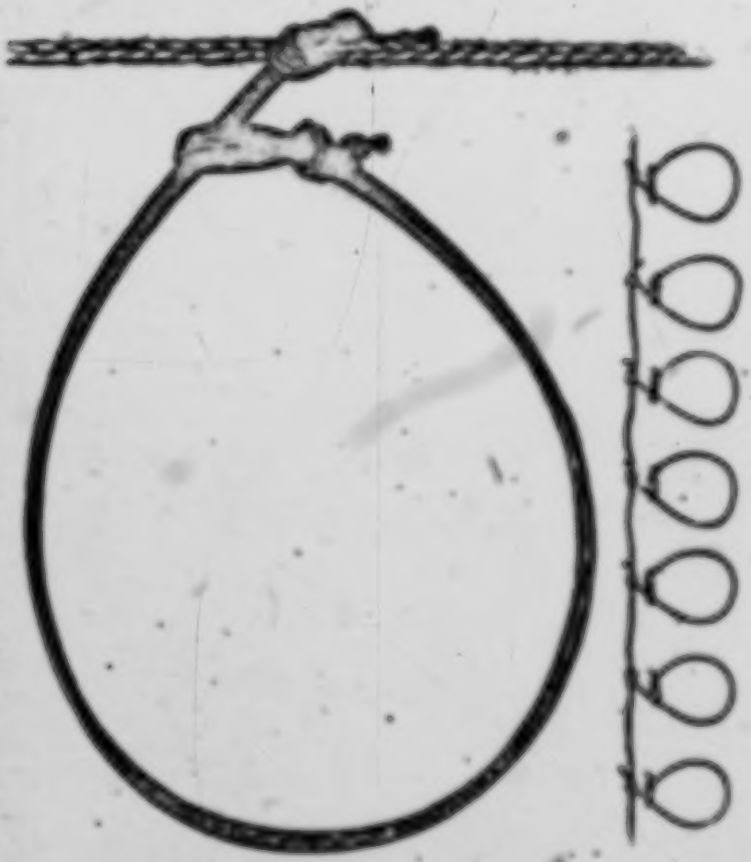

Abb. 19. Die große Schlingenleine. $^1/_5$ nat. Gr.

an kurzen Pflöcken, die in die Erde gerammt werden; zuweilen stellt man auch den einen oder anderen mittleren Pflöcke dazwischen und sichert geeignet

[**] Diese Unterschiede nach Ihrer Zweckmäßigkeit näher zu begründen, bin ich nicht imstande. Ich vermute, daß vielleicht im Gebiete der Tomans nicht der Raum zwischen oder die Schlinge nicht geeignet gleichmäßig ist, um das entsprechende Anbringen einer doppelseitigen Schlingenleine zu ermöglichen. Vgl. die kurzen Angaben auf S. 326.

die ganze Schlagweite, Geklitzel lagen die einzelnen Leuchtkügelgen Dach dem Boden auf.[*] Eine Wildgans, die gerade vorumdrehten, verflogt sich darin, sieht sie an und schlebt sie nun an Lauer, je mehr sie dieses merkt. Der Jäger beobachtet seine Falle aus einiger Entfernung und sieht die Vogel, die ihm seinen gehören. Eine wenn die noch frei herumschwirrenden Wildgänse durch die gefangenen Unruhe der gefangenen Tiere verunsichert sind, tritt er nun seinem Versteck heraus. Er schlägt sie mit einem Knüppel von oben dicht hinter dem Kopf ab.

Dem Tamaua bietet sich weit weniger Gelegenheit, diese lange Schlingenfalle öfter erfolgreich aufzustellen, als dem benachbarten Sek'uaw; die örtlichen Voraussetzungen sind bei diesem und jenem merklich verschieden. Zieht man überdies in Erwägung, daß dieses Stück mit beschränkterer Mühe hergestellt wird und sich anhaupten aufbewahren läßt, so bemerkt man, daß nur selten ein Tamaua ne besitzt. Hvamu (b): 22 bemerkt: „que nous n'en ayons pas vu pendant notre année de séjour à la baie Orange plus de cinq à six spécimens". Anderes Beispiele sprechen übrigens nicht dagegen. Hvamu (g): 339 urteilt sehr richtig: „Le succès semble grande de son piège porte à croire qu'ils en sont plus très employés pour la chasse". Daß die Schlingenfallen im Besitze der Tamaua und Sek'uaw gut nebeneinander übereinstimmen, erkennt man auf den ersten Blick.

Davon abgesehen, besitzt fast jeder Mann einen zwar einfachen, trotzdem beachtlichen Gegenstand zum Einfangen der Wildgänse und anderer Vögel, wie Enten, Kormorane und Pinguine. Dieses ähnelt sehr, ich mit Schlingenstock bezeichnen (Abb. 60). An einem Ende einer dünnen, leicht, ungefähr 2,50 m hohen Stange befestigt man eine einzige Leuchtkügelgen Abb. 57 aus einem etwa 60 cm langen, schmalen Flechtbaumstreifen. Vorsichtig schleicht sich ein Mann im Abenddämmerung oder bei heller Nacht an einen Vogel heran, der aufgeschreckt schläft, legt ihm die offene Schlinge über den Kopf, stößt plötzlich zu und zwirnt ihn heraus, um ihm unpassierlich das Genick zu brechen. Je ruhiger dies gelingt, um so weniger werden die dahinschwindenden Tiere gestört und um so ergiebiger fällt die Beute für den nächtlichen Jäger aus. Gern und oft versuchen die Tamaua mit diesem Schlingenstock der Glück, denn haben viele Pflicht in dieser Hinsicht sie.[**]

6. *Dampfschiffbauten*

In den geschlossenen Kanälen trifft man eine ganze Zahl von Dampfschiffbauten (Doppelrumpf-Boote, einseitiges-Boote, canoës à vapeur, pirogues-vapeur). Die Tamaua benutzen Tschyuna hauptsächlich mit Glück. Die

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[*] Ob, in die einzelnen Schlingen auch ein Kätze gefangen wurde, konnte ich nicht erfahren. Hvamu (g): 38 bemerkt: „Nous pouvons ne pour de pouvoir, seulement a cause pour mieux les piéger".

[**] Kurz haben Hvamu (g): 339, Lemoine (b): 107 und Martinez: 170 diesen Gegenstand beschrieben, aber eben darauf eingegangen, wie er gebraucht wird.

Abb. 48. Der Schlingenstock. ⅓ nat. Gr.

gaben. Dann holen sie schmucklosen Fetisch. Weil die Indianer Sioux, wegen ihrer leichten Schlacht, auf anderen Wege nicht hat kommen können, verwandeln sie Ihr Glück mit der Schlinsuhn, die aber nicht viel vergeblich; denn selbst die Schlinger Bedeutung schadet den starken Vögeln nicht. Man gibt die ein schlaggeschlossen mit dem Schlingenstock, dem bekannten Abrif an. Dort, wo sie sich zusammenfinden, erscheint der Mann bei Tagesbelle ein Gebrauchsgeschlitzchen mordet nur einigen Stiften und dickbeschnitten Zweigen, den nur Ihr drehen soll. Man bindet es einen, bis die Vogel herumgeflogen kommen. Verschlaffig schlicht er durch die lockere Öffnung den langen Schlingenstock. Über die Schlinge dem Vogel über den Kopf und nimmt mit Schlingen Hand den gefangenen Tier heraus. Er tötet es augenblicklich, damit die andern Vogel durch dessen Flattern nicht beunruhigt werden.

Dieselben bedient er sich einer besonderen Lockstimme, der Sioux (NW. XIII, 118, 1879) beschreibt hier: „Ist Indian bedie himself a little brown. Have with a long, slender reed, having a fine noose of whalebone at the end of it, he sits awaiting in patience the landing of the birds. When they are sufficiently near, he cleverly imitates their cry, which awakens their curiosity; they approach his hiding-place nearer, till he is able with ease to catch one of them. He pulls this in to him, and if a male he keeps it alive as a decoy. He throws out his noose little by little, and makes his poor decoy-bird cry out; this brings the birds up again, and so he secures another." Das erhaltene viel Gewandtheit.

Wenn immer sich Gelegenheit bietet, versucht er ein Mann, diese Enten durch Lockrufe anzulocken. Er weiß sehr wohl, wie scheuflichig und scheu sie sind. Wenn er sich ihnen nähert, tauchen sie rasch unter und entfliehen. Eiligst versteckt sich der Mann hinter einem Steine oder unter Reisig. Hat er einen großen gelben Schnabel dieser Ente bei sich, steckt er sich denselben in den Mund und spricht dadurchdurch den Ruf des Weibchens: ti, ti... Verkennt trotzdem das Pärchen regungslos auf seinem Fleck, stimmt er den Ruf des Männchens: tuk, tuk... an und reizt damit dessen Eifersucht. Beide Tiere steuern sofort auf den Ruder zu und suchen, trotz ihres erregten Kämpfens, öfters unter Wasser nach dem vermeintlichen Partner. Gelingt es dem Manne, mit seinem Schlingenstabe sie zu erreichen, faßt er zuerst das Weibchen. Das Männchen entfernt sich nachher kaum und so erreicht er auch dieses. Sitzt das diskret-Pärchen auf dem offenen Strande, hält sich der Jäger ebenfalls den Entenschnabel vor den Mund und gibt die gleichen Lockrufe von sich, bis beide Tiere eifersüchtig sich bekämpfen und ebenmäßen versucht es den Jäger heranzukommen. Er versteht sie zu fassen, indem er einem nach dem anderen den Schlingenstab über den Kopf legt und sie herauszieht.

Endlich machen sich die Indianer den unbeholfenen, kurzfrisigen Flug dieser schwarzen Enten, die mit Vorliebe ruhige Buchten aufsuchen, zunutze. Sind zufällig mehrere Kanus beisammen, ordnen sie sich zu einer Reihe, [illegible] den Enten das Entkommen auf die offene See und schließen sie langsam auf den Strand zurück. Währenddessen versuchen sie die Tiere mit Schlinderen oder Vogelspeeren zu verwunden oder zu töten; auf dem Strande laufen sie ihnen mit einem Knüppel nach und schlagen sie nieder. Da jede dieser Enten gerne untertaucht und kurze Strecken unter Wasser schwimmt, bemüht sich der Jäger ihre Wegrichtung dadurch zu lenken, daß er mit seiner Schleuder einige Steine abwirft, die kurz vor dem vorgeschwommenen Tiere ins Wasser einschlagen. Dadurch erschreckt, wendet es sich zur Seite und wird unbewußt durch wiederholte Steinwürfe zum Ufer oder in die Nähe des Kanus gelenkt, wo es dem Jäger in die Hände fällt.

c. *Andere Entenarten*

Außer der gewöhnlichen Art finden sich noch andere, deren Fleisch dem Indianer willkommen ist. Am häufigsten zeigen sich ukyen *(Anas crecca),* mátlpa *(Nettium flavirostre),* ukyatsy *(Querquedula cyanoptera),* ámrá *(Querquedula versicolor),* ukyuhká *(Dafila spinicauda).*

Auf offenem Kanal kann sich der Jäger ihnen nur schwerlich nähern. Deshalb überrascht er die durch Herumschleichen, wenn sie sich auf dem Ufer aufhalten. Meist stehen sie nahe beisammen. Aus geringer Entfernung wirft der Mann mit seiner Schleuder einige Steine gleichzeitig in die kleine Herde hinein und sieht auf die Köpfe. Dies genügt, um die Tiere zu betäuben;

[illegible] *Auf diesem nur einmal hier gemachten Angelnen Fall wohl auch Hexen (s) [illegible]*

dann dadurch sind sie behindert fortzufliegen oder wegzulaufen. Jene, die unverletzt geblieben sind, entwischen schnell ins Wasser und schwimmen fort. Vom Ufer aus schleudert ihnen der Mann noch mehrere Steinwürfe nach und die verwundeten Tiere sammelt er oder seine Frau nachher vom Kanu aus dort, wo sie eben auf dem Wasser treiben, ohne viele Mühe ein.

c. *Besondere Fangweisen*

Die Yamana bleiben bei ihrer Nahrungssuche unausweichlich von den Verhältnissen ihrer Umwelt abhängig. Wollen sie durch Massenfang bescheidenen Umfanges bestimmte Vogelarten erreichen, halten sie sich an die bewährten Methoden. Darüber hinaus gehen sie jedem Vogel auf besondere Weise und mit Gerätschaften zu, die den erstrebten Erfolg sichern.[200] Gewandtheit und List, scharfe Beobachtungsgabe und sicheres Beherrschen des eigenen Körpers sind ihnen dabei behilflich.

Wo sich die Gelegenheit bietet, versucht es jeder Mann, einen Vogel anzulocken und a u f z u l a u e r n. Er ahmt überraschend genau die Stimme eben dieser Vogelart nach, auf die er es abzielt. Da er sich im Dickicht oder unter angehäuftem Reisig oder in einem niedrigen Hüttenversteck verborgen hält, nähert sich der Vogel immer mehr, bis er mit dem Schlingenstab erreicht werden kann. Noch erfolgreicher ist der Jäger, wenn er einen Vogel, meist eine Ente oder eine Gans, einfängt und diesen zwingt, selber im erwünschten Augenblicke laute Lockrufe auszustoßen. HYADES (q): 359 nennt dieses Vorgehen „la chasse à l'affût". Vögel, die in ihrem Neste brüten, und junge Tiere faßt der Jäger mit der Hand.

Sehr gut versteht er sich auch darauf, die zu bestimmten Plätzen nächtigenden, eaggestellten Vögel mit Fackellicht zu b l e n d e n. Ein Holzscheit oder Rindenstück, das nur wenig an einem Ende glimmt, schwingt er plötzlich in der Luft herum und ehe die verwirrten Tiere sich zur Flucht entschließen, hat er oder sein Begleiter bereits eine gute Anzahl mit Knüppeln niedergeschlagen. Den betäubten Vögeln beißt man entweder den Kopf oder das Genick durch, um sie schnell zu töten. Dieses bequeme Vorgehen wählt man oft, zumal dann, wenn nahe der Hütte eine Gruppe von Vögeln sich der Nachtruhe überläßt.

Sieht es der Mann auf einen einzelnen Vogel ab, dessen Nest er entdeckt hat, fängt er ihn mit dem *hów-ʒf*, der E i n z e l s c h l i n g e. Er benützt den schmalen Streifen aus einer Walfischharte mit dem Laufknoten, den man dem langen Schlingenstabe (Abb. 60) oben aufsetzt. Der Mann befestigt ihn an einem kurzen Stecken, den er senkrecht in den Erdboden stößt. Ist das Nest durch Zweige oder Sträucher gut verdeckt, stellt er die offene Schlinge in den Weg, den der Vogel selber sich geöffnet hat. Liegt das Nest jedoch offen, verstellt er es von allen Seiten mit Reisig und läßt nur einen einzigen

[200] Falsch ist es, wenn in OTERO (g): 52 von den Yamana behauptet wird: „Pasan varios lapsos cuando pájaros." Die vorhergehenden Beschreibungen sind der heute Gepflogenheit.

Zugang frei, in welchem er die offene Schlinge aufspannt. So oder so steckt der zum Nest zurückkehrende Vogel seinen Kopf ahnungslos in die Schlinge und schließt sie durch seine eigene Vorwärtsbewegung. Der Jäger greift augenblicklich nach seiner Beute, der Lohn für seine Geschicklichkeit.

Vereinzelt wurde behauptet, die Yamana schießen auch mit Bogen und Pfeil nach Vögeln.[207] Hierüber habe ich einige alte Männer befragt. Sie bekundeten mir, daß ein Pfeil ihren Vorfahren viel zu wertvoll war, um für einen Vogel verausgabt zu werden, und daß die anderen Gerätschaften zum Vogelfang sich als ergiebiger erwiesen.

Selbstverständlich wird verschieden häufig diese oder jene Fangmethode im einen oder anderen Gebietsteile angewendet. Ausschlaggebend ist das Vorherrschen einer bestimmten Vogelart und das Bedürfnis des Indianers nach Abwechslung in seiner durchwegs einförmigen Ernährungsweise. Bei allen Handgriffen ist jeder Mann mehr oder weniger geschickt und demnach wohl immer erfolgreich. Im einzelnen gehen die Yamana häufig genau so vor wie ihre Nachbarn auf der Großen Insel (Bd. I, 282).

Eine herrschende Gewohnheit bei unseren Feuerländern ist es, daß jeder Mann an Ort und Stelle die erjagten Vögel ausweidet. Er legt das Tier auf den Rücken, öffnet ihm mit einem Messer oder mit einer scharfen Muschelschale den Bauch und reißt mit einem einzigen Griff alle inneren Organe heraus. Fast immer findet er Wasser in nächster Nähe; er schöpft es mit der hohlen Hand und spült die Bauchhöhle des Vogels aus. Durch die Schnäbel zieht er einen Lederriemen, den er sich entweder um die Lenden bindet, daß die Vögel rundherum um seinen Körper hängen, oder den er sich über die Schulter legt, daß die Vögel gleichmäßig nach vorn und rückwärts verteilt sind. So hat er immer seine Hände frei; es könnte ja noch manches andere Beutetier ihm über den Weg laufen, das er sich nicht entgehen lassen will und dem er ohne geringsten Zeitverlust nachstellen muß.

4. Jagd auf Guanacos, Ottern, Füchse

Obwohl die Yamana gelegentlich das Guanaco, den Fischotter und den großen Fuchs jagen, ist es ihnen dabei weniger um deren Fleisch zu tun, als hauptsächlich und bei den beiden zuletztgenannten Arten ausschließlich um deren Fell. Wie sie diese Säugetiere angehen, bleibt hier noch zu beschreiben.

Nur im Osten des Yamana-Gebietes, auf beiden Ufern des Canal de Beagle, etwa von Puerto Brown oder von Puerto Harberton an ostwärts und auf der ganzen Isla Navarino hält sich das Guanaco (Lama huanachus) auf. Zu Fuß kommt der Jäger dem *anfaru* bei; denn seine Hunde sind nur vereinzelt darauf abgerichtet und helfen ihm durchgängig wenig dabei. Deshalb vereinigen sich jedesmal mehrere Männer zu einer gemeinschaftlichen

[207] Schon Fitz-Roy (a): 184 schreibt: „Birds are also frequently killed with arrows." Etwas später wurde von Orsini (g): 53 behauptet: „Le ceux de pájaros la efectúan con arco y flecha." Beide Urteile sind wenig zuverlässig.

Jagd. Sie machen sich die Gewohnheiten des Guanaco, die sie gut kennen, zunutze (S. 34). Bekanntlich lebt es in kleinen Rudeln. Im Sommer verweilt es mit Vorliebe auf den waldigen Höhen, sucht aber die Ebenen und Täler auf, wenn es zur Tränke geht. Ausnahmslos nimmt es den gleichen Weg, der durch den häufigen Verkehr vom Jäger leicht erkannt wird. Mehrere Männer stellen sich, etwas versteckt und im Abstand von vielen Metern, entlang dieses getretenen Pfades auf und warten, bis die Guanacos vorbeilaufen. Entweder kommen die Tiere aus eigenem Antrieb oder ein Mann hat mit seinen Hunden vorher die Höhe auf Umwegen erklommen und mehrere Guanacos in diesen abstrigenden Pfad zusammengedrängt. Verfolgt man sie, streben sie nämlich regelmäßig den Niederungen zu. Wenn sie so dahergelaufen kommen, ein Tier dicht hinter dem anderen, wirft dieser und jener der aufgestellten Männer seinen Wurfspieß oder seine kleine Harpune gegen das eine oder das andere Guanaco. Was dem einen Jäger entwischt, bringt der andere zur Strecke; denn die Männer stehen auf einer Linie. Jeder sieht es darauf ab, das Tier unmittelbar hinter dem vorderen Schulterblatt zu treffen, weil eine Verwundung an dieser lebenswichtigen Stelle es schnell zu Fall bringt (Vgl. Bove in MM: XVII, 279; 1883).

Auch mit Bogen und Pfeil ziehen hin und wieder einige Männer aus. Sie nehmen abgerichtete Hunde mit, die eine Höhe erklimmen und den Jägern die gesuchten Tiere zutreiben. Guanacos retten sich vor den Hunden nur durch Entfliehen bergabwärts. Die Jäger achten auf das Hundegebell und suchen die verfolgten Tiere zur Strecke zu bringen. Weil im Sommer die Guanacos selten ihre Gebirgshöhen verlassen, im Winter aber ihr Verweilen nahe dem Strande aus ihren Fußtapfen im Schnee zu ersehen ist, geht ihnen der Yamana fast nur in der kalten Jahreszeit nach; denn er liebt es nicht, sich weit vom Ufer zu entfernen, wo er seine Hütte, sein Kanu und seine Familie zurücklassen müßte. Tímeónelgilen, to hunt guanaco with dogs, nach BD: 528.

Anscheinend versuchten die östlichen Yamana sogar unter dem Zwange der Not ihr Glück auf einer Guanacojagd,[200] im allgemeinen aber entschlossen sie sich dazu nur selten. Dieses Jagen ist für sie zu beschwerlich und der geringe Erfolg ersetzt ihre Mühe nicht. Sie sind ausdauernde Mörsche durch hohen Schnee im Walde weniger gewöhnt als die Selk'nam und da abgerichtete Hunde fast meist fehlen, kommen sie den Guanacos nicht einmal nahe. Besondere Umstände, die Fitz-Roy (a): 186 seinerzeit aufgezählt hat, erleichtern diese Jagd zur Winterszeit. Außerhalb des Winters „they sometimes get them by lying in wait, and shooting them with arrows, or by getting into a tree near their track, and spearing them as they pass beneath the branches".

Immerhin haben einzelne Männer an dieser Jagd ihre Freude, sie übernehmen sogar die äußersten Anstrengungen, um ein Tier zur Strecke zu bringen, und lassen sich durch kein Hindernis entmutigen. Das ist einer

[200] Das ist einer Äußerung, die Dumont (VP: VI, 32; 1839) machte, zu entnehmen.

langen Schilderung zu entnehmen, die Bonnes (MM: XII, 13; 1878) am 7. Juli 1877 niedergeschrieben hat[**] und die meine Gewährsmänner mir bestätigten.

Während die östlichen Yamana das Fleisch eines erlegten Guanaco mit Wohlbehagen verzehren, jagen die Leute im Süden und Westen die Ottern (Lutra felina) sehr häufig, aber nur ihres Felles wegen. Ihr Fleisch ißt man ausnahmsweise in Zeiten schwerer Not. Nach Größe und Färbung unterscheidet sich[**] der kleine Außenotter *aqiji*/ deutlich vom Innenotter *djapuy*. Will der Yamana einen Flachotter erreichen, ist er fast jedesmal auf die Hilfe seiner Hunde angewiesen; doch er selber entdeckt und erspäht den Otter. Der feuerländische Hund besitzt nämlich für die Jagd im Wasser nicht die unerreichend feine Nase. An frischen Resten von Seigeln am Ufer erkennt der Jäger, daß ein Otter in der Nähe ist. Durch diese Spur angezogen besteigt er an einem sonnigen, ruhigen Tage sein Fahrzeug. Immer hält er sich an einer Küste mit Felsen und großen Steinen. Sein Auge hat sich in langer Übung geschärft und er späht nach allen Richtungen aus.

Wo ein Otter aus dem Wasser auftaucht um zu atmen, eilt der Indianer auf ihn zu. Selbstverständlich ist es die Frau, die das Kanu leise und schnell befördert, während der Mann im Vorderteile steht und seine Waffen bereithält. Ist er dem Otter nahe genug, um die Harpune erfolgreich abzuwerfen, versucht er es. Wurde das Tier tödlich getroffen, läßt es sich leicht ins Kanu heben; denn dem Indianer ist ein durchlöchertes Fell mehr wert als nichts, da er einzelne Teilchen so oder so immerhin verwenden kann.

Andernfalls eilt der Otter zum Ufer und flüchtet sich in seinen Bau. Jetzt erst läßt der Indianer seine Hunde ins Wasser springen, die den Otter während der ganzen Zeit beobachtet hatten, und nun seiner Spur folgen. Bald entdecken sie das Nest. Der eine und der andere Hund dringt ebenfalls ein; würde er es nicht wagen, preßt sein Herr ihn gewaltsam in einen Nestgang. Drinnen entwickelt sich sofort ein harter Kampf. Die Hunde greifen den Otter immer von vorne an. Sie versuchen es, ihn ins Gesicht zu beißen. Nach einigem Ringen gelingt es ihnen, ihre scharfen Zähne dem Otter ins Gehirn zu bohren, wodurch er augenblicklich getötet wird.

Der Otter wehrt sich wütend während des ganzen Kampfes und laut pfeifend hält er den Hunden die Stange. Meist liegt er auf dem Rücken und wendet seinen Kopf blitzschnell nach allen Richtungen, er verbeißt und zerzaust seine Angreifer ganz erbärmlich. Diese sind darauf abgerichtet, den

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[**] Die Jagd auf Guanacos nach der oben an unserer Stelle geschilderten Methode erwähnt auch Bonnes (q): 204. Uhlenhuth spricht Lenssen (b): 110 von einem "Guanaco-spiel". Auch erwähnt mir die von ihm beschriebene Jagdweise als erwähnenswerteschlich: „To spear guanaco the animal was chased into a swamp or else the hunter climbed a tree over a guanaco runway in the woods and waited there until an animal passed beneath him."

[**] Über die Lebensgewohnheiten und Verbreitung dieser beiden Formen, auch über die bei Indianern und Weißen üblichen Fangmethoden berichtet Wenzel ausführlich. Man erkennt den kleineren Außenotter an seinem schrillen, fast pfeifenden Ton und den größeren Innenotter an seinem dumpfen, mehr grunzenden Ton.

Otter an keiner anderen Stelle außer am Kopfe zu fassen. Es soll das wertvolle Fell von ihren Zähnen tunlichst nicht durchlöchert werden. Unvermeidlich bekommt der Hund manche schwere und tiefe Bißwunde ab; denn der gelenkige Otter weiß sich erfolgreich zu verteidigen. Meist aber siegt der Hund und der Otter sucht seine letzte Rettung in der Flucht zum dem Nasta. Draußen jedoch stehen nicht nur andere Hunde, sondern auch der Indianer auf der Lauer. So vielen Gegnern unterliegt er schließlich und müßte der Jäger ihm sogar seinen Speer nachwerfen. Auch er springt sogar auf den Otter zu, faßt ihn und würgt ihn, ohne Furcht vor schmerzhaften Bissen. Ist das Tier genug ermattet oder könnte es noch entwischen, faßt er der Jäger an einem Hinterbeine und schlägt es mit weitausholenden Schwunge gegen einen großen Stein, an dem der Kopf zerschellt. Nachher, wenn die Hunde lange Stunden vor Schmerz winseln oder tagelang lahmgehen, erkennt man, wie beklagenswert sie zugerichtet worden sind.[101] Sie also sind es, die einen Otter überwältigen, und leisten somit ihrem Herrn eine unumgängliche Mitarbeit.[102] Das Fell der Otterm wird zur Kleidung bevorzugt (S. 405); deshalb geht ihnen dieser und jener Feuerländer nach.

Von einer eigentlichen Jagd auf den F u c h s kann man nicht sprechen. Eine nicht in allen Teilen zuverlässige Erklärung gab Hyades (h): 21 mit folgenden Worten: „Les Fuégiens ... ont répondu que leurs chiens chassaient seuls les renards, qu'ils les forçaient à la course et, après les avoir tués, les rapportaient à leurs maîtres ... Il est à présumer d'ailleurs qu'ils ne tiennent pas beaucoup à chasser le renard, ils n'aimeraient pas à manger sa chair."

Der große Fuchs (Canis magellanicus) auf dem Südufer der Isla Grande und der kleine Fuchs (Canis griseus) auf einigen Inseln heißen *Alpáin*; beide Arten treten nur vereinzelt auf (S. 35). Um sie bemühen sich kein Indianer, mit Fallen oder Köder stellt er ihnen nicht nach. Für den Fell hat er keine besondere Verwertung und deshalb sieht er davon ab, geeignete Waffen sich für die Fuchsjagd herzustellen. Tatsächlich sind es allein die Hunde, deren Spürsinn und Kraft zuweilen ein Fuchs erliegt. Wenn der Indianer dies aus dem Benehmen seiner Hunde erschließt, läßt er sich von ihm an die Stelle führen, an der jener tote Fuchs liegt. So gut aber sind seine Hunde nicht abgerichtet, daß sie selber die Beute ihrem Herrn zutragen würden. Gewöhnlich entspannt sich der Kampf zwischen einem Fuchs, der in seinem Bau sitzt, und mehreren Hunden, die ihn hier entdecken. Er unterliegt der Überzahl und Wut seiner Gegner. Hat der Indianer ihm das Fell abgenommen, wirft er den genarrten Körper seinen Hunden hin; er verschmäht dieses Fleisch oder entschädigen.

Von den wenigen Säugetierarten im Kap Hoorn-Archipel sind es die Robben, die im Nahrungserwerb der Yamana den ersten Platz einnehmen.

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[101] Vgl. die Angaben bei Rome in Hyades (g): 300 und bei Wilson: passim.

[102] Dumont (b): 100 und Hyades (g): 310 Übereinstimmend, daß bei der Jagd auf Fischotter der Hund unentbehrlich ist. Hyades gegenüber erklärte Hyades (g): 30 an anderer Stelle.

Nicht nur ihres Fleisches wegen werden sie gejagt, auch ihr Fell benötigt man dringend. Der sehr erwünschte Wal gilt vorwiegend als ein Gelegenheitsgeschenk, das viele Familien auf lange Zeit versorgt. Demgegenüber tritt das Guanaco, weil örtlich begrenzt, weit zurück und der Fischotter liefert eigentlich nur das Fell. Dem Fuchs nachzuspüren bleibt Sache der Hunde. Die vielen Vogelarten, die der Indianer jagt, könnte er in seinem Haushalt nur schwerlich entbehren, zuweilen ist er ganz auf sie allein angewiesen.

3. Die Frau auf Nahrungssuche

Bei den Yamana bilden Gatte und Gattin eine wirtschaftliche Arbeitsgemeinschaft und beim Nahrungserwerb im besonderen sind beide aufeinander angewiesen. Zwar beteiligt sich die Frau nicht unmittelbar an der Jagd, die sie eine lebensnotwendige Pflicht des Mannes gilt; aber sie ist ihm dabei gelegentlich und mittelbar durch unentbehrliche Handgriffe behilflich. Sie, als Herrscherin im Kanu, führt ihn an jene Stellen und Plätze, wo er sein Glück versuchen und den Jagdtieren nachgehen will; sie teilt mit ihm die Beschwerden gefahrvoller Überfahrten und langen Wachens während der nächtlichen Stunden, in denen er sich dem Vogelfang widmet; endlich bringt sie ihn mit der gesamten Beute an einen sicheren Ort, an dem beide nach allen Mühen und Anstrengungen die wohlverdiente Ruhe genießen.

Weit über die beschränkte Mitbeteiligung an der Nahrungsbeschaffung des Mannes hinaus leistet sie einen ansehnlichen, durchaus selbständigen Beitrag zum Unterhalt ihrer Familie und zwar durch eine ihr allein zuzuschreibende Betätigung. Das ist i h r S a m m e l n. Dazu ist sie von Natur aus befähigt und sie kann sich ihm widmen, ohne ihre höheren Pflichten als Mutter und Gattin zu beeinträchtigen; sie leistet damit wirklich eine bedeutsame Ergänzung zu dem, was der Mann erbeutet. Ihr obliegt das Einbringen von niederem Tierreich und von einigen pflanzlichen Erzeugnissen, sie könnte sich diesem Zwange kraft Gewohnheit ohne ernste Benachteiligung ihrer Familie nicht entziehen. Damit tritt sie in deutlichen Gegensatz zur Selk'nam-Frau (Bd. I, 288). Mag der Mann allein noch so treu und reichlich die Seinigen mit Fleisch von den dort heimischen Jagdtieren versorgen, die Frau muß durch eine besondere Betätigung als Sammlerin ihrer Familie all jene Naturprodukte erbringen, auf welche ihr Mann und ihre Kinder gewohnheitsrechtlichen Anspruch haben. Unter keinem Vorwande könnte sich eine Frau bewußt dieser Verpflichtung entziehen. Zeigte sie sich darin im allgemeinen träge oder auch nur gelegentlich nachlässig, hätte sie zu gewärtigen, vom eigenen Gatten selbst getadelt zu werden und bei der Nachbarschaft in beschämende Verachtung zu geraten.

Ehen weil die Frau im Wirtschaftsbetriebe der Einzelfamilie nicht fehlen darf, sind Gatte und Kinder unbedingt v o n i h r a b h ä n g i g. Aus diesem Verhältnis allein selbst erklärt sich die günstige und einflußreiche Stellung, deren sie sich im Kreis der Ihrigen erfreut. Wie viel sie tatsächlich leistet

und wie sehr sie allein imstande ist, ihre Familie im Dasein zu erhalten, das zeigt sich dann, wenn ihr Mann krank darniederliegt oder wenn sie verwitwet. Nun lastet die ganze Pflicht der Nahrungssuche ausschließlich auf ihren Schultern und sie sorgt trotzdem so gut, daß niemandem etwas mangelt.

Vorteilhafterweise hat sie bei ihrer Tätigkeit als Sammlerin den Zutritt nicht nur zu einer reichlichen Menge der gleichen Art, sondern selbst zu einer nicht unbeträchtlichen Auswahl offen. Sie schleppt bald dieses, bald jenes heim und bringt in die einförmige Fleischkost eine willkommene Abwechslung. Selbstredend kann auch sie nur das von der Natur entgegennehmen, was diese freiwillig hervorbringt und so wie sie es bietet; denn das rauhe Klima in der gefürchteten Kap Hoorn-Nähe gestattet weder Ackerbau noch Viehzucht.[222] Die wenigen und einfachen Gerätschaften, die der Frau das Sammeln erleichtern, hat sie selber erfunden oder herzustellen gelernt. Alle sind sehr zweckdienlich und zeugen von praktischer Klugheit. Demnach wird der Frau das Herbeischaffen der Nahrung nie zu einer drückenden Last. Die überwiegende Mehrheit entnimmt sie dem Tierreiche, doch auch das Pflanzenreich bietet ihr einiges, das ihr dann und wann sogar willkommen ist.

a. *Nahrungsmittel aus dem Tierreich*

1. Miesmuscheln: Am felsigen Uferrande der vielen Inseln sitzen dichtgedrängte Kolonien der Miesmuschel. Zwei Arten sind es (Mytilus chilensis) *šrwf* und *hpčdjn* (Mytilus edulis), die auf einem seichtabfallenden, steinigen Grunde breite Flächen einnehmen (S. 44).[223] Sie gehen nicht über die Grenze des höchsten Wasserstandes hinauf, weswegen fast jede niedrige Flut sie überdeckt; die untersten Schichten werden auch bei tiefster Ebbe niemals bloßgelegt und setzen sich aus größeren Tieren zusammen. Dort aber, wo dauernd kleine Wasserwirbel sich drehen und unruhige Wellen oder Strömungen spielen, gedeihen diese Muscheln am besten und erreichen außergewöhnliche Größen. Die Yamana kennen jedes Fleckchen ihres Landes und jeden noch so kleinen Winkel ihrer Küsten. Oft kommen sie an denselben Punkt zurück, bewegen sich erneut in der gleichen Richtung und finden sich mühelos wieder in den örtlichen Bedingungen zurecht.

Die dichtesten traubenförmigen Anhäufungen der großen Muscheln werden eigentlich erst bei tiefer Ebbe erreichbar und zwar vom Kanu aus. Ihr Fleisch ist nicht bloß frisch und schmackhaft, es gibt vor allem einen reichlichen

[222] Ein älterer Bericht (VSA: XII, 8); 1866) sagt kurz, die Eingeborenen „do not till the ground, and have no cattle, nor horses, nor sheep, nor goats in their country." Daß Gartenbau sich dort nicht lohnt, zeigen die Erfahrungen der Missions-Station, die Hyades (g): 6 schildert (S. 32).

[223] Den unerschöpflichen Reichtum an Schalentieren, besonders an Miesmuscheln in der Bahía Orange hat Hyades (g): 23 bewundert. Im Seno Alto Nuevo sahen, wie Cooper Fenwick (a): II, 378 schreibt, „die Klippen längs dem Ufer voller großer Muscheln (Mytilus edulis), deren Fleisch uns schmackhafter vorkam, als die besten Austern." Ihr gleiches Fülle mehr oder weniger begegnet man im ganzen Yamana-Gebiete.

Abb. 61. Muschelgabel

Binsen aus. Deshalb nimmt sich eine Frau gern die Mühe und sucht jene bevorzugten Stellen auf, an denen große Muscheln sitzen. Im Kanu hockend, bricht sie mit einer eigenen langen Holzgabel (Abb. 61) die Muscheln los und hebt sie damit hoch. Dieses brauchbare Gerät ergreift vereinzelt sogar der Mann, während die Frau das Kanu bedient, falls eine Strömung es abzudrängen imstande wäre. Die Leute nennen es *halána*, ich bezeichne es als l a n g e M u s c h e l g a b e l. Es besteht aus einem Kopfteile und einer langen Stange mit rechteckigem Querschnitt.[200] Man wählt einen passenden Stamm der Nothofagus betuloides oder noch lieber der Maytenus magellanica; letzterer ist schwerer und fester, erleichtert also der Frau die Arbeit. Den Oberteil verfertigt man stets aus dem nähen Holze der großen Berberitze (Berberis ilicifolia). Ein etwa 3 cm dicker Stamm wird lange durch die Mitte gespalten, der brauchbare Teil von der Rinde befreit und beiderseitig abgeflacht, bis er einem Meißel gleicht. Das breitere obere Ende wird in zwei Zinken geteilt. Um sie auseinander zu halten, schiebt man ein kurzes, bleistiftdickes Holzpflöckchen ein; dieses klemmt sich etwa in der Mitte der ganzen Spaltrinne und man verschnürt es mit einem geflochtenen Binsenfaden oder mit einem Flachsbindestreifen oder mit einer Bastsaite. Auch das dickere Ende der langen Stange wird auf der Breitseite abgeflacht, man paßt beide Stück einander an und hält sie vermittels einer schmalen Lederstrimme oder einer geflochtenen Binsenschnur zusammen, genau wie bei der Krabbengabel (Abb. 62). Diese lange Muschelgabel läßt sich sehr leicht handhaben. Durch sanften Stoß von oben lockert man die unten anhaftende Muschel und durch federnde Hin- und Herbewegungen, immer in der gleichen Richtung, löst man sie schließlich. Wo möglich holt man sie mit der Hand vom Boden auf. An tiefen Stellen schiebt man sie mit der langen Gabel unter Wasser auf das freie Ufer. Meist aber, und das ist ein weiterer Zweck des langen Schaftes, preßt man die Muschel zwischen die beiden abstehenden Zinken und zieht sie vorsichtig hoch. Oft rutscht die Muschel aus, kurz bevor sie nach oben gelangt; dann fällt die Indianerin sie eben nachmals. Damit die Rollung verringert werde, hebt die Frau den langen Stab senkrecht hoch und ergreift die Muschel mit der anderen Hand. Geduldig hockt sie in ihrem Fahrzeug, über den Rand gebeugt, und spielt eine Muschel nach der ande-

ren auf, bis sie nach zwei oder drei Stunden den Erträgnis ihres Fischens zur Hütte bringt. Für diese Tätigkeit muß die See ruhig und klar sein; denn die tiefsitzenden Miesmuscheln sind meist mit schwimmenden Algen verschiedener Arten überlagert und nicht leicht zu erkennen. Die Muschelgabel gehört notwendig zum Kanu und fehlt keiner Indianerin.

Eben weil zum Ergreifen der großen Miesmuscheln im tiefen Wasser nach der beschriebenen Weise sich viele Tage nicht eignen, begnügen sich die Leute auch mit den etwas kleineren und weniger schmackhaften Tieren nahe dem Strande. Frauen und Mädchen tretenins Wasser und gehen watend an die dichtesten Ansammlungen der Muscheln heran. Diese Muscheln reißen sie entweder mit den Händen ab oder lockern sie mit einem armlangen, unten abgeflachten Stocke, den ich Muschelbrecher *wudnia* nenne und den DD: 379 mit *mippjúnia* bezeichnet (Abb. 42), oder *endlish* mit einem beliebigen unten zugespitzten Stabe. Sogleich legen sie die Muscheln in ihr Körbchen, das am Arme hängt, oder das sie am Wasserrande dem Boden aufstellen. Tief niedergebeugt gehen sie langsam schreitend und schweigend weiter, ohne sich aufzurichten; sie sammeln ruhig, bis das Körbchen angefüllt ist. Weil gelegentlich mehrere Personen sich auf diese Art um ihre Nahrung mühen, wirkt ihre Reihe etwas befremdlich auf einen europäischen Beobachter, der ihr zufällig begegnet.[99]

Fast bei jedem Tiefstand der Ebbe suchen die Frauen jene weiten Flächen ab, die das zurückgewichene Meer bloßgelegt hat. Diese sind auf einem nicht steinhaltenden Ufer zuweilen 10 m breit und noch mehr.[100] Hier haften zwar nur mittelgroße und kleine Miesmuscheln, doch sind sie leichter zu sammeln. Man lockert sie zuweilen mit Hilfe eines kurzen, starken Stockes oder des oben genannten Muschelbrechers *wudnia*. Nicht minder leichter ist es, die Muscheln mit der bloßen Hand abzuwellen, da die Haftfäden der lebenden Tiere schwach sind.

Gegen, die Ebbe tritt am Tage ein, verabredet sich diese Frau mit jener und zugleich schließen sich ihnen noch andere an. Eine jede schleppt ihren Säugling mit, der ihr auf dem Rücken hockt, und vor ihnen laufen Mädchen her, die ebenfalls ein Körbchen tragen. Aus Neugierde nun aus bloßer Lust rennen einzelne Knaben wohl einigemale dazwischen durch und schreien kurze Zeit um; mitarbeiten kommt ihnen nicht in den Sinn, weil das nicht ihre Arbeit ist. Diese Frauenpersonen sind nur durch kurze Zeit

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[99] Gut wurde es beschrieben und abgebildet von Hyades (h): 13 und (g): 300, 308. Lesson (k): 130 unterscheidet es als "Sauger-spiel", Hyades (h): 13 als "spielende Mädchen an Bade-, sammelnde".

[100] Hyades (g): 308 nimmt dies bei: „C'est un curieux spectacle que celui qu'offre dessous ainsi à l'Européen qui les observe et qui les compare bien-évidemment aux Géantes de nos côtes alors à la pêche à marée basse; même empressement silencieux, même activité, et de bien même silhouettes."

[101] Vorzüglich beschrieben ist der bei Ebbe fortgehende Sammelplatz von Ulmanado bei Dreyer (f): 300 wohl eigene Gesamtbild bei.

schwarzbraune vorübergehend getrennt. Langsam schreitend gehen die von einem Fischchen zum anderen, dann der ganze Mannschaften ist meist mit zugeteilten Muschels überzeit. Selten nur wechseln die einzigen Worte miteinander und unverfindet halten sie ihre gebückte Stellung bei. Zuweilen hocken sie sich auch nieder, ohne am trockenen Boden aufzugehen, weil sich die Muschels langsam nach jeder Richtung greifen lassen. Ist wenn ihre Körbchen angefüllt sind, stellen sie die Arbeit ein. Auch am spätem Abend und frühmorgens, wenn die Ebbe besonders tief steht, stehen die Frauen zuweilen am. Im Winter nehmen sie ein glimmendes Holzscheit und einige trockene Kokospalmblätter mit, um nahe der Stelle, an der sie sammeln, ein Feuer anzufachen. Hierher kommen sie für einige Minuten zurück, sie wärmen sich die entnarbten Hände und stärken sich an einigen gebrannten Muschels. Haben sie ihre Körbchen angefüllt und ist die Ernte reichlich, benützen sie sogar ihren Rückweg auf dem Boden aus und schütten noch mehr Muschels darauf, mit denen sie nachher schwer beladen zur Hütte zurückkehren.

Bei dieser Art der Muschelsammelei nehmen sie manchmal Pectella aquadra, wenn kleiner pina, wenn noch kleiner sinkel aquadra genannt, mit, auch manchmal Fissurella ringa (im Westdialekt sandalu, im Süddialekt fulu), manchmal Pectens ápi und manchmal Chiton yikki[*] oder yukja. Pectella und Chiton stecken oft an tieferen Stellen und mit Vorliebe unter einem besonders Kalkmal von Kelp. An diesem bindet die Indianerin ihr Kanu fest und holt diese Schalentiere einzeln mit der langen Muschelgabel heraus. Die Mytilus-Muschels machen selbstverständlich den überwiegenden Hauptteil beim Sammeln aus. Ältere Mädchen beunruhigen die Tamana mit dem Sammelnamen *Ápgápi*[**] und davon gibt es dort bekanntlich in reichlicher Menge.

Diese Ausführungen ist zu entnehmen, daß sich die Indianerin beim Muschelsammeln auf dreifache Art[**] betätigt: Entweder lädt sie den Fischer Strand ab, der bei Ebbe bloßgelegt wird, und reißt mit der Hand Mytilusmuschels und nebenbei wenige andere Schalentiere los. Oder sie watet durch seichtes Wasser bis zu jener Stelle, an denen etwas größere Muschels stehen, die sie mit dem kurzen Muschelbrecher ausreißt und die für den Herumtappen im Wasser entschädigen. Endlich benützen sie sich bei ruhiger, klarer See der langen Muschelgabel bedient, mit der sie vom Kanu aus die tiefstehenden größeren Muschels einzeln vom Grunde heraufholt. Für diese Arbeiten, wie Hrdlička (s): 367 ausführt, besitzt die Indianerin vollkommenen Eignung. Denn „il suffit pour cette pêche à la main de surveiller le mouvement des marées, de connaître les plages découvertes pouvoir en engagées, et d'avoir un peu d'habitude nécessaire pour arracher promptement les mollusques qui recouvrent le rivage". Die Mimamschel ist dem Tamana

[*] Von den vielen Schalentieren, die in jenen Inlen Gewässern leben, hat Hrdlička (s): 374 beobachtet, „aucun les pêcheurs explorent ceux coquillages".

[**] Schon Bancroft (1876): I, 18, 1876) kennt die „three ways of gathering mussels" der Tamana erwähnt; doch erhalten seine knappen Mitteilungen nicht an die Ausführlichkeit der in diesem Inlen stattgefundenen Beobachtung heran.

schwächlich erscheinende. Sie ist erforderlicher Menge einzusammeln ist eine allbeliebte, pflichtgemäße Beschäftigung der Frau, der widmet sie sich, wenn immer das Wetter es gestattet.[270] Ihre Töchter jedoch Alfuro sind ihr dabei behilflich.

In Buchten, die ein flaches Ufer mit feinkörnigem Sande aufweisen, suchen die Frauen bisweilen nach der schmackhaften Miesmuschel (Mytilus) und nach der großen Rollschnecke Mäffe (Volutes). Letztere muß aus dem Sande mit einem harten Stocke herausgelockert werden. Letztere hält sich am Meeresgrunde unter Wasser und wird mit der Krabbengabel aus Holzes so weit vorgeschoben, bis sie sich mit der Hand fassen läßt. Sie gibt einen guten, feinfaserigen Bissen Fleisch ab. Obwohl sie nur vom Kanu aus erreicht werden kann, scheuet man sich den Genossen wegen alle Mühe, sie zu erlangen. Für das Geldsuchen haben die Yamana keine Verwendung.

2. Seeigel: Im östlichen Canal de Beagle sind die Seeigel weit seltener als im Westen und Süden. Hier werden sie häufig gesammelt, weil die eingesammelten Zungen (Ovarien ipsa), die man ißt, und die Flüssigkeit im Innern des Kalkgehäuses, die man trinkt, einen eigenartigen Geschmack besitzen. Hyades (p. 269 bekanntgab sagen, daß „le pirule des oursins .... constituent, en certaines saisons, un article capital de l'alimentation fuégienne, et les Fuégiennes y consacrent plus de temps". Diese Annahme ist irrtümlich auf die südlichsten Inseln und südlich auf den Horn einzuschränken, weil in den übrigen Monaten die Seeigel nicht bekömmlich sind. Es wäre eine starke Übertreibung, wollte man mit Hyades den lebenslangen Genuß von Seeigeln als gebräuchlich für das ganze Jahr ansehen.[271] Reichlicher Jodgehalt macht sie schmackhaft.

Diese Tiere sind (Echinodermen) haften sich immer am Meeresgrunde und werden meist von niedrigster Ebbe an freigelegt. Zum Fange führt die Frau ein wenig vom Ufer ab, bindet das Kanu im Gewirr der schwimmenden Macrocystis-Algen fest und sucht durch das klare, ruhige Seewasser hindurch die meist aufsitzenden Seeigel. Sie bewirkt in ihrem leichten Fahrzeug und neigt den Kopf weit über den oberen Rand hinaus. Sobald sie einen Seeigel entdeckt, läßt sie durch ihre beiden Hände die Krabbengabel (Abb. 62) senkrecht nach unten gleiten und versucht den mit vielen Stacheln bewehrten Kalkgehäuse in die Zinken einzuklemmen.[272] Vorsichtig zieht sie die lange Stange gerade senkrecht wieder hoch. Nur wenn die Indianerin ausnahmsweise andere keinen Erfolg hat, durchbohrt sie das Gehäuse. Ihre Beute bindet sie am Bordes ihres Kanus auf. Hat sie Glück, versucht sie in

Abb. 62. Krabbengabel

einer Stunde ein gutes Dutzend; wenn nicht, benötigt sie für diese Menge drei bis fünf Stunden. Diese Zeit opfert sie wegen des erhofften Genusses.

Ausnahmsweise springt die Indianerin von dem Kanu heraus und taucht unter, um mit den Händen die See-Igel aufzugreifen.[222] Sie tut dies dann, wenn sie mehrere Tiere nebeneinander auf dem Meeresboden sieht, die sie wegen des darüber schwebenden Algengewirres mit der Krabbengabel nicht fassen kann. Die Kälte des Wassers schreckt sie nicht. Daran ist sie gewöhnt, weil sie zu jeder Jahreszeit ihr Kanu in guter Entfernung vom Strande sichern, also hin- und herschwimmen muß.[223]

Der Wirklichkeit indes entspricht es nicht, wenn Hyades (q): 369 dem See-Igel so viel Bedeutung beilegt, als ob „cette pêche subvient presque exclusivement aux besoins alimentaires de la peuplade à certaines époques de l'année où les mollusques deviennent rares". Denn niemals verringert sich die unerschöpfliche Menge der Schalentiere, am allerwenigsten die der Miesmuscheln. Darin aber muß man ihm beistimmen, daß die Indianerinnen „pratiquent (cette pêche) avec une adresse extrême".

3. Rundkrabben: Wichtiger als die See-Igel sind für den indianischen Haushalt die in allen dortigen Gewässern häufigen, großen Rundkrabben, nämlich *ayhákal* (Paralomis granulosus) und die viel größere *aylya* (Lithodes antarctica). Letztere zeigt bisweilen eine Weite von 60 cm zwischen dem vierten Paar der Füße. Langsam schreitend bewegen sich diese Tiere über den Meeresgrund weg und zwar während der Flut zum Ufer hin, gegen Schluß der Ebbe wieder zur Mitte des Kanals zurück, also in der Richtung des Wassers je nach den Gezeiten. Ihrer Gewohnheit machen sich die Indianerinnen zunutze. Auf Krabbenfang gehen sie infolgedessen etwa zwei Stunden vor Beginn der Flut aus, weil jene Tiere sich jetzt im geringsten Abstande von der Wasseroberfläche finden und eben anfangen, der zurückschreitenden Ebbe folgend, sich wieder vom Ufer zu entfernen.

Ausschließlich vom Kanu aus, das die Frau steuert, sind Rundkrabben vermittels der langen Krabbengabel, genannt *ámu*, zu erreichen. Meist

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[222] Ausführlich und genau haben Bennett (BM: X, 16; 1876), Dumont (h): 183, Hyades (h): 2 und (q): 366, u. a. darüber sich geäußert. Letzterer hat (loc. cit.) den Vergleich früherer Seefahrer aufgegriffen, daß „animals are to the Fuegians what bread is to the Englishman: the staff of life all the year round." Gleichfalls wiederholte Hyades (q): 370, daß die Mollusken „forment en quelque sorte leur pain quotidien".

[223] In Argentinien und Chile weiß man zu jedenfalls, daß See-Igel nur in bestimmten Monaten genießbar, in den übrigen Monaten oder schädlich sind.

[224] Ich gebe der Bezeichnung Krabben-Gabel gegenüber Krabben-Speer den Vorzug, in Übereinstimmung mit Hyades (h): 10 und (q): 369, obwohl Lamazor (h): 154 von "harpoon-like spear" spricht.

[225] Schon Dumont (h): 187 hatte beobachtet, daß „women dive for sea-eggs and the finer kinds of mussels".

[226] Gänzlich unzureichend ist mir Hyades (h): 12 und (q): 370 diese Gewohnheit der Indianerinnen, nach See-Igeln unterzutauchen, zum Gegenstande einer Magyar Anschauungsübung. Nur eine falsche Deutung kann von einer „sensiblen Verpflichtung" der Frauen sprechen, nach See-Igeln unterzutauchen.

benutzt eine Frauenspeerer der Sammeln und die andere den Fang. Für die genannte Gabel (Abb. 42) wählt man eine gerade, leichte, etwa 2,50 m lange Stange aus einem jungen Stämmchen der Nothofagus betuloides oder Drimys Winteri oder Maytenus magellanica; die Rinde schabt man herunter und erhält eine glatte Oberfläche. Den erstgenannten Baum bevorzugt man und arbeitet einen gleichmäßigen achtkantigen Schaft heraus; den anderen Stämmchen beläßt man ihren runden Durchmesser. Den Ansatzstoß bildet ein etwa 70 cm langer Stock der Berberis ilicifolia, dessen obere Hälfte zweimal kreuzweise gespalten wird. Die vier Zinken spitzt man scharf zu und bilt sie durch zwei kurze Pflöckchen, die kreuzweise übereinanderliegen und mit einem geflochtenen Binnenfaden verschnürt sind, ein wenig auseinander. Beide Stücke werden so abgeflacht, daß sie gut aufeinander passen, und nachher haltbar mit einem schmalen Lederriemen umwickelt. Daß die vier Zinken leicht nach auswärts geschweift voneinander abstehen, erklärt sich aus der Tragweise des sikken, elastischen Berberitzenholzes. Dieses Stück hat man einige Zeit durch das Feuer gezogen, gleich nachdem man den Stock von seiner Wurzel abgeschnitten und gespalten hatte; kein anderes Holz eignet sich so vortrefflich, wie die Yamana aus langer Erfahrung wissen (S. 540).

Kamkrebsen (Natopoda) zu fangen ist nur bei ruhiger See möglich, weil die Indianerin jedes einzelne Tier auf dem Meeresgrunde mit ihren eigenen Augen suchen muß. Hat sie einen erspäht, läßt sie zwischen beiden Händen ihre lange Krebsengabel senkrecht in die Tiefe gleiten. Reichliche Erfahrung hat sie gelehrt, die Lichtbrechung im Wasser richtig abzuschätzen, so daß sie mit einem festen, sicheren Stoß die Kalkkapsel des eigentlichen Körpers durchbohrt. Das ganze Tier ist nun fest genug aufgespießt und kann senkrecht hochgezogen werden. Im Kanu wird es durch Schlag mit einem Stockes von der Gabel abgestreift. Meist bewegt es sich noch lange. Wenn auch der eigentliche Körper durchbohrt und durchstochen ist, bedeutet das keinen Verlust; denn er enthält sowieso fester Fleisch nicht. Das sitzt in einem jeden der langen Beine, die unversehrt bleiben. Mit Vorliebe suchen die Frauen, wenn immer es sich empfiehlt, gegen Schluß der Ebbe den Meeresboden nahe der Küste ab; denn das verzehrliche Fleisch dieser Krebsen schmeckt auch fauler.[355]

4. Fischen: Wie sehr die Yamana auf Abwechslung in ihrer Ernährungsweise bedacht sind, ersieht man daraus, daß sie öfters auf Fischfang angehen.[356] Der Sammler mit seiner langen Tagesdelle und seinen wenigen angelnützigen Witterungsbedingungen eignet sich hierfür weit besser als der unfreundliche Wasser. Trotzdem trifft man Frauen beim Angeln häufig auch

[355] Kurz erwähnt Bridges (b): 19 und (a): 169 den Krebsfang. Man schlägt den Tiefdruck, so habe den genauen Vorgang nicht von eigener Anschauung beurteilen können.

[356] Häufig begegnet man in Reisebeschreibungen einer übertriebenen Beschreibung, demzufolge Fischnahrung einem bedeutenden Teil der feuerländischen Lebensmittel ausmachen würde. So behauptet eine ältere Angabe (Pilz: XIII, 81; 1883): „They live from hand to mouth, depending chiefly upon fish for a subsistence."

in der kalten Jahreszeit an. Nicht hinreichend ist bisher, daß sich im Winter die von den Yamana für ihren Fang aussuchenden Fischarten von den ostwärts liegenden Inseln zurückziehen, möglicherweise in die unmittelbar anstoßenden ruhigen Kanäle, wo die meisten Arten tatsächlich während des ganzen Jahres zu sehen sind.[177] Für Südwestfische haben unsere Indianer anscheinend nichts übrig. Die kalten, reißenden Gebirgsbäche enthalten sowieso nur wenige kleine Tiere, am häufigsten ist Galaxias maculatus. Beute, viele Pfeile, die zu befiedern es sich verlohnen würde, gibt es dort nicht.[178]

Zwar bringt der Fisch im allgemeinen eine willkommene Abwechslung in die einförmige Kost der Indianer, von wirklicher Bedeutung für die Ernährung ist er keineswegs. Dienstmöglich hat Hyades (b): 14 stark übertrieben. Die handlungen, beschäftigten Vertreter der Ordnung Herpagifer (Spyno, Hypnos beispielsweise, die sich beim Sinken der Flut in den vorübergehbleibenen Tümpeln halten und an unsere Steinen ankleben, eine sehr leicht zu fassen wären, rührt niemand an.

Beschäftigung und Aufgabe der Frau ausschließlich ist es, gewisse kleinere Seefischarten mit der Fischleine zu fangen. Ein Mann tötet den niemals. Man benützt Angelhaken in zweifacher Ausführung (Vgl. Hyades (c): 302). Mit der Angelfischerei gibt sich die Frau während des ganzen Jahres ab, indem nur bei ruhiger See.[179] Die sehr einfache Angel (Abb. 63) stellt sie sich selber her. Als Leine wählt sie einen langen, biegsamen Strangel der leicht zerreißbaren großen Brennalge (Macrocystis pyrifera), von dem man durch leichten Druck mit dem Fingernagel die geringen Verbindungen abreißt. Dadurch erhält sie einen fast glatten Faden spinnen, erhöpfen. Da er elastisch ist, läßt er sich leicht an einem lockeren Knäuel aufwickeln. Er trocknet im Schatten nur so weit ein, daß er halb feucht bleibt. Zum Senker eignet sich jedweder wetterfeste, abgeflachte und unregelmäßige Stein von der Größe einer Taschenuhr.[180] Rund um diesen legt man die Leine und verankert sie, daß das freie Ende noch einige Zentimeter

[177] Die genauen Beobachtungen der Mission Samuelsen, mitgeteilt von Hyades (b): 14, lassen über den regelmäßigen Aufenthalt gewisser Unterer Fischarten von der Bahía Orange-Gegend keinen Zweifel. Dort sind sie „zwischen so da keinen qualität, mais seulement pendant les mois qui correspondent à la saison d'été, c'est-à-dire de décembre à mars." An anderer Stelle, ebendort (p): 17 wiederholt er: „Mit dem Winter verschwinden die Fische plötzlich, sie scheinen dann ebenfalls zu ziehen, denn im Beagle-Kanal finden man sie die ganze Jahr hindurch." Wirklich unterscheiden sich die Jahresmittel der Temperaturen von hier und von dem etwa 90 km entfernten Ushuaia erheblich.

[178] Nach Hyades (f): 300, „les poissons les plus communs et les plus variés sont plusieurs espèces de Notothénies: N. coriiceps, N. macrocephalus, N. coriiceps, N. squamifrons, et les espèces suivantes: Bathydraco, Gobi, Cottoperca chilensis, Chionobatrachus ... et Lepidoblennius marmoratus".

[179] Die Angeln der Frau war auf „deux Mouvet", ebenfalls auf den Sommer mit seinen langen Tagen an beschränkten, wie das Hyades (g): 270 tut, ist unzutreffend.

[180] Im Notfalle benützt die Frau einen Stagnen, einfacheren Spannapfen als Senker. Möglicherweise hat sich demselben bei einigen umgrenzenden Bedeutungen die Bedeutung gebildet, die Samuelsen gebrauchten eigentlichen Angelhaken, wie man solche anderwärts verwendet.

[illegible] nach seinen [illegible]. Dieses schließt mit einem kleinen Kneten ab. Mit besonderem verhältnißt man eine etwa 10 cm lange und 4 cm breite Feder vom Kiel einer starken Vogelfeder. Nach seinen [illegible] sich diese Federpose ein wenig und endigt in eine Lanzettklinge, die den Köder enthält. Als solcher dient die kleinwüchsige Fischchenmaus, die eine kleine Mundhöhle [illegible], oder ein winziges Teilchen Rehkeulenfleisch oder was sonst die Frau bei der Hand hat. Sobald nun der lange Angelschäfter im Wasser eintauscht, durchschneidet er sich schnell. Trotz größter Beweglichkeit hält er hervorragend fest. An seiner Stelle wählt man ein Angelfischer spitz' spardose nach die gefiederten, aller Schwanzfedern ähnlich (Abbildung) (Abb. 44) von [illegible] Länge. Hierfür eignen sich gut die Schwanzfedern [illegible] von Gänsen, weil sie lang, fein und biegsam sind; [illegible] sie hätten, [illegible] man die von Wolen, Rehbrei oder Fischchen. Selbst [illegible] Fische können diese Leine nicht [illegible]. Zuweilen bewahrt die Frau den Angelhaken [illegible] nach [illegible] [illegible] sich [wenn [illegible] er hat] [illegible] Gänse, [illegible] sie [illegible] [illegible] und [illegible] Köder für den Faden [illegible].[illegible] Man nimmt sich diese Mühe, [illegible] Angelhaken [illegible], [illegible] der Angelfischer [illegible] gefiederten Schwanzfedern [illegible], die [illegible] ist als [illegible]. Im [illegible] Teile des Canal de Bergle [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Angelhaken [illegible] Stelle von etwa 4 cm Durchmesser, der mit einer [illegible] Bilde für die Angelfischer [illegible] ist. Dieses [illegible], [illegible] soll, wie die [illegible] von Hinde-[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] Frau in [illegible] Zeit [illegible] haben. Das [illegible] Abschlüssel jeder Fischfrau bildet die Fischschlüsse [illegible] [illegible] Lanzettklinge mit Anhaken den Köder, der [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].[illegible]

Abb. 44.
Angelfischer mit Gänsefedern [illegible]

[illegible] Dieses [illegible] Angelhaken [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Bei all ihren Handgriffen verhält sich die Indianerin möglichst ruhig, langsam und still. Stärkere Bewegungen ihrer Hände würden sich im Wasser widerspiegeln und die Fische verscheuchen, auch sonst stören diese unruhigen Schwankungen den Kanon. Gewöhnlich sind mehrere Frauen gleichzeitig mit Fischfang beschäftigt; sie haben ihren Platz vorher verabredet, je nach Windrichtung und eigener Stimmung. Obwohl sie in ihren Kanoes meist nebeneinander stehen, vermeiden sie jeden Gesprächs. Innerhalb kurzer Zeit, sowohl wenn das Wetter sie begünstigt, erhält jede Frau so einige Dutzend erbeuteter Fische.[...]

Abb. 64. Fischleine von Sebomuskum, ½ n. Gr.

Mehrere Arten von Fischen mit schmackhaftem Fleische kommen an die Angel, am häufigsten cápen (Notothenia coriiceps), ahne (Notothenia macrocephala), inaháre (Gymnoscorpius chilensis), áfrey (Chorololichtys canus), ámáh[...] (Lycichthys alf.) u. a. Im allgemeinen können diese Arten mit der Fischleine aus Kelp hochgezogen werden; die erste nehmen, wenn der Fisch sogar mittelgroß sein.[...] Dort, wo größere Tiere anbeißen, erhält die Indianerin einen Angelleine aus geflochtenen Schnurfasern (Abb. 64), um ihre Finger nicht verletzig zu gehen; diese Schnurfasern sind fest und widerstandsfähig, überdies viel dauerhafter.

Die Yaganen-Frauen stehen in ihren Kanoes an jedem Sonntag den Tagen aus, sofern die Wasseroberfläche glatt ist und das Wetter einen Erfolg versprichtet. Sogar in den kurzen Sommernächten, die dort reichlich hell sind, wagen sie sich auf Wasser hinaus; sie aber in dunkler Nacht, trotz starken Mondscheines.[...] Mit Vorliebe versammeln sie sich zum Fischfang, wie Dumas (1): 697 richtig beobachtet hat, in der ersten Morgenfrühe.

Weit abweichend hiervon ist ein wirklicher **Massenfang**, bei dem es vorwiegend auf die in dichten Schwärmen auftretenden roten Hummer, [illegible] gemeint, abgesehen ist. Gewöhnlich sind dazu Chapes [illegible] J. und Chapes [illegible] J. Sie finden sich unterschiedlicher zu jeder Jahreszeit, den

[...] Die Fischen mit der Leine ist [illegible] sehr ergiebig, wie Bruces (2): 31 berichtet.

[...] Auch Bruces (2): 97 berichtet: „Der Sport [illegible] zu gehören [illegible] zu [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

Wenn man dieser Tierart auf den Strand folgt, gewinnt die Indianer aus der reichen Menge zunächst die größeren Tiere heraus und erst nachher machen sie sich an die unendlichgeflickte Fülle der kleinen Fischchen heran. Doch dickes Schwärmen von Vögeln, die sich ebenfalls überreichlich sättigen, sich jener bequeme schwere Tonnen, bemerkt man. Die unbeschreibliche Freude, die sich ein Fischchenvater mit seiner mannigfaltigen Begleitung[illegible] bei dem Tonnen ausführt, ist unvergleichlich; denn er beschenkt sie auf anderen Tage mit reichem Überfluß zur Auswahl. Dieser ist dann vielen noch auf bequemer Weise ungleichlich gemacht, er liegt ja auf einem breiten, flachen Strande hingestreut. Selbstverständlich gewinnen aller Hände in die bunte Fülle hinein, obwohl auch hier die neuen Gleiche Arbeitsteilung vorbereitet, dementsprechend die Männer nur die größeren Tiere zu erbeuten trachten, wohingegen die Frauen allein, unterstützt von Mädchen, mit ihren kleinen Händen die kleinen Fischchen in ihre Körbe schaufeln. Alle Leute rufen ununterbrochen; denn nur anderen Tage hält die Ernte an diesem reich gedeckten Tische an. Bald werden unendlichlich Mengen der auf dem Strande angehäuften Fischchen von der Flut weggespült und die Sorgfalt tragen zur Vermehrung durch ihre unbegrenzte Geschicklichkeit bei, schließlich geht der Rest bei Fischchen über. Sobald der sich entwickelnde Geruch etwas einlädig lästig wird, verlassen die vielen Leute, die hier zusammengeschlossen sind, schnell wieder diesen Platz und versammeln sich nach allen Richtungen.

Boston 10:10 nennen das Wort: „Die Weiber schaufelten mit einer mit einem Kürbis verschenen Schaufel ohne Ungeschicklichkeit Bohne kleiner Fischchen heraus."

[illegible] Am 4. Februar 1677 schilderte Boston (WW 11, 109, 1977) einen Fischzug als eigenen Schicksal: „There has been a considerable supply of fish, represented by sprats and mackerel, inclusive of such kinds, and even scale, which grey upon them. Sprats were so plentiful as to be left repeatedly in dense masses on the shores around us, and for some days the air was scarcely fit to breathe through the stench of millions of sprats which literally covered the shores of the lake. Four kinds, — we reckon five — of fish are found in company with the sprats, which are decidedly larger than those found around the coasts of England. These five kinds of larger fish are excellent to Devour and relishes, and their force supply the natives with abundance of all during the season.... The noise made by the approaching myriads of fish was like that of quickly clapping waters; we could even hear it, though some 300 yards off."

[illegible] „Ein riesiges Fisch", bedeutet sich Boston (2:8), „there are found at seasons in immense quantities." Aber mit den Informationen bedeut sich die Menge der Fischchen die wenig

Zwischen einem dergleichen Schwarm von [illegible] (Cyprus aeneus und Cyprus gonionotus) in die tonnen Kanäle binein oder wahrscheinlich größere Bachtiere, ohne auf dem Strand zu laufen. An diesen inländischen verschiedenartigen Begleitern werden sie von den Indianern deutlich erkannt. Illiger führte die dem Fischzuge nach und versuchten es, sich den von der Seite zu nähern, ohne im Gedränge zu gerinnen. Mit einem besonderen Korbe, Angeldung genannt (Abb. 65),[1] schöpfte sie die kleinen Fische aus dem Wasser heraus direkt in die Kanu. Während die eine Frau den Fischzweig hielten, steckte die andere den leckeren Korb vom Fischfang ohne an einem etwa unbeschädigt Meter langen Stock. Dieses Stock hält sie am unteren Ende und steht vom Kanu aus den Oberteil mit dem Korbe durch das Wasser, als wäre das ganze Ding ein großer Schöpflöffel. Die Frau geht vorsichtig damit um, daß der Korb nicht abrutscht. Erst wenn er ziemlich knapp über dem Rande des Kanus schwebt, hält sie ihn, der jetzt mit Fischen angefüllt ist, mit seinem Inhalt nach einbrüchen. Der Korb wird umgestülpt, der Fischer entleert und unverzüglich wieder an die Stange gemacht. Diese jetzt im Bildzeichen gebraucht, die der Fischzug schnell vorübergeht. Keiner Hand darf untätig bleiben![2]

Abb. 65. Korb zum Fischen. ½ n. Gr.

Wie ähnlich sind ähnlich die Frauengestalten beschäftigt, während der Mann beweglichen mit seinem Wallen die größeren Begleitiere an sich zu ziehen. Indem engstlich auch er versuchen die Stange mit dem leckeren Korbe, wenn die Frau nicht gewarnten oder unbeweglich in Anspruch genommen hat. In wenigen als einer Minute gelingt es den Insassen einer Kanus, bei regen Tätigkeit, dasselbe an Land mit Beute auszuführen, daß sie den Ufer erreichen nehmen. Illiger bringen sie die vielen Tiere an Ihrer Hütte und führen sie nach auf Fang hinaus; denn sie wissen, daß der Fischzug, je größer es ist, um

[1] Die Abbildungen zu vergleichen, bitte ich bei der Bezeichnung "Korb zum Fischen", weil es aus der gleichen Mimosen (Bambusgeschlecht) wie die andern dort Erwähnten hergestellt wird, allerdings ohne die verschiedenen Farben der Bemalung. Vgl. Bruzon (p) [illegible]. Lemmer (b) hat daher "Fischnetz" gebraucht.

[2] Eine Ähnlichkeit nach Bruzon (p) [illegible] dieses Bemerkung mit dem leckeren Korbe an Bäumen Seile einer Lianen Stange.

[illegible] wieder in die offene See [illegible], länger als während einer ganzen Tages [illegible] [illegible], von dem Reichtum der großen Schwarzen [illegible] [illegible]. Nach den Anstrengungen der Überfahrt hat [illegible] sich an der [illegible] Brust [illegible] [illegible] und sich vollständig [illegible] [illegible].

Erwähnt wurde bereits, daß [illegible] auch der Mann sich beim Fischen betätigt.[illegible] Der Fischerei mit der Leine ist, wie gesagt, ebenfalls Aufgabe der Frau. Indes, beim Hermandaua der [illegible] gerät auch er vorübergehend [illegible]. Doch er scheint bei [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Tagewerk. Deshalb läßt man jedoch andere Art der Pflanzen, abgesehen vom gelegentlichen Mannesfange der [illegible], unfähiglich bleiben.[107]

5. Vögel: Zu den Nahrungsmitteln aus dem Tierreiche rechnen unsere [illegible] Eingeborenen auch noch die Vogeleier. Frühere Reisende, beispielsweise Pyrard (2): 184, haben [illegible] beobachtet, daß „eggs are capitally sought for by the natives". Das Frühjahr ist die Zeit dafür. Wo immer die Familie an Land geht, suchen Mädchen und Frauen nach Nestern größerer Vögel. Sie treffen keine Auswahl und sind ebenswenig verlegen, falls die Eier schon länger bebrütet sind. Ausnahmsweise wird ihr Suchen mit reicher Beute entlohnt; denn die Brutplätze mancher Vogelarten sind ihnen gut bekannt. Wo Pinguine nisten, die große Eier legen, ist das Sammeln sehr lohnend. In ihren Kleidchen bringen sie das Ergebnis zum Kanu oder zur Hütte, wo es sofort verzehrt wird. Besonderen Gefahren, um Vogeleier zu erlangen, setzen sich die Frauen jedoch niemals aus.

Zu Beginn der Sommerzeit greifen sie auch nach jungen Vögeln jedweder größeren Art, die sich im Neste bewegen. Sie töten das zarte Tier, indem sie es mit einem Steine oder Knüppel auf den Kopf schlagen, häufiger durch heftiges Werfen gegen einen Felsen. Dann vor allem Stillen sie unbeirrt ihre Kinder mit diesen Brutvorräten, wenn sie die Brutplätze der Kormorane und der Pinguine absuchen. Diese Junge können, bevor sie ganz emporwachsen sind, aus der nächsten Umgebung ihrer Nester nicht entfliehen, entweder deshalb nicht, weil ihre Flügel sie noch nicht aus der Höhe des Nestes in die See tragen und besonders ebenswenig, weil sie sich im Wasser noch nicht zu bewegen wissen.

Aus Spielerei und zur Unterhaltung nehmen die Frauen sich gern noch den einen oder anderen jungen Vogel in ihre Hütte mit, wo sie ihn füttern, bis er emporwachsen ist. Zeigt er sich nahm genug, läßt man ihn am Leben; andernfalls verzehrt man ihn einen Tagen. Im Frühsommer begegnet man deshalb in den Hütten der Indianer zeitweilig einem halben Dutzend junger Vögel, die sich, obwohl sie meist verschiedenen Arten angehören, untereinander bewegen und zusammen zur Familie gehören,[108] ein Spielzeug auch für Kinder.

β. Nahrungsmittel aus dem Pflanzenreich

Die Ungunst der Witterung im Kap Hoorn-Archipel läßt nur wenige Pflanzenarten zur Entfaltung kommen und die Erträgnisse des Bodens, die der Indianer zu seiner Ernährung verwendet, sind sehr gering. Pflanzenkost hat grundsätzlich für ihn keine Bedeutung. Ungerne wäre es, von eigentlichen Nahrungsmitteln aus dem Pflanzenreiche zu sprechen. Deshalb hält er sich vorzugsweise nur eine kleine Gemüsekarpeder, die zu sich einfindig und im

[107] Dieses, nach Hyades (2): 56, „in Indien eine Legende die gewissen in gewissen gewisse, bei diesjenigen die man vorzeit *Pseudhelmen d'un gens à gibier*" und das gilt nicht minder für Nahrungsmittel.

[108] Lesson (2): 139 „Les vous jeunes aplomb gaux and gelle dans vaseil".

Vergleich zum Fleischverbrauch völlig bedeutungslos ist.[555] Was ihm Mutter Natur freiwillig bietet sind Pilze und Beeren verschiedener Arten, die sich damit allein schon als bloße Zukost erweisen. Sie alle werden ausschließlich von Frauen und Mädchen gesammelt; Männer streifen nur im Vorbeigehen einige Früchte ab und stecken sie sogleich, ohne Zubereitung, in den Mund.

1. Pilze: Betrachtet man die Vegetationsverhältnisse im Yamana-Gebiet, so überrascht es nicht, dort eine überreiche Menge von Pilzen und Schwämmen anzutreffen. Stark giftige Arten fehlen und andere haben ein schwammiges, andere ein holziges Gewebe. Dieses reizen den Indianer nicht, die Menge der schmackhaften Pilze ist an sich groß genug und er legt keinen besonderen Wert darauf. Man trifft überall und in guter Menge die Vertreter einiger Cyttaria-Arten, von denen Cyttaria Darwinii Berk. am meisten verbreitet ist. Letztere führt die allgemeine Bezeichnung *ôuŝ*, im Reifestadium *ouŝtiŝ*. Sie entwickelt sich auf den Wulstungen oder Wucherungen (Abb. 66) einer bestimmten Stelle des Buchenastes, *ouŝij* oder *ôuouŝij* genannt. Jeder dieser Schwämme erreicht die Größe einer grünen, unreifen Walnuß, ist kugelrund und gelblichweiß. Einer steht eng neben dem anderen. Bei leichter Berührung bricht er ab. Frauen und Mädchen pflücken diese Pilze von den Ästen im Bereiche ihrer Armhöhe. Sind sie auf einer bestimmten Strecke des Waldes abgesucht, fordert die Frau ihren erwachsenen Sohn oder sogar ihren Mann auf, beim Sammeln der Pilze auf höheren Ästen behilflich zu sein. Weiblichen Personen wird es anstandshalber nicht gestattet, auf Bäume zu klettern und über Äste zu schreiten; dazu werden die Männer herangeholt. Sie pflücken die Pilze mit der Hand und werfen sie nach unten, oder sie brechen sie mit ihren Zehen ab und lassen sie fallen; Frauenpersonen lesen sie auf und tragen sie in Körbchen zur Hütte.[556] Die kurze Zeit des mittleren Sommers ausgenommen, sitzen die Cyttaria Darwinii immer auf den Bäumen und sind genießbar in jedwedem Entwicklungsstadium während aller übrigen Monate.[557]

Abb. 66. Buchenast mit Wucherung. 1/3 nat. Gr.

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[555] Sehr genau hat sich Fitz-Roy (a): 125 hierüber geäußert: „Of vegetable food they have very little: a few berries, cranberries, and those which grow on the arbutus, and a kind of fungus, which is found on the birch-tree, being the only sorts used."

[556] Bannes (MM: VII, 120, 1873) erwähnt einmal, daß ein erwachsener Yamana diese Pilze gesammelt und zum Lager gebracht habe. Sollte er sich dabei allein betätigt haben, ist das ein seltener Ausnahmefall.

[557] Die Beobachtungen dieser Pilzart aus der Feder mehrerer Beobachter hat Osten (g): 32 zusammengestellt. Dazu kommen noch die Angaben von Brandes: 64, 108, 181.

Weniger verbreitet und nur im Herbst voll entwickelt ist *ollm*, die Cyttaria Hariotii F. BD: 46 schreibt *ilayim*, a small dark brown pear-shaped fungus which grew in clusters out of an excrescence which forms on the wood like a hand. Dieser gallöhnlichbraune, birnenförmige Pilz von der Größe einer Apfelsinenkernes bis zu der einer kleinen Vogelkirsche steht in Reihen geordnet auf dünnen Ästen der antarktischen Buche. Sehr bequem kann man mit der halbgeschlossenen Hand die ganze Reihe abstreifen und in einem Körbchen auffangen. Noch kleiner ist die schwarze *ollkíyon mfana* (Cyttaria Hookeri Berk.), die in Form und Größe dem Kern einer Weintraube gleicht und ebenfalls reihenförmig auf Buchenästen sitzt.

Obwohl Frauen und Mädchen gern nach diesen beiden Arten die Hand ausstrecken, ist es doch nicht ihre Gewohnheit, sie zu sammeln und zur Hütte zu bringen; an Ort und Stelle verzehren sie zugleich einige Handvoll dieser Pilze. Die Männer tun das gleiche, nur seltener. Die *ollm* (Cyttaria Hariotii) wird der letztgenannten bei weitem vorgezogen.

Gegenüber der *ôôf* (Cyttaria Darwinii) sind andere Pilzarten von geringerer Bedeutung für die Indianerin. Erstere sind am Waldesrande leicht zu erreichen und letztere finden sich vorwiegend oder fast nur drinnen im Dunkeln und im Dickicht. Bis dorthin schreiten Frauen nur selten vor, etwa um Holz zu holen; allein um Pilze zu sammeln dringen sie fast nie tief in den Wald ein. Die großen Baumpilze dann, so lange sie noch weich und fleischig sind, werden am meisten geschätzt, unter diesen vor allem *yfinâ*, a soft, watery, and large flesh-colored fungus, nach BD: 649.

Etwa zehn Arten von Schwämmen ißt der *Feuerländer*,[*] diese alle botanisch genau zu bezeichnen bin ich nicht in der Lage. Sehr auffällig ist es, daß er nur solche genießt, die auf Bäumen gedeihen, niemals jene, die sich am Boden entwickeln. Jede Art reift in einem bestimmten Monat, weswegen der Indianer fast jederzeit sich eine kleine Abwechslung in seiner einförmigen Fleischnahrung dadurch bereiten könnte, daß er nach Pilzen greift. „Fungi of many kinds are also all the year round much used as food, different kinds coming in at different seasons" (Bennett [a]: 213).

Jeder Einzelperson bleibt es überlassen, gelegentlich einige Schwämme nach eigener Lust zu suchen. Gegenstand einer bewußten Sammelns sind nur die sehr häufigen Cyttaria Darwinii, die in der Hütte auf Stäbchen aufgereiht und getrocknet eine Zeitlang aufbewahrt werden. Bennett (MM: VII, 121; 1873) übertreibt offensichtlich, wenn er den Pilzen im alltäglichen Haushalte der Yamana eine erwähnenswerte Bedeutung beilegt. Bei Hungersnot allerdings behilft man sich mit Pilzen, so lange man sie findet. Genauer drückt sich Anthesia: 270 aus, der die einzelnen Nahrungsstoffe je nach ihrer Bedeutung abstuft: „Zum Unterhalt sind [diese Indianer] einzig auf die Jagd

[*] Bennett erwähnte „one very important item in the food of these people, which is fungus, of which there are about twenty varieties, some one or more of which are all the year round abundant" (MM: III, 114; 1869). Er sagt da im ersten Teile doch etwas zu viel.

angewiesen; im schlimmsten Falle begnügen sie sich mit Muschelkost. Die darum etwa entstehenden Verdauungsbeschwerden werden durch eine Pflanzenkost gehellt." Schwämme waren und sind eben nicht mehr und nicht weniger als eine saftige, geleeartige Zutat zur eigentlichen Hauptnahrung.

2. Beeren: Einleuchtend ist es, daß die Yamana nur während einiger Wochen sich den Genuß von Beeren *amájin* gestatten können. An erster Stelle stehen *amájingu*[1], die Früchte der Pernettya mucronata, die als niedriges Strauchwerk zuweilen ausgedehnte Flächen bedeckt (Abb. 12). Trotz der harten Spitzen ihrer Blätter durchquoren Frauen und Mädchen das Gebüsch und pflücken die reifen, purpurroten Beeren, sammeln sie in ihre Körbchen und tragen sie zur Hütte. Weniger häufig vertreten ist in jener Gegend die

Abb. 67. Pernettya pumila. Nat. Größe

kleinere Pernettya pumila (Abb. 67), deren Früchte *ámamájin* heißen, und das etwas höhere Empetrum rubrum *ahána*, dessen Früchte man *kipiamájin* nennt. Die beiden letztgenannten Sträucher bringen nur kleine Früchte hervor, von denen die Indianer weniger angezogen werden.

Guten Geschmack besitzen die reifen *hámir'amájin*, die Beeren der Berberis buxifolia, die an Süßigkeit die *ákijamájin*, die Beeren der Berberis ilicifolia weit übertreffen. Erstere lassen sich leicht mit der Hand von den Ästchen abstreifen und in ein Körbchen sammeln. Ansehnliche Mengen würde eine Indianerin nicht heimbringen, weil jedermann mit einer Handvoll dieser Beeren bereits genug hat. Wer indes zufällig an diesen Sträuchern vorbeigeht, reißt sich mehrere Beeren ab und verzehrt sie sogleich.

Am Waldesrande und an lichten Waldflächen kriecht die kleine Rubus geoides, einer Beerenart, am Boden; ihre im Spätsommer reifende Frucht *pélayáyiz* gleicht an Größe, Form und Farbe einer Himbeere, doch ist sie weniger süß als diese. Nur wenn Frauen beim Sammeln von *kipiamájin* und von *amájingu*[1] auf einzelstehende Früchte der Rubus geoides unvermeidlich stoßen, pflücken sie auch diese. Den Früchten der Myrtus nummularia gewinnen unsere Indianer keinen Geschmack ab; gern aber greifen sie nach den leicht erreichbaren *kápuamájin*, den Trauben vom *kápuá*-Strauch (Ribes magellanicum), der das Licht liebt und vorwiegend am Waldesrande steht.

Hiermit endet die Reihe aller Bemerkenswerten, die im Gebiete der Yamana begegnende als genießbar gelten. Beispielsweise benutzen die Früchte der Gunnera magellanica fast gar kein Fleisch und deshalb rührt niemand diese stachelige an. So ist es auch mit den kleinen Früchten anderer Arten.

3. Andere Pflanzen: Mehr noch als von Pilzen und Bemerkenswerten gilt für wenige andere Stoffe aus dem Pflanzenreiche, daß sie als eigentliche Nahrungsmittel nicht betrachtet werden dürfen.[*] Doch gibt es ganz wenige Pflanzen, wie Hamer: 602 richtig erklärt, „dont les indigènes se mangent quelques-unes qu'en cas d'disette uniquement". Dazu gehört an erster Stelle die dunkle (Osmorrhiza chilensis), deren Wurzeln in Zeiten knapper Nahrung von Frauen und Mädchen gesammelt werden, ferner die yépuna (Armeria chilensis) und endlich uéyata (Tersonema magellanicum). Mit den Wurzeln der beiden ersteren[**] und mit den Blättern dieser letzteren beschäftigen die Indianer ihren Hunger.[***] Von den beiden erstgenannten Arten behauptet Bennett mit nicht geringer Übertreibung, die Indianer „extensively use the roots of one plants and of Osmorhiza" (MM: III, 114; 1869). Selleria bähne (Apium australe) ist überhaupt keine Nährpflanze; trotzdem steckt sich jemand gelegentlich einen Strauß in den Mund und kaut daran. Dies tut er, um sich eine Geschmacksabwechslung zu verschaffen und um gegen Erbrechen anzukämpfen.[***] Manchmal liebt er, die Wurzel der Selleria am Feuer zu rösten und sie nachher zu kauen.

Weil, wie aus diesen Angaben ersichtlich, pflanzliche Stoffe selten nur von den Yamana genommen werden, ist es fast immer eine Einzelperson, die sich auf die Suche macht, wenn sie Verlangen danach verspürt. Ungerechtfertigt wäre es also, das Sammeln solcher Pflanzen als besondere Beschäftigung der Frau anzugeben.

Ein flüchtiger Rückblick auf den Beitrag, den die Indianerin zum Lebensunterhalt der Familie liefert, gibt zu erkennen, daß sie Bedeutendes leistet, hauptsächlich durch Sammeln von Schalentieren. Was sie herbeischafft, bringt nicht nur eine notwendige Abwechslung in die vom Manne beigestellte, einförmige Fleischnahrung, sondern ermöglicht zu gewissen Zeiten, in denen die Jagd unmöglich ist, sie unumgänglich. Die Frau bewahrt gar manchmal ihre Familie durch ihre fleißige Sammeltätigkeit vor empfindlichem Hunger.

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[*] Irreführend ist deshalb Bennett (A): 227 Ausdrücken: „Les indigènes mangent certains aliments les alpinistes vegétaux: les racines y baies del uéyata, y les racines del uéyata y del yépuna." Nahrungsmittel im eigentlichen Wortsinne sind sie nicht.

[**] Diese beiden Pflanzen sind gemeint, wenn Bennett sagt: „The roots of one umbrella and of a plant resembling parsnip, are much used for food and are generally baked" (VP: XIII, 214; 1866).

[***] Darauf erwähnen gelegentlich: „To day the natives gathered and ate large quantities, uncooked and raw, of a species of dandelion (Taraxacum); they relish it very much" (VP: VI, 139; 1860). Vgl. Hamer: 602 und Hyades (a): 238.

[****] Ausdrücklich erkundigtsich sich Bennett: „So says or (MM: III, 114; 1869): „Though sickly sometimes everywhere, they never use of it"; im BD wird die Wurzel dieser Pflanze erwähnt und sehr bestimmt von ihm als „edible root" bezeichnet.

6. Der Naturgenuß im Jahreslauf

In ihrer Lebensbetätigung und erst recht in allem, was sie sich zu ihrem Unterhalt verschaffen, sind und bleiben unsere Yamana von der sie umgebenden **Außenwelt** unmittelbar abhängig. Auf diesen unumwindlichen Zwang haben sie sich in all ihren wirtschaftlichen Einrichtungen, nicht zuletzt in ihren Gerätschaften und Waffen, eingestellt. Dawson (d): 248 bestätigt diese auch seiner Weise: „Die Natur, welche die Gewohnheit zu einer unwiderstehlichen Macht und ihre Wirkungen erblich gemacht hat, hat den Feuerländer dem Clima und den Erzeugnissen seines eisenden Vaterlandes angepaßt." Das Unerbittliche in beiden Deutungen unterscheidet sich wesentlich.

Aber auch die gütige Haltung oder Verfassung dieser Indianergruppe verrät eine unverkennbare Übereinstimmung mit ihrem Wohngebiete, wie sich am besten in ihrer hochgradigen **Genügsamkeit** ausdrückt. Mit so viel Ungemach vieuzitiert das Wetter, mit welch empfindlichen Einschränkungen durch den geringen Bodenertrag, mit dauernder Behinderung der Bewegungsfreiheit durch überreichliche Naturgewalten gehen sich unsere Eingeborenen heutzu zufrieden. Man möchte es kaum für möglich halten, mit welch geringem Lebensaufwand und mit welch spärlicher Bequemlichkeit ein Volk sich beschränken kann. Man hört sie nie klagen und sie murren über die harten Lebensbedingungen, die ihnen gestellt worden sind, und das Los, das ihnen zugefallen ist, tragen sie mit unwandelbarer Gelassenheit.

Trotzdem haben sie sich nun willkommen Spielball der Naturgewalten nicht herabdrücken lassen. In der Härte des Kampfes haben sie sich bei der Gegenwehr gestählt und das sichere Bewußtsein zu triumphieren verhalfen ihnen: jene unabhängige Selbstständigkeit, die sogar in der ausweglosesten Lage zufrieden bleibt. Gut geschulte **Geisteskräfte** und eine unübertreffliche Geschicklichkeit sind es, die unsere Feuerländer im Ringen mit der Natur beim Naturgenuß entfalten. Reiche Vorzüge zeichnet ihnen sogar Dawson (k): 240 mit knappen Worten: „Tienen diversos utensilios de caza y mucho pájaros, y en todos ellos manifiestan mucha destreza." Erst die Beobachtung und Erfahrung vieler Geschlechter hat die zweckdienlichen Fang- und Jagdwerkzeuge ausgestaltet, mit denen jeder Indianer seinen Erfolg so sicher ist, ohne vergeblicher Mühe aufwenden zu müssen. Er hat sich von Jugend auf darin geübt, bis er geschickt und ausdauernd wurde. Manches Handgriff und manche Bewegung, mit Gewandtheit und einiger Anstrengung ausgeführt, erscheint dem Auge eines Europäers einfach und leicht.[**]; der scharfsinnige Jäger und treffsichere Schütze erregen Bewunderung. Würde der Europäer sich dazu versuchen, könne ihm lebhaft zum Bewußtsein, wie ungeschickt und unbeholfen er in diesen dem Indianer alltäglichen Dingen ist.

Seiner eigenen Überlegenheit ist sich der Yamana stets bewußt. Zugleich

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[**] Hierzu vergleiche Bove (e): 189: „Hier war unser Bove gelehrt hat, kann sich eine Vorstellung von der Anstrengung und der Schlauheit machen, welche sie aufbieten müssen, um sich die einfachste Nahrung zu verschaffen."

mit der [illegible]
heit; sie zu entfalten [illegible]
oft Geistesgebiete.[illegible] Se[illegible]
[illegible] können, die sich [illegible]
seiner Brüder und der [illegible]
[illegible] widmet sich [illegible]
[illegible] gewöhnlich seinem schwer[illegible]
Tiere zum eigenen Leb[illegible]
[illegible], zum Teil erw[illegible]
die gut-entwickelten Gi[illegible]
die hohe Geschicklichkeit [illegible]
[illegible] Gerätschaften und [illegible]

Seine geistige Be[illegible]
und in die allgemeinen [illegible]
zeigt sich sie unmittelbar [illegible]
fähigkeit auf dem Lande [illegible]
verdient zur Sommerzeit [illegible]
in Gefahr bringt. Gode[illegible]
wieder hüten wird. D[illegible]
er mit Aufgeweckt[illegible]
unterhalt zu erringen [illegible]
sind es nur einige wen[illegible]
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zum Ufersande und auch [illegible]
seiner Insulte der Jagd [illegible]
die meisten Vögel im S[illegible]
und Lagerplätze belie[illegible]
hauptsächlichste Ziel der [illegible]
Jahres in seinem Verg[illegible]
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sich gleichzeitig einige [illegible]

In der kalten Jahr[illegible]
größere Fische in seich[illegible]
zu erwarten. Dafür sie[illegible]
ganz an den Wasserrand [illegible]

Gesundheit hat er seine Körperkraft entwi[illegible]
d zu steigern bietet sich ihm auf der Jagd oft und [illegible]
rüchet er über alle Schwierigkeiten und Behinde[illegible]
einen Zielen entgegenstellen; er wird den Jagens noch [illegible]
kampfes mit den widrigen Naturkräften nicht müde, [illegible]
en Morgen mit neuem Mut und mit frischer Siegesz[illegible]
m Tagewerk. Mit der Umwelt zu streiten und ihr die [illegible]
nbedarf abzuringen, ist somit jedem Manne eine all[illegible]
ochte Notwendigkeit.[illegible] Er hat es nicht leicht; aber [illegible]
steskräfte, die außerordentliche Übung seiner Sinne, [illegible]
t und die persönliche Sicherheit im Beherrschen sei[illegible]
ilfsmittel gewährleisten ihm den Erfolg.

[illegible]glichkeit fühlt sich in die Gelegenheiten zur Jagd [illegible]
Forderungen einer jeden Jahreszeit mühelos ein. Er [illegible]
n mit den Härten des Winters, der seine Bewegungs[illegible]
behindert, noch mit dem unberechenbaren Wetter[illegible]
, der sein leichtes Kanu auf dem Wasser nur zu oft [illegible]
lig entbehrt er in diesem Halbjahre, was jenes ihm [illegible]
r Abwechslung, die jeder Monat herbeiführt, folgt [illegible]
Also ist er jederzeit bereit, das für seinen Lebens[illegible]
d einzuholen, was jeder Tag eben bietet. Eigentlich [illegible]
ge Unterschiede, die sich in den verschiedenen [illegible]
achen. Da der Yamana allein auf dem Wasser, [illegible]
auf einigen Felsenlinden, aber niemals weit im Innern [illegible]
obliegt,[illegible] weil ferner die großen Seesäugetiere und [illegible]
mmer wie im Winter fast vollzählig ihre Wohnstätten [illegible]
alten, weil endlich diese beiden Tiergruppen das [illegible]
Jägers sind, so ändert sich während des ganzen [illegible]
ren nur wenig.[illegible] Die Wildgänse allerdings, eine ein[illegible]
verlassen im Herbste den Süden, um weiter nördlich [illegible]
ter zu verbringen. In der gleichen Richtung bewegen [illegible]
Fischarten.

[illegible]zeit gibt es weder junge Vögel, noch sammeln sich [illegible]
en Buchten und ebensowenig sind Heringsschwärme [illegible]
geben sich Fischotern, Füchse und Guanacos, die [illegible]
herankommen, durch ihre Spuren im Schnee leicht

[illegible] rückhaltlos zu: „These people certainly show the greatest [illegible]gy in following at their hunting" (MM: XII, 12; 1878).

[illegible]ung jener Naturkinder hat Hyades (f): 567 in die Worte gefaßt: [illegible]ddérent le chasse comme un plaisir aussi bien que comme [illegible] des Sachverhalt wirklich gut gekennzeichnet.

[illegible] ebenbürtig. Unsere Indianer wissen sich tatsächlich auf dem [illegible]. Vgl. Hyades (h): 21.

[illegible]gen, die Hyades (f): 563 aufstellt, sind offensichtlich zu eng.

zu erkennen. Dann geht der Jäger jetzt erst recht nach. Unverändert bleibt die Menge der Robben und Pinguine, der Seehunde und Enten. Sobald im Frühjahr die Vögel ihre Nester bauen und Eier legen, entfaltet auch die Indianerfamilie mehr Regsamkeit. Sind die jungen Vögel fast flügge, wagt sich der Mann an die Felsinseln der Kormorane heran; später, wenn der Sommer schon vor Neige geht, an die Eilande, auf denen sich die Pinguine und Wildgänse mausern.[222] Jetzt sind auch die Robben, die am Strande ihre neugeborenen Jungen bewachen, leicht zu erreichen (S. 39).

Etwas mehr wird die Sammeltätigkeit der Frau von der jeweiligen Jahreszeit bestimmt. Zunächst gilt das offensichtlich für die Suche nach Beeren, die im Spätsommer und Herbst reifen. Die Cyttaria Harioti kann man im Herbst und in der ersten Winterhälfte pflücken; mit dem beginnenden Sommer sind auch die Cyttaria Darwinii entwickelt, die sich bis kurz vor Ausgang des Winters auf den Bäumen halten. Zum Angeln nach Fischen eignet sich die kalte Jahreszeit nicht.[223] Hingegen sind Seo-Igel (Echinodermata) im Juli und August, also gegen Ende des Winters am meisten wohlschmeckend. Im Frühjahr suchen Mädchen und Frauen eifrig nach Vogeleiern, so lange die Gelegenheit anhält. Sie jubeln auf, wenn die Schrecken des Winters vorüber sind und von der wärmeren Jahreszeit ihnen die Beschaffung der Nahrung bequemer gemacht wird.

Auf diese wenigen Einzelheiten beschränkt sich die Abwechslung, mit der eine Yamana-Familie im Nahrungserwerb rechnen kann. Ihr bleibt das ganze Jahr hindurch als sicherste Hilfsquelle die unerschöpfliche Menge der Mytilus-Muscheln offen. Nach ihnen greift jede Indianerin erfolgreich immer noch dann, wenn ihr jedwede andere Aussicht genommen ist. Einige Tage des Hungerns bürden der Familie trotzdem nicht erspart, wenn an einer Stelle sogar die Miesmuscheln erschöpft sind und sie sich wegen schlechten Wetters anderswohin nicht begeben kann. Sie haben, wie gesagt, die gleiche Bedeutung für die Yamana wie das Brot für die Europäer; jene werden der Muscheln ebensowenig überdrüssig wie diese des Brotes. Schließlich sei daran erinnert, daß man nach den verschiedenen Entwicklungsformen der Cyttaria Darwinii die Einzelabschnitte des ganzen Jahres bestimmt. Damit ist aber nicht auch gegeben, daß dieser Pilz nennenswert zur Ernährung unserer Indianer beiträgt (S. 555). Die Einförmigkeit einer ausschließlichen Fischkost zieht sich, trotz sehr geringer Änderung, durch das ganze Jahr.

7. Der feuerländische Hund

Als ein ständiges, unentbehrliches Mitglied der feuerländischen Familie muß man den Hund yétéla betrachten, er gehört genau so selbstverständlich

[222] Im April hat, wie Bennett (MM: IX, 9; 1871) sagt, „the penguin and loggerhead duck season. The latter are now in the height of moulting, and many are shaved and taken."

[223] Bennett (j): 35 hat hingewiesen auf „many kinds of smaller yet valuable fish, chiefly plentiful through summer and autumn and early winter". Auch Byrnes (q): 239 hat diese Erscheinung festgestellt. Vgl. die Fußnote 390.

wie die Kinder an ihr. Für die Beurteilung des Wirtschaftslebens unserer Indianer erscheint es keineswegs bedeutungslos, daß der Hund als ihr Gesellschafter erst seit einem Jahrhundert geschichtlich bezeugt ist. Weder in den schriftlichen Berichten noch in den bildlichen Darstellungen der Seefahrer des XVI. und XVIII. Jahrhunderts erscheint er auf.[*] Vergegenwärtigt man sich, wie aufdringlich und anhaltend gerade Indianerhunde jeden Fremden anfallen und wie erregt sie sich stundenlang während seiner Anwesenheit im Lager oder in einer Einzelhütte gebärden, wird man zur Verwertung gedrängt, jene Reisenden aus der ersten Zeit haben den feuerfindlichen Hund überhaupt nicht gesehen und er ist damals noch nicht im Besitze der Yamana gewesen. Diese Tiere benahmen sich gegenüber fremden Besuchern beispiellos auffällig. Niemand hätte es unterlassen dürfen, wenn er schon einmal seine Erlebnisse und Eindrücke erzählt, gleichzeitig das deutete Gebaren der Hunde zu kennzeichnen.[**]

Gegenüber dem gänzlichen Schweigen durch mehr als zwei Jahrhunderte fällt es zwiefältig auf, daß zu Beginn des XIX. Jahrhunderts fast gleichzeitig mehrere verschiedene und zwar erste Hinweise auf den feuerfindlichen Hund gemacht werden. Wendell (a): 94 ist es, der als erster Europäer von ihm spricht. Am 28. November 1823 lag seine Flotte in der Bahia S. Francisco, zwischen Isla de Hornos und Isla Hermite, vor Anker, wo einer seiner Matrosen einen jungen Hund erwarb, „der sich durch seine Klugheit auszeichnete". Bei diesem Anlaß erzählte er, daß jene Eingeborenen „zwei diese eine Art Hunde haben, die dem Fuchs sehr gleicht und ziemlich die Größe eines Stöberhundes hat. Sie lieben ihre Hunde sehr, und wenn sie irgend einem Objekt eine übernatürliche Kraft zuschreiben, so sind es wahrscheinlich die Hunde, denen ihre Aufmerksamkeit und Sorge für das Wohl derselben ist außerordentlich" (S. 66). Mehr sagt Wendell über dieses Tier leider nicht.

Wenige Jahre später haben King: 413, 444 und Fitz-Roy auf der ersten Fahrt der "Beagle" den Hund wiederholt beobachtet. Dabei erging sich King: 529 in folgenden Vermutungen: „The dogs are certainly of the domesticated kind, originally obtained, probably, from the Spanish settlements at

[*] Als erster Europäer hat Byron von seinem Zusammentreffen mit Bill'ham-Lenten auf dem Südostufer der Isla Grande im Jahre 1769 über deren einheimische Hunde berichtet. Vgl. Bd. I, 236.

[**] Sicherlich besagen diese Worte keine ungerechtfertigte Erwartung. Auch wenn die einheimischen Hunde sich dem fremden Besucher freundlich gezeigt hätten, allein der Umstand, sie in Gemeinschaft der Indianer angetroffen zu haben, wäre Anlaß genug gewesen, sie zu erwähnen. Bougainville erzählt Kapitän Juan Nazarenus über seinen Besuch bei den Patagoniern in Puerto San Julián an der südpatagonischen Küste am 16. August 1670 u. a. auch: „Their dogs are much of the race of Spanish dogs, large mongrel, but very tame; they were of a gray colour and were painted red in spots; they were very loud" (Burney: III, 348). Doch nicht einmal dergleichen beiläufige Angaben enthalten die ältesten Reisebeschreibungen jener Seebeute, die sich über viele andere Dinge unserer Yamana ausführlich und manchen sogar auch sehr genau geäußert haben.

Buenos Ayres; generally they resemble the Esquimaux breed, but are much more diminutive in size." Von der zweiten Reise der "Beagle" brachte Fitz-Roy (a): 201 eine unwahrste Zeichnung des Yamana-Hundes mit.[555] Ihm fiel es sehr auf, daß „these dogs bark at strangers with much fury; and they give tongue eagerly when hunting the otter". Zur gleichen Zeit erwähnt Wauneza den fremdländischen Hund (S. 199). Nach kaum drei Jahren macht Parkinson: 20 darauf aufmerksam, daß „the presence of the dog among the tribes inhabiting this extreme point of America, is another fact that deserves attention".[556] Gleichzeitig weist (S. 114) Wauneza (a): I, 129 und nach weiteren drei Jahren, nämlich im Februar 1842, auch Rae auf jenen ständigen Begleiter der Indianerfamilie hin (S. 122). In den Reisebeschreibungen aus den folgenden Jahrzehnten bis in unsere Tage und in den Briefen aus der Feder der Missionare fehlt nun fast nie mehr ein deutlicher Hinweis auf die Eigenarten und die Dienstleistungen des fremdländischen Hundes.

Aus durchsichtigen Gründen haben die Reisenden, von sehr wenigen abgesehen, um die Herkunft jener Hunde sich nicht gekümmert. Weil ihnen durchgängig auch die Eigung fehlte, ist aus ihrer Beschreibung meist nur unvollständig das Bild von seiner spezifischen ökologischen Beschaffenheit zu gewinnen. Brauchbare Einzelheiten hat Fitz-Roy (a): 201 genannt: „The dog of a Fuegian or Chonos Indian is small, active, and wiry, like a terrier with a cross of fox. His hair is usually rough, and dusky, or dark-coloured; but there are many dogs among the Fuegians almost white, or prettily spotted, some of which have fine smooth hair. All that were examined had the roof of their mouth black, the ears erect, large, and pointed, the nose sharp, like that of a fox; the tail drooping, and rather inclined to be bushy." Snow (a): I, 234 hebt nur hervor: „Their small, sharp, ferret-like dogs were exceedingly troublesome."[557] Nach Lovisato (b): 102, „il cane dei Yahgan è un quadrupedi fra la volpe ed il lupo con pelo lupiño, chiaro, con orecchie lunghe, diritte e non tanto grande, con coda curta, aguzza". Kürzer konnte Swanson (a): 163 sich kaum äußern, indem er sagt, der Hund „an perro marko al nuevo cuerdo". Genauer schreibt Dusen (b): 185: „Son

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[555] Er (a): 119 hat gelegentlich auch auf die beunruhigten Seb'ness, „accompanied by several large dogs," hingewiesen; weit ausführlicher schildert er (a): 176 den Hund der Patagonier. Bald nach ihm landete die Flotte des Kapitän Wauneza (a): I, 118 in Bahia Buen Suceso. Letzterer sah dort, daß „the natives had the common dog which they seemed to prize much."

[556] Darüber sprach er folgende Vermutung aus: „America, when first visited by Europeans, appears to have contained but a single species of quadruped of foreign origin, the domestic dog."

[557] Aus den über Jahren, als heraus wegen des häufigeren Schiffsverkehrs die Yamana sich leicht europäische Handwerkszeuge aneignen konnten, stammt folgender Bericht: Dans Indianer „tienen dos clases de perros; unos de raza indígena, pequeños, peludos, de hocico puntiagudo; y otros, introducidos por los blancos. Los de raza viven en la actualidad casi exclusivamente de pescado y mariscos; siendo muy hábiles para coger otros chiquitos, ahuyentar, cuidar Ganado al ordenado y semejante" (Serra (g): 50).

pagnolles y fines, son nez petit large y de color variable; son ses hombres grandes y anchas grandes que los hacen parecer a osos."[100] Der Hund ist, so beschreibt Marcgrav: 194, „petit et laid, son poil long et fauve et son museau pointu le font ressembler à un renard".

Unvergleichlich wertvoller als jene geographischen Teilbeobachtungen ist die fachmännische Untersuchung zweier mexikanischer Tiere durch Hernandez. In der Bahia Orange hatte Hernandez von den Indianern im Januar 1602 einen ausgebreiteten Dingo und im Februar einen Hund erworben, beide Tiere selbst aufgezogen und, da sie sich bisher dem neuen Herrn anpaßten,[101]

Abb. 68. Hund und Dingo

im September des gleichen Jahres nach Paris mitgenommen (Abb. 68). Die ausführliche Prüfung ergab: „Au dire de Fray-Ruy, le Chien de la Terre de Feu, petit, actif, ressemble à un Terrier croisé de Renard; son pelage est ordinairement roux, quelquefois noyeux, sombre ou noirâtre, exceptant il est souvent complètement blanc ou agréablement tacheté. Tous les spécimens examinés avaient le palais et la bouche noirs, les oreilles droites, grandes et pointues, le nez effilé comme celui du Renard, la queue tombante avec une tendance à devenir touffue." Mit Hernandez (q): 261 wörtlich übereinstimmend sagt Kerkhoven: 138 weiter: „Bien pris dans sa petite taille, le Chien fuégien se fait remarquer par ses oreilles droites, grandes, pointues, par son nez allongé, très pointu; aussi a-t-il l'aspect d'un animal plutôt sauvage que domestique, ayant de grands rapports de forme avec le Chacal; la couleur de son pelage est extrêmement variable; elle est souvent uniforme, gris fauve,

[100] Von den Wiedergabe anderer Beobachtungen, z. B. eines Lery (b): 68 und Wassmann: 18, sei hier Abstand genommen.

[101] Ganz im Gegensatz zu ausgewachsenen Tieren, „qui ne se laissent pas apprivoiser par les Européens" (Hernandez (q): 261).

se qui semblent à supposer ce remarquable avec ce dernier animal; fréquemment cassé, le crâne [illegible] trouvé à fond, le corps est marbré de larges taches noires (Tatuat) ou fauves (Kaweskya);[illegible] c'est ainsi que Kaweskya, semble avoir une livrée plus voisine de l'état de nature. Les pattes sont fortement palmées. Tel est le portrait physique." Diese ausführliche Beschreibung wird durch [illegible] gründliche Untersuchung und durch die ungefähr[illegible] Körpermaße jener beiden Hunde ergänzt.[illegible]

Von seiner Reise durch das Feuerland in den Jahren 1895 und 1896 hat Otto [illegible] das Skelett eines einheimischen Hundes nach Schweden gebracht. Es entstammte einem Tiere der östlichen Yamana, das nach seinem Urteile die deutlichste reinrassig gelten dürfte. Das Skelett wurde von [illegible] 10 gewissenhaft studiert und jeder Einzelteil gemessen. Er zog auf dieser Grundlage auch Vergleiche mit anderen südamerikanischen Caniden. Leider hat [illegible] weder von diesem Tiere, dessen Skelett jetzt in Stockholm ist, noch von anderen Yamana-Hunden eine Beschreibung niedergelegt. Bei einer persönlichen Aussprache mit ihm erfuhr ich nur die allgemeinen, mir bereits bekannten Kennzeichen dieser zoologischen Spielart.

In den Jahren meines Aufenthaltes im Feuerlande gab es keinen einzigen reinblütigen Indianerhund mehr. Wilhelm Iloß es sich an den meisten Tieren bestätigen, welcher eindeutlichen Kreuzung sie entstammten. Die dort ansässigen Weißen haben verschiedene Hunderassen eingeführt und unter die Indianer verteilt. Diese Hunde waren nicht allein den Fremden sehr gefährlich, sondern sie richteten auch unter den Zuchttieren, besonders unter den Schafen, beträchtlichen Schaden an.

Was wir die Ältesten Eingeborenen erzählen, bestätigte Fred Lawrence: Der einheimische Hund war mittelgroß, trug ein dickes, zottiges, mittellanges Haar von vorwiegend schmutzigbrauner Farbe und unregelmäßig verteilten großen, hellen Flecken. Der Kopf ernkte sich etwas nach vorn und lief in einer langgezogenen, spitzen Schnauze aus. Die stehenden, schmalen, mittellangen Ohren endeten in eine scharfe Spitze. Die Augen waren schräg gestellt. Der beschlagene, lange Schwanz ringelte sich halb nach oben. Durchgängig besaßen diese Tiere einen kräftigen, festen Körperbau, waren aber schlank und magar. Nach 1924 verglichen einige Indianer den einheimischen Hund mit dem großen Fuchs, der jenem gegenüber nur etwas kleiner war. Fred Lawrence stellte ihn hin als ähnlich jenen Hunden, die Europäer für Reisen durch die Südpolarregionen mitgebracht hatten. Schon lange vorher hatte Wuerzen vom feuerländischen Hunde behauptet, „he is very ferocious, and not unlike an Esquimaux dog" (S. 109).

An dieser Stelle will ich meiner eigenen Ansicht über den Ursprung des

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[illegible] Die sind die Namen des männlichen bzw. des weiblichen Tieres jener Pärchen.

[illegible] Maßgebende in Hyades (g): 391. Die [illegible] so reichlichen Körpermaße, von einem anderen Unternehmer [illegible], sind dort (ib. p. 365) ebenfalls veröffentlicht. Vgl. zu dieser genauen Angabengenauigkeit [illegible] Hyades (h): 29.

feuerländischen Hundes noch nicht entsprochen.[*] Statt dessen sei empfiehlt, daß die Yamana gar kein Verständnis für Züchtung einer bestimmten Form zu haben scheinen; jedenfalls geben sie sich damit nicht ab. Deshalb pflanzen sich ihre Tiere wahllos, wie der reine Zufall sie zusammenführt, untereinander fort. Die Feuerländer imaginent, nach Kerguen: 138, „n'étant pas suffisamment intelligents pour pratiquer une sélection raisonnée, ils laissent la nature agir à sa guise et conserver ses droits; en réalité le Chien qui est leur compagnon est un sauvage comme eux".

Andeutungsweise wurde bereits die Stellung des Hundes in der Indianerfamilie gekennzeichnet. Eine jede besitzt mehrere Tiere, drei bis sieht und jedes gilt als Eigentum entweder des Mannes oder der Frau oder einer anderen Person. Ein Hund als gemeinschaftlicher Besitz aller Familienmitglieder wäre den Yamana ein undenkbarer Begriff. Gleichlautend sind die Urteile vieler Reisender über eine unverkennbare Zuneigung des Feuerländers für seine Hunde. Aus früher Zeit stammt die Beobachtung des Kapitäns Snow (a): I, 309: „I also noticed that their dogs claimed a large share of affection." Sie gehören wie selbstverständlich zur Familie.[**] Wenn man den Indianer genau kennt, begreift man sehr wohl, daß er sich um seine Hunde nicht im mindesten kümmert, viel weniger ihnen eine sorgfältige Pflege angedeihen läßt oder sie liebkost. Die Hunde erwarten von ihrem Herrn kaum die geringste Aufmerksamkeit. Nie machen sie sich Hoffnung auf eine regelmäßige Fütterung; denn niemand bequemt sich dazu. Wenn irgendwelche Personen in der Hütte oder im Kanu ißt, drängen sich die Hunde wohl heran und warten gespannt, ob einige Brocken für sie abfallen; gehen sie leer aus, fühlen sie das nicht als Enttäuschung. Von Jugend auf haben sie sich damit abfinden müssen, das nötige Futter sich selber zu besorgen. Der Hunger treibt sie an den Strand, wo sie bei Ebbe den äußeren Kalkpanzer der zahlreichen Schalentiere zerbeißen und das Fleisch fressen. Sie können hohe Sprünge machen und geneigte Baumstämme erklettern. Wenn der Indianer Vögel oder Robbenfleisch auf Ästen nicht gut geräuchert hat, versuchen es die Hunde, jene Stücke herunterzuholen. An Felle, die soeben abgezogen wurden, sogar an hartes Leder machen sie sich heran, wenn sie hungrig sind. Selbst das Guanaco greifen einige Hunde gemeinsam an und fressen sich daran satt. Schlafende Vögel oder junge Nesthocker erreichen sie begreiflicherweise bei ihrem ruhelosen Herumstreifen sehr leicht.

Die meisten Hunde machen einen fürchterlich verwahrlosten Eindruck. Kein Wunder; denn, wie Hyades (p): 231 eingesteht, „les chiens ne sont nullement soignés". Laufen sie auch unverkommen, mit gebro-

[*] In Bd. I, 95 hatte ich angedeutet, ein abschließendes Urteil über Herkunft und Entwicklung des feuerländischen Hundes erst dann geben zu wollen, nachdem in Bd. III der Haushund der Halakwulup beschrieben worden ist. Den Hund der Selk'nam habe ich nach seinen zoologischen Eigenschaften in Bd. I, 276 kurz gezeichnet.

[**] Hyades (b): 1343 sagt: „Le chien fait partie de la famille fuégienne à laquelle il est très attaché et qu'il accompagne partout sous la hutte ou dans la pirogue."

[illegible] Reisen, voller Kriege und Einbrüchen heraus,[illegible] dieser Anblick rührt den Indianer nicht; er hat einen hohen Empfindsamkeitsgrad, den Tieren zu helfen. Trotzdem würde er nicht gestatten, daß eine andere Person, und hätte sie volles Recht dazu, seinen Hund verprügelt. Er persönlich begnügt sich damit, den Fehler seines Hundes mit einem Blick zu strafen oder mit einer blutigen Schlagbewegung den Schuldigen davonzujagen.[illegible] Dann allerdings kann sich unser Indianer nicht enthalten, eine einzelne rebellischen Wurf einige Tiere umzubringen, selbst wenn er bereits ein halbes Dutzend Hunde besitzt und er weitere nicht in mindestens benötigt. Selten nur entfernt er sich von einer Insel, ohne alle seine Tiere im Kanu zu erwarten; er behütete sie wie Ihres Herrn, der eine oder andere sich selbst zu überlassen. In einem Anfall von Wut indes prügelt er sein Tier derart unbarmherzig, daß es davon zugrunde geht.[illegible]

Darum allein kann man einleiten, wie unrichtig Lowrance (b): 150 behauptet, die Hunde wären ihrem Herrn „più cari delle loro creature, delle loro donne". An anderer Stelle wiederholt er (b): 102 noch: „I cani sono cari al Funghini più delle loro donne, perchè essi provdono le lontre, le volpi, gli uccelli." Er hat sich in diesem Urteil wohl auf die Mitglieder der "Beagle". Expedition gestützt; war es doch einem jungen Feuerländer gelungen, „dans une plaisanterie mauvaise, persuader à Fitz-Roy que, dans les époques de famine, qu'on commençait par manger les vieilles femmes étouffées ou les maltraitant dans une épaisse fumée, tandis qu'on conservait les chiens qui servent à prendre les loutres". An diese seine Worte schließt Hyades (b): 39 an: „Les Fuégiens sont évidemment moins attachés à leurs chiens qu'aux femmes, jeunes ou vieilles, qu'ils n'ont jamais songé à manger." Trotz gänzlicher Vernachlässigung bewahrt der Hund seinem Herrn treue Anhänglichkeit; das aber schließt nicht aus, daß er vereinzelt seinem Herrn sogar auffällt.

Gern sei zugegeben, daß der feuerländische Hund dem Indianer tatsächlich einige Dienste leistet, doch ist vor Übertreibungen zu warnen. Kurnikal: 140 behauptet zu viel, wenn er den Hund als „un associé, un collaborateur des plus précieux" seinem Herrn hinstellt. Gewiß, niemand gibt gern sein Tier an Europäer ab. Das beweist eben nur gewisse Anhänglichkeit, nicht aber außerordentliche Wertschätzung seiner Leistungen. Indes behält er Recht, wenn er (ib. p. 139) den Hund hinstellt als „extrêmement agile et fort, relativement à ses petites dimensions, d'une vigilance très active et qui ne se lasse jamais, il est rusé, défiant et par-dessus tout courageux". Andere natürliche Eigenschaften jener Hunde hebt Fitz-Roy (a): 201 hervor: „They are exceedingly vigilant and faithful. Their sagacity is shown in many ways; and

[illegible] Nachweislich tritt Tolkwat bei feuerländischen Hunden nicht auf.

[illegible] Sehr genau schildert Kurnikal den Hund als „zèlen, dur aux privations. Sûrtè à son maître qui lui est attaché, mais ne le caresse jamais, et le bat souvent."

[illegible] „The natives do not like to kill puppies, and children take a fancy to this one or that, and they are kept in a half-starved state. Unless in a passion the natives very seldom kill a dog.... The natives themselves are not unfrequently attacked and badly bitten by these savage dogs" (Bennett, in MM: XV, 256; 1861).

[illegible]

Als [illegible] unverlässiger Wächter bewährt er sich bei Tage und bei Nacht. Selten nur entfernt er sich von seinem Herrn; sämtliche [illegible] wenn er sich mit Fetzer [illegible] muß. Nachts liegt er neben ihm oder auf dessen Füßen. Beim leisesten Geräusch von außen hat er [illegible] auf. Nähern sich die Schritte, nimmt er in wütender Erregung auf den Ankömmling los. Nur durch Steinwürfe oder mit einem Stocke kann man sich seiner wilden Angriffe erwehren. Erst anhaltendes Schimpfen des eigenen Herrn bringt ihn zum Schweigen. Selbstverständlich schließen sich dem einen Hunde unverzüglich alle anderen von den Nachbarhütten an, wenn er bellend einem Fremdling entgegenstürmt; sie alle verehrt Hermann derart hart, daß das ganze Lager in Aufregung gerät. Ebenso schnell aber lassen sie sich manches Mal vertreiben und dann verschwindet sie ihre Wut in lingerem Knurren. Oft greifen sie wirklich an, doch niemals von vorn. Wenn ihr Bellen den fremden Besucher nicht zum Stehen bringt oder nicht verhältnismäßig lächerlich sie sich darauf, mit Unterbrechung einzelner bellende Laute zurückzuziehen. Aber in einer dieser Schwierigkeiten, wenn jener nicht dort, schlagen sie ihm die spitzen Zähne in die Waden; ganz besonders sie den Augenblick, da er eben durch den Hütteneingang sich beugt oder seinen Kopf abgewendet hält. Zweifellos gebärden sich die Hunde derart wütend, daß sie dem eigenen Herrn erst nach geraumer Zeit gelingt, sie etwas zu beschwichtigen; man rief gewöhnen sie dem Fremdling gefährlichen Eintritt in die Hütte.[illegible] Durchgehends sind die Hunde sehr reinlich und gefährlich.

[illegible] Vgl. Kane in Hyamson (a): 264, Bancroft (a): 143, Lowrie (b): 168, Bancroft (b): 195, Martius: 194, Kennedy: 149 u. a.

[illegible] Ein kleines Erlebnis des Missionars Bancroft: „We find the native dogs very troublesome, they are not half fed, and are of course all bones, and always on the look out for something to do. The other day I was passing with my two boys a pound of dogs, which began to bark at me, and then the pack set upon me, and though I had a stick I had just as much as I could do to keep them off. One of them bit my boy's trousers, and as masters were so engaged in driving away me, them another crept on us from behind ... It is absolutely necessary to take a stick when one goes to visit the natives or for a walk" (BM: XV, 249, 1867).

[illegible]

F. Die Ernährungsweise

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. Was die weiblichen [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

auch Salz kaum entbehren, obwohl eine Fleischkost Meeres [illegible] ist. Dem menschlichen Körper dürften die Fleischsalze genügen, darüber hinaus wird Salz fast unbewußt und unbeabsichtigt eine nicht unbeträchtliche Salzmenge aus dem Meerwasser zugeführt. In den Schalen der Muscheln und der anderen Meerbeute, im Kalkgehäuse der Seeigel und der Krebse ist immer, auch wenn der Inhalt gekocht wurde, eine kleine Menge Seewasser enthalten. Werden Fischeinkäufe von Vögeln und Reihern abgeschreckt, bevorzugt man das Meerwasser, von dem unvermeidlich eine winzige Menge Salz am Fischeinkauf enthält. Schließlich nehmen die Indianer das vom Winde zerstäubte Seewasser, obwohl ohne ausdrückliche Absicht, mit ihrem Mundes auf, wenn es ihnen im Gesicht geschlagen wird, sogar größere Tropfen, wenn sie im Kanu oder am Strande tätig sind. Diese im einzelnen sehr unbedeutenden Teilchen von Salz möchte ich als tägliche Gesamtmenge, in Anbetracht des hohen Salzgehaltes des Seewassers, nicht zu niedrig veranschlagen.[**] Eine etwas gesteigerte Salzmenge benötigen die Yamana gegenüber den Selk'nam deshalb, weil sie unerhebliche Mengen leichten Fettes alltäglich genießen, und weil der Muskelfleisch all der Tiere, deren Fleisch sie verzehren, weit weniger Fleischsalze enthält als das Gesamtfleisch. Diese Salzmenge wird sozusagen unbewußt, aber bestimmt ihrem Körper zugeführt, weswegen sie ihren Braten nicht eigens mit Salz zu bestreuen brauchen.

Zu verwundern ist es nicht, daß den Feuerländern gleichfalls jedwede Art von Gewürzen und Reizmitteln fremd ist. Ohne Einschränkung hat Hyades (d): 396 betont: „Ils ignorent l'usage de toute substance enivrante, stupéfiante ou excitante", und ergänzt an anderer Stelle (f): 564, daß es bei ihnen „condiments" nicht gibt. Unter diesen Bezeichnung fallen Pfeffer und Muskat, Nelken und Kümmel, Essig und ähnliche Dinge. Flüssiger Tran von Robben und Walen indes, wenn man diesen hierher rechnet, wird sehr häufig in kleinen Mengen genossen;[**] er dient den Eingeborenen jedoch als eigentliches Nährmittel von ganz unvergleichlicher Bedeutung.

Für Süßstoffe, die sie Honiger entbehren müssen, zeigen sie beinahe Leidenschaftlichkeit, wahrscheinlich gerade deshalb. Denn es stehen ihnen nur zeitweilig die reifen Beeren von geringem Zuckergehalt der bekannten Sträucher zu Gebote. Im Frühsommer holen sie mit der Zunge den Nektar aus den Blüten des mátu (Embothrium coccineum), kauen die süßlichen Blütenblätter der orkeneen Philesia buxifolia und saugen an den süßen jungen Sprossen der Poa flabellata, jener Grasart, die als Streu zur Lagerstätte benützt wird (S. 387). Jungen Stämmchen endlich schälen sie im Früh-

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[**] Dieses Hinweis sucht man bei jenen Europäern vergeblich, die allein für Kostenen über das Fehlen von Salz ausgedrückt haben. Daß die Spanier nicht eigens gesalzen wurden, berichten alle Missionare und viele Reisende, so Outes (g): 52, Hyades (g): 239 u. a. Letzterer (d): 396 behauptet außerdem: „Le sel marin comme condiment est inconnu et on serait peu approuvé"; bekanntlich schmeckt es weit schärfer als Kochsalz.

[**] Hyades (f): 564 bestätigt, daß „l'huile de phoque est très estimée et que les indigènes boivent par plaisir, à petits doses, avant ou après le repas."

jeder eine Stück Stande ab. Von unten nach oben fahren sie mit einer Messerklinge, die sie mehrfach, über die kleiligeiger Fassungsfläche hinweg; dabei zerreibt sich in der Messerkehrkeit der eßbare Teil zähflüssig, dem die neue Mundes führen. All das zusammengeschmolzene macht vielmehr eine zur wirksamen Menge an Bitterstoffen aus.

In unserer Zeit verschaffen sich unsere Indianer, wo immer möglich, neuen Tabak, und zwar reichlich.[107] Wie kann anders zu erwarten, geben sie damit wählen und verschwenderisch aus. Allein, weniger das physiologische Bedürfnis darnach, als weit mehr die Freude am Genuß leitet sie dabei.[108] Auffällig ist auch ihre Vorliebe für Zwiebeln. Das gekochte Fleisch der Kaiba, besonders von agiye (Lithodes antarcticus) und von ñipkiñel (Paralomis verrucosus), ist in Zubereitung mit etwas Essig und verkochten Zwiebeln sehr schmackhaft; dafür schwören die Yamana zumeistens. Wenn sie sich gegenwärtig eine Mahlzeit aus Dokaen oder Eris oder aus anderen Hülsenfrüchten kochen, greifen sie selbstverständlich zum Kochsalz; nur wenn sie es nicht bei der Hand haben, würzen sie den Brei mit Meerwasser an. Die Zutat von Salz wird aber von der Art dieser Speisen selber gefordert, die auch dann fade bleiben, wenn darin größere Fleischstücke von Seevögeln oder Robben gekocht werden. Mit europäischen Lebensmitteln also wurde dort gleichzeitig das Bedürfnis nach Salz eingeführt.

Im ganzen Pflanzenreiche der Kap Hoorn-Gegend gibt es keine einzige Frucht in ausreichender Menge, die zur Herstellung alkoholischer Getränke geeignet wäre. Letzteres blieben den Yamana so lange unbekannt, bis Europäer sie ihnen anboten. Die Seefahrer der früheren Zeit haben öfters beobachtet, daß unsere Eingeborenen den geistigen Getränken keinen Geschmack abgewinnen konnten; erst der häufige Genuß während der letzten Jahrzehnte hat sie darauf gebracht.[109] Schnaps ist ihnen fast nie zugänglich, statt dessen der dickflüssige Rotwein aus der Mendoza-Gegend, den sie mit ähnl „Blut" bezeichnen. Wo sich die Gelegenheit bietet, führen sie ihren Magen reichliche Mengen zu und da ihre Nerven darauf sofort wirken, schleppen sie den Rausch mit seinen Folgeerscheinungen tagelang herum. Ein geringes Maß artet den damit nicht vertrauten Naturkindern stark an und die gesundheitlichen Schäden sind unübersehbar (S. 251).[110] Wenige

[107] Mit anderen Bemerkungen bemerkt Hyades (f): 344, sie seien „aussi vraies gourmandes pour le vacca au tabac, et les substituent facilement aux alcools."

[108] Das gleiche Verhalten habe ich bei den Selk'nam beobachtet (Bd. I, 293).

[109] Aus eigenem Erleben erzählt Dumont (b): 187: „Antes no les gustaban las bebidas alcohólicas, pero hoy día se ven ido acostumbrando a ellas con el contacto de la civilización, y los dueños aprovechamos." So auch Wuttnauer: 37 u. a.

[110] Als jüngst forscht Gusinde, schreibt Dom: 93, „die Zivilisation sich ausbreitete und ihre unzuträglichen Begleiterscheinungen [Alkohol und Tabak] mit sich führte, zeigte es sich, daß diese Stämme der Wildnis [die Selk'nam] keinen Wert auf und in diese setzten. Die Yahgans dagegen fielen den neuen Genußmitteln schnell zum Opfer und waren imstande, für letzteren Fell [von Otters und Robben] für ein Stück Tabak oder einen Schnaps wegzugeben." Vgl. hierzu die längeren Ausführungen auf Seite 348.

Personen, wie Nelly Lawrence und Adelaide, weisen grundsätzlich jedes geistige Getränk zurück. Erstere hat oft und nachdrücklich die Verheerungen, die der Alkohol immer noch unter ihren Landsleuten anrichtet, laut bedauert; sie äußerte wiederholt, daß so viel Alkohol, der früher ganz unbekannt gewesen, ihren Stammesmitgliedern das Gedächtnis für die alten Überlieferungen und schönen Erzählungen arg geschwächt habe. Sie ist damit kaum im Unrecht.

Die meisten Männer haben sich selbstredend an den Tabak gewöhnt. Zigaretten sind ihnen weniger erwünscht, sie bevorzugen den zu Platten gepreßten Tabak, den sie aus der Pfeife rauchen. Das kommt ihnen gemütlicher vor und gibt auch mehr aus. Besonders bequem ist die Pfeife auf der Fahrt im Kanu. Den Tabak wirklich genießend auszukosten sind sie nicht imstande; die spielende Beschäftigung mit der Pfeife allein ist es, die sie anregt. Nicht belanglos ist hierbei die Absicht, den Europäern sich anzugleichen; die Selbstachtung und das Bedürfnis nach Geltung würde es jedem Yamana verbieten, eine vom Europäer angebotene Zigarette abzuweisen. Zu wirklicher Leidenschaft entwickelt sich das Rauchen bei unseren Indianern nie; fehlt ihnen der Tabak, deutet nichts in ihrem Verhalten darauf hin, daß ihnen etwas abgeht. Tabak hat bei Naturvölkern bei weitem nicht jene schweren Schädigungen der Gesundheit zur Folge wie Alkohol.

Weil den Feuerländern kein einziges geistiges Getränk zur Verfügung steht, sehen sie sich allein auf das natürliche Wasser angewiesen. Aus vielen Rinnsalen, Quellen und Bächen fließt es ihnen zu. Mag es noch so kalt sein, es schadet ihnen nicht; manche Leute bevorzugen es je kälter um so mehr. Auf reines Wasser legen sie Gewicht. Wo es nicht anders geht und sie aus sumpfigen, moorigen Stellen sich Wasser verschaffen müssen, legen sie eine Schicht aus Bartflechten (Usnea barbata) oder kleinblätterigem Reisig (Nothofagus antarctica) auf und pressen sie ein wenig nach unten; dadurch sickert das filtrierte Wasser langsam an die Oberfläche, der aufgerührte Schlamm setzt sich bald wieder ab und das Wasser ist genießbar. Auf anderen sumpfigen Flecken reißt man einen kleinen Strauch oder den dicken Stengel einer fleischigen Sumpfpflanze aus und schnell sammelt sich in diesem Loche das Wasser, das sich in wenigen Augenblicken klärt."[555]

Die Leute können Trinkwasser nicht nur nicht für einige Zeit entbehren, ganz im Gegenteil trinken sie oft und jedesmal viel. Das tun sie so auffällig, daß bereits Fitz-Roy (a): 185 wahrgenommen hat, „the Fueguians drink only pure water, but often and in large quantities".[556] Die außerordentlich reichen Mengen von Fett, die sie ihrem Körper zuführen, wecken das

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[555] Snow (a): I, 344 hat beobachtet: „On one occasion, being thirsty, and seeing no fresh water near, I indicated my desire; whereupon one of the men went to a tree and with a spear struck at the roots, and speedily procured some."

[556] Wm Dampier (b): 680 bestätigt, „they drink great quantities of water", wiederholt Hyades (f): 565 ausführlicher: „Ils boivent souvent et beaucoup: je les ai vus absorber d'un seul coup des quantités d'eau considérables." Gleichfalls Wichmann: 36, Martial: 194 u. a. m. äußern sich in diesem Sinne.

Bedürfnis nach häufigem Trinken. Sogar „dans le courant du repas, ils vont boire à la source voisine, ou transportent l'eau quand ils peuvent avoir des utensiles étanches" (Martial: 194). Sie trinken auch ohne Bedürfnis.

Hauptsächlich hieraus erklärt es sich, daß jede Familie mit Bedacht ihre Hütte in der Nähe eines Baches oder Rinnsales aufschlägt, um sich ein häufiges Laufen zur Quelle zu ersparen. Meist geht jeder selber an das Wässerlein, an dem er seinen Durst stillt. Je nach den örtlichen Bedingungen legt er sich entweder platt auf den Erdboden und neigt seinen Mund in das Wasser, das er einschlürft. Oder er kauert sich seitwärts eng am Rande nieder und schöpft das Wasser mit der hohlen Hand und auch mit

Abb. 69. Gebrauch des Saugröhrchens

einer großen Mytilus-Schale. Endlich hockt er sich ganz nahe an den kleinen Strom heran, neigt seinen Kopf tief nach unten und saugt durch einen Röhrenknochen *êmbalim* das Wasser in den Mund (Abb. 69). Dieses Saugröhrchen ist weiter nichts als ein langer Vogelknochen, dessen beide Enden an rauhen Steinen so lange abgeschliffen werden, bis das spongiöse Knochengewebe verschwunden ist; dann besitzt es immer noch eine Länge von 20 bis 35 cm. Hierfür wählt man fast regelmäßig den langen Beinknochen einer Scharbe. Manche Person trägt dieses Röhrchen vorn an einer geflochtenen Sehnenschnur, die um den Hals läuft; genau so, wie es die Patin dem *ušwǫala* am Schlusse der Jugendweihe umhängt. Den meisten Personen ist es angenehmer, vermittels dieses Röhrchens das Wasser einzusaugen, weil sie bequem dabei hocken und immer nur einen dünnen Strahl des zuweilen eiskalten Wassers in den Mund führen.[449]

[449] Hahn (c): 337 hat einen Mann, der in Hockerstellung durch das Saugröhrchen an einem Bache trinkt, abgebildet. Diese Zeichnung erhielt als Unterschrift: „Cascoscoscoscoscoscos buvant dans un ruisseau avec un chalumeau en os" (Abb. 69). Wirchardt: 37 bezeichnet dieses Stück als „una especie de canutillo hecho de un hueso", und Martial: 194 als „une sorte de pipette faite avec l'os de la patte du cormoran." Statt dieses Knochenröhrchens verwenden sie auch, wie Hyades (q): 341 behauptet, „de tiges creuses de joncs ou d'autres végétaux;" doch das gilt nur ausnahmsweise.

Bestimmte Vorschriften über den Gebrauch dieses Röhrchens im Alltage erfuhr ich nicht und sie scheinen auch nicht geherrscht zu haben. Allerdings müssen die Prüflinge im Jíjpuge sich jedesmal seiner bedienen und gegen Ende ihrer Prüfungszeit wird ihnen anbefohlen, es auch weiterhin zu benützen. Aus Vorsicht allein gegenüber dem kalten Wasser dürfte das Saugröhrchen nicht entstanden sein. Man benützt es gleichfalls in der Hütte, wenn jemand Wasser in der großen Voluta-Schale oder in einer Ledertasche hereingebracht hat. Eine solche Tasche stimmt mit jener der Selk'nam genau überein (Bd. I, Abb. 71 und 72) und wird hier wie dort aus dem steifen Leder von einer alten männlichen Robbe hergestellt. Andere Wasserschöpfer oder Wasserbehälter, die den Inhalt so sicher bewahren wie die Voluta-Schale, sind bei den Yamana nicht im Gebrauch.

In keiner Zeit des Jahres sind die Yahgan, zumal jene in den Randgebieten, vor dem drohenden Gespenst des H u n g e r s sicher. Durchaus falsch wäre es, die Hinweise einiger Reisender in dem Sinne zu deuten, als befiele die Not den ganzen Stamm mehr oder weniger gleichmäßig.[541] Als Allgemeinerscheinung kann Hungersnot dort wirklich nicht auftreten, Nahrungsmangel erfaßt nur vorübergehend, also für wenige Tage, einzelne Familien. Der gewöhnlichste Anlaß ist ein derart stürmisches Wetter mit aufgeregter See durch einige Tage, daß die Familie ihren Standort nicht verlassen kann, um anderswo nach Nahrung zu suchen. Sind ihre wenigen Lebensmittel aufgebraucht — und das geht schnell, weil auf Vorrat nie Bedacht genommen wird —, beginnt die Verlegenheit, wenn zufällig an Ort und Stelle alle Quellen erschöpft sind und eine Weiterreise durch unheilvolle Naturgewalten unterbunden wird. Dieses Schicksal befällt z. B. eine Familie, die sich auf ein Eiland geflüchtet hatte oder die auf einer kleinen Insel zurückgehalten wird, wo Vögel sich nicht niederlassen und wo die Ufer steil abfallen. An den meisten Stellen des Kap Hoorn-Archipels findet man zumindest mittelgroße und kleine Muscheln, die sogar bei schlimmem Wetter von der Ebbe vorübergehend bloßgelegt werden. Mancherorts kann man sich mit Pilzen behelfen. „Quand les mauvais temps durent longtemps, la pêche devient impossible et les ressources, toujours très minimes, s'épuisent vite; ils mangent alors des champignons que l'on trouve abondamment sur les hêtres" (Martial: 193).

Daraus ersieht man, daß zwar während des ganzen Jahres, aber doch nur an gewissen Stellen, e i n z e l n e F a m i l i e n in Gefahr gerieten, hungern zu müssen.[542] Aus einem anderen, jedoch weit seltenneren Anlaß gerät eine Familie dann in arge Not, wenn sie ihr Kanu verliert und nicht sofort Anschluß an ihre Landsleute findet. Denn es gibt Stellen, an denen die erreich-

[541] Ungenau ist die Behauptung in Overa (g): 56, daß „durante el invierno, cuando los vientos se hacen insostenibles, perecen muchos víctimas del hambre."

[542] Sehr genau gibt Dezrano (b): 600 an: „Occasionally, through stress of weather in winter, they suffer hunger, but from their fat looks, one would judge these painful occasions are rare."

baren Nahrungstiere schnell erschöpft sind, und war von dort nötig genug nicht weggekommen kann, muß sich auf Hungern gefaßt machen. Früher, als dieser Indianerstamm noch zahlreich war, gab es überall eine rege Bewegung der Kanus, verwegene eine verlassene Familie durch die üblichen Gastbesuchen sofort Hilfe herbeirief und auch bald erhielt. Endlich konnten neuerdings die Lebensmittel in einer Familie knapp werden, wenn sie einer Sonche nahekamen. Besonders Kinder kamen in ernste Lage, wenn ihre Eltern oder erwachsenen Verwandten durch Krankheit an der Nahrungssuche verhindert wurden. Selbstverständlich halfen Nachbarleute bereitwillig aus, aber trotzdem blieben die Tage empfindlicher Darbens zuweilen etwas an. Sehr selten, wenn überhaupt, dürfte ein Yamana einzig und allein vor Hunger gestorben sein.

Wie die Indianer sich in dergleichen Verlegenheiten **verhalten**, hat Hyades (g): 34 geschildert. In Zeiten der Nahrungsmangels, „läßt sie nicht der Zufall eine tote Robbe oder einen gestrandeten Wallfisch am Ufer finden, so heißt es freilich fasten. Dann liegen sie unbeweglich in ihren Hütten um das qualmende Feuer und erheben sich nur, wenn frisches Brennholz gebracht werden muß. Wird der Hunger zu heftig, so zerzaufen sie am Strande die Wurzeln der Armeria maritima[...] und stopfen mit ihnen, die freilich keine Nahrungsstoff enthalten, den knurrenden Magen voll. Zum Glück dauern solche Schnepfitäten,[...] die jede Bewegung denselben unmöglich machen, selten länger als drei bis vier Tage, und das läßt sich am Ende aushalten. Die Leute magern in solchen Fastenzeiten freilich rasch ab, aber bei genügender Nahrung erholen sie sich fast ebenso rasch wieder und können dann auch ganz überraschende Quantitäten Fleisch zu sich nehmen." Die Not kann sich vereinzelt sogar zu so ernster Gefahr steigern, daß die Leute zu Lebensmitteln zu kaum anfangen. Darwin (d): 245 hat die falsche Behauptung gewagt, „wenn sie im Winter vom Hunger geplagt werden, so eher ihre alten Weiber töten und verzehren, ehe sie ihre Hunde schlachten". Der unverlässige Bumann (h): 206[...] und später Hyades (q): 339 haben dagegen entschiedene Stellung genommen. Indes beschränken unsere Indianer jeden dort angeschwemmten Eßwaren, wenn sie entfernteste sind, auf andere Weise den notwendigsten Unterhalt sich zu bewegen.[...] Sind die Tage der Not vorüber, erholen sie

[...] Besonders auch die Hütten vom Lützowufer (Tierra del Fuego). Durch [illegible] sie vor allem den Hungergefahr dämpfen. Vgl. Gusinde (g): 12 und Hyades (f): 364.

[...] Wie bindenlicher als Schnepfitäten ist die energie Sea, wenn vom [illegible] unterhalb Wellen herumwellen, die sogar den Wasser in abfließenden Kanälen stark aufrühren.

[...] Er führte zum „Gemisch ha habido de hombre [illegible], en que el mal tiempo les impedía obtener pescados de los bosques, de la costa o del mar y en los cuales se han contado con cabalas y cosas de cuero, sin que a ningunos se le ocurriera preparar nunca nuevos bosques."

[...] Bei gibt beispielsweise Bumann (h): 206 von „Die Eingeborenen haben einige Vieh und Ziegen gestohlen und stehlen Pflanzen von den Feldern, wenn auch sich aber über die geringe Ausbeutung ihrer Diebstähle wundern, wenn man den Zustand von hoher Hungersnot, in dem sie leben, in Betracht zieht."

sich ganz überraschend schnell; ernste Nachwirkungen oder gesundheitliche Schwächung treten kaum je auf. Die Gewöhnung hat sie gelehrt, wie sie am leichtesten und ohne jeden Schaden die kurzen Zeiten des Hungers überwinden.

Seitdem die Yamana bequem zu den verschiedenen Farmen gelangen können, tauschen sie dort allerhand europäische Lebens- und Genußmittel ein, u. a. Zucker und Wein, Kaffee und Tee, Zwiebeln und Tomaten als Konserven u. a. m. In Kochtöpfen, die sie sich gleichfalls erwerben, bereiten sie unsere Speisen leidlich schmackhaft zu. Ihrer Gesundheit jedoch ist diese ungewohnte Kost nicht zuträglich; außer Zahnschmerzen stellen sich noch andere körperliche Leiden ein, von denen die Leute in der alten Zeit, trotz mancherlei Entbehrungen, zum eigenen Vorteil verschont geblieben waren.

2. Wie sie die Beute zerlegen

Einige Angaben über die Art und Weise, wie man größere Beutestücke verwendet, müssen hier eingeschoben werden. Einesteils kommen Verpflichtungen gesellschaftlicher Natur, die später genauer begründet werden sollen, zur Sprache, anderenteils ist die Entgegennahme eines geschenkten Stückes nicht dem üblichen Nahrungserwerb gleichzustellen. Da aber die bedeutendsten Jagdtiere, nämlich Robben und Wale, der Pflicht, andere daran teilnehmen zu lassen, ausdrücklich unterliegen, wird die herrschende Gewohnheit am passendsten hier dargestellt.

Mit unbeschreiblichem Jubel begrüßt jede Ortsgruppe einen Wal, der ans Land getrieben oder auf den Strand gesetzt wird. Dichte Scharen von Seevögeln kündigen dieses außergewöhnliche Geschenk der Natur an. Nach allgemeiner Auffassung ist jedweder Mann, der als erster den Wal gesehen oder berührt hat, Eigentümer desselben; nicht zwar in dem Sinne, daß nur er allein von diesem Tiere essen dürfte, dessen ungeheure Massen er sowieso nie zu überwältigen imstande wäre, jedoch insofern, als es ihm zusteht, für ein geordnetes Verteilen zu sorgen.[247] Überlaut auf Prioritätsrechte pocht sowieso niemand, zumal angesichts des riesenhaften Tieres jedermann seine Wünsche reichlich befriedigen kann. Im allgemeinen vereinbaren die alten, einflußreichen Männer mit jenem, der das Seeungeheuer zuerst gesichtet oder berührt hatte, wer von ihnen das Zerstückeln des Wales übernehmen soll. Erfahrung und Geschicklichkeit hierzu besitzt nicht jeder; sie werden aber gefordert, damit das Verteilen ohne Störung sich abwickelt und damit möglichst wenig vom Fleisch und Fett verloren geht. Ein sogenannter *wálaputēs*, ein im Zergliedern des Wales geübter Mann,[248] wählt sich vier bis fünf Helfer aus, mit denen er das Riesentier angeht.

Sie machen schnell einen Überschlag, um die Zahl der anwesenden Leute zu bestimmen. Sofort treten sie nun an oder auf den Wal, von dem sie mit

[247] Aus früherer Zeit, da es noch reichlich Wale gab, hat Bridges (a): 208 berichtet: „Certain persons, those who first found the whale, have the right to distribute it."

[248] BD: 630 bezeichnet ihn als: „clever, expert, careful in cutting up a whale."

scharfen Muschelschalen ein Fettstück nach dem andern in der Größe einer kleinen Tischplatte abtrennen. Jeder Verteiler beginnt an einer bestimmten Stelle des toten Körpers, kratzt vorerst die Parasiten, vor allem den häufigen Balanus peittacus von der Oberfläche herunter, zieht die dünne Haut ab und macht von oben her die Einschnitte so tief, bis er auf das Muskelgewebe stößt. Den viereckigen Specklappen löst er endlich von unten los und überläßt ihn dem erstbesten Bittsteller. Ein kleines Feld unmittelbar neben dem anderen wird auf dem Walkörper vom Verteiler abgetragen. Ehe er das einzelne Stück aus den Händen läßt, sticht er in die Mitte dieses großen Specklappens einen langen Schnitt ein, durch den der Empfänger seinen Kopf steckt. Nach Art eines Schulterkragens hängt diesem nun der Specklappen um den Hals und er wendet sich damit vergnügt seiner Hütte zu. So bequem, wie auf diese Weise, ließe es sich weder auf dem Rücken, noch in den Armen tragen; jetzt kann es ihm nicht entgleiten und er hat überdies seine Hände frei. Einer nach dem anderen der versammelten Leute erhält unterschiedslos sein Stück und kommt wieder, wenn er es verzehrt hat.

Selbstverständlich kann dieser und jener dem Verteiler seine besonderen Wünsche vortragen, sind doch gewisse Flächen schmackhafter als andere. Schon während der Fahrt zur Stelle des gestrandeten Wales unterhalten sich die Leute über die Fülle, die ihnen nun geboten wird, und erörtern ihre größere oder geringere Vorliebe für diesen oder jenen Bissen. Da ersehnt sich der eine das Stück von der Brust und der andere das vom Halse, jener bevorzugt den Kopf oder die Schwanzflosse, manchem sagen andere Teile mehr zu. Dieses Gerede jedoch entstammt einem ungezügelten Übermut und jedermanns Freude über das reiche Geschenk findet in dergleichen unüberlegten Wünschen lauten Ausdruck. In Wirklichkeit ließen sich so viele Sonderforderungen nicht berücksichtigen, ebensowenig ist der Verteiler verpflichtet, ihnen zu entsprechen. Trotz der vielen Worte, die vorher gemacht worden sind, nimmt jeder zufrieden ein beliebiges Stück, das ihm überlassen wird, entgegen, einerlei, ob er sich früher hierfür oder dafür ausgesprochen hatte. Ehrgefühl und Zwang zur Selbstbeherrschung würden es jedem im Herzen verbieten, laute Forderungen nach bevorzugten Teilen zu stellen oder sich unzufrieden über das zugewiesene Stück zu äußern. Da ich außerstande bin, es persönlich nachzuprüfen, muß ich den Aussagen der Indianer trauen, daß einige Speckschichten schmackhafter seien als andere; allgemein gilt die ganze Bauchdecke als das beste Stück.

Für die einzelnen größeren Körperflächen des Wals jedweder Art gibt es besondere Namen. Die Lippen heißen *kúyua*. An sie schließen sich nach unten *téluix* zwischen den Unterkieferknochen und nach oben *tálu* als mittlerer Kopfteil an. Rechts und links davon sind die beiden Backen *čítčika*. An Kinnbackengegend und unteren Hals *ydyar-ŭr* stößt *mámaja*, die meist gefurchte Brust- und Bauchfläche an. Die Flächen unterhalb der Backen sind sehr reich an Fett und werden *ŭpêlŭr*[1] genannt. Nach rückwärts geht *tálu* in *tayuêla*, den vorderen Mittelrücken über, der sich

in *hēllēn*, auch *hēllēlēž* genannt, fortsetzt. Seitlich hiervon finden sich rechts und links die *ápi*-Flächen. Zwischen diesen und dem *mámaja*-Bezirk liegen beiderseitig die *hágiya mámaja*, die eigentlichen Seiten des Wales über den verkümmerten Hinterflossen; vor diesen, zu den Backen hin, die *ēnēll* oder *ēnēn*. Der ganze rückwärtige verjüngte Teil heißt *yēlápi*, der in die breite Schwanzflosse *lēpul* auslauft. Das Paar der vorderen Seitenflossen heißt *hágiti*. Die Benennung dieser Flächen erfolgt im Hinblick auf die Speckschicht, weil von jedem gestrandeten Wal zunächst der Speck heruntergeholt wird. Eine Ausnahme macht man beim Schnabelwal *ēlyix* (Ziphius spec?), dessen Fett stark abführend wirkt. Wenn man nachher das freigelegte Fleisch, das unmittelbar unter der Fettschicht beginnt, bezeichnen will, wählt man teilweise jene Namen mit dem Nachworte *ilkun* (Fleisch); somit ist *ápi ilkun* das Fleisch in der Bauchdecke. Außerdem gibt es eine besondere Benennung für das Fleisch auf dem ganzen oberen und unteren Hinterteil, nämlich *uskápur*[1]. Die Fleischteile am Oberkiefer bis weit nach rückwärts heißen *yáyar-ēr*, die Zunge *lēyki* und die Eingeweide *hēlawa*. Für das Fleisch, das eng zwischen und an den Knochen sitzt, hat man die Sonderbezeichnung *hlta*,[*] und für das Fettgewebe in den Körperhöhlen *apēla*. Aus der hohen Bedeutung, die ein gestrandeter Wal für eine ganze Volksgruppe besitzt, erklärt es sich, daß man genaue Benennungen für die einzelnen Körperflächen und Körperteile geschaffen hat. Sogar für die Stelle, auf die ein Wal hingeworfen wird, gebraucht man das eigene Wort *ufkáriteka*. Der gleichen Wortwurzel entstammt *tuufkáritekána*, das BD: 451 mit „to send (as God does) supplies of whale meat" übersetzt.

Leicht ersichtlich ist, was die durch einzelne Männer durchgeführte Verteilung bezweckt: Nichts mehr und nichts weniger als die bestmögliche Verwertung des ganzen großen Tieres. Kein Teil soll verloren gehen oder beschmutzt und zertreten werden. Dergleichen Verwüstungen wären ja unausbleiblich dann gegeben, wenn jedermann unbehindert an den Wal herantreten und rücksichtslos für sich selber bestimmte Teile herausschneiden dürfte. Bei einem geordneten Verteilen werden die Sonderwünsche der Anwesenden tunlichst berücksichtigt, jeder erhält überreichlich und der ganze Vorrat wird verwertet. Demnach halten sich alle Leute genau an den bestehenden Brauch und lassen die jeweiligen Verteiler allein ihres Amtes walten. Trotzdem macht sich zuweilen die Selbstsucht breit, aus der heraus eine Gruppe sich bemüht, das Stranden eines Wales vor anderen zu verbergen, und sollten sich diese dennoch nähern, ihnen den Zutritt zum toten Seeungeheuer zu verwehren. Sofort beginnt ein Streit und der schwächere Teil muß die Beute dem andern überlassen.[**] Dergleichen Ereignisse

[*] Abweichend hiervon gibt BD: 260 einen anderen Sinn: „Old and much wasted blubber as found on shores after being long in the sea."

[**] Über ernste Zusammenstöße bei einem gestrandeten Wale läßt Bumers (a): 208 keinen Zweifel bestehen: „As long as a party can safely keep a whale to themselves they take care not to spread the news... But great fights sometimes happen through the

sind selten, weil ein treibender toter Wal in weitem Umkreise angekündigt wird und somit viele Leute sogar aus der Ferne herbeieilen, denen gegenüber jene, die ihn zuerst in Empfang nehmen, immer in der Minderzahl sind.

Man möchte es kaum für möglich halten, aber schließlich ist auch ein Wal keine unerschöpfliche Quelle von Speck und Fleisch. Wenn über dieses Seeungeheuer zwanzig Familien — meist ist es jedoch die doppelte und vierfache Zahl — herfallen, die im Übermaß essen und große Fettmassen im Moor aufbewahren, so verringert sich der Vorrat merklich schnell. Zuweilen entfernen sich viele Leute nach etwa einer Woche, übersättigt der einförmigen Ernährung, und machen anderen Platz. Die Ankömmlinge stürzen sich mit Heißhunger auf den Rest, der um so rascher sich verkleinert, je zahlreicher sie selber sind. Länger als einen Monat hielt wohl nie ein Wal an, mochte er auch, wie *haiqudpiss* (Balaenoptera intermedia), der Art mit den größten Tieren angehören und ein *kupatmfrana*, ein außergewöhnlich großes Stück sein. Früher oder später lag das Skelett ziemlich sauber von allem Fleisch und Fett befreit da, das man zu weiterer Reinigung dem Regen und den Wellen überließ.

Aus eigener Anschauung berichtet Lewis vom 9. Oktober 1871 über einen anscheinend todesmatten kleinen Wal,[221] der am 13. September nahe der Küste mühelos getötet worden war. „The process of dissection was carried on with such a zest, that by eleven a. M. the same day not a vestige of flesh or bone remained on the spot, save the liver, not eaten as a rule by the natives. Our poor fellows jumped into the almost freezing water nearly up to their armpits, and applied themselves as I had never previously seen them do; a fire was soon made on the spot, some strips of blubber frizzled thereon, and eaten with a gusto. Canoes from all directions soon made their appearance, and a sorry time of it had our poor fellows, for whilst a bit of whale remained to be obtained by coaxing, importunity, or bullying, not a woman would stir to get a mussel. The little wood adjacent became the midnight resort of wandering spirits, who turned up all suspicious-looking places in the little stream, often alighting upon some cautiously concealed blubber, much to the loss and sorrow of the owners who had deposited it there for safety, and preservation from corruption" (MM: IV, 34; 1872). Hieraus ersieht man eine regsame Allgemeinbeschäftigung der um das Seeungeheuer versammelten Leute; denn es liefert den Stoff zu vielen nützlichen Dingen.

Bis in die neueste Zeit hinein bildete jeder gestrandete Wal einen starken Anziehungspunkt für alle Eingeborenen. Williams schrieb am 19. Juli 1902 (MM: XXXVI, 277): „A little time ago a whale was found on the beach in Cunna-voosh, and as soon as the news reached Tekeulka about thirty left for

selfishness of a party. For the news must spread abroad, and then a rush of people happens, they are disappointed by coming too late, and should those who hoarded up the blubber, not part it out, there is a fight, canoes are broken, and this brings on a general engagement." Das aber sind, wie gesagt, sehr seltene Erscheinungen.

[221] „It was a whale, very young, about seventeen feet in length."

a feast. Most of them returned in seven or eight days." Seitdem ist nicht mehr bekannt geworden, daß ein toter oder kranker Wal im Gebiete der Yamana gestrandet sei, welchen empfindlichen Ausfall diese bitter beklagen.

Sehr unterschiedlich von alledem geht ein Mann vor, der gelegentlich eine große Robbe erlegt und verteilt. Wer vom Jagdglück begünstigt wurde, schafft die Beute ganz zu seiner Hütte. Hier zieht er sofort das Fell ab (S. 412). Ist es ein besonders großes Tier, vielleicht eine Bärenrobbe *tápēra* (Arctocephalus australis) oder eine Elephantenrobbe *hóllepema* (Macrorhinus leoninus), dann ruft er gewöhnlich zwei andere Männer herbei und sagt ihnen: „Hier ist die Robbe, verteilt sie unter uns alle!" Mit diesen Worten übergibt er gleichsam der Gemeinschaft aller zufällig anwesenden Familien den frischen Tierkörper und verzichtet auf sein persönliches Verfügungsrecht. Jene Männer zerschneiden die Beute in mehrere große Stücke, je nach Anzahl der Hütten und schicken sie ab. Der Jäger wird kaum bevorzugt; trotzdem zeigt er sich genau wie jeder andere mit dem zufrieden, was ihm zufällt. Gesellschaftliche Rücksichten auf die Allgemeinheit haben diese Gewohnheit, die an späterer Stelle dieses Buches begründet werden soll, geschaffen.

Obwohl sie nur eine moralische Verpflichtung in sich schließt, kann sich ihrer kaum jemand auf die Dauer entziehen. Sie erstreckt sich gleichfalls auf Dinge geringeren Umfanges. Einen kleinen Seelöwen beispielsweise, sei es dem (Otaria jubata) oder *lēkpéma* (Otaria falklandica), schleppt der erfolgreiche Jäger vor seine eigene Hütte und zerlegt ihn selber in mehrere Stücke. Jetzt ist es Aufgabe seiner Frau, damit andere Familien zu bedenken. Sie zählt die Nachbarinnen, die neben ihr wohnen, und trägt einer jeden ein gutes Stück Fleisch zu, selbst wenn ihr selber für die eigene Familie nur so viel übrig bliebe, als jede andere von ihr erhält. Zuweilen steht sie sogar mit leeren Händen da, wenn viele erwarten, von ihr beschenkt zu werden. Minderwertige Teile weggegeben oder auffällig viel für sich zurückzubehalten, würde eine Frau in den ärgen Verdacht der Selbst[illegible] bringen. Ein Guanaco hat, wie es scheint, früher jeder Jäger ganz zur H[illegible]hracht und erst hier zerlegt; die Verteilung der einzelnen Stücke übe[illegible] seine Frau.[illegible]

Diese Pflicht, andere an den eigenen Erfolge[illegible]nehmen zu lassen, gilt schließlich auch für das, was Frauen und Mädchen [illegible]sammelt haben. Bringen sie in ihren Körbchen Pilze und Beeren, Muscheln und Schnecken, Krabben und Fische heim, beschenken sie unverzüglich alle Frauen; wer mehrere Seevögel oder Vogeleier erreicht hat, verteilt sie gleichmäßig. Niemand behält demnach für sich allein alles das, was er erbeutet oder gesammelt hat, und der unterschiedslos geltenden Verpflichtung bemüht sich jeder nachzukommen. Die Stücke, die zur Verteilung gelangen, werden nach bestimmten Regeln, die später zu besprechen sind, an die benachbarten Familien abgegeben.

[illegible] Alboin Agwmaia: 270 berichtet: „Wer so glücklich ist, ein Guanaco zu erlegen, und Verwandten und Freunden bestimmte Teile abgeben, was auch mit dem besten Willen stets geschieht." Gesagt muß es heißen, daß unterschiedslos die zufällig anwesenden Nachbarn mit einem unerheblichen Stück Fleisch bedacht werden.

3. Wie sie die Nahrung zubereiten

In gleicher Weise wie die benachbarten Selk'nam (Bd. I, 296) sind auch unsere Yamana ausschließlich Fleischessen;[555] dasbesagt, wie Hyades (d): 306 sich ausdrückt, „l'alimentation est exclusivement animale". Allerlei Behinderungen gestatten es ihnen jedoch nicht, auf die Herrichtung ihrer Speisen besondere Mühe und viel Zeit zu verwenden. Die Einfachheit, auf die ihr gesamter Wirtschaftsbetrieb eingestellt ist, spiegelt sich unverfälscht in der Art ihrer Ernährung und in der Zubereitung ihrer Speisen wieder.

Ebensowenig wie ein anderes Naturvolk auf der weiten Welt den Großteil seiner Nahrung im rohen Zustande verzehrt, tun dies die Feuerländer. Erwiesene Tatsache ist es, daß sie in ihren alltäglichen Verhältnissen jeden Bissen gebraten bezw. geröstet oder gekocht zu sich nehmen, sehr wenige Dinge ausgenommen. Viele Beobachter bestätigen dies einstimmig. Vollen Vertrauen verdienen Bridges' (e): 332 Behauptungen: „Die Yahgans essen kein rohes Fleisch, weder Geflügel noch Fische, sondern kochen [braten!] all ihr Fleisch auf dem Feuer"; und in (h): 205: „No comen carne ni pescados crudos." Hyades (f): 544 hat wiederholt betont, daß „tous ces aliments ne sont mangés qu'après avoir subi un commencement de cuisson dans la cendre ou sur les tisons", und (h): 1345, daß „les aliments sont de préférence mangés cuits et à demi grillés". Gewisse Einschränkungen, wie die von Despaus (b): 686, daß „all food, but limpets, is roasted", sind richtig zu deuten, und zwar hier in dem Sinne, daß nur Fleisch am offenen Feuer geröstet wird, hingegen Muscheln und Schnecken in der Asche der Hitze ausgesetzt werden.

Weiters wird in diesen allgemeinen Behauptungen vorausgesetzt, daß die Indianer beim Herrichten ihrer Speisen durch ungewöhnliche Umstände nicht behindert sind. Eine Familie, die ohne Feuer auf einem kleinen Eilande zufällig abgesperrt wurde, muß selbstverständlich, um nicht Hungers zu sterben, das Fleisch von Vögeln und Schalentieren roh hinunterschlucken. Doch das sind Notzustände, die bereits Fitz-Roy (a): 184 folgendermaßen gekennzeichnet hat: „When there is time, the natives roast their shell-fish, and half-roast any other food that is of a solid nature; but when in haste, they eat fish, as well as meat, in a raw state." Zur Bekräftigung dient schließlich das Zeugnis des Katechisten Lawrence: „During the whole twenty years in which I have known them I have never seen or heard of a Fuegian eating even a piece of raw meat or uncooked mussel. The latter shellfish is the staff of life with them, but they always cook them, and never eat raw meat. Their food is grilled on the embers or baked in the ashes of the fire" (MM: XII, 248; 1878).[556] Hiermit allein schon ergibt sich die Bedeutung des Feuers, das jede Familie auch im Kanu während ihrer meist langen Fahrten dauernd unterhält (S. 395).

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[555] Das bereits angedeutet, nach Hyades (q): 338: „Nous ne les avons jamais vus faire des repas composés uniquement d'aliments végétaux."

[556] Gegenüber den vielen bestimmten Aussagen gewissenhafter Beobachter verlieren ungenaue Worte, wie Lovenzo (b): 151 und Ovtes (g): 52 sie gebraucht haben, gänzlich ihre Zuverlässigkeit.

Mit der bloßen Einwirkung von Hitze und Feuer auf die Nahrungsmittel findet man sich ab; sie besser zu behandeln ist deshalb unmöglich, weil Töpfe und Gefäße fehlen. Eigentliches Kochen gibt es nicht.[222] Gleichzeitig verbietet sich die Verwendung von Gewürzen und Zutaten; gäbe man diese trotzdem bei, würden sie sich im Feuer verlieren. Mit HYADES (p): 328 kann ich nur wiederholen, daß „on ne connaît aucune substance enivrante, narcotique ou excitante". Die einzige Schmackhaftigkeit, die ein Bissen gewährt, besitzt er eben von Natur aus.

Hat der Indianer eine Robbe erjagt und ihr das Fell abgezogen, zerlegt er den Körper in so viele größere Teile, als er Nachbarn beschenken muß (S. 580). Sitzt er irgendwo für sich allein, hebt er die äußere Fettschicht vorerst ab und hängt den Tierkörper an einem hohen Aste auf. Nur so viel Fleisch, als jeder eben essen will, schneidet er sich herunter. Der Fleischlappen, den man fast niemals vorher wäscht, wird auf glimmende Holzkohlen gelegt, die keine Flamme geben und gleichmäßig glühen. Da verbrennt das Fleisch nicht sogleich. Mit einem Stocken legt man es in kurzen Zwischenräumen auf die andere Seite, bis es in etwa gar ist. Weniger Säfte gehen verloren und die Behandlung durch Hitze fällt gleichmäßiger aus, wenn man nahe der Glut einen kurzen Stecken in die Erde stößt, der am oberen Ende in eine Spitze auslläuft; in diese preßt man den Fleischlappen ein, daß er wie eine schlaffe, kleine Fahne herunterhängt. Wurde die eine Seite von der Hitze lange genug beeinflußt, dreht man mit den Fingern das Stück um. In kurzen Zeitabschnitten wiederholt man die Wendungen, bis auch die innersten Schichten weich geworden sind. Sollte viel Fett abtropfen, legt man eine Muschelschale unter, in der es sich sammelt. Auf gleiche Weise wird das Fleisch vom Wal und Guanaco gebraten; denn es läßt sich bequem in gleichmäßig dicke Lappen schneiden, nachdem man die Knochen herausgeschält hat.

Falls die Indianerin einen soeben getöteten Vogel vor sich liegen hat, öffnet sie ihm zuerst durch einen Längsschnitt mit der Muschelschale die Brust- und Bauchhöhle und reißt mit einigen kräftigen Griffen alle Eingeweide heraus. Diese überläßt sie restlos den Hunden. Vereinzelt nur spült sie die von Blut erfüllte Körperhöhle mit Wasser aus. Durch einen Querschnitt trennt sie den Kopf weit oben ab. Nun rupft sie dem Tiere die größeren Federn aus, indem sie mit der ganzen Hand einen Federbusch auf einmal packt und unter starkem Ruck löst. Die letzten Glieder der Flügel und Beine bricht sie in den Gelenken aus. Mit den kurzen und feinen Federn verliert sie keine Zeit, sondern hält den Tierkörper ganz nahe an die Flamme, wo sie versengt werden. Die angekohlten Restteilchen kratzt und schabt sie mit einer Muschelschale ab. Ein Pinguin, der eine sehr dicke Fleischschicht über dem Brustbein

[222] Sollte jemand zufällig etwas wärmes Wasser benötigen, füllt er eine große Valuta-Schneckenschale an, stellt sie in die Asche und legt einige Steinchen, die er im Feuer erhitzt hat, mit der Feuerzange hinein. Dabei kommt das Wasser selbstverständlich niemals zum Verdampfen. Dieses Vorgehen würde sich also zum Kochen von fleischlichen oder pflanzlichen Stoffen nicht eignen.

trägt, wird in einige unregelmäßige Teile zerschnitten oder zerrissen; man legt sie zum Braten auf die Glut oder spießt sie auf senkrechte Stäbchen neben dem Feuer. Den Körper einer Schnecke, die trockenes und zähes Fleisch besitzt, behandelt man zwar auch auf gleiche Weise, meist aber anders. Die Körperhöhle füllt man nämlich mit erhitzten faustgroßen und kleineren Steinen an und legt das ganze Tier auf eine schwache Glut. Von außen und innen wirkt die Hitze langsam, aber gleichmäßig.

Bevor Fische am Feuer gebracht werden, öffnet die Indianerin mit einer Muschelschale oder mit einem kräftigen Biß ihrer Zähne den Bauch, nimmt mit ihren Fingern das Tier aus und schabt mit einer Muschelschale die kaputtähnlichsten Schuppen herunter. Sogleich häufelt sie nahe der Glut eine dicke Schicht heißer Asche auf, in die sie den Fisch tief einbettet; hierauf legt sie noch einzelne glimmende Holzkohlenstückchen oben darauf. In dieser Umhüllung bäckt der Fisch langsam und gleichmäßig. Wenn die Indianerin ihn nachher herausholt, kratzt sie sorgfältiger als zuvor die letzten Schuppen und alle Aschenteile herunter. Dem von Hyades (c): 142 erwähnten Brauch, daß „poisson et gibier est à demi grillé sur le feu et est servi d'eau claire, comme toute boisson", habe ich beobachtet. Nur eine einzige Indianerin gab mir als Erklärung, er bläche dadurch das Fleisch schmackhafter. Die kleinen Fischchen aus den Heringsschwärmen fällt ließ man meist in der heißen Asche backen. Zuweilen bereitete man sich einen Lockerbissen nach der Art, die Lovisato (b): 142 richtig schildert: „Talvolta qualche pescialino viene cotto sul grasso di otaria o in quello pestifero di putride balena, dentro una valva di mitilo posta al fuoco, collocandovi dentro la valva stessa o quindi sopra il pescialino dei ciottolini arrovventati." Zwar nimmt diese Zubereitung etwas mehr Zeit in Anspruch, doch sie wird dann von den Leuten gewählt, wenn alle sich durch die reichen Fischmassen auf Tage hinaus von der Nahrungssorge befreit wissen.

Genau so wie Fische werden auch Vogeleier zusammenbacken in heiße Asche gelegt. Zumindest ein kleines Löchlein, meistens zwei, bohrt man vorher in die Schale, daß sie bei ungleicher Erhitzung nicht platzt. Öfters wendet man das Ei in der heißen Asche, läßt es aber so lange darin, bis der Inhalt ganz hart geworden ist. Weder halbgekochte noch viel weniger rohe Eier würde ein Yamana zu sich nehmen.[*] BD: 68 bringt vorzubrüten, to cook eggs as the natives do, with great care, in the ashes or embers.

Im Haushalt der Yamana spielt der Speck von den Seesäugetieren eine unerläßliche Rolle und ist sehr begehrt.[**] Die Schicht des Fettgewebes, das als dicke Lage sich unmittelbar unter der Haut findet, wird mit Muschel-

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[*] Dieserzufolge hat Lovisato dies erklärt: „Even eggs are invariably cooked (in the ashes of the fire). I remember Mr. Lovisato once asking an Indian woman at Ushuaia to find and bring her some wild goose eggs, and to her surprise the woman brought them already cooked" (MM: XXIV, 84; 1898).

[**] Ob Ihnen man, wie bei Bonacina (a): 213, folgendes Hierzu: „Whale-blubber is the most highly esteemed dish, and they soon get very fat on it."

erhalten als lange Lappen abgetragen und über Baumäste gehangen. Nach Bedarf holt man sie herab. Sie werden mit Vorliebe zwischen zwei heißen Steinen gebettet, weil sie dann am schmackhaftesten ausfallen. Ein größerer, flacher Stein, der vorher im Feuer stark erhitzt wird, liegt unbeweglich der Erde auf, nahe dem Feuer; erscheint auch der zweite, kleinere flache Stein heiß genug, wird ein dünner Fettlappen auf ersteren gelegt und mit diesem bedeckt. Man nennt sie *hapétup*. Nach mehreren Minuten bereits ist das Stück äußerlich gebräunt und gut durchgebraten. Kurz sei eingefügt, daß das Fleisch vom Wal immer auf diese gleiche Art zubereitet wird, zuweilen auch das von Robben und Guanacos; denn hierbei tropft das Fett weder gänzlich aus noch verbrennt die Oberfläche. Wünscht jemand einen mürben Speckbraten, hängt man einen Fettlappen an einem kleinen, in die Erde gerammten Stäbchen nahe dem Feuer auf und setzt ihn der strahlenden Hitze aus. Viel Fett tropft ab, das in flachen Muschelschalen von Mytilus, zuweilen im großen Gehäuse der Rellaschnecke (Voluta) aufgefangen wird; und das stark zusammengeschrumpfte Gewebe schmeichelt dem Gaumen des Feinschmeckers. Das zerronnene Fett kann sammelt man in Darmstücken vom Seelöwen.

Für späteren Gebrauch zerschneidet man das Fettgewebe in fingerlange, kurze Streifen und füllt damit ein Darmstück auf. Während man es zwischen den Fingern knetet oder der Hitze nahe dem Feuer und in heißer Asche zuwendet, zerfließt das Fett. Das Darmstück hat man vorher umgedreht, daß die Innenwand nach außen kommt, gereinigt, an einem Ende zugebunden, mit Luft aufgeblasen und am andern Ende durch Schnenfasern geschlossen; erst wenn es trocken ist, nimmt man es in Gebrauch und füllt es, statt mit Luft, jetzt mit Speckstückchen oder zugleich mit flüssigem Tran auf und bindet es mit Schnenfasern wieder zu. Der größeren Sicherheit halber hat man, nach Art von Wurstspeilen, an einem Ende ein kurzes, dünnes Stäbchen durchgesteckt, vor dem man die Fäden herumwickelt, damit sie nicht zurutschen; das tut man, nachdem der Inhalt eingefüllt ist, gleichfalls am anderen Ende. Dergleichen Tranwürste *yéjyi* lassen sich leicht handhaben und man hängt sie in der Hütte frei an Fäden auf. Häufig füllt man sie auch mit dem Speck der Robben. Zuweilen sammelt man eine größere Tranmenge im Magen eines Seelöwen.

Eine andere Art von W u r s t, genannt *kéti*, stellt man aus dem Blute her, das sich in der Bauchhöhle des frischgeschlachteten Seelöwen und Guanaco sammelt. Man füllt es in ein weiches, noch nicht getrocknetes Darmstück, das, wie vorher gesagt, verschnürt wird, und legt es in heiße Asche. Damit es nicht platzt, sticht man mit einem spitzen Hölzchen kleine Löchlein während des Bratens ein. Weiters sammelt man Herz, Lunge, Leber, die zerstückelten Magenwände, Blut und Fettgewebe von einer Scharbe oder einer Wildgans, stopft all diese Teilchen in die Spülmöhre des gleichen Vogels, knetet sie von außen mit den Fingern gut durch und läßt sie in heißer Asche braten.

Getrocknete kurze Darmstücke haben die Frauen immer vorrätig, um die häufige Gelegenheit, Tran zu sammeln, nicht zu verpassen; auch bewahren

sie die große und feste Spinnröhre vom dikdal (Tachyeres cinereus) auf, die man aufgeblasen vorher trocknen ließ. Gerade diese Hülle man gern mit Tran auf, weil man sie leicht erwerben kann und weil sie weiter ist als die Spinnröhre von anderen Vögeln.

Bekanntlich machen die Miesmuscheln den Hauptbestandteil der Nahrung unserer Feuerländer aus.[*] Andere Muscheln und Schnecken, die in weit geringerer Menge sich dort finden, ißt man auch.[**] Die Zubereitung der doppelschaligen Muscheln ist ein Dünsten und Kochen zugleich. Reißt die Indianerin die Muschel unter Wasser los, schließt diese fast ihre beiden Schalen; das tut sie auch dann, wenn sie durch die Ebbe freigelegt wird. In ihrem Innern, damit ihre Atmungsorgane nicht eintrocknen, hält sie einige Tropfen Seewasser zurück. Wird sie in die Feuerglut gelegt, schließen sich dünnen diese Tritpfeiler und werden schließlich so Dampf; bis die erhitzte Dampfspannung den Verschluß der Schalen sprengt, ist das Fleisch weichgekocht. Dank der geringen Salzmenge, mit der es durchtränkt ist, besitzt es einen wirklichen Wohlgeschmack. Schnecken und Krebse, auch andere niedere Tiere, wie Chitonen yékér', werden in heißer Asche gebraten; sie sind daher trockener und bei weitem nicht so schmackhaft wie die *kwaf* und *kpélja*.

Damit schließt die Liste der Nahrungsmittel, die der Feuerländer auf besondere Art zubereitet. Fast ähnlich entstammen sie dem Meere oder dem Ufer. Bove (d): 291 behauptet demnach mit vollem Rechte: „Il mare fornisce il principale alimento dei Fueguini. Pesci, patelle, granchi, lontre, uccelli acquatici, insomma quanto il mare produce, formano parte della loro dieta."[**] Aus dem Pflanzenreiche sind es allein die *Pjlco* der Gattung Cyttaria, die wenigstens eine besondere Zubereitung erfahren, die man aber trocknet, indem man sie auf Stöckchen spießt, zu einer Kette aufreiht und in die Nähe des Feuers bringt. Pilze, die man im Winter sammelt und die ganz eingefroren sind, legt man ans Feuer, damit sie auftauen. Die Wurzeln der Selleria (Apium australe) werden in heißer Asche gebraten. Nur wenige Dinge ißt man roh (S. 167).

4. Wie sie essen

Die ganze Art, wie unsere Feuerländer sich beim Essen benehmen, wirkt auf jeden Europäer abstoßend. Sie deshalb zu verurteilen wäre ungerecht, da ihnen viele Bequemlichkeiten, die uns in gesteigerten Verhältnissen selbstverständlich sind, völlig abgehen. Immerhin lassen auch sie sich von bestimmten Regeln beim Essen leiten, mitweilig tragen sie eine außerordentliche Selbstbeherrschung zur Schau, endlich greifen sie durchaus nicht wahllos zu allem und jedem, bloß um ihren Heißhunger zu stillen oder ihren Magen zu füllen.

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[*] Cook berichtet Banner' Urteil zu Recht: „Mussels are to the Fuegians what bread is to the Englishmen — the staff of life all the year round" (BM): I, 56; 1773). Demselben Vergleich hatte bereits M'Cormick: I, 315 gebraucht: „Limpets [are] their favorite food, and, as bread is with us, their staff of life."

[**] Bove (f): 162 bestätigt: „Ce qui constitue l'article en quelque sorte permanent de l'alimentation indigène, ce sont les mollusques."

Die allgemeinen Bestimmungen ist soll bemerkenswert, daß sie nicht und sondern bei der Nahrungsmittel und beim Essen bewußt wählerisch vorgehen. Als weiteres Kriterium dient Essen die größere oder geringere Schmackhaftigkeit. Dementsprechend ziehen sie den einen Tier dem anderen vor, geben einem Stücke gegenüber einem anderen den gleichen Tieren dem Vorzug und schätzen mehr das junge Tier als das alte der ähnlichen Art. Sie jagen weder die Kühner noch die Eulen, weil beide zu wenig und zu mageres Fleisch besitzen. Die Fischerinnen ignorieren Hunde oder einer Ratte, deshalb wird sie verachtet und niemand wagt es, sie zu essen. Alle Sumpfvögel und Möwen werden genau so wie die Tagraubvögel[illegible] ausschließgewissen, weil sie sich von Tierleichen und faulendem Fleische nähren. Unter dieser Rücksicht sind ihnen Fuchs und Ratte verboten, ungenießbar[illegible] widerlich, sowohl die schwarze phlegmatische wie auch die grosse Ratte abhängenden (S. 24). Wählen sie bei großer Hungersnot nach Fuchs oder Fischotter[illegible] greifen, können sie unterwerfen den scharfen, schlechten Geschmack des Fleisches abgesehen vom Speck und Fleisch der Wildkatze, nehmen die Tamarin faulenden oder durch Schimmel verdorbenen Fleisch nicht in den Mund.[illegible] Aus der gesamten Tierordnung wird der Stärkel Sherche (Bubonax ensiculus) am meisten geschätzt und zwar wegen seines schmackhaften Fleisches; hingegen rühmt man den Schnabelwal *Ilyix* (Globicen spec?) nicht an, weil sein Fett abführend wirkt. Frza-Rov (a): 185 meldet dazu, daß „the flesh of a dead whale was consumed", doch die Leber vom Wal wird abgeleitet. Das Fett vom großen Schwertwal *Ipilitl* (Orcinus orca) gilt als giftig und wird allein aus diesem Grunde von niemandem angerührt.

Auf Muschelin und Schnecken *Ilyiplit* sind unsere Eingeborenen das ganze Jahr hindurch angewiesen und sie wissen es sehr wohl, daß diese Tiere nicht zu jeder Jahreszeit gleichmäßig schmackhaft sind. Gewissenhaft scheiden sie aus jedem Hinsichten, das sie gesammelt haben, jene Stücke aus, die weniger gut oder gar schlechte sind. Nach ihrer Aussage ist das Fleisch der großen Rollschnecke *Ililli* (Voluta) vom gewissen Standorten ihrem Gehirn schädlich, man wird davon schwindlig und verliert beim Gehen das Gleichgewicht. Wer

[illegible] (a): [illegible] erzählt: "Some Sawmen suffer bitter headaches, and they say it is because of their propensity to eat the dead sea, which rots, held in the greatest detestation." Stearns (f): 562 unterscheidet: „Ze wound ..... s'ion mangé que lorsqu'ils sont gonflés par la faim", und in (h): 21 sagt er, daß dem Kattun gegenüber „les indigènes sont très profondément heureux." Als Grund nennt Stearns (h): 186, „que même certaines espèces les endurent heureusement." Das verursacht ihn zu dem nachfolgenden Schlusse: „Mais toutes heureuses que et cela puisse décrire toutes les contrariétés, que ce les faits hordes de ces anthropophages." Dem stimmen Martial: 193 und Gaussin: 138 wörtlich bei, ebenso Wassermann: 27.

[illegible] Frza-Rov (a): 184 sagt, daß „the entire is refused, excepting the body part, which they cultivate and endure hard pressed by hunger."

[illegible] Dieser Bedingungen. Frza-Rov (a): 184, und Lamarche (b): 142 bestimmt sich der fast gleichlautende Wortes, daß „they eat any thing and every thing that is eatable, without being particular as to the state of freshness, or as to the having been near the fire". Jedoch ist diese allgemeine Wendung unzulässig.

nach dem Genuß der genannten Schnecke diese Wirkungen beobachtet, entfernt sich von der ungünstigen Stelle und warnt die anderen Leute. Diese Schneckenart wie auch wenige andere kleinere legt man regelmäßig erst ins Feuer, dann reißt man den fleischigen Fuß heraus, der allein gegessen wird, und wirft die anhaftenden Weichteile weg. Merkwürdigerweise verschmähen die Yamana das zarte Fleisch der Messerscheidenmuschel (Solen), deren regelmäßig geformte Schalen ihnen als Messer und Schaber dienen. Einige Grün- und Braunalgen, die weiße Anisoller dort gern verzehren, weisen unsere Eingeborenen grundsätzlich ab.

Nicht alles und jedes, was den Europäern mundet und von ihnen den Feuerländern angeboten wurde, nahmen diese entgegen. Sehr entschieden haben sie vieles bis heutigentage abgelehnt, z. B. Kuchenteig. Für andere Dinge, z. B. für Wein und sonstige alkoholische Getränke, haben sie sich erst später entschieden. Nicht also allein der Geschmack bestimmt sie, nach diesem und jenem zu greifen; jeweils bewähren sie sich darüber hinaus eine unbeeinflußbare Wahlfreiheit.

Teilweise kommt diese auch im unterschiedlichen Vorgehen beim A u f r i c h t e n der einzelnen Nahrungsmittel zum Durchbruch. Vor allem darf das Fleisch nie so lange braten, daß es ganz trocken und hart wird; wenn die inneren Teile noch rötlich gefärbt sind, ist ihnen der Braten am meisten bekömmlich. Aufmerksam versorgen sie sich bei jeder Gelegenheit mit den beliebten Tranbräten (S. 324), da sie Tran, kaum nicht lange entbehren wollen. Weil ihnen Gemüse und Gewürze abgehen, bringen sie eben durch den flüssigen Tran etwas Abwechslung in ihre Nahrung. Dabei spielt wohl auch das große Bedürfnis nach Fett in jenem feuchten, kalten Gegenden eine wichtige Rolle. Wer Beeren der Pernettya mucronata oder die trockenen Cyttaria-Pilze essen will, gießt Tran vom Wal oder Seelöwen in eine größere Mytilus-Schale und taucht erst jene Stücke ein, bevor er sie zum Munde führt. Nach der gleichen Anweisung ißt er bestimmte Muscheln oder Fleischstücke von Vögeln, wenn das Fleisch trocken und zäh ist. Die getrockneten Cyttaria-Pilze läßt man im Tran zuweilen länger aufweichen. Die kleinen Eiern und auch andere Fische, nachdem sie in Asche gebacken wurden, taucht man vor dem Essen abermals in flüssigen Tran. Auf etwas bessere, umständlichere Art ihre Nahrung zubereiten, fehlt es unseren Feuerländern am Notwendigsten, nach allen Richtungen hin sind sie beengt und behindert.

Abgesehen von erster Notlage sind es nur wenige Dinge, die von ihnen regelmäßig in r o h e m Z u s t a n d e genossen werden. Das sind die Beeren, vor allem die der Pernettya mucronata, und ähnliche Pilze, die meist, wie yéfial, ein lockeres Fleisch besitzen. Gern pflückt man die große Cyttaria Darwinii von den Buchenästen, wenn sie noch eine glatte Oberfläche hat, ihr Gewebe ist jetzt sehr elastisch und angenehm zu kauen; alte und trockene Stücke weicht man kurz vor dem Essen in Tran auf. Die sogenannten „Zungen" *dpay*, die eigentlichen Geschlechtsorgane der See-Igel *ákil* (Echinus) holt man mit den Fingern aus dem aufgebrochenen Kalkgehäuse hervor

und steckt sie englisch in den Mund; auch trinkt man die mitfolgende Flüssigkeit der Gekochten aus. Der reichliche Jodgehalt jener Teile regt den Geschmack an, weswegen die Indianer oft darauch greifen.[illegible] Selbstverständlich genießen sie das alles unmittelbar nachdem diese Tiere aus dem Meere herausgeholt worden sind. Das weiche Fleisch der *Fissurella fugax* (im Westfälischen: *ambulax*) und der *Patella aquadra* preßt man mit leichtem Fingerdruck aus der Kalkschale heraus und ißt es ohne Zubereitung, bisweilen nur tunkt man den kleinen Fleischbrocken in Robbenöl. Manche Personen findet den rohen Speck vom jungen Wal schmackhaft. Außer den sehr unbedeutenden hier genannten Dingen setzt jeder Yamana seine Nahrung regelmäßig erst dem Feuer oder dem fast gleichen Einfluß der kalten Asche aus.[illegible]

Obwohl der Feuerländer buchstäblich von der Hand in den Mund lebt und sich zuweilen in sehr Notlage sieht, bringt er immer noch eine erstaunliche Selbstbeherrschung beim Essen auf, die ihm zuweilen durch gewisse Regeln aufgezwungen wird. Erinnert sei an die Verpflichtung, das heimgebrachte Bootstück zu verteilen und davon die Nachbarsleute teilnehmen zu lassen (S. 580). Ferner steht nicht jedweder Einzelperson der Zutritt zu einem gestrandeten Wal offen, sondern sie gibt sich mit jenen Stücken zufrieden, die ihr von den erwähnten Verteilern überlassen werden (S. 576). Endlich sind einige ausdrückliche Speiseverbote bei gewissen Anlässen in Geltung, die jedermann achtet. Ein von Ypálay ausgegebenes Gesetz bestimmt, daß Beeren — es kommen eigentlich nur die der Pernettya mucronata in Frage — nicht vorzeitig eingesammelt werden dürfen und daß man sie so lange am Strauche belassen muß, bis alte Männer erklären, sie sind reif. Sollten einige Leute günstige Plätze entdecken, an denen sich viele Beeren finden, warnen sie ihre Freunde und Nachbarn: „An jener Stelle gibt es viele *aendjin*; aber wartet noch die Zeit ab, bis sie reif sind!" Sollten trotzdem einige Frauen und Kinder jene Stelle aufsuchen und die Beeren pflücken, treffen spätere Besucher die Sträucher leer an und sagen: „*aendja ogólo*, die Beeren sind weggegangen!" Dadurch will man ausdrücken, daß sich die Beeren, aus Rache und Sühne für jene unerlaubte Tat, selber entfernt hätten; denn da man die Übeltäter nicht kennt, tatsächlich aber die Sträucher ohne Früchte dastehen, gibt man dem geneuen Vergehen eine abergläubische Deu-

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[illegible] Martial: 192 berichtet: „L'homme ceint leur mets de guirlandes et se mange tranquille, 'même quand ils n'a plus faim', mais étant mêlé [illegible], qui montrait valeureusement [illegible] à [illegible]." Engegren der von Hyades (I): 544 wiedergegebenen Ansicht ist wiederholt, daß die genannten Teile von Ser-kpéi immer roh gegessen werden. — Bekanntlich gelten die Zungen der Ser-kpéi in Argentinien und Chile als Delikatessen und werden mit allerlei Saucen verzehrend roh verspeist.

[illegible] Hyades: 76 wiederholt ein Wort von Bonnier: „I have never seen or heard of the Yahgans eating any kind of meat or fish raw except certain kinds of limpets." Vielleicht schon hatte Bonnier (a): I, 245 vorsichtiger: „Their common way of cooking is to put everything into the ashes until sufficiently done for their taste, or until their hunger could allow them to wait no longer." Alle spätesten Beobachter, z. B. Hyades (p): 338, erklären für diese allgemeine Regel ein.

tung. Dann soll verhindern, daß Barren oder vor Ihrer Reife gepflückt werden. Gewisse Zeiten sind vom ersten Gewohnheitsrechte freigegeben, in denen nur wenig Nahrung oder unschädlich bestimmte Dinge genutzt sind; so bei der Jugendweihe, bei der ersten Menstruation, nach der Niederkunft usw. Mit gewissenhaftem Ernst richtet sich durchgehends jedermann dort danach.

Zu wirklicher Unmäßigkeit im Essen läßt sich selten vor jemand hinreißen. Wer überaßt und hastig ißt, wird als Mensch beurteilen, was nichts weniger als abscheulich ist. Jeder soll schnlich beim Essen sich so weit beherrschen, daß andere das immer als mäßig und langsam beurteilen. Beobachtenswert geringsamer Zurückhaltung wird oder gelobt.[xxx] Sind mehrere Leute beisammen, schauen sie sich gegenseitig auf die Finger: Wer viel, als andere er am liebsten gar nicht essen, macht den besten Eindruck. Vor Fehlern dieser Art wird im engeren Kreise der Familie angeschlossen einer ignorierdenen Weise unschicklich gewarnt; denn jetzt besteht die große Gefahr, daß bei dieser gierigen Gelegenheit sich jemand so weit gehen läßt. Wahrscheinlich liegt darin auch eine unbewußte Warnung vor Schädigung der eigenen Gesundheit. Nachweislich verträgt der menschliche Magen die überreichliche Fettmenge nicht, die ihm plötzlich angeboten wird; etwas Gewöhnung ist auch hierbei nötig.[xxxi] Noch von einer anderen Seite drohte Gefahr. Den Wahnsinn hält man für um so schwerkhaftiger, je länger das Tier tot im Wasser gelegen hat; er auffällig dann schon von selber und heilt in diesem Zustande allgemeiß. Nicht selten versucht der Gesell quick verdächtigen Speisen und Pflanzen eventuelle Vergiftung, wie die Missionare wiederholt berichtet haben.

Bezeichnenderweise liegt von Lowanna folgende Schilderung vom 21. März 1887 (MM. XXI, 173; 1887) vor: „A canoe brought [nach Uaiamiri] the sad intelligence of several Yahgans and One Indian being poisoned from eating fish ....[xxxii] The melancholy disaster having taken place among the natives was engaged by Mr. Bennett upon the farm [in Puerto Harberton]." Unerhörte[xxxiii] begab sich Lowanna persönlich. „We found the people still suffering from the effects of poison. Nineteen men, women and children (One and Yahgans) had died during the past week, the others were slowly recovering." Lowanna sah die traurigen Lage jener Leute. „Arriving at the place, we found their scattered about; three men and several children were lying in a very weak state; two of the former were unconscious most of the time ... We went a little further and found the lifeless body of a man who had apparently died

[xxx] Fallweise hat Bennett (ib.) 400 erwähnt, daß die Yamana „hohe Gleichmut in gewissen, in dieser Language das Wort für gentleman ist 'mallaiaia'".

[xxxi] Bennett (MM. 12, 15; 1872) hat am 26. April 1871 dem Stellvertreter widgeanen Familien beobachtet: „The natives have suffered much temporary pain from eating the whale, and I hear that this is usual at first, but passes off with the continued use of whale-meat." Dies gestattet Gewöhnung bei dauernde Verwendung für eine reguläre Nahrung bei entsprechenden Speisepreis.

[xxxii] Aus dem Angeführten weiter unten wird ersichtlich, daß die Wut gemeint ist.

[xxxiii] Spätere hat Lowanna (ib.) 186 die Bahn, an der jener Wut entgegenlaufen war, gemeint als den Nachbarn in der Bahia Cambaceres bestimmt.

about two days before.... Near the body of the man we found in different places five dogs which had died from the same cause. We also found in another place part of the body of another man, the rest having been destroyed by two dogs.... I will now give a few particulars of the circumstances. About a fortnight ago a canoe arrived at Dore-ram, and brought the report that a small whale had been found in Pitcairn Island. They went over to Mr. Bennett' boat, and found parts of it, lying on the beach, which they brought back, and having some doubt about its quality, at first hesitated to eat it, but afterwards were persuaded by the One saying they had eaten such before. All who were there having taken a little, felt very unwell on the morrow, and gradually became worse, and in a few days those whom we suppose had eaten more died, others recovered.... [Others] suppose it to have been a sword fish [see Dampier, 5. 37]. It was about seven feet long. I have also been informed that of late years they have not made use of such, having previously understood it was injurious."

Die Bethlehem Vorfall, bald darauf, scheint nicht [illegible] Verwirrung und Besorgnis schreibt darüber am 24. Dezember 1828 (MSS XXXII, 98 [illegible]): „Numbers of the people were suddenly seized down with blood-poisoning through eating certain fish/Fish.[illegible] The sufferers were in a terrible state — men, women and children lying about as helpless as infants, unable to keep anything on their stomachs on account of their disordered conditions. Two old dotards, fully persuaded and dressed in their fashions (otherwise naked), went from room to room, and would now and again pause in their performance of rubbing and yelling at their patients. I administered emetics and other medicines and gave much relief. Most of the cases yielded to steady treatment, but in three families fever followed. Death followed in one case only." Der Gefahr einer Vergiftung waren die Tuamotu dennoch gelegentlich ausgesetzt, wenn sie verdächtige den Speck von großen Seekuguarinen, nicht nur von Walen, verzehrten, auch von Robben allen, obwohl dieselben schon Magnus Zeit tot waren.[illegible] Augenleiden jener großen Tiere scheint die strenge Inkubationsverordnung, an der unsere Indianer unter anderen Bedingungen fähig sind, sie unerkannt zu verhüten.

Jedoch Reisenden hatten sich die Mühlige und langsamen Gelegenheit, die Beschwerden beim Essen zu beobachten. Es wird sicher wenigen sie selbst. Nicht beachtet der einzelne beim Essen und warten, bis der Brich Fleisch in der Glut oder Asche gar ist. Wir einen Bilbiskiten hält er an Bernen, Milk an auf Bedeuten oder Reinigungsrights, die Bernenfingen, einen sich Bien und Milk an sich

[illegible] Wal gemeint.

[illegible] Dezember 1828 (MSS [illegible]): „Three natives died suddenly on islands and birds that have died of themselves, and to this fact is owing much of the mortality among them. Two Tuamotu canoes three-days since came across a dead seal. He brought it here, made a general distribution, and on the second day it had all been eaten. It made the people sadly desperately. It was very bad." [illegible] Tuamotu [illegible] Vogel.

[illegible] Dämonen [illegible] Zauberer [illegible] Schlafe [illegible] Wunder [illegible] Wunderschlafer [illegible] Wunder [illegible] Wunderschlafer [illegible] Wunder [illegible] Wunderschlafer

als auch im Gehäuse der Rollschnecke (Voluta) oder auf einem Schulterblattknochen von Robben; man trinkt ihn sofort oder sammelt ihn in einem Darmstück. Doch ist es nicht üblich, flüssigen Tran eigens zu erwärmen. Nicht oft genug kann man betonen, daß die Yamana täglich flüssigen Tran *kun* wiederholt, doch jedesmal in kleinen Mengen, etwa einen Mundvoll, genießen.[276]

Das Essen wickelt sich wegen der andauernden Schlürfens und Schmatzens reichlich geräuschvoll ab. Speisereste verbrennt man sofort im nahen Feuer oder wirft sie den herumlungernden, sich herandrängenden, dreist aufdringlichen Hunden hin. Während der Indianer ißt, verhält er sich sehr schweigsam und widmet alle Aufmerksamkeit nur seiner Beschäftigung; dadurch erweckt er den Eindruck von Heißhunger. Beim Gehen ißt er fast nie —, es sei denn, daß es sich um einige eben abgepflückte Beeren oder Pilze handelt, die er sofort zum Munde führt. Zum Essen hockt er sich regelmäßig auf den Erdboden in der Nähe eines Feuers.

Das Tagewerk des Feuerländers ist vom wechselreichen Wetter abhängig, was besagt, daß für keine einzige Beschäftigung eine bestimmte Stunde vorgesehen ist. Ebensowenig gibt es festliegende Mahlzeiten. Das Gewohnheitsmäßige bei Ausnützung des Tages bringt es mit sich, daß jedermann reichlich am Morgen und am Spätnachmittag ißt, also vor der Ausfahrt und bald nach der Landung seines Kanus.[277] Doch soll damit nicht in Abrede gestellt werden, daß gelegentlich jemand auch zu anderer Stunde sich voll sättigt, ob er nun in seiner Hütte hockt oder im Kanu sitzt; denn jeder ißt, wann er Verlangen und Lust verspürt. Die Feuerländer essen häufig bei Tage und zuweilen sogar des Nachts.[278] Offensichtlich ist alles, was sie zu sich nehmen, nahrhaft und ergiebig. Doch kann man nicht leugnen, daß bei ausschließlicher Fleischkost größere Mengen vom Körper geferdert werden, als bei einer mit reichlichen Kohlehydraten vermischten Kost. Außerdem muß man in Erwägung ziehen, daß das feuchte, kalte Klima um so mehr zehrt, als diese Eingeborenen nur mangelhaft bekleidet sind und oft ganz durchnäßt werden. Diese Umstände begründen es, daß sie öfters während des Tages aus leichtem Hungergefühl essen.[279] Keineswegs sind es nur einige Bissen, die sich jeder wiederholt zuführt; fast jedesmal ist es eine ansehnliche Menge, so daß die Gesamtleistung eines einzigen Tages erstaunlich groß ausfällt. Jeder Beobachter wird Spegazzini's (a): 171 Worte unterschreiben: „Estos pueblos no tienen hora fija para comer; comen todo el dia, comen cuando y lo que se les da la gana, y según he visto comen muchísimo." Flüssigen Tran *kun* allerdings, wie gesagt, nehmen sie jedesmal nur in kleinen Mengen und um so häufiger;

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[276] Sogar einem Franzen: 102 fiel es auf, daß „they drink this; like Scot's Emulsion."

[277] In diesem Sinne stimmen Hyades': (p): 328 Worte: „Il y a deux principaux repas, dont l'un le matin, quelques heures après le réveil, et l'autre le soir, avant de dormir."

[278] Fitz-Roy (a): 185 bestätigt, daß „two or three times in the course of a night they wake to eat and drink. In the day-time also they eat and drink very *frequently*."

[279] In "La Nature": 311 liest man: „Les Fuégiens sont obligés d'en [aliments] absorber une grande quantité, et, même après un repas très abondant ils ont encore faim."

immerhin leert dieser Mann oder jene Frau auch eine etwa 10 cm lange Tranwurst in einem einzigen Zuge.[272] Besucher bringen sie gern als Geschenk mit.

Abgesehen von morgens und abends beginnt jeder eben dann zu essen, wann es ihm paßt. So ist es allgemein üblich. Mehr fühlt sich jemand angeregt, wenn er einen anderen kauen sieht und gesellt sich ihm zu. Vieler Umstände bedarf es nie. Man greift in den Korb mit Muscheln hinein oder reißt ein Stück Fleisch von einem Seelöwen oder Vogel ab, die vor der Hütte an einem Buchenaste hängen, und legt es auf die Glut. Jedermann bedient sich selber und was in der Hütte vorrätig ist, steht allen unterschiedslos frei zur Verfügung.[273] Mit vollster Selbstverständlichkeit benimmt sich ein jeder, als ob es für seine Nachbarn keine Störung bedeute, wenn er nachts ans Feuer heranrückt und hier seiner Eßbegierde unbehindert nachgibt. Als einzige Regel, die allgemein beobachtet wird, gilt, daß man sich am Morgen, bevor man den ersten Bissen ergreift, den Mund mit kaltem Wasser ausspült und es wieder ausspritzt. Damit nehmen es die meisten Leute genauer als mit der täglichen Morgenwaschung. Während die einzelnen Stücke im Feuer braten, beobachtet sie jeder aufmerksam, wendet sie öfters und steigert dabei sein Gelüst. Er prüft sie tastend mit den Fingern oder sticht mit spitzen Stöckchen hinein und verschiebt dauernd die glimmenden Kohlen oder häufelt die heiße Asche höher auf. Eine besondere Freude ist es ihm, auf solche Art sich zu unterhalten, bis er sich ganz dem Genuß überlassen kann. Sind sie gar und recht lecker ausgefallen, schnalzt er vor Vergnügen und läßt es seine Umgebung hören, in welcher Schlemmerwonne er schwelgt. Während der Fahrt im Kanu muß jeder Insasse an das kleine Feuer vorsichtig heranrücken und räumt den Platz wieder, wenn ein anderer sich etwas braten will. Die Frau, der das Rudern obliegt, muß regelmäßig stundenlang die Nahrung entbehren; dafür entschädigt sie sich später auf dem Strande. Wenn die Umstände dazu zwingen — meist ist es das schlechte Wetter —, hält jeder mühelos geraume Zeit ohne Nahrung aus; anderseits, wenn er vor reichliche Fülle hingestellt wird, vermag er schier unübersehbare Mengen zu vertilgen. Ebenso schnell wie einer zunimmt und volle Formen bekommt, magert er auch ab; am deutlichsten kann man dergleichen Änderungen innerhalb weniger Tage bei Kindern verfolgen. Die Gesundheit leidet darunter anscheinend nicht.[274]

Schließlich geht aus gewissen Gewohnheiten hervor, daß sich der Feuerländer beim Essen von bestimmten Regeln leiten läßt. Mit arg bechmutztem Fleische beispielsweise bemüht er sich nicht, sondern wirft es kurzerhand weg. Was ein Hund angefressen hat, überläßt er ärgerlich ihm.

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[272] Hyades (f): 564 erwähnt: „Ils consomment beaucoup de même l'huile de foie de morse, mais toujours par petites quantités à la fois."

[273] Die Worte Hyades' (p): 228, daß „les femmes et les enfants mangent avec les hommes", bezogen nicht.

[274] Über das Verhältnis von Ernährungsweise und Körpergröße im Feuerland hat Lovisato (c): 302 einige Vermutungen ausgesprochen, für die er nur unzureichende Beobachtungen beibringt und die vor den wirklichen Tatsachen nicht bestehen können.

Faulende Fleischstücke entfernt er möglichst weit von seiner Hütte, während er gegen zerfließendem Speck oder schimmlige Häute gefühllos zu sein scheint. Sein Geruchsinn ist unbestreitbar arg abgestumpft und niemals führt er einen Bissen von zweifelhaftem Zustande erst an die Nase; was in Fäulnis übergegangen ist, muß mächtig stinken, ehe er es beiseite schiebt. Reinlich ist sein Essen und sein Benehmen dabei wirklich nicht. Trotzdem verrät sich der eine mehr, der andere weniger als ein gelüstiges Leckermaul. Er kennt die schmackhafteren Stücke und die saftigeren Bissen, nach denen er tunlichst greift; zartes Fleisch junger Tiere ist ihm ein Gaumenkitzel und die höchste Wonne schafft ihm der braungeschmorte Speck eines schon länger gestrandeten Wales. Vieles beweist überzeugend, daß eines Feuerländers Geschmack keineswegs gefühllos oder abgestumpft ist, so gleichförmig alles, was er genießt, offensichtlich durch den reichlichen Tran abgestimmt wird.

5. Wie sie Lebensmittel aufbewahren

Die unstete Lebensweise und der ununterbrochene Wohnungswechsel der Yamana gestatten es nicht, ansehnliche Vorräte anzulegen. Ohne Einschränkung gilt der allgemeine Satz von Hyades (d): 306: „On ne fait aucune provision pour l'avenir", weil eben eigentliche Versorge für die nächste oder entfernte Zukunft nicht angestrebt wird. Ausschlaggebend dürfte sein, daß Nahrungsstoffe in jener rücksichtslosen Ungunst der Witterungsverhältnisse sich nicht erhalten lassen; denn, um sie schadlos aufzubewahren, müßte man umständliche Vorbereitungen treffen. All das macht sich überflüssig, weil das Meer während des ganzen Jahres mit fast uneingeschränkter Freigebigkeit allerhand Tiere dem jagenden Manne und der sammelnden Frau zur Verfügung stellt. Von diesen Dingen wird eine Familie höchstens einige Tage durch Sturm oder Unfall ferngehalten, für gewöhnlich braucht niemand mit Hungersgefahr zu rechnen und jedermann findet fast überall reichlich das, was er benötigt.[301] Wenn also sollte sich jemand für die Zukunft noch Nahrungssorgen machen![302]

Trotzdem wird der Überfluß, den ein gestrandeter Wal den Leuten bietet, regelrecht aufbewahrt. Dies geschieht allein unter der Rücksicht, daß man die ungeheuren Speck- und Fleischmengen nicht der Verwesung anheimfallen lassen will und daß man sich auch etwas später noch den Hochgenuß, den gebratener Walspeck bietet, zu verschaffen wünscht. Völlig verfehlt wäre es, in diesem Bestreben eine ausdrückliche Vorsorge zu sehen;

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[301] Viel besagt Bridges' (h): 205 kurzes Wort: „For to general el alimento abunda."

[302] Hyades (g): 34 schreibt: „Das Wunderbarste an den Feuerländern ist, daß sie niemals an eine Fürsorge für den nächsten Tag denken. Und doch ist der Winter strong genug und die Zeiten sind gar nicht selten, in denen der Feuerländer weder auf die Jagd, noch auf den Fischfang ausziehen und auch nicht einmal Muscheln an den von der Brandung gepeitschten Klippen ablesen kann." Offensichtlich übertreibt er die Gefahren für Not und Hunger, denen diese Eingeborenen am Kap Hoorn ausgesetzt wären.

denn ist das gestrandete Tier jung und die Zahl der herbeigeeilten Leute ungewöhnlich groß, wird aller Speck und alles Fleisch innerhalb mehrerer Tage verzehrt, höchstens daß diese oder jene Familie einige Stücke noch etwas länger mit sich herumschleppt. Das allein also, was die einzelnen Familien nicht mehr neben dem Wal verzehren können und wollen, wird aufbewahrt; denn nur eine Zeitlang ist der ausschließliche Genuß von Speck und Fleisch dieses Tieres dem menschlichen Körper bekömmlich.

Die meisten schleppen ganze Kanuladungen in ihr eigentliches Heimatgebiet. Hier legen sie die großen Stücke in ein Moor, das regen Abfluß hat, gut gesichert zwischen Torf- und Wurzelgeflecht und in gewisser Tiefe; das dunkelbraune Wasser schließt Licht und Luft ab. Um jedem Auftrieb vorzubeugen, werden sie mit flachen Steinen oder Holzklötzen beschwert; gleichzeitig will man diese Stücke gegen Füchse und Hunde schützen. Zweifelsohne sind es die reichlichen gelösten Salze, die konservierend wirken, auch die Tanninsäure dürfte mithelfen. Die eingelegten Stücke sind niemals so dick, um nicht vollständig durchtränkt oder gepökelt zu werden. Daß daraus eine Geschmacksverbesserung folgt, ist leicht einzusehen. Mit Recht rühmen die Eingeborenen die Vorzüge des konservierten Speckes, mag er auch einige Monate im Moor gelegen haben.[803] Gelegentlich, wenn es der Zufall so mit sich bringt, kehrt die Familie an die Stelle zurück, wo sie den Walspeck verwahrt hat; wohl niemals ist es der Hunger, der sie treibt. Um die Stücke, die inzwischen meist etwas eingesunken sind, sicher aufzufinden, bedient man sich eines Steckens, mit dem man im braunen Wasser herumwühlt; stößt man auf eine weiche, nachgiebige Masse, ist man am Ziele.[804] Die oberflächliche Schicht des Specklappens, die sich meist stark gebräunt hat, wird vor dem Braten entfernt.[805] Sollte der Geruch für eine Europäernase noch so lästig sein, den Yamana in seinem Genuß stört er nicht.[806]

Gänzlich bedeutungslos jenen Speckmengen gegenüber, die einzelne Familien im Moor verwahren, ist das Trocknen von reifen Cyttaria-Pilzen *ayáfit*. Man reiht sie erst auf Stöckchen aneinander und trocknet sie in der strahlenden Hitze des Feuers.[807] Um sie leichter in Körbchen und Ledertaschen unterzubringen, zieht man sie von jenen Stöckchen wieder herunter und be-

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[803] Fred Lawrence fand an einem Stück, das anderthalb Jahre im Moor gelegen hatte, noch guten Geschmack. Für lange Zeit wissen unsere Indianer ihre Konserven darin gesichert. „They hoard up the blubber for months by burying it in mud under a run of fresh water", erklärte Bridges (a): 202. Vgl. Dabbene (b): 186, Wheeler: 35 u. a.

[804] BD: 249 verzeichnet gaistonaha: to search for, feel or seek for with the end of a stick as for blubber buried in mud.

[805] Martial: 193 schildert in gleicher Weise, wie der überschüssige Speck vom gestrandeten Wal aufbewahrt wird.

[806] Martial's: 198 Worte enthalten keine Übertreibung: „Parfois l'animal est dans un état avancé de décomposition et répand une odeur insupportable, sans qu'il en résulte aucun dégoût pour eux."

[807] Auch Bridges (MM: VII, 120; 1873) versichert, daß „this fungus is very generally then cured, and eaten some months after it has been out of season." Vgl. Hyades (q): 249.

läßt sie frei oder vereinigt sie auf einigen biegsamen Binsenstengeln (Marsippospermum) zu einem Kranze. Da sie ganz hart gebacken sind, widerstehen sie lange der Luftfeuchtigkeit. Bevor man sie ißt, weicht man sie in flüssigem Tran auf (S. 587). Doch nur als Leckerei, nicht aus Fürsorge hebt die Frau für die letzten Winterwochen einige fünfzig bis sechzig dieser getrockneten Pilze auf; weil fast das ganze Jahr hindurch die frischen Stücke dieser Art gepflückt werden können und weil niemand sich lange damit beschweren will.

Unsere Feuerländer wissen sich grundsätzlich außer Gefahr für die Zukunft, deshalb häufen sie gar keine Vorräte auf. Sorglos können sie den folgenden Tag erwarten, jahraus, jahrein. Trotz aller Einförmigkeit der Lebensmittel steht ihnen jederzeit eine ausgiebige Menge zur Verfügung. Gleichzeitig damit ist manche Abwechslung und Anregung für den Gaumen gewährleistet; denn jedermann hat unbehinderten Zutritt zu allem und jedem, was Mutter Natur aus ihrem Tier- und Pflanzenreiche zu bieten imstande ist.[222]

G. Die Muschelhaufen

Im ganzen Gebiete der Yamana gibt es hügelförmige Anhäufungen von Muschelschalen in verschiedener Höhe und seitlicher Ausdehnung. Belanglos ist es, sie als wirkliche Kjökkenmöddinger auszugeben oder nicht; ob sie den Anspruch erheben können, archäologische Fundplätze zu sein,[223] mag dahingestellt bleiben. Von wirklichem Sachwert ist eine genaue Beschreibung der Anlage dieser Muschelhügel selber und all jener Gebrauchsgegenstände, die sie in ihren verschiedenen Schichten bergen. Daraus erhellt unzweideutig, daß die damalige Lebensform, soweit sie aus jenen Siedlungen erkannt werden kann, im allgemeinen und im besonderen mit der neuzeitlichen übereinstimmt und daß die Menschen von damals und heute dem gleichen Volke angehören.

1. Ihre Anlage

In diese Beschreibung werden nicht nur die wenigen sehr mächtigen Muschelhaufen einbezogen, die sich an einzelnen Stellen aufgebaut haben, sondern auch die unbedeutenden Siedlungsplätze, die noch im letzten Jahr-

[222] Nur in diesem Sinne ist das, was Hyades (p): 328 sagt, zu deuten, daß „il n'y a pas d'aliments privilégiés."

Um den Wert der Nahrung nach Vitaminsgehalt kurz zu kennzeichnen, möchte ich daran erinnern, daß die A-Vitamine, die sog. antixerophthalmischen, reichlich im Lebertran vertreten sind. Tran weist bekanntlich den weitaus größten Gehalt an A-Vitaminen auf, nämlich dreihundertmal so viel als Butterfett, und daneben enthält er noch eine Menge von antirachitischen, also D-Vitaminen. Mehrere tierische Gewebe liefern die antiskorbutischen oder C-Vitamine, sowie die antineuritischen oder B-Vitamine.

[223] Dieses Begriff würde Courtz: 218 lieber vermeiden; denn „it may be a little inaccurate to use this heading archaeology in the case of the meager remains obtained from Fuegia graves and middens". Die nordamerikanischen Beobachter gebrauchen in etwa wahllos die Bezeichnungen "Conchales" und "Kjökkenmöddinger".

sehnt benützt worden sind. Daß auf ihnen bis in die Gegenwart hinein die Indianerfamilien ihre Hütten aufbauen, deutet bestimmt und klar auf die Gleichheit der Lebensgewohnheiten von einst und jetzt hin (Abb. 70).

Sehr leicht ist es für jeden Reisenden festzustellen, daß Muschelhaufen sich in allen Teilen des Kap Hoorn-Archipels finden. Allerdings lassen sie einige Unterschiede erkennen. Allgemein erreichen sie im Westen nicht jene Mächtigkeit und Ausdehnung, die sie im Osten aufweisen, und zwar aus leicht ersichtlichen Gründen. Die Ufer im Westen sind, abgesehen von kleineren und größeren Buchten, zwar nicht immer sehr hoch, aber durch-

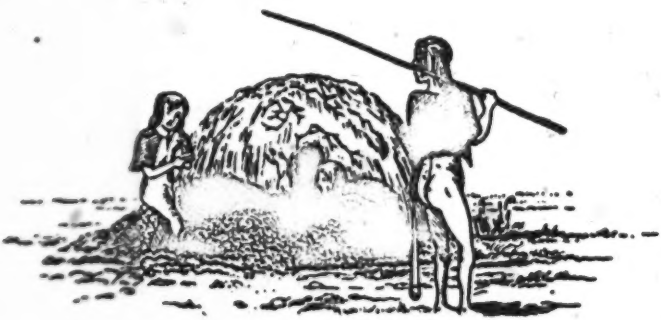

Abb. 70. Älteste Darstellung eines Muschelhaufens

gehends steil. Demnach konnten die Indianer nur an Stellen mit sehr niedrigem, flachem und meist schmalem Uferrande ihre Hütte aufbauen. Was sie an Überresten zurückließen, wurde von den zeitweiligen Hochfluten weggeschwemmt; nachher zeigte der Kiesboden kaum einige Spuren davon, daß kurz zuvor eine oder mehrere Familien hier gelagert hatten. In Buchten mit aufsteigendem und breitem Ufer fehlen auch im Westen, wie ich selbst verschiedenerorts gesehen habe, Anhäufungen von Speiseresten zwar nicht ganz; in ihrer Ausdehnung indes sind sie durch die enggestellten, steil emporragenden Felswände behindert. Weil sie zuweilen an letztere eng heranrücken, ergießt sich über sie mit der Länge der Zeit eine dicke Schicht von abgeschwemmtem Erdreich, das der Regen heruntergespült; manche von ihnen sind damit ganz zugedeckt. Nur dem aufmerksamen Beobachter fallen sie auf. Im Gegensatz hierzu besitzt die Osthälfte des Kap Hoorn-Archipels viele und breite Uferflächen. Was hier an Abfällen sich aufgehäuft und angesammelt hat, ist fast restlos liegen geblieben und gibt, wegen seiner Masse, dem heutigen Besucher zu denken. Daß bei Bildung der Muschelhaufen im Westen und im Osten ein kleiner Unterschied in der Ernährungsweise mitbeteiligt war, wird bald zur Sprache kommen.

Von vornherein ist nicht zu erwarten, daß jene Abfälle ohne Unterbrechung der ganzen Uferlinie entlang laufen; man trifft sie nämlich nur

stellenweise an. Weiteres ist offensichtlich, daß an geschützten Plätzen, je größere Sicherheit und Ruhe sie für eine Wohnhütte bieten, ganze Hügel sich gebildet haben, während auf offenem Ufer zwar breite, aber nur niedrige Lager zustandegekommen sind. Die Güte des Platzes allein war es, die mehr oder weniger anzog und die viele oder wenige Familien zur Siedlung einlud, keinesfalls allein die größere Menge von Muscheln, die da oder dort vorhanden ist.[500] Nicht allein an dem Fleck nämlich, wo heute die vielen Abfälle liegen, sind auch die Muscheln selbst gesammelt worden; man brachte sowohl viele dorthin mit, wo man die Hütte aufzurichten plante, und man entfernte sich auch oft weit von ihr auf Suche nach Muscheln, wenn man am gleichen Fleck noch länger verweilen wollte. Jene durch ihre Lage begünstigten Buchten und Schlupfwinkel galten und gelten noch heutigentags vielen Familien als Lieblingsplätze. Hierher kamen sie nicht nur öfter zurück, sondern blieben hier auch längere Zeit als anderswo. Dort war man vor der Gewalt der Winde sicher und fand auch einen flachen Uferrand, auf den das Kanu heraufgezogen wurde; außerdem war Brennholz und Trinkwasser leicht erreichbar. Das Maß der Vorteile füllte sich, wenn der vorgelagerte Meeresboden seicht war und den gelegentlichen Fischfang bedeutend erleichterte.

Ein unter jeder Rücksicht vorteilhafter Platz waren die Ufer der Bahía Harberton und ihrer nächsten Umgebung. Einige mächtige Haufen finden sich auf Isla Gable und der gegenüberliegenden Tierra Mayor, zwei andere in Puerto Róbalo, die an Mächtigkeit weit von denen in Puerto Mejillones übertroffen werden. Von geringerer Ausdehnung als die letztgenannten sind jene, die ich auf Isla Picton, in Puerto Ross, in Puerto Piedra, in Wulaia, an der Mündung des Rio Douglas und in der Bucht von Ushuaia sah.

Erklärt sich aus alledem die verschiedengradige Ausgestaltung der Muschelhaufen *kuaimára* nach Länge und Höhe, so sind sie nach ihrer Anlage völlig gleich. Alle bilden niedrige, sanftansteigende, mehr oder weniger langgezogene Hügelchen. An denen, die nahe zur Wasserlinie herangerückt sind, erscheint die Seite zum Ufer hin bisweilen viel steiler als die zum Inland hin. Einer Erklärung für diese Form bedarf es nicht. Alle Muschelhügel bauten sich schichtenweise ansteigend auf und damit verbreiterte sich unausweichlich die jeweils tieferliegende Schicht. Genau wie in den ersten Anfängen, um mich so auszudrücken, die einzelnen Wohnhütten eng nebeneinander gestellt wurden, so auch später; daher die Ausdehnung jedes einzelnen Hügels in die Breite, die um so enger umgrenzt wurde, je höher er selber anwuchs. Auf der Höhe sieht man heute in kurzen Abständen flache, ringförmige Vertiefungen von den Maßverhältnissen, die der Grundriß einer Wohnhütte zeigt. Aus diesem Ringe führt eine deutliche, getretene Wegspur zur Trinkwasserquelle

[500] Lorenzer (b): 178 bestätigt, daß die Abfallhaufen „are found in sheltered places, where there is a beach for landing, help off-shore for mooring canoes, and where water and firewood are readily available." Vgl. auch die geographische Verteilung der Muschelhaufen in Fenlong (c): 189. Vignati (c): 85 hat auf einer besonderen Karte die "Conchales" bei Ushuaia und an der Ostküste der Isla Grande eingetragen.

in irgendwelcher Richtung oder an das Meeresufer, wo man leicht die Stelle erkennt, an der die Kanus aufgezogen und sicher gelagert worden sind.

Je weiter sich ein Muschelhügel hinzieht und je mehr er hier oder dort sich seitlich verbreitert, um so größer ist die Z a h l der Siedlungsplätze für Einzelfamilien. Stellenweise hat sich die Grundrißform gut erhalten, meist sind die Ränder abgeflacht und damit ist die mittlere seichte Vertiefung weniger erkennbar, vereinzelt wird letztere durch üppigen Graswuchs, der sie ausfüllt, scharf und deutlich umgrenzt.[291] Die ersten genaueren Beschreibungen sind FURLONG (r): 178 zu danken; er hat den „approximate plan of

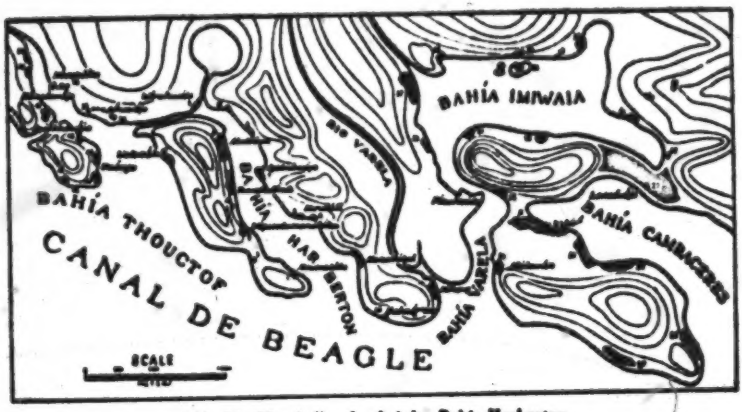

Abb. 71. Muschelhaufen bei der Bahía Harberton

Woolyia on Navarin Island" gezeichnet, in welchen die einzelnen Siedlungsplätze deutlich eingetragen wurden. Die am leichtesten erreichbaren Muschelhügel hat LOTMOR (b): 184 genau untersucht. Beispielsweise zählte er im ganzen Gebiet der Bahía Harberton 52 Lagerstellen mit insgesamt 1215 Plätzen für Familienhütten — von den letzteren 367 allein in der Bahía Cambaceres (Abb. 71) —, in Puerto Mejillones einschließlich Puerto Piedra 7 Lagerstellen mit insgesamt 253 Plätzen für Hütten, in Puerto Róbalo auf jedem der beiden langen Muschelhügel 43 bzw. 56 Grundrisse für Familienhütten. Weil nach wie vor die gesicherten Buchten und geschützten Schlupfwinkel immer noch aufgesucht werden, stellen die heute lebenden Yamana das Gerüst der Wohnung genau in jenen Vertiefungen auf, in denen sich viele Geschlechter vorher eingerichtet hatten; sie tragen ihrerseits immer noch dazu bei, daß die Masse der Muschelhaufen sich vermehrt.

Außer jenen Muschelhügeln, die ihre Form gut erhalten haben, gibt es

[291] Nach LOTMOR (b): 179, „the surfaces of the middens reveal on top a series of pits which represent house-sites. These pits are from ten to fifteen feet in diameter, anywhere up to six feet deep, and are circular in outline."

solche, die durch regen Verkehr der Europäer und durch das Herumtrampeln von Kühen, Schafen und Pferden mehr oder weniger geebnet worden sind. Deutlich erkennt man diesen Befund an der Mündung des Rio Douglas und stellenweise in Puerto Mejillones; demnach war hier früher die Zahl der Wohnungsplätze höher, als die eben genannte. Was dortselbst Tiere und Menschen bewirkt haben, hat an anderen Stellen, die dem Winde schutzlos preisgegeben sind, die unbelebte Natur erreicht; ich verweise auf manche Strecken zwischen Ushuaia und Punta Remolino. Hier erscheinen die vielen Muschelschalen nach allen Richtungen auseinander gestreut, mit viel Flugsand vermischt und jetzt eine gleichmäßige Schicht bildend, als ob all die vielen Stücke niemals zu einer hügelförmigen Erhebung zusammengerafft worden wären und als solche gewisse Zeit bestanden hätten.

Nun befremdet es nicht mehr, daß die Dicke der Schichten von Ort zu Ort auffällig schwankt. Auf den letztgenannten Strecken geht die sehr gleichmäßige Schicht nur 10 bis 35 cm tief; ein Beweis dafür, daß hier nur wenige Familien, und diese viel seltener als anderswo, sich niedergelassen haben. Hingegen sind andere Stellen sehr oft aufgesucht worden. Beispielsweise haben sich in Puerto Mejillones und in Puerto Róbalo langgezogene Hügelrücken bis zu 4 m Höhe und darüber hinaus aufgebaut. Die Dicke der Muschelhaufen kann man bequem an jenen wenigen Plätzen messen, an denen das Meer einen Seitenteil des Haufens weggewaschen hat (Abb. 72).

Aus diesen immerhin seltenen Erscheinungen hat Lothrop (b): 195 geschlossen, daß der Erdboden sich seit der ersten Besiedlung gesenkt habe. Entgegen dieser durchaus unmaßgeblichen Ansicht steht fest, daß jenes Gebiet postglaziale relative Landhebung erfahren hat.[222] Ob diese Hebung auch in der Gegenwart und seit der Ablagerung der untersten Muschelhaufenschichten noch weiterschreitet, ist für das Feuerland durchaus nicht erwiesen.[223] Möglicherweise spricht dafür die Tatsache, daß mancherorts an offenen und

[222] Selbstverständlich stehen hier die geologisch allerjüngsten postglazialen Niveauschwankungen in Frage. Über diese aber ist leider nur sehr wenig bekannt und langfristige Pegelbeobachtungen sind im Feuerlande nicht unternommen worden. Thore G. Halle (On Quarternary deposits and change of level in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego; "Bulletin Geolog. Inst. Upsala", 1910; tome IX) erwähnt gehobene Strandterrassen auf der Nordseite der Isla Gable in 6 m Höhe über dem Meeresspiegel; auch J. G. Andersson hat dieselben an anderen Orten des Canal de Beagle bei 3,5 m Höhe beobachtet; endlich beschrieb O. Nordenskjöld eine Strandterrasse bei Ushuaia in 10 m Höhe. Sie sind sämtlich postglaziale Erscheinungen und ihr Hebungsbetrag ist sehr gering.

[223] Bei dieser Deutung des Alters der Muschelhaufen am Canal de Beagle halte ich mich an die verläßliche Entscheidung des Herrn Prof. Dr. O. Schmidgen in Kiel, der mir auf meine Bitte in seinem Briefe vom 18. März 1933 auch noch angab: „Bei dem heutigen Stande unserer Kenntnisse kann man also nicht einwandfrei erklären, ob sich die Küste hebt, senkt oder stabil ist. Das Land hat sich postglazial gehoben, diese jungen Hebungen gehen aber sehr langsam vor sich und es bleibt festzustellen, ob die Bewegung in den letzten Jahrhunderten weitergeht oder nicht."

Da ich persönlich genaue Untersuchungen über die Höhenlagerung der von der Wasserlinie weiter entfernten Muschelhaufen im Vergleich zum Wasserspiegel nicht gemacht

flachen Küsten die Muschelhaufen weit von der Wasserlinie abliegen und ein breiter Uferrand sich erst später vorn angesetzt haben dürfte; fehlt es durch zu greifbaren Gründen dafür, daß die Indianer von ehedem ihre Hütte in so weiter Entfernung von der Wasserlinie, in der sich gegenwärtig die Muschelhaufen befinden, aufgebaut hätten. Ob nun jener belanglose Umstand eine Landhebung andeutet oder nicht, eine Landsenkung wird durch nichts bewiesen. Aber an jenen zurückliegenden Stellen ist, zum Vorteil der Forschung, wenigstens die wirkliche Dicke der Muschelschicht eindeutig sichtbar geworden. Daß einige zum Wasser hin gerichtete Seitenwände einzelner Hügel unterwühlt und ausgewaschen worden sind, ist, entgegen der Vermutung Lorenzer's, allein richtig als Tätigkeit von Springfluten zu deuten. Dort hatten sich anfänglich die ersten Ablagerungen nahe der Wasserlinie gebildet und je mehr sie anwuchsen, desto mehr verbreiterten sich die Grundschichten im Verlaufe gewisser Zeit bis fast zu dem Höchststand des Wassers bei Flut.

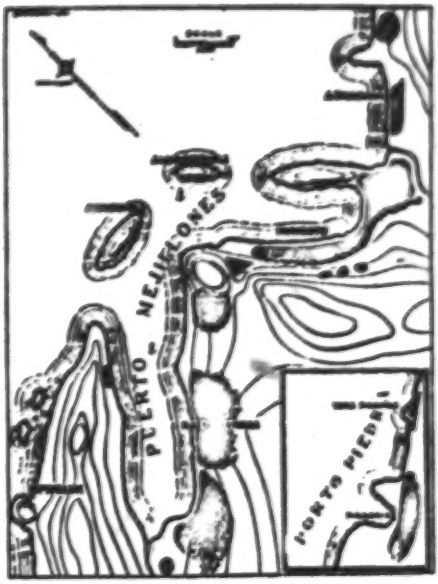

Abb. 72. Muschelhaufen bei P. Mejillones und P. Piedra

An den von den Wellen angeschnittenen Muschelhügeln kann man von der Spitze bis zur Grundfläche ihre Zusammensetzung mit einem Blick überschauen. Schichtenweise liegen die Muschelschalen mit wenig Sand und stellenweise mit Aschenlagen vermischt übereinander. Nahe dem Grunde und auch in etwas höhere Lagen eingeschoben gewahrt man eine dünne Breccia-Schicht von 5 bis 35 cm Dicke. Ihr Entstehen läßt sich aus Pressung durch die darüber aufgebauten Massen allein nicht erklären.[204] Einleuchtender ist

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habe, entscheidet meine Vermutung, daß der oben genannte kleine Umstand möglicherweise für eine Landhebung spricht, diese Frage nicht endgültig. Früher hatte Nordenskjöld (f): 216 die Ansicht ausgesprochen: „Als die Glacialzeit aufhörte, lag das Feuerland nur etwa 60 m niedriger als jetzt. Es hat sich nachher gehoben, aber jetzt scheint die Erhebung unbedeutend zu sein oder gar nicht stattgefunden."

[204] Lorenzer (b): 179 hat sich im gleichen Sinn geäußert, „that the shells have in places solidified into a breccia, which forms a floor a foot or so in thickness. These spots occur

der Hinweis, daß einzelne Lager der Schalen der starken Hitze des Hüttenfeuers ausgesetzt gewesen sind, wobei sie brüchig wurden, und daß später öfters der menschliche Fuß über sie hinweggeschritten ist, der sie noch mehr zerkleinerte. Die nämliche Vertiefung in einer Schalenschicht wurde oft und oft als Feuerstelle[200] benützt, bis auch diese sich mit dem allgemeinen Anwachsen des ganzen Hügels etwas hob. Überall stößt man auf größere und kleinere Steine, die irgendwie gebraucht worden waren, ohne selber bearbeitet zu sein; sie dienten als Unterlage für die glühenden Kohlen oder als Hämmer. Weniger häufig findet man Steinspitzen und Steinmesser, die auch von den Yamana der jüngsten Zeit zumeist in kleinen Maßen gehalten wurden.

Die Masse der tierischen Reste, aus denen die Haufen aufgebaut sind, gehört genau den gleichen Arten an,[201] von denen die Yamana der Gegenwart sich nähren. Bei weitem überwiegen die Schalen von *ôr-uf* (Mytilus chilensis) und *kpôfja* (Mytilus edulis) gegen die Schalen von Patella, Fissurella und Trophon, Solen und Pecten, sowie Stückchen vom Gehäuse des See-Igels *ăkli* (Echinus) und der großen Rollschnecke *kăffŏn* (Voluta). Damit sind Knochen von Tieren vermischt, die hauptsächlich Robben und den dort beheimateten Seevögeln entstammen. Wie nicht anders zu erwarten, sind zumal die Knochenreste aus den untersten Schichten schlecht erhalten; oft zerfallen sie bei leiser Berührung.[202] Hier zeigt sich der zerstörende Einfluß des Gefrierens und Auftauens, dem diese organischen Gebilde mehr als andere Dinge ausgesetzt sind. All die genannten Funde rollen das Bild von einer Tierwelt auf, die heute noch jene Gegend belebt.

Seltener entdeckt man in jenen Muschelschichten menschliche Skelettreste, vereinzelt werden sie durch die Naturkräfte selber bloßgelegt. Bekanntlich haben die Yamana von ehedem die Leiche in der eigenen Wohnhütte verbrannt, nachher die Knochenteile an Ort und Stelle eingescharrt. Daß sie auch den ganzen Leichnam, ohne ihn vorher zu verbrennen, in einem Muschelhaufen eingegraben haben, läßt sich zwar nicht erweisen, ist aber fast sicher. Leider sind menschliche Skelettreste aus den Muschelhaufen in nur äußerst geringer Zahl gesammelt und wissenschaftlich einwandfrei bestimmt worden. Ich kenne nur zwei Schädel, die in den "Conchales de Ushuaia" bloßgelegt und von VIGNATI (c): 131 beschrieben worden sind; die

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sporadically and at no uniform depth, and it was impossible to determine the special conditions which had given rise to them."

[200] Diese als Erdöfen, als "ustafo de tierra" zu deuten, wie VIGNATI (c): 120 es tut, ist offensichtlich abwegig.

[201] In einem Muschelhaufen auf dem mittleren Westufer der Bahía Harberton fand LOVISATO (b): 183, daß „at a depth of a little more than a foot appeared a type of mussel-shell which could not be found on the beach locally." Er legt dem Auftreten dieser besonderen Art, die er leider in keiner Weise bestimmt, nennenswerte Bedeutung nicht bei; ich bin ihr nicht begegnet.

[202] LOVISATO (b): 195 irrt, wenn er meint, daß „in Tierra del Fuego the frost scarcely leaves the ground," weswegen sich Knochenreste besser erhalten würden. Viel mehr wirkt der größere oder geringere Abschluß der Luft erhaltend.

dazugehörigen Skelette hat er nicht untersucht. Genaue Maße sind zwar auch von den Schädeln nicht genommen worden, doch lassen die Beschreibungen und die Abbildungen keinen Zweifel darüber, daß jene Stücke zwei Mitgliedern des Yamana-Stammes als sicher zugesprochen werden dürfen."[599]

Die Beurteilung derartiger Reste wird dadurch erschwert, daß man wohl nie genau bestimmen kann, ob der Fund viele Jahrhunderte oder nur wenige Jahrzehnte zurückliegt; der einförmige Aufbau der Muschelhügel gewährleistet nur bis zu einem gewissen Grade den Rückschluß auf ein höheres Alter für jene Reste, die tiefer eingebettet liegen. Also gestatten es Skelettreste, die irgendwo in den untersten Schichten eines Muschelhaufens gefunden werden, aus diesem Umstande allein noch nicht, eine ältere oder jüngere Rasseform innerhalb der gesamten Yamana-Gruppe aufzustellen."[600]

Zum Vergleich folgt hier eine Beschreibung, die Spencer: 59 am 11. Mai 1929 geliefert hat: „Spent afternoon searching on kitchen middens beside the Rio Douglas, and found large black somewhat coarsely chipped arrow, or spear head (?), lying among big cobble stones on river bank, and scrapers. Present-day Yahgans do not use these. Middens evidently very old, with enormous mass of shells, mainly mussels with limpets, barnacles, volutes, etc., seal and whale bones; of damp black earth, with beech trees, some quite twenty feet high, which have grown on top of these middens since they were made and used;[601] all middens overgrown by grass." Von der gleichen Stelle sagt er am 20. Mai: „Claude Williams dug out one side of kitchen midden. Six of these formed a kind of semi-circle with open side towards sea. Each one had depression in middle; longest being [perhaps 15][601] feet in diameter and six feet high. Looked as if natives camped in the middle with fires all round them. One mass of shells and black earth with layers of calcined pinkish earth. Mussel shells predominated, but large numbers of Fissurellas and Patellas and Modiola-like shells and Volutes. Bird bones, apparently gannet, seal bones, and whale bones. Very few stones, and no sign of any chipped ones. Single bone harpoon." Die Muschelhaufen auf Isla Elisabeth in der östlichen Magellan-Straße hat Lovisato (b): 102 mit den "Conchales de Ushuaia" verglichen: „Questi non sono tanto potenti, si sollevano di meno sul livello del mare e si direbbero, alla semplice ispezione, vere dune o trincee fabbricate ad

[599] Vignati's (e): 138 eigene Meinung geht dahin, daß die herausgestellten Merkmale „sumariamente enunciados, autorizan a suponer que ambos craneos son de yahganes, tales como nos son conocidos a través de las descripciones de Flower, Garson, Hultkrantz etc."

[600] Manche Angaben sind, weil zu ungenau, gänzlich unbrauchbar. So die Lovisato's (b): 101 über Muschelhaufen auf Isla Picton, „nelle quali assieme a scheletri di uomini, straordinariamente grandi, si trovarono due punte di freccia di un ordinaria grandezza od in tutto identiche a quelle dei paraderos patagoni".

[600] Dies kann man als seltene Erscheinung nicht bezeichnen, weil sie sich verschiedenerorts wiederholt. Sie verhilft nicht im mindesten zur Altersbestimmung der Muschelhaufen. Vgl. Lothrop (b): 194.

[601] Miss Hamilton's memory. Mr. Williams writes to her that the average grave depression is 6 feet in diameter, and from 3 to 4 feet deep (ib.).

arte: alle innumerevoli valve di molluschi dei generi mytilus e patella ed alle ossa di otaria, di arctocefali e di lontra, si aggiungono frammenti di granchi, di pettini e di altre bivalve. Sul tappeto erboso formatosi sopra questi depositi stanno coi relativi wigwam i Kiökkenmödding attuali, che sono semplici cumuli appartenenti a ciascun wigwam, ma cumuli di pure valve di ossa e di patelle con resti di granchi e pochissime ossa di mammiferi."

Die Muschelhaufen sind von weitem bereits leicht zu erkennen. Meist sind sie nur mit einzelstehenden Halmen oder mit kleinen, spärlichen Grasbüscheln fleckenartig bestellt; Kräuter und gar niedriges Buschwerk gedeiht auf dem durchlässigen, lockeren Untergrunde nicht. Die größtenteils völlig freie Oberfläche zeigt eine eigenartig perlgraue Farbe, die sich auffällig vom dunklen Humusboden, vom gelben Kiesboden und von den grauweißen Steinen der allernächsten Umgebung eines jeden dieser Muschelhaufen abhebt.

2. Die eingebetteten Gerätschaften

Obwohl die spärlichen Skelettfunde kein sicheres Urteil über den Rassecharakter der früheren Ansiedler gestatten, sprechen die ans Tageslicht geförderten Gebrauchsgegenstände es eindeutig aus, daß die Lebensform von ehedem genau mit der heutigen übereinstimmt. Ein guter Beweis dafür sind die Muschelhaufen *kuimfrua* an sich, die bearbeiteten Gerätschaften verstärken ihn zur vollen Gewißheit.

Der Zahl nach stehen behauene K l i n g e n obenan. Sie dienten offenbar als Messer, sind sie doch flach, meist blattförmig länglich, mit abgestumpften Spitzen und am ganzen Rande geschärft. Ein seichter Ausschnitt, der zuweilen sichtbar ist, deutet auf Schäftung hin. Eine andere Form zeigt mehr den Meißel an; denn die Schneide ist fast geradlinig und das ganze Stück verjüngt sich seitlich zum Rücken hin, der in einen Holzgriff eingeklemmt wurde. Das von den neuzeitlichen Yamana gebrauchte Werkzeug legt diese Schlußfolgerung nahe (vgl. seine Beschreibung S. 494 und Abb. 45).

In die gleiche Reihe gehört die dreikantige Form aus dem Muschelhaufen bei Ushuaia, die VIGNATI (c): 121 in einem einzigen Stück zur Darstellung bringt, und die er als "lámina embotada" bezeichnet. Zwar ist es nicht vollständig erhalten, mißt aber immerhin 8,2 cm in der Länge und 3,1 cm in der größten Dicke.

Verhältnismäßig häufig werden L a n z e n s p i t z e n bzw. Dolch- und Pfeilspitzen bloßgelegt. Unverkennbar stimmt ihre Form mit den Steinspitzen überein, die sich in alten Siedlungsplätzen der Selk'nam finden (Bd. I, 261). Entweder handelt es sich um ein Dreieck mit einer breiten, sanft eingebogenen Grundlinie, oder um ein langgezogenes Dreieck mit abwärts gerichteten spitzen Ecken, zwischen denen ein kurzer Zapfen heraussteht,[488] oder endlich

[488] Beispiele für diese beiden Formen bringt HYADES (q): 414, abgebildet auf Tafel XXX, die er bezeichnet als „pointes de flèche en silex, trouvées dans les vieux amas de coquilles à Ushuaia". Die gleichen drei Stücke sind in HYADES (h): 36 wiedergegeben.

um die seltenere Art mit breitem, nach unten sich verjüngendem Zapfen (Abb. 73).[666] Die beiden zuerst genannten Formen aus Stein sind von den Yamana bis vor einigen Jahrzehnten gebraucht worden, aus Glas werden sie von hochbejahrten erfahrenen Männern noch in der Gegenwart angefertigt; allerdings sind diese Stücke meist kleiner als jene alten, die sogar 10 cm erreichen.[667] Lothner (b): 191 beurteilt die langgezogene Dreieckform mit den spitzen Seitenzacken und mit einem kurzen mittleren Zapfen als „the dominant Beagle Channel type"; doch übersieht er, daß sie sich auch im Gebiete

Abb. 73. Dolch- und Pfeilspitzen. Nat. Größe

der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 263) findet. Bei dergleichen Formen sind zwei merklich voneinander abweichende Größen zu unterscheiden, nämlich solche von etwa 6 bis 10 cm und solche von etwa 2,5 bis 3 cm.[668] Daneben fand sich ein einziges Stück mit sehr breitem Zapfen, das Vignati (c): 124 als "pedunculado" bezeichnet und das vielen Stücken aus Patagonien gleicht (Abb. 74).

Anscheinend haben sich die Yamana in weit zurückliegender Zeit der steinernen Schaber wenig oder gar nicht bedient. Lieber war ihnen eine einfache Muschelschale ohne Schäftung, weil diese sehr leicht zu er-

[666] An zwei Stücken erklärt Vignati (c): 123 diese Form, die er "puntas dobles" nennt und die 7,2 bzw. 6,6 cm lang sind.

[667] Mir ist es unverständlich, wie Hyades (b): 34, angesichts der eben erwähnten drei Funde, behauptet: „A cosp ser es modèle a cessé d'être en usage depuis longtemps chez les Yahganes."

[668] Die neun Stücke aus dem Muschelhaufen bei Ushuaia beurteilt Vignati (c): 124 als „un trabajo cuidadoso y perfecto, obtenido mediante un tallado por presión. Excepto una, todas las restantes pertenecen al tipo de puntas de flechas con aletas, con dos tamaños bien caracterizados. El tipo aletiforme es conocido en Tierra del Fuego y Patagonia".

reichen und jederzeit zu schärfen war. Selten nur findet man steinerne Bohrer in den Muschelhaufen. Mir sind sie nie zu Gesicht gekommen und Pater Lawrence erinnerte sich ebenowenig, sie gesehen zu haben. Jene drei Stücke, die Lovemar (b): 199 in der Bahía Harberton gefunden hat, erschienen seinen Gewährsmännern als fremd, obwohl Guillermo Bennett dem widersprach (Abb. 75). Möglicherweise entstammten sie überhaupt den Selk'nam oder deren Einfluß auf die Yamana. Bevor nicht weitere Funde zutage gefördert werden, bleibt jede Erörterung darüber ergebnislos. Demgegenüber kann ich

Abb. 74. Verschiedene steinerne Geräteschaften. Nat. Größe

mich der Vermutung nicht erwehren, daß jene Personen, die auf den Muschelhaufen nach den steinernen Pfeilspitzen gegriffen haben, eigentliche Schaber entweder als Werkzeuge nicht erkannt oder nicht gewertet haben.

Ein befremdlicher Stück ist auch ein Steinbohrer („perforador") aus dem Muschelhaufen bei Ushuaia, von 4,8 cm Länge. Auf einem treppenförmigen Unterteil erhebt sich die gleichmäßig gearbeitete Nadel (Abb. 74). In Patagonien ist diese Art nicht selten, ich fand sie auch am Ufer der Bahía Inútil (Bd. I, 261). Vgl. Vignati (c): 124.

Schließlich sind noch die zahlreichen Steinhämmer zu nennen, die zwar keine Bearbeitung, wohl aber eine Benützung deutlich zeigen. Es sind ovale Rollsteine, die das Meer selber geformt hat und deren sich noch die heutigen Yamana des öfteren bedienen, sei es zum Anschlagen von Röhrenknochen oder zum Klopfen des Leders oder beim Herstellen größerer Geräteschaften.[*] Merkwürdig ist es, daß ihr Vorhandensein im Muschelhaufen bei

[*] Lovemar (b): 192 nennt diese Stücke "Hammerstones, sorts, green stones" und fügt an: „Every family carried an oval water-worn stone which was used for a variety of purposes, such as hammering."

Unkenntis durch Vancouver (a) nicht gemeldet wird, hat doch Lawrence (b): 192 diese Überzeugung verstärkt, „these stones may be picked up at every ancient campsite." Tatsächlich liegen die überall herum und fehlen besonders an jenen Stellen auf, die den vorzüglichen Blick unterwärts oder umgewendet hat.

Verschiedentlich wird auf die sogenannten Lochsteine hingewiesen, die im nördlichen Chile besonders häufig auftreten. Im grossen Fundstoffe hat man nur zwei Stücke dieser Form gefunden. Der eine ist Pancaro (c): 120 zu danken, der sich folgendermassen darüber äussert: „Most important of my

Abb. 72. Steinerne Schleifer. Nach Griffin

finds was one of the so-called 'pounding stone' stones. This pentagonal stone, about four inches in diameter, has knobby projections around its rim." Ich sah diesen Stein im Amerikan. Museum of Natural History zu New York. Nach der Finderin eigener Deutung diente er als „the head of a primitive war club". Als Kennzeichen der Tuscaro Hilfe er zu kunstfertigerweise nicht gelten; „it may help in establishing the fact of certain trade relations and communications between the ancestors of these people and tribes of the Chilean coast". Lawrence (a): 723 hat den anderen Stein nach Europa gebracht (vgl. auch Cramer: 240), den Ihm, wie ich erfahren habe, vom Rev. Jesse Lawrence übergeben worden war. Heute ruht er im Museum Kircherianum zu Rom, als Nummer 24901, und trägt die Aufschrift: „Dono di pietra con foro nell' mezzo; Yaguas della Tacra del Pacco, Dono Dr. G. Dazz'zerra, 1887". Auf solch merkwürdige diesen Steln den Eindruck einer Naturgebilden. Anderseits haben wir Jesse Lawrence und seine Silkes früher verschiedene, daß dergleichen Steine niemals von den Tuscaro gebraucht worden sind. Falls diese beiden hier erwähnten Lochsteine wirklich der Werk von Menschen sind, wird man sie so lange als fremden Einflüsse[**] betrachten müssen, bis neue Funde zu einer anderen Erklärung zwingen.

[**] Die Pancaro (c): 120 vermutet Cusco: 214 diese Ansicht. Vgl. hierzu Gerson (a): 422. Auf dem Igaitsude finden sich die von Menschen verfertigten Lochsteine in vielen Exemplaren.

In Übereinstimmung mit der auch gegenwärtig noch häufigeren Verwendung von Geräteschaften aus Bein liefern die Muschelhaufen diese Art in reicher Zahl. Freilich sind unverzierte Fundstücke selten und zwar aus einleuchtenden Gründen.[100] Auch ich bin öfters auf die geglätteten Speer- und Harpunenspitzen in Bruchstücken gestoßen. Aus dem „Conchal de Ushuaia" hat Vignati (c): 125 drei Harpunenspitzen, drei Bohrer, zwei Keile[101] und zwei Muschelöffner abgebildet und ausführlich beschrieben. An diesen Stücken tritt die völlige Gleichheit mit den heute noch von den Yamana benützten Geräteschaften aus Bein so einwandfrei in die Erscheinung, daß niemand dagegen einen Zweifel erheben wird. Indes fehlen Anhaltspunkte zur Altersbestimmung; denn man stößt auf diese Dinge auch in tiefliegenden Schichten der Muschelhaufen an den verschiedenen Stellen des Yamana-Gebietes.

3. Ihr Entstehen

Die wiederholten Vergleiche und Hinweise, zu denen die Beschreibung der Fundstücke in den Muschelhaufen angeregt haben, ließen bereits erkennen, daß an jenen Plätzen eine an dinglichen Gütern und Einrichtungen bestimmbare Kulturform sich ausprägt, die mit dem, was sich aus der Beobachtung der neuzeitlichen Geschlechter des Yamana-Volkes ergibt, wesentlich und überraschend genau übereinstimmt. Ein Nomadenvolk, das feste Wohnbauten nicht kennt, hat sie aufgerichtet. Daß es aufgelöst in Einzelfamilien der Nahrungssuche nachging, beweist die unterschiedliche Höhe und Breite der Siedlungsplätze selber. Das Meer lieferte zumindest den überwiegenden Hauptteil an Nahrungsmitteln; denn keine Spur pflanzlicher Nährstoffe ist bisher aufgedeckt worden. Besonderheiten kleinerer Bezirke kommen insofern in den Abfällen deutlich zum Ausdruck, als im Osten, zumal in Bahía Harberton und in Puerto Mejillones, an Zahl und an Mächtigkeit sich weit höhere Ablagerungen finden als im Westen. Hier gab es mehr Auswahl an Seesäugetieren und Seevögeln, See-Igeln und Krabben, während im Osten langt, offene Küstenstreifen der Jagd nach Seetieren wenig günstig waren und demnach die Eingeborenen überwiegend auf Muscheln in und nahe den großen Buchten angewiesen waren. Anzeichen für Töpferei wird man vergeblich erwarten; denn die vielen Herdstellen mit Asche und Holzkohlenstückchen beweisen zu eindeutig, daß alle Nahrungsmittel im offenen Herdfeuer gebraten oder in heißer Asche gebacken worden sind.

Gegenüber den Mytilus-Muscheln treten in der Ernährung alle übrigen Tiere weit zurück; denn wenn auch bestehen bleibt, daß die Knochen von Säugetieren und Vögeln teilweise im Feuer zerstört oder den Hunden über-

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[100] Ohne sich auf Sonderbeschreibungen einzulassen, sagt Lothrop (h): 192 ganz kurz: „Bone tools of modern type sometimes are found in shellheaps under conditions implying considerable antiquity."

[101] Vignati (c): 125 nennt den eine Stück "hacha" und den andern "de uso desconocido". Für mich sind beide Stücke jene Knochenkeile, die zum Ablösen von Rinde gebraucht wurden.

lassen, teilweise zu Gerätschaften gebraucht und im Verlauf einiger Jahrhunderte aufgeklärt worden sind, so darf man trotzdem sie in größerer Menge erwarten, als sie sich tatsächlich finden. Demnach also bedeutete die Mythen-Muschel, genau wie für den gegenwärtigen Geschlecht der Yamana, so viel als "das Beil für die Europäer", — um einen heutigen Vergleich zu wiederholen.

Was die Gerätschaften aus Bein oder Knochen anbelangt, scheint bei jenen die charakteristische Form ebenso einheitig und bestimmt wie in denen der Jetztzeit auf, als wären beide Gruppen im gleichen Jahre hergestellt worden. Die Speer- und Pfeilspitzen allein sind nach einer bestimmten Art angefertigt, die sich seit einem Jahrhundert nicht oft mehr wiederholt hat, die eben, allerdings im bearbeiteten Glas,[...] trotzdem weiterlebte.

Die unendliche Zahl der Übereinstimmungen berechtigt zu der Annahme, daß die ersten Begründer der Muschelhaufen als Träger einer Lebensweise und Kulturform angesprochen werden, die sich von den Yamana der letzten Jahrzehnte nicht unterscheiden. Stetig fortlaufend sieht sich das einförmige Bild ihrer Kultur durch die jüngeren Abfallschichten bis zur Höhe, auf der die Yamana der Gegenwart, nach Art der ersten Anfänger, am Weiterbau dieser Muschelhaufen tätig sind.[...] Eben diese genaue Gleichheit in der Form und Anfertigung der Gerätschaften macht es unmöglich, an Stelle einer Aufeinanderfolge größerer Zeiträume zu sehen und sie zur Bestimmung gewisser Schichten, nach Art der Typen in der europäischen Urgeschichte, zu benützen.

Da also mit einer angenommenen Typenreihe als Zeitmesser nicht zu rechnen ist, steigt die Frage auf, ob die Muschelhaufen uns sich irgendwelche Altersbestimmung gestatten. Die Breite und Dicke der Schichten sagt zu jedem ganz deutlich auf den ersten Blick, daß sehr viele Jahrzehnte daran tätig gewesen sind; mehr aber verrät sie nicht. Einen deutlichen Fingerzeig gibt die beachtenswerte Tatsache, daß in keiner einzigen Schicht jener Abfallhaufen unzweideutige Gegenstände oder Anzeichen europäischer Herkunft angetroffen worden konnten. Ihr muß man ebenfalls entgegenhalten, daß seit etwa einem Jahrhundert den Eingeborenen allerhand Dinge von Weißen überlassen worden und diese in ihren täglichen Gebrauch übergegangen sind. Vielleicht hat sich die Hauptmasse jener Abfälle aufgehäuft. An manchen Stellen ist diese Masse zwar während der letzten hundert Jahre noch gestiegen

[...] Ausschließlich nach den beschriebenen Gerätschaften urteilt Vanoise (a): 130 über Muschelhaufen: „Il [illegible] que nous trouvons [illegible] ne les possédaient [illegible] de l'île [illegible] de l'archipel de Tierra del Fuego." Für die Bedeutung der beschriebenen [illegible] Lemoine (b): 102 [illegible]: „Ils distinguent [illegible] objets [illegible] et de la [illegible] et de la [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."

[...] Trotz seiner [illegible] Beschränkung nach Lemoine (b): 102 angeblich: „The shell heaps throw little light on the culture or antiquities of the Yahgan except for two points. It seems that no other people except the Yahgan ever occupied southern Fuegia. It seems that the Yahgan have lived there for a very long time."

[illegible]

dem dem ungewöhnlichen Bedingungen langsamer entwickelnden hat.[*] Nicht der gleiche Fall — wenn man die Sorgen der wandelnden Familien ausnimmt — für die Langsam bedeutet Jahre, ohne für 170 Tage, und ewer von einer bei Durchschnitt Gefährlichen Familie besaßen, so erhielt der Abbéh besitzen allein um 192 000 einzelnen Mandelsbäuchen an. Die neuen besonderen Plätze bringgen gewissen viel langsamer an Höhe und Breite. Wer könnte heute bestimmen, wie schnell diese und wie langsam jene Stelle angewachsen ist?

Auf der zweiten Reise habe ich mir in Puerto Ribeiro die Höhe gemessen, neben dem einen großen Abbéhaufen ganze tausend Mandelsbäuchen abgeschlossen nebeneinandergesetzt. Der Unterschied war ewer wie der zwischen Bilgeldeen und Berg; wer es mit der gleichen Spielzeug vergleichen wollte, müßte sich gewaltigen, die Abertrichen heute Jahrmärkten heute Schätzen die Anwesenen selbst schädigen Mandelsbäuchen unendlich an verkleinern.

Ist man so erwartet, daß gewissenhaft durchgeführte besonders Geschlangen[**] in den besonderlichen Abbéhaufen eine Reihe von Funktionen, die von den bisherigen bekannten abweichen, einige Gedanken hinzufügen? Nach meiner eigenen Meinung besitzt dieser keine Ausnahme. Die nur für die gewöhnliche Wand einzelner Mandelsbäuchen ist ja unzählig von den Wellen bis zur Wasserfläche hinunter angewachsen worden und Gewalt Formen in den Gesteinsbäuchen sind nicht aufgetreten. Dieses muß aufgeschrieben eine Landbildung ausdrücken (S. 400), so wäre es ein Irrtum zu vermuten, daß es ganz nahe der Wasserfläche unter dem Wasserspiegel die Abbéhaufen hergestellt worden wären, um die besten ähnlichen ein Teil von Mandelsbäuchen sich aufgebaut hätte.

Viele Jahrhunderte vorbei, sind jene Schichten gelegt worden, die sich heute unmittelbar der schädigen Mandelsbäuchen finden. Was ist an Gebrauchsgegenständen bergen, gleicht jenen, die bei unseren Indianern bis in die neueste Zeit hinein in Verwendung stehen. Eine Ausnahmegruppe für einer Bevölkerung mit anderer Kultur und Lebensweise vor dem Tuscana besitzt. Ist das Gebiet des Canal de Beagle bis jetzt unbeholfen gemacht worden und eine solche hat dementsprechend von weiteren Untersuchungen nicht zu erwarten.

II. Das Nawadenkmale

Unbewußtlich und rasch ist die Kultur der Tuscana, wild und gewaltsig geblieben sich die Nawadelfte und ewere Gebäuden dieses jener Indianerstämme, die in Bezug gebrechlichen Kunst das neuteuere Inselreich durchgesetzt. Alles Dies und Bedeutsame hat sich hier trotzdem nicht zusammen-

[*] Auf Grund der verschiedenen Größe von der digitalen Mandelsbäuchung hat Lamarck (S. 37) den Mollusk Patella aufgestellt, die die Mandelsbäuchen an die Felsen Kalkerne als Ohrer von 1000 bis 2000 Jahre verschlossen. Die Spitzbäuchen von gewissen 1000 Jahren sagt er jedoch deutlich genug, wie unverschiedig dergleichen Schätzungen sind.

[**] Sehr Patte Charcot 230 den Jahrmärkten dass hat sich in den Geld hier hier hinlegen und hier gleichzeitig sehr unbequemen sondern. Spezielle verwendeten in der

gedeckt, einige Vorteile und Vergnügungen gibt es doch. Zwar sind die Witterungsbedingungen nicht weniger als gut, aber die Temperatur ist im [illegible] etwas gleichmäßig und dem kühlen Sommer entspricht ein kühlerer Winter. Der unentbehrliche Mais reifeten auch hier reiche Ernten aus, wenngleich die Indianer begonnen haben Lebensmittel für das ganze Jahr durchzubringen. Wie Nahrungsversorgung anbelangt, sind die Yanaos gegenüber den benachbarten Salt'aus weit günstiger gestellt. Einige Unterschiede innerhalb unserer Kenntnis bestehen allerdings, insofern die Familien an den südlichen Außenstationen bei der Suche nach Lebensmitteln im Vergleich zu den Leuten in den geschlossenen Kastilen durch die Gewalt von Stämmen und Waffen empfindlich behindert wurden.[illegible] Für die betreffenden Gruppen wirkten sich diese und andere Nachteile verschiedentlich aus, sie bedeuten jedoch nichts an den Grundzügen der Wirtschaftsbeziehungen, welchen die Yanaos führen; denn sie alle stehen in Unterschiedungungen, die sich im wesentlichen gleichen.

Diese sind so, die einen stärkere, teilweise unabwendbaren Zwang bei der Bildung der Wirtschaftsform ausgeübt haben. Letzterer erkennt sich der Indianer als Schöpfung seiner Gemeinschaften mit vollem Recht. Dem Zwange der Umwelt mußte er immerhin nachgeben, als ihm nur die einigende Sozialwirtschaft möglich gemacht wird, diese aber hat er sich dorert gleichzig umgestaltet, daß er mit geringem Kräfteaufwand das für sie unentbehrliche Dasein Nutzenzuge und für sein Wohlbefinden Erreichbare erreicht. Aus der Abhängigkeit von seiner Umwelt heraus konnte er sich zwar nicht zu ihrem unentbehrlichen Bekämpfer erheben, er hat sie aber bis zur Grenze seiner vielversprechenden geistigen Vorzüglichkeit dienstbar gemacht.

1. Der Wanderzirkel

Die Yanaos sind eine auffällig unruhige Gemeinschaft, sie halten sie nur gleichsam Fluch. Singer nur. Wenn sie beisammen stehen, entfernt sich bald dieser, bald jener von dem Kreise der Anwesenden, um für sich allein etwas herumzuschweifen oder einige Schritte zu tun. Hat eine Familie irgendwo ihre Hütte aufgeschlagen, dringt es sie spätestens am dritten Tage wieder fort. Eine Inocoo Unrohe bewegt diese Menschen, dieses sie selber sich nicht Rechenschaft geben, weil sie ihnen angeboren ist. Aber jedem Europäer fällt sie nicht nur stark auf, sie wird ihm sinnvoller oder lästig, beispielsweise wenn er Indianer in seinem Dienst auf der Farm eingestellt hat. Allgemein heißt es von ihnen, daß sie unzuverlässig und unbeständiger sind. Tatsächlich weiß man nie, ob sie morgen einhalten werden, wenn sie heute nachdrücklich zugesagt haben; denn es ändern sich ihre Gesinnungen und ihre Pläne ganz plötzlich

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[illegible] of the Magellanic archipelago are squarely marked and may furnish us with important information on the part of the natives." Die gleichen Äußerungen bei Fitzroy [illegible].

[illegible] Die auffällige Seßhaftigkeit [illegible] die Vorfahren der Bewohner der [illegible] Canal de Beagle gegenüber den Leuten an den unbewohnbaren Inseln.

lich und ziellos, wie das Wetter in ihrer Heimat. Zappeligen Wandervögeln gleichen sie, die sich erst dann wohl und innerlich beruhigt fühlen, wenn sie wieder unterwegs und mit ihrem schwankenden Fahrzeug in Bewegung sind.

Leicht lassen sich die letzten Gründe für ihre Unruhe und ihren Drang nach Bewegung aufdecken. Die Sorge um die täglich notwendigen Lebensmittel nimmt ihre ganze Aufmerksamkeit gefangen; denn um diese zu erreichen, sind sie von den gebotenen Gelegenheiten und der Gunst des Augenblicks abhängig. Da heißt es, den gegebenen Zeitpunkt nicht verpassen und bei der plötzlich aufgezwungenen Wahl das Richtige ergreifen. Viel Überlegungspause wird dem einzelnen meist nicht gewährt; er muß rasch und entschlossen zugreifen, will er seinen Vorteil wahren. Demnach verharrt er gleichsam in gespannter innerer Erwartung der Umstände, die sich zu jeder Tageszeit verändert bieten werden, um augenblicklich Herr der Lage sein zu können. Er schläft nicht einmal fest und ist beim Aufwachen sogar zur Nachtzeit plötzlich wieder frisch (S. 383). Ebenso, wie er sich in das unberechenbare Treiben der Naturkräfte hineingestellt sieht, tritt ihm unverhofft das Jagdglück in dieser oder jener unerwarteten Form entgegen; ist er jedoch innerlich auf rasches Handeln eingestellt, greift er erfolgsicher zu.

Vielleicht ist sich der Indianer dieser seiner eben gezeichneten inneren Verfassung nicht klar bewußt; immer aber handelt er aus und mit dem Gefühl großer Sicherheit, daß er sein Ziel bestimmt erreichen wird. Lange Erfahrung verhilft ihm dazu, mit einem Blick die gebotene Gelegenheit richtig zu würdigen oder die drohenden Gefahren abzuschätzen oder die Grenzen des Möglichen zu sehen; in seiner Entscheidung geht er fast niemals fehl. Zum Teil erklärt sich seine innere Unruhe daraus, daß er andauernd das Spiel der Naturkräfte und die Lebensgewohnheiten der Jagdtiere beobachtet, sich gleichzeitig auf beide einstellend; jene zu meistern und diese zu seinem Vorteile auszuwerten gelingt ihm daher mit siegesgewisser Überlegenheit. Manchmal glaubt man, er begibt sich in große Gefahr, wenn das Unwetter sich zusammenballt oder die Wellen hochgehen; doch zu genau ist er mit der unbelebten Natur vertraut, um sich in seinem Urteil zu täuschen. Bisweilen hält ein Europäer dessen Jagdversuch für völlig aussichtslos, indes nicht selten gerade dann ist d' Beute überreich. Aus dem Erfolge, dessen der Indianer von vornherein sicher ist, erwächst eine volle Genugtuung, die sein Vertrauen auf das eigene Können weiterhin steigert.

Selbstverständlich fällt der Zwang zu unstetem Wandern begrifflich mit dem aneignenden Wirtschaftsbetrieb zusammen. Im Feuerlande sind Ackerbau und Viehzucht in einer Form, die unsere Eingeborenen wählen müßten, einfachhin unmöglich. Nichts anderes bleibt ihnen übrig als zu sammeln und zu jagen, was die Natur ihnen freiwillig bietet. Die Jagdtiere nun werden von der Stelle, wo eines zur Strecke gebracht worden ist, verscheucht; ähnlich empfiehlt es sich für die Frau, den Platz für ihre Sammeltätigkeit möglichst bald wieder zu wechseln. Also bleibt die Familie grundsätzlich nur so lange am gleichen Orte, als das Fleisch eines erlegten größeren

Tieres enthält; ist sie einzig auf Muscheln angewiesen, macht sie sich noch schneller wieder auf den Weg. Durchschnittlich hält sie länger als zwei bis drei Tage an der nämlichen Stelle nicht aus. Vorteilhafterweise reisen die Yamana in sehr kleinen Gruppen, am meisten als Einzelfamilien, bisweilen auch mit einer zweiten oder dritten Familie verbunden. Nach kurzen Strecken trennen sie sich wieder, weil die persönliche Sicherheit, der sich jede bewußt ist, nach ganzer Unabhängigkeit und unbeschränkter Zwanglosigkeit drängt.

2. Unterwegs im Kanu

Unsere Indianer besitzen als einziges und unentbehrliches Verkehrsmittel ihr Rindenboot. Weil es leicht gebaut ist, wird die Frau durch das Paddeln nicht sehr belastet. I h r g e h ö r t e s. Obwohl der Mann es bauen muß, bleibt es ihr allein zur Pflege überlassen.[115] Ihr Sorgen um das Kanu nimmt sie sehr ernst; denn sein Verlust bringt die ganze Familie sogar in Lebensgefahr, Schadhafte Stellen bessert sie baldigst aus[116] oder fordert, wenn eine größere Arbeit zu leisten ist, ihren Mann dazu auf. Während der ganzen Fahrt bedient sie es allein; bei schwerem Seegang allerdings verlangt sie, daß der Mann oder andere Insassen behilflich sind. Sie hält die Buben an, das Feuer zu bedienen, und beauftragt die Mädchen, das einsickernde Wasser auszuschöpfen. Wenn bei der Landung die Hunde herausgesprungen, nachher ihr Mann mit den Kindern ausgestiegen und alle Habseligkeiten ans Ufer gebracht worden sind, muß sie zuletzt das Fahrzeug sichern. Was das Rindenkanu für die feuerländische Familie bedeutet, sagt Bridges (MM: III, 115; 1869) sehr bestimmt; „The canoe is the most valuable property an Indian possesses, by it he travels from place to place, and with its assistance he obtains the chief part of his food ... Canoes are used daily."

Auf der Fahrt selber hat jedes Familienmitglied seinen b e s t i m m t e n P l a t z inne. Im Vorderteil hockt der Mann; seine Speere und Harpunen liegen neben ihm und ragen weit über die Bugspitze hinaus, leicht greifbar und handgerecht mit der Knochenspitze nach vorn gerichtet (S. 452). In der tiefliegenden Mitte verteilen sich die Kinder um das Feuer und zwischen den niedrigen Holzhäufchen. Die Frau nimmt für sich allein das ganze Heck ein und paddelt bald auf dieser, bald auf jener, meist auf der rechten Seite — von ihr aus beurteilt. Sie faßt das einzige Ruder mit beiden Händen und bewegt es im Wasser nicht schlagend, sondern mehr rührend und kurz stoßend; schräg hebt sie es aus dem Wasser heraus und stellt es, wenn sie zu

[115] Bridges (MM: III, 115; 1869) schreibt: Canoes are always under the charge of the women, who paddle them from place to place, and spend much of their time in them", nämlich bei den unvermeidlichen Fahrten.

[116] „Es ist hauptsächlich die Aufgabe der Frau, die Pirogue, diesen für die Existenz des Feuerländers ganz unentbehrlichen Gegenstand im Stande zu halten und stets sieht man sie beschäftigt, die Ritzen mit halbfaulen Zweigen zu kalfatern und die einzelnen Stücke zusammenzunähen" (Hyades [g]: 38).

einem neuen Schlage ausholt, fast senkrecht wieder hinein. Diese eigenartige Führung des Ruders ist ein Antreiben und Steuern zugleich.[417] Bei dieser Arbeit wird ihr ganzer Oberkörper sehr in Anspruch genommen; denn die Beine finden weder Halt noch bieten sie Widerstand und auf den Armen, die sich dem Kanurande nicht auflegen, ruht die ganze Anstrengung des freien Paddelns.[418] Im Fahrzeug müssen alle Insassen mit untergeschlagenen Beinen eng zusammengerückt tief auf dem Boden hocken, sein Schwerpunkt steht auch bei größter Belastung sehr hoch und es würde bei Gleichgewichtsstörungen leicht umkippen. Kindern empfiehlt man, Kopf und Oberkörper tief zu beugen; meist heben sie sich nur so hoch, daß ihre Augen die Ebene des Dollbordes erreichen.[419]

Bevor die Familie den Strand verläßt, haben Mann und Frau in gegenseitiger Aussprache das Reiseziel bzw. die Fahrtrichtung vereinbart. Daraufhin steuert sie nun los, während er andauernd nach Jagdtieren ausspäht. Kommt ein Beutetier in Sicht, verständigt er seine Frau und ergreift selber den Speer oder die Harpune.[420] Ist das Fahrzeug dem Tiere nahe, richtet er sich langsam auf und wirft im passenden Augenblick seine Waffe ab. Nur das genau aufeinander abgestimmte Zusammenarbeiten beider sichert den Jagderfolg und jedes Ehepaar erreicht im Laufe der Jahre hierin höchste Vollkommenheit. Beim Verfolgen eines verwundeten Tieres muß die Frau zuweilen außerordentliche Kraftanstrengungen aufbieten, dazu macht sie sich durch die Gewohnheit des fast täglichen Paddelns geeignet.

Wurde die Familie mit einem unerwarteten Jagdglück beschenkt oder beim Verfolgen eines Tieres stark ermüdet, entschließt sie sich zuweilen plötzlich zur Landung an der nächstbesten Stelle. Am meisten eignet sich ein flacher, sanft ansteigender, mit grobem Kies bedeckter Strand in einer ruhig gelegenen Einbuchtung. Die Frau läßt das Kanu nicht auflaufen, weil jede Reibung vermieden werden soll. Unentwegt hält sie die Bugspitze rechtwinkelig zum Strande, während die Insassen nacheinander aussteigen[421] und

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[417] Das Paddeln will gelernt sein. Dann ist es, wie Hyades (g): 38 richtig urteilt, „keine allzu anstrengende Arbeit, denn die Pirogen, ausschließlich aus der Rinde der birkenblätterigen Buche erbaut, sind von einer wunderbaren Leichtigkeit".

[418] Daher die schwache Entwicklung der Beine gegenüber dem kräftigen Oberkörper der gesunden, tätigen Frauen (S. 219).

[419] In etwa stimmen Lovisato's (b): 134 Worte: „In questo barchetto i Fuoghini stanno accoccolati così che di loro non si vedono fuori che le teste, paniciuoni quasi identici a quelli che conservano nei wigwam."

[420] Die in der Familie geltende Arbeitsteilung kommt hierbei deutlich zum Ausdruck. Darauf spielt Aspinall: 270 an: „Jedes Kanu nimmt eine Familie auf; die Frauen rudern und der Mann steht mit erhobenem Wurfspieß auf dem Anstand."

[421] Nur ausnahmsweise, falls der Mann bei Krankheit nicht zu gehen vermag, erfüllte sich, was Aspinall: 270 behauptet hat: „Beim Verlassen des Kanus hat die Frau zuerst den Mann ans Land zu tragen, der den Feuerbrand, zwischen Holzstäbchen verwahrt, sorgfältig über Wasser hält, und zuletzt mit dem Aufschlagen einer primitiven Hütte beginnt." Regelmäßig indes wickelt sich das Landen so ab, wie es oben und wie es beispielsweise in "La Nature": 274 geschildert wird.

alle Gerätschaften samt Lebensmitteln aufs Ufer werfen. Eines der Kinder trägt ein glimmendes Holzscheit an jene Stelle, die ihm vom Vater als die erwählte Lagerstätte bezeichnet wird; gewöhnlich tun dies die Mädchen. Die Erwachsenen achten darauf, daß die letzten Funken auf der Feuerstelle im Kanu ausgelöscht werden. Währenddessen bleibt die Indianerin in ihrem Boote sitzen und hält es durch Paddeln am gleichen Fleck; ist alles ausgeladen, bleibt ihr noch übrig, es zu sichern. Eignet sich der Landungsplatz dazu, wird eine handbreit hohe Lage von Macrocystis-Algen zusammengerafft, die etwa so lang wie der Kiel des Fahrzeuges und etwa 60 cm breit ist. Man streut sie weit über der höchsten Wasserlinie bei Flut auf den Kiesboden hin. Von ihr bis zum Kanu im Wasser legt man kurze Knüppel quer oder mehrere Algenbündel, nachdem man größere Steine entfernt hat. Über diese Unterlage schleifen nun Mann und Frau, unterstützt von den Kindern, das Kanu bis zur höchsten Stelle hinauf.[422] Es gleitet leicht, weil die Knüppel feucht sind und weil Algenbündel gewählt wurden, die noch frisch und mit schleimigen Ausscheidungen bedeckt sind. Das Kanu bleibt dort zur Seite geneigt liegen, bis man es bei der nächsten Abfahrt über die nämliche Gleitbahn wieder ins Wasser schiebt (S. 456).

Während, wie soeben erwähnt, die Frau durch geeignetes Paddeln das Kanu ständig ganz nahe der Landungsstelle hält, steigt der Mann mit den Kindern aus und mit vereinten Kräften legen sie die einzelnen Gerätschaften und die Jagdbeute auf das Ufer. Ist alles ausgeladen, steuert die Frau auf die Kanalmitte zu, wenn sie dort das Kanu sichern will. Inzwischen ruft sie, einer beliebten Gewohnheit folgend, ihren Familienmitgliedern am Strande eine uralte Redewendung zu:

ŝkerʲ *ilána* *hóin* *hóia*
die Hütte bauen jetzt schnell!

Das ist eine Aufforderung an jene, eiligst die Wohnhütte einzurichten.

Fehlt es an der Landungsstelle an Raum und an einem gesicherten Platz für das Kanu, behilft sich die Indianerin auf andere Art. Nachdem alles ausgepackt ist, fährt sie allein auf die Mitte des Wasserarmes zu, wo dichte Knäuel von Macrocystis-Algen schwimmen. Etwa 100 m von dieser Küste entfernt bindet sie ihr Fahrzeug an den zähen Algenstämmen fest und zerrt noch ganze Ästebündel quer darüber hinweg, daß es ganz verwickelt im elastischen Knäuel steckt. Auch das Ruder befestigt sie dort. Nachher springt sie heraus und strebt schwimmend dem Ufer zu. Inzwischen ist von ihrer Familie das Feuer gut angefacht worden und schnell wärmt sie sich durch.[423] Mögen die Wellen über Nacht noch so hoch sich auftürmen, dem leichten Kanu schaden sie nicht. Am Strande könnte es bei hochgehender Flut gegen Felsen ge-

[422] Dusrand (b): 697 sagt: „Much care is taken when a canoe is drawn up on the beach for a short time. A dray-way is made by first removing every stone, and then a deep layer of fresh and wet kelp is laid down, and the canoe carefully drawn up on this by a couple of hands."

[423] Auch Bridges (MM: III, 115; 1869) bespricht diese Art, das Kanu zu sichern.

schleudert oder auf dem Ufer hin- und hergeworfen werden, wobei sich die Nähte durchscheuern würden. Also bringt man es draußen unter den schwimmenden elastischen Algen, die Knäuel bilden, zuverlässig in Sicherheit.[424]

Bei diesem sehr häufigen Anlaß ist die Indianerin zum Schwimmen gezwungen. Eine merkwürdige Tatsache ist es, daß allgemein nur Frauen und Mädchen schwimmen können. Darauf haben viele europäische Beobachter hingewiesen[425] und die Ausdauer beim Untertauchen gerühmt. Kurz betont Bumoss (MM: III, 115; 1869): „Women invariably swim, and men never." Doch nur, wenn die Notwendigkeit drängt, gehen sie ins Wasser, nämlich beim Bedienen des Kanus, beim Suchen nach See-Igeln und beim Einholen eines Beutetieres. An den äußerst seltenen wirklich warmen Tagen baden einige Personen, um sich etwas Abkühlung zu verschaffen.[426] Wer aus dem Wasser steigt, eilt sofort zum Hüttenfeuer, um sich durchzuwärmen. Im Winter helfen sie sich überdies damit, daß sie, wie schon Fitz-Roy (a): 186 beobachtet hat, „rub their bodies all over with oil or grease and ochreous earth, to keep out the cold".[427] Immerhin behält Aspinall: 270 doch Recht, daß „Männer selten schwimmen können, die Frauen immer".[428] Fragte ich einen der vielen, die des Schwimmens unkundig waren, so erhielt ich zur Antwort: „Wir haben nicht nötig es zu lernen; denn die Frau bringt uns im Kanu zum Strande und holt uns dort wieder ab!"[429] Niemanden ist es unbekannt, daß dieser und jener Mann bei Unfall sich durch Schwimmen vielleicht hätte retten können, wie es manchen Frauen gelungen ist; trotzdem bemüht er sich nicht um diese Kunst.

Die Art, wie die Frauen sich im Wasser bewegen, gleicht unserem sogenannten Paddeln, oder, wie Martial: 193 übereinstimmend mit Fitz-Roy (a): 186 sich ausdrückt, „ressemble plus à celle du chien qu'à la nôtre". Die Mutter lernt ihre Tochter schon im jugendlichen Alter an. In einer Bucht mit seichtem Grunde fährt sie mit ihr vom Ufer weg, hockt sich in die Mitte des Kanus, hält ihre gestreckten Arme über die obere Kante hinaus und fordert

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[424] Irrtümlicherweise hat Lutz: 170 behauptet, das Kanu würde beim Landen zerlegt. Wer die Bauart dieses Fahrzeuges kennt, weiß, daß ein Zerlegen unmöglich ist.

[425] Beispielsweise Bumoss (MM: XIII, 157; 1879), Dumpard (b): 697, Hyades (h): 12 und (q): 213, Lovisato (b): 130, Spegazzini (a): 171 u. a.

[426] Hyades (g): 36 betont: „Seltsamerweise können wohl die Frauen schwimmen, die Männer aber nicht. Die Frauen schwimmen meistens sehr gut, gehen aber nur dann ins Wasser, wenn sie müssen. Nur selten, bei relativ warmer Temperatur, hatten die Frauenzimmer Gelegenheit, zu beobachten, daß die Feuerländerinnen auch zu ihrem Vergnügen im Wasser sprangen und ohne einen bestimmten Zweck lustig darin herum spielten."

[427] Hierzu sagt Hyades (q): 214 ergänzend: „Nous avons vu nager jeunes femmes, dont une excelente de cinq mois et une autre en lactation, par une journée de mai, la température de l'eau ne dépassant pas + 6°."

[428] Also übertreibt Fitz-Roy (a): 186 mit der Behauptung: „Men, women, and children are excellent swimmers," weil sie im allgemein gehalten ist.

[429] Auf die gleiche Frage erhielt Hyades (q): 214 zur Antwort, „donnée par un Fuégien moqueur: les femmes seules sont aptes à nager, à cause des enfants qui les contiennent sur l'eau". Vgl. auch Hyades (h): 12. Diese Antwort bedarf einer Erklärung nicht.

das Mädchen auf, sich langgestreckt und mit dem Gesicht nach unten gewendet draufzulegen; plötzlich sieht sie ihre Arme zurück und ruft nur kurz: „Jetzt schwimm!" Das Mädchen muß sich nun selber helfen, bis es diese Kunst erlernt hat; außer einigen erklärenden Worten erhält es keine Anleitung. Zuweilen legt die Mutter dem Mädchen bei jenen Übungen noch einen flachen Stein auf den Rücken.

In ihrem gebrechlichen Fahrzeug fühlen sich die Eingeborenen völlig sicher. Warum auch nicht! Ihre genaue Beurteilung der Wetterlage läßt sie wissen, was sie wagen dürfen, und bei der Führung des Kanus zeigen sie große Geschicklichkeit. Früher hat es sich äußerst selten ereignet, daß ein Boot kenterte.[400] Wenn sich in neuerer Zeit solche Unglücksfälle wiederholt haben — ich selber war einmal Zeuge davon —, sind nachweislich der Mann oder die Frau, meist beide betrunken gewesen und haben sich trotzdem sogar nachts aufs Wasser gewagt.

Den Europäer erfaßt ein eigentümliches Gefühl beim Fahren, weil das Kanu außerordentlich leicht beweglich ist und im Wasser hoch steht. Die geringste Bewegung eines Insassen bringt es ins Schwanken und daraus erwächst dem Ungewohnten große Unsicherheit. Mehrmals (S. 453) bin ich in einem eigentlichen Rindenboote gefahren und wagte dabei nicht, mich zu rühren. Man befindet sich darin eben im labilen Gleichgewicht, weswegen man gegen jede Bewegung um so empfindlicher ist, je höher der Schwerpunkt des Fahrzeuges liegt und je weniger fest man sich aufstützen kann. Stirling hat im März 1864 seine Erfahrung geschildert: „A person accustomed to the firm seat of a boat is likely to feel a nervous sensation in these frail barks. The squatting position helps on the sensation a little" (VSA: XI, 238; 1864).

Weil die Bootsfahrten von unumgänglicher Notwendigkeit für das Wirtschaftsleben der Yamana sind und weil mit ihnen mehr oder weniger die Hälfte des Jahres ausgefüllt wird, erhellt daraus die wirksame Beteiligung der Frau. Das begründet Despard (b): 696 mit bestimmten Worten: „Women do the paddling; they also have entire charge of the canoe, when once made; it is to the Fireland woman what the house is to her civilized sister, her chief place of employment." In ihrem ganzen Tagewerke nimmt das Kanu sozusagen den Mittelpunkt ein und so gern sie sich zeitweilig in der Hütte aufhält, fühlt sie sich im Boote doch am wohlsten. Soll am Morgen die Weiterfahrt beginnen, hilft ihr die ganze Familie, es vom Lagerungsplatze ins Wasser zu schleifen. Wurde es draußen auf dem Kanal gesichert, muß sie dorthin schwimmen, mag die Flut noch so kalt sein. Sie steigt ein, löst die festen Algenstämme und rudert zum Strande. Hier werden alle Gerätschaften und Besitzgüter wieder aufgeladen und glimmende Holzkohlen zu einem matten Feuer in der Mitte hingelegt; sind alle Personen samt den Hunden einge-

[400] Diesbezüglich teilt Spears: 55 mit: „Both the Rev. Thomas Bridges and the Rev. Jean Lawrence told me that they never heard of a Yahgan being upset in his canoe until in these later years."

stiegen, führt die Indianerin ihr Fahrzeug dem vereinbarten Ziele entgegen. Durch viele Stunden vermag sie zu paddeln, ohne sich zu übermüden; denn nach Möglichkeit nützt sie die treibende Kraft der Wellen und Luftströmung aus. Das Rindenkanu ist außerordentlich leicht zu bewegen und die andauernde Beschäftigung damit wird gleichsam zum Spiel.[421]

Unrecht wäre es, zu bestreiten, daß die Yamana kühne Seefahrer sind. Viel Mut und Geistesgegenwart gehört dazu, in der starken See und bei dem schnellen Wetterwechsel in ihrer sogar von europäischen Seeleuten gefürchteten Heimat, im schwankenden, leichten Rindenboote auszufahren.[422] Trotzdem sind sie, wie Bridges (k): 233 versichert, bis zu den Islas de Ildefonso vorgedrungen. Diese kann man bei klarem Wetter vom Seno Año Nuevo aus deutlich erkennen. Daß sie die Falkland-Inseln nicht besucht haben, darf man ihnen mit Pickering: 19 nicht als Feigheit anrechnen; denn diese liegen weit außerhalb ihres Sehbereichs. Auf offener See bieten sich ihnen fast gar keine Jagdtiere; wozu also sich so weit hinauswagen? Nur wenn ein kranker oder toter Wal von den Wellen getrieben wird, entfernen sich viele Kanus sehr weit vom Ufer, falls leise Hoffnung besteht, an ihn heranzukommen. Nahe den außenliegenden Inseln und in den inneren Wasserarmen indes findet die Indianerfamilie alle höheren und niederen Tiere, die ihren Lebensunterhalt ausmachen; ihnen nachzugehen ist sie fast täglich gezwungen. Mit gutem Recht bezeichnet man deshalb die Yamana als echte Wassernomaden.

Bei aller Geschicklichkeit und Vorsicht blieb es nicht aus, daß vereinzelt einer Familie das Kanu in Verlust geriet. Das geschah dann, wenn sie auf einem niedrigen Eiland nach Eiern oder Kormoranen suchte, ohne vorher das Fahrzeug sicher bergen zu können. Meist blieb keine andere Wahl, als durch Rauchsignale fremde Leute herbeizurufen. Richtig sagte Hyades (g): 38 bereits: „Der Verlust ihrer Pirogue macht eine Feuerländerfamilie für den Augenblick völlig hilflos und wenn sie an einer einsamen Klippe Schiffbruch leiden und nicht zufällig von anderen bemerkt werden, kommen sie in Gefahr, Hungers zu sterben." Dergleichen seltene Unfälle schwächen aber das glänzende Zeugnis auf die Seetüchtigkeit der Indianerinnen um nichts ab.

3. Auf dem Lande

Man ist berechtigt zu sagen, des Feuerländers hauptsächliches Betätigungsfeld ist das Meer; denn auf dem Lande nimmt er hier oder dort nur vorübergehend kurzen Aufenthalt. Auf lange Dauer richtet er sich niemals

[421] Eine allgemeine Beobachtung hat Phillips (a): 1011 allein erwähnt: „Wenn man zu einer Spazierfahrt in einem Ruderboot einen Burschen einlud und ihm die Ruder gab, dann blieb er stundenlang dabei und war nicht zu ermüden, wie denn in allen Meisterarbeiten die Feuerländer eine ungewöhnliche Geschicklichkeit zeigen und ihnen diese Beschäftigung sichtlich Unterhaltung gewährt."

[422] Diese verwegenen Kanufahrer wurden von vielen Europäern angestaunt. Lovisato (b): 135 schrieb: „Con questi meschini schifi non temono quegli infoliti elementi in alto mare." Andere Urteile sind für die Yamana noch abscheulicher.

und nirgendwo ein. Bald nach der Landung baut der Mann, unterstützt von Frau und Kindern, eine einfache, lockere Hütte oder einen nur notdürftigen Schutz gegen das Unwetter und die Strenge der Nacht. Falls widrige Naturgewalten es nicht verhindern, zieht die Familie meist schon am nächsten oder übernächsten Tage wieder weiter. Das Verweilen auf dem Lande dient der körperlichen Ruhe und gewissen Handarbeiten. Nach der Tagesfahrt bedarf vor allem die Frau einer ausreichenden Rast, nicht minder auch der Mann, der beim Jagen zuweilen sehr stürmisch und regsam sich benimmt und der nachher erst die schwere Ermattung spürt. Vereinzelt müssen beide Gatten mit Aufgebot allen Könnens stundenlang Gegenwind und Gegenströmung überwinden, bis die Landung möglich wird; dabei verausgaben sie ihre ganze Kraft und benötigen zwei bis drei Tage, ehe sie sich wieder aufs Meer hinauswagen dürfen. Was der Mann an Gerätschaften braucht, verfertigt er auf dem Lande; indes ist er dabei nie an einen bestimmten Ort gebunden. Hier und dort arbeitet er am gleichen Stück eben so lange weiter, bis es fertiggestellt ist, müßte er es unvollendet auch zwanzigmal ein- und ausladen. Gleichfalls verrichtet die Frau alle ihr zustehenden Handarbeiten auf dem Lande und sucht die jeweilige Umgebung der Hütte nach Muscheln und Schnecken, nach Pilzen und Beeren ab.

Bei den unablässigen Kreuz- und Querfahrten folgt die Familie einem bestimmten Plane, den die Aussicht auf Erfolg bei der Nahrungssuche eingibt. Im allgemeinen ist sie zur Sommerszeit, obwohl ungünstiges Wetter häufiger ist, weit mehr unterwegs als im Winter (S. 24).[438] Ihr steht nämlich im Sommer eine größere Auswahl von Tieren zur Verfügung, die sie sich teils hier teils dort aneignet, während sie im Winter auf weniger Arten angewiesen ist. So nisten die Pinguine auf niedrigen, abgelegenen Eilanden, hingegen die Kormorane in Felswänden an der offenen See; Fische bevorzugen ruhige, seichte Buchten und Beeren gedeihen an sonnigen Plätzen; die Krabben sammeln sich auf einem sanft ansteigenden Meeresboden und die Robben drängen sich dicht um Felsenhöhlen. All diese Stellen kennt der Indianer und je nach der Jahreszeit versucht er auf der einen oder auf der anderen sein Glück. Die letzten Erfahrungen, unterstützt von seiner ausgezeichneten Ortskenntnis, macht er sich zunutze. Doch innerhalb einer gewissen kurzen Frist kehrt er zum gleichen Orte nicht wieder zurück, um den verscheuchten Tieren hinreichende Zeit zu lassen, sich zu beruhigen und zu sammeln; später kann er sie dort erfolgreich überraschen. Nicht selten landet der Jäger völlig ergebnislos an einer Stelle, wenn beispielsweise ebendort eine andere Familie ein oder zwei Tage vorher aufgetaucht war oder ungünstiges Wetter die Tiere vertrieben hat. An jene Orte, die ihn niemals enttäuschen, drängt es ihn immer wieder hin; sie werden ihm dann sozusagen zu Lieblingsplätzen.

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[438] Ohne diese Begründung anzufügen, behauptet Bridges (VSA: XIII, 207; 1866) nur: „In winter they lead a comparatively settled life, and generally winter in their own proper country." Sie vermeiden also weitreichende Fahrten, die im Winter wenig ergiebig sind.

Auf dem Lande zeigen die Yamana einen wenig sicheren Gang, verglichen mit den benachbarten Selk'nam. Damit soll keineswegs geleugnet werden, daß sie beim Jagen und Sammeln, beim Einfangen von Vögeln und beim Überfall auf Robben nicht höchst gewandt wären. Gemeint ist hier schlechthin die Art ihres Stehens und Gehens. Darin sind sie zweifelsohne ein wenig unbeholfen. Laufen und Springen fällt ihnen schwer, beim langsamen Gehen ermüden sie bald.[484] Trotzdem können sie sich manche Gänge nicht ersparen. Die Männer sammeln Stämmchen zum Hüttenbau und große Knüppel als Brennholz; zuweilen dringen sie tief in den Wald ein, um passende Rindenstücke für ein neues Kanu und Stangen für die Waffen zu suchen; bei einem Unfall oder bei Verlust des Kanus müssen sie weite Strecken zurücklegen; manche Vögel, Fischottern und Robben erreichen sie nur auf dem Lande. Tägliche Laufereien bleiben der Frau ebensowenig erspart. Im großen und ganzen sind unsere Yamana tagsüber viel auf den Beinen und gehen immer wieder noch einmal hierhin oder dorthin.[485] Zugestehen muß man, ihre Gangart ist leicht und schnell; sie sinken selbst im lockeren Boden kaum ein und hinterlassen im allgemeinen nur sehr schwache Fußspuren. „Par exemple, quand ils ont habité longtemps le même endroit, il n'est pas possible de découvrir, si on ne les a pas suivis, la mare où ils s'approvisionnaient vingt fois par jour d'eau à boire" (Hyades [q]: 213).

Den Feuerländern fehlen Schemel in der Hütte und Bänke im Kanu. Auf einen Gegenstand, etwa Stein oder Baum sich zu setzen, daß die Beine herabhängen, lieben sie nicht. Die bequemste Haltung beim Sitzen ist Hocken auf flachem Boden. Entweder ruht dabei das Gesäß auf dem Boden und die beiden Füße stehen mit den ganzen Sohlen platt auf, daß die Fersen an das Gesäß stoßen — wobei meist das eine im Knie gebeugte Bein sich nach auswärts neigt —; oder die beiden im Knie halbgeknickten, geschlossenen, seitwärts geneigten Beine werden dem Gesäß, das auf dem Boden ruht, eng vorgelagert, wobei das eine Bein mehr oder weniger auf dem anderen liegt; endlich kauert man derart, daß nur beide Sohlen platt auf dem Boden stehen und das Gesäß auf den Fersen ruht, ohne selber am Boden anzustoßen.[486] Bei einer jeden dieser Haltungen benötigt die Einzelperson nur wenig Raum, was um so günstiger ist, da auch eine kopfreiche Familie im kleinen Kanu unterkommen kann. Etwas unbestimmt hat sich Despard (b): 697 ausgedrückt: „In their huts, as well as canoes, the natives sit upon the heel, with the thigh pressing

[484] Darauf haben die anglikanischen Missionare wiederholt aufmerksam gemacht. Despard (b): 697 beispielsweise: „Firelanders travel very little on land; they can neither jump nor run well, and are soon tired with walking."

Daß sie bei längerem Laufen starkes Nasenbluten bekämen, wie die Reisenden der "Beagle" behauptet haben, ist nicht erwiesen und mir persönlich ganz unbekannt.

[485] Richtig behauptet Hyades (q): 213: „Contrairement à ce qui a été avancé par quelques auteurs, les Fuégiens marchent beaucoup et, pour le moindre prétexte, ils sont continuellement à aller et venir dans les environs de leurs huttes."

[486] Hyades (q) zeigt auf Tafel XVI, XVII und XVIII die unseren Feuerländern ganz eigene Art zu sitzen und auf dem flachen Erdboden zu hocken.

close up against the stomach and chest. Thus each individual, packed up in smallest compass, needs little space for his accommodation." Das gleiche drückt Hyades (q): 212 mit folgenden Worten aus: „Habituellement les Fuégiens ont la position accroupie, qui leur est imposée par leur genre de vie." Auf diese Weise, die Beine angezogen, schlafen sie auch. Das tun sie nicht allein, wie Hyades (q): 212 begründet, um wenig Raum einzunehmen, sondern m. E. hauptsächlich zum Schutz gegen zu starke Abkühlung; denn nur lose bedecken sie ihren Körper, dem sie die ganze strahlende Wärme des Hüttenfeuers zukommen lassen wollen. Während die Leute ganz auf dem Boden hocken, neigen sie den Oberkörper weniger oder mehr nach vorn; Frauen beugen sich zumal beim Angeln vom Kanu aus sehr weit nach unten. Niemand fühlt deswegen Beschwerden und ich sah nie, daß nachher jemand sich stehend mit starker Dehnung nach oben reckte. Ein Bedürfnis, aus dieser gebückten Haltung bald heraus zu kommen, macht sich bei ihnen nicht geltend.

Etwas unsicher benehmen sie sich beim Stehen; denn entweder schwankt dauernd ihr Oberkörper ganz wenig hin und her, oder sie bewegen sich sehr unauffällig von einem Beine auf das andere. Es ist, als ob sie nicht ganz stillehalten könnten. Mehr als einige Minuten halten sie freiwillig am gleichen Fleck überhaupt nicht aus. Muß es aber sein, suchen sie sich irgendwie zu beschäftigen; entweder spielen sie mit Steinen oder zupfen an ihren Gerätschaften oder zünden ein Feuer an, vor dem sie stundenlang sitzen können, ohne sich zu langweilen.[427] Im ganzen neigt sich der Oberkörper beim Stehen ein wenig nach vorn, die Füsse sind nicht geschlossen, aber einwärts gekehrt und die Knie etwas eingeknickt; dabei fallen die Arme nicht genau an den Körperseiten herunter, sondern so, daß die Hände vorn auf die Oberschenkel zu liegen kommen. In aufrechter Stellung verweilen sie nicht länger als einige Minuten; falls sie wählen können, hocken sie sich bald wieder auf den Erdboden, weil sie dabei besser ausruhen.

Um einer gefährlichen Küste auszuweichen oder einen langen Umweg zu vermeiden, benützt man seit altersher Landübergänge. Am bekanntesten sind drei im Gebiet der Südwestgruppe, nämlich vom tiefsten Punkte der Bahía Tekenika geradlinig nach Süden,[428] sowie vom Westufer dieser Bucht südwestwärts in die Bahía Dove, ferner vom tief einschneidenden Canal Carfort zum Estero Ponsonby. Als die Missionsstation dort bestand, sind die beiden erstgenannten Verbindungswege viel benützt worden; zuweilen ließ man das Kanu an der Landungsstelle zurück und machte den Weg allein zu Fuß. Das gilt auch für die Landenge von der Caleta Awaiakir genau südlich zum nördlichsten Rande im Westen des Estero Ponsonby. Außerdem wurden mir als Überlandverbindungen die beiden engen Stellen auf der nördlichen Hälfte der Peninsula Rous und auch die schmalsten Landzusammenhänge inmitten

[427] Desrand (b): 697 bestätigt dies mit ausdrücklichen Worten.

[428] Dieser Übergang wurde viel benützt, weil die Leute es tunlichst vermeiden, das Falso Cabo de Hornos mit seiner starken Dünung zu umfahren. Auch hatte vorübergehend die in der Bahía Tekenika eingerichtete Missionsstation einige Anziehungskraft ausgeübt.

der großen Isla Londonderry genannt. Jedwede Familie war berechtigt, jene Fährten zu benützen. Diese waren eigentliche Knüppeldämme, über die man das Kanu mit geringem Kraftaufwand und ziemlich schnell schleifen konnte.

An wenigen Stellen ist es nötig, zu Fuß einen Bach zu durchqueren. Eigentliche Flüsse gibt es südlich vom Canal de Beagle nicht. Als Furt *tuwér-i* wählt man eine seichte Stelle im Bett, die von flachen, niedrigen Ufern begrenzt ist. Besondere Zeichen bringt man nicht an, sondern merkt sich diese Stelle gut. Selbstverständlich durchwatet man den Bach.[439] Sollte aber das Wasser hoch stehen und stark strömen, verbindet man die Ufer mittels zweier Knüppel oder kurzer Stämme und überbrückt sie. BD: 78 bringt *ukilógraxtéka*, to put logs or beams etc. across a stream to form a bridge. Doch macht man, wie ich erfahren habe, eine derartige unsichere Anlage nur ganz selten.

4. Umweltbedingtes Wanderleben

Eingangs wurde die Tatsache hervorgehoben, daß die Yamana zu einem Wanderleben durch ihre Umgebung bzw. durch die Bedingungen ihrer Heimat gezwungen sind. Auf diesen Zwang haben sie nicht rein mechanisch geantwortet, sondern mit ihren Geisteskräften eine Wirtschaftsform ausgestaltet, die als eine bestmögliche Anpassung an die Umwelt[440] erscheint. Sie zeigt im Gebiete der Yamana von einem Ende bis zum anderen ein völlig einheitliches Gepräge; denn überall herrschen die im wesentlichen gleichen Naturbedingungen und die Gesamtzahl der Bevölkerung ist niedrig.

Mit der dort allein möglichen, von den Feuerländern geschaffenen aneignenden Wirtschaftsform ist die Forderung nach einer außerordentlich leichten Beweglichkeit verbunden. An irgendeinem bestimmten Fleck bieten sich einer Einzelfamilie Jagdtiere und Nahrungsmittel eben nur für einen oder für wenige Tage; selbst wenn sie länger zu verweilen wünscht, treibt der quälende Hunger sie weiter. Schwere Belastung durch eine Fülle von Gerätschaften und Gebrauchsgegenständen, durch Waffen und Kleidungsstücke würde sich bald als unerträglich erweisen. Staunenswert ist es zu sehen, mit welch geringfügigem dinglichen Besitz unsere Eingeborenen auskommen; nicht im mindesten hemmt er sie in schneller, gelenkiger Beweglichkeit. Sogar das unentbehrliche Kanu besitzt ein derart niedriges Gewicht und läßt sich

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[439] Auch Hyades (p): 237 schreibt, „on passe les ruisseaux à gué".

[440] Am 18. September 1858 schrieb Dumas in sein Tagebuch: „The Fueglans in themselves cannot be other than they are", und erklärt dies im einzelnen durch negative Beweisführung (VP: VI, 83; 1859). Bumoz (h): 240 liefert die folgende Darstellung im positiven Sinne: „Los indígenas han desarrollado todas las cualidades más útiles para la vida que llevan: sus canoas son perfectas de su clase, y otro tanto puede decirse de todos sus utensilios e implementos. Con los materiales de que disponen no comprende como podrían ser mejorados. Se adaptan perfectamente al suelo y clima del país en que se encuentran." Was Crawshay: XXIII. unter dieser Rücksicht von den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 304) behauptet hat, gilt ohne Einschränkung auch für unsere Yamana: „Judged from the point of view of the Land they inhabit, they are perfect."

spielend leicht auf dem Wasser führen, daß diese Vorzüge sich kaum steigern ließen. Gerätschaften und Waffen wiegen in der Hand dessen, der sie trägt, fast nichts; demnach kommt jeder auch auf dem Lande schnell vom Fleck. Obwohl man nach der Landung sich beim Aufrichten einer Hütte auf dem Ufer etwa eine halbe Stunde anstrengen muß, beim Weggehen läßt man das Gerüst stehen; denn es kann bei der nächsten Rückkehr wieder dienen. In allen Handgriffen sind unsere Indianer gewandt und schnell.

Gut paßt zu allem — und muß wohl als ein Ausfluß der engumgrenzten Einfachheit im ganzen äußeren Besitz betrachtet werden — ihre Bescheidenheit und Anspruchslosigkeit. Jedermann hat sich in die knappen Lebensbedingungen und empfindlichen Einschränkungen, die eine karge, knauserige Natur für jene Gegend aufgestellt hat, so selbstverständlich eingewöhnt, als gäbe es anderswo gar nichts Besseres. Mit seinem Lose bleibt jeder zufrieden und niemand murrt gegen sein Schicksal. Gleichzeitig ist er sich seiner beherrschenden Überlegenheit über die blinden Naturkräfte vollauf bewußt und seine Siegesgewißheit treibt ihn unaufhörlich zu neuen Wagnissen oder schwierigeren Taten an. Sein geistiges Können und seine Gerätschaften genügen ihm vollauf. Deshalb hat er durch lange Jahrzehnte aus überlegender Verachtung mancherlei Dinge der Europäer zurückgewiesen und im satten Selbstgenügen zäh an den althergebrachten Gerätschaften festgehalten. In verständnisvoller Würdigung all dessen hat sogar BRIDGES (k): 240 unsere erfahrenen, tüchtigen Feuerländer gegen ungünstige, weil voreilige Urteile einiger Beobachter in Schutz genommen und sie mit folgenden entschiedenen Worten verteidigt: „Los viajeros que los han visitado hicieron mal al condenarlos por su pobreza e ignorancia, de las que no eran culpables. La construcción de sus canoas, armas, implementos etc. y la labor de obtener su sustento del mar, la costa y los bosques, ocupan casi todo su tiempo." Als aber in neuester Zeit die fremden, von Europäern herangebrachten Gebrauchsgegenstände bei den Yamana schließlich doch Eingang fanden, lockerte sich der harmonievolle, enggeschlossene Zusammenhalt der gesamten Wirtschaftsform dieses Indianerstammes und bereitete seine völlige Auflösung vor.

Ob den Feuerländern aus der Übernahme einer in letzter Zeit nicht unbeträchtlichen Menge von europäischen Lebensgütern äußere und innerliche, geistige Bereicherung erwachsen ist? Ich stelle das in Abrede. Im gleichen Sinne hat schon GEORG FORSTER (b): 252 vom Paso Christmas aus Mitte Dezember 1774 diese Frage beantwortet: „Die Wilden, welche die Südspitze unseres Erdbodens bewohnen, haben wir als elend, ausgeartet und verfallen geschildert. So schien es uns, so mußte es einem jeden Europäer erscheinen, der einen besseren Zustand kannte und gewohnt war. In ihren eigenen Augen sind sie so unglücklich nicht. Ihre Lebensart ist ihnen zur anderen Natur geworden, sie geben ihr vor allen den Vorzug und keiner von ihnen würde unsern milden Himmelsstrich ihrem kalten Klima vorziehen; seine Hütte ist ihm lieber, als ein bequemes europäisches Wohnhaus; sein Robbenfell dünkt ihm zierlicher als Seidenstoffe und gestickte Kleider; ein

wohlschmeckendes Gericht aus unserer Küche, ersetzt ihm keineswegs das lieblichere Fumet seines Robbenfleisches." Um unnötige Wiederholungen zu vermeiden, verweise ich auf meine reichlichen Ausführungen über die langewährende Wirksamkeit der anglikanischen Missionare unter den Yamana an mehreren Stellen ihres Heimatgebietes seit der Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts (S. 288) und über den vielgestaltigen Einfluß des gesamten Europäertums auf diese an Kopfzahl schon empfindlich verminderten Eingeborenen seit einigen Jahrzehnten (S. 333, 348).

Unsere Indianer hängen mit allen Fasern ihrer Seele an dem althergebrachten, langgewohnten Nomadenleben; daran nur zeitweilig gehindert zu sein, ist ihnen unerträglich. Trotz mancher Vergünstigungen, die der Aufenthalt bei den Missionaren einem jeden geboten hat, wie Hyades (j): 166 berichtet, „il retourne avec délices à sa pirogue, à sa vie indépendante, errante, sans préoccupation et sans souci". Für die Yamana gibt es eben — davon kann sich jeder außenstehende Beobachter selber ausreichend überzeugen —, keine andere dort mögliche Daseinsweise, an diese sind sie von frühester Jugend an gewöhnt, zu dieser zwingt sie die dort gegebene Umwelt, in der sie nun einmal unentrinnbar stehen. Das Sorgen um den alltäglichen Lebensunterhalt und um die notwendigen Rohstoffe für ihre Gerätschaften treibt sie ruhelos von einer Stelle zur andern. Diese mächtige Triebkraft drängt zum gleichen Ziele und mit gleicher Stärke bei unsern Yamana wie bei den benachbarten Selk'nam; daher auch die vielen grundsätzlichen Übereinstimmungen in der Eigenart der Wirtschaftsform bei den beiden genannten Stämmen, denen unter dieser Rücksicht die Halakwulup gleichzustellen sind. Alle genauen Beobachter sind einig in dem Urteil, daß, wie Lothrop (b): 116 sich kurz ausdrückt, „like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance". Der Selbsterhaltungstrieb ist es, der die einen wie die andern zu ruhelosen Wanderern macht, der sie immer wieder von neuem und unbarmherzig auf die Beine stellt, nachdem sie sich eine kurze Rast von kaum wenigen Tagen gegönnt haben. Trotz dieser engen Abhängigkeit von der äußeren Natur sind unsere Feuerländer doch keineswegs deren Sklaven geworden und ihr Kampf ums Dasein ist durchaus nicht das entwürdigende Ringen, in dem beispielsweise unübersehbare Schichten des sogenannten zivilisierten Europa eben gegenwärtig stehen.

Auch ein Blick auf das Wirtschaften der Yamana zeigt: Der Mensch geht mit seinen überragenden geistigen Fähigkeiten und mit seinen körperlichen Kräften die Natur auf jedem Fleckchen Erde, das ihm überlassen wird, entschlossen an; dort gestaltet er sich eine bestimmte Wirtschaftsform, die früher oder später als harmonievolles Zusammenwirken von Mensch und Natur jedem genauen Beobachter vor Augen tritt. Tatsächlich besitzt jede Wirtschaftsform eines langeingesessenen Naturvolkes ihre bodenständige und umweltbedingte Eigenheit mit ausgeprägter Sonderbildung. Eine jede besteht demnach für sich und unterscheidet sich, trotz scheinbar äußerlicher Übereinstimmung mit einer unter anderegearteten Bedingungen entstandenen

Wirtschaftsform, von dieser mehr oder weniger nach ihrem inneren Aufbau und zumindest nach ihrer vielseitigen Zweckstrebigkeit. Damit soll der geschichtlich erwiesene Zusammenhang der Grundlinien gewisser Wirtschaftstypen keineswegs geleugnet werden; denn letztere bestehen tatsächlich und um sie ranken sich die jeweiligen örtlich bedingten Sonderbildungen. Im Gesamtbilde des allgemeinen Kulturgeschehens innerhalb der Menschheit gebührt der äußeren Lebensführung unserer Yamana ein besonderer, ja bevorzugter Platz; denn sie hat sich, weil gegen fremde Einflüsse durch natürliche Grenzen sozusagen undurchdringlich von der Umwelt abgesperrt, aus weit zurückliegenden ersten Anfängen bis zu der europäischen Einmischung erhalten.

[627]

DRITTER TEIL

Gesellschaftsordnung und Stammesbrauch

Die äußere Lebensform der Yamana ist die der umziehenden Sammelwirtschaft in enger Abhängigkeit von den gegebenen Naturbedingungen. Wie die Umwelt bestimmend und richtunggebend auf das gesamte Wirtschaften einwirkt, so entscheidet diese Wirtschaftsform sehr nachdrücklich über die besondere Gesellschaftsordnung. Letztere wieder beruht auf der Selbständigkeit jeder Einzelfamilie mit ihren besonderen Befugnissen und gesellschaftlichen Leistungen. „Die Art des Nahrungserwerbes, welche bei einer sozialen Gruppe herrscht, die Form ihrer Produktion, die nicht etwa willkürlich gewählt, sondern durch die besonderen Lebensbedingungen bestimmt wird, formt unmittelbar oder mittelbar alle übrigen Anschauungen und Handlungen der Gesellschaft. Wenn man weiß, was ein Volk ißt, so weiß man auch, was es ist" (Gnosse: 25). Diese bei anderen Naturvölkern nachweisbare Abhängigkeit der gesellschaftlichen Ordnung von der Wirtschaftsform besteht ganz eindeutig auch bei den Feuerländern, im besonderen bei unseren Yamana.

Die unabänderliche Pflicht eines nomadisierenden Volkes zum ruhelosen Sammeln schließt eine mehrschichtige Gliederung der Gesamtheit aus. Ihr einziger tragender Grundpfeiler ist die Einzelfamilie. In Form der monogamen Einehe erscheint eben sie als das alleinige, eng umgrenzte, deutlich bestimmte gesellschaftliche Gebilde. Nicht nur ist sie mit starken Sicherungen umgeben, auch schon von vornherein, sobald eine Ehe sich anbahnt, müssen Bedingungen erfüllt werden, die ihren Dauerbestand und ihr naturgegebenes Wirken gewährleisten. Damit sind an erster Stelle jene Bestimmungen und Gebräuche gemeint, die für den Eheabschluß gelten. Die hohe Bedeutung der Frau im Wirtschaftsbetriebe sichert ihr in der Familie eine dem Manne gleichberechtigte Stellung. Jedweder Einzelfamilie obliegt es als strenge gesellschaftliche Pflicht, abgesehen von der rein naturhaften Forderung, die eigenen Kinder nach den geltenden Grundsätzen und für die fortstrebenden sozialen Ziele zu erziehen. Darüber hinaus bietet die Stammes- bzw. Gruppengemeinschaft, als Fortsetzung und Ergänzung der Familienerziehung, den jungen Leuten zur Zeit ihrer körperlichen Reife noch eine Gemeinschaftserziehung in der Jugendweihe. Mancher gute Grund spricht dafür, die gesamte Feier-

Lebhaftigkeit bereits in diesem Abschnitt abzuschließen, obgleich der Bestand aus dem Reiche der religiösen Vorstellungen komplettiert wird. So augenfällig ähnlich, wie in der Jugendzeit, tritt sonst eingangs bei den Tamana der primitive Staat in die Erscheinung und er beteiligt sich dabei, in Ausübung eigener Rechte, über die engen Rechtssphären der Familie hinaus.

Mehrere Einzelfamilien sind naturhaft durch Bande des Blutes, jedoch nur locker, miteinander verknüpft und die gegenseitigen Verpflichtungen, die daraus erwachsen, sind allgemeinmenschlicher Art. Als Verbände größerer Fassung sind fünf Distriktgruppen nachgewiesen worden, die allerdings als Einteilung nach gesellschaftlichen Grundsätzen nicht gelten könnten (S. 199). Überdies fehlt jedwede Rangordnung nach Geburt und Stand. Klassenunterschiede, die anderswo auf Fertigkeiten oder Besitztum beruhen, gibt es ebenso wenig. Eine Zusammenfassung endlich der ganzen Stammesgemeinschaft unter einem einzigen Oberhaupte als Häuptling oder Richter, Priester oder Zauberer ist bei unseren Indianern nicht erfolgt.

Wohl bestehen uralte Stammesgewohnheiten mit rechtsartiger Verbindlichkeit, sowie eindeutige Grundsätze über Besitztum und Eigentum; daß sie treu befolgt werden, darüber wacht die Allgemeinheit. Sie beobachtet und betreibt auch die Pflege der allbekannten Stammestugenden. Verbrechen gegen den gesicherten Bestand der Familie oder gegen die Verwandtschaftsgruppen werden in kleineren oder größeren Kämpfen ausgetragen. Obwohl eine besondere gesellschaftliche Gliederung nicht durchgeführt ist und eine die Gesamtheit beherrschende Autoritätsperson nicht aufgestellt wird, betätigt sich dennoch deutlich und verpflichtend eine alle Stammesmitglieder umfassende Macht, der Staat ähnlich, so erkennt er auch in seinen ersten Anfängen noch deutlich und ausgeprägt erscheint.

Die gesamte Gesellschaftsordnung, als Inbegriff der ehelichen bzw. familialen Einrichtungen und der Lebensäußerungen des Stammes bzw. der Gemeinschaft erweist sich in all ihren Teilen als naturhaft menschlich und sie rückt deshalb auch in eine durchaus freundliche, angenehme Beleuchtung.

A. Freite und Ehe

Die Einzelfamilie, der tragende Grundpfeiler der gesamten Gesellschaftsordnung, erscheint in der Art, wie sie entstanden kommt und weiterbesteht, nach festen, unwandelbaren Grundsätzen geregelt. Als Gewohnheiten erhalten sie sich im Wissen und Gewissen der Allgemeinheit lebendig, die jedem Stammesmitgliede bekannt gemacht worden und die ihm mehr oder weniger vertraut sind. Weil Brauch und Gewohnheit in Auswirkung ihrer Verpflichtung als das oberste Gesetz gelten, haben davon auch Jahrhunderte nichts abgebröckelt, und was bis in die Neuzeit herein sich in Geltung erhalten hat, ist mit Fug und Recht als uralter Stammesbesitz zu betrachten.

Die Einzelfamilie, aus Eltern und Kindern zusammengesetzt, ist grund-

sittlich selbständig und ein festgeschlossener Verband. Was ihn begründet, ist die gegenseitige Zuneigung der beiden Liebenden und der Wunsch zur lebenslänglichen Vereinigung; was ihn zusammenhält, ist die sich steigernde seelische Verknüpfung beider Gatten miteinander; was ihm Lebensfähigkeit sichert, ist die Gemeinschaft des Besitzes und der Arbeit, des Nahrungserwerbes und Verbrauches; was ihn über sich selber hinauszuheben hilft, ist die selbstverständliche Aufgabe der Eltern, einige Kinder zu zeugen und durch sie den Weiterbestand des Stammes zu sichern.

Obwohl diese lebenswichtigen Gewohnheiten der Familienstiftung in jahrhundertelanger Gleichförmigkeit angedauert haben, wirkten seit einigen Jahrzehnten fremde Einflüsse mit solch nachdrücklicher Schwere darauf ein, daß jenes feste Gefüge schließlich gelockert wurde. In letzter Zeit haben sich sogar Zustände herausgebildet, die nicht einmal mehr als naturhaft gelten können und die in ihren Auswirkungen auf die ehelichen Verhältnisse ein arges Zerrbild von der ursprünglichen Eheform geschaffen haben. Ebensowenig, wie diese bedauerlichen Abänderungen, spiegeln falsche und unzulängliche Beobachtungen der meisten Reisenden seit Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts die grundsätzliche Einrichtung der bei den Yamana geltenden Familienordnung wieder.[1]

Auch ich habe meine Beobachtungen zu einer Zeit begonnen, in der das Ursprüngliche wegen des verheerenden Einflusses des Europäertums hier und dort bereits Abwandlungen zeigte. Somit durfte sich die Forschung nicht allein auf die unmittelbare Beobachtung stützen, sondern war auf Fragen und Erkundigungen weitgehend angewiesen. Zum Glück traf ich damals einige ältere Männer und Frauen an, die alle Gesetze und Gewohnheiten, nach denen in früherer Zeit das Ehe- und Familienleben aufgebaut war, noch in frischem Gedächtnis trugen; sie selber hatten sich fast ganz der Tätigkeit der Missionare und dem Einfluß des Europäertums streng abwehrend entzogen. Mochten auch diese Forschungsbedingungen weniger günstig sein, sie verhalfen immerhin zu einem sicheren Erfassen der ehemals alleingültigen Grundsätze für die Einrichtung der Ehe und den Verlauf des Familienlebens.

Überprüft man demgegenüber die Urteile und Behauptungen der Reisenden aus früherer Zeit, so tritt mit erschreckender Deutlichkeit zutage, wie gering ihr Wahrheitsgehalt oft ist und wie verwegen sie gewissenlos in Umlauf gesetzt worden sind. Meine Forscherarbeit wurde damit nicht nur erschwerend belastet, sondern erwies sich zeitweilig auch als höchst undankbar. Doch ge-

[1] Wo aus neuer Zeit überliefert worden ist, entbehrt der erforderlichen Vollständigkeit und Genauigkeit. Als Beispiel, das durch weit mangelhaftere ersetzt werden könnte, genüge, was Pyro-Ker (a): 182 über das Erwerben einer Braut niedergeschrieben hat: „As soon as a youth is able to maintain a wife, by his exertions in fishing or bird-catching, he obtains the consent of her relations, and does some piece of work for her parents. Having built or stolen a canoe for himself, he watches for an opportunity, and carries off his bride. If she is unwilling, she hides herself in the woods until her admirer is heartily tired of looking for her, and gives up the pursuit; but this seldom happens." Nun habe man aus den folgenden Zeilen dagegen, wie tatsächlich eine Ehe abgeschlossen wird.

[illegible] zu mir zur Gewißheit, daß das [illegible] Ergebnis, wie es in den folgenden Sätzen vorliegt, fehlerfrei und sehr zweckmäßig dargestellt worden ist.

Seitdem ich mich im Jahre 1932 von den Yanomam für immer verabschiedet habe, ist die Mehrzahl jener Männer, Frauen, die ich unvergeßlich Gewährsmänner oder bei meinen Forschungen gedient hatten, in eine bessere Welt hinübergegangen.* Heute ist es unmöglich, durch Erfragen die unverfälschten Einrichtungen von ehedem sicher und vollständig zu bestimmen,* weil die wenigsten Überlebenden des Stammes davon wieder geeignete Kenntnis besitzen noch darin aufgewachsen sind. Zweifelsohne war es auch für mich bereits die letzte Stunde, in der die Forschung, sollte sie erfolgreich verfallen und den gesamten früheren Tatbestand sichern, eingesetzt hat.

a. *Brautwerbung und Heirat*

Bei einem Volke, das sich, wie unsere Yanomam, in Einzelfamilien auflöst und von denen eine jede unabhängig von anderen sich dem Nahrungserwerb widmet, entzieht sich die Anschauung zweier lebender Herzen und ihr Zusammenschluß in der Heirat den Augen eines Beobachters, der sich nur kurze Zeit dort aufhält,* denn weder die Werbung noch die Hochzeit ereignet man mit auffälligen Feierlichkeiten. Gewisse Gebräuche werden bei jenen Anlässen dennoch eingehalten. Diese sind derart bestimmt ausgeprägt, daß daran allein, wenn man jede unbeabsichtigte Mitteilung ausschaltet, die eigentliche Vereinigung zweier junger Stammesmitglieder von der nächsten Nachbarschaft erkannt wird. Ebenso wie jene beiden Ereignisse sich nach bestimmten einfachen Regeln abwickeln, gibt es auch feststehende Gewohnheiten, die für den eigentlichen Ehevertrag gelten und die gewisse Sekundärehen als wirkliche Ehehindernisse aufrichten. Regellos oder formlos kommt bei den Yanomam niemals eine Ehe zustande, obwohl bei der Gattenwahl gesellschaftlich verhältnismäßig wenig Freiheit herrscht.

Unsere Eingeborenen wünschen von sich aus, daß es auch die Europäer lernen, wie sehr bei ihnen die verantwortungsvolle Entschließung zum Ehebund als ein Ereignis gewertet wird; denn für die Stammesgemeinschaft ist es bedeutungsvoll. Eben deshalb wird es zumindest den nächsten Stammesgenossen erkennbar gemacht. Auf meiner dritten Reise hörten wir die Leute gern den Vorgang einer Hochzeitsfeier gewärtigen, bildet sowohl sich der Plan zum Ehebund jener beiden jungen Eingeborenen, die sich damals eine Zeitlang angeneigt waren. Mir ist nicht bekannt, daß die Missionare vielleicht angeraten, die Europäer das bemerkbare Zeremoniell bei einer Liebesver-

* Etwa ein Jahr nach mir hat Lorenzo (S. 141 ff.) sich bemüht, die [illegible] Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen dieser Eingeborenen festzustellen. Er bekennt: „It is difficult to gather these words, because much time has passed since many of them were used."

* Aus den bisher vorliegenden Berichten über Werbung und Gattenwahl kann Lorenzo bei an dem verfehlten Urteil, daß „there are no fixed forms".

klärung und Verhaltensfehler mit eigenem Auge beobachtet hat, vielleicht haben sie viele unerhörte Beispiele darüber für Urteil abgegeben. Die einzelnen unzweckmäßigen Meinungen hier zu erörtern verlohnt sich nicht, die wirklich beachtenswerten Erkenntnisse bei der Wahrung und Hütet gesunder zu beobachten ist wichtiger und unter mehrfachen Rücksichten von besonderer Bedeutung.

2. Das heiratsfähige Alter

Das Frauenzimmer kommt so nie in den Stand, die Lebensjahre einer Person zu zählen. Demnach sichern sie keine bestimmte Altersgrenze nach Jahren, von der an Jugendliche sich verheiraten dürfen. Als unerläßliche Bedingung nennen sie die Tatsachen an der Jugendreife vorzu. Weniger, weil damit allein ein gewisses Alter gegeben ist, vielmehr, weil in jener bezeichnenden Veranstaltung der junge Mensch im Naturzusammenhang geschult und in seinem Verhalten gegen andere unterrichtet, also zu einem ganzen und brauchbaren Menschen erzogen wird. Vorerst soll er gleichsam die Fähigkeit zu einer geordneten, selbstständigen Lebensführung und zum erfolgreichen wirtschaftlichen Arbeiten bereitgemacht haben, ehe die Allgemeinheit sich mit seiner Verehelichung einverstanden erklärt. Das weitere Bewehren wird so nicht erspart werden sein, auch ein zweites Mal der Jugendreife als eigentlichen Prüfungsjahr beizubringen zu können; denn erst dadurch erhielten sie das Recht, an der Ehegemeinschaft teilzunehmen. As eine ähnliche Bedingung war ein zweites Eintreten der Mädchen in die Jünglingsvereinigung nicht geeignet.

Selbstverständlich haben sich bei jenen Mädchen, die vor Jugendreife verpflichtet wurden, kaum vorher die Zeichen der körperlichen Reife eingestellt. Letzteres ist demnach besser verhandelt, wenn es mit der Verheiratung erst wird.* Nachdrücklich fordern man jedoch für beide Geschlechter eine geistige Reife, was sich schon daraus ableiten, daß die Bekehrungen der Jünglinge unwiderruflich vorangegangen sein müssen. Eindringlich durfte bei einer Unterweisung in den gegenseitigen Pflichten der beiden Gatten, Autoritäten angeführt sein einmal: „Erst muß jeder wissen, was er arbeiten und wie er sich verhalten soll, ehe er sich verheiraten darf!" Dabei dachte man, wie er geeignet, an die tägliche Arbeitsteilung und an die in einer gleichberechtigten Stellung einem jeden Ehepartner im Familienverbande.

Bei dabei sind die heiratsfähigen, jungen Menschen über den Geschlechtsleben hinreichend aufgeklärt, um zu wissen, daß es ein Hauptzweck der Ehe ist, Kinder zu zeugen. Niemals wichtiger die Erwachsenen im Frauenhause mit der angemessenen geschlechtlichen Aufklärung der Jugend dem vom Körper

* Wegen (S. 272 bei Lockenhaus) daß „vor Eltern die 18 & 20 aus, von unserer angesehen, auch bei mehrere gar an Folgen gut verhalte Ehepaare, geschieht sie daß von gewisser Seite". Dieser Einwurf bezieht sich gegen das allgemeinhaltende Geschlechtsbewußtsein in diesem verhältnis, wenn solchen Bekanntgaben jener Stand der Mädchen in sich gewissen hat; es ist vielleicht die Erkenntnis eines Mädchens einer Frau gewesen. Von gelegentlichen Wahlen zur wirklichen Reife ist auch bei den Tonnen gemäßen die weiter Wa-

jewelle verschiedene Entwicklungsgrade vorgeführt. Je mehr dieser vorzugsweise sich der körperlichen Reife nähert, um so deutlicher und bestimmter werden die Eltern und nächsten Verwandten dazu hin, daß der Vereinigung beider Geschlechter das Kind entstamme. Über die Begattung selber wird, wie ich erfahre, ausdrücklich nicht gesprochen. Statt dessen erhält das Mädchen unmittelbar seiner ersten Menstruation eingehende Belehrung darüber, wie der Empfang zu pflegen und zu behandeln ist. Demnach werden die Jünglinge im Alpage angehalten, der spätern Gattin kurz vor und nach der Niederkunft alle erdenkbarste Schonung angedeihen zu lassen. Das bestimmteste Wortlaut konnte ich nicht erfahren. Jeder junge Familienvater erkennt die Bedeutung der Geschlechtsakten selber nicht in unmittelbarer Beziehung, sondern nur der Beobachtung der Tiere und aus dem Vergleich seines Körpers mit dem des andern Geschlechtes. Dann erhält die sehr mangelhafte Körperentwicklung und das enge Bewußtsein. Von Anfang an meint man im Geschlechtsakte nicht eigentlich den Grund, „das tut man später, nachdem man ihn einige Male verdeutscht hat", gestand die alte Jacza. Als ein weiterer Grund ist der zu nennen, daß sich in den Jahren vor der körperlichen Reife bis zur Verheiratung die beiden Geschlechter, sogar die eigenen Geschwister, einander fremdlich nehmen, sodaß die Begattlichkeit eingeschränkt wird.

Indem Ulli sich nicht irrgarne, daß die Mädchen nach der Menarche und die Burschen nach der Jugendreife sichtlich, einigleich unmerklich, auf alle Vorgänge und Vorgeschichtungen im Elternhause vorbereitet werden. Zudehnt geschieht dies durch viele Hinweise und wiederholte Ermahnungen. Man sagt Sonst: „Wenn du verheiratet sein wirst, darfst du nicht mehr so unbesonnen herumtrollen! — Später mußt du Fleisch für deiner Frau und für deiner Kinder jedesmal vorrätig haben. — Zeige dich deiner Gattin immer wohlwollend, denn sie schenkt dir Kinder. — Zanke nicht mit deinem Manne, wenn Streit er in einem andern Hause und du mußt in deinem Hause allein schlafen; schließlich wird er die nennen, wenn er mehrere Nächte in der Hütte einer andern Familie schläft!" Diese Worte vernahm ich Gnerna. Bei derglichen Äußerungen mußte sich unbewußt die ganze innere Verfassung des jungen Menschen auf den heiligen Beginn seines neuen Lebens in ehelichem Verhältnisse um, er denkt heiliger darüber nach und findet endlich selber die mehr oder weniger richtige, aber unentbehrliche Erklärung für manche physiologische Erscheinungen, die er an seinem eigenen Körper wahrnimmt.

Unvermerklich steigert sich selbstverständlich das Bewußtsein von der noch nicht erreichten Eigbnung seines leiblichen und seelischen Seins zu einer leidenschaftlichen Sehnsucht nach dem Ehepartner. „Wenn die jungen Leute aus dem Alpage entlassen sind, haben sie es nicht mehr lange aus, ehelos zu leben. Manche verheiraten sich so mehr aufgeregt und werden sie so verdrießen, je länger sie auf eine Ehelichkeit warten müssen", bemerkte Jacza. „Dann und wann gibt es ein Mädchen, das sich mitunter ganz unbändig gebärdet und sich gänzlich einem heiligen Bursche in die Arme wirft, weil es nicht mehr länger allein leben mag; es nehmt sich nach einem Garten und

auch Kinderei?" Marx sagte mir dies in Erinnerung an eine Reise Fernandinos, die Hagit tot ist.[1] Dieses Dialogen der Geschlechter miteinander ist unerhört.

Seit drei Jahrzehnten herrscht eine unerträgliche Gleichgewichtsstörung in der indianischen Bevölkerung, insofern für die heiratsfähigen Burschen die erforderliche Anzahl von Mädchen nicht vorhanden ist. Als ich auf meiner zweiten Reise in Porto Rosalina von dem Yamana wieder Abschied nahm, schickt sich mir Hemerrsan beim Ritt nach dem Rio Carmen im Nordosten der Isla Grande an. Seine Mutter war eine Selk'nam. Er heiratete, bei diesem Stamm eine Lebensgefährtin zu finden und gestand mir dies schamhaftig unterwegs an wüstenähnlichen Malen; daraus erkannte ich unvermeidlich sein heißes Verlangen. Wirklich blieb er im Lager am Rio del Fuego zurück, wo er auf zwei Mädchen seine Augen warf, die anscheinend seine Absichten verständnisvoll erwiderten. Seine gleichgiltigen Ausdrücke wollte ich ihm nicht zuerkennen und so ritt ich von dort allein weiter.[2]

Bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten sagten mir einige Überlegende Alte: „Wie schwer ist gegenwärtig die Lage für manchen Burschen, weil er an passenden Mädchen nur Eine hält!" Vielgattinnen Mitleid für die ungestillte Sehnsucht und für eine natürlichen, aber unerfüllten Verlangen kam in diesen Worten zum Ausdruck. Wirklich, im Herzen des heiratsfähigen Frauenhassers wogt und stürmt es gewaltig, bis er den geliebten Weib ganz besitzt!

Will man eine nach Zahlen bestimmte Altersgrenze aufstellen, ist man nicht nur auf Vermutungen angewiesen. Wie die Missionare und einige gut unterrichtete Indianer angaben, heiraten die Burschen durchgängig im Alter von siebzehn bis neunzehn Jahren, ein Schwächling etwas später. Man verlangt nämlich — und die nächsten Verwandten reden in diesem Sinne auf den ein —, daß er neben der erforderlichen Urteilsreife noch eine genügende körperliche Festigkeit aufweise, damit er im Lebenskampf voll und ganz seinen Mann stelle. Bei Mädchen wartet man, wenn die eigentliche Reife längst erreichen sein, bis eine ansehnliche Körperfülle und eine gewisse Fettgebung eintritt, die als notwendige Voraussetzung für die Mutterschaft gilt; weniger entscheidet dabei die Gestaltung der Brust, als vielmehr eine Verbreiterung der Hüfte, die nach der Meinung einstimmig glücklich einwirkt. Einmal hörte ich: „So lange ein Mädchen noch so schlank und zart ist, darf es sich nicht einem Mann hingeben; denn ihr Kind würde schwach und kleln zur Welt kommen!" Die Mutter selbst ist es, die ihre Tochter so lange in der Familienhütte zurückhält, bis diese nach ihrem eigenen Urteile und dem der Nachbarinnen die körperliche Kraft zu einer erfolgreichen ersten Mutterschaft erreicht hat. Meist gilt dies für das fünfzehnte und sechzehnte Lebensjahr, vereinzelte starke Mädchen heiraten ein Jahr früher.[3]

[1] Wahrscheinlich spielt Bove (s. 137 [illegible]) an, wenn er sagt: „Das Verlangen nach dem Weißen hält sich bei [illegible] Frauen; [illegible] Weiße und der Begriff der Weißen in dem Vorbildnisse wird als die größte Tyrannei der Civilisation angesehen."

[2] Vgl. bei Gusinde (s. 134) die [illegible] Mandelchen.

[3] Dengegenüber hat Bove (s. 139 und (s. 147 die Behauptungen einiger gegen-

Wie diese Angaben beweisen, schließen sich Burschen und Mädchen erst dann zur Ehe zusammen, wenn sich die Bedingungen für ein ungestörtes Wirtschaftsleben einerseits und für eine gesunde Mutterschaft anderseits erfüllt haben. Damit wird nicht ausgeschlossen, daß zuweilen eine Liebelei zweier Jugendlicher schon viel zeitiger einsetzt und daß beide sich miteinander vergnügen, so oft sich ihnen Gelegenheit bietet, bis schließlich ihrer Heirat sich keiner der Erwachsenen aus sachlichen Gründen länger in den Weg stellt.

2. Werben der Heiratsfähigen

Entgegen ungenauen und falschen Berichten aus der Feder einiger Europäer sei hier nachdrücklich die Freiheit bei der Gattenwahl betont. Erst in neuester Zeit ist, wie soeben erwähnt, eine Verschiebung des Gleichgewichtes in der Vertreterzahl der beiden Geschlechter eingerissen. Nach der allgemein gehaltenen Redewendung mehrerer Feuerländer, die ich befragte, hat es ehedem genau so viele Burschen als Mädchen im heiratsfähigen Alter gegeben.[5] Dies vorausgeschickt, erscheinen für die vorhergehenden Jahrhunderte alle Bedingungen zu einer unbehinderten, freien Werbung der jugendlichen Verliebten erfüllt.

Aus der naturhaften Schüchternheit und Zurückhaltung, die dem weiblichen Bevölkerungsteile im Feuerlande mehr als anderswo anhaftet, erklärt sich die Tatsache, daß der Bursche den ersten Werbungsversuch beim Mädchen macht, dieses hingegen damit wohl nie beginnt. Meistens kennen sich beide seit früher Jugend oder aus den späteren Kinderjahren. Einzelne Familien der gleichen Dialektgruppe treffen sich ja gelegentlich, verweilen wenige Tage beieinander, haben sich gern und begrüßen jede neue zufällige Zusammenkunft; nicht selten reisen sie tagelang gemeinsam. Das sind die Gelegenheiten, bei denen die Kinder aus dieser und jener Familie sich gegenseitig nähern, trotz der durch die Erwachsenen streng überwachten Scheidung der Geschlechter; dabei lernen sie sich lieben und mit den ansteigenden Lebensjahren wird die oft lange währende Trennung bis zur nächsten Zusam-

„Die Heiraten der Feuerländer werden im allgemeinen früh geschlossen; mit 12 bis 13 Jahren schon machen die Mädchen Jagd auf einen Mann, doch erst mit 17 oder 18 Jahren werden sie Mutter; die Männer heiraten zwischen 14 und 16 Jahren." Wörtlich wiederholt diese Wegmann: 48. Noch tiefer sind diese Zahlen bei Lovisato (h): 158. Hyades (q): 377 nennt bei Mädchen das dreizehnte Lebensjahr. Nach Bridges (l): 21 „girls were given in marriage from 14 years onward". Nachweislich ist Hyades (f): 573 sich nicht gleich geblieben, wenn er an anderer Stelle angibt: „Le mariage s'accomplit assez tard, vers 18 ou 20 ans pour les filles, 25 ans pour les garçons en moyenne."

[5] Ausdrücklich betont Bridges (h): 260, daß „el número de varones y mujeres es casi igual". Heutigentage wird es sich nicht mehr bestimmen lassen, ob die Zahl der Männer oder die der Frauen ein wenig überwog; die beschränkenden Andeutungen, die ich erhielt, sprechen zu Gunsten der letzteren. Im Juni 1924, als Bridges eine genaue Volkszählung durchführte und auch die Missionsschwestern die Kopfzahl der Südgruppe bestimmte, hatten bereits verheerende Krankheiten das Gleichgewicht gestört; das muß man beim Vergleich der damals gewonnenen Zahlen berücksichtigen. Vgl. Martial: 215.

menkunft immer schwerer empfunden. Beim Spiele harmloser Kinder drängt sich mehr und mehr der Wunsch in den Vordergrund, öfter und länger beieinander zu sein, bis schließlich unbewußt es dem Buben und dem Mädchen selbstverständlich wird, für immer sich gegenseitig anzugehören und von anderen sich restlos abzusperren. MARY sagte: „Wenn die Kinder noch klein sind, spielt dieser Bub gern mit jenem Mädchen, zwei andere und wieder zwei andere tun das Gleiche für sich. Merkwürdig, was sie, je länger je stärker, aneinander kettet. Aber so kommt es, daß sie im Reifealter sehnsüchtig auf einen Tag warten, um wieder aufeinander zulaufen zu können. Schließlich heiraten sie sich, denn schon seit langem haben sie sich lieb!"

Freilich verkehrt jedwede Familie, obgleich selten, auch mit einer aus *der anderen Dialektgruppe, doch kaum erwächst daraus eine engere* Annäherung der Kinder von hier und dort. Dazu aber drängt förmlich das wiederholte Zusammentreffen zweier Familien aus dem gleichen engeren Heimatgebiete.

Im Reifealter betont das Verlangen nach häufigem Beisammensein den Herzschlag jener beiden, die sich seit Kinderjahren zueinander hingezogen fühlen. „Das ist die Zeit, in der sie immer beieinander sein wollen; sind sie voneinander getrennt, fühlt sich keiner von ihnen wohl. Das ist die Zeit, in der sie sich wirklich lieben, ohne das auszusprechen. Aber jeder der beiden fühlt es trotzdem, daß er vom andern geliebt wird; deshalb drängt es ihn so sehr zum andern hin. Nur beieinander zu sein, genügt ihnen vollauf; mehr wollen sie nicht, als für sich sein. Kaum sagt einer dem anderen ein Wort. Sie schauen sich zwar öfters an, aber beieinander zu sein, das macht sie ganz zufrieden. Eng lehnen sie sich aneinander, wenn sie auf dem Boden sitzen oder liegen. Manchmal halten sie sich zeitweilig umarmt, öfters läßt der eine Teil seine flache Hand über den Kopf und den Körper des andern gleiten. So verbringen sie Stunden, bis sie sich wieder trennen müssen." NELLY, der ich diese Worte verdanke, erklärte mir unumwunden, daß kaum je einer der beiden sich währenddessen unschickliche Berührungen erlauben würde.

Der Aufmerksamkeit erwachsener Verwandten des Burschen sowohl wie des Mädchens entgehen die häufigen Zusammenkünfte jenes Pärchens nicht. Ist ihrem Urteil gemäß daraus eine eheliche Verbindung bald zu erwarten, stellen sie sich mit Verweisen oder Verboten nicht hindernd in den Weg. „Je öfter sich jene zusammenfinden und je länger sie beisammen sind, um so glücklicher werden sie miteinander leben, wenn sie eine eigene Hütte [als Verheiratete] bewohnen!" So lautete eine Erklärung NELLY's. Für welche Dauer die Liebeleien gestattet werden, hängt im Einzelfalle von verschiedenartigen Umständen ab; keine bestimmte Regel leitet die erwachsenen Beobachter. In jener Zeit aber läßt der eine oder der andere Nachbar doch Bemerkungen fallen, aus denen der Bursche sowohl wie das Mädchen entnehmen sollen, daß ihr geheimes Treiben nicht ganz verborgen blieb. Beispielsweise sagt jenem ein naher Verwandter: „Dir gefällt die X. [er nennt des Mädchens Namen] wohl sehr, weil du dich so oft mit ihr im Walde triffst!" Ihr sagt man: „Ein fleißiger und starker Bursche ist es, den du dir erwählt hast; nun

wird er dich wohl bald heiraten!" Weder er noch sie sprechen mit Erwachsenen ausdrücklich über ihre Liebelei und heimlichen Zusammenkünfte.

Zuverlässigen Andeutungen muß ich entnehmen, daß sich die beiden Verliebten gegenseitig kaum je eine förmliche Liebeserklärung abgeben. Das Verhalten des einen zum anderen ist an sich eindeutig und besagt reichlich genug; der unausgesprochene Wunsch, immer beisammen zu sein, beinhaltet den Entschluß zur Ehe. Letzteren gibt der Bursche unumwunden im Kreise seiner Altersgenossen kund, wo er auch die Vorzüge seiner Auserwählten hervorhebt. Durch dergleichen Unterhaltungen werden die eigenen Verwandten und die seiner Braut mit seinen Absichten noch sicherer vertraut gemacht; ungezwungen entwickelt sich ein Allgemeingespräch und nicht selten wird der Bursche unvermittelt vor die Frage gestellt, wann seine Hochzeit stattfinde. Sowohl gegenüber der eigenen Mutter und ihren Verwandten als auch im Kreise ihrer Freundinnen hält das verliebte Mädchen mit dem, was sie stark im Herzen bewegt, auffallend zurück. Jene sind es, die ihr zeitweilig doch die Zunge lösen und sie zum Reden drängen, müßte sie selber auch noch so widerwillig gegen ihre eigene Schüchternheit ankämpfen.

Hat das Gerede der Leute über das Liebesverhältnis jenes Paares eine Zeitlang angedauert, regen sich wie unbewußt die Hände der nächsten Verwandten zur Vorbereitung der Hochzeit. Von keiner Seite her erfließt dazu ein eigentlicher Auftrag. Der Entschluß zur Heirat wird den Eltern kaum je bestimmt mitgeteilt, die einmal früher eingeleitete und erwiderte Zuneigung hat so geradlinig zur Verehelichung hingedrängt, daß gefühlsmäßig die nächste Umgebung an äußerem Beiwerk das Wenige schafft, was altes Gewohnheitsgesetz fordert. Dem verliebten Paare kommt das in jedem Falle erwünscht.

Genau läßt sich der Zeitraum, da die Liebelei oder das Werben anhält, wie eben angedeutet, nicht bestimmen, beginnt doch die erste Zuneigung nicht selten bereits in frühen Kinderjahren. Man sagte mir auch, daß nicht selten junge Leute, die sich plötzlich gegenübertraten und in deren beider Herzen die Liebe sofort Feuer fing, innerhalb weniger Tage sich zur Heirat entschlossen haben. ALEJANDRO, der schon in jungen Jahren verwitwete, warb bereits nach vier Monaten um ELISA, die, erst seit einigen Tagen aus dem *čiſgaus* entlassen, vorher auf einen anderen Burschen ihre Augen geworfen hatte. An ihm und an seiner Auserwählten konnte ich bequem beobachten, wie verliebte Jugendliche bei den Yamana den Weg zum Ehebunde vorbereiten; allerdings fehlte in seinem Verhalten manches Ursprüngliche, war er doch Witwer und durch den Verkehr mit Europäern zu einem betonten Modegeck geworden. Man könnte sagen, um in etwa eine Formel aufzustellen: Sobald ein gewisser, individuell mehr oder weniger hoher Grad gegenseitiger Liebe und Ergebenheit erreicht ist,* setzen die Vorbereitungen zur Hochzeitsfeier ein, ohne daß hierfür von irgendwelcher Seite ein aus-

* HYADES (d): 269 begnügt sich mit der knappen Fassung: „Le mariage est fondé generalement sur une affection réciproque." Mit diesen Worten wird zumindest die Freiheit bei der Gattenwahl auf beiden Seiten bestimmt zugegeben.

drücklicher Auftrag erfließt. Damit ist das Ziel der Werbung erreicht, obgleich es vom ersten Beginnen der Zuneigung an weder bestimmt erkannt noch erstrebt wird. BD: 623 führt das Wort *wónâna:* freien, einem den Hof machen.

3. Das Gattenideal

Keine einzige Abhandlung europäischer Reisender deutet an, daß den verliebten jungen Feuerländern bei der Wahl des Lebensgefährten eine Idealgestalt vorschwebt, die ihr Wünschen schafft und ihre Schwärmerei verklärt. Nicht jedwedem Partner wirft sich das heiratslustige Wesen in die Arme, die Freiheit bei der Gattenwahl zeigt deutlich an, daß jedermann überlegend und berechnend sich für diese oder für jene Person entscheidet. Darin kommt überdies zum Ausdruck, daß alle Liebesschnsucht sich in gewissen Richtlinien bewegt, an deren Ende das liebliche Traumgebilde des idealen Ehepartners steht. Dieses Bild zeichnen eindeutig bereits gewisse Hinweise in den Belehrungen während der Jugendweihe, wird doch nachdrücklich jedem Burschen und jedem Mädchen all das, was sie an persönlichen Vorzügen und gesellschaftlichen Tugenden im Eheleben aufweisen müssen, genannt und anempfohlen. Wer sich die hierfür geltenden Einzelworte zusammenstellt, erlangt ein Vollbild des idealen Gatten und der idealen Gattin nach den Begriffen der Yamana. Hinzuzufügen wären noch die Wünsche nach gewissen körperlichen Vorzügen, die der andere Partner hegt; bei den meisten Verliebten stehen diese im Vordergrunde, weniger die guten charakterlichen Anlagen.

Zunächst die Frage, wie das Mädchen sich den Burschen in ihren Träumen ausmalt. Gesund und kräftig, ebenmäßig gebaut und angenehm geformt muß er sein. Verstümmelungen, die ihn verunzieren, seien es Brandwundenverheilungen oder andere Narben und Verletzungen, die, wie Gliedmaßenbrüche, eine freie Bewegung hindern, machen einen jungen Mann wenig oder gar nicht begehrenswert.[10] Fettleibige und plumpe Gestalten Jugendlicher gab es früher anscheinend nicht. Hingegen hat eine geradgewachsene und aufrechte, gelenkige und geschmeidige Erscheinung die besten Aussichten.

Im ganzen Äußeren muß sich überdies deutlich Mut und Kraftbewußtsein, Unternehmungslust und Lebensfreude ausprägen. Wer eine Arbeit frisch angreift und spielend leicht zu Ende bringt, wer gutgelaunt sich auf die Jagd begibt und mit Beute regelmäßig heimkehrt, wer in und vor der eigenen Hütte sich immer wieder zu beschäftigen weiß, wer überall frisch und regsam zupackt, der wird von jedermann geschätzt. In alledem äußert sich ein reges, lebhaftes Temperament, das der phlegmatischen Schwerfälligkeit bei weitem vorgezogen wird; denn letzteres wirkt im engen Familienkreise um so drückender, je seltener der Verkehr mit anderen Leuten möglich ist. Einem gewalttätigen und streitsüchtigen, einem mürrischen und empfindsamen Burschen

[10] Hiermit stimmt Bove (e): 158 überein: „Ein Krüppel, ein Hinkbeiniger kann gutwert das Gelübde der Cölibate ablegen und die Frauen sehen einen solchen wie ein unreines Wesen, wie einen Paria der Gesellschaft an." Bei Wuinana: 41 liest man die gleichen Worte.

geht man mit dem Wege; aber dem schließt man sich begeistert an, der freimütig auftritt und ungezwungen mit jedermann verkehrt, der die Gesellschaft erheitert und jedem einzelnen sich zwanglos anschmiegt und gefällig zeigt.

Bei der Fülle alles dessen denkt das Mädchen weniger an bestimmte Charaktereigenschaften, die ihr Geliebter haben soll. Als selbstverständlich erscheint ihr unbewußt seine Treue und seine ganze Hingabe an ihre Person; ferner erwartet sie, daß er ein guter Mensch sei, frei von Roheiten im Benehmen, frei von ungebändigten Zornesausbrüchen und Anlagen zu Gewalttätigkeiten, ohne indes Tapferkeit, Mannesstolz und Wagemut auszuschließen. Jeden Vorzug, den die Verliebte an ihrem Auserwählten beobachtet, begrüßt sie mit stiller Genugtuung oder mit leichtem Lächeln; zuweilen sollt sie einen bescheidenen Beifall, der eben hinreicht, leise auch die Aufmerksamkeit ihrer Freundinnen zu wecken.

In ähnlicher Steigerung der persönlichen Wünsche und Erwartungen schwebt dem jungen Burschen ein Idealbild seiner Lebensgefährtin vor. Auch das Mädchen seiner Wahl muß schön gebaut sein und angenehme äußere Formen besitzen.[11] Ein kleines, glattes Gesicht, ruhige, klare Augen, ein zierlicher Mund mit dünnen Lippen und eine sanfte, weiche Stimme berücken sein Herz. Der Körper soll weder mager noch plump sein; das sogenannte Vollschlank erfreut ihn am meisten. Bei aller Lebhaftigkeit darf ihren Bewegungen die Anmut — fast möchte man von Vornehmheit sprechen — und eine gewisse ruhige Würde nicht fehlen.

Ein stilles, schweigsames Wesen, dem innere Teilnahme und lebhaftes Mitfühlen nicht abgeht, wird außerordentlich geschätzt; widerwärtig wirkt lautes Zanken, mürrische Verdrießlichkeit und reizbare Empfindlichkeit. Reinlichkeit am Körper und in allem dinglichen Besitz, Ordnungsliebe für die Hütte und die eigenen Sachen, unermüdlicher Drang zu andauerndem Beschäftigtsein und unauffällige Geräuschlosigkeit beim ganzen Tagewerk, Anhänglichkeit an die eigenen Eltern und glückliche Veranlagung im Umgange mit kleinen Kindern sind Vorzüge, die sogar von älteren Frauen gepriesen und den heiratsfähigen Mädchen immer wieder empfohlen werden.

Gute Aussicht, von anderen umworben zu werden, haben lebhafte, frische Mädchen; denn sie selber sind es, die sich gern necken lassen, die bewußt einem Kreise von jungen Burschen sich bemerkbar machen und die auf ihr lautes Kichern eine verständnisvolle Antwort erwarten. Sie bringen Leben in das junge Volk und fordern mit gutem Geschick zu Liebeleien und Scherzen in jedwedem Kreise ganz ungezwungen heraus.

Das, was wir das Musterbild eines schönen und vollkommenen Gatten nennen, besitzen unsere Yamana also auch. Freilich stellen es im stürmischen Wünschen und Verlangen jugendlicher Verliebter fast ausschließlich rein äußere Eigenschaften zusammen; über innere Ausrüstung und cha-

[11] Für die Entscheidungen eines jeden der beiden Verliebten gilt nach Bonassini's (a): 165 Auffassung eine „natural selection; porque rara vez un joven escoja una mujer que era fea o defectuosa, como una mujer nunca se liga a un mozo mal formado o imperfecto".

rakterliche Anlagen sieht die blinde Liebe und tolle Schwärmerei meist hinweg.[12] Sogar ein SPEGAZZINI (a): 165 gibt zu, „que los hombres más fuertes y más hermosos sean los que tienen más mujeres y las más bellas. Al fijarme si el tipo de lo bello era el mismo que entre nosotros, he notado que las mujeres y los hombres, que me parecían lindos no sólo atraían las miradas de los seres del otro sexo, sino muchas veces alguno, indicándome el sujeto con un relámpago en los ojos, me decía: *Uá-gunna* (qué hombré!) *Uá-quipa* (qué mujer!)." Manche Besucher schildern die schöne, auch dem Europäerauge angenehme Gestalt einzelner jugendlicher Feuerländer, sogar einige Prachtstücke von Mensch gab es unter ihnen. Daß diese, in der Phantasie heiratslustiger junger Leute noch idealisiert, am meisten zum Lebensbunde in der Ehe begehrt werden, ist zu natürlich, um eigens begründet werden zu müssen. Wer aber selber körperlich nur mittelmäßig ausgezeichnet ist, gibt sich mit einem ebenbürtigen Partner zufrieden. Trotzdem spielt das Glück und der Zufall einem weniger schönen Burschen zuweilen eine ungewöhnlich reizende Mädchengestalt und liebenswürdiges Ding zu sofortiger Heirat in die Arme.[13]

4. Freiheit bei der Gattenwahl

Auch solche Reisenden und Missionäre, die im allgemeinen zuverlässig sind, machen über die Wahlfreiheit der Mädchen vor der Heirat unklare Angaben und diese muten bisweilen wie offener Widerspruch an. Der unbeeinflußte Selbstentscheid der heiratslustigen jungen Leute ist zwar Regel und Gewohnheit, trotzdem verstoßen dagegen einige alte Leute, nämlich die Eltern des Mädchens, in seltenen Ausnahmefällen durch ihr selbstsüchtiges und rücksichtsloses Vorgehen. Jedoch darf man nicht aus dem Auge verlieren, daß die verschiedenen Behauptungen der Reisenden teilweise aus der Luft gegriffen sind und fast ausnahmslos auf ungenügenden Beobachtungen beruhen. Man kann sogar bei BRIDGES eine Wandlung des eigenen Urteiles über eheliche Verhältnisse verfolgen, insofern er in späteren Schriften unleugbar dem widerspricht, was er in den ersten Jahren seines Zusammenseins mit Feuerländern ausgegeben hatte. Offensichtlich wäre von vornherein jedwede Art der Werbung heiratslustiger Jugendlicher wertlos, wenn letztere sich bedingungslos der eigenmächtigen Entscheidung anderer Personen fügen müßten. Bevor der wirkliche Sachverhalt bei dieser wichtigen Einrichtung dargelegt wird, wiederhole ich die abweichenden Meinungen einiger Europäer der letzten Jahrzehnte; die leichtfertigen Behauptungen früherer Seefahrer verdienen aus einleuchtenden Gründen keine Beachtung.

[12] An dieser Stelle bereits möchte ich die grundfalsche Behauptung SPEGAZZINI's (a): 165 zurückweisen, daß bei diesen Feuerländern „el amor entendido en el sentido elevado de nuestra sociedad no existe"!

[13] In längerer Aussprache mit FRED und NELLY LAWRENCE habe ich die anderswo nur schwer erreichbaren Einzelheiten, aus denen diese Darstellung zusammengesetzt ist, gewonnen; später kam ich auch mit anderen Gewährspersonen darauf zu sprechen.

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

Gar nicht selten wird von einer regelrechten Kaufehe gesprochen, etwa wie Hyades (q): 334 dies tut: „La femme n'est pas, en général, consultée, on l'achète ordinairement à ses parents.“[14] Ausführlicher spricht Bove (o): 157 sich darüber aus: „Das Verhältnis zwischen den Ehegatten kann eher als ein Handelsvertrag aufgefaßt werden. Zwischen den verschiedenen Bewerbern um die Tochter wählt der Vater den stärksten, den geschicktesten, den, welcher gegen seine Wünsche am nachgiebigsten ist, und mit diesem verhandelt er über die Zahl der Felle, welche der Schwiegersohn ihm geben und die Anzahl der Tage, die er für ihn arbeiten muß. Erst wenn der Vertrag abgeschlossen ist, teilt man ihn der Braut mit, und was auch ihre eigenen Gefühle sein mögen, sie hütet sich wohl, etwas davon zu verraten, und ob sie einverstanden ist oder nicht, wird sie in die Hütte des Bräutigams geführt.“ Hierzu sei wenigstens kurz erwähnt, daß in den meisten Fällen die beiden jungen Herzen sich lange, bevor es ihren beiderseitigen Eltern zum Bewußtsein kommt, zusammengefunden haben und sich von ihrem Entschluß durch Einflüsse von außen kaum je abbringen lassen. Sogar Barrows (e): 333 behauptet einmal, die Braut würde verschachert: „Die Weiber wurden zur Heirat gegeben, in vielen Fällen auch nach einer gewissen Regel verkauft. Die Bezahlung geschah in Arbeit oder Geschenken von Fellen etc. Die beanspruchte Leistung stand im Verhältnis zur Bedeutung der Parteien. War der Schwiegersohn stark und die Verwandtschaft des Weibes schwach, so gab er wenig oder nichts, und viel, wenn es sich umgekehrt verhielt. Die einzige Regel war die Conveniens oder die Übereinstimmung der Interessen.“[15] Wer die gesellschaftliche Ordnung der Yamana kennt, wird die zuletzt geschilderten Zustände unmöglich damit vereinbaren. Auch in Outes (g): 54 liest man: „Compran a las mujeres mediante regalos ... Si el regalo no es suficiente, el padre vuelve a los pocos meses y se lleva a la mujer, vendiéndola a otro. Si el marido está descontento con su mujer, puede devolverla al padre, el cual debe restituir el precio de la compra. En ese caso, mientras viva el padre, le pertenece nuevamente y la puede volver a vender.“ Bestünden wirklich solche Verhältnisse, käme ein ruhiges, gesichertes Familienleben nur in verschwindend wenigen Hütten zustande.[16] Das leuchtet von selber ein und bedarf keiner Begründung.

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[14] Einen wirklichen Verkauf des Mädchens erwähnt Hyades (q): 378 an anderer Stelle nicht mehr: „La jeune fille n'est pas consultée pour le choix d'un mari: les parents la donnent à celui qui leur convient, et qui est toujours le plus fort ou le plus redouté parmi les prétendants.“

[15] Abweichend hiervon hatte Barrows (a): 201 früher geschrieben: „Sometimes the father of a girl is in great difficulty through several men expecting him to give him his daughter. He, of course, gives her to him of whom he is most afraid; this, of course makes the others his enemies.“ Mit dieser Darlegung läßt sich das, was er kurz vorher (ib. S. 184) behauptet hat, nicht restlos in Einklang bringen. Und drei Jahre später braucht er wieder eine andere Wendung: „Sons-in-law are expected, either by gifts or work, to purchase their wives“ (1906: 111, 117; 1909). Also ein Widerspruch nach dem andern.

[16] Ähnliche Äußerungen liegen z. B. von Wuchmann: 48 vor. Aus allem schließt der sonst wenig vertrauliche Bruno: 69 nicht zu Unrecht: „Marriage was a matter of purchase

In Wirklichkeit haben die heiratsfähigen Burschen und Mädchen durchgehende ihre unbehinderte Wahlfreiheit, abgesehen von den wenigen Ehehindernissen, über die der Onkel bzw. die Tante besonders wachen müssen. Auch ist es schlechtweg undenkbar, daß ein Mädchen zur ehelichen Verbindung mit einem ihr abgeneigten Burschen gezwungen würde; denn es fände gegen einen wirklichen Zwang bei seinen eigenen Verwandten genügend Schutz. Jedem Erwachsenen ist es bekannt und geläufig, daß eine Frau, der ihr Gatte nicht mehr zusagt — sie hat sich ihm früher aus freier Liebeswahl angeschlossen —, sich wieder trennt und sich durch kein Mittel an ihn ketten läßt. Gewiß, zuweilen weisen weibliche Verwandte das Mädchen auf einen bestimmten Burschen hin, der zu ihm, nach ihrem Urteil, gut passen würde; doch wagen sie nicht zu drängen.

Was von angeneu unterrichteten Europäern als "Bezahlung" für die Braut ausgegeben wird, sind eigentliche und freiwillige Geschenke, die der Bräutigam bzw. Schwiegersohn aus Höflichkeit und Dankbarkeit, aus Freude und Genugtuung dem Vater seiner Auserwählten überläßt. Dieser Brauch gehört in den Kreis der Verpflichtungen des Schwiegersohnes gegenüber seinem Schwiegervater. Naheliegend ist es, daß ersterer die besonderen Wünsche des letzteren auf Umwegen zu erfahren sich bemüht und sie tunlichst berücksichtigt; von einer bestimmten Preisordnung und Wertstufung dieser freien Geschenke zu sprechen, ist durchaus falsch. Vornehmere, reichere oder mächtigere Familien, die für ihr Kind bei der Verehelichung besondere Forderungen stellen könnten, gibt es bei den Yamana nicht; die persönliche Tüchtigkeit oder die individuellen Vorzüge eines Heiratslustigen werden mit dinglichen Werten ebensowenig aufgewogen. Freilich, wenn ein Bursche sich außerordentlich um das erwählte Mädchen bemüht und es nachher doch erhält, weil es selber sich ihm überläßt, ist er ganz in der Verfassung, dessen Eltern reichlichst zu beschenken.

Weil dieser Brauch nun einmal besteht, erwartet selbstverständlich der Vater des Mädchens etwas von seinem angehenden Schwiegersohne.[11] Das sind, nach Ourzs (g): 54, entweder Messer, Harpunenspitzen und fertige Waffen, oder Felle und Feuersteine, vielleicht sogar ein neues Kanu. Weder der Schwiegersohn noch der Schwiegervater betrachten solche Dinge als einen eigentlichen Kaufpreis, von dem die Übergabe des heiratsfähigen Mädchens abhängig gemacht würde; denn niemals ist davon die Rede, wenn der Bursche beim Vater seiner Geliebten nachfragen läßt.

Ausdrücklich wurde mir versichert, daß zuweilen weder bei der Werbung

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and sale; wives were sold, sometimes, by husbands, and daughters were invariably sold by fathers." So ist ein ungenauer Bericht mit dem andern verhettet.

[11] Innerhalb ist Spencer's Behauptung vom Mies 1864 berechtigt: „The father of the future bride expects ransom-money. On this occasion, an axe, a blanket, a knife, some fishhooks, beads etc., form part of the price. Sometimes the future son-in-law serves for a period, I believe, the father of the betrothed, or presents a canoe, etc" (VEA: XI, 239;1864). Ein Handelsvertrag, wie Spencer (a): 165 ihn schildert, kommt niemals zustande.

noch bei der Hochzeit den Eltern des Mädchens besondere Geschenke übergeben werden sind und mancher bringt nicht mehr als einen großen Seelöwen heran. Nachdem ALEJANDRO die langumworbene ELISA erobert hatte (S. 636), überreichte er nicht die geringste Kleinigkeit deren Eltern. ADELEIRID, ihre Mutter, sagte mir, über dieses Verhalten ihres jetzigen Schwiegersohnes etwas enttäuscht: „ALEJANDRO ist ein Geck, er spielt sich als Europäer auf und kennt nicht, was früher bei uns Yamana schicklich war." Wie könnten endlich geringfügige Kleinigkeiten mit einem Mädchen, das sich einem Gatten überlassen will, in Vergleich gebracht werden!"

Ebensowenig ist es richtig, jene unansehnlichen Besitzgüter der jungen Frau, mit denen sie zu ihrem Manne kommt, als M i t g i f t zu bezeichnen. Gewisse Dinge, wie Kleidung und Schmucksachen gehören eben untrennbar zu ihr, ob sie verheiratet ist oder nicht, und dieses ihr Privateigentum wird um nichts vermehrt, wenn sie die elterliche Hütte verläßt und zum erwählten Bräutigam geht. Zwar schreibt BOVE (e): 158: „Ein Canoe und eine Harpune sind die Mitgift der Braut." Diese Deutung aber ist sinnlos. Denn ein Kanu, ohne das ein junges Ehepaar nicht sein kann, ist meist vom Gatten selber oder mit seiner Hilfe vom eigenen Vater oder von Nachbarn gebaut worden, möglicherweise hat sich dabei auch der Vater der Braut beteiligt; die Harpune gehört zu den Gebrauchsgegenständen eines Mannes und wird weder von einer Frau verwertet, noch von ihr an einen Mann abgegeben.

Ohne daß bestimmte Beispiele oder beobachtete Vorkommnisse angeführt werden, sprechen einige Stellen sogar von einer R a u b e h e. Schon DESPARD (b): 698 hat behauptet: „Sometimes wives are stolen, sometimes they run away. When recovered, after either case, they are beaten, the supposition being, it seems, that in the former case they themselves encouraged the theft." Die beigegebene Einschränkung besagt viel und kommt gleich zur Verwertung. Kurz äußert sich HVADES (p): 334, daß „on observe quelquefois le mariage par capture."[10] Die Lebensart und die Stellung eines heiratsfähigen Mädchens innerhalb ihrer Familie widerlegt restlos alle falschen Behauptungen; denn es ist einfachhin unmöglich, eine Frauensperson gewaltsam zu verschleppen. Wohl ist richtig, daß zuweilen eine verheiratete Frau, die von ihrem Gatten sich heimlich trennen will, sich der Hilfe eines vertrauten Mannes bedient, um zu entfliehen. Ihr freier Entschluß jedoch ist es, wenn sie diesen Ausweg wählt, nämlich die Flucht unter dem Schutze eines anderen Mannes. Außerdem kommt es vor, daß eine verheiratete Frau sich überreden läßt und ihrem

[10] Die folgende Behauptung in OTTEN (g): 55 läßt deutlich die Unmöglichkeit der von ihm geschilderten Zustände erkennen: „Si el regalo no es suficiente, el padre vuelve a los pocos meses y se lleva a la mujer, vendiéndola a otro. Si el marido está descontento con su mujer, puede devolverla al padre, el cual debe restituir el precio de la compra." Auf ähnliche Ungereimtheiten stößt man bei anderen Europäern, die den Lauf der Dinge im Feuerlande nie richtig kennengelernt haben.

[11] Schwerlich dürfte die Mission SCHMIDTMEYER den Hergang einer Raubehe beobachtet haben. Der gleiche HVADES (b): 1346 drückt sich an anderer Stelle unbestimmter aus, nämlich, daß „il y a quelquefois mariage par capture".

Verführer für wenige Tage folgt; nachher kehrt sie zu ihrem rechtmäßigen Gatten zurück. Beide Vorfälle haben nichts mit Raubehe gemein. BD: 227 bringt *kwissāguntākū*, to take by force another man's wife and marry her as a wife; ferner BD: 303 *manāgulū*, to escape as a wife from her husband by stealth. Der richtige Sinn ist auch hier, daß ein rechtmäßiger Ehegatte dadurch vergewaltigt wird, daß seine Frau sich einem ihr ergebenen Nebenbuhler anvertraut, der sie wegholt und in seiner Hütte als Gattin behält.

Einmal drückt sich HYADES (q): 378 so aus, als ob das Mädchen von ihrem Vater verschenkt würde. „La jeune fille n'est pas consultée pour le choix d'un mari: les parents la donnent à celui qui leur convient, et qui est toujours le plus fort ou le plus redouté parmi les prétendants." Diese leere Behauptung verkennt ganz und gar, daß die Eltern um das fernere Wohl ihres Kindes sehr besorgt sind und sich nach dem Verhalten des Gatten erkundigen, abgesehen davon, daß es sie natürlicherweise schmerzt, ihre Tochter an den erwählten Mann verlieren zu müssen. Endlich reimt sich ein Verfügen über sie, ohne ihren Willen erfragt zu haben, nicht mit dem ihr zustehenden und dem von ihr zuweilen ausgeübten Rechte, dem unverträglichen, rohen Gatten davonzulaufen, um in der Hütte ihrer Eltern wieder Schutz zu suchen.

Aus dem, was zur Berichtigung falscher Mitteilungen kurz angegeben wurde, ist der wirkliche Sachverhalt eindeutig ersichtlich.[*] Das heiratsfähige Mädchen wird weder verschenkt, noch verkauft, noch geraubt; ihm bleibt die völlig uneingeschränkte Wahlfreiheit, sich für den Burschen, der ihrer Herzensneigung zusagt, zu entscheiden. Auf dieser grundsätzlichen Freiheit beruht das Werben. Deshalb sehen die alten Leute bei Jugendlichen im heiratsfähigen Alter zeitweilig von der sonst geltenden Trennung der Geschlechter ab; denn „das ist die Zeit, in der sich ein Bursche und ein Mädchen kennenlernen, in der sie fühlen, ob sie zeitlebens [in der Ehe] miteinander auskommen werden". So sagte MARY.

In den Unterweisungen anläßlich der ersten Menstruation und in gelegentlichen Gesprächen wiederholen ältere Frauen dem Mädchen in verschiedenen Wendungen: „Überlasse dich nicht dem erstbesten Burschen, der dir schmeichelt, sondern wähle dir jenen aus, der dir wirklich gefällt. Erst tut jeder Bursche wer weiß wie schön; später, wenn er dich geheiratet hat, tritt zutage, daß er roh oder faul oder unverträglich ist; darunter hast du dann zu leiden. Überlege also vorher, ehe du dich entscheidest!" Dem fügte NELLY noch hinzu: „Man muß die jungen Mädchen warnen und aufmerksam machen; denn sonst sagen sie gedankenlos und übereilt dem erstbesten Burschen zu. Nachher, wenn die jungen Gatten nicht zu einander passen, leiden die alten Leute aus der Verwandtschaft nicht minder darunter als jene selber!" Gleich-

[*] Die beiden Formen, die BOVE (e): 128 genannt hat, vertragen sich miteinander nicht. Sagt er doch: „El matrimonio se puede considerar como una compra que el hombre hace de la mujer y una unión de amor o de recíproca simpatía."

falls erhielt der junge Mann von seinem Onkel deutlich den Wink, nur das Mädchen heimzuführen, mit dem er „seitlebens wird auskommen können".

Die Freiheit beim ersten Entschluß läßt sich auch ableiten aus dem Rechte jedweder Frau, dem Gatten, der sie schlecht behandelt oder unzureichend mit Nahrung versorgt, wegzulaufen. Wie könnte sie, was allgemein gilt, von ihren Eltern wieder aufgenommen werden, wenn sie vorher wäre regelrecht verkauft worden? Ihre männlichen Verwandten warnen den Gatten und drohen ihm an, die mißhandelte Frau ihm wieder abzunehmen; dazu dürften sie sich nicht unterstehen, wenn er dieselbe für einen Kaufpreis erworben hätte.

Sehr selten trifft es sich, daß zwei junge Leute, deren Eltern in gespanntem Verhältnis oder sogar in offener Feindschaft leben, sich zusammenschließen. Sollte eine solche Verbindung sich anbahnen, schleudern die Eltern des Burschen und die des Mädchens gegen den anderen Teil beleidigende und sogar drohende Bemerkungen in der eigenen Familienhütte, um die Absicht ihrer Kinder zu durchkreuzen. Mag sein, daß eine bereits angebahnte Neigung zur ehelichen Verbindung unter solchem Einfluß früher oder später wieder schwindet. Aus Ehrfurcht vor den eigenen Eltern entsagt das Mädchen dem Zuge ihres Herzens und weil es mit dieser Angelegenheit kein Aufhebens macht, mischen sich ihre nächsten Verwandten zu ihren Gunsten nicht ein.

Noch verfänglicher gestaltet sich ausnahmsweise die Lage eines von beiden Eltern verwaisten Mädchens, das in starke Abhängigkeit von Onkel und Tante geraten ist; diese, von Eigensinn oder Ehrgeiz geleitet, setzen ihm nachdrücklich zu, sich für den von ihnen empfohlenen Burschen zu entscheiden. Wenn das alleinstehende Mädchen nur unzureichenden Widerstand aufbringt, gibt es schließlich deren Drängen nach. Meine Gewährsleute betonten, daß ein derartiger Vorfall nur selten sich ereignete und daß dessen Vorgeschichte erst öffentlich bekannt wurde, wenn diese sozusagen erzwungene Ehe sich ausnahmsweise wieder auflöste.

Auch kam es vor, wie Sara sich erinnerte, daß die beiden Verliebten nach Verabredung ihren Eltern entflohen, auf jede Hochzeitsfeier verzichteten und so lange von jenen sich fernhielten, bis sie keine Belästigung mehr zu fürchten hatten. Würde sich eine Beeinflussung des eigenen Kindes auch sogar zur Drohung steigern, wer sich nicht einschüchtern läßt und auf seinem Plane besteht, der findet an den nächsten Verwandten ausreichende Stütze gegen die unzulässige Einmischung der Eltern. Besondere Aufgabe des Onkels ist es, mitzuhelfen, daß jedem Heiratslustigen die freie Entscheidung voll und ganz belassen bleibt. Sogar die öffentliche Meinung gegen eine Freiheitsbehinderung des Kindes durch seine Eltern kann vom Onkel in Bewegung gebracht werden, falls sein Einfluß allein bei ihnen ergebnislos bliebe. Jedweder Widerstand fällt in sich von selber zusammen, wenn dem jungen Paare ein Kind beschieden ist, das nun betreut werden muß. Wer demnach den Unmut oder Widerstand seiner Eltern bei der Verheiratung fürchten muß, entflieht mit seinem Partner; ist das junge Paar mit einem oder mit zwei Kindern gesegnet, kann niemand mehr trennend eingreifen.

Uneingeschränkte Wahlfreiheit bleibt auch der Person, die sich einem Manne als zweite Frau anschließt. Ist sie verwitwet, muß sie wohl oder übel manchmal froh sein, wenn ein Mann sie aufnimmt, und stillschweigend stellt sie wohl oder übel ihre eigenen Wünsche zurück. Günstiger ist ihre Lage, wenn ein älterer Mann, dessen Gattin vielleicht arbeitsunfähig ist, um sie wirbt; von vornherein kann sie sich gewisse Rechte und eine günstige Stellung in der Familie sichern. In der überwiegenden Mehrheit polygamer Ehen sind die beiden Frauen leibliche Schwestern;[21] die an zweiter Stelle von jenem Manne aufgenommen wird, ist nicht selten unter mehrfacher Rücksicht dadurch besser gestellt als in einer monogamen Verbindung.

Im Zusammenhange mit diesen Erörterungen steht die Frage nach einer möglichen außerehelichen Geburt. Kinder, die das Reifealter erreicht haben, sind über das Geschlechtsleben genügend aufgeklärt (S. 631). Nach einem Ehebruch denkt keiner der beiden Schuldigen, die zu ihren rechtmäßigen Partnern wohl jedesmal wieder zurückkehren, an mögliche Folgen ihrer Zusammenkunft. Die Unverheirateten jedoch vermeiden in der Regel die Begattung vor ihrer Hochzeit; denn die Mädchen wahren auffällig strenge Zurückhaltung selbst dreisten Burschen gegenüber. Indes dürfte diese Vereinigung doch bei jenen jungen Leuten vorgekommen sein, die schon sich stillschweigend zur Ehe entschlossen hatten. Bevor noch die Frucht ihrer gegenseitigen Liebe erscheint, gelten sie längst als Verheiratete. Insofern gibt es bei den Yamana erkennbar eigentlich keine außereheliche Geburt.[22]

Die Trennung der Kinder nach ihrem Geschlecht um die Zeit der körperlichen Reife soll hauptsächlich ihre vorehelliche Keuschheit sichern, wie das in den eindeutigen Belehrungen und Warnungen ausgesprochen wird. Die Jugendlichen wissen sehr wohl, daß sie bewacht werden, und obwohl es schwer ist, den scharfen Blicken der Erwachsenen sich zu entziehen, gelingt ihnen dies zuweilen doch; ein dreister Bub erlaubt sich dabei Unschicklichkeiten mit einem Mädchen. Dergleichen Heimlichkeiten sind nur selten möglich und werden von jedwedem Erwachsenen gerügt, ja von den Eltern der kleinen Missetäter ernstlich bestraft. Von geschlechtlicher Freiheit der Indianerinnen kann keine Rede sein. Irgendwelche Keuschheitsprobe kennen die Yamana nicht. So sehr sie die Freiheit bei der Gattenwahl gesichert wissen wollen, so streng fordern sie Schicklichkeit der Jugendlichen vor der Ehe.[23]

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[21] Diese Gewohnheit sei hier bereits mit Bamoen' (i): 21 Worten belegt: „When a man married more wives than one they were generally sisters, which fact tendered greatly to strengthen the family party." Die Schwägerschaft an sich begründet keine Blutsverwandtschaft und bildet demnach auch kein Ehehindernis (S. 650).

[22] Damit wird der durch List oder Gewalt erzwungene Geschlechtsverkehr europäischer Seeleute und Farmer mit Indianerinnen nicht in Abrede gestellt, die Folgen sind weit und breit bekannt. Wie die Eingeborenen selber darüber denken und dachten, kommt teilweise zur, aber deutlich genug in der Eifersucht, mit der sie ihre Frauen und Mädchen bei Anwesenheit von Fremden bewachen, zum Ausdruck. Vgl. S. 236 und S. 253.

[23] Berücksichtigt man die tragenden Gedanken bei der freien Gattenwahl, so erscheint die völlige Gleichheit und Übereinstimmung unserer Yamana mit den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 321).

5. Pflicht zur Witwenheirat

Scheinbar hebt die bei den Yamana geltende Leviratsehe die Freiheit der Witwe auf. Des Eindruckes kann ich mich nicht erwehren, daß die hierfür geltenden Vorschriften bei ihnen zumindest so bestimmt sind und gleich genau wie bei den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 347) eingehalten werden. Von Fred Lawrence und Calderon erfuhr ich die folgenden Einzelheiten.

Jedem Indianer ist die Verpflichtung bekannt, seine Schwägerin, die verwitwet, samt ihren Kindern in seine Hütte aufzunehmen.[24] Dabei wird aber viel nachdrücklicher betont, er müsse sich um seine Neffen und Nichten kümmern; weniger besteht man darauf, daß er sich der Witwe widmet, einerlei ob er sie heiraten will oder nicht. Falls nämlich jene halbverwaisten Kinder keine Großeltern haben und die eigene Mutter sich nicht zur Heirat mit einem anderen Manne entschließt, muß der Onkel sie in seiner Hütte unterbringen und sie hier wie seine eigenen Kinder betreuen. Vor allem soll ihr Lebensunterhalt sichergestellt werden. Um ihre Teilnahme an der Jugendweihe, die früher oder später notwendig wird, kümmert sich die Allgemeinheit. In allen Belangen des gesellschaftlichen Lebens vertritt nun bei den noch unreifen Waisen der Onkel väterlicherseits die Stelle seines verstorbenen Bruders. Selbstverständlich kommen erwachsene Neffen und Nichten, die verheiratet sind, unter diese Vormundschaft des Onkels nicht. Hat der Verstorbene mehrere Brüder, dann fallen jene Verpflichtungen auf den Ältesten; doch drängt sich nicht selten ein jüngerer Bruder vor, zumal wenn er es auf seine verwitwete Schwägerin abgesehen hat. Zumindest einigen sich die Brüder und meist greift einer, der sich die Gelegenheit wahrnehmen will, von vornherein herzhaft zu, ohne von den anderen behindert zu werden.

Der an Jahren älteste Schwager hat an sich das erste Recht auf die verwitwete Schwägerin. Bekanntlich bildet Schwägerschaft kein Ehehindernis. An förmlichen Zwang reicht die Verpflichtung eines unverheirateten Schwagers zur Übernahme der Witwe heran. Altersunterschiede haben hierbei nichts zu bedeuten. Demgegenüber bleibt ihr eine gänzlich freie Wahl; doch wird sie sich dem Drängen von dessen Seite kaum entziehen, wenn ein fremder Mann sich um sie nicht bewirbt. Macht die Witwe von ihrem Rechte wirklich Gebrauch und heiratet sie einen anderen Mann, statt ihres Schwagers, ist dieser der Sorge um ihre Kinder nicht enthoben; er müßte sogar die Neffen und Nichten zu sich nehmen, wenn deren neuer Stiefvater sich um ihre Erziehung nicht kümmert. Ihm genügt es dann zu wissen, daß seine Schwägerin wirtschaftlich sichergestellt ist; seine Neffen und Nichten aber finden an ihm, als Onkel väterlicherseits, zu jeder Zeit eine starke Stütze, weil seine Verpflichtung ihnen gegenüber niemals erlischt.

Ein verheirateter Schwager genügt seiner Pflicht gegenüber

[24] Nur Hahn (a): 325 hat die Leviratsehe der Yamana erwähnt. Man könnte sie auch aus folgenden Worten Bumeen' ableiten: „Brothers often take their deceased brothers' wives" (MM: III, 117; 1909); eine rechtliche Verpflichtung aber, die tatsächlich bestehe, kann man aus diesen Worten nicht herauslesen. Vgl. Anmerkung 26 auf Seite 650.

der verwitweten Schwägerin, wenn er ihr zur Sicherstellung ihres Daseins verhilft; denn sie zu heiraten hängt ja teilweise auch von der Zustimmung seiner eigenen Frau ab. Will die Witwe einen anderen Mann ehelichen oder unverheiratet bei einem ihrer Kinder und bei Verwandten ihres verstorbenen Gatten bleiben, hindert er sie daran nicht. Vereinzelt benützt ein Schwager die günstige Gelegenheit zu einer neuen Ehe, wenn er mit seiner ersten Frau nicht zufrieden ist. Ob diese zustimmt oder nicht; er holt die verwitwete Schwägerin in seine Hütte und erreicht es meistens damit allein, daß jene, wie er beabsichtigt hatte, sich zurückzieht. Man betrachtet es sogar als rechtsgültig, daß ein verheirateter Mann seine erste Frau verläßt und die verwitwete Schwägerin dafür in seine Hütte aufnimmt. War nämlich deren Zusammenleben weniger glücklich, ist auch sie über die Lösung meist sehr froh und sie findet bei ihren Verwandten offene Arme. Noch neuestens wird diese Pflicht der Witwenheirat geübt. GERTIE verlor ihren ersten Gatten, der auf einer Otternjagd verunglückte; sofort entließ ihr Schwager seine Frau und nahm GERTIE zu sich. Als dieser gestorben war, schloß sie sich CHRIS an, mit dem sie seitdem lebt; ihm war gleichzeitig die erste Frau von einem Türken in Ushuaia abgenommen worden. Drängt sich eine Witwe ihrem Schwager auf, auch wenn er verheiratet ist, kann er sie unmöglich abschütteln.

Für eine Witwe ist es fast unmöglich, im dortigen Wirtschaftsbetriebe allein dazustehen; so kann sie nicht lange unverheiratet bleiben und sie selber strebt notgedrungen eine neue Ehe an. Das liegt offensichtlich in der vollen Bedeutung des Wortes *kwinan*, die auch das BD: 225 vollständig ausspricht: A woman lately a widow, taken as a wife by another. Für gewöhnlich trägt sich ihr bald ein Mann als Gatte an; denn eine junge, tüchtige Witwe leistet ihm mehr und ist ihm wertvoller, als ein noch unerfahrenes Mädchen. Man hat mir versichert, daß ein Witwer auf seine eben verwitwete Schwägerin noch mehr Recht geltend machen darf und zwar, daß er sie zur Verehelichung zwingen und die Widerstrebende sogar an den Haaren in seine eigene Hütte zerren kann. Dieses Recht auch zugegeben, hat kaum je ein Mann davon Gebrauch gemacht; er muß nämlich damit rechnen, daß eine derart widersetzliche Schwägerin bei erster Gelegenheit ihm davonläuft. Indes kann eine Witwe ihren Schwager nicht wirklich zwingen, sie zu ehelichen; noch weniger dann, wenn er selber verheiratet ist. Dem allerdings darf er sich niemals entziehen, seiner halbverwaisten Neffen und Nichten sich so oder so anzunehmen, falls für sie anderswo nicht gesorgt wird.

Im allgemeinen verkehren verschwägerte Personen mit einer gewissen Achtung und gegenseitigen Ehrfurcht. Auf Grund dessen verhalten sich die zur Ehe zusammengeschlossenen Schwager und verwitwete Schwägerin in den ersten Monaten berechnet ehrfurchtsvoll gegeneinander, sie sprechen auffallend wenig miteinander und immer nur leise.

Da also auch einem verheirateten Manne das Recht und eine gewisse Pflicht zusteht, seiner verwitweten Schwägerin sich anzunehmen, mißbilligt es niemand, wenn er sie als zweite Frau in seiner Hütte zuläßt. Sie muß wirt-

schaftlich sichergestellt werden, ohne daß sie in ihrem freien Entschluß behindert würde, das ist der weitere und letzte Sinn der Verpflichtung zur Witwenheirat. Noch wichtiger ist, daß die Halbwaisen gut versorgt werden und daß ihre Erziehung unter allen Umständen zuverlässig weitergeführt wird.[30]

6. Beteiligung der Verwandten

Unverkennbar nimmt der Onkel väterlicherseits *inddrumu* gegenüber seinen Neffen und Nichten eine bevorzugte Stellung ein; das tritt sowohl beim Tode seines verheirateten Bruders als auch bei der Werbung und im verheirateten Stande seines Neffen deutlich zutage. Einige Mitteilungen darüber, wie auch andere Erwachsene sich zu den Ehebeichten jugendlicher Heiratslustiger stellen, sind in den obigen Zeilen bereits niedergelegt worden.

Dem eigenen Herzensdrange folgend stellt sich der Bursche auf Freierfüße und sucht jenes Mädchen zu gewinnen, das all sein Sehnen zu erfüllen verspricht. Die jungen Verliebten kommen so oft als möglich zusammen und steigern ihre gegenseitige Zuneigung je länger je mehr. Wenn äußere Umstände sie nicht drängen, vergnügen sie sich bei ihrem Liebesspiel, ohne an eine baldige Heirat zu denken. In ihrer innersten Überzeugung ist es längst entschieden, daß sie sich einander lebenslänglich angehören wollen, ohne daß sie dies voreinander offen aussprechen. Wozu auch! Keiner von beiden offenbart vorderhand seine Gefühle und Absichten den eigenen Eltern; „*sie schämen sich etwas!*" sagte man mir. Ein Nachbar und eine befreundete Frau sind es, die ihm und ihr in vertraulichen Andeutungen die Zunge lösen.

Haben die geheimen Zusammenkünfte und die nicht zu verbergende Liebschaft jener beiden den Erwachsenen lang genug angedauert, entschließt sich eines Tages der Onkel väterlicherseits *inddrumu*, den Burschen bestimmt anzureden: „Du triffst dich schon geraume Zeit mit jenem Mädchen, da müßte ich endlich doch mit deinem Vater darüber reden!" Oder er sagt: „Länger können wir nicht zusehen, wie du mit deiner Geliebten spielst. Ich werde bald deinen Vater aufklären, falls du sie heiraten willst!" Aus diesen und ähnlichen Wendungen spricht der Wunsch des älteren Verwandten, dem Burschen bei Erreichung seines Zieles behilflich sein zu wollen. Das merkt er auch. Also ergreift er diese Gelegenheit und bedient sich seines Onkels als Antragsteller beim Vater. Will vereinzelt ein Bursche schnell auf sein Ziel loszusteuern, nähert er selber sich dem Onkel mit der rückhaltlosen Bitte, dem Vater seinen dringenden Herzenswunsch zu offenbaren. Unverzüglich erfüllt jener den Auftrag, ohne Bedenken zu äußern noch abzuraten. Hätte der Bursche keinen *inddrumu*, hilft ihm sein *imam*, der Onkel mütterlicherseits. Die gleichen Anstrengungen versucht das Mädchen vor ihrer Tante mütterlicherseits, sobald sie von ihrem Geliebten erfahren hat, daß seine Angelegenheit

[30] *Auf die Pflicht zur Leviratsehe* ist zu teilweise aufzukommen, daß manchmal Gatte eine zweite Frau heiratet und daß manchmal jüngere Mann mit einer älteren Witwe, die ihm ihre Kinder vom verstorbenen Gatten zugeführt hat, verheiratet ist.

bereits unterwegs zu diesem Vater ist. Ihr werden von der Tante ebensowenig Verhaltungen gemacht; meist ist letztere den Entschlüssen eager frau, falls das Mädchen sich für einen Burschen entschieden hat, der auch ihr zusagt. Sie also bringt diese Nachricht zur Mutter.

Von den eigenen Kindern selber werden die Eltern über Lust und Plan zur Heirat nie unmittelbar unterrichtet, teils Ehrfurcht und teils Verschlossenheit verschließt ihren Mund. Eine rechtskräftige Entscheidung bzw. Beurteilung steht den Eltern nur insoweit zu, als sie nachweisen und dafür bürgen, daß die beiden Verliebten durch Blutsverwandtschaft nicht miteinander verbunden sind. Wäre diese wirklich vorhanden, dürften sie die Heirat nicht zustande kommen lassen. Über diesen Punkt hinaus besprechen die Eltern des Burschen unter sich, sowie die des Mädchens, mit je ihren Verwandten den Plan ihres Kindes; nicht selten ist es selber anwesend und erhält gleichzeitig einige Ratschläge. Schließlich besteht der Onkel sowohl wie die Tante auf einer endgültigen Zusage der Eltern, die sie persönlich dem Burschen bzw. dem Mädchen übermitteln. Unter sich tauschen die beiden Verliebten das erwünschte Ergebnis aus.

Die soeben geschilderte Regelung vollzieht sich durchgehends in wenigen Tagen. Selbstverständlich liefert die Absicht der jungen Leute den Unterhaltungsstoff für die ganze Nachbarschaft. Die geplante Heirat soll je überall bekannt werden, wozu hauptsächlich Onkel und Tante bewußt beitragen. Die öffentliche Meinung und die Hilfe der Allgemeinheit soll, wie mir Nelly sagte, für die Verliebten besonders dann gewonnen werden, wenn eines der beiden Elternpaare sich der Absicht ihres Kindes widersetzt. Offensichtlich dient diese Einrichtung dem Zwecke, die Freiheit bei der Gattenwahl zu sichern. Trotz alledem läßt, allerdings sehr selten, der Eigensinn eines Elternpaares oder die Selbstsucht eines Onkels bzw. einer Tante die von den Jugendlichen erwünschte Verbindung nicht zustande kommen. Im erstgenannten Falle wagt es weder der Bursche noch das Mädchen sich dem Onkel bzw. der Tante anzuvertrauen; im anderen Falle mißbrauchen er und sie ihre Gewalt, gegen die anderswo Hilfe zu suchen diese Verliebten sich nicht aufraffen. Im Urteil der Allgemeinheit gelten dergleichen Vergewaltigungen als Unrecht; deswegen verheimlichen es die Schuldigen — denen sind sie sich bewußt —, daß sie sich unerlaubt eingemischt haben. Mit unwandelbarer Selbstverständlichkeit steht die Verwandtschaft und die weite Nachbarschaft auf seiten der Verliebten, vorausgesetzt immer, daß Blutsverwandtschaft ausgeschlossen ist. Sofern die Allgemeinheit von den Heiratsabsichten jener weiß, bereitet sie sich unentwegt auf die baldige Hochzeit vor. Während dessen nähern sich Tanten und Nachbarinnen freundschaftlich wohlwollend dem Mädchen und wünschen für die Zukunft alles Glück, das sie von der Beachtung ihrer eben erteilten Ratschläge und früheren Weisungen anläßlich der Menarche abhängig machen. Dem Burschen setzt höchstens der Onkel mit ernsten Warnungen noch zu, falls sein Benehmen das fordert.

Bei jenen, die eine zweite Ehe eingehen, fallen die bei erster Ver-

heiratung geltenden Förmlichkeiten weg. „Sie sind eben nicht mehr nötig," wie CALDERON betonte; *jene wissen es längst, daß sie sich bei ihrer Entschließung* durch niemanden beeinflussen zu lassen brauchen!" Irgendwie äußern sich die Neuvermählten trotzdem über ihren Zusammenschluß vor ihrer nächsten Umgebung, damit die Allgemeinheit bald darüber unterrichtet werde.

Die heiratsfähige Jugend der alten Zeit befand sich in einer unvergleichlich vorteilhafteren Lage; jeder wählte sich unter vielen die erschnte Person, dem Zuge des Herzens folgend. Seit einigen Jahrzehnten stehen die ehelichen Verhältnisse unter dem Zeichen gänzlicher Auflösung der von der Natur geschaffenen Ordnung, sie bieten nicht einmal geringe Gewähr für den Fortbestand des Yamana-Volkes, dessen Schicksal eigentlich schon besiegelt ist.

7. Ehehindernisse

Die grundsätzliche Freiheit bei der Gattenwahl schließt nicht aus, daß einzelne Voraussetzungen die eheliche Verbindung verbieten. Darin sind alle Erwachsenen gut unterrichtet. Im besonderen ist es Pflicht der Eltern, den ehelichen Zusammenschluß ihres Kindes mit einer verwandten Person unter keiner Bedingung zu gestatten (S. 649). Bevor die eigentlichen Ehehindernisse aufgezählt werden, seien einige Bemerkungen vorausgeschickt.

Einer früheren Angabe war zu entnehmen, daß bei unseren Yamana die durch Heirat erworbene Schwägerschaft nicht als Blutsverwandtschaft betrachtet wird; sie bildet nicht nur kein Ehehindernis, sondern verpflichtet unter gewissen Voraussetzungen sogar zur Levirstsche. Wenn die Schwägerin verwitwet, muß der an Jahren älteste Bruder ihres verstorbenen Mannes sich ihrer und ihrer Kinder annehmen, sofern nicht sein jüngerer Bruder sich vordrängt. Dieser Verbindung darf sich rechtlich die Gattin jenes Schwagers nicht widersetzen, noch dürfte einer von diesen beiden die Witwe wegen der vielen Kinder, die sie mitbringt, als Ehefrau ablehnen (S. 646).

Abgesehen von der Verpflichtung zur Übernahme der verwitweten Schwägerin in die Ehe wird der eben genannte Grundsatz auch aus der nicht seltenen Heirat zweier Schwestern gleichzeitig durch einen und denselben Mann deutlich.[*] Hierzu führt meist eine geradlinige Entwicklung. Wenn nämlich die verheiratete Schwester ihre ledige Schwester zu sich nimmt, auf daß sie bei den Arbeiten mithelfe oder ihr Gesellschaft leiste, gewinnt nicht

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[*] Bolden faßt Hans (a): 805 in den einzigen Satz zusammen: „Un homme peut épouser deux sœurs et la femme de son frère." Aus verschiedenen Quellen schöpfend hat Cooper: 145 gefolgert: „It is a common practice among both the Ona and the Yahgan for a man to marry two sisters." Bonnor (b): 230 nennt dafür als Begründung: „Cuando un hombre se casa con una de una mujer, los esposos son generalmente hermanos, le cual tiende a robustecer los lazos de la familia." Diese Wendung klingt glaubwürdig und nähert sich den wirklichen Verhältnissen; weniger die Behauptung, die er siebzehn Jahre früher ausgesprochen hatte: „Polygamy is very general, and men generally have sisters of their wives, one sister after another so they become marriageable (Übing given to the same husband" (HH: III, 117; 1869).

nehmen ihr Schwager auch die Rolle, er nähert sich ihr früher oder später vertraulich und verkehrt mit ihr schließlich geschlechtlich, weswegen er sie letzten Endes als seine Gattin anerkennen muß. Die Verschleiherung mit ihr geschieht ohne Förmlichkeit und die geschlechtlichen Beziehungen der beiden erschleicht die Nachbarschaft spätestens bei vorgeschrittener Schwangerschaft, falls ihren Beziehungen nicht schon längst über den wirklichen Sachverhalt aufgeklärt hätten. Ist bei jenem Manne kein gültiger Grund zu seinem Schritte vorhanden und leitet ihn ausschließlich Sinnlichkeit, muß er sich auf harte Vorwürfe und beißenden Spott der Umgebung, die seine Charakterschwäche geißeln will, gefaßt machen. Nicht die Verschleiherung mit zwei Schwestern gleichzeitig gilt an sich als unerlaubt, die öffentliche Meinung fordert dafür eine Begründung. Als solche genügt, daß die erste Frau krankheitshalber ihre Arbeit nicht mehr bequem leisten kann oder daß sie mit einer rückständigen Kinderschar gesegnet ist; sie hatte vielleicht schon als Hilfskraft ihre Schwester in die Hütte eingeladen und da diese sich gut mereschtgefunden hat, macht die rechtmäßige Gattin ihrem Manne zum eigenen Antrieb schließlich den Vorschlag, die Schwester, die wohl in jedem Falle jünger ist, ebenfalls als seine Ehefrau zu betrachten. Das ist eine Art, wie die polygame Ehe entsteht. Zuweilen führt dazu auch die Rücksicht auf die noch unverheiratete Schwägerin. Wenn diese nämlich sich durch eine Zählung an ihren Schwager gewöhnt hat, bemüht sie sich weiteren nicht erst um einen anderen Mann und wartet den Antrag ihres Schwagers ab oder drängt sich ihm so unwiderstehlich auf, daß er ihrem Verlangen nachgibt; vielleicht ist ihre Schwester nicht einmal einverstanden.

Eng verbunden damit ist die Anschauung, daß ein Mann beim Tode seiner Gattin ein gewisses Recht auf seine unverheiratete Schwägerin besitzt. Wenn ihr von ihm der Antrag gemacht wird, sagt sie wohl regelmäßig ja. Indes, falls sie sich weigert und er trotzdem sie heiraten will, darf er sie mit Gewalt zu seiner Hütte bringen. In dieser Lage heißt er ähnlicha. Das ereignet sich aber äußerst selten; denn alle Welt weiß, daß eine Frau, die nur gezwungen einem Manne folgt, auf die Dauer nicht zu halten ist.

Die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse im Fouadandé fordern es, daß sich jeder Erwachsene verheiratet, verwitwete Personen (S. 647, 691) hörten also nicht lange alleinstehend. Aber daraus ergibt sich, daß die beiden Gatten zuweilen einen ansehnlichen Altersunterschied zeigen. Er hindert kein Hindernis und wird anscheinend nicht einmal als ungehörig beurteilt. Einem bejahrten Witwer nützt ein resoluter, junger Weib mehr als einer ihm gleichalterige Person; andererseits erwartet das junge Weib von einem reifen, alten Manne verständnisvolle Behandlung. Von beiden Seiten aber erfolgt ein leiser Druck zur Ehe einer alten Witwers mit einer jugendlichen Frauenperson.[97] Umgekehrt findet sich vereinzelt ein junger Bursche mit einer

[97] Dazu ist es eine Übertreibung, wenn Ozoma (g):60 sagt, daß „zur Ehe gewinnt, bei keinem vielen Ehemännern mehrfach jüngere, ganz ältere dabei vorkommen." Diese der Zusammensetzbild von Personen zur Ehe, die sehr verschieden alt sind, bei nicht die Regel.

Wieve mitführen Aliene ab, wenn sie so verstehe, ihn zu umgarnen; bei allgemeinen habe vorzuziehe zu haben Jungmagde zusammen mit einem Mädchen.*

Wieve wurden eine wenigen begeistert, wenngleich sie sich an die Seite eine gleichaltrigen Mädchen beschäftigen müssen.** Die Vergleiche besonder nicht zu übersehen; denn Mädchen mitführen Aliene sind durchgehends verheiratet und so kommt es, daß sie die Gleich nur bei unverheiratenen Jungmädchen machen. Eine bejahrte Wieve wird meist zur Bemutterigkeit von einem anderen Dienner aufgenommen und zwar als erstes Gattin, obwohl ihr neuer Mann an Jahren weit von ihr abstehe. Das geschieht dann, wenn sie keinen Anschluß an ihre Verwandten finden oder diese bereits gestorben sind. Von ihr erwartet einmal mehr Kinder. Anmerkungsweise ist das ja nicht, vielmehr, daß sie verzagt ist; daßte bisher sie jenem Dienner mondes wertvolle Dienste.

In Gegensatz zu jenen Verwandtschaften, die eine ehelichen Verbindung gestatten und sogar erzwingen, gibtem unehelichkeiten Verkehr. Am schlimmen wird von einer Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen. In den hiervon betreffenden verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen stehen auch die entfernten Halbgeschwistern, Onkel und Nichte bzw. Tante und Neffe, sowie Vetters.*** Das Empfinden der Allgemeinheit lehnt für die Ehe in großen und ganzen jedenfalls Verwandtschaftsgrad ab, „they never married any blood relation, however distant, to do so was utterly abominable to them" (Bateson [1]: 13). Trotzdem mitführen sich sehr weitläufige Verwandte gelegentlich zusammen, wenn auch ein leiser Unmut der Nachbarn mitsingen. Unerlaubt handelte solche Ehelosen aber nicht. Die schwere Strafe, die mehrere Reisende gemeinsam haben, richtete sich gegen das Heiraten nächster Verwandten, ohne daß eine bestimmte universale Grenze der Verwandtschaftsgrade, durch Bande des Blutes begrenzt, gezogen wird. Ehefälle ist eine Ausnahmesache,

* Bateson [1]: 17 schreibt: „Also given of worldly advice given to the younger men was to take as a first wife an old woman because such would give them little trouble and much help." Tatsächlich hat dieser Rat in den ersten Jahrzehnten, die ich selbst habe, Berücksichtigung finden können, da er antrage „This was often followed, though never I am sure from inclination but only from necessity, because marriageable girls were scarce, and always bespoken by men already married." Dem Lorimer verdanken wir, daß neue Anlage der heiratsfähigen Mädchen von verheirateten Männern eingegangen werden, daß daher die Heiratsgrenze Mädchen der Gleich bei jungen Burschen verwischt.

** Richtig hat Bate [1]: 139 beobachtet: „Her Sitte, den [illegible] Person (die sie selbst ohne verwitwet sind) an den Tag legen, ein Daughter an Intimen, daß wirklich Mutterschaft gemeint werden und dabei verstehen sie bisweilen immer für Ziel." Es ist dort Ziel, aber nicht Bekanntes; bei dem Bhagwanna war die Frau 18 bis 20 Jahre über als der Mann, bei einem sitzen sie wahrlich und er zwanzig Jahre. Man kann nicht gelassen werden, daß die derartiger von heiratsfähiger Mädchen mit durch die Verhältnisse der Europäerinnen mit gewungen werden hat, auch in Gebieten [illegible] Jahr an Indien Mädchen. Bateson ist nur an die Frühe einer Jungmädchen, einer verwitweten Schwiegerin an Intimen (S. [illegible]).

*** Nach Bateson [illegible] „possible never marry, the thing so is held in abomination, and in never thought of, much less dream, they speak of mother as brothers and sisters". Auch Bate [1]: [illegible] Schwiegern, daß „in marriage so as marriage female cousin cousins permitted".

die Bemerkung [illegible] gebrauchte, beziehungsweise „Generally speaking marriages with men who are held in high esteem[illegible]" wurde die andere von Ben (In [illegible]) [illegible] „[illegible] marriages [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

bekanntlichen Eheverhältnisse erinnern und gab mir Erklärung an, daß man sie nicht geduldet hätte; immerhin hat Bonnow (a): 213 bekanntet, daß „a few [illegible] and her daughter are known".* Die unerhörliche Volksanschauung der Neuzeit hat auch die Wirksamkeit dieser Verbotene abgeschwächt.**

Ein letztes Ehehindernis endlich wird durch eine Art von Patriarchat begründet, nämlich durch die Beziehungen aller Erwachsenen zu den ihnen bekannten Schatz anvertrauten Prüflingen im *Ajunga*, in der Jugendzeit. Man beurteilt diese Verhältnisse wie das der Eltern zu ihren Kindern, mit dem auch gewisse Rechte bzw. Pflichten gegeben sind, die einmals erlöschen, so lange einer der beiden Teile lebt.

Die Allgemeinheit, im besonderen die Verwandtschaft überwacht die gebrauchten Heiratsverbote; ihr obliegt es einzuschreiten, falls jemand dagegen zu verstoßen wagt. Übertretungen einer Einzelperson in seltenen Fällen und zwanzigen infolge ungewöhnlicher Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung lassen sich nicht verhindern, weil der Allgemeinheit wirksame Machtmittel nicht zur Verfügung stehen und weil der Schuldige sich dem lauten Gespött und verächtlichen Gerede seiner Umgebung dadurch entzieht, daß er für sich allein lebt. Die Aufführung gewisser Schwanken in Form von eigentlichen Ehehindernissen beweist mit unverkennbarer Klarheit, in welcher Verwirklichung die Ehemöglichkeit bei den Yamana steht und mit welch gewandem Urteil sie die Bedeutung ihrer einzigen gesellschaftlichen Verbände wertet. Meine Fragen nach der Möglichkeit einer ehelichen Verbindung zwischen Verwandten und Adoptivpersonen erregten bei ihnen offensichtlich Ähnliches und so war ihnen unangenehm, daß dergleichen Verbote, die ihnen heilig und ehrfürchtig sind, überhaupt noch nur gelegentlich gestreift werden.

8. Die Hochzeitsfeier

Die Entwicklung von den ersten leisen Liebesregungen zweier junger Menschen bis zum bestimmten Entschluß zur Ehe, sowie die Haltung der Eltern und der Verwandten jener beiden ist in den vorangegangenen Zeilen geschildert worden. Die Verlobten selbst hatten sich zueinander einmals durch eine unzweideutige feierliche Erklärung ihrer Bereitschaft zur Ehe nach Art unserer Verlobung; ebensowenig kennen die Yamana einen eigentlichen Ehestand, etwa nach den bestimmten Förmlichkeiten, die von den

* Er schrieb bereits an 16. August 1866 (TSA: XII, 272; 1866): „There are two men who have at times mother and daughter at the same time, but this is not liked generally." Tonelaw vermeint er sich aber an der falschen Behauptung: „Some of the Bangle Channel tribes have a practice of marrying a woman and her daughter" (BSA: III, 117; 1866).

** Was ich selber beobachten habe, gebe ich mit Bonnow's 72 Worten wieder, „that when Bonnow married the young wife, her mother was the wife of a man then alive. She had two or three other children who died. When the mother's husband died, Bonnow took her as his wife; but this was after he had married her daughter".

Selk'nam (Bd. I, 326) geübt worden. Dafür aber veranstalten sie eine eigentliche Hochzeitsfeier mit gewissen augenfälligen Beigaben, in denen sie ein rechtskräftiges Zeichen für den Abschluß einer ehelichen Verbindung sehen.

Leicht erklärlich ist es, warum früheren Reisenden dieser Brauch, wenn überhaupt sie ihn beobachten konnten, nicht in seiner tieferen Bedeutung verständlich wurde und daß sie darin nur eine der allgemein üblichen Gesichtsbemalungen sahen. Sie hätten es zumindest vermeiden sollen, jedwede Hochzeitsfeier so schroff abzuleugnen, wie beispielsweise Bove (e): 158 dies getan hat. Behauptet er doch entschieden: „Kein Fest, keine Feierlichkeit begleitet die Hochzeit, die einfach darin besteht, daß die Braut sich in die Hütte des Bräutigams begibt oder letzterer läßt sich bei dem Schwiegervater nieder."[28] Ein kleines Zugeständnis hat Bridges (e): 333 gemacht, ohne dessen rechtlichen Inhalt zu erfassen: „Die Hochzeitszeremonie war ganz unbedeutend; da war kein Vertrag, keine Versammlung von Freunden, kein Fest, sondern man bemalte einfach das Gesicht der Braut und schickte sie ihrem künftigen Gemahl in dem besten Aufzuge, den man sich gestatten konnte." Demgegenüber sei betont, daß unsere Gewährspersonen nachdrücklich den gesellschaftsrechtlichen Wert ihrer Heiratszeremonien für die Erstvermählten begründeten. Sie sind auch regelmäßig abgehalten worden, weil ohne diese öffentliche Kundgebung der Zusammenschluß jener jungen Leute als gültige Ehe nicht anerkannt, vielmehr als freies, unerlaubtes Liebesverhältnis beurteilt worden wäre.

Unter allem, was eine Hochzeit jener, die sich zum ersten Male zusammenschließen, umgibt und begleitet, bildet die Gesichtsbemalung des Brautpaares den auffallendsten Zug, insofern sie wie eine öffentliche Anzeige den freien Entschluß beider Teile der Nachbarschaft und damit dem ganzen Stamme verkündigt. Erst dieses augenfällige Zeichen erklärt die Ehe als rechtsgültig abgeschlossen.[29] Verpflichtet sind sowohl der Bräutigam wie die Braut, und in ihrer Eigenart benützt man diese Bemalung ausschließlich für die Hochzeit. Sie besteht in drei wagrechten, mitteldicken, roten Parallelstrichen, die beiderseitig in der Linie des Nasenflügelrandes beginnen und sich über die Wangen bis kurz vor das Ohrläppchen hinziehen (Abb. 77). Etwa eine Woche lang zeigen sich die Jungvermählten mit dieser Bemalung, die an jedem Tage sorgfältig erneuert wird. Das *lini* verrührt man mit Robbentran und trägt es mit einem Stäbchen auf, um gleichmäßig feine Striche zu erzielen, deren genaue Ausführung besonders gewertet wird."

[28] So bestimmt wie unrichtig gibt auch Hyades (b): 1346 und (p): 334 vor, daß „le mariage s'accomplit sans aucune cérémonie", und nach Spegazzini (a): 164 sei die Eheschließung „sous may consilio entre elles".

[29] Weil Hyades (q): 378 den Sinn dieser Gesichtsbemalung nicht verstanden hat, widerspricht er sich in der folgenden Behauptung: „Le mariage ne donne lieu à aucune cérémonie spéciale: la jeune fille se pare ce jour-là de son mieux, au moyen de peintures sur la figure et de colliers qu'elle reçoit en cadeaux; on coupe ses cheveux sur le front." Bei dem geringen Sinn für Formen, den unsere Yamana ausgebildet haben, bedeuten all jene Einzelheiten wahrlich Aufwand genug!

Die jungen Leute, denen alle Wege zur Heirat bei ihren Eltern bereits geebnet sind, beginnen mit dieser Bemalung dann, wenn einer ihrer Verwandten, meist der *indéruse*, sie benachrichtigt, das große Essen werde bald stattfinden. Einige verwandte Familien werden verständigt oder eigens herbeigeholt und die Männer sammeln auf der Jagd viel Fleisch, das die Frauen zum Braten vorbereiten. Ohne daß ein bestimmter Tag vereinbart wird, ergibt es die Stimmung der Allgemeinheit oder der Augenblicksentschluß der Verwandten oder gar das unberechenbare Wetter, daß die feierliche Überführung der Braut oder des Brütigams zur Hütte, in dem der andere Teil sich aufhält, erfolgt. Dieshezüglich macht man sich von den jeweils gegebenen Bedingungen abhängig, meist übersiedelt die Braut in die Hütte ihrer nunmehrigen Schwiegereltern. Wenige Stunden vorher wird ungezwungen bekannt, daß diese Förmlichkeit vonstatten gehen soll und alle Anwesenden bereiten sich in freudiger Erregung darauf vor. Braut und Brütigam werden noch einmal sorgfältig bemalt und mit einem neuen Pelzmantel etwas aufgeputzt. Die anderen Leute bemalen sich ebenfalls das Gesicht, meist mit den feinen senkrechten roten Strichen vom unteren Augenlide an über die Wangen bis zu die Ebene der Mundspalte. Einige Frauen endlich braten an einem großen Feuer außerhalb der Wohnhütte, wo die Zusammenkunft der Brautleute geplant ist, die reichlichen Fleischmengen. Boten gehen von einer Hütte zur anderen und schauen nach, wie weit die Vorbereitungen vorangeschritten sind. Im passenden Zeitpunkt geleiten einige Frauen, gefolgt von Kindern und Nachbarn, die Braut zur Hütte, in der sich der Brütigam aufhält. Diesen Aufzug beurteilt man als das Kernstück der Feierlichkeit. Gelegentlich geht es noch förmlicher her und zwar dann, wenn der Brütigam selber, von einigen Verwandten umgeben, der Hütte seiner Braut sich nähert und sie einladet, ihm zur Hütte seines Vaters zu folgen. Mit ihrer Begleitung schließt sie sich ihm an. Dort beginnt nun das Freudenfest.

Abb. 77. Bemalung der Braut

Beim reichlichen Essen vergnügt sich jung und alt, man unterhält sich lebhaft und schließlich verleihen die Hochzeitsgäste ihrer Freude in Tanz und Spiel beredten Ausdruck. Viele Stunden bleiben sie beisammen und erst die allgemeine Ermüdung setzt dem Fest ein Ende. Das Brautpaar besitzt eine eigene Hütte noch nicht und übernachtet dort, wo die Feier

[*] Etwig Brasier[49] hat von diesem Brauche erfahren: „The marriage ceremony consisted in painting the girl in a certain fashion for several days before she was delivered to her husband." — Bei den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 221) ist eine "Hochzeitsbemalung" vorgeschrieben, die im Stil mit der bei den Yamana ganz übereinstimmt.

stattfand.[30] Während der folgenden Tage findet sich die Nachbarschaft hier wiederum ein und zwar so lange, bis der Fleischvorrat aufgebraucht, die frohe Stimmung abgeflaut ist und das lange Verbleiben am gleichen Orte langweilig zu werden beginnt. Währenddessen eilt die Braut noch öfters zur Hütte ihrer Mutter, wo beide sich in gegenseitigen Zärtlichkeiten überbieten; denn bald schlägt die Stunde der Trennung. Die Mutter bemalt jedesmal ihre Tochter sorgfältig mit den drei waagrechten Strichen, damit sie ihrem jungen Gatten gefalle und er sie liebgewinne. Mancher der männlichen Hochzeitsgäste redet auf den Bräutigam wohlwollend ein und läßt zuweilen ein mahnendes Wort fallen. Das Brautpaar selber hält sich schweigsam und findet sein reiches Genügen am eigenen Glück. Wenn alle Hochzeitsgäste sich zerstreuen und wieder ihre eigenen Wege gehen, entfernt sich endlich das junge Ehepaar, das inzwischen ein eigenes Kanu erworben hat, ebenfalls von dieser Stelle. Es beginnt sein selbständiges, von den Eltern unabhängiges Eigenleben. Hierzu drängen nämlich auch ganz eigene Vorschriften, die für Schwiegereltern und Schwiegerkinder gelten.

Eine neue Familie ist nun begründet. Dieses Ereignis beurteilt die Gesamtheit als so bedeutungsvoll, daß sie es mit einer rechtskräftigen Förmlichkeit umgeben zu müssen für notwendig hält.[31] Der neuzeitliche, vom übermächtigen Europäertum heraufbeschworene Wirrwarr hat neben vielem Ursprünglichen auch diesen sinnigen Stammesbrauch erdrosselt. Die Indianer von heute bedauern es, daß einige ihrer Landsleute sich nun ohne die Feierlichkeit von früher zu einer Ehe zusammenschließen. MARY, die sich über die allgemein eingerissene Formlosigkeit entrüstete, beklagte laut diese Zustände: „Eine Frau ist doch keine Sache, kein Stück Holz oder etwas ähnliches, das man sich ohne Sang und Klang aneignet. Ein Mädchen, das sich ohne die bei uns gebräuchlichen Förmlichkeiten einem Manne überläßt, ist keine rechte Frau. Schön war es doch früher, da die Braut bemalt dem Bräutigam, der ebenfalls bemalt war, übergeben wurde. Alle Leute zeigten sich dabei außerordentlich froh!" Wieder ist es der europäische Einfluß, der dem jungen Geschlechte den Sinn für ihren einheimischen Stammesbrauch ertötet hat. Auf meiner zweiten Reise habe ich den Hauptteil von dem, was die vorhergehenden Seiten enthalten, durch den zuverlässigen alten ALFREDO erfahren.

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[30] BOVE (a): 158, und mit ihm WINOGRAND: 41, behauptet: „Wenn der Bräutigam nicht für immer auf den Genuß von Guanaco- und Seehundfleisch verzichten will, muß er sich am Morgen nach der Hochzeit durch ein Bad im Wasser des Meeres reinigen.... Diese Bäder sind ohne Zweifel die Ursache vieler Krankheiten, denen die jungen Leute des Feuerlandes unterworfen sind, doch man sieht sie für nötig an, um die verlorene Kraft zu ersetzen." Meine Gewährsmänner konnten sich bei meiner Frage, ob ein Bräutigam zum Bade verpflichtet sei, des Lachens nicht enthalten, so ungeheuerlich wirkte jene Behauptung auf sie. Näheres hierüber ist an, zum jenem vermeintlichen Brauche „viele Krankheiten" abzuleiten. Wer immer sich in der See gewaschen hat, eilt unverzüglich zum Feuer.

[31] Einmal läßt auch BOVE (a): 332 anscheinend sein Verständnis hierfür durchleuchten: „Die Heirat war ebenso gut als alle anderen Verwandtschaftsgrade anerkannt, für welche alle sie [die Yamana] ihre bestimmten Ausdrücke haben."

9. Schwiegereltern und Schwiegerkinder

In den Tagen vor und nach der Hochzeit benimmt sich der Bräutigam seinen Schwiegereltern gegenüber sehr diensteifrig und gefällig. Eine rechtliche Verpflichtung zu einem Arbeitsdienst oder zu Geschenken besteht nicht. Ihm ist es jedoch darum zu tun, sich der G u n s t der Eltern seiner Braut zu versichern, damit sie jedenfalls ihre Zustimmung zur geplanten Ehe vorbehaltlos geben. Bekanntlich macht eine gewisse Verschämtheit die Verliebten zurückhaltend im Offenbaren ihrer stürmischen Wünsche. Um sich kurz vor der Hochzeit, wenn die Liebschaft der jungen Leute bereits bekannt ist, den Einlaß in die Hütte der Eltern seiner Braut zu erzwingen, legt er eines Tages ein ansehnliches Bündel Holz davor und wartet, bis man ihn hereinruft.* Geschieht dies, sieht er darin die sicherste Gewähr für die Zusage jener Alten zu seinem Heiratsplane. Seine innere Freude verbirgt er und benimmt sich von nun an, wie es der alte Stammesbrauch von einem Schwiegersohne fordert. Ein freier, offener Verkehr ist nämlich weder ihm noch der Schwiegertochter mit ihren Schwiegereltern gestattet, hingegen sind sie zu Hilfeleistungen für letztere verpflichtet. Was der Schwiegersohn unmittelbar vor und nach der Hochzeit für sie tut, wird man genauer als Erkenntlichkeit und als Dankespflicht dafür, daß jene Eltern ihm die Tochter überlassen wollen, deuten müssen. Um seine Gefälligkeit dem Schwiegervater augenscheinlich zu beweisen, läßt der verliebte Bursche auskundschaften, was ihm fehlt oder was er erwartet oder was ihm besonders erwünscht sei. Eben das schafft er herbei, sei es ein Kanu, sei es eine Harpune oder ein schöner Fellmantel; und darüber hinaus trägt er noch manche andere Kleinigkeit in dessen Hütte, bis die Hochzeitsfeier einsetzt. Gleichzeitig leistet die Braut ihrer angehenden Schwiegermutter, falls es sich ermöglichen läßt, kleine Aufmerksamkeiten, die von ihr indes bei weitem nicht als so selbstverständlich wie von einem Bräutigam erwartet werden. Die Tatsache aber, daß auch sie ihre Schwiegereltern beschenkt, gibt eindeutig zu verstehen, daß die vom Bräutigam abgelieferten Geschenke nicht als Brautkauf gewertet werden dürfen (S. 641).

Die Einschränkungen im Wechselverkehr der Schwiegerkinder mit ihren Schwiegereltern sind eine ungesprochene M e i d u n g s s i t t e. Als unstatthaft und ungehörig gilt es, die Schwiegereltern anzureden oder ihre Unterhaltung durch Zwischenbemerkungen zu durchbrechen. Wenn man ihnen begegnet oder wenn man ihre Hütte betritt, darf man sie nicht begrüßen; läuft man ihnen zufällig entgegen, soll man sie mit niedergeschlagenen Augen in weitem Bogen umgehen. Allgemein gilt, daß man sich ihnen nie gegenübersetzt, ihnen nie offen ins Gesicht schaut und sich nicht an ihrer Seite niederläßt. Wenn es sich ergibt, daß ein Schwiegerkind mit seinen Schwiegereltern in der gleichen Hütte beisammen ist, muß ersteres von ihnen weit abrücken und

* Auf stummes, geduldiges Warten vor der Hütte der Geliebten verzichtet sich bekanntlich auch der heiratswillige Bursche bei den Selk'nam, bis dieser Vater ihm Einlaß gewährt und damit seine Zustimmung zur Heirat bekundet (Bd. I, 267).

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

sich von ihnen abwenden, also ihnen eine Körperseite oder den Rücken zukehren. Kommen mehrere Männer zusammen, wählt der Schwiegersohn seinen Platz in diesem Kreise im weitesten Abstande von seinem Schwiegervater; er verhält sich schweigsam und duckt sich sehr, wenn dieser das Wort führt. Den genannten Vorschriften fügt man sich auch heutigentags noch. Als wir uns eines Tages mit einigen alten Männern über die Männerfeier *kina* unterhielten, benahm sich der sonst sehr vorlaute und geschwätzige CALDENER derart verschwiegen und zurückhaltend, daß sein Benehmen auffallen mußte. Darüber befragt, erklärte er, sein Schwiegervater WILLIAM wäre anwesend gewesen und hätte das Wort geführt, unter solchen Umständen gebühre ihm als Schwiegersohn ein ehrfurchtsvolles Stillschweigen.

Zur gleichen scheuen Zurückhaltung ist die Schwiegertochter gegenüber ihrer Schwiegermutter verpflichtet. Allerdings lockert sich die Strenge dieses Gebotes ein wenig nach dem ersten Jahre ihrer Verheiratung. Keinesfalls kommt weiterhin zwischen ihnen ein freier Verkehr oder eine offene Aussprache zustande.

Trotzdem bestehen für die Schwiegerkinder gegenüber ihren Schwiegereltern einige unausweichliche Verpflichtungen.[41] Erstere sind nämlich verhalten, ihnen besonders bei Krankheit und Arbeitsunfähigkeit behilflich zu sein und sich um ihr Fortkommen zu bekümmern. Sie in die eigene Hütte aufzunehmen ist zwar nicht gefordert, weil dadurch das Schwiegerkind peinlich eingeengt würde. Dennoch lebt vereinzelt und vorübergehend eine alte Frau bei ihrer verheirateten Tochter und nimmt an deren täglichen Kanufahrten teil. Zumindest müssen die Schwiegerkinder sich in gewissen Zeitabschnitten nach den Lebensverhältnissen ihrer Schwiegereltern umschauen, sie mit frischen Nahrungsmitteln oder guten Gerätschaften versorgen und vielleicht andere Personen für deren Pflege gewinnen, je nach den Bedürfnissen, die der Einzelfall erkennen läßt. Ausdrückliche Wünsche und besondere Aufträge darf man ihnen nicht verweigern.

Trotz jener Verbote und gerade wegen der geltenden Verpflichtungen müssen beide Teile auf eine mehr mittelbare Art und miteinander wie auf Umwegen verkehren. Die Schwiegertochter darf mit ihrer Schwiegermutter etwa ein Jahr nach ihrer Verheiratung einige notwendige Worte wechseln, der Schwiegersohn enthält sich seitlebens jeder unmittelbaren Aussprache mit seinem Schwiegervater; das ist soeben erst festgestellt worden. Die eigene Tochter ist es, die vor ihrem Vater für ihren Mann vermittelt, oder der eigene Sohn übernimmt dies vor seinen Eltern für seine Frau; auch die jeweiligen Schwäger bzw. Schwägerinnen bilden die Vermittlung.

In Wirklichkeit wickelt sich der Gedankenaustausch folgendermaßen ab.

[41] Darauf hat BUSSOW (a): 261 mit ungenauen Angaben hingewiesen: „Men work for their wives' parents both before and after marriage, until she bears her firstborn, when the husband is exempted from further duty, save occasional gifts of fish, blubber, canoe, spear etc., and a willingness to help his father-in-law in difficulties." Was KUCZYNSKI: 321 hierüber sagt, ist nach den obigen Ausführungen zu berichtigen.

Gewahrt der Schwiegersohn, daß sein Schwiegervater sich ihm und seiner Familie nähert, sendet er ihm seine Frau entgegen und läßt ihm sagen: „Mein Mann schickt mich, er lädt dich in unsere Hütte ein!" Erfreut darüber antwortet ihr der eigene Vater: „Vielen Dank, doch will ich mir gleich selber eine eigene Hütte aufrichten!" Er entscheidet sich hierfür, um seinen Schwiegersohn nicht in Verlegenheit zu bringen; denn dieser müßte ja schweigen, abseits sitzen beim Essen und sich überall ducken, was ihm den Besuch verleiden würde. Also, um ihm alle Behinderungen und Unannehmlichkeiten zu ersparen, erbaut der Schwiegervater in dessen Nähe seine eigene Hütte, wobei seine Tochter ihn unterstützt. Kaum ist dieser Bau etwas eingerichtet, geht sie zu ihrer eigenen Hütte zurück und redet mit weithin vernehmbarer Stimme ihren Mann an: „Deinen Schwiegervater habe ich zu uns eingeladen; doch er zieht es vor, in einer eigenen Hütte zu wohnen. Er dankt dir!" Nun spricht er mit lauter Stimme, damit jener es verstehen kann: „Sehr leid tut es mir, daß mein Schwiegervater nicht zu meiner Hütte kommt!" Auf diese feinfühlige Art bringt er zum Ausdruck, daß er seinem Schwiegervater gern zur Verfügung steht. Während dieser in der Nähe weilt, besucht ihn die eigene Tochter wiederholt; der Schwiegersohn selber läßt sich in dessen Hütte nur einmal oder zweimal sehen und erkundigt sich nach etwaigen Bedürfnissen seines Schwiegervaters bei der eigenen Frau.

Um den unmittelbaren Wortverkehr, der nicht statthaft ist, zu ersetzen, hilft man sich auf eigene Art. Sobald es draußen still ist, erzählt der Schwiegersohn mit lauter Stimme und ohne jemand anzureden, was er kürzlich erlebt, beobachtet und erfahren hat, vor allem solche Dinge, die für seine Schwiegereltern wissenswert sind. Letztere vernehmen jedes seiner Worte und werden auf dem Laufenden gehalten.

Auch umgekehrt redet der Schwiegervater, an seinem Hüttenfeuer hockend, wie vor sich hin, aber weithin vernehmbar über das, was er seinen Schwiegersohn wissen lassen will. Eigentliche Aufträge übermittelt er ihm ebenfalls auf diesem oder ähnlichem Umwege. Tritt beispielsweise der Schwiegersohn in dessen Hütte, so grüßt er weder, noch schaut er sich um, noch spricht er ein Wort, sondern er verhält sich schweigend und abwartend auf einem dunklen Plätzchen. Sind sie beide allein und kann niemand zwischen ihnen vermitteln, äußert der Alte seinen Wunsch nicht etwa in unmittelbarer Anrede, sondern so, als ob er nur für sich plaudere oder vor sich hin rede: „Da habe ich doch mein Messer am Strande liegen gelassen!" Oder er sagt: „Draußen am Baumstamm hängt ein Pinguin, den möchte ich mir gern braten, ich habe Hunger!" Ähnlich auch: „Einen Seelöwen habe ich heute früh erschlagen, es ist ein großes Tier. Ich bin ein alter Mann und konnte ihn nicht zum Kanu schleppen; dort auf jenem Felsen habe ich ihn liegen gelassen." Endlich: „Das Holz für mein Hüttenfeuer geht bald zu Ende; wenn doch jemand mich mit neuem Brennholze versorgen möchte!" Dergleichen Angaben versteht der Schwiegersohn; sie sind Aufträge des Schwiegervaters, die er ohne Widerrede erfüllt.

Solch befremdliche Zurückhaltung der Schwiegerkinder und ihr Verkehr mit den Schwiegereltern auf dem merkwürdigen Umwege über deren Kinder oder über die eigenen Schwäger sind ein Ausdruck der Ehrfurcht und Hochachtung vor den Alten. Man sagt: „Die Schwiegereltern sind verehrungswürdig, deshalb dürfen Schwiegerkinder weder in ihrer Nähe sich auffällig benehmen, noch ein Wort mit ihnen wechseln!"[47] In der Wertschätzung setzt man die Schwiegereltern den leiblichen Eltern gleich, die Schwiegerväter und die Schwiegermütter eines Ehepaares betrachten sich gegenseitig wie Brüder und Schwestern. An ihnen also erfüllen die Schwiegerkinder all jene Pflichten, die sie leiblichen Eltern schulden; sie machen ihnen häufig Geschenke und übernehmen für sie allerhand Arbeiten, sie bringen Holz zum Hüttenfeuer, Gras zum Schlaflager, Trinkwasser und Lebensmittel, Binsen zum Korbflechten und Lanzen für Lanzenschäfte herbei; kurzum, sie helfen den Schwiegereltern auf jedwede Art und erweisen ihnen nach außen hin weit mehr Ehrfurcht, als den leiblichen Eltern. Ein Schwiegersohn würde von ihnen weder etwas anfordern, noch irgendwelchen Gegenstand sich ausleihen. Damit nicht genug, müssen die Schwiegerkinder auch gegenüber den Geschwistern ihrer Schwiegereltern eine gewisse Zurückhaltung an den Tag legen, obwohl es nicht unstatthaft ist, gelegentlich kurze Worte mit ihnen zu wechseln. Mit den Großeltern seiner Frau indes kann jeder Mann unbehindert verkehren."

Manche Vorschriften, die ehedem von den Yamana als heilige Gesetze in Ehren gehalten worden sind, hat das alles zerrüttende Europäertum beseitigt. Deswegen fanden bei den letzten Überlebenden dieses Stammes auch beschämende Unordnungen unbehinderten Eingang. Ältere Indianer von der Gesinnungsart ihrer Vorfahren, in ihrer Hilflosigkeit sie abzustellen, klagen bitter und bedauern sehr den unaufhaltsamen Verfall ihres ganzen Volkstums.

b. *Das Eheleben*

Mit der Hochzeitsfeier beginnt für die Neuvermählten das Leben der Selbständigkeit, sie treten aus der Abhängigkeit von den leiblichen Eltern heraus und sehen sich nun als neubegründeter Ehebund auf eigene Füße gestellt. Eine bestimmte Regel für die Zeit, nach welcher sich das junge Paar von den Eltern lossagt, kennt man nicht. Die Entscheidung hängt ab von der Lage, in der sich die Familie des Bräutigams oder die der Braut befindet; ausnahmsweise bleiben die jungen mit den alten Leuten so lange zusammen, bis jenen das erste Kind kommt.

Dem jungen Manne fällt es nicht schwer, der elterlichen Hütte den Rücken zu kehren; lange schon pochte in ihm der Drang nach persönlicher

[47] „Sons-in-law and daughters-in-law treat with considerable deference their fathers and mothers-in-law", nach Bridges (a): 202.

[48] Im Verhältnis zwischen Schwiegereltern und Schwiegerkindern bei den Yamana gibt es auffallend viele Übereinstimmungen mit den benachbarten Selk'nam (Bd. I, 332) und mit den Halakwulup (Bd. III).

Unabhängigkeit und die Lust für unbehinderte Kraftentfaltung. Anders fühlt die junge Braut, die zwar an alle Arbeiten, welche ihr nun obliegen, längst gewöhnt ist, die aber den eigentlichen Inhalt und die Lebensaufgabe ihres verheirateten Standes für den Anfang weder begreift noch fühlt. Zuweilen überwältigt sie ein unwiderstehliches Empfinden der Vereinsamung, das sie niederbeugt, wortkarg macht und traurig stimmt; eine andere wieder zerfließt in Sehnsucht nach der Mutter und den Schwestern. Was Wunder, wenn die Jungvermählten in kurzen Zwischenräumen die Familie der jungen Frau aufsuchen, wo diese sich von der eigenen Mutter ermutigen und aufrichten läßt. Die alte Frau bemalt jedesmal wieder das Gesicht ihrer Tochter mit zierlichen Strichen, damit ihr Mann sie von Tag zu Tag mehr liebgewinnen möchte. Wenn endlich das ersehnte erste Kind kommt, ändert sich dieser Zustand mit einem Schlage außerordentlich zum Besseren; denn nun weiß die junge Frau sich bei Tage und bei Nacht zu beschäftigen, ihre Tätigkeit ist die beglückendste für ein Weib und in ihren Händen hält sie endlich den sinnfälligen Ausdruck der Liebe ihres Gatten.

Für die Eltern bedeutet es zuweilen ein empfindliches Opfer, von ihrer Tochter sich trennen zu müssen, zumal wenn sie alt sind und wenn sie dadurch ganz vereinsamen, daß ihnen das letzte Kind verloren geht. Ihre Hoffnung beruht nur noch auf der Aussicht, daß das junge Paar einige Zeit bei ihnen bleibt oder sie häufig besucht und daß der Schwiegersohn ihnen allerlei Dienste leisten wird. Ganz anders die Eltern des Burschen, die sich freuen, daß er endlich mit dem Mädchen seiner Herzenswahl einen eigenen Hausstand begründet.[44] Sie wünschen ihm alles Glück und verfolgen mit Aufmerksamkeit die Entwicklung der neuen Familie, ohne störend einzugreifen. Dessen sind sich die Elternpaare beider Teile wohl bewußt, daß es ihnen von da an nicht mehr zusteht, wegen Kleinigkeiten oder zu oft auf ihr Kind einzureden. Auffälligerweise wird dem Onkel väterlicherseits *inddruwa* und der Tante mütterlicherseits *yēxuddbi* (BD: 645 schreibt *yekuddbi*) ein Vorzugsrecht auf Belehrung und Ermahnung des Gatten bzw. der Gattin eingeräumt, das die wenigen Zugeständnisse, die eine alte Gewohnheit den leiblichen Eltern gewährt, weit überragt. Sollte die junge Frau in die unglückliche Lage geraten, gegen Übergriffe oder rohe Behandlung ihres Gatten nach Hilfe sich umzusehen, wendet sie sich vorerst an ihren leiblichen Bruder und dann an einen Onkel.

Grundsätzlich schließen sich die Brautleute in der Ehe auf Lebenszeit zusammen. Ihre Ehe ist nicht nur eine Gemeinschaft der Herzen, sondern auch eine Arbeitsgemeinschaft zum Wohle ihrer selbst und der eigenen Kinder. Die besonderen Pflichten sind jedem der beiden Gatten von uraltem Brauch bestimmt angewiesen; dieser allein entscheidet, ob und wann die Auflösung einer Ehe statthaft ist. Die Neuzeit hat leider auch die ursprüngliche

[44] Diese Zusammenleben dehnt Hyades q): 378 zu lange aus: „D'habitude les jeunes maris ... vivent pendant longtemps avec les parents de leurs femmes auxquels ils rendent de nombreux services."

Form der Ehe in den Familien von heute so sehr abgeändert, daß sie nur teilweise noch durch den unmittelbaren Augenschein erkannt werden kann; die Mitteilungen aller alten Leute waren mir daher von besonders hohem Wert.

1. Monogamie

Bei Beschreibung der ehelichen Einrichtungen und familialen Gewohnheiten der Yamana sieht sich der Kritiker vor eine schwierige Aufgabe gestellt: Die Mitteilungen früherer Beobachter sind oft ganz unzugänglich und teilweise eindeutig gefärbt. Im besonderen fallen die Angaben, die BRIDGES über unsere Indianer gemacht hat, regelmäßig zu deren Ungunsten aus und es läßt sich wohl seine bewußte oder unbewußte Absicht nicht leugnen, sie in ein unfreundliches Licht zu rücken. Die älteren Nachrichten aus seiner Feder sind wegwerfend und verächtlich gehalten; immerhin besaß er so viel Gerechtigkeitssinn, daß er später einige gröbere Entgleisungen berichtigte. Nun aber haben andere Reisende bei ihrer Beschreibung von Dingen, die ihrer unmittelbaren Einsicht nicht zugänglich waren, sich auf BRIDGES' Meinung gestützt, was besonders für die Einrichtungen der Ehe und Familie gilt. Daher so viel Übereinstimmung und Urteilsgleichheit bei den Berichterstattern. Ich persönlich habe die unverfälschte Form des Ehelebens der Yamana von ehedem als Allgemeinerscheinung nicht mehr angetroffen und war auf die Aussagen zuverlässiger Leute angewiesen, so des alten ALFREDO bei meinem zweiten Aufenthalt im Feuerlande. Da ihr Urteil gut begründet wurde, wiegt es manche falsche, unbewiesene Behauptungen immer noch auf.

Manche der früheren Reisenden treten dafür ein, daß die Yamana der Vielweiberei huldigen. Aus ihren Worten ersieht man indes nicht deutlich, ob diese Einrichtung vorherrscht, ob sie allgemein gebilligt oder nur unter gewissen Bedingungen geduldet wird.[40] Offensichtlich widerspricht sich BRIDGES. Nachdem er das erste Jahrzehnt auf Isla Keppel verbracht hatte, schrieb er: „Polygamy is very general. Thus JEMMY BUTTON has three sisters for his wives . . ., in fact, the marriage of two or three sisters by the same man is not the exception but the rule" (MM: III, 117; 1869). Von der zuletzt genannten Unrichtigkeit sei zunächst abgesehen.[41] Siebzehn Jahre später trifft er (h): 206, bewußt oder unbewußt, eine empfindliche Einschränkung: „En algunos sitios la regla es tener una mujer; en otros muchos tienen dos, algunos tres y hasta cuatro." Damals kannte BRIDGES einen ansehnlichen Teil der Yamana noch gar nicht, weswegen allein deshalb seine Behauptung wenig Glaubwürdigkeit beanspruchen kann. Nach weiteren sieben Jahren

[40] CAGNIZI: 166 hat einige Urteile aus neuerer Zeit zusammengestellt. Anzufügen wären noch FURLONG (b): 131, DAGNINO (b): 179, LOTHROP (b): 163, OVIEDO (g): 55 u. a. m.

[41] Elf Jahre vorher, am 10. December 1858, hatte DESPARD diese falsche Beschuldigung längst richtiggestellt: „JEMMY BUTTON declared that the report his having three wives was all stories. 'No, I got only two — other women my sister'" (VP: VI, 129; 1859). Erst nach Entlassung seiner ersten Frau hat er die zweite übernommen.

endlich macht er (k): 234 eine nahezu offenherzige Enthüllung, die wie ein Widerruf seiner früheren Urteile erscheint; bekennt er doch: „Mas cuando [los Yaganes] fueron bien conocidos, se descubrió que no eran esnfbales ni polígamos y que, por lo general, respetaban los derechos que resultan de la vida de familia." Langjähriger Beobachtung seinerseits hat es bedurft, bis er die naheliegende und bedeutungsvolle Einrichtung der feuerländischen Ehe in ihrer tatsächlichen Form richtig erkannt hat.

Bridges hatte vorher zweifelsohne den Fehler begangen, in den andere Europäer vor ihm und nach ihm gefallen sind, jedwede erwachsene Frauenperson in einer Hütte oder in einem Kanu als Gattin des eben anwesenden Mannes zu betrachten. Nicht immer war die Schwägerin, die neben ihrer Schwester sich bei ihrem Schwager aufhielt, dessen Gattin, ebensowenig eine ältere Frau, die, weil alleinstehend, von ihm in die Familie aufgenommen worden war; das gilt auch von verwandten Personen, die zufällig oder für einige Zeit miteinander lebten. Wenige Jahre vorher, es war im März 1864, hatte Stirling mitgeteilt: „The custom of the people here [in Packsaddle Bay] is to have but one wife; at Woolya a man often has three wives" (VSA: XI, 239; 1864). Ob nicht eine falsche Beobachtung diese letzten Worte eingegeben und in die Feder gesagt hat?

Indes für ein Überwiegen der Monogamie ist Hyades (q): 378 bestimmt eingetreten: „Quoiqu'il y ait des hommes, en assez grand nombre, possédant deux, trois et même quatre femmes, l'habitude est cependant de n'en avoir qu'une seule."[17] Ihm folgte darin Martial: 198 mit den Worten: „Les Fuégiens practiquent quelquefois la polygamie; ils ont rarement trois et même quatre femmes; parfois deux, le plus souvent une." Dabbene (b): 188 betont: „Es costumbre de tener solamente una [mujer]." Aus den von einigen Reisenden der letzten Jahrzehnten vorgelegten Ansichten hat Cooper: 166 sich folgende Überzeugung gebildet: „As Mr. Bridges and the members of the French Cape Horn expedition had much more experience among the Yahgans than had the members of the Italo-Argentinian expedition, it is more probable that former authorities' estimate is the truer one, namely, dominant monogamy with, however, considerable polygamy." Die gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse können nicht als maßgebend gelten, obwohl alle Familien monogam sind. Eine einzige Ausnahme machte vor einem Jahrzehnt notgedrungen Manuel (S. 668), der zu seiner ersten Frau noch die jugendliche Julia, eine Halakwulup, übernommen hat.

Die ältesten Männer und Frauen, unabhängig voneinander befragt, waren und sind einig in dem Urteil, daß gegenüber der Vielehe bei weitem die Ehe überwog und daß erstere als geduldet eine Ausnahme bildete. Die beiden Brüder Martin und Fred Lawrence wiederholten das wörtlich und verwiesen zur Begründung auf einige handgreifliche Umstände. Mehr oder

[17] In diesem Urteil bleibt er sich gleich und sagt an anderer Stelle, daß „la polygamie ... est permise mais non de règle". Lotmar (b): 143 hat sich keine Meinung gebildet und wiederholt, nach Bridges, „the number [of wives] was not fixed by custom".

weniger war die Zahl der Erwachsenen beider Geschlechter gleich; hätte die Mehrheit des Volkes in Vielweiberei gelebt, wäre eine ansehnliche Menge von Männern ehelos geblieben und jeder Fremde hätte das bemerken müssen. Nach seiner natürlichen Veranlagung schenkt sich der Feuerländer nur einer einzigen Frau und er empfindet es als Störung seines Gemütslebens, wenn er zwei Frauen gleichzeitig seine Liebe widmen soll; deshalb steht auch beim Polygamisten die eine seiner Frauen in seiner Wertschätzung reichlich tief. Daß er, falls seine Gattin noch gesund und arbeitsfähig ist, durch eine zweite Frau sich wirtschaftlich besser stellt, ist eine unverstandene Übertreibung: denn Reichtümer häuft niemand an und ihm werden ja vom alten Stammesbrauch bestimmte Arbeiten aufgetragen, die größtenteils sich verdoppeln, wenn er zwei Frauen besitzt und diese samt Kindern erhalten muß.

Rechtzeitig wurde ich auf eine bei Indianern und Weißen beliebte ungenaue Redeweise hingewiesen, derzufolge ein Mann als Polygamist gekennzeichnet wird, der seine erste Gattin weggeschickt und an ihrer Stelle sich eine andere Frau angeeignet hat; in Wirklichkeit lebten jene beiden Weiber nicht gleichzeitig in seiner Hütte, sondern die erste wurde von der zweiten verdrängt. Verhältnismäßig häufig hat es sich bei unseren Eingeborenen ereignet, daß ein Ehemann seine Verbindung mit der ersten Frau löste und dafür eine andere als Gattin übernahm.[40] Bei den Yamana gilt nach alledem die monogame Einzelehe als allgemeine Regel, die seltenen Fälle einer Vielehe werden als oft begründete Ausnahmen notgedrungen eben nur geduldet.

2. Polygamie

Von mehreren Reisenden und Missionaren wird die Vielweiberei unserer Feuerländer berechtigterweise als eine Tatsache hingestellt, die auch meine persönlichen Erkundigungen bestätigen. Manche Urteile gefallen sich anscheinend darin, die Zahl der gemeinsamen Frauen eines Mannes zu erhöhen. So in Outes (g): 55 beispielsweise: „Los pobres tienen dos o tres mujeres, pero hay algunos con cuatro, cinco y aun seis."[41] Hierzu sage ich nur, was jeder weiß, daß es bei den Yamana weder Arme noch Reiche gibt.

Verläßlichere Angaben beschränken sich darauf, die Vielweiberei kurzweg als erlaubt hinzustellen. Bei Hyades (b): 1346 liest man nur. „La polygamie, que l'usage autorise, a paru cependant être l'exception."[42] Eindeutig und bestimmt sagte mir Alfredo im Februar 1920: „Wohl darf sich ein Yamana zu seiner eigentlichen Gattin noch eine zweite Frau nehmen, die weitaus meisten unserer Männer haben sich immer mit einer einzigen begnügt!" Weder

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[40] Nur in diesem Sinne läßt Lawrence (h): 143 den Ausdruck "Polygamie" gelten; denn er schreibt: „In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term 'progressive polygamy'."

[41] Übertrieben wird diese Ansicht noch durch Bridges (a): 166, daß es nämlich nicht seltenen mit „numerous eight jerom que tenga 4 y hasta 5 mujeres".

[42] An anderer Stelle (p): 334 sagt er: „La polygamie est permise."

er noch seine Frau erinnerten sich eines einzigen Eingeborenen, der gleichzeitig mit drei Frauen zusammengelebt hätte. Verhältniszahlen werden niemals angeführt und folgende Mitteilung Bumcrs' vom 14. Februar 1871 (MM: V, 138; 1871) über die in Ushuaia anwesenden 21 Männer und Jünglinge flößt mir kein Vertrauen ein. Von diesen wären 4 ledig gewesen, 7 hätten je eine Frau, 5 je zwei, 3 je drei und 1 sogar 4 Frauen besessen.[41] Zumindest muß eine höhere Zahl als zwei Gattinnen, falls sie wirklich vorgekommen ist, wie eine seltene Ausnahme beurteilt werden.[42] Richtiger würde man manche der diesbezüglichen Angaben als falsche Beobachtungen abweisen; denn, wie schon betont wurde (S. 664), war nicht jedwede Frauensperson in Begleitung eines Mannes deswegen auch seine Gattin. Immerhin, so scheint es, muß man diese Tatsache wenigstens für die Neuzeit zugeben. BD: 573 bringt das *tuxlölla*, to marry more wives than two. Die beiden Brüder Lawrence haben es entschieden abgewiesen, daß ein Yamana in den früheren geordneten Verhältnissen gleichzeitig mit drei und mehr Frauen verheiratet gewesen wäre. Bei anderer Gelegenheit, im Februar 1923, sagte mir Fred: „Wer die Redeweise der Yamana gut kennt, der weiß, daß sie von zwei oder drei Gattinnen eines Mannes auch dann sprechen, wenn dieser zwei oder drei Frauen nacheinander, also eine andere an Stelle der entlaufenen oder abgeschobenen oder verstorbenen angenommen hat. Ein solcher Mann ist im strengen Wortsinne nicht als Polygamist zu bezeichnen. Übrigens, mit zwei Weibern hat ein Yamana wirklich genug!" Diese Erklärung verdient es, gut beachtet zu werden.

Daß ein Feuerländer über die Einzahl nach freiem Ermessen nicht hinausgehen soll, ersieht man aus einer gewissen und grundsätzlichen Begründung, die vom Empfinden der Allgemeinheit für die Übernahme einer zweiten Gattin gefordert wird. Falls Unstimmigkeiten entstehen oder eine schwere Abneigung zwischen den Eheleuten sich herausbildet, trennen sie sich endgültig. Wenn demnach irgendein Mann zu seiner Gattin eine zweite Frau annimmt, so tut er es aus rein äußeren Gründen.

Fast immer liegt Arbeitsunfähigkeit ihrerseits vor, auch langes körperliches Leiden; letzteren Umstand hat erst die Neuzeit gebracht. Bei der für die verheirateten Yamana geltenden Arbeitsteilung ist ein Mann unbedingt auf die unbehinderte Kraftentfaltung seiner ehelichen Partnerin angewiesen. Wenn sie nur kurze Zeit aussetzen muß, stellt sie selber ihm eine Ersatzperson, indem sie ihre Schwester oder Tante oder Nichte herbeiruft. Auf die Dauer wäre dieser Zustand unhaltbar. Hat beispielsweise die Gattin den Arm oder

[41] Dieser Aufstellung gegenüber erinnere ich nochmals an die einschneidende Verbesserung, die Bumcrs (k): 243 an seinen eigenen Urteilen aus früheren Jahren vorgenommen hat, wo er sagt: „Mas cuando [los Yahganes] fueron bien conocidos, se descubrió que no eran cunhados ni polígamos." Mit diesen Worten leugnet er kurzerhand jede Vielweiberei weg; indes überschreitet er damit offensichtlich ein wenig die Grenze des Wirklichen.

[42] Hiermit erledigt sich die ungeheuerliche Behauptung Bove's (e): 157 und (g): 234 von selber: „Obwohl ... ein Mann soviel Frauen nimmt, wie es ihm gefällt, so sieht man doch selten Männer mit mehr als vier Frauen." Sein Reisebegleiter Lovisato wiederholt mit ihm selbstverständlich, daß „un uomo prende da una a cinque mogli e senza alcuna cerimonia".

das Bein gebrochen, leistet sie nicht nur nicht ihre standesgemäße Arbeit, sondern sie selber benötigt überdies besondere Hilfe. Sobald sie sich ihres hoffnungslosen Zustandes bewußt wird, rät sie aus eigenen Stücken ihrem Gatten an, ein zweites Weib zu ehelichen. Der Mann hat jetzt ein wirkliches Recht auf ein zweites Weib.[64] Vielleicht hat inzwischen ihre noch unverheiratete Schwester bei ihr den Dienst versehen, sich dabei dem Schwager gut angepaßt und mit dessen Kindern bestens verständigt. Was liegt da näher, als daß ihr dieser Schwager sagt: „Bleibe bei mir als meine zweite Gattin!" Sie greift das Angebot wohl jedesmal auf, schon aus Mitleid mit ihrer kranken Schwester und mit deren Kindern. Zuweilen, wenn es einem bejahrten Ehepaar um eine frische Arbeitskraft zu tun ist, streckt er seine Hand nach einem gesunden Mädchen aus; dieser Entschluß kommt mancher rechthaberischen Alten sehr gelegen, weil sie nun ein junges Ding ganz unter ihrer Herrschaft hat. So entschädigt sie sich dafür, daß er diesem mehr Zärtlichkeiten als ihr widmet. Bei beiden Voraussetzungen ist die Begründung für Vielweiberei einleuchtend.[64]

Fred Lawrence wiederholte mir zu verschiedenen Zeiten: „Aus reiner Sinnlichkeit hält sich ein Yamana nie ein zweites Weib als Gattin neben seiner ersten Frau. Ist seine Begierde gar so stark, sucht er Abhilfe auf verbotenen Wegen. Hat er sich aber in eine andere Frauensperson, die auf seine Absichten eingeht, regelrecht vernarrt, schiebt er kurzerhand sein erstes Weib beiseite, um mit jener allein ungestört verkehren zu können."

In Gegenwart seiner eigenen Gattin und der alten Julia, die beide nicht widersprachen, erklärte mir im Februar 1920 der zuverlässige Alfredo nachdrücklich: „Will ein Yamana eine andere Person als zweite Gattin in seine Hütte aufnehmen, so braucht er sein Weib darüber nicht zu befragen. Er tut es aber fast immer; denn er hat sein Weib lieb!" Ein Mann also, der seiner Gattin überdrüssig geworden ist, entläßt sie lieber, bevor er ein zweites Weib ohne deren Wissen in seine Hütte einführt. Tut er es dennoch, „so muß sich seine erste Gattin geduldig fügen. Vielleicht gefällt ihr das Zusammenleben nicht und sie selber macht sich schließlich davon. Auch weiterhin bleibt die erste Frau dem Manne gefügig und unterwürfig, sie stellt ihn nicht zur Rede, wenn er gegen ihren Willen und ohne ihr Wissen eine Nebenbuhlerin ihr aufzwingt." Diese Erklärung Alfredo's haben mir später andere Personen bestätigt.

Die Absicht, mehr Kinder um sich zu sehen, kommt als Grund für Vielweiberei bei den Yamana nicht in Frage; denn die Indianerinnen sind reich-

[64] Auch Dabezac (b): 189 gesteht es ihm zu: „El hombre tiene derecho a tomar otra mujer si la que tiene está ya envejecida, o si una desgracia enclaquiera la dejé con algún grave defecto físico." In gleichem Sinne hat sich Swanson (a): 166 ausgesprochen.

[64] Andere Deutungen und Darstellungen sind nach diesen Grundsätzen zu berichtigen. Nach Bove (c): 157 „sind die Notwendigkeit Rudorer für das Canoe zu haben, sowie die große Vorliebe für das weibliche Geschlecht die Veranlassung einer so ausgedehnten Polygamie. Es ist dies zweifellos die wirksamste Ursache der Verarmung jener Rasse". Daß nach Bamous (c): 232 „die Bigamie den damit verbundenen großen Vorteilen wegen sehr im Schwange war", besagt nichts.

lich fruchtbar und niemand erinnerte sich an eine kinderlose Frau in den früheren Zeiten. Die Mehrheit der Fälle von Vielweiberei entstand dadurch, daß ein Mann, bereits mit einer oder zwei Frauen lebend, noch eine alleinstehende Witwe *ólétahalipa* zu sich nahm. Diese fand vielleicht keinen Anschluß zu neuer Heirat mit einem Junggesellen oder wollte nicht mehr zu ihrer Familiengruppe zurückkehren; vorwiegend aus Mitleid rief sie jener Mann zu sich. Ob er vereinzelt mit ihr ehelich verkehrte oder nicht, beide wußten von vornherein, daß Kinder aus ihrer Verbindung nicht zu erwarten waren. Demnach war es eigentlich ein Asylrecht, was jener Gatte dieser Witwe einräumte; Ehe im strengen Wortsinne kann man ein solches Zusammenleben nicht nennen.

Wie unsere Yamana den durch das Europäertum aufgezwungenen Veränderungen auch Rechnung tragen müssen, erklärte mir WALTER im Jahre 1920. Sein Vater hielt in seiner Hütte gleichzeitig drei Frauenspersonen, mit denen er ehelich verkehrte. Damals fehlte es nämlich auf Isla Lennox und in der Nachbarschaft, also in der Ostgruppe der Yamana, bereits an Mannsleuten; demnach drängten sich die Frauen den wenigen Männern auf, um irgendwo unterzukommen. Von seinen vielen Geschwistern war WALTER seit einigen Jahren als letzter am Leben. Ein anderer Fall: Die jugendliche Halakwulup JULIA war einem gewalttätigen Europäer entflohen und fand Schutz auf der Farm bei Punta Remolino. Sie konnte sich mit den Yamana fast gar nicht verständigen und lebte sehr zurückgezogen. Sie wurde freundlich behandelt und von den dortigen Indianerinnen unterstützt, aber als alleinstehende Frau mit einem einjährigen Sohne konnte sie sich nicht länger halten. Ein geeigneter Yamana-Bursche als Gatte war nicht da. So erbarmte sich ihrer schließlich der etwa fünfunddreißigjährige MANUEL, der mit der fünfzigjährigen EMILIA verheiratet war, und nahm sie als zweite Frau in seine Hütte auf (S. 664).

Die stillschweigende Duldung der Vielweiberei bringt die überraschende Erscheinung mit sich, daß bedeutende A l t e r s u n t e r s c h i e d e die Eheleute trennen.[*] Als Ehehindernisse betrachtet man sie nicht (S. 651). Kleine Vorteile sind eben doch damit gegeben, daß ein bejahrtes Ehepaar ein junges Mädchen in die Hütte aufnimmt (S. 667) und daß ein jugendlicher Junggeselle eine Witwe mittleren oder höheren Alters heimführt (S. 652). Diese Beobachtung hat STERLING auf seiner Fahrt durch die Wulaia-Gegend im März 1864 sichtlich aufgeregt: „The elder men have frequently three wives, and two of them are generally of extreme youth . . . I long for plenary powers to set matrimonial affairs right down here, for the young men are too often glad to pick up derelicts, while theirs sires adorn their wigwams, and propel

[*] „An elderly man will be found often to possess two young wives in addition to one his equal in age; while a young man will often be allied to a woman his senior by forty years; for among some of the tribes at least it is inculcated as a duty that the young men should marry — or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say, should adapt into their family, and undertake to provide for — the aged women" (VBA: XIII, 91; 1866). ACUMARA: 270 schreibt: „Sonderbarer Weise hat der Mann gewöhnlich zwei Frauen, eine alte und eine junge."

their canoes with the fairest faces, and choicest arms in the community" (VSA: XI, 204; 1864). Das sagte er in der unbewußt falschen Voraussetzung, jedwede Frauensperson in der Umgebung eines Mannes wäre dessen Gattin.

Nimmt ein verheirateter Yamana zu seiner Gattin noch ein zweites Weib als eigentliche Ehefrau, wiederholen sich die Förmlichkeiten, die bei jungen Brautleuten allgemein Pflicht sind (S. 654), diesmal nicht; ebensowenig dann, wenn ein Witwer *Ilátakuwa* sich wieder verehelicht. Aus dem ununterbrochenen Zusammenleben jener Personen in der gleichen Hütte erschließt die Nachbarschaft den Tatbestand, falls er nicht durch bestimmte Worte der Neuvermählten bekannt gemacht wurde.

Unverkennbar nimmt die erste Gattin eine bevorzugte Stellung ein. Äußerlich macht sich das dadurch geltend, daß ihr der Platz unmittelbar neben dem Hütteneingange zusteht. ALBREDO bezeichnete sie als die *wufia*; BD: 628 schreibt *wóhyákin*, the first wife whose place is the door side of her husband. Dadurch erscheint sie gleichsam als Türhüterin;[*] dem an jenem Platze richtet sie auch ihr Schlaflager her und neben ihr hat der Gatte seinen Platz. An ihn und weiter zum Inneren der Hütte reiht sich die zweite Gattin an; sie wird deshalb *ullógupeíki* genannt, nach BD: 114, the second wife, when there are two, because her place was on the upper or inner side of her husband in the wigwam. Überdies ist die erste Frau berechtigt, jener gewisse Arbeiten anzuweisen und andere Aufträge zu erteilen; letztere fügt sich in Unterwürfigkeit, mehr wegen ihres geringeren Lebensalters, als in Anerkennung besonderer Überacht ihrer Vorgesetzten. Ihre Gewalt zu mißbrauchen kommt der ersten Gattin nie in den Sinn, noch viel weniger ihre Nebenbuhlerin darben zu lassen oder zu schädigen. Wie die erste Frau im allgemeinen das Fleisch, das der Mann heimbringt, an Nachbarhütten verteilt, so läßt sie auch jener ein besonderes Stück zukommen;[**] sie nimmt sich eine allgemeinmenschlichem Gefühl ihrer besonders aufmerksam an, so lange jene einen Säugling nährt. Zwanglos teilen beide sich in die alltäglichen Beschäftigungen. Viel wird bereits dadurch geregelt, daß *die jüngere* Frau ihre unmündigen Kinder betreuen muß. Da in den meisten polygynen Ehen die erste Frau arbeitsunfähig oder schwächlich ist, fällt der zweiten zuweilen alle Arbeit

[*] Schon MARTINI: 198 hat sie als „la femme-porte" bezeichnet. Übereinstimmend unabhängig schreibt BRIDGES (I): 31: „Each grown person had his or her place in the wigwam and the several wives of a man had each her appointed place as regarded the rest of her husband, from which she derived her title. Thus the first, or rather principle wife, for sometimes the first in respect of time became second or third in respect of rank, was spoken of as Wohyaoin, i. e. the one on the door side, because her place was invariably on that side of her husband. The second was called Uchoohpoi, because she sat next her husband on the inner side, and third Chohlollohoo, i. e. next beyond on the inner side of. Thus each knew her place when they went into any fresh dwelling, but usually a man had not more than one or two wives at a time."

[**] Sie ist also bei jeder Mahlzeit nicht etwa, wie MARTINI: 198 vermutet, von den Launen der ersten Frau abhängig. Nach allgemeiner Gewohnheit kann in einer Hütte jedermann von dem essen, was vorhanden ist, und wenn es fehlt (S. 592).

in der Hütte und im Kanu mehr oder weniger vollständig an. Sind die Schwestern, wie oft vorkommt, verfeindet, das Tagewerk in einträchtiger Verträglichkeit.

Aber es kann vereinzelt das gegenseitige Verhältnis zweier Gattinnen schwer durch Eifersucht und Neid gestört werden, wenn beide nicht verwandt sind, wenn der Mann mehr Liebe und Zuneigung der jüngeren von ihnen erweist, wenn er die zufällig freundlicher und ähnlicher behandelt. Lange hält die erste Gattin, die sich ihres rechtlichen Vorzuges nun deutlich bewußt wird, mit ihrem stillen Neid zurück; später macht sie dem Gatten in regelwidrigen Eifersuchtsszenen erneute Vorwürfe; schließlich, wenn all ihr Bemühen, seine Liebe auch für sich zu erwerben, erfolglos bleibt, trennt sie sich endgültig von ihm. Solche Zustände gehören zu den Seltenheiten in polygamen Ehen und ereignen sich wohl nur dort, wo der Gatte sich seiner ersten Frau entledigen will. Fast regelmäßig leben beide Nebenbuhlerinnen in gutem Einvernehmen miteinander, erst recht dann, wenn die Ältere wegen körperlicher Gebrechlichkeit auf die Jüngere angewiesen ist, und häufiger noch, wenn beide leibliche Schwestern sind. Dann ist keine neidisch auf die Liebesweise, welche die andere vom gemeinsamen Manne erfährt, mag die Bevorzugung noch so aufreizend hervortreten. Ihre eigentlichen Rechte entdeckt sich die erste Frau nie.[*]

Nun eine Stilprobe davon, wie unverwüstlich zwei Europäer, die gleichzeitig unsere Eingeborenen besucht haben, über eine und dieselbe Einrichtung berichten. Nach Spencer (a): 146 wird durch Vielweiberei „la paz familiar menos alterada, no surgiendo entre [las mujeres] ni celos, ni predilecciones." Demgegenüber behauptet Bove (a): 137: „Obwohl ... ein Mann soviel Frauen[**] nimmt, wie es ihm gefällt, so sieht man doch selten Männer mit mehr als vier Frauen. Es scheint: bei einer solchen Zahl von Gattinnen das häusliche Glück gar nicht mehr recht gesichert zu sein und die Hütte oder das Canoe sich täglich in ein Schlachtfeld zu verwandeln, so daß eine junge und schöne Gattin den Vorzug, den der Mann ihr gibt, wohl sowieso mit dem Leben bezahlt; schlimmer wird es für den Mann, wenn die Frauen ihre eigenen Streitigkeiten beilegen und sich gegen den Herrn des Hauses verbinden, wobei ihm wohl einmal deutlich gemacht wird, daß eben eine einzige Frau unter Umständen recht anspruchsvoll werden kann." Vor dem Erfindungsgeist dieses, der solche Schlachtenschilderungen hervorzubringen vermag, hätte ich mich selber in Schweigen.

Nach alledem besteht zu Recht, daß einzelne Männer mit zwei Weibern, die meist Schwestern waren, gleichzeitig lebten; die überwiegende Häufigkeit der Ehen indes war monogam. Nach der Verwertung einiger weniger Gewährsleute hätte ein Mann als Inhaber mehrerer Ausnahmen neben drei Frauen bei

[*] Diese Stelle, den Bd. 1 S. 180 beschriebenen in Anlehnung: „to come and lie down with to take the place in the affections of the second or third", besonders reizvollen Bedeutung nicht zu.

[**] Offenbar in Abhängigkeit von Bove scheinbarer Wiedergabe (S. 137 unten), daß „aun tal número de compañeras [scheint mit vier Frauen], desaparece completamente la felicidad doméstica".

sich gehalt, die fast immer leibliche Schwestern waren. Kein einziger sicherer Beweis liegt für diese und für eine höhere Zahl von Gattinnen vor. Wohl sie fehlte einer polygamen Ehe irgendwelche Begründung, die hauptsächlich der herrschenden Arbeitsteilung und der Verpflichtung des Schwagers zur Witwenheirat entstammte. Die meisten der europäischen Beobachter haben flüchtlich jedwede Frauenperson an der Seite eines Mannes als dessen Gattin beurteilt und demnach die Verbreitung der Polygamie weit übertrieben. Noch einmal sei daran erinnert, welch starke Abstriche der erfahrene Bamzai (k): 243 an seinen früheren voreiligen Behauptungen gemacht hat; denn nach einem fast viersigjährigen Zusammenleben mit diesen Indianern gestand er offen ein: „Als man zu einer guten Kenntnis der Yamana gelangt war, da stellte sich heraus, daß sie weder Kannibalen noch Polygamisten waren!"

Nichts deutet an, daß eigentliche Polyandrie von den Yamana gestattet würde.[60] Die sogenannte geschlechtliche Promiskuität ist bereits von Fitz-Roy (a): 182 bestimmt in Abrede gestellt worden: „Jemmy Button often talked of his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, also of uncles and aunts, after he knew enough of our language to understand distinctly the relationship. Now this could not have been the case had not his father and mother lived together permanently as man and wife, according to the clear account which he himself always gave of their custom in this respect." Die englikanischen Missionare, schon mit Stirling angefangen, haben sich bemüht, der Vielweiberei ein Ende zu bereiten; Bamzai erwirkte sogar ein Verbot von seiten der Regierung.[61] Leider ließen die Missionare dabei außer acht, daß in dieser und jener Familie eine zweite Frau durch die wirtschaftliche Notlage gefordert wurde. An sich allerdings widerspricht die Vielweiberei dem allgemeinen Rechtsempfinden der Yamana und begründete Ausnahmen werden nur geduldet (S. 665).

3. Arbeitsteilung der Gatten

In der Ehe vereinigen sich die beiden Gatten nicht nur zu einem Liebesbund, sondern bewußt auch zu einer Arbeitsgemeinschaft. Bei den Feuerländern dient alles Arbeiten dem unmittelbaren Lebensunterhalt, niemand denkt dabei an die Zukunft oder an ein Anhäufen von Reichtümern. Der Wirtschaftsbetrieb der Einzelfamilie ist nur auf der Grundlage einer genau umgrenzten Arbeitsteilung beider Gatten möglich und daraus folgt mit Notwendigkeit, daß der eine Teil auf den anderen unauswechselbar angewiesen bleibt. Nicht nur die fast völlige Gleichstellung beider Geschlechter ist damit gegeben, überdies wird im Rahmen dieser Erörterungen verständlich, daß eine

[60] Zwar hat Bamzai (j): 21 am 22. April 1871 eindeutig festgestellt: „As we never has a woman been known to have more than one husband at a time, but occasionally some have had two or even more"; und er (k): 210 wiederholte später: „Nunca se ha conocido una mujer que tuviera más de un marido a la vez." Indes, manche verhältnismäßig Frau unterhielt beiläufig ein unerlaubtes Verhältnis.

[61] Am 28. Mai 1887 schrieb er mit: „Again, cases of natives taking a second wife are punished by imprisonment, and thus happily prevented" (BFB: XXI, 176; 1887).

erwachsene Person nicht andauernd oder auf längere Zeit alleinstehend ohne leben kann. Also heiraten alle erwachsenen und zwar bereits in jungen Jahren; verwitwete hochbejahrte, verwitwete Personen, für die es kein Heiraten mehr gibt, trachten in einer bestehenden Familie unterzukommen. In der Ehe lagen nun beide Teile ihre Kräfte zusammen und strebten als gemeinsamen Ziel, daß die Familie als wirtschaftliche und gesellschaftliche Einrichtung sich gesichert erweise.

Die Arbeitsgebiete und die mannigfaltigen Einzelaufgaben sind nach der in jedem Geschlechte verankerten natürlichen Veranlagung verteilt.[*] Alle Pflichten, die größere Muskelkraft, edle Ambitionen, verwegener Mut und entschlossene Furchtlosigkeit fordern, eignen dem Manne; denn er ist von Haus aus fester gebaut und er gefällt sich in den Anstrengungen und Gefahren, die er sieghaft überwindet. Hingegen sagt der Frau das Betreuen der Kinder und die Tätigkeit in der Hütte zu, auch verbindet sie damit gern die vielen leichten Handgriffe in der Häuslichkeit und im Kraal. Weil die Verteilung der Arbeiten nach naturgegebenen Voraussetzungen gleichmäßig durchgeführt ist, verläuft das Zusammenwirken der beiden Gatten reibungslos und einträchtig.

Dazu verhilft endlich noch, daß das Arbeitsmaß, wie es dem Manne und wie es der Frau zugewiesen ist, weder ihn noch sie überfordert, beide also nie zu lebenslänglichen Sklaven ihrer Verpflichtungen macht. Freilich sind Härten und Mühen, Anstrengungen und Erwartung ihnen keineswegs erspart; aber zum harten „Kampfe ums Dasein" — in der Wortbedeutung, die dem europäischen Tagleben geläufig ist —, zwingt Mutter Natur sie nicht. Ein geringer Aufwand von Kräften reicht hin, daß sie ihre täglichen Lebensanforderungen befriedigen und sie vergnüglichen Dasein führen können.[**] Sehr zu Unrecht haben europäische Reisende das Los der Feuerländerin in sehr trüben Farben gezeichnet. Bove (a): 137 beispielsweise meinte, daß „in diesem Kampfe um das Dasein den Frauen die Hauptrolle zufällt, die mehr als Sklaviennen, wie als Gefährtinnen betrachtet werden". Der Missionar T. Bridges (c): 332 hält solcher Unwahrheit entgegen: „Die Teilung der Arbeit war billig und vernünftig, und die Weiber wurden in keiner Weise unterdrückt, sondern führten ein behaglicheres und glücklicheres Leben als die Männer und erreichten wie überall ein größeres Alter."[**]

[*] Im Mitte 1864 eine Bemerkung auf seiner Bestätigung hin, daß „there was well marked division of labour amongst this people" (V14: 21, 23b; 1864). Diese explizierte Bemerkung (b): 210 viel später: „La division del trabajo [entre marido y mujer] se hace de una manera que considero justa." Bestätigungen hat sich Bridges (g): 18 ausgeschlossen: „Innerhalb der Familie teilen sich Mann und Frau in die Arbeit. Den Männern fallen die eigentlich schweren Arbeiten zu ... Den Frauen fallen zwischen die eigentlichen — in diesem Falle keine Mangel von Männern freilich nachgeschlich zu gemessen — häuslichen Arbeiten zu."

[*] Gesellschaft im Bericht's (d): 241 Behauptung: „Der Mann ist für die Frau der beste Herr einer selbständig arbeitenden Schwer."

[*] Bridges (c): 171 gibt sogar vor zu wissen: „Es general el caso [illegible] mujer [illegible] de [illegible] mas [illegible] y [illegible] que el [illegible]; esta [illegible] [illegible]

Unsere Hauptkenntnisse sind [illegible] beschäftigt, für die gilt es als Hegers Beobachtungen von Wesbien und Menschen. Mag der Mann auch wenigstens Jagd auch zwei oder drei Tage der Ruhe pflegen, ganz untätig bleibt er nie und kann es nicht sein; denn kleinere Fortbewegungen dringen sich ihm unwiderstehlich auf und stellen ihn von neuem auf die Füsse. Eigenartig aber ist es, daß die Fortsetzung der Beschäftigung oder tätig durch kurze Ruhepausen unterbrochen.* Mit gespannter Aufmerksamkeit jäteten die sie lange bei einer und derselben Sache, ersehen verschaffen sich nach wenig oder dreißig Minuten eine ausgedehnte Abwechslung, entweder lockern sie sich an einer anderen Stelle und plaudern mit Nachbarn oder kosten sich einige Minuten, wenn einmal nur Unterhaltung in der Nähe ist, umschlaten sie dann sich gelenkerlos im Feuer oder auf dem Erdboden kosten, sich irgendwie bei ihrer Arbeit zu Unterhalten, das kommt unsere Indianer nicht.

c. Beschäftigung der Kinder

Im familiären Wirtschaftsverbande kommen auf den Mann all jene Leistungen, bei denen ein höherer physischer Kraftaufwand gefordert wird und die nur mit geringerem Maß, sowohl mit Vorsorgeinhalt ausreichen gebunden werden können. Sein eigentlicher Betätigungsfeld ist die Freiheitsjagd. Auf diesem Gebiet entfaltet er sein ganzes Können und seine alten Kenntnisse, die Vielheit seiner Gebrauchsgüter und die Geschicklichkeit seiner Glieder, die Schärfe seiner Sinnesorgane und die bewundernswerte Fertigkeit im Handhaben der Waffen. Oft und oft weilen seine Gedanken bei dem Tiere, denen er in der jeweiligen Jahreszeit nachgehen muß, die er kürzlich erlegt hat und die er bald dort wiederfinden hofft, wohin er von seinem Feuer den Kern bringen läßt. Die Geschicklichkeit seiner Jagdhunde Mustagi er immer wieder und verfolgt seiner Umgebung den langen und breiten, wie diese sich gegen seinen Angriff gewehrt oder jenen, trotz scheinbarer Verwundung durch einen sicheren Herzenswurf, dennoch den entwischt ist.

Vielfältig gibt er den Bildern nach und bringt sie entweder mit der Kunde oder mit seinen Wurfwaffen zur Strecke. Dabei muß er Bäume erklettern, in Felsspalten und unzugänglichen Unterstellen verkriechen oder vom Kanu aus die sehr gefährlichen, starken Tier überlisten. Mit geübtem Gefühl für die passende Position bei ein Angriff auf einen nahe dem Ufer vorbeiziehenden Wal vorbereiten. Um ihn schwer zu verwunden und zu Tode zu ermüden, muß jeder der von allen Seiten herbeigeeilten Männer unablässig Harpunen in den gewaltigen Tierkörper hineinstechen, die Wunde durch Speere und Lanzen vergrößern und erneut wieder hervorziehen. Die kühnen Tierenen erhöhlen sich zu Gesamtmen-

[1] Interview: p. 18 ist ein [illegible] von [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Mann verwandelt er eine kleine Gruppe von Figuren, den Reichtum mit Hunden zu umkreisen und auf dem von Gemsen gezogenen Flicken zum Himmel emporfliegen, wo unterm im Dickicht verborgenen Mönner dem verhängnisvollen Tiere einen Speer entgegen. Der erfolgreiche Jäger nimmt die erbeuteten Beute ab, nehmen an Gut und Stelle ein, schlägt sie an seiner Stirn, sieht hier und den Fell ab und verlegt sie in einige grobe Stücke, die von seiner Frau an die benachbarten Familien verteilt werden. Die Jagd nach einem Fischerer fordert nicht seiner gebrüdigen Waffen und gestaltet sich weniger oft oder weniger. Endlich obliegt es dem Manne, die im Kreuzzuge erschossenen Vögel zu beschützen und zu erlegen, ebenfalls die Fingerhüte mit Sperren, die Eulen und Gänse mit der Schleuder oder großen Schlingen, die Schwalben beim gelüftlichen Abscheuen ihrer Brutlöcher in den offenen Felsenhöhlen. Für den Erwerbsteil Shoshiki der Mann die erjagten Vögel seiner Gattin.

Eine nicht minder bedeutungsvolle Aufgabe ist der Kocchou. Auf ersteren weil er die passenden Blumenstücke bei Wilde ordnen, die verschiedenen Bäumen, geschickt bekannteln und unterschaft zum Zwecken Fahrzeug zusammenstellen. Manche bestimmtbare Dinge ist zweckgebunden und zweckbar oder beim Arbeit gebrauchen werden, bevor die neue Fahrzeug zum ersten Male im Wasser geschoben werden kann (S. 442). Größere Anschauungen obliegen ihm.

Alle seine Wollen und Gedankenkreise verbringt sich jeder Mann im Dörfer selbst, nehmen nur transitiv er ein besonderes Stück anderen ein. Was er dann an Bekanntlich benötigt, versucht er meist auf weite Reise. Wegen der vielfältigen Kenntnisse unterbricht er seine Arbeit und weiß die neue unterbrochene Mahl wieder aufnehmen, ehe er die endlich vollendet. Die Kleider und Tuchkreise für seine Frau, wenn den Spielzeug für seine Söhne erwarten man von Sen. Aus den dicken Blättern schneidet er die Lederkreise und die passenden Stücke an Lederkreuzen bereit.

Beim Kotsuchou bietet er die schwierigere Arbeit, indem er vor allem die passenden Stücke bestimmbarlich und anbinden. Großer Bäume und ganzen Bündel kleinerer Kategorie als Besonderheit bringt er heraus. Nur wenn seine Frau anderweitig beschäftigt ist, nimmt er den Feuer an und erhitzt es heraus. In der Mitte hält er sich von der Seitenwand und hält sich seine Bündel für die ihm eigenen Bestimmung fest.

Wenn am Morgen die Fukei an einem anderen Ort beginnt, sorgt er allein für seine Waffen und Gedankenkreise. Im Vorbereite des Kamm legt er sie für schwierige Begriffen bereit. Unterwegs denkt er nur an seine Jagd und nicht unnötigerweise auf dem Anschlag; er hält sich von der Frau an jenen Stellen bringen, wo er Erfolg erwartet.

Wo die Familie beschäftigt und im Tsucchkoodel versteht werden kann, versteht er selbst auch Bildungsarbeit mit seiner Frau. Gemeinsam sind Pfannenkuchen, oder Lederstücke, farbige Fellschnurl, Schmuckgegenstände, Fischstücke, Waffenreste und kleinere Gedankenkreise.

Die wichtigsten Aufgaben des Mannes sind hiermit gemessen. An seiner Stelle ist er dennoch bemüht, seine Familie mit mannichfachen Pflichtenkreisen

zu verstehen. Alles, was im Dienste dessen steht oder dem erforderlich ist, gehört in seinen Pflichtenkreis. Gesetzlich eilert er wie die Kind zu jeder Arbeitem, die seiner Frau auferlegt; sollte sie erkranken oder sterben, hält er sich verpflichtet zur Vertretung eine andere Frauenperson in seine Hütte. Die deutliche Scheidung der beiden Pflichtenkreise des Mannes und der Frau ist auch dessen eingeschlossen, daß sie niemals ihr an seine Aufgabe erinnern oder zu größerem Fleiß ermahnen würde, sollte wegen seiner Nachlässigkeit die Familie empor in arge Not geraten sein und Hunger leiden müssen. All das bewirkt eine fast vollkommene Selbständigkeit eines jeden der beiden Gatten, trotz ihrer Zusammenwohnens, im ganzen Wirtschaftsbetriebe."*

β. Beteiligung der Frau

Der körperlichen und seelischen Verwaisung der Indianerin entsprechend nehmen in ihrem Tagwerk die eigentlichen Mutterpflichten den weitesten Raum und den ersten Platz ein. Jede Frau ist mit mehreren Kindern gesegnet, die bis zum heiratsfähigen Alter fast ausnahmslos in der elterlichen Hütte bleiben. Sie stillt betreut sie jedes ihrer Kinder voll und ganz bis zum dritten oder vierten Lebensjahre; von da an kommen die Knaben vorzugsweise unter die väterlichen Obhut, während die Mutter auch weiterhin noch ihre Hand über die Mädchen hält. Die vielen Handgriffe, die ein Säugling fordert, besorgt sie fast ganz; was an seiner Pflege beständig wird, verrichtet sie allein. In ihrem Mutterglück trennt sie sich nie von ihrem Sprößling und schleppt er überallhin mit sich, obwohl sie damit ihre wichtigen Arbeiten unendlich erschwert.

Über die Betreuung und die Pflege der kleinsten Kinder hinaus bietet ihr noch ein besonderer Dienst an der Familie. Für alle Mitglieder näht sie die Stiefel, die sie Kleidung gebrauchen werden, und dichtet im großen und ganzen ihren auch den Schlafsäcken her. Obwohl jeder bei Hunger selber auch dem greift, was ihm vorrätig ist, kommt sie doch den Wünschen des einzelnen meist nieder und bringt ihm das an, worauf er es abgesehen hat. Also hält sie die größeren Fleischstücke in und nahm dem Feuer, bäckt und kocht die Fische und Muschels, die Kochen und Vogeleier in der heißen Asche. Für Trinkwasser sorgt sie ebenfalls und hält es parathalten, wenn keine ihrer Töchter daßir frei ist. Die kleinen Schmuckgegenstände, wie Halsketten und Kopfschmuck, verwahrt alle von ihr.

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* Die einzigartigen Leistungen der Mutter sind von anderen Schreibern aufgezählt worden, so von Bancroft (s): 110 und in 1886, 111, 113, 1888, Pim-Ker (s): 186, Pinkerton (b): 138, Bancroft (b): 186, Wrangel (g): 30 und (g): 226, Lewis (b): 41, Gomez (g): 97, Wassmann I, 180, Wassmann 60 u. a.

Als Beispiel diene, was Bancroft im Jahre 1886 niederschreiben hat: „The men build the canoes, make the paddles, spears, etc. and sit in the canoes ever ready to use them. Bows and arrows, and canoes for birds, they likewise make. The wigwam is the work of their hands, and every bit of wood, which feeds their purposed fires, is gathered, and cooked by the male section of the community." Pilliner hatte Pim-Ker (s): 186 dieselben beobachtet.

Das Feld ihres Schaffens ist die Hütte. Schon beim Aufbau betätigt sie sich gemeinsam mit ihrem Manne. Schadhafte Stellen und die vom Winde gelockerten Teile bringt sie wieder in Ordnung. Dem Hüttenfeuer wendet sie ihre besondere Sorgfalt zu, bewacht es bei Tage und bei Nacht, regelt das Ausstrahlen der Hitze und das Aufsteigen der Flammen, sorgt für die passende Richtung der Zugluft und für den schnellen Abzug des Rauches. Man möchte es kaum für möglich halten, wieviel Aufmerksamkeit und welch zahlreiche Handgriffe das Hüttenfeuer erfordert, soll es für alle Familienmitglieder eine Wohltat sein und niemanden belästigen. Jedem bereitet sie das Schlaflager zu, wie er es wünscht, und sie erneuert zeitweilig die Unterlage. Eine gute Menge von Abfallstoffen sammelt sich in dem kleinen Wohnraume an; daß diese zeitig beseitigt werden, darauf achtet die Frau. In und vor der Hütte verrichtet sie ihre vielen Handarbeiten und widmet sich, nimmermüde, der Pflege ihrer Kinder.

Ihr zweites Tätigkeitsfeld ist das Kanu. Des Mannes Aufgabe ist es, dasselbe zu bauen; von da an aber liegt die Sorge um dieses bedeutsame Verkehrsmittel allein in ihren Händen. Was im Laufe der Zeit auszubessern sein sollte, fordert sie vom Manne; sie allein jedoch bedient es auf dem Wasser und behütet es am Strande (S. 456). Bevor die Familie abfährt, stellt sie das Kanu bereit, daß jeder bequem seine Sachen aufladen und mühelos einsteigen kann. Das Paddeln, ein Rudern und Steuern zugleich, besorgt sie allein, weswegen sie regelmäßig im rückwärtigen Teile ihren Platz einnimmt. Das Reiseziel und die Fahrtrichtung hat sie vorher mit ihrem Gatten vereinbart; besondere Weisungen gibt er ihr in den Augenblicken, da er einem Jagdtiere auf die Spur gekommen ist. Ängstlich wacht sie über das Feuer, daß nicht etwa der Boden durchbrenne; ihre Kinder leitet sie an, es bei bescheidener Glut zu erhalten. Um ein Kentern zu vermeiden, achtet sie darauf, daß die Insassen sich richtig verteilen und daß schwere Beutestücke das Gleichgewicht nicht stören. Immer bleibt sie sich dessen sehr wohl bewußt, daß sie allein auf dem Wasser für das Boot und für ihre ganze Familie verantwortlich ist.

Unvergleichlich mehr als ihre Nachbarin auf der Isla Grande trägt unsere Indianerin zum Lebensunterhalt der ganzen Familie bei. Darin liegt keine Übertreibung. Man braucht sich nur vor Augen zu stellen, daß sie allein die Muscheln sammelt, die für den Yamana so viel bedeuten wie das Brot für einen Europäer. Ihre Sammeltätigkeit von mehreren Stunden an den meisten Tagen dehnt sich noch auf Schnecken und Krebse, auf Seeigel und Vogeleier, auf Beeren und Pilze aus. Manchen Fisch holt sie mit ihrer Angelleine aus dem Wasser und manchen jungen Vogel ergreift sie im Neste. All diese Beutestücke kommen der ganzen Familie zugute. Die größeren Säugetiere und die Vögel, die ihr Mann zur Hütte bringt, bereitet sie für das Braten vor; weil bestimmte Mahlzeiten nicht eingehalten werden, muß sie bald diesen und bald jene bedienen. Sie macht die beliebten Tranwürste (S. 584) und brät in heißer Asche die begehrten Blutwürste. Ihre Aufgabe endlich ist es, Cytaria-Pilze zu trocknen. Ohne diese vielseitige Mitwirkung der Frau bliebe der Speise-

settel der Yamana beklagenswert einförmig. Sie beweist beim Nahrungserwerb im Ablauf des Jahres (S. 558) staunenswerte Geschicklichkeit und nimmermüde Ausdauer.

Zu jenen mannigfaltigen Verpflichtungen gesellen sich schließlich noch allerlei kleinere Handarbeiten. Viel Mühe fordern die Felle von Robben, Ottern und Guanacos, sowie die Häute der Vögel, die von ihr gespannt, bearbeitet und teilweise gewalkt werden. Alle Gegenstände aus Leder und Häuten fertigt sie an, vor allem die Taschen und Beutel, sowie die Zierstücke und Spielzeuge, selbstverständlich auch das wenige, was zur Körperbedeckung gehört. Für ihren persönlichen Gebrauch benötigt sie Körbchen und Hautsäckchen; zu letzteren wählt sie die Speiseröhre des *álakuš* (Tachyeres brachypterus) und Darmstücke von den Robben. Daran arbeitet sie in den kurzen Zeitabschnitten, die andere Verpflichtungen ihr freigeben. Sie sucht und bereitet die Farberden für rote und weiße Bemalung, macht die Angelfäden zurecht, flicht die Binsentaue für das Kanu und die Sehnenschnüre für verschiedene Verwendung (Siehe vor allem S. 433, 498, 502).

Rechnet man das alles zusammen, so steht man verwundert und erstaunt vor der außerordentlich umfangreichen und vielseitigen Tagesleistung unserer Indianerin. Das nahmen oberflächliche Reisende zum Anlaß, ihr Los als bedrückend und unwürdig, ihre Arbeitslast als unerträglich und ihr Dasein als unmenschlich zu schildern.[97] Dennoch wird die Frau mit ihrem Tagewerk nicht nur mühelos fertig, sie fühlt sich sogar wohl dabei und nimmt es mit frischem Mute jeden Morgen neu auf. Bequem und angenehm hat sie es ebensowenig wie ihr Gatte. Mit vollem Recht hat Stirling schon im März 1864 betont: „The division of labour is not unfair, although the women are doubtless exposed to some hard ship in cold weather, when they have to wade in the water in search of mussels, or to moor a canoe to the kelp, or set it free" (VSA: XI, 228; 1864). Aus eigener Beobachtung gelangte Bamous (i): 22 im April 1871 zu der gleichen Überzeugung, daß „the division of labour was very fair, the women were not imposed upon".[98] Das sind beachtenswerte Urteile.

7. *Zusammenarbeit der Gatten*

Die Beschäftigungen und Arbeitsgebiete für Mann und Frau sind deutlich gegeneinander abgegrenzt. Beide Eheleute erstreben mit ihrem Tagewerk das materielle Auskommen ihrer Familie; dieses alleinige Ziel als Zweckge-

[97] Bove (c): 157 und (d): 292 zählt zu jenen Europäern, die zu etlichen Übertreibungen: „Während der Herr und Meister beim Feuer liegt, steht die Frau im Schnee und Regen, dem Winde ausgesetzt im Wasser, um für ihren müßigen Gatten zu fischen." Und doch hatte schon mehrere Jahre vorher Bamous bestimmt versichert, daß „the men and boys do not lead an idle life at all" (MM: III, 114; 1869).

[98] Anmerkung 66 brachte bereits einen reichlichen Quellenhinweis, dem hier noch Bamous (VSA: XI, 228; 1864), Bamous (MM: III, 115; 1869), Hyades (c): 142 und (p): 322 anzufügen sind. Als Probe möge dienen, was Fitz-Roy (a): 125 aufgezeichnet hat: „The women nurse their children, attend the fire (feeding it with dead wood, rather than green, as

danke begründet es, daß beide sich verträglich und wohltuend ergänzen. Noch mehr kommt die gleiche Richtung in ihren Bestrebungen durch einzelne gemeinschaftliche Tätigkeiten, bei denen jeder von ihnen Hand anlegt, zum Ausdruck; entweder reichen nämlich dafür die Kräfte des einen allein von vornherein nicht aus, oder ihre gemeinschaftliche Regsamkeit läßt das Werk schneller erstehen. Das trifft beim Hüttenbau zu; denn der Mann schafft die dickeren Stämmchen herbei, während sie das Gerüst durch Verschnüren befestigt, mit Lederstücken überzieht und den ganzen Bau schließlich dichtet. Meist wird die Hütte nach anstrengender Fahrt, auf der sich Mann und Frau stärker oder schwächer, jedenfalls hinreichend ermüdet haben, aufgeschlagen; je früher der bescheidene Bau bezogen werden kann, um so vorteilhafter ist es für die ganze Familie. Deshalb sind sie beide gemeinsam vom ersten Anfange bis zum letzten Handgriffe darum bemüht. Das Kanu auf dem Uferrande zu sichern müssen beide Eheleute ihre Kräfte vereinigen; ebenso dann, wenn es wieder ins Wasser geschleift wird. Die großen Lederstücke, die über das Hüttengerüst gelegt und verteilt werden, heben beide gemeinschaftlich aus dem Kanu heraus und bergen sie dort wieder kurz vor der Weiterfahrt. Von dem genau aufeinander abgestimmten Zusammenarbeiten beider Gatten im Kanu hängt nicht selten der Erfolg auf der Jagd ab. Sobald nämlich der Mann einem Jagdtiere nahegekommen ist und dessen Verfolgung aufnimmt, ist er voll und ganz mit seinen Waffen und mit der Beobachtung seiner Beute beschäftigt; der Frau obliegt es, nach den Weisungen des Mannes das Fahrzeug zu lenken und zu steuern, es schneller oder langsamer in dieser oder jener Richtung zu halten, bis das verfolgte Tier ihnen gehört. Zeitweilig wird dabei sowohl vom Manne wie von der Frau die äußerste Kraftanstrengung gefordert. In Augenblicken höchster Not muß ein Mann, auf Zurufe seiner Frau, sogar zum Ruder greifen; denn es ereignet sich, daß sie allein, beim Toben der plötzlich hereinbrechenden Naturgewalten, das Ufer nicht mehr zu erreichen vermag.

Gewiß, Mann und Frau haben ihr genau abgesteckten Arbeitsgebiet. Trotzdem wird es keinem in den Sinn kommen zurückzustehen, wenn Not und Gefahr, Krankheit und Arbeitsunfähigkeit des anderen Teiles in diesem Augenblicke oder bei jener Einzelgelegenheit es fordern, einen Handgriff aus dem Pflichtenkreise des anderen zu tun.[80]

Wenn man das Tagewerk des Mannes mit dem seiner Gattin vergleicht, so erhellt auf den ersten Blick, daß jene Arbeiten und Aufgaben, für die gesteigerte Körperkraft oder gefährliche Waghalsigkeit oder kühnes

account of the smoke), make baikets and water-buckets, fishing-lines and nooklesses, go out to catch small fish in their canoes, gather shell-fish, dive for sea-eggs, take care of the canoes, upon ordinary occasions paddle their masters about while they sit idle; — and do any other drudgery."

[80] Bridges (a): 201 erwähnt: „Men very seldom help their wives to catch fish, which is their chief employment." Nicht nur hierfür, sondern ganz allgemein gilt, daß der eine Teil helfend nur dann in das Arbeitsfeld des anderen für ein einziges Mal übergreift, wenn ein schwerwiegender Anlaß oder Lebensgefahr dazu drängt.

Draufgängertum gefordert werden, ihm obliegen; sie hingegen hat eine gleichmäßige, ruhigere, gefahrlosere Tätigkeit. Während er gleichsam stoßweise beim Einzelunternehmen seine ganze Leistungsfähigkeit entfalten muß und eine ernstliche Ermüdung, zuweilen eine wirkliche Erschöpfung davonträgt, ist es ein Vielerlei leichterer Handgriffe, von der schweren Arbeit des Paddelns in schlechtem Wetter abgesehen, das ihr kaum einen Augenblick die Hände gänzlich untätig in den Schoß zu legen gestattet. Sie rührt sich den lieben, langen Tag und öfters bei der Nacht. Hingegen hat der Mann genau so oft ein Recht auf mehrstündige, zusammenhängende Ruhepausen, als er in außerordentlichen Gewaltanstrengungen sich ermattet hat. Ein unkundiger Beobachter deutet das wohlverdiente Rasten des Mannes als reines Faulenzertum und die nimmermüde Rührigkeit der Frau als einen Sklavendienst in entwürdigender Abhängigkeit von ihrem Gebieter. Aus dieser falschen Beurteilung heraus sind Schilderungen entstanden, die hauptsächlich Bove (d): 292[70] sehr geläufig waren und die in weiten Kreisen leicht Glauben gefunden haben.

Jeder der beiden Gatten betrachtet sein Tagewerk als eine selbstverständliche Pflicht, die er im Dienste der Familie mit geduldiger Unermüdlichkeit verrichtet. Rühmend sei es diesen vielverkannten Menschen nachgesagt, daß sie sich emsig und unverzagt ihrer Arbeit widmen! Faulenzer und pflichtvergessene Personen sind selten und erfahren die Verachtung ihrer Nachbarn. Die Gesamtheit ist fleißig und arbeitsam; unverdrossen geht jeder seiner Beschäftigung nach, obwohl er als einzige Genugtuung von außen her nur die Zufriedenheit seiner Familienmitglieder und für sich selber die Beruhigung seines Pflichtbewußtseins erntet. Hart und unerquicklich ist gar manche Anstrengung im Regenwetter und Schneegestöber, doch niemand klagt oder schimpft. Unter den größten äußeren Widerwärtigkeiten habe ich sie oft und oft sich anstrengen gesehen, niemals aber ein Wort des Mißmuts, der Verärgerung und der Ungeduld vernommen. Mochte ihre Jagd erfolglos gewesen sein, mußten sie auch lange Stunden unter schwerem Hagel und Regen gegen die Wellen ankämpfen, waren ihnen selbst die notwendigsten Gerätschaften verloren gegangen, sie klagten und zeterten nicht, sondern richteten sich schweigsam und in der üblichen Eile ihre Hütte auf und wärmten sich am Feuer ebenso vergnüglich, wie an Tagen reicher Erfolge. Sie schliefen ungestört und begrüßten hoffnungsfroh den nächsten Morgen, einerlei, ob er ihnen Sonnenschein oder Schneegestöber verhieß.

Leicht ist es nun, zu einer Allgemeinbewertung der pflicht-

[70] „Quando vedo la vedova gli uomini tranquillamente andati attorno ad un buon fuoco, mentre le povere donne stavano esposte alla neve, al vento, all' acqua, passando per gli ostacoli ed i rami marciti." Im gleichen Sinne behauptet Lovis (b): 47: „Mangia come tutti bellamente sed-cuscinato, ed hombre chandone tutto ed pesa da lui tuttum dandolitem e la infelice mujer, vecchiaia vistima condannata a arrostire perpetuamente la pentola cadena de la ordinerind. Lui mujere ... mentre lui hombrem se entregan al reposo en la chaza, entrar domandar en el mar para coger mulusuen." Beide Behauptungen hatten sich wahrscheinlich Bove (d): 247 zum Lehrmeister gewählt; denn auch seiner Ansicht ist „der Mann für die Frau der brutale Herr eines mißhellig arbeitenden Sklaven".

mäßigen Arbeit unserer Feuerländer zu gelangen. Sie sind andauernd beschäftigt und ermüden dabei zuweilen, wovorgegen ihnen längere Zeiten der Untätigkeit erspart sind. Sogar bei den seltenen Gelegenheiten, da Mutter Natur sie mit einer Überfülle an Lebensmitteln beschenkt, dürfen sie ihre Hände nicht in den Schoß fallen lassen. Zeitweilig bleibt weder dem Manne noch der Frau ein höchster Aufwand ihrer Kräftesteigerung erspart; anschließend folgt dann die erforderliche Zeit der Ruhe. Kaum der beiden Ehelente wird von vornherein eine Arbeitslast zuerteilt, unter der er nur schwer atmen könnte; vielmehr entspricht die Art der Beschäftigung und die Zahl der Leistungen, die jeder als sein Tagewerk kennt, ganz und gar den natürlichen Voraussetzungen, die er als erwachsener Mann, bzw. die sie als erwachsene Frau in die Ehe mitbringt.[1] Das Zusammenwirken beider, obwohl in je ihrem besonderen Pflichtenkreise als auch bei ihren gemeinschaftlichen Unternehmungen, ermöglicht wirtschaftlich den Bestand der Familie, kettet beide Ehegatten zu gegenseitiger Abhängigkeit aneinander und füllt das Leben eines jeden aus.

4. Wechselbeziehung der Gatten

Um den Lebensunterhalt zu bestreiten, also auf der breiten Grundlage des Wirtschaftens rücken die beiden Ehegatten so eng aneinander, daß der eine auf den andern angewiesen bleibt. Darin allein liegt schon eine außerordentlich feste Bindung für beide Teile. Doch sie bilden darüber hinaus noch eine Gemeinschaft der Herzen und der Seelen.

Die Freiheit bei der Gattenwahl und die bedeutsame Beteiligung der Frau im Wirtschaftsbetriebe lassen es begreiflich erscheinen, daß in der Familie beide Geschlechter sozusagen völlige Gleichberechtigung besitzen. Diesem Grundgedanken stehen einzelne Verhältnisse oder gelegentliche Erscheinungen anderer Art nicht um. Sogar Bascaan (h): 210 gibt ihm beredten Ausdruck: „La esposa no depende para entero de su marido, y tiene toda la libertad que le conviene." Die Frau ist sich ihrer Rechte wohl bewußt; deshalb verläßt sie einen Mann, der sie schlecht behandelt; deshalb erwartet sie von ihm, ohne ihn eigens zu ermahnen, daß er für die Familie allen erforderlichen Bedarf herbeischafft; deshalb wahrt sie sich die gänzliche Unabhängigkeit in allen Arbeiten, die ihr nach alter Gewohnheit zufallen, ohne sich vom Gatten dreinreden zu lassen. Ganz wie sie Lust verspürt und aufgelegt ist, sammelt sie Muscheln oder angelt nach Fischen, ordnet die Felle und näht Kleider. Äußert der Mann besondere Wünsche, weiß er es ebenso genau wie sie, daß sie zu deren Erfüllung keineswegs gezwungen ist und daß sie sich dazu eben nur aus Liebe und Zuneigung entschließt.

All das aber hindert nichts daran, daß die Yamana-Frauen durchaus unterwürfig und willfährig sind. Fast sie in Worten, wohl aber in seinem

[1] Cooper: 149 hat die Mitteilungen über Beteiligung der Arbeitsverteilung bei den Yamana gegeben und daraus geschlossen, daß „the division seems, if we take into account Fuegian tribal conditions and necessities, to be a fairly equitable one".

Auftreten verkörpert der Mann, ohne zu verletzen, ein bedeutendes Übergewicht an Autorität und Macht; ihrerseits scheinen die Indianerinnen, ohne sich in sklavischer Willenslosigkeit selber zu verlieren, ihre Gleichberechtigung freigebiger preiszugeben, als es sonstwo bei ihrem Geschlechte üblich ist. Ob es etwas wie Schwächegefühl oder Minderwertigkeitsbewußtsein sie beherrscht, läßt sich schwerlich erweisen. Nach außen hin zumindest gibt sie scheinbar eine Hörigkeit und Unterordnung unter den eigenen Gatten zu erkennen, daß mancher europäische Beobachter den Eindruck erhält, sie sei nur der willenlose und rechtlose Spielball in der Willkür ihres Gatten. Jenen Eindruck verstärkt zweifelsohne noch eine naturhafte Scheu und außergewöhnlich schweigsame Zurückhaltung jeder Yamana-Frau einem Manne gegenüber.[10] Deshalb geht es bei Mißverhältnissen und Streitereien zwischen beiden niemals mit Geschrei oder Lärmen her; sollte er einige Schimpfworte ausstoßen, läßt sie trotzdem nichts verlauten.

Die tatsächlich von den meisten Frauen übertrieben geübte Unterwürfigkeit nährt bei den Männern das Bewußtsein einer im allgemeinen Rechte nicht verankerten Übermacht. Gesellt sich hierzu bei dem und jenem noch eine zu Gewalttätigkeiten und Wutausbrüchen neigende Naturanlage, so hat die Frau nicht selten **Mißhandlungen** zu gewärtigen. In seiner Erregung, meist aus scheinbarlichen Vorkommnissen, schlägt er mit dem nächstbesten Stocken oder Lederfetzen auf sie ein; sie duckt sich oder neigt sich zur Seite, ohne zu schreien oder zu weinen. Das ist Sache weniger Augenblicke, an die sich mehrere Stunden oder eine ganze Nacht verhaltenen Wehes der Frau anschließen. Die tiefempfundene Kränkung schmerzt sie unvergleichlich mehr als der Schlag oder Stoß selber.

Ein jähzorniger und gewalttätiger Gatte genießt nie guten Ruf, sollte er auch zuweilen Grund zur Unzufriedenheit mit seiner Gattin haben. Keiner meiner Gewährsleute wußte sich dessen zu erinnern, daß eine Frau aus Mißhandlungen schweren körperlichen Schaden davongetragen hätte; so weit hätten ihre Verwandten es nicht kommen lassen, sondern ihr zeitig genug zur Flucht verholfen. Grundsätzlich verurteilt das Empfinden der Allgemeinheit jedweden tätlichen Angriff auf die Frau und wo er sich ereignet, nimmt man entschiedene Stellung gegen den Mann bzw. gegen seine Frau, je nachdem, um einer Wiederholung solcher Streitereien vorzubeugen.

Im Gegensatz hierzu stehen die eigentlichen **Pantoffelhelden**, deren Zahl, nach den Aussagen der drei Brüder LAWRENCE, bei den Yamana beträchtlich ausfällt. In BRIGGS' (i): 21 Worten, daß „not a few men are dominated over by their wives",[11] liegt keine Übertreibung. Einer dieser Büffeln in der Hand seiner Gattin ist WALTER; mehr noch tritt JULIA als ein echtes Mannweib auf, daß der nicht wenig energische ALFREDO sie bisweilen selber gewähren läßt. Zum Unterschied von diesen beiden Ehepaaren leidet

[10] Diese Beobachtung dürfte BYRONS (d): 308 die Worte eingegeben haben: „La femme est esclave à son mari; mais, pourvu qu'elle soit flâtée, celui-ci se la maltraite pas."

[11] Fürchterlich Jahre später hat BRIGGS (h): 210 diesen Satz unverändert wiederholt.

Carmen unter der Rohheit und den gewalttätigen Wutausbrüchen Calderon's derart empfindlich, daß alle Stammesgenossen mitfühlend sie bedauern. Wie gegenwärtig, so hat es sich auch in früherer Zeit ereignet, daß ein vereinzelter Anlaß eine Frau in Harnisch brachte und ihr einen Prügel gegen den Mann in die Hände drückte, ohne daß eine eigentliche Pantoffelherrschaft bestand. Dafür liefert Lovisato (b): 146 ein Beispiel: „Abbiamo visto una moglie percuotere di santa ragione il marito, senza che le altre mogli presenti prendessero le sue difese o si dessero per intese del grave fatto." Man ersieht auch hieraus eine zuweilen weitgehende Selbständigkeit und Eigenmächtigkeit der Frau ihrem Gatten gegenüber.

Abgesehen von den wenigen eben gekennzeichneten Gleichgewichtsstörungen im Eheleben gilt vom Verhältnis der beiden Gatten, daß, wie Bridges (h): 210 sich ausdrückt, „en general la vida de familia es feliz y correcta". Sie sind sich in aufrichtiger Liebe zugetan. Zuneigung und Liebesbedürfnis hatte beide zur Ehe zusammengeführt und die Leistungen des einen für den anderen steigerten die gegenseitige Wertschätzung andauernd, so daß nach wenigen Jahren sie bewußt oder unbewußt einander zur Freude leben.[74] Ihre Gedanken und Pläne tauschen sie miteinander aus, sie besprechen die eigenen Erlebnisse und die Beobachtungen an ihren Kindern, sie vermeiden es, voneinander lange getrennt zu sein und lösen sich in bitterem Schmerze auf, wenn der andere Teil erkrankt oder gar stirbt. Von Zeit zu Zeit erfreut der eine den andern mit einer Überraschung oder erweist ihm die dort üblichen, sehr bescheidenen, doch immer erfolgreichen Zärtlichkeiten. Diese beschränken sich auf sanftes Streicheln der Wangen oder einzelner Körperstellen, auf Anlehnen des Kopfes und enges Aneinanderrücken.[75] Für Liebesbezeigung vom anderen Eheteil ist jeder sehr empfänglich[76] und, je nach persönlicher Anlage, der eine mehr, der andere weniger. Am auffälligsten schien mir Mary für ihren Roberr zärtlich besorgt, während der alte Pedro nicht zuletzt deshalb jeden Verkehr mit anderen Familien einschränkte, weil er ganz seiner stark eifersüchtigen Gattin angehören wollte.[77]

Nach den zuverlässigen Andeutungen, die ich erhielt, betätigen sich die Yamana im Geschlechtsleben mäßig und üben den ehelichen Akt in

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[74] Nach Lovisato's (b): 146 unmaßgeblicher Meinung bedeutet die Frau für den Feuerländer nicht mehr als „un arnese per far figli; non possiamo dire che sia la compagna dell'uomo, ma neppure la schiava, sebbene ad esso siano affidati i più penosi lavori". Hingegen sagt Hyades (p): 332: „La femme qui se conduit bien est indépendante et respectée." Das ist die Wahrheit!

[75] Nach diesen Angaben ist richtigzustellen, was Brizzolesi (a): 166 behauptet hat, „les caricias y el beso son completamente desconocidos en estos pueblos". — Ihrem Säugling gegenüber sparen die eigenen Eltern mit Küssen wahrhaftig nicht (S. 714).

[76] Hyades (d): 308 bestätigt, daß „les Fuégiens sont très capables d'éprouver les sentiments de l'amour et de la jalousie".

[77] Stürmische Gefühlsergüsse vermeiden unsere Feuerländer. Wäre Lovisato (b): 146 sich dessen bewußt gewesen, hätte er niemals die falsche Schlußfolgerung gezogen, „non esiste amor coniugale".

der Normallage aus.[79] Hierfür den Einfluß ihrer Ernährungsweise geltend zu machen, dürfte nicht ausreichen; größere Wirkung, als mancher vermutet, geht von der dauernd kühlen und feuchten Atmosphäre aus. Ebensowenig darf man außer acht lassen, daß Mann und Frau fast täglich sich körperlich reichlich ermüden; sie verzichten auf den Geschlechtsgenuß bei starker Ermattung und entschädigen sich dafür, wenn sie einige Tage am gleichen Orte rasten.[79]

Die Gattenliebe nimmt bei unseren Feuerländern weit mehr als anderswo die Formen echter Eifersucht an. Manchem Reisenden der früheren Zeit ist die scharfe Wachsamkeit, mit der ein Gatte seine Frau bei Annäherung eines Fremden behütete, fühlbar unbequem gewesen und seiner dreisten Aufdringlichkeit entzogen[80] sich die Eingeborenen oft durch schnelle Flucht. P. Snow (a): I, 149 spricht deutlich von deren „jealous disposition", die bis in die Gegenwart hinein von den einen mehr, von den anderen weniger beibehalten wird.[81] Auffällig ist es, daß Eifersucht fast nur die Männer quält und daß Frauen, von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen, davon verschont bleiben. Diese Ausnahmen treffen zu bei Gattinnen desselben Mannes. Auch Hyades (q): 239 hat beobachtet, daß „la femme, et surtout la jeune fille, est si peu sensible à ce sentiment[82] qu'elle paraît très heureuse de voir les mêmes faveurs accordées à ses amies par l'homme qu'elle aime".[83] Bei einer stärkeren Veranlagung hierfür ist die Eifersucht zweifelsohne „le motif de brutalités exercées par le mari sur sa femme". Mancher Mann ist derart empfindlich, daß andere in ihrer Haltung seiner Frau gegenüber nicht vorsichtig genug sein können, wollen sie sich Unannehmlichkeiten ersparen. In Ourry (g): 55 wird berichtet: Die Männer „son muy celosos y una mirada inoportuna a sus mujeres es suficiente para despertar la desconfianza y ocasionar la muerte del sospechado". Gewiß, in Schlägereien ernster Art tobt sich zuweilen der eifersüchtige Gatte aus; zu einem Mord ist es dabei, wie Fred Lawrence jene Mitteilung mir berichtigt hat, nie gekommen. Das Los einer Frau neben dem unglücklich veranlagten Gatten ist nicht angenehm: immer muß sie dessen Wutausbrüche fürchten, obgleich sie persönlich sich ganz tadellos führt und sehr vorsichtig benimmt.

[79] Hyades (q): 187 bestätigt, daß „chez le Fuégien adulte les fonctions sexuelles s'accomplissent avec modération ... Les femmes sont aussi modérées que les hommes dans la recherche des plaisirs sexuels".

[80] Eine falsche Behauptung von Bové (c): 158, wiedergegeben in Anmerkung 38, vermehrt Lovisato (b): 150 nötig durch folgendes Unicum: „L'uomo, che vive dai wigwam degli amici, deve lavarsi, perchè altrimenti non può mangiare carne di guanaco; se non si lava muoiono i cani."

[81] Am häufigsten daraus sind die Reibereien und Streitigkeiten entstanden, die sich an den Besuch europäischer Schiffe bei unseren Indianern geknüpft haben. Daher ihre scharfe Zurückhaltung (S. 248, 264).

[82] Mehrere gleichgerichtete Urteile hat Coeurdevey 148 zusammengestellt.

[83] Seltene Ausnahmen 128: Hyades (q): 378 trotzdem gelten und er anerkennt, daß „les femmes jalouses rendent la vie très désagréable à leurs maris".

[84] Er weist entschieden auch die falsche Behauptung einiger Reisenden zurück, unsere Indianer hätten ihre Mädchen und Frauen widerspenstiglich preisgegeben.

Ob diese bei Männern ausgeprägte Eifersucht ihrer Sorge um die ehe-liche Treue bei ihren Frauen entspringt? Zu einem Teile mag dieser Grund gelten. Gewiß, die beiden Gatten bewähren sich in der Regel als treu und die Allgemeinheit hält diese Tugend uneingeschränkt hoch. BD: 267 bringt *Alagua:* a sober, sensible and faithful wife or woman. Man muß SPRAGUE (a): 166 beistimmen, der betont: „La fidelidad, es una virtud profundamente guardada, ya por miedo al marido que por simples escepchas la repudiaría o mataría, ya sea por costumbre natural!"[64] Aber obwohl die Treue in der Öffentlichkeit geschätzt wird und jeder sich bemüht, eines Verstoßes dagegen nicht beschuldigt zu werden, waren und sind die Entgleisungen dieser und jener Einzelperson doch nicht selten, und gar mancher Verheirateto hat heimlich einen Seitensprung gemacht. Die Behauptung BRIDGE's, „there is no fidelity between man and wife" (VSA: XIII, 203; 1866) ist in dieser allgemeinen Wortfassung falsch und er selber verbesserte sich bald danach, daß „generally a great deal of unfaithfulness" (MM: III, 117, 1869) üblich wäre. Sechs Jahre später hat er (I): 19 den schönen, von den Yamana aufgestellten Vergleich erfahren, daß „an adulterous person was likened to a rotten tree which has only to be touched to fall". Wenn ein Volk zu solchem Abwehrmittel greift, bestätigt es erschreckt die ernste Gefahr, die aus dem genannten Fehler der ehelichen Treulosigkeit droht.

Eine überraschend reiche Zahl von Worten mit der Bedeutung des ehebrecherischen Tuns sind im BD zusammengetragen. Mehrmals erwähnen auch HYADES und SPRAGUE, daß Ehebruch sowohl vom Gatten als auch von der Gattin begangen wird. Mit aller Bestimmtheit hat mir der zuverlässige FRAU LAWRENCE versichert, daß nach seiner jahrzehntelangen Erfahrung eine ansehnliche Zahl von Frauen ihre Nebenbuhler hatte. Jede wußte zwar, daß sie *zur Treue gegen ihren Mann verpflichtet* ist,[65] gab aber doch dem Triebe in größter Heimlichkeit nach. Wen die Hauptschuld traf, ist schwer zu entscheiden, indes hat sowohl der eine wie der andere Schuldige daran seinen Teil. „Die Schuld lag wohl meist auf seiten des Verführers" (GUSINDE [I]: 168); das könnte man aus den Ermahnungen, die den Mädchen bei der *Ifiyaya*-Feier erteilt werden, erschließen. „Die Frauen der Gegenwart", so fuhr FRAU LAWRENCE fort, „schämen sich kaum noch ihrer Entgleisungen und drängen sich mit Vorliebe den Europäern auf, weil sie von diesen entschädigt werden. Woher hätte denn sonst dieses oder jenes Weib ihr neues Kleidungsstück, da weder sie noch ihr Mann etwas verdient haben, um es zu bezahlen! Hielt man das verbotene Verhältnis früher geheim, so zeigt sich heutzutage manche ältere Indianerin gar nicht mehr verlegen, wenn man sie dessen in offenem Gerede überführt; ihr Gatte schweigt still dazu, weil er weiß, daß sie sich mit

[64] Am 27. Juli 1871 hatte BRIDGES (I): 18 in sein Tagebuch eingetragen: „Adultery was considered as a crime and faithfulness extolled as a virtue."

[65] Auch HYADES (a): 272 betont, daß die Indianerinnen „sont tenues à la fidélité envers leurs maris". Doch hat er in Übereinstimmung, wenn MARTINAUD 199 sagt: „La fidélité est très dans les moeurs fuégiennes, et le mariage dure plus longtemps."

begehrten Gegenständen versorgt.". Das Benehmen der alten MARGERA erschien sogar manchen Indianern derart verletzend, daß sie sich mir gegenüber wiederholt sehr mißliebig äußerten (Vgl. hierzu die Angaben auf S. 353).

Früher mußte jeder, wie gesagt, sein ehebrecherisches Treiben vor den Augen des verletzten Ehetellers ängstlich verbergen. Fiel ein Mann seiner Frau auf diesem Abwege erwischte, verwetzte er ihr derbe Schläge und bewachte sie seitdem schärfer. Machte er überdies den anderen Schuldigen ausfindig, verprügelte er ihn, sofern er ihm an Kräften gewachsen war, oder er holte seine eigenen Verwandten zu Hilfe.[30] Zumindest entfernte er sich mit der unzuverlässigen Gattin aus dessen Nähe. Mancher Mann konnte sich über den Fehltritt seiner Frau nur allmählich beruhigen und erst nachdem er sie wiederholt verprügelt hatte.[31] Zur bewußten Tötung kam es nicht; immerhin bleibt die Möglichkeit bestehen, daß eine Frau den Folgen schwerer Schläge erlegen ist.[32] Selten nur erhob ein Mann seine treulose Gattin für immer und allein dieses Vergehens wegen ab, mochte sie sogar einige Zeit sich bei ihrem Liebhaber aufgehalten haben und nachher erst wieder zur Hütte ihres rechtmäßigen Gatten zurückkehren.[33] War sie indes von jenem nachweislich schwanger — das ereignete sich in dem außerordentlich seltenen Falle, daß sie noch jung, ihr rechtmäßiger Gatte aber hochbejahrt war —, schickte letzterer die Ehebrecherin unwiderruflich dem Nebenbuhler zu und trennte sich endgültig von ihr.

Wird der Mann von seiner Gattin auf einem Seitensprunge ertappt, bleibt ihr meist nichts anderes übrig, als still die erlittene Kränkung zu überwinden. Eine lebhafte Frau macht dem Sünder einen lauten Auftritt, schilt ihn und stellt ihn wegen seiner Schandtat vor anderen bloß, was ihn tiefer als Prügel kränkt.[34] Die Verwandten der Frau würden es nicht wagen, den Treulosen zu schlagen; höchstens raten sie ihr an, ihn zu verlassen. Vereinzelt ist eine schwer gekränkte Frau gegen den entgleisten Mann handgemein geworden, wenn mit ihr eine andere Frau in der gleichen Hütte vom gemeinsamen Gatten betrogen wurde.[35]

Zu einer genauen Abgrenzung der Vorfälle ehelicher Untreue fehlt die sichere Handhabe, da jeder Yamana sich ernstlich bemüht, seine Fehltritte

[30] MARTIAL: 199 schildert die Bestrafung eines Ehebrechers, die er in der Bahía La Orange persönlich beobachtet hat.

[31] „L'adultère de la femme est puni par des coups que le mari en est persuadé intelligent à le compléter et à son complice." Nach STEERE (4): 186 und (5): 200.

[32] Im gleichen Sinne äußern sich MARTIAL: 199 und wohl auch DUMAS (3): 189. Viel eigentlichem Geschlechtsverkehr zu sprechen ist nicht richtig, er wird gerade so falsch wie Inzest in Gerne (4): 18 bezeichnet.

[33] MARTIAL: 199 berichtet von einer Ehebrecherin, die erst nach dreimonatiger Abwesenheit freiwillig den Weg zu ihrem Manne zurückgefunden hat und von diesem wieder aufgenommen wurde.

[34] „L'adultère du mari n'est pas puni, sauf par des mêmes du jalousie de la femme."

[35] STEERE (4): 186 berichtet, einen Indianer gesehen zu haben, „grausamste complétement par les pales que son ménage le laissait abandonnée à ressentiments de ne faire de mais glissant".

streng verborgen zu halten; nach Gusinde (l): 168 bleibt indes bestehen, daß „bei den Yamana dieser Fehler häufiger gewesen ist als bei den beiden anderen feuerländischen Stämmen". Irrüber indes besteht kein Zweifel, daß jedweder einem empfindlichen Sehnen zu seiner Ehre erfährt, dem eine Entgleisung auf diesem Gebiete in der Öffentlichkeit nachgesagt werden kann.[*]

Unsere Indianer halten viel auf Frauenehre. In diesem Zusammenhange darf nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß Hyades (q): 239, 378 sich energisch gegen die falschen Mitteilungen einiger Reisender über Preisgabe der Indianerinnen einsetzt. „Nous n'avons jamais vu qu'un Fuégien ait consenti, pour son meilleur ami, ou encore par 'appât de fortes récompenses, à céder sa femme ou celle qu'il aimait. Beaucoup de voyageurs ont cru voir le contraire; mais, dans les cas qu'ils ont observés, il ne devait être question que de femmes ou de jeunes filles nullement nées par l'amour, ni même par le mariage, ce ouvrage qui prospectit de les aider. Nous pourrions citer là-dessus de nombreux exemples à l'appui de nos assertions."[**] Nicht einmal die gegenwärtige Lockerung der Sitten wird von denechten Yamana gutgeheißen und mit mancher Entgleisung von dem oder jenem finden sie sich schweigend nur deshalb ab, weil sie ohnmächtig sind, dagegen etwas zu unternehmen.

Die geschlechtliche Sittlichkeit wird ganz allgemein geschätzt und darin ist selbstverständlich auch die vorehelliche Keuschheit einbegriffen (S. 641). Jugendwidrige Zügellosigkeit würde den Kindern weder gestattet noch von diesen versucht; eine geschlechtliche Freiheit der Mädchen, allgemein gesagt, gibt es nicht. Ganz im Gegenteil stießen manche Europäer, zu ihrer unverhofften Überraschung, auf eine stark betonte Sittsamkeit und scharfe Zurückhaltung bei jenen Feuerländerinnen, deren Körperbedeckung wirklich nicht geringer gedacht werden kann. Um Verfehlungen auf diesem Gebiete vorzubeugen, achten die Erwachsenen auf Trennung der Knaben von der Mädchen und Fühlen Jugend bis zum Reifealter und warnen unermüdlich mit aufklärenden Ratschlägen. Grundfalsch ist es, mit Hyades (q): 378 zu behaupten, „les jeunes filles sont libres de se conduire comme il leur plaît". Sogar Eltern, die selber sich Sünden gegen die geschlechtliche Sittlichkeit vergehen, achten auf tadellose Führung ihrer Kinder.

Bei aller Wachsamkeit läßt sich manche Ungehörigkeit der Jugendlichen eben durch nicht vermeiden und dabei geht einigen Mädchen die körperliche Unversehrtheit verloren.[***] Deren Bedeutung im Sinne europäischer Bewertung kennen die Yamana nicht und nur insofern dürfen Hyades' (b): 1346 und (q): 188 Worte verstanden werden: „La virginité de la jeune fille n'est

[*] Nach Hyades' (q): 378 Anschauungen steht Ehebruch „une certaine mésestime publique" nach sich. Ihm dieser Verurteilung durch die breite Öffentlichkeit empfindet jeder Schuldige als besonders peinlich und entehrend.

[**] Auch in Gusinde (g): 59 heißt es einleitig: „Ningún individuo vende su mujer o otra."

[***] Hyades fährt sich Hyades (q): 188 folgendermaßen: „De fait, les filletes de 10 à 12 ans que nous avons examinées l'avaient déjà perdue. Mais cela n'implique pas de leur part une personnalité présente et une grande valeur pour les rapports sexuels."

pas estimée."[*] Ein zurückhaltendes, sittsames Mädchen genießt guten Ruf, einen zudringlichen Burschen fassen die Erwachsenen besonders scharf ins Auge. Endlich reicht ein überlegender Bursche einem Mädchen, das sich auffällig frei benimmt, nur schwerlich die Hand zum Ehebunde, es fehlt ihm das Vertrauen auf dessen spätere Treue.

Offensichtlich, um trotz der Pflicht zur gegenseitigen Hilfeleistung keines der beiden Geschlechter in Gefahr zu bringen, ihre eheliche Treue zu verletzen, hat man einige wirksame Schutzmaßnahmen für besondere Gelegenheiten aufgerichtet. Sie betreffen den Austausch von Geschenken zwischen einem Manne und einer Frau, die sich gegenseitig gern haben und durch dergleichen Aufmerksamkeiten ihre Zuneigung steigern wollen. Bekanntlich läßt ein erfolgreicher Jäger die großen Stücke seiner Beute durch seine Gattin den benachbarten Familien zukommen und zwar auf dem Wege, daß sie ein jedes der Fleischstücke unmittelbar jeder der anderen Frauen überreicht, die es je für ihre Familien verwerten.

Den gleichen Umweg schlägt ein Mann, will er jeden Verdacht vermeiden, in der Absicht ein, irgendwelche ihm ergebene verheiratete Frau mit einem Geschenke zu erfreuen. Weiß er, daß ihr einige besondere Pilzarten gut schmecken, nimmt er sich gern die Mühe und sammelt auf seinen Wanderungen mehrere im Lederbeutel. Er sucht die Hütte seiner Freundin auf und schüttet die Pilze vor ihrem Gatten hin, wobei er es letzteren durch Blicke oder Zeichen wissen läßt: „Diese Pilze sind hauptsächlich für deine Frau bestimmt!" Auch sie weiß, was ihr stiller Freund besonders schätzt und durch das passende Geschenk gibt sie ihm auch ihre Gesinnung zu verstehen. Um also nicht ins Gerede böser Zungen zu geraten, macht sie, wenn jenem viel daran gelegen ist, eine Blutwurst oder eine Trauwurst fertig und übergibt dieselbe der Frau ihres Freundes mit dem Bemerken: „Ich stifte diese Wurst deinem Gatten!" Auch er hört ihre kurzen Worte — wie beabsichtigt ist —, die ihm alles sagen, was ihr Fühlen und Empfinden hineingelegt hat. Um noch weniger aufzufallen, schickt ein Mann sein kleines Geschenk der Freundin durch seine eigene Gattin und eine Frau das ihrige durch ihren Gatten; wer es empfängt, weiß reichlich genug, was es bedeutet. Damit tun die beiden Befreundeten der Öffentlichkeit zu wissen, daß ihre Beziehungen harmlos sind; meistens stimmt das auch. Wer ein intimes Verhältnis pflegt, will nicht einmal durch jene zulässigen Liebeserweise die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich und auf die von ihm bevorzugte Person lenken; wohlweislich nimmt er davon Abstand.

Jenes "Beschenken auf Umwegen", wie ich es nennen möchte, gilt keineswegs als besonders streng und ausschließlich. Falls nämlich ein Mann irgendwo einer einzelnen Frau begegnet, darf er ihr von seiner Beute bereits an Ort und Stelle ein gutes Stück abgeben; dies um so eher, wenn deren Weh-

[*] Auch Hyades (a): 905 gebrauchte die gleichen Worte und zieht daraus den ungerechtfertigten Schluß: „Le pudeur entre Fuégiens est complètement inconnu." Denn beiläufige Verfehlungen einiger Kinder, entgegen den ernsten Warnungen und trotz großer Wachsamkeit aller Erwachsenen, sind kein Beweis dafür, daß Schamhaftigkeit dem ganzen Volke fehlt.

hörte von der seinigen weit entfernt liegt. Die soeben beschriebene Maßnahme weist jeden fremden Beurteiler darauf hin, daß unsere Yamana es für notwendig erachten, die eheliche Treue auch durch äußere Stützen gut zu sichern, damit die Verfehlungen sich nicht etwa noch an Zahl erhöhen.

Bei den meisten Ehen unserer Feuerländer standen und stehen die beiden Ehegatten in einem wohltuenden, gütlichen und nach Jahren ausgeglichenen Verhältnis zueinander.[*] Die weitreichende Unabhängigkeit der Frau von ihrem Gatten entspricht ihrer Bedeutung im familialen Wirtschaftsbetriebe[**] und ihre Geltung im ganzen Stammesverbande kommt der des Mannes sehr nahe. Mögen die verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Verbände, so hier die monogame Einzelehe, auch ganz naturhaft begründet sein, Verstöße weniger Einzelpersonen gegen deren Grundlagen blieben nie aus. Sogar heutigentags noch kann man in der frostigen Kap Hoorn-Gegend sich aufrichtig liebende junge und einträchtig miteinander verbundene hochbejahrte Ehepaare antreffen.

5. Ehescheidung

Wenn Jugendliche sich in der Ehe zusammenfinden, prägt sich fast nie die bestimmte Absicht aus, einen Bund auf Lebenszeit zu schließen. CALDERON sagte mir: „Die jungen Menschen denken nur an ihre Liebe. Ob sie zueinander passen, wird sich erst bei ihrem Zusammenleben zeigen. Eignet sich der eine für den anderen nicht, dann trennen sie sich und jeder von ihnen sieht sich nach einem neuen Geführten um!" Darin liegt kein Beweis gegen die grundsätzliche Dauer der Ehe auf Lebenszeit; aber es wird die Tatsache einer Ehescheidung nicht nur anerkannt, sondern unter gewissen Voraussetzungen sogar als begründet hingestellt. Einige Reisende haben die Ehescheidung als einen derart gleichgültigen Schritt beschrieben, daß die mehrfachen Unterbrechungen in die Augen springen;[**] letztere sind meist ein Ausfluß völliger Unkenntnis der Heiratsfeierlichkeit. Ein eigentliches Familienleben, wie es von vielen nervetötenden Beobachtern berichtet wird, käme auch im Feuerlande nicht zustande, wenn, nach dem Grundsatz einer vermeintlichen „promiscuité continuelle" (MARTIAL: 200), jedweder seinen Lebensgeführten durch einen anderen beliebig ersetzen könnte. Gewiß, jedes weitere Kind knüpft das Ehband zwischen den beiden Gatten fester; aber nicht weniger stark ist bereits die Liebe zwischen Jungverehlichten, die fast unvermindert bis zum Erscheinen

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[*] BRIDGES (a): 223 bekunden, „die Gattinnen fühlen dem ehelichen Bande stärker oder das Glück als die Pflichtpflicht". Damit widersprechen sie allgemeinhin den Tatsachen, die durch viele andere Unterlagen erhärtet werden.

[**] Dann „it seems very hard to see anyone absolutely in her husband's power and she had quite as much liberty as was good for her" (BRIDGES [2]: 21). Die weitgehend unabhängige Stellung der Frau beruht auf ihrem bedeutsamen Beitrag zum Unterhalt der Familie (S. 470).

[**] Eine verhältnismäßige Tatsache, die MARTIAL: 199 als ungewöhnlich hat, ist keine wirkliche. „L'homme ramène de temps gaiement dans son wigwam [wandigwam] ramène de temps [illegible] mais leur engagement, plus souvent du fait de l'homme que du voeu de la femme. Ou en général, on ne quitte, ordinairement le wigwam ou l'hutte du monsieur."

den ersten Kinder zählt.[99] Rechtlich ist es immerhin statthaft, daß Verheiratete sich trennen, sofern sie das begründet können. Die Allgemeinheit hat dafür ein feines Empfinden und läßt sich durch Beschönigungen oder falschen Schein nicht blenden. Ist sie meist zwar zu schwach, um ein Unrecht zu verhüten, ihre scharfe Waffe jüngst jahrelang wirksam, nämlich das Bereden von Zustanden, die sie nicht billigen kann.

Am häufigsten bietet die schlechte Behandlung durch den groben Gatten pardon, unter der eine Frau leiden muß, den A u l a S, eine Ehe anzufechten. Schon sehr früh hat Bridges (a): 184 berichtet: „Cruel treatment often drives away a young wife from her husband, even though she has children, which sometimes are taken by the father if he loves them, and otherwise by the mother." Nicht einmal die zuwesenden Kinder halten eine Ehescheidung hintan, wenn die Frau wiederholt Gefahr läuft, mißhandelt zu werden. Sie selber beklagt sich beim eigenen Gatten nicht, sondern duldet still; aber einer ihrer männlichen Verwandten, vor allem ihr Onkel wird bei jenem vorstellig und erinnert ihn an seine Pflicht. Wenn wiederholte Mahnungen fruchtlos bleiben, droht er ihm an, jene Frau zu entfernen. Schließlich entflieht sie mit Hilfe und unter dem Schutze ihrer Verwandten.

Dieser ist ihr zuweilen unbedingt notwendig, weil der unthätsche Gatte sie nicht freiwillig aufgibt, sondern sie verfolgt oder andauernd bedroht. Am 20. December 1875 teilte Bridges mit: „Hawkesbaneen came here with a wife, that had been the wife of a man who had been very violent to her. Her mother was her fellow wife. She has two children by her former husband. The young fellow seemed very fond of her, and she of him; he had many friends here whom he was diligent to move in his favour by descanting upon the brutalities of the man, he feared, to his wife ... The Esteeree men came up, and clustered around Peter's dwelling, where Hawkesbaneen and his wife lived. They began speaking quietly, and becoming more excited, gradually became vociferous and beat the women, and compelled her to return to her former husband. But she would not stay, and then took shelter with Brownen. Thence again she was forced to come, but she was determined to kill her child; several evenings there was turmoil over this matter, and even considerable fighting. I took up the matter, and stated God's holy will on the subject, but the woman was very obstinate and would not return. Her late husband then gave her up, but required some compensation, for he felt, in losing his young wife, he had lost much. Being counselled by Hawkesbaneen, I advised that he should, under the circumstances, give what he could to restore peace" (MM: X, 80; 1875).[100] Die Lage der unfreiwilligen Frau kann verzweifelter werden, wenn die Verwandten ihre rechtmäßigen Mannes mitbeteiligt und desinteressiert sind; denn diese treten dann eben zu Gunsten des letzteren ein.

[99] Bridges bemerkt: Bemerkt (a): 184 Bekanntgemacht sicher wird, „das sichtbare Band war schwach, bis es durch Kinder gestärkt wurde".

[100] Wichtige Mission Schiffen, am 20. Juli 1875, hat er ein anderes Verhältnis erlebt: „A young man, commonly called Tom Pam, is married to a native of his place. Last summer

Auch von seiten der Frau kann sich ein allmählige schwere Anlaß zur Auflösung der Ehe ergeben. Ist sie nämlich ungeschicklich träge und nachlässig, daß die ganze Familie schwer darunter leidet, muß der Mann sich ausgedrungen nach einer anderen Lebensgefährtin umsehen. Zu seinem Ärger geht jene trotzdem nicht weg und so bleibt ihm kein anderer Ausweg, als sie wohl oder übel mitzunehmen. Arbeitsunfähigkeit durch Krankheit oder Abwesenheitsehe führt ebenfalls zur Ehescheidung; denn Mann zieht es ja frei, ein jungen gesunden Weib neben seiner ersten Gattin anzunehmen. Unverträglichkeit Charakter, der mit den Jahren bei einer Frau auftritt, kann einem Mann derart unerträglich werden, daß ihm als einziger Ausweg die Flucht in die Arme einer anderen Person übrig bleibt; davon hindert ihn niemand. Eine eigenartige Regel verlangt, daß jemand sich in die ehelichen Angelegenheiten seiner Verwandten einmischt. Nur dann nimmt der Onkel oder ein anderer Verwandter für einen Frau unerträglichen Stellung, wenn sie willkürlich wird,[...] anderen, wenn sie ungerechtfertigt ist.

Bei Jungverheirateten kommt es vorzugsweise zur Trennung, nachdem sie sich gegenseitig genauer kennengelernt haben und eine tiefere Abneigung sich herausbildete. Dieser Zustand entwickelt sich selbstverständlich auch bei einem Paare, das heraus Jahrelanges die gleiche Hütte teilt.[...] Meist ist der wirkliche Grund ausschlaggebend, nämlich ein Liebesverhältnis mit einer anderen Person, das zur Lösung des bestehenden Ehebandes nun mit allen Mitteln hinwirkt. Endlich schildert die Mutter ganz verzweifelt seiner Frau ob, die ihre eheliche Treue nachweislich verletzt (S. 484). Jeder Mitleid bleibt viel Schonung walten; denn auch Männer sind in dieser Tragödie durchaus nicht unschuldig.

Man brauchte nicht zu verwundern, daß die Ehescheidung bei unserer Yamana sich zwar mit einer gewissen Leichtigkeit vollzieht, daß aber nicht unbedeutende Nebenerscheinungen damit verbunden sind. Lächerlich klingt es, mit Hyades (p) 378 zu behaupten: „Avant que les femmes soient devenues mères, il n'est pas rare de les voir changer plusieurs fois de ménage, soit par inconstance féminine, soit à cause de mauvais traitements de la part de leur époux."[...] Oder glaubt jemand wirklich, es würde das Ersuchen des

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[...] Dieses Geschehen [...] ich [...] Ich [...] [...] [...]

[illegible]

[illegible]

6. Ehelosigkeit

[illegible]

Die Gebote, die die heilige Verehelichung der Jungfrauen sprechen, gelten übereinstimmend auch für *coenobitische Personen*. Ausgeschlossen aus der Sorge um deren Kinder ist die Pflicht zur Wiederehe entweder. Deshalb, „so soll es a sunt dies, bis eigen ein unerlaubt zu erhalten" (Dionysius

[illegible] „Ich [illegible] bevor ich [illegible] Ich habe [illegible] nur [illegible] Kinder [illegible] Kinder [illegible] Kinder

in MM: III, 117: 1869). Individuumen „There are very few single women, not one among hundred" (Ib.).[**] Anthropowissenschaftliche Gründe verhinderten eine neue Ehe.

Allerdings hat die Neuzeit diese neuerdings gelockert, hat sie doch sogar die Lebensbedingungen wilwelos bedeutend umgestaltet. Unter dem 2. Februar 1870 berichtete Bennett (j): 17 aus Yaghgan: „Widows did not long continue so; in fact, a single adult man or woman was a rarity. But with the march of civilized life marriage becomes less necessary and more difficult, and the number of single men and women increases." In der Gegenwart leben nur noch so wenige Yamana, daß jede Person verheiratet ist, vereinzelt sogar ein junger Mann mit einer hochbejahrten Frau, weil er anders sich nicht helfen kann. Nur die alte Frau steht mit langem allein da; sie gilt als unverträglich.

Eine weiblich unbedeutende Ergänzung bieten aus Bennett (j): 21 ist noch nachzutragen. „Though deaf or dumb men never married, unless it were an old woman, a deaf woman would be a wife and have children — the men remained single because usually no woman would marry such."

Wo für jugendliche Personen und für solche mittleren Alters ausdrücklich gesucht worden ist, findet auf alte Leute keine Anwendung. Weil sie nicht mehr bei Kräften sind, könnten sie doch durch die Arbeitsteilung fast sämtlichen Aufgaben kaum voll und ganz gerecht werden, würden also der Gemeinschaftsleben mit einem Hindernisse mehr erschweren als erleichtern. Deshalb verziehen sie auf eine abermalige Heirat und verweilen in der Hütte einer ihrer Verwandten unterschiedlos, wo sie mitleiden im allgemeinen Betriebe mitgeschleppt werden. Zuweilen führen sie den eigenen Haushalt weiter. „Ältere Frauen, deren Männer gestorben sind, übten sogar ganz entsprechende alle Rechte des Familienoberhauptes aus; auch wenn sie allein lebten, hatten sie immer ein paar Kinder oder Enkel bei sich, die ihnen unbedingt gehorchen sind" (Hyades [g]: 31).[**] Abgesehen von dem guten Einfluß, der von ihnen ausgeht, sind sie im Wirtschaftsleben mitunter noch eine beachtliche Hilfe. „Die alten Frauen sind übrigens durchaus nicht so unnütz, wie die Erziehung [ihrer ihre Beseitigung bei Bougarvent] vermuten; ihre Erfahrung gibt ihnen einen entscheidenden Wert beim Beschaffen der Nahrungsmittel usw., wie bei den sonstigen Haushaltungsarbeiten, und gar nicht selten heiraten junge Leute lieber eine erfahrene ältere Frau, als eine jungen, wenn auch hübscheren Mädchen" (Ib.). Die Eingeborenen selber, je nach ihren Erfahrungen und Charakter, gibt schließlich den Ausschlag, ob sie verwitwet weiterlebt oder im hohen Alter nochmals heiratet.

[**] Dennis berichtigt Bennett (c): 90? in etwa eine höhere Ziffer. „Owing to the almost general practice of polygamy, many men are without wives, and live as all their days. And owing to the general practice of giving young women to elderly men, the young men frequently can get no wives but widows."

[**] Pater glaubhaftmacht Hyades, von Bennett (j): 14 am 2.Juli 1872 in seiner Yagharik ein gewagtes Lob: „The lives of the old women who have been separated in the usual circles of cannibalism, were as sacred as those of any other persons, because they had sons and daughters, nephews and nieces, younger brothers and sisters, who felt as such towards them, and were dared to suggest their death."

Gewisse Europäer haben mit Bezug auf die Beobachtungen eine Zeitbild von den ehelichen Verhältnissen der Tamana entworfen. Wieder Durch nach Bezug haben die Verwandtschaftsgruppen erfüllt, die sie zu Urteilen über eine dergart schwer zugängliche Einrichtung, wie die Ehe es ist, berechtigen. Sie selber haben sich nicht einmal Rechenschaft gegeben, daß die von ihnen geschilderten Zustände unterwürfig sind, denn falls sie sich wirklich angeschlossen hätten, wäre durch sie der ganze Volk in unserer Ehe unseren Untergang angetrieben worden. Ein Naturvolk in der ungünstigen Umwelt, wie es die Nachbarschaft des Kap Hoorn ist, kann sich von den gewaltigen Lebensangeln nicht weit entfernen, soll es Dauerbestand haben. Tatsächlich waren die ehelichen Einrichtungen unserer Feuerländer, einschließlich der neuerlich erlaubten Vielweiberei und der gelegentlichen Wiederheirat, ganz selbstverständlich und natürlich, demnach auch so sittlichen und gewissend an. Mehr als an dem Urteile wäge die jahrzehntelange Erfahrung des Missionars Bennett (1: 21), die er in die sehr knappen, aber wirklich richtungsweisenden Worte zusammengefaßt hat: „On the whole, the family life was happy and content."

B. Eltern und Kind

Die im Kap Hoorn-Gebiet allein möglichen Art der Wirtschaftsführung zwingt unsere Feuerländer sich in Einzelfamilien aufzulösen, von denen eine jede getrennt von anderen sich der Nahrungssuche widmet. Tag für Tag bleibt demnach das Elternpaar mit seinen Kindern auf sich selber angewiesen. Obwohl das Tagwerk der Yamana-Familie sich eigentümlicher und abwechslungsreicher gestaltet als das der benachbarten Selk'nam, bedarf ihm vermutlich viel Einfachheit an. Von unerbittlichen ausbrechenden Wetter und von seinem unumgänglichen Notwendigkeit für jede Familie sind nicht nur Kinder, die nicht nur den die beiden Eltern einigende Band bilden, sondern auch für deren gemeinsame Beschäftigung und sachliche Belehrung in zeitgemäßen Anspruch beinegen. Was Wunder, wenn die Behauptung nach dem Kinde sich dennoch bewegt, daß sie Elternpaar ohne dasselbe unmöglich nicht leben kann, und wenn die Pflege und Behandlung des Kindes eine nicht so einigende Liebe verraten. Aber durch die Eheungleich lassen sich die Erwachsenen weder blenden noch von der strengen Pflicht einer gedeihlichen Erziehung abhalten. Eltern und man nicht nur als gut, sondern sogar auch als sanft bezeichnen. Der nähere sich alle Eltern, wenige von Ausnahmen geschehen Anlage ausgenommen, gewissenhaft nach beiden Eltern und im Hinblick auf das Wohl des Kindes.

Tätigkeitsfreie Beobachtung und genaue Forschung haben Grundsätze und Kunstgriffe dieser Indianer zu Tage gefördert, die ihre eminentesten Tätigkeit in ein unerwartet günstiges Licht rücken und die unsere rückwärtsgewandte Tamana als fähigstige Kenner aller Anlagen eines Kindes bekannt machen. Den Vollmacht ihres eminentesten Kinderen gewährt man so weite Bei einem entwickelnderen Hinblick in die Feier der Jugendweihe, die weniger gewaltsam

[illegible]

a. *Der Säugling und seine Pflege*

[illegible]

b. Pflege des Kindes

[illegible]

von Inselkinder: „Bald nach der Geburt begrüßen sich die Verwandten, bald an Bonn ja noch an eigenen Kindern, mit denen sie sich beschäftigen können. Dadurch hält sich die junge Frau, von der Verantwortung unendlich frei, Vater und Mutter bei Bonn Eltern auf, sie an Bonn Mutter verlangte bei. Es wurde dann ohne geschäftig, bis das erste Kind da ist, was dann an Stelle eines Puppe bei Bonn in der eigenen Eltern."[1]

Genau, die selber ohne Nachkommenschaft war, gestand mir: „Ihre jungen Eltern wird schwerer die Zeit, bis das Kinderhaus entdeckt, ausreichend. Wie soll ich ohne leiden, die ich jede Hoffnung auf ein eigenes Kind verloren habe?" Indem selbst war Mich Eltern ohne Ehe entschieden, Beide Eltern wurden von der Nachkommenschaft sehr bedauert. Sie hatten sich über Bonn Verhalt dadurch klarung, daß sie notwendig einige Kinder von Bonn Verwandtschaft oder Bekanntschaft ooo Pflege in die eigene Eltern entsendeten. Beschäftigtere Leute schickten ganz nicht auf die Gesellschaft der Kinder Wunsch angewiesen zu sein. Trotzdem sind diese für alle Erwachsenen die angenehmsten Unterhalter und die vergnügtesten Bewunderung, man wirft sich und spielt mit Bonn angenommen und abhängiglich bereits, sie schon sie die gelegtigen und lustigsten Spielung. Die natürliche Gleichmäßigkeit, mit der alle Personen begrüßenden Kind und besonders Bonn eigenen Lieb, Tag ständig unendlichkeit und herzlich Schlummer, kam mir bei diesen Familienbesuchen mehrfach und besonders, aber dieses war so angenehmer war, als bei Bitteren in Europa.

Am Bonn eigenen Liebe zum Kinde erhöhte es sich, daß unsere Indianer schnell an all jenen Europäern unvergleichlichen Vorzügen gewinnen, die sich Bonn Kindern erhalten eigen. Wir hatte heute Bonn (ab) 1,100 diese erhalt und mit Bekanntschaft die ohne eigenen Personen angenehmer? Es schreibt: „They were very fond of their children, and my notice we took of the little ones always gave them pleasure. This I observed on my first visit, and it was, in addition to finances in my honest endeavour, one of the means I was provided to use, had there been occasion when I were alone amongst them. A child in my arms was, I considered, a guard against any sudden attack upon me, if they heard their offspring so most savage tribes do."[2] Wir sich die Gunst der Eltern erhoben will, besonders sich nur die sichtlich und liebevoll Bonn Kindern zu erwerben. Wir ich haben die selber dem wahren Freudlichgeben Bonn Eingeborenen entgegengekommen, um Gastfreiheit zu erhalten. Wir Eltern Bonn zu soll wurde, sahlreiche die Kinder, die eigen an Bonn selbst gewiesen wurden. Dafür mag wieder Bonn (ab) 1,200 die Bonge entfernen. In Bonner Gern sah

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[1] Bonn in der Bonngrund gewiesen, wenn einige Jungenkinder hält sich die Bekanntschaft Bonn Eltern gern bei diesen dem Bonn Eltern, die die Bonn eigenen Verwandt begleiten. (S. [illegible]).

[2] Die gleiche Beobachtung hat Forster [illegible] gleich bei seinem ersten Zusammentreffen mit diesen Eingeborenen am 21. Oktober 1773 auf Ulia besonders gemacht: „The women were greatly pleased with the notice I took of their children, and kept expecting for something for the [illegible]."

or the women Hingebungen, die sich in einem Kreis um einen Schöffe sammelten. Eine jüngere Frau war dazwischen. „She had a baby at the house; and frequently, with a shouting smile and piercing voice, asked, by the oft repeated words, 'Tamma Kamma' for something for the poor sister. Mr. Barr gave her many little presents, for which she returned grateful smiles and Curtsies (apparently many thanks) over and over again. Her attachment to the child was evident; and what was given to the child she showed she understood was for that purpose by putting it immediately around its neck, or about its person."[illegible] Spätere, nachdem die Sitte von dem Wahnsinn der Mütterwegen der fern Kinder ungeheilig übertrieben hatten, unterbinnen sich einige Familien endlich, jenen dem Lieblinge die lange Zeit [illegible] (S. 210). Heute begegnen die Tamma-Kinder vorgen manchen beschränkten Erfahrungen, die vorzugsweise sind, auch den bestimmenden Willen viel selbstständiger, als ich dies bei den Kindern der Sikh'sen[illegible] beobachtet habe.

Nun Mannschaft es nicht mehr zu erklären — was gewiss in jener Verwilderungen hinlänglich —, daß die Hingebungen wegen seiner großen Kinderscharen bemühen wird. Schöffl schon jedes einzelne Kind dem Unterstützen solcher Frauen, so steigert sich mit der Zahl ihrer Sprößlinge auch ihr Glück und ihre Genugtuung. „Je mehr Kinder, um so mehr Unterhaltung und Abwechslung in der Hütte an den langen Abenden!" gestand mir Wazira im Augenblick vieler Bestätigte, als mir jüngeren Mädchen, die mit seinen wenig Ihrem Bruder von den 40 Kindern allein übrig geblieben ist, ernstlich erkundete. Oft hörte ich in verschiedenen Wendungen: „Wie glücklich sind Wazira und Ihre gemeinsam, denn all ihre [under] Kinder leben noch und bestehen ihre Hütte!" Keine andere der wenigen noch verbundenen Familien kann es viel lebendige Mannigfaltigkeit entwickeln, wie jene.

Schwerwiegendlich bildet jedes einzelne der Kinder für die Eltern und die alte Erwachsenen einen Gegenstand besonderer Aufmerksamkeit. Weniger wird dies dadurch erzeugt, daß sie das Kind körperlich erhalten, als vielmehr durch unendliche Wachsamkeit und [illegible] Liebesverehrung.[illegible] Ihnen ist nicht wohl, wenn sie Kind für Hingere Stunden in der Hütte lebt und sie ihre dunnen Verwaltung nicht wissen. Aber ganz im

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[illegible] In noch hat ihn die Einbildung dieser [illegible] Mütter beschrieben, daß [illegible] und seine Bekleidung [illegible] an [illegible] und die Mütter der Mütterwegen, einige Kinder zur Bestimmung [illegible] Kind zu nehmen, die Umwelt gegen die Mütter bestimmt. „One of the women had a baby with her, and there was something most striking in her manner when she asked us to give her child some presents. She was much attached to her baby, even as I heard all of the Punjabi mothers were, and I had certain that to attempt taking these younger children away on any pretence whatever is wrong in the extreme. ... They are very fond of their children."

[illegible] Auf meiner ersten Reise habe ich mir über die Sitte der Kinder der Hingebung eine Vorstellung der Sikh'sen [illegible] gebildet. Vgl. Gnauer (1): 100 und (2): 78.

[illegible] Barnes (1): 21 berichtet über „Generally the children were tenderly cared for by their parents and friends and ornaments of every kind expended in order to please the parents."

Gegensatz zu europäischen Müttern blieben sie gleichlich ruhig, mag ihr Kind noch so lange abwesend sein, wenn sie von dessen Gang oder Fahrt oder Aufenthalt vorher kurz erfahren haben. Über die vereinbarte Zeit weit hinaus auf das Kind warten zu müssen, bringt sie indes aus der Fassung. In später Nacht sah ich einmal, wie der alte Pauno mit seiner Frau sich vom Lager erhob und wie beide sich anschickten, ihr Kanu ins Wasser zu schleifen. Ihnen war eben berichtet worden, daß ihre etwa siebenjährige Tochter mit anderen Mädchen zu einer abgelegenen Bucht gelaufen, von dort aber noch nicht zurückgekehrt wär. Beim Spiel sind jene Kleinen von der Dunkelheit der Nacht überrascht worden. Obwohl die Nachbarn, deren Kinder teilweise ebenfalls abwesend waren, den alten Vater zu beruhigen versuchten, ließ er sich nicht zurückhalten, sondern fuhr eine weite Strecke den Canal de Beagle entlang, bis er nach einigem Suchen seine Tochter antraf. Endlich in der Morgenfrühe waren sie alle mit den anderen Kindern wieder in seiner Hütte vereint (vgl. Gusinde [t]: 164). Um diese Leistung voll zu würdigen, muß man bedenken, daß nur in höchstem Notfalle eine Familie sich nachts auf das Wasser wagt.

Die Eltern tändeln und spielen sehr oft und ganz verliebt mit einem Säugling oder einem älteren Kinde herum. Besonders schmackhafte Bissen lassen sie ihnen zukommen, lenken ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf seltene Erscheinungen in der Umgebung, behängen sie mit Zierstücken aller Art und bemalen ihnen aus reiner Lust oft das Gesicht.[222] Immer wieder machen sich die Alten mit den Kindern zu schaffen, oder, wie Hyades (d): 308 sich ausdrückt: „Les parents aiment leurs enfants et s'en occupent." Wer nicht gerade von einer besonderen Arbeit in Anspruch genommen wird, verbringt seine Zeit am vergnüglichsten durch Nockereien mit einem Kinde. Eltern sind selbstverständlich auch für jede Aufmerksamkeit und Freundlichkeit, die Nachbarn ihrem Kinde erweisen, überaus empfänglich. Ich habe beobachtet, daß jeder Erwachsene, die Frauen mehr als die Männer, für das Kind eines anderen unterschiedslos viel Zärtlichkeit und Gewogenheit aufbietet; sollte indes ein Bub wegen seiner Ungezogenheit offenen Anstoß erregen, wird er von allen Leuten gleichmäßig hart gemaßregelt und zurechtgewiesen. So oder so ist das Verhalten der Erwachsenen gegen Kinder ganz einheitlich. Daraus allein zu schließen, wird der europäische Beobachter eine Frau für die Mutter eines Kindes halten, die nicht einmal dessen Verwandte ist. Nicht minder hoch schätzen Eltern all das Gute und sogar schon ein freundliches Lächeln ein, das ein Europäer ihrem Kinde widmet (S. 695). Auch Fitz-Roy (a): 186 hat bemerkt: „Both men and women are remarkably fond of the little children, and were always much pleased at any notice taken of them by our parties, when they felt sufficient confidence in us to bring the children forward."

[222] Wie Bridges (l): 22 und (k): 208 berichtet, „girls and boys were by their proud parents often laden with a profusion of native necklaces of bone or shells and their faces painted as attractively as possible".

Die Wesensart der heutigen Yamana-Kinder ist nicht so offenherzig und ungezwungen wie die der Selk'nam-Kinder. Sehr deutlich habe ich den Unterschied auf meinen Reisen empfunden; ich erkläre ihn aus der charakterlichen Veranlagung und der größeren Schweigsamkeit unserer feuerländischen Gruppe. Trotzdem gelang es mir, mich mit diesen kleinen Wesen ganz ergötzlich, auch ihnen zur Freude, zu belustigen. Dem alten ALFREDO, der mich öfters im Kreise der heiteren Jugend beobachtet hatte, wollte es gar nicht in den Kopf gehen, daß ich bei meinen vorgeschrittenen Lebensjahren noch nicht verheiratet wäre. Als ich mich mit ihm darüber aussprach, stellte er mir die unerwartete Frage: „Und kannst du dich bei deinen Leuten auch so mit den Kindern tummeln wie hier bei uns?" Nicht nur er, auch andere Leute haben es mit großer Genugtuung empfunden, daß ich so gern mit ihren kleinen Lieblingen spielte und scherzte. So wiederholte sich, was auch frühere Reisende, wie Snow und Fitz-Roy, beobachtet hatten.

Weiter unten wird bewiesen werden, daß die feuerländischen Familien durchgängig kinderreich sind. Man kann es sich aber kaum ausmalen, wie schwer jede Mutter und jeder Vater durch den T o d e i n e s K i n d e s heimgesucht werden. Sie empfinden den bittersten Schmerz und kommen über diesen Verlust ihr Leben lang nicht mehr zur Ruhe. Alles, was sie an den verlorenen Liebling erinnern könnte, und wäre er nur wenige Monate alt geworden, zerstören sie restlos; niemals mehr wird sein Name wiederholt, um nicht an die Lücke, die der unerbittliche Tod gerissen hat, erinnert zu werden.[113] Dringliche Bitten richtet die Mutter an *Hiddbgun*, die Gottheit der Yamana, damit sie die Gesundung ihres erkrankten Lieblings erlange, und sie ergeht sich in harten Vorwürfen gegen ihn, wenn er trotzdem ihr das Kind im Tode entreißt. Nie verstummt die Klage der Mutter um den verlorenen Liebling. Die Frau des WALTER, der von allen elf Kindern nur noch zwei am Leben geblieben sind, behütet die etwa fünfjährige schwächliche Tochter mit nahezu krankhafter Ängstlichkeit, um nicht auch sie zu verlieren. Alle Frauen sprechen voll Mitleid von ihr; denn sie sehen die Angst und Bangigkeit, mit der sie sich an dieses jüngste Kind wie an einen letzten Rettungsanker anklammert.

Für jedes Elternpaar sind viele gesunde, munitere und folgsame Kinder nicht nur eine außerordentliche Genugtuung, sondern weit darüber hinaus auch ein b e r e c h t i g t e r S t o l z.[114] In der ganzen Nachbarschaft wecken sie frisches Leben und jeder Erwachsene ergötzt sich an ihrem begeisterten Spiele; sie bieten den Frauen, die gern in der Hütte jener beglückten Eltern zusammenkommen, eine nie ermüdende Unterhaltung in den langen Abend-

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[113] HYADES (g): 39 teilt mit: „Verlust von Kindern wird überhaupt schwer empfunden und nicht selten sehen die Frauenen [der Mannen Sammelgruppe] die Mienen der Wilden sich verdüstern und die Frauen sogar in Weinen und Klagen ausbrechen, wenn zufällig auf einen solchen Todesfall angespielt wurde."

[114] Zwar sagt BOMMES (i): 21 nur: „The mothers were always proud to tell how many children they had." Die Väter aber tun das Gleiche.

stunden. Mancher wird bange ums Herz, wenn sie sich ihrer eigenen Kinder erinnert, die der Tod hinweggerafft hat, eine andere schämt sich, wenn sie auch nur mittelbar Vorwürfe wegen ihrer ungewollten Rangen treffen, eine andere empfindet etwas wie Eifersucht, als ob anscheinend die Sprößlinge dieser Frau allein alle guten Eigenschaften gepachtet hätten. Dem Vater selber aber verübelt es niemand, wenn er in stolzem Selbstgenügen seinen strammen Buben mustert und den anderen Männern manche von dessen Vorzügen preist, die große Leistungen für später erwarten lassen.

Wer könnte nun daran zweifeln, daß den Eltern im Feuerlande jederzeit noch weitere K i n d e r e r w ü n s c h t sind. Mag deren Zahl sich auch Jahr um Jahr vermehren, niemals würden die Eltern des neuen Sprößlings überdrüssig; denn er erhöht fast kaum merklich ihre Sorge und ihre Arbeit, steigert aber ihre Freude um vieles. Eine reiche Kinderschar bedeutet vor allem deshalb keine fühlbare Belastung, weil die älteren Geschwister beim Betreuen ihrer jüngeren Brüderchen und Schwesterchen gern mithelfen. Setzt mit den Wechseljahren der Kinderwegen aus, macht manche Frau schwere innere Kämpfe durch; dies um so mehr, je weniger Sprößlinge sie besitzt.

Trotzdem wird freiwilliger A b o r t u s geübt, aber, wie mir FRAU LAWRENCE im August 1923 nachdrücklich versicherte, nur sehr selten und immer heimlich von der Frau allein ausgeführt. Sie greift zu diesem Mittel, um einer bevorstehenden Schande auszuweichen. Das tut sie, wenn sie sich nämlich mit einem Liebhaber heimlich eingelassen hatte und nicht wünscht, daß ihr rechtmäßiger Gatte von dem verbotenen Umgange erfahre. Überdies muß sicher sein, daß sie nur von jenem geschwängert wurde, was sich unter derartigen Verhältnissen fast nie feststellen läßt. Als ich mich im Februar 1920 zum ersten Male hiernach erkundigte, ergab sich aus der Unterredung mit mehreren um den alten ALFREDO versammelten Männern, die seinem Urteile zustimmten: „Es scheint, daß sehr selten eine Frau doch ihr Kind abgetrieben hat, und zwar stammte es von ihrem Liebhaber. Sie handelte aus Angst, von ihrem rechtmäßigen Manne bloßgestellt und getadelt zu werden." Was mir damals nur als eine Vermutung erschien, steigerte sich auf meiner vierten Reise zu einer beschränkten Wahrscheinlichkeit.

Wie begeht nun eine schwangere Frau diese unnatürliche Tat? Bevor noch das Kind unter ihrem Herzen eine gewisse Größe erreicht, daß ihr Zustand erkannt werden könnte, drückt und knetet sie heftig ihren Unterleib, bis der Embryo stirbt und abgeht.[111] Zuweilen legt sie sich mit dem Bauch auf einen Querbalken oder Rundstamm und während sie nach beiden Seiten überhängt, verstärkt sie die Pressungen.

Sehr verdammt[112] wird auch, so scheint es, eine Frau den Gebärenden über-

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[111] Mit derselben unwahrscheinlichen Steigerung der Auffassung sagt auch HAGE (2): 302 dem gleichlautenden Hinweis: „L'avortement provoqué est assez commun; il est obtenu au moyen de manipulations violentes sur le ventre de la femme."

[112] CORNLY's: 171 Schlußfolgerung, daß „difficilement absolution le commettre", bei demselben wohl übertrieben. Er schreibt sich auf MARTIN: 190, HAGE (2): 302 und HOUSSE (4): 334.

drücklich und entledigt sich heimlich der noch unreifen Frucht. Sie weiß, daß sie diese mitig genug machen muß; denn heimlich der Embryo bereits einigen Umfang, können bei diesem Eingriff ihr eigenes Leben in Gefahr. Auch weiß sie, daß das übliche bereits genannte Verfahren niemals unbedenklich ist. Sie hält ihre Tat, die sie unerlaubt von anderen Frauen schwer verurteilt würde, streng geheim. Letztere sagen: „Es ist besser und schöner, daß viele Kinder in einer Familie sind, denen die Mutter alle Liebe erweist, als daß ein Weib ihr Kind nicht zur Reife kommen läßt." Um diesem Tadel auszuweichen, falls andere Frauen argwöhnisch geworden sind, redet sich die Schuldige heraus und sagt: „Ich bin hingefallen. — Ich bin über einen Stein gestolpert. — Ich habe mich bei einem Sturz schwer geschlagen. Und deshalb habe ich mein [noch unreifes] Kind verloren."

Zweifeln gebrauchte ein solches Weib aus Angst und Beschämung die gleichen Entschuldigungen, wenn ihr Gatte, der vergeblich auf ihr Kind wartet, sie darnach fragt. Man darf aber nicht verkennen, wie mir wiederholt versichert worden ist, daß sich in jenen sehr seltenen Fällen wohl ein freiwilliger Abortus ereignet hat. Das gilt ohne Zweifel für LOLA's Mutter, die nach dem dritten Abortus gestorben ist, wie auch für die Frau des FELIPE, die so mir gegenüber bedauert hat, zwei Frühgeburten erlitten zu haben. Gegen die beiden Genannten erhoben böswillige Weiber den ungerechtfertigten Vorwurf, daß jene sich dabei bewußt verfehlt hätten. Als sicher gilt demnach, daß gewollte Abtreibung außerordentlich selten von einer Frauenperson heimlich vorgenommen worden ist. Abortivmittel aus dem Tier- und Pflanzenreiche kennt man nicht.

Die Liebe zum eigenen Kinde leitet die Eltern bei allem, was sie als gut und vorteilhaft für dasselbe erachten. Manche Gebräuche und die einzelnen Erziehungsmittel haben sich aus langer Erfahrung herausgebildet; sie sind den Eltern eine sichere Richtschnur bei der Pflege und Behandlung ihrer Lieblinge. Davon abzuweichen verbietet die Ehrfurcht, die sie für das von den Vorfahren überlieferten uralte Stammesgut unwandelbar hegen.

2. Das Gebären

Unsere Yamana betrachten die Niederkunft einer Frau als eine naturgegebene Einrichtung, behandeln diese Angelegenheit in ihren Reden aber mit vorsichtiger Zurückhaltung. Ihnen ist der Zusammenhang zwischen Begattung und Befruchtung hinreichend klar. Sie konnten sich das Lachen nicht enthalten, als wir ihnen andeuteten, scheinbar wäre einigen Menschengruppen dieser Sachverhalt nicht bekannt. Fragt man sie gerade über die Herkunft des Kindes, so verweisen sie allein auf das Zusammenwirken der beiden

Letzterer bestätigt sich sowie auf Bananen, doch trennt er dessen Bekanntgabe nicht und fügt hinzu: „Cependant nous n'avons été témoins d'aucune situation de ce genre [Abtreibung und Kindestötung], et les enfants, dès leur naissance, sont tous conservés pour entourés de soins par les parents."

Gottes und sagen, daß mit deren geschlechtlicher Vereinigung das Kind im Mutterleibe zu werden beginnt, daß es so lange weiterwächst, bis es die übliche Größe erreicht hat, und daß es nun ins unabhängige Dasein tritt. Diese Erklärung beschränken sie auf das Werden des Körpers. Als ich Gaumnnn nach der Bewandtnis des Kindes fragte, blieb er eine klare Antwort schuldig, wie ja im allgemeinen diese Feuerländer den Begriff der menschlichen Seele etwas unbestimmt erfassen. Er sagte: „Wird das Kind geboren, besitzt es seinen *Hipid;* denn es lebt ja. Aber wer weiß, von wo dieser herkommt?" Mit Nelly sprach ich in Gegenwart von Fred Lawrence wiederholt darüber; ich kam zur Überzeugung, daß den Yamana klare Vorstellungen über den Ursprung der Seele im werdenden Kinde fehlen.

Den unmittelbaren Zusammenhang zwischen dem Ausfall der Menstruation und dem Eintritt der Schwangerschaft verstehen die Yamana-Frauen nicht; erst wenn dieser Zustand vorgeschritten ist, finden sie sich mit der Tatsache ab, daß jene unterbleibt.[107] Die Erfahrung belehrt sie, daß die Frucht in dem Maße heranwächst, als der Unterleib der werdenden Mutter an Umfang gewinnt, und zwar so lange, bis schließlich die Geburt einsetzt. Sehr oft denkt die Mutter an das Kind, das sie unter ihrem Herzen trägt, und vertraulich spricht sie ihre Erwartungen vor Nachbarinnen aus. Nicht, weil sie von den leichten Beschwerden wieder frei sein möchte, sehnt sie die Geburt herbei, sondern um mit Mutterglück bald das Kind in ihren Armen halten zu können. Gaunn sagte mir: „Mancher jungen Frau, die auf das erste Kind wartet, dauert es zu lange, bis es endlich erscheint; in ihrer Ungeduld zeigt sie sich oft mißmutig." Jede wünscht sich ein kräftiges und schönes Kind. Um es zu erlangen, legt sie sich einige Blätter von *máka* (Embothrium coccineum; vgl. Abb. 78) an das Genitale und preßt sie mit den Oberschenkeln fest. So verbringt sie die ganze Nacht und denkt sehnsuchtsvoll an das Kind, das sie bereits einige Monate trägt; gleichzeitig wiederholt sie in ihren Gedanken den Wunsch: „Möchte dieses Kind doch so schön wie der *máka* werden!" Ihren Mann erfreut es sehr, wenn sie diesen Verfahren öfters wiederholt.[108] Statt *máka* (Stäbchen) sprechen die meisten Leute *mika.*

Sollte auch die Schwangerschaft weit vorgeschritten sein, die gesegnete Frau darf ihre Arbeiten nicht nur nicht einschränken, sondern muß sie im vollen Ausmaß beibehalten. Besonders jenen jungen Personen, die ihr erstes Kind erwarten, wird unentwegteste Regsamkeit und frische Geschäftigkeit von den Nachbarinnen dringlich empfohlen. Durch zwei bis drei Monate vor der Niederkunft unterbleibt der ehelichen Verkehr.

In dieser Zeit gelten für das Ehepaar einige Speiseverbote. Die

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[107] Hyades (a)-[illegible] nennen folgende physiologische Beobachtungen: „Le gonflement utérin le même dénote que parfaite.... Elle a pour signes le rapprochement des cuisses, le gonflement des seins et le mouvement de l'enfant."

[108] Ich habe nicht sicherlich feststellen können, was Hyades (a)-[illegible] als „pour conjurer prématurément que les enfants naissent portés avec une partie du corps d'un animal, quand la mère a été effrayée au cours de la grossesse" bezeichnet.

Frau darf gebratene Fleischstücke, Muscheln oder Fische nicht so heiß wie [illegible], sondern soll sie etwas abkühlen lassen; man sagt, zu heiße Speisen seien jetzt ihr und ihrem Kinde nachteilig. Dem Manne ist es nicht gestattet, den Kopf und den Hinterteil von Fischen und Vögeln zu genießen; er muß sich mit dem Mittelstück begnügen. Kurz vor der Niederkunft darf keiner der beiden Eltern vom Fleische der Kormorane essen, andernfalls käme das Kind mißgestaltet zur Welt. Durch einige Tage vor und nach der Niederkunft darf die Frau selber Knochen von Vögeln weder zerbrechen noch zerschlagen. Bekanntlich werden den Vögeln, besonders den Scharben, ehe man sie zum Braten ans Feuer bringt, die längeren Knochen von außen zerbrochen, damit das Mark ins Fleisch eindringe und dieses saftiger mache; außerdem knickt man ihnen die Wirbelsäule an mehreren Stellen, um die Federn leichter ausrupfen zu können. Wenn nun die Frau, die sich selber des Fleisches der Scharben und am besten überhaupt aller Vögel enthält, für ihre Familie einen Braten herrichten will, läßt sie die Knochen entweder unversehrt oder sie veranlaßt eine andere Person, die Knochen im Fleische des Vogels zu brechen. Täte sie das dennoch, hat sie zu gewärtigen, ein verkrüppeltes Kind zu gebären. Die Frau muß sich außerdem der See-Igel enthalten, wenn der Mann nicht verpflichtet ist. Er aber darf die Kalkschale nicht aufschlagen, sondern muß dies durch einen anderen machen lassen; andernfalls käme das Kind mit einem offenen Spalt im Schädel zur Welt.[110]

Abb. 76. Sarcochrium coccineum. 1/2 n. Gr.

Wenn die äußeren Zeichen der Schwangerschaft — die bei der früher [illegible] Nachtheit unbehindert zu erkennen waren — auf die baldige Niederkunft hindeuten, beschäftigen sich die Verwandten und Nachbarn in ihren Gedanken und Reden etwas aufmerksamer mit jenen beiden Personen, denen

[110] [illegible] erzählte mir dies im August 1923. Bei eindringlichem Fragen gewann ich die Ansicht, daß dieser Aberglaube zu einer größeren oder geringeren Weite der großen Vorderlippenschamspalte, die der die Kinder geboren werden, anknüpft.

bald das Kind beschert wird. Mit ihnen besprechen sie auch das erwartete Ereignis. Mit einigen guten Ratschlägen, zumal für eine Erstgebärende, sind immer mehrere Frauen bei der Hand. Sie machen ihr Mut, indem sie ihr in Aussicht stellen: „Du wirst bald dein eigenes Kind in den Händen tragen, welches Glück und welche Freude wirst du dabei empfinden! — Unbeschreiblich beglückend ist es für eine Frau, ihr eigenes Kind zu pflegen. — Erst dann bist du wirklich eine Frau, wenn du selber ein Kind besitzest, und das wird dir bald beschieden sein!" Diese Worte, als Grundgedanken solcher Ermunterungen, hat mir die alte MARY wiederholt.

Auf Erstgebärende gibt man besonders acht. Sie sollen sich unaufhaltsam bewegen, zumindest viel gehen, eifrig Holz sammeln und Beeren suchen, also tunlichst nicht sitzen bleiben. Was dem Mädchen anläßlich der ersten Menstruation gesagt worden ist, wiederholt man jetzt und betont mit Nachdruck, was man für die Behandlung des Neugeborenen empfohlen hatte. Das andauernde Zureden, verbunden mit ruheloser Bewegung, lassen der jungen Frau kaum Zeit sich zu ängstigen und zu beunruhigen. „Sie [die Erstgebärenden] haben keine Angst vor der Niederkunft!" erklärte NELLY ganz bestimmt. Mit einer Frau, die bereits mehrmals geboren hat und wieder ein Kind erwartet, sprechen die Nachbarinnen wohl auch und geben ihr die üblichen Ratschläge. Eindringlicher und beunruhigt reden sie, wenn jene Frau früher Geburtsbeschwerden gezeigt hat; aus Besorgnis um ihr eigenes und um des Kindes Leben bleiben sie bei ihr, bis sie niederkommt. Im Alltag besprechen die Frauen sowieso, ob leicht oder schwer, ob mit oder ohne besondere Erscheinungen bei einer von ihnen jenes folgenschwere Ereignis sich abgewickelt hat; deshalb ist ihre Aufmerksamkeit vorbereitet, wenn bei irgend jemandem eine Niederkunft sich wiederholt. Schließlich bereden es sogar die Männer unter sich, wenn sie an dieser oder jener Frau die vorgeschrittene Schwangerschaft beobachten. Dabei fällt auch das offene Wort: „Nun ist es Zeit, daß ihr Gatte sich von ihr [geschlechtlich] zurückhält!"

Gegenüber Erstgebärenden und solchen Frauen, die mit Geburtsbeschwerden rechnen müssen, erachten es die Verwandten und Nachbarn als ihre Pflicht, jenen beim Nahrungserwerb und beim Betreuen der Kinder behilflich zu sein. Eine aufmerksame Teilnahme für die werdende Mutter geben alle Indianerinnen unterschiedslos zu erkennen.

Das Ehepaar ahnt unverklärt, wann die entscheidende Stunde herannaht. Gewöhnlich hat die Schwangere, meist auf Anraten ihres Mannes, zeitig genug eine Nachbarin verständigt, die ihr helfen soll. Die Indianerinnen gehören am häufigsten in ihrer Wohnhütte. Zeitig genug entfernt sich der Gatte und nimmt seine Buben, sowie andere männliche Insassen mit. Taktgefühl für die Frau in ihrer schwersten Stunde verbietet es, daß männliche Personen anwesend sind; ihr rät es das Schamgefühl, mit einer Helferin allein zu sein.[100] Kleine Mädchen werden zu Nachbarinnen geschickt. Sogar vor

[100] Das hintergrundartige Bewußtsein macht auch BRAUNS (a): 196, 272 geltend: „L'accouchement s'effectue le plus souvent en plein air, au soulagement instinctif de quelque

Nachtzeit entfernen sich all jene, die bei dem Ereignis nicht zugegen sein sollen, vorausgesetzt, daß andere Hütten in der Nähe stehen. Falls mehrere Familien eine einzige Hütte gemeinsam bewohnen, was bei den Westleuten zur Winterszeit üblich war (S. 386), bauen die helfenden Frauen für die werdende Mutter in einigen Minuten ein einfaches Hüttchen dicht nahe der Wohnhütte auf, wo diese mit ihren Helferinnen ihre nahe Stunde erwartet. Viel bequemer ist es, daß sie allein sich entfernt, als daß die vielen anderen Hüttenbewohner fortgeschickt werden.[101] Bald nach der Niederkunft, spätestens am zweiten Tage, siedelt sie mit dem Neugeborenen in die Wohnhütte zu ihrer Familie zurück. Ein derartiges Hüttchen gilt als Nothehelf und wird nur unter dem Zwange der Umstände benutzt.

Vereinzelt auch meldet sich das Kind zu, während die Familie im Kanu fährt. Wie in Ovens (g): 55 schon berichtet wurde, versucht sie, noch zeitig genug das Ufer zu erreichen. Ist das nicht mehr möglich, kommt das Kind eben auf dem Wasser zur Welt. Bennett (a): 182 erwähnt gleichfalls, daß „children are sometimes born in canoes, they are then called, whether boy or girl, *ennekuilli*". Dieses Wort fehlt im BD und ist auch mir nie zu Ohren gekommen, wohl aber *ákipin*, *ákipinin*, *ákipinin*, an das man erweiterte die männliche bzw. die weibliche Endung anfügt. Beispielsweise führte Sawtano den Namen *ákipinintin hijnáhha*, „der außerhalb des Landes Geborene, nahe der Küste von *hijnáhha*". BD: 105 bringt *ákipinin*, a man who has no proper place of abode. Auf dem Kanu niederzukommen waren allerdings nur Frauen, die bereits Kindern das Leben geschenkt haben und die sich selber zu helfen wissen. Eine Erstgebärende halten die anderen Frauen kurz vor ihrer Stunde zusammen in der Hütte zurück.

Zwar ist es richtig, daß es bei den Yamana eigentliche und berufsmäßige Hebammen, die sogenannten *wemamgyatchapipe* nicht gibt; wohl aber genießen einige Frauen den Ruf, als solche gute Dienste zu tun.[102] Sie erwerben sich ihn durch häufige Hilfeleistung und durch persönliche Geschicklich-

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pourquoi les femmes à subir les souffrances du travail plaisir que de supposer le prétexte des hommes et le pressentiment de la honte en mourant où elles accouchaient." Hyades sagt so: „M. Bennett affirme que les hommes n'assistent jamais à l'accouchement." Plötzlich behauptet Rasc (a): 202 demgegenüber, daß „le mari est présent; mais tous les autres hommes doivent en rester".

[101] Fälschlich hat Bennett einmal wahrheitlich behauptet: „Women never have children in the wigwam but out of doors" (VP: III, 118, 1869). Später schränkt er (g): 55 sehr wenig gewissen: „Children were generally born in the open air, and this of necessity and from proper feeling, the wigwams occupied jointly by several families allowed no privacy. The expectant mother with her assistant female friends withdrew."

Nur unter den oben genannten Bedingungen gibt, wie Bridges (a): 166 und Bove (a): 258 hinzufügen sagen: „Durante la gestazione la donna Bova dipende esclusa da tutto e da tutti, y está divertida del resultado hasta que libre." Und „comme chez grande dépendance, gémissante lui, verlassene sie in Begleitung ihrer Freundinnen die Hütte und gebiert unter schützenden Gebüsch, nur dann, kam vom Ankömmlichen der Neugeborenen, das Kind zur Welt zu bringen".

[102] Bridges (a): 190 erwähnt ausdrücklich, daß gelegentlich einzelne Frauen den Kindbettlichen Hilfe leisten, aber nicht berufsmäßig: „Il n'y a pas de sagesses."

hält; überdies wird jeder von ihnen ein etwas eigenes Verfahren, sowie manchmal besondere Handgriff angesprochen, wodurch sie sich voneinander unterscheiden. Neuerdings gilt Gauvin als besonders verwöhnig und Nelly hat bei all ihren Kindern die Hilfe der alten Anna in Anspruch genommen. Im allgemeinen läßt sich eine Frau immer von derselben Geburtshelferin bedienen, weil diese je nach deren körperliche Veranlagung durch die Erfahrung kennenlernt. Ausreichende Hilfe weiß jedwede Indiscretie der jungen Mutter zu leisten.[...]

In der Regel ist nur eine einzige eigentliche Geburtshelferin tätig, nimmale sind es mehr als zwei. Kann die Kreißende nicht die Hilfe einer Frau erreichen, nur dann leistet vorzumeist der Gatte ihr einige Hilfe dadurch, daß die Frau sich an ihn lehnt; er aber wagt keine Handgriffe. Sie behilft sich auch ganz allein, indem sie sich auf Hände und Füße zugleich stützt. Sonst aber nimmt sie eine Haltung ein, die für sie bequem ist und die auch eine wirksame Hilfeleistung der Hebamme ermöglicht. Die Kreißende hockt auf der Erde und spreizt die Beine weit, mit den flach aufgestellten Füßen und Händen stemmt sie sich gegen den Boden.[...] Die Helferin hockt unmittelbar hinter ihr und umfaßt ihren Unterleib; die werdende Mutter lehnt sich gegen einen, die eine starke Stütze bildet und, und läßt sich halb aufrecht. Mit ihren Händen tastend versucht die Hebamme bei Beginn der Wehen die Lage des Kindes zu bestimmen und durch kreisendes Bestreichen des Unterleibes mit der flachen Hand den Austritt der Frucht anzuregen. Währenddessen stützt sich der obere Rücken der Mutter gegen die Brust der hinter ihr knieenden Helferin; sollte aber das Kind lange zurückgehalten werden, sinkt die Mutter in ganze Rückenlage, wobei sie die gespreizten Beine etwas anzieht. Die Helferin hockt sich jetzt vor sie hin und setzt ihr Bestreichen des Bauches mit der flachen Hand fort. Sobald das Kind zumeinsten beginnt, hilft sie vorsichtig mit ihren Händen nach und fängt es beim letzten Stoß der Uterusmuskulatur mit beiden flachen Händen auf.

Zuweilen erfüllt die erwähnte Adoptivmutter (S. 712) dieses beispielsweise Dienst. Gewöhnlich beteiligt sich nämlich die zuerst erwähnte Frau nur als Geburtshelferin, während das Neugeborene von der Adoptivmutter weiterbehandelt wird; oft erfüllt eine und dieselbe Frau beide Aufgaben.

Einerlei wem, wie man sich geeinigt hat, immer achtet die Helferin sehr genau darauf, das herauskommende Kind weder am linken Zeigefinger noch am linken Hinderfuß, sondern am rechten zu fassen. Zuweilen macht es Mühe, dieses herauszufinden. Andernfalls würde das Kind ein Linkshänder werden und beim Handfasten der Schlegender sich ungeschickt anstellen. Sogleich führt diese Frau mit ihren flachen Händen über den ganzen Körper des Neu-

[...] Das beständige Bestreichen (s. S. 270) unterscheidet: „Toutes les femmes, et surtout les jeunes filles, sont opérées à chaque heure même à l'accouchée."

[...] Die Indiscretionen, wie Bruneau (S. 300) in Erfahrung gebracht hat, „ne permettent pour l'accouchement que la présence nécessaire qui leur est du vrai indiscrète quand elle n'est dans leur hasard".

gebrochen, um ihn abschließend zu reinigen. Mit der Hand fortwährend streichend, wird das Blut aus der Nabelschnur gepreßt und diese etwa 12 cm vom Bauche entfernt mit einer scharfen Muschelschale durchgeschnitten; beide Enden schnürt man mit dünnen Schnurfasern oder mit Binsenstengeln ab. Die Nachgeburt (*Bhâlâ*), Blutrests und die damit gerieben zu Lebendrücke schüttet man bei offenem Feuer oder in die glühende Asche, wo sie verzehrt werden; ist kein Feuer vorhanden, vergräbt man sie.[*] Auch das *Nîm*[*], mit dem sich die Mutter reinigt, wird verbrannt. Die Niederkunft verhält sich ohne Schmerzen; Kunz (a): 805 versichert: „*Les douleurs sont généralement assez vives, et la mère pousse des gémissements ... tout comme chez nous.*"[**]

Zweckmäßig wird heutzutage, daß sich das Gebären bei den Feuerbestattungen fast ausschließlich mit Leichtigkeit abwickelt[**] und daß sie an Pflege sowenigere weniger Wartungen nicht mehr denken. „*Quand l'enfant vient au monde, les voisines, lorsqu'il n'en trouve, assistent la mère, qui reçoivent presque immédiatement son travail habituels en partant avec elle le petit Être qu'elle porteige de son sein*" (Martin: 197). Sehr bestimmt sagt Kunz (a): 190: „*L'accouchement s'accomplit facilement, chez les Fulgiques.*" Trotzdem ereignete sich auch in früherer Zeit vorzeitig eine Schwergeburt. Dienstmägdlich überreichte Kunz (a): 807 ein wenig, der sich auf Samoa bezieht, „*que les complications et les positions vicieuses ne sont pas rares dans l'accouchement.*"

Der Amtsmann kann das neue Kind bei der Geburt in leibeslicher Qualage und die Hilfsfrauen haben große Mühe, Mutter und Kind am Leben zu erhalten. Am Fundort, die kleine abermals in Gefahr, bestimmen sie sich jener Verhaltungsmaßnahmen, den man Frauen empfiehlt, die kläglichlich keine Kinder mehr wünschen. Sie warf ähnlich die Placenta den Hunden hin, die heimatsmäßig verzehrten. Zum Beweise, wie unerschlaffig wilkomm dieses Vorgehen ist, wies man mich wiederholt auf Amtsmann hin, bei der sich mit fast zwei Jahrzehnten keine Schwangerschaft mehr eingestellt hat. Der Gatte Sumsum war lange Zeit von die außerordentlich besorgt. Aber er wiederholte, was im ähnlichen Falle von Schwergeburt auch ein anderer Mann sich sagte: „Bin ich im, ich verzichte auf weitere Kinder, nicht daß ich meine Frau verliere!" Der Gatte selbst ist es, der vorlegt, daß nach einer leibeslichen Schwergeburt die Placenta den Hunden vorgeworfen wird, aber er tut es eigenhändig. Schnell schließt bei der Niederkunft die Frau in Gefahr geriet,

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[*] Wir ist nicht bekannt geworden, daß diese Teile, wie Sturm (a): 191 behauptet, von Ihr vor Anbruch der Menstruation verbrannt wurden, wenn und was sie mit Bele bedeckt schaden. Man hat mir wahrscheinlich bemerkt, daß jene Dinge nicht eingegraben, sondern immer bei Feuer bewahrt wurden. Wieder man sie in der Bele verwahrten, so bemerkt Gelder, daß Bandle sie wieder herausholten und verzehrten; dadurch erhielt jene Frau Ihr besser wahrscheinlich gemacht.

[**] Den Gebrauchsbeschreibung Kunz (a): 806 und Sturm (1): 646, (a): 190 eingeschränkt.

[**] Bronsonnen (a): 146 behauptet mit Lemoine (b): 186, daß „*il paraît assez facilement*".

[illegible] Aufforderung bewegt ihn zu jenem Entschluß nach den Mitgefühl und er will nicht seine Frau erzeugt jenen Schmerzen oder Gefahren aussetzen. Anscaiana's Schwester Eliza hatte bei jedem ihrer sechs Kinder mehr oder weniger Schwierigkeiten und zweimal Abortus gehabt (S. 700). Eine ähnliche Verschlimmerung darf man hier wohl nicht übersehen; denn die dritte Schwester Guerra hat zwar bisher einige Frühgeburten gehabt, aber noch kein einziges gesundes Kind empfangen. Niemand wird ermitteln können, ob bei diesen Frauen den Verhältnissen des Europäertums sich nachteilig ausgewirkt; ihre noch lebende Mutter war von dergleichen Beschwerden frei.

3. Die Eltern des Neugeborenen

Nach Möglichkeit kommt, wie gesagt, jede Yamana in ihrer eigenen Wohnhütte niedern. Sie wird dabei von einer eigentlichen Geburtshelferin und überhaupt vorzugsweise von der Adoptivmutter des Neugeborenen unterstützt. Ihre ebenfalls Umgebung bereitet Ruhe, kleine Kinder werden entweder weit weggeschickt oder in Schlaf gehalten, endlich zwingt man alle Hunde, sich abwesend zu halten.

Vom Tage der Niederkunft an nimmt beide Eltern die (S. 701) jedermann geläufigen Vorsichtsmaßregeln besonders gewissenhaft beobachten. Die Mutter enthält sich jeder Nahrung den ganzen Tag hindurch, womit sie für sich ein gutes Gedeihen und den besseren Wohlstand für ihr Kind sicherstellen will. Schwerlich darf der Mann weder schwere Holzhacken im Walde unbesehen noch ein gefährliches Jagdtier töten, weniger die Knochen von Vögeln zerschlagen, nur den Mark zu verzehren, auch eigentümlich das Kalkgerüst der See-Igel zerschmettern. Falls er zweimal Bäume umhauen oder Holz spalten würde, bekäme sein Kind eine offene Wunde auf der Brust; falle er die Flügelknochen der Vögel zerbrechen, erbrächen sich die Arme des Kindes bisweilen; falle er einem Vogel die Federn ausfallen, verliere sein Kind bald die Haare. In der Wahl seiner Speisen ist er zum Geburtstage des Kindes genau so eingeschränkt wie seine Frau an diesem und an den folgenden Tagen. Sie darf schließlich vom Tage nach der Entbindung ja wieder essen, doch vorläufig bei weitem nicht von allem. Alles beschränkt sie sich auf Fische, sowie auf *Arwi* (Mytilus chilensis), *Iqiñiña* (Mytilus edulis) und *ucuñuka* (Fissurella); die vielen sonstigen eßbaren Sorten sind ihr versagt. Diese Muschels müssen von "gutem" (im sauglichen Sinne) Boden herstammen, *kipa* weder von dorthen, wo sonst das Jahlkoa vorkommt, noch von dort, wo viele Schnecken und Seeigeln sich aufhalten. Wir erkennen, die mythische Furcht spielt dabei, daß diese Tiere in der Mythologie keine verschiedene Rolle spielen. Zu den "guten" Dingen gehört auch noch eine einzige Tiersorte, nämlich Meeres-Otterfell. Eingegangen ist das Fleisch von der Seeotter *ółkie* (Tachyoreo patachonicus) verboten. Für den Fall nun, daß diese Dinge überhaupt nicht oder in nicht genügender Menge vorhanden sind, muß der yékamal Abhilfe schaffen. Mit beiden Händen umgreifend reicht er den "Bäer und Schädlicher" zusammen,

hält es einen Augenblick auf seinen starken Händen und mit einem starken Luftstrome aus seinem Munde bläst er es unter halbhundert *ft* weit weg. Nun schaden die von allem "Geflärtichem" befreiten Lebensmittel nicht mehr.

Unmittelbar nachdem das Neugeborene von der Mutter getrennt ist, geht jene Frau, die sich als eigentliche Geburtshelferin betätigt hat, aus der Hütte und übermittelt durch die ältestbeste Person dem Vater, daß ein Knabe oder ein Mädchen angekommen ist und daß seine Frau sich wohl befindet. Mit Genugtuung und Freude nimmt er die Nachricht entgegen. Er hält sich meist noch einige Zeit jenen beiden fern, weil das Neugeborene weiter behandelt werden muß; erst später sieht er seine Familie auf. Eine eingewurzelte Sache ist es, daß das Elternpaar jedes Kind herzlich willkommen heißt.[100] Mehr aus Redewei denn aus bewußter Absicht erwartet der Vater mit Vorliebe einen Buben und die Mutter eine Tochter, es sei denn, daß beide sich so oder so in ihren Wünschen einigen, falls bei ihren Kindern bisheng nur das eine oder das andere Geschlecht vertreten ist. Zwar behauptet Bumoen (i): 21 einmal ohne Einschränkung: „More pleasure was expressed at the birth of a son than of a daughter"; die Begründung indes, die Bumoen (e): 182, 203 an anderer Stelle nennt, ist nicht durchschlagend: „Boys are valued as offspring . . . Boys are much preferred to girls as offspring, since they are a source of strength and protection when they grow up to their parents." Zwillinge, unterschieden genannt, mögen als eine außerordentlich seltene Erscheinung bewertet werden; kein einziger der ältesten Leute konnte sich an eine Zwillingsgeburt erinnern.

Zu allererst erhält das Neugeborene eine gute Waschung,[101] die von der Adoptivmutter vorgenommen wird. Sie hockt auf dem Boden und stellt sich das Neugeborene auf die Oberschenkel, mit ihren beiden Händen es aufrecht haltend. Mehrmals nacheinander nimmt sie den Mund voll Wasser, hält es einige Augenblicke zurück, bis es sich ein wenig erwärmt hat, und spritzt es, wie aus einer viellöcherigen Dusche, gegen das Kind. Nacheinander spült sie dessen ganze Körperoberfläche ab. Jene Teile, die sie mit Wasser benetzt hat, reibt sie mit der flachen Hand und tauchert sie zugleich mit einem Ballen von *Silo*[a] oder mit einer Handvoll des weichen Sphagnum-Moosen. Mit besonderer Sorgfalt reinigt sie Augen und Ohren, Mund und Nase. Nun bettet sie das Kleine auf die bekannte Seite einer zusammenlegbaren weichen Felles, meist vom Pferde oder vom Otter, über das noch eine dicke Schicht von Dennenzweigen hingebreitet wurde. Darin eingewickelt reibt es, bis auch die Mutter sich abgewaschen hat.

Bald nach der Entbindung erhebt sie sich schnell vom Lager und begibt

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[100] Nur kurz erwähnt Bumoen (a): 276, daß die Sonnbiskuhlaten Eltern wechselnd wieder die Knaben noch die Mädchen ohne Vorliebe seien.

[101] Kurz sagt Kaun (a): 205, nur: „Es wurde mit Sonnbiskuhlaten sorgfältig gewaschen, die neuen kalt." Bumoen (a): 182 bei sonnbiskuhlaten: „When the infant is born, the attending females take the child, wash it with cold water, and then rub it with a kind of moss, which they also use as a towel." Weniger gute Bumoen (b): 180 und Sonnbiskuhlaten ohne

sich allein oder in Begleitung der Geburtshelferin zu dem Ufersand, um hier im Seewasser sich zu reinigen. Die Mutter tritt mühsählich weit in das Wasser und reibt sich gründlich mit den Gaubem Blättern und mit einem Ballen von *Sifi*[*] oder Moos ab. Das Bad im Seewasser hält man für notwendig und gut, nicht das in einem Boebe; deshalb haben die Frauen es bis heutigentage beibehalten. Zwar ist das Wasser immer kalt, aber die Influenzieuse schwecken davon nicht sonderlich und die junge Mutter badet sich einmal oder mehrmals täglich während einiger Tage. Hyazen (q): 192 hat die Beobachtung gemacht, daß „le jour même de l'accouchement, la mère est alité mais paraît d'heure en heure quatre heure de mieux, le premier quatre heures après en différemment." Die ähnliche Frau sagte ihm auch, „que toutes les femmes faiginaux en font autant après leur accouchement".[**] Nach jedem Bade trocknet sie sich mit *Sifi*[*] gut ab und geht nur Hitze nackt.

Wenn, wenn die Mutter zum Bade am Wasser geht, wird sie auch von der sogenannten Adoptivmutter begleitet, die den Neugeborenen in ihren Armen trägt. Statt daß diese ihn in der oben geschilderten Weise abwäscht, taucht sie ihn hier für einen Augenblick im Seewasser ein[***] und trocknet ihn sodann wieder mit *Sifi*[*] ab. Eilfgut trägt sie ihn zur Hütte zurück und hüllt ihn gut in ein weiches Fell ein. Man sagte mir: „Für Mutter und Kind ist das Bad im Seewasser sogleich nach der Niederkunft sehr gut, deshalb haben die Yamana es immer beibehalten!" Nur an einem außergewöhnlich kalten Tage sieht vielleicht eine Frau davon ab.[***] Sind die Wochengänge besonders, wird das Kind zum ersten Male gestillt. Danach ruht die Mutter ein wenig aus, vielleicht übernimmt sie es selbst, die Hütte zu reinigen und in Ordnung zu bringen.

Alle Spuren der Niederkunft werden im Feuer restlos getilgt. Eine Totgeburt und einen Abortus verzeichnet man regelmäßig in einer Glut außerhalb der Wohnhütte. Als Ursache für jene seltenen Fälle früheriger Fruchtabgangen nennen die Yamana große Unvorsichtigkeit der Schwangeren beim Springen und Arbeiten, schwerere Schläge und Erschütterungen

[*] Sifi gemeinschaftlich ist (Gen. sin) die vielen Bezeichnungen der Moose und Flechten jener Frau. Das war im Wasser. „Le complément de Fale étale alors ◇ (F2), celle de Fale du mer ◇ (F3), le mont étale (vil: 5000), 5.5; par conséquent."

[**] Hyazen (q): 130 berichtet, von Hyazen (q): 190 wörtlich wiederholt: „Mais bientôt des Sauvagesses glisse les Mères, du moins Gaudéfgale bouchées sortiéfaite dessus désespérément ait mit dans Lutéce." Gegen die Behauptung bei Bachelorie spricht die Tatsache, daß nach der Erkenntnis moderner Geburtshelferinnen beim sitzenden sauglaterneuse Kind in diesem Bade gestorben hätte, es bestehe ja nur im Unterschenkel für einen oder zwei Augenblicke. Auch andere Bekannte sprachen über diesen Bad, einer dem weiblichen Geschlechtsteil gesamt zu schildern, bei Hyazen (q): 190: „Children, generally within ½ hour days of their birth, are dipped in the cold sea, from a superstition that it makes them grow well." Vgl. Hyazen (q): 190.

[***] Hyazen (q): 192 berichtet, daß die junge Mutter durch mehrere Tage mindestens ½ ein Bad nimmt, nur einige bei besonderen Kälte. Schwierigkeiten von die ohne ausführlich Frau von einem Tage nicht im Seewasser geschlagen, „à cause du froid, dans les Fuégiens. Cela, au réfuse, le jour de la plus basse température de l'année (— 7°C), et non épaisse celle de mêge mesure le cas".

keine Fehler. Wann und wie freiwillige Abtreibung geübt wird, ist bereits S. 699 erwähnt worden. Eine Hilfeobert verwehrt die Mutter nicht.[1] Ein verkrüppeltes, lebensunfähiges Kind, das lebend zur Welt kommt, wird nicht umgebracht; aber im spätern Verlauf der Pflege widmet man ihm bewußt weniger Aufmerksamkeit mit der Absicht, daß es bald sterbe. Ein solch unglückliches Wesen wird nicht unmittelbar einer Gottheit oder dem Hunger ausgesetzt, sondern unwillkürlich zur Bereicherung verwendbar.

Ausnahmslos gebären sich die Inselindianerinnen nur sehr kurze Ruhe und zwar höchstens einen Tag.[2] Nicht nur Gibbes sie kein Bedürfnis darnach, es wird ihnen sogar empfohlen, sich möglichst bald wieder zu rühren und zu betätigen. Tatsächlich sind die meisten Frauen wenige Stunden nach der Niederkunft wieder bei ihrer gewöhnlichen Beschäftigung. Nicht selten vorgesetzte es sich, da das Gebären den Indianerinnen durchgehends keine Beschwerden bereitet, daß eine hochschwangere Frau während der Arbeit ihr Kind bekam. War sie beispielsweise zum Holzsammeln im nahen Gebirge gegangen, so erschien sie nach einer drei Stunden wieder in ihrer Hütte und mußte die Neugeborenen bereits. Vor wenigen Jahren war gang in Puerto Barbarisa eine Indianerin in den großen Holzschuppen der dortigen Farm; nach reichlich zwei Stunden kam sie zu ihrer Familie zurück und hielt in der einen Hand ein Bündel Holz und in der anderen das Kind, dem sie inzwischen einer jede fremde Hilfe das Leben geschenkt hatte. Pater Lorenzo nannte mir im Juli 1903 eine andere Indianerin, die unweit seiner Wasserschöpfen das Kind erhielt. Sie rief zwei Frauen zu Hilfe, die sie dort am Ufer des Baches bedienten; zusammen gingen alle mit dem Neugeborenen zu ihrer Hütte.[3] Schließlich noch sagen, was schon erwähnt wurde (S. 700), der eigene Mann die Kindbrude etwas erhaben, wenn sie im Kanu niederkommt und jedenfalls Hilfeleistung leistet.

Wie am Tage der Niederkunft, so gehen die beiden Eltern in den darauf folgenden Tagen nach ähnlicher Vorbeugungsmaßregeln. Was an Vorsichtsmaßregeln unbedingt erfüllt wurde (S. 707), muß gewissenhaft so lange, bis dem Kinde die Nabelschnur abfällt, eingehalten werden, sagen die Vornehmen Indianerin, wenn einem Frauen das erste Kind geschenkt wird. Gewisse Pflanzen dürfen die Eltern sogar erst essen, wenn das Kind ins dritte Lebensjahr eintritt. Eltern und andere Dinge werden dann jedoch früher erlaubt, wenn der erkennend mit der dem eigenen Kraft den "Blick" von dem neugeborenen

[1] Folgende Verordnung Sonnen' (S. 8) gilt bisher: „Unmittelbar bevor eine Abtreibung vorgenommen wird, ist es gewissermaßen Gebrauch, es noch an gewissen Gegenstücken abzuwenden, in der Hoffnung, es mit einer Abtreibung bei sich zu vermeiden."

[2] Kunz (S. 88) berichtet, die junge Mutter „gegenwärtig in ganz wenigen Tagen". Dies sind bekanntlich auch die Schlaraffen-Frauen (Bd. I, 304) beobachtet.

[3] Bemerkenswert (S. 700) hat solche Indianerinnen gerade „an einem der Tage, dessen die Sie [illegible] angeben, [illegible] Kinder [illegible]. Dieser [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]". Ähnlichen berichten Kunz (S. 110) und Sonnen (S. 108) [illegible] „Die meisten [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Sei, was er für jeden einzelnen Einzelnen gewahrt bewegen soll. In jenen Tagen bildete Mantichia fast allein die Nahrung für Vater und Mutter (I, 707). Andere Reisende haben die Gewohnheit weiter beobachtet und sie selbst verstanden. Demetrio (c) 182 berichtet nun: „The mother and father of a newly born child are called ziniskian. They are both carefull as regards their food, drinking some kinds are hurtful to the child. They generally also keep quiet for a week or two after the child' birth."[*] Auch Wuttenaue (I) und mit Ein Mantichia, 198 weiter und die Pflicht zur Enthaltsamkeit von einigen Speisen bis und Tage lan, wen ich auf seiner Gebärfähigkeit nicht mehr prüfen konnte: „Ich remember para la mujer mayor habitaban en las aguas del mar quien de menor dieron alimentos." Nur so viel ist mir bekannt, daß die junge Mutter durch einige Tage nach der Niederkunft in der See baden soll (I, 709). Ein Geiste verwendet den geschlechtlichen Verkehr bei seiner Frau, verzichtet während der ersten sechs Wochen nach dem Niederkunft, die Mehrzahl der Männer nach einem Jahre.[**]

Außerordentlich merkwürdig ist es, daß bei den Yamana die Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen Mitgeschlechtlichkeit eingeführt wurden, was dem ich bei dem beiden Nachbarn keine Spur entdeckt habe. Anklänge an diese Gewohnheit finden sich bei Demetrio (c) 198 und bei Bennett. Ersterer erzählt: „The people have an idea that if the father sits not still for three days after the birth of his infant, it will not survive." Am 10. August 1862 schreibt Bennett: „It is considered by these people that a man whose wife has lately given birth to a child should abstain from wounding creatures, either by hand, or by sling, or bicke" (Ph.). III, 175. 1862). Über ein dem, welche mit Kind, wie sie erfahren haben, beschäftigt werden. Ein Mann, der ein Tier gewunden hat, verwendet den ganzen Tag in seiner Hütte, enthält sich der verbrannten Speisen, ihr nur sehr selten und verwendet seine Gliedmaßen. Er spricht sich zwar nicht als krank aus, weiß sich aber ganz frei von seinen Gliedgliedern, Verpflichtungen und harte sonstige am Feuer. Für den und seine Familie besorgen die Nachbarn und Verwandten dies an sich in diesem Tagen eine geringere Lebensmittelhalt. Der Mann verhält sich wirklich so, als bedürfen die Entfernung von der Hütte und die Anstrengung bei legendlichen Jahrs dem und seiner Familie ernstere Schaden. Ein mit neugeborenem Kind ist es

[*] Bennett (c) 186 schreibt: „Upon Convalescence he says ... some days he periods the 'gradual', and that he sings a six week, or greater length are remarkable a no signal particulars, or dangers perils the infantes were not used. ... Subject are such 'gradual', made a no mistaken degree can be seen." Nachdem man die Geburtsgabe auf sich Mutter an dem Schilderung unbedeutend gewesen. In allgemeinen Wunsch wenn Lamanto (c) 198 auf ein Spätzeichen für die Frau bei gewissen Anlässen hin. Mantichia 197 sagt dabei, „que la generale, aquia la mamaro de Frafuna, ciñéndosenos de estudio aunque que generalmente tuvieron fallecimiento sin ser usual".

[**] Bennett Gesellschaftsordnung habe ich Gamaro (c) 182 Bemerkung verglichen, „a Yahan mother were always from marital intercourse for five or six months". Darüber hinaus ist unbekannt, daß Frau Lamanto ordnungsmäß und sein dessen' hin, daß sich in einzelnen Familien die Gatten auch oft aber nicht Monaten folgen.

(und speziell auf Frauen und nur, bei aber auf Animalia), erfreuen in der Gesellschaft wenn das Kind in weak and requires constant attention". Die Frauenbilder leben in der Intern Übergangsmg, daß alle Warnungen und Drohungen früher oder später Wirklichkeit werden, wenn die Eltern sich Verhältnisse gegen die gebrauchen Verhaltungsmaßregeln zuschulden kommen lassen.

Deutlich genug wurde früher schon (S. 702) der Unterschied zwischen der eigentlichen Geburtsmutter und der von mir so benannten Adoptivmutter bei, der Pflegemutter betont. Mazzo und Mazzo sprachen mir im August 1922 ausführlich über diese Einrichtung. Bei den Yaunna ist es Brauch, daß eine der wenigen Mutter bekommende Frau das an erwartende kleine Wesen an Kindes Statt annimmt. Dieser entzieht sich bei jener meist zum Ersten Entschluß und tut dem Wunsch kund; die Schwangere erkennt darauf, daß bei dieser Niederkunft tatsächlich eine Adoptivmutter für das Kind bestimmt ist. Zwar bemerkt letztere bei der Geburt nicht persönlich anwesend zu sein, durch Erhält sie Kenne jr. Jedes Neugeborene, ob Knabe oder Mädchen, wird unmittelbar der Hut einer Pflegemutter unterstellt, die Mama, adoptierende genannt, tritt damit ebenfalls in gewisse Beziehung zu jenem Kinde, spielt aber keine nennenswerte Rolle. Am deutlichsten kommt eine Stellung und Bedeutung der adoptierenden, wenn man sie als zweite Mutter des Kindes ansieht. Vom ersten Lebenstage an kümmert und sorgt sie sich um dasselbe, gibt der Mutter zuweilen schon vor der Niederkunft einige Ratschläge, ist ihr und dem bekäßlich und beiderseit beide während und nach der Entbindung. Mit außerordentlicher Liebe verfolgt sie das Gedeihen des Kindes, bespricht es oft und erhält dem Gewohnte. Sobald es verständig wird, bringt man es an, auch seiner Pflegemutter in gleicher Weise wie der eigenen Mutter gehorsam und respektvoll zu sein; entsteht nämlich mehr Recht und Einfluß an die Letztere. Bei bedeutungsvollen Entscheidungen gibt ihre Stimme viel; wenn die Vergleichung zur Jugendzeit abbrechen, kommt ihr das bestimmende Urteil zu; wenn ihr Pflegekind an die Heirat denkt, gibt sie, zuweilen sogar ohne Wissen von dessen Eltern, den a. -ching. Immer ist das Verhältnis der Pflegemutter zu ihrem Schützling lustig und jede Frau nimmt es mit dem von ihr freiwillig erwählten Pflichten sehr genau.

Zweifelhafter will man mit dem Beistehen einer adoptierenden der Fruchtmutter, die Erziehung und den Schutz des Kindes für jeden Fall sichern. Im Vorstehenden erscheint es sich nicht sehen, daß wegen der gefahrvollen Lebensführung die Eltern vorzüglichen und sogenannt gehen, bevor ihr Kinder das Reifealter erreichte haben. Der Witwen nehmen sich zwar die Verwandten manchmal und wissen es dessen auch an sich; die meisten Familien sind ja kinderreich, kompliziert Sicherheit aber, entgegen sich die Verhältnisse so oder so gestalten, bleibt bei Verwaisung ohne durch die hier beschriebene Einrichtung, daß ein jedes Kind seine eigene Pflegemutter hat.[*] Man vermutet es, daß die gleiche Frau mehrere Kinder dieselben Mutter annimmt.

Die bestehenden Beziehungen zwischen jenen beiden werden bei Leb-

[illegible] gelitt. Wenn das Kind sich verkühlen, leidet die Pflegemutter [illegible] Hitze und Kälteleiden; hat es die eigenen Eltern verloren, [illegible] dieses in seiner Nähe oder sogar in seiner Hütte. Nicht selten übernimmt die [illegible] für die Pflegekind die Patenschaft im Ojiyaga, dadurch werden beide durch eine noch innigere Bindung [illegible].

4. Behandlung des Säuglings

Die Geburt eines Kindes vollzieht sich die Nachbarn als ein freudiges Ereignis. Nearbe Frauen eilen zum Neugeborenen herbei und begrüßen mit der Mutter den Neugang oder eingeboren, gern gehen sie den Erwachsenen zum [illegible] und bringen bereitwillig jedweden Hilfsdienst. Vor allem sind es die eigenen Eltern, die sich in Liebesverehren für das Kind überbieten. Wie Dennis (b): 200 erkennen alle Beobachter übereinstimmend, daß „das eifer von eigiste die Geburt erfreuen". Sehr gern spielt auch der Vater mit seinem kleinen Lieblingen und obwohl er sich dabei Mühe macht, es nicht zu bevorzugen weiß, als seiner Frau, sieht er für sie Aufrichtigkeit und Verträglichkeit von sicher nach. Trotzdem von den Kindern Wohl gibt der Mann für sorgfältige Erwachsene [illegible] Pflege und Ernährung, beide Eltern bemühen gebührlich den augenblicklichen Zustand und die Zukunft ihres Kindes. Unablässig versuchen sie alles, was ihm erkranken könnte, und beklammern bewachen sie es Tag und Nacht. Im allgemeinen redet der Mann nicht in die Art und Weise hinein, nach der seine Frau das Neugeborene behandelt; denn auf sie kann er sich verlassen, sie wird ja von Nachbarinnen gut beraten und er merkt sich von ihrem Verhältnis abhängig, wenn es dieses Wohl erfordert. Wegen des Hütens und Sorgens um das Kind wird ihm die Frau durch mehr Ruh und von einer Nachbarinnen nur mehrere erhalten er sie behält sie, den ersteren für Kamerun in der gesamten Familie.

Noch einmal sei es betont, daß Kinder das Lebensgleich ihrer Eltern [illegible]. Der meint nach Dennis (p): 201, wenn er sagt: „Les parents [illegible] beaucoup trop enfants." Irrig allerdings ist seine Behauptung: „Ils les [illegible], gaste ne pas dire jamais." Gewiß, wie Dennis (b): 200 an anderer Stelle richtig erwähnt, „Ils ne [illegible] pas les haïr". Aber die Eltern gewinnen durch häufig ihren Mund oder das ganze Gesicht an Kopf und Gesicht des Säuglings, nähern ihn mit leichten Stimmen in den Arm und heben ihn hoch, führen ihn spielend mit den Fingern über den ganzen Körper, wenn er auf dem Rücken liegt, versuchen ihn endlich allerhand lustige Gesichtsverzerrungen durch Stimmbewegungen und Mienenspiel. Sie drücken auch einen eigentlichen Kult dieses Lieblings und die

[illegible]

Wangen, was sich allmählich zwischen Eltern und Sorge neugeborenen Kinde — nicht ohne zwischen erwachsenen Personen — Glück ist. Im großen und ganzen gelten die gesamt so tüchtig und spielend mit Sorge kleinen Kinde um, wie menschlicher Eltern es tun. Bei Sorge allmählich sich das alles heraus ab und in Sorge Lieblingsspiele wirken sich wenigen erkennbar. Um den Neugeborenen willen beraten die Eltern gemeinsam alle Umstellungen, so dass sie nur und auch der Neuankömmling eingeführt werden.[10] Der Tod eines Kindes bewirkt eigene unvergleichbare Trauer gleich.

Auch dann, wenn eine Mutter bald nach dem Entbindung stirbt, nimmt sich sofort eine andere Frau bereitwilligst des verwaisten Säuglings an. Fast jedesmal tut dies eine der nächsten Verwandten, meist eine Tante. Der Vater bemerkt sich eigentlich selbst um die Pflegerin nicht so bekümmern, allein um Wärme mit dem Weiterkinde bewerben sich dennoch manche Frauen mühtätigklich. Wer auch immer es an sich nimmt, in diesem Hinblick ist es ebenso sicher und gut gehangen wie in denen seiner Mutter.[11]

Vorsichtig wurde behauptet, die Neugeborenen nähme von einer mütterlichen kleinen Gestalt und Bewegung (1:1) erkundet. „The children are dark, dully small at birth and to this fact may be chiefly attributed the mother's immunity from danger." Das wiederholte Bem (1:1) 138. Durch nichts ist diese Annahme gewährleistet und es nicht bei, daß Bemsen Mutterangst nicht in der Lage war, sie zu begründen. Die Hautfarbe der Neugeborenen ist natürlich heller als die von Erwachsenen und deshalb eine spätere als wenig nach. Fern Bem (1:1) 136 sagt allgemeiner von den Tonnen und Hühnerhaufen: „Little children are nearly all the same hue as their parent's skin is when elevated, but infants are, for a few days, rather lighter coloured." Die gelbrote Farbe in der Hautfarbe bei Neugeborenen sind wirklich heilbar.

Wie der indianische Gestalt der Kleinen beschäftigt sich eine Erzählung, die der alte Cremin, Vater der Cimin, gelegentlich jungen Frauen erzählt: „Vor langer Zeit wurde eine Frau schwanger. Sie kam außerordentlich schwer und das Kind verließ den Mutterleib ohne die geringste Schmerzung. Bevor sie es seine Glieder gerade, stand man sich allein auf und lief ein wenig herum, denn dann war es stark und kräftig genug. Gleich danach eilte es in den Mutterleib zurück. So schwoll der Leib jener Frau stark an. Doch bald verließ das Kind abermals den Mutterleib, richtete sich auf und lief ein Weilchen frei herum, dann eilte es ebenfalls wieder zurück. Begegnete ihr die Mutter da und schwoll stark an; sie wollte wissen, wie ihr geschah. Da das Kind wiederum auftrat und wieder an ihr zurückkehrte, wurde sie immer

[10] Bemsen (1:1) 135 berichtet: „Should a nursing child fall sick its relatives in turn go to its assistance to comforting the mother has come, who, under these circumstances, does not use whole thickness."

[11] Lowrie (1:1) 138 wiederholt nur, was Bemsen (1:1) 135 bereits früheren hatten: „If the mother dies the little one soon finds a foster-mother, to whom considerable affection is shown."

erkrankten. Inzwischen war das Kind gewachsen und größer geworden, dennoch schwoll auch die Geschwulst an. Schließlich starb sie, als sie wieder unter dem Feuer auf dem Schlachtfeld lag. Sogleich liefen sie sich vollständig in nichts auf, als ob sie niemals aus Fleisch und Knochen bestanden hätten. — Ich selber habe diese Mutter geweint,[*] deshalb gebe ich auch den Rat: Wenn bei der Niederkunft ein Kind sehr schwoll aus dem Mutterleibe herauszutreten und sofort an heftig anfingt, sollte Ihr es unverzüglich töten, denn wenn es in den Mutterleib zurückkehrt, dies es auch anschwillt, daß die Mutter stirbt."

Als unumgänglich notwendig für den Säugling sieht man Isidiger Wo-ochongore an, die zunächst durch Einnahme in Sewanee ernährt werden. Bald nach der Geburt führt man sie mit dem Inzuma Mnowanee aus. Die Mutter führt es meist von einer anderen Person herbeibringen. Sie stellt den Säugling vor sich auf, führt dann Hand das eine aus dem anderen Mal mit jeweil Wasser, das sich ein wenig erwärmt, und spritzt nach und nach dreimal Körper ab. Mit der zweiten heißen Wasser oder mit einem Handtuch, die beide aus einem Mund herausgegriffen werden und dann wieder Wasserzusammengegossen wird, wäscht sie nach dem Lichtung ab. Zuerst dieser Behandlung, mit jeweil Tuchen ist es nicht, die Haut zu trocknen, sondern sie durch Reibung anzuregen. Nach dem ersten zwei Wochen ist die Verwendung von Wasserwasser nicht mehr nötig, es genügt von nun an das Sewanee.

Man muß es anerkennen, daß unsere Indianerinnen, die für Kinderpflege Schlacht dieser gefährlichen Kinder schwächer keine Angst haben, für den Säugling so viel gewissenhafte Pflege aufbieten, daß sie die Wachung mindestens einmal täglich wiederholen. Nach sie von erwärmen sie das Wasser in dem Mund und spritzen damit den Körper der Kleinen ab, mit der Hachoo Hoodoohoo sie über die einzelnen Stellen nach Bedarf. Bemerkenswert bemerkt man das sie eine empfindliche Massage. Mehrmals nachdem den hält schließlich die Frau den silbernen Hand zum Erwärmen über dem Feuer und führt den Körper so lange aus, bis ihre Hand jene geringe Hitze verloren hat. Nimmt sie die Wachung am Ufer vor, so sie für die wenigen Minuten kein Feuer anzünden will, bereitet sie in die hohlen gebeugten Form, wodurch die Innenseite der Hand etwas erwärmt wird.[**] Auch nach dem Einwickeln der gesamten Kinder reinigt sie mindestens auf den Hinterkopf mit der Hachoo Hand.[***]

Sogleich nach Wachen nimmt das Kind die Wachungen über sich empfindsam Sewanee, als sogar in Sewanee Luft. Nachdem wird es jedesmal unverzüglich in die

[*] Unbeschreiblich in dieser Handlung nicht wirklich zu erkennen, es bringt nach der Bedeutung der Tatsache, daß dieses Mutter eine sehr bildhafte Vorstellung von der Empfängnis in der Kindbettung hatte.

[**] Die gleiche Bedeutung hat bereits Strauss (I) 111 gemacht.

[***] Einige Kenner verdienen anzumerken, daß das Neugeborene wirklichkeit sauber gemacht wird. Goethes Bemerkung (I) 21: „Wahrlich a Ding dass alles kind das child was dipped in the sea, with the idea of cleansing it." Auf das selbst sich allerdings nicht nur Gottsche (Ex. 110, vorderen auch Chase (a) 186, der schreibt: „Pro quia in nascuntur, Fuchsia ne plangit dum Tuna de nasc ne dum Tuna dicunt. Ex longe par immersion ex cryptis pagnis dicit hic par pam, quodnet ne ne dum nasc."

weiches Fell eingewickelt, in dem es manchmal eine halbe Stunde lang sich wälzt. Etwa nach Wochen bindet die junge Mutter die Wickelungen oder gewissermaßen um, nachdem sie einige Unterbrechungen eingetreten und schließlich wird das halbjährige Kind nur selten noch einmal eingewickelt.

Die Yaguan-Mutter geht beim Lagoon den Säuglingen fast genau so vor wie ihre Nachbarin auf der Isla Grande (Bd. I, 372). Wenn sie ihn nämlich nicht in ihren Armen halten kann, legt sie ein weiches Fell vom Otter oder Guanaco auf den Erdboden, dessen Lederseite nach oben schaut; darüber breitet sie einen Schicht Dunenfedern von Wildgänsen aus und legt das Kind mit dem Rücken auf. Die Ränder des Lederstückes hebt sie hoch und schlägt sie übereinander, daß die Packung locker bleibt; jeden Verschnürung fällt weg. Dieses verweilt der Säugling wohl kaum länger als eine Stunde; denn mit seinen Bewegungen lockert er allmählich die Hülle und liegt wieder frei. Inzwischen hat er sich gut erwärmt; denn er wird fast nur nach einer Waschung eingepackt. Meistens sitzt er völlig nackt auf Reisig oder auf einem Lederstück. Kleidung oder Schaukelbäume gibt man den Säuglingen nicht.

Wenn die Mutter ihre Hände nicht bei anderen Arbeiten rühren muß, hält sie selbstverständlich den Liebling immer in ihrem Schoße. Sie hockt auf dem Boden mit gekreuzten Beinen, zwischen denen er sitzt oder liegt, und sie stützt ihm gewöhnlich den Kopf mit einer hohlen Hand. Sogar wenn sie im Kanu paddelt, hat sie ihn so vor sich liegen. Meist sitzt er mit seinem Rücken eng an sie gebeugt und sie legt ihre gefalteten Hände mit leichtem Druck ihm auf den Bauch.

Die Gründe dafür, daß unsere Indianerinnen ihr Kind immer auf dem Rücken tragen, sind durchsichtig; sie wollen nämlich jederzeit Hände und Arme für die Arbeit frei haben. Überdies schleppen sie ihren Säugling mit sich, weil sie sich nicht von ihm trennen wollen und weil zuweilen eine andere Person zu seiner Betreuung fehlt. Tatsächlich ist es ein seltener Anblick, eine Frau jüngeren und mittleren Alters ohne ein Kind auf dem Rücken anzutreffen. Zumindest kriecht es in ihrer Nähe auf der Erde herum, wenn sie es für wenige Minuten abgelegt hat. Mit erstaunlicher Geschicklichkeit macht sie allerhöchst Handgriffe, bückt sich tief beim Sammeln der Muscheln und Beeren, richtet sich gerade auf, wenn sie trockene Äste abbricht, strengt sich schwer an, wenn sie den Kanu auf den Strand schiebt, windet sich mühsam durch Gestrüpp und überschreitet sogar liegende Baumstämme im wirren Waldunterholz; bei alledem sitzt ihr das Kind sicher auf dem Rücken.

Jede Frau, die einen Säugling hat, benützt zuweilen einen breiten Rückenbehang oder ein Lederstück, das sie um den ganzen Oberkörper legen kann. Sie faßt gleichzeitig mit ihrer rechten und linken Hand das linke und rechte Händchen des Kindes und führt, beide Arme parallel haltend, den rechten Arm über ihren Kopf hinweg, daß das Kind auf ihren Rücken zu liegen kommt. Entweder bleiben sie beide mit den Händen verbunden oder das Kind legt seine Ärmchen um den Hals der Mutter. Sie schiebt nun ihren Rückenbehang über das Kind oder hüllt es in ihren eigenen Fellmantel

ein, in dem es aber ebensowenig Halt findet wie unter dem Rückenbehange.[146] An seinen eigenen Ärmchen hängt es und ruht reitend dem Rücken der Mutter auf.[146] Vereinzelt benützt die Mutter ein quadratisches Lederstück von etwa 40 cm Seitenlänge, an dessen vier Ecken kurze Riemen verknotet sind. Hat sie das Kind auf ihren Rücken gehoben, legt sie jenes Stück darüber und verbindet die Riemen vor ihrer Brust; wenn sie sich aufrichtet, sitzt das Kind sicher und läßt seine Beinchen beiderseitig frei baumeln, mit den Ärmchen umschlingt es den Hals der Mutter.

Selbstverständlich muß es jedweden Einfluß des Wetters hinnehmen,[147] obwohl die Mutter tunlichst bei schwerem Regenfall und starkem Winde in der Hütte bleibt. So gewöhnen sich die Kinder bereits seit ihren ersten Lebenstagen an die Härten und Unbilden in ihrer Heimat. Immerhin fällt es auf, daß Todesfälle unter Einjährigen selten sind.[148] Möglicherweise wirkt sich die Bewegungsfreiheit, die den Säuglingen gewährt wird, vorteilhaft aus. Denn sie dürfen, wie gesagt, viele Stunden gänzlich nackt und völlig unbehindert am Boden herumkriechen oder, auf dem Rücken liegend, lustig strampeln, so lange es ihnen gefällt; während der Kanufahrt allerdings müssen sie darauf verzichten. Jedwede Form einer Kindertrage ist den Yamana unbekannt; sie wäre auch zwecklos, da die Kinder tagsüber sehr viel Zeit im gebrechlichen Fahrzeug verbringen.

Genau so wie auf der Isla Grande (Bd. I, 376) danken auch die Säuglinge im ganzen Kap Hoorn-Archipel die liebevolle und vernünftige Behandlung ihrer Umgebung dadurch, daß sie sozusagen nie schreien. Diese befremdliche Erscheinung ist von verschiedenen Reisenden beobachtet worden. SPEGAZZINI (a): 167 beispielsweise berichtet: „Me ha llamado la atención que allí nunca lloren los niños; están siempre alegres, contentos, haga frio o calor, con su traje adamitico completo."[149] Die feuerländischen Kleinen haben wirklich keinen Anlaß, durch Brüllen und Weinen ihre Unzufriedenheit oder Unlust die ganze Nachbarschaft fühlen zu lassen; kommen sie doch gesund auf die Welt und werden sie in ihrer Bewegungsfreiheit in frischer Luft nicht behindert, auch nährt man sie reichlich und widmet ihnen alle Aufmerksam-

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[146] Das ist gegenüber FITZ-ROY (a): 138 zu betonen, der irrtümlicherweise behauptet: „The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an enfant."

[146] Deutlich schreibt DUPARAD (b): 698 hierüber: „Mothers carry their children dangling on their backs; and only supported by holding them by their wrists in front of them."

[147] Sein Erstaunen bekundet HYADES (f): 372 folgendermaßen: „Jamais les enfants fuégiens ne sont vêtus. Ils bravent ainsi les intempéries du climat, uniquement protégés par le contact de la chaleur maternelle."

[148] BARROS (a): 181 bestätigt: „It is a general custom with these people to bear their children out of doors, be the weather fine or inclement, even though it is snowing or raining, in winter and summer." Vgl. LOVISATO (b): 146.

[149] Über seine Beobachtungen an einem neuen Lebewesen am ersten Tage sagt HYADES (q): 193: „L'enfant crie rarement et pas longtemps"; die Mutter „calme son enfant, quand il crie, avec de petites tapes dans le dos".

keit. Indes dürften noch andere Kräfte hierbei im Spiele sein und zwar denke ich an erster Stelle an einen wirksamen, unbewußten Einfluß der Umgebung. Man vergegenwärtige sich, wie eine ganze Familie sich im Kanu totenstill verhält, während sie, ein Jagdtier bezeichnend, auf dasselbe zusteuert; alle Personen zeigen gespannteste Aufmerksamkeit, bis sie die Beute erreicht haben. Auch der leise Schrei eines Säuglings würde den Erfolg vereiteln. Wie indes die Regungslosigkeit der Erwachsenen ihn im Zaume zu halten vermag, ist zwar nicht leicht zu erklären, kann aber nicht weggeleugnet werden. Ein Säugling allerdings, der krank ist oder nicht genügend genährt wird, macht sich laut genug bemerkbar. Schließlich sei daran erinnert, daß die Yamana überhaupt eine schweigsame und stille Gesellschaft sind.

Jede feuerländische Mutter betrachtet das Stillen als selbstverständliche Pflicht. Was mir die alte Lessa bereits 1920 nachdrücklich eingeschärft hatte, wurde mir später noch wiederholt bestätigt: Alle Frauen betonen, sie müssen kurz vor und lange nach der Niederkunft vorwiegend die Mytilus-Muscheln essen, sonst würde ihre Milch gehaltlos, wäre weniger nahrhaft und ihre Säuglinge würden die ganze Nacht hindurch weinen. Daß eine Mutter nicht genügend Milch hätte, ist im Kap Hoorn-Archipel unbekannt und Hann (a): 806 versichert, daß „toutes les mères ont abondamment pourvues de lait". Durch unruhige Bewegungen des Kopfes und des ganzen Körpers gibt das Kind seinen Hunger kund. Die Mutter stützt es mit ihrem Unterarm und neigt manchmal mit der hohlen Hand ihres anderen Armes sein Köpfchen gegen ihre Brust. Vorher führt sie ihren Zeigefinger in den Mund ein und schiebt sogleich ihre Brustwarze nach. Auch die feuerländischen Kleinen saugen mit dem gleichen Eifer wie die europäischen.[104] Wie oft am Tage und wie lange jedesmal eine Erstgebärende ihr Kind stillen soll, erfährt sie von Nachbarinnen. Ein einjähriges Kind, das schon selber sich aufsetzen kann, greift mit seinen Händchen nicht selten dann, wenn die Mutter auf dem Boden hockt, nach der Brust und trinkt stehend. Jede Feuerländerin nähret ihren Liebling lange. Bridges (a): 183 versichert, daß „children are not weaned early. It often happens that two children of different births are being suckled at the same time". Durchschnittlich werden sie erst in ihrem zweiten Lebensjahre entwöhnt und zwar hängt dies eben davon ab, ob die Mutter das inzwischen eingetroffene Jüngste auch noch ernähren kann.[104]

Selbstverständlich bringt man noch etwa vier Monaten dem Kinde bei, außer der Mutterbrust einen Lutscher zu nehmen, damit es sich allmählich

[104] Hyades (q): 194 hat einmal beobachtet, wie eine junge Mutter am fünften Tage nach der Niederkunft einige Tropfen Milch ihrer Brust ausgepreßt hat und im Feuer fallen ließ. Im Juli 1924 versicherte mir Fuco Lawrence, daß es sich dabei um einen allbekannten Handgriff jener Frau gehandelt hat.

[104] Widersinnig übertreibt Duerano (b): 698 mit der Behauptung, die Säuglinge würden „even to six years of age" von ihren Müttern genährt. Richtig erkennt Hann (a): 806, daß diese „allaitent les enfants jusqu'à l'âge de deux ans, et quelquefois un enfant n'est sevré qu'à l'apparition d'un autre qui lui succède au sein". Hyades (q): 195 verlängert diese Zeit auf drei Jahre.

zu andere Ernährungsweise gewöhne. Ein solcher xáfwáhi ist weiter nichts als ein fingerlanges Stück Fettgewebe von der Dampfschiffente áiakuá (Tachyeres brachypterus), dick genug, daß es vom Kinde nicht verschluckt werden kann. Man wählt das Fettgewebe der genannten Ente, weil es besonders schmackhaft und dünnflüssig ist. Bevor man es dem Kinde gibt, wird es am Feuer bis zu ganz leichter Bräunung gebraten. Man ersetzt es zumindest täglich durch ein anderes. Sehr sauber wirken zwar die Säuglinge mit diesem Lutscher nicht, weil das dünnflüssige Fett ihnen das ganze Gesicht, die Brust und beide Händchen verschmiert; aber etwas Besseres fehlt eben im Feuerlande. In späteren Monaten erhält der Säugling ein fingerdickes, leicht gebratenes, saftiges Stückchen Fleisch von der gleichen Ente. Das ist die einzige Säuglingsnahrung; denn Milch von einer Guanaco ist kaum zu erreichen und andere milchgebende Tiere fehlen. Die Yamana-Frauen der Neuzeit können sich ebensowenig wie ihre Nachbarinnen auf der Isla Grande (Bd. I, 378) dazu entschließen, die von den Weißen eingeführte Kuh- oder Ziegen- oder Kondensmilch ihren Lieblingen zu verabreichen.

Den Yamana ist es selbstverständlich, daß nur die Mutter ihr eigenes Kind stillt. Ihr käme es nie in den Sinn, ihr Kind an die Brust einer anderen Frau zu legen. Freilich, wenn sie dauernd krank und zum Stillen unfähig ist, oder wenn sie stirbt, wird das Kind von einer anderen Frau übernommen, und nur sie allein nährt es weiter. NELLY sagte mir: „Es ist nicht gut für das Kind, abwechselnd an dieser und an jener Brust zu trinken." Im Notfalle zuzuhelfen, zumal wenn der Säugling plötzlich verwaist, dazu ist jede Indianerin gerne bereit[100] und, wie DARWIN (b): 190 richtig sagt: „En el caso de fallecimiento de la madre, alguna amiga de ésta se hace cargo del huérfano."

Lange bevor die endgültige Entwöhnung erfolgt, trinkt das Kind nur gelegentlich noch an der Mutter und wird bereits hauptsächlich mit den erwähnten Fleischlutschern genährt. Denn aber bestreicht die Mutter, wie mir NELLY gestand, ihre Brust dick mit Fett vom Wal, dessen Geschmack dem Säugling sehr widerlich ist, und seitdem bleibt er der Mutterbrust fern. Sollte zufällig kein Fett vom Wal vorrätig sein, greift man zu dem vom Seelöwen, das seine Wirkung ebensowenig verfehlt. Seitdem überwacht die Mutter noch durch einige Zeit genau, was das Kind zu sich nimmt. Zwar sagt BRIDGES (a): 183: „The food first given to children is mussles, fish and berries"[101]; aber es überwiegt noch lange das gebratene Fettgewebe von der Dampfschiffente áiakuá. Freilich steckt das unmündige Kind zuweilen schwerverdauliche Dinge in den Mund, wenn es nicht gut bewacht wird; aber obwohl es dieselben auch verschluckt, sind kaum je ernste Folgen zu befürchten.

Die junge Mutter gibt dem Neugeborenen nicht das Wasser aus einem

[100] Nur das besagen BRIDGES' (i): 21 und (k): 208 Worte: „In the absence of the mother any other woman would feed the child rather than let it suffer."

[101] Auch HYADES (q): 195 bestätigt, daß „les Fuégiennes commencent de bonne heure à donner à leurs nourrissons, sans les sevrer complètement, des aliments solides, tels que moules crues, poissons, etc."

Bache, sondern aus Lagunen und Teichen zu trinken. Jenes ist nämlich bedeutend kälter und dürfte, wie mir scheint, häufig Leibweh verursachen. [108] Yamana machen eine andere Begründung geltend. NELLY erzählte, daß sie auf Anraten ihrer Gottin Funa ihrer ersgeborenen Tochter Wasser aus einem Bache bei Punta Remolino zu trinken gab. Das sah ihr Vater, der besserer Erfahrung als Funa hatte. Er sagte ihr: „Wasser aus einem Bache verursacht Würmer im Bauche des Kindes; denn in solchem Wasser schwimmen viele kleine Tierchen herum. Du sollst Wasser aus einer Lagune holen, das ist besser für das Kind und dabei bleibt es gesund!" NELLY hält sich bei ihren späteren Kindern an diesen Rat. Ihre Mitteilung schloß mit den Worten, die zu Unguesten ihrer Gottin Funa entfielen: „Jawohl, die Christen [Europäer] haben in solchen Dingen viel weniger Erfahrung als meine Landsleute."

Bei HAMY (a): 806 liest man: „Les Fuégiens, en dire de M. HAMMES, allaitent souvent de jeunes chiens." Dieserhalb erfahr-ich, daß ganz selten und nur aus reiner Spielerei eine Frau sich einen jungen Hund, der kranklich ist oder seiner Mutter verloren hat, das einer und anderer Mal an die Brust legt, um ihn am Leben zu erhalten.

Ob unsere Yamana die physiologischen Zusammenhänge zwischen dem Befruchten und dem Stillen bei der gleichen Frau kennen, vermochte ich nicht zu ermitteln. In Wirklichkeit vereinigen sich die beiden Gottin geschlechtlich an einem der wenigen Tage, an denen sie ihr Kind nicht stillt,[109] sowohl, wenn im dritten Monat nach der Niederkunft.

Wie der Säugling bei der Feuerländerin abgenabelt wird, ist auf S. 704 beschrieben worden. Sehr vorsichtig behandelt die Mutter die Nabelschnur, damit sie nicht vorzeitig abbreche. Bei einer Frau, die niedergekommen war, beobachtete HYADES (q): 194 am dritten Tage: „Le cordon est desséché et ne tient plus à l'ombilic que par un pédoncule filiforme. La mère l'a ligaturé aujourd'hui à son extrémité libre avec un boyau de flocille mince qui est attaché d'autre part à une bandelette de linge liée autour de la jambe droite de l'enfant." In der Nacht vom dritten zum vierten Tage fiel die Nabelschnur ab und als HYADES, der sich diesethe erbeten hatte, darnach fragte, erklärte man ihm, sie sei im Feuer gewaschen worden. Das war m. E. nur ein Vorwand, mit dem man ihn abgefertigt hat. Denn der Regel nach fängt jede Mutter die abfallende Nabelschnur häufig auf, wickelt sie sich um den Finger, um sie aufzuzeichnen, bewahrt sie wenige Tage auf, bis sie trocken ist, und hängt man diesen Ringelchen an einer Halskette, damit sie es ja nicht verliere. Eigentlich ist es nicht üblich, die Nabelschnur auffällig zur Schau zu tragen; wenn aber die Mutter sich ein Halskund mit jenem Ringelchen anlegt, zeigt sich niemand erstaunt. Hauptsächlich um das unscheinbare Ding nicht

[108] Entgegen gleichzeitigen Vorsichtsmaßregeln, der ähnlichen Verhalten unerklärlich bis nach dem Entwöhnen der letzten Kinder, begründet HYADES (q): 195 ausführlich, „que dès le deuxième mois après l'accouchement, les suppurations recommencent entre les épaules". Andere Umstände mögen es bewirken, daß vorzeitig, nicht „souvent", wie HAMY (a): 805 schreibt, „plusieurs années s'écoulent entre la première grossesse et la suivante".

[109] Steinen, Die Naturvölker Südamerikas 18.

zu verlieren, befiehlt die Mutter es an einem Halbmonde, das sie zum [illegible] in dem Ledersacke aufbewahrt.[171] Sobald das Kind etwa im vierten Lebensjahre, weil es den kleinen Bauchfinker nützlichen (Aphrontura spinicauda), der häufig neugierig die Wohnhöhlen besuchte, einfingen. Die Mutter gibt nun dem Kinde seine eigene Nabelschnur und es muß diesen Ringelchen dem Vögelchen um den Hals legen, das damit fortfliegt. Dieser Brauch bezweckt, jedenfalls zu bezweifeln, mit welcher Liebe und Sorgfalt die Mutter ein solch verwandtschaftliches Ding aufzubewahren' versteht, daß sie dadurch für das Kind selber unvergleichlich mehr Vorsicht und Aufmerksamkeit aufzubieten imstande ist.[172]

Ähnlich wie die Selk'nam (Bd. I, 372) behandeln auch die Frauen im Kap Hoorn-Archipel die Neugeborenen nach Art einer Streichkur. Sie verwenden dafür das Wort *ulin* in der Bedeutung von: den Körper des Kindes formen. Man eintritt vom ersten Tage an durch Legen und Zurechtrichten der Gliedmaßen, durch Bestreichen und andere kurze der ganzen Körpern nichts anderes als eine schöne, ebenmäßige Gestalt. Also faßt irgendwelche Frau, meint die Adaptivmutter (S. 712), die einzelnen Teile von Armen und Beinen, rückt sie zurecht, streckt sie gerade, gibt ihnen Richtung, schiebt nach den kleinen Körper und den Köpfchen in eine Ebene und modelliert gleichsam die ganze Gestalt. Ihr anderer Teil dieser Kur besteht darin, daß diese Frau durch Streichen mit der flachen Hand über die einzelnen Körperflächen nach hinzufügt, ohne eigentlich zu kneten. Sie streift in langen Strichen Arme und Beine ab, drückt mit beiden Handflächen die Gelenke zusammen, führt kreisförmig seitwärts über alle Seiten des Rumpfes und streicht schließlich den Köpfchen in den beiden beiden, unbeholfen streichenden Händen. Wieder faßt sie Beine und Füße, Arme und Hände, Ohren und Augenlider, Lippen und Kinn, Hals und Brustwarzen, als ob sie diesen allen gewisse Richtung geben müßte. Die Frau vergnügt sich dabei sichtlich und wird nicht müde, diese Streichkur täglich zu wiederholen. Daß diese tadellose keinen Tag unterbleibt, darüber wacht die eigene Mutter, die selber sie ab und ab ausführt, wenn eine bewährte oder verwandte Person dafür nicht zu haben ist. Damit will man bewirken, daß das Kind gut und ebenmäßig wachse und eine schöne Gestalt erreiche.

Daß dieser Behandlung des Säuglings ein leichter magischer Anstrich nicht fehlt, ersieht man daraus, wie sie beendet wird. Sobald eine Frau die viele Streichen einstellt, schließt sie die Hände und führt die Finger vor den Mund, daß die geheimnisvollen Dämonen die Lippen berühren; mit starkem Stoß streckt sie die Arme vorwärts und die Finger öffnen sich zu flachen Händen mit gespreizten Fingern, daß die Handteller sich nach vorn wenden. Gleichzeitig stößt sie ein starkes, blasendes pf aus, als sollte das "Unreine, Böse,

[171] Bei dem Nabelschnurbrauch der Brauch, daß der Vater die Nabelschnur seines eben geborenen Kindes an einem Baume bald nördlicher vom am Hafen trägt, so soll dadurch erreichen, daß Mutter und Kind auch besondere Schonung bedürfen.

[172] Einen fast gleichen Brauch habe ich (Bd. I, 372) bei den Selk'nam nachgewiesen.

Hälfte", wie wenn es von den Händen zusammengerafft worden wäre, [illegible] werden. Diese Bewegung beobachtet man viel beim Zählen.

Selbstverständlich geht jede Frau bei diesem nähe außergewöhnlich sanft und vorsichtig vor; sie hütet sich vorsichtig, auf die Fontanellen des Neugeborenen zu drücken, die sie als sehr empfindliche Stellen kennt. Etwa drei Wochen lang weiß sich der neue Weltbürger dieser Formen, Bestreichen und Zurechtrücken seines kleinen Körpers gefallen lassen, es verursacht ihm nicht das geringste Unbehagen.

In dem Gebiet des Aberglaubens gehört Folgendes. Wenn die Seeadler *dilüke* (*Tachypetes patechoniens*) über die Hütte fliegt, erschrecken alle Insassen zusammen; denn sie fürchten, daß sie "den Geist", also die Lebenskraft der Kinder wegnimmt. Die Erwachsenen beeilen sich, alle Kinder mit Lederstücken zuzudecken und fahren mit ihren gestreckten Armen ausgreifend durch die Luft, als wollten sie "den Geist" der Kinder zurückhalten. Wie wenn sie ihn in der Luft zusammengerafft hätten, ziehen sie ihre Arme wieder ein und machen damit eine Hinbewegung des Gebens und Hinwerfens auf die Kinder, wobei sie ein langgezogenes *i* zustoßen. Bekanntlich dürfen die Eltern unmittelbar nach der Niederkunft das Fleisch von *dilüke* nicht essen, andernfalls kommt das Leben des Kindes in Gefahr (S. 707).

Den größten Teil des Tages bewegen sich die Säuglinge frei oder sie liegen im Schoße ihrer Mutter. Mit ihren Händchen begreifen und fassen sie alles, was sie erreichen können. Einzelne Strichen und Stecken, Muschelschalen und Zweigchen, die sich zufällig in nächster Nähe finden, gibt man ihnen. Eigentliches Spielzeug aber fertigen die Yamana nicht an. Vielleicht macht es ihnen zu viel Mühe, die Spielsachen immer mitzuschleppen und gut aufzubewahren, mögen sie auch noch so einfach sein. Mir scheint, daß die Yamana-Säuglinge, im Vergleich mit denen auf der Isla Grande, bedeutend ruhiger sind und einen etwas beschränkten Spieltrieb zeigen. Gewiß, die Mutter behängt ihren Liebling mit Halsketten aller Art, um ihn zu schmücken, auch bemalt sie ihn aus bloßer Ziererei; das alles aber hat mit Spielzeug nichts zu tun. Sie tändelt und spielt mit ihm herum, widmet ihm all ihre freie Zeit und schützt ihn sorgfältig in der Nacht, wenn er neben ihr liegt; auch spricht sie ihn an und unterhält sich redend mit ihm, doch weit weniger und leiser, als eine europäische Mutter dies tut. Eigentliche Wiegenlieder gibt es nicht, sondern eher stimmt eine sangesfrohe Frau ein einfaches Volkslied-chen gerne an.

Bei der ausgeprägten Kinderliebe, die unseren Yamana eigen ist, verwundert es nicht, daß jede Nachbarin sich eingehend um alle kleinen Wesen in ihrer Nähe erkundigt. Wo immer ihre Dienstleistung erwünscht oder nötig ist, greift sie freudig zu. Deshalb stehen einer jungen Mutter, so lange *sie* einen Säugling pflegt, mehrere Helferinnen gern zur Verfügung. Auf diese kann sie sich verlassen, wenn sie selber oder ihr Liebling erkrankt, wenn sie vorübergehend arbeitsunfähig ist oder voll und ganz durch eine besondere Beschäftigung z. B. im *čičyaus* in Anspruch genommen ist. Selten nur überläßt

eine Mutter ihren Säugling der Nachbarin außerhalb ihrer Hütte, weil sie vor Sehnsucht fast vergehen würde. Gegenseitig beraten sich die Frauen und besprechen ausführlich, wie sie das Wohl und Gedeihen ihrer Kinder am besten fördern könnten. Gern nimmt eine Frau das Kind aus den Armen seiner Mutter, um es zu herzen und zu liebkosen, mit beiden Händen führt sie es auf und ab und versucht es mit allerhand harmlosen Überraschungen zu belehren; sie wiegt es auch leicht auf ihren Armen und wiederholt dabei die Worte *hud, hud* ... rhythmisch auf gleichem Tone.

Die Feuerländerinnen sind gute und opferfreudige Mütter, an aufrichtiger Liebe[101] für ihren Säugling und an unverlässiger Pflege übertreffen sie bei weitem manche Europäerin. Immer wieder drehe ich an das ungewöhnliche, fast ungelassene Vergnügen einiger Indianerinnen zurück, die sich zeitweilig in Punta Remolino einzufinden pflegten. Dort hatte die Familie LAWRENCE einen Spanier als Koch, dessen junge Frau einen Tagen ihres ersten Kindes genas. Sie behandelte es so unbeholfen und ungeschickt, daß die Indianerinnen nur aus Mitleid mit dem Kinde nicht hell auflachten; aber unter sich beruhigten sie es ganz unverhohlen, daß sie selber unvergleichlich besser mit einem Neugeborenen umzugehen wüßten. NELLY benützte diesen Anlaß, um auch mir gegenüber zu betonen, ihre Landsfrau besäßen in solch wichtigen Dingen eine unvergleichlich gründlichere Erfahrung und „die Weißen könnten von uns Yamana-Frauen manches Gute für die Behandlung eines Säuglings lernen!"

5. Kindermord

Angesichts dessen, was über die Kinderliebe der Yamana zuverlässig berichtet wurde, leuchtet ein, daß für bewußten und häufigen Kindermord in diesem Volke kein Platz ist. Kein einziger Europäer kann sich darauf berufen, diese Tat aus unmittelbarer Beobachtung kennengelernt zu haben und HYADES (p): 331 leugnet jedwede bewußte Kindertötung mit dem kurzen Satz wegs: „L'infanticide n'est pas en usage." Allein von BRIDGES gingen diesbezügliche Behauptungen aus und einige Reisende,[102] so DARWIN (a): 63 und (b): 190, haben seine Worte wiederholt. Bereits im Jahre 1866 stellte er auf: „It is very seldom a young infant is killed unless under the following circumstances: Should the mother's husband have deserted her, the child is then often killed by its mother. Also those children that have any great imperfections, or are otherwise much deformed, are sure to be killed very shortly after their birth. Also should a woman bear all daughters, the youngest is

[101] BRIDGES (i): 21 bestätigt: „Mothers of young children tend them most carefully, and give themselves up to their maternal duties much more entirely than is the case with most civilized people." Sogar ein SCHMIDTMEYER (a): 166 stellt ihnen das ehrenvolle Zeugnis aus: „El amor maternal está profundamente arraigado, y aunque ... el amor no traga las manifestaciones si del hace si de las caricias, todavia aparece marbisimo, por el cuidado y el gusto que tienen los padres y las madres de adornar y traer bien matizados a sus hijitos." Tatsächlich küsse und liebkosen die Eltern den Säugling oft und gern (S. 713).

[102] Die verschiedenen Belegstellen hat CORTE: 171 sauber gemacht.

[illegible] killed." Diese Mitteilungen entstammen einer Zeit, in der Bennett geringste Einsicht in die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse der Yamana noch nicht besaß. Obgleich er später gewisse Einschränkungen wiederholt,[illegible] in seiner letzten Veröffentlichung (h): 240 aus dem Jahre 1902 beschränkt er sich auf Folgendes: „El infanticidio era muy raro entre los indígenas, aunque no del todo desconocido; en estos casos las víctimas casi siempre eran las hijas varones." Gelegentlich nennt Bennett (e): 333 den Kindermord als einen der vielen Übel, die mit dem Wirken der englischsprachen Missionare im Kap Horn-Gebiete verschwunden wären.

Diesen schwankenden Bedenken gegenüber wäre man berechtigt, jede Erörterung beiseite zu lassen; um aber allen Zweifeln zu begegnen, folgt hier eine kurze Berichtigung. Kindermord ist niemals eine verbreitete Gewohnheit bei den Yamana gewesen. Fuss Lawrence und Cassenne bezeugten jedweede überlegte Tötung eines Kindes und zwar unter Hinweis auf die geistige Veranlagung unserer Eingeborenen. Wohl gaben sie zu, was ich auch von anderer Seite erfahren hatte, daß ein mißgestalteter Säugling bewußt von der eigenen Mutter vernachlässigt wurde, damit er bald sterbe (S. 710); doch sprach jene Mutter darüber niemals mit anderen Leuten. Im August 1923 habe ich mit Fuss die von Cassenne 171 aus Bennetts zusammengestellten vier Anführer besprochen. Er nennt „the following cases: Desertion on the part of the husband and father, great deformity in the child, too much annoyance to the clan from the child's crying, too many girl babies". Auf jeden einzelnen derselben antwortete ich hier ganz kurz. Hätte bei „desertion on the part of the husband" diese von ihrem Manne verlassene Frau auch noch ihr Kind umgebracht, würde sie sich selber gänzlich vereinsamt haben; unter normalen Verhältnissen kann das unmöglich angenommen werden. Hätte sich ein überzeugter Weib dennoch zu dieser Tat hinreißen lassen, hätten die Verwandten sofort mit ihr abgerechnet und das Verbrechen gesühnt. Zweitens: Eine stark verunstaltete Mißgeburt („deformity") wurde von der Mutter oder Hebamme sogleich bei ihrem Erscheinen stillschweigend vernichtet, anderen Leuten merkte man überhaupt keine Mitteilung davon und dem Vater gab man höchstens eine kleine Andeutung. Nahezu lächerlich ist es, Unbehagen der Nachbarn über das Geschrei eines Kindes als dritten Anlaß zu seiner Ermordung zu nennen. Eine solch große Dummheit ist aus einem anderen Gebiet noch niemals berichtet worden. Die feuerländischen Kinder schreien überhaupt sehr selten (S. 718): würde ihr Weinen jemandem belästigen, könnte dieser jederzeit seine Hütte anderswo aufschlagen. Viertens endlich hätte weder der Vater noch die Mutter, die einen Knaben erwarteten, ein Mädchen umgebracht, das auf viele Schwestern folgte; denn jedes Kind ist ihnen unsagbar viel wert. Dieser Mord wäre keinesfalls geheim geblieben, immer aber schwer verurteilt

[illegible] Se sugi er (h): 200 und (i): 21 nur: „Los niños defectuosos son desterrados al nacer; pero solamente cuando el defecto es enorme ... Infanticide was rare, and when it occurred was generally the mother's act, on account of being deserted by her husband, or annoyance at the complaint of her neighbours over the child's crying."

wurden. Sehr entschieden wies Frau Lawrence diese vier von Bennett behaupteten Anlässe zum Kindermord ab.[*] Jedenfalls tritt Frühgeburt ausgeschlossen.

Es ist nicht zu bezweifeln, daß eine Mißgeburt oder lebensunfähige Frühgeburt bewirkt wird. Wie verständig trotzdem eine Frau dabei vorgehen soll, beweist ein Gerücht, das ich erfahren habe. Die Gattin des Wauwa bekam um das Jahr 1905 ein Kind, das zur Hälfte ein vogelähnlicher Mensch war, auf der anderen Körperhälfte mit einer Fledermaushaut bedeckt gewesen sein soll. Als sie seiner bei der Niederkunft ansichtig wurde, erschrak sie sehr, gleichfalls jene beiden Frauen, die der Hilfe leisteten. Sie entschloß sich sofort, die Mißgeburt zu töten und schlug ihr wirklich mit einem harten Gegenstande auf den Kopf. Doch das kleine Wesen lebte trotzdem weiter. Da warf sie es mit starker Kraft auf den Boden und auch dadurch war es noch nicht tot. Nun schaufelte sie es in die Erde ein und überdeckte es mit einer Schicht von Steinen; von dem Boden herum scharrte es noch einige Zeit, dann endlich hörte es auf. Obwohl jene Frau den Wauwa gar keiner Einzelheiten über jenen Vorfall selber verraten hat, erhielten ihre Nachbarinnen von dieser etwas zugeplaudert zu haben; mitleiden ist sie vor allem, aber deutlich fühlbaren Vorwürfen anderer Frauen, die ihre Handlungsweise schwer verurteilen, nicht sicher. Nur die eine und andere ihrer Verwandtinnen beunruhigt sie wegen jenen Unglückes. Alles spricht eben doch dafür, daß die Yamana einen Kindermord niemals billigen und den Übeltäter schwer verurteilen.

6. Kindersterblichkeit

Aus einem bedauerlichen Irrtum hat Martial[1] 190 die Behauptung aufgestellt, „on voit souvent des familles avec un grand nombre d'enfants". Anderer Mitglieder der Mission Samarangue widerlegen ihn überzeugend; denn in Wirklichkeit sind die feuerländischen Familien durchgängig kinderreich. Das Indianermädchen wird Mutter meist schon in ihrem sechzehnten Lebensjahre. Sieben Zählungen arbeiteten an dem Widerstande der Erwachsenen, die ihre verstorbenen Kinder zu sprechen grundsätzlich sich weigerten.[*] Bennett (MM; XVIII, 225; 1884) hat zwar wiederholt, z. B. im Juni 1884, die Bevölkerungsziffer der Yamana genau zu bestimmen versucht, dabei aber nicht die Gesamtzahl der Kinder einer jeden Familie ausfindig gemacht.

Einen kleinen Anhaltspunkt bieten die Beobachtungen von Hyades (q): 189 in der Umgebung der Bahia Orange um das Jahr 1882, also zu einer Zeit, da die Bevölkerung durch die anglikanischen Missionare bereits in eine merkliche Bewegung gebracht worden war. Er zählte bei 8 Frauen im Alter von 35 bis 60 Jahren insgesamt 18 lebende Kinder, nämlich 11 Mädchen und 7 Knaben; bei 8 Frauen im Alter von 25 bis 30 Jahren wiederum 18 lebende

[*] Sich zur Begründung des Kindermordes auf Frauen zu berufen, wäre höchst leichtfertig, weil dieser, wie Jean Lawrence mir versicherte, jener Gegend einmal in zwei Tagen durchführen hat, ohne mit Eingeborenen in Fühlung zu treten.

[*] Diese Schwierigkeit ist auch Hyades (q): 189 begegnet.

Kinder, und zwar 10 Knaben und 8 Mädchen. Die Fehlangaben in diesen Zusammenstellungen sind so offensichtlich, daß sich jede Erläuterung erübrigt. Hesse war sich dessen vielleicht bewußt und verschleierte nicht, auf eine Siebzigjährige Frauenkinderin hinzuweisen, die viermal Kindern das Leben geschenkt hatte; eine Siebzehnjährige war Mutter von zwei und eine andere war Mutter von 10 Kindern, endlich fand sich eine achtundvierzigjährige über sieben Kinder. Obwohl zur Zeit meiner Reisen der ganze Dorfen bereits als verfallen gelten mußte, waren unter den wenigen überlebenden Familien zwischen Kinderreich. Wenn, dessen erste und einzige Frau noch lebt, hat von der Jungmann elf Kinder erhalten; und Pagnes, dessen Frau bei meiner Zählung im Mai 1923 erst dreißig Jahre alt war, besaß bereits diese sieben Kinder.[*]

Ohne die außerordentlichen Schwierigkeiten zu verkennen, die sich entgegenstellen, glaube ich doch zuversichtlich sagen zu können, daß die mittlere Zahl der Kinder in der kreolischen Familie ungefähr zu nennen, Hesse (a): 603 ermittelt hat.[**] Auch Hesse (g): 199 hat eine Aufstellung gewagt und begnügte sich mit der Zahl vier, er dürfte sich kaum eingehend nach der Kindermahl bei vielen Familien erkundigt haben oder man hat ihm aus dem ihm gemeinten Grund über die bereits verstorbenen Kinder nicht die volle Wahrheit erzählt. Wenig verläßlich ist Hesse (e): 138, obwohl er siebzig die große Fruchtbarkeit der Indianerinnen betrugt.[***] Eine große Kinderschar ist im Frauenhause immer eine Empfehlung für die Ehen; einmal würde es wegen, unnötiger Bemerkungen über vermeintliche Unverträglichkeit im Geschlechtsleben fallen zu lassen. Im allgemeinen folgen sich die Kinder einer Ehemanner innerhalb kurzer Zeitabstände.[****]

So sehr auch die Fruchtbarkeit der kreolischen Ehen in Sumaco ernst, der steht eine erschreckend hohe Kindersterblichkeit gegenüber. Die Ursachen sind wenigstens leichter zu bestimmen, als die Tatsache selber festzustellen ist. Wenn bei den hohen Geburtsziffer die Volkszahlen der früheren Jahrhunderte dieselbe geblieben ist, zeigt die Frage nach der besonderen Art des Ausgleichens an. Letzteres vollzieht sich durch das Sterben vieler Jugend-

[*] Nur in Hesse (g): 31 stellt man auf die völlig abweichende Angabe: „Los Pangnies no se multiplican mucho; es muy raro que tengan cinco, o, generalmente, no alcanzan más que a dos." Die sind wahrscheinlich die Zahlen der lebenden Kinder in jeder Familie, und auch unsere diesen Rückschlüsse sind sie falsch. Auch ist zu berücksichtigen, daß Ehen von Fremden mit über den verstorbenen Kinder sprechen.

[**] Unabhängig von dem hier ich zu meiner Aufstellung gelangt, die, wie ich später sah, der wirklichen sich sehr nähert. Sagt er durch: „Le nombre moyen des enfants est de cinq. J'ai rencontré ou plusieurs vieillies, femmes ayant eu jusqu'à dix enfants."

[***] Er schreibt: „Dialogues sind die Frauen sehr fruchtbar; sieben, oder acht Kinder sind der Durchschnitt, doch finden man nicht selten junge Frauen, die schon drei oder bis zwölf haben."

[****] Offensichtlich übersieht Wuttke (a): 198 mit der Bemerkung, daß „les enfants naissent ensuite à de longs intervalles". Widerspruchlich wurde er durch Hesse (a): 202 berichtet, dessen Behauptung, „les femmes have more than six children, owing to the great length of time between the several births", in beiden Teilen falsch ist.

[illegible] Kinder seltener vom Tode erfaßt, um
[illegible] im Reifealter fällt wieder die Sterblich-
[illegible] richtig: „Die Sterblichkeit zwischen zwei
[illegible] zur allgemeinen Bestätigung dienen, wenn
[illegible] Zahlen. Die beiden Gruppen von den je
[illegible] Bibia Orange, wie eben (S. 726) dargelegt,
[illegible] wende Kinder; das ist, beim Vorteilen der
[illegible] wenig um den Stamm zu erhalten; dem-
[illegible] der bekannten Fruchtbarkeit der Indie-
[illegible] Zahl von Kindern gestorben sein muß.
[illegible] Sie ebenfalls Hyades (q): 189 beibringt:
[illegible] 4 enfants, trois de ces enfants seulement
[illegible] une autre femme âgée de 45 ans avait eu
[illegible] Als Gegenstück nennt er aber auch, daß
[illegible] ants, dont un seul était mort prématuré-
[illegible] er aus neuester Zeit berichten kann, ist
[illegible] ; von elf leben nur noch zwei.

[illegible] die Ursachen des überreichlichen Kin-
[illegible] aber ist die Vermutung gerechtfertigt,
[illegible] Mutterbrust im ersten Lebensjahre das
[illegible] das, was an Nahrung die Kinder vom
[illegible] sich zuführen. In diesen Jahren scheint
[illegible] aller für das Kind zu sein, als äußerer
[illegible] das elfte Lebensjahr erreicht, hat seinen
[illegible] gekräftigt; Schwächlinge werden bis
[illegible]

Ein Hinweis auf die Unfruchtbarkeit der Frauländerinnen ist
[illegible] stimmt zu den äußersten Seitenleitern[illegible]
[illegible] unter ihnen der hochbejahte Pastor
[illegible] Lavaux, wollten wir andere Kinder und Gentil keine Frau zu nennen,
[illegible] die eigene Kinder gebildet wären. [illegible] ist in einer Ehe wirklich die Nachkommenschaft aus, gilt die Frau als [illegible] erhaft veranlagt; der kinderlose Mann
[illegible] zu sich, die ihm ohne Zweifel Kinder
[illegible] erbracht. Darum hat sich bei den Ve[illegible]ma die Ansicht gebildet, daß Unfruchtbarkeit der Ehe einzig und allein der [illegible] Frau anzurechnen ist, die sie als eine Abzeichen bezeichnen. Also ist [illegible] dieser ungewöhnlichen Tatsache[100] nicht

[illegible] zu (a): 302 chemnovrsig: nur die Tatsache stellt
[illegible] ova; meet die in early infancy: a dieuse in the
[illegible] Anspielung auf eine Habbrunkheit 1186 an
[illegible] eingeschlippt wurde.

[illegible] Ansicht, daß „la stérilité doit être rare chez
[illegible] de femme au-dessus de 25 ans atteinte".

[illegible] Hans (a): 885 vergibt, springt in die Augen.
[illegible] Pastre ceza, affirme M. Bancon, qui le rapporte
[illegible] ses enfants."

völlig unbekannt und sie bedauern die Frau, der ihr immer der Kindersegen versagt ist. Mit Hyades (a): 805 stimmen auch meine Erkundigungen überein, daß „l'avortement spontané arrive assez rare". Er ereignet sich fast jedesmal infolge starker körperlicher Anstrengung oder sehr schwerer Erschütterung.

Nach allem, was es Beobachtungen vorliegt, ist bei unseren Yamana die Geschlechtsvorstellung der Geburten ein wenig ungleich und zwar zu Gunsten der Mädchen. Das bestätigt mir der wackere Jean Lawrence mit Bestimmtheit und bei Hyades (q): 190 liest man: „Nous constatons aussi dans nos observations une légère prédominance du nombre des filles sur celui des garçons." Eine 1901 von Bennett durchgeführte Volkszählung (S. 224) ergab für 1900 Eingeborene nur 277 Männer neben 316 Frauen.

Bei diesem Stamme der Feuerländer verbleiben Zwillinge genau so selten wie bei den bewaffneten Selk'nam (Bd. I, 390). Von früher kenne ich nur die eine bestimmte Nachricht, daß „Jemmy Button's eldest daughter has two beautiful twin children about four months old" (MM: XI, 274; 1872); später erwähnte Hyades (q): 190 eine Frau von fünfundzwanzig Jahren, unter deren sehr Kindern sich ein Zwillingsbrüderpaar befand; endlich behauptete Bridges (a): 57 auch: „Tengo en mi poder una fotografía de una india Yagan con mellizos, cosa considerada como extraordinaria." Ob diese Zeugen wirklich zuverlässig unterrichtet worden sind? Jedenfalls ist Zwillingsgeburt eine außerordentlich seltene Erscheinung.

Über die Menopause, die Zeit, in der die Menstruation endgültig aufhört, fehlen genaue Beobachtungen. Bridges allerdings und Hyades (q): 189 haben Schwangerschaft noch bei fünfundzwanzigjährigen Frauen beobachtet. Demnach hört die Empfängnisfähigkeit der Feuerländerinnen vergleichsweise spät auf. Sie kennen diese Erscheinung und finden sich mit dem, was sie man zu gewärtigen haben, still ergeben ab. Einige ältere Indianerinnen erzählten, daß die Wechseljahre ihnen selber und anderen keine neuerworbene Beschwerden bereiten. Daß eigentliche Frauenleiden den Yamana der alten Zeit völlig unbekannt waren, befremdet nicht. Nelly Lawrence litt seitwärts an einem sehr schmerzhaften Uterusvorfall (Prolapsus uteri); war der Anfall vorüber, bestand sie mir aus vollster Überzeugung, daß bei ihr zum ersten Male dieses Übel auftrete, das bisdang noch keine Frau beklagt hat.

7. Namengebung

Aus Gründen, die bald genannt werden sollen, macht sich jede Feierlichkeit oder zeremonielle Veranstaltung bei der Namengebung überflüssig. Jedweder Yamana unterschiedslos besitzt seinen Eigennamen und darüber hinaus erhalten die meisten noch einen eigentlichen Spitznamen. Dieser bei den Yamana gebräuchlichen Doppelbenennung begegnet man in Hyades (q): 376 und in Outes (g): 55 sehr bestimmt: „Recibe la criatura el nombre del lugar de su nacimiento, o de las particularidades que la caracterizan."[100] Dem wirklichen Eigennamen kommt selbstverständlich alle Bedeutung zu[101]

Den Eigennamen zu bestimmen bereitet keine Mühe; denn er wird von dem Ortes, an dem das Kind geboren wurde, hergenommen und mit der passenden Endung, je nach dessen Geschlecht, versehen. Lévanon bestimmt für Knaben auf *Sulle* oder *Sujo* oder *Irjio*, für Mädchen auf *Kipa*[***] oder *ultimo* und *ulla*. Die Verbildung des Eigennamens ist, wie sich Pater Lévanon mir gegenüber im August 1923 ausgedrückt hat, „ein rein automatischer Vorgang". Ein Mädchen und ein Knabe, die in Ulaanbaatar geboren wurden, heißen *ulaanbaatarkipa* bzw. *ulaanbaatarjio*. Ein Beispiel führt auch Bessmertnyh (b): 207 von einem Manne an, „qui se flattait communément qu'on le reconnaîtrait, lui et son cheval, lorsque de son mausolée". Ein anderes Beispiel nennt Dewaanto (b): 698, nämlich daß „*ihr* woman's temperament, er pleasures, ends in *kerpa* or *ullin*, e.g. *Lashamullin* [Bessmertnyh *Sabaadjullin*], a woman of *Lashamin*, *Cassilrumkerpa*, woman of *Cassilrumd*". Es verdient sich nicht, noch weitere Wortbildungen anzuführen, die an sich jetzt verständlich sind. Die hentigerungs erfolgt die Namengebung nach der hier genannten Vorlage.[***]

Ein Kind, das im Kreis geboren wird, bekommt zum vorläufig *Kiipin* oder *Kiipinin* oder *Kiipinin* mit der entsprechenden Endung. Also heißt Tsewaan *Kiipinbajio* und dessen Sinn ist etwa: der Mann ohne Geburtsort.

Unvermeidlich tritt es sich, daß einem Kinde der Name mißfällt, den bereits ein anderer trägt. Jetzt bringt der eigentliche Spitzname die erwünschte Unterscheidung oder jenes Kind bleibt vorläufig ein *Kiipinbajio* bis zur Jugendweihe; seinen endgültigen Namen erhält es hierbei nach dem Orte, an dem es zum ersten Male in diese Feierlichkeit eingeführt wird. Als Beispiel hierfür kann ich selber dienen. Bei meinem ersten Besuche war ich für die Begriffe der Yonzaa ein *Kiipinbajio*, da ich nicht an einer Stelle in ihrer Heimat auf die Welt gekommen bin; erstmalig erhielt ich ihr *Kiipyn* in Sümenkulaadin, bei Punto Remolino, und seitdem rief man mich *Sumenkulaadjio*.

Nach allgemeiner Regel soll, wie oben gesagt, der gleiche Name nicht für zwei Personen verwendet werden. Demnach, wenn zwei *Kiipinbajio* vorhanden sind, unterscheidet man beide durch Spitznamen, und zwar sofort dann, wenn einer der beiden stirbt. Man wiederholt nämlich nicht gern den Namen eines Toten; dann wird man aber gezwungen, wenn ein Überlebender weiter-

[***] Außerdem erwähnt Bessmertnyh (a): 180 noch eine dritte Art, nämlich „family names, handed down from generation to generation, from father to the eldest son. These kind of names generally have no meaning". Vgl. Anmerkung 174 weiter unten und Bessmertnyh (b): 207.

[***] Das ist ausdrücklich gegenüber Dewaanto (b): 698 betont, der die Ordnung umkehrt, wenn er sagt: „Besides a proper name, a man will have one in memory of his birth-place."

[***] Mit einigen Ungenauigkeiten beschreibt auch Hyaaro (q): 234 diese Wortbildung. Doch gibt er (q): 30 richtig an: „Gewöhnlich erhalten [die Kinder] den Namen des Ortes, an welchem sie zur Welt gekommen sind." Auch Lévanon (b): 131 bringt Beispiele männlicher und weiblicher Eigennamen.

[***] Ein Versehen ist es, wenn Bessmertnyh in Hyaaro (q): 272 behauptet, einige früher gebräuchliche Worte stünden außer Verwendung, so dessen er auch „le mot Ennin ou Indjin, ...ennner Kipa" rechnet.

bis dessen Namen trägt. Der andere zweifelhafte Santrace wurde von diesem Gerade wahrscheinlich dähilyāpa "Weiße Stirn" benannt und nicht mehr schlechthin. Tsigane aber nennt Pennanna den gleichen Namen und nicht einer von Sanna, dessen Sohn wählen der Überlieferung zufolge die Bezeichnung ādhilādhilyāpa. Dieses hatte beispielsweise Fatta Lawrence, während sein Indianer namens Fatta gestorben war. Er gab mir an, die Leute sagen „aber von gleichem Geburtsjahr einer andere", und jeder weiß, daß der andere eben gestorben ist.[99] Für eine weibliche Person benutzte man dähilādhilyāpa. Selbstverständlich haben diese Bezeichnungen der dähilādhilyāpa Personen nur vorübergehend an und haben wird sie Spitznamen in Umlauf gebracht.

Aus der gleichen Dähilādhi steht auch dähi Wort dähilāna in Gebrauch und zwar für einen Sohn und sehr nahen Verwandten (Vater, Bruder, Schwester) einer Mannes und einer Frau, die ertrinken. Man wünschtdeh den bisherigen Namen jener Sohnes kaum, jener Verwandten nie mehr, um nicht an den Untergang seines Vaters kaum, seiner Verwandten zu erinnern.

Schließlich benützen die Tsigane noch einen besonderen Ausdruck für jemanden, der als besonderer Überlebender von einer Gruppe verschiedenartiger Leute, wörtlich dähilāna, im Sinne von: der, nach dessen Sterben sein Land verlassen durchzieht wird. BD: 184 schreibt dähilāna, a person whose near relations have died, so that he had only his country left him. Der alte Wanna gilt als ein dähilāna, denn von allen Gefährten ist er der Letzte.

Zwar ist der Spitzname nur einer Zugabe zum eigtlichen Eigennamen, er bestimmt aber die Person und den Charakter des Tsigane ganz eindeutig. Man bildet ihn unter Berücksichtigung einer körperlichen Besonderheit, auffälligen Erscheinung, bedeutsamen Gewohnheit, merkwürdigen Wesensart und ungewöhnlichen Charakterzuge. Damit werden Männer noch mehr als Frauen bedacht. An sicherer Findigkeit bei Auswahl solcher Benennungen übertreffen die Tsiganja manchmal sogar noch unsere Schulkinder. Hierzu einige Beispiele, die ich im August 1923 aufgenommen habe. Mit Vorliebe greife ich jener Zeugnisse heraus, die Europäern beigelegt werden; damit ist bewiesen, daß auch vor ihnen sich der schulkindliche Zug unserer Tsiganja erspielt.

ādhagalī (ādhagale hervorstehende) "Gebrochene Beine". Namen des Fatta Lawrence, dessen linkes Bein etwas gebogen ist.

ādhapāle (ādhe Auge) "Augenbesser". So nannte man Gerardo Sanna wegen seiner beachtigen Augenbesser.

ādhāsāi (ādhāi Stirn, kāi rot) "Rote Stirn". Man wählte diesen Namen für den Minisner Pennaz und für Martin Lawrence, dessen dunkelrot gefärbtes Gesicht auffiel.

ādhālyāpa (ādhāi Stirn, yāpa weiß) "Weiße Stirn". Mit vollem Recht hat man damit Santrace wegen seiner blonden Gesichtes bedacht.

ādhādāna (BD: 118 ādhādāpa tanh) "Der Taube". Zu diesem Zunamen gab der Minisner Antonio, der sehr schwerhörig war, reichlich Anlaß.

[99] Auch BD: 184 bringt diesen Wert als: a name given a boy instead of his real name in respect to the recent death, when both have the same name.

[illegible] (Quiché) Gleichzeitig Gesetz von den Kinder "Schlimmer Kaninchen", Auf diese Beziehung verfolgen die Tzutujil, und Tzutujil Bezeichnen diese ungefähr gefüllten Bett Kraft.

Bei Anwendung der Zeremonie gibt man dieselben nicht immer verfüllend ein, einzelne gemeinen ring um Ungefähr und erzählen von den Leuten mit Schlagen man Vorgänger den Tolteqen [illegible].

Indianer (Indianer verfüllig, erkennig im Indianer) "Schlangeper Mensch". Das ist man einen Person auch, die auf die Indianer gar nicht [illegible]. Eine Frau wird [illegible] mit diesen Indianerdörfer [illegible].

gemeinhin (gelten Gleichen, [illegible] auch einen gelangen) "Gefahrlich gelangen [illegible] Gleichen". Dann Sie einen Mann, dessen Gesell ungern Verfolge gelang der Wirklichkeit ungewöhnlich [illegible].

ungewöhnlich (ungleich Nahrungsmittel, [illegible] in die Hochschwanzlinge). Das wirklichkeit Sind dieser Beziehungsfähiger Beziehung habe ich nicht erfahren können.

Para Lorenzo erzählen sein, daß sowohl an [illegible] sein auch die von [illegible] Mitbesitzer [illegible] an ich mit gelitten Hauptsächlich [illegible] [illegible] Bezeichnungen einzelnen Personen, dessen Sind Sieben [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], gelegentlich [illegible], einer den [illegible] Vorgänger und [illegible] [illegible] der Eingeborenen auch der eigentlichen Umwelt [illegible] [illegible]. Die einzelnen Sprachkenntnisse, die sie sich [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Hier stellt ich auch wenigen Probleme [illegible] Zeremonien [illegible] 102 [illegible], [illegible] die Tzutujil-Worte [illegible] [illegible], Red [illegible], Sun [illegible], White [illegible], Narrow [illegible], Long [illegible], Red [illegible], Weak [illegible], Shrivelled [illegible], [illegible].[**] Als Eingeborene [illegible] Eigenschaften [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Bildung, die [illegible] die [illegible] Tzutujil-Worte [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] (d. i. [illegible] [illegible]), von den Wilden auf die Sonnen gewachsen, [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] Polaris oder Überzeugungen. Die Irrungen Hasen von der Überzeugen, wo sie von den Wilden angeschwemmten Bestimmungen [illegible] [illegible]. Diese Bildung entspricht der für Eigenschaften gebrauchen Begriff, Schlüssel und an einem [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[**] Zeremonie (2) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

auf den Bananen (s.). Oft war langsam Magenschmerz bei. „Die meisten hatten an [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Lande geriert, haben sie sich endlich durch ihre **Regengeleeigkeit** während der langen und immerwährenden Kanalfahrten verdient. Es mag unglaublich klingen und doch ist es wahr, daß sie stundenlang verharren, ohne zu strampeln oder sich zu wälzen; von kleinen Regungen und kurzen Bewegungen abgesehen verhalten sie sich, wie die Mutter sie hingelegt hat. Das Kind, das ihr bei Wanderungen und bei den verschiedenen Arbeiten auf dem Rücken reitet, das sie in ihrer Umarmung hält oder in ihrem Schoße vor sich liegen hat, erhält ihr ebensowenig Belästigung, es denkt gar nicht daran, sich quälend und schreiend aus seiner Lage herauszuwinden, wie man dergleichen oft an europäischen Kindern beobachtet. Stillvergnügt bleibt es sogar ganz allein liegen und unterhält sich selber mit dem, was seine Äuglein entdecken oder seine Fingerchen betasten; der Mutter Lust nachzuahmen oder beim Alleinsein gelangweilt zu weinen, kennt ihm nicht in den Sinn. Als ob diese feuerländischen Säuglinge gute Urteilsvermögen besäßen oder viel Geduld bewußt übten, so wirkt ihr Verhalten unter gewissen Umständen. Ihr Umgebung der Erwachsenen beeinflußt die Kleinen ohne Zweifel; denn lautes Schreien und starkes Reden ist bei unseren Feuerländern weit weniger üblich als bei ihren Nachbarn im Nordwesten und Nordosten. Ich wolle mir jedoch nicht an, eine restlose Erklärung für jene Erscheinungen aufgestellt zu haben.

Ihre außerordentlich leise und schwerfällige Bewegung wirkt sich übermäßig auf die **Sprachentwicklung** beim Kinde aus. Es bleibt lange Monate fast wie stumm, bis es mit etwa anderthalb Jahren auf einmal ganze Worte hervorbringt. Die anhaltenden Selbstgespräche in Lall-Lauten, die bei europäischen Säuglingen sich fast ausnahmslos wiederholen, führen diese jüngsten Feuerländer nicht. Einige Wochen aber, bevor sie sich mit voller Stimme an die Öffentlichkeit wagen, machen sie anscheinend stumme Sprechübungen; sie bewegen nämlich Lippen und Zunge und bringen gleichzeitig in ihren Blicken zum Ausdruck, daß sie nachdenken und geistig tätig sind. Mit Genugtuung beobachten die Eltern diese innere Tätigkeit. Ihr erstes Sprechen ist zwar noch unbeholfen, nähert sich aber um vieles dem Redeweise der Erwachsenen. Diese indes bemühen sich fast nie, helfend und verbessernd das Kind zu unterstützen; es bleibt sich selber überlassen, mag es auch noch so falsch und gequält sich ausdrücken. Durch Hören und Selbstvergleich verbessert es später die eigenen Fehler. Ebensowenig leitet in den folgenden Jahren irgendein Erwachsener das Kind zu deutlichem und richtigem Sprechen an.

Tritt es ins dritte Lebensjahr ein, ist meist ein jüngeres Geschwisterchen da, dem die Mutter ihre ganze Aufmerksamkeit zuwendet. Seitdem bleibt es noch mehr sich selbst überlassen. Da fängt es an, die Gesellschaft seiner älteren Geschwister und anderer Kinder aufzusuchen, hält sich indes möglichst unter Gleichaltrigen. Der **Spielplatz** ist es, der diese Kleinen zusammenschließt. Wenn sie nur beisammen sind, genügt es ihnen schon. Sie hocken zuweilen stundenlang im Kreise herum und kratzen mit den Fingern auf dem Boden oder wühlen mit den Händen zwischen dem Kies oder rollen auf dem

Eltern hin und her. Eigentliche Spiele treiben sie in diesem frühen Jahre noch nicht. Aber allen beschauen sie mit aufmerksamen Augen und führen fortwährend an jedem Ding herum, das ihnen hoffnungslos vorkommt. Sie versuchen sich wieder ihre Erfahrungen an, auch plaudern sie lebhaft miteinander. Überall, auch in Gesellschaft von Erwachsenen, machen sie auf den Fremden den Eindruck einer überlegenen, abwartenden Bedachtsamkeit, eine Haltung, die jeder Europäer für Kinder einer späteren Altersstufe annimmt würde.

Die Eltern freuen sich bei der täglichen Betrachtung des kleinen Körpers, der sich unaufhaltsam entfaltet. Um das Wachstum augenblicklich zu beschleunigen, hält man sich mit einem unbeschreiblichen Behagen, ausgiebig gemessen, das so viel bewegt wie „sich ausstrecken nach oben". Entweder der Vater oder eine andere Person reckt das Kind hoch, das beide Arme nach oben strecken muß, umarmt es und hebt es so hoch, daß beider Gesichter fast aufeinander zu liegen kommen. Nun muß sich das über dem Erdboden schwebende Kind aus dieser Umarmung nach unten hinausdrücken und während es mit dem Kopfe durchwandert, gibt es, den Gesicht nach oben gewendet, kräftig den langgewogenen Laut pö einmal von sich. Diese Bewegung wiederholt man mehrmals mit dem Kinde und man fordert es dann nach einigen Tagen oder Wochen wieder auf.[174]

Dem gleichen Ziele dient noch ein anderer Brauch. Ein Erwachsener ergreift mit den Spitzen des Daumens und Zeigefingers die Larve nähdjamina einen großen Stockkäfers, die in einem morschen Baumstamme wühlt, und drückt sie sanft auf beiden Körperseiten. Dabei öffnet die Larve, wie zur Verteidigung, weit die beiden Glieder des Oberkiefers. Diese besitzen sehr scharfe Spitzen. Damit kratzt jene Person dem Kinde je einen vertikalen Strich auf die Brust, etwas außerhalb der Brustwarzen, und einen anderen Strich von den Mundwinkeln zum Oberlippchen. So ist es üblich bei den westlichen Yessama. Im Osten kratzt man nur ein Strichpaar auf den Rücken, beiderseitig von der Wirbelsäule. Öfters, doch ohne bestimmte Ordnung, wiederholt man am gleichen Kinde diese Förmlichkeit.

Wie man mir erzählte, ertragen die Kinder das Zahnen sehr ergeben und still. Die Eltern achten diesem Vorgange kaum einige Aufmerksamkeit, obwohl es sie freut, daß das Kind eine greifbare Stufe seiner Entwicklung damit erreicht hat. Später, wenn das Dauergebiß sich vordrängt und der erste Milchzahn lockerer wird, schickt man das Kind an den Strand. Hier muß es mit eigener Hand den lockeren Zahn ausreißen und im Bogen ins Meer werfen. Gleichzeitig spricht es mit halblauter Stimme, indem es in seinen Gedanken den Kurzschnabelbeldelphin (Lagenorhynchus F.) heranholt:

ongydowy, tun hdjo tdgu
Delphin, Zahn mir schenke.

Auch an *pfr'* (Patella) und an *yrkfr'* (Chiton, Käferschnecke)[175] wendet es sich und bittet das eine oder das andere der genannten Weichtiere: „Gib

[174] Die fast gleiche Behandlung erfahren die Pröflinge bei der Männerfeier der Seth'nam (Bd. I, 1919) und zwar ebenfalls in der Absicht, daß sie schnell wachsen.

mir für diesen Zahn den besten, den du hast!" Auch seine anderen Milchzähne darf das Kind auf gleiche Weise ins Meer werfen, verpflichtet dazu ist es aber nur beim ersten lockeren Zahne aus dem Milchgebiß.

Während der ansteigenden Entfaltung, die das Kind an sich erkennen läßt, erleben nicht nur die eigenen Eltern, sondern in fast gleichem Maße auch die Verwandtschaft und Nachbarschaft eine große Genugtuung. Immer wieder sprechen sie darüber und ermessen freudig die Fortschritte, die seit dem letzten Beisammensein ins Auge fallen. Aus unbeschreiblichem Glück behängen sie den Liebling mit Halsketten, beschenken ihn mit leckeren Bissen, herzen ihn zuweilen stürmisch und geben sich stundenlang spielend mit ihm ab. Den Erwachsenen dort im Feuerlande wäre das Dasein unerträglich, hätten sie nicht ständig kleine Kinder um sich, die für alle Eltern, weit mehr noch als erwachsene Kinder, ein naturnotwendiges Spielzeug und der starke Magnet für ihre elterlichen Gefühle sind.[177]

b. Das ältere Kind und seine Erziehung

In früheren Berichten, einige Briefe von anglikanischen Missionaren ausgenommen, sucht man ganz vergeblich nach reichlichen Mitteilungen über das körperliche Ausreifen des Kindes und über seine erzieherische Beeinflussung durch die Erwachsenen seiner Umgebung. Das ist um so mehr zu bedauern, weil diese vielverkannten Feuerländer — wenn man allein das, was ich selber zutage gefördert habe, in Erwägung zieht — überraschend wertvolle Erziehungsgrundsätze vertreten und als tüchtige Lehrmeister dieselben erfolgreich anzuwenden verstehen. Alles, was unsere Yamana für das heranreifende Geschlecht leisten, haben die älteren Personen zumindest in seinen wichtigen Grundzügen bis heutigentags im Gedächtnis bewahrt; die folgenden Ausführungen stützen sich demnach hauptsächlich auf wiederholte Aussprachen mit zuverlässigen Kennern der früheren Gewohnheiten. Vieles lehrte trotzdem auch die unmittelbare Beobachtung, durch die andere mündliche Angaben bestätigt wurden.

Unter den gegenwärtigen Verhältnissen ist die erzieherische Beeinflussung und die sichere Führung der Jugend im Ausmaße, wie die alte Zeit sie geübt hat, einfachhin nicht mehr möglich; ebensowenig können Eltern von ihren Kindern jene verderblichen Einflüsse fernhalten, die erst neuerdings sich geltend machen. Zur Ehre der wenigen alten Stammesvertreter sei es gesagt, daß sie ihrerseits ernsthaft bedauern und schmerzlich empfinden, der Jugend jene erzieherischen Werte in der ungeschmälerten Fülle und frei von

[177] Ähnlich erkennbar ist die Anspielung auf die Zahnreihen im Kiefer des Delphins, auf den zahnförmigen Ansatz am Schalenrande der Patella und auf die so Bäuchelchen genannten bräunlichen Borsten der meisten Chiton-Arten.

[177] Auf die Übereinstimmung zwischen einzelnen Einzelheiten in der Säuglingspflege bei den Selk'nam und Yamana eigens hinzuweisen, habe ich bewußt unterlassen, weil es deren zu viele sind. Auch hierin kommt sich die enge Kulturverwandtschaft beider Stämme.

jedweder unberufenen Störung nicht mehr vermitteln zu können, in denen sie persönlich so viel Glück und so viele Vorteile für das ganze Leben der heranreifenden Kinder sehen.

Weil eine ausgebildete Stammesgliederung fehlt, ruht das Erziehungswerk selbstverständlich auf den Schultern der eigenen Eltern. Gewiß, wenn die Kinder das Reifealter erreicht haben, müssen sie die Jugendweihe über sich ergehen lassen, die zwar grundsätzlich eine gemeinschaftliche Schulung darstellt, an sich aber eine Weiterführung der elterlichen Bemühungen im engsten Familienkreise ist. Was hier an Belehrung und wirklicher Übung geleistet wird, steigert sich zwar in der Jugendweihe čiźnus, hält sich aber in den gleichen Bahnen nach unwandelbaren Richtlinien.

Hinweisen möchte ich kurz noch auf die periodisch verschiedene Entfaltung des kindlichen Körpers. Für Beobachtungen mit verläßlichen Ergebnissen gab es während meiner Reise nicht mehr die genügende Anzahl von Kindern, weswegen sich die von STRATZ: 134 gegliederten Wachstumsstufen nicht deutlich nachweisen ließen. Immerhin fand ich, wie im sogenannten ersten Kindesalter auf die erste Fülle deutlich mit Beginn des fünften Lebensjahres die sogenannte erste Streckung einsetzt; dann schließt sich als erster Abschnitt des zweiten Kindesalters die zweite Fülle an und nun verharrt scheinbar die Entwicklung in Ruhe, um gegen Ende des vierzehnten Lebensjahres in plötzlicher und schneller Entfaltung zu üppigen Formen zu führen. Bei Mädchen mehr noch als bei Burschen überrascht es zu sehen, wie mächtig sich der Körper in diesem einzigen Jahre ausbaut.[179]

In den folgenden Ausführungen haben wir die Kinder vor Augen, die langsam zum Gebrauche der Vernunft gelangen, bis zu ihrem Eintritt in die allgemeinverpflichtende Jugendweihe, der nach erlangter Reife erfolgt.

1. Trennung der Geschlechter

Ähnlich wie in europäischen Verhältnissen gilt auch im Feuerlande das kleine Wesen im sogenannten neutralen Kindesalter als "geschlechtslos", kann es doch unbeanstandet völlig nackt sich überall herumwälzen und in seinem Unverstande vor den Augen anderer seine natürlichen Bedürfnisse befriedigen. Keinem Erwachsenen käme es in den Sinn, auf das unbewußte Verhalten der Säuglinge anzuspielen oder deren Blöße vor den Augen anderer mit eigener Hand zu verhüllen; mit offenherziger Natürlichkeit nährt die Mutter ihren Liebling an der Brust genau so, wie mit einem Stückchen gebratenen Fettgewebes. Für dergleichen naturgewollte Dinge zeigen unsere Feuerländer ein ganz gesundes und unbefangenes Urteil.

[179] Diese auffällige Erscheinung hat SIMLAND (MM. VI. 96; 1872) als erster betont. Dem widerspricht nicht, was BRANCER aufgestellt hat: „Youths of 19 and 20 you would frequently mistake for 14 and 15. For instance, THURLOW I had thought him to be 13 or 14, but on looking into my registration of births I find he will be twenty years old in August ... This and many similar cases tend to show that a hard life and short commons delay the growth" (MM. XVIII. 222; 1881). Dieser Schlußfolgerung kann ich nicht beistimmen.

Das eben gekennzeichnete Verhalten ändert sich, sobald das Kind etwa sein viertes Lebensjahr beendet; denn nun tritt es in das von STRATZ: 335 so benannte bisexuelle Kindesalter ein. Von jetzt an prägt sich der Geschlechtscharakter aus, worüber das kleine Wesen selber sich Rechenschaft gibt. Das erwachende Selbsturteil wird ihm nun zur Richtschnur; denn eingehende Belehrungen oder Warnungen geben von den Eltern und Erwachsenen kaum je aus. Statt dessen achten diese darauf, daß das Kind seine Schamgegend bedeckt, und sie richten ihm den kleinen Schurz zurecht, wenn er aus der Lage geschoben würde, doch ohne besondere Mahnungen anzufügen. Unauffällig zieht die Mutter ihre kleine Tochter enger an sich heran, wenn sie in der Hütte hockt, und faßt ihren Liebling schweigend bei der Hand, wenn sie Muscheln oder Holz sammeln geht; die Buben bleiben dadurch von selber abseits und zurück. So wird es den Kindern unbewußt selbstverständlich, daß zwischen Knaben und Mädchen eben eine Trennung besteht und weder bei den einen noch bei den anderen wird unnötig oder voreilig das Verlangen geweckt, beieinander zu sein und miteinander zu spielen.

Nicht lange bleibt es diesen wie jenen verborgen, wie deutlich sie sich äußerlich unterscheiden; denn ihre sogenannte Kleidung ist reichlich ungenügend. Erst vom siebenten Jahre an haben die Kinder kurze und bestimmte Warnungen zu gewärtigen, wenn sich Knaben auffällig den Mädchen nähern. Irgendwelche Äußerungen über die geschlechtlichen Unterschiede scheinen sogar dreiste Buben unter ihresgleichen zu vermeiden. ALFREDO gestand mir: „Jeder Bub erkennt einmal, daß er [geschlechtlich] anders [gebaut] ist als das Mädchen. Nun sieht er erst recht scharf zu, spricht aber mit niemand darüber, obwohl er zuweilen lüsterne Freude [an der gewonnenen Erkenntnis] empfindet." Diese Worte besagen das Erwachen des Wissens um den Körper.

Weil die Einzelfamilie im größten Teil des Jahres auf sich selber angewiesen bleibt, stehen die Geschwister nur sich selber gegenüber, sind also ohne jede andere Gesellschaft. Man begegnet nun der merkwürdigen Tatsache, daß Geschwisterliche in dem Sinne, den wir diesem Worte unterlegen, bei unseren Feuerländern ebensowenig hervortritt wie bei den benachbarten Selk'nam (Bd. I, 393). Da die Kinder des gleichen Elternpaares doch lange Zeit ausschließlich unter sich allein verkehren und beisammen sind, möchte man eine besondere wirksame und gesteigerte gegenseitige Liebe erwarten; statt dessen erfährt man genau das Gegenteil. Ein stark betonter Zug von Selbständigkeit und Unabhängigkeit prägt sich beim Kinde seit den frühesten Jahren aus; das muß man eingestehen. Aber damit allein ist noch nicht erklärt, warum das betonte Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl der Kinder einer und derselben Familie anscheinend gar nicht aufkommen will. Sie finden sich selten nur zum gemeinsamen Spiel zusammen und bereden sich ebensowenig, um vereint irgendwelchen Streich auszuführen oder Unfug zu treiben. Jedes der Geschwister fühlt sich natürlich am wohlsten, wenn es für sich allein ist und wenn es nach eigenem Wünschen sich selber unterhalten kann; jedem einzelnen sieht man es deutlich an, wie anregend er sich selber beschäftigt und wie vergnügt er mit sich allein

1: Gustede SH6 Yahgan

fertig wird. Wer auch immer von seinen Geschwistern sich ihm nähert, der stört ihn in seiner stillen Selbstgenügsamkeit. Tatsächlich geht jeder, völlig unbekümmert um den anderen, seine eigenen Wege; ihm ist es durchaus gleichgültig, wie es um seine Geschwister steht und was diese treiben.

Ältere Mädchen allerdings müssen auf Geheiß der Mutter das jüngste ihrer Geschwister vorübergehend betreuen. Sie tun es zwar, doch mehr aus Zwang, als aus natürlichem Drange, und sie atmen auf, wenn sie jener kleinen Verpflichtung wieder entholten werden. Darüber hinaus beobachtet man fast nie, daß Geschwister aus eigenem Antrieb sich gegenseitig helfen oder unterstützen; sie stehen sich sozusagen gleichgültig gegenüber, ja weichen sogar einander aus, um ganz ungestört zu sein. Dazu ist gegeben, daß sie kaum je miteinander streiten oder raufen. Freiwillig würde nie ein Kind seinem Bruder oder Schwesterchen bei der Arbeit helfen oder zu dessen Auftrag sich beteiligen, der von den Eltern ausgegangen ist. Werden zwei Kinder mit der gleichen Beschäftigung betraut, einigen sie sich nicht etwa zum vereinten Vorgehen, sondern jeder schlägt für sich allein einen eigenen Weg zu demselben Ziele ein. Also gehen zwei Mädchen, die Beeren suchen, und zwei Knaben, die dürre Knüppel sammeln, in verschiedener Richtung und getrennt voneinander los; bei der Rückkehr treffen sie erst kurz vor der Hütte wieder auf dem gleichen Wege zusammen.

Niemals hört man, daß die Eltern an Geschwisterliebe erinnern und diese fördern. Wenn Geschwister, die erwachsen sind, vereinzelt füreinander eintreten und sich gegenseitig verteidigen, geschieht dies aus dem Bewußtsein der Familienzusammengehörigkeit. Aufmerksam besorgt die Mutter ihren Buben das Nachtlager getrennt von dem der Mädchen in der kleinen Familienhütte.[177] Im Kanu sitzen diese und jene auf je einer Seite des Feuers. Alles in allem sind, mehr als es manchem Europäer auffällt, die Brüder von den Schwestern geschieden, die je unter sich trotzdem auf jeden Zusammenhalt bei Spiel und Arbeit verzichten.

Für die Zeiten, in denen die Kinder mehrerer Familien am gleichen Orte verweilen, gilt die Forderung, daß beide Geschlechter sich voneinander fernhalten. Kurz und bündig wird das den Knaben meist vom Vater, doch auch von anderen Männern, und den Mädchen von der eigenen Mutter beigebracht, hin und wieder eingeprägt, ja unter Drohung wiederholt. So hörte ich: „Die Buben gehören zusammen und die Mädchen sollen unter sich bleiben.

Dort, wo Mädchen spielen, hat ein Bub nichts zu suchen.

Du, mein Junge, suche dir für dein Spiel andere Knaben, die Mädchen spielen je auch für sich allein.

Du planst Unschickliches, wenn du mit jenem Mädchen [es folgt der Name] verabredest, allein mit ihm im Walde zusammenzutreffen. Ich werde dich

[177] Hyades (I): 573 sagt unschicklich: „Produit la nuit, les garçons et les filles ensemble d'ailleurs des groupes séparés suivant les sexes." Eine bestimmte Ordnung für die Platzverteilung in der Wohnhütte so alle Kinder besaßen die Yamana nicht (S. 362).

empfindlich strafen, wenn ich dich wieder dabei erwische." Diese Drohung richtete sich an ROGEN, einen Sohn CALDERON's; letzterer bietet wenig Sorgfalt bei der Erziehung seiner wilden Rangen auf.

Ältere Kinder warnt man mit einem besonderen Hinweis. Dem Sohne sagt der Vater: „Falls du dich viel mit Mädchen einläßt, wirst du später, wenn du deine eigene Hütte bewohnst, nur Mädchen als Kinder haben, aber keine Knaben!" Ähnlich ermahnt die Mutter ihre Tochter: „Halte dich von Knaben fern. Wenn du viel zu diesen hältst, wirst du später als Mutter nur Knaben zu Kindern haben!"[149]

Mit dieser Forderung nehmen es die Erwachsenen streng. Jedem ist es sozusagen zur Pflicht gemacht, falls nötig mahnend und drohend einzuschreiten, einerlei, ob es seine eigenen oder ob es fremde Kinder angeht. Sie werden nicht müde, außerordentliche Wachsamkeit aufzubieten, wenn bei einem Kinde starke Neigung zu geheimen Zusammenkünften mit anderen auffällt. Über dergleichen Beobachtungen sprechen sich die Alten unverhohlen aus und machen sich gegenseitig aufmerksam; denn es ist ihnen redlich darum zu tun, ein Kind vor sittlichen Entgleisungen zu bewahren, wissen sie ja doch zu genau, was sich zwischen zwei kleinen Kindern im Geheimen abspielt. Um allem vorzubeugen bei einem Kinde, dem man nicht recht trauen kann, gelingt es den Eltern, es unauffällig zu beschäftigen und an ihrer Seite zurückzuhalten, sobald in einem gemeinschaftlichen Lager die Versuchung besonders mächtig lockt. Für drohende Entgleisungen und für die schwachen Seiten ihres Kindes breitsen die Feuerländer durchgehends, wenn sie selber nicht schon etwas verkommen sind, ein scharfes Auge und ein sicheres Urteil.

Den Kindern bleibt nicht viel Möglichkeit, sich der Wachsamkeit ihrer eigenen Eltern zu entziehen, so lange diese Familie für sich allein reist; sind mehrere Familien am gleichen Orte vorübergehend beisammen, ruhen die Augen aller Erwachsenen auf der Jugend und besonders aufmerksam auf jenem Kinde, dessen Benehmen zu Verdacht berechtigt. Da auch die kleinen Feuerländer keineswegs Engel sind und der Trieb zu Unschicklichkeiten bei manchem Buben stärker wirkt als die Drohung der Erwachsenen, versucht er es doch, in einem Versteck mit einem Mädchen zusammenzutreffen. Wird sein Tun entdeckt, tadeln ihn seine Eltern sehr ernst und halten auch mit schwerer Prügelstrafe nicht zurück, um den kleinen Missetäter endlich zur Ordnung zu bringen. Ein Erwachsener schlägt das fremde Kind nicht, sondern trägt seine Klage dessen Eltern vor.

Die Yamana sind viel zu vernünftig, als daß sie Kinder des einen gegen die des anderen Geschlechtes aus übertriebener Ängstlichkeit absperren würden. Ein Zusammensein der Kinder in aller Öffentlichkeit und auf freien Plätzen behindert niemand; wohl aber dem Entschlüpfen in die Heimlichkeit, die sich bewußt jeder Beobachtung entzieht, versperrt man den Weg.

[149] Diesen Hinweisen ist zu entnehmen, daß von den Eltern weder Knaben noch Mädchen mit Vorzug begehrt oder bei der Geburt mit größerer Genugtuung aufgenommen werden. Das gleiche Verhalten ist schon einmal (S. 708) besprochen worden.

Sind die Buben unter sich, tummeln sie sich nach Herzenslust und benehmen sich dabei nicht selten etwas anstößig, was sie im Beisein von Erwachsenen nie wagen würden. Hierfür spüren sie am meisten Lust, wenn sie an warmen Tagen ihre Kleidung ablegen und ganz nackt sich gegenüberstehen. Scherzend schlagen sie sich aufs Gesäß und streifen flüchtig mit der Hand über die Geschlechtsteile, oder sie bespritzen diese Teile mit Wasser und zeigen mit den Fingern darauf. Sie gehen bei alledem bestimmt nicht weiter als die Schuljugend in Europa, die man ohne Aufsicht läßt. Buben trollen meist sehr lebhaft herum, ohne indes laut zu schreien oder zu lärmen. Niemand verwehrt es ihnen, sich auszutoben, sofern sie sich nicht in groben Unflätigkeiten ergehen.

Verschiedenes davon, nämlich still und ruhig geht es immer dort her, wo Mädchen unter sich spielen. Die Art ihrer Unterhaltung schließt von vornherein Lärmen und Getöse aus. Sie haben auch weniger Möglichkeit, sich zusammenzufinden, weil sie von der Mutter beim Betreuen der jüngeren Geschwister in Anspruch genommen werden und auch leichter als Buben sich selber zu beschäftigen verstehen. Mädchen reden im Kreise von ihresgleichen auffällig wenig, beobachten aber um so mehr ihre Begleiterinnen und wetteifern stillschweigend bei ihrer Beschäftigung miteinander.

Nicht unbeträchtlich dürften die Kinder im Fernbleiben vom anderen Geschlechte durch das Verhalten der Erwachsenen gefördert werden. Letztere benehmen sich vor Kindern unumstritten tadellos und vermeiden bewußt, in ihren Unterhaltungen und ihrem Benehmen, was Anstoß erregen könnte.

2. Erzieherische Betätigung

Bei aller Liebe, welche Eltern für ihre Kinder aufbringen, bleibt kein Raum für Verzärtelung und Verweichlichung. Die Härten des Daseins bekommt bereits der Neugeborene zu spüren und später ahnt das Kind nicht einmal all jene Bequemlichkeiten und fürsorglichen Einrichtungen, die wie selbstverständlich zu einer europäischen Kinderstube gehören. Für einen unfreundlichen Lebensraum mit einem harten Alltag sind eben die Yamana bestimmt, sie geben sich darüber keiner Täuschung hin und trüben nicht im mindesten ihren Kindern den Blick für eine Wirklichkeit, in die auch diese schon hineingestellt sind und mit der sie zeitlebens werden ringen müssen.

Statt untätig zuzuschauen und der Entwicklung unbehinderten Lauf zu lassen, greifen sie als Erzieher auch in die Entfaltung des seelischen Lebens ihrer Kinder ein und richten deren Geisteskräfte auf ein bestimmtes Ziel hin, das sie mit ihrer Beeinflussung unermüdlich anstreben. Von gesunden Grundsätzen werden sie geleitet und ein schöner Erfolg krönt ihre Mühen. Oft habe ich es bedauert, in persönlicher Beobachtung nicht genauer verfolgen zu können, wie diese feuerländischen Erzieher das zustande gebracht haben, was ich an einigen hochbejahrten Vertretern des ursprünglichen Indianertums mit Bewunderung erfahren habe. Sie sind eine lebendige Ver-

körperung erzieherischer Grundsätze und elterlichen Bemühens für eine Jugend, die sich in den gleichen Bahnen weiterbewegen soll, auf denen viele Geschlechter vorher gewandelt sind. Diese Erziehung war es, die den geordneten Fortbestand des ganzen Stammes durch die Jahrhunderte gewährleistet und sogar bis ins unsere Gegenwart herein ausreichend sichergestellt hat.

a. *Die Erzieher*

Von der Natur selber sind dem Kinde die eigenen Eltern als Erzieher gegeben; wer anders käme auch bei den Yamana mit ihrer gänzlichen Auflösung des Stammes in Einzelfamilien hierfür in Frage. Mit dem Bewußtsein, einer naturgebotenen Pflicht entsprechen zu müssen, erkennen die Eltern instinktiv auch ein gewisses Erziehungsideal, auf das ihr Bemühen hinstrebt. Aus dem Kinde soll „ein guter und brauchbarer Mensch" werden! Das ist ihr Leitwort, das sie oft und oft wiederholen. Es drückt die doppelte Aufgabe aus, die dem Erzieher gestellt ist, nämlich das Kind nach seinen seelischen wie charakterlichen Anlagen zu bilden und es für die alltäglichen Forderungen des Lebens zu schulen. Man denkt zunächst daran, daß jedweder im tätigen Leben auf eigenen Füßen steht; also muß er zu einer selbständigen Persönlichkeit herangebildet werden, die sich selber nach Grundsätzen zu führen und die mit eigener Hand sich im Dasein zu erhalten imstande ist. Jeder, der das Reifealter erreicht hat, begründet überdies bald eine Familie; er muß demzufolge die charakterliche und handfertige Eignung besitzen, diese bedeutungsvollste und einzige gesellschaftliche Einrichtung lebensfähig zu erhalten und ihren bedeutsamen Aufgaben zuzuführen. Endlich ist er ein Glied der Stammesgemeinschaft, der er um so mehr verpflichtet bleibt, da sie klein ist; denn ein weites Abweichen der Einzelperson von der allgemeinen Richtlinie zeitigt hier empfindlichere Wirkungen auf die Allgemeinheit, als bei einer zahlenmäßig mehrfach überlegenen Volksstärke. Zu all diesen Forderungen will der Erzieher seinen Schutzbefohlenen befähigen und das legt er in die Worte hinein, aus ihm „einen guten und brauchbaren Menschen" machen zu wollen.

Das Erziehungsideal erweist sich hierdurch als eindeutig sittlich und in seiner Anwendung auf jeden gegebenen Umstand drängt man es in die Wortfassung: „So, wie es bei uns üblich ist!" Das Vorbild der Alten, die Gewohnheit und überlieferte Gepflogenheit sind der bestimmende Richter, sie entscheiden im Zweifel und geben das Werturteil über die Vollendung ab. Höchst einfach und bequem ist es also für die Erzieher, ihrer Aufgabe gerecht zu werden; denn sie brauchen sich nur an das zu halten, was bei ihnen immer als rechtskräftig und gesetzlich, als gut und schön gegolten hat.

Weil jeder einzelne mit der Gesamtheit, die ihn trägt, auch selber steht und fällt, ist es ihm eine Lebensnotwendigkeit, deren Bestand zu sichern durch passend vorbereitete neue Mitglieder, die früher oder später die Stufe der Erwachsenen einnehmen werden. Deshalb betrachten alle älteren Leute die

Erziehungsarbeit an der Jugend als eine Pflichtaufgabe und niemand zieht sich davon zur müßigen Untätigkeit zurück. Durch Belehrungen und Ermahnungen, zumindest durch gutes Beispiel wirken die Erwachsenen auf die Jugend ein, ihr gilt das Sorgen um körperliches Wohlbefinden und um sittlich-charakterliche Vervollkommnung. Niemand — einige wenige Pflichtvergessene ausgenommen — wird müde, immer wieder sein bestes Können aufzubieten, um aus dem Kinde ein wertvolles Stammesmitglied zu machen, das der Allgemeinheit nützt. Weil die Vorfahren es immer so gehalten haben, deshalb nehmen sich zuverlässige Erwachsene in der Jetztzeit von dieser Pflicht nicht aus; denn alter Brauch ist ihnen auch heute noch Gesetz.

Da die Eltern von der Natur selber als die erstberechtigten Erzieher aufgestellt sind, widmen sie sich ihrer Aufgabe mit aller Liebe und mit ihrem ganzen Können. Der Hinblick auf das Wohl des eigenen Kindes leitet sie. Denn wer in allen Handgriffen gewandt ist, der erreicht leicht seinen Lebensunterhalt, und wer sich so zu benehmen weiß und eine Lebensführung einschlägt, daß alle Nachbarn ihn gern haben, schafft sich eine angenehme Lage. Elterlicher Stolz spornt auch ein wenig an; denn jedem ist es eine große Genugtuung, wenn man seine Kinder als fleißig und brav belobigt. Weniger deutlich als für die Abhaltung der Jugendweihe, doch bestimmt genug, leiten gewissenhafte Eltern ihre Verpflichtung zur Erziehung ihrer Kinder von einem Auftrage des *Hidáhgan*, ihrer einzigen Gottheit, ab. Stärkeres Nachdruck für sein erzieherisches Bemühen, als die religiöse Sanktion, gibt es für ein Naturvolk von der Art unserer Yamana nicht.

Doch außer den Eltern sind zur erziehlichen Förderung aller Kinder die Erwachsenen überhaupt, allerdings mit unterschiedlicher Dringlichkeit, gehalten. Wenn erstere ihre Pflicht vernachlässigen oder gestorben sind, obliegt es ohne Förmlichkeiten den nächsten Verwandten, dem bedürftigen Kinde das zu bieten, was ihm abgeht. Sogar jede beliebige Person ist verpflichtet, dort fördernd einzugreifen, wo ein Kind fremder Hilfe bedarf, und überall einer schlechten Tat entgegenzutreten, die sie beobachtet. Kein Yamana würde sagen, dieses oder jenes Kind geht mich nichts an; er fühlt sich förmlich zur Hilfeleistung gedrängt, wenn er sieht, wie es körperlichen Schaden leidet oder erzieherisch vernachlässigt wird. Der einzelne Erwachsene handelt an dem Kinde aus dem Bewußtsein der gleichen Stammeszugehörigkeit und im Dienste des Allgemeinwohles. Öfter, als ein Europäer das ahnt, spricht er diese Rücksichten, nach denen er handelt, offen aus.

Schließlich und nicht minder ernst ist der Gemeinschaft einer größeren Gruppe bzw. des ganzen Stammes daran gelegen, daß die Erziehungsarbeit der Familie ein gutes Ergebnis zeitige. Daher wacht sie, als öffentliche Meinung, über die Mühen, welche Vater und Mutter für jedes ihrer Kinder aufbieten; daher läßt sie die Eltern ermahnen und tadeln, meist durch Verwandte, wenn sie ihre Sprößlinge erzieherisch vernachlässigen; daher endlich setzt sie deren Wirken in der eigentlichen Jugendweihe fort und beendet das Werk der Familienerziehung durch die Gemeinschaftserziehung im

rifgnya. Auch das Volksgenosse ersetzt jenes schon oft beurteilbare Erziehungsideal, das unsere einfachen und doch so verständigen Feuerländer als Lösung ihrer ernsten Bemühungen ansehen, nämlich daß sie aus einem jeden ihrer Kinder „einen guten und brauchbaren Menschen" machen wollen.

β. Erzieherische Maßnahmen

Nicht jeder Erwachsene besitzt eine neunenswerte Eignung zur Herausbildung seines Kindes. Manche aber verstehen es, so vorteilhaft zu wirken, daß ihr Einfluß weit über den engen Familienkreis hinaus sich bemerkbar macht und auch dort noch gute Erfolge zeitigt. Was dem einen Erwachsenen an erzieherischer Begabung abgeht, ersetzt demnach ein anderer, und man muß es als außerordentlich glücklichen Vorzug der Yamana schätzen, daß fast jedwede Person, besonders wenn sie hochbejahrt ist, unterschiedslos die Kinder beeinflußt. Selbstverständlich nehmen hierbei die Belehrungen und Ermahnungen die erste Stelle ein. Deren Inhalt und Form halten gleichen Schritt mit dem Erwachen des Verstandes und mit der Entfaltung der Urteilskraft der Jugendlichen. Bei kleineren Kindern begnügt man sich mit dem kurzen Befehl oder Verbot, erst für die größeren fügt man Begründungen an:

„Dein Benehmen ist nicht schön.
Wenn du lügst, wird niemand dich gern haben.
Packe jede Arbeit frisch und entschlossen an, dann kommst du damit schnell zu Ende.
Erhebe dich am Morgen immer zeitig; denn wenn du longer liegst, bis die Sonne bereits hoch steht, wirst du mit deinem Tagewerk nicht fertig werden.
Ruft man dich zu einer Arbeit, erhebe dich augenblicklich und führe sie beeilig aus, so wirst du schnell wachsen."[201]
Was die dein Vater sagt, das ist für dich maßgebend; denn er weiß es von den Leuten von ehedem, was [illegible] üblich ist.
Was alte Leute dir [an [illegible] Belehrung und Warnung] sagen, nimm mit allem Ernste auf; denn [illegible] haben deinen Vorteil und dein Lebensglück im Auge.
Lasse nicht mit anderen Kindern nahe einer fremden Hütte herum; dort drinnen sitzen vielleicht alte Leute [die Ehrfurcht verdienen].
Mit anderen Kindern zanken ist sehr unrichtig; wer das als Kind tut, streitet als Erwachsener später mit seinen Nachbarn, und niemand hat ihn gern.
Was du gesammelt hast [an Beeren oder Muscheln], ißt nicht allein. Gib davon allen anderen Kindern ab; denn diese bedenken dich ja auch, wenn sie etwas [dergleichen] haben."

Diese wenigen Worte, die ich ganz gelegentlich aufgefangen habe und die ich um vieles erweitern könnte, beweisen, daß die Yamana kurze und eindeutige

[201] Nur aus reichlicher Unkenntnis konnte Bridges (a): 165 behaupten, daß die Yamana in ihrer Sprache „no tienen un verbo que corresponda al nuestro 'obedecer'", freuen, daß die Kleinen „no conocen la obediencia y donde ehiren hacen lo que se les da la gana".

Befehle erteilen und daß ihre Belehrungen nicht selten von leichtverständlichen Begründungen gestützt werden; darauf beruht ihre günstige Wirkung.

Aus den hier aufgezählten kurzen Sätzen und aus manchen anderen Angaben erkennt man leicht den besonderen Inhalt der Ermahnungen. Einige Tugenden sind es, die von den Yamana mit großem Eifer gepflegt und empfohlen werden. Obenan steht die Ehrfurcht vor dem guten Alten, nämlich vor der Überlieferung, dem Stammesbrauch und den herrschenden Gewohnheiten, aber auch vor den Trägern all dessen, vor den bejahrten altehrwürdigen Leuten. Unterwürfigkeit und pünktlicher Gehorsam folgt daraus für die Kinder als selbstverständlich. Hilfsbereitschaft und Selbstlosigkeit des einen gegenüber allen Stammesmitgliedern stehen nicht minder in Ehren. Also muß jeder von seiner Beute reichlich verteilen und dem mit Gerätschaften ausstellen, der plötzlich in Verlegenheit gerät. Genügsamkeit und schweigsames Wesen empfehlen sehr; nicht minder geschäftige Regsamkeit und emsiger Fleiß, um den eigenen Familienmitgliedern, in der Stellung, die jeder einnimmt, bestens zu dienen. Verträglichkeit im Verkehr mit allen macht bei jedermann sehr beliebt.

Freilich werden diese und andere Tugenden den kleineren Kindern nicht mit der gleichen Deutlichkeit wie den größeren empfohlen, nach bestimmter werden sie den Pröflingen in der Jugendweihe ans Herz gelegt; jedoch insoweit jeder sie fassen kann, wird er damit vertraut gemacht. Den vollen und genauen Inhalt der erzieherischen Weisheit der Yamana werde ich deshalb erst beim Begehrlichen der Jugendweihe vorlegen.[100]

Bei aller Erziehung berücksichtigt man mit Vorbedacht die persönliche Veranlagung und die augenblicklichen Erfordernisse des Kindes. Empfindlichen Naturen begegnet man mit außerordentlicher Güte und Langmut, eigensinnigen Bengels bricht man das starre Genick mit unerbittlicher Strenge; Mädchen macht man mehr durch sanftes Zureden zu gewinnen, auf Buben wirken Drohungen schneller. Mit zähem Nachdruck arbeiten mehrere Erwachsene vereint, wenn sie den bedenklichen Fehler eines Knaben ausrotten wollen. Der älteste Sohn des CALDENON war ein lustiger Range; aber daß er, trotz vieler Warnungen den gleichaltrigen Mädchen nachlief, reizte förmlich einige Erwachsene, ihn aufmerksam auf Schritt und Tritt zu verfolgen. Sowohl der Sohn als auch vielmehr die etwas jüngere Tochter des WALTER wurden von seiner Gattin derart verhätschelt, daß einige Frauen sich mit Ekel darüber ausließen. „Jenes Mädchen wird nie eine brauchbare Frau werden", sagte mir einmal MARY ganz entrüstet; „denn seine Mutter hält es sozusagen ununterbrochen in den Armen."

Treten charakterliche Schwächen bei einem Kinde deutlich hervor, machen sich die Eltern und die Erwachsenen in der Absicht gegenseitig

[100] Unverständlich ist es mir, wie BRIGGS folgende grundfalsche Behauptung aufstellen konnte: „Of course the education and discipline of children are nearly wholly neglected, children are allowed to grow up wild, following their own whims and desires; thus they become of necessity disobedient, rude, wilful, lazy and proud" (MM: III, 117; 1869).

darauf aufmerksam, ihr Können zu dessen Beeinflussung zu vereinigen. Um so mehr bemühen sie sich, wenn die eigenen Eltern es an der rechten Behandlung des Kindes fehlen lassen oder wenn diese sogar durch ihr schlechtes Beispiel nachteilig wirken. Daß CALDERON's Söhne als lästige und faule Taugenichtse allen Leuten auf die Nerven gehen, erklärt jeder mit einem nachdrücklichen Hinweis auf deren Vater, dessen eigene Anlage sich in jenen widerspiegelt. Das Mitleid mit den von ihrer Seite schuldlos ungeratenen Kindern treibt die Nachbarn immer wieder an, geduldig und ausdauernd an deren Verbesserung zu arbeiten. Diese individuelle Erziehung des einzelnen Kindes wird bewußt später in der Jugendweihe weitergeführt und die besonderen Übungen werden auf das jeweilige Bedürfnis eigens abgestimmt.

Mit trockener Belehrung und mit blasser Unterweisung lassen es unsere Yamana nicht bewendet sein, den Erfolg sichern sie sich durch zweckmäßige Anwendung einiger w i r k s a m e r M i t t e l. Vorwiegend kitzeln sie Eigenliebe und Ehrgeiz des Kindes. Daraus wiederum erhellt überzeugend, wie bestimmt und greifbar sie sich auf das Fassungsvermögen des Kindes einstellen. Einige Ermahnungen noch zu denen, die weiter oben aufgezählt worden sind: „Sei hilfsbereit, dann werden alle Leute dich loben und günstig von dir reden. Wenn du dich sauber und reinlich hältst, werden andere freudig dich besuchen und gern mit dir verkehren.
Gib schöne Dinge und gute Sachen als Geschenke an andere Leute ab; weit und breit werden sie von dir erzählen und dich ebenfalls mit auserlesenen Geschenken überraschen.
Sei schweigsam und erzähle Nachteiliges von einer Person nicht an andere weiter. Diese wird es dir danken, daß du sie nicht in das Gerede der anderen gestellt hast, und alle, die davon [von deiner Verschwiegenheit] erfahren, werden dir Vertrauen schenken."

Die beiden letzten Sätze erhielt ich von MARY. Ähnliche Anweisungen werden den Prüflingen in der Jugendweihe und den Mädchen aus Anlaß der Menarche wiederholt.

Falls diese sanften Mittel nicht ausreichen, folgen bestimmte und ernste Drohungen; von letzteren zu eigentlichen Strafen ist nur ein kurzer Schritt. Wenn Kinder nahe den Hütten lärmen und nach dem ersten Anruf sich nicht entfernen, fliegt ihnen bald ein Holzscheit zu, das sie auseinander treibt. Wer am Morgen nach einem kräftigen Stoß sich noch immer nicht erhebt, dem zieht man die Lederdecke weg, daß er nackt daliegt und vom Kältegefühl bald auf die Beine gestellt wird. Stören einige Bengels mit ihrem Geplauder die Unterhaltung der Alten oder reden sie gar dazwischen, befördert man sie mit wenigen scharfen Worten zur Hütte hinaus. Einem Kinde, das sich gewohnheitsmäßig beim Essen vordrängt, schiebt man ein minderwertiges Stück zu und weist es damit ab, während die übrigen Leute sich an Leckerbissen gütlich tun. Bei keiner anderen Gelegenheit lehnen sich die Erwachsenen mit solch gereizter Empfindlichkeit auf, als wenn sie den Heimlichkeiten eines Buben mit einem Mädchen abermals auf die Spur kommen; jetzt prasseln derbe

Schläge auf den kleinen Sünder nieder, entweder mit der flachen Hand oder mit einem Holzscheit ausgeführt, wo und wie sie eben fallen, bis er sich in eiliger Flucht rettet.[100] Ihn nehmen die Erwachsenen seitdem scharf aufs Korn.

Als empfindlichste Strafe wirkt auf die Kinder, von den Eltern fortgeschickt oder aus der Hütte gewiesen zu werden. Jetzt rollen dicke Tränen unter lautem Schluchzen, bis nach langem Quälen des Verlassenseins der kleine Missetäter von einer anderen Frau in ihre Hütte gerufen wird, wo er sich selber auch weiterhin überlassen bleibt, ohne den mindesten Zuspruch zu erhalten. Am nächsten Tage oder auch schon früher drückt er sich verschämt und gedrängt wieder in die elterliche Hütte hinein und kauert sich still zusammen, um ja nicht zu einer neuen Anweisung zu reizen. Wenn sich mit letzterer bei seltener Gelegenheit noch lautes Schimpfen der Eltern verbindet, erscheint der Bösewicht wie aufgelöst vor Beschämung, die er tagelang nicht zu verbergen vermag.

In ihre Belehrungen flechten die Erwachsenen dann und wann einzelne Hinweise auf *Hiddéqua* ein. Das wurde mir nachdrücklich versichert, leider habe ich die bestimmten Worte nicht aufgezeichnet.

Die Erfolge der Erziehung sind zum Großteil dadurch gesichert, daß die erzieherische Beeinflussung grundsätzlich individuell eingestellt bleibt und eigentlicher Massenunterricht sogar während der *Hiqaqa*-Feier unterbleibt. Nach der persönlichen Veranlagung des einzelnen Kindes, nach den bei ihm offensichtlichen Fehlern und Schwächen, nach seinen höchst eigenen Unarten erfolgt im Einzelfalle die Belehrung oder Zurechtweisung. „Der Erzieher dort verliert es auch nicht aus den Augen, auf welche Maßnahmen das Kind am vorteilhaftesten reagiert: bei dem einen verhilft lautes Schimpfen, beim anderen Entziehung der Nahrung oder ein mehr bittender Ton beim Besprechen der Fehler weit schneller zum Ziele als Schläge oder Einsperren in der Hütte. Für dies alles ließen sich viele bestimmte Fälle anführen" (Gusinde [1]: 169), die hier nicht einzeln aufgezählt werden können.

Bei den Yamana ist es nicht üblich, wie früher schon (S. 631) erklärt wurde, ihren Kindern irgendwelchen Alters eigens eine sogenannte geschlechtliche Aufklärung zu vermitteln. Zwar sind die Erwachsenen im ehelichen Verkehr außerordentlich vorsichtig, da ja fast immer Kinder in der gleichen Hütte anwesend sind; aber eben deshalb beobachten diese letzteren doch manches, was sie zum Nachdenken drängt. Der Angesehrin macht sie schließlich ganz wissend. Man sagt es ihnen nie, woher die Neugeborenen kommen, ja führt sie, solange sie noch klein sind, bewußt mit einer "Storchgeschichte" hinters Licht.

Wenn die Geburtshelferin das Neugeborene in Pierre Armen trägt, zeigt

[100] Der Feuerländer straft, damit des Kindes Fehler gesühnt werde. Ähnlich ist die Deutung, die Bennett am 21. April 1873 gab: „The native never punishes his child because he has done wrong, but because he has troubled him, or to please those who may be angry with him, or he expresses his vexation towards any who have displeased him by venting it upon his innocent child" (MM: IX, 214; 1873).

sie es erfreut denen Geschwistern und auch den anderen Kindern, die in der Nähe sind. Dabei sagt sie: „Hier habe ich ein kleines Kind. Habt ihr nicht gehört, wie vor kurzem ein Kindchen dort [sie weist mit dem Kopfe oder Finger in irgendwelche Richtung] geschrien hat? Allerdings hat es sehr laut geschrien, weil es noch sehr klein ist. Ich bin dorthin gegangen und habe das Kindchen gefunden. Hier ist es!" Und sie reicht es wieder zum Anschauen herum. Einige lebhafte Kinder sagen ihr verwirrtig: „Ja, auch ich habe das Kindchen schreien gehört!" Darauf antwortet die Frau: „Nun, das war eben dieses Kindchen, das ich jetzt in meinen Armen halte; ich habe es gehalt!" Jetzt fragen andere Kinder vielleicht: „Wohin bin ich selber denn?" Jene Frau erwidert: „Du bist von jener Stelle dort [und dabei weist sie auf einen beliebigen Ort hin]; dich hat die X-âlpa [sie nennt den Namen einer Frau, die möglicherweise bei der Geburt des fragenden Kindes anwesend war] dort gefunden und zur Hütte gebracht!" Befriedigt über diese Auskunft plaudert das Kind mit anderen weiter und erzählt: „Mich hat die X-âlpa dort gefunden, als ich ganz klein war, und zur Hütte gebracht. Jetzt hat diese Frau hier ein anderes kleines Kind dort im Walde [bzw. hinter jenen Felsen u.ä.] schreien gehört und hierher gebracht; es ist sehr klein und lebt jetzt bei uns!" Mit derglichen Erklärungen geben sich die Kinder zufrieden.

In den späteren Jahren häufen sich ihre Beobachtungen und Eindrücke. Kommen sie ins Reifealter, sind sie bereits wissend und werden Mädchen auch Knaben benötigen eine Aufklärung über das Entstehen der kleinen Kinder. Schlüpfrige Reden und anzügliche Witze vermeiden die Erwachsenen streng in Gegenwart von Kindern. Diese aber tauschen durch ihre Beobachtungen aus dem Geschlechtsleben anderer unter sich aus und knüpfen daran ihre Vermutungen. Das haben mir einige ältere Personen versichert.

Wenn ein Mädchen die erste Menstruation an sich erfährt, ist es, wie man allgemein und bezeichnigterweise voraussetzt, über das Geschlechtsleben genügend unterrichtet. Vor außerehelicher Schwangerschaft will man es nun bewahren. Mit der körperlichen Reife und auch schon einige Monate vorher beginnt für das Mädchen eine Zeit besonderer Gefahren, wovegen ihm **Warnungen** von allen Seiten zugehen. Nicht minder streng werden die jungen Burschen bewacht. Dem geschlechtlichen Drange könnten Jugendliche leicht unterliegen; also macht man sie gründlich aufmerksam und schreckt sie mit ernsten Drohungen. Man wiederholt dem Mädchen: „Wenn du dich viel mit Burschen abgibst, wirst du später nur Knaben gebären!" Dieser Hinweis wirkt mehr als ethische Begründungen.

Eltern und Erwachsene haben ihre Kinder schon seit ihrer ersten Jugend angehalten, nur mit ihresgleichen zu verkehren. Sie sagen ganz offen: „Wenn wir unsere Kinder nicht von früh auf daran gewöhnen, daß die Knaben nur mit Knaben und die Mädchen nur mit Mädchen sich abgeben, erreichen wir es später nicht mehr, beide Geschlechter auseinander zu halten. Sie folgen dann ihren Eltern trotz Warnungen doch nicht und ertappen sich allerlei Heimlichkeiten!" Haben Verwandte und Nachbarinnen beobachtet, daß ein Mädchen

sich immer wieder mit einem Burschen in Verstecken trifft, machen die dessen Mutter darauf bald aufmerksam. Diese sagt ihrer Tochter in einem sicheren Tone: „Läßt du dich viel mit jenem Burschen ein?" Sie antwortet erschreckt und verwirrend: „Nein, das tue ich nicht!" Doch die Mutter traut diesem Gerede keineswegs und fährt fort, als wäre es ihr Ernst: „Wie dem auch sei, verkehrte dich bald mit diesem Burschen und ziehe mit ihm ab!" Die bestimmte Entschlossenheit in der Sprache der Mutter wirkt um so mehr, je weniger sie erwartet wurde. Das Mädchen sieht sich plötzlich in eine ernste Lage versetzt und um aus dieser wieder herauszukommen, begnügt es sich nicht mit dem, keine Zusammenstellung mit einem unbedeutenden Burschen verdächtiger zu sein, sondern stellt den Verkehr mit ihm ganz ein.

Was in den Tagen der Menarche dem Mädchen reichlich genug wird, merkt man ihm zuweilen schon etwas früher bekannt, um es vom außerehelichen Geschlechtsverkehr zurückzuhalten: „Männer sind Hunde! Wenn einer sich hinters auf ein Mädchen legt, tötet er."[100] Darum gestatte es keinem Burschen, daß er sich auf dich legt, auch dann nicht, wenn er dich stark drängt und wenn er sagt: 'Das ist sehr angenehm!' Laß dir es nicht gefallen, daß ein Bursche mit seiner Hand an deinem Körper spielt. Liebere dich ihm nicht widerstandslos an, selbst wenn es dir sehr gefällt, von ihm berührt zu werden!" Ernstlich setzt man dem Mädchen zu, in einem Geschlechtsverkehr sich einzulassen, denn eine außerehelich Schwangerschaft würde ihm große Berechnung bei vielen Leuten eintragen.

Wiederholt haben mir Nella und Cacamoo versichert, daß ihnen noch nicht ein einziger Vorkommnis dieser Art bekannt wäre. Hätte nämlich ein Mädchen sich zu einem Beischlaf mit einem Burschen hergegeben, würde es die eigene Mutter darüber nicht lange in Unkenntnis gelassen haben; denn unwillkürlich ist es sich selber der zu erwartenden Folgen bewußt. Beide bestätigten mir auch, daß fast regelmäßig jede junge Frau bald nach der Hochzeit sich mit ihrer Mutter über den ersten Beischlaf ausspricht.

Ernste Männer warnen vertraulich die Burschen: „Hütet euch vor einer Frau, die euch einlädt, ihr heimlich in ein Versteck zu folgen. Sie zeigt euch dort, wie sie selber [wie ihr Körper] ist. Es gibt listenreiche Weiber, die an ihrem Körper einem Burschen allerlei erklären, zeichnen und beibringen dabei ihre Lust. Solche Frauen schneiden euch das Glied ab, was außerordentlich schmerzt."[101] Ihr bekommt dann später kein Mädchen zur Frau und ihr werdet keine Kinder haben. Das [der wirkliche Grund für die Kinderlosigkeit] wird bald allgemein bekannt werden und ihr seid für immer beschämt."

Furcht und Einschüchterung also sind die wichtigsten erzieherischen Hilfsmittel, deren auch die Feuerländer sich bedienen, um ihre Kinder zu Zeiten

[100] Hang Wurte sollen als eine erste Warnung gelten, mit denen man die Mädchen einschüchtert. Jede Frau weiß es sehr wohl, ein abstoßender Ding, der sich dem Verführer hingegeben hat, wird von diesem sofort angeschwärzt.

[101] Auch diese Worte sollen, ähnlich wie die oben aufgezeichnete Warnung an die Mädchen, nur als Schreckmittel für die leichtgläubigen Abenteurer dienen.

erbrachten Geschicklichkeitsübungen in Schranken zu halten. Sind diese herangewachsen und aufgeklärt, so bewahrheite sich selber ihre treuherzige Arglosigkeit und beschaulichige Vertrauensseligkeit. Die jungen Männer reden beispielsweise unter sich: „Als ich klein war, hat man mir Angst gemacht und mir gesagt: 'Wenn du dich mit einer Frau einläßt, wird sie dir das Glied abschneiden!' Jetzt weiß ich, damit wollte man mich nur abschrecken!" Bei ihren eigenen Kindern wenden auch sie wieder einen dieser Warnungsmittel an, das der alte Aberglaube mir offenbart hat.

Belehrungen und Erzählungen bilden den einen Teil der Erziehung, der andere besteht in bestimmten Übungen und in einer genauen Anleitung zu Geschicklichkeit und Handfertigkeit. Auf Grund der in jeder Familie geltenden Arbeitsteilung werden die Knaben anders als die Mädchen behandelt; denn diese Erziehung soll auf die Pflichten und den besonderen Arbeitskreis, der jedem erwartet, vorbereiten. Bis ins dritte Lebensjahr hinein bleibt jedes Kind ganz der Obhut seiner Mutter anvertraut. Von da an zieht der Vater sein Söhnchen allmählich ganz zu sich herüber, spielt mit ihm, gibt ihm Aufträge, ruft es als seine Mithilfe, so gering diese auch sein mag, herbei, damit es von seiner Seite sich nicht trennt. Dabei lernt der Knabe alle Gerätschaften und Arbeiten seines Vaters kennen, er beobachtet ihn bei allen Beschäftigungen und Fertigkeiten und muß schließlich diese erproben und jenes versuchen. Gelingt dem der Handgriff, wird er belobigt; ist er noch zu ungeschickt, muß er das Übrige wiederholen und so lange sich üben, bis er sich darin sicher fühlt. Stufenweise steigern sich die Anforderungen, die der Vater an seinen Sohn stellt, und er lernt eigentlich erst aus, wenn er das heiratsfähige Alter erreicht hat, in dem er seiner vollen Körperkraft entfaltet. Mit viel Geduld und näher Aufmerksamkeit sieht sich auch ein Onkel bisweilen seinen Neffen, damit dieser sich im Handhaben der Waffen und Gerätschaften, sowie im Waidwerk so viel Geschicklichkeit und Fertigkeit aneignen, daß er im Nahrungserwerb die Hilfe anderer ganz und gar entbehren kann.[illegible]

Die Mädchen erhalten allerhand Aufträge von der Mutter. Sie müssen die kleineren Geschwister betreuen und das Fleisch für sie kochen, das Feuer unterhalten und Holz herbeischaffen, die Bedachung der Hütte ordnen und den schadhaften Abzug des Rauches sichern, Lederstücke herrichten und zusammenflicken, keine Sonnerie vom Muschelin und beim Bedienen des Kanus sich betätigen. Das macht, mehr oder weniger, das ganze Tagwerk einer Frau aus. Fast spielend wird das Mädchen hierzu angeleitet und damit so vertraut gemacht, daß es vom gereiften Alter an die Mutter teilweise vertreten kann.

[illegible] Dieses wunderbare Beispiel in der folgenden Schilderung bestätigt Bonnem, daß die Kinder bestimmte Anleitung von Eltern und Erwachsenen erhalten: „Parents universally take no pains in the education of their children, and give them no instruction in the arts of native life, save in some little instruction in swimming and basket-making by mothers to their daughters; yet I believe that even for this they are generally as much indebted to others as to their mothers. The children learn to speak, to use the spear, sling and arrow, to make these and other implements and vessels as best they can" (MM: IX, 214; 1875).

Wer von den Knaben und Mädchen sich plump und unbeholfen anstellt, wer zum Widerstreben oder Eigensinn sich in diesem oder jenem Dienst nicht einzwängen will, den maßregeln die Alten mit unverbrüchlicher Geduld, aber auch mit nimmermüder Zähigkeit, bis er einen zureichenden Grad von Fertigkeit und Geschicklichkeit erreicht hat. Immer wieder wird der kleine Faulpelz zu Übungen und Arbeiten herangeholt, bald von den eigenen Eltern, bald von anderen Leuten; denn alle Erwachsenen helfen dabei mit, jedes Kind zur Selbständigkeit im späteren Dasein vorzubereiten. Die kleinen Dienste, die ein Kind seinen Eltern zu leisten verpflichtet wird, bilden den praktischen Teil seiner Ausbildung, mit dem die eigentlichen Belehrungen verwoben sind."[107]

7. *Erzieherische Erfolge*

Nelly gestand mir einmal: „Die Alten haben auf jedes Kind so lange und so nachdrücklich eingewirkt, bis sie sich davon überzeugt hatten, es würde aus ihm ein guter und fleißiger Mensch werden!" Man kann ohne Übertreibung sagen, daß die Yamana durchgängig ihren allgemeinen Pflichten nachgekommen sind, was als ein günstiges Ergebnis ihrer Erziehungsarbeit gebucht werden muß. Bis in die Gegenwart hinein, obwohl viele und üble Einflüsse von außen zu Ernst der alten Sitten mächtig gerüttelt haben, nehmen es doch fast alle mit dem, was sie als recht und gut und geboten betrachten, mehr oder weniger genau; im besonderen bemühen sie sich um vorteilhafte Beeinflussung und gute Heranbildung ihrer Kinder. Zu gewisser Liederlichkeit neigen heute zwar einige Frauen reiferen Alters; die Allgemeinheit aber stellt der Jugend nach wie vor enge Grenzen, um ihr ernste Entgleisungen unmöglich zu machen. Daß man trotz schwerster Behinderungen auf eine Wiederholung der Jugendweihe nicht ganz verzichtet hat, beweist es besser als laute Worte, wie viel vom erzieherischen Ernst der früheren Zeit sich auch heutigentags noch erhalten hat.

Überprüft man die einzelnen erzieherischen Grundsätze, die im *Tiępuo* zugrunfällig betont werden, so staunt man über ihre außerordentliche Gediegenheit. In jahrhundertelanger Anwendung sind sie erprobt worden und bei vielen Geschlechtern haben sie sich erfolgreich bewährt. Die Eltern betätigen sich als die naturgegebenen Erzieher und unterstützend tritt die Allgemeinheit ein. Liebe zum Kinde und unverbrüchliche Geduld sind Tugenden, die bei den feuerländischen Jugendbildnern wohl nie versagen. Die Erziehung bleibt immer individuell und erstreckt die seelisch-charakterliche Durchbildung wie auch die handfertige Ertüchtigung des Kindes. So viel Erziehungsweisheit, wie sie noch dazu in den kursen und bündigen Ermahnungen sich offenbart, möchte man bei jenen vielverachteten Feuerländern kaum vermuten!

[107] Sehr kurz hat Bannen (i): 22 darauf hingewiesen: „The children's help was required in all the duties of native life." Hyades (g): 38 und (f): 567 erwähnt, daß „Mädchen und Knaben schon früh zur Teilnahme an den Arbeiten angehalten werden".

Doch auch die besten menschlichen Einrichtungen vermögen zuweilen, allerdings nicht überwegen. Wenn tatsächlich auch einige Mißerfolge der erzieherischen Bemühungen namhaft gemacht werden, ist sonächst das System dafür nicht verantwortlich, sondern die unglückliche Veranlagung des Kindes oder der zerstörende Einfluß von fremder Seite her. CALLEMAN, der wegen seiner unglücklichen Wesensart über die bewährten Grundsätze sich hinwegsetzt, ist wohl das beste Beispiel dafür, wie weit einer vom Ideal der Alten abweicht. Er dünkt sich etwas Besseres als die anderen Männer und genießt manche Vorteile, weil er Schwager des Fuan Lawrence ist; deshalb mißachtet er die Warnungen und das Zureden wohlmeinender Stammesgenossen. Die Folge davon ist sein zeitweiliges Fortbleiben, daß Weib und Kinder oft hungern müssen; ist er gereizt und, wie gar oft, über Lemm, prügelt er sie ohne hinreichenden Grund; meist führen ihm die notwendigsten Gebrauchsdinge und die er besitzt, sind nicht in Ordnung. Seine letztern Reisen muß man wirklich als ungeratene Kinder bezeichnen. Sie hungern als lästige Tagesreisende bei anderen Leuten herum, sind frech und ungezogen, in ihrem Äußern sehr vernachlässigt und zu einer Hilfeleistung gar zu haben. Wie oft haben hiesige Alte über diese unerbauliche Familie mit Bedauern sich ausgesprochen und dabei wiederholt: „Die frühere Zeit hätte keinen einzigen Mann so nachlässig werden lassen; sonstdent hätte man ihn seiner Frau und Kinder abgenommen und sie in geordnete Verhältnisse gebracht!"

Der zerstörende Einfluß verkommener Europäer hat einige Frauen verdorben (S. 353). Um das zu verstehen, vergegenwärtige man sich, daß diese unglücklichen Personen im Volksganzen, das ja schon als aufgelöst gelten muß, keinen Halt und keine Warnung mehr finden, daß sich ihnen heute keine Möglichkeit bietet, sich zu verheiraten, daß endlich die dauernd lockende Verführung ihren letzten Widerstand am reiflichen Empfinden durch bricht. Dafür die Ursachenzusammenhänge selber verantwortlich zu machen, wäre verfehlt. Denn gegenüber diesen sehr wenigen Entgleisten kann man auf die Tugendhaftigkeit und Gediegenheit der weit überwiegenden Mehrheit des Volksganzen hinweisen. Von angesehenen Observanzen und wohlwollenden Beobachtern sprechen die Missionare sowohl wie viele Reisende; ich selber habe manche als ganz verläßliche Menschen und als gediegene, verläßliche Personen zu schätzen, einige sogar als treue, wertvolle Freunde aufrichtig zu lieben gelernt. Das ist das Ergebnis des erzieherischen Einflusses anderer und der unermüdlichen Selbsterziehung. Fehler und Mängel weist jeder auf, das wird niemand ableugnen, auch sei zugegeben, daß die Arbeit der Jugendbildner zuweilen hart und saure ist; aber der Stand der allgemeinen Sittlichkeit ist hoch und gesellschaftliche Tugenden werden reichlich geübt.

Schließlich ist nicht zu übersehen, welch hohe Wirkung jene einfachen Menschen dem lebendigen Beispiel zumessen. Die Alten geben sich darüber keiner Täuschung hin, daß guter Erziehungserfolg ein Erzeugnis der Erzieher selber voraussetzt. Deshalb vermeiden sie vor den Augen der Kinder grobe Verstöße und sage Entgleisungen; denn derjenigen Fehler

wissen dies, was sie wissen müssen haben, schwer erschöpfen und gefährlich verzichten. Gleichzeitig bemühen sie sich, möglichst überall sich unbeliebt zu benehmen und sich das Lob zu sichern, „gute und fröhliche Menschen" zu sein, die als wertvolle Stammesmitglieder von allen geschätzt werden. Viel geringere Lebenswirksamkeit tut sich jedem fremden Beobachter auf, der unvoreingenommen die Erziehungsarbeit unserer Feuerländer überprüft.

3. Mädchen in der Menarche

Die eheliche Erziehung der eigenen Kinder wird vorwiegend bis zu deren erster oder zweiter Jugendwelle fortgesetzt; dann erst unmittelbar nach dieser verheiraten sie sich. Zum *Ojiyapu* aber werden nur solche Kinder angenommen, die bereits eine gewisse geistige Reife aufweisen; dann sind sie schon wenige Jahre über die körperliche Reife hinaus. Demnach fällt bei jedem Mädchen unmittelbar die Menarche vor seinem Eintritt in die Jugendwelle. Dieser Anlaß erscheint der Allgemeinheit so bedeutungsvoll, daß sie sich für berechtigt hält, jenes Kind über die elterliche Beziehungsweise hinaus noch einer eigenen Behandlung zu unterziehen; denn es gilt dem Vorteil des ganzen Stammes, wenn wieder ein Mädchen seiner Entwicklung vollendet hat. Demnach macht der Stamm von seiner Gewalt reinerbrüderlichen Gebrauch und sichert sich dieses neue Mitglied für die Erhaltung des Volksganzen.

Was an Gewohnheiten und Bestimmungen für ein Mädchen anläßlich seiner ersten Menstruation bei den Yamana gilt, fügt sich ohne Störung in die elterliche Erziehung ein. Dieses allein wird am entlichen Ereignisse hier gleich angewöhnen, wie sich Frauen bei ihrer monatlichen Regel verhalten.

a. *Vorschriften für die Mädchen*

Bei den Yamana-Kindern setzt ein das vierzehnjährige Lebensjahr eine starke Entwicklung des Körpers ein, die bei Mädchen zu einer äußerlichen Fülle als bei Knaben führt (S. 433).[*] Kaum vorher ist für die Mehrzahl jener die Menarche zu erwarten. Als Alice, in dem die Mädchen sie erfahren, gibt die Zeit vom beginnenden dreizehnten bis zum fünfzehnten Jahre. Wenig abweichend hiervon, meint Hyades (q): 187, „Les Fuégiennes semblent toujours réglées de 14 à 15 ans".[**] Im Februar 1920 war Lola genau zwölf Jahre und vier Monate alt, als bei ihr die Menarche eintrat; deren Geburtstag wählte der ehrwürdige Juan Lawrence. Das war auf meiner zweiten Reise und damals hatte ich Gelegenheit zu erfahren, wie ein Mädchen bei diesem Ereignis sich

[*] Diese Beobachtung hat auch Rome (c): 304 gemacht. „Le développement de la jeune fille est tout remarquable au moment de la puberté. Il est si rapide, qu'en un mois que de jeunes filles ressemblent au printemps dessus comme des et quelques une d'âge."

[**] Das wiederholte Hyades (f): 172 in einer: „La menstruation s'établit entre 14 et 16 ans. Ce chiffre concorde avec les renseignements que m'a donné Ivi'Ko. T. Bancroft." Einander ungewisse, überall bestätigte Schätzungen durch Hyades bei Hyades (b): 715, 720 entgegenstehen.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

von jetzt an bis zur Heirat aufgeklärt wird. Als vorzüglichste Tugenden empfiehlt man ihr Hilfsbereitschaft und Gefälligkeit gegen andere, Arbeitsamkeit und Selbstlosigkeit. Ernstlich warnt man sie davor, sich heimlich einem aufdringlichen Burschen hinzugeben, weil ein uneheliches Kind die Folge wäre (S. 645). Über das Geschlechtsleben ist das Mädchen bis jetzt genügend aufgeklärt und weiß, woher die Kinder kommen; dazu haben manche Beobachtungen seit der frühen Kindheit verholfen (S. 632). Die hier aufgezählten Tugenden unverzüglich zu üben, dazu erhält jede *tûr-ikipa* reichlich Gelegenheit; davon ist soeben die Rede gewesen.

Außerdem erfuhr ich noch folgende bestimmte Ermahnungen von NELLY, die ich wörtlich und ohne Umstellung wiederhole:

„Wenn jemand in deine Hütte eintritt, setzt er sich ans Feuer. Will er einige Muscheln essen, verweigere sie ihm nicht, sondern biete sie ihm gutwillig an. Du darfst nicht lärmen und poltern, schimpfen und nörgeln, wenn du in oder vor deiner Hütte bist; für eine Frau ziemt es sich nicht, dauernd zu plärren und zu geifern.

Wenn ein alter Mann sich von dir Feuer oder Holz oder Wasser erbittet, gib ihm gern und sofort, was er benötigt. Habe Ehrfurcht vor alten Leuten, verlache sie nicht.

Kommt ein blinder Mann des Weges daher, nimm ihn bereitwillig in deine Hütte auf und gib ihm zu essen.

Hörst du Schlechtes und Nachteiliges über eine andere Frau, so erzähle das nicht sofort weiter; dergleichen Gerede über andere stiftet Unfrieden. Dir gefällt es ja auch nicht, daß andere abfällig und wegwerfend über dich und hinter deinem Rücken reden. Wenn du jeden Klatsch weiterträgst, werden andere Frauen dich meiden und sie werden unter sich von dir sagen: Jene dort ist ein geschwätziges Weib!

Halte immer treu zu deinem Manne; verteidige ihn, wenn andere ihn benörgeln und ihm Übles wollen.

Du wirst bald einen Gatten haben. Sollte er sich vergehen und heimlich mit einem anderen Weibe verkehren, so mache ihm das nicht nach; glaube nicht, du dürftest dich jetzt mit einem anderen Manne einlassen. Vergiß es nie: D u bist ein Weib, e r ist ein Mann![92] Bald wird er sich überzeugen, daß du ihm trotzdem [trotz seiner Verfehlungen] die Treue hältst. Dann wird er seine Schuld einsehen und von jener anderen Frau ablassen, um ganz dir anzugehören. Sei allezeit beschäftigt und immer fleißig. Deine Sachen und Gerätschaften seien in guter Ordnung.

Schau besorgt auf deine Kinder, dann wirst du an ihnen viel Freude erleben. Bei andern Leuten zu tratschen und in den Hütten viel herumzureden, schafft

[92] Man erklärte mir, daß, wenn ein Mann sich etwas mehr Freiheiten auf diesem Gebiete herausnimmt, im allgemeinen sein Fehler weniger streng beurteilt wird, als wenn eine Frau dieselben Entgleisungen sich erlaubt. Von einer Frau erwartet man, daß sie unter allen Umständen, auch angesichts der Vergehen ihres Mannes, die eheliche Treue bewahrt.

Erregung und gibt sogar Anlaß zu Streitereien. Sei schweigsam und im Reden zurückhaltend. Die allzuvielen Worte stiften meistens nur Unfrieden. Das *wélix* [die Erscheinungen der Menstruation] wirst du nun mit jedem Monde an dir erfahren. Dann rühre dich besonders regsam und sei fleißig, iß wenig und immer nur von guten Speisen. Denke dabei immer an das, was wir dich gelehrt haben, wie du dich verhalten hast, als du *tárikipa* warst!"

Jedwede Frau, die sich dazu berufen fühlt, wiederholt dem Mädchen diese Ratschläge, die sich immer in den gleichen Gedankengängen bewegen. Die Mutter selber sagt ihm, wie es das Blut mit kleinen Ballen von *čilēr*[1] durch Betupfen aufsaugen und diese sogleich verbrennen muß, auf daß Männer und Kinder sie überhaupt nicht zu Gesicht bekommen.

Für diese Tage ist die *tárikipa* auch verpflichtet, eine besondere Gesichtsbemalung anzulegen. Diese besteht aus vielen feinen, enggestellten roten Strichen, die unter den Augen beginnend sich über beide Wangen ziehen (Abb. 79). Man wählt dazu *ími*, das mit Fischtran verrührt und mit einem dünnen Stäbchen aufgetragen wird.

Abb. 79. Bemalung in der Menarche

Den Abschluß all dessen, was bei der ersten Menstruation eines Mädchens beachtet und erfüllt werden muß, bildet das sogenannte "Große Essen" für alle Anwesenden, genannt *tárikipa tátu*,[100] „des reifgewordenen Mädchens großes Essen". Gleichsam ein gemeinschaftliches Gastmahl soll es sein, zu dem dieses Mädchen persönlich alle Stammesmitglieder einlädt. Ihm obliegt es, eigenhändig viele Muscheln und Krabben, Beeren und Vogeleier zu sammeln; die andern Leute steuern Fleisch von Seelöwen und von Vögeln, auch Fische in reicher Menge bei. Nun sitzen sie alle in fröhlicher Stimmung um die vielen Lebensmittel und tun sich gütlich dabei. Einen ganzen Tag bleiben sie beieinander und die *tárikipa* muß tunlich einen jeden immer wieder bedienen oder zum Essen ermuntern. Dann gehen alle Teilnehmer auseinander und erzählen überall: „Jenes Mädchen dort hat uns zu essen gegeben von Fischen und Muscheln und von anderen Dingen!" Sie meinen damit das *tárikipa tátu*, was alle, die davon hören, in diesem Sinne auffassen. Nun weiß jedermann, daß jenes Mädchen seine körperliche Reife erreicht hat.

β. Frauen in den Menses

Hier sei sogleich eingefügt, wie jede Frau sich bei ihrer monatlichen Blutung *sápana* verhält. Der *tárikipa* sagt man bereits, daß „diese Erscheinung sich mit jedem Monde wiederholen wird". Sie verursacht einer Frau

[100] Auch BD: 423 bringt „tátu: to distribute a lot of mussels to all people around".

kaum je merkliche Beschwerden. Genau wie bei der ersten Menstruation, saugt auch später jede Frau das Blut mit einem kleinen Ballen von *ēllēr*[4] auf und verbrennt ihn unauffällig im Hüttenfeuer.

Enthaltsamkeit von gewissen Speisen ist zwar nicht gefordert, wohl aber soll die Frau sich bessere Stücke auswählen; „denn nur diese sind gesund für sie!" Sie muß sich der Sammlung und Eingezogenheit befleißigen, schweigsam und doch sehr regsam sein. All das verlangt man von ihr nicht mit der gleichen Strenge, wie von einer *tāx-ikipa:* aber zu leicht dürfte es eine Frau damit nicht nehmen, weil es sich nachteilig für ihre Kinder auswirken würde. Was die Stammesgewohnheit gebietet, weiß jedermann genau und wird vom einzelnen denn doch mehr oder weniger gewissenhaft und treu erfüllt."[104]

γ. *Deutung der Menstruation*

Der Umstand, daß bei LOLA sich während meines zweiten Aufenthaltes am Canal de Beagle die Menarche einstellte (S. 753), verhalf mir nicht nur zu den meisten der oben zusammengestellten Einzelheiten, sondern brachte mich auch auf die Spur zur mythologischen Deutung der monatlichen Regel, die bei den Yamana erzählt wird. An jenem Tage hatte der alte ALFREDO von einem Europäer mehrere Schluck Wein erhalten, er war in bester Stimmung. Ich begleitete ihn zu einem kleinen Garten bei Punta Remolino, der Eigentum der Familie LAWRENCE ist, wo er die Rübenbeete behacken sollte. Mit unverkennbar anzüglicher Betonung fragte er mich: „Weißt du, warum LOLA so ernst sich benimmt und gar nicht um sich schaut?" Ich gab ihm zu verstehen, daß mir diese Beobachtung gänzlich entgangen war. Das vernahm er mit Genugtuung und versicherte mir: „Alles erklärt sich daraus, daß sie jetzt *tāx-i* ist!" Sogleich bat ich ihn, mir dies näher zu erläutern. „Heute abend will ich dir alles erzählen!" versicherte er mir.

Als das Abenddunkel sich schon lange gesenkt hatte, hockten viele Leute um das Feuer in ALFREDO's Hütte. Er erinnerte sich seines Versprechens und gab mir ein Zeichen, daß er es nun erfüllen wolle. Mit kurzen Worten schickte er nun die Kinder fort und betonte laut, für sie wäre es längst Zeit, sich zur Ruhe zu begeben; durch eine etwas sanftere Bemerkung tat er den Frauen zu wissen, es wäre ihm erwünscht, wenn sie ihn mit den Männern allein lassen würden. Als dann die Männer unter sich waren, erzählte er die allbekannte Geschichte von der Einführung der ersten Menstruation durch den älteren *Yρálox*.

Die ganze Mythe ist weiter unten aufgezeichnet. Hier genüge der Hinweis, daß seit Einführung dieser Blutung *Yρálox* als Gatte einer jeden Frau betrachtet wird, der den Blutfluß durch einen Geschlechtsakt verursacht. Weil er sich mit einer jeden Frau wieder verbindet, gilt für diese, daß sie sich bei Beginn der Blutung bald erhebe, um sich dadurch von *Yρálox* wieder freizu-

[104] Wenig genau ist HAMY's (a): 804 Beurteilung: „Les menstrues suivants ne donnent lieu à aucune coutume particulière, et n'empêchent pas les relations sexuelles."

machen. Wie folgerichtig die Yamana das Verhältnis einer jeden Frau zu *Ypálox* als ein eheliches auffassen, ersieht man daraus, daß sie dessen ältere Schwester, die *Ypálox tárnuxipa*, als Schwägerin aller Weiber ausgeben.

Anläßlich der Menarche erfährt das Mädchen diese Mythe noch nicht; man spart sie bis zur Jugendweihe auf, damit das Kind nicht vorzeitig mit heiklen Dingen vertraut gemacht werde. Erst im *čiéxnus* nämlich offenbart man den Prüflingen alles, was man sich über *Yoálox* erzählt. Das tut zwar regelmäßig der Vorsteher, doch jene Geschichte über die allererste Menstruation erfährt die Kandidatin fast regelmäßig von ihrer Patin. NELLY ergänzte diese Einzelheiten noch: „Als ich das erste Mal zum *čiéxnus* zugelassen wurde, mußten wir Prüflinge vereinzelt uns bei Mitternacht erheben. Der alte Lehrmeister führte uns aus der Großen Hütte hinaus, zeigte auf gewisse Sterne und nannte sie mit Namen. Auch die *Yoálox*-Familie zeigte er uns. Dabei sagte er: ‚Der ältere *Ypálox* ist Gatte eines jeden Mädchens, seitdem es *tárei* geworden ist; er veranlaßt nach jedem Mond [-Umlauf] die Blutung!' Auch schärfte er nachdrücklich ein: ‚Behaltet dies alles für euch; denn das ist ein Geheimnis für Mädchen, über das sie mit Burschen nicht sprechen sollen!'"

Die Frauen vermeiden es auch wirklich, über die monatliche Blutung *xélix* zu reden. Diese Erscheinung wird ihnen schließlich so selbstverständlich, daß sie dabei wohl nur selten noch an *Yoálox* denken. Ob sie für den Ausfall der Menses in den Wechseljahren einen besonderen Grund namhaft machen, habe ich nicht erfahren; dem gegenüber bleiben sie teilnahmslos.

4. Das Spiel der Kinder

Die frohe Gemütsanlage unserer Feuerländer bricht nicht selten bei vergnüglichen Spielen durch. Wann immer viele Leute beisammen sind und sie vom Wetter begünstigt werden, drängt es sie stark, sich stundenlang spielend zu ergötzen. Diese Freude am Spiel geben die Kinder von früh auf deutlich zu erkennen und wenn mehrere sich treffen, fangen auch sie sofort an, sich auf ihre bescheidene Art zu vergnügen.

Die Knaben sowohl wie die Mädchen unterhalten sich je auf besondere Weise und hierbei schon machen sich die Forderungen des Geschlechtes geltend. Nicht minder als sonst soll auch beim Spiel die Geschlechtertrennung beobachtet werden; indes sieht man darüber gern hinweg, wenn sogenannte Gesellschaftsspiele, an denen sich oft auch Erwachsene beteiligen, veranstaltet werden. Eigenes Spielzeug für ältere Kinder gibt es nicht, statt dessen ahmen diese bei ihrer kindlichen Unterhaltung sehr häufig das Arbeiten der Erwachsenen nach. Obwohl die eben erwähnten Gesellschaftsspiele nicht allein den Kindern vorbehalten sind, vergnügen diese sich damit doch am häufigsten; deshalb soll die Beschreibung derselben hier ihren Platz finden.

Trotz ungezwungener Munterkeit und frischer Lebhaftigkeit, die alle Kinder beim Spiele entfalten, geht es in dieser Gesellschaft von Kleinen doch verhältnismäßig still und leise zu. Gewiß, sie sind dabei nicht etwa

stumm; aber ungebändigtes Lärmen oder anhaltendes Brüllen unterbleibt und niemand würde es wagen, aus voller Kraft zu schreien oder zu heulen, bloß um sein Können zu beweisen. Gut paßt dieses Verhalten zu der stillen und schweigsamen Art der Säuglinge (S. 718) und der Erwachsenen.

Was eingangs versichert wurde, kann man nicht deutlich genug unterstreichen, nämlich daß jedes Kind gewaltig zum Spiele hindrängt, sobald es mit Altersgenossen zusammentrifft. Die Einzelfamilie bleibt oft tagelang ganz auf sich angewiesen und die geringe Abwechslung während der Kanufahrten, bei denen die Kinder fast regungslos am Feuer hocken müssen, bietet keinen nennenswerten Reiz; schließlich befällt selbst einen Kreis lebhafter Geschwister gelangweilte, gedrückte Stimmung beim alltäglichen Beisammensein. Begegnen sich aber fremde Kinder, sind sie sich im Nu einig und entfalten beim Spiele eine Lebhaftigkeit, deren man sie kaum für fähig gehalten hätte. Es ist, wie wenn erst Kinder aus weiter Ferne einander zugeführt werden müssen, damit der starke Spieltrieb erwacht, der durch eine sich gleichbleibende Umgebung bei ihnen förmlich eingeschläfert wurde. Auch solche, die sich bislang noch nie gesehen hatten oder die seit Jahren voneinander getrennt geblieben waren, begegnen sich mit blanker Unbefangenheit und verstehen sich so gut, daß sie nur mit Widerwillen auseinander gehen, wenn ihre Eltern in verschiedenen Richtungen weiterziehen müssen.

a. *Spiele der Knaben*

Nur jene europäischen Besucher, die ein Herz für heitere Kinder haben und an ihrem Spiel sich selber ergötzen, sind imstande, das Vertrauen der kleinen Feuerländer zu gewinnen. Wer sie aus nächster Nähe beobachtet, wird sie als m u n t e r e W e s e n erkennen, obwohl sie sich längst nicht so lebhaft wie die Selk'nam-Buben (Bd. I, 398) aufführen. Man darf eben nicht übersehen, daß sie stundenlang im Kanu verbringen müssen; was Wunder also, daß sie sehr erleichtert aufatmen, sobald sie ans Land steigen. Nun trollen sie vergnügt herum und fühlen sich aller Einschränkungen ledig, sie hüpfen und springen aus Übermut, als wollten sie die angehäufte überschüssige Lebenslust schnell verausgaben. Sie wissen, daß ihre Bewegungsfreiheit vielleicht schon morgen früh wieder ein jähes Ende findet; also toben sie sich im Rennen und Laufen, im Klettern und Herumwälzen ganz gründlich aus. Nichts hindert sie daran. Bei der Landung des elterlichen Kanus und beim Aufrichten der Hütte müssen sie zwar einige Handgriffe leisten, aber oft auch das nicht einmal. Somit sind sie sich ganz selber überlassen und die Eltern schauen ihnen kaum nach, wenn sie am Waldesrande oder am Ufer oder zwischen den Felsen sich herumtreiben.

Nach echter Bubenart stecken sie n e u g i e r i g ü b e r a l l ihre Nase hinein, jede außergewöhnliche Erscheinung weckt ihre Aufmerksamkeit, von einem Fleck schwärmen sie zum anderen und werden nicht müde, sich in allerhand Kraftproben zu versuchen. Am liebsten entfernen sie sich von

den Hütten, um vor jeder Behinderung durch Rufe und Drohungen der Erwachsenen sicher zu sein. Nun suchen sie nach Vogelnestern und necken die noch jungen Nesthocker, zum Ärger des gefiederten Elternpaares. Morsche Baumstämme brechen sie um und jauchzen auf, wenn ein ganzer Schwarm von Bockkäfern oder dicken Larven bloßgelegt und auseinander getrieben wird. Sollten besonders schöne Cyttaria-Pilze locken, klettern sie auch die Bäume hinauf, sonst aber nicht. Bei tiefer Ebbe tummeln sie sich auf dem nassen Strande und tappen mit festem Tritt in die Lachen hinein, daß das Wasser zu beiden Seiten hoch aufspritzt. In flachen Lachen versuchen sie die zurückgebliebenen Fischlein zu fassen. Mit kurzen Stecken bohren sie die Messerscheidenmuscheln (Solen) aus dem Sande, wenn diese einige Tropfen Wasser herausspritzen. Unermüdlich laufen sie die Ufer und Felsen ab, überall fesselt irgend etwas ihre Aufmerksamkeit und an jeder Stelle stoßen sie auf Neuigkeiten, die ihnen Spaß machen.

Öfters bin ich in Gesellschaft dieser munteren Jungens herumgestreift. Mit der außerordentlichen Schärfe ihrer Augen entdeckten sie allerhand unscheinbare Dinge und widmeten sich ihnen mit geschäftiger Lebhaftigkeit. Hierbei gab ich mir Rechenschaft darüber, wie gründlich diese Kinder von frühester Jugend an lernen, ihre sämtlichen Sinne, besonders die Augen, gründlich zu schulen und gut zu gebrauchen.

Ferner überrascht es zu beobachten, daß diese Buben niemals zimperlich oder wehleidig, sondern beherzt und w a g h a l s i g sind. Splitternackt trampeln sie im Schnee oder im kalten Seewasser herum, wälzen sich auf dem Kieshoden, laufen barfuß über die rauhen Steine am Strande und durchqueren das Gestrüpp dorniger Büsche. Nachher beschauen sie sich wohl die vielen Kratzer und verreiben Speichel auf größeren Wunden, doch den Schmerzen schenken sie keine Beachtung. Wenn sie raufen, schlagen sie verwegen und fest drein, zerkratzen sich ganz erbärmlich und ringen miteinander, bis der Gegner zur Widerstandslosigkeit ermattet ist. Nie habe ich gesehen, daß ein Schwächerer einem Stärkeren ausgewichen wäre; mancher Schwache hat sogar einen Starken angegriffen und sich lange tapfer gewehrt.

Ein eigenes Spielzeug für die Knaben gibt es nicht. Ein Erwachsener, meist der Vater, fertigt ihnen Nachbildungen der Waffen und Gerätschaften an, deren sich die Männer auf ihren Jagden bedienen. Um sie gut zu handhaben, werden die Kinder schon in früher Jugend angeleitet und müssen sich darin andauernd üben. Freilich werden diese Stücke schnell schadhaft oder gehen verloren; unermüdlich aber stellen die Erwachsenen einen Ersatz her und je mehr der Knabe wächst, um so größer fallen auch jene Gerätschaften für ihn aus. Am häufigsten sieht man den feuerländischen Buben die S c h l e u d e r schwingen. Mit ihr ist er anscheinend verwachsen und er trägt sie, dem Vorbilde der Männer folgend, wie eine Zierschnur am Halse. Also hat er sie jederzeit und augenblicklich zur Hand. Am liebsten zielt er auf Vögel, läßt aber aus Neckerei einen Stein auch dicht neben einem anderen Kinde auf den Boden schlagen. Aus kindlicher Arglosigkeit schleudert er

Steine nach allen Richtungen und zeigt sich dabei zuweilen so arglos, daß man ihn immer wieder aus allernächster Nähe der Hütten verscheuchen muß.

Weniger bequem und auch etwas schwieriger sind offensichtlich die Übungen mit kurzen Speeren, zu denen die Knaben von Erwachsenen verpflichtet werden. Der eine oder der andere Mann ruft sie auf, ihm zu folgen. Ein alter Korb oder noch häufiger der Haftfuß *tanuwdlux* von der großen Braunalge (Macrocystis pyrifera) *háyuš* dient als Zielscheibe. Die in kurzem Abstande davon aufgestellten Burschen müssen nun ihre Treffsicherheit beweisen; sie werden, je nach ihren Leistungen, belobigt oder gescholten. Mit Bogen und Pfeil wurde nicht minder häufig ein Wettschießen veranstaltet. Zu den Erzieherpflichten des Vaters gehört es, seine Söhne frühzeitig mit dem Gebrauch der Waffen vertraut zu machen; daß sie damit umzugehen wissen, ist eine Lebensnotwendigkeit. Daher verlangt man bereits diese Übungen von ihnen, wenn sie noch Knaben sind,[195] man wiederholt sie während der Jugendweihe und man setzt sie sogar nach derselben weiter fort. Eine fertige Waffe mit der Knochenspitze gibt man den Kindern nicht, die wäre zu kostbar; die gleichen Dienste tun gerade Stangen, die vorn zugespitzt sind, oder unbrauchbare Harpunenschäfte. Größeren Burschen vertraut man schließlich auch die Fangschlingen an und lobt ihre Erfolge.

Dergleichen Nachbildungen der Waffen können als Spielzeug kaum gelten. Sie sollen es nach Absicht der Feuerländer in erster Linie auch nicht sein, sondern ein Mittel, das den Burschen verhilft, sich gut auf ihre späteren Pflichten zur Nahrungsbeschaffung vorzubereiten.[196]

Weniger als Spiel, um so mehr aber als eigentliche Belustigung gilt eine Art von sehr bescheidenem Feuerwerk *šālakina* (*šāla* einfach, schlicht; *kina* aufflammen, brennen: "kleines Feuer, Funkenspiel"). Daran ergötzen sich nicht nur die Knaben, die es aufführen, sondern alle Bewohner des Lagers. Man wählt hierfür fingerlange Stäbchen von einem sehr weichen und leichten, durch Schwammbildung veränderten Holze aus dem Inneren eines Buchenstammes. Überraschend schnell beginnt es zu glimmen und nachdem man es in die Luft geschnellt hat, glüht es noch stärker. Im Bogen steigt jedes einzelne Holzstückchen auf und fällt wieder zur Erde; falls es noch nicht ganz verzehrt wurde, ergreift man es und wirft es nochmals ab. Mehrere Burschen müssen gleichzeitig dieses wiederholte Werfen bewerkstelligen und dabei sehr regsam sein; dann ist es ergötzlich zu beobachten, wie die glimmenden Körperchen in dunkler Nacht gleich hellen Punkten in reicher Zahl aufsteigen und niedergehen. Nur wenn mehrere Familien beisammen sind und eine fröhliche Stimmung herrscht, also bei einer Hochzeit, beim *tāx-ikipa*

[195] Wie Bridges (a): 183 zuverlässig beobachtet hat, „little boys early become skilful in throwing spears and stones, slinging, and making spears, etc."

[196] Auch Bridges (i): 22 und (h): 208 betont diesen Zweck: „They early, for pastime, prepared themselves for their future life; spending their time, if boys, in practising throwing or slinging stones, in spearing or shooting arrows at a mark, or in attempting to make the various articles of native property."

tátu, beim Abschluß des *čiźgays* und vor einem gestrandeten Wal belustigt sich eine größere Gruppe in ruhiger Nacht zuweilen lange an diesem *šélakina*.[107]

Eine andere Art sich zu belustigen erscheint auf den ersten Blick befremdlich, erklärt sich aber daraus, daß es den Knaben nicht gestattet ist, eigentliche Masken aus Rinde *ayúšu hllix*, wie man sie beim *kina*-Feste benützt, anzulegen. Als Ersatz hierfür entstellen und verzerren sie ihr Gesicht. Dies geschieht dadurch, daß sie die Augenlider aufspannen, indem sie ein gebogenes Stöckchen an den oberen und unteren Rand der knöchernen Augenhöhlen anpressen. Außerdem setzen sie das eine Ende eines anderen Stöckchenpaares von innen den Nasenflügeln an und das andere Ende der innern Wand der Unterlippe. Endlich bemalen sie sich noch das Gesicht mit allerlei Mustern in Weiß, Schwarz und Rot. Derart verunstaltet schwärmen sie im Lager umher, schleichen sich an ein ahnungsloses Kind heran und versetzen es in Schrecken.

Den munteren Buben fehlt es demnach nicht an mancherlei Freuden und abwechslungsreicher Unterhaltung, während ihre Eltern an einem Orte lagern und günstiges Wetter ihnen ein ungebundenes Herumtrollen gestattet. Sogar bei schwerem Regen und bei dichtem Schneefall halten sie sich viel im Freien auf, sie wollen bei ausgiebiger Bewegung ihre Glieder stark anstrengen.

β. Spiele der Mädchen

Legt man den europäischen Maßstab an oder nicht, man wird zugeben müssen, daß gegenüber den immerhin lebhaften Buben die feuerländischen Mädchen eine außergewöhnlich stille Art zur Schau tragen. Auch unter den Erwachsenen tritt die Frau als sehr bescheiden und unterwürfig vor dem Manne zurück; als Erbteil von ihren Müttern bringen deshalb wohl die Mädchen ihr unauffälliges Wesen schon mit auf die Welt. In Wirklichkeit benehmen sie sich gemessen und fast scheu, laute Rufe wagen sie selten und zu einem wilden Herumschwärmen entschließen sie sich vereinzelt nur, wenn sie sich von den Hütten weit entfernt haben. Keineswegs fehlt es ihnen an Lebhaftigkeit; diese tritt jedoch erst dann zutage, wenn sie unter sich sind und von Erwachsenen nicht beobachtet werden. Dabei können sie sogar verwegen sein und zu tollen Streichen, die frischen Buben gut stehen würden, sich entschließen. An Mut und Unerschrockenheit übertreffen sie bei weitem die gleichaltrigen europäischen Mädchen.

Die Verhältnisse bringen es mit sich, daß die Mädchen weit mehr als ihre Brüder in der Familie zu kleinen Dienstleistungen herangezogen werden. Auf ihre Geschwister, die dem Säuglingsalter entwachsen sind, müssen sie häufig achtgeben, falls die Mutter sich auf einige Zeit, etwa zum Fischen oder Holzsammeln, von der Hütte entfernt. Dadurch werden sie

[107] Zweifelsohne spielte DESPARD am 29. Juli 1859 hierauf an: „When confined to the 'peer' [hut] by bad weather, they amuse themselves by throwing burning sticks at each other" (VP: VII, 10; 1860).

nicht etwa der Freiheit beraubt, sondern nur ein wenig gehemmt, die Zügel völlig unbehindert schießen zu lassen. Sehr genau nehmen sie es mit der Betreuung ihrer Geschwister sowieso nicht. Gern aber laden sie sich das jüngere Brüderchen oder Schwesterchen auf den Rücken und schleppen es lange Stunden überall herum; Anstrengung und Ermüdung spüren sie scheinbar nicht. Manche Handgriffe müssen sie außerdem in der Hütte ihrer Mutter leisten, also das Feuer bedienen, Reisig herbeischleppen, die Schlafstätten ordnen, beim Reinigen und Spannen der Felle zugreifen, allerlei Gerätschaften vom Kanu zur Hütte tragen und beim Beladen desselben sich beteiligen. Selbstverständlich begleiten sie häufig Frauen, die Beeren suchen, Pilze pflücken und Muscheln sammeln. Aus eigener Beobachtung, die durch einige Unterweisungen gefördert wird, lernen sie alle Handarbeiten kennen, die Pflicht der Frauen sind, nämlich die Felle zu behandeln, Körbchen zu flechten, Schmuckschnürchen zu drehen, Fische zu angeln und das Kanu zu bedienen.[195]

Eigentliche Übungen, zu denen die Knaben verpflichtet werden, sind auch ihnen insofern nicht ganz erspart, als sie unter den Augen der Mutter oder Nachbarin ihr Können bei dieser oder jener Handarbeit zeigen und diese so lange wiederholen müssen, bis sie eine gewisse Fertigkeit erreicht haben.

Gern beschäftigt sich das Mädchen, wenn es für sich allein oder nur mit wenigen Schwestern beisammen ist, mit allerlei Zierraten. Hat es nämlich ein bestimmtes Alter erreicht, verfertigt es sich selbstverständlich eigene Halskettchen und den Gelenkschmuck. Viele Freude bereitet es ihm, die Sehnenfasern zu drehen und zu flechten oder darauf kleinste Knochenstückchen und Beeren aufzureihen. Sind mehrere Mädchen beisammen, bemalen sie sich das Gesicht mit mannigfaltigen Mustern und suchen sich durch genaue Ausführung dieser Zierraten zu übertreffen.

An den meisten Tagen bleibt das Mädchen, wird es von seiner Mutter nicht etwa in Anspruch genommen, auf sich allein angewiesen. Dann füllt es diese Stunden mit seinem Spielzeug aus. Vornehmlich greift es zur Puppe, die außerordentlich einfach ist und kaum diesen Namen verdient; ganz im Gegensatz zu dem nicht unschönen Stücke, das die Freude der Selk'nam-Mädchen (Bd. I, 395) ausmacht. Für diese *yëkaxëola* genügt ein walzenförmiger, faustgroßer Stein oder ein kurzes, abgerundetes Stück Holz, die beide gar keine Zurichtung oder Ausschmückung erfahren. Das Mädchen hegt und pflegt, trägt und behandelt ihr Püppchen genau so, wie ein europäisches Mädchen das seinige; vereinzelt spricht es sogar mit ihm.

Allzulange soll es mit dieser *yëkaxëola* aus Stein nicht spielen und die Erwachsenen warnen frühzeitig aus abergläubischer Furcht. Der Vater sagt

[195] Auch Bridges (a): 183 hat zugegeben: „Girls are early taught to make baskets, plait fish-lines and 'asina' (an ornamental fine plait of sinew worn on the neck), to paddle, and to do other work." An anderer Stelle wiederholt Bridges (i): 22 und (h): 208, daß die Mädchen ihren Zeitvertreib finden „in threading berries as necklaces, paddling in the canoes, making reed baskets, or in attempts at painting faces etc".

beispielsweise zu seiner Tochter: „Wenn du diesen Stein noch lange pflegst und streichelst, wird er vielleicht zu einem *Sinulumatayinéjen!*" Das ist ein Steinmensch, von dem unsere Yamana in einer Mythe erzählen. Dadurch eingeschüchtert und erschreckt wirft das Mädchen diesen Stein beiseite und erwählt einen anderen als *yékugéyla* oder auch den ausgestopften Balg eines kleinen Vogels und eines jungen Otters. Den genannten Tieren zieht man den Balg als einziges Stück durch Umstülpen ab, nachdem man am Bauche einen kurzen Einschnitt gemacht hat; hier stopft man dürre Grashalme oder Binsenstengel so lange hinein, bis er prall aufgefüllt ist, und dann vernäht man ihn wieder. Mit rührender Zärtlichkeit führt das Mädchen unaufhörlich mit der flachen Hand über das weiche Otterfell streichelnd auf und ab.

Auch auf eine andere Art gelangt es zu einer Puppe. Den Körper eines erwachsenen Vogels, vornehmlich einer Wildgans oder einer Scharbe wählt es, schneidet die Haut etwa in der Mitte des Körpers rundherum durch, zieht sie ab, läßt sie trocknen, füllt sie mit dürrem Grase und vernäht die weite Öffnung. Kopf, Hals und Brust erhalten dadurch ihre natürlichen Formen wieder.

Nach dem Vorbilde einzelner Frauen greifen auch viele Mädchen immer wieder nach einem jungen Tiere, meist nach einem kürzlich ausgebrüteten Vögelein. Das betreuen und füttern sie mit liebevollster Sorgfalt, spielen mit ihm und herzen es zuweilen etwas stürmisch, daß mancher feste Griff oder das andauernde Herumzerren ihm Schmerzen verursacht. Auf ihre fast täglichen Fahrten nehmen sie es überallhin mit und pflegen es so lange, bis es flügge ist. Ihm die Flügel zu stutzen, um es zurückzuhalten, ist nicht üblich. Allein schon um Abwechslung zu haben, lassen sie das Tier fliegen, sobald es dazu imstande ist. Man wählt sich für diesen Zweck am häufigsten eine Wildgans, eine Wildente, die Lachmöve *kiréga* (Larus dominicanus) und die braune Raubmöve *wilaylla* (Megalestris skua chilensis); weniger beliebt sind Scharben und Pinguine, die zu stark schmutzen. Nachdem ein solcher Vogel den Mädchen im Verlauf weniger Wochen lieb geworden ist, bringen sie es in ihrem Zartgefühl nicht übers Herz, ihn zu töten, selbst wenn er einen fetten Braten abgäbe. Fliegt er eines schönen Tages davon, folgen sie ihm mit begeisterten Blicken und schicken ihm schöne Wünsche nach.

Bekanntlich gehört das Rindenkanu schlecht und recht der Frau (S. 456). Aus sehr naheliegenden Gründen stellt der Vater für seine halberwachsene Tochter eine kleine Nachbildung dieses Kanus her. In allen Einzelheiten stimmt es mit einem großen Kanu überein und weist Maße auf, die es einem einzigen Mädchen gestatten, sich hineinzusetzen und damit herumzufahren. Auf meiner zweiten Reise habe ich in Puerto Róbalo ein siebenjähriges Mädchen beobachtet, das sein 145 cm langes Fahrzeug außerordentlich geschickt zu lenken wußte; sein Vater hatte ihm bereits früher einmal ein kleineres Kanu übergeben. Ein reizender Anblick war es, als an einem sonnenklaren Mittag die Mutter in ihrem Boote ausfuhr und von jener Tochter begleitet wurde; eine jede steuerte ihr Fahrzeug in das Gewirr von großen Braunalgen

und hier begannen sie zu angeln. Nach drei Stunden kehrten sie an die Landungsstelle zurück und auch das Mädchen legte einige Beutestücke zur Freude ihres Vaters vor. Häufiger gibt ein Vater seiner Tochter ein kleines Ruder, das sie in die Hand nimmt und mit dem sie vom Ufer aus ins Wasser schlägt.

Stellt man zusammen, was sich auch dem alleinstehenden Mädchen an Belustigung und Spiel, an Zerstreuung und kleinen Handgriffen bietet, erhellt daraus deutlich, daß es zur Langeweile nicht verurteilt ist und daß ihm im Gegenteil mancher Tag zu kurz wird, wenn es sich in seine Spiele vertieft hat. Sind mehrere Kinder am gleichen Orte, wählen sie andere Unterhaltungen.

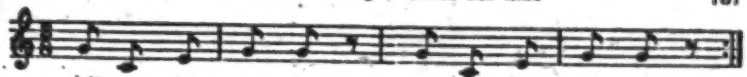
γ. *Gesellschaftsspiele*

Nicht allzu genau paßt die Bezeichnung "Gesellschaftsspiel" auf jede Art der Belustigungen, die hier aufgezählt werden; ich will eben nur ausdrücken, daß dazu sich mehrere Kinder zusammenfinden. An jenen Spielen beteiligen sich häufig Erwachsene, doch sind die Kinder regelmäßig in der Überzahl.

Vorauszuschicken ist, daß ein zahmer, geduldiger H u n d von den Knaben sowohl wie von den Mädchen zu allerlei Spässen und Tollheiten benützt wird. Mir erschien es manchmal unmöglich, was solch ein Tier sich von den dreisten Buben gefallen läßt! Sie zerren und stoßen ihn, necken und reizen ihn, binden ihm die Beine zusammen und laden ihm allerhand auf, drücken ihn ins Wasser und sperren ihn in einem hohlen Baumstamme ein, stopfen ihm unverdauliche Dinge ins Maul und beschmieren ihn mit Farben; kurzum, die verrücktesten Einfälle versuchen sie an ihm. Das wüste Treiben und die plötzlichen Lachsalven der Kinder erschrecken den Hund zwar und obwohl er knurrt und bellt, zu beißen ermutigt er sich doch nicht. Das ist vielleicht dasselbe Tier, dessen wütender Zudringlichkeit ein Europäer sich manchmal kaum erwehren kann (S. 567). Mögen die Kinder mit einem Hunde noch so wild umgehen, die Eltern schelten sie deswegen nicht. Dieses und jenes Kind spielt aber auch sehr zutraulich und herzlich mit einem Hunde, alle behandeln die jungen Tiere besonders zärtlich.

Übereinstimmend mit den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 395) vergnügen sich die Yamana-Kinder beiderlei Geschlechtes mit einer eigentlichen S c h a u k e l. Ein starker Riemen, etwa der, den man bei der großen Harpune verwendet, genügt. Dessen Enden bindet man an einem hohen Aste fest, daß das herunterhängende Mittelstück etwa ein halbes Meter hoch vom Erdboden absteht. Ein Kind setzt sich darauf, ohne daß eine besondere Unterlage verwendet wird, und hält sich mit beiden Händen rechts und links fest; ein anderes Kind bringt jenes durch Stoßen in Schwingung. Stundenlang schaukeln sich die Kleinen, bis schlechtes Wetter sie zur Hütte treibt.[199] Meist wird dabei das fünfsilbige Wort *kajyennamǵa* nach dem folgenden Rhythmus unablässig wiederholt:

[199] Schon Fitz-Roy (a): 186 hat auf die Schaukel hingewiesen: „Swinging between branches of trees, as our children do, is also a favourite pastime, the ropes being made of strips of seabkin."



Jenes Kind, das die Schaukel abstößt, gibt dieser so viel Kraft und spricht so schnell, daß es dieses Wort in dem Augenblick beschließt, da die Schaukel zu ihm selber zurückkehrt. Vereinzelt binden Eltern diese einfache Schaukel in der eigenen Wohnhütte an, falls das Gerüst genügend Festigkeit besitzt.

Die eigentlichen Gesellschaftsspiele werden nur dann veranstaltet, wenn mehrere Familien beisammen sind. Nicht minder wichtig ist die passende Zusammensetzung der Leute, unter denen zumindest einer sein muß, der die anderen aufmuntert und der hauptsächlich die Kinder begeistert. Heutigentags machen die Yamana eine nur sehr kleine Gruppe aus und diese vereinigt sich kaum je an einer Stelle; die Zahl der Kinder ist außerordentlich gering. Kein Wunder also, daß sie sich fast gar nicht mehr zu den früher sehr beliebten Spielen entschließen. Was im Folgenden aufgezählt wird, dürfte eine vollständige Liste ihrer gemeinschaftlichen Spiele sein.

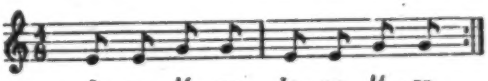
Têlayémače: Dieses Spiel, so genannt im Westdialekt und *talajámaša* im Zentraldialekt, gleicht ganz der in Europa beliebten "Blindekuh". Viele Personen stellen sich im Kreise auf, Kinder und Erwachsene in bunter Abwechslung. Irgend jemand muß sich die Augen verbinden und in den Kreis stellen lassen. Die andern beachten mehr oder weniger die Kreislinie, wechseln aber sehr leise und wiederholt den Platz. Der andere geht nun herum, befühlt eine Person, tastet sie ab und nennt ihren Namen. Hat er ihn erraten, löst sich die kleine Spannung aus und unter munterem Geplauder aller wechseln diese beiden ihre Rolle. Meist aber irrt sich die "Blindekuh" und je öfter sie fehlgreift, weil dieser und jener ihrem tastenden Suchen sich entwindet, um so lebhafter ist die Aufmerksamkeit und das vergnügte Gelächter der anderen.

Drollige Überraschungen ergeben sich häufig. Am Abend des 16. Januar 1922 waren etwa 20 Personen zum *têlayémače* aufgestellt. Sogar die ältesten Frauen, wie Paine, Emilia und Mary beteiligten sich mit lebhafter Heiterkeit. Als es letzterer zufiel, die "Blindekuh" zu spielen, stieß sie tastend auf ihren eigenen Gatten und befühlte ihn, ohne ihn zu erkennen. Er schlüpfte geschickt aus seinem Rocke heraus und ließ ihn in ihren Händen zurück, als er wegsprang. Nun setzte ein gewaltiges Gelächter ein, daß das Spiel viele Minuten unterbrochen blieb. So lange muß eine "Blindekuh" weitersuchen, bis sie den Namen dessen, den sie ergreift, errät.

Tumutêlla: Zu diesem Spiele entschließen sich vorwiegend die Knaben, weniger die Mädchen und noch seltener die Erwachsenen. Sie benützen eine breite, sanft abfallende Rasenfläche oder legen sich auf einer etwas geneigten Anhöhe nieder, den Körper langgestreckt und die Arme fest an die Körperseiten gepreßt haltend. In der gleichen Ebene, d. h. auf einer Linie liegen sie, nicht über- oder untereinander. Auf ein Zeichen gibt sich jeder selbst einen leichten Ruck und alle rollen nach unten. Zwar bemühen sie sich, ihre Körperachse genau quer zur Bewegungsrichtung zu halten, aber unvermeidlich ver-

liert mancher diese Richtung und nun stoßen mehrere zusammen oder rollen übereinander. Ob andere Leute zuschauen oder nicht, den Beteiligten allein bringt diese Unterhaltung viel Freude. Sie ist selbstverständlich um so größer, je mehr Kinder dabei mittun, je schneller sie sich herunterrollen lassen und je lebhafter sie sich aufführen. BD: 229 bringt *dulu, dulu*, to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank.

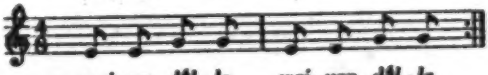
Çenalóra: Bei Mädchen und Frauen ist dieses Spiel beliebt, doch lassen sie auch Burschen und Knaben zu; letztere spielen es zuweilen allein für sich. Sie ordnen sich zu einer Reihe. Eine besonders dicke Person bildet den Anfang und die anderen schließen sich an, die umfangreicheren weiter vorn, die mittelstarken weiter zurück und die mageren am Ende. Alle hocken sich nieder, doch ohne mit dem Gesäß aufzustoßen. Jedermann umarmt die vordere Person in der Höhe der Brust und alle rücken eng aneinander. Der Anführer stützt sich mit beiden Fäusten dem Erdboden auf. Nun bewegt sich die festgeschlossene Reihe langsam in gerader Richtung nach vorwärts, indem alle gleichzeitig erst den rechten, dann den linken Fuß schleifend vorschieben und dabei sich wiegend von der linken auf die rechte Seite neigen. Mehrere Meter ist sie zuweilen lang und durchquert sogar eine Wasserlache; denn sie will die Bewegung des Kanus auf den Wellen nachahmen. Man nennt dieses Spiel deshalb auch *ananlûra:* „ein Boot schaukelt auf dem Wasser" (*ánan* das Kanu; *lûra* von *lur'ûlli* to wabble, roll as a crank canoe from side to side, nach BD: 285). Im Takt zu den Körperbewegungen singen alle:



čę - na lô - ra čę - na lô - ra

Nach zwei Silben neigt sich die ganze Reihe schnell zur anderen Seite. Allmählich beschleunigt man die Geschwindigkeit bis zur Höchstleistung, was große Freude erweckt. Wenn zum Abschluß die Reihe sich auflöst, kugeln sich alle vergnügt im Grase herum.[200]

Waiyandêlla: Dieses Spiel ist dem *čęnalóra* fast gleich. Auch hierbei bilden die Teilnehmer eine Längsreihe; doch umarmen sie sich nicht, sondern von rückwärts legt jede Person ihre Hände auf die Schultern derjenigen, die vor ihr hockt. Daraus folgt, daß diese Reihe keineswegs den festen Zusammenhalt wie bei *čęnalóra* besitzt, weswegen sie sich auch weniger tief zur Seite neigt. Übereinstimmend mit den rhythmischen Körperbewegungen wird das Wort *waiyandêlla* wiederholt und zwar folgendermaßen:



wai-yan dêl - la wai - yan dêl - la

[200] BD: 265 bringt: h a n a n a l u a r a, a game in which this word is intoned and regulates the rate of swaying the body. Damit ist sicherlich das oben beschriebene Spiel gemeint.

Wie aus der Zusammensetzung jenes Wortes: *wáiyana:* der Bogen und *dála, dála:* to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank, nach BD: 229, abgeleitet werden kann, will man das Wiegen eines Bogenstabes auf seiner Außenseite, dessen beide Enden mit den Händen gefaßt werden, nachahmen. Gegen Schluß dieses Spieles beschleunigt man das Hin- und Herschaukeln des Körpers.

Háiyɣkuánaskwa: Eine Belustigung hauptsächlich für Knaben und Männer. Sie stellen sich zu einer Längsreihe auf, einer hinter den anderen, und der Größte muß den Anführer machen. Jeder beugt sein Bein stark im Knie und hebt es nach rückwärts hoch, wo es von der Hand der gleichen Körperseite am Knöchel gefaßt wird. Dabei sich im Gleichgewicht zu halten ist schwierig. Die ganze Reihe hüpft nun nach rückwärts, ohne daß einer der daran Beteiligten umschauen dürfte, und zwar nach folgendem Rhythmus:

hái - yɣ - ka há - nas - kwa hái - yɣ - ka há - nas - kwa

Bei der ersten, dritten und fünften Silbe stößt der freie Fuß jedesmal dem Boden auf. Für die Tänzer ist es zu ermüdend, auch noch den Gesang bis zum Schluß beizubehalten. Ihn führen deshalb die Zuschauer weiter und zwar nach einiger Zeit derart beschleunigt, daß die Tänzer nicht mehr folgen können; in wirrem Durcheinander löst sich die Reihe auf. Zuweilen läßt man die Reihe sich auch bis weit weg von den Zuschauern hinziehen: diese singen dabei immer leiser und leiser, als ob jene sich in weite Ferne verliere. Sehr beliebt ist dieses Spiel während der *čiɸɣaus*-Feier, weil es sich ruhig abwickelt.

Halɸukuku: Fast allein männlichen Personen ist dieses Spiel vorbehalten. Die Burschen und Männer, die sich dazu entschließen, stellen sich zu einer längeren Längsreihe auf, lassen aber einen kurzen Zwischenraum voneinander. Alle erheben gleichmäßig entweder das rechte oder das linke Bein auf halb waagrechte Höhe, halten es gestreckt und fassen es mit beiden Händen im Kniegelenk. Sie hüpfen in gerader Linie auf ein bestimmtes Ziel los, wenden sich hier im Bogen und kehren an die Ausgangsstelle hüpfend wieder zurück. Diese Bewegung ist anstrengend und nicht selten läßt ein Bursche das gestreckt gehaltene Bein fallen, wenn das andere ihn nicht mehr trägt. Die Beteiligten und Zuschauer wiederholen andauernd das Wort:

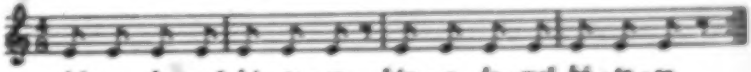
ha - ɸu ku - ku há - ɸu ku - ku

und zwar derart, daß bei jeder zweiten Silbe der Fuß auf den Boden stößt.

Kaklɸxana: Um eine Art Wettlauf im Hüpfen handelt es sich hierbei, zu dem die Kinder ermuntert werden; mitunter beteiligen sich Erwachsene. Jeder hebt ein Bein von der Erde ab und zwar alle Personen das gleiche.

sei zu das rechte oder das linke. Die Arme lassen sie frei herunterhängen. Entweder bilden sie eine Längsreihe und bewegen sich sehr weit vom Ausgangspunkte weg. Ehe sie das Ziel erreichen, schalten die meisten wegen Ermüdung aus. Oder einige wenige ordnen sich zu einer Querreihe und eilen auf ein bestimmtes Ziel los, von dem sie unverzüglich an die Ausgangsstelle zurückkehren müssen. Wer ohne mit dem anderen Falle aufgefallen zu sein als erster eintrifft, trägt den Sieg davon. Die Prüflinge im *tíṭyaya* ließ man am häufigsten sich an diesem Spiele etwas auffrischen.

Hápalamaikíṭyaa: Das ist ein eigentliches Reigenspiel der Mädchen und Frauen, zu dem gelegentlich auch Knaben zugelassen werden. Sie ordnen sich zu einem Kreise und fassen sich gegenseitig an den Händen; in die Mitte stellt sich meist ein Mann oder eine Frau, seltener ein Kind. Nun bewegt sich der Kreis, bald in dieser und bald in jener Richtung, mit anteigender Schnelligkeit; schließlich ist er ein starker Wirbel. Die Personen da drinnen wird fast schwindlig. Nach mehreren Drehungen ist die höchste Schnelligkeit erreicht und die Spieler selber verlieren das Gleichgewicht. Plötzlich löst sich ihr Kreis auf, indem die Hände aller sich freimachen, und dort, wo jeder eben steht, dreht er sich einmal um die eigene Achse und läßt sich sofort auf den Boden fallen. Während der ersten Drehungen kauert sich der ganze Kreis in kurzen Zeitabständen nieder und erhebt sich blitzartig; bei gesteigerter Schnelligkeit der Drehung fällt dies weg. Währenddessen wiederholen sie ununterbrochen und anteigend beschleunigt das:



hág - a la - mai hí - ty - aa hág - a la - mai hí - ty - aa

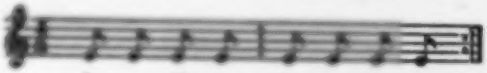
Das Wort *hápalamaikíṭyaa*[200] entstammt dem Westdialekt, das gleiche Spiel heißt *tukuyṭgwánaa*[201] im Süddialekt; beide gleichen sich in der Silbenzahl.

Kpplíṭe: Manche Ähnlichkeiten mit *hápalamaikíṭyaa* weist dieses Spiel auf. Mädchen und Frauen bilden einen Kreis, umschlingen mit beiden Armen den Hals der Nachbarinnen und rücken mit ihrem Körper eng aneinander. In die Mitte stellt sich ein Mann oder ein Bursche, zuweilen eine Frau. Während der Kreis sich langsam dreht, drängt sich jene Person irgendwo herein und versucht es, während sie die Arme fest an ihren Körper preßt, zwischen zwei Frauen sich durchzuzwängen. Während sie sich anstrengt, schieben sich die Mädchen oder Frauen noch fester aneinander und trotz großer Geschicklichkeit gelingt es ihr meist nicht, den Kreis zu zerreißen. Erst nach mehreren Versuchen an verschiedenen Stellen öffnen die eingereihten Spielerinnen dem Hilflosen freiwillig einen Ausweg. Falls es einem Burschen gelingt,

[200] Im BD: 272 findet sich: 'hoalhámkikíṭyá', a wooden children's play in which this word was intoned.

[201] BD: 174 bringt: 'tukuwatowana', a game and to play this game in which the players go rapidly round in circles more or fewer forming the circle till they get giddy and fall.

sich durchzuquetschen, weil meist einer der beiden Mädchen, durch die er sich den Weg gebahnt hat, in den Kreis tritt. Durch ruft man auch einen anderen Tanzenden hinein. Während der langsamen Drehung des Kreises wiederholt man in einem durchaus gleichförmigen und mäßig schnellen Rhythmus:



ha - g lé - ta ha - g lé - ta

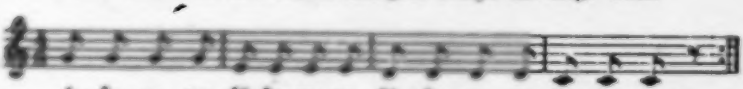
Das wird häufig unterbrochen, weil mit viel Gelächter einzelne Teile des Kreises gegen die Flurbewerber des eingeschlossenen Hannes sich eng zusammendrängen. Verschieden hiervon schreibt BD: 203, nämlich *kgaiéata*, a certain kind of game when those who play join in a long line by putting their arms over each other's shoulders and sweep forward and veer about singing.

Mélidzyéjuma: Vorwiegend Mädchen veranstalten dieses Spiel. Sie stellen sich zu einer seitlichen Reihe auf und jede legt ihre Hände hinter dem Hals der Nachbarin her auf deren Schulter. Sie stehen demnach eng nebeneinander. Nach vorn schauend gehen sie in kurzen Schritten vorwärts, wiegen sich währenddessen aber gleichmäßig nur rechten und nur linken Seite hin. Haben sie eine gewisse Strecke auf einer glatten Ebene zurückgelegt, macht die ganze Reihe eine Schwenkung und kehrt zur Ausgangsstelle zurück. Unaufhörlich wiederholen sie, langsam hin- und herschwingend, das Wort:

mé - lel - ta yéj - na - ta mé - lel - ta yéj - na - ta

Während sie die erste Hälfte dieses Wortes, also die ersten drei Silben singen, neigen sie sich nach rechts und bei den letzten drei Silben neigen sie sich nach links; gleichzeitig damit wechseln sie auch den Schritt.

Akempéléma: Dieses Spiel ist dem vorhergehenden sehr ähnlich und wird am meisten von Mädchen aufgeführt. In der gleichen Weise wie bei *mélidzyéjuma* bilden sie eine seitliche Reihe und schauen nach vorn. Indes bewegt sich diese nicht vorwärts, sondern erst nach der einen und dann nach der anderen Seite; die Füße schreiten also seitwärts aus. Während alle Teilnehmer ununterbrochen und in mäßigem Tempo das lange Wort:



á - ha - na pa lá - la - na pa lá - la - na pa lá - la - na

wiederholen, neigen sie durchaus gleichförmig und zum Rhythmus mit ihren Schritten auch ihren Oberkörper damit genau übereinstimmend von der einen Seite auf die andere.

Die Gesellschaftsspiele kommen, wie gesagt, nur zustande, wenn mehrere Familien beisammen sind und diese von heiterer Stimmung erfaßt werden. Haben sie aber einmal damit begonnen, reiht sich meist ein Spiel an das andere, bis alle Anwesenden sich ermüdet haben oder bis die dunkle Nacht und der Regen sie in ihre Hütten treibt. Sie frischen sich seelisch gründlich dabei auf und verlaufen sich nachher in alle Richtungen, bis ein guter Stern sie wieder einmal zusammenführt. Noch einige andere Spiele kennen die Yamana, von denen das Ballspiel *kúlako* am meisten beliebt ist. Zu diesen treten aber nur die Erwachsenen zusammen, weswegen deren Beschreibung in einen späteren Abschnitt über allgemeine Unterhaltung verlegt wurde.

Abb. 80. Brennsalge. ½ nat. Größe

Anschließend ist noch auf kleine Nekkereien hinzuweisen, zu denen die Buben immer aufgelegt sind, wenn sie mit fremden Mädchen zusammentreffen oder wenn sie diesen wieder einmal begegnen. Auf deren Kosten sich ein wenig zu belustigen, ist eben echte Bubenart und diese durchaus gesunde, unverdorbene Anlage fehlt den kleinen Yamana nicht. Da sie sich in den Grenzen des Scherzes halten, werden sie von den Erwachsenen dabei nicht behindert. Zur Winterszeit also werfen sie aus einem Versteck auf ein vorübergehendes Mädchen einen Schneeball ab und empfinden die höchste Genugtuung, wenn sie unentdeckt bleiben. Bei anderer Gelegenheit lassen sie einen Stein, den sie mit der Schleuder abschießen, neben einem ahnungslosen Mädchen auf den Boden schlagen oder ins Wasser einfallen, nur um es zu erschrecken. Sitzen mehrere Mädchen beisammen, streifen einige Buben verstohlen eine Handvoll der kleinen Cyttaria Harioti- oder der noch kleineren Cyttaria Hookeri-Pilze ab und schleudern sie aus dem Hinterhalt gegen den Kopf der Mädchen, bis diese sich aus der Umgebung jener Quälgeister entfernen.

Ein andermal versorgen sich dreistere Bengel mit einer Menge der kurzen, etwa daumenlangen Thallusprosse von *pferi*, einer kleinen Brennalge (Adenocystis utricularis). Diese Pflanzen sitzen in Menge an den Steinen des Ufers und sind prall mit Wasser angefüllt (Abb. 80). Sehr leicht lassen sie sich durch Pressen mit dem Daumennagel vom Thallus abtrennen. An dieser Stelle ist nun das pflanzliche Gerüst weniger widerstandskräftig. Als wäre ein jeder Thallusprossen eine längliche Blase, faßt man ihn zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger und bei leichtem Druck entströmt das eingeschlossene Wasser in einem feinen, weitreichenden Strahle, wie aus einer kleinen Spritze. Auf diese Art necken die Burschen gern jene Mädchen, deren Zuneigung sie gewinnen möchten, und spritzen besonders stark auf solche ein, die sie lieben wollen. Selbstverständlich bespritzen sich die Knaben mit den *pferi* auch gegenseitig.

Bei diesen und ähnlichen barbarischen Merkmalen kommen sich beide Gesellschaften wirklich ganz nahe; es wäre für ihre weitere Entwicklung zum Nachteile, blieben sie für immer scharf gegeneinander abgegrenzt. Sie oft sich Kinder aus verschiedenen Familien zufällig zusammenfinden, beginnen sie unverzüglich mit ihren Gesellschaftsspielen aus eigenem Bedürfnis und brauchen dazu von den Erwachsenen nicht erst aufgefordert zu werden. Betätigen sich letztere dazu, wirken sie ausfüllend auf die Jugend.

3. Verhaltensbeziehung der Eltern und Kinder

Wer nur flüchtig die Yamana beobachtet, merkt wohl die Herzlichkeit und besondere Aufmerksamkeit, die jeder Elternpaar dem noch unmündigen Sprößlinge widmet; durch Kinder, die schon erwachsen sind, scheinen von ihren Eltern etwas abseits zu stehen. Das ist ein zeitgemäßer Irrtum. Indes hat er manches für sich, insofern die Jugend allen Erwachsenen, besonders den eigenen Eltern, hohe Ehrfurcht bezeigt. Man darf wohl sagen, daß die kleinen Frauenkinder diese schöne Tugend sozusagen mit auf die Welt bringen und wenn sie fehlen oder mangelhaft sollte, dann wird sie von seiten Erwachsener beigebracht und vermehrt. Letztere halten sich bekanntlich (S. 715) mit ihren Liebesäußerungen in engeren Grenzen und überhäufen ihr erwachsenes Kind im Alltage nie mit Zärtlichkeiten. Nicht als ob den Yamana dafür jedes Gefühl abginge — gegenüber einem kranken Kinde erschöpfen sie sich in Liebeserweisen —, sondern weil sie viel zu nüchtern und ganz vernünftig veranlagt sind, um in überreichen vielen Äußerlichkeiten sich zu verausgaben; denn dadurch würden sie das Kind allmählich gleichgültig machen. Die echte und aufrichtige Liebe der Eltern aber glüht in der Seele und äußert sich in ihrem Benehmen um des Kindes geistigen und leiblichen Wohl; das ist ihnen eine Pflichtsache, der sie sich mit allem Ernst widmen. Das Kind weiß darum und erfährt es oft. Somit kann es nicht anders als ehrfürchtig seinen Eltern begegnen, die ihm an Stelle des Urteils, an allgemeiner Erfahrung und an Wissen um den Stammesbesitz weit überlegen sind.

Aus dieser Überzeugung und aus seiner inneren Haltung heraus ist das Kind unterwürfig und folgsam, es leistet einem unbedingten Gehorsam und erweist sich als sehr willig. Die dortigen Kinder kennen kein Murren bei Befehlen und kein langes Gezänk bei mühlichen Aufträgen; trotzige Widerspenstigkeit und gar gebietende Widerrede wären im Frauenlande unerhört. Jedes Kind weiß, daß es sich den Weisungen der Erwachsenen fügen muß und tut es auch dann auch, wenn es bereits verheiratet ist.[**]

Die ehrfürchtige Haltung, welche die frauenländischen Kinder ihren Eltern gegenüber einnehmen, beeinträchtigt nicht im mindesten die Liebesgemeinschaft, die sie miteinander bilden. Beide sind natürlich aufeinander angewiesen und je besser sie zusammenarbeiten, um so sicherer erfüllt die

[**] Hahnenbach hat Hyades-Ipfi 182 einen Ausdruck gebraucht, daß „manjaum, ein eigentümliches, bei erhabenen ungewöhnlich hohem Gemütes, ein ganz ganz lo gitter ganz lo mitter".

Familie, die gesellschaftliche Einheit, ihre Aufgabe dem Staatsganzen und um so leichter verdeckt sie ihre Ziele als wirtschaftliche Einheit. Die Kinder sind für die Eltern und dienen für jene eine weitere Erfahrung; sie klammern sich eng aneinander und verweisen instinktiv sowohl wie nach bewußt alter Tradition. Sie leben einander nur Freude.

Obwohl bei ihrer Umwelt und Eltern nicht Gleich ist, gelten sie ihre Zuneigung sich gegenseitig trotzdem zu erkennen und zwar durch freundliche Blicke und herzliche Worte, durch Streicheln und Anfassen, durch Liebkosungen und allerhand Aufmerksamkeiten. Tag und Nacht sind die Eltern um ihre Kinder beschäftigt, sie sorgen für Nahrung und Wohnung, für Sicherheit und Unterhaltung, je weiter das eigene Leben sie und vergessen gewisse Gefahr, wenn die Gesundung und das Wohl ihrer Kinder ihn fordern.[*] Wie lieb und teuer dem Eltern der Kind ist, kommt unwillkürlich dann zum Ausdruck, wenn es an schwerer Krankheit leidet oder wenn sie es durch den Tod verlieren.

Weil sie so mühselig sorgen, nähren sie sich als Kinder, damit die Lebensgleich der Kinder gesichert werden. Sogar hart und unerbittlich werden sie, nicht nur aus Freude an Quälen, sondern weil Charakterschwächen, die in jungen Jahren in Erscheinung treten, möglichst bald behoben werden ... a erkennen.[**] Die elterliche Erziehung orientiert sich an dem, was die Stammesüberlieferung als gut und erfolgreich empfiehlt; dadurch sind die Grundzüge der traditionellen Jugendbildung durchaus einfach.

Unsere Eingeborenen wissen so sehr wohl, daß nur der Jugend das Beispiel mehr wirkt als das Wort und daß empfohlene durch jenen viel geübteren Schulen angeleitet wird als durch diesen wieder gegenseitig wirkung kann. Dennoch gelang die Erwachsenen bewußt auf eine möglichst redlicheo Haltung in Gegenwart von Kindern. Gerade die Eltern Leute sind, abwechselnd von Männern und Frauen jüngeren Alters, durch sowohl begleitet gewesen. Sie erkennen sich frei zusammen und erfahren eingegangenen Selbstbeherrschung, um durch die Beachtung nicht etwa ihre wegwerfende und beleidigenden Worte, die sie erkennen an die Jugend gerichtet haben, zu verhüllen. Das erfolgreiche Erziehen setzt eben das eigene Eingegangene voraus.

Bekanntlich habe ich beobachtet, daß Kinder unter einem bestimmten Vorwande aus der Hütte gerufen worden sind, so als die Männer sich wichtiger Geschäfte erzählen wollten. Bei einer solchen Gelegenheit Eltern mit der alte Kaiserin im Ohr, verhalten der beste Kaiser aus der Hütte verschwunden

[*] Vgl. Lamnaso (S. 110 vgl. Anmerkung [illegible]), so wollt auch Sara (S. 110 und S. 111) die einzige Schwangerung sich. „Die Nachbarin dauert etwas so lange, als das Kind an der Brust liegt, mit sieben oder acht Jahren hat der Kindlein der Eltern bald genug sich, dann schickt der Sohn [illegible] ist, die Eltern zu verlassen, [illegible] sich von Sara; der einzige Gefahr, verlassen zu haben, ist Liebe zum eigenen Leb." Die Wahrheitsliebe [illegible] S. 111), abgleitet in sich zu bringen Wunsch. „Es gestattet bei gewissen Umständen den [illegible] [illegible] die [illegible] zu [illegible]."

[**] Eltern S. 111 [illegible] eigenen. „Mädchen und Knaben [illegible] Gelegenheit, wenn ihre Eltern sich [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."

[illegible] „Die Kinder dürfen nicht wissen, daß wir uns an Eurem ergötzen; [illegible] sie sich dann [illegible] wie wir es tun!"[illegible] Es [illegible] Eltern [illegible] daß sie bei einer Eltern Frau so stark, daß sie bei Tristan sich unmittelbar so benehmen [illegible] Unmittelbar [illegible] die Erwachsenen als Kinder und Mutter [illegible] wie [illegible] „Wenn die Kinder sehen, wie jene Frau sich [illegible], [illegible] sie [illegible] wurden, Deshalb [illegible] wie sie [illegible]" Wohl sie [illegible] Kinder [illegible] Spiele und Unfähigkeiten von Erwachsenen. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Augen die Vertrauensseligkeit, die auf dem Boden einer naturgewollten Familieneinrichtung gedeiht. Elternglück und Kinderparadies in der auf sich allein gestellten Indianerfamilie: das sind die hellsten Lichtpunkte im bedrohlichen Wettertosen und in der frostigen Unfreundlichkeit des Feuerlandes.

C. Verwandtschaft und Stammesgemeinschaft

Bei Völkerschaften auf der niedrigen Kulturstufe unserer Yámana ist leicht zu beobachten, in welch engem Wechselverhältnis die Wirtschaftsform und die Gesellschaftsordnung stehen. Niemand wird die eine als ursächlich bedingt allein durch die andere ausgeben, ebensowenig darf man einen gewissen inneren Zusammenhang beider rundweg ableugnen.

Die gesamte Volksstärke dieses feuerländischen Stammes ist niedrig und nichts deutet darauf hin, daß sie zu irgendwelcher Zeit, während seiner langen Anwesenheit im Kap Hoorn-Gebiet, bemerkenswert höher gewesen sei (S. 227). Das schon spricht eindeutig und für sich allein dafür, daß eine verwickelte gesellschaftliche Gliederung nach diesen oder jenen Gesichtspunkten, von denen aus man gesellschaftliche Gebilde beurteilt und bewertet, nicht zu erwarten ist und zwar um so weniger, als ein geschlossenes Zusammenleben aller Stammesgenossen am gleichen Fleck hier gänzlich fehlt. Was unsere Eingeborenen sich als Lebensunterhalt erwerben, reicht wirklich aus, daß sie nicht nur nicht Hungers sterben, sondern sich auch voll sättigen können. Von Überfluß auf irgendwelchem Teilgebiete ihres beschränkten Besitzstandes kann nicht die Rede sein. Auf eine unvollkommene Produktionsform sehen sie sich angewiesen; deshalb können sie weder zu einem zahlreichen Volke anwachsen noch sich zu einem engen Zusammenleben miteinander verbinden. Die Kopfzahl des Volkes wird sozusagen durch die Menge der vorhandenen Nahrungsmittel begrenzt und da letztere über einen weiten Raum schütter ausgestreut sind, verbietet sich die dauernde Vereinigung aller Stammesmitglieder an einer Stelle oder an wenigen bestimmten Orten.

In sehr kleine Einzelgruppen, die von einander weit abgetrennt leben und deren eine jede sich vollständiger Unabhängigkeit erfreut, erscheint der ganze Stamm auseinandergerissen. In noch niedrigere Einheiten ließen sich jene Gruppen nicht auflösen. Es sind dies die Einzelfamilien. Jede bildet als solche eine selbständige wirtschaftliche Einheit, die für sich als eine besondere Lebensgemeinschaft abgeschlossen ist und die ihr eigenes Lebensziel verfolgt. Lørnnor (b): 160 sagt kurz und bestimmt: „Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit."

Wie um einen Kristallisationspunkt lagern sich um die Einzelfamilie die näheren und ferneren Verwandtschaftsgrade und das Zusammengehörigkeitsbewußtsein prägt sich um so stärker aus, je unmittelbarer die Blutsverbindung ist. Je weiter die Einzelfamilien verwandtschaftlich voneinander abstehen, um so lockerer ist ihre gegenseitige Verbindung. Darauf

beruht der lose Zusammenhalt und die weite Verstreuung aller Familien innerhalb der gleichen Volkseinheit. Die weit voneinander entfernt wohnenden Gruppen kennen sich zuweilen nicht einmal; ihre gegenseitige Entfremdung ist ein günstiger Boden, auf dem Argwohn, Mißtrauen und Feindseligkeit der einen gegen die anderen gedeihen. Die unsicheren und dürftigen Wirtschaftsbedingungen eines Volkes wirken sich, wenn man so sagen darf, auf dem gesellschaftlichen Gebiete im zentrifugalen Sinne aus.[209]

Eine wirkliche Stammesgemeinschaft bescheidenen Grades besteht aber doch. Sie gründet sich auf die gleiche Abstammung und die gleiche Sprache, sie prägt sich aus in der genauen Übereinstimmung der Handlungsweise eines jeden und in der Unterordnung aller unter ein bestimmtes ungeschriebenes, allgemeinverpflichtendes Gesetz. Jeder einzelne fühlt sich als ein Glied des Ganzen, er weiß sich mit dem verbunden, der sich ihm durch die nämliche Sprache verständlich macht und er leitet mit allen übrigen, die in seinem heimatlichen Boden genau so rechtmäßig wie er verwurzelt sind, auch seine Herkunft aus dem gleichen Ursprunge ab. So hoch steigert sich dieses Bewußtsein, daß sie als einzelne und als Gemeinschaft unter sich eine Sondergruppe zu bilden überzeugt sind, daß sie als "die Menschen", als das Volksganze zu gelten glauben, dem ausschließlich die Daseinsberechtigung in ihrer Heimat zusteht. Deren Grenzen werden als etwas seit altersher Gegebenes betrachtet[210] und damit ist deren Rechtsgültigkeit als unantastbar auch für alle Zukunft sichergestellt, einerlei, wie die Erklärung für anfängliche Umgrenzung des heimatlichen Gebietes und für die erstmalige Besetzung durch die Vorfahren lauten mag.

Grundsätzlich erscheint das eine Stammesmitglied jedem anderen in der Öffentlichkeit gleichgestellt und im Besitze voller Unabhängigkeit. Alle nennen ungefähr die nämlichen Gegenstände, so wenige es an und für sich sind, ihr eigen, und Vermögensunterschiede oder gewerbliche Betätigung, die anderswo zuweilen sehr verschiedengliederige Standesschichtungen bedingen, gibt es hier nicht.[211] Im allgemeinen besitzt also jeder Erwachsene innerhalb seines Stammes das gleiche Recht und damit sind für alle auch einige Pflichten verbunden. Über die rechtlich gleichförmige Menge hebt sich niemand mit besonderen Vorrechten heraus, weder ein einziger noch mehrere Häuptlinge werden anerkannt. Eine gewisse moralische Vormachtstellung innerhalb des engeren Verwandten- und Bekanntenkreises erwirbt sich der und

[209] Stirling, dem einige Unrichtigkeiten unterlaufen, sagt: „Family life in Fuegia is exclusive. Get outside the family, and relationships are doubtful, if not hostile. The bond of a common language is no security for friendly offices. To be of the same tribe is no guarantee of safety in travelling. Fear and distrust are stronger than tribal affinities" (MM: IV, 11; 1870).

[210] Durch die Yamana selber hat Bridges (h): 233 erstmalig die heimatlichen Grenzen in Erfahrung gebracht.

[211] Das besagt, wie Hyades (p): 335 sich ausdrückt: „Il n'y a ni roi, ni chef, ni aristocratie, ni castes, ni hiérarchie sociale, ni esclaves; c'est le régime de l'égalité dans toute sa pureté."

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

jener durch reichere Erfahrung nach einer langen Reihe von Lebensjahren und durch sittliche Untadelhaftigkeit; mit seiner Persönlichkeit selber aber steht und fällt auch jenes Übergewicht, das in keiner objektiven Rechtsnorm nach seinen Einzelheiten genau umschrieben oder begründet ist.

Eine Scheidung des ganzen Stammes in sogenannte Dialektgruppen hat sich unter dem Zwange einiger örtlicher Bedingungen vollzogen. Sie ist rein äußerlich. Die geringen Besonderheiten, die durch sie bedingt worden sind, liegen auf der Linie einer unvermeidlichen Lebensbetätigung jeder für sich bestehenden Gruppe. Gleich einfach wie die Wirtschaftsform ist auch die Gesellschaftsordnung; diese kennt aufsteigende Stufenunterschiede nicht.[212]

a. Die Verwandtschaft

Der Volksverband der Yamana fußt auf den Einzelfamilien.[213] Diese hängen untereinander mehr oder weniger fest zusammen, je nachdem sie miteinander näher oder entfernter verwandt sind. Den verwandtschaftlichen Zusammenhalt begründet die Gleichheit des Blutes, mag es sich auch in weitabliegende Verzweigungen ergießen. Die Träger des gleichen Blutes bilden weder eine örtlich streng umgrenzte Gruppe noch eine bestimmte gesellschaftliche Schicht mit eigenen Rechten in einer Sonderstellung.

Für die nächsten Verwandten selber ergeben sich indes aus ihrer Zusammengehörigkeit einige Pflichten, die zwar im großen Rahmen der allgemeinen gesellschaftlichen Pflichten enthalten sind, die aber für verwandte Personen stärker betont werden. Umgekehrt dürfen letztere, gleichsam als Entgelt dafür, auf eine besondere gegenseitige Hilfe rechnen. Die Verwandtschaft in des Wortes strenger Bedeutung verfügt als solche über keine Art eines gemeinschaftlichen Besitzes, an dem alle Mitglieder gleichmäßig beteiligt wären, ebensowenig wird sie von ungewöhnlichen Sonderbestimmungen geleitet.

1. Die Einzelfamilie

In diesem Zusammenhange und in den übrigen Teilen des vorliegenden Buches besagt die Bezeichnung "Einzelfamilie" immer nur die kleine gesellschaftliche Verbindung, wie Eltern und ihre Kinder sie bilden. So verstanden ist die Einzelfamilie die Verwandtschaft im strengsten Wortsinne. Auf ihre natürliche und rechtlich gestützte Stellung im Volksganzen der Yamana haben frühere Reisende gar nicht oder nur andeutungsweise aufmerksam gemacht. Die Seefahrer der älteren Zeit erkannten in den Insassen eines und desselben Kanus eine engverbundene Gemeinschaft, gingen aber in Beurteilung der einzelnen Personen häufig fehl und betrachteten zwei und

[212] Grundgedanken dieses Abschnittes hat schon Koergus (c): 135 veröffentlicht.

[213] Segarzim (a): 165 hat diese Tatsache in andere Fassung gebracht: „La familia constituye toda su sociedad." Die Beurteilung, die er anfügt, ist sehr verfehlt: „Y el hombre vive sin guerra, aunque sin grandes dolores, entre sus mujeres y sus hijos."

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

mehr Frauenspersonen, die sich mit einem Manne meist zufällig im gleichen Boote befanden, als dessen Gattinnen. In der Folgezeit sind es hauptsächlich die Missionare gewesen, die ihr Auge für die rechtliche Unabhängigkeit und für die wirtschaftliche Stellung der Einzelfamilie öffneten. Trotzdem haben die meisten Reisenden der letzten Jahrzehnte das alles nach seiner Tragweite für die grundsätzliche Beurteilung der feuerländischen Gesellschaftsform nicht erfaßt und nur wenige, beispielshalber LOTUNOF (b): 160, haben die Besonderheit der wirklich bestehenden Einzelfamilie erkannt.

Die Einzelfamilie ist die alleinige Quelle der Lebenskraft und der wirtschaftlichen Leistungen des gesamten Volkes. Noch höher als durch diese Bezeichnung ließe sich ihre B e d e u t u n g gar nicht steigern. Mit allem, was sie dem Kinde ist und dem Kinde bietet, erfüllt sie ihre erste grundlegende Pflicht, die ihr von der Natur selber aufgetragen wird. Doch erschöpft sich ihre Bestimmung damit keineswegs, sie betätigt sich darüber hinaus auch noch im besonderen für das gesellschaftliche Ganze. Für unsere Eingeborenen, wie SPEGAZZINI (a): 165 sich ausdrückt, „la familia constituye toda su sociedad". Sie macht eine Lebens- und Arbeitsgemeinschaft aller ihr engverbundenen Mitglieder aus; denn der einzelne lebt nicht sich selber, sondern seiner Familie.

Des näheren zeigt sich dieser Rechtszustand darin, daß alles, was der Familie dient und sie am Leben erhält, als gemeinschaftlicher B e s i t z einem jeden Familienmitgliede zugänglich ist. Allen zusammen gehört die Hütte und das Kanu, in denen ein jeder seinen Platz erhält. Die eine Hütte und das eine Kanu mit dem einzigen Herdfeuer ist Symbol für die rechtlich bestehende Einheit all jener, die diese kleine Gruppe bilden. Sie ist für sich abgeschlossen und beruht auf sich allein; ein eigenes Gesetz beherrscht sie, an dem kein Außenstehender zu rütteln sich anmaßen darf. Ihre Unabhängigkeit mit eigener Selbstregierung hat STIRLING klar durchschaut: „Each family — each canoe, it might be almost said — represents an indepedent authority, and carries in it, not the rudiments merely, and not the symbols, but the most complete form of government known among the fisher Indians of Tierra del Fuego" (MM: IV, 34; 1870).

Zu dieser engeren Einheit, die als Einzelfamilie dasteht, gehören nähere oder entferntere Verwandte nicht. In jedweder Hütte haben nur die Eltern samt ihren eigenen Kindern rechtlich ihren Platz, alle übrigen Leute gelten als gelegentliche G ä s t e. Diesen kommt es nicht zu, an ihre Gastgeber irgendwelche Forderungen zu stellen; sie zeigen sich sogar bei dringlicher Bedürftigkeit in ihren Bitten um Hilfe und Unterstützung auffällig bescheiden. Damit, daß ein erwachsenes Kind sich verheiratet, gibt es von sich aus seine unmittelbare Zugehörigkeit zu seinem bisherigen engen Familienverbande auf und bildet einen neuen, der seitdem für sich ebenfalls in vollster Unabhängigkeit besteht. Hingegen bleibt ein Waisenkind so lange mit dem überlebenden Elternteil verbunden, bis es selber durch Heirat seinen eigenen Hausstand begründet. Bis dahin muß, außer dem eigenen Elternteil, der neue Stiefvater bzw. die neue Stiefmutter des Waisenkindes sich seiner in der Form

1: Gusinde 5H6 Yahgan

annehmen, als wäre es das eigene Kind. Mit alledem erweist sich die Einzelfamilie als ein kleiner Staat für sich, dessen Grenzen mit dem engen Grundriß der Familienhütte *thär*[4] jeweils buchstäblich zusammenfallen.[214]

Das räumliche Zusammensein der Mitglieder einer Einzelfamilie zwingt ihnen unausweichlich das Bewußtsein von den gegenseitigen Verpflichtungen auf. Die Natur selber legt sie den Eltern auf und die Stellung der Kinder denen gegenüber, die ihnen das Leben geschenkt haben, ist dadurch gleichfalls gegeben. In Gehorsam und Unterwürfigkeit müssen somit auch sie zu Hilfeleistungen bereit stehen, falls ihre Jugend sie dazu befähigt, sowie ihren Beitrag zum Bestande und Gedeihen des Familienganzen liefern. Alle Mitglieder ziehen ihren besonderen Vorteil aus der Familiengemeinschaft; diese aber kann nur bestehen und jedem das sein, was er erwartet, wenn ihr der einzelne nach Maßgabe seines Könnens und nach der herrschenden Arbeitsteilung dient. Auf diesem Boden gedeiht ein starker, pflichttreuer Familiensinn. Für ihre Familie lebt und arbeitet ein jeder der beiden Eltern; das eigene Wünschen tritt weit hinter die Forderungen, die das eigene Ich manchmal äußern möchte, zurück, ihre Persönlichkeit geht im Dienste der anderen Familienmitglieder auf.

Diesen ausgeprägten Familiensinn hat Hyades (f): 586 beobachtet: „Le sentiment de la famille est très développé chez ces sauvages; on a dit, avec raison, qu'il était le lien le plus puissant qui les maintenait unis." Trotz räumlicher Trennung voneinander, so betont Hyades (g): 35 an anderer Stelle, „bleibt doch immer ein gewisser Zusammenhang und die Abkömmlinge eines Geschlechtes fühlen sich im Falle von Gefahren und Zwistigkeiten immer als zusammengehörig". Von einem anderen Gesichtspunkte aus beleuchtet endlich auch Bridges (a): 204 jenes Verhältnis: „Family influence is the one great tie which binds these natives together, and the one great preventive of violence."

Die Pflichten für die eigenen Eltern und die noch unmündigen Geschwister darf der Sohn oder die Tochter bzw. der ältere Bruder oder die ältere Schwester, die sich verheiraten, nicht etwa kündigen. Gewiß, aus der unmittelbaren Verbundenheit mit der elterlichen Hütte scheiden sie aus, nicht aber aus der Zusammengehörigkeit mit den Personen, die sie beherbergt. Ihr Leben lang bleiben die Kinder mit ihren Eltern und mit ihren Geschwistern in Fühlung.[215] Jedem ist die eigene Familie wie auch jedes ihrer Mitglieder unvergleichlich wert und teuer; ihr zollt jeder alles Lob und er bedenkt das wirkliche Gute an ihr mit höchster Anerkennung. Wer von den Leistungen

[214] Darauf spielt Bridges mit etwas unglücklicher Ausdrucksweise an: „The term 'Ceurr', which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used to denote clans or tribe" (MM: XVIII, 224; 1884). Hyades (l): 718 wiederholt diesen Satz.

[215] Spegazzini (a): 166 betont zwar „los afectos familiares"; doch weit entfernt davon, daß diese Liebe „no se manifieste mucho en las relaciones familiares, donde parece que domina un bárbaro egoismo", entfaltet sie gerade auf diesem Boden ihre schönsten Blüten. All dem gegenüber fehlt nicht die ungeheuerliche Behauptung Boyd's (g): 234, daß „legame di famiglia non existe".

oder persönlichen Vorzügen seiner Familienangehörigen spricht, preist sie in Tönen, die kaum zu übertreffen sind. Den Gefahren vor einseitiger Übertreibung, vor rücksichtsloser Selbstsucht und vor bewußter Absonderung von der Allgemeinheit beugen allgemeinverpflichtende Bestimmungen vor. In sich ist und bleibt die Einzelfamilie fest verankert,[216] das begründet ihre gänzliche Unabhängigkeit von anderen Einzelfamilien und ihre weitgehende Unabhängigkeit sogar von der gesamten Volksgemeinschaft.[217]

Ein zweiter hervorstechender Grundzug der feuerländischen Familie ist ihre v a t e r r e c h t l i c h e R i c h t u n g. Letztere allerdings ist nur an wenigen Anzeichen, immerhin eindeutig zu erkennen, obwohl es hier weder Erbrecht noch Clanbildungen mit besonderen Ansprüchen und Verpflichtungen gibt. Der Vater ist und bleibt eben doch das Haupt der ganzen Familie, wenngleich, auf Grund der Arbeitsteilung, seiner Frau ein unabhängiges Feld der Betätigung zusteht und er infolgedessen nur selten seine geringe Übermacht zur Geltung bringt. MARTIAL: 196 schildert dieses Rechtsverhältnis folgendermaßen: „L'autorité dans la famille appartient au père; femme et enfants lui obéissent; autorité bien faible toutefois, et qui ne s'exerce qu'en cas de nécessité." Jeder der beiden Eheleute behält die freie Verfügung über sein Sondereigentum; die Sorge und Verantwortlichkeit für die gemeinschaftlichen Güter oder für den Familienbesitz obliegt dennoch dem Manne. Er entscheidet letzten Endes in Fragen, die von einiger Bedeutung für die Familienmitglieder sind, und seinem Worte fügen sich alle. Wenn er stirbt, muß sein älterer Bruder sich um Frau und Kinder, die er zurückläßt, aus allgemeinrechtlicher Verpflichtung annehmen. In der Namengebung allerdings kommt dieser vaterrechtliche Einschlag in der feuerländischen Familienordnung nicht zum Ausdruck; dafür fehlt eben hier, wo der Name vom Geburtsorte hergenommen wird (S. 729), ein wirklich begründeter Anknüpfungspunkt.

2. Der Verwandtenkreis

In der Volksgemeinschaft unserer Yamana steht jede Einzelfamilie als ein selbständiges, auf sich allein beruhendes Gebilde da. Demgegenüber erscheint die Verwandtschaft als eine lockere Zusammengehörigkeit aller jener, die durch Bande des g l e i c h e n B l u t e s aneinandergeschlossen sind. Nach den Begriffen der Feuerländer sind nur solche Personen miteinander verwandt, die ihren gemeinsamen Ursprung von irgendwelchem Vorfahren herleiten, und hierfür ist es völlig belanglos, ob dieser Nachweis über den väterlichen oder den mütterlichen Zweig geführt wird.[218] Durch Einheiraten, durch Ver-

[216] Dies bestätigt HYADES (p): 333 mit folgenden Worten: „La famille est bien constituée, mais la tribu n'existe pas, à proprement parler."

[217] Dieser und jener Beobachter gewahrte mit BOVE (g): 244, daß „ogni famiglia fuegina vive nella massima indipendenza". Doch steigert sich letztere nie so weit, wie in OBERS (g): 58 behauptet wird, „que el padre no puede amenazar a su hijo si darle órdenes directas".

[218] Auf die Gleichwertigkeit beider Richtungen weist auch BARGES (i): 21 hin: „Whilst children belonged to the clan of their father yet their mother's relations were equally dear

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

schwägerung, durch Adoption u. dgl. m. entsteht zwar eine nahe Beziehung der betreffenden Personen zueinander, nicht aber eine Verwandtschaft. Ganz allgemein betrifft das Verbot zu ehelicher Verbindung jene Personen, in deren Adern das Blut aus dem gleichen Stamme fließt.

Ohne Einschränkung besteht zu Recht, was Bamgas (h): 205 diesbezüglich behauptet hat: „Nunca se casan [los yamana] con ningún pariente sanguíneo por lejano que sea." Sie bekunden einen deutlichen Abscheu vor dem ehelichen Zusammenschluß solcher Personen, die irgendwie als blutsverwandt gelten (S. 652). Als solche betrachtet man Schwager und Schwägerin nicht; somit stößt das Gebot der Leviratsehe bei seiner Begründung nach dieser Seite hin auf keine Schwierigkeit (S. 646). Aus der gleichen Erwägung heraus ist es zulässig, daß derselbe Mann mit zwei Schwestern sich verheiratet und daß er beide gleichzeitig in seine Hütte aufnimmt (S. 650). Unstatthaft ist es jedoch, eine Witwe und deren Tochter gleichzeitig zu ehelichen, weil der Mann, falls er erstere heiratet, letzterer gegenüber wirkliche Vaterpflichten zu erfüllen hat (S. 653).

Von einer räumlichen Umgrenzung der Blutsverwandtschaft zu sprechen, würde offensichtlich Mißverständnisse veranlassen. Tatsächlich halten sich die meisten Familien, die zueinander gehören, im gleichen Gebiete auf und ein guter Teil jener, die eine Lokalgruppe bilden, sind miteinander verwandt. Eben deshalb sucht sich der Bursche und das Mädchen den Ehegefährten im benachbarten Gebiete, so daß bei der Heirat mancher aus seinem Verwandtenkreise auch in eine andere Lokalgruppe übertritt. Mag er dort sogar sein ganzes Leben hindurch verweilen, mit der Familie, aus der er hervorgegangen ist, bleibt er zeitlebens als ein Blutsverwandter verbunden.

Um über die gegenseitigen Beziehungen sicher zu sein, liefert die Yamana-Sprache ganz genaue Bezeichnungen sogar für entfernte Verwandtschaftsgrade. Sie sind selbstverständlich jeder Einzelperson genau so geläufig wie Worte für alltägliche Gebrauchsgegenstände. Hyades (p): 334 schreibt: „La parenté est reconnue jusqu'au quatrième ou au cinquième degré." Unser Indianer ist beim Zählen zwar nicht peinlich genau, aber er weiß eine verwandtschaftliche Verbindung festzustellen, die zuweilen in weit abliegende Grade zurückreicht und die schließlich nur noch durch das lange räumliche Beisammensein der Familien begründet werden kann.

Das Verwandtschaftsverhältnis wirkt sich indes nicht nur im negativen Sinne aus, insofern es eine Heirat unmöglich macht, weit mehr drängt es zu gegenseitiger Stütze und Hilfeleistung. Die Einzelfamilie beruht zwar rechtlich auf sich selber, doch gibt es für sie keine Einrichtung irgendwelcher Form, die ihr einen Rechtsschutz gewährleisten könnte. Aller Willkür des Stärkeren wäre sie ausgeliefert, fände sie nicht Deckung und Rückhalt bei den Blutsverwandten.[219] Eine nur befreundete Familie steht ihr nicht nahe

to them, as their fathers and they were equally bound to be friend and defend them and to avenge their wrongs." Anderswo (k): 235 betont er, daß „la parentela del lado materno era tan apreciada como el paterno".

[219] Bove (e): 130 und (g): 234 schreibt: „Sólo la necesidad de una defensa común obliga

genug, um in jedem Bedarfsfalle eine sichere Zuflucht zu sein; die Bande des Blutes hingegen lösen sich nie und bewahren unablässig ihre Stärke. Darum merkt sich ein jeder sehr genau all jene Personen, die ihm näher und entfernter verbunden sind; ihrer Hilfe versichert er sich beizeiten durch häufige Besuche, die er ihnen abstattet, und durch wiederholte Erkundigungen, die er über sie bei anderen einzieht; er sucht sie eigens auf und ruft sie dringend an, wenn ihn die Feindschaft anderer bedroht oder wenn er einen Überfall zu gewärtigen hat. Das sind die sozialen Beziehungen, die jeder pflegt[99] und zwar nach eigener Wahlfreiheit bzw. nach der Notlage, in der er sich gegebenenfalls befindet.

Auch das Geselligkeitsbedürfnis spielt hier hinein, das den einen stärker als den anderen in den Kreis seiner Vertrauten drängt. Darin nimmt niemand eine rechtlich begründete Vorzugsstellung ein. Der moralischen Übermacht erfahrener Greise oder tüchtiger Männer beugen sich die jüngeren Leute selbstverständlich aus Vernunftgründen; wem aber etwas nicht zusagt, der entfernt sich unauffällig und geht bis auf weiteres seine eigenen Wege.

Den Rat und die Entscheidung eines älteren Verwandten holt sich jeder gern ein. Auf seine Hilfe und Unterstützung kann sich der immer verlassen, der die verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen gepflegt hat und der selber seiner Verwandtschaft zur Ehre gereicht. Ist diese zahlreich und gehören ihr angesehene Männer an, wird dadurch das Selbstbewußtsein des einzelnen bedeutend gesteigert und seine Zuversicht erhöht; gern rühmt er sich seiner ausgedehnten, mächtigen Verwandtschaft, auf deren Schutz er rechnen kann. Selbstverständlich werden die eigenen Verwandten gegenüber anderen Gästen bevorzugt und höher geehrt. Jeder weiß sich auch verpflichtet, einem von Not bedrängten und von Feinden bedrohten Verwandten zu Hilfe zu eilen, das an ihm verübte Unrecht zu rächen, dessen guten Ruf, der geschmälert wurde, wieder herzustellen und überall mit Tatkraft für ihn einzutreten. Das alles fordert die Familienehre, die jedermann hochhält. In seiner Verwandtschaft also findet der einzelne immer Schutz und Recht für alles, was ihn bedrängt.

3. Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen

Die Einzelfamilie, mag sie auch rechtlich ganz unabhängig sein, sieht sich trotzdem dann und wann auf ihre Verwandtschaft angewiesen. Das hat dazu geführt, daß jeder sich überraschend genau in den Beziehungen, die ihn mit irgend jemand verbinden, auskennt: Zwar wird das nicht ein ursächlicher Anlaß für die Entstehung der vielen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen gewesen sein; aber so viel ist sicher, daß ein erwachsener Indianer sie überraschend zuverlässig beherrscht und gebraucht. Die Angehörigen erörtern sofort bei

a algunas familias a unirse en una sola tribu, pero nadie tiene el derecho de pensar a la rabras y de meterlas en los intereses ajenos." Der Ausdruck "tribu" kann hier nur verwandtschaftliche Gemeinschaft bedeuten.

[99] Diese Beziehungen hat Szuszanna (a): 165 in viel zu kurzer Fassung umschrieben.

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

der Geburt und während der ersten Lebensmonate eines Kindes, welche Beziehungen es mit all jenen eingeht, die den näheren und entfernteren Familienkreis bilden.[221]

Von vornherein überrascht nicht nur die große Zahl, sondern auch die folgerichtige Ausgestaltung der Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen.[222] Auf BRIDGES verweisend sagt HYADES (q): 261: „Il ont des termes particuliers pour tous les degrés de parenté," ja bedeutend mehr, als die meisten Europäer anzuwenden imstande sind.[223] Heutigentage allerdings sind einige davon den jüngeren Indianern nicht mehr geläufig, weil ihr Stammesleben seit langem in Auflösung begriffen ist; früher bot sich häufiger die eine und andere Gelegenheit, dergleichen Bezeichnungen anzuwenden.[224]

Die folgende Zusammenstellung der Verwandtschaftsbenennungen bei den Yamana stammt aus der Feder des Herrn Dozenten Dr. FERDINAND HESTERMANN, der sie eigens für dieses Buch auf meine Bitte geliefert hat. Er schreibt:

Wie die Sprache der Yamana äußerst formenreich ist, so gliedert sich auch die Benennung der Verwandtschaft sehr reichhaltig. Das scheint auch Rev. BRIDGES stark empfunden zu haben, denn wir sehen in seinen Arbeiten Übersichten dieser Benennungen mehrfach vertreten.

Diese Liste ist nun zuerst ein Auszug aus dem Yamana-English Dictionary des Rev. THOMAS BRIDGES.[225] Diese Ausbeute bildet die Grundlage. Zur Kontrolle und Ergänzung sind aber auch die anderen Angaben von Rev. BRIDGES herangezogen worden, so die in seiner in London publizierten Grammatik, wie auch die in dem Druck des Manuskripts, das zum genannten Lexikon gehörte, das aber nie veröffentlicht wurde. Aus diesem letzteren Manuskriptdruck ließen sich aber nur Fingerzeige geben, da der Satz ohne jede Korrektur mir vorliegt und die handschriftliche Vorlage nicht zu erreichen war. Des weiteren ist auch das Lukasevangelium benutzt und zwar in der Form des von PLATZMANN aus ihm ausgezogenen Wörterbuches.[226] Die Gram-

[221] Hierauf spielt DESPARD (b): 698 folgendermaßen an: „They are very exact in preserving the remembrance of the precise relationship borne by members of a family each to other."

[222] Immer noch unvollständig sind die an sich langen Listen, die einige frühere Beobachter zusammengestellt haben; genannt seien hier vor allem HYADES (p): 333 und (q): 297, LOTMOR (b): 161, SPENCER: 61, 65.

[223] BRIDGES gibt dies in HYADES (q): 261 unumwunden zu und niemand wird ihm widersprechen, daß unsere Eingeborenen „sont à cet égard plus de distinctions et plus de mots que nous-mêmes".

[224] Wir stehen hier vor einer Allgemeinerscheinung in der Welt der Primitiven. „Die verwickelten Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen mancher Stämme und ihre genaue Beherrschung durch den Eingeborenen, der jeden einzelnen Genossen sicher in dieses System einzureihen weiß, werden uns erst hieraus [aus der Enge der Verhältnisse] verständlich: wer nun früh auf angehalten wird, diesen Dingen die größte Wichtigkeit beizulegen, lernt es mit den Jahren unschwer, sie an einer beschränkten Zahl von Menschen genau zu unterscheiden." So VIERKANDT: Das gesellschaftliche Gemeinwesen der Naturvölker; Stuttgart 1922.

[225] Auf dieses Werk wird im vorliegenden Buche mit BD verwiesen.

[226] Gemeint ist PLATZMANN (a). Vgl. den Quellennachweis am Ende dieses Buches.

matik von Lucien Adam ist nur spärlich gebraucht, da sie ja nichts Ursprüngliches enthält; das Gleiche gilt von den Aufzeichnungen des Boggiani und Bove. Doch sind ausgiebig die Vokalverzeichnisse der Mission Scientifique herangezogen worden. Aber nach all dem ist der Einblick noch nicht überall restlos klar, dafür ist die Sache zu stark kompliziert.

Noch zwei kleine Bemerkungen möchte ich mir erlauben. Im Umfang der Benennung gehe ich weiter als andere gehen, da es deutlich von der Sprache so gefordert wird. Außerdem füge ich auch manches Verb hinzu, das die Deutlichkeit dieser Liste von Verwandtschaftsbenennungen sowohl für Linguisten, wie für Ethnologen, vor allem für Soziologen nur noch heben kann. Wer sich vertiefen will, sei auf das Dictionary verwiesen.

Männliche Verwandtschaftsglieder stehen links, weibliche rechts auf der Seite. Possessiv und Anruf wird gelegentlich hervorgehoben. Auch der Numerus tritt hier und da als Plural oder Dual neben dem Singular auf. Was in () erscheint, kann fehlen und stehen. Die Ziffern vorher ohne Klammer mit Punkt zeigen die Person an. Die Ziffer hinterher in Klammern nennt Kapitel und Vers aus der Übersetzung des Evangeliums von Lukas.

Sich selbst nennen diese Indianer *yámana*.

yamana-ūra Mann
yamali(m) Leute, heißt im Pl.
ū-aiamalim Männer (11, 44; 9, 14)

yamana-ū-kipa Frau
yamanhiamalim Menschliche Wesen
kip-aiamalim Frauen (23, 49. 55; 24, 22)

Deutlich werden Fremde getrennt: *agōpatūa*, *aua*, *mēamūa*, das erste als europäische, das letzte als einheimische Fremde gemeint.

ūa Mensch, Mann, auch *uōn* (23, 2. 4. 14. 19); *ūa* in Lk (1, 31) als "Sohn" gebraucht, da es hier dem Wort "Mensch" gleichgesetzt werden kann.

ūa, uōn Mensch, Mann

kipa Frau, Weib, auch *kipāki*
pa Dasselbe im Osten des Canal de Beagle.

Für letzteres Wort ist *kipa-āra* "alle Frauen, jede Frau" auffällig. Siehe diesbezüglich bei "Kind".

"Herr" ist *gāligūa* (12, 43), "Fürsten, Herrenleute" *taulngala* (21, 12), im Sg. *taulna* "Herr, Meister" (9, 54; 12, 13) oder *taulnūa* "der Oberste" (18, 18), während *ōhōr' mātāgūna* "Hausherr" (12, 39; 14, 26) heißt.

uātgala "die Ältesten, Alte" steht in Lk (7, 3).

ma-gālig-ūa wird für "Knecht" oder "Magd" gebraucht (1, 38; 12, 36).

uōltōxyāgūnōn Knechte (7, 2);

uōltāgūkipriamalim Mägde (12, 43. 45).

Zum Ausdruck des Freundesverhältnisses liegen mehrere Wörter vor, die auch gelegentlich im Sinne des Verwandtseins stehen können.

tōgakālū Freund (14, 10, 12; 11, 6)
kurūgala Freunde (15, 6)

dālinaka Freundin (cognata 1, 36)
kurūākindrian Freundinnen (15, 9)
ingāgakipriamalim schlechte Frauen (meretrices 15, 30).

Das Wort "verwandt" oder "Verwandter" schlechthin läßt sich nicht ohne weiteres wiedergeben (s. "Freundin"), da es meist näher bestimmt wird. *mäkör'* "miteinander zusammenhängend wie Verwandte", im Du. *mäkör'pai*, im Pl. *mökör'yamalim*. *magäta* Blutsverwandte, Du. *magätäpai*. *sönnakita* Ohne männliche Verwandtschaft, ohne Freunde, die Kampfhilfe stellen könnten, ohne Brüder, ohne Onkel, ohne Vettern. — Im übrigen werden wir bei den einzelnen Angaben darauf zurückkommen müssen.

üüü(an), üüüa Großvater	*gülüana* Großmutter
hau üüüan, hau üüu(ö)n 1. ditto	*hana gülüanan* 1. ditto.
lin üüüön 2. do.	*sin gülüanan* 2. do.
kit üüun 3. do.	*üina gülüanan* 2. do.
kit üüuun 3. do.	*kiřin gülüanan* 3. do.
kit üüüön 3. do.	*könjimin gülüanan* 3. do.

Wenn es hier auffällt, daß zwei verschiedene Stämme für den Doppelausdruck gebraucht werden, so erklärt sich das im Folgenden sofort; denn der Großonkel heißt *gölniakön*, während für "Großtante" nirgends ein Wort aufzufinden ist.

Auch Gegenden werden mit Verwandtschaftsnamen in Verbindung gesetzt. So *hi-kaiamakütasa* "Meiner Großmütter Land", genauer mit *üsi*, das "Land" bedeutet, also: *ki-kaiamäkütas-üsi* und *ki-kaiamäkus-ü* männlicher, *ki-kaiamäkus-ä-kipa* weiblicher Verwandter von dort. Der Ausdruck kann auch in umgekehrter Richtung sich auf die Enkel beziehen: "Das Land von jemandes Enkel". *hi-kaiamäkus-äpai* sagt, daß zwei Personen zu der Großmutter Land oder zu der Enkel Land Beziehung haben.

hannaiamalim Meine Landsleute	*hanna-kipaiamalim* do. f. was im Sg. lautet
hanngala do. m.	*hanna-kipa* do. f.

Verächtlicherweise sagt man *hannüca* Meine Landsleute. Gelegentlich werden wir noch solche Entsprechungen erwähnen.

Wie man örtlich die Benennung beschränkt, so ist das auch mit Bezug auf das Geschlecht möglich: *winni-üalan* Alle weiblichen Verwandten von jemand, wie Nichten, Cousinen und Zweitcousinen usw. Der Ausdruck ist aber familiär, was auch jedesmal dabei berücksichtigt werden muß.

Für "Eltern" kennt man zwei Ausdrücke: *dätinakaiamalim* und *tükätürü*. Die Paarbenennung kommt auch einem Einzelgatten zu, wie *tuku, tühü(n), tükun* (8, 3; 18, 29) oder *äkin'ha* Mein Mann! Meine Frau! *ki-tüku-n* Seine Frau, ihr Mann. *kötü-pai tuku könjin* Das ist die Frau jenes Mannes, das ist der Mann jener Frau. Doch gibt es auch Einzelbenennung ausschließlich, aber nur auf seiten der Frau. So: *pana-tuku-äki*, wenn ein Weib schlechthin gemeint ist, während das Nebenweib oder die zweite Frau *uidäg(äki)* heißt, so benannt, da ihr Platz an der oberen oder inneren Seite im Wigwam ihres Mannes ist. *dürä-kip-a* bedeutet nur "alte Frau". Braut und Bräutigam heißt wie oben "Gatte, Gattin" *tuku; matuku* dagegen wird nur für "Gatte, Gattin" gebraucht.

Letzteres Wort bedeutet nur "heiraten", oder wieder genauer: Nordwärts gehen oder kommen und heiraten oder geheiratet werden, oder um zu heiraten. *matükūpai* "Ein verheiratetes Paar" oder "einander heiraten". *matükriamalim* Ein Mann und seine Frauen, zwei Männer und ihre Frauen. Diese Kategorie von Ausdrücken ist wieder äußerst reichhaltig, wie z. B. *tümülönulyügü* Jemandes Gattin oder Gatten bei sich festhalten oder zu sich nehmen. *gör'tükü* Eine Frau heiraten, zu der man oder wozu man kein Recht hat. *güligü* In die Ehe schicken oder geben, nämlich ein Mann seine Tochter (aber nicht seinen Sohn). *güligümütü* Veranlassen zu gehen und sich hinzusetzen im Wigwam, wie ein Vater seine Tochter mit Rücksicht auf ihren zukünftigen Gatten. *röhyākin* Die erste Frau, deren Platz an der Türseite ihres Mannes ist. *Yamalüröna* (*röapöna, röipöna*) Weibliche Verwandte mit solcher Familiarität behandeln, wie sie nur am Platze ist jenen gegenüber, mit denen eine Ehe eingegangen werden soll, oder Verwandte wie Cousinen, Tanten usw. heiraten, sich ungewöhnliche Freiheiten erlauben mit jemandes Verwandtschaft, Familie oder Heiligtum entweihen, roh sein. *tütux-gümata* Jemand an Stelle eines anderen zur Ehe geben. *tuxköna* Auf dem Schiff heiraten. *tuxlöäin* Geheiratet sein mit oder heiraten mehr als zwei Frauen. *tunnana* Lieben, mit Liebe und Güte behandeln, wie ein Mann seine Frau (nur Frauen gegenüber gesagt). *tstuxyellāki* Eine Frau, die von einem früheren Manne verlassen oder entlassen wurde. *tsriamalüröna, tsriamalüröngāligū* Einem Manne eine Frau als Gattin geben, die mit ihm verwandt ist. *tümülärilin tükūpei* Einem Mann zur Ehe versprochen (1, 27). *tstükūökandaulum* Von der Hochzeit, aus dem Hause seiner Gattin (12, 36). *kötüsöläudē kipa* Sie freiten (17, 27). *kötümügāligūrindē kipa* Frauen wurden zur Ehe gegeben (17, 27). *kötuxmütudē ūa* Die mit ihrem Manne gelebt hatte (2, 36). *makurūa* Die Geliebte, Auserwählte (9, 35; 23, 25). *matunnn-üniägūa* Eine Frau über alle Anderen von ihrem Mann begünstigt.

Beim Wort für Vater ist es merkwürdig, daß Bridges nur ein einziges mit dem Poss. 3 gebraucht; er weist ausdrücklich darauf hin, daß man nur die Possessiva benutzen könnte, die zu einem Wort von ihm angegeben sind. Und in der Tat ist das erwähnte Verhältnis in all seinen Angaben so.

imu, imu, imün Vater (11, 2. 13; 12, 30)	*dābi(n)* Mutter (1, 43; 4, 38)
imundrim Väter (21, 16)	*ūägönnux* Mutter nur von Söhnen
imüglan Väter (23, 26)	*dābindrim* Mütter (21, 16)
	hi-dābē(a)n 1. Mutter (8, 21)
	hi-dābin 1. do.
hau imun 1. do.	*dābria* 2. do (8, 20)
sin imun 2. do.	*sin(a) dābin* 2. do.
kön)imin imun 3. do.	*kön)imin dābin* 3. do.
kiē imun 3. do (15, 28)	*ki dābin* 3. do. (8, 19)
kiē imun 3. do.	
kötuusāki do., Alter, ältlicher Mann	*kötqus-kip-āki* Mutter, alte Frau.
kötqus (fam.) *kötux(in)* do.	*köt(q)us-kipa* do.

dárúnöa Alter, alter Mann, do.

dárúnákin, dárúnáhin do. (12, 53; 15, 22)

dálua Dein Vater (15, 27)

dálúa(n) 2. do.

hi dálua(n) 1. do.

hi dábúan 1. do. (15, 12)

(u)ölüma(n) Älterer Mann

tánúwa Mein Vater, mein alter Mann (fam.)

taninua 2. do.

(hana) tümagaiwa 1. do. do. (fam. und freundschaftlich von seiten Jüngerer

yauaua Mein Vater (lokal im Osten)

dárákipa Alte, alte Frau, do. (1, 18; 12, 53; 2, 36)

darakipa, dárápa Eine alte, große und starke Frau, Mutter

dara-winni, dárg-inni do. do.

tanúwa-kipa Meine Mutter, meine alte Frau (fam.)

pasanápa Mutter

hana pasanápa 1. do.

Zur Ergänzung noch einige Angaben. *dapöš, dápöš* (11, 27; 23, 29) *tömmuša* (im Süden) Mutterbrust, *-dapöla* säugen, *gainši* Zur Reife wachsen (von der Mutterbrust gesagt). *gönnux* Eine Mutter, die nur weibliche Nachkommen gebiert. *mennasa, maiamasa* Schwanger. *yemböna* Ein kleines Kind haben. *yembönákipa* Mutter eines kleinen Kindes. *yellümágú* Bei der Niederkunft einer anderen Frau zuvorkommen. *tümütülöša* Kinder oder Nachkommen haben. *tüsilana* Embryo, mit einem Kinde in den ersten Monaten gehen. *galatia* Embryo, *amagöna* Bauch, Embryo, Ei, schwanger. *mágú* Als Sohn annehmen, ein Kind zur Welt bringen, ein Junges haben. *máátsiköri* Hervorkommen, zur Welt kommen. *tučikipinana* Ein Kind oder anderen Abhängigen haben, dessen Leben von anderen bedroht wird. *tümágönnaka* Keine Nachkommenschaft hervorgebracht haben, kinderlos, unfruchtbar. *jákal* Unfruchtbar, keine Nachkommen habend. *mágönnaka* Kein Kind (geboren) haben. *mátümágápai* Zwei Kinder haben. *ucéna* Leibesfrucht. *kičin ucénan* 3. do.: *hau galatia* 1. do. *ucénanga* Du wirst (im Schoße) empfangen (1, 31). *könenanude* Sie ward schwanger (1, 24). *mága

* getragen habend (nach der Schwangerschaft; 11, 27). *u tümágúa ua* Du wirst einen Sohn (-Mann) gebären (1, 31). *šómuyágú* Embryo, *šómuyágú-dálsi, hasamasa kipa* Eine schwangere Frau. *jákáluf* Nachgeburt, Nabelschnur. *gápú* Nabel, *gápul* Nabelschnur.

Vom Manne: *šag-gala, alox-gala, höllöx* Testikeln. *höllöxkai-iüadátú* Nieren. Damit hängt zusammen *höllöagaina* Ein beliebtes Spiel, bei dem dieses Wort wiederholt wird. *hallöči* Penis.

matümágönnakúwa Ein Mann, der keine Kinder hat, kinderloser Mann. *matümágú* Ein Kind haben oder zeugen (nur vom Manne gesagt), zu bestimmter Zeit oder am bestimmten Orte geboren sein. *matulöša* Mehr als zwei Kinder (gezeugt) haben. *ha-matümágápikin-de kaiúala umálategan-apai* Ich habe Zwillinge gezeugt. *yembönúwa* Ein Mann, der ein kleines Kind hat. *takatega* (Von einem Manne gesagt) eine Frau als seine Gattin im Kanu nehmen. *ana,*

sioman(l)a Geschlechtsverkehr haben. *lōllaiella* Aufhören zu zeugen oder Aufhören, jetzt noch weiterhin irgendwelche Nachkommen hervorzubringen.

ingūge Ehebrecherisch, lasziv, ausschweifend. *ūun* Ehebrecherisch, geneigt zu Belästigungen oder Gewalt, *kipata*, Ehebruch begehen, eine Frau überwältigen, ehebrecherisch, Lüstling. *kipatāki* Der Ehebrecher. *kipatākinu* O du ehebrecherischer Mensch! *kipōllōmbi* Ehebrecherisch, inzestuös, Hurer. *gōr'gaia* Unverschämt und herausfordernd einen Mann belästigen, indem man versucht, mit seiner Frau gegen ihren Willen zu tändeln.

houa matūmāgū mpala Mein Geburtstag.

ūpūn-ūa Witwer, Junggeselle	*ūpūn kipa* Witwe
ōlātakūki do.	*ōlātakūkika* do. (2, 37; 21, 2)

ōlātaka Des Mannes oder der Frau beraubt; abwesend (allein lebend) von Mann oder Frau, *magaiūpunanākipa* Eine Frau, deren Mann ermordet worden ist. *gātāt ūpōna* Im Wochenbett sterben.

makū, mākun, mākūn Sohn	*māk-kipa, mā-kipa* Tochter
mākū do. (9, 58; 12, 8)	*mā-kipa-n* do. (2, 36; 8, 49)
kōmbei mākū Zwei do. (15, 11)	*makipeiamalim* Töchter (23, 28)
haua mākun 1. do. (15, 31; 9, 35)	*haua mākipan* 1. do.
sa mākun 2. do. (15, 30)	
ki mākun 3. do. (20, 44)	*ki mā(ki)pan* 3. do.
uōlēua, ualewa do. (1, 13. 57)	*inni, inia* do.
	uinia Meine Tochter! (8, 48)
	houa uei-kipa-n 1. Tochter
tūmāgū kai-uala Sohn (illeg.)	*tūmāgū ini* Tochter (illeg.)
kaiiūala Kind (bes. m.)	*kipa kaiiūala* Kind (f.)
kei-yūala do. (2, 40; 43)	
kaigūala do.	
yārūmatia Kleines Baby (m).	*yārū-kipa* Junge Frau, Weib, Tochter
yārumūa do., Jüngling (12, 53; 7, 14; 15, 21)	
yārumūāki Der Sohn	
jakauiya, ūjakauiya Baby (m).	*ūjakauiyākipa* Baby (f.)
ūatukumara Kind (m.), do.	*ūatukumarakipa* Kind (f.)

Nun zu dieser schon reichlichen Vertretung noch eine Nachlese, die, wie in allen Fällen, auch immer nur eine Auslese bedeutet.

mōtakaiyin Ausendent, Nachkomme. *pikin-ini* Säugling. *keiiūalaiamalim* Kinder (6, 35; 11, 7; 20, 34). *ōsūuākin* Jüngstes (m., f., 15, 12). *kūpalpāki(n), kagulpa, kaguspaki, kōčiyella* Der Letztgeborene, *niannpaiamamāgūa, kiūrinmunypeiamamagyūwa*, Erstgeborener, *keiypeiamana mūgudē wōlēwa* Sie gebar ihren Erstgeborenen (2, 7). *ūōla* (meist *ūela*) Jung, *ūōl-āki* Kleines, unschuldiges Kind, *ūōladāra* Die Kinderwelt. *amapita* Ein Kind, das noch nicht sprechen kann. *yekākin* Kleines Kind (2, 12. 16). *yekpalēwa* Ein kleiner Junge. *yakauiyanda* Ein kleiner (kolossaler) Kerl. *mpalēwa* Jungen zusam-

men, keine Mädchen dazwischen. *mishanahanu* Kleiner (7, 28). *nidāpa* Ein Knabe, männlich, männlichen Geschlechtes [bei Menschen und Tieren].

yōnimana, Der Älteste oder Erstgeborene der Familie sein.

yōnimānūwa Erstgeborener
yōtikniāki Ältester, Erstgeborener
yutuwiim Ältester, erstgeborener Sohn oder Bruder
yōnimanūkipa Älteste Tochter
yōtikniākipa Erstgeborene (Sg. f.)
yōtūwikipa da, Schwester

iamarganin hanapa Was ein Bruder? *yutuwiimpai* Die zwei ältesten Brüder. *napana* Ein Mann, der noch kein *yēkamal* ist, ein Nichtinitiierter. *tāmām* Ein Junge, der noch nicht der *klua*-Disziplin unterworfen ist, der in den *klua*-Riten noch nicht initiiert ist. *yōmamāgūa* Erstgeborener. *yarumgala* Junge Leute. *dārgalcoa* Ein alter, schwerer Knabe, ein alter Kerl, ein schwerer Junge, ein Mann und nicht länger ein Junge. *dārāada, dārāwa* Alte Leute, ein alter Mann *dārāwāki* Der alte Mann. *matāpanāpai* Zwei Personen zusammen, die gleicherweise unverheiratet sind, *mātūānata* Zum vollendeten Manne herangewachsen.

inganikipa Mädchen (1, 27; 8, 54). Jungfrau, junge Frau. *ambal(l)ax* Ein Mädchen, ein Baby (f.), eine junge Tochter. *yeka-lāganikipa*, Ein kleines Mädchen. *tāwaikipa* Die älteste oder erstgeborene Tochter, die vor allen anderen. *sapa* Blut (11, 50. 51; 22, 44), *sāpa* da., *sāpan(i)a* Menstruieren, *tari* Die erste Menstruation, *wēlix* Menses. *himānkipa* Eine Frau, die nach einer schweren Krankheit in der Rekonvaleszenz ist (fam.).

anakōkandanlumāa kānjin Er ist ein Mann, der nicht zu meiner Familie oder zu meinem Orte gehört. *anakōkan hai annū* Ich bin ein Mann, der nicht nahe mit ihm verwandt ist. *mamāgriamalim* Ein Mann und seine Kinder, die ganze Familie. *matākriamalim* Ein Mann und seine Frauen, die untereinander verwandt sind. *annū mamākus kāndāian* Jene, die zueinander Brüder und Schwestern sind, sie sind Brüder zueinander, *mamākus-pai* Zwei, die zueinander Brüder sind, *mamākus-yamalim* Brüder, Genossen. *mamāgū(pai)* Ein Vater und seine Söhne, eine Mutter und ihre Söhne. *hanivamar āsi-adanlam āa* Ein Mann aus meiner Gegend.

mpaimpai, mpaimyamalim Zwei und mehr, die Brüder zueinander sind. *mpaikipāpai, mpaikipaimalim* Zwei und mehr, die Schwestern zueinander sind.

aniāali Eine Person, deren männliche Verwandte meist gestorben sind, die somit schwach an Einfluß oder ungeschützt ist gegen Unrecht. *arāgo* Waise, *ārākāāki, ārākū(a)* Einer, der weder Vater noch Mutter hat, Doppelwaise.

wālakiya Waisenknabe
yōlāla Ein Waisenkind
pillui Söhne und Töchter eines Ermordeten (m.)
tanwōlāwa Ein Mann in Trauer um Kind, Eltern, Bruder oder Schwester.
wālakiyakipa Waisenmädchen
yōlālakipa Eine Doppelwaise
pillukipan Töchter eines Ermordeten (m.)
tanwōlāwākipa Eine Frau in Trauer um Kind, Eltern, Bruder oder Schwester.

tópár(ám)e Ein Vater oder Bruder eines Ermordeten

tópárakipa Eine Mutter, deren Sohn oder Schwester, deren Bruder oder Schwester eines Ermordeten.

tópáru Verwandte, wie Mutter oder Vater und Brüder und Schwestern eines Ermordeten. *tópárana* Die Pflicht, Rache zu üben an den Mördern jemandes Kindes oder Bruders oder Schwester. *mčaiólápai* Zwei Personen, Knaben, die Waisen sind. *kihapilhá, kihólika* Ein Knabe, dessen Vater oder Mutter ertrunken ist. *ánlúkru* Ein Ausdruck, den man einem Platze statt seines eigentlichen Namens gibt mit Rücksicht auf den Toten, nach dem er benannt war. *ánlúnrúin(ji(n?)* Ein Name, der einem Knaben gegeben wird an Stelle seines Geburtsnamens mit Rücksicht auf den jüngst Verstorbenen, der mit ihm den gleichen Namen trug. So wird, bei dem gleichen Namen für zwei Personen, der Überlebende *ánlúnrúin(ji(n?)* genannt; wenn die Person weiblich ist, *ánlúnrúin(ji(n?)-kipa. ánlúpa* Eine Person, deren nahe Verwandte gestorben sind, ein Waisenkind (infolge Nachlässigkeit oder Schuld des Vaters). *ima-álúf* Meine toten Verwandten. *mámerúkindrúna* Die Toten (20, 37). [Einige Bruchstücke wiederholt der Abschnitt über die Trauergebräuche.]

mamólla kipaiamalim Frauen, die nicht verwandt sind. *kamusi-kipaiamalim* Meine Landsmännerinnen. *ma-kaiamókúrmókipan* Eine Frau von deiner Großmutter Gegend. *mimi-álim* Alle weiblichen Verwandten jemandes, wie Nichten, Cousinen, Zweitcousinen usw. (fem.) *manókus-kipa* Drei oder mehr, die zueinander Brüder und Schwestern oder Schwestern oder erste Cousinen sind. *mamókus-kipápai* Solche, die zueinander Schwestern oder Schwestern und Brüder sind. *mamókus-kipaiamalim* Drei oder mehr, die zueinander Schwestern oder Schwestern und Brüder sind. *mamákipa, mamákipápai* Mutter und Tochter oder Vater und Tochter, *mamákipaiamalim* Eine Mutter und ihre Töchter oder ein Vater und seine Töchter. *kuinan* Eine Frau, seit kurzem Witwe, von einem anderen Mann zur Gattin genommen. *máxyella* Sterben und ein Kind hinterlassen als Waise (nur von der Mutter gesagt). *máxyellákí* Ein Kind, dessen Mutter es sterbend hinterließ, ein mutterloses Kind. *kúlpiz-kipa* Eine Frau, die kürzlich einen Bruder, eine Schwester oder einen Vetter oder eine Cousine verlor. *úúruxyellódátú* Eine Familie von Kindern, durch den Tod wie einer Mutter hinterlassen. *úátólliyellódátú* Waisen hinterlassen, wie eine Mutter ihre Familie. *gaiúnsana* Weibliche Nachkommen, Mädchen, im allgemeinen und wenn wenig von Männern behütet, schwache Frauen.

tamágúdárám(a) Stiefvater	*tamágúdárakipan* Stiefmutter
tamágúdárin do.	*tamágúdárakipa* do.
tamágúdárain do.	*tamayakipa* do.
ki tamágúdárana 3. do.	*ki tamágúdárakipan* 3. do.
tamágan Stiefsohn	*tamákipan* Stieftochter
tamágá (halíinda) do.	*tamágúrin(a)i* do.
ki tamágan 3. do.	*ki tamákipan* 3. do.
tamágan do.	

tümähipana Adoptieren oder Stiefeltern werden von Töchtern, indem man entweder deren Vater oder Mutter heiratet.
tümägü (hulüüale), *tünägua* Adoptieren oder Vater werden zu Kindern, indem man ihre Mutter als Gattin nimmt, oder als Mutter, indem man deren Vater heiratet.

mökuein Bruder (15, 27; 6, 41; 20, 28).	*mökue-kipa* Schwester (10, 39)
hana mokue 1. do.	
hana mökue 1. do.	*hana mokuekipan* 1. do.
ki mökuein 3. do.	*ki mokuekipanSi* 3. Pl. acc. (14, 26)
mokueyamalim Brüder (16, 28)	*mokuekipala* Schwestern (14, 26)
mokuepala do. (8, 19, 20, 21)	
hana mokuepala Meine Brüder (8, 2)	
sin mokuepalua 2. do. (8, 20)	
ki mokuepalua 3. do. (8, 19)	
momokuamalim Brüder (20, 29)	
magnüüamalim Brüder zueinander	*magnüamlipa-kipalamalim* Schwestern zueinander
sin üküüinüi Deines Bruders (6, 42)	
ki-t-üküün Seines Bruder (6, 14)	
uuimüa Ältester Sohn, Bruder, Vetter	*uui-kipa* (2) Ältere Schwester, eure Cousine
hana uuim 1. do. do.	
uuiamun do. do.	*hana uui-kipan* 1. do. do.
eiamun do. do.	*sin uui-kipan* 2. do. do.
krüüiamun 3. do. do.	*lin uui-kipa* 2. do. do.
k-eüüiamun 3. do. do.	*kui-üui-kipan* 3. do. do.
k-eüüiamülan 3. do. do.	*kui-üuikipalan* 3. do. do.
k-eiuamundaim 3. do. do.	*kui-üuikipandaim* 3. do. do.
kük-guim sieun Er ältester Bruder	*uinui* Meine Tochter, meine ältere Schwester, meine Frau, meine Nichte, meine Cousine 1., 2. und 3. Grades.
muerupai Zwei ältere Brüder zusammen	*mauekipapai* Zwei Frauen, ältere Schwestern einer Familie zusammen
gulan Mein ältester Bruder (fam.)	
gula Mein ältester Sohn	
gulandaian Meine ältesten Brüder (Respektvoller, freundlicher Ausdruck von Jüngeren gegen Fremde)	
ulaua, üläua Jüngerer Bruder	*üläipa* Jüngere Schwester
üläuü(ri)a, üküüki do.	*üläipüria* Deine do.

[illegible] 2. Dativ du.	*[illegible]* Die jüngere von zwei oder mehr Schwestern
[illegible] Der jüngere, jüngste Bruder	
kau [illegible] 1. du. du.	*kau [illegible]* 1. du.
[illegible] 2. du. du.	*[illegible]* 1. du.
[illegible] 2. du. du. Dativ	*[illegible]* 2. du.
[illegible] du., Cousin, Cousine (Von einem Onkel, der jünger ist, als jemandes Vater oder Mutter)	*[illegible]* 3. du.
[illegible] Jüngerer Bruder	
kau [illegible] 1. du.	*kau [illegible]* 1. du.
kau [illegible] 1. du.	*kau [illegible]* 1. du.
[illegible] 1. du.	
[illegible] 2. du.	*[illegible]* 2. du.
[illegible] 2. du.	*[illegible]* 2. du.
[illegible] 3. du.	*[illegible]* 2. du.
[illegible] 3. du.	*[illegible]* 2. du.
[illegible] 3. du.	*[illegible]* 2. du.
kau [illegible] 1. du. Dual.	
kau [illegible] 1. du. Plural	*kau [illegible]* 1. du.
[illegible] du.	*(kau) [illegible]* (1). [illegible] du.
kaiaua Mein jüngerer Bruder, mein Vetter, mein Kind, mein Neffe (fem.) (von kal "Nest")	*kaiaua-kipa* Meine jüngere Schwester, meiner Cousiner (1. Grad), meiner Tochter, meiner Nichte (fem.)
[illegible] Onkel	*[illegible]-kipa* Tantelin
[illegible] du.	*[illegible]-kipa* du.
	kau [illegible]-kipa 1. du.
kl [illegible] 3. du.	*kl [illegible]-kipa* 3. du.
[illegible] Vatersbruder	*[illegible]* Vatersschwester
kau [illegible] 1. du.	*[illegible]* du.
[illegible] du.	*[illegible]* (2.) du.
kau [illegible] 1. du.	*kl [illegible]* 1. du.
kau [illegible] 1. du.	*kl [illegible]* 1. du.
kau [illegible] 1. du.	*kau [illegible]* 1. du.
kin [illegible] 2. du.	
[illegible] 2. du.	
[illegible] 2. du.	
[illegible] 2. du.	
kl [illegible] 3. du.	*kl [illegible]* 3. du.
kl [illegible] 3. du.	*kl [illegible]* 3. du.
kl [illegible] 3. du.	
[illegible] (2.) Mutterbruder	*[illegible]* Mutterschwester

	[illegible] 3. du.
	[illegible] du.
[illegible] 1. du.	[illegible] du.
	[illegible] 1. du.
[illegible] 1. du.	[illegible] 1. du.
[illegible] 1. du.	[illegible] 1. du.
[illegible] 3. du.	[illegible] 3. du.
[illegible] 3. du.	
[illegible] (Gen.)	
[illegible] Nichte, Schwestersohn	[illegible] Neffe
[illegible] Schwestersohn	
[illegible] 1. du.	[illegible] 1. du.
[illegible] 1. du.	[illegible] 1. du.
[illegible] 1. du.	[illegible] 1. du.
[illegible] 2. du.	[illegible] 2. du.
[illegible] 2. du.	[illegible] 2. du.
[illegible] 2. du.	
[illegible] 3. du.	[illegible] 3. du.
[illegible] 3. du.	[illegible] 3. du.
[illegible] 3. du.	
[illegible] 3. du.	
[illegible] (Gen.)	[illegible] du. (Gen.)
[illegible] Großeltern	[illegible] Großeltern
[illegible] Vater	[illegible] Cousin, Base
[illegible] du.	[illegible] du.
[illegible] du.	[illegible] du.
[illegible] 1. du.	[illegible] du.
[illegible] 2. du.	
[illegible] 2. du.	
[illegible] 3. du.	
[illegible] 3. du.	

Dabei wird [illegible] als "eigener Ausdruck" verwendet, der dann auch, wie ihre eigene "Freundin" und "Diener" angeredet, für andere Verwandte verwendet wird.

[illegible] Neffe, Brudersohn	[illegible] Nichte, Bruder-tochter
[illegible] du. du.	[illegible] 1. Brudersohn
[illegible] 2. du. du.	[illegible] 1. du.
[illegible] 2. du.	
[illegible] 3. du.	[illegible] 3. du.
[illegible] 3. du.	[illegible] 3. du.
[illegible] 3. du.	
[illegible] Schwiegervater	[illegible] Schwiegermutter

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] du.	[illegible] du.
[illegible] du.	[illegible] du. (12, 13)
Sana [illegible] 1. du.	[illegible] du.
	Sana [illegible] 1. du.
ra [illegible] 2. du.	ra [illegible] 2. du.
Si [illegible] 3. du.	Si [illegible] 3. du.
[illegible] du. (Nicht alltg.)	[illegible] du. (Nicht alltg.)
Sana [illegible] 1. du.	
[illegible] du. (Gen.)	[illegible] du. (Gen.)
[illegible] du.	[illegible] (selbst?) du.
	[illegible] du. (1, 28)

Gelesen das besprochene Wort auch an [illegible] Übersetzung, sich leicht wegen seiner Stellung innerhalb der Bibel, so schließt das vorhandene Wortpaar an [illegible] "gehören" an. Es aber unleidlich auch an anderen Stellen leicht möglich, [illegible] zu erklären und Wörter hinzufügen [illegible] Gestaltung und Zusammenstellung zu erklären. Über das Weitere erlauben wir den Linguisten in Spezialuntersuchungen überlassen.

[illegible] Schwiegermutter	[illegible] Schwiegermutter
	[illegible] du.
	[illegible] du.
	[illegible] du.
[illegible] Schwiegerv.	[illegible] Schwiegerv.
[illegible] du.	Sana [illegible] 1. du.
Sana [illegible] 1. du.	Sana [illegible] 1. du.
Sana [illegible] 1. du.	Si [illegible] 1. du.
ra [illegible] 2. du.	[illegible] 2. du. (Auch Schwiegerv.-Gemahl werden [illegible] verwandt.)
ra [illegible] 2. du.	
ra [illegible] 2. du.	Si [illegible] 3. du.
Si [illegible] 3. du.	
Si [illegible] 3. du.	
Si [illegible] 3. du.	
Si [illegible] 3. du.	
[illegible] du.	

Nicht das besagte Wort [illegible] für sich, d. h. [illegible] Bezeichnung, so ist auch [illegible] "Gatte oder Schwiegerv. der Gattin" oder "Gatte der Schwiegerv. der Gattin" nur [illegible] verwandte. Es auch [illegible] Verwandtschaftsverhältnis, wenn der Mann oder die Frau, die die Verbindung herstellen, gestorben sind. Dies vorausgesetzt

Sana [illegible] Schwiegerv. oder sonst Schwager, im [illegible] Sinne	[illegible] Sinn [illegible] verschiedenen Verwandtschaftsverhältnis, [illegible] [illegible] Umstände.

[illegible] Durch Verheiratung Schwiegermutter oder Schwiegerv. von [illegible] oder werden, [illegible] Sinne Schwiegermutter oder [illegible] Schwiegerv. oder [illegible] oder [illegible] werden [illegible]

Zwei, die miteinander Schwiegermutter und Schwiegersohn oder Schwiegervater sind, *umwandelnd* Zwei, die miteinander Schwiegervater und Schwiegersohn oder Schwiegermutter sind, *einbeziehend* Verwandtschaft, daß *gesamt* durch Ehe Lange oder gebraucht wurde in die Verwandtschaft als Schwiegersohn oder Schwiegervater zu *ingrad* einer Person, *schließende* Bekannten oder Langen von Weiten zum jüngsten Gute oder Lassen und *ingesetzlichen* Dienst von einem Schwiegervater *gegenüber* für seine Tochter, *kind* Eine *einheitlichkeitsvolle* Form, gebraucht bei Verwandten, die durch Verheiratung oder Schwägerschaft zu einander gehören, beim Bitten oder Fragen zu einander, etwa als Schwiegersohn oder Schwiegermutter einander gegenüber, oder Vater und Mutter zu ihren Schwiegersöhnen und Schwiegertöchtern *und* umgekehrt. Es hat *sonst* keine spezielle Bedeutung, *kind*, *kindlich* Verhältnisse, im Gebrauch unter Verwandtgesetzen, vielfach in demselben Wille wie *ehen kind* und *ewer* im gleichen Verhalte.[97] Hiermit endet diese Zusammenstellung.

6. *Die Stammesgemeinschaft*

Ein Ist verbundenen, in sich verbundenen gesellschaftlichen Gebilde stellt die Stammesgemeinschaft nicht dar. Sie ist eigentlich nur das Ganze Nebeneinander von Einzelfamilien. Eine jede von diesen allerdings ist fortdauernd und gut gegliedert.

Alle Volksgenossen, die sich miteinander durch die gleiche Sprache verständlich machen und nach derselben Art ihre Lebensführung einrichten, können sich auf Grund dieses miteinander in eine verbunden und leben im Bewußtsein dieser Zusammengehörigkeit. Sie bilden *tangrand* eben ein Volk, für sich und unterscheiden sich durch viele andere Dinge, sowie durch gewisse Güter und eigene Verpflegung von anderen Völkern. Nicht nur geben sich die einzelnen von dieser tatsächlichen Wirklichkeit deutlich Rechenschaft, wie dieser können schützen und leben sie, wie sie als ihre Eigenart erkennen, ja sie leben sich in bewußtigem Nationalstolz über die Nachbarvölker und über andere menschliche Gemeinschaften hinaus. Sie betrachten sich nicht einmal *Intentiv* oder nur zu erlangen, ob sie vielleicht nicht durch in vielen Belangen durch andere Völker übertroffen werden; *ihr* stark, *intensive* Selbstgefühl und Selbstgenügen hebt von vornherein jeden Vergleich dieser Art ab.

Jener gewisse Einstellung und Gebundenheitung der Tamma ist *ersonnenlichen*, daß sie ein ausgeprägtes Heimatbewußtsein zur Schau tragen. Sie besaßen genau die Gewaltsamkeit, die ihnen Lebensmann von den Nachbarn trennen. Ihnen betrachten sie als ihnen allein *angehörend* und jeder Fremde dieses gilt ihnen als Eindringling. Mit ihrer Heimat sind sie innig verwachsen und *nur* nicht mit ihrem engeren Lebensbereich, *ist* verwandt.

[97] Im Bd. [illegible] bedeutet *kind* Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse, *kindlich* wurde es auch nicht in der *ehen* gemeinsamen Wörter angewendet. Vgl. Gramm. [illegible].

Sie loben seine Schönheit und Vorzüge; allerdings ergehen sie sich nicht in Schwärmereien und denken dabei ausschließlich an Sachgüter, die er ihnen bietet. Dorthin drängt es sie zurück, wenn sie sich zu Handelszwecken oder zur Jagd oder zu Festen weit entfernt hatten. Nach ihrem Gefühl gedeiht volles Lebensglück nur auf der Scholle des heimatlichen Bezirkes. Wie einer, der in der freudelosen Fremde weilt, so kommt sich auch jeder Yamana vor, der außerhalb seines engeren Heimatgebietes, also außerhalb seiner sogenannten Lokalgruppe leben muß. Er vermißt eben manches, was ihm dort geboten wurde, oder er bildet es sich so ein. Daher geht seine Sehnsucht dorthin zurück.

Bei Nelly Lawrence brach die Heimatliebe oft und stark durch. Viel trug dazu bei, daß sie sich in sehr veränderte Lebensbedingungen an der Seite ihres europäischen Gatten auf der Farm in Punta Remolino versetzt sah. Wenn sie von ihrem geliebten Westen, dem sie entstammte, zu erzählen anfing, wurde diese stille, schweigsame, fast redescheue Frau unglaublich lebendig und beredt. Da pries sie die landschaftliche Schönheit mit den vielen Gletschern und den verschlungenen Wasserarmen, die steilen Gipfel mit dem ewigen Schnee und die geborgene Sicherheit in den vielen stillen Buchten; da lobte sie das frische Grün der dichten Buchenwälder jener Regenzone und die ruhige Art der Tierwelt; endlich erhob sie ihre eigenen Landsleute über alles Lob. Alles und jedes stellte sie als besondere Vorzüge hin, hauptsächlich aus Gegensatz zu den gefürchteten, den West-Yamana benachbarten Halakwulup. Nie ließ sie sich eine Gelegenheit entgehen, um vor anderen laut zu betonen, daß das schöne *pasina*-Liedchen in ihrem Gebiete zuhause ist, daß eine Erzählung von dorther nach Osten sich verbreitet hat, daß bei den großen geheimen Versammlungen diese und jene Sonderform dort üblich ist u. dgl. m. Wirklich, auch der Feuerländer liebt seine Heimat mit einem ganzen und warmen Herzen. Dieses eine Beispiel ist ein sprechender Beweis.

1. Ihre Gliederung

Gegensätzlichkeiten zu betonen ist dem Yamana angeboren. Sie sind in seiner Heimat wirklich vorhanden und jeder kennt die Eigenart seines engeren Wohngebietes, ja muß mit ihr rechnen. Ausführlich wurde (S. 199) bereits dargelegt, daß die Aufteilung des gesamten Kap Hoorn-Archipels in fünf Sondergebiete geographisch bedingt ist. Demnach sind hier ebensoviele Dialektgruppen zuhause.[229] Seit uralter Zeit liegen die von der Natur selber aufgerichteten Grenzen für eine jede von ihnen fest und sie haben bis in die letzten Jahrzehnte hinein eine Scheidewand gebildet; neuestens erst ist es ungünstigen Kräften gelungen, sie niederzulegen. Trotzdem pocht noch heutigentags ein jeder der wenigen überlebenden Yamana auf seine Zuständigkeit nach diesem oder jenem Dialektbezirk. Niemand weiß, wer jene Gegend

[229] Eine einheitliche Klarstellung der einzelnen Volksgruppen haben nicht einmal die Mitglieder der Mission Beauvoir erreicht; ausdrücklich entfernt sich Hyades (j): 148 von dem Urteil des Schiffsarztes Hamy (h): 1533. Vgl. die genauen Grenzen in Gusinde (s): 1018.

erstmalig gezeichnet und auf sie alle Stammesgenossen verpflichtet hat; keine Mythe erzählt davon etwas. Ohne Widerstreben fügen sich alle in die gegebene Wirklichkeit. Bekanntlich genießt jeder einzelne in seinem Dialektgebiet volle Unabhängigkeit und uneingeschränkte Bewegungsfreiheit, auf Nahrungsversorgung hat er das gleiche Recht wie sein Landsmann.

Reisen ins Nachbargebiet dienen dem besonderen Zwecke, dort entweder Lebensmittel zu holen oder die nötigen Gerätschaften einzutauschen; länger als dazu erforderlich ist, hält sich niemand anderswo auf. Die im anderen Bezirk ansässigen Leute gestatten zwar, daß eine fremde Familie eindringt und sich mit dem, was sie braucht, versorgt; sie dulden es aber nicht, daß jemand sich darin unnötig viel Zeit herumtreibt. Täte er es dennoch, bildet das den Anlaß zu Feindseligkeiten, die ernste Form annehmen können. So lange jedoch ein gestrandeter Wal noch nicht völlig ausgenutzt wurde und so lange im eigenen Heimatbezirk die Nahrungsbeschaffung unmöglich ist, dürfen Nachbarn im fremden Gebiete nicht nur nicht belästigt, sondern müssen geduldet werden, wie es uralter Brauch vorschreibt.

Aber auch die engere Landschaft, in die jede einzelne Dialektgruppe gestellt ist, erscheint meistens zerrissen und von vielen Wasserarmen durchschnitten. Deswegen bilden sich innerhalb einer jeden, wieder unter dem Zwange der geographischen Bedingungen, kleinere Gruppen, die, infolge leichterer Bewegungsmöglichkeit, häufiger untereinander verkehren und miteinander zusammenkommen. Das sind die sogenannten L o k a l g r u p p e n innerhalb der Dialektgruppen. Eine jede der ersteren wird von Leuten, die in der gleichen Gegend gebürtig sind, gebildet. Sie betrachten sich selber gegenseitig als näher zusammengehörig und dieses kleine Gebiet als ihre nächste Heimat. Nach dieser benennen sie sich einheitlich, nämlich nach einer Bucht, nach einem Wasserarm, nach einer kleinen Inselgruppe.

Auch Hyades (j): 150 hat diese Gewohnheit beobachtet: „Ils disent bien: les gens de la baie Packsaddle, *Pouthronya yamana*, du Ponsonby Sound, *Kunakouche yamana*, mais à peu près comme nous ferions dans une ville en parlant de tel quartier ou de telle rue."[229] Offensichtlich dürfen dergleichen Benennungen weder im Sinne einer Organisation noch im Sinne einer ständischen Stammesgliederung gedeutet oder gewertet werden.

Seinerseits hat Bridges für Lokalgruppe die Bezeichnung „clan or tribe" gebraucht. Beispielsweise hat er um das Jahr 1883/84 eine Zählung der gesamten Yamana-Bevölkerung veranstaltet und die einzelnen Gruppen „under their several clan names" zusammengestellt. Seine Begründung lautet: „All these natives are known by the names of their several locations and are very minutely divided into small clans. The term Ucur [*ŭkŭr*[1]], which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used

[229] Auf ein Schreiben des Rev. Bridges vom Juni 1884 sich stützend hat Hyades (l): 718 wiederholt: „Tous ces indigènes sont connus par les noms des localités où ils vivent et sont très exactement divisés en petits clans."

to denote clans or tribe" (MM: XVIII, 224; 1884). Der Ushuaia-Lokalgruppe spricht er eine Ausdehnung von etwa zwanzig englischen Meilen zu (MM: XIII, 151; 1879); das entspricht aber nur einem Drittel des Raumes, den die mittlere Dialektgruppe tatsächlich einnimmt.

Entsprechend den oben aufgezählten Wortbildungen führt BD: 259 auch solche an, in denen auf den Heimatbezirk der Großmutter irgendwelcher Person genau Bezug genommen wird. So *hikuiamakūtasa*, the connection a person has with the land of his father's mother, or of his mother's mother; *hikuiamakūtasūsi*, the country of my mother's mother's, my father's mother's country. Mit diesem Stammwort werden durch Suffixe die Benennungen für die männlichen und weiblichen Verwandten aus jener Gegend gebildet.

Dergleichen Bezeichnungen für den Heimatbezirk der Großmutter wurden wohl deshalb geschaffen, weil eine jede der beiden Großmütter des nämlichen Enkels anderswo beheimatet ist; hingegen verbleiben alle väterlichen Vorfahren des letzteren fast ausnahmslos auf dem gleichen Fleck. Das wird noch deutlicher aus der Erklärung, die BD: 168 zum Worte *kuiamākūtasa*, das wiederkehrt in dem soeben genannten *hikuiamakūtasa*, gibt; denn es ist „a term applied of the connection one has with a place or people from which one's grandmother came". Daraus die weitere Bildung *kuiamākūtasūsi*, the country of my grandmother, or the country of one's grandchildren; und endlich *hikuiamākūtasāpai*, two persons belonging to one's grandmother's country. Aus diesen Benennungen eine Gesellschaftsform mutterrechtlicher Art herauslesen zu wollen, scheint mir nicht statthaft zu sein.

Geläufiger sind unseren Indianern jene Ausdrucksweisen, die den Gedanken der bestimmten Landeszugehörigkeit bzw. der Bodenständigkeit und des Heimatrechtes enthalten. Dem Wurzelwort *hánnan* gibt BD: 265 den Sinn von: my country, in opposition to *palalisin*, civilised country. Daraus ergeben sich die Ableitungen *hannaiāmalim*, (used by the natives specially of themselves) my country men, my country people, *hannakipaiāmalim*, my country women, *hannóala*, my countryman und endlich *hannakipa*, my countrywoman.

Die durch neuzeitliche Einflüsse bedingten Veränderungen drängten die bislang im umgrenzten Heimatbezirk voneinander abgeschlossenen Dialektgruppen und Familienkreise enger und enger zusammen, seit 1880 setzte eine besonders starke Bewegung in dieser Richtung ein. Als Ergebnis verzeichnete Bridges im Juni 1884, gemäß Hyades (I): 718: „Les Yahganes sont bien plus fusionnés maintenant entre eux qu'ils ne forment tous qu'une seule peuplade." Offensichtlich möchte Bridges seine Leserwelt glauben machen, eine Änderung zum Guten habe sich bei diesen Eingeborenen unter dem Einfluß der anglikanischen Mission vollzogen. Darin irrte er sich. Des weiteren hat bereits Hyades (I): 721 gegen dessen Behauptung den berechtigten Einspruch erhoben, daß die Yamana „étaient autrefois divisés en tribus hostiles ou antipathiques les unes aux autres". Damit soll nicht geleugnet werden, daß zwischen einzelnen Familien der gleichen Lokalgruppe gelegentliche Zwistigkeiten und Feindschaften ausgetragen worden sind.[228]

Der Zusammenhalt der fünf Dialektgruppen ist nur sehr locker,[731] etwas enger ist jener der Lokalgruppen einer jeden Dialektgruppe und wirklich fest jener der Familien eines jeden Verwandtenkreises, deren Gesamtheit eben die Lokalgruppe bildet. Überschneidungen gibt es selbstverständlich, insofern eine Person sowohl in der einen wie in der anderen Lokalgruppe ihre Blutsverwandten sitzen hat. Bekanntlich (S. 782) ist der Verwandtenkreis für sich allein weder ein genau geordnetes Gefüge noch ein bestimmt gegliedertes Gebilde; die Bande des Blutes selber halten die einen lockerer und die anderen strammer zusammen, obwohl die Verbundenheit so fest ist, wie eben die Natur selber sie zu knüpfen vermag. Bei Aufteilung des Verwandtenkreises sehen wir die einzige und allein durchgebildete gesellschaftliche Einrichtung, die gutbegründet auf sich selber ruht, vor uns, nämlich die Einzelfamilie; sie macht einen kleinen Staat für sich aus.[732]

Dem Charakter unserer Feuerländer entspricht es ganz und gar, daß die fünf Dialektgruppen untereinander, mehr noch die Lokalgruppen und erst recht die zum Verwandtenkreis zusammengeschlossenen Familien durchgehends friedliche Beziehungen pflegen.[733] Jeder Tag ist mit der Nahrungssuche mehr oder weniger ausgefüllt, daneben bleibt nicht viel Zeit und Gelegenheit für Ränke oder Streitereien. Die Mitglieder des Familienkreises, weniger die der Lokalgruppe, am wenigsten die der Dialektgruppe, bleiben gelegentlich in einigen Belangen aufeinander angewiesen und mutwillig oder leichtsinnig verderben sie es nicht mit jenen, deren Hilfe sie gegebenenfalls nicht entbehren können.

Früher, als Wale sich oft in den Kanälen der Kap Hoorn-Welt zeigten, strömten die Eingeborenen häufiger aus allen Gegenden zusammen, lagerten gemeinsam am gleichen Ort und lernten sich besser kennen: Zwischenheiraten waren die Folge und anschließend daran wiederholte Besuche der eigenen Eltern, wenn eine Jungvermählte ihrem neuen Gatten in dessen engeren Heimatbezirk gefolgt war. Gewiß, man achtete allgemein auf die bestehenden Grenzen, zumal auf die der Dialektgruppen: auch nahm man sich das Recht,

[731] Noch aus jüngster Erfahrung hat Bove (e): 158 berichtet: „Die Bewohner des Ostens (Picton Island) und die von Addusia (New Year Sound) bekämpften sich [seit Gründung der Missionsstation in Ushuwaia] noch häufig und oft genug dringt die traurige Nachricht von Gewalttat, Totschlag und Beleidigungen zu der Mission."

[732] Das wohl liegt in Agenhall's: 270 Worten: „Trotz des Mangels engerer Bande von Stammesgemeinschaft bemerkt man bei ihnen viele Züge wahrer Affekte und tieferer Neigung."

[733] Hyades (g): 35 versucht sich in folgender Deutung: „Zu einer Organisation über die Familie im engsten Sinne hinaus läßt aber der unbändige Unabhängigkeitstrieb die Feuerländer nicht kommen. Jeder ist auf sich selbst allein angewiesen." Vom Yamana behauptet Barclay (a): 64, daß „he owns no faith, religion, or tribal 'tie' other than that of the family which huddles together for food and sustenance".

[734] Unverständlich ist es mir, wie Bascks (h): 205 folgende ungeheuerliche Ansicht aussprechen konnte: „Sus costumbres ofensas contra sus amigos y vecinos mantenian la comunidad en un estado crónico de inquietud y violencias. Pero habia que no presentaron cicatrices y a menudo ocurrian muertes de resultas de peleas." Diese Behauptung steht in offenem Gegensatz zu manchem anderen Urteil, das Bascks selber gefällt hat.

sie ungestört überschreiten zu können, wohl wahr; aber man mißbrauchte es nicht dadurch, daß man grundlos im fremden Gebiete zu lange herumschweifte.

Die örtlichen Bedingungen selber geben die Erklärung dafür ab, warum die drei nördlichen Dialektgruppen häufiger unter sich, als mit den beiden weiter im Süden gelegenen Dialektgruppen (S. 199) verkehren konnten.

2. Ihre Leitung

Was zwischen den obigen Zeilen liegt, muß schließlich in bestimmte Worte gekleidet werden, nämlich daß unser Yamana-Volk keine Obrigkeitsperson anerkennt, weder für die gesamte Gemeinschaft noch für größere Gruppen, einerlei, welche Bezeichnung sie in höheren gesellschaftlichen Verbänden führen. Diese keineswegs befremdliche Erscheinung wird nicht nur durch die unabhängige Stellung und Freizügigkeit der Einzelfamilie, sondern auch durch ausdrückliche Zeugnisse vieler Beobachter bestätigt. Despard (b): 746 versichert: „They have no king, chief, or other person, distinguished from his fellows by hereditary or committed right of rule. They have no council of state." Dasselbe wiederholt Hyades (j): 184: „Les Fuégiens n'ont pas de chefs, et ils sont opposés à toute idée de supériorité et d'autorité."[234] Keine einzige Rechtsperson also steht dem ganzen Stamm oder den einzelnen Gruppen vor, nicht einmal die Einrichtung des *kemál* der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 423) findet sich hier.

Ebensowenig gibt es einen über alle Leute autoritativ gestellten Richter und deshalb muß jedermann sich sein eigenes Recht selber suchen. Hilfe und Stütze findet er bei Rechtsverletzungen an seinem Verwandtenkreis, den Ausgang seines Streitfalles entscheidet mehr oder weniger das Faustrecht. Jeder bleibt in seiner Verteidigung auf sich allein und auf seine nächsten Verwandten angewiesen; denn, wie Despard (b): 716 versichert, „in Fireland is no king or magistrate. All men have equal rights and equal wrongs." Selbstredend fallen die Entscheidungen nicht immer der Gerechtigkeit entsprechend aus und das Fehlen einer unparteiischen, auf Rechtsgrundsätzen fußenden öffentlichen Gewalt schädigt den Charakter und schwächt den Gerechtigkeitssinn; es entwickeln sich auf dieser Grundlage sogar manche Ungleichheiten mit ernsten Folgen. Einige hat bereits Stirling angedeutet: „This absence of chieftainship gives the violent spirits a better social position than they deserve, and a more dangerous sphere. It is left to individuals to avenge wrongs, at least for the most part; the strength and composure of a defined public opinion, vindicating right and proceeding to punish the wrong-doer, are only exceptionally known. The law of the strongest prevails" (MM: IV, 34; 1870).

Zu ihrem eigenen Vorteil ist diese feuerländische Bevölkerung friedlich veranlagt. Ausbrüche von Gewalttätigkeiten bei Rechtsverletzungen ergreifen

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[234] Nur in diesem Sinne gilt, was Bove (e): 158 behauptet hat: „Der Ausdruck 'Autorität' ist ein toter Wort." Vgl. Alvarez: 145, Bove (g): 234, Cooper: 177, Fitz-Roy (a): 178, Lothrop (b): 168, Lothrop (h): 150 u. a.

immer nur kleine Kreise und dies nicht einmal häufig. Durchgängig überwiegt doch bei den meisten das ehrliche Bestreben, rechtschaffen zu sein und an die herrschenden Stammessitten sich zu halten; Verfehlungen gegen das allgemeine Rechtsempfinden und Verstöße gegen die Freiheit eines anderen ereignen sich selten.

Zwar herrscht bei den Yamana keine vom Recht bestellte obrigkeitliche Behörde weder über die gesamte Volksgemeinschaft noch über kleinere Gruppen. Niemals aber fehlt es an solchen Männern, die infolge ihres hohen Alters und tadellosen Charakters, ihrer langen Erfahrung und geistigen Überlegenheit sich einen moralischen Einfluß von solcher Stärke erwerben, daß er einer gewissen Beherrschung gleichkommt.[235] So ein *tjámuna*, wie man ihn nennt, nimmt zwar nicht die Stellung des *kęmál* der Selk'nam ein, der der maßgebende Mann ist für alle, die der gleichen, bestimmt umgrenzten Ortsgruppe angehören; aber die Mitglieder eines weiteren Verwandtschaftskreises hören doch auf das Wort ihres *tjámuna*, fügen sich seinen Anweisungen, beugen sich seinem Rate und nehmen sogar seine Warnungen entgegen. Wie ein aufrichtiger Freund seiner nächsten Umgebung und wie ein ehrenwerter Patriarch in einem weiteren Kreise führt und leitet er durch gute Worte all jene, die seinem Einflusse sich gern unterstellen oder ihm sich schwerlich entziehen könnten. Er ist ein gewissenhafter Förderer der alten Ordnung und ein unentwegter Eiferer für die guten Sitten der Vorzeit, sein Beispiel allein wirkt stärker als seine Worte. Schonend nur und in bester Absicht für das Wohl des einzelnen wie für den Frieden in der Gesamtheit gibt er seine Meinung kund, ohne sich selber Hoheitsrechte anzumaßen, noch die persönliche Freiheit von irgend jemand einzuschränken.

Die Ehrfurcht, die man allgemein den bejahrten, mustergültigen Personen zollt, macht es niemandem schwer, sich im Einzelfalle dem Urteile oder der Weisung des *tjámuna* zu fügen.[236] Diese Vormachtstellung erstrebt eigentlich niemand, sie vererbt sich auch nicht. Sache des Vertrauens ist es, daß sich mehrere jüngere Leute oder ein ganzer Verwandtenkreis einem bestimmten Alten wie ihrem ungekrönten Häuptling unterstellen.

Unseren Feuerländern fehlt es also an bestellten Obrigkeitspersonen und an geschriebenen Gesetzen; eine Staatsgewalt besteht trotzdem, wenngleich unsichtbar. Bekanntlich zerfällt der ganze Stamm in fünf deutlich abgegrenzte Dialektgruppen (S. 199); eine jede von ihnen löst sich in mehrere Lokalgruppen auf, die ihrerseits je ein engeres Gebiet bewohnen, und endlich setzt sich eine jede von diesen aus einigen Familiengruppen zusammen. Die

[235] Schon Fitz-Roy (a): 178 hat erkannt: „There is no superiority of one over another, except that acquired gradually by age, sagacity, and daring conduct." Später ergänzte Hyades (j): 184 noch: „Ils reconnaissent bien une supériorité morale et d'intelligence, mais cette supériorité n'est admise que dans un petit cercle d'amis et ne donne pas lieu à une domination qui ne serait ambitionnée ni supportée par aucun."

[236] Mit einigen anderen Beobachtern übereinstimmend versichert Hyades (g): 35, daß „die alten Männer sich großen Einflusses und einer Art Verehrung erfreuen".

Einzelfamilie endlich beruht auf sich allein und genießt volle Unabhängigkeit. Ihr bleibt es überlassen, sich häufiger mit diesen und sich enger mit jenen Familien zusammenzuschließen. Zuweilen ergibt sich ein gemeinsames Reisen und ein mehrtägiges Beisammensein durch zufällige Begegnung; ebenso schnell ist diese rein äußerliche Verbindung auch wieder gelöst, wenn sich eine andere Familie einfindet, mit der man sich vergesellschaftet. Der eben genannte *tiámuna* trifft gelegentliche Vereinbarungen mit dem der anderen Familiengruppe und damit ist bereits eine größere Zahl von Familien für ein bestimmtes Ziel gewonnen. Immer aber sind das freie Entschließungen und äußerer Zwang unterbleibt; die Redefertigkeit und die Leichtigkeit, andere schnell zu überzeugen, geben meist allein den entscheidenden Ausschlag.

Entweder ist die Jugendweihe oder die Männerzeremonie, auch eine gemeinschaftliche Totenfeier der Gegenstand einer solchen Besprechung. Jedermann kennt die allgemeine Verpflichtung der herangereiften Jugend zur Teilnahme an der Jugendweihe; diese Möglichkeit zu schaffen obliegt den Erwachsenen und einige einflußreiche Personen fühlen, je nach den Umständen, den Drang, sie zu verwirklichen. Daß die Allgemeinheit über jener bedeutsamen Einrichtung wacht und keinen Jugendlichen dieser Vorteile verlustig gehen läßt, muß man unzweideutig als eine Auswirkung der unsichtbaren, aber mächtig treibenden Staatsgewalt deuten (S. 806).

Wenn sich jemand wiederholt schwere Verstöße gegen die geltenden Gewohnheiten zuschulden kommen läßt und mehrere Personen dabei ansehnlichen Schaden leiden, schaut man sich das wohl eine Zeitlang an; dann aber rafft sich ein naher Verwandter jenes Übeltäters auf und mit Berufung auf die Meinung anderer Leute redet er ihm ins Gewissen. Sogar zu einem Kampfe läßt man es kommen und man schont sein Leben nicht, da man die Ehrfurcht vor der bestehenden Ordnung höher schätzt. So sorgt wieder eine unsichtbare Staatsgewalt für Reinhaltung der Gesetze und für Ehrfurcht vor ihnen. Wenn in einer Lokalgruppe Hungersnot ausbricht und wenn ein Wal irgendwo auf den Strand getrieben wird, tritt ein ungeschriebenes Gesetz in Kraft, das die engeren Verkehrsgrenzen aufhebt und den freien Zutritt dorthin öffnet, wo sich jeder reichlich versorgen kann.

Das alles sind zwar bescheidene Anfänge einer Betätigung der Staatsgewalt, aber sie wirkt doch auch schon in jener völlig unorganisierten Volksgemeinschaft und macht sich fühlbar geltend, allerdings unmittelbar immer zum Vorteil des einzelnen und im Dienste der Familie, wodurch sie den ungeschmälerten Fortbestand des Volksganzen sichert. Nicht im entferntesten verfolgt diese noch unsichtbare Staatsgewalt einen Selbstzweck.

Ganz im Gegensatz zu dieser verschleierten Daseinsweise, die der Staat in jener Gemeinschaft fristet, scheint die F r e i h e i t d e r E i n z e l p e r s o n hell auf. Wer einmal nach erlangter körperlicher Reife sich verehelicht und die elterliche Hütte verläßt, steht auf eigenen Füßen, ist niemandem gegenüber verantwortlich und hat keinen Herrn über sich. Innerhalb der weiten Grenzen, die Gewohnheitsrecht und althergebrachte Sitte gezogen haben, bewegt er sich

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

nach eigenem Gutdünken, seine Zeit teilt er nach Willkür ein, seine Nahrungsmittel und Gerätschaften besorgt er sich, je nachdem er aufgelegt ist, er verwendet und veräußert sie nach freiem Ermessen. Nur wenn jemand durch schweres Verschulden wiederholt oder andauernd anderen Stammesgenossen bedeutenden Schaden zufügt, wird er, wie soeben begründet, verwarnt.

Für gewöhnlich wagt es niemand, einer anderen Person bestimmte Aufträge zu erteilen oder Forderungen an sie zu stellen, einerlei ob er dazu berechtigt bzw. verpflichtet ist oder nicht. Eine Frau ermahnt also ihren Gatten nicht, endlich wieder auf die Jagd zu gehen, müßte sie mit ihren Kindern sogar noch lange weiterhungern. Nicht einmal dazu geben diese Indianer sich her, eine Forderung und Weisung an eine genau bezeichnete Person weiterzuleiten. Öfters war das zu beobachten. Befahl ich einem Manne, in meinem Namen von einem anderen einen gewissen Dienst zu fordern, hörte er sich wohl meine Worte an und ging weg. Aber kurz darauf kehrte er zurück, ohne jenen gesprochen zu haben, und legte mir nahe, ich solle persönlich meine Weisung dem Betreffenden erteilen. So wahrt jeder des anderen Freiheit, die er sich selber ebensowenig und im geringsten behindern läßt.[227]

Trotz der weitreichenden Unabhängigkeit und Freiheit, die jede Einzelperson genießt, geht es in jener feuerländischen Volksgemeinschaft geordnet und friedlich zu, obwohl es weder rechtlich bestellte obrigkeitliche Personen noch geschriebene Gesetze gibt. Das Zusammenleben aller Stammesgenossen ist so gut gesichert, daß sie ihrem Nahrungserwerb ungestört nachgehen und ihr Familienleben in ungezwungener Hingabe führen können, sich selber zum Glück und ihrer nächsten Umgebung zur Förderung, damit auch zum Gedeihen der Gesamtheit. Das eine große Gesetz trägt nämlich jeder echte, rechte Yamana in seinem Herzen, das ihm während der Jugendweihe unverlöschlich eingeprägt wurde und das ihm unwandelbare Richtschnur im Leben ist und bleibt, nämlich: Ein gutes und brauchbares Stammesmitglied zu sein!

D. Die Jugendweihe

Die Yamana sind sich der naturgegebenen Pflicht voll und ganz bewußt, auf das heranreifende Geschlecht erzieherisch einzuwirken. Vor allem bemühen sich die Eltern um ihre eigenen Kinder und zwar mit einem Ernst, den viele andere Völkerschaften nicht aufweisen. Von frühester Jugend an wird der Sprößling betreut (S. 694). Während er heranwächst, nimmt die Beeinflussung des Knaben durch den Vater und des Mädchens durch die Mutter nach und nach bestimmtere Formen und deutlichere Zielstrebigkeit an. Die Erwachsenen

[227] Die Missionare haben diesbezüglich viele Erfahrungen gemacht, wenn sie beispielsweise eine Art Aufseher für gemeinschaftliche Arbeiten bestellten. „To be placed as overseer brought at once on a native jealousy and dislike. The office, therefore, was not popular, and generally destitute of authority, and fulfilled with laxity of purpose." Die Naturanlage dieser Indianer ist nun einmal derart, daß „they cannot bear to be dictated to", wie Hamcès (VP: XIII, 209; 1866) sich knapp und bestimmt ausdrückt.

vermitteln der Jugend praktische Tüchtigkeit und ein gewisses Maß von Fertigkeiten, darüber hinaus aber auch eine seelische Bereicherung und geistige Einstellung auf das Idealbild eines vollkommenen, mustergültigen Yamana hin (S. 741). Aufgabe des elterlichen Mühens ist es, die eigenen Kinder bis zum Reifealter auf eine gewisse Höhe charakterlicher und werktätiger Ausbildung zu heben.

Als ob die Allgemeinheit sich mit den erzieherischen Leistungen, die zweifelsohne in allen Familien vollbracht werden, nicht zufrieden geben dürfte und das bereits Erreichte noch steigern müßte, ist eine Einrichtung geschaffen worden, die sich offensichtlich als eine Weiterführung des elterlichen Bemühens erweist und die sich an alles erziehliche Arbeiten im engen Kreise der Familie lückenlos anschließt. Von entscheidender Bedeutung ist es hierbei, daß das im Reifealter stehende Kind aus der Obhut seiner Eltern herausgeholt und einer Leitung unterstellt wird, die sozusagen zufällig aus dem Zusammenströmen vieler Familien ersteht.

Alle Kinder ausnahmslos werden zur Anteilnahme an jener sogenannten Jugendweihe verhalten und es steht dem einen oder anderen Elternpaare nicht zu, die ihrigen aus irgendwelchem Grunde davon auszunehmen. Eine höhere Macht wirkt sich in diesem allgemeinverpflichtenden Zwange aus, die eben nichts anderes ist, als die unsichtbare Staatsgewalt. Bestimmte obrigkeitliche Personen fehlen im Volksverbande dieser Indianer (S. 802); aber von eindeutigen, allumfassenden Gesetzen werden auch sie geleitet und jeder unterstellt sich ihnen willig. Eines dieser Gesetze, dem man mit gesteigertem Ernst Rechnung trägt und über das die Allgemeinheit peinlich genau wacht, ist die zeitweilige Wiederholung der Jugendweihe. In ihr wirkt sich die tatsächlich bestehende Staatsgewalt aus, deren noch unvollständige Ausbildung im vorhergehenden Abschnitt gekennzeichnet wurde (S. 803).

Eben weil die Initiation der Jugend von diesem oder jenem Teile der Stammesgemeinschaft veranstaltet wird, weil sie als gesetzkräftiges Unternehmen unabhängig von der Einzelfamilie und außerhalb derselben dasteht, wird die folgende ausführliche Beschreibung an die Darstellung des gesellschaftlichen Aufbaues des Yamana-Stammes angeschlossen.

Die benachbarten Selk'nam besitzen bekanntlich ebenfalls eine geheime Veranstaltung, *klóketen* genannt (Bd. I, 808). Schon dadurch, daß zu ihr ausnahmslos Burschen zugelassen werden, betont sie einen starken Unterschied vom *čiéxaya*. Darüber hinaus geben hervorstechende Wesensmerkmale, neben einer einseitigen Richtung, sie auch als eine eigentliche Jugendweihe zu erkennen. Als solche verfolgt das *klóketen* das gleiche Hauptziel, nämlich eine ausreichende Belehrung und eindringliche Unterweisung, sowie wiederholte Übungen zur Handfertigkeit und Geschicklichkeit in den Alltagspflichten der Erwachsenen. Obenan also steht die Bildung und Schulung des jungen Menschen für seine Aufgaben als alleinstehender, selbständiger Mensch. Ohne Vermischung mit einem offensichtlichen Fremdkörper aus mutterrechtlichen Kulturverhältnissen, wie nachweislich in der großen Feier des *klóketen* (Bd. I,

1077), verfolgt das *čiéyaya* eine deutlich bestimmte erzieherische Aufgabe. Dabei wird sowohl die körperliche Ertüchtigung zu den erforderlichen Fertigkeiten, als auch die charakterlich-seelische Bildung so nachdrücklich angestrebt, daß eine Bevorzugung des einen Teiles gegenüber dem anderen nicht zu erkennen ist.

Im Verlaufe der Abhandlung wird diese bedeutsame Grundrichtung hell zutage treten. Schon jetzt sei auf diesen Umstand hingewiesen, um von vornherein einer ungerechtfertigten Vermutung zu begegnen. Das umfangreiche Beiwerk zur Jugendweihe dient nämlich weder ausschließlich noch vorwiegend der Vorbereitung jener jungen Leute, daß sie später in der Nahrungsbeschaffung ganz und gar sicher seien. Gewiß, auch diesem Bedürfnis wird viel Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet, doch ist es weder das einzige noch das wichtigste Ziel.[234] Bereits aus gewissen Nebensächlichkeiten, die jene Feier umgeben, ist ein viel höheres und allgemeineres Ziel erkennbar.

Aus einer langen Reihe von Einzelteilen setzt sich die Veranstaltung des *čiéyaya* zusammen, eine reiche Gedankenfülle aus dem geistigen Gut der Yamana tritt bei ihrem Ablauf zutage, die Grundzüge der Gesellschaftsordnung leuchten überall durch und der gesamte wirtschaftliche Betrieb in der Mannigfaltigkeit seiner Kleinigkeiten wiederholt sich hierbei. Unter dieser Rücksicht erscheint die Jugendweihe als ein Spiegelbild des Kulturganzen unserer Eingeborenen, in dieser Umrahmung wird der Zusammenhang vieler Teilstücke ersichtlich und das eine erhält seine Erklärung durch das andere. Das *čiéyaya* besitzt aber darüber hinaus noch so viele und bedeutsame Eigenheiten, daß eine sehr starke Lücke in der Beschreibung des feuerländischen Kulturbesitzes so lange offen bliebe, bis nicht auch jene Veranstaltung in ihren Grundzügen und mit ihren vielen Nebendingen deutlich dargestellt ist. Längst weiß man es, wie hell der Einblick eines Europäers in geheime Veranstaltungen der Naturvölker alle Vorgänge ihres äußeren und inneren Lebens erleuchtet. So setzte auch bei mir eine wesentlich andere Beurteilung der Yamana ein, seitdem ich an dieser geheimen Feier teilnehmen durfte. Aus ihrer Darstellung strömt Licht hinüber auf fast sämtliche Teile des ausgedehnten Kulturgutes unserer Feuerländer. Von Vergleichen mit ähnlichen Einrichtungen bei anderen Naturvölkern und bei ihren Nachbarn sieht diese Schilderung ab.[235]

[234] Neuerdings hat Felix Speiser: 254 auf jenes Teilziel den alleinigen Nachdruck gelegt. Über die Initiationen in Australien und auf Neu-Guinea sagt er abschließend: „Als Ursachen der Initiationen sind bisher allerlei Motive angegeben worden ... Alle diese Motive sind in den Initiationen enthalten, bilden aber nicht deren Kernpunkt, der, wie wir versucht haben nachzuweisen, in der Sicherung der Nahrungsbeschaffung besteht. Wenn diese Erkenntnis zunächst etwas überraschen muß, so wird sie doch verständlich, wenn man sich klar macht, welche große Wichtigkeit die Sicherung der Nahrungsbeschaffung für den Menschen überhaupt hat ... In der Ethnologie wird auch vielfach über den vielen, oft interessanten Aspekten im Leben eines Naturvolkes übersehen, wie groß die Sorge um die tägliche Nahrung bei ihnen sein muß." Dankenswert ist Speiser's Hinweis auf die drückende Sorge um das Alltägliche, das den Naturmenschen quält. Um ihr wirksam zu begegnen, wird auch im Feuerland die Jugend vorbereitet; doch liegt darin nicht die wichtigste Aufgabe der Jugendweihe, zu der jeder Jugendliche vor seiner Verheiratung verpflichtet wird.

a. Kenntnisnahme durch Europäer

Allgemein werden die geheimen Veranstaltungen im Besitze der Naturvölker von ihnen selber als etwas Ehrwürdiges betrachtet, das sie vor jeder Entweihung ängstlich und aufmerksam hüten. Demzufolge beugen sie sogar jeder Störung durch die eigenen Volkgenossen vor und begeben sich in dieser Absicht an versteckte, unauffindbare Orte, wo sie die Feiern abhalten. Noch ängstlicher verbergen sie ihr Geheimnis vor Fremden und betrachten schon das als Mißbrauch, einige Worte darüber verlauten zu lassen. Die Eingeborenen wissen eben zu genau, welche Fülle von Einzelheiten und welch bedeutsame Dinge in einer derartigen Veranstaltung vereinigt sind; würden sie diese preisgeben, haben sie auch sich selber bloßgelegt und den Kernpunkt ihrer Geheimnisse enthüllt.

Erst in neuester Zeit ist man auf die weite Verbreitung von geheimen Zeremonien bei Naturvölkern aufmerksam geworden. Je nach dem gesellschaftlichen Aufbau eines Stammes, sobald derselbe richtig erkannt worden ist, vermag die neuzeitliche Völkerkunde ihr bloßes Vorhandensein und auch ihre eigenen Grundzüge allein aus Vergleichen von vornherein als wahrscheinlich zu bestimmen. Aber damit allein ist für die Beurteilung eines beliebigen Volkes nichts gewonnen, weil Mischungen und Abänderungen der ursprünglichen Form, wie beispielsweise im *klóketen* der Selk'nam, sich vollzogen haben können, und weil, trotz gewisser gleichförmiger Grundzüge, eine Menge von Sonderbildungen die Eigenart einer solchen Einrichtung bestimmt.

Man macht sich keiner Übertreibung mit dem Hinweis schuldig, daß bei einem Europäer, der Einsicht in das *ŝiêyaus* genommen hat, unsere Yamana in ein unvergleichlich helles Licht günstiger Beurteilung rücken, wie wenn sie aus den Abgründen einer tiefen Verachtung auf ansehnliche Höhen erhoben würden. Solch gediegenes Menschentum und bewährte Erziehungsweisheit, solch kerngesunde Sittlichkeit und tiefe Religiosität kommt in dieser Veranstaltung zum Ausdruck, daß man ein Volk wie sie, in dürftigen äußeren Lebensbedingungen, all dessen von vornherein kaum für fähig halten möchte. Wie berechtigt ist demnach der Schluß, daß man ein Naturvolk nur ungenügend kennt, so lange man nicht alle Einzelheiten seiner geheimen Zusammenkünfte erfahren hat.

Mit außerordentlichen Schwierigkeiten ist es für einen europäischen Forscher verbunden, dergleichen geheimen Feiern auf die Spur zu kommen; bei einer überwiegenden Mehrzahl von Eingeborenenstämmen gelang und gelingt es ihm nie, sie durch unmittelbare Anteilnahme zu erleben. Der günstige Zufall oder eine besonders glückliche persönliche Anlage helfen meist dabei mit, die ersten Kenntnisse hiervon zu erlangen. Als einen ungewöhn-

[1] Die geheimen Zeremonien der Selk'nam wurden in Bd. I, 808 dargestellt. Die wesentlichen Züge der Jagrudweihe, die von den Halakwulup abgehalten wird, enthält Gusinde (e): 511. Ein vorläufiger Vergleich dieser Veranstaltung bei den drei feuerländischen Stämmen findet sich in Gusinde (bb): 354. Siehe auch Schmidt (d): 993.

lichen Erfolg kann es jeder buchen, eine Veranstaltung wirklich mitgemacht zu haben, bei der sich ihm alle Tiefen und Falten der Seele jenes Volkes öffneten. Wegen der außergewöhnlich hohen Bedeutung, die jedweder geheimen Zusammenkunft der Erwachsenen bei primitiven Völkerschaften zukommt, muß jeder Forscher all sein Können aufbieten und kein Mittel unversucht lassen, daß er schließlich doch bis dahinein vordringt.

1. Die ersten Anzeichen

Ihre geheime Jugendweihe umgeben die Yamana mit höchstgesteigerter Wachsamkeit. Ein Fremder könnte sie dabei niemals überraschen und noch viel weniger sich unbemerkt eindrängen. Von vornherein war es also den Seefahrern der früheren Zeit unmöglich, davon aus unmittelbarer Beobachtung etwas zu erfahren. Viel zu kurz war ganz allgemein ihr Aufenthalt an der oder jener Stelle, um auch nur einige oberflächliche Beobachtungen zu gewinnen; ganz andere Vorbedingungen hätten sich erfüllen müssen, wollten sie an die besonders streng gehüteten Kulturgüter herankommen. Vergeblich wäre es, in ihren Reiseberichten nach Mitteilungen über die Jugendweihe zu suchen. Jene Europäer, die später als Goldsucher und als Robbenjäger das Heimatgebiet der Yamana aufgesucht haben, zeigten weder Veranlagung zu ethnographischen Beobachtungen, noch Verständnis für das, was ihnen als Gebräuche der Eingeborenen unter die Augen kam. Schließlich diejenigen, die sich als Farmer dort niedergelassen haben, gingen an allem Einheimischen mit dem verächtlichen Achselzucken eines selbstbewußten, geistlos sich selbst überhebenden Kulturmenschen vorüber. Von ihnen allen völlig unbeachtet hielten die Yamana mit gewisser Regelmäßigkeit, nach wie vor, ihre geheimen festlichen Zusammenkünfte ab.

Seitdem die anglikanische Mission ihnen nahegetreten war und ihre Lebensform von den Missionaren andauernd beobachtet wurde, konnte es nicht ausbleiben, daß diese auf gelegentliches Zusammenströmen vieler Familien am gleichen Orte aufmerksam wurden und daß sie von den Eingeborenen im Laufe jahrzehntelangen Beisammenseins einige leise Andeutungen erhielten. Aber auch sie schenkten den ersten Anzeichen viel zu wenig Aufmerksamkeit, um eine solch bedeutsame Einrichtung, wie das *čiḗgaus* es in hervorragendem Maße ist, in den Dienst ihrer Bekehrungsbestrebungen zu stellen. Ganz allgemein haben sie das Kulturgut der Yamana geringschätzig beurteilt und behandelt (S. 322).

Wieder ist es BRIDGES gewesen, dem die ersten Entdeckungen zu danken sind und der allein von allen Missionaren darüber zwar kurze, aber wertvolle Mitteilungen gemacht hat. Mit Sicherheit läßt es sich aus seinen Schriften nicht ersehen, ob er die eigentliche Jugendweihe *čiḗgaus* deutlich von der sehr verschiedenen Männerfeier *klna* unterscheidet. In seinem Dictionary zählt er viele der sogenannten *klna*-Geister auf und was er in seinen Aufsätzen über die Schulung der Jugend sagt, paßt tatsächlich viel mehr auf jene Einrichtung

als auf das *Ciéxus*. Heute, da beide Veranstaltungen in ihrem ganzen Verlauf und nach ihrer Hauptrichtung bekannt sind, fällt es leicht, alles das, was sich bei Bridges findet, mit Sicherheit entweder der einen oder der anderen zuzuweisen. Deshalb wird anschließend alles zusammengetragen, was aus seinen Aufzeichnungen für die Jugendweihe entnommen werden kann.

Bereits im Jahre 1866, in seiner ersten längeren Abhandlung[200] teilt Bridges (a): 204 einiges mit: „When boys and girls come to the years of virility they undergo a kind of discipline and teaching, which generally begins in the spring. This is done to make them quiet and good. The discipline of the girls is easy and brief, conducted in the common wigwam by her parents ... They call the discipline of the girls *Tdori*,[201] that of the boys *Ooshwáula*. The lads of about thirteen years of age are considered fit for this discipline." In den sich anschließenden Sätzen erwähnt er bestimmte Einzelheiten, die sich in einer besonderen Hütte abspielen; „it is called *Ceena*". Er mischt also beide Veranstaltungen noch durcheinander. Was nun folgt, gilt größtenteils für die Jugendweihe und im besonderen decken sich die Ermahnungen fast genau mit dem, was auch wir aufgezeichnet haben: „When the lads become thirteen years old they are then subjected to a sort of teaching and discipline. They are by their near male relatives for some days wholly taken from their female relatives, are not allowed to eat this and that kind of food, are forced to be very abstemious, are made to work hard in gathering fuel and making fires on the eminences around; when ever they go abroad a guard goes with them to see that they do not indulge themselves. When they are sufficiently humbled they receive such instructions as the following from their sires: ‚You must not be passionate, and kill people, else you will make enemies and be yourself soon killed. You must not take another man's wife by force, else you will suffer for it. You must not be stingy, but share with others any treasure you may find. You must not be idle, but assist to supply the house with fuel'; and many other such-like precepts, all which the young fellow is supposed to assent unto. Secrecy is strictly enjoined, at the peril of his life, of the secrets and the cheats he has been made privy to. And for several years the youths are to abstain from the use of certain kinds of fish and shell-fish, and of certain well-defined parts of whales, etc. Sometimes the fasting is so severe and of long continuance that the youths become very emaciated and weak" (MM: III, 117; 1869).

In den folgenden zwanzig Jahren hat Bridges seine Kenntnis von dieser

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[200] Sie ist überschrieben: „Manners and Customs of the Firelanders". Vor allem enthält sie Mitteilungen über das Leben in der Familie und über die Erziehung der Kinder. Bridges leitete sie am 7. Februar 1866 mit den Worten ein: „A short account of the Firelanders of the Yahgan Tribe, inhabiting the shores of Southeast Fireland, compiled from what I have heard from the Indians themselves, during three and a half year's constant converse with them" (VSA: XIII, 181; 1866).

[201] Unzweideutig bezieht sich dieser eingeschaltete Satz und das, was nachher folgt, auf die besonderen Bräuche bei der Menarche der Mädchen (S. 753).

Veranstaltung kaum um etwas erweitert; er (h): 208 weiß nur anzugeben: „Los adolescentes de ambos sexos son sujetos a un periodo de disciplina, que consiste en ayunos a veces rigorosos en extremo e instrucción moral." Dieses Urteil gilt auch von einem letzten Hinweis (k): 240, sieben Jahre später: „En épocas determinadas los varones adolescentes eran sometidos a una severa disciplina bajo la tutela de sus tíos u otros parientes cercanos; ayunaban y ejecutaban duras labores, se les inculcaba la mayor humildad, la honradez, la castidad, la paciencia, la industria y el respeto por la verdad. Mientras se hallaban bajo esta disciplina e instrucción se les llamaba *ushwonda*." Gewisse Einzelheiten werden von Bridges (i): 17 in einem Manuskript hervorgehoben, das wahrscheinlich vom 2. Februar 1878 herstammt. Wieder weist er Teile, die zum *ŝiĉyaus* gehören, dem *klna* zu.[242] Nirgendwo erwähnt er, daß zur erstgenannten Feier die Knaben und die Mädchen gemeinsam sich in der gleichen Großen Hütte einfinden. Vieles von den Unterweisungen und Einschränkungen für die Prüflinge im *ŝiĉyaus* wiederholt sich für die Prüflinge im *klna*.

Wenn man nun in Betracht zieht, daß im umfangreichen Yamana-Dictionary kein bestimmter Unterschied zwischen beiden Veranstaltungen betont wird, erscheint es als sehr wahrscheinlich, daß Bridges in dem Glauben an eine einzige geheime Feier, nämlich an *klna*, befangen war; denn viele Geister aus letzterem sind darin genannt, während nur zwei sichere Hinweise auf *ŝiĉyaus* sich finden. BD: 276 bringt das Wort *jâkaus:* the singing and mode of rites peculiar to the *murana* drama; BD: 203 außerdem *(ja)-kaus:* the rites and ceremonies (being superstitious, lying, obscure, dramatic and semi-religious plays) in connection with the *Murana* or Sacred wigwam in which these scenes were enacted. Jenes zweimal aufgeführte Wort entspricht bestimmt dem *ŝiĉyaus*, das auch vor uns zuweilen wie *jiĉyaus*, *jêyaus* und *ŝêkaus* ausgesprochen worden ist. Wie dem auch sei, Bridges hat Sinn und Bedeutung der Jugendweihe sicherlich nicht erfaßt und ihre Unabhängigkeit vom *klna* höchstwahrscheinlich übersehen.

Bekanntlich haben neuzeitliche R e i s e n d e aus den Beobachtungen und Erfahrungen dieses Missionars bei den Yamana sehr ergiebig geschöpft. Weil er selber um die Jugendweihe nicht sicher Bescheid gewußt hat, befremdet es demnach keineswegs, daß in den Werken aus jüngster Zeit jeder Hinweis darauf gänzlich fehlt. Hyades (q): 376 erwähnt zwar „l'habitude de soumettre à une sorte d'initiation les garçons parvenus à l'âge de l'adolescence". Seine weiteren Angaben jedoch sind eine fast wörtliche Wiederholung dessen, was

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[242] „The initiation of the boys and girls took place when they were between fourteen and sixteen years old ... Abstinence from food was exacted from both; and the fasting of the lads was often severe resulting in many instances in leanness and debility. Both sexes received, after a longer or shorter season of abstinence, good moral precepts with reasons for observing them, whereby their friends honestly thought to fit them for their future life. For example, stealing and lying were forbidden because they brought suffering and trouble, diligence, generosity and faithfulness in marriage were enjoined because they ensured peace and happiness ..." (Bridges [i]: 17).

Bridges (i): 17 bringt und was größtenteils auf das *kina* paßt.[502] Darüber hinaus hat bis zur Zeit meiner eigenen Reisen niemand mehr auch nur leise Andeutungen über die Jugendweihe gemacht. Lothrop (b): 165 kam mehrere Monate nach meiner letzten Reise ins Feuerland. Selbständige Forschungen diesbezüglich hat er unterlassen und sich in seinem Bericht auf unsere Ergebnisse berufen,[503] wohl aber jene Gegenstände erworben, die im *čičyaus* gebraucht werden. Neuestens noch verfällt Spencer: 111 in eine Verwechslung der beiden geheimen Veranstaltungen und was er wahrscheinlich selbständig in Erfahrung gebracht hat, gilt nur für die Männerfeier.

Wenn man all das, was Bridges über eine Gemeinschaftserziehung der Jugend im Reifealter aufgezeichnet hat, auch ungerechtfertigterweise ausschließlich auf die Jugendweihe hinbezieht, erscheint es so geringfügig, daß daraus die Eigenart dieser geheimen Einrichtung kaum andeutungsweise erkennbar wird. Sie blieb der Einsicht der Europäer, wie so manches andere wertvolle Gut, bis kurz vor dem Untergange dieses Volkes gänzlich verschlossen.

2. Meine Anteilnahme

Die Feststellung scheint mir notwendig, daß bis zu meiner zweiten Reise die eben vorgelegten Hinweise in Bridges's Schriften mir völlig unbekannt geblieben waren. Meine leisen Vermutungen, am Lebensabend dieses Volkes noch auf geheime Veranstaltungen zu stoßen, schlug ein Wort Cooper's: 156 nieder, daß bei den Yamana seit mindestens vier Jahrzehnten dergleichen nicht mehr wiederholt worden seien. Da es mir trotzdem vergönnt war, außer der Jugendweihe auch die geheime Männerfeier und die Medizinmannschule zu erleben, darf ich mit vollem Recht behaupten, das *čičyaus* allein entdeckt und es als erster nach seinen Grundgedanken erkannt zu haben.

Über keine andere ihrer Einrichtungen schweigen unsere Indianer so streng, wie über die Jugendweihe; ihr Verhalten in dieser Sache könnte man einzig und allein noch mit ihrer Gewohnheit vergleichen, den Namen eines Toten nie zu wiederholen. Im täglichen Leben fehlt tatsächlich fast jeder Anlaß, darauf zu sprechen zu kommen, und wird es nötig, bedient man sich regelmäßig der auch bei anderen Gelegenheiten beliebten und gebräuchlichen Umschreibungen. Man wird nicht irregehen, wenn man es auf diesen Umstand zurückführt, daß Bridges kaum mehr als den Namen

[502] Man beachte die Möglichkeit nicht auszuschließen, daß die Mitglieder der Museum Schneiderque undeutlich darauf hingewiesen worden sind. So schreibt Martial: 221, daß die Eingeborenen „sont d'autres divertissements auxquels nous n'avons pas assisté". Zumindest stimmt es nicht, was Cooper: 156 vermutet: „By the time of the French expedition in 1882—83, and even before, the boy initiations had fallen into desuetude among the Yahgans." Gewiß, „they still preserved a simpler puberty rite, including fasting and moral instruction, for the girls"; aber auch die umständlichere Jugendweihe ist seitdem noch wiederholt worden, was ich oben dargelegt habe.

[503] Er (b): 165 schreibt: „Thanks to the studies of Gusinde and Koppers full and complete information about the Yahgan initiation rites is available, and the reader desirous of fuller information than is given here is referred to their various publications on this subject."

dieser Feier erfahren konnte. Fanny Lawrence, der bis zu meiner ersten Jugendweihe bereits gegen zwanzig Jahre mit Nellay verheiratet war und von dieser sowohl wie von den übrigen Yamana sehr vieles aus ihren Gewohnheiten erfahren und selber gut beobachtet hatte, besaß vom *čičyus* nur einige unbestimmte Eindrücke. Sein älterer Bruder Martin wußte darum überhaupt nicht Bescheid. Was schließlich den ehrwürdigen Rev. John Lawrence angeht, so war es für ihn eine der höchsten Überraschungen, als ich ihm nach meiner ersten Anteilnahme das Erlebte in allgemeinen Strichen zeichnete. Zwei Jahre später verständigte ich ihn davon, daß ich mich am *čičyus* in Mejillones beteiligt, ich also ein zweites Mal dieses Fest kennengelernt hätte; er freute sich über diesen Erfolg aufrichtig und erklärte ganz offen, er habe sich nie bemüht, das Vertrauen der Eingeborenen in solch hohem Maße zu gewinnen, um einer ihrer geheimen Veranstaltungen sich anschließen zu können. So sprechen der Umstände genug dafür, mit welch strengem Schweigen die Yamana auch vor ihresgleichen das *čičyus* verschleiern.

Als ich meine Untersuchungen bei diesem Volke begann, gab es nur noch eine Handvoll älterer Leute, die über die unverfälschten Sitten und Gebräuche der früheren Zeit mit einiger Sicherheit mir Rede und Antwort stehen konnten. Der letzte Augenblick war gekommen, um wertvolles Kulturgut vor dem gänzlichen Verschwinden zu retten! Dessen gab ich mir klar Rechenschaft und ich fühlte schwer den Ernst meiner Verantwortung. Nun wird auch verständlich, daß ich mit unwandelbarer Festigkeit die Gelegenheit zur Anteilnahme am *čičyus* aufgegriffen und mit eiserner Zähigkeit auf die Eingeborenen so anhaltend eingewirkt habe, bis sein ganzer Inhalt für die Wissenschaft gerettet war. Aber selbst die größte Kraftanstrengung meinerseits hätte mich nicht zum Ziele geführt, wäre mir die alltäglich überwindende Mithilfe der guten Nellay Lawrence nicht entgegengekommen. Letzten Endes war es ihr entscheidender Einwirken auf ihre Landsleute, daß diese sich im Januar 1920 entschlossen, die Jugendweihe abzuhalten und mich als eigentlichen Prüfling daran teilnehmen zu lassen.

c. *Meine erste Jugendweihe*

Nach einer allgemeinen Übersicht über die Forschungsmöglichkeiten unter den Feuerländern, die ich auf meiner ersten Reise (S. 164) gewonnen hatte, entschloß ich mich, bei den Yamana mit der Arbeit einzusetzen. Ende Dezember 1919 war ich wieder in Punta Remolinos, wo kurz vorher sich mehrere Indianerfamilien zusammengefunden hatten (S. 175). Die Männer waren tagsüber auf der Farm beschäftigt, nur des Abends und bei Regenwetter bildeten sie für ihre Unterhaltung einen geschlossenen Kreis um das Hüttenfeuer eines würdigen Alten. Dabei fehlte ich nie. Schon nach der ersten Woche meines Dortseins hatten wir uns gut aneinander gewöhnt, vieles war mir von ihnen mitgeteilt worden und sie zeigten sich bald so zutraulich, daß sie unbefangen auf das Gebiet ihrer Mythen überleiteten.

Eines Abends fiel mir auf, daß einige Männer, denen vorher der alte ALFREDO heimlich einen Wink erteilt hatte, die noch anwesenden Knaben und Mädchen hinausschickten; sie taten dies unter dem Vorwande, es wäre die Nacht weit vorgeschritten und die Kinder sollten sich endlich zur Ruhe begeben. Erst als die Erwachsenen allein unter sich waren, trug ALFREDO zwei Erzählungen vor. *Offenbarmdig sollten die Kinder davon nichts erfahren.* Nun gab ich mir Rechenschaft, daß noch am gestrigen und vorgestrigen Abend eine beklemmende Befangenheit über den Erwachsenen gelegen und der wirklich ungehemmte Redefluß erst eingesetzt hatte, nachdem alle Jugendlichen entfernt worden waren. An einem der nächsten Abende stellte ich unumwunden die Frage: „Warum erzählt ihr diese Geschichten nicht, so lange ein Kind hier in der Hütte anwesend ist?" Ein jüngerer Mann war schnell, eigentlich vorschnell mit der Antwort bereit: „Nur jene, die im *čiźpuş* gewesen sind, dürfen das alles wissen!" Auf sämtliche Männer — Frauen waren zufällig nicht anwesend — machte dieses Wort einen außerordentlich peinlichen Eindruck. Ihn zu verwischen bemühten sie sich zwar mit Aufgebot all ihrer Selbstbeherrschung, er blieb mir aber doch nicht verborgen. Nur zu deutlich fühlte ich es heraus, jener Mann hat sich übereilt und etwas ausgeplaudert, das er in strengem Schweigen ängstlich hätte hüten sollen. Lautlose Stille! Minuten vergingen und niemand wagte es, den Faden der Erzählung wieder aufzugreifen. Als plötzlich in der totenstillen Nacht draußen einige Hunde sich zu raufen anfingen, sprangen alle Männer, wie aus einem Zauberbann erlöst, mit übertriebenem Eifer auf und stürzten aus der Hütte hinaus. Sehr bald verliefen sie sich und verschwanden in ihren Wohnungen. Was blieb mir weiteres übrig, als ebenfalls mein Lager aufzusuchen. Wegen der Erregung, einer merkwürdigen Sache auf die Spur gekommen zu sein, mied mich der Schlaf (S. 177).

Am nächsten Morgen bemühte ich mich vergeblich, sogar beim wohlgesinnten CESIS, über jenes sonderbare Wort, das gestern abend gefallen war, etwas Genaueres zu erfahren. Unverkennbar schwerfällig zeigten sich die Männer an diesem Abend, als ich nachdrücklich einlud, wie an den vorhergehenden Abenden uns um das Hüttenfeuer des alten ALFREDO niederzulassen. Nach vielem Drängen setzten sich endlich die meisten wieder zusammen und wir sprachen von dem und jenem. Kaum hatten sich die Kinder zurückgezogen, als ich mit erkennbarer Bestimmtheit die Frage sagte: „Was besagt eigentlich *čiźpuş*, das ich gestern gehört habe?" Sichtlich mißfiel diese Forderung und einer wies mich mit der kurzen Bemerkung zurück: „Darüber spricht man nicht!" Nun wußte ich zumindest so viel, daß es mit jenem Worte eine nicht unwichtige Bewandtnis haben müsse und daß ich darüber von den Männern nichts mehr erfahren würde.

Diese merkwürdige Sache durfte ich nicht auf sich beruhen lassen. Einige Aufklärung versprach ich mir von der guten NELLY und sie hat mich in meinen Erwartungen nicht enttäuscht. Von ihr zuerst erfuhr ich andeutungsweise, daß die Yamana eine eigentliche, gut ausgebildete Jugendweihe be-

stoßen. Seitdem ließ ich ihr keine Ruhe, bis sie mir einen Tagen die Zustimmung machte; jene Feier würde nach Abschluß der Vorarbeiten von ihren Landsleuten abgehalten werden und ich dürfte mich daran beteiligen.[...]

Von nun an wagte ich es, gelegentlich vor den alten Leuten eine Äußerung darüber fallen zu lassen; auffällig brachte ich ihnen meine Freude zum Ausdruck, daß ich ihr schönstes Fest bald würde sehen dürfen. Aber von [illegible] und sie vermochten den Gedanken gar nicht zu fassen, daß ein Europäer in das Heiligtum ihres *Ijiyaga* eintrete. Eines Abends rief Frau Lawrence, auf Veranlassung seiner Gattin, alle Männer zusammen. Unumwunden offenbarte er ihnen Nelly's Wunsch und verlangte nachdrücklich, sie müßten diese Veranstaltung einleiten. Er verwies dabei auf die viele Hilfe und reichliche Unterstützung, die sie beide ihnen allen stets gewährt hatten; weil ich der Familie Lawrence ein lieber Gast und auch den Yanoma selber ein erwünschter Gesellschafter wäre, dürften sie es nicht abschlagen, mich provisorisch mit Nelly zusammen. Trotz hartnäckiger Widerrede einiger Männer verharrte Frau unverbrüchlich auf seiner Forderung. Wie sann Trotz stellten sie ihrerseits als Bedingung, ich müsse, wie es alter Brauch von jedem ihrer Kinder verlangt, das erstmals in die Große Hütte eingeführt wird, mich zuvor nach dem richten, was für die eigentlichen Pröflinge allgemein gilt. Sobald Frau mich davon verständigt und ich selbstverständ zugesagt hatte,[...] beruhigten sich die Männer zwar ein wenig, zeigten aber noch lange mit der unglaublichen Vorstellung, daß ein Europäer das *Ijiyaga* erleben sollte.[...] Inzwischen begeisterte Nelly die übrigen Frauen für ihren Plan und hatte gerade bei ihnen den erwarteten guten Erfolg.

Während die Männer ihre Arbeiten auf der Farm zu Ende führten, regelte ich mit Frau Lawrence die Verpflegung mit Lebensmitteln für alle Teilnehmer. Ihnen hatten wir in Aussicht gestellt, während der Feier für den Bedarf jeder einzelnen aufzukommen, damit einmal durch Nahrungssuche abgehalten und damit der ungestörte Ablauf der Veranstaltung gewährleistet würde. Es war so lebensnotwendig, von sich aus die erforderlichen Hanuel zu stellen; ich kaufte Mehl und Hülsenfrüchte, Kaffee und Zucker sowie andere Kleinigkeiten. In freien Stunden besprachen die übrigen Männer unter sich eingehend den Plan. Ganz von selber stellten sich alle um Anwesen, als dem am meisten Erfahrenen, und fügten sich seinem Entscheid. Die Frauen bereiteten kleine Schmuckstücke vor, die notwendig sind, und durch-

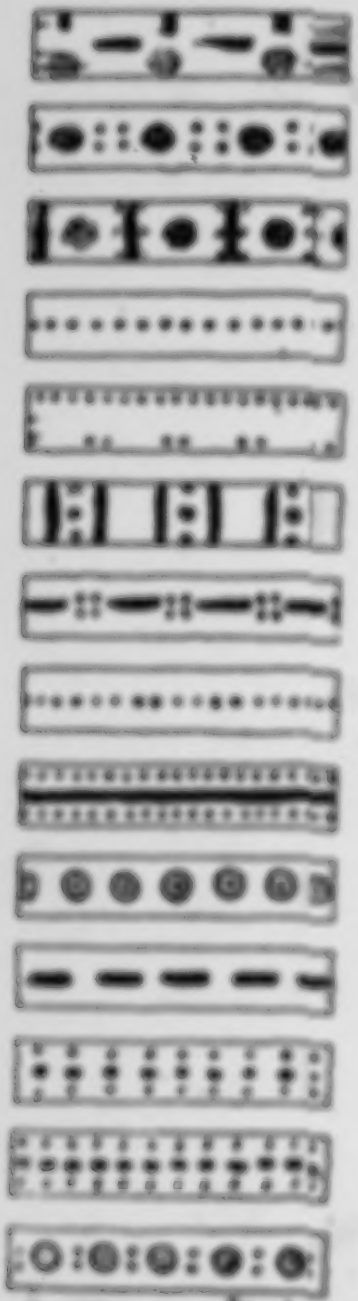
[...] Wie ich sie und ihren Gatten Frau Lawrence kennenlernte habe und was sie alles weiteres unternommen hat, wurde auf S. 179, 181 geschildert. Vgl. auch Gusinde (b): 149.

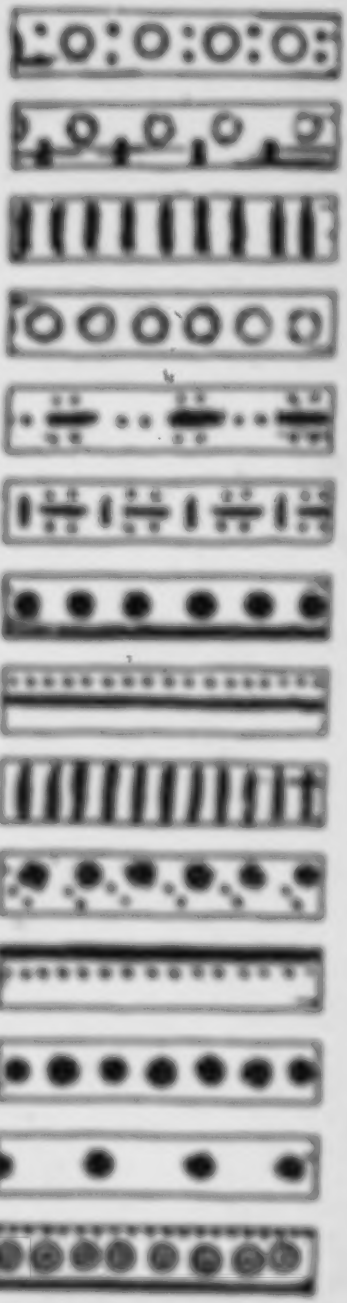
[...] Angesichts meiner bäuerlichen Lebensjahre verdient diese Forderung demnach nicht Unpraktischen. Gerade in jüngster Zeit versperrte es sich unserlich, daß ein Yanoma vor im beginnenden Mannesalter die Gebräuche der Jugendwelt fand. Einer der Pröflinge beispielsweise, die mit mir eintraten, zählte 27 Jahre. Um den Lebensalter kümmert man sich nicht, wohl aber fordert man früher oder später die wirklichen Anerfindungen.

[...] Welch ernste Schwierigkeiten ich überwinden mußte, bis die Sitt'nen mich zu ihren geheimen Männerfeiern zuließen, wurde in Bd. I, 901 dargelegt.

[illegible]

Tafel II





Schematische Darstellung der Gestaltung der Tonplatte (Gueinde)

[Text, page 104]

mittag, auf einen Wink des Vorstehers, schlichen die vier Wächter, mit einem langen Lederriemen versehen, zur Großen Hütte hinaus; sie fingen erst mich ein, dann den CLEMENTE und endlich den HOMBITEAD. Jeden von uns dreien brachten sie einzeln dorthin. Deshalb konnte ich den eigentümlichen Geisterauftritt ruhig beobachten, der, wie bei mir, sich wiederholte, als jeder der beiden anderen Prüflinge durch den Eingang hineingeschoben wurde.

Der Obhut seiner Paten blieb seitdem jeder von uns dreien ununterbrochen überlassen. Dieser Dienst versahen bei mir CARIS und GERTIE; später erfuhr ich, sie hatten sich eigens darum beworben, weil sie kinderlos sind. Den Verlauf der ganzen Feier verfolgte ich nun Tag und Nacht. Unbeschreiblich quälend war mir die lästige Zwangshaltung durch lange Stunden, den Schlaf und die körperliche Bewegung vermißte ich schmerzlich, der Hunger ermattete sehr. Doch der erste Vorsteher ALFREDO blieb unerbittlich hart in allen Forderungen, die er mir ebensowenig wie den anderen beiden Prüflingen ersparte. Nur (S. 859) vom Baden bei Nacht im kalten Wasser des Canal de Beagle nahm man mich aus. Unvergleichlich schwerer jedoch als die rein äußerlichen Härten empfand ich das strenge Verbot, schriftliche Aufzeichnungen zu machen und irgendwelche Fragen zu stellen. Die Erschlaffung, unter der mein ganzer Körper litt, übertrug sich auf das Gedächtnis und die Auffassungsgabe; manche Einzelheit, da sie ohne Erklärung blieb, entging meiner Aufmerksamkeit. Gern gab ich mich jedoch zufrieden, war es ja an sich schon ein seltenes Glück, in dieser Großen Hütte zu sein.

Alles diente der Willensschulung und Selbstüberwindung, der Belehrung und Ermahnung, sowie der körperlichen und werktätigen Ertüchtigung des Prüflings. Die Grundzüge des *Yámana* leuchteten eindeutig auf und ein hoher sittlicher Wert wurde aus den goldenen Lebensregeln ersichtlich, die ein besonderer Lehrmeister, diesmal der alte WRAITS, uns fast jeden Abend vortrug. Unter Führung eines tüchtigen Mannes mußte ich mit den beiden anderen Prüflingen des öftern hinaus zu allerhand Arbeiten und zum Jagdhandwerk, die Lebensaufgabe eines Mannes sind. Gelegentlich wurden Erzählungen vorgetragen, von denen ich einige bereits vertraulich erfahren hatte. Was aber den *Yámana* angeht, das darf eigentlich nur in dieser heiligen Hütte wiederholt werden. Die mimischen Spiele und die verschiedenen Gesänge und Tänze lernte ich hier zum ersten Male kennen. Von Tag zu Tag mehrten sich meine Beobachtungen und Erfahrungen. Alles erfreute mich sehr, trotz empfindlicher Entbehrungen und körperlicher Erschlaffung.

Der abwechslungsreiche Festplan wickelte sich störungslos ab, alle Teilnehmer bewahrten die beste Stimmung und trugen tiefsten Ernst zur Schau. Mehrmals am Tage trat auch NELLY in die Große Hütte ein; da sie alles und jedes gewissenhaft, ja begeistert mitmachte, eiferte sie die anderen Erwachsenen durch ihr Beispiel stark an. Nach zehn Tagen wurde der Abschluß von den Alten vereinbart. Zu diesem besonders festlichen Auftritt hatte NELLY auch ihre drei erwachsenen Töchter in die Große Hütte gebracht. Wir waren insgesamt nur 24 Personen, aber jede benahm sich sehr eifrig beim

bewegten, lebhaften Schlußfeste. Auf jedem Gesicht konnte man volle Zufriedenheit und große Genugtuung über den erfolgreichen Verlauf dieser Feier lesen. Fröhlich und munter zeigten sich alle beim letzten allgemeinen Essen. Die älteren Männer drückten ihre Zufriedenheit über meine große Willigkeit gegenüber allen Strengheiten aus, die man auch mir nicht hatte ersparen dürfen. Einer sagte mir leise ins Ohr: „Komm im nächsten Sommer nochmals zu uns; dann wiederholen wir dieses Fest und nachher darfst du ins *kina* eintreten!" Später ließ ich mich darüber aufklären, daß *kina* der Name für die geheime Männerfeier ist und daß jeder Mann zweimal *ukwɸala* im *čiɸɣaus* gewesen sein muß, ehe er dort zugelassen wird. Im Verlauf dieses Schlußessens steigerte sich die gute Laune der Leute derart, daß sie oft und laut riefen: „Dies war das schönste *čiɸɣaus*. Wir werden es im nächsten Sommer wiederholen!" Da sie auf mich eindrängten, versprach ich ihnen gern, bis dahin zurückzukommen; denn im stillen schwebte mir schon *kina* vor, das ich auch kennenlernen wollte.

Die Wanderlust regte sich bereits mächtig in diesen Leuten. Am zweiten Tage nach Abschluß des *čiɸɣaus* waren auch die letzten von Punta Remolino wieder weggezogen. Aus dem Gedächtnis trug ich die vielen Erlebnisse in mein Tagebuch ein und nahm ebenfalls bald danach von jener trauten Stätte Abschied. In der übersichtlichen Darstellung, die weiter unten geboten wird, kommen die Erfahrungen bei meiner ersten Jugendweihe zur Auswertung."[*]

β. Meine zweite Jugendweihe

Im Januar 1922 war ich zum dritten Male und mit der besonderen Absicht in das Gebiet der Yamana zurückgekehrt, das *kina* zu sehen (S. 184). Da als Vorbedingung galt, zweimal im *čiɸɣaus* geprüft worden zu sein, rechnete ich selbstverständlich mit einer Wiederholung desselben. Diesmal waren mehr Familien in Punto Remolino zusammengekommen als vor zwei Jahren. Zu meinem Bedauern fehlte der alte ALFREDO mit seiner Frau, die beide mir beim früheren Besuche hervorragend nützlich und behilflich gewesen waren; es hieß, sie führen weit draußen zu den südlichsten Wollaston-Inseln herum, wo die Frau beheimatet ist.

Die Leute hier wurden leicht für unseren Plan gewonnen und kaum war ich mit meinem Begleiter P. KOPPERS von einem kurzen Aufenthalt bei den Selk'nam nach Punta Remolino zurückgekehrt, begannen unsere und ihre Vorbereitungen. Völlig ungestört und ganz unabhängig wollten wir diesmal sein. Demnach einigten sich alle daraufhin, nach Puerto Mejillones zu ziehen. Die meisten von ihnen besitzen dort ein kleines Bretterhaus, hatten auch mancherlei Gebrauchsgegenstände zurückgelassen und fühlten sich an jenem beliebten Fleck viel wohler als hier unter den Augen gewisser Europäer. Ansehnliche Mengen von Lebensmitteln kaufte ich ein und selbstverständlich

[*] In Gusinde (b): 150 findet sich eine etwas breitere Beschreibung dieser meiner ersten Jugendweihe, die ich in Punta Remolino im Februar 1920 erlebt habe (S. 179).

eine gute Zahl fetter Hammel. Die Indianer packten mühelos ihre wenigen Habseligkeiten zusammen. NELLY bedauerte ganz unverhohlen, sich nicht sogleich uns anschließen zu können, und versprach, uns gelegentlich zu besuchen. Ungewöhnlich lange hatten sich in diesem Sommer die Arbeiten auf der Farm verzögert. Als sie am letzten Tage des Februar endlich beendet waren, stellte uns FRED LAWRENCE für die Überfahrt seinen Kutter "Garibaldi" bereitwillig zur Verfügung. Alles wurde verladen, wir selber stiegen ein und am frühen Vormittag des 1. März 1922 überquerten wir in genau südlicher Richtung den Canal de Beagle (S. 185).

In Puerto Mejillones angekommen, eilte jede Familie ohne Verzug in ihre Wohnung und richtete sich wieder bequem ein. Uns blieb keine andere Wahl, als uns für das kleine Haus des SANTIAGO zu entscheiden; er mußte ja für diesmal das Amt eines Leiters im *čiźpaus* übernehmen. Er hatte sich mit seiner Frau die Patenschaft für KORRENS zeitig genug ausbedungen; das war Grund genug, uns jetzt schon ihm eng anzuschließen. Meine Paten waren, wie vor zwei Jahren, CHRIS und GERTIE. Bald veranlaßte ich eine allgemeine Aussprache der Männer, um von vornherein jede Unklarheit und Unsicherheit über unsere Pläne zu beseitigen. Diesmal war die Lage bedeutend schwieriger als vor zwei Jahren; denn damals stand hinter allem NELLY, die einen wirksamen Druck auszuüben vermochte. Da ich einige Erfahrung in Behandlung dieser Leute besaß, einigten wir uns schnell.

Am nächsten Tage, den ein wunderbarer Sonnenglanz vom wolkenfreien Himmel her einleitete, begannen einige Männer mit dem Aufbau der G r o s s e n H ü t t e. Eigentlich brauchte man keine neue Arbeit von Grund auf zu leisten; denn im Jahre zuvor war eine Große Hütte aufgerichtet worden, die man wieder instand setzte. Tatsächlich hatten die Leute unter sich hier das *čiźpaus* gefeiert. [illegible] war knapp 12 m lang. Einen günstigen Platz am Ausgange des Waldes hatte man erwählt; er lag auch von den Wohnungen weit genug entfernt, daß Störungen durch Kinder ausgeschlossen blieben. Viele Hände regten sich und die Hütte stand schon am nächsten Tage gut eingerichtet da. Zu geschäftigem Eifer mußte ich unaufhörlich antreiben, auch übten das reichliche Essen und manche Leckerei ihre aneifernde Wirkung aus.

Inzwischen trafen verspätet noch zwei Familien ein, darunter der alte PEDRO. Wie selbstverständlich fiel ihm das Amt eines Vorstehers zu; denn er war der beste Kenner der Stammessitten. Um die Mittagszeit des 3. März 1922 hatten bereits einige Leute in der Großen Hütte Platz genommen; für heute war der B e g i n n der Feier geplant. Sie hielten es für notwendig, stillschweigend dazusitzen und sich zu sammeln. Die größere Hälfte der Erwachsenen war noch mit allerlei andern Arbeiten in der eigenen Hütte beschäftigt. Einer nach dem andern trug unauffällig das zur Großen Hütte, was er zum Schlaflager benötigte. So gab es ein stilles, aber ständiges Hin und Her zwischen den Wohnungen und der Großen Hütte, ein Zeichen, daß die Feier bald beginnen würde.

Gegen fünf Uhr nachmittags zogen die Letzten ein und mit ihnen auch

wir. In zwei Reihen, wie üblich, hockten die Teilnehmer rechts und links vom Mittelgang. Jeder von uns erhielt seinen bestimmten Platz angewiesen, die Indianer hatten sich vorher schon auf gut Glück verteilt. Den einmal gewählten Platz muß jeder seitdem genau einhalten. Als es draußen zu dunkeln begann, setzte endlich SANTIAGO mit einem leisen Summen ein, das allmählich zu lautem Singen wurde; daran beteiligten sich die anderen Leute und führten es weiter. Schon am ersten Abend gab es einige Tänze. Alle lebten ganz in der Stimmung, die zu dieser Feier notwendig ist.

Die vielen Einzelheiten aus dem Verlauf dieser Veranstaltung werden hier noch nicht aufgeführt. Angedeutet habe ich bereits, daß die Zahl der ständigen Teilnehmer etwas höher wie im vorletzten Jahre war, nämlich 24. Als Prüflinge sind zu nennen, außer KOPPERS und mir, MANUEL, der bereits 35 Jahre zählte, der vierzehnjährige KIMES, der zwölfjährige WALTER II, die vierzehnjährige ELISA, Tochter des SANTIAGO und der ADELHEID, endlich die etwa achtzehnjährige JULIA vom Stamme der Halakwulup. Diese Zahl von sieben *xówgole* erscheint mit Rücksicht auf die geringe Volksstärke von damals sehr hoch; doch gehörten drei davon nicht den Yamana an. Bemerkenswert ist, daß SANTIAGO, der nach allgemeinem Brauch in Abhängigkeit vom Vorsteher PEDRO seines Amtes waltete, außergewöhnlich nachsichtig und nicht imstande war, die Zügel einer strammen Ordnung zu halten. Uns war diese Erleichterung überaus erwünscht; sie ermöglichte leise Fragen, erhielt uns frischer und gewährleistete ein besseres Verständnis der einzelnen Geschehnisse. Immerhin bekamen alle Prüflinge unterschiedslos den Ernst dieser Veranstaltung reichlich zu spüren. Auch beteiligten sich alle Erwachsenen sehr rege und mit ganzer Aufmerksamkeit. Vergleichshalber kann ich sagen, daß meine erste Jugendweihe von tiefem Ernst und strengster Handhabung der Tagesordnung beherrscht war, während diesmal ein größeres Vielerlei mit lebhafterer Beteiligung geboten wurde.

Am dritten und vierten Tage überlegten die ältesten Männer unauffällig den Plan für das *kina*-Fest. Als die Männer mittleren Alters davon Ahnung bekamen, begann das *čiźgaya* für sie langweilig zu werden und sie ließen durchfühlen, wie erwünscht ihnen der baldige Abschluß wäre. Man einigte sich daraufhin, am Abend des 6. März die Große Hütte zu verlassen. In jenen fünf Tagen hatte ich genügend, ja reichlich viel über die Jugendweihe erfahren. Obwohl man mich über die Beendigung nicht befragte, rechnete man von vornherein mit meinem Einverständnis. Schließlich wollte ich mir das *kina* nicht entgehen lassen. Letzteres fiel in die wenigen Tage vom 6. bis zum Mittag des 11. März. Kurz vorher brach der Wunsch der Allgemeinheit durch, wir sollten nochmals zur *čiźgaya*-Hütte übersiedeln; und wie von selbst wurde er Wirklichkeit. Bald fühlten wir uns alle in der rechten Stimmung. Ernst und Sammlung war auf allen Gesichtern zu lesen, die ganze Ordnung wickelte sich genau ab. Vom Vormittag des 12. März löste sich nun endlich die Versammlung auf, nachdem der alte WRAITS noch einmal eine längere Ermahnung an die Prüflinge gerichtet hatte. Jeder legte seine Sachen zum Bündel

zusammen und kehrte damit ins eigentliche Lager zurück. Seitdem stand die Große Hütte verlassen da. Öfters noch kamen wir daran vorbei und die Erinnerungen, die dann wach wurden, vertieften die nachhaltigen Eindrücke.[300]

Hocherfreut über das Gelingen des Hauptplanes der diesjährigen Reise, benützten wir noch die nächsten Tage zu ergänzenden Beobachtungen und kehrten am 17. März nach Punta Remolino zurück. Von dort aus traten wir am 7. April die Rückreise nach Punta Arenas an (S. 186).

Erst vor dem drohend nahen Untergange dieses feuerländischen Volksstammes bin ich als erster Europäer vom Glück bevorzugt worden, die unschätzbar wertvolle und inhaltlich reiche Einrichtung seiner Jugendweihe zu erleben. Welchen Verlust für unsere Kenntnis der älteren Naturvölker würde es bedeuten — jetzt im Besitze all dessen beurteilt, was die *Jiŋ̃ŋaga*-Feier ist und enthält —, wenn mit den letzten Vertretern jenes Volkes auch diese so wertvolle Einrichtung spurlos verschwunden, wenn die ganze Fülle ihrer hochbedeutsamen Einzelheiten unbekannt und einer wissenschaftlichen wie praktischen Auswertung für alle Zukunft unzugänglich geblieben wäre.

b. *Vorbereitung der Feier*

Die Eigenerfahrung von einem zweimaligen Erleben der Jugendweihe und viele einzelne Mitteilungen der Yamana werden im Folgenden zu einer geordneten, übersichtlichen Darstellung[301] zusammengefügt. Darin kommt jeder einzelne Teil nach Wert und Bedeutung in der sehr ausgedehnten, umständlichen Veranstaltung besser und bestimmter zur Geltung, als in der eingehenden Beschreibung all dessen, was nach zeitlicher Anordnung jeder Tag gebracht hat. Jetzt, am Lebensabend dieses Volkes und wegen der geringen Kopfzahl der Überlebenden, kann alles und jedes nicht mehr mit der gleichen Genauigkeit und Ausführlichkeit eingehalten werden wie ehedem. Nicht einmal die ungestörte Ruhe und ausgedehnte Zeit, die früheren Geschlechtern für dieses Fest sicher waren, stehen dafür den Indianern von heute zur Verfügung. Sie vereinigen sich trotzdem immer noch zum *Jiŋ̃ŋaga*, weil es den Burschen und Mädchen geboten werden muß; ueberdies ist es auch für alle Erwachsenen eine große Genugtuung, an dieser gedankenreichen Einrichtung wieder einmal das gute Alte zu erleben. Wie das *Jiŋ̃ŋaga* sie in ihrem ganzen Empfinden aufwühlt, wie es sie bereichert und erhebt, ersieht man jedesmal deutlich beim Abschluß, wenn sie in ihrer Begeisterung die jeweilige Veranstaltung laut als die schönste und beste preisen, der sie beigewohnt haben.

[300] Hocherfreut sei auf Kaweyan (z): 51 verwiesen; er schildert, was alles jeder einzelne Tag in der Großen Hütte gebracht hat. Vgl. auch Cooman (z): 425 und die kaum Angaben weiter unten.

[301] Beim Aufbau dieser Darstellung habe ich bewußt, so weit als möglich, die Anordnung beibehalten, nach welcher die Beschreibung der Männerfeier bei den Selk'nam abgefaßt worden ist. Dadurch wird ein Vergleich der beiden Veranstaltungen fühlbar erleichtert. So weit als nötig muß auch die unten gebotene Darstellung der Kina-Feier herangezogen werden.

wenn sie es bedauern, wie schnell sie vorübergegangen ist, wenn sie nachdrücklich dazu auffordern, doch bald wieder zu diesem Feste zusammenzutreten und es lange auszudehnen.

Die seit alterher geltende Ordnung und die vielen Einzelbestimmungen werden tunlichst auch jetzt noch eingehalten; nur darin hat man nachgelassen, sie in der unnachgiebigen Strenge und Härte von ehedem zu handhaben. Sehr unterschiedlich haben jeweils ALFREDO und SANTIAGO die Leitung geführt; jener war noch ganz beherrscht vom ernsten Geiste der früheren Zeit, während dieser den lockernden Einflüssen von seiten des Europäertums allzu nachsichtig Rechnung trug. Immerhin ist auch diese Feststellung wertvoll; sie weist darauf hin, daß nicht minder in früherer Zeit die Persönlichkeit des jeweiligen Vorstehers oder Leiters der Art und Weise, wie die Feier ablief, einmal diese und andermal jene Betonung verlieh. Die vielen Einzelheiten und Nebensächlichkeiten, mit denen jeder Tag ausgefüllt wird, gehören an sich zwar zur Festordnung, die Reihenfolge allerdings und die Häufigkeit, in der sie sich wiederholen, die Bevorzugung des einen und der verstärkte Nachdruck, den man auf etwas anderes legt, sind Schwankungen, für die es keine festen Regeln gibt; sie werden nämlich von der Charakteranlage des Vorstehers, von der Stimmung einflußreicher Teilnehmer, von Laune und Lust der Allgemeinheit und endlich von gewissen rein äußeren Einflüssen verursacht. Solche inhaltlich bedeutungslose Abweichungen der einen Veranstaltung von der anderen wirken sich zuweilen sehr fühlbar aus und schaffen, infolge dieser Abwechslungen, auch jedesmal neue Anregung.

Das Hauptziel des *Ĩiẽxaya* ist die erzieherische Beeinflussung der Knaben und Mädchen im Reifealter. Was ihm dient, ist im Hauptteil der Festordnung vorgesehen, ja letztere berücksichtigt fast ausschließlich die Prüflinge. Doch darüber hinaus ist es unverkennbar auch eine Veranstaltung für die Erwachsenen, insofern ihren Geselligkeitsbedürfnissen nach so langer Zeit der Vereinsamung, zu welcher der Wirtschaftsbetrieb jede Einzelfamilie zwingt, weitgehend Rechnung getragen wird. Diese beiden Aufgaben des *Ĩiẽxaya*, im Grunde sehr verschieden voneinander und anscheinend gegensätzlich, sind nichtsdestoweniger so glücklich ineinander verwoben, werden durchaus unparteiisch berücksichtigt und so vollständig erfüllt, als gäbe es nur ein einziges Ziel. In den folgenden Ausführungen nehmen, wie leicht begreiflich, alle Maßnahmen für die Prüflinge den meisten Raum ein; denn was der Unterhaltung und dem Vergnügen der Erwachsenen dient, wiederholt sich öfters in dieser und jener Form und wird vorwiegend aus dem Alltag in die Große Hütte herübergenommen, wie beispielsweise die Tanzspiele und Gesänge. Gewisse Einzelheiten sind unbestimmbar geblieben und für manche Erscheinungen fehlt die ausreichende Erklärung. Das darf nicht verwundern; denn das jüngere Geschlecht übernahm vom vorhergehenden diese Einrichtung als etwas Bestehendes und dachte weder an Deuteln noch an Begründung jeder Kleinigkeit. Möglicherweise sind erst in der Neuzeit einzelne Zusammenhänge gelöst und manche Lücken in die Gedankenfolge gerissen wor-

den. Im großen und ganzen aber bietet die folgende Darstellung ein vollständiges Bild der geheimen Jugendweihe, wie sie seit alterher abgehalten wurde.

Diese nun ist, wie schon öfters betont, bei unseren Eingeborenen allgemein und nur unter dem Namen *čiḉyays* bekannt. Man hört auch häufig die andere Betonung *čiḉyáys*, zumal wenn es mit lauter Stimme gerufen wird, neben dem etwas verschiedenen *čḉyays* und sogar neben dem sanfter klingenden, *jiḉyays* und *jḉyays*. Letztgenannte Form nähert sich offensichtlich dem *jâkaus* im BD: 276. Dieses Wort beinhaltet die gesamte Veranstaltung an sich. Sie als Jugendweihe zu bezeichnen ist insofern gerechtfertigt, als sie hauptsächlich und fast ausschließlich der Erziehung und Schulung der im Reifealter stehenden Jugendlichen beiderlei Geschlechtes dient. Daran ändert der Umstand nichts, daß zufällig ein *čiḉyays* abgehalten wird, bei dem als Prüflinge entweder nur Burschen oder nur Mädchen anwesend sind; eben weil sich in diesem oder jenem Jahre geeignete Jugendliche des anderen Geschlechtes nicht finden. Lebensjahre machen eine Grenze nicht aus.

1. Anlaß und Dauer

Der Europäer unterschätzt oft in weitreichendem Maße die Abhängigkeit des Naturmenschen von der Nahrungsbeschaffung. Die Sorge um das alltäglich Notwendige schiebt rücksichtslos und hemmungslos jeden Wunsch und Plan, jede Forderung und Berechnung beiseite, die ihr irgendwie im Wege stehen. Was Speiser: 255 an den Australiern beweist, gilt auch für unsere Feuerländer, daß nämlich „die Nahrung den Kernpunkt ihrer materiellen wie geistigen Tätigkeiten bildet", daß also ihre erste und größte Aufmerksamkeit dem Lebensunterhalte gilt. Anscheinend kennen die Naturmenschen keine bestimmte Zeiteinteilung und keine Beständigkeit in ihren Entschlüssen, sie halten weder Wort noch erfüllen sie ihr Versprechen. Dem ist in Wirklichkeit nicht so und man tut ihnen Unrecht, wenn man sie als wankelmütig, unentschlossen, treulos hinstellt. Ihre Entscheidungen werden im letzten Augenblick noch abgeändert und umgestoßen von dem größeren oder geringeren Vorteil, der für die Nahrungsbeschaffung und für die Lebenssicherung daraus erwächst. Ihnen erscheint es weit wichtiger, den Hunger zu bannen oder einer das Leben unmittelbar bedrohenden Gefahr zu entrinnen, als ein gegebenes Wort einzulösen, ein Versprechen zu halten, einer Zusammenkunft beizuwohnen oder einen zugesagten Besuch einzuhalten. Dieser alles beherrschende und alles entscheidende Grundsatz wirkt sich nicht minder beim Zustandekommen und auf die Zeitdauer des *čiḉyays* augenscheinlich aus. Erwarte man also diesbezüglich keine unwandelbaren Gesetze.

Früher oder später finden sich die Familien eben doch wieder einmal zusammen, damit ihre herangereiften Kinder die Gelegenheit zur Jugendweihe erhalten. Innerhalb der Lokalgruppe nur macht sich der Wunsch darnach erkennbar geltend. Der Regel nach aber kommt der Anstoß zum Entschluß von außen her. Der stärkste Anlaß erscheint dann gegeben, wenn irgend-

wo ein Wal gestrandet ist. Nicht nur aus nächster Nachbarschaft, zuweilen auch von weit her strömen die Familien herbei und lassen sich rund um das gewaltige Tier herum nieder. Für viele Tage sind sie alle jetzt von Nahrungssorgen frei und häufen sogar Vorräte für die nächste Zukunft auf (S. 594). Bietet dieser Platz die weiteren Vorteile, daß die Männer bequem Jagdtiere erlegen und die Frauen bei ihrer Sammeltätigkeit reichen Erfolg haben, bleiben die meisten, vielleicht sogar alle Familien an dieser ergiebigen Stelle sitzen. Denn nichts zwingt sie dazu, eine andere Gegend aufzusuchen, wo sie von vornherein solch günstiger Bedingungen nicht sicher sind. Nicht also der gestrandete Wal und eine ungeheure Fleischmasse, die den Leuten für viele Tage geboten ist, drängt zur Jugendweihe hin, sondern das Beisammensein zahlreicher Familien, die aus jenem Anlaß sich hier zusammengefunden haben und die auf diesem günstigen Plätzchen wegen vieler Vorteile bei der Nahrungsbeschaffung noch länger zu bleiben wünschen. Damit leitet sich die Gewohnheit, das *ĉiĉxaus* abzuhalten, zwar gelegentlich, doch durchaus nicht regelmäßig ein.

Das Gleiche wiederholt sich, wenn viele Familien aus sonstigem Beweggrunde auf einer und derselben Stelle sich zusammenfinden. So bei einem schweren Unglück, dem mehrere Personen zum Opfer gefallen sind oder bei einer groß angelegten Totenfeier, die einem geschätzten Alten oder einem tüchtigen Medizinmanne gilt. Die Gunst des Lagerplatzes gibt den letzten Entscheid. Freilich spricht die Lust und Laune der Leute, auch der Einfluß einzelner bejahrter Personen viel mit.

Erst wenn durch den Ort an und für sich die mühelose Versorgung vieler Familien gewährleistet ist, schaut man sich nach den Jugendlichen um, die für *ĉiĉxaus* sich eignen. Bevor die Familien nicht beisammen sind, weiß niemand darum recht Bescheid; denn sogar innerhalb der Lokalgruppe hat diese mit jener zuweilen keine Fühlung. Aus Mangel an geeigneten Kindern wäre in alter Zeit dieses Fest niemals unterblieben, sofern der Lagerplatz von sich aus dazu einlud; denn deren gab es früher in guter Zahl.

Was dann und wann sehr stark zum langen Beisammensein, wie es nun einmal mit dem *ĉiĉxaus* gegeben ist, hindrängt, ist das Geselligkeitsbedürfnis und der Wunsch nach einem ausgiebigen Gedankenaustausch. Man darf nie aus dem Auge verlieren, wie schwer die Vereinsamung der Einzelfamilie je länger um so empfindlicher auf jedem ihrer wenigen Mitglieder lastet. Vor allem wollen die Männer wieder einmal unter sich sein und auch die Frauen haben einander manches zu erzählen. Jenen brennt es auf der Seele, ihre Jagderlebnisse und Arbeitserfolge zum besten zu geben; diese wissen sehr viele Kleinigkeiten von den eigenen Kindern und wünschen noch mehr mit ihrer Verwandtschaft zu plaudern. Wie anregend ist es, den Erzählungen eines erfahrenen Alten zu lauschen, und wie gern schart man sich um einen lebhaften Spaßvogel, der durch den Beifall vieler zu neuen Einfällen angeregt wird. Allein um dieses auffrischende, belebende Beisammensein wieder einmal zu genießen, sucht mancher den Lagerplatz auf, wo die Jugend-

weihe stattfindet; erst recht bleiben mehrere Familien noch länger dort miteinander verbunden, wo auch die günstigen örtlichen Bedingungen besonders dazu einladen.

Aus diesen Angaben läßt es sich leicht ableiten, wie viele Umstände und Einzelheiten der unberechenbaren Wirklichkeit die zeitliche Ausdehnung einer *čiẹ̄ɣuɣ*-Feier beeinflussen und sogar bestimmen. Hierher gehört vor allem die leichte Möglichkeit zur Holz- und Nahrungsbeschaffung, die zuverlässige Sicherung des Lagerplatzes gegen starke Winde und gegen eine Überschwemmung, die unter den Familien herrschende Stimmung vertraulicher Gemütlichkeit, endlich die abwechslungsreiche Gestaltung und lebhafte Führung der Feier selber durch einen begabten Vorsteher. Nach den Aussagen meiner alten Gewährsmänner blieben früher die meisten Familien so lange beisammen, daß die Prüflinge zumindest sechs Wochen in der Großen Hütte zurückgehalten wurden. Jedenfalls hielten jene Familien während der ganzen Zeit aus, die ein Kind oder einen nahen Verwandten zum *uāwāgla* gemacht hatten, sowie die Familien des Vorstehers und des Leiters, weil letztere das übernommene Amt eben bis zum Ende weiterführen mußten. Selbstverständlich wahrten sich die übrigen Familien ihre unbehinderte Freizügigkeit. Häufig dehnte sich die Feier bis über drei Monate aus; denn der Leiter machte sich von dem Erfolge und der Wirkung dieser Schulung bei dem und jenem Prüfling, dem man besondere Beachtung schenkte, abhängig. Ein gewisses Ziel wollte man mit allen *uāwāgla* erreichen; gelang dies nicht durch Eindringlichkeit, mußte die verlängerte Zeit nachhelfen.

Da das Volksganze seit wenigen Jahrzehnten in völliger Auflösung begriffen ist, deshalb ist auch das bedeutsame *čiẹ̄ɣuɣ* unter dem Zwange der äußeren Umstände, aber nicht im mindesten im Urteil der älteren Yamana, zu einer Gelegenheitssache geworden. Demnach begnügt man sich neuerdings sogar mit der Dauer von einer bis zwei Wochen. Bei meiner ersten Jugendweihe saßen wir zehn Tage in der Großen Hütte. Im Jahre 1921 hatten diese Leute sie allein für sich in Puerto Mejillones abgehalten und zwar durch zwölf Tage. Im folgenden Jahre schlossen sie bereits nach sechs Tagen ab.

Was wir selber im März 1922 erlebten, hat sich auch früher gelegentlich ereignet, nämlich daß irgendwelcher äußerer Umstand zu einer Unterbrechung zwang. Am häufigsten geschah dies bei einem Todesfall, auch wegen der ungünstigen Bodenverhältnisse, seltener wegen Nahrungsmangel. Man verschob das Lager auf eine andere Stelle, wo man eine neue *čiẹ̄ɣuɣ*-Hütte aufbaute. Damals im Puerto Mejillones hat das starke Verlangen der jüngeren Männer nach der *klau*-Feier, die sie noch nie erlebt hatten, zur Unterbrechung der Jugendweihe hingedrängt. Doch auch die Indianer empfinden jedesmal ein Abreißen des Fadens als Störung und geben nur dem starken Zwange der Notwendigkeit oder des größeren Vorteiles nach.

Obwohl durchgehends unberechenbare äußere Umstände zu diesem Feste aufriefen, zog man dafür doch als geeignetste Jahreszeit den Winter vor. Man war dann sowieso seßhafter, wie es der Wirtschaftsbetrieb mit sich

brachte. In diese langweilige, eintönige Lebensführung schob man mit Vorliebe das *ŝiŝpus* ein und erfreute sich daran zur Genüge. Im Sommer hingegen hätten es nur wenige Personen ausgehalten, viele Wochen ununterbrochen in der Großen Hütte zu hocken. Wirklich, feste Regeln für den Anlaß zu einer Jugendweihe und für die Dauer derselben kennen diese Feuerländer ebensowenig wie die ihnen nach Nordwesten hin unmittelbar benachbarten Halakwulup.

2. Entferntere Vorbereitung

Dem eindeutigen Zweckgedanken, dem die Ordnung und der Aufbau des *ŝiŝpus* dient, müssen sich selbstverständlich alle Leute unterordnen, die dazu sich vereinigen. Die allgemeinen Rechtsbestimmungen sind als überliefertes Gut heilig und verpflichten einen jeden. Der jeweilige Vorsteher wacht darüber, daß jeder Teilnehmer den ungeschriebenen Gesetzen sich fügt. Viel zu ernst nimmt jedermann diese Veranstaltung, als daß es ihm in den Sinn käme, auch nur gegen eine einzige Verpflichtung zu verstoßen. Aber aus Unachtsamkeit und natürlicher Lässigkeit könnte zufällig einer entgleisen, dann muß die Wachsamkeit des Vorstehers einschreiten. Sonderrechte für einzelne Erwachsene gibt es ebensowenig wie Ausnahmen für den oder jeden Prüfling.

Was jeder Teilnehmer als seine Gebrauchsstücke oder Gerätschaften zur Großen Hütte mitbringt, darüber behält er ein uneingeschränktes Eigentumsrecht. Wer einen langen Riemen zum Einfangen der Prüflinge besitzt, stellt ihn für die ganze Festzeit zur Verfügung, nimmt ihn aber nachher wieder zu sich. Nur die bemalten Holztäfelchen, die man in der Großen Hütte aufhängt, betrachtet man als zu ihr gehörig. Wer sie hergestellt und dort angebracht hat, verliert ein Sonderrecht darauf; nach der Frier käme es niemand in den Sinn, eines dieser Ziertäfelchen in eigenen Gebrauch zu nehmen.

In Anbetracht der Strenge, mit der die geltenden Rechtsbestimmungen beobachtet und in Ehren gehalten werden, darf man zuversichtlich annehmen, daß sie in der gegenwärtigen Form von den früheren und frühesten Geschlechtern allen nachfolgenden getreu übermittelt worden sind.

a. *Die Teilnehmer*

Eine Jugendweihe kommt selbstredend niemals zustande — die erforderlichen äußeren Bedingungen vorausgesetzt —, wenn nicht eine gewisse Zahl von Teilnehmern sich dazu entschließt. Was die Prüflinge anbelangt, so wird der herrschende Gebrauch weiter unten besprochen. Uneingeschränkt besitzt jeder Erwachsene das Recht, in jedwede *ŝiŝpus*-Hütte einzutreten, sofern er zuvorauf die Jugendweihe als *alwagla* über sich hat ergehen lassen. Bei seiner ersten Anwesenheit wird er sehr streng behandelt, die zweite gilt als eine weit weniger strenge Nachprüfung.[204] Die für den allgemeinen Verkehr geltenden geographischen Beschränkungen fallen mit dem bloßen Ent-

schluß dieser oder jener Lokalgruppe zur *čiḱoys*-Feier. Allein damit, daß bei einem gestrandeten Wal die einzelnen Familien aus jedweder Gegend sich einfinden dürfen, ist auch das Recht gegeben, dort während der sich anschließenden Jugendweihe zu verbleiben. Irgendwelcher Zwang besteht für sie nicht, weder in die Große Hütte überhaupt einzutreten noch darin vom Anfang bis zum Schluß auszuharren. In Wirklichkeit läßt sich niemand die Gelegenheit zum Genuß dieser schönen Feier entgehen, sofern sie in erreichbarer Nähe stattfindet und er selber nicht durch unüberwindliche Behinderung davon abgehalten wird.

Während ihres Verlaufes schwankt andauernd die Zahl der Anwesenden: denn einige Familien kommen und andere gehen, unberechenbar nach Lust und Laune. Die Durchschnittszahl der ständigen Teilnehmer war früher hoch, man nannte mir fünfzig bis achtzig. Zeitweilig, besonders vor dem Abschluß, stieg sie an, während sie zu Beginn immer niedriger war. Je weiter es sich eben herumsprach, daß diese Feier abgehalten wird, um so mehr Leute eilten herbei. Von Anfang an aber wurde die Teilnehmerzahl durch den äußeren Anlaß, je nachdem dieser für sich allein eine große Menge zusammenführte, wie auch durch die Ausdehnung der Lokalgruppe, innerhalb deren Grenzen das Fest stattfand, maßgebend beeinflußt. Nach übereinstimmender Ansicht meiner Gewährspersonen verlief es um so lebhafter und anregender, je mehr Erwachsene und Prüflinge sich daran beteiligten.

Hatte ein Ereignis von Bedeutung für die Allgemeinheit, beispielsweise eine große Totenfeier oder das Stranden eines mächtigen Heringsstromes, viele Familien an den gleichen Ort zusammengeführt, regte sich das Verlangen zu Gemeinschaftsspielen und zum Gedankenaustausch in einer ausgedehnten Runde. Machte sich eine leise Neigung für das *čiḱoys* bemerkbar, die allmählich zum Gespräch der Anwesenden wurde, so fehlte meist nur noch ein kurzer Schritt zur ersten Vereinbarung. Aus dem Wunsche vieler erstand der feste Entschluß der Allgemeinheit. Man beredete diesen und jenen Umstand, machte Vorschläge, erwog die Gegenwartslage und gestaltete daraus immer deutlicher und bestimmter den endgültigen Plan. Das gelang zuweilen erst allmählich, vereinzelt ergab es sich sehr schnell wie von selber. Wohl nie fehlte eine gewisse Begeisterung für das *čiḱoys*, die allein schon durch das Zusammenströmen vieler Familien aus mehreren Lokalgruppen geweckt wurde.

3. *Die Prüflinge*

Ist man sich so weit schlüssig geworden, daß wieder eine Jugendweihe abgehalten werden soll, überlegt man sofort, welche Kinder zu Prüflingen gemacht werden können. Das strenge Gewohnheitsrecht fordert, daß alle Yamana nach erlangter körperlicher Reife zumindest einmal diese ge-

[1] Kaum sei erwähnt, daß von den jüngeren Burschen als notwendige Voraussetzung zum Eintritt in die geheime Männerfeier gefordert wird, zweimal die Jugendweihe als Prüflinge mitgemacht zu haben.

geheime Feier über sich ergehen lassen. Pflicht der eigenen Eltern, dann des engeren Verwandtenkreises und hauptsächlich der Allgemeinheit ist es, darüber zu wachen, daß niemand jener Prüfungszeit verlustig gehe. Tatsächlich beweisen die Erwachsenen allen und jedem ihrer Stammesgenossen eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit gerade hinsichtlich seiner Verpflichtung als *ušegla*. Man merkt es sich sehr genau und durch viele Jahre, ob, wann und wo ein jeder sein *šiépaus* bestanden hat, wer seine Paten und sein Lehrmeister dabei gewesen sind und was sonst noch damit im Zusammenhange steht. Gänzlich ausgeschlossen ist es deshalb, daß auch nur ein einziger unbeachtet von seiner nächsten Umgebung sich an jener Verpflichtung vorbeidrücke. Hingewiesen sei beispielsweise auf CLENGETZ, der gleichzeitig mit mir seine erste Jugendweihe erfuhr, obwohl er 27 Jahre zählte (S. 816); daß er sie bis dahin noch nicht gemacht hatte, wußten viele seiner Landsleute.

Für gewöhnlich haben die Prüflinge das vierzehnte Lebensjahr bereits hinter sich. Doch sieht man weniger auf das Lebensalter und die körperliche Entwicklung, als vielmehr auf eine gewisse geistige Reife. Die seelische Eignung ist die wichtigste Vorbedingung; denn mit der erforderlichen Urteilsentwicklung, mit etwas selbständigem Denkvermögen und mit einiger Kraft zur Selbstbeherrschung müssen die Kinder ausgerüstet sein, soll der angestrebte Erfolg erreicht werden. Letzten Endes entscheidet der Grad der geistigen Reife eines Kindes darüber, ob es schon diesmal zugelassen wird oder ob es bis zur nächsten Gelegenheit warten muß. Verfrüht ein Kind in die Große Hütte einzuführen, vermeiden die Erwachsenen sorgfältig; denn sie wissen, daß dann alles Bemühen auf beiden Seiten ein zu geringes Ergebnis für den Prüfling zeitigen würde.

Ehedem wiederholte sich diese Feier oft. Nichts verschlug es deshalb, wenn der eine oder andere Jugendliche bis zur späteren Gelegenheit warten mußte. Sie wird "Jugendweihe" genannt, was eindeutig besagt, daß daran beide Geschlechter gleichzeitig, sowohl Knaben wie Mädchen, teilnehmen. Ein Zufall - es, der soeben angedeutet wurde, wenn einmal nur Knaben oder nur Mädchen als *ušegla* in der Großen Hütte sitzen. Niemals, wird ein Mädchen vor seiner Menarche zum *šiépaus* zugelassen (S. 753).

Bei der Aussmusterung der Prüflinge entscheidet vorwiegend das Urteil der näheren Verwandten und Bekannten, nicht das der eigenen Eltern. Letztere widersetzen sich niemals, wenn ihr Kind auf die nächste Gelegenheit zurückgeschoben wird, obwohl sie durchgehends es je eher je lieber als *ušegla* sehen. Die Ansicht der andern also gibt den Ausschlag.

7. *Leiter und Vorsteher*

Bei jenen vorbereitenden Besprechungen wird offensichtlich, welche älteren Männer mit ihren Familien die Jugendweihe abzuhalten sich entschlossen haben. Wie von selber rückt der Mann in den Vordergrund, der als Leiter am meisten sich eignet und auf den die anderen bei ihrer Unterhaltung

sich einigen. Man bezeichnet ihn als *ulaštkuwa*. Er ist noch rüstig und beweglich, besitzt großen Einfluß auf seine Umgebung, kennt den Verlauf der Feier gut und weiß seinen Forderungen nachdrücklich Geltung zu verschaffen. Man bevorzugt den, der dieses Amt schon einmal ausgeübt hat; denn es setzt gute Kenntnis vieler Einzelheiten voraus, die nicht jedem geläufig sind. Auch fordert es manche körperliche Anstrengungen, die man einem schwächlichen Greise nicht zumutet. Wem dieses Amt angetragen wird, der schlägt es wohl nie aus; denn ehrenhaft ist es und in der Stellung eines *ulaštkuwa* fühlt sich jeder vor allen Teilnehmern gehoben.

Fast jedesmal betätigt sich außer dem eben bezeichneten Leiter der ganzen Veranstaltung noch ein anderer Mann, den ich Vorsteher nennen möchte.[252] Er ist eine würdige Erscheinung, steht meist schon im Greisenalter und genießt allein wegen seiner Jahre die größte Ehrfurcht bei allen. Zu dieser moralischen Übermacht, die er für sich hat, kommt noch hinzu, daß nach Gewohnheitsrecht sogar der Leiter ihm unterstellt ist. In den alltäglichen Verlauf der Feier und in die Einteilung des Tagewerkes, in die Aufträge und Arbeitsleistungen für die Erwachsenen und Prüflinge greift er nicht unmittelbar ein; denn das sind die Obliegenheiten des Leiters. Seine hauptsächliche Pflicht ist es, darüber zu wachen, daß dieser sich keine Vernachlässigung oder Änderung der bestehenden Ordnung zuschulden kommen läßt. Mit ihm bespricht er gelegentlich unter vier Augen, was nach seiner eigenen Ansicht besonders betont und berücksichtigt, was eingestellt oder vermindert, was so oder so gehandhabt werden soll. Demnach erscheint er als der rechtmäßige Hüter des alten Brauches und als der pflichttreue Wächter für das wertvolle Stammesgut der Jugendweihe.[253]

Leicht erkennbar tritt der Vorsteher amtlich dann hervor, wenn er an die um ihn versammelten Prüflinge die üblichen Ermahnungen richtet. Auch hierzu ist er verpflichtet und muß zumindest veranlassen, daß letztere durch andere Personen, seien es Männer oder Frauen, den Prüflingen zuteil werden. Viel stärkeren Nachdruck erhalten die Belehrungen, wenn sie auf diese durchaus förmliche Weise erfolgen. Denn daß jeder Erwachsene irgendwelchem Prüfling wiederholt zuredet, ist und bleibt ganz Sache des einzelnen.

Jedesmal achtet man darauf, beide Ämter, nämlich die des Leiters und des Vorstehers, zu besetzen. Äußere Notwendigkeiten zwingen dazu, abgesehen von der oben genannten inneren Begründung. Weniger der Vorsteher, mehr aber der Leiter könnte an dem einen oder anderen Tage verhindert sein, der ihm obliegenden Pflicht zu genügen. Ob nun dieser oder

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[252] Hingewiesen sei auf die Übereinstimmung diesbezüglich mit der Männerfeier der Selk'nam, bei der ebenfalls zwei Vorsteher tätig sind. Dort allerdings werden sie nach einer bestimmten Regel für dieses Amt ausersehen (Bd. I, 829).

[253] Lawrence (b): 168 sagt über die beiden Ämter: „From their number they [the eldest and experienced of the men present] chose one who was both respected and well liked to be the master of ceremonies. Another they selected as the official instructor of the candidates." Möglicherweise sind ihm diese Angaben von den Eingeborenen gemacht worden.

jener vorübergehend ausschaltet, ohne viele Umschweife vertritt der eine den andern und die Feier läuft störungslos weiter. Auf viel Erfahrung beruht diese Einrichtung der beiden Ämter; denn ein Mann, der in seinen besten Jahren steht, lernt zuerst unter den Augen eines grübten, abgeklärten Greises die Leitung zu führen, während letzterer die Augen offen hält für die Wahrung der althergebrachten Überlieferung.

Bei meiner ersten Jugendweihe war der alte ALFREDO Leiter und der noch ältere WHAITS Vorsteher; nachher versah SANTIAGO das erstgenannte und PEDRO das letztgenannte Amt. Infolge dieser Ämterverteilung fehlt es niemals an Männern, die das eine oder das andere zu bekleiden imstande sind.

δ. *Der Versammlungsplatz*

Häufig bezeichnet der äußere Anlaß, auf den hin viele Familien zusammenströmen, gleichzeitig auch den Ort, an dem die Jugendweihe stattfindet. Innerhalb einer Lokalgruppe entschließen sich die Leute, wenn sie anderweitig nicht beeinflußt werden, für jenen Winkel, den sie früher bereits dafür aufgesucht hatten. In den beiden sich folgenden Jahren 1921 und 1922 waren die Yamana in Puerto Mejillones zum *čiξyaγ* vereinigt und benützten hier jedesmal die nämliche Große Hütte. Von einer bestimmten G e g e n d ist man also an und für sich nicht abhängig und kann es auch nicht sein, weil zumindest die Dialektgruppen innerhalb ihres eigenen Bereiches jenes Fest am liebsten feiern. Da sie sich gegeneinander auf solche Weise etwas abschließen, entstanden die kleinen Sondererscheinungen und örtlichen Eigenheiten bei dieser Feier in der einen und anderen Gegend.

Ist zwar die geographische Lage des Versammlungsortes gegenstandslos, so müssen doch gewisse ö r t l i c h e B e d i n g u n g e n erfüllt sein. Heute, und manchmal auch ehedem, verbirgt man die Große Hütte vor den Augen der Neugierigen; als solche gelten vor allem die Europäer, denn die benachbarten Halakwulup und Selk'nam. Man entscheidet sich gern für eine Insel oder Bucht, die nur selten besucht wird. Am Waldesrande oder nahe einer Felswand baut man die Große Hütte, daß sie nicht nur nicht in die Augen fällt, sondern im Landschaftsbilde verschwindet. Der Untergrund muß möglichste Trockenheit gewährleisten, also Kies- oder Schotterboden sein; denn auf lehmiger Erde entstände durch den Verkehr der vielen Menschen ein unbeschreiblicher Morast. Weiters muß der Ort guten Schutz gegen den Anprall starker Winde und schwerer Regen bieten. Falls nämlich das Regenwasser an zu vielen Stellen eintropft oder der Rauch zu heftig durch wiederholte Windstöße im Innern herumgewirbelt wird, wäre es vielen nicht möglich, dagegen sich zu schützen; die Große Hütte ist nämlich immer dicht und voll besetzt. Üble Störungen der strengen Ordnung müssen vermieden werden.

Außerdem stellt man an den Standplatz für die Große Hütte noch einige unumgängliche F o r d e r u n g e n. Brennholz muß in nächster Nähe zu erreichen sein und zwar in Menge; denn während der langen Feier wird durch

die zahlreichen Teilnehmer sehr viel verbraucht. Ein Bach darf nicht zu weit abliegen; da die Indianer häufig trinken, wäre es ihnen lästig, zum Wasser einen weiten Weg zu machen. Endlich müssen die Küsten in der Umgebung wenigstens mit Miesmuscheln dicht besetzt sein, weil diese, trotz allem, was jener Fleck dort bietet, täglich benötigt werden.

Viel Überlegung und Umschau gehen voraus, ehe sich die maßgebenden Männer für einen bestimmten Versammlungsort entscheiden. Abgesehen von der Arbeit, die der Bau einer neuen Großen Hütte jedesmal fordert, empfindet man einen Umzug doch immer als Störung und Unbequemlichkeit, denen man von vornherein tunlichst ausweicht. Bleibt die Entscheidung völlig frei, sammelt man sich an der gleichen Stelle, die sich bereits in früheren Jahren als passend und geeignet bewährt hat. Daß die größere oder geringere Leichtigkeit der Nahrungsversorgung überall ein entscheidendes Wort mitspricht, versteht sich von selbst; ein halbes Hundert Personen und mehr benötigen für mehrere Wochen ganz beträchtliche Mengen. Auch sieht man es auf eine gewisse Gemütlichkeit ab und die Erwachsenen wünschen, für manche Anstrengung und Freiheitsbeschränkung, einer kleine Abspannung.

Die entfernteste Vorbereitung ist, wie man sieht, eine bedeutende Sache, die lange Aussprachen und viele Umsicht fordert. Schneller treuzdem, als man meinen sollte, einigen sich die Yamana über die Wiederholung ihrer bedeutsamen Jugendweihe. Die jüngeren Leute hören nämlich auf die älteren mit unterwürfiger Ehrfurcht und letztere besitzen so viel Erfahrung, daß ihre Entscheidung unter den gegebenen Umständen kaum besser sein könnte.

3. Nähere Vorbereitung

Vorausgesetzt, daß aus einem bestimmten Anlaß viele Familien sich am gleichen Orte, der sich für die *Kéyapa*-Feier eignet, zwecks zusammengefunden haben, fällt ein Umzug des ganzen Lagers weg. Anders, wenn die Familien sich erst auf einer günstigen Stelle sammeln müssen. Dann bestimmt der Leiter die Übersiedlung und er ist mit seiner Familie meist der erste, der dorthin fährt, damit sein Beispiel die anderen nachziehe.

Fast jedesmal schickt der Leiter auch den einen und anderen Boten innerhalb seiner Verwandtenkreises und der ganzen Lokalgruppe herum, die auf den Beginn der Veranstaltung aufmerksam machen und gewisse Familien besonders herzlich einladen. Seinen Stab setzt jeder Leiter auf ein „gefülltes Haus"; deshalb vorher und auch später noch sein Draußen, möglichst viele Leute herbeizurufen.

Auch wird erwogen, welcher Raum für die Zahl der angemeldeten oder zu erwartenden Teilnehmer geschaffen werden muß. Zu benutzt darf es in der Großen Hütte dann doch nicht sein, weil gewisse Spiele und Tänze durch das Gedränge der Anwesenden behindert würden. Auf frühere Zusagen dieser und jener Familie ist selbstverständlich kein Verlaß und der Veranstalter weiß um die Teilnehmer eigentlich erst dann genau Bescheid, wenn alle in

seiner nächsten Nachbarschaft ihre Hütte unsichtbar aufgeschlagen haben. Nicht selten nehmen ähnlich die einzelnen Familien erst aus verschiedenen Richtungen zusammenlaufen und trotz bestem Willen werden sie, nur zu oft und zu lange, durch schlechtes Wetter empfindlich behindert.

Gute Laune und passende Stimmung bringt jeder mit. Das čiŋpuŋ bietet so viele Anregungen für alle Seiten des Seelenlebens, daß jeder Teilnehmer vom vornherein die frohe Gewißheit hat, dort seine Hoffnungen und Erwartungen erfüllt zu sehen. Eine erhebliche Anziehungskraft übt mitunter die Persönlichkeit dessen aus, der als Leiter in Betracht kommt. Dieser und jener versteht es eben in hervorragender Weise, für genaue Ordnung und abwechslungsreiche Bewegung, für gute Anregung und für auffrischende Verteilung der alltäglichen Einzelleistungen zu sorgen, während ein anderer die alten Erzählungen unvergleichlich gemütlich vorträgt oder die Belehrungen und Unterweisungen mit warmer Aufrichtigkeit den Prüflingen bietet. Im einzelnen erinnere ich mich an die Änderungen von Frauen und Männern im Februar 1920, als in Puerto Remolino bekannt wurde, ALFREDO übernähme die Leitung des čiŋpuŋ; der eine lobte dies und der andere jenes, was ihn für dieses Amt besonders empfahl. Wirklich, erstaunlich seiner Art, die Zügel einer solch eigentümlichen Veranstaltung zu führen, und der SANTIAGO's, die ich nach zwei Jahren beobachten konnte, liegt ein weiter Abstand.

Alle jene, die zur Jagdzeit sich am gleichen Orte einfinden, kommen zwar mit der Absicht, vom Anfang bis zum Abschluß sich zu beteiligen. Damit ist aber noch nichts über die wirkliche Zeitdauer ihres Verweilens gesagt, wie man von vornherein ebensowenig etwas Bestimmtes über die Ausdehnung der Feier selber sagen kann. Viele äußere Einwirkungen machen sich geltend und manches andere spielt dabei mit, vor allem ist die Persönlichkeit des Leiters einen entscheidenden Einfluß aus. Obwohl man über die zeitliche Ausdehnung der Veranstaltung vom vornherein nichts weiß und nichts festlegt, wird kein Teilnehmer deshalb in seinem Plane irgendwie beeinflußt; denn wem es unpraktisch wird, wer sich langweilt und wer keine Anregung mehr erhält, der nimmt unweigert unbehindert seinen Weg. Freilich bringt jeder den begeisterten Wunsch mit, es möchte das čiŋpuŋ sehr lange dauern. Ist es aber nach einiger Zeit keine starke Zugkraft mehr von, stimmt jeder für baldigen Abschluß. Und gebt man wirklich nachzuweisen, sagt dieser und jener doch noch: „Wie schade, daß es zu Ende ist!" Man sieht, wie auch die Yamana sich so ganz natürlich überall und in jeder Lebenslage benehmen.

c. Bau der Großen Hütte

Tatsächlich, als die Familien von einem bestimmten Anlaß oder auf Einladung des erwählten Leiters an einer und derselben Stelle sich gesammelt haben, suchen Männer hohen hier genau Umschau, welcher Platz für den Bau der Großen Hütte sich am besten eignet. Die Forderungen, die man an ihn stellt, sind sachlich (S. 120) gemessen worden. Vor allem muß das Erdreich

trocken sein und die unmittelbare Umgebung eine gute Deckung bieten. Die Entfernung von den nächsten Hütten darf 150 m nicht überschreiten, weil jeder erwachsene Teilnehmer mehr oder weniger häufig seine Wohnhütte aufsucht und keinen allzulangen Weg zurückzulegen gewillt ist. Bei Frauen ist es vorwiegend die Sorge um ihre unmündigen Kinder, die es nicht gestattet, sich weit von ihnen zu entfernen. All diese Rücksichten sprechen bei der Wahl des Standplatzes für die Große Hütte mit.

Von vornherein sichert sich der Leiter einige jüngere Männer, die sich regsam und arbeitsfreudig zeigen. Zögerndes Hinzuziehen würde sich auf die Familien lähmend auswirken, weswegen er unverzüglich den Aufbau der Großen Hütte einleitet. Ist der Platz dafür genau bezeichnet, schickt er jene Männer in den Wald. Hier legen sie dünne, lange Buchenstämmchen um die sie herbeibringen. Wie viele benötigt werden, hängt von der Ausdehnung ab, die man dem Bau zu geben plant. Zumindest sind achtzig Stämmchen verschiedener Dicke und mittlerer Länge erforderlich.

Man wählt einen glatten Fleck auf dem Erdboden aus, umgrenzt ihn mit den bloßen Blöcken und entfernt Steine, die etwa herumstehen. Zugleich überlegt der Leiter die Länge, die er dem Ganzen geben will. An einem Ende werden zwei stärkere Stämmchen in den Boden gestellen, die unten kaum mehr als 50 cm voneinander abstehen und den Eingang begrenzen. Sie heißen *wéfja téqwina*. Man gibt ihnen eine Neigung von etwa 45°. Das Gleiche geschieht mit zwei anderen Stämmchen jenen genau gegenüber, die den Ausgang zwischen sich fassen und die *ákfim téqwina* heißen. Die Endstücke dieser beiden Paare verbindet man miteinander. Erweisen sich diese Stäbe als zu kurz, weil man eine langgezogene Hütte plant, legt man Zwischenstücke ein. Eine besondere Stütze nach Art von Pfählen hörtet diesen Stämmchenpaar nicht und braucht es auch nicht; aber es stellt durch eine Art von Hauptrippen für das ganze Gewölbe dar, nach denen die Anordnung aller übrigen Stäbchen sich richtet.

Des weiteren stellt man nacheinander und im rechten Winkel zu jenem Stämmchenpaar die sogenannten Querhölzer auf, indem das dickere, meist zugespitzte Ende des Stämmchens in die Erde gestellen und in starker Neigung über jene Hauptrippen gelegt wird; das freie Ende verankert man am gegenüberliegenden Stämmchen. Am Boden gemessen stehen all diese Stämmchen etwa 15 cm voneinander ab. Über die Querhölzer werden jetzt in Längsrichtung noch mehrere lange Stämmchen gelegt, die dem Gewölbe einen besseren Zusammenhalt verleihen. Ihr dickeres Ende wird mit passender Neigung ebenfalls in den Erdboden gestellen und das Stäbchen selber, möglichst parallel zu den anderen, über die Querhölzer geführt. Die Kreuzungsstellen verankert man mit Binsenstreifen vom Marsippospermum grandiflorum oder mit Schnurfasern von Rohlen. Die langen Seitenflächen dieses Gerüstes behängt man mit großen Lederstücken und den Oberteil bedeckt man mit dichten, blattreichen Zweigen der immergrünen Nothofagus betuloides; zuweilen wird die ganze Hütte mit Buchenzweigen überkleidet. Damit ist der Rüstenbau

bewohnt. Die Hütte weist einen lang elliptischen Grundriß und eine langgezogene Kuppelform (Abb. 81) auf, wie etwa die Gemeinschaftshütte (S. 306).

Von der Zahl und Regelmäßigkeit der herstellenden Männer hängt es ab, in welcher Zeit, ob in zwei oder drei Tagen, die Grube Hütte aufgerichtet wird. Wikwakkanen arbeiten anders im Innern[99]. Zunächst umgrenzen sie die Feuerstelle mit dickeren Stämmchen, die sie auf den gerüstigen und geglätteten Erdboden legen. Diese Stämmchenpaare beginnen ein wenig einwärts von jedem Stämmchen, das dem Hauptt- und Nebeneingang umgrenzt, und erstrecken sich von einem Ende zum anderen. Dieser Hinweg ist eine etwas breitere als der eigentliche Haupt- und Nebeneingang. Handlange Pfähle, die in die Erde gerammt werden, geben den parallel verlaufenden Stämmchen

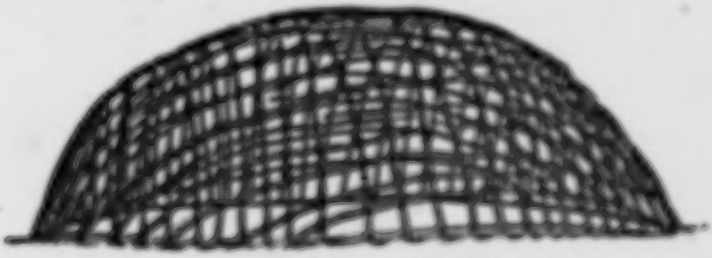

Abb. 81. Grube der Grube Hütte

einigen Halt. Beiläufig davon streut man dickfaserbaumes Reisig hin. Darüber breitet man jedes Teilnehmers seine Lederstücke und Felle, seinen Hautgleid aus. Weil die Leute nur zwei Reihen bilden, kann jeder nach Belieben am Feuer[99] sitzen bezw. bezw. sich dorthin begeben. Genau über der Feuerstelle legt dem Häuptling nur Reisig herbei auf, um dem Rauche einen erhaltlen und langsamen Abzug zu ermöglichen.

Selbstverständlich hängt die Ausführung der Grube Hütte in Längerichtung von der Zahl der Teilnehmer ab, alle anderen Maße bleiben sich in einem längeren oder kürzeren Bau fast gleich. Die Grube Hütte in Puerto Bajillanos besitzt einer Länge von 11,20 m, einer größten Breite, ebenfalls am Boden gemessen, von 3,60 m und einer senkrechten Höhe genau in der Mitte von 1,35 m. Der Eingang hat am Boden einer gerade Breite von 0,80 m und einer senkrechten Höhe von 1,05 m, der Ausgang einer unteren Breite von 0,60 m und einer senkrechten Höhe von 0,90 m. Beiläufig bildet vom dem Ausgang einbringen

[99] Eingeweihtig bestimmen die Teilnehmer die der Frauen in dem Wikwakkanen und im Kahn einen gedeckten Mittelplatz oder ein besseres Gemeinde. Unmittelbar hinter sie in die Grube Hütte zwei kurze Bänke vom Schamanen einen Hauptplatz gemäß, die auf den Hinweg verteilt waren. Wieder gehen die Frauen dieses genau und sitzenden wurde schließlich eine Bank hinzugefügt. Frühere bekam jeder den qualitativen Rauch als unangenehm zu spüren, weil sich der offene Feuer der Länge nach durch die Hütte zog.

und schwellen. Die beiden kleinen Durchgänge verengern sich ein wenig nach oben hin, weil die beiden Kampfschneiden stärker gegen gewölbt verbunden. In allen Teilen des Tamma-Gebietes verbinden man die Ojiangs-Hütte nach der oben beschriebenen Form,[**] die allein vielen Lettern einen bequemen Platz gewährt und beliebig in die Länge gezogen werden kann, so daß alle unsere Dach und Fach sind.

Mit diesem sinnbildenden Bau gibt man sich indes nicht zufrieden, sondern bringt einen sonderbaren Innenschmuck an. Der bilderbeliebte Künstler der Tamma bemühte sich damit, einfache Zeichen auf Holz zu malen. Pfählen, die dann die verschiedenen Elemente bilden, erhalten sie mit Messerschnitten von einzelnen Schneidern die Hände besonders und machen diese Zeichen unvertilgbar auf die Holzgebilde Bildhauern. Das geschieht auch heute noch. Häufiger werden sie jetzt vermittels der Elemente bunt, erhaben Bestreichen bis, die heute an den Gerüst gebildet werden, unter sie wenig im Bogen ziehen und bis zur Schichtung Mittelhöhe sich erhöhen. In Abständen von 40 bis 60 cm stellt man sie auf, unterstützt sie, daß zwei sich gegenüber stehen.

Endlich bringt man an einem Teile des Gerüstes Lettern, besonders Bretter und Stäbchen an, die frei herumschlagen. Die Bretter sind 25 bis 35 cm lang, rechteckig, mit glatten Oberflächen und mit gerade abgeschlagenen Endflächen; das dünnere Ende richtet sich nach unten. Die Bretchen sind immer länglich und schmal gebildet, 20 bis 45 cm lang, 7 bis 10 cm breit, entweder mit abgerundeten oder mit scharfen Ecken. Bei breiteren Stäb die besonders den beiden Schneidern in ein kurzes, viereckiges Stäbchen aus, in dem sie Löchlein gebohrt oder eine Farbe Kreide eingeschnitten wird. Vermittels einer Schnurfaser oder einer Bananenrippe bindet man die Bretchen und Stäbchen abgehängt dazwischen auf den Mittelhöhe des Gerüstgerüstes an, wo sie locker herumschlagen und sich bei Engläß oder Unebenheiten des Gerüstes etwas schmiegen (Vgl. die Nachbildungen auf Tafel II und III).

Will man diese Gerüstbilder an wie jene Schneiden und langen Bretchen bemalen, greift man an den Bildchen Farben, schwarz, weiß und rot, die man mit Bildchenen verreiben. Mit den Finger reibt man diesen Gemisch auf und ordnet Punkte mit Bildchen an verschiedenen Mustern. Wie immer es auch, folgt seiner angeschlichtlichen Identitätsbeim Eingebung und seiner Schlichtbildungsfreiheit, wenngleich auf jenen Bildchen ähnlich Zusammenstellungen in mannigfaltiger Wiederung von Linien und Punkten, von Bildchen und Kreisen vorkommen.

Wiederholt haben die Tamma versichert, diesen Schmuckbildchen keine besondere Bedeutung zu und sie diesem unsichtbaren der Verehrer-

[**] Lemmer (S. 136) schreibt: „Die neuen Häuser, 1 von Schwarzl, daß man nur a dazu hat bei die ein, bei a gebaut wurde eigenen Sie dort von wenig die Ost." Diese Bekanntgabe widersprichtt meiner Erfahrung. Bei allen Wanen, die man dem Hütte ansieht, bei mir mehrmals versichert, auch einer Landleuten dem Schwarz Sie die Ingredienzien unbedenklich die gleiche Inanspruchnahme. Ausgeführtesse Hütte gebaute die in den anderen Teilen des Gebietes vorkommen sind.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

die bei Sonnenwende abgehalten werden, erfüllt das Gewissen mitunter schwere Schuld vom einer Tiererzgruppe, die dagegen fällt. Überdies ist es Brauch, vom Häuptlinge dieser Gruppe Sonnenfeldern, den Hirten dazu zu zwingen, daß er in all seinen Teilen erzählt; einzelne Personen packen derart zu, daß man Gefahren muß, sie reißen das ganze Flechtwerk auseinander. Endlich klettern die Wächter dreißig auf die höchste Stelle, um Ausschau zu halten. Wirklich, viel fällt den Hütengeistern zum Einzelter Lücken, die sich öffnen und Regenwasser oder Schnee hereinfallen lassen, erhöhte man unverzüglich.

3. Bau der Kiehenhütte

Im Gang kommen unsere Tanzenen keine freiliegenden Zeiten für das Lesen; denn sie gestehen zu, wenn sie Hunger verspüren oder etwas sich hervor. Während der Jugendweihe erfüllt auch die Erwachsenen eine empfindliche Einschränkung beim Essen und zwar insofern, als Nahrungsmittel in der Großen Hütte nicht hergestellt werden dürfen. Für alle Teilnehmer gewinnen sie außerhalb derselben zubereitet und als fertige Speisen hereingebracht. Jedes erhält mengenhaft davon und zeigt sich selbstverständlich mit allem, was jeweils gebraten wird, zufrieden. Trotz dieser gewissenhaftlichen Spürung steht es den Erwachsenen frei, in die eigene Wohnhütte für kurze Stunden zurückzukehren und dort nach Lust zu essen, was vorhanden. Viele machen von dieser Freiheit mehr oder weniger häufig Gebrauch.

Zum Essen, in dem die Speisen für die ab beschriebene Zahl der Jugendlichen zubereitet werden, erhält man eine kleine Hütte, die im Abstand von 20 bis 30 Schritt von der Großen Hütte eigens errichtet wird. Sie gleicht in allem der dort ähnlichen Wohnhütte. Dennoch zeigt sie im Westen die Kappellenen und im Osten die Kappellenen. Weder die oben genannten Zweigflächen noch anderen Schmuck besitzt man darin an. In dieser Hütte besteht ein mächtiges Feuer, auf dem die Fleischstücke und Sprockstücken gebraten werden, die letzte Arbeit dient zum Hüten der Fleischs und zum Hüten der Wurzeln. Diese Hütte ist so angeordnet, daß die darin beschäftigenden Indianerinnen nach dem Nachtmahl dort halten können. Somit gleicht sie ungefähr einer gewöhnlichen Wohnhütte. Meistens wird diese Kiehenhütte unmittelbar nach Aufbau der Großen Hütte errichtet, manchmal schon während derselben, denn mit Beginn der Feier setzt gleichzeitig die Tätigkeit der dort angestellten Frauen ein.[*]

Hier arbeiten dort bis fünf Frauen, die sich für diesen arbeitsreichen Amt einer angemessenen Kiehenhütte bereits erhalten haben. Freiwillig stellen sie sich dem Leiter zur Verfügung. Ist zwar ihre Arbeit nicht schwer, legt sie ihnen doch manche Opfer auf, von welchen sie den Verzicht auf eine angenehme Ausnahmestellung an den Vorgängen in der Großen Hütte am schwersten empfin-

[*] Genau so wie hier errichten auch die Bakkeschlag für die Feier ihrer Jugendweihe neben der Großen Hütte noch eine Kiehenhütte, in der die Lebensmittel für alle Teilnehmer zubereitet werden. Vgl. Gemmen (s.) 245.

den. Diese Frauen verbringen eben doch die meiste Zeit in ihrem Küchenraume und entbehren währenddessen das vergnügliche Beisammensein mit anderen. Früher haben sie Muscheln und Krebse, Fleisch und Speck zubereitet; heute kochen sie in einem Eimer oder großen Blechkübel eine dicke Suppe aus Hülsenfrüchten mit Hammelfleisch, wenn man ihnen das zur Verfügung stellt. Europäische Nahrungsmittel und noch manche andere Zutaten hatten diese Indianer angefordert, als sie mich zu meiner ersten und zweiten Jugendweihe zuzulassen versprachen (S. 815, 818). Eine besondere Bezeichnung für die Köchinnen besitzen die Yamana nicht, sie sind eben *mahallku klpa*, also tüchtige, geschickte Frauen. Die Kochhütte nennt man kurzweg *klpa ákir*[1], Hütte für die Frauen. Im März 1922 waren darin hauptsächlich die Frau des PEDRO und die Frau des CALDERON tätig, denen die beiden Schwestern GERTIE und ADELHEID halfen. Tatsächlich waren sie die ganze Feier hindurch an jedem Tage mehrere Stunden behindert, den Vorgängen in der Großen Hütte beizuwohnen.

Sollte sich für diesen Küchendienst keine Frau freiwillig zur Verfügung stellen, muß der Leiter einige Personen ausdrücklich bestimmen. Er erinnert sie auch an die drei Essenszeiten, welche nach altem Brauch auf die Morgenfrühe, den Mittag und die Abenddämmerung fallen, was sie sowieso gut wissen. Neuestens werden diese Zeiten wie selbstverständlich eingehalten, da die Indianer daran durch die Tagesordnung auf den Farmen gewöhnt worden sind. Bei der Jugendweihe sieht man aber nicht auf die Minute; haben die Frauen das Essen fertiggestellt, bringen sie es zur Großen Hütte und dort beschließt man augenblicklich jedwede andere Betätigung. Sind die Köchinnen ihrer Tagesarbeit ledig, suchen sie ihren Platz in der Großen Hütte auf und nehmen dort mit den übrigen Erwachsenen an den Veranstaltungen teil, mit besonderer Vorliebe an den Tänzen und Spielen am Abend.

7. *Ordnungsdienst*

Genau so unauffällig, wie der Leiter die Arbeiten beim Aufbau der Großen Hütte an gewisse Männer und die Beschäftigung in der Küchenhütte an geeignete Frauen verteilt, bestimmt er auch einen verläßlichen Mann für den Dienst des Wächters. Man nennt ihn *sinefkára*. Das ist der Name für Leucophaeus scoresbii, ein gefürchteter Raubvogel der Hochsee. Dieser hat es zur Gewohnheit, sich mit wütender Mordlust auf andere Vögel zu stürzen und auf sie einzuhacken; infolgedessen ist sein ganzer Schnabel häufig mit Blut bedeckt (Abb. 82).

In Nachahmung dessen malt sich der Wächter einen breiten roten Streifen über die ganze untere Hälfte der Nase und von da, in Zweifingerdicke, zu beiden Seiten weiter nach unten bis zu den Kinnrand. Diese Bemalung, die zuweilen, um sie in der Dunkelheit sichtbar zu machen, auch in Weiß ausgeführt wird, soll zum Ausdruck bringen, wie ernst und streng er sein Amt verwaltet und wie bedrohlich er jeden verfolgt, der die Ordnung

stört oder sich etwas zuschulden kommen läßt. Als Kopfschmuck gebührt dem *wineſkhra* der geflochtene Kranz aus weißen Albatrosfedern, in der gleichen Ausführung, wie ihn die *yékamuł* tragen. Vereinzelt tauscht er ihn gegen das *kapaxél* aus. Früher, da den Yamana noch europäische Kleidung fehlte, bemalten sich die Wächter den ganzen Körper gleichmäßig weiß und trugen zweifingerdicke rote Querstreifen rundherum auf, die in Handbreite voneinander abstanden. Einen kleinen Rest davon haben sich die Indianer bis heutigentags bewahrt; denn der eigentliche Wächter und seine Helfer bemalen

Abb. 82. Leucopharus atrorubii. Nat. Größe

sich zumindest die Unterschenkel und die Unterarme in der angegebenen Weise. Weitere Körperteile, die in europäische Kleidung gehüllt sind, bemalen sie seit einiger Zeit nicht mehr.

Leicht ersichtlich ist die besondere Aufgabe, die diesem *wineſkhra* zufällt. Ihm obliegt die Bewachung der Hütte, daß kein Unberufener, vor allem kein Kind sich zu nahe heranschleiche und Einsicht nehme in den Verlauf der Veranstaltung. Das Lager mit den Wohnhütten befindet sich ja in kurzem Abstand von der Großen Hütte und die Kinder sind unachtsam genug, daß sie bei ihrem Spiel ahnungslos sich zu sehr der Großen Hütte nähern. Bewußte Absicht liegt bei ihnen kaum vor; aber die Alten wollen sich gegen alle Fälle sichern. Um die Unberufenen einzuschüchtern und in den rechten Grenzen zu halten, erklettert er zuweilen das Gerüst und stellt sich auf den obersten Teil der Großen Hütte. Von hier aus läßt er seinen üblichen Ruf mit lauter Stimme ertönen. Der verfehlt seine Wirkung nicht: denn blitzschnell verkriechen sich die erschreckten Kinder in die nächstbeste Wohnhütte und lassen sich lange nicht mehr sehen. Zu diesem Mittel mußte der Wächter wiederholt während meiner ersten Jugendweihe greifen; denn damals lagen die Wohnhütten in gefährlicher Verbindung mit der *ńéyuga*-Hütte. Ferner muß der *wineſkhra* ein besonderes Augenmerk auf die Prüflinge haben, so lange sie außerhalb der Großen Hütte und in seinem Sehbereich sind. Nachdrücklich schärft er ihnen die Gewohnheit ein, daß jeder in kurzen Zeitabständen einen vernehmlichen Ruf von sich geben muß, aus dem man auf

die Stelle schließt, an der sich jeder einzelne augenblicklich befindet. Doch sind Ungehörigkeiten vonseiten der Prüflinge kaum zu befürchten. Endlich oblag ihm in früherer Zeit, das Herannahen von Feinden zu überwachen; denn diese hätten ja die Gelegenheit wahrnehmen können, verlassene Wohnungen zu berauben und in Brand zu stecken, während die Besitzer in der *tšépas*-Hütte saßen. Neuerdings ist diese Vorsicht gegenstandslos.

Zum Amte eines *winéfkhru* bestimmte man in früherer Zeit ausnahmslos einen energischen, lebhaften und umsichtigen jüngeren Mann. Heutigentags braucht er es mit seiner Aufgabe nicht mehr zu ernst zu nehmen. Was hätte beispielsweise der alte Tomas noch leisten können, der sich dafür bei der Jugendweihe im März 1922 angeboten hat? Am ersten Abende fehlte er überhaupt ganz in der Großen Hütte. Er hätte sich sowieso nicht betätigen können; denn von außen erfolgte keine Störung.

Immer dann, wenn mehrere *ainéfgis* im *tšépas* sitzen, steigert sich die Berufspflicht des Wächters. Um ihn zu entlasten, bestimmt der Leiter, nach Rücksprache mit ihm, einige jüngere Männer zu seinen Gehilfen. Von ihnen nahm man im März 1922 deshalb Abstand, weil sie entbehrlich waren; hingegen hatten sie bei meiner ersten Jugendweihe Beschäftigung genug. In der Großen Hütte nehmen sie ebenso wenig, wie der *winéfkhru*, einen bestimmten Platz ein. Wohl aber tragen sie früher die gleiche Bemalung, die ihm zusteht und die heute eingeschränkt wird auf Unterarme und Unterschenkel, sowie auf das Gesicht. Hier erhalten sie ebenfalls einen weißen Untergrund, über den hinweg sie einen fingerdicken, roten Strich von jedem Nasenflügel bis zur Oberlippe ziehen. Das eigentliche *kapapfl* fehlt ihnen niemals; doch haben sie kein Recht auf den Kopfschmuck aus weißen Federn, der den *winéfkhru* auszeichnet. Weder er noch seine Gehilfen sind unausgesetzt mit dieser Bemalung bedeckt, aber sie erneuern dieselbe häufig.

Einen besonderen Namen führen diese Gehilfen nicht. Sie betätigen sich nur in Abhängigkeit vom Wächter und nach seinen Weisungen. Damit ist ihr Dienst gekennzeichnet. Vor allem helfen sie mit beim Einfangen der Prüflinge zu Beginn der Feier, auch dann, wenn ein Unbeteiligter, der Störungen verursacht oder der sich zu nahe herangeschlichen hat, festgenommen werden soll. Der eine und andere dieser Gehilfen begleitet die *ainéfgis* zur Arbeit außerhalb der Großen Hütte, weil der *winéfkhru* selber sich von ihr nicht allzuweit entfernen soll.

Wenn der Wächter mit seinen Gehilfen einen Prüfling nach dem anderen zur Großen Hütte holt, wie vorhin angedeutet wurde, bedienen sie sich eines langen Lederstreifens, der etwa 3 cm breit und 12 bis 15 m lang ist. Man malt diesen *ókrše* ganz weiß und trägt in Abständen von 20 bis 30 cm fingerdicke, rote Querstriche auf. Ein Ende ist verknotet und zu einer Schlinge zusammengestellt. Dieser Lederriemen wird langgezogen, nicht zusammengerollt im Innern der Großen Hütte ganz locker am Gerüst angebracht, damit er jeden Augenblick geheuerhaftig herabgenommen werden kann. Man gibt ihm stets die gleiche Lage. Infolgedessen ist es leicht und

sicher für die Männer, angenehmlich sich zu zu ordnen, daß der Erste ihrer Reihe mit der Schlinge in der Hand zuerst aus der Großen Hütte hinausläuft und die Richtung einschlägt, die vereinbart wurde. Höchste Eile tut vonnöten not, jedenfalls immer dann, wenn ein Rohrstöcer gefaßt werden soll.

Eine Reihe bildend, laufen sie hintereinander, einer vom anderen im Abstand von 2 bis 3 m, und fassen den langen Hirsen mit der rechten Hand, während die linke den Tanastah trägt. Sobald sie dem Prüfling oder dem verfolgten Übeltäter nahe genug sind, wirft der Erste dieser Reihe ihm die Schlinge über den Kopf und die anderen Gehilfen umzingeln ihn so lange, bis er festgebunden ist. Nun zerren sie ihn, ob er will oder nicht, zur Großen Hütte. Außerdem bedient man sich dieses Akts, um einem störrischen, unfolgsamen niedrigen heilsame Furcht einzujagen. Wenn die erste, zweite Ermahnung nicht genügt und sogar eine Drohung ohne Wirkung bleibt, fassen die Wächtergehilfen den Widerspenstigen, umwickeln ihn mit dem Lederriemen so fest, daß er seine Gliedmaßen nicht mehr rühren kann und lassen ihn für einen halben Tag oder länger beim kleineren Ausgange im sogenannten *ofin* liegen. Selbstverständlich wird gleichzeitig damit ihm auch Speise und Trank entzogen. Dieses wirksame Mittel verzagt nie. Endlich haben es jene Wächtergehilfen zur Gewohnheit, vereinzelt mit dem Lederriemen in der Hand vor der Großen Hütte allein in der Absicht aufzutauchen, die Leute in den Wohnhütten durch ihre drohende Haltung einzuschüchtern. Ihr Erscheinen bleibt nicht ohne Wirkung auf alle Kinder.

Sie sowohl wie auch der *vinefiéru* selber haben einen bestimmten Ruf, den jedermann kennt. Das ist ein auf dem gleichen hohen Ton mehrmals wiederholtes, kurzes *ho ho ho* ... Einen besonders bedrohlichen Klang hat der Wächter des Nachts dahinein, um vor jeder Annäherung in der Dunkelheit Groß und Klein zu warnen.

Die beiden Hütten sowie der Ordnungsdienst sind nun eingerichtet. Währenddessen haben die einzelnen Familien sich auf dem Festplatze eingefunden und hier ihre Wohnungen aufgebaut. Nichts hindert mehr, mit der geplanten Veranstaltung nach der überlieferten Tagesordnung zu beginnen.

e. Verlauf der Feier

Alle bisherigen Mitteilungen geben zur Genüge zu verstehen, daß die Jugendweihe der Yamana keineswegs nur eine Schulung für die eigentlichen Prüflinge, sondern weit über diesen Rahmen hinaus auch eine mit besonderen Einzelheiten reichlich angefüllte Veranstaltung für die Erwachsenen ist. Dieses letztgenannte untergeordnete Ziel verdeckt wohl das Hauptziel, noch behindert es dessen Erreichung; vielmehr erscheinen beide auf den ersten Blick wie notwendig miteinander verbunden, obwohl sie im Grunde genommen in weit abweichenden Richtungen liegen. Mit geringer Mühe vermag jeder Beteiligte jene Einrichtungen und Betätigungen voneinander zu trennen, die entweder dem einen oder dem anderen Ziele dienen. Um aber das Vielerlei

was dem *Ši̯ŋgo*-Feier sich zusammenrottet, übersichtlich zu gestalten und um alle Einzelheiten vorwerthar zu machen, habe ich diese nach allgemeinen Gesichtspunkten im Folgenden geordnet und als Einzelgänder des großen Ganzen beschrieben. So können sie nach ihrem Eigenwert bestimmt beurteilt und gerecht gewürdigt werden.

Die Behandlung der Prüflinge nimmt in diesem Zusammenhange selbstverständ den breiten Raum ein. Das verdient sie auch ihrer selbst wegen. Beispielsweise ist man erstaunt über die Geldgrundheit der Erziehungskunst jener einfachen, vielverkannten Feuerländer, die gerade in der Jugendweihe augenfällig entgegentritt. Auch zeigt sie, mit welch einfachen Mitteln diese primitiven Menschen ein hohes Erziehungsziel erreichen; denn erstere werden unter verwundbarer Beobachtung der menschlichen Naturveranlagung gewählt und klug angewendet. Weder gegen eine allgemeine noch gegen eine zeitweilig verschiedene Verbildung der Jugend bewahrt sich *die Ši̯ŋgo*-Veranstaltung einzusetzen; denn die eigentliche Erziehung ist durchweg gut und vorbildlich.[*] Dadurch vereinfacht sich das bildende Einwirken der Alten auf die *ši̯ŋgo* und die Behandlungsweise bleibt fast ganz einheitlich. Dazuhin liegt trotzdem ein streng persönliches Vorgehen bei Beeinflussung des einen und anderen Kindes, somit eine durchaus individuelle Erziehung nach den jeweiligen charakterlichen Anlagen oder sonstigen Bedürfnissen dieses und jenes Prüflings. Eine Lehrerweisheit von besonders hohem Wert, die viele Gebildeter angeboren haben, offenbaren unsere Yamana hauptsächlich in den eigentlichen Unterweisungen an die Jugendlichen.

Wo den Erwachsenen *die Ši̯ŋgo*-Feier so begehrenswert macht und wo sie jedesmal stark dorthin drängt, wo dieselbe abgehalten wird, ist die glückliche Tatsache, daß diese Veranstaltung dem Bedürfnis aller nach Geselligkeit und Gedankenaustausch weit entgegenkommt. Einen jeden Erwartungen erfüllen sich dort. Blick damit lassen sie es nicht bewenden sein. Mehr, als auf den ersten Blick zu erkennen ist, arbeitet in diesem einfachen Naturmenschen ein starkes Verlangen darnach, sich auf *die* erreichte Stammesgut wieder einmal nachdrücklich zu besinnen, die alten Überlieferungen nachmals auffrischen,[**] einerseits *die Geschichte jener Belehrungen und Anweisungen* zu wecken, *die* ein wohlmeinender Lehrmeister einem jeden zur Prüflingszeit ans Herz gelegt hat, endlich wieder einmal gründlich Gewissenserforschung zu halten über all das, was den „guten und brauchbaren Yamana" ausmacht. Unsere Feuerländer besitzen eine Naturanlage, die stark hinüberragt zum gründlichen und gründenden Nachdenken über das eigene Ich.

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[*] Die Grundsätze, auf denen die ähnliche Erziehung aufbaut (S. 310), werden selbstverständlich auch in der Jugendweihe anerkannt und verwendet. Niemals aber wird in den Unterweisungen auf die mit derselben Wucht hingewiesen, etwa durch eine: „Du hast die dein Vater schon gesagt" oder „Du bist die beste in jungen Jahren verloren worden".

[**] Schon hier sei es deutlich ausgesprochen, daß gewisse alte Riten nur während der Jugendweihe vorgenommen werden dürfen. Selbstverständlich übernimmt das hier eine Person, die dieselben schon vor gut kennen, sondern die sie auch mangend vorzunehmen wünscht.

Hierin übertreffen sie bei weitem die benachbarten Selk'nam. Dieser Veranlagung kommt das lange Schweigen in der Großen Hütte, bei dem ein jeder sich selber überlassen bleibt, außerordentlich günstig entgegen. Würden selbst viele Spiele und Erzählungen wegfallen, die dem gesellschaftlichen Bedürfnis jines einzelnen Rechnung tragen — allein um der Beglückung willen, die unsere Indianer bei einer tiefen Selbstbesinnung im *ŝiŝyaya* finden, kämen sie gern zu dieser Veranstaltung.

Unter dieser besonderen Rücksicht sind die folgenden Angaben über die Tagesordnung der Erwachsenen zu werten. Sie geben auch zu verstehen, aus welchen Quellen jeder Yamana schöpft, daß er geistig nicht ganz verarme und seinen starken inneren Halt nicht verliere. In Worte kleiden sie selber zwar das alles nicht, erst aus genauer, andauernder Beobachtung ihres Benehmens habe ich die verschiedenen Einzelheiten und die bezeichnenden Grundzüge ihres Wesens erkannt.

Der Ablauf der Jugendweihe schwankt und ändert sich von einem Tage zum anderen auch gegenwärtig genau so wie ehedem. Dennoch erscheint es nicht überflüssig, wenigstens von einer einzigen derartigen Veranstaltung genau anzugeben, mit welchen Begebenheiten und Vorkommnissen jeder Tag angefüllt worden ist. Ein kurzer Hinweis auf den Verlauf der *ŝiŝyaya*-Feier im März 1922 erfolgt erst am Schluß dieser langen Erörterungen.

1. Zusammenkunft der Erwachsenen

Dem Beispiel jenes Mannes folgend, der zum Leiter der Jugendweihe ausersehen wurde, übersiedeln auch die einzelnen Familien an den vereinbarten Festplatz. Jede baut sich ihre eigene W o h n h ü t t e oder zwei Familien einigen sich auf eine Gemeinschaftshütte. Währenddessen rühren sich viele Hände für den Bau und die Einrichtung der Großen Hütte. Jeder Erwachsene bringt seinen Stirnschmuck und Tanzstab in Ordnung, die fast jedesmal erst neu hergestellt werden müssen. Gewisse schonungsbedürftige Sachen verpackt man gut und richtet sich für eine mehr oder weniger lange Abwesenheit von seiner Wohnung ein.

Genau verfolgen von da an hauptsächlich die Frauen alle Arbeiten an der *ŝiŝyaya*-Hütte. Neigen diese sich nämlich dem Ende zu, läßt der Beginn der Feier nicht mehr lange auf sich warten. Dem Leiter obliegt es dann noch, einige Männer als Wächter und Wächtergehilfen (S. 838), sowie einige Frauen für den Dienst in der Küchenhütte (S. 837) zu gewinnen. Zuweilen treten jetzt erst einige maßgebende Männer zusammen und überlegen, welche Jugendliche zu *ŝiŝyaya* bestimmt werden sollen.

Hierin vergehen seit der Übersiedlung wenige Tage, bis der Leiter mit deutlichen Worten erklärt: „Heute abend beginnt unser *ŝiŝyaya*." Sobald seine E n t s c h e i d u n g gefallen ist, benachrichtigen einige Männer alle Insassen des Lagers, die sich unverzüglich darauf einrichten. Wer irgendwie behindert sein sollte, etwa durch Pflege eines Kranken oder wegen eines kleinen Kindes

oder wegen körperlichen Gebrechens, mag ungestört in seiner Wohnung zurückbleiben. Je nach der Zahl der beteiligten Familien vertraut man zwei bis fünf älteren Frauen sämtliche kleinen Kinder an, die noch nicht zur Großen Hütte zugelassen werden und die nicht ohne Aufsicht bleiben dürfen. Eine jede dieser Frauen sammelt nicht nur tagsüber mehrere Kinder um sich, sondern lädt sie auch zur Nachtruhe in ihre eigene Hütte ein und sorgt für deren Ernährung. Frauen, die einen Säugling haben, nehmen ihn vereinzelt in die *čifzags*-Hütte mit. Die genannten Regelungen vollziehen sich hier wie dort ohne das mindeste Aufsehen, in voller Ruhe.

Hat der Leiter beispielsweise für den Abend den Beginn der Feier angesagt, übersiedelt bereits um die Mittagszeit ein Erwachsener nach dem anderen in die Große Hütte. Jeder nimmt sich das Wenige mit, was er zum Nachtlager und zu der sehr häufig wechselnden Körperbemalung benötigt. Die Fellstücke, heutigentags viel durch Decken ersetzt,[294] breitet er dort über das Reisig am Erdboden aus, die anderen Kleinigkeiten sichert er im Flechtwerk des Hüttengerüstes. Für die Platzverteilung gelten keine besonderen Vorschriften. Der Leiter wählt sich seinen Sitz etwa in der Mitte, auf daß er ohne Anstrengung seine Weisungen allen Teilnehmern kundgeben kann. Die übrigen Leute setzen sich hierhin oder dorthin, wie es der Zufall gibt und wie sie sich zwangloo zusammenfinden. Zuweilen bleiben nahe Verwandte und gute Freunde nebeneinander, vereinzelt holt der Leiter den einen oder anderen jungen Mann an seine Seite, daß er ihm zur Verfügung stehe.[295] Mancher *winefkfera* bevorzugt den Platz neben dem Haupteingange. Treffen im Verlauf der Feier noch neue Gäste ein, schieben sie sich in die rechte oder linke Reihe eben dort ein, wo es ihnen passend erscheint. Allerdings muß jeder einzelne vom Anfang bis zum Schluß der Veranstaltung unverändert den Platz beibehalten, den er sich einmal gewählt hat. Jeder Prüfling sitzt selbstverständlich neben einem seiner Paten.

Der Regel nach bilden die Insassen je eine Reihe rechts und links von der Herdstelle, die sich von einem Eingange zum andern hinzieht. Sind aber von Anfang an viele Leute beisammen, denen sich unerwartet noch weitere Gäste gelegentlich zugesellen, entsteht ein kleines Gedränge und mancher muß sich zwischen den auf seinem Platze hockenden Teilnehmer und die Gerüstwand einwängen. Dergleichen Unbequemlichkeiten fallen selbstredend nur jüngeren Leuten zu. Jede der Küchenfrauen, die zur Großen Hütte kommt, schiebt sich an der gleichen Stelle, die sie einmal erwählt hat, in die Reihe der Leute und fügt sich ebenfalls der allgemeinen Vorschrift.

Im März 1922 saßen wir in folgender Anordnung: Auf der einen Seite

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[294] Auch manche andere europäischen Dinge, an welche die Yamana der Gegenwart sich gewöhnt haben, werden mitgebracht, z. B. Seife, Kämme, Streichhölzer u. dgl. m. Sie empfinden es nicht als Entweihung der heiligen Hütte, jene fremdartigen Sachen dort zusammenbrechen und zu benützen.

[295] Diese gänzliche Formlosigkeit weicht überraschend weit von den Regeln für die Platzverteilung in der Großen Menschhütte der Selk'nam ab (Bd. I, 1931).

vom Nebeneingang zum Haupteingang hin RICHARD und seine Frau MARY, die Patin der ELISA, deren Mutter ADELHEID, SANTIAGO, ihr Mann und Pate von P. KOPPERS, der alte PEDRO als Vorsteher der ganzen Versammlung, WRAITS und CHARLIE. Auf der andern Seite saßen, beim Haupteingang beginnend, CALDERON, ich, mein Pate CHRIS und dessen Frau GERTIE, MANUEL, der Pate des KINES, EMILIA, die jugendliche Halakwulup JULIA als *uinxóyla*, neben ihr die Patin LUISA, Frau des WALTER, und schließlich noch neben diesem sein eigener Sohn WALTER II (Abb. 83).

Jeder Erwachsene ist nach der allgemein und streng verpflichtenden *čičapa*-Ordnung gehalten, sich größtmöglicher Ruhe zu befleißigen. Lautes

Abb. 83. Platzverteilung bei der Jugendweihe 1922

Reden wird überhaupt nicht geduldet und alle Mitteilungen erfolgen jedesmal mit gedämpfter Flüsterstimme. Niemand darf sich so bewegen, daß er auf andere störend wirkt. Bei all seinem Tun und Lassen benimmt sich jeder so unauffällig, als es sich überhaupt erreichen läßt. *Die älteren Leute ältern selbstverständlich sehr still;* jüngere Männer, die in der Selbstbeherrschung noch nicht weit gediehen sind, müssen sich zeitweilig schwerern Zwang antun, um gegen die Verpflichtung zu allgemeiner Ruhe nicht zu verstoßen. Ausführlicher kommt dies bei Erörterung der Tagesordnung zur Sprache.

Notwendig mußte dieser kurze Hinweis schon jetzt gebracht werden; denn die einzelnen Teilnehmer finden sich zeitig genug in der Großen Hütte ein und bereiten sich zum eigentlichen Beginn der feierlichen Veranstaltung durch eine lange Geistessammlung vor. Ganz still und unauffällig nähert sich der eine und der andere der *čičapa*-Hütte. Es ist nicht üblich, daß zwei oder drei miteinander gehen und unterwegs plaudern, nachdem sie ihre Wohnhütte verlassen haben. Jeder macht den kurzen Weg für sich allein, ohne Begleitung, und beginnt draußen schon damit, alles Zerstreuende abzuschütteln. Durch den Eingang schickt er sich sachte hinein, schaut nur wenig um und wählt den Platz, der sich eben bietet, für die ganze Folgezeit. Hier

kocht er sich nieder, legt seine wenigen Gebrauchsgegenstände hinter sich oder steckt sie in das Hüttengerüst über seinem Rücken und überläßt sich in tiefstem Schweigen seinen eigenen Gedanken. Ob er zwei oder fünf Stunden bis zum Beginn der Feier mit sich allein beschäftigt ist, bleibt sich gleich; ihm geht ja nichts ab. Schon während der Schlußarbeiten an der Großen Hütte kann man beobachten, daß tiefer Ernst und besinnliches Nachdenken sich auf das Antlitz der Beteiligten zeichnet, die weder miteinander plaudern noch sich wie zerstreute Menschen benehmen. Sie fühlen es und verbergen ihre innersten Gefühle nicht, daß etwas Bedeutsames bevorsteht, auf das sie sich auch seelisch einstellen müssen. Jeder Teilnehmer betrachtet die *ŕíŋpuys*-Feier als ein außerordentliches persönliches Erleben.

Damals, am 3. März 1922 hatte SAMTACO kurz vor Mittag verkündigt, die Feier würde am Abend beginnen. Einige ältere Personen, die beim Aufbau der Großen Hütte die letzten Handgriffe geleistet hatten, blieben dort gleich sitzen und überließen sich ihren eigenen Gedanken. Gegen zwei Uhr nachmittags hatte sich ihre Zahl auf sieben erhöht. KOUYUS (a): 49 trat zu dieser Stunde für mehrere Minuten ein und fragte leise einen der Anwesenden, warum sie sich so früh eingefunden hätten, da die Feier doch erst gegen Abend anfange. Er erhielt zur Antwort: „Jawohl, aber man kann doch ein so schönes Fest nicht ohne weiteres beginnen, da muß man doch in Stimmung sein, und um die zu bekommen, sind wir schon hier und bereiten uns vor!" Das gleiche Verhalten hatte ich zwei Jahre zuvor beobachtet. Die älteren Leute wollen sich in mehrstündiger Geistesanspannung vor allem seelisch auf diese Feier vorbereiten.

Unter den ersten Ankömmlingen sitzt jedesmal der Vorsteher, auch der Leitre findet sich zeitig ein. Ihre Stimmung beeinflußt maßgebend die übrigen Leute. Währenddessen richtet jeder seinen S t i r n s c h m u c k her. Dieser ist weiter nichts als ein zwei- bis vierfingerdickes und etwa 30 cm langes Hautstück, herausgeschnitten aus der Bauchwand des kleinen Albatros *déiuku* (*Diomedea melanophrys*) oder von der männlichen *Rußtaucgans ómus* (*Chloéphaga hybrida*). Die großen Federn sind ausgerupft und die Dunen etwas gelockert, so daß sie voll erscheinen. An jedes Ende dieses Hautstreifens verknüpft man eine kurze Schnurfaser. Jeder Teilnehmer trägt dieses *kapuyál* als Stirnband. Verläßt er die Große Hütte, muß er es ablegen. Zuweilen gibt man diesem Hautstreifen eine Dreieckform, daß in der Mitte der Stirn eine niedrige Spitze erscheint; doch erreicht er bei weitem nicht die Breite des *kéiel* der Seth'nam (Bd. I, 215).

In früherer Zeit, da die Yamana ihren Körper noch nicht in widerliche europäische Kulturlumpen einhüllten, zogen sie längere Hautstreifen mit Daunenfedern in verschiedener Richtung über Körper und Gliedmaßen. Nach *ŕíŋpuys* drehten sie Wülste aus kleinen Daunenfederballen,[*] die mit Schnu-

[*] An der Verwendung langer, schmaler Hautstreifen mit Daunenfedern haben die Halakwulup bis heutigentage festgehalten und sie bedienen sich ihrer sowohl bei der *Jagendweihe*, wie auch bei der gebräuchlichen Bläserfeier. Vgl. Abb. 9 und 10 in Gusinde (Ms).

fasern umwickelt und verflochten werden, *kanapuĝpanni* genannt. Auf die bezeichnete Art stellte man früher auch den *kapipfl* her. Das unterbleibt in der Neuzeit; denn dieser Schmuck ließe sich weder über der europäischen Kleidung anbringen, noch würde er wirken. Eine andere Bedeutung außer der, ein Zierstück zu sein, gibt man diesem *kapupfl* nicht.

Als zweiten unentbehrlichen Gegenstand, den man sich gleich zu Anfang zurecht macht, besitzt jeder Teilnehmer einen kurzen Tanzstab. Die Länge schwankt zwischen 50 cm und 70 cm. Am unteren, zugespitzten Ende ist er etwa daumendick, nach oberhin schwillt er ein wenig an. Die Oberfläche, von der Rinde befreit, wird mit einer Muschelschale ganz glatt geschabt. Man verschmiert auf ihr erst eine dicke Schicht weißer Farbe und nachdem sie trocken geworden ist, zeichnet man rote Striche, Kreise und Punkte ein. Meist bringt man in kurzem Abstand von Spitze und Ende noch je ein Ringlein aus Vogelhaut mit Daunenfedern an (Vgl. Tafel III).

Bei Gesang und Tanz hält man diesen Stab quer und faßt ihn leicht mit den Fingern der beiden Hände; nach dem Takt schwingt man ihn federnd auf und ab, sehr lebhaft bei erregten Gesängen. Wenn der Vorsteher oder ein anderer Mann den *ainĝala* die üblichen Unterweisungen erteilt, faßt er diesen Stab am dickeren Ende, hält ihn senkrecht auf den Boden gestellt und stützt seine Hand leicht darauf. Das tut auch der Leiter, wenn er Verordnungen erteilt, ferner jeder Mann, der eine Mythe erzählt, endlich jeder Prüfling, falls er aufgefordert wird, diesen Stab zu ergreifen. Der Tanzstab drückt also eine bestimmte Förmlichkeit aus.

Ihn aufmerksam zu behüten, ist selbstverständliche Pflicht dessen, der ihn besitzt. Braucht man ihn nicht, stillt man ihn mit festem Druck neben sich in den Erdboden hinein; denn er läuft ja in eine feine Spitze aus. Mancher schiebt ihn hinter sich in das Flechtwerk des Hüttengerüstes. Durch viele Stunden täglich legt jeder Erwachsene seine Hand auf den neben ihm aufgestellten Stab; das paßt gut zur strammen Haltung, die jeder auch beim Sitzen bewahren muß. Diesen Stab dem Boden aufliegen zu lassen, gilt als unehrenhaft. Wer ihn zur Unachtsamkeit fallen läßt, hat zu gewärtigen, daß ihm ein Unheil oder körperliches Leid zustößt; Nachbarn drohen ihm zu, daß er oder seiner Kinder bald sterben werden. Sorgfältig behandelt also jedermann seinen Tanzstab und er erneuert oft die Bemalung.

Nach einigen Stunden stillen Hockens und ernster Geistesammlung fühlt sich bald der eine und andere Teilnehmer angeregt, ein leises, rhythmisches Summen zu beginnen. Dieses verstärkt sich in den darauf folgenden 20 bis 30 Minuten zu einem halblauten Singen. Es ist ein unentwickelnbares Wiederholen eines *hö*-Lautes, der bei der Aussprache ein wenig in der Klangfarbe schwankt, mehr offen oder geschlossen, langgezogen oder kurz, in höherer oder niederer, durch fortgesetzt in der gleichen Stimmlage wiederholt wird, je nach der Stimmbildung und der zufälligen Begeisterung des Sängers. Ein jeder singt für sich, halb unbewußt nach Rhythmus, Tempo und Stimmlage, wie es der Augenblick ihm eingibt, ohne Rücksicht auf die anderen

Insassen in der Großen Hütte. Vereinzelt nur einigen sich mehrere Leute auf eine zusammenpassende Gleichstimmigkeit, falls der eine auf den anderen etwas hinzielt. Doch diese großen Ungleichheiten im Singen stören und belästigen auch empfindliche Ohren wenig, weil jeder seine Weise mit leiser, schwacher Stimme vorträgt.

Damit, daß die größere Zahl der Anwesenden in das Singen verfallen ist, verraten sie einen gewissen Grad seelischer Ergriffenheit, der sich eben in der rhythmischen Sangesweise ausdrückt. Angespannte Geistesverfassung und innere Stimmung aller Anwesenden sind bald in einem Maße vorhanden, daß die Feier erfolgreich und nutzbringend ablaufen wird. Sobald es zum allgemeinen Singen gekommen ist, erscheint der Beginn der *čičaus*-Feier gegeben. Von nun an darf der Gesang bis zum Abschluß der Veranstaltung nicht mehr verstummen. Zumindest eine Stimme muß ihn weiterführen und ein Erwachsener löst also den andern ab, sei es bei Tage oder bei Nacht. Das Singen ist ein Kennzeichen für den augenblicklichen Grad der Begeisterung und Stimmung, der Anteilnahme und lebhaften Aufmerksamkeit aller Anwesenden; demnach stärker und allgemeiner bei den abendlichen Tänzen, sehr matt und leise in den Vormittagstunden.

Bei aller Einfachheit der Melodie sind darin doch geringe Schwankungen, so daß beim Nebeneinander aller Varianten ein gewisses Vielerlei zutage tritt. Mancher freut sich, wenn er eine bestimmte Variante aus dem Munde eines anderen vernimmt, die in ihm zuweilen teure Erinnerungen weckt. Das *čičaus* erhält wirklich uralte Sangesweisen lebendig. Da die meisten von ihnen nur bei der *Jugendweihe* wiederholt werden, ruft ihr Klang die Seelenverfassung wach, in der allein man dieses feierlich ernste Beisammensein fruchtbringend gewirkt. Mit dem ununterbrochenen Singen soll auch zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, daß Wachsamkeit in der Großen Hütte herrscht und nichts Schädliches unbemerkt sich nahen kann.

Bei Einbruch der Dunkelheit beherbergt die *čičaus*-Hütte all jene Erwachsenen, die zu den ständigen Teilnehmern zählen. Unauffällig wurden alle näheren Vorbereitungen einschließlich der Arbeitsverteilung getroffen, ganz allmählich leitete sich der Beginn der Feier ein, die nun nach einer wenig bestimmbaren Zeiteinteilung für jeden einzelnen Tag ruhig abläuft.

2. Einführung der Prüflinge

Mit der guten Gewohnheit, am ersten Abend des Beisammenseins in der Großen Hütte sich aller Nahrung zu enthalten, hat die oberflächliche Nachgiebigkeit unserer Gegenwartsindianer leider auch gebrochen. Nachdem der allgemeine Gesang etwa zwei Stunden angehalten hat, treten die Küchenfrauen auf und setzen einen hohen Blechkübel mit dicker Suppe vor den Leiter, der eigenhändig und mit einem großen Löffel schöpfend die Teller auffüllt, die von den Frauen an die Anwesenden herumgereicht werden. Das Essen ist bald beendigt und das Geschirr von den Frauen eingesammelt; un-

vorzüglich entfernen sie sich damit. Die Speisereste sammelt jeder sorgfältig und verbrennt sie; nachher reinigt und kehrt man den langen Mittelgang.[227]

a. *Abholen im Lager*

Inzwischen ist der Gesang von der Mehrheit der Leute wieder aufgenommen worden. Der Leiter macht dem *wineſkĕra* durch unscheinbare Zeichen eine bestimmte Mitteilung und dieser verständigt unauffällig seine Gehilfen. Sie bereiten sich darauf vor, den ersten Prüfling einzufangen. Vorher haben die älteren Teilnehmer in ihrer Aussprache jene Jugendlichen genannt, die man diesmal zu *alaǵala* machen will (S. 827). Ohne den Gesang zu stören, an dem auch die Gehilfen sich mit leiser Stimme zumeist beteiligen, bemalen sie sich (S. 840). Dann stehen sie auf, ordnen sich zu einer Reihe mit kurzen Abständen und fassen nach dem Lederriemen *ŭkęla*, der längs des Innenraumes ausgespannt am Gerüst hängt (S. 840).

Mit einem langgezogenen *ho ho ho*, das mit bedrohlichem Klange ausgestoßen wird, stürzt der *wineſkĕra* als Erster aus der Großen Hütte hinaus, gefolgt von seinen Helfern. Eiligst wenden sie sich jener Wohnhütte zu, aus der sie den *alaǵala* herausholen wollen. Dieser erschrickt beim Anblick der gefürchteten Männer und verkriecht sich aus Angst unter die Decken der Schlafstätte. Das hilft ihm aber nichts; denn die Männer packen fest zu, ziehen ihm die Schlinge über den Kopf und fesseln ihn. Nun muß er ihnen zur Großen Hütte folgen. Alles Sträuben und jede Widerspenstigkeit würden ihm nichts nützen; so folgt er den Männern und überläßt sich dem Geschick, dem er entgegengeführt wird.

Mancher Bursche und manches Mädchen, die vorher von den Erwachsenen nicht bedroht worden sind, überlassen sich willig und widerstandslos ihrem Verwandten, der sie zur Großen Hütte geleitet. Diese also brauchen von jenen Wächtergehilfen nicht mit Gewalt herangeschleppt zu werden. Am Eingang werden sie nach einer Weise in Empfang genommen, die unumkehrbar für alle *alaǵala* vorgesehen ist und zwar mit bestimmter Absicht.

Das Auftreten jener Wächter im Lager und das ängstliche Schreien ihres Opfers verbreitet Schrecken in all den Hütten, die Kinder beherbergen. Das ist von den Erwachsenen beabsichtigt, einerlei, ob jene bald darauf auch geholt werden oder ob sie noch zu jung sind. Nun wissen es alle Kinder, daß jene Männer zu Wächtern bestellt sind, die weder Spaß kennen noch Störungen dulden. Die kleinen Kinder bleiben infolgedessen der *ŭkęla*-Hütte aus bunger Furcht fern.[228]

[227] Gegenwärtig haben die Yamana auch in dieser Großen Hütte die von den Europäern übernommenen Lebensweise bei, achten aber mit der gleichen Strenge wie früher darauf, daß alle Speisereste verbrannt werden. Diese kleinen Reinigungsarbeiten sind in der Neuzeit bedeutend dadurch erleichtert, daß den Anwesenden die fertig zubereiteten Speisen meist auf Blechteilen gereicht werden. Ihre ursprüngliche Ernährungsweise ließ unvergleichlich mehr Abfälle zurück.

Ist der geängstigte Prüfling an den Haupteingang gebracht worden, läßt man seine Bande. Er muß sich auf alle viere niederlassen. In dem Augenblicke nun, da ein Mann den Vorhang außen am Eingange etwas hebt, stößt ein anderer von rückwärts den Burschen durch den Eingang in die Große Hütte hinein. Drinnen aber erwartet ihn ein anderer Mann, der ihm augenblicklich ein großes Lederstück über den Kopf wirft, daß er nicht zu sehen vermag, was um ihn vor sich geht. In dieser Verhüllung auf Händen und Füßen kriechend wird er weitergeschoben und zwar bis zum Platze neben dem ihm zugedachten Paten. Hier darf er sich aufrichten und auf untergeschlagenen Beinen hockt er in Erwartung dessen, was bald folgt.

β. *Empfang in der Großen Hütte*

Noch immer ist der Prüfling außerstande etwas zu sehen, da sein Gesicht verhangen bleibt. Seit dem Augenblick, da er hier hereingeschoben worden ist, vollführen alle Insassen ein unbeschreibliches Brüllen und Heulen, sie trommeln mit den Fäusten auf dem glatten Erdboden und schütteln stark das ganze Hüttengerüst. Dem hilflosen Burschen ist schauerlich zu Mute; denn er ahnt Schlimmes und weiß sich gänzlich wehrlos.

Längst wurde auf Weisung des Leiters von einigen Männern ganz heimlich die Erscheinung eines *Yetája* vorbereitet. Im Gebüsch nahe der Großen Hütte hat ein jüngerer Mann seine Kleidung abgelegt und seinen ganzen Körper mit weißer Farbe beschmiert, in die er nachher fingerdicke, 5 cm lange, senkrechte Strichlein in gleichmäßiger Anordnung einfügt. Das Gesicht wird dick mit roter Farbe bedeckt und von jedem Mundwinkel laufen strahlenförmig viele weiße, zarte Striche nach allen Richtungen. Von der einen Schulter zur anderen zieht sich im Bogen über die Brust hin ein Federschmuck, der genau wie der Stirnschmuck einer *yékamush* gearbeitet ist. Dieser Mann trägt auf dem Kopfe keinen Zierat; statt dessen versieht er wie die Kopfhaare und verzeiht Ind-Pulver dahinein. Bei seiner Ausstattung halfen gewöhnlich zwei andere Männer mit.

Der Mann in der Rolle des *Yetája* tritt meist mit einem Begleiter auf. Dieser trägt einen Stirnreifen aus blattlosen Zweigen. Das untere Gesicht bis zur Höhe der Nasenflügel wird weiß, der obere Teil schwarz bemalt, auf dem Körper war vorzugsweise feiner Pulver von Holzkohle verrieben.[100]

Ist der neuen eingeführte Prüfling auf seinen Platz geschoben worden, winkt man jenem Mannes, der den "bösen Geist" darstellt. Zuweilen hat man ihn hinter einem Vorhange nahe dem Nebeneingange versteckt gehalten. Er rückt unbemerkt an den *ohwájala* heran. In dem Augenblicke nun, da letzter

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[100] Jener Stirnreif Frauen, die nach Beendigung der kleinen Kinder im Lager zurückbleiben, weisen diese unabänderlich auf den Kommen der Wilden und auf die Wegschleppung der Prüflinge hin, auch verjagen sie vom "Tempel", damit Angst und Schrecken auch fernerhin ausbleiben.

[101] Diese Gestalt stimmt dem sogenannten "Bahi" im Mimenreiche der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 900).

von der Lederlappen vom Gesichte weggerissen wird, springt der Yetájte unmittelbar vor ihn hin. Zwei andere Männer haben die Feuerglut in einer Weise aufgewühlt, daß es den Anschein hat, jener "böse Geist" sei aus den Flammen emporgestiegen. Sogleich beginnt der K a m p f. Der Yetájte umfaßt den erschrockten Burschen ganz energisch, schüttelt ihn erregt, hängt ihn wütend von einer Seite zur anderen, preßt ihn auf den Boden und quält ihn so lange, bis der Angstschweiß auf diesem Körper perlt. Er läßt kein Wort verlauten; außerdem gibt er seinem Kopfe solche Wendungen, die es dem Burschen unmöglich machen, das Gesicht zu erkennen. Währenddessen vereinigt sich das Brüllen und Heulen der Insassen, ihr Trommeln und Stampfen des Bodens. Das Ringen mit dem "bösen Geiste" dauert etwa zehn Minuten. In verzweifelter Hilflosigkeit und gänzlicher Entkräftung versag der Bursche nicht den geringsten Widerstand mehr aufzubringen, willenlos läßt er sich niederwerfen und knickbeben, pressen und stoßen.

Plötzlich setzt das wüste Brüllen aus. Ein Mann, meistens tut dies der Vorsteher, neigt sich im gleichen Augenblick vornüber, stützt den Mund auf die dem Boden aufgestellte hohle Hand und heult ein hohlklingendes, tiefes, langgezogenes hú gegen die Erde. Das soll besagen: Yetájte ist jetzt tot! Gleichzeitig damit stellt aber auch jener "böse Geist" sein wüstes Treiben ein und kriecht sich reigungslos vor den Prüfling hin, den er so erbarmungslos drangsaliert hat. Letzterer richtet sich auf seinen Knien auf, nach Weisung einer anderen Mannes, der neben ihm hockt. Unvermeidlich muß der Bursche jetzt jenem Quälgeiste genau ins Gesicht sehen und dabei erkennen er ihn! Der Mann daneben sagt dem Burschen: „Sehen gut zu, das ist dein Verwandter,"[*] nicht aber der Yetájte! Der wirkliche Yetájte sieht nun wie dieser dein Verwandter hier, der so gemalt ist wie Yetájte. Sei auf der Hut vor Yetájte! Beachte genau, was hier im Hippuga von dir gelehrt wird. Entfernen dich nicht eigenmächtig aus dieser Großen Hütte. Schau nie zum Lager hinüber und zeige dich niemals den Kindern dort drüben. Verwechsle einmal vor anderen Leuten, was du hier erlebtest wirst. Du weißt jetzt, Yetájte packt viel schlimmer zu als dein Verwandter. Dieser Mann ist nicht Yetájte selbst, aber du sollst jetzt wissen, daß vor ihm in acht zu nehmen!"

Während dieser Worte legt sich ein wenig die Erregung des niedergeschlagenen Jünglingen hat er jenen Mann als seinen Verwandten erkannt. Letzterer setzt sich sofort neben ihn; denn er wird in dieser Feier sein Pate sein. Einziger Zweck dieser eingeschobenen Geistererscheinung ist es, dem jungen Burschen einen erneuten Schrecken einzujagen und ihn zur gewissenhaften Beachtung der hier gelehrten Vorschriften zu zwingen.[**]

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[*] Er sagt buchstabiert: „Das ist dein Onkel, das ist dein Vater ...." Dies Eigennamen gelten er nicht, folgend dem allgemeinen Brauch hat der Vorsteher.

[**] Zum Vergleich mit Kampfszenen auf den Kampf, den die Prüflinge in der geheimen Hütte für die Erkennungsmerkmale mit einem angeblichen Geiste bestehen müssen. Letzterer bestimmt sich viel stärker und durch Zutun der Männer wird der Prüfling mehr gefordert, gegen jenen Geist sich mit aller Kraft zu wehren. Auch dort gibt sich der

Genau die gleiche Zeremonie in die Große Hütte schien in früheren Zeiten **jeder Prüfling** eigens für sich. Wenn es deren viele, dann nahmen drei oder vier Männer die Geleitrolle und verschwanden sich dazu ab. So weit es sich machen ließ, mußte sich dieser und jener Mann und vorg. ein Yerójin mit dem Bewerber, den er in dieser Ojiyago-Feier Pate sein sollte. Bei Mädchen nimmt man Abstand von diesem Ringen. Man führt sie in der gleichen Weise an die Große Hütte und schickt sie durch den Haupteingang, wie das ohne beschränkten wurden ist, mit verhüllten Gesichter läßt man sie auf diesem Platze hocken, bis ein später eingeführter Bewerber das Ringen mit Yerójin beginnen muß. Jenem Mädchen sieht man im gleichen Augenblicke den Lederstück vor dem Gesicht weg und man kann es nachsehen, ohne jenen Mann zu erkennen. Angst und Schrecken bekommt es dabei wirklich ab.

Zuweilen verläuft die Geleitzeremonie auf einfacherer Art. Ein jüngerer Mann kommt sich hinter dem Yerójin nahe dem Schwitzingang, ohne es sein Begleiter. Hier verhüllen beide vorsichtig, bis eineinhalbe schnelle mit verhüllungsvoll Gesicht gleichzeitig in die Große Hütte eingeführt werden. Die Erwachsenen beginnen damit, gegen den Eintretenden zu trommeln, so laut und heftig zu schreien. Während man den Prüflingen die Verhüllung des Gesichtes wegnimmt, schickt man auch jenen Yerójin heimlich. Der Leiter oder ein anderer Mann ruft dann zu: „Dort beim Schwitzingang steht Yerójin; er lauert auf den Bruder, welchen dein wir Begleiter!" Die Prüflinge werden nahe an den vorbeigeführt, daß sie in große Angst geraten. Der eine und andere muß den Wahn zum Zwergen bestätigen, den der Begleiter an die Stirn gebunden hat. Nachher, wenn der Yerójin jener Yerójin-Gestalt wieder verschwindet, wird jeder Schüler gefragt: „Wer hat die gemacht?" Ängstlich antwortet er: „Dein Yerójin!" Man antwortet ihm: „Dein war Yerójin selber auch nicht, den du viel gefürchtet!"

Neugierige entschlüpfen ihnen, und zwar aus Begeisterlichkeit, diesen Geisteraufführungen, die Alten selber sehen darin ein bewährtes Zeichen für die Leistung der ehemals ernst geführten Ojiyago-Erziehung. Bei meiner ersten Jugendreise hatte man mir Mädchen auf nicht den engeren Yerójin verschleiern lassen und dabei habe ich diesen Aufzügen beobachtet, spätere aber nicht mehr.

g. Die Feier

In scheuchen Aufzüchtenschlüpfen wurden alle Prüflinge am gleichen Abend zur Großen Hütte geführt. Bei dem Eintreten erzählt jedem einzelnen die Yerójin-Puppe Gef. in den Kneichen. Anderseits wurden sie dann einzeln, denn der Hütte zuerst in dieser Gestalt verschlossen ist, eine jene als "Paul" schon einem jedem. Wie sollte man anders die Stellung und Aufgabe des Mannes kennen, der Frau beschützen, denen je sie einzelnen zuerkennt ist? Man

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[illegible] Man sieht den Ringen mit dem Prüfling als ein Schauspiel an, ohne daß jener Aufseher soll [illegible] einer bestimmen Puppe dem Bewerber [illegible], der sich [illegible] Gefahr dieses Aufgabe Sinne [illegible] (Bd. I, 480).

[illegible] Aufgabe ist es, den [illegible] und [illegible] als von seiner Seite zu erledigen, [illegible] Tage auch bei Nacht. Damit sie auch [illegible] andere Pflichten [illegible] und zu besonderen Verantwortungen in dieser Großen Hütte sich berechtigen können, sind sie ungefähr [illegible] dem gleichen [illegible] angeordnet. Es ist wünschenswert, daß sie sich in [illegible] Dienst abwechseln. Ein Bruder sollte [illegible] sein. Hütten oder einen Mann und eine Frau, hingegen eine Mädchen [illegible] sein. Frauen als Priesterinnen bzw. Priesterin.[illegible] Bei [illegible] und [illegible] Jungmädchen [illegible] Gnaden und Gnaden dieses Dienst zu sein, Kameraden [illegible] und deren Frau Aufseherin zu Priesterin.

Der [illegible] einer [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible],[illegible] sondern an der Seite dieser, der als Hauptpriester sich bewährt, die [illegible] Aufgabe [illegible] gemeinsam, daß sie durch Schlichtung in [illegible] Oldest [illegible]. Diese [illegible] sie gleichzeitig dieses Dienst,[illegible] mit dieser er entweder verwandt oder [illegible] [illegible] sind. Durch Schlichtung [illegible] er Adoptiv- oder Pflegekind [illegible] und auch [illegible]. Nach [illegible] dem Ringen mit dem [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] zu wählen. Durch Schlichtung sagt er: „Bevor dich [illegible]!" Dabei [illegible] dieser die für [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Durch [illegible] er: „[illegible] alle einen, nicht [illegible], [illegible] sprechen, [illegible] lachen, gemeinsam [illegible]", usw.

Nachdem er bei seiner Pflegekind die [illegible] Gehorsam erreicht hat, beginnt er mit Erleichterungen [illegible] die Zeit dieser Veranstaltung und [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] verletzt würde. Endlich [illegible] er [illegible] [illegible] und [illegible], die in [illegible] Zeit an ihm [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Auch [illegible] der Pater [illegible] die [illegible] und Tätigkeit, [illegible] dieser der [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

deutlicheren Ausdruck darin, daß beide sich nicht verheiraten dürfen. Man vergegenwärtige sich, daß ein mohammedaner ebenfalls neuerlich eine Patia erhält.[*] Nach langen Jahren nach der Jugendweihe steht jedem Patem bzw. jeder Patia nicht nur das Recht zu, sondern auch die Pflicht, den weiteren Verhalten seiner *kfuukuyfalam* genau zu überwachen und ihn mitgegebenfalls an die Grundsätze zur jener Prüfungszeit zu erinnern. Dergleichen Eingriffe in die persönliche Freiheit eines Erwachsenen wagen kaum je die leiblichen Eltern, auch viel weniger andere Leute; dem Patem kommen sie zustehlich zu. Beide bleiben demnach ihr Leben lang durch geistige Verwandtschaft miteinander verbunden, sie sind aufeinander aufmerksam, besuchen und beschenken sich.

Vor allem bekümmert sich eine Patia mit mütterlicher Sorgfalt um ihren Schützling und verfolgt offenen Auges seinen spätereis Lebensgang. Als ich zwei Jahre nach meiner ersten Jugendweihe meiner Patia Gaïrin von damals in Punta Brandina wieder unter die Augen trat, umarmte sie mich freudestrahlend und drückte mir vor den herumstehenden Indianern und Weißen einen lauten Kuß auf die Stirn. Sich seiner bejahrten, hilfsbedürftigen Patem annehmen und ihnen beistehen, verpflichtet nicht minder streng als Kinder den eigenen Eltern gegenüber.

Die Einführung der Prüflinge und deren Zuweisung an Patem könnte man füglich auch zur näheren Vorbereitung rechnen. Jedenfalls ist allen man so weit gewahrt, daß der ergiebrekte Ablauf dieser langen Feier beginnen kann.

3. Tagesordnung für die Prüflinge

Nach ungeschriebenen Gesetzen verläuft das lange *Ojiangu*-Fest, die ältere Leute bewahren sie in treuem Gedächtnis und jeder Leiter hält sich an sie. Was heute gilt, war auch maßgebend bei den vorhergehenden Geschlechtern, die viel genauer sich an die bezeichnenden Gewohnheiten hielten als die letzten Überlebenden dieses Stammes unter dem unerträglichen Einfluß des umwandelnden Europäertums. Man kann sich um so mehr darauf verlassen, daß auch in der Neuzeit nach dieser Jugendweihe nach der Gepflogenheit der Alten wiederholt wird, weil gerade sie der Eindrücklichkeit aller Prüfungen hauptsächlich zuträglich und als ein besonderes Heiligtum allein den Stammesgenossen zugänglich gemacht worden ist. Erkennt ist daran, daß nicht einmal die Missionare, trotz jahrzehntelangen Bekanntmachen mit diesen Eingeborenen, eine genaue Vorstellung von dieser Einrichtung erlangt haben, auch viel weniger schriftlichen Einblick Fachmann konnten (I, 809).

Aus dem, was wir selber erlebt haben und was durch erklärende Mitteilungen unserer Vaniim ergänzt worden ist, ersteht dieser Abschnitt über die Tagesordnung für die Prüflinge zusammen. Die Beschreibung dazselben ist nicht gewissen Gesichtspunkten aufgebaut, wenngleich sie bestimmt erscheint; durch hinter sie die Gewißheit, daß alle Einzelheiten wirklich vor Erfüllung kam-

[*] Kamerun und sein ungar wurdenal ist einer Patia ungewiesen worden, ihm die Kamerun und sein die Gaïrin, andere einem Patem. Man gab dieselben nicht als Kameraden.

[illegible] und richtig durchgeführt wurden.[illegible] Insbesondere waren die Erziehungsgrundsätze, auf denen die Jugendbriefe aufgebaut ist, in aller Deutlichkeit bereits. Denn sie ist unabhängig einer Weiterführung der ersten Erziehung, die den Kind bisher im Kreise seiner Familie durch die Eltern erhalten hat.

Ein wesentlicher Bruch gerade Erziehungsgeschichte ist in dieser Epoche Feier bis in unsere Tage erhalten geblieben; denn der Beweis ist erbracht, daß das Europäertum auf die Gestaltung der inneren Ordnung und auf die Fortgestaltung der herrschenden Grundsätze keinen irgendwie [illegible] Einfluß ausgeübt hat. Mit Nachdruck sei dieser Tatsache nochmals betont. Im besonderen verdient der religiöse Unterbau für die bisherige Unterscheidung der Prüflinge und für die unbedingte Verbindung der gesamten Verwaltung wichtiges zur Beurteilung des religiösen Gleichen dieser Frontkämpfer.

Bei völliger Wahrung der Überlieferungen wird die Tagesordnung keineswegs als ein starres, unbeweglichen Gefüge gehandhabt. Eine jede Jugendbriefe erhält ihre deutlich bestimmte Eigenarte durch die Persönlichkeit, den Charakter und die Gesamtanlagen des jeweiligen Vorstehers; einer neigt sich stärker als ein anderer, dieser legt mehr Gewicht auf körperliche Anstrengungen und jener auf die Belehrungen, einer widmet mehr Aufmerksamkeit den Prüflingen und ein anderer mehr den Erwachsenen. Man kann sagen, daß sogar die geringere oder größere Zahl der Teilnehmer auf Stimmung und Geist merklich einwirkt.

Die gesamten und andere, vom Handwerke unbeweglichen Unterbau geben jeder Jugendbriefe eine gewisse Beweglichkeit und schaffen ein mehr oder weniger veränderliches Bild von einem Mal zum anderen. Schließlich hält sich dieser eigene Ton, der, je nach der Persönlichkeit des Leiters oder je nach anderen Umständen, die ganze Veranstaltung beherrscht, in Worte bei, die, die Umrisse und Konzepte der informierten Teilnehmer Tetagon die verraten dann und wann deutlich genug zum Ausdruck.[illegible]

c. Die äußeren Maßnahmen

Unsere Vorsorge erstreckt in der Jugendbriefe den ganzen jungen Menschen in Behandlung, vernachlässigen also keineswegs die sozialhygienische Beurteilung seines körperlichen Seins. Hauptsächlich ist es Ihnen eine große Gelegenheit im Sothotcoong., die auch Jugendliche einzelnen nehmen, bisher an tun. „Jeder muß seinen ganzen Körper und jeden seiner Glieder in den Gewalt haben. Hat er das gelernt, ist er ein guter abrüstig im Ostpunkt geworden." Das stellte sich Sachsen, den Leiter bei unserer ersten Jugendbriefe, schon gleich zu Beginn als wichtigen Ziel deutlich und bestimmt vor Augen. Die Indianer lassen sich von dem großen Jugendtagungen Gedanken leiten. Wer

[illegible] Diese Anführung erfährt auch einen im einzelne gebenden Vergleich mit der Tagesordnung, die die Prüflinge beim Mönchsleben der Sili [illegible] werden (Bd. I, 1900).

[illegible] Auf die sehr unverbindliche Führung in der einen und in der anderen der beiden Jugendbriefen, die ich selber erlebt habe, so unbedeutend erhaben hingewiesen werden.

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. Körperhaltung: In den individuellen Zusammenstellungen zeichnen die Familiäre keinen Unterschied zwischen Männern und Weibern, beide werden dieses in gleicher Weise hervorhebe. Bekanntlich hat jeder einzelne seinen Plata neben einem seiner beiden Paten, m. e. W., der Vorgänger hat auf der einen Seite den zweiten Paten und auf der anderen Seite seinen Schützling (vgl. Abb. 83). Über ihn, den Idealcharakter hält abwechselnd einen von beiden Paten unmittelbar die Augen offen.

Gleich unerlässlich zu seiner Einführung in die Grabe Hätte muß jeder Pfeiling die richtige Körperhaltung einnehmen (S.[illegible]). Das ist ein eigentümliches Hocken auf den unterschlagenen Beinen, die im Knie rechtwinklig gebogen sind. Der Oberkörper neigt sich wenig nach vorn, der Kopf ist nach einem mehr gesenkt und die Augen richten sich zu Füßen, unmittelbar vor die Knie. Die Arme werden vorschlaffend von der Brust gehalten.** Eine ungezwungene Anordnung gibt jeder dabei zu erkennen. Wenden noch alle wenigen Kommentare bilden, effekte an dieser Zusammenhaltung unverkennbar die ersten Denker die einzelnen nahezu von den übrigen Teilnehmern.

Was diese Körperhaltung, die an sich schon als anbetende empfunden wird, unkennzeichnend bezeichnet, ist das Kniebeugen. Dieses muß der Pfeiling drei Stunden und länger ausgesetzt verharren, bis ein bestimmtes Ziel des schulmäßigen bedarf. Es darf weder sich anlehnen noch sich zusammenfallen, weder sich nur Seite neigen noch hornzusammen, weder die verschiedenen Arme Stern noch sich drehen und rücken, weder die Augen aufheben noch die ungeziemig umherwandeln lassen, weder sich selbst noch an irgendwelchen Körperteile sich kratzen.

Die Erscheinung schaffen beweist jedem einzelnen die Möglichkeit, sich in eigenem Fachen einfindet zu bewähren. Beispielsweise wird man den [illegible] einen Kämmer auf den rechten Knieen und während dem Sprechen die Kommunikation, beobachtet man den schnell. Wieder Ihn, wenn er sich nur mit den Hantierenden machen, schnell! Zuweilen erfährt der Wind den Kunst von Langsamgrauen Pfeiler in den Grabes Hätte kommen. Die anderen [illegible] sich Gott bis oder wenden den Kopf zurück, der Pfeiling muß ungeziemlich verharren, selbst wenn dieser Qualen von gutem Hofer Ihn ein [illegible] und hoffnend seine Augen erst. Da diese nicht anfangen zu rühren, kann der Mitten Bauer den Zeichen unmöglich [illegible]. Dann [illegible]

** Die Körperhaltung, in der die Mitten den Pfeiling in den Grabes Hätte empfinden (Abb. [illegible]), [illegible] von den [illegible] ab. Gott ist [illegible] sich auch die Tonnen Grabes [illegible] Sonne [illegible] Sonne.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Pata. Das Wasser saugt der abwägende vermittels eines röhrenförmigen Vogelknochens aus der Wasserbehälter, die der Pata in der einen Hand hält, während seine andere Hand auf die Kehle seines Schützlings einen leichten Druck ausübt, gleichsam als dürfe er nicht zu viel trinken. Jenen Röhrenknochen, Bestandteil fertigt der Pata selber an, reicht ihn seinem Schützling jedesmal beim Wasserzugen und überläßt ihm diesen Stück beim Abschluß der *Ajiyaga*-Feier als Erinnerung. Sind die ersten Tage vorüber, erhält der abwägende eine größere Nahrungsmenge sogar zweimal täglich und zur gleichen Zeit, da den Erwachsenen das Essen aus der Küchenhütte gebracht wird. Dem Pata obliegt es, die Menge zu bestimmen, die er dem abwägende jedesmal zukommen lassen will. Er berücksichtigt dessen körperlichen Befinden, sichert aber allen zu ein, daß dieser wirklich hungert. Das Wasserverbot wird später nochmals am Tage gewährt und der Prüfling bittet dieserm seinen Pata von Fall zu Fall.

Der Hunger quält die jungen Leute sehr, trotzdem verhält man sie dazu, ganz [illegible] Wenden Kleinigkeiten verteilt, etwa Beeren und Pilze, die von Mädchen gesammelt worden sind, oder gebratene Fleischstücke vom einem Vogel, den die Burschen erlegt haben, dürfen die abwägende sich vom dem etwas zu Munde führen, nachdem alle Erwachsenen bedacht worden. Über dieser Einzelheiten zu wachen ist Pflicht des Patens. Er läßt es jedoch bei allen notwendigen Strengheiten nicht so weit kommen, daß sein Schützling zur Verschlepfung zusammenbricht und unfähig wird, dem weiteren Verlauf der *Ajiyaga*-Feier zu folgen.

Von den Prüflingen ließen sich die Alten über den Zweck dieser harten Hungerperiode nicht ausführlich. Gelegentlich nur läßt der Leiter oder der Pata, wie erwähnt, die Bemerkung fallen: „Jeder muß gelernt haben, mit wenig Nahrung auszukommen! Denn es ereignet sich zuweilen, daß eine ganze Familie in große Not gerät." Früher hatte ich von Alexeno noch eine andere Auffassung erfahren: „Wenn die abwägende vom Hunger ermüdet sind, ergeben sie sich empfänglicher für die Belehrungen und es dringen die Erzählungen tiefer ein!" Damit die Prüflinge außerhalb der Großen Hütte sich nicht etwa für die vielen Entbehrungen auf eigene Faust entschädigen und wirklich essen, geht regelmäßig eine Begleitung mit.

3. Kurzer Schlaf: Man ist zwar berechtigt, von einer Tagesordnung für die *Ajiyaga*-Feier zu sprechen; doch besagt dieses Wort nicht etwa eine genaue Einteilung nach Stunden. Viel ist aber wird diese oder jene Übung nach dem mündlichen Anordnung von der augenblicklich herrschenden Stimmung abhängig gemacht und jenen Glücklichen dort im Freienland schlägt erst im Alling nach bei diesem geheimen Fest eine verpflichtende Stunde.

Ist somit für die erwachsenen Teilnehmer keine einheitliche Zeit zum Schlafengehen festgesetzt, dann noch viel weniger für die abwägende. Gewiß, man legt ihnen eine empfindliche Einschränkung auf; diese im einzelnen durchzuführen bleibt Sache des Patens. Er schläft, genau wie bei der Nahrungsaufnahme, auf den körperlichen Befinden seines Schützlings und läßt

1: Gustinde SH6 Yahgan

sich davon bei seiner Entscheidung leiten. Immerhin währt der nächtliche Schlaf zu Beginn der *čiɣaɣa*-Feier höchstens fünf Stunden, was für Jugendliche offensichtlich zu wenig ist. Sie zu ermatten, wird ja bewußt angestrebt.

Kaum sind alle Spiele und Tänze am Abend eingestellt, richten sich die Erwachsenen zum Schlafe ein. Erst nach zwei oder drei Stunden erteilt jeder Pate für sich und unabhängig von anderen seinem eigenen Schützling die Erlaubnis, ebenfalls sich umzulegen. Gewöhnlich ist es dann schon Mitternacht. Zwischen fünf und sechs Uhr morgens rüttelt der Pate den müden Schläfer beruhaft und sagt ihm nur: „Richte dich auf!" Da bleibt ihm nichts anderes übrig, als unbedingt folgzuleisten. Halb verschlafen hockt er nun auf seinem Platze, bis der Morgen sich aufhellt und das allgemeine Reinemachen in der Großen Hütte beginnt.[279]

Vom alten Pedro erfuhr ich auch, daß ehedem sehr häufig mitten in der Nacht, zuweilen zur Unterbrechung des an sich sehr kurzen Schlafes, die männlichen *ušuɣala* an den Strand geleitet wurden. Hier mußten sie ein Bad nehmen, einige Zeit im Wasser sich bewegen und dabei, nach dem Beispiel der sie geleitenden Männer, das einförmige Singen in der *čiɣaɣa*-Hütte mit vernehmbarer Stimme weiterführen. Der körperlichen Abhärtung diente dieses wiederholte Untertauchen im Wasser; das Singen aber sollte dem *Yetdjo* und allen übelgesinnten Geistern, die sich der Großen Hütte nähern, ein Beweis für die ununterbrochene Wachsamkeit der Prüflinge sein. Bei meiner ersten Jugendweihe hat man uns drei *ušuɣala* zweimal in stockfinsterer Nacht ans Wasser gejagt. Die beiden anderen mußten ihre Kleider ablegen und in der kalten Flut mehrmals untertauchen; mir ersparte man zwar diese Qual, aber zumindest sollte ich sie kennenlernen.

Doch begnügt man sich nicht allein damit, die Zeit für den Schlaf einzuschränken, auch die Körperhaltung währenddessen schreibt man vor. In der Stellung, die der *ušuɣala* beim Sitzen eingenommen hat, legt er sich auf die Seite, also wieder mit verschränkten Armen und mit angezogenen Beinen. Unter den Kopf, etwa um ihn höher zu lagern, schiebt man nichts. Wegen schwerer Ermattung schläft jeder sofort ein. Unwillkürlich dehnt und reckt sich der Müde, löst die verschränkten Arme und streckt die Beine lang aus. Er stößt unvermeidlich dabei einen Nachbar an: denn der Raum ist sehr eng. Jedenfalls wacht neben ihm ständig einer der Paten, der dem *ušuɣala* einen empfindlichen Stoß versetzt, daß er wach wird. Sofort muß er seine Gliedmaßen wieder einziehen.

Auf diese wenig freundliche Art wird sein an sich knapp bemessener Schlaf noch das eine und andere Mal peinlich unterbrochen, aber das ist Absicht. Bei meiner ersten Jugendweihe hat mich diese Quälerei fast zur

[279] In neuerer Zeit haben die Yamana auch in der Großen Hütte die Gewohnheit bei, sich morgens zu waschen. Die meisten verwenden Seife, die zu heutzuta auch den Prüflingen gestattet wird. Fast täglich richten sich alle Hüttenmanen so ein, daß nach dem Morgengrauen und etwa zur gleichen Zeit das Waschen gemeinschaftlich erfolgt. Das fällt meist mit einem gründlichen Ordnen des Schlaflagers aller Leute zusammen.

Verzweiflung gebracht. Als der alte ALFREDO eines Morgens mein verstörtes Wesen bemerkte, sagte er teilnahmslos, doch entschieden nur das eine Wort: „Man muß gelernt haben, auch für den nächtlichen Schlaf mit wenig Raum auszukommen!" Später hörte ich nochmals diese Begründung: „Zuweilen überrascht schlechtes Wetter mehrere Familien, die alle in einer einzigen kleinen Hütte Platz finden müssen. Auch im Kanu müssen bei gefährlicher See alle Insassen eng zusammengepfercht regungslos lange hocken. Dergleichen [Künste] lernen unsere Jugendlichen hier im *čičgaya*!" Sollte einer von ihnen, wegen Übermüdung, tagsüber einschlafen, wird er sofort stark geschüttelt, daß ihn der Schlaf vergeht. Fast gefühllos benimmt sich jeder Pate in diesen Einschränkungen, die er seinem Schützling auferlegt.

Durch das ununterbrochene Singen während der ganzen Nacht will man nicht nur übelwollende Geister abschrecken; es sollen auch die Leute drüben in den Wohnhütten in dem falschen Glauben erhalten werden, daß niemand in der Großen Hütte schläft, sondern daß alle immer wachsam sind.

4. Körperschmuck: Die Yamana haben allgemein das Bedürfnis, bei gewissen Anlässen ihren Körper zu zieren. Obenan steht die Bemalung, die sich schnell und leicht ausführen läßt. Die *ušuǵala* tragen andauernd gewisse Zeichnungen im Gesicht, wodurch sie sich als solche zu erkennen geben. Zumindest zweimal des Tages werden sie ihnen aufgefrischt, weil sie sich unvermeidlich von selber verwischen. Der Pate persönlich trägt sie regelmäßig seinem Schützling auf. Wie sonst üblich, verrührt er in einer Muschelschale oder im linken Handteller das rote oder schwarze Farbpulver mit Tran, Wasser oder Speichel und zeichnet die Mischung als Striche oder Punkte vermittels des kurzen Malstäbchens auf das Gesicht. Oft schmiert er vorher das ganze Gesicht mit weißer Farbe ein; denn auf diesem Untergrunde treten die aufgetragenen Zeichnungen deutlicher hervor.

Dem Prüfling den ganzen Körper zu bemalen ist nicht üblich. Was ihn kennzeichnet sind ein oder zwei oder drei dünne Querstriche, die von den Nasenflügeln oder Mundwinkeln her beiderseitig bis zum Ohrläppchen ziehen. Diese sind rot, nur ganz ausnahmsweise schwarz. Außerdem bevorzugt man für die *ušuǵala* feine rote Striche, die vom unteren Augenlide zur Wange hinziehen, seien es deren drei oder sogar bis zu fünfzehn.

Die beiden genannten Grundmuster werden für die Prüflinge am häufigsten angewendet; doch hindert nichts, daß auch die Erwachsenen für sich selber die gleichen Zeichnungen wiederholen (Abb. 84). Insofern sind letztere also nicht ausschließlich den *ušuǵala* vorbehalten. Vereinzelt, besonders zu den alltäglichen Tänzen und wenn Besuche erwartet werden, malt man den Prüflingen auch andere Muster ins Gesicht.

Die erwachsenen Teilnehmer sollen ihr *kapapil*, den schmalen Kopfschmuck, eigentlich ununterbrochen tragen (S. 846); für die Prüflinge ist das eine Pflicht, über die der Pate wacht. Er selber fertigt das *kapapil* für seinen Schützling an, nimmt es ihm erst unmittelbar vor dem nächtlichen Schlafe vom Kopfe, setzt es ihm morgens wieder auf und rückt es ihm tag-

über mehrmals umrollt. Sorgfältig wird es behütet, keineswegs darf es auf dem Boden liegengelassen werden. Jeder hängt es über seinem Rücken am

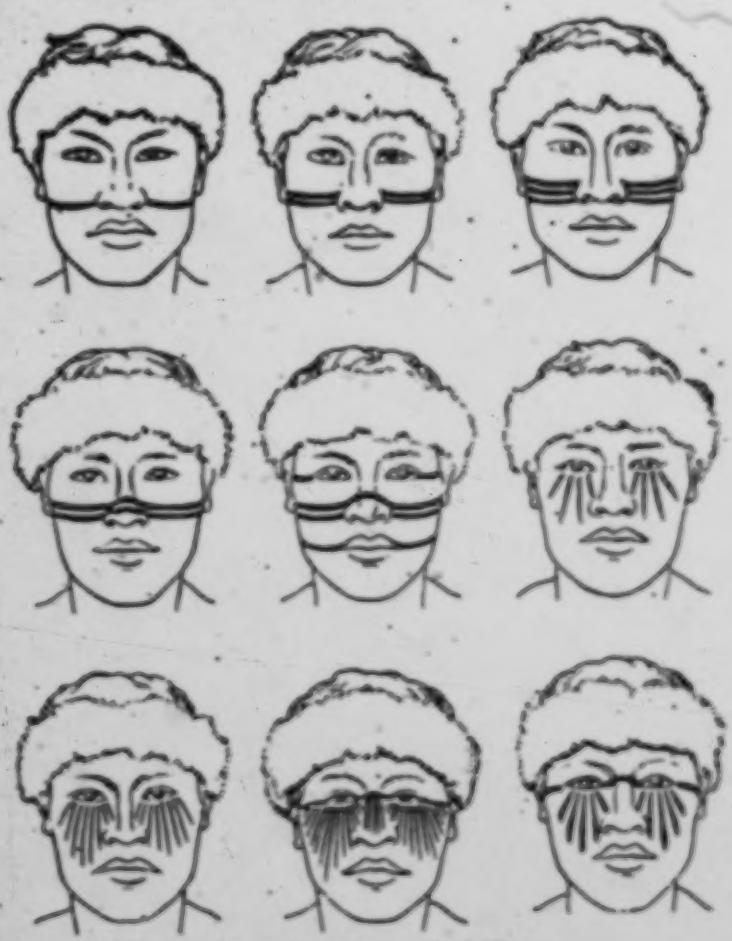

Abb. 84. Gesichtsbemalung der Pröflinge

Flechtwerk die Hüttengerüste auf,[*] wenn er es vom Kopf herunternimmt. Außer dem *kapiyál* überreicht der Pate seinem Schützling ebenso gleich zu Anfang den üblichen Tamotah. Bei den abendlichen Spielen wird er in den Händen gehalten, sonst steckt er aufrecht und fest im Boden (S. 847).

Den beiden letztgenannten Stücken kommt eine schöne **sinnbildliche Bedeutung** zu. Kurz wurde schon einmal (S.834) erwähnt, daß die *ôfpuga*-Hütte nach ursprünglicher Auffassung der Yamana eigentlich ein *oûjin*, eine Felsenbühne am Ufer, in die das Meerwasser hineinschlägt, darstellt. Schaumgekrönt sind die tanzenden Wellen. Der weiße, zarte Flaum des *kapuûl* versinnbildet den flüchtigen Schaum *auf* den Wellenkämmen, das Auf und Ab bei den rollenden Bewegungen mit dem quergehaltenen Tanzstabe soll das schaukelnde Spiel der Wellen andeuten, die sich rollend heben und senken. Weil die Wellen in einem *oûjin* unablässig hinein- und hinausstreben, tragen die Insassen des *ôfpuga* ständig ihr *kapuûl* und schwingen leicht, mehrmals des Tages, unter Tanzbewegungen den Tanzstab.

Schließlich muß hier noch die einzige Art der früher bei diesem Feuerländerstamm üblichen **Tatauierung** erwähnt werden, von der ich allerdings an keinem der heute lebenden Yamana irgendwelche Spur nachweisen konnte. Die Mitteilungen, die mir dieserhalb gemacht wurden, dürfen als zuverlässig gelten.[**] Bald zu Beginn der langen Verzauberung, nachdem die Prüflinge sich etwas an die neuen Lebensverhältnisse gewöhnt haben, gehen bei gutem Wetter in aller Morgenfrühe sämtliche Insassen der Großen Hütte — nur ein Wächter bleibt zurück — an den flachen Strand hinunter. Man wählt eine geschlossene Bucht mit seichtem Meeresboden. Die Männer, welche ganz nackt sind, und die Frauen bilden je eine Gruppe für sich; sie führen in ihrer Mitte die Prüflinge, jene die Knaben und diese die Mädchen. Zunächst treten die Männer, die zuerst ankommen, ins Wasser und bleiben eng beieinander stehen. Die Frauen verteilen sich derweil, daß sie einen mehr oder weniger geschlossenen Kreis um die Männer bilden. Nun hüpfen und springen alle, spielen miteinander, bespritzen sich gegenseitig, machen allerlei Körperbewegungen, tauchen die Prüflinge unter und ziehen sie unter dem Wasser her; sie betätigen sich auf jede erdenkliche Art mit Ausgelassenheit, ohne daß der äußere Kreis der Frauen mit der Gruppe der Männer sich mischt. Nach einiger Zeit verlassen sie in dieser Anordnung das Wasser und erst jetzt löst sich der Kreis der Frauen auf, der somit den Männern einen Ausgang öffnet.[**] Warumud ruft der *ainefkêru* zum Lager hinüber, daß sich groß und

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[**] Diese Sorgfalt erinnert an die ähnlichen Aufmerksamkeiten, die alle Schl'ham in ihrer Großen Männerhütte den eigentlichen Medicos zuwenden (Bd. I, 917).

[**] Mehrere Männer und auch Susan Lawrence sprachen von diesem Brauch. Die ohne eindeutige Angaben hat mir der alte Pedro gemeinsam mit Wanda gemacht. Lawrence ist der ältere aller überlebenden Yamana und obwohl ich ihn sehr genau ausfragte, fand ich an ihm nicht den leisesten Anzeichen einer Tatauierung. Er sagte mir: „Als ich Prüfling in der Großen Hütte war, haben meine Landsleute diese Zeichen ohne eingeschnitten, denn sie wünschten nicht damit von den Missionaren hinausgeworfen!" Ich vermutete, sie wollten so verstehen, durch die Tatauierung ihre geheimen Jugendbräuche, während welcher diese Zeichnung angebracht wird, zu verraten.

[**] Das Eindrucksvolle kann ich mich nicht verschließen, daß dieses Spiel möglicherweise in abgewandelter Form den vorgenannten Pfadfindern wiederholt, den die Schl'ham zu Beginn ihrer Männerhütte vor den Augen der Frauen aufführen (Bd. I, 1000).

klein in den Hütten verbarg und seine Blicke im Zaume hielt; denn niemand darf die Rückkehr dieser beiden Gruppen belagern. Diese eilen nun in die Große Hütte wieder zurück.

Hier beginnt sofort die Tätowierung der einzigen beiden Geschlechter. Größere Männer und Frauen schneiden heute einen beiden Streifen dicker Schicht von Ind quer über die Brust und beiderseitig über den oberen Abschnitt des Armes weiter auf den Rücken hinüber, daß nur eine handbreite Fläche über der Wirbelsäule frei bleibt. Dieser Farbenring zeigt sich in der Körpermitte leicht gebogen nach unten. Innerhalb seiner Umgrenzung werden 5 bis 8 mm lange, senkrechte eingeritzte Striichlein mit einer scharfen Muschelschale in die Haut geritzt. Auf genaue Ausführung und möglichste Gleichmäßigkeit in den Striichlein wird geachtet. Bald nachdem einige kurze Einschnitte eingeführt sind, verschmiert man dickerin den roten Farbstoff auf der Haut. Dieser Zierat fordert zu seiner Ausführung mehrere Stunden, schmerzt aber nicht. Nach kurzer Zeit sind die oder Flächen Einschnitte wieder verheilt, der Farbstoff aber schimmert als ein leuchtendes Striichlein durch die Haut hindurch.

Stichlinge trägt man der einzigen diesen Zeichen des ersten Bades an seinem Körper. Meist schon am gleichen Abend, spätestens aber in den nächsten Tagen werden sämtliche Erwachsenen des Lagers zur Großen Hütte eingeladen und auf diesen Zeichen an den Prüflingen hingewiesen. Sie staunen es an und freuen sich darüber.

Im Abstand von einigen Tagen ziehen alle Hütteninsassen ein zweites und ein drittes Mal, genau so wie vorhin, zum Wasser hinüber zum Bade. Nachher wird jedem Prüflinge eine zweite und eine dritte Reihe kleiner Striichlein eingeritzt, genau unter der ersten. Damit hat er das Zeichen dafür, den Forderungen der *Ikiyaga*-Vorpflichtungen gewiß zu haben, erlangt; es ist auch das Zeichen seiner Volkreife. Die Indianer sollen, nach dem Sinn der Tätowierung gefragt, geben weiter nichts an als daß sie sagen: „Schön sieht es aus!" Zumindest gilt sie dieses als Beweis dafür, daß einer seiner Zeit als einzigste in der Jugendweihe gleichgewollt eingeweiht hat.

Auf diesem frühesten Brauch haben sie nicht ganz verzichten, sondern einen kleinen Ersatz durch eine besondere Bemalung geschaffen, die allerdings nur erwachsene Teilnehmer sich anlegen. Sie malen sich den ganzen Oberkörper rot und ziehen einen dreifingerbreiten, weißen Streifen darüber, der rückwärts beiderseits der Wirbelsäule beginnt, über den hinteren Teil der Arme und quer über die Brust verläuft. Man hat mir unverbindlich versichert, diese Bemalung würde anstatt der früheren Tätowierung aufgetragen. An dem einen oder anderen Tage bemalt sich ein Mann auch auf diese Art.

Die früheren Mahnbemalungen, denen jeder Prüfling der *Ikiyaga*-Hütte unterworfen wird, sind wirklich dazu angetan, seinen ganzen Körper gründlich zu verunstalten. Die erhaben Erneuerung sieht man jedem schon nach den ersten drei Tagen an. Das wird bewußt angestrebt; man will dadurch jedem einzigste gefügig machen und ihn auf die weiteren Ziele der *Ikiyaga* vorbereiten.

β. Die Belehrungen

Niemals verlieren die Teilnehmer aus dem Auge, daß diese Veranstaltung für die Jugendlichen eine Zeit ernster Erziehung sein soll. Demnach wird der Unterweisung und Belehrung fast täglich die eine und andere Stunde gewidmet. Leider nimmt man es gegenwärtig sogar mit diesem Wesensteile des ganzen *čičamu* nicht mehr so ernst wie früher. Die alten Leute leben unter dem Eindruck, daß die Jugend von heute sowieso der alten Stammesüberlieferung längst entfremdet ist und sich nach den Lebensregeln der Europäer einrichtet; deshalb verwenden sie auf die eigentlichen Unterweisungen bei weitem nicht mehr die Zeit und Mühe von ehedem.

Bei meiner ersten Jugendweihe allerdings mußten wir uns regelmäßig an jedem Abend beim ehrwürdigen Lehrmeister einfinden; denn damals hielt der Leiter ALFREDO auf strenge Ordnung. Während meiner zweiten Jugendweihe hat der alte WAATS nur bei einer einzigen Gelegenheit alle *alwągla* zu seinen Füßen sitzen gehabt und dabei nur einen sehr bescheidenen Teil vom Reichtum der früheren Ermahnungen vortragen können. Manche ehrlich denkenden Yamana bedauern diesen Verfall aufs tiefste. In ihrem eigenen Innern aber tragen sie, von verläßlichem Gedächtnis treu gehütet, noch alles das, was ihnen einst an Lebensregeln geboten worden und was heute noch ihnen Rückgrat für eine mustergültige Lebensführung ist.

1. Der Lehrmeister: Die Bemühungen der Alten um die Jugendlichen zielen darauf hin, aus ihnen sittlich gute Menschen zu machen, die nicht nur in allen Handfertigkeiten tüchtig und in Erfüllung ihres Tagewerkes treu sind, sondern die aus innerster Überzeugung und aus Gewissenspflicht richtig handeln. Unsere Feuerländer besitzen auch ihr eigenes bestimmtes, scharf umgrenztes Erziehungsideal. Dieses schwebt sowohl den Jugendbildnern in der elterlichen Hütte wie auch denen in der *čičamu*-Hütte ständig vor. Die Grundgedanken muten so naturhaft und wohltuend an, daß man meinen möchte, sie sind unserem europäischen Vorstellungskreise entnommen. Das erzieherische Bestreben wird in das eine Wort zusammengefaßt: „Jeder muß ein guter und brauchbarer Yamana werden!"[*] Auf dieses Ziel steuern die Erwachsenen geradewegs und mit unerbittlicher Strenge los, wenden die verschiedensten Mittel an und mühen sich mit zähe Ausdauer.

In der *čičamu*-Hütte werden den Prüflingen jene allgemeinen Lebensregeln vorgetragen, die bei den Yamana in Geltung stehen und die ihr öffentliches wie persönliches Leben beherrschen. Viele davon sind den *alwągla* schon früh in der elterlichen Hütte bekannt geworden; nun aber werden sie ihnen als ein geschlossenes, zusammenhängendes Gefüge von Einzelbe-

[*] Ausdrücklich sei hier betont, daß diese Wendung wörtlich wiedergegeben ist. Sie stimmt genau mit dem überein, was den Selk'nam als Erziehungsideal vorschwebt und die sie in die gleichen Worte kleiden (Bd. I, 1930). Die völlige Übereinstimmung beider Stämme in dieser bedeutsamen Sache wird nicht überraschen, wenn man sich vergegenwärtigt, daß die gesellschaftliche Ordnung hier wie dort eine und dieselbe ist, trotz der bei den Selk'nam in gewissen Belangen sich stärker auswirkenden mutterrechtlichen Einflüsse.

stimmungen vorgehalten. Letztere dienen als Gemeo der einen großen Aufgabe, aus jedem Jugendlichen ein guteo und brauchbareo Mitglied der Gemeinschaft zu machen. Dieso kann nur bestehen — darüber sind sich unsere Freeeflinder einig —, wenn jeder Einzelne sich dem einheitlichen Ordnungsplane einfügt, in geschlossener Verbundenheit mit seinen Landsleuten sich betätigt und durch persönliche Fehler das Gemeinschaftsleben nicht stört. Zu den Erziehungsforderungen gehört also eine weitgehende gleichförmige Gestaltung der Jugendlichen. Diesem Ziele dienen die gemeinschaftlichen Unterweisungen. Tatsächlich werden alle Jugendlichen, ohne Unterschied ihres Geschlechtes und unmaßgeblich, früher oder später, an dieser langwierigen Veranstaltung verpflichtet. Dabei wird einem jeden das einheitliche Gepräge mitgegeben, das ein Erfaßt der vorausgegangenen Geschlechter ist, dabei werden sie auf die Lebensregeln und Umgangsformen verpflichtet, die bisher das Stammesleben geeitzt und die ein ruhiges Gemeinschaftsleben sichergestellt haben. Vorsichtlich zum brauchbaren, wertvollen Stammesmitglied soll ja der einzelne erzogen werden.

Die Unterweisungen ergehen nicht an ihn allein, sondern an die ganze Gruppe der Prüflinge gleichzeitig. Als Lehrmeister betätigt sich ein hochbejahrter Mann, meist ein ehrwürdiger Greis; entweder aus eigenem Antrieb oder auf Einladung des Leiters und Vorstehers. Zuweilen versieht einer der beiden Letztgenannten diesen Dienst, je nachdem die Umstände dazu drängen. Immer aber ist dieser Lehrmeister, genannt einzelne hinzu, eine achtbare, ehrfurchtgebietende Persönlichkeit, von tadellosem Charakter und sittenreinem Wandel, von geistiger Überlegenheit und anerkannter Rechtschaffenheit, gut bewandert im Stammesrecht und vorbildlich in höherer Mannesstat. Nur wer selber sich mancher guten Eigenschaften mit offenem Freimut vor anderen rühmen kann, wagt es, vor die heranreifte Jugend als Lehrmeister hinzutreten; er braucht nicht zu fürchten, sich selber Lügen zu strafen durch Ermahnungen, die er an jene richtet. Um so nachhaltiger wirken letztere auf die einzelne, weil ein solcher Lehrmeister als Verkörperung der geltenden Forderungen vor ihnen steht.

Mit tiefstem Ernst und aus innerster Überzeugung erfließen seine Worte. Durch lange Geistesanspannung bereitet er sich auf seine Ansprache vor und in beinahlichem Nachdenken legt er sich an diesem und jenem Nachmittag die Lehren zurecht, die er vorzutragen sich angeregt fühlt. Wenn die Handarbeiten beendet worden und alle Teilnehmer bei schweigsamem Harren auf ihrem Platze auch innerlich zur Ruhe gekommen sind, wenn die Nacht ihren schwarzen Schleier über die Natur gelegt hat und rundherum Totenstille herrscht, gibt der Lehrmeister ein Zeichen. Die Prüflinge erheben sich von ihrem Platze und harren sich im Halbkreise vor ihm nieder. In erster Haltung und mit gespannter Aufmerksamkeit nehmen sie seine Worte entgegen. Er spricht mit der mildesten Aufrichtigkeit und mit der fühlbaren Wärme eines wohlmeinenden Ratgebers, aus väterlicher Besorgnis für das spätere Wohl des einzelnen und für die Zukunft des ganzen Stammes. Während seiner

schlichten Ausführungen erfließen, lassen unterstützt sämtliche Anwesenden seiner leisen, tiefbewegten Stimme und jedes Wort wird zur Gewissensaufrüttelung auch für die Erwachsenen. Wie der letzte Wille eines Mannes, der bereits im Lebensabende steht und auf ein pflichttreues Lebenswerk zurückschaut, klingt sein Zureden und Warnen an die Jüngeren und die Älteren.

Solche Anreden waren die weihevollsten Stunden, die ich jeden Abend bei meiner ersten Jugendweihe erlebt habe. Gewiß, sie werden auch jedem jugendlichen abwāgala zu einem Erlebnis, das er bis ins höchste Alter nicht mehr vergißt. Was in solch stimmungsvoller Stunde als letzter Geistesgut aus Seele und Herz des Lehrmeisters in ihre Seele hinüberfließt, hüten sie zeitlebens als kostbarsten Schatz. In lückenloser Vollständigkeit und mit ungetrübter Frische wußten einzelne Erwachsene jene Lehren zu wiederholen, die vor Jahrzehnten ihnen als abwāgala vorgetragen worden waren. Wieder erweisen sich diese Feierländer als ausgezeichnete Kenner der jugendlichen Seele und als vorzügliche Erzieher.

Zwei- bis dreimal die Woche hat ehedem der Lehrmeister seine Ansprache an die abwāgala gerichtet und zwar nie länger als eine Stunde, obwohl er langsam redet und sich oft wiederholt. „Da viel reden ermüdet die Prüflinge!" sagte mir diesbezüglich der alte Aznanno. Er hat sich bei meiner ersten Jugendweihe mit dem ehrwürdigen Waaru abgewechselt, so daß wir an jedem Abend von diesem oder jenem die Unterweisungen erhielten. Nachher sagte er mir: „Kura war wähnte diesmal das ōjāyaga; deshalb mußten wir euch abwāgala allabendlich zur Belehrung versammeln, um euch alles zu sagen."[*] Früher ließ man einen Tag dazwischen frei.[**] Die abwāgala sollen eben gründlich das ü b e r d e n k e n, was ihnen [vom Lehrmeister] vorgetragen wird!" Hat dieser nämlich seine Ansprache beendet, kehren die Prüflinge an ihren Platz zurück und hocken dort noch lange Stunden nachdenklich, ehe sie sich zum nächtlichen Schlafe niederlegen dürfen. Auch die Erwachsenen überlassen sich erneuter Geistesanspannung; denn Tänze oder Spiele finden nachher nicht mehr statt.

In den gemeinschaftlichen Unterweisungen werden den Prüflingen selbstverständlich all jene Lebensregeln gehören, die allgemeinverpflichtend sind. Damit begnügt man sich im ōjāyaga um so weniger, als manche Teilnehmer längst Untugenden und Ungewandtheiten, Schwächen und Fehler an dem einen und anderen Prüfling wahrgenommen haben und mit Ärger dulden mußten. Jetzt aber setzt eine streng p e r s ö n l i c h e S o c i o f l u x e r e i n, es beginnt eine individuelle Behandlung. Die nächsten Verwandten übernehmen diese gewiß nicht leichte Aufgabe. So hockt sich bald dieser und bald jener neben den Prüfling, je nachdem sie sich angeregt fühlen oder auf Grund von Beobachtungen, die sie am Tage selber gemacht haben. Jeder

[*] Er wollte sich dadurch entschuldigen, daß er und Waaru nur jeden Abend in Ansprache nahmen. Das war gegen die frühere Gewohnheit, die auch Zeit zum Nachdenken gekommen hatte.

[**] Das will besagen, nicht oder doch dasselbe den Lehrmeistern vorzutragen sich mit Unterbrechungen auf zwei oder Wochen.

beginnt mit eindringlichem Zureden, dann Warnungen ein und spart nicht mit Drohungen. Sinnfällig und greifbar werden dem einzelnen Fehler und Schwächen vorgeführt, die mit diesem und jenem Nahrungsmitteln an ihm beobachtet worden sind. Trägheit und Schwerfälligkeit, Unlust zur Arbeit und verstreutes Wesen, Unverträglichkeit und Zanksucht, diebische Neigung und Lügenhaftigkeit, belästigendes Benehmen beim Essen und verfehltes Gebaren, lockere Störer der Unterhaltung der Erwachsenen und spöttelnde Reden über hochbejahrte Leute: alles wird unerschöpflich mit Namen genannt und eindrücklich gerügt. Wer von den Alten diesen und jenen bereits früher beunruhigt hatte, ohne Erfolg zu sehen, verschärft hier seine Drohungen. Um sein Ziele zu gelangen, verbindet sich auch der eine mit dem anderen und gemeinsam wirken diese Erwachsenen auf den einzelnen ein.

Wenn irgendwie tunlich, wenden die pensionierten Mädchenmütter an. Einem Vielfraß entziehen sie öfters das Essen und sagen: „Du sollst lernen, auf alles Übermaß zu verzichten!" Wer schwerfällig ist, wird häufig zu leichteren Arbeiten aufgefordert; Trägheit sucht man durch besonders schwere Aufträge zu bekämpfen. Die Alten bewähren sich, durch diese und andere wirksamen Mittel die Untugenden und Fehler auszurotten. Gelegentlich setzen sie jedem einzelnen zu, der als eitelsinnig und eigensinnig gilt.

Den schweren Stand, den manchmal einzelne dabei hat, erkennt man daraus, daß es endlich jedem Erwachsenen freisteht, an ihm zu rügen und an ihm zu verbessern, was nach seinem Ermessen notwendig ist. Manchmal Verwandte und Freund hatte sich vielleicht früher entzogen von den Bereichen her, von den Mädchen beurteilt, seine Eindrücke war damals wohl nur von kurzer Dauer; hier aber ist der Prüfling dem Erwachsenen auf längere Zeit gänzlich ausgeliefert. Er benutzt diese Gelegenheit aufs beste, denn sie ist vielleicht die letzte. Nach seiner Jugendzeit rechnet sich jeder Prüfling schon mehr oder weniger zu den Erwachsenen. Den älteren wird dem einzelnen mit aller Deutlichkeit erklärt: „Du hast nun ab gegangen, bislang haben dein Vater und deine Mutter die Nahrung besorgt, für dich einen Platz in der Hütte eingerichtet und dir in allem geholfen. Sie [deine Eltern] haben sich durch viele Jahre gegangen um dich bemüht, dagegen dachte du dieses nicht nur Lust selber. Suche dir bald den Lebensgefährten und bleibe [in eigener Wohnhütte] für dich!"[*]

[*] Wie weiter oben so auch mit diesen Erwachsenen verfahren, die auf eine lediglich Sinnen bezeichnen, habe ich gewissenhaft an mir erfahren müssen. Bei meinem zweiten Besuch hatte ich den Yamanas verschiedene Photographien vorgelegt und einer jeder Person als Jugendbekannte mit mir bezeichnet. Ich sagte dann: „Das ist meiner Mutter, meine Großmutter, meine Onkel (einschließlich, usw." Dadurch wollte ich die verschiedenen, sich photographierten zu lassen. Die Jugend auch einzelner Sich: „Bringst du uns nicht auch ein Bild von deinem Vater?" Als ich diesen verschiedenen, ich wäre auch nicht verheiratet, [gem es diesen erfüllten verdeckt einer Person in meinem Jahren auch bald wieder. Nach Abschluß meiner ersten Jugendzeit wollte ich jenem Jahre wieder mit der alten Anrede, der letzten jener Unterhaltung: „Viel Gutes haben wir dich in den Großen Hütten gehabt, was ziehst dich dorthin ab! Wenn du wieder zu diesem Lenzen kommen, vergiß nicht, die eine Mädchen zur Ehe zu nehmen!"

Alle, die sich gründlich und wahrhaftig hier im Hilfsamt von einem Prüfling bewähren, sind von den besten Aussichten für ein persönliches Wohl und für die Volksgemeinschaft beseelt. Wie oft sie dem Unterweisungen hätten und wie lange sie einer jede ausführen, läßt sich *i. A.* Zahlen nicht bestimmen; das hängt von dem jeweiligen Umständen bzw. Notwendigkeiten ab. Aber diese streng individuelle Beurteilung bildet einen wichtigen Teil des gesamten Erziehungsprogramms.

3. Inhalt der Belehrungen: Leider bin ich nicht in der Lage, den lückenlosen Wortlaut jener Zeugnisse wiedergeben, die bei meiner ersten Jugendweihe jedem individuelles abzugeben persönlich von dem und jenem Erwachsenen wiederholt eingegangen worden sind. Manches Wertvolle von der Erziehungskunst und Lebensanleitung jener ehrlichen Menschen auf Freuland entgeht uns somit. Einen Ersatz dafür bieten jene Anweisungen, die im **Wortlaut** einige Erwachsene von dieser Jugendweihe her an wiederholten Immanuels waren. Der eine wie der andere haben versichert, daß diese Sätze nur einen Teil dessen ausmachen, was sie als wichtigste erfahren haben.*** Jede Belehrung dient dem einen bestimmt erhabenen Ziele, aus dem Prüfling „einen guten und brauchbaren Menschen" zu machen.

Auf meiner Bitten wiederholten meiner Paten jener Zeugnisse, die sie als wichtigste von dem Jahre 1907, also vor etwa 25 Jahren erhalten hatten. Ohne die Sätze auszuschreiben, lasse ich die hier folgen, wie sie mir von der ausgetragen worden sind.

Um mich den hohen Sinn erfüllbar zu ersparen, verschiedene ich zunächst: „Kann ich mich noch meiner Mutter erinnern und mich noch halb noch einer Frau erinnern?" In den folgenden Jahren habe ich auf diesen, was verschwunden gar nicht einer gegenüber Vergangenheit gewe und gar vergessen.

Eine auf der vierten Seite (S. 195) sah ich Sonnenuhr wieder. Einen Tages verlieh ich in Kreise einiger Bilder alte Photographien, die ich im Jahre zuvor gewonnen hatte, herum und gab dann einige Erklärungen. Auch die Vorsteher Indianer sich. Eine Schlaf wandte sich Indianer an mich mit den bezeichnenden Worten: „Hier da war einst auch ein Bild von deiner jungen Frau mitgebrachte?" Auf diese Frage war ich nicht gefaßt. Ich fühlte mich sehr wenig in die Augen und ich antwortete halb unbewußt, halb verlegen: „Ich je wen: Ich habe ganz darauf vergessen, mich zu erkundigen?" Die nächsten Tage die ganze Dinge verschwanden sich gänzlich und auch einer besonders, mir geschätzten Person, wollte er mich in vorwurfsvollen Tonen vor den Anwesenden fragt: „Du hattest mir doch in der Gruft Hier versprochen besser, haben die ganze Belehrungen gegeben und du hinzuweist doch nicht dieser?" — Was beschäftigt die dann die Jahrung?" Ich erwiderte: „Meine Frau?" Er: „Frau wen erhielt du deiner Kindheit?" Ich: „Frau meiner Mutter?" Er: „Wo wohnst du?" Ich: „Bei meinem Eltern?" Da fuhr er mit eindringlicher Ermahnung fort: „Erinnere dich! In langer Jahre erhaben deiner Eltern hat dich auf auch immer Gütter die Dinge zur Lust. Ich habe wahrhaftig genug für dich gesagt! — Gibt es denn gar keine Gleichnis bei euch, das dich gern hat und dich liebenswert erscheint?" Ich beschämt erwiderte ich nicht und hat verschämte ich dem wohlwollenden Alten: „Wenn ich dieses Gleichnisses, da wurde ich wirklich nicht wohnt verhaftet und wurde sich von mir meinen Eltern?" Nach diesen Worten beruhigte er sich, alle Anwesenden lachten. Ich ging weg, Pastor angeführt.

*** Durch viele Jahre, daß diese und jene Lebensregel wiederholt, mit den gleichen Worten an verschiedenen Tagen dieses vorgeführten wurden ist. Demnach ist es jenen Angaben nicht die Wirklichkeit entsprechen.

„Du wirst dich bald verheiraten und hast dann deinen Mann; streite nie mit ihm. Wenn andere Frauen über dich unfreundlich reden, wenn sie sich mit dir zanken wollen, schweige still und rede nicht mit; das würde doch nur zu Streit führen. Mache ruhig deine Arbeit weiter, daß die anderen dich nicht erst sehen. Schließlich werden sie sagen müssen: Das ist doch eine fleißige und ruhige Frau!

Schließlich dein Mann dich Nachts vom seinem Lager heimlich fort,[**] weil er glaubt, du schläfst; sage nichts und laß ihn gehen.

Anderen Frauen darfst du das Trinkwasser nicht wegnehmen; das macht du dir selber selber heiß.

Stehe morgens zeitig auf. Selbst wenn mehrere Männer in der Hütte sind, macht du immer zeitig aufstehen.[**]

Hält sich ein Besuch sehr lange in deiner Hütte auf, bevorab nicht selbstverständlich, daß er gar nicht gehen will.

Ist dein Vater heimlich gestorben und du siehst einen älteren Mann, der etwas bewältigt, so gib ihm, was ihm fehlt. Sage nicht: „Jener Mann geht mich nichts an, er ist nicht mein Vater."

Bekommst du Kinder, lasse dich über jedes einzeln. Bringe nicht etwa einen um, weil schlecht er heiratet. Pflege alle gut und habe sie gern. Die anderen Leute werden dann bald von dir sagen: „Jene dort ist eine gute Mutter, sie liebt ihre Kinder sehr!"

Finden sich alte Frauen in deiner Hütte ein, die schwächlich und sehr gebrechlich sind, erweise sicher unentgeltlich und jage sie nicht hinaus. Empfange sie freundlich. Sage ihnen: „Setzt euch hier zum Feuer. Gleich werde ich euch etwas zu essen bringen!" Gibt Ignbri, was du hast, und höre es ihnen an. Dann die Fehler oder Mißstände gesammelt, lade andere Leute ein und laß sie an dem teilhaben, was du mitgebracht hast.

Wenn andere Frauen vertraulich beisammen und sprechen sie über allerlei Dinge, fange du nicht mit Klatschereien an und erzähle nichts Ungünstiges über andere Frauen.

Sollte sich dein Mann mit anderen Frauen abgeben und du merkst das, verhalte dich still und sage nichts.

Fordert dich mit deinem Manne nicht wegen jeder Kleinigkeit heraus, sonst wird er mißmutig und unzufrieden. Hat sich dein Mann wirklich einmal geirrt, so darfst du nicht gleich aufbrausen und viel Aufhebens davon machen; es wird gelegentlich wieder besser ohne einzelnes.

Laß nicht nach, deinen Mann wirklich zu lieben und für ihn alle Arbeiten bereitwillig zu erledigen; dann wird auch er dich gern haben und er wird gleichfalls für dich gut sorgen.

Ist deiner Familie [jene der du stammst] groß, werden Ähnliches deiner Brüder

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[**] Gemeint ist, daß er eine andere Frau zu unlauterem Verkehr aufsucht.

[**] Das will besagen: Gewöhnlich pflegten sich die Männer etwas mehr Ruhe zu bergen, weil sie eine schwere Arbeit vor sich haben oder weil sie von einer anstrengenden Jagd noch sehr ermüdet sind. Das dürfte du nicht zum Vorwand deiner eigenen Trägheit nehmen.

und Onkel von den Leuten sehr geschätzt, weil sie tüchtig sind, so prahle damit nicht und rühme dich deswegen nicht übermäßig; denn andere würden, das übel aufnehmen.

Willst du mit deinem Manne in Frieden leben und mit ihm glücklich sein, darfst du nicht fortwährend zanken. Halte dich still, wenn er anderer Meinung ist als du; später wird er seinen Irrtum doch wohl einsehen.

Sei auf der Hut vor Wamainéjawa, verliere ihn nie aus dem Gedächtnis. Wenn du schwerfällig, unmutig wirst und träge deine Arbeiten vernachlässigst, wenn du morgens nicht zeitig aufstehst, wird er dich anschauen; dann ist es bald aus mit dir.[*] Vergiß auch nicht, was die ukuŋgula hier in der ʔéʔpaqa-Hütte oft am Morgen gesagt haben, wenn sie zeitig aufgestanden waren und hinausstreten: *Ádja yéwaw ukuŋgula /kiyu/ hái, uáu!*[**] So hat es eben der ukúlis[***] auch gemacht.

Siehst du jenen Vogel dort, der ganz allein nur für sich ist, getrennt von den anderen? So wird es auch dir ergehen, wenn du all diese Anweisungen nicht beachtest: Du wirst dich langsam von den anderen absondern und schließlich allein stehen, dann wirst du dich nicht mehr wohl fühlen, wirst schwach und krank werden und frühzeitig sterben. Bevor auch die Sonne aufgeht, erhebe dich sanfter von deinem Schlafplatze.

Oft hat uns der Lehrersteiner wiederholt: Wenn du dich um diese Anweisungen nicht kümmerst und sie vernachlässigst, wirst du später wenig Kinder bekommen und auch diese werden/ die bald sterben. Vergiß diese meiner Ratschläge und Lehren nie!"

Aus ihrer ukuŋgula-Zeit hatte sich NELLY LOWMANN folgende Sätze gut gemerkt, die sie bereitwillig wiederholte:

„Du wirst dich wohl bald verheiraten und die deine eigene Hütte bauen. Kommt gelegentlich jemand zu dir [auf Besuch] und nimmt er sich von den Muschels oder Korbern oder Fischern, die gerade am Feuer lesen, so zeige dich deswegen nicht ungehalten. Forme dich einhaeka; denn es ist eine Ehre für dich, daß ein Fremder zu deiner Hütte kommt und bei dir ißt.

Hast du verheiratet, so hüte dich sehr, mit deinem Manne zu zanken und zu streiten.

[*] Eine weitere meine aufgeweckteste lebhafte Wendung bringt, gerade wie dieser: Der Blickende Wenn wird streichend sein Auge auf dich richten und einen verwirrigen Tod über dich verhängen. — In einem spätesten Abschnitt sollen solche Wendungen gesammt erklärt werden.

[**] Das bedeutet: Wahlen, wir sind jetzt Prüflinge, wählen!

[***] Tarlen ungefähr, der ungefährliche Dämmerl. Der Dämmerl auf die Dämmerl hat folgendes Bild: Einst ist dieser Vogel auch Prüfling in der Jugendschule gewesen, wo er gelernt hat, an jedem Morgen zeitig aufzustehen. Diese gute Gewohnheit hält er so treu bei, daß er für alle spätesten Zeiten bei nur. Gegenwart den Prüflingen ein gutes Beispiel ist. Seitdem reift der Dämmerl jedem Langschläfer und Faulpelz, erhebt sich ihn erhebt, mit diesem "wau, wau" an, als wollte er sagen: „Du wirst bald sterben!" Dämmerl weckt jeder Prüfling der Dämmerl im Aufstehen gewahrnehmen und am Morgen, wenn er sich erhebt, erhebt ihn ungefährlich: "wau, wau!", wau auf ihn dann: „Du wirst bald sterben!" abzuwarten. Gleichzeitig reift der Prüfling gewöhnlich und gewohnheitlich einen Kaiqapel oder Zweig ausbrechen, damit der Dämmerl sich von seiner Angewohnheit und seinem Fluch abwenge.

Sei du ihm treu. Sollte er sich vergessen und sich mit einem anderen Weibe abgeben, dulde [dein Leid] still. Aber meine nicht, daß auch du jetzt an einem anderen Manne beliebig gehen dürfte; denn du hast Wali. Dein Mann wird es schon merken, daß du ihm die Treue bewahrst; er wird sich über dich freuen und wird bald wieder von jenem anderen Weibe abkommen.
Findest du einen Hund [der sich verirrt hat], nimm ihn in dein Haus und führe ihn zu seinem Herrn. Jener Mann merkt dies vielleicht. Bringst du ihm den Hund zurück, wird er sich freuen und sehr zufrieden sein. Den anderen Leuten wird er von dir sagen: „Jene dort ist eine gute Frau!"
Nimm anderen Leuten niemals etwas weg. Denn jener stiehlt, ist bei niemandem beliebt und alle Leute verfluchen ihn nur.
Beginne dein Tagewerk in aller Morgenfrühe. Wasserjungen schaut jeden Fußspur an. Wasserjungen wird [nur Steuer] dich bald [= vorzeitig] erreichen werden, wenn du eine faule Langschläferin bist.
Sei stets willig. Wasser und Holz herbeischleppen und für das Feuer zu sorgen. Habe auch ein offenes Auge dafür, bejahrten Männern und Frauen zu Diensten zu sein, wenn diese etwas wünschen.
Schreie nicht wegen jeder Kleinigkeit laut auf.
Trage nicht sofort all das weiter, was du über andere gehört hast; denn dadurch könntest du leicht Streit und Unfrieden anstiften.
Gehst du deinen Wegen einher, schau nicht vorwitzig überall herum; sondern richte deine Augen geradeaus vor dich auf den Boden und halte den Kopf ein wenig gesenkt.
Noch gar vieles andere hat man mir im Olympe anvertraut. Damals war zufällig mein eigener Vater dort Vorsteher. Ich habe ihm ernstlich versichert: „All deine Anweisungen werde ich genau einhalten!" Diese und die anderen Ermahnungen habe ich treu befolgt. So wollen es unsere Vorväter."

Auch Gaan wiederholte die Lehren und Ratschläge, die er anläßlich seiner ersten Jugendwerke im Jahre 1996 erhalten hatte:
„Mein aber ehrwürdige Ältesten [Lehrerinnen] und auch mein Vater von damals sind beide schon tot.
Als Tenkjin wieder Inspektorin war,[**] nahm man den Fellstück weg, mit dem man mir meine Gedichte vorher vorhanden hatte.[***] Sogleich stellte sich mein Vater vor mich hin und schaute mich ernst an. Ich zitterte vor Angst. Er sagte: „Nun will ich dir sagen, wie du hier in dieser Großen Hütte dienen sollst! Deine Augen seien immer auf den Boden gerichtet und ernst auf die Stelle, wo meiner Füße stehen.[****] Verhalte sie, wie du jetzt hier hockst,

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[**] Tenkjin hatte mittlerweile [illegible] Inspektorin [illegible] Gaan in die Große Hütte. Vgl. die Beschreibung dieses Ringens auf S. 951.

[***] Es handelte sich auf Jugendliche Gewohnheit, jenen Lehrmittel, das dem in die Große Hütte eingetretenen Fellling über den gesamten Kopf gestreiften wird, hebt man allmählich die Ringen mit dem "Höhen Geist" [illegible] nicht ganz auf, sondern nur ein wenig, damit der Fellling Nähe die Gerüchte des "Höhen Geistes" sehe.

[****] Das ist unmittelbar vor den [illegible] Füßen der hockenden Fellling.

und hatte die Arme vor der Brust gekreuzt. Nicht hin und herwandeln. Lehne dich nicht auf die Seite. Stehe still und regungslos stehen. Deine Augen nicht durch die ganze Hütte schweifen lassen; schaue auch nicht zum Eingange hin, wenn jemand eintritt. Halte deine ausgeleerten Augen im Innern und bleibe still stehen!

Sogleich beugte sich der Pater neben mich und fragte: „Hast du dem da geredet, der aus dem Feuer herausgegangen ist?" Ich antwortete: „Ja!" Er fuhr fort: „Wußte du auch, wer er gewesen ist?" Ganz leise und voller Angst erwiderte ich: „Der kam aus der Erde heraus!" Darauf versicherte er: „Ja gewiß, das war Fortjin, der drunten in der Erde lebt. Der kann hierher? Wieder fuhr mich große Angst."**

Nach einiger Zeit fragte mein Pater abermals: „Glaubst du, jener war wirklich der Fortjin?" Ganz gedrängt erwiderte ich: „Ja!" Er bedachte es ein wenig und sagte: „Ich selber bin es gewesen! Ich habe mich genau so maskiert, wie es der Fortjin machte, der drunten in der Erde lebt. Hätte dich nur dazu! Er scheint scheußlich dumm, ob du gerade all das einhältst, was du hier aufgetragen wird. Aber nicht allein, was in dieser Großen Hütte vor sich geht, ist Täuschung! .... Seitdem blieb mein Pater stillschweigend an meiner Seite.

Nach einiger Zeit begann er mir abermals: „Achtest auf alle Bestimmungen, die für diese Große Hütte gelten, befolgst jede Weisung genau? Du hast beobachtet, wie jeder Anwesende schweigsam und regungslos dastand, als Fortjin auftrat. Hier ist keine Widerrede zulässig! Die einzelnen hätten still an, was dann aufgetragen wird, sie hätten willigen Gehorsam jedem Befehle. Jedem nicht dürftest heraus. Stehst regungslos stehen, ohne dich zu drehen und zu wenden. Ich, dein Pater, beobachtete dich genau! So (in der Haltung), wie du gut dastanden, verhältst; so geht nicht an, die Haltung wiederholst zu werden, wie oder Beine und Arme zusammenziehen. Hatte die Arme [vor der Brust] gekreuzt und die Beine zusammenschlagen?** Bewegt sich ein einzelnes unerlaubt, sagt dann zu ihm mein Pater ungeduldig: „Wie, du willst nicht folgsamsten? Wer die Bestimmungen nicht einhält, wird später ein schlechterer Mensch werden. Ihm verdrießt dich zugegeben?

Später ermahnte mich der Pater: „Vergiß nie die Unterweisungen, die du heute [vom einzelnen Mitglied] hörtest. Wer sie sich gut eingeprägt und sie danach sich einrichtet, wird ein guter Mensch werden. Sprich in dem Wohnhäuschen nicht über das, was hier vor sich geht. Das allein ist sehr wenig und geheimnisvoll. Dunkles wollt du dazuhinzu erkennen. Du aber dürftest dazuhinzu nicht für dich auch. Vielen Reden über diese Dinge hier verursacht die einen verwirrigen Tod. Wissen, nicht allein ist Täuschung, was in diesem Hause sich

** Bei dieser Gelehrten Belegung will er den Frühling glauben machen, jene Erscheinung wäre wirklich der Fortjin aus der Erde entsprungen. Dadurch begründigt er, den großen Angst ausgesagt. Nur es wäre Bad wunder, hätte er wirklich den Frühling über den Gartenbeet sah.

** Es bringt also nach und nach den Frühling in die genaue Bedeutung, die vorgeschrieben ist (S. 270).

Gastrolo! Gastrolo sei dem, der hier unten in der Erde wohnt, Ihm die Gir die Bosen Bolle schon dich und bedrohen dich gewiss. Sei ohne auf den Hut!

Am nächsten Tage gingen alle einzeln in den Wald, jeder war von seinem Feuer begleitet. Der zweitage sagte wie: „Wir sind jetzt im Walde. Du mußt nicht weinen, denn Schwester hier sind Bolle! Nein, das sind andere Leute, die hat jener grollen Unwillkung von langer Zeit an Schwester gemacht sind, weshalb ruhen sie hier.[*] Sie alle wohnen dein Tun und Lassen. Dieses sage jetzt: Ich bin ein einzigkeit! Das sei ich, ich stehe nicht von diesen und von jenen Bosen hier und sagte dann: Ich bin ein einzigkeit! Die anderen Bosen wohnen an gesamt an. Hierauf sagte mit mein Feuer: „Wenn du vom Tumulent in den Wald gemieden wirst, am Bolle an Leben, an schwitzt Gottlig. Falle du dich nicht niedermeinen, die Bosen und Filter sammeln, bei dir an [illegible], wissen: Diese Leute hier [die Schwester] bedrohen dich gewiss! Nehme du die Schwestern, die du zusammengemacht hast, nicht gut aufmerksam, sind dort Bosen[**] wieder einstimmen. Falles diese Bitte an, wissen du im Leben ein Glück haben, denn diese Leute hier wieder allen!"[**]

Wenden du dich zwischen zur Großen Bitten, hatte nicht lange und gern durch den Wald. Spielt auch nicht schwerend mit anderen einzeln, springt nicht Herumbig über die Bosenschwester hinzung, wenden bewahren eine ernste, ruhige Haltung und einen einen gemeinen Weg. Schau wieder auch nicht auch auch Leute. Führen dich immer unbeschäftigt auf? So sagte mein Feuer.

Gegen Mittag kehrten wir in die Höhlen-Bitten zurück, das andere Nachmittag sind wir beginnen Bosen zum einzeln an sich. Wir wissen nur [im Kellerstein] vor den auf den Bosen sitzen. Folgendermaßen wieder es zum an:

„Was du hier sehr und hier, mußt du immer Bewahrung, Tragödie an sich. Bekehren an [illegible]. Sie auch und sprechte dagegen einmals in den Wahnsinnen, wenn nicht auch schwerer Tragödie. Ein einzigkeit, den spielten allen zusammenhalten, wird Geld ernten.

Erweiter gutlich Bedenkt den ohne Lessen. Auf nehmen von Bosen hat sammeln, verhalten auch still und wieder auch nicht in denen Bosen ein. Kommt man auch wenn unbeschäftigt den Bosen, man es in begrenzteren Bitten andere abgeschmeidet hat.

Wenn du einen Nachbilgen Bosen gemachen, benehmen es nicht, um dich den Bosen mit anderen zusammenzu, denn das schafft keinen Bien. Folgen sehr

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[*] Es spielt auf die große Unzufriedenheit an, in der die Gründung der Bosen-Gesellschaft wird. Vgl. Gastrolo [illegible] und andere unter den Wurzeln dieses Werkes im Abschnitt Die Bosen-Feier.

[**] Es anspielt an die Gemeinheit der Neuen, jene Schwestern und Geheimnis, die einen im Wahl zusammengeschlossen hat, sogen einen großen Bosen unbeschränkt einzelnen. Die unbeschränkte Gleichheit führen zu, das Bolle nicht auf dem durchschnittlichen Gebiete zu bekommen, sondern auf einem hohen Bosen durch Leistung einen zu erreichen. (S. [illegible])

[**] Das will besagen: „Du sondern sich nicht von den Fortschrittlichen und Bosen-anhängerinnen, mit den du ein neuen den Gesetz der Schwestern beschränkt hast?" Also auch diesen Bosenen denen einen Warnung an die Fortschritten, sich einmals gutes zu bessern, die schwer zu unterscheiden, sondern gesamt alle Neuanhänger einzubeziehen.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

sprechen und Sie dich einreden, du selber brauchst dich darum nicht zu kümmern noch eigene deine die wohlgemeinten Ratschläge von Eltern zu hören.

Falls ein alten Weib an gleichem mühsam und langweilige Dinge verbringt, die weit zurückliegen und einmaunden mehr Sorgen, hatte nicht von Überdruß von der Hütte können, kleiner einem und hätte es die dennoch an. Du wirst gewiß irgend ein guten Wort oder einer Erzählung hören, die die von Natur sein können. Wenn dann, bin die alte Frau angeredet hat. Wenn du selber in deiner Tugend gelegentlich etwas erzählst und dann gerader wirst, wie bei deinen Worten einer nach dem anderen sich dreht und hinzuschließt, oder wie einige Leute sich willkürlichen anderweitig allein Sie sich verschaffen, wirst du dich sehr darüber freuen; außerordentlich wunderbar wird es die sein, daß man dich [bei deinen Erzählen] allein einen Sitz. Erzähl dann auch du dich allmählich anderweitig anderen gegenüber.

Quälle Tiere nicht, am allerwenigsten deiner Hand. Die Tiere, die anderen Leuten gehören, mißhandle überhaupt.

Laß den Stehlen, es ist die nicht mein Vorteil. Du gefällt es auch nicht, wenn jemand die deiner Sachen verwendet. Schaue die Gegenstände, die anderen Leuten gehören, behandle sie, als wären sie deine eigenen. Benötigst du etwas, geh in irgend einer Hütte und erbitte es dir; man wird es dir dann in deiner Hand geben. Demnach hast du gar nicht nötig zu stehlen.

Hast du dich in die Frau einer anderen Mannes verliebt, dann unterhaust du sie die sogar verführen. Das kann schlimm enden und deren Verwandten könnten dich sogar umbringen. Du wärst es ebenmäßig ergehen, wenn jemand die deiner Frau wegnähme. Verlierst sie die Beschaffung von der Frau einer anderen Mannes.

Erinnere dich oft an diese Ratschläge und denke an die Unterweisungen, die ich dir hier gebe.

Bittet dich ein alter Mann — es wird sich kaum ereignen —: ‚Bringe mir etwas Holz!', so tue es. Nehme du in nächstem Nähe einen Mannes und spreche er keine gleichkommt nur vor sich hin, durch es, daß du es hörst: ‚Ach, es ist mir heute nicht mehr gelungen, einer unentbehrende Menge Holz für die Nacht zu holen? — gehe du sofort in den Wald und bringe Holz herbei. Der Alte wird sich sehr darüber freuen. Er wollte es verwendeten, mit seinen Anfänge allein [mit bestimmten Worten] bezeichnetes.

Befindest du dich in der Nähe einer Frau, die scheinbar vor sich hinmurmelt: ‚Wie schade, ich habe heute vergessen, mir Wasser zu holen?' — gehle sofort zu deinem Eimer und trage das Wasser zu deiner Hütte. Die anderen Leute werden sich über dich freuen, sie werden sagen: ‚Der dort ist ein besser Kerl?' Jene Frau wird am nächsten Tage sehr vergnügt. Diß geschieht. Deren erfreuen sich die Alten, weil sie es in dieser Jugend eherne gelibt haben.

Hast du einer großen Handfertigkeit erlangt, so daß alle Leute die von die kompetenten Gegenstände schätzen, gib von diesen Dingen sonderbar jene ab, die am besten empfänglich sind. Merke es dann nicht an, daß du die schönsten Stücke für dich aufbewahrst und die weniger guten abverkaufst.

Falls du nun mindestens einige Dinge anderen zum Geschenke machst, werden jene Leute sich denken: „Warum hat er mir diesen ausgefallen geschenkten Gegenstand gegeben? Das Ding nützt mir ja doch nichts! Sie werden den [dem Gegenstand] zwar annehmen, nachher aber wegwerfen. Vorherige besuchten, erhielten Sachen und nun diese verteilt unter die anderen Leute. Dann werden sie sagen: „Das hier ist eine ausgezeichnete Kampfausrüstung! Jener Mann dort hat sie mir gegeben. Eine geschickte Arbeit hat er gefertigt, die ich anderen Leuten zeigen werde. Dieses Stück will ich mir gut aufheben!" Für deinen Schatzgewinn sorge gut und bemühe dich eifrig um Sei. Vorherige alle Geschenkchen, die er bringt. Nehme auf seine Schlichtheit und bewahrte den wirklich Freund. Für den mache die erste Anfrerkennenheit und Sorge aufbieten, als für deinen leblichen Vater.

Gestehe du mit einem Manne in Streit und sagst du dabei zwangl zu ihm: „Ich werde dich erwürgen!" so ist das kein Unger Bruchsam. In Wirklichkeit wirst du ihn ja doch nicht töten; du sprichst diesen Wort nur aus, um ihn Angst zu machen. Die anderen Leute erhören dein Wort dementsprechend wenn. Planst du tatsächlich jemanden umzubringen, verfeinst du darüber nur anderen sicherlich kein Wort! Versuchst dadurch dergleichen [nicht zwei gewissen] Bedenkenen. Es könnte sich sogar ergeben, daß jener anderen, aus Furcht vor deinen Drohungen, dich selber umzubringen versuchtest.

Von allem, was du hier hörst, hält nie etwas in dem Wahrheitsten verhaftet. Andernfalls wüßt man den gleichen Gerücht, den dennoch in Vergangen, bei der großen Unterhaltung alle Leute erfahrt hat. Zwei Mädchen kommen sich dennoch unterhalb der Großen Hütte über das, was drinnen vor sich ging, unterhalten. Sie werden an Ernst und Mörtern erzählen in der Lagunen. Sie können jener nicht mehr sprechen und niemand denkt an sie, weil keiner sie kennt.[**]

Bei auf der Hut vor dieser Erde [dem Vorgang wohnt dennoch] und vor der aufgeheulten Sonne. Magst du noch noch so vorsichtig sein, erhebt die Sonne aufgeht, springt erhebt vom deinem Schlafplatz herunter, daß sie dich dort nicht sieht. Erhebt dich regelmäßig früher vom Schlafplatz als die Sonne erscheint, andernfalls wirst du bald sterben.

Bei dem Sonnenlicht brauchst tun. Wenn[illegible] erhebst du nur, so scheint genau so, ob du dich dennoch ziehest.

Immer und überall erweist dich abschließlich dem Hirn gegenüber. Bei nicht verfaßt, wenn du mit ihnen zusammen bist.

Jedenfalls gibt es anderen Leute ab, wenn du von der Zeit heimgekehrt hast. Bei Heilig bei deiner Arbeit. Zeuter dich nicht mit anderen herum.

Bei dem Leben werden die gewiß immerhin bei Gefährtenin helfen. In den verschiedenen Lebensalgen wirst du an mich denken und so wird die englisch gegenseitig sein, wie ich die bei dieser Gelegenheit hier angegrenzen habe. Handle dennoch und du wirst ein glücklicher Mensch sein!

[**] Hinter dem [illegible] [illegible] auf die Geschichten bei Gelegenheit der gelehrten Mannsversammlen, die [illegible] Vgl. [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Während der besten Tage des Olympia endlose wie einzigartig mit den Männern lebhaft auf die Jagd gehen, die Bildhauer unserches Marmorbild und hatten den Preisen beim Pferdes.[*] Schließlich wurde das große Essen veranstaltet, an dem alle Leute teilnahmen. Jeder einzigartig verteilte Fleisch an ehrenhafte Anwesende, das heißt Stück, was Sie den einzigartig erhielt. Nachdem ich das Fleisch vom einem Stellteiner verteilt hatte, sagte mir der Peter: „Das heißt Stück ist für dich! Für du es Ob, geh in den Wald und sage den Bauerstimmen dass ich anfingen, ich habe (Fleisch) verteilt (beim großen Schlachtfest) einzigartig wie, an die vielen Teilnehmer?" Dann kommt englisch hinter wieder meinen? Das ist ich. Ich ging in den Wald und erzählte die Bauern an: „Ich habe vom Stellteiner an die Leute verteilt?" — Später sagte ich das Fleisch vom Vigeln an jedem der vielen Teilnehmer herumtragen; das heißt Stück bekommt ich für mich. Wieder ging ich in den Wald und erzählte die Bauern an: „Ich habe ganz beim großen Essen auch das Fleisch vom Vigeln an alle Leute verteilt?" Dann dachten wir einzigartig ehrenhafte erzählt wurde und wir Gesetzen um erhielt. Schließlich sagte ich an [auf die gesamten Wesen] die Bauern dieses im Wald erzählen.[**] Schließlich sagte mir meine Peter: „Dann ist es genug. Um jetzt an darfst du überflüssig gehen und von gebrochen Dinge reden. Ich Bauern und alle Leute wissen nun, daß du ein einzigartig im Olympia geworden bist?" — Das alles hat mir meine Peter beigebracht."[**]

Von Gesamtem nimmern die folgenden Urkunde und Sonstiges, die er als einzigartig vor einem Halbjahr Jahren erhalten hatte. Seine Peter sagte dass:

„Nun bist du im Olympia als ein einzigartig hier mehr die anderen, bis alles bereuten ist. Du darfst dich nicht mehr an Verwandte und frei bewegen, wie einer, der draußen [außerhalb der Grenzen Hirte] erlebt. Hier hast du jedem Gesetzesmann zu gehorchen. Alle Sonstiges, die mir die geben werden, befolge treu in deine Einrichtung und mit großer Beweiselligkeit. Tu das nun immer Übergangung, nicht nur weil es so wie mich. Bleibe dich darauf dein Urkunde lang, bis du alt geworden bist.
Was hier vor sich geht, behalte schwiegend für dich: erzählst es nicht draußen überall vor anderen Leuten."[**]

[*] Einer der Hauptgründe für die engen Vorgänge des Mannes und Frauen, im Gegensatz zu den Frühlingen, ist dieser Tage um das Gesetzesfestes erzählenden Lebensgeistes für die große Essen beim Geschlecht der Jugendzeiten.

[**] Dieses Gesetzes ist, wie mir später erklärt wurde, einer Bestimmung des Frühlings an die Bauern, daß er von jetzt an nicht mehr an der vorher gebrachten Einrichtungen gehandelt ist, sondern einen Frühlingsgesetz bewahrt hat.

[**] Auffällig dürfte es, daß Gesetz am Schwalbigen Geschlechter der Bekanntmachung, die er als Frühling in der Jugendzeiten erhalten hat, am ersten Geschlechtes erzählendes. Bekanntlich hat er sich seinem lieben Kindergeheimen im Kreise von Gesetzesen gebracht, die einer sehr einfachen Bauern verteilig gestanden sind. Schließlich einem Jugendzeiten hat er eine erstere Rede mit dem erstiten Geschlechtsgesetz einem Bauern zu erhaltenen Gesetzesung. Die Gesetzesgesetz in jenem langen Gesetzesfestung wurden dies an einem Hirtenbauern und mit einer Aufforderung an seinem Leben. Er gestand mir: „Dann in der Jugendzeiten wurde ich an einem Bauern und das hat ich erzählen mit meinem Gesetz?" Tatsächlich ist der erhaltenen Geschlechtes Gesetzesfestes dies ein ganz neu erzählen Peter gewesen.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Hast du ein Mädchen gefunden, mit dem du dich verheiraten willst, lerniere dich dem gegenüber verständig. Sprich die Hochzeit nicht ungeduldig, sondern warte, bis deine Verwandten dir das Mädchen geben. Jetzt erhebe dich dem Eltern deiner Braut ehrfürchtig. Zeige dich nicht ungeduldig, wenn sie noch zögern, ihre Tochter dir zu überlassen.
Trage nicht allerhand Dinge, die du beobachtet hast, schwatzhaft im ganzen Lager herum.
Hilf du verheirateter, unverzüglicher deiner Frau auf alle Art. Bringe auch Holz und Wasser. Hilf ihr und ermuntere sie bei ihrer Arbeitere: denn du hast ein Haus und hast mehr Kräfte. Hinsehe nicht da und dort herum: „Was werden die anderen Männer und Frauen über mich?" Hinwegsehig fortsehe gemütig dies nur, was andere Leute treiben. Wenn du das machst, wird auch deiner Frau überall herumhinrüber. Solches Benehmen gefällt den Yamana nicht und gibt Anlaß zu üblem Gerede. Trägt deiner Frau die Kinderwiege zu, gib ihnen keine Bedeutung. Rate deiner Frau: „Halte dich verschwiegen von anderen Angelegenheiten merkst und schimpfe nicht überall hinein! Die anderen werden sich von selber beschämen, wenn du nicht mitredest. Dann werden alle Männer dich beschämen und auch die Frauen werden dich gern haben."
Tritten du besuchweise in eine Hütte ein, zeige dich freundlich und benimm dich unauffällig.
Kommen viele Besucher in deine Hütte und du selber besitzest nur wenig, um sie alle zu bewirten, bedenke zuerst die Freunden: von dem, was noch übrig bleibt, gib dann an deine Freunde und Verwandten ab. Für letzterer ist es bequem, bald wieder einmal zu dir zu kommen und zu reichlichem Essen sich gütlich zu tun; nicht aber für jene fremden Besucher, die, aus fernem Gegend stammend, bei dir eingekehrt sind. Diese bewirte zuerst und reichlich. Trifft es sich gelegentlich, daß du mit den Verwandten deiner Familie allein beisammen sitzest, schimpfe nicht über deine Frau, falls sie abwesend ist. Du darfst sie niemals schlagen. Deinem Schwiegervater wird es eines Tages durch zu Ohren kommen, daß du seine Tochter geschlagen hast. Er wird sagen: „Jener Mann hat mir meiner Tochter weggelaufen, ist damit zu seiner Familie gegangen und dort gelegt er sie?" Kämest du später zu deinem Schwiegervater auf Besuch, wird er dich nicht in seine Hütte einlassen; er wird die freundlichen und die nützlichen seiner Tochter vorgehalten.
Suche nicht nur deinen Vorteil, sondern denke auch an die übrigen Leute. Wenn du selber reichlich versorgt bist, sprich nicht: „Die anderen gehen mich nichts an, um sie brauche ich mich nicht zu kümmern!" Hattest du auf der Jagd guten Glück, laß andere auch daran teilnehmen. Zeige ihnen überdies die günstigen Stellen, wo viele Seelöwen sich einfinden, die man dort bequem erschlagen kann. Lasse andere auch einmal zu deinem Revier kommen. Falls du allein nur für dich einkommen willst, werden die übrigen Leute sich von dir entfernen und niemand wird mit dir zusammen sein wollen. Sollteest du einmal erkranken, wird niemand mehr dich bewachen, weil du deinerseits dich um andere früher nicht gekümmert hast.

Kommst du mit mehreren Leuten in die Gegend, in der du geboren bist und ihr wollt ein Lager aufschlagen, räume ihnen [die sich dort nicht auskennen] den gesicherten Platz ein. Gib du dich mit einer minder vorteilhaften Stelle zufrieden. Denke nicht: ‚Was kümmert's mich, wenn jene Fremdlinge ihr Kanu verlieren?' Sorge du vielmehr gut für die fremden Besucher; denn diese kehren wieder in ihre Heimat zurück und werden sich daheim lobend über dich aussprechen.
Findet sich dort [am Orte deiner Geburt] ein günstiger Jagdplatz, den du kennst, ermuntere die fremden Besucher: ‚Geht doch zu jener Stelle, dort gibt es zuverlässig reiche Beute!' Zeige ihnen jene Stelle genau, damit sie sich überdies für die Reise große Mengen von Fleisch mitnehmen können.
Gönne auch anderen Leuten etwas. Wer selbstsüchtig sich benimmt, ist bei den Yamana nicht gern gesehen.
Ein querköpfiger, eigensinniger Mensch ist nirgends beliebt, alle reden verächtlich über ihn und weichen ihm aus.
Trittst du mit deiner Familie zu Besuch in eine Hütte ein und wird dir ein Lager angeboten, bleibe dortselbst. Jedoch, hilf den Leuten bei ihren Arbeiten und greife aus eigenem Antrieb zu, wo etwas zu tun ist. Niemand wird dich zur Mithilfe auffordern. Mach nur die Augen auf, du wirst du bald merken, wo du angreifen kannst! Vielleicht fehlt Wasser oder Holz, möglicherweise liegt Schnee vor dem Eingange. Da lege Hand an! Leute von dieser Art sind überall gern gesehen und werden von jedermann bereitwillig aufgenommen. Richtig ist es nicht, daß du dich ruhig hinsetzest und die anderen für dich arbeiten läßt. Da wird bald irgend jemand ein verdrießliches Gesicht zeigen und du wirst dich darüber verwundern, doch niemand wird dir den eigentlichen Grund nennen. Am besten ist es schon, du unterstützest die anderen bei ihrer Arbeit; hilf bei allem bis zu dem Tage mit, an dem du abreist.
Falls der Mann, in dessen Hütte du [zu Besuch] eingezogen bist, mit einem anderen im Streit liegt, mische dich nicht ein. Dir wird man darüber vielleicht viel erzählen und allerlei [einseitig] deuten. Höre dir das in Ruhe an, doch nimm nicht Stellung gegen jenen angefeindeten Mann. Findest du später Gelegenheit, rede mit ihm allein. Sprich ihn unter vier Augen und erzähle ihm die ganze Sache, aber in guter Absicht und aus lauterer Gesinnung; er wird dich schon anhören. Sollte er jedoch dich nicht zu Worte kommen lassen, ziehe du dich ruhig wieder zurück. Wärest du auch stärker als er, fange nicht etwa Streit an, füge ihm keinen Schaden zu und töte ihn nicht, selbst wenn er dein Feind wäre. Das brächte dessen Familie großen Nachteil, die das alles schwer empfinden würde; sogar zum Kampfe könnte es kommen, daß du noch die andere Familie entschädigen müßtest. Möglicherweise entwickelt es sich auch so, daß du später hören mußt, jene Gegner haben deinen Vater oder deine Mutter aus Rache umgebracht, weil du ein Mörder bist; das wird dir nicht gefallen. Meide demnach jenen anderen Mann, halte dich grundsätzlich von diesem Feinde fern, damit dich nicht der Zorn und die Aufregung eines Tages überrumpeln. So kann kein Schaden entstehen.

Denke täglich beim Erwachen am Morgen an diese Ratschläge, die wir dir im Öfonge hier geben; bewahre sie gut in deinem Gedächtnis und verliere sie nie aus der Übung. Läßt du nämlich heute eine gute Gewohnheit aus, wirst du in wenigen Tagen auch über eine zweite und dritte hinweggehen, und dann ist gar schnell noch vieles andere vergessen. Hältst du aber alles und jedes treu ein, wirst du ein angenehmes Leben führen können.

Stehst du im Kreise vieler Leute, verleumde nicht den und jenen aus deiner eigenen Familie; denn das veranlaßt Streitigkeiten. Man muß eben auch im Reden gewandt sein und sich selbst beherrschen. Falls du dich wirklich mit jemandem überworfen hast, brauchst euer gespanntes Verhältnis doch nicht aus jedem deiner Worte hervorzuleuchten. Die anderen hören scharf auf deine Worte und merken bald den Unterton heraus. Sprich also nicht verächtlich über andere.

Falls man dich mit üblen Reden überfällt und dich mit schlimmen Worten angreift, so reizt dich das zu einer Rauferei und zum Streite; indes, ziehe dich lieber zurück und sage nichts zu alledem. Später sprich jenen Mann allein, wenn ihr beide ruhig geworden seid.

Hilf kleinen Kindern, die zufällig ratlos dastehen, und sogar dann, wenn sie deiner Familie nicht entstammen. Gebiete sie zu deren Mutter oder in deren Hütte zurück. Weide dich nicht lachend daran, daß einer gestürzt ist oder im Wasser liegt; hebe es vielmehr schnell auf und bringe es seinen Eltern. Diese werden es [diese Tat] dir danken. Du selber wünschest ja auch, daß man deinen eigenen Kindern dergleichen Hilfe hörtet, falls sie deiner benötigen. Verhältst du dich fremden Kindern gegenüber gleichgültig, werden andere Leute sich um deine Kinder ebensowenig kümmern, falls diese weinen oder sich verletzt haben oder auf dem Boden liegen; niemand wird ihnen zu Hilfe eilen. Nimm dich demnach der Kinder aller übrigen Leute an; denn die Kinder haben ja niemandem etwas zuleide getan. Sollte es sich sogar um die Kinder deines Feindes handeln, stehe auch ihnen bei; denn diese haben sich mit dir ja nicht verfeindet und dir kein Leid zugefügt. Es mag sein, daß du deinem Feinde Übles angetan hast und er dich deshalb verfolgt; sieht er aber, wie lieb du mit seinen Kindern umgehst, dürfte es wohl geschehen, daß er dir verzeiht. Er wird zu dir kommen und dir gestehen: ‚Ich verzeihe dir dein Unrecht deshalb, weil du meine Kinder so gut behandelt hast!' Demnach ist es vorteilhaft, unterschiedslos allen Kindern zu helfen und ihnen sich lieb zu erweisen. Wir Yamana schätzen es außerordentlich, wenn sich jemand unserer Kinder wohlwollend annimmt.

Trittst du in eine Hütte ein, setze dich anständig hin, mit untergeschlagenen Beinen. Schaue alle [Anwesenden] freundlich an. Gib dich nicht nur mit einer einzigen Person ab und kehre niemandem den Rücken zu. Wenn du dich nur einem einzigen widmest und dich mit ihm allein abgibst, werden sich die übrigen verletzt fühlen. Geh nicht zu häufig auf Besuch.

Plaudere in deiner eigenen Hütte nicht sofort das wieder aus, was du sonstwo anderswo gehört hast. Wichtige Dinge zwar darfst du mitteilen, nicht aber

inhaltlosen Geschwätz. Gar zu leicht wird etwas übertrieben und aufgebauscht. Später werden die Leute genauer nachforschen, wer der Schwätzer gewesen ist; dann werden sie dich als den Schuldigen auffindig machen. Überhaupt kann einer deiner Feinde gar manches deiner Worte übertreiben und falsch auslegen, wenn er dich in Verruf bringen will.

Gerätst du mit jemandem in Wortwechsel und steht wirklich das Recht auf deiner Seite, will der andere aber nicht nachgeben, dann schweige lieber. Denn möglicherweise gehen Streitigkeiten und Schlägereien los. Der andere wird eines Tages schon einsehen, daß er im Unrecht ist.

Mische dich nicht ein in dumme Redereien und Schwätzereien anderer Leute. Sei auch nicht zu vertrauensselig im Aufdecken deiner Geheimnisse. Eines Tages wird schließlich doch das ausgeplaudert werden, was du im Vertrauen nur einem einzigen gesagt hast, und dadurch verlierst du möglicherweise viele Freunde. Sei gegen jeden hilfsbereit, aber immer karg mit Worten.

Nimm an jedem Morgen deine Arbeit freudig wieder auf, sonst wird *Yetája* dich überwältigen. Bewahre dich selber vor dem sicheren *Tode*; denn jeder träge Mensch fällt dem *Yetája* bald zum Opfer. Also erhebe dich morgens rechtzeitig, ehe die Sonne aufgeht.

Hast du einen anderen im Zorn, aus unbewußter Übereilung ermordet, entfliehe nicht und verstecke dich nicht, sondern stelle dich unverzüglich den Verwandten deines Opfers. Zeige dich jetzt auch stark genug, um persönlich alle Folgen deiner Tat zu tragen und überlasse solche Folgen nicht etwa deinen Verwandten. Du allein hast alles verschuldet, also mußt auch du persönlich alles wieder regeln. Einer, der nach seiner Tat wegläuft, kommt mit sich nicht zur Ruhe, sogar in seiner eigenen Hütte fühlt er sich nicht mehr wohl.

Du darfst niemanden bestehlen, am allerwenigsten die kranken und gebrechlichen Leute. Fehlt dir etwas, erbitte es dir von deinen Nachbarn. Du hast aber kein Recht, irgend etwas wegzunehmen. Man wird es [das gestohlene Gut in deinen Händen] ja doch bald bemerken; dadurch erst recht erfahren alle Leute, daß du gestohlen hast.

Falls du etwas findest, rede dir nicht sogleich ein: ‚Das gehört jetzt mir!' Denn bald wird der Besitzer [jenes Gegenstandes] auftauchen. Sähe er seinen verlorenen Gegenstand in deiner Hand, wird er andere Leute darauf hinweisen und ihnen sagen: ‚Der dort ist ein Dieb!' Möglicherweise holt jener Besitzer seine Freunde herbei, die deine sämtlichen Sachen zerstören und dein Kanu zerschlagen; schließlich bleibst du ohne alles, eben wegen deines Stehlens. Kein Yamana kann einen Dieb ausstehen.

Sei darauf bedacht, diese Anweisungen nie zu vergessen. Halte sie sichtbar ein, dann wird es dir gut gehen, die Leute werden mit dir zufrieden sein und von dir sagen: ‚Das ist ein guter Mensch!'

Sitzen viele Leute in einer Hütte beisammen und sprechen einander so erregt, daß eine Rauferei auszubrechen droht, halte du mit deinen Worten zurück, damit es nicht doch dazu komme. Haben sich die anderen Leute entfernt, magst du dich mit deinem Gegner allein auseinandersetzen. Denn man muß

die Besucher ehren und auf sie Rücksicht nehmen, damit sie gern wiederkommen. Wo der Besucher nicht gut behandelt wird, von dort zieht er sich bald zurück und sagt sich: Ja jener Hütte dort gefällt es mir nicht, dort kommt es schnell zu Streitereien!"

Hast du jemandem ein Geschenk gemacht, darfst du nicht erwarten, er wird dir bald eine Gegengabe bringen. Was du vorgeschenkt, gib gern und gar freiwillig her. Erzähle nicht sofort danach: „Jenem dort habe ich etwas zum Geschenk gegeben, er aber hat mir dafür nichts gebracht!" Wenn du derart vorgehst, wird niemand von dir ein Geschenk entgegennehmen, sondern alle werden sich denken: „Jener dort schenkt nur, damit man ihm ein Gegengeschenk macht!" Bietest du anderen etwas an, so das ein freies Stückchen, sprich nie darüber und erwarte nichts dafür.

Bedenke, andere haben ebenfalls ein Herz mit menschlichem Empfinden. Betrübst du sie, fühlen auch sie den Schmerz. Vergiß nie, daß es keinem gefällt, wenn du Nachteiliges über ihn ausplauderst.

Bringst du ein Stück Fleisch aus deiner Hütte zu einer anderen, werden die Leute dort dich einladen mitzuessen. Verzehre dort aber nicht den größeren Teil. Du selber kannst hier mit dem Fleische an und hattest deinen Magen voll, jene Leute aber werden vielleicht vom Hunger gequält. Deshalb laß ihnen allein alles zukommen, was du ihnen hingetragen hast.

Nochmals schärfe ich dir ein: Vergiß diese Weisungen nie! An jedem Morgen, wenn du erwachst, erinnere dich wieder daran und richte dein Verhalten jeden Tag darnach ein!"

Gegen Ende meiner ersten Jugendweihe wiederholte mir der alte Azzeno die Worte, mit denen er anfangs einem einzigen allein zugerufen hatte:

„Falls du die Vorschriften später nicht befolgst, die wir dir hier im /ŭ̂ŋaya gegeben haben, werden wir dich dabei nicht behindern; denn du bist nun groß [großjährig] und selbständig. Dir persönlich bleibt es überlassen, im geheimen [wenn du für dich allein bist] unsere Weisungen und Lehren einzuhalten oder nicht. Bilde es dir aber ja nicht ein, daß du im einen wie im anderen Falle ohne Strafe davonkommen wirst. Denn Jenen-dort-oben /Watagiŋ̂ŋ̂ya/ sieht dich dennoch und er wird dich strafen mit vorzeitigem Sterben. Straft er dich persönlich nicht sogleich, wird er die deiner Kinder sterben lassen und dann stehst du allein da."[100]

Um abzuschließen, gebe ich hier noch den ersten Teil aus einer Ansprache des blinden Wuaya am späten Abend des 12. März 1922 wieder. Mit eindrucksvoller, leiser Stimme erzählte er uns nämlich an, die wir, aufmerksam und gesammelt, im Halbkreis vor ihm auf dem Boden hockten:

„In alter Zeit verließ ein Mann die /ŭ̂ŋaya-Hütte und entfernte sich auf einer gewissen Strecke. Draußen starb er. Ein anderer Mann fand ihn später tot

[100] Später wird noch erörtert werden müssen, daß ich durch diese Unterweisungen der Prüflinge in der Großen Hütte zum ersten Male mit den religiösen Vorstellungen der Yamana, im besonderen mit ihrem Höchsten Wesen bekannt geworden bin, ohne sofort volle Verständnis dafür aufzubringen; denn damals war mir jedoch die Ansprache unmöglich.

und erzählte es in der Großen Hütte. Die sagten die Leute zu ihm: „Warum hast du jenen Tanzer nicht hereingeholt?" Er erwiderte: „Jener dort ist tot für immer. Seitdem muß er unter der Erde bleiben. Das ist der Yonáipa!"

Euch einzelnen will ich jetzt alles erzählen, was man mir gebeichtet hat und ich werde euch alle Geheimnisse sagen, die ich kenne. Bekleidet euer Denken verständlichen. Wenn euch unklich nicht davon jenen, die das Jáipaqo euch nicht kennen. All das, was hier vor sich geht, ist eine große Sache; deshalb darf niemand etwas verlorenes lassen. Wie wir [Erwachsenen] und alle Alten der früheren Zeit dieses Geheimnis [die Vorgänge in dieser Großen Hütte] gehört haben und wie ich selber, nun selbst ein hochbejahrter Mann, niemals etwas ausgeplaudert habe, so sollt auch ihr Tadamchwiqpa bewahren. Diese Tänzerkung [als hier Yonáipa wirklich in der Erde] ist unerwartig. Wir nehmen den einzelnen Initiierten, so gibt einen Yonáipa, damit sie in Angst und Schrecken geraten. Das aber sagen wir deswegen nur so, damit sie dessen glaubten. Denn das [dieser falsche Glaube] ist dessen gut! — Nun willt ihr es [den wirklichen Sachverhalt]? Aber hört euch, was ich sagen: Alles hier [im Jáipaqo] ist Täuschung. Würdet ihr euch dessen unterfangen, bekämen andere einen falschen Anblick und könnten behaupten sagen: „Alles hier [im Jáipaqo] ist ein großer Schwindel. Nach dem, was man dort sagt, brauchst man sich nicht zu richten! Seid demnach streng verschwiegen über Yonáipa!"[*] Aber hört euch vor Wunderlichen, das ist der wirkliche Yonáipa!"[**]

Wer essen will, darf sich nicht auf den Boden legen, sondern soll sich aufrichten; denn *Hagáilla*[***] schaut euch an, der alles beobachtet, was in dieser Großen Hütte vor sich geht. Richtet euch also nach dem, was hier [als Regel] gilt. Jedermann beurteilt einen, der essen will, dann Erkenntnis. Ihr dürft nicht nach eigenem Wunsch und Verlangen hier essen, sondern nur das, was euch gereicht wird. Die Männer nehmen euch [wenn ihr entgegen der Vorschrift etwas zu Munde führt]; diese waren früher Menschen und haben das erste Aina-Fest[****] erlebt.

Nach Vögeln [mit Steinen] zu werfen ist nicht statthaft. [Die einzelnen] wer es tut, dem wächst der Arm kramm.[*] Niemand darf Wasser trinken.

[*] In dieser Beichtgang kommt wieder zum Ausdruck, daß jener hier Gott nicht wirklich lebt, sondern nur als Schreckgespenst den Pubflingen vorgegaukelt wird. Lassen hier man über die besondere Absicht bei diesem Yonáipa auf und verhüllt dann die ganze Wahrheit. Damit aber dieses Schreckgespenst seine Kraft nicht verliere und auch auf jene Kinder auch wirkt, die spätter zur Jugendweihe vorgeführt werden, darf niemand etwas von der Täuschung, in der ein jeder Publing hineingeraten wird, verplaudern. Man nimmt es mit dieser Angelegenheit sehr ernst, wie ich in Anmerkung 301 bereits erwähnt bin.

[**] Damit soll gesagt werden, daß Wunderleute als wirklich lebendige Geister denken und essen, und zwar in einer Weise, wie man das von Tonáipa behauptet, der allerdings nur einer Erfindung ist.

[***] Man vermutet hier eine Wiedergabe von dieser Eine-Geister, wie essen auf Wunderleute und Tonáipa. Dem gemäß kann hier das Aina-Fest, die Pubflinge dürfen sich nie für unbedeutenden halten.

[****] Dieser Hinweis bezieht sich auf die große Verwirrung im Anschluß an die von gebildete, Eine-Feier vorangehende Prozess. Vgl. Gesamtes Gebiet 201.

ihm angetanden worden ist. Wer [als ulúyála] durch den Wald geht und ein Geräusch vernimmt, achtet nicht um. Sollte auch ihn ansprechen oder erschrecken, er achtet nicht um, um allerdings, wenn ein Knabe [der nicht ulúyála ist] ein Mädchen anlacht. Er macht den ahétix (Turdus magellanicus, Drumet) [in seiner Gestalt] nach; denn er beobachtet genau die ulúyála (S. 879) und weil er gewitzig ist, erzählt er alles [was er an euch wahrgenommen hat] den Vögeln. Wer durch den Wald geht, sei achtsam und wende sich geradem Wege seiner Arbeit zu [ohne herumzuschlendern].

Das zusammengetragene Holz müßt ihr fest umfassen, daß [beim Tragen] nichts herunterfalle. Nahe der Hütte stellt es auf und laßt es nicht am Boden liegen. Ordnet es gut; denn das eine oder andere Stück, welches aufrecht steht, fällt sonst um. So etwas kommt vor und bedeutet: Das Holz, umfällt, will uns ermahnen, daß wir bald sterben werden! Falls du im Walde zusammengetragen hast, vergiß nicht, ihm zu sagen, du wirst es abholen. Morgen kommen vielleicht andere Leute dort vorbei und sehen das Holz [das du noch nicht abgeholt hast], bis sie darüber sagen: ‚Wer hat doch dieses Holz hier liegen sie werden dann sagen: ‚Wer hat doch dieses Holz hier liegen lassen? Jener Mann wird bald sterben!' Sammelt der ulúyála Holz, so soll er jedoch einen Knüppel aufstellen und ihm sagen: ‚Ich werde dich später holen!' Dann ist der Knüppel getröstet und gibt sich zufrieden. Aber wenn der ulúyála gar nichts sagt und schweigend weggeht, fühlt sich der aufgestellte Knüppel verletzt. Wer Holz gesammelt hat, es jedoch am Boden liegen läßt, dann sagt es vorwurfsvoll: ‚Warum holst du mich nicht ab?' Und es droht dem: ‚Du wirst bald sterben!'

Ein Prüfling, der sich [innerlich] unwohl und betrübt fühlt, nehme einen [Baumbast-] Zweig mit neuen Trieben, lege ihn einige Augenblicke auf den Kopf und dann schlage er damit sanft seinen Kopf von allen Seiten. Dadurch [vergeht] der Schmerz und die Betrübnis.

Vom dritten Tage an, da du dich verheiratet, heißt du ein Weib. Sei nicht [nachlässig] in deinen Beobachtungen, wenn andere deine Frau besuchen kommen; [...]ge dich nicht eifersüchtig. Verhalte dich ruhig und argwöhne nicht. Sollte [dich] deine Frau schlecht aufführen und sich einem anderen Manne hingeben, töte sie trotzdem nicht, sondern laß sie lieber ihrer Wege gehen. Niemals darfst du deine Frau prügeln oder mißhandeln. Bringst du sie um, wirst [...]der du noch wird deine Familie lange leben; denn man wird auch euch [dich und deine Familie] umbringen.

Du das erste Kind erhältst und auch dann, wenn dir weitere Kinder geboren werden, sei behutsam beim Essen und richte dich nach dem, was Brauch ist (S. 707). Vermeide auch die 'unheilvollen Orte'. Wenn du im Kanu sitzest, darfst du die Abfallknochen nicht ins Wasser werfen, noch

[...]ren Prüflingen wird damit verboten, ein leeres Trinken zu beginnen und den Ernst [...]gen Haltung aufzugeben, wenn sie ohne Aufsicht durch den Wald oder am [...]ufer entlang gehen.

die gewöhnlichen Dinge essen. Wähle die gute Sachen zum Essen aus. Gebrauche in jenen Tagen [vor und nach der Geburt deines Kindes] nicht die Schlauder; andernfalls würde dein Kind kahlköpfig oder ein anderes deiner Kinder würde sterben. Wenn du das Kalbsgehirne einer See-Igels zerschlägst, wird das Kind mit plattem Kopfe geboren werden. Eine junge Mutter unterlasse es, Holz zu spalten; sonst wird sich dem Neugeborenen der Schädel spalten. Sie darf weder die Knochen noch die Wirbelsäule von Vögeln brechen, andernfalls wird ihr Kind zu einem Krüppel. Unterlasse es, das Fleisch von der Dampfschifffente ähnlich (Tachyeres brachypterus) zu genießen; dadurch verursachst du, daß dein Kind träge und schwerfällig wird."[55]

Seid fröhlich bei eurem Arbeiten. Sobald ich meine Worte beende, eilt unverzüglich in den Wald und wartet nicht, bis man euch auffordert, Holz zu holen. Ihr seht ja selber, wenn das Brennholz aufgebraucht ist."

In seinen weiteren Ermahnungen betonte der alte Wanzis nachdrücklich die größte Ehrfurcht vor dem überlieferten Brauch und geltenden Gesetz.

Was hier als Einzelbestimmungen niedergelegt worden ist, macht die Hauptgedanken der Belehrungen an die *ulufgla* aus. Daß damit dennoch so viel Zeit an den Abenden während der langen Dauer dieser Veranstaltung ausgefüllt wird, erklärt sich hauptsächlich aus der Vortragsweise des *ulufgla hinána*. Er spricht nicht nur langsam, sondern wiederholt den gleichen Gedanken mehrmals hintereinander, macht ausgedehnte Pausen und flicht häufige Hinweise auf seine Erfahrung ein. Nicht selten holt er auch die Beobachtungen aus seinem Gedächtnis hervor, die er in Bezug auf diese Ermahnung oder jene Tugend bew. Untugend am Prüfling gemacht hat und schildert mit deutlicher Bestimmtheit, was jeder erstreben und wie jeder sich einrichten muß. Immerhin bleibt bestehen, daß der *ulufgla hinána* die geltenden Lebensgrundsätze streng lehrmäßig vorträgt, ohne häufig auf das persönliche Bedürfnis des einen und anderen Prüflings besondere Rücksicht zu nehmen; das zu tun bleibt deren Verwandten und Freunden überlassen.

Der Lehrmeister dehnt seine Ansprache kaum jemals über eine Stunde aus. Hat er sie beendet, fordert er jeden Prüfling auf, sich an seinen Platz neben dem Paten zurück zu begeben. Nun überdenkt jeder *ulufgla* für sich die Worte, die er von jenem alten Manne soeben vernommen hat, bis der Pate es ihm ausdrücklich erlaubt, zur Nachtruhe sich auszustrecken (S. 859).

3. Die wichtigeren Grundsätze: Das Erziehungsziel, welches die Eltern in ihrer Wohnhütte mit den eigenen Kindern und welches die Erwachsenen in der *Jéyaga*-Hütte mit den *ulufgla* anstreben, ist ein und dasselbe; gleichfalls stimmen die Lehrmittel, die hier wie dort aufgestellt werden, miteinander überein. Denn auch unreifen Kinde werden die Gebote und Verbote kurz und bestimmt vorgetragen, durch wohlwollendes Zureden sucht man es für die Pflichterfüllung zu gewinnen. Anders die Prüflinge in der

[55] Diese Anweisungen gelten offensichtlich für beide Eltern unmittelbar vor und nach der Geburt eines jeden Kindes, erst recht und dringlich bei ihrem erstgeborenen Kinde. Vgl. die weiteren Einzelheiten S. 707.

Jugendwerte, deren man Verwandtschaftsbande bietet und Folgerungen aus ihrer Handlungsweise zu ziehen gilt. Denn sie sollen zur Übernahme ihr Tun und Lassen einrichten. Aus den oft genannten Grundsätzen seien hier nur die bedeutsamsten genannt; ferner sollen einige maßgebende Rücksichten, nach denen man das Verhalten des einzelnen beurteilt, herausgestellt werden.

Auffällig häufig weisen die Ermahnungen, einerlei ob sie vom Lehrmeister oder von einer anderen Person ausgehen, auf die persönliche Ehre hin. Fast wörtlich wiederholt sich oft und oft der Hinweis: „Die Leute werden belobigend von dir sagen, du bist ein guter Mensch!" Bei unserem Yamana ist das Ehrgefühl tatsächlich stark ausgeprägt; wer sie hier fällt, berührt sie an der empfindlichsten Stelle. Demnach bemüht sich jedermann ernstlich um einen guten Leumund und setzt zweifelsohne nur deshalb die eine oder andere gute Handlung, damit er als ehrenhaft und tadellos gelte. Manches bringt empfindliche Opfer, er verhält sich schweigsam beim Wettgerede anderer, verzichtet aufs Essen trotz Hunger, schenkt einen wertvollen Gegenstand weg, leistet Arbeiten einem hilfsbedürftigen Manne, gegen den er schwere Abneigung hegt, und manches andere mehr: nur um sich selbst hin als menschenfreundlich zu erscheinen. Mit einem schlimmen Vorwurf belastet zu sein, beschämt den einen wie den anderen derart empfindlich, daß sie den Verkehr mit jenen, die darum wissen, sogar jahrelang vermeiden und nur für sich in verborgenen Winkeln leben. Zwar liegt hierin die Gefahr, daß das Bewahren der einzelnen Tätigkeit und Heuchelei wird. Für ihre Begegner wirkeln die Lehrsätze selber, hinter deren Einfachheit und Durchsichtigkeit auf die Dauer weder Lüge noch Betrug sich verbergen könnte.

In enger Verbindung damit steht der bestimmte Hinweis auf eine empfindliche und offensichtliche Strafe, die, nach dem Glauben dieser Indianer, das Höchste Wesen über den Schuldigen verhängt. Im besonderen erwähnt man eine langwierige Krankheit und noch häufiger den vorzeitigen Tod. Wer letzteren entgehen will oder wer durch den Verlust seiner eigenen Kinder nicht gestraft werden will, der sei besonders eifrig beim Aufstehen in der Morgenfrühe. In jungen Jahren sterben müssen, gilt allgemein als Strafe für Trägheit oder für eine andere fehlerhafte Handlung, deren sich jemand schuldig gemacht hat. Wer also ein hohes Alter erreichen will, der befolgt genau all das, was bei den Yamana seit jeher Gesetzeskraft hat.

Wirkt der Hinweis auf die persönliche Ehre und auf die empfindlichste aller Strafen als eigentliches Druckmittel, so betont man bei den folgenden Lebensregeln zum innersten Gründen die Strenge der Verpflichtung. Obenan steht der Hinweis auf unerschütterlichen Hilfsbereitschaft. Jedermann muß anzugehen im freiwilligen Dienste aller anderen stehen und die erstbesten sich bietende Gelegenheit zu Hilfeleistungen und Gefälligkeiten jeder Art aufgreifen. Mit Gehen und Geschenken wird dieser Pflicht zum Altruismus nicht genüge getan, auch Tatsen und Arbeiten werden gefordert. Ausdrücklich sagt man es den Prüflingen, sie sollen ihre Augen offen halten, um jene Gelegenheiten zu ergreifen, in denen sie sich anderen dienstbar erweisen können. Deren

hören sich tagtäglich. Dann rufen sie eine Aufforderung, eine neue Inanspruchnahme aufgeraffen. Wer etwas benötigt, bittet selber kaum je darum.

Hierher gehört es auch, an Gunsten anderer die eigenen Wünsche zurückzustellen, auf persönliche Vorteile zu verzichten und die eigene Bequemlichkeit zu opfern. Zu freiwilliger Dienstleistung auf der einzelne veranlaßt nur Rücksicht auf sich selber bereits; denn dadurch macht er sich andere verpflichtet, die nun Gegenseitigkeit ihm in der gleichen Weise vergelten und helfen werden. Der Grundsatz der Eigenliebe leuchtet hier wieder durch! Außerordentlich wohltuend wirkt es, daß jeder Liebesdienst für einen anderen ganz unentgeltlich und still verrichtet werden soll, als sei er selbstverständlich oder als gehöre er so in den alltäglichen Pflichtenkreis. Beispiele hierfür werden mir im langen Zusammenwohnen mit den Yanoma fast an jedem Tage vorgeführt.

Der innere Wert dieses für sich schon bemerkenswerten Verhaltens wird noch unerhörlich durch eine gänzliche Uneigennützigkeit gesteigert. Andere zu beschenken, ohne für sich etwas zu erwarten, anderen zum Essen einzuladen, an anderer von der Beute abzugeben, das gehört zu zum ersten Yanoma. Wer jemand benötigt und sich bittend nähert, wende ihm ohne Umstände entgegenkommend. Für Arbeiten, die man den Verwandten und Nachbarn geleistet hat, erwartete niemand eine Belohnung; man begnügt sich damit, einem Nachbar geholfen und dadurch den eigenen guten Leumund erhalten zu haben. Freilich erhält man sich unbewußt die Gewähr dafür, in gleicher Weise von den Stammesgenossen gefördert zu werden.

Die bisher genannten Tugenden üben nicht nur Verwandte und Freunde unter sich, natürlicherweise werden die einzelnen diese anzuhalten, sie auch gegen Fremde zu betätigen. Besondere Gründe macht man namhaft, nicht nützt den, daß Fremdlinge unter ihren eigenen Leuten sich in besonder Weise über jene, die sich ihnen hilfsbereit und freundlich erwiesen haben, freuen werden. Aber man berücksichtigt auch, daß fremde Ankömmlinge in dem unbekannten Gebiete sich unvergleichlich schwerer zurecht finden oder zu helfen wissen, als in ihrer ältesten Heimat.

Damit verbindet sich erhärtendend die allgemeine und auffällig strenge Forderung nach Höflichkeit. Wir Europäer mit der uns eigenen Selbstüberhebung möchten diese Tugend kaum bei den vielverachteten Wilden vermuten! Dennoch werden die einzelnen sogar eigens auf geziemende Haltung beim Sitzen aufmerksam gemacht. Besonders verachten muß man sich gegenüber Besuchern erweisen, am allerwenigsten darf man mit ihnen einen Streit anfangen. Mit leichter Handbewegung läßt man sie ein, sich auf gleichgroßen Plätzchen niederzusetzen und ihre Hände nach dem zusammenschen, was andere am Feuer hält.

Die Höflichkeit wird zur Ehrfurcht vor allem Alten gesteigert. Die Gewohnheiten des Stammes und die gesamte Überlieferung hochzuschätzen, muß jedem Yanoma eine Herzensache sein. Demgemäß richtet er sich darnach gründlich genau und hütet sich vor jeder verächtlichen Kritik. Genau nach dem Brauch der Alten lebt er auch dann, wenn niemand ihn beobachtet; er gibt

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

läßt sie allein in den Wald gehen, wo sie den kürzesten Weg einschlagen und erst nachmittags [illegible] sollen, ohne miteinander zu reden; um einen Versuch beobachtet zu sein. Ist es [illegible] gelungen, ein Tier zu erbeuten oder haben sie Muscheln und Pfeilen gesammelt, stärken sich die erwachsenen Begleiter [illegible] unterwegs, während die viel hungrigeren Prüflinge [illegible] dürfen. Mitunter müssen sie in der [illegible]-Hütte von einer Mahlzeit zur anderen lange warten, damit ihr Eigenwille gänzlich [illegible] werde. Absichtlich läßt man sie zu einem ungünstigen Platze zu besonderer Bestrafung hocken (S. 857) und man setzt ihnen sogar kleine Steinchen auf den Rücken, um sie zu höchster Selbstbeherrschung zu zwingen (S. [illegible]). Um [illegible] der letzte aller Anwesenden bedacht worden ist, dürfen sie ein wenig von dem zu sich nehmen, was sie vorher verteilt haben und von dem einzelne Leute ihnen etwas zur [illegible] gebracht.

Gedächtnisübungen verschiedener Art haben unsere [illegible] so einfachen Yamana für die zu bildende Jugend ersonnen. Beispielsweise reist man ein Mädchen, erblickt einen [illegible] wird, dadurch bewußt, daß ein Erwachsener absichtlich zu ihm [illegible], es anstößt und umwirft. Ein Alter oder ein [illegible] sagt [illegible] wohl: „Ich sehe sehr deutlich, wie es in die Luft und die [illegible] hin, und wie du auf jenen dort, der dich belästigt, [illegible] dich! Hier darfst du dich nicht umstehen, wie es die [illegible] wäre. Wage es ja nicht, um der Rache zu fallen; wir würden dich gründlich [illegible] machen! Gewiß, diese meine Worte passen dir [illegible], aber [illegible] mußt du sie doch. Halte nur weiter still zu, [illegible] sind du dir hier gefallen lassen müssen!"[illegible] Nicht minder [illegible] Gilt es [illegible] empfindsamen Burschen und Mädchen, laut vor allen Anwesenden gemaßregelt zu werden, und dies meist nur wegen Verhaltensweisen, die [illegible] als [illegible] Unwesentlichkeit, denn als Vergehen beurteilt werden müßten.

Mit den Übungen der Selbstzucht stehen in engem Zusammenhange die [illegible] in der Selbstlosigkeit. In der [illegible]-Hütte verliert der einzelne [illegible] sich selber ganz und gar. Vom Willen der anderen Teilnehmer lebt er bedingungslos abhängig; denn ohne Widerspruch muß er jedem folgen. Verschiedene Arbeiten hat er zu verrichten und nicht selten warten die Erwachsenen eigens hierfür ungünstige Umstände ab. So obliegt ihm auf Geheiß des Leiters, das erforderliche Brennholz zu [illegible] und herbeizuschleppen. Erst recht dann, wenn es draußen stürmt und schwer regnet, wird er dann in den Wald geschickt. Haben sich viele Leute in der Großen Hütte eingefunden, daß die Erwachsenen in der Nähe des Feuers keinen [illegible] Platz finden, müssen die Prüflinge sich auch [illegible] gegen die Hüttenwand erhitzen lassen. Dort erreicht sie die [illegible] Wärme des Feuers nicht mehr, wohl aber trifft sie unmittelbar die kalte, von außen eindringende Luft.

[illegible] Diese Stimmung [illegible] sich dem ohne Rücksicht, der sich im allgemeinen sehr ruhig [illegible] und die Stimme von [illegible] Gestalt war, Andere Pflanzen, die lebhaft und leidenschaftlich [illegible] sind, gebrauchen aufreizende und kränkende Worte.

Wird der mittlere Raum der Großen Hütte für freie Beweglichkeit bei Tänzen benötigt, schickt man die übrigen zum Hüttenausgang hin, wo sie sich eng zusammenpressen müssen. Sogar für die Nachtruhe gibt man ihnen nur so viel Fläche, als sie in Hockstellung auf der Seite liegend benötigen. Wer unterwegs im Schlafe sich reckt und streckt, den zwingt sein Platz sofort auf den engen Raum zurück. Man sagt dem übrigen nur: „Jeder muß mit einer möglichst geringen Fläche zusammenzuwachsen gelernt haben, damit auch andere Leute ihren Platz finden!"[illegible]

Wie das Essen betrifft, so hält man die Prüflinge auch empfindlicher zur Selbstständigkeit an. Regelmäßig werden erst die Erwachsenen mit der Mahlzeit bedacht. Ergibt sich beim Verteilen, daß für den einen oder anderen übrigens nichts mehr vorhanden ist, macht man sich deshalb kein Kopfzerbrechen, sondern läßt sie bis zur nächsten Gelegenheit warten, ohne sie zu trösten oder zu bedauern. Häufig stehen die Burschen und die Mädchen aus, um durch Jagen und Sammeln den Fleischvorrat für die vielen Teilnehmer wieder aufzufüllen. Sie sind verpflichtet, alles und jedes zur Großen Hütte bzw. zur Körbehütte zu bringen und den Erwachsenen zur Verfügung zu stellen. Unterwegs dürfen sie sich nichts in den Mund stecken, wären sie auch noch so hungrig. Sie finden auch keine Gelegenheit, weil sie fast jedesmal von erwachsenen Personen begleitet sind. Jedenfalls werden sie so gründlich eingeschüchtert, daß sie sich an das Verbot auch dann halten, wenn sie allein sind.

Im allgemeinen unterbleibt das Zukreisen des Essens und das Braten von großen Fleischmengen in der *Ajipapa*-Hütte. Sobald die übrigen den Ertrag ihrer Pirsche hierher gebracht haben, gehen die Mädchen mit ihren größeren Körbchen die beiden Reihen der Teilnehmer entlang und schütten jeder Person etwa zwei Handvoll Beeren oder Pilze oder Maurbeln in den Schoß. Hat jedes einmalen der Mädchen die weite Runde gemacht, setzt es sich an seinen gewohnten Platz. Nun erst erhebt sich die eine und die andere Frau, geht auf jenes Mädchen zu und gibt ihm einige wenige Stückchen zurück. Jetzt darf es das, was ihm zurückgegeben worden ist, gleichzeitig mit den Erwachsenen braten und essen. Die Burschen zerstückeln außerhalb der Großen Hütte jene Vögel und Seelöwen, die sie erbeutet haben. Drinnen geht jeder von ihnen die beiden Reihen der Erwachsenen entlang und legt jedem ein Fleischstück vor die Füße. Nachdem alle bedacht und die letzten Reste verzehrt worden sind, barkt sich der übrigen auf seinem Platze wieder.

[illegible] Gegenüber dieser Forderung von oberhalb haben sich die Yamana [illegible] nur zaghaftig erwiesen. Weder ich, noch die anderen Prüflinge wurden von [illegible] Kommen daran gehindert, um beiseite zusammenzurücken. Der Raum war so sich eng [illegible] man konnte immerhin die Beine [illegible] auf die [illegible] Kniehöhe der [illegible] Frauen lagen. In der Großen Hütte in Puerto Mejillones [illegible] 11 m Länge breit und auf der einen Seite [illegible], auf der anderen Seite [illegible] Personen Platz gefunden hatten. [illegible] sich leicht errechnen, wie weit jeder sich ausdehnen durfte. Nur wenig [illegible] in die Wagschale, daß die Yamana von eindringen Werke sind. Zwei Jahre [illegible] hätte der [illegible] Anzuma, der damalige Leiter, die oben genannte Lockerung der früheren Ordnung nicht so ganz allgemein gestattet; er hat nicht einmal mit mir einer Ausnahme gemacht.

Gewissheit hält eine Pate, durch auch ein anderer Mann, den ein Teilchen erkennen, gleichsam als Anerkennung, das er jetzt zum vorzeitigen darf.

Wer etwas beobachtet, was er zufällig nicht hat der Hand hat, hält es sich einer Unreinheit von einem abwegigen aus. Bei meiner ersten Jugendwelle trat einer Abende Nacht in die Grube Hütte, als ihm das Tonnen begann. Da sie sich beruhigen wollte, der aber ein Tonnteich hätte, griff sie kurzentschlossen zu dem den nächstbesten Prüfling und schwang ihn in ihren Hinden. Jener wollte dermaßen einem kleinen und auf den Tonnen verzichten. Später sah ich, wie ein Alter, dem das Kopfpfl abhanden gekommen war, diesen Stück einer Unreinheit dem dem gegenüber hockenden Prüfling vom Kopfe nahm und für sich so lange behielt, bis er abends sich nur Ruhe legte. Genau gab mir erklärend an: „Ein abwegiges soll sich gerade fühlen, wenn ein Erwachsener einen seiner Gegenstände in Gebrauch nimmt!" Jeder Pflichtlose, mit denen der Prüfling seinen eigenen Körper berührt, muß er widergewaltsam sich wegnehmen lassen, wenn einer dieser Personen ein bestimmt.

Ebenfalls schaffen die Erwachsenen den Prüflingen wiederholt Gelegenheit, sich, ganz allgemein gesagt, in der Pflichtlosen zu üben. Bekanntlich müssen sie regelmäßig auf ihrem Platze so lange hocken, bis gewöhnlich erst nach Mitternacht der Pate ihnen erlaubt sich zum Schlafe niederzulegen. Auf einen Wink des Leiters oder Vorstehers kriechen ähnlich Erwachsenen gelegentlich zeitiger unter die Decken und auch die Pate stimmen feinen Schlaf vor, beobachteten aber aus ihrem Versteck standesdienlich die Prüflinge, ob diese in ihrer geistlichen Hockerstellung regelmäßig verharren.

Besonderen Wert legen unsere Tonnen auf die Übung strengen, andauernden Stillschweigens. Minuten schicken sie, die abwegige ihrer Begleitung zu einer bestimmten Stelle in den Wald. Da und dort aber hält sich ein Mann verborgen, der die Verhalten genau überprüft. Man erzählt sie bewußt dann, daß sie sich überall beobachtet glaubten. Wenige Tage nach ihrer Einführung gebietet sie ein Mann in den Wald. Hier nehmen sie die Bäume anredet, als wären es lebende Personen, und dieses sich vorstellen mit dem Rufe: „abwegiges Adie Adi, ein Prüfling bin ich jetzt!" In der Folgezeit bestimmen sie sich abfälschig im Walde und hüten sich vor Schwatzhaftigkeit (S. 872). Beim Abschluß der Ilipuqo-Feier treten sie abermals vor die Bäume hin und melden ihnen, daß nun die Prüfungszeit vorüber ist (S. 952). Versuch zwingt die Notwendigkeit, diesen oder jenen zu sagen, was aber jedesmal mit gedämpfter Stimme und in aller Kürze erfolgen muß.[**]

Der Leiter und jeder Pate erwarten vom abwegiges eine schnelle und blinde Folgsamkeit bei jedwedem Auftrage. Nie kann es einem Burschen und Mädchen in den Sinn, zu widersprechen oder sich lässig zu zeigen. Zuweilen setzt man ihnen Charakterfehler und Starrsinn mit empfindlichen Abwehrmitteln zu, trotzdem dürfen sie nicht merken lassen, wie ihr Innerstes sich

[**] Diese Regel vorpflichtet allgemein auch die verschiedenen Teilchenen, von welcher unsere auch eigene nur Sprache kommen wird (S. 998), obwohl auf diese selbstverständliche Pflicht eigens nachmals hingewiesen worden ist.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Wenzeslaus hat? Er hat unsere Verfolgung so schwer bereut, wie wir Gläubige [illegible] sollen? Wir erdulden nur ganz geringe Strafe, denn es scheint gut zu! Gegen die von den selben geschaffene Einrichtung vermöchte keiner Sieben, von keiner sich eine Fähigkeit verschaffen konnten Gilt. Dieses wird eine Reue wiederholt mit den Ermahnungen verfahren und sagen in Verbindung mit der sogenannten Strafe, ebenfalls mit dem Gläubigen Volk gemeint. Übersetzungen Gottesfurcht bringen die Gläubigen dem einzigen hier in der Jugendzeitung bei. Dieses wird weiter hier eine weitere Rolle. Wenzeslaus als der gerade Gesetzgeber und als der Gläubige allen Dinge deutlich von Augen geführt. Auf diesem religiösen Gedanken wird die Gläubigen-Erziehung. Jedem Prüfling soll dieser Gedanke hier geläufig werden, daß er den Sinne und Wesenung, Führung und Richtung in seinem späteren Leben und Handeln sei. „Wenzeslaus Gläubige Anhänglichkeit erhaltende. Der 'Gläubigen-Gläubige' erhält dich an, die Freiheit [illegible] wird dich erreichen können!" Gläubiger bewahrt die Gottesfurcht, die dem Gläubigen Wesen gebildet, auch hier jeden Tumsen dieses, dieses Dasein bildlich zu verdeutlichen, als unbedingt sein muß.[**]

Hier mag die erzieherische Bedeutung unserer Tumsen von dieser sehr guten Seite betrachtet, man wird sie als überraschend wertvollstes und klug bezeichnen können. Sie besitzen gründlichen Wissenskenntnisse, die sie bei der Behandlung der heranwachsenden Jugend verwenden.

3. Mythen und Märchen: Eine weitere Zusammenstellung verschiedener religiösen Gleichnis und sittlichen Vergleichung in der Jugendzeitung bringen die sehr gemeinsame Lehre zusammenfassung zum Ausdruck. Wenzeslaus, der den Prüflingen zum dieser Jugendjahren einen Singer bekannte Persönlichkeit ist, wird dieses hier als der vergeblichen, von dieser nicht nur viele Vergleichsmagen, sondern auch die Einrichtung des Gläubigen bestimmen.

Im Gegensatz dazu stehen die alt wirklichkeitsen, unbilligen Dinnerset auf den sogenannten böses Geist, genannt Teufel. Von dem haben die Menschen und Mädchen bisheng nicht erfahren, denn man verschiert das im Allgemeinen. Hier soll er als drohende Schreckgespenst auf die einzelnen wirken. Bekanntlich verschiene unsere Brüder und Brüder der Jugendzeitung ein jüngeren Mann in der Rolle des Teufels zusammenfassen. Der Prüfling in die Gruppe Hütte eingeführt worden ist und dieser erhielt einen brillanten Schreckkleid gleich zu Beginn der Verwandlung. Die Verschreiung ringt mit dem Menschen und quält das bis zur völligen Gesamtung. Dieses ist an allen Gliedern und ist er für jeden Widerstand abwehrbrig, verwendet man das, gewaltsam zusammenzuwerfen, man erkennt es einen dem vertrauten Personen, einem anderen

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[**] Verbunden mit diesem erinnern, daß die Prüflinge nicht nur hier in der Jugendzeitung mit dem Gläubigen Wesen vertraulich behandelt worden, dann bereits im Kreise dieser Familie haben sie dieses Tumsen Wesen gehört und sind auch bei anderen Anlässen auf seine Persönlichkeit hingewiesen worden. Der Wenzeslaus-Glaube ist eben eine allgemeinliche Angelegenheit der ganzen Bevölkerung, von der schon manche Kinder nicht ausgeschlossen worden. Religiösen wird bei jeweiligen an den großen Veranstaltungsfestlichkeiten, bei denen das Gläubige Wesen [illegible] der Anhängerschaften über auf sich trägt, [illegible] auch jeder Jugendlicher

Verwandlung, die Isot als Frau verhindert von Tristan [illegible] wird (V. 12[illegible]). Dieser und die anderen [illegible] Bilder so [illegible] Wissen „Wer hier in Gewalt und Sehnen Anhaftung der Tristan [illegible], ist [illegible] dieser Bilder Gleich, Tristan ist [illegible] und gefährlich. Hast auch [illegible] Isot. Es hat jedem ab, der sich angelassen und [illegible] hat."[illegible]

Im Verlauf der Erzählungen, die jedem Prüflinge erzählt werden, deutet die Liebesmotive [illegible] mit jener Liebesdurchgangsstil. Im Liebesbereich Anhaftung hatte „Ist Isolgaure, [illegible] dich gesagt auch dies, was wir die in dieser Grotten Bilder aufbringen, [illegible] Tristan dich [illegible] [illegible]? Dies [illegible] Wirkung [illegible] „Bilder dich [illegible] Tristan, der [illegible] [illegible] Isot [illegible] dich [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Auch für den Fall [illegible] Isot [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

sich der Lehrer mit heftiger Gewalt plötzlich auf den Erdboden, stützt sein Gesicht mit den aufgespreizten, flachen Händen und beißt einen kreisförmigen Ton mit ungewöhnlicher Stärke gegen die Erde. Das soll bedeuten, Yestâja wurde so weit von dieser Stelle verschleudert, als sei er tot. Demgemäßigt nähern sich die übrigen auch wahrhaftig vor jenem leblosen Gelben Gleichem; denn er kehrt nicht. Vorsichtig nähern auch die Erwachsenen während des Tanzens, wenn sie aufgeschreckt sich hin und her bewegen, den Yestâja durch kreisförmige Bewegungen der flachen Hände bei ausgestreckten Armen ab; der Kopf ist gleichzeitig nur Erde gerichtet und die Augen starren fest auf die Erde. Nachher beruhigen sie sich freier und wie erleichtert, als wäre jener feine Erdgeist unschädlich gemacht und auf weite Entfernung abgeschoben.

Die Bedeutung des Yestâja in der allgemeinen Vorstellungswelt der Tamana genau zu bestimmen, stößt auf Schwierigkeiten; denn seine Persönlichkeit wird von dem und jenem verschieden beurteilt. Mit Gamu sprach ich ausführlich darüber; doch konnte ich nicht in Erfahrung bringen, ob seine Anführung von der Mehrheit gutgeißt wird. Er führte aus: „Die Alten forderten mit außerordentlicher Strenge, daß die übrigen genau alle Vorschriften des *Ifijaqa* einhielten. Man wartete sie unablässlich, ihre Erfahrungen in dieser Großen Hütte auszuplaudern, und drohte ihnen sonst Bestrafung durch Yestâja an, der in der Erde steckt. Ebenso deshalb, weil wir die gleiche Erde tragen, ist jeder von uns ihm sehr nahe. Nie werden wir uns in die Luft erheben können und dort oben leben; wir bleiben zusammen an dieser Erde. Wer das nicht beachtet, was man ihm sagt, der fällt und erkrankt wird, dem bleibt etwas wie Erde kleben; dieses Etwas macht ihn matt, schwerfällig, müde und er stirbt in kürzester Zeit. Das gleiche [Los] hat jeder zu gewärtigen, der die Geschehnisse in der *Ifijaqa*-Hütte ausplaudert. Die Alten brauchten folgendes Beispiel: *Schaut auf die Seharben!* Dort auf hohen Steinen am Strande sitzen sie eng zusammengedrängt. Auch sie halten *Ifijaqa* ab. Sie besprechen ihre Lebensweise und ihre Pflichten, ein jeder richtet sich darnach. So leben sie zusammen[*] und finden ihre Nahrung. Wenn die Jungen das Nest verlassen und flügge werden, gehen sie erst eine Zeitlang ihren Eltern nach. Später treten sie in ihr *Ifijaqa* ein, dort werden sie unterrichtet und hören zu. Falls ein Junges seinen Eltern sich nicht anschließt, sondern zurückbleibt, findet es von sich allein aus nichts zu fressen. Es lernt nicht recht, sich Nahrung zu verschaffen; es wird schwach, kann den anderen [erwachsenen Vögeln] nicht folgen und geht bald zugrunde. Alle müssen eben folgsam sein und sich an alles getreulich halten, dann ist ihr Leben geschützt und sie haben zu essen, sie sind froh und glücklich. In gleicher Weise müssen die übrigen sich von den alten Leuten erziehen lassen und nach allem [nach allen Vorschriften] sich richten."

Doch wer sich darum nicht kümmert, der wird, wie gesagt, von *Yestâja*

[*] Das heißt, auf Grund eines pflichtgemäßen, bestimmten Verhaltens ist ihr Zusammenleben möglich und ihr Fortkommen zweckmäßig gesichert. — Es ist für die Tamana bezeichnend, daß hier auf ein Beispiel aus dem Tierreich verwiesen wird.

[illegible] und von den eingeborenen [durch vorzeitigen Tod]. Die Furcht vor den den Priestern unerklärlichen, tut gut! Denn man betrügen die [illegible] alle Weisungen und lehren als heiligen, Heiligen Menschen. Wenn denkt man [illegible] mit jenen Bösewichten! Schließlich glauben die einfachen, daß er wirklich der ist. Durch verschiedenartige Vorgängeungen bestärken die Alten diesen Glauben der Priestern. Beispielsweise sagt man [illegible] von, der Teufel kann seine Stimme verstellen.[illegible] Das zeigt dann bei den Furcht zu erhalten und ihre Angst zu steigern. Wenn sie an einer spätreifen Jugendweihe teilnehmen, wenn sie [illegible] Angst,[illegible] daß dergleichen Reife allein von den Männern empfinden, versucht sie einen einzigen dem Teufel vorzustellen. Diese Erkenntnis versteht jetzt zu ihnen nicht mehr; denn sie befinden sich bereits auf dem rechten Wege, den sie nach [illegible] einschlagen werden.[illegible]

Einfügen möchte ich hier eine Bemerkung, die ich dem alten Wanyi verdanke. Er wies darauf hin, daß man wahre Gottesfurcht alle Bestimmungen des Jiipuge beobachten müsse. „Wer diese Gesinnung nicht hegt, wird von Teufel gefressen, der in der Erde sitzt. Wir belagern den Anfängerlehrer diese bestimmte Furcht bei, daß sie sich der Gottes Hütte nicht nähern; wir drohen ihnen damit, daß sie von jenem Geister gefällt würden. Angst ist unerläßlich; denn wer sich fürchten muß, hält sich genau an die gebrauchten Bestimmungen. Demnach erweisen wir alle auf den Teufel."

Nachdem Cuno seine Ansicht ausgesprochen hatte, bemerkte ich ihm weiter folgendes: „Weshalb benennen die Alten einen Furcht vor Teufel, da es doch Wanyinkiyan ist, der wirklich ersatzt?" Er erwiderte: „In alter Zeit wurde viel mehr als neuerdings die Furcht vor Wanyinkiyan eingeprägt; denn immerhin ist er der Mächtigere, aber viel stärker als Teufel. Dieser zeigt sich im Kino. Die Teufelsmacht an den Kino-Filmen behaupten, er lebt in der Erde und frißt die Menschen,[illegible] deshalb flößen wir [neuerdings] im Jiipuge bewirkte den Priestern die Furcht vor Teufel ein. In alter Zeit hatte man hier im Jiipuge eben die Furcht vor Wanyinkiyan ein einzigste eingeprägt; denn er

[illegible] Das geschieht auf folgende Weise: Ein Mann legt sich platt auf den Erdboden und setzt sein Gesicht auf die dem kleinen Finger entsprechende, der Hand zugekehrten Hände. Dadurch wird ein kleiner Hohlraum geschaffen, in den hinein er einen langgezogenen, heulenden Ton bläst. In einiger Entfernung erweckt dieser Ton den Eindruck, als ertönenmer er dem Erdinnern.

Zuweilen unterbrichte man diesen Kindern durch ein schrilles Trommeln der Harten Erdbeben mit lauten Flüssen. Während dieses Geräuschspiel dähnelt, verhielten sich einzelne Anwesenden eingegaben; den Priestern hat man gewisser Zeit vorher den Kopf mit einem Lederhaupte verbunden.

[illegible] Jetzt sind sie sämtlich als Erwachsener vollkommenlose Teilnehmer und dürfen sich alle Vorgänge genau anschauen.

[illegible] Das soll heißen: Angst und Schrecken, die man dem Prüfling (vielmehr unter Vorspiegelung jener bösen Geister eingeprägt hatte, sind nicht wirkungslos geblieben, sondern haben ihn so sicher auf den rechten Weg gestellt, daß er davon auch von dem Angeblichen nicht mehr abweichen wird, in dem er die wahre Natur jener Schreckmittels durchschaut.

[illegible] Das Gleiche behaupten die Sikh'sum bei dem gebrauten Missverstehen von Satyan, dem wirklichen, allen beherrschenden Geister (Vgl. Anmerkung 319).

ist der Mächtigste. Der *Yetáita* wird auch *tánuwu*[325] genannt; das ist der Name für *Wataginéiwu*. Sie sind einer und derselbe, nur jetzt sagen wir, dieser und jener sind verschiedene Personen."[326] Ich fragte weiter: „Wie reimt sich das, da *Wataginéiwu* doch im Himmel ist? Man nennt ihn: 'Den dort oben', 'der Alte im Himmel', und ähnlich?" Canis war um die Antwort nicht verlegen: „Gewiß ist *Wataginéiwu* dort oben. Indes, er schaut von dort oben herunter und hier auf der Erde straft er. Also ist er auch auf der Erde! Jeden faulen und nichtsnutzigen Menschen erreicht und straft er. Neuestens haben die Weißen uns erzählt, es gäbe einen Teufel.[327] Wir aber sagen jetzt *Yetáita*, als ob er ein anderer wäre wie *Wataginéiwu*; in alter Zeit waren beide eben einer und derselbe."

Die folgende deutliche Zusammenfassung verdanke ich Calderon, der ohne Aufforderung erklärte: „Hier in der Großen Hütte wiederholen wir es den *uáwógla* immer wieder: ‚Da drunten in der Erde wohnt *Yetáita* mit seinem Weibe. Hütet euch vor ihm!' Er wird den jungen Leuten erst voll und ganz bekannt gegeben, wenn sie [geistig] herangereift sind, nämlich wenn sie zum dritten Male ins *čiéxous* kommen.[328] Mit dem *Yetáita* den Prüflingen zu drohen hat sein Gutes! Wir dulden keinen Taugenichts unter uns, keinen, der spät [am Morgen] aufsteht, der nicht arbeitet, der anderen lästig fällt. Wir sagen: ‚Dergleichen Nichtsnutze holt *Yetáita* bald weg!' Um den Ermahnungen starken Nachdruck zu geben, wird immer wieder auf *Yetáita* hingewiesen.

Selbstverständlich besteht daneben *Hidóbyan*; denn er ist der Starke, der eigentlich straft. Vor ihm muß sich jedermann ganz besonders in acht nehmen. Aber das alles versteht sich von selber und deshalb wird *Hidóbyan* im *čiéxous* weniger häufig erwähnt.[329] Wir wollen hier unseren Belehrungen und Mahnungen an die Prüflinge eben wirksam nachhelfen, deshalb drohen wir mit *Yetáita*. Alle Rufe, die von den *uáwógla* ihm zugeschrieben werden, führen unsere Männer aus. Davon gibt sich der junge Bursche erst Rechenschaft, wenn er zum dritten Male in die Große Hütte eintritt. Vorher aber ist er, aus Furcht vor *Yetáita*, auf den rechten Weg [der Pflichterfüllung] gekommen. Später wird er aufgeklärt, daß nur Männer diese Rufe ausführen. Da sagt er sich:

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[325] Die Sinnbedeutung lautet: Mein lieber Alter; nach BD: 421 ebenfalls: (My) father, my old man (im familiären Sinne). BD fügt ergänzend an: A being personified in the crena [kina] drama, was supposed to come up out of the earth, he was an old man and did not come forth and leap about but lay still in the crena and beat the earth and prayed.

[326] Leider konnte ich nicht in Erfahrung bringen, ob Canis eine allgemeine Anschauung aussprach. Wäre dem so, könnte man aus seinen Worten die Verwirrung herauslesen, die ein später eingedrungener Vorstellungskreis in die ehedem reine Anschauung vom Höchsten Wesen gebracht hat. — Einige Bedenken gegen diese Darstellung kommen aus dem Umstande her, daß Canis die geheime Männerfeier zum ersten Male gleichzeitig mit mir im Jahre 1922 sah.

[327] Später sagte Canis ergänzend: „Dieser Teufel schadet auch den Menschen und straft sie, so sagen die Weißen, obwohl doch ein Gott da ist."

[328] Beim ersten und beim zweiten Male nehmen sie als Prüflinge teil und werden in falschem Glauben gehalten. Erst nachher dürfen sie als vollberechtigte Mitglieder mit offenen Augen jede Handlung verfolgen.

[329] "Hidobuß" ist wie "Wataginéiwu" ein Name für das nämliche Höchste Wesen.

„Bislang hatte ich gemeint, *Yetáita* ruft von der Erde heraus!" Trotzdem bleibt er auf dem guten Wege, an den er sich nun einmal gewöhnt hat."

Seitdem die Prüflinge aus der zweiten Jugendweihe entlassen sind, gehören sie rechtlich zu den Erwachsenen. Im allgemeinen, besondere Anlässe ausgenommen, erhalten sie künftighin von ihrer Umgebung weder Weisungen noch Ermahnungen. Mithin wird auch *Yetáita* außerhalb der *čiéxaus*-Hütte nicht mehr erwähnt.

In der Mythologie der Yamana nehmen jene Erzählungen eine besondere Stellung ein, die sich um die eigentlichen Kulturbringer namens *Ypálox* und deren Familie ranken.[330] In alter Zeit wurde den unreifen Knaben vor ihrer Jugendweihe kaum je dieser Name genannt (S. 178); die Mädchen hörten ihn zum ersten Male anläßlich ihrer Menarche (S. 758). Ausführlicher wurde die eine oder die andere Tat der Geschwister *Ypálox* im *čiéxaus* vorgetragen, gleichsam als erste Einführung. Die lückenlose Erzählungsreihe erfuhren erst jene jungen Männer, denen der Eintritt in das *kina* gestattet wurde. Als der alte ALFREDO, der im Kreise einiger Männer saß, auf meine anhaltenden Bitten mir den *Ypálox*-Sagenkreis eröffnete, sagte er mir nachdrücklich: „Eigentlich erzählen wir diese Dinge nur bei der *kina*-Feier." Auch gilt es als seltene Ausnahme, wenn Männer unter sich ausführlich über jenen Heros sprechen; die Frauen vermeiden es sowieso. Vor den *uśuróula* gebrauchen die Erwachsenen dann und wann die Wendung: „Wie wir Yamana uns verhalten sollen [= das gesamte Sittengesetz], ist uns durch *Ypálox* vermittelt worden!" So gilt er in etwa als Überbringer der Bestimmungen des *Watuyinčiru* an die Yamana.

Anders indes behandelt man die vielen Sagen allgemeinen Inhaltes. Sie werden größtenteils in der *čiéxaus*-Hütte wiederholt. Ob eine Verpflichtung besteht, sie den Prüflingen mitzuteilen, ist belanglos; tatsächlich gelangen die meisten, einzelne sogar wiederholt zum Vortrag. Entscheidend hierbei ist die Anwesenheit solcher Personen, die gut zu erzählen imstande sind. Sie werden von den übrigen Teilnehmern gedrängt, mit dieser oder jener Geschichte aufzuwarten. Hört einer der Anwesenden zu, der die gleiche Geschichte mit einigen abweichenden Teilen kennt, fühlt er sich veranlaßt, ebenfalls das Wort zu ergreifen. Währt die *čiéxaus*-Feier lange, ruft mancher Alte zu einer Wiederholung jener Erzählungen auf, die vielleicht zu Beginn vorgetragen worden sind oder die besonders gefallen haben. Einerlei nun, wie das sich abwickelt, tatsächlich erfahren die *uśuróula* fast alle Sagen, die bei ihrem Stamme im Umlauf sind. Diese oder jene dürften sie aus einer Unterhaltung in den Wohnhütten früher schon kennengelernt haben.

Zumindest die eine und andere Erzählung trägt der Leiter oder Vorsteher persönlich bei jeder Jugendweihe vor und zwar mit starker, verständlicher Stimme, damit alle ihn vernehmen können. Er muß den Anwesenden eben hin

[330] Schon hier sei vorweggenommen, daß er bei diesen Feuerländern das verkörpert, was der Heros "Kwanyip" für die Selk'nam (Bd. I, 581) bedeutet. Beide haben wichtige Einrichtungen geschaffen und sozusagen die Lebensnorm vorgeschrieben.

und wieder diese Abwechslung persönlich oder durch einen geeigneten Erzähler bieten. Sie horchen gespannt zu. Währenddessen schweigt der übliche Gesang mehrerer Personen; nur ganz leise brummt einer, vielleicht von einem andern unterstützt, abseits vom Erzähler die Melodie hörbar weiter. Die erwachsenen Teilnehmer sind es vor allem, die den Genuß ihrer gut vorgetragenen, alten Sagen an dem und jenem Abende in der *čiźɣus*-Hütte nicht entbehren wollen; dabei werden gleichzeitig die *ušwóla* in diesen Schatz eingeführt. Schließlich läßt sich nicht verkennen, daß an manchem Beispiel aus einer Sage bedeutsame Lebensregeln oder Bräuche, auch gute oder schlechte Taten erläutert werden, mithin die Erzählungen ebenfalls dem Hauptziel des *čiźɣus*, die Jugendlichen erzieherisch ganz zu beeinflussen, in etwa dienen.

7. *Die Arbeitsübungen*

Eine überraschend reiche Fülle von Belehrungen und Unterweisungen, von Grundsätzen und Lebensregeln, von Teilstücken aus der eigenen Erfahrung und von alten Sagen wird den Prüflingen bei der Jugendweihe geboten. Man erkennt hieraus, mit welchen Dingen die lange Zeit des Beisammenseins ausgefüllt wird. Indes, mit theoretischem Unterricht allein geben sich die erfahrungsreichen Erzieher im Feuerlande nicht zufrieden, sie dringen sofort auf Übungen und Drill unter ihren eigenen Augen. Andauernd bieten sie den *ušwóla* Gelegenheit, die vorgetragenen Lehren und Grundsätze in die Tat umzusetzen; denn zu nichts nützen die schönsten Regeln, die nicht eingeübt wurden. Als ich mich für das, was ich bei meiner ersten Jugendweihe erfahren hatte, laut bei ALFREDO bedankte, sagte er mir freundlich: „Gewiß, schön ist alles, was in der *čiźɣus*-Hütte vor sich geht. Wir Yamana freuen uns aber am meisten, wenn die *ušwóla* sich ihr Leben lang so führen, wir wir es ihnen im *čiźɣus* beigebracht haben!"

Die Jugendlichen, die dort als Prüflinge eintreten, stehen im Reifealter, also kurz vor ihrer Verheiratung. Bald obliegt ihnen die Sorge für eine Familie und die Pflicht zu jenen Beschäftigungen, die nach der geltenden Arbeitsteilung dem einen und anderen Geschlechte zufallen. Die Gemeinschaft der Stammesgenossen will die Gewähr bieten, daß die bald zu gründende Familie tatsächlich lebensfähig ist, daß jeder der beiden jungen Gatten den neuen Aufgaben des Familienlebens gewachsen ist. Ausdrücklich erklären es die Alten: „Im *čiźɣus* überzeugen wir uns, wie weit es jeder *ušwóla* in den Handfertigkeiten gebracht hat. Was ihm an Tüchtigkeit abgeht, muß er sich hier aneignen!" In manchen Familien wird beispielsweise den Burschen unbewußt zu wenig Gelegenheit zu selbständiger Betätigung auf der Jagd geboten, weil der Vater persönlich die Hauptarbeit leistet; diesem Mangel hilft man in der Jugendweihe ab. Unterschiedslos nimmt man sich der Burschen wie der Mädchen an und zwingt sie, sämtliche Handarbeiten mitzumachen.

1. Übungen für Burschen: Bei den Yamana jeder Pflichtenkreis des Mannes deutlich bestimmt. Da jeder einzelne bzw. seine Familie

ganz auf sich gestellt bleibt, muß er die Fähigkeit besitzen, sich und die Seinigen zu erhalten. Demnach, so überlegen unsere Feuerländer, darf keinem ein gewisser Grad von Handfertigkeit abgehen. Sie meinen damit die erforderliche Sicherheit und eine weitgehende Leichtigkeit, die Jagdtiere zu beschleichen und zu erreichen. Im besonderen gilt es, die Robben zu überraschen, den Kormoranen in ihren Felslöchern nahe zu kommen, höchste Treffsicherheit im Gebrauch der Waffen zu erzielen.

Notwendig hängt damit auch das Bestreben zusammen, in den jungen Burschen Unerschrockenheit und Mut zu steigern; denn beide werden im Kampfe mit den großen Seesäugetieren zuweilen aufs höchste gespannt. Unsere Yamana sind durch zuverlässige Erfahrung belehrt, daß manchen Burschen, so lange sie in der elterlichen Hütte weilen, ein bedenklich hohes Maß von Unselbständigkeit und Zaghaftigkeit, von Feigheit und Ängstlichkeit anhaftet. Mit alledem soll und will das *čiłxaya* aufräumen. Jedem anerzieht es gewöhnlich so viel Selbstbewußtsein, daß er, im Vertrauen auf die persönliche Kraft, fest auf eigenen Füßen steht, sobald er aus dieser Prüfung entlassen wird. Feinsinnig mit diesem Ziele wird der auffällig schwere Zwang der *uiwǵla* zur Selbstüberwindung, den die strenge Tagesordnung eben mit sich bringt (S. 889), bewußt verbunden. Denn wer sich selber ganz und fest in der Gewalt hat, ist Herr über die Rüstkammer all seiner Kräfte.

Die Ertüchtigung der Burschen ist ein besonderes und notwendiges Ziel ihrer Prüfungszeit. Wirklich erhalten sie die zweckdienliche Anleitung, über die der *ulaitékuwa* oder der Vorsteher wacht. Genaue Regeln dafür, welchen Männern diese Aufgabe zufällt, bestehen nicht. Üblich ist es, daß ein Onkel oder ein älterer Vetter sich während der ganzen *čiłxaya*-Zeit des *uiwǵla* annimmt, falls der Pate wegen hohen Alters oder körperlicher Gebrechlichkeit dazu nicht in der Lage ist. Durchgehends erfüllt eben der Pate persönlich diesen Dienst. Seiner freien Wahl bleibt es überlassen, wie oft und zu welcher Zeit er die Übungen mit seinem Schützling veranstaltet; auch entscheidet er, ob diese oder jene Fertigkeit noch gesteigert werden muß. Gelegentlich setzen sich diese Männer zusammen und tauschen ihr Urteil über die einzelnen Prüflinge aus; dabei vereinbaren sie gemeinschaftliche Unternehmungen. In diesen Aussprachen erfährt der Leiter, wie es mit der praktischen Ausbildung der *uiwǵla* steht, und er gibt darüber seine Meinung bekannt. Trotz der weitreichenden Zwanglosigkeit auf diesem Gebiete fehlt es nicht an Übersicht und Überprüfung; die jungen Burschen werden ausgiebig gedrillt und allseitig ertüchtigt, keiner wird vernachlässigt oder links liegen gelassen.

Leicht und schnell ist gesagt, wie es bei diesen Übungen in Wirklichkeit hergeht. Früher, da die Jugendweihe sich durch Monate hinzog, ließ man erst zumindest zwei Wochen verstreichen, während welcher die *uiwǵla* sich an die Ordnung in der Hütte gewöhnen mußten. Seitdem ruft der Pate, an diesem oder jenem Tage, zu dieser Tages- oder jener Nachtzeit seinen Schützling auf, nachdem der Vorsteher verständigt worden ist. Beide gehen

an den Strand oder auf einen Felsen und hier beginnen die Übungen. Einerlei, ob mehrere Männer sich mit den *ušeɣla* zusammengefunden haben oder nur ein einziger mit einem Burschen allein ist, dieser muß unter den Augen seines Lehrers die Harpune werfen, die Schleuder schwingen und den Pfeil abschießen, je nachdem dieses oder jenes vorgesehen ist. Die Waffen stellt der Lehrer, der sie gut zu handhaben weiß; als Schießscheibe dient ein altes Körbchen oder der breite Haftfuß einer großen Braunalge. Man wählt selbstredend einen Platz aus, dem sich Frauen oder Kinder kaum nähern, und verweilt hier mehrere Stunden. Die Männer vergleichen die Leistungen der Burschen und besprechen die Fortschritte des einzelnen. So lange wird die Übung mit dieser und jener Waffe wiederholt, bis der *ušeɣla* damit geschickt umzugehen gelernt hat. In ihrem Urteil sind die Männer durchgehends anspruchsvoller als nötig wäre.

Erst nachdem der Prüfling die Waffen richtig und leicht zu gebrauchen gelernt hat, beginnt der Pate damit, ihn genauer mit den Jagdmethoden vertraut zu machen. Jedes Tier besitzt seine Eigenheiten, die der Jäger berücksichtigen muß. Aus langer Erfahrung wissen die Yamana darum und dieses Wissen vermitteln sie dem jüngeren Geschlecht, daß es ihnen zugute komme. Mithin schlagen sie beim Jagen und Fangen nicht nur das vorteilhafteste und sicherste Vorgehen ein, es bleibt sich auch durch die Jahrhunderte gleich, weil es unter den gegebenen Bedingungen keiner Vervollkommnung fähig ist (S. 508).

Schwierig ist es für die jungen Burschen, den sehr gewandten Seelöwen im Wasser zu töten, während es leichter ist, ihn auf dem Lande zu überwinden. Viel Reiz bietet es ihnen, an Felswänden herumzuklettern, wo sie die Nester der Scharben ausnehmen. Wie dem auch sei, lange Übung und überzogene Geschicklichkeit gehört dazu, bis jeder es in dieser und jener Jagdmethode zu ausreichender Fertigkeit gebracht hat. Die älteren Männer lassen viel Geduld mit den *ušeɣla* walten; immer wieder müssen diese es so oder so versuchen. Sie werden angeeifert und ermuntert, manchem wird mit viel Mühe nachgeholfen; doch bringt auch hier die Zeit schließlich den Fortschritt und endgültigen Erfolg. Von diesen Einzelheiten habe ich mich während meiner ersten Jugendweihe zur Genüge überzeugt. Befremdlich wirkt es angesichts dessen nun nicht mehr, daß manche *čiɬxaya*-Feier sich durch Monate hingezogen hat.

Ernster sind die Versuche, einem feigen Burschen die Ängstlichkeit und Furcht auszutreiben. Man geleitet ihn nachts in das Waldesdickicht oder fährt ihn zu einer einsamen Insel, wo man ihn sich selber überläßt und ihn zum Ausharren verpflichtet, bis er abgeholt wird. Dieses Vorgehen wiederholt man mit einigen Änderungen so lange, bis der *ušeɣla* entschlossen zu jeder Nachtzeit dorthin geht, wo man ihn hinschickt.[231] Ihn auf irgendwelche

[231] Mit Recht erscheint diese Forderung befremdlich; denn nur selten und bei ernsten Anlässen entschließt sich einer dieser Indianer, zur Nachtzeit seine Hütte zu verlassen und sich weit zu entfernen.

Weise draußen zu erschrecken, ist bei den Yamana nicht üblich. Darin aber sind die Männer unerbittlich, einem Burschen den letzten Rest von feigem Bangen herauszuholen, müßten sie sich sogar lange bemühen.

2. Übungen für Mädchen: Ohne nennenswerte Unterschiede werden auch die weiblichen *uinógla* nach der Art und Weise, die ich soeben für die Burschen gekennzeichnet habe, in die Handarbeiten und Berufspflichten, die ihrem Geschlechte in der Familienhütte zufallen, während der Jugendweihe eingeführt. Ihnen braucht hier nur eine gewisse Ergänzung zu dem geboten zu werden, was sie anläßlich ihrer Menarche erfahren und geübt haben (S. 753). Überdies sind sie daheim viel öfters schon zur vollen Mithilfe bei der Arbeit von ihrer Mutter herangeholt, also gründlicher in alle Handgriffe eingeweiht worden, als dies bei gleichaltrigen Burschen der Fall ist. Was ihnen noch zu lernen übrig bleibt, holen sie jetzt nach.

Eine der nächstverwandten Frauen, die das Mädchen von früher her kennt, nimmt sich seiner im Verein mit der Patin aufmerksam an und gibt ihm die nötige Anweisung. Dem Leiter der *čiéxaus*-Feier genügt es zu wissen, daß kein Mädchen ohne die übliche praktische Ausbildung bleibt. Wie im einzelnen diese und jene Frau mit dem Mädchen umgeht, überläßt er ihnen um so mehr, da er sich in Sachen des weiblichen Geschlechtes eigentlich gar nicht einmischt. So viel ist sicher, diese Frauen nehmen es mit dem Drill der Mädchen nicht minder ernst, als die Männer mit den Burschen; ich habe sogar den Eindruck gewonnen, sie zeigen sich dabei weit kleinlicher und aufsässiger als jene.

Für die Mädchen beschränken sich die Übungen in Wirklichkeit auf eine genaue und eifrige Mithilfe bei der Nahrungsbeschaffung durch die Frauen. Sie besorgen die tiefersitzenden großen Muscheln, tauchen zum seichten Meeresboden hinunter und ergreifen See-Igel, fischen mit der Angelleine und holen die großen Krebse mit der Krabbengabel herauf, heben die Vogelnester im Gesträuch und im Erdboden aus, sammeln Pilze und Beeren, alles unter Anweisung der begleitenden Frauen. Auch hierzu gehören Fingerfertigkeit und Geschicklichkeit, die erlernt werden müssen, die indes nicht soviel Anstrengung erfordern wie die Jagdübungen der Burschen. Statt dessen belästigen die Arbeiten der Frauen durchgehends viel mehr, man denke beispielsweise an das langwierige Waten im kalten Wasser. Außer mit eigentlicher Nahrungssuche beschäftigt die Patin ihren Prüfling gelegentlich mit der leichten Handarbeit des Flechtens von Körbchen und Schmuckschnüren. Dies darf jedoch nur außerhalb der *čiéxaus*-Hütte geschehen, wenn sie sich bei gutem Wetter nach ihrer Sammeltätigkeit draußen im Freien ein wenig Ruhe und Abwechslung gönnen.

Alles Unterweisen erfolgt regelmäßig mit kargen Worten, mit viel Ruhe und noch weit mehr mit geduldigem Zuwarten auf den Erfolg. Die *uinógla* folgen ihren Lehrern vertrauensvoll; undenkbar wäre Widerrede oder Unbotmäßigkeit. Bei den Mädchen genügt ein geringerer Aufwand von Mühe seitens der Patinnen, weil erstere schon manche Erfahrung und Fertig-

keit zur *čiẹ́xaus*-Hütte mitbringen. Um so wirksamer helfen sie bei der Nahrungsversorgung mit und erleichtern, gemeinsam mit den Burschen, diese Arbeit den Erwachsenen. Nicht geringe Anstrengung erfordert es Tag für Tag, eine große Teilnehmerzahl störungslos durch lange Wochen in der Großen Hütte zu verköstigen.

Auf geistige Bereicherung, auf Charakterschulung und auf Handfertigkeit der Prüflinge sieht es die *čiẹ́xaus*-Erziehung ab. In wochenlangem Bemühen und zäher Ausdauer erreicht sie dieses Ziel. Die Jugendlichen aber beginnen nach Abschluß dieser Prüfung ein Leben der Selbständigkeit und Unabhängigkeit von der elterlichen Familie, indem sie den eigenen Hausstand gründen. Zur Erfüllung der bedeutsamen Pflichten als Gatte und Gattin, als Vater und Mutter, als vollwertiges Stammesmitglied wurden sie verläßlich vorbereitet; die Gemeinschaft ihrerseits kann nun alles Vertrauen auf die neue Familie setzen, die bald sich gründen wird. Alle Sorgen und alles Bemühen der Alten um die *ulisqula* ist damit reichlich entlohnt; denn der Fortbestand der geltenden Lebensformen und herrschenden Grundsätze erscheint gesichert. Der ganze Erziehungsgang selber mit seinen vielen Einzelbestimmungen mutet auch den Europäer freundlich an; in schönem Ebenmaß werden die wirksamen Erziehungsmittel angewendet, ohne Quälereien, abstoßende Härten und grausame Rohheiten. Das abgeklärt reine Naturhafte in der Erziehungskunst unserer Feuerländer hat ihr durch die Jahrhunderte bis in unsere Gegenwart herein sehr schöne und sichere Erfolge beschert.

4. Tagesordnung für die Erwachsenen

Offensichtlich ist die *čiẹ́xaus*-Einrichtung an erster Stelle als eine lebenswichtige Schulung der Prüflinge gedacht. Immerhin wird dem Geselligkeitsbedürfnis der Stammesmitglieder vollauf Rechnung getragen und das Bewußtsein ihrer Zusammengehörigkeit aufs neue bestärkt.

Eine unleugbare Erscheinung ist es, daß, von jenen Erwägungen abgesehen, die Erwachsenen in gewissen Zeitabständen von einem inneren Drange erfaßt werden, „die Jugendweihe wieder einmal zu feiern!" So und nicht anders offenbart sich ihr starker Wille, die alte Überlieferung festzuhalten, darin sich selber zu erneuern und sie dem herangereiften Geschlechte restlos zu vermitteln. Die Macht des guten Alten beherrscht sie bewußt und unbewußt. Deshalb lassen sie das *čiẹ́xaus*-Geheimnis nicht in Vergessenheit geraten, sie hüten es vor den unehrerbietigen Augen der Europäer und wehren jede Lockerung der tragenden Grundsätze auch heute noch möglichst [illegible]

Mit Eifer wachen sie darüber, daß jedes erwachsene Kind au[illegible]nmalos Geist und Sinn der Jugendweihe an sich erfahre, als ob der Bestand ihres Stammeslebens erschüttert und die Ordnung ihres Gemeinschaftslebens aufgelöst würden, wenn dieser oder jener Jugendliche dazu keine Gelegenheit fände. Einen Dienst am Volksganzen glauben sie damit zu verrichten, daß sie von Zeit zu Zeit ganz laut zu dieser Veranstaltung aufrufen. Das ist der

tiefere Sinn des unablässigen Drängens der Alten zur *čiźgaya*-Feier, ihre Notwendigkeit für die Erwachsenen und für die Gemeinschaft selber, nicht ausschließlich die Verpflichtung, sie Burschen und Mädchen erleben zu lassen. Demzufolge übernehmen die Teilnehmer widerspruchslos alles, was an Unannehmlichkeiten und Freiheitsbeschränkungen für sie aus dem Eintritt in die Große Hütte erwächst. Alle sind eben von dem starken Willen beseelt, einer bedeutsamen, aus früher Zeit überlieferten Verpflichtung genau zu entsprechen. Alle körperlichen Anstrengungen, die von der Tagesordnung gefordert werden, und die empfindlichen Einschränkungen der persönlichen Freiheit, in die sich jeder Teilnehmer von sich aus begibt, übernimmt er bereitwillig.

Wie unduldsamer Kleinigkeitsgeist mutet es an, daß diese Feuerländer bis in unsere Tage herein gar nichts von den starren Förmlichkeiten der geltenden Ordnung zu lockern wagen. Mit verbohrtem Wahneifer achten sie scharf aufs Große und Kleine, daß nichts verwässert oder abgeschwächt, nichts verbogen oder unterlassen werde, was überliefert worden ist. Sie lebten und leben in der Überzeugung, daß nur ein rücksichtslos starres Verharren auf der übernommenen Schablone den Weiterbestand ihrer Volkseinheit sichert.

Wenn in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten trotzdem so manches dem neuen Zeitgeist zuliebe aufgegeben oder eingeschränkt oder abgeändert worden ist, geschah dies aus dem offensichtlichen Bewußtsein der jüngeren Leute heraus, daß ihr Volkstum bereits in Auflösung begriffen ist. Sogar die Jugendweihe wäre heute nicht mehr imstande, den festen Zusammenhalt der Volksgenossen auf der überlieferten Grundlage von ehedem zu schaffen. NELLY klagte mir einmal aus tiefblickender Einsicht: „Die früher so strenge Ordnung ist seit einiger Zeit aus dem *čiźgaya* geschwunden, wir Yamana werden [als Volkseinheit] nicht mehr lange bestehen!" Die Erfahrung aus der weiten Welt der Naturvölker bestätigt es: Sobald pflichtgemäße gemeinschaftliche Veranstaltungen von der überlieferten Ordnung auch nur in einzelnen Punkten abgehen, sind sie in ihrem innersten Wesen gefährdet und lösen sich früher oder später ganz auf. Das ist aber auch ein Wahrzeichen für den gleichzeitigen Verfall der Gesellschaftsform und der gesamten geistigen Güter eines solchen Naturvolkes.

Eben noch bei letzter Gelegenheit war es mir vergönnt, anläßlich meiner ersten Jugendweihe 1920 die ursprüngliche Strenge und den ernsten Geist der *čiźgaya*-Feier zu erleben. Damals allerdings wurde bereits Rücksicht genommen auf die körperliche Schwäche der Prüflinge und auf manche Bequemlichkeiten, die den Erwachsenen zur zweiten Natur geworden sind. Zwei Jahre später hat SANTIAGO als Leiter die Zügel der Tagesordnung unvergleichlich lockerer geführt. Die älteren Leute bedauerten nicht nur die zu reichliche Nachgiebigkeit, sie schämten sich derselben ganz unverhohlen; denn sie fühlten nur zu deutlich, daß sie selber mit ihrer lässigen Bequemlichkeit dem überlieferten Stammesgut ein frühes Grab schaufeln. Trotzdem gewährte mir die zweimalige Anteilnahme am *čiźgaya* einen genügenden Einblick in das, was diese Veranstaltung auch für die Gruppe der Erwachsenen bedeutet.

a. *Allgemeine Bestimmungen*

Bekanntlich darf jeder Yamana, der zweimal die *lišpaya*-Feier als abwägig überstanden hat, sich daran künftighin wieder mit allen Rechten, die den Erwachsenen zustehen, beteiligen. Selbstverständlich bleibt er auf die Ordnung verpflichtet, so lange er in der Großen Hütte oder in deren nächster Nachbarschaft verweilt. Jeder kennt die Bedeutung dieser Einrichtung. Von vornherein ist nicht zu befürchten, daß jemand allfremdliche Verstöße gegen diese oder jene Bestimmung wagen würde. Gegenseitig beobachten sich die Teilnehmer genau und einer wirkt beispielgebend auf den anderen durch den Ernst, den er in seinem gesammelten Äußeren zur Schau trägt.

Da das *lišpaya* eine gemeinschaftliche Veranstaltung ist, muß jeder seine Kraft gelegentlich in deren Dienst stellen. Jüngere Personen helfen mit beim Aufbau und bei der ersten Einrichtung der Großen Hütte, später beim Beschaffen der Nahrung und bei der Betreuung der Prüflinge. Diese und andere Dienstleistungen verrichtet jeder in Abhängigkeit vom Leiter: denn ihm sind auch die Erwachsenen unterstellt, damit die Ordnung aufrecht erhalten bleibe und die Feier ohne Störung ablaufe. Einen empfindlichen Zwang übt er zwar nicht aus und er beauftragt die einzelnen keineswegs nach Befehlsart; indes würde niemand einen Wunsch, den er ausspricht, unerfüllt lassen. Sollte einem Teilnehmer dieses oder jenes nicht behagen, steht es ihm jederzeit frei, sich vom *lišpaya* zurückzuziehen.

Staunenswerte Beispiele von kraftvoller Selbstüberwindung kann man zuweilen in der Großen Hütte erleben. So ist es nicht selten, daß der eine dem anderen sich unterordnet oder dieser sich mit jenem zusammenfindet, obwohl beide sich vorher schwer [illegible]det hatten. Alle persönlichen Rücksichten stellt jeder beiseite, wenn [illegible]ust an der Gemeinschaft oder wenn der Ablauf einer gemeinschaftlic[illegible] Veranstaltung es so fordert. Beispielsweise hatte sich CALDERÓN mit dem v[illegible]lteren SANTIAGO kurz vor Beginn des *lišpaya* im März 1922 arg entzweit. Kaum aber hatte SANTIAGO als Leiter die ersten Vorbereitungen geführt, folgte auch ersterer ihm auf den Wink. CALDERÓN, über den plötzlichen Umschlag in seinem Benehmen befragt, gestand unumwunden: „Bei uns Yamana gilt eben, daß jedermann im *lišpaya* unbedingt gehorcht!"

Die Abhängigkeit aller vom Leiter erweist sich als um so notwendiger, da eine genau festgelegte, bestimmte Tageseinteilung fehlt. Gewiß, allgemeine Bestimmungen gibt es wohl; aber es ist nicht von vornherein ausgemacht, was in dieser und was in jener Stunde geschieht, was jetzt und was später veranstaltet wird, wie der eine und der andere sich so oder so verwenden lassen muß. Auch bei dieser Feier sind unsere Yamana rechte Augenblicksmenschen, ganz abhängig von ihren Stimmungen. Unsere freiheitsliebenden Indianer in den Rahmen einer Art von Stundeneinteilung einspannen zu wollen, wäre undenkbar und ein aussichtsloses Beginnen. Sozusagen unentbehrlich steht der Leiter richtunggebend da, er überwacht den Verlauf

den Gesang, weist den einen hierhin und den anderen dorthin, fordert diesen oder jenen Dienst. Der bedingungslosen Folgsamkeit, mit der jeder Teilnehmer sich fügt, ist es zuzuschreiben, daß die Jugendweihe reibungslos abläuft.

Durch die wochenlange Feier des *Šiźgus* zieht sich ein vielgestaltiges Zeremoniell, das sich wohl aus der Naturanlage unserer Yamana herausgebildet haben dürfte. Vor allem fordert man die Gesichtsbemalung (S. 915), ohne die früher niemand in der Großen Hütte sitzen durfte. Wer etwas ausleiht oder etwas in Empfang genommen hat, muß dabei eine feststehende Formel beachten. Die *ukwźgla* beispielsweise, die den Ertrag ihrer Jagd oder ihres Sammelns zur *Šiźgus*-Hütte bringen, beginnen sofort mit dem Verteilen. Jeder von ihnen stellt sich vor einen Erwachsenen hin, bewegt das, was er in der Hand hält, unter leisem *hôhokohohô* auf und ab und überreicht es ihm. Der nimmt es in Empfang, indem er die gleichen Bewegungen und Rufe wiederholt. Eine ähnliche Förmlichkeit halten Frauen und Männer ein, die einer anderen Person etwas übergeben, endlich die Küchenfrauen beim Verteilen der Mahlzeit. Wer etwas von draußen hereinbringt, was nicht an andere weitergeleitet wird, hält diesen Gegenstand in seinen bis auf Schulterhöhe erhobenen Händen und tänzelt damit zwei- bis dreimal durch den Raum. Derart benehmen sich z. B. Frauen mit dem Binsenbündel, das sie draußen gesammelt haben und hier zum Korbflechten benötigen. Bevor jemand den ersten Bissen von einem Fleischstücke abbeißt, hebt er auch dieses unter leisem *hôhokohohô* einigemale auf und ab. Tritt jemand in die Große Hütte ein oder verläßt er sie, wiederholen einige Leute, die dem Eingang nahe sitzen, jenes *hôhokohohô*. Das Singen darf niemals ganz und gar aussetzen, selbst nicht beim Essen und beim nächtlichen Schlaf. Während des Gesanges muß jeder sich sein *hupaźl* anlegen und den Tanzstab in der Hand halten; geht er hinaus, läßt er beide Stücke zurück. Bevor eine der üblichen Besuchergruppen sich einfindet, erneuern alle Insassen ihre Bemalung. Falls einige Männer zur Körbehütte gehen, um dort die Frauen zu besuchen, nehmen sie ihnen etwas mit, gewöhnlich ein Körbchen mit Asche oder mit glimmender Holzkohle, sogar ein brennendes Holzscheit; denn wer einen Besuch macht, muß immer ein Geschenk bei sich haben. Einige andere formelhafte Gebräuche sollen weiter unten erwähnt werden.

Die hohe Ehrfurcht vor der überlieferten *Šiźgus*-Einrichtung und die Einsicht in ihre allgemeingesellschaftliche Bedeutung ist der tiefere Grund für die bedingungslose Gefügigkeit aller Teilnehmer und für ihren Eifer zu treuer Dienstleistung. Auch als wirkliche Pflicht betrachten sie ihre Anteilnahme, nicht nur als Vergnügen oder als gute Gelegenheit zu ergiebigem Gedankenaustausch. Strafmaßnahmen gegen Erwachsene kennt man nicht, eben weil sie nicht nötig werden. Jeder weiß sowieso, wie genau seine Lebensführung und sein Verhalten überall von der Allgemeinheit beobachtet und besprochen werden; letztere übt eine peinliche Aufsicht über nennenswerte und unbedeutende Einzelheiten an jeder Person aus. Erst recht in der *Šiźgus*-Hütte ist der einzelne der unbehinderten Beobachtung und der

strengen Beurteilung der anderen ausgesetzt; würde es ihm auch am Zwange zur Pflichttreue ihrer selbst wegen fehlen, zumindest übt er sie des guten Leumundes wegen, der für jedermann sehr viel bedeutet.

Mehrere Umstände sind es, die zwanglos sich vereinigen, daß sämtliche Teilnehmer trotz der fast völlig lockeren Tageseinteilung und trotz des geringen Aufwandes von Autorität durch den Leiter in bester Eintracht zusammenwirken und auf das Doppelziel dieser Veranstaltung hinstreben.

β. Besondere Förmlichkeiten

Nur bis zu einem gewissen Grade behalten die Erwachsenen die persönliche Freiheit der Bewegung. Niemand läßt sich Verfehlungen zuschulden kommen, obwohl man vielfach nicht bestimmt abgrenzen kann, was erlaubt und was nicht erlaubt ist. Eine allgemeine Beobachtung ist es, daß die älteren und ältesten Leute in ihrem ganzen Verhalten weit mehr Ernst und Sammlung zeigen, als Personen mittleren Alters. Auf Lockerung der ursprünglichen Strenge durch das Europäertum zumeist geht diese Verfallserscheinung zurück.

Ein ungeschriebenes Gesetz regelt das Benehmen der erwachsenen Teilnehmer an dieser Veranstaltung, jeder lernt es vom Beispiel der Alten, ohne daß besondere Anweisungen gegeben würden. Der Leiter hält seine Augen über jedem einzelnen offen. Zu warnen oder zu mahnen braucht er nicht, wohl aber ruft er den einen und den anderen gelegentlich zu den erforderlichen Dienstleistungen auf. Der entschiedene Wille beherrscht eben einen jeden, von sich aus mitzuhelfen, daß die überlieferten Förmlichkeiten eingehalten werden, koste es auch persönliche Opfer und die Überwindung der eigenen Bequemlichkeit. Der Ordnung zuliebe verhält sich jeder untadelig in der Großen Hütte und beteiligt sich an den gemeinschaftlichen Arbeiten, an Gesang und Tanz.

1. Äußere Ruhe: Die erwachsenen Teilnehmer betrachten ihren Aufenthalt in der *čičuga*-Hütte als eine Zeit der geistigen Sammlung und Verinnerlichung. Auch auf sich selber lassen sie die Ermahnungen und Belehrungen wirken, die den *alwočala* erteilt werden; sie denken an ihre eigene Prüfungszeit zurück und frischen in ihrem Gedächtnis jenes Gelöbnis auf, das sie damals in die Hände des Vorstehers gelegt haben.[222]

Ihr eigenes Verlangen zielt auf eine ungestörte Selbstbesinnung ab, die nur bei langanhaltendem Stillschweigen möglich ist. Längere Unterhaltungen in der *čičuga*-Hütte duldet man nicht. Das Notwendige darf wohl gesagt werden, aber immer kurz und mit leiser Stimme. Dies geschieht in einer Weise, die es kaum zu erkennen gibt, daß einer vom anderen etwas erbittet oder jemand seinen Nachbarn befragt. Solche, die voneinander weiter

[222] Wahrscheinlich ist es auf diese oft wiederholte Selbstbesinnung zurückzuführen, daß fast alle Erwachsenen sich lückenlos an die Ermahnungen erinnern, die man an sie als Prüflinge gerichtet hat. Vgl. die oben S. 866 aufgeführten Beispiele.

entfernt sitzen, behelfen sich mit unauffälligen Zeichen. Die *ŝiŝyuga*-Hütte ist nicht der Ort, sich auszusprechen oder zu plaudern. Immerhin gilt es seit, altersher als berechtigt, und in den ersten Tagen nützen die meisten Anwesenden diese Freiheit aus, daß verwandte oder befreundete Personen sich gegenseitig besuchen. Der eine verläßt seinen Platz und setzt sich neben den, mit dem er sich unterhalten will, spricht sich unauffällig und mit sehr leiser Stimme aus und schleicht nachher wieder zu seinen Platz zurück. Zu diesen Besuchen wählt man die Stunden kurz vor und nach Mittag, beendet aber die Unterhaltung meist schon nach einem Stündchen.

Wer von einem Fernstehenden angeredet wird, läßt es zuweilen merken, wie unangenehm er es empfindet, aus seinen Überlegungen herausgerissen worden zu sein; er antwortet karg, ohne seine gesammelte Haltung aufzugeben. Von vornherein ist jeder darauf bedacht, nie eine Person anzugehen, die in nachdenklicher Überlegung mit sich selber beschäftigt dasitzt, es sei denn, daß eine Dringlichkeit dazu zwingt. Die spätere Nachmittagsstunden bis kurz vor den nächtlichen Tänzen und Spielen sind eine Zeit ganz besonders ernster Sammlung. Dahinein fallen auch die Unterweisungen an die Prüflinge, während welcher die Erwachsenen sich ausnahmslos still verhalten. Am Vormittag, wenn zuweilen die *nimŝiŝ* außerhalb der Großen Hütte sich üben oder mit Nahrungserwerb beschäftigt sind, widmet sich der eine und andere der Alten kleineren Handarbeiten, während manche Frau gelegentlich in ihrer Wohnhütte zum Rechten schaut. Drinnen aber herrscht die gleiche Ruhe wie am Nachmittage und wer auch jetzt seinen eigenen Gedanken in Sammlung nachgeht, wird nicht gestört.

Von den Prüflingen verlangt man, daß sie sich überhaupt nicht rühren (S. 856). Aber auch die Erwachsenen bewahren eine fast r e g u n g s l o s e H a l t u n g. Jeder bleibt auf dem Sitzplatze, den er sich von Anfang an gewählt hat. Hier verharrt er still und steif, vermeidet alle unnötigen Bewegungen, schaut fast unablässig vor sich hin, wendet weder den Kopf nach allen Seiten, noch rutscht er mit seinem ganzen Körper hin und her. Selbst dann, wenn am Abend die Tänze sich abwickeln, ob nun eine einzige Person sich bewegt oder mehrere gleichzeitig, verharren manche gesammelt in ihrer Hockerstellung und erheben nicht einmal ihre Augen. Wer dringende Handarbeiten verrichtet, vermeidet alles Geräusch und jede auffällige Bewegung. Wer Gegenstände anfertigt, wobei Nachbarn belästigt würden, muß dazu die *ŝiŝyuga*-Hütte verlassen. Der einzelne erwartet eben mit gutem Recht, von den anderen Teilnehmern durch nichts in seiner Sammlung gestört zu werden. Um diese bemüht sich jeder schon vor Beginn der Veranstaltung.

Dem gleichen Ziele dient es auch, wenn der Leiter seine Weisungen an einzelne Erwachsene mit nur wenigen, unauffälligen Worten und allein durch Z e i c h e n erteilt. Darauf verstehen sich alle sehr gut und Mißverständnisse sind ausgeschlossen. Die Paten richten sich im Verkehr mit ihrem Schützling in gleicher Weise ein; sogar außerhalb der Großen Hütte, bei den Arbeiten und Übungen, beschränken sie sich auf die notwendigsten Worte. Ein Frem-

der möchte es kaum für möglich halten, wie viele Gedanken, Wünsche und Weisungen diese Naturkinder sich durch unauffällige Zeichen unverfälscht mitteilen.

2. Das Schlafen: Auch in anderer Hinsicht tun sich die Erwachsenen ganz merklich Gewalt an, insofern sie der Bequemlichkeit wenig oder gar nicht nachgehen. In der eigenen Wohnhütte streckt sich jeder bekanntlich nach Lust und Laune auf seinem Lager aus, rollt sich von einer Seite auf die andere und reckt seine Gliedmaßen überzählig nach allen Richtungen. Indes, nicht einmal ein nur annähernd übniger Bewegungsraum wagt man hier in der *ášpuyo*-Hütte. Fühlt eine bejahrte Person dann und wann schwere Ermüdung, legt sie sich um, krümmt sich zusammen und verharrt regungslos; ihr gewährt man gern eine kurze Ruhepause. Jüngere Leute müssen sich tagsüber aufrecht halten.

Unsere Indianer kennen den Zwang der Stundeneinteilung nicht, weil die jeweils augenblickliche Stimmung sie vorwiegend beherrscht. Die gesamte Teilnehmerschar kommt erst dann zum Schlafengehen, wenn bei den allabendlichen Tänzen der einzelne seine innere Erregung beruhigt hat. Das sind nämlich die geeigneten Gelegenheiten, bei denen es jedem freisteht sich aufzurichten und laut, unter Tanzbewegungen, seine Gefühle und Regungen auszuschütten; zuweilen geschieht dies unter mächtig eintretender Ergriffenheit. Je nachdem können sich die Anwesenden erst spät zum Schlaf niederlegen oder, falls ermüdende Arbeiten und Jagden den Tag ausgefüllt haben, auch früher. Ist nach den letzten lebhaften Tanzbewegungen wieder Ruhe eingetreten und hat jeder seinen Platz eingenommen, gibt der Leiter durch ein kräftiges, langgezogenes *hô ho ho ho hô* das Zeichen zur Nachtruhe. Alle fallen in den gleichen Ruf ein und wiederholen mit etwas mäßiger Stimme dieses *hô ho ho ho hô*. Unverzüglich hüllen sich die allermeisten in ihre Decken und legen sich um zum Schlafe. Der eine und andere bleibt noch sitzen, wenn er sich dazu angeregt fühlt, und führt mit gedämpfter, sanfter Stimme den üblichen Gesang weiter.

Ganz ruhig ist der Schlaf zwar nicht; denn der Gesang darf nie unterbrochen werden und die vielen Menschen liegen eng nebeneinander. Unsere Yamana sind daran gewöhnt. In der ersten Morgenfrühe werden die Pröflinge von ihren Paten geweckt und setzen sich sofort wieder auf. Nach weiteren ungefähr bis drei Stunden, etwa um sechs Uhr ist das Aufstehen der Erwachsenen. Der Leiter selber erhebt sich, wenn es ihm gut scheint und läßt wieder jenes langgezogene, kräftige *hô ho ho ho hô* ertönen, das er letzte Nacht als Zeichen zum Schlafengehen angegeben hatte. Bei dieser Aufforderung beenden die anderen ebenfalls ihre Ruhe.[193] Die allgemeine Bewegung in der Großen Hütte rüttelt auch die letzten Schläfer wach. Jeder richtet sich unverzüglich auf, ordnet sein Lager und kocht sich wieder hin. Mit dem Fin-

[193] So war es bei meiner ersten Jugendreise, in Übereinstimmung mit dem oben Bericht. Zwei Jahre später rief der lebhafte Rufmann um Pröflinge gegen fünf Uhr mit donnernder Stimme aus dem Schlafe. Die Erwachsenen durchritt noch eine erhebliche Stunde liegen blieben, während wahrhaft einige Frauen das nasse Feuer anbrachten.

gern reibt er sich den Schlaf aus den Augen und kämmt sein Haar, das ist der ganze Morgenanzug. Früher gingen die meisten Leute hinaus an einen Bach und wuschen sich, die übrigen wurden von ihren Frauen begleitet. Heutzutage waschen sich alle jüngeren Leute morgens mit Seife[**] und zwar gewöhnlich vor der Großen Hütte. Einige Frauen machen sich nun das langgesparte Feuer zu tun und bringen es zu hellem Brennen, während unterdessen die Männer in den fortlaufenden Gesang einstimmen und sich ihren eigenen Gedanken überlassen. Sechs bis sieben Stunden nur wütet der nächtliche Schlaf.

3. Die Mahlzeiten: Ebenso gilt auch für die Erwachsenen die Verpflichtung, sich nach persönlichem Ermessen während der *Jájuga*-Feier einige Einschränkungen im Essen aufzuerlegen. Die heutigentags halten die Yamana sonderbar die Vorsicht aufrecht, daß alle Speisen ausschließlich in der Nebenhütte zubereitet werden. In früheren Zeiten holten die Küchenfrauen von dort die Mahlzeit nur zweimal des Tages zu den in der Großen Hütte Versammelten getragen; nämlich einer Kleinigkeit einige Stunden nach dem Aufstehen und reichlicher Morgen gegen vier Uhr nachmittags. Die Patera richteten sich so ein, daß ihre Schützlinge gewöhnlich nicht vor der ersten Mahlzeit hinausgeführt wurden und daß sie bei der zweiten wieder anwesend waren. Falls ein Erwachsener die Mahlzeiten versäumt hatte, durfte er zur Küchenhütte gehen und dort sich etwas zu essen geben lassen. Es war nicht üblich, außerhalb jener beiden Zeiten für einige Vergessene noch abweichend das Essen in der Großen Hütte zu verteilen.

Die Yamana essen sowieso schnell, noch mehr beeilen sie sich bei der *Jájuga*-Feier. Von der Küchenhütte werden die Speisen möglichst heimlich gebracht. Jene Erwachsenen und vor allem die Kinder draußen im Lager, die sich an der Feier nicht beteiligten, merkt man glauben — weil sich das Zubereiten der Speisen doch nicht verbergen läßt —, diese würden von *Yetájin* oder von anderen Geistern verschlungen (S. 995), nicht aber von den Insassen verzehrt.[**] Um diese Täuschung durchzuführen, scheinen einige Männer und Frauen daheim in der Großen Hütte geraume Zeit vor der Mahlzeit: „Schon lange sind wir sehr hungrig, aber Essen nehmen die Geister für sich und verzehren es eilig!"

Damit die Außenstehenden sich von dem vermeintlichen Hunger der Insassen überzeugen, begeben sich einzelne Frauen hinaus und umkreisen den Nebeneingang, ohne sich zu entfernen; dabei benehmen sie sich, als könnten sie das Kommen der Küchenfrauen nicht erwarten und als wünschten sie sich eine reichliche Menge zu sichern, bevor das Essen in die Hütte getragen wird, wo *die Geister* darüber herfallen. Endlich nähern sich die Küchenfrauen. Der Behälter, früher eine Lederstarke, ein Körbchen oder ein Eimer aus Rinde, heute ein Topf oder eine Schüssel, in welchem sie das Essen

[**] Diese Gewohnheit haben sie von den Europäern übernommen und führen dieses auch in der Großen Hütte fort.

[**] Am Ende der Feier erscheinen die Prüflinge tatsächlich sehr erwartet und verhältnismäßig wieder im eigentlichen Lager und werden allgemein bedauert (S. 955).

Seelenfesseln, ist rot und weiß bemalt. Seine Eingänge werden die von jenen Personen umschlungen, die unmittelbarst vor Hunger hier draußen gewartet haben. Durch die Kücheneinrichtungen verlangen sich hindurch und während sie in die Grube hinein stampfen, rufen sie mit mittelstarker Stimme und in hoher Tonlage den Mißbrauchsbehelf, das vom alten Immanen lent und begrinsert erwidert wird. Zuerst gewaltig hat man jedem einzelnen den Kopf verhangen; denn jetzt bedeckt sich Bisen und klapft gegen die Erde, um den Yetájis vorzutäuschen. Dieses am Nebeneingangen, dem die Kücheneinrichtungen durchquoren, wird das Gefäß heftig bewegungsgegen, wie wenn jener böse Geist schon gierig darauf gewartet hätte. Einige Personen stehen hier bereit, die unverzüglich das Essen in ein anderes Gefäß schütten und das leere, bemalte Gefäß schnell mit Gerüchen hinausschleudern. Das machen sie reichlich auffällig; denn es soll den Außenstehenden dadurch bekannter werden, daß Yetájis selber mit unnachahmlicher Hast und Gier das ganze Essen verschlingt. Innerhalb der wenigen Augenblicke vom Eintritt der Kücheneinrichtungen bis zum Hinauswerfen des Gefäßes hinaus, so soll die Schnelligkeitsgewinnung der Außenstehenden lauten, die reichliche Menge vom Essen wieder an die Anwesenden verteilt, noch vor diesem verzehrt und das Gefäß geleert werden. Fast gleichzeitig rufen es einige Männer lent vom dämmen hinaus: „*Ilio kélpiá* [Geister] allein haben alles Essen verzehrt. Für uns blieb wieder nichts übrig!"

Während die Erwachsenen in der Großen Hütte vergnüglich, obwar eilig essen, dürfen auch die einzelnen ihre wenigen Bissen, die der Pate reicht, verzehren; doch bleibt willkürlichbleiben die Gesicht verhangen. Sie sollen weiterhin in dem Glauben belassen bleiben, daß Yetájis zumindest am Essen teilnimmt, wenn er es auch nicht ganz allein verschlingt. Die Erwachsenen benehmen sich, während ihrem Essen fast gar kein Geräusch zu verursachen. Vorsichtig werden inzwischen die Prüflinge in die Nähe des Nebeneingangs geschickt und mit Lederstücken gut angebunden; denn sie sollen es nicht gewahr werden, daß die anderen Leute hier essen. Ehe man den einzelnen die Verhüllung des Gesichtes abnimmt, werden alle Speisereste entfernt, die einen Verdacht erwecken könnten. Willkürlichbleiben bekommen die einzelnen zu hören: „Jeder Vielfraß und jeder Satte Mensch fällt dem Yetájis zur Beute und wird von ihm aufgefressen!" Aber auch diese Gelegenheit benützt man dazu, die Prüflinge in dem Angst und Furcht vor Yetájis zu bestärken.

Wollen die Erwachsenen sich sonst noch zusammen einige Bissen in den Mund stecken, verhängt man den einzelnen das Gesicht oder man deckt sie mit Lederstücken ganz zu. Dann und jene Person wirft ein Stückchen Fleisch ins Feuer, während sie ißt, und sagt mit verschmitzlicher Stimme: „Das ist für Yetájis!" Auch dadurch sollen die Prüflinge im falschen Glauben an diesen Geist gefüttert werden.

Die eigentliche Mahlzeit ist schnell eingetan; denn kaum jemand erreicht eine volle Sättigung. Wer ißt, hält das Stückchen Fleisch mit einer Hand und macht mit dem anderen Arme bei geschlossener Faust rollende Bewegungen und jene Personen bis, die abwechselnd ißt oder die von ersterem ein Stück erhal-

ten hat. Mit diesem Gebärdenspiel will man andeuten, daß man einander aufmerksam zuhört und sich in Gemeinschaft mit dem andern am Essen erfreut.

Hin und wieder, wenn die Stimmung es dem Leiter eingibt, wird eine eigene Abordnung aus der *tíʃpaga*-Hütte zur Küchenhütte geschickt, damit diese außer der Zeit etwas zu essen herübertreibe. In das übliche allgemeine Singen werfen der Leiter und die zwei oder drei von ihm beauftragten Männer ein sehr lautes, hohlklingendes, dreimaliges *pay* hinein, das mit Unterbrechung noch wiederholt wird und schließlich wie *háyáy* klingt. Für die Frauen in der Küchenhütte bedeutet es nichts weniger als eine dringliche Aufforderung, schleunigst etwas zurecht zu machen, das sie jener Abordnung überreichen. Abermals vergehen einige Minuten und das *háyáy* wiederholt sich. Endlich stürzen jene zwei Männer durch den Nebenausgang hinaus, eilen heftig hinüber und verschwinden in der Küchenhütte.

Einen Abendlang sah ich, wie sie einen bemalten Topf mitnahmen. Unter anhaltendem *háyáy*-Rufen wird er ihnen mit Kaffee angefüllt; gleichzeitig spießen andere Frauen ein großes Brot auf einen spitzen Stock und geben ihn einem der beiden in die Hand. Mit dieser "Beute" eilen sie zur *tíʃpaga*-Hütte zurück, wo man sie unter lautem *kókokokó* empfängt. Unverzüglich wird der Kaffee in ein anderes Gefäß geschüttet und jener bemalte Topf unter Getöse schnellstens zur Hütte hinausgeschleudert. Zwar sieht man ihn vom Lager aus nicht, aber man hört ihn zumindest hinauspoltern. Der andere Mann tanzt mit einem Stocke, an dem das große Brot hängt, nochmals durch die Hütte, ehe es zerstückelt wird. Eine derartige Sonderzuteilung frischt die Leute auf und regt sie zu lebhafterem Singen an.

Von diesen seltneren Gelegenheiten abgesehen, wird auch zur regelmäßigen Abendmahlzeit an dem einen oder anderen Tage eine bestimmte Abordnung vom Leiter ausgeschickt und zwar während die Insassen tanzen. Diese halten bekanntlich währenddessen ihren Tanzstab quer. Wenn also zwei oder drei Männer im geeigneten Augenblick die *tíʃpaga*-Hütte verlassen, begehen sie sich tänzelnd und im gleichen Tempo wie bisher, einer hinter dem anderen, mit rollenden Hand- und Armbewegungen den Tanzstab schwingend, zur Küchenhütte hinüber. Sie treten nicht ein, sondern die Frauen dort reichen ihnen das Essen hinaus, indem sie ihnen das Körbchen mit Muscheln oder ein großes Stück Fleisch oder einen gefüllten Lederbeutel an den Tanzstab hängen. Auch auf dem Rückwege zur *tíʃpaga*-Hütte heben die tanzenden Männer ihren Tanzstab, trotz der Belastung, unaufhörlich auf und ab. Hier wird das, was sie bringen, hastig in Empfang genommen und zwar meist durch den Hüttenseingang, bevor sie eintreten. Lautes Brüllen und wütendes Klopfen auf den Boden sollen anzeigen, daß *Yetéjin* alles Essen sich allein angeignet und damit in die Erde hinein verschwindet. Ohne Verzug schickt man diesen Männern von drinnen das Körbchen oder das Lederäschchen wieder auf ihren vorgehaltenen Tanzstab; doch statt der Lebensmittel enthält es jetzt Asche oder ein glimmendes Holzscheit, was sie tänzelnd zur Küchenhütte tragen. Dort dürfen sie sich nämlich jetzt ohne Gegenge-

erkennt nicht sehen lassen, ja kommen eigens, um *diesen* zu bringen, gleichsam als Entgelt für den Essen. Auffällig erhöhen sie den, was sie mitgebracht haben, am Eingange zum. Für die Leute im Lager wird dadurch bewirkt, daß die von der Küchenhütte überbrachten Nahrungsmittel schnell von dem Behälter entfernt und in die *Ajiyaga*-Hütte gebracht worden sind, daß aber die Boten selber davon nichts erhalten haben.

Teils aus Reinlichkeit, teils aus den Glauben zu fördern, Yetájin allein verzehre alles Essen, das zur Großen Hütte gelangt, werden alle Speisereste nach der Mahlzeit unverzüglich bis auf die letzte Spur im Feuer vernichtet. Zeitweilig hält man den Besuch der Anklemmkundes in der *Ajiyaga*-Hütte zu, weil ihnen kein Anlaß zu Verdacht geboten werden darf.

Nicht nach freier Wahl greift jeder zu, sondern durch die Küchenfrauen, die eine fertige Speise hereinbringen, erfolgt die Verteilung. Gewöhnlich erscheint eine ältere Frau in Begleitung einer jüngeren. Letztere trägt die Fleischstücke oder Mundvorräte. Erstere stellt sich vor jede Person hin, die auf ihrem Platze hockt, greift in den Korb ihrer Begleiterin hinein, faßt das, was zur Verteilung kommt, mit beiden Händen und bewegt es erst einmal auf und ab, indem sie wiederholtem ein hellklastes *hé hé* ausstößt. Jetzt nimmt jene Person das Stück Fleisch oder die Mundvorräte in ihre Hände, bewegt diese in gleicher Weise auf und ab und wiederholt das leise *hé hé*. Die Küchenfrauen gehen beide Reihen der Teilnehmer entlang, geben jedem etwas mit und kehren zu ihrer Nebenhütte zurück.[100] An die einzelnen teilen sie persönlich nichts aus, bedenken aber die Peiner etwas reichlicher, die ihnerseits ein wenig ihren Schützlingen zukommen lassen. Unverzüglich verzehrt jeder, was er erhalten hat und reinigt seinen Platz sofort von Speiseabfällen. Mit dem, was ihm zugeteilt worden ist, gibt er sich zufrieden; nachträglich noch etwas anzufordern, wäre ein bedauerliches Zeichen von mangelnder Selbstbeherrschung. Tatsächlich nehmen auch die Erwachsenen fast regelmäßig darauf verzichten, sich voll zu sättigen.

6. **Die Reinlichkeit:** Merkwürdig genug ist es schon, daß unsere Yamana, die im allgemeinen einen beachtlichen Sinn für Sauberkeit zu erkennen geben, sich Verstöße dagegen in der *Ajiyaga*-Hütte nicht ausschalten können lassen. Jedermann entfernt peinlich genau alle Speisereste nach der Mahlzeit. Unmittelbar nach dem Aufstehen am Morgen bringt er sein Lager in Ordnung und faltet die Decken zusammen, die er tagsüber nicht benötigt. Zumindest einmal täglich erfolgt die Körperreinigung aller Teilnehmer. Farbenspritzer und alles, was darauf hindeutet, wird ohne Verzug entfernt. Wer zur Großen Hütte kommt, stößt weder auf Spuren des Mahlens noch auf Anzeichen, daß hier gegessen wird. Auch die Feuerstelle wird sorg-

[100] Dasselbe besorgen jene Küchenfrauen mit sonstigen Lebensmitteln die Mahlzeit zu großen Essens oder Hochgelägen. Sie teilen das Essen mit Schöpfgefäßen aus und verabreichen jeder Person das, was sie mitnimmt, auf einen Teller oder in einen Napf. Bei diesen Gelegenheiten ist keiner jeder, der in die Große Hütte eintritt, vorsichtig; dieser bedient er sich eine auch gegebenenfalls.

[illegible] in Ordnung gebracht und die Arche konnte wieder zur Hütte hin gerollt werden, wenn ein Windstoß oder eine starke Bewegung sie herauszuschleudern hat.[*]

Diese Reinlichkeitsbestrebungen gestalten indes auf dem eigenen Körper nicht Halt. Zweifellosen wurden die Teilnehmer in der Großen Hütte, wo sie eine lange Zeit verbringen, auch schmutzigen. Davon zeugt sich nicht.

3. Der Körperschmuck: Gewissenhaft hingegen ist jeder auf den bedacht, was an körperlichem Schmuck gefordert wird. Die Neuzeit hat allerdings auch diese strenge Vorschrift etwas gelockert. Ursprünglich trug jeder in der *Ajiyaga*-Hütte die Federkrone *hapuffi* auch dann, wenn kein gesellschaftliches Singen und Tanzen stattfand. Gegenwärtig wischen sich die Erwachsenen diesen Kopfschmuck mit Dammerdeckern erst bei jenen Anlässen an die Stirn, legen ihn aber während sonstiger Stunden des Tages am Bequemlichkeit beiseite, was vom dem einzigen wie angenehmen würde. Hüte wie jene tragen sie *hapuffi* von gleicher Form und Größe (S. 860).

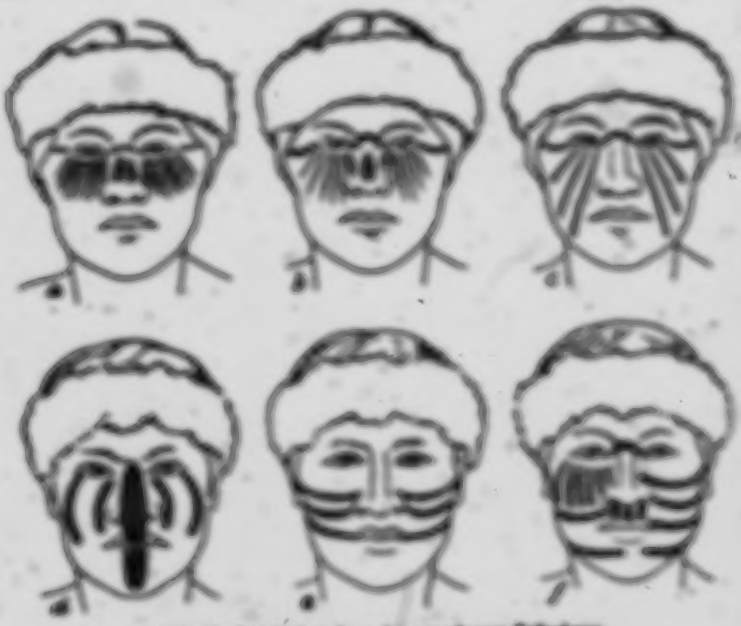
Nach einer Verordnung darf in der Großen Hütte nimmend ohne irgendwelche Gesichtsbemalung dasitzen. Auch dorten sind die Leute bewegungsunbeholfen geworden; denn sie waren sich größtenteils erst am Abend wenigstens vor den Tänzen. Ein einziger Jüngerlicher, unter Quantitäts von den Nasenflügeln über die Wange zum Ohrläppchen gezogen, auch ist er sehr schmutzig angebracht. Bald nach dem Anfarben, statt der bei uns üblichen Waschung, sieht sich jeder Erwachsener diesen Strich ins Gesicht. Sollte er sich, was unvermeidlich ist, verwischen, wird er mißfallen erwarten. Das ist die einfachste Form der Gesichtsbemalung. Wer die Lust dazu dringt, der verziert sich heute regelmäßiger etwas besser; zunächst tut er dies am spätern Nachmittag, bevor die gesellschaftlichen Tänze beginnen.

Dem persönlichen Geschmack und Schönheitsempfinden bleibt die Auswahl der Ornamente überlassen, die regelmäßigen Einprägung bestimmt den einzelnen heute so und morgen anders. Einige Grundformen werden nach dieser und jener Richtung erweitert und umgestaltet. In Abb. 85 zeigen die drei oberen Köpfe die Gesichtsbemalung von Frauen, die drei unteren Köpfe die von Männern. Nur diese wenigen Beispiele seien vorgeführt worden. An der Zeichnung *a* beobachtet man einen unterbrochenen roten Strich in der Höhe der Augenlidspalte, unter jedem Auge sehen und auf der Nase sind lebhaft rote Striche. Die Lesart die Zeichnung *b* sehr nahe, insofern unter jedem Auge sieben und auf der Nase drei dieser roten Striche angebracht worden. Die Zeichnung *c* ist eine andere Variante; man sieht den ganzen Gesicht rot und trägt diesem Untergrund nachher die weißen Striche auf. Die hervorragendste Verzierung besitzen die Lesarten der *Ajiyaga*-Hütte allgemein dann vor, wenn sie Besuch von Außenstehenden erwartet wird. Bei den drei folgenden Gesichtern wird erst ein weißer Untergrund geschaffen, in den man roter Striche nach den in Abb. 85 wiedergegebenen Mustern einträgt. Vor-

[*] Kühlen Lumen man die Arche mit einem Besenen zusammen, kann gewiß man es einem Boten und legt den Fußboden, unbewohnten dem dicken Bodenstreu, die es aufbewahrt. Vielleicht bleibt man die Arche einfach mit heißen Steinen auf.

[illegible]

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] eine Wunschbehausung oder in die heilige Igha Kunst, verwilkt er mit Speichel oder mit einigem Tropfen Wasser und schmiert diese Mischung mit heißen Fingern Glieder auf den Körper. Nahe dem Feuer trocknet die erhaltene und ausdehnt blutrotend. Um sie im Kopfhaar zu verwirken, greift man zum [illegible], einem kleinen Bündel von Schmalfedern der Bedeutung Gottheit, den man damit reibt. Die vom Farbe verwendet man mit Tonn und bedient sich beim Einreiben feiner Dritte der Mittelfinger, dickere Linien und Punkte führt man mit dem Zeigefinger aus.

Allgemein bringt man gegebenenfalls die Unsige Bequemlichkeit der einfachen Einrichtungen, die sich heute mit einfachsten Gebrauchsmittelung für einige Bundesl. Der Yogin unterscheidet auch heimatlos sind. Mit diesem heute klingen Gilt man ist ohne auch bewundert wird. Zuhöre soll ein Bild in die Alpenglühen bildet mannigfaltige Gebilde gewerkt haben, wenn die weiße Farbe auf dem gesamten Körper der Teilnehmer, die zwei Kehren bildend um Bildlin bestehen, vom Pressenfeste bekrachtet wurden, wie Wasser um unter Wolk mannigfaltigen weißen Gebilden an. Unsere bedeutsamsten und sehr wichtigsten Aufgaben haben bedeutsamkeitsvoller die langwierigen, schwierigen Kräftebewegungen, in die heute die Yoganen sich einbilden, ein Ende bereiten.

p. Gesang und Tanz

Wer in die Alpenglühen einsieht, will sich dort vor allem der Selbstbesinnung und angestrengten Sammlung überlassen. Die unmittelbare Vorbereitung soll aber auch Abwendung innerhalb einer gewissen Zeitspanne, um den Geist wieder zu erfrischen und für neue Anstrengungen zu kräftigen. Fast jeder Tag wird dementsprechend mit Tänzen am spätem Abend beschlossen.

Die Yoganen ordnen weder für Gesang noch für Tanz eine besondere Veranstaltung. Vielmehr haben sie einige sehr einfache Melodien geschaffen, die dann entweder nur der gleiche Ton im Rhythmus wiederholt wird oder kleine Abkürzungen, neuer Tonnen, abwechseln. Kriegerischer oder verwickelte Tanzfiguren kennen sie nicht, sondern dulde aber mit einer gymnastischen Musik jene Tänzer auch, die sie eben zur Darstellung bringen wollen. In einzelnen soll diesen Künsten unserer Pressefinder weiter unsere bestehenden werden. Hier ist heute darauf hingewiesen, daß sie sich an Tanz und Gesang gerade in den Alpenglühen bis zur Übersättigung erfreuen.

1. Dscsodscscsodsiogcs: Niemals darf, weder bei Tage noch bei Nacht, vollständige Stille in der Großen Hütte einsetzen. Zumindest soll eine Person mit höherer Stimme singen. Man nennt ein Gesang, daß den Gebieten, besonders dem Yoghin bestimmen werden soll, die hier vorzugsweise Lenzer seien wird. Gleich zu Beginn der Feier, nachdem die Teilnehmer sich eingefunden und dem bestimmtesten Nachbarn sich durch zwei bis drei Stunden überlassen haben, setzt der Leiter oder Vorsänger mit dem hohen Singen ein, andere Personen schließen sich dem allmählich an und mit dem vorsingenden zu sieht nicht bis zum Abschluß der langen Veranstaltung.

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

Haben sich die meisten Anwesenden am späten Abend zur Ruhe gelegt, verharrt der eine und andere noch in Hockerstellung und singt weiter. Sollten später auch diese sich der Nachtruhe überlassen, hält dieser und jener Pate das Singen durch; denn zur Beaufsichtigung eines jeden *ulwǫ́ǫla* bleibt je eine Person ständig wach.

Eine besondere Weisung von seiten des Leiters oder ein Auftrag an bestimmte Personen wäre unnötig; denn niemals schlafen alle Anwesenden gleichzeitig. Dieser und jener Alte verbringt mit Vorliebe den Großteil der Nacht wiederholt wachend, um ganz ungestört sich seinen Gedanken zu überlassen; dabei summt er stundenlang vor sich her. Das Singen wird also niemals unterbrochen, wie von selbst übernimmt es der eine zwanglos vom anderen und führt es weiter, bis auch er ohne Umstände abgelöst wird.

Außerordentlich einfach ist die Art dieses Singens, besteht es doch nur aus der immerwährenden Wiederholung eines einzigen Wortes mit leichtem Schwanken in der Tonlage. Man spricht dabei ausnahmslos ein tiefes *awái* aus, das man vier- bis achtmal schnell wiederholt, indem man das erste *awái* stark betont und die weiteren mit abschwellender Stärke folgen läßt, daß das letzte *awái* ganz verklingt. Jede Person wählt die ihr am meisten zusagende Stimmlage, die sich bei begeisterter Erregtheit steigert. Matter und leiser klingt das Singen am Vormittag und in tiefer Nacht, am lautesten am späten Nachmittag, von dem es zum gemeinschaftlichen Abendgesang überleitet.

Man darf sich diesen gesanglichen Vortrag nicht etwa als geschlossenen Chor vorstellen, da ganz im Gegenteil die Einzelperson sich hierbei in jeder Hinsicht nach eigenem Gutdünken und persönlicher Anregung einrichtet. Man fängt an und hört wieder auf, singt stärker oder leiser, wann und wie es einem paßt; keiner berücksichtigt Tempo und Stimmlage des anderen. Insofern ist dieses Singen ein großes Durcheinander. Dennoch fühlt sich das Ohr nicht sonderlich beleidigt, weil der an sich leise Vortrag des einzelnen dumpf und hohl klingt. Da jeder vor sich hin und gleichsam für sich allein singt, erwartet man sowieso keinen Gleichklang mit allen. Manchmal schien es mir, als hätten diese Menschen gar kein Gehör, weil niemand sich nach dem Nachbarn richtete. Aber dieses Singen ist denn doch als Ausdruck der seelischen Erregtheit etwas streng Persönliches und demzufolge nicht in vollständige Übereinstimmung mit dem eines andern zu bringen. Wie gesagt, jeder einzelne wechselt tagsüber mehrmals die Stimme, das Tempo und die Stärke seines Singens, je nach seiner inneren Verfassung.

Fragt man nach Bedeutung und Wert dieses andauernden Singens, so möchte ich vor allem seine psychologische Notwendigkeit betonen. Als ein Mittel erscheint es mir, das jeden einzelnen, ohne besonderen Kraftaufwand, am Nachdenken über das eigene Ich festhält. Das Singen ist derart einförmig, daß es nicht die mindeste Aufmerksamkeit fordert; aber der Rhythmus, von dem es getragen wird, hämmert sich jedem so stark ein, daß er durch ihn an die Gedanken über das eigene Selbst gewaltsam gefesselt bleibt und zugleich darauf zurückgedrängt würde, wenn er sich in Zerstreuun-

gen verlöre. Diese Wertung macht ein Ausspruch des alten Pzano verständlich: „Am besten kann ich nachdenken, wenn ich leise singe!" Einem eigenen persönlichen Drange geben jene nach, die das Singen aufnehmen. Daß es in der Großen Hütte nie ganz verstummen darf, ist nun einleuchtend.

2. Gemeinschaftliches Singen und Tanzen: Zum Unterschied von dem eben beschriebenen gleichförmigen Singen entwickelt sich am späten Nachmittag eine allgemeine Beteiligung am gesanglichen Vortrage, der von einer Art Tanz begleitet ist. Die innere Erregung aller erreicht um diese Zeit ihren Höhepunkt und schafft sich in Stimme und Körperbewegungen ihren Ausdruck. Das Singen steigert sich sozusagen zu eigentlichem Gesang; denn in das *aucí* wird mehr Modulation gelegt, auch die Betonung wechselt und ein eigentlicher Melodiensatz kommt zustande. Zwar ist er kurz, aber er wiederholt sich in wechselndem Ausdruck. An den gregorianischen Choral klingt manche dieser stimmungsvollen Melodien an. Letzten Endes sind sie eine verbesserte Weiterführung des einförmigen, ständigen Singens.

Zu dieser an sich vollkommeneren Sangesweise vereinigen sich fast ausnahmslos alle Anwesenden, nicht zwar in dem Sinne, daß alle gemeinschaftlich die gleiche Melodie wiederholen, wohl aber singt ein jeder jetzt lauter, mit erhöhtem Ausdruck und mit lebhafter Anteilnahme. Sache und Pflicht der Gemeinschaft ist dieser abendliche Gesang, während im gleichförmigen Singen tagsüber jeder einzelne sich selber verliert. Das Stimmengewirr ist jetzt noch verworrener als zu anderer Zeit, wirkt aber trotzdem nicht belästigend, weil das Ohr sich unwillkürlich an die eine oder andere angenehme Melodie heftet, die ihm schmeichelt. Der Eindruck gesanglicher Unordnung wird teilweise dadurch aufgehoben, daß jeder Anwesende seinen Körper in Übereinstimmung mit seinem Gesangstempo bewegt.

Die seelische Ergriffenheit macht aber auch den ganzen Körper erzittern. Der einzelne vermag nicht länger in seiner Hockerstellung zu verharren; er erhebt sich, hält seinen Tanzstab quer zwischen den gestreckten Fingern beider Hände und gleitet auf der Feuerstätte von einem Ende der Großen Hütte zum anderen. Bald folgt eine zweite und dritte Person. Man hat Mühe, das Feuer in einigen glimmenden Kohlen zu erhalten, weil man den Mittelraum frei machen mußte; denn zuweilen bewegt sich tanzend fast die ganze Teilnehmerschar gleichzeitig. Das Tanzen ist ein ruhiges, feierliches und doch anmutiges Dahingleiten bei aufrechter Haltung, ohne daß der Körper gedehnt oder verbogen wird; nur wenig neigt er sich wiegend nach vorn und nach beiden Seiten. Von großer Bedeutung ist Bewegung und Stellung der Füße beim Ausschreiten und das leichte Federn des Körpers in senkrechter Richtung. Einzelne Frauen entfalten dabei eine ungeahnte Anmut, andere Gestalten wirken plump.

Mehr oder weniger gleichmäßig bewegt sich die ganze Masse der enggestellten Tänzer in dieser und in jener Richtung durch die Große Hütte; aber hier und dort ist einer schneller und gleitet an seinen Nachbarn vorbei oder er ist langsamer und läßt sich zurückdrängen. Oft hebt der Pate seinen

Schützling auf, daß er sich an diesem Tanze beteilige. Einige hochbejahrte Personen bleiben sitzen, nehmen aber freudigen Anteil an der lebendigen Bewegung so vieler Personen. Meist gestattet es der beschränkte Innenraum nicht, daß sämtliche Anwesenden sich gleichzeitig am Tanzen beteiligen. Einige bleiben dann sitzen und warten, bis der und jener Tänzer den enggedrängten Haufen verläßt. Aber auch jene, die auf ihrem Platze hocken, führen mit ihrem Körper nach dem Takte rhythmische Bewegungen aus und heben übereinstimmend damit den Tanzstab rollend auf und ab.

Sind es nur einige Personen, die auf der Feuerstätte die kurzen tänzelnden Schritte machen, ordnen sie sich zu einer Längsreihe. Der Anführer strebt geradlinig auf den einen Ausgang zu; hat er ihn erreicht, dreht er sich um die eigene Körperachse und wendet sich zum anderen Ausgange. Ihm auf den Fersen folgt die kurze Reihe.

Zuweilen stellen sich die Tänzer zu einem festgeschlossenen Knäuel zusammen, daß jeder kaum einige Zentimeter auszuschreiten vermag. Der Spielraum, in dem er sich bewegen kann, ist sehr kurz und beträgt zuweilen nur anderthalb Meter. Der ganze Haufe schiebt sich so weit, als es möglich ist, von der Stelle weg; dabei wird er unvermeidlich noch mehr zusammengepreßt und unter diesem erhöhten Druck macht jede Person eine halbe Wendung, immer im Rhythmus des Gesanges, wonach diese Masse sich nun in der entgegengesetzten Richtung vom Fleck bewegt. Kaum gelingt es einem, seinen Tanzstab waagrecht zu halten.

Dann und wann stellt sich eine einzelne Frau einem Manne, auch ein einziger Mann zwei Frauen gegenüber. Das Gesicht einander zugewendet, schleifen ihre Füße in dieser und in jener Richtung über den Boden von einem Ausgange der Großen Hütte zum anderen; dabei bewegen sie den Tanzstab und singen andauernd. Eine Art Wettspiel ist dieser Auftritt, bei dem sich zeigt, wer am längsten aushält.

Jeder Pate, der seinen Schützling beim Tanzen begleitet und sich neben ihn stellt, faßt den Tanzstab mit beiden Händen, hält ihn senkrecht und bewegt ihn geradlinig auf und ab. Das weist darauf hin, daß der *uźwǵla* aufrecht und gerade wachsen, stark und kräftig werden soll. Er macht deshalb die gleichen Bewegungen mit. Zuweilen rückt der Prüfling hinter seinen Paten. Dieser führt seinen Tanzstab waagrecht auf den eigenen Rücken und der *uźwǵla* hält sich daran mit beiden Händen beim Tanzen fest, während er hinterher trippelt.

Befällt die Anwesenden aus Übermüdung eine matte Schläfrigkeit, ist es Sache des Leiters, sie durch A u f m u n t e r u n g wieder zu lebhaftem Singen anzueifern. Eines Abends drohte der Gesang zu ersterben. SANTIAGO verhält sich mehrere Minuten sehr ruhig und regungslos. Dann wird er plötzlich lebendig und unter lautem Heulen vergießt er Tränen. Gerührt stöhnt er mit klagender Stimme: „Jetzt kam endlich der Geist [die Begeisterung] über mich! Daran haben alle Anwesenden teil. Laßt uns wieder kräftig weitersingen!" Tatsächlich wirkte diese Anregung auf alle Personen erfolgreich.

Jetzt erhebt sich Gaxtsu und greift zu dem Hilfsmittel, das man vereinzelt anwendet, um die lässige Gesellschaft zu eifrigem Singen anzutreiben. Sie faßt einen armlangen, brennenden Knüppel, den sie aufrecht hält. Tänzelnd nach dem Rhythmus des Gesanges gleitet sie von einer Person zur anderen, die an ihrem Platze hocken, und hält ihnen das glimmende Ende des Holzscheites ganz nahe an das Gesicht. Schrecken durchzittert jede Person und macht sie gründlich wach. Niemand dürfte seinen Kopf zurückziehen, dadurch würde er den Unmut der Nachbarn erregen.

Nicht ganz so aufreizend ist ein anderes Mittel. Jene wenigen, die sich beim Singen anstrengen und damit von der überwiegenden Mehrheit allein gelassen werden, fassen das obere Ende ihres Tanzstabes und stochern mit der unteren Spitze lebhaft im Feuer herum, daß die Glut sich erhöht und Funken nach allen Seiten spritzen. Dieses Zeichen kann niemand mißverstehen und das Singen wird sofort wieder lebhafter.

Der Leiter ruft zuweilen ermunternde Worte dazwischen. Damals ließ sich Santiago folgendermaßen vernehmen: „Noch habe ich meinen Geist [Begeisterung] lebendig und stark. Daher werde ich weitersingen!" Black unterbricht ihn: „Merket alle auf: Wir alle müssen mit viel mehr Kraft singen!" Santiago fährt fort: „Also singen wir weiter!" Er selber strengt sich sehr an, daß die Anwesenden dadurch aufgerüttelt werden und begeistert sich beteiligen. Durch zwanzig Minuten hält das kräftige Singen an. Plötzlich schreit Santiago: „Mich hat jemand empfindlich getreten, ich fühle mich sehr schwach!" Ihm war wirklich an diesem Tage sehr unwohl. Um sich zu erleichtern, springt er auf und bewegt sich tanzend durch die Große Hütte. Dabei ruft er: „Dort im Lande meiner Mutter, wo ich zum ersten Male das *čiɣxaya* erlebt habe, bin ich niemals getreten worden. Hier aber hat mich jemand sehr empfindlich auf den Fuß getreten. *aɣéj*. Doch, laßt uns weitersingen!" Bald läßt er ermüdet nach und das allgemeine Singen wird wieder sehr schwach.

Einzig und allein die geistige Verfassung der Teilnehmer und die herrschende Stimmung entscheidet über die D a u e r dieser gemeinschaftlichen Auftritte. Wer sich nämlich ein wenig ermüdet hat, meist durch zu große Lebhaftigkeit, setzt sich einige Minuten nieder und läßt die geschlossene Masse der Tänzer an sich vorbeiziehen. Nachher stellt er sich wieder in den großen Haufen ein und tut so begeistert wie vordem mit. Einzelne führende Personen eifern allein durch ihr Verhalten die meisten anderen an und dann zieht sich der gemeinschaftliche Gesang mit Tanz zuweilen durch mehr als zwei Stunden hin. Dicke Staubwolken erfüllen den ganzen Innenraum der *čiɣxaya*-Hütte, doch die eifrige Lebhaftigkeit aller sieht darüber hinweg.

Im Verlaufe des mehr oder weniger gleichmäßig starken Singens wird hin und wieder eine einzelne Person von besonderer E r r e g u n g erfaßt. Sie stellt sich wie wütend auf die Füße und fährt mit zitternder Unruhe durch die Große Hütte, von einem Ausgange zum anderen. Dabei bekommen einige Leute, die in der Mitte stehen, zuweilen starke Stöße ab. Es heißt:

„Jene Person hat der *kêšpiź* [Geist, die Begeisterung] erfaßt!" So lange tänzelt die erregte Person in der *čiźxaya*-Hütte hin und her, bis sie ermattet.

Eines Abends springt die schwerfällige MARY plötzlich auf und tritt in die Mitte. Wie toboëchtig schnaubt sie und zittert am ganzen Leibe. Wütend faßt sie ein Stück Fleisch in beide Fäuste und reißt mit den Zähnen große Bissen ab, die sie hastig hinunterschluckt. Andere Stückchen, die sie abreißt, wirft sie ins Feuer. Nach einer leichten Kopfbewegung stellen sich GERTIE und EMILIA vor sie hin. Beide läßt sie von dem größeren Fleischstücke, das sie mit ihren Zähnen festhält, einen Fetzen mit den eigenen Zähnen abreißen. Alle drei gleiten tänzelnd und sehr erregt durch die *čiźxaya*-Hütte und zeigen das Fleischstück, das sie zwischen den Zähnen halten. Mit starren Augen schauen sie in der gleichen Richtung, in der sie sich bewegen. Ihr wütendes Gebaren hält so lange an, bis sie ermüdet ihren Platz aufsuchen. Dergleichen Auftritte einer Person erklärt man damit, daß eine mächtige Begeisterung sie plötzlich erfüllt, daß „ihr *kêšpiź* sie faßt!"

Zwar nicht nach unwandelbarer Regel, wohl aber gewohnheitsmässig schließt fast jedesmal das abendliche Singen und Tanzen mit dem *tźxer*-Gesang ab, dem sogenannten Liede der *yékamuš*. Von der einen und anderen Person wird es angestimmt, die sich erneht und tänzelnd den ganzen Raum durchschreitet. Dabei streckt sie den Tanzstab waagrecht nach vorn, zum Zeichen, daß sie etwas erbittet. Man überläßt ihr Fleischstücke oder Früchte oder Pilze. Sie nimmt dieselben freudig entgegen, tänzelt zufrieden durch die Hütte und bedenkt währenddessen andere Personen damit. Einen kleinen Rest hält sie für sich zurück und ißt ihn, was auch jene tun, mit sichtlicher Genugtuung. Alle Anwesenden begleiten den Gesang mit rollender Vorwärtsbewegung des rechten Armes allein oder indem sie den Tanzstab, waagrecht mit beiden Händen haltend, rollend nach vorwärts und aufwärts bewegen. Das Singen und die Körperbewegungen steigern sich zur Lebhaftigkeit; denn damit soll für diesmal das ganze Treiben beschlossen werden. Der *tźxer*-Gesang ist demnach ein Abschiednehmen vom heutigen Tage, ein wirkliches A b e n d - l i e d. Man will damit auch die "Geister" heimbegleiten, die sich ebenfalls nach dem langen Verweilen hier an diesem Tage zurückziehen. Die Armbewegungen, sei es mit oder ohne Stab, sollen das Arbeiten mit dem Ruder beim Gleiten über die Wasserflut andeuten. Da der *tźxer*-Gesang auch zum Abschluß der ganzen *čiźxaya*-Feier angestimmt wird, sollen jene Armbewegungen hinweisen auf die Abfahrt der vielen Teilnehmer, die sich nun nach allen Richtungen hin zerstreuen werden.

Im besondern bezweckt man mit dem *tźxer*-Gesang, „die Geister wieder zu ordnen, die von weither zur *čiźxaya*-Versammlung gekommen sind, daß sie sich von ihrer lebhaften Anteilnahme beruhigen und an ihren Ort zurückkehren bzw. zurückfinden". Mit diesen "Geistern" meinen unsere Yamana genauer die Erinnerungs- und Phantasiebilder, die in ihrer lebhaften Vorstellung faßbare Gestalt annehmen, mit denen sie gedanklich verkehren und auch Unterhaltung in lauten Worten führen. Sie fühlen sich im *čiźxaya* in

einer anderen Stimmung und glauben in einer anderen Welt zu sein, in welcher die eigenen Vorstellungen ihnen als wirkliche Personen entgegentreten. Aus dieser anderen Welt der Vorstellungen entlassen sie zunächst jene "Geister", die sich eingefunden hatten und die nun an den ihnen eigenen Aufenthaltsort zurückkehren. Danach wenden sie selber sich wieder der Welt ihres Alltags zu, in dem sie die außergewöhnliche *čiźgaus*-Stimmung abschütteln. Deshalb ruft jeder Anwesende beim Abschluß des *tźger*-Gesanges "seinen eigenen Geist" wieder zurück und zwar durch eine weit ausgreifende Bewegung des Armes, der schnell zurückgezogen wird, währenddessen die gespreizte Hand sich zur festen Faust schließt. Das will m. a. W. besagen, daß jeder nun aus der durch den Gesang gesteigerten Begeisterung oder Verzückung zur alltäglichen, ruhigen Geistesverfassung zurückkehrt. In Wirklichkeit drücken also die Worte der Yamana über die verschiedenen *kêipiź*, die in der *čiźgaus*-Hütte sich eingefunden hatten, nicht etwa persönliche Geistwesen aus, sondern nur einen einfachen Stimmungswechsel oder den Übertritt aus einer Welt sehr lebhafter Vorstellungen in die leidenschaftslose, nüchterne Tätigkeit der Geisteskräfte.

Nach dem fast regungslosen Hocken während des größten Teiles des Tages fühlen alle Leute die körperliche Anstrengung beim Tanzen und gemeinschaftlichen Singen wie eine Wohltat. Eine solche Abwechslung muß sein und man gewährt sie regelmäßig auch den *uźwźgla*. Passend verlegt man sie an den Abschluß des Tages und unmittelbar danach gibt der Leiter das Zeichen zur Nachtruhe (S. 910). Jeder stößt aufrecht den Tanzstab in den Erdboden, hängt das *hapaxêl* an der Hüttenwand auf und überläßt sich dem Schlafe. Nun ist es wieder still in der Großen Hütte und nur die eine oder andere leise Stimme führt das ununterbrochene Singen weiter.

3. Erinnerung an Verstorbene: Kurz sei wiederholt, daß zu diesen abendlichen Tänzen jeder Anwesende sich eigens bemalt (S. 915). Ehedem haben die Frauen mehr als die Männer sich auf den ganzen Körper reiche Muster von roten, weißen und schwarzen Strichen mit Punkten und Kreisen gezeichnet; gegenwärtig läßt man es mit einer Bemalung des Gesichtes, der Arme und Beine bewendet sein, vereinzelt nur verzieren einige Frauen noch ihren Oberkörper (S. 916). Am Abend wird selbstverständlich die Gesichtsbemalung der *uźwźgla* erneuert.

Da in der *čiźgaus*-Hütte jeder Erwachsene die Geschehnisse und Erlebnisse seiner letzten Jahre gründlich durchdenkt, erwacht in ihm lebhaft die Erinnerung an seine verstorbenen Verwandten. Ihr verleiht er wiederholt und öffentlich Ausdruck. Zunächst durch eine Bemalung, die so gehalten wird, daß jedermann sie sofort als Zeichen der Trauer deutet. Nicht selten faßt eine Person in ihrem Trauerschmerz sehr erregt ein Stückchen Holzkohle, zerkleinert es mit wütender Hast zwischen beiden flachen Händen und verreibt das Pulver, wie in Raserei, über das ganze Gesicht. Dies geschieht zum Zeichen tiefster Trauer über den Verlust eines sehr nahen Verwandten in jüngster Zeit. Im Andenken an liebe Angehörige, die bereits

länger verschieden sind, bedeckt man das Gesicht mit Zeichenmustern, welche von der unberechenbaren Phantasie im Augenblick eingegeben werden.

Einige davon zeigt Abb. 86. In *a* ist ein einziger schwarzer Strich quer über jede Wange gezogen. Merklich abweichend erscheint in *b* das ganze Gesicht mit *lmi*-Pulver eingerieben, über das zwei mitteldicke, schwarze Striche gelegt sind. In *c* ist die ungewöhnliche Umrandung der Augen und der kurze Strich unter der Unterlippe mit schwarzer Farbe ebenfalls auf einen roten Untergrund aufgetragen. Wieder wird auch in *d* das ganze Gesicht erst rot gemalt, nachher trägt man ein reichhaltiges Muster mit schwarzer Farbe ein. Noch andere Zeichnungen und Muster führt man aus, je nachdem der künstlerische Einfall sie schafft. Selbstverständlich trägt jeder Anwesende das *hapaxêl* und seinen verzierten, kurzen Tanzstab.

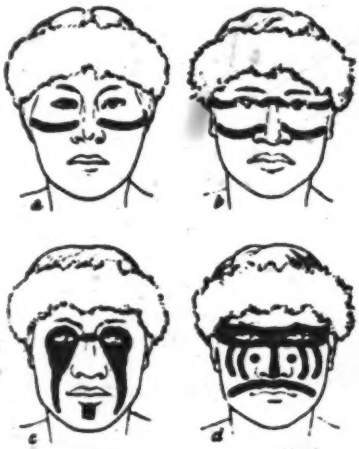


Abb. 86. Muster von Trauerbemalung

Auch in dieser Bemalung und im Andenken an die Verstorbenen bewegt sich der einzelne eine Zeitlang tanzend hin und her, indem er durch den ganzen Innenraum gleitet. Wie überhaupt bei diesen Tanzbewegungen, ist der ganze Körper fast gerade aufgerichtet, die Beine sind im Knie ein wenig geknickt und die Füße eng hintereinander gestellt. Der linke Fuß bewegt sich hüpfend einige Zentimeter nach vorwärts und der rechte Fuß wird nachgezogen. Die Finger beider Hände halten den Tanzstab waagrecht oder etwas schräg und heben ihn mit rollenden Bewegungen zum Körper hin langsam auf und ab. Zuweilen umfassen beide Hände den seitwärts nach unten gerichteten kurzen Stab und führen ihn nach vorwärts und rückwärts, in der Art des Ruderns. Sogar die rechte Hand allein umklammert ihn in der Mitte und hält ihn waagrecht bis auf Schulterhöhe, als wäre er eine Harpune. In dieser Haltung gleitet die tanzende Person eilig auf der Feuerstätte entlang und eine andere tut dies unmittelbar neben ihr, doch so, daß beide sich in entgegengesetzter Richtung von einem Ausgange zum anderen aneinander vorbeibewegen.

Währenddessen stößt sie kurze Klagen aus. Nach einigen Minuten setzt sie sich nieder und wiederholt ihre Seufzer in langen Sätzen. Beispielsweise rief schon am zweiten Abend die alte MARY während des Tanzes traurig aus: „Damals, als meine Eltern, meine Onkel und meine Tanten noch lebten und in der *čiężaus*-Hütte spielten, war sehr viel Volk beisammen. Alle kannten das Spiel gut und alle erfreuten sich daran. Heute sind wir nur ganz

wenige. Kaum wissen wir noch, wie čiźgaus schön gespielt werden muß. Das macht mich sehr traurig!" Am nächsten Abend hörte ich von der gleichen MARY folgende Worte: „Ach, wie arm stehen wir Yamana heutigentags da! Nur wenige der Unsrigen leben noch. Darüber bin ich unbeschreiblich betrübt. In meinem Gedächtnis sehe ich die vielen, mit denen ich zum ersten Male gemeinsam im čiźgaus war; heute bin ich allein von all jenen noch übrig!" Ihr schloß sich sofort ihr Gatte RICHARD an: „Zur Zeit, da meine Mutter mich gebar, war es schön bei uns Yamana; damals lebte noch viel Volk und wir bildeten eine kopfreiche Familie. Heute jedoch bin ich sehr arm dran; denn ich stehe allein in der Welt! Meine Brüder und Schwestern sind tot, meine Eltern leben lange schon nicht mehr, meine Onkel und Tanten sind längst dahin. Wer sollte da nicht traurig sein, wenn er, so wie ich, ganz allein hier in dieser Welt dasteht!"

Währenddessen verrieb GERTIE reichlich Holzkohlenpulver in ihrem Gesichte, erhob sich erregt von ihrem Platze und begann in wildem Tone: „Wie traurig ist unser Los! Im letzten Winter ist wieder einer aus meinem Verwandtenkreise gestorben. Wir Yamana sind nur noch als ein sehr kleiner Rest übrig geblieben!" Wie wild glitt sie nun durch die GROSSE HÜTTE hin und her. Ihre Schwester ADELHEID hatte sich einen einzigen schwarzen Strich über die rechte und linke Wange gezogen (Abb. 86, *a*) und verharrte in Hockerstellung auf ihrem Platze. Beide beweinten eine Tante, die kürzlich dahingeschieden war.

Einmal rief auch der alte WHAITS in den allgemeinen Gesang folgende Worte der Trauer hinein: „Wehe mir Armen! Ganz verwaist bin ich: denn im vergangenen Winter starb mein allerletzter Verwandter. Seitdem stehe ich allein in dieser Welt!" Seine Frau, die neben ihm saß, schluchzte laut und weinte bitterlich: „Ja, es ist wahr, du stehst jetzt ganz allein in der Welt! Deine Familie war im Westen beheimatet und einst zahlreich. Es ist wahr, du bist jetzt der Letzte aus deiner großen Familie. Aber diese beiden Weißen, die zu uns gekommen sind,[230] die heben unseren Mut. Sie sind Yamana geworden und demnach mit dir verwandt. Tröste dich also!"

Fast an jedem Abend gibt der eine oder andere Teilnehmer seinen Trauerschmerz zu erkennen. Vereinzelt schließen sich diesem Beispiele mehrere oder der Großteil der Leute an, daß ein allgemeines Wehklagen und Weinen, Wimmern und Heulen entsteht. Beruhigt sich schließlich die Allgemeinheit, setzt dieser und jener trotzdem sein Schluchzen bis tief in die Nacht hinein fort; niemand hindert ihn daran.

4. F r e i e Z w i s c h e n r u f e : Für die völlige Ungebundenheit, mit der jeder Teilnehmer in der Großen Hütte seine innersten Gefühle aussprechen darf, zeugen die freien Worte, die er in sein S i n g e n e i n s t r e u t. Zu jeder Tageszeit ist ihm das erlaubt. Meist begnügt er sich mit einigen kurzen Sätzen. Die Worte des einen regen zuweilen seinen Nachbar an, den gleichen

[230] Ganz auffällig weist sie dabei durch Blicke und Gebärden auf GUSINDE und KOPPERS hin.

Gedanken weiterzuführen oder zu ergänzen. Wenn am Abend fast alle Leute sich am gemeinschaftlichen Gesange beteiligen, folgen sich die verschiedenen Zwischenrufe nicht nur unmittelbar, sondern fallen auch gleichzeitig. Sie beleben die an sich bereits erregte Bewegung noch mehr. Aus einigen Sätzen, die ich hier folgen lasse, wird Geist und Inhalt jener Äußerungen ersichtlich.

Etwa zwei Stunden schon hatten die Leute laut gesungen. Die Küchenfrauen treten mit der Mahlzeit ein und werden mit lauten *hôhohohohô*-Rufen empfangen. SANTIAGO, der Leiter, hält plötzlich inne und ruft nur noch: „Ich will meinen Gesang abbrechen, denn ich bin sehr müde und hungrig!" Die Mehrheit der Leute führt den Gesang weiter, die übrigen essen inzwischen hastig, um bald danach den Gesang wieder aufzugreifen.

An einem Abend wird sehr spät noch Kaffee gebracht. Alle freuen sich außerordentlich. Jeder Erwachsene greift nach seiner Tasse und mit ausgestreckten, nur wenig im Ellbogengelenk geknickten Armen hält er sie vor sich hin. Einige Personen erheben sich, hüpfen hin und her und führen den Gesang mit lebhafter Stimme. Aus Freude darüber, daß sie wieder etwas genießen dürfen, gebärden sie sich munter. Hüpfend nähern sie sich jener Küchenfrau mit der großen Kanne, umtänzeln sie und strecken ihr die Tasse hin. Während sie jede Tasse füllt und gleichzeitig Brot verteilt, führen die anderen rund um sie herum das Hüpfen weiter. Bald entfernen sie sich wieder tänzelnd mit den gefüllten Tassen und lassen sich auf ihrem Platze nieder. Ihr vergnügtes Hüpfen ist Ausdruck der großen Zufriedenheit für den wohlschmeckenden Trank. Einer sagt laut: „Wie bin ich erfreut, daß ich zu essen und zu trinken bekommen habe!" In singendem Tone ruft eine Frau: „Nun gibt es wieder zu essen und zu trinken; das ist vortrefflich!" In die ganze Versammlung brachte jene Küchenfrau, die Speise und Trank verteilt hat, helle Freude und lebhafte Bewegung.

Am ersten Abend, als beim gemeinschaftlichen Gesange eine kurze Pause eintrat, rief SANTIAGO, der damalige Leiter, mit lauter Stimme; „Wir sind hier wieder einmal versammelt, um *čiḗxuus* zu feiern. Gut wollen wir es machen! Dieses Spiel kam einst vom Westen zu uns, von den Halakwulup kam es hierher. Heute haben wir eine Halakwulup[339] unter uns. Sie wird uns genau beobachten und nachher ihren Leuten erzählen, wie wir das *čiḗxuus* abhalten. Darum müssen wir es diesmal ganz besonders gut machen!"

Kurz darauf warf er eine persönliche Bemerkung in den Gesang der andern hinein: „Heute sitzen unter uns zwei *pudula* [statt *palalóula*, S. 333]. Für diese veranstalten wir das *čiḗxuus*.[340] Gut wollen wir es feiern!"

Am gleichen Abend läßt sich auch CLARA vernehmen: „Ich habe als Schützling eine Halakwulup [JULIA]. Sie hält sich an alles, was hier im *čiḗxuus*

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[339] Gemeint ist die jugendliche JULIA, die vor mehreren Wochen zu den Yamana geflüchtet war und die zu dieser Jugendweihe nach Puerto Mejillones eingeladen wurde (S. 845).

[340] Damit will er sagen, daß GUSINDE und KOPPERS die einem Europäer bislang noch nie gewährte Auszeichnung zuteil geworden ist, diese geheime Veranstaltung von Anfang bis zum Schluß zu erleben.

von ihr gefordert wird; treu erfüllt sie alle Bestimmungen und hat Freude an unserem Feste. Sie kam zu uns hierher, weil sie keine näheren Verwandten mehr besitzt; sie ist ein Waisenkind. Gerne nahmen wir sie auf, sie mag ruhig und ungestört unter uns leben; denn wir Yamana sind ja nur noch sehr wenige. Auch meine Familie war einst sehr zahlreich; gegenwärtig lebt keiner meiner Verwandten mehr. Ich allein bin übrig geblieben, deshalb bin ich so traurig: *čiḗgmus*!"

Nachher unterbricht PEINE das Singen: „Ich freue mich sehr wegen jener beiden Weißen [GUSINDE und KORTEAS]. Sie sind einflußreiche Männer und achten unsere Gewohnheiten. Als *uāxǵla tgs* [rechte Prüflinge] erweisen sie sich. Genau halten sie sich an die *čiḗgmus*-Ordnung. Deshalb bedaure ich aufrichtig, daß sie uns bald verlassen. Wirklich gute Menschen sind sie!" Ihr schloß sich sogleich MARY an: „Auch ich freue mich, daß jene beiden Weißen unser *čiḗgmus* genau kennengelernt und genau sich nach allem [Gesetz] eingerichtet haben. Prächtige Männer sind sie!" Nochmals meldet sich die alte PEINE: „Wie tut es mir leid, daß jene beiden Männer uns verlassen werden! Sie beachten die Ordnung dieser Hütte besser als mancher der Unsrigen!"

An einem Spätnachmittag sang PEDRO sehr lange. Seine sanfte, getragene Stimme hörte sich an wie ein Choral. Unterbrechend sagte er: „Ich bin ein alter Mann und habe nur noch wenig Lebenskraft. Nun aber bin ich froh, habe ich Joch gehört, daß jener Weiße [GUSINDE] uns helfen will, weil er uns Yamana schätzt! Wenn er doch wahr machen möchte, was er uns versprochen hat, nämlich für uns [bei der chilenischen Regierung] einzutreten, damit wir auf diesem Fleck ruhig wohnen können.[241] Darüber [über diese gute Aussicht] bin ich froh. Deshalb habe ich den Gesang aufgegriffen und so lange gehalten!" Gleich danach führt er sein Singen weiter. Die anderen Leute horchen aufmerksam zu und werden feierlich gestimmt; denn seine hohe Stimme klingt außergewöhnlich angenehm. Bald hält er wieder inne: „Wirklich, ein alter Mann bin ich. Seit langem habe ich mich nicht mehr an einem *čiḗgmus* beteiligt. Von den alten Leuten [der früheren Zeit] bin ich einer der Letzten. In meinen jungen Jahren war ich ausnahmslos zur Stelle, wo immer *čiḗgmus* gespielt wurde; unter den Ersten, die den Gesang aufgegriffen, war ich stets. Seit langer Zeit habe ich mich dabei nicht mehr betätigt; denn ich bin alt. Als ich jung war, gingen wir nachts an den Strand, um uns zu baden; wir haben dabei gesungen, ich fehlte nie. Dennoch blieb mir bis heute noch etwas

[241] Ihm schwebte dabei folgendes vor: Seit einer Reihe von Jahren besitzen die Brüder LAWRENCE das Gebiet um Puerto Mejillones am Nordufer der Isla Navarino als Pachtgut von der chilenischen Regierung und sie haben den Yamana gestattet, an jenem kleinen Hafen sich anzusiedeln. Im nächsten Jahre sollte die Pachtfrist ablaufen und es bestand die Gefahr, daß jenes Landstück in andere Hände käme. Die Zukunft der Yamana würde dadurch sehr unsicher und mit Recht fürchteten sie, von diesem liebgewonnenen Fleckchen vertrieben zu werden. Angesichts dessen hatte ich ihnen versprochen, ihre Wünsche im Ministerio de Colonización zu Santiago vorzutragen. Später habe ich mein Wort eingelöst. Auch heute noch verbringen die wenigen überlebenden Yamana ihre letzten Tage in dem genannten kleinen Hafen. Vgl. GUSINDE (d): 60 und S. 364.

Kraft und Freude. Wirklich, es ist nicht recht, daß ich bis jetzt untätig blieb. Meine letzte Kraft will ich aufwenden und alle jüngeren Leute sollen es sehen, daß ich als alter Mann nicht zurückstehe. Also werde ich weitersingen!" Noch lebhafter als zuvor singt er, erhebt sich sogar zum Tanze und springt vor lauter Freude auf. Sein Verhalten ermuntert alle Anwesenden.

Auffällig rege beteiligt sich diesmal auch der blinde WHAITS am Gesange. Wiederholt unterbricht er ihn und redet dazwischen: „Ich bin ein hochbejahrter Mann und der Gesang strengt mich an. Wäre ich noch ein junger Bursche, wie damals, als ich mit anderen jungen Männern am *čiẹxaus* mich beteiligte, hätte ich mehr Kraft und Feuer, da würde ich besser singen. Von einem alten, blinden Manne darf man eben nicht mehr erwarten, als was ich wirklich biete." Nach kurzer Pause fährt er traurig fort: „Ich fühle es wohl, daß diese Veranstaltung nicht mehr so feierlich und ernst gehalten wird, wie ehedem. Das bedaure ich sehr. In alter Zeit war *čiẹxaus* unübertrefflich schön!" Bei diesen Worten gerät er in Zorn; er weiß, daß wir beide zugegen sind: „Mich empört es sehr, daß wir diesmal sogar [europäische] Fremdlinge unter uns haben. Macht euch fort, ihr beiden! Eine Schande ist es, daß unser *čiẹxaus* nicht mehr so schön abgehalten wird, daß alle Anwesenden sich nicht mehr so lebhaft und gewissenhaft an den Tänzen beteiligen, wie das ehedem die Regel war. Macht euch fort, ihr beiden; was geht euch unser *čiẹxaus* an! Noch viel weniger sollt ihr es jetzt sehen, da es so schlecht gespielt wird. Verlaßt sofort diese Große Hütte!"[502]

Beim Verteilen und Verzehren des Mittagessens herrscht große Stille. Nachher beginnt wieder das gemeinschaftliche Singen ziemlich laut. Währenddessen sagt WHAITS: „Das Lied [die Melodie], das ich singe, stammt von meinem Onkel. Als ich *uinẹ́ẹla* war, hat er es mich gelehrt; seitdem habe ich es oft wiederholt. Wie schön war es damals, da ich noch ein junger Bursche war. In jener Zeit lebten viele Leute!"

Etwas später fügt er an: „Alle schönen *ẹ́ẹwáli* [Feuersteine] kommen vom Westen. Auch die langen *ẹ́ẹkẹin* [Lederriemen zum Einfangen der Prüflinge] waren dort die besten. Mit ganz vorzüglichen Fellen deckte man dort das Gerüst der Großen Hütte. Wahrhaftig, alles [was zur *čiẹxaus*-Feier verwendet wird] war im Westen unvergleichlich schöner als im Zentrum und Osten."[503]

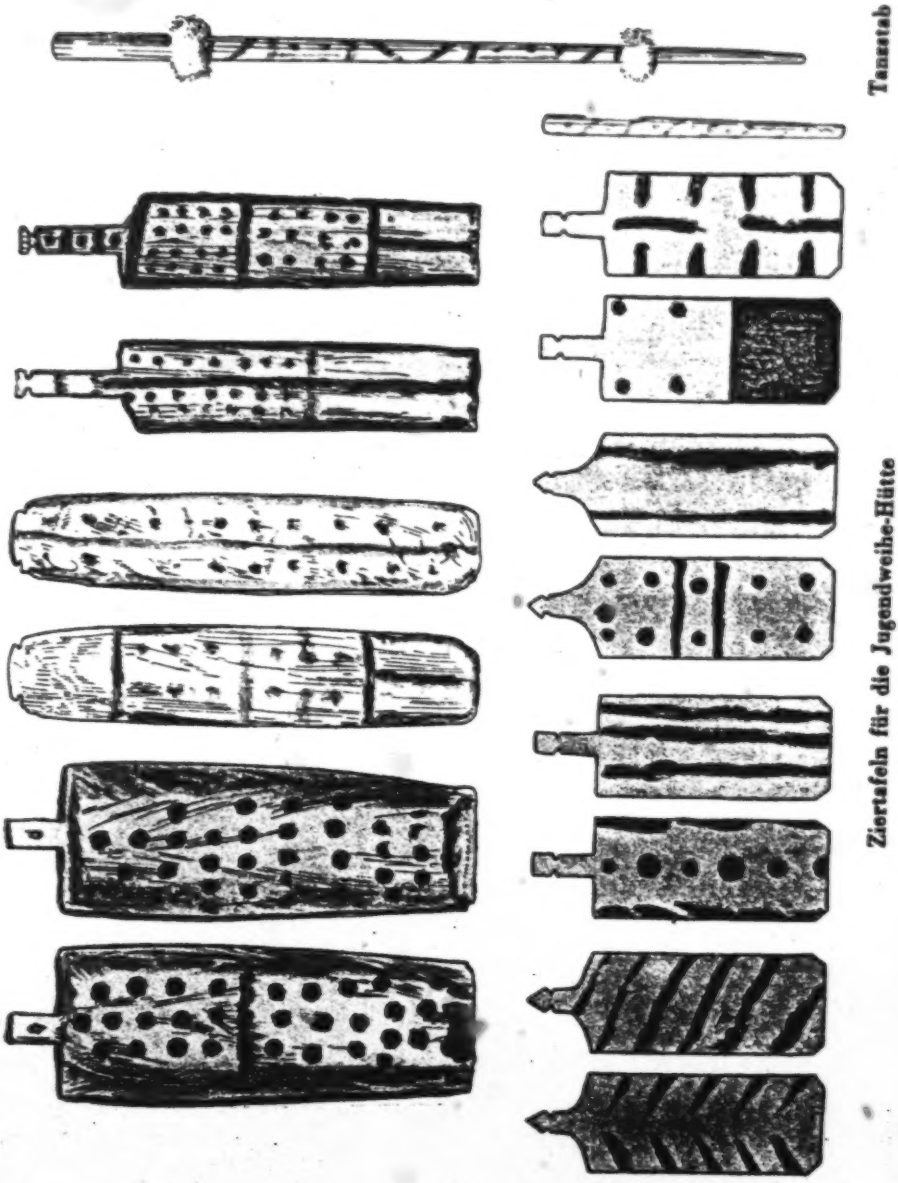
Der nämliche WHAITS ruft nach einiger Zeit nochmals in den allgemeinen Gesang hinein: „Morgen werden wir die Große Hütte verlassen. Schön verlief dieses *čiẹxaus* und doch hat es mich traurig gestimmt. Ich bin ein alter

[502] Ein augenblickliches Aufwallen höchsten Unmutes war es, das diesen Alten zu solch verletzenden Worten veranlaßt hat. Bald beruhigte er sich, wurde später durch seine beiden Töchter, von denen die eine wie die andere unsere Patinnen waren, gründlich aufgeklärt und erwies sich am Schluß als unser aufrichtiger Freund. Über die Patenschaft mit seinen Töchtern hinweg wurden wir mit ihm sogar verwandt. Vgl. KOPPERS (a): 70.

[503] In diesen Worten liegt wiederum ein Hinweis auf die allgemeine Anschauung von der Herkunft dieser Jugendweihe aus dem äußersten Westen und von ihrem Eindringen in die mittleren Yamana-Gebiete.

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

Tafel III



[Facing page 928]

Mann, der für sich lange Lebensjahre nicht mehr erwartet. Unter uns ist ein guter Weißer, ich kenne ihn schon von früher.[301] Er wird uns helfen, daß wir dieses Landstück hier [bei Puerto Mejillones] behalten; er hat uns das versprochen. So benützt, ihr jungen Leute, seine Anwesenheit! Ich persönlich werde es kaum auswerten; denn ich bin sehr alt, ich fühle mich matt und lebensmüde. Ihr jungen Leute mögt sein Anerbieten euch zunutze machen, ich wünsche euch guten Erfolg!"

Von banger Sorge gequält kommt der blinde WHAITS nochmals auf diesen Gegenstand zu sprechen. Traurig sagt er: „Wehe mir Armen! Auf dieser Stelle wohne ich nun seit vielen Jahren. Alt bin ich geworden, ich hatte immer genug zu essen und hier stand ununterbrochen meine Behausung. Aber die Weißen betrügen uns Yamana. Jetzt werden sie uns dieses Fleckchen wegnehmen, dann mich und mein Weib von dieser Insel [Navarino] verjagen. Wehe uns, die wir so hilflos [gegenüber den Weißen] dastehen! Wohin sollen wir uns wenden? Überall sitzen bereits die Weißen. Sollten sie uns wirklich verjagen, dann mögen sie sich die ganze Insel [Navarino] von hier wegnehmen und mit sich fortschleppen, wohin sie wollen!"

Jeder Sprecher und Sänger beschließt seine W[illegible] mit einem lauten und kräftigen *čiẹxuys*-Rufe. Richtig deutet man d[illegible] eine Verstärkung ihrer Sätze und als eine nachdrückliche Betonung ihr[illegible] Behauptungen, ferner als einen vertrauensvollen Aufschrei nach Erfüllung der ausgesprochenen Wünsche und endlich als ein Fluch auf das Verdammenswerte, das man beklagt. Gleich einem Schrei der Verzweiflung hört sich dieser abschließende *čiẹxuys*-Ruf zuweilen an.

Wie das Singen im allgemeinen den *Yetáĵta* verscheuchen soll (S. 917), so gelten dem gleichen Ziele besondere Zwischenrufe. Sieht irgendeine führende Person jenen bösen Geist sich nähern, fordert sie laut alle Anwesenden zur Abwehr auf. Eines Abends[302] tanzten die Frauen sehr lebhaft und SANTIAGO verspürt Lust, sie in höchste Erregung zu bringen. Er schreit ihnen von seinem Platze aus zu: „Tanzt weiter! *Yetáĵta* ist noch sehr nahe und will nicht fortgehen!" Bald ergänzt er sich: „Tanzt eifriger! *Yetáĵta* macht noch immer nicht Miene sich zurückzuziehen." Nach einigen Augenblicken ruft er, als fühlte er sich in seiner Angst ein wenig erleichtert: „Nur tapfer weiter! Schon schickt sich *Yetáĵta* zum Rückzuge an, mit dem Kopf nach unten sinkt er in die Erde hinein!"

Unsere Dolmetscher erklären uns, warum SANTIAGO und PEDRO so dringlich zu starkem Singen und zu lebhaftem Tanzen auffordern: Wir hätten als Fremdlinge und Unberufene in dieser *čiẹxuys*-Hütte die besondere Aufmerksamkeit des *Yetáĵta* auf uns gezogen; die Anwesenden fürchten, er könne uns besonderes Leid zufügen. Demnach sei die höchste Anstrengung erforder-

[301] Bei meinem ersten Besuch im Februar 1919 hatte ich diesen Alten in Punta Remolino getroffen, habe mich lange mit ihm ausgesprochen und damals von ihm bedeutsame Mitteilungen über die feuerländische Mythologie erhalten. Vgl. Gusinde (a): 39.

[302] Vgl. Koppers (a): 81 über diesen abendlichen Auftritt am vierten Tage der Feier.

lich, damit dieser allen Leuten sehr gefährliche *Yetájta* tief im Innern der Erde zurückgedrängt werde und uns in keiner Weise schaden könne.

Wieder ruft SANTIAGO laut: „Weiter tanzen! noch immer sehe ich *Yetájtas* Füße aus der Erde hervorstehen." Nach einigen Minuten äußert er sich wie beruhigt: „Nur noch einen Fuß von ihm sehe ich [aus der Erde herausragen]. Aber tanzt weiter!"[546] Dann: „Jetzt sehe ich nur noch eine Zehe des *Yetájta*. Tanzt nur weiter!" Sehr aufmerksam schaut SANTIAGO unverrückbar auf die gleiche Stelle am Erdboden. Nach etwa zehn Minuten atmet er erleichtert auf: „Endlich ist *Yetájta* ganz verschwunden. Aber noch sehe ich das Loch, durch das er hinabgestiegen ist. Auch das muß sich noch schließen. Darum tanzt weiter!" Nach kurzem Augenblicken ruft er freudig: „Auch jenes tiefe Loch hat sich bereits geschlossen. Aus weiter Ferne höre ich nur noch ein verlorenes Poltern. *Yetájta* hat sich endlich ganz von uns zurückgezogen! Stellt nun das Tanzen ein und ruht euch aus!" ... Fast kein Abend vergeht, an dem nicht wenigstens mit dem einen und anderen lauten Satze der *Yetájta* abgewehrt wird.

5. Zwischenrufe des Wächters: Bekanntlich bekleidet der sogenannte Wächter *xinefkêra* ein eigenes Amt bei der *ŭĕgupa*-Feier. Nicht nur eine besondere Gesichtsbemalung kennzeichnet ihn (S. 838), er darf sogar einen dem *yékumul* vorbehaltenen Federschmuck tragen. Aus welchem Grunde ihm dieses Recht eingeräumt wird, wußte niemand zu erklären: es hieß: „Das war immer so!" Überdies ist ihm ein bestimmter Gesang eigen, genauer zwei Melodien, die von der Sangesweise der Allgemeinheit merklich abweichen und die er allein anstimmt. Er tut dies dann, wenn das gemeinschaftliche Singen verstummt ist. Sehr melodisch und klangreich ist sein Vortrag. Nicht einmal seine Gehilfen dürfen ihn begleiten.

Der Wächter zeigt sich außerhalb der Großen Hütte als ein wachsamer Hüter dieses Heiligtums, zum Schrecken und zur Abwehr der Außenstehenden (S. 839). Drinnen in der *ŭĕgupa*-Hütte spielt er wiederholt die Rolle des wütenden *xinefkêra*, dessen Namen er trägt.[547] Im März 1922 versah RICHARD diesen Posten. Am späten Nachmittag des 11. März, nachdem die Teilnehmer wieder ihre Plätze in der Großen Hütte eingenommen hatten, stellt er sich neben den Haupteingang und benimmt sich, als ob er eben eingetreten wäre. Sein Gesicht ist weiß, Mund- und untere Nasengegend sind rot bemalt; der Federkranz ist so um den Kopf gelegt, daß die Federn sich nach unten wenden. Mit lauter Stimme ruft er, daß vor allem die Frauen in der Küchenhütte es hören: „Ich komme von der Hochsee hierher! Nur kurze Zeit gedenke ich zu bleiben!" Als Antwort ertönt von der Küchenhütte herüber: „*amái*!"[548]

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[546] Genau hatte währenddessen SANTIAGO, den Leiter, genau beobachtet. Bei diesen Worten huschte ein vergnügtes Schmunzeln über sein Gesicht und versteckt mit dem Finger zeigend flüsterte er: „Auch ihm [SANTIAGO] steht ein Fuß aus der Decke hervor!"

[547] Gemeint ist Lewophorus urvorbili, der wütende Rauchvogel der Hochsee (Abb. 8[illegible]

[548] Dieses Wort bedeutet Zustimmung, wie: Gut! So, so! Wir haben es gehört!

Nachdenklich und gemessenen Schrittes geht der *einzelkämpfer* in der Großen Hütte auf und ab. Plötzlich ertönt seine Stimme: „Jetzt habt acht!" Die Antwort von drüben lautet wieder: „وعلى!" Sogleich fährt er fort: „Wie kommt das Volk in dieser Hütte fürchterlich vor! Ich komme keinem von diesen Leuten hier, ich kommt ja eben erst von der Hochsee. Deshalb befällt mich große Furcht, da ich allein hier unter den [mir unbekannten] Leuten stehe. Allerdings ist diese Hütte sehr schön!" Nach kurzer Pause erfolgt von drüben das übliche „وعلى".

Hennar fährt fort: „Ich komme von einem Orte, wo es sehr viel Schnee und Eis gibt."[*] Ein böser [unangenehmer] Ort ist es, von dem ich herkomme. Was mag doch das hier für ein Volk sein, in das ich geraten bin? Ich sehe hier zwei Fremde [Gummar und Kerreem]. Diese werde ich auffressen! Aber gegenwärtig bin ich voll und satt; etwas später werde ich diese beiden fressen. Falls ich etwas übrig ließe, sollt ihr [Weiber in der Küchenhütte] da draußen auch davon erhalten. — Die Leute hier sind sehr böse und schlecht; ich kenne sie zwar nicht, fürchte mich aber vor ihnen sehr."

Eine vorhergesehene Unterbrechung tritt ein. Zwei Frauen bringen aus der Küchenhütte eine Kanne mit Kaffee und beginnen unverzüglich damit, ihn auszuschenken. Die ersten drei oder vier Personen beim Nebeneingange haben sich ihre Tassen füllen lassen und merken beim ersten Schluck, daß aus Versehen zu diesem Kaffee Seewasser statt Süßwasser genommen worden war. Sie speien diesen Schluck unter Gelächterausbrüchen aus, was viele der übrigen Anwesenden bemerken. Hennar beobachtet es ebenfalls und ruft laut: „Was Essen und Trinken angeht, sind wir hier damit nicht zufrieden!" Die Antwort von der Küchenhütte bleibt diesmal aus.

Nach kurzer Pause fährt er fort: „Mir scheint, diesem Volke hier wird bald etwas Schlimmes widerfahren! Ich hatte *die Absicht, sie alle zu packen*, faßte aber nur die Federn."[**] — Ihnen werde ich beweisen, daß ich ein schlauer Vogel bin: Ich werde mich ducken und gegen den Boden drücken, ich werde mich dumm anstellen. So [in dieser Haltung] werde ich auf einen zugehen, ihn fassen und mit mir fortnehmen!" Sogleich stützt er sich auf den alten Panno, der ihm am nächsten auf dem Boden hockt. Er faßt ihn mit beiden Händen und wirft ihn in die Höhe. Gleichzeitig schreit er: „Einen habe ich bereits gepackt, ihn werde ich fressen! Einer genügt mir. — Doch nein, ich werde ihn jetzt noch nicht fressen; denn ich bin noch voll und satt. Ich werde ihn *mir für später aufbewahren! Auch jene beiden Fremden, die dort sitzen, werde ich mir für den Schluß aufbewahren!*" Die Frauen antworten von draußen mit einem klagenden: „O weh!"

Hershaft packt Hennar einen abrupfe und ruft: „Da habe ich hier einen Neuhocker [jüngre Vogel, in Anspielung auf das jugendliches Alter des Prüf-

[*] Auf den indianischen Südern, in dem gewaltige Eisberge treiben, spielt er an.

[**] Man muß sich vergegenwärtigen: Er glaubte ein Vogel zu sein, der als mächtiger anderer Vögel angreift und ihnen im Sturze die Federn ausrupft; er betrachtet die Leute in der Großen Hütte als wären sie Vögel.

Hagel] erwähnt. Nur will ich mir noch heimlich lagern, um ihn bald zu verschen. Jetzt bin ich noch voll und satt. Nach einiger Zeit aber kommt er an die Reihe!" Erschreckt ankreischen die Weiber: „*ooshj!*"

Nach kurzer Pause: „Armes Volk hier, ich habe wirklich Erbarmen! — Ich habe keiner Eile wegzugehen, ich möchte noch lange Zeit an diesem Orte verbleiben. — Fast hätte ich ein [kleines Lesen] alle gefaßt und mit mir in die Luft gehoben!" Aus der Küchenhütte tönt wiederholt das *ooshj* dazwischen.

Durch den Hauptzugang ruft Rawaan den Aufbrechenden zu, was in der *Alfuqui*-Hütte jetzt vor sich geht; den Lesern hier drinnen sagt er, was jene dort treiben. Camm redet in das leise Singen der anderen hinein: „Weh mir Armem! Ich weiß nicht viel [zu singen], aber mich drängt es zu singen. So will ich anfangen und nach der Melodie der anderen singen, um ihnen Mut zu machen und sie zum Gesange anzuleiten?" Richard ruft laut dazwischen: „*Fast* wäre ich noch einen gefangen!"

Nach einigem Augenblicken schiebt er sich gegen den Hauptzugang und kriecht außen auf den Hüttengerüst; er will alle erschrecken. Laut dröhnt seine Aufforderung: „*Fangt* an zusammen zu mit *hambé, hambé, hambé!*"[301] Nach einer Pause: „Noch immer bin ich hier [oben auf dem Hüttengerüst]!" Drinnen setzt der Gesang aus: „*Jemand*, der dort drüben weint [nämlich ein kleines Kind in der Küchenhütte], werde ich mir hierher holen, damit er nicht stirbt!" Nach einiger Zeit beginnt der Gesang von neuem. „Beinahe hätte ich diesen Knaben gefaßt! — Er kam mit einer einzigen Wunde davon, und davon. — Von einem anderen sieht man nur noch die Federn."[302] — Ihr dort drüben [in der Küchenhütte] müßt ruhiger sein und immer etwas zu essen vorrätig halten. Haltet scharf und seid aufmerksam auf alles, was ich sage!" Wiederholt wurde mit *ooshj* geantwortet. Jetzt steigt Richard vom Hüttengerüst herunter und kriecht in die Große Hütte zurück.

Nach einiger Zeit beginnt er wieder: „Ich bin hier drinnen oben an der Decke [wie ein Vogel, der fliegend sich erhoben hat]!" Sogleich stellt Camm sein Singen ein und entschuldigt sich: „*Leider* versagt mir die Stimme, um schön und gut fortzufahren. Deshalb stelle ich mein Singen ab."

Rawaan setzt erneut ein: „Ich beeile mich nicht, von hier wegzugehen. Deswegen möchte ich bald abziehen." Stimmen von draußen: „Nein, beeile dich nicht!" Er: „Es scheint, daß ihr mich nicht gern hier seht!" Antwort: „Ja, wir haben dich gern!" Er: „Gut, wenn dem so ist, will ich noch länger verweilen und noch allen sagen, was hier vor sich geht." Von draußen: „Wir freuen uns darüber." Der antwortet: „Ich verspüre Lust, etwas zu proklamieren." Antwort: „*Gut* ist es." Er: „Nun, jetzt sind diese beiden hier[303] ganz sauber und ordnig, so recht zum Vorzeigen!" Inzwischen ist eine der Küchenfrauen herangetreten und reicht etwas zum Trinken herum. Sehr leise

[301] Bei der skythischen Tanzbewegung wird dieses Wort ununterbrochen wiederholt.

[302] Durch dieses scheinbare Rundumgehen verteilt einen Vogel nach dem anderen und erwähnt dies, daß alle Federn fliegen (Vgl. Anmerkung 300).

[303] Er bezieht sich ganz allgemein auf zwei Personen in der Großen Hütte.

nur geht das allgemeine Singen weiter, die meisten Anwesenden ruhen aus. Alle hocken regungslos und mit niedergeschlagenen Augen auf ihren Plätzen.

Nach zwanzig Minuten stimmt Cesar den Gesang wieder auf. Der Wächter läuft heftig durch die Große Hütte und ruft wiederholt: „Adi, Adi!" Die Anwesenden verharren in strenger Sammlung auf ihrem Platze und schauen nicht einmal auf. Laut ruft der *aineškówa*: „Das Singen beginnt von neuem!" Antwort: „*anši, anši*." Er: „Die Leute hier haben mich sehr gern. — Zwar verspüre ich Lust, jene beiden zu fressen; aber ich will noch warten und sie nachher verzehren." Die Küchenfrauen wiederholen ihren Ruf.

Der Leiter schickt die *ainešpla* hinaus nach Bovanhola und bald kehren sie zurück. Das gemeinschaftliche Singen wird weitergeführt. Ramano ruft: „Sehr ernst geht es hier zu!" Antwort: „*anši*!" Nach einiger Zeit werden die Prüflinge aufgerufen und *sie* ordnen sich zu einer Reihe, die zugleich eine im Tanzen erfahrene Frau anführt. Die *ainešpla* bewegen sich schwerfällig und ungelenkig, weil ihnen die Übung fehlt. Nach wiederholtem Hin und Her löst sich ihre Reihe auf. Wieder werden sie nach Holz hinausgeschickt. Der Wächter ruft: „Jetzt, ihr Frauen seid sehr vorsichtig; denn die *ainešpla* sind [aus dieser *šiŋpapa*-Hütte] hinausgegangen. Beachtet euch und schaut *sie* nicht an!" Jene verlassen inzwischen diesen Raum.

Wieder beginnt *aineškówa*: „Nun wechsle ich mein Gefieder, ich ziehe mir die alten Federn aus, damit die neuen besser wachsen." Antwort: „*anši*!" Wer jetzt die *šiŋpapa*-Hütte verläßt, wird von drinnen scharf beobachtet, auf daß die Küchenfrauen weder sich den Prüflingen nähern, noch sie ansehen. „Mir scheint, die Leute hier sind ungewöhnlich sehr munter! — In dieser Hütte herrscht schlechte Luft; das ist nicht gut für die Insassen. Mir würde es nicht zusagen, hier zu schlafen, eben wegen der schlechten Luft. Ich bin die Frische, reine Luft der Hochsee gewöhnt. — Sehr schlecht ist die Luft in dieser Hütte." Zwischendurch erfolgt das *anši*. „Haltet acht, ihr da draußen!" Da treten die Prüflinge mit dem Holze, das sie gesammelt haben, ein. „Ich halte meine Augen offen und alle Personen hier beobachte ich scharf. — Gleich stelle ich mich eben auf die Hütte. Von dort kann ich alles übersehen!" Inzwischen gleiten die *ainešpla* mit dem Holze, das sie tragen, und angeführt von dem Manne, der sie begleitet hat, nochmals tänzelnd die Große Hütte entlang; nachher legen sie das Holz beim Nebeneingange nieder und gehen an ihren Platz. Das gemeinschaftliche Singen schließt mit lautem Jóhohohohó ab, dem der Wächter ein starkes *ašy* anfügt.

Nach wenigen Minuten setzt *aineškówa* nochmals ein: „Ich merke, daß ihr [Weiber] dort *auf die ainešpla* schaut!" Dies sagt er nur, um *jene* einzuschüchtern. Daher als Antwort: „Nein, das ist nicht so." Er: „Hier beginnt wieder lebhafte Bewegung!" Zwei Mädchen hatten draußen Holz gehackt und holten es herein. Tänzelnd durchqueren sie mit einem kleinen Bündel die Große Hütte. Die alte CLARA schließt sich ihnen an und sagt: „Ich werde sehr traurig gestimmt, wenn ich diese *ainešpla* sehe. Auch sie sind in übler Stimmung; denn sie machen heute viel arbeiten." Inzwischen geht der Tanz

weiter. Sehr lebhaft bittet sich Pinne: „Jene beiden [Halskrabbe] Frauen kamen aus einer Gegend, wo man sagt: Menschen frißt. Warum machen sie uns diese hier nicht einmal vor? Wir Tamma kennen derjenigen schlimme Sitten nicht, aber wir wünden uns so etwas gern machen!" Sie wird wütend: „Weshalb erheben sich meine Landsleute nicht und warum schließen sie sich meinem Tanzen nicht an? Diese Halskrabbe ist die einzige, die mit mir tanzt,[**] und meine eigenen Landsleute sehen mir, wie ich allein tanze!" Nach längerer Zeit setzen die Affenkrabbe und beide Frauen besehen sich auf ihren Plätze nieder.

Nun läßt sich der Wächter vernehmen: „Fast hätten sie [diese Leute] mich gepackt; doch ich entwischte, indem ich sofort auf die Hütte stieg!" Antwort: „ooö!" Nach langer Pause: „Noch immer verweile ich in dieser Hütte. — Alle, die hier beisammen sind, fühlen sich wohl. — Ich schaue auf alle. So ist es hoffen, daß sie sich sonnabendes wohl erhalten werden!" Leiser Gesang geht weiter, bis der wiederfährt ruft: „Noch immer bin ich da. Alles höre ich, was man hier spricht. — Seid aufmerksam auf alles, was man gesehen wird!"

Die alte Pinne erhebt sich und tanzt sehr lebhaft. Dabei reinigt der Inspektor etwas nach unten und verdeckt die Augen. Sie sagt: „Fast hätte mich der Nebel bedeckt, daß ich mein Land nicht mehr hätte sehen können!" Darauf lassen Affenkrabbe alles Anwesenden.

Wieder setzt der Wächter ein: „Ich gehe bald ab, denn es ist die Zeit der Morgenrote. Möglicherweise kommt ein anderer, der alles hier beschaut und bewacht." Der Gesang hält an. „Ja, es ist Zeit, daß ich gehe. Ich verlasse nun bald diese Hütte." Laut klingt das ooö.

Plötzlich werden in den allgemeinen Gesang starke Affen-Rufe gewerfen. Diese kündigen den Körperteilnehmer an, daß Gaben kommen einer Abordnung von hier an dieses dort drüben geben wird, um Essen zu holen. Zwei Männer eilen hinüber, sie kommen umgeschwind mit Kaffee und einem großen Brot zurück. Während die Anwesenden damit bedacht werden, gebärdet sich wiederfährt auffällig unruhig. Dann greift er nach dem langen Lederriemen Affen, der am Gerüst hängt. Die meisten Erwachsenen erheben sich und tanzen ebenfalls jenen Riemen.

In einer langen Reihe gewindert erhieben sie lebhaft durch den Hütteraum hin und her. Der Wächter schreit: „Ihr alle da drumhen habt acht!" Antwort: „ooö, ooö!" Bald wird dieser Tanz eingestellt und der lange Lederriemen am Hüftgurtgeschlecht wieder befestigt.[**] Jemand ruft: „Ich habe Angst vor diesem Leviten hier, ich bin von ihnen verdorben worden!" Antwort „ooö!" Nahezu hatte Gaben hauptsächlich den allgemeinen Singen gefüllt. Er beschließt es mit den Worten: „Nun möchte ich aufhören, denn ich bin müde."

[**] Die Diese Halskrabbe-Frau, namens Rana, hat sich inzwischen auf dieses Platz niedergesetzt, so daß nur die andere Halskrabbe, namens Jaura, weitertanzt.

[**] Bekanntlich haben die Wächter jenen langen Lederriemen dann von der Hüftgegend bemerkt, wenn von Aufmerksamkeiten einer Gabe dieser aber wenn ein Priffling anwesend ist.

Der Wagen geht weiter und auch er fällt nach einer [illegible] Minuten wieder ein. Wiederum ist ein Teil der Leute schnell, nachdem einmal auch Gasse einige Stunden. Inzwischen hat Tamsen seinen Platz aufgesucht und [illegible] sich die einzelnen [illegible] bemerkbar.

Nach unbestimmbarer Zeitdauer [illegible] der alte Tamsen diese Rolle. Er bemüht sich und legt die Federkrone von seiner Schläfe, reißt sich [illegible] seinen [illegible] Hauptbegegnung und ruft laut: „Wer weiß der hier? Ich bin [illegible] da. Der andere [unleserlich] hat mich geschlagen und mir gesagt, ich soll auf [illegible] gesetzt schlafen! — Ich bin ganz wohl und gut. Die kleinen Knochen der vielen Vögel und Fische, die ich auf der Harkenen [illegible] habe, liegen mir schwer im Magen. — Seid jetzt auf der Hut!" Antwort: „[illegible]" Der Gesang wird lebhafter.

Tamsen: „Sehr schnell kann ich hinüber. Ich [illegible] nicht einmal [illegible] Zeit, um [illegible] den Vogel [illegible], den ich auch [illegible] [illegible]. Meine Schuldnerin ist [illegible] und [illegible] mit [illegible] Blut [illegible]. So schnell [illegible] ich [illegible]." Antwort: „[illegible]" Nun [illegible] er sich seiner Hände [illegible] mit [illegible] [illegible]. „Meine Füße und Knöchel [illegible] von Blut. Meiner Zeit [illegible] nicht hin, um [illegible] meine Brust [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] kann ich hier [illegible]. Der andere unleserliche hat mich [illegible] so [illegible] gemacht?" Antwort: „[illegible]"

Inzwischen beginnen die Vorbereitungen, den Beweis der Aufmerksamkeit [illegible] in der Großen Hütte zu empfangen. Der unleserliche [illegible] [illegible]: „Um diese Leute mir [illegible] kann ich hinüber. Ich habe Gasse gehört, [illegible] [illegible] zu haben. Was ich [illegible], werde ich [illegible] [illegible] in der Kleiderkammer [illegible], damit ihr wißt, was hier vor sich geht. — Hier [illegible] ich zwei Unbekannte [Gemma und Kamsen], die ich noch, als ich [illegible] Leben gerufen habe. Der andere unleserliche hat mir [illegible] [illegible]. Ich bekomme Lust, meine Kraft in die Kleinkunstschlagen, so heftig, wie ich [illegible] jenen [illegible] Vogel gepackt habe. Es [illegible] mich, die [illegible] zu [illegible]?" Es folgt ein [illegible] „[illegible]" Durch [illegible] Pause, die mit Gesang [illegible] wird, fährt er fort: „Durch [illegible] ich mich [illegible]. Jener [illegible] [illegible] ich jetzt noch nicht [illegible]; denn mein Magen ist ganz voll!"

Die Bewohner kommen zur Hütten-Hütte und [illegible] sie wieder. Sogleich [illegible] Tamsen ein: „Die Leute hier haben mich auf die Zehen gestreten, [illegible] mich [illegible]. Ganz vollständig kann ich [illegible], deshalb kommt ich mich nicht schnell genug bewegen?" Antwort: „[illegible]" Er: „Nun warte ich, bis ich mich etwas leichter fühle; denn mein Magen ist noch ganz voll. — Hier gibt es nichts zu essen. Dort, wo ich lebe, finden sich viele Vögel, die mir zur Nahrung dienen."

Nun stimmt er seinen Gesang an. Während er seiner Melodie [illegible] [illegible], spricht er: „Ein ganzer Vogel bin ich, einwandfreie Eier ich [illegible]. — Ich [illegible] mich [illegible], meine Mutter hier zu [illegible]. — Nahrung habe ich mich hier nur [illegible]. — Jener [illegible] [illegible] ich auf die Harkenen [illegible] und dort in [illegible] [illegible]?" Durch [illegible] [illegible] die kleinen Pausen [illegible]. Der unleserliche: „Ich [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] hier zu [illegible]. Ein

erhaschte Gebete hentzen [illegible], ich will auch [die Gnadenen] alles mitnehmen, was hier von sich gehn. Ich bin hierher geschickt worden, daher werde ich genau so gut aufgenommen wie an jener Stelle, wo ich zuerst besucht bin." Wirtsmadagaud unterbrichte er sich: „Habe aufrichtig bin ich mit dieser Lorenz hier, ehe?" Bald danach: „Der erhaschte [illegible] an meiner Stelle an wie? Wohin wohl, der mitnehmen gern nehme, wer ich alles hinbrachte. — Was aber ich ein wenig. Inzwischen ergab ich mir die Frauen zu, um mich etwas zu erholen. — Seitdem ich mir einige Frauen ausgesucht habe, fühle ich mich wohler. Wirklich, ich bin hierher gewandert."

Der alte Pauer setzt mit leerem Magen ein. Daraufhin sagt er: „Wie hat Vorsicht einen Stuhl versetzt und mich angesagt, daß ich dagegen." In diesem Behalte mit Tamour hinein: „Die hohere Wahrnehmung erhebt sich. Mich zu erkennen diese gewaltigen Wagen?" Bald danach schlieft der allgemeine Gesang mit leerem Bibliothekbuch ab und der einzelfahrer bekehrt ein leeres Ding. Pauer verfällt in erhabenendes Weinen. Tamour führt fort: „Habe ruhig fühle ich mich, dennoch ziehen ich mich zum Schlafen ein. Meinen Kopf werde ich unter einen Flügel stecken und dann einschlafen?" Antwort: „[illegible]" Er: „Die Leute hier bewegen sich, das regt mich auf. Ich war jahrelang ein ganzer einzelfahrer."

Dort alte Frauen mit erhitzt bewahrten Oberkörpern richten sich auf, sie gleiten in den Großen Hitze [illegible] hin und her. Tamour: „Wieder erhaben sich hohe Wellen. — Ich hier an, was man hier spricht." Antwort: „[illegible]" Lebhaft sangt [illegible] viele Leute und [illegible] [illegible] im Pauer [illegible], daß Paulen spritzen. Der leere Magen [illegible] und Tamour führt weiter: „Wissenlie auch die noch schlafen an Ingrid?" Antwort: „Ja, das [illegible] wie [illegible]" Er: „[illegible], so gefällt mich, daß ich noch alles [illegible]?" Er gegenüber [illegible]. Er: „[illegible], noch einige Zeit werde ich hier bleiben, bis mein Magen sich gehoben hat. Nachher fliege ich nur Hoheren [illegible]." Nach leerem [illegible] wieder allgemeiner Gesang und Tamour [illegible] [illegible]: „Jetzt fühle ich mich erhaben, [illegible] und [illegible]?"

Die Leute der [illegible] Reihe haben, bei [illegible] Kopfe, die Farbe Hand vor die Augenlinsen, sie wünschen sie in die Ferne schauen, wobei [illegible] über die Köpfe der gegenüberstehenden Reihe hinweg. Das ist eine Aufforderung zum Wettstreit im Gesange, um die andere Reihe anzusingen. Der einzelfahrer ruft: „Wieder erhaben sich hohe Wellen?" Nach dem [illegible] [illegible] sagt Wagner: „Wir haben dieses Gesang begonnen, damit [illegible] Wellen zu erheben. Für uns selber können wir so gewöhnlich zu anderer Jahreszeit." Sehr [illegible] Gibert [illegible]: „Ich bin der Vorläufer von dieser Großen Hitze."* — Von all meinen Verwandten und von allen Leuten, die wir einst im Gesang erfahren,** bin ich allein noch am Leben. Wohl habe ich noch meinen Heimatgrund (die engere Vaterland), aber ich gehöre mir nicht mehr und bin nun

* Es will damit ausdrücken, daß der Wer so noch in den hoch, wie in jener heiraftigen Religion.

** Der gemeinte Wagner nennen von den Ida Lorenz im Nachbarn der Ida Paulen.

eine andere Gegend gewandert.[*] Von meinen Verwandten und meinen [alten Freunden] Bekanntenkreis sind wir allein die Wellen geblieben. Wenn ich sterbe, werden die Wellen auch nicht andenken; dann wird man den Gedanken nicht mehr übrig sein!" Von Tamara wenigstens andere andere Personen durch erhoben. Wurzen Gibt fort: „Mich beunruhigt es sehr, daß ich diese beiden Frauen hier im Jiljiaje begleiten kann!" Lebhafter Wortwechsel der anderen.

Endlich meldet sich Tamara wieder: „Nun ist mein Magen bald leer. Wahrscheinlich binnen kurzem sterbe ich wieder ab." Jenza und Rosa werfen sich auf Hulabwalsp, ohne in dieser eigenen Sprache, einige Worte an, folgend dem Beispiel der anderen Leute. Der dickliche Wortwerk im Tana verlieren Mutter und deren Mutter schließlich sich an. Dann [illegible] „Dem beiden [Hulabwalsp] Frauen ordne die Sprache der Wurzen. Als kleines Kind kann ich in dieser Gegend hier [im Zwerwen], daher habe ich die Worte der Wurzen [den Hulabwalsp] vergessen." Der ehemalige ruft: „Bald der auch wach?" Antwort: „[illegible]" Er: „Das ist schlimm von euch, daß der auch wach wird, wie auch ich." Wieder „[illegible]" Er: „Mein Magen wird schon leidlich. Bald wird er ganz leer sein!"

Eine kinderreiche Mehrheit wiederholt Frauen durch etwa zwanzig Minuten. Sie wirkt so angenehm, daß alle Leute schweigend zuhören. Tamara Gibt fort: „Fast eine ich eingeschlafen, so wenn ist es hier die Frau. Schlaft die Mutter alle dort schon?" Antwort: „Nein." Er: „Gut, dann sagt mir, wenn ihr auch schlafen legen wollt!" Sie erwidern nur mit nein. Er: „Nun, so werde auch ich es auch nicht sagen, wenn ich von hier weggehe." Antwort: „[illegible]"

Plötzlich erhebens sich alle eingeln. Damit nehmen sie alle Erwachsenen auf die Seite. Die Anstrengung bemerkt schnell, daß die Pöbellinger nicht allmählich so dorne Fleck lachen dürfen. Tätzen sie's doch, fahren sie einer Kneiblicht zum Opfer, sie schreien wurt und schlägig, blicken gleichzeitig an den Erde Ziehen und die Kneiblicht bekäme dann bald den Tod.

Pusten spricht vor sich hin: „Bei uns Tamara verwellen jene Wellen schon lange. Nach Lowenzen wird es bekrachen, daß die beiden Freundlinge auch nicht an die [nach Pusten Brenelim] zurückgekehrt sind. Nun, bei uns sind sie gut aufgehoben und werden auch einige Zeit bleiben!" Der Gesang setzt ein, weil die Leute sich erwärmt haben. Tamara allein geritt ihn nachmals auf und sagt im Rhythmus dazwischen: „Ich [jene mich], bald meinem Gesang bewahren an blieben; denn auch ich bin müde!" Emeza erhebt sich dann an: „Mutter von Wurzen verhält meine Augen, ich kann nicht mehr schau!"

Mehrere Erwachsene richten sich auf. Sie ordnen sich an zwei langen Reihen. Vom Mittelpunkt der Hütte an gerechnet sieht sich die eine zu der eine und die andere zu jener Ausgange, die Spätzwanzigerer lehnen sich das Gesicht an, der Mittzwanzigerer halten den Kopf in der gleichen Richtung.

[*] Dem Land, die man gefunden an Gäste gehen, wird mit Jugend an Farben zur Schlafstelle vorgelegen. Bevorzugt werden die Engelkinnen von der durch die dort ansässigen Europäer eingeführten Jungfrauen.

Zuerst entfernen sich beide Reihen voneinander ohne sich umzuwenden, nach rückwärts schreitend, bis der Letzte der Reihe an den Eingang stößt. Dann wenden sie sich wieder einander zu, immer mit ganz kurzen Schritten und dabei den Tanzstab rollend auf und ab schwingend. Während jene beiden Reihen hin und her ziehen, ergreift EMILIA ein glimmendes Holzscheit und tanzt damit, es auf und ab schwingend, an den beiden Reihen vorbei.

Wieder ruft der *winefkêra* zu den Küchenfrauen hinüber: „Schlaft ihr schon?" Sie erwidern mit lebhafter Stimme: „Nein, wir schlafen noch nicht!" Er: „Falls ich mich von hier entferne, werde ich es euch sagen." Antwort: „Gut." Er: „Seid jetzt aufmerksam." Antwort: „*awáj*."

Lange geht der Gesang ohne Unterbrechung weiter. Dazwischen faßt MARY ein Stückchen Holzkohle, zerreibt es in den flachen Händen und schmiert das Pulver erst dem WILLIAM und nachher sich selber ins Gesicht, zum Zeichen der Trauer. Sie ruft: „Wir alle sind in Trauer!" Nach längerer Pause erst läßt sich THOMAS wieder vernehmen: „Noch ist es nicht Zeit zum Schlafen." Antwort: „Wir sind wach." Er: „Ich schaue hier gut zu. Sollte ich etwas beobachten, werde ich es euch mitteilen." Antwort: „*awáj*." Er: „Merkt auf, ihr da draußen!" Spiele beginnen nun, mit denen der heutige Abend abgeschlossen wird. Der *winefkêra* läßt nichts mehr von sich hören.

Am 12. März 1922 ist das kurze Frühstück gegen acht Uhr beendet. Alle Insassen der *čiẹxaya*-Hütte beginnen sofort mit ihrer Bemalung. Eifrig bemüht man sich um die *uiwógla*: denn sie sollen unverzüglich im Walde viel Brennholz sammeln. Inzwischen haben sich mehrere Personen, eine nach der andern, dem Einzelsänger angeschlossen und auch die übrigen Anwesenden stimmen bald ein. Kaum ist die Gesichtsbemalung der *uiwógla* beendet, werden sie schon zum Tanze aufgerufen. Sie und einige Erwachsene stehen eng zusammengedrängt. Mit ganz kurzen, trippelnden Schrittchen schleifen sie über den Boden weg und bewegen sich sehr langsam neben dem Feuer, von einem Ausgange zum anderen.

THOMAS hat sich als *winefkêra* bemalt und stellt sich neben den Haupteingang. Laut ruft er: „Ich habe mich auf meinem Weg hierher etwas aufgehalten, deshalb traf ich verspätet ein!" Von der Küchenhütte her ertönt die Antwort: „*awáj*, wir haben es gehört!" Mit seinen Worten will er andeuten, daß erst jetzt der Tanz anfängt. Nun ruft er: „Hier beginnen die Leute sich zu erheben, alle sind in großer Bewegung!" Man antwortet: „*awáj*!" Etwa zwanzig Minuten dauert der Tanz. Sogleich verlassen alle *uiwógla* die *čiẹxaya*-Hütte und eilen in den Wald nach Holz.[220] Der *winefkêra* ruft laut: „Mir

[220] An folgenden Brauch sei hier erinnert. Zu wiederholten Malen führen zwei oder drei Männer eine kleine Gruppe von drei bis fünf Prüflingen auf die Jagd. Gilt es, Gänse zu erlegen, bleiben sie zumindest zwei Tage aus, während welcher Zeit sie selbstverständlich im Freien übernachten. Wo immer sie sich niederlassen, sei es zu kürzerer oder zu längerer Rast, wacht der Aufseher aufmerksam, daß kein Unberufener sich nähere. Oft stößt er laute ho-ho-Rufe aus, durch die jeder Fremde gewarnt wird. Seinerseits beobachtet der Wächter von der Großen Hütte aus die Bewegung der Leute drüben im Lager und warnt

scheint, einige von euch da drüben schauen zu [wie die Prüflinge die Große Hütte verlassen]." Man erwidert: „*pāf*, nein!" Trotzdem wiederholt er: „Nehmt euch in acht, daß niemand zuschaue!" Antwort: „*awái!*" Nach kurzer Pause bittet er förmlich: „Ich möchte jetzt etwas essen!"

Während der leise Gesang weitergeführt wird, spricht die alte CLARA: „Heutigentags werden die *ušwǫ́ǫla* nicht mehr so eingehend unterrichtet wie ehedem. Sie erfahren kaum [eingehend] unsere alten Gesetze und Einrichtungen. Das kommt daher, daß die älteren Personen es sich nicht angelegen sein lassen, jeweils den *ušwǫ́ǫla* das Notwendige beizubringen. Wir selber sind nachlässig und sorglos geworden; das ist auch für uns persönlich sehr nachteilig. Heute führt fast jeder Yamana das Leben der Weißen: keiner von den jüngeren Leuten denkt noch ernstlich an unsere früheren Gebräuche und alten Gesetze. Wenn das [Verhalten] so weitergeht, wird das gute Alte bald restlos verloren sein und wir hören auf, echte Yamana zu sein! Wir müssen uns wirklich eifrig bemühen, unsere Prüflinge genau zu unterweisen; denn unsere alten Gesetze und Gebräuche sind gut. Jeder Yamana, groß und klein, muß sich darnach richten. Sehr betrübt bin ich; denn ich sehe einige unserer jüngeren Leute, die unsere Gewohnheiten von ehedem weder kennen noch befolgen!"

Nach einigen Minuten ruft der *winefkêra* ein letztes Mal: „Zügelt eure Augen und schaut nicht auf die Große Hütte. Ich werde bald von hier weggehen." In diesem Augenblicke kehren die *ušwǫ́ǫla* zurück.

Abschließend sei nochmals an die besondere Aufgabe des Wächters erinnert. Er muß jeden Unberufenen von der *čiêxaya*-Hütte fernhalten und dafür sorgen, daß neugierige Blicke nichts von dem entdecken, was darin sich abspielt. Um den Außenstehenden seine Wachsamkeit zu bekunden, tritt er wiederholt vor den Haupteingang und entfernt sich einige Schritte davon. Auch klettert er auf das Hüttengerüst, wo man ihn noch deutlicher sieht. Endlich macht er sich durch wiederholte Rufe bemerkbar. Jedermann fürchtet den *winefkêra* und niemand wagt es, das Heiligtum der *čiêxaya*-Hütte zu entehren.

6. Gesellschaftsspiele: Nicht allein auf die Prüflinge, sondern auch auf die Erwachsenen wirkt die Tagesordnung in der *čiêxaya*-Hütte im Laufe der Zeit ermattend. Durchgehends nehmen es die Teilnehmer mit ihren Verpflichtungen sehr genau und einzelne zeigen sich sogar übereifrig, was bei gutmütigen Naturkindern nicht befremdet. Auch geübte Nerven würden eine zu starke Belastung auf die Dauer nicht vertragen, falls es gar keine Entspannung in gewissen Zeitabständen gäbe. Eben das ist der tiefere Sinn der Gewohnheit, in die ernste *čiêxaya*-Feier vereinzelt eigentliche Gesellschaftsspiele einzustreuen. Einem oberflächlichen Beobachter erscheint sie befremdlich und unvereinbar mit der Strenge der geltenden Tagesordnung. Entscheidend aber ist das psychologische Bedürfnis der Teilnehmer nach

mit starken Rufen jeden, der die Richtung jener Prüflinge einschlagen würde. Das gilt sowohl für kurze wie für lange Ausgänge der Prüflinge.

einer zeitweiligen Erfrischung durch ein Spiel, das niemals in Ausgelassenheit oder Zügellosigkeit ausartet, da es an einige Leitlinien gebunden ist.

Weil während der Jugendweihe alle Anwesenden mehr oder weniger gleichmäßig zu Schweigsamkeit und ruhiger Haltung, zu verschiedenen Anstrengungen und unbequemen Dingen verpflichtet werden, steht die Beteiligung an den Gesellschaftsspielen allen ausnahmslos offen, selbstverständlich auch den *uǐwǿgla*. Gerade sie werden in fast jedes Spiel hineingestellt, während es den Erwachsenen frei steht, sich an dem oder jenem zu beteiligen. Bei den Prüflingen wirkt noch die andere Rücksicht bestimmend, daß sie sich in den einzelnen Spielen eine gewisse Übung erwerben. Die bei der Jugendweihe wiederholten Gesellschaftsspiele werden im Verlauf des Jahres größtenteils von den Erwachsenen ausgeführt; Kinder dürfen wohl zuschauen, aber nur dann und wann sich daran beteiligen. Obwohl die Kinder währenddessen und unmittelbar für sich allein die Bewegungen nachahmen, erreichen sie kaum je eine nennenswerte Fertigkeit in diesem und jenem Spiele. Anders hier in der *čiéxaus*-Hütte, wo dem einzelnen *uǐwǿgla* manche Bewegung erklärt und die genaue Haltung vorgemacht, ihm also eine eigentliche Einführung geboten wird. Zur Ausbildung der Prüflinge gehört es sozusagen, daß sie sich auch in den Gesellschaftsspielen eine gewisse Fertigkeit aneignen. Deswegen hält man jenem Prüflinge gegenüber mit einigem Lobe nicht zurück, der auffällig geschickt sich einpaßt oder sehr gelenkig sich benimmt.

Wirklich sollen die Gesellschaftsspiele eine Entlastung des Geistes und eine Erleichterung für den Körper sein. Unvermeidlich lockert sich während der Spielzeit der Ernst der Sammlung und die Straffheit des äußeren Ordnungsdienstes. Auf daß nun daraus nicht eine Störung im ganzen Verlauf der ernsten Jugendweihe entstehe, sind Gesellschaftsspiele höchstens jeden zweiten und dritten Tag zulässig. Je nach der charakterlichen Veranlagung des Vorstehers wiederholen sie sich häufiger oder seltener, dies zumal dann, wenn während der *čiéxaus*-Feier ein Todesfall sich ereignet. Herrscht eine freudige, heitere Stimmung vor, etwa in der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft eines gestrandeten Wales, folgen sich die Spiele in kürzeren Zeitabständen und jedes einzelne dauert länger an.

Ob nun die Anwesenden so oder so aufgelegt sind, innerhalb der Tagesordnung läßt man für die Gesellschaftsspiele ausschließlich die letzten Abendstunden frei. Das ist eine Zeit, in der jeder Anwesende eine starke Ermattung spürt und mancher schon ernstlich mit Schläfrigkeit ringt. Unmittelbar vorher sind den *uǐwǿgla* die üblichen Ermahnungen vorgetragen worden, an die sich regelmäßig eine längere Pause für ernstes Nachdenken und stilles Betrachten anschließt. Jetzt den Geist wieder aufzufrischen und den gequälten Körper durcheinanderzurütteln, ist mit den Spielen beabsichtigt. Danach tut der Schlaf ganz besonders wohl.

Vom Vorsteher oder Leiter hängt es ab, an welchem Tage und in welchem Augenblick die Spiele stattfinden dürfen. Auch einige ältere Personen

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

geben zuweilen den bestimmten Anstoß und regen diesen oder jenen mit ausdrücklichen Worten an. Meist liegt eine unbestimmte Erwartung der Teilnehmer sozusagen in der Luft und es fehlt nur noch ein kleines Zutun, daß sie sich erfülle. Besonderer Förmlichkeiten also bedarf es nicht.

Über die verschiedenen Arten der Spiele und über die Reihenfolge, die man wählt, läßt sich nichts Genaueres aufstellen; denn dafür gibt es weder bestimmte Regeln noch unabänderliche Vorschriften. Die eine Gruppe von Teilnehmern hat mehr Vorliebe für diese und die andere Gruppe für jene Spiele; welche von beiden nun ein gewisses Übergewicht gewinnt, setzt ihre besonderen Wünsche unauffällig durch. Für gewöhnlich macht man sich von der Anregung abhängig, die der Augenblick gibt; denn weder denkt man vorher einen genauen Plan der Reihenfolge aus, noch bindet man sich daran. Man will sich ja beim Spiel erholen und auffrischen, demnach überläßt man sich ihm in vollster Ungebundenheit.

Der Leiter ist es schließlich, der zu einem bestimmten Spiele aufruft, das ihm zufällig in den Sinn kommt oder das ihn persönlich besonders erfreut. Beispielsweise spricht er in die tiefsinnige, schweigende Gesellschaft mit halblauter Stimme die sanfte Aufforderung hinein: „Laßt uns *dmaxel* spielen!" Sogleich wendet sich die Aufmerksamkeit einiger Leute auf dieses Spiel, sie stellen sich innerlich um und bereiten sich vor. Nach mehreren Minuten erheben sich zwei oder drei Frauen und machen die Feuerstelle frei. Liegt noch sehr viel Glut, scharren sie den Großteil durch beide Ausgänge ins Freie hinaus, wo sie erlischt. Andernfalls häufeln sie eine kleine Menge von glimmenden Holzstückchen nahe dem rückwärtigen Ausgange zusammen, wo es weiter unterhalten wird. Über die Asche spritzen sie Wasser. Der ganze Innenraum, außer den beiderseitigen Lagerstätten, steht nun zur Verfügung.

Ohne abermals aufgefordert werden zu müssen, treten dort erst einige Personen zusammen und bald schließen sich andere an. Inzwischen beginnt ein Sangeskundiger die zu dem beabsichtigten Spiele passende Melodie und bald fassen alle Anwesenden den Rhythmus auf. Ein jeder lebt nun ganz in diesem Spiele und führt die Körperbewegungen mit voller Hingebung aus. An dem begeisterten Eifer der einen entzünden sich die anderen, so daß zeitweilig alle Anwesenden auf einem Fleck zusammengedrängt am Spiele sich beteiligen. Gleich zu Beginn führen die Paten ihre Schützlinge in die Mitte; denn diese werden fast niemals von der Beteiligung ausgeschlossen, sondern müssen sogar am längsten und ununterbrochen mittun. Daß von den Erwachsenen der eine und andere zeitweilig aussetzt und seinen Platz aufsucht, um sich auszuruhen, wird ihm nicht verwehrt. Oft zwingt zu starker Andrang dazu, da alle sich so eng zusammenballen, daß fast jede Bewegungsfreiheit aufhört.

Nach einiger Zeit flaut die Begeisterung für dieses Spiel ab. Irgend jemand nennt mit lauter Stimme plötzlich aus eigenem Antrieb ein anderes Spiel oder leitet zum Rhythmus desselben über. Die große Masse verstummt ziemlich schnell und stellt sich ohne Zaudern auf das neue Spiel um.

Auf gleiche Weise folgt noch ein drittes und sogar viertes, ganz nach Lust und Laune der Anwesenden. Sie erfreuen sich eine Stunde oder zwei, bis sie sich vollauf gesättigt haben. Falls dann ein guter Teil der Leute etwas Überdruß und Langeweile zu erkennen gibt, läßt der Leiter sie unauffällig wissen, daß jeder nun seine Lagerstätte aufsuchen soll.

Die Bewegung und körperliche Anstrengung hat bei den meisten das Gefühl starker Ermüdung ausgelöst und unverzüglich richten sie sich auf die Nachtruhe ein. Der eine und andere leitet währenddessen zum üblichen leisen Singen über und führt es weiter, bis auch er sich dem Schlafe überläßt. Zuletzt hocken nur noch die *ušwógla* und vereinzelte Paten aufrecht auf ihrem Platze. Haben auch diese sich endlich umgelegt, hält nur noch eine einzige Stimme den Gesang durch die ersten Stunden der Nacht, bis sie von einer anderen abgelöst wird. Bekanntlich darf das Singen niemals gänzlich aussetzen; denn übelwollende Geister sollen ferngehalten werden und den Außenstehenden will man beweisen, daß alle Insassen dauernd wachen (S. 917).

Wird das letzte Spiel abgeschlossen, ist es Aufgabe der *ušwógla*, mit der übriggebliebenen matten Glut das Feuer wieder anzufachen, daß es sich von einem Ausgange zum anderen erstreckt und eine starke Hitze ausstrahlt. Alle Dienstleistungen für die Versammlung und alle Arbeiten innerhalb der *ŕiźxaya*-Hütte obliegen bekanntlich den Prüflingen.

Die bisherige Darstellung setzt voraus, daß die Gesellschaftsspiele im Innenraum der Großen Hütte abgehalten werden. An einem warmen, ruhigen Sommerabend verlegt man sie, der Abwechslung halber, auch auf einen ebenen Platz draußen, unmittelbar davor. Einige Frauen zünden zunächst ein Feuer an, das hauptsächlich die gesamte Gruppe hell beleuchten soll. Auf Weisung des Leiters begeben sich die Erwachsenen, in ihrer Reihe auch die *ušwógla*, hinaus und verharren eng zusammengedrängt neben dem Feuer. Der Gesang beginnt allmählich, nach dessen Rhythmus die Tanzbewegungen folgen. Die Spiele wechseln genau nach der Art und Weise wie drinnen ab. Hat man sich genügend daran ergötzt, schlüpfen alle geschlossen wieder in die Große Hütte hinein. Während sich die Spiele draußen abwickeln, steht es selbstverständlich den Kindern und Erwachsenen des Lagers frei, sich zu nähern und zuzuschauen.

Zumindest eine Person war in der Großen Hütte zurückgeblieben, die das Singen weitergeführt und das Ganze bewacht hat. Die Bewegungen beim lebhaften Gesellschaftsspiel in der frischen Luft sind für jeden Teilnehmer eine Wohltat und unmittelbar danach wird ihm ein gesunder Schlaf beschert.

Wie gesagt, gibt es keine bestimmte Ordnung, nach der die Gesellschaftsspiele gewählt und wiederholt werden. Man bevorzugt jene, die einer gewissen Gruppe am meisten geläufig oder die bei ihr beliebt sind. Aus eigener Beobachtung kann ich angeben, daß *ámaxel*, das Spiel des Seelöwen *ámo* (Otaria jubata), weiters das *kŏtĥaxel*, das Spiel des großen Geierfalken *kŏtĥa* (Polyborus tharus), ferner das *gördpaxel*, das Spiel des gemeinen Albatros *gördpa* (Diomedea exulans) und endlich das außerhalb der Großen

Hütte sehr beliebte *ułpêr'čiχel*, das Spiel des Austernfischers *ułpêr'či* (Haematopus ater) am häufigsten wiederholt werden. Sie alle aber übertrifft das sehr beliebte *háiyekałánaskua*. Will man den Prüflingen eine besondere Freude bereiten und sie gründlich aufmuntern, leitet man das *kakłęxana* ein.[300]

Die meisten Leute beteiligen sich an diesen Gesellschaftsspielen sehr lebhaft. Schon das Verlangen, ihren Körper gründlich durchzuschütteln, treibt sie mächtig an. Wer nicht durch lange Zeit die Tanzbewegungen mitzumachen imstande ist, zeigt sich um so eifriger beim Singen. Eines Abends, als die Spiele bereits begonnen hatten, stürzte ADELHEID übereifrig in die *čiłęxaya*-Hütte, von der Küchenhütte herkommend, stellte sich neben RICHARD, der kräftig sang, und sagte laut zu ihm: „*sêskin skája ki-wêla kûpa hawêla mátu nanóq*." Das Herz dir [es] stark von oben her möchte dasein künftighin (Möge 'Jener-dort-oben' dir hier dein Herz zu kräftigem Singen stärken!). Dieses eine Beispiel beweist, daß man sogar die Kraft aus der Höhe anruft, um mit ganzer Seele an den Gesellschaftsspielen sich beteiligen zu können.

Genau so wie jeder Tanz, schließt auch jedes Gesellschaftsspiel mit einem lauten *hō, hō* ... oder *hę̂, hę̂* ... ab, das irgend jemand ausstößt und das von anderen wiederholt wird. Bekanntlich soll das andauernde Singen den schlimmen *Yetáita*[301] und weitere unheilvolle Geister von der *čiłęxaya*-Hütte fernhalten. Diesen Nebenzweck verfolgt man auch mit den Gesellschaftsspielen. Deutlich kommt das darin zum Ausdruck, daß während eines Spieles oder beim Überleiten von einem zum anderen mancher Tänzer aus innerer Erregung kräftig am Hüttengerüst zerrt und den ganzen Bau arg schüttelt. Wie geängstigt stößt er dabei laut schreiend das kurze Wort *čiłęxaya* aus, als wäre es eine Beschwörungsformel oder ein Mittel zur Abwehr der übelwollenden Geister. Ein anderer endlich trommelt mit beiden Fäusten hastig und laut auf den Erdboden, ebenfalls um alles Unheil fernzuhalten. Zu solchen Ausbrüchen der Angst fühlen sich die Tänzer am meisten dann angeregt, wenn sie vom Singen und Spielen bereits erschöpft und in Schweiß gebadet sind. Um so bedrohlicher wirkt jetzt ihr Rufen und ihr verzweifeltes Gebaren. Man sieht, wie diese Leute, bei aller Freude am Spiele, doch niemals vom ernsten Grundtone der *čiłęxaya*-Feier ganz und gar abschwenken.

Ein anderer Brauch hat den gleichen Sinn. Zeitweilig laufen zwei, drei oder vier Frauen im Innenraume entlang der Hüttenwand und schlagen mit dem Handrücken oder mit der geballten Faust gegen das Gerüst. Dadurch wollen sie jene bösen Geister verscheuchen, die den Anwesenden lästig werden könnten. Auch jene Geister, die Krankheiten verursachen, wollen sie ver-

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[300] Die beiden zuletzt genannten Spiele sind auf S. 769 beschrieben worden, die anderen gelangen weiter unten zur Darstellung.

[301] Folgender Hinweis scheint mir nicht überflüssig zu sein: Obwohl bald zu Beginn der Jugendweihe die Prüflinge darüber aufgeklärt werden, daß "Yetaita" als solcher nicht lebt, so nennt man diesen vermeintlichen bösen Geist doch immer wieder und zwar gleichsam als Inbegriff aller unheilvollen Mächte und ängstlichen Befürchtungen, die den Teilnehmern erheblichen Schaden zufügen könnten.

jagen, daß sie für immer diesem *čiźyaŋs* fernbleiben. In alter Zeit war es Aufgabe der *yóhamal*, die Große Hütte von dergleichen bösen Einflüssen zu "reinigen", vor allem Krankheiten abzuwehren und weit weg zu schieben, damit den Anwesenden Nerven und Muskeln, die manchmal müde und schlaff werden, kräftig bleiben. All das erstreben gegenwärtig jene Frauen, die, den Innenraum durcheilend, mit der Faust oder mit Zweigen oder mit einem Stocke gegen die Hüttenwand schlagen. Die übelwollenden Geister werden verjagt und alle Beteiligten bewahren ihre ungeschwächte Kraft.

Endlich gehört hierher noch, was NELLY mir gelegentlich erzählt hat. Bei ihrer Westgruppe, die unter gewissem Einfluß der Halakwulup stand, wurde in früherer Zeit eine Maskierung vorgenommen, die ebenfalls der Unterhaltung und Aufmunterung sämtlicher Insassen der *čiźyaŋs*-Hütte diente. Unbeobachtet legte sich ein Mann oder eine Frau draußen die Verkleidung an. Man wählte hierfür ausschließlich die langen Stengel von einer Grasart, die gegenwärtig sich kaum noch findet.[302] Ihren Kopf bis weit unter den Hals verdeckte jene Person mit einem engen Flechtwerk aus diesem Gras in Form einer stumpfkegeligen Haube. Für die Augen wurden zwei Löchlein geöffnet. Vom Halse bis zu den Knöcheln reichte ein anderes Flechtwerk, das den ganzen Körper nach Art eines engen Hemdes einhüllte. Durch zwei genügend große Löcher konnten die beiden Arme geführt werden, die auch ihrerseits bis über die Hände hinaus mit einigem Flechtwerk verdeckt und die eng an beide Körperseiten angepreßt wurden. Diese maskierte Person schob sich im gegebenen Augenblicke in die Große Hütte hinein; im Mittelgange verweilte sie aufgerichtet, regungslos und in steifer Haltung geraume Zeit. Vereinzelt bewegte sie sich sehr sachte eine kurze Strecke weiter hinein, damit auch andere Leute sie aus nächster Nähe betrachten könnten. Ganz selten setzte sie sich sogar nieder. Die Anwesenden beschauten sie genau und versuchten, unter sich ihre Beobachtungen mit Blicken oder sehr leiser Stimme austauschend, die Person des Maskierten zu erraten. Dieser entfernte sich nach einiger Zeit, ohne sich selber zu erkennen zu geben. Immerhin wurde durch diesen befremdlichen Besuch den Versammelten eine erfrischende Abwechslung geboten.

7. **Besuche:** Bequem reiht sich an die Beschreibung von Gesang und Tanz eine kurze Erörterung über die zeremoniösen Besuche einer einzelnen Gruppe von Leuten an einem beliebigen Tage in der *čiźyaŋs*-Hütte an. Den Anlaß zu dieser Gepflogenheit errät man unschwer. Notgedrungen verbleiben einige ältere Personen im Lager, sei es aus Krankheit, sei es zur Bewachung der kleinen Kinder, während sich die *čiźyaŋs*-Feier in der Großen Hütte abspielt. Zwar steht es ihnen frei, sich hier jederzeit einzufinden; aber die ganze Versammlung möchte doch auch förmlich denen danken, die

[302] Vermutlich ist es die Dactylis (Poa) flabellata gewesen, die auch als Streu beim Nachtlager verwendet worden ist (S. 282). Ihre Stengel übertreffen zuweilen die Körpergröße der erwachsenen Yamana, weswegen sie sich zu dieser Maskierung sehr gut eigneten. Heutzutage trifft man dergleichen hohe Stengel kaum noch an.

sich der Aufsicht des Lagers widmen. Die feierliche Begrüßung soll den Außenstehenden ein Ersatz sein für all das Schöne, das sie entbehren müssen. Die Insassen der Großen Hütte fühlen sich ihrerseits ausgezeichnet durch die Anteilnahme jener Personen, die sich in der *čiéxnus*-Versammlung das eine und andere Mal sehen lassen. Selbstverständlich dürfen nur Erwachsene eintreten, die ihre eigene Jugendweihe schon hinter sich haben.

Keinesfalls fände die Besuchsszene statt, ohne daß von der einen oder anderen Seite eine bestimmte Ankündigung erfolgt ist. Meist melden sich die Außenstehenden an, die sich gedrängt fühlen, wieder einmal einen Abend im Kreise ihrer Volksgenossen zu verbringen. So oder so, durch die Küchenfrauen oder unmittelbar verständigen sie den Leiter über ihre Absicht. Notwendig müssen nämlich in der Großen Hütte einige Regelungen getroffen werden; es wäre gänzlich unmöglich, daß die Besuchergruppe unvermittelt dort einträte.

Für letztere sind besondere Vorbereitungen nicht nötig, außer einer guten, genauen Gesichtsbemalung, wie sie für Besuche üblich ist. Den Körper zu bemalen erübrigt sich. Anders die Leute in der *čiéxnus*-Hütte, die außer der Gesichtsbemalung auch den ganzen Körper verzieren. Im Gesicht und auf dem Körper wird zunächst mit weißer Farbe ein Untergrund geschaffen; darüber hinweg verläuft ein fingerbreiter roter Strich von den Mundwinkeln zum Ohrläppchen, auf dem ganzen Körper sowie auf Armen und Beinen werden in handbreiten Abständen fingerdicke rote Ringe eingezeichnet. Selbstverständlich tragen alle Leute ihr *hapaxél*. Mit besonderer Sorgfalt werden bei diesem Anlaß die *ušwógla* verziert; denn man will den Besuchern beweisen, wie aufmerksam man für die Prüflinge sorgt.

Viel bedeutsamer aber ist es, daß für den Besuch die Große Hütte instand gesetzt wird. In etwa ist alles sowieso in Ordnung und wo eine Kleinigkeit auszubessern ist, legt jeder von seinem Platze aus eben Hand an. Peinlich genau aber achtet man darauf, daß Speisereste und jedwedes Anzeichen, das auf Mahlzeiten hindeutet, entfernt werden; nichts darf den Verdacht erwecken, es werde hier gegessen. Rege Geschäftigkeit entfalten demnach alle Anwesenden unmittelbar vor dem Eintreten der Besucher; der Erdboden wird gefegt, das Feuer und die Asche geordnet, Schmutz und Abfall in der Glut vernichtet; jeder richtet an seinem Platze die eigenen Habseligkeiten zurecht. Ein Besuch ist jedesmal der Anlaß zu einer außergewöhnlich gründlichen Reinigung des ganzen Hüttenraumes. Man will die Ankömmlinge durch einen tadellosen Raum ehren.

Bevor nicht eine einwandfreie Sauberkeit erreicht ist, gewährt man den Besuchern keinen Eintritt. Käme der eine oder der andere wirklich zu zeitig, also in einem Augenblicke, da man noch mit dem Aufräumen beschäftigt ist, wehren die Insassen ihn auf eine wirksame, obgleich wenig höfliche Weise ab. Wer den Besucher sieht, erhebt ein lautes Gebrüll und spritzt mit einem Stecken von der Feuerstelle aus durch den Eingang andauernd Asche und glimmende Kohlenstücke ihm entgegen, daß er unwill-

kärlich zurückweicht. Nun bleibt den Insassen genügend Zeit, um die Reinigung der Großen Hütte fortzusetzen und auch ungestört zu Ende zu führen.

Im passenden Augenblick hebt ein Mann von drinnen das Lederstück vor dem Haupteingange beiseite und fordert dadurch alle Besucher, die davor sich unterdessen gesammelt haben, unzweideutig auf, nun einzutreten. Noch häufiger geht der *wineſkêr-a* durch die Hauptöffnung vor die Große Hütte hinaus und lädt sie ein. Sie folgen dieser Weisung und zwängen sich durch den Eingang. Mit außergewöhnlich starken *hö, hö* ... Rufen aller Insassen werden sie empfangen. Sie ihrerseits erwidern diese Rufe und mit kurzen, schleifenden Schritten bewegen sie sich währenddessen mitten durch den Hüttenraum, eine dichtgedrängte Reihe bildend, bis zum gegenüberliegenden Nebenausgange. Hier wenden sie sich um und kehren wieder zum Haupteingange zurück. Häufig schließen sich den Besuchern einige ständige Insassen der *čiẹxuys*-Hütte an und zum Rhythmus des alltäglichen Singens tanzt der ganze Haufen einige Zeit über die Feuerstätte hinweg, dabei den Tanzstab mit rollenden Bewegungen der Hände hebend.

Nach diesem Tanze nehmen die Besucher nahe dem Haupteingange ihren Platz ein, der inzwischen geräumt worden ist. Die Förmlichkeiten beschränken sich darauf, daß die Besucher etwa zwei Stunden sitzen bleiben und dabei die Vorgänge der *čiẹxuys*-Hütte beobachten, auch an weiteren gemeinschaftlichen Tänzen und Spielen beteiligen sie sich. Gleich anfangs werden den Besuchern eigens die *ułwǫ́gla* ausnahmslos vorgeführt. Letztere hatte man zeitig genug nahe dem Nebeneingange zusammengerufen und sie hier besonders sorgfältig bemalt: Man verbirgt sie vorerst noch vor den Blicken der Besucher hinter einem schmalen Vorhang aus Tierhäuten, der für diesen Zweck aufgehangen wird, oder indem man sie verpflichtet, sich hinter dichtgedrängt sitzenden Erwachsenen zu ducken. Auf ein Zeichen des Leiters führt jeder Pate sein *hẹtakuxẹ́glan* zu den Besuchern hin. Diese lassen auf jedem *ułwǫ́gla* ihre Augen eine geraume Zeit ruhen, reden aber nichts. Die Paten geleiten daraufhin ihre Patenkinder auf deren eigentlichen Platz zurück. Mit dieser Vorführung der *ułwǫ́gla* will man den Besuchern eine Gelegenheit geben, sich von deren gesundem Zustande und Wohlbefinden zu überzeugen.

Eine besondere Ehrung für die Hütteninsassen bedeutet es, daß die Besucher sich an den Gesellschaftsspielen beteiligen. Letztere werden demnach jedesmal eingeleitet und durch eine geraume Zeit weitergeführt. Bei aller Munterkeit und Freude, die auch jetzt herrscht, wahren alle Anwesenden dennoch eine erkennbare vornehme Zurückhaltung und zwar aus Ehrfurcht vor den Besuchern. Diese entfernen sich schließlich ohne Gruß und ohne Umstände, nachdem sie sich am Treiben in der *čiẹxuys*-Hütte sattgesehen haben. Die Zurückgebliebenen überdenken nun die Anteilnahme der Besucher an ihrem Spiele, während diese letzteren drüben in den Wohnhütten sich noch lange über die gewonnenen Eindrücke unterhalten. In der *čiẹxuys*-Hütte herrscht nach einem Besuch regelmäßig tiefe Stille, auch das einförmige, nie

unterbrochene Singen klingt sehr leise und matt. Bestimmte Regeln, nach denen sich dergleichen Besuche häufiger oder seltener wiederholen, gibt es nicht.

Mit diesen Angaben ist wohl alles erschöpft, was den Erwachsenen an Förmlichkeiten und an Pflichten während der *čiẹxaus*-Feier obliegt. Nach einheitlichen Gesichtspunkten wurden sie in dieser Darstellung geordnet. Sie läßt eindeutig erkennen, wie empfindlich auch die Freiheit der Erwachsenen eingeschränkt wird. Doch diesen Zwang lieben sie und übernehmen ihn bereitwillig; denn in ihm und durch ihn wird jeder Teilnehmer, nach des alten ALFREDO überzeugungsvollen Worten, „wieder ein echter, rechter Yamana".

d. *Abschluß der Feier*

Der Zufall und manche unwägbare Einflüsse waren es, die entscheidend beim Zustandekommen der *čiẹxaus*-Feier mitgewirkt haben (S. 823); sie machen sich überwiegend auch geltend, wenn es sich darum handelt, diese Veranstaltung zu beenden. Von vornherein legt sich niemand auf eine bestimmte Dauer der Übungen und des Zusammenseins fest, die Allgemeinheit überläßt sich sorglos den Gegebenheiten des Augenblicks, welche zum Abschluß raten. Dieser aber ist kein ordnungsloses Auseinanderlaufen der Teilnehmer, sondern eine g e r e g e l t e F ö r m l i c h k e i t. Auch hierbei bricht der Sinn der Yamana für Formenzwang und das Verständnis für Förmlichkeiten wieder stark durch. Man beurteilt die einzelnen Gebräuche, mit denen die lange Jugendweihe ihren Abschluß findet, als genau so bedeutsam wie die einzelnen Teile der Tagesordnung, und man widmet jenen wie diesen die gleiche Aufmerksamkeit. Eine psychologische Ungeheuerlichkeit wäre es, anzunehmen, die Gesamtheit oder die Mehrzahl der Teilnehmer würde auf die abschließenden Zeremonien verzichten.

Die das *čiẹxaus* beherrschenden G r u n d g e d a n k e n kommen auch am Ende des langen Beisammenseins auf eigene Art deutlich zum Durchbruch, nämlich daß die reife Jugend nun in die Gruppe der Erwachsenen als brauchbare Stammesmitglieder übergeführt werden soll, und daß die einzelnen Familien eine geschlossene Gemeinschaft bilden, verbunden zum gegenseitigen Schutz und zur Sicherung des Volksganzen. Mit neuer Aneiferung zur Übung der geltenden Stammestugend verläßt jeder Erwachsene und jeder jugendliche Teilnehmer die *čiẹxaus*-Hütte und die Erinnerung an sie bleibt ihm ein wirksamer Leitgedanke bei seinem künftigen Tun in der Unabhängigkeit.

1. Die Anlässe

Auf eine bestimmte Zeitdauer der Jugendweihe verpflichten sich, wie gesagt, unsere Yamana nicht. An eine gewisse, keinesfalls nebensächliche Bindung halten sie sich aber doch, und das ist die Rücksicht auf den erzieherischen Erfolg bei den Prüflingen. Kein bloßer Zufall ist es, wenn die Yamana im *čiẹxaus*, genau wie die Selk'nam in ihrer Kloketen-Feier (Bd. I, 1047),

planmäßig so lange verweilen, bis das angestrebte erzieherische Ziel mit den *alusala* erreicht zu sein scheint.[303] Die Alten wissen sehr wohl, daß in den wenigen Wochen der Beeinflussung weder der junge Bursche noch das herangereifte Mädchen ein vollständig anderer Mensch wird. Aber bis zu einem gewissen Grade läßt es sich doch beurteilen, ob die vorgetragenen Lebensgrundsätze sich tief genug in deren Überzeugung eingesenkt haben und ob sie selber sich so viel Handfertigkeit oder Geschicklichkeit angeeignet haben, daß sie es bei weiterer Übung zur erforderlichen Tüchtigkeit bringen werden. Unmittelbar und stark wirken auf den Abschluß selbstverständlich äußere Mächte ein, die jene soeben genannte Rücksicht sogar empfindlich beiseite zu drücken imstande sind.

Bei aller Vorsicht, die man zu Anfang walten ließ, bleibt es zuweilen doch nicht aus, daß im Verlauf der Feier ein empfindlicher Nahrungsmangel sich geltend macht. Zwar begnügen sich die Erwachsenen und die Prüflinge mit einer geringen Nahrungsmenge, aber diese zumindest muß leicht erreichbar sein. Hat man sich von einem gestrandeten Wal anlocken lassen, widmet man der Ergiebigkeit jenes Ortes an den üblichen Nahrungsmitteln überhaupt keine Aufmerksamkeit und man erkennt die wirkliche Sachlage recht fühlbar erst dann, wenn auch jenes ungeheure Tier von den vielen Menschen zerstückelt und verzehrt worden ist. Müßte man zu weite Fahrten im Kanu oder zu lange Märsche durch Wälder und über Felsen unternehmen, um die erforderliche Fleischmenge herbeizuschaffen, könnte die Tagesordnung ohne erhebliche Störungen nicht mehr aufrecht erhalten werden. Entweder sucht man nach einem neuen Lagerplatz oder man löst das Beisammensein auf.

Mitunter erkennt man die Ungunst des Platzes erst nach einiger Zeit. Der Wechsel der Jahreszeit ändert beispielsweise die Bodenbedingungen ganz erheblich, daß Überschwemmungen und Durchweichen des Erdreiches oder aufgehäufte Schneemassen zu einem Verlegen des ganzen Lagers unwiderruflich zwingen. Nachteilige Luftströmungen oder starke Wasserwirbel behindern beispielsweise so unangenehm und so häufig die Kanufahrten, daß die Nahrungssuche tagelang unmöglich gemacht wird. Sogar von einer bestimmten Stelle aus viel Brennholz mühelos zu erreichen, kann unmöglich werden. Vor den Naturkräften weichend, zieht sich die Versammlung auf einen günstigeren Platz zurück.

Erst in jüngster Zeit hat eine Seuche, die in dem gemeinschaftlichen Lager um die *ōjēgaus*-Hütte ausbrach, den Abschluß der Feier erzwungen. Mit diesem Hindernis brauchte man in alter Zeit nicht zu rechnen. Wohl aber hat dann und wann das Hinscheiden einer besonders beliebten Person während einer Jugendweihe die Anwesenden derart erschüttert, daß sie zur

[303] Manche äußere Anlässe, die den Abschluß der Männerfeier bei den Selk'nam herbeiführten (Bd. I, 1050), wirken in gleicher Weise auch auf die Beendigung der Jugendweihe bei unseren Yamana hin. Stärker als menschliches Wünschen und Wollen sind die unheilvollen Naturgewalten im Feuerlande eben doch.

Fortführung derselben nicht mehr fähig waren und auseinanderliefen. Meist vereinigten sie sich anderswo zum *yamalaiemóina*, der großen Trauerfeier.

Bei alledem darf man nicht übersehen, daß nach reichlicher Dauer, zumal wenn die Veranstaltung sich durch mehrere Monate hingezogen hat, unvermeidlich eine beschwerende Langeweile sich auf alle Teilnehmer legt. Trotz ihrer Vielseitigkeit ist die Tagesordnung doch nicht abwechslungsreich genug, um die unruhigen Gemüter dieser Feuerländer über eine gewisse Zeit hinaus in Spannung zu halten. Ihr Wandertrieb pocht oft so mächtig, daß sie während der *čiẹ́xaus*-Feier sich dann und wann für einige Tage entfernen und in anderer Umgebung die erwünschte Abspannung suchen. Hat aber einmal lähmende Schwerfälligkeit einen nennenswerten Teil der Anwesenden übermannt, wird kaum noch ein günstiger Umstand sie zur ersten frischen Begeisterung zurückzuführen imstande sein. Wirkliche Erlösung bringt dann nur noch der Abschluß der Feier.

Der Leiter und der Vorsteher halten ihre Augen über die herrschende Stimmung offen. Wenn dieses oder jenes Anzeichen sie beunruhigt, tauschen sie zunächst unter sich, nachher mit älteren Männern ihre Ansicht aus. Nach einiger Überlegung erfließt schließlich die Aufforderung des Leiters an alle Anwesenden, sich für die Abschlußfeier zu rüsten. Einen Widerspruch einzelner oder mehrerer hat er nicht zu gewärtigen und alle fügen sich seiner Anordnung. Sein Wort allein genügt und mit der Bekanntmachung seines Entschlusses, der ja immer in Übereinstimmung mit mehreren einflußreichen Männern erfolgt, ist eigentlich das Ende der *čiẹ́xaus*-Feier gegeben. Der Schlußakt ist eine kurze, doch sinnreiche und anregende Förmlichkeit.

Am Abend des gleichen Tages, an dem der Leiter den nahen Abschluß der Feier verkündigt hat, selten erst am folgenden Abend, muß noch eine besondere Zeremonie erfüllt werden, der zwei bedeutsame Gedanken zugrunde liegen. Zunächst erfolgt die förmliche Eingliederung der *ušróla* in den Kreis der Erwachsenen. Eifrigst wird die *čiẹ́xaus*-Hütte gereinigt und geschmückt, die Farbe auf den Ziertäfelchen und Schmuckstäben sowie auf dem langen Lederriemen *ákeša* wird aufgefrischt, jeder Anwesende ordnet seine eigenen Schmuckstücke und bemalt sich sorgfältig. Im rückwärtigen Teile der Großen Hütte bringt man einen Vorhang aus Häuten vom Seelöwen an, genau so wie anläßlich der Besuche (S. 946), und dahinter nehmen die Prüflinge sogleich Platz. Bald darauf, vom *winefkêra* verständigt, finden sich hier jene Personen ein, die während der *čiẹ́xaus*-Feier fast ausschließlich im Lager geblieben waren; auch sie erscheinen mit außergewöhnlich schöner Gesichtsbemalung, ausgestattet mit *hapaxtl* und Tanzstab.

Ein besonders feierlicher Augenblick steht bevor. Alle Erwachsenen hocken in strengem Ernst auf ihrem Platze und das ununterbrochene Singen von diesem und jenem klingt merklich rührend. Auf Weisung des Leiters begibt sich ein Mann mittleren Alters hinter den Vorhang und heißt die *ušróla* ihm zu folgen. Sie ordnen sich zu einer Längsreihe, deren Anfang jener Mann bildet. Mit kurzen, trippelnden Schritten, den quergehaltenen

Tanzstab rollend auf und ab bewegend, tanzen sie mehrmals durch die lange Hütte hin und her. Währenddessen beteiligen sich alle Erwachsenen am Singen. Endlich bleibt die Reihe der jugendlichen Tänzer in der Mitte des Raumes stehen. Ihr Anführer geleitet nun einen *ušwǫ́gla* nach dem anderen zu dessen Paten. Letztere, ohne aufzustehen, fassen ihr *hętakuxę́glan* bei der Hand, rücken etwas zur Seite und laden es ein, neben ihnen sich niederzusetzen. Diese Handlung gilt als förmliche Übergabe des Patenkindes an seine Paten und als Eingliederung der Jugendlichen in die Gruppe der Erwachsenen. Der *ušwǫ́gla* ist hiermit zum vollwertigen Stammesmitglied erklärt. Aus diesem Anlaß erfaßt sämtliche Anwesenden eine starke Ergriffenheit, Tränen der Rührung über das Glück der Paten und ihrer Adoptivkinder können sie nicht zurückhalten. Man sieht berechtigterweise in dieser feierlichen Handlung den Höhepunkt der ganzen Jugendweihe; denn in ihr sollen ja die herangereiften Jugendlichen zu vollwertigen Stammesgenossen werden. Gleichzeitig wird damit auch öffentlich das geistige Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zwischen den Paten und ihrem Patenkinde *hętakuxę́glan* für immer besiegelt. Vereinzelt jetzt schon, gewöhnlich aber erst während des großen Essens erhält es von seiner Patin ein besonderes, aus drei Stücken bestehendes Geschenk.

Die allgemeine Rührung verflüchtigt sich wieder und das Singen wird nur noch leise von einzelnen Personen weitergeführt. Man bereitet einen Wechsel der Stimmung vor. Jene Personen, die vorhin als Besucher hier eingetreten sind, bleiben sitzen, falls es bereits Abend ist. Sehr selten nämlich findet die soeben beschriebene feierliche Handlung auch an einem Vormittage statt; dann sammeln sich die Besucher hier am Abend nochmals.

In diesen feierlichen Stunden vollzieht sich auch die vereinzelt notwendige Namensänderung bei einem *ušwǫ́gla*. Nicht jeder Prüfling erhält am Ende seiner Jugendweihe einen anderen Namen, sondern nur der sogenannte *ǖipin*, *ǖiǫ́pisin*, also "der ohne Geburtsort", d. h. das Kind, das aus irgendwelchem Grunde den Namen seines Geburtsortes nicht führt (S. 729). In der Regel vermeiden es die Yamana, daß zwei Personen den gleichen Namen tragen. Wer an derselben Stelle wie ein anderer zur Welt gekommen ist, muß sich vorläufig mit einem Spitznamen oder mit der allgemeinen Bezeichnung *ǖipisę́nji* bzw. *ǖipinklpa* zufrieden geben. Beim Abschluß der Jugendweihe nun gebührt ihm der Name nach dem Orte, an dem er sein erstes *čię́xaya* überstanden hat. Die Paten sprechen diesen neuen Namen jetzt, da ihnen ihr *hętakuxę́glan* mit besonderer Förmlichkeit übergeben wird, zum ersten Male aus und damit geht er in den allgemeinen Gebrauch über. Beispielsweise war ich für die Yamana bis zu meiner ersten Jugendweihe, die ich in *Šámakuǖrǫ́ja* (Punta Remolino) erlebt habe, ein *ǖipisę́nji*; seitdem hieß ich *šámakuǖę́nji*. Korrzas wurde *kumbudę́nji* benannt, nach dem Orte *Kumbútu* (Puerto Mejillones), wo im Jahre 1922 die Jugendweihe stattgefunden hat.

Für die andere Förmlichkeit, die noch erfüllt werden muß, wählt man

regelmäßig den letzten Abend in der *ŝiŝgoys*-Hütte. Sie gipfelt in der Übergabe der Herrschaft an die Frauen während einiger Stunden. Im passenden Augenblick werden die Plätze gewechselt und zwar drängen sich die Frauen um den Haupteingang, während die Männer in die Mitte und in den rückwärtigen Teil beim Nebeneingang abrücken. Den neuen Gesang leitete bei meiner ersten Jugendweihe die Frau des ALFREDO und im März 1922 die Frau des PEDRO ein; der Mann der einen wie der anderen bekleidete das Amt des Vorstehers. Dieser Frau unterstehen die übrigen weiblichen Personen wie einer Führerin. Ist den von ihr eingeleiteten Gesang fallen alle Frauen ein und sie beteiligen sich daran außergewöhnlich lebhaft. Unter den Männern tut sich der eigentliche Leiter noch immer merklich hervor. SANTIAGO ermutigt durch Zwischenrufe unaufhörlich die Frauen, daß sie ihre Stimme steigern und kräftig sich anstrengen, um den nahen *Yetáita* zu verscheuchen.

Nachdem die Frauen fast durch eine ganze Stunde den Gesang geführt hatten, lassen sie davon ab und SANTIAGO übernimmt mit einigen Männern das leise Singen. Inzwischen ruhen die Frauen aus. Nach etwa zwanzig Minuten ruft er laut ein wiederholtes *hôhohohohô*. Die Frauen erheben sich und ihrem Beispiele folgen die Männer. Diese wie jene drängen sich eng auf einen Haufen zusammen und nehmen eine drohende Haltung ein. Der eine Haufe schiebt sich zum anderen hin und beide kommen sich so nahe, daß sie aufeinander prallen. Nun beginnt ein angestrengtes Stoßen der einen gegen die anderen; bald weicht die eine Gruppe etwas zurück vor der Übermacht der anderen, bald obsiegt die erstere. Dauernd schwankt das Siegesglück von dieser zu jener Gruppe. Die eine bildet eine starke Mauer gegen die andere und beide drücken aufeinander, Körper gegen Körper. Zuweilen steht auch eine einzelne Frau einem einzelnen Manne gegenüber; jeder hält den Tanzstab auf Schulterhöhe und so stemmt sie sich gegen ihn und er gegen sie mit Aufwand aller Kraft. Schwer und anstrengend ringt jede der beiden Gruppen. Das Drücken und Schieben dauert etwa zwanzig Minuten. Die an sich stärkeren Männer halten das Ringen währenddessen unentschieden, um zum Abschluß den Frauen dadurch zum endgültigen Siege zu verhelfen, daß sie sich gegen den rückwärtigen Teil der Großen Hütte und teilweise sogar durch den Nebeneingang ins Freie abdrängen lassen. Mit lautem Freudengeheul begrüßen die Frauen ihren eigenen Erfolg und bringen in lebhaften Gebärden ihre Genugtuung wegen des Sieges über die Männer zum Ausdruck. Triumphierend gehen sie wieder zu ihren Sitzplätzen beim Haupteingange, die Männer lassen sich in der Mitte der Großen Hütte nieder und bringen in ihrem Benehmen zum Ausdruck, daß sie unterlegen sind.

Leicht ersichtlich ist der Sinn dieses Scheinkampfes: Man will den Frauen wenigstens an einem Abend die alleinige Herrschaft in der *ŝiŝgoys*-Hütte überlassen.[204] In ihrem Siegesbewußtsein fühlen sie sich tatsächlich

[204] Deutlich erinnert dieser Auftritt an die "Hostan"-Szene im Kloketen der Selk'nam. Auch hierbei wird der Frauenwelt die Möglichkeit geboten, „das niederdrückende Gefühl männlicher Wehrlosigkeit gegenüber den mächtigen Quälgeistern aus der Großen Hütte

gehoben und erfrischen sich darin sichtbar.[100] Mit diesem einzig dastehenden Auftritt schließt der letzte Abend der ausgedehnten *lájpuga*-Feier endgültig.

2. Das Schlußfest

Das Wort des Leiters über die geplante Beendigung der Jugendweihe hebt keineswegs die geltende Tagesordnung auf und alle bisherigen Bestimmungen bleiben nach wie vor in Kraft. Aber es ist eine Aufforderung, unverzüglich größere F l e i s c h m e n g e n herbeizuschaffen, die hauptsächlich die Männer mittleren Alters trifft. Also ziehen sie hinaus *auf die Jagd*, begleitet von den *uiwúgla*; denn alle jüngeren Kräfte müssen sich jetzt um so reger betätigen, da reichliche Nahrungsmengen die allgemeine Heiterkeit steigern. Ihrerseits entfalten die Frauen und Mädchen eine eifrigere Sammeltätigkeit als gewöhnlich. Je nach der Wetterlage und dem Jagdglück tragen die Leute an zwei oder drei Tagen sehr viel Fleisch zusammen. Inzwischen verabschieden sich die *uiwúgla* von den Bäumen drinnen im Walde (S. 892).

Bisher hat sich gegen früher nichts an der Tagesordnung in der Großen Hütte geändert. Fast regungslos sitzen die Leute auf ihrem Platze, in sich versunken, gedankenschwer und schwiegend. Das einförmige Singen setzt sie aus. Sobald aber ansehnliche Fleischmengen außerhalb der Großen Hütte, entweder in der Küchenhütte oder in den Zweigen der nebenstehenden Bäume aufgehäuft sind, wartet der Leiter die Stunden klaren Wetters ab und gibt jetzt erst den Küchenfrauen die Weisung, das allgemeine F e s t e s s e n vorzubereiten. Diese, unterstützt von mehreren Helferinnen, zünden ein großes Feuer an. Hier lassen sie viele Fleischstücke schmoren, überdies eine Unmenge von Muscheln und Krabben in der Asche dünsten. Beginnt der Brotenduft aufzusteigen, erhebt sich der Leiter mit dem Vorsteher von seinem Platze und verläßt die Große Hütte. Ihm folgen der *uiwúgla* samt Gehilfen, sowie die übrigen Männer und Frauen. Umgeben von ihren Paten und Patinnen schieben sich schließlich auch die *uiwúgla* durch den Ausgang ins Freie hinaus. Das ist der formelle, durch wirkliche Abschied von der *lájpuga*-Hütte.

Draußen lassen sich alle beim großen Feuer nieder und bald beginnt das Geplauder, erst still und in knappen Sätzen, weil niemand mehr an eine fortlaufende Unterhaltung gewöhnt ist, dann lebhaft und freudig erregt. Jeder greift eifrig zu und läßt sich den frischen Braten gut schmecken, manchen allerdings quält sich aus übergroßer Entkräftung mit ungewohnten Mengen ab. Die Leute laufen je länger je eifriger durcheinander; denn einer sucht den andern auf und möchte hier wie dort allerhöchst erzählen oder erfragen.

[und das sind die Männer selber] für einige Stunden vergessen gänzlich abschätzende und das eigene seelische Gleichgewicht zurückgewinnen zu können" (Bd. I, 997).

[100] Szemmer (d): 923 bewertet diesen Ringen der beiden Geschlechter und die eingehaltene Überlegenheit der Frauen „als das erste Eindringen des Mutterrechtes in die alte Urzeit, einer Kenntnisse zu dieser neuen Zeit durch die Aufnahme einer mutterrechtlichen Sitte in der sonst völlig gleichberechtigten Jugendweihe der Urzeit".

Bei diesem großen Essen obliegt es dem Prüflingen, ununterbrochen Wasser Personen zu bedienen. Das geschieht in der Weise, daß sie das frischgeborene Pfahlmännchen oder eine Handvoll Muschelin bald dem, bald jenem hinreichen. Sie gehen die anwesenden Reihen der Anwesenden durch und verteilen nach allen Seiten, was sie in ihren Händen halten. Die Erwachsenen erfreuen sich an der Geschicklichkeit der *ohrdjale* und tauschen ihre Meinung aus über die Erfolge und die Aussichten bei dem und jenem. Selbstverständlich haben sich beim großen Feuer auch ähnliche Insassen der Wohnhütten, die in der *Ijiyaga*-Hütte nicht übernachtet hatten, eingefunden. Auf sie wirkt der Anblick der abgemagerten und matten Prüflinge besonders stark; sie besprechen die vielen Entbehrungen und das lange Fasten, das diese nun doch überstanden haben. Zu frischer Heiterkeit und ungezwungener Freude können die Prüflinge nicht erwachen; denn es waren zu harte Proben, die ihr erwachender Körper gar viele Wochen über sich hat ergehen lassen müssen.

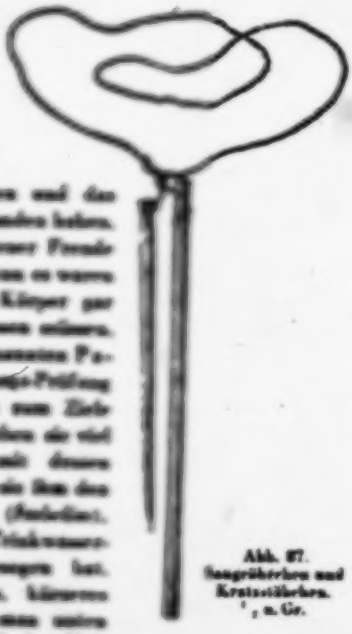

Abb. 87. Saugröhrchen und Kratzstäbchen. $^1/_3$ n. Gr.

Überglücklich zeigen sich die ungemessenen Patron; denn durch die lange Zeit der *Ijiyaga*-Prüfung haben sie ihre *kjinkaypjim* erfolgreich zum Ziele geführt. Mit anderen Erwachsenen sprechen sie viel über ihren Schützling, vorzüglich mit denen Eltern. Nach einem Brauch überreichen sie ihm den rüsselförmigen Vogelknochen *kuhalin* (*kuhalim*), durch den er tagtäglich die spärliche Trinkwassermenge aus einer Muschelschale aufgesogen hat. Außerdem erhält er ein geschnitztes, hölzernes Stäbchen von etwa 12 cm Länge, das man unten zugespitzt und in das man oben einen flachen Hals eingeschnitten hat. Um diesen wird eine Schnurdauer gelegt, ebenfalls um das obere Ende des Saugröhrchens, und beide Stücke verknüpft man mit einer Schnurschlaufe, die man dem Prüfling um den Hals legt (Abb. 87). Jenes Holzstäbchen *ramijaki* war allem voll er eifrig bei der Hand haben, dient es ihm durch dann, sich bei Lösenschmerz auf dem Kopfe zu kratzen. Man sagt, die Jugendlichen sollen unmittelbar nach ihrer Entlassung aus der *Ijiyaga*-Hütte regelmäßig diesen Stäbchen anwenden; bedienten sie sich ihrer Fingernägel, würden diese lutschig. Geht das *ramijaki* verloren oder wird es unbrauchbar, kann der junge Bursche oder das Mädchen dieses Stück sich selber anfertigen, wenn nicht zufällig die Patin ein neues anbietet. Wie lange die Jugendlichen das Kratzstäbchen anwenden müssen, ist nicht bestimmt festgelegt; früher oder später lassen sie es ohne unbeschimmert beiseite.

Ein drittes und letztes Geschenkstück von geringerer Bedeutung als die beiden vorher genannten, das nur die Patin ihrem *kétakuyégum* überglibt, ist ein niedliches, schönes Binsenkörbchen, eigens am oberen Rande mit einem Federkranze verziert und mit reifen Beeren der Pernettya mucronata (Abb. 12) angefüllt.

Als A n d e n k e n erhält das Patenkind diese drei Stücke. Sie sollen es ermahnen an den Paten und die Patin erinnern, mehr aber noch an die Belehrungen und Ermahnungen während der *ŕíŕyaga*-Feier. Mit gewissem Stolz läßt der *ainégile* jedwedem Bekannten diese Begleitgegenstände für die überstandene Jugendweihe ansehen; er weist sich damit öffentlich als einer aus, der nun rechtlich zur Gruppe der Erwachsenen gehört.

Stundenlang kochen die Leute um das Feuer herum und tun sich gütlich am reichlichen Mahl. Allmählich regt sich die Lust zu verschiedenen S p i e l e n. Wurde erst einmal der Anfang gemacht, folgt eines aufs andere. Eine wirkliche Begeisterung entwickelt sich und die ganze Versammlung ergötzt sich daran durch einige Stunden bis zur fühlbaren Ermattung. Ihr Eifer grenzt nicht selten an Ausgelassenheit. Sie ist verständlich, da die Leute nun, außerhalb der strengen *ŕíŕyaga*-Ordnung, ihrer Ungebundenheit die Zügel frei schießen lassen dürfen. Auffällig viel werden die Jugendlichen herangeholt. Hier auf offenem Platze sollen sie vor aller Öffentlichkeit zeigen, welche Fertigkeiten sie sich auch in den Gesellschaftsspielen angeeignet haben, zu denen man sie oft in der *ŕíŕyaga*-Hütte aufgerufen hatte (S. 940).

Die Unterhaltungen und Spielbewegungen nach dem großen Essen nehmen schließlich ein Ende. Der Vorsteher oder eine ihrer Personen stimmt im passenden Augenblick den *ŕíŕyar*-Gesang an, in den alle Teilnehmer unverzüglich einstimmen. Sie bemühen sich sofort um eine ehrfürchtige Körperhaltung und geben ihrer Stimme einen wehmutvollen Klang. Dieser *ŕíŕyar*-Gesang ist das eigentliche A b s c h i e d s l i e d, bei dem alle "Geister" sich ordnen und mit dem sie von den Leuten hier an ihren besonderen Aufenthaltsort zurückgeleitet werden; so wie das ja fast alltäglich erfolgt ist (S. 922). Aber auch für sich selber singen die Anwesenden dieses Lied vor ihrer Trennung; denn sie werden heute oder morgen schon diese Stätte verlassen und sich wohl auf lange Zeit nicht mehr wiedersehen. Darum legen sie alle Gefühle der Freude und des Dankes für ihre Neubelebung durch diese grandiose, erhebende *ŕíŕyaga*-Feier in das letzte *ŕíŕyar*-Lied hinein. Wehmutsvoll klingt es aus und schweigend überläßt sich ein jeder lange noch seinen Gedanken.

Allmählich erhebt sich der eine und andere und geht noch einmal zur Großen Hütte zurück. Hier rafft er seine Gebrauchsgegenstände, Geräteschaften und Schmuckstücke zusammen und nimmt von dieser Stätte e n d g ü l t i g e n A b s c h i e d. Jeder begibt sich um seine eigenen Sachen und überzeugt damit in seine Wohnhütte, wo er sich mit langem wieder für die Nacht einrichtet. Möglicherweise besteigt diese und jene Familie, bei günstiger Wetterlage, noch am gleichen Tage ihr Kanu und entfernt sich. Die Mehr-

wird der Lente vielfältig bestimmt schon am nächsten Morgen diesen Platz und begeistert begeistert die langersehnte Freiheit, wieder umgebunden in die Weite zu schweifen. Unterwegsend schnell ist die Stelle verwüstet, auf der vorher noch viele Menschen so gemütlicher Feier versammelt waren.

Schöner bekümmert sich niemand mehr um die Große Hütte. Verlassen bleibt sie schutzlos dem Wüten der Naturgewalten ausgesetzt, der Sturm verweht die Bedachung und schließlich das ganze Gerüst, daß es früher oder später in sich zusammenfällt. Schmarotzer und Zweckfreiheit gehen dabei ebenfalls zugrunde. Nach einigen Monaten sagt es dem und jenem nur noch die Erinnerung, an welchem Platze jüngst die Jugend-Hütte gestanden hat.

Still und unscheinbar ist nun die Stätte, an der viele Menschen in ernster Besinnung wochenlang über das eigene Ich nachgedacht und sich für ihr Verhalten in der nächsten Zukunft eingeprägt haben. Rauher Wind schüttelt gründer herabfall die Äste, durch die kaum vorher dieser Kaschelbau sich bis den Wipfeln hinaufgeschlungen, und treibt weiter Blätter über die Rasenfläche, auf der sich jung und alt an manchem Spielen ergötzt hat.

3. Sinn und Wert der Jugendweihe

Man mag die Jugend-Feier so oder so betrachten, ihre einzelnen Teile wirken zusammen zur Erreichung des einen bestimmten Ziele, die heranwachsende Jugend für die selbständige Erfüllung der Pflichten eines erwachsenen Mannes bzw. einer erwachsenen Frau seelisch und körperlich zu ertüchtigen. Eine Schulung des Geistes ist sie vor allem, demnach nehmen die Belehrungen und Unterweisungen einen ausschließlichen Raum in der ganzen Veranstaltung ein. Um den Geist der Jugendlichen empfänglich und aufnahmefähig zu machen, zwingt man den Leib unter dessen Beweglichkeit durch harte Übungen der Selbstüberwindung, nämlich durch körperliche Bewegungslosigkeit, durch andauernden Stillschweigen, durch verkürzten Schlaf und durch empfindlichen Fasten. Über die hinreißt angestrebter Selbstüberwindung hinaus erfährt das Seelenleben der jugendlichen einzigste eine unerhörliche Bereicherung durch Mythen und Sagen, die dieses teilweise hier man erstes Male allerdings werden, sowie durch Gesellschaftsspiele, in denen sie sich hier erstmalig öffentlich ergehen können. Neben allem läuft die Ausbildung in den erforderlichen Fertigkeiten und in der erfolgreichen Arbeitsweise, die jeden Mann und jede Frau befähigen, den Lebensunterhalt für sich und für ihre Familie möglichst mühelos zu bestreiten.

Tatsächlich erreichen die Erwachsenen dieses Doppelziel mit den einzigen bei seiner Anwendung der im Jugend gebrauchten Grundsätze. Den überzeugendsten Beweis liefern jene erwähnenswerten Personen, die ihr Leben lang damit sich einrichten und ihrem Volke nur Ehre gereichen, die also der Jugend ein leuchtendes Muster sind. Von Erwachsenen, welche durch außergewöhnliche Umstände, für die in aller Zeit kein Platz war, die Jugendweihe nicht erlebt haben, haben die eifrigen Sammelgemeinen gar nicht

[illegible]

Weiteres erhellt aus dieser langen Darstellung sehr klar und eindeutig nach der **eleatischen Weise** der Odysseus-Einleitung. Man beurteilt sich nur die einzelnen Beleuchtungen von Angesicht zu Angesicht und man wird seiner Verwandlung über Ihren hochwertigen Inhalt nicht unterrichten können. Diese Beurteilung wird noch gestaltet durch die ursprüngliche Einleitung der Jugendwerke, gibt durch das Hinlenken Wieses selbst als der Unbekannt. Das wiederholte sagt man unumwunden: „Alles, was hier vor sich geht [die Tagesordnung mit Ihrem Einzelleben], ist nicht unserer Erfindung. Hinlänglich selbst will, daß alles so geheimnisvoll wurde?" Man erwartet nur: „Was wir noch hier mitteilen [zur Verwandlung und Beleuchtung], stammt von 'Jemand-Anderem'? Es wünschte, daß jeder [Unserer] sich vom durch einzelnen. Das alles ist erfüllt bei dieser [geheimnisvollen] Sache, wie können sich dann nicht wundern. Aber Wunderlichen nicht sich umkehrend, es sieht es noch, falls du dich heimlich über das hinwegsetzen, was wir die hier im Odysseus vorgeschlagen, es selbst wird dich für deine Schlechtheit Verhalten mit Schmerzlichem Tod strafen oder einen deiner Kinder strafen können. Darum halte dich an das, was wir die hier sagen; denn es will es Wunderlichen?" Das Hören während der Jugendwerke wird den Prüflingen wiederholt, die vorgetragenen Lehren und Unterweisungen können sich vom Hinlenken Wieses her, das durch gesamte Erfüllung durchwirkt und durch Verwandlungen bestraft. Berücksichtigt man die bedeutsame Stellung des Odysseus im gesamten einleitenden Arbeiten der Vorrede, dann tut sich durchaus deutlich kund, wie viel dem Einleitungsgrundsatz im Religiösen verwandt sind.

Erfüllt sowie der gehaltlichen Inhalt der Jugendwerke aus dem Reiche der religiösen Vorstellungen, so fällt es dennoch durch nichts an einer besonderen **praktischen Bestimmung**. Daß beide Gedankenquellen sich nicht reinigen, besonders die transzendentalen Gesichter nicht, im Verhalt der Frau wird die Erzählung "besonderlichen unterwegs" dem einzigen vorgetragen, bei welchem Gelegenheit auch ich die erfahre.

Im äußeren Wiederl der Barke vom Odysseus begegnen einst [in alter Zeit] einige Fischer. Sie hörten, im Westen wäre ein Wal gegrundet. Da versuchen sich drei Männer in ein Kanu. Zwei von denen waren gebrannt, der andere nicht. Jene beiden waren der Hilfpol[**] und der Irrdaldig.[**] Die drei Männer fahren ab und waren in wundlicher Richtung. Der Kanu war unbeweglich erhaft. Eilig gibt es an Pierre Gille[**] wieder. Immer weiter dringt der Kanu

[**] Vorsicht gemäß, ein Unterer Spielmannsgeist, um den Studie der Vorrede. Es wird als mythologische Persönlichkeit auch in anderen Erzählungen eine große Rolle.

[**] Mängel eliminiert, der Unbekannte.

war und bis auch Eigenmacht.[illegible] Hier wohnen die Halbwesen, ein gottloses Gelege, schlimmes Volk. Jene drei Tonnen nehmen hier die Hütten dieses Volkes, die verfehlen die Kanne und stürzen ins Land. Die beiden gefesselt werden in die gleiche Hütte eingeführt, den dritten Mann auf man in eine andere Hütte bringt.[illegible] Als die beiden gefesselt jene Hütte betreten, jauchzen die vielen Kinder dem jubelnd auf. Sie stehen bei: „gebrem Bäjen, wen dem schnell?" Das bedeuten (in dem Sprache): Diese beiden wollen wir sofort verzehren! Die Alten beim erwidern: „Jamaiii

ganz große Hütte bauen und nur wandern. Nachher werden wir ein langes Seil bauen und wir allein, ohne die Frauen, werden zu den Yamana fahren, sie ergreifen und töten. So begann dort das *Ajiyaga*. Von dem Halakwulup kam es später zu den Yamana.[171]

Um nachzuahmen, was die Halakwulup gepfiffen hatten, fangen die Yamana bekannte Vögel ein und bringen sie in die Große Hütte, wo sie langes blöken.[172] Diese Vögel erinnern an die Yamana, welche einst fangen die Halakwulup beabsichtigt hatten. — So lautet diese Erzählung.

Man sagte mir auch, daß manche Männer und Frauen der früheren Gebräuchen gewisse Weisungen und Befehle während der *Ajiyaga*-Feier in der Halakwulup-Sprache erteilen. Diesem Umstand machen die Yamana gern als Beweis für die Herkunft der geheimen Veranstaltung aus dem Westen gebraucht.

Der geschichtliche Wert jener Mythe kann hier nicht erwogen werden und es genügt darauf hinzuweisen, daß auch bei den Halakwulup, genau so wie bei unseren Yamana, die Jugendweihe als selbständige Einrichtung getrennt von der geheimen Männerfeier dastehe.[173]

Seit dem Eindringen der Europäer-Missionare in den Kap Horn-Archipel bedeutete sich allmählich und unscheinbar, aber schließlich zu empfindlichem Schaden unserer Yamana die strenge Ordnung der Jugendweihe. Die anfänglich Nachgiebigkeit steuerte allmählich auf eine bedeutliche Verflachung des ursprünglich ernsten Geistes der *Ajiyaga*-Feier hin. Gerade jene heranwachsenden Personen, die auch in der Strenge der alten Zeit erzogen worden sind, beklagen die heutige Lockerung am meisten; denn sie sehen darin eine schwere Benachteiligung der Jugend und eine Bedrohung des Volkscharakters.

Am 5. März 1922 erzählte mir Gerrit, enttäuscht, daß sie als Mädchen Gegenwart Zeit in der Mission Tekenika verbracht hatte. Religiöse Beeinflussung war dortherr war an der nicht zu bezweifeln und ich gewann die Überzeugung, daß die Unterweisungen der Missionare völlig eindrucksloos an der abgeprallt sind. Sie erklärte: „Damals lebten noch viele Yamana. Seitdem aber starben die meisten unserer Leute, eben weil sie die ehrlosen strengen Gebräuche nur nachlässig erfüllten und in vielem sehr lau geworden sind. Als ich zum ersten Male als eingeladen im *Ajiyaga* eintrat, zitterte ich vor Angst und Schrecken. Voller Ehrfurcht erwies ich mich meinem Peinigern willig und gehorsam. Was die damals noch sehr strenge Tugendübung forderte, erfüllte ich treu und genau. Gegenwärtig hält man sogar Knaben und kleine Mädchen als eingeladen ein. Weil diese noch zu jung sind, hält man sie weniger streng. Mit

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[171] Dort im Westen berühren sich Halakwulup und Yamana. So konnten bestimmte von unseren die Jugendweihe, die sich allmählich auch bei den nördlichen und südlichen Yamana Eingang verschaffte. — Eine Variante dieser Mythe ist weiter unten aufgezeichnet.

[172] Bei diesem Brauch scheint man es nicht sehr streng. Mehr Lächelnd über den einen und anderen Teilnehmer ist es, einen Vogel einzufangen und somit den Forderungen jener Brauches zu genügen.

[173] Diese beiden Veranstaltungen sind bekanntlich bei den Selk'nam ursprünglich "Brüderbund" genannt, verschmolzen. Vgl. Gusinde (Ms): 270 und (Ms): 1001.

alledem lassen die guten, alten Gewohnheiten noch, man nimmt es sogar mit wichtigen Einrichtungen [gemeint ist außer der Jugendweihe das allgemeine Verhalten der Stammesmitglieder] nicht mehr genau genug. Wohl daher kommt es, daß unsere Leute jetzt so zahlreich sterben. Die Lebensregeln und Vorschriften der Alten waren eben vortrefflich, zwar streng und ernst, aber die Leute lebten dabei gut und machten ein großes Volk aus!" GERTIE ist eine Person, die den Wert der strengen Überlieferung schätzt und daran mit Zähigkeit festhält.

Ohne Zweifel verlief auch in den letzten Jahrzehnten noch die Jugendweihe im großen und ganzen in den Bahnen der althergebrachten Überlieferung. Ein kleiner Vorfall im März 1922 zeigt, daß man, trotz mancher Nachgiebigkeit, die f r ü h e r e S t r e n g e für die geltenden Bestimmungen der Tagesordnung fordert. Eines Abends, kurz vor Beginn des gemeinschaftlichen Tanzes, reichte ADELHEID unauffällig KOPPERS sowohl wie mir einige Schluck Rotwein aus einem kleinen Blechbehälter, der neben ihr stand. Bald danach trat sie in die Reihe der Tanzenden ein. Während sie sich mit ihnen in der Hütte auf und ab bewegte, ergriff ihre Schwester GERTIE, die sich bis jetzt still verhalten hatte, jenes Gefäß mit Wein und lief damit hinaus. Nach wenigen Minuten stürzte sie unerwartet in die Große Hütte zurück, benahm sich sehr erregt und rief laut: „Meine Schwester [ADELHEID] hat vorher jenen beiden [Europäern] dort Wein gereicht und zwar ihnen allein. Dergleichen [Bevorzugung] ist in dieser Hütte nicht Brauch: Hier müssen alle [Anwesenden] eingeladen werden, sofern etwas zur Verteilung gelangt! Daher habe ich meiner Schwester den Wein in jenem Gefäße, das neben ihr stand, weggenommen, in eine Flasche gefüllt und hierher zurückgebracht. Auch alle anderen Leute sollen davon etwas mitbekommen!" Nun stellte sich GERTIE etwa in der Mitte der *čiɛ́xuys*-Hütte auf und ließ die ganze Reihe der Tänzer vorüberziehen. Jedem, der vor ihr stand, reichte sie die Flasche zu einem Schluck Wein hin. Der Tänzer stellte seine Körperbewegungen nicht etwa ein, sondern trippelte unaufhörlich voran und schwang seinen Tanzstab; nur neigte er den Kopf mit geöffnetem Munde zur Seite. WALTER stand als *winefkɛ́ɛ-u* am Haupteingange. Da aber niemand beim Verteilen einer Sache ausgenommen werden darf, tänzelte auch WALTER an GERTIE heran und ließ sich die Weinflasche an den Mund setzen, aus der er einen Schluck nahm.

Die allgemeine Regel bestimmt, daß ein jeder sich selber sein Recht suchen darf, falls beim Verteilen von Eßwaren nur einzelne Personen bedacht werden. Wer übergangen wird und dafür sich Genugtuung verschaffen will, reißt aus der Hüttendeckung einige Zweige heraus oder hebt sie an seiner Lagerstätte auf, zündet sie an und stürzt damit auf jene Person, die ihn übergangen hat, erregt los. Er versetzt sie in Schrecken, indem er sie mit den brennenden oder glimmenden Zweigen bedroht, ja bringt ihr zuweilen Brandwunden bei. Dieses grobe, gewalttätige Vorgehen verübelt niemand, vielmehr gilt es als gelinde Strafe für die ungeheuerliche Selbstsucht, die in der Bevorzugung einiger weniger beim Verteilen ans Tageslicht trat. Alle Anwesenden

zeigen sich mit der Empörung jener rächenden Person einverstanden; denn ihr innerstes Empfinden verlangt gebieterisch, daß die bedeutsamsten Umgangsregeln zumindest beim feierlichen Anlaß der Jugendweihe gewissenhaft von jedermann befolgt werden.

Das Eingreifen der Gertie gibt zu verstehen, wie genau sie im herrschenden Brauch unterrichtet ist und mit welcher Gewissenhaftigkeit sie alle Einzelheiten würdigt. Erst tags zuvor hatte sie mir versichert: „Was man mir als *ŭsŭ́ŋula* beigebracht hat, das habe ich treu eingehalten und unauslöschlich im Gedächtnis bewahrt. Daraus (aus dieser treuen Pflichterfüllung) erwächst jedermann Glück und Vorteil!" Das ganze Handeln dieser Frau, die meine Patin war, verriet Überzeugung und Grundsatztreue.

Will man in Beurteilung der neuzeitlichen Yamana gerecht sein, muß man einige Gründe der Entschuldigung für die Lockerung der Ordnung seit einigen Jahrzehnten gelten lassen. Mit einem Freisein von störungsloser Behinderung ist in der Neuzeit nicht mehr zu rechnen, ebensowenig sind die Familien unabhängig bei der Wahl des Ortes und der Jahreszeit für die Jugendweihe. Immer und überall müssen sie mit einer Einmischung der dort ansässigen Europäer rechnen oder sind zu Arbeitsleistungen auf den Farmen verpflichtet, demzufolge niemals mehr alle Stammesmitglieder oder ihre größere Zahl zu jener Feier sich leicht für längere Zeit vereinigen können.

Diese Rücksichten bringen es mit sich, daß dann und wann unreife Knaben und Mädchen als *ŭsŭ́ŋula* zugelassen werden, deren Urteilskraft noch nicht genügend entwickelt ist. Man weiß nämlich nicht, ob und wann die nächste *čiéŋus*-Feier stattfinden wird, und man will jene Jugendlichen dieser Gemeinschaftserziehung nicht ganz verlustig gehen lassen. Ihre geringe körperliche Entwicklung verbietet es, ihnen die ursprünglichen Härten des Fastens und verkürzten Schlafes aufzuerlegen. Die empfindlichen Maßnahmen sind neuerdings um so weniger am Platze, als ja auch die Erwachsenen mittleren Alters für sich nicht mehr so viel Kraftwillen aufbringen, um sich an die strenge Tagesordnung und die strammen Vorschriften ihrer Väter zu halten; es fehlt ihnen die entschiedene Entschlossenheit zu persönlichen Opfern. Beschämt erkennen sie das an und verhehlen diesen Zustand den Jugendlichen keineswegs. Offen sagen sie: „Früher kamen die *ŭsŭ́ŋula* am Ende des *čiéŋus* ganz abgemagert, schwach und kraftlos aus der Großen Hütte zum Lager zurück, gegenwärtig verpflichtet man sie kaum zu einigen unbedeutenden Einschränkungen!"

Die offensichtliche Tatsache kann man nicht wegleugnen, daß die körperliche Widerstandskraft der Yamana in der Neuzeit ansehnlich nachgelassen hat. Die Alten erzählen: „Früher kannte man weder Zahnschmerzen noch sah man unter den Höchstbejahrten einen Graukopf. Die Yamana von heute sind nicht mehr so ausdauernd wie ihre Vorfahren. Der ausschlaggebende Grund liegt in der veränderten Ernährungsweise, im Genuß von Zucker und Alkohol, Kaffee und Tee, Salz und Tabak. Auch die europäische Kleidung hat an dieser Schwächung einen großen Anteil. Aber niemand hat den Mut,

heute wieder zur Lebensweise der Vorfahren zurückzukehren. Somit rückt der Untergang unseres Volkes immer näher heran!" Gleichlaufend mit der körperlichen Schwächung des neuzeitlichen Geschlechtes verbreitete sich immer mehr die Lockerung auf dem allgemeinsittlichen Gebiete.

Ohne jede Wirkung auf die Jugendlichen bleibt die *čiéxuys*-Feier, an deren Grundsätzen nichts Wesentliches geändert wird, auch in der Neuzeit nicht. Aber die folgerichtige Anwendung der letzteren im Leben unterbleibt eben mehr oder weniger, weil die Erwachsenen mittleren Alters nicht mehr entschieden genug beispielgebend dazu ermuntern.

Im Verlaufe dieser Beschreibung sind wiederholt die Einzelteile genannt worden, mit denen jeder Tag in der *čiéxuys*-Hütte ausgefüllt wird. Eine Stundeneinteilung kennt man nicht, man macht sich von der augenblicklichen Stimmung der Allgemeinheit, von der persönlichen Laune, vom Wetter und von unberechenbaren Zufällen abhängig. Allerdings durchziehen einige große Richtlinien einen Tag wie den anderen. Deshalb glaube ich davon absehen zu dürfen, hier die genaue Aufeinanderfolge jeder einzelnen Handlung an jedem Tage der Jugendweihe, die ich zweimal erlebt habe, darzulegen. Wer sie kennenlernen will, sei auf Koppers (a): 45 hingewiesen.

Der Fortbestand des Yamana-Volkes durch die Jahrhunderte ist der hohen sittlichen Erziehungsarbeit, die an jedem Jugendlichen in der *čiéxuys*-Hütte geleistet worden ist, großenteils zu danken. Seitdem die straffe Handhabung der ursprünglichen Ordnung gelockert wurde, löste sich der feste Bestand der Volksgemeinschaft und trieb unaufhaltsam dem Untergange zu. Für die Geschichte des menschlichen Bildungswesens ist es von Nutzen, daß die Erziehungskunst der vielverkannten Yamana, wie sie sich deutlich und lückenlos in der *čiéxuys*-Feier[313] offenbart, uns Europäern noch am Lebensabend dieses Volkes aufgeleuchtet und ganz ausführlich bekannt geworden ist.

E. Eigentumsverhältnisse

Das geordnete und friedfertige Zusammenleben der Yamana wird zu einem großen Teile dadurch ermöglicht, daß ihre Eigentumsverhältnisse von uralten Gesetzen geregelt werden. Wie diese entstanden und zu begründen sind, darnach fragt niemand; denn die überlieferte Gewohnheit war für jedes Geschlecht bis in die Neuzeit unwandelbare Richtschnur. Gewisse Rechtstitel werden sachlich begründet, vorwiegend entscheiden die in Geltung stehenden Gewohnheitsrechte. Tatsächlich besitzen unsere Yamana das ausreichende Maß von Rechtsbegriffen, von denen sie sich in alter wie in neuer Zeit haben leiten lassen.[314] Wirtschaftsform und Gesellschaftsordnung haben bei der Ausgestaltung gewisser Eigentumsverhältnisse mitgewirkt. Diese erscheinen be-

[313] Die Jugendweihe der Halakwulup, die ich auf meiner vierten Reise entdeckt habe, zeigt die gleichen Wesenszüge wie die der Yamana. Vgl. vorläufig Gusinde (a): 511 und Schmidt (d): 977.

sonders deutlich beim Verkehr einzelner Personen oder Gruppen miteinander und in den Beziehungen der Mitglieder des engsten Familienkreises.[377]

Ein genauer Beobachter kann die vorhandenen Rechtsbegriffe der Yamana, insoweit sie das Eigentum betreffen, leicht feststellen; denn sie sind an sich einfach und bestimmt, werden aber auch in die Tat umgesetzt. Damit sollen einzelne Verstöße gegen die Rechtsordnung, die eben in ihrer Eigenart auch daran erkannt wird, nicht geleugnet werden. Man braucht sich an den widersprechenden Urteilen der Reisenden und Missionare nicht zu stoßen; manche Erscheinungen und Beobachtungen sind einfachhin nicht richtig gedeutet worden. Zuweilen kann man sogar nachweisen, daß dieser und jener sich bald so und bald anders geäußert hat. Nimmt man sich nämlich die Mühe, vom Standpunkt der Eingeborenen selber diese und jene ihrer Handlungsweisen zu werten, dann wird offenkundig, daß kaum je eine davon einen Verstoß gegen die Rechtsnormen der Europäer beinhaltet. Die wiederholt ausgestreute Meinung, unsere Yamana besäßen kein Empfinden für Mein und Dein, demzufolge sie hemmungslos Raub und Diebstahl trieben, ist eine gänzlich unbewiesene Verleumdung. Wie wäre, ein solches Treiben vorausgesetzt, das ruhige Zusammenleben mit ihresgleichen möglich? Jeder Indianer kennt die Rechtsbestimmungen für das gemeinschaftliche wie für das persönliche Eigentum und mehrere Rücksichten zwingen ihn, sie genau zu beachten, andernfalls wäre er in der Gemeinschaft seiner Stammesgenossen unmöglich.

a. *Die Eigentumsgüter*

Die besondere Stellung der Yamana innerhalb der Gesamtheit der niederen Naturvölker und auch das genaue Verständnis für die Eigenart ihrer Kulturformen machen es ratsam, schon eingangs mit bestimmten Worten auf den gut ausgeprägten Eigentumsbegriff hinzuweisen, den unsere Feuerländer besitzen. Sie haben eine klare Vorstellung von Mein und Dein, verstehen demnach gelegentliche Verstöße gegen das Eigentumsrecht und achten tatsächlich die dort in Geltung stehenden Besitztitel. Mit den besitzanzeigenden Fürwörtern (Pronomina possessiva) kennzeichnen sie eine bestimmte Persönlichkeit als Eigentümer gewisser Dinge. Reich ist die Auswahl an Worten, welche Diebstahl und Schädigung der Sachgüter anderer bedeuten, und für Personen, die sich am Eigentum anderer vergreifen, gibt es der schimpflichen Benennungen genug.[378]

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[377] In der Absicht, Vergleiche möglichst zu erleichtern, wurde dieser Abschnitt in etwa nach der Vorlage in Bd. I, 423 aufgehoben. Vgl. Koschenzas (a): 331.

[377] Weil die Wirtschaftsform und die Gesellschaftsordnung unserer Yamana mit jener der Selk'nam weitgehend übereinstimmen, befremdet es nicht, daß auch die Eigentumsverhältnisse bei beiden Stämmen sich fast vollständig decken.

[378] Zwar behauptet Segarzim (a): 177 befremdlicherweise, bei sämtlichen drei feuerländischen Stämmen „Ser robar tomar y robar son equivalentes". Ein Blick in das BD und in die Wortlisten der Selk'nam und Halakwulup hätte ihn leicht eines Besseren belehrt.

Nicht nur anerkennen sie, daß Sachgüter jeweils ihren bestimmten Besitzer haben, dem darüber alleiniges Verfügungsrecht zusteht, sie lassen diese Anerkennung auch für das besondere Verhältnis, in dem einzelne Personen zueinander stehen, gelten. Demnach gehören die Kinder beiden leiblichen Eltern als Eigentum und dem einen Gatten gesteht man ein wirkliches Recht auf den anderen zu. Ähnliche Rechte üben Stiefeltern gegenüber Ganz- oder Halbwaisen aus. Daß auch auf abgegrenzte Landesteile bestimmten Volksgruppen ein besonderer Besitztitel zusteht, soll bald erörtert werden.

Die Gesellschaftsordnung der Yamana läßt zwei Arten von Eigentumsgütern zu, nämlich den Gemeinschaftsbesitz und das persönliche Eigentum. Ersterer ist grundgelegt durch die unumgängliche Jagd mit herumschweifender Lebensweise. Da jedermann, bzw. die Einzelfamilie, durch ausschließliche Zeit auf sich selber angewiesen bleibt, ist er auch der alleinige, unumschränkte Herr über alles, was er mit sich führt, und er verfügt ganz frei darüber. Diese Einteilung der Besitzgüter ist naturgegeben; man trifft sie nicht nur bei sämtlichen drei feuerländischen Stämmen an, sondern ganz allgemein bei Völkern mit niederer Sammelwirtschaft.

Verfehlt wäre es, den Gemeinschaftsbesitz als kommunistische Eigentumsform zu deuten; denn es steht der Einzelperson nur dessen Nutznießung unter gewissen Bedingungen zu. In gleicher Weise wäre es unrichtig, die Pflicht zur gegenseitigen Hilfeleistung, die bei den Yamana auffallend stark betont wird, nach jener Richtung auszulegen.[277] Bereitwilliges Verteilen vom Eigenbesitz an Beute und Gerätschaften geschieht nämlich aus gesellschaftlichen Rücksichten, läßt aber das Verfügungsrecht selber ganz und gar unberührt.

1. Gemeinschaftsgüter

Deutlich, wie bei jedem primitiven Volke, ist auch bei unseren Yamana das Bewußtsein der Volkseinheit ausgeprägt. Diese stützt sich auf die Gleichheit der Sprache und Lebensweise nicht minder, als auf die Anteilnahme jedes einzelnen an demselben Heimatgebiet. Das zerrissene Inselgewirr im Dreieck zwischen dem Kap Hoorn-Felsen, der Halbinsel Brecknock und der Punta Julieta bei der Bahía Aguirre betrachten sie als ihr Land, innerhalb dessen Grenzen sie zu wohnen und zu jagen von altersher ausschließlich sich allein für berechtigt halten. Tatsächlich machen sie ihre Bodenrechte im weitesten Sinne des Wortes für ihr ganzes Gebiet geltend.

Sie verurteilen das Überschreiten dieser Grenzen durch ihre indianischen Nachbarn im Nordosten wie im Südwesten als Einbruch in ihr eigenes Land und zwar deshalb, weil es ihnen allein gehört.[278] Zwar vertreiben sie die Eindringlinge nicht mit Waffengewalt, werten aber deren Anmaßung ganz unum-

[277] Bereits Hyades (q): 243 hat sich einer Deutung in diesem offensichtlich falschen Sinne entgegengestellt: „Ils aiment à partager ce qu'ils ont avec tous ceux qui les entourent, et l'on ne peut pas dire que c'est là une conséquence de la communauté des biens. Cette communauté n'existe pas en Fuégie."

wunden als Rechtsverletzung. Den Nachbarn freiwillig Einlaß zu gewähren, wenn persönliche Gründe es empfehlen, steht nur den ansässigen Familien zu.

Auch daß sich auf ihrem eigenen Boden die Europäer niedergelassen haben, wobei ihre Landsleute verdrängt wurden, betrachten sie als Raub. Seit einigen Jahrzehnten haben sie sich mit dieser Zwangslage abgefunden, weil sie sich für einen Widerstand zu schwach fühlen. Früher hatten sie manches europäische Schiff mit Feindseligkeiten überhäuft und ihm die Landung erschwert, um den mißliebigen Weißen jede Möglichkeit und Lust zu nehmen, hier sich seßhaft zu machen (S. 250). Aus den gleichen Gedanken heraus bekamen sogar die Missionare den Widerstand der Eingeborenen zu verspüren. Beispielsweise hatten jene bei Gründung der Missionsstation in Ushuaia viel Mühe und Arbeit aufgeboten. Damit aber war, nach dem Urteil der Indianer, jenes Gebiet noch nicht Eigentum der Missionare und diese mußten tatsächlich allerlei Belästigungen über sich ergehen lassen. Erst nach direkten Verhandlungen konnte Bancas (MM: IV, 133; 1870) sich mit folgender Lösung zufriedengeben: „I got full permission from the natives of Ushuaia to take possession of any land for house and gardens. Next time I intend giving them some thing as a small acknowledgment". Obwohl Widerspruch seit langem gar keinen Erfolg zeitigt, haben die Yamana niemals ihren ausschließlichen Rechtsanspruch auf ihr Heimatgebiet aufgegeben.

Diesen leiten sie aus der sogenannten Umwälzungsmythe her. Letztere erzählt, daß in uralter Zeit die *kina*-spielenden Frauen in diese Gegend vorgedrungen wären und hier ihre geheime Feier weitergeführt hätten. Seitdem wären alle Yamana an Ort und Stelle geblieben. Dadurch, daß sie als erste Ankömmlinge dieses Land für sich in Besitz genommen hätten, wäre es zu ihrem Eigentum geworden.

Die Eigenart der Landschaft selber hat das ganze Yamana-Gebiet gegliedert und in f ü n f B e z i r k e von größerer Ausdehnung zerlegt, in denen ebensoviele Dialekte sich ausgebildet haben (S. 199). Jede einzelne Dialektgruppe betrachtet ihre engere Heimat als im besonderen Sinne gemeinschaftliches Eigentum all ihrer Mitglieder. Sie ist das Feld, auf dem jeder sich unbehindert der Nahrungssuche widmet. Die Einzelperson hat von vornherein kein verbrieftes Recht auf ein bestimmtes Tier und keinen Vorzug beim Erwerb bestimmter Bodenschätze; wohl aber steht zu allem und jedem innerhalb der Grenzen des Dialektbezirkes dem, der dort ansässig ist, unterschiedslos der Zugang offen. In Bezug auf die Naturgüter der engeren Heimat also gibt es kein persönliches Eigentumsrecht; dieses kommt erst in dem Augenblick zur Geltung, da jemand das eine oder andere Ding sich aneignet.

Nicht minder bedeutsam ist es festzustellen, daß nur die Mitglieder der gleichen Dialektgruppe noch dem greifen dürfen, was ihre nähere Heimat

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[20] Schon Spegazzini (a): 148 hat erwähnt, „que los limites de una tribu están bien definidos; menos una cuestión *Abeilhé* ve al territorio lejos, si no es por un asunto particular e importante".

birgt. Jenen, die im Nachbarbezirk zuhause sind, steht es im allgemeinen nicht zu, die Grenzen zu überschreiten. Wenige Ausnahmefälle gelten als rechtskräftig. Würden diese Ausnahmen aber mißbraucht, könnten Streitigkeiten sich entfachen und zwar wegen Verletzung eben der Hoheitsrechte, deren nur die eigentlichen Besitzer dieses Gebietes sich erfreuen. Letztere ausschließlich dürfen darin an Tieren und Sachgütern unterschiedslos sich das aneignen, was sie benötigen, auch wenn dieses und jenes dem Tauschhandel mit Leuten aus der anderen Gruppe dient.

Naheliegend ist es, daß jeder einzelne das Gesamtgut seiner Dialektgruppe, zu der er durch Geburt oder durch Einheiraten gehört, und an dem auch er selber einen Anteil hat, verteidigt. Wo und wann immer er Übergriffe eines Nachbarn beobachtet, mißbilligt er sie zumindest und teilt sie anderen Leuten seiner nächsten Umgebung mit. Beleidigendes Verletzen der Bodenrechte muß der Übeltäter zuweilen schwer büßen. Sogar zu rücksichtsloser Unduldsamkeit ihm gegenüber sind die Feuerländer fähig. Als Beispiel diene die Behandlung, die ein gewisser Ококко erfahren hat. Nach dem Wunsche der Missionare, mit denen er viele Monate auf Isla Keppel zusammengelebt hatte, sollte er mitten im Gebiete seiner Landsleute, nämlich in Liwya, eine Art "Musterwirtschaft" nach europäischem Vorbilde einrichten. Dort aber war er nicht beheimatet. Ein Bretterhäuschen wurde für ihn aufgerichtet und eine gute Menge von Lebensmitteln zurückgelassen, daß er etwa sieben Monate auskäme. Seine nächste Umgebung aber duldete ihn dort nicht: denn nach ihrem Urteil war er ein Eindringling. Die Verletzung ihres Bodenrechtes rächten sie damit, „that Ококко's house, and goat's, and property, had been destroyed by fire". Ohne Zweifel wird auch Mißgunst in diesem Falle die Zerstörungswut gesteigert haben (S. 297).

Bei aller Anerkennung der Bodenrechte, die jeder Dialektgruppe zustehen, haben gewisse Umstände dennoch rechtskräftige Ausnahmen von der Absperrung der einen gegen die anderen geschaffen. Der Grundgedanke setzte sich durch, daß bei Notlage jedem Stammesmitgliede Tür und Tor nach allen Richtungen hin offen stehen müsse. Das gilt zunächst für den Erwerb von Rohstoffen zu Gegenständen, die niemand entbehren kann. So gedeihen gleichmäßige, dicke Buchenstämme, die geeignete Rindenstücke zum Kanu liefern, nur an gewissen Stellen; an wenigen Punkten ausschließlich findet sich der Feuerstein (S. 393). Wer diesen beiden notwendigen Dingen nachgeht, für den bestehen die sonstwie gezogenen Grenzen der Dialektgruppen nicht.

Ferner darf jeder, der im eigenen Gebiete ernste Not leidet und von Hunger bedroht ist, ohne Förmlichkeiten die Grenze überschreiten und sich im Nachbargebiet versorgen. Für unsere Yamana wäre es unfaßbar, jemandem den Zutritt dorthin zu verwehren, wo er sich vom Hungertode retten kann. So lange beläßt man ihn dort unbehelligt, bis er nachweislich wieder in der eigenen Heimat sein Fortkommen finden kann. Die bekanntesten Ursachen einer vorübergehenden Notlage sind anhaltend schlechtes Wetter in

Gegenden, in denen die Kanufahrten überhaupt beschwerlich sind, nämlich bei den außenliegenden Inseln; nicht minder häufig der Verlust des eigenen Kanus; seltener das Hinscheiden der Gattin, die mehrere unmündige Kinder einem Manne zurückläßt, dessen Verwandten weit entfernt wohnen.

Endlich fallen auch bei einem Anlaß ganz anderer Art alle Grenzen, nämlich beim Stranden eines Wales. Man spricht zwar jenen, in deren Heimat dieses mächtige Tier auf die Küste gesetzt wird, ein gewisses Vorrecht zu; denn nicht selten haben sie eine schwere Arbeit geleistet, bis die reiche Beute vor ihnen liegt (S. 518). Doch besteht ihr Vorrecht hauptsächlich in der Vergünstigung, ihrerseits die sogenannten Verteiler des Speckes und Fleisches zu bestimmen. Man überläßt es nämlich nicht dem Belieben des einzelnen, an das Tier heranzutreten und sich da oder dort ein Stück herauszuschneiden; vielmehr ist es Aufgabe einiger Männer, sachgemäß das große Tier zu zerlegen und jeden Anwesenden zu bedenken, der sich etwas wünscht (S. 576). So nur wird eine nutzlose Vergeudung hintangehalten.

Wer auch immer im weitesten Umkreise vom Stranden eines Wales erfährt, kann unbehindert jenem Platze zusteuern und neben dem ungeheuren Tiere so lange verweilen, bis alle verwendbaren Teile aufgebraucht und vergeben sind. Jene Leute, die dort beheimatet sind, finden sich vor allen Besuchern aus der Ferne ein; ihnen verwehrt es niemand, die geschätzten Barten sich anzueignen und die schmackhaftesten Teile sich herausschneiden zu lassen. Also erfreuen sich doch jene Leute, in deren engeren Heimatgrenzen jenes gewaltige Tier an die Küste gesetzt wurde, gewisser Vorteile. Warum auch andere Stammesmitglieder zur Anteilnahme an jenem reichen Geschenk der Mutter Natur nach allgemeinem Recht zugelassen werden, ist leicht ersichtlich. Eine niedrige Zahl von Leuten wäre nicht imstande, innerhalb kurzer Zeit die ansehnliche Speck- und Fleischmenge, bevor sie in Fäulnis übergeht, schnell genug zu verwerten; was liegt da näher, als den oft geübten Grundsatz des Mitteilens an andere gerade bei einem mühelos erworbenen Überfluß schrankenlos anzuwenden. Durch dichte Scharen von Seevögeln benachrichtigt, strömen demnach die Indianer sogar von weither zum gestrandeten Wal hin und alle tun sich gütlich an dem vorzüglichen Geschmack des Tranes. Niemand dürfte es wagen, einen fremden Besucher abzuweisen oder zu behindern, er würde als ein selbstsüchtiger Mensch laut verschrien werden.

An Sachgütern, die Gemeinschaftgut sind, finden sich bei unseren Yamana nur die beiden Großen Hütten, die für die Jugendweihe *čiźgous* und für die Männerfeier *kina* aufgebaut werden. Die eine wie die andere dient der Erfüllung einer Aufgabe, zu der die Gemeinschaft als solche verpflichtet ist, und eben für sie regen sich ganz selbstverständlich die Hände der erwachsenen Teilnehmer. Ihre Absicht ist es von vornherein, im Dienste jener Veranstaltungen sich zu betätigen; unausweichlich verzichten sie somit auf das sonst aus eigener Arbeit erwachsende Eigentumsrecht. Wird die Große Hütte später, also nach Abschluß jener Feiern, von der Gemeinschaft verlassen, gibt diese damit ihr Verfügungsrecht wieder auf. Wer jetzt sich dort einrichten

oder von dort einige Stäbe benützen will, wird daran nicht behindert; denn er macht sich ein Gut zu eigen, das als herrenlos gekennzeichnet worden ist.

So ausdrücklich die Yamana ihr Recht auf den Alleinbesitz ihres heimatlichen Gebietes betonen und so streng sie jeweilig die Grenzen ihrer Dialektgruppen bewachen, sie sind ebenso nachgiebig, wo Not oder Zweckmäßigkeit dazu raten, die Sonderrechte aufzuheben. Hoch über diese stellen sie das Leben und das Fortkommen eines jeden ihrer Stammesgenossen.

2. Sondereigentum

Wie ihre Nachbarn, die Selk'nam (Bd. I, 413) und die Halakwulup, treffen auch unsere Yamana eine bestimmte und klare Unterscheidung zwischen dem Gemeinschaftsgut und dem persönlichen Eigentum. Jenes gehört gleichzeitig einer größeren Gruppe oder dem ganzen Stamme, der Privatbesitz steht nur einer einzigen Person als Individualbesitz, oder als Familienbesitz den zur Wirtschaftseinheit zusammengeschlossenen Mitgliedern der gleichen Familie im engeren Wortsinne zu. In alltäglichen Wendungen kommt diese Sonderung des Individualbesitzes vom Familienbesitz deutlich zum Ausdruck.[201] Beispielsweise spricht der Mann von seinen Waffen und die Frau von ihren Körbchen und das Kind von seinen Schmucksachen, jeder das uneingeschränkte Verfügungsrecht betonend. Aber jeder von ihnen kann gar nicht anders als von "unserer Hütte" reden: denn einem jeden gehört sie gemeinschaftlich mit denen, die der gleichen Familie angehören. Die Titel für dieses und für jenes Besitzrecht sind voneinander verschieden.

a. Persönlicher Besitz

Auf Schritt und Tritt begegnet der genaue Beobachter einer unzweideutigen Bestimmtheit, mit der jeder einzelne Indianer auf seine persönlichen Güter restlosen Anspruch erhebt und mit der er sie gegen Entwenden und Beschädigung verteidigt. Er betrachtet sich selber ausschließlich als Herr und Eigentümer gewisser Dinge, über die anderen Personen kein Recht zusteht: er allein veräußert sie nach freiem Willensentschluß oder leiht sie der Person zu vorübergehendem Gebrauch aus, die darum ansucht und die sich zur Rückgabe verpflichtet. Niemand maßt es sich an, auf den persönlichen Besitz eines andern seine Hand zu legen, es sei denn ein Dieb.

Leicht läßt sich feststellen, was dem einzelnen gehört, und zwar deshalb, weil niemand sich mit Besitzgütern überlastet und weil durch-

[201] Die Angaben anderer Beobachter sind nicht immer klar und vollständig. So schreibt Hyades (d): 309 einmal: „La propriété est individuelle: il n'y a pas de chef, pas de hiérarchie sociale, pas d'esclaves." An anderer Stelle (p): 335 läßt er neben dem persönlichen auch gemeinschaftlichen Besitz gelten: „La propriété est individuelle et héréditaire sans aucun testament, mais elle ne peut s'entendre ici que des effets personnels: pirogue, ustensiles de chasse ou de pêche, peaux d'animaux, chacun n'ayant de ces objets que ce lui est nécessaire."

sichtige, bestimmte Rechtstitel ihnen zugrunde liegen. Auch bringt die einfache Wirtschaftsform der Yamana es mit sich, daß der eine im wesentlichen nicht mehr sein eigen nennt, als was auch jeder andere seiner Stammesgenossen besitzt. Endlich liegt das wenige, was einer mit sich führt, ganz offensichtlich zutage und kann von seinen Nachbarn mühelos beobachtet werden.[262]

Aus dem vollen Bewußtsein, im allgemeinen und wirklichen Recht auf den Besitz seiner eigenen Sachen zu sein, bewacht jeder das, was ihm gehört, mit erkennbarer Eifersucht. Sie nimmt Formen, die uns unverständlich sind, besonders dann an, wenn jemand Dinge europäischer Herkunft besitzt; denn diese reizen andere Leute stärker zum Diebstahl. Treffend genau schildert BRIDGES die Sorge der Yamana um ihre wenigen Habseligkeiten: „The begging and stealing propensities of the natives discourage laying up stores of fuel or food, and engender slyness. When they sell skins or other things to us, they aim to do so unknown to their fellows, in order to keep what they receive to themselves. Thus they secrete what they bring under their clothes, or hide it near by, till obnoxious observers and waylayers have departed. Again, if they have any supply, they cannot keep it in their own possession, and so they leave it with us. A great powerful fellow lately bought some biscuit; he wished me very much to keep it for him. Twice or thrice a day this man came to our door, and would take out three or four biscuits at a time, and always watched for opportunities to time his visits privately. Before leaving our door he invariably concealed the little he used to take. As the man with his biscuit above-mentioned, so with those who have swedes; daily, or several times a day, will they come for two or three. The people here cannot leave the canoe furniture in the canoes for fear of theft, and so have to be constantly taking backwards and forwards paddles, spears, and every trifle" (MM: IX, 218; 1875).

Was jeder als sein Eigentum besitzt, dessen Nutznießung und Gebrauch nimmt er auch für sich allein in Anspruch. An diesem Verhalten erkennt man am deutlichsten, was der Einzelperson gehört.[263]

Leicht läßt sich die Trennung der persönlichen Güter eines jeden Mitgliedes der Familie durchführen. So gehört dem Manne ausschließlich, was er an seinem Körper trägt und in der Hand mit sich führt. Gemeint ist damit seine Kleidung und sein noch bescheidenerer Körperschmuck, ferner die Gesamtheit seiner Waffen und seiner Gerätschaften, mit denen er jene herstellt. Auch Rohstoffe, die er sich besorgt hat und die er zu verarbeiten plant, gehören ihm; so die Stäbe zu Schäften, die Sehnenfasern zu Schnüren, die Rippenknochen vom Wal zu Speerspitzen. Endlich bilden solche Gegen-

[262] BRIDGES hat in (1): 22 und in MM: III, 115; 1869 die Gesamtheit der Gegenstände zusammengestellt, die "a Yahgan's property" ausmachen. Allerdings erwähnt er nicht, was Sondereigentum des Mannes, der Frau und der Kinder ist.

[263] Als unmittelbare Erfahrung zuverlässiger Beobachter gibt COOPER: 179 an: „The sense of ownership of personal property, such as the spoils of the chase, artifacts, and the movable wind-shield or hut, is clearly marked, and the right definitely recognised."

stände sein Eigentum, die er im Hinblick auf Tauschhandel verfertigt hat und bis zur geeigneten Gelegenheit aufbewahrt. Nicht zu vergessen sind seine Hunde und jene lebenden Vögel, die er eingefangen und bei sich behalten hat. Diese wenigen und sehr einfachen irdischen Güter genügen dem Yamana-Manne zu seiner Lebensführung und zu seinem Glück.

Merklich reicher ist die Frau nicht. Sie besitzt allerdings eine etwas höhere Zahl kleinerer Gegenstände, während der Mann einige ansehnliche Stücke sein eigen nennt. Ihr gehört, was zur Bedeckung und zum Schmuck des Körpers dient, ferner das eine und andere Körbchen, in dem sie kleine Gerätschaften aufbewahrt, nämlich Angeln, Feuerzeug, Farbstoffbeutel, Messer, Schaber, Riemen u. dgl. m., endlich der Muschelbrecher und die lange Krabbengabel, obwohl diese beiden Stücke von ihrem Manne angefertigt wurden. Heutigentags schleppt sie auch das Blechgeschirr, die Stoffkleidung und manchen Tand, den sie von Weißen erwirbt, mit sich von Ort zu Ort.

In der gleichen Weise, wie der Vater und wie die Mutter, verfügt auch schon seit jungen Jahren das Kind über Eigenbesitz. Hierzu rechnen seine Körperbedeckung und seine Schmucksachen, das Spielzeug und jedes zahme Tier, das ihm zu seiner Unterhaltung überlassen wurde. Es fehlt nicht an Beispielen aus alter und neuester Zeit, die deutlich zu erkennen geben, daß sogar die eigenen Eltern sich nicht für berechtigt halten, das eine oder andere Besitzstück ihres Kindes ohne dessen Einwilligung zu veräußern.[284]

Selbstverständlich ergibt sich aus dieser Gütertrennung, daß niemand über das, was dem anderen gehört, eigenmächtig verfügen darf. So oft Europäer das eine oder andere Stück eintauschen wollten und sich mit ihrer Absicht an den Unrechten wandten, wurden sie an den eigentlichen Besitzer verwiesen. Fitz-Roy (a): 76, 237 hat mit dieser Handlungsweise unserer Yamana bei zwei Gelegenheiten deutlich Bekanntschaft gemacht. Das eine Mal hat er von einem Manne einen Hund gegen Tabak eingetauscht; da der Hund aber dessen Frau gehörte, erzwang sie es, daß Fitz-Roy ihr das Tier zurückerstattete. Auch Snow (b): 264 bestätigt aus seiner Erfahrung: „I believe they have a sort of property rigth amongst them, and I have seen one of the oldest women exercising authority over the rest of her people. Wishing to buy a canoe, it was refused me on the ground that it belonged to her, and she would not part with it.".

Jeder Yamana ist völlig frei, sein Besitztum gut zu pflegen oder vollständig zu vernachlässigen. Er wird nicht einmal dann von jemandem behindert, wenn er seine Sachen mutwillig zerstört. Falls ihm etwas fehlt, muß er persönlich sich nach Ersatz umsehen. Gefundene Gegenstände darf sich der Finder nicht aneignen und behält er sie dennoch, setzt er sich der Gefahr aus, als Dieb gekennzeichnet zu werden. Was einer im Leben besessen

[284] Auf mehrere Quellenschriften sich stützend kommt Cooper: 179, zu dem Ergebnis, daß „women and children have well recognized property rights". — Die gleichen Bedingungen gelten mit unveränderter Strenge auch für das Eigentumsrecht der Kinder bei den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 432) und bei den Halakwulup.

hat, bleibt auch nach seinem Hinscheiden noch sein eigen; deshalb werden die Sachen eines Verstorbenen verbrannt und vernichtet, da niemand sie rechtlich als Eigentum übernehmen könnte. Sogar einem toten Eigentümer gegenüber tastet man sein Recht auf den persönlichen Besitz nicht an. Ein eigentliches Vererben von irgendwelchen Dingen kennen die Yamana nicht.

β. *Familienbesitz*

Da jede Person ihr Individualeigentum besitzt, bringt sie es auch in die Ehe, die sie eingeht, jedesmal mit; sie gibt aber ihr ausschließliches Recht darüber nicht auf. Frei und unbehindert gebraucht sie jedes Stück und ersetzt für sich allein alles und jedes, was unbrauchbar wurde oder verloren gegangen ist. Wie soeben festgestellt worden ist, dürfte der eine Eheteil es nicht wagen, nach eigener Entscheidung einen Gegenstand des anderen Eheteiles zu veräußern.

Mit dem Abschluß einer Ehe wird jedesmal eine neue Lebensform begründet, denn die Familie bildet eine gutgeschlossene wirtschaftliche Einheit. Familie wird hier in des Wortes engster Bedeutung genommen, nämlich als die gesellschaftliche Einheit von Vater, Mutter und unverheirateten Kindern. Diese neue Lebensform fordert auch ihr eigenes Recht auf die bestimmten Gebrauchsgüter, die jener Vereinigung als solcher gemeinsam sind. Die Zusammengehörigkeit der Familienmitglieder wird augenfällig durch die Hütte versinnbildet, in der sie alle ein Unterkommen finden. Beim Aufbau betätigen sich Mann und Frau gleichzeitig, obwohl ihm die schwereren Anstrengungen obliegen und sie die vielen leichteren Handgriffe machen muß. Auch die Kinder betätigen sich, so gering ihre Anteilnahme auch sein mag. Für Instandhaltung der nun aufgerichteten Hütte sorgen beide Eheleute ebenfalls gleichmäßig; vorwiegend obliegt es der Frau, die kleinen Ausbesserungen zu leisten. Was an Fellen zum Decken des Hüttengerüstes benötigt wird, das beschafft der Mann auf der Jagd und die Frau bearbeitet es; sie bewahrt und befördert diese Lederstücke im Kanu. Außer letzteren gibt es keine Gegenstände, die als Gemeinschaftsbesitz zum Hüttenbau notwendig sind. Die Wohltat des Feuers genießen selbstverständlich alle unterschiedslos; denn dazu, daß es nicht erlischt, tragen alle Familienmitglieder so oder so bei.

Sollten ausnahmsweise zwei oder drei Familien eine gemeinsame Wohnhütte aufrichten (S. 387), dann einigen sie sich leicht über die Verteilung des Raumes, in dem jede für sich frei schaltet und waltet. Wandert die eine Familie früher als die andere ab, zieht sie die Lederstücke vom Gerüst herunter und verlädt ihre eigenen Sachen im Kanu. Die zurückgebliebene Familie schließt nun für sich den Raum ab, den sie allein noch bewohnen will.

Nur dem Manne oder der Frau steht es zu, in ihre eigene Hütte diesen Gast oder jenen Besucher eintreten zu lassen. Ohne Erlaubnis, die allerdings meist stillschweigend vorausgesetzt wird, in eine Hütte einzudringen, beurteilt man allgemein als Rechtsverletzung. Hat aber die Familie einmal ihren Lager-

platz aufgegeben und sich mit ihren Gerätschaften entfernt, gilt das zurückgelassene Hüttengerüst als herrenlos; wer zuerst seine Hand darauf legt, besitzt es rechtmäßig und darf sich darin ungestört einrichten.

Ohne Zweifel gelten in gewissem Sinne auch die verschiedenartigen Lebensmittel als Gemeinschaftsbesitz der Familie und zwar aus dem Gedanken heraus, daß sowohl der Mann wie auch die Frau zur Nahrungssuche für sich und für ihre Familienmitglieder verpflichtet sind. Am deutlichsten tritt die Überzeugung der Feuerländer von dieser Verpflichtung dann zutage, wenn ein träger, fauler Mann die Jagd vernachlässigt und seine Familie hungern läßt. Die ganze Nachbarschaft tut ihren Unwillen kund und die Allgemeinheit gesteht der Frau sogar das Recht zu, sich von einem derart nachlässigen Gatten zu trennen. Der Mann schleppt Fleisch herbei für die ganze Familie und die Frau sammelt kleinere Tiere ebenfalls unterschiedslos für alle ihre Lieben; denn was dem Unterhalt und dem Fortkommen der Familienmitglieder dient, darauf hat ein jedes sein Recht und nichts darf ihm vorenthalten werden. Also nicht ausschließlich für sich allein arbeitet der Mann oder die Frau im Nahrungserwerb.

Das Ergänzungswörtchen *sē* betont deutlich, daß die Sorge für alle Familienmitglieder gleichzeitig und unterschiedslos zum Jagen und Sammeln drängt. BD: 379 gibt an: *sē* [is] used by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. *sē čkáli manóax áian*, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. *sē klpaiyin ŝ-uf* (a man to his wife) come, get us some mussels.

Zu allem, was an Lebensmitteln in der Wohnhütte vorhanden ist, steht jedem Insassen der Zutritt offen, obwohl in vielen Fällen die Frau und Mutter auf Wunsch des Mannes oder der Kinder den Braten oder die Muscheln aufs Feuer legt. Gäste und Besucher allerdings — diese Unterscheidung im Verhalten sei deutlich betont — warten auf eine besondere Einladung, bis sie die Hände zum Essen ausstrecken.

Die Yamana sind unter sich zu gegenseitiger Hilfeleistung verpflichtet, demnach läßt jeder seine Nachbarn an dem, was er heimgebracht hat, reichlich teilnehmen. Das ändert aber nichts daran, daß zeitweilig eine Familie sich größere Stücke und schmackhaftere Bissen für den Eigenbedarf zurückbehält. Bereits bei der Ausgabe der Beute an andere macht sich das gemeinsame Vorgehen der beiden Gatten geltend; denn während der Mann beispielsweise einen Seelöwen zerstückelt, bestimmt sie das eine und das andere Stück für diese und jene Familie, dessen stillschweigende Zustimmung gleichzeitig erwartend. Daß liebe Verwandte und vertraute Bekannte bevorzugt werden, ist eben ein allgemeinmenschlicher Zug, der auch unseren Feuerländern nicht abgeht. Ist der Mann oder die Frau irgendwie an der Nahrungssuche behindert, obliegt es dem anderen Teile währenddessen sich doppelt zu regen, um so viel herbeizuschaffen, daß kein Familienmitglied einen Schaden leidet. Muß ein Nachbar besonders unterstützt werden, weil er krank ist oder seine

Waffen verloren hat, trägt die Frau ihm erst nach Rücksprache mit ihrem Manne mehr Lebensmittel, als üblich ist, zu; denn sie hält sich nicht für berechtigt, allein über das zu verfügen, was in den Dienst der ganzen Familie bereits dadurch gestellt wurde, daß der Mann es von der Jagd oder sie selber es nach ihrer Sammeltätigkeit zur Familienhütte gebracht hat. Damit hört ein gewisses Vorrecht über das, was einer herbeigeschafft hat, trotzdem nicht gänzlich auf und ein völlig gleiches Recht im Sinne des Kommunismus wird niemals den Familienmitgliedern eingeräumt.[225]

Nicht minder bedeutsam, als Wohnhütte und Lebensmittel es sind, ist für die Einzelfamilie auch das F a h r z e u g, sei es ein Rindenkanu oder ein flacher Kahn. Vom Manne zwar wird es hergestellt, doch obliegt der Frau die Pflicht, es zu bedienen, zu bewachen und zu pflegen (S. 456). Auf der Fahrt durch die Kanäle führt sie im Kanu das Wort, weil meistens sie allein rudert bzw. paddelt; auch nach dem Landen und vor der Ausfahrt kümmert sie allein sich darum. Aber weil das Kanu im Dienste aller Familienmitglieder ausnahmslos steht und weder der einzelne noch die Familie als Ganzes desselben entraten könnte, hört jedes Sonderrecht auf, obwohl der Mann es erbaut hat und die Frau es bedient.

Wie eigentliches "Familiengut" muß man demnach die wenigen Dinge beurteilen, die der geschlossenen Familie und jedem Mitgliede dieser familialen Einheit zustehen. Nur die Wohnhütte, das Kanu und die Lebensmittel gelten als solches, ihm gegenüber kann eine Einzelperson keine Sonderrechte erheben. Offensichtlich festigt dieser Rechtszustand die Familienbande und steigert das Verantwortungsbewußtsein des einen für den anderen, mit dem jeder in der engsten Lebensgemeinschaft einer Einzelfamilie eben steht.

b. *Das Besitzrecht*

Die Yamana anerkennen wirklichen Besitz als persönliches Eigentum neben einigen wenigen Gemeinschaftsgütern. Einrichtungen und Grundsätze, die auf reinen Kommunismus hindeuten, fehlen ihnen ganz und gar. Mehrere Titel auf Besitzrecht sind ihnen geläufig. Diese müssen nun erörtert werden, nachdem die tatsächlichen Formen des Eigentums beschrieben worden sind. Auch unter dieser Rücksicht stimmen unsere Yamana mit den benachbarten Selk'nam (Bd. I, 434) fast vollständig überein. So einfach und klar wie die Besitzformen dieser Volksgemeinschaft sind auch die anerkannten Rechtstitel.

1. Urheberrecht des Höchsten Wesens

Weiter unten wird noch das religiöse Bewußtsein der Yamana zu bestimmen sein, das in der Anerkennung eines Höchsten Wesens gipfelt. Gebräuchliche Namen, mit denen man es bedenkt, sind *Watuyinfiyes*, "der Ur-

[225] Dieses Urteil kommt deutlich zum Ausdruck durch BD: 319 in der Deutung des Zeitwortes "mötshoka": To take or make use of what is not one's own but yet is proper

alte" und auch *Hiddéigan*, "mein Vater". Er steht als Herr über allem Sichtbaren und als dessen höchster Besitzer da. Die Zusammensetzung *Watayinéjwa-ár*[4], die häufig gebraucht wird, besagt offensichtlich: der *Watayinéjwa ár*[4] oder Ding, im Sinne von Eigentum.[300] Sozusagen alles Sichtbare und Greifbare wird von unseren Feuerländern ohne Einschränkung als *Watayinéjwa-ár*[4] ausgegeben, demzufolge gilt das Höchste Wesen als Eigentümer der sichtbaren Schöpfung.

Unter allem Geschaffenen sind für unsere Indianer die täglich notwendigen Lebensmittel am meisten bedeutungsvoll. Obenan stehen die Jagdtiere, denen der Mann nachgeht, und die vielen niederen Tiere, welche die Frau einsammelt. Obwohl der einzelne sich darum mit persönlichem Kraftaufwand bemüht, ist es trotzdem, wie wenn er für jedweden Stück erst vom *Watayinéjwa* die Erlaubnis abringen müßte. Daher sein wiederholtes Bitten in eigentlichen Gebeten an das Höchste Wesen um jene Dinge, die ihm für den Lebensunterhalt nötig sind. In diesem Vorgehen liegt leise angedeutet, daß *Watayinéjwa* jedem Menschen gutwillig von dem etwas zuwenden soll, über das ihm ein alleiniges Verfügungsrecht zusteht. Als freiwillig von ihm gespendete Gabe nimmt der Yamana das erlegte Tier und jedes andere Ding entgegen; folgerichtig unterläßt er nicht, dann und wann ausdrücklich seiner Gottheit dafür zu danken.

Aus dem gleichen Gedanken heraus erklären die Yamana auch die für jedermann geltende Verpflichtung, nur so viele Tiere zu töten und zu sammeln, als für den augenblicklichen Bedarf benötigt werden. Strafbar ist es, wahllos und zwecklos darüber hinaus noch eine Anzahl von Tieren zu vernichten, die im Haushalt nicht verwertet werden und schließlich verfaulen. Zwar will man mit dieser Einschränkung zuerst ein doubloses Vergeuden brauchbarer Tiere hintanhalten; man übersieht aber nicht, daß in solcher Handlungsweise auch eine Verletzung des ersten Eigentumsrechtes liegt, das allein dem *Watayinéjwa* zusteht. Er überläßt freiwillig, sagt man, jedem einzelnen Yamana genau so viel, als zur Ernährung nötig ist; wer darüber hinaus mutwillig ihm etwas zerstört, gegen den schreitet er strafend ein.

Findet eine Totenfeier statt oder bringt jemand bei anderer Gelegenheit seinen Trauerschmerz zum Ausdruck, tut er nicht selten zur eigenen Entschuldigung dem Höchsten Wesen zu wissen, daß er sein Leben lang sich niemals unerlaubterweise, das heißt durch Mißbrauch, an den Tieren vergriffen habe, die ihm zum eigenen Unterhalt von ihm zugänglich gemacht worden sind. Hat sich jemand in den Aufwallungen seines Zornes wirklich verfehlt und seine Wut durch ungerechtfertigtes Vernichten vieler Tiere ausgetobt, dann kommt ihm bald die Reue und er bittet *Watayinéjwa* wegen

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to take or use as for instance a husband his wife's fish, or a brother if hungry fish belonging to a brother or sister during their absence, though when he saw them he would tell them what he had done.

[300] BD: 379 umschreibt dieses Wort mit: tools, implements, vessels, toys, goods, property, things in general.

den Schaden, den er ihm zugefügt hat, aufrichtig um Verzeihung. Vereinzelt denkt ein erregter Mensch dem Watanifjew mit ausdrücklichen Worten an, sich an ihm für irgendein Unglück dadurch rächen zu wollen, daß er dessen lebende Tiere nunmehr erschlägt, um ihn empfindlich zu schädigen. In diesen Urteilen wird die Gottheit ganz eindeutig als Eigentümer der erreichbaren Sachgüter, zu denen die Tiere als erste rechnen, hingestellt.

Eine bestimmt gefaßte Begründung für den Rechtstitel des Höchsten Wesens auf alles Geschaffene, vorzugsweise auf alle Tiere, nennen die Yamana nicht. Trotzdem lebt diese Vorstellung sehr klar und eindeutig in ihnen und sie dient als Richtschnur für ihre Handlungsweise. Ergänzende Einzelheiten kommen bei der Darstellung ihrer Religionsform noch zur Sprache.

2. Besitznahme

Auf die häufigste und einfachste Art macht man sich dadurch zum Besitzer eines Gegenstandes, daß man ihn ergreift und beschlagnahmt. Voraussetzung ist dabei, daß er als wirklich herrenloses Gut niemandem gehört. Damit sind an erster Stelle all jene Dinge gemeint, deren man für die Lebensführung nicht entbehren kann, wie Nahrungsmittel, Holz für das Feuer und Stäbe für den Hüttenbau, ferner Knochen und Walbarten zu Gerätschaften, Rindenstücke für das Kanu und Binsen zur Korbflechterei, endlich Schneckengehäuse und Schneckenfasern zu Schmuckketten, mineralische Farbstoffe zu Bemalungen und Lederstücke für verschiedene Verwendung. Offensichtlich entstammen all diese Dinge dem Naturreiche, über das eigentlich dem Watanifjew das erste Verfügungsrecht zusteht. Die Yamana leben in dem mehr oder weniger bestimmt ausgeprägten Bewußtsein, daß alles, was sie umgibt, vom Watanifjew ihnen zur Nutznießung überlassen worden ist. Von dieser allgemeinen Erkenntnis machen sie Gebrauch; denn auf keinem anderen Wege können sie in den Besitz dessen, was ihnen nottut. Nicht ausdrücklich erinnern sie sich jedesmal an diesen Rechtsstand; dann und wann aber lebt in ihrem Gedächtnis das Verbot auf, nicht mehr Tiere zu töten, als unmittelbar für den Haushalt erforderlich sind.

Jede Person zeigt durch ihr bloßes Vorgehen, daß sie sich zum Eigentümer eines Tieres oder einer Sache machen will. Wer in den Wald geht und Brennholz zusammenlegt, wer am Strande die Muscheln und Schnecken aufhebt, wer mit seinen Waffen ein größeres Tier zur Strecke bringt und in ähnlicher Weise sich etwas erwirbt, betrachtet sich selber seitdem als alleinigen Besitzer des Erworbenen. Sein Recht wird gleichzeitig von den anderen Leuten anerkannt. Sollte nämlich jemand, nachdem eine bestimmte Sache ihren Herrn gefunden hat, diesen in seinem Besitzrechte stören, gilt er unzweideutig als Dieb. Demnach genügt es für jedermann, seine Hand auf ein herrenloses Gut zu legen; denn damit allein konstituiert er sich als dessen Besitzer. Das bleibt er so lange, als er dieses Gut in seinen Händen hält oder bis er es verbraucht hat. Sogar die Gattenpaare tragen dem Rechnung, wie schon

Bimom-(I): 21 verzeichnet hat: „What the wife caught or obtained was her own, the husband only used of it what his wife gave him, and she did not ask his permission when she would make presents to her friends!"[***].

Hierzu verwertet der neue Eigentümer das bisher bewachte Gut nicht sofort; Gegebenenfalls macht er sein Besitzrecht durch besondere Zeichen bekannt, sofern es nicht schon aus Nützlichkeitsgründen ersichtlich ist. Wer beispielsweise große Stücke eines kürzlich getöteten Seelöwen in Baumästen aufbewahrt antrifft, schließt sofort, daß der erfolgreiche Jäger die ganze Beute nicht mitnehmen wollte oder konnte und einen Teil zurückgelassen hat, den er binnen kurzem abholen wird. Einer anderen Person ist es nicht gestattet, sich jene Fleischstücke anzueignen. Bekanntlich tragen die Yamana Äste und Stämme als Brennholz zusammen, stellen sie gegeneinander gelehnt im Walde auf und lassen sie durch wenige Tage etwas trocknen. Wer an diesem Holzständel vorübergeht, erkennt sofort die von einem anderen geleistete Arbeit und nimmt nichts davon weg. Begegnet jemand der im Grase verankerten Schlingpflanze (Abb. 59), in der sich möglicherweise einige Wildgänse verfangen haben, es käme ihm nicht in den Sinn, sich diese oder jene anzueignen und er läßt das Recht dessen, der die Schlingpflanze angelegt hat, unberührt. Die näheren Umstände allein geben also zu verstehen, ob ein Gut noch herrenlos ist oder ob sich jemand schon zu seinem Herrn gemacht hat. Bestimmte Eigentumszeichen verwerten die Yamana nicht, weil solche meistenteils überflüssig sind oder sich nur schwerlich anbringen ließen.

Im allgemeinen nimmt man den Rechtstitel für das Besitzergreifen aus der aufgewandten Mühe und Anstrengung her. Das unbefolgende Besitzerrecht ist eine Entlohnung für die vorangegangene Arbeitsleistung. Wer also diese aus freiem Antrieb und mit eigener Kraft vollbracht hat, setzt sich in den Genuß des erworbenen Gutes. Nur soviel selbstverständlich geht aus dem Zustande des Herrenlosen in den des persönlichen Besitzes über, als von dem Kraftaufwand des einzelnen jedesmal betroffen wird.

Bekanntlich zerfällt das weite Gebiet der Yamana in fünf Zonen mit Grenzen (S. 199), die auch für das Recht auf freie Nahrungssuche gelten. Dort, wo jemand beheimatet ist, hat er unbehinderten Zutritt zu allem, was die Natur zu geben imstande ist. Geht er aber ins Nachbargebiet hinüber und eignet er sich dort etwas für seinen Bedarf an, muß er hierfür eine besondere Berechtigung aufweisen können. Diese ist dann gegeben, wenn in seiner engeren Heimat offensichtliche Not am Lebenswichtigen herrscht oder wenn ein Wal gestrandet ist. Auch ein Freundschaftsbesuch ist ausreichende Rechtfertigung; denn vereinzelt heiratet jemand aus einer Dialektgruppe in die andere, wo seine nächsten Verwandten ihn gastfreundlich beherbergen. Zu lange dürfte sich der Fremde im Nachbargebiete nicht aufhalten, ohne den Un-

[***] Auch Brazer (4): 242 schreibt im gleichen Sinne: „Chacun possède ce qu'il a pris par son travail, ce qu'il a cédé à la pêche ou à la chasse, ce qu'il a trouvé échoué sur les plages; les petits enfants vous mêmes sont la pêche propriété de ceux qui les leur a donnés!"

[illegible] wollen der Gegenstände zu erregen und sogar ganz [illegible] beschwören.[illegible] Auch dort also macht sich jedermann zum Eigentümer dessen, was er als besonderen Gut unmittelbar beschlagnahmt. Allerdings betrachten sich die Mitglieder einer jeden Diebstahlgruppe als die Eroberer in dem eingangsweisen Reiche, die Hand auf alle Naturschätze und Tiere zu legen.

Damit, daß der vorübergehende Besitzer einen Gegenstand aus der Hand läßt und einer anderen Person zuwendet, gibt er sein Eigentumsrecht auf, das damit gleichzeitig auf jene übergeht. Der freie Entschluß des Besitzers selber wird hierfür gefordert. Demnach kennen die Yahgan kein eigentliches Erbrecht in dem Sinne, daß gewisse Nachkommen allein vergra dieser verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen zu einem Besitzer nach dessen Gütern nach seinem Ableben rechtlich übergehen könnten. Tatsächlich wird alles, was einer Person besessen hat, bei dem Sterben durch Feuer vernichtet, weil es sich niemandem darauf ein Recht zusteht. Wer für einen anderen etwas in Empfang oder in Verwahr genommen hat, gibt es bald weiter,[illegible] eben weil der andere der Eigentümer ist und darauf wartet.

3. Beschaffung und Herstellung

Häufig wird man die eben geschilderte Beziehung der ungegegenen Beschaffung gleichsetzen können; denn es handelt sich bei dieser Art des Erwerbes zunächst darum, etwas herbeizubringen. Nicht das Tauschen oder Schenken ist gemeint, sondern die Beschlagnahme besonderer Güter, das Fortsend zu seiner Hütte oder zu seinem Kahn schleppt. Eine besondere Mühewaltung ist mit dem Beschaffen verbunden, beispielsweise für den, der sich Rindenstücke von einem Rindenbaume abschält und diese für den Kanobau zurechtschneidet, ferner für den, der auf einem abfliegenden Strande die Rippenknochen vom Wal sammelt, die er für Harpunenspitzen benötigt, endlich für den, der eine weite Fahrt unternimmt, um an einem Felsenrand ein Korn Schwefelkies zum Feuerschlagen herauszuarbeiten. Für gewöhnlich ist das Beschaffen, wie schon angedeutet, mit anstrengenden Märschen und langen Kanofahrten verbunden.

Ausdrücklicher Begründung für den Nachweis bedarf es nicht, daß jeder Bedarfsfall durch sichtbares Beschaffen ein Bestimmt dessen wird, der dieses Gerät angefertigt hat. Eben das ist erste und unmittelbarste Absicht des Beschaffens, für seinen eigenen Gebrauch ein Hilfsmittel herzustellen, das ihm sein Arbeiten erleichtert oder einen gewissen Erfolg sichert. Dieses

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[illegible] In diesem Sinne, so glaube ich, sind folgende Worte Bennetts in Wonders (1): 180 zu deuten: „Les indigènes n'hésitent pas à se vendre dans les endroits où ils n'ont pas d'autre et où ils ne sont pas connus; ces, probablement, ils y seraient tués."

[illegible] Bennett (a): I, 245 berichtet dies von eigener Beobachtung: „Several times I presented wild fowl for them, and in so doing I always intimated that it was for the women and children; when, on another to which of the men I gave the bird, it was invariably taken to those for whom it was intended."

verwandten und verwirrten die mannigfaltigen Geschicklichkeiten und die verschiedenartigen Willen, die man in den Gliedern der Umwelt merkt. Wie einer auf diesen Weise die seinem persönlichen Bedarf erwachsenen hat, das gehört den ganz unwichtigsten. Von Anfang an richtet er sich beim Beschreiben des Bekanntlichen nach den eigenen Wünschen und nach den Forderungen seiner Gewohnheit. Wer leichter und sicherer einen dicken Kaspermarkt oder einen Magen Schlemmer oder einen stark gewöhnten Bagatell handhabt, wird beim Anfertigen einer neuen Brücke diese Eigenart von dem Bekanntlich selbstverständlich hineinmischen. Eine Frau, die sich in einer Sonderkultur von Bekanntschaften oder anderem Schmuck gefällt, wird gerade diese immer wieder aufbauchen. Jeder Kind handhabt sich das eine wie das andere Mal verwirrend jenen Spielzeug, das ihm am Liebsten ist. Jedermann legt diese seine besonderen Wünsche schon beim Verschleiß in den Gegenstand hinein, der dadurch zu seinem Eigentum wird.

Viele Äußerungen lehren sich wiederholen, die dem Bewußtsein gewisser Persönlichkeiten entsprungen sind, daß er sich durch Mühe Bemerkung einer Gestalt zu deren alltäglichem Besitzer machte und daß er einer besonderen Gewöhnung seiner Verfügungsgewalten nicht bedarf. Andere Leute haben den Finger davon weg; unbewußte wünde den Eigentümer seine Gier verständigen und zwar unter allmählichen Umwelts dessen, daß er es angefertigt hat. Ungewöhnliche Dinge haben ihren bestimmten Herrn, das ist entweder der Mann oder die Frau oder das Kind, die nur gleichen Familie gehören. Keiner wünde sich an den Gebrauchsdingen des anderen vergreifen, ohne sich einer Diebstahlsbrücke schuldig zu machen. Von diesen persönlichen Beziehungen sind jene wenigen Dinge zu trennen, die, im Besitze aller Familienmitglieder erhalten, als "Familienguet" jedem von ihnen gleichmäßig zugänglich sind.

Offensichtlich erwächst der Rechtstitel auf jedwedes beschränktem Gegenstand aus der für den aufgewendeten Arbeit. Mit der eigenen Körperkraft und Geschicklichkeit erhält sich der einzelne den Dinge, das er aus dem Bekanntlich bildet. Jeder sagt: „Diesen Gegenstand habe ich hergestellt, deswegen gehört er mir!" Wer ingendwelchen Gegenstand, der ihn in den Gliedern einer anderen gefällt, sich zu eigen machen will, gebraucht es ihm aus einfach, aus dieserlei, daß er ihn entbringt. So selbstverständlich sind den Leuten die gesamten Regeln des allgemeinen Rechtes, daß im alltäglichen Leben keiner je einer ausdrücklich darum spricht, obwohl gerade und hier unverdrossen sich in seinem gesamten Tun und Lassen nur darnach richten.

6. Tauschen, Leihen, Schenken

Vom Bestimmte leiten sich eine mehrfache Behandlung und Verwendung der Eigentumsgüter ab. Beispielsweise kann der Besitzer das, was ihm gehört, vergeuden gebraucht lassen und auch abstrichlich verschenken. Wenngleich bleibt ihm dieses, höchstens bemerkbaren man wie Verzichten als unklug und sinnlos. Überhaupt besitzt ähnlich der Persönlichkeit nicht und jedes auch das,

[illegible]

Obwohl jeder Gastfreund im großen und ganzen die zur Lebensführung notwendigen Gastgeschenke mit eigener Hand anzufertigen imstande ist, erwähnt er dennoch gar manches im Tocoro. Damit ist jene Abmachung gemeint, bei der nach beiderseitigem Übereinkommen der eine Gegenstand für den anderen gemäß wird, wobei jeder gleichzeitig den Besitzer wechselt. Unsere Indianer bilden eigentliche Tauschzentral wie Geld, Muscheln u. dgl. Jeder Gegenstand aber hegt sie einen einzigeren oder höheren Wert bei, auf welchen sie beim Tausch umschichtend hinzielen. Der Wert eines Dinges wird gemäßigt durch seine unmittelbare Schönheit, hinzugefügtes bei einem Gemahlle, oder durch seine genaue Anfertigung und sorgfältige Verwendbarkeit, hinzugefügtes bei einer langen Gesamtmenge, endlich durch die Schwierigkeit, mit der er erworben wurde, hinzugefügtes bei seltenen Lebensmitteln vom Gemeine. Will eine Person einen Gegenstand erwerben, wartet sie den Eigentümer und vergleicht durch die Güte desjenigen, den der andere ihm dafür anbietet. Was dem einen Gegenstande an Güte gegenüber dem anderen mangelt, wird man durch Schätzen auf ein Mehrfaches zu ersetzen. Gewichte als Maßstab besitzen die Indianer nicht. Daher beide Beteiligten sich im Urteil über die Gleichwertigkeit der zusammenhaltenden Dinge geeinigt, führen sie den Tausch durch.

In der Tarasca-Sprache gibt es mehrere Wendungen, um denen man die Gegenstandsbeziehung des beschriebenen Tauschhandels einleitung erkennen. Beispielsweise bringt [illegible] den [illegible], so wird normally an exchange with each other, [illegible], a thing (things) given in exchange. Frühere Ordnungen haben sich von einem eigen Tauschhandel bei unserem Tarasca [illegible]. Durante (1) [illegible] schreibt: „Einige der Franciscaner bestimmen deutlich, daß sie einen [illegible] von Tausch besitzen. Ich gab einem Manne einen goldenen Nagel, ohne irgend ein Zeichen zu machen, daß ich eine Gegengabe erwartete. Er machte sofort mit Farbe [illegible] und reichte sie mir an den Spitze einer Sperrne zu. Wenn irgend ein Gerätschaft für ein Canoe bestimmt war und er Gil in der Bähe einen anderen [illegible], so wurde er unmittelbar dem richtigen Besitzer gegeben." Der anderer gemeinte Historie berichtet, was weiter oben bereits erwähnt worden ist, daß [illegible] für sich [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] gebraucht. „Dinge to say", gemeint Sant (1) [illegible], „I found all of the Tarascans I met very honest to barter." Der Engländer nach den Franzis Lorenzo's (1) [illegible]: „I Tolgan contrarono e mi di [illegible] [illegible] gli [illegible] ... Ed [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Sobald die Europäer den Kap Hoorn-Archipel hinzuwollen, sind unsere Eingeborenen auch mit dem im Tauschhandel gewonnen, vor allem mit den Matrosen. Wie bildhaft er sowohlen hervorhebt wurde, schildert Bennett am 21. April 1872 folgendermaßen: „There is no market in Fiordland. The natives want our food, clothing, and goods. Women, one after another, bring handfuls of small fish for sale. One wants in exchange much biscuit, another a comb, another a handkerchief, another sugar etc., others being cooks and others doubtfuls, and oftentimes there is such a flow that we must stop and refuse ... Many come with baskets, spoons, shells, fish-hooks, eggs, shells, and curios of every imaginable kind, — canoes, seals' teeth, birds' claws, feather headbands, clogs, fungi, seeds, etc. — wanting every description of goods in return" (MM. IX, 217, 1872).

Man ist bereitwillig entgegenkommend, daß die Tonga mit gutzigerter Vorliebe ihre Eingeweidlichen entgegenhaben und sogar um Mother Lost, möglichst bald einen anderen wieder in Hinsicht zu haben. Auch Bennett (ib) ist der Ansicht, daß „the natives are always buying and selling, exchanging canoes and everything." Er fügt auch hinzu: „Their manner of doing so is very unsatisfactory." Gewiß, in einer wenigst jeder der beim Tausch Beteiligten die unterschiedlichen Gegenstände; ohne einheimige Gedanken, wie Geld, Zeiten Gesetz und überhaupt Willkürlichkeiten sind unvermeidlich.[*] So hat manchmal Tauschhandel unseliges erzeugt. Unzumutbarkeiten zur Folge.

Weniger lästig pflegen unsere Tonga das Entleihen, doch wenn sie sich darauf nur Not und unverbindungsbereiten Bedürfnis unbewußt angewiesen. Fast nur Gesellschaften, denen personal dringend benötigt, bringt er sich dazu, wo er sie findet, einzelnd, ob es das Kanu ist oder ein unbedeutender Schmuckstück für einen Tanz. Ihre ungeringfügiger Bedürfnis stellt sein Eigentum dem, der ihn dessen bittet, nur auf eine gewisse Zeit zur Verfügung; bitterer wird deshalb auch der verständnisvolle Frist dem entliehenen Gegenstand erneut Herrn wieder entbindigen. Falls der Eigentümer unzufriedenstellen über

[*] Leider haben sich manche Europäer bereits sehr unbeweiß über diese Auffassung der Eingeborenen hinweggesetzt. Auch Dumont (ap. 110) bringt dies „Il en résulte différent des indigènes avec les étrangers, surtout, ordinairement, ailleurs des usages, des grands gens Samoens, en échange d'une indépendance hospitalière, rendu que les Européens considèrent avant tout ils ordinent qui d'hoir que gagné de retour dans les nouveaux entrepôts." Gewiß ist durch manche Enttäuschung, wendete die Indianer eine bekannte Lüge an, die Bennett (MM. Deutsch Ausdrucks): „Jamais le vendeur ne se défiait de l'Indien qu'il vous échanger avant d'en avoir reçu le prix, ou, quand il en gardait plusieurs, il a quand vous de ne les nommer que consommé, de leurs à ne pas dissimuler la valeur de ce marchandise."

[*] Bennett erzählen am 21. April 1872 aus Gaselinde, „that several a few days ago Pocahontas, a man about thirty-eight, has three wives and three little children, and had a good canoe. Another man, a native here, was living with Pocahontas, intends to give his canoe to Pocahontas. Pocahontas does not wish it, and leaves all to indecisiveness, and is troubled what to give in return. He told me all about it. Pocahontas at length is told that such and such a canoe is his, and, however, by the gifts. Pocahontas then asks him, and gives him a large one, well handled. There does is no material agreement previously made, and most of their transactions are performed in this loose manner" (MM. IX, 216, 1872).

den erwünschten Gegenstand nicht befragt werden kann, vertraut der Entleiher auf dessen Einwilligung, m. a. W., er setzt stillschweigend dessen Zustimmung voraus und klärt ihn nachher über sein Vorgehen auf.

Heutigentags verschaffen sich die Yamana einige europäische Besitzgüter, die sie während der monatelangen Fahrten größtenteils in ihrem Hüttchen im Puerto Mejillones zurücklassen. Ich sah wiederholt, wie dieser und jener aus einem benachbarten Hause einen Gegenstand vorübergehend in Gebrauch nahm und wie er ihn später zurückstellte. Meist lautete seine Erklärung auf mein Befragen: „Der Eigentümer ist mit dem Entleihen einverstanden, allerdings muß ich das Entliehene zurückstellen!" Bei den Yamana ist es nicht üblich, den, der etwas entliehen hat, zur Rückgabe zu ermahnen; der Eigentümer wartet geduldig, bis der andere sich auf seine Pflicht besinnt. Sollte jemand das, was er sich ausgeborgt hat, verloren oder beschädigt haben, sorgt er von sich aus für entsprechenden Ersatz. Auch den Missionaren gegenüber unterließen es die Yamana nicht, geborgte Sachen wiederzugeben.[200] Ihre Sprache hat Bezeichnungen für borgen und entleihen, sowie für rückerstatten des Geliehenen. BD: 346 bringt *mána*, to lend, *manáku*, to borrow. In feiner Unterscheidung hiervon nennt BD: 96 auch *ümötakéjnata*, to take without asking, to take during the absence of the owner. Auch andere Ausdrücke geben zu verstehen, daß unseren Feuerländern die rechtlichen Bedingungen des Leihens klar und geläufig sind.[201]

Große Freigebigkeit und Selbstlosigkeit sind auffällige Grundzüge im Charakter der Yamana. Die Pflicht zur gegenseitigen Hilfeleistung fordert, daß jeder von seiner Beute an andere ohne Einschränkung verteilt. Darüber hinaus findet der und jener seine besondere Freude darin, die Nachbarn mit den Erträgnissen seines Jagens und Sammelns überreichlich zu bedenken.[202] Von dieser Gewohnheit soll hier nicht gesprochen werden. Begreiflicherweise nimmt das Geschenkwesen einen ansehnlichen Umfang an. Gegenstand desselben sind überwiegend Nahrungsmittel, die jeder leicht und schnell zur Hand hat, ferner Schmucksachen und endlich Gerätschaften für den alltäglichen Gebrauch. Eine sozusagen selbstverständliche Sache ist es, daß Frauen, die einige Tage ein gemeinschaftliches Lager einnehmen, sich dann und wann mit Gaben von Fleisch und Früchten überraschen. Ein Besucher, mag er von nah oder von fern herkommen, bringt gleich irgend etwas mit,

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[200] Bridges (MM: IX, 217; 1875) sagt kurz: „Many come begging; many to borrow this thing and that thing, then afterwards to return the article borrowed."

[201] Ein Beispiel dafür, wie genau sie es mit der Rückgabe des geliehenen Gutes nehmen. Hyades überließ einem gewissen Tenenen eine Eisenzeit, mit der er Bronzeholz für das Missionsschiff schlagen sollte. „When I lent him the axe, people on board the 'Allen Gardiner' thought and said, 'You will not see that axe again. As for the wood he promises to cut and carry, and get ready by the time the ship comes again, you may whistle for it'; but I made the experiment, and it answered well. The wood was ready, the axe was returned on our next visit some months after" (MM: VI, 93; 1872).

[202] Hyades (q): 243 gewann den Eindruck, „que les indigènes tiennent surtout à posséder pour avoir le droit de distribuer ce qu'ils ont, et pour le plaisir de faire des largesses".

das er den anderen anbietet, hauptsächlich frisches Fleisch oder ein schönes Fell. Für den Beschenkten erwächst daraus die Notwendigkeit, sich möglichst bald erkenntlich zu zeigen. Meist geschieht es in der Weise, daß man einem, der Abschied nimmt, etwas Besonderes mitgibt, vor allem Gerätschaften und Gebrauchsgegenstände. Der Mann bietet fertige Waffen oder Teilstücke derselben und Rohstoffe an, die Frau vorwiegend Schmucksachen und Körbchen. Das Geschenk übergibt man und übernimmt man ohne jedwede Förmlichkeit, ohne ein Wort zu sagen, ohne durch eindeutige Gebärden seine Gefühle auszudrücken.

Zu den unausweichlichen Obliegenheiten eines jeden Yamana gehört es, dann und wann sich dem und jenem mit einem Geschenke vorzustellen; wer das über eine Zeitlang hinaus unterließe, käme unvermeidlich in üblen Geruch. Genau so selbstverständlich ist es auch, daß die beschenkte Person die ihr gewidmete Aufmerksamkeit nicht zwar sofort, aber innerhalb einer gewissen Frist mit einer gleichwertigen Gabe erwidert. Sie wird dazu nicht aufgefordert; indes verliert es niemand aus dem Gedächtnis, wer ihm die Gegengabe schuldig geblieben ist. Letztere, von wem auch immer sie gespendet sein mag, wird auf ihren Wert geprüft. Wehe dem, der sich schäbig benommen, d. h. geringfügige, unbrauchbare Dinge zurückgegeben hat! Als eigensüchtig und knauserig ist er bald weit und breit verschrien. Wer einer Person etwas Wertvolles oder Seltenes zum Geschenk macht, versetzt sie dadurch meist in eine peinliche Lage; denn von ihr erwartet man etwas Gleichwertiges, das sie meist nicht bei der Hand hat. Tatsächlich weicht jedermann einem besonderen Geschenk am liebsten von vornherein aus.

Sehr bezeichnend ist es, daß, nach Koppers (d): 194, in der Yamana-Sprache „kaum ein eigentlicher Terminus mit der Bedeutung 'um Gaben bitten' sich findet, aber um so zahlreicher sind jene für 'Gaben erwarten'." BD: 71 nennt *ŭăgŭtána*, to expect as a man does gifts when visiting his relations who have much blubber. Wieder andere Wörter drücken 'nicht geben' und 'nicht mehr geben' aus. Das Verhalten eines selbstsüchtigen, geizigen Menschen umschreibt das Zeitwort *tuŭagána*, to not take, bring, eat, show any food or other things in the sight or presence of friends lest they ask one to give them a part; *tuŭagangámata*, to be, act stingily by not letting others see one bring or use supplies of any kind and thus abstain from giving them a share (BD: 572). Daß durch Geschenke ein günstiges gegenseitiges Verhältnis gefördert werden soll, besagt das Wort *atágu*, a friendship formed between two persons, accompanied with exchange of gifts (BD: 33).

Der Spender nimmt im allgemeinen keine Rücksicht auf die Bedürfnisse oder Wünsche dessen, den er beschenkt, vielmehr überreicht er ihm das, was er selber leicht entbehren kann. Das steigert die Verlegenheit des Empfängers noch mehr. Nichtsdestoweniger muß er mit gewisser äußerlicher Genugtuung und mit teilweise erheuchelter Freude das Geschenk entgegennehmen; es zurückzuweisen käme einer schweren Beleidigung und öffentlichen Kränkung gleich.[100] Auch ist es bei diesen Feuerländern nicht üblich, sich von irgend

jemand ein bestimmt bezeichnetes Geschenk zu wünschen. Diesbezügliche Äußerungen würde man als dreiste Zumutungen abweisen. Was einer benötigt, kann und soll er sich im Tauschhandel verschaffen. Aus allem ist ersichtlich, wie viele unangenehme Seiten das an sich beschränkte Geschenkwesen hat.

5. Verletzung des Besitzrechtes.

Unsere Feuerländer hüten ängstlich ihr Recht über die verschiedenen Besitzgüter, die sie ihr eigen nennen; Verfehlungen dagegen werden ausnahmslos hart beurteilt und durch üble Nachrede schwer geahndet. Kein einziger zuverlässiger Beobachter wird die Tatsache in Abrede stellen, daß bei diesen Indianern dann und wann ein Diebstahl sich ereignet; indes muß man so manche übertriebene Urteile als falsche, unbegründete Behauptungen abweisen.[207] Beispielsweise bringt Admiral B. J. Sulivan keinen Beleg dafür bei, daß er sie als die im höchsten Grade diebischen Menschen hinstellt (MM: XV, 131; 1881). Der Wirklichkeit nähert sich Hyades (g): 39 mit folgenden Worten: In der Niederlassung der Mission Scientifique in der Bahía Orange, „wo man ihnen den ganzen Tag über Zutritt und freie Bewegung gestattete, kamen trotzdem nicht die geringsten Diebereien vor. Die Feuerländer sind also in dieser Hinsicht entschieden besser als ihr Ruf." Despard war auf einer seiner Reisen durch das Gebiet der Yamana gelegentlich von Jemmy Button und dessen Familie begleitet; bei Isla Picton und in Wulais mußte letzterer sich energisch gegen das diebische Benehmen seiner Landsleute verteidigen. Dazu äußert sich Despard (b): 734 trotzdem: „As on our former visits, not the slightest contention marred our harmony; we found no thieving attempted on our property on shore, tough some smale articles were stolen by a visitor or visitors on board." Bridges ist in seinem Urteil schwankend und erwähnt einmal, daß die Indianer sich gegenseitig bestehlen, indem einer dem andern die Steckrüben in der Anpflanzung ausreißt. Keiner läßt deshalb seine Rüben bis zum vollendeten Wachstum im Erdboden; „they are not half grown, but he cannot venture to leave them longer on account of the stealing". Der genannte Missionar fügt an: „The natives respect our things much more than their own people's, and we oftentimes wonder that with so little power to repress or punish, we are so little troubled by the audacity, stealing, or vice of the people" (MM: IX, 12; 1875).[208] Im April 1884 schreibt er: „They cannot cease stealing, and parties on the eve of departure come

[207] Schon Bridges (a): 209 sagte hierzu: „Gifts are most common, and it is considered a great affront to refuse a gift, which is also expected to be returned with something the giver wants." Vgl. Cooper: 179.

[208] In Outes (g): 53 liest man die offensichtliche Übertreibung: „Los pueros, al igual de sus propios dueños, roban mucho, y si no es vigila bien a los almacenes de víveres, los saquean."

[209] Am 15. August 1875 bekräftigt Bridges sein Urteil durch folgende Beobachtung: „As usual, gave a contribution of cooked rice in school-room, and am truly thankful that on no occasion have we missed any of the spoons and vessels used promiscuously by the

into the gardens by night, and fill their sacks and depart, committing lesser thefts meanwhile. The temptation is great, and as they can do so, and suffer little, they hesitate not" (MM: XVIII, 185; 1884). Wer gerecht urteilt, muß zugeben, daß Diebstahl nur vereinzelt vorkommt und jedesmal als Vergehen gebrandmarkt wird.[599]

Ohne die wirkliche Rechtschaffenheit der Yamana schmälern zu wollen, sei darauf hingewiesen, daß einige Umstände das Stehlen erschweren. Nur wenige Einzelstücke machen den Besitzstand jeder Person aus; mühelos übersieht sie also, was ihr gehört, und sie merkt es sofort, wenn ihr etwas abhanden gekommen ist. Sofern sie etwas vermißt, kommt als Dieb nur einer in Frage, der sich leicht ermitteln läßt; denn Massenansammlungen gibt es nicht, in denen ein Schuldiger untertauchen könnte, und jeder merkt sich gut, wer an diesem oder jenem Tage seiner Hütte nahegekommen war. Den gestohlenen Gegenstand zu verbergen und sicher geheim zu halten, ist eine weitere Schwierigkeit. Der Eigentümer erkennt sofort das Erzeugnis seiner Hände und hält seine Augen erst recht für das offen, was ihm abhanden gekommen ist. Aus den spärlichen Einzeldingen, die jemand besitzt, würde das entwendete Gut unvermeidlich hervorstechen. Ebensowenig, wie bei den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 439), wäre bei unseren Yamana das Diebsgeschäft einträglich. Sogar eines unbedeutenden gestohlenen Gegenstandes wird der Spitzbub nie recht froh,[600] früher oder später schiebt er ihn wieder ab.[601]

Aus der gesteigerten Empfindlichkeit, die den Yamana eigen ist, erklärt es sich zur Genüge, daß sie einen Dieb fühlbar strafen. Auffällig peinlich und unangenehm berührt sie das diebische Treiben eines der ihrigen, auch wenn sie selber keinen Schaden zu tragen haben. Der Dieb verfällt der allgemeinen Verachtung und sogar nach langen Jahren untadeligen Benehmens gelingt es ihm kaum, seinen Leumund zu verbessern. Nur in seltenen Fällen versetzt der geschädigte Eigentümer dem Spitzbuben einige Schläge.[602] Falls erschwerende Umstände mitreden, wird ein Diebstahl sogar Anlaß zu einem Streit mehrerer Familien gegeneinander. Im allgemeinen vermeidet man den Umgang mit einem Diebe oder man schiebt ihn mit unver-

natives. There are twenty-four canoes here at present; about 120 persons living in twelve different houses" (MM: IX, 193; 1875).

[599] Insofern sagt Cooper: 179 richtig, „stealing is considered decidedly reprehensible".

[600] Dabbene (b): 198 bemerkt hierzu: „Cuando roban, saben perfectamente que cometen un acto punible, pues se apoderan a ocultas el objeto substraído."

[601] Am 26. April 1871 hatte Bamoen (i): 20 ein überraschendes Erlebnis. „This evening, Omamoo came to the door saying he had a dreadful pain in his stomach. I let him in and immediately he began to retch most dreadfully. Before I could pass him to get a light he gave me my knife which he stole last Friday evening. He pretended to have vomited it up, which of course I would not credit. However when he came into the kitchen I saw that the violent retching had brought great abundance of tears to his eyes, which had run profusely down his cheeks." Jetzt erinnerte sich Bamoen der Umstände, unter denen der genannte Indianer unbemerkt das Messerchen entwendet und wohl sofort verschluckt hatte, um nicht entdeckt zu werden.

[602] Nur Dabbene (b): 198 erwähnt, daß „el ladrón es castigado cuando es descubierto".

kennbarer Abwehr beiseite, daß er, wie aus dem Verbande seiner nächsten Stammesgenossen gelöst, für sich allein dasteht.[883] Diese Strafe, verfehmt und ausgestoßen zu sein, wirkt empfindlicher als Schimpfereien und Schläge.

Wie sehr eine diebische Neigung den Yamana verhaßt ist, kann man sowohl aus ihren eindringlichen Warnungen an die Jugend entnehmen, als auch aus den vielen Wendungen und sprachlichen Feinheiten in den Bezeichnungen für das Stehlen. Koppers (d): 189 hat aus BD die meisten Ausdrücke herausgehoben. „Es finden sich Worte für Dieb, Stehlen, Rauben. Ferner für: Diebstahl veranlassen, des Diebstahles anklagen, ihn bestrafen. Aber auch: Gestohlenes zurückgeben, nicht mehr stehlen. Endlich: Vor dem Gestohlenwerden schützen, jemand in dieser Absicht mit dem Wächteramt betrauen." Mit Recht sind diese Indianer auf ihr an sich geringfügiges Hab und Gut bedacht; denn was sie besitzen, ist meist von lebenswichtiger Notwendigkeit, auf das sie ohne bedenkliche Selbstgefährdung kaum je verzichten könnten.

Da Diebstahl, trotz schwerer Verurteilung, sich dennoch ereignet, sucht man selbstverständlich nach einer Erklärung. In dem Verhalten der Yamana gegenüber Europäern darf man nie aus dem Auge verlieren, daß sie sich benachteiligt und beraubt glauben durch alle, die als Farmer oder als Händler sich dort niedergelassen haben. Um sich ihr Recht und im besonderen einen Schadenersatz zu verschaffen, bestehlen sie die Weißen. Wer sich nur schadlos hält, den kann man nicht als Dieb im strengen Wortsinne bezeichnen.[884] Überdies sind die Eingeborenen im Tauschhandel von manchem Europäer, der deren Grundsätze und Werturteile nicht kannte, übervorteilt worden. Auch diesmal suchten sie durch Wegnahme brauchbarer Dinge nur das, was ihnen nach den eigenen Rechtsbegriffen zustand. Im Besitz der Europäer, die in dem vergangenen Jahrhundert sie besuchten, sahen sie den Überfluß an manchen Gegenständen, deren Wert ihnen unbekannt war. Nach ihrer Stammesgewohnheit verteilt jeder von seinem Überfluß an die anderen; demzufolge glaubten sie auch berechtigterweise nach der vermeintlichen Überfülle der Weißen ihre Hand ausstrecken zu dürfen.

Wendell's: 152 Eisenvorräte sind zweimal bestohlen worden. Er hat nun einen Spitzbuben durch leichte Bestrafung auf das Fehlerhafte seiner Handlung aufmerksam gemacht; dadurch bildete sich bei den Eingeborenen eine andere Ansicht heraus und „they were ever after afraid even to lift a piece of iron without permission". Seitdem ist Wendell nichts mehr abhanden gekommen. Er sowohl wie mancher andere Seefahrer weist eigens darauf hin, daß die reiche Auswahl sonderbarster Dinge und befremdlicher Gerätschaften jene Eingeborenen förmlich herausforderten, darnach zu greifen und da-

[883] Wahrscheinlich ist Dumm (d): 242 in Cuevas Rand bei der Isla Lennox einem solchen verstoßenen Einzelgänger begegnet. „Der Mann lebte offenbar allein für sich, und Yaun Minerva sagte, er sei ein sehr schlechter Mann, der wahrscheinlich irgend Etwas gestohlen habe."

[884] Spears: 67 unterscheidet, daß bei den Eingeborenen unter sich „crimes against property were rare. As to the property of white men they were called thieves and robbers. Fire-Rer is particularly severe on them in describing their lax notions about property".

mit sich zu unterhalten, ohne eigentliche diebische Absichten. Sogar aus reiner Freude an Späßen und aus schalkhaftem Übermut haben sie sich manches beiseite gesteckt.

Wie genau unsere Yamana die Eigentumsrechte der Europäer achten, zeigt die Erfahrung der jüngsten Zeit, seitdem sie sich ein klares Urteil über ihr Verhältnis zu den Weißen gebildet haben. Letztere sind dort im Feuerlande ihrer Besitzgüter genau so sicher, wie in anderen Teilen der Welt; allerdings, was sie offen daliegen lassen, geben sie leichtsinnigerweise einer Wegnahme durch den Erstbesten preis. Schwere Einbrüche und vorbedachte Raubüberfälle durch Yamana hat kein Europäer dort im Kap Hoorn-Gebiet zu befürchten. Obwohl ich monatelang mit ihnen zusammengelebt habe, ist mir nicht das unbedeutendste Ding abhanden gekommen. Als ich auf meiner dritten Reise nach Abschluß der Kina-Feier das kleine Puerto Mejillones wieder verließ, warf ich neben dem Holzhause des SANTIAGO ein Paar abgetragene Strümpfe weg. Ich saß schon im Kahn, als SANTIAGO eiligst herangelaufen kam und, sie hoch schwingend, laut rief: „MARTIN, du hast hier deine Strümpfe vergessen!" Erst als ich ihm sagte: „Ich benötige sie nicht mehr, behalte sie für dich!", beruhigte sich der treue Alte und ging in sein Haus zurück.

Die verhältnismäßig klare und bestimmte Regelung der Eigentumsverhältnisse bei den Yamana trägt ganz bedeutsam zum geordneten, friedlichen Zusammenleben der Stammesgemeinschaft bei. Mit den geltenden Vorschriften und Gewohnheiten nimmt es jeder von ihnen genau und Verstöße gegen das Besitzrecht und Eigentum der Stammesmitglieder sind tatsächlich selten.

F. Fehden und Blutrache

Verglichen mit den Selk'nam machen die Yamana auf oberflächliche Beobachter den Eindruck von Leuten, die friedfertiger sind. Auch muß man zugeben, daß ausgedehnte Raufereien sich bei ihnen nicht so oft wie bei jenen wiederholen. Das alles aber ändert nichts an der gewiß kaum befremdlichen Tatsache, daß auch unsere Feuerländer sehr reizbar und aus gesteigertem Ehrgefühl leicht verletzbar sind. Bei vielem, was ihre Person betrifft und was wir Europäer als völlig belanglos beurteilen, bringen sie eine Empfindlichkeit auf, die uns ganz und gar unverständlich bleibt. Bei bewußten Beleidigungen und absichtlichen Kränkungen geraten sie besonders weit aus dem Gleichgewicht. Noch mehr gilt das bei einer schweren Schädigung des eigenen Rechtes und besonders bei jedem Morde, der früher oder später gerächt wird, wenn der Schuldige nicht zeitig genug Sühne leistet. Kaum je nimmt jemand auch kleinere oder kleinste Beleidigungen ruhig hin, sondern benützt die erste beste Gelegenheit, um sich Genugtuung zu verschaffen. Anerkennen muß man allerdings, daß dieser und jener zuweilen jahrelang darauf warten können und daß sie sich mit ihrer offenen Rache erst zu einer Zeit herausrücken, da der andere fast gänzlich auf den Vorfall vergessen hat. Bei einer der-

artigen charakterlichen Veranlagung der Yamana sind weniger ernste Raufereien zwischen Einzelpersonen und zwischen kleinen Gruppen durchaus nicht selten. Treffend hat Bridges (i): 13 sie gezeichnet als „very quarrelsome and touchy and the weaker were very careful not to offend the stronger and were very courteous in their manners and language, often dissembling with smiles and words of peace their hatred and disapproval".

Die Auflösung des ganzen Volksstammes in sehr kleine Familiengemeinschaften bzw. Horden (S. 801) schließt es von vornherein aus, daß ansehnliche Menschenmassen sich zu Kämpfen oder Kriegen zusammenrotten. Da die eigentliche Blutrache bei einem Morde für die nächsten Anverwandten des Ermordeten verpflichtend ist, wird eben nur zwischen ihnen und der Gegenpartei die Angelegenheit ausgetragen. Diese Ereignisse jedoch sind, gegenüber den eben erwähnten Streitereien, zumindest selten. Gänzlich verfehlt wäre die Annahme, dieser in mehrere größere Abteilungen gegliederte Volksstamm läge mit seinesgleichen andauernd im Kriege. Von Natur aus sind sie alles weniger als rauflustig, mögen sie noch so rachsüchtig und noch so eifersüchtig empfindlich auf die persönliche Ehre bedacht sein; die ängstliche Sorge um den alltäglichen Nahrungsbedarf ließe ihnen wenig Zeit für die aufreibenden Mühen, ständig oder fast ständig auf der Lauer nach einer feindlichen Abteilung zu liegen.

Über die Beziehungen unserer Yamana zu den Selk'nam (S. 234), denen sie allgemein mit Angst begegneten, und zu ihren Nachbarn im Westen (S. 241), die sie als Menschenfresser fürchteten, braucht hier nichts mehr wiederholt zu werden.[688] Ihr Verhältnis zu Europäern (S. 246), im besonderen zu den Missionaren (S. 288), ist ebenfalls ausführlich abgehandelt worden und längst bekannt; Cooper: 174 bezeichnet es treffend und knapp folgendermaßen: „More commonly, however, the white man has, deliberately or unwittingly, been the first to give offence." Seitdem die Weißen im Archipel des Kap Hoorn sich breit gemacht und das brauchbare Land für sich beschlagnahmt haben, blieb den ehemals alleinigen Herren dieses Gebietes nichts anderes mehr übrig, als damit sich stillergeben, widerstandslos abzufinden.

a. *Die Anlässe*

Ebensowenig wie andere Naturvölker, verstehen es die Yamana, ihre beleidigten Gefühle, am allerwenigsten das gekränkte Ehrgefühl, zu beherrschen und Beleidigungen oder Kränkungen auf dem gütlichen Wege einer ruhigen, sachlichen Aussprache zu bereinigen oder durch eine Art von Schiedsrichter

[688] Hyades (q): 240 spricht ohne genügende Begründung von einem vermeintlichen Haß, der „s'exerce surtout à l'égard des peuplades voisines: Alakaloof et Ona; elle résulte, dans ce cas, des luttes souvent sanglantes". Den Sachverhalt gibt Cooper: 174 zusammenfassend richtig wieder, daß, „as a rule on border territories the relations have been fairly peaceful".

begleichen zu lassen. Jeder verschafft sich persönlich sein Recht und eine nach seinem Urteil ausreichende Genugtuung mit eigener Faust. Zunächst ist die Einzelperson für sich allein Richter und Rächer, bei bestimmten Vorkommnissen stehen ihr zum Rechtsschutz die nächsten Verwandten bei.

Der Wunsch und die Sucht nach Rache sind bei den Yamana außerordentlich stark betont.[406] Davon werden sie zuweilen so mächtig mitgerissen, daß sie für eine noch in etwa vernünftige Beurteilung eines Zwischenfalles völlig unfähig sind. Nicht selten schäumt einer im eigentlichen Wortsinne vor Erregung, ja tobt herum, als wäre er von Sinnen und kühlt zuweilen seinen Mut sogar an Personen, die seinem Beleidiger, den er nicht erreichen kann, nahestehen.[407] Trotzdem bringt er dann eine staunenswerte Selbstbeherrschung auf, wenn er sich gegenüber seinem Gegner zu schwach sieht; er ist sogar imstande, seine Gefühle bis zu dem Zeitpunkt zu verbergen, da er eines Übergewichtes an Kräften sicher ist. Echte Feigheit spricht offenkundig aus diesem Verhalten, das sich auch Europäern gegenüber gleich blieb; denn sie haben, wie Cooper: 174 genau sich ausdrückt, „often shown themselves hostile, aggressive, and treacherous, when they felt they were numerically superior". Jeder Austrag einer Beleidigung und eines Unrechtes sind, dem Empfinden des Indianers nach, eigentliche Racheakte. Das erhellt aus dem, was Hyades (q): 240 sagt und aus den Worten eines Bove (e): 159 noch deutlicher: „Die Familie und Freunde des Beleidigten sind es, welche die Rache ausüben. Sicher ist es aber nicht die Liebe zu den Beleidigten, welche einen Stamm [eine Familiengruppe] dazu bringt, die Waffen zu ergreifen, sondern der Geist der Rache herrscht übermächtig in ihrem Gemüte."

Im engen Zusammenhange mit der gesteigerten Feinfühligkeit und dem stets lebendigen Wunsche nach Rache steht ein hochgradiger Argwohn. „There is, or was, a good deal of bad feeling for one another between the members of the three Fuegian tribes" (Cooper: 174). In der Tat, keiner traut ganz ehrlich dem andern, unter Männern sowohl wie unter Frauen, und jeder liegt sozusagen auf der Lauer, als erwarte er bei dieser oder jener Gelegenheit ein Anzeichen feindseliger Gesinnung oder böswilliger Absichten. Im Bewußtsein dessen ist der einzelne im Verkehr mit anderen mehr oder weniger peinlich genau und sehr vorsichtig. Trotzdem entdeckt das argwöhnische Auge des Nachbars immer wieder etwas, ohne daß er ausgesprochen bösartig darnach sucht, und so deutet er dieses Wort oder jene Haltung als Beleidigung oder Nichtachtung, als Bedrohung oder Herausforderung. Auf einer derartigen charakterlichen Grundlage gedeihen die vielen Anlässe zu lautem

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[406] Irreführend ist es, wenn Hyades (q): 240 behauptet: „Le désir de la vengeance ne préoccupe pas beaucoup les Fuégiens ..." Denn die geringe Zahl an Worten für das Rachegefühl sagt nichts aus gegen dessen Stärke. Vgl. hierzu andere Urteile in Waitz: III, 507.

[407] Gemäß Dabbene (b): 198 versichern Bridges und Finlong: „Los Yahganes son muy vengativos, y en caso de ofensas graves o de un homicidio no se preocupan mucho más en perseguir al criminal, cuando éste ha logrado escaparse, pero en cambio furiosos hacen caer la venganza sobre cualquier individuo de la familia del delincuente."

Wortwechsel und zu wüsten Schlägereien. Der angegriffene vermeintliche Gegner ist in den meisten Fällen nicht nur unschuldig, sondern auch ganz ahnungslos.

Mit der soeben bezeichneten Veranlagung für einen unablässig wirksamen Argwohn findet sich eine nie ruhende Unversöhnlichkeit vergesellschaftet. Das erscheint uns als begreiflich und ist dem Yamana selbstverständlich. Deshalb finden sich Leute, die einmal mehr oder weniger ernste Auseinandersetzungen miteinander gehabt, in ihrer Gesinnung kaum je mehr zu vollem gegenseitigem Vertrauen zusammen, mögen sie sich auch in ihrem äußeren Verhalten scheinbar noch so gut vertragen; sie können einfachhin den Vorfall nie vergessen. Einem anderen gegenüber kann keiner von ihnen seine argwöhnische oder feindliche Einstellung bis zur vollkommenen Täuschung verbergen; deshalb sieht sich jeder gewarnt, je nachdem er mit dem einen oder anderen zusammentrifft bzw. zu tun bekommt. Aus alledem wird jetzt der Drang der Einzelfamilie nach dem Alleinsein in völliger Abtrennung von anderen Leuten sehr verständlich; denn böser Argwohn, verbunden mit Feigheit und mit dem Gefühl der Unzulänglichkeit der eigenen Kräfte drängt weit ab von jenen, die Schaden zufügen oder Rache üben könnten. Mag die Freude an Geselligkeit auch dann und wann einzelne Familien zusammentreiben, sie begnügen sich in der Regel mit einem kurzfristigen Beisammensein und fühlen sich recht erleichtert, wenn sie bald danach wieder allein auf sich selber gestellt sind, frei von den Blicken argwöhnischer Beurteiler. Aufrichtig freundschaftlich, ohne jeden Schatten mißtrauischer Hintergedanken ist ihr gesellschaftlicher Verkehr mit anderen niemals. Sie sind, nach Lothrop (b): 164, nicht ein „amicable people, according to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence." Hyades (q): 375 betont ihre Unversöhnlichkeit: „L'offense qui donne lieu à la rixe est quelquefois ancienne, et qui prouverait que les Fuégiens sont vindicatifs."

Da die Yamana ihr inneres Fühlen und Empfinden vor einem scharfen Beobachter auf die Dauer nicht ganz zu verbergen imstande sind, bezieht jedermann bald und erkennbar Gegenstellung, wenn er glaubt, vom andern irgendwie verletzt zu werden. Bei dieser Haltung bleiben beleidigende Worte nicht lange mehr aus. Mehrere Männer sitzen beispielsweise in der Runde; jemand unterhält sich unter anscheinender Geheimnistuerei mit seinem Nachbarn und wirft währenddessen einen flüchtigen Blick auf einen, der ihm nicht zugetan ist. Das allein mag diesen veranlassen, aus falschem Argwohn zu vermuten, jene reden nachteilig über ihn. Er beobachtet sie schärfer, bestärkt sich in seiner vorgefaßten Meinung und gerät in Wut. Geht die Runde auseinander oder fühlt er sich bei anderer Verteilung der Leute sicherer, geht er auf jenen zu und sagt ihm erregt: „Du hegst böse Absichten gegen mich!" Der andere, weil ahnungslos, verharrt stutzig erst einige Augenblicke in Schweigen; dann erwidert er heftig: „Du suchst Feindschaft mit mir!" Beider Augen blitzen auf und sogleich werfen sie sich, in zunehmen-

der Erregung und ständig lauter, ernste Worte der Verdächtigung an den Kopf. Fühlen sie sich gleich stark oder halten sie sich an Feigheit die Stange, gehen sie nach einigem Lärmen schmollend auseinander. Wer vermeint, ein anderer habe sich nachteilig geäußert über seinen lästigen Hund, über sein ungezogenes Kind, über einen persönlichen Fehler, träge Unlust zum Jagen, Vernachlässigung der eigenen Familie, verbotenen Umgang mit einer Frau, besäße er auch keinen andern Anhaltspunkt als seine argwöhnische Vermutung, so stellt er seinen vermeintlichen Gegner meist augenblicklich und fordert von ihm eine Erklärung. Der braust ausnahmslos auf und verfällt in Schimpfreden oder Drohungen, die schließlich zu einer Schlägerei überleiten. Erst recht entlädt sich dann der Unmut einer Person, wenn ihr beleidigende Worte und verletzende Urteile, die wirklich gefallen sind, hinterbracht werden. Das geht vorwiegend die Frauen an. Sie sind nicht nur schneller zu einer Auseinandersetzung mit Worten, sondern auch mit Fäusten bereit.

Dergleichen Anlässe zu Fehden sind häufig und daher sozusagen etwas Alltägliches, weil sie aus dem Beisammensein mehrerer Leute entstehen. Viel folgenschwerer wird die Sachlage bei einem Ehebruch. Dabei ist es einerlei, wie er bekannt geworden ist. Schon der bloße Verdacht schafft eine gefährliche Lage für beide Teile, sollte auch der eine und der andere unschuldig sein. In der Verurteilung dieser Entgleisung, mag sie überzeugend nachgewiesen oder nur wahrscheinlich sein, sind wirklich alle Yamana unterschiedslos streng und zwar aus betonter Eifersucht. Daran ändert auch die Tatsache nichts, daß einzelne sich in ihrem eigenen persönlichen Verhalten vielleicht sogar schlimmer und gewohnheitsmäßig vergehen. Die nämliche ernste Lage wird herbeigeführt durch die Flucht einer Frau aus dem Zusammenleben mit ihrem Gatten; denn meist wegen ihres Liebesverhältnisses mit einem anderen Manne versucht sie jenem zu entwischen.

Bis zu innerst wird das Gefühl der Rachsucht selbstverständlich durch einen eigentlichen, bewußten Mord aufgewühlt und nichts treibt so erregt wie diese Tat mehrere Familien gegeneinander. Den Yamana ist jedes Menschenleben, auch das eines Kindes, höchst wertvoll und heilig (Bridges [b]: 205), der Mord also eine aufs tiefste verabscheuungswürdige Tat.[688] Das aber doch nicht ausnahmslos. Die Mehrheit der Mordfälle führt sich auf Ehebruch zurück. Sucht beispielsweise ein verheirateter Mann eine neue Verbindung und läßt er grundlos seine eigentliche Frau sitzen, treten ihre Verwandten zu ihren Gunsten ein, verlangen Rechenschaft von jenem treulosen Gatten oder verschaffen sich selber kurzerhand Genugtuung, indem sie ihn umbringen. Sie sagen nämlich: „Diese Frau hat sich mit diesem Manne zusammengeschlossen und beide sollen bis an ihr Lebensende miteinander leben; da er seine Pflicht verletzt hat, muß er gestraft werden!" Eine Ehescheidung ohne ausreichenden Grund verstößt eben gegen ein allgemein anerkanntes Gesetz. Jeder derartige Mord löst nun wegen der Verpflichtung zur Blut-

[688] Vgl. hierzu die Ausführungen über Kindesmord (S. 724) und Abortus (S. 699, 729).

rache die ernste Gefahr für ein anderes Menschenleben aus, mehr noch der Mord wegen eines geringfügigen Anlasses.[109] Im Hinblick auf die bedrohliche Lage, in die jedermann sich durch eine Mordtat versetzt, hält sich der einzelne doch fest im Zügel, sogar zu Zeiten höchster Erregung und fast unbezwingbarer Rachlust.

Man muß sagen, der Mord ist bei den Yamana selten, obwohl bestimmte Zahlen sich nicht angeben lassen (Cooper: 174). Am 20. Juni 1884 hat sich Bridges (MM: XVIII, 224; 1884) an einer Mordstatistik versucht: „Since our coming here in 1871, we enumerated with the natives twenty-two murders, or deaths from violence amongst the Yaghans." Hyades (e): 721 beurteilt diese Zahl als niedrig; „elle ne constitue pas une moyenne de deux morts violentes par année, et cela dans un pays où chacun est redresseur des torts et se fait justice lui-même." Einen Grund für diese niedrige Mordziffer glaubt er (q: 375) in einer tief eingewurzelten Überzeugung der Indianer, „de considérer la vie humaine comme sacrée", gefunden zu haben. Nur sehr gelegentlich erwähnt späterhin Bridges noch den einen oder anderen Mord.[110] Das alles aber bringt mich nicht von meiner eigenen Überzeugung ab, daß zumindest zweimal so oft, als Bridges und Hyades es angeben, sich eine Mordtat ereignet hat; auf die zuverlässigen Mitteilungen der Brüder Lawrence und hochbejahrter Indianer stütze ich mich. Man bedenke die reizbare Veranlagung unserer Yamana und die mehrfachen Anlässe für diese Tat, durch die sie mit eigener Faust sich selber Recht und Genugtuung verschaffen mußten.

Undenkbar ist es, sie hätten eine Person mit der Absicht auf Menschenfresserei umgebracht. Für Anthropophagie liegt kein einziges sicheres Zeugnis vor, verläßliche Berichterstatter leugnen diesen Brauch entschieden ab, die Brüder Lawrence haben niemals davon gehört, noch viel weniger ihn beobachtet. Vorfälle, angefangen bei der L'Hermite'schen Flotte (S. 51), auf die man behauptend hinweisen zu dürfen glaubt, sind niemals restlos geklärt worden. Entschieden wehrt Bridges (i): 14 diese falsche Anschuldigung ab; denn für alle „in human life a very sacred thing and for this reason all the relations of the murdered person were in honour bound to avenge his death". Die Yamana verabscheuen sogar jene Tiere, die an menschlichen Leichen nagen, nämlich Füchse, Ratten und Aasgeier. Sie nehmen nicht einmal das Wasser aus Bächen, an denen sich viele Ratten aufhalten, und sagen zur Begründung ihres Verzichtes: „Von diesem Wasser trinken Tiere, die Menschenfleisch verzehren!" Beobachten sie einen Hund, der sich an einen menschlichen Leichnam heranmachen konnte und der davon frißt, oder der nur eine Leiche ausgegraben versucht, erschlagen sie ihn auf der Stelle; ein Hund aber steht bei ihnen bekanntlich hoch im Werte. So oft ich mich über

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[109] Bridges (VEA: XI, 26b; 1904) erwähnt: „If a man kills another causelessly, his relations are greatly displeased, since it brings each one of them into danger. This is a great preventive to blood-shedding."

[110] Ohne weitere Erklärung schreibt er (MM: XVIII, 184; 1884) beispielsweise: „Here (near Ushuaia) I found the canoe John Willis, who killed his wife some two years ago."

Anthropophagie mit ihnen aussprechen wollte, wehrten sie aus Ekel und Widerwillen dringend ab und schüttelten den Kopf zum Zeichen dafür, daß sie dergleichen für unmöglich auch bei anderen Völkern halten.

Jeder Mord, mag ihn der Täter noch so gut für sich rechtfertigen oder entschuldigen, zieht Blutrache nach sich, die gewöhnlich von einer größeren Personenzahl ausgeführt wird. Die Einzelheiten sollen weiter unten dargestellt werden. Ein keinesfalls befremdlicher Anlaß zu ernsten Streitigkeiten ist der *yékamuš* mit seinen Umtrieben. Darauf hier einzugehen wäre verfrüht, erst muß, was später geschehen wird, dessen Handlungsweise genau beschrieben werden. Feindschaften und Mordtaten, die seiner Einmischung entspringen, werden, wie auch sonst, von den Beteiligten ausgetragen und zwar unter Mithilfe befreundeter *yékamuš*. So sind die Anlässe zu Zwist und Streit bei den Yamana die gleichen wie bei anderen Völkern, vorwiegend und unter Berücksichtigung ihrer Charakteranlagen, „insult, theft, adultery, and the death of a relative", nach Lothrop (b): 164 und nach Hyades (q): 374, dem noch Mißhandlungen der Ehefrau anzufügen ist. Im allgemeinen werden Händel und Mißhelligkeiten nicht in die Länge gezogen und früher oder später wieder beglichen; wie schon in Outes (g): 59 mitgeteilt wurde, „las pequeñas diferencias las arreglan entre sí sin mayores inconvenientes".

b. *Gewöhnliche Streitereien*

Die Yamana sind gewiß außerordentlich reizbar und rachsüchtig, können sich selber zeitweilig überhaupt nicht im Zaume halten und zeigen sich für beschwichtigende Worte kaum zugänglich; indes sind sie von Natur aus weder kriegerisch noch kampflustig. Damit soll ihre natürliche Veranlagung gekennzeichnet sein, keineswegs aber in Abrede gestellt werden, daß sie sich in Händel und Raufereien schnell verwickeln. „Ils sont", wie Hyades (q): 374 bestätigt, „très susceptibles et par conséquent enclins aux querelles, aux rixes". Ihre vorherrschende Neigung geht dahin, mit anderen möglichst in Frieden zu leben und nicht in Streitigkeiten einbezogen zu werden. Aus diesem alleinigen Grunde hält sich zuweilen eine Familie jahrelang verborgen und ohne jeden oder fast jeden Verkehr mit dem einen und anderen Landsmanne. Schon Despard (b): 717 verwies darauf, „that warfare is not fashionable among them, since they have no chieftains, no military weapons of offence and defence, no fortified places no war canoes"[411] Deshalb wären Ansammlungen vieler Menschen zu Kriegszwecken unmöglich gewesen. Nir-

[411] Zu offensichtlich übertreibt Bove (e): 159, „daß bis vor einigen Jahren nur sehr wenige [Yamana] eines natürlichen Todes starben, und die schrecklichen Narben, welche die Körper der ältesten bedecken, beweisen, wie kriegerisch die Feuerländer waren und noch sind. Das jus talionis lebt bei ihnen noch in ganzer Kraft". Er stützt sich wohl auf Bascan (i): 13, der allerdings mit Übertreibung sagt: „Their many offenses against the dearest rights of their friends and neighbours kept the community in a chronic state of unrest and fighting."

gendwo wird davon berichtet. Schließlich spielt auch noch die unleugbare Tatsache mit hinein, daß diese Feuerländer gegeneinander arg feige sind.

Hingegen waren und sind Einzelhändel zwischen zwei Personen eine häufige Erscheinung. MARTIAL: 207 hat darin recht, daß „les rixes entre voisins sont fréquentes." Schwerlich ließe sich bestimmen, welches der beiden Geschlechter hierin das andere übertrifft. Gewöhnlich beginnt aus falschem Argwohn oder aus unbegründeter Rachlust ein lauter Wortwechsel, der sich verschärft. Die Erregung steigert sich auf beiden Seiten, die Streitenden kommen näher, fassen sich oder schlagen mit dem erstbesten Knüppel drein, würgen sich und zerren sich so lange herum, bis viel Blut fließt oder bis eindringlicher Schmerz sie lähmt und die ermattete Kraft sinkt. Jetzt erst lassen sie lautlos voneinander ab. Das Ganze ist eine richtige Rauferei,[412] die sich so oder so, heftig oder mäßiger, gewalttätiger oder weniger wütend abwickelt, je nach Veranlagung der Streitenden. Frauen geraten nach kurzem Wortgefecht schneller in Wallung, packen grausamer zu, beißen an dieser oder jener Körperstelle durch, stoßen mit der Faust gegen Mund und Nase und zerren sich mit langsamer, ausgiebig schmerzhafter Dehnung krampfhaft an einem dicken Bündel des Kopfhaares. Währenddessen sagen sie nichts, sondern zischen und stöhnen nur. Meist sind es Männer oder andere Frauen, die das wütende Paar auseinanderreißen müssen. Schon von vornherein suchen die Männer es zu verhüten, daß befeindete Frauen aneinander geraten. Diese benützen demnach gern die Gelegenheit eines einsamen Zusammentreffens im Walde oder am Strande, wo sie auch handgreiflich sich ihre gegenseitige Abneigung bekunden. Nicht jeder Mann weiß sich stark und mutig genug, mit seinem Gegner sich zu raufen;[413] deshalb zieht er sich bewußt aus dessen Nähe zurück und vergißt schließlich unbedeutende Verstimmungen. Immer aber vermeidet er es, mit jemandem zusammenzustoßen, der ihn in eine Rauferei verwickeln könnte.

Eingefügt sei ein Vorfall, den BRIDGES (i): 13 in sein Tagebuch aufgenommen hat: „Ushuaia, March 24th, 1872. HATUSWAIANGES very ill from the effect of injuries received from COUILUJ who was jealous of him.[414] March 28th. This morning HATUSWAIANGES died. He has been in a very dull state ... I fear that the violence of COUILUJ has caused has death. March 31st. There have been some few demonstrations of anger by one and another for the death of HATUSWAIANGES and COUILUJ has had to give away his blubber and other things, and in other ways to suffer. 8th [April]. Today a party of 16 canoes arrived with intent to avenge the death of HATUSWAIAN-

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[412] SOLLASTER (a): 168 sagt kurz: „Guerras propiamente dichas, no existen en esos pueblos; son ordinariamente peleas por cuestiones particulares."

[413] Immerhin hat BOVE (e): 159 richtig beobachtet: „Streitigkeiten und Schlägereien sind etwas gewöhnliches, sogar in Ushuwaia selbst, so daß man, wenn man sich einige Tage dort aufgehalten hat, über das Vorkommen derselben sich gar nicht mehr verwundert."

[414] Dieser verdächtigte jenen nämlich unlauterer Beziehungen zu seiner Frau, gemäß RENGER (MM: VI, 125; 1872). Er hat (l.c.) am 28. Mai 1872 diesen Streit ausführlicher geschildert.

GES, COUHLIJ made his escape ... The occupants of the 16 canoes, having landed, lost no time in meeting the people here. All on both sides, men and women, were armed with sticks, spears or paddles and all who were connected with HATUSWAIANGES or COUHLIJ indicated the same by the paint on their faces. They hastened on and MEACOL presented himself as the chief object of their revenge, being the nephew on his mother's side of the manslayer ... There was much shouting and rushing about, great noise and confusion, much threatening and fierceness of manner but very few blows. MEACOL, after the affair was over, was obliged to lay down the principal of his possessions to further appease the angry feelings of the dead boy's relatives ... July 11th. Went to seek COUHLIJ who has been hurt by a cousin of the boy HATUSWAIANGES of whose death he was the cause. His head is much hurt and he received several blows about the body."

Die Keilerei zweier Männer ist zuweilen blitzschnell eingeleitet und zumeist nach einigen Minuten beendet. Bei besonders wütenden Gegnern, die sich an Kräften gleichen, hält sie zuweilen länger an und dann werden auch andere einbezogen. Wer nämlich beobachtet, daß sein Verwandter oder Freund mit einem Gegner ringt, eilt ihm unverzüglich zu Hilfe. So entwickelt sich aus dem Zweikampf die ungeordnete Balgerei zweier Haufen, in die letzten Endes sogar Frauen sich einmengen. Vorherrschend ist und bleibt der Zweikampf. Jene, die sich packen und würgen, ringen miteinander, zerkratzen sich das Gesicht, schlagen mit den Fäusten wahllos drein, umschlingen den Kopf des Gegners in der Absicht, ihm den Hals zu knicken, und verausgaben ihre Kräfte; jene Einzelpersonen, die den äußeren Rand des Knäuels bilden, hängen sich an die miteinander verkrampften Paare oder greifen nach Steinen und Knüppeln, die sie mit Wucht niederprasseln lassen. Auch die wüsten Raufereien dieser Art verklingen nach mehreren Minuten. Schnaubend und stöhnend entfernen sich die erregten Gegner voneinander und verkriechen sich in ihren Hütten, wo sie aus Ermattung niedersinken und nicht einmal mehr über die Balgerei sprechen. Genau in dieser Weise verlaufen die meisten. Gewiß, falls die Umgebung bemerkt, daß zwei Gegner sich erhitzen und Miene machen, zu einem Handgemenge überzugehen, versucht man, sie mit gütlichen Worten zu beschwichtigen, versteckt die Waffen und hält den einen vom andern gewaltsam ab. Doch nicht immer ist solche Vermittlung erfolgreich. Tatsächlich ist es so, wie schon BRIDGES (VSA: XI, 260; 1864) ganz richtig beobachtet hat: „A single combat often ends in two whole families fighting together, when they try not to kill, but to merely subdue." In Fortsetzung dessen fügt HYADES (q): 374 noch an: „Toutes les armes sont alors bonnes pour se battre: coups de poing, coups de pierre ou de bâton, frondes, harpons, flèches."

Als Beispiel hier ein Streit, aufgezeichnet von BRIDGES (MM: XIII, 153; 1879) am 7. März 1879, der aus unglücklichen Eheverhältnissen entstanden ist: „On day, a certain man named RICHARD ARMOOSHEEKAR, who has taken Joe's sister to wife, and trough her and his own evil passions brought himself

into much turmoil, went down to JEMMAKE wigwam to fetch his eloped wife. He went in a very threatening manner, with spear in hand, into a hornet's nest. The ill-will of her relatives had often been stirred up by his violence to her, and now seeing him come among them in this threatening manner, their evil passions overflowed all bounds and a savage assault was made. RUMAKE's friends came to his aid, and a scene of universal broil and violence was the result. It occurred during the dinner hour. As usual I rang the bell for work, but no workmen appearing, I rang a second time; still none came. At last Samuel came up to tell me all the people were in a great uproar, and had hurt each other very much."

Dergleichen Raufereien — denn anders kann man diese Streitigkeiten nicht nennen — werden also weder von langer Hand eingeleitet, noch nach einer gewissen Ordnung durchgeführt.[*] Ungerne wäre es, von eigentlichen Kämpfen zu sprechen: „il n'y a jamais chez les Yahgan d'expéditions de guerre", nach HYADES (g): 374.

Deutlich unterscheiden sich von diesen offenen Balgereien und lauten Schlägereien jene besonderen Feindseligkeiten, die ich als bewußt vorbereitete Hackeakte kennzeichnen möchte. Durch sie bringt jemand ein weit unerträglicheres Unrecht zum Austrag. Entweder ist es Mutlosigkeit und Feigheit, oder das Bewußtsein von der Ohnmacht seines Gegners, die ihm eine heimliche Tat ratsam erscheinen lassen. Sie ist bei den yékamná beliebt. Bewährt hat sich folgender Weg. Wer unauffällig seinen Gegner heimzahlen will, bespricht seinen Plan mit zwei oder drei verläßlichen Freunden. Sie lادن einen Tages auf die denkbar unauffälligste Art den Gegner ein, er möge sie auf der Suche nach jungen oder alten Kormoranen begleiten. Der andere darf und wird mit Rücksicht auf die verpflichtenden Regeln für den gegenseitigen Verkehr die Einladung nicht ausschlagen. Absichtslos läßt er sich oben auf der steilen Felswand ansetzen und gleitet nach unten (S. 526). Im passenden Augenblick und ohne jeden Zeichen schneiden seine Gegner oben den Riemen durch, er stürzt in die Tiefe und bricht sich das Genick. Den anderen Leuten erzählen nachher diese Cheltäter, jener Mann sei auf der Suche nach Kormoranen zu eigener Unvorsichtigkeit verunglückt. Wie früher OTTEN (g): 58, so erwähnt auch SERANO: 68 dieses heimliche Vorgehen und zwar mit Recht als „a favorite way of killing an enemy"; allerdings wird dieser Weg nur selten eingeschlagen.

Das Pflanzenreich bietet kein einziges wirksames Gift. Als solches aber gilt der Trau vom Schwertwal *ʍpájuli* (Orca magellanica), ein Begleitfisch der großen Cetaceen (S. 37). Man hat mir vertraulich versichert, daß dieser Trau dann und wann verabreicht worden sei, seiner Wirksamkeit hätte man schon vor langer Zeit entdeckt. So wird erzählt, was MATHEWS mir wiederholt hat: Mehrere Leute fanden einst im Westen einen toten *ʍpájuli* auf dem Ufer

[*] „Where they fight, it is generally an affray of words, women, spears, and clubs, with many on both sides;" nach BRIDGES (a): 207. Mehrmals hat sich dieser Missionar ganz richtig in deutlichen Wendungen geäußert.

Sagen. Sein Fleisch und Speck war auch frisch, deshalb aßen einige davon. Diese Leute starben bald danach. Zu jenem Platze kam einst auch HAWATEN. Er war ein schlauer Mann. Bevor er selbst aß, wollte er sich davon überzeugen, ob dieses Fett starben machte. Unauffällig gab er ein Stückchen einem Manne. Dieser starb unverzüglich. Darauflhin sagte er sich: „Gut, das dient meinem Zwecke!" Er ergriff ein größeres Stück Speck des *Ayakjuli*, zerlegte es in kleine Teile und füllte damit den Beutel aus dem Magen eines Robbe (Chloëphaga hybrida) an. Nun kehrte er zum Ostrand zurück. Was er umbringen wollte, dem schob er heimlich ein Stückchen Fett vom *Ayakjuli* im Essen. Mehrmals tat er dies und mehrere Männer starben daran. HAWATEN wurde wegen seiner hilfreichen Gesinnungsart allgemein verehrt und geniedet. — Durch ihn ist also die wirkliche oder vermeintliche Kraft jenes Giftes bekannt geworden.

Noch sei erwähnt, daß die Yamana der Gegenwart fast ausschließlich dem Alkohol gierig zusprechen, wo immer sie ihn erreichen können. Sie verlieren im Rausche schnell die Herrschaft über sich selbst, werden ausfallsig und gereizt in Streit, wobei Händel entstehen; dabei wurde schon mancher schwer verwundet oder zum Krüppel geschlagen und hat sein Leben eingebüßt. Sogar der sanfte, ruhige Bernardo hat, wie Frau Lawrence berichtete, seine erste Frau erschlagen, als er einmal völlig betrunken war. Dergleichen Entgleisungen mit schweren Folgen hat die heutige alte Zeit nicht gekannt.

c. *Die Blutrache*

Bewußt vorbereitete, ernste Schlägereien zwischen zwei ansässigen Gruppen sind immer die Folge einer Mordes. Da das Leben eines jeden als wertvoll und unantastbar gilt (S. 989), bewertet man den Mord als eine höchst verabscheuungswürdige Tat, die, mangels einer bestehenden richterlichen Gewalt, durch die nächsten Angehörigen des Unglücklichen gerächt werden muß. Blutrache bringt also hier so viel wie Sühne fordern für das Verbrechen, das den Tod eines Stammesmitgliedes verursacht hat. Dabei gilt als völlig belanglos, ob der Tod sofort oder erst nach geraumer Zeit als Folge eines Überfalles eingetreten ist. Dieser Begriff der Blutrache wird noch vervollständigt durch die Pflicht, die jedem nächsten Verwandten eines Opfers obliegt, sie persönlich auszuführen hat, sich daran zu beteiligen. Bezüglich dieser kennt bei allen Erwachsenen nicht Einstimmigkeit.

Ohne Zweifel trägt die Furcht vor den einzigen, unumwindlich geforderten Sühne für jedwede Blutrache bedeutsam dazu bei, daß jedermann sich sorgfältig davor hütet. Bennett (NOR: IX, 212, 1872) bestätigt dies: „Fear is the powerful agent, fear of man, fear of death; without the latter there would not be the former to any profitable degree. A man is restrained from taking life by fear, fear of his friends, as well as dread of those whom vengeance he has incurred by the taking the life of one of their kin. For according to native usage, and necessarily springing from it, all the kindred

of a murderer are held as sharers of his offence, and frequently suffer in his stead. For though they (selfishly) may be ever so angry with their relatives, the murderer, for thus making them liable, yes, not only liable, but certain to be partners of his punishment, yet they will not give him up to death, but will avenge his death if he is killed."

Wie es bereits ausgesprochen wurde, besteht bei den Yamana eine unzweideutige und bestimmte Pflicht zur Blutrache, die ganz allgemein den nächsten Verwandten des Opfers obliegt. Am 29. Juli 1859 hat Dumas (VP: VII, 9; 1860) mitgeteilt: „My lads told me that the law of retaliation for murder exists in their country, and is executed by the nearest of kin." Bald danach sagt er (b): 698 noch: „A murderer must expect, sooner or later, to be killed by the blood-avenger, and next of kin to the victim." Diese Ausdrucksweise ist etwas unbestimmt. In Wirklichkeit versetzt die Mordtat jedweden, der dem Opfer unter dieser oder jener Rücksicht in etwa nahe steht, in heiße Wallung und gemeinsam holen alle mehr oder weniger wütend zur Rache aus. Auch gibt es nach dem Empfinden der Yamana keine Grenzen für das Strafmaß, falls der Schuldige am Leben bleibt. Diese Gedanken, die an mehreren, von Missionaren beobachteten Beispielen verwirklicht worden sind, hat Bascos am 7. März 1879 folgendermaßen zusammengefaßt: „Fuegian etiquette and custom require that all the relatives of a murdered person should be hot and frantic in their angry demonstrations, and that they should visit their displeasure upon every connexion of the manslayers, each personally. Thus a man may be much hurt by a party of enraged and demon-like avengers, and though the poor fellow may have suffered ten times more than he deserved, yet another party of avengers who had not punished him themselves would not let him escape in virtue of what he had already suffered, but would, moved by their own lust of vengeance, and prescribed customs, wreak upon him further punishment. Or suppose a man has many things, and the avengers are willing to except gifts in lieu of their right to the infliction of suffering, then every avenger expects some gift from every person liable by family connection quite as much as by participation in guilt. Thus such a season is quite a harvest time to the aggrieved party if they have power to press their claim." Das besagt mit einem kurzen Worte, ein Mörder kann seitlebens sich der Belästigungen und Forderungen von seiten eines jeden der Verwandten und Bekannten seines Opfers nicht mehr erwehren. „Die Pflichten der Rache wurden streng durchgeführt", bestätigt Bascos (e): 332 kurz.

Doch nicht nur für die eigene Person des Mörders hat seine Tat üble Folgen, sondern auch für seine gesamte Verwandtschaft und für seinen nahen Freundeskreis. Die Rächer gehen zwar direkt auf den eigentlichen Schuldigen los. Da dieser, in klarer Erkenntnis dessen, was ihn erwartet, regelmäßig schleunigst flieht oder sich verbirgt oder von seinen Verwandten versteckt wird, fallen jene über die Erstbesten her, die mit ihm verbunden sind, und das nicht ganz zu Unrecht. Denn obgleich die Verwandten des Verbrechers seiner Blattat nicht im mindesten billigen, sind die gegenseitigen

Bande der Familienzusammenhänge durch so eng und so stark, daß sie ihn nicht nur nicht den Gegnern ausliefern, sondern ihn sogar jegen sie schützen und verteidigen.[36] Das bindet nicht daran, daß sie sich über den Mörder erbarmen, eben weil er sie alle durch seine verbrecherische Tat in eine sehr gefährliche und unredige Lage, ja sogar in ernste Gefahr versetzt hat.[37] Wirklich, ein Mörder kann seinen Lebens nicht mehr frei werden, weil nicht allein die Anklänger seines Opfers ihm keine Ruhe gönnen, sondern überdies auch seine eigenen Verwandten ihm Vorwürfe einmals einstellen. Die ganze Gruppe, der er angehört, leidet ihn, erhärtet ihn heimlich und stiftet ihn Unruhe aus.[38] Dieses Band der Dinge hat schon Sumner (SSS, XIII, 154; 1879), wie jedermann einleuchtet, in seiner Bedeutung für die allgemeine Sicherung des Lebens gewertet als „the greatest safeguard to human life we can conceive. I have witnessed the anxiety of men's minds after a quarrel, when any have been seriously injured, to know how the injured party is doing when fears are felt for his death, and I have heard them express the horrible sensations which creep over them when the crime of blood-guiltiness is likely to be charged against them." Die Aufmerksamkeit der Allgemeinheit und jener einzelnen Gruppe ist ernstlich darauf gerichtet, jede Mordtat zu verhindern.

Wenn immer sich eine ereignet hat, legen die nächsten Verwandten des Opfers eine bestimmte Gesichtsbemalung an. Schon Dawson (VP, VII, 9; 1880)[39] nennt „white stripes dotted with black, in regular rows on the face." Zuweilen beschränkt man den ganzen Körper einförmig schwarz. Alle übrigen Personen, die dem Toten nahestehen, bemalen sich ähnlich irgendwie, begnügen sich indes meist mit einigen roten und weißen und schwarzen Streifen im Gesicht, nach willkürlicher Anordnung; um die Stirn winden sie sich eigens schmale Bastreifen mit Baumrindfetzen spandrin. Sie folgen hierin einem Brauch, der allgemein bei einem Todesfalle gilt. Die eigentliche, den Mord kennzeichnende Bemalung jedoch sind mehrere weiße, breite rote Streifen im Gesicht, die von der Augenbraue ziemlich senkrecht ausgehen.

Unerträglich bewähren sich die Betroffenen, die Nächsten von der Mordtat zu verhüten und mit den verbliebenen Freunden eine Kampfgruppe zu bilden, denn die Pflicht zur Blutrache kümmert jedem stark im Gewissen. Sie geht jedweden Freund und Verwandten an. Das bewirkt die besondere

[36] Sumner (SSS, IX, 215; 1871): bezüglich dieses „Society, as here is constituted, supports, aids, protects, not the innocent or injured, but each man its member, guilty or not guilty."

[37] „A murderer imperils all his friends and connections more or less, and consequently estranges them from himself" (Sumner, in: SSS, XIII, 154; 1879).

[38] „En general, este Dawson (b): 180 escribiera, el que mata es abandonado por todos los de la tribu y debe refugiarse en las lejanas para vivir."

[39] Fellow hates Fen-Ran (a): 177 mitgeteilt: „White brothers, on white down, on the Gilbe, is a sign of hostility, or of being prepared for war. Their white paint is added to the red when preparing for war; but the marks made are never dashes, of the colors, if of any design. Black is the mourning colour." Ähnlich schreibt Dawson (b): 180 und Sumner (a): 215.

[illegible]

[illegible] Gesamtbeurteilung [illegible] a [illegible] against whom government forces a [illegible] and [illegible] to fight with and punish because he did not take up his and their [illegible] Israel's cause as he might (XII-XIII). Unter sich eine [illegible] Horde von Räubern [illegible], von die Gegner, die begeistert jede Gelegenheit der Unge [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Die Sachliche Gesamtanlage [illegible]

Die [illegible] Gesamtanlage [illegible]

Eine Gesamtbeurteilung [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

that if the murderer is given into their power, they kill him, and it may be cut him up in pieces afterwards." (Vgl. Hymes [a]: 271). Das Ringen zweier feindlicher Gruppen nennen die yamana-indianer yákana mála, während sie die kleinen Schlägereien und Raufereien einfach als yákana mála bezeichnen.[illegible]

Wegen auch Unerfahrenheit und Feigheiten zwischen zwei Personen sich zwar öfters ereignet haben, der Kampf zweier Gruppen von Anfall einer Mordes war durch selten, denn dieser wird dann und wenn gehalten von einem einzigen Verwandten des Ermordeten gerächt. Eigentliche Rachehandlungen einer Gruppe auf die andere, wie solche neuerer Zeit sind, kennen die Yaruro nicht. In Streitfällen benachbarten sich einflußreiche Männer sozusagen, durch gütliche Worte zu vermitteln. Schon Fritz-Ruz (a): 179 hat zuverlässig erklärt: „Warfare is so desultory, and so so small a scale among them, that the controlled and direction of their chiefs extend as they are by the doctrine, is sufficient." Ebenso bestimmt hat sich Dixon (b): 717 geäußert: „Warfare is not fashionable among them". Die gesellschaftliche Lebensführung der Yaruro ist nicht derart, daß sie lange Kämpfe und andauernde Zwistigkeiten gestatten würde.[illegible] Jeder Mord wühlt sie mächtig auf und sein Eindruck wirkt lange nach. Jene, die mehr oder weniger ernste Unerfreulichkeit miteinander ausgetragen haben, vermeiden tunlichst ein Zusammentreffen.

C. Allgemeine gesellschaftliche Pflichten

Die Yaruro sind als Volksrichtung allein schon durch die natürliche Ausgestaltung ihrer Landesgrenzen von allen Nachbarn getrennt. Jeder erkennt seine Zugehörigkeit zu dieser völkischen Einheit aus der übereinstimmenden Gleichheit der Lebensformen und der Sprache, die ihnen gemeinsam ist. Ebenso bestimmt, wie sie sich mit der Bezeichnung Yáruro von anderen Völkern abtrennen (S. 197), bestimmt sie damit auch die Zusammengehörigkeit aller Stammesgenossen im gleichen Raum. Daraus leiten sich viele Rechte der einzelnen, aber auch Pflichten aller gegen einen und des einen gegen die Allgemeinheit ab. Zu ersteren gehören die Rechte auf Nahrungserwerb, auf Ersatzes gründen sich die Besitzverhältnisse.

Nach dem Kopfzahl beurteilt waren und sind die Yaruro ein kleines Volk. Trotz allem fehlt ihnen ein gemeinsamer Oberhaupt, einerlei, ob man damit einen Person bezeichnet, die durch Erbrecht oder Wahl mit eigener Rechtsverfassung ausgestattet wird, oder die infolge persönlicher Eigenschaften, außerlicher Bestätigung eine Vorzugsstellung sich erworben hat, oder die wie den Kriegsherren in einem patriarchalischen Gemeinwesen seinen nächsten

[illegible] Gesetz auf Grund einer falschen Mitteilung kann es bei den halbblütigen Yaruro zu einem vorzeitigen Eheschluß kommen; Dixon (a): 270 erzählt einen dieser Art.

[illegible] Dixon (b): 716 erzählt mit Recht: „Life passes, as all resembles outside do in children, one minute alive a row for rather revolver, then slide dangers very curse."

Verwandten überlegen ist. Der Einfluß, den gelegentlich ein *tjámuna* erreicht, ist ein gewisses moralisches Vorrecht, das aus persönlichen Vorzügen erfließt.

Wieder sind es landschaftlich gegebene Tatsachen gewesen, die das Heimatgebiet der Yamana in fünf Bezirke und, auf Grund dessen, das Volksganze in fünf Stammesgruppen zerlegt haben (S. 199). Da diese gegeneinander mehr oder weniger streng abgetrennt leben, haben sich im Laufe der Zeit gewisse Besonderheiten in der Sprechweise und in einigen Lebensgewohnheiten herausgebildet; diese sind es, durch die jede einzelne Gruppe sich leicht und von selber zu erkennen gibt. Offensichtlich ist diese Stammesgliederung nur äußerlich, weil räumlich bedingt. Innerhalb einer jeden der fünf großen Dialektgruppen haben abermals geographische Bedingungen die Trennung in Lokalgruppen bewirkt (S. 798), die sich ihrerseits je aus einigen Verwandtenkreisen zusammensetzen. Eng und fest ist die Verbindung der einzelnen Familien eines jeden derselben; sie sind es, die einen eigentlichen und häufigen Verkehr miteinander pflegen.

Die eben erwähnte Gliederung des gesamten Yamana-Volkes wird vorwiegend von außen her und nur locker zusammengehalten, da sie nicht einmal unter einem gemeinsamen Oberhaupte geeinigt dasteht: dennoch bestimmen feste Regeln, mit der unausweichlichen Verpflichtung für jedermann, den wechselseitigen Verkehr der genannten Abteilungen und der Einzelpersonen. Sie sichern ein reibungsloses Nebeneinander bzw. ein wohlgeordnetes Zusammenleben aller. Nicht nur darüber könnte man erstaunt sein, daß in einer äußerst einfach gegliederten Gesellschaft von der Art unserer Yamana überhaupt gewisse Bestimmungen den Umgang mit anderen regeln, mehr noch überrascht deren innerer Wert und erfolgreiche Verläßlichkeit. Sie verbürgen vor allem den festen Bestand der Einzelfamilie und das harmonievolle Zusammensein ihrer Mitglieder. Die lebenswichtige Bedeutung dessen folgt daraus, daß die Einzelfamilie als alleiniges genau bestimmtes gesellschaftliches Gefüge den Grundpfeiler der gesamten Volkseinheit bildet. Sie also schützen und stützen viele, durchaus wirksame allgemeingültige Regeln.

Daneben wird die große Allgemeinheit geführt und regiert von ungeschriebenen Gesetzen, die man mit einem Worte als die Forderungen des althergebrachten Gewohnheitsrechtes bezeichnen kann. Jedem Erwachsenen ist es bekannt und geläufig, mit ihm wird die heranreifende Jugend sowohl in der Familie und im alltäglichen Verkehr, als auch mit bewußter Zielsetzung in der unerläßlichen Jugendweihe (S. 864) vertraut gemacht. Als ihre besondere Aufgabe betrachten es die gescheiteren und einflußreicheren hochbejahrten Männer, immer wieder und bei gegebenen Gelegenheiten auf Einhaltung der überlieferten Gewohnheiten zu bestehen und deren gehaunen Sinn weder abändern noch verfälschen zu lassen.

Wird damit das Gemeinwohl auf eine direkte und indirekte Weise gesichert, so bestehen daneben noch ausdrückliche Verhaltungsmaßregeln für die Allgemeinheit und für eine größere Gruppe gegenüber der bestimmten Notlage eines einzelnen. So locker auch der Zusammenhang dieser feuerlän-

diechen Volkseinheit sein mag, sie weiß sich zu wirksamer Hilfeleistung verpflichtet, falls eines ihrer Mitglieder irgendwie gefährdet ist. Auf Grund dessen haben sich Regeln für einen Hilfedienst herausgebildet, der einer allgemeinen Fürsorge für Bedürftige und Hilflose gleichkommt. Man darf es schonallen Ernstes überprüfen, daß auch dergleichen in der höchst einfach gegliederten Gesellschaftsordnung der Yamana nicht fehlt.

Diese an sich zahlreichen Bestimmungen und Regeln leiten die Einzelperson in ihrem Umgange mit anderen und verpflichten die Allgemeinheit gegenüber gewissen Bedürfnissen und Forderungen. Nicht ihrer selbst wegen nur sind sie ausgebildet worden und werden sie beachtet, vielmehr zielen sie eindeutig auf die persönliche Sicherheit eines jeden Volksgenossen und auf den ruhigen Fortbestand des Volksganzen hin. In ihnen wirkt sich eine Gewalt aus, die über der Gesamtheit der Stammesmitglieder steht und die ausnahmslos, sowie in Hinordnung auf das gesellschaftliche Wohl, einen jeden verpflichtet. Sie ist nichts anderes als die erst bescheiden ausgeprägte Form einer Staatsgewalt. Mag sie selber auch unscheinbar auftreten und ihre Betätigung noch nicht in schriftlichen Formeln niedergelegt sein, sie hat zumindest die Einzelglieder des weitverbreiteten Yamana-Volkes in gesellschaftlichem Frieden zusammengehalten und dem einzelnen sowohl wie der Gemeinschaft ein menschenwürdiges Dasein innerhalb der örtlich gegebenen Möglichkeiten gesichert (S. 1024).

Nicht alles und jedes, was dem Gemeinwohle dient und was als öffentliche Fürsorge gelten kann, kommt im folgenden zur Sprache; denn hierzu gehören letzten Endes die gegenseitigen Beziehungen der Eltern und Kinder, der Verwandten und der Mitglieder einer Lokal- bzw. einer Dialektgruppe, sowie die vielen Belehrungen anläßlich der Jugendweihe (S. [illegible]) und der Menarche (S. 755). Nur jene Regeln für den Umgang mit anderen und jene Verpflichtungen gegenüber Bedürftigen werden hier aufgezählt, die bislang in den eben bezeichneten Abschnitten noch nicht genannt worden sind.

a. *Brauch und Recht*

Unmöglich hätte sich das gesamte Yamana-Volk als lebensfähige Einheit erhalten können, wäre es nicht von einer allumfassenden Gesellschaftsordnung geleitet und zusammengeschlossen worden. Die geltenden Gesetze stehen zwar nirgendwo geschrieben, wirken aber als lebendige Kräfte mit unnachgiebiger Dringlichkeit. Ihr Erfolg ist offensichtlich. Die Beziehungen der Einzelpersonen zu einander und zum Volksganzen verraten eine ausgeglichene Harmonie;[488] jeder fühlt sich in seiner Volksgemeinschaft vollauf ge-

[488] Mir ist es unbegreiflich, wie Bennett (MM: IX, 218; 1875) am 21. April 1875 schreiben konnte, daß „horrible lawlessness prevails through everything. No discipline, no order, no agreements or arrangements; hap-hazard, confusion, "happy-go-lucky", these are the usages of Fuegian life. A general absence of confidence, faithfulness, and love is everywhere apparent. There is a great show of friendship, but little sincerity".

sichert und weiß sich gegen mögliche Gefahren von seiten anderer Stammesgenossen geschützt. Tatsächlich herrscht Ordnung, was kurz gesagt bedeutet, daß jedermann sich in seiner ganzen Lebenshaltung den bekannten Bestimmungen fügt und daß Widersetzlichkeiten irgendwelcher Art nur ausnahmsweise sich ereignen, dann jedenfalls gerügt und bestraft werden.

Diese Gesetze oder, wie die Yamana selber sich ausdrücken, "der überlieferte Brauch", sind allgemeinverpflichtend. Nur insofern können sie das friedliche Zusammenleben sämtlicher Stammesmitglieder in der einen gleichen Volksgemeinschaft sichern. Niemand nimmt für sich grundsätzlich eine Ausnahme in Anspruch. Läßt er sich vereinzelt in irgendwelcher Lebenslage durch Leidenschaftlichkeit oder durch die Schwäche seiner Natur vom Wege der erkannten Pflicht abdrängen, fühlt er es trotzdem für sich allein schon mit betonter Deutlichkeit, daß er sich verfehlt und unrecht handelt. Das abfällige Urteil über seine Entgleisungen von seiten jener Stammesmitglieder, die davon Kenntnis erhalten, wirkt auch noch nachdrücklich auf ihn. Naturgemäß gelten einzelne Bestimmungen für jedes Alter und jedes Geschlecht ausnahmslos, andere nur unterschiedlich für Kinder oder Erwachsene, für Mann oder Frau. Niemand, in welcher Stellung er auch sein mag, würde sich erdreisten, durch Worte oder Benehmen andern zu verstehen zu geben, irgendwelcher Brauch, den jedermann in seiner Lage beachtet, habe für ihn keine Bedeutung und verpflichte ihn nicht; er würde sich dadurch in der Yamana-Gemeinschaft unmöglich machen. Ganz im Gegenteil, wie bald zu erörtern sein wird, ist es jedem darum zu tun, nirgendwo den Verdacht aufkommen zu lassen, er mißachte gelegentlich oder grundsätzlich irgendwelches Gewohnheitsgesetz.

Diesem unausweichlichen Zwang, unter dem jedermann steht, wissen die Yamana letzten Endes mit einem Hinweis auf den *Watuginšjuu*, ihre einzige Gottheit zu begründen. Ihr ganzes Brauchtum nämlich — *wenn man* so sagen darf — schließt in sich das eigentliche Sittengesetz im engeren Wortsinne, sowie alle Verpflichtungen für das gesellschaftliche Zusammenleben und für die Einzelperson gegenüber sich selber in des Wortes weitester Bedeutung. Mit einer allgemein gehaltenen Formel leitet der Feuerländer dieses sein Brauchtum, d. h. alle Grundsätze und Richtlinien, die in Übung stehen, von seiner Gottheit als der letzten Quelle ab, wenn er sagt: „*Watuginšjuu* will, daß jeder ein guter Mensch sei! — *Watuginšjuu* wünscht es so [wie der Brauch es bisher bestimmt hat]; er schaut genau zu, ob jeder sich darnach richtet!" Nicht bei jeder Einzelhandlung ruft er sich seinen Gesetzgeber ins Gedächtnis zurück, das wäre übermenschlich; aber jene allgemeine Formel bleibt in seinem Unterbewußtsein wach und tritt ihm zeitweilig eindeutig bestimmt vor das aufgeschlossene Gewissen. Wie jene Gottheit sich selber gleich bleibt und die einmal ausgegebenen Verpflichtungen in keiner Weise und zu keiner Zeit abgeändert hat, so bleiben letztere in ungemilderter Strenge bestehen und behalten ihre unwandelbare Richtung durch alle Geschlechter bei. Die erwähnte knappe, bestimmte Wortfassung beinhaltet für den

Yamana die letzte Quelle und die alle Zeiten und Personen umfassende Allgemeinverpflichtung der geltenden Verbindlichkeiten jedweder Art. Weiteres bleibt noch in der Abhandlung über das eigentliche Sittengesetz zu erörtern.

In der Wirklichkeit des Alltags sind demnach die herrschenden Gewohnheiten, der von den Vätern übernommene Brauch, das Verhalten der früheren Geschlechter alleinige Richtschnur und festliegende Lebensnorm für jedermann. Das ist für groß und klein so selbstverständlich, als wäre es ihnen zur zweiten Natur geworden; daran wird weder kritisiert noch gegrübelt, nie gerüttelt und nichts geändert. Alles, was sich als ein alter Brauch kennzeichnet, gilt als rechtskräftig und damit als verpflichtend, was ihm entgegensteht, wird als unrecht oder ungehörig allgemein verurteilt.

Seiner selbst wegen und als einer zwingenden Willensäußerung des *Wozunfjen* zollt jedermann dem überlieferten Brauch eine betonte Ehrfurcht. Gewisse Einrichtungen, wie *čičyuga*, *kina*, *čičma*, werden mit ausgesuchter Sorgfalt umhegt; andere Gewohnheiten, wie Belehrung der Mädchen in der Menarche (S. 755), Verteilung der heimgebrachten Beute (S. 580), werden mit ängstlicher Gewissenhaftigkeit gepflegt. Jedermann nimmt die Einzelverpflichtung als Tatsache hin und fügt sich widerspruchslos; ihm genügt es zu wissen, daß dieses und jenes bei den Yamana immerdar in Geltung gestanden und damit allein ist es unter gleichen Umständen auch für ihn bindend. Die Ältesten irgendwelcher Gruppe fühlen sich aus eigenem Antriebe am meisten gedrängt, in ihrem persönlichen Verhalten den Linien der überkommenen Gewohnheiten genau zu folgen. Sie sind sich ihrer Pflicht zum guten Beispiel gegenüber den jüngeren Altersschichten deutlich bewußt, wirkt es doch eindringlicher als Worte. So oft sich der Anlaß bietet, fordern sie ein strenges Handhaben der überlieferten Ordnung und den guten, alten Brauch bei öffentlichen Veranstaltungen und im gegenseitigen privaten Verkehr. Auch gehen sie zu Ermahnungen eines jeden über, der in irgendwelchem Punkte den allgemeinen Brauchtums nachlässig wird; mehrere Männer besaßen sogar miteinander, wie sie die öfter werdenden Entgleisungen eines jüngeren Stammesmitgliedes auch mit Schärfe, wenn es sein muß, eindämmen können. Alles und jedes, was von den Vorvätern ihnen überliefert worden ist, ist ihnen viel zu ehrwürdig, als daß sie auch nur ein Teilchen durch unbesonnene Jugendliche abbröckeln ließen.

Bei der bezeichneten Haltung wirkt außerdem noch ihr gesunden Urteil über den Wert des guten Alten mit. Die Gruppe der jüngeren Leute kann ihn zwar noch nicht ganz schätzen, die Alten aber sind davon vollauf überzeugt. Eben deshalb gründen sie darauf allein den geziemenden Fortbestand ihrer Volksgemeinschaft und das zufriedene Dasein des Einzelnen. „Haben die Vorfahren alle unsere Einrichtungen für gut befunden, warum sollten sie nicht auch genau so vorteilhaft für uns sein?" betonte mir nachdrücklich manches gewisse Feuerländer. Auf der von Geschlechtern erprobten Erfahrung also beruht ihr starres Festhalten am überlieferten Gewohnheitsgute, in jedem noch so geringen Abweichen davon sehen sie, gleichsam

instinktiv, Nachteil und Unheil für ihre Volksgemeinschaft. Einen beträchtlichen Anteil an dieser Beurteilung dürfte die ausgeglichene Harmonie zwischen ihren Bedürfnissen und der sie einschließenden Umwelt tragen; sie haben sich nachweislich auf die bestmögliche Art in die Lebensbedingungen ihrer Heimat hineingefunden und sich so gut eingefühlt, daß andere Wünsche und Bedürfnisse ausnahmsweise gar nicht wach werden.

An dieser unnachgiebigen, steifen Haltung der geschlossenen Volksinsel prallten anfänglich alle Neuerungen ab, die seit der Berührung mit dem Europäertum an die Yamana herantraten. Allmählich gingen doch einige Stoffe und Gegenstände, die ihnen vorteilhaft erschienen, z. B. das Eisen, in ihren Besitz über. Indes hat sogar die starke und andauernde Beeinflussung durch die anglikanische Mission nichts an ihrer Gesellschaftsordnung und an ihrer Geisteswelt zu ändern vermocht (S. 324). Erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten ist durch fremde Ansiedler das Indianertum auseinandergerissen und mehrfach schwer bedrängt worden; mitnehmen ließ sich die Lebenshaltung nach altem Brauch nicht mehr weiterführen und der Untergang unseres Stammes war besiegelt. Diese schicksalsschweren Verhältnisse in zunehmender Steigerung haben manche alte Männer und Frauen, denen noch das Glück beschieden gewesen, im unverfälschten Brauchtum ihres Volkes aufzuwachsen, tränenfeuchten Augen beobachten müssen; ihre bittersten Klagen haben das Urteil nicht mehr zu beschwören vermocht. Offen haben sie es ausgesprochen, daß mit der beginnenden Lockerung des strengen Brauches von ehedem auch die Auflösung des Volksganzen seinen Anfang genommen hat.

Zu den mehr allgemeinen, grundsätzlichen Erwägungen über den Wert der überlieferten Gewohnheiten tritt als eine in der Auswirkung noch stärkere Stütze das persönliche Ehrgefühl. Niemand will als minderwertiges Stammesmitglied, als unterm gegenüber dem Brauch der Väter, als [illegible] gelten. Mit verschiedenen Gelegenheiten wird sehr deutlich das Idealbild des "reinen, echten Yamana" aufs neue aufgerollt, jedem steht es mit allen seinen Einzelheiten in hellen Farben vor den Augen. Wer trotzdem davon mit Überlegung oder gewohnheitsmäßig abweicht, legt einen verurteilenswerten Grad von Roheit und innerer Verdorbenheit an den Tag, denen sich sowohl der Schuldige selber wie auch seine ganze Umgebung bewußt ist. Zu tief ist die Beschämung, so entwürdigend die Beschimpfung, daß jemand sie lange tragen würde, als unterm gegen den alten Brauch von vielen gemieden und abgewiesen zu werden! Ehrgeiz, Eigenliebe und der Wunsch, bei den Stammesgenossen durch etwas zu gelten, drängen jeden Pflichtvergessenen gar bald wieder auf die Linie der allgemein beachteten guten Gewohnheiten zurück. Hier liegt für die Yamana die stärkste Triebfeder, die sie zu einer möglichst untadeligen Lebensführung nach dem Vorbilde der Väter zwingt. Nicht einmal die von Wanapiljiyu in Aussicht gestellten Strafen sind so unmittelbar wirksam wie der Ehrgeiz, durch ja bei den Stammesgenossen als echter Yamana zu gelten.

Jeder weiß nur zu gut, wie genau er von allen Leuten seiner näheren

und entfernteren Umgebung beobachtet, wie eingehend sein Verhalten sogar in geringfügigen, belanglosen Nebensächlichkeiten von anderen besprochen und beurteilt wird. Eindeutig und bestimmt bekommt jedermann es früher oder später zu hören, wie die Allgemeinheit über ihn denkt und wie sie sein Benehmen wertet. Die öffentliche Meinung zu seinen Gunsten zu werben, gelingt dem einzelnen nur durch restlose, andauernde Untadelhaftigkeit gemäß den herrschenden Gewohnheiten. So zwingt die Sorge um den eigenen guten Leumund[47] zu treuer Pflicht gegenüber dem von den Alten überlieferten Brauch viel nachhaltiger, als etwa polizeiliche Drohungen oder gestrichene Gesetze; denn wer gewohnheitsmäßig vom guten Alten abweicht, verliert bei der Allgemeinheit jedwede Geltung und Wertschätzung.

b. *Der wechselseitige Verkehr*

Da jeder Yamana bewußt Wert darauf legt, bei seinen Stammesgenossen etwas zu gelten und von ihnen rühmend genannt zu werden, sucht er allein schon durch sein Auftreten und durch seine Umgangsformen zu gewinnen. Er strengt sich sichtbar an, jedermann auf taktvolle Art zu begegnen und nirgends Anstoß zu erregen, auf sein ganzes Äußeres nimmt er ängstlich Bedacht. Erst recht ist er darum bemüht, mit niemand in offene Feindschaft zu geraten; denn plötzlich kann er durch die böswillige Laune übermächtiger Naturkräfte in peinliche Verlegenheit versetzt werden, in der er auf die Hilfe des nächstbesten Stammesmitgliedes angewiesen ist. Die nomadisierende Lebensweise in einem gefahrenreichen Heimatbezirk fordert gebieterisch, daß einer dem andern bereitwillig zu Diensten steht, wann immer es angezeigt ist.[48] Die in mannigfacher Form sich wiederholende Notlage hat Regeln und Vorrichtungen für den wechselseitigen Verkehr ausgebildet, an die sich die Yamana im Hinblick auf ihren persönlichen Vorteil und auf das Gemeinwohl genau halten. Ein jeder kann nämlich zuverlässig damit rechnen, daß das Schicksal bald ihn selber genau so und vielleicht noch ärger treffen wird, wie er jetzt seinen Nachbar schlägt. Das Mitgefühl mit jedem anderen Stammesgenossen ist bei unserem Feuerländer stark entwickelt, mag dabei auch der Gedanke an das eigene Selbst und an Belohnung viel mitsprechen.

1. Besondere Umgangsformen

Bei der keineswegs geringen Anzahl von Regeln und Gewohnheiten, die für den wechselseitigen Verkehr der Yamana gelten, fehlt es auffälligerweise

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[47] Nach dieser Veranlagung beurteilt, gleichen unsere Yamana genau den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 663). Vgl. Gusinde (I): 168.

[48] Bennett (MM): IX, 216; 1875) bestätigt: „The wandering habits of the natives result in making them civille to each other. Not knowing whom he may meet in any place, yet having to seek shelter with any one he may find there, a native would find it very embarrassed than to meet a man and his friends whose enmity he had incurred, cannibals or otherwise."

zu betonter **Förmlichkeit**. Man begegnet sich weder lärmend noch aufgeregt, vielmehr mit einer deutlichen Zurückhaltung der tatsächlich lebendigen Gefühle der Freude und Freundschaftlichkeit. Wir Europäer möchten diese kühle, formlose Art, sich zu begegnen, als Stumpfsinn oder Gefühllosigkeit deuten, wären wir der dahinter sich verbergenden aufrichtigen Gesinnung nicht gewiß. Damit soll nicht verneint werden, daß vereinzelt zwei treue Freunde beim Wiedersehen nach langer Trennung sich mit lauten Zurufen entgegeneilen, sich fest umschlingen und sich wie Wahnsinnige schütteln; ebenfalls gebärden sich einige Frauen übertrieben stürmisch, wenn sie nach vergnüglichem Beisammensein, z. B. anläßlich des *čiźgus*, wieder auseinandergehen. Das sind aber nicht die alltäglichen Umgangsformen.

Deutlich hingegen leuchtet aus den Bewegungen und Reden *jener*, die sich zu Besuchen zusammenfinden, eine **bewußte Berechnung** heraus. Leise, unauffällig tritt der Besucher in die Hütte ein und still hockt er sich auf einen Platz beim Feuer. Denselben anzuweisen, ist allgemein nicht üblich. Die Augen läßt er vor sich auf den Boden fallen und niemals frei oder zügellos überall herumschweifen; wenn er spricht, selbst in längeren Ausführungen, erhebt er sie nur dann und wann, ohne einen der Anwesenden starr anzuschauen. Seine Worte sind gemessen und fallen, als wären sie einzeln genau abgewogen worden. Bei alledem ist die Haltung auch beim Sitzen merklich stramm. Sich lässig anzulehnen, bequem herumzulümmeln, flegelhaft sich zu recken, darf in Anwesenheit anderer nicht sein. Sogar hochbejahrte Personen vermeiden es, sich unfein zu gebärden oder sich sonstwie gehen zu lassen. Ist *jemand* allein für sich, dann allerdings wälzt er sich schrankenlos übermütig herum und dehnt sich in höchster Verzerrung seines ganzen Körpers; denn jetzt kennt er keine Hemmungen. Umsomehr verdient sein Selbstzwang gewertet zu werden, den er sich sogar vor seinen eigenen Kindern, erst recht vor Besuchen, auferlegt.

Grundsätzlich **benimmt sich** der Yamana möglichst lautlos und ohne auffallende Regsamkeit, wo immer er geht und steht, ob er ißt oder arbeitet, mag er beobachtet werden oder nicht. Wie wenn ein Dieb sich heranschleicht und sich wieder entfernt, so wirkt auf den Europäer die Bewegungsart eines Feuerländers. Dieser hat sich selber fest in der Gewalt und er verliert sich auch dann nicht, wenn fremdartige Gegenstände ihn berücken oder ausländische Besucher mit ihren Sonderlichkeiten ihm gegenübertreten. Umgekehrt kehrt er seine schweigsame, regungslose Zurückhaltung hervor.[20]

[20] Treffend urteilt Bridges (a): 167 darüber: „El fueguino es muy cellado, poco expansivo, especialmente con el extranjero, cuhen con una capa de indiferencia todas sus sentimientos, todas sus pasiones." An einem Beispiel erläutert er diesen Verhalten. Noch genauer ist Dumont (b): 197 dieserhalb: „Los Yahganes dan algo meditativos, melancólicos y taciturnos, especialmente cuando están en presencia del extranjero. Ningún objeto, ninguna nueva pasa ellos, es capaz de despertar en interés o curiosidad. Se miraría en mitad como la tierra que ellos habitan y en llamamia revela en todos los sentimiento una indiferencia completa. Por este motivo es muy difícil comprender los sentimiento y los sentimientos que los dominan."

die ihm von den meisten Seelsorgern der früheren Zeit als Verblödung oder als Stumpfsinn gedeutet worden ist, bewußt oder unbewußt aus falschem Urteil.

Wie weit es der Feuerländer in der Selbstbeherrschung gebracht hat, mag man aus seiner staunenswerten Fertigkeit im Schweigen ermessen. Gewiß, das ist zwar mehr Berechnung als Tugendhaftigkeit, wirkt aber im Verkehr mit argwöhnischen Stammesgenossen außerordentlich förderlich. Sofern es sich nicht um offensichtliche, andauernde Verstöße gegen wichtige Gewohnheitsgesetze handelt, hält jedermann mit seinem Urteil über einen andern vor Besuchern und Freunden vorsichtig zurück. Um so weniger gibt er öffentlich seine Abneigung oder gar Feindschaft bekannt und beläßt klug berechnend einen weiten Kreis in der falschen Meinung über seine Stellung zu dem oder jenem. Ein solches Verhalten ist zwar weder vornehm noch mutig, aber es vermeidet Unruhe und Aufregungen, Wortwechsel und Streit in der Gesellschaft. Ist jeder an sich schon berechnend gemessen in seinen Äußerungen und Reden, wird er dazu noch durch die argwöhnische Aufmerksamkeit, mit der jedes seiner Worte von anderen überprüft wird, mächtig angetrieben. Um so weniger gibt er vor anderen preis, was ihm eine nachteilige Beurteilung seiner selbst eintragen könnte. Die Atmosphäre argwöhnischer Bemängelung und die peinliche Angst, sich vor seinesgleichen bloßzustellen, lastet offensichtlich hemmend auf mancher Runde von Männern und Frauen und behindert den freien Meinungsaustausch; als ob sie überhaupt nicht reden könnten, sitzt die Mehrzahl der Anwesenden da. Ein fremder Beobachter erfaßt es auf den ersten Blick, daß sie wie eingeschüchtert oder verschreckt, aus banger Angst oder berechtigter Furcht nichts zu sagen sich getrauen. Noch stärker hemmend und lähmend auf den Gedankenaustausch einer Gesellschaft wirkt die Anwesenheit eines über dreißigjährigen, geübteren Fremdenführers. In freien Zusammenkünften allerdings, vor allem bei Spielen und nach einer reichen Beute geht es munter lärmend und ungezwungen heiter her.

Das schweigsame, lautlose Benehmen der Yamana ist aber auch ein Ausfluß ihrer naturhaften Bescheidenheit. Diesen Vorzug merkt man deutlich, wenn man einen einzigen von ihnen neben die selbstbewußten, stolzen Selk'nam stellt (Bd. I, 1143). Es ist wirklich nicht die Art unserer Feuerländer, durch viel Getöse aufzufallen oder sich vorzudrängen, vor seinen eigenen Leuten zu prahlen oder bei den Nachbarn hochwichtig zu tun, mit den eigenen Kraftleistungen andere zu reizen oder auf wirkliche Erfolge zu pochen. Frauen und Mädchen fallen genauen europäischen Beobachtern durch schüchterne Zurückhaltung und scheue Ängstlichkeit auf. Diese Gemütsart bestimmt naturgemäß die Umgangsformen. Durchgehends pflegen die Frauen bei ihren Gängen und Wanderungen die Augen nahe vor sich auf den Boden zu schlagen; kaum je wird man eine antreffen, die ihre Blicke bewegt überall neugierig herumschweifen läßt. Auffällig erkennt man es an einer um das Härteofeuer hockenden Runde von Frauen, wie fast sie ihre Augen im Zaume halten können; sie verharren lange so, als würden sie es nicht wagen, ihren Blick zu erheben und ihm einigen Spielraum zu gewähren. Tatsächlich

halten sie auch im späten Alter das eingeengte, unauffällige Benehmen bei, das jedem Mädchen anläßlich der Menarche zur Pflicht gemacht wird (S. 754). Besonders treu hierin war NELLY LAWRENCE. Umso mehr dürfte das befremden, als sie durch ihre gehobene soziale Stellung zu einem freien, selbstbewußten Auftreten berechtigt gewesen wäre; sie aber setzte ihren Stolz darein, trotzdem der Art ihrer Vorfahren genau zu folgen.

Die Umgangsformen fordern überdies geheiztorisch auch für Erwachsene eine gewisse Geschlechtertrennung, wie sie ähnlich für Jugendliche (S. 739) besteht. Versammeln sich mehrere Familien, so sondern sich die Männer voll den Frauen gleich anfangs und jede Gruppe bleibt für sich allein bei langer Unterhaltung oder Belustigung. Gewiß, des öfteren finden sie sich zu gemeinsamen Spielen zusammen, eben weil das auf offenem Platze und vor den Augen vieler geschieht. Vereinigen sie sich in einer Wohnhütte, bocken die Frauen als geschlossene Gruppe entweder nahe dem Eingange oder sie bilden einen eigenen Kreis hinter den Männern, die rund um das Feuer herum sich niederlassen. Statthaft ist es nicht und zumindest erregt es Verdacht, daß ein Mann eine Hütte betritt, in der eine Frau allein sitzt; ebenwenig würde eine Frau dort eintreten, wo nur ein Mann anwesend ist. Jede dieser beiden benachbarten Personen soll vor dem Hüttenzugange stehen bleiben und von dieser Stelle aus ihren Wunsch vortragen, falls sie es nicht vorzieht, eine spätere günstigere Gelegenheit wahrzunehmen. In der Regel späht jeder erst aus, ob die ansprechende Person in ihrer Hütte von anderen umgeben ist, bevor er sie aufsucht. Um aber jedweder Verlegenheit, vor allem dem Gerede anderer vorzubeugen, pflegen Frauen, die Wert auf ihren guten Ruf legen, sehr bald an ihrer Hütte vorbeizukommen, wenn immer sie eine fremde Hütte betreten. Das war Regel bei NELLY LAWRENCE. Obwohl sie Herrin des Hauses und ich auf jeder meiner vier Reisen bei ihr als langst bekannter Gast weilte, hat sie mich in dem mir zugewiesenen Zimmer niemals allein besucht, sondern sich zumindest von einem ihrer Kinder begleiten lassen. Genau hielt sie darauf. Läßt ein erfolgreicher Jäger durch seine Frau einzelne Stücke seiner Beute an die benachbarten Hütten verteilen, hält sie sich an die dafür geltenden Vorschriften (S. 687). Daß trotzdem dann und wann ein Mann sich mit einer Frau heimlich zu unerlaubtem Verkehr zusammenfindet, weiß man wohl und man beobachtet scharf jene, die berechtigten Verdacht verursachen. Mehrmals ist schon erwähnt worden, daß Geschenke ebenwenig von einem Manne einer Frau oder von einer Frau einem Manne unmittelbar angehändigt werden.

Was bisher an Vorschriften für den Umgang mit anderen niedergelegt worden ist, sieht nicht etwa darauf ab, ihn grundsätzlich zu unterbinden oder empfindlich zu behindern. Verbote sind gegenseitige, häufige Besuche nicht nur eine gesellschaftliche, sondern auch eine allgemeinmenschliche, psychologische Forderung. Sowieso muß die Einzelfamilie unter dem Zwange der täglichen Nahrungssuche immer und immer wieder allein ihren Wegen ziehen, während dessen die Eltern sowohl wie die Kinder von den ihnen zugewiesenen

Arbeiten reichlich in Anspruch genommen werden. Am Abend erst, sofern sie nicht zu stark ermüdet sind, bleiben ihnen einige Stunden vertraulicher Geselligkeit. Das aber genügt auf die Dauer nicht und gern nehmen sie deshalb jeden Besucher auf, der ihnen entgegenkommt. Etwas Neues hat er sicherlich zu erzählen, manche Vorfälle weiß er zu berichten, einige Erkundigungen und Fragen wird er beantworten können. Beiden Teilen gewährt das Zusammentreffen einige Freude und Aufmunterung. Nicht selten muß eine Familie nur anderen hilfreichend eilen, wenn sie im Unwetter einige Gerätschaften verloren hat, wenn sie Mangel leidet an Nahrungsmitteln oder an Stoffen für Gerätschaften, wenn sie mit einem hilflosen Kranken sich belastet sieht oder einen Todesfall erlitten hat. Da jetzt nur andere Familien ihr Beistand gewähren können, treibt es sie mächtig zu diesen hin und sie hängt sich an jene Familien, wo immer sie ihnen begegnet.

Abgesehen davon, muß jede Familie sich dann und wann bei der nächsten Verwandtschaft zeigen, sonst schließt diese schließlich Verdacht auf Abneigung oder gar Feindschaft und erstere könnte auf deren Hilfe im Notfalle nicht rechnen. Wer ein Verbrechen auf dem Gewissen hat, der allerdings hält sich verborgen und vermeidet es durch lange Monate, anderen unter die Augen zu kommen. Sollte sogar eine feindliche Person sich zum Besuche einfinden — sie tut das sowieso nur der dringenden Not gehorchend oder in Gesellschaft anderer —, niemals wird ein Yamana sie abweisen. Der Besucher darf so lange verweilen, als es ihm beliebt; nicht durch das leiseste Anzeichen wird der Hütteninhaber zu verstehen geben, daß er denen überdrüssig ist.

Wer auch immer kommen mag, vor allem die Verwandten und lieben Freunde, werden mit herzlicher Gastfreundschaft aufgenommen. Erspäht eine Familie im Kanu eine andere auf dem Wasser, eilen sie aufeinander zu und verständigen meist, gemeinsam dem Ufer zusteuernd, wo beide nebeneinander ihre Hütten aufrichten. Ein Mann, der vom Strande aus ein Kanu sich nähern sieht, eilt hinunter an den Rand des Wassers und ruft dem, der ihm entgegeht: „Kommt schnell in meine Hütte. Ich habe gutes Feuer, dort ruhe dich aus!" Denen Frau ruft er zu: „Schnell bindet ihr Kanu zweckmäßig an. Kommt auch du unverzüglich in meine Hütte, hier draußen ist es naß und kalt!" Die beiden Männer begeben sich sogleich zur Hütte und die Frau dem einen folgt bald nach. Am Feuer erwärmen sie sich und essen, wenn die Besitzerin der Hütte ihnen bietet. Sie halten sich nahe dem Eingange, um ihre Sachen und Gerätschaften bequem überschauen zu können. Haben sie sich gewärmt, gut durchgewärmt, reichlich angegessen und dabei ein wenig erzählt, erheben sie sich und eilen hinaus. Die Besitzer der Hütte folgen ihnen und alle vereinigen ihre Kräfte, um eine Hütte für die aufzubauen, die kurz zuvor hier eingetroffen sind. Mag in der Hütte unserer Yamana Einkehr finden, wer will und wann es gleichmäßig eilt, die in dem engen Raume sich zusammendrängen müssen, immer sind sie willkommen und heiter wird abgewiesen, am allerwenigsten bei bedrohlicher Witterung.

So herzlich jeder Besucher aufgenommen wird, daß man kaum

eine unterschiedliche Behandlung der Freunde und der Fremden bemerkt, ebenso freigebig bewirtet man ihn. Die Hüttenbesitzer bieten von sich aus allen und regelmäßig das Beste von dem an, was sie vorlegen können. Sie halten nichts zurück; denn die Gäste zu erfreuen und zu befriedigen, darauf ist ihr Augenmerk gerichtet und sie lassen es sich nicht verdrießen, wenn ihr ganzer Vorrat verzehrt wird. Auch wer mit der bewußten Absicht gekommen ist, sich einmal gründlich satt zu essen — er hat vielleicht erspäht, daß sein Gastgeber soeben mit reicher Beute heimgekehrt ist —, wird nicht abgewiesen, sondern kann seiner Eßlust unbehindert frönen. Es ist nicht üblich, daß der Besucher etwas erhält. Der Hüttenbesitzer kennt oha dies dessen Absicht und bewirtet ihn mit dem, was er vorrätig hat. Das tut er auch deshalb gern, weil er bei nächster Gelegenheit sich selber bei dem dort einlädt, der jetzt hier sein Gast ist. So ißt jeder bald in dieser, bald in jener Hütte, aber schließlich muß auch er persönlich sich als freigebiger Gastgeber bewähren. Niemand bedankt sich für das, was er gegessen hat, mögen selbst ausgesuchte Leckerbissen ihm gebracht worden sein.[100] Da jeder vermeiden will, als geizig oder knauserig verachtet zu werden, bietet er mit unverkennbarer Freigebigkeit dem Gaste allen an, was ihm zur Verfügung steht.[101]

Angesichts dessen könnte es überraschen, daß unsere Yamana zu ihren gesellschaftlichen Tugenden auch die Mäßigkeit rechnen. Jedermann muß sich nämlich so geben, als läge ihm überhaupt nichts am Essen. Nicht einmal in der eigenen Familie, erst gar nicht als Besucher vor anderen würde einer sagen, er sei hungrig. Im Gegenteil stellt sich jeder dann, wenn ihm etwas gebracht wird, [illegible] beleidigt und er läßt geraume Zeit auf sich warten, bis er wirklich eintrifft. Dabei knurrt ihm bisweilen der Magen vor Hunger so laut, daß es die ganze Nachbarschaft erfährt. Wer zu eilig und gierig sich beim Essen benimmt, wird vernehmlich schlürft und schleckt, gilt unweigerlich als Vielfraß und läßt damit sehr viel von seinem Ansehen ein. Aber da er durch hungrig ist, verstellt er sich geschickt und füllt sich den Magen, ohne daß seine Gastgeber bewußt aufmerksam werden. Schon sehr eifrig hat Dumas (b): 600 diesen sehlenen Zug beobachtet. „They hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'small-eater'." Den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 474) gleichen sie hierin genau.

Und die Feuerländer aber für sich allein oder im engsten Kreise vertrauter Freunde, dann durchbrechen diese starken Eßgier nicht selten alle herkömmlichen Schranken und der Anblick widert zuweilen sogar die eigenen Landsleute an (S. 1000). Bekanntlich fassen sie das meist sehr heiße Fleischstück

[100] Dieser von Europäern beobachtete Brauch hat schon Dumas (b): 230 herausgefordert: „Les indigènes ... ceux dont les grottes, pour ce seul motif, [illegible] [illegible]."

[101] Nach Dumas (b): 200 sind die Yamana „hospitaliers, y siempre, que para obsequiar que sean los provisiones, el mejor Regalo encuentra en lugar como del fuego y alguna alimentos. Pues la mujer [illegible] y si tiene provisiones, debe dividirlas con los demás."

mit den Händen, führen es zum Munde und trennen dicke Bissen mit den Zähnen los, während sie fest daran zerren. Der reichliche Fischtran und Fleischsaft quillt ihnen aus beiden Mundwinkeln heraus und trieft in dicken Tropfen auf Rumpf und Schenkel; mit den flachen Händen verreiben sie ihn im Gesicht und auf dem Körper, die beschmierten Finger lecken sie mit breiter Zunge ab. Nahezu widerlich geht es rund um einen gestrandeten Walfisch her, wo fast jedermann die sonst übliche zurückhaltende Selbstbeherrschung abstreift und sich mit derart reichlichen Mengen auffüllt, daß sein praller Bauch deutlich vorsteht. Im Trinken, das früher auf Wasser beschränkt war, braucht sich niemand Zwang anzutun. Die Yamana verschlucken täglich eine reichliche Menge.

Bei den gewöhnlichen Besuchen geht es still und formlos her. Der Besucher tritt in die Hütte ein, schaut kaum herum und läßt sich nahe dem Feuer nieder. Eine geraume Zeit vergeht, bis der Hüttenbesitzer ihn anredet und dann wieder eine Zeit, bis dieser in ein Gespräch einwilligt oder den Anlaß seines Kommens zu verstehen gibt. Genau so wortlos zieht er sich wieder zurück. Daneben aber sind gewisse Grußformen bei denen in Übung,[422] die sich voneinander auf weite Strecken entfernen, die sich seit langem nicht gesehen haben, die ohne Aufenthalt aneinander vorbeifahren, die eine geraume Zeit vergnüglich miteinander verbracht haben. Vertraute Freunde, einerlei ob Männer oder Frauen, stürmen nach langer Trennung aufeinander ein, umschlingen sich gegenseitig mit Eifer und pressen sich unter lebhaftem Schütteln aneinander. Nur Freudenlaute, nicht aber bestimmte Begrüßungsworte bringen sie so lange hervor, bis sie wieder voneinander ablassen. Wie herzhaft sie sich dabei fassen, hat beispielsweise Snow: I, 346 erfahren: „It was in their friendly hugs that I felt most of their power, and the unpleasantness of too close a contact. The strength displayed in these hugs was greater than I could have supposed. It was, indeed, no joke to have this manifestation of their good-will. It was like being pressed in a wedge." Dabei küssen sich Erwachsene nicht. Wohl aber pressen heute noch, wie früher, Frauen und vereinzelt Männer einem Säugling aus ihrer Verwandtschaft den eigenen Mund fest auf die Wangen. Diese Art[423] von Kuß, *ápála* bekundet herzliche Vertraulichkeit der Eltern mit ihren Lieblingen (S. 714).

Wer förmlich Abschied nimmt, sagt laut: „*Kóla yélla*, ich ziehe ab"; nach BD: 263, I'm off, I'm going away. Ausführlicher ist nach BD: 263 der *kóla kúnkja*, I will go, i. e. I will wait no longer, I think I had better go; ebenso das *kóla yellja okóla*. Wie Bamous (MM: VII, 118; 1873) zuverlässig behauptet,

[422] Damit weise ich zurück, was beispielsweise Bridges (a): 186 und was Dumas (b): 698 mit folgendem Wortlaut behauptet hat: „There are no gestures of affection amongst them; they neither kiss, rub noses, nor shake hands. Nevertheless, the affection exists, and is strong." Ersteres aber gilt nur: „Amongst of some no tribe has manifestations of did been at do lay contrary, tendrils squeezes manifestations."

[423] Demnach beurteile die Behauptung eines Bridges (a): 186 und eines Dumas (a): 391 nicht zu Recht, daß „he kisses are totalmente incorrect". BD: 101 übersetzt den eben gemeinten Ausdruck mit: to make any smacking noise with the lips or mouth, or fingers; to kiss.

ist dies „the only form of farewell known here". Gewöhnlich bleibt dieser Ausruf ohne Antwort. Wer eine geben will, sagt: „*ála yélla*, du darfst gehen, leave me, or You may leave me."

Begegnet einer dem anderen freundschaftlich, läßt er ein „*ápa ná*, wie geht es dir?" fallen. Hat der andere nichts Besonderes zu melden, erwidert er lächelnd dieses *ápa ná*. Oft aber kommt ihm, mehr unbewußt, ein „*hálj hájma*, mir geht's nicht zum besten!" über die Lippen; doch das nimmt niemand ernst. Andere, die sich weniger nahestehen, laufen gänzlich stumm aneinander vorbei und begnügen sich mit einigen verhaltenen Blicken, in die sie allerdings manche Gefühle erkennbar hineinlegen.[60]

Aus früherer Zeit schildert Dumas (b): 716 eine Empfangsförmlichkeit, die ich aus eigener Beobachtung nicht bestätigen kann. „The mode of receiving strangers is strange. Comers are seen approaching — wigwam people hear the news — and consult as to who they may be, look about inside, and make as many spaces round the fire as there are guests to occupy them. New comers enter and occupy. Then the in-party turn their back to the fire and make a simultaneous talking. The newly-arrived make a general response. Then both parties assume the face-to-fire position and the ceremony of reception is concluded."

Einen eigentlichen Besuch bezeichnet man mit *tóppi* ganz allgemein, nicht nur unter den vom BD: 409 genannten Bürgerlichen. Der Besucher soll nicht ohne irgendwelche B e m a l u n g erscheinen. Zunächst zeichnet man einige weiße oder rote Striche ins Gesicht, nach dem für die *ukuápla* im *Ilíppu* gebräuchlichen Muster. Frauen und Kinder nehmen es mit dieser Pflicht viel genauer als ihre Männer. Bei einfachen Besuchen genügen ein oder zwei Querstriche etwa vom Mundwinkel bis zum Oberlippenbart. Wer den anderen besonders ehren will, führt die Gesichtsbemalung nicht nur reichhaltiger, sondern auch sehr genau aus. Ältere Frauen vor allem verzieren sich mit viel Sorgfalt außer dem Gesicht noch den ganzen Oberkörper. Mit dergleichen mehr oder weniger farbenreichen Bemalungen tritt das Kind vor seine Eltern, der Bräutigam vor seine Braut, die Frau vor ihre vertraute Freundin. Jugendliche, die das *Ilíppu* bereits hinter sich haben, dürften ohne diesen Schmuck nicht vor ihre Pflegeeltern oder vor ihre Adoptivmutter *ukuhuówaylpa* hintreten; diese Nachlässigkeit käme einer Beleidigung oder Geringschätzung gleich. Wer erfahren hat, daß ihn bald ein Besuch erfreuen will, legt selber eilig eine Bemalung an: damit will er zum Ausdruck bringen, wie angenehm ihm dieses Kommen ist. Blieb ihm dazu keine Zeit, so bemalt er sich in Anwesenheit des Besuchers. Mit eigener Vorliebe bemalt die Pflegeeltern ihren Schützling aus dem *Ilíppu* und zeichnet ihm die dort gebräuchlichen Striche auf die Wangen. Diesen Beweis ihrer engen Verbundenheit belächeln alle Nachbarn und erzählen freudig: „Sie [die Pflegeeltern] hat ihn bemalt!" Es muß

[60] Bridges (a): 147, der unseren Tanzen alle Ungezwungenheit absprickt, gesteht doch zu: „So conversation mingles with observation, some coalescing discourse ...." Vgl. hierzu auch die kurze Anmerkung 272.

mit dieser Zeichnung sich bei ihr gelegentlich wieder sehen lassen, wie je nach die Erwachsenen beim Gegenbesuch nach allgemeiner Regel mit Bemalungen verziert erwartet werden.

Mit dieser Forderung, sich bei Besuchen zu schmücken, ist auch die nachfolgende nach körperlicher Reinlichkeit verbunden. Zunächst entfernt jeder den größten Schmutz aus dem Gesicht und von den Händen und Füßen, ordnet sein Kopfhaar und legt sich den saubersten Rückenbehang um. Dieserzüglich stellt zwar niemand hohe Forderungen; aber soviel muß jeder Besucher an erkennen geben, daß er einiges getan hat, um reinlich aufzutreten. Selbstverständlich behängt er sich mit seinen kostbarsten Schmuckstücken. Mit alledem will ein Besucher seiner Hochachtung gegen den neuen Ausdruck bringen, dem seine Aufwartung gilt.

Sind schon die Yamana nicht ausgesprochenell in der körperlichen Reinlichkeit (S. 384), so zeigen sie sich auffallend streng bezüglich natürlicher Bedürfnisse. Darüber fällt eingehend ein Wort. Wer seine Notdurft verrichten will, verläßt lautlos den Kreis der andern und entfernt sich weit. Niemals würden zwei Personen sich nebeneinander der Geschäft erledigen; Buben, die das wagen und die dabei beobachtet würden, haben Steinwürfe und Schläge zu gewärtigen. Auch wer nachts hinausgehen muß, darf sich ein weiteres Abstürzen von den Hütten nicht verdrießen lassen; man würde ihn andernfalls arge Verhaltungen machen. Kinder und Jugendliche dürfen laute Äußerungen im Kreise älterer Leute nicht von sich geben; diese allerdings sind so frei und ersetzen dafür lediglich Schmatzen. Überlautes Rülpsen und bewegtes Aufstoßen vom Magen her belästigt niemanden, ebensowenig das schnarchende Räuspern und das unaufhörliche Spucken. Immer und immer wieder kratzen sie auf dem Kopfe und auf dem ganzen Körper herum, weil sie sich von dem lästigen Jucken der Läuse erlösen wollen. Tun sie das nicht, bohren sie gewohnheitsmäßig mit ihren dicken Fingern in den Nasenlöchern herum und streifen mit der flachen Hand den Nasenschleim ab, um ihn auf dem Erdboden oder an der Hüttenwand zu verreiben. In den erwähnten Einzelheiten gleichen unsere Yamana den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 665), doch sind letztere im allgemeinen reinlicher als jene. Jedwedes Eingehen wird von ihnen ekelhaften Brauchern, den sich von unseren Anstandsregeln weit entfernen, empfindlich angewidert.

Kurz sei noch erwähnt, wie sich bei den gewöhnlichen Besuchen durchgehends die Unterhaltung abwickelt. Wer als Gast in eine Hütte eingetreten ist, verweilt vor einer Zeitlang schweigend hockend am Feuer. Er erhält weder neugierig heran, noch bewegt er sich auffällig (S. 1007). Endlich bringt er mit matter Stimme einige Worte hervor und geht auf belanglose Dinge über. Zunächst erkundigt er seine Fahrt und seine Erlebnisse mit dem Wetter in den letzten Tagen. Hat er unfällig eine anlangende Jagd hinter sich, macht er ihm besonders Freude, sie in den lebhaftesten Einzelheiten darzustellen. Dabei erhängt er sich in einer unerhörlichen Lebhaftigkeit. Inzwischen spricht er sanft und nur Bejahung der Anwesenden weiter, geht von

einem Erlebnis nach anderen über und Dadet weit nach langen Stunden die Ende. Niemand wagt es, ihn zu unterbrechen, niemand gibt seiner Langeweile zu erkennen, mag sie ihn noch so sehr drücken. Wenn die Anwesenden noch hoffend auf einen greinen Vorfall gespannt, den der Gast nicht hat, sehen er selber nicht darauf zu sprechen kommt, richten niemand bestimmte Fragen an ihn. Man will wieder ihn in irgendwelcher Weise beliebigen, noch sich selber durch die gut gezielte Nachfrage als neugierig verraten. Wenn er ihm beliebt, schließt er seine Erzählung ab, niemand dürfte es sich herausnehmen ihn aufzufordern, wegen vorgerückter Stunde abzubrechen. Manchmal wird er in einer Runde von einem erfreulichen Abend ein langes Gerede gebeten, das sie den einen und andern Mal bereits vernommen hat. Da fast immer diese Erinnerungen eingeflochten sind, die den Gesellschaftsmarkt und den alten Besuch hervorrufen, verfehlt das seine entzückende Wirkung auf die Jugendlichen nicht und selbst manchen Gatte.

Häufig gebe die anfänglich allein von einem Neuen gebrauchte Unterhaltung auf einer eigentlichen Aussprache über. Dabei kommt es niemals zu einem heftigen Stimmungswechsel oder zu einem regelhaften Durchbrennen, weil die jüngeren Leute sich mit ihren Lebensgängen zugunsten der ältern zurückhalten und diesen keinesweges ins Wort fallen. Und Frauen anwesend und wird ein Gegenstand besprochen, der auch sie trifft, dürfen sie selbstverständlich ihre Meinung in bestimmten Grenzen vorbringen.

Kommen Angehörigen einer bestimmten Person zur Sprache, wenn man deren Namen nicht, sondern kennzeichnet sie mit Umschreibungen. Da für Lesbiaen die Tamaen eine besondere Fröhlichkeit. Derart gehen erst einmal Männer oder Frauen vor, die mit ihrer Stimme einen Anwesenden durch die Zähne ziehen. Gesse allgemein unterhält es, gemeinhin mit seinen Figuren zusammen oder unfreundlich; das gilt auch für Kinder. Nur andere verneiden die, welche sich gern lieben, Liebenlächeln und Zärtlichkeiten. Dementsprechig gibt jemand seine Abneigung gegen einen anderen erkennbar zu verstehen. Kaufmännlichkeit und Pfiffigkeit bestimmen die Tamaen nicht. Sie lachen aus vollem Halse, biegen sich dabei nach allen Seiten und wälzen sich kreuzgeflickt auf dem Boden. Bei Begleitung gehen sie mit geschlossenen Lippen einen tiefgegrabenen pfiffen von sich, mittel langgezogenen Aufbrüchen den Kopfes; die Verwirrung drücken sie durch ein langgezogenes hüf aus.

Nicht nur angebrüig, auch sog bedenklich ist es, über Abwesende sich in einer Weise lustig und lächerlich zu machen, daß diese selber darauf aufmerksam würden. Deshalb sind die Leute, die einem Gast aus entfernteren Gegenden Informationen, selbstverständlich vorsichtig, um nicht den mindesten Verdacht auf Hinderung oder Verachtung seiner Landsleute oder seiner Heimat aufzuwerfen. Manchmal bitten sie vorwiegend die Angst, gute Freunden Bemerkungen kämen zur Rache für erhaltene Schmähung von dieser Seiten aus durch den gleichzeitig erlangten Schaden verursachen und gebrechen aus dieser Gegend den Hilfe versagen, der von hier aus sich später an ihnen begeht. Gegenüber Kindern bestehe diese große Angst nicht. Da pflegt die Tamaen

Die Begrüßung endeten und Die Stämmchen verwendet sind, halten sie mit abfälligen und wichtigen Urteilen von solchen nicht merkt, die sich nicht ordnet wahren können. Im März 1922 hatte ich vom Canal de Beagle aus ein Boot mit besonderem Auftrage nach dem Wallaston-Inseln geschickt. Von dort brachte es nach mehreren Tagen einen etwa achtjährigen Knaben mit und Gastrede nahm ihn vorläufigerweise auf. Am ersten Abend bereits sah ich, wie ähnliche Anwesenden sich unterhielten über dieses ihnen ungewohnte Anwesenden behandelten. Er ordnete im ersten Stämmchen (S. 200) der Yáhgán-Sprache. Als ich dann mein Bedenken dadurch zu verstehen gab, daß sie von dem ähnlichen Haltung abweichen, entgegnete sie sich: „Jener Knabe ordnet einen anderen Sprache als wir. Manche Worte verstehen wir nicht. Alles klingt bei ihm so merkwürdig, daß wir lachen müssen! Es ist ja noch jung und klein; aber bald so nun nicht erhalten, wenn wir unsere Yáhgán offen zu erkennen gelernt?" Auf solcher Art sich vom Erwachsenen zu ferner Gegend zu benehmen, würde niemand wagen. Sind die Gäste wieder abgezogen, dann allerdings sprechen vielmehr Personen sich entsprechend auch in verächtlichen Worten und mit viel Witz über alles aus, was sie an diesen wahrgenommen haben oder ihnen lustig erscheinen.

Abweichend von den Gewohnheiten der Yaghanes (Bd. I, 470) gilt es bei unserem Yamana-Stamme als Pflicht, einem Fremden, der Gast aus abgelegenen Zonen keine Abneigung Geschenke zu überreichen. Sie entspricht ganz der verwandtschaftlichen Verpflichtung für Selbstbewußtsein und edle Freigebigkeit. Nach Bryan (p). 203 ist die „Hospitalité à la généreuse ou cette caractéristique des Fuégiens." Dies zu beobachten und zu würdigen, hatte ich gewohnheitlich viel mehr Gelegenheit als jetzt. Einmalig und unter dem Einfluß gewisser Begleitungen erhielt einen mit vielen Händen allen wenig, wenn es ungewöhnlich vielfaches kam. Man erhielt dieses Geschenk mit der Gegenerhebung allerdeutlichst. Einmalig nun, nur dadurch eine sie freigebig, dennoch sie gelegentlich beteiligt und mit einem Gegengeschenk entlohnt erhielten. Sicherlich erwarten sie dergleichen, das sei angegeben Insofern gilt, wie Bryan (ib. 200) behauptet: „Si il Yahgans se mettent parmi, ne le faire représentement, alors vous la représente de que se gratuitement ses largesses avec."[*]

Ohne großen Aufhebens zu so einen und ohne ein Wort zu sagen, legt der Inhaber dem Fremden seinen Gast das Geschenk in die Hand und schaut ihm selbstverständlich Gesichtlich in die Augen. Dieses Geschenk hält sich nun aufdringlich Personen dankbar auf und es ebenso zu selbstverständlich entgegen, ohne es ausgiebig zu betrachten oder auf seine Güte zu prüfen. Ein Mann überläßt seinem Fremden selbstverständlich die Geschenkstücke, dieses o sich bei sei-

[*] Indem selbst Yaghan Bryan (p). 203 durch Gegenstände, daß „nous pensée like ce le changée Ghosti. Nous dissolvons sur ellen vous gouvrons, sont ton give every everything dire here, but dire bonne dire will come be will consolidé Ingéte le sonne. Where Ich, or Mädchen, or one other hand is divided, the divider receives one for himself, and there who come that are sure to be helpful the best". Vgl. Bryan (p). 68, Gerne (g). 57.

um Arbeiten und auf den Jagden bedient; ein beliebter Geschenkgegenstand sind jene Einarbeiten, die in einem Gebiete häufig vorkommen, anderwärts aber mangeln. Hierher gehören lange Kunststoppfern für die Harpune aus den Rippen eines Wales (Abb. 45), Pyrithnadlen (S. 392), Gummiröcke usw. Hingegen entwirft eine Frau ihre Bemerkung mit einem der vorgeschriebenen Schmuckstücke und wählt eine Form aus, die anderwärts nicht hergestellt wird. Was jemand seinem Gaste beim Abschied gleichsam zum Andenken in die Hand legt, soll besonders wertvoll, tadellos und von bester Ausführung sein! In diesem Sinne werden die *ulorjaja* im *Ilfjaga* regelmäßig umgeschlagen. Wenn der andere nämlich in seiner Heimat wieder angelangt ist, hat er Muße, das Geschenk zu betrachten und zu werten. Bald gibt er sein Urteil seinen Nachbarn bekannt. Sie alle sprechen aber nur dann über den Geber vorteilhaft und ehrend, wenn dessen Fertigkeit und Geschmack sich im Gesellschaftsgegenstande wiederspiegelt.

Außer dem Bedürfnis nach der Gesellschaft ändernd ist es überdies das gefühlsmäßig entwickelte Gefühl der Freundschaft, das gewisse Einzelfamilien und kleinere Familiengruppen häufiger miteinander verbindet. Weil sie sich, meist wegen der natürlichen Veranlagung, besser verstehen, deshalb schätzen sie sich mehr und deswegen erwächst das Verlangen, öfters sich zu treffen und länger beisammen zu sein. Wirklich echte Freundschaft trifft man bei den Yaruna an, sie ist auch zu Opfern bereit und ganz selbstlos. Jener Pressuna, die sie verbindet, hält sie wie liebende Geschwister zu gegenseitiger Hilfeleistung ewig zusammen.

Familien, die wenig oder gar nicht miteinander verkehren, gehen auch keinen Wortwechsel ohne förmlichen Abschied wieder auseinander. Stillschweigend und ohne Anlaufen zu nehmen schleppen sie, wenn sie nicht mehr länger bleiben wollen, ihre Sachen ohne Kunz, indem den sehr geringen Beute in wenigen Minuten ein und führen, ohne zu grüßen, in beliebiger Richtung ab. Lust und Erhaft jedoch geht es dann zu, wenn Verwandte und gute Freunde voneinander abreisen. Vorher besprechen sie ihren Entschluß. Sollte eine Familie an dieser Stelle zurückbleiben, ist sie der anderen beim Verladen behilflich. Haben sich zwei oder mehrere Familien entschlossen, den gemeinsamen Lagerplatz gleichzeitig aufzugeben, sprechen sie sich noch einmal gründlich aus; danach rollen sie langsam ihre Sachen zusammen und verlieren bei der Abfahrt kein Wort mehr.[40]

Freundschaftlich vertraulich geht es zwischen Familien her, die gewisse Zeit gemeinschaftlich miteinander reisen und nebeneinander lagern. Auf dem Strande finden sie fortwährend Anlässe zu nachbarlichen Besuchen. Jedenfalls sieht der Jagderfolg der einen Familie die andere an oder diese hat Dinge hergebracht, die jene nicht finden konnte, wie man zum

[40] Wagner, gedrucktes Manuskript. Stanzen (XIII, 11, 1909). „When there is a new arrival, a gathering is hence public demonstration in hard speaking and vociferation, according to the feelings of the persons speaking. In also, when a Yaruna is ready depart, a public manner in the same way is given."

[illegible]

2. Allgemeine Verhaltensweise

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Daß die eigentlichen Geschehnisse ausgeblieben und gar gewaltig im, wurde nachher (S. [illegible]) bewiesen. Auch im Kerlibica der verschiedenen Geschichtchen und Lebensbeispielsammlungen mit ihrer Indianer gegenwartig (S. [illegible]). Was immer personal bilbertier erlebten, wird dem unvergleichlich überlassen. Dieses Ding mag er auch so lange behalten, der Eigentümer vergißt sowas nicht damit, sondern allerdings einmals nur Zeitdiagnose. Einmaweiig habe ich gehört, daß er dem anderen mentar etwas sich. „Schaue dieses Gegenstand gut!" Einmal habe ich beobachtet, wie personal die eigentlichen Arbeit um zwei Tage unterbrochen wollte, weil er seinem einzigen Beibel dem Pachtbauer gebrochen hatte und das nicht von ihm entschädigen wollte. Schließlich bleiben einmaal zur Nahrungsmittel und mag er auch so hungrig sein, das verlangen die Vergeltung zur Mißgleich (S. [illegible]) und der gewählichen Dinge. Ein bemerkenswerter Vorfall grosser Gelassenheit verhielt gelten dem Indian Bewahrsam, daß er dieselbe auf die bewunderlichen [illegible] und Lasse erinnerung dessen, der ihm unsere begegnet, verfassen hatte! Die gegenseitige Mißhandlung blieb nicht nur auf die nächsten Verwandten und Informanten Nachbarn beschränkt, sondern wird gelegentlich Bemerkungsmann bestrafe völlig gelassen.

Nicht nur unter dem Zwange der täglichen Nahrungssuche, auch um einzelnen Wunderbaum (S. [illegible]) sieht jede der vielen Einzelfamilien dasselbe kommen. Wie geringer Geschwindigkeit nur bewegen sie sich, dieweilen aber immerhin im Laufe der Zeit weiter Bewahrsam. Deutlicher Gewesen bewegen die vielen Lokalgruppen (S. [illegible]) und die Stiel Stammesgruppen (S. [illegible]) vorzusehen. Unser gewisses Bedingungen dieses die Gesellschaften und beim Bewahrsam eine andere Gegend kann wirklich durch die dort Anstrengen bestimmt werden. So eingeschlossen hält sich jede Familie innerhalb ihres eigenen Bewegungsbereiches auf, wenn dieselbe, weil sie nicht gern mit fremden Gruppen zusammenstoßen will. Die eingeschlossen Dag der Tamana ist so, Unbekannten von vornherein Ferne an Mißtrau oder gewaltsamen zusammenstoßen, in dieser Gegenwart Gibbing sie sich bewegt und nur begrenzten anderen zusammen.[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

die diese Bellmaferne nicht aufweisen, sondern sich als lange Stäbe erhalten, gar als unregelmäßig gebrannter Quelm, müßte man an einen Wildbrand denken.

Läßt man eine einzige Rauchwolke erkjøll nicht aufsteigen, so will man eine erneute Erkundung oder einen Unfall bekanntgeben, damit andere Leute und vor allem die primitiv bald Hilfe bringen. Um zwei bis vier Rauchwolken zu bilden, sichert man vorher die entsprechende Zahl von Feuern; diese liegen etwa 5 m voneinander ab. Mit zwei Rauchwolken kündigt nicht bloß man eine erneute Notlage an, die sich aus mannigfachen Gründen ergibt, z. B. Verlust oder schwere Schädigung des Kanus und der Jagdgeräte, Verlassen des Hüttenlagers, gänzlicher Mangel an Lebensmitteln. Drei Rauchwolken sagen nicht einen Todesfall an. Mit vier Rauchwolken oder nicht gibt man bekannt, daß ein Wal gestrandet ist. Schließlich ist es üblich, als Alarmsignal an Kanuplier eine mittelbrand große oder mehrere Rauchwolken anzubringen zu lassen. Wie gesagt haben sie an zwei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten diese Pseude benutzt, das eine Mal, als eine chilenische Expedition, das andere Mal, als die "Garibaldi" mich in Puerto Bernardino aufgenommen hatte und weiterhin führte; bei der Fahrt an Puerto Hyjillmaes auf dem Nebelfeu, das Canal, St. Bernjo, vorbei, erhielt sich mit wechselnder Geschwindigkeit diesen Zeichen einen lebhaften Gefühlen. Lange vorher, im März 1924 im Dorwen (S) 24 auf diese mannigfaltige Art geübt worden. Beim letzten Besuch der "Bernjo", nachdem der bekannte Jemer „das Land erreicht hatte, sendete er ein Signalfeuer an, der Rauch stieg auf und sagte uns ein letztes und langes Lebewohl, als das Schiff auf dem Wege in den offenen Meer hinaus war". Sich selber jedoch begnügen die Yamana mit Rauchzeichen nicht, diese verwenden sie nur aus den genannten Anlässen.

Aus der Pflicht zur gegenseitigen Hilfeleistung hat sich die Regel herausgebildet, daß jedenfalls einer Einladung an gemeinschaftlicher Nahrungssuche entsprochen. Dies gilt besonders, wenn einige Männer beabsichtigen, Robben der Kanuwrack abzusuchen. Nur dann ist diesen Unternehmen erfolgreich, falls mehrere dort Kräfte vereinigen (S. 324). Wer aufgefordert wird, darf deshalb eine Bewilligung nicht ausschlagen. Ebenso wäre es sich zum Angriff auf eine Robbenkolonie (S. 30), die sie auf einem gleichgroßen Strande angelegt wollen, zusammenschließen. Im gleichen Sinne begeben sich zwei oder mehrere Kanus gemeinsam auf einen Kanal hinaus, wo die Fischerei einschließlich Fischen, Krabben und Muschels ausbeuten. Sie haben sich auch gegenseitig ein, um Brennholz im Walde zu sammeln. Ein derartiger Zusammenschluß mehrerer Kräfte liefe sich auch wegen der gemeinsamen Sicherheit in manchem gefahrvollen Unternehmen nicht umgehen.

Sind zwei viele Bestimmungen, die den wechselseitigen Verkehr der Yamana regeln, um der Notwendigkeit, sich einander zu helfen, entstanden, einige gehen auf ihre deutlich erkennbare gesellschaftliche Vergangenheit zurück. Diese dringt die einzelnen Familien nicht nur oft zusammen, sondern hält sie auch so lange miteinander verbunden, bis dringende Pflichten sie wieder trennen. Begegnen sich zwei Kanus, kann man

fast jedesmal damit rechnen, daß sie der nächstbesten Landungsstelle zu steuern und dort ihre Hütte nebeneinander aufbauen. Dann hocken sie Stunde um Stunde beieinander und plaudern sich gründlich aus. „Sie lieben ungemein lange Gespräche und Erzählungen, ein guter Teil des Tages wird damit ausgefüllt" (Anspinall: 270). Irgend eine Hütte zieht besonders stark alle Personen an, die am gleichen Platze lagern. Man könnte keinen bestimmten Grund dafür nennen. Noch ehe das Abenddunkel sich niedersenkt, schleicht einer nach dem andern unauffällig dorthin und hockt sich beim Feuer nieder. In einer solchen Runde vertrauter Freunde fühlt sich jeder wohl und die Unterhaltung füllt lange Stunden aus. Bridges (VSA: XII, 7; 1865) meint: „They are certainly much given to talk, and when seated before a good fire, engaged in conversation, they seem most happy. When they are cheerfully inclined, they are much given to immoderate laughter, but when sulkily inclined, it is difficult to restore them to cheerfulness."[441]

Unterhaltungsstoff bilden die kleinen Vorkommnisse und die zuweilen gänzlich unscheinbaren Einzelheiten eines Tages, sind sie doch für die Feuerländer keineswegs völlig bedeutungslos und so nichtssagend wie für einen durchreisenden Europäer. J. Rau (VSA: XI, 291; 1864) hat hierzu am 1. August 1864 seine Bemerkungen gemacht: „Often I wondered myself about their long conversations which they keep up when they are by themselves; several times I thought what they were talking about. Once I listened, and I found they were talking about subject of which others take not the slightest notice. For instance, one told to the others in an evening, how he had seen, during the daytime a fauirook, a black bird, passing down a sloping hill, step by step; the bird looked round about, then at once it commenced to shake its feathers and flew off, about which they burst out into a loud laugh. Another began to tell what he had seen strange, when he was out on horseback, and the third what he had seen when he drove the cattle home."

Währenddessen ruht jeder bequem aus und wer Lust verspürt etwas zu essen, wird von der Besitzerin der Hütte sofort bedient. Keiner von den Anwesenden weiß es, wann sich wieder die Gelegenheit zu einem gemütlichen Beisammensein bieten wird. Gewöhnlich verbringt jede Familie auf der Wanderung nur eine oder zwei Nächte am gleichen Platze. Wenn vergnügliche Stammesgenossen ihr an einem Abende Gesellschaft bieten, nützt sie diesen Vorteil bis spät nach Mitternacht aus und in der kommenden Morgenfrühe ist sie trotzdem zur Weiterfahrt fertig. Die reichliche, ungezwungene Aussprache bietet den unschätzbaren Vorteil, daß sie die einzelnen Stammesmitglieder aus nah und fern eng zusammenhält und daß sie die Handlungsweise eines jeden offen darlegt. Auf diesem Wege pflanzt sich die gesamte

[441] Von den zwölf Yamana, die damals auf Isla Keppel verweilten, berichtet Bridges (VSA: XII, 9; 1865) am 16. September 1864: „The natives are certainly of a social turn; of evenings they generally meet in one house or another, and spend their time in conversation and merriment." Mitteilungen anderer Missionare bestätigen, daß in der Mission auch Familien aus allen Gegenden verträglich nebeneinander wohnten.

Überlieferung lebendig fort und jedem Abweichen vom alten Brauchtum kann immer zeitig genug vorgebeugt werden, falls es irgendwie bemerkbar würde.

Schließlich bleibt noch eine Gewohnheit zu erwähnen, die von den Yamana in der gleichen Weise wie von den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 471) geübt wird. Das ist ein ergötzliches, halb ernsthaftes und halb scherzhaftes Redegefecht zwischen zwei Leuten, die, aus verschiedenen Gegenden stammend, in einer Hütte zusammengetroffen sind. Der eine fordert seinen Gegner mit Spässen und Sticheleien bewußt heraus, indem er die Vorzüge seiner Heimat und die Tüchtigkeit seiner eigenen Lokalgruppe preist. Bald unterbricht ihn der andere mit Lobeserhebungen auf sein Gebiet, auf seine Verwandten und Freunde, auf die Gewohnheiten und Vorzüge seines Kreises. Die Wechselrede geht hin und her und wird von den Anwesenden aufmerksam verfolgt. Haben schließlich die beiden Gegner ihre Schlagfertigkeit und ihren Witz erschöpft, dann flüchten sie zu leichten Beleidigungen und deutlichen Verdächtigungen. Nun sucht darin der eine den andern zu überbieten, ohne sich anmerken zu lassen, daß er sich getroffen fühlt. Im gefährlichen Augenblick jedoch, den die Umstehenden treffsicher erkennen, brechen sie mit sehr lautem Beifall das Redegefecht der beiden ab und verhindern damit einen bösen Ausgang des anfänglich harmlosen Spieles. Selbstverständlich nehmen es nur redegewandte Sprecher und schlagfertige Spaßmacher auf. Jede der beiden Parteien erörtert für sich allein noch lange nachher die Äußerungen und Urteile, die vom Freunde und vom Gegner abgegeben worden sind. Unflätigkeiten oder anstößige Bemerkungen sind auch hierbei nicht statthaft.

Befremdlich mutet eine andere Handlungsweise an. Aus reinem Übermut verläßt ein Mann stillschweigend seine Hütte, eilt an den Strand hinunter und zerschlägt das Kanu seines eigenen Gastes. Dieser sieht bestürzt den Vorgang und untätig sagt er halb scherzend, halb seufzend: „Was geschieht denn dort mit meinem Kanu? Liegt es zertrümmert da, wie gelange ich in meine Heimat zurück?" Der andere erwidert vom Strande aus: „Dir soll es doch eigentlich nichts bedeuten, daß dir alles zerschlagen wird!" Inzwischen kommt er zur Hütte zurück. Hier geht nun ein regelrechtes Redegefecht weiter, das dieser Mann von vornherein beabsichtigt hat. Sein Vorgehen rechtfertigt er schließlich damit, daß er seinem Gaste ein neues Kanu überläßt, das er eigens für ihn gebaut hat; sein Geschenk als solches soll überall bekannt werden, deshalb zertrümmerte er das alte Stück. Ein derartiger toller Streich hat nur ganz ausnahmsweise üble Folgen.

Die gleiche übermütige Lust, alles zu zertrümmern und durcheinander zu würfeln erfaßt zuweilen eine ganze Gruppe, welche, die Besucher aus einer anderen Gegend lärmend und aufdringlich überfällt. Ehe diese sich geschlossen zur Gegenwehr aufstellen, sind ihre Kanus und Hütten, Gerätschaften und Gebrauchsgegenstände längst kurz und klein geschlagen. Sie geben sich für besiegt und ziehen sich wie wehrlos zurück, bis die Gegner ihr Toben einstellen. Oder sie raffen sich mutig auf, fallen über deren Sachen her und schlagen sie ebenfalls in Stücke. Von vornherein läßt sich über den Ausgang

dieses tollen Streiches nichts sagen. Für gewöhnlich einigen sich die gegnerischen Parteien in gründlichem Gelächter über ihr Zerstörungswerk und bauen eiligst wieder auf, was sie leichtfertig vernichtet haben. Alle Mühe erscheint ihnen gering, gemessen an der reichlichen Ausgelassenheit, von der ihr wüstes Treiben begleitet war.

Wer Ablenkung vom eintönigen Tagewerk in der Gesellschaft früher Stammesgenossen wünscht, kann sie finden. Dazu verhelfen einige Gewohnheiten, die den Gemeinschaftssinn bilden und der Geselligkeit dienen.

c. *Das Gemeinwohl*

Das Volk der Yamana ist durch die gleiche Sprache und die einheitliche Lebensform auf einem deutlich umgrenzten Raume zusammengeschlossen, untersteht aber als Ganzes keiner Autoritätsperson (S. 1000) und ebensowenig werden die größeren und kleineren Gruppen von einem Vorsteher geleitet (S. 778). In Wirklichkeit sind einige starke Kräfte zwar unsichtbar, aber doch mit zwingender Verpflichtung führend, die ohne Zweifel als eine Staatsgewalt gewürdigt werden müssen. Diese dringt ordnend ein in Verhältnisse, die außerhalb der Organisation des einzigen sozialen Gebildes, der Familie, liegen und für die sozusagen die Allgemeinheit aufkommen muß. Hierher gehört die Rechtspflege und manche Verpflichtung oder Gewohnheit, die bereits erörtert worden ist. Die Allgemeinheit selber ist für die Durchführung der Einzelbestimmungen verantwortlich und steht warhaft dahinter.

1. Rechtliche Bestimmungen

Der Zusammenhalt unserer feuerländischen Volksgemeinschaft ist nur möglich auf der Grundlage eines Rechtes, das eine jede Einzelperson schützt und zugleich verpflichtet, beides auf wirksame Weise. Jedermann behält seine persönliche Freiheit und eine weitreichende Unabhängigkeit; aber wie diese, so sind auch viele Verbindlichkeiten in dem allgemeinen Recht verankert. Ihre Zahl darf man nicht unterschätzen; auch umspannen sie, wie ein Netz, alle Verhältnisse. Sie bestimmen beispielsweise richtunggebend den Alltag des Mannes und den der Frau, die Wechselbeziehung der Gatten und die der Eltern zu den Kindern, der nächsten Verwandten, Lokalgruppen und Dialektgruppen, die Gemeinschaftserziehung der Jugendlichen außerhalb der Familie im *tifpuga* und die Weiterbildung der Burschen im *kina*; sie betreffen das Eigentum an dinglichen Gütern und die persönliche Sicherheit gegenüber jedweder Gefährdung. Nirgendwo ist dieses Recht schriftlich niedergelegt und keiner kann sich rühmen, es verwalten zu dürfen. Es besteht eben und zwar gestützt von der Allgemeinheit. Trotzdem ist sie es, die das Recht trägt und die darüber wacht, daß es nicht abgewandelt wird. Mit einigen allgemein gehaltenen Formeln wird es von *Watagin*ŋ*jum* als von seinem Urgrund abgeleitet; darauf beruht seine Unwandelbarkeit und verpflichtende Kraft.

Immerhin könnte man als Hüter und Vollstrecker der einzelnen Verbindlichkeiten, die das allgemeine Recht geschaffen hat, richtig verstanden die öffentliche Meinung ansehen. Ihr Urteil ist unverbindlich und entscheidend, nicht das der Einzelperson, die naturnotwendig zu ihren Gunsten redet. Die öffentliche Meinung bewertet irgendwelche konkrete Einzelheit an der überlieferten Gewohnheit, die als zuverlässiger und unwandelbarer Maßstab betrachtet wird. Mit rein theoretischen Erörterungen gibt sich niemand ab. Deshalb ist das Urteil der öffentlichen Meinung sofort wirksam. Wer es angibt, der muß sich ihm unbedingt und ohne Zeitverlust fügen, will er sich vor einer allgemeinen Verfemung retten. Diese trifft jedenfalls Schuldigen härter als empfindliche Schläge. Unsere Yamana kennen keine Art von formlicher Gerichtsbarkeit; statt dessen erfährt, kurz ausgedrückt, das rechte Tun die uneingeschränkte Billigung und jede unrechte Handlung die entschiedene Verurteilung der Allgemeinheit. Sie äußert sich in beiden Fällen laut und furchtlos, ist sie durch sowieso gegründet der Einzelperson im Vorteil. Mit welch erstaunlichem Zwange sie verpflichtet, kann man deutlich aus der Angst erkennen, die jedermann, nicht nur der Durchschnittsindianer, vor einem üblen Leumund und erst recht vor einer öffentlichen Verfemung hat. Sieht er sich davon umgarnt, eilt er schleunigst auf den Weg des Rechten zurück und mäht sich durch fortgesetzten Übereifer, das schlechte Urteil zu einem günstigen umzuwandeln. Darum allerdings scheut sich nicht mehr eine angesehene, ehrliche Person, deren es in früherer Zeit kaum gegeben hat und die erst jüngst unter dem Einfluß einiger Europäer so tief gesunken sind, daß sie die Gemeinschaft ihrer Stammesgenossen meiden müssen. Einem aufmerksamen Beobachter entgeht dieser Sachverhalt nicht, so bedeutsam ist er. HYADES (q): 243 schreibt: „Quand ils volent entre eux, ils cherchent à dissimuler le plus possible leurs larcins; quand le coupable est découvert et chatié, l'opinion publique est satisfaite. Le meurtrier est mis au ban de ses compatriotes; isolé de tous, il est fatalement condamné à périr de faim ou à tomber un jour sous les coups d'un groupe de justiciers improvisés. M. DÉNOCE, dans ses conversations avec nous, a beaucoup insisté sur l'importance de l'opinion publique en Fuégie." Man könnte die öffentliche Meinung als den Hüter der Rechtsvorschriften und als den Rächer schwerer Übertretungen bezeichnen; sie wirkt nicht minder erfolgreich als eine Polizeimacht oder autoritative Rechtspflegestelle.

Dabei ist der einzelne keineswegs rechtlos, vielmehr werden seine bestimmten Rechte anerkannt und verteidigt. Zuweilen steht es ihm ausdrücklich zu, sein eigenes Recht sich selber zu suchen. Besonders gilt dies zulässig einem Morde, ebenso dann, wenn jemand in seinem dringlichen Besitz geschädigt und in seinem guten Rufe oder in dem seiner nächsten Verwandten und Freunde geschmälert wird. Ein wirkliches Faustrecht ist dem zugestanden, dessen eigenes Leben bedroht wird oder dessen naher Verwandter unter Mörderhand gefallen ist.[111] Das tritt am auffälligsten zutage in der Pflicht zur Blutrache, die einem weiteren Kreis von Leuten trifft (S. 986).

Die öffentliche Meinung ist bei den Yamana die ausschlaggebende einzige, diese gewaltige Ordnung und diese überlieferten Gewohnheiten erhaltende Macht. Sie ist es auch, die dem Einzelnen und der Allgemeinheit für erlittenen Unrecht eine ausreichende Genugtuung verschafft. Manchmal dauert dieser Zustand jedoch der Abwechslung und der Alltag mit seinen wechselnden Ereignissen.

Weil die Einzelperson ein Glied des Gemeinwesens bildet — einerlei, ob dieses als kleiner oder großer Kreis gefaßt wird —, so ist dessen Ehre auch deren Ehre. Deswegen leihen unsere Feuerländer die Verpflichtung ab, nicht nur den guten Ruf, sondern allgemein das Recht des anderen zu schützen und zu verteidigen. Für seine Verwandten und nahen Freunde soll jedermann einstehen, er soll deren guten Leumund und deren Besitzgüter verteidigen. Beispielsweise ergibt sich hieraus, daß in Gegenwart von Gästen weder deren Gewohnheiten noch deren Heimatbesitz abfällig beurteilt werden; geschähe es dennoch, müßten jene sich unverzüglich nur Wehr setzen. In dieser Richtung liegt auch die Erklärung dafür, daß Streitigkeiten zwischen zwei oder drei Personen möglichst rasch von denen, die diesen nahestehen, geschlichtet werden sollen. Erst recht soll jedermann darauf achten, mit seinen Verwandten in besten Einvernehmen zu leben, sie nicht einmal unfreundlich zu behandeln, noch viel weniger sie zu schädigen oder zu bekämpfen. Die Yamana verwenden ein industrielles Wort, nach [illegible] 428 nämlich *napaiwi*, to rebuke with mark to do the relatives or claimants of a murdered or dead person for neglect or illtreatment of him when living. Ein beobachtenswertes Vorkommnis hat Bridges (MM. XIII, 153; 1879) überliefert: „There was a man named Mawtan. This man has to wife the two sisters of Dyamamon, and as a consequence the two men were much together. But Mawtan was often weary of his dull and unattractive brother-in-law, and was often unkind to him. All very well so long as the man lives, but no sooner is he killed than his connections count up his grievances, and visit with punishment, more or less severe, those who in past times have been specially unkind. Mawtan was in this way called to account, and in hopes of escaping, lived away apart from the places or resort of those he had occasion to fear." Außerdem tritt an diesem einen Beispiel sofort, wie das Bewahren und die Bedeutung der Einzelperson scharf bewacht und in gutem Gedächtnis lange bewahrt wird. Unrecht, das den Yamana unmittelbar oder mittelbar geschehen hat, vergißt er nie.

Als Träger und Stützen des allgemeinen Rechtes und der überlieferten Gewohnheiten werden bewußt oder unbewußt die Personen höheren Alters, Männer sowohl wie Frauen betrachtet. Von allen Seiten muß man ihnen Achtung und Ehrerbietung. Sagar Fitz-Roy (a): 186 hatte erfahren, daß „much respect is said to be paid to age". Je verachtenswerter und gewissenhafter ein bejahrter Mann ist, umso mehr achtet man ihn, umso williger

[illegible] Vgl. Gusinde (I): 189. Von eigentlichen Todesstrafe, auf [illegible] Weise angewendet und je nach einer bestimmten Art von Verbrechen, wie es in Gusinde (g): 38 heißt, [illegible] bei den Yamana jedenfalls fehlt.

fügt man sich ihm. Das gilt auch für ältere Frauen, deren Worte und Ermahnungen in einer größeren Gesellschaft selbst jüngere Männer ernst nehmen. Niemand würde sich erdreisten, einer alten Person im Wort zu fallen oder ihr zu widersprechen.[*] Ganz im Gegenteil genießen die Alten überall das Vorrecht; beim Verteilen des Essens werden sie zuerst bedacht, für sie hält man den angenehmsten Platz in der Hütte frei, in ihrer Anwesenheit benehmen sich die jüngeren Leute unauffällig und reden nur mit gedämpfter Stimme. Das alles sind Beweise für die Ehrfurcht, die man ihnen bekundet. Für sehr erfahrener und rechtschaffener Greis verkörpert förmlich das Gewohnheitsrecht und den überlieferten Brauch, er ist demnach ein lebendes Vorbild und ein ständiger Mahner für seine jüngeren Stammesmitglieder.

2. Allgemeine Fürsorge

Einmal ist es ein Todes- oder Unglücksfall, anderenteils Krankheit oder körperliche Behinderung, die eine alleinstehende Person in schwierige Lage versetzen, falls ihr bestimmte Helfer nicht zur Seite stehen. Zu ihrer Rettung weiß sich jetzt die Allgemeinheit verpflichtet und sie folgt dabei gewissen Richtlinien, die seit altersher in Geltung stehen.

Jede verwandtschaftliche Gesellschaft zählt zu ihren Mitgliedern zeitweilig oder ständig bejahrte Personen mit Altersgebrechen. Sie sind nicht mehr imstande, eigenhändig sich den Lebensunterhalt zu erwerben. Für sie nehmen, nach strengem Brauch der Yamana, sowohl die eigenen Kinder, wie auch die nächsten Verwandten und die zufällig anwesenden Nachbarn sorgen. In Bezug auf Erfüllung dieser Pflicht gibt es keine Rangstufen, vielmehr obliegt es jedwedem, nach dem Befinden der hochbejahrten Person zu nehmen, die mehr seiner Hütte sich aufhält. Wohl nie wird sie ganz allein gelassen, es sei denn vorübergehend wegen einer dringenden Arbeit. Gewöhnlich nimmt einer der erwachsenen Kinder den verwitweten Elternteil ständig auf den eigenen Fahrten mit. Leben beide Eltern noch, hüten sie gegebenenfalls beisammen; häufig werden sie von ihren Kindern besucht, die freundlich ihre Erwartungen auf Lebensmittel und Kleidungsstücke, auf Brennholz und Gerätschaften erfüllen. HYADES (d): 308 versichert: „A l'âge adulte, on a du respect pour les parents, et les vieillards ne sont jamais maltraités." Außerdem heißt es: „On les soigne et on les nourrit jusqu'à leur mort" (La Nature: 311) und DESPARD (b): 698 versichert, daß „children care for parents and grand-parents with kind consideration". So lange einer die Kräfte noch hat, hilft er sich selber, anderenfalls muß er die Hilfe seiner Kinder und Freunde in Anspruch nehmen. Wie BRIDGES (a): 205 mitteilt, „grown-up children are expected to support their parents when they become aged; the son generally makes his father, if he is past work, a canoe every

[*] FITZ-ROY (a): 179 schreibt: „In each family the word of an old man is accepted as law by the young people; they never dispute his authority." Das gilt auch für jede größere, aus mehreren Familien zufällig zusammengesetzte Gesellschaft.

season, and if the aged man is a widower he lives entirely under the charge of his eldest son."[*] Selbstredend gehen einige Kinder nächtlicher und liebevoller als andere mit ihren hochbejahrten Eltern um. Wer selber keine Kinder mehr hat, schließt sich einer verwandten und befreundeten Familie an. So viel ist sicher, daß keiner wegen seiner Altersgebrechen verlassen wird. Ich persönlich war wiederholt Zeuge von der bereitwilligen Sorgfalt, die man auch jenen zuwandte, deren Los in den alten Tagen ein lästiges, langes Siechtum war.

Mit nicht minderer Aufmerksamkeit nehmen sich die nächsten Verwandten und alle Nachbarn eines K r a n k e n an. Heilmittel gibt es im Feuerlande nicht. Man leistet ihm Gesellschaft und läßt ihn nie ganz allein auf einem Platze zurück. HYADES (d): 307 und (p): 331 versichert wiederholt: „Les malades ne sont pas abandonnés, et les faibles sont secourus." Ihm schließt sich BRIGGS (h): 209 an: „Les enfermes sont bien attendides, especialmente par les mujeres"; und sagt anderswo (i): 14 noch ausführlicher: „Great consideration was shown to the sick, they were well attended and as far as possible their wishes were fulfilled. The nursing chiefly fell to the lot of the women." BD: 427 verzeichnet sogar die eigene Wortform *tapupétu*, to often visit as a man his sick friend. Bei ernster Erkrankung des eigenen Kindes geraten die hilflosen Eltern in wahre Verzweiflung, auch Erwachsene werden von den körperlichen Leiden einer ihrer Lieben hart mitgenommen. Seit Jahrzehnten ist der alte WAATS gänzlich blind. Rührend wirkt die Hilfe und Aufmerksamkeit, die ihm die eigenen Töchter in gleicher Weise wie groß und klein aus der Nachbarschaft zukommen lassen; jedermann ist um ihn bemüht und der eine wetteifert mit dem andern in Liebesdiensten für ihn. Es war wirklich überflüssig, um *ainagéle im tíjéqua* darüber zu belehren, wie wir uns seiner annehmen müßten.

An anderer Stelle (S. 715) ist ausführlich dargelegt worden, wie das Gemeinwohl sich um W a i s e n k i n d e r bekümmert. Der Waisenknabe *ufiáhya* sowohl wie das Waisenmädchen *ufiahiyahlya* bleiben beim überlebenden Elter, bis dieser wieder heiratet. BRIGGS (e): 202, 183 versichert mit Recht: „If the father of a woman is dead, the mother has the right of disposal ... If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown." Auch die nächsten Verwandten, vor allem die sogenannte Adoptivmutter *ushukuéwuylya* nehmen auf die Waisen. Verliert ein Säugling seine Mutter, wird er von einer anderen Frau aufgezogen, die gern diesen Dienst übernimmt.[**] Somit unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, daß das sogenannte Fortkommen eines jeden Waisenkindes gesichert ist.

[*] Hiermit scheint allerdings wenig übereinstimmen, was er (e): 206 bald darauf anfügt: „The aged are often much neglected, yes, cruelly treated, and I have heard of cases where by their own children they have been killed, to get rid of the trouble of keeping them." Dazu vom die Behandlung, die er von seinen eigenen Kinde erfuhr, nicht angerechnet ist, der Rückhalt bei Verwandten und Freunden bildet Aufnahme.

[**] Die Yamana-Frauen, wie HAIN (a): 204 mitteilt, „[illegible]

Unnötig ist es wohl, die seinerzeit von Dawson verbreitete Ansicht über das Los bejahrter Frauen nachmals als ein Phantasiegebilde zurückzuweisen. Bennett (h): 235 hat das bereits vor Jahrzehnten unternommen: „Las historias propaladas de que mataban a las ancianas inertes para el trabajo son pura fábula. Esas mujeres viejas viven con tanta seguridad como los demás individuos de la tribu, pues tienen hijos y nietos que habrían sabido defenderlas contra cualquier atentado." Wie westvoll sie auch dem ganzen Stamme sein können, hat Hyades (g): 35 zu verstehen gegeben: „Die alten Frauen sind durchaus nicht so sanft wie [Dawson's] Erzählung vermutet; ihre Erfahrung gibt ihnen einen entscheidenden Wert beim Beschaffen der Nahrungsmittel sowohl, wie bei den sonstigen Haushaltungsarbeiten, und gar nicht selten heiraten junge Leute lieber eine erfahrene ältere Frau, als ein jungen, wenn auch hübschen Mädchen. Ältere Frauen, deren Männer gestorben sind, üben sogar ganz entschieden alle Rechte des Familienoberhauptes aus; auch wenn sie allein leben, haben sie immer ein paar Kinder oder Enkel bei sich, die ihnen zeitweilig gebornen sind." Gemeinsam mit zuverlässigen Beobachtern habe auch ich den falschen Vorwurf der Menschenfresserei von den Yamana abgewehrt (S. 252).

Mehrmals wird jedoch erwähnt, es wäre bei ihnen[*] Gewohnheit, gewisse Sterbende zu erwürgen. Anfang 1863 schrieb der junge Bennett (VSA: X, 171; 1863) erstmalig hierüber: „Dokokko gives me a sad account of some of the Fuegian tribes. It is a practice with some when a man is very ill, and likely to die, to cut his time short in a violent manner, and kill his young children by suffocating them. But some of the tribes, he says, are very good to the sick, and show much commiseration for their pain." Er (e): 332 hat seine dienstwillige Ansicht später an einige Exemplare weitergegeben und ganz eindeutig gesagt: „Alte und hoffnungslose kranke Personen wurden selten vor ihrem wirklichen natürlichen Ende beseitigt; wenn alles Gefühl von Sprache, Gesicht und Bewegung verloren war, dann; wenn der Fall ein lang dauernder war, wurde die sterbende Person erdrosselt und so ihr Ende für sie und ihre Angehörigen auf barmherzige Weise beschleunigt". Später wiederholt er (b): 209 und (i): 14 dasselbe: „The Yahgans occasionally hastened the end of their relatives by strangulation. This was kindly meant and there were good reasons for it. It was only resorted to in cases of long continued unconsciousness and utter weakness, preceding death, when the dying person neither ate nor drank, spoke nor moved. The act was done openly and with the consent of all except that of the victim, who was too inanimate to do anything. This act was called taburuna and it was done to any class of person in the above hopeless condition, either man or woman." Dieses Schweifwedeln taburuna dürfte ein Verzehren sein; im BD: 291 heißt es

qui ne vous paraît à rien; mais l'enfant est alors considéré comme à rien, et leur devoir l'abréviance et le coupent d'un coup fin".

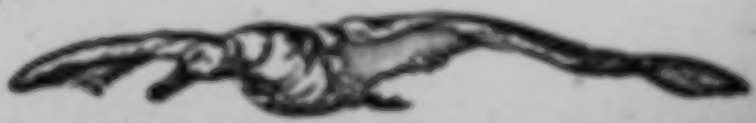
[*] Die gleiche Behauptung ist bekanntlich auch gegen die Bella'coola (Bd. I, 480) erhoben, aber von diesen selber energisch zurückgewiesen worden.

richtig verstehen, so kill any person or animal which is sick and he gets he order to put him out of his misery. Sowohl Marrus: 202 wie auch Brazza (p): 233, (q): 39 und (q): 235 haben diese Meinung von Bannen übernommen. Lewinson erwähnt in keiner Form den einen oder anderen Institutsfall, ingesamt beobachteten Fall und Brazza (q): 242, der sich bei Missionen auf verwaisten Kindern und auf den Erwägungen einzelner Beobachter ausschließlich auf Aussagen der Missionare stützt, verraten sich eigene, daß „personnellement, nous n'avons pas pu vérifier ces deux dernières assertions." Nach 1929 zeigte Brazza: 88 in dieser Ansicht, ohne irgendwelche Beweise.

Aus dieser Unsicherheit führt ein Urteil heraus, das ich auf Grund unserer Aussprachen den Beiden Marrus und Fans Lewinson verdanke. Möglich und wohl auch wahrscheinlich ist es schon, so sagten sie, daß jemand keine Anklich einen in schwerem Todeskampfe ringenden Verwandten nach einigen Stunden die Hoffnung über sich selber verloren hat; in seiner Erregung, getrieben von eigenem Schmerz über die nahe Trennung vom Sterbenden und rather gegenüber der Ausichtslosigkeit, daß dieser sich erhebt, dürfte er fast an die Kehle gefallen sein und ihn gewürgt haben, daß selbst jeden Röchels und jede Bewegung unerträglich. Das geschah aber nur, wenn bei schon vollständiger Bewußtlosigkeit des Sterbenden gar keine Hoffnung mehr auf Besserung bestand; dann sollte eben die Qual abgekürzt werden.

Ein einziges Mal nur stieß ich auf folgende Bemerkung, „taken from conversations with Mrs. Bouscaut" (MM: XXVIII, 134; 1890): „In some cases when the wife was near death the husband would put her into a canoe, take her miles away and leave her, hoping that exposure and starvation would hasten death." Eine derartige Handlungsweise widerspricht so offensichtlich allem, was ihrer Wertung des Menschenlebens bei den Tsaoma sie sicher erwarten ist, daß sich jedes Wort erübrigt. Menschenfresser sind sie sie gewesen (S. 214). Wie Brazza (h): 203 mit Bannen (s): 211 bestimmt behauptet hat, kannte Selbstmord ebenswenig bei ihnen wie.

Die gesamte Gesellschaftsordnung unserer Fanstämme ist sozialisch und menschenwürdig so, herrscht sie durch auf natürlichen Blutsverhältnissen und gleichgen Wohnsitzbeziehungen erwachsen Ehen und Kindern, sowie erhaben den Mitgliedern je einer Verwandtschaftsen und aller Lebensgruppen unter sich. Den Zusammenhalt des Volksganzen erhöhtnen die geringe Kopfzahl und der Ausfall schwerer Störungen von außen her. Diese Gesellschaftsordnung ist bedingt durch die Eigenart der Wirtschaftsführung unserer Tsaoma. Das relative Bild vom harmonisch eingeglichenen Kulturgebiet in dieser Volksgemeinschaft im Kap Hoorn-Archipel gehört nun der Vergangenheit an.



[p. 1051]

VIERTER TEIL

Die Geisteswelt der Yamana

gute Güter von einer unvollständigen Forschung gehoben und für die Menschheitsgesamtheit nutzbar wurde. In meiner wichtigsten Aufgabe habe ich es deshalb vermieden, diese Schätze auch in letzter Stunde zu retten. Kein geringerer, als W. Sommer (S. 879) versichert, „daß, was die Größtige Kultur der Franzikaner bewirkt, [meine] vier Expeditionen allein bei weitem sowohl an Quantität wie an Qualität der Errungenschaften das übertreffen, was alle bisherigen Reisebeschreiber zusammen zustande brachten".

Einige günstige Umstände sind mir bei dieser Arbeit zu Hilfe gekommen, die gegebenenfalls auch erwähnt werden müssen. Trotz jahrzehntelanger Bedrängung der Franzikaner mit gar vielen Kreuzinstigatoren den Europäerinnen haben sie den gesamten Inhalt ihres geistigen Besitztums nicht nur fast vollständig, sondern auch in seiner ursprünglichen Unversehrtheit bewahrt. Dieses kann man annehmen, daß diese Güter für sie lebenswichtig und durch nichts anderes zu ersetzen waren, und daß mit ihrem Verlust der ungeheure Widerstandswille der Volksgenossen unmöglich war. Die Yamana selber wissen, was sie zusammengeschlossen und was geordnete, friedliche Lebensverhältnisse ihnen gewährleistet hatten, sie nannten es einfach „das, was als Gewohnheiten und Gesetzen von den Vorvätern überliefert worden ist." Mit diesem Empfinden haben sie aber auch erfaßt, daß ihr Untergang in dem Zeitpunkte besiegelt sein würde, da sie davon abweichen oder durch Einflüsse von außen davon bekehrt würden, der Stammesleben in den bisherigen Bahnen weiterzuführen.

Der erstaunte Verwunderung bei Überzahme der vier Reisen in das Kap Hoorn-Gebiet bin ich mir bewußt geblieben und unablässig war ich bemüht, in die Gemütswelt der Yamana mich einzufühlen. Dazu benutzte ich Zeit und dabei half mir die langen freien Monate außerhalb der Franzikaner zwischen den einzelnen vier Expeditionen. Meine wiederholte Wirklichkeit bestätigte andererseits die Indianer selber zu Recht in der Meinung, daß ich sie und ihre Einrichtungen jedweder Art beobachtete. Ihnen deshalb erwiesen sie sich mir von einem Jahre zum anderen gefälliger und vertrauensvoller, indem mich eher auch bereitwilliger an dem und jenem Anteil nehmen, was sie mir bisher verschlossen gehalten hatten. Je mehr ich bestrebt war, unzulässige Denkweise und unerwünschte Wertarteile abzustreifen und sie gegen die der Franzikaner einzutauschen, um so mehr richtete ich tatsächlich an sie heran. Sehr deutlich und mit großer Genugtuung führten die eigentlichen Kenner der Stammesüberlieferung diese Annäherung, betrachteten mich mehr und mehr als einen der Seigen und ließen mich schließlich in die Abgeschlossenheit dieses Volkstums vordringen. Nach mühsamer Forschungsarbeit wurden in mehrfachen Besprechungen und in gründlichen Aussprachen jene Schätze aus dem geistigen Besitz der vielverkannten Yamana unsere gemeinsamen, mit denen die folgenden Seiten angefüllt sind. Sie stehen um so höher im Werte, als sie in die Fülle der Menschheit mitbringen, aus der sie sich wegen der völligen Abgeschlossenheit des gefährdeten Kap Hoorn-Archipels an Amerikas Südspitze in unsere Tage herübergerettet haben.

A. Religion und Sittlichkeit

Die Yamana wissen, auf Grund ihrer unendlichverzweigten Lebensführung, nicht den festgeschlossenen Zusammenhalt auf, denen sich beispielsweise Völkerschaften mit Ackerbaubetrieb erfreuen. Wahrscheinlich eben daher haben sie sich eine hohe geistige Beweglichkeit erzwungen und betätigen sie sich regsam auf allen Gebieten ihres Menschtums. Infolgedessen konnten sich feste, allgemeinverpflichtende Formen nur in beschränktem Maße entwickeln, da einerseits die zahlenmäßig geringe Volksmenge in viele und kleine Splittergruppen aufgeteilt lebt und andererseits eine jede derselben, sowie die Einzelpersonen sich die größtmögliche Freiheit und Ungebundenheit zu bewahren bemüht ist.

Erst recht mangelt es an gewissen bestimmten Formen als Ausdruck des religiösen Gedankenganges. Dieses an sich weist einen nur beschränkten Umfang auf; und es nur Scheu zu nennen, paßt nicht zu Menschen von der Art unserer Feuerländer. Ganz im Gegenteil ringt alles Übersinnliche ihnen so viel Ernst und Ehrfurcht ab, daß sie es nicht einmal unter sich zum Gegenstande Spötten, tiefrer Anspielung machen; noch viel weniger würden sie es Europäern preisgeben, die sich von vornherein als dessen unwürdig erweisen. Dieser Umstand enthält für sich allein einen unerschöpfenden Erklärungsgrund dafür, daß viele Reisende rein gar nichts von den religiösen Vorstellungen unserer Indianer erfahren haben. Letztere überdies betätigen sich religiös nicht nur unempfindlich, sondern auch ganz unauffällig, wovegen ein fremder Forscher dieses und jenes nicht genau verzeichnet und nicht richtig würdigt, was ihm vielleicht doch unter die Augen oder zu Ohren kommt. Auch ich selber mußte einen unerhaßlichen Weg gehen und lange auf die vom Glück oder Zufall bescherten günstigen Umstände warten, bis sich mir der Eingang in die Welt der religiösen Vorstellungen unserer Feuerländer geöffnet hat.

Obwohl das religiöse Gedankengut und die Gesamtheit der sittlichen Vorschriften ein sehr einfaches, schlichtes Gepräge trägt, ist sein Inhalt überraschend reich und tief. Die bedeutsamsten Einzelheiten erscheinen natürlich verwandlich und unten freundlich an. Zeichnen und Vorstellungen, die man als religiösen Brauch und als Kultbandlungen bei vielen anderen Naturvölkern und auch bei einigen Kulturvölkern antrifft, fehlen den Yamana ganz und gar.

a. *Erforschung der Yamana-Religion*

Die Vorstellungswelt unserer Feuerländer ist mit vielen Gräuelvorstellungen mannigfacher Gestaltung belebt, die verschiedene gruselt werden und deren Beziehungen zum Menschen keineswegs gleich sind. Wie der Indianer selber sie alle deutlich voneinander trennt, so muß auch eine genaue Beschreibung darauf Rücksicht nehmen. Das Religiöse im strengen Wortsinne fällt ein Gebiet für sich an und umschwebt sich gegen andere Vorstellungskreise abgrenzen. Dem Begriff des Religiösen oder zur Religion der Yamana

wird in diesem Buche alles gesammelt, was der Anrufung und Verehrung dieser bestimmten Gottheit, einer Höchsten Wesens dient, dem mehrere Namen eigen sind und das als eine übersichtliche, geistige Persönlichkeit kaum deutlich gegenübersteht. Als religiöse Betätigung und als Kulthandlung muß all dies behandelt werden, was sie bewußt auf dieses Höchste Wesen hinbezieht, wenn es nun eigene sprachliche Heiligungen oder bestimmt geformte Gebetsformeln oder freie Worte. Das Important merkt der eigentlichen religiösen Gestaltung. In engeren Zusammenhänge mit dem steht der ganze Schatz an Vorstellungen und Bestimmungen, der mit einem Wort als das allgemeine Sittengesetz umschrieben werden kann, welch letzteres wirkliche menschliche Verantwortlichkeit beinhaltet. In der so mitgeteilten hergebrachten Umgrenzung der eigentlichen Religionen hat der Glaube an andere Geister und an die nach dem Tode fortlebenden Seelen, an die Ahnen und an die Kulturheroen im Gebiete des Religiösen keinen Platz; ihnen werden daher eigene Abschnitte in dieser Abhandlung gewidmet. Erst diese scharfe Scheidung, die in der Verschiedenheit der Ideen und Vorstellungen der Tonnesa begründet ist, verschafft einem Außenstehenden eine klare Einsicht und ein sicheres Urteil.

Überzeugen muß es, daß von Reisenden und Missionaren bis in die neueste Zeit hervin unsichere Feststellungen jedweder religiösen Vorstellung und Betätigung rundweg abgesprochen wurde; einzelne Stämme haben ihnen nicht einmal die geistige Befähigung dafür zugestanden. Überall gaben demnach die Tonnesa als religionslos. Gelegentlich wurden wohl Hinweise auf den Glauben an Geister und an gewisse außerweltliche Wesen gegeben; diese Angaben sind nicht nur höchst unzulänglich und ungenau, sie gehören überhaupt nicht in das Gebiet des strengen Religiösen. Erst auf meinem Reisen ist diesem Mangel gehoben worden, das wegen seiner Reichhaltigkeit und seiner Eigenartigkeit beachtet zu werden verdient.

Kein anderer Teil des Kulturbesitzes eines Volkes stellt der Erforschung durch Europäer so viele und so ernste Schwierigkeiten entgegen, als der religiöse. Man wird eine bestimmte Methode zu allgemeiner Verwendung kaum ausarbeiten können; aber von gewissen Richtlinien darf einer, der irgendwelchen Erfolg anstrebt, nicht abweichen. *Jene Beobachter*, die nur für kurze Stunden eine flüchtige Berührung mit einzelnen Persönlichkeiten hatten, wagen allmählich anzunehmen, eines Gottlosen mit unbekanntem Inhalt aus dem religiösen Bewußtsein der Eingeborenen entnehmen; denn diese stellen ihr Glaubensgut, wie bereits angedeutet wurde, wahrhaftig nicht zur Schau.

Dazu aber befremdet es beunruhigenweise jedwedes Bemühen, daß ungar den Missionaren, trotz jahrelanger Zusammenleben mit den Indianern, nicht dieses Gebiet nicht verständlich hat.* Sie hatten wohl vermutet, ihm nahe zu kommen, dabei aber nicht den rechten Weg eingeschlagen.

* Sagen Texas: Anfänge der Cultur, Bd. I, S. 411 bei Schmidt: „Es gibt kein Volk, welches nicht im Besitze der Sprache und der Religion wäre, denn wenn auch von einzelnen Völkern behauptet wird, sie besäßen keine religiösen Begriffe, so liegt die Verneinung nahe,

gen.[1] Eine bekannte Tatsache ist es, daß Bougainville, die mit Unterstützung der gouvernementalen Mission bei Cabiere den Canal de Bougainville gemacht sind, in ihrer Beurteilung der Tanoans nicht nur sich selbst von der Ansicht der dort ansässigen Missionare abhängig, sondern diese Ansicht wahrscheinlich zu ihrer eigenen gemacht haben. Hauptsächlich sind die Mitglieder der Missionsbruderschaft gewesen, deren Veröffentlichungen wieder andere als einzige Unterlage gedient haben. Eigenes Beobachten war ein Erfassen des religiösen Gedankengangs der Tanoans bei weitem nur bei den und jenen Eingeborenen vorhanden. Schon wenn sich die Tanoans gegenüber uns, Fremden, ein, wurden diese Tanoans empfindlich gehindert sind. Beweisstellen (s) [illegible] erklärt beispielsweise: „Ya he preguntado a los más viejos si sabían de dónde venían, quienes eran sus antepasados, sus círculos ahuatuchas, y respondían que el abuelo se había muerto en una habla vecina, como se pudo, y que ellos nunca habían dicho nada sobre el asunto; las ideas religiosas faltan totalmente completamente y la única creencia es la de los espíritus de los muertos, pero tampoco muy desarrollada ni definida." Durch schon Bevans (S. 187) hat es eingeschränkt, daß mit dieser „Frage" das Ziel nicht so erreichbar sei. Obwohl ihm gewissermaßen keine irgendwie religiöse Beziehung in die Augen gefallen ist, hat er mit richtigem Empfinden dieser gegenüber, wegen dieser Unterschiede allein schon auf religiöse Beziehungslosigkeit zu schließen.[2] Selbst gut beobachtenden Worte sind von mehrere gleichfalls beteiligte gefunden worden. Eine dankbare wirkenden sich besonders einzelne ein bedeutsamen Rolle über das Fehlen aller Religionen bei den Tanoans. Bähl muß diese Bemerkungen zusammenfassen, so einige dieses allein auch nicht das Gewicht dieser Glaubenslosigkeit, denn sie alle haben darin oder weniger von einer einzigen Quelle geschöpft, nämlich von der Arbeit des englischen Missionars Thomas Bennett (S. 104), die eben nachvollziehbar ewig ist.

2. Details der Religionen

Wie es anderen nicht so erwartet ist, haben die Berichterstatter des XVIII. und XVIII. Jahrhunderts, also der Bougainville Zeit, keine sich einigen abzuhalten. Neben Worten die religiösen Gedankengänge der Tanoans gestreift. Sie waren

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daß in dem Bericht verhindert, sowohl die Missionare nicht immer die Bedeutung bedenken, sich die Tanoans der Mühe zu ersparen oder deren Gedankengänge zu verstehen."

[1] Oder Gilli schon spricht Bevans (S. 74) von seinen Beobachtungen: „We said our knowledge of the language, we ascertain their ideas on religious subjects, and we discovered that they have no knowledge whatever of God, or of a Place Good to creation, no idol or other object of worship, no manner of prayer or invocation."

[2] Bähnsch bekennt sich: „Ich [illegible] gen Bonin die dies ganz bei Bougainville diesem allmählich aus Religion [illegible] zu gewinnen [illegible] zu [illegible] die Gestalt [illegible] Gottes [illegible] Geist."

[3] Es [illegible] sagt: „Pues [illegible] en dos manifestaciones [illegible] que [illegible] la [illegible] en [illegible] Tanoans [illegible] de Tabú [illegible] que [illegible] [illegible] de [illegible] [illegible]."

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

gemeinte: „Tout ce que nous pouvons dire sur le sentiment religieux des Fuégiens consiste, c'est qu'il se borne, extrêmement du moins, à un éveil de l'attention, et à un étonnement du consentement ou présence d'une existence religieuse étrangère. Ajoutons que le Rév. T. Bennett m'a formellement déclaré que les Fuégiens, avant son apostolat dans la Terre de Feu, n'avaient aucune idée d'une religion." In seinem Hauptwerke wiederholt er (g): 233 diese Ansicht: „Nous n'avons constaté chez les Fuégiens aucun signe de sentiment religieux"... Er ist sich des schwerwiegenden Inhaltes seiner Worte wohl bewußt; daher verharrt er auf seiner Überzeugung: „Nous ne croyons pas pouvoir modifier notre opinion sur l'absence du sentiment religieux chez les Fuégiens. Nous les avons observés très attentivement à ce point de vue pendant l'année que nous avons passée parmi eux; jamais nous n'avons pu saisir la moindre allusion à un culte quelconque, ni à une idée religieuse."

Man sieht unter dem Eindruck, daß gegenüber derartig bestimmten Erklärungen gar kein Widerspruch mehr aufkommen kann.* Auch spätestens hat auch Dumont (h): 202 beispielsweise behauptet: „Ne lay connaissaient de que contre les Yaligans leurs voisins une religion, pour ne pratiquer simplée rite que revale un culte quelconque." Nach Bennett: 70, „they knew nothing of God, and had no word expressive of such an idea". Auch Fitzroy (b): 137 stimmt dem bei. Der Fuegiländer „has no religion in the general acceptance of the term ... No word for God, Creator, or prayer has ever appeared in his language, nor from any action, ceremony, or custom was a belief in these things he inferred". Albin Lorenzo (b): 171 war schon vor Teil meiner eigenen Ergebnisse aufgefallen, die er bestätigte. Demnach erhielt auch die wissenschaftliche Forschung mit dem Urteil ab, die Yaganen seien völlig religionslos. Vgl. von Cantow: 148 zusammengestellt hat.

2. Urteile der Missionare

Obgleich verspätet jetzt zwei jene Männer zu Wort kommen, die sich mit ihrem Missionsunternehmen in den Dienst der Feuerländer gestellt haben, indem dies nicht an dem unbefriedigenden Umstande, daß ihnen sie den oft völlig unkundigen Seelsorgern und Kolonisten ihre eigenen Erfahrungen und Beobachtungen mitgeteilt haben. Dann ging es ausnahmsweise von Bennett wegen, auch dem religiösen Gedankengut ihrer Schützlinge zu forschen.

Am Anfange ihrer Tätigkeit erwähnen sie gelegentlich — was auch der eine und andere Seelsorger getan, z. B. Fonck Bern: I, 227 —, daß während einer kurzen Gottesdienstzeit die völlig unverstandene Feuerländer sich scheinbar gut und aufmerksam benommen hätten. Dazu aber ich auch nicht einen Beweis für deren eigenen religiösen Empfindens; denn ein derartiges Verhalten hat bei ihnen nichts Außergewöhnliches. Dieserart schreibt am 4. Oktober

* Hammes: 192 nahm die neuere Schwierigkeiten der Forschung in Bezugnahmen, dessen wegen es nicht leicht sein, gar manchen einfacher ausgeht die heute ausgesagt und in die Zukunft.

[illegible] (VP: VII, 1), [illegible] wie folgt: „He word has appeared for God, or Creator, or pray. They have a word for Spirit (Ruhpesh), and they are very uneasy at hearing it, for they say they shall see it if uttered." Mit sich selber geht er (1): [illegible] über in Widersprüche durch den Satz: „The Pirahãs has no religion at all. He knows neither God, nor idol, nor spirit, and has accordingly no word for either of them." Magnagna hat sich Gruzinski eingehender beschäftigt über das religiöse Gedankengut der Yanoma eingegangen.

Um an meine Beschreibung zweifelnd die Stellung, die der religiösen Sinnen dieser Frage gegenüber eingenommen hat, sowohl die anderen Forschungsreisenden der letzten Jahrzehnte sich mit Urteil an eigen gemacht haben. Ein weiteres Mal hat er (1): [illegible] bereits im Jahre [illegible] eine allgemeine Übersicht über die Lebensverhältnisse, Einrichtungen und Gewohnheiten der Yanoma veröffentlicht. Einige Zeilen widmet er auch dem Vorstellungen von außerweltlichen Dingen und angenommen Gesetzen. Mit einem einzigen Satz tut er den Religion im eigentlichen Wortsinn ab und sagt nur: „They have no knowledge of God, no thoughts of a future state, either of reward or punishment." Von diesem ersten Urteil ist Bennett nach einigen auch nach einem jahrzehntelangen Zusammenseins mit den Yanoma nicht nur nicht abgewichen, sondern hat es noch den Worten verstärkt und ausgeschmückt. Er (1): [illegible] sagt beispielsweise: „No ceremonies are wonder or terror idea del futuro ni esperan nada después de la muerte." Weiter (1): [illegible] meinerseits: „Carecen de idea de un Ser Supremo, ningún rezan ni la existencia de espíritus o demonios ...No ofrecen holocaustos ni tienen idea alguna de la explicación por el pecado." Schließlich (1): [illegible] folgt noch das vernichtende Urteil: „Wie die Religion aussehen, wir können wir sagen, daß sie keine hatten." Machte sich bei einem Indianer vielleicht ein Ausdruck seiner religiösen Empfindung bemerkbar, so brachte er Bennett als abtrünnigen Urteil der missionierenden Gesellschaften."

Erst nach Tulgan fan in dieser Gesellschaft seiner Mitarbeiter, sowohl die Gegenwart. Noch die beiden letzten von Boas, Juan Lorenzo sowohl wie Juan Wenceslao, haben mir unabhängig voneinander und unabhängig voneinander, einmalig seinen dieses religiösen Äußerungen als Eigenheiten unserer Indianer bezeugen. Die jeder dieser Mitteilungen Übersetzen unbeschadet die Ansicht der anderen und hält an dieser Überzeugung weiter fest. Antwortet [illegible] hat sie wiederholt zugegeben: Die Yanoma „ohne religiöses Vorstellungen und Pflichten hat, besonders nicht die den vagen Begriff von Gutsein der Verstorbenen, die in den Wäldern umgehen und vor denen sie sich fürchten".

Wie jene Europäer, die das Eng Bonn-Gebiet bereiten haben, sind also auch alle Missionare in der letzten Mission beteiligen gewesen, die Yanoma seien völlig religionslos. Daß sie den Vorgehen nicht selber gekommen sind, wird jedem einsichtigen Beurteiler dieser abschnitten Einstellung zum

* Es lohnt: Boas sagt dies gelegentlich, „that God would bless. It is pleasant to realize that the knowledge of God is taking root in the minds of the people, and that they themselves confess to Him the sin of the guardians" (1: [illegible]).

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Familie Lowanna größere Ausschreitungen, z. B. Wandervorhänge, verübten Soldaten. Diese Rasse stand abseits von den kleinen Wohnungen der Tamana-Familien.

Wieder vergingen einige Tagen ohne Ausschreitungen vorgetragen und dabei fiel unvermutlich der Name Wanapidjan. Wir dolmetschen voller Spannung auf weitere Schilderung demselben. Das hatte zur Folge, daß die Frauen in ergo Verlegenheit gerieten und sich in tiefes Schweigen hüllten; nicht einmal die sonst so redselige Nazz wagte ein Wort. Um den unangenehmen Bann zu lösen, fuhr die alte Mazz endlich den Mut und sagte leise: „Wanapidjan is the God, like Christian God!" Ich war verblüfft und wieder war der gleichen Schwelle, von der ich mich bereits zwei Jahre früher gesehen hatte, allmählich an der Schwelle eines ooooo Gedankenreiches, zu dem die Indianer den Einfall verwehrten. Aufdringliche Fragen wären zu jenem Nachweisung erfolglos gebieten und können sicherlich eine ergo Verstimmung hervorbringen. Nur so viel hat Mazz noch verraten, daß beim Tode des eigenen Kindes oder einer nahen Verwandten von den Nachbarn auf den Leichnamsplatz hingewiesen wird mit der Wendung: „Wanapidjan steal! Bei Gelegenheit, sowohl der Verstorbenen wie auch einer Angehörigen haben von Wanapidjan her erstaunlich den Todesfall erlitten.

Nach längerer Pause unternahmen die Indianerinnen einen Ablenkungsversuch. Ich konnte mich damit nicht abfinden und wagte es vorsichtig, auf jenen ängstlich behüteten Namen zurückzukommen. Mein Bemühen blieb erfolglos. Die ganze Unterhaltung geriet ins Stocken und unsere Aussprache wollte überhaupt nicht mehr in Fluß kommen. Um uns beide zu befriedigen und endgültig abzuschließen, trugen sich die Frauen schließlich an, vom Abjidschabb-wanapidjan zu berichten. Wie schlau hatten sie durch diesen Anweg aus dieser Verlegenheit gerettet! Wir gaben uns der frohen Hoffnung hin, über den eigentlichen Wanapidjan endlich mehr zu erfahren. Tatsächlich hatten sie uns nur die Geschichte von einer kleinen Schar von Leuten, die in einer Zeit nach Abjidschabb gegangen waren; dort lag ein gutzweiter Wallfisch und sie sind wieder in jener Gegend geblieben, die westlich von Uduwein liegt. In dieser Zusammenstellung bringt die Bezeichnung wanapidjan nichts weniger als den Namen für die transzendentale Gottheit. Die listigen Indianerinnen haben sich auf diese Weise unauffällig aus der Schlinge gewunden und uns sehr wertvolle höchste Licht geführt, ohne ihr Geheimnis preisgegeben. Jedenfalls stand uns fest, daß sich hinter jenem Namen noch viel Wissenswertes verbarg, das es gewissen wohl den Aufwand erster Mühen rechtfertigen würde.

Mehrmals schon hatte Nazz Lowanna bereitwilligst mir zu dem verholfen, was ich bei meinem Forschen nach den Einrichtungen und Gewohnheiten dieser Landleute angestrebt, und auch diesmal versagte sie nicht. Wie ich es später deutlich erfahren habe, schätzte sie den einheimischen religiösen Gedankengang außerordentlich hoch und, da sie die gleiche Gesinnung bei mir vermutete, schickte sie im stillen darauf hin, es mir zugänglich zu machen. Drei Tage nach jener Aussprache, es war am Mittwoch, den 25. Januar 1922,

hat sie wieder in jenes große Arbeitshaus ein und zwar mit der verlockenden Aussicht: „Adelaide und ich werden dir heute alles über Watsinéjiwa erzählen!" Warum allein diese beiden Frauen zusammentraten, erklärte Nellu zuvorwunden: „Keine von uns beiden hat Watsinéjiwa gestraft, kein einziges unserer Kinder hat er sterben lassen; dennoch werden wir nicht beschämt, wenn in unserer Gegenwart von ihm die Rede ist. Unbeschwert dürfen wir [auch vor anderen] von ihm sprechen. Jene Frauen indes, denen er [durch den von ihm veranlaßten Tod] Kinder weggenommen hat, betrachten sich als von ihm bestraft; ihnen ist es unangenehm, wenn vor ihnen über jenen [Watsinéjiwa] gesprochen wird!" Diese sehr beachtenswerten Worte enthalten eine vollständige Erklärung für das befremdliche Benehmen der Leute gegenüber meinen Fragen nach Watsinéjiwa.* So oft ich mich an sie gewendet hatte, waren jedesmal in ihrem Kreis einige Personen zugegen, die den Verlust eines nahen Verwandten zu beklagen hatten. Gleichbedeutend einer Angeregung wäre es gewesen, hätten die übrigen Anwesenden sich eingehend über Watsinéjiwa vor mir ausgesprochen. Rücksichtsvoll verband sich Nellu allein mit Adelaide; denn sie beide konnten unbelastet und ungehemmt den Watsinéjiwa schildern, wie er ist und wie er handelt. An jenem Mittwoch haben wir die meisten der Namen erfahren, die man ihm zulegt, sowie einige bestimmt abgefaßte Gebete, mit denen man sich an ihn wendet.

Offensichtlich ist in jener Aussprache nicht alles erschöpft und zutage gefördert worden, was die Yamana an Vorstellungen von ihrem Höchsten Wesen in der Seele tragen. Der noch anstehende Rest, davon gab ich mir Rechenschaft, konnte nur bei einem klugen Vorgehen gehoben werden und die Richtlinien lagen in jener Erklärung vorgezeichnet, die Nellu soeben gegeben hatte. Die anderen Leute durften es seitdem erfahren, daß uns ihre Vorstellungen von der Person und Handlungsweise des Watsinéjiwa vertraut waren. Wenn ich in der Folgezeit vor diesem oder jenem bei passender Gelegenheit bewußt die Rede auf dies Höchste Wesen lenkte, tat ich es fühlbar rücksichtsvoll und mit einem mitleidigen Verständnis für das niederdrückende Gefühl bei dem, der an einen oder an mehrere liebe Tote erinnert wird; so oft der Name Watsinéjiwa fällt. Diese sanfte Art, die es bewußt vermeiden wollte, jemanden irgendwie zu kränken, tat allen Yamana nicht nur wohl, sondern schwächte immer mehr ihren Widerwillen gegen kurze Aussprachen über jenen gefürchteten Geist. Im Laufe der Zeit gestalteten sich die Erörterungen zusehends ungezwungener und verliefen schließlich, trotz ehrfürchtiger Form, fast gänzlich hemmungslos. Unsere eigene Haltung gegenüber den ihnen heiligen Vorstellungen hat ebenfalls dazu verholfen; letztere haben wir weder bekritteln noch ins Lächerliche gezogen, vielmehr hoch gewertet und mit der gleichen vornehmen Gesinnung behandelt, wie sie selber es taten.

* Begreiflicherweise muß man diese Erklärung auch für das zurückhaltende Schweigen der Yamana gegenüber früheren Reisenden gelten lassen. Einzelne sind wohl darauf aufmerksam geworden, z. B. sogar Dauvin (S. 182); der letzte und tiefste Grund indes ist ihnen nicht zum Bewußtsein gekommen.

Wiederholt hatte ich schon früher ihren Vergleich gehört: „Die Christen sprechen verächtlich über ihren Gott, schimpfen auf ihn und weinen ihn sogar ab. Darum redet kein Yamana von unserem *Watagindjou*!" Ihnen tat es sichtlich wohl, daß auch wir ihm fühlbar Ehrfurcht bekundeten. Allerdings blieb der eine und andere Feuerländer auch weiterhin zurückhaltend, so oft die Rede auf *Watagindjou* kam; geschah dies zwar jedesmal mit vornehmer Scheu, so schien es manchem doch unglaublich, daß auch uns heilig sei, was sie als solches verehren.

Auf jener dritten Reise durfte ich die Jugendweihe ein zweites Mal erleben (S. 185). Während derselben erfuhr ich neue Hinweise auf *Watagindjou*, die dem uralten Programm für das *čičpaga* entsprechen (S. 293). Schließlich ist mir eine außerordentlich wertvolle Bereicherung daraus, was ich bis dahin erfahren hatte, anläßlich einer Totenfeier bei meinem vierten Besuche (S. 190) geboten worden. Mehrmals also bin ich ohne mein Zutun und ganz unvermittelt vor religiöse Äußerungen der Yamana hingestellt worden. Erst daran anschließend habe ich anhaltende und öffentliche Aussprachen mit allen älteren Leuten gesucht. Dabei konnte ich das zutage Fördern, was in den folgenden Zeilen zusammengefaßt worden ist. Für die Ansicht, sie hätten mir etwas verheimlicht, wüßte ich keinen Grund anzuführen.

An überzeugenden Erklärungen dafür fehlt es jetzt nicht mehr, daß diese Feuerländer, seitdem sie mit dem Europäertum in Fühlung stehen, ihren gesamten Besitz an religiösen Vorstellungen und Handlungen so ängstlich vor jedem Fremden gehütet und warum sie schließlich, allerdings unter ganz besonderen Bedingungen, mir allein dieses hohe Gut anvertraut haben. Dasselbe muß ich sagen von meiner zweimaligen Anteilnahme an ihrer geheimen Jugendweihe *čičpaga*, sowie von meinem unmittelbaren Erleben der Männerfeier *kina* und der Medizinmannschule *lâjina-yôkumul*. Dieser außergewöhnlichen Gunst habe ich mich nach ihrem eigenen Urteil würdig erwiesen.

b. *Inhalt der Yamana-Religion*

Ohne unseren Feuerländern ernstlich ein Unrecht zu tun, erwartet man von vornherein bei ihnen keine systematische Zusammenordnung ihrer religiösen Vorstellungen. Dieselben bilden ebensowenig eine vollständige ungeschlossene, mit sich verknüpfte Gedankenkette, ja sie weisen zuweilen breite Lücken auf. Zusammenhanglos und ohne gegenseitige Verbindung stehen einzelne Vorstellungen nebeneinander. Der Feuerländer besitzt sie zwar, bemüht sich aber nicht darum, sie voll und ganz zu verstehen und erscheint auch keine Notwendigkeit zu verspüren, sie dem Ganzen einzuordnen. Die Zusammenfassung und Gliederung dessen, was als religiöser Besitz der Yamana hier vorgelegt wird, ist ihm gänzlich fremd; um eine Übersicht zu schaffen und eine wissenschaftliche Auswertung zu ermöglichen, habe ich persönlich sie durchgeführt.

Wiederholt ist auf den vorhergehenden Seiten der *Watagindjou*, die ein-

sige Gottheit der Yamana, nach der engeren Fassung des Wortes "Religion" (S. 1933), als ein "Höchstes Wesen" bezeichnet werden.[10] Diesen Begriff benützt der Feuerländer zwar nicht, aber in Wirklichkeit kennt er keinen anderen Geist, der jenem übergeordnet wäre. Auch ist dieser es allein, dem eine einzigartige Macht und überragende Stellung zuerkannt wird, deretwegen er weit von jedwedem anderen Wesen abgesondert dasteht. Endlich sind seine Beziehungen zu den Menschen die eines unumschränkten Gebieters und allzeitigen Gesetzgebers; ihm ausschließlich widmet man religiöse Huldigungen. Nur in diesem Sinne wird *Watuginšjuw* auch als Gottheit bezeichnet, wie es in der allgemeinen Religionswissenschaft üblich ist.

1. Persönlichkeit des Höchsten Wesens

Die Denkweise der Feuerländer sieht, wenn man sich so ausdrücken darf, auf die Seite des Konkreten hin, ihre Vorstellungen besitzen bestimmte Formen und sind mit deutlichen Linien umrissen. Erst recht ist ihr *Watuginšjuw* eine scharf gezeichnete selbständige Persönlichkeit, auf sich allein gestellt ist und von jedwedem anderen Geiste weit abrückt. Dem Yamana ist er nicht ein ganz formloses Gedankengebilde, sondern ein persönliches Geistwesen mit selbständiger Daseinsform und mit unabhängiger Daseinsweise; er wird nie mit einer allgemeinen, generischen Bezeichnung, vielmehr ausschließlich mit Eigennamen oder an deren Stelle mit eindeutigen allgemeinbildlichen Umschreibungen belegt. Teilweise aus diesen Namensbezeichnungen, mehr aber noch aus den Gebetsformeln[11] sind die Eigenschaften ersichtlich, die man ihm zuschreibt. Vor allem durch sein vielfaches Eingreifen in Sein und Leben des einzelnen sowie in die Geschicke der Gesamtheit macht er selber sich als eine durchaus selbständige Eigenpersönlichkeit zweifelsfrei fühlbar.

a. Seit Name

Einigen meiner Gewährsmänner war die Bedeutung der Worte "Dios" und "God", wie die Weißen sie gebrauchen, in etwa geläufig. Niemals haben sie eines dieser beiden direkt auf ihren *Watuginšjuw* bezogen, sondern ausnahmslos die ihnen gewohnten Bezeichnungen benützt. Deren gibt es mehrere. Sie sind nicht Eigennamen im strengen Wortsinne, wie sie beispielsweise jeder Yamana trägt, sondern Worte mit betonter Sinnprägung und höchster Steigerung des Inhaltes, die als solche ausschließlich auf diese Gottheit angewendet werden. Darin weichen unsere Indianer von den Selk'nam ab, die einen eigentlichen Personennamen, nämlich *Temáyhel* besitzen (Bd. I, 197).

Häufig brauchen sie *Watuginšjuw* im Sinne von "*der Uralte*", d. h. *der*

[10] Die gleichen Gründe haben mich seinerzeit veranlaßt, die von den Selk'nam verehrte Gottheit ebenfalls als ein "Höchstes Wesen" zu kennzeichnen (Bd. I, 194).

[11] Das meiste davon liegt bereits veröffentlicht vor bei Koppers (c): 12 und bei Lemmer (d): 327.

allmächtige Urahn, welcher an Seinsdauer jedes sonstige Alter überschreitet. Gelegentlich wird dieses Wort auch dem Ahnen der Vorzeit beigelegt, den ersten Ankömmlingen, den Pitsoma, die sie damals bewohnt haben und die heute schon verschwunden sind. In diesem Falle gilt sein Inhalt selbstverständlich als beschränkt; denn nur einer, nämlich der Höchste Wesen ist so recht eigentlich und wirklich der Urahn. Auch BD: 632 bringt das Wort mitmitaiam, the ancient one who changes not. A suitable term for God indicative of his eternity and unchangeableness. Damit scheint Bennett die Grundbedeutung. Die angefügte Erklärung beweist die gelegentliche Verwendung dieses Wortes auch für eigentliche Ahnen: This term was used specially of the Rainbow which coming over and seen was regarded as ever living and the author of death [?]. Used also of Heroes of old time. In Verbindung damit bilden die Yamana das Watapindjow-ofi, "der Urahn im Himmel". BD: 279 bringt ofif statt ofi, the (blue) sky. Außerdem das Watapindjow-ajiáka, "der Urahn und grenzenlose Starke". In BD: 10 findet sich aiáka, immense, huge, very large. Den nämlichen Sinn hat Témawa, nach BD: 421 (My) father, my old man (fam), etwa "mein lieber, guter Alter".

Nicht minder häufig verwenden die Yamana das Hiáfiqua oder Hiapfqa als "mein Vater" [illegible] Hiáy Iman, "mein Vater" bzw. in Umstellung des Possessivpräfixes [illegible] das Anjamdein Iman als "unser Vater". Vereinzelt kommt Hiápa dia, "mein Großvater" und Kalaíjabe "lieben alten Vätterchen", vor.

Die folgenden Benennungen sind ebenfalls so zu verstehen, daß der ihnen eigene Sinn, hinbezogen auf die Gottheit, stets höchste gesteigert ist: Abaíjiáka, "der Starke, der Mächtige". BD: 14 verzeichnet abája, strong, physically strong, firm, powerful. Zu einer besonderen Steigerung bildet man die Zusammensetzung Adjin Adja Abaíjiáka; auch können die beiden ersten Worte wiederholt werden, wodurch man den größtmöglichen Nachdruck erhält. Diese Bildung wird jedoch ausschließlich auf Watapindjow angewendet. Nach BD: 261 bedeutet Adjin, in a great degree, very exceedingly. Ferner bilden die Yamana das Abáfia-Watapindjow und das Abáfia-ofi.

Beliebt ist Mamandáka, auch Mpamandáka, im Sinne von "Der allein Mächtige". BD: 285 bringt diese Worte in mandáki hapen, this is valued; es gehört zur gleichen Wurzel wie amaia, nach BD: 45 amaia, true, sincere, in earnest, in truth, bzw. amaindáki, the good one.

Einmal nur fiel Tamdyíkinaka, "Er, der andere zum Zorne reizt und in Wut bringt". Dieses Wort verwenden die Yamana auch im gegenseitigen Verkehr. Vgl. im BD: 519 das nimáníkina, cause, permit any person to afikana (BD: 112), to annoy, trouble, vex by demands, requests, entreaties etc.

Anläßlich eines Todesfalles und bei einer öffentlichen Totenfeier kommt oft und immer unter starker Erregung das Wilapatup-ofi, "der Mörder im Himmel oben", über ihre Lippen. Deutlich sagt BD: 619 uilápatup, cruel, murderous: acting in a manner having danger in a reckless manner as though one could not be hurt or as one was like hard stone and invulnerable.

Schließlich findet sich bei BD:429 noch ungenau, die upper or higher one, the one above, the highest one; a term for God or 'the Highest'. Dieses Wort ist mir nicht begegnet und Bamzon gibt eingangs dafür eine Erklärung. Immerhin sei auf einen deutlichen Widerspruch hingewiesen, insofern er in seine Wörterbuch einen Ausdruck mit der Bedeutung für "Gott" aufnimmt und trotzdem durch Jahrzehnte den Yamana jede religiöse Vorstellung abspricht.

Die gemeinten Bezeichnungen für das Höchste Wesen werden unterschiedlich, je nach der augenblicklichen Lage bezeichnen angewandt. Keinesfalls einer gebräuchlichen, sondern eine mit bewußter Beziehung auf einen Gottheit. Die Bedeutung wurde jedenfalls mehr oder weniger Ehrfurcht vor ihr, abgesehen allein von jenen Namen, mit denen sich der armer Mensch seine Ohnmacht für gegenüber heimsuchend von der Seite willt.

Zwar nicht im gleichen Ausmaß wie die Selk'nam (Bd. I, 497), doch immerhin häufig verwenden unsere Indianer eigentliche Umschreibungen an Stelle der oben aufgeführten Bezeichnungen. Aus der Stellung, die Watapidjow, nach ihrem Glauben, in der sichtbaren Schöpfung einnimmt, beziehen sie mehr oder weniger bewußt die sehr auffälligen Ereignisse und bedeutungsvollen Erscheinungen auf ihn als den eigentlichen Urheber und als die letzte Ursache. Sie sagen kurz: „Das kommt von ihm her!" und verwenden die Partikel kép bzw. képa. Vgl. BD:210, 211. Diese Wendung vertritt die Namensbezeichnung, ist aber für alle, denen sie zu Ohren kommt, eindeutig. Cojamam und andere Männer bewerteten diese Vorstellung als „gelehrte politica", als eine klug berechnete Redewise, nach außen hin unauffällig, tatsächlich aber vollkommen eindeutig; etwa nach Art einer Schlüsselstellung in der Chiffrenarbeit. Aus Ehrfurcht vermeidet man es möglichst, das Höchste Wesen mit den übrigen Namen anzureden. Überdies will man jene Person nicht offen verletzen, die in Trauer ist; sie würde bei Wiederholung einer der gebräuchlichen Bezeichnungen offen angesprochen oder erinnert werden, daß jener Todesfall, den man meinen erkennt, ihr als Strafe von Watapidjow zugeteilt worden ist. Die Art der Unterhaltung und die näheren Umstände einer Anfrage bergen der Mißdeutung jener Unterhaltung von seitens der anwesenden Personen zuverlässig vor.

β. Seine Eigenschaften

Die erwähnten Namensbezeichnungen und die den Yamana geläufigen Gebetsformeln liefern jede für sich ihren Anteil zum vollständigen Bilde von der Eigenart des Höchsten Wesens, wie es in der Seele dieser Feuerländer lebt. Auf den ersten Blick erkennt man Watapidjow als eine selbständige Persönlichkeit, die sich deutlich unterscheidet von anderen Wesen jeweiliger Art und die sich in weitem Abstande von ihnen gänzlich unabhängig hält. Watapidjow ist ein Wesen für sich, seiner ganzen Beschaffenheit ist anderes als die der übrigen Geisterwesen und mehr noch als die aller Menschen.

Auf [illegible] Geistigkeit ist schon einmal hingewiesen worden. Für den Begriff "Geist" verwenden die Yamana das *kélpid*. *Watagindjua* gilt ihnen als der ganz große *kélpid*, der erst recht und mehr als andere Geistwesen ein Geist im eigentlichen Wortsinne ist. Als solcher ist er unsichtbar, kann demnach von keines Menschen Auge erfaßt werden. Wiederholt flammt jemand im Zorne auf, weil *Watagindjua* den Tod eines nahen Verwandten verursacht hat, und er möchte sich mit ihm unmittelbar auseinandersetzen; aber für jeden Menschen bleibt jener eben als *kélpid* unerreichbar. Weil er nicht körperhaft ist, hat niemand eine sinnfällige Vorstellung von seiner Person. Man sagte mir ausdrücklich: „Er hat nicht den Körper, den jeder Yamana hier unten [auf der Erde] besitzt; er stirbt auch nicht, wie jeder von uns einmal wird, wenn sein *kélpid* den Körper verläßt". Bildhafte und dingliche Darstellungen seiner Person gibt es nicht.

Weit ab [illegible]ts von der Erde hält er sich beständig auf und zwar, wie die sprachliche Wendung lautet, "hoch dort oben", in den Lüften. „Aus dem weiten Abstand und durch die viele Luft hindurch kann kein Yamana ihn erkennen. Niemand weiß, wie er aussieht, er ist eben *kélpid*!" Mehr sagt man über seinen Aufenthaltsort und seine Aufenthaltsweise "dort oben" nicht, noch viel weniger malt man sich besondere Einzelheiten in der eigenen Phantasie aus.

Trotzdem ist *Watagindjua* durch eine Art von Allgegenwart, die man ihm zuschreibt, jedem Menschen nahe. Faßlicher kommt diese Eigenschaft zum Ausdruck, wo oft man ihn sozusagen als allwissend bezeichnet. „Er sieht alles. — Er weiß, was jeder tut. — Er beobachtet auch, wie einer im Verborgenen [und beobachtet von seinen Landsleuten] sich benimmt!" Diese und ähnliche Wendungen habe ich mehrmals gehört. Im *Zifgaya* sagte mir Canis: „Er schaut von dort oben herunter und hier auf der Erde straft er. Also ist er auch auf der Erde! Jeden faulen und nichtsnutzigen Menschen erreicht und strafft er" (S. 398). Diesem Canis ist als *ulugala* im *Zifgaya* von seinem Paten die Mahnung zuteil geworden: „Alle diese Ratschläge beachte treu. *Watagindjua* schaut es so; er schaut genau zu, ob du dich darnach richtest" (S. 376). Jeder Prüflling wird nachdrücklich gewarnt: „Sei auf der Hut vor *Watagindjua*, vergiß ihn nie aus dem Gedächtnis!" Das Bewußtsein, jederzeit von ihm beobachtet zu werden, bleibt nicht ohne Wirkung auf das persönliche Verhalten unserer Indianer.

Dieses wird letzten Endes ebenfalls von ihm bestimmt und zwar durch die herkömmlichen Gebräuche und überlieferten Gewohnheiten, kurz gesagt, durch das gesamte Sittengesetz, dessen Urheberschaft man ihm zuschreibt. Die Yaganleute sagen dafür sehr einfach und handgreiflich: „*Watagindjua* wünscht, daß sich jeder so benimmt, wie es bei uns Yamana immer üblich war!" Sie verbinden damit die Überzeugung, daß anfänglich diese Gesetze von ihm aufgestellt worden sind, damit sie den folgenden Geschlechtern zur Richtschnur dienen. Er bewacht deren genaue Erfüllung mit seiner Allwissenheit und rächt schwere Verstöße. Diese Art seiner Betätigung wird,

oben wegen ihrer empfindlichen Wirkungen am häufigsten erwähnt. Man bekämpft ihn als den "Mörder dort oben im Himmel"; *Wilapatsa-ôfi*; denn er verursacht den frühzeitigen Tod der Erwachsenen und der noch unreifen Kinder. Er macht jedermann sterben; dadurch werden diese selber und seine nächsten Angehörigen, sogar die ganze Volksgemeinschaft gestraft und geschädigt. Rücksichtslos geht er vor, nicht einmal gegenüber dem zartesten Alter oder dem bittersten Schmerze und der empfindlichsten Trauer einer Mutter macht er Halt. Er ist wirklich ein *Tamâpîhânâu* und der arme Mensch bäumt sich um so leidenschaftlicher gegen ihn auf, je hilfloser er sich sieht.

In seiner Ohnmacht ist der Feuerländer wehrlos jenen *Ahâjîkîn*, jenen *hâjîn hâlîn Ahâjîkîn*, dem unbeschränkt Mächtigen ausgeliefert. Er straft, wenn und wie er ihm gefällt, unbekümmert um Schmerz und Weh der Menschen. Herr über Leben und Tod aller ist er allein. Er schenkt das Leben und damit tritt das Kind ins selbständige Dasein; er heißt es jedem so lange, als ihm das beliebt; er nimmt es wieder zurück und damit stirbt der Mensch. Strafweise schickt er eine ernste Krankheit; er befreit davon wieder, aber nur manchmal. Das Sterben verursacht er „aus freier, eigener Willensentscheidung, ohne daß irgendwelcher Einfluß von seiten der Naturgewalten oder Zauberermacht ihn zu bestimmen imstande wäre. Bei der Weitergestaltung einer ernsten Krankheit ergibt sich der Sterbende ohne vieles Klagen in sein Geschick; resigniert fügen sich auch die Verwandten und Freunde; sie sagen: ‚*Watsinâfiwu* ist viel mächtiger als wir, gegen ihn kommt keiner an. Er hält diesen hier weg, wir müssen es geschehen lassen, wir können nur weinen!'" (Gusinde [I]: 161).

In gleicher Weise verfügt er über schönes und schlechtes Wetter. Wen er züchtigen will, den läßt er durch Sturm und Regenschauer bedrängen; wem er wohlgesinnt ist, den läßt er vom Sonnenscheine begleitet sein. Er schenkt guten Erfolg den Männern auf der Jagd und den Frauen bei ihrer Sammeltätigkeit; zuweilen fügt er es aber auch so, daß beide leer ausgehen. Jeder schwere und tödliche Unglücksfall hat letzten Endes ihn zum Urheber. Wer empfindlich getroffen wird, sieht darin eine persönliche Strafe; ob er klaglos schweigt oder lärmend zetert, abfinden muß er sich wie einer, der gänzlich wehrlos ist. Drohungen, durch die unsere Indianer ihrem gepeinigten Herzen zuweilen Luft machen wollen, berühren jenen *Ahâjîkîn* nicht im mindesten. Physische Gewalt wendet er nicht an, sondern wirkt allein durch bloßes Wollen. Die Yamana drücken sich folgendermaßen aus. Ein Mädchen beispielsweise wurde im *Tîfuyu* ermahnt: „Beginne dein Tagewerk schon in aller Morgenfrühe. *Watsinâfiwu* schaut jedem Faulpelz zu. *Watsinâfiwu* wird [zur Strafe] dich bald [d. h. vorzeitig] sterben machen, wenn du eine faule Langschläferin bist!" Man sagt ebenso: „*Er* wird dich anschauen, dann ist es bald aus mit dir!" Auch warnt man zuweilen mit: „Jener-dort-oben schaut dich an!", was besagt: Er hat dich bereits aufs Korn genommen, er trägt sich längst mit der Absicht, dich zu strafen. So weiß es jedermann

und er muß sich verhalten dähinein Hippe: Jener Wampinéjum-ajéllin, der Urahn und unbegrenzt Starke „verfügt über eine Kraft, gegen die alle Yamana vereint nicht ausrichten imstande sind, erst recht dann nicht, wenn er eigenmächtig unsere Kinder wegnimmt." In allem lebt die Überzeugung: „Wir müssen ihn fürchten und vor ihm auf der Hut sein!"

Die sichtbare Welt liegt in seiner Hand, „alle Dinge gehören ihm"; er ist Herr und Besitzer alles Geschaffenen. Was immer den Feuerländer umgibt, bezeichnet er nach einem sehr gebräuchlichen Ausdruck als Wampinéjum-ái[10]. BD: 379 übersetzt ái mit: tools, goods, property things in general. Diese Wortbildung meint freundlich an, ihr zufolge ist eben jedes "Ding" ein Bestandteil der Gottheit (S. 972). Offensichtlich sind die Lebewesen gemeint, hauptsächlich die großen Säugetiere und die Vögel. Sie langsamst hat er den Yamana zum Gebrauch und zur Auswertung überlassen, sind also eine rechte Gottesgabe an die Menschen. Ihrer darf jeder sich bedienen, doch nur insoweit, als er sie zum Lebensunterhalt benötigt; sie willkürlich zu mißhandeln oder sie mutwillig zu verletzen, würde sich gegen die Absichten ihres Eigentümers richten und seiner Rache herausfordern. „Scharf wacht er darüber, daß Tiere nicht unnötig getötet werden und daß Fleisch nicht ungenutzt geht", vielmehr aufgebraucht wird! Diese Worte haben mir die Indianer mehrmals und allen Ernstes eingeprägt. Mit der genannten Vorsicht achteten sie so sozusagen genau; sie bin ich Zeuge davon gewesen, daß sie erjagte Tiere unbekümmert liegen gelassen hätten.

Die Feuerländer gehen ferner mit unzweideutigen Erklärungen zu verstehen, daß ihr Wampinéjum auch das Geschick der Menschen in seiner Hand hält. Bekanntlich übern übelwollende Geister und vor allem die yéhamal ihren unheilvollen Einfluß auf einzelne Personen aus; letzteres besitzen Macht genug, um jemanden erkranken zu lassen. Indes nur insoweit und nur so lange dürfen sie Schaden stiften, als Wampinéjum es zuläßt. Entgegen seinem Willen vermag weder ein Geist noch ein yéhamal einer Person zu schädigen. Wenn dies dennoch geschieht, ist er persönlich eigentlich damit einverstanden und er selber bleibt letzten Endes dafür verantwortlich. Findet neuerlich ein yéhamal heraus, daß sich eine ernste Krankheit entwickelt hat, der gegenüber sein eigenes Können versagt, weist er in dieser Erkenntnis von sich aus den Kranken zu Wampinéjum als an den, der allein noch zu helfen imstande ist. Da er eben durch der Stammgottheit ist, geht alles bedeutsame Geschehen zuminderst als seiner Zulassung auf ihn zurück. Mit eigener Hand lenkt er auch die Naturgewalten; das sprechen die Yamana in verschiedenen Wendungen deutlich aus. Vgl. hierzu noch Gusinde (I): 161.

Gilt dieser Urahn, dem als alleinigem Eigentümer alles Sichtbare gehört, auch als dessen letzte Ursache, als Schöpfer? Eine klare Vorstellung von der Schöpfung, so scheint es mir, besitzen unsere Feuerländer nicht.[10] Nir-

[10] In dieser Frage kann ich Bennett (I): 19 zu Wort kommen, obwohl er hierin nicht ein ausschlaggebend gutes kann: „They have no tradition of their origin; for them the

gemäßen erklären die mit bestimmten Worten den Wert des Schöpfers von dem seinen Werken; ebenso wenig bestimmen sie ausdrücklich, daß Watapinkiyan schon vor den eigentlichen Gottheiten dagewesen sei. Tatsächlich ist das aber durch ihre Überzeugung und auch den Ursprung aller Gottheiten schon sie in ihm. Sie sprechen diese Wahrheiten zwar nicht deutlich aus, anerkennen sie aber stillschweigend, wenn sie beispielsweise sagen: „Watapinkiyan war immer allein da! Denn hat er alle Tiere gemacht und war dort in Tâmakiye. Ihm gehören [deshalb] alle Tiere." Über die genaue Herkunft der Menschen und der übrigen Dinge macht sich anscheinend niemand eigene Gedanken; man begnügt sich damit, Watapinkiyan als unumstrittenen Gebieter und wirklichen Eigentümer zu bezeichnen. Damit anerkennt man ihn mehr oder weniger als einzigen und letzten Grund der Theorien der sichtbaren Welt. Vgl. Gennep (I): 146.

Im März 1923 habe ich mich mit dem alten Maiwenaen über diese und ähnliche Vorstellungen unterhalten und ihn gefragt, wie der Ursprung der Menschen gewesen sei. Auch diesmal antwortete er mir bestimmt und klar: „Nicht das erste Mal ist es, daß ich vor dieser Frage stehe. Als junger Mann habe ich die Geschichte von den vielen Tieren erfahren, die damals bei der großen Umwälzung in Tâmakiye verwandelt worden sind. Wie der wohl vor sich gegangen sein mag, fragte ich mich selber und auch andere Männer, vor allem die türkischen zikkemal und die erfahrensten Alten. Niemand wußte mir Antwort zu geben, wie eigentlich die Menschen entstanden und woher sie gekommen sind. So weiß auch ich das bis auf den heutigen Tag nicht. Oft und unablässig habe ich gesucht und mich bemüht, diese Frage zu beantworten. Damals hatte Tâmakiye die ganze Welt und alle Tiere verbrannt. Auch das begreife ich nicht, wie nachher alles vollständig wieder in Ordnung gekommen ist, wie er den ungeheuren Brand gelöscht und wie er dieses Land wieder mit Pflanzen und Tieren belebt hat. Das alles wissen wir nicht. In früheren Jahren habe ich die erfahrensten Alten des Ältesten darüber befragt." Wenige Tage später saß ich, folgend meiner Gewohnheit, im Kreise mehrerer alter Männer und von selber kam die Rede abermals auf jene Dinge. Bezaan wiederholte: „Wir wissen es eigentlich nicht genau, wie alles damals geworden ist. Selbstverständlich war Watapinkiyan in sehr alter Zeit schon da; denn der Himmel war bereits da, über der Erde, dort wo die Wolken sind und wo auch Watapinkiyan sich aufhält. Bevor *Lêm* [Sonne] und *Hêmaya* [Mond] und *Abâiz* [Regenbogen] wie Menschen hier auf der Erde geworden sind, ist Watapinkiyan bereits dagewesen; denn schon vor jenen ist der Himmel dagewesen. In jener Zeit haben die Frauen geherrscht. Wie und woher die Kinder damals gekommen sind, das wissen wir nicht. Denn keiner jener Frauen, die damals die Männer beherrschten, schlief mit ihrem Gatten und vereinigte sich mit ihm, um Kinder zu empfangen. Keiner von uns vermöchte anzugeben, woher die Kinder damals gekommen sind. Erst wirkten sich die große Um-

world was always what it is, and ever will be the same. For them it had no maker or master and they had not the least idea of planning or displeasing anyone beyond themselves."

wähnung verlangen hat, sind die Wörter dem Willen der Wissen unterstellt. In jener Zeit ist es geschehen, da der große Sodale Alpheus (Anonymphaler unterstellt) entdeckt hat, wie Mann und Frau sich vereinigen sollen, sie so antwort und er auf Ihr, das geschieht durch Gesetz, Schlüssen von sie es so bis beschlagenen. Vereinigen sich Mann und Frau auf diese Weise, dann eine folgen Kinder. So wissen wir, wohin jene unsere Kinder kommen. Wohin sie dort abzuhalten gekommen sind, vermag niemand zu erklären. Wohin Ihn und Hinsyn und die Sonne, die damals wie Menschen auf der Erde gelebt haben, kommen mögen, das können wir ebenswenig. Allerdings, als diese [Gesamtes] und auch all [Himmel] dewesen, ist Vergangenheit geschehen dagewesen und er ist auch schon lange vorher dagewesen." Das Werden der sichtbaren Welt vermag eine kein Vaterna bestimmt und deutlich zu erklären. Bemerkenswert ist es trotzdem, daß ein sichtbarer und gebildeter Mann, wie Mohammed diese Lehre gepflegt und sie ausführlich sich bewiesen hat.

Nimmt man die Worte der genannten Wissen genau, so kann man diese die Vorstellung von immerwährendem Dasein des Höchsten. Wenn diese zeitliche Begrenzung nach rückwärts und nach vorwärts entstehen. Ein Aufhören des Seins jener "Ewigkeit-dort-oben" existiert, unsere Frömmigkeit überhaupt nicht und von allen seinen Eigenschaften ist dieses jene am meisten gefällig, welche die oft wiederholte Beziehung Vergangenheit zum Inhalt hat. Dieser "Urahn" ist nach dieser Auffassung eben immer dagewesen und niemand fragt, woher er eigentlich gekommen oder welchen Ursprung er sei. Auch darf man annehmen, daß nach dem Glauben der Vaterna dieser "Urahn" sich immer gleichgeblieben ist. Vergangenes deutete sie es an und auch viel weniger sprechen sie es aus, er habe sein persönliches Verhältnis gegenüber den Menschen außer die Gesetze, welcher er ihnen auferlegt, gebildet. Im ganzen ist er persönlich deutlich geblieben und daher unverständlich. Er läßt sich, nach dem strengen Wortsinne, beschreiben durch Menschen beschäftigen. „Wir Vaterna klagen oft bitterlich; er klagegen geht mit uns um, wie es ihm gefällt" sagte Mazr. Sie hatte mir erklärt, daß in Not und bei ernster Erkrankung die, welche mittelbar oder unmittelbar davon getroffen sind, sich mit Gebeten um Rettung an den Höchste Wesen wenden. Wohl nimmt er die Gebete entgegen zur Kenntnis und erweist sich manchmal gutwillig; mitunter läßt er sich drängen oder gar zwingen, seinen völlig freien Willensentschluß zu ändern. Diese Überzeugung lebt deutlich in den Vaterna.

Trotz ausgesprochener Willkürlichkeit, mit der Vergangenheit in das Geschick des einzelnen Menschen dann und wann offenkundig eingreift, schätzt man ihn im ganzen doch als wohlwollend und gut. Gern ruft man ihn an als den Höchsten; denn er ist wirklich Vater eines jeden und der Vaterna insgesamt. Diese Beziehung wiederholt sich in den sittlichsten Gebetsformeln am häufigsten. Aus dem frohen Bewußtsein, daß er für alle Bedarfs nimmt und im besonderen die Tiere eines jeden für den Lebensunterhalt zur Verfügung stellt, vertraut man ihm und seiner Fügung. Mit einer jener kindlich-naiven Vertrauli-keit begegnen ihm viele, mit der in

[illegible] Verhältnisse ein Kind sich seinem guten Vater gegenüberstellt. Wegen [illegible] Beiträge erweisen den einzelnen aus dem [illegible] Gottesgeschichte heraus, in eigenartiger Intuition „die Überzeugung von der Menschenähnlichkeit des Höchsten Wesens" (Gennep [I]: 162) vor. Deshalb wagt man es auch, ihn sogar mit dem vertraulichen *Koniijan* "Lieber Vätterchen" und dem [illegible] *Tówuw* "der liebe, gute Alte" anzureden.

Als Ergänzung zu dem Bilde vom Höchsten Wesen, wie es in der Vorstellung der Yamana lebt, gehört auch seine durchaus selbständige Stellung gegenüber allen übrigen Geistern und menschlichen Seelen. In keiner einzigen der vielen Mythen, die ich gesammelt habe, wird er irgendwie einbezogen, vielmehr trennt ihn eine weite Kluft von allen mythologischen Persönlichkeiten und von den [illegible] Geistern. Inwiefern man ihn in Beziehung mit jenem Tówuw-Geiste zusammenbringt, ist S. 898 begründet worden. Übrigens werden ihm Charakteristiken zugedacht, die den Yamana als bekanntermaßen gelten, z. B. verheiratet zu sein. Gelegentlich habe ich mich bemüht, Gewißheitsgrade, ob handle es sich um etwas Allgültiges, einige Leute gefragt: „Wie weit ist wohl *Watuginíjen* verheiratet?" Die Antwort folgte ein Gesichtsausdruck, wie ihn eine nach ihrer Ansicht recht dumme, unpassende Anfrage verursacht. Nellie Lawrence, die anwesend war, erklärte die Fragerei zu verlassen und lange Sekunden vergingen, bis sie unter dem Eindruck jener lächerlichen Frage die Herrschaft über sich selber wiedergewann. Auch diesmal wollte sie, wie sonst immer in ähnlichen Fragegängen, gerade sein und verzichtete verärgert: „Davon habe ich noch niemals gehört! Ich werde die Alten fragen, ob sie vielleicht etwas wissen!" Sie hatte dabei schon die volle Überzeugung, daß dergleichen auch den Alten durchaus unbekannt war; deshalb kam sie später nicht mehr auf diese Sache zurück. Als bald darauf Cesar allein vor die gleiche Frage gestellt wurde, erwiderte er entrüstet: „Wer hat denn so etwas behauptet?" Ihn beruhigend erklärten wir: „Eigentlich hat niemand dergleichen behauptet; wir *wollten* nur ihn so nebenbei einmal befragen!" Da hätte er sich in Schweigen und zeigte Mitleid darüber, daß Europäer sich in dieser unnützen Frage verirrt hätten. Von den wirklichen Lebensbedingungen des *Watuginíjen* — gemeint ist Wohnung, Nahrungsgewinnung, Möglichkeit, Schlaf u. dgl. — besitzen die Yamana gar keine Vorstellung und sie sprechen sich darüber überhaupt nicht aus. Sie wissen bestimmt, er hat eine ganz eigene Daseinsweise; das genügt ihnen und nichts drängt sie, noch Einzelheiten sich zu erkundigen.

Stellt man einzelnen Eigenschaften zusammen, die dem *Watuginíjen* zugedacht werden, so erscheint, bei aller Einfachheit des Bildes, eine immerhin recht ausgeprägte Persönlichkeit. Dieser steht durchaus selbständig über allem Geschehenen, sowie unabhängig von anderen Geistwesen und von den Menschen da. Sein Eingreifen in die Geschicke der Erdenbewohner und damit seine Betätigung überhaupt wird ersichtlich aus dem Verkehr, den der einzelne Mensch mit ihm pflegt, und vor allem aus den Gebetsformeln.

2. Religiöse Betätigung

Alle Angaben sprechen so eindeutig aus, daß das Höchste Wesen unserer Yamana nicht, wie etwa die Hauptgottheiten in ihren Mythen, weit hinter den Wolken sitzt, unbekümmert um das Geschehen auf der Erde. Ganz im Gegenteil verfolgt Watauineiwa wirklich und aufmerksam das Tun und Lassen des einzelnen, er greift erkiesend oft auch gegen dessen Wünschen und Hoffen ein, je er zeigt sich mehr, als manchem angenehm ist. Als tätigen, wachsamen Geist kennt ihn jeder. Niemand verliert ihn deshalb ganz und gar aus dem Auge, noch viel weniger würde jemand absichtlich und unbekümmert ihn gänzlich beiseite lassen. Gewiß, einige Indianer sind eifriger auf ihn bedacht, von seinen Eigenschaften lebhafter erfüllt und daher mit ihren Gedanken öfter bei ihm, als andere Stammesgenossen; aber völlig "gottlos" ist kein einziger Feuerländer. Jedermann wird ohne sein Zutun durch seine Verwandten und Nachbarn oft genug an Watauineiwa erinnert und in deren religiöse Betätigung hineingezogen; ohne deshalb kommt niemand aus der Gewohnheit des Religiösen, wie sie von den frühesten Geschlechtern gepflegt und weitergegeben worden ist, gänzlich heraus. Inwieweit und wie oft sich jeder einzelne für sich allein religiös betätigt, entzieht sich einer genauen Beobachtung, und es dürfte sich ebensowenig erweisen lassen, daß die Frauen in dieser Hinsicht mehr tun als die Männer. Entscheidend dafür ist, wie auch anderswo, die persönliche Anlage und der erzieherische Einfluß in den Jugendjahren, nicht minder die nächste Umgebung von früher Kindheit an.

a. *Allgemeine Übungen*

Jene staunenswerte Einfachheit, die sich in den Lebensformen unserer Yamana zu erkennen gibt, wiederholt sich selbstverständlich auf dem religiösen Gebiete. Wenn man von den bestimmten Gebetsformeln absieht, ist ihre äußerliche religiöse Betätigung auffallend beschränkt. Weder kennen sie eigentliche Darstellung des Höchsten Wesens und besondere Plätze, die seiner Verehrung vorbehalten sind, noch haben sie Opfer in irgendwelcher Form; desgleichen fehlen ein Priestertum und religiöse Zeremonien. Man kann als solche die Zusammenkünfte vieler Familien nach einem Todesfalle nicht betrachten, da diese vor allem vom Schmerze über den Verlust eines lieben Verwandten veranlaßt werden. Keinem europäischen Besucher fällt das religiöse Gut unserer Indianer erkennbar in die Augen und daraus allein schon erklärt sich die Einstimmigkeit aller Reisenden und Missionare, die jene als durchaus religionslos angesprungert haben.[10]

Als religiöse Betätigung im weiteren Wortsinne darf man wohl die dauernd gleichmäßige Geisteshaltung einer tiefen Ehrfurcht vor

[10] Stets habe ich mich mit Heiden Männern und Frauen über den Gottesdienst und die religiösen Feiern, an denen sie früher als Kinder und junge Leute mit gewisser Regelmäßigkeit von den Missionaren innerhalb und außerhalb der Missionsstationen eingeladen worden, unterhalten, ungezwungen angesprochen. Jedesmal habe ich den Eindruck

Wanpindjaw anspornen, die der einzelne wählt. Dann ist sich zwar jedermann nicht unentschieden bewußt, aber sie beständig das bestimmend durch legendarisch, daß er in gewissen Bahnen sich bewegt und von allgemeingültigen Grundsätzen sich leiten läßt. Dieser Ehrfurcht ist in dem Ausdrücken innerhalb der religiösen Sphäre dem vergleichbar, was das Gewissen auf dem Gebiete der moralischen Pflichten bedeutet, nämlich eine Art von Leitmotiv, von dem die Einzelperson geführt wird. In dieser Geistesrichtung liegt die unwandelbare Willigkeit des Feuerländers gegenüber den Anforderungen des Stammgenossen begründet. Er unterwirft sich dem ohne Widerspruch, obwohl er als Erklärung dafür nichts anderes zu sagen weiß, als das bekannte Wort: „Wanpindjaw sieht allen. — Er wünscht, daß jeder sich so benimmt, wie es bei uns Yamana immer üblich war!" In diesem und ähnlichen Worten liegt für den die Richtschnur seines Handelns. Letzteres hat sich ohne deutlich auch im Abhalt der Gesichtsbemalungen nicht abgewandelt. Gewiß, die Furcht vor Strafen bewahrt alt diese und jene Person vor Fehltritten; aber eigentlich der alten Überlieferung selbst wegen halten sie sich an das, was diese fordert. Niemals würde sich jemand über die ungen Frauen beklagen, die sie dem freien Handeln anlegt; weit davon entfernt steht altmählich die Gewohnheit der Alten in hoher Achtung, weil letztere Ende durch wieder Wanpindjaw als Wächter der öffentlichen Ordnung anbetreibt.

Da man ihn ehrfürchtig begegnen muß, wagt es niemand, ohne besonderen Anlaß seinen Namen zu wiederholen, viel weniger ihn verächtlich zu machen. Erwähnt man das Höchste Wesen dennoch, gibt man keine Aussprache seines Namens und in der ganzen äußeren Gebärdung eine bestimmte Ehrfurcht und eine gewisse Feierlichkeit zu erkennen, die das gesprochene Wort merklich wallerwall gestalten. Völlig gedankenlos fallen die verschiedenen Namen niemals. Auch das ist ein Zeichen ehrerbietiger Hochachtung, daß man Umschreibungen verwendet. Dieser kommen am häufigsten dann zum Vorschein, wenn ein erregter Mensch sich leidenschaftlich mit jenem Namenlosen, "Der allein Starkes", im Verlauf einer Trauerfeier auseinandersetzt. Er will gleichsam sein ungehöriges Vergehen abklimpfen, als würde er sich nicht unmittelbar und direkt an die bekannte Gottheit wenden. Die habituell ehrfürchtige Haltung der Yamana gegenüber der Person des Höchsten Wesens selber zwingt sie zusammen zu einer möglichst unwandelbaren Treue zum Stammesbrauch, im besonderen zu den eigentlichen sittlichen Verpflichtungen, und läßt den Gedanken an Widerspruch oder widerstrebende Abkehr nicht aufkommen.

β. Hüttgebete

Die Yamana und Selk'nam (Bd. I, 509) gleichen sich genau in der Ausbildung und Ausprägung ihrer religiösen Ehrfurcht; sie unterscheiden sich

gewesen, es ist ihnen völlig unbegreiflich geblieben, wie man durch lauter Gebaren und im einheitlichen Zusammenschluß vieler Personen der Gottheit gefallen könnte. Ihre eigenen Geistesverfassung entspricht so viel mehr, daß die Einzelperson für sich allein dem Höchsten Wesen gegenübersteht und mit ihm jedesmal das unterläßt, was ihre Seele bewegt.

oder zufällig in der Verwendung von Gebeten und Anrufungen, die sie an den Gottheit richteten. Während die Inhalt dieses Typenbuch nur bei wenigen Gebrauchsformen einige mehr oder weniger frei gewählte Worte erlaubte (Bd. I, 110), verfügen unsere Formelbücher über eine lange Reihe von Anfangsgebeten Gebrauchsmuster, deren jeder sich je nach dem gegebenen Umständen bedient. So genau halten sie sich daran, daß sie dieselben auch beziehungsweise auch wiederholen, obwohl einzelne Worte und Wendungen nicht nur nicht mehr bei Alling gebräuchlich, sondern sogar unverständlich geworden sind, gerade auch der allgemeine Sinn der ganzen Formel in erhalten geblieben.

Begreiflicherweise überwiegen an Zahl die Klagen und Trauerformeln, die jeder Todesfall unsere Indianer außerordentlich stark verdrießen und in bildhafte Wendungen bringt. Dieses gegenüber nehmen sich die Bittgebete schlicht und einfach aus. Zuerst folgen diese hier mit kurzer Umschreibung, nachher die anderen Gebete und verwandten Formeln. Von einer grammatikalischen Analyse darf ich füglich Abstand nehmen, weil das Dictionary von Stammen verlangt und besondere Untersuchungen über die Grammatik der Texte von Bisonnaxe durchgeführt worden sind, darauf sei hingewiesen.

1) *Hinapéya* *hâja* *hówâtanâki.*
Mein Vater, mir gnädig sei.

Diese Worte sind eine allgemeine Bitte, die den Höchsten Wesen erflehen mögen, beispielsweise soll es Erfolg auf der Jagd oder guten Wetter während der Fahrt gewähren. — BD. 321 bringt wohlwollend, so sei kindly, so sei good, dieser gây ne mamy.

2) *Hinapéya,* *dawa* *hâja* *hówâtanâpyan* *hâpawîndjâm.*
Mein Vater, wohlan mir gütig sei heute.

Offensichtlich ist diese Bitte der vorhergehenden gleich. Man spricht sie unmittelbar vor einer Fahrt, einer Jagd und ähnlichen Anlässen aus.

3) *Hîlamqwîdâja* *hówâtanâpyan* *hâpawîndjâm.* *Hinapéya.*
Uns sei gnädig heute, mein Vater.

Diese Bitte gleicht wieder der anderen. Am frühen Vormittag wird sie zum Himmel gesandt, kurz bevor man sich zu einem größeren Unternehmen oder zu einer längeren Kanufahrt anschickt.

4) *Awa* *nîdâja,* *hówâtanâpyan.* *Hinapéya.*
Wohlan du, sei [mir] gnädig, mein Vater.

Zwar scheint diese Bitte allgemein gefaßt zu sein, doch wendet insbesondere eine Mutter sie an, deren Kind krank ist, damit Wasgindjaw es nicht ersehen, vielmehr wieder gesunden lasse.

5) *Hinapéya* *nîjîna hâja* *nowatjîd.*
Mein Vater, laß gehen mich, ich in es *dir* zu wissen.

Wer auf diese Weise bittet, ersucht eigentlich um günstiges Wetter. Daher gibt er dem Höchsten Wesen seine Absicht kund, bald seine Fahrt anzutreten.

— BD: 66 [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]; [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]. — [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

(1) Hingegen, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
Beim Vater, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Der soll [illegible] Sache mit Bitte durch einen [illegible] (der Schwiegerval, Pseudonym [illegible]) gegen den Jüngeren, der [illegible] Kunst [illegible] phantasiert ist und [illegible]. Der Wert [illegible] dieser [illegible] der Bitte und [illegible] den Wortgeschlechtes. Obwohl man die [illegible] [illegible] verwendet, [illegible] der Abschreibende [illegible], daß er [illegible] dieser Worte gelehrt sind.

(2) Ihnen [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
Der Sinn, die [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] hier.

Diese Bitte bringt Bitten [illegible] Jemandes [illegible] die, der [illegible] hier [illegible], daß [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Dieser Spruch ist ebenfalls ein Dank für den günstigen Verlauf oder den erfolgreichen Ausgang irgendeines Unternehmens, bei dem zwei Personen beteiligt gewesen sind.

6) *Ahó!, Hitapéqn, hájo hówitsqwétqwéte hajuwétsqéjon.*
Dank, mein Vater, mir gut gewesen heute

Wer im Gemüt einen Erfolgen schwelgt, im besonderen sich reichter Jagdbeute erfreut, vergißt nicht darauf, auf diese Weise dem gütigen Geber und Spender dort oben seiner dankbare Anerkennung zu bekunden.

7) *Hajuwetsíhéje hówuqwtqwéwu Hitapéqn.*
Um hat beschützt mein Vater.

Mit diesem Spruch will sich jemand für den gewonnenen Erfolg oder erlangten Vorteil oder besonderen Schutz, der ihm zuteil geworden ist, bedanken. Ihm diese Formel ruft die eine Familie der anderen zu, nachdem sie heimgekehrt sind oder während sie sich auf dem Wasser begegnen. — BD: 181 schreibt *hówuqwtsrka*, to go or come up in order to take care off; *hówuqwtsqwéwi*, to get up, or come up and stand guardian over.

8) *Sówqwtsi Wuúindjwu, Hitapéqnsíhéje.*
Zufrieden ich mit dem Alten, meinem Vater.

Dankerfüllt äußert sich mit diesen Worten eine Mutter, die für ihr krankes Kind in Sorgen war und jetzt sich darüber freut, daß es wieder gesund ist. Nach BD: 152 ist *sówqwtsi*, to be happily, or at peace.

7) *Ánnu, hájo hówqwtsi ólqwmwtsíhíllr- Wuúqinjíjwu-ólj.*
Wohlan, mich beliebte zusuchauen Wuúqinjíjwu im Himmel,

hajuwétsqéjon.
heute.

Einer, der krank gewesen, aber wieder gesundet ist, legt seinen Dank in dieser Wendung. Schon hatte Wuúqinjíjwu ihn "angeschaut", nämlich aufs Korn genommen, und zwar mit der Absicht, ihn sterben zu lassen. Aber er hat davon noch einmal wieder Abstand genommen. — BD: 20 bringt *ólqwmótó*, to gaze, look, watch sitting.

8) *Ánnu hájo hówumqéle tuqéqn Hitapéqn.*
Wohlan, von mir schlimme Zeit hat weggenommen mein Vater.

So jubelt freudig lebhaft eine Person auf, die lange Zeit krank gelegen, sich aber wieder vollständig erholt hat; die Qual des Siechtums ist vorüber und sie erlebt sozusagen einen neuen Sommer.

9) *Ánnu, hájo kuhéqn tulagínetuqéqn Hitapéqn.*
Wohlan, mich von oben schaute an mein Vater.

Das sind die Worte eines Mannes, der sich bereits dem Tode nahe fühlte, weil Wuúqinjíjwu sein Auge auf ihn geworfen hatte. Da dieser Mann wieder ge-

[illegible], danke er freudig, dem dadurchdem Unglück entronnen zu sein. — BD: [illegible] bringt [illegible], to look, [illegible], gaze, be gazing intently.

10) *[illegible]*, *hipdi* *mirwdrna*, *ahir'*; *hipdi* *[illegible]*
Wohlan, wir unserer Sommer, Dank; für uns ist der Winter
[illegible].
vorüber.

Sobald auch dem [illegible] Winter mit reichlichem Schnee die ersten Anzeichen des nahen Frühlings aufwachen, erwacht jeder erleichtert auf und bringt seine Gefühle neuer Lebenskraft mit diesen Worten freudig zum Ausdruck. — Vgl. in BD: 556 das *tapdjam*.

11) *Hiléjam* *hirjki* *hahpilik*.
Ich selber sah Sno-Ammonen.

Genauer heißt das: Ich habe sie erster mit eigenen Augen die Sno-Ammonen gesehen. — Nach BD: 260 ist *hiléjam*, I only, I by myself; auch BD: 270 sind *hiléjilik*, the red ore ammonen. Die kleinen, purpurroten Sno-Ammonen, auch Saxifragen (Antiniaria) genannt, kann man allerdings während des ganzen Jahres antreffen; trotzdem nimmt man es regelmäßig zum Anlaß heute Jubeln, wenn man im ausgehenden Winter ungewöhnlich hellwerdenden Kalendern dieser kleinen Tiere ansichtig wird. Als Boten des Frühlings, den zu erleben sich jeder verspricht, begrüßt man sie. Für diese günstige Aussicht in die Zukunft danke man Wotanidiwa mit der genannten Formel. Am lauter Übermut springen und tanzen die Leute sogar im gebrechlichen Kasa herum, unbekümmert um die große Gefahr, es durchzutreten und zu zerbrechen. Heute ungelassen kommt sich dre, welcher zuerst der hellfarbigen Sno-Ammonen ansichtig geworden ist.

12) *Annéliq*, *hipdi* *mirwdrna*, *ahir'*; *annéliq*, *hipdi*
Wohlan, uns unserer Sommer, Dank; wohlan, uns
mirwdrna.
unserer Sommer.

Mit diesem längeren Spruch danken die Leute dem Höchsten Wesen, daß ihnen ein neuer Sommer und damit wieder ein neues Stück Leben durch ihn beschert wird. — BD: 25 schreibt *annéliq*.

13) *Ahir'*, *hipdi* *tsmijgma*, *hihuktsin*.
Dank, uns wir malen mit Eigelb, Sommer ist da.

Im einzelnen besagt diese Wendung: Dank sei *dir*, *Wotanidjma*, daß wir [durch deine Güte] diesen neuen Sommer erleben dürfen; zum Ausdruck unserer Freude bemalen wir uns mit Eigelb. — BD: 262 schreibt *hihiktsin*, the other, another summer. BD: 493 bringt *tsmijgma*, to beautify or adorn oneself in any way. — Mit diesem Ausruf fordert man sich gegenseitig zu einer besonderen Gesichtsbemalung auf, sobald im Frühling die ersten Vogeleier erreichbar werden. Mit dem Eigelb aus einem frischen Ei schmiert man

einen fingerbreiten Strich, angefangen an der Haargrenze, über Stirn und Nasenrücken bis an die Oberlippe. Währenddessen herrscht muntere und zuweilen ausgelassene Vergnüglichkeit. Nicht immer wendet man sich mit dieser Formel dankerfüllt unmittelbar an *Hidábyan*, wohl aber mittelbar jedesmal, so oft man sie ausspricht.

14) *Annu,* *hájı* *kēmaystuxímaxuíjána yárum,*
Wohlan, um mich hat sich bemüht mit günstigem Wetter,

hipikájı *kēmaystuxímágya* *Wataynéjwa.*
um uns hat sich bemüht *Wataynéjwa.*

Auch mit diesen Worten dankt man dem Höchsten Wesen für die günstige Witterung, von der er die Kanus begleiten ließ; und zwar spricht einer für sich persönlich und für seine Gefolgschaft. — Vgl. *ūīaina* im BD: 66, außerdem seine Verwendung in der Formel 5 (S. 1059) und Formel 2 (S. 1056).

15) *Annu,* *hipikájı* *kēmaystēkude* *Hitapūan,* *wēlitēs* *hipái*
Wohlan, uns hat beschützt mein Vater, gnädig uns

taywarágude *ānen,* *hipái* *ǐabágudagu* *Hitapūančikájı.*
er rettete das Boot, wir gratulieren [uns] zu unserm Vater.

Diese längeren Dankesworte werden von denen wiederholt, die nach gefährlicher Seefahrt sichere Rettung gefunden haben. Man vergegenwärtige sich den plötzlichen Wetterwechsel, von dem ein Kanu inmitten eines breiten Wasserarmes zuweilen überrascht wird. — BD: 428 bringt *taywāgū*, to keep near to in order to support or aid by one's presence, ... to defend, aid by being present. Vgl. auch im BD: 152 das *ǐabagūdāgū*, to congratulate oneself on a happy success. — In den obigen Worten kommt also zum Ausdruck, wie aufrichtig sich die Yamana darüber freuen, einen gütigen Vater-dort-oben zu haben, der rettend sich ihrer annimmt; sie beglückwünschen sich dazu, ihn zu besitzen.

16) *Sēnnakitę* *Hāyčélla* *hájan* *hajanęgte* *čiętxays,* *makainixęala*
Frei von *Hāyčélla* wir vereint im *čiętxays,* mit den Fremden

ūīka takájı *hájan* *ǐabagudjáte.* *Annu,* *hipikájı*
hier bei uns wir friedlich vereint. Wohlan, uns

kekajtaywanjáte, *čiętxays.* *Annu,* *kēmētawēgána* *kēndēj,*
zu helfen versprochen, *čiętxays.* Gewiß, wohlwollend beide,

hajananíkájı *lēīa* *hájanči* *tīnamūtupe*
uns [bleibt] Landstück, wo wir den Winter verbringen

hajandēpan, *Wēlapatux-sēj*
wir allein, [falls] Mörder im Himmel

kēguraiminęgna *hajananíkájı.* *ketęgede*
nicht beabsichtigt wegzunehmen uns. Dank,

Wataginčjwa. Hajananíkdja mēltumulānude, aldr[3].
dem Alten. Uns hier aufwachen lassen, Dank [ihm].

Wataginčjwa hālu hčnikipam kōmaustghčna
Wataginčjwa alle diese Tage war schützend besorgt,

hanančispgdčylum. Mekdjnix kōndēj kdja kākan
so auch in Zukunft. Fremde zwei ebenfalls weiterhin

kēlumaustekyāna hajandnin Imūn; kgtčggde Hiddbyan,
wird behüten unser Vater; Dank mein Vater,

kgtčggde Hiddbyan!
Dank mein Vater!

Diesen langen Spruch hat CALDERON beim Abschluß der Jugendweihe im März 1922 frei zusammengestellt. Die sinngemäße Übersetzung wäre etwa: Ohne durch *Häučēlla* belästigt zu werden,[14] haben wir hier das *čičxaus* gefeiert und zwar in friedlicher Gemeinschaft mit den beiden Fremden [GUSINDE und KORTRAS]. Sie haben versprochen uns zu helfen.[15] Da sie wohlwollende Menschen sind, werden sie ihr Versprechen erfüllen. Dann wird dieses Gebiet am Puerto Mejillones uns allein als Eigentum gehören und wir werden hier ungestört jeden Winter verbringen können. Wenn nur nicht jener "Mörder-im-Himmel" uns faßt und weghält! Dank sei dem *Wataginčjwa*, der uns noch das Leben schenkt. *Wataginčjwa* wird auch künftighin schützend sich unser annehmen, so wie er es in diesen Tagen getan hat. Auch diese beiden Weißen wird unser Vater behüten. Dafür sei dir Dank, mein Vater!

Nur auf einige Worte, die auch im BD sich finden, sei hingewiesen. BD: 154 bringt *sōnnalita*, solitary, lonely, secluded. BD: 152 schreibt: *sobagūdia*, to lie down happily, to lie down in peace, to be or live happily. BD: 281 erklärt *lala*, statt des obigen *lēla* u. a. als: shelving rocks with large spaces between them, was für die Küste am Puerto Mejillones zutrifft. BD: 177 nennt *kōgurālla*, to be impatient to get. BD: 181 bringt *kōmausteka*, to go, or come up in order to take care off. Das *kgtčggde* ist gleich dem *kategata* im BD: 170.

Auffallend bleibt, um dies nochmals zu erwähnen, daß unsere Feuerländer aus verschiedenen Anlässen heraus bestimmte Sprüche zu einer aufrichtigen Danksagung gebildet haben und daß sie sich damit häufig an ihr Höchstes Wesen wenden, um ihm ihre Dankesschuld abzutragen.

d. Klagerufe

Zahlreicher und mannigfaltiger sind jene Formeln, mit denen die betroffenen Personen ihr vom Trauerschmerz erfülltes Herz ausschütten und mit

[14] Nur vereinzelt wird *dipgr* Kina-Geist während der Jugendweihe erwähnt (S. 894).

[15] Den im Puerto Mejillones angesiedelten Familien hatte ich zugesichert, dafür mich einzusetzen, daß das bezeichnete Gebiet ihnen ausschließlich als Eigentum von der chilenischen Regierung überlassen würde. Vgl. GUSINDE (2): 434.

denen sie auch anderes Leid sich von der Seele wälzen. Dabei eröffnen sie ihre ganz menschliche und durchaus gefühlvolle Art, die noch nie vor einem Europäer sich so weit enthüllt hat, wie vor mir, anläßlich einer großen Totenfeier und bei einigen anderen Gelegenheiten. Außer den Rufen, die hier aufgezeichnet sind, haben die Leute der früheren Zeit über eine reichere Anzahl verfügt, die als unwiederbringlich verloren betrachtet werden müssen. Mehrmals ist mir dies versichert worden. Diese Sprüche folgen hier in loser Anordnung und zwar zuerst jene, die eigentlicher Ausdruck der Trauer sind.

1) *Hitapâgn, kômudʃkun hâja ko-kâpa tutumeyuwukʃte.*
Mein Vater, warum wohl mich von-oben-her hat gestraft.

Diese Worte werden unter lautem Schreien und erschütterndem Schluchzen von jenen Frauen wiederholt, denen *Watayinʃiwa* ein Kind hat sterben lassen. Jede von ihnen beurteilt den Verlust eines Kindes als eine persönliche Strafe für sich. — ANNA, die alle ihre Kinder ausnahmslos verloren hat, führt diesen Spruch häufig im Munde; so versicherten es mir ihre vertrauten Freundinnen NELLY und ADELHEID. Das *kômudʃkun* ist gleich dem *kônûdûn* im BD: 172, als: what's the matter? what do you want? BD: 564 bringt *tûtûmêûn*, to punish, illtreat, correct by punishing.

2) *Annûččig hâja âla kâpa tutumeyuwundʃg Hitapâgn, tâlaywâja, tâlaywûja.*
Quare me sponte desuper castigavisti, mi pater,

Wiederum sagt klagend eine Frau: Warum hast du von dir aus mich gestraft, indem du mein Kind hast sterben lassen. — BD: 25 schreibt *annûûčia*. Das *tâlaywâja*, häufig auch *talaywâja*, dient hier als Ausruf der Bekräftigung, etwa im Sinne von: Groß ist mein Schmerz, ich bin ganz niedergedrückt, so rufe ich voller Trauer. Auch im BD: 389 findet sich das *tellgeia*, being mourners or in mourning for the dead. In dieser Stellung und Verbindung hier besagt es etwa so viel wie unser: O weh! Vgl. auch die Angaben auf S. 1123.

3) *Kênʃâičig hâja kâpa matayuwčimutâkude; kîtu kâpa tutumlnatupuwičig Watayinʃiwa-ôʃ âpai.*
Deshalb mir von oben her geholfen; er selbst von oben her wieder wegnehmen der Alte-im-Himmel damit.

Eine trauernde Mutter durchschaut ihre Lage und sagt: Jener-dort-oben hat sich den Anschein gegeben, als erweise er sich mir besonders wohlwollend; in Wirklichkeit aber hat er mir zu meinem Kind in der Absicht verholfen, es sterben zu lassen und mir damit großen Schmerz zu bereiten. — BD: 307 bringt *matayuwôčʃ* bzw. *matayuwôštâgû*, to work with one another as companions. Aus der Verwendung dieses Wortes ersieht man die Vorstellung unserer Indianer, derzufolge beim Entstehen eines Kindes das Höchste Wesen und die Mutter gemeinsam tätig sind. BD: 494 bringt *tumlna*, to pick up with or in the hands.

6) *Kin-ŋŋŋ* *hŋŋ* *hŋŋŋŋ* *hŋŋŋŋ

Der Sinn ist folgender: Wieder beginne ich einen Sommer und zwar bin ich alleinstehend, wie werde ich da fertig werden! Eine verwitwete Frau sagt diese Worte im Andenken an ihren Mann, den sie kürzlich verloren hat. — BD: 260 deutet *hitōpan* als I only, I alone. Vgl. im BD: 495 *tūmaipana*, to be unable or find difficulty in doing anything. Das *tupána* hat man mir als ein heute nicht mehr gebräuchliches Wort bezeichnet.

10) *Kagufwōmulátude,* *Hitapána,* *háka,* *tálaywāja.*
Mich hat er entmutigt, mein Vater, meinetwegen, o weh!

So spricht einer, dem ein naher Verwandter gestorben ist und der durch diesen Todesfall so stark erschüttert wurde, daß er sich selber vor sein eigenes Ende gestellt sieht. — Das genannte Verbum dürfte mit *kāgufkilinata*, to get west, im BD: 200, zusammenhängen.

11) *Wataynéjwa-sēf* *hája* *kaguramlnude,* *tálaywāja,*
Der Alte-im-Himmel mir nahm weg o weh,
šatambāyančinéjwa *Hitápyančikája,* *tálaywāja.*
ich zürne meinem Vater, o weh.

Ganz offen erklärt einer, daß sein Zorn auf *Wataynéjwa* hin gerichtet ist, weil dieser ihm die Verwandten hat sterben lassen. — BD: 153 bringt *šatambāya*, dissatisfied, displeased, discontented. NELLY und ADELHEID versicherten ausdrücklich, diese reine Form der Klagerufe sei schwer zu übersetzen.

12) *Annu,* *hája,* *k-ála* *kápa,* *tarawēna*
Ja, meinetwegen, ipse sponte desuper, weinen
hayakipaiémalim.
meine Angehörigen.

Diese Worte bedeuten: Von der Willkürlichkeit Desjenigen-dort-oben ist mir Unheil widerfahren, nämlich der Verlust eines Familienmitgliedes; daran nehmen meine nächsten Angehörigen teil und weinen mit mir. — BD: 422 erwähnt das allgemein gebräuchliche *tára* und *taratapōna*, to cry very much, to keep on crying as a young child in pain. Mehrmals schon hat sich das *ála* wiederholt. Sein eigentlicher Sinn ist: sponte, aus freien Stücken, aus eigenem Antrieb, nach persönlichem Entschluß; oder, wie BD: 87 sagt: without being bidden, i. e. on one own's responsibility, without being asked. Deshalb wird hier *k-ála kápa* mit: ipse sponte desuper wiedergegeben. Diese Wendung beleuchtet das gänzlich freie, ja willkürliche Vorgehen des *Wataynéjwa*, dem jeder Mensch wehrlos gegenübersteht.

13) *Annu,* *máte* *k-ála* *kápa* *yájix* *tēpanána*
Ja, ipse sponte desuper Tränen macht er fließen
kičimundén, *tálaywāja,* *yájix yámala,* *yájix dára,*
den Verwandten, o weh, Tränen große, Tränen alle,
kandén.
von ihnen.

Dieser Sinn ist offensichtlich gleich dem des vorhergehenden Rufes. Eindrucksvoll wirkt die letzte Hälfte dieser Klage. — Das *tōpanāna* dürfte das *tōpanana* im BD: 409 sein.

14) *Kičihāj* *kipnīfmalim* *kakāpa makāj tulākuda,*
Ihn den alten Frauen Jener-von-oben hat weggenommen,

Hitapāgn, *tālaywōja.*
mein Vater, o weh.

Während einige ältere Frauen um einen bestimmten Toten trauern, faßt einer der Anwesenden die Sachlage in die Worte: Gewiß, jenen, den ihr beweint, hat Der-dort-oben sterben lassen; das ist wirklich ein Grund zu klagen.

15) *Kičin ajzēš kipa kakāpan,* *tālaywōja;* *ālā*
Seine starke Frau von oben [heimgesucht], o weh; zum Glück

sēskin *ēglasina* *ajzēš kipa kakāpan,* *tālaywōja.*
Herz gekräftigt starke Frau von oben, o weh.

Hinblickend auf ihren Schwager sagt die schwächere, trauernde Schwester: Seine tapfere Frau [=meine Schwester] ist von Dem-dort-oben heimgesucht worden; aber glücklicherweise ist sie von Jenem-dort-oben auch mit einem starken Herzen ausgerüstet worden und so wird sie dieses Leid überwinden. — Auch BD: 63 bringt *ēglasina*, strong, energetic, not easily subdued. Das *ajzēš* steht in Verbindung mit *ajzāku* bzw. *ajzōka* im BD: 10.

16) *Kitēpan* *hāja* *ka-kāpa* *lituxmātu*[illegible] *Hitapāgn,* *tālaywōja.*
Er selber mich Der-oben soll heira[illegible] mein Vater, o weh.

Hier haben wir den sehr erregten Wutausbruch einer verzweifelten Witwe, die nach dem Verlust ihres Gatten sich ratlos und verlassen sieht. Sie will sagen: Da ich allein dastehe und mir nicht zu helfen weiß, soll Jener-dort-oben mich heiraten und damit die Sorgen eines Gatten um mich übernehmen. — BD: 573 erwähnt *tuxmātā* und *tuxmātātas*, living happily with one's wife.

17) *Āpitēpan* *kēčimāta* *ke-kāpa* *mamūpi tēpāna,*
Ohne alles [ich] hier [durch] von oben, wir in Armut,

tālaywōja. *mīči.*
o weh, Platz.

Eine Witwe schildert dem Höchsten Wesen ihre und ihrer Kinder verzweifelte Lage, etwa in diesem Sinne: Von allem beraubt durch Jenen-dort-oben, sitze ich mit meinen Kindern hier auf meinem Lagerplatz. Wer wird meine Kinder ernähren, da ich völlig verarmt bin, seitdem Jener-dort-oben mir meinen Mann hat sterben lassen. — Vgl. im BD: 409 das *tōpāna* und *tōpanana*, mit dem auch *āpitōpa* in Verbindung steht. Möglicherweise gehören das obige *mamūpi* und das *mamūāpai* im BD: 299 zusammen. Vgl. zu *kēčimāta* die Zusammensetzungen aus *hiči* und Richtungspartikeln im BD: 171.

18) *Elatahdhi* *ha-kāpa* *uwēpamḡgua,* *tālaywōja:* *dana,*
Witwer [ich] [durch] von oben entrissen, o weh; wohlan,

ilhdja ha-kāpa *maylteximḡlaudna* *Hidāhyan,* *Ajudhan,*
Du-dort-oben unterhalte sie, mein Vater, [du] Harter,

tālaywōja.
o weh.

Dieser Ausspruch besagt: Zum Witwer bin ich durch Jenen-dort-oben geworden, der mir meine Frau entrissen hat. Weh mir! Wohlan denn, Du-dort-oben, mein Vater, sorge du jetzt für den Unterhalt meiner Kinder, du Hartherziger!

19) *Kul* *tumutekiydgua* *Wataynēiwa-sōfinčikdja,* *tālaywōja?*
Wo ist zu finden, der Alte im Himmel, o weh.

Das ist die Drohung einer Person, die in ihrer Trauer ratlos tobt: An welchem Orte könnte ich wohl mit *Wataynēiwa* zusammentreffen, dá ich mich mit ihm gründlich auseinandersetzen möchte! — BD: 395 bringt *tekliāgū*, to find what is one's own, to find and appropriate.

20) *Akdjakeydwa* *hdja* *tekiydgu* *Wataynēiwa-sōfinčikdja.*
Ich verlange heftig mich zu treffen mit Alter-im-Himmel.

In gleicher Weise, wie mit der vorhergehenden Formel, äußert sich hier ein anderer, der sehr aufgeregt ist und der vor Verlangen darnach fiebert, mit Jenem-dort-oben seine traurige Angelegenheit rücksichtslos auszutragen.

21) *Kul* *hiletekiydgua* *Wataynēiwa-sōfinčikdja,*
Wo könnte ich zusammenkommen mit *Wataynēiwa*-im-Himmel,

tālaywōja.
o weh.

Inhaltlich ist diese Formel der vorhergehenden gleich. Da auch dieses heftige Verlangen sich nicht verwirklichen läßt, ergibt sich jeder in den engen Fesseln des ohnmächtigen Hilflosen.

22) *Kdja* *hdja* *killakupamḡgyin,* *tālaywōja,* *Hitapāga.*
Auch mich soll er hinwegraffen, o weh, mein Vater.

Eine trauernde Person vermißt an ihrer Seite den Lebensgefährten und da sie nicht länger allein dasteheu will, ruft sie entschlossen: So mag Jener-dort-oben mich ebenfalls von hier wegnehmen und mir den Tod geben. — Vgl. im BD: 171 die Zusammensetzungen mit *killa*.

23) *Sapāru-dčin-hdjywa* *Hitāpyančikdja,* *tālaywōja,* *ukḡli*
Wie schrecklich wegen meines Vaters, o weh, einziges [Kind]

hja-kāpa *mḡličin,* *tālaywōja,* *Sapāru-dčin-hdjywa,* *tālaywōja.*
von oben in Gefahr, o weh, Furcht habe ich, o weh.

Das ist die Klage einer Mutter, die schon mehrere Kinder verloren hat. Sie sagt: Ich habe allen Grund, mich zu ängstigen; denn da *Hiděłqan* meine anderen Kinder hat sterben lassen, schwebt das einzige, das mir geblieben, in Gefahr, ebenfalls bald dem Tode anheimzufallen. — BD: 286 bringt *mōala*, to expose oneself to danger. Auch BD: 158 schreibt *aparū-ofin-haiłła*, how dreadful, how horrible.

24) *Histpgančix* *łłłi* *łápagur'* *yēkłkār'*
Alleinstehend ich glücklich fühlen in meiner Hütte,

mōtalapēnłkār' *łłgančjakłłi,* *tálaywōja.*
still die Hütte und meine Kinderhütte, o weh!

Nun ich ganz allein dastehe in meiner Hütte, wie könnte ich dabei glücklich sein; denn still, weil leer, ist es in meiner Wohnhütte und in der Kinderhütte, o weh mir! Das ist die Klage einer Mutter, die in ihrer Hütte herumschauend vergeblich nach ihren Kindern sucht; denn alle hat der Tod ihr entrissen. — BD: 260 schreibt *łitopōpan*, I by myself, without anybody else whatever. BD: 152 bringt *łebagūr'*, to do happily, to be happily or at peace. Die eigentliche Kinderhütte *čkłłi* ist S. 388 beschrieben worden. Vgl. *mōtalapōna*, to become quite calm, im BD: 320.

Bei hochgesteigerter Erregung schlagen die trauernden Frauen bisweilen ihre eigene Hütte kurz und klein, und zwar unmittelbar nach der Beerdigung ihres Kindes. So oft sie nämlich die Wohnung betrachten, fällt ihnen die Lücke auf, die der Tod in den Kreis ihrer Kinder gerissen hat. Also wollen sie dieses Bild ganz und gar austilgen, das ihren Schmerz erneut weckt. Gleichzeitig zertrümmern sie die Gebrauchsgegenstände des eben verstorbenen Kindes. JOHN LAWRENCE und seine Söhne haben versichert, wiederholt Zeugen eines derartigen wilden Verhaltens der trauernden Eltern gewesen zu sein.

25) *Haukllunči* *akáluwajklpan* *kagičłkude* *hája,* *łłjma.*
Ich bin von der See die Frau er nahm weg mir, o Trauer.

Eine Witwe klagt darüber, daß das Höchste Wesen ihren Mann im Wasser hat untergehen lassen. — BD: 16 bringt *akālūaia*, a lake, pond, pool, puddle. Die obige Zusammensetzung, eine dem Yamana geläufige Bildung, besagt etwa: die Frau, die mit dem See dort etwas zu tun hat. BD: 194 erwähnt *kāgičekū*, to rise up and get fast, so as not to be able to pull down! Der Ausruf *łłjma* ist hier gleichbedeutend mit *tálaywōja*. Vgl. *łarma* im BD: 282.

26) *Hála* *kūpa-māyēn* *mutáyana,* *tálaywōja* *Histpgančihája.*
Doch von oben beobachten aufhören, o weh, mein Vater.

Genau besagt dieser Spruch: Mein Vater, ich wünsche sehr, du solltest aufhören, noch weiter mich scharf ins Auge zu fassen; andernfalls werde ich mich zeitig genug rächen und dir auch einen Schaden zufügen. — Vgl. *mājuku*, to observe, watch with a view to find out anything, im BD: 291; *mutayana*, to cease, desist, im BD: 366; *hala* und *la* im BD: 277, 263. Bei der großen Totenfeier im März 1923 habe ich diese Formel mehrmals gehört.

27) *Ammamatá, hálu hápu tómukinamaqhua Yáqanáqa-dáqanlum*
Verlangen, doch dort oben ernstlich zunehmen in *Yáqanáqa*

hápu tólku qhuchipalikáqa, tólquwáqa.
dort oben sich freuen Frauen von Norden, o weh.

Um diesen Satz zu verstehen, muß man sich vergegenwärtigen, daß nach Auffassung der Yamana alle Tiere von *Watuqindjuu* in *Yáqanáqa* gemacht worden sind; dort hat es eine größe Umwälzung gegeben, als die *kina*-spitzenden Frauen vom Norden kommend sich niedergelassen haben. Somit gehören ihm alle Tiere als sein Eigentum. Irgendjemand, der seinem Trauerschmerz zustehen möchte, spricht mit dem genannten Satz sein heißes Verlangen aus, dem *Watuqindjuu* einen ernsten Schaden dadurch zuzufügen, daß er dessen Tiere vernichtet; sollte ihm das gelingen, wäre es ihm eine ausreichende Genugtuung. — Die einzelnen Worte finden sich im BD: 26, *ammamata*, to be longing for. Das *tómukinamu* im BD: 521 bezieht sich auf die strenge Behandlung der Prüflinge und auf die ernste Tagesordnung in der *kina*-Schule. BD: 400 schreibt *tólku*, to laugh, twitter.

Der alte MAIRESKENS, der diese feststehende Formel bei der großen Totenfeier im März 1923 wiederholt hat, knüpfte noch einige persönliche Gedanken an sie an und sagte in ungebundener Rede: „Alle Tiere sind dort von *Yáqanáqa* ausgegangen. *Watuqindjuu* hat das bewirkt. Deshalb werde ich, da ich seiner Person nicht nahe kommen kann, alle seine Tiere töten, die er gemacht hat. Das wird mich beruhigen und zufriedenstellen, das wird meiner Rachlust genügen!" Nach längerer Pause führte er diesen Gedanken folgendermaßen weiter: „Leider kann ich jetzt 'Dem-dort-oben' keinen ernsten Schaden zufügen; denn ich bin zu alt [gebrechlich] und habe nicht genügend Waffen, nichts mehr kann ich unternehmen, da mir alle [illegible] die Kräfte fehlen. Früher allerdings habe ich nach diesem Plan gehandelt; da habe ich mutwillig viele Tiere erschlagen, den Wald niedergebrochen, alles kurz und klein gehauen, bloß, um 'Jenen-dort-oben' zu schädigen. Heute bin ich dazu nicht mehr imstande, ich bin schon zu alt geworden. Damals ist es mir eine Lust gewesen, wüst herumzuhauen und alles zu vernichten, damit *Watuqindjuu* benachteiligt würde. Nur in dieser Absicht habe ich viele Tiere totgeschlagen, nicht aber deshalb, weil ich sie als Nahrung verwenden wollte."

28) *Kuí kun Yáqanáqa*
Alles Getier in *Yáqanáqa*

hapatháku hálu mimyamthúta
zu genießen die Hände ausstrecken, andere hungrig ansehen

hapatháqalikáqa ípan, Watuqindjuu
genießen auch, *Watuqindjuu*.

In gleicher Weise, wie soeben, setzt auch dieser Ausspruch voraus, daß *Watuqindjuu* in *Yáqanáqa* die Tiere gemacht hat und deshalb gehören sie

ihm. Wer einen lieben Toten betrauert, weiß sich von Jenem-dort-oben bestraft, als hätte er dessen Eigentumsrecht über die Tiere mißbraucht. Deswegen erklärt er dem *Wataginâjwa* mit den erwähnten Worten: Nur in der Absicht habe ich deine Tiere getötet und verzehrt, damit ich mich gegen Hunger schütze und mich am Leben erhalte; so taten es auch andere Mitglieder meiner Familie, d. h. meine Frau. Ein anderes Ziel haben wir mit unserer Handlungsweise nicht verfolgt. Du hast mich trotzdem gestraft und von hier ich übel dran. — Hingewiesen sei allein auf *hapatôska*, having a savoury smell, im BD: 266, und auf *mûmûkana*, im BD: 289.

39) *Ápa* *ûlîn* *kapalegênude,* *tálaywâja,* *Abâjla sa?*
Warum wieder Ausschau halten, o weh, Starker du?

hâjnâsgênîk *hapatêl* *kênjîkâja* *hlta* *ogîasinôgna,*
so wie ich genießen ich Speck unfähig;

hipâja hipîkâja *kûpa* *latambgânude,* *Hjdâbyan,* *tálaywâja;*
uns allen dort-oben sehr erzürnt, mein Vater, o weh;

kâka *mêrakâgu* *hipâj* *kûkan* *latambgânapana*
gleichzeitig sich stellen wir weiterhin unzufrieden

hîtîkâja, *Hidâbyanîtîkâja,* *tálaywâja;* *akêmul têpâja,* *hlxupa*
mit ihm, unserm Vater, o weh; Sohn ach, der-von-oben

mîhanâgên, *tálaywâja,* *malakâna* *hlxupa* *magâjatulatâkude,*
belassen, o weh, das Mädchen der-von-oben in Ruhe lassen,

tálaywâja?
o weh?

Der Sinn ist ungefähr folgender: Warum schaust du 'Starker-dort-oben' wieder böswillig nach mir aus? Fürchtest du etwa, daß ich alle deine Tiere verzehren werde? Einer, der so gebaut ist wie ich, ist nicht einmal fähig, allein den Speck und das Fleisch von einem gestrandeten Wale zu verzehren. Warum also zürnst du uns allen? Auch wir stellen uns so, daß du erkennen kannst, d. h. auch wir zeigen es dir jetzt, wie wir mit dir ebenfalls unzufrieden sind. Wird 'Der-dort-oben' meinen Sohn mir belassen, nachdem er mir meine Tochter weggenommen hat? — Fast alle hier verwendeten Worte sind im BD aufgezählt.

40) *Hîtîgyanîtîtîpakânu* *hâja* *kûpa-latampgânmutâkudej,* *lôjma;*
Mein Vater allein mir dort-oben zürnt, o weh;

anâdîlîg *wêlapatêxtulêra* *kûpa-latampgânmutâkudej,* *lôjma.*
wahrhaftig, Mörder-Berg, dort-oben zürnt, o weh.

Das soll heißen: Ich hatte gedacht, nur *Hidâbyan* allein dort-oben zürnt mir; doch nein, auch ein Mensch ist zum Mörder meines Kindes geworden, genau so, wie wenn Jener-dort zürnt. Statt der Bezeichnung für Mann oder Stammesmitglied steht hier die für Berg.

31) *Iḷamustáhe* *Wataginḷjwa* *gipdjnṭihdja,* *wḷgḷig* *hamakénna*
Sonderbar handelt der Alte mit uns, allein dastehen

mḷgḷamudṭkuda, *tálagwája.*
alle Tage, o weh.

Eine Mutter klagt: Höchst merkwürdig verfährt *Wataginḷjwa* mit uns! Mir nahm er meine Tochter weg und so stehe ich nun allein da. — Das *iḷamustáhe* dürfte mit *iḷöpitaki* im BD: 39 in Verbindung zu bringen sein.

32) *Kénutua* *Hitapḷga* *kupáči* *talagénakulmṭtuda,* *tálagwája.*
Warum mein Vater von oben rücksichtslos anschauen, o weh.

Dieser Klageruf besagt: Was mag wohl der Grund dafür sein, daß mein Vater gar keine Rücksicht auf mich nimmt und daß er mein Kind sterben läßt! — Diesen Ruf wiederholten mehrere Personen bei der allgemeinen Totenfeier im März 1923.

33) *Wataginḷjwa* *hipikdja* *kuičánaër ammuztilguta,* *hayanṭimḷgla*
Der Alte uns beiden Wal stranden, alle Tage

hamalánna *hipáj* *wḷglapḷgna.*
morgens wir Fleisch schneiden.

Jemand äußert seine Trauer auf folgende merkwürdige Art: Der Alte-dort-oben hat wieder einen von uns sterben lassen. Besser wäre es gewesen, er hätte einen Wal zum Stranden gebracht. Wir wären dann dorthin gefahren und durch viele Tage hätten wir an jedem Morgen uns dort Fleischstücke abschneiden können, er sowohl wie auch ich.

34) *Yamalëri* *ilma* *kupa* *malákula mutḷkuda* *yatuudjmkipa*
Viel Wasser von-oben weinen älteste Schwester

kičimun, *tálagwája;* *kiči wélapatuz-wdja* *tásaja* *kupa*
ihr Vater, o weh; Mörder-Bucht gleichfalls von-oben

masákuldjna *kiči kičimun;* *ḷgtępen séla* *kupa* *mayamutundna,*
viele Tränen ihr Vater; Kind von-oben Zähne zeigen,

tálagwája; *kénnasiguja wéj* *ojinḷgna* *sina* *ydjx*
o weh; wer folgen vermöchte verursachen deine Tränen

dërupa, *tálagwája.*
fließen, o weh.

Die alte Emilia aus dem Süden, die nie mit der Mission in Berührung gekommen war, hat diese Worte wiederholt. Meine Gewährsmänner versicherten nachdrücklich, daß ihnen manche Wendungen deswegen unbekannt seien, weil sie altertümlich sind und einem anderen Dialekt angehören. Der ganze Satz hat etwa folgenden Inhalt: Wegen Dessen-da-oben hat ein alter Mann um seine Tochter, die der Tod ihm geraubt hatte, reichliche Tränen vergossen und zwar so viele, wie dort geflossen sind in Ushuaia, wo Jener-von-oben

zahlreiche Menschen hat sterben lassen! An dessen Tochter hat Jesus-vuaban seine Wut ausgelassen [Zähne gezeigt]. Möchte es uns doch gegeben sein, ihm den gleichen großen Trinenstrom abzuringen.

Bekanntlich hieß bei den Yamana, seitdem schwere Seuchen viele Menschenleben auf der Missionsstation Ushuaia gefordert haben, diese Gegend *xfiapatay-wája*, die Bucht des großen Mörders, d. h. des großen Sterbens. Vgl. die diesbezüglichen Einzelheiten auf S. 298 und S. 340.

35) *Hái* *latamhájy* *hái* *Hitápganíkája.*
Ich unzufrieden mit meinem Vater.

Diesen allgemeinen Ausdruck kann jeder anwenden, der in Trauer ist; denn die Handlungsweise des Höchsten Wesens ist eben doch gänzlich rücksichtslos.

Mehr oder weniger deutlich bringen alle diese Sprüche die Ohnmacht des trauernden Menschen gegenüber jenem *Watapinájwa*, dem Starken, zum Ausdruck. Sein Vorgehen beurteilen die Yamana als willkürliche Quälerei; denn unbekümmert um ihr Leid und entgegen ihren Bitten behandelt er sie auch weiterhin grausam. Derartige scharfe Drohungen erlauben sie sich nur anläßlich eines Todesfalles und sie glauben berechtigt zu sein, ihren Trauerschmerz in schweren Anklagen und in wütendem Toben sich von der gepreßten Seele zu wälzen; denn auf keine andere Weise können sie sich wehren.

c. Rufe verschiedenen Inhalts

Endlich folgen noch einige Formeln, mit denen man sich dann und wann, so wie der Alltag die Lage schafft, an das Höchste Wesen bittend oder dankend wendet. Durchgehends sind sie kurz und ihr Inhalt ist deutlich bestimmt. Die eine und andere wirkt ergötzlich und man steht überrascht vor der Tatsache, daß unsere Feuerländer in kindlicher Offenherzigkeit sogar die allergewöhnlichsten Dinge ihrem *Hiddápan* bekanntgeben und vortragen.

1) *Hitapdpa* *hája* *mítanúgámri,* *ánna,* *hái* *mítdga.*
Mein Vater mich beschützen, wohlan, ich zurückkomme.

Beim Abschied sagt der, welcher sich entfernt: Sofern mein Vater-dort-oben seine Hand schützend über mir hält, werde ich heil und gesund wieder an diese Stelle zurückkommen. — BD: 321 bringt *mítanúgata*, to take a person under one's care. BD: 21 schreibt *anaha*, place, position. BD: 311 hat *mítN*, to come home.

2) *Tála* *hája* *Hitapdpa* *talagínukára,* *tíuchen hája.*
Sollte mich mein Vater wegnehmen wollen, suchet mich!

Bei diesen Worten denkt einer an die Möglichkeit, es könnte während seiner Fahrt der Tod ihn ereilen. Er verabschiedet sich und sagt den andern: Sollte diese Befürchtung sich verwirklichen, werdet ihr lange nach mir suchen müssen und trotzdem mich nicht finden.

3) *Ĉin yélle* *hájo dépan,* *Wetaqinfjew* *hatalaghne* *hanyáne*
Je Abschied wirklich, der Alte wegnehmen will

hápihájo.
von uns beiden.

Der Sinn dieser Formel stimmt mit dem der vorhergehenden ganz überein. Sie ist dann angebracht, wenn man sich zu einer größeren Reise und auf längere Zeit verabschiedet. Sie besagt: Unsere Trennung ist tatsächlich eine für immer, falls es dem Wetaqinfjew beliebt, einen von uns im Tode abzuberufen. — BD: 262 schreibt *hain cépan,* now is the time, in real earnest.

4) *Tálo* *Hitepdqo* *hajahájo* *hómótaqwagwendu,* *dana,* *hápíj ílle*
Falls mein Vater mir gnädig, wählen, uns wieder

matagghájuan.
vereinen.

Auch diese Formel enthält den bekannten Gedanken: Sollte es meinem Vater gefallen, mich vor Gefahr und Tod zu bewahren, dann werden wir nach Abschluß meiner langen Reise wohlbehalten wieder zusammentreffen.

5) *Wetaqinfjew* *hájo* *hamókalfai.*
Der Alte mir westliches Wetter.

Einer beklagt sich laut, daß *Wetaqinfjew* ihn *auf der Fahrt* mit Wetter aus dem Westen, das immer ungünstig ist, überrascht hat. — BD: 210 bringt *hómóli, homóka,* to go or come Westward.

6) *Uyája.* *Hmata* *ushjapine,* *Hitepdan,* *ujáine*
Ach, verwirrt einhergehen, mein Vater, Wetter

hómdipe ma-aragatáre *Hitepdqo?* *hómdipe* *amanakówáqmata,*
warum du belästigen mein Vater? warum Augen verschließen,

Hitepdqo, *ikamdna.*
mein Vater, vor Schneefall?

Der verärgerten alten Frau kamen diese Worte über die Lippen, als sie mit bloßen Füßen durch den Schnee waten mußte. NELLY hatte sie rufen lassen, es war am 21. März 1922. Sie wollte damit Folgendes sagen: *Hitepdqo* höre: Mir dreht sich alles im Kopfe herum, so angehalten bin ich, daß ich durch den Schnee stampfen muß. Warum belästigst du mich mit übem Wetter? Du hättest wohl deine Augen geschlossen und siehst nicht, wie viel Schnee hier auf der Erde liegt?

7) *Hájo* *ílle* *ahipamdni* *Tómoun* *ondnan* *ilkilkfen:*
Mir wieder einschlagen der Alte im Walde den Kopf;

kfudam *hitagalakindande?*
wie ich es ertragen?

Ein Mann ist bei seiner Wanderung durch den Wald in die Gefahr geraten, von einem fallenden Baumstamm erschlagen zu werden; er ist wieder einmal leicht gestreift worden. Das hat ihn derartig stark erschüttert, daß er Kopfschmerzen davongetragen hat. Als Urheber nennt er den Alten-dort-oben. Deshalb ist seine Lage besonders bedenklich und er weiß nicht, wie er sein seelisches Gleichgewicht wird wieder erlangen können. — Die meisten der hier verwendeten Wörter wiederholen sich im folgenden Anrufe.

8) *Tâmawa* *Ádjo* *ville* *ahipamaiâ* *ÁMÁHÁ-ru* *ashum*
Der Alte mir wieder eingeschlagen den Kopf im Walde,
Ámahum *Ahagahâlâwanâ?*
wie ich es ertragen?

Dieser Spruch weicht inhaltlich vom vorhergehenden nicht ab und bringt gegen denselben, spricht aber deutlicher und bestimmt die Absicht des Wanderjägers aus, jener Mann verunglücken zu lassen. — Vgl. das Zeitwort *ahipâmata*, to hit unintentionally, or by mistake, im BD: 15. Das BD: 183 übersetzt *hámâm* mit: such, so, in such a manner; in that way. Das *ashum* ist offenbar sächlich dem *ilamma*, forest, wood, jungle; thicket, im BD: 66, gleichbedeutend.

9) *Waragâdjyo* *Ádjo* *Ahâkamâja* *ashamâlo.*
Der Alte dich wird weggeschoben [falle] du träge.

Als Beispiel der Lehrsprüche, die den Prüflingen in der Jugendweihe gegeben werden, sei wenigstens diese eine Formel hier eingeschoben. Der *ahagâja* wird damit gewarnt, daß der Alte-dort-oben einen trägen Menschen nicht dulden, sondern ihn frühzeitig stoßen läßt. — Das *Ahâkamâja* hängt zusammen mit *Ahâwakima*, to drive, shove, push away, im BD: 178, und mit den damit verwandten Formen.

Außer den hier aufgeführten Formeln haben die Yaganen der früheren Zeit noch manche andere des gleichen Inhaltes verwendet, die man als verloren zu betrachten sind. Die wenigen, die gerettet werden konnten, erscheinen in ungewöhnlicher Worte und in übertriebener Satzbildungen eingekleidet, was ihre in weiter Vergangenheit zurückliegende Herkunft beweist. Selbst ältere Personen waren nicht mehr imstande, mir eine genaue Einzelerklärung jeder Formel zu bieten, und sie entschuldigten sich mit der Behauptung, derjenigen veraltete Worte und Wendungen würden gegenwärtig in der Umgangssprache eben nicht mehr gebraucht. Bekanntlich ist es deshalb nicht, daß sowohl der gerne Jaun Lawanna wie auch mige sprachkundigen Söhne gegenüber diesen Aussprächen unweilen ratlos dastanden. Die heutige Umgangssprache hat besonders mit dem Zeitpunkte einen empfindlichen Wandel durchgemacht, da die Vertreter der einzelnen Dialektgruppen (S. 199) mehr zusammen gedrängt und miteinander vermischt worden sind. Obwohl eine fast durchgehende nur der Grundgedanke der einen und anderen jener vielen Formeln festzustellen ist, vermittelte sie doch immerhin eine annähernd vollständige Vorstellung vom Höchsten Wesen, dessen Bild unsere Yaganen in der Seele trugen und dessen Eigenschaften dann gelinde sind.

c. Ursprünglichkeit der Tamima-Religion

Nicht unbedeutend ist die Zahl der oben zusammengestellten Einzelheiten und deren religiöses Besitz der Tamima. Sie sind inzwischen erst durch weitere Reisen einige gefördert worden. Diesem Tatsachen steht das übereinstimmende Urteil früherer Reisender und langjährig tätiger Missionare gegenüber, die unserem Fragefindeten jedenfalls religiöse Vorstellung und religiöse Betätigung vorenthalten wurden. Der scheinbare Gegensatz ruft uns zu besser nach einer zweckmäßigeren Erklärung, als der religiöse Besitz der Tamima tatsächlich sich jetzt nicht nur als wirklichkeitig erweist, er übt darüber hinaus noch einen beschränkenden, richtunggebenden Einfluß auf die gesamte sittliche Haltung dieser Indianer aus. Wiederholt ist angedeutet worden, was noch eingehender dargelegt werden muß, daß die Gesamtheit der moralischen Vorgeschichtungen und das theoretische Denkmuster letzten Endes in dem Wischtenen. Wesen verankert sind.

Nach Art einer negativen Beweisführung läßt sich überzeugend feststellen, daß weder jene Seefahrer, die nur für Stunden oder Tage im Gebiet des Kap Horn vor Anker gegangen sind, noch jene Europäer, die einzelne Tamima nach Europa gebracht haben, wirklich religiöse Unterweisungen in die Wege geleitet haben.[*] Jene drei oder vier Männer, die gelegentlich einmal auf die christlichen Gottesdienste hingewiesen oder einen Abschnitt aus der Bibel vorgelesen haben, z. B. Wyssman (S. 69), waren für sich persönlich dessen sicher, daß ihre Hinweise ohne den mindesten Einfluß geblieben sind. Übrigens ist es nicht die Art der meisten Matrosen, wo sie landen und mit einigen Eingeborenen gelegentlich für kurze Frist zusammen sind, diese Stunden eilig und nur damit auszufüllen, daß sie ihr eigenes Christentum und christliche Sittenvorschriften predigen.[**] Diese Unwahrscheinlichkeit ohne einmal vorgegeben, wird kein ernster Kritiker aus dieser kurzfristigen Beschäftigung, die ohne geringste Kenntnis der Sprache auf beiden Seiten erfolgt wäre, eine nachhaltige Wirkung und eine innerliche Umgestaltung auf seiten der Fremdlinge gelten lassen können.

Die bestimmte Absicht, diese Menschen nach der christlichen Religion zu erziehen — die, wie anderen gesagt wurde, bei den Schiffsleuten auf ihrer Fahrt durch die südlichen Gewässer nicht vorhanden gewesen sein kann —, ist jedoch, im Gegensatz dazu, die treibende Kraft bei den Missionaren gewesen, in jenen Inselchen sich niederzulassen. Trotz jahrelangen Umganges mit den Tamima sind gerade die es, von allen Besuchern selbst, die ihnen nicht nur den Besitz eigener religiöser Vorstellungen und Betätigungen abgesprochen

[*] Man darf gewiß annehmen, daß[illegible] und seine Schiffsgefährten während der Reise nach England und zurück, in religiösen Dingen eingewiesen, daß es sowohl wie auch Bayern sich über den Erfolg eingehender unterrichten hätten, daß Bischof zurückkehrt dürfen nicht eine einzige Worte (Übersetzung) wird sich Wyssman (S. 95) bestätigt haben.

[**] Wie sich es manchmal Seefahrer im Kap-Horn-Gebiet gegenüber den Eingeborenen benommen haben, ist auf S. 200 dargestellt; sie haben die Anschen der weißen Rasse vor jenen primitiven Naturkindern wahrlich nicht erhöht.

haben, sondern die auch immer wieder sich in Klagen ergehen über den geringen Erfolg ihres eigenen Wirkens, das sowieso nur auf einzelne wenige sich erstreckt hat. Keiner dieser Missionare macht bestimmte Angaben darüber, welche christlichen Wahrheiten und Vorstellungen die Eingeborenen aufgenommen haben, noch viel weniger darüber, ob diese sich in ihrem Alltag darnach einrichten. Eine wirkliche, innere Umgestaltung ihrer Schüler und Schutzbefohlenen haben sie nicht erreicht (S. 328). Jedenfalls ist eine spezifisch christliche Idee als übernommen in dem oben vorgelegten religiösen Eigengut der Yamana nicht auffindig zu machen. Was dieser oder jener Feuerländer aus der Unterweisung der Missionare in sich aufgenommen haben mag, blieb bei ihm nachweislich ein blasses Wissen um etwas Neues, wie beispielsweise das englische Wort "God". Dieser geringe Zuwachs an Wissen hat sich gar nicht umgewirkt, deutlich trennt er es von seinem ersten Überlieferungsgut und erachtet ersteres sogar als für ihn überflüssig.

Im besonderen sei hingewiesen auf die ebenfalls niedrige Zahl von Eingeborenen, die jeweils auf den verschiedenen Stationen sich für eine durchgehende kurze Zeit aufgehalten haben (S. 312), abgesehen von einzelnen wenigen, ferner auf die weiten Gebiete, in die missionarische Beeinflussung nie eingedrungen ist, endlich auf die gesteigerte Angst der Leute, nach den Verheerungen der Seuchen sich den Missionsstationen zu nähern. In den ersten Jahrzehnten war wegen ungenügender Kenntnis der Sprache der wechselseitige Verkehr arg behindert. Der Umstand allein, daß kleine Gruppen von Eingeborenen aufmerksam dem Engländer zugehört haben, beweist noch nicht, daß sie alles verstanden, viel weniger, daß sie es früher oder später aus innerer Überzeugung in die Tat umgesetzt hätten.[*] Allerdings benahmen sie sich so, wie die Missionare es wünschten; auch beteiligten sie sich am Gottesdienste und an der Bibellesung, so oft sie dazu gedrängt wurden.[**] Sind sie dadurch zu gläubigen Christen geworden? SERGAZZUM (2): 180 beispielsweise versuriert es mit Bestimmtheit: „El indio catequizado, es general no cree, y hablando con algunos criados por los misioneros ingleses, cuando les preguntaba, si creían, contestaban: Y tu has visto a los espíritus del monte y del agua? ... Se hacen los que creen para utilizar a los misioneros, si nos

[*] Über die auch bei Kapitel überführten Eingeborenen schreibt J. LOVEMAN (BEM: VI, 37; 1872) am 27. Oktober 1871 beziehungsweise: „Whenever I give them religious instruction ..., they are most attentive, and while I endeavour, though very imperfectly, to explain to them some portion of Holy Scripture, they listen always with deep interest. If I question them as to their knowledge of Scriptural things, they confess they know very little, at the same time express their desire to know much more."

[**] Die Zusammenkünfte der Indianer zum Gebet werden von den Missionaren durchgehends als gut oder erfolgreich geschildert. Wo aber sind die Anzeichen dafür, daß diese "Wilden" aus innerer Überzeugung sich beteiligt haben? In seinem Bericht erwähnt LOVEMAN (BEM: VI, 90; 1872) beispielsweise, der Yamana „Cemetu Buenas informed me he himself had been to some of the other people's wigwams talking to them of all he knew concerning the future world, and remarked that some listened attentively to what he said, while others would not listen".

si mamas . . . Soldados los niños del establecimiento [de la misión] se convertirán sin herramientas, sin apoyo social, sin nada, se pararán que viven, y vendrán a vivir como su padres." In dieser Umgebung verlieren sie schnell wieder alles, was der Unterricht ihnen gebracht hat. Von vornherein hält Bridges (ib.) jede Beeinflussung älterer Kinder für unpäda: „El indio de más de diez años no es susceptible de civilización, ya tiene demasiado arraigadas en el alma sus principios de libertad y de holgazanería." Auffällig gering ist die Zahl der Taufen und der Eheschließungen, die auf den Missionsstationen vollzogen worden sind (S. 331). Zwar sind durch Bridges die einzelnen Teile des Neuen Testamentes der Bibel übersetzt worden und neuerdings hat Wilkinson einige Gebete im Yamana herausgegeben;[*] daß ein einziger Feuerländer diese Schriften mit Verständnis und Nutzen hätte lesen können, ist mir nicht bekannt geworden. Ebensowenig ist erwiesen, daß jene, die besonders unterrichtet worden sind, ihre neuen Kenntnisse an die Landsleute weitergegeben haben.[**] Überprüft man genau alles, was den religiösen Besitz der Yamana ausmacht, so tritt dessen Eigenart unzweideutig in die Erscheinung und nirgendwo läßt sich eine Verquickung mit christlichen Vorstellungen nachweisen. Der Wanapidjaw-Glaube ist nicht das Ergebnis missionarischer Beeinflussung.

Ohne allen Zweifel erweist er sich als eigenes Gut der Yamana, das sie bereits lange vor der ersten Berührung mit Europäern besessen und behütet haben. Meine eigene Forschung, im besonderen die ganz ungewöhnliche, zufällige Art, wie ich persönlich zur Kenntnis ihres religiösen Besitzes gekommen bin (S. 1040), erklärt an und für sich, warum er anderen Besuchern und sogar den Missionaren vorenthalten geblieben ist. Die Einzelheiten zu wiederholen verbietet sich nicht, sie sind ausführlich dargelegt worden.

1. Ihr Eigenwert

Viele eindeutige Umstände legen ein bestimmtes und klares Zeugnis davon ab, daß die Yamana ihren Besitz an religiösen Vorstellungen und Übungen aus weit zurückliegender Zeit bis in die Gegenwart hinein weitergeleitet und sich bewahrt haben. Sie sind ihnen, ganz allgemein gesprochen, eine logische Forderung des Denkens. Eine besondere Veranlagung für philosophische Erörterungen soll ihnen damit nicht zugesprochen werden; aber für gewisse Fragen, die sich verdrängen, verlangt auch ihr Verstand eine befriedigende Antwort. Ein Maiamuzzu brüsqueriert hat sich bemüht zu ergründen, wie die eigentlichen Menschen geworden sind und welchen Anfang

[*] Die bibliographischen Einzelheiten hat Gusinde 73 und 126 zusammengestellt. Vgl. auch meine Angaben auf S. 146 und einige Ergänzungen in Gusinde (66): 274.

[**] Bridges (b): 733 hält das ganze Gedächtnis des Bertram, der auf Isla Keppel ansässig, „whatever he had learnt of religion and morality — not much of these last, to be sure . . . When questioned as to the efforts he had made to impart his acquired notions of religion to his country-men, he replied, 'Yes; we tell God very good, make everything; Jesus Christ God's Son, very good — die'. My people stupid — [illegible] (no sabby [no wissen]); I no tell more".

die Tiere auch der allgemeinen Flut genommen haben (S. 1051). Mögen auch gewisse Umstände eine volle und besondere Erklärung bieten, jedenfalls beruhigt sich mit der Überzeugung, daß ihm die Einsicht in das Wirken des Wunderbaren fehlt, daß dieser eben, der wirkliche und eigentliche Abäjin, all das zustande bringt, was der Mensch im einzelnen nicht zu erfassen vermag. Der Zwang, den der überlieferte Brauch auf jeden Yaunna ausübende ausübt, gilt letzten Endes als ein Ausfluß des Willens, als ein Gebot des Wunderbaren: ihm fügt sich selbstverständlich jedermann, als könnte es anders gar nicht sein. So war es zu alten Zeiten, so wird es ewig Yaunna gibt, und zwar einfach deshalb, weil "Jenes-dort-oben" immer dasselbe ist und sich selber ebensowenig wie in seinen Verfügungen ändert. Im Spiel der blinden Naturkräfte erkennen unsere Freerländer die Sinnlosigkeit ihres Glaubens Wesens, das jener bitter und in Blindes hält. Bleibt da eine andere Wahl, als sich an den wahlverwandten Mühlsteinen mit der Bitte zu wenden, er möge jenen unbeweglichen Gewalten immer dann Einhalt gebieten, wenn sie schaden und das eigene Leben gefährden könnten? Das Entstehen neuer Menschenleben fließt aus seinem Marktbereich. Aber unbeholfener herzlosbrutt und empfindlich schädigt der Verlust eines nahen Verwandten durch den Tod. Dieser Eingriff steht allein dem außerweltlichen Kinnen des gewaltigen, herrlichen Wüstenes zu. Es darf sich den Menschen gegenüber offensichtlicher Willkürlichkeiten mit schwersten Folgen bezeugen, denn er ist weit hinter den Wolken gesichert und für alles Klagen und Toben der ohnmächtigen Erdengeister unerreichbar. Nur die langgeschlitzten aus der geschlossenen Kette von Vorstellungen von der Persönlichkeit und vom Wirken des Höchsten Wesens sind hier wiederholt worden; sie lassen sich, wegen ihrer Einfachheit, leicht zu einem gut gegliederten System zusammenziehen.

Obgleich kein Yaunna selber einen göttlichen Versuch unternommen hat, ist für ihn dennoch, weil er sich der wichtigsten Eigenschaften im Alltag bei gegebener Gelegenheit bewußt wird, die Gewißheit seiner religiösen Recitogotes ooccrichrod. Tatsächlich findet er sich in seinem Urteil mit den mannigfaltigen Vorkommnissen ab, seien sie angenehmer oder sehr übler Art, und zwar allein insofern, als er sie auf seinen Wunderbaren hinbezieht. Sieht dieser als treibende Kraft und tätige Ursache hinter begrenzteren Geschehen, sowohl hinter Ereignissen von einschneidender Wirkung, wirdet auch so lange Erörterungen nicht ändern und so bleibt dem betreffenden Menschen kein anderer Ausweg, als in Erkenntnis der eigenen Ohnmacht sich willenlos in die ihm aufgezwungene Lage zu fügen. Wie es bei dem nicht anders zu erwarten ist, bringt dieser Entschluß das ins seelische Gleichgewicht zurück und glättet die Wogen selbst höchster Wesensbrüche gegenüber den schwersten Verlusten und den bittersten Enttäuschungen. Man muß diese Freerländer einmal bei einer allgemeinen Totenfeier persönlichkeiten beobachtet haben: jeder gebärdet sich in der Gemeinschaft mit anderen wie sonst am Trauerhause und einige Stunden später, vielleicht am Abend des gleichen Tages, wendet er sich erneuert und vorwurfsvoll

wieder eitere Hilfligen sei, mit herzlichen Dinen zur Entschlüssung und Verwaltung für den aufgeregten, unbeschäftigte Bruchsaum, der dem durch nicht ganz unbeschäftigt geworden sei.

Das volle Gemüten, das der Eigenheiten an religiösen Gut dem Tumm gerichtet, hat sie dem Wunsch nach Hilfe aufkommen lassen. Dadurch haben sie die christlichen Glaubensbücher, die Bücher von den englischen Missionaren vorgetragen worden sind, als deutlichen gegenseitodolos erachtet. Kann dieser so sich erwiesen lassen, daß ein einziger von seinen Verlangen nach christlichen Wahrheiten an jenen Missionaren hingebrängt worden ist. Diese hatten vielmehr sogar Bilder, einige Kinder lagen Zeit auf dem Bettchen herumhalten und anderen Erwachsenen gelegentlich im Gottesdienst und zur Unterweisung zu versammeln. Schließlichtrotzig erhielten Salgrade Anzeigen die ganze Tochtigen. Kurz hat sein erzählt, daß sie als Bildchen von den Familie Lowenset für einige Monate an allerlei Arbeiten in deren Haus in Udonin aufgenommen worden war. Gemeinsam erhielteten sie mit dem gewöhnlichen Beschäftigung und wies auch darauf hin, daß jeder Tag mit einer kleinen Lesung aus der Bibel beschlossen worden ist, an die der Missionar auch einige Erklärungen über seinen Gott angefügt hat. Ich hat sie, mir zu sagen, ob für diese erzählerin gewesen sei. Darauf antwortete sie mit überraschender Offenherzigkeit: „Ja ma, ich habe mir alles angehört. Meine Lowenset sprach immer wieder von seinem Gott. Er erzählteten, Ihr Lord' verlangt, daß jeder ein guter Mensch sei, daß jeder Geldig arbeiten, daß niemand den anderen bestehlen und beim Tanzen sich mit einer Frauen Frau abgeben dürfte, daß sie alle nur miteinander verlangen sollten, und noch manchen anderen hat er wiederholt. Aber was er uns von seinem 'Ihr Lord' mitgeteilt hat, das alles hat Wangsiliyan den Tumm schon lange vorher bestätigten, das alles ist unserer eigenen Verhalten schon immer bekannt gewesen. Dennoch bestaunten wir seinen 'Ihr Lord' nicht! Um genügt unser Wangsiliyan und den, was er zum gesagt hat. Darum habe ich mir jedenfall Bedenkzeit gegeben, es ich Lowenset von seinem 'Ihr Lord' gesprochen hat." Wie durch beide Fragen erstaunt worden ist, hat Mum unverhältnis wieder von Christentum abgewandt. Nach Abwanderung ist das Verhalten der Nacht Lowenset, die als Schwiegermutter des Missionar sicheren Jahre mit ihm das gleiche Haus bewohnt hat und täglich mit diesem vielbeglitzten Mann in Berührung gekommen ist. Seitdem ich durch den Verwaltung mit Wangsiliyan vertraut geworden war, hielt sie mit Bemerkung darauf gar nicht mehr zurück, mir zu bitten, mir mit dem Gesagtsang darüber, daß auch ich an dem religiösen Abschnitten nicht mehrfrig erfreuen. Durch sicher allein deshalb, weiteren zur besseren Überzeugung gewandt sie mir, daß der christlichen Wangsiliyan Glaube die vielfach geringe und sie gar keine Verlangen nach dem einzigen, von Jesus Lowenset von seinem 'Lord' an sich gesprochen habe. „Zusammenfassend ich schlimm ist alles, was die Tumm von unserem Wangsiliyan erzählten!" Dieser Überzeugung hat sie mir anfangsweise mit anderen Schulerzählerin wieder hab. Im allgemeinen Tachtigkeiten ist nicht zu Ende, daß sie gewacht werden

[illegible] 1911, und Spuren [illegible] Gladiolen habe ich bei der [illegible] [illegible], aber in den Verzeichnissen von Hildegaus Gärten sie sich wohl und gleichfalls, sie war wirklich eine [illegible] Pflanze.

Das Gladiolen Wesen ist dem Tamarus wahrhaftig nicht etwa eine [illegible] Gemüt, die sich [illegible] dem Bereiche [illegible], [illegible] Gärten sie sich dem [illegible]. Manche [illegible] Eigenschaften im Alltag [illegible] sie so [illegible] in Begleitung, [illegible] nicht eine [illegible] Ereignisse. Am 9. August 1911 [illegible] ich in Pforte Bremsen mit der Familie Lorenzen [illegible] Gladiolen. Dann hatte einen Kneipe in [illegible] Dämmerung, der [illegible] Gibbel [illegible] und [illegible] sie und [illegible] [illegible] war. Wieder [illegible] hatte er sich bei der [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] Fehler [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] gab, daß wir alle herzlich lachen mußten. Nur Nieve blieb ernst und [illegible] die [illegible] Worte [illegible] Gattin zu: „Sprich doch nicht [illegible] über jenen [illegible] Mann. Dein Wangenfleck gefällt es [illegible] nicht, er wird dich dafür strafen. Auf Kosten [illegible] Leute darf man sich nicht lustigen!" Da trug [illegible] Tadel [illegible] Kopfe so [illegible] und [illegible] [illegible], daß wir [illegible] wurden [illegible] [illegible] Gelächter [illegible].

Wenige Tage später [illegible] der [illegible] Fähnen [illegible] Kaiserin "Gerhardt" [illegible] Fang [illegible] Wunderbäume wegen der [illegible] Witterung. Nieve war [illegible] [illegible] und ich [illegible] [illegible] jenen Blumen [illegible] [illegible] Blumen gar nicht beschäftigen. Bevor sie sich [illegible], [illegible] sie mir mit [illegible] Nachdruck: „Früher hat man bei uns hier die Gladiolen nicht gekannt, die sind durch die Europäer eingeführt worden [illegible], vorläufig mit dem Wetter [illegible] zu sein. Die Europäer klagen: Bald hat es viel Wind und bald zu viel Regen, bald zu viel Schnee und bald zu wenig Sonne! Man weiß den Wetter [illegible], wie es [illegible] kommt. Fälle [illegible] hier [illegible], [illegible] sich allen. Dem Wangenfleck gefällt es Wer und dann wird es [illegible] sein!" Das klang wie eine [illegible] Warnung [illegible] für mich.

Bei dem Tamarus, der vergleicht den [illegible] Vorzüge [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

lich ungezwungen um, wie das allein mit bodenständigem Gedankengut möglich ist. Bewußt und unbewußt schätzen sie seinen Wert und vermissen nichts, fühlen also auch keine Notwendigkeit, darüber hinaus mehr zu verlangen oder das entgegenzunehmen, was ihnen von den Missionaren angeboten worden ist. Nie habe ich ein Wort des Bedauerns oder der Unzufriedenheit darüber, daß alle Missionstätigkeit eingestellt worden ist, von ihnen vernommen.

2. Ihre Eigenart

Bei einer kritischen Würdigung der Ursprünglichkeit des *Watayinčiwa*-Glaubens ist die Tatsache entscheidend, daß dessen Persönlichkeit und Eigenschaften, wie die Yamana sie sich vorstellen, mit der allgemeinen Psychologie und dem persönlichen Charakter dieser Feuerländer in schönem Einklang stehen. Vorerst sei darauf hingewiesen, daß eindeutig bestimmbare christliche Merkmale fehlen; sogar von jenen hervorspringenden Einzelheiten, die in den Unterweisungen der Missionare unaufhaltsam wiederholt worden sind, ist nicht einmal eine leise Spur bei unseren Indianern zurückgeblieben.[22] Einzig die Worte "God" und "Our Lord" kann man namhaft machen; ihr Inhalt aber deckt sich mit dem, was sie selber in die Namen ihres eigenen Höchsten Wesens hineinlegen. Auch an den Hinweis der Missionare und einzelner Farmer auf eine Auferstehung des Leibes erinnern sie sich noch; denn er hat sie ganz außer Fassung gebracht.

Die Yamana sind sich selber darüber klar geworden, daß beide Gestalten mehr oder weniger doch wohl eine und dieselbe Person sind, und sie ziehen Vergleiche. Am 8. März 1923 hat mich NELLY wieder einmal in meinem Zimmer aufgesucht, diesmal von SARA, der *Lēpakōrundjaklpa* und Frau des PEDRO MAŁENIKEN, begleitet. Letztere übergab mir ein Körbchen als Geschenk; als Gegenleistung reichte ich ihr unverzüglich eine Perlschnur und ein Spiegelchen. Während SARA sich darin beschaute, entdeckte NELLY auf der Rückseite das Bild des Hl. Josef, als ehrwürdiger, älterer Mann mit einem langen, weißen Barte dargestellt. NELLY forderte SARA auf: „Schau doch auf die andere Seite, dort ist der *Watayinčiwa* der Christen!" Als dieser Name fiel, stutzte SARA ein wenig, doch unauffällig, und fragte NELLY leise: „Weiß dieser MARTIN [GUSINDE], wer unser *Watayinčiwa* ist?" NELLY nickte ihr bejahend zu. Damit gab sie sich zufrieden und beruhigte sich offensichtlich. Nun erst betrachtete sie jenes Bild nachdenklich und wandte sich mit den deutlichen Worten an mich: „*Watayinčiwa kōmaylčka*[23] *hananikáia*", der 'Alte-dort-oben' kümmert sich um uns!" Damit wollte sie sagen: Wie euer *Watayinčiwa* sich euer, nämlich der Weißen annimmt, in gleicher Weise ist

[22] Beispielsweise versichert DESPARS (VP: VI, 29; 1859), er habe J. BERTON über Jesus Christus unterwiesen, und LAGRENZE (MM: XXXI, 143; 1897) berichtet, seinerseits immer wieder von dem Herrn Jesus gesprochen zu haben.

[23] BD: 181 übersetzt dieses Wort mit: to come up in order to take care off. In den altbergebrachten Gebetsformeln wiederholt es sich mehrmals mit der gleichen Bedeutung.

unser *Watuinéjiwa* um uns Yamana besorgt! Ganz natürlich und zwanglos hat sie diese Worte hervorgebracht, während ich damit beschäftigt war, das Paket wieder zuzuschnüren, dem ich jene Geschenkstücke entnommen hatte; von mir ist sie in keiner Weise beeinflußt worden. Bei den Yamana liegt die Erinnerung an ihr Höchstes Wesen tatsächlich auf der Oberfläche, keineswegs hinter vielen anderen Eindrücken und Vorstellungen aus dem Alltag verborgen. Auch sei für die Beurteilung jenes Ausspruches auf den wertvollen Umstand hingewiesen, daß SARA auf den Wollaston-Inseln beheimatet ist, die eine Beeinflussung durch die englischen Missionare nie erfahren haben; sie besaß also keine greifbare Auffassung vom Christentum. Trotzdem zieht sie einen deutlichen Trennungsstrich zwischen ihren eigenen *Watuinéjiwa* und die gleichartige Person, die über die Geschicke der Weißen wacht.

Stoßen unsere Feuerländer auf gegensätzliche oder andersgerichtete Vorstellungen der Europäer, so halten sie meist damit zurück, ihre eigene Auffassung geltend zu machen und diese allein als richtig zu verteidigen, gleichsam als wären jene auf dem Irrwege. Trotzdem haben sie sich einmal gegen ihr Stammesmitglied UKOKKU, der ihnen von den Missionaren als Lehrer gegeben worden war, aufgelehnt. BRIDGES (VSA: XII, 276; 1865) berichtet: „LUCCA told me that OOKOKKOO (he not being present) had often spoken to his people of God, or heaven and hell, and what sort of people should live in them; his people being very proud and bad would not listen, and were sometimes very angry, and said that OOKOKKOO told lies; that as he had never seen nor heard God they would not believe, and that man and all things had ever been as they are, without beginning and therefore without a Maker. One man, they said, pretended to be Jesus Christ; some were afraid to be in hell, and wished to become quiet as a requisite preparation for heaven; some threatened to kill OOKOKKOO, but were afraid to." Der Hinweis der Missionare auf die Auferstehung der Toten und auf ein Weiterleben der menschlichen Seelen nach dem Tode unter den denkbar verschiedensten Bedingungen, im offenen Gegensatz zum Glauben der Yamana, hat diese in besondere Aufregung versetzt; sogar ich selber habe davon noch erfahren. Während bei einer Beerdigung der Leichnam im Grabe mit Erde zugedeckt wurde, wandte sich ein alter Mann in der Ratlosigkeit seiner Trauer an mich mit den Worten, die reichlich höhnisch klangen: „Dort liegt er, mein Vetter. Und trotzdem sagt ihr Europäer: ‚Jeder Leichnam wird wieder sein Grab verlassen und das werden, was er im Leben gewesen ist.' Nein, so etwas gibt es nicht!" Dieser Mann war eben, gleich allen seinen Landsleuten, für die neuen Lehren der Missionare nicht zu haben; er hielt nach wie vor an dem fest, was von seinen Vorfahren her überliefert worden ist. Eigenes, bodenständiges Gedankengut und neu eingeführte, fremde Vorstellungen oder Ansichten wissen sie regelmäßig weit auseinander zu halten.

Ferner erkennt man die Eigenart der religiösen Begriffe unserer Feuerländer an ihrer betonten E i n f a c h h e i t. Das Höchste Wesen entbehrt sogar eines echten Eigennamens. Jeder Yamana erhält einen solchen nach dem Orte

seiner Geburt (S. 730). Ist es da nicht folgerichtig, daß "Jenem-dort-oben" kein derartiger Eigenname zukommt, weil er im eigentlichen Wohngebiet unserer Indianer nicht geboren worden ist? Statt dessen werden Umschreibungen verwendet, wie das auch zu den gewöhnlichen Umgangsformen gehört. Die Benennungen für das Höchste Wesen heben eine bestimmte Eigenschaft hervor, die bei ihm allerdings aufs äußerste gesteigert wird. Nach beiden Richtungen also sind die stammesüblichen Gewohnheiten bezüglich der Namengebung auf ihn übertragen. Zollt man hier unten einer hochbejahrten Person allgemein Ehrfurcht, gebührt sie erst recht dem ersten und wirklichen "Alten", dem *Watuinéjwa*. Ähnlich gleichen sich die wenigen anderen, ihm zugedachten Eigenschaften an die alltäglichen Gegebenheiten und gesellschaftlichen Gepflogenheiten im Yamana-Volke an. Dabei bleibt bestehen, daß er ein Geistwesen ist und mithin andere Daseinsformen aufweist, als die Menschen auf dieser Erde; über jene weiß man eben deshalb auch nichts Genaues. Wirklich, bis hinauf zur Gottheit bleibt der Feuerländer folgerichtig in seinem einfachen Denken.

Schließlich sei hingewiesen auf die ansehnliche Zahl und mannigfaltige Auswahl der Gebetsformeln. Ihre altertümliche Fassung spricht für sich. Die Indianer selber stehen für deren hohes Alter ein, weil diese kurzen Sprüche viele Worte und Wortverbindungen enthalten, die längst aus der Verwendung in der Umgangssprache verschwunden sind. Ergänzend kommt das Urteil des hochbejahrten JOHN LAWRENCE und seiner sprachkundigen Söhne hinzu, die mehrmals sich im gleichen Sinne geäußert haben. Jener versicherte ausdrücklich, nachdem er zum ersten Male jene Formeln überprüft hatte: „Ganze dreiundfünfzig Jahre stehe ich nun hier unter den Yamana und habe dergleichen nie erfahren!" Er nahm es mit dieser Untersuchung ernst und erklärte nachher: „Weder die Namen für die einheimische Gottheit noch die Gebetsformeln verraten irgendwelche Entlehnung aus unserem christlichen Vorstellungskreise. Alles macht durchaus den Eindruck, ursprüngliches und echtes Besitzgut der Yamana zu sein!" Nachdrücklich und wiederholt glaubte er darauf hinweisen zu müssen, daß die Worte und grammatikalischen Bildungen, die jene Gebetsformeln aufweisen, in der heutigen Umgangssprache nicht geläufig sind.[21]

Zum Vorteil für den Sachverhalt hat es JOHN LAWRENCE, angeregt durch diese neuen Erfahrungen, nicht unterlassen, persönlich Erkundigungen einzuziehen. Er begann damit, diesen und jenen bejahrten Indianer, die insgesamt ihm zutraulich sich näherten, allgemein über *Watuinéjwa* auszufragen. Als er später auch mit anderen Leuten die ihm nun bekannten religiösen Vorstellungen und Gebetsformeln besprach, gelangte er auf diesem Wege zum gleichen Ergebnis: „Dieses Gedankengut ist ein unverfälschter, echter Eigenbesitz der

[21] Jedermann steht die Gelegenheit offen, diesen Sachverhalt nachzuprüfen; denn BRIDGES' Dictionary und einige grammatikalische Studien über das Yamana aus der Feder HESTERMANN's liegen vor. Auch die Übersetzungen des Neuen Testamentes von BRIDGES könnten vergleichshalber herangezogen werden.

Yamana!" Die ganze Entdeckung löste bei ihm aufrichtige und anhaltende Freude aus. Ihm leuchtete überzeugend ein, wie hoch das Werturteil über diese vielverkannten Feuerländer gesteigert werden muß, da sie im Besitz einer so schönen, reinen Gottesvorstellung sind und sich religiös betätigen. Am Abend des Daseins dieses oft geschmähten Volkes ist ihm noch die große Genugtuung zuteil geworden, daß europäische Kreise nun endlich volle Kenntnis von diesem uralten *Watauinéiwa*-Glauben erhalten werden. Mit ehrenden Worten für die Forschungsarbeit hielt JOHN LAWRENCE durchaus nicht zurück und bekannte rückhaltlos: „Selbst wenn ich noch fünfzig oder hundert Jahre hier leben könnte, die Eingeborenen würden mir das Vertrauen nicht schenken, dessen Sie sich bei ihnen erfreuen!"

Seine ganz unerwartete Erfahrung stellte er nun auch in Beziehung zu seiner bereits beendeten langjährigen Missionsarbeit. Er war ehrlich genug, deutlich zu erkennen, wie sehr diese erleichtert und gefördert worden wäre, hätte sie an den einheimischen Besitz der religiösen Vorstellungen angeknüpft. Als müßte er sich Vorwürfe machen, klagte er offen: „Hätte ich mich doch vor vierzig und fünfzig Jahren nach diesen Dingen umgesehen, wie ganz anders hätte sich da unsere Tätigkeit entwickelt! Aber damals schwebte uns Missionaren ständig vor Augen, was DARWIN von diesen Eingeborenen behauptet hatte, nämlich daß sie völlig religionslos wären." Dadurch irregeleitet, haben sämtliche Missionare es grundsätzlich vermieden, sich tieferen Einblick in die Gewohnheiten und Veranstaltungen der Indianer zu verschaffen. Vieles ist ihnen infolgedessen verborgen geblieben und vorenthalten worden, was ihre Bestrebungen um deren Erziehung und Verchristlichung vorteilhaft unterstützt hätte. Wiederholt gab JOHN LAWRENCE ohne Einschränkung zu, daß die vielen Einzelheiten, die den religiösen Besitz der Yamana bilden, keinesfalls als etwas beurteilt werden dürften, was ihnen von den Missionaren zugetragen worden wäre. Auch dieses ehrliche Geständnis verdient beachtet zu werden. Eines Tages habe ich ihm den Verlauf einer großen Totenfeier und die Einrichtung der Medizinmannschule, die beide ich persönlich erlebt hatte, ganz ausführlich geschildert. Er geriet dabei in Begeisterung, aber klagte auch erneut: „Wäre es mir früher in den Sinn gekommen, dergleichen Veranstaltungen beizuwohnen, hätte auch ich, zum größten Vorteil für mein missionarisches Wirken, gewiß in Erfahrung gebracht, was diese Indianer glauben und wie sie beten. Wir Missionare sind eben niemals darüber aufgeklärt worden, daß auch primitive Völker ihre eigenen geistigen Güter besitzen!" Zur Entlastung jener tapferen Männer sei wenigstens erwähnt, daß zu Beginn ihrer Tätigkeit erst gewaltige Hemmungen überwunden werden mußten, ehe sich ein Verkehr mit den Indianern angebahnt hat. Die jahrzehntelange Unerfahrenheit in Sachen der Eingeborenen dieses verdienten Missionars wird man also nicht als Beweis gegen die Ursprünglichkeit des religiösen Gedankengutes der Yamana ins Feld führen dürfen.

Bei den erwähnten Aussprachen sind auch die drei Söhne des JOHN LAWRENCE mehrmals zugegen gewesen. Völlig übereinstimmend anerkannten

sie alles, was ihnen vorgelegt wurde, als uralten, unverfälschten Eigenbesitz der Eingeborenen. Über nebensächliche Einzelheiten klärte NELLY, die unseren Besprechungen mit Vorliebe beiwohnte, sie überzeugend auf. ALBERTO versicherte, dann und wann den Namen *Watayindjwa* aufgefangen zu haben, aber genauer wäre er dieser Sache nicht nachgegangen. FRED hingegen, wohl von seiner Frau NELLY besser unterrichtet, erklärte unumwunden: „Daß die Yamana den *Watayindjwa* verehren, daß er, nach ihrer Ansicht, das Sterben verursacht, und viele andere Vorstellungen sind mir längst bekannt; allerdings habe ich die Leute nie eindringlicher darüber ausgefragt!" Auf die Zwischenbemerkungen, warum er von sich aus uns dieses alles nicht eröffnet habe, erwiderte er schlicht und recht: „Wie hätte ich es ahnen können, daß man in Europa darauf Wert legt, zu wissen, welche religiösen Vorstellungen die Feuerländer besitzen!" Auch er vermochte nicht zu begreifen, daß sein eigener Vater und vor allem BRIDGES gar nichts von dem wußten, was er selber seit langem und wiederholt erfahren hatte. Trotzdem läßt sich diese befremdliche Erscheinung leicht erklären. Die Eingeborenen gaben einstimmig die Versicherung ab: „Nach diesen Dingen haben die Missionare uns niemals gefragt. Wie hätten wir, ohne aufgefordert zu sein, ihnen von *Watayindjwa* erzählen sollen?" Noch bestimmter aber entschied der folgende Gedanke: „Zu oft hat BRIDGES und mancher andere [Missionar] uns getadelt: Was wir hätten [an Einrichtungen und Gebräuchen], wäre wertlos und schlecht, davon müßten wir ablassen! Solche Worte, begleitet von verächtlichem Gelächter, haben unserem Herzen wehe getan. Übrigens, so oft sie uns erzählten von ihrem 'Our Lord', da ahnten wir wohl, er sei für die Weißen dasselbe, was *Watayindjwa* für uns Yamana ist." Diese Erklärung steht im Einklang mit den wiederholten Hinweisen auf die bewußte Zurückhaltung der Yamana vor den Missionaren.

Erstere, weit davon entfernt, die unverhohlene Offenheit zu bedauern, mit der sie ihre wertvollsten geistigen Güter uns preisgegeben haben, fühlen sich stolz gehoben durch die Genugtuung darüber, daß auch wir ihrem *Watayindjwa* Ehrfurcht zollen. Durch Jahrzehnte haben sie seine Zurücksetzung durch den Unverstand der Europäer erfahren und sich selber, wegen des Festhaltens an ihm, von den Missionaren verunglimpfen lassen müssen. Nun endlich erweisen wir ihrem "Alten-dort-oben", den sie "Vater" nennen, eine wirkliche und offene Anerkennung. Das tut ihnen unsagbar wohl. Nun endlich sehen sie einen Wunsch, den sie schon lange gehegt, erfüllt, nämlich den auf Anerkennung ihres *Watayindjwa*. Ein helles Leuchten erfüllt ihre Augen, als wir es ihnen offen aussprechen: „Euer *Watayindjwa* ist für euch derselbe wie für uns Christen unser Gott!" Sie beurteilten diesen Vergleich als eine aufrichtige Ehrung der Weißen für das Geistwesen, das sie als ihr Heiligstes betrachten und das über allem Sichtbaren erhaben dasteht.

Reichhaltig und vielseitig sind die Tatsachen, die als religiöser Besitz unserer Feuerländer zusammengefaßt und gewertet werden müssen. Da wir einer ansehnlichen Menge gut begründeter Einzelheiten gegenüberstehen, dem Ergebnis einer mühsamen Forschung gemäß einwandfreier, jederzeit über-

prüfbarer Methode, dürfte es niemandem schwer fallen, von der lange aufrecht erhaltenen und überall verbreiteten irrigen Meinung über die völlige Religionslosigkeit der Yamana abzurücken und die Tatsachen anzuerkennen.

d. *Allgemeine Sittenvorschriften*

Das Gemeinschaftsleben unserer Feuerländer und das Verhalten der Einzelpersonen, ohne Unterschied des Alters und Geschlechtes, sind nach bestimmten, unwandelbaren Grundsätzen geordnet, die alle Stammesmitglieder ausnahmslos verpflichten. Sie allein sichern den ruhigen Bestand der Volksgemeinschaft und gewährleisten jedem ihrer Teile ein friedliches Nebeneinander. Man faßt sie als die Moral oder als die allgemeinen Sittenvorschriften zusammen, sie reichen selbstverständlich über die eigentliche Geschlechtsmoral und über bloße Regeln für den äußeren gesellschaftlichen Verkehr hinaus.

Damit ist bereits die Behauptung ausgegeben worden, daß unsere Eingeborenen tatsächlich ein sittliches Bewußtsein besitzen. Offensichtlich geht ihnen die Befähigung zu sittlichem Urteilen und Handeln nicht ab, sie bringen dieselbe als eine natürliche Aussteuer von der Mutter Natur auf ihren Lebensweg mit. Zugleich damit ist der Trieb verbunden, die seelischen Kräfte in der Richtung des Guten und Rechten zu betätigen und sich von Unrechtem und Unerlaubtem fern zu halten. Das untrügliche Urteilen in diesen Dingen führt das Gewissen durch, das unsern Feuerländern durchaus nicht abgeht. Dieses belehrt jeden über den objektiven und subjektiven Wert des sittlich Guten und schreibt dem Willen sein Verhalten vor. Zwar ist eine allgemeinmenschliche Veranlagung mit diesen Worten gekennzeichnet. Man muß sie aber ausdrücklich auch für die Yamana in Anspruch nehmen (vgl. Gusinde [e]: 159); denn es fehlt nicht an Behauptungen gegenteiliger Art. Weiter zurückliegende Aussprüche übergehend gebe ich allein den befremdlichen Worten eines Spegazzini (a): 176 hier Raum, der allerdings nur unzureichend kurze Zeit sich im Feuerlande aufgehalten hat: „Los fueguinos no conocen esta convención social que llamamos moral. Los actos naturales de la vida, de cualquier género, los cumple públicamente, y lo que nosotros llamamos pudor, no existe más que en verdaderos rudimentos en las mujeres, y que consisten, hasta antes de casarse, en una reserva a conceder sus favores, y a la fidelidad en las casadas.“ Zum Vorteil für die Wirklichkeit steht dieses Urteil weit abseits und wird beispielsweise durch folgende Worte Bridges' (k): 238 entkräftet: „Las ideas de esta tribu respecto al bien y el mal fueron semejantes a las que prevalecen por todas partes. Lo que es moralmente malo lo es también físicamente, y es, por consiguiente, condenado, no por el que comete el acto sino por aquel que sufre las consecuencias. Del mismo modo, lo que es justo, recto y bueno es casi siempre recomendado a causa de su utilidad. Pero en ninguna parte conduce el sistema utilitario a la virtud, y así vemos, que el mal se comete por aquellos que en principio lo condenan, y la virtud, por todos recomendada, se practica por pocos. Sucede, pues, que

al condenar en los demás lo que él mismo comete, el hombre se condena siempre a sí mismo como pecador. La virtud es alabada por aquellos que no la practican." So ungenau manches hier auch gedeutet erscheint, zumindest die Befähigung zum sittlichen Urteilen wird den Feuerländern zuerkannt.[20] Bestimmter urteilt HYADES (q): 242 in seiner knappen Form: „Il est certain, que les Fuégiens ont le sentiment du mal et du bien et qu'ils ne sont pas dépourvus de sens moral." DABBENE (b): 197 benimmt sich ein wenig zurückhaltend in seinem Urteil: „En cuanto a las cualidades morales de los Yahganes, se puede decir que, si no tienen muy buenas, tampoco tienen grandes defectos y no están del todo desprovistos de sentido moral." Also auch er sieht in diesen Indianern die allgemeinmenschliche Veranlagung für das Sittliche.

Die vielen Tatsachen, die auf den vorhergehenden Blättern bezeichnet worden sind, sprechen für sich allein ein entscheidendes Wort; weitere theoretische Darlegungen und Auseinandersetzungen mit irgendwelcher Meinungsäußerung von dem oder jenem Gelegenheitsreisenden erübrigen sich.

1. Ihr Inhalt

Zur allgemeinen Moral in einem weiteren Sinne des Wortes rechnen letzten Endes alle Vorschriften und verpflichtenden Gewohnheiten, an die sich unsere Yamana gebunden fühlen. Unnötige Wiederholung wäre es, sie nach ihrer reichen Fülle hier aufzuzählen und zu ordnen; eine knappe Übersicht ist gewiß ausreichend. Am engsten zusammengedrängt finden sie sich in den Belehrungen an die *ušuγla* im *čiéxaus* (S. 868) und in den Unterweisungen an die Mädchen in der Menarche (S. 755), in den Darlegungen über die Kindererziehung (S. 744), die Eigentumsverhältnisse (S. 961) und den wechselseitigen Verkehr (S. 1006). Andere Beobachter haben, in deutlichem Gegensatz zu meinen Aufstellungen, die Yamana als sehr arm an Moralgesetzen geschildert. Die beste Widerlegung ist ein Hinweis auf die soeben genannten Seiten. Wenigstens die Ansicht des wohlmeinenden DESPARD (b): 678 und 746 soll hier wiederholt werden: „His code of morals is very brief. To kill, to lie, to steal, to commit adultery, are crimes; but the sole reason they see is in the punishment commission entails upon the offender from the offended. A murder must expect sooner or later, to be killed ... Their only laws seem: 'Thou shalt not steal'; 'Thou shalt not murder'; 'Thou shalt not lie'; 'Thou shalt not commit adultery'. Property, life, truth, and marriage are protected by the letter of traditionary statute, but violated perpetually through inherent wickedness. Murder is punished by blood avenger. Theft and adultery are punished by beating, and sometimes so severely as to break bones." Weiter unten wird bewiesen werden, daß die Sanktionen ganz anderer Natur sind

[20] HERVOUS (h): 234 ergänzt sich noch: „Se decía que eran antropófagos y se creía que vivían sin ideas de orden social. Mas cuando fueron bien conocidos, se descubrió que no eran caníbales ni polígamos y que, por lo general, respetaban los derechos que resultan de la vida de familia."

als bloße Drohungen mit Strafen und rohes Faustrecht; auch die soeben genannten Abschnitte können als Gegenbeweis passend herangezogen werden.

Klar und durchsichtig, einfach und bestimmt sind die Gesetze, nach denen sich unsere Yamana richten. Obenan stehen ihre Pflichten gegen das Höchste Wesen. Letzten Endes werden diese Pflichten in ihrer Gesamtheit von ihm als Urheber hergeleitet, über deren Befolgung er auch genau wacht. Wer in günstigem Verhältnis zu ihm stehen will, braucht nur seinen Verfügungen Folge zu leisten. Es ist nicht angebracht und niemand würde es sich herausnehmen, dagegen zu murren oder sich aufzulehnen. Ebensowenig erwartet jemand, daß ihm hier auf Erden für sein tadelloses Verhalten ein besonders günstiges Geschick zuteil werde. In ihrer naiven Einfalt sind die Feuerländer ehrfurchtsvoll genug, um nicht an ihren *Hidábyan* dergleichen Forderungen zu stellen, fernerhin hält sich niemand für ganz fehlerfrei; im übrigen findet jedermann sein genügendes Auskommen, weswegen er mehr weder benötigt noch erwartet. Falls sie dennoch bitten, werden sie dazu von der eigenen Ohnmacht gegenüber den unbezwinglichen Naturgewalten und den bedrohlichen Willkürlichkeiten des Höchsten Wesens selber gedrängt. Die ihm schuldige Ehrfurcht fordert, seinen Namen nicht gedankenlos im Munde zu führen. Da alle Tiere sein Eigentum sind, macht sich jeder Mensch strafbar, der sie mißbraucht und der in böser Absicht mutwillig mehr tötet, als er zu seinem Unterhalt benötigt; nur soviel nämlich wird jedermann von ihrem Herrn und Besitzer zugestanden. Die Erwachsenen unterlassen es nicht, bei geeigneter Gelegenheit die heranreifende Jugend mit diesen Gedanken vertraut zu machen.

Auch die Pflichten der Selbstliebe sind überraschend deutlich bestimmt. Sie treten am klarsten in den Schilderungen von dem zu erstrebenden Ideal eines echten Yamana zutage. In dem Sinnspruch: „Jeder sei ein guter und brauchbarer Mensch!" werden die persönlichen Tugenden zusammengefaßt, die jedermann vorwiegend aus Ehrgeiz anstrebt. Ein auffälliger Wetteifer drängt manchen, in treuer Pflichterfüllung und tadelloser Lebensführung die anderen Stammesgenossen zu überflügeln. Fleiß und Arbeitsamkeit, Ordnungssinn und Reinlichkeit, Verträglichkeit mit seinesgleichen und ruhige Wesensart, Selbstlosigkeit und stete Bereitwilligkeit zu jedweder Hilfeleistung, Genügsamkeit beim Essen und Ehrfurcht gegenüber dem Stammesbrauch in seinen vielen Einzelheiten sind Eigenschaften, die die Allgemeinheit von jedem ihrer Mitglieder fordert. Das Schamgefühl ist gut ausgebildet.[24] Vor Frauen

[24] Hyades (b): 1346 versichert: „Le sentiment de la pudeur existe dans les deux sexes, mais il est plus développé chez la femme et porte un nom special." Vgl. auch Hyades (q): 230. Darüber hinaus erwähnt er (f): 573 noch: „La masturbation n'est que très exceptionelle chez les Fuégiens. Probablement à cause de la cohabitation continuelle, les rapports sexuels commencent de bonne heure entre petits garçons et petites filles, mais ne deviennent pas alors habituels." Ehrenvoll ist das folgende Zeugnis Bennett's (i): 19, der gewohnheitsmäßig bewußt nachteilig von den Yamana spricht: „In their personal habits whilst there was much room for increased decency and cleanliness, yet there were many good points that did them honour as men. Incest is a crime unknown and utterly abhorrent to the native

und Kindern vermeiden es die Männer, anzügliche Witze oder schlüpfrige Redensarten wiederzugeben. Im Lager und in den Hütten sind alle Erwachsenen zumindest mit einem Schamschurz bedeckt, nur hochbejahrten Männern fehlt er vereinzelt (S. 403). Tatsache ist es, daß der echte Yamana diesen Pflichten eifriger aus der Sorge um seinen guten Leumund, als mit Rücksicht auf den Gesetzgeber über den Wolken entspricht.

Fast unmöglich ist es, aus der Fülle von Vorschriften und Bestimmungen jene bedeutsamen herauszuheben, die sich als die wichtigsten Stützen der Gesellschaftsordnung erweisen. Die als Haupttugenden geltenden, persönliche Selbstlosigkeit und stete Hilfsbereitschaft für andere, seien nochmals erwähnt. Die Wechselbeziehungen der Eheleute sind für beide Teile glücklich und ihr günstiges Einvernehmen wird nicht unwesentlich von vornherein durch die Freiheit bei der Gattenwahl gesichert. Eine eheliche Verbindung verwandter Personen ist nicht statthaft (S. 652)[27] und ein Abweichen von der monogamen Ehe wird nicht gern gesehen. Innerhalb der Familie ist der Frau eine beinahe genaue Gleichstellung mit dem Manne eingeräumt. Da nach uralter Gewohnheit die notwendigen Arbeiten auf einen jeden von ihnen in Hinsicht auf ihre körperliche und seelische Eignung taktvoll und zweckmäßig verteilt sind (S. 671), wickelt sich der Wirtschaftsbetrieb in guter Ordnung ab und die Standespflichten wie das ganze Tagewerk werden mehr zu einer angenehmen Beschäftigung, als zu einer drückenden Last. Die Eltern nehmen es ernst mit ihrer Aufgabe als Erzieher ihrer Kinder und diese sind jenen in herzlicher Liebe zugetan. Ehrfurcht vor den Schwiegereltern und stete Bereitwilligkeit zu Dienstleistungen der Verwandten untereinander begünstigen den engen Zusammenschluß einer Lokalgruppe (S. 782). Die bescheidene Zurückhaltung jüngerer Leute in Gegenwart älterer Personen und die Vorsicht im Verkehr mit Besuchern aus anderen Gegenden verhindern Feindseligkeiten (S. 1006). Für Kranke und Gebrechliche (S. 1027), für Waisenkinder (S. 715, 1028) und Witwen (S. 646) wird nach dem geltenden Brauch von der Allgemeinheit gesorgt, ohne Rücksicht auf das, was die nächsten Verwandten tun. Der Begriff des Privateigentums ist deutlich ausgeprägt und der Besitz des einzelnen durch eigene Rechtsbestimmungen gesichert (S. 967). Verstöße dagegen sind sehr selten, da niemand das gestohlene Gut lange verbergen könnte.[28] Den einzelnen Lokalgruppen stehen ausgedehnte Strecken

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mind. Although too often in other respects most immoral, as regards this hateful offence the native is quite pure. With the women there is a great sense of decorum, and man, unless he seek it will seldom see anything to shock his moralities in their conduct."

[27] Diesbezüglich hat auch Bridges (i): 19 versichert, daß „incest is a crime unknown and utterly abhorrent to the native mind".

[28] Merkwürdige Widersprüche enthält folgende Beurteilung. Phillips: 183 hat auf Isla Keppel wiederholt die Eingeborenen bei Diebstählen ertappt. „Man setzte sie darüber zur Rede, und die Männer geriethen wegen der Beschuldigung in solchen Zorn, daß sie dem Missionär Phillips durch Gebärden den Tod androhten. Aus diesem und späteren Fällen hätte man sich die Lehre ziehen sollen, daß die Feuerländer, obgleich unverbesserliche Diebe, dennoch es für den höchsten Schimpf halten, der Unredlichkeit geziehen zu werden.

als Jagdgebiete zur Verfügung (S. 799), innerhalb derselben bewegen sich Nachbarn nur unter besonderen Bedingungen. Der eigentliche Tauschhandel und die Verteilung der Jagdbeute, die gegenseitigen Besuche und die gemeinschaftlichen Veranstaltungen, wie *čiξxaus* und *kina*, wickeln sich nach genauen, unwandelbaren Regeln ab. Zu einer Einheit unter einem gemeinsamen Oberhaupt sind sämtliche Stammesmitglieder zwar nicht zusammengeschlossen (S. 778), aber sie fühlen und betätigen sich als zusammengehörig, geführt und verpflichtet durch eine und dieselbe Überlieferung nach Art eines ungeschriebenen Gesetzbuches. Niemand dürfte es sich herausnehmen, sie aus bewußtem Widerspruch hintanzusetzen und seine eigenen Wege zu gehen, oder auch nur mit verächtlichen Reden gegen sie Stellung zu nehmen. Eine unsichtbare Staatsgewalt ist tatsächlich wirksam (S. 803), wenngleich in engen Grenzen nur.

Diese lange Liste von Vorschriften und Bestimmungen ist, wie die Wirklichkeit es überzeugend beweist, jedem Feuerländer zur Genüge bekannt, er richtet sich darnach mit mehr oder weniger peinlich genauer Treue.

2. Ihre Ursprünglichkeit

Schweres Unrecht würde man den Yamana zufügen, wollte man ihre ehrliche Gesinnung gegenüber den einzelnen Forderungen ihrer Moralgesetze verdächtigen oder verkleinern. Offensichtlich widerspricht es den Erfahrungen zuverlässiger Europäer, mit Bridges (h): 205 die sehr allgemein gehaltene Anschuldigung zu erheben, daß sie „inmorales y torpes en su conducta y conversación" seien.[29] Jeder Feuerländer fühlt es als eine zwingende Pflicht, jenen Forderungen der sittlichen Vorschriften zu entsprechen. In seiner Jugend wird er innerhalb und außerhalb seiner Familie, verbindlich als *uiwógla* des *čiξxaus*, darüber reichlich belehrt; im späteren Leben stützt und treibt ihn, auch gegen den eigenen Willen und gegen die persönliche Trägheit, das Beispiel der Allgemeinheit. Wer es wagen würde, über wichtige Bestimmungen, zumal solche für den gegenseitigen Verkehr, sich gewohnheitsmäßig hinwegzusetzen, brächte sich selber in eine unmögliche Lage. Tatsächlich wird mancher aus echt menschlicher Schwäche nachlässig in seinen privaten Pflichten oder verfällt in Entgleisungen auf dem Gebiete der geschlechtlichen Sittlichkeit. Das weiß er aber auch und er bekommt es zu fühlen, daß er damit einer ehrenvollen Beurteilung durch seine Nachbarn verlustig geht und von ihnen wie zur Strafe gemieden wird. Nach gewisser Zeit treibt dann das Ehrgefühl oder eine Drohung des Höchsten Wesens ihn doch wieder auf den Weg der Pflicht zurück. Alle Umstände sprechen dafür, daß diese Rechts-

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gleichsam als ob bei ihnen nicht das Stehlen, sondern das Ertapptwerden als schändlich angesehen würde." Vgl. Phillips (a): 1011.

[29] Deutungen ihrer Moralbegriffe und ihrer Lebensführung von der offensichtlich tendenziösen Art, wie ein Segarzim (a): 177 beispielsweise sie eingeschlagen hat, verdienen es nicht, eigens erörtert zu werden.

forderungen und damit die gesamte Rechtslage bei unsern Feuerländern sich durch Generationen bis in die neueste Zeit herein unverändert erhalten haben.[20]

Eine zureichende Erklärung für den Ernst der Rechtsforderungen und für die Kraft der Allgemeinverpflichtung bietet der Hinweis auf den letzten Urheber alles dessen, nämlich auf das Höchste Wesen selbst. Mit bestimmten Worten leiten unsere Eingeborenen den bestehenden Brauch im Sinne verpflichtender Regeln und Gesetze von *Watayindjwa* ab. Er fordert nämlich, daß der einzelne Yamana „sich so einrichte [in seiner Lebensführung], wie es immer üblich gewesen ist", d. h. nach den Grundsätzen, die er selber von Anfang an angegeben hat. Der ganzen Geistesverfassung unserer Feuerländer entspricht es nicht, haarscharf die Einzelbegriffe zu spalten und das Ergebnis zu einer geschlossenen Gedankenkette zu ordnen; den Anforderungen ihres Verstandes ist mit dem allgemeinen Hinweis auf die von den Vorfahren überlieferten Gepflogenheiten Genüge getan. Was als übereinstimmend damit erwiesen worden ist, besitzt gültige Rechtskraft und zwar allein deswegen. Mithin ruht das ganze Sittengesetz auf dem zuverlässigsten Untergrunde und seinem Verpflichtungszwange ist die stärkste Stoßkraft beigegeben. Daran ändert auch der folgende Nebenumstand nichts. Vereinzelt wurde mir gesagt, doch ohne fühlbaren Nachdruck: „Wie wir Yamana uns verhalten sollen, hat uns *Yaḑlos* vermittelt!" Gern braucht man dieses Wort gegenüber den *ainagla* im *čiḑ'ŋgs*, wenn man sie mit den um diese Gestalt sich rankenden Mythen bekannt macht. Man anerkennt ihn also als den Überbringer der Bestimmungen, die *Watayindjwa* von den Yamana beobachtet sehen will. Keinem Menschen käme der Gedanke, einmal darnach zu fragen, mit welcher Berechtigung *Watayindjwa* ihn und seine Stammesgenossen unter den Zwang seiner Gesetze gestellt hat, noch, deren Sinn und Ziel nach irgendwelcher Richtung zu überprüfen. Für jedermann ist es eine sonnenklare Selbstverständlichkeit, die gesamten Sittenvorschriften ohne den mindesten Einwand in der Form entgegenzunehmen und zu berücksichtigen, die nun einmal als Überlieferung von früheren Geschlechtern her vorliegt, und zwar als Ausdruck des Willens des Höchsten Wesens.

In dieser Gedankenfolge liegt der enge Zusammenhang zwischen Religion und Moral ausgesprochen.[21] Die sittlichen Verpflichtungen mit ihren Zwangsforderungen hängen nicht haltlos in der Luft, sondern ruhen, wie soeben gesagt, auf sicherer Grundlage. Von dorther erhalten demnach auch die Sanktionen, sei es für eine pflichttreue, sei es für eine fehlerhafte Handlungsweise, je ihre Wirksamkeit. Die Yamana geben ihrer Überzeugung deutlich Ausdruck, daß *Watayindjwa* darüber wacht, wie seine Vorschriften

[20] Hierin stimmen unsere Yamana mit den Selk'nam fast vollständig überein. Das Sittengesetz der letzteren ist Bd. I, 519 mit einer Fülle von Einzelheiten gekennzeichnet und erklärt worden. Wer sich die Mühe nähme, eine jede für sich zum Vergleich zu benützen, würde auch darin überraschend reichliche Gleichheiten und Ähnlichkeiten finden.

[21] Er kann eigentlich gar nicht enger und fester sein, und damit allein schon sind die von Cooper 152 zusammengestellten Urteile verschiedener Herkunft berichtigt.

erfüllt werden, und daß er ernste Verfehlungen straft."[a] Die Furcht davor zeitigt heilsame Wirkungen, obgleich zuweilen jemand einen Fehler ausschlaggebend unter der Rücksicht vermeidet, daß er seinen guten Ruf bei seinesgleichen nicht einbüße. Das gilt in erhöhtem Maße für die Schicht der alten Leute, die sich ihrer Verpflichtung zum guten Beispiel vor der Jugend allenthalben bewußt sind. Das alles gern zugestanden, bleibt entscheidend für eine Handlungsweise des Menschen eben doch das Urteil des Höchsten Wesens. Seine Strafen fürchtet ein jeder um so mehr, als er ohnmächtig und wehrlos ihm ausgeliefert dasteht. Die Furcht vor ihnen wird noch durch die Vorstellung davon gesteigert, daß der einzelne Mensch keine Möglichkeit besitzt, ein Vergehen auf irgendwelche Weise, etwa durch Gebete oder Opfer, wieder gut zu machen und seine Schuld abzulösen. Also muß er sich in sein Schicksal ergeben, wie es "Jener-dort-oben" über ihn verhängt. Er ist der *Abáila*, der alle überragende wirklich Starke, gegen den niemand aufkommen kann. Wer indes seinen Pflichten nachkommt, der weiß sich unter dem Wohlwollen und dem besonderen Schutze des *Hidábyun* gesichert und folgerichtig muß es ihm gut gehen. Ein Übeltäter hingegen fühlt sich im Hinblick auf die fast sicher eintreffende Strafe nie mehr recht wohl, in fühlbarer Erfolglosigkeit auf der Jagd und bei mancherlei Arbeiten sieht er bereits deutliche Drohungen mit der schwersten Sühne, nämlich dem frühzeitigen Sterben. Damit verbindet sich noch das Verhalten der eigenen Stammesgenossen gegen den pflichtvergessenen Übeltäter; denn diese lassen ihn links liegen und vermeiden offensichtlich den Verkehr mit ihm, sie beschimpfen ihn und warnen vor seinem Vergehen, sie gönnen ihm keine Ruhe und stellen ihm sogar nach, wenn er ein Mörder und Ehebrecher ist. Auf solche Art beteiligt sich die Volksgemeinschaft selber an der Durchführung von Strafmaßnahmen wegen eines Verbrechens. Allerdings spricht niemand von Strafen, die der Schuldige in der andern Welt zu erwarten hätte, weil man im allgemeinen behauptet, die Daseinsform der Seelen dort drüben nicht zu kennen. Da also jedermann doch mit üblen und empfindlich schlimmen Folgen für ein fehlerhaftes Tun rechnet, gewinnt er aus dieser Erkenntnis reichlich Kraft, sich stets auf dem Wege der allgemein gültigen Verpflichtungen zu halten.

Tatsächlich geht es in dem einfachen Gesellschaftsaufbau unserer Feuerländer g e o r d n e t e r, gewissenhafter und friedlicher her, als mancher Europäer glauben möchte, obwohl sie weder über Polizei und Gerichte verfügen, noch unter der Leitung von Häuptlingen stehen. Ihre rauhe Heimat und dürftige Lebensweise hat sie anspruchslos und genügsam gemacht, Zügellosigkeiten und Grausamkeiten konnten sich bei ihnen nicht zu einem System entwickeln. So sind es mehrere verschiedenartige Umstände, die ihre persönliche und allgemeine Moral über die anderer Naturvölker hinausheben.

[a] Nach Auffassung der Yamana wird ausschließlich der Schuldige persönlich bestraft, nicht aber zieht sein Verbrechen andere Stammesgenossen in Mitleidenschaft. In diesem Sinne behält Bamonte (h): 239 recht, wenn er behauptet: „El mal que se comete sólo concierne al autor y a la víctima."

Auf den vorhergehenden Seiten ist die Stellung und das Verhältnis unserer Feuerländer zu der von ihnen anerkannten Gottheit gekennzeichnet worden, wie es der Begriff Religion im engeren Wortsinne fordert. Sehr verschieden davon sind ihre Beziehungen zu anderen Geistern und mythologischen Persönlichkeiten, was weiter unten zur Darstellung gelangen wird. Einige Ergänzungen zu ihrer religiösen Betätigung wird noch die Beschreibung ihrer großen Totenfeiern bringen, die schon im nächsten Abschnitt enthalten ist.

B. Seelenglaube und Trauer

Eng miteinander verflochten sind die Vorstellungen von der menschlichen Seele und von ihrem Weiterleben nach dem Tode. Im Zusammenhange damit stehen Trauerbräuche, für die unsere Yamana bestimmte Formen geschaffen haben. Letztere dürften sich hauptsächlich damit begründen lassen, daß der Verlust eines jeden Stammesmitgliedes die Eingeborenen insgesamt überaus schmerzlich trifft. Bei der folgenden Beschreibung darf man nicht aus dem Auge verlieren, daß europäische Begriffe und Ausdrucksweisen sich nicht bei jeder Einzelheit ganz genau mit den Gedanken und Worten der Eingeborenen decken, da diese in ihrem Denken viel genügsamer und ärmer an Begriffen sind. Manche ihrer Gedankenreihen ist lückenhaft und wird nicht zu Ende geführt; des Feuerländers Art ist es im allgemeinen nicht, das, was fehlt, zu ergänzen und sich dafür entsprechenden Ersatz zu verschaffen. Angesichts dessen gerät der Forscher in die Gefahr, bewußt oder unbewußt seine eigene Deutung in die mangelhaften Ausdrucksformen der Naturkinder einzuschieben; dadurch müßte seine Darstellung unweigerlich zu einem verzerrten Bilde werden. Auch gegenüber meinen Fragen und Erkundigungen blieben meine Gewährspersonen zuweilen ratlos stehen und zeigten sich außerstande, eine befriedigende Erklärung abzugeben. Das ist echt primitive Mentalität, die sich weit davon entfernt hält, jede Vorstellung genau zu beschreiben und jeden Begriff nach den Regeln der Logik restlos zu deuten. In den folgenden Angaben klaffen Lücken, was unverhohlen zugestanden sei. Eines Vergehens gegenüber dem dargebotenen Stoffe würde ich mich schuldig machen, falls ich sie mit Ergänzungen nach eigenem Geschmack ausfüllen und mit Deutungen aus meinem persönlichen Urteil versehen würde. Unverfälschte Einzeltatsachen, mögen sie lückenhaft und unvollständig sein, werden bei Vergleichen verwendet werden können und sicher zum Ziele führen, wohingegen unzuverlässige und willkürliche Zusätze den Weg der Forschung gefährden.

a. *Die menschliche Seele*

Von vornherein unterscheidet der Feuerländer zwischen belebten und unbelebten Dingen. Für ihn sind die Menschen und Tiere, sein *Watayinkiwa* und die vielen verschiedenartigen Geister tatsächlich lebende Wesen, während

er Pflanzen und Steinen, den Naturgewalten und seinen eigenen Gebrauchsgegenständen ein Leben im eigentlichen Sinne nicht zuspricht. Sein Begriff vom Leben und vom Lebendigsein deckt sich mit dem Besitz der Seele. Diese ist das wirkliche Lebensprinzip und als solches vermag sie allein für sich oder verbunden mit dem menschlichen Leibe zu bestehen. Sie ist infolgedessen, nach der klaren Auffassung der Yamana, eine Wesenheit eigener Art und deshalb etwas ganz anderes als ein Körper. Diese Deutung entspricht mehr oder weniger genau dem Inhalt, den auch wir Europäer in die Worte "Seele" oder "Geist" hineinlegen.

Die Selbständigkeit und Eigenart eines Geisteswesens wird deutlich betont durch eine bestimmte Bezeichnung, die, obwohl ein Gattungsbegriff, ausschließlich auf die menschliche Seele und auf die eigentlichen selbständigen Geister ihre Anwendung findet. Sie ist *kélpiś*, ein Wort, das von den Missionaren und Reisenden oft genug wiederholt worden ist. Man hört auch *kélpiś* und *késpiz*. BD: 175 schreibt *késpiz*, a spirit, a ghost, an apparition, a man who has lost a brother or cousin; den letztgenannten Sinn hat man mir nicht erwähnt. Man gebraucht diesen Ausdruck zusammenhängend mit der Grundbedeutung "Geisteswesen". Ihr hat man zuweilen ungerechtfertigte Einschränkungen oder unzulängliche Erklärungen beigegeben. So sagt beispielsweise BEMERS (I): 15, was zuweilen statthaft ist, den Inhalt des Wortes *kélpiś* folgendermaßen ein: „The *Cushpij* were spirits which at night could make themselves visible but not tangible. They were malign, and the yahgans associated them with sickness and death". Immerhin kommt in dieser Beschreibung zum Ausdruck, daß reine Geisteswesen eine selbständige Daseinsform besitzen. Jene Deutung hat HYADES (q): 255 in erweiterter Form wiederholt und er bezeichnet *Kuchpikh* als „terme intraduisible se rapportant à des êtres fantastiques". Bestimmter und in Anwendung auf die menschliche Seele allein drückt sich SPEUCER: 101 aus: „*Cush-pik* is the spirit part of man."

Außer der Körperlosigkeit, die wenigstens nach außen hin als ein Wesensmerkmal erscheint, erkennt man dem *kélpiś* noch andere Eigenschaften zu. Vor allem die, daß durch ihn und zwar durch ihn allein der menschliche Leib belebt wird. Solche *kélpiś*, die daran von vornherein nicht gebunden sind, haben eben ihr eigenes, selbständiges Leben, beispielsweise die *yéśkel*, die als sogenannte Waldgeister etwa den Feengestalten unserer Märchen gleichgestellt werden können. Das gleiche unabhängige Dasein führt jede menschliche Seele nach ihrer Trennung vom Leibe weiter. So lange der *kélpiś* in dem ihm zugewiesenen Leibe verweilt, bleibt der Mensch am Leben. Das Sterben setzt damit ein, so sagen die Yamana, daß „der *kélpiś* vom Körper weggeht; *Watapinéjuw* nämlich nimmt ihn fort". Die Seele also überdauert das Dasein des Leibes. Da nach ihrer Vorstellung das Sterben eine Auflösung der Verbindung von Leib und Seele ist, so gibt es für die alleinstehenden Geister, einschließlich der menschlichen Seele nach dem Tode, eben kein Sterben, mit anderen Worten, diese bestehen weiter. In dieser Gedankenfolge zeigen sich die Feuerländer merkwürdigerweise unwandelbar geradlinig; mit

Bekannten haben sie meine Frage nach einem möglichen Aufklären der Geistwesen entgegengenommen, als ob diese Zumutung ein Widerspruch in sich wäre.

Überraschend ist auch, daß sie für die *Ahpid* keine Altersunterscheidung, etwa im Sinne der zuvorkommenden Lebensjahre beim Menschen, anbieten. Sie unterscheiden, wenn man sich so ausdrücken darf, Altersunterschiede und die Verschiedenheiten des Geschlechtes, also bei den *yehlôl* genau so wie bei den Menschenwesen nach dem Tode, Erwachsene und Kinder beiderlei Geschlechtes. Dieser einmal gegebene Zustand hält ohne Änderung trotz den Verlaufes der Jahre gegen an und „ein Kind-*Ahpid* reift nicht zu einem erwachsenen Geist heran", hat mir Maimwanza nachdrücklich versichert. Daß die unsterbliche Seele nicht aufhört zu lernen und trotz auch so langer Zeit sich nicht verändert, bringt positive dort Unsterblichkeit. Dieses Glauben der Yaunde haben mehrere Beobachter hervorgehoben, andere haben ihn in Abrede gestellt.* Schon 1904 hat Bennett (a): 211 berichtet: „They believe in the immortality of the soul." So verhält es sich wirklich und es verdient sich nicht, anderweitrichte Meinungen zu berücksichtigen.

Weiters wird den Geistwesen von den Yaunde eine zusammen unterschränkte Bewegungsfreiheit zugedacht. Im Schlafe, vor allem beim Träumen, verläßt der *Ahpid* verklärgehend den Leib und begibt sich an einen anderen Ort. Auch Sweeney: 101 erwähnt: „When dreaming, the spirit goes out of him." Hierbei ist wesentlich, zu beachten, was später auch erklärt werden soll, daß der *Ahpid* nach einem derartigen Spaziergang wieder durch eine unwillkürliche Handlung im Körper tatsächlich neu belebt werden soll, und zwar geschieht dies meist durch einen yôkmaná. Man merkte mich mehrmals auf einen bedeutsamen Unterschied aufmerksam: „Während jemand träumt, geht sein *Ahpid* nur spazieren und kommt selbstverständlich bald wieder zurück; beim Sterben indes nimmt Waranjôjan den *Ahpid* weg und gestattet ihm nicht, sich mehr zwar mit dem Leibe zu verbinden." Wenn die Yaunde sagen: „Man kann ein Geistwesen nicht sehen, weil es ohne *Ahpid* ist", so wollen sie damit zum Ausdruck bringen: Er ist nicht körperhaft; denn nur etwas Körperhaftes ist für das Auge sichtbar. Trotzdem gibt sie zu, daß ein solches Geistwesen sich zuweilen sichtbar machen kann, erklären dies aber im einzelnen nicht. Gelegentlich fragte ich: „Wenn mein Bruder schon länger tot ist und dann auch ich sterbe, wird mein *Ahpid* mit dem meines Bruders zusammentreffen, wird er ihn sehen und sich mit ihm verständigen können?" Darauf antwortete man mir: „Das wissen wir nicht. Das ist ja etwa-

* Die einzelnen Urteile hat Gaurier 130 gesammelt. Dabei fällt auf, daß über diesen Gegenstand der eine und andere Beobachter sich selber widersprochen widergegeben. Angesichts dessen ist man doch wohl berechtigt, die Glaubwürdigkeit der Zeugenaussagen zweifelhaft zu bezweifeln. Das um so mehr, da sogar Bennett in seinen Ausführungen schwankt und anderes (c): 332 behauptet: „Ne hatten keine Vorstellung von einer unsichtbaren ganz oder sichtbaren Existenz, noch von dem Vorhandensein einer Gottes im Menschen, der den Körper überlebt." Im ersten Teile behält er recht, im letzteren Teile widersprichte er sich.

Seele entkommen, wie die *kółpiź* dort drüben sich benehmen." Wenn die Yamana ihre eigene klare Vorstellung vom Sein des *kółpiź* erklären wollen, wissen sie nur zu sagen: „Er ist so etwas wie der Atem oder wie der Hauch, der aus dem Munde kommt."

Wie mir scheint, ist ihre Ansicht von der Herkunft und dem Ursprung der menschlichen Seele nicht ausreichend klar. In einer etwas unbestimmten Form geben sie aber doch zu, daß das Höchste Wesen dabei entscheidend beteiligt ist, so zwar, nämlich, daß die Seele des neugeborenen Kindes von ihm stammt, während der Leib des Kindes den eigenen Eltern seinen Ursprung verdankt.[*] Diese Vorstellung geben auch bekannte Redewendungen zu erkennen. Die trauernden Eltern sagen z. B.: „Watagindjuwi hat mein Kind erschaffen, das er mir geschenkt hat." Ausführlicher jedoch äußern sie sich über den genauen Vorgang nicht.

Gelegentlich wünschte ich zu wissen, ob auch die Tiere ihren *kółpiź* besäßen. Dieses Gedanke war ihnen offenbar bis dahin nicht untergekommen, weswegen sie mir mit Kopfschütteln einen verneinenden Bescheid gaben. Dann erklärte ich ihnen: „Die Tiere sind doch erhaben, vor allem der Hund. Er verteidigt die Anwesen und Wigwams seiner Herren, er hilft bei der Jagd und ist treu. Wie kann das wohl sein?" Sie entgegneten: „Dem Hund pflegen wir wie ein Kind. Er hilft uns viel, wir lassen ihn nie allein auf einer verlorenen Stelle zurück; denn bliebe er von uns abgeschnitten, würden wir immer und überall den Bellen und Heulen eines derart verlassenen Hundes wahrnehmen. Wahrlich besitzt der Hund doch einen *kółpiź* von eigener Art, aber nur er allein, andere Tiere besitzen ihn nicht." Es bleibt bestehen, daß die Yamana den Tieren einen *kółpiź* ähnlich der Menschenseele mit bestimmten Worten nicht zuerkennen.

Ihre Anschauungen gleichen im wesentlichen denen, die auch die benachbarten Selk'nam von ihrem *kółpiź* vertreten (Bd. I. 537); sogar die Namen beider Bilder für menschliche Seele und Gewissen sind fast dieselbe Form.

h. *Jenseitsglaube*

Trotz der gegenwärtigen Bekehrung einiger Heiden, die nicht erst gewissen zu werden brauchen,[*] sind die Yamana zusammen von der fortdauernden Tatsache einer Weiterlebens der menschlichen Seele überzeugt. Dieses sprechen sie auch deutlich genug in verschiedenen Wendungen.

[*] Bonnemann 1882 sagt sogar: „Nur Jesus schickt gute Geister 'Gnade Gottes'." Diese Ausdrucksweise kennt der Yamana nicht. Er sagt auch nie, was richtig ist: „Some imagine they are the spirits, Informants known nothing of spirits! Idea except that they always remain."

[*] Bonnemann (ib. 1882 schreibt: „Kapitän Fitz Roy konnte niemals sicher ermitteln, ob die Feuerländer irgend einen bestimmten Glauben an ein künftiges Leben haben. Sie begraben sprechen dem Tode in Höhlen und erzählen in den Begräbnissen; wir wissen nicht, was für Zeremonien sie ausführen." Segers Bruyere (p.) 1882 berichtet dies nahezuvon Lettum: „L'idée de un futur n'existe pas." Indes, verschiedene Missionare auf unzählige Anzeichen bringen uns ebenso wenig vorzulegen, die Indianer dürftig nicht eigene Ideen angeführt zu werden.

Allerdings muß man zugeben, daß sie die Vorstellung von einem Jenseits als einem bestimmten Orte oder geänderten Zustande nicht besitzen. Dieser Umstand hat die mißverständlichen Äußerungen mancher Beobachter verursacht, die eben nur behaupten wollten, daß die Yamana wohl an dem Weiterleben der menschlichen Seelen festhalten, daß sie aber nicht imstande seien, sich über deren Lebensweise ausführlich zu äußern. In der einen Behauptung allerdings schwanken die Feuerländer nicht, daß beim Sterben der *kółpiś* den Leib verläßt und sein eigenes Leben weiterführt. Sind diese beiden einmal durch den Tod, das ist, wie auf S. 1094 gesagt, durch Eingriff des Watajinéjum voneinander getrennt worden, hält jede spätere Vereinigung für immer ausgeschlossen. Seitdem steht die Seele für sich allein da, während der Leichnam zerfällt.

So sehr dieser Glaube als unverläßig geschildert betrachtet werden muß, ebenso unbeugbar fehlt unseren Eingeborenen eine in etwa klare und mit einem gewissen Inhalt ausgestattete Vorstellung von der Eigenart jenes Lebens der Seelen nach der Trennung vom Leibe. Auf alle diesbezüglichen Fragen haben sie nur die eine Antwort: „Wir wissen nichts von jenen *kółpiś* nach dem Tode!" Diese Antwort wiederholt sich in manchen Angaben früherer Beobachter. Schon Dumas (b): 698 schrieb: „The Fireländer thinks, when a man dies, his breath goes up to heaven; but for what, he has no notion, and is ignorant of a return to the flesh. He denies the upward ascent of breath to other animals." Jedenfalls soviel ist sicher, eine Umwandlung der menschlichen Seele oder ihren Übergang in ein anderes Wesen haben die Yamana nie behauptet. Dumas hat sich mehrmals hierzu geäußert. Frühzeitig schon hat er (a): 211 gesagt: „They believe in the immortality of the soul, their word *Cokpakgnaloo*, signifying to fly up, evidences this fact." Anderson (i): 19, (k): 238, (h): 207 versichert er: „They had no future, and expected nothing after death. Anyway this was true for the most part; they had a word expressive of death *Cagnpalo*, the meaning of which is 'to go up and fly', which seems to convey an idea of an after spiritual state." Die gleiche Ansicht wiederholen Dumas (b): 202, Spencer (a): 172 u. a. Jener Wort, mit dem in gar manchen Abhandlungen mitwirkig eine Art von Gütersdienst getrieben wurde (Cooper: 151), ist ein gewöhnliches intransitives Zeitwort und bedeutet, nach BD: 195, als *kóqapalú*: to die, to cease to be, get used up; he all gone or spent; was so illcontrary ist mit: sterben, es ist aus, es gibt nichts mehr. Mehrfach wird dieses Zeitwort in seiner Grundbedeutung angewendet, nicht ausschließlich im Sinne von sterben. Man könnte statt dessen auch *kółápana* mit der gleichen Bedeutung gebrauchen.

Die völlige Ungewißheit der Yamana über das Los und den Zustand einer dahingegangenen Menschenseele ruft jene ungewöhnliche Steigerung des Trauerverhaltens bei den Hinterbliebenen hervor, der jedem fremden Beobachter auffällt. In gleicher Weise sind auch ihre Trauerkundgebungen sehr erschütternd und niederdrückend, weil sie gleichsam aus der Verzweiflung darüber geboren sind, daß nach dem Tode das Wiedersehen ausgeschlossen

ist. Wunderbar hat man mir erklärt: „Mit dem Tuchen bleibt allen [jede Verbindung] zwischen uns und jenen kêpêrâ auf. Wir wissen nicht, wie der kêpêrâ kommt, wenn ein Kind zu leben anfängt; ebensowenig wissen wir, wohin sein kêpêrâ sich nachher begibt. Er geht weit weg, weit über das Meer hin geht er!" Nelly Lawrence hat mir einmal eine alte Photographie gezeigt. Verkorte Personen, die sich auf einer Missionsstation zusammengefunden hatten, sind darauf zu sehen gewesen; nur vier davon leben noch. Nachdrücklich und ernst, aber mit heiterer Ironie bezeichnete sie mir: „Die alten Yamana, auch mein eigener Vater und ich selber haben es nie glauben können, wie alle würden uns nach dem Tode wiedersehen. Die Missionare behaupten das nämlich, doch keinem von uns will es in den Kopf. Jedermann sieht doch, wie der Leichnam in die Erde gelegt wird und dort verfällt, nach einigen Jahren ist von ihm nichts mehr übrig. Das Gerede der Missionare sind Dummheiten, sie wollen uns täuschen. Wir haben ihnen das nie geglaubt und glauben es auch heute nicht!" Mit spöttischem Lächeln wiederholte sie nach kurzer Pause: „Ein Wiedersehen kann es doch gar nicht geben, weil der Leichnam gänzlich verfällt!" Durch sich sind ihre Worte in keiner Weise verändert worden, ihr jedoch haben sie eine sichtliche Erleichterung gebracht. Mit ihrem Stammesgenossen hat sie sich über diesen Gegenstand oft und gründlich ausgesprochen und es war mir, als wollte sie auch mir gegenüber einmal unverhohlen bekennen: Wir Yamana lassen uns von niemandem etwas vorschreiben, auch nicht von den Missionaren; wir haben an unserer eigenen Wahrheitsliebe, die uns einbrachte, weiterhin unerschütterlich fest! Es entbehrt einer gewissen Tragik und auch Komik nicht, daß die eigene Schwiegertochter der Missionare Jaan Lawrence sich auf solche Weise geäußert hat! Bei derartiger Verstockung unserer Feuerländer wäre es eine psychologische Unglaubwürdigkeit, zu behaupten, sie hätten die ganze Gestalt des Weltgerichtes von den Europäern übernommen. An diesem Beispiel allein erkennt man, wie streng sie den eigenen religiösen Gedankengut vom Inhalt der Lehren ihrer Missionare abgrenzend gehalten haben. Sie selber erklären für sich, aus den heutzutage Gedankengängen heraus, auch das von den Seigen abweichende Verhalten der Christen. „Diese", so sagten mir die Yamana, „zeigen bei weitem nicht so viel Schmerz und Trauer um einen Toten, wie wir es tun! Nicht einmal ihren Namen ändern sie."* Den Namen eines Verstorbenen zu wiederholen, bereitet unsere Indianer; die weniger empfindlichen Christen aber bereitet das nicht. „Eben drinnen", so sagte Gaawa, „sind wir endlos traurig, wenn einer der Unseigen stirbt, weil wir nicht wissen, was durch den Tod mit ihm wird. Wir wissen nicht, ob wir die kêpêrâ wieder sehen und sprechen können, wie es ihnen geht und ob sie glücklich sind. Das alles wissen wir nicht, daher sind wir so traurig und weinen viel!"

Indes, obgleich nicht streng folgerichtig, lassen sie eine Möglichkeit, die von und jenen verstorbenen Verwandten wiederzusehen, doch gelten. Manchmal

* Auf S. 1114 sind die Verstorbenen genannt, unter denen jemand den eigenen Namen ändert, falls besonders dem einen Verstorbenen gleich ist.

Tamara hat erklärt: „Wenn ich sehr wenig lese und schreibtätig wäre, sie so sehen, wenn ich eifrig an sie denke, dann kommen sie wirklich durch mich. Ich sehe sie im Traume. Sie sind nicht nur Traumbilder, sie sind die wirklichen Mächte!" Nach meinem Dafürhalten werden diese Worte auf besonders lebhafte Träume oder deutlichere Wahrgebilde hin, auch dann Erscheinungen die Selbstbestätigung sich anwirkt. Um so auffälliger ist es, daß trotzdem im Folgenden [illegible] wird, die Mächte von einer vorübergehenden Erörterung und durch bewußtlosen Schwingen wären auch durch gewohnteren Tode existiegeblieben und wieder wie eigentliche Menschen mit durch abscheulichen Kräften verbindungsfähig in Verbindung gerieten. Durch wird der Menschen als das von geistig minderwertigen Personen geschildert. Nur in dieser einzigen Geschichte, meint eingeschen, treten die Seelen von Verstorbenen auf.

In der allgemeinen Unpersönlichkeit über das Los der verstorbenen Seele nach dem Tode geht folgerichtig, daß die Tamara sich nicht über eine persönliche V e r g e l t u n g aussprechen. Sie verneint allerdings deutlich die guten von den bösartigen und bösbrutalen Lebtbrüdern. Ich sagte dazu: „Viele Leute sind fröhlich und arbeitsam, ehrlich und brav. Sie verhalten sich immer so, während einige trägt und faul sind." Darauf ihre Antwort: „Die Tamara lernen so im Allgemeinen, wie sie sich im Leben eingeleben gelten, was sich für einen anbrauchlichen Menschen gehört. Jedes hat sie schnelle dennoch verspreche, wenn sie bekäme, was die Alten ihnen versprechlichen haben. Daher arbeiten sie für sich und ihre Familie, sie sorgen für die Verwandten, sie gehen an die Nachkommen von ihrer Brutto ab, sie sind gute und verständliche Menschen. Daneben gibt es aber auch schlechte Menschen. Diese sind faul und lügenhaftig, sie denken nicht mehr an den, was man dorten im Allgemeinen beigebracht und was sie dort versprechen haben; sie kümmern sich nicht mehr um den, was bei den Tamara in Ordnung stehe. Deshalb werden sie von uns verachtet, jeder hält sie ihre Wege gehen und hält sich von ihnen fern, ihre Frahrenen und Schwestern meiden ihr Los gar bald. Wenigstens hält sie frühzeitig erziehen! Es gibt schon gute und böse Menschen. Ein schlechtes Mensch bewegt sich ohne schlecht, weil er schlecht ist, ein guter Mensch verhält sich gut, weil er verstanden ist, gut zu handeln. Ob dieses Mächte [illegible] durch den Tode dennoch ohnen sein werden? Wir wissen das nicht!" Nach alledem erscheint, daß die Tamara den Zustand der Seelen nach dem Tode nicht kennen. In dem vorzüglichen Stoffen erkennen sie eine Stufe, die sie mehr oder weniger unerschlossene Stätten für schwere Fehler gibt, so daß damit wohl die erbarmliche Gesamtgrenzung gebrauch wurde.

Ihnen wenig eingehend erklärlich beschäftigen sich unsere Freundinnen mit dem Gedanken an einen bestimmten A u f e n t h a l t s o r t der Mächte. Die beiden Bekanntgaben von Tamara (ab 211 und (b) 230 sind bemerkenswert. „They have no thoughts of a future state, either of reward or punishment ... Ne tamara sana vida futura ni ideiam esperanza de castigo." Allgemeine bemerkte die Meinung von: „die gehen nach ihrem Mord". Dieser bestimmte Ausdruck wiederholt sich oft und oft. Tamara hat verschiedenen, was andere

Lucio hochfliegen: „Die Affigkeit gehört mit zur Menschenkenntnis, deshalb, wie die [illegible] affigkeit sind. In dieser Hinsicht haben sich die Affigkeit und. Diese kommen manchmal mit jenen durch unseren Gegenstand hier [als ob sie auf einer Wanderung begriffen wären], wie man die [illegible] zu bezeichnen, welche beide [Gegenstand] [illegible]?" Eine Antwortete von dieser allgemeinen Regel [illegible] die Affigkeit den [illegible] und jenen Personen, die [illegible] sind. Von [illegible] sagt man: „Wilkomd einen [illegible], [illegible] zu bildet: [illegible] sich. Die [illegible] Affigkeit, der man [illegible] kommen. Solchen [illegible] dieser [illegible] Stelle auf dem Wasser. Zuweilen [illegible] man [illegible] Bad, der [illegible] sich [illegible] die Rolle einer Gottheit, [illegible] aber die Rolle [illegible] Affigkeit [illegible]." Was jene betrifft, [illegible] alle Personen, die [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ganz Freundlichkeit zu entschädigenden Wiedergewinn gewährt. Auch zeigt dieses Beispiel, wie die offenen Blicken der eigenen religiösen Gedankenwelt von den anderen Lehrern zu trennen wissen. Sie erkennen sich förmlich und besonders sich als Sieger über die Minimaen, die sich vergeblich bemüht hatten, der unpassenden Schulen Anschauungen an Stelle der Wahrheit in der alten indischen Überlieferung zu setzen."

Die Tamaen verwendeten für die Gesamtheit der Sachen durch Verwandtwerden die Allgemeinbezeichnung *Shishi*[illegible], d. i. das Volk der *Shishi*. [illegible] *Shishi* als gleichbedeutend mit *Ishigin*. Dementsprechend, wie sie von der gewaltigen Lue der Gelehrten ingesamt Bruchteil wissen, [illegible] sie dasselbe.

c. *Trauer und Totenfeiern*

Bekanntlich erlaubt in der Schwerte unserer Freundlichen über den Verlust einer Stammesmitgliedes durch den Tod als angemessenlich tief und anhaltend gemeldet werden. Ein wesentlich hauptsächlich die Unsichtbarkeit über den Lue der dahingeschiedenen Seele; denn von ihr gewissen es erst, dessen sie für immer. Aus begreiflichen Gründen sprechen die Tamaen nicht über Ereignisse, die ihr Innerstes zerschlitzen und bis in seine Tiefen aufwühlen. Vor Fremden [illegible] nicht halten sie mit Äußerungen ihrer Trauer nicht. Die Erinnerung der vergangenen Jahrzehnte und die Minimaen kommen nur kurze und sichtbare Mitteilungen bekommen. Beginnigt vom Glück, war es mir bewahrheiten, [illegible] die Trauer einer engeren Kreises von Hinterbliebenen, als auch die allgemeine Trauerveranstaltung mitmachen. Also wird in den folgenden Ausführungen eigenen Erlebnis geschildert. Schon eingangs sei darauf hingewiesen, daß Äußerungen der Trauer dieser Indianer, ganz allgemein gesprochen, nicht etwa lärmende Formsache sind, sondern aus tiefstem Empfinden stammen. Damit sollen gewisse unzweifelhafte Urteile aus anderer Feder von vornherein zurückgewiesen werden.* Wer die Abhandlung über die Trauergebräuche der Sioux'aner vergleicht (Bd. I, 142), wird unerhörliche Übereinstimmungen mit denen unserer Tamaen antreffen. Diese Tatsache soll nun hinweisen, wie sie sich hätten, und abwahl geschichtlicher Zusammenhänge als einzig richtige Erklärung dafür gemeint werden müssen, lassen sie sich im einzelnen heute nicht mehr aufhellen noch nach jeder Richtung verfolgen.

1. Das Sterben

Offen Ungewissen sieht der Freundlichen mit resignatlichem Gleichmut und ruhiger Selbstbeherrschung gegenüber. Offenen Auges vermag er ohne

* Die anderen Worte spricht Swanton 72 denselben Gedanken aus: „When the mourners would have spoken to the Tulgan of his dead relations they could not without offending him seriously." Diese Anschauungen bilde die schwere Wacht der Wirklichkeit ohnmen.

* Bezeichnenderweise bedient sich Swanton (ibid. 118) anderer beleidigender Worte: „Non-[illegible] were [illegible] gut defiant: I suppose it [illegible], it guessed, it foolish [illegible] of [illegible]

Angst und Zagen den Tod zu erwarten. HYADES (p): 328 drückt sich zwar mäßig aus und sagt nur: „On ne craint pas beaucoup la mort"; doch damit gibt er zu viel zu. Richtiger als er äußert sich BRIDGES (i): 14: „They feared death because of the suffering and misery attending it and because it was the end of life." Gewiß, jedermann hängt am Leben und liebt es sehr; deswegen haben auch die Drohungen des *Wataginéjwa* mit frühzeitigem Sterben ihren sicheren Erfolg auf den Lebenswandel des einzelnen. Sobald er aber kein Entweichen mehr als möglich sieht, fügt er sich ohne Klagen und Zaudern. Niemals hört man, daß einer es bedauert, aus diesem Leben scheiden zu müssen, obwohl er die neue Daseinsform, in die er eintritt, nicht kennt.

Wie in neuester Zeit, sind auch in früheren Jahrhunderten fast sämtliche Yamana eines natürlichen Todes gestorben. Tödliche Unfälle und mehr noch der Mord waren Ausnahmen. Nachweislich haben Seuchen sich erst seit dem engeren Verkehr mit Europäern in der indianischen Volksgemeinschaft verderbenbringend ausgewirkt. Sieht man vom Sterben der Kinder ab, erliegen die Yamana in überwiegender Mehrheit der Altersschwäche. „Die alten Leute sterben, weil sie alt sind!" Obwohl die Indianer hierbei mehr den natürlichen Vorgang als selbstverständlich betonen, verlieren sie doch den Gedanken an das durch *Wataginéjwa* verursachte Sterben nicht gänzlich aus der Erinnerung.

Die Anzeichen der nahen Auflösung setzen meist plötzlich ein. Fühlt jemand seine Kräfte schwinden, streckt er sich auf seinem elenden Lager aus und weist die Anwesenden auf seinen Zustand hin. Diese geben sich ihrerseits davon selber sofort Rechenschaft. Die nächsten Verwandten verweilen seitdem in seiner Nähe, um den Verlauf der Dinge zu beobachten; denn meist tritt in solchem Zustand der Tod schon nach wenigen Stunden ein. Merkwürdigerweise bemühen sie sich nicht, durch Dienstleistungen die Lage des Sterbenden zu erleichtern, sondern hocken rund um das Feuer herum mit anscheinend völliger Teilnahmslosigkeit. Er selber wünscht und fordert nichts, da seine Schwäche schnell zunimmt. Eigentlich warten die Anwesenden auf den baldigen Ausgang und beobachten den Sterbenden nicht einmal genau, weil sie sich außerstande wissen, ihm zu helfen. Setzt das Röcheln ein, beginnen sie mit vernehmbarem Stöhnen und Weinen. Fast regelmäßig läuft diese Entwicklung in kurzer Frist ab.

Die Kunde davon ist selbstverständlich sofort in die nächsten Hütten gedrungen. Die Nachbarn verhalten sich still. Unter sich reden sie nur mit gedämpfter Stimme und stellen störende Arbeiten ein. Je länger sie so ausharren, um so schweigsamer, nachdenklicher und trauriger werden sie. Die Erinnerung an den Tod aus unmittelbarster Nähe stimmt jeden Yamana ernst. Die Nachbarn sind es, die den Verlauf der Dinge durch Boten anderen Leuten in weitem Umkreis vermitteln. Diese halten sich bereit, im gegebe-

1 Funghini per la morte d'un loro parente, il distruggere il wigwam dove l'individuo ha cessato di vivere, ecc ... sono più rammentadini, dettami delle abitudini, che sincere espressioni di dolore."

nen Augenblick an der Stätte der Trauer zu erscheinen. Bei den Yamana ist es nicht üblich, daß viele Leute sich um den Sterbenden versammeln; die entfernten Verwandten und Nachbarn finden sich erst nach dem Tode ein. Um so mehr aber wünscht jeder Sterbende, daß seine nächsten Angehörigen in seinen letzten Stunden bei ihm sind.[41]

Die nächsten Angehörigen des Sterbenden beobachten ihn immerhin so gut, daß sie abschätzen können, wann der eigentliche Todeskampf beginnt. Der arme Mensch ist dann schon bewußtlos oder zumindest unempfindlich. Nun setzen die Umstehenden mit lautem Heulen und jämmerlichem Stöhnen ein. Sie schreien und klagen wie aus Verzweiflung darüber, daß dieser ihr Verwandter nun von ihnen scheidet. Dabei sprechen sie nicht etwa bestimmte Worte aus, sondern wiederholen ununterbrochen, in verschiedener Stärke und wechselnder Tonlage, ihre langgezogenen heulenden und stöhnenden Laute, während reichliche Tränen fließen. Sie stehen auf und hocken sich nieder, werfen sich auch über den Sterbenden und wälzen sich auf dem Erdboden unter entsetzlichen Verzerrungen des ganzen Körpers. Beim Eintritt des Todes, den sie meist leicht und genau zu bestimmen vermögen, schreien sie sehr schrill und kreischend auf, was bis ins Mark hinein erschüttert. Mancher benimmt sich unbändig wie ein Tobsüchtiger, zerkratzt sich die ganze Körperhaut, zerzaust sich das Kopfhaar, schlägt wüst um sich, wälzt sich zusammengekrampft über die Leiche hinweg, rüttelt am Hüttengerüst, zerstreut mit den Händen das Feuer und ist ganz außer sich. Erst wenn er sich ermüdet hat, bricht er förmlich in sich zusammen und zittert am ganzen Leibe. Ihn zu beobachten wirkt erschütternd. Sehr erregt und wild benehmen sich auch die anderen Anwesenden, unter Weinen und Stöhnen beugen sie ihren Körper, fassen sich immer wieder am Kopfhaar und zerren wütend daran, während ein Strom von Tränen unbehindert über die Wangen zur Erde rinnt. Der schrille Aufschrei hat die wartenden Nachbarn von der Auflösung des Sterbenden verständigt, weinend und jammernd eilen sie herbei.[42]

Wenig abweichend davon geht es dann her, wenn einer vom Tode erlöst wird, der unter langer Krankheit gelitten hat. Seine Verwandten haben seinen Zustand genau verfolgt und sich mit Nachbarn und Besuchern darüber ausgesprochen. Der Kranke mußte mit dem einen und andern seiner nächsten Verwandten fast ununterbrochen am gleichen Flecke bleiben, abwechselnd fanden sich Freunde ein, die sich nach seinem Befinden erkundigten und ihn mit Lebensmitteln oder Gebrauchsgegenständen bedachten. Inzwischen

[41] Wie Bridges (i): 14 sich ausdrückt, „at the last closing scene all friends and relations were expected to be present and to make the occasion important by their united lamentations. It was a great gratification to the sick to have their friends around them and so much honour showing them".

[42] Einzig Bove (e): 139 berichtet davon und nur kurz: „Die letzten Augenblicke eines Sterbenden werden durch schreckliches Geheul angekündigt; alle Anwesenden nehmen am Schmerz der Familie teil. Frauen und Männer färben sich Gesicht und Hände schwarz und die nächsten Verwandten raufen sich gar die Haare aus und zerschneiden ihren Körper mit Muscheln und Messern."

schwanden seine Kräfte. Ihn lange leiden sehen zu müssen, zermürbte jene, die seine Pflege übernommen hatten. Je näher die Auflösung heranrückt, um so reizbarer und ungeduldiger werden auch sie, so daß sie beim beginnenden Todeskampfe sich erst recht wie wahnsinnig gebärden. Zu lange haben sie eben ihren geliebten Verwandten leiden und sich quälen gesehen. Dauert der Todeskampf erheblich an und verliert einer schließlich die Herrschaft über sich, erscheint es durchaus nicht als unmöglich, daß er den Sterbenden erwürgt, um ihn von den Todesqualen zu befreien (S. 1029). Laute, schrille Schreie verkünden der Nachbarschaft das Ende und sie findet sich unverzüglich bei der Leiche ein. Den eben geschilderten beiden Fällen habe ich gelegentlich beigewohnt.

Nicht selten sind tödliche Unfälle. Vor allem betreffen sie eine ganze Familie, wenn das Kanu kentert. Den Leichnam dessen, der ertrunken oder von einem Felsen abgestürzt ist, schleppen einige Männer in seine Hütte, sofern sie leicht zu erreichen ist. Andernfalls, wenn Männer auf der Jagd nach Kormoranen sich weit von ihren Familien entfernt haben, graben sie den Verunglückten an Ort und Stelle sofort ein und eilen davon, um die Nachricht jenen schnell zu übermitteln.

Schon während des Sterbens und unmittelbar danach beginnen die Trauerkundgebungen. Alle Nachbarn finden sich in oder vor der Hütte des Toten ein und eröffnen ein lautes, ungeordnetes Stöhnen. Reichliche Tränen fließen aus Trauerschmerz und aufrichtiger Teilnahme. Jeder erinnert sich lebhaft wieder an *Watuyinéiwu*, der diese Person abberufen hat. Früher schon war durch Bridges (a): 206 bekannt: „When a person is very ill and likely to die, great grief is shown, and the near relatives keep near, so as to act as mourners at the decease of the sick. They show much grief, and when the sick actually dies great lamentation is made, and the mourners weep profusely."

2. Die Bestattung

Auffallend häufige Mitteilungen, die allerdings durchgehends knapp sind, liegen über die Art und Weise vor, nach der unsere Feuerländer den Leichnam behandeln. Kaum hat der Sterbende das Atmen eingestellt, rücken die Anwesenden an ihn heran und machen sich um ihn zu schaffen. „Man hüllt den noch fast warmen Körper des Verstorbenen in einige Lumpen", wie sich Bove (e): 159 diesmal genau ausdrückt. Große Lederstücke und neuestens auch Fetzen von Sackleinwand verwendet man. Gewöhnlich beläßt man den Leichnam in der Stellung, die er beim Sterben eingenommen hat. Die ganze Umhüllung festigt und verschnürt man mit Lederstreifen, die nach verschiedener Richtung stramm herumgewickelt werden.[44] Das geschieht auf jeden Fall; „the dead are always wrapt up in skins either when buried or burned", wie Bridges (a): 206 bestätigt. Heutigentags streckt man den

[44] Hyades (q): 379 sagt kurz, daß „le corps est enveloppé dans de vieilles peaux de loutre ou de phoque, il est ensuite enseveli"; ebenso Lovenave (b): 147 und Dabbene (b): 192.

Leichnam und legt die Arme an die Seiten, weil jetzt ausschließlich das Erdbegräbnis üblich ist. Weder drückt man die Augenlider zusammen, noch hebt man den Unterkiefer zum Verschließen des Mundes. Schnell bedeckt man das Gesicht mit der Umhüllung für den ganzen Leichnam, der weder verziert noch geschmückt wird. Der eines *yékamuš* wird allerdings eigens behandelt, man bemalt zumindest das Gesicht und windet den üblichen Federschmuck um die Stirn.

Einige Anzeichen und bestimmte Aussagen alter Leute lassen keinen Zweifel darüber, daß ehedem die Leichenverbrennung zumindest allgemeiner, vielleicht sogar ausschließlicher Brauch gewesen ist. Als solcher wird er von mehreren Reisenden und Missionaren bestätigt.[44] Dafür steht beispielsweise Bridges (MM: III, 119; 1869) mit bestimmten Worten und ohne jede Einschränkung ein: „The dead are generally burnt to ashes." Mag sein, daß dieser Brauch in einzelnen Bezirken vorwiegend üblich war; denn zeitig schon hat Bridges (VP: XI, 259; 1864) versichert, in der Wulaia-Gegend sei die Leichenverbrennung „the usual way of disposing of their dead". Letztere einzuschränken auf die *yékamuš*, ist jedoch nicht richtig.[45] Immerhin geben einige ältere Mitteilungen zu, daß beide Bestattungsarten gleichzeitig bekannt waren und angewendet worden sind. Hingewiesen sei auf Stirling (VSA: XI, 198; 1864) und Despard (b): 698. Bridges (a): 206 sagt erst: „Adult persons both male and female when they die are burned shortly after by the nearest male relatives, but sometimes (especially the females) are buried. Little children are generally buried when they die." Und später schreibt er: „Gewöhnlich beerdigen sie ihre Toten, aber häufig verbrannten sie dieselben." Anderswoher ist mir nicht bekannt geworden, daß man die Leichenverbrennung unterschiedlich je nach dem Geschlecht der Erwachsenen gewählt hat; vielmehr waren für beide in gleicher Weise die örtlichen Gegebenheiten entscheidend. Eine gewisse, in dieser allgemeinen Form sicherlich ungerechtfertigte Einschränkung hat noch Outes (g): 56 gemacht, der sagt: „Si la muerte se ha producido como consecuencia de una lucha o por asesinato, generalmente no se quema al cadáver, el cual queda abandonado." Schließlich hat Hyades (f): 585 sich bemüht aufzuklären, „dans quel cas ils practiquaient de préférence la crémation. Ils m'ont dit souvent que leur habitude était de toujour brûler les ossements des indigènes inhumés, au bout d'un certain temps de sépulture, mais assurément la cremation est quelquefois plus rapide . . ." Diese Worte deuten sogar eine zweimalige Bestattung an, für die sichere Anhaltspunkte durchaus fehlen. Die meisten meiner hochbejahrten

[44] Genannt seien nur: Bove (e): 159, Bridges (a): 206, (c): 332 und (h): 209, Despard (b): 698, Hyades (f): 585, (p): 332 und (q): 378, Outes (g): 56, Spegazzini (a): 168 und Spencer: 74. Aber kein einziger dieser Männer versichert mit Bestimmtheit, einer Leichenverbrennung persönlich beigewohnt zu haben.

[45] Einzig Despard (b): 698 hat dies vermutet und nennt als Grund: „Possibly to make sure that they may never return to trouble survivors, since in their life-time these practioners have been ever active in mischief." Hierbei hat er sich (VP: VI, 129; 1859) allein auf die unsicheren Angaben des J. Burton gestützt.

Gewährspersonen hatten eigentliche Verbrennungen noch mitgemacht. Dieser Brauch hat schnell unter dem Einfluß der Missionare und europäischen Ansiedler der seit wenigen Jahrzehnten ausschließlichen Erdbestattung weichen müssen. Für die Jahre, da Bovz (o): 159 den Süden durchquerte, war noch geltend: „Früher verbrannte man die Toten wohl auch, doch heutzutage findet das nur noch selten statt." Nach meinen Erkundigungen war in alter Zeit die Leichenverbrennung aber nicht ausschließlich, aber doch allgemein und vorwiegend üblich.

Keiner der genannten Berichterstatter hat den Hergang einer Leichenverbrennung beschrieben. Auch ich muß mich auf Angaben meiner Indianer stützen, die mir erzählten: Einige Männer aus der nächsten Verwandtschaft schleppen den in große Lederstücke gehüllten und fest verschnürten Leichnam aus der Hütte heraus und bringen ihn ins nächste Gesträuch oder in den nahen Wald. Hier legen sie ihn auf einen niedrigen, buschigen, breitästigen Strauch. Glimmende Knüppel werden in diesen geschoben und trockene Holzpflöcke drangelehnt; mit dichtbelaubten Zweigen fächelt man eiligst Luft zu und schon in wenigen Minuten schlagen die Flammen hoch. Der ausgebrannte Busch bricht gewöhnlich nach kurzer Zeit in sich zusammen. Nun wird der brennende Leichnam mit größeren Holzmengen bedeckt. Die ersten Handgriffe führen allein Männer aus; Mädchen und Frauen aber obliegt es, andauernd Brennholz herbeizuschaffen und den Brand so lange in lebhafter Tätigkeit zu halten, bis alle Knochenteile zur Unkenntlichkeit zerstört sind. Kies oder Erde des Waldbodens wird mit Stöcken oder Rudern herbeigeschoben und unregelmäßig über das restliche Häufchen Asche des verglommenen Scheiterhaufens verteilt. Schließlich deckt man diese Stelle mit Reisig und abgefallenen Ästen. Nach einigen Monaten ist sie nicht mehr kenntlich. Währenddessen stehen die anderen Leute aus den Nachbarhütten rund um den Brand, beobachten den Hergang, weinen laut und singen ihr *tálowaja*. Eben deshalb findet eine Leichenverbrennung nicht auf offenem Strande statt, weil man hier ihre Spuren kaum zuverlässig und schnell verwischen könnte. Den Leichnam hat man deshalb auf einen kräftigen, dichten Strauch gelegt, weil es viel leichter ist, einen solchen zu entzünden, als auf dem immerfeuchten Waldboden ein Feuer anzufachen. In jenen Gegenden allerdings, wo die Verbrennung gegenüber der Beerdigung den Vorzug hatte, pflegte man trotzdem die Leiche eines Kindes in die Erde zu betten. Man sagte mir: Ein einziger Mann nahm diese Leiche und trug sie in den Wald, wo er für sie schnell ein flaches Loch in der Erde öffnete und sie mit Erde und Reisig zudeckte. Diese Arbeit war leicht und nicht umständlich; zum Grabe genügte es, daß der lockere Waldboden mit einem Stocke ein wenig beiseite geschafft wurde. Auch Bridges (MM: III, 119; 1869) betont, daß, im Gegensatz zum Verbrennen der Leiche von Erwachsenen, „young children are frequently buried".

Bei einer jeden derartigen Verbrennung galt als ausnahmslose Regel, daß erst dann, wenn die großen Knochen der Leiche unter starkem Glühen

in feinen Staub zerfallen waren und die Brandstätte unkenntlich gemacht worden war, die Trauergesellschaft diesen Ort verließ und in den Wohnhütten ihr Weinen bis tief in die Nacht fortsetzte. Merkwürdig ist, abweichend von der allgemeinen Auffassung der Yamana, daß jeder Mann und jede Frau, die irgendwie bei der Verbrennung mitgeholfen haben, von den Verwandten des Toten ein Geschenk erhielten. Es entstammte durchaus nicht dessen Besitz, etwa nach Art eines Andenkens an ihn; sondern sie selber gaben etwas her, das als Entgelt für die geleistete Arbeit und als Dank der Hinterbliebenen für diesen Liebesdienst beurteilt werden muß. Was unsere Feuerländer so mächtig dazu angetrieben hat, die Leiche eines jeden Erwachsenen zu verbrennen, war die Angst, einige Tiere, vor allem Ratten und Ottern, Hunde und Füchse könnten an ihr fressen oder sie benagen.[46] Der Gedanke an das widerliche Verhalten jener Tiere machte sie erschaudern und um so sicherer wollten sie der Leichenschändung vorbeugen. Andere Gründe, die von dem oder jenem Reisenden genannt werden, sind nicht stichhaltig. HYADES (p): 332 beispielsweise schreibt: „Quelquefois [les morts] sont brûlés; surtout quand le décès a eu lieu loin de la résidence habituelle de la famille."

Noch sind folgende Angaben zu klären. Am 9. März 1864 ist STIRLING (VSA: XI, 198; 1864) mit seiner Begleitung auf Isla Button gelandet. Was er hier beobachtet hat, faßt er in die Worte: „Here is the funeral pyre on which the body of one of MACDOALLAN's brothers was recently burned. Here the wigwam, or framework of branches, where for a day the body lay in state. The body of JAMES BUTTON [der kurz vorher verschieden war] has not yet been burned: it is merely interred. The return of his brother from Keppel Island has been waited for, and now the remains will be submitted to the flames. This information is given to us in a subdued voice by OOKOKKO" [der an dieser Rundfahrt teilgenommen hat]. HYADES (e): 142 verallgemeinert dessen Behauptung.[47] Man könnte aus jenen Worten ableiten, die Leiche würde nach einer vorübergehenden Beerdigung aus dem Grabe gehoben und verbrannt. Diese Vermutung ist gänzlich irrig und weder STIRLING noch HYADES ist zuverlässig unterrichtet worden. Tatsache ist nur, daß man beliebige menschliche Knochen, die nach ihrer Beerdigung auf irgendwelche Weise bloßgelegt worden sind, dem Feuer zur gänzlichen Auflösung überantwortet. Für die Leichenverbrennung tritt SPENCER: 74 wohl als Zeuge auf, doch ist seine Begründung verfehlt: „Old woman says that in olden times bodies were burned, which agrees with remnants of large fires met with in deeper parts of old middens, three and four and five feet down, where also are no shells, or very few, and only calcined light-coloured earth." Die Asche in den untersten Schichten der Muschelhaufen stammt bekanntlich von Resten der Hüttenfeuer her, die selbstverständlich erst später auf einer

[46] Die Befürchtung, daß „Stammesfremde Harpunenspitzen aus den Gebeinen machen" könnten, nach KUCZYNSKI: 322, entbehrt jeder Grundlage.

[47] Er sagt: „Les Fuegiens n'ont pas de rite funéraire; ils enterrent le corps près de leur habitation à une faible profondeur du sol et brûlent plus tard les ossements."

Schicht von Muschelschalen angezündet worden sind (S. 608). Das widerspricht nicht dem, daß manche Leiche in Muschelhaufen verscharrt wurde.

In grauer Vorzeit ist neben der Verbrennung von Leichen erwachsener Personen, zumindest für Kinder, möglicherweise auch dann und wann für Erwachsene, das Erdbegräbnis üblich gewesen. FITZ-ROY (a): 181 spricht es sämtlichen Wasernomaden des feuerländischen Archipels zu[49] und an Zeugnissen dafür aus jüngerer Zeit fehlt es ebensowenig. Gewiß verdient LOVISATO (b): 148 Zustimmung, daß „il seppellimento dei cadaveri in quella tribù data dal tempo della Missione di Ushuwaia", gegenüber der Leichenverbrennung als einer „costumanza usata ancora oggi da alcuni, ma rarissima e combattuta accanitamente dai Missionari". Tatsächlich ist ja mit dem Eindringen der Europäer die ehedem fast allgemeine Leichenverbrennung dem ausnahmslosen Erdbegräbnis gewichen. Ungenau ist es, zu behaupten, die Indianer hätten sich eigens deswegen zu gewissen Plätzen hinbegeben. Nach BRIDGES (a): 206, auf den LOVISATO (b): 147 sich stützt, „small islands are preferred for burying-places, as there are no foxes to disturb the dead . . . Sometimes also the dead are buried at the foot of cliffs among the rocks, in places save from foxes". Zu der damit verbundenen Mühe entschließen sich die Yamana nicht, regelmäßig beerdigen sie eine Leiche unweit der Hütte.

Bald nach dem Sterben hüllt man sie in Lederstücke oder in starke Lederfetzen und umwickelt sie mit langen Lederstreifen. Vereinzelt nur legt man sie auf kurze Stangen, die ebenfalls von der Umhüllung eingeschlossen werden; man gewährleistet damit gestreckte Lage. Einige Männer, die dazu sich bereitstellen, sind mit alledem etwa eine Stunde beschäftigt, während die übrigen Anwesenden seufzen und weinen. Dann heben sie den Leichnam hoch, jeder hält ihn gegen die eigene Hüfte mit übergreifendem Arme gepreßt und sie tragen ihn an die verabredete Stelle. Wie ich persönlich beobachtet habe, ordnen sich vier Männer in der Weise um die Leiche, daß zwei auf jeder Seite sich abwechselnd folgen. Vor wenigen Jahrzehnten suchte man einen größeren Muschelhaufen aus. Mit Stangen und Rudern läßt sich darin bequem und schnell ein größeres Loch scharren, das ebenso schnell und bequem wieder zugedeckt ist. Neuestens ziehen es unsere Indianer vor, den Leichnam in einer zurückliegenden Sandbank oder in einem niedrigen Hügel von grobem Kies einzuscharren. Er wird regelmäßig in Rückenlage[50] eingebettet, die leicht zu bestimmen und einzuhalten ist, dann mit Erde und Kies oder mit dem Gemisch von Sand und Muschelschalen zugedeckt. Zuweilen nur schiebt man einige kurze Zwerge dazwischen. Darüber werden größere Steine in reichlicher Menge gelagert; denn man will verhindern, daß Hunde oder Raubtiere bis zu die Leiche vordringen. Sollte es trotzdem einem Tiere gelingen, sie bloßzu-

[49] Er versichert: „When a person dies, his family wrap the body in skins, and carry it a long way into the woods; there they place it upon broken boughs, or pieces of solid wood, and then pile a great quantity of branches over the corpse."

[50] Allein SCHMIDT: 62 behauptet, der Leichnam „always buried lying on back with head towards west". Hierfür fehlt jede Begründung.

legen, wird es sofort erschlagen; derart widert es die Yamana an, eine Leiche aufgedeckt zu sehen. Endlich wird diese Stätte der Umgebung genau angeglichen und unkenntlich gemacht.[60] Wer darum weiß, bleibt ihr seitdem aus ängstlicher Scheu fern. Andere Leute, nicht einmal die nächsten Verwandten, begleiten oder unterstützen jene Männer, die den Leichnam beerdigen. Haben diese letzteren ihre Arbeit beendet, stellen sie sich still und unauffällig in die Gemeinschaft jener, die in einer Hütte zusammengekommen sind und laut trauern, wieder ein.

Sofort nach Eintritt des Todes werden, wie erwähnt, die unmittelbaren Vorbereitungen zur Beerdigung getroffen, es sei denn, daß man wegen der nächtlichen Dunkelheit den erwachenden Morgen abwarten muß. Ausnahmsweise setzt man den Leichnam auch in einer nahen kleinen Höhle oder in der Vertiefung eines Felsens bei, falls Erde oder Kies vorhanden ist, womit man ihn zudeckt. Noch in neuester Zeit ist der Leichnam auf der Feuerstelle selber vernichtet worden. Wenn ein Ehepaar ganz allein irgendwo sich aufhielt und beispielsweise der Mann starb, aber wegen schweren Wellenganges andere Leute, zwar durch die üblichen drei Rauchzeichen verständigt, nicht herbeieilen konnten, mußte die überlebende Frau sich selber helfen. Sie zog den Leichnam, ohne ihn eigens herzurichten, in die Glut des Hüttenfeuers und türmte Reisig und Brennholz darüber auf. Die Flammen schlugen bald so hoch, daß die Hütte selber von ihnen erfaßt wurde. So lange unterhielt die Frau den Brand, bis alle Teile des Leichnams vernichtet waren. Auf dieselbe Weise half man sich dann, wenn der Weg in den Wald versperrt oder das übliche Erdbegräbnis irgendwie behindert war. Den Überlebenden ist es immer darum zu tun, sich des Leichnams unverzüglich zu entledigen, und dazu ist sogar eine Einzelperson imstande.

Seit altersher ist es bei den Yamana in gleicher Weise wie bei den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 552) üblich, das gesamte Eigentum des Verstorbenen zu vernichten, sei es, daß man es dem Feuer überläßt, sei es, daß man es ins Meer wirft, sei es, daß man einzelne Stücke der Leiche ins Grab mitgibt. Bridges (a): 206 bestätigt, daß des Verstorbenen „property is either cast into the sea or burned", und Bove (e): 159 sagt ergänzend: „In dem Grabe werden, wenn es ein Mann ist, Stücke von Harpunen, von Wurfspießen, Schleudern usw., wenn es eine Frau ist, Netze und Fischgeräte mit der Leiche begraben." Diese Dinge haben durchaus nicht die Bedeutung von eigentlichen Grabbeigaben; die Überlebenden werden allein von dem Bestreben geleitet, alles und jedes irgendwie zu vernichten, was dem Toten gehört. Deshalb ist es für sie selbstverständlich, daß sie, um Bove's (e): 159 Worte zu wiederholen, „des Verstorbenen Hütte verbrennen, die sein letzter Aufenthalt war und sie verlassen auf einige Zeit die Gegend".

[60] Etwas umständlicher hat Hyades (g): 33 den Hergang der Beerdigung geschildert (vgl. auch das Annario Hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile, tomo XI, pág. 506; Santiago 1888). Kurz sprechen davon Lovisato (b): 147, Despard (b): 698, Bridges (a): 206, (b): 209 und Spegazzini (a): 168.

Gewöhnlich steckt der Witwer bzw. die Witwe unmittelbar nach der Beerdigung, sobald die eigenen Sachen in Sicherheit gebracht sind, die Hütte in Brand, „setting fire to the grass and bushes of the neighbourhood" (Bridges [i]: 1). Die Überlebenden bezwecken damit, „do all they can to blot out all remembrance of the departed"; nach Bridges (VSA: XI, 259; 1864). Nichts soll sie mehr an den empfindlichen Verlust erinnern, den sie dadurch erlitten haben, daß jene geliebte Person ihnen entrissen worden ist. Vor allem gilt das für Eltern und Kinder sowohl wie für die beiden Gatten. Wie ein Wahnsinniger benimmt sich mancher und er hält in seiner Erregung sogar damit nicht zurück, notwendige Gegenstände des eigenen Besitzes preiszugeben. Die einzelnen Dinge brauchen nicht besonders namhaft gemacht zu werden, da man sie unterschiedslos vernichtet. Sogar das Kanu zerstört der überlebende Gatte, falls er Aussicht hat, von dieser Stelle des Todes in einem anderen Fahrzeug entfliehen zu können. Das Kanu gilt eben als ein bevorzugtes Arbeitsfeld jeder Frau und es würde den überlebenden Gatten andauernd an sie erinnern. Besonders rücksichtslos geht eine Mutter mit den Kleinigkeiten um, die ihr verstorbenes Kind benützt hat. Kleidungsstücke, Spielzeuge, Körbchen u. a. m. schleudert sie wütend ins Feuer; auch sie selber fühlt sich wie aus der Hütte hinausgetrieben, da sie die Stellen leer sieht, auf denen ihr Kind gesessen, geschlafen und gespielt hat. Lange Zeit verfolgt heftigster Trauerschmerz die Eltern. Hat ein Vater, dem der Tod die Tochter entrissen hat, gutes Glück auf der Jagd, so schaut er sich die Beutetiere genau an: Weibliche Vögel und Seelöwen läßt er liegen, sie erinnern ihn an seine Tochter. Ähnlich verhält sich der Jäger, der einen toten Sohn beweint; von den Tieren, die er erlegt hat, nimmt er sich nur die weiblichen mit und wirft die männlichen ins Meer. Für solche Tiere, die ein trauernder Mann im Andenken an sein verstorbenes Kind beiseite läßt, seien es männliche oder weibliche, besitzen unsere Yamana die eigene Bezeichnung *čiyellǫ́gra*, die mit dem *čiyär'čella* im BD: 129 zusammenhängen dürfte. Einzig mit dem Hunde macht man eine Ausnahme, weil man aus Mitleid ihn nicht umbringen will und weil er besonders wertvoll ist; demnach geht er in den Besitz des älteren Sohnes oder der Tochter oder eines Verwandten des Toten über.

Wer bei einer Beerdigung und beim Vernichten der Besitzgüter des Verstorbenen mitgeholfen hat, wird ebenfalls von dessen nächster Verwandtschaft durch Geschenke entlohnt, die diese von sich aus freiwillig spendet (S. 1107). Schon Bridges (a): 206 hat darauf hingewiesen, daß „liberal presents are made to those who assist at the burning or the burial". Ungenau deutet Hyades (p): 335 und (q): 379 diesen Brauch: „L'heritier partage entre les amis du défunt ce qui a appartenu à celui-ci, comme si les parents les plus proches ne voulaient pas tirer un profit quelconque de la mort d'un des leurs." Unsern Feuerländern ist der Begriff fremd, die Eigentumsgüter eines Verstorbenen an andere zu vererben. Sie betonen vielmehr, daß darauf nur dem Eigentümer persönlich ein Recht zusteht; folgerichtig muß der Besitz eines jeden, der aus dem Leben geschieden ist, vernichtet werden. BD: 127 bringt *čiyellǫ́gra*,

to give away things specially those left by the dead, as a sign of sorrow for the dead, as near relatives were expected to do to those who were not connected by kin with the dead. Diese teilweise ungenaue Angabe besteht zu Recht nur in der von mir soeben bezeichneten Deutung; ich verweise auf den Sinn des *čiyellšgru*, den ich von den heutigen Yamana erhalten habe.

Besonders regsam benehmen sich alle Indianer gegenüber der Leiche eines *yékamuł*, fast ausnahmslos zerstört man sie durch Feuer. Seine Gebrauchsgegenstände und Gerätschaften legt man von vornherein darauf und während die Flammen alles und jedes vernichten, schleudern die Anwesenden allerlei Dinge, die sie zufällig bei der Hand haben, auch noch hinein, also Körbchen, Schmucksachen, Werkzeuge u. a. m. Sie wollen ihre Wertschätzung des *yékamuł* dadurch bekunden, daß sie sich sogar der eigenen notwendigen Gebrauchsgegenstände und Gerätschaften ganz rücksichtslos entäußern.

3. Kleine Trauerkundgebungen

Da unsere Feuerländer über das Schicksal der Seelen nach dem Tode nichts wissen und die Trennung von diesen als für immer geltend betrachten, verursacht jeder Todesfall ihnen einen unsagbaren Trauerschmerz. Er ist so aufrichtig und so tief empfunden, daß sie hierin viele Europäer übertreffen. Nicht jedem, der jene Gegenden durchquert hat, ist Gelegenheit geboten worden, sich davon zu überzeugen; denn unsere Indianer verbergen vor Fremden ihre Trauer. Dessen aber bin ich mehrmals Zeuge gewesen und kann mich auch auf die übereinstimmenden Urteile der Missionare stützen. Bove (e): 159, der es nicht einmal andeutet, eine Totenfeier mit eigenen Augen beobachtet zu haben, spricht trotzdem und vielleicht eben deshalb von deren „Gleichgültigkeit gegen die Toten. Die Schreie, welche sie ausstoßen, die Schläge, die sie sich beibringen, die Zerstörung der Hütten, in welcher der Verstorbene seine Seele ausgehaucht hat, sind mehr Eingebungen der Gewohnheit als wirklicher Ausdruck des Schmerzes". Nichtsdestoweniger läßt er gelten, daß „es wirklich Personen gibt, welche den Verlust sehr lebhaft fühlen". Jeden Zweifel beseitigt das Verhalten jener Eltern, denen der Tod ein Kind entreißt. Dann und wann benehmen sie sich tatsächlich derart, als wären sie von Sinnen. Nach Hyades (g): 39 wird der „Verlust von Kindern überhaupt schwer empfunden, und nicht selten sahen die Franzosen [der Mission Scientifique] die Mienen der Wilden sich verdüstern und die Frauen sogar in Weinen und Klagen ausbrechen, wenn zufällig auf einen solchen Todesfall angespielt wurde". Die Einzelbeobachtung Spegazzini's (a): 168 belehrt über das, was jede feuerländische Mutter durchmacht, die sich von dem entseelten Leibe ihres Kindes trennen muß.[31] Gerade die Eltern sind es,

[31] Er schreibt: „He visto a una jovencita, que se le había muerto su hijo, tomar el cadaver e ir al monte, donde limpiado y pintado cuidadosamente el cuerpecito, después de haberlo envuelto varias veces, envolverlo en cueros de nutria, y encerrarlo en una reja de gajitos, que en seguida enterró bajo las hojas de un árbol. Al salir dió una

die sich sogar zu lauten und schwersten Anklagen gegen *Watwinčjuu* hinreißen lassen, ihn beschimpfen und ihm Rache schwören (S. 1062). Mit ungezügelter Kraft bricht eben der Trauerschmerz bei diesen unverbildeten Naturkindern durch. Die erste Äußerung überschreitet regelmäßig alles Maß; doch hält er tiefempfunden Monate und Jahre an und flammt zuweilen in der anfänglichen Stärke wieder auf. „The mourning lasts long, sometimes for two years, but it gradually becomes less, till the memory of the dead passes from the mind" (Bridges [a]: 206).

Während der Sterbende noch mit dem Tode ringt, weinen und heulen bereits seine nächsten Verwandten. Der eigentliche und stärkste Ausbruch ihrer Trauer beginnt, nachdem sein Leben entschwunden ist. Schrilles, gellendes Aufschreien folgt in kurzen Zwischenräumen und es scheint, als wolle der eine darin den andern übertreffen. Dazwischen mischt sich das ungehemmte Heulen und Stöhnen anderer. Ein unbeschreibliches und lautes Stimmengewirr erfüllt die kleine Hütte. Je länger es anhält, um so mehr Nachbarn eilen herbei; denn keiner bleibt fern. Jeder hockt sich auf den Boden nieder und sie sitzen zuweilen derart eng aneinander gepreßt, daß sie sich kaum rühren können. Einmal sah ich, daß aus Raummangel sogar das Hüttenfeuer beseitigt wurde. Jeden Anwesenden drängt es, möglichst nahe dem Leichnam und zumindest innerhalb der Hütte zu sein. Mit Wimmern und Seufzen, mit Heulen und Jammern werden lange Stunden ausgefüllt, während welcher einige Männer in einem unbestimmbaren Augenblick damit beginnen, den Leichnam in Lederstücke einzuhüllen. Während man ihn aus der Hütte schleift, steigert sich das Heulen zum lautesten und wildesten Ausdruck. Dabei gebärden sich die einzelnen derart, daß ihr Empfinden, der Tote scheide nun für immer, erkennbar sich ausprägt. Sie winden sich vor Schmerz, werfen sich auf den Boden und erheben sich wieder, schlagen voller Verzweiflung wüst mit den Armen in der Luft herum und fassen sich gegenseitig, als wollten sie sich zerreißen. Stundenlang geht es in unermüdlicher Ausdauer so fort, mag auch die Stärke der lauten Klagen sich heben und senken. Der Leichnam ist inzwischen beerdigt worden. Falls man ihn verbrennt, verstummt währenddessen das Heulen und Schreien keineswegs.

Mag der Leichnam so oder so beseitigt worden sein, erst unter dem

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miseda al lugar donde estaba su chiquito, una de aquellas miradas que para explicarlas necesitarian escribir todo un libro y que sólo una madre herida así sabe lo que quieren decir." Vorher hatte schon Fitz-Roy (a): 179 erfahren: „Matthews sometimes heard a great howling, or lamentation, about sun-rise in the morning; and upon asking Jemmy Button what occasioned this outcry, he could obtain no satisfactory answer; the boy only saying, 'people very sad, cry very much'. Upon one occasion, when some canoes were alongside the "Beagle", a sudden howl from one of the Fuegians aroused several others who were near, and at the opposite side of the vessel, when a general howl of lamentation took place, which was ended by a low growling noise. By this, as well as by pulling their hair, and beating their breasts, while tears streamed down their faces, they evinced their sorrow for the fate of some friends who had perished, some days before the 'Beagle''s arrival, by the upsetting of a loaded canoe."

Zwange völliger Erschöpfung sieht sich unauffällig einer nach dem andern jener Nachbarn, die dem Verstorbenen ferne stehen, wieder zurück. Ist dessen Hütte von den Flammen vernichtet worden, zwängen sich seine nächsten Angehörigen anderswo hinein. Dort führen sie noch viele Stunden ihr Jammern weiter, unbekümmert um die vielleicht längst hereingebrochene Nacht. Durch sie werden einzelne Nachbarn angeregt, abermals mit ihren Klagerufen einzusetzen. Zumindest durch zwanzig Stunden nach dem Hinscheiden der Seele gibt es keine noch so kurze Zeitspanne völliger Ruhe, sondern ununterbrochen hält das größere oder geringere Stimmengewirr an. Jene, die dem Toten am engsten verbunden sind, setzen auch am zweiten und dritten Tage kaum dann und wann in kurzen Pausen mit ihrem Heulen aus, die andern Leute fallen mehrmals auf zwei oder drei Stunden ein. Das alles hängt von der persönlichen Anlage des einzelnen und von einigen unbestimmbaren Triebkräften ab. Fast alle Erwachsenen ermatten dabei ganz empfindlich. Wie zermalmt, wie aufgelöst vom Schmerz hält sich jeder fast ununterbrochen in seiner Hütte. Nur dann und wann begibt er sich zu denen, die vom Unglück unmittelbar getroffen worden sind, verweilt in ihrer Nähe zumindest zwei Stunden und heult gemeinsam mit ihnen, wie teilnahmsvolles Mitgefühl das, nach Auffassung unserer Feuerländer, fordert. Aus der gleichen Rücksicht muß sich jedermann selbst in der entfernteren Nähe der trauernden Familie schweigsam und ruhig verhalten; sogar den Kindern bleibt es versagt, laut zu reden und zu lachen.

Auf dem ganzen Lagerplatze geht es in den ersten Tagen nach einem Todesfalle sehr still her. Deshalb war es mir einfachhin unmöglich, in diesem kurzen Zeitabschnitt die Leute vor den Phonographen und vor den photographischen Apparat zu bekommen. Alles Drängen, das sie sogar als eine Beleidigung und als eine Verletzung ihrer innersten Gefühle auffaßten, wehrten sie entschieden mit dem Worte ab: „Wir sind jetzt in Trauer!" Sie gaben mir damit klipp und klar zu verstehen, daß sie für andere Dinge durchaus nicht zu haben wären.

Wiederholt ist auf den Brauch hingewiesen worden, einen Todesfall unverzüglich durch Feuerzeichen bekanntzumachen (S. 1021). Man läßt drei dichte Rauchwolken eng nebeneinander aufsteigen. Diese sind hauptsächlich als ein Ruf an andere Familien zu deuten, damit sie schleunigst herbeieilen und jener behilflich seien, die durch den Todesfall schwer betroffen und zuweilen in Verlegenheit gebracht wurde. Die Pflicht zu selbstloser Hilfeleistung, die zumal gegenüber dem allgemein verständlichen Feuerzeichen jedem heiß auf der Seele brennt, treibt ihn mächtig zur Stätte des Unglücks hin. Die Trauernden selber schätzen es sehr, wenn viele Stammesmitglieder ihrem Rufe bald Folge geleistet haben.

Haben sich die anfänglich sehr lebhaften Aufwallungen ein wenig ausgeglichen, dann verjagt das schmerzliche Geschehnis mit unheimlicher Gewalt alle Anwesenden von jener Stätte des Unglücks. Spätestens innerhalb von vier Tagen wird der Lagerplatz gewechselt, nachdem man die Hütte des Verstorbenen verbrannt hat. Meist ist es so, daß jede Familie von

denen, die den Todesfall miterlebt haben, je in eigener Richtung sich davonmacht; denn eine jede will möglichst für sich sein, damit andere sie nicht abermals daran erinnern. Dieses Verhalten, das unseren Yamana mit den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 566) gemeinsam ist, haben vor allem die Missionare mehrmals erwähnt.[50] Auch HYADES (q): 379 bestätigt: „En général, la hutte où un indigène a trouvé la mort est brûlée, et l'endroit où elle était établie est abandonné pour longtemps par les amis du défunt." Selbstverständlich bleibt man dieser Stelle durch gewisse Zeit fern und währenddessen verändern sie die blinden Naturgewalten. Ist die Grabstätte oder der Begräbnisplatz durch Pflanzenwuchs und andere Umstände unkenntlich gemacht, fühlt niemand mehr Abneigung, sich dort niederzulassen.

Mit dem Bestreben, sich durch nichts an den Verstorbenen erinnern zu lassen, stimmt auch die streng verpflichtende Regel überein, niemals mehr dessen N a m e n z u w i e d e r h o l e n. Dafür treten mehrere Zeugen ein; als erster FITZ-ROY (a): 181, der unmittelbar auf JEMMY BUTTON hinweisen kann: „He would not talk of a dead person, saying, with a grave shake of the head, 'no good, no good talk; my country never talk of dead men'". Auch DARWIN (d): 247 versichert: „Die Feuerländer erwähnen nicht einmal gern ihre todten Freunde"; ebenso BRIDGES (MM: III, 119; 1869): Der Verstorbenen Name „is not mentioned for years, and they seek to utterly forget them". Ja noch mehr; nach BRIDGES (VSA: XI, 259; 1864), „the name of the dead is sacred for a long time after, and it is a great provocation to mention the name of the dead."[51] Falls ein Überlebender den gleichen Namen wie der Verstorbene trägt, muß er ihn ablegen.[52] Beispielsweise vertauscht er den Namen, den er nach allgemeinem Brauch von seinem Geburtsorte herleitet, mit dem von jener Stelle, auf der er seine erste Jugendweihe durchgemacht hat; oder man berücksichtigt bei der Namenänderung eine auffällige körperliche Eigentümlichkeit.

Sogar die nächsten Angehörigen eines Verstorbenen werden durch einige

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[50] Nur ein Beispiel, das BRIDGES (VSA: XII, 53; 1865) am 10. November 1864 überliefert hat. In Wulaia starb dem bekannten UKOKEU das jüngste Kind und unverzüglich verließ er dieses Gebiet. „For it is an ascertained fact that the Fuegians will not, sometimes for a long time, return to the place where their relatives have died."

[51] Er (a): 206 wiederholt anderswo: „The name of the dead is not mentioned to the mourners, as it is considered very offensive, and would endanger a person's life." Als STIRLING (VSA: XI, 193; 1861) im März 1861 sich in der Wulaia-Gegend aufhielt, wurde er gebeten, „not to allude to the deceased by name; for the Fuegians, like the Patagonians and other Indians, bury in silence the names of the departed". Weitere Belege finden sich bei HYADES (g): 39 und (q): 379, LOVISATO (b): 149, SPENCER: 102 u. a.

[52] Dieser Gewohnheit folgen nicht nur die benachbarten Selk'nam (Bd. I, 565), sondern auch andere süd- und nordamerikanische Stämme. Dafür hier ein Urteil aus jüngster Zeit. H. BALDUS: Erbfolge der Häuptlinge bei den Terena ("Ethnologischer Anzeiger", Bd. IV, S. 38—42; Stuttgart 1935), berichtet von den genannten Indianern im südlichen Matto Grosso: „Wenn einer der Eltern stirbt, erhalten alle Kinder der Familie andere Namen, damit der überlebende Elter nicht durch ihre bisherigen Namen an das Vergangene erinnert werde und traurig sei."

Zeit nach dessen Hinscheiden besonders gekennzeichnet; es soll die Allgemeinheit darüber unterrichtet werden, daß sie in Trauer sind. BD: 104 bringt *ŭsilulwŏnji*, a name given a boy instead of his natal name in respect to the recent dead, when both bore the same name; ferner *ŭsilulwukipa*, a name given the surviving female who bore the same natal name as a person lately dead; endlich *ŭsilulwu*, a term given to a place instead of its proper name in respect to the dead who was named after it. Diese Bezeichnungen sind auch heutigentags noch in Gebrauch und mir im gleichen Sinne erklärt worden. Man nannte mir auch noch *ikuikán*. Damit wird einer bedacht, der den gleichen Namen wie einer, der ertrunken ist, trägt; es findet sich im BD nicht. Hat sich nach einiger Zeit der veränderte Name[55] eingebürgert, fällt auch diese Übergangsbezeichnung weg, da sie nicht mehr nötig ist.[56]

Dann und wann kommt aber doch die Rede auf einen Verstorbenen und die Yamana behelfen sich mit Umschreibungen, die sie ebenso leicht erfinden wie auffassen. Gebrauchen beispielsweise die Eltern eine Wendung wie: mein erstes Kind, meine jüngste Tochter, so sind die Anwesenden, denen deren Kinderzahl gut bekannt ist, eindeutig unterrichtet. Auch SPEGAZZINI (a): 168 spricht von diesem Brauch.[57] FRED LAWRENCE versicherte, er sei innerhalb weniger Jahre zweimal mit einem anderen Namen von den Eingeborenen bedacht worden; erst die eine und dann die andere Person, die gestorben sind, hatten den gleichen Namen wie er getragen. An dieser Stelle sei darauf hingewiesen, wie sehr die Forschung durch die Gewohnheit der Yamana, über Verstorbene nicht zu reden, erschwert wird. Man erzählte mir, ein gewisser PILAÄIXANA auf den Wollaston-Inseln habe fünf Männer ermordet, die dort nach Art der Selk'nam gelebt hätten. Er allein hat um deren Lebensweise gewußt und kurze Andeutungen darüber seinen Landsleuten gemacht. Aber diese weigerten sich, sie zu wiederholen, und entschuldigten sich damit: „Von den Verstorbenen sprechen wir nicht, die Ehrfurcht vor ihnen fordert es so!"[58]

Als nicht minder bedeutsam gelten für unsere Feuerländer, weil sie vom allem Augenfälligen sehr abhängig sind, die eigentlichen äußeren Zeichen der

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[55] SPEGAZZINI: 99, 105 führt bestimmte Einzelheiten an: „'Kúsh' is a berry now called 'Amen'. Berry used to be called 'Kúsh', but man of this name died, so changed name of berry ... 'Lappa', mussel, was name of man who died; now called 'Cachaing'. 'Tawella' is name of man who died, so changed to 'Sesh'".

[56] Hingewiesen sei noch auf den merkwürdigen Zug, den Kindern erst spät einen Eigennamen zu geben. Bei der herrschenden beträchtlichen Kindersterblichkeit würde häufige Namensnennung die Eltern immer wieder an ihren Verlust erinnern. Da nun, wie schon BRIDGES (a): 176 erkannt hat, „it is considered evil to name the dead, if the child had no name the parents are not vexed by hearing it named".

[57] Angesichts all dessen befremdet es sehr, wie COOPER: 162 behaupten konnte: „The Yahgan prayer to the deceased." Wohl erinnern sich die Yamana oft ihrer Verstorbenen und erwähnen sie, doch ohne Namensnennung, gelegentlich einer allgemeinen Totenfeier.

[58] Diesen schweren Nachteil hat auch HYADES (g): 39 erkannt: „Sie vermeiden es möglichst, von ihren verstorbenen Vorfahren zu sprechen und sind namentlich nur sehr schwer dazu zu bringen, deren Namen zu nennen, was natürlich einer historischen Überlieferung beinahe unmöglich macht."

Trauer. Ohnedies sieht die **Körperbemalung**. Man fordert unumgänglich — und niemand ließe sich darin eine Nachlässigkeit zu Schulden kommen —, daß jeder, der vom Todesfall erfährt, sich irgendwie bemalt. Ihm persönlich bleibt es überlassen, ein besonderes Muster zu wählen oder nicht, nur muß er bemalt sein. Er bringt dadurch seine Anteilnahme am Geschehenen und sein Mitgefühl mit den am meisten Betroffenen zum Ausdruck. Eben darauf legt die Allgemeinheit allen Wert. Der Tod ist noch nicht eingetreten und schon greifen alle Anwesenden nach einem Stückchen Holzkohle, zerreiben es in den Händen und schmieren sich das Pulver über den ganzen Körper. Zeigt schließlich Aufsehen vom Lager des Sterbenden her an, daß er sein Leben ausgehaucht hat, eilt niemand in den benachbarten Hütten, sich Holzkohlenstaub auf die gleiche Art ins Gesicht zu reiben. Nähert sich ein Kanu der Küste, dessen Insassen eine Trauerbemalung tragen, warten die Leute auf dem Strande nicht erst dessen Ankunft und Mitteilung ab, sondern bemalen sich unverzüglich und eilen derart vorbereitet auf die Ankömmlinge zu, von denen sie erwartungsvoll die Neuigkeit entgegennehmen. Also irgendwie und zwar sofort muß sich jeder bemalen, dem eine Todesnachricht auf diesem oder jenem Wege zukommt.

Die nächsten Angehörigen des Verstorbenen pflegen ausnahmslos nur das trockene Holzkohlenpulver ihrem ganzen Körper aufzutragen. Ihr Gesicht reiben sie damit mehrmals am Tage ein und zwar gewöhnlich dann, wenn ihr Trauerschmerz lebhafter aufwallt. Bei der Erregung, in der sie das ausführen, kommt es ihnen gar nicht darauf an, den Farbstoff gleichmäßig zu verreiben. Unregelmäßige Streifen und große Flecke bedecken Körper und Gesicht und sie erscheinen schrecklich verunstaltet. Ihrem Empfinden sagt das zu. Durch viele Tage müssen sie sich an jedem Morgen aufs neue schwarz bemalen und zwar bald nach dem Erwachen, bevor sie etwas essen. Auch stimmen sie sofort ihren Trauergesang an, den sie mit lautem Weinen begleiten. Damit füllen sie die Zeit etwa von vier bis sechs Uhr aus. Einige Personen beginnen auf diese Weise regelmäßig jeden Tag noch viele Monate nach dem Hinscheiden ihres Verwandten und es wirkt diese unablässige Trauerkundgebung erschütternd auf alle Leute in den benachbarten Hütten. Selbstverständlich behalten sie auch tagsüber die übliche Tatenbemalung bei.

Doch gibt es manche Leidtragende, die nach etwa drei Wochen beginnen, auf ihre Gesichtsbemalung einige Aufmerksamkeit zu verwenden und sie empfindlicher herzustellen. Das beliebte Muster ist ungleichmäßig. Es wird nämlich auf der einen Gesichtshälfte weiß, auf der anderen schwarzer Farbstoff, vorher mit Tran angerührt, verrieben. In diese gleichmäßige Schicht kratzt man mit den Nägeln der vier langen Finger vom Augenlid her über die Wange bis zum Kinnbackenrande senkrechte, dünne Striche ein. Diese sollen die Bahnen der vielen Tränen anzeigen, gleichsam als hätten sie die Farbe weggewischen.

Allgemein eben verreiben die nächsten Angehörigen des Toten, sowie alle Freunde und Nachbarn, trockenen Holzkohlenstaub auf dem ganzen Körper,

und zwar in den Tagen, die dem Hinscheiden unmittelbar folgen. Einige Frauen begnügen sich damit, nur Kopf und Oberkörper zu bestreichen. Einzelne Männer aber gehen weiter, indem sie einen breiteren weißen, bogenförmigen Strich von einer Schulter bis zur anderen ziehen; andere ergänzen nach diesem Muster noch durch einen ebenmäßigen senkrechten Strich von der Gurgel bis zum Nabel. Das alles gilt für die engeren Verwandten. Während diese sich regelmäßig an die eben beschriebene Form halten, steht es den anderen Leuten frei, sich für ingendwelche Zeichnung zu entscheiden. Meist tragen sie im Gesichte auf dem schwarzen Untergrunde weiße oder rote Punkte, Strichelungen und Linien in mannigfaltiger Anordnung ein.[*] Diese Art der Körperbemalung gilt für alle Todesfälle, die durch Krankheit und Altersschwäche verursacht sind; sie bringt an sich einen natürlichen Tod.[**]

Daneben werden, um von vornherein die Art eines gewaltsamen Todes bekanntzugeben, noch besondere Zeichnungen verwendet. Ist jemand von einem Felsen abgestürzt oder von einem Baume gefallen, schmiert man sich das Gesicht zunächst mit dem feinen Pulver der Holzkohle ein und malt darüber drei senkrechte weiße Striche, nämlich vom Nasensattel bis zur Nasenspitze und weiter von der Mundspalte bis zum Kinn, sowie beiderseitig vom äußeren Augenwinkel über die Backenknochen hinunter zum Kinnrande. Diese Zeichnung wird vervollständigt durch einen weißen Querstreifen über Augen und Nase hinweg vervollständigt. Etwas reichhaltiger ist ein anderes Muster. Über das ganze Gesicht wird zunächst ein schwarzer Untergrund gelegt; darüber werden auf der einen Gesichtshälfte, angefangen beim Auge, drei weiße senkrechte Striche bis zum Kinnbackenwinkel gezogen und ein vierter Strich vom Nasensattel zur Kinnspitze; die andere Gesichtshälfte bleibt einfarbig schwarz oder sie erhält drei weiße Querstriche, die vom Mundwinkel, vom Nasenflügel und vom äußeren Augenwinkel ausgehen. Die weißen Striche, die den Felsen oder Baum veranschaulichen, werden anschließend auch auf einem schwarzen Untergrunde aufgetragen; dann und wann reibt man die genannten drei Striche auch mit einer Mischung aus dem weißen Kalk- und dem schwarzen Holzkohlenpulver, die mit Tran vermischt aufgelegt wird. Zu diesem letztgenannten Verfahren greifen fast regelmäßig die Boten, denen es obliegt, die Nachricht vom Unfall zu verbreiten; von weitem schon erkennen die anderen Leute den Inhalt ihrer Botschaft.

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[*] Diese Verhältnisse lassen sich einer kleinen Gruppe von Tanzmasken erläutern werden, die Anthropos (XXII, 1927, 1000) am 11. Nov. 1926 beschrieben hat. „When we arrived they were all painted, and, on asking the reason, we found that on the morning of our arrival a canoe had upset and two children were drowned. The masons solution had their faces quite black, the chief friends had circles of red radiating from the eyes over the cheeks, while one woman, to tell the cause of death, had two lines of white down from ear to ear across the bridge of the nose, with white spots between of graduated size from the nose to the ears."

[**] Wohl hierauf ist es zurückzuführen, daß andere Stammesleute die Farben allgemeiner als die Farbe der Trauer bezeichnen. So schreibt Strauss (p. 29 Inspektionsreise: „Sie tragen auch die äußeren Zeichen der Trauer, schwarze Bemalung des Körpers."

Eine beträchtliche Zahl von Yamana geht durch Ertrinken zugrunde. Um diese Art des Todes anzuzeigen, mischen die Leute weißen mit schwarzem Farbestoff und schmieren ihn auf den ganzen unteren Teil des Gesichtes bis hinauf zur Ebene der Mundspalte. Die graufarbene Mischung gleicht dem schlammigen Bodensatz am Meeresgrunde, mit dem sich der Mund eines Ertrunkenen anfüllt. Überdies legen die Leute einen Hautstreifen mit weißen Daunenfedern um die Stirne; er weist hin auf die schaumgekrönten Wellen, in denen jener Unglückliche untergegangen ist. Die zusammenhängende Flächenbemalung, die bis an den Mund heranreicht und nicht darüber hinausgeht, soll zu erkennen geben, daß viel Wasser in den Mund eingedrungen ist.* Zuweilen bemalt man überdies die obere Gesichtshälfte einfärbig schwarz und trägt roggestellte weiße Querlinien ein, die auch Punktreihen sein können. Man will durch diese Querstreifen andeuten, daß der Verunglückte immer tiefer eingesunken ist und somit der Wasserspiegel sich anteigend oberhalb des Mundes angezeichnet hat.

Dann und wann ereignet sich ein Mord. Die Verwandten und Freunde des Unglücklichen erinnern daran durch mehrere senkrechte rote Striche im Gesicht, die von der Augenbrauenstrahlenförmig ausgehen. Dann sie machen sich auf die Suche nach dem Täter und sammeln Mitkämpfer zur Sühnung des Verbrechens; diese ihre Absicht wollen sie schon von weitem zu erkennen geben. Die gradlinigen roten Striche erinnern an die Bahnen, die das ausgeflossene Blut selber gezeichnet hat. Bereitet sich aus diesem Anlaß ein Kampf vor (S. 997), so malen sich die Verwandten und Freunde den ganzen Körper einfärbig schwarz, die Gegner aber rot; jede dieser beiden Gruppen trägt die gleichen Farben auch den Wellen und Kräuseln auf.

An diese besonderen Bemalungen halten sich unsere Yamana durchaus nicht unwandelbar und peinlich genau. Unbeschreibbaren Augenblickseinfällen geben sie oft nach. Bei einer allgemeinen Totenfeier sah ich, daß alle Anwesenden an einem Nachmittage, folgend der Aufforderung eines Alten,

* Zwar erwähnt Bridges (MM: X, 80; 1875), daß dieser Unglücksfall durch eine eigene Bemalung gekennzeichnet wird, beschreibt sie aber nicht im einzelnen: „By and by a company of Earoos arrived, they brought sad news; a canoe had been lost, with a large number of persons on board, among whom was the uncle and brother of this young fellow. He was very much troubled, yet mourned and grieved quietly. All those who came, and were in any way related to any of the lost party, had their faces painted in imitation of the waves of the sea, and all here, similarly circumstanced, did the same. This is their way of mourning and natural events."

Als „Zeichen der Trauer um ein ertrunkenes Kind" sah Aurousseau (79) bei den Walkanaa-Leuten „zwei Streifen im Gesicht der Männer, sowie eine doppelte Querlinie mit hellen Punkten im Gesicht der Frauen". Es war dies aber eine allgemeingültige Bemalung, nicht die diesem Unglücksfall eigene. Lawrence (K): 147 hat auf die besondere Bemalung bei den verschiedenen Todesumständen hingewiesen und sich dabei wohl auf Bridges (G): 14 gestützt, der deutlich sagt: „There were regular systems of painting by which the nature of the death of the departed was indicated. Thus, for death by drowning the pattern was black bands with white edges, if by violence it was black on red with white spots, if natural a plain black."

die eine Gesichtshälfte vielfarbig in schwarz hielten und die andere mit feinen roten senkrechten Strichen ausfüllten, erzeugte als Hinweis auf einen gewöhnlichen Todesfall vor wenigen Wochen und besonders in Erinnerung an einen weit zurückliegenden Mord. Eigentlich obliegt es den nächsten Verwandten, die eine bestimmte Todesursache kennzeichnende besondere Bemalung anzulegen; aber ebenso, wie sie von dieser abstehen und eine andere bevorzugen, dürfen auch Freunde und Fernstehende sie wählen. Man hat mir auch als Regel genannt, daß die engeren Angehörigen des Verstorbenen sich Gesicht und Oberkörper nur bis zur Nabelhöhe vielfarbig mit trockenem Hahnenkammstaub einreiben und daß die Nachbarn und Freunde ihren ganzen Körper mit schwarzen senkrechten, eng gestellten Strichen bedecken, auf denen und neben denen Reihen weißer Punkte beisammen. Tatsächlich aber trifft man heutzutage diese urahn Muster nur gelegentlich noch an und zwar beschränken es die Leute allein auf das Gesicht. Jedenfalls wischen sich alle in neuerer Zeit fast regelmäßig den Hautstreifen mit Dammerde von der Stirn. Ein Leichnam wird sicherlich mit einer Bemalung bedacht, wie schon erwähnt worden ist; einig den einen jedenfalls scheint man damit nur, was später noch erläutert werden soll.

Während sich die erwähnten Bemalungen bis auf den heutigen Tag erhalten haben, ist die früher allgemein übliche Trauerkopfbinde in Wegfall gerutscht. Vor langem hat Dumas (b): 209 erwähnt, daß „les femmes se coupent et égalisent en la coupant au niveau du dessus". Die Frauen und Kinder, nicht so regelmäßig die Männer, binden sich am Tage, da ein Todesfall sich ereignete, den Kopfhaar in der Gegend des Wirbels mit schmalen Baumbastbändern zusammen; nur ein breiter Baumbast bildet rund um den Kopf herum. So trugen sie, wie Hyades (g): 39 und (p): 330 sich ausdrückt, „auf dem Scheitel temporär kurz geschorenen Haar längere Zeit zur Schau". Nur einmal wurde der Kopf geschoren, danach ließ man das Haar wieder frei wachsen. Man bezeichnete einen Mann, der diese Trauer trug, mit ákipáhan, eine Frau mit ákipáhlpa. Auch HD: 175 bringt die letzte Bezeichnung genau so, die erstere ein wenig anders. Die Selk'nam (Bd. I, 158) haben trotzdem an diesem Brauche festgehalten. Seitdem Europäer sich dauernd in jenen Gebieten niedergelassen haben, wollen unsere Indianer durch eine große Tracht nicht auffallen und begnügen sich damit, den Kopfhaar auf der Höhe der Oberlippe rundherum abzuschneiden. Sogar auch diesen Zeichen der Trauer haben sie letztens entgegen. Wiederholt haben mir die Yaména versichert, ehedem hätte sich jedenfalls bei der eigentlichen großen Trauertracht beteiligt, in neuerer Zeit wischen sich alle statt dessen den Hautstreifen mit Dammerde sparsam von den Kopf.

Schließlich bringt sich jene Person, die besonders hart von einem Todesfalle betroffen wird, ebenfalls eine Verwundungen bei. Damit will sie ihrem Trauerschmerz besonderen Ausdruck verleihen. Sie ergreift scharfe Splitter von einer Muschelschale oder einem Schieferstein und ritzt damit zunächst Arme und Beine, auch die Brust, daß etwas Blut herausquillt.

Dawson (2000: 222, 119; 1869), mit Gun Dwanen (sp): 279, Lorenzo (lc): 147 und Sequoia: 194 vorschlägt: „It is a common practice for men kindred to wound and cut themselves." Bei unserer Feuerländerin ist es beispielsweise fast nur die Mutter, die beim Hinscheiden ihres Kindes sich auch durchlöchern Wunden beibringt; bei den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 224) war dies noch mehr Pflicht.

Die ersten Dramen, die der Auflösung eines Verwandten oder Freundes folgen und in denen der Leichnam verbrannt oder beerdigt wird, führen die Anwesenden mit schrillen Schreien und phonetischen Riten aus. Haben sich die Gemüter ein wenig beruhigt, setzen statt dessen mühlig gebildete Trauergesänge ein. Flüchtig nur haben andere Beobachter darauf hingewiesen; so Dwanen (sp): 279: „Lorenzo has Fuegian opportunist to divide d'un parent en d'un ami, ils manifestent manifestement leur douleur avec une grande véhémence, par des pleurs et des gémissements." Dawson (2000: 222, 119; 1869) spricht von „long-continued wailing and lamentation for the dead". Früher hatte Dawson (VP: VIII, 179; 1863) mitgeteilt: „After mass, Gaamaa enlarged upon the many deaths that happen in 'my native country', and then described some of the ceremonies. Men cried, many women, sing aloud. Rub young boy yi ye way. Some kye gye cawlow fingers were scratches .... Cut face with finger nail, make blood rub over face, cut hair head top, put on red, make body have red, have black, white round legs, all same tie stocking. Cry much, water run down face, make face to black, red. Gaa mere cry very much."*

Wie ich an eine eigenen Erfahrung weiß, verursachen die sichtbaren Angehörigen des Verstorbenen in den ersten drei bis vier Tagen jedenfalls unvermeidliche Beschädigungen und sie verweilen fast unentschlossen in der Wohnhütte. Das ist die Zeit der eisengrauen Trauer, die sie mit unaufhörlichen Klagen ausfüllen und in der sie keine ernste Nahrung zu sich nehmen. Beim Feuer hockend nehmen und kochen sie unaufhörlich. Die wenigen Worte und klagenden Stimme wiederholen sie eine bisher einzelnige Melodie, nach einem oder einfachen Rhythmus, auf inhaltslosen Worten, wie weh, weh, oder wie dyaiel o. o. ou. Bei bildhaften Ausdrücken (klagt) die Singer heiser und stöhnen; sind sie ermattet, fällt es auch mal gelb in ein stoßweiseiges Murmeln. Oftmals bewegen sie mehr den Oberkörper hin und her oder auch vorn und rückwärts, übereinstimmend mit dem Rhythmus; sie verdecken die Augen, ungeziemt den Gesicht, ruchen sich die Haare, kratzen sich mit den Fingernägeln Harte Bilbenden ins Gesicht, ruchen sich sogar gleich auf den Boden und führen sich schwerfällig wie wahnsinnig auf. Man bemerkt sich dadurch nicht zu wundern; denn auch den Inuguchtwachen Anwesenden verzagt schließlich jede Selbstbeherrschung und Gemütsruh. Möglicherweise hat die-

* Kurz vorher hat Dawson (VP: VII, 111; 1869) die Gesel des Bergs eines Mädchens beschrieben: „We entered one hole, with a fire dropped in a few black by charcoal, and were informed she was in mourning. Afterwards a rolling and a monotonous dirge was sorted from her mere (Mom), being her funeral call for two men and a few belonging to her family, who have recently died, somewhere along the Beagle Channel."

[illegible] Gefühlen so verschieden, daß eine Person, die zwanzigste Trauer [illegible], die besondere Ivan, [illegible] wird. [illegible] folgt als Erklärung hinzu: A man, woman like a friend, i. e. lover, sweetheart.

In den einzelnen Leidensgruppen gestalten sich nebenmals die Tagen die Leute von den einzelnen Nachbarschaften; nicht alle gleichzeitig, sondern nacheinander und zwanglos, in einzelnen Gruppen. Letztere sind auch gut bei Gefühen, sie führen in den Tagen der Anwesenheit ein und regen diese neuen an. Dadurch verhängt es weder bei Tage noch bei Nacht. Haben sich auch alle Familien nach zwei bis vier Tagen von der Seite des Todes entfernt, die Leidensgenossen begleiten der Witwe durch halb dort wieder, wo sie den Hütte entfernen; hier regen sie die neuen Nachbarn an, daß diese in den Trauerfolge einstimmen. In der ersten Zeit widmen sie der viele, später weniger Stunden, dies aber wegen auch zwei und drei Jahren noch, obwohl dann nur in größeren Zwischenräumen.*

Allgemein üblich ist es, in den Tagen die bekannten weißen Klagelieder und Verse gegen Wangelijen einzusingen (S. 1065). Nicht nur die nächsten Verwandten tun das, sondern auch die Freunde und Nachbarn, die gelegentlich an diesen Trauergesängen sich beteiligen. Jedenfalls erscheint selbstverständlich mit einer der gebräuchlichen Trauerkleidungen. Unumgängliche Pflicht jedes erwachsenen Tonnaus ist es, jene Leidensgruppen täglich für einige Stunden zu begleiten, die durch lautes Wimmern und Stöhnen sich diesen Schmerz von der Seele wälzen. Drei Tage und bei Nacht hält es an und wechselt Mitgefühl bei jedermann in den Nachbarhäusern.

Nicht jemand während einer Aijanga, oder Aive-Feier und erfahren die Teilnehmer davon, wiehern auch sie viele Stunden durch einige Tage dem gleichen Trauergesange. Wie Nicht Lowanen verzichteten, haben die Wantonnen in jeder Aijanga-Feier gewohnheitsmäßig eine Trauerverkleidung eingeführt, die einem gewohnheitsmäßigen glich, auch wenn willkürlichen sie einmal gestorben war. Dabei erinnerte man sich lebhaft von allen jener Personen, die in früheren Jahren sich mündlich engagiert an dieser Verwandtschaft beteiligt hatten. Die anderen Gruppen haben diesen Brauch dann auf eigene eingeführt. Wilkendilmen gedachten die Teilnehmer, jeder für sich, der Tatsache, dieses Verhalt sie nur nachmen schwinnen, und sie legten jene Trauerbekleidung an, die dieses Verhalt kennzeichnete. Ein ordnet Tonnaus kann einer Tatsache eben sie vergessen, obwohl dieses Nennen dies nicht mehr über die Lippen kommen.

Oben ist schon erwähnt worden, daß die nächsten Verwandten den Verstorbenen durch wenige Tage fast gar keine Nahrung zu sich nehmen. Ihre Nachbarn und Freunde folgen dankbarlich diesem Beispiel, und nicht dann, wenn eine Mutter beklagt wird. Sogar die Kinder werden bildlich zum Fasten angehalten und obwohl besonders strengste Rahm. Um den ohne sogar

* Brown (p) 199 nimmt dies bei: „Ein gutes Angeln ist nicht gut, i. Gegenteil, ergeben bei Trauer gehört in dieß gutes gleichen nach, so verursachen gewaltige Dinge jene bei einem die gleichzeitigen an die Trauer."

[illegible] durchführen zu können, zogen sich die Leidtragenden auch in den nahen Wald zurück und verweilten hier klagend und weinend an einem offenen Feuer wenige Tage und Nächte. Danach zogen sie wieder ihre Wohnsitzen zu. Die Frauen nun, die wir ihn mitgeteilt haben, hatten damit nicht zurück, die Wiederverheiratungsfähigkeit ihrer Landsleute von ehedem zu bewundern, und bemerkten verwundert, daß ihnen selber zu dergleichen Leistungen die Kraft und Ausdauer fehle.

Gleichzeitig pflegenden sich bereitwillig an einem Trauergesange beteiligt, gibt es dennoch eine Art von Klagewelbern, deren Unterstützung sich dieser oder jener gelegentlich sichert. Er läßt sie dann ein, wenn er selber einen nächsten Verwandten deutete; denn unter dem Verluste, den der Tod ihm beigebracht hat, empfindet er seine Vereinsamung um so schmerzlicher. Durch spricht bei dem und jenem auch das Gefühl der Beschämung eine gewisse Rolle, der gewöhnlich so deutlich merkt und dem es von anderen zum Bewußtsein gebracht wird, daß der Todesfall, den er beklagt, eine Strafe für fehlerhaften Betragen sei. In den ersten Tagen fordert die Natur ganz ungestüm ihre Rechte und der Leidtragende bringt herzzerreißende seiner Trauer zum Ausdruck; später überwiegt die zweifellos die berechtigende Selbsterkenntnis. Nach einem Bruch aber muß das Klagen und Stillsein, Weinen und Singen einige Wochen hindurch weitergeführt werden. Das bietet einer nunmehr entfernteren Verwandten und dem entfernteren Freunden an. Sie helfen ihm gegebenenfalls sogar mit übergroßer Leistung, als ungewonnte erdachte klagenzeit. Auch Männer können es sein und sie folgen einer besonderen Einladung, je weniger zwingen angewendet und erhalten für ihre Anstrengungen einen gewissen Entgelt. Auch diese angenommenen Klagewelber wiederholen nur die üblichen einförmigen Melodien und sind sie erschöpft, begnügen sie sich damit, ohne auch höhere unbeteiligt bei bei ... in der gleichen Tonlage zu singen. Gerade diese Klagewelber sind es, die oft und oft auf Wanderfahrten hierzulanden und die eine wie die andere von den weiten Transformeln unabhängig im Munde führen. Im BD: 433 findet sich pinkiin und pinkiipa in der Bedeutung von: weinen; das erdachte klagenzeit hat den besonderen Sinn: Klagewelber.

Einem aufmerksamen Beobachter entgeht es nicht, daß die Tamana viel und lebhaft an den Verstorbenen denken und daß, wie Bowers (s): 332 sich knapp ausgedrückt hat, „die Trauer streng beobachtet wurde". Oft finden sich ähnlich einzelne Personen zu Trauergebäuden auch dann zusammen, wenn ein Todesfall nicht unmittelbar vorausgegangen ist. Die gebräuchlichste Bezeichnung dafür ist klagenzeit, auch nilagenzeit, die unbedenklich den gewissen, abhängigen, unentfältigen Charakter der Veranstaltung betont. Regelmäßig sind es nur wenige Personen, ähnlich die Verwandten und ihre nächsten Freunde, die sich zu einem nilagenzeit vereinigen. Besondere Einladungen gehen nicht aus und unentbehrlichen Verhandlungen bedarf es ebenso wenig, für alle genügt die einfache Verständigung und die Bereitgung zur Tagung. Was ohne der Schmerz um seine lieben Toten überwiegt, der beginnt

ein tálayweja und er kann darauf bauen, bei seiner nächsten Umgebung sofort Anklang zu finden. BD: 398 bringt *tellpeja*, being mourners or in mourning for the dead. Bezeichnet das *tálayweja* demnach auch eine Person, die trauert, so leuchtet ein, daß es oft in den an *Watajinéjwa* gerichteten Klagerufen wiederholt wird und daß es nach Art eines Stoßseufzers auf die trauernde Person hinweisen soll. Gewöhnlich steht es am Schluß des Gebetes und der Bitte und wäre es zu übersetzen mit: O weh mir, ich bin in Trauer, wie traurig bin ich, *das ist der Grund meiner Trauer*, u. ä. m. (S. 1063). Dann und wann nimmt auch *lójma* die Stelle des *tálayweja* ein. Nach dem strengen Wortsinn besagt ersteres einen Gesang, durch den man sich mit irgendwelchen Geistern in Verbindung bringt. Wer um Verstorbene klagt, ruft gleichsam deren Seelen in sein eigenes Gedächtnis zurück, er fühlt sie nahe, er widmet ihnen seine ganze Aufmerksamkeit und vereinigt sich wieder mit ihnen. Aber ein Zusammensein mit ihnen, wie das der Menschen im Alltag, kommt nicht mehr zustande; daher gewinnt der Schmerz über die Trennung von jenen Seelengeistern wieder die Oberhand und den legt die trauernde Person voller Verzweiflung in den *lójma*-Ruf hinein.

Eine gewisse Gruppe von Reisenden hat offenkundig mit Nachdruck darauf hingewiesen, daß unsere Feuerländer keine Scheu vor Leichen empfinden. HYADES (g): 39 behauptet: „Vor dem Tode und den Leichen scheinen sie nicht die geringste Scheu zu haben"; und er weist auf einen Mann hin, der „das Grab seiner kürzlich verstorbenen Gattin für die Franzosen öffnete". Hiermit dürfte es sich um die gleiche Sache handeln, die er (i): 618 auch anderswo erwähnt: „Je n'ai encore qu'un squelette. C'est celui d'une femme d'environ trente ans, que j'ai acheté au mari, sept ou huit jours après la mort." Das Verhalten eines einzelnen Indianers darf nicht verallgemeinert werden. Kurz darauf kam nämlich ein anderer Yamana mit seinen beiden Weibern zur Mission in Ushuaia, wo HYADES sich eben aufhielt und ein kleines Lazarett eingerichtet hatte. Jener Feuerländer wies es ab, trotz schwerer Erkrankung, sich dort unterbringen zu lassen; „le motif de son refus, non dissimulé, a été la crainte de subir le sort de la femme exhumée". Auch LOVISATO (b): 149 äußert sein Befremden demgegenüber, daß ein gewisser „FRED non mostrò alcuna ritrosia nel venderci le scheletro di suo padre". An Widerstand hat es trotzdem nicht gefehlt, wie BOVE in (h): 107 und in (MM: XVII, 262; 1883) ehrlich zugibt: „At first my request for human skeletons met with some remonstrance from the Fuegians, but Ococcco, understanding what my object was in making a collection, successfully arranged this matter. Some of them sold me offhand the bones of their fathers." Meinen Erkundigungen zufolge hat BOVE ausschließlich im Friedhof der Missionsstation zu Ushuaia die Skelette gehoben. Da bekanntlich dieser Station alle jene Indianer bewußt fern blieben, denen dort der Tod einen Verwandten entrissen hat, ist es wohl erklärlich, daß unter Zwang oder im Hinblick auf reichliche Entlohnung doch dieser und jener Feuerländer, den die Gräber dort nichts angingen, dem genannten BOVE behilflich war. Die vereinzelte Handlungsweise einiger weniger wider-

legt aber nicht die Tatsache, daß die Yamana vor menschlichen Resten eine betonte Scheu zeigen und daß sie solche, die zufällig von den blinden Naturkräften freigelegt werden, unverzüglich durch Feuer zerstören.[*] Bekanntlich verwischen sie jede Spur, die auf eine Grabstätte hinweist (S. 1109).

Ein rührendes Beispiel für die Aufrichtigkeit der Trauer um einen Toten liegt aus älterer Zeit vor. Despard traf am 27. November 1858 im Canal de Beagle einen einäugigen Mann und erkundigte sich nach der Ursache seines Unglücks. Dieser antwortete, er habe wegen eines ihm teuren Verstorbenen so viel geweint, daß ihm das eine Auge dabei ausgelaufen sei. „Man die, here ashore, be very sorry, cry very much, eye ran away in water all over cheek; yes, sir!" Niemals verlieren unsere Feuerländer aus ihrem Gedächtnis jene Lieben, die der Tod ihnen entrissen hat.

Bekanntlich ist den Yamana das *tálaywoja* eine sehr willkommene Gelegenheit, sich alles von ihrer Seele zu wälzen, was sie bedrückt. Während die geschlossene Gruppe der Anwesenden die übliche Melodie von langweiliger Eiförmigkeit hält, spricht dieser und jener länger oder kürzer dazwischen und redet von Dingen, die sein Fühlen und Gemüt gerade lebhaft beschäftigen. Er ist meist besonders heftig davon erregt, was auch sein lebhafter, unruhiger Ausdruck zu erkennen gibt. Durchgehends sind es traurige Erinnerungen und bedrohliche Befürchtungen, die er ausspricht. Die Worte des einen ermutigen den andern und so folgen sich zeitweilig dergleichen Zwischenreden in kurzen Abständen. Hier folgt der wertvolle Inhalt zweier *tálaywoja*-Gespräche, der auf eine etwas ungewöhnliche Art erworben wurde. Einige dreißig Gesänge, die bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten wiederholt werden, hatte ich nämlich bereits mit dem Phonographen aufgenommen und mein Bemühen, einen *tálaywoja*-Gesang zu erhalten, war noch jedesmal gescheitert. Die Leute hatten mein Ansinnen kühl mit der Bemerkung abgewiesen: „Wie könnten wir *tálaywoja* singen, da jetzt niemand gestorben ist!" Als Fred Lawrence erfuhr, daß dieses Stück mir noch fehlte, beauftragte er seine Frau Nellay, mir dazu bald zu verhelfen. Sie erklärte sich gern bereit. Schon nach wenigen Tagen, am 20. März 1922, nannte sie die beiden Indianerinnen Gertie und Pepe, die heute den *tálaywoja*-Gesang vortragen möchten:

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[*] Bei Bove (o): 159 kann man lesen: „Die Leichtigkeit, mit der Bove Skelette erhielt, steht im Widerspruch zu der Ehrfurcht gegen die Toten, welche ihnen sowohl Fitz-Roy, als die Missionare nachrühmen. Einer der Begleiter verkaufte sogar das Skelett des eigenen Vaters, dem er folgende Anrede hielt: 'Lebe wohl, teurer Vater! Du, der Du im Leben nur unseren Schmerz gesehen hast und unsere Stürme, jetzt, nun Du tot bist, gehst Du sehr weit. Lebe wohl! Möge Deine Reise glücklich sein!'"

Wir schütteln heute den Kopf über die Kühnheit, mit der vor wenigen Jahrzehnten dergleichen phantastische Schilderungen ausgegeben werden konnten. Die Brüder Lawrence, denen ich sie vorgelegt habe, erklärten sie rundweg als eine sehr kühne Erfindung. Endlich darf man nicht aus dem Auge verlieren, daß Bove niemals seine ansehnliche Sammlung von Skeletten und Schädeln zusammengeschrecht hätte, wenn sie ihm nicht vom Missionsfriedhof geliefert worden wäre. Daß ihm außerhalb desselben die verstreut liegenden, kaum erkennbaren Einzelgräber gezeigt und geöffnet worden wären, behauptet er nicht.

allerdings würden sie dafür eine ansehnliche Belohnung erwarten. Kurz entschlossen sagte ich zu, überdies hatte FRED LAWRENCE ihnen ein schönes Geschenk in Aussicht gestellt. Jene beiden fanden sich gegen elf Uhr im großen Waschraume des Arbeitshauses auf der Farm in Punta Remolino ein, wo nichts uns störte, und ich stellte den Phonographen für die Aufnahme bereit. Doch die Frauen wehrten ab: „Jetzt noch nicht, wir sind ja noch gar nicht in Stimmung!" Geraume Zeit geduldigen Wartens verstrich. Die beiden Feuerländerinnen hockten regungslos und stillschweigend am Boden, nur mit ihren eigenen Gedanken beschäftigt und in tiefster Sammlung. Gegen drei Uhr endlich erklärten sie: „Nun kann *tálaywaia* beginnen!" Ihrem Verhalten und ihren Äußerungen ließ sich entnehmen, daß sie innerlich sehr erregt und vollständig von den Trauergedanken beherrscht waren. CALDERON hielt sich mit Aufmerksamkeit bereit, die einzelnen Sätze, die unter lebhaftem Empfinden und heftiger Gemütsbewegung ausgestoßen wurden, zu übersetzen.

Beide begannen zunächst mit der einförmigen Melodie. Nach etwa zehn Minuten führte GERTIE allein sie weiter und PEINE sprach mit viel Rührung dazwischen: „Ach wie erbärmlich steht es um uns, daß diese beiden [GUSINDE und KOPPERS] uns veranlassen, *tálaywaia* zu singen. Sie kommen von einem Volke, das sehr zahlreich ist; der Unsrigen aber sind nur wenige. Diese wenigen, die von den Unsrigen heute noch übrig sind, gleichen einigen Vögelchen, die durch Zufall dem Jäger entwischen konnten. Die Guten hat *Wataninkiwa* weggenommen, nur die Häßlichen und Unansehnlichen hat er bis auf den letzten Tag des Yamana-Volkes zurückgelassen. Wir, die Nichtsnutzigen, die Kranken sind bis heute hier geblieben. Uns läßt er noch leben, uns, die wir schwach, die wir nur wenige sind. Mir hat er die Kinder weggenommen, ja meine ganze Familie. Und die beiden Söhne, die mir geblieben sind, werden wohl bald auch denselben Weg gehen müssen,[a] den die andern früher gegangen sind. Meine [entferntere] Base [NELLY LAWRENCE] hat auch mehrere Verwandte verloren; immerhin besitzt sie noch einen Bruder [CALDERON], der sich einer zahlreichen Kinderschar erfreut. Ich aber stehe gänzlich allein da und nur jene eine entfernte Verwandte [NELLY LAWRENCE] ist mir geblieben. Diese Verwandtschaft kommt durch einen anderen Mann und ist sehr weitläufig. O weh mir, *Hidábyan*, Du gibst mir empfindlich zu leiden. Du hast mich schwer gestraft! Wie zahlreich waren einst die Leute im Westen [wo PEINE beheimatet ist]: gerade zwei oder drei sind wir übrig geblieben. Nur noch einer einzigen meiner Verwandten von dorther hat er das Leben belassen, die er schließlich auch hinwegraffen wird."

Nach kurzer Pause fiel PEINE in den Gesang der GERTIE ein. Dann sprach letztere mit lebhafter Gemütsbewegung: „Diese beiden [GUSINDE und KOPPERS] sind hierher gekommen und drängen uns, *tálaywaia* zu singen. Obwohl wir diesen Gesang seit längerer Zeit nicht wiederholt haben, verlangen die beiden dennoch ihn zu hören. Bisher hat *Wataninkiwa* uns durch einen Todes-

[a] Sie meint SANDERSON und BALFOUR, die beide von schwächlicher Gesundheit sind; letzterer ist schon einmal in ernster Erkrankung aufgegeben worden.

fall gezwungen *tálaywaia* zu singen, jetzt drängen uns diese beiden. Die Weißen haben allgemein angenommen, *tálaywaia* wäre für uns ein Vergnügen. Nein, für uns ist es ein trauriger Gesang. Wäre ich Mann, würde ich unter der schweren Arbeit leiden, die unsere Männer im Walde, auf der See und überall zu verrichten haben. Aber als Weib bin ich meist in der Hütte beschäftigt. Sollten alle meine Verwandten sterben, würde ich den Mut aufbringen, zu leiden wie ein Mann. Auch würde ich arbeiten und leiden wie sie im Walde, auf der See und überall. Ich würde mich überanstrengen, daß auch ich schließlich zugrunde gehen müßte. Aus meiner Verwandtschaft sind nur noch wenige Frauenspersonen übrig, die Männer meiner Verwandtschaft hat "Der-dort-oben" weggenommen. Ich kann mich nicht messen mit den Frauen unseres Volkes von ehedem. Diese sangen und redeten sehr gut und schön, viel besser und schöner als wir es heute tun können. All jene schönen Worte [aus alter Überlieferung] sind uns verloren gegangen; wir sind ja heutigentags gezwungen, häufig englisch und spanisch zu sprechen. Dabei vergessen wir unsere eigenen schönen, alten Yamana-Worte. Unsere Zunge ist nicht mehr so sicher wie die unserer Vorfahren. Ach, wie erbärmlich steht es mit uns! Und was alles müssen wir erdulden! Wie wenige sind der Unsrigen noch! In den andern Gebieten, wo die Weißen leben, sind die Menschen zahlreich. Falls dort einer stirbt, bedeutet das nichts; es bleiben ja immer noch viele übrig. Bei uns allerdings steht es damit ganz anders. Stirbt ein einziger der Unsrigen, so wiegt das mehr auf, als tausend bei den Europäern, die sehr zahlreich dastehen. Wie schlecht ist mein alter, blinder Vater und meine Mutter dran. An dem Tage, da sie sterben, werde ich in den Wald laufen und mich dort [absichtlich] verlieren, ich werde weder essen noch trinken und zugrunde gehen aus großem Leid. Wäre ich Mann, dann allerdings würde ich hinausstürmen [überallhin] und draußen alle Tiere totschlagen, aber davon nichts nach Hause bringen. Alles und jedes würde ich kurz und klein schlagen. Ich würde es genau so treiben wie "Jener-dort-oben", der ja auch alles vernichtet und zerschlägt, als würde er es als Nahrung benötigen." Dann würde auch er einmal zu fühlen bekommen, wie einem [wehrlosen Menschen] in solcher Lage zumute ist. Daraufhin hätte er allerdings einen wirklichen Grund, mich zu strafen." Noch lange danach verharrten die beiden Frauen in nachdenklichem Schweigen.

Die *tálaywaia*-Aussprachen kehren den untersten Seelengrund nach oben und legen jede Herzensfalte frei, in ihnen spiegelt sich das ganze Menschtum der Yamana wieder. In der Art und Weise ihrer Trauer erkennt man am deutlichsten und ungetrübt ihr Wesen und ihre ganz naturhafte Veranlagung.

4. Allgemeine Trauerveranstaltung

Zieht man in Erwägung, daß der ganze Yamana-Stamm, über ein weites Gebiet ausgedehnt, sich überdies noch in viele kleinste Familiengruppen zersplittert, wundert man sich berechtigterweise, wie eine allgemeine

Veranstaltung, an der viele Leute sich beteiligen, zustande kommen kann.[47] Nicht nur das Bewußtsein der Volkszusammengehörigkeit und ihre Überzeugung davon, daß das Hinscheiden eines Erwachsenen eine beachtenswerte Schwächung des Volksganzen zur Folge hat, drängt sie zueinander, sie wollen auch das persönliche Leid und Weh, samt der Trauer um die eigenen Lieben, des öftern sich von der bedrückten Seele wälzen. Vorzüglich eignet sich hierfür das sogenannte *yamalaiemßina*. Im Gegensatz zum *tálaywaja*, das sozusagen für einen kleinen, mehr privaten Kreis berechnet ist, besagt jenes eine größere, öffentliche Veranstaltung; an ihr beteiligen sich, je nach Gelegenheit, viele Familien. Man spricht bereits dann schon von *tálaywaja*, wenn eine Einzelperson in ihrer Hütte oder in der Einsamkeit des Waldes einen Trauergesang wiederholt; das *yamalaiemßina* setzt jedoch eigene Vorbereitungen und zahlreiche Beteiligung voraus.

Frühzeitig schon und zwar erstmalig beim Missionar Despard (b): 746 taucht diese Bezeichnung auf. Er schreibt: „Murder is punished by the *yamma-shoo-moyna*, or blood avenger." Im BD: 640 kehrt dieses *yamala ïámauïna* wieder. Beide Stellen schränken die Sinndeutung einzig auf "Blutrache" ein, in Wirklichkeit muß sie weiter gefaßt werden. Auf den ursprünglichen Sinn zurückgreifend, besagt nach BD: 640 das *yámala*, immense, terrible, tremendous, awful. Das *ïemßina*, auch *ïumßina* wurde mir übersetzt mit: empfindliches Stechen, tiefe Schmerzen in der Brust. In der Wortwurzel muß tatsächlich die Bedeutung "stechen" liegen, was sich daraus ergibt, daß im Beispiel *ïámauïna sir*[4], nach BD: 160, nur von Pfeil und Lanze, von Speer und Dolch die Rede ist.

Zu einem *yamalaiemßina*, das viele Leute vereinigt, kann zwar jedweder Todesfall der Anlaß sein, aber ein Mord drängt ausnahmslos in kürzester Frist dazu. Im einzelnen jedoch halten sich die Yamana nicht an eine bestimmte Regel, sondern machen sich davon abhängig, ob eine nennenswerte Zahl von Stammesgenossen zusammenläuft. Ein Beispiel mag dies erklären. Mehrere Männer hatten auf der Isla Navarino, im März 1923, die Medizinmannschule abgehalten. Die Nacht darauf, am 24. März, starb die Frau des alten Thomas, die endlich einem langen Siechtum erlag. Lautes Wimmern und Klagen, das aus allen Hütten drang, riß mich aus dem Schlafe. Doch erst bei der Morgenhelle ging ich dorthin, wo die Tote lag, umgeben von vielen Leuten, die aus überzeugtem Trauerschmerz weinten und stöhnten. Absichtlich zeigte ich mich als einen zwar teilnahmsvollen, aber durchaus stummen Zuschauer; und daß ich nicht im mindesten störte, tat allen sehr wohl. Eine tiefempfundene Trauerstimmung lag drückend auf der kleinen Indianersiedlung. Pietätvoll schweigsam und sehr zurückhaltend benahm ich mich, damit die Leute in keiner Weise beeinflußt würden und unbehindert ihre Gefühle

[47] Gusinde bedient sich hier einer Redewendung, die in einigen Klagerufen an das Höchste Wesen wiederkehrt und die auf S. 1069 ausführlich erklärt worden ist.

[47] Unzuverlässige Beobachter haben mit Spegazzini (a): 167 voreilig und unrichtig behauptet: „Cuando un fueguino muere, los que sobreviven no hacen grandes ceremonias."

äußern könnten; ich war ja der einzige Weiße unter diesen Feuerländern. Jeden einzelnen und die Allgemeinheit beobachtete ich genau; ich gewann den Eindruck, die Gemütserregung und die Stimmung aller wurde von Stunde zu Stunde lebhafter. Gegen elf Uhr ging SANTIAGO zufällig an mir vorüber; er warf mir ohne Aufmerksamkeit und mit weinerlicher Stimme die Worte zu: „Wir sind insgesamt aufs höchste betrübt, deshalb werden wir bald mit dem *yamalaĭemdĭna* beginnen!" So geschah es auch. Als günstig und wohl ausschlaggebend erwies sich eben der Umstand, daß eine beträchtliche Zahl von Familien sowieso zusammengeschlossen war. Bei einer anderen Gelegenheit hätte man darauf warten und die einzelnen Familien herbeirufen müssen. Sind genügend Leute beisammen und entwickelt sich die erforderliche Stimmung, sei es bei den Aussprachen der Alten oder im Hinblick auf einen nahen Todesfall, sind die Voraussetzungen zum *yamalaĭemdĭna* gegeben.

Für mich war es unschätzbar wertvoll, damals auf Isla Navarino jene große Totenfeier persönlich erlebt zu haben (S. 190). Jene Frau ist gegen Mittag beerdigt worden, genau nach der Art, die unsere Feuerländer bei den Europäern kennengelernt hatten; danach versammelten sie sich in einem geräumigen Häuschen, während ich mich ganz allein in das des SANTIAGO zurückzog. Bald setzte dort das mir längst bekannte Singen und Heulen ein und viele Leute beteiligten sich, wie ich es aus dem bunten Stimmengewirr ableiten konnte, das von dort zu mir herüber drang. Etwa eine Stunde schon war diese Bewegung im Gange, als ein Mann mich aufsuchte und in bittendem Tone mich fragte, ob ich zu ihnen kommen möchte. Klagend gab er mir zu verstehen, daß alles, was sich dort meinen Augen und Ohren bieten würde, mich persönlich nicht erfreuen könnte, da alle Leute in überaus trauriger Stimmung seien, daß sie es aber hoch anrechnen würden, falls ich mit ihnen fühlte und an ihrem Leid meine Teilnahme zeigte. Der gute Alte konnte es nicht einmal ahnen, wie begierig ich auf eine Einladung gewartet hatte; denn, wie hätte ich mir eine Gelegenheit entgehen lassen dürfen, bei der diese Feuerländer ganz und gar aus sich heraustreten und ihre innersten Gefühle offen vor aller Augen ausbreiten. Unverzüglich folgte ich ihm zur Trauerversammlung. Wirklich, meine Erwartungen sind weit übertroffen worden und hier lernte ich diese Indianer nach ihrer innersten Geisteshaltung restlos kennen. Ohne Menschenfurcht und ohne die mindeste Verschämtheit sprachen sie laut ihr Denken und Fühlen aus; mit einer Selbstverständlichkeit, die an alltägliche Gewohnheit anklingt und mich überrascht hat, sprachen sie von ihrem Höchsten Wesen und gingen mit ihm um, als wäre er ihresgleichen. Dabei fiel mir, ohne mein Zutun, wie ein Vorzugsgeschenk eine gute Anzahl jener uralten Klagerufe und Gebetsformeln in den Schoß, die mir teilweise schon bekannt waren; hier aber erlebte ich, wie die Indianer sie im Zustande höchster Seelennot und geistiger Erregtheit handhaben. Unsagbar hat mich die ungezwungene Natürlichkeit überrascht, mit der Männer wie Frauen dem Höchsten Wesen zeternd Vorwürfe machten. Mancher von ihnen kam mir vor wie irgend ein ungezogener Schüler, der bestraft worden

ist und der sich schmollend, im Bewußtsein der eigenen Ohnmacht, mit seinem Lehrer auseinandersetzt; alle schienen jede Hemmung abgeschüttelt zu haben.

Aus dem, was bisher mitgeteilt wurde, ist zu entnehmen, daß sichere Bestimmungen für die Teilnehmer am *yamalaženmδina* fehlen. Aus naheliegenden Gründen finden sich die nächsten und entfernten Verwandten, Freunde und Nachbarn bei jener Familie ein, die eine kürzlich dahingeschiedene Person betrauert. Jeden drängt es nämlich, die Leidtragenden zu trösten und sie bei ihrem alltäglichen *tálayuaja* zu begleiten. Bald hat es sich nämlich herumgesprochen, wer gestorben ist, und niemand zögert, die Hinterbliebenen aufzusuchen. Jeder sagt sich: „Wer in Trauer ist, erwartet die Teilnahme der andern. Gelegentlich werde auch ich in Trauer sein und dann werde ich selber wünschen, daß viele durch ihren Beistand mich trösten!" Trifft es sich zwanglos, daß viele Personen beisammen sind, leitet wie von selber ein *tálayuaja* zum *yamalaženmδina* über. Eigens fordern dazu, wie gesagt, die Verwandten eines Ermordeten auf, weil sie zur Blutrache verpflichtet sind und Helfer anwerben müssen. Den letzten Anstoß zur allgemeinen Trauerfeier geben einige Alte, wenn sie sich dahin äußern, daß die Sachlage und die Stimmung der Leute für eine allgemeine Veranstaltung gegeben sei. Wer sich gerade an Ort und Stelle befindet, beteiligt sich; niemand, gehörte er auch einer abgelegenen Gegend an, würde ausgeschlossen. Zuweilen werden Familien in naher Nachbarschaft verständigt und sie eilen unverzüglich herbei.

Hat man sich auf diese einfache, unverbindliche Art schnell entschieden, beginnt man auch sofort mit den Vorbereitungen. Dazu gehört eigentlich weiter nichts als eine Körperbemalung, die reichhaltiger und schöner ausgeführt werden muß als beim unauffälligen *tálayuaja*. Jeder wählt sich ein Muster nach eigenem Geschmack und zeichnet sich verschiedenfarbige Striche und Strichlungen, Punktreihen und Linien in mannigfaltiger, abwechslungsreicher Verteilung auf Gesicht, Oberkörper und Arme. Meistens führen die Leute jene aus dem *tálayuaja* bekannten Grundformen umbildend weiter und gestalten sie zu reicheren, verwickelten Verbindungen.

Die Lust zu bunter Mannigfaltigkeit und reicher Formverschiedenheit macht eben auch vor der Trauerbemalung nicht Halt. Bei jedem *yamalaženmδina* habe ich Muster von sehr einfachen bis zu verwickelten angetroffen: einige sind in Abb. 89 wiedergegeben. Der Mann (a) zeigt nur drei schwarze senkrechte Striche. Die Frau (b) hat das ganze Gesicht gleichmäßig rot eingeschmiert und schwarze senkrechte Striche darüber gelegt. Auch der Mann (c) trägt schwarze Striche auf rotem Untergrunde. Bei der Frau (d) sind über den roten Untergrund breite schwarze Linien gezogen, letztere werden noch von weißen unterbrochenen Strichen eingefaßt. Mit roter Grundbemalung erscheint auch der Mann (e); auf jeder Gesichtshälfte zeigt er fünf senkrechte schwarze Linien und eine solche auf dem Nasenrücken sowie zwischen den inneren Augenwinkeln. Endlich sieht man bei der Frau (f) fünf dünne rote Striche, die strahlenförmig sich vom unteren Augenlid verbreiten; die übrige Bemalung, also das ganze Untergesicht, ist in schwarz gehalten. Andere, nicht

minder reichhaltige Muster zeigt Abbildung 86 auf Seite 924. Allerdings lassen sich sämtliche Muster auf einige wenige Grundformen zurückführen.

Fast alle Teilnehmer geben jener Zeichnung den Vorzug, die auf die Todesursache dessen, der besonders beweint werden soll, hindeutet. Viel Mühe und Sorgfalt wenden die Besucher tatsächlich auf; sie wollen damit bekunden, wie ehrlich und aufrichtig sie sich an der Veranstaltung beteiligen.

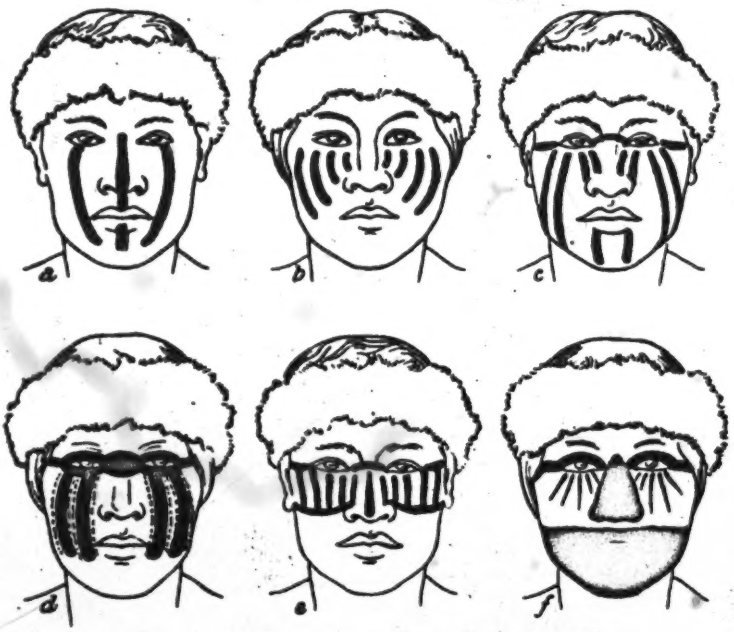

Abb. 89. Muster von Trauerbemalung

Ein bestimmter Zwang trifft die Anwesenden dann, wenn eine Mordtat vorausgegangen ist; sie bringen diese in der Gesichtsbemalung deutlich zum Ausdruck, da alles dem Ziele dient, den Übeltäter und seinen Verwandtenkreis einzuschüchtern. Man bevorzugt hierfür folgende Zeichnung: Die eine Gesichtshälfte wird gleichmäßig schwarz gehalten, auf der andern wechseln enggestellte senkrechte rote und weiße Punktreihen miteinander ab.

Eine geraume Zeit sind die Leute vorbereitend mit der Gesichtsbemalung beschäftigt, auch winden sie sich das *hapakôl* um die Stirn. Dieses, auch *hapaxôl* genannt, ist ein größeres, dreieckiges Hautstück mit weißen Daunenfedern von der männlichen Molinsgans *lôkuł* (Chloëphaga hybrida). Man erwirbt sich diesen Stirnschmuck zu einer Zeit, in der diese Gänse nisten; während-

dessen sind sie mager und der dünnen Haut fehlt das sonst sehr reichliche Fett. Ein *hapakêl* gleicht in Form und Größe dem *hôčel* der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 215). Neuestens bemühen sich nicht alle Erwachsenen um dieses Schmuckstück, das eigentlich selten Verwendung findet. Statt dessen greifen sie bei einer allgemeinen Trauerfeier nach dem schmalen Hautstreifen mit Daunen, ebenfalls *hapaxêl* genannt, den sie ausnahmslos bei der Hand haben und häufig anlegen.

Zur Ausrüstung jener, die am sogenannten Kampfe des *yamalaženmßina* teilnehmen, gehört die Keule. Sie wird berechtigterweise als eine Zierkeule gewertet. Niemand dürfte mit einem einfachen Knüppel herankommen, den er eben aufgegriffen hat und mit dem man einen Seelöwen erschlägt; ebensowenig verwendet man jene Keule zu anderen Zwecken. Sie wird sorgfältig aus einem fehlerlosen Stämmchen herausgearbeitet, ist etwa 160 bis 190 cm lang, zeigt eine vielkantige oder gerundete Oberfläche und schwillt sanft und gleichmäßig von einem Ende zum andern an (Abb. 90). Man malt sie regelmäßig weiß, es sei denn rot, wenn man sich an einen Mord erinnert. Eigentlich sollen auch die Frauen sich mit einer Keule ausrüsten. Doch sie fehlt ihnen zuweilen und dann behelfen sie sich mit einem gewöhnlichen Ruder, das sie bemalen. Bei den Tänzen in der Hütte greift jedermann zum kurzen Tanzstab, der bei der *čiêxans*-Feier getragen wird: denn er hilft mit, die rhythmischen Bewegungen des ganzen Körpers augenfällig zu betonen.

Wesentlich für das *yamalaženmßina* ist, in Anlehnung an das *lôima*, langanhaltendes Singen und Klagen, Seufzen und Stöhnen. Die nächsten Leidtragenden füllen damit sowieso die Zeit aus. Wer von den Nachbarn und Freunden mit der frisch aufgetragenen Bemalung ihre Hütte betritt, setzt sich in deren Nähe und folgt ihrem Gesange. Die vielstimmige Gruppe singt wirr durcheinander; jeder einzelne wählt Stimmlage und Rhythmus, Melodie und Klangfarbe nach eigenem Gutdünken, er hört auf und beginnt von neuem, so wie es ihm beliebt. Allerdings ist eines jeden Vortrag ernst und traurig gehalten, seine Miene verrät empfindlichen Seelenschmerz und das ganze Benehmen zeigt an, wie schwer er leidet. Durchgehends wiederholt eben jeder andauernd dieselben Laute nach einförmiger Melodie mit heulender Stimme, genau so wie bei *tálaurain*. Die ganze Gesellschaft widmet dieser gemeinschaftlichen Trauerkundgebung einige Stunden; nicht einmal kurzen allgemeinen Pausen wird Raum gewährt.

Ein jeder der Anwesenden unterbricht zeitweilig sein Stöhnen und füllt die eine und andere Lücke mit Zwischenrufen aus. Hauptsächlich sind es Worte, die an das Höchste Wesen gerichtet werden. Man muß beachten, daß jedermann bei dieser Veranstaltung nicht gerade den jüngst Verstorbenen vor Augen hat — der ist ihm vielleicht Nebensache —, sondern jene Lieben, die er selber kürz-

Abb. 90. Zierkeule

lich oder schon früher durch den Tod verloren hat. Das Andenken an sie wühlt abermals sein Innerstes auf und läßt ihn erneut den schweren Verlust bitter empfinden, das eigene Leid bringt ihn in Wallung. Darum stellt er sich abermals, wie schon bei früheren Gelegenheiten, dem *Watayinčiwa* gegenüber, um mit ihm zu rechten und zu zetern, um ihn zu beschuldigen und zu beschimpfen. Den einen wie den andern der uralten Klagerufe schleudert er zornig gegen den Himmel hinauf, obwohl er sich seiner Ohnmacht gegenüber dem *Abóila* dort oben hinter den Wolken sehr wohl bewußt ist. Sein maßloser Schmerz, so glaubt er, gibt ihm ein Recht zu den rücksichtslosen, derben Ausfällen gegen jenen gewalttätigen *Wēlapatuz*, dem nicht anders beizukommen ist. Diese erregten Aussprachen mit *Watayinčiwa* bilden, wie mir nachdrücklich versichert wurde, einen wichtigen Teil des *yamalalemčina*. „Immer wieder muß sich jeder an "Den-dort-oben" wenden und andauernd die alten Sprüche wiederholen!" Mehrmals hat man mir das mit überzeugter Betonung kundgetan. So bekam ich den Eindruck, die einzelnen Worte seien weiter nichts, als ein regelrechtes Zetern und zänkisches Verhandeln mit dem Höchsten Wesen. Durch mannigfaltige Wendungen wird es in Beziehung gestellt zu der jüngst verstorbenen Person, zur Person des Sprechers selber, zu den eigenen toten Verwandten und Freunden, zum gesamten Yamana-Volke. Mit gereizter Leidenschaftlichkeit drängte mir Gzatiz damals wiederholt die Forderung auf: „Jeder von uns muß sich hier bei dieser Gelegenheit unablässig und nachdrücklich mit *Watayinčiwa* auseinandersetzen!" So wechselten Vorwürfe und Schimpfreden mit den alten Klagerufen ständig ab, alle Anwesenden hielten jeden Sprecher für berechtigt dazu und bekräftigten zustimmend seine Worte.

Bis dahin war mir noch nie Gelegenheit geboten worden zu beobachten, wie heftig sich die Äußerung ihres tiefeingewurzelten Gottesglaubens aus innerster Seele heraus Bahn bricht und mit welch ungehemmter Gewalt er sich Ausdruck verschafft. Wirklich, ihr Gottesglaube ist tief in der Überzeugung und im Herzen verankert! Hier wurde offensichtlich, daß alle Erwachsenen davon beherrscht sind. Schon jetzt nenne ich einen rührenden Zug ihres kindlich religiösen Sinnes. Sie halten sich für berechtigt, in höchster Erregung hemmungslos die bittersten Vorwürfe gegen *Watayinčiwa* zu schleudern. Hat aber nach Abschluß des *yamalalemčina* ein jeder wieder die Stille der eigenen Wohnhütte aufgesucht und hier bis zum späten Abend auch das seelische Gleichgewicht zurückgewonnen, regt sich in seinem Innersten so etwas wie Gewissensbisse. Es überkommt ihn das Gefühl, durch sein Toben und Zetern das Höchste Wesen verletzt und sich gegen die ihm gebührende Ehrfurcht schwer verfehlt zu haben. Reumütig sinkt er in sich zusammen, schweigend überdenkt er den Verlauf des Tages und seine augenblickliche Lage. Ein reuevolles und doch vertrauensvolles Sühnegebet gleitet leise über die zitternden Lippen: „*Hidébyan*, Du weißt es, heute habe ich mich außerordentlich über Dich erzürnt! Aber der Schmerz um meine lieben Toten war so heftig, daß ich die Herrschaft über mich verloren habe. Sei Du mir wieder

gut, *Niddêgum!*" Beruhigt und mit völlig ausgeglichener Seele legt der Feuerländer sich wieder zur Ruhe, die höchsten Erregungen, die stundenlang sein Innerstes durchstürmt haben, sind vorüber.

Einige Worte, die ich während jenes *yamalaŝemêina* aufgezeichnet habe, folgen nun. Oft sprachen mehrere Personen gleichzeitig in verschiedenem Sinne, denen ich nicht folgen konnte.

SANTIAGO: „Heute früh ist jene Frau gestorben. Jedem von uns ist übel zu Mute, niemand fühlt sich wohl. Mir ist es auch schon so ergangen wie jenem Witwer, der nun ohne Frau dasteht. Ich persönlich habe es empfunden, was es heißt, seine Verwandten verlieren. Da geht einem alle Lebenslust aus!"

HALUPENS: „Gewiß, so ist es, wie du [SANTIAGO] gesagt hast: Jeder, der seinen nächsten Verwandten verliert, empfindet [den Trauerschmerz] am stärksten. Die andern empfinden weniger, sie begleiten jene Person nur! — Wir müssen darnach trachten, daß wir uns gut verstehen, daß wir uns gegenseitig nichts Böses antun. Denn eines Tages wird *Wataŷinêiwa* auch uns [von der Erde] wegnehmen. Haben wir mit jemand im Unfrieden gelebt und stirbt er, wird es [unsere Handlungsweise] uns leid tun. Also leben wir in bestem Einvernehmen miteinander! Nach einem Streit muß jeder mit dem andern sich schnell wieder aussöhnen und mit ihm ins reine kommen."

WALTER: „Auch ich gedenke der vielen, die ich verloren habe. Ich fühle mich heute etwas erleichtert [bei dem Gedanken], daß ich selber es nicht bin, der seinen Verwandten verloren hat. Damals jedoch, als ich meine eigenen Kinder verlor, war ich unsagbar traurig. Andere werden dabei gedacht haben, es ist keine so schmerzliche Sache; aber ich habe ganze Tage und Nächte im Walde verbracht und dabei schwerstens gelitten. — Wie oft hat *Wataŷinêiwa* mich gestraft! Warum hat er das wohl getan? Jetzt haben wir [ich und meine Frau] nur noch zwei Kinder. Möglicherweise nimmt er mir bald ein weiteres Kind weg. Warum wird das wohl so kommen? Ob er mich wieder strafen wird in nächster Zeit? Ich weiß es nicht. — Damals bin ich tatsächlich unsagbar traurig gewesen und mehr, als andere Leute es glauben können. Oft und oft ist mir das zugestoßen." Hier nun werden alle, die zur Verwandtschaft der Verstorbenen gehören, es richtig verstehen, wie viel ich damals gelitten habe. Ebenso verstehe ich jetzt, was jene Verwandten der verstorbenen Frau leiden und warum sie so laut klagen."

MARY: „Wenig Ruhe habe ich jetzt. Zur Zeit nämlich, da wir wieder einen der Unsrigen begraben müssen, sagen wir alles rückhaltlos heraus, was uns das Herz eingibt."

CLARA: „Zur Zeit, da ich noch ein Mädchen war, haben wir uns nicht so aufgeführt, wie das heutigentags die Mädchen tun. Wir haben uns nicht von unseren Eltern entfernt, sondern sind getreulich bei ihnen in der Hütte geblieben. Aber heute schauen die Mädchen auf [das Verhalten der] Weißen; vieles haben sie an ihnen entdeckt, das sie nachahmen. Deshalb laufen sie

[*] Er spielt auf sein trauriges Geschick an, daß von seinen 8 Kindern ihm insgesamt zwei gestorben sind.

sogar den eigenen Eltern davon, sie geben anderen Landsleuten keine Ruhe [infolge ihres anstößigen Benehmens] und bringen die eigenen Eltern in größte Verlegenheit. Es ist beschämend für uns, es gereicht uns zur Schande!"[69]
SANTIAGO: „Ich habe dir [HALUPENS] keinen Schaden zugefügt."
HALUPENS: „Das stimmt, ich habe dir auch gar nichts vorhalten wollen."
SANTIAGO: „Nun gut, dann sind wir einig."
HALUPENS: „Wenn es nicht wegen der Weißen wäre [die uns hindern], hätten wir jenen Leuten dort den Krieg erklärt und wir hätten sie umgebracht. Aber so [bei den heutigen Verhältnissen] dürfen wir das nicht wagen."
SANTIAGO: „Wirklich, das ist der wahre Grund. Gegenwärtig sind uns [für ein freies Handeln] die Hände gebunden."[70]
LUISA: „So oft wir früher in Trauer waren, haben wir viele Tiere eingefangen und getötet, sie alle zerrissen oder zermalmt und dann die sämtlichen Stücke über den Erdboden verstreut oder ins Wasser geworfen. Das taten wir, weil wir uns erzürnt hatten über *Watayinéjwu;* denn ihm wollten wir einen empfindlichen Schaden zufügen. Dabei haben sich meine Schwiegereltern auffällig hervorgetan."
HALUPENS: „Ich habe es nicht geahnt, daß ich heute in schwerer Trauer sein würde. *Watayinéjwu* hat es veranlaßt. Ich persönlich habe doch niemand Schaden zugefügt, ich habe niemand umgebracht. Einige Vögel und einige Seelöwen habe ich allerdings erlegt; die habe ich verzehrt, um mich vor Hunger zu bewahren und am Leben zu erhalten. Nie aber habe ich einen Menschen umgebracht. Deshalb hat *Watayinéjwu* gar keinen Anlaß, mich damit so schwer zu kränken, daß ich heute in Trauer bin, weil er jene Frau hat sterben lassen. Ich habe ja weiter nichts getan als einige seiner Tiere erjagt, die er in *Yéjanága* gemacht hat; diese habe ich verzehrt aus Hunger!"
SANTIAGO: „Heute hat *Watayinéjwu* uns allen hier schweren Schaden zugefügt. Wir sind ausnahmslos in großer Trauer. Besser wäre es gewesen, *Watayinéjwu* hätte für heute einen Wal stranden lassen; da wären wir morgen dorthin gegangen und hätten uns große Stücke abgeschnitten. Statt dessen hat er jene Frau sterben lassen und der Witwer klagt nun bitterlich!"

Nachweislich haben sämtliche Teilnehmer bei diesem *yamalaŁemájna* die oben (S. 1062) aufgezeichneten Gebetsformeln und Klagerufe oft wiederholt, obwohl sie meistens nur deren Sinn und Grundbedeutung verstehen. Während der Leichnam eingewickelt wurde, war ich dabei und zufällig kam der alte ASIKANSIS an der Hütte vorüber. Er hielt für einige Augenblicke inne und sagte vor sich hin, auf die Tote zeigend: „*Watayinéjwu* hat das veranlaßt, ja "Der-dort-oben" hat das gemacht!" Dann ging er wieder seines Weges. Ähnliche Wendungen aus dem Munde aller Anwesenden wiederholten sich.

Nachdrücklich sei darauf hingewiesen, daß diese allgemeine Trauerfeier zwar durch einen eben erfolgten Todesfall angeregt wird und diesem haupt-

[69] Sie bringt in Erinnerung, daß kürzlich drei Mädchen ohne Wissen ihrer Eltern sich am späten Nachmittag allein aus dem Lager entfernt haben. Vgl. S. 697.

[70] SANTIAGO spielt auf eine Mordtat an, die der Bruder des HALUPENS seinerzeit verübt hat.

schlich gilt; aber jedwedem Teilnehmer kommen alle jene Toten ins Gedächtnis zurück, die er persönlich zu beklagen hat. Von ihnen spricht er laut und offen, immer ohne sie mit Namen zu nennen, und kennzeichnet sie als: mein Vater, meine Tochter u. ä. m. Er erwähnt dabei Einzelheiten aus ihrem Leben, gewisse Charakterzüge und die Ursache ihres Todes. So verschafft er seiner gequälten Seele eine gründliche Befreiung aus der Trübsal bedrückender Gedanken um seine Verstorbenen.

Das stundenlange Beisammensein der vielen trauernden Leute wird regelmäßig mit einer Art von Scheinkampf beschlossen. Schon während des ganzen Ablaufes eines *yamalaʒemóina* macht der eine und andere von den alten Männern, nach Art eines *tjámuna*, zwangloe und doch richtunggebend seinen Einfluß geltend. Ihnen vor allem liegt es am Herzen, die Aufmerksamkeit der Anwesenden auf *Watayinéjsa* hinzulenken, und sie kennzeichnen ihn als den, der allein für das Sterben dieser und jedweder anderen Person verantwortlich bleibt. Ihnen sind die überlieferten Gebetsformeln und Klagerufe geläufig, weswegen sie dieselben oft wiederholen. Dadurch prägen sich diese Sprüche auch dem Gedächtnis der jüngeren Leute ein, die deren Sinn ausreichend verstehen lernen. Allerdings erörtern die Alten nie die eigentliche Wortbedeutung im einzelnen; jene Formeln quellen nur aus einer trauererfüllten Seele und werden im Alltag weder erwähnt noch besprochen. Sobald nach dem Empfinden jener Alten der günstige Zeitpunkt gekommen ist, fordern sie zum Scheinkampfe auf. Die Anwesenden erheben sich, greifen zu ihren Keulen oder Rudern und verlassen die Hütte. Laut schluchzend und weinend verteilen sie sich draußen auf einem freien Platz derart, daß zwei Abteilungen zustande kommen, ohne daß man eine bestimmte Ordnung erkennen könnte. Deutlicher allerdings wird die Trennung dann durchgeführt, wenn das *yamalaʒemóina* einer Mordtat aus jüngster Zeit gilt; denn die Anhänger des Opfers und die des Täters stellen sich je auf eine Seite. Jeder der Erwachsenen ist mit einer Keule ausgerüstet; jene Frauen, denen sie fehlt, greifen zu ihrem Ruder (S. 1131). Diese Stücke sind vorher bemalt worden.

Während beide Abteilungen langsam sich einander nähern, sprechen sie unter lautem Schluchzen vom Verstorbenen, dem diese Feier gilt, sie erwähnen seine guten Eigenschaften und Vorzüge mit Worten warmer Anerkennung und aufrichtiger Trauerklage. Diese Aussprache stellen sie ein, sobald beide Gruppen in kurzem Abstande sich gegenüberstehen. Sofort beginnt der eigentliche Scheinkampf, indem jedweder zu irgend einem der anderen Abteilung hinstürmt und auf ihn einschlägt. Letzterer wehrt geschickt ab und schlägt auch seinerseits drauf los. Auf diese Weise lösen sich die beiden großen Gruppen in viele streitende Einzelpaare auf. Ein jedes führt nun den Zweikampf geraume Zeit weiter. Ihre Absicht ist es nicht, sich gegenseitig zu verletzen; deshalb bremsen sie den Schlag, unmittelbar bevor er auffällt. Immerhin trägt der eine und andere manchen empfindlichen Hieb davon, falls ein Kämpferpaar sich erhitzt oder zufällig zwei Gegner zusammentreffen, die manche andere Rechnung miteinander zu begleichen haben.

Bedeutsamer jedoch sind während dieses Scheinkampfes die gegenseitig erhobenen Vorwürfe, die in dem Sinne gehalten werden, als sei der andere für den Todesfall verantwortlich, als sei er schuld an der empfindlichen Trauer, die alle Leute niederdrückt. Wer von seinem Gegner mit diesen Anwürfen überschüttet wird, verteidigt sich ebenso heftig und wälzt die Anschuldigungen auf jenen zurück. Sagt der eine: „Du hast es verursacht, daß jener gestorben ist und wir alle nun traurig sind!" so entgegnet der andere: „Gerade das Gegenteil ist richtig: Du hast alles verschuldet!" Oder es behauptet einer: „Warum hast du dich um jenen [der soeben gestorben ist] nicht besser bekümmert und ihm geholfen?" Darauf verteidigt sich der Gegner: „Eben du hättest ihm mehr helfen müssen, dann wäre er uns nicht weggenommen worden!" Ein anderer schreit: „Du hast jenem nichts von deiner Beute abgegeben und deshalb ist er verhungert!" Der Widerruf heißt: „Ich habe jenem immer von unserer Beute reichlich zukommen lassen. Hättest du das auch getan, wäre er uns erhalten geblieben!" Anderswo hört man: „Warum bist du mit deinem Kanu nicht zu Hilfe gekommen, als er ertrank?" Der Gegner erwidert: „Ich bin viel weiter als du von ihm entfernt gewesen, auf den Wollaston-Inseln nämlich. Du hattest es unvergleichlich bequemer, ihm beizustehen, weil du ihm nahe warst." Auf den Mord anspielend sagt der eine: „Wie konntest du so sorglos sein! Du hättest doch wissen müssen, daß jener Mörder sich mit Mordabsichten getragen hat!" Darauf folgt als Antwort: „Größere Schuld trifft dich. Denn da du davon Ahnung hattest, wäre es deine Sache gewesen, alle Leute zu verständigen und jener [Ermordete] wäre uns erhalten geblieben!" Auf diese Art geht der Wortwechsel lange weiter. Bei vielen Paaren leitet er zu Angriffen auf das persönliche Verhalten, auf frühere Streitigkeiten und eigene Meinungsverschiedenheiten über. Dabei erhitzen sich manche und schlagen ernstlich aufeinander ein. Dem einen und andern ist diese Gelegenheit von Herzen erwünscht, weil er straflos seine langverhaltene Rache stillen kann. Während des Streites geht es drunter und drüber, zuweilen auch etwas wüst her, je nachdem die Gemüter mehr oder weniger aufwallen. Denn die Gegner, die sich einander gegenüberstellen, wechseln mehrmals; auch stürmen drei und vier Personen auf eine einzige los, die dann ernstlich ins Gedränge gerät. Nach etwa einer Stunde wird die Schlägerei dadurch für beendet erklärt, daß einige maßgebende Alte sich in die Versammlungshütte zurückziehen. Die übrigen Leute folgen ihnen.

Drinnen nimmt man den üblichen Trauergesang wieder auf. Je nach der Tagesstunde und der Geistesverfassung der Anwesenden zieht er sich noch mehr oder weniger lange hin. Die eine und andere Person erhebt sich und gleitet tanzend durch die Hütte, sie hält bei ihren Körperbewegungen und beim leichten Schwingen des kurzen Tanzstabes den einfachen Rhythmus des Gesanges ein. Endlich wird das *yamalalomšjus* abgeschlossen und zwar durch das bestimmte, eindeutige Zeichen, folgend der Weisung eines der führenden Alten, daß alle Beteiligten ihre Keulen, Ruder und Tanzstäbe mit vernehmbarem Aufschlag auf den Erdboden niederlegen. Während des Singens haben

nämlich alle Personen diese Dinge in der Hand gehalten. Nun verharrt jeder noch lange Minuten in beinahelichem Nachdenken. Erst dann erhebt er langsam hinaus. Er wendet sich seiner Wohnhütte zu und nimmt schweigend seine gewöhnlichen Arbeiten wieder auf.

Acht Stunden und länger dauert diese Veranstaltung regelmäßig an. Nur die Erwachsenen nehmen daran teil. Damit sie in keiner Weise weder durch ihre eigenen noch durch fremde Kinder gestört und abgelenkt werden, dürfen diese die Wohnhütten nicht verlassen, nicht lärmen und spielen.

Ist irgendwo ein *yamalaiomdjna* in Vorbereitung oder bereits abgehalten worden, geht die Rede davon im weiten Umkreis herum. Einem jeden drängt es, sich daran zu beteiligen. Nicht selten finden sich bei dem Leidtragenden einige Familien mehr oder weniger verspätet ein. Erstere sind *ja* immer in Stimmung für diese Veranstaltung und, von ihnen angeregt, leiten tatsächlich die Ankömmlinge sie unverzüglich ein. Wird eine allgemein beliebte, einflußreiche Person betrauert, so folgt in kurzen Zeitabständen ein *yamalaiomdjna* auf das andere, vielleicht das ganze Jahr hindurch. Wohl nie verläuft eine *Ditjanga*-Feier, ohne daß an einem bestimmten Tage ein regelrechtes *yamalaiomdjna* eingeschoben wird; dasselbe gilt auch für ein langwährendes *Mina*-Fest. Die Teilnehmer bleiben allerdings in der großen Versammlungshütte und der übliche Scheinkampf entfaltet sich nur in beschränktem Ausmaß.

Bei unsern Feuerländern gilt das Gesetz der Blutrache (S. 995), das die Verwandten und Freunde des Ermordeten verpflichtet. Sie schließen sich zusammen und greifen den Mörder samt dessen Anhang an. Das Ringen dieser beiden Gruppen heißt *yamalaiomdjna yékana méje* und folgt zwangläufig jeder Mordtat. Es wäre nicht ausgeschlossen, obwohl sichere Beweise dafür nicht zu erbringen sind, daß der seit langem nach jedwedem gewöhnlichen Todesfalle oder zu allgemeiner Erinnerung an die Verstorbenen beim öffentlichen *yamalaiomdjna* übliche Scheinkampf sich von jenem ersten Ringen nach einer Mordtat herleitet und im Laufe der Zeit zu einem festen Bestandteile jeder allgemeinen Trauerveranstaltung geworden ist. Die Eigenart des Scheinkampfes, zumal die Anwürfe und Beschuldigungen der Gegnerpaare regen zu dieser Vermutung an.

Die allgemeine Trauerfeier vereinigt jedesmal mehrere Familien, und da sie oft zustande kommt, macht die Einzelfamilie sie zumindest dreimal im Jahre mit. Ihr außerordentlicher Innerer Wert ist offensichtlich. Ein jedes *yamalaiomdjna* zwingt unwiderstehlich zu einer tiefsinnerlichen Selbstbesinnung und zu ernster Erinnerung an den Tod. Im Gedächtnis werden wieder all jene lebendig, die ihren Weg über diese Erde bereits beendet haben; ihre Tugenden und Fehler werden besprochen und ganz unverhohlen wird das Vergehen gekennzeichnet, dem man ein vorzeitiges Sterben zuschreibt. Das alles rüttelt das eigene Gewissen bis ins Innerste durch Selbstanklage auf. Darüber hinaus wird, was nicht minder wirksam ist, das Verhalten des einzelnen mit lauten Worten während des Zweikampfes von dem und jenem Gegner gerügt, dem es bei dieser Gelegenheit freisteht, seine

Verwickelte rückhaltlose auszubringen. Niemand darf es verübeln, öffentlich angeprangert zu werden. Allerdings kommt dabei an den Tag und zu Ohren der Allgemeinheit: Längst vergangene Verkommenheiten, Streitigkeiten und Verfehlungen eines Mitglieds und all seiner Familienangehörigen werden ausführlich und schonungslos an die Öffentlichkeit gezerrt; die schlechte Behandlung, die ein Mann seiner verstorbenen Frau hat angedeihen lassen, wird ihm und denen Verwandten nun schon zum wiederholten Male lant vorgehalten; die sicher erwiesenen oder vermutlichen außerehelichen Beziehungen einer verheirateten Frau werden ihr ohne die mindeste Zurückhaltung ins Gesicht geschleudert. Jedweder, der Abneigung gegen einen andern spürt oder sich mit ihm überworfen hat, sucht ihn während des Scheingerichtes auf und sagt ihm gründlich die Meinung. Auch Mißhelligkeiten zwischen ganzen Familiengruppen werden weitläufig gekennzeichnet und erörtert. Wie man sieht, sind die letzten Anwärter beim Scheinkampfe eine unverblümte Gewissenserforschung des andern vor der Allgemeinheit durch einen, dem nichts weniger fern liegt, als es beschönigen! Auch durch die lebhafte Warnung, die vom näher und näher nahen Todesfalle selber ausgeht, wird jeder Teilnehmer aufgerüttelt und aufs neue angetrieben, ein einwandfreies, ordentliches Leben zu führen, sich um Verträglichkeit mit andern und um das beste Einvernehmen mit seinen Familienangehörigen, um Hilfsbereitschaft gegen jedermann und ganz allgemein um jene Tugenden zu bemühen, die zu einem ruhigen, sicheren Yamana gehören. Die gewissenhafte Lebensführung des einzelnen und die öffentliche Ordnung erhält eine durch jedes yamana-lemdjine eine unerbittlichere Förderung. Mit Hilfe dieser Einrichtung wohl hat sich die allgemeine Sittlichkeit der Yamana in langen Jahrhunderten auf der gleichen überraschend hohen Ebene gehalten. Mag auch der Beweggrund, der manchen treibt, seinen Gegner öffentlich anzuprangern, weder edel noch vornehm sein, jedenfalls bleibt die letzte Beschuldigung nicht ohne Wirkung.

Ihre allgemeine Trauerveranstaltung werden und können die Yamana so lange nicht aufgeben, als sie bei ihrer eines unsicheren Vorstellung vom Weiterleben der menschlichen Seele nach dem Tode verharren. Für sie gilt der Abschied von jedem, den der Tod hinwegraffte, als eine Trennung für immer. Nelly Lawrence hat mir mit beredtesten Worten es oft und nachdrücklich versichert: „Die Missionare haben uns aufmerksam gemacht, wir müssen die langen und aufregenden Trauerzeremonien nach dem Ableben eines der Unsrigen endlich einstellen. Sie haben uns gesagt: ‚Nicht so viel weinen, denn nach dem Tode werden wir uns alle wiedersehen!' Aber ihren Worten hat niemand geglaubt. Wie sollen es auch wahr werden, daß wir alle uns später wiedersehen? Der Leib verfällt ja. Also gibt es kein Wiedersehen mehr?" Mit einer Leidensmenschlichkeit, die wie Hoffnungslosigkeit klang, sprach diese alte Frau jedesmal, wenn sie mir etwas aus dem Seelenglauben ihres Volkes erzählten. Deshalb wird die eintönige, schwermütige Trauermelodie des tekapuia und des yamalelemdjine nicht eher verklingen, als bis sich über dem letzten Yamana im fernen Kap Horn-Archipel der Grabeshügel schließt.

C. Kosmogonie und Mythologie

Die Gedankenwelt der Religionen, mit dem innerlich der Seelenglaube zusammenhängt, erweist sich bei unseren Yamana als reichhaltig und ausgedehnt; aber umfangreicher und mehr belebt ist die Welt ihrer mythologischen Persönlichkeiten. Volle Beachtung verdient die Tatsache, daß diese beiden weiten Gedankenreiche voneinander scharf geschieden und gegeneinander deutlich abgegrenzt sind; jedes besteht sozusagen ganz für sich allein. Wie die Gestalten aus den Mythen und Sagen in der bisherigen Beschreibung nirgendwo mit der Person des Höchsten Wesens in enge Verbindung getreten sind, so erscheint auch dieses selbst von jenen ganz und gar abgerückt; überdies hält sich Watuinčjaw in einem gleich weiten Abstande von den eigentlichen Geistern und den Medizinmännern. Jeder aufmerksame Beobachter kann, wie die Yamana selber es tun, das Gedankengut jener beiden weit ausgreifenden Vorstellungskreise gegeneinander bequem abgrenzen.

In früherer Zeit war unseren Feuerländern jedwede Gestalt, die ihre Mythen und Sagen schildern, sehr vertraut; die einzelnen Vertreter der Tierwelt und die Gestirne, auch die Gegenstände des täglichen Gebrauches weckten gar oft bekannte Gedankenverbindungen, die an jene Gestalten anknüpfen. Ehedem sind die beliebten Erzählungen oft und oft in den langen Stunden gemütlichen Beisammenseins am Abend rund um das Hüttenfeuer wiederholt worden. Leider ist seit wenigen Jahrzehnten die früher eng geschlossene Volkseinheit zerrissen und die letzten Reste der einst zahlreichen Gemeinschaft sind als zusammenhanglose Splitter über die weite Fläche ihres Heimatgebietes verstreut. Die noch lebenden Familien, von einer nicht mehr nennenswerten Anzahl, verkehren miteinander auffallend selten und ihr Meinungsaustausch dabei bleibt auf gewisse Einzelheiten aus dem Alltag beschränkt. Angesichts dessen befremdet es nicht, daß sich die ehedem allgemeine Vertrautheit mit dem reichen mythologischen Gedankengut verloren hat und daß das jüngere Geschlecht mehr Aufmerksamkeit all dem, was das Europäertum mitgebracht hat, zuwendet. Einige alte Leute nur bewahren davon für sich noch das meiste bis auf den heutigen Tag. Warum sie diesen kostbaren Besitz nicht weitergeben und nicht übermitteln können, wie das in früheren Zeiten so bequem möglich gewesen, als die europäischen Fremdlinge noch nicht störend wirkten, beruht nicht eigens begründet zu werden. Mancher von den jungen Leuten bedauert es mit offenen Worten, daß die Alten selbst dann sogar mit den schönen Erzählungen zurückhalten, wenn sie dafür ein geneigtes Ohr bei einer ansehnlichen Runde von Stammesgenossen finden. Indes, gegenwärtig sind alle Verhältnisse in Auflösung begriffen und unter dem Zerfall aller Einrichtungen und Gewohnheiten leiden die Alten sehr empfindlich; eben deshalb sind sie nicht mehr für Dinge zu haben, die sozusagen schon längst der Vergangenheit angehören.

Bei seltenen Gelegenheiten aber gibt sich der und jener doch wieder einmal dazu her, eine Erzählung nach der Art von ehedem vorzutragen.

Von ihm persönlich geht die Anregung aus; gegen die erhaltige Tiefstufe würde er verstoßen, wollte eine jüngere Person offen oder mit etwas unbeholfenen Wendungen um eine alte Mythe bitten. Ein zufälliger äußerer Umstand ist so fast regelmäßig, der die Erinnerung an einen mythologischen Stoff weckt; gewöhnlich in der Weise, daß, während irgend jemand von seinen Erlebnissen spricht, seine Worte, wie bei einer geschlossenen Tätigkeit, in die andere Gedankenwelt hinüberglitten. Damit ist die dem Yamana eigene Art, eine alte Mythe vorzutragen, hinlänglich angedeutet. Der Erzähler wiederholt sie eigentlich nie ganz und vollständig in dem fortlaufenden Zusammenhange ihres eingewurzelten Aufbaues vom Anfang bis zum Schluß; allgemeine Gewohnheit ist es vielmehr, einen beliebigen Abschnitt herauszugreifen und an diesen ein persönliches Erlebnis, eine selbstständige Leistung, eine eigene Erfahrung anzuknüpfen. Dem Erzähler ist es von vornherein gleichgültig und er fragt nicht darnach, ob sein Eigenbericht, wenn man so sagen darf, einigermaßen sich mit einem beliebigen Mythenteile verbindet. Die Phantasie des Yamana bewegt sich lebhaft und läßt sich in die Regeln einer geordneten Folgerichtigkeit nicht einzwängen. Wer unter dieser Rücksicht den Vortrag eines alten Indianers überprüft, wird verwundert feststellen müssen, daß beispielsweise der Faden der Gedankenentwicklung an derjenen ungeeigneter Stelle abgerissen und daß ein gänzlich andern gehörender kurzer Abschnitt irgendwo völlig unbeweislich, vielleicht sogar einseitig, angereiht worden ist. Ein derart aufgebauter Vortrag mit einer allmählichen einzelnen Zusammenstellung seiner einzelnen Teile beliebige die Zuhörerschaft nicht im geringsten. Ihnen genügt es, ausgesagt unterhalten zu werden; auf allein dem, was augenblicklich ihnen gefesselt wird, scheinbar die ihre ganze Aufmerksamkeit.

Da jeder Anwesende ganz bei der Sache ist — es fordert es allgemein die Schicklichkeit von unserem Fremdländer —, erhält ein bestimmter Ausspruch zuweilen einen andern Sinn durch lebhaft, daß er bei einer kurzen Pause des Erzählers seiner eigenen Gedanken dazwischen wirft; nicht selten nicht sich seiner eigene Darstellung so weit in die Länge, bis den ersten Ausführungen einmaliges mehr beschäftigen. Auf diese Art bildet eine bestimmte Mythe, die begonnen worden ist, sogar in größeren Teilen verschiedenartig.

Man darf eben nicht vergessen, daß persönliches Erleben und tatsächliches Geschehen, sofern jemand es in fesselnder, lebhafter Rede schildert, weit freudiger aufgenommen und ergänzter hingenommen wird, als der bloßen bekannte Stoff aus einer Mythe. Dem Yamana aber ist es in seinem innersten Herzen verborgen, vor andern zu glänzen, er will bei seinesgleichen viel gelten. Daher bemüht er sich, seinem Eigenbericht den Erlebnissen möglichst wirkungsvoll darzustellen, den gleichzeitig durch gewählte Redewendungen zusammenzufassen, den durch übersprudelnde Zutaten zu würzen. Man erhält unmittelbar den Eindruck, jemand beginne einen kleinen Abschnitt aus einer Saga mit der bewußten Absicht, sie als Vorwand für die Wiederholung einer persönlichen Erlebnissen, welche unvergleichlich mehr Zeit in Anspruch nimmt,

[illegible] wie bei den Anwendern der Verwendung, zweckmäßig oder [illegible] oder zweckmäßig zu sein, verwendungen. Ein [illegible] Bild ergibt sich, wieder wenn die einzelnen Abschnitte einer Gestaltverbindung in einer bestimmten Tonart-Skala zusammenwirken.

Bei alledem muß man überdies berücksichtigen, daß Inhalt und Gestaltung des vorgegebenen Stoffes von der persönlichen Eigenart des Erzählers dieses Sonderstoffes, nämlich die eigentümliche Prägung des individuellen erhalten. Deutlich kommt das in der verschiedenen Verfolgbarkeit der Allgemeinheit für den einen und anderen Erzähler zum Ausdruck. Sieht man es einem schlecht an, daß er in guter Verfassung ist, drängt es die Gemüter vergnügt Nachkommen zu den Ein und dem Angen Inschrien [illegible] auf. Beschreibung besonders die seinen Worten und empfindet dabei einen [illegible] Gewalt. Unter sich versuchen verschiedene einzelne Personen den Erzählern und auch den Umfang dieser einen gewissen Vorzugsabstand und über den Einzelnen der Erzählter von. Auch wir haben sie mit einzelnen Offenheit zum Bilanzen gewonnen, die sie weit lieber hören als andere. Die Art der Darbietung, die Wahl der Worte, die [illegible] Anschauungen am Inhalt des Erzählten ist es, was den Unterschied des einen Vortragenden vom anderen begründet. Nun ist es unvermeidlich, daß dann und wann auch solch ein guter Hörer einen langen Abschnitt um seinen Lehrer oder die Wiederholung einer Erzählung den vorgemachten Nachkommen vorzieht, denn hier gar keine Erzählungsfolge eigen ist und der mehr langweilt als erfreuen. Wir Europäer bewundern es als Abwechslung, daß ein bestimmtes Wesen man schon vom besonderen Mahl dem man besser gibt, was die anderen Gegst [illegible] wissen, oder daß er bestimmten Nebensächlichkeiten eine besondere Bedeutung beilegt, die andere gar keine Verständnis aufbringen. Begleitende Erscheinungen wiederholen sich besonders bei anderen Freundlichen und werden von Leuten [illegible] Hörer nicht wieder richtig gewertet, als wir das tun. Sie aber empfindet die bestimmtesten Eigenschaften vor den Ohren, besonders dieses sich Aufmerksamkeit wendeten und bei ihnen [illegible] zusammenzuwirken, währen sie sich selber auch auch an viel Zeug [illegible]. Eigene Erscheinungen an die Jugend sind in diesem bestimmten Sinne gebunden und [illegible] [illegible] dieser Forderung [illegible] Bedeutung.

Was ich hier an allgemeinen Bemerkungen vorbringen habe, das läßt sich größtenteils bei [illegible] auf die bei den [illegible] Gestaltungen und Verhältnissen anwenden (Bd. I, 168).

Wie viel Freude und wieviel Genugtuung dieser auch ich gewährlich an manche vergnügliche Runde [illegible], an der ich an dem einen und anderen Abend mit jenen Freundlichen in einer [illegible] Hütte zusammengeschlossen war. Die mit Harkenade Frau Hannes [illegible] auf und hell [illegible], wie viel Aufmerksamkeit im Gedächtnis [illegible] [illegible] gewährlichen [illegible]. Begeisternd besonders wie den bildhaften Worten des Erzählers, ganz versunken im Reich der Sage, entzückt von den Tonen, der beredsam an den bedeutsamen Phasen des Bildchens [illegible], entzückt von

die weit über Mittelmaß vorgeschrittene Sonate. Lässt sich endlich die Sonate wieder auf, dann erblickt sich jedermann, mit neuem Gefühlen erfüllt und reich bedacht, vor der Endlichen Hütte binnen, wo Sie die dunkle Nacht vorfing. Lassiverne entfällig die Sonne von den Himmelsbilden bestrahlen, soll sie bendiger Hütte so sich nicht nehmen, auch mit dem Finger auf diesen und jenen Stern hinzeichnen, seinen Namen zu wiederholen und seine Freudelichkeit zu bemerkbaren. Sie Gnade schulte jedem Tonnen den besten Weg zu seiner Hütte und auch im Tonnen standen die Gestalten von der Sagenwelt zu seinem dämlichen Verbringen. Denn auch seinen schloß dann doch ein Tag auf dieser Art ab, die jedem Freundlichen begleitet.

Was auf den folgenden Seiten gelesen wird, dürfte wohl den genauen Wirkenskreis umschreiben, über den unsere Freundlichen mit ähnlichen wichtigen Seiten. Dabei, [illegible], hat sich das Schicksal auf seinen vielfach Seite aufzählend begleitenge (S. 170). Obwohl es bei unserer Influenza nicht möglich ist, daß in einer gemeinsamen Bande eine Frau Sagen Abschnitte von dieser Eigenschaftung oder von einer Wirke erzählt, bewahrt dieser und jener Freundlichkeit dennoch viel Sagenstoff in seinen reinen Gedächtnis, die hinter den bei der gelegentlich vorgenannten Personellenen und Nachbarinnen mit großer Bereitwilligkeit. Wir erhalten, weil bei einer Frau die Bekanntschaft und der Verlangen, durch Wirkungsbe der eigenen Tonne und auf. Gültigen Leistungen von anderen zu gleichen, bedeutend geringer ist als bei Männern, ist es für eine Endlichkeit leichter, eher viel Abhaltung und Folgerichtig von Gesellschaftlichen der Wirke Innenleben. Die Bekanntschaft der Endlichkeiten, die bei den Tonnen umgehen, verdanke ich vorzüglich der geistig regsamen Jenn, Frau der eine Kenntnis, die im Gesellschaftsleben Umfang dieser Landleute die dieses gemeinsame Kenntnis gibt. Tagelang habe ich bei der gehört (S. 170). Was ich darüber hinaus auf der Seiten und einzelne Seite noch gesammelt habe, waren erhältnisse Ergänzungen und bringgliche Einzelheiten. Manche Wirke ist mir auch von anderen Personen wiederholt worden. So glaube ich, den genauen Wirkenskreis gefunden zu haben, wie ihn die Tonnen von gesamer Vorzeit bis auf den heutigen Tag behalten.

4. Der Farben der Welt

Die geistige Verfassung und die Denkweise unserer Freundlichen ist in den vorangegangenen Seiten nur flüchtig gekennzeichnet worden. Demnächst wird jeder Sammler seiner Erzählungen auf eine deutliche Vorstellung von Wirkung der Welt oder auf die gegenwärtigen Wirklichkeit bei Sonne von vorhanden oder wichtig haben. Verständlich bestimmt die per einzelne Sonne Gedankenbilder, die sich weiter folgerichtig zusammenschließen auch Schmerzen einschließlichen Sonne. Das, was am Anfange ohne Schlüssen sich abgeschlossen haben mag, liegt zwischen unserer Innerlichkeiten Augenblickszusammenhang. Ob die jede gegebene Wirklichkeit den einzelnen Tagen von zwischiggebrachte Bedeutung hat, viel so fern, als daß es den besonderen Aufmerksamkeit

[illegible] würde. Überdies sind jene weit zurückliegenden Ereignisse ja fertige Geschehnisse und abgeschlossene Tatsachen. Von Raum trennt man deutlich und bestimmt all dies, was Yalgay eingeführt und was die Neuguineaner in den einzelnen Jahren unternommen haben; an die Leistungen dieser wird der Fremdländer fast täglich auch ohne sein Zutun erinnert. Denn jüngeren Yalgay und vielleicht seinen Gemahlinnen scheinen jene wichtige Erfindungen und bedeutsame Anordnungen zu, bei der Gestaltung des Weltbildes jedoch sind sie nicht hervorragend tätig gewesen. Man erzählt auch, daß die Erde verändert worden ist; dadurch haben sich wieder gewaltige Verhältnisse herausgebildet.

Wie anfangs erwähnt wurde, bildeten die einzelnen kurzen Erzählungen keine zusammenhängende, gut geordnete Einheit. Man kann wohl mit der Möglichkeit rechnen, daß kleine Verbindungsstücke nunmehr verloren gegangen sind; indes halte ich gegenüber es für wahrscheinlich, daß bereits seit altersdaher jene empfindlichen weiten Lücken klaffen. Vor allem nötigt ich mich auf die dürftigen Angaben einiger alter Personen. Auch leitet mich meiner Erfahrung bei den Sèlk'nam, die sich einen mehr oder weniger vollständigen, überdies inhaltlich reichen Vorstellungskreis vom Werden der endgültigen Weltbilder bis in die Jetztzeit bereits bewahrt haben. Wenn es dieser gelungen ist, ihre mehrere Erzählungen als geschlossene, zusammenhängende Einheit sich zu erhalten, warum hätten die Yamana, die manches anderen Erbgut sich nicht haben rauben lassen, wichtiger Zeitbestimmtheit verlustig gehen sollen? Einer vergleichenden Mythenforschung werden jene Bruchstücke im Besitze der Yamana trotzdem wertvoll sein, falls man sie mit dem Sagengut anderer Völkerschaften in einiger Verbindung bringen kann.

1. Himmel und Erde

Die Sèlk'nam sind den Yamana insofern weit überlegen, als sie in der Person des *Kyoole* den Gestalter der sichtbaren Welt anerkennen, der im Anfange das Höchstere Wesen wirkt. (Bd. I, 170) und der deshalb den Hellbringern, wie anderen Mythologien ihn zeigen, gleichzustellen ist. Unsere Feuerländer betrachten ihre Heimat als eine fertige, gegebene Erscheinung; sie fragen nicht nach ihrem Ursprung, wie sie entstanden ist. Insofern bekäme Bennett (II: 238 erzählt: „Les indigènes ne comprennent vraisemblablement pas de ce pseudo historiette, ni même de dessin leur vanité." Wiederholt aber habe ich trotzdem erfahren müssen, daß die Unbildsamkeit und Unwissenheit über den ersten Anfang dieser Verhältnisse dem und jenem Manne, der etwas gebildetisch vorzutragen zu mein erhielt, keineswegs gleichgültig ist; sie versuchen mehr oder weniger Bildbar diese Kenntnisse und beschäftigen sich tatsächlich in ihren Überlegungen mit derjenigen Frage. Was sie dringt, ist allein die allgemeine logische Forderung nach einer annehmbaren Erklärung für die greifbare Wirklichkeit, die sich ihnen vorstellt. Ihre eigenen Schlußfolgerungen sprechen sie jedoch nicht aus. Deren hindert sie die Unkenntnis vor dem

übernommenen uralten Gedankengut, an dem zu deuteln oder das aus eigenen Grübeleien zu ergänzen sie als außerordentlich ungehörig erachten. Eine Erweiterung oder Umbildung jener mythologischen Vorstellungen konnte sich demnach nicht durchsetzen und sie blieben seit altersher lückenhaft, obwohl sie Gegenstand der Überlegung vieler Personen gewesen sind.

Im Folgenden biete ich die wenigen Einzelvorstellungen, über die der eine und andere bejahrte Yamana noch verfügte. Diese zwar beschränkten, aber inhaltlich bedeutsamen Kleinigkeiten erzählen sie einander. Das will Bamozz (h): 206 ungerechtfertigt abstreiten, wenn er behauptet: „No tienen tradición respecto de su origen. El mundo para ellos, ha sido siempre lo que es y seguirá siendo lo mismo." Leider ergänzen sich diese Einzelheiten nicht zu einem vollständigen Bilde. Bruchstücke sind es nur, die ich bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten sammeln konnte. Die Anordnung, in der ich sie folgen lasse, habe ich aufgestellt; sie nimmt Rücksicht auf deren Inhalt.

a. *Die ersten Ansiedler*

Die Geschehnisse, die den Gegenstand der sogenannten Umwälzungsmythe bilden, beschäftigen zeitweilig sehr lebhaft die Überlegung unserer Yamana. Es muß überraschen, daß sie das anfängliche Werden der sichtbaren Welt und das erste Auftreten der eigentlichen Menschen mit jenem merkwürdigen Sagenstoff in Zusammenhang bringen. Jene Mythe schildert einen großen Wanderungszug vom Norden der Isla Grande her in südlicher Richtung bis an das Nordufer des Canal de Beagle und von hier westwärts bis in die Gegend von *Yáiulága*, woselbst jene Wanderer sich für immer niedergelassen haben (Gusinde [bb]: 337). Unabhängig von dieser langen Geschichte hat man mir erzählt:

„In sehr weit zurückliegender Zeit kamen viele Familien aus dem Osten herangezogen und wanderten bis hierher, wo wir Yamana seitdem wohnen. Hierselbst haben sie sich niedergelassen. Sogleich haben sie angefangen, ihre Kanus zu bauen, Waffen und allerlei Gerätschaften herzustellen, die Fischottern, Seelöwen und Vögel zu jagen, die Muscheln und Krabben zu sammeln. Seitdem sind die Yamana hier geblieben."

Es verdient beachtet zu werden, daß jene Leute zu Fuß herangekommen sein sollen und daß sie erst hier im heutigen Yamana-Gebiet damit begonnen haben, das Rindenkanu zu bauen. Als selbstverständlich setzten meine Gewährspersonen voraus, daß in Verbindung mit jener großen Gruppe auch die *Ygólox*-Familie in diese Gegend gelangt ist; die Brüder *Ygólox* selber haben es den anderen Männern gezeigt, wie die verschiedenen Gebrauchsgegenstände angefertigt und wie die Waffen gehandhabt werden müßten. Gleichzeitig kam der Sonnenmann *Lóm* mit seiner Familie, zu der auch sein Bruder *Akóinix*, der Regenbogen gehört und dessen Weib die Mondfrau *Hónuxa* ist. Hochbetagte Gewährsmänner versicherten mir im Januar 1920, daß in jener Gruppe der heranziehenden Familien die *Ygólox-tórnaxipa* ihren

überragenden Einfluß geltend gemacht und daß sie eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt habe; sie erfreute sich einer ansehnlichen Vormachtstellung und befehligte die anderen Frauen, welch letztere wieder ihre eigenen Männer in Abhängigkeit hielten. Als man mir zwei Jahre später die lange Mythe vom Ursprung der *kina*-Einrichtung vortrug, ist jene *Ypdlog-tárnuzipa* nicht mehr erwähnt worden. Die eigentliche Bedeutung dieser Frau liegt in dem engen Verhältnis zu ihren beiden Brüdern, den bereits genannten *Ypdlog* begründet; letztere kamen in jener Ursprungsmythe ebensowenig zu Wort.

Jene Gruppe von heranziehenden Familien, die in der heutigen Heimat der Yamana sich niedergelassen haben, gelten nicht als eigentliche Menschen, sondern werden als Persönlichkeiten von besonderer Natur und Wesenheit betrachtet. Man beurteilt sie als jene Landesbewohner, die als erste an Ort und Stelle allerlei Einrichtungen getroffen haben, danach aber entweder an das Himmelszelt hinaufgestiegen sind oder sich in Tiere umgewandelt haben. Sie bilden einen eigenen engen Ring von bedeutenden oder überragenden Persönlichkeiten, die völlig abgesondert von jenen Gestalten, über die jede eigentliche Mythe berichtet, dastehen. Ausschließlich den ersteren wird nicht nur die anfängliche Besiedlung dieses Gebietes, sondern auch manche besondere Leistung, die für die nachfolgenden eigentlichen Menschen bedeutungsvoll und entscheidend geworden ist, zugeschrieben. Eine hiermit übereinstimmende Sonderung und deutliche Trennung jener beiden voneinander sehr verschiedenen Gruppen führen auch die Selk'nam (Bd. I, 606) durch

β. Der ältere Sonnenmann

Unsere Feuerländer unterscheiden sehr bestimmt den einst gewaltigen und gewalttätigen *Táruwalēm*, als den alten Sonnenmann, von dessen Sohne *Lām*, dem eigentlichen Tagesgestirn. Beide sind damals, so wird erzählt, in jener großen Gesellschaft der ersten Besiedler hierher ins Land gezogen. In vieler Hinsicht unterscheiden sich diese beiden Persönlichkeiten voneinander. Vom alten Sonnenmann *Táruwalēm*, bzw. *Tárwalēm*, wird erzählt:

„Damals lebte hier unter den ersten Familien ein Mann sehr schlechten Charakters. Er war mit einem jeden nicht nur unfreundlich, sondern ganz offensichtlich feindlich und immer nur darauf bedacht, allen anderen zu schaden. Jedermann verachtete ihn. Infolgedessen wurde er noch wütender und bemühte sich um so mehr, jedwedem etwas Schlimmes anzutun. Er war außerordentlich mächtig und verfügte über große Gewalt. Einstmals ließ er im höchsten Zorne alles verbrennen, was in seinem Bereiche lag. Damals stand er nämlich der Erde viel näher als heutzutage. Gleichzeitig brachte er alles Wasser des Meeres zum Sieden; denn er ließ eine sehr große Hitze kommen. Dabei verbrannten auch sämtliche Wälder. Seitdem sind die Bergspitzen bis heutigentags leer und kahl geblieben. Das alles ist erfolgt, weil er in seinem höchsten Zorne die große Hitze hatte kommen lassen.

Allen Leuten war *Táruwalēm* von vornherein sehr zuwider. Seitdem aber

haßten sie ihn offensichtlich. Nicht nur ihn selber haßten und verabscheuten sie, sondern auch dessen nächste Verwandten. Seine ganze Familie wurde von allen Leuten gemieden und verachtet; denn jedes Mitglied jener Familie benahm sich lieblos und trachtete darnach, andere Leute zu schädigen. Nur *Lēm*, der Sohn des alten *Tárawalēm*, machte hiervon eine auffällige Ausnahme. Allen übrigen Leuten erwies er sich nämlich als überaus wohlwollend. Er war ein trefflicher Jäger und geschickt in vielen Dingen. Mit jedermann ging er liebevoll um und zeigte sich immer hilfsbereit.

Die Weiber[71] überlegten nun heimlich lange Zeit. Schließlich hatten sie sich entschlossen, den alten böswilligen *Tárawalēm* umzubringen. Alle überfielen eines Tages den Alten und würgten ihn schwer. Doch da er sehr stark war, gelang es ihm, sich herauszuwinden. Sofort eilte er an das Himmelszelt hinauf. Dort steht er seitdem als ein heller Stern. Seine frühere Macht jedoch hat er eingebüßt. Heute sieht man ihn nicht mehr. Erst nachdem die große Umwälzung beim *kina* der Weiber erfolgt war, stieg auch *Lēm* ans Himmelszelt zu seinem Vater *Tárawalēm* hinauf."

Wiederholt hat man mir versichert, daß er seine Macht von ehedem verloren habe, daß er wohl irgendwo am Himmel stehe, doch nicht sichtbar sei. Noch in einer anderen Verbindung spricht man von ihm. Die Yamana erzählen: „Vor langer Zeit gingen sämtliche *kēpiż* der [damaligen sogenannten] Menschen, die hier in unserem Lande starben, weit weg nach *Šamaγáni*.[72] Dort bildeten diese *kēpiż* ein eigenes Volk. Sie alle, groß und klein, erfreuten sich viel an Ballspiele *kálaka*. Einstmals erschien ganz plötzlich der mächtige *Tárawalēm* im Osten und steckte das ganze Gebiet in Brand. Nach einiger Zeit versuchte er, die starke Hitze wieder wegzunehmen. Das aber gelang ihm nicht. Deshalb zogen sich die *kēpiż* aus jener Gegend wieder zurück. Als nachher auch *Tárawalēm* selber jene Gegend verließ, kühlte sie sich ab. Damals ist gleichzeitig die ganze Welt verbrannt und alles kühlte sich nachher wieder ab."

Unmöglich ist es mir, diese kurze Erzählung sinngemäß in die übrigen Begebenheiten aus jener ersten Zeit einzureihen; hauptsächlich deshalb, weil hier bereits von den Seelen gesprochen wird, die nach einem eigentlichen Sterben sich vereinigt hätten. Abgesehen davon ist aber der alte *Tárawalēm* deutlich als die einst außerordentlich mächtige Sonne gezeichnet, deren Kraft die des eigentlichen Tagesgestirnes bei weitem übertraf. Man hebt hervor, daß *Lēm* nicht imstande wäre, die ganze Erde auf die gleiche Weise in Brand zu stecken, wie das sein Vater getan hat. Andere Beziehungen jener beiden Persönlichkeiten zueinander werden nicht erwähnt.

[71] Man muß sich hierbei vergegenwärtigen, daß für die damalige Zeit den Frauen die Vorherrschaft über die Männer zugesprochen wird und daß sie allein überall das Wort führten; deshalb kamen eben nur sie allein zu Überlegungen zusammen und trafen Entscheidungen, die für die Allgemeinheit, im besonderen für die Männer verpflichtend waren. Vgl. vorläufig Gusinde (hb): 337.

[72] Mit dieser Benennung belegen die Yamana eine weit entfernte Gegend, die sie näher genauer kennen noch beschreiben.

7. *Der jüngere Sonnenmann*

Der alte *Téraualēm* steht zu *Lēm* im Verhältnis des Vaters zu seinem Sohne. Im Gegensatz zu jenem wird dieser als sehr wohlwollend und menschenfreundlich geschildert. Das bringt fühlbar die wohltuende Wärme zum Ausdruck, die das Tagesgestirn spendet. Von ihm wissen die Yamana mehr zu sagen."

„*Lēm* war ein vortrefflicher Mann und hatte großen Einfluß auf sämtliche Männer. Diese fügten sich ihm bereitwillig; denn er benahm sich jedermann gegenüber freundlich und wohlwollend. Er war eine derart stattliche Erscheinung und von ganz vollendet schöner Gestalt, daß alle Frauen ihn unablässig anzustarren verlangten. Aber eine jede hielt damit zurück, dieses Verlangen sich anmerken zu lassen oder gar ihn offenen Auges anzuschauen, damit sie von andern nicht bespöttelt würde. Ganz entzückend war *Lēm*. Alle Frauen waren in ihn verliebt, alle Männer schätzten ihn hoch.

Sein Weib war auch sehr schön. Niemand kennt ihren Namen. *Lēm* hatte mehrere schöne Töchter, nämlich die *tákuia* (Larus Belcheri), die *wémar*[1]-*hīpa* (Larus glaucodes), die See-Ente *selyen* (Anas cristata), die Möwe *kiwégu* (Larus dominicanus), die Magellansgans *klmga* (Chloēphaga picta), die Ente *wlpatux* (Querquedula cyanoptera), dann auch die Füchsin *īilawéjalīpa* (Canis magellanicus) und die Ratte *uréúna*. Die beiden letztgenannten schleppten heimlich das Fleisch weg, das ihr Vater von der Jagd heimbrachte; regelmäßig bestahlen sie ihn. Das [Stehlen] treiben sie auch heute noch. Überdies besaß *Lēm* noch andere Töchter. Desgleichen zählte er mehrere Söhne. Einer davon ist *Yēyalēm*, der seinem Vater ständig folgt.

Lēm war fleißig und arbeitsam, gut und immer heiter, gegen jedermann freundlich. Mit allen Männern stand er im besten Einvernehmen. Jedwedem gab er das schöne Beispiel eines regsamen und verträglichen Menschen. Bis heutigentags hat sich darin [d. h. in seinem ganzen Charakter] nichts geändert. Damals bei der großen Umwälzung in *Yáinalāga* hat er den Männern ganz bedeutend geholfen, sich des *kina* der Frauen zu bemächtigen. Nachdem jene Umwälzung vorüber war, ging er hinauf ans Himmelszelt. Von dort aus erweist er sich den Menschen immer noch wohlwollend und hilfsbereit, er spendet allen reichlich Wärme und Licht. Auf ihn sind sämtliche Männer sichtlich stolz, er hat ja das *kina*-Geheimnis der Frauen aufgedeckt und damit erstere aus der Abhängigkeit von diesen befreit.

Tatsächlich gibt es noch eine andere Welt. Deshalb verläßt *Lēm* jeden Abend das Gebiet der Yamana und begibt sich dorthin. Auch in jener anderen Welt leuchtet er und spendet reichlich Wärme. Am nächsten Morgen kommt er zu uns wieder zurück. Auf diese Weise hilft er den Leuten hier und dort."

Die Darstellung an sich gibt deutlich genug zu verstehen, welch dankbares

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[1] Ein erster beschränkter Hinweis findet sich bei Dumas (b): 498 schon: „The same old man, who knew their mother, had died, without leaving information upon this Firelander supposes the sun and moon, male and female, to be very old indeed, and that subject. Hence the ignorance of the present generation."

Gedanken die Yamana dem Tagesgestirn widmen. Offensichtlich ist diese günstige Stimmung auf das Wohlbehagen zurückzuführen, das der Sonnenschein bei den von frostigen Winden und rauhen Wettern oft erschütterten Yamana auslöst. Als *Yépulím*, den Sohn des *Lím*, hat man mir den Planeten Venus bezeichnet; denn „dieser Sohn folgt seinem Vater unwandelbar in nächster Nähe, ist aber nicht so stark wie dieser". Darin liegt ein Hinweis auf die bedeutend geringere Leuchtkraft der Venus gegenüber dem Tagesgestirn. Was nun "jene andere Welt" betrifft, für die *Lím* ebenfalls freundlich leuchtet, so meinen die Yamana damit ganz allgemein die Gebiete jener Völkerschaften, deren Dasein sie außerhalb der eigenen annehmen. Neuestens denken sie dabei vor allem an die Weißen, deren Heimat, wie man es ihnen immer wieder versichert, weit vom feuerländischen Inselreiche abgelegen ist."[71]

6. *Der Regenbogen*

Bei den im Kap Hoorn-Gebiet gegebenen Witterungsverhältnissen ist der Regenbogen nichts weniger als eine seltene Erscheinung. Trotzdem erfreut er wohl jedesmal unsere Yamana. Ihn anzuschauen, verschafft ihnen einen deutlich erkennbaren Genuß und eine reichliche Befriedigung; an seinen leuchtenden Farben sättigen und erfrischen sie sich. Bei wiederholten Gelegenheiten habe ich beobachtet, wie Erwachsene und Kinder, selbst im strömenden Regen, aus ihrer Hütte hervorgekrochen sind, draußen sich aufgestellt und mit weitgeöffneten Augen das starke Leuchten des Regenbogens genossen haben.[72] Dabei hat man mir im Tone rückhaltloser Selbstverständlichkeit zu verstehen gegeben: „Dieser *Ahájnix* ist Bruder des *Lím* und ebenfalls ein stattlicher, sehr schöner Mann. Wie könnte es anders sein, gehören doch beide der gleichen Familie an. Von allen Männern wußte *Ahájnix* am besten sich zu bemalen; auch heute noch zeigt er sich in unerreichbar glänzenden Farben. Die schöne *Hánaya* ist sein Weib."

In dem hier angeschlossenen *Ahájnix wátuwa* wird ihr vollständiger, im Alltag weniger verwendeter Name genannt. BD: 265 schreibt *hannúka*, bringt aber auch *hannúkajápú*, moonlight. Es folgt die Geschichte vom Regenbogen:

„Der alte *Ahájnix* war eine herrliche Gestalt. Er verstand es, sich weit schöner zu malen als alle übrigen Männer. Einer bevorzugten Familie gehörte er eben an; denn der stattliche *Lím* ist sein Bruder, sein Weib die *Hánapghuzipa*. Diese ist ebenfalls außerordentlich schön, ist sie doch sein Weib. Über-

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[71] Mehrere Vergleichspunkte weist diese Darstellung mit der bei den Selk'nam heimischen Schilderung von dem alten Sonnenmanne und seinem Sohne, dem Tagesgestirn auf. Hervorgehoben sei nun, daß letzterer ebenfalls entscheidend tätig gewesen ist, das Klaketen-Geheimnis der Frauen zu enthüllen (Bd. I, 600).

[72] Cesano: 105 schreibt: „L'arcobaleno è considerato come il messaggero delle sue ire [di Dio maligno] e le donne ed i ragazzi trovano all' apparire di lui, ma gli uomini lo impresano e gli sputano contro." Diese Mitteilung ist durchaus irrig und widerspricht meinen eigenen Beobachtungen.

dies hat *Akáinix* mehrere Schwestern, die alle sehr stattlich, klug und schlau sind. Er selber erwies sich vor allen Leuten auch als ein tüchtiger *yékamuš*.

Einst spielten die Schwestern wieder einmal *kina* in *Yáiulága*. Dem alten *Akáinix* war es gestattet, in jene große *kina*-Hütte einzutreten; denn er wußte genau Bescheid um jene geheime Veranstaltung der Frauen. Eben deshalb ließ man ihn dort zu. Da unterhielten sich seine Schwestern eines Tages mit Versuchen sich tot zu stellen, sie wollten lange Zeit aushalten ohne sich zu bewegen und ohne zu atmen, wie das bei einem Toten so ist. Sie beabsichtigten damit, ihre Verwandten gründlich zu täuschen und aus Schers zu erschrecken.

Geraume Zeit schon hatten sie sich mit diesen Versuchen beschäftigt und sich aufs äußerste angestrengt, doch wollte es ihnen bei allem Bemühen nicht glücken. Wieder gaben sich die Mädchen eines Tages mit diesen Proben ab, als der alte *Akáinix* sich der *kina*-Hütte näherte. Er war der Älteste unter allen seinen Geschwistern. Als seine jüngste Schwester ihn kommen sah, verständigte sie sofort die anderen davon und sagte: „Das klügste wird es sein, wir hören augenblicklich mit unseren Versuchen und Proben auf; unser Bruder befindet sich bereits in nächster Nähe und er könnte gewahr werden, was wir hier treiben." Da stand *Akáinix* aber schon in der *kina*-Hütte. Er fragte seine Schwestern: „Was macht ihr denn hier?" Alle erwiderten: „Nichts Besonderes! Wie immer, so widmen wir uns unseren Arbeiten und Gesängen in dieser Hütte." *Akáinix* entgegnete: „Was ihr da sagt, ist ganz und gar unrichtig. Ich weiß sehr genau, was ihr hier soeben angestellt habt: Jede von euch hat versucht, ganz regungslos wie tot zu erscheinen, ohne lange Zeit zu atmen. Das aber ist euch nicht gelungen, ich weiß es sehr genau. Nun gut, ich selber werde euch das jetzt einmal richtig vormachen!" Es war nämlich Absicht dieser Mädchen, ihre Verwandten, die im Süden wohnten, samt und sonders hinters Licht zu führen und ihnen bewußt Entsetzen zu bereiten: sich selber wollten sie damit belustigen. Nur sie waren nämlich von dort hierher gekommen und beteiligten sich am *kina*, um ihre wirkliche Absicht zu verschleiern. *Akáinix* durchschaute das alles und deshalb bot er sich seinen Schwestern an, ihnen zu helfen.

So legte sich *Akáinix* nun auf den Boden nieder und streckte sich lang aus; er wurde ganz ruhig, hörte bald auf zu atmen und blieb regungslos liegen, ganz genau wie ein Toter. Seine Schwestern beobachteten dies alles und gestanden: „Wirklich, unser Bruder versteht es sehr gut, er liegt genau so wie ein Toter da!" *Akáinix* war eben ein tüchtiger *yékamuš*.

Die *kina*-Feier ging zu Ende und alle Leute verließen die große Hütte. Jede Familie wandte sich wieder ihrer Heimat zu. So bestieg auch *Akáinix* mit seinen Schwestern das Kanu. Sie schlugen die Richtung nach dem Süden ein, wo ihre Verwandten wohnten. Mehrere Tage mußten sie fahren, denn der Weg war lang. Doch als sie sich jenen Hütten näherten, die ihre Verwandten bewohnten, nahmen sie davor erst kurzen Aufenthalt. *Akáinix* blieb hier zurück, er legte sich auf den Erdboden, streckte sich lang aus und stellte sich tot. Sein Weib, die *Hánuxękuxipa*, und alle seine Töchter bemalten sich

den ganzen Körper schwarz, wie es für tiefe Trauer gilt. So [hergerichtet] traten sie in die Hütte ihrer Verwandten ein. Bestürzt fragten diese alsbald: „Wo ist denn *Akáinix* geblieben? Warum kommt ihr in Trauerbemalung?" Die Mädchen erwiderten sehr betrübt: „Unser Bruder ist soeben gestorben, nicht weit von hier. Da draußen haben wir ihn liegen gelassen, ganz nahe dieser Hütte. Deswegen haben wir uns Trauerbemalung angelegt!" Nach diesen Worten der betrübten Mädchen standen einige Männer unverzüglich auf und gingen dorthin, wo der alte *Akáinix* lag. Bald brachten sie ihn herbei und legten ihn in ihre Hütte. *Akáinix* selber hielt sich andauernd genau so, als wäre er wirklich tot. Angesichts dessen bereiteten sich die andern Leute auf ein *yamalaiemáina* vor. Sämtliche Verwandten kamen hier zusammen, weinten laut und sangen mehrere Tage hindurch.

Inzwischen machten sich einige verliebte Männer an des *Akáinix* Frau und Schwestern heran. Sie begannen mit Liebeleien, waren diese Weiber doch überaus schön. Jene Männer liebkosten sie und schliefen mit ihnen. *Akáinix* lag zwar völlig regungslos da, doch beobachtete er sehr genau alles, was vorging. Mit alledem waren bald einige Tage verflossen. Da drangen schließlich jene verliebten Männer in die Mädchen und begehrten sie zu Frauen. Lange genug hatten sie bereits ihre Liebeleien mit ihnen getrieben. Des *Akáinix* Weib und Schwestern hatten sich zu allem hergegeben; sie wußten ja, *Akáinix* ist nicht tot und wird sich gründlich rächen. Jene Männer benahmen sich immer deutlicher derart, als gehörten ihnen bereits jene Frauenspersonen wie Gattinnen.

Eines Tages nun begaben sich jene verliebten Männer auf die Jagd, in den Hütten rundherum war das Fleisch bereits ausgegangen. Sie planten, nach Kormoranen auf den naheliegenden Felsen zu suchen. Ihre [weiblichen] Verwandten, die *kimpa* und *lárux*, die *ïïkuï* und *wipatux* blieben bei dem Weibe und den Schwestern des *Akáinix* zurück.

Nachdem jene Männer sich reichlich weit von der Hütte entfernt hatten, erhob sich *Akáinix* ganz unbemerkt und eilte ihnen nach. Doch schlug er eine andere Richtung ein. Er erreichte früher jene Felsen dort, auf denen die Männer nach Kormoranen jagen wollten. *Akáinix* brachte hier die vielen Vögel in Aufregung und erschreckte sie. In Mengen flogen sie auf, kreisten einige Zeit in der Luft herum und zogen dann weit hinaus auf die See. Er selber versteckte sich dort in der Nähe. Von weitem schon beobachteten jene Männer, wie alle Vögel von jenen Felsen aufflogen. Sie sagten: „Ohne Zweifel läuft dort irgend ein Mann herum; denn alle Kormorane fliegen auf, kreisen in der Luft, steigen auf und nieder und ziehen schließlich weit in die See hinaus. Wer könnte jener Mann dort wohl sein?" Inzwischen kamen sie jener Stelle nahe, doch die Kormorane schwebten weit draußen über den Wellen.

Ganz unerwartet trat *Akáinix* plötzlich aus seinem Versteck heraus und stellte sich vor die Männer. Diese erschraken sehr, als sie sich völlig unvermittelt dem *Akáinix* gegenüber sahen. Augenblicklich leuchtete allen auf, was ihnen nun widerfahren würde. *Akáinix* redete sie an: „Ihr seid wohl hierher gekom-

men, um Kormorane zu jagen? Alle Tiere sind davongeflogen. Nur dort, an jener Stelle, nicht weit vom Ufer entfernt, gibt es noch sehr viele, dicht nebeneinandergestellt. Tretet nur furchtlos ins Wasser hinein, der Meeresgrund ist flach!" Das befolgten die Männer sofort, als hätten sie alle Überlegung verloren; vor Angst und Schrecken wußten sie überhaupt nicht mehr, was sie taten. Sie schoben sich weit ins Wasser vor, um den Kormoranen ganz nahe zu kommen. Sobald sie weit genug drinnen waren, daß sie sich nur noch mühsam bewegen konnten, schwang *Akáinix* geschickt seine starke Schleuder und tötete alle Männer. So rächte er an ihnen sich selber, sein Weib und seine Schwestern.

Unverzüglich eilte er zur Hütte zurück. Hier ließ er nichts davon merken, daß er jene Männer sämtlich getötet hatte. Nach einiger Zeit fragten deren Anverwandte: „Warum bleiben denn unsere Männer so lange aus? Hast du sie vielleicht dort nahe jenem Felsen gesehen?" *Akáinix* erwiderte: „Gewiß, ich habe sie gesehen. Sie sind in die See hineingetreten, weil sie die Kormorane, die weit draußen schwammen, erreichen wollten. Geduldet euch etwas, sie werden wohl bald zurückkommen!" Lange noch warteten die Frauen wieder, aber jene Männer blieben aus. Nach einiger Zeit gelangten sie zu der Überzeugung, *Akáinix* selber hat sämtliche Männer umgebracht. Da übermannte sie der Zorn und sie gerieten in Wut; sie begannen damit, den *Akáinix* offen zu verdächtigen und ihm arg zuzusetzen. Dadurch wurde er aufgebracht und fing an, sich heftig zu verteidigen. Bald war ein gewaltiges Ringen der anwesenden Männer mit *Akáinix* im Gange. Er hatte einen schweren Stand, da seine Gegner zahlreich waren. Diese packten ihn wohl fest, waren aber außerstande, ihn umzubringen. Geraume Zeit würgten sie ihn herzhaft und waren bemüht, ihm das Genick zu brechen. Das gelang ihnen trotz höchster Anstrengung nicht, war er doch ein mächtiger *yékamuš*. Nur so viel erreichten sie, ihm das Genick und den langen Rücken tief nach unten zu biegen, daß er sich seitdem nicht mehr ganz gerade strecken und aufrichten kann. An diesem Ringen hat auch *Yáj* teilgenommen, der Sohn des *Akáinix*, und zwar verteidigte er seinen Vater. Die Männer würgten deshalb auch ihn auf gleiche Weise wie seinen Vater und auch ihm bogen sie das Rückgrat tief nach unten. Seitdem blieben *Akáinix* und sein Sohn *Yáj*[76] tief gebeugt und krumm bis auf den heutigen Tag."[77] Die Verwandten jener verliebten Männer, die der *Akáinix* umgebracht hat, bekamen aus jenem Ringen aber auch etwas mit; sie beschmutzten sich nämlich mit *lmi*, während sie den *Akáinix* würgten. Er war ja ein *yékamuš* und als solcher über und über rot bemalt, wie es üblich ist bei jedem *yékamuš*, der gestorben ist. Diese Vögel[78] tragen heute noch Schmutzflecken von roter Farbe auf ihrem Gefieder."

[76] Das ist der zweite, blasse Regenbogen, der zuweilen den hellleuchtenden begleitet

[77] Dieses eindeutige Mythenmotiv kennen auch die Selk'nam (Bd. I, 609).

[78] Sie wurden weder einzeln mit Namen aufgeführt noch anderweit bezeichnet. — Die Erzählung setzt den Zustand aller nach der großen Umwälzung voraus.

Diese Geschichte hat mir ALFREDO erzählt, als ich ganz allein bei ihm saß und gar keine Frauensperson sich in nächster Nähe befand. Eine Stelle deutet nämlich das *klna*-Geheimnis an, das vor Frauen streng gehütet wird. Später ist die gleiche Geschichte, in wenig verkürzter Form, von der alten MARY wiederholt worden; dabei blieb der kurze Hinweis auf die *klna*-Feier aus. Die Übereinstimmung der Bezeichnung *Akájnix* unserer Yamana mit *Akájnik* der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 609) ist offensichtlich, doch widmen letztere dem Regenbogen keine eigene Erzählung. BD: 15 schreibt *akajnix*, the rainbow.

a. Die Mondfrau

Man verwendet für diese mythologische Person gewöhnlich den Namen *Hánuxa*, seltener die längere und genauere Form *Hánuxégkuxipa*. Sie gilt als Gattin des *Akájnix*, als hervorragend schön und wohlgestaltet. Weder Frauen noch Männer sprechen von ihr in freundlichen Worten, am allerwenigsten letztere. Die Mondfrau übte einst einen großen Einfluß über sämtliche Weiber und durch diese auch über alle Männer aus. Jedermann mußte sich ihren Befehlen und Aufträgen fügen. Hauptsächlich kam ihre Machtstellung bei den *klna*-Geheimnissen der Frauen zur Geltung. Obwohl die *Yoálox-tárnuxipa* in damaliger Zeit einen Vorrang hatte, spielte im *klna* immer *Hánuxa* die einflußreichste Rolle. Sie war ein übelwollendes, bösartiges Weib und offensichtlich gegen alle Männer feindselig. Bis heutigentags hat sich ihr Haß gegen diese nicht gelegt.

Über ihre Kinder äußerten meine Gewährsmänner keine genau übereinstimmende Ansicht. Der alte WHAITS erzählte 1919 ganz kurz: „*Hánuxa* hat insgesamt drei Söhne besessen, die ihr bald nacheinander gestorben sind.[79] Heute stehen sie dort oben in der Nähe der Mondscheibe. Keiner der heutigen Yamana kennt mehr ihre Namen." Da jener Alte blind ist, konnte er mir die erwähnten Sterne nicht zeigen. Im folgenden Jahre erfuhr ich von MAÏZMIKENS: „*Hánuxa* erfreute sich nur eines einzigen Sohnes. Gleich seiner Mutter war dieser überragend stattlich und wohlgestaltet. Sehr früh schon starb er. Aus Schmerz über diesen schweren Verlust machte sich *Hánuxa* zahlreiche kleine Einschnitte ins Gesicht, so daß viel Blut floß. Deshalb sieht man sie vereinzelt heutigentags noch über und über rot gefärbt, ein Zeichen ihrer Trauer.[80] Jener ihr Sohn wurde zu einem Stern, niemand kennt seinen Namen."

Zu meiner Überraschung und abweichend von der Mehrzahl der Alten vertrat WHAITS die Meinung, daß *Hánuxa* die große Überschwemmung verursacht habe. Er sagte: „Wenn *Hánuxa* über und über rot gefärbt erscheint,

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[79] Er meinte nicht das eigentliche Sterben, sondern ein Verlassen der bisherigen Daseinsweise auf dieser Erde und das daran sich anschließende Weiterleben am sichtbaren Himmelszelt.

[80] Zwei bekannte Ausdrucksformen der Trauer werden hier aufgeführt, nämlich flache Einschnitte in die Haut und Bemalung. Ersteres standen bei den früheren Geschlechtern in höherer Geltung als bei den Yamana der Neuzeit.

gibt sie zu verstehen, daß sie wieder einmal über die Menschen sehr erzürnt ist" und abermals eine große Überschwemmung androht. Deshalb geraten alle Yamana angesichts dieses Zeichens in großen Schrecken." Indes nannten andere für jene Erscheinung den vorher erwähnten Grund und betonten, jener Alte habe sich geirrt; allerdings sei tatsächlich die große Flut im Anschluß an die allgemeine Umwälzung in *Yáiuaiágu* hereingebrochen und die Mondfrau habe dabei eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt.

Männer und Frauen erklären übereinstimmend die Mondphasen als Ablauf der Schwangerschaft: „Erst, wenn *Hánuxu* sehr dünn und mager ist [beginnender Mond], empfängt sie eine Tochter. Dieses Kind wächst langsam in ihrem Leibe heran und wird schließlich ganz groß [Vollmond]. Nun wird das Kind geboren. Seitdem also verringert sich wieder der Körperumfang der Mondfrau, sie wird fortlaufend magerer, kränklicher und schwächer [abnehmender Mond]. Schließlich stirbt sie und ist seitdem nicht mehr sichtbar. nun aber wächst langsam die neugeborene Tochter heran. Auch diese empfängt und alles Weitere läuft dann bei ihr genau so wie bei ihrer Mutter ab."

Zwei Frauen haben mir die Mondphasen ein wenig anders gedeutet: „Langsam, wie jedes Kind, wächst auch *Hánuxu* heran, ganz langsam. Sie ist noch jung, deshalb klein und mager. Allmählich erreicht sie die Körperfülle einer erwachsenen Frau. Nun empfängt sie eine Tochter, die sie unter ihrem Herzen trägt [Vollmond]. Von da an nimmt sie ständig an Körperkraft ab, wird immer schwächer [abnehmender Mond], ja schließlich so mager, daß sie ihrem Lebensende nahekommt. Nun gibt sie ihrer Tochter das Leben. Weil sie gebiert, macht sie sich unnahbar und entzieht sich den Blicken der Menschen. Bald stirbt sie selbst. Aber ihre Tochter beginnt zu leben und zu wachsen, sie entwickelt sich genau so, wie ihre Mutter es getan. Vereinzelt steigt dieses Mondkind *Hánuxu-yéglan* auf diese Erde herunter. Niemandem wird es sichtbar, ausgenommen den *yékamui*. Diese sind auch imstande wahrzunehmen, wenn es nach seiner bestimmten Art schreit und weint." Entsprechend dieser Deutung sind die Erscheinungen des Neumondes eine fortlaufende Geschlechterfolge und der Wechsel des Einzelmondes ist der Werdegang einer Mutter.[82]

Von den Kindern des Elternpaares Regenbogen *Akáinix* und Mondfrau *Hánuxéguxipu* oder von dessen Vorfahren erzählen die Yamana weiter nichts. Sie betonen nur, daß dieses Paar bei der ersten Einwanderung gleichzeitig mit den anderen Familien hierher aus dem Osten gekommen ist.

c. *Die Sintflut*

Mehrmals ist schon auf eine allgemeine Überschwemmung hingewiesen worden, von der jeder Erwachsene eine gute Kenntnis hat. Diesem Umstande ist es wohl zuzuschreiben, daß sich in den Mitteilungen einiger Misionare

[82] Diese Anschauung wiederholt sich genau bei den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 681).

schwache Andeutungen dieses Glaubens finden. Bei Gutes (g): 54 liest man: „Creen en una época de grandes mareas y cuando las aguas cubrían buena parte del país, llegó flotando una caja y se detuvo en la cima de una alta montaña. Esa caja contenía una pareja de fueguinos, pequeños, completamente iguales a los de hoy, la que procreó hombres muy grandes, y más tarde, estos gigantes procrearon, otra vez, gente chica, igual a los fueguinos actuales. Entonces estalló una disputa entre los grandes y los chicos, matando y destruyendo estos últimos a aquéllos, y quedando, así, sólo la raza que hoy conocemos. Se ve, pues, que estas tribus . . . tienen la idea de un diluvio." Abgesehen von dem bloßen Hinweis auf eine allgemeine Überschwemmung, kann ich für diese ganze Angabe nur starkes Mißtrauen aufbringen; denn ähnliche Vorstellungen sind mir dort nicht begegnet. Verläßlicher drückt sich Bridges (a): 211 aus: „They have a tradition of the flood . . . Their tradition of the deluge is very whimsical and indistinct. The sun was submerged in the sea, the waters rose tumultuously, and all lands were submerged, save a lofty mountain where a few individuals had taken shelter." Nach Martial: 213 erklären sich die Yamana jene allgemeine Überschwemmung „par la chute du soleil dans la mer; celle-ci s'est retirée depuis et n'a laissé, comme trace de son passage sur la terre, qu'un petit lac que l'on voit encore dans les environs d'Ushuaia. La véracité du fait est suffisamment établie à leurs yeux par la présence d'ossements de baleine trouvés autrefois dans ce lac, qui est actuellement à 10 m environ audessus du niveau de la mer. La conservation de l'espèce humaine a été assurée par la fuite d'un homme et d'une femme, qui auraient trouvé, avec leur pirogue, un refuge sur une haute montagne." Wertvoll ist in dieser Darstellung, daß die Sintflut im Zusammenhange mit der allgemeinen Umwälzung dasteht, mag diese Verbindung noch so undeutlich durchscheinen. Sugar Spears: 76 weiß zu berichten: „They had a tradition that in by-gone years a great flood raised the waters to the level of certain lines on the mountains, to which they point the traveller." Wirklich, gewisse Zeichen an einigen Bergspitzen, die unsere Yamana als Überbleibsel von jener allgemeinen Überschwemmung her deuten, erinnern sie selber immer wieder an die alte Mythe und sie sprechen darüber mit jedem, den sie auf ihre Berge hinweisen. Mehrmals habe ich persönlich das erlebt und bin dabei mit den Grundgedanken jener Erzählung vertraut gemacht worden.

Der alte Wrayto hat als erster mir 1919 erzählt: „Die große Flut hat die Mondfrau *Hámapa* verursacht. Das war zur Zeit der allgemeinen Umwälzung in *Yájnalége*. *Hámapa* war voller Haß gegen die Menschen, am meisten gegen die Männer, die sich des *kina* der Frauen bemächtigt hatten. Damals ertranken alle Leute, ausgenommen jene wenigen, die sich auf fünf Bergspitzen retten konnten, über die das Wasser nicht hinausragte. Kaum hatte sich die große Flut verlaufen, stiegen jene wenigen Leute von den Bergspitzen an den

[*] Die Teil'nam (Bd. I, 681) wissen mehr von der Mondfrau zu erzählen. In bedeutsamen Einzelheiten weichen ihre Ansichten von dem ab und in anderen stimmen sie mit dem überein, was ich bei unseren Yamana erfahren habe.

Strand unserer Kanäle herunter und unser Land bevölkerte sich von neuem." In dieser Darstellung ließen verläßlichere Gewährsmänner den Hinweis nicht gelten, die große Flut wäre durch die Mondfrau verursacht worden.

Trotzdem spricht eine andere Variante, die COJAZZI: 105 aufgezeichnet hat, deutlich dafür: „Una tribù di Yagan presso Ushuaia racconta che una volta la luna cadde nel mare, motivo per cui l'acqua s'innalzò tanto che solo la cima di un monte emerse, sopra la quale gli uomini ed animali più lesti si salvarono. Quando poi la luna tornò in cielo, le acque si riabbassorono ed allora quegli uomini ed animali, discesi dalla montagna, trovarono nella laguna sottostante una balena morta, di cui si cibarono." An diese schließt er noch eine andere Fassung an: „Questa leggenda è variata alquanto da altri Yagan all'ovest di Harberton. Alcuni uomini ed animali non si salvarono sulla cima di un monte, ma sopra l'isola Cable la quale, staccatasi dal fondo del mar, andò galleggiando come una grande barca,[52] fino a che, quando la luna ritornò in cielo, si radicò di nuovo al suo fondo marino."

Im Januar 1920 habe ich von ALFREDO, CHARLIN und RICHARD, im Beisein einiger junger Männer, folgende Fassung erfahren: „Die sehr empfindliche *Lêxuwakîpa*[53] fühlte sich durch die Menschen beleidigt. Aus Rache ließ sie sehr viel Schnee fallen. Eine ungeheure Eismasse überdeckte schließlich die ganze Erde. Als diese dann zu schmelzen begann, gab es so viel Wasser, daß die Erde vollständig überschwemmt wurde. Jenes Weib trug sich mit der Absicht, die ganze Welt und alle Menschen zugrunde zu richten. Die Vereisung vollzog sich gerade zur Zeit der allgemeinen Umwälzung in *Yáiaŭága*, als die Männer ihren Kampf gegen die Weiber führten und sich des *kina* bemächtigten. — Vgl. hierzu: *Lêxuwakîpa wátuwa* auf S. 1232.

Nach jener Vereisung wurde die ganze Erde überschwemmt. Das ungeheure Wasser stieg ständig und schnell an. Alle Leute eilten zu ihren Kanus und setzten sich hinein, sie wollten sich retten. Das Wasser stieg immer höher, erreichte sogar die Bergspitzen und überdeckte eine nach der andern. Schließlich ragten nur noch fünf Bergspitzen über die große Flut hinaus. Außerordentlich schnell kam die gewaltige Überschwemmung und schlug hohe Wellen, deshalb konnten die Leute sich nicht mit Nahrung versehen: viele erreichten nicht einmal ihr Kanu und fast alle Menschen gingen in der ungeheuren Flut unter. Unbeschreiblich war die Not allerorten. Wer nicht zeitig genug in sein Kanu flüchten und sich an geschützter Stelle festhalten konnte, für den gab es keine Rettung.

Glücklich waren jene Leute, die mit ihren Kanus eine jener fünf Bergspitzen erreichten, die über alles Wasser hinausragten. Dort fanden sie Sicherheit. Jene Bergspitzen sind [1] *Uïláka* in der heutigen Bahía Packsaddle, an der Peninsula Hardy. Hoch oben sieht man noch breite Querstreifen, die anzeigen, bis zu welcher Höhe die große Flut von damals hinaufgereicht hat. [2] *Wêmar'waja*, gegenüber der Isla O'Brien. Hier gewahrt man einen Ein-

[52] Hier wiederholt sich ein Motiv, das früher in OUTES (g): 54 erwähnt worden ist (S. 1154).
[53] Gemeint ist der kräftige, rostbraune Brillenibis, Theristicus melanopis.

schnitt, der um den ganzen Felsen herumreicht. Er ist dadurch entstanden, daß man hier viele Kanus anfänglich festgebunden hatte, von denen fast alle trotzdem zugrunde gegangen sind. [3] *Aywáratulêru*, in einem verborgenen Winkel des Estero Ponsonby. An dieser Stelle steckt heutigentags noch ein dicker Pfahl, an dem damals einige Kanus angebunden waren. Dieser dicke Pfahl ist zu Stein geworden; denn sehr lange schon ist es her, daß er dort steht. [4] *Wêlalánux*, auf Isla Gable. Die hohe Spitze dort ragte früher weiter hinauf. Da starke Wellen andauernd gegen sie anschlagen, ist sie beträchtlich niedriger geworden. [5] *Piatulêru*, zwei steile Anhöhen zu beiden Seiten der Mündung des Rio Douglas. Heute weisen sie nicht mehr die gleiche Höhe wie damals auf, als die große Überschwemmung alles Land bedeckte.

Nachdem jene gewaltige Flut ihren höchsten Anstieg erreicht hatte, daß eben nur noch die genannten fünf Spitzen herausragten, hielt sich das Wasser auf dieser Höhe durch ganze zwei Tage. Danach fiel es schnell ab und verlief sich. Nur wenigen Familien war es geglückt, sich zu retten: fast sämtliche Yamana ertranken. Nachdem die große Flut sich verlaufen hatte, begannen jene wenigen Leute damit, wieder ihre Hütten am Strande aufzurichten. Seit jener Zeit befehlen die Männer den Frauen."

Nachdem ich diese Geschichte erfahren hatte, kam ich am folgenden Tage mit ALFREDO nochmals auf den gleichen Gegenstand zu sprechen und fragte bestimmt: „Wer hat denn die ungeheuren Wassermassen geschickt? Verfügte die *Lêxuwakipa* wirklich über solch ausgedehnte Macht?" Der Alte erwiderte bestimmt und überzeugt: „Eigentlich war es der starke *Watuyinéixu*, der die allgemeine Überflutung hat kommen lassen; ihn hat die *Lêxuwakipa* dazu bewogen. Letztere wünschte die ganze Welt zugrunde zu richten. Jedenfalls hat sie es bei *Watuyinéixu* erreicht, daß die große Flut hereingebrochen ist."

Hier sei eingefügt, daß ich bei dieser Gelegenheit nichts Näheres über die Person des *Watuyinéixu* erfahren konnte. Auffällig zaghaft ist mir dieser Name bekanntgegeben worden, gleichsam als wäre er meinem Gewährsmanne unbewußt und wider Willen entschlüpft; er verweigerte mir jeden weiteren Aufschluß, trotz wiederholter Bitten. Später gab ich mir über dieses seltsame Verhalten volle Rechenschaft. Damals aber, unter dem Eindruck der verdutzten Gesichter, als der Name *Watuyinéixu* gefallen war, verlor ich in etwa die Fassung; ich konnte nicht begreifen, aus welchem Grunde ALFREDO mir weitere Erklärungen vorenthielt. So glaubte ich schließlich, die Sintflutgeschichte wäre den Yamana von einem Missionar übermittelt worden und ihre Unsicherheit in biblischen Dingen mir gegenüber hätte jene Verlegenheit bei ihnen bewirkt, die ich in ihrer aller Mienen las. Diese Deutung vermerkte ich auch getreulich in meinem Tagebuche. Später schwanden meine Zweifel in dieser Sache. Im besonderen für die Ursprünglichkeit der Sintflutmythe spricht, daß weder ALFREDO noch MAÍZMIKENS mit irgendeiner Missionsstation eine nennenswerte Fühlung hatten. Letzterer hat mir zwei Jahre später, nämlich 1922, den ganzen Inhalt jener Flutsage, wie ich sie soeben

dargelegt habe, bestätigt. Allerdings hat er seinerseits einen unmittelbaren Einfluß des *Watayinéjwa* auf die allgemeine Überflutung nicht offen ausgesprochen, ihn aber als einen mittelbaren zugegeben.

In einem einheitlichen Wortlaut haben die Yamana die alte Sintflutmythe nicht aufbewahrt, obwohl am Grundgedanken nichts geändert wurde. Den Zustand einer gewissen Unsicherheit hat auch FRED LAWRENCE erkannt und mir einmal erklärt, daß diese Mythe, wie er es seit seiner Kindheit beobachten konnte, niemals von den einzelnen Personen übereinstimmend und nach einheitlichem Wortlaut wiedergegeben worden ist. Kleinere Abweichungen traten immer wieder auf. Er selber ist deswegen noch nicht darüber zur Klarheit gelangt, ob der allgemeine Brand, bei dem der alte Sonnenmann der Erde näher war und alles in Flammen aufgehen ließ, und die große Überschwemmung zeitlich in etwa zusammenfallen. Auf die Selk'nam sei vergleichshalber hingewiesen (Bd. I, 625). Sie besitzen ebenfalls eine Sintflutmythe, die in den Grundgedanken mit dieser übereinstimmt, jedoch in einigen Teilen nicht klar ist.

9. *Herkunft dieser Persönlichkeiten*

Die Mythen sprechen es ganz deutlich aus, daß die ersten Besiedler des heutigen Yamana-Gebietes als erwachsene Leute eingewandert sind. Über ihren wirklichen Ursprung indes, d. h. über ihren Ausgangspunkt und über die Art ihres Entstehens sagen sie nichts. Das eigentliche Gebären wurde erst durch *Ygálox* eingeführt und seitdem gibt es wirkliche Menschen. Wie aber jene ersten Heroen oder Vormenschen entstanden sind, davon haben die Yamana keine klare Vorstellung. Um so bestimmter aber treffen sie eine deutliche Unterscheidung zwischen jenen beiden Gruppen.

Als ich eines Tages den erfahrenen MAÏRWIKENS befragte, wie wohl jene Persönlichkeiten von damals auf die Welt gekommen wären, erwiderte er mir nach einer beträchtlichen Pause ernsten Nachdenkens: „Es ist nicht das erste Mal, daß ich vor dieser Frage stehe. Als junger Mann bin ich zum *kina* zugelassen worden; dort hat man mir [durch die Umwälzungsmythe] offenbart, wie alle Tiere geworden sind. Seitdem habe ich dann und wann mich selber und auch andere, vor allem die berühmten *yékamal* und erfahrene Greise gefragt; doch keiner wußte mir Antwort zu geben, wie jene Leute [die nachher sich in Tiere umgewandelt haben] entstanden und warum sie hierher gekommen sind. Also bin ich darüber bis heute noch nicht im klaren, obwohl ich selber lange nachgedacht und oft nach Antwort auf diese Frage gesucht habe. In jener Zeit hat ja auch *Táxwulóm* die ganze Welt und alle Tiere verbrannt. Wie aber nachher alles wieder in Ordnung gekommen ist, wie das Land sich neu mit Pflanzen und Tieren belebt hat, wer schließlich das große Feuer gelöscht hat — das alles wissen wir nicht. Mehrmals habe ich in früheren Jahren darüber die am meisten erfahrenen Yamana befragt, keiner war imstande mir zu helfen."

Bei einer anderen Gelegenheit, im März 1923, kam ich im Kreise alter

Männer wieder darauf zu sprechen, wie nach ihrer Ansicht die Heroen und die ersten Tiere entstanden wären. „Ihr erzählt", so forderte ich sie förmlich heraus, „daß Watmindjaw allen Getier (Mi) in Tätigkeit gesetzt habe. Gut, aber wie sind die Menschen damals geworden?" Man gab mir zur Antwort: „Wir wissen das nicht genau. Sehr lange Zeit zurück war selbstverständlich Watmindjaw da; denn es war ja der Himmel da und zwar über der Erde, dort wo die Wolken sind. Dort hat sich Watmindjaw immer aufgehalten. Als *Lôn* und *Hômaya* und *Akôjaiz* noch hier unten auf der Erde wandelten, waren sie selber damals genau so wie wir Menschen von heute. Vor ihnen war aber schon Watmindjaw da, weil es bereits jenen Himmelsmann gab, das wir dort oben sehen. In jener Zeit stand das Himmelsmann der Erde hier unten viel näher als heutzutage.

In jener Zeit herrschten die Weiber; denn sie befehligten die Männer. Wie aber damals die Kinder entstanden sind, das wissen wir nicht. Weil nämlich jene Weiber die führende Rolle innehatten, legten sie sich nicht unter die Männer [ad copulam perficiendam]. So wissen wir nicht, auf welche Weise die Kinder entstanden sind. Seit jener großen Umwälzung unterstehen die Frauen den Männern. Damals hat der große Seehäs *ôjdwa* (Acrocephalus australis) die Stelle [am Körper] entdeckt, an der sich die Shôda-vexanda findet; und diese hat er den Männern bekannt gegeben. Er sagte: „Wir invalidam immittat membrum suum mulieri surrahat!" Seitdem also die Männer über die Frauen befehligen, legen sich jene auf diese, sie empfinden große Lust und so entstehen Kinder. In gleicher Weise verhalten sich die Yamana auch heute noch. Wie aber *Lôn* und die *Hômaya* und alle übrigen, die jetzt als Sterne dort oben stehen, entstanden sind, das wissen wir nicht. Lange vorher war Watmindjaw und auch das Himmelsmann da.

Bei jener großen Umwälzung, in der sich die Männer gegen die Frauen erhoben, die das *kina*-Spiel aus dem Norden hierher mitgebracht hatten, stieg *Lôn* mit allen anderen seiner Familie zu den Himmel hinauf, wo sie heute noch stehen. In dieser Zeit hat ein Weib versucht, ob sie eine *Hagôlla* werden und sich umwandeln könnte. Lange bemühte sie sich und schließlich gelang es ihr. Seitdem hält sie sich unter der Erde auf. Wie ihr das gelungen ist, können wir nicht erklären. Seitdem hat man jenes Weib noch viele andere *Hagôlla* hervorgebracht und zwar jedesmal, wenn sie mit einem Manne schlief. Sie selber wählte sich einen jener Männer aus, mit dem sie zu schlafen wünschte, erregte ihn [Shôdiaz-vexanda] und so entstand ein Kind."

Diese Darstellung beweist deutlich einen Unterschied zwischen jenen Persönlichkeiten, die als erste Bewohner der Kap Hoorn-Gegend aufgetreten, und den eigentlichen Yamana, die auf sie gefolgt sind. Die Entstehung der ersteren kennen unsere Feuerländer nicht. Seitdem der Sitz der Shôda-vexanda und die Vereinigung der Geschlechter per copulam entdeckt worden ist, vollzieht sich die Empfängnis und das Gebären, es entstehen Kinder und das sind die eigentlichen Menschen, die als solche getrennt von den früheren Heroenpersönlichkeiten dastehen und eine spätere Bevölkerung in dieser Gegend bilden.

2. Die Kulturbringer

Bezeugt nur ist der Inhalt der Wahrsprüche, die die oben eingelegten Mythen enthalten. Weit mehr unterhalten sich die Yaigua darüber, wie im einzelnen ihre eigene Lebensform und ihr dingfeiner Besitz entstanden geworden sind. Außerordentlich bedeutsame Erfindungen und wichtige Regeln für das Gemeinschaftsleben, welche die Eigenart dieser Familienbilder begründen, führt man auf die Yaiñay-Familie zurück, deren Mitglieder im vollsten Wortsinne als Kulturbringer anerkannt worden scheinen. Der Jüngste in dieser Familie tritt hervor und wirkt einflußreicher als seine Geschwister.

Im allgemeinen sind die Yaigua stolz auf die Yaiñay-Familie, weil sie Großes geleistet und vieles geschaffen hat. Eine beliebte Persönlichkeit ist der jüngere Yaiñay nicht, er wird im Kreise der Erwachsenen bewußt nur selten erwähnt. Die Jugend macht man mit ihm erst dann vertraut, wenn sie herangereift ist. Ausführlich wird dem ältesten im Alter von dieser Familie erzählt. Dabei gebrauchte man beispielsweise die Wendung „Wie wir Yaigua uns verhalten sollen [gewisse eind die überlieferten Lebensgewohnheiten und Sittenvorschriften], hat Yaiñay uns vorgeschrieben!" Mit diesen Worten will man kennzeichnen, wie einflußreich seiner Person und wie bedeutsam sein ist, was er eingeführt hat. Man stellt ihn einhellig hin als den Überbringer der Bestimmungen, die Wesentliches selber für die Yaigua erlassen hat. Allerdings wirkt sich diese Vorschrift im praktischen Leben nicht merklich aus. Die Wahrsprüche erfahren von ihm unmittelbar die Hinweise (S. 758). Die vielfältige Rolle der Yaiñay-Geschichten wiederholt man im Sinne.

Angesichts dessen befremdet es nicht, daß frühere Reisende über diese mythologischen Persönlichkeiten kein Wort erfahren haben. Einzig Sievers 101 wurden sehr knappe Andeutungen gemacht: „Yaiñak, a Yaghan, was a woman who invented arrow-heads. Two brothers and a sister. Brothers used to kill seal with painted stick. Sister thought and invented arrow-head. Sister saw day past arrow-head at end of spear. When she died, Yiañak went up to heaven, and is now a star." In längeren Aussprachen mit den Älteren Männern habe ich das erfahren, was ich nach freier, eigener Anordnung hier folgen lasse. Frauen vermochten es aus bestimmter Abneigung, von ihm zu sprechen.

a. *Die Yaiñay-Familie*

Im einstimmigen Urteile der Yaigua stehen die beiden Brüder Yaiñay als ganz überragende Persönlichkeiten da, als außerordentlich klug und in jeder Hinsicht geschickt, mit reichen Erfindungsgaben ausgestattet und voller Tätigkeitsdrang. All das gilt weit mehr für den jüngeren Yaiñay, der seinen älteren Bruder in allem und jedem sogar noch überteffe. „Ihre ältere Schwester, die Yaiñay-Ahwaiñay war eigentlich die allerklügste Person. Sie führte großen Einfluß auf ihre beiden Brüder aus und stand ihnen in allem bei, denn sie war beschlagen und sehr geschickt, in allen Dingen hervorragend tüchtig. Zu ihnen gehörten noch zwei Schwestern (S. 1176): sie-

mand erinnert sich zwar ihrer Namen, noch dessen, was sie geleistet haben." Auch erwähnt man ihrer alter Mutter (S. 1182), nicht aber eigens den Vater.

Bei wiederholten Gelegenheiten wurde mir nachdrücklich versichert, die *Ypálay*-Familie „sind die ersten Menschen." Weiter oben (S. 1144) wurde schon einmal von einer ersten Besiedlung gesprochen. Sie umfaßt Wesen, die zu Geistern und zu Tieren geworden sind. Wenn hier abermals von "ersten Menschen" gesprochen wird, so will man damit nur zum Ausdruck bringen, daß die *Ypálay* eben vor dem Zeitalter der eigentlichen Menschen dagewesen sind. Diese *Ypálay* gelten selber nicht als Menschen im strengen Wortsinne, dennoch fehlt ihnen eine Verbindung mit den Persönlichkeiten, die sich um *Lóm* gruppieren. Das vorausgegangene Zeitalter erscheint gleichsam als abgeschlossen und die *Ypálay* ihrerseits eröffnen mit ihrem Auftreten eine neuartige Daseinsweise als Vorbereitung für die der eigentlichen, wirklichen Menschen.

Dann erzählt man weiter: „Die *Ypálay*-Familie hat lange Wanderungen durch die weite Welt vollendet, bis sie endlich hierher kam, wo wir Yamana heute leben. Hier nun begannen sie mit vielerlei Arbeiten. Als bald die [eigentlichen] Menschen auftraten, die hier [an Ort und Stelle] geboren wurden, da lernten die *Ypálay* sie an, wie sie sich in allem einrichten, wie sie sich gegenseitig verhalten, wie sie miteinander verkehren sollten. Auch zeigten die *Ypálay* den Leuten allerlei Gerätschaften und Gebrauchsgegenstände, Waffen und Werkzeuge und lehrten sie, alle diese Dinge erfolgreich zu handhaben. Sie waren ja sehr fähige Männer, deshalb erfanden sie die verschiedenen Waffen und Handwerkzeuge, deren wir uns bis heutigentags beim Jagen und Fischen, beim Sammeln und Töten der Tiere bedienen. Sie zeigten auch, wie man die Tiere im Wasser und auf dem Lande erreicht, die großen Wale und Seelöwen, die Fischotern und Fischer, die vielen Vögel, die Schalentiere und Krustentiere, wie man ihnen das Fell abzieht und es gebrauchsfähig macht, wie man das Fleisch verwertet und zubereitet. Alles das haben die *Ypálay* erfunden und den Menschen mitgeteilt. Am geschickesten war die *Ypálay*-Grenzpfeife und der jüngere Bruder übertraf wieder bei weitem den älteren. An ihnen schon läßt sich erweisen, daß ein jüngerer Bruder oft schlauer und fähiger ist, als sein älterer Bruder."

Über die hier geäußerte Personenbeschreibung sind alle Yamana einer völlig übereinstimmenden Meinung. Die Erzählungen, die man sich anschließen, behandelt fast jeder erwachsene Yamana mehr oder weniger gut.

β. Die Erfindung des Feuers

Man erzählt: Einst hatte sich der ältere *Ypálay* viele kleine Steine zusammengetragen und unterhielt sich damit, diese gegeneinander zu schlagen. Auch ein guter Ignáll (S. 392) befand sich darunter. Als er diesen gegen einen anderen Stein schlug, sprang ein kleiner Funke heraus. Überrascht dadurch, schlug er nacheinander jene Steine gegeneinander und jedesmal sprangen

Funken kommen. Eilig griff er nach einer Handvoll ganz trockener Dornzweige. Diese legte er auf die Erde. Abermals begann er damit, aus dem Igelfell einen Funken herauszuholen. Er stellte sich dicht und schlug in bestimmter Richtung, daß der Funke in die Dornzweige sprang. Diese begannen zu glimmen, entzündeten sich und bald schlug eine kleine Flamme hoch. Nun holte Ygdiny schnell Reisig und Holz herbei und legte alles dazu. So entstand ein großes Feuer. Es wärmte gar angenehm. Währenddessen empfand es Ygdiny, dieselben zusammen zu stoßen und mehrere dieselben zu schlagen. Auch für vielen anderen erwies sich das Feuer als kostbarer: es half, das Fleisch zu braten, die Felle zu trocknen, Stachelmäuse und Igel zu fangen oder gerade zu rösten.

Hoch erfreut rief der Greise Ygdiny aus: „Das Feuer ist wirklich unerhörbar wohltuend und schafft sehr viel. Lasset uns es unbeschwert bewahren, daß es nie erlöschen. Einmal angezündet, soll es sich von selber ständig unterhalten, damit die Menschen es allerlei benützen können. Sie sollen sich nicht anzustrengen brauchen, es jedesmal [in jedem Notfalle] neu anzufachen oder es umständlich mit Holz zu speisen!" Diese Worte vernahm der jüngere Ygdiny und sie verwirrten ihn in Nachdenkenung. Ihm gefiel durchaus nicht, was sein älterer Bruder plante. Er erwiderte ihm sogleich: „Mit dem, was du wünschest, bin ich nicht einverstanden. Viel besser ist es, die Menschen müssen sich anstrengen. Jeder soll sich selbst um das Feuer kümmern und es sorgsam hüten. Was ein jeder von neuem das Feuer anfachen, wenn er es hat ausgehen lassen. Die Menschen sollen arbeiten!" Sogleich griff er nach einem langen Stocken, steckte damit in der Glut herum und streute die glimmenden Holzkohlen umherumher. Bald erlosch das ganze Feuer. Seitdem erlischt jedes Feuer sozusagen, das nicht ständig und sorgfältig unterhalten wird. Jedenfalls ist eine gewaltsame zu erlöschen.

Ygdiny belehrte die Menschen darüber, wie sie ein Feuer mit dem Igelfell entzündeten, wie sie es anfachten und unterhalten müssen. Wenn erlöschen das Feuer einmal ausgeht, der muß mit viel Anstrengung es abermals anzünden. Ygdiny wollte eben alle Menschen zwingen, das Feuer mit unablässiger Wachsamkeit zu hüten; wer es dennoch frühen Tiefe, dem erlischt es und er sieht sich gezwungen, mühsam ein neues Feuer anzufachen und es zu unterhalten.

9. *Die Jagd nach Vögeln*

Die Tsemsen erzählen: Die beiden Ygdiny gingen so oft auf die Jagd, als ihnen Fleisch zur Nahrung fehlte. Sie töteten die Vögel regelmäßig mit ihrer Schleuder. Das allen war dem älteren Ygdiny zu beschwerlich und er empfand es immer als sehr lästig. Eines Tages sagte er zu seinem Bruder: „Mir würde es besser gefallen, wir töten die Vögel allein mit dem bloßen Blick, nämlich Augen; ein Vogel, der scharf angeschaut wird, muß sofort tot niederfallen. So sei es denn: Wer Fleisch von einem Vogel nötig hat, richte scharf seine Augen auf ihn und dieser sei damit getötet! Jedenfalls kann auf

diesen Weise erhielten seine Beute erlangen und sie nach Hause tragen?" Unverzüglich machte der Weise Tyaliny einen Versuch. Eines Tages steigt Vogel verfolgen. Auf diesem erhielten er seinen scharfen Blick und erkannten gleichzeitig, daß sie tot am Boden lagen. Wirklich, es geschah so; alle diese Vögel erlitten unpassbarlich tot von den ab. Hierüber lernte sich der Weise Tyaliny wollen und sagte: „Kämpfigkeit soll es immer so sein und auch die Menschen werden wie dieselben unterscheiden. Wer einen Vogel anstreicht, damit dieser fahren tut unterhalten, der soll dabei immer erfolgreich sein! Wir sagenen nun auf solche Weise viele Bilder und Beschwerden, die langwierigen Schmerz und tödliche Gefahren." Diese Worte lassen den jüngeren Tyaliny zu Ohren. Sehr erfüllt den der Plan seines Herren Bruders und angehaltene widerstreiten er sich. Er entgegnete ihm: „Viel vorteilhafter ist es für die Menschen, sie bringen sich Waffen und Geschwaderen an und stehen damit bisweilen auf die Jagd. Sie sollen sich anstrengen und List anwenden, wenn sie Lust an die Vögel bekommeschlichen und diese überwachen, um sie zu erlegen und zu ergreifen. Es soll so sein, daß alle erhalten und sich selbst nähren können?"

Durch diese Worte seines jüngeren Bruders wurde der Weise Tyaliny sehr verstimmt, er erwiderte nichts. Am folgenden Tage machte er abermals einen Versuch, er wollte mit bloßem Blick einige Vögel töten. Eines Tag sie gesamte Schwarm über den binnen. Sofort ergriff er die Tiere frei an und erkannten, sie mitnehmen tot abziehen. Diese jedoch Tagen unbeschädigt waren. Zerstreuten und aufbrengsige schwarm den Weise Tyaliny Dann nach. Seitdem muß auch jeder Mensch viel List und Mühe aufwenden, will er auf der Jagd einen Vogel erreichen. Gar oft verwandelt die Beute den unpassbarlichen Jäger.

6. Das Erjagen der Stallbrem

Man erzählt: Der Weise Tyaliny hatte einst von seinem Herren Schwarzen einen vorzüglich angeführten Harpunen erhalten. Diese bestanden ihm wertvolle Dienste. Nie verfehlte diese Waffe das Ziel. Immer erreichten er durch sie seine Beute und jedesmal kehrte sie in seiner Hand zurück.

Eines Tages kam er wieder von der Jagd heim, beladen mit einem mächtig großen Stallbrem. Diesen hatte er zwar auf den ersten Wurf erlegt, doch war den dabei die Harpune verbrochen und verloren gegangen. Seinem jüngeren Bruder sagte der Weise Tyaliny deshalb: „Wie bequem wäre es doch, hätte ich eine Harpune von der Art, daß sie nie verloren ginge und nie zerbrechen könnte! Eigentlich sollte es so sein. Beim ersten Wurf schon sollte der Stallbrem tot umfallen und die Waffe sofort in die Hand des Jägers zurückkehren. Auf diesen Weise ersparen wir uns und den Menschen viele Mühe und Plage. Wir brauchen uns dann auch nicht eigens anzustrengen, die Harpune mühselig herzustellen. Sehen und bequem können jeder zu Speck und Fleisch vom Stallbrem; man braucht es doch den Aufwand von viel Anstrengung und List, ehe man einen Stallbrem erlegt." Der jüngere Tyaliny hatte alles angehört. Nun aber widersetzte er sich dem Vorschlag

[illegible] Blumen Bruder ganz entzückten und begeistert erwiderte er: „Ja, wie du es planst, darf es ausgeführt werden! Dein Bemühen hat es gut, daß die erhabene und sich anstrengen. Sehr entschlossen hat es, daß jedermann seiner Waffen eigenhändig bemächtigt; dessen [dieser Vorzüge] würdig es vorhanden, falls wir einen jeden Mann einer Europäer von der Art Ihrer Gelben, wie du es vorzüglich. Auch hat es sein Gewe, daß ein angeschickten, gewandelnder Jäger seiner Europäer verhindert und einhielt. Mag die Bestimmung, wenn ein Bekleiden, unbekleidetsamer Mann die Europäer schneidet. Jedermann soll sich dem anderen und anstrengen!"

Gegen dieses Wortes verwandelte der Ihrer Tyrfing sieben einzuwenden. Er erklärte es sich, daß bei beständigen einzel angeschickten Jäger die Europäer verhindert und verhinderte gebet, wenn er sicher gelernt hat, sie richtig und einhielten zu erkennen; aber sie hielte im Kleiden den Bestimmen ihrer Fleisches erstehen und er erkennen dennoch hat, wenn der Jäger sie nicht richtig genug eingeweiht hat. Wer auf dieser hat seiner Europäer eingeschickt hat, soll ihm dann wieder die Mühe aufbringen, einer anderen anzuführen.

Sobald dieserhalb die Tyrfing-Gewerkschaft dem Bleiben der beiden Tyrfing nach anderen Waffen und Gerätschaften, nämlich dem Ersten Lehrmeister, zum Bestandteil Ihnen, das erhielt Wasser zum einen Wasserschlachtfeld, den ersten Kanonenkeil. Da mit einem Seile als Kanonen (S. [illegible]), die Ersten Schlachtmühen (S. [illegible]), dem langen Schlagwurfeld abfeuert (S. [illegible]) und die zusammenzuerlernen Schlagwerkzeuge Ihre zum Vorgeführt (S. [illegible]), schließlich die übrigen Geräte. Groll war seine Freude über alle diese Dinge; denn es oft es sich Ihnen bedienen, war ihm Erfolg beschieden. Deshalb erlernten er sieben schließlich, sie daß alle diese Gerätschaften weiter verbrachten nach sich abnützen, sie sollten weiter der Hand ihrer Besitzer vergleichen, nach ihm auf andere Weise verhinderten gehen. Seine Absicht war es, es möchten den Menschen die Mühe erspart bleiben, alle Gerätschaften nach neuer herstellen zu müssen.

Diesen schönen Plänen des Ihrer Tyrfing widmeten sich seine Brüder ganz entzückten. Der jüngere Tyrfing erstaunt darauf hin, die Menschen zur Arbeit zu vergleichen. Jedem angeschickten, angeschickten Jäger sollen die Waffen verhindern und es soll ihnen verhaftig gelten, damit er lernen, geschickt zu werden; alle Gerätschaften sollen sich abnützen, damit jedermann gezwungen sei, sich neue anzuschaffen. So seien jedermann beschäftigt. Auf diesem seinem Plane lernend der jüngere Tyrfing. Ihm hielte es für beständigen einzuwirken erspart, sich mit Aufmerksamkeit und Anstrengung um alle seiner Gebrauchsgegenstände zu bemühen, sie jedesmal neu herzustellen und sie vergeblich zu behandeln. Auf sie bei und hielte er angewiesen hat der Jugend und bei seinen täglichen Beschäftigungen, er lasse sie beisammen verbleiben.

c. *Die Erfindung der Tyrfingsäge*

Man erzählt: Beide Tyrfing waren sehr geschickte Handwerker. Sie lernten je lange Wanderungen durch die Welt gemacht und dabei vielen Lernungen

lernen. Auch waren sie als erste hierher in das Gebiet der Yamana gelangt. So oblag es ihnen, die ersten Wellen und Gezeitenkräfte in derartiger Form herauszufinden und auszuprobieren, daß die eigentlichen Yamana sich ihrer mit Erfolg bedienen konnten. Ihre Schwester aber, die tüchtige Ypálay-ámanpipa überragte mit ihrem klugen Urteil und umsichtigen Blick ihre gewandten beiden Brüder noch um vieles. Sie übte einen bedeutenden Einfluß auf jedermann aus. Sie gab ihre Weisungen allen übrigen Weibern, die willig sich ihr fügten; diese wieder belehrten ihre Ehemänner derart, daß diese deren Willen in allem nachgaben. Die Schwester der beiden Ypálay war wirklich außerordentlich geschickt, sie übertraf alle Leute an klugem Einsicht, an List und Begabung. Wann immer es sich empfahl, half sie ihren beiden Brüdern und allen Frauen bei ihren Arbeiten. Dann war allen jedesmal ein guter Erfolg beschieden und ihre Unternehmungen brachten reichen Gewinn.

Eines Tages arbeiteten die beiden Brüder Ypálay an einem yékal. Obwohl sie gewandte Handwerker waren und sich den ganzen Tag abgemüht hatten, wollte ihnen die Pfeilspitze nicht recht gelingen. Zwar hatten sie ihr scharfe Kanten mit guter Schneide gegeben; aber sie vermochten nicht ausfindig zu machen, wie diese Spitze zweckmäßig am Pfeilschaft befestigt werden könnte. Die Spitze am Schaft gut zu sichern, war offensichtlich höchst bedeutsam; denn nur so erwies sich der Pfeil überhaupt als brauchbar. Die beiden Ypálay hatten nämlich die unteren Kante der Pfeilspitze abgerundet; dennoch fanden die Bekreiungsfäden keinen sicheren Anstoß und der Spitze fehlte es an genügendem Halt in der schmalen Kerbe am oberen Schaftende. Solch ein Pfeil diente zu nichts. Sie mühten sich sehr und versuchten immer wieder auf diese und jene Art, wie wohl die Pfeilspitze zweckmäßig in den Schaft eingelassen werden könnte. Eine gute Anzahl von Spitzen hatten sie bereits angefertigt und erprobt, aber mit keiner gaben sie sich zufrieden; denn einer gab sich sehr leicht heraus, eben weil sie unten abgerundet war. Mühevoll zusammenbrachten sie die vielen Pfeilspitzen in einem Körbchen und hängten es in ihrer Hütte auf.

Eines Tages waren die beiden Ypálay wieder auf Jagd ausgezogen und wollten Fleisch für ihre Nahrung erwerben. Als sie sich von ihrer Hütte schon weit entfernt hatten, nahm die Ypálay-ámanpipa jenes Körbchen mit den vielen Pfeilspitzen herunter. Ihr war es nämlich nicht entgangen, wie gänzlich erfolglos ihre beiden Brüder sich abgemüht hatten. Sie schüttete die vielen Pfeilspitzen vor sich auf den Boden hin. Eine nach der anderen griff sie auf und begann damit, sie mals neue zu bearbeiten und zu vervollkommnen, damit sie gebrauchfähig würden. An der unteren Kante schliffen sie einen ungleichmäßigen Anstoß heraus und zwar mit einer Tiefen Kerbung beiderseitig, daß die Bekreiungsfäden nicht abgleiten könnten. Eine jede der Pfeilspitzen verbesserte sie auf diese Art, legte alle in das Körbchen zurück und hängte dieses wieder an der gleichen Stelle auf. Am Abend lobten ihre beiden Brüder keine, sie aber verriet ihnen nicht, daß sie selber die vielen Pfeilspitzen vervollkommnet hatte.

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

Verdrießlich und mißgestimmt wollten die beiden *Ygálox* am andern Tage die Arbeit an ihren Pfeilspitzen wieder aufnehmen und erproben, ob sie mit dem Schaft fest verbunden werden könnten und ob sie gebrauchsfähig wären. Sie holten das Körbchen herunter und schütteten die vielen Pfeilspitzen vor sich auf den Boden hin. Ganz überrascht nahmen sie wahr, daß die Pfeilspitzen überarbeitet worden waren; denn eine jede wies unten einen scharf abgegrenzten zapfenförmigen Ansatz auf. Mit staunenden Augen betrachteten sie diese Änderung. Sogleich begannen sie damit ihre Versuche: sie setzten eine Pfeilspitze in die Kerbe oben am Schaftende und umwickelten den Ansatz mit feinen Sehnenfasern. Wirklich, jetzt saß die Spitze zuverlässig fest im Schafte und fiel nicht mehr heraus. Nun war der Pfeil gebrauchsfähig. Da rief der ältere *Ygálox* aus: „Wer hat wohl diese Pfeilspitzen überarbeitet und verwertbar gemacht?" Der jüngere *Ygálox* erwiderte ihm: „Das kann nur unsere Schwester ausgeführt haben, ist sie ja doch viel tüchtiger und geschickter als wir es sind. Ihr gelingt jedwede Arbeit. Niemand anders als sie hat diese Pfeilspitzen verbessert und gebrauchsfähig gemacht!" Der ältere *Ygálox* gab seinem Bruder darin recht: „Gewiß, so ist es, wie du sagst, unsere Schwester übertrifft uns beide an Klugheit und Geschicklichkeit. Wir werden ihr von jetzt an unsere sämtlichen Gerätschaften übergeben, damit sie uns [bei deren Herstellung und Vervollkommnung] helfe!" Über diese zweckdienlichen Pfeilspitzen freuten sich die beiden *Ygálox* noch lange.

5. *Die Erfindung der Harpunenspitze*

Es wird erzählt: Kurze Zeit darauf begannen die beiden *Ygálox* damit, aus Knochen vom Wal lange Harpunenspitzen herzustellen. Die Knochen vom Wal sind härter und länger als die von anderen Seetieren, deshalb dringen sie besser und tiefer in die Beute ein. Eine solche Spitze setzten sie auf einen langen Schaft und banden sie daran mit schmalen Lederstreifen fest. Sogleich gingen sie damit hinaus auf die Jagd und wollten diese Waffe erproben.

Als sich ein Seelöwe näherte, warfen sie mit dieser Harpune nach ihm. Das Tier aber wurde nicht getötet, sondern nur oberflächlich verwundet. Es entwischte schnell durch Untertauchen, stieg dann bald wieder auf und entfernte sich weit vom Strande; die leichte Verwundung hatte ihm gar nicht geschadet. Den beiden *Ygálox* wollte es nicht gelingen, mit ihrer Harpune auch nur einen einzigen Seelöwen zu töten. Mehrmals schon waren sie auf Jagd ausgegangen; doch jedes Tier, das von der Harpune getroffen wurde, erhielt nur eine leichte Verwundung und entwischte mühelos. Enttäuscht und ohne Beute kehrten die beiden *Ygálox* jedesmal heim. Schon so manche Harpune war ihnen verloren gegangen. Wurde nämlich ein Seelöwe getroffen, blieb die Harpune locker in seiner Körperoberfläche stecken und er schwamm mit ihr davon. All ihr Bemühen auf solchen Jagden blieb erfolglos, die Harpunen erwiesen sich als ungeeignet.

Verstimmt wegen der vielen ergebnislosen Anstrengungen entschlossen

sich die beiden *Ygálox* eines Tages, ihre ältere Schwester zu befragen. Sie sagten zu ihr: „Weswegen liegt es wohl, daß unsere Harpune zwar den Seelöwen erreicht und die Spitze in seinen Körper eindringt, daß sie aber ihm nur eine unansehnliche Wunde beibringt? Es gelingt uns nicht, ihn vollständig zu töten und deshalb bekommen wir ihn nie in unsere Hände. Seit vielen Tagen kehren wir jedesmal ohne Beute heim!" Darauf erwiderte die kluge, einsichtsvolle *Ygálox-tárnuxipa*: „Bringt mir eine eurer Harpunenspitzen her, ich möchte sie einmal gründlich anschauen." Sofort holten sie eine Knochenspitze herbei und zeigten sie ihr. Sie nahm dieselbe entgegen und betrachtete sie genau. Dieses Stück lief zwar sehr spitz aus und trug am anderen Ende einen passenden Ansatz zur Befestigung, genau so wie bei der Pfeilspitze, welche die *Ygálox-tárnuxipa* verbessert hatte; deshalb war die Harpunenspitze auch in die Kerbe am oberen Schaftende sicher eingelassen und fest verschnürt. Aber die beiden Seiten der langen Knochenspitze waren glatt von oben bis unten. Da arbeitete jetzt die *Ygálox-tárnuxipa* auf der einen Seite einen großen, spitzen Zahn heraus. Nachdem ihr das gelungen war, betrachtete sie diese Knochenspitze mit voller Genugtuung. Sogleich band sie ihren Schamschurz *maiskána* (S. 406) los und schnitt davon einen langen Lederstreifen ab. Das eine Ende davon verknotete sie am unteren Ansatz der Knochenspitze, legte dann den folgenden Teil des Lederstreifens seitlich dem Schafte an und band ihn unten fest; den langen, freien Teil rollte sie auf (Abb. 35). Nun zeigte sie ihren Brüdern, wie sie diese Harpune handhaben müßten: Die rechte Hand faßt die Harpune etwa in der Mitte des Schaftes und die linke Hand hält locker den langen freien Teil des Lederriemens. *Ygálox-tárnuxipa* machte es ihren Brüdern vor, wie diese Harpune zu fassen sei. Dann sagte sie ihnen: „Beginnt jetzt damit, ihre Proben!"

Die beiden *Ygálox* bedankten sich bei ihrer Schwester, weil sie ihnen die Harpune verbessert und deren Gebrauch gezeigt hatte. Unverzüglich verließen sie die Hütte, sie wollten mit dieser Harpune Versuche machen und Seelöwen erjagen. Kaum hatten sie den Strand erreicht, als ein mächtiges Tier vorbeischwamm. Der jüngere *Ygálox* faßte die Harpune genau so, wie seine Schwester es ihm gezeigt hatte; als er sie schleuderte, hielt er das freie Ende des Riemens in der linken Hand fest. Wirklich drang die knöcherne Harpunenspitze dem Seelöwen tief in den Rücken ein. Augenblicklich entwirrte er unter die Wasseroberfläche. Sehr weit aber entfernte er sich nicht; denn der lange Riemen hatte sich bald gestrafft und der Zahn in der Harpunenspitze riß die Wunde um so tiefer, je stärker der Seelöwe zerrte. Der Schaft hatte sich bereits von der Spitze gelöst, hing aber mit seinem unteren Ende am Lederriemen fest und trieb auf der Wasseroberfläche. An diesem Schafte konnte *Ygálox* erkennen, wo der Seelöwe schwamm. Dieser zerrte nun nicht mehr so heftig an der langen Leine; denn die tiefe Wunde schmerzte ihn sehr und jeden Zug empfand er unangenehm. Langsam zog nun der jüngere *Ygálox* die lange Leine ein; je kürzer sie wurde, um so näher kam der Seelöwe an den Strand heran." Als er schließlich auf dem Lande lag, erschlug

ihn der ältere *Ygálox* mit einem Knüppel. Bequem und sicher hatten sie also mit dieser Harpune den ersten Seelöwen erbeutet, der ihnen viel Speck bot.

Über diesen Erfolg waren die beiden *Ygálox* wie außer sich vor Genugtuung. Den ganzen Tag füllten sie damit aus, auf Seelöwen zu jagen. Eine ungeahnt reiche Beute brachten sie zusammen. Am Abend erst entschlossen sie sich, zur Hütte zurückzukehren. Diesmal keuchten sie laut unter der schweren Last des vielen Fleisches. Überglücklich erzählten sie ihrer Schwester von den großen Erfolgen und erklärten ihr, wie sie jedesmal so schnell jedes Tier erreicht hätten und warum ihnen diesmal keines entwischt wäre.

Von diesem Tage an ließen die beiden *Ygálox* ihr ganzes Handwerk liegen; denn es bereitete ihnen unsagbare Freude, mit dieser Harpune nach Seelöwen zu jagen. Sie unterwiesen später alle Männer, wie sie sich der großen Harpune bedienen müßten. Seitdem benützen die Yamana diese Harpune mit der langen Lederleine, wenn sie eine Jagd auf Seelöwen unternehmen.

9. *Der Erwerb von Tran*

Die Yamana erzählen: Dem älteren *Ygálox* schmeckten Seelöwenfett und Walfischtran ganz besonders gut, sie mundeten ihm sehr und er war darauf wie versessen. Ängstlich war er bedacht, ständig eine reichliche Menge Tran bei der Hand zu haben. Eines Tages erwog er den Plan, alles Wasser in sämtlichen Kanälen, Bächen und Lagunen in Walfischtran und Seelöwenfett umzuwandeln. Doch sollte diese ungeheure Menge unveränderlich frisch bleiben, sich nicht im mindesten verschlechtern, nimmer den guten Geschmack verlieren und niemals zu Ende gehen. Er sagte sich: „Wäre das so eingerichtet, dann hätten die Menschen jederzeit frischen Tran bei der Hand, sie könnten sich gefahrvolle Reisen und mühevolle Jagden ersparen, sie brauchten diesen schmackhaften Leckerbissen nie zu entbehren und das Leben wäre um vieles angenehmer!"

Diese Pläne legte er dann seinem jüngeren Bruder vor und er bemühte sich, ihn dafür zu gewinnen. Der aber wollte davon nichts wissen und erwiderte ablehnend seinem Bruder: „Nie darf es so kommen, wie du es planst. Die Menschen müssen unablässig gezwungen sein zu arbeiten. Deshalb sollen die Männer auf die Jagd gehen. Haben sie Seelöwen oder Wale erlegt, richten die Frauen den Speck her; dann mögen alle den schmackhaften Tran reichlich genießen, der nach ermüdender Arbeit erst recht gut mundet. Ohne vorausgegangene Anstrengungen sei den Menschen kein Genuß gewährt!"

So mußte auch diesmal der ältere *Ygálox* mit seinem Plane zurücktreten und sich dem fügen, was sein jüngerer Bruder entschieden hatte. Bald darauf unternahm der ältere *Ygálox* einen langen Marsch, er wurde dabei sehr müde und hungrig. Auf einen Stein ließ er sich nieder und wollte etwas ausruhen.

[40] Hier wird sehr eingehend die Art und Weise geschildert, nach der diese große Harpune wirkt und den Erfolg sichert (S. 571). Ihre Ausführung beweist die staunenswerte Fertigkeit und Geschicklichkeit dieser frauenhaften Erfinder.

Das Erdreich aber war sumpfig und so quoll um seine Füße herum bald Wasser hervor. Da er hungrig war, kam ihm der Gedanke: „Wie günstig wäre es, wenn alles dort aufsteigende Wasser, wo ich oder wo ein Mensch seinen Fuß hinsetzt, sofort sich in Tran verwandeln würde. Da hätte jedermann reichlich, womit er seinen Hunger stillen könnte!" Auch diesen Wunsch trug er bald seinem jüngeren Bruder vor. Dieser aber entgegnete ihm ungehalten: „Dazu darf es niemals kommen! Mögen die Leute Hunger leiden, wenn sie nicht arbeiten!" Dadurch wurde der ältere *Ygálay* wieder traurig gestimmt und dieser sein Wunsch hat sich nicht verwirklicht. Hierauf ist es zurückzuführen, daß von jener Zeit an den Männern die Jagd und allen Menschen die Sorge um den Nahrungserwerb zu einem unausweichlichen Gesetz geworden ist. Das Verhalten des jüngeren *Ygálay* bei mehreren Anlässen gibt deutlich zu erkennen, daß die jüngeren Geschwister oft klüger und einsichtsvoller, aber auch eigensinniger als ihre älteren Geschwister sind.

b. Der Anfang der Libido sexualis

Die Männer erzählen sich: Eines Tages empfand der jüngere *Ygálay* starke Lüsternheit und er versuchte auf alle Art, sie zu befriedigen. In dieser Absicht bildete er einen menschlichen Leib. Darin öffnete er erst Augenhöhlen et immisit membrum suum magnum; aber er wurde nicht befriedigt. Dann öffnete er unter der Nase zwei Eingänge, aber auch hier fühlte er keinen Genuß. Dann öffnete er zu beiden Seiten die Ohreingänge, doch auch an diesen Stellen fand er keine Befriedigung. Nun öffnete er einen breiten Mund, indes auch hier empfand er kein Genügen. Er versuchte noch weiter, seine Lüsternheit zu befriedigen, nämlich in den Achselhöhlen, an den Brüsten, am Nabel; doch nirgendwo fand er Genuß. Schließlich machte er zwischen den Brüsten eine Öffnung, hier endlich fand er volle Befriedigung.

Darüber belehrte er später die Männer. Diese wissen es nun seitdem ebenfalls, auf welche Weise sie ihre *Lüsternheit befriedigen können.*

c. Der Anfang der Körperbemalung

Man erzählt: Die beiden *Ygálay* lebten anfangs nur mit ihrer eigenen Schwester zusammen, keiner von ihnen besaß ein Weib. Nach geraumer Zeit aber gefiel es ihnen nicht mehr, tagsüber immer nur allein zu sein und nachts allein zu schlafen. Schließlich offenbarten sie sich der *Ygálay-ótrunjipa*: „Wie du selber siehst, stehen wir ganz allein da. Uns gefällt es nicht, noch länger auf diese Art weiterzuleben. Sei du uns behilflich, daß wir bald zu einem Weibe kommen!" Die *Ygálay-ótrunjipa* sagte zu und versprach ihren beiden Brüdern, ihnen behilflich zu sein.

Nun überlegten diese drei Geschwister, was sie wohl unternehmen könnten. Die beiden Brüder verfügten über vorzügliche Waffen und waren sehr geschickt. Deshalb brachten sie regelmäßig reichliche Beute von der Jagd

heim und schwelgten im Überfluß; große Vorräte an Fleisch lagen in ihrer Hütte. Demgegenüber befand sich *Halaléuawu*[40] andauernd in bedrängter Lage; ihm mangelte es jederzeit an Fleisch, weil er sehr viele Weiber besaß. Ein jedes seiner Weiber verlangte heftig, die beiden *Ypélay* zu besuchen und lange anzuschauen. Als *Halaléuawu* wieder einmal ohne allen Fleischvorrat dastand, putzte er eigenhändig ein jedes seiner Weiber außergewöhnlich schön auf; dann befahl er einer jeden, sich selber noch weiter mit Farben zu zieren und zu bemalen. Nun schickte er ein Weib nach dem anderen zu den beiden *Ypélay*, damit es Fleisch bei ihnen holte. Ein jedes seiner Weiber hatte sich eigenhändig mit Farben geschmückt und mit Mustern nach eigenem Geschmack bemalt; einer unterschied sich vom anderen, alle waren sehr schön.

Damit nun war eingeführt worden, sich das Gesicht und den ganzen Körper zu bemalen, *die Menschen* machten sich also schön *auf diese Weise* und hatten daran *ihre Freude*. Seitdem in *jener* Zeit der kleine *Halaléuawu* seine vielen Weiber beauftragt hatte, sich mit farbigen Mustern zu schmücken, wissen sich alle Yamana dazu verpflichtet, bei gewissen Anlässen[41] sich zu bemalen. So ist es nun unumgänglicher Brauch. Jene Weiber des *Halaléuawu* haben die schöne Bemalung, *die sie sich damals angelegt hatten*, beibehalten bis *auf* den heutigen Tag. So oft die Männer *Aloa* spielen, ahmen sie die Farbengebung und Zeichnungen im Fell und im Gefieder vieler Tiere eben dadurch nach, daß sie ihren eigenen Körper verschiedentlich bemalen.[42]

2. *Der Anlaß zur ersten Menstruation*

Unverzüglich[43] schickte der kleine *Halaléuawu* als erstes Weib die *Tákuhkipa*[44] zu den *Ypélay*. Sie trat in die Hütte der beiden *Ypélay* ein und stellte sich ihnen vor. Die beiden Brüder schauten sich dieses Weib lange und gründlich an. Dann sagten sie zu ihrer Schwester: „Gib diesem Weibe viel Fleisch!" Die *Ypélay-téwuxipa* gab der *Tákuhkipa* viel Fleisch und somit war sie entlassen. Die Geschwister *Ypélay* hatten vereinbart: Die beiden *Brüder* würden jedes Weib genau anschauen und eingehend betrachten, ob es schön sei und ihnen gefalle; jedem Weibe, das ihnen nicht gefalle, *sollte* ihre Schwester viel Fleisch geben und dadurch sei es *wieder* entlassen.

Nach einiger Zeit fand sich *die Lélikhipa* ein. Die beiden *Ypélay* betrachteten sie, doch gefiel sie ihnen nicht. Da übergab *die Ypélay-téwuxipa* ihr viel

[40] Das ist die kleinere Art der beiden [illegible] Rauchfänge, Tringalypes [illegible].

[41] In der sich anschließenden Aufzählung werden erklärend als besondere Anlässe genannt: Besuche, Messerbe, Totenwasser und Totenfeiern, Jugendweihe und Kina-Fest.

[42] Man muß sich vergegenwärtigen, und man hat sich bei dieser Stelle eigens aufmerksam gemacht, daß alle jene Weiber ebensowenig wie die beiden Yaghan als eigentliche Menschen gelten. Erstere haben sich in Vögel umgewandelt, letztere sind mit ihrer Schwester an den Himmelsort hinaufgestiegen, wo man sie heute noch als Sterne erkennt.

[43] Zu leichter Übersicht habe ich *auf* eigene Verantwortung die Erzählung hier geteilt. Meine Gewährsmänner haben sie ohne diese Unterbrechung vorgetragen.

[44] Das ist die kleine Möve, Larus Belcheri.

Fleisch und damit war sie entlassen. Nun schickte der kleine *Hulušnuwa* seine übrigen Weiber ab, eines nach dem andern: die *itkuł*, die *kiwaa*, die *šiwz*, die *wāoġnim*, die *ītkakuta*, die *ulpatuz*, die *malīpa*, die *kānał*, die *ešmarkipa*, die *kiwāgu*, die *dōtōhāruz*, die *čokāg*[91] und manche andere; denn er hatte viele Weiber. Doch so schön sie alle waren, die eine wie die andere, keine gefiel so recht den beiden *Ygáloz*. Ihre Schwester reichte einer jeden dieser Frauen viel Fleisch und damit eilten diese zu ihrer Hütte zurück. Also stellte sich die lange Reihe der Weiber des kleinen *Hulušnuwa* den beiden *Ygáloz* vor, eines nach dem andern. Diese betrachteten jedes Weib eingehend, doch keines sagte ihnen zu. Noch kamen ständig andere Weiber. Jedes trat allein in die Hütte der *Ygáloz*, aber ein jedes erhielt ziemlich bald reichlich Fleisch und wurde auf diese Art entlassen.

Endlich erschien als letzte die *Mákuzipa*, die schönste Frau des kleinen *Hulušnuwa*. Als sie die Hütte der beiden *Ygáloz* betrat, gefiel sie diesen über alle Maßen und sie konnten gar nicht ihre Augen von ihr abwenden. Sie flüsterten ihrer Schwester zu: „Dieser Frau hier übergib kein Fleisch! Wir wollen sie in unserer Hütte zurückhalten und sie nicht mehr zu ihrem Mann heimkehren lassen. Dieses schöne Weib gefällt uns gar sehr!" Daher sagte die *Ygáloz-tárnuzīpa* zur *Mákuzipa*: „Setz dich nur ruhig hierher zu meinen Brüdern, beide haben dich sehr gern!" Da setzte sich die *Mákuzipa* unbefangen nieder, wie die *Ygáloz-tárnuzīpa* es ihr gesagt hatte, nämlich auf die Schlafstätte der beiden *Ygáloz*. Diese begannen bald damit, das schöne Weib zu liebkosen. Später überredeten sie die *Mákuzipa*, sie möge bei ihnen hier in der Hütte bleiben; die beiden *Ygáloz* gestanden ihr offen, wie stark sie sie liebten. Ihr gefiel das alles gar sehr und sie erklärte: „Nun gut, ich werde bei euch bleiben!" Da freuten sich die beiden *Ygáloz* außerordentlich, daß dieses schöne Weib bei ihnen bleiben wollte. Sie fingen sogleich damit an, ihre Lüsternheit zu befriedigen. Ihrer Schwester dankten sie besonders; sie hatte ja geholfen, jenes schöne Weib hier zurückzuhalten.

Der kleine *Hulušnuwa* wartete in seiner Hütte auf seine *Mákuzipa*; aber sie kehrte nicht heim. Nach langer Zeit endlich erfuhr er, die beiden *Ygáloz* hielten sein Weib bei sich zurück, um sich zu belustigen. Das stimmte ihn über die Maßen traurig und er sagte klagend: „O weh mir! Gerade das schönste meiner Weiber haben sie überredet und mir gestohlen. Alle übrigen, die weniger schön sind, haben sie heimziehen lassen, nachdem sie ihnen viel Fleisch übergeben hatten. Wie schmerzlich vermisse ich meine schöne *Mákuzipa*!" So klagte der kleine *Hulušnuwa* unaufhörlich.

Die beiden *Ygáloz* vergnügten sich weiter mit der *Mákuzipa*. Auch ihr gefiel es sehr in der Hütte der beiden Brüder. Abwechselnd schliefen sie mit ihr und waren sehr froh, das[92] nicht länger entbehren zu müssen.

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[91] Hier sind nur einige Namen in der verkürzten Form ohne die Genus-Bezeichnung "kipa" und ohne die genauere zoologische Bestimmung angeführt worden; so blieben dreifache Wiederholungen erspart.

[92] Gemeint ist ein häufiger und freier Verkehr zu sexueller Befriedigung, zu dem

Eines Tages, in aller Morgenfrühe, ging der ältere *Ygálox* in den Wald, er wollte Tiere jagen und Holz sammeln. Sein Bruder blieb auf seiner Schlafstätte ausgestreckt, an seiner Seite lag die schöne *Mákuxipa*. Da der ältere *Ygálox* abwesend war, überließen sie sich ihrer grenzenlosen Lust. Den ganzen Tag verbrachten sie auf der Schlafstätte und sie dachten gar nicht daran, endlich aufzustehen. Viel zu schnell für sie war der Tag vergangen und erst als es dunkelte kehrte der ältere *Ygálox* heim. Vorsichtig und unbemerkt näherte er sich der Hütte. Da wurde er dessen gewahr, daß jene beiden sich noch immer auf dem Schlaflager liebkosten und herumwälzten. Das machte ihn neugierig. Nun horchte er scharf auf; er wollte erfahren, was sie miteinander redeten. Da hörte er, wie die *Mákuxipa* dem jüngeren *Ygálox* zuflüsterte: „Membrum tuum mihi summopere placet. Tantum est quantum replest vaginam meam. Rubrum est sicut *máku*.[13] Frater tuus membrum minutum habet, quod me non ita irritat. Ecce, multo magis membrum magnum tuum mihi placet quam fratris tui. Tecum tempus diuturnum concumbere malo." An diesen Worten ergötzte sich der jüngere *Ygálox*. Sein älterer Bruder, der draußen gegen die Hütte gelehnt stand, lauschte aufmerksam und verstand ganz deutlich, was jene beiden sich zuflüsterten.

Nach einiger Zeit trat er endlich in die Hütte ein. Die schweren Holzklötze, die er mitgebracht hatte, warf er ab und setzte sich sogleich ans Feuer; denn starker Regen hatte ihn gänzlich durchnäßt. Unauffällig rückte nun der jüngere *Ygálox* ein wenig von der *Mákuxipa* ab, doch blieben beide noch weiter auf der Schlafstätte liegen. Geraume Zeit schon hatte sich der ältere *Ygálox* am Feuer durchwärmt, endlich redete er das Weib im Tone erger Verstimmung an: „Wie kannst du nur seit heute morgen bis jetzt mit meinem Bruder hier zusammenliegen!" Sie erwiderte gleichgültig: „Mir hat es eben mit ihm sehr gut gefallen!" Diese Erklärung verstimmte ihn noch mehr und gereizt fuhr er sie an: „Ich weiß sehr wohl, warum es dir mit ihm gar so gut gefallen hat, daß ihr den ganzen Tag zusammengelegen habt. Was hast du ihm da soeben zugeflüstert?" Die *Mákuxipa* erwiderte verlegen: „Was könnte ich ihm schon zugeflüstert haben? Wir haben nur über unbedeutsame Dinge miteinander geplaudert." Darauf entgegnete der ältere *Ygálox*: „Du hast dich jedenfalls mit meinem Bruder außerordentlich vergnügt. Auch habe ich deutlich gehört, wie du ihm gesagt hast: 'Membrum tuum mihi summopere placet. Tantum est quantum replest vaginam meam. Rubrum est sicut *máku*. Frater tuus membrum minutum habet, quod me non ita irritat. Ecce, multo magis membrum magnum tuum mihi placet quam fratris tui. Tecum tempus diuturnum concumbere malo!' Das sind doch die Worte, die du ihm soeben zugeflüstert hast! Nun gut, ich will es dich erfahren lassen, tamen membrum meum magnum atque tumidum esse!" Er näherte sich der Schlafstätte, auf der sie hingestreckt lag, und sein Bruder rückte weit ab. Er begann damit,

ihnen bisher keine Gelegenheit geboten war. Ihr Verhältnis zu jener Frau ist also nicht als Polyandrie zu deuten.

[13] Gemeint ist die erhaltenbrunte Hütte des Embothrium coccineum (Abb. 78 auf S. 787).

die *Mákuzipa* zu liebkosen und zu umarmen. Postea mulieri incubuit et immisit membrum suum in vaginam ejus. Membrum suum ita intumuit, ut lacerarret mulieris vaginam. Statim copia sanguinis est magna effluxit. *Ygálox* eam interrogavit: „Desiderasne utrum membrum meum adhuc succrescat, nemo? Satisfacta es?" Die *Mákuzipa* erwiderte kein Wort.

Deshalb erhob sich der ältere *Ygálox* vom Schlaflager und sagte ihr: „Du bist jetzt *tárwil* Also darfst du dir jetzt meinen jüngeren Bruder zum Manne nehmen! Vorher will ich dir einige Anweisungen geben, damit nicht zu viel Blut fließt und du nicht zu sehr geschwächt wirst!" Nun erteilte er ihr allerhand Ratschläge, die seitdem für sie und für alle Frauen gelten. Nachdrücklich betonte er: „Du mußt dich ruhig und schweigsam verhalten und alle Geschwätzigkeit vermeiden. Verbringe wo möglich die ganze Zeit in deiner Hütte. Bleibe du den Männern fern und sollten sie dir begegnen, weiche in weitem Bogen aus. Du selbst enthalte dich aller Speisen und nimm nur zu dir, was ich dir zugestehe. Gib dich mit einer sehr geringen Menge Wasser zufrieden. Arbeite in dieser Zeit [deiner ersten Menstruation] besonders fleißig, hilf eifrig den anderen Frauen, bringe für alle viel Trinkwasser und Brennholz herzu. Beachte treu jeden einzelnen dieser Ratschläge!" Noch vieles andere trug der ältere *Ygálox* der *Mákuzipa* auf. Diese hielt sich genau an alle Weisungen. Deswegen besserte sich ihr Befinden, sie fühlte sich bald erleichtert und der Blutfluß hörte schließlich auf. Nach einigen Tagen besuchte sie auch die Bemalung nicht mehr zu erneuern, die *Ygálox* ihr ins Gesicht gezeichnet hatte.[a] Währenddessen saß die *Ygálox-tárnuzipa* neben der *Mákuzipa*, behütete und belehrte sie aufmerksam und war ihr ununterbrochen behilflich. Sie gab ihr noch andere Ratschläge, denen die *Mákuzipa* sich getreulich fügte. Schließlich machte sie ihren beiden Brüdern den Vorschlag: *„Geben wir doch zugleich ein großes Fest; diese Weib ist ja jetzt tárwil"* Ihre Brüder erklärten sich damit einverstanden, sie schafften reichliche Fleischmengen herbei und verzehrten sie vergnügt. Das war das erste *tárwilipa téta*."[b]

Auf diese Weise ist die erste Menstruation erfolgt, die der ältere *Ygálox* bei jener *Mákuzipa* verursacht hat. Seitdem tritt sie bei jeder Frauenperson auf und wiederholt sich im Ablauf eines Mondes.[c] Alle Bestimmungen, die bei diesem Anlaß die *Ygálox*-Geschwister der *Mákuzipa* gegeben haben, gelten auch heutigentags noch und sind streng verpflichtend für Mädchen bei der Menarche. Seit jener Zeit hat auch die vagina mulieris ihre jetzige Form. Auch fließt bei jeder Menstruation immer noch Blut und jede Frau erfährt nur dann Erleichterung, wenn sie die bekannten Vorschriften treu einhält. Tritt also bei einem Mädchen die Menarche auf, muß es seine Mutter oder

[a] In diesem Worte liegt ein Hinweis auf die bei der Menarche gefürchtete besondere Gesichtsbemalung, die in Abb. 79 gekennzeichnet worden ist.

[b] Die Einzelheiten dieser festlichen Veranstaltung sind S. 757 genannt worden.

[c] Dieser Ausdruck scheint nur eine Zeitbestimmung zu sein, keineswegs bringt er die Menstruation unmittelbar mit dem Monde in ursächlichen Zusammenhang.

eine nahe Verwandte davon benachrichtigen. Mehrere Frauen nehmen dieses Mädchen sofort unter ihre besondere Hut. Sie schreiben ihm vor, welche Speisen es genießen darf, und gestatten ihm davon eine kaum nennenswerte Menge. Nur sehr wenig Wasser gestehen sie zu; das Mädchen muß es durch einen kurzen Röhrenknochen von einem Vogel aufsaugen,[47] damit es nicht zu viel nimmt. Die älteren Frauen halten dieses Mädchen zu größter Regsamkeit bei allerlei Arbeiten an; es muß für alle Leute Brennholz herbeischleppen, viel Trinkwasser in jede Hütte tragen, anderen Frauen jedwede Mithilfe leisten. Dieses Mädchen gehört für diese Zeit in seine Hütte und darf letzterer ohne besonderen Grund nicht verlassen. Draußen muß es mit niedergeschlagenen Augen einhergehen und nirgendwo sich aufhalten, auch sonst seine Augen gut im Zaume halten. Mit niemandem darf es ein Gespräch beginnen, noch viel weniger sich in Streitigkeiten einlassen. Alle Frauen des Lagers bewachen das Mädchen genau und achten darauf, daß es von keinem Manne belästigt werde. Innerhalb eines Monats nach der ersten Menstruation darf kein Mann mit diesem Mädchen geschlechtlich verkehren, noch sich mit Zudringlichkeiten ihm nähern. Die *tár-ikípa* ist verpflichtet, etwa acht Tage hindurch jene Vorschriften besonders gewissenhaft einzuhalten. Dann trägt sie viel Fleisch und viele Früchte zusammen, die eben die Jahreszeit bietet. Ein großes Essen bereitet sie vor und lädt alle Leute dazu ein. Das ist das allgemeine *tár-ikípa téu*, das einzurichten jedes Mädchen anläßlich seiner Menarche verpflichtet ist. In diesen Tagen erscheint es regelmäßig mit der dafür geltenden Gesichtsbemalung. Die Frauen prägen es dem Mädchen nachdrücklich ein: Alle diese Vorschriften und Ratschläge stammen von den beiden *Ypálay* und von der *Ypálay-tórunjipa*. Wer sich gewissenhaft darnach richtet, wird bei der monatlichen Blutung und beim Gebären frei bleiben von empfindlichen Beschwerden.

So lautet diese Erzählung. Über die Persönlichkeit der *Mókunjipa* habe ich noch eine andere Ansicht erfahren. Einige Leute sagten: Sie ist eigentlich die Frau des *Kóffin* (Polyborus tharus). Er nämlich ist seiner Frau verlustig gegangen, wie in einer eigenen Geschichte berichtet wird. Jene vielen Weiber, die sich den beiden *Ypálay* vorgestellt haben, gehörten eigentlich keinem bestimmten Manne als Gattinnen an, sie waren sämtlich unverheiratet und lebten frei. Diese alle nun fanden sich deshalb bei den beiden *Ypálay* ein, weil deren ältere Schwester ihnen dazu geraten hatte; ihr Einfluß auf sämtliche Weiber war groß und deshalb fügten sich alle ihrem Wunsche. Absicht der *Ypálay-tórunjipa* hierbei war es, ihren beiden Brüdern zu einem Weibe zu verhelfen. Da ihnen die *Mókunjipa* gefiel, hielten sie dieses schöne Weib für sich zurück. Der *Kóffin* wurde dabei nicht berücksichtigt, da dessen Frau ihm vorher bereits davongelaufen und zur Hütte ihres Vaters zurückgekehrt war. Als dann später sich alle jene Weiber in Vögel umwandelten, tat dies auch die *Mókunjipa*, und seitdem heißt sie *Hahshéuwshípa*.

[47] Auf gleiche Weise trinken die Pelétlage in der Jugendweihe (S. 858).

Zur Erklärung des Namens *Mókuzipe* sei daran erinnert, daß die Yamana zur Bezeichnung der ihnen angenehmsten, schönsten Körperfarbe eines Kindes oder Erwachsenen auf die scharlachrote mókw-Blüte (Abb. 78) hinweisen.

2. Das erste Gebären

Die Yamana erzählen: Seitdem lebte der jüngere *Ypólay* mit der *Mókuzipe* allein; denn sie war seine Frau geworden. Er schlief mit ihr und sie wurde schwanger. Schließlich gebar sie einen Sohn.[*] *Ypólay* freute sich außerordentlich. Eingehend unterrichtete er sofort seine Frau, wie sie sich während des Gebärens und kurz danach verhalten müsse. Nach diesen Anweisungen richten sich alle Yamana-Weiber bis auf den heutigen Tag.

Dieses sein erstes Kind war ein Knabe. Unaufhörlich schrie er, am lautesten während der Nacht. Er ließ überhaupt nicht mehr nach zu schreien; sein Vater und seine Mutter hatten vergeblich schon alles Mögliche versucht, ihn schweigen zu machen. *Ypólay* zeigte sich höchst ungehalten; der Mutter war es unmöglich, andauernd neben dem Kinde sitzen zu bleiben, weil sie ihre Arbeiten verrichten mußte.

Schließlich lief *Ypólay* völlig verstimmt aus seiner Hütte hinaus und ließ den Knaben allein zurück. Er erbaute in einiger Entfernung eine andere Hütte für sich auf. Genau so regelmäßig wie früher ging er auf die Jagd und arbeitete weiter an seinen Waffen. Doch wenn er vom Walde oder vom Strande herkommend sich den Hütten näherte, hörte er schon auf weite Entfernung seinen Sohn laut schreien. Trat er dann in seine Nebenhütte ein, brüllte der Knabe noch stärker. Er schrie ununterbrochen weiter, auch wenn *Ypólay* eigenes Lärm schlug, ihn zum Schweigen zu bringen.

Ganz verdrossen [illegible] er eines Tages wieder die Hütte, in der sein Söhnchen lag. Er faßte es mit seinen beiden Händen unter den Achseln, hob es hoch, starrte ihn scharf ins Gesicht und brüllte es mit starker Stimme an: „Höre doch endlich auf zu schreien!" In diesem Augenblick spaltete sich das Kalkfelsen mittendurch. Somit bewahrt *Ypólay* zwei Söhne. Diese aber schreien nicht. Sie sind die ersten Menschen.[**]

Nach einiger Zeit starb die *Mókuzipe*. Da aber der jüngere *Ypólay* andauernd sich fleißig beschäftigt hatte, konnte er sich nicht angemessen um seine beiden Söhne bekümmern. Also schaute er nach einer Frau aus, die seine beiden Knaben in Pflege nähme. Er gewann die *Cómuhkipe* (Fleh-

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[*] Das besondere Ziel dieser Erzählung ist, zunächst die Empfängnis als auch das Gebären nach der Art, wie beide Vorgänge sich zutragen, abzuleiten, als eventuelle durch Vater eingeführt zu erweisen. Vielmehr sind denkwürdige Kinder eigentlich nicht "geboren" worden und eingeprägen wird schließlich, auf welchem Wege sie ins Dasein gekommen sind. Alle Persönlichkeiten aus jener ersten Zeit wurden als Erwachsene einfachhin vorgeführt. Von jener an aber entstehen der Nachwelt auf die dem Menschen eigene Weise.

[**] Diese Worte sollen besagen: Jene beiden Kinder sind die ersten, die durch eigentliches Gebären in die Welt gerufen worden sind. Dem einzigen Wortlaute nach gilt dies allerdings nur für den einen.

sich. Sofort übersiedelte sie in die Hütte des *Ygálox* und widmete sich seinen beiden Söhnen. Nun konnte *Ygálox* unbesorgt auch weite Reisen unternehmen.

Die Füchsin gab den beiden Knaben den Namen *Šumandyye*. Sie war sehr listig und schlau. Deshalb erwog sie den Plan, jene beiden Knaben zu hexen und zu verzaubern. Damals befand sich *Ygálox* in weiter Entfernung; bevor er zurückkäme, hätte sie davonlaufen und sich im Walde verstecken können. Also wollte sie jetzt ihren Plan durchführen. Sie forderte die beiden Knaben auf: „Geht in den Wald und sammelt dort viel trockenes Holz; bringt es eilig hierher zur Hütte, wir werden ein großes Feuer anfachen!"[100] Die beiden Knaben eilten sofort in den Wald. Aber von Anfang an hatte die *Čilawájakipa* jene beiden Knaben sehr schlecht behandelt und sie viel arbeiten lassen. Deshalb waren beide gegen sie arg aufgebracht. Sie wollten sich endlich einmal rächen. Statt trockenes Holz zu sammeln, griffen sie grünes, nasses Holz auf und trugen dieses zur Hütte. Die Füchsin versuchte nun, damit ein großes Feuer anzufachen; doch es gelang ihr nicht. Verärgert schalt sie die beiden Buben: „Ihr habt mir grünes und nasses Holz gebracht, damit läßt sich ein großes Feuer nicht anfachen!" Am nächsten Tage schickte sie die beiden Knaben abermals in den Wald, sie sollten trockenes Holz sammeln. Aber auch diesmal trugen sie nur grünes, nasses Holz zusammen und schleppten es zur Hütte. Sie hatten nämlich bemerkt, daß die Füchsin etwas Schlimmes plante, wußten aber nicht, was sie in ihrer Notlage unternehmen könnten; denn ihr Vater hielt sich weit entfernt auf der anderen Seite des Kanals auf. Längst waren sie derzeit überdrüssig, andauernd mit der mißmutigen, knausrigen *Čilawájakipa* zusammen sein zu müssen; diese plagte sie alltäglich mit viel Arbeit und schickte sie überdies in den Wald nach Holz. Absichtlich sammelten sie nur nasses Holz. Dadurch geriet die Füchsin jedesmal in Wut und ließ ihren Unmut an ihnen auf die erdenkliche Art aus. Viel Ungemach mußten die beiden Knaben erdulden.

Eines Tages lag die *Čilawájakipa* auf ihrer Schlafstätte und schlief sehr fest. In aller Stille zündeten die beiden Knaben ein großes Feuer an,[100] mit dem sie ein Kanu herbeirufen wollten. Wirklich, bald fand sich ein Mann am Strande ein. Eiligst bestiegen die beiden Knaben sein Kanu und baten ihn, er möchte sie zum andern Ufer fahren. Das tat er denn auch und die beiden Knaben stiegen auf dem anderen Strande wieder aus. Sie liefen in der Richtung weiter, in der sie ihren Vater vermuteten. Unerwartet standen sie plötzlich vor einem breiten Flusse; sie wußten nicht, wie sie ihn überquerschwimmen, da er gar breit war. Große Angst überfiel sie jetzt, daß die Füchsin ihnen nachkäme. Indes, ihr Vater *Ygálox* hatte sie bereits von weitem herannahen gesehen; er wußte, daß sie jetzt ratlos vor dem breiten Flusse standen. Deshalb ließ er schnell das viele Wasser in jenem Flusse ablaufen und seine beiden Söhne erreichten mühelos das andere Ufer. Diese gelangten nun bald zur Stelle, wo er selber saß. Er fragte sie: „Weshalb

[100] Die eigentlichen bei den Yamana gebräuchlichen Signalfeuer ist gemeint (S. 1029).

kommt ihr mir nach, was hat euch hierhergetrieben?" Unter Tränen erzählten nun die beiden Söhne ihrem Vater, wie schlecht sie von der *Čilawájakīpa* behandelt wurden, wie viel sie arbeiten mußten, wie sie täglich in den Wald geschickt wurden, um trockenes Holz zu sammeln, und daß sie nur wenig zu essen erhielten. Dem fügten sie noch an: „Kaum waren wir in das Kanu jenes Mannes gestiegen und hatten eben die Mitte des Kanals erreicht, schauten wir um. Da sahen wir, wie die *Čilawájakīpa* über den Leichnam der *Mákuxīpa* herfiel und daran fraß! Sicherlich hegte sie den Plan, auch uns aufzufressen. Deshalb hat sie uns täglich in den Wald geschickt, wo wir viel trokkenes Holz zu einem Feuer sammeln sollten, in dem sie uns braten wollte!"

Über das alles wurde der jüngere *Yǫálox* sehr verstimmt. Voller Wut verfertigte er eiligst einen *yēkul*. Diesen schleuderte er gegen die *Čilawájakīpa*, daß sie augenblicklich tot zusammenbrach. Jene beiden Knaben verblieben von da an bei ihrem Vater; sie waren inzwischen groß geworden.[101]

Seit jener Zeit aber kann man beobachten, daß der Fuchs zuweilen menschliche Leichen ausgräbt und daran frißt.[102] Er ist ein ekelhaftes Tier.

μ. *Die Schwester der Yoalox verliebt sich*

Die Erzählung lautet: Die beiden Brüder *Yǫálox* hatten noch zwei andere Schwestern, doch niemand erinnert sich deren Namen. Diese Mädchen fanden ein besonderes Ergötzen daran, sich zu baden und mit den Wellen zu spielen. Fast jeden Tag verbrachten sie vergnügt im Wasser.

Eines Tages näherte sich diesen Mädchen ein großer Seelöwe. Er erschreckte sie nicht im mindesten; vielmehr tat er von Anfang an merklich *verliebt und bot sich an, mit ihnen zu spielen. Den beiden Schwestern war* das sehr recht, sie belustigten sich lange und die ältere wurde schließlich ganz für den Seelöwen eingenommen. Unauffällig entfernten sie sich immer weiter, damit die jüngere Schwester ihr Treiben nicht beobachten könnte. Dann liebkosten sie sich und spielten lange miteinander unter dem Wasserspiegel.

Die beiden Schwestern badeten sich regelmäßig an der gleichen Stelle. Jedesmal, wenn sie ins Wasser stiegen, fand sich auch der große Seelöwe ein. Er schwamm unter dem Wasserspiegel heran und näherte sich der älteren Schwester. Ihr war das sehr erwünscht; denn sie hatte sich stark in den Seelöwen verliebt. Beide entfernten sich unauffällig vom andern Mädchen; es sollte nicht merken, wie diese beiden sich ihrer Lust hingaben.

Durch lange Zeit schon hatten sie sich zu ihren Liebeleien zusammengefunden. Da fragte eines Tages die jüngere Schwester ihre ältere Schwester: „Was ist denn das für ein großes schwarzes Ding, das du mit deinem Körper

[101] In dieser Geschichte wiederholen sich mehrere Einzelheiten von dem, was sich die Sekt'xam über die beiden Neffen des Kwanyip erzählen (Bd. I, 592).

[102] Wiederholt ist schon darauf hingewiesen worden, welch besonders Abscheu die Yamana vor der Gewohnheit der Farbeu bekundeu, an menschlichen Leichen zu fressen. Das kommt auch in dieser Erzählung deutlich zum Ausdruck.

so ängstlich versteckst? Ich sah es zwischen deinen Beinen. Was ist das eigentlich?" Die ältere Schwester erwiderte abwehrend: „Aber was kommt dir in den Sinn! Was du meinst, das kann ja nur der Schatten von meinem Körper sein. Etwas anderes gibt es doch nicht!" Mit dieser Antwort gab sich die jüngere Schwester nicht zufrieden und fragte weiter: „Mir will es nicht einleuchten, daß jenes schwarze Ding dein Schatten sein soll. Der Schatten ist niemals so tief schwarz. Das muß schon etwas anderes sein!" Erregt erwiderte die ältere Schwester: „Ich verstehe nicht, was du dir da einbildest. Wenn ich dir versichere, das ist mein Schatten, so glaube mir doch!" Die jüngere Schwester aber ließ sich nicht überzeugen und entgegnete: „Unmöglich kann jenes schwarze Ding dein Schatten sein! Es wäre eben gar zu sonderbar, daß dein Schatten immer nur im Wasser unter deinem Körper erscheint." Nun wiederholte die ältere Schwester eindringlich: „Traue doch endlich meinen Worten. Hier ist nichts anderes als mein Schatten." Die jüngere Schwester erkannte, daß weitere Aussprachen nicht zum Ziele führen, deshalb fügte sie nur noch an: „Ich kann es nicht glauben, daß jenes schwarze Ding der Schatten deines Körpers sei, du magst es mir noch so oft versichern!" Trotz alledem gingen die beiden Mädchen auch weiterhin fast täglich baden und jedesmal traf sich die ältere Schwester mit dem Seelöwenmännchen.

Seit langem war nun schon die ältere Schwester schwanger. Als sich ihr Zustand sehr weit entwickelt hatte, überlegte sie endlich mit dem Seelöwen, wie sie sich einrichten sollte. Dieser nahm die Schwangere unverzüglich auf seinen Rücken und schwamm zu seiner Höhle. Hier machte er ihr ein weiches Lager zurecht und brachte auch viel zu essen. Bald gebar sie ein Knäbchen.

Der Seelöwe freute sich ungemein über seinen Sohn. Nach einigen Tagen aber überkam ihn große Angst. Er sagte zu dem Mädchen: „Wenn die Ypálag, deine Brüder, von unserem verbotenen Umgang erfahren, wenn ihnen bekannt wird, daß du einen Knaben geboren hast und in meiner Höhle weilst, werden sie in höchste Wut geraten und mich allein heimsuchen! Dann werden sie mir auflauern und mich umbringen. Mir scheint, es wird das beste sein, du gehst zu deinen Brüdern zurück. Sage ihnen, wie sehr wir uns gern haben; erzähle ihnen, wie verträglich wir zusammenleben und wie munter unser Söhnchen ist; frage sie, ob ich bei ihnen wohnen darf." Darauf erwiderte das Mädchen: „Gut, ich werde zur Hütte meiner Brüder zurückkehren und ihnen alles erzählen; ich werde sie fragen, ob du bei ihnen wohnen darfst." Sie machte sich sogleich zur Abreise fertig. Der Seelöwe nahm sie wieder auf seinen Rücken und sie kamen schnell voran.

Die beiden *Ypálag* hatten längst eine sehr sichere Ahnung von allem, was vorgefallen war und was sich mit ihrer Schwester abspielte. Als nun der Seelöwe nahe genug an die Hütte der *Ypálag* herangekommen war, schickte er seine Frau allein voraus. Er selbst blieb mit dem Knäbchen zurück. Schnell erreichte diese Frau die Hütte ihrer beiden Brüder, als diese sich gerade daheim befanden. Sie trat ein und sagte unbefangen: „Wie geht es euch, meine Brüder? Mein Mann, der große Seelöwe, läßt euch fragen, ob er hier

herkommen und bei euch wohnen darf. Er möchte gern in eurer Nähe sein und euch mir wier das sehr erwünscht. Doch würde er nur kommen, wenn ihr versprecht, ihn nicht umzubringen! Er ist gern bereit, euch auf der Jagd und bei allen Arbeiten zu helfen, auch wird er euch ein guter Schwager sein!" Zustimmend erwiderten die beiden Ypálay: „Du behauptest, der Seelöwe ist dein Mann. Nun, so mag er kommen, wir werden ihn in unsere Hütte aufnehmen. Wir versprechen, ihm kein Leid zuzufügen; falls er sich gut beträgt, werden wir ihn nicht umbringen."

Über diese Zusage freute sich die Frau. Sogleich eilte sie zu jener Stelle, an der sie ihren Mann mit dem Knäblein zurückgelassen hatte. Als sie den Seelöwen erreicht hatte, teilte sie ihm freudig mit: „Ich habe mit meinen Brüdern gesprochen. Sie lassen dir sagen: Da du nun mein Mann bist, darfst du zu ihnen kommen und bei ihnen wohnen. Sie werden dir kein Leid zufügen, auch dich umbringen, so lange du dich gut beträgt." Diese Worte beruhigten den Seelöwen, er machte sich mit Frau und Kind sofort auf den Weg zur Hütte der Ypálay. Hier trat zuerst die Frau ein, die ihr Kind auf dem Rücken trug. Gleich nach ihr versuchte der Seelöwe ebenfalls einzutreten. Doch war er zu gewaltig und umfangreich, als daß er den schmalen Eingang hätte durchschreiten können. Die beiden Ypálay mußten erst einige Stäbe des Hüttengerüstes bei der Eingangsöffnung ausbrechen, dann endlich zwang sich der Seelöwe hindurch und gelangte ins Innere. Er war außergewöhnlich groß. Die beiden Ypálay wiesen ihm und seiner Frau die Stelle gegenüber dem Eingange als Schlafstätte an; diese nun richteten sich dort ein, als wären sie in ihrer eigenen Hütte.

In aller Morgenfrühe des nächsten Tages erhob sich der Seelöwe von seinem Schlaflager und eilte hinaus auf die See. Dort wollte er fischen. Wirklich, bald brachte er große Fische, Muscheln und Krabben in reichlicher Menge herbei. Das war für seine Frau und für seine beiden Schwäger ein beträchtlicher Überfluß an Nahrung. Nun mangelte es ihnen an nichts mehr; denn auf eigenen Antrieb zog der Seelöwe beständig immer wieder hinaus in die See und schleppte große Mengen Fleisch herzu.

Eines Tages hatten die Brüder Ypálay jene beiden Weiber, die Frau des Seelöwen und die Mikoyipa, die in ihrer Hütte wohnten, weit weg geschickt.[*] Nur die beiden Ypálay und der Seelöwe blieben zurück. Bevor jene beiden Weiber die Hütte verließen, verabschiedete sich die Frau des Seelöwen besonders herzlich. Dieser Hinweis ihr dabei unauffällig zu: „Falls du mich laut und schmerzvoll brüllen hörst, kommt eiligst zurück. Es könnte sein, daß deine Brüder beabsichtigen, mich umzubringen. Dann wäre ich auf deine Hilfe angewiesen. Kommt also schnell zurück, wenn ich laut brülle!" Sie verabschiedete ihren Mann: „Ich werde gut aufpassen! Indes, ich bin sicher, meine Brüder werden dir kein Leid zufügen."

Die beiden Ypálay überredeten hatten den Mikoyipa heimlich zurückzu-

[*] Diese Begebenheit wäre also, wenn man chronologische Rückschlüsse gelten läßt, vor die auf S. 1176 dargestellte Geschichte einzuordnen.

„Hast du dich mit unserer Schwester sehr weit von hier entfernt und hörst du dort den Seelöwen laut und schauerlich brüllen, dann beratschlagt sie und sagt dir: ‚Wie so schnell, beharrigen sich die drei Männer in unserer Hütte mit Spiel und Scherz gar sehr; sie können außerordentlich heiter und vergnügt sein, deshalb brüllt der Seelöwe so stark zur lauten Ohrenpest? Jedenfalls macht du unsere Schwester dort mit allen Mitteln verständlich und darfst nicht nehmen, daß sie hierher zur Hütte gelassen kommt. Wir planen ähnlich, den Seelöwen heftigst umzubringen. Demnach schicken wir euch beide weit weg.“ Die Mädchen begriff das alles sehr gut. Also verließen jene beiden Weiber die Hütte und schlugen den weiten Weg dorthin ein, wo sie ihren Aufzug erfüllen sollten.

Die beiden Yaghan nahmen bald danach ihre alltäglichen Arbeiten wieder auf. Sie wusten sich vor die Hütte und richteten die großen Harpunen her. Auch der Seelöwe verließ die Hütte und wollte wieder Gerlach gehen. Er eilte hinunter an den Strand. Es war ein wunderschöner Tag und die Sonne brannte hell. Schnell wurde der Seelöwe matt und schläfrig; er streckte sich auf einen großen Stein am Strande hin und fiel bald in tiefen Schlummer. Sogleich begann er zu schnarchen und sein Schnarchen wurde allmählich derart laut, daß die beiden Yaghan es hörten; sie waren ja vor dem Hütte. Sogleich ermunterte der eine Bruder den anderen: „Jetzt ist es Zeit, den Seelöwen zu töten. Sicherlich schläft er sehr fest, denn er schnarcht ganz mächtig. Gehen wir fort nur unverzüglich auf! Es frißt uns übrigens Tran, um die großen Harpunen einzuschmieren. Nachdem hatten wir dann das Fett von Schnarchen verwendet, durch eigenes sich Seelöwenzähne vielleicht. Der Seelöwe dort ist außergewöhnlich dick und fett, der gibt eine beträchtliche Menge Tran und Fleisch ab. Den ausgestellten, verfehlen sich wahrhaftig!“ Der andere Bruder war mit diesem Plane sehr wohl einverstanden. Eilfertig gingen sie in die Hütte zurück; beide wollten sich mit ihrer Mutter beraten, ob sie den Seelöwen umbringen sollten. Sie sagten zu ihr: „Mutter, wir sind zu übereinstimmig, unsere Harpunen nun mit dem Fett von Schnarchen einzuschmieren. Viel vorteilhafter erscheint es uns, jenen fetten Seelöwen dort zu töten und den ganzen reichlichen Tran einzuschmieren; damit könnten wir von nun an unsere Harpunen bestreichen!“ Durch diesen Vorschlag gefällt der Mutter durchaus nicht und sie klagte laut: „O weh, was für gemein, will mir nicht gefallen. Der Seelöwe hat mir immer viele und große Fische gebracht und ewar jene fetten, die wir zu verzehren schmarchen. Wenn der den umbringt, ist niemand da, der mich mit vielen schmackhaften Fischen versorgt. Überdies ist dieser Seelöwe wirklich gut und bildhübsch!“ Durch diese Worte dieser Mutter wurden die beiden Yaghan verstimmt und sie entgegneten: „Liebste, es ist richtig, was du sagst, dieser Seelöwe ist wirklich gut und bildhübsch; aber es ist doch nur ein Tier und nicht ein Mensch wie wir. Falls wir den umbringen, gibt sein vielen Fleisch und Fett uns zu. Welch ungeheuer Menge wäre daß! Auch du sollst viel davon essen; denn dieses Fleisch ist schmackhafter und zahlreicher als das von Fischen und Muscheln. Es wird die gerecht sondern. Wir werden

die entschlichte Mangen entkommen konnte, daß du auf lange Zeit gut versorgt bist." Da gab die Mutter schließlich nach und sagte: „Nun gut denn! Macht, was ihr wollt; bringt den Seelöwen um, ich halte euch nicht länger zurück."

Eilig begaben sich die beiden Yahgan ihre Harpunenschäfte zurecht und befestigten daran die scharfen Knochenspitzen mit der langen Leine (Abb. 35). Vorsichtig und leise schlichen sie sich an den Seelöwen heran, der noch immer fest schlief und mühelos schnarchte. Jetzt holten sie ihre Harpunen hoch, holten weit aus und schleuderten sie mit aller Kraft ab. Sie waren so geschickt, daß diese Waffen tief in den großen Leib des Seelöwen eindrangen und ihn bis nahe an den Hals verwundeten. Vor Schmerz wachte der Seelöwe auf, er bäumte sich schnell auf und dann Tiefe sahen. Da brüllte er laut und schnaubend aus aller noch möglichen Kraft, so wie er heutzutage brüllt, wenn er an Tode gequälten zusammenzuckt. Dieser laut und lange brüllte er, daß jene beiden Weiber dort in weiter Entfernung sein Brüllen deutlich vernahmen. „O weh, bringt die Frau des Seelöwen der Mikuzipa, hörst du, wie mein Mann so laut und jämmerlich brüllt? Er will mich gewiß, ihm Hilfe zu bringen, denn die beiden Yahgan bringen ihn jetzt um. Ich will eiligst zur Hütte laufen und sehen, ob er mich braucht!" Die Mikuzipa beeilte sich eiligst, sie zurückzukehren und rufen auf sie zu: „Wie kannst du nur derjenigen zuschauen? Die beiden Yahgan spielen vergnüglich mit dem Seelöwen; alle drei sind gewiß vergnügt und übermütig, deshalb hatte der Seelöwe so laut auf. Merke die beiden Yahgan und bleibe ruhig hier bei mir, wir gehen später gemeinsam zur Hütte zurück." Durch die Frau des Seelöwen tat keinen Schritt mehr vorwärts, sonst dieser drängte sie mit aller Gewalt nach Hause und die andere sah sich außerstande, sie zurückzuhalten. Alle indessen beide Frauen ihre Wegstrecke und wandten sich ihrer Hütte zu. Unterwegs machte die Mikuzipa fortwährend Anstrengungen, die andere Frau zurückzuhalten.

Während man die beiden Weiber den langen Weg zurücklegten, stach der Seelöwe dann auf jenen Steinen, auf denen die beiden Yahgan ihn mit den großen Harpunen tödlich verwundet hatten. Sie begannen sogleich damit, das gewaltige Tier zu zerstückeln und begaben dort dreißig einige Fleischstücke zum Feuer ihrer Hütten. Später setzten sie sich selber hin und verzehrten diese Stücke, sie schmeckten beiden ganz vorzüglich. Andere große Stücke schleppten sie zur Hütte und begaben sie hier am Feuer zum Rösten. Sie wollten bald wieder essen; denn dieser Braten schmeckte ihnen gut sehr.

Die beiden Yahgan hatten den Schnurbart des Seelöwen aber in der Hütte zurückgelassen, als sie Vorsorgungen waren, um den mächtigen Tier zu töten. Sobald der Kopf sich dessen bewußt wurde, daß er sich allein in der Hütte befindet, schlich er hinaus, er ersann sich selbst der Hütte in den Sand und spielte. Nun wandten die beiden Yahgan wieder zurückzog. Einer von ihnen trug den Kopfes zufällig Fleisch zu und er ist dieses mit viel Genuß, denn dieser Braten war von ganz feinstem Fleische. Kaum hatte er die große Stück verzehrt, verlangte er ein zweites. Da gaben ihm die Yahgan ein Stück gebratenen Speck und auch das schmeckte ihm sehr gut.

Zu diesem Zeitpunkt trafen die beiden Frauen hier wieder ein. Nahe der Hütte niedrig sie zunächst auf den Knaben, der im Sande saß und mit Behagen ein Stück ganz frisches Fleisches verzehrte. Als seine Mutter das frische Fleisch in diesen Händen sah, machte eine böse Ahnung sie erzittern. Sie erkannte plötzlich, daß der Knabe das Fleisch seines eigenen Vaters verzehrte! Traurig sank sie in sich zusammen. Doch bald geriet sie in unerträgliche Wut: Sie griff nach einem großen See-Igel in dem Körbchen, das ihr an der Hand hing, und warf ihn mit aller Kraft dem Knaben an den Kopf. Da wurde dieser sofort in einen Fisch umgewandelt. Die Stacheln aber vom See-Igel blieben an seinem Kopfe haften. Das ist der etna.[**]

Voller Trauer und Betrübnis trat die Frau des Seelöwen in die Hütte ein. Sie erschrak ganz entsetzlich, als sie die vielen Fleischstücke sah, die neben dem Feuer an kurzen Stöcken zum Braten hingen. Rund um das Feuer lagen auf dem Erdboden noch andere Teile des zerstückelten Seelöwen herum, schon zurechtgeschnitten, um bald gebraten zu werden: der Kopf, die Flossen, der Bauchteil, die Seitenflächen, der Rücken. Mit Entsetzen betrachtete sie den zerstückelten Körper ihres Mannes. Eine endlose Trauer überwältigte sie; in ihrer Verzweiflung setzte sie sich nieder und weinte bitterlich. Nimmend wechselte mit ihr ein Wort. Ihre beiden Brüder, die Yaháy, verhielten sich äußerlich ganz ruhig und unauffällig, sie gaben durch kein Anzeichen zu verstehen, daß etwas Ungewöhnliches sich ereignet hatte. Sie zerstückelten das Fleisch weiter und schnitten auf dem Braten neben dem Feuer. Auch die Mädchen benahm sich sehr still.

Endlich nach geraumer Zeit fragten die beiden Yaháy ihre Schwester: „Wo ist denn dein Söhnchen? Es hat doch draußen vor der Tür gespielt. Warum kommt es nicht herein?" Erregt und traurig mühsam erwiderte die Frau: „Als ich zurückkam, fand ich den Kleinen draußen vor der Hütte sitzen. Zu meinem Entsetzen wurde ich gewahr, daß er das Fleisch seines eigenen Vaters verzehrte. Da geriet ich in höchste Wut und verlor die Herrschaft über mich. Ich griff nach einem See-Igel in meinem Körbchen und schleuderte ihn dem Knaben an den Kopf; dann ging er ins Wasser."

Als die beiden Yaháy erfahren hatten, was sich mit dem Knaben zugetragen hatte, erzählten sie sich sehr über ihre Schwester. Während griffen sie nach den Fleischstücken vom Seelöwen, die rund um das Feuer an der Hundehütte lagen. Zuerst faßten sie den verdorrten Kopfteil mit den Händen und warfen ihn ihrer Schwester vor die Füße; höhnend riefen sie ihr dabei zu: „Hier hast du den Mund, der dir von Liebe gesprochen und dich mit Küssen bedeckt hat!" Dann griffen sie nach den Flossen, schleuderten sie ihrer Schwester zu und sagten frech: „Nimm die diese Flossen, die dich umarmt und liebevoll berührt haben." Gleich darauf warfen sie ihr den Bäuchteil vor die Füße und schrien verächtlich: „Da hast du auch den Bäuchen, auf dem du geruhsam und auf dem dich der Seelöwe zu seiner Hütte geschleppt hat."

[**] Ein in Ausgaben Gestalteten bildlicher Spielfisch. Die Yamana nennen ihn etwa „weil er ehedem ein Knabe war".

Schließlich grüßen die beiden Typhoy nach dem großen Sonderzuge vom Sorbiven, schlendern hier vor dem Schwarzen auf den Boden und stehen spöttisch: „Nun sollst du auch nach dem Tod haben, mit dem dich Sorbiven deiner Lächerlichkeit wegen und betrügtigst?" Die Frau blieb sprachlos und vor Entsetzen wollte sie weder ein noch aus. Sie wagte nicht einmal die Fleischstücke anzurühren, viel weniger sie zu berühren.

Seitdem verging eine lange Zeit. Täglich sah diese Frau, wie der Sinaiter Sorbiven vom Sorbiven dieses Beiderm und der Hähnchen wandern. Da gräll auch die schließlich einmal schließlicher nach Sinaiten Stückchen und kamen davon. Dieses Fleisch schmeckte ihr außerordentlich. Bald nahm sie sich größere Stücke. Allmählich bewältigte sie sich über dieses Verhalt und vergaß diese Mann, den großen Sorbiven, immer mehr. Kläglichkeit ist sie Fleisch und Speck vom Sorbiven mit ebenso viel Genuß, wie ihr beiden Bräder.

c. Das Sorbiven wird eingeäßert

Man erzählt: Die Mutter der beiden Typhoy war schließlich alt und gebrechlich geworden, von einem Tage zum anderen schwanden ihre Kräfte mehr und mehr. Mit und müde blieb sie liegen, sobald war sie außerstande sich zu regen. Da von schon alle Kräfte sie verlassen hatten, trugen die beiden Typhoy sie aus der Hütte hinaus und legten sie auf grünigem Platze im Gras, damit die warme Sonne sie bestrahlte.

Der ältere Typhoy setzte sich neben seiner Mutter und schaute sie versorgt an. Obwohl er mündig seiner Augen auf die Mutter gerichtet hielt, gab sie keinen Laut von sich. Unmöglich traurig erinnerte er ihn, daß seine Mutter völlig regungslos dalag; doch wissend er sie nicht in diesem tiefen Schlafe und hoffte unverzüglich, sie würde sich bald wieder erholen.

Da der ältere Typhoy durch lange Zeit seinen starren Blick von der schlafenden Mutter nicht abwandte, sondern sie unverzüglich scharf anschaute, begann sie schließlich sich langsam wieder zu regen. Dann öffnete sie ihre Augen und rührte sich ein wenig, der Schlaf wich von ihr weitab. Langsam erwachte die Bewußtsein nach dem diesem tiefen Schlafe. Vorerst regte sie sich nicht einmal zusammenzuzuwerfen; denn kaum merklich und sehr allmählich war erkennend von der die gänzlichen Entwicklung ihrer Abscheulichkeiten. Dies aber geschah dem älteren Typhoy schon und er gerieten deshalber sehr sich vor Freude. Eilfertig lief er in die Hütte hinein; er wollte seinem jüngeren Bruder verständigen und sagte ihm: „Hier und Sorbiven dabei. Unsere Mutter ist von diesem tiefen Schlafe wieder aufgewachte. Gerne langsam hat sie angefangen sich zu regen. Ich hoffe unverzüglich, sie wird bald wieder erholen!" Dieser Worte verstimmten den jüngeren Typhoy sehr und er widmeten sich seinem Bruder, indem er sofort entgegnete: „Du darf es nicht kommen! Unsere Mutter schläft jetzt; denn sie ist sehr alt und völlig erschöpft. Du soll nun schlafen für immer?" Darauffin geschah es wirklich so. Die Mutter regte sich bald gar nicht mehr und stand auch nicht auf. Als der ältere Typhoy die

[illegible] wieder verlassen und jene Stelle erreichte hatten, wo seine Mutter war, erkannte er sie genau so. Wirklich, sie lag völlig regungslos da. Wieder wandte er seinen starren Blick auf sie durch lange Zeit, wie er es vorher getan hatte; dann dreimal bewegte sie sich nicht. Ohne jede Regung und Bewegung blieb sie liegen: *Jetzt* war sie wirklich tot.

Das war das erste Verbrechen. Seitdem erlosch alle Menschlichkeit.[1] Der jüngere Upfaley hat es ohne es gewollt.[2]

Am 13. August 1920 hat mir der alte Kaiserzauer mit seiner Frau, die, wie er, im Westen beheimatet ist, diesen Mythenstoff in einer davon etwas verschiedenen Fassung gebracht. Er lautet so:

Die beiden Upfaley waren übereingekommen, Unger Männer, die ihre Mutter ein sehr hohes Alter erreichen hatten, verlor sie schließlich alle Kraft. Aber blieb sie liegen und sie sehr starke Geduld durchlief sie. Seitdem wagte sie sich nicht mehr. Die beiden Upfaley wurdeten bitterlich, denn sie hatten ihre Mutter verlassen und standen nun allein da. Sie trugen die Mutter hinaus und bestatteten sie. Der jüngere Upfaley hatte keine wenigen Liebe zu seiner Mutter, er weinte länger nicht so laut und so viel wie seine ältere Bruder. Ihre Mutter lag nun schon eine Zeitlang beerdigt. Es verwunderte sie einen Tages von neuem nicht, daß Hütte die Stimme ihrer Mutter. Plötzlich sprach der ältere Upfaley seine Weisen ein und erklärte: „Ich will nicht noch länger warten, denn ich hörte die Stimme meiner Mutter!" Er eilte aus der Hütte hinaus und heraus, dort seine Mutter zu sehen. Der jüngere Upfaley blieb in der Hütte stehen und sprach während der Mutter zu: „Wie kommst du doch hierher wieder? Warte dich unverzüglich darum und verschwinde von hier für immer!" Da sog sich die Mutter ganz langsam zurück und sie ist seitdem nicht mehr wiedergekehrt. Der jüngere Upfaley sagte zu sich, als wäre er mit sich selber unzufrieden: „Warum haben wir unsere Mutter nicht erhört?" gedachte, sie dürfte nicht mehr wiederkommen?" Wirklich, seitdem blieb sie für immer aus.

2. Die Tunisse gehen fort

Die Tunisse sagen: „Die beiden Brüder Upfaley gaben eigene Namen ohne Unterscheidung und Pflicht, ohne Pflanzen und Tiere. Lange blieben sie hier unter auf der Erde. Nachdem sie alt geworden waren, stiegen sie wirklich hoch mit den Upfaley-Menschen und mit ihren anderen Bekannten zum Himmelsweb hinauf. Dort wurden sie heute noch als Sterne."

[1] Geschlecht und es wurde Menschlichkeiten in dieses Geschlecht unter Tunisse mit den Bilfiern. Sie bezeichnen es in der Form Begriff, der von einem jüngeren Bruder dem gebildet wurde, von Menschlichkeit wurde unterschieden, damit von der eigentlichen Bedeutung (Figuren eingeführt (Bd I, 186).

In Bd I, [illegible] Anmerkung 18, habe ich darauf hingewiesen, daß die Bilfiern mit Gedichte die Wendung "Meine Gemeinsamkeit" gebrauchten, wenn die Eigenschaften. Die Tunisse kennen einen Eigenamen für den "Meinen Vater" Nachkommen stehen.

[2] Während diese Erzählung erzählen sich viel Menschen und Tiere in den Gesetzen der unterschiedlichen Generationen bei dem Geschehen Meine, daß gebrauchte Wörter

[illegible] [illegible] von der Tydeus-Familie, die bei den Troern weggehen. Alle Männer und Frauen sind im ganzen stolz auf die Tydeus-Geschichten, denn diese gelten als die besten und richtigsten Überlieferungen. Die Männer von allen erklären die beiden Tydeus-Brüder als die gewaltigsten Jäger, die geschicktesten Bogenschützen, die begabtesten Pferdezüchter. Eine kultische Verehrung irgendwelcher der erhaltenen dieser Heroen bei den Troern nicht, trotz aller Bewunderung, mit der Männer und Frauen von ihnen beiden Brüdern und deren [illegible] sprechen.

Man bezeichnet als die Brüder Tydeus und Diomedes unter Gottes, nämlich den Sohn im Großen Hund und den Prokyon im Kleinen Hund. Die Troer ehrten Gottes in anderer Nähe den Sohn und die anderen Mitglieder der Tydeus-Familie, die alle mitsammen durch eine Himmelsbahn hinaufgehoben sind. Bei 12 erhielte man Gottes, die meist of a bright star, und dann noch [illegible] (meist [illegible]), the name of a bright star.

Bei den Erzählungen selbst fällt sich gar keine Zusammenhang der Tydeus-Familie mit Wanassiliyas Folgern, beide [illegible] vielmehr als ganz deutlich und mit [illegible] gewisse Verschiedenheiten. Bekannt weil ich die bestimmte Frage auf, ob die Brüder Tydeus etwa von Wanassiliyas Beauftragt worden wären, die [illegible] Informationen zu treffen, wie auch die Hinweise in den gefundenen Verzeichnissen und Geschichtsbüchern zu [illegible]. Die [illegible] Information [illegible] alle Leute dieser Frage [illegible] und ich schließt daraus, daß eine solche Verbindung der beiden Tydeusbrüder nicht gerade [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], daß den [illegible] bei [illegible] (S. [illegible]) und den Mäldern [illegible] dieser Hinweise (S. 730) die Tydeus [illegible] wurden als die Vorläufer der gefundenen Gesetze und Lebensgewohnheiten von Hethiten. Wenn bei an die Troerin, Hinweis [illegible] bei. Gelegentlich einer Vorrichtung auf die bis. Bei Illing spielte [illegible] [illegible] und [illegible] von diesen. Bringt [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], Tydeus bei [illegible], Diese Stelle nicht [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (S. [illegible]). Demnach ist die Vorrichtungsfigur der Tydeus nicht als ein [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] Anfang der Wanassiliyas zu deuten, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Frauen keine Gebäude betreten werden. Demnach beweisligt dieser Umstand nicht dass, die Yalgay-Familie in nahe Beziehung zu Wasserjungfrauen zu stehen.

Auch habe ich nicht mit deutlichen Worten erkundigt, ob die Yalgay bei der grossen Umwälzung im Meer zu Tiyuniqa beteiligt gewesen wären. Darauf erwiderten die erfahrensten Alten: „*Zu jener Zeit* hatten die Yalgay sicherlich schon diese Erde verlassen. Die Tunuma von ehedem haben uns niemals erzählt, daß die Yalgay jene große Umwälzung mitgemacht hätten." Da auch in der Ursprungssagen der Alten die Name in keiner Form erwähnt wird, fragt keine Berechtigung von, die Yalgay mit der geheimen Männerfeier in Verbindung zu bringen. Allerdings hat, wie mir 1920 einmal versichert wurden ist, Yalgay-Mawajiga wiederholt einen großen Einfluß auf alle Frauen ausgeübt, die vom Nordwa her an den Canal de Beagle herangegangen kamen (S. 1152). Außerdem erscheinen die Yalgay ebenso wenig eng vergesellschaftet mit *Lów* und seiner Familie. Nur insofern besteht eine Übereinstimmung in den gemeinsamen Persönlichkeiten, als sie nacheinander ein Zeitalter ausfüllen, das von dem der Menschen (S. 1152) getrennt ist. Dieses kann berechtigterweise als das der Heroen bezeichnet werden. Vor seinem Aufgange hörte der jüngere Yalgay das eigentliche Gebäuen ein (S. 1176), es wurde ihm auf diesem Wege ein Sohn beschieden. Mit diesem Knaben und seinem Bruder beginnt die Reihe der wirklichen Menschen, der jetzigen. Ohne jede Erschütterung vollzieht sich der Übergang des Zeitalters der Vorfahren in das der Menschen.

Überblicken wir die Stellung und Wirksamkeit der beiden Brüder Yalgay, so erscheinen sie ausgestattet mit überragender Macht und als Begründer der gegenwärtigen Lebensform des Yamana-Volkes. Sie ordnen dessen Dasein[illegible], [illegible] und sichern sie für alle Zeiten durch Bestimmungen und Verfügungen von zwingender Gesetzeskraft. Wesentliche Erfindungen, die das Leben erleichtern und das Arbeiten erleichtern, sind ihnen zu danken. Somit erweisen sie sich als Kulturheroen in jenem strengen Wortsinne, dem Eisenmann (s. 230) für Verhältnisse bei Naturvölkern einen bestimmten Inhalt gegeben hat. Ganz kann man sei hingewiesen auf die überraschend nahe Übereinstimmungen der Brüder Yalgay mit den *Kaúnyip*-Gebrüdern, von denen die Selk'nam (Bd. I, 201) erzählen. Die meisten Einzelheiten erscheinen bei letzteren viel bestimmter und klarer, auch in der Gedankenfolge richtiger und vollständiger. Der ursprüngliche Zusammenhang der eigenartigen und unverkennbaren Vorstellungen, die bei den Yamana sich um die Person des jüngeren Yalgay und bei den Selk'nam um die Person des *Kaúnyip* mit ihren Gefährten ranken, springt in die Augen. Zu eingehenden Vergleichen[*] ist hier leider kein Raum.

Immerhin ist bemerkenswert, daß in diesem sagenumwobenen Zeitalter der Heroen die einzelnen Persönlichkeiten, vom Zeitgenossen abgesehen, sich in deutlich unterscheidbaren Abständen folgen und die Entwicklung weiterführen. Dasselbe ist bereits bei den Selk'nam nachgewiesen worden (Bd. I, 606).

[*] Siehe dazu ich hingewiesen auf die Sondersammlung von Gusinde (S. 487, sowie auf die allgemeinen Bemerkungen in Eisenmann (S. 43 und Bauer (S. 184).

b. Mythen und Sagen

Im Vergleich zu anderen südamerikanischen Völkerschaften besitzen unsere Yamana eine ansehnliche Zahl von Mythen und Sagen. Die Grundgedanken einer jeden sind Männern und Frauen durchgehends geläufig; denn dann und wann werden sie in einer abendlichen Runde wiederholt. Die einzelnen Familien sind tagsüber mit der Nahrungssuche beschäftigt und ermüden sich dabei; bevor die Nacht hereinbricht, vereinigen sich die Familienmitglieder um das Hüttenfeuer, wo sie ausruhen und die Erlebnisse des Tages besprechen. Die langen Stunden bis zum nächtlichen Schlaf füllen sie nicht selten damit aus, eine längst bekannte Mythe zu wiederholen, zu der, wie von selber, die Aussprache über eine bestimmte Beobachtung oder ein außergewöhnliches Vorkommnis am gleichen Tage überleitet. Mancher hat die wirklich seltene Gabe, lebhaft den längst bekannten Stoff vorzutragen und dadurch Begeisterung bei den ihm lauschenden Zuhörern zu wecken; er wird deshalb geschätzt und zieht die Nachbarn an. Die Yamana kennen sehr gut jene wenigen Personen, die eine alte Sage verläßlich und genau so wiederholen, wie sie von den besten Erzählern überliefert worden ist; ihnen hören sie mit besonderem Vertrauen zu.

Was ich an Erzählungen, die ich teils stückweise und teils vollständig gehört habe, sammeln konnte, dürfte den gesamten Besitz unserer Feuerländer ausmachen. Vereinzelt hat ein Reisender und Missionar mit kurzen Worten angedeutet, daß die Yamana sich die eine und andere Geschichte erzählen; aber keine einzige ist bislang niedergeschrieben worden. Bridges (a): 212 betont: „There are also tales of other fabulous animals in fresh-water lakes." Hyde (d): 298 hebt die „facilità oratoria veramente sorprendente" der Yamana mit vollem Recht hervor und nennt als Inhalt der Erzählungen „in generale racconti di caccie, narrazioni di combatti menti coi vicini Alacaluf ed Ona, descrizioni di fiere tempeste, o dipinture di incontri col terribile *curapic*, lo spirito maligno che vaga per i boschi, traendosi a rimorchio le anime dannate." Der eigentliche Mythenstoff ist ihm ebensowenig wie vielen anderen Reisenden zugänglich gemacht worden. Die spärlichen Andeutungen zu manche Mythe, die tatsächlich vorliegen, nenne ich an geeigneter Stelle.

Im Folgenden habe ich die einzelnen Erzählungen nach sehr allgemeinen Gesichtspunkten zusammengestellt, ohne dieser Anordnung besonderen Wert beizumessen. Die vergleichende Mythenforschung wird sowieso an jede einzelne ihren besonderen Maßstab anlegen. Manches Stück ist mir mehrmals vorgetragen worden; dieser vorteilhafte Umstand spricht für den genauen Inhalt und deshalb ist der Name des jeweiligen Erzählers nicht eigens genannt worden. Bewußt habe ich es vermieden, diesen reichen Stoff zu Vergleichen mit den beiden benachbarten Stämmen oder gar mit anderen südamerikanischen Völkerschaften auszuwerten; dadurch würde ich den Rahmen dieser Monographie sprengen. Mit vereinzelten, kurzen Hinweisen dieser Art will ich es bewenden lassen; sie werden bestimmt genügen.

1. Erklärende Mythen

Bei den Yamana ist die Art der Mythen am meisten beliebt und daher auch am häufigsten, die Ehrenreich (a): 142 als die "explikativen Tiermärchen" bezeichnet. Diese Benennung ist insofern berechtigt, als dieselben „die körperlichen Merkmale bestimmter Tierarten auf äußere Einwirkungen oder Zufälle in der Vorzeit zurückführen." Man erhält zuweilen den Eindruck, als ob es alleiniges Ziel der Mythe wäre, eine bestimmte Eigentümlichkeit nach ihrer Herkunft oder Ursache zu erklären. Meistens erreicht die Mythe diese Absicht überraschend genau und sicher. Auf diese Einzelheiten jedesmal besonders einzugehen, würde hier zu weit führen. Statt dessen verweise ich auf die hinreichend ausführliche zoologische Bestimmung und die besonderen Lebensgewohnheiten einer jeden in den Mythen erwähnten Tierart; eben unter dieser Rücksicht habe ich mir viel Mühe gegeben, jede Tierart nach ihrer Stellung in der zoologischen Systematik zu kennzeichnen (S. 33). Die Überschrift ist fast jedesmal eine wörtliche Übersetzung der Angabe, die unsere Yamana selber für jede ihrer Mythen gebrauchen. Überall spiegeln sich ihre Lebensgewohnheiten und Anschauungen, die geltenden Gesetze und Gebräuche deutlich und bestimmt wieder; niemand wird erwarten, daß ich auf sie eigens hinweise, obwohl sie eine oft wertvolle Ergänzung und eindrucksvolle Erklärung zu vielen vorausgegangenen Aufstellungen sind.

a. *Die Geschichte von dên Kormoranen*

ç̊ŋŋŋ wâtuna

Der *ç̊ŋŋŋ* war immer sehr selbstsüchtig.[108] Eines Tages fand er einen kleinen Brunnen, der etwas Wasser enthielt. Das war gerade zu einer Zeit, da es schon lange nicht mehr geregnet hatte; deswegen fühlten alle Leute empfindlichen Durst. Der *ç̊ŋŋŋ* jedoch hielt jenes kleine Erdloch verborgen, ganz heimlich ging er nur allein dorthin; denn er wollte an andere von diesem Wasser nichts abgeben.

Den *wûŋ̊ŋim* quälte der große Durst über alle Maßen.[109] Überall suchte er nach Wasser, doch nirgendwo fand er etwas. Der *ç̊ŋŋŋ* erschien sehr munter und vergnügt, brauchte er ja doch keinen Durst zu leiden. Der *wûŋ̊ŋim* indes zeigte sich sehr traurig und verstimmt; denn trotz eifrigen Suchens hatte er kein Wasser gefunden und litt empfindlichen Durst. Eines Tages fragte er den *ç̊ŋŋŋ*: „Wie bist du doch so ganz vergnügt! Mir scheint, du spürst den Durst gar nicht?" Der *ç̊ŋŋŋ* entgegnete ihm: „Ich mache eben den Mund auf, wenn es regnet; dann fällt mir mancher Regentropfen herein und das genügt mir." Aber der *wûŋ̊ŋim* war schlau genug, dem *ç̊ŋŋŋ* nicht ganz zu trauen. Ihm schien, der *ç̊ŋŋŋ* müsse doch irgendwo einen Brunnen haben, aus dem er ganz allein trinke. Deshalb sagte er sich entschlossen: „Ich werde dem *ç̊ŋŋŋ* einmal nachgehen!"

[108] Gemeint ist der magellanische Kormoran, Phalacrocorax magellanicus (Abb. 91).
[109] Das ist die bekannte Hauptmuschel, Phalacrocorax gaimardi.

Sogleich holte er sich einige andere wúnçnim und mit diesen wartete er in einem Versteck auf den çyteg. Dieser kam auch bald an jener Stelle vorbei und hatte fünf weitere çyteg bei sich. Langsam und umsichtig ging der çyteg mit seinen Begleitern voran, bei jedem Schritte schauten alle ängstlich zurück. Die wúnçnim folgten ihnen jetzt sehr vorsichtig. Wenn die çyteg sich umdrehten und rückwärts schauten, dann duckten sich alle wúnçnim schnell und ganz tief gegen die Erde. So kamen alle insgesamt langsam voran, bis die çyteg schließlich jene Stelle erreichten, wo der kleine Brunnen mit Wasser war. Nun schauten sie nochmals um. Dann bückten sie sich eilig und tranken das Wasser dort mit viel Behagen. Auch das konnten die wúnçnim jetzt beobachten. Schnell und leise kamen sie heran. Von hinten her stürzten sie sich auf die çyteg, die weit unten am Rande des kleinen Erdloches standen, und versetzten ihnen einen derart kräftigen Stoß, daß sie noch weiter nach unten rutschten. Nun aber begannen sie selber zu trinken und sie tranken lange und tranken alles Wasser aus. Da fühlten sie ihren großen Durst endlich gelöscht und waren sehr vergnügt.

Deshalb schreit der çyteg auch heutigentags noch genau so wie damals, nämlich ç, ç, ç, mit lauter Stimme. Ihm war ja die Kehle ständig feucht geblieben; denn er hatte einen Brunnen gefunden, aus dem er trank, und so brauchte er nicht Durst zu leiden. Der wúnçnim aber schreit heute noch genau so wie damals, nämlich ßh, ßh, ßh aus heiserem, hohlem Halse. Damals konnte er kein Wasser finden und deshalb trocknete seine Kehle gänzlich ein. Und auf allen Felswänden sieht man diese beiden Vogelarten derart verteilt, daß die çyteg die tiefeingegrabenen Vorsprünge und Flächen bewohnen, während die wúnçnim die höheren und weiter oben befindlichen Löcher innehaben. Denn die wúnçnim hatten damals den çyteg einen derart starken Stoß versetzt, daß dieser für immer nach unten gerutscht sind. Seitdem bis auf den heutigen Tag schaut der çyteg jedem Augenblick nach rückwärts, genau so wie damals, als er heimlich zu seinem kleinen Brunnen ging. Er fürchtet eben immer noch, daß man ihn wieder beobachte und ihm heimlich folge.

β. Die Rache der Haubenscharben

Wúnçnim wátuwa

Es war einmal ein Mann. Der saß am Strande, während seine Frau dortselbst Muscheln sammelte. Sie sah Rauch in der Nähe aufsteigen und fragte ihren Mann: „Wer mag das wohl sein, der hierher kommt?" Der Mann erwiderte ihr darauf: „Das müssen wohl die wúnçnim sein; denn die sind ganz plumpe, mißgestaltete Dickhäuche!" Inzwischen waren jene Leute[111] bereits sehr genug herangekommen und hatten diese verächtliche Bemerkung jenes Mannes eben noch deutlich genug vernommen.

Die wúnçnim stiegen aus ihren Kanus und machten sich sofort daran, eine Hütte zu bauen. Währenddessen versuchten sie, mit jenem Manne eine Unter-

[111] Gemeint ist die Haubenscharbe, Phalacrocorax gaimardi, eine dort häufige Art.

haltung anzuknüpfen, und erbaten sich Feuer von ihm. Ihr Benehmen war auffallend artig. Da gab jener Mann sich darüber Rechenschaft, daß diese wénjoim seine verächtlichen Worte aufgefangen haben mußten. Er forderte sie deshalb freundlich auf: „Kommt doch in meine Hütte und richtet euch bequem bei mir ein, es gibt Platz genug bei mir!" Die wénjoim jedoch entgegneten in schnippischem Tone: „Unmöglich können wir deine Einladung annehmen. Wir sind ja mißgestaltete Dickhäuter und außerstande, den Eingang zu durchschreiten!" Jetzt wußte jener Mann genug und überaus freundlich überließ er ihnen das erwähnte Feuer. Die wénjoim richteten sich in ihrer eigenen Hütte ein und überlegten dann, wie sie jenen Mann zum Narren halten und sich dafür rächen sollten, daß er sie selber so schwer beleidigt und so sehr verächtlich gemacht hatte.

Abb. 91. Phalaroperus angustirostris

Bald brach die Nacht herein. Da fragten die wénjoim jenen Mann: „Hast du Lust, uns zu begleiten? Wir wollen auf die See hinausfahren und dort fischen und jagen. Das Wetter ist sehr günstig!" Sie trugen sich nämlich mit der Absicht, ihm einen gründlichen Streich zu spielen. Jener Mann sah sich umzugern gezwungen, daraufhin zuzusagen; denn seine Frau, die ɛ̧ɛ̧ɛ̧kîpu[111] gehörte der Familie der wénjoim an und ohne deshalb durfte er jener Einladung nicht zurückweisen. Also bestiegen alle insgesamt das Kanu der wénjoim. Am Heck setzte sich die ɛ̧ɛ̧ɛ̧kîpu, sie ruderte und lenkte das Fahrzeug. Weit hinaus fuhren diese Leute. Schließlich erreichten sie eine Insel, wo sie viele Seelöwen erschlugen und reichliche Mengen von Fischen zusammelten. Diese Beute luden sie auf ihr Kanu.

Die ɛ̧ɛ̧ɛ̧kîpu war sehr schlau und listig, überdies hatten die wénjoim ihr vorher heimlich einige Weisungen gegeben.[112] Sie saß immer nur hinten am

[111] Das ist die andere dort heimische Schnabelmeise, Phalaroperus angustirostris.

[112] Deutlich kommt hier zum Ausdruck, daß eine Frau aber Zauberin zwischen zu ihrer eigenen Familie hält, auch gegen ihren Gatten, wenn dieser Ihr von diesem verboten wird.

Heck; hier ruderte und lenkte sie das Kanu, damit es durch die Strömung nicht vom Ufer abgetrieben würde. Nachdem bereits der größte Teil der Beute eingeladen war, machte sie wohl immer noch weitere Bewegungen mit ihrem Ruder, als würde sie sich anstrengen und das Kanu nahe dem Ufer halten; doch das war bewußte Täuschung, denn sie ließ das Kanu langsam immer weiter vom Strande abtreiben. Währenddessen bewahrten die *ainjaim* den letzten Teil ihrer Beute im Kanu. Dieses schwamm schon in weiter Entfernung von jener Insel; aber die *ainjaim* flogen hin und her, bewahrten das Fleisch an und entfernten sich wieder. Noch immer saß die *cyzykipa* am Heck und ruderte; doch das war ausgeklügelte Täuschung.

Jener andere Mann war noch auf der Insel zurückgeblieben. Er konnte nicht fliegen. Als jetzt der letzte *ainjaim* die Insel verlassen wollte, um in das Kanu zu steigen, forderte er jenen Mann auf: „Nun, drehst du nicht daran, mitzukommen? Sämtliche Männer sind bereits eingestiegen. Wage einen weiten Sprung und du bist im Kanu!" Jetzt erst merkte der Mann, daß das Kanu sich weit entfernt hatte. Entsetzt sagte er: „Bis dorthin kann ich nicht springen, das ist zu weit für mich." Der *ainjaim* erwiderte ihm: „Siehst du nicht, wie deine Frau unaufhörlich rudert? Sie kann unmöglich das Kanu dir näher bringen! — Nun gut, so sollst du eben hier einen Monat bleiben!" Da sprang nun mit einem weiten Satz auch dieser letzte *ainjaim* ins Kanu. Jener Mann war außerstande ihm nachzukommen; denn gar so weit hatte sich das Kanu von der Insel entfernt. Da lachten alle *ainjaim* laut auf und schadenfroh riefen sie jenem Manne dort auf der Insel noch zu: „Nun, hast du dich endlich davon überzeugt, daß wir keine unbarmherzigen Menschenfresser sind? Schau doch einmal her auf uns: Wir alle haben das Kanu springend erreicht! Jetzt magst du dort drüben einen Monat bleiben." Danach ruderten sie weiter und erkundeten nicht einmal mehr zurück.

So saß also jener Mann ganz allein auf der Insel und sah sich in größter Verlegenheit. Doch er wußte sich zu helfen. Am anderen Morgen machte er einen dicken Knüppel und erschlug damit einen erkleckigen schwärzlichen Seelöwen. Diesen öffnete er auf der Bauchseite nur wenig und nahm durch diese kleine Öffnung alles Fleisch und Fett aus dem Innern heraus. Die Haut stellte er derartig auf, daß sie schnell trocknete. Nun verschloß er sämtliche Öffnungen und blies die ganze Haut prall auf. Dann schob er sie ins Wasser und sie blieb sich schwimmend an der Oberfläche. Alsa setzte er selber sich entkleidet darauf und nach langer Zeit erreichte er schließlich wieder die Stelle, wo seine Hütte stand. Jene *ainjaim* hatten sich wirklich an diesem Manne gerächt, von dem sie lächerlich gemacht worden waren.

2. *Die Geschichte vom Uka*

Kalipwa erkennen

Einst lebte eine Witwe. Von ihrem verstorbenen Manne hatte sie einen Sohn. In seiner Gukala Hütte lebten sie beide. Dieser Gukal aber bekundete

seinem Neffen reichlich schlecht und gab ihm nur wenig zu essen. Der Neffe magerte deswegen auch von einem Tage zum andern mehr ab. Statt guter Kost erhielt er von seinem Onkel immer nur ein *kēti*.[111] Dieses war zwar mit einem Bratenstück vom Guanaco hergestellt; aber das Blut darinnen war gesammelt von den Nasen mehrerer Leute. Diese stocherten nämlich mit einem Stöckchen in ihrer Nase so lange herum, bis Blut floß.[112] Dieses merkwürdige *kēti* gab der Onkel seinem Neffen zu essen. Eben deshalb magerte der Kleine gar sehr ab. Keiner von den übrigen Leuten behandelte den Kleinen lieb, keiner gab ihm etwas zu essen.

Der Kleine war schließlich außerstande, diese Mißhandlung noch weiter auszuhalten. Oft und oft hatte er seiner Mutter geklagt: „Mein Onkel gibt mir nur wenig zu essen und das ist dazu noch schlecht. Ich bin schon so elend daran, ich halte das nicht mehr aus!" Schließlich riet ihm seine Mutter: „Da geh du selber hinaus auf die Jagd und versuche, ein Guanaco zu erlegen!" Er entgegnete ihr: „Wie könnte ich auf die Jagd gehen, da mir *kēli*, Sandalen (S. 404 und Abb. 15) fehlen?" Sogleich schnitt die Mutter von ihrem großen [illegible], Schamerhirsch (S. 406 und Abb. 16) ein Stück Leder herunter und verfertigte daraus ihrem Sohne ein Paar Sandalen. Er zog sie an und eilte hinaus auf die Jagd.

Er schlug sofort die Richtung ein auf einen hohen Bergrücken zu. Zwar hatte sein Onkel immer gesagt: „Jener Bergrücken dort ist sehr hoch, niemand kann ihn überschreiten! Es ist schade; denn auf der anderen Seite gibt es immer viele Guanacos." Da sagte sich der Kleine: „Ich will trotzdem versuchen, jenen Bergrücken zu überschreiten. Vielleicht kann ich dann auf der anderen Seite ein Guanaco erjagen!" So kam er der Anhöhe nahe und begann aufzusteigen. Als er auf der anderen Seite hinuntergestiegen war, sah er sehr viele Guanacos. Er schlich sich heran und erlegte mehrere große Tiere. Nachher erhob er sich einmal um. Da sah er, daß jener Bergrücken vollständig verschwunden war. Darüber freute er sich ungemein und sagte: „Wie angenehm! Jetzt kann ich ja sehr leicht und schnell zu meiner Hütte zurückkommen." Er ruhte sich noch ein wenig aus. Dann lud er sich ein Guanaco auf die Schultern. Mehr konnte er wirklich nicht tragen; denn er war ja noch ein Kind und daher schwach. Die anderen Guanacos, die er erlegt hatte, ließ er zurück. Am nächsten Tage wollte er sie holen, er hatte sie alle auf einen Haufen zusammengelegt.

Erst spät am Abend kam er zu seiner Mutter zurück. Diese freute sich sehr, als sie ihn mit einem mächtigen Guanaco ankommen sah. Sofort schnitt er einige große Stücke ab und die beiden begannen zu essen. Die Nachbarn in den nahe liegenden Hütten hörten bald, wie diese beiden hier mit einem [illegible] große Knochen zerschlugen und das Mark herausschlürften. Sie fragten

[111] Eine Art von Blutwurst, die unsere Yamana geschmackvoll finden (S. 501).

[112] Die Sch'nam (Bd. I, 914) vergnügen sich an dieser ungewöhnlichen Spielerei während der gebeimen Männerfeier und täuschen dadurch vor ihren Frauen die Mißhandlung gewisser Gamen vor. Ähnlich tun auch unsere Yamana während des Kina.

sich untereinander: „Wer mag jenen Leiden wohl Fleisch gegeben haben? Man hört ganz deutlich, wie jene Alte dort große Knochen zertrümmert, damit sie zum Mark gelange." Schließlich gingen einige Frauen zu jener Hütte und sahen hier ein mächtiges Guanaco liegen. Die Alte bat diese Weiber sofort ein, sich zu bedienen und mitzuessen. Sie erklärte ihnen: „Mein kleiner Sohn hat dieses gewaltige Guanaco ganzen mitgebracht, er selber hat es erlegt!" Da lachten die Weiber auf und schüttelten ungläubig den Kopf. Sie sagten: „Wie könnte ein Kind von dessen niedriger Größe ein solches Guanaco getötet und hierher geschleppt haben? Überdies soll er es von der andern Seite des Bergrückens hergeholt haben, der nicht einmal für einen starken Mann gangbar ist! Nachdem sie gut gegessen hatten, gingen sie wieder zu ihren Hütten zurück. Sie erzählten nun überall, auch in den andern Hütten, was die Alte ihnen eben gesagt hatte. Da riefen auch die andern Leute jetzt die Alte herbei und fragten sie darüber aus. Sie bestätigte alles und gab sogar jedem ein gutes Stück Fleisch von jenem Guanaco mit. Trotz alledem wollte niemand glauben, was sie sagte. Schließlich erwiderte sie: „Dann geht ihr doch morgen selbst dorthin, auf der andere Seite jenes Bergrückens und seht euch die vielen Guanacos an, die mein Söhnchen erlegt hat; diese alle ließ er zurück, weil er nicht so viele schleppen konnte!"

Die Alte ging nun wieder zu ihrer Hütte. Hier sagte sie ihrem Söhnchen: „Die Leute wollten mir nicht glauben, was ich ihnen gesagt habe. Deshalb rief ich ihnen schließlich zu, morgen selbst dorthin zu gehen und sich die vielen Guanacos zu holen, die du dort erlegt und zurückgelassen hast." Das aber gefiel dem Kleinen nicht; er war ja von all diesen Leuten schlecht behandelt worden und deshalb wollte er ihnen nichts von seiner Beute mitkommen lassen. Trotzdem gingen am andern Tage viele Männer mit dem Kleinen hinaus. Sie überwanden mit Leichtigkeit jene Stelle, von der sein Onkel immer gesagt hatte, niemand könnte sie überschreiten. Eine kurze Strecke dahinter zeigte er jetzt den Männern die Guanacos, die er gestern erlegt hatte. Diese Tiere waren wirklich noch ganz frisch, nicht einmal die Eingeweide waren herausgenommen worden. So konnten die Männer nicht mehr daran zweifeln, daß dieser Kleine wirklich alle jene Guanacos erlegt hatte.

Nun lud der Kleine sich selber ein großes Guanaco auf die Schultern und trat wieder den Rückweg an. Auch jeder der Männer lud sich ein Guanaco auf. Damit gingen sie los. Aber bald merkte jeder, daß sein Guanaco gar sehr schwer wurde. Jedem Augenblick mußten sie wieder ausruhen und sie kamen sehr langsam vorwärts. Nur der Kleine schien die Last gar nicht zu spüren und er gewann schnell einen großen Vorsprung vor allen übrigen Männern! Das aber reizte sie, daß dieser Kleine dort so schnell voran kam, während sie selber alle ermüdet jeden Augenblick ausruhen mußten. Doch kaum hatten sie einige Schritte getan, mußten sie sich auch schon wieder hinsetzen und sich ausruhen. Immer wieder standen sie auf, ebenso schnell wurden sie auch wieder müde. Derart strengten sie sich an und ermüdeten dabei so sehr, daß sie alle zu Schlamp wurden."

Nur jener Kleine kam wirklich in kurzer Frist zu seiner Hütte zurück. Als die anderen Leute jenes Lagers ihn wieder beladen mit einem Cuanaro ankommen sahen, hatten sie ihn um Fleisch. Aber er sagte ihnen: „Ich kann euch nichts von meinem Cuanaro abgeben. Wartet ein wenig, bis die anderen Männer, eure Verwandten, zurückkommen, die mit mir heute morgen von hier weggegangen sind. Ihr habt mir ja früher auch nichts zu essen gegeben. Also wartet nur auf eure Verwandten!" Und sie warteten gar lange. Aber erst spät in der Nacht kamen jene Uhus an. Diese brachten gar nichts mit. Sie gingen wohl an die Hütten heran, in denen sie selbst gewohnt hatten und wo ihre Verwandten waren; sie selbst aber traten nicht ein. Auch kamen sie zur Hütte, in der jener Kleine mit seiner Mutter saß. Sie konnten sehen, wie diese beiden allein; doch bekamen sie nichts mit und traten auch nicht ein. Sie riefen nur: kukdrug, kukdrug ... Dann gingen sie weg und blieben immer im Walde. Auch heute noch kommen sie nachts an die Hütten; doch treten sie nicht ein und niemand gibt ihnen etwas. Dann rufen sie nur kukdrug, kukdrug ..., entfernen sich von den Hütten und gehen wieder in den Wald.

4. *Die Geschichte vom Fischotter*

Ajapuy wówen

Der ajapuy[107] lebte mit seinen fünf Schwägern in der gleichen Hütte zusammen. Aber diese fünf Schwäger verstanden sich nicht gut mit ihm, sie machten sich andauernd über ihn lustig und spielten ihm manchen üblen Streich. Von alledem gab sich der ajapuy anfangs gar nicht Rechenschaft. Doch da die fünf Schwäger ihn auch weiterhin zum Narren hielten, wurde er endlich darauf aufmerksam, daß sie ihn zum Spielball ihres tollen Treibens machten. Er geriet in höchste Wut und sagte sich: „Etwas stimmt da nicht zwischen mir und meinen Schwägern! Sie machen sich über mich in derber Weise lustig!" Dann überlegte er, was er gegen sie unternehmen sollte.

Voller Zorn verließ er einen Tages seine Hütte, er wollte verschwinden und an seinen Schwägern sich gründlich rächen. Er ging in der Richtung nach Süden, so weit und so lange, bis er an eine vorspringende Felsenspitze kam, an der die Brandung stark anschlägt und die Wellen hohe Berge bilden. Von dieser Spitze aus konnte man die Hütte sehr gut sehen, die er eben verlassen hatte und in der seine fünf Schwäger noch saßen. An dieser Stelle nun baute er sich schnell eine Hütte. Danach machte er ein Signalfeuer, als ob ein Wal hier gestrandet wäre. Seine fünf Schwäger bemerkten sogleich dieses Feuerzeichen und sagten sich: „Der ajapuy ist in südlicher Richtung gegangen. Es ist es gewiß, der das Feuerzeichen gemacht hat. Das kommt uns gut zustatten, dort muß ein Wal liegen!" Danach sagten sie zum jüngsten Bruder: „Du bist der jüngste von uns: Geh du einmal dorthin und schaue es, was es gibt." Da hing der Jüngste seinen Fellmantel um und ging hin.

[107] Das ist der große Uhu. Siehe ausführlicher (S. 12).

[108] Die Bezeichnung für den großen Inseln-Otter, Lutra felina (S. 236). Vgl. Abb. 94.

Der dämpy hatte inzwischen rund um seine Hütte den Erdboden geweigt. Danach schaffte er viel Sand weg und zwar so, daß der Weg zum Eingang der Hütte steil aufzeigend war; schließlich legaß er diesen Weg mit viel Wasser, daß er sehr schlüpfrig wurde. Als der jüngste der Brüder allen gekommen war, schaute er überall umher, aber von einem Wal merkte er keine Spur. Er schaute von gewisser Entfernung aus auch in die Hütte, aber dort war von viel Fett oder Fleisch eines Wales ebenswenig zu merken. Da sagte er sich: „Was mag es wohl sein, daß ich gar nichts finde? Ich sehe hier nichts von einem Wal!" Jetzt rief dann der dämpy von seiner Hütte aus zu: „Komm doch hier herein, mein Schwager!" Da wollte jener aus dem kurzen Weg hinaufsteigen; aber da dieser sehr glatt und schlüpfrig war, glitt er aus und fiel hin. Wie er so platt auf der Erde lag, schob der dämpy seine Harpune und tötete ihn auf der Stelle. Danach zog er diesen Leichnam zur Hütte herein und warf ihn beiseite, wo man ihn nicht sehen konnte.

Bald danach gab er wieder ein Feuerzeichen. Die anderen Brüder sollten glauben, diese beiden hier hätten einen guten Schmaus. Auch diesen Feuerbemerkten die Brüder sogleich und sagten sich: „Unser jüngster Bruder ist auch nicht zurückgekommen und jene beiden dort machen schon wieder ein Feuer. Es wird das beste sein, der zweitjüngste von uns geht dorthin und schaut sich an, was es dort eigentlich gibt!" Sofort machte sich dieser Bruder auf und ging zur Hütte des dämpy. Als er allen gekommen war, schaute er nach allen Seiten um; aber von einem Wale merkte er keine Spur. Sich nähernd schaute er in die Hütte hinein; aber auch dort waren keine Anzeichen von einem frischen Wal. Jetzt rief dann der dämpy von innen her zu: „Komm nur herein, hier wollen wir essen. Ich merke wohl, du merkst auch einen Wal! Komm nur erst einmal herein zu mir!" Da stieg nun auch dieser Schwager den steilen, glatten Weg hinauf. Als er gerade vor dem Eingang sich hinlegen wollte, glitt er aus und fiel nieder. In diesem Augenblick warf der dämpy vom Innern der Hütte aus seine Harpune gegen ihn, so daß er auf der Stelle tot liegen blieb. Damit war der dämpy wieder sehr zufrieden. Er warf auch diesen Leichnam beiseite und sagte sich: „Da werde ich mich an allen dafür rächen, daß sie sich über mich lustig gemacht haben!"

Nicht lange danach zündete er wieder ein Feuer an und blickte es scharf an, so daß eine dicke Rauchwolke sich in die Luft erhob. Dies merkten nun wieder die anderen drei Brüder und sagten: „Was mag denn das sein, daß keiner von unseren Brüdern zurückkommt? Sicherlich rufen sie uns!" Da sagte zum dritztjüngsten Bruder: „Nun hast du an der Reihe; geh dorthin und schaue an, was es denn eigentlich gibt!" Dieser wunderte sich sogleich. Auch er schaute auf jenen Felsspitzen umher, aber von einem Wale merkte er gar keine Anzeichen. Schließlich rief der dämpy auch ihn aus seiner Hütte heraus zu: „Da, mein Schwager, kommt herein in meiner Hütte!" Da kam dieser Schwager näher. Aber als er sich bückte, um einzutreten, glitt er auf dem schlüpfrigen Erdboden aus und fiel nieder. Sofort tötete der dämpy auch ihn mit der Harpune, dann warf er diesen Leichnam beiseite.

Wieder machte man der dingwy ein großes Feuer und Stuben so schnell man, so daß eine dichte Rauchwolke entstieg. Da sagte jetzt der illmma Bruder zum anderen: „Nun kann ich mir gar nicht erklären, was es dort eigentlich gibt; drei unserer Brüder sind schon dorthin gegangen und keiner kommt zurück! Ob sie etwa einen großen Schmaus dort abhalten? Geh du jetzt hin und kommen bald mit den anderen Brüdern wieder." So ging jetzt dieser Bruder zur Hütte des dingwy. Dieser rief ihn herein. Als er in die Hütte eintreten wollte, glitt er ebenfalls aus und auch er wurde vom dingwy umgebracht. Den Leichnam warf er beiseite. Voll Zufriedenheit sagte er sich: „Nun haben es vier meiner Schwäger schon mit dem Leben gebüßt, daß sie mich zum Narren gehalten hatten; es bleibt also nur noch einer übrig!"

So wartete er jetzt wieder ein Signalfeuer. Hinnen bemerkte der illmma jenen Bruder und er sagte sich: „Seltsam wieder ein Feuer und keiner meiner Brüder kommt zurück? Ich will jetzt meiner Wäsche nachsehen und sehen, was denn eigentlich dort vor sich geht!" Er aßte etwas Schlimmes; denn es kam ihm im Gedächtnis, wie sie alle Stuf sich früher über den Schwager wirklich lustig gemacht hatten. Er kam in jene Gegend dort und hielt Umschau, aber von einem Wal merkte er keine Spur. Deshalb sagte er sich: „Hier ist kein Wal gewesen, deshalb soll meinen Brüdern etwas Schlimmes zugestoßen sein!" Er näherte sich der Hütte des dingwy. Dieser rief ihm zu: „Nun, meine Schwager, hier du endlich gekommen? Tritt nur ein in meine Hütte!" Da dachte er sich: „Sicherlich hat er meine Spieler in seine Hütte gelockt und sie dort ebenso umgebracht!" Deshalb antwortete er dem dingwy: „Ach, mir gefällt es hier draußen besser; komm du doch ein wenig herauf zu mir und erzähle mir von meinen Brüdern, auf die ich schon lange warte!" Darauf erwiderte der dingwy von drinnen: „Dort draußen gefällt es mir nicht, komm du nur herein!" Schließlich sagte der illmma Bruder: „Gut, ich will kommen." Sofort eilte er auf die Hütte zu, aber von der Türkante her. Schnell riß er hier einige Pfähle der Hütte aus, als wollte er sich einen Eingang machen. Da sah er zu seinen Schmerzen die Leichen seiner Brüder liegen, eine hier der andere. Vor Wut schrie er: „Jetzt will ich mich an dir rächen!" Sofort schlug er mit einem Knüppel drein und hieb dem dingwy beide Hände und Füße ab, dann brachte er ihn vollständig um.

Dabei bekam der dingwy auch heute noch in Bildern unter den Ende. Er konnte nur schwer heraus, dann ebenfalls, wenn niemand ihn sieht; sonst hält er sich verborgen. Er stellt andern Tieren nach, verfolgt besonders die Hunde und ist auch ein Feind der Menschen. Viel bedient er sich gegen jedermann. Indes, alle seine Gleichnisse sind bereits gebildeten von damals.

c. *Die Geschichte vom Dingwy-Mädchen*

[illegible]

In alter Zeit trugen die Frauen als Kleiderbedeckung nur Bast-[illegible] und den kurzen Röckchenbedeckung.[illegible] Letzteres legten sie in den Hütte ungefähr

ab. Einst lebte eine Mutter, die einen kleinen Sohn hatte. Ihr Mann war wieder einmal hinausgegangen, um zu jagen; mehrere Tage wollte er ausbleiben. Wie immer widmete sich diese Frau ihren Arbeiten in der Hütte. Sie achtete stets geringschätzig darauf auf sich selber, so oft sie sich bückte; aber ihr kleiner Sohn beobachtete sie scharf und so konnte er von rückwärts ihre pudende betrachten. Deren vergnügte er sich oft und dachte auch ständig daran. Von jener an sah er immer wieder: „Das dort gefällt mir! Das dort gefällt mir!" Weil er ständig das gleiche Wort sah, wollte seine Mutter ihm den Willen erfüllen. Sie brachte Muschelschale und Schnecken, See-Igel und Rundkrabben, Fische und Seeaal herbei, zeigte ihm eines nach dem anderen und bot es ihm freundlich an. Dieser aber wies alle und jedes mißmutig zurück, wandte seinen Kopf ab und wiederholte nur: „Das dort gefällt mir!" Gleichzeitig zeigte er auf die pudende seiner Mutter; doch sie verstand nicht, was er erlauschte. Endlich brachte sie Kätzchen und Halsketten herzu, Federschmuck und schöne Steine, Waffen und Gerätschaften, sogar kleine Vögel und einen kleinen Hund. Der Knabe aber wies dies alles kategorisch zurück, wandte sich davon ab und sagte immer wieder: „Das dort gefällt mir!" Schließlich wurde die Mutter ratlos und verlegen, sie wußte nicht mehr, was sie aufsagen sollte. Sie konnte nicht auffindig machen, was ihr Söhnchen eigentlich erlauschte, und sicher begehrte, warum er immer nur schrie: „Das dort gefällt mir!" Denn alles, was in ihrem Bereich lag, hatte sie ihm gezeigt und angeboten, doch stets war allerdings hatte ihn hervorlegt.

Schließlich stellte sich die Mutter, als wäre sie stark ermüdet. Sie legte sich nieder und tat, als würde sie schlafen: sie erwartete nämlich, auch ihr kleiner Sohn würde bald einschlafen. Dieser aber verhielt sich wirklich engagiert und stellte sich wach, als würde er schlafen. Da stand die Mutter nach einiger Zeit wieder auf und schnürte nach ihren Körbchen zu. Während dessen sprach sie leise vor sich hin „Ich werde jetzt an den Strand gehen und dort Muschelschale sammeln." Sogleich faßte sie ihr Körbchen und verließ die Hütte. Wenige Schritte nur von der Hütte entfernt stieß sie schon auf große Muschelschale. Sie bückte sich nieder und sammelte sie in ihr Körbchen. Inzwischen hatte sich der kleinere Sohn auf seinem Lager halb aufgerichtet und seine Blicke der Mutter nachgesandt. Als sie so in gebückter Stellung die Muschelschale sammelte, erschaute er von rückwärts wieder ihre pudenda und ergötzte sich daran. Eilig stand er ganz auf und malte sich Kopf, Gesicht und Oberkörper mit Holzkohlenpulver ganz schwarz; die Beine aber schminkte er mit hell ein. So verließ er die Hütte und eilte hinunter an den Strand, wo seine Mutter war. Am einzigen Felsen kam er vorbei, die dort ebenfalls Muschelschale sammelten. Unauffällig erschaute er auch deren pudenda von rückwärts, beschlich aber keinen dieser Weiber. Als er ganz nahe seiner Mutter stand, sprachen sie pudendis ejus et carpit ludere cum illis. Lusus iste et gloriatio commoverunt stuprat eam delectationem. Attamen matri

[1] Jenes Wort bezeichnet den eigentlichen Schamteil, der S. 686 beschrieben wurde [2] Genauer vgl. 686, 16. Über den Gleichnisgebrauch der Frau vgl. S. 685.

plötzlich hoch into et ei conscrunit. Damit aber die anderen Frauen nicht merken könnten, was diese beiden miteinander trieben, eilten sie zu ihrem Kanu, stiegen ein und fuhren zu einer nahen Insel hinüber. Hier waren sie ganz allein. Sie legten sich nieder et coierunt. Per longum tempus permanserunt hoc modo conjuncti. Dabei wurden sie schließlich in Vögel umgewandelt.

Am nächsten Tage verließen beide jene einsame Insel und flogen zu dem Strand zurück, wo die Hütten der Leute standen. Hier setzten sie sich auf einen Stein, genau jener Hütte gegenüber, die sie noch gestern bewohnt hatten. Jener Mann war inzwischen von der Jagd zurückgekommen, konnte aber seine Frau und seinen Sohn in der Hütte nicht finden. Deshalb fragte er kurzlich die anderen Leute: „Wo ist denn meine Frau und mein kleiner Sohn? Sie sehe ich weder in der Hütte noch anderswo." Die Leute entgegneten ihm: „Sehen nur nach jenem Stein hinüber: Dort sitzen zwei Vögel, die vorher nicht dort waren. Jene beiden Vögel sind dein Weib und dein Söhnchen."[106] Sie haben sich über alle Maßen ineinander verliebt, so daß sie in Vögel umgewandelt wurden!" Seit jener Zeit bleiben sie beide ständig beieinander und sie leben gewissermaßen, ausschließlich für sich, bis auf den heutigen Tag.[107]

3. *Die Geschichte vom kleinen Sperber*

Dötikdzu wdzuwu

Der kleine *Dötikdzu* war zwar noch sehr jung,[108] doch hatte er sich schon verliebt und zwar in seine eigene Mutter. Sie trug diesen kleinen Sohn ständig mit sich herum. Eine eigene Sacktasche vom Felltierchen hatte sie angefertigt, dahinein setzte sie den kleinen *Dötikdzu* und schleppte ihn ständig auf ihrem Rücken. Niemals nahm sie diesen Kleinen aus der Sacktasche heraus. Sie lud sich dieselbe jedesmal auf den Rücken, so oft sie ihre Hütte verließ. Also blieb der Kleine niemals ohne seine Mutter.

Oft ging diese Frau in den Wald. Den anderen Leuten sagte sie: „Mir schmecken die *Beij* gar so gut; deshalb treibt es mich immer wieder in den Wald, um viele dieser Pilze[109] zu sammeln." Regelmäßig entfernte sie sich

[106] Das ist die heiligste, schwere Mißheirat, Gleichgültigkeit hybrida (S. 48).

[107] Die Erzählung will zum Ausdruck bringen, wesentlicher Verkehr zwischen Mutter und Sohn sei ganz unmöglich und bei Menschen unmöglich; Tiere aber sind so, bei denen er sich allerdings vorfindet. Die sogenannte sexualmetaphorische Elemente in dieser Mythe liegt in dem strengen unangenehmen Spannungsverhältnis dieses Jungen-Pärchens.

Während einer besonderen Gelegenheit wurden ich darauf aufmerksam, daß durch die Weibchen der dort Gleichgültigen hybrida den Kopf und die vorderen Körperteilchen schwarz gezeichnet hat, während das Männchen vollständig weiß ist. Die alte Jenes, der ich diese Mythe vorlesen, entgegnete: „Wir wissen es sehr wohl, daß das Inkel-Männchen ein ganz weißes Gefieder trägt und daß das Weibchen gottlosenweise schwarz gefärbt ist. Indes, die Alten haben diese Geschichte in der Weise, wie ich sie vorhin vorlas, uns überliefert, uns immer vorgesungen."

[108] Im Kap Bauer-Gebiet sind zwei Sperberarten an Hause, der kleinere von beiden, scheinbar Dreiteiligen Sperber (S. 42) ist dieser Mythe gewidmet.

[109] Jener allgemeinen Ausdruck bezeichnet jedenfalls Boletus der Cyrtaria Darwini (S. 124).

ganz allein und der Silberkorb nahm sie in der Sackkutsche mit sich. Sobald sie im Walde eine verborgene Stelle auffindig gemacht hatte, hielt sie an. Augenblicklich wurde jetzt der kleine Silberkorb zu einem erwachsenen Manne und verfiel eiligst die Sackkutsche, in der er bisheng gesessen hatte. Ohne Verzug kletterte er auf die Bäume und pflückte *Salj*. Viele davon warf er hinunter und nützte sammelte die Frau sie ein. Nach einiger Zeit rief er von oben der Mutter zu: „Hanni sammelte er dazwischen ersten quasen mannlinen, wieviel jenem *Salj* in vaginam tuam?" Mutter erstim sammen voluptatis hanni sammelnd er erzählen dazwischen vaginam latitiamen sperrt. Filme ob urbaren jenem *Salj* vaginam mutrin attingunt, quod utrique maximae obbrummente fuit. Hinen hatte tempore sui longe protracto filme ob urbaren dazwischen. Tunc mutri incubuit cuique commutavit cum voluptatis, quin mandrum ejus pungendo fuit.—

Nachdem sie damit genommen Zeit verbracht hatten, erhoben sie sich endlich. Der Sohn ging in die Sackkutsche hinein, wurde kleiner und kleiner und war schließlich wieder ein Säugling. Die Mutter eilte mit ihm zur Hütte zurück. Auch diesmal brachte sie wieder eine große Menge von *Salj* mit. Diese verteilte sie an die anderen Frauen, alle aßen reichlich davon und mögen sich sehr erfreuen. Mutter und Sohn aber verließen oft den Wald und, doch immer allein und jedesmal trieben sie dort ihr hinen Spiel.

Zwar kam es den anderen Weibern als eigentlich vor und sie fragten diese Frau: „Wie gelingt es dir doch, in ganz kurzer Zeit so viele *Salj* zu sammeln? Jedesmal bringst du eine große Menge zum Lager." Eifrig erwiderte diese Frau: „Ich gehe regelmäßig ganz allein in den Wald und klettere auf die Bäume; dann pflücke ich schnell sehr viele *Salj*." Von jener ab richteten sich die anderen Weiber genau so ein, wie diese Mutter es ihnen gesagt hatte; trotzdem gelang es ihnen nicht, schnell sehr viele *Salj* zusammenzubringen.

Eines Tages schließlich folgten unbemerkt anderen Weiber jener Mutter, als sie wieder allein im Walde verschwand. Wie immer, trug sie auch diesmal den Silberkorb in der Sackkutsche. Als jene beiden sich drinnen im Walde waren, nahm die erstaunten Weiber, wie jenen Silberkorb sich die Sackkutsche entfiel und zum ausgewachsenen Manne wurde. Sogleich kletterte er auf die Bäume und brach schnell eine große Anzahl *Salj* ab. Unten sammelte die Mutter diese *Salj* eilig ein. Nach kurzer Zeit rief der Sohn der von oben her wieder zu: „Hanni sammelte er dazwischen ersten quasen mannlinen, wieviel jenem *Salj* in vaginam tuam?" Mutter erstim sammen voluptatis hanni sammelnd er erzählen dazwischen vaginam latitiamen sperrt. Filme ob urbaren jenem *Salj* vaginam mutrin attingunt, quod utrique maximae obbrummente fuit. Hinen hatte tempore sui longe protracto filme ob urbaren dazwischen. Tunc mutri incubuit cuique commutavit cum voluptatis, quin mandrum ejus pungendo fuit.

Die Weiber aßen und hörten dem alles von diesem Vorgang aus und unterhielten sich. Unbemerkt eilten sie zu ihren Hütten zurück. Denn Mutter jener Mutter allmählerten sie bald, mahm, nahmen unter ejusque Hütte, versuchte es erzählen dahinzutreiben vorgenommen. Es mögen sich sehr vorwundert; denn bisher hatte er gegleubt, sein Sohn wäre noch ganz klein. Die Mutter trug ihn je

ständig in der Sackkanche auf dem Rücken, ohne ihn jemals herauszunehmen; einzig und allein diesen Gedicht hatte er zu seinem bekommen. Wirklich, die Mutter hatte es dem Kleinen ein gestattet, die Sackkanche zu verlassen, falls eine andere Person in der Hütte weilte. Die Sackkanche selbst trug sie auf dem Rücken fest verschnürt. Sie sagte sich scheinbar: „Wenn ich mein Bilderbuch aus der Sackkanche herausnehmen lasse, wird der Vater sofort merken, sonnbrown ejaw tsan langsam sein. Augenblicks dessen wird er Verdacht schöpfen, wenn vielleicht kaiserw wenn mullaw?" Also hielt sie den Sohn ständig in der Sackkanche eingeschlossen und trug ihn ganz regelmäßig mit sich herum. Auch merkte Hell sie ihn nicht heraus, ihm fehlte ja jede Körperbeschreibung.

Jener Mann nun dachte über das nach, was jener Weiber ihm geschrieben hatten. Er griff nach einem Messer und schlitzt es an, wie es sein muß, wenn man Lederwerkzeug schneidet. An nächstem Tage war seine Frau wieder in den Wald gegangen und erst am Abend wiederzugekehrt. Wie immer, trug sie auch diesmal ihr Bilderbuch in der Sackkanche auf dem Rücken. Sehr viele Zeit brachte sie mit. Da redete er sie freundlich an: „Warum nimmst du denn nie die Sackkanche mit dem Kleinen ab? Diese Last drückt doch schwer, wenn du sie den ganzen Tag mit dir herumschleppst." Sie erwiderte kurz und abweisend: „Dieses Bilderbuch ist noch sehr klein, deshalb muß ich es besonders empfindlich schützen! Eigentlich spüre ich nichts von einer Last, ist doch unser Kind noch sehr klein." Der Mann aber entgegnete scharfe: „Habe du dich selbst endlich einmal nun und gib die Sackkanche gerade herunter!" Während er noch so redete, hatte er schon die Lederschnüre, in denen die Sackkanche seiner Frau auf dem Rücken hing, mit seinem scharfen Messer durchschnitten. Die Tasche entrutschte sofort ab, fiel entzwei und der Kleine fiel dicht vor Erde, daß er auf den Rücken zu liegen kam und die Beine sprießen. Tuan gaw ejaw ebenwaw gatsit dawdiwan mangwan Gili sei, sann vorsichtig nun erst. Jetzt wußte er genug! Außer sich vor Abscheu ergriff er das Messer, das er sich geschärft hatte, er mangwatsit mandaiwan Gili sei mangwan. Viel Blut floß, durch der wütende Mann hell ihn tagwa. Er wurde der Kleine schließlich zu einem Vogel. Er verschlich sofortsaw im Walde und ist sie nicht nur Hütte seiner Eltern verschwunden. Das ist der kleine Bilderbuch, der noch heute einen heiligen Schmuck trägt, und durch sondet seiner langen, roten Zunge.[*]

9. *Die Spatzengeschichte*

Lebe wohl

Die beiden *Lebe wohl* waren Geschwister.[**] Vom ihrer frühesten Jugend an lebten sie bei ihren Eltern und verbrachten gemeinsam auf. Als sie schon lange

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[*] Mit diesen Worten ist der so sich offensichtlich verhaßenstatte Strauch in dieser Weise gemeint.

[**] Gemeint ist der große Gesellschaftliche Spatz Spatzenvogel. Er trägt ein hellbraunes Gefieder und die Männchen haben einen hellschwarzen, prächtigen Schopf. Die Weibchen sind etwas anspan.

[illegible]

Abb. 75. Der große Seeadler
Gymnoscion angelicaeus, $\frac{1}{3}$ n. Gr.

[illegible]

4. Die Geschichte von Gerhardsbrücken

[illegible]

[illegible]

5. Die Rache der Geschichte

[illegible]

[illegible]

und wurde ihm seltsam lange Intervallen. Allmählich sagte er sich, daß der jüngere Bruder sich in seiner Schwägerin verliebte. Diese beiden fanden sich nun gar oft zusammen und küßten sich auf alle Art.

Der Liebesspiel wurde der Hirten Bruder nach einiger Zeit gewahr. Seitdem beobachtete er jene beiden so lange, bis er dessen sicher war, daß sie sich liebten. Seinem jüngeren Bruder offenbarte er sich nicht. Aber einen Tages, als dieser sich wieh entfernt hatte, rief der Hirten Bruder seine Frau herbei und sagte ihr: „Oh! habe ich beobachtet, wie du deinen Schwager geküßt hast; denn du hast auch in den verliebt. Falls du von meinem Bruder nicht ablässt, werde ich dich so deiner eigenen gerechten Bestrafung empfindlich strafen. Das merke dir wohl. Falls du nicht sofort von meinem Bruder ablässt, gehe ich nicht mehr mit deiner Liebe zu mir. Ich werde mich dann gründlich rächen; ich werde mich in einen starken Vogel mit großen Krallen verwandeln, um dich zu fassen und beobachten. Also einen dich wohl in acht! Sonst führe ich meinen Rachegiftes nur und du wirst schmerzhaft bestraft werden." Das Weib hörte schweigend zu, erwiderte aber keine Silbe.

Nach einiger Zeit begannen jene beiden mit ihren Liebeleien mehr zu. Die Frau schien ganz vergessen zu haben, welch empfindliche Strafe und drohtigende Bestrafung der Mann angedroht hatte. Jene beiden fanden sich gerne so oft wie nur irgendwie zusammen und tändelten sich ihrer Liebesspiele durch lange Zeit. Der Hirten Bruder verließ schließlich endgültig seine Hütte und zog sich in den Wald zurück, er wollte nun seiner Drohungen gegen sein treulosen Weib durchführen.

Hier im Walde richtete er sich eine Hütte auf und blieb dort. Nämlich begann er mit Verwunderung, als er sich in einen Vogel verwandeln konnte. Oft war er nun seiner Hütte heraus und beobachtete alle Vögel sehr genau. Bald gab er sich Rechenschaft, daß jedweder Vogel sich seine Nest hoch oben auf einem Baume eingerichtet hat. Deshalb verfiel auch er jener seiner Hütte und stieg auf einen Baum hinauf. Auch wahrhaftig beobachtete er jeden Vogel sehr genau und schaute auf das, was sie taten. Da entdeckte er, wie sich jeder Vogel auf einen Zweig oder an den Rand des Nestes setzte, wenn er sich entfernte, und dann Kot nach unten fallen ließ. So blieb auch er nun jener an einem auf einem Zweige sitzen, wenn er sich entfernte, und ließ den Kot nach unten fallen. Immer weiter beobachtete er die Vögel und bald Tag er durch sich, ihren Gesang nachzuahmen. Auf die Bewegungen der Vögel schaute er, ebenfalls und so begann er durch, seine eigenen Arme genau so zu führen, wie die Vögel ihre Flügel bewegten, und genau so zu fliegen, wie sie es taten.

Nach geraumer Zeit besuchte er wieder einmal die Hütte, in der seine Frau mit seinem jüngeren Bruder lebte. Dieser empfing ihn mit spöttischem Gelächter und sagte ihm höhnisch: „Nun, wann wirst du endlich zum Vogel werden? Wie ich sehe, hilft dir dieses noch gar nicht. Du willst die wohl gar nicht glücklich? Jedenfalls dauert es lange genug?" Der Hirten Bruder erwiderte nichts auf diese Sticheleien, sondern verhielt sich still. Er sah dort, wie sich Weib die Liebeleien mit seinem jüngeren Bruder immer noch trieb und

[illegible] weniger als [illegible]. Das [illegible] [illegible] sehr wenig. Ohne ein Wort zu sagen verließ er seine Hütte und eilte in den Wald zurück. Wieder schaute er hier oder schaut auf alles, was die Vögel taten, und er dachte bei sich [illegible] gesehen zurück. Lange Zeit verblieb er hier. Täglich versuchte er, sich in einen Vogel umzuwandeln. Dann wäre sein Weib und sein Bruder überflüssig werden und er hätte sich an dem [illegible] können.

Lange Zeit dauerte [illegible] er wieder einmal seine Hütte. Sein jüngerer Bruder empfing ihn hier abermals mit spöttischem Gelächter und [illegible] redete er ihn an: „Wie ich sehe, hast du dich ja auch immer [illegible] in einen Vogel umgewandelt! Das dauert gar sehr lange. Du wird die wohl [illegible] müssen glauben." Auf diese hohnlachenden Worte erwiderte der [illegible] Bruder nichts. Auch diesmal mußte er so wieder gewahr werden, wie sein Weib [illegible] Schwager fröhlichen [illegible], sie sagte diesem hier, daß jener der [illegible] [illegible] deutlich die spöttischen Worte hörte: „Der Dummkopf wird noch lange versuchen müssen und schließlich doch nichts erreichen! Um so besser für uns beide!" Daraufhin wurde der [illegible] Bruder [illegible] und [illegible]. Sofort verließ er seine Hütte und [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

Als den Zeit war der Wiere Bruder [illegible] [illegible] zu einem Vogel geworden. Er hatte nur mehr auf den Bäumen und hatte sich dort ein großes Nest gebaut, wie solches alle Vögel bauten. Dann er sich [illegible] [illegible] auf einem Zweige einen und hat seinen Ruf [illegible] Daß Wasser war zu einem geworden, [illegible] [illegible] zu Fischen, [illegible] Bäume und Dörfer einen Vogels mit [illegible] [illegible] Leuten. Seinen [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Bruder in den [illegible] [illegible] Wiere hat einen Vogel der jüngere Bruder in den Wald [illegible] zu sehen, [illegible] [illegible] Bruder gewordene [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] auf offenem, ungeschütztem Wasser.[illegible] Der schlaftige Gutsherr kam herangeflogen und hielt sich schwebend in der Luft genau über jenem Fleck, auf dem die Lerche spielten, Alle wurden auf den aufmerksam. Da öffnete jener der Kätzerche seinen Kaffee und holt seine gestern gestohlene viel wertvollere silber verzierte Kaffeekanne, seinen Stolz in den Korb der kleinen Lerche. Sie kam gestern gestohlen auf den Kaffeeduft Sehen, Klang das leichte eigenartig. Die Lerche verschrecken, als er so merkwürdig aufzählig. Sie begann sich belagerigt: „Was ist das für ein seltsamer Aufschlagen? Es ist doch seltsam, daß hier etwas von dem Kaffeeduft?" Nun schwenkte sie Gleich weiter und schlüpfen hoch oben in der Luft wieder den gewaltigen Gutsherrn. Dann gingen sie wieder an jene gestern gestohlen lerne, die weiten weiten in dem Korb Kaffeegefäßen waren. Nicht vermeint starrten sie diese Dinge an und sagten nachdenklich: „Das sind ja gestern gestohlen sind es wollte, lerne es vergessen streit in ruhen. Wie merkwürdig!" Sie überlegten eine und dachten nach. Bald hatten sie es erraten und sagten: „Eine wunderbare Blume sind es jetzt wieder bunte eine! Der Kätzerche hat heute eine besondere Lerne!" In diesem erkannten sie schließlich den Blumen Bruder. Jetzt riefen sie laut: „Das riechen sich den Blumen Bruder dafür, daß eine Welt mit seinem gegenüber Bruder verbrennen Umgang hatte! Seitdem ist nicht geschehen!"

6. Wie der Gutsherr mit Welt mehr Kätzchen unterm

Einen Tagen fahr der große Gutsherr[illegible] an den Felsen dreaden in der offenen See. Dort auf jenen Felsen wollte er einige Seelöwen erjagen. Viele andere Männer begleiteten ihn. Diese waren ebenfalls verkleidet, damit Gefahr sie ihre Welten dahinter versteckt und Felsen ohne sie fort. Einen weiten Weg mußten sie weiterfliegen und das Wetter war sehr ungünstig. Nach mehreren Tagen endlich erreichten sie jene Felsenland. Hier verschlagen sie viele Seelöwen. Sie waren dunkelbraun sehr schwer. Da versteckten sie sich wieder und wollten sie wegmachen, denn sie waren sehr verschlafen. Bald schlief einer nach dem anderen ein. Schließlich waren nur noch zwei Männer wach, die sich unterhielten. Auch der Gutsherr hatte sich bereits eingeschlagen. Doch wollte er sich nur so, als ob er schlafe, er konnte ohne nicht einschlafen.

Jene beiden Männer sahen ganz nahe beim Gutsherren. Der eine von denen sagte ganz leise zum anderen: „Hier sieht aus. Hier sehen wir Jagd der Kätzchen. Kennst du diesen bläulichen Welt, die Lätzchen? Nun, ich will die etwas erzählen. Ich habe mit der schon lange Zeit leichtlichen Umgang. Sie ist wirklich ein seltsamer Welt." Der andere erwiderte ihn sagtrieb: „Sprich doch leise nicht dorum. Nehmen wir lange durch den Gärten, wie leicht können wir uns wieder hören?" Jener erster Mann erwiderte: „Ja nun, sagte dich dadurch

[illegible] sind die geschwindelnden Kätzchen unter seinen Geschichten.

[illegible] Diese große Bedeutung ist in ähnlichen Gärten und Jagdzeiten sehr und dieserhalb die Tiere oder Gewerbe haben.

nicht! Wie ich sehe, schläft der Elfilla schon ganz fest; der hört nichts von dem, was wir hier hier reden." Das erzählte dem anderen und er gestand: „Nun will auch ich die etwas verraten. Hier: Ich selber habe auch mit langem heimlichem Verkehr mit der schönen Lilliya. Oft schon bin ich unbemerkt mit ihr zusammengekommen. Sie ist eine Zwerfid ein herrliches Weib!" Auf solche Weise sprachen sich diese beiden Männer aus und erzählten sich gegenseitig ihr heimliches Treiben mit der schönen Frau des Geierfalken. Dieser aber stellte sich immer noch, als schliefe er ganz fest. Deshalb hörte er deren Worte sehr genau.

Am nächsten Morgen holten die Männer einstimmig Steifbeen, die sie erbeutet hatten, auf ihre Kanus und fuhren wieder an jener Stelle vorbei, an der ihre Familien warteten. Als sie hier angekommen waren, ging jeder Mann zu seiner eigenen Hütte. Der Elfilla jedoch ging nicht zu seiner Hütte, in der seine Welk ihn erwartete, sondern trat bei einem seiner Verwandten ein. Wohl schickte er seiner Frau in der Hütte ein Stück Fleisch, doch ohne irgendetwas sagen zu lassen. Sie fand es sehr befremdlich, daß ihr Mann nicht selber zur Hütte kam und ihr weiter nichts als ein Stück Fleisch geschickt hatte. Schließlich kam sie auf die richtige Spur und sagte sich: „Mein Mann wird wohl erfahren haben, was ich mit anderen Männern im Geheimen treibe und wem ich mich hingegeben habe. Sicherlich deshalb kommt er jetzt nicht mehr zur Hütte hierher und schickt mir weiter nichts als ein kleines Stück Fleisch!" Die *Lilliya* war plötzlich traurig und wußte nicht, wie sie sich einrichten sollte. Sie war darüber sehr traurig, so allein dastehen zu müssen. Nach einiger Zeit verließ sie ihre Hütte und entwichen. Sie rannte zum Strande hinunter und wollte am Ufer entlang laufen, bis sie mit ihrem Vater zusammentraf. Das war der alte *Ikhaley*.[40]

Nachdem die *Lilliya* lange Zeit am Strande entlang gelaufen war, sah sie endlich ein Kanu auf dem Wasser. Diesem winkte sie sofort, daß es näher käme. Geraume Zeit mußte sie Zeichen machen, endlich bemerkte jener Kanu die Fahrtrichtung und wandte sich dem Strande zu, wo die *Lilliya* wartete. Wirklich, es war ihr Vater, der daherrudert. Da bemerkte sie sich gar sehr, daß sie ihren Vater schließlich doch erreicht hatte. Dann erzählte sie englisch alles und erklärte, weshalb sie entwichen wäre und das gemacht hätte.

Bald hatte auch *Elfilla* wahrgenommen, daß seine Frau aus ihrer Hütte verschwunden war. Das stimmte ihn sehr traurig. Da rollte er sich auf und lief ihr eiligst nach, er wollte sie suchen und wieder heimführen. Er erblickte die gleiche Richtung ein, in der sie sich entfernt hatte. Schließlich kam er der Stelle nahe, an der sie nach mit ihrem Vater saß. Doch als diese beiden den *Elfilla* gewahr wurden, der sich ihnen näherte, bestiegen sie unverzüglich ihr Kanu und fuhren davon. Der *Elfilla* war an Fall gekommen, demzufolge konnte er ihnen den Strand entlang laufend nicht weit folgen. Verzweifelt und traurig mußte er zusehen, wie *Lilliya* mit ihrem Vater sich immer weiter entfernte. Lange schaute er ihnen nach.

[40] Das ist Shamdoo mahmaphoon, der große Albatros (S. 68).

In seiner Verzweiflung suchte er ein Vogelei. Dieses schleuderte er auf den Erdboden, daß es zerplatzte: Damit wollte er sich gutes Glück sichern. Sogleich rief er alle Winde herbei, den Wind von Osten und den vom Westen, den vom Süden und den vom Norden. Alle diese Winde stellten sich sofort ein und sie bliesen sehr stark, ein jeder von seiner Seite her. Das Kanu, in dem die *Lálkipa* mit ihrem Vater saß, bewegte sich nicht mehr von der Stelle; denn von allen Seiten bliesen die Winde sehr stark. Also stand jetzt das Kanu mitten auf dem breiten Wasserarme und konnte nicht vorwärts kommen. Das hatte *Kóffa* beabsichtigt. Erst am folgenden Tage herrschte wieder vollkommene Windstille und nun ruderten jene beiden mit ihrem Kanu davon. Sie fuhren schnell, denn sie strengten alle ihre Kräfte an. Schließlich erreichten sie ihre Hütte. Hier stieg der Alte mit seiner Tochter aus. Seitdem blieb die schöne *Lálkipa* bei ihrem Vater für immer.

Betrübt ging auch der *Kóffa* zum Lager seiner Leute zurück. Er betrat wieder seine Hütte und setzte sich ans Feuer. Doch nun war er ganz allein. Lange saß er traurig da, er weinte laut und viel. Eine Frau kam an seiner Hütte vorbei und hörte sein Klagen. Sie fragte ihn: „Warum weinst du denn gar so sehr?" *Kóffa* erwiderte ihr: „Ach, mir hat der Wind etwas Schmutz in die Augen getrieben, das schmerzt mich empfindlich. Deshalb verliere ich so viele Tränen." Doch eigentlich weinte er um sein schönes Weib, das er verloren hatte. So lange und so viel hat er schon geweint, daß ihm auch heute noch die Augen hoch gerötet sind[100] von den vielen, vielen Tränen um die schöne *Lálkipa*: und immer noch weiter weint er um sie.

3. *Der selbstsüchtige Fuchs*

Cilawéja wétuma

Einst fehlte es hier in einer Gegend an Wasser und alle Leute litten empfindlichen Durst. Der schlaue *Cilawéja*[101] hatte sich sorgfältig umgesehen und in einiger Entfernung vom Lagerplatze doch eine Lagune gefunden, die etwas Wasser enthielt. Mit niemandem sprach er darüber, sondern richtete um die Lagune herum einen dichten Zaun auf, daß niemand eintreten konnte. Er selbst hielt sich darin die ganze Zeit verborgen und achtete darauf, daß kein anderer nahe käme, um Wasser zu trinken. Nur er nahm für sich reichlich vom Wasser; vereinzelt gestattete er auch seinen Verwandten, aus der Lagune zu trinken.

Nach einiger Zeit erfuhren es die anderen Leute aber doch, daß der Fuchs eine Lagune mit Wasser entdeckt hatte und daran sich selber sättigte. Weil sie ununterbrochen schon lange empfindlich unter Durst gelitten hatten, kamen sie hierher zum Fuchs und erbaten sich etwas Wasser. Er aber hörte ihre Bitten nicht einmal an, sondern jagte sie kurzerhand mit derben Worten

[100] Diese Färbung der Augen, die den Eltern deutlich zu triefen scheinen, ist beim großen Geierfalken, Polyborus thoras, sehr auffällig.

[101] Der große feuerfüßige Fuchs, Canis sen Cerdocyon magellanicus (S. 35).

davon. Die Lage der Leute wurde immer bedrohlicher. Als sie vor Durst sich kaum noch aufrecht halten konnten, näherten sie sich abermals dem *Čilendja*; sie boten ihm große, schöne Fleischstücke an, die sie gegen Wasser eintauschen wollten. Er aber blieb hartherzig und ging auf den Tausch nicht ein.

Nun waren die vielen Leute wirklich dem Tode schon ganz nahe. In ihrer Ratlosigkeit ließen sie den kleinen *Omdra* kommen, der sie früher schon einmal aus großer Not gerettet hatte. Tatsächlich fand sich *Omdra* bald ein; denn er war gern bereit, andern jederzeit zu helfen. Zwar ist er ein winziges, unscheinbares Kerlchen,[108] aber viel mutiger und waghalsiger als mancher Riese. Alle Leute klagten ihm laut ihr Leid und sagten: „Wir sterben hier vor Durst! Der Fuchs dort verfügt zwar über Wasser, aus indes gibt er nichts davon ab." Andere Leute seufzten: „Der selbstsüchtige Fuchs hat einen dichten Zaun rund um die Lagune herum aufgerichtet; nur er selber und seine nächsten Verwandten können dort trinken, uns wird bald der Durst verzehrt haben!" Da ereiferte sich *Omdra* gar sehr über den selbstsüchtigen *Čilendja*. Sofort erhob er sich und eilte dorthin, wo der Fuchs sich aufhielt. Er redete ihn hart an: „Höre! Verhält es sich wirklich so, wie es alle Leute mir versichert haben? Du verfügst hier über eine Lagune mit Wasser, du willst aber davon den andern Leuten nichts überlassen! Alle sterben deshalb bald vor Durst." Der Fuchs erwiderte spöttisch: „Was brauche ich mich um andere Leute zu kümmern? Diese Lagune hier enthält nur wenig Wasser, das reicht kaum für mich und meine nächsten Verwandten hin. Ich kann an die andern Leute nichts abgeben, sonst würde ich selber Durst leiden." *Omdra* geriet in Wut; ohne dem Fuchs zu antworten, eilte er zum Lager.

Kurze Zeit dachte er nach. Sofort erhob er sich wieder, griff nach seiner Schleuder und ging nochmals dorthin, wo der Fuchs sich aufhielt. Auf dem Wege sammelte er einige scharfe Steine. Als er sich genügend genähert hatte und den Fuchs erblickte, rief er ihm drohend zu: „Willst du nun endlich den Leuten etwas Wasser überlassen? Sei doch nicht so selbstsüchtig: Sie sterben ja bald vor Durst!" Der Fuchs erwiderte verächtlich: „Mögen alle umkommen vor Durst, was kümmert's mich! Allen kann ich nicht Wasser von hier geben, sonst ginge auch ich mit meinen nächsten Verwandten zugrunde!" Nun konnte sich der ereiferte *Omdra* nicht mehr halten, während schwang er seine Schleuder und tötete den Fuchs auf den ersten Wurf.

Die andern Leute hatten das beobachtet, erfreut eilten sie herbei. Unverzüglich zerschlugen sie den dichten Zaun, näherten sich der Lagune und tranken reichlich Wasser. Sie tranken so viel, daß die ganze Lagune entleert wurde. Alle zeigten sich überglücklich, denn sie waren nun vom Tode gerettet. Einige Vögel aber kamen zu spät. Kaum wenige Tropfen fanden sie, mit denen sie sich die Kehle noch etwas anfeuchten konnten. Die vielen anderen Leute hatten eben sehr viel Wasser getrunken, weil der lange Durst sie völlig aus-

[108] Gemeint ist der Kolibri Sephanoides sephaniodes, der sehr vereinzelt nur in jenen Gebirgen sich sehen läßt. — Gleich in der folgenden Erzählung tritt er abermals auf. Vgl. die Anmerkungen 138 und 143.

getrocknet hatte. Da nahmen nun die Sie[107] und die anderen Vögel, die mit ihr verspätet hier eingetroffen waren, den feuchten Schlamm aus dem Grunde der Lagune und spritzten kleine Klumpen weit auf die Berge hinauf. Diese Schlammklumpen ließen sofort Wasserströme aus den Bergen herauströmen, es bildeten sich kleine und große Bäche und sehr viel Wasser floß talwärts. Als die Leute das sahen, wurden sie überaus froh; sie tranken reichlich von dem frischen, klaren Wasser, das besser war, als das aus jener Lagune, und nun waren sie gegen Durst gesichert.

Bis auf den heutigen Tag fließen die vielen Bächlein, die damals noch nicht da waren, von den Bergen herunter; sie geben reichlich und zwar gutes Wasser. Seitdem braucht nirgend mehr vor Durst zu sterben.[108]

μ. *Die Geschichte vom Steinmenschen*

Sinalowutapinčjua wétamu

Ein Mädchen fand eines Tages am Strande einen Stein, der in allem einem kleinen Kinde glich. Da hob das Mädchen den Stein auf und fing an, damit zu spielen, wie eben ein Mädchen mit seiner Puppe spielt. Sie trug diesen Stein in ihren Armen, wiegte und herzte ihn, gab ihm zu essen und schmückte ihn, wie es eine Mutter mit ihrem Säugling macht.[109]

Jene Leute[110] fuhren mit ihren Kanoes einst in den östlichen Canal de Beagle. Als sie in die Nähe von Sinowuia kamen,[111] sah das Mädchen, daß dieser ihr Stein sich langsam wie ein Säugling regte und bewegte. Er war und blieb zwar ganz Stein; doch die Augen, die Handteller und die Fußsohlen waren genau so wie die eines Fremden [d. h. Europäers]. Das Mädchen freute

[107] Die hellfarbige Ohreule, Nyctalops sarcipisiensis (S. 62).

[108] Genau so, wie in zwei anderen Erzählungen, betätigt sich der kleine Kolibri auch hier wieder als Retter einer großen Gruppe. Dem helfähigen ihn seine Entschlußkraft und überraschende Geschicklichkeit, ungeachtet seiner ganz unansehnlichen Körpergröße.

Die Selk'nam erzählen: „Wie Taiyin den Leuten zu Hilfe kam" (Bd. I, 613). Der eben genannte Helfer ist, wie ich es seinerzeit (Bd. I, 616) ausgesprochen habe, niemandem der Kolibri. Er hat, wie beide Erzählungen es gleichmäßig beweisen, durch seine Tätigkeit die vielen Brunnen und Lagunen, die Bäche und Seen in jenen Gegenden hervorgebracht. Sowohl die Yamana wie auch die Selk'nam preisen den kleinen Kolibri als einen außerordentlich tüchtigen und gegen jedermann hilfsbereiten Mann; bei beiden Stämmen steht er hoch in Ehren.

[109] Man erklärte mir: In aller Zeit nämlich, bevor sich das ereignet hatte, von dem Erzählung berichtet, war ein Puppe ein kurzer, länglicher Stein ähnlich, der eben einem Mädchen, das damit spielen wollte, gefiel. Dieses Stein hütete, pflegte und streichelte das Mädchen, gab ihm aber keine je eine eigentliche Kleidung. Seitdem jener Steinmensch sich aus einer derartigen Puppe entwickelt hatte, wurde es den Mädchen unmöglich, einen Stein sich zur Puppe zu wählen, aus Furcht, es könnte daraus ebenso ein Steinmensch entstehen (S. 765).

[110] D. h. die Familiengruppe, der dieses Mädchen angehörte.

[111] Name für die Bahía Punta, westlich von Puerto Mejillones, am Nordende der Isla Navarino. Die Namenbildung entspricht genau der bei den Yamana dafür gebrauchten Regel, derzufolge beim Eigennamen die Bezeichnung des Geburtsortes verwendet wird. Die Übersetzung würde ergeben: Der weiße Sande.

sich außerordentlich darüber. Sogleich gab sie ihrem Steinkinde die Brust, damit es nicht etwa Hunger leide. Aber dieses Steinkind biß ihr die ganze Brust ab, statt daran zu trinken. Kurz darauf starb das Mädchen.

Seitdem nahm eine andere Frau sich des Steinkindes an. Sie hegte und pflegte es gut. Als diese Frau ihm die Brust reichte, damit es sich nähre, biß das Steinkind ihr die ganze Brust ab. Daraufhin starb diese Frau. Wohl versuchten alle Weiber darüber; aber sie hatten durch Mitleid mit dem Steinkinde und schließlich nahm eine andere Frau sich dessen wieder an. Sie pflegte und wärmte es gut. Doch als sie ihm die Brust reichte, damit es seinen Hunger stille, biß das Steinkind auch ihr die ganze Brust ab. Daraufhin starb auch diese Frau.

Über alles das wurden die Männer schließlich aufgebracht und verärgert. Sie faßten das Steinkind und schleuderten es in den breiten Wasserarm. Das Steinkind aber folgte sofort wieder unmittelbar ihrem Kanu. Da faßten sie es abermals und schleuderten es auf den Strand. Doch hier erhob es sich schnell wieder und lief nun hinter den Leuten her, den ganzen Strand entlang. Die Leute konnten sich nicht mehr frei machen von ihm. Schließlich griffen die Männer nach Knüppeln und schlugen damit auf das Steinkind ein, sie bewarfen es mit schweren Steinen, bedrohten es mit bewaffneten Hohnbeilen und schleuderten es abermals ins Wasser. Alle ihre Anstrengungen blieben jedoch erfolglos. Es gelang ihnen auf keine Art, jenes Steinkind umzubringen oder sich von ihm frei zu machen. Immer und überall folgte es diesen Leuten.

Mit der Zeit wuchs dieses Steinkind heran und war nun schon zum Manne geworden. Als solcher war er derart groß und schwer, daß die Männer nicht mehr stark genug waren, diesen Steinmenschen im Wasser zu ertränken oder auf den Strand aufzuschlagen. Nach und nach zeigte sich dieser Steinmensch sogar bösartig und mißtrauisch, je weiter allen Leuten gefährlich. Dann fing er auch noch damit an, einzelne Männer umzubringen und deren Frauen in seine eigene Hütte gewaltsam zu entführen. Seine Hütte befand sich an abgelegener Stelle; dort lebte er mit den vielen Weibern, die er dorthin im Laufe der Zeit verschleppt hatte. Auch die weiter abseits wohnenden Leute begann er zu belästigen. Nur die Leute von Malinare [im Kanal südlich der Angasteure Marrey] ließ er unbehelligt und brachte keinen von ihnen um. Kroppkto er aber irgend ein anderes Kanu, folgte er diesem unmittelbar, störte die Männer und schleppte deren Frauen zu seiner Hütte. Hier nun hatte er schon sehr viele Weiber zusammengebracht. Mit diesen zeugte er viele Kinder. Doch jedes Neugeborene, das ein Knabe war, brachte er um; nur Mädchen ließ er am Leben. Waren diese selbst wieder groß geworden, so zeugte er auch mit diesen abermals Kinder. Da er aber zahlreiche Weiber hatte, hatte er große Mühe und viel Arbeit, für diese vielen Personen die erforderliche Nahrung herbeizuschaffen. Seinen Weibern erlaubte er es nicht, sich weit von der Hütte zu entfernen und Nahrung zu suchen. Er persönlich war außerordentlich stark; also riß er mitunter eine ganze große Bambusstaude samt Wurzeln aus, fällte viele der kleineren Pflanzen *Bäl* bzw. *mgbiß* und allen[10] auf

Gerte Zweigen nahm. Dieses gewaltige Beute trug er nach Hause und stellte den erbeutet vor den Eingang, damit seine Weiber die Pilze abpflückten und reinlich essen könnten. Kaum waren die vielen Pilze von der gewaltigen großen Beute sämtlich abgepflückt, schleppte er auch schon wieder eine andere herbei. Einen halben Wald hatte er bereits auf diese Weise geplündert.

Während dieser Steinmensch einen Tagen eine große Beute sammelt, war er sich einen dicken Dorn in seinen Fuß. Zwar war er ganz aus Stein, seine Fußsohlen indes waren die eines Menschen [Europäers]. Sein Fuß schmerzte ihn dermaßen derart, daß er nicht aufzutreten vermochte; nur unter empfindlichen Schmerzen schleppte er sich zu seiner Hütte. „Ich habe mir einen dicken Dorn in den Fuß getreten", rief er von weitem schon seinen Weibern zu, „versucht ungleich, mir diesen herauszuziehen!" Die vielen Weiber waren ihm dabei behilflich, daß er sich auf seiner Schlafstätte niederlegen konnte. Dann holten sie eine lange, spitze Ahle herbei, wie man sie verwendet, wenn man Löcher in ein Fellstück bohrt. Nun versuchten sie, damit in der Wunde zu bohren und den dicken Dorn zu lockern. Verständlich stießen sie auf den großen Dorn. Aber sie taten absichtlich, als stäche er sehr weit hinein im Fleische und bohrten immer tiefer hinein, damit die Wunde sehr groß würde. Das alles verursachte der Steinmensch Lunn unendlich, so entsetzlich schmerzte ihn der Fuß. Die vielen Weiber aber bohrten heftig weiter. Sie beschwichtigten ihn sondierend und sagten: „Bald sind wir dort, wo der große Dorn sitzt. Halte nur ein wenig noch aus!" Ein sehr weites und tiefes Loch hatten sie ihm bereits in den Fuß gebohrt. Der Mann hatte schon so viel gelitten, daß er auf seinem Lager einschlief. Bald schnarchte er laut und tief.

Schnell überlegten jetzt die Weiber, wie sie diesen starken Steinmenschen umbringen könnten. Diese Gelegenheit schien ihnen sehr günstig zu sein. Seit längerer Zeit hatten sie einen kleinen Mann bei sich, den schlauen *Gudewa*.[111] Sie hielten ihn unverhüllig verborgen und zwar in einem Loche in der Erde, das sie locker mit Zweigen zudeckten, sicherheit konnte ihn dort aufspüren. Unbemerkt brachten sie ihn regelmäßig etwas zu essen hin. In den Zeiten, da der Steinmensch sich weit von der Hütte entfernt hatte, führte die Weiber den kleinen Mann aus seinem Loche heraus, damit er sich in der frischen Luft etwas ergehe. Dieser kleine Mann war allen Weibern sehr lieb. Da der starke Steinmensch gegenwärtig fest schläft und laut schnarcht, liefen die Weiber eiligst zum kleinen *Gudewa* hin und baten ihn: „Der böse Steinmensch schläft sehr fest. Hilf du uns doch, du jetzt umzubringen!" Sofort erhielte er sich dann bereit und alle Weiber starrten freudig auf. Der kleine *Gudewa* war außerordentlich tüchtig und verstand es, ganz vortreffliche Waffen herzustellen. Früher hatte er an alle Weiber viele und gute Pfeilspitzen abgegeben, welche sie sich unverhüllig verwahrt hatten. Die Weiber waren schon lange darauf bedacht, damit den Steinmenschen zu töten.

Nahe seiner Schlafstätte, dort wo die Füße aufliegen, stießen sie zum

[111] Das sind die beiden bekannten Pilzarten Cyttaria Darwinii und Cyttaria Harioti (S. 1242).
[112] Das ist der Kobold Tagkamulin aufgeschnitten, ein schwarzer Gott im Kap-Bezirk-Archipel.

Stock in die Erde, dessen freies oberes Ende in eine Gabelung
haben sie seinen Fuß hoch und legten ihn in diese Gabelung.
Wunde erhoben sie eine lange, dicke Ahle hinein. Den Stein-
ten diese Weiber von vornherein in der Weise hingelegt, daß
Sohlen zum Eingang der Hütte wendeten. Nun schlichen sie
Hütte hinaus. Von außen legten sie rundherum Feuer an. Die
schon sehr lange und das Holz des Gerüstes war ganz trocken;
e das Feuer sofort hoch auf. Währenddessen schleuderte der
ochnell einige Pfeile gegen den gesunden Fuß des Stein-
Dadurch aufgeweckt, erhob sich der Steinmensch vom Lager
uf seine Füße. Da er mit beiden Füßen fest auf den Boden
er sich die lange, dicke Ahle noch tiefer in die Wunde hinein
e Fuß war durch mehrere Pfeilspitzen ganz erheblich verletzt.
n konnte er sich nicht aufrecht halten, er fiel wieder um und
hüllten ihn ein. Aber zeitig genug hatte der flinke *Ondeu* ihm
die Augen geschossen und so war er vollständig geblendet. Er
de, sich von der Stelle zu bewegen und sich zu verteidigen.
Auch die ganze Hütte über dem Steinmenschen zusammen und
n Stäbe bedeckten seinen Körper vollständig. Zwar versuchte
sich zu erheben; doch brach er sofort in sich zusammen. Dann
ngeheuer lauten Knall, den man auf große Entfernung hörte:
einmensch platzte und barst, die vielen Einzelstücke spritzten
chtungen hin auseinander. Aber merkwürdig: Ein jeder dieser
und wollte seinerseits zu einem ganzen Steinmenschen werden.
ühten sich emsig, einen jeden dieser Steine, die aus dem Feuer
und außerhalb des Hüttenbrandes draußen herumsprangen.
er zurückzuschleudern, damit sie darin umkämen. Trotz alledem
spritzten die vielen Steinstücke aus dem Feuer heraus und un-
n die Weiber diese Steine wieder ins Feuer zurückschleudern.
en es ihnen befohlen. Deshalb regten sie sich sehr geschäftig.
Ermüdung. Schließlich platzte das Herz des Steinmenschen.
noch viel stärkeren Knall, der sich wie ein lauter Donner
war der Steinmensch ganz tot. Die letzten Steinspritzer fielen
ernung von seiner Hütte nieder und rührten sich nicht mehr.
ch kann man dergleichen *tłáí* in jener Gegend dort finden."[144]
eiber aber, die der Steinmensch bei sich hatte, wurden zu
nd die *tyuin*, die noch heute in großer Zahl beisammen sind."[145]

[144] Das sind die schwarzen Kugelsteine (Abb. 93), die als Angelbeschwerer (S. 547) von der Nachtreiber-Frau (S. 1220) benützt worden sind. Sie gelten also als "Steinspeerer", die damals herumgeschleudert wurden, als jener Steinmensch barst. Auch auf der Insel Grande, im Gebiete der Selk'nam, finden sich diese Kugelsteine, die eingeschossene Steine *kodoen* (Bd. I, 268).

[145] Gemeint ist der sogenannte Jilgero, ein kleiner Wiesenvogel mit gelblich-grünem Gefieder, der in Gesellschaft mit vielen seiner Art lebt (S. 42).

Der kleine Omfaru selbst ging bald danach zum Nordap zurück; seitdem läßt er sich in unserm Lande nur dann und wann noch einmal ganz kurz sehen.

Alle Leute, auch die in der entfernten Nachbarschaft, hatten schon lange Zeit hindurch in Angst und Schrecken gelebt; kaum wagten sie es, mit ihren Kanus etwas weiter in die See hinauszufahren. So kam es, daß sie oft Hunger leiden mußten. Seit einiger Zeit nun merkten sie nichts mehr, daß jener Steinmensch ihnen noch weiter drohte. Einige Männer atmeten erleichtert auf und sprachen die Vermutung aus: „Jener gefährliche Steinmensch ist wohl tot!" Alle hatten nämlich den ungeheuren lauten Knall vernommen, als jener Steinmensch barst. Schließlich sagten einige mutige Männer: „Fahren wir doch einmal auf seine Hütte zu und warten wir ab, ob er auf uns losgeht! Läßt er sich nicht sehen, wissen wir sicher, daß er tot sein muß!" Kurz entschlossen fuhren sie hinaus und gelangten ganz in die Nähe seiner Hütte. Nichts aber deutete darauf hin, daß er anwesend oder am Leben wäre. Das beruhigte alle Männer sehr und vergnügt kehrten sie zu ihrem Lagerplatz zurück. Nach einigen Tagen fuhren andere Männer in jene Gegend, in der die Hütte des Steinmenschen gestanden hatte; sie fanden keine Spur mehr von ihm. Alle atmeten nun erleichtert auf und riefen: „Der Steinmensch ist tot, wir sind wieder frei!"

Auffällig ist es, daß einige europäische Beobachter[100] diese Mythe, obgleich nur kurz und ungenügend, überhaupt angedeutet haben. Schon DUMARAN (b): 717 schrieb: „They have a tradition, that many years ago a man having thrown a large stone into the sea, it there waxed a great man; came forth from its watery cradle and landed, when it immediately attached and killed men right and left; took away many wives for itself, and was a very tyrant; till one day in the woods, a wood-nail (thorn or splinter) pierced its foot, and death ensued, when its body, 'all same a tree', was burned, and men were glad and got back their dear own." ASPINALL: 270 erinnerscits erwähnt „eine ihrer Legenden von einem unbändig starken Manne, der aus Stein war und schließlich doch an der Ferse durch einen Dorn sich verwundete und starb." Ausführlicher ist SPEARS: 72 und die von ihm vorgelegte Fassung bringt einige neue Einzelheiten: „Long ago, a Yahgan woman chose a great rock istead of a husband, and, in consequence, bore a child that was at once a human being and a stone. When this hybrid grew to man's estate it turned against the tribe, because, perhaps, of indignities suffered by its mother, who was ostracised. No Yahgan man could stand against it, though numbers could temporarily overpower it. They, therefore, combined and thrust harpoons through it; they chopped it to pieces; they weighted it with rocks and cast it into a lake; but after each apparent death it appeared again in another part of the coast as healthy as and rather more

Abb. 93. Kugelstein. $^{2}/_{3}$ n. Gr.

malicious than before. The monster was rapidly becoming an invincible terror, when, by chance, it stepped on a thorn, which pierced its heel and the monster was unable to extract it. Its heel was the one part of its body where a mortal wound could be inflicted. From the effects of this thorn it became gradually weakened, and they were eventually able to destroy it altogether. The memory of the deeds done by this being was so terrifying, that the tribe determined that no such thing should ever come again to wreck their peace. To prevent such a coming they invariably destroyed at birth any infant that came into the world not perfectly formed."

Man wird wohl nicht fehlgehen, wenn man als Hintergrund dieser Erzählung oder als neuen Motiv, den einen alten Stoff umgestaltet hat, das Auftreten eines Europäers im Gebiete der Yamana annimmt. Deveaux (b): 717 hat sich in diesem Sinne bereits geäußert: „Perhaps, this is the distorted tradition of a wrecked sailor, who for a while played the part of king among them." Fred Lawrence hält diese Erklärung für wahrscheinlich. Vorausgesetzt, es hätte sich ein Schiffbrüchiger auf irgendwelcher Insel gezeigt, der nach damaligem Brauch, mit einer eisernen Rüstung ausgestattet gewesen. Der eiserne Schutz über den Füßen und Händen und auch das sogenannte Visier vor den Augen ließ sich abheben. Dann werden jene Teile frei sichtbar, die, nach den Worten dieser Erzählung, „grauen so waren wie die eines Fremden" [Europäers]. An seinem ganzen Körper prallten Pfeile und andere Waffen ab, kein Zugriff mit den bloßen Händen konnte ihn schädigen. Diese Erfahrungen riefen bei den Yamana eine Wirkung hervor, als handle es sich um einen versteinerten Menschen.

Unverkennbar ist der Zusammenhang dieser Erzählung mit *Wāghuf-wulakir'-inddghum* wétewa. Bei letzterer spielt ein gefährlicher Seelöwe, bei dieser der gleich schlimme Steinmensch eine ähnliche Rolle; beide werden vom tüchtigen, sehr geschickten *Omdrs* überwunden. Dieser tritt auch noch in einer anderen Erzählung (S. 1208) als Retter und Befreier seiner Leute auf.

v. Die Geschichte vom Seelöwenfels
Wāghufwulakir'-inddghum wétewa

Nahe dem *Wāghuf*-Felsen[147] lebte einst ein gewaltiger Seelöwe. Er war außerordentlich wild und gefährlich. Kam irgendein Kanu dorthin in seine Nähe, fiel er darüber her und zerschlug es; alle Leute, die darin saßen, brachte er um und schleppte sie an den Strand, wo er sie fraß. Auf diese Weise waren schon viele Leute und viele Kanus zugrunde gegangen. Die Verwandten all jener Leute, die vom Seelöwen umgebracht und aufgefressen worden waren, fragten sich gar oft: „Wo blieben eigentlich unsere Verwandten? Seit langer Zeit kommen sie nicht mehr zurück?" Doch niemand wußte, daß sie von jenem gewaltigen Seelöwen überfallen und umgebracht worden waren.

[147] Außer den eben genannten auch Deveaux (b): 716, Hans (c): 228 und Hammond: 213.

[147] Er steht an der Westküste der Isla Navarino, nahe der Mündung des Rio Douglas.

Eine geraume Zeit war bereits verstrichen und über viele Leute schwere Trauer gekommen, weil sie ihre Verwandten verloren hatten. Da brachte dem kleinen, schlauen *Ondera* ein,[100] alle jene Kanus müßten auf die gleiche bestimmte Art verloren gegangen sein; denn keines von diesen ist zurückgekehrt und keiner einzige Person hat sich gerettet. Er sagte sich: „Wo mag sich da wohl abspielen, daß kein einziges Kanu wiederkommt? Schon viele sind nach jener Gegend ausgezogen, doch keiner kehrt von jener Gegend hierher zurück!" Da stieg er auf eine Anhöhe und verfolgte mit seinen Blicken ein Kanu, das nach jener Gegend eben abgefahren war. Lange und unverwandten Blickes schaute er ihm nach. Als dieses Kanu sich dem *Wéplaf*-Felsen näherte, gewahrte er zu seinem Schrecken, wie ein gewaltiger Seelöwe sich erhob. Dieser stürzte sich auf das Kanu, schlug es in Stücke und schleppte sämtliche Insassen an den Strand. Hier fraß er sie unerbarmlos langsam auf. Da sagte *Ondera* sehr betrübt: „Dieser Seelöwe also hat alle unsere Leute umgebracht und aufgefressen!" Niedergeschlagen ging er zum Lager zurück und erzählte den Leuten genau, was er soeben beobachtet hatte. Alle begannen sogleich Trauerbemalung an.

Der kleine *Ondera* war sehr geschickt; er verstand es, vorzügliche Waffen anzufertigen, die schlimmen Harpunen und die stärksten Schleudern machte er. Sofort gab er sich daran, einige neue Waffen herzustellen, viel Mühe wandte er bei einer Schleuder auf. Kaum hatte er diese Dinge fertiggestellt, wollte er sie vorerst erproben; vor allem wollte er wissen, wie leistungsfähig seine neue Schleuder wäre. Er führte damit einige Übungen aus. Die Schleuder erwies sich als derart wirksam, daß jeder Steinwurf einen ganzen Baumstamm spaltete. Das stellte ihn vollauf zufrieden.

Er rief vier Weiber herbei. Diese schoben sein Kanu vom Strande herunter ins Wasser. Dann lud er seine Waffen auf, stieg ein und fuhr schnell ab. *Ondera* hatte sich vier Weiber mitgenommen; sie alle sollten eifrig rudern, damit sie schnell vorwärts kämen. Er selbst ruhte sich während der Fahrt aus. Als sie sich dem *Wéplaf*-Felsen näherten, erhob sich jener gewaltige Seelöwe und schwamm langsam dem Kanu entgegen. Jetzt griff *Ondera* nach seiner Schleuder und warf den ersten Stein ab. Dieser drückte dem Seelöwen ein Auge aus. Sogleich schleuderte er einen zweiten Stein ab und dieser drückte dem Seelöwen das andere Auge aus. Nun war er völlig blind. Der Seelöwe riß sein großes Maul weit auf und brüllte laut. *Ondera* war mit seiner Schleuder schnell bereit; hastig warf er einen Stein nach dem andern ab. Darauf griff der *Ondera* nach Bogen und Pfeil. Er schoß einen starken Pfeil ab und dieser drang dem Seelöwen genau mitten ins Herz. Der Seelöwe, blutend und schwer verletzt, erreichte soeben noch das Ufer. Er schleppte sich auf den Strand hinauf und gelangte nur mühsam zu seinem Felsen. Hier wurde er zu Stein[101] und man kann ihn heute noch sehen.[102]

[100] Der trauriindische Kultheri, Sophoniden sophoniden (Vgl. Anmerkung 140).

[101] Die großen Umrisse dieses Felsens lassen aus gewisser Entfernung die Gestalt eines liegenden Seelöwen deutlich erkennen.

5. Die Geschichte vom Lehmmann-Falcon

Lehmmann-Falcon erfindet

Die alte Kindja[illegible] war Witwe geworden. Von ihrem Manne hatte sie eine erhitzte Tochter. Der Kiffle[illegible] verliebte sich in beide zugleich und bald nahm er sich die Witwe samt ihrer Tochter in seine eigene Hütte. So lebten sie drei zusammen [als Ehelente]. Der Kiffle war sehr geschickt und verstand es besonders, schöne Harpunen herzustellen. Gewöhnlich setzte er sich auf einen einsamen Hügel nahe seiner Hütte und schnitzte an seinen Waffen. Da alle die Kindja in ihrem Kanu nach Fischen und Seeelefanten suchte, begleiteten er sie, seine jüngere Frau blieb dann in der Hütte allein zurück.

Zwei Wünjoin,[illegible] die Brüder waren, hatten sich gar erbärmlich in jene junge Frau, die Tochter der Kindja, verliebt. Als der Kiffle einen Tages mit dieser seiner älteren Frau wieder hinausgefahren war, um Seeelefanten zu fischen, kamen jene beiden Wünjoin heimlich zu seiner Hütte. Die junge Frau saß ganz allein. Von vornherein schmachteten sie ihr auf alle Art, wurden immer aufdringlicher und verlangten schließlich sehr heftig, sie solle sich ihnen hingeben. Sie aber ging auf nichts ein, sondern wehrte jene beiden während der ganzen Zeit entschieden ab. Als später der Kiffle mit seiner älteren Frau sich wieder seiner Hütte näherte, sandten sich die beiden Wünjoin unterwegs davon. Sie überlegten einen neuen Plan und waren entschlossen, jene schöne Frau gewaltsam aus dieser Hütte wegzuführen; sollte sie dann auch nicht dazu zu Willen sein, würden sie sich an ihr rächen.

Als eines Tages die junge Frau wieder allein in dieser Hütte saß, schlichen sich die beiden Wünjoin heimlich herein. Der eine redete schroff auf sie ein: „Gehst du dich nun heute hin oder weigerst du dich weiter?" Sie erwiderte entschieden: „Ich will nicht! Du bist mir sehr zuwider, du schleimiger Wünjoin." Diese Worte verletzten den sehr empfindlich. Er setzte sich sehr zur Frauen, doch so, daß er jener schönen Frau den Rücken zukehrte. Jetzt schob er unmerklich einen kurzen Stein in die Glut, um ihn zu erhitzen. Der andere Wünjoin drohte jener jungen Frau: „Nun gut, wenn du uns nicht willfährig bist und uns nicht gewährst, was wir von dir verlangen, so schleppen wir dich einfach gewaltsam mit uns weg!" Sie erwiderte erregt: „Dazu hab ich es nicht kommen. Ich mag auch dich nicht, du schleimiger Wünjoin. Mach dich fort aus dieser Hütte!" Da geriet auch er in Wut. Er faßte die junge Frau, warf sie zu Boden, zerrte ihr die Beine auseinander und hielt sie so fest. Währenddessen faßte der andere Wünjoin mit einer Feuerzange (Abb. 14, S. 296) den kurzen, länglichen Stein, der sich inzwischen in der Glut erhitzt hatte, et lapidem in vaginam ejus introduxit, dicti membrum

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[illegible] Auf die Übereinstimmung dieser Geschichte mit der vorhergehenden wurde bereits hingewiesen. In beiden erscheint der Held, nämlich der kleine Kalibri, als eigentlicher Retter einer größeren Volksgruppe. Dazu hat das erste übernatürliche Tätigkeit beibehalten.

[illegible] Die sehr häufige große Hütte, Lawa genannt.

[illegible] Das ist der große Geierfalke, Polyboroides thoracicus.

[illegible] Nach Art der Rasiermesser, Photoscraper genannt.

[illegible] Seinem. Auf [illegible] Art [illegible] sich die beiden *Wúnjuin*. Jene junge Frau starb sofort. Sie sagten auch höhnisch zu ihr: „Da du auf unser Begehren nicht eingehen wolltest, sollst du auch nicht die Frau des *Kitóla* sein!" Sie drehten nur noch einige Fellé über die tote Frau und verließen die Hütte.

Auf ihrem Wege begegneten sie der *Kiwégu*, die eben vom Fischen heimkehrte. Die beiden *Wúnjuin* stellten sich ihr gegenüber sehr traurig. Da fragte die Alte: „Warum seid ihr so ernst und niedergeschlagen?" Sie erwiderten: „Wir kommen von deiner Hütte. Wir sind dorthin gegangen, um uns deiner Tochter anzuschauen. Nun, wir meinen: Behalte sie nur für dich, wir haben kein Verlangen nach ihr! Wir planten, um mit ihr ein wenig zu unterhalten; doch sie hat uns kurzerhand abgewiesen und wollte mit uns nichts zu tun haben. Nun gut: Behalte sie für dich. Wir werden niemals zu deiner Hütte zurückkommen und uns nach deiner Tochter umschauen!" Da kam der *Kiwégu* die böse Ahnung, ob jene beiden nicht *gar* ihre Tochter umgebracht hätten. Deshalb stieß sie ihr Kanu dort vom Strande sofort wieder ab und paddelte eilig weiter, bis sie ihre Hütte erreicht hatte. Vom Kanu aus rief sie ihre Tochter auf, daß sie mit Körben zu den Strand käme; sie sollte helfen, die Bundbrühlen und Fische auszuladen und zur Hütte zu bringen. Aber trotz langen, lautes Rufens kam die Tochter aus der Hütte nicht heraus. Schließlich verließ die *Kiwégu* ihr Kanu und eilte zur Hütte. Als sie eintrat, sah sie ihre Tochter auf dem Schlafsitze liegen und derart zugedeckt, als würde sie schlafen. Da rief die *Kiwégu* ihr Tochter an: „Nun stehe doch endlich auf, du Faulpelz! Wie lange schläfst du denn hier?" Gleichzeitig zupfte sie an den Fellen. Die Tochter aber rührte sich nicht. Da zog die *Kiwégu* jetzt alle Fellé zur Seite und sah ihre Tochter tot daliegen. Rauch kam ihr aus dem Munde; denn der Stein, den sie in ihrer Vagina stecken hatte, war noch sehr heiß. Da sank die *Kiwégu* in sich zusammen und weinte laut und lange.

Die beiden *Wúnjuin* waren weitergegangen und hatten bald den Hügel erreicht, auf dem der *Kitóla* saß, der dort seine Harpunen bearbeitete. Als sie ihm nahe genug waren, redeten sie ihn in verächtlichem Tone an: „Du, höre einmal her: Wir wollten uns eben deine [Stief-] Tochter anschauen. Die aber ließ nicht mit sich reden, sondern wies uns kühl ab. Je nun, wir brauchen sie eigentlich nicht mehr. Behalte sie für dich selber und hebe sie dir gut auf; für uns kommt sie nicht mehr in Frage!" Gleichzeitig schlugen sie dem *Kitóla* mit einem Knüppel auf den Kopf und davon ist er platt geblieben bis auf den heutigen Tag. Daraufhin eilte er zu seiner Hütte zurück. Da die alte *Kiwégu* gar so laut weinte, kamen bald die Frauen aus den benachbarten Hütten herbei. Sie erzählte ihnen alles und die Frauen wurden sehr betrübt. Die *Kiwégu* hatte sehr viele Verwandte, denn ihre Familie war groß. Diese alle kamen nun nach und nach herbei und sie bereiteten sich auf ein großes yanalaiwedjina vor. Auch alle Bekannten und Freunde fanden sich ein, sogar die beiden *Wúnjuin*-Mörder. Diese aber blieben weit abseits stehen, auf der Felswand von *Lalawúja*.[illegible] Doch als die in der Hütte versammelten vielen Leute jener beiden *Wúnjuin* ansichtig wurden, gerieten sie in höchste

Wut. Die Männer griffen nach ihrer Schleuder und wollten jene beiden umbringen. Diese aber waren zu weit entfernt, als daß die geschleuderten Steine sie erreicht hätten. Alle Leute hatten sich hier inzwischen zusammengefunden, es fehlte nur noch der kleine *Omdora*.[100] Er war der tüchtigste Mann im Gebrauch der Schleuder, er hat bekanntlich mit seiner Schleuder den Steinzeugmeister getötet.[101] Trotzdem war er nur ein winziges Kerlchen von unansehnlicher Gestalt. Der Kuhdrag ist nahe mit ihm verwandt. Einige Männer sagten: „Rufen wir doch den kleinen *Omdora*; er ist ein trefflicher Schleuderer und wird uns bestimmt aus der Verlegenheit helfen!" Andere fanden den Vorschlag lächerlich und sagten: „Wie könnte jener winzige Mäuslein uns überraschen? Keiner von uns hat mit seiner Schleuder bis dorthin werfen und die beiden *Wäşnim* erreichen können, also wird es jenem auch nicht gelingen!" Andere Männer entgegneten: „Immerhin, der *Omdora* weiß die Schleuder ganz hervorragend zu handhaben. Wir haben uns davon überzeugt, als er jenen Steinmenschen getötet hat. Ihn sollten wir sofort kommen lassen!" Nach einigem Reden schickten sie endlich doch einen Boten ab, der den *Omdora* rufen sollte. Alle Leute waren nämlich darüber höchst aufgebracht, daß keiner der Männer jene *Wäşnim* erreichen und töten konnte.

Binnen kurzem war der kleine *Omdora* zur Stelle. Trotzdem kam er etwas verspätet, denn unterwegs hatte er unablässig Übungen gemacht. Mit seiner Schleuder warf er zunächst einen großen Stein nach Süden. Als dieser niederfiel, öffnete sich der Canal Molineux und die Isla Navarino wurde von der Isla Hoste abgetrennt. Dann schleuderte er einen Stein nach Westen und dieser öffnete den Brazo Noroeste des Canal de Beagle. Einen andern Stein warf er etwas südlich davon und dadurch wurde der Brazo Sureste geöffnet. Als er danach wieder einen großen Stein in östlicher Richtung warf, da tat sich die lange Ostbälfte des Canal de Beagle auf. Nach allen Richtungen warf er noch mehr Steine aus seiner Schleuder und wo diese Steine aufschlugen, dort bildeten sich neue Wasserarme. So sind die zahlreichen Wasserarme und Kanäle mit den vielen Inseln entstanden. Während er unablässig auf diese Weise einen Stein nach dem andern mit seiner Schleuder abwarf, ging er langsam vorwärts und kam endlich zu der Stelle, wo alle Leute versammelt waren und auf ihn warteten. Die meisten lachten zuerst, als die winzige Gestalt des *Omdora* auftauchte. Dann aber erzählten ihm eilig alle Leute, warum sie in Trauer waren und in großer Wut zugleich; denn jene beiden Mörder dort, die *Wäşnim*, sind von keinem der Männer hier erreicht worden. Als er das alles erfahren hatte, faßte auch ihn die Wut. Drei Steine nur hatte er bei der Hand. Da legte er einen davon auf seine Schleuder und warf ihn ab; er flog ganz nahe beim Kopfe der beiden *Wäşnim* vorbei. Eiligst legte er einen zweiten Stein auf und schleuderte ihn mit Wucht ab. Dieser traf den einen *Wäşnim* mitten auf die Brust, daß er umfiel und sich nicht mehr

[100] Dieser findet sich auf der Westküste der Isla Hoste gegenüber von Molineux.
[101] Der dort vorkommende sichtbare Kalkkel, Sephanoides sephanoides. Vgl. Anmerkung 130.
[102] Vgl. hierzu: Die Geschichte vom Steinmenschen (S. 1209).

rüttete. Schnell warf er auch noch den dritten Stein ab; dieser traf den anderen Wänjuin, daß dieser auf der Stelle tot liegen blieb. Da staunten alle Leute über seine Kraft und Geschicklichkeit. Ganz besonders aber freuten sie sich darüber, daß jene beiden Mörder getötet worden waren und ihre gewohnten Stände erhalten hatten. Danach kehrten alle wieder zurück zu ihren Hütten.

Aber jene beiden Mörder, die Wänjuin, wurden in Stein verwandelt und stehen noch auf der gleichen Stelle dort in *Leimenkja*, wo der kleine Gnädrw sie getötet hatte. Man kann sie heute noch sehen. Das sind die beiden Wanjuinjuäkoi, "die beiden Alten"; und als solche kennt sie jedermann.[107]

c. *Die Geschichte von der Reiherfrau*

Tšanyšipa wünnen

Die *Tšanyšipa*[108] fuhr an jedem Morgen auf die See hinaus und angelte dort nach Fischen. Das tat sie immer mit großer Lust und Freude. Niemals nahm sie ihren Mann oder einen ihrer Verwandten mit. Sie verbrachte nämlich heimlich mit einem Liebhaber, das war der *Šiggygi*.[109] Ihr Mann aber wußte davon nichts, ebensowenig hatten die anderen Leute davon eine Ahnung. Eben deshalb fuhr sie jeden Morgen sehr vergnügt hinaus und erst am späten Nachmittag kehrte sie an den Strand zurück, wo die Hütten standen. Jedesmal brachte sie eine beträchtliche Zahl von großen Fischen mit. Näherte sie sich dem Strande, rief sie vom Kanu aus ihren Mann an. Dieser kam auch sofort herbei; er half ihr, das Kanu auf den Strand zu ziehen und die Fische auszuladen. Schließlich sagte sie ihm noch: „Trage jetzt alle Fische vor Hütte und bringe sie gleich in Ordnung. Du mußt sie ausweiden und waschen, danach gut verwahren. Ich habe nämlich schweren Durchfall [Diarrhöe] und muß eiligst auf die Seite treten; bald bin ich wieder da. Besorge alles gut, was ich dir soeben aufgetragen habe!" Eilig entfernte sie sich, und zwar lief sie zu ihrem Liebhaber, dem *Šiggygi*. Sie wollte nämlich, daß ihr Mann währenddessen beschäftigt wäre und ihr nicht nachspüren könnte; deshalb trug sie ihrem Manne jene Arbeiten auf, die eigentlich ihr selber zukamen. Doch dieser Mann war sehr gutmütig und erledigte folgsam alles, was seine Frau von ihm verlangte. Diese verbrachte geraume Zeit bei ihrem Liebhaber, wo beide sich ihrer Lust überließen.

Lange Monate schon hatten sich diese beiden heimlich zusammengefunden. Die anderen Leute beobachteten es sehr genau, wie jene *Tšanyšipa* an jedem Morgen allein hinausfuhr und draußen nach Fischen angelte, und wie sie am Nachmittag eine große Zahl von Fischen heimbrachte. Mit diesen Fischen hielt sie täglich ihren Mann sehr lange und viel beschäftigt. Doch allmählich bemerkten die Leute aber auch, daß sie heimlich mit dem *Šiggygi*

[107] Abermals tritt in dieser Erzählung der kleine Kolibri als Helfer auf, der ähnliche Männer mit seinen außergewöhnlichen Leistungen überragt. (Vgl. Anmerkung 130).

[108] Gemeint ist der bekannte dunkelgraue Nachtreiher, Nycticorax obscurus.

[109] Name für den unbekannten Eisvogel, Corydo tsanpata var. stellata.

verfahren. Einen Tages endlich entdeckte sich bei jenem Manne seine Verwandtin und sagte ihm: „Warum hilfst du dem dummen Fuss gar so eifrig, den Kanu auf dem Strand zu ziehen, die Fische auszuweiden und den Fischfang zu verwalten? Das sind doch Arbeiten, die dir zukommen! Du hast unverzüglich weg, sonstdem sie von der Fahrt keinerlei Verfügungsrechte ist. Deine Frau hat ordentlich eine Liebschaft mit dem Eisvogel. Zu diesem schmeichelt sie sich, schmeichelt sie vom Fischen heimkehrt. Die gesteht sie zwar zu: „Ich habe schwieriges Durchfahrt und muß eilig auf die Seite steuern!" Das stimmt aber nicht, die hatten gar nicht jeden Tag zu Durchfahrt. Du willst sicher andere als zum Eisvogel hinfahren und mit ihm die Liebschaften fortsetzen. Glaubst doch nicht Unsere, was sie die jeden Tag vorlügt!" Als der Mann das hörte, gestand er in Zorn dreinfahren, daß seine Weib ihm zum erhaben so lange Zeit betrogen hatte. Von diesem Tage an hielt er die nicht mehr bei allfahren, ihm eigentlich ihre Beschäftigung zwar mit, er gab sich nicht mehr mehr damit her, die Fische auszuladen, auszuweiden und zu bereiten. Die Fischerfrau wunderte sich sehr über das veränderte Verhalten ihres Mannes, doch konnte sie ihn zu jenen Arbeiten nicht zwingen. Trotzdem lief sie auch in der Folgezeit zu ihrem Eisvogel hin. Einen Tages entschloß sich dieser Mann endlich, einmal seiner Frau zu folgen. Wirklich merkte er sehen, wie sie sich mit dem Eisvogel abgab. Das merkte ihn außerordentlich wütend. Leise schlich er zu seiner Hütte zurück. Am andern Tage machte er sich eine starke dicke [illegible] Knüppelgabel, Abb. 62 und S. 144). Als seine Frau zur Nachmittag heimgekehrt war und alle Fische ausgeladen hatte, erklärte sie, wie gewöhnlich, ihrem Manne: „Ich habe zu schwieriges Durchfahrt und muß schnell auf die Seite gehen. Bald bin ich wieder zurück." Sie entfernte sich daraufhin. Der Mann erblickt die unerfüllig sacht. Wirklich, sein Weib überfiel sich wieder dem Eisvogel und sie trieben ihre Liebschaften. Als der Mann sah, daß diese beiden sich zusammen hielten, erhöhnderte er seine dicke mit solcher Kraft ab, daß beide sogleich durchbohrt wurden und am Erdboden ausgepickt liegen blieben. So ließ er sie beide zurück und entfernte sich eilig. Jene beiden wurden zuletzt zu Vögeln.

2. *Die Geschichte von der kanurigen Großmutter*

Wikanóu wówen

Die alte Wikanóuzipa[*] war eine fleißige Fischerin. Auf jeder Fahrt hatte sie guten Glück und brachte jedesmal eine ansehnliche Menge von Fischen heim. Sie benützte zum Angeln immer einen ólú (Abb. 93). So oft sie auf die See hinausfuhr, nahm sie ihren kleinen Enkel mit. Dieser saß vorn am Bug und hielt sein Gesicht nach vorwärts gewendet, sie aber saß hinten am anderen Ende des Kanus und schaute nach rückwärts. So kehrten die beiden sich gegenseitig den Rücken zu.

Die alte Wikanóuzipa war sehr kanurig. So oft sie Fisch an ihrer

[*] Die "wokotoos" im Geschichte ist gleich dem "tsowes" im Wandelbuch und bezeichnet den dunkelgrauen Kuckucksfalken, Nyctiornis alcyoneus.

Angst empfunden hatte, daß sie das Brot und Milch für den Korb, daß der Körper dem Fleck vor dem kleinen Fehl, der vorne saß, ganz verdrehten. Sie wollte wissen, daß er es allen, was welchen Größe den Fleck war. Die großen Flecke bekleidet sie schließlich wurden und verwandelte sie unter den Kellerfleck am Boden des Korbes, nur die wenigen kleinen Flecke, die sie fing, weil sie dann Fehl an. Dann wollte es aber gar nicht gefallen, daß er nur kleine Fleckleins erhielt. Eines Tages fragte er endlich: „Sage mir doch, Großmütterchen, Wie kommt es eigentlich, daß du immer nur kleine Fleckleins fängst? Wo wirfst du ja eigentlich kleine Fleckleins hin. Warum hilfst du mir nicht auch einmal einen großen Fleck mitbringen? Ich kann ja gerne hinfahren, daß gerade viele große Flecke um unser Kann herumschwimmen, dann schlägst unserline wohl hast gegen unser Kann an. Da aber verwirrtest wie immer: „Nein kleine Fleckleins helfen an meiner Angst an, nicht aber große Flecke!" Wie kommt das doch?" Die Großmutter verwirrte immer wie immer: „Ja wirklich, ich weiß auch nicht, warum das kommt! Du meiner Angst helfen unerklärlicherweise kleine Fleckleins an, nicht aber große Flecke. Deshalb kann ich die großen Flecke nicht mitbringen kommen."

Der Kleine aber konnte nicht glauben, was seine Großmutter ihm verkündete, denn er sah ja eindeutig große und viele Flecke um das Kann herumschwimmen. Von jetzt an beobachtete er seine Großmutter sehr genau. Da merkte er gar bald, daß sie auch große Flecke fing und diese viel mehrfacher als kleine Fleckleins. Jene großen Flecke verwandelte sie eilig unter den Kellerfleck am Boden des Kanns und nur die wenigen kleinen Fleckleins gab sie ihm, genau so wie vorher. Deshalb ärgerte er sich sehr über seine geizige Großmutter, er wollte nicht länger bei ihr bleiben und von ihr nichts mehr wissen. Also sagte er ihr: „Großmutter, ich habe Bauchschmerzen, ich muß auf die Seite treten. Führe schnell zum Ofen, ich habe es eilig!" Sie verwirrte: „Wozu denn das? Halte noch etwas aus und warte ein wenig, bald werden wir weiterfahren." Er sagte ängstlich darauf: „Ich kann es WIRKLICH nicht länger aushalten, ich habe es sehr eilig. Führe schnell zum Ofen, sonst wird mir etwas Übles!" Also fuhr die Alte jetzt schnell zu dem Strand. Während der Kleine aufstand und sagte, weil er ängstlich die kleinen Fleckleins im Wasser und sprang von dem Kann herunter. Mühsamig eilte er zur Hütte. Er ärgerte sich sehr über seine Großmutter und wollte von ihr nichts mehr wissen, denn sie hatte ihn sehr schlecht behandelt.

In der Hütte saß der Großvater. Als er seinen kleinen Fehl allein zurückkommen sah, fragte er ihn sogleich: „Warum kommst du ganz allein hierher zurück und überhaupt gar zu Fuß? Was ist denn geschehen, daß du allein zurückgekehrt bist? Wo ist denn meine Frau geblieben?" Klagend antwortete ihm sein Fehl: „Die ist noch draußen im Kann. Ich wollte nicht länger bei ihr bleiben und bin einfach weggelaufen. Sie gab mir unerklärlich kleine Fleckleins zu essen und das mag ich nicht länger mitmachen. Ich habe mich sehr geärgert und bin weggelaufen." Darauf sagte der Alte kein Wort mehr. Der Kleine setzt sich etwas bei, zur Farbenfe, weil er sich besonders

[illegible] Die Großmutter, [illegible] Wilden zu [illegible], gab ihr Gut und [illegible] [illegible] Enkel. Kaum war er damit fertig, [illegible] er die Hütte [illegible] [illegible] Wort zu sagen. Er lief [illegible] in den Wald hinein und [illegible] hier [illegible] Orgel. Schließlich kehrte er [illegible] zur Hütte zurück, [illegible] blieb im Walde. Das ist der kleine Tollerwalfisch, der [illegible] Abenteuer [illegible], der [illegible] [illegible].[illegible]

Eine [illegible] hatte auch die Großmutter den Hütte und rief ungeduldig: „Hörst Enkelchen, wo bist du denn? Komm schnell zu mir, ich bringe dir eine große Flasche!" Doch sie erhielt keine Antwort. Der Alte dort sagte zu seiner Frau: „Dieser Enkel ist nicht mehr hier." „Aber ist er denn nicht verschlafenermaßen?" fragte die Großmutter. Darauf antwortete der Alte: „Gewiß, er ist wohl verschlafenermaßen, aber sehr verdrossen. Er hat sich hier nur mit bei beiseite und ist ungeduldig in den Wald hinausgelaufen, ohne ein Wort zu sagen. Ich weiß nicht, wo er jetzt ist. Darüber wurde die alte Frau sehr bestürzt. Nicht lange danach begannen die beiden Alten bitterlich zu weinen, denn sie hatten den kleinen Enkel sehr gern. So verging eine gewisse Zeit, ohne irgendwie mehr bekannt der kleine Enkel aus dem Walde zurück. Schließlich begann die beiden Alten sich Vorwürfe zu machen, gingen in den Wald und suchten nach ihrem Enkelchen. Während sie alle Seiten ab, nach die Enkelchen [illegible] sie hinauf und [illegible] viele Vögel. Dann wurden es kleinere Blickbirne, die heute noch fliegen. Das sind die vielen Vögel jener beiden Alten, die man für Enkelchen ansieht, die sie immer noch im Walde suchen und die sie nicht finden können.

Die alte Wilkenkenjäger ist die erste Frau geworden, die sich den Ski als "Enkelchen" zur Angelhalten (S. 147) bedienen, das ist der silberne Kugelstein eine Pfeifkopf mit einer eisernen Bilz (Abb. 98). Seitdem hat auch diese und jene Frau sich den Ski [illegible] und sie benutzen den beim Angeln.[illegible]

9. Die Geschichte von der Wasserwand

Wasserfrauen erklären

Einst lebte eine Frau, die täglich mit großer Freude auf die hohe See hinausfuhr, um Vögel zu holen. In ihrem Kanu hielt sie ebenfalls einen jungen Mann versteckt, in den sie sehr verliebt war. Eines deshalb rug sie jeden Tag schon in aller Morgenfrühe so ganz weit hinaus auf die hohe See, um mit diesem Mann ungestört allein zu sein. Erst spät am Abend kehrte sie jedesmal heim. Regelmäßig aber brachte sie viele Vögel zur Hütte und teilte diese an die Leute aus. Die anderen Wilden fragten sie oft: „Wie bringst du es doch fertig, jeden Tag so viele und so große Vögel zu sammeln?" Sie erwiderte darauf: „Je nun, ich finde diese Vögel regelmäßig immer dort, wo

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[illegible] Zum Nachschlagen einer Bildstelle auf den [illegible] Kugelstein (Abb. 99), den die Großmutter verwendet hat. Vgl. hierzu die Anmerkung 144.

[illegible] Ergänzende Elemente sind in dieser Geschichte die Verbindung des Nachwuchses [illegible] und der Ursprung der vielen Blickbirne auf den Inselchen.

[illegible]

Eines Morgens fuhr diese Frau in ihrem Kanu wieder hinaus auf die hohe See. Als sie sich vom Ufer bereits weit entfernt hatte, hörte eine andere Frau vom Lager her Ruderschläge nach ihr und ganz deutlich konnte sie zwei Personen in jenem Kanu unterscheiden. Sofort rief sie andere Frauen herbei und machte sie aufmerksam: „Schaut doch genau dorthin! Ich selber kann deutlich zwei Personen in jenem Kanu feststellen!" Die anderen Weiber bestätigten: „Ja wirklich, auch wir erkennen ganz bestimmt zwei Personen in jenem Kanu. Wer weiß, ob nicht irgendein Mann bei jenem Weibe dort sitzt?" Ein schlauer Weib fügte noch hinzu: „Wenn wirklich in dem Kanu dort draußen zwei Personen sitzen, wird eine davon wohl ein Mann sein. Er ist es sicherlich, der mit seiner Schleuder viele und große Vögel tötet. Diese überläßt er jener Frau und sie bringt die ganze Menge hierher zum Lager. Uns macht sie dann vor: ‚Ich habe alle diese großen Vögel da draußen gefunden, sie waren noch ganz frisch und eben erst getötet worden!' So wird es wohl sein." Die anderen Weiber nickten zustimmend und fragten sich: „Aber wer könnte wohl jener Mann sein? Denn es ist keine Täuschung, wir unterscheiden ganz deutlich zwei Gestalten in jenem Kanu."

Jetzt gingen alle diese Weiber zur Hütte jener Frau und schauten nach, ob ihr Mann etwa mit ihr auf die See hinausgefahren wäre. Der aber war daheim geblieben, er saß am Feuer und wärmte sich. Die Weiber plauderten wieder weiter unter sich und fragten sich abermals: „Wer mag wohl jener andere Person sein, die mit jener Frau im Kanu draußen sitzt? Sicherlich ist es ein Mann!" Schließlich suchten diese Weiber ihre Hütten wieder auf.

Am Abend kehrte auch jene Frau mit ihrem Kanu zum Lagerplatz zurück. Wieder brachte sie von ihrer Fahrt viele und große Vögel mit und sie verteilte die reiche Beute unter alle Weiber. Diese sagten jetzt fühlbar aufdringlich zu ihr: „Woher bringst du abermals so viele und so große Vögel?" Sie entgegnete: „Weit draußen auf hoher See habe ich sie gefunden. Sie zeigten ein frisches Aussehen, mußten also eben erst getötet worden sein. Deshalb habe ich sie aufgegriffen und mitgebracht." Daraufhin versicherten ihr alle Weiber: „Wir selber sind gestern an jener Stelle gewesen, von der du eben herkommst; wir aber haben dort gar nichts gefunden. Wie kommt es also, daß gerade du heute dort so viele und so große Vögel gefunden hast?"

Die verwunderte erklärte: „Es mag wohl sein, daß du alle gemeint dort gar keine Vögel angetroffen hast; ich aber habe unzählbarlich viele dieser Vögel dort gefunden und aufgegriffen." Während die Weiber sich auf diese Art unterhielten, der ungeraden, bemerkte der Mann jener Frau wahrscheinlich ihren Gegenstand. Kaum darauf entfernte sich diese Frau, um nach ihrem Kanu am Strande zu schauen. Währenddessen wurden die anderen Weiber jenem Manne zu und gaben ihm zu verstehen: „Deiner Frau wohl Umgang mit einem fremden Manne haben, heute Früh konnten wir in ihrem Kanu ganz deutlich zwei Personen unterscheiden! Wie wäre es noch anders möglich, daß sie regelmäßig so viele und so große Vögel heimbringe, während wir gar nichts finden." Die erhitzten Weib fügte hinzu: „Sehr merkwürdig geht es dort zu! Wer könnte wohl jener Mann sein, der mit deiner Frau regelmäßig im Kanu auf die hohe See hinausfährt? Keiner von uns hat ihn je einzeigen gesehen." Ihnen Gerede erhielt den Gatten jener Frau und er überdachte alles, was er gehört hatte.

Am nächsten Morgen eilte jene Frau, wie immer, vorzeitig zum Strande hinunter, bestieg ihr Kanu und fuhr hinaus auf die See. Als sie schon weit draußen war, beobachtete ihr Mann sie sehr genau und lange. Dann kehrte er in seine Hütte zurück, sagte aber nichts den anderen Weibern von dem, was er erzählt hatte und was er eben gesehen. Spät am Abend kehrte seine Frau heim, wie immer brachte sie auch diesmal viele und große Vögel mit. Ihr Mann erwartete sie unten am Ufer. Kaum hatte sie das Kanu auf den Strand gezogen, daß es fest saß, sprang ihr Mann schnell hinein und schaute sich darin sehr genau um. Seiner Frau sagte er: „Wie ich sehe, hast du auch heute wieder viele und große Vögel mitgebracht." Sie antwortete ihm darauf: „Ja ist so! Ich hatte wieder großes Glück und so habe ich draußen diese vielen Vögel gefunden, die eben geschossen worden waren." Er entgegnete: „Das freut mich sehr!" Nach einer kurzen Pause fuhr er fort: „Aber schau doch einmal her, dein Kanu läßt sehr viel Wasser ein! Es wird gut sein, die lockeren Ritzen sofort zu verstopfen!" Rasch antwortete ihm seine Frau: „Das ist wahrhaftig gar nicht nötig! Nur ganz wenig Wasser ist eingetreten, wie ich sehe; es verlohnt sich wirklich nicht, die wenigen Ritzen zu verstopfen." Er aber drang in sie: „Trotzdem ist es gut, alles sofort in Ordnung zu bringen; später vergrößern sich die Ritzen und das Kanu gerät in Gefahr!" Erneut widersetzte sie sich ihm: „Ich finde es durchaus nicht für notwendig, mir heute abend noch diese Mühe zu machen!" Der Mann sagte barsch: „Da du also nichts tun willst, werde ich selber mit dieser Arbeit beginnen, ich werde die Mhu[illegible] und die darunterliegenden Ijay[illegible] beiseite erhöhen und aufheben, denn die kleinen Ritzen in den Kanuwänden verstopfen." In ängstlichem Tone flehte seine Frau: „Ersparе dir doch diese Mühe!" Er aber sagte: „Es ist schon notwendig, eine solch dringliche, kleine Arbeit unverzüglich zu erledigen." Da gab sie nach und sagte verdrießlich: „Meinetwegen denn! Wenn du durchaus jene kleinen Ritzen verstopfen willst, werde ich dir zeigen, wo sie

[illegible] Das sind die zum Halbkreis gebogenen Rindenstücke innerhalb des Kanus.

[illegible] Die längsgerichteten Rindenstücke, die dem Kanuboden unmittelbar aufliegen (S. 447).

sind. Schau her, gerade im Vorderteil finden sie sich!" „Das kann aber doch nicht sein, entgegnete ihr Mann; ich sehe ganz deutlich, wie das Wasser im Hinterteil eindringt." Noch bevor seine Frau ihn daran hindern konnte, hatte er einige Rindenstücke im hinteren Abschnitt des Kanus aufgehoben. Da erblickte er einen Mann, der hier versteckt lag; dessen Gesicht war nach oben gewandt. Er mußte ja atmen, deshalb lag er mit seinem Rücken dem Kanuboden auf, und dort stand wirklich etwas Wasser. Die Frau wurde bleich vor Furcht und Angst. Ihr Gatte aber geriet in rasende Wut, griff nach einer Harpune und bohrte sie dem Liebhaber seiner Frau in den Leib. Der verschied augenblicklich. Seinen Leichnam warf der wütende Gatte ins Meer.

Mann und Frau schlichen schweigend in ihre Hütte. Die Frau wurde von Schmerz und Trauer überwältigt, sie konnte nichts essen, sagte kein Wort und legte sich nieder. Ihr Mann schickte sie am nächsten Morgen auf die See hinaus, um Vögel zu holen. Diesmal fehlte ihr jede Lust dazu, doch fuhr sie schließlich ab. Erst spät am Abend kehrte sie zurück; diesmal aber brachte sie nicht einen einzigen Vogel mit. Wie immer, als sie sich früher mit ihrem Kanu dem Strande näherte, erwarteten sie die anderen Weiber und erhofften sich ihren Teil von der reichen Beute. Enttäuscht entdeckten sie, daß jene Frau diesmal nicht einen einzigen Vogel mitbrachte. Da lachten sie hell auf und sagten spöttisch: „Nun schaut alle doch einmal her! Jetzt zeigt es sich, daß dieses Weib uns alle ständig belogen hat. Ihr Liebhaber war es, der die vielen und großen Vögel gejagt und ihr überlassen hatte. Uns hat sie vorgegaukelt: ‚Ich habe diese vielen und großen Vögel gefunden, sie sind eben erst getötet worden!' Ihren Liebsten hatte sie in ihrem Kanu versteckt; wenn niemand sie beobachten konnte, hat sie sich mit ihm abgegeben und täglich waren beide beisammen." Jene Frau schämte sich sehr, erwiderte kein Wort und verbarg sich in ihrer Hütte. Ihr Liebhaber wurde zum *wgtewémuwa* [d. i. Westdialekt; im Ostdialekt sagt man *apor'pánuwa*].[166] Der schwimmt heute noch so auf dem Rücken, wie er damals im Kanu jener Frau gelegen hatte.

a. *Die Geschichte von der Elefantenrobbe*

Hálaxuwa wátuwa

Der alte *Hálaxuwa* hatte zwei Enkel, die in seiner Hütte lebten. Er[166] war sehr geizig und knausrig, seinen beiden Enkeln gab er nur sehr wenig zu essen. In seiner Hütte hing ein großer Seelöwenmagen,[167] ganz angefüllt mit wohlschmeckendem Tran; doch seinen Enkeln ließ er davon nur winzige Mengen zukommen. Und diese winzige Menge maß er noch eigens in der

[166] Es handelt sich um eine kleine, sehr häufige Art der Isopoden.

[166] Gemeint ist das Männchen der südlichen Elefantenrobbe, Macrorhinus leoninus, aus der Familie der eigentlichen Seehunde. Vgl. Abbildung 9, Seite 40. Auch BD: 269 bringt diese Benennung.

[167] Ein solcher Seelöwenmagen wird stramm aufgeblasen und zum Trocknen aufgehängt; dann dient er als Behälter vorwiegend für Tran, weil er sich bequem überallhin mitschleppen läßt und undurchlässig ist.

kleinen Schale der *aywéra*-Muschel[168] peinlich genau ab. Das war alles, was sie täglich erhielten. Zwar verlangten sie mehr, doch reichte er ihnen unerbittlich nur dieses winzige Maß. Die beiden Enkel magerten von Tag zu Tag ab und flehten hungrig den Alten an: „Gib uns doch etwas mehr zu essen!" Mürrisch erwiderte ihnen der Alte: „Ich besitze nicht Tran genug, um euch mehr zu geben. Es bleibt mir nur noch ein kleiner Rest und mit dem müssen wir sehr sparsam umgehen!" Da die beiden Enkel nicht nachließen, ihn zu bitten, wehrte sie der geizige *Hálaxuwa* mit harten Worten ab und sagte schließlich: „Jetzt ist der Seelöwentran zu Ende!"

Beide Knaben waren schon schrecklich abgemagert. Da dachten sie daran, den geizigen *Hálaxuwa* umzubringen; denn sie waren überzeugt, er halte den Tran versteckt und wolle ihnen davon nichts mehr abgeben. Eines Tages schlichen sie aus der Hütte und liefen weit weg; am Strande wollten sie etwas sammeln, um ihren Hunger zu stillen. Dabei fiel ihnen auch eine große Schale der *aywéra*-Muschel in die Hände. Schließlich eilten sie wieder zu ihrer Hütte zurück. Hier zeigten sie ihrem Großvater diese große Muschelschale und sagten ihm: „Schau doch, welch große *aywéra*-Schale wir gefunden haben! Könntest du uns nicht diese Schale mit Tran füllen? Bisher hast du uns täglich nur eine sehr kleine *aywéra*-Schale damit angefüllt, die kaum einige Tropfen faßt." Der knausrige *Hálaxuwa* forschte sie sogleich aus: „Wo habt ihr denn diese große Muschelschale gefunden?" Die beiden Enkel erwiderten ihm: „Komm nur mit uns! Wir werden dir jene Insel zeigen, auf der wir diese große Muschelschale gefunden haben. Dort gibt es sehr viele dieser großen *aywéra*!" Unverzüglich zogen diese drei ab. Als sie jene Insel erreicht hatten, sagten die beiden Enkel zu ihrem Großvater: „Hier gibt es die großen *aywéra*!" Während der Alte sich bückte, um die Muscheln am Boden aufzulesen, schlichen sich die beiden Enkel eiligst hinter ihn und gaben ihm von rückwärts einen kräftigen Stoß. Da rollte der schwerfällige *Hálaxuwa* den Strand hinunter ins Wasser hinein und ertrank.

Sofort liefen die beiden Enkel zu ihrer Hütte zurück. Hier durchsuchten sie alles und entdeckten eine große Menge Seelöwentran, die ihr geiziger Großvater versteckt gehalten hatte. Sie waren außer sich vor Freude. Aber bis zum heutigen Tage erkennt man auf der Innenseite der *aywéra*-Schale noch ganz deutlich den Strich,[169] bis zu welchem der knausrige *Hálaxuwa* diese Muschelschale mit Seelöwentran für seine beiden Enkel angefüllt hat.

7. *Die Geschichte vom Grindwal*

Wéqina wáiuwa

Vor langer Zeit kam von der Hochsee her ein mächtiger Grind.[170] Ständig schwamm er ganz wenig unter der Wasseroberfläche und die Leute konnten ihn gut beobachten. Als er nahe herangekommen war, hielt er gegenüber

[168] Das ist die dort am Strande häufige Patella.

[169] Der untere Teil im Innern dieser Muschelschale ist dunkler gefärbt und hebt sich

einem großen Lager an, in dem viele Leute ihre Hütten aufgerichtet hatten. Alle freuten sich laut, sie wollten ihn sofort erlegen und hier stranden lassen; er war überaus groß und versprach viel Speck und Tran. Augenblicklich griffen alle Männer nach ihren Harpunen und die Weiber zerrten die Kanus ins Wasser, die einzelnen Familien stiegen ein und fuhren dem Grind eiligst entgegen. Von allen Seiten schleuderten die Männer ihre Harpunen gegen den großen Körper des Tieres, sie strengten sich an, ermüdeten schließlich und ihre Harpunen gingen zu Ende. Der Grind schien die tiefen, großen und zahlreichen Wunden gar nicht zu spüren, nichts deutete darauf hin, daß er todesmatt wäre und stranden würde.

Enttäuscht fuhren die Leute zu ihrem Lager zurück. Einige besaßen noch die eine und andere Harpune, die sie aus ihrer Hütte hervorholten. Andere setzten sich nieder und stellten eiligst neue Harpunen zusammen. Wer wieder einige Waffen in der Hand hatte, bestieg sein Kanu und fuhr zu den Grindwal heran; wieder schleuderte er seine Harpunen gegen ihn ab. So hatten abermals viele Männer ihre sämtlichen Waffen verausgabt, doch ganz und gar erfolglos. Das mächtige Tier schwamm weiter herum und schien die Wunden gar nicht zu spüren, nichts deutete an, daß es todesmatt stranden würde. Die Männer hatten sich bei diesen Anstrengungen erschöpft.

Allerdings fiel es sämtlichen Leuten auf, daß der Grindwal andauernd sein Maul weit aufklappte und danach gemächlich wieder schloß. Einer der Männer kam auf einen schlauen Gedanken, den er sogleich aussprach: „Dieser mächtige *Wagina* klappt immer wieder sein großes Maul weit auf und schließt es danach sehr langsam. Wie wäre es, wenn ein flinker Mann mit einem Satz dem Wal ins Maul springt, dann augenblicklich in den Bauch steigt und ihn von innen ganz und gar zerstückelt!" Der kleine *Lálix* war es,[171] dem dieser Einfall kam. Die anderen Männer erwiderten ihm zaghaft: „Du selber magst es versuchen, dem Grindwal ins Maul zu springen, wenn du Mut dazu hast!" Er antwortete mutig: „Gut, ich werde es versuchen."

Wieder einmal fuhren also sämtliche Leute an den Strand zurück, wo ihr Lager stand. Die Männer hatten abermals alle ihre Waffen verausgabt und gingen unverzüglich daran, sich neue herzustellen. Der *Lálix* aber machte sich ein großes, scharfes Messer. Die Weiber besserten ihre Kanus aus und dichteten sie gut; denn durch das wiederholte Anstoßen gegen den Wal und bei den vielen Bewegungen der Männer, die ihre Harpunen abwarfen, hatten sie sehr gelitten. Nachdem diese Leute alle ihre besonderen Arbeiten beendet hatten, bestiegen sie aufs neue ihre Kanus und fuhren auf den Grindwal zu. Wieder schleuderten die Männer ihre schweren Harpunen gegen dessen gewaltigen Körper ab; sie blieben wohl tief drinnen in dessen Speck stecken, aber ließen keine Wirkung erkennen. Der kleine *Lálix* jedoch sagte zu seinem

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scharf von einem helleren oberen Ringe ab. Sehr berechtigt kann man von einer Trennungsmarke sprechen.

[170] Gemeint ist der große Delphin, Globicephala melas.

[171] So heißt die Mauerschwalbe, Iridoprocne (Tachycineta) Meyeni.

Weibe: „Lenke den Kanu genau vor das Maul des Grindwales." Da ruderte sein Weib noch weiter, lenkte ihr Kanu ganz genau vor das Maul des Wales und hielt hier an. Der kleine *Láiix* saß, wie immer, vorn am Bug. Als der Wal wieder gemächlich sein großes Maul aufriß, machte der kleine *Láiix* einen kräftigen Satz und sprang dem Wal ins große Maul. Dieser schluckte den kleinen *Láiix* mühelos hinunter.

Nun aber entfernte sich der Wal langsam von der Küste und schwamm weit hinaus in die offene See. Der kleine *Láiix* drinnen im Bauche begann sogleich damit, dessen innere Organe mit seinem großen, scharfen Messer gänzlich zu zerstückeln. Er zerschnitt ihm die Lungen, den Magen, die Leber, die Gedärme. Daraufhin mußte der Wal sich erbrechen, er öffnete immer wieder sein großes Maul und gab alle diese Stücke von sich. Das Herz aber zerstückelte ihm der kleine *Láiix* vorläufig noch nicht, damit er einige Zeit weiterlebe. Der kleine *Láiix* gab sich nämlich Rechenschaft, daß er draußen auf hoher See schwimmen müsse; von innen durch die Bauchwand des Wales hörte er nämlich, wie hohe Wellen ständig dagegen anschlugen. Nun hoffte er, der kranke, schwache Wal würde sich in seiner Ermattung schließlich doch dem Strande nähern; dort erst wollte er ihm endlich das Herz zerstückeln. Doch immer wieder hörte er nur, daß hohe Wellen gegen den mächtigen Leib des Wales anschlugen und hier sich brachen. Schließlich wurde ihm doch ganz unheimlich zumute und er sagte sich: „Das alles dauert mir nun doch zu lange. Am besten, ich zerstückle ihm schnell das Herz und suche hier herauszukommen, wie es sich eben machen läßt! Wer weiß, wo ich hier überhaupt bin? Sicherlich noch auf hoher See." Da hörte der kleine *Láiix* unerwartet das Quaken der *xlyen*.[172] Ihm war das ein Zeichen dafür, daß er dem Strande nahe sein mußte; denn diese *xlyen* halten sich an der Küste auf. Also zerstückelte er schnell das Herz des großen Wals und sogleich floß viel Blut. Da schwand dem Wale alle Kraft und er wurde sehr traurig, er fühlte seinen Tod ganz nahe. Bald war er außerstande zu atmen, er konnte weder schwimmen noch sich bewegen, schwebend nur hielt er sich an der Wasseroberfläche und die Wellen allein trieben ihn. Schließlich verließen ihn alle Kräfte, er rührte sich nicht mehr, er war jetzt wirklich tot.

Also schwärmten bald die großen *dáialux* heran,[173] um an dem gewaltigen Bissen sich gütlich zu tun. Das merkte der kleine *Láiix* von innen her; er hörte nämlich, wie diese großen Vögel auf den Rücken des toten Wales einhackten. Gleich entschloß er sich und sagte: „Ich will einmal kräftig gegen die Bauchwand klopfen; da werden die Vögel erschrecken, wieder aufsteigen und hoch oben in der Luft kreisen. Alle Leute werden das aus weiter Ferne beobachten und sich sagen: ‚Dort schwimmt sicherlich ein toter Wal!' Demnach werden sie eiligst ausfahren und hierher kommen, dann werde ich mich noch retten können." Also klopfte der kleine *Láiix* gar kräftig gegen die Bauchwand des toten Wals; alle *dáialux* erschraken sehr und flogen auf.

[172] Die in Herden lebende Wildente, Anas eristata.
[173] Der große Albatros, Diomedea melanophrys.

Sie erhoben sich hoch in die Luft und kreisten lange Zeit sehr erregt. Nachher senkten sie sich wieder nieder und setzten sich auf den toten Wal, den die Wellen langsam weitertrieben. Sehr viele *dáialux* waren es, die hoch oben kreisten; deshalb wurden die Leute im Lager auf sie aufmerksam. Sie riefen einander zu: „Dort treibt sicherlich ein toter Wal; denn sehr viele *dáialux* fliegen ständig auf!" Seitdem der kleine *Láiix* dem *wéqina* das Herz zerstückelt hatte, wandte sich dieser wieder der Küste zu; deshalb stand er bald ganz nahe vor dem Lager jener Leute und diese entdeckten ihn.

Nach einiger Zeit klopfte der kleine *Láiix* abermals gegen die Bauchwand des toten Wals. Wieder erschraken die vielen *dáialux*, sie flogen auf und erhoben sich. Lange kreisten sie in der Luft und danach setzten sie sich wieder auf den Rücken des toten Wals, den die Wellen langsam trieben. Jetzt sagte sich der kleine *Láiix:* „Hoffentlich haben meine Leute die vielen *dáialux* beobachtet! Bald werden sie also mit ihren Kanus kommen und ich werde wohl noch gerettet werden." Und wirklich, schon hörte er das Schlagen der Ruder und wurde deutlich gewahr, daß viele Kanus ganz nahe an den großen Wal herangekommen waren. Das erfreute ihn sehr. Gleichzeitig vernahm er auch das Klagen und Weinen seiner Leute. Diese waren in Trauer; denn sie hielten den kleinen, mutigen *Láiix* für verloren, sie glaubten, er wäre schon tot. Viele Leute hatten sich um den Wal herum zusammengefunden. Sie vereinigten ihre Kräfte und zogen den großen toten Wal näher zur Küste hin; hier sollte die Strömung ihn auf den Strand setzen. Alle mühten sich sehr und zogen kräftig. Als das gewaltige Tier endlich auf dem Strande lag, flüsterten sie sich voller Genugtuung zu: „Das ist wirklich ein selten großer, fetter Wal!" Es war schon spät am Abend, deshalb eilte ein jeder zur Hütte. Alle freuten sich sehr, nun gab es Speck und Fleisch in Überfluß.

An dieser Stelle spielten die Leute gerade *kina* und sehr viele Männer beteiligten sich daran. Da ihnen ganz unerwartet ein derart gewaltiger Wal beschert wurde, konnten sie sich vor Freude gar nicht fassen; denn nun verfügten sie über sehr viel Speck und Fleisch und konnten ihr *kina* lange ausdehnen. In der Morgenfrühe des nächsten Tages zerschnitten und verteilten sie sogleich viel Fett und Fleisch vom Wale; jedermann erhielt ein großes Stück. Sie aßen reichlich und waren sehr vergnügt. Mehrere Tage vergingen. Eines nachts wurden zwei Prüflinge aus der *kina*-Hütte an den Strand geschickt, auf dem der Wal lag. Sie sollten einige Fleischstücke herausschneiden und zur *kina*-Hütte bringen; denn die Männer wünschten noch mehr zu essen. Jene beiden Burschen eilten dorthin, wo der Wal lag. Sie brachten ein langes Messer mit. Damit stieß der eine sehr tief in den Wal hinein, so tief, daß er eine Rippe traf; er wollte ein großes Stück herausschneiden. Da hörte er plötzlich von innen her: *hi hi hi*: das klang, als wäre ein Mann verwundet worden. Auch hörte er noch: „Stich mich nicht etwa!" Darüber erschrak er sehr und sagte sich: „Was mag das wohl sein? Das hört sich genau so an, als ob ein Mann drinnen süße und mir zuruft: ‚Stich mich nicht etwa!' Wer könnte das wohl sein?" Die Angst packte ihn; doch er

wollte sich nichts anmerken lassen. Wohl aber rief er den anderen Burschen herbei und sagte ihm mit betonter Genugtuung: „Schau einmal her, welch schönes Fleischstück ich aus diesem Körperteile hier herausgeschnitten habe. Stich mit dem Messer tief genug hinein!" Mehr sagte er nicht. Da ergriff der andere Bursche das lange Messer und stieß damit tief in den Wal hinein. Jetzt hörte auch er von drinnen das Rufen: „*hi hi hi*; stich mich nicht!" Das erschreckte ihn sehr. Nun erst gestand ihm der andere Bursche: „Vorher habe auch ich diese Stimme gehört! Was mag das wohl sein?" Jener entgegnete: „Wie sonderbar ist doch das alles! Was mag das wohl sein?" Diese beiden Burschen wußten ja nichts von alledem, was vorgefallen war, nämlich daß alle Leute jenen Wal lange Zeit hindurch erfolglos harpuniert hatten und daß schließlich der kleine *Láiix* ihm ins Maul gesprungen war. Als Prüflinge im *klna* durften sie die Große Hütte nicht verlassen, während alle übrigen Leute sich um den Wal bemüht hatten.

Jene beiden Burschen gingen nun zur *klna*-Hütte zurück, jeder trug ein großes Stück Fleisch. Diese Stücke legten sie vor den Vorsteher der Feier nieder und eilten stillschweigend an ihren Platz. Sämtliche Männer beschauten die Fleischstücke und beurteilten sie sehr günstig. Der Vorsteher befahl den beiden Burschen: „Bratet diese Fleischstücke und verteilt sie an alle Männer!" Da setzten sich die beiden Prüflinge ans Feuer und brieten die großen Fleischstücke; hierauf zerkleinerten sie dieselben und gaben davon an jeden Mann ab. Erst jetzt verrieten sie, was sie gehört hatten, als sie die Fleischstücke abtrennten. Das überraschte auch sämtliche Männer. Sie hatten ja soeben erst bei jenem Wal dort ihre vielen Waffen vergeblich verausgabt und erinnerten sich, daß vorher der kleine *Láiix* versuchen wollte, ihn zu töten. Dieser aber war seitdem verschwunden und auch jener Wal hatte sich von der Küste entfernt. Da einigten sie sich selbst sich und vermuteten richtig: „So muß das Tier dort auf dem Strande doch jener Wal sein, den wir harpuniert hatten; diesem sicherlich ist der kleine *Láiix* ins Maul gesprungen. Also lebt er noch!"

Kaum hellte sich der Osten etwas auf und schon eilten sämtliche Männer von der *klna*-Hütte schnurstracks zum Strande hinunter, wo der große Wal lag. Sie taten dies deshalb so früh am Morgen, damit die Weiber und Kinder vom Lager aus nicht beobachten könnten, was nun geschah. Ein jeder der Männer stieß sein Messer vorsichtig ins Fleisch an der ganzen Längsseite des großen Tieres und dann hoben sie gemeinsam die zusammenhängende Fleischschicht ab, die den Rippen auflagerte. Dann hoben sie mit noch größerer Vorsicht alles Fleisch ab, das zwischen den Rippen und eng an der Innenseite der Rippen lag. So waren sie bis zur Bauchhöhle gelangt. Diese öffneten sie nun auch mit ihren Messern, doch ganz besonders vorsichtig. Hier also saß der kleine *Láiix*, ganz zusammengekauert, bleich und mager, kahlköpfig und schon fast tot! Aufrichtiges Mitleid überfiel sie alle, als sie seiner in diesem jammervollen Zustande ansichtig wurden. Unverzüglich hoben sie ihn aus der Bauchhöhle des großen Wales heraus und trugen ihn eiligst zur

kina-Hütte. Keines der Weiber und Kinder konnte vom Lager aus etwas davon beobachten, die Männer hatten alles ganz unauffällig durchgeführt.

Hier in der *kina*-Hütte setzten die Männer den kleinen *Láiix* ans Feuer, damit er sich erwärme. Sie reichten ihm viel zu essen, damit er sich stärke und wieder reden könne. Seinen ganzen Körper rieben sie reichlich mit Tran ein, damit er wieder lebendig und beweglich würde. Auf seinen kahlen Kopf streuten sie das Pulver von zerriebener Holzkohle, damit ihm die Haare wieder nachwachsen, die er verloren hatte. Auf die beste Art bedienten und pflegten sie ihn. Unter dieser Sorgfalt, die sämtliche Männer hier in der *kina*-Hütte aufwandten, fühlte sich der kleine *Láiix* bald besser und erholte sich schnell. Auch die Haare wuchsen ihm wieder nach. Von Tag zu Tag fühlte er sich gesünder und kräftiger.

Lange Zeit schon hatte dieser *Láiix* bei den anderen Männern hier in der *kina*-Hütte verbracht, im Lager wußten weder Frauen noch Kinder etwas davon. Der kleine *Láiix* besaß insgesamt drei Weiber. Da er gar so lange ausblieb und man ihn längst tot glaubte, suchten sich zwei von diesen drei Weibern nach einiger Zeit einen anderen Mann. Die dritte Frau aber war entschlossen, noch weiter zu warten, ob ihr Mann vielleicht doch zurückkäme. Sie blieb ihm treu. Mit ihm hatte sie bereits mehrere Kinder gezeugt.

Nach gewissen Zeitabständen verließen die Männer die *kina*-Hütte und traten draußen im Freien auf, wie das üblich ist. Weiber und Kinder durften dann das Lager verlassen, sich der Gruppe der Männer nähern und ihnen zuschauen. Eines Tages spielten die Männer wieder einmal *kálaka* und die Frauen stellten sich in deren Nähe, um jeden Spieler gut beobachten zu können. Einer fiel bald auf, der war überragend geschickt und überraschte alle Zuschauer. Unter diesen stand auch die Frau, die dem kleinen *Láiix* treu geblieben war. Als sie die außergewöhnliche Gewandtheit jenes Mannes sah, schaute sie einige Zeit sehr scharf zu. Dann äußerte sie sich kaum vernehmbar: „Jener Spieler dort ähnelt gar sehr meinem Manne. Der war nämlich außerordentlich geschickt beim *kálaka*-Spiele. Aber es ist ja gänzlich ausgeschlossen, daß jener dort mein Gatte sei; denn alle vermuten, er sei schon tot!" Die Männer beendeten ihr *kálaka*-Spiel und gingen zur *kina*-Hütte zurück, die Weiber und Kinder suchten das Lager auf.

Der kleine *Láiix* war nun fast vollständig wiederhergestellt. Er gab sich darüber Rechenschaft, daß sein Vater ihn längst für tot hielt und daß dieser über den Tod seines Sohnes viel trauerte. Schon mehrmals hatte er seinen Vater zur *kina*-Hütte rufen lassen, doch ganz vergeblich. Der alte Mann empfand nämlich die bitterste Trauer, er bemalte sich jeden Morgen aufs neue und weinte den ganzen Tag. Eben deshalb wollte er sich aus seiner Hütte nicht entfernen und anderen Leute zeigen. Wieder einmal ließen nun die Männer hier in der *kina*-Hütte jenen Alten sehr eindringlich herbeirufen. Endlich kam er. Die Männer stellten ihm sogleich seinen Sohn, den kleinen *Láiix*, vor; der war noch bleich und mager und merklich kahlköpfig. Als der kleine *Láiix* seinen alten Vater von Trauer tief gebeugt sah, konnte

er sich nicht mehr halten und brach vor Mitleid mit ihm in lautes Schluchzen aus; er weinte so laut und so stark, daß es die Leute im Lager vernahmen. Sein ihm treugebliebenes Weib merkte besonders auf und sagte: „Dieses Weinen hört sich genau so an, als ob es von meinem Manne käme! Ob er es wirklich ist, der so laut weint? Aber wie könnte das sein, ist er doch schon lange tot! Er ist ja jenem großen *wógina* ins Maul gesprungen, der sogleich auf die hohe See hinaus geschwommen ist und sich seitdem nicht mehr hat sehen lassen. Wie schade ist es um meinen lieben Mann!"

Die Männer ergötzten sich an jenem *klna*-Spiel gar sehr; deshalb dachten sie nicht daran, dasselbe bald abzuschließen. Eines Tages zogen sie wieder hinaus und wollten Robben jagen. Seit einiger Zeit verfügten sie über vorzüglich gearbeitete Harpunenspitzen und deshalb war ihr Jagen immer sehr erfolgreich. Zufällig sah die dem kleinen *Láiix* treu gebliebene Frau eine dieser Harpunenspitzen in der Hand irgendeines Mannes. Unauffällig betrachtete sie dieses Stück sehr genau und sagte sich: „Woher mag jener Mann diese vorzüglich gearbeitete Harpunenspitze wohl bekommen haben? Vor längerer Zeit schon haben doch die Männer ihre sämtlichen Harpunenspitzen verausgabt, als sie sich um jenen großen Wal bemühten, der hier vorbeigekommen ist. Seitdem habe ich nirgendwo beobachtet, daß auch nur einer der Männer neue Harpunenspitzen hergestellt hätte. Übrigens ist keiner dieser Männer imstande, solch tadellose Harpunenspitzen auszuarbeiten, wie das meinem Manne gelungen ist. Der war wirklich unvergleichlich geschickter in diesen Arbeiten als jeder andere; niemand konnte mit ihm sich messen. Wie sehr vermisse ich doch meinen lieben Mann, wie viel schon habe ich um ihn geweint!" Und wieder weinte sie bitterlich.

Nach langer, langer Zeit endlich entschlossen sich jene Männer, ihre *klna*-Feier zu beenden. Dem kleinen *Láiix* waren inzwischen alle Haare wieder nachgewachsen und er war nun auch völlig hergestellt. Gemeinsam, wie üblich, verließen sämtliche Männer die große *klna*-Hütte und kehrten zum Lager zurück. Hier stellten sie nun den kleinen, wackeren *Láiix* seinem treuen Weibe, seinen Verwandten und allen übrigen Leuten vor. Jedermann war sprachlos vor Freude und Überraschung. Der kleine *Láiix* erzählte nun im einzelnen, was er alles durchgemacht und wie er sich gerettet hatte. Die Leute staunten diesen kleinen, mutigen Mann an, sie freuten sich gar sehr und dankten ihm dafür, daß er ihnen diesen mächtigen *wógina* beschert hatte. Am meisten freute sich sein treues Weib, es hatte lange auf ihn warten müssen.

v. *Die empfindliche Brillenibis-Frau*

Lógnua wótuwa

Es war in alter Zeit. Wieder einmal nahte der Frühling. Da schaute ein Mann aus seiner Hütte hinaus und sah, wie eine Bandurria [174] soeben über seine

[174] Dieses Namens trägt in Argentinien und Chile der mittelgroße, kräftige, rostbraune Brillenibis, Theristicus melanopis. Vgl. auch die Mitteilungen auf S. 1155.

Hütte hinwegflog. Darüber freute sich dieser Mann gar sehr und schrie zu den anderen Hütten hinüber: „Eine Bandurria fliegt soeben über meine Hütte hinweg. Schaut her!" Als die andern Leute das hörten, stürzten sie aus ihren Hütten heraus und schrien laut: „Nun ist der Frühling wieder da. Schon fliegen die Brillenibise!" Sie sprangen vor Freude und unterhielten sich laut.

Die *Lêxuwa* ist aber sehr zartfühlend und empfindlich, sie will besonders vornehm behandelt werden. Als nun jene Männer, Weiber und Kinder so laut und lange schrien, hörte sie diesen Lärm und erregte sich darüber sehr. Tief beleidigt, ließ sie in ihrem Zorn plötzlich einen dichten Schneesturm kommen, begleitet von starkem Frost und viel Eis. Seitdem fiel Schnee und immer wieder Schnee durch ganze Monate. Andauernd fiel Schnee und die ganze Erde bedeckte sich mit Eis; denn es herrschte auch eine sehr empfindliche Kälte. In allen Wasserstraßen gefror das Wasser. Da starben viele, viele Menschen; denn sie konnten ihre Kanus nicht besteigen und hinausfahren, um Nahrung zu suchen. Nicht einmal die Wohnhütten konnten sie verlassen, um Brennholz zu sammeln; denn überall lag sehr viel Schnee. Immer mehr Menschen starben.

Endlich nach langer, langer Zeit hörte der Schneefall auf. Bald darauf kam eine sehr starke Sonne. Sie brannte so kräftig, daß alles Eis und der viele Schnee schmolz; die ganze Erde war bis hoch über die Bergspitzen damit bedeckt. Da floß sehr viel Wasser in die Kanäle und ins Meer. Diese Sonne leuchtete so heiß, daß die Bergspitzen verbrannten und bis heutigentags kahl dastehen. Auch die Eisdecke über den breiten und schmalen Wasserarmen schmolz. So konnten die Leute endlich wieder ans Ufer gehen und ihre Kanus besteigen, um Nahrung zu suchen. In den großen Berghalden und tiefen Tälern jedoch hielt sich das dicke Eis bis auf den heutigen Tag; denn es war zu dick, als daß jene starke Sonne es hätte zum Schmelzen bringen können. Man sieht dieses ungeheure Eis auch gegenwärtig noch liegen, es [illegible]ibt sogar ins Meer hinein,[176] so dick war die Eisdecke, die damals auf de[illegible]en Erde lagerte. Damals herrschte ein außerordentlich starker Frost [illegible] eine erschreckliche Schneemasse war gefallen. Das alles hatte die *Lêxuwak*[illegible] veranlaßt, sie ist eine sehr feinfühlige, empfindsame Frau.

Seit jener Zeit behandeln die Yamana jede Bandurria mit höchster Ehrfurcht. Wenn sie sich den Hütten nähert, halten die Leute sich schweigsam und still, vor allem beschwichtigen sie die kleinen Kinder, daß sie nicht schreien.

9. *Von den Beeren der Brillenibis-Frau*

Lêxuwa lanamâjm urdituwa

Einst lebte hier eine Frau, die regelmäßig in einem fremden Gebiete[176] für sich Beeren sammelte; denn in der Gegend, wo ihr Mann sich aufhielt, gab es gar keine *lanamâjm*.[177] Das war die *Lêxuwukipa*.[178] Sie hatte gerade

[176] Dieser Hinweis bezieht sich offensichtlich auf die großen Gletscher, die in ansehnlicher Zahl hauptsächlich den Nordwest-Arm des Canal de Beagle säumen (S. 12).

Trauer. Einen Abend, als wieder viele Leute zur Trauerfeier versammelt waren, klagte sie laut, als sie eben das Wort ergriffen hatte: „Wie gern wäre ich in jener Gegend, wo meine eigenen nächsten Verwandten[179] wohnen! Dort gibt es viele *amáin*, diese schmecken uns allen sehr gut." Sie sang und sprach dann weiter, wiederholte aber mehrmals diese Worte.[180] Auch mehrere Männer hatten sich zur Trauerversammlung in dieser Hütte eingefunden. Einer von ihnen ergriff ebenfalls das Wort und sagte teilnahmsvoll anknüpfend an die Äußerung der *Lêxuwakipa:* „Wenn es in deiner Heimatgegend ganze Mengen von Beeren gibt, so werden wir einige Männer dorthin absenden, damit sie uns soviele, als sie tragen können, hierher bringen!" Danach sang und sprach er weiter in seiner Trauer. Nachdem die Leute ihre Feier beendet hatten, löschten sie das Feuer aus und ein jeder kehrte zur eigenen Hütte zurück.

Am anderen Tage machte sich die *Lêxuwakipa* selber auf den Weg und wandte sich der Gegend zu, wo ihre Familie wohnte. Sie zog ganz allein ab. Als sie die Hütte ihrer Verwandten erreicht hatte, trat sie ein und sagte sogleich: „Wie geht es euch denn noch? Die *Hitokuwinilinôgla* haben mich hierher geschickt.[181] Ich soll nämlich hier viele Beeren sammeln und sie ihnen bringen; denn dort gibt es gar keine Beeren!" Die Verwandten freuten sich, daß diese Frau wieder einmal zu Besuch gekommen war. Sie wollten ihr schnell behilflich sein. Bald zogen einige Leute ab, um viele *amáin* zu sammeln. Sie füllten einen großen Beutel mit *pâxël* [im Ost-Dialekt, *uškâlëmpi* im Westdialekt; die Selk'nam sagen *pâxal*];[182] denn diese Tiere sind die *amáin* der *Lêxuwakipa*. Sie selbst war ja gleichzeitig mit anderen Weibern hinausgegangen und sammelte die eigentlichen Beeren. Damit füllte sie ihr Körbchen kaum bis zur Hälfte an, was viel zu wenig war für jene vielen Leute, die sie hierher geschickt hatten. Die anderen Frauen jedoch sammelten *pâxël* und füllten damit einen Beutel bis oben an. Diesen gaben sie der *Lêxuwakipa* und sie machte sich mit Beutel und Körbchen auf den Heimweg.

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[179] Diese Wendung will besagen: außerhalb des Gebietes jener Gruppe, der ihr Mann angehörte. Ihre Handlungsweise verstieß gegen den Brauch und das allgemeine Recht.

[180] An erster Stelle gilt dieser Name den kleinen hellroten Beeren der Pernettya pumila, einer Myrtaceae (Abb. 67). Doch bezeichnet man damit zuweilen auch die größeren Beeren der Pernettya mucronata (Abb. 12 auf S. 121).

[181] Gemeint ist der Brillenibis, Theristicus melanopis, bekannt als Bandurria, der auch in der vorhergehenden Erzählung die Hauptrolle spielt.

[182] Eben wegen ihrer Verheiratung hatte sie das Gebiet ihrer eigenen Familie gegen das ihres Mannes vertauscht, wie die geltende Exogamie es fordert (S. 653).

[183] Hierin liegt eine Anspielung auf die freie Meinungsäußerung und unbehinderte Aussprache, die jedem zusteht, der sich an einer Trauerfeier beteiligt (S. 1131).

[184] Diesen Namen hat die Bandurria selber erfunden, um ihre Angehörigen hier bewußt zu täuschen und in die Irre zu führen.

[185] Das ist der große Goldlaufkäfer Carabus auratus. Ihn frißt der Brillenibis mit Vorliebe. Man sagt, dieser Käfer bohrt ein Loch in die Schale der Vogeleier, kriecht hinein und verzehrt den ganzen Inhalt. Er macht sich schnell durch seinen sehr unangenehmen Geruch bemerkbar, den er zur Abwehr seiner Feinde von sich gibt.

Nachdem sie die Hütte ihres Mannes erreicht hatte, wo auch dessen Verwandten warteten, teilte sie aus dem bis zur Hälfte mit *amáim* angefüllten Körbchen an die vielen Leute aus. Jedoch, den Beutel mit *páxël* versteckte sie in der Hütte; diese wollte sie unauffällig allein verzehren. Die Leute sagten enttäuscht: „Wie knausrig ist doch dieses Weib, nur einige wenige Beeren gab sie jedem einzelnen von uns! Dabei hatte sie sich früher gebrüstet und uns vorgemacht: ‚Dort, wo meine Familie zu Hause ist, gibt es große Mengen von *amáim*!' Welch selbstsüchtiges Weib!" Als die stille Nacht sich niedergesenkt hatte, glaubte die *Lêxuwakipa*, jetzt beobachte sie niemand. Also holte sie jenen Beutel aus dem Versteck hervor und schob ein *amáim* nach dem andern in den Mund. Das waren ihre *amáim*, nämlich die *páxël*. Doch die Leute in den benachbarten Hütten merkten, wie es andauernd zwischen ihren Zähnen knackste, so oft sie ein *páxël* zerbiß. Sie erkannten bald, was vor sich ging und riefen einander zu: „Welch erbärmliches Weib ist doch die *Lêxuwakipa*. Hört nur: Die ganze Nacht hindurch verzehrt sie für sich allein die vielen *amáim*! Man kann ja ganz deutlich wahrnehmen, wie es unaufhörlich zwischen ihren Zähnen knackst."

Bald darauf bekamen die Leute wieder heftiges Verlangen nach *Ianamáim*. Sie überlegten, wie sie wohl die *Lêxuwakipa* aus ihrer Hütte herauslocken und ihr den Beutel mit den vielen *amáim* wegnehmen könnten, um diese unter sich selber zu verteilen. Ihr Gatte und einige andere Männer wandten sich an sie und sagten ihr: „Jetzt ist eben die tiefste Ebbe. Geh doch an den Strand und sammle eiligst große Muscheln für uns!" Sie erwiderte: „Ich gehe sogleich." Sie erhob sich, ergriff ihr Körbchen und eilte an den Strand hinunter, der abgelegen war.

Als sie sich reichlich weit entfernt hatte, sagte einer der Männer: „Jetzt ist es Zeit, daß wir uns an der selbstsüchtigen, knausrigen *Lêxuwakipa* rächen!" Ohne zu warten, eilte er in deren Hütte und suchte dort gründlich herum. Endlich entdeckte er den großen Beutel. Als er ihn öffnen wollte, sah er einen *páxël* obenauf sitzen. Erst glaubte er, dieser Käfer sei nur zufällig hierher gekommen. Doch als er den Beutel öffnete und hineinschaute, entdeckte er eine rege Bewegung von einer Unmasse dieser Käfer. Erschreckt und angewidert von dem ekelhaften Gestank dieser vielen *páxël* machte er den Beutel schnell wieder zu und schob ihn an sein Versteck zurück. Eilig stürzte er hinaus und legte jetzt von außen her Feuer an diese Hütte. Bald schlugen die Flammen hoch. Vom Strande her wurde die *Lêxuwakipa* aufmerksam und sie mußte zuschauen, wie die Flammen schnell ihre Hütte verzehrten.[142] Betrübt rief sie aus: „O weh, alle meine Sachen verbrennen jetzt. Wie tut es mir leid um die vielen *amáim*, die ich auch verliere!"

Die *Lêxuwakipa* kam vom Strande her unverzüglich zurückgelaufen und

[142] Dieser Teil stimmt im wesentlichen überein mit der Selk'nam-Geschichte vom großen Albatros (Bd. I, 657). Die Rolle der selbstsüchtigen Frau spielt bei diesem der Kiebitz, Belonopterus chilensis, der in der systematischen Ordnung sich von Theristicus melanopis nicht entfernt. Die Selk'nam betrachten beide Vögel als Schwestern (Bd. I, 661).

seufzte auf dem Wege beständig: „Wie tut es mir leid um meine vielen *amájin!*" Eine andere Frau hörte diese Worte und entgegnete: „Wir essen dergleichen stinkige Dinge nicht und laden niemanden dazu ein: Wir essen etwas Besseres!" So rief die *Ajakŧlum*, die Tochter des *ōpájaži*.[184] Schnippisch fügte sie noch hinzu: „Meine Verwandten essen nur vorzügliche und sehr schmackhafte Dinge, nämlich Tran von Robben und Walen. Solch stinkige Tierchen indes, die deine Leibspeise sind, rühren wir nicht einmal an. Meine Familie verfügt zudem andauernd über einen Überfluß von Tran. Hier, wo ich zu Hause bin, ist dieser geschmackvolle Stoff reichlich vorhanden!" Der alte *ōpájaži*, ihr Vater, stand ganz in der Nähe und hörte diese Worte seiner Tochter *Ajakŧlum;* er ergänzte sie sogleich: „Wohlan, wir alle werden hier noch einige Zeit bleiben. Ich wünsche, daß du alsbald zu deinem Heimatsorte gehest und uns hierher bringst, was im großen Tranlager deiner Verwandten aufgespeichert liegt!" Der Gatte der *Ajakŧlum* [man sagt auch *Ajakŧlōm*][185] war der kleine *Lōfkōiya* [BD: 279 schreibt *lōfkuia*, a variety of owl];[186] er erklärte sich mit der Fahrt seiner Frau einverstanden. Alle diese Leute hier waren ja zu einer großen Trauerfeier zusammengekommen und zwar in der Absicht, noch mehrere Tage zu bleiben. Währenddessen sollte jene Frau die Fahrt in ihre Heimat unternehmen.

Die Hütte der *Lēxumakipa* stand noch immer in Flammen. Die Leute waren gerade zu ihren Trauergesängen vereinigt. Als sie die Flammen sahen, stellten sie das Singen ein, holten viel Wasser heran und löschten das Feuer aus. Danach kehrte jedermann in seine Hütte zurück.

Am nächsten Morgen gab es sehr schönes Wetter. Die *Ajakŧlum* bestieg eilig ihr Kanu und fuhr ab. Ihr Söhnchen, den kleinen *Čámux*[187] nahm sie mit. Ihr Heimatsort lag sehr weit abseits und der Weg dorthin war sehr lang. Dort gab es tatsächlich immer sehr viele Wale. Eben deshalb fanden sich dort auch sehr viele *Lakŧma* ein.[188] Diese Frau aber war sehr schlau und listig. Jedesmal, wenn ein *Lakŧma* ihrem Kanu sich näherte, redete sie ihn freundlich an: „Geht es dir gut, mein lieber Großvater?" Der *Lakŧma* hörte diese freundlichen Worte und ließ sie weiterfahren, ohne sie im geringsten zu belästigen. Bald kam ihr ein anderer *Lakŧma* entgegen und auch ihm rief sie in freundlichem Ton zu: „Geht es dir gut, mein lieber Großvater?" Da ließ dieser ebenfalls sie unbehelligt vorbeifahren. Auf solche Weise gelang es ihr, ohne Schaden durch die mit *Lakŧma* reichlich besetzten Gewässer hindurchzukommen. Endlich erreichte sie ihre Heimat. Sie fuhr mit ihrem Kanu an den Strand heran, damit ihr Söhnchen bequem aussteigen könnte.

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[184] Das ist der Schwertwal oder Drescher, Orca magellanica (S. 37).

[185] Das ist der Name für die jüngeren Schwertwale, die eine kleine Herde bilden, also für die Art Orca magellanica.

[186] Der Name für den kleinen Waldkauz, Glaucidium nanum.

[187] Das ist der größere Zaunkönig, Zanotrichia canicapilla. Neben ihm gibt es im Kap Horn-Gebiet noch als zweite Art den Troglodytes hornensis, die kleiner ist.

[188] Dieser gefährliche Wasergeist ist auf Seite 1285 genauer gekennzeichnet.

Aber hier war jeder kleinste Fleck sogar mit Tran und Fett übergossen, daß der Kleine auf Schritt und Tritt ausgleiten mußte; er konnte keinen Fuß vorstellen, ohne daß er niederfiel. Das sah die Mutter. Sie rief vom Kanu aus mit lauter Stimme: „Dieser hier ist mein Sohn. Laßt ihn den Strand hinaufsteigen!" Als sie das gerufen hatte, glitt der kleine *Čâmag* nicht mehr aus und gelangte bequem bis oben hinauf. Inzwischen war die Mutter vom Strande weggefahren und hatte in einiger Entfernung davon das Kanu an einem Algenknäuel festgebunden; hernach schwamm sie an den Strand hinüber, stieg hinauf und trat jetzt mit ihrem Söhnchen in die Hütte ihrer Verwandten ein. Diese freuten sich sehr, als sie die *Ajakflum* sahen. Sie setzten sich ans Feuer und erzählten sich lange.

Hier gab es außerdem einige Hütten von Leuten, die nicht zur Familie der *Ajakflum* gehörten. Auch der *Hâruf* hatte sich hier zufällig niedergelassen; denn seine Gewohnheit ist es, weit draußen auf hoher See zu verweilen.[100] Als er hörte, eine Frau sei von weither gekommen und hier eingetroffen, faßte ihn die Neugierde und er sagte: „Die will ich mir gleich anschauen. Wer mag sie wohl sein?" Er trat in die Hütte ein, wo die *Ajakflum* saß. Vom ersten Sehen an gefiel sie ihm über die Maßen, ihre Gestalt berückte ihn und er warf ihr sogleich verliebte Blicke zu. Die Frau erwiderte ihm auf die gleiche Weise. Unauffällig rückte der *Hâruf* immer näher heran, bis er ganz eng neben der *Ajakflum* saß. Schon seit langem hatte sich die Nacht niedergesenkt und rundherum war es finster. Darauf hatten diese beiden gewartet. Die Frau saß mit angezogenen Beinen [in Hockerstellung] da. Der *Hâruf* reichte ihr seine Hand. Mulier comprehendit manum viri eamque a latere pudendis suis apposuit. Tunc vir, digito suo in mulieris vaginam introducto, per longius tempus ibi lusit. Digitus suus perlongus mulierem ita excitavit, ut humor vaginalis effluerit. Vir autem eam hoc modo excitare continuavit, quod ipsi maximo oblectamento fuit. Bis tief in die Nacht hinein saßen beide auf diese Art eng beisammen. Dann erst zog sich der *Hâruf* in seine Hütte zurück. Es war ihm ein reiches Genügen, die *Ajakflum* so stark gereizt zu haben; denn nun war er dessen sicher, sie werde ihn zum Manne nehmen. Die *Ajakflum* ihrerseits konnte vor satter Befriedigung die ganze Nacht nicht einschlafen. Sie sagte sich: „Da ich mir den *Hâruf* jetzt doch zum Manne nehmen muß, werde ich mir von meiner Familie hier eine reichliche Menge Tran und Speck erbitten. Diese werde ich erst zu meinem alten Gatten und dessen Verwandten bringen. Danach komme ich sofort wieder hierher. Damit mein Mann dort mich bald loslässt, soll mein Söhnchen hier zurückbleiben. Von jetzt ab will ich mit dem *Hâruf* zusammenleben; denn der liebt mich sehr!"

Am anderen Morgen verständigte diese Frau sehr schlau und unbemerkt den *Hâruf*. Ihren Verwandten sagte sie: „Gebt mir eine reichliche Menge Tran und Speck, die will ich meinem Manne und dessen Verwandten

[100] Das ist der gewaltige Sturmvogel Macronectes giganteus, der durch seine langen, schmalen Schwingen auffällt.

bringen. Dort fehlt es nämlich an alledem." Bereitwillig gaben sie ihr so viel wie sie wollte. Alles lud sie auf ihr Kanu, stieg dann selber ein und fuhr sogleich ab. Doch ließ sie den kleinen *Cámuy* hier zurück.

Kaum war sie vor der Hütte ihres Mannes ausgestiegen, verteilte sie sofort die reichliche Menge von Tran und Speck, die sie mitgebracht hatte. Alle Leute zeigten sich vollauf zufrieden. Ihrem Mann ließ sie bald wissen: „Nur wenige Tage möchte ich mich hier aufhalten, meine Familie besteht darauf, mich bald wieder zu sehen. Auch habe ich den kleinen *Cámuy* dort zurücklassen müssen, weil ich das Kanu mit Tran und Speck angefüllt hierher bringen wollte." Ihr Mann erwiderte: „Nun gut, besuche nochmals deine Familie. Komm aber binnen kurzem wieder hierher zurück und bringe unser Kind mit!" Eilig bestieg sie ihr Kanu und fuhr in jene Gegend, wo ihre Verwandten wohnten. Hier fand sie sich gleich mit dem *Hóruf* zusammen und lebt seitdem mit ihm. Heute noch sieht man seinen langen Finger, quem in mulieris vaginam ad excitandam ejus libidinem introduxerat."[100]

2. *Die Geschichte vom Schwiegervater*

Tâtu ináwa

Der alte *Tâtu*[101] war schon lange Witwer. Da ihm auch seine kleineren Kinder gestorben waren, lebte er gemeinsam mit seinem Schwiegersohne. Dieser hatte den Alten bereitwillig in seine Hütte aufgenommen; denn als Schwiegersohn war er dazu verpflichtet (S. 659). Weil der Alte andere Verwandte nicht hatte, pflegte und unterhielt ihn der Schwiegersohn in seinem

[100] Im Anschluß an diese Geschichte erklärte man mir: *Jener große Strandvogel besitzt einen langen, schmalen Flügel. Als ista digitus eum porrigens est, quo in vaginam introducta mulierem ad delectationem sexualem excitaverat.* Deshalb ist es allgemeine Regel und die Leute kennen sie: Falls ein Mann sich einer Frau nähert und sie auf diese Weise reizt, so nähern beide sich heimlich, zur Beschämung ihrer selbst und zur Warnung für andere, Knaben und Mädchen, die dann und wann über das Verhalten der Geschlechter zueinander von ihren Leuten im reifen Alter und bei passender Gelegenheit aufgeklärt werden, erfahren die oben erwähnte Bestimmung. In der Wirklichkeit aber gehen die Einzelverhältnisse der beiden Personen den Anschlag. Fühlte der Mann, der sich auf diese Weise mit einer Frau vergangen hatte, kein besonderes Verlangen danach, sie zu heiraten, und zog letztere ihrerseits sich ebenfalls zurück, so blieb der Vorfall eben verborgen und keiner von ihnen kümmerte sich um jenes Gesetz. Falls aber der Mann doch darauf bestrebt, jene Frau für sich zu bekommen, sie aber ihm fortschrieben und den Vorfall verborgen halten wollte, stand dem Manne ein anderer Weg zu seinem Ziele offen. Hatte er vergeblich auf jene Frau eingewirkt, dann zog er einen ihr nahestehende Freundin im Vertrauen und offenbarte dieser, daß er mit jener Frau sich vergangen und sie auf die oben beschriebene Weise berührt hätte, daß aber auch diese selber seiner Zudringlichkeit auf die erwähnte Art entsprochen und damit zum Ausdruck gebracht hätte, wie leicht sie von ihm erregt würde. Seitdem nun wichen die Verwandten dieser Frau auf sie mit allen Mitteln ein und halten ihr ernstlich vor, es sei nun einmal Brauch, daß nach solchem Vorfall die betreffende Frau jenen Mann heirate. Merkt ihr schließlich kein Ausweg mehr, gibt sie den Widerstand auf und überläßt sich jenem Manne. Ist sie jedoch bereits verheiratet, was meist zutrifft, so muß sie ihren bisherigen Gatten verlassen. Dieser schließt sich meist ohne Widerstand damit einverstanden und findet sich mit der Trennung ab;

letzten Lebenstagen. Täglich ging der Schwiegersohn zu den Strand, holte Muscheln und Fleisch und brachte gelegentlich auch Früchte aus dem Walde mit. Indes, der Alte war andauernd unzufrieden und nichts behagte ihm; er aß wohl von allem, was der Schwiegersohn brachte, aber er klagte darüber beständig. Er sagte immer: „Ich bin schon sehr alt; aber ich habe eine sehr große Lust etwas zu kauen, was mir besonders gut mundet!" Da suchte nun der Schwiegersohn nach anderen Dingen und brachte täglich etwas Neues zur Hütte. Doch auch das gefiel dem Alten nicht. Denn als er davon gekostet hatte, sagte er wieder ganz unzufrieden: „Ich bin schon sehr alt; aber ich habe eine sehr große Lust etwas zu kauen, was mir besonders gut mundet!"[111]

Dem Schwiegersohn gefiel es nicht, daß der Alte unabänderlich unzufrieden war. Er sagte nichts dagegen; denn das steunte sich nicht für ihn: Seinem Schwiegervater mußte er Ehrfurcht bezeigen. Aber im stillen fragte er sich selbst ganz ruhig: „Was könnte es wohl sein, das der Alte kauen möchte und das ihm so gut mundet?" Er überlegte und brachte immer noch weitere Dinge, die er seinem Schwiegervater vorlegte. Dieser versuchte alles und kaute daran; aber regelmäßig machte er die gleiche unzufriedene Bemerkung. Jetzt holte der Schwiegersohn einige harte Dinge. Der alte Tötu kaute sie, aber er blieb trotzdem unzufrieden und nichts von alledem sagte ihm zu. Der Schwiegersohn dachte wieder nach; er suchte weiter und weiter, brachte immer neue und immer härtere Dinge an.[112]

Eines Tages brachte er *Kwi*-Steifen[113] und legte sie vor den Alten hin.

denn darin sieht er die beste Lösung für ein Verhältnis, das ja doch nicht mehr aufrichtig ist. Immerhin mag es sich ereignen, daß der rechtmäßige Mann sich der Absicht seiner Frau, zum Nebenbuhler zu übersiedeln, widersetzt. Will er sie nicht freigeben, verbleibt sie ohne weiterhin bei ihm und er bewacht sie besonders scharf. Sollte dieser Gatte sich für einige Tage entfernen und seiner Frau anvertrauen, so erscheint es als selbstverständlich denn, daß sie zur Hütte ihres Liebhabers eilt und bei ihm erhält. Der Gatte und die anderen Leute finden darin keinen eigentlichen Verstoß mehr; denn jener beiden würden sich sowieso als Ehebrecher angehören, falls der rechtmäßige Gatte sich deren Verehelichung nicht entgegengestellt hätte. Doch bewilligt man ein derartiges Zusammensein nur für die Tage, da der rechtmäßige Gatte abwesend ist. Dieser wird aber — in richtiger Beurteilung der Sonstigen Gefühle seiner Frau — mit Verdacht es kaum dazu kommen lassen, daß sie allein dort verbleibt, wo ihr Liebhaber sich aufhält. Dieses letztgenannte Zugeständnis hat deshalb für die Wirklichkeit wohl nie etwas zu bedeuten.

[110] Dieser Name gebührt eigentümlich der Mythenwelt entsprechend, ein kleiner Vogel mit schwarzem Gefieder und einem weißen Fleck auf dem Kopfe. Nach dieser Erzählung hatte er als Urkunde die Gewohnheit, sich weiße Farbstoffe in das Kopfhaar einzureiben.

[111] Man beachte, daß der Schwiegervater eine direkte Anrede und unmittelbare Aussprache vermeidet. In gleicher Weise wagt es der Schwiegersohn nicht, ganz offen zu fragen, sondern er völlig ruhig dastand und in seinen Überlegungen auf sich angewiesen blieb. Diese Art entspricht genau den herrschenden Gewohnheiten (S. 638).

[112] Deutlich kommt das Bestreben des Schwiegersohnes zum Ausdruck, auf die ihm nur möglichste Weise seinem Schwiegervater gefällig zu sein. Das Gewohnheitsrecht der Yamana macht es den Schwiegerkindern eben zur Pflicht.

[113] Das sind die Bastfasern unmittelbar unter der Borke eines Baumes der Nothofagus-Arten. Sie werden in langen Streifen abgelöst und zum Nähen der großen Rindenstücke des Kanus verwendet, so lange sie noch weich und biegsam sind (S. 140).

Als dieser die *ā-i*-Fasern sah, begann er sofort, daran zu kauen. Er beruhigte sich ganz offensichtlich, heiterte sich auf, kaute mit viel Behagen daran und wurde ganz zufrieden. Jetzt endlich klagte er nicht mehr, sondern sagte aus vollster Zufriedenheit: „Das ist es, was mir so recht mundet!" Als der Schwiegersohn diese Worte hörte, atmete er erleichtert auf und sagte voller Genugtuung: „Wie glücklich und zufrieden ist doch endlich mein Schwiegervater mit den *ā-i*-Fäden, die ich ihm gebracht. Jetzt will ich ihn damit reichlich versorgen. Aber wie hätte ich ahnen können, daß ausgerechnet die zähen *ā-i*-Streifen ihm so wohlschmeckend sind!" Von nun an ging er täglich hinaus und brachte regelmäßig eine große Menge von *ā-i* mit und legte sie vor seinen Schwiegervater. Der begann sogleich damit, diese Fäden zu kauen; sonst tat er nichts. Nachdem er eine große Menge von diesen Fäden gut gekaut hatte, da nahm er Rindenstücke und nähte sie mit den *ā-i*-Fäden zusammen. So entstanden Kanus. Er machte viele solcher Kanus und gab sie den Leuten. Seit jener Zeit braucht man immer die *ā-i*-Fäden zum Nähen der Rindenstücke. Ein solches Kanu leistet den Wellen lange Zeit Widerstand.

φ. *Die Geschichte vom alten Guanaco*

Amêr-a wôtuwa

Vor langer Zeit lebte in *Wâjowan* [auf der Südküste der Isla Navarino] der alte *Amêr-a*. Dieser Mann[185] war Witwer und deshalb lebte er mit seinen beiden Töchtern zusammen. Beide waren sie sehr schön, am meisten die ältere. So verliebte sich dieser Mann ganz leidenschaftlich in seine ältere Tochter, ohne daß diese am Anfang es bemerkte. Jeden Tag pflegte sie in den Wald zu gehen und brachte immer große Mengen von Selleriewurzeln heim; denn diese schmeckten dem Alten vorzüglich. Der Vater nahm sie freudig entgegen und aß viel davon; er sagte: „Die Selleriewurzeln schmecken mir sehr gut!" Am nächsten Tage ging dann das Mädchen wieder in den Wald und brachte große Mengen von Selleriewurzeln, die es dem Vater hinlegte.

Da er sich von einem Tag zum andern noch mehr in seine Tochter verliebt hatte, konnte er vor Erregung kaum etwas essen, sobald er ihrer nur ansichtig wurde; denn sie war überaus schön und in der Hütte trug sie gar keine Kleidung. Deshalb sah der Alte, wie so ganz schön sie war. Mit der Zeit gab sich die ältere Tochter schließlich auch Rechenschaft darüber, daß sich der Vater in sie verliebt hatte. Es kam schließlich so weit, daß der Alte vor Verliebtheit rein nichts mehr essen konnte, er wurde allmählich bleß und magerte ab.

Das sah die jüngere Tochter und sagte zum Vater: „Mein Vater, warum isserst du denn die Selleriewurzeln nicht mehr, die dir immer so gut geschmeckt haben?" Der Vater erwiderte: „Ich kann nicht essen, weil mir die Zähne wehtun!" Da sagte diese Tochter: „Das mag sein. Aber trotzdem mußt du etwas essen. Ich sehe, wie du jeden Tag bleicher wirst und abmagerst. Iß doch

[185] Das männliche Guanaco, Lama huanacus (S. 34).

wenigstens etwas!" Der Vater erwiderte: „Ich habe gar keine Lust zum Essen." Dabei zog er die Felldecke über sein Gesicht, er war auf seinem Nachtlager in der Hütte ausgestreckt. Nun näherte sich ihm die jüngere Tochter und sagte: „Schau doch auf die großen Haufen von Selleriewurzeln, die dir immer so gut geschmeckt haben. Versuche doch, wenigstens etwas zu essen!" Darauf sagte der Alte: „Nein, ich kann wirklich gar nichts mehr essen! Ich bin dem Tode nahe und ich fühle, wie meine Kräfte mich verlassen." Jetzt machte er eine lange Pause und fuhr dann in traurigem Tone fort: „Ich bin dem Tode sehr nahe. Ich halte es für das beste, ihr beerdigt mich schon jetzt; denn lange werde ich nicht mehr leben. Hier, ganz nahe unserer Hütte grabt mich in die Erde ein, doch so, daß Kopf und Füße vorläufig frei bleiben, bis ich ganz tot bin. Legt mir zur Seite auch einen *yáiyi* mit *ákel*:[100] So will ich bleiben, bis mein *kŕāpiś* mich verläßt." Bei diesen Worten wurden die beiden Mädchen sehr traurig und weinten laut. Da beruhigte sie der Vater und sagte: „Bevor ihr mich eingrabt, muß ich euch noch etwas mitteilen, damit ihr nicht etwa getäuscht werdet oder erschrecket: Es lebt hier in der Nähe ein Mann, der mir vollständig gleich ist. Man kann mich von ihm gar nicht unterscheiden. Das ist der alte *Yékapoma*. Er sieht ganz genau so aus wie ich und ich weiß, daß er in euch beide sehr verliebt ist. Wenn ihr diesen Mann kommen seht, erschreckt also nicht und glaubt nicht etwa, ich selber wäre es. Wenn er euch liebkosen will, so überlaßt euch ihm! Das wollte ich euch noch zum Troste sagen. Nun könnt ihr mich hier eingraben."

Die beiden Mädchen horchten genau auf alles, was der Vater ihnen sagte; sie waren sehr traurig gestimmt. Danach begruben sie ihn so, wie er es gewünscht hatte, nämlich daß Kopf und Füße noch aus der Erde herausschauten; ihm zur Seite legten sie einen *yáiyi* mit *ákel*. Als sie damit fertig waren, weinten sie wieder laut und nahmen nun Abschied von ihrem Vater. Dann gingen sie weg und wandten sich einem anderen Lager zu. Sie gingen sehr langsam; sie waren traurig, da sie vom Vater hatten Abschied nehmen müssen.

Der Weg zum anderen Lager, wo ihre Verwandten wohnten, führte durch den Wald. Als die beiden Mädchen sich schon weit entfernt hatten, stand der Alte schnell auf; denn er war in Wirklichkeit dem Tode nicht nahe, sondern hatte sich nur verstellt, um seine beiden Töchter zu täuschen. Er nahm aus dem *yáiyi* etwas *ákel* und bemalte sich damit den ganzen Körper. Nun eilte auch er in den Wald, doch auf einem Umwege, und machte einen großen Bogen. Da er sehr schnell lief, gewann er einen guten Vorsprung und kam auf den eigentlichen Weg, der zum andern Lager führte. Hier mußten die beiden Mädchen vorbeikommen, deshalb wartete er hier auf sie. Er sagte sich: „Da ich mich reichlich mit roter Farberde bemalt habe, werden sie mich nicht erkennen!" Nach einiger Zeit näherten sich ihm die beiden Mädchen; er hörte, wie sie laut weinten. Da stand er auf und ging ihnen entgegen. Mit veränderter Stimme rief er ihnen zu: „Was machen doch diese beiden Mädchen hier so

[100] Er meint das bekannte kurze Darmstück, das wie ein Beutelchen zum Aufbewahren der roten Farberde dient. Vgl. Abb. 20 auf Seite 430.

ganz allein und so nahe unserm Lager?" Dann trat er ihnen näher und sagte: „Ja, jetzt erkenne ich euch! Sagt, bringt ihr mir keine Nachricht von meinem guten Freunde, eurem Vater? Wie geht es ihm denn noch? Schon seit langem haben wir uns nicht mehr gesehen." Darauf erwiderten ihm die beiden Mädchen: „Ach, unser Vater ist jetzt gewiß schon gestorben." Dabei weinten sie wieder sehr laut. „Aber wie ist denn das geschehen?" fragte der Alte. Darauf erwiderten die Mädchen: „Er hatte Zahnschmerzen und konnte nicht mehr essen. Da wurde er immer bleicher und magerte ab. Schließlich sagte er: ‚Ihr könnt mich jetzt begraben!' Da haben wir ihn begraben, so wie er es wollte." Darauf sagte der Alte: „Ach, wie tut es mir leid, daß mein guter Freund gestorben ist." Während er so sprach, sagte die jüngere Schwester zur älteren: „Das muß wohl unser Vater sein, ich erkenne ihn an der Stimme!" Darauf erwiderte ihr die ältere Schwester: „Aber Schwester, das kann gar nicht sein! Erinnerst du dich nicht mehr dessen, was uns der Vater sagte, bevor wir ihn eingruben, damit wir nicht etwa erschrecken oder uns täuschen. Er sagte ja: ‚Es lebt hier in der Nähe ein Mann, der mir vollständig gleich ist, so daß man mich von ihm gar nicht unterscheiden kann; das ist der alte *Yhsapoura*. Er sieht ganz genau so aus wie ich selber, und ich weiß, daß er in euch beide sehr verliebt ist. Wenn ihr diesem Mann kommen seht, erschreckt also nicht und glaubt nicht etwa, ich selber wäre es. Wenn er euch liebkosen will, überlaßt euch ihm. Das wollte ich euch noch zum Troste sagen!' So hat uns der Vater noch verständigt. Erinnerst du dich dessen nicht mehr?" Darauf sagte die jüngere Schwester: „Ja, all dessen erinnere ich mich noch; aber ich meine trotzdem: Dieser Mann hier muß unser Vater sein!"

Die Mädchen unterhielten sich zwar leise, doch der Alte hörte alles. Dann fragte er sie: „Wohin wollt ihr jetzt gehen?" Darauf erwiderte die ältere Schwester: „Wir wollen zum anderen Lager gehen, wo unsere Verwandten sind." Da sagte der Mann: „Sei doch nicht so traurig! Kommt mit mir, ich will *dir* den Weg zeigen." Während er so sprach, näherte er sich immer mehr dem älteren Mädchen; dann nahm er es zärtlich in seine Arme und führte es hinter dichtes Gesträuch. Hier legten sie sich auf das weiche Moos nieder und überließen sich ihrer Lüsternheit. Nach einiger Zeit stand der *Andere* auf und begab sich an die Stelle, wo seine jüngere Tochter saß. Jetzt umarmte er auch diese und zog sich mit ihr hinter dichtes Gebüsch zurück. Beide überließen sich hier ihrer geilen Lust. Erst nach einiger Zeit standen sie auf und begaben sich dorthin, wo die ältere Mädchen noch lag. Da lachten alle drei hell auf und setzten hier ihr Treiben fort. Seitdem trennten sie sich nicht mehr und blieben im Walde beieinander.

Auch heute noch lachen und kichern die Gunagua auf diese Weise. Der alte Vater lebt andauernd mit seinen Töchtern zusammen und hat Verkehr mit ihnen, als ob sie seine Frauen wären. Alle ergötzen sich daran. Auch erkennt man noch den kleinen Fleck von *ókel*, womit er sich damals bemalt hatte. Die Töchter tragen gleichfalls ein wenig von dieser Farbe; denn während *Andere* sie umarmte, haben sie davon etwas abgestreift."

2. Belehrende Mythen

Die Yámana verfügen auch über eine kurze Reihe von Erzählungen, in denen das sogenannte explikative Element weniger deutlich oder gar nicht in die Erscheinung tritt. Vielmehr werden darin einige Gesetze und Gebräuche erläutert oder die Beweise dafür erbracht, daß schwerere Verfehlungen die Strafe auf dem Fuße folgt. Diese Geschichten wollen hauptsächlich erzieherisch wirken und eindringlich vor Entgleisungen und Ungerechtigkeiten warnen. Aus ihnen wird aber auch ersichtlich, welche Art von Fehlern die Allgemeinheit mit besonderem Nachdruck rügt und welche Vergehen sie ausdrücklich als schwer so beurteilt, daß man auf dieselben eigens hinweist.

a. *Die Geschichte vom jugendlichen Schwanger*

Lalamíkua wómas

Auf der Insel Epfugo lebte einst ein alten Ehepaar. Sie hatten fünf Söhne, die alle schon verheiratet waren. Wieder einmal waren diese weit hinaus auf die See gefahren, ein jeder mit seiner Familie; sie wollten fischen und jagen. Die alten Eltern waren in ihrer Hütte ganz allein zurückgeblieben. Geraume Zeit war schon verstrichen, seitdem jene fünf Familien diese Insel und ihre alten Eltern verlassen hatten. Ihre alte Mutter war wirklich hoch bejahrt. Sie zeigte sich derart gebrechlich und hinfällig, daß sie in solch vorgeschrittenem Alter auf Kinder nicht mehr rechnen konnte. Das wußte der Mann, der noch etwas älter war, sehr gut. Trotzdem, sei es, daß er schwach, sei es, daß er alle Hoffnung noch nicht aufgeben wollte, jedesmal, bevor er seiner Frau beiwohnte, nahm er eine frische máku-Blüte,[1] ramque in vaginam ejus introduxit. Statim mulieri incubuit ad coitum perficiendum. Das tat er deshalb, damit die máku-Blüte lange in vagina mulieris verbliebe. Und wirklich, nach einiger Zeit erkannten beide, daß die alte Frau schwanger ging. Bald gebar sie einen Sohn. Ein solch niedliches, wunderschönes Kind hatten die Alten noch nie geschen. Sie waren wie verzückt und außer sich vor Freude; denn der Kleine erschien wirklich so schön und reizlächelnd wie die máku-Blüte.[2]

[1] Dieses Stück erinnert fast vollständig mit zwei Geschichten der Selk'nam (Bd. I. 658, 651) überein; man ist geneigt zu sagen, es handelt sich um eine und dieselbe Sache. Auch hier soll vor allem das Liebesspiel der männlichen Radelfischen mit den jungen, weiblichen Tieren dargestellt werden. — Die Yámana besitzen weitere Erzählungen, die dem Guanaco gewidmet sind, nicht, denn dieses Tier hat'in diesem Wirtschaftsbereiche nicht im entferntesten die Bedeutung, die ihm bei den Selk'nam zukommt.

[2] Diese Bezeichnung gilt einem im Frauenhause häufigen Strauche, Euchaltrium caudatum. Vgl. Abb. 70 auf Seite 302.

[3] Die Yámana bezeichnen als hohe körperliche Schönheit, neben einer ebenmäßigen Entwicklung der gesamten Körperpartien, eine blendendweiße, rosarschimmernde Oberhaut. Zur Bezeichnung dieses besitzen sie sich vergleichsweise auf die schneeweißen, großen Euchaltrium-Blüten, die der Schönheitsempfinden vollauf befriedigt. Häufig sagen sie: „Dieses Kind gleicht einer Máku-Blüte und ist so schön wie diese." Sie wollen damit zum Ausdruck bringen, daß dieses Kind ihnen gans und gar gefällt. Vgl. S. 701.

Dieses Säbelchen wurde unglaublich schnell heraus und wurde dabei auch schlauer. Bald begann es zu spielen und erfreute damit seine alten Eltern sehr sehr. Überraschend zeitig fing der Kleine auch zu sprechen an und er fragte seine Mutter nach allerlei Dingen. Er selber vergnügte sich damit, Fliegen und Mücken, Schmetterlinge und Käfer, Libellen und andere Hautflügler zu fangen. Ein jedes dieser Tierchen brachte er zu seiner Mutter und erfragte dessen Namen. Die Mutter gab jedem dieser Tierchen einen Namen; diesen Namen hörte ihr Säbelchen und wiederholte ihn mehrmals. Seitdem trägt ein jedes dieser Tierchen seinen Namen bis auf den heutigen Tag. Der Kleine war nun schon zum Knaben geworden, deshalb gelang es ihm, größere Tiere zu fangen. Er ging an den Strand und in den Wald hinein; hier fing er erst die kleineren, später die größeren und endlich sogar die größten Vögel. Einen wie den anderen brachte er zu seiner Mutter und fragte sie um deren Namen. Die alte Mutter freute sich außerordentlich darüber, daß ihr Säbelchen sich so gewitzt und regsam zeigte; jedem Vogel gab sie einen Namen und diesen teilte sie ihrem Sohne mit. Er wiederholte den Namen und merkte sich ihn. Jeder Vogel trägt ihn seitdem bis heutigentage. Inzwischen war der Knabe weiter herangewachsen und er erwies sich kräftig und mutig genug, um auch größeren Tieren nachzujagen. Wirklich erlegte er bald einen jungen Seelöwen, danach einen alten, schweren Seelöwen, selbst Fischer, Gannaren und Delphine; er tötete sogar einmal einen Wal. Ein jedes dieser Tiere brachte er zu seiner Mutter und erfragte den Namen. Die Mutter freute sich jedesmal gar sehr und sie gab jedem Tiere einen Namen, den es bis heute trägt.

Jetzt war der *Lakwalfen* [ein nennenswertester Name am Ende – tot, wie die mähn-Blüte = wunderschön; und *gen wulfen*, die allgemeine Bezeichnung für Knabe; demnach: "Wunderkind"] groß genug, um regelmäßig auf die Jagd zu gehen. Jedesmal brachte er reichliche Mengen von Fleisch zur Hütte und somit verfügten seine alten Eltern über sehr viel Nahrung. Da sie sich außerstande sahen, alles zu verzehren, was *Lakwalfen* herbeischleppte, gingen sie bald daran, den Überfluß sicherzustellen; sie wollten ihn in gutem Zustande für spätere Zeiten aufbewahren. Der *Lakwalfen* selber blies gar manchen großen Magen vom Seelöwen auf und hielt ihn an der Luft trocknen; dann stopfte er ihn mit Fleisch voll. Auf diese Weise häufte er reiche Vorräte an. Hier in Epingo gab es nämlich viele Tiere und er selber war wirklich ein fleißiger, geschickter Jäger.

Nach langer Zeit kamen die fünf Brüder mit ihren Familien wieder einmal von ihrer weiten Reise hierher zurück; sie hatten schließlich darnach verlangt, ihre alten Eltern zu sehen. Als sie sich der Insel bereits genähert hatten, erhob sich ein heftiger Wind und dieser hinderte sie daran, weiterzufahren. Draußen auf offener See hielt er sie fest, daß sie sich nicht von der Stelle bewegen konnten, so stark blies er. Die Weiber mußten schließlich ihre Kanus an dicken Algenkränzen sichern, damit der Wind sie nicht auf die hohe See zurücktriebe. Wieder hatte *Lakwalfen* einen Morgen seine Hütte verlassen und sich auf die Jagd begeben. Da entdeckte er draußen, weit von

der Insel entfernt, jene in Algenknäueln verankerten Kanus; an ihnen mußten sie sich festhalten, sonst hätte der Wind sie auf die offene See hinausgetrieben. Er sagte sich: „Die dort sitzen an jener Stelle wohl schon einige Tage. Wahrscheinlich sind ihnen sämtliche Lebensmittel ausgegangen!" Nun überlegte er, wie er ihnen sofort helfen könnte. Da kam ihm ein Gedanke: „Sicherlich wird es nicht unnütz sein, wenn ich denen dort einen gutgefüllten Seelöwenmagen zukommen lasse. Mag sein, wenn ich diesen Magen richtig auf die Wellen setze, daß der Strom ihn zu jenen Kanus hinleitet. Sie haben dann etwas zu essen und werden nicht Hungers sterben, bis sie weiterfahren können." Augenblicklich eilte er zur Hütte und verständigte seinen alten Vater: „Mir scheint, in jenen Kanus dort draußen sitzen meine Brüder mit ihren Familien. Ein sehr starker Wind bläst, deshalb haben sie ihre Kanus in dichten Algenknäueln gesichert. Ich möchte ihnen helfen und einen gefüllten Seelöwenmagen von der Strömung zu ihnen hintreiben lassen, damit sie etwas zu essen erhalten." Darauf erwiderte der Alte: „Das ist von dir sehr gut gedacht. Handle, wie es dir am besten scheint. Es wird nicht vergeblich sein, wenn jene Leute dort draußen einen gutgefüllten Seelöwenmagen erhalten!"

Sofort eilte *Lāiwulésa* an den Strand hinunter, ergriff einen dicken Knüppel und legte ihn genau gerichtet auf die Wellen, damit der Strom ihn wegtreibe. Vorerst wollte er nämlich einen Versuch anstellen und sich davon überzeugen, ob der Strom tatsächlich diesen Knüppel zu jenen Kanus trage. Lange schaute er dem Knüppel nach; und wirklich, trotz des starken Windes und der hohen Wellen schwamm dieser Knüppel in gerader Richtung auf die hohe See hinaus, genau zu der Stelle hin, wo jene Kanus standen. Eben saßen zwei Weiber am Bug ihres Kanus; sie mühten sich damit ab, einige Fische zu fangen, weil alle Leute schwerer Hunger litten. Da schlug plötzlich jener Knüppel sehr laut gegen ihr Kanu und sie sagten sich: „Was mag denn das hier sein und was schlägt wohl so laut gegen unser Kanu?" Sie bückten sich noch etwas weiter über das Kanu hinaus und bemerkten den dicken Knüppel, der dagegen anschlug; sie wunderten sich sehr darüber. Schließlich ergriffen sie diesen Knüppel und warfen ihn auf die andere Seite, damit er nicht noch länger gegen das Kanu anschlüge. Alle ihre Bewegungen beobachtete der *Lāiwulésa* von der Insel aus und er sagte sich erfreut: „Also ist jener dicke Knüppel doch genau dorthin geschwommen, wo die Kanus stehen. Demnach wird wohl auch der gefüllte Seelöwenmagen jene Kanus erreichen, wenn ich ihn richtig auf die Wellen setze."

Sofort eilte er zu seiner Hütte und suchte hier einen großen, gutgefüllten Seelöwenmagen aus. Diesen schleppte er an den Strand und setzte ihn richtig auf das Wasser, daß der Strom ihn sofort faßte. Sogleich schwamm der große Magen ab, Wind und Wellen trieben ihn schnell voran und schnurstracks schwamm er auf jene Kanus zu. Bald kam er dort an und stieß heftig gegen ein Kanu. Die Frau, die drinnen saß, erschrak über diesen starken Anschlag, schaute über Bord und sah, zu ihrer besonderen Freude, den großen, gefüllten Seelöwenmagen. Eilig griff sie darnach und wollte ihn hochheben; doch ihre

Kräfte reichten hierfür nicht aus, weil er gar zu schwer war. Sie rief zwei Männer heran. Diese strengten sich ordentlich an und zu zweien brachten sie es schließlich fertig, den schweren, gefüllten Magen ins Kanu zu heben. Alle Leute atmeten vor Freude auf, als sie die große Fleischmenge sahen; der Hunger hatte sie schon sehr empfindlich gequält, nun aber stand ihnen reichliche Nahrung zur Verfügung. Sie zeigten sich wohl darüber verwundert, auf welche Weise ein so großer, gutgefüllter Seelöwenmagen zu ihren Kanus gelangt sei; doch begannen sie unverzüglich zu essen, weil sie sehr hungrig waren, und fragten weiter nicht darnach, woher dieser Magen stammen könnte. So gab es also jetzt auf diesen Kanus da draußen viel Hin und Her. Der *Lulurulêwa* beobachtete die ständigen Bewegungen jener Leute von seiner Insel aus und vollauf zufrieden sagte er sich: „Also ist der große Magen dort richtig angekommen. Wie werden sich jene Leute über das viele Fleisch gestürzt haben; denn sie müssen sehr hungrig gewesen sein!"

Nachdem jene Leute dort draußen ihren Hunger fürs erste gestillt hatten, fingen sie zu plaudern an und meinten vergnügt: „Mit dieser Menge von Fleisch kommen wir einige Tage durch; wir brauchen uns nicht mehr zu mühen, hier Fische zu fangen. Vielleicht bessert sich das Wetter bald und dann erreichen wir den Strand. Doch, woher stammt eigentlich dieser große, gutgefüllte Seelöwenmagen? Wer könnte ihn wohl so passend auf die Strömung gelegt haben, daß er genau unsere Kanus erreichte und dagegen anschlug? Unser alter Vater besitzt nicht mehr Kraft genug, um solche Mengen von Fleisch zu sammeln, noch viel weniger, um einen derart großen gefüllten Seelöwenmagen auf das Wasser zu legen; er ist überhaupt außerstande zu arbeiten, von ihm stammt dieser große Magen sicherlich nicht! Vielleicht hält sich zufällig ein anderer Mann in der Hütte unseres Vaters auf. Doch, wer könnte es sein? Nur ein tüchtiger Jäger kommt in Frage, der so viel Fleisch zusammenbringen konnte; auch muß er ein starker Mann und fähig sein, diese schwere Last an den Strand zu schleppen. Wer könnte das wohl sein? Überdies stammt dieser große Magen sicherlich von jener Insel her, auf der unser Vater wohnt; denn alles Fleisch ist ganz frisch und sehr gut erhalten!" Dies und das besprachen sie, während sie aßen. Sie sättigten sich reichlich. Nach einiger Zeit versicherte der älteste der Brüder: „Sobald das Wetter es irgendwie erlaubt, möchte ich versuchen, zur Insel hinüber zu fahren, wo unser Vater wohnt. Dann werde ich ihn sogleich fragen, wie es ihm geht und wer diesen Seelöwenmagen auf die Wellen gelegt hat, daß er genau unser Kanu anstieß. Ich zweifle nicht daran, dieser große Magen war von vornherein für uns bestimmt." Darauf erwiderten die anderen: „Gut, mache es nur so. Auch wir sind neugierig zu wissen, wie es um unseren Vater steht und welcher Mann bei ihm in der Hütte weilt."

Tatsächlich besserte sich das Wetter am nächsten Morgen und der Gegenwind blies nicht mehr stark. Der älteste der Brüder bestieg mit seiner Frau das Kanu und fuhr ab. Zwar mußten sie schwer rudern, doch hielten sie die Richtung auf jene Insel ein. Sie näherten sich bereits der Insel, als der

Luiwulêwu zufällig am Strande entlang lief. Da rief er seinem Vater zu: „Ein Kanu nähert sich unserer Insel und wird bald landen. Vielleicht ist es mein Bruder, der mit seiner Familie hierher kommt." Sein Vater entgegnete: „Das wäre schon möglich." Sofort eilte der Kleine in den Wald und versteckte sich dort; er war ja überaus schön und deshalb wollte er sich nicht sehen lassen. Kurz darauf landete hier der älteste Bruder, verließ mit seiner Frau das Kanu und kam zur Hütte seines Vaters. Diesem erzählte er sogleich, wie es ihm in Gemeinschaft mit seinen vier Brüdern und ihren Familien auf der weiten Reise ergangen war, wie sie auf der Heimfahrt dort draußen vom ungünstigen Wetter zurückgehalten wurden und wie dann ein großer, gutgefüllter Seelöwenmagen angeschwommen kam, durch den sie vom Hungertode gerettet wurden; und lebhaft versicherte er ihm, daß alle sich sehr darüber wunderten, wer wohl jenen Magen ihnen hatte zukommen lassen. Lächelnd erwiderte sein alter Vater: „Höre, mein Sohn, alles will ich dir erklären: Du hast einen kleinen Bruder mehr! Er ist dir zwar noch nicht zu Gesicht gekommen; er aber war es, der euch den großen Seelöwenmagen hat zukommen lassen." Neugierig drängte er sofort in seinen Vater: „Wie ist denn das möglich? Sage mir: Wo steckt der Kleine?" Der Vater antwortete ihm: „Dein Bruder ist wieder in den Wald gegangen und kommt erst am späten Abend zurück." Nun setzten sich beide, Vater und Sohn, ans Feuer und erzählten sich lange. Nachdem es finster geworden war, hingen sie ein Fellstück vor den Eingang der Hütte und sperrten sie damit ab; sie legten sich nieder und schliefen bald ein. Erst in weit vorgerückter Nacht kam der kleine *Luiwulêwu* zur Hütte zurück. Um niemanden zu wecken, vermied er den Hütteneingang und kroch von der Seite her, ein lockeres Fellstück leicht hebend, vorsichtig in das Innere. Leise schlich er zu seiner Schlafstätte und legte sich zwischen Vater und Mutter. Er schob sich unter ein breites, langes Fellstück, das ihn vollständig verdeckte; nichts war mehr von ihm zu sehen, nicht einmal die Füße standen heraus. Während er schlief, bewegte er sich unbewußt ein wenig und schob einen seiner Füße etwas unter der Decke hervor.

Sehr früh am andern Morgen erhob sich der älteste Bruder von seinem Schlaflager. Er fachte das matte Feuer an und legte einige Holzscheite auf. Da bemerkte er, daß aus der breiten Decke zwischen Vater und Mutter ein Kinderfuß herausschaute, den er gestern beim Schlafengehen nicht bemerkt hatte. Augenblicklich kam ihm der Gedanke, das müßte wohl sein kleinster Bruder sein, und er sagte sich: „Gewiß ist er erst spät aus dem Walde heimgekehrt und hat sich ganz leise hier auf seiner Lagerstätte ausgestreckt, ohne jemanden zu wecken." Ganz eingenommen von jenem schönen, kleinen Fuße, dachte er sich: „Welch niedliches Füßchen besitzt doch mein jüngster Bruder. Wie schön wird da erst seine ganze Gestalt sein! Er also hat uns den großen Seelöwenmagen zukommen lassen. Auf einen solchen Bruder dürfen wir gewiß stolz sein!" Während er das Hüttenfeuer ordnete, daß es reichliche Wärme ausstrahle, weckte er leise seine Frau und sagte ihr: „Schau dir jenes niedliche Füßchen an, das dort aus der Decke heraussteht. Dort liegt sicherlich

unser jüngster Bruder, von dem mein Vater gestern gesprochen hat." Da schaute jetzt die Frau nach jenem zierlichen Fuße und auch sie wurde ganz verzückt. Ihrem Manne flüsterte sie zu: „Welch prächtiger Knabe muß das sein, dessen Füßchen allein schon einen berückt!" Beide streckten sich wieder auf ihrer Schlafstätte aus. Die Frau aber konnte nicht mehr einschlafen; sie dachte nämlich mit hohem Genuß an ihren kleinen Schwager, obwohl sie nur dessen niedliches Füßchen hatte zu sehen bekommen. Später erhoben sich die alten Eltern von ihrer Schlafstätte und nahmen einige Muscheln zu sich. Jene Frau aber war unfähig, weder zu essen noch zu plaudern, allein im Gedanken an ihren hübschen Schwager.

Längst war die Sonne aufgestiegen, da erhob sich auch der kleine *Lulwulêwa* von seinem Lager. Jetzt erschauten ihn in seiner ganzen Gestalt der älteste Bruder und seine Frau. Diese gebärdete sich wie närrisch, als sie den überaus schönen Körper ihres kleinen Schwagers betrachtete. Sie wandte ihre Augen seitdem nicht mehr von ihm ab, tagsüber konnte sie gar nichts essen und nachts wälzte sie sich schlaflos auf ihrem Lager hin und her. Sie war ganz außer sich, seitdem sie diesen wunderschönen Knaben betrachtet hatte.

Am nächsten Tage mußte sich der älteste Bruder schließlich von seinen Eltern verabschieden; die andern Familien warteten ja auf ihn. Er verließ wieder die Hütte seines Vaters und zugleich mit seinem Weibe bestieg er das Kanu. Sie fuhren hinaus auf die hohe See und kamen bald zu jener Stelle, wo die Familien in den anderen Kanus sie herbeisehnten. Unverzüglich erzählte ihnen der älteste Bruder: „Hört nur, ihr werdet sehr überrascht sein: Wir haben einen kleinen Bruder mehr! Wer hätte das geahnt; denn unsere beiden Eltern sind schon sehr alt." Da machten die andern insgesamt große Augen und riefen erfreut: „Soll das wahr sein? Und dieser unser kleiner Bruder hätte den großen Seelöwenmagen uns zugeschickt? Nein, das ist ganz unmöglich." Darauf erwiderte jetzt die Frau des ältesten Bruders: „Wirklich, es ist so! Ich habe einen kleinen Schwager mehr. Doch ist er derart häßlich, mißgestaltet und verbildet, daß einem schlecht wird, wenn man ihn nur anschaut: sitzt man neben ihm, vergeht einem die Lust zu essen. Die beiden Eltern sind eben schon zu alt. Welch ein widerlich häßliches Kind! Ständig schwebt es mir vor Augen!" So äußerte sich diese Frau; sie wollte alle übrigen Verwandten täuschen, damit diese nicht etwa den Entschluß faßten, zu jener Insel dort zu fahren. Im stillen plante sie bereits, sich jenen schönen Schwager zum Manne zu nehmen und heimlichen Umgang mit ihm zu beginnen; daran wollte sie durch die anderen Frauen nicht gehindert werden. Diese unterhielten sich inzwischen über das, was man ihnen soeben erzählt hatte. Sie kamen darin überein, daß sie sagten: „Da unser kleiner Schwager derart häßlich und mißgestaltet ist, fahren wir besser nicht erst dorthin, damit uns nicht etwa die Lust zum essen vergehe." Auch die Brüder plauderten darüber und fragten sich: „Wie ist es doch gekommen, daß uns jetzt noch ein kleiner Bruder beschert wurde? Unsere Eltern sind wirklich viel zu alt; eben deshalb ist er so häßlich und ganz verbildet ausgefallen!" Dabei schüttelten sie

ärgerlich den Kopf. Während sie dem zuhörten, was die Weiber äußerten, rief schließlich einer von ihnen: „Wie dem auch sein mag; falls unser jüngster Bruder wirklich derart mißgestaltet und widerlich häßlich ist, läßt sich jetzt nun einmal nichts mehr daran ändern. Trotzdem werde ich bald zur Insel hinüberfahren, wenigstens unsere alten Eltern will ich sehen." Die andern Brüder stimmten dem allmählich bei und meinten schließlich: „Noch besser wäre es, wir alle insgesamt fahren zur Insel hinüber und schauen einmal nach, wie es um unsere alten Eltern steht." Sogleich banden sie ihre Kanus von den Algenknäueln los und ruderten zur Insel hinüber. Hier stiegen sie aus und wandten sich der Hütte ihrer Eltern zu. Der kleine *Lušwulêwa* befand sich gerade auch drinnen. Als sie ihn sahen, waren die Brüder außer sich vor Überraschung; die Weiber gebärdeten sich wie närrisch und wie liebestoll aus Lüsternheit: Ihr Schwager war über die Maßen schön und wohlgestaltet, so prächtig wie eine *máku*-Blüte! Augenblicklich durchschauten sie die hinterlistige Absicht der Frau des ältesten Bruders und ihre lügenhaften Aussagen.

Ein jedes dieser Weiber spürte bald ein heftiges Verlangen, ja schnell mit dem schönen Schwager heimlich zusammenzukommen, liebestoll war jede auf ihn versessen. Aber keiner von ihnen wollte es gelingen, sich mit ihm unbemerkt zu treffen und ihrer starken Lüsternheit zu überlassen. Die eine verriet ihr heimliches Verlangen der andern und alle fünf tauschten so ihre Absichten aus; bald wußte eine jede, was jede andere vorhatte. Schließlich sprachen sie sich offener untereinander aus und faßten den Plan, gemeinsam den kleinen *Lušwulêwa* mit sich hinauszulocken und sich mit ihm zu belustigen. Öfters mußten sie es versuchen; endlich gelang es ihnen doch, den Kleinen zu überreden und mitzuziehen, ohne daß seine Eltern es ahnten. Beim Verlassen der Hütte erwähnten sie nur kurz: „Wir wollen an den Strand gehen und Muscheln sammeln." Aber am Strande, weit von der Hütte entfernt, taten sie nichts weniger als Muscheln sammeln. Sie nahmen den wunderschönen Knaben in ihre Mitte und begannen mit ihm zu spielen. Er selber gab sich bereitwillig zu dem lüsternen Treiben her. Una post alterum membrum ejus apprehensum per longius tempus manu tenebat. Postea singulae juveni accumbebant, quod saepius reiterabant. Hisce ludis libidinosis satisfactae mulieres in mare se conferebant, ut aqua frigida voluptuosam excitationem abigerent. Tunc *Lušwulêwa* ibat cum illis et continuo manibus sub aqua inviem se tangebant.

Während sie diese Ausgelassenheiten trieben, gewann *Lušwulêwa* eines jener Weiber besonders lieb; damit wurde er zunehmend gleichgültiger gegen die übrigen vier. Diese fühlten das auch allmählich, spielten aber trotzdem mit ihm weiter. Doch als er sich von ihnen mit jenem bevorzugten Weibe im Wasser mehr und mehr entfernte, um mit ihr ganz allein zu sein, brach ihre Eifersucht durch. *Lušwulêwa* überließ sich schließlich nur noch jenem Weibe und wollte von den andern vier nichts mehr wissen. Das aber ertrugen diese nicht länger und gerieten in Wut. Gemeinsam gingen sie auf ihn zu und fingen an, ihn stark mit Wasser zu bespritzen. Langsam schoben sie ihn weiter

hinaus in die See. Sie bespritzten ihn derart reichlich und ununterbrochen, daß er sich schließlich nicht mehr aufrecht halten konnte. Wirklich fiel er um und ertrank. Jene vier maßlos eifersüchtigen Weiber wollten es nicht zugeben, daß nur eine Schwägerin für sich allein an jenem wunderschönen Knaben ihre Lüsternheit befriedigte. Also ist *Luŝwulêwa* deshalb zugrunde gegangen, weil er so schön und wohlgestaltet gewesen. Am späten Abend kehrten diese Weiber zur Hütte zurück, doch ohne *Luŝwulêwa*. Erst nach geraumer Zeit erfuhren es seine Eltern, daß er ertrunken sei. Sie erzürnten sich sehr über jene Weiber. Ihr schönes Kind verloren zu haben, stimmte sie unsagbar traurig. Sie weinten bitterlich und brachten es nicht übers Herz, ohne ihren wunderschönen, tüchtigen Sohn noch weiter leben zu müssen. Aus übergroßer Trauer starben diese beiden alten Eltern sehr bald.[200]

β. *Die Geschichte vom böswilligen Schwager*
Alêm wátuwa

Fünf Brüder lebten einst miteinander in der Hütte ihres Schwagers [Statt *álêm* hört man häufiger *álum*, brother-in-law, nach BD: 58. Damit bezeichnen die Brüder den Mann ihrer Schwester und dieser seinerseits die Brüder seiner Frau]. Dieser aber war ein böswilliger und gefährlicher Mensch. Am meisten mißfiel, daß er widerlich knauserte; denn mochte er über noch so viel Fleisch verfügen, seinen Schwägern ließ er regelmäßig nur ganz wenig zukommen. Gewöhnlich ging er für sich allein auf die Jagd. Im Walde, nahe dem Strande, zündete er dann ein großes Feuer an und versuchte die Vögel zu erlegen, die dort auf dem Strande sich niederließen.

Eines Tages war der älteste jener fünf Brüder auch wieder auf die Vogeljagd hinausgegangen. Unabsichtlich hatte er die gleiche Richtung eingeschlagen wie vorher sein böswilliger Schwager. Dieser hatte sich inzwischen auf einer steilen Anhöhe niedergelassen und wärmte sich am Feuer. Bald entdeckte dieser schlimme Mensch seinen Schwager, der in der Richtung auf ihn sich näherte. Da faßte er den mörderischen Plan, hier seinen ahnungslosen Schwager umzubringen. Schnell holte er aus dem Walde einen gewaltigen *haŝamáij*,[201] den er sogleich in sein Feuer schob. Als jetzt der älteste der fünf Brüder

[200] Die alte JULIA, auf den Wollaston-Inseln beheimatet, hat mir diese Geschichte erzählt, die in gleicher Weise im ganzen Süden wiedergegeben wird. Man kennt sie aber auch im mittleren und westlichen Gebiet, allerdings ein wenig abgeändert, und zwar nennt diese Fassung nur vier verheiratete Brüder, demgemäß Luŝwulewa der fünfte und jüngste ist. Die vielen Tiere, die er erjagte und heimbrachte, legte er nicht seiner Mutter, wie oben ausgeführt wurde, sondern seinem Vater vor und dieser gab einem jeden seinen Namen. Die eine Mythe wie die andere habe ich völlig unabhängig voneinander zu verschiedenen Zeiten erfahren; letztere verdanke ich der alten MARY, die im Westen zu Hause ist. — Die Hauptgedanken dieser Mythe kehren unverfälscht in der "Geschichte vom Emionpoot" wieder, die bei den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 661) erzählt wird.

[201] Ein Buchenast mit ausladender Wucherung, wie die Cytteria-Pilze sie verursachen. Vgl. Abb. 8, S. 34 und Abb. 66, S. 554. Dieses Holzgewächs ist außerordentlich hart und bewährt sich als Keule ganz hervorragend.

herangekommen war, sagte ihm sein böswilliger Schwager: „Setze dich bequem hier ans Feuer und wärme dich!" Er half ihm sogar beim Niedersetzen und drehte ihn sanft derart, daß sich dessen Gesicht vom Feuer abwendete, als wollte er sich zuerst den Rücken wärmen; gleichzeitig schaute er von dieser hohen, steil abfallenden Anhöhe nach unten. Jetzt griff jener böswillige Mensch unbemerkt nach dem brennenden *haiamáif*, zog ihn aus dem Feuer heraus, schwang ihn über den Kopf seines Schwagers und rief ihm zu: „Achtung, mein Schwager, ein gewaltiger *haiamáif* saust nieder; rette dich!" Dieser hatte bisher ahnungslos dagesessen und ehe er sich zur Seite wenden konnte, war schon der *haiamáif* auf ihn niedergesaust, der ihm den Kopf zerschlug; er blieb auf der Stelle tot liegen. Jener böswillige Mensch hatte eben deshalb den *haiamáif* ins Feuer gelegt, damit sein Schwager diesen nicht etwa hätte abwehrend fassen und sich retten können; denn niemand wagt es, einen brennenden Knüppel in die Hand zu nehmen. Dann stieß er den Leichnam seines Schwagers mit dem Fuß kräftig an und dieser rollte nach unten.

Einige Zeit darauf ging der zweitälteste der Brüder aus; er wollte seinen Bruder suchen, der bislang nicht zurückgekehrt war. Schließlich traf er mit seinem Schwager zusammen, der noch dort auf der gleichen Anhöhe saß und sich am Feuer wärmte. Ahnungslos ging er auf ihn zu. Er ließ sich von jenem böswilligen Menschen bereden und setzte sich ans Feuer. Hier wurde er auf die gleiche Weise erschlagen, wie vorher sein ältester Bruder. Dann rollte auch sein Leichnam nach unten. Nicht lange danach machte sich der dritte Bruder auf den Weg, denn seine beiden älteren Brüder waren noch nicht heimgekehrt und er wollte nach ihnen ausschauen. Bald begab sich auch der vierte Bruder auf die Suche. Wirklich, diese beiden wurden von jenem entarteten Schwager auf die gleiche Weise umgebracht wie ihre beiden älteren Brüder. So blieb nur noch der jüngste der Brüder übrig.

Geängstigt hatte er nun schon lange gewartet und ungeduldig wiederholt: „Wo bleiben denn eigentlich meine vier Brüder? Geraume Zeit schon sind sie fort und keiner kommt zurück. Ob sie nicht etwa einen Unfall erlitten haben?" Da ging auch er schließlich hinaus, um sie zu suchen. Doch er war schlau und vorsichtiger als seine Brüder. Auch er stieg jene Anhöhe hinauf, auf der oben sein Schwager am Feuer saß. Unten, am Fuße derselben, sah er einige Leichen liegen; sie erweckten den Eindruck, als wären sie von oben heruntergerollt. Da sagte er sich erschreckt: „Ob das nicht etwa die Leichname meiner Brüder sind, die jemand umgebracht hat?"[292] Langsam stieg er jetzt die Anhöhe hinauf. Hier oben traf er mit seinem Schwager zusammen, der am Feuer saß. Dieser hatte auch diesmal einen dicken *haiamáif* ins Feuer gelegt, um ihn glühend zu machen. Sogleich lud er seinen Schwager ein: „Setze dich hier ans Feuer und ruhe dich bequem aus. Wärme dir zuerst den Rücken und währenddessen kannst du nach unten schauen!" Der aber erwiderte: „Auf solche Weise setze ich mich niemals ans Feuer, ich könnte mich leicht verbrennen!" Der

[292] Man muß sich vergegenwärtigen, daß dieser Mann nicht an die Leichname herangetreten ist, teils aus Furcht und teils aus Abneigung.

böswillige Schwager sagte darauf: „Bist du aber ängstlich! Schau mich einmal an; ich setze mich sogar gern auf diese Weise ans Feuer.“ Dabei ließ er sich am Feuer derart nieder, als wollte er sich seinen Rücken wärmen, und hielt sein Gesicht vom Feuer abgewandt. Doch das tat er nur in der Absicht, seinem Schwager die Furcht zu nehmen, damit dieser sich nachher doch auf diese Weise hinsetze. Der jüngste Bruder hatte bereits ins Feuer geschaut und dort den dicken *halamáij* glühen gesehen. Während jetzt jener böswillige Mensch sein Gesicht vom Feuer abgewendet hielt, faßte dieser unbemerkt den *halamáij*, zog ihn augenblicklich aus dem Feuer heraus, schwang ihn hoch und ließ ihn auf seinen ahnungslosen Schwager niedersausen. Der glimmende *halamáij* zertrümmerte seinen Kopf und er war auf der Stelle tot. So hat dieser Mann den Mord seiner Brüder an seinem entarteten Schwager gerächt.[203]

7. *Eine Geistergeschichte*

Halamáij wóituwa

Einst lebten fünf Brüder gemeinsam mit ihrem Schwager in der gleichen Hütte. Dieser aber war ein böswilliger, schlechter Mensch; wann immer sich Gelegenheit bot, fügte er seinen Schwägern jeden erdenklichen Schaden zu. Er wurde ihrer schließlich überdrüssig und trachtete darnach, sie umzubringen. Eines Tages lud er den jüngsten der fünf Brüder ein, ihn auf eine steile Felswand zu begleiten, wo er Kormorane fangen wollte. Jener schloß sich ihm an. Als sie jene Felswand erreicht hatten, fachte der böswillige Schwager ein großes Feuer an. Während der andere wieder einmal weggegangen war, um Holz zu sammeln, legte jener böse Mensch viel Holz auf die Glut, schob ganz unauffällig einen dicken *halamáij*[204] dazwischen und deckte ihn gut zu, daß er durch und durch glühend werde. Nach einiger Zeit kam der junge Schwager zurück und warf die Holzlast ab. Der *halamáij* glühte nun stark, das Feuer lag dicht an der Kante der Felswand. Jetzt sagte jener böswillige Mensch zu seinem Schwager: „Steige doch sofort hier an dieser Wand hinunter und schaue nach, ob dort einige Kormorane sitzen.“ Da kroch der andere dort hinunter; denn er ahnte nicht, was sein böswilliger Schwager plante. Als jener genau unter dem Feuer stand, schob dieser üble Mensch den brennenden *halamáij* über die Felskante hinaus und er fiel jenem jungen Schwager genau auf den Kopf. Dieser war augenblicklich tot und sein Leichnam rollte hinunter an den Strand. Der Mörder ging zu seiner Hütte zurück. Hier benahm er sich, als wäre er sehr traurig und die anderen glaubten, ihr jüngster Bruder wäre dort an der Felswand aus Unvorsichtigkeit verunglückt.

Nicht lange danach lud jener Schwager den zweitjüngsten der fünf Brüder ein: „Möchtest du mich zu jener Felswand begleiten? Dort will ich

[203] Vgl. diese Geschichte mit der sich sofort anschließenden.

[204] Eine wulstförmige Wucherung des Holzgewebes am Buchenast, verursacht durch Cytaria-Pilze. Vgl. Fußnote 201.

nach Kormoranen jagen." Dieser erhob sich sofort und begleitete ihn. Dort oben angekommen, machte jener böswillige Mensch wieder ein großes Feuer ganz nahe der Felskante. In einem Augenblick, da der andere nichts merkte, schob er einen dicken *haĭamáif* in die Glut und verdeckte ihn mit viel Brennholz. Als dieser durch und durch glühte, sagte dieser böse Mensch zu seinem Schwager: „Versuche doch, hier an dieser Felswand ein wenig hinunter zu kriechen. In den Löchern dort sitzen sicherlich einige Kormorane." Ahnungslos kroch jener junge Mann hinunter. Als er genau unter dem Feuer stand, stieß jener böswillige Mensch den glühenden *haĭamáif* über die Felskante hinaus. Der fiel jenem Schwager genau auf den Kopf und tötete ihn augenblicklich; sein Leichnam rollte hinunter an den Strand. Jener schlimme Mensch suchte jetzt seine Hütte auf. Hier weinte er laut und stellte sich, als wäre er sehr traurig. Da glaubten die andern, ihr zweitjüngster Bruder wäre aus Unvorsichtigkeit verunglückt. Nach einiger Zeit lud jener böswillige Mensch den dritten der fünf Brüder ein, ihn zu jener Felswand zu begleiten. Dieser ging sofort mit ihm hinaus. Dort brachte dieser üble Mensch seinen ahnungslosen Schwager auf die gleiche Weise wie dessen beide jüngeren Brüder um. Wieder kam er betrübt nach Hause und weinte, so daß auch die beiden überlebenden Schwäger sehr traurig wurden. Nicht lange danach ging er mit dem zweitältesten der fünf Brüder auf jene Felswand und er brachte auch ihn auf die gleiche Weise um.

So blieb nur noch der älteste Bruder übrig. Ihn redete eines Tages jener üble Mensch an: „Möchtest du mich zu jener Felswand begleiten, wo wir Kormorane jagen könnten?" Der Schwager antwortete ihm: „O ja, wir können sofort gehen!" Beide machten sich auf den Weg. Doch jener älteste Bruder ahnte wohl, daß irgendetwas vorgefallen war; denn wie hätten seine sämtlichen vier Brüder, einer nach dem andern, so schnell verunglücken können! Als jene beiden die Felswand erreicht hatten, zündeten sie ein Feuer an. Nach einiger Zeit sagte der böswillige Mensch zu seinem Schwager: „Krieche doch einmal an dieser Felswand hinunter. In jenen Löchern dort sitzen sicherlich Kormorane. Hole sie her!" Der aber antwortete: „Mir scheint das sehr gefährlich zu sein. Ob nicht etwa hier die Stelle ist, an der irgend jemand meine vier Brüder umgebracht hat?" Im Feuer glühte bereits ein dicker *haĭamáif*, den jener Mensch unbemerkt hineingelegt hatte. Nochmals wiederholte der älteste Bruder: „Nein, dorthin gehe ich nicht, das ist mir viel zu gefährlich." Der andere erwiderte: „Wie bist du doch gar so ängstlich. Dort ist durchaus keine Gefahr. Geh nur hin!" Der älteste Bruder sagte hierauf: „Da stelle du dich erst einmal dorthin, dann wirst du sehen, wie gefährlich es ist!" Schließlich kroch jener üble Mensch doch nach unten. Als er nun genau unter dem Feuer stand, stieß der andere den glühenden *haĭamáif* an, daß er über die Felskante fiel. Er rief jenem wie warnend zu: *„haĭamáif kakáta ĭûgn, álum;* ein *haĭamáif* kommt hier, mein Schwager!" Diesem aber gelang es nicht mehr, auszuweichen, der *haĭamáif* fiel mitten auf seinen Kopf und tötete ihn auf der Stelle.

Die *kēlpiź* jener fünf Toten[205] fanden sich nun zusammen und bauten ein Kanu. Damit fuhren sie zur Hütte ihres Neffen. Sie riefen ihn heraus und stellten sich ihm vor, als wären sie noch eigentliche Menschen. So ahnte dieser Neffe nichts; denn er hatte noch nicht erfahren, daß diese fünf Männer umgekommen waren. *Alpánama* war sein Name.[206] Jene Männer luden ihn ein und er bestieg ihr Kanu. Sie fuhren zu einer weit abliegenden Insel, wo sie Vögel jagen wollten. Wirklich hatten sie hier gutes Glück. Während jene fünf *kēlpiź* jagten, weidete der *Alpánama* die getöteten Vögel aus. Auch machte er viele *kēti*.[207] Zu jenen, die er für seine Onkel herstellte, verwendete er auch die Eingeweide und den Darminhalt; zu jenen *kēti* indes, die er selber essen wollte, benützte er nur gute Teilchen. Auch die Onkel ihrerseits hatten dort auf der Insel einige Würste gemacht. Diese und jene reichten sie ihrem Neffen und er stellte sich, als würde er sie essen. Doch führte er nur jene zum Munde, die er für sich selber gemacht hatte. Den Onkeln überließ er jene *kēti*, die er eigens für sie hergestellt hatte. Sie alle aßen davon und merkten gar nicht, wie viel Schmutz sie damit hinunterschluckten. Dann fuhren sie alle wieder zur Hütte des Neffen zurück. Hier lebten die *kēlpiź* nun mit dem *Alpánama*. So oft sie auf Vogeljagd gingen, machte es der Neffe mit den Würsten auf die gleiche Weise und seine Onkel merkten nichts.

Nach langer Zeit entfernten sich die Geister, ein jeder nach einer anderen Richtung. Den Neffen ließen sie im Kanu allein zurück. Da suchte er sich gelegentlich einen dicken Knüppel und legte ihn in sein Kanu. Als später die Geister zu ihm zurückgekehrt waren, fragten sie ihn: „Wo bist du denn gewesen?" Darauf erwiderte er ihnen: „Ich bin sehr weit weggegangen. Schaut euch doch diesen Knüppel an; den habe ich von dort hierhergebracht, nur in jener fernen Gegend findet man dieses Holz." Nun bestiegen alle sechs wieder ihr Kanu und fuhren damit zu einer andern Insel. Als sie nahe genug waren, gerieten sie in derart starke Brandung, daß ihr Kanu vollständig zerbrach. Sofort begannen sie damit, ein neues Kanu herzustellen. Kaum waren sie damit fertig, da flogen die fünf *kēlpiź* wieder fort, ein jeder in seiner bestimmten Richtung. Als sie sich später dort wieder einfanden, fragten sie den Neffen in gleicher Weise, wie früher: „Wo bist du inzwischen gewesen?" Er antwortete: „Ich bin sehr weit weg gewesen." Dann reichte er seinen Onkeln jene schlechten Würste, wie er solche immer für sie hergestellt hatte. Sie aßen davon und merkten gar nichts. Bald verließen alle sechs auch diese Stelle und begaben sich zu einer andern Insel. Als sie sich dieser genähert hatten, setzte eine gewaltige Brandung ein und ihr Kanu zerbrach. Also mußten sie sich schon wieder ein neues Kanu bauen. Kaum waren sie damit fertig, sagte klagend der Neffe seinen Onkeln: „Jetzt ist es wohl Zeit, daß ich zur Hütte meiner Mutter zurückkehre. Sie hat eine

[205] Offensichtlich sind ihre überlebenden Seelen gemeint.

[206] Das ist der Sea-Leopard, Lobodon carcinophagus, im Kap Horn-Archipel selten.

[207] Eine Art von Wurst, deren Herstellung S. 584 angegeben worden ist.

herrliche Stimme und die höre ich gar zu gern. Auch fühlt meine Mutter sicherlich große Besorgnis um mich; vielleicht glaubt sie gar, ich sei tot." Die Geister erklärten ihm: „Nun gut, gehen wir zur Hütte deiner Mutter!" Sie luden viel Fleisch und Speck in ihr Kanu, auch einige Seelöwen, die sie noch nicht zerstückelt hatten, und fuhren damit los.

Bald waren sie nahe dem Strande, wo des Neffen Mutter ihre Hütte hatte. An einem dicken Macrocystis-Stamme banden sie das Kanu fest. Unbeachtet versteckte *Alpánama* in diesem Algenknäuel einen fetten Seelöwen. Den schob er für sich persönlich beiseite; denn er plante, von nun an bei seiner Mutter zu bleiben und seine Onkel allein weiterfahren zu lassen. Dann stiegen alle sechs am Strande aus. Als sie auf jene Hütte zugingen, hörten sie die herrliche Stimme der Mutter ihres Neffen. Langsam nur näherten sie sich. Dann stellten sich die fünf *kĕšpiź* ganz nahe dem Eingange auf und schauten in die Hütte hinein. Der Neffe aber blieb hinter ihnen zurück. Er sagte sich: „Jene beiden, die genau mitten im Hütteneingange stehen, will ich mit einem sehr starken Stoß von hinten in die Hütte hineinschieben!" Und wirklich, er kam hastig herangelaufen und versetzte den beiden vorderen Geistern einen so kräftigen Stoß, daß sie hineingeschoben wurden. Er selber eilte hinter ihnen her und hielt sie in der Hütte fest. Die drei anderen *kĕšpiź* flogen auf und machten sich davon. Hier in der Hütte griff der *Alpánama* nach Hundemist, menschlichem Urin und Kot und rieb diesen Schmutz den Geistern ins Gesicht. Ein jeder von ihnen hatte sich ja benommen wie ein Verrückter. *Alpánama* beabsichtigte, die Geister durch dieses Mittel zu beruhigen, damit sie langsam wieder zu Menschen würden. Mehrere Tage hindurch behandelte der Neffe seine Onkel auf diese merkwürdige Weise und gab ihnen auch Urin zu trinken.[208] Daraufhin beruhigten sich die beiden *kĕšpiź* und wurden allmählich zu Menschen.[209] Seitdem beaufsichtigte der Neffe diese beiden *kĕšpiź* etwas weniger und gestattete ihnen mehr Freiheit: er ließ sie sogar aus der Hütte hinaustreten und draußen umhergehen. Doch als sie eines Tages sich weiter entfernt hatten, um *amdim*, Beeren zu suchen, da wurden sie wieder so [geistesgestört] wie früher, wurden zu richtigen *kĕšpiź* und flogen davon. Ihr Neffe gab sich bald davon Rechenschaft und allein kehrte er zur Hütte zurück, weinend und klagend. Er rief immer wieder: „O weh, meine beiden Onkel sind nun für immer fort!"[210]

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[208] Tatsächlich wurde auch ursprünglich nach ein Geistesgestörter oder geistig nicht normaler Mensch von den andern Leuten, vor allem von seinen Verwandten, genau auf die erwähnte Art behandelt. Man goß ihm besonders viel Urin in den Mund, den er schlucken mußte. Mit alledem wollte man ihn wieder ins geistige Gleichgewicht bringen.

[209] Damit soll gesagt werden, daß ihr ganzes Gebaren wieder etwas vernünftig und menschenähnlich wurde.

[210] Der *erste* Teil dieser Geschichte stimmt in den Grundzügen mit dem überein, was mir 1920 die alte JMAS, die im Süden beheimatet ist, erzählt hat (S. 1250). Erst 1923 trug mir der alte WILLIAM, der im Osten zu Hause ist, die oben wiedergegebene vollständige Geschichte vor.

Die beferendliche Eigenart des zweiten Teiles dieser Erzählung wird schon durch

δ. *Die Geschichte vom Junggesellen*

Šāpun wétuwa

Es war einmal ein Junggeselle. Sehr geschickt erwies er sich im Fischfang, deshalb brachte er viele und große Fische mit, so oft er heimkehrte. Im gleichen Lager lebte ein anderer Mann, mit einer schönen Frau verheiratet, der gar kein Glück beim Fischen hatte. Dieser fragte eines Tages jenen Junggesellen: „Wo ist denn jene Stelle, an der du so große und schöne Fische fängst?" Der Junggeselle erwiderte: „Diese Fische finde ich regelmäßig bei jener Insel dort!" Daraufhin bat ihn jener Ehemann: „Möchtest du mich nicht einmal dorthin mitnehmen?" Sofort erwiderte der Junggeselle: „Komm nur mit!" Und die beiden gingen zu jener Insel. Erst liefen sie am Strande entlang, bis sie der Insel gegenüberstanden, sie lag eine weite Strecke vom Strande entfernt. Wirklich sah man auf dieser Insel viele Eingeweide von Fischen, kleine Grasbündel, mit denen die Bauchhöhle der Fische gereinigt worden war, auch gut geschliffene Miesmuschelschalen, mit denen den Fischen der Bauch aufgeschlitzt worden war.[111] Nun fragte der verheiratete Mann: „Du hast mir erzählt, mit einem einzigen Sprunge würdest du diese Insel erreichen. Sie liegt aber doch zu weit ab. Ich könnte sie mit einem Sprunge nicht erreichen!" Der Junggeselle erwiderte lächelnd: „Es scheint nur so, als ob die Insel weit entfernt wäre; tatsächlich liegt sie sehr nahe. Falls du einen kräftigen Anlauf nimmst, kannst du leicht hinüberspringen. Du erreichst die Insel ganz bestimmt. Sei mutig!" Auf diese Worte hin nahm der andere wirklich einen kräftigen Anlauf und wollte den Sprung versuchen. Er kam mutig herangelaufen, schreckte aber schließlich doch vor dem Sprunge zurück, plötzlich hielt er inne und sprang nicht. Da setzte ihm der Junggeselle noch mehr zu: „Sei doch nicht so furchtsam! Die Insel liegt gar nicht so weit ab, wie es dir erscheint. Nimm nur noch einmal einen kräftigen Anlauf!" Da versuchte es der andere noch einmal, von weither nahm er einen ganz kräftigen Anlauf und sprang wirklich ab. Aber die Insel lag denn doch zu weit entfernt: Der Mann fiel ins Wasser und schlug mit seinem Kopfe gegen einen Stein, daß er augenblicklich tot liegen blieb. „Jetzt kannst du Fische nehmen, so viele und so große, wie es dir beliebt!" sagte spöttisch lachend der Junggeselle. Dann fügte er noch hinzu: „Dort magst du bleiben für immer!" Er ließ den Toten im Wasser liegen und ging vergnügt zu dessen Hütte. Dessen Frau saß am Feuer. Ihr erzählte der Junggeselle hoch erfreut, daß ihr Mann sich dort vor jener Insel den Kopf eingeschlagen habe und augenblicklich tot liegen geblieben sei. Beide lachten vergnügt auf: denn schon lange hatten sie Liebeleien miteinander heimlich getrieben und jetzt war endlich

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den Umstand offenkundig, daß einzig und allein in dieser Geschichte eigentliche Seelen auftreten, die in jene alltäglichen Verhältnisse und zu jenen Personen zurückkehren, welche sie beim Sterben verlassen hatten. Auch das Benehmen der Seelen selber ist nicht das von geistig normalen Menschen.

[111] Bekanntlich nimmt jeder Mann die größeren Tiere sofort an der Stelle aus und reinigt die ganze Körperhöhle, wo er sie gefangen und getötet hat.

jener Mann tot. Sie liebkosten einander und frönten ihrer Lust. Spät am Abend kam der älteste Sohn dieser Frau zur Hütte zurück. Ganz leise hatte er sich genähert. Als er unerwartet eingetreten war und sah, daß seine Mutter bei jenem Junggesellen lag, geriet er in höchste Wut. Seine Harpune, die er in der Hand trug, stieß er dem Junggesellen in den Leib und durchbohrte ihn. Das war eine gerechte Strafe, die jener Junggeselle auch verdient hatte.[312]

e. Eine Junggesellengeschichte

Šāpun wātuma

Hier im Westen lebte einst ein Junggeselle, der immer über viel kleines Brennholz in seiner Hütte verfügte. Nicht weit davon hatte er eine niedrige, scharfkantige Steinplatte aufgestellt angetroffen, gegen diese schlug er die Knüppel und Stämme und sofort spalteten sie sich. Etwas abseits von ihm wohnte ein verheirateter Mann. Ihm machte es immer viele Mühe, das Holz zu spalten und zu zerkleinern. Eines Tages kam er zu der Stelle, wo jener Junggeselle sein Holz zu spalten pflegte, als dieser eben beschäftigt war. Der Junggeselle faßte einen Knüppel und schlug ihn fest auf. Das sah so aus, als schlüge er mit diesem Knüppel gegen sein Knie. Er hatte sich nämlich derart hingestellt, daß er die scharfe Steinplatte mit seinen beiden Beinen umschloß; wenn er aufschlug, drückte er das eine Bein etwas nach unten und so spaltete sich der Knüppel auf der scharfen Steinplatte. Jener verheiratete Mann stand etwas abseits vom Junggesellen und fragte diesen: „Wie kannst du nur die Knüppel auf deinem eigenen Knie spalten?" Der Junggeselle erwiderte lächelnd: „Wie du siehst, läßt sich das sehr gut machen. Wenn ich fest genug aufschlage, spaltet sich jeder Knüppel, mag er noch so dick sein. Man muß nur einmal mutig anfangen. Versuche du es doch auch!" Sogleich versuchte es jener Mann und schlug gegen sein Knie. Laut schrie er auf und klagte: „Das tut ja schrecklich weh!" Der Junggeselle lachte und wollte ihn beruhigen: „Das kann ja gar nicht sein! Schau nur her, wie ich mich stelle. Nur fest aufschlagen!" Wieder ergriff der Junggeselle einen dicken Knüppel und schlug damit gegen die scharfe Steinplatte, die er zwischen seinen Beinen versteckt hielt. Im Augenblick, da der Knüppel niederging, drückte er unauffällig das eine Bein nach unten und der Knüppel spaltete sich auf der Steinplatte. „Hieran kannst du also sehen, daß es doch geht!" lachte der Junggeselle. „Du mußt nur fest aufschlagen, dann schmerzen die Knie nicht. Nur Mut! Fange einmal beherzt an!" Der Ehemann ergriff wieder einen Knüppel und schlug damit gegen sein Knie. Das schmerzte ihn sehr, doch der Knüppel spaltete sich nicht. Er jammerte laut vor Schmerz nach jedem Schlage. Wie ungehalten rief der Junggeselle ihn laut an: „Nun hole doch endlich einmal weit aus und schlage mit aller Kraft auf!" Schließlich schwang der andere einen dicken Knüppel mit aller Kraft und ließ ihn

[312] Im Süden erzählt man diese Geschichte. Ihr Aufbau gleicht der Gedankenfolge der im Westen bekannten Geschichte, die hier folgt.

auf seine beiden Knie niedergehen. Diese wurden entsetzlich zertrümmert, viel Blut floß, er blieb liegen und mußte bald sterben. Der listige Junggeselle lachte laut auf. Er verspottete jenen Mann und sagte verächtlich: „So, nun gut! Spalte nur weiter das Holz auf deinen Knien!" Dann eilte dieser Junggeselle zur Hütte jenes Mannes und erzählte dessen Frau alles, was sich soeben ereignet hatte. Schon lange hatten sich diese zu Liebeleien zusammengefunden; nun waren beide froh, daß jener Mann nicht mehr lebte. Sie rückten eng aneinander et statim coierunt. Bald fand sich der Sohn jenes toten Mannes in der Hütte ein. Als er jenen Junggesellen auf der Schlafstätte seiner Mutter sah, faßte ihn der Zorn und mit seiner Harpune durchbohrte er ihn. Dieser war sofort tot. Damit hatte der Sohn seinen Vater gerächt."[22]

5. *Die Geschichte vom tüchtigen Schleuderer*

Wētawḡmuwa wātuwa

Einst lebte ein Junggeselle, der sich arg in die Frau eines anderen Mannes verliebt hatte. War er selber ein *wētawḡmuwa*, d. h. ein vortrefflicher Schleuderer [*wētāwa* besagt eigentlich: der geschleuderte Stein, bezeichnet aber auch die ganze Schleuder selber; vgl. S. 481], so jener andere Mann tölpelhaft und einfältig. Lange dachte er darüber nach, wie er sich dessen Frau zu eigen machen könnte.

Eines Tages redete er jenen Ehemann an: „Komm doch zu mir hierher an den Strand, wir könnten mit der Schleuder einige Übungen machen!" Jener erwiderte: „Ich kann mit der Schleuder nicht gut umgehen." Sogleich setzte ihm der Junggeselle zu: „Eben deshalb mußt du dich darin viel üben. Sehr gern will ich dir behilflich sein!" Beide stellten sich auf den offenen Strand und wählten sich ein Ziel. Sofort begannen sie damit, Steine mit der Schleuder nach jenem Ziele zu werfen. Der Junggeselle traf jedesmal ganz genau, aber der andere verfehlte regelmäßig das Ziel. Schließlich sagte zaghaft der verheiratete Mann: „Es ist doch eigenartig, daß du jedesmal ins Ziel triffst. Warum gelingt es dir?" Der Junggeselle erwiderte ihm: „Du mußt dir etwas Blut in die Hand streichen. Schau dir meine Hand an!" Er streckte ihm seine Hand entgegen, die voller Blut war. Daraufhin fragte der Ehemann: „Aber woher soll ich Blut nehmen?" Der Junggeselle antwortete: „Das mußt du schon aus deinem eigenen Körper nehmen, am besten zwischen den Beinen her. Schau genau zu, wie ich es mache!" Sogleich streckte er seinen Unterarm zwischen den Beinen durch und zog schnell seine flache Hand am Genitale vorbei wieder hervor; er hielt diese Hand dem andern Mann unter die Augen und sie war wirklich ganz mit Blut bedeckt. Dieser Junggeselle hatte sich nämlich vorher viel frisches Blut von Kormoranen unauffällig zwischen die Beine geschmiert. Daraufhin versicherte der verheiratete Mann: „Ich werde das jetzt auch so machen wie du." Vorsichtig brachte er sich einige leichte Kratzer bei und

[22] Im Westen erzählt man sich diese Geschichte. Vgl. die vorhergehende, die mit dieser hier sehr weitgehend übereinstimmt.

jammerte gleich: „Wie sehr schmerzt doch das!" Der Junggeselle verlachte ihn und setzte ihm zu: „Du mußt herzhafter kratzen. Fahre einmal fest mit der Hand am Genitale vorbei, da wirst du den Schmerz nicht spüren!" Da faßte der andere wirklich sein Genitale mit aller Gewalt und riß es sich gänzlich ab. Schreckliche Schmerzen setzten ein und sehr viel Blut floß. Deswegen starb er bald darauf. Der Junggeselle, der das alles veranlaßt hatte, lachte spöttisch. Er sagte so vor sich hin: „Nun wirst du aber sicher mit deiner Schleuder treffen!" Da jener verheiratete Mann jetzt tot war, nahm er dessen schönes Weib zu sich.

Der vollständige Titel dieser Geschichte lautet: *wétawčmana wátuwa málumpe*, d. h. die Geschichte vom guten Schleuderer, dem verschwägerten. Denn eben dadurch, daß beide nacheinander das gleiche Weib besessen haben, gelten sie bei den Yamana als Schwäger. Das BD: 346 schreibt *málumpai*, holding the relationship to each other of brothers-in-law.

9. *Die Geschichte von den Vigunkormoranen*

Toyuflíxa wétuwa

Vor langer Zeit brach einmal ein ungewöhnlich schwerer Winter herein, sehr viel Schnee fiel und eisige Kälte herrschte. Am schlimmsten wurden die Islas Wollaston heimgesucht, wo hoher Schnee sich auftürmte und lange liegen blieb. Dort saß auf einer Insel eine Frau vereinsamt und ganz allein geraume Zeit schon. Sie hatte kein Feuer mehr, denn dort fehlen die *ìgwáli*, Feuersteine (S. 393). Auch blieb ihr kaum noch etwas zu essen. So sah sie sich also in größter Not, denn der lange Winter war außerordentlich hart. Eines Nachts lag sie wieder auf ihrer Schlafstätte, aber noch wach. Da sah sie, wie ein großer, schwarzer Vogel in ihre Hütte eintrat und sich in die Mitte setzte. Bald fing er an zu reden und zu erzählen, genau so wie die Yamana sprechen. Nun horchte die Frau genauer hin und überzeugte sich davon, daß der Vogel wirklich ihre eigene Sprache redete. Erstaunt sagte sie sich: „Wie ist denn das möglich? Jener Vogel spricht genau so wie die Yamana. Das ist doch sonderbar!" Unbemerkt hob sie jetzt ihren Kopf ein wenig höher. Da entdeckte sie eine große Anzahl dieser Vögel inmitten ihrer Hütte: diese saßen rund um das Feuer, das sie selber neu angefacht hatten, und wärmten sich. Sie alle wurden vom Frost geschüttelt, ihnen war sehr kalt. Jetzt rückte die Frau noch etwas mehr an die Vögel heran; denn hinter diesen war es ja sehr dunkel, weil sie selber alles Licht von den Flammen verdeckten. So nahe hatten sie sich ans Feuer gesetzt. Nun konnte jene Frau genau verstehen, was ein jeder dieser Vögel erzählte. Tatsächlich redeten alle genau so wie die Yamana und die *Mar-utuwér'elaklpa*[111] fing jedes Wort deutlich auf. Ein jeder dieser Vögel sprach von seinen langen Reisen weit draußen auf der

[111] Ein mittelgroßer Vogel der Hochsee führt diesen Namen. Die Art konnte ich zoologisch nicht bestimmen, weil die Indianer außerstande waren, sie deutlich genug zu beschreiben. Auch in den beiden folgenden Erzählungen tritt diese Vogelart auf.

Hochsee, von den Häfen, die er besuchte, von den Felsen und Inseln, an denen er vorbeigekommen, von der Jagdbeute, die er sich angeeignet hatte, von den vielen Gefahren, denen er entronnen war. Währenddessen wärmten sich alle gemütlich am Feuer. Aufmerksam lauschte die Frau. Da diese Vögel genau so wie die Yamana redeten, glaubte sie, das alles wäre auch genau so, wie die Vögel es erzählten. Sie saß ja in tiefem Schatten und alle Vögel kehrten ihr den Rücken. Sie war überaus froh und glücklich; denn sie redete es sich schließlich ein, jene Vögel müßten doch wohl Menschen sein. Erleichtert atmete sie auf und sagte sich: „Wie schön, daß endlich einige meiner Leute hierher gekommen sind. Nun bin ich nicht mehr so mutterseelenallein!" Da rückte sie noch näher heran, um sich in den Kreis der Vögel zu setzen; sie selber wollte jetzt ihnen erzählen, welch ausgedehnte Zeit sie hier allein dagesessen und wie gern sie sich am Feuer wärmen möchte, das sie seit langem hatte entbehren müssen. Doch als sie sich in den Kreis der Vögel einschieben und dort niedersetzen wollte, stieß sie einen von ihnen mit ihrem Arm an. Eben konnte sie noch sehen, wie sämtliche Vögel hier Felle abschabten und reinigten. Diese Frau wurde jetzt von der Flamme des Feuers hell erleuchtet. Als die Vögel sie hier in ihrem Kreise gewahr wurden, erschraken sie alle gar sehr, standen eiligst auf, löschten das Feuer aus, rafften ihre sämtlichen Felle zusammen und flogen davon. Nur einen Wal ließen sie zurück, der war für sie zu schwer. Erstaunt schaute die Frau den vielen Vögeln nach. Doch nun waren sie fort. Jetzt zweifelte sie nicht mehr daran, daß jene [Wesen] alle wirklich nur Vögel waren, nämlich *tuyuśiira*.[213] Wohl sah sie den großen Wal liegen, den ihr diese Vögel zurückgelassen hatten, und so brauchte sie nicht Hungers zu sterben. Aber sie war doch sehr traurig darüber, daß sie wieder ganz allein und ohne Feuer hier auf dieser Insel dastand. Lange, lange weinte sie. Dann wurde auch sie zu einem Vogel. Das ist eben die *Mar-utuwéh'ríahlpa* da draußen auf der Hochsee.[214]

9. *Die Geschichte vom Hochseevogel*

Mar-utuwéh'ríahlpa ináiuwa

Einst kam die *Mar-utuwéh'ríahlpa*[215] mit ihrer Familie auf eine kleine, einsame Insel und allen ging hier das Feuer aus. Traurig saßen sie da und wußten keinen Rat; denn nicht einmal *ipwéli*, Feuersteine (S. 393) hatten sie bei sich. Die Kälte quälte sie sehr; denn überall lag ungeheuer viel Schnee und der Winter war ungewöhnlich hart. Voller Verzweiflung hockten sie in ihrer kalten Hütte. Eines Abends, als es schon sehr dunkel war, ließen sich ganz unerwartet sehr viele *tuyuśiira*[216] hier an diesem Strande nieder.

[213] Diese Art ist der farbenschillernde Vogelkirschenstar, Phalaerocorax olivaceus.

[214] Die alte Jessie, die den Ishu Wulfstan entstammt, hat mir schon im Jahre 1920 diese Erzählung vorgetragen. Eine deren verschiedene Variante erfuhr ich zwei Jahre später.

[215] Name für einen mittelgroßen Vogel der Hochsee. Dieser Vogel spielt auch in der vorhergehenden Erzählung die Hauptrolle.

[216] Name für den gebräuchlichen Vogelkirschenstar, Phalaerocorax olivaceus.

Sie sprachen miteinander genau so, wie die Yamana reden und unterhielten sich lebhaft. Als sie ankamen, sagten sie sogleich: „Hier werden wir Feuer machen und uns gut ausruhen!" Kurz danach loderte auch wirklich ein helles Feuer. Alles das sahen und hörten jene Leute. Jetzt rückten die Frauen näher heran; denn sie wollten sich am Feuer wärmen. Nun verstanden sie ganz deutlich, was sich die vielen *toywiiiwa* erzählten. Sie plauderten über ihre weiten Reisen, über das häufige schlechte Wetter, über die Inseln und Buchten, die sie besucht hatten; sie sagten auch, wie wohl sie sich hier am Feuer fühlten und daß sie morgen weiterreisen wollten. Ständig schüttelten sie sich, so mollig und wohl war ihnen hier am Feuer.

Inzwischen waren die Frauen ganz nahe an diese Vögel herangekommen. Die Frauen selber erfreuten sich an der hellleuchtenden Glut und planten, einige Feuerbrände zu stehlen. Ganz vorsichtig streckten einige dieser Frauen die Hand nach dem Feuer aus. Doch als sie einige brennende Holzscheite fassen und diese von der Feuerstelle wegziehen wollten, flog plötzlich die dichte Menge der *toywiiiwa* auf. Alle erhoben sich hoch hinauf in die Luft und bald war keiner mehr den Frauen sichtbar. Diese erschraken zwar sehr: aber sie beruhigten sich bald beim Gedanken an das Feuer, das sie lange hatten entbehren müssen. Doch als sie das Feuer, das sie bereits in Händen glaubten, genauer anschauten, war es nur dürres Gras, nicht aber wirkliches Feuer. Ganz enttäuscht sagten sie zu einander: „Was ist denn das hier? Wir haben doch Feuer gesehen und darnach gegriffen; nun halten wir nur dürres Gras in den Händen!" Andere wieder äußerten sich: „Jene Vögel hatten doch wirkliches Feuer, wie wir alle gesehen haben. Sie unterhielten sich genau so, wie wir selber reden. Sie sagten auch: 'Morgen wollen wir viele Fische fangen und dann auf jener anderen Insel dort wieder Feuer machen!' Alle fühlten sich doch so wohl hier am Feuer, was jeder von uns ganz deutlich gesehen hat. Und jetzt haben wir weiter nichts als dürres Gras in den Händen!" Sie wurden überaus traurig; denn wieder standen sie ohne Feuer da. Jene Vögel aber kamen zu dieser Insel nicht mehr zurück und ließen sich auch für die ganze Folgezeit in jener Gegend nicht mehr sehen."[199]

4. *Die Geschichte vom Schwertwal*

Aiδylaxipa xátuxa

Seit einiger Zeit liebte die *Aiδylaxipa* ihren Mann nicht mehr, sie[200] war seiner überdrüssig geworden. Deshalb fuhr sie gern allein mit ihrem Kanu auf die See hinaus, wo sie lange Zeit nach Fischen angelte. Regelmäßig nahm sie ihren jüngsten Sohn mit. Der älteste Sohn blieb, zugleich mit dem Vater, immer in der Hütte zurück.

[199] Diese Geschichte habe ich 1922 von der alten Mary erfahren, die im Westen beheimatet ist. Die Grundgedanken sind der vorhergehenden gleich, auch fallen die Hauptrollen den nämlichen Personen zu.

[200] Der weibliche kleine Schwertwal, auch Drescher genannt, Pseudorca crassidens.

Jedesmal, wenn sie mit ihrem Kanu nahe an einem *lakâma* vorbeikam, redete die listige Frau ihn an: „Ach wie schön: Da sehe ich wieder mein Großväterchen!" Daraufhin ließ der *lakâma* sie unbehelligt vorbeifahren und tat ihr nichts zuleide. Wenn sie dann weiterruderte und einem anderen *lakâma* begegnete, rief sie auch diesem freundlich an: „Ach wie schön: Da sehe ich ja wieder mein Großväterchen!" So ließ auch dieser jene Frau vorbeifahren und tat ihr nichts zuleide. Auf solche Art rettete sich die *Aiâylaxipa* jedesmal. Viele andere Weiber aber wurden vom *lakâma* aus ihren Kanus herausgeholt und auf den Meeresgrund hinuntergezogen. Einst war auf einer nahen Insel ein Wal gestrandet. Auch die *Aiâylaxipa* fuhr mit ihrem Kanu dorthin, denn sie wollte sich mit Tran versorgen. Kaum war sie mit ihrem Kanu am Ufer angestoßen, ließ sie zuerst ihren jüngsten Sohn aussteigen. Der felsige Strand war jedoch über und über mit Tran bedeckt und daher sehr schlüpfrig. Deswegen glitt der Kleine immerfort aus. Die *Aiâylaxipa* rief nun mit lauter Stimme: „Aber Mann, laß doch mein Söhnchen nicht immerfort ausgleiten! Es fällt ja andauernd hin." Tatsächlich lebte auf dieser Insel ein Mann, auf den sie es abgesehen hatte und den sie heimlich liebte. Deshalb rief sie auf diese listige Art, damit jener Mann herangelockt würde. Bald kam jener Mann auch wirklich an den Strand. Als er der *Aiâylaxipa* ansichtig wurde, gefiel sie ihm sehr. Beide verliebten sich sofort. Der Mann sagte zu ihr: „Bleibe doch bei mir auf dieser Insel. Du kannst meine Frau sein." Diese Lockungen gefielen der *Aiâylaxipa* sehr und sie freute sich im stillen. Dann erwiderte sie dem Manne: „Nun gut, ich will deine Frau sein. Aber laß mich vorerst meinen älteren Sohn holen, der weilt noch bei seinem Vater in der Hütte!" Nun eilte sie zu ihrer Hütte zurück. Dort angekommen, ließ sie nichts von ihren Absichten merken. In einem unbewachten Augenblicke nahm sie ihren älteren Sohn in das Kanu und fuhr mit ihm fort. Bald hatten sie jene Insel wieder erreicht. Seitdem lebte die *Aiâylaxipa* mit jenem Manne dort auf der Insel und ließ ihren ersten Mann für immer sitzen.[221]

2. *Die Geschichte vom Allerwisser*

Mar'tâwuy-yêllawa wôtuwa

Mehrere Familien fuhren einst zu einer Insel, wo sie Seelöwen jagen wollten; denn schon lange Zeit fehlte ihnen Speck und Tran. Mit ihnen ging auch der *Mar'tâwuy-yêllawa*. Dieser war allen Leuten sehr verhaßt; denn überall wollte er der erste sein, er glaubte, alles besser zu verstehen, er hielt sich für tüchtiger als die übrigen, er war ein großmäuliger Allerwisser und eitler Streber. Die Leute ausnahmslos waren seiner längst überdrüssig; denn nur er wollte allerorts gelten. Heimlich überlegten sie einmal, ihn weidlich

[221] Wertvoll in dieser Erzählung ist der Hinweis auf das Verhalten der Yamana einem Lakuma gegenüber, den sie sehr fürchten. Er wird als ein Boo-Ungeheuer betrachtet, das jeden Kanu gefährdet und die Insassen in die Tiefe zieht. Ausführlicher wird dieser schlimme Wasergeist weiter unten geschildert.

ausführen und gründlich lächerlich zu machen. Einen Tages sagten ihm einige Männer: „Schau, dort auf jenem Felsen, an der vorstehenden Spitze dieser Insel, ist soeben ein gewaltiger Seelöwe hinaufgekrochen. Den sollest du eigentlich harpunieren; denn nur du verstehst es, die Harpune sehr geschickt zu werfen." Diese Worte schmeichelten dem Tômay gar sehr. Sofort ergriff er seine Harpune und lief eilig zu jener Spitze hin, die weit abseits lag. Seine sämtlichen Sachen ließ er in seiner Hütte zurück. Er ging ganz allein. Nachdem er sich sehr weit entfernt hatte, packten die Leute ihre eigenen Sachen ein, luden sie auf ihre Kanus und löschten sämtliche Feuer in den Hütten aus. Auch jenes Mannes Sachen luden sie zusammen auf das Kanu seiner Frau. Diese löschte ebenfalls in ihrer Hütte das Feuer aus und nahm alles mit, was ihr und ihrem Manne gehörte. Jetzt fuhren alle Leute fort und begaben sich an jenen Lagerplatz, von dem sie soeben hierher gekommen waren. Auf jener Insel hatten sie rein gar nichts zurückgelassen. Als sie abfuhren, sagten sie noch zu einander: „Der dort mag nun ewig hier bleiben! Die Insel selber wird ja nie verschwinden." Gegen Abend erst kam jener Mann an die Stelle zurück, wo die Hütten seiner Leute gestanden hatten. Da sah er zu seinem Schrecken, daß sämtliche Leute abgezogen waren. Alles und jedes hatten sie mitgenommen: Kanus, Fellstücke, Feuer und Brennholz, sogar seine eigenen Waffen und Gerätschaften. Traurig setzte er sich in seine Hütte, von der nur noch das Gerüst stand; drinnen fehlte alles, sogar das Feuer. Er fror gar sehr und der Hunger quälte ihn.

Als die Gruppe jener Leute wieder zum alten Lager zurückgekommen war, ging ein jeder in seine Hütte und sagte nichts. Aber der Vater jenes Mannes, den sie auf der Insel zurückgelassen hatten, gab sich doch bald Rechenschaft, daß sein Sohn nicht wieder zurückgekommen war; denn niemand erzählte ihm etwas von seinem Sohne. Das schien ihm sehr verdächtig und er ahnte Schlimmes. Auch seine Schwiegertochter ließ ihm nichts mitteilen; diese verblieb nämlich in der Hütte ihrer eigenen Verwandten.

Wieder saß er einmal ganz allein, mit nur einem Enkelkinde, in seiner Hütte. Geraume Zeit war bereits verstrichen und gar nichts hatte er über seinen Sohn erfahren können. Da sagte der Alte zum Kleinen: „Mein Enkelchen! Du siehst, daß dein Vater nicht zurückkommt und lange Zeit ist schon darüber hinweggegangen. Ich will dir einen guten Rat geben, aber sei schlau: Drücke dich unbemerkt in den Hütten der andern Leute umher und horche genau auf das, was sie reden. Vielleicht kannst du durch etwas über deinen Vater erfahren. Möglicherweise haben sie ihn erschlagen oder es ist ihm sonst ein Unglück zugestoßen. Wer weiß, wie und wann und wo. Aber sei schlau, daß niemand dir etwas anmerkt! Du kannst dich auch auf die Schlafstätte in einer andern Hütte hinlegen, abends, wenn es dunkel wird, und dich stellen, als ob du schliefest. Dann horche genau auf, was die Leute sich erzählen! Am andern Morgen kommst du dann unauffällig zu meiner Hütte und sagst mir, was du gehört hast. Aber sei schlau dabei!" „Gut", erwiderte der Kleine, „ich werde schlau sein und es so machen, wie du es mir geraten hast."

Er ging nun unauffällig zur Hütte der Verwandten seiner Mutter, setzte sich hier ans Feuer und spielte. Die Schwägerinnen jener Mannes, den sie auf der Insel gelassen hatten, waren hinausgefahren auf die See, als die Sonne schon sich zeigte: sie wollten während der Dunkelheit mit Fackeln fischen. Erst sehr spät kamen sie wieder heim. Als sie in die Hütte eintraten, wußten sie nichts davon, daß jener Kleine sich unter den Fellen verkrochen hatte. Sie setzten sich sofort hier ans Feuer; denn obwohl sie auch im Kano Feuer gehabt hatten, frosten sie gewaltig. Die eine von ihnen sagte: „Wie kalt ist doch diese Nacht; obwohl wir Feuer hatten im Kano, frosten wir ganz erbärmlich!" Dann sagte die andere: „Wie mag es erst jenem eingebildeten Allesweiner dort auf der Insel ergehen sein, den wir ohne alles und jedes zurückgelassen haben. Er besitzt ja nicht einmal ein Feuer, heftig wird er zittern vor Kälte." Die andere Schwägerin sagte: „Er hat es gründlich verdient. Warum will er überall der Erste und Tüchtigste sein!" Dies alles hörte der schlaue Enkel; denn er schlief nicht und war gut versteckt.

Am andern Morgen stand er von dieser Lagerstätte auf und tat ganz gleichgültig. Jetzt erst gaben sich die beiden Schwägerinnen davon Rechenschaft, daß dieser Kleine hier geschlafen hatte. Bald setzte er sich außen an den Eingang der Hütte; denn die Sonne schien sehr warm. Sein Großvater beobachtete ihn von der eigenen Hütte aus. Nach einiger Zeit rief er ihm laut zu: „Wo steckst du denn, mein Enkelchen? Ach, jetzt sehe ich dich! Du sitzest da vor der Hütte deiner Tanten. Kommt nur mal her! Ich werde dir wieder die Läuse absuchen, denn du hast immer sehr viele auf deinem Kopfe. Kommt nur schnell her!" Da stand der Kleine auf und ging zur Hütte seines Großvaters. Er kauerte sich ganz nahe neben ihn, daß er ihm ganz unvermerkt ins Ohr flüstern konnte, und der Großvater tat, als suchte er ihm die Läuse vom Kopfe ab. Dabei erzählte der Kleine, daß letzte Nacht die beiden Schwägerinnen seines Vaters erst spät vom Fischfang zurückgekommen waren, daß sie sehr gefroren hatten, obwohl sie das Feuer im Kano gehabt hatten, daß aber ihr Schwager, dort auf der Insel, vor Kälte und Frost sehr zittern müsse, weil sie ihn ohne alles, selbst ohne Feuer, zurückgelassen hatten, zur Strafe nämlich, weil er überall der Erste und Tüchtigste hatte sein wollen. Da sagte der Alte: „Jetzt begreife ich alles!"

Schnell ging er nun durch, Rinde heranschleppen und sich ein Kano zu bauen. Dann lud er viel Brennholz auf. Danach nahm er ein herausragendes Holzstück aus seinem Herdfeuer und machte damit Feuer im neuen Kano. Jetzt sagte er zu den andern Leuten: „Ich will zur 'zwiten Insel fahren, die ja nie verschwindet!" Wenn es mir dort gefällt, will ich dort bleiben." Da sagten die andern: „Was hat doch dieser Alte für einen sonderbaren Einfall! Was will denn der dort auf jener Insel machen? Wer weiß, ob schließlich nicht doch jemand ihm gesagt hat, daß wir seinen Sohn dort zurückgelassen haben, um ihm einen gründlichen Streich zu spielen." Und eine jener beiden Schwägerinnen sagte zur andern: „Erinnerst du dich noch? In jener Nacht, als wir vom Fischen zurückkamen, saß der Enkel jener Alten wohl gehört

haben, was wir uns erzählten; er hat ihm dann alles hingetragen." Der Alte nahm einige seiner Verwandten mit und alle fuhren sogleich zu jener Insel.

Jener Mann, der auf der Insel verlassen worden war, hatte in seiner Not damit begonnen, sich einige Vögel zu zähmen; denn er hatte ja gar nichts zu essen. Die zahmen Vögel zogen ihrerseits andere Vögel an und so erreichte er das nötige Fleisch, um nicht Hungers zu sterben. Als der Alte mit seinem Kanu zu der Insel angelaufen war, sting er aus. Er dachte: „Wie werde ich wohl meinen Sohn hier finden? Wo mag er nur sein? Diese Insel ist groß! Vielleicht ist er schon vor Hunger und Kälte gestorben." Da sah er viel Vogelmist auf der Erde und er sagte sich: „Vielleicht hat mein Sohn sich diese vielen Vögel gezähmt." Da fühlte er den Vogelmist an: er war kalt und deshalb ging er weiter. Danach fühlte er wieder den Vogelmist auf der Erde an und merkte: dieser war wärmer. Er sagte sich also: „Mein Sohn muß hier in der Nähe sein!" Dann ging er weiter und schlug seinen Weg in der Richtung ein, wo der Vogelmist immer wärmer wurde. Als er nun wieder den Vogelmist anrührte und ihn sehr weich und ganz warm fand, sagte er sich: „Hier muß mein Sohn sein!" Er ging noch etwas weiter und hörte jetzt ein starkes Schnarchen. Freudig sagte er: „Das ist mein Sohn, der hier schnarcht!" Er trat zu ihm heran, rüttelte ihn und weckte ihn auf. Der aber erschrak sehr, erhob sich vorsichtig und stellte sich plötzlich an, als wollte er den Alten erwürgen; denn er glaubte, man wolle ihn umbringen. Schnell sagte der Alte: „Schau doch gut zu: Ich bin dein Vater! Erschrick nicht!" Da erkannte der Sohn seinen Vater und freute sich sehr, daß er ihn hier sah. Bald erzählte er ihm, wie die anderen Leute alle hier ihn verlassen hatten und wie er mühsam nur sein Leben erhalten konnte und wie viel er gelitten hatte, da ihm das Feuer fehlte. Der Vater tröstete ihn. Bald bestiegen sie das Kanu und fuhren sodann zum Lager."

Doch bevor sie zu den Strand kamen und aussteigen, sagte jener Mann zu seinem Vater: „Ich will auch im Kanu bleiben. Du aber kannst alle Leute zusammenrufen und in unserer Hütte einladen; unterhalte sie lange. Dann werde auch ich das Kanu verlassen, mich an die Hütte heranschleichen und von außen her die Erde wegscharren, damit die Stämmchen alle locker werden und ihre Standfestigkeit verlieren. Doch mußt du lange zu den Leuten reden. Wenn ich mit meiner Arbeit fertig sein werde, will ich dir heimlich ein Zeichen geben: Dann laufe schnell hinaus, die Hütte wird zusammenbrechen und alle Leute darin erschlagen."

Genau so machten es die beiden nun. Der Alte rief die Leute zusammen und alle kamen zu seiner Hütte. Hier redete er lange zu ihnen. Inzwischen aber lockerte der Sohn von außen her die Erde, wo die Hütte aufstand. Nun gab er seinem Vater ein Zeichen. Dieser trat schnell hinaus. Plötzlich brach die ganze Hütte zusammen und erdrückte alle Leute, die drinnen waren. Wer weglaufen wollte, den erschlugen die beiden. So kamen alle um, die den Ma'tšamy-yčiaxu[1] auf der Insel verlassen hatten, auch sein eigenes Weib.

Heute aber schützt man den Tšamy[2] sehr, bei allen Leuten ist er

beliebt. Denn sein Ruf kündigt regelmäßig einen nahen Besuch an, das Kanu [der Besucher] kommt von der Seite her, von der er selbst heranfliegt.[299]

3. Geschichten vom Medizinmann

Im Alltag unserer Yamana hat der *yékamuï* seine Bedeutung und es ist nicht zu verwundern, daß auch ihm einige Erzählungen gewidmet sind. Weil in ihnen das eigenartige Wirken der *yékamuï* weder absichtlich noch deutlich genug dargestellt wird, erschien es unter mehrfacher Rücksicht vorteilhaft, diese Geschichten, die ja eigentliche Erzählungen sein wollen, hier in diesem Abschnitt unterzubringen. Die Stellung und Arbeitsweise der *yékamuï* kommt weiter unten zur Sprache. Diese Erzählungen sind an sich verständlich, sie bringen vorwiegend das überragende Können des Medizinmannes und die empfindliche Rache der *yékamuï* für Beleidigungen zum Ausdruck.

a. *Die Geschichte vom Habicht*

Yovokallg wétuwu

Der *Yovokalla*[300] war einst in ein Lager gekommen, wo er ein schönes Mädchen antraf. Dasselbe gefiel ihm außerordentlich. Hier blieb er also. Aber er selber war nicht beliebt und hatte nur wenige Freunde unter jenen Leuten. Mit der Zeit verliebte er sich sehr in jenes Mädchen. So ging er oft zu ihrer Hütte und bot ihr seine Liebe an. Das verfing bei ihr nicht. Aber da er immer wieder zu ihrer Hütte kam, ließ sie sich endlich gewinnen und versprach ihm, sie wolle sein Weib werden. Darüber freute sich der *Yovokallg* außerordentlich und beide lebten nun zusammen. Als er jedoch eines Nachts ganz leise an ihr Lager kam und seine Absicht verriet, mit ihr zu schlafen, stieß das Mädchen ihn energisch zurück und wollte von ihm seitdem nichts mehr wissen. Das verstimmte ihn sehr; denn nun gab er sich Rechenschaft darüber, daß jenes Mädchen nicht seine Frau sein wollte. Sogleich klagte er den andern Leuten sein Leid, aber diese verlachten ihn. Dort hatte er eben gar keine Freunde, niemand kannte ihn etwas näher. Wann immer sich diesen Leuten eine Gelegenheit bot, machten sie sich über ihn lustig. Das tat sogar jenes Mädchen, in das er sich verliebt hatte.

Sehr häufig gingen diese Männer hinaus, wo sie Jagd auf Guanacos machten; aber den *Yovokallg* nahmen sie nicht mit. So oft sie ein Guanaco

[299] Die Zusammensetzung dieses Namens kann ich nicht vollständig erklären; ich verweise nur auf das Adverb y o l l a im BD: 647.

[300] Damit wird der graue Nachtreiher, Nycticorax obscurus bezeichnet.

[301] Im Anschluß an diese Erzählung unterhielten sich meine Gewährsmänner und äußerten ihre Ansicht. Darin waren alle einig und wiederholten: „Sehr gerecht war die Strafe für alle Leute, die jenen Mann aber irgendetwas auf der Insel verlassen hatten. Aber auch er mußte seine Strafe erhalten, weil er ein eingebildetes Großmaul und ein lästiger Alleswisser war."

[302] Gemeint ist der Habicht, "Chimango", Milvago chimango.

erlegt hatten, füllten sie dessen Blut in ein umgedrehtes Darmstück und machten daraus eine Wurst. Diese nahmen sie mit zur Hütte. Aber für den *Yookallg* machten sie eine andere Wurst; denn sie wollten sich über ihn belustigen. Mit einem spitzen Stöckchen stocherten sie in ihren eigenen Nasen herum, bis Blut floß; dieses Blut sammelten sie in einem Darmstück und machten ein *kéti* [eine besondere Art von Wurst; vgl. S. 584] daraus. Diese Wurst nahmen sie mit zur Hütte und gaben sie dem *Yookallg*. Er briet sich diese Blutwurst am Feuer und aß sie dann. Dies sahen die andern Leute und lachten heimlich. Darüber hinaus gaben die Männer dem *Yookallg* nichts zu essen; deshalb wurde er immer bleicher und magerte ab. Zwar bat er um etwas anderes und um mehr; aber die Leute gaben ihm nichts anderes und auch nicht mehr.

Der *Yookallg* war nun schon sehr schwach und mager geworden. Eines Tages kamen die Leute wieder von der Jagd zurück und brachten ihm, wie immer, jene Blutwurst. Da er großen Hunger hatte, aß er davon. Die andern Leute lachten dabei im stillen. Zwei gute Freundinnen aber, die er dort hatte, fühlten nun endlich Mitleid mit ihm. Sie sagten dem *Yookallg*: „Das ist ja eine Wurst aus Menschenblut, die du hier ißest! Mit dem Blute aus ihren eigenen Nasen haben die anderen Leute diese Wurst für dich gemacht!" Da wurde er sehr zornig, warf das restliche Stück weg und wollte nun gar nichts mehr essen.

Weil ihn die Leute dort so schlecht behandelt hatten, entschloß er sich, ihr Lager zu verlassen. Er hatte sehr gute Pfeile und einen schönen Bogen. Ohne daß jemand dies sah, schob er seine Waffen von innen her etwas aus der Hütte hinaus. Dann sagte er seinen beiden guten Freundinnen: „Malt mich nun schön; denn ich will zu meinen Eltern zurückkehren! Die Leute hier haben mich nicht gern. Aber sie werden ihre Strafe erhalten. Ihr beiden werdet dafür belohnt werden, daß ihr mich so gut behandelt habt." Da malten die beiden Freundinnen ihn sehr schön. Unauffällig ergriff er seine Waffen, die er schon vorher aus der Hütte hinausgeschoben hatte, und ehe es jemand merkte, ging er los.

Er nahm den Weg dorthin, wo sein Vater wohnte. Aber er mußte an der Hütte eines bösen, übelgesinnten Weibes vorbei. Als der *Yookallg* näher kam, wollte das Weib ihn töten. Aber der jüngere *Ygálox*, der überall umhergeht, verbarg den *Yookallg* und so wurde er gerettet. Er ging nun weiter. Überall, wo er übernachtete, machte er ein großes Feuer, um sich zu wärmen. So wurden alle Orte gekennzeichnet, an denen er vorbeigekommen war.

Als er nun der Hütte seines Vaters nahe war, sah ihn sein jüngerer Bruder, der gerade am Eingange der Hütte stand. Dieser rief augenblicklich in die Hütte hinein: „Dort in der Ferne sehe ich einen Mann; das ist sicherlich mein Bruder!" Darauf sagte die Mutter: „Jener Mann dort in der Ferne kann dein Bruder gar nicht sein. Der ist gewiß längst gestorben; denn schon seit langer Zeit habe ich nichts mehr von ihm gehört." Allmählich kam er näher und näher; er ging ganz langsam, da er sehr schwach und schon müde war.

Aber als er in die Hütte eintrat, erkannte ihn seine Mutter sofort und freute sich über sein Kommen. Weil er so bleich und mager war, fragte ihn die Mutter: „Wie bist du doch so bleich und mager?" Darauf erwiderte er: „Jene Leute dort haben mich sehr schlecht behandelt; auch meine Braut sogar hat mich zum Narren gehalten. Sie haben mir nur Wurst aus Menschenblut zu essen gegeben, weiter nichts. Deshalb bin ich immer magerer geworden und von dort weggegangen." Mitleidig sagte die Mutter: „Wie war denn das möglich?" Darauf erwiderte er: „Zwei gute Freundinnen haben mich aufgeklärt. Da mochte ich nichts mehr essen und bin von dort weggegangen!"

Der Vater saß auf seinem Schlaflager und hörte alles. Er wurde sehr unwillig darüber, daß jene Leute seinen Sohn so schlecht behandelt hatten. Da legte er sich nieder und schlief bald ein. Er wollte im Traume einen Walfisch töten und ihn auf den Strand laufen lassen, nachher dessen Fleisch verderben, damit alle Leute gestraft würden, die seinen Sohn schlecht behandelt hatten. Er träumte nun und tötete im Traume einen großen Wal. Diesen ließ er danach genau dort stranden, wo das Lager jener Leute war; im Traume erkannte er alle jene Personen, die seinen Sohn schlecht behandelt hatten. Er selbst versetzte sich schließlich in den Wal; er wollte nämlich beobachten, welche Personen kämen und welche Stücke einem jeden zugeteilt würden. Nun endlich sollten alle jene gestraft werden, die seinem Sohne die Wurst aus Menschenblut zu essen gegeben hatten.

Am andern Morgen sah ein Mann aus jenem Lager den großen Wal am Strande liegen. Schnell rief er alle Leute herbei. Diese kamen eilig heran. Jeder erhielt ein großes Stück Fett, alle aßen sie und waren sehr vergnügt. Auch die Braut des *Yowokallq* erhielt ihr Stück, seine beiden guten Freundinnen erhielten ebenfalls ihre Stücke und alle waren sehr zufrieden. Der alte *yékamuł* aber, des *Yowokallq* Vater, der drinnen im Wal saß, sah genau, welches Fettstück einem jeden zugeteilt wurde. Nachdem alle Leute schon viel gegessen hatten, wandelte er die Fettstücke, die jeder gegessen hatte, plötzlich um; nur nicht jene, welche die beiden guten Freundinnen des *Yowokallq* erhalten hatten. Auf einmal fingen jetzt die Fettstücke an, im Bauche eines jeden sich zu bewegen, wie wenn sie wieder lebendig würden, und sie wurden stark dorthin gezogen, wo der Wal lag; gleichzeitig zerrten sie die Braut und alle jene Leute mit, die dem *Yowokallq* Menschenblut gegeben hatten. Die einzelnen Stücke ordneten sich von selbst gut ein und der Wal bekam seine frühere Gestalt wieder; er war nun lebendig und schwamm weg mit all jenen Leuten, die an ihm kleben geblieben waren. Nur die beiden guten Freundinnen des *Yowokallq* wurden gerettet.

Man sieht auch heute noch all jene Leute dem Rücken des Walfisches angeklebt.[226] So rächte der alte *yékamuł* seinen Sohn, den *Yowokallq*, dafür, daß jene Leute ihm Wurst aus Menschenblut zu essen gegeben hatten.[227].

[226] Das gilt für die vielen Parasiten, mit denen jeder ältere Wal übersät erscheint. an erster Stelle für die häufigen Balanus psittacus (S. 577 und S. 591).

[227] Diese Erzählung zeigt deutliche Anklänge an zwei Geschichten der Selk'nam.

β. Die Geschichte vom unehrerbietigen Schwiegersohn
Talȩ́gku wátuwa

Einst lebte ein Schwiegersohn in der Hütte seines Schwiegervaters; jener hatte sich nämlich die beiden Töchter dieses Alten zu Frauen genommen. Doch der Schwiegersohn ging mit seinem Schwiegervater wenig ehrfürchtig um. So oft der Morgen graute und ein schöner Tag sich ankündigte, sagte der Alte erfreut: „*yalȩ́gkumǫ́gla!*" Der Schwiegersohn murmelte anschließend daran: „*talȩ́gkumǫ́gla!*"[228] Das lispelte er so geschwind, daß der Alte es nicht deutlich verstehen konnte; deshalb merkte er auch nicht, daß sein Schwiegersohn sich mit diesem Worte über ihn bewußt lustig machte. Lange Zeit trieb es der Schwiegersohn auf diese Weise und regelmäßig begegnete er seinem alten Schwiegervater mit dem gleichen Worte.

Schließlich sagte eines Tages die jüngere Tochter zu ihrem Vater: „Höre, Vater: Du sagst doch immer: *yalȩ́gkumǫ́gla*. Aber dein Schwiegersohn antwortet dir spöttelnd darauf: *talȩ́gkumǫ́gla* und macht sich damit lustig über dich!" Dabei geriet der Alte in Wut. Sofort dachte er darüber nach, wie er sich an diesem unehrerbietigen Schwiegersohne gründlich rächen sollte. Er legte sich nieder und schlief ein; er wollte nämlich einen Wal stranden lassen und dann selbst sich in diesen Wal hineinversetzen, um seinen Schwiegersohn zu strafen. Er war ein großer *yékamuš*. Deshalb erreichte er dies auch: Im Traume tötete er einen großen Wal; dieser kam unverzüglich in die Nähe des Lagers und er selbst versetzte sich in diesen Wal.

Am nächsten Morgen erhob sich der Schwiegersohn von seinem Lager. Als er aus der Hütte hinausschaute, sah er viele *dážalux* in der Luft kreisen.[229] Er sagte sich: „Wo kommen diese vielen *dážalux* her? Da muß in der Nähe ein toter Wal treiben; denn es sind sehr viele Vögel hier. Ich will gleich sehen, was das sein mag!" Er zog sich in seine Hütte zurück und erzählte alles seinen Weibern. Diese erwiderten: „Gut, gehe nur los und schaue zu, ob es wirklich ein Wal ist, der hier in der Nähe treibt!" Er lief hinaus und stieg auf eine kleine Anhöhe. Von dort aus sah er, wie von draußen ein Wal immer näher herantrieb, um den sehr viele Vögel in der Luft kreisten. Diese Vögel unterhielten sich und er hörte sie sprechen: „Komm nur näher, mein Schwager, der alte Schwiegervater ist ja 'schieläugig'. Welch 'wunderschöner Tag', mein Schwiegersohn. Gewiß, mein 'schieläugiger' Schwiegervater!" So sprachen sie und unterhielten sich wie Menschen. Dieses Gerede verwunderte jenen Mann sehr; er schaute um sich, sah aber niemanden. Jetzt stieg er von jener Anhöhe herab; denn der Wal kam näher. Immer lauter und deutlicher hörte er nun jenes Gerede. Da sagte er sich: „Hier müssen Leute sein, denn man hört

betitelt mit: Die Rache des Elúnkaiyink (Bd. I, 639) und mit: Wie Hážamoes sich rächte (Bd. I, 642).

[228] Die wörtliche Übersetzung lautet: "Ein hübscher Tag" ist zu erwarten, bzw. "ein schieläugiger Tag" wird es werden. Beide Wortbildungen geben im ganzen einen angenehmen Zusammenklang der Laute.

[229] Gemeint ist der 'große Albatros, Diomedea melanophrys, von der Hochsee.

sprechen! Aber ich sehe doch niemanden. Wo mögen diese Leute nur sein, woher sind sie wohl gekommen, wo stecken sie denn? Man hört nur ihre Unterhaltung!" Er ging weiter und war nun dem Wal schon sehr nahe. Auch hier sah er nur Vögel und sagte sich: „Wo sind wohl die Leute, die ich hier sprechen höre? Ich sehe hier überall nur Vögel!"

Jetzt nahm er sein Messer und schnitt sich ein großes Stück Fett aus dem Wal heraus. Dieses lud er sich auf die Schultern, kehrte sogleich um und ging auf seine Hütte zu. Doch sonderbar: Auf dem Wege w[illegible] dieses Fettstück immer größer und größe[illegible] es wurde schließlich so schwer und so groß, daß er es in zwei Teile zerlegen mußte; er konnte es nicht mehr schleppen, so groß war es geworden. Die eine Hälfte verwahrte er im Moorwasser und lud sich die andere Hälfte wieder auf. Aber nach kurzer Zeit wurde auch dieses Stück wieder sehr groß; er konnte nun auch damit nicht mehr vorwärts kommen. Wieder teilte er es in zwei Stücke und bewahrte die eine Hälfte davon im Moorwasser auf, die andere Hälfte schleppte er weiter. Und auch diese Hälfte wurde wieder sehr groß und abermals mußte er zwei Stücke daraus machen. Dies alles wiederholte sich fünfmal und dann noch einmal. Endlich erreichte er seine Hütte.

Hier fand sich bald seine Familie zusammen und alle aßen von jenem Fettstücke. Dabei erzählte er, wo er diesen Wal gefunden hatte, wie er ein großes Stück Fett herausgeschnitten und sich aufgeladen hatte, wie dieses Stück auf dem Wege immer größer geworden war, daß er es in zwei Stücke teilen mußte und das alles sechsmal. Auch ließ er sie wissen, an welchen Stellen im Moorwasser er die anderen Hälften aufbewahrt hatte. Darüber freuten sich alle und sagten: „Morgen gehen wir dorthin, wo der Wal liegt!"

Am nächsten Morgen gingen sehr viele Leute an jene Stelle und schlugen dort ihre Hütten auf, ganz nahe dem Wale. Jeder schnitt sich nun ein großes Stück Fett heraus und aß es mit Behagen; denn schon lange hatten sie keinen Walspeck mehr gegessen. Der kleine Enkel aber jenes alten *yékamuĭ* war hoch auf den Wal hinauf gekrochen und stieß sein Messer tief hinein. Da rief der Großvater, der drinnen saß, ihm mit leiser Stimme zu: „Enkelchen, stich nicht zu tief herein!" Der Kleine hörte wohl diese Stimme und wunderte sich sehr, aber er schnitt weiter. Da hörte er wieder die gleiche Stimme: „Enkelchen, stich doch nicht so tief herein!" Jetzt erschrak er sehr und lief zu seiner Mutter; ihr erzählte er alles. Diese aber verpflichtete ihn, nichts zu sagen und in der Hütte zu bleiben.

Schon einige Zeit hatten die Leute sich hier aufgehalten und gut gegessen. Sie gingen nun zum früheren Lager wieder zurück. Die beiden Töchter jenes alten *yékamuĭ* begannen nun damit, sich zu malen und sich den Federschmuck aufzusetzen, zum Zeichen ihrer Trauer; denn sie glaubten ihren alten Vater tot. Auch die anderen Leute malten sich und alle kamen zum *yamalaĭemôjna* zusammen. Als sie hier zu weinen und zu singen begannen, da fingen alle Fettstücke an, beweglich zu werden, sie wurden wieder lebendig und bewegten sich hin zum Wal am Strande; ein jedes Stück legte

sich von selbst an seine Stelle und bald war der Wal wieder zusammengestellt. Auch jener Schwiegersohn fühlte sich wie von starker Gewalt hingezogen zu diesem Wal; er wurde dort auf den Rücken des Wales gehoben, ohne daß er es verhindern konnte. Der alte *yékamuł* aber kam jetzt aus diesem Wal heraus. Denn dieses Tier fing an, wieder lebendig zu werden und sich zu bewegen; es glitt den Strand hinunter ins Wasser hinein und nahm sich den Schwiegersohn mit, der ihm auf dem Rücken saß.

Auch heute noch sieht man jenen Schwiegersohn auf dem Rücken des Wales reiten. Jene Fettstücke aber, die der Schwiegersohn auf seinem Wege zum Lager im Moorwasser verwahrt hatte, wurden immer größer und größer, genau nach Wunsch des alten *yékamuł*. Seine beiden Töchter holten ein Stück nach dem andern herbei, so oft der Alte es wünschte. Demnach stand ihnen Speck von jenem großen Wal auf sehr lange Zeit zur freien Verfügung.[220]

γ. *Die Geschichte vom Sperling*

Hę̆ĭpul wátuwa

In uralter Zeit strandete einst ein toter Wal an einer Küste. Die nächsten Nachbarn zündeten sofort vier große Feuer an, um die andern Leute zu benachrichtigen. Die andern Leute sahen diese Feuer und sagten: „Dort ist ein Wal gestrandet, wir wollen schnell dorthin fahren!" Da nahmen sie ihre Kanus und fuhren dorthin, wo der Wal war. Schnell hatten sich hier viele Leute versammelt. Auch *Hę̆ĭpul*[221] kam mit seinen Leuten; er führte seine Gruppe an und brachte sie bis zur Stelle, wo der Wal lag. Zwar hatten sich hier schon viele Leute eingefunden; aber als *Hę̆ĭpul* mit seiner Gruppe eintraf, wurde er von niemandem erkannt. Die Leute hier bewirteten die Neuankömmlinge sehr gut und behandelten sie viel freundlicher, als den *Hę̆ĭpul* selbst, der doch seine Gruppe angeführt hatte. Niemand kannte ihn.

Dieses gleichgültige Verhalten der anderen Leute gegen seine Person verletzte den *Hę̆ĭpul* sehr. Er glaubte sich schwer beleidigt, weil man ihn nicht ehrte und ihm nicht aufwartete, wie es ein mächtiger *yékamuł* doch verlangen kann. Bald überlegte er, wie er sich an den Leuten, die so wenig Aufmerksamkeit für ihn übrig hatten, rächen sollte. Er sagte nichts. Aber an einem wunderschönen, klaren Tage, gerade zur Zeit des höchsten Sonnenstandes, ließ er plötzlich eine vollständige Dunkelheit kommen. Die Leute alle erschraken und fragten sich erstaunt: „Was ist denn das! Was mag denn das bedeuten! Wo kommt denn diese Finsternis so plötzlich her?" Dabei gerieten sie in große Angst. Endlich erklärte *Hę̆ĭpul:* „Diese Finsternis habe ich euch gesandt, weil ihr mich nicht mit der geziemenden Ehrfurcht be-

[220] In dieser Erzählung ist mit dem sogenannten Wal eigentlich ein Delphin gemeint, den bekanntlich eine lange, hohe Rückenflosse auszeichnet. Letztere soll den unehrerbietigen Schwiegersohn andeuten. — Die Grundgedanken und einzelne Motive stimmen mit denen überein, die in: "Die Rache des Elúnaiyík" der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 639) verwendet werden.

[221] Dieser kleine Sperlingsvogel, aus der Familie der Tyrannidae, ist Tachyphonus pyrope.

handelt, die einem *yékamuš* gebührt! Ich bin *Hę̄ipul*, der große *yékamuš*!" Jetzt schauten die Leute ganz verlegen einander an. Dann fragten sie ihn: „Wie lange wird denn diese Finsternis dauern?" Er erwiderte ihnen in schroffem Tone: „Sie wird dauern für immer!" Da wurden die Leute sehr traurig und fingen an zu weinen. Nach einiger Zeit baten sie ihn: „Nimm doch diese Finsternis wieder hinweg! Bliebe es so wie jetzt, könnten wir ja nichts sehen und wir würden Hungers sterben. Wir wollen dir dann auch ganz besonders gut aufwarten!" Einige gingen zu ihm in die Hütte und sagten: „Wir kannten dich ja nicht! Nimm uns also unser Verhalten nicht übel. Wir werden jetzt die besten Fleischstücke und das beste Fett für dich aussuchen. Verzeihe uns doch und nimm diese Finsternis wieder weg. Wir wissen ja jetzt, daß du ein sehr mächtiger *yékamuš* bist!" Darauf erwiderte ihnen *Hę̄ipul*: „Gut, ich will euch diesen Fehler verzeihen; denn ihr wißt jetzt, daß ich ein mächtiger *yékamuš* bin."

Da gingen jene Leute hinaus aus seiner Hütte. Er aber rieb sich den ganzen Körper mit weißer Farberde ein und malte sich dann den roten Querstrich ins Gesicht; schließlich setzte er sich den Federschmuck auf den Kopf und begann leise damit, sein Lied vom Osten zu singen. Als er so sang, fing es langsam an, sich aufzuhellen im Osten. Und er sang weiter und es wurde immer heller, ja schließlich so hell, wie beim höchsten Sonnenstand. Da freuten sich die Leute und erleichtert atmeten sie auf. Sogleich machten sie ein großes Fest. Dem *Hę̄ipul* aber gaben sie die schmackhaftesten Fleischstücke und suchten für ihn das beste Fett aus. Alle waren froh und vergnügt.

So singt der *Hę̄ipul* auch heute noch an jedem Morgen seinen "Gesang vom Osten": *pit, pit, pit, pit*. Doch nur ganz langsam wird es heller, weil die Leute von damals ihn nicht genügend geehrt hatten. Alle freuen sich, sobald es wieder hell wird, und atmen erleichtert auf nach der dunklen Nacht. Den *Hę̄ipul*, den mächtigen *yékamuš* aber hält man bis heute hoch in Ehren.

Diese Geschichte habe ich zum ersten Male 1920 aus dem Munde des alten Alfredo vernommen. Später, 1923 hat William sie in der gleichen Weise vorgetragen, abgesehen von der folgenden kleinen Ergänzung: Die Leute brachten nun dem *Hę̄ipul* bereitwilligst die besten Stücke, vor allem *yáyar-ĕr*, die Gegend um die Kinnbacken und den unteren Hals, einschließlich der Barten, und dann noch *yĕsápi*, der rückwärtige, sich verjüngende Teil vor der Schwanzflosse.[222] Als er diese besonders wertvollen Stücke [in seinem Besitz] sah, gab er sich vollständig zufrieden. Er bemalte sich, wie die *yékamuš* das tun, und begann leise seinen *lóima*-Gesang: *pit, pit, pit, pit*. Vor diesem Vogel haben alle Leute seitdem die größte Ehrfurcht; keiner wagt es, ihn zu töten oder mit Steinen auf ihn zu werfen. Würde dies jemand sich doch herausnehmen, käme sogleich wieder jene allgemeine Dunkelheit mit viel Schnee und Eis. Denn der *Hę̄ipul* ist und bleibt ein sehr mächtiger *yékamuš*, er vermag das Wetter und das Tageslicht zu gestalten.[223]

[222] Bekanntlich haben die Yamana jedem größeren Teile des gewaltigen Walkörpers eine bestimmte Bezeichnung gegeben (S. 577).

δ. *Die Geschichte von den Steinspitzenmachern*

Yĕkuš-tulĕrgáylum wátuwa

Im Lager einiger Familien lebten einst zwei Männer. Diese waren nicht beliebt und sie merkten nach einiger Zeit, daß man plante, sie umzubringen. Schnell und heimlich machten sie sich davon. Bald aber bemerkten die Leute dort, daß jene beiden Männer davongelaufen waren; sie rannten ihnen nach und hofften, sie noch erreichen zu können. Doch die beiden Männer hatten sich bereits weit entfernt, denn sie waren sehr schnell gelaufen. Unerwartet standen sie nun vor *Kaluwĕllawaja*, einer tief einschneidenden, schmalen Bucht [im Westen]. Um diese herum zu laufen, war unmöglich, denn alle Ufer waren steil abfallend und dicht bewachsen; auch gab es keinen Übergang [Furt], den sie hätten benützen können. Merkwürdigerweise standen hier sehr viele und große Fische im Wasser, ganz eng einer neben den andern gepreßt; ihre Rücken schauten etwas über die Wásseroberfläche heraus. Die beiden Männer wollten in ihrer Not versuchen, über diese Fische hinwegzuschreiten, zuerst der eine, dann der andere. Der erste schritt nun mit größter Vorsicht über die Fische hinweg, er kam ans Ufer und sprang dort auf einen Felsen; so war er gerettet. Aber der zweite trat mit wenig Vorsicht auf, deshalb bewegte sich einer der Fische, der Mann glitt aus, fiel hin, sank ins Wasser und lebend wurde er von den großen Fischen aufgefressen. Der andere sah das vom Ufer aus und wurde sehr traurig darüber. Aber er mußte schnell weiterlaufen. Bald kam er nach *Aniawáia* [Bucht östlich von Puerto Olla]. Hier traf er ein großes Lager an, wo viele Leute ihre Hütten gebaut hatten. Diesen erzählte er sofort, wie jene Leute dort im anderen Lager ihn hatten umbringen wollen, wie er schnell weggelaufen war, wie er sich gerettet hatte in *Kaluwĕllawaja*, wie aber sein Freund dort ausgeglitten war und lebend von den großen Fischen aufgefressen worden war. Als sie das hörten, wurden sie sehr traurig. Sofort begannen sie ihr *yamalaĕmóina*. Lange Zeit hindurch malten sie sich wie immer, wenn sie in Trauer sind. Sie entschlossen sich auch, viele *yĕkuš* herzustellen; mit diesen wollten sie jene großen Fische töten.

Als sie ihre Trauerkundgebung eingestellt hatten, bestiegen eines Tages mehrere Männer und ein Weib das Kanu; sie wollten dorthin fahren, wo sich brauchbares Gestein findet, und Steinspitzen verfertigen. Den ganzen Tag ruderten sie und erst am Abend kamen sie an jene Stelle. Sie stiegen aus. Die Männer bauten schnell eine Hütte und das Weib suchte Miesmuscheln am Strande. Danach setzten sie sich alle ans Feuer und aßen viel; denn die Männer mußten sich stärken für die Arbeit, die sie vorhatten.

Am andern Morgen standen sie zeitig auf. Doch bevor sie in den Wald hineingingen, sagten sie zu dem Weibe: „Geh du wieder ins Kanu und fahre weit hinaus auf den Kanal; binde es an die Algen an und bleibe dort sitzen, bis wir wieder an den Strand kommen. Hier in dieser Gegend lebt nämlich

[331] Auch diesmal, wie schon in der vorhergehenden Erzählung (S. 1271), erweist sich dieser unauffällige, allerdings sehr empfindliche Mann als ein wohlmeinender Helfer.

ein Mann, der ist so schön wie *máku;*[234] dieser könnte dich leicht berücken, so schön ist er! Deshalb ist es das beste, du fährst hinaus auf den Kanal und bleibst dort draußen, damit dieser hübsche Mann dich nicht etwa verführe." Diese Frau war sehr ernst und hatte einen starken Willen; nie hatte sie sich mit andern Männern eingelassen und zeigte auch keine Lust dazu. Deshalb erwiderte sie: „Ich werde alles so machen, wie ihr es mir gesagt habt!"

Nachdem die Männer nochmals gut gegessen hatten, gingen sie in den Wald hinein; danach stiegen sie den Berg hinauf. Sie kamen zu der Stelle, wo sich das brauchbare Gestein findet, und machten sofort Steinspitzen. Von dieser Höhe aus schauten sie oft auf den Kanal hinunter und sahen das Kanu weit entfernt vom Strande, an Algen angebunden; drinnen saß das Weib. Beruhigt sagten sie: „Schaut doch mal hin! Das ist ein gute, ernste Frau; mit der wird der schöne *Hulušénuwa*[235] nichts anfangen können!"

Wirklich kam bald der *Hulušénuwa* an den Strand, er war tatsächlich so schön wie *máku.* Er sah die Frau dort im Kanu allein sitzen. Sogleich winkte er und rief ihr zu, an den Strand zu kommen; er wollte sich vertraulich mit ihr abgeben. Lange lockte er sie mit schmeichlerischen Worten. Das Weib schaute ihn öfters an und merkte immer deutlicher, wie herrlich schön dieser *Hulušénuwa* war; sie hörte seine lockenden Rufe und sie fühlte sich, je länger je stärker, zu ihm hingezogen: Er war überaus schön und lockte mit süßen Worten ganz verführerisch. Trotz alledem beherrschte sich diese Frau, sie blieb unentwegt in ihrem Kanu sitzen und band es von den [Macrocystis-]Algen nicht los.

Gegen Abend kamen die Männer vom Berge herab und näherten sich dem Strande. Das merkte der hübsche *Hulušénuwa* und er versteckte sich im Walde. Jetzt traten die Männer auch aus dem Walde heraus und riefen die Frau. Da band sie das Kanu los und kam an den Strand gefahren. Die Männer luden alle *yékuì* ein, sie hatten sehr viele mitgebracht. Jetzt stiegen auch sie selber ein und fuhren zurück zum Lager. Als sie dort angekommen waren, stiegen sie wieder aus. Diese Frau aber ging zu den anderen Weibern und erzählte, was sie erlebt hatte. Sie sagte: „Dort, wo wir heute waren, lebt ein überaus hübscher Mann, so schön wie *máku!* Der kann uns Weiber ausnahmslos berücken, so stattlich ist er. Auch mich hat er mächtig angelockt. Da fühlte ich große Lust, mich ihm hinzugeben. Aber ich habe mich sehr angestrengt und meiner Lüsternheit nicht nachgegeben; wirklich blieb ich sitzen im Kanu, weit draußen auf dem Kanal. Keine von euch bringt das fertig; denn dieser Mann ist über die Maßen schön!" Das hörten alle Weiber mit großer Aufmerksamkeit an. Dann sagten sie unter Lachen: „Dergleichen bringen wir auch fertig, genau so wie du!" Eine andere Frau sagte laut: „Mich würde er auf keinen Fall verführen. Ich ließe mich von ihm nicht

[234] Abermals wiederholt sich hier ein Hinweis auf die scharlachrote Blüte des Embothrium coccineum-Strauches. Vgl. Abb. 78.

[235] Das ist die kleinste Art der beiden feuerländischen Zaunkönige, nämlich Troglodytes hornensis (S. 12). Auch in einer anderen Erzählung (S. 1169) spielt er eine Rolle.

berücken!" Das hörte ihr eigener Mann. Also sagte er zu ihr: „Gut, du fahre morgen mit uns; dann wollen wir sehen, wie du dich verhalten wirst!"

Am nächsten Tag fuhren die Männer wieder los und nahmen diesmal jene andere Frau mit. Sie kamen an die bekannte Stelle und stiegen aus. Die Männer schlugen schnell eine Hütte auf und das Weib suchte Muscheln. Diese brieten sie jetzt am Feuer, sie aßen und kräftigten sich. Doch bevor sie in den Wald gingen, sagte der Mann zu seinem Weibe: „Du mußt jetzt ins Kanu steigen und weit hinausfahren auf den Kanal. Dort binde das Kanu an einem Algenknäuel fest und bleibe drinnen sitzen, bis wir wieder zurückkommen. Wir werden dich rufen und du kommst dann an den Strand gefahren!" Das Weib erwiderte: „Gut, ich werde gleich abfahren!" Sofort gingen die Männer in den Wald und stiegen dann den Berg hinauf.

Aber das Weib blieb noch einige Zeit hier am Strande sitzen, es wartete wohl auf jenen hübschen Mann. Wirklich kam der *Hulušnuwa* auch bald heran. Die Frau war schon berückt, als sie ihn nur anschaute. Sie lief ihm entgegen und warf sich ihm in die Arme. Sie zwang ihn nieder auf den Sand und hier überließen sie sich lange ihrer Geilheit. Längst waren die Männer zu jener Stelle hinaufgestiegen, wo sich die Steine für die *vékuš* fanden, und sie arbeiteten hier emsig. Dann und wann schauten sie zwar auf den breiten Wasserarm hinunter, konnten aber das Kanu nicht wahrnehmen. Wiederholt sagten sie zu einander: „Da haben wir es jetzt! Sicherlich liegt das Kanu noch am Strande. Es wird schon so sein: Jene Frau hat sich vom *Hulušnuwa* verlocken lassen und beide vergnügen sich miteinander auf dem Ufer." Nach einiger Zeit stiegen die Männer den Berg hinunter und erreichten bald den Strand. Hier sahen sie das böse Treiben der beiden, die einander noch immer umarmt hielten und auf dem Strande lagen. Als der *Hulušnuwa* merkte, daß jene Männer sich ihm näherten, lief er eiligst davon. Die Frau aber blieb noch liegen, ganz außer Sinnen vor Lüsternheit. Sobald nun ihr eigener Mann neben ihr stand, stieß er sie an. Da erst erkannte sie ihn und bat ihn: „Kühle mich ab; denn ich bin noch ganz geil. Wie verzückt bin ich, so herrlich schön ist der *Hulušnuwa*!" Da entfernte sich dieser Mann ein wenig und erhitzte abseits eine scharfe Steinspitze. Damit kam er schnell zur Stelle zurück, wo seine Frau lag. Mit aller Kraft stieß er diese glühende Steinspitze in ihre Vagina und schlitzte ihr den Bauch bis zum Nabel auf. In diesem Zustande ließ er sie liegen. Er kochte vor Wut.

Die Männer bestiegen jetzt ohne die Frau das Kanu und fuhren zurück zum Lager. Die Weiber dort warteten am Strande. Da sahen sie, daß nur Männer im Kanu saßen und sagten: „Wie? Nur die Männer kommen zurück? Wo mag denn das Weib geblieben sein? Aha! Die ließ sich gewiß von jenem hübschen Manne dort verführen; sie hat sich ihm hingegeben und ist mit ihm zurückgeblieben. Also hat sie sich doch von ihm verlocken lassen!" Da stiegen die Männer aus. Sie erzählten, die Frau hätte sich von jenem Manne dort berücken lassen und sei vor geiler Lüsternheit gestorben. Doch sagten sie nichts davon, daß ihr erzürnter Gatte ihr den Bauch aufgeschlitzt hatte.

Am nächsten Tage fuhren die Männer wieder an jene Stelle, denn es fehlten ihnen noch viele *yékui*. Doch fanden sie jene Frau nicht mehr, die sie gestern zurückgelassen hatten: Der schöne *Hulušénuwa* selbst, der ein tüchtiger *yékumuí* ist, hatte sie vollständig wieder geheilt und zu sich genommen. Beide leben seitdem zusammen und vergnügen sich miteinander.

4. Ergänzende Bemerkungen

Die ansehnliche Reihe der Geschichten und Sagen ist hiermit abgeschlossen. Frühere Beobachter haben nur vereinzelt einen kurzen Hinweis auf diese oder jene Mythe gebracht, der inhaltlich so lange belanglos blieb, bis die ungekürzte, vollständige Fassung vorlag. Immerhin kommt einer jeden derartigen Andeutung ein gewisser Wert zu; denn er bestätigt, daß die in Frage stehende Erzählung tatsächlich im Umlauf ist. Auffälligerweise wurde mehrmals der kleine *Omóra* (der feuerländische Kolibri) als ein Held gepriesen, nämlich von BARCLAY (a): 64, DABBENE (a): 66 und (b): 205, HAHN (c) und MARTIAL: 213. Im BD: 120 heißt es: *Ummóqra*, a man who lived a long time ago, and was very successful with the spear in killing seal. Aus diesen Worten läßt sich kaum ableiten, daß eine Gestalt der Sage gemeint ist; doch BD: 385 bringt ergänzend noch *Syunnū*, a traditional being half stone and half man of giant stature and strength who being stone could not be killed and yet was finally killed by *Umóqra*. Damit erscheint diese Persönlichkeit deutlicher gezeichnet. Auch bringt BD: 275 noch *hulla*,[236] the name of a certain fabulous hair seal of great daring and cruelty which lived at *wéukuf* in a certain cave still pointed out and was a source of great dread to all as he had killed many who had passed that way, but was eventually killed by a brave man called *Umóqra*, who also killed the fabled stone man. Offensichtlich sind die eben genannten Quellen voneinander abhängig. COJAZZI: 106 hat die wesentlichen Züge des *Hášaguwa wátuwa* aufgezeichnet (S. 1225). Was darüber noch als bedeutungslose Andeutungen an Yamana-Mythen sich findet, hat COOPER: 163 zusammengestellt.

Mich persönlich haben einige Indianerinnen verständigt, daß zur Zeit ihrer Kindheit *uxápu wátuwa*, die Geschichte von den drei Sternen erzählt worden sei, nämlich von den drei Sternen zweiter Größe δ, ε, ζ im Sternbild des Orion, die in Europa als "Jakobsstab" bekannt sind. Im BD: 81 findet sich nur als Tatsache verzeichnet: *ākāpū*, constellation of six stares, Orion. Niemand war mehr imstande, jene Mythe mir zuverlässig zu wiederholen. In einer anderen Geschichte, deren Einzelheiten sich keiner meiner Gewährsleute im Gedächtnis bewahrt hat, spielt ein vierbeiniges Tier von der Größe eines Pferdes die Hauptrolle. Im Westen soll es gelebt und als Körperfarbe ein helles Braun mit vielen dunklen Streifen getragen haben; man nennt es *Iétel* und diesem Namen gibt man auch einem handlangen Fische, der die gleiche Streifung zeigt. Möglicherweise handelt es sich um den nämlichen

[236] Damit dürfte vermutlich "*ulhula*", der Tümmler, Tursio Peronii (S. 37) gemeint sein.

Gegenstand, den auch SPENCER: 106 bezeichnet: „Yahgans talk of two animals with horns (deer?) long ago on Hoste Island. The deer came down to Kasusni Point in winter, but were killed in the very hard winter when Hanufs [*Hánnuš!*] died out." Warum die beiden kurz angedeuteten Erzählungen von den heute lebenden Yamana nicht wiederholt werden können, ist damit zu erklären, daß jene Personen schon ins Grab gesunken sind, in deren Heimatbereich dieselben am besten eingewurzelt waren. Kaum je wagt es nämlich ein Yamana, jene besonderen Geschichten zu wiederholen, die in einer bestimmten Gegend zu Hause sind.

Rechnet man zu dem, was oben vorgelegt wurde, noch diese kurzen Andeutungen, so dürfte wohl alles zusammengetragen worden sein, was den Mythenschatz der Yamana ausmacht. Als sehr voreilig erscheint auch diesmal wieder das Urteil jener Reisenden, die den Besitz jedweder Überlieferung unsern Feuerländern rundweg abgesprochen haben. Rein nichts besäßen sie, wenn sich bewahrheitet hätte, was HYADES (q): 253 behauptet: „Il n'y a ni poésies, ni histoire, ni traditions quelconques du passé touchant les origines de la peuplade, ses migrations, ses guerres avec les tribus voisines."[237] Der vorliegende Stoff dürfte wie eine Rechtfertigung wirken. Von Vergleichen mit den Mythen und Sagen anderer Völkerschaften auf amerikanischem Boden sehe ich aus Gründen, die schon mehrmals genannt worden sind, hier ab. Über diesen an sich schon weiten Rahmen noch hinausgreifend, hat es W. SCHMIDT (d): 944 beispielsweise schon unternommen, „mit der Gesamtheit des bis jetzt untersuchten Mythenmaterials [vier] mutmaßliche Phasen der Geschichte der Yamana zu konstruieren", deren Eigenart er kennzeichnet. Er nennt die Phase der Urkultur, die der alttotemistischen Kultur, die des älteren Zweiklassen-Mutterrechtes und die des totemistischen Vaterrechtes.

[237] Er beruft sich (ib.) auf BRIDGES: Mémoire inédit, wo es heißt: „Leur passé leur est presque aussi inconnu que l'avenir; ils n'ont ni espoir ni crainte après cette vie; pour eux, il n'y a ni Dieu, ni bien, ni mal, ni esprits à craindre à l'exception des fantômes qui peuvent leur nuire en cette vie; la mort est le dernier terme de l'existence, et ils n'ont pas de notion d'une vie spirituelle ou de l'homme composé d'une âme et d'un corps." Müßte ich zu jedem der vielen, in diesem einzigen Satze zusammengeballten schweren Irrtümer eigene Stellung nehmen, könnte ich mit ganzen Abschnitten dieses Buches antworten.

D. Geisterglaube und Aberglaube

Deutlich geschieden vom Vorstellungskreise des *Watayinéiwa*, von dem der Heroen und von dem der Mythengestalten bewegen sich in der Einbildung unserer Feuerländer noch einige besondere Gruppen von Geistern. Sie sind weit davon entfernt, etwas Großes oder Vorteilhaftes für das Yamana-Volk geschaffen zu haben, vielmehr bedeuten sie für dasselbe so etwas wie Schreckgestalten und gefährliche Unholde. Wenn nämlich eine Einzelperson auf ihren alltäglichen Wanderungen oder Fahrten jenen Wesen zufällig begegnet, bleibt es meist nicht aus, daß sie von ihnen zumindest bedroht oder gefährdet, zuweilen schwer geschädigt und umgebracht wird. Durchgehends sind sie übelwollende Geister, allein die gutmütigen *Yeſáčel* ausgenommen. An die jetzt beginnende Beschreibung dieser Geistergruppen schließt sich gleich an, wie die Yamana ihre Träume und gewisse abergläubische Anschauungen bewerten.

a. Die Geistergruppen

In den vorausgegangenen Abschnitten ist mehrmals nachgewiesen worden, daß die Yamana die gleiche richtige und vollständige Vorstellung von einem eigentlichen Geiste besitzen, die sonstwo geläufig ist. Demnach erübrigt sich eine eigene Begriffsbestimmung. Sie wenden das Wort *kēipix* zunächst und unmittelbar auf die Natur der menschlichen Seele (S. 1094) und des *Watayinéiwa* (S. 1048) an und bezeichnen damit ein selbständiges, tätiges, körperloses Wesen. Über diesen engen Rahmen hinausgreifend, bezeichnen sie mit *kēipix* auch noch solche Wesen, die ihre eigene Vorstellung, ihr Aberglaube geschaffen hat, die als sogenannte Erscheinungen in ihrer Phantasie und in ihren Träumen auftauchen. Diesen kommt also ein wirkliches Dasein oder reale Wirklichkeit nicht zu. Die Yamana unterscheiden mehrere Gruppen derartiger sogenannter Geister sehr bestimmt voneinander und zwar nach deren Naturanlage, Betätigung und Aufenthaltsort; je nachdem hat für sie die eine mehr Bedeutung als die andere. Das gegenseitige Verhältnis und die Beziehungen zu ihnen sind derart, daß die Yamana diese Gruppen von Geistern fürchten und meiden; denn nur ausnahmsweise zeigt einer von ihnen sich den Menschen lieb und freundlich. Niemals bringt ein Feuerländer ihnen religiösen Kult oder eigentliche Ehrfurcht entgegen.

Teilweise finden sich diese allgemeinen Begriffe bei Bridges (k): 237 schon, was Cojazzi: 106 wörtlich wiederholt: „Creían en la existencia de espíritus o ánimas que de noche podían hacerse visibles pero que no eran tangibles. Estos espíritus eran malignos y los naturales los relacionaban con las enfermedades y la muerte. Solían emplear la palabra *cushpick* [*kēipix*], ánima, como calificativo ... Pero los indígenas jamás rendían culto ni reverarión a *cushpik*, *hannash* ni a ningún otro ser." Anderswo sagt Bridges (e): 332 und (i): 15 noch: „Obwohl die Yahgans keine Religion hatten, so hatten sie doch manchen Aberglauben. Sie glaubten an Geister, welche die Form

von Menschen, aber nicht deren Wesen hatten. Diese lebten, wie sie sich einbildeten, in Höhlen in den Wäldern und haßten und töteten ihrer Meinung nach jeden, der ihnen zu nahe kam ... Persons from time to time believed they had seen these spirits and gave account of the apparition." Auch nach BRIDGES (h): 209 gibt es mehrere Gruppen von Geistern: „Los yahganes creian en aparecidos, así como en muchos seres sobrenaturales y en la existencia de hombres salvajes en los bosques." Immer aber weichen alle diese *kēipiż* wegen ihrer eigenartigen, befremdlichen Natur[210] von den lebenden Menschen und den Menschenseelen nach dem Tode sehr deutlich ab. Demzufolge ist *kēipiż* ein Allgemeinbegriff, nicht der Eigenname einer bestimmten Einzelperson.[211]

Erweitert der Yamana den Sinn des Wortes *kēipiż*, dann meint er jene merkwürdigen Geistwesen, die seiner Einbildung und Phantasie, seinem Glauben und Träumen entspringen, also nicht wirklich leben wie *Watuyinéjwa* und die vom Körper getrennten Menschenseelen. Die einzelnen Gruppen bilden je eine sonderbare Gesellschaft für sich allein. In Anlehnung daran dehnt der Yamana die Bezeichnung *kēipiż* noch auf einen seltenen, vom normal Menschlichen abweichenden Einzelfall aus. Darauf weist BD: 466 hin unter *tūkōšpigōna*, to say a person is *cushpik* [*kēipiż*] or like one, to accuse a person of acting the part of a *cushpik* i. e. of speaking and acting without any regard to truth or propriety. Das eigene Bewußtsein, die Geistesgegenwart, das persönliche Wachsein wird ebenfalls als *kēipiż* gedeutet und zwar als jener bestimmte *kēipiż*, der im Menschen lebt; wobei dann kein scharfer Unterschied zwischen diesem Zustande und der menschlichen Seele gemacht wird. Auch ein ungewöhnlicher Einfall oder Antrieb oder sogar Zufall gehört hierher. Früher (S. 697) habe ich ein belangloses Vorkommnis erzählt. Die etwa siebenjährige Tochter des alten PEDRO MAŠEMIKENS ist, ihrem Spieltriebe folgend, mit anderen Mädchen von Puerto Mejillones aus am Strande entlang gelaufen und hat sich weit von der elterlichen Hütte entfernt; die Dunkelheit der Nacht überraschte jene Kinder in Puerto Piedra und deshalb blieben sie dort zurück. Voller Angst um sie begaben sich die Eltern auf die Suche, fanden die Kinder und brachten sie in der Morgenfrühe zum Lagerplatze zurück. Niemand schimpfte erregt auf die Kinder ein, nicht einmal die eigenen Eltern machten ihnen Vorwürfe. In der gleichen Nacht starb die schon lange sieche Frau des greisen THOMAS. Alle Leute erklärten das Verhalten jener Kinder damit, daß sie sagten: „Der *kēipiż* jener Frau hat es den Kindern eingegeben, vor Einbruch der Nacht so weit wegzulaufen. Sie selber trifft keine Schuld." Daher dachte auch niemand daran, die Kinder zu

[210] Darum ist zu verstehen, wie BRIDGES (i): 15 sagt: „To call a person Cushpij was a great insult." In (e): 332 und (k): 237 heißt es: „'Cushpik' ist ein Name, den sie auch Leuten geben, die lächerlich waren oder einen schlimmen Charakter hatten und war dies eine große Schmähung." Ebenso HYADES (q): 255.

[211] In diesem Irrtum war DESPARD (b): 717 befangen: „Fuegians have a dread of a being called 'Cushpere', and are loth to hear his name mentioned. He seems to be a very lean man. When met with, he makes doleful cries ..." Vgl. hierzu die ausführliche Erklärung dieses Gattungsbegriffes weiter oben S. 1094.

bestrafen. Wie selbstverständlich gesteigerte Gemütsbewegungen und aufwallende innere Erregungen als Äußerungen des *kélpiś* und kurzweg als *kélpiś* angesehen und ausgegeben werden, ist ausführlich an jenen Erwachsenen erörtert worden, die sich in der *čiźzaus*-Hütte am Singen beteiligen (S. 922).

Um das Wirken der *yékamuł* richtig zu verstehen, ist diese Feststellung von Bedeutung. Sogar die Kraft, durch die ein *yékamuł*, sei es an Ort und Stelle, sei es in weiter Ferne, wirkt, bezeichnet man als seinen *kélpiś*.

Schließlich wird sogar das Treiben der wilden Naturgewalten gelegentlich als Äußerung übelwollender *kélpiś* gedeutet. Auf dieser Grundlage sind Wendungen entstanden, wie etwa Kricksberg: 322 sie gebraucht: „Die großartige Natur seiner Heimat belebt der Feuerländer mit Dämonen." Hierher gehört auch, was Fitz-Roy (a): 179 teilweise richtig geahnt hat: „The fact of their believing that the evil spirit torments them in this world, if they do wrong, by storms, hail, snow, etc., is one reason why I am inclined to think that they have no thought of a future retribution."[200]

Der Begriff *kélpiś* ist also sehr weit und er hat vieles zum Inhalt, was sich nicht auf eine kurze Formel bringen läßt. Schon Hyades (q): 255 hat dieses Wort hingestellt als „terme intraduisible se rapportant à des êtres fantastiques qui vivent dans des grottes désertes, au milieu des plus épaisses forêts." Indes, in diese zu knappe Begrenzung darf der Begriff *kélpiś* nicht eingeengt werden, die folgenden Darlegungen beweisen es zur Genüge.

1. Die Menschenfresser

Von vornherein erscheint es nicht befremdlich, daß auch die Yamana irgendwie an Menschenfresser glauben. Aus ihrer Furcht und Angst vor den der Westgruppe unmittelbar benachbarten Halakwulup (S. 205) dürfte dieser Glaube entstanden sein, ein besonderer Anlaß hat möglicherweise den Anstoß gegeben. Sicher ist, daß die Yamana fast durchgehends eine näher nicht bestimmbare Gruppe innerhalb der Halakwulup als die *aníuu* bezeichnen, was soviel wie Menschenfresser besagt. Zuweilen dehnt man den Glauben an Menschenfresserei auf alle Halakwulup aus; andere Yamana wieder meinen nur jene Gruppe der Halakwulup, die weiter im Norden, etwa am Canal Smith wohnt, deren Vertreter vermeintlich dann und wann im Canal de Beagle auftauchen. Es werden von dem und jenem sogar die westlichen Yamana, die sogenannten *Inanumǵula*, dieser Gewohnheit zu haben, für verdächtig gehalten.[201] Man erzählt: Diese *aníuu* verfügen über lange Kanus von festem

[200] Damit allein ist widerlegt, was Darwin (f): I, 122 berichtet hat: „Jemer Berron behauptete mit geschickterfügtem Scalpe fest und sicher, daß in seinem Lande kein Teufel sei." Richtiger urteilt Bridges: 51: „Die Vorstellungen von der Sonne als willensbegabtem, mächtigem Wesen, von dem der Mensch sich abhängig fühlt, liegt in dem, was der Missionar Punzano erzählt, als er an einem schwülen Tage gegen einen jungen Feuerländer über die Tageshitze klagte, dieser ingrimmig antwortete: 'Sprich nicht, die Sonne sei heiß, gleich verdirgt sie sich und der Wind weht kalt'."

[201] Bridges (VSA: XI, 259; 1864) hatte schon erfahren: „These natives say there is

Bau, in deren jedem viele Männer unterkommen. Da diese alle rudern, bewegt sich das Kanu mit außerordentlicher Geschwindigkeit. Nur des Nachts brechen die *asúsu* in das Yamana-Gebiet ein. Wen sie dann einfangen, den schleppen sie mit sich fort, um ihn zu verzehren. Damit sie Erfolge haben und nicht abgewehrt werden, machen sie sich das Dunkel der Nacht zunutze; tagsüber bleiben sie in den heimatlichen Grenzen oder halten sich an einem geschützten Orte im Bereiche der Yamana verborgen, bis wieder die Nacht hereinbricht; denn nur unter diesem Schutz führen sie ihre Überfälle durch. Die Yamana insgesamt, nicht nur die westlichen, leben in ständiger Angst vor den *asúsu*, eben weil diese mit größter Eile herankommen und sich wieder entfernen. Sie heißen auch *wélapatuz*, Mörder (vgl. BD: 619), weil sie jeden, der in ihre Hände fällt, umbringen und verspeisen. Eine dritte Bezeichnung, nämlich *Hupánano-yámana*, das Volk in *Hupananíli*, wird aus einer Mythe abgeleitet (S. 1282); man spricht auch *Apananíli* aus (S. 243).

Schon der junge Bridges (a): 297 ist diesem Glauben auf die Spur gekommen: „Cannibalism is unknown, but they have reports that it is practised by some people far to the westward, whom they call *Hupánanóoshi-aila*." Später schrieb er (k): 237 ausführlicher: „Creían en la existencia de ciertos asesinos occidentales, a quienes llamaban *asasyu*, asesiándoles poderes maravillosos y una maldad fabulosa. Estos vagaban de noche, embarcados en canoas rápidas y de sólida construcción, con el objeto de matar a cuantos encontraran. De día se ocultaban con artificio tal que jamás podían ser hallados; pero se referían cuentos de este y aquel que los habían visto de noche logrando escapárseles."[292] BD: 30 deutet *asúsú*, person who go about in the dark of night to kill persons. Dem fügt Hyades (g): 39 noch an: „Wer die *Uelapatu* sieht, ist verloren; öfter hört man ihre Stimme, welche der der Robbe gleicht, aber von den Feuerländern sofort unterschieden wird. Glauben sie dieselbe gehört zu haben, so erfaßt sie eine wahnwitzige Angst, sie verrammeln sorgsam jede Öffnung der Hütte und warten, die Waffen in der Hand, zitternd am Feuer den Morgen ab. Dann aber verlassen sie alsbald den Lagerplatz und flüchten nach einer anderen Insel. Gar oft folgt ihnen das Schreckgespenst auch dorthin und hetzt sie mehrere Nächte lang."

Wie die Angst vor diesen Menschenfressern auf die Yamana wirkt, erklärt Bridges (i): 15 an unmittelbaren Beobachtungen: „The *Asasyu*, or *Apanonaiande*, people of the West, were much feared. During the afternoon (January 1st, 1872) Susanna's wife was sleeping and awoke hearing a strange noise in the next room, she got up, but could see nothing. She was in a great fright and spread a report that an *Asasyu* had come into the house." Auch

a tribe speaking their language, but with a peculiar accent, they call them 'Ishawa', who are cannibals, but they strenuously deny any such execration among themselves." Hyades (h): 1246 und (p): 331 hingegen versichert bestimmt: „Il n'y a pas de tradition d'anthropophagie." Wenn er damit sagen will, daß von den Yamana selber die Menschenfresserei nicht geübt wird, ist er ganz und gar im Recht (S. 252).

[292] Ebenso Bridges (i): 15, Dumont (k): 204, Hyades (f): 500 und (g): 159, u. a. m.

Hyades (f): 588 und (q): 254 wiederholt ausführlich die Ansicht, die ihm drei Yamana-Männer in Bahía Orange am 3. April 1883 enthüllt haben. Demzufolge dringen die Mörder mit großen Booten in das Gebiet der Yamana ein. „Si les hommes s'endorment, les habitants de l'ouest s'introduisent aussitôt dans les huttes, coupent le cou de tous les individus, hommes et enfants (sauf peut-être les femmes), et les mangent ensuite en les faisant cuire sur le feu."

Überdies erzählen sich die Yamana eine eigene Geschichte von den Menschenfressern, *Hamanáylum wátuwa*, die hier folgt: Einige Leute aus der Zentralgruppe lagerten einst in *Hamanáylum*.[243] Sie hatten beobachtet, daß schon viele andere Familien westwärts gefahren waren. Das Gerücht ging nämlich um: „Dort in *Wáiman*[244] liegt ein Wal am Strande." So sagten sich diese Leute hier: „Auch wir werden dorthin fahren, um viel Fleisch und Speck uns dort zu verschaffen. Nur diese Nacht ruhen wir hier noch einmal gut aus!" Wirklich, am nächsten Morgen bestiegen sie ihre Kanus. Sie fuhren den ganzen Tag hindurch und fuhren immer weiter, auch während der Nacht; denn sie wollten möglichst bald zum Wal hinkommen. Es waren zehn Familien und ein *yékamuł*. Weil sie auch während der ganzen Nacht weiterfuhren — und diese Nächte waren sehr dunkel —, konnten sie die Küste nicht genau sehen. Tatsächlich fuhren sie an jenem Wal vorbei! Doch sie ruderten immer weiter und weiter. Sie waren längst nach *Hapananüli*[245] gekommen und liefen hier endlich in einen Hafen ein, sie waren alle sehr müde. Hier stiegen sie aus, um zu sehen und zu fragen, wo denn eigentlich der Wal wäre, den sie schon so lange suchten.

Viele Leute hatten hier ein großes Lager gemacht; diese aber waren Menschenfresser. Sie hatten die Gewohnheit, jeden aufzufressen, der vom Osten hierher kam. Um jeden leicht umbringen zu können, ließen sie immer nur je einen Fremden in je eine ihrer Hütten eintreten und dort übernachten; denn mit einem Fremden konnte jede Familie in ihrer Hütte leicht fertig werden und ihn schnell umbringen.

Als nun diese zehn Familien hier ausgestiegen waren, wurden sie an zehn verschiedene Hütten verteilt, und den *yékamuł* schickte man in eine andere Hütte. Er trat hier ein; eine alte Frau saß auf ihrem Lager, nahe dem Feuer und machte ein Körbchen. Ihr Mann sagte zum *yékamuł*, als dieser eingetreten war: „Setz dich hierher, nahe ans Feuer! Du bist wohl sehr hungrig?" Darauf erwiderte der *yékamuł*: „Ja, ich bin sehr hungrig; denn wir sind sehr lange gefahren und suchten den gestrandeten Wal, ohne ihn zu finden. Wo mag wohl der Wal liegen?" Da nahm jener Mann sein Messer und faßte bei seinem Weibe nach der linken Brust; diese war lang und fett und er schnitt sie ab. Er hing sogleich dieses Stück ans Feuer, um es zu braten. Das sah der

[243] Ein kurzer Strand, etwa 3 km westlich vom heutigen Ushuaia.

[244] Damit bezeichnet man den ganzen Westen des Yamana-Gebietes, im besonderen das nördliche Ufer des Canal de Beagle (S. 205).

[245] Bezeichnung für das angrenzende Gebiet der Halakwulup.

yékamai. Entsetzt sagte er: „Willst du dieses Stück etwa für mich braten?" Der andere Mann erwiderte: „Ja, das ist für dich; denn du bist ja sehr hungrig!" Hierauf sagte der *yékamai* ganz entrüstet: „Ich werde nie Menschenfleisch essen! Was hältst du denn überhaupt von uns? Wir sind gekommen, um jenen Wal zu suchen, von dem man uns sagte, daß er hier im Westen gestrandet sei. Wir essen kein Menschenfleisch!" Dabei verließ er die Hütte und suchte draußen herum, bis er ein Stück Fleisch fand. Damit kam er zur Hütte zurück, legte es ans Feuer und briet es; dann aß er es.

In dieser Hütte war auch ein Korb aufgehängt. Darin saßen zehn kleine Kinder. Als diese des *yékamai* ansichtig wurden, hüpften sie freudig auf in ihrem Korbe und sangen: *yérum hapénana, yérum hapénana*. Sie wollten damit sagen: „Heute möchten wir diesen Mann verspeisen." Doch die beiden Alten erwiderten, ebenfalls sehr freudig: *„hamaiúnna hapénana, hamaiúnna hapénana.*"[546]

Da ahnte der *yékamai*, was das wohl bedeuten sollte; er erkannte die ernste Gefahr, in der er mit seinen Leuten schwebte! Weil er ein großer *yékamai* war, warf er unbemerkt ein Stück Fett ins Feuer. Während es verbrannte, ließ er über alle Leute dieses Lagers hier einen sehr tiefen Schlaf kommen. Sofort schliefen auch alle diese Leute hier ein und schliefen so tief, daß keiner mehr sich regte. Schnell lief der *yékamai* jetzt zu seinen eigenen Leuten und sagte ihnen, sie alle wären in größter Gefahr. Alle griffen sie sofort nach ihren Sachen und stahlen, was sie erreichen konnten vom Gut dieser Menschenfresser hier, luden alles auf ihre Kanus und fuhren schleunigst fort. Sie beeilten sich, wieder nach Osten zu kommen, zu ihrer Heimat.

Als sie schon weit weg waren, fing ein Hund an laut zu bellen. Weil er sehr stark bellte, wachten jene Leute dort wieder auf und merkten gleich, daß ihnen alle Sachen geraubt worden waren. In weiter Ferne erblickten sie soeben noch die davoneilenden Diebe. Schnell machten sie sich fertig, um jene Diebe zu verfolgen. Als diese aber sahen, daß die Menschenfresser ihnen nachgefahren kamen, überfiel sie eine große Angst. Sie versteckten sich in *Asúniwuja*.[547] Doch das merkten die *Hapanonúli*-Leute und warfen jetzt mit der Schleuder einen großen *ipwáli* [Feuerstein]. Dieser schlug ganz nahe dem Versteck jener Flüchtlinge auf; er platzte und gab einen lauten Knall wie Donner. Diesen hört man heute noch in jener Gegend.[548] Daraufhin warfen

[546] Das hier von den Halakwulup verwendete "hapanana" ist mir als ein Wort ohne jeden Sinn bezeichnet worden. Die Kinder wollten jenen Alten zu verstehen geben, daß sie am liebsten heute schon jenen Mann verzehren möchten, während die Alten den Schmaus auf morgen verschieben wollten. Damit aber jener fremde Mann nicht erkennen könnte, was man mit ihm vorhatte, so betonten jene eben allein die Adverbien "heute" und "morgen", in Verbindung mit einem durchaus inhaltslosen Worte. Den Alten war dem Kindern reichte das aus und sie verstanden sich gegenseitig. Ob es mit "hapána" im BO-Sinn zusammenhängt, kann ich nicht entscheiden. — Das gleiche nichtssagende Wort war auch der Anlaß dazu, sie selber als die "Hapanana-Yamana" und ihr Gebiet als "Hapanonúli" zu kennzeichnen (S. 957).

[547] Diese kleine Bucht liegt westlich von der Bahía La Romanche, im Nordwest-Arm

jetzt die Flüchtlinge einen großen Teil der gestohlenen Sachen aus ihren Kanus hinaus, um auf der Flucht leichter und schneller zu sein. Sie ruderten wieder weiter, immer nach Osten, vorbei an *Lapatéje* und an *Hamandjalum*, bis sie wieder nach *Ulsunéje* kamen, wo sie ihr früheres Lager hatten. Aber die *Hapanamíli*-Leute warfen ihnen immer noch große Steine nach.

So sieht man auch heute noch in dieser ganzen Gegend, besonders aber in *Ankiwuje* und in *Lapatéje* und in *Hamandjalum* sehr große Steine liegen; diese alle hatten die *Hapanamíli*-Leute den Dörben mit der Schleuder nachgeworfen. Auch alle Gegenstände, welche diese gestohlen hatten, wurden zu Steinen und liegen auch heute noch dort herum, wo jene Flüchtlinge sie aus ihren Kanus hinausgeworfen hatten.

Eine Variante dieser Erzählung wird regelmäßig den *ainájja* beim Abschluß der Jugendweihe vorgetragen. Sie dient dort dem besonderen Zweck, die geschichtliche Herleitung der *Iájpuso*-Einrichtung aus dem Westen und ihre Übertragung in das Kerngebiet der Yamana zu begründen (S. 956).

Die gesamte Darstellung an sich läßt deutlich genug erkennen, daß die gefürchteten Menschenfresser nur Gebilde der Angst der Yamana-Völker vor ihren westlichen Nachbarn sind. Zu dieser Beurteilung war sogar Bridges (i): 15 vorgedrungen: „This *Apanamíli* people are reputed to be cannibals, but I do not believe the report, which is as like others we have proved to be false." So viel ist allerdings sicher, daß die Halakwulup im Besitze der eigentlichen Planknboote sind und zwar seit mehreren Jahrzehnten.[*] Daß diese eine höhere Zahl von Ruderern tragen, als die gebräuchlichen Rindenkanus, leuchtet ein. Bridges (i): 16 gibt unumwunden zu, endlich am 16. Februar 1883 das erste Fahrzeug dieser Art nahe bei der Isla Stuart gesehen zu haben, das auch von Halakwulup geführt wurde und allgemein *Hpátij*-dann heißt (Vgl. im BD: 280 das *Hpátiu*, a pole, log, trunk of a tree). An dieser seiner persönlichen Beobachtung knüpft er die Erwägung: „It is very desirable for the sake of the Eastern natives to clear up the matter about these *hapatej-anan* wooden canoes which have been for ages a source of constant fear to the Eastern. These *hapatej-anan* were supposed to be manned by murderers who moved about in them by night in order to kill any natives they might meet. They drew up their canoes by day and secreted themselves and never lit a fire for fear of detection." Tatsache ist jedenfalls, daß kein einziger Yamana jene Mörder bei Tage gesehen hat und daß niemals die Besatzung einer ihrer Kanus unsere Yamana angegriffen und überwältigt hat. Jene *Hápatej* sind also weiter nichts als Phantasiegebilde.

[*] Damit meint man die demonstrativen Gestaltungen oder Schläge, die ein Zusammenstoß von Eisbergen oder ein Abbrechen großer Eisschollen von den Gletschern verursacht.

[*] Außer dem eigentlichen Planknboote verfertigen und benützen die Halakwulup viel häufiger den Einbaum; auf diese beiden Stücke in ihrem Besitz wurde schon in Gusinde (a): 147 hingewiesen. Den Einbaum haben unsere Yamana erstmalig bei den Halakwulup kennengelernt und von ihnen übernommen (S. 457). Zum Planknboote sind die Yamana deshalb nicht übergegangen, weil es in ihrem Gebiete an geeigneten Bäumen fehlt.

2. Die Wassergeister

Viel häufiger und lebhafter, als jene Menschenfresser es tun, beunruhigen bestimmte Wassergeister die Aufmerksamkeit aller Leute. Man nennt sie *Lakáma*. Zwar halten sie sich mit Vorliebe an gewissen und ihnen günstigen Stellen auf, sie durchqueren aber auch jeden anderen beliebigen Wasserarm. Schon im *Aiáqhaiipa* wurden ihnen See-Ungeheuer als gefährlich geschildert wurden; es bedroht jeden Kanu, holt die Insassen heraus und zieht sie in die Tiefe. Jeder *Lakáma* hat die Gewohnheit, sich ganz flach an der Wasseroberfläche breit zu machen, daß sein Rücken ein wenig herausragt, und dort zu warten, bis ein Kanu sich nähert. Von weitem ist der *Lakáma* nur schwer zu erkennen. Die Leute sagen häufig, nach seiner äußeren Gestalt stimme er mit einem Wal überein, andere vergleichen ihn mit dem dort nicht seltenen Kalmar *kóko* (Loligo subulata Inw. Ortopus), und wieder andere mit einem Rochen. Auch sei er groß und sehr stark, nach Sequeira: 80 „a great monster like a huge worm". Ist aber ein Kanu abhanden in dessen Reichweite gekommen, gelingt es ihm nur manchmal, den Unheil zu entfliehen, dann nämlich, wenn der *Lakáma* schläft oder guter Laune ist.

Nicht genug damit, daß er persönlich ein Kanu und dessen Insassen angreift, liegt es überdies in seiner Macht, plötzlich starke Wellenbewegungen und bedrohliches Unwetter zu veranlassen, wenn er ein Fahrzeug gefährden will. Deshalb meiden die Yamana jene Bereiche, in denen vermutlich ein *Lakáma* sich aufhält. Fenza erzählte mir: „Als ich noch Mädchen war, planten meine Familie, in Wulaia aufzubrechen und nach Norden zu ziehen. Am gleichen Morgen, da wir abfahren wollten, tötete jener yékamal, der später mein Schwiegervater wurde, und sagte uns angsterfüllt: *Seid vorsichtig, sonst wird euch Unheil widerfahren!*" Im Traume hatte er nämlich gesehen, wie beim Ausgange von *Yaiuládipa* ein mächtiger *Lákama* plötzlich unter Boot auftauchte und mit größter Geschwindigkeit auf den Grund sog; hier stieß er derart heftig auf, daß es sofort wieder an die Oberfläche zurückgeschleudert wurde. Dieses Hinunter und Herauf vollzog sich blitzartig, weshalb das Wasser zu beiden Seiten stand, als würde es einer Mauer bilden, und nicht einmal ein Tropfen drang in das Kanu. Als der yékamal uns das mitgeteilt hatte, änderten wir in anderer Richtung weiter." Seitdem vermeidet es Fenza, den *Lakáma* nur zu erwähnen, und zwar aus höchster Angst vor ihm.

Ein persönliches Erlebnis erzählte Nella Lawrence: „Ich war noch Mädchen, da kam in mein Heimatgebiet [im Westen] einer Frau aus dem Osten. Mit ihr bin ich einmal im Kanu ausgefahren. Plötzlich entdeckte diese Frau einen großen *Lakáma*, der platt auf dem Meeresgrunde lag. Die Leute im Osten essen das Fleisch des *Lakáma*, wir im Westen töten das nie. Da griff die Frau sofort zu ihrer Krabbengabel *ómu* (Abb. 62, S. 543) und sagte: *Den werde ich aufspießen, das gibt einen herrlichen Braten!*" Ich erschrak heftig, als ich das Tier erblickte. Die Frau aber stieß ihm *ihre ómu* in den Kopf. Der *Lakáma* gebärdete sich außerordentlich wild und schwamm mit der Krabbengabel davon. Die Frau hielt sich daran einer Zeitlang fest und das ganze

Boot wurde nachgesucht. Aber schließlich mußte die Frau ihre drei Indianer und den *Lukóma* ertrinken." Bamzee (a): 211 hat ebenfalls das Wirken dieses Geistes erwähnt: „They believe in a sea monster they call *Lucooma*, who causes tides and whirlpools, and instances are known, when canoes having been in danger from a whirlpool, or tide rip of children and dogs being thrown overboard to appease the wrath of *Lucooma*." Die hier ausgesprochene Behauptung, es würde dem *Lukóma* sogar ein Kind geopfert, damit er sich beruhige, haben sowohl ein gewisser Fuegos aus Punta Arenas, der ein einziges Mal in seinem Leben auf einer zweitägigen Fahrt das Yamana-Gebiet durchquert hat, als auch Furlong (vgl. Cooper: 153) wiederholt. Mir persönlich konnte kein einziger Yamana einen bestimmten Vorfall dieser Art nennen; alle aber haben es einstimmig und entschieden verneint, daß jemals ein Kind oder ein Hund für den *Lukóma* preisgegeben worden wäre. Fred Lawrence beurteilte es als glatte Unmöglichkeit, daß die Yamana sich zu einer derartigen Tat entschlossen hätten. Sie lassen wohl, um das Boot zu erleichtern, bei erster Gefahr besonders schwere Stücke Holz oder einen großen Seelöwen ins Wasser fallen, um Rücksichten der Sicherheit.[204] Vielleicht hat dabei jemand auch einmal an den *Lukóma* gedacht; indes, das ist weder allgemeine Regel, noch ein Zeichen der Ehrfurcht vor *Lukóma* oder dem Kultus. Die Tatsache allein, daß die Yamana nicht einmal in ihren Angaben über Gestalt und Größe des *Lukóma* übereinstimmen, weist deutlich darauf hin, daß diese nur ein Erzeugnis der Einbildungskraft sind; letztere arbeitet bei dem einen Menschen stärker als bei dem anderen. Überdies, so heißt es, unterhält *jéka* einmal günstige Beziehungen zu den *Lukóma* und wenn er seinen Gesang anstimmt, lassen sie ihn unbehelligt weiterziehen.

Die Yamana erzählen folgende *Lukóma*-Sagen: In alter Zeit fuhren Leute nach *Kalawélawaia*. Dort gibt es viele *Lukóma*, aber diese Leute wußten es nicht. Bald kamen auch die *Lukóma* heran und sämtliche Leute verloren ihre Kanus; eben noch konnten sie ihr Leben retten nach einem Strande, wo gar kein Holz war. Lange blieben sie ohne Feuer und hatten schließlich nichts mehr zu essen. Aber auf der anderen Seite war ein schöner Platz mit viel Holz. Da sah ein Mann an einem Tage etwas auf der Oberfläche des Wassers liegen, es war ganz breit und flach; bald kamen noch mehr mächtiger Stücke hinzu. Er schaute genau hin und sah, daß es nur *Lukóma* waren, die dort einer neben dem anderen lagen. Es wurden so viele, daß sie das eine Ufer mit dem anderen verbanden. Ganz ruhig lagen sie da. Der eine Mann sagte: „Wenn wir schnell über diese alle hinweglaufen, so kommen wir zum anderen Ufer!" Er machte das, rannte schnell und erreichte den jenseitigen Strand. Sogleich versuchten es auch die beiden anderen Männer und die Frauen und Kinder. Aber da diese gar zu langsam gingen, so senkten sich

[204] Bonnemaison (a): 172 behauptet, die Yamana glaubten an Wirbelwinde „produzidos por espíritus malos, y para apaciguarlos echan al agua algunos bueyes y perdones de madera". Diese Behauptung dürfte auf ungenauer Beobachtung beruhen; wir gegenüber haben die Indianer einen derartigen Brauch als ihren Grund erklärt.

alle *Lakûma*, verschwanden im Wasser und nahmen alle diese Leute mit.[250] Die *Lakûma* schaden eben ernstlich einem jeden, der in ihre Reichweite gerät.

Allein jener eine Mann hatte sich gerettet, der ein großer *yékamal* war. Dieser ging dann zu andern Leuten, rief sie herbei und erzählte ihnen alles. Er sagte: „Wir müssen jetzt viele *yékal* machen und diese *Lakûma* dort unten töten!" Sofort begannen die Männer mit dieser Arbeit. Dann gingen sie gegen die *Lakûma* vor und töteten viele davon. Diese lagen unten auf dem Grunde. Wenn man heute an diese Stelle kommt, sieht man auf dem Grunde viele ganz flache Steine. Das sind jene zahlreichen *Lakûma*, die hier langsam, flach sich haltend, damals mit den Leuten untergegangen sind und jetzt noch dort an jener Stelle im Wasser liegen.

Außerdem wird noch die folgende Geschichte vom ungehorsamen Mädchen, *târ-ikîpa sóttuma* wiederholt, die ich ebenfalls dem alten WHATTS[251] verdanke: Ein Mädchen, das *târ-i* ist, darf Beeren nicht essen. Nun war einmal eine *târ-ikîpa*, die sehr starke Lust empfand, Beeren zu kosten. Das Mädchen lief heimlich fort, setzte sich im Walde nieder und aß reichlich *omdim*. Eigentlich hat das Mädchen die Beeren nicht gegessen und verschluckt, es brachte nur die Beeren an seine Zähne, preßte den Saft aus und warf die festen Teile beiseite.[252] Keiner von ihrer Familie wußte darum.

Als die Familie dieser *târ-ikîpa* bald danach über einen breiten Wasserarm fuhr, tauchte ein großer *Lakûma* auf und bedrohte alle Personen. Sofort warfen sie in ihrer Angst viele Muscheln, Vögel und Fleischstücke ins Wasser, doch der *Lakûma* gab das Kanu nicht frei. Das Mädchen hielt sich am Boden des Kanus versteckt und schaute gar nicht auf. Jetzt ergriffen die Leute ihren Hund und warfen ihn hinaus; doch auch damit gab sich der *Lakûma* nicht zufrieden. In ihrer Verzweiflung faßten nun die Leute ein kleines Mädchen und schleuderten es ins Wasser: sehr schnell sank das Mädchen unter. Trotzdem gab der *Lakûma* das Kanu noch immer nicht frei. Da griffen die Leute endlich nach jenem großen Mädchen, der *târ-ikîpa*, und stießen es über Bord. *Lakûma* faßte es begierig und sank damit blitzschnell hinunter in die Tiefe. Bald stiegen die Eingeweide [von jenem Mädchen] auf und schwammen an der Oberfläche. Dadurch wurden die Leute sehr traurig gestimmt. Nach einiger Zeit erschien auch jener *Lakûma* selbst wieder an der Oberfläche, legte sich ganz platt hin und dehnte sich sehr in die Breite. Da entdeckten die Leute auf seinem Rücken sehr viele Muscheln von solch ungewöhnlicher Größe sitzen, wie sie ihnen bislang noch nie zu Gesicht gekommen waren.[253] Die Männer griffen darnach und

[250] Das gleiche merkwürdige Motiv wiederholt sich auch noch in einem anderen Zusammenhange (S. 1292).

[251] Eine kürzere Fassung desselben habe ich früher von einigen Frauen erfahren und auf S. 733 wiedergegeben.

[252] Auf diese Weise gleubte das Mädchen den Wortlaut des an sich eindeutigen und bestimmten Verbotes umgehen zu können.

[253] Bekanntlich sitzen auf dem Rücken eines alten Wales zahlreiche Parasiten, vor allem Balanus- und Coronula-Arten. Auf sie spielt dieser Satz an.

halten einige herunter. Deren Schalen waren ganz besonders scharf. In ihrer Wut zerschnitten die Männer damit eiligst den ganzen *Lakûma*, rissen ihm die Eingeweide heraus und zerstückelten ihn vollständig. Der *Lakûma* war sofort tot und sank auf den Meeresgrund hinab. Im gleichen Augenblick bewegte sich das Kanu von der Stelle, ohne daß jemand die Ruder angewendet hätte, und blitzschnell erreichte es das Ufer. Die Leute atmeten erleichtert auf. Jenes Mädchen aber blieb für sie verloren; es hatte eben als *itá-ikipa* von den Beeren gekostet.

Diese Erzählung, die ein offensichtlich erzieherisches Ziel verfolgt, wird ausdrücklich als Mythe *wátuwa*, nicht als wirkliches Erlebnis einer bekannten Familie ausgegeben. Ich vermute, Bridges (a): 211 hat davon einiges erfahren und den echten Sagenstoff als eine tatsächliche Begebenheit aufgefaßt. Jedenfalls steht so viel fest, daß die *Lakûma* als Gebilde der Phantasie und Furchtsamkeit unserer reichlich abergläubischen Feuerländer zu bewerten sind.

3. Die Waldriesen

Da die benachbarten Selk'nam die Gestalt des Riesen und Menschenfressers *Cáskels* besitzen (Bd. I, 593), befremdet es nicht, daß unsere Yamana von vielen riesenartigen Geistern erzählen, die den Kap Hoorn-Archipel unsicher machen. Vergleicht man diesen Sagenstoff hier und dort, so wird offensichtlich, daß der des Selk'nam-Stammes reichhaltiger und gut gegliedert ist, daß aber auch erhebliche Unterschiede bestehen. Immerhin empfiehlt sich auch ein Vergleich mit den *Yóši*.

Die Riesen heißen *Hánnuł*. Deren gibt es, wie die Leute sagen, eine unsehnliche Zahl, die sich über das ganze Land verteilt. Jeder hält sich ausschließlich im Walde auf und hier verbirgt er sich hinter dicken Stämmen, so oft ein Mensch sich nähert. Auch beherrscht ein jeder ein gewisses Gebiet, wo er ganz für sich lebt; er durchstreift es nach allen Richtungen regelmäßig allein und äußerst selten nur treffen mehrere *Hánnuł* irgendwo zusammen. Jeder ist zumindest noch einmal so hoch als ein erwachsener Yamana. Er geht splitternackt; denn sein Körperhaar ist fast so dicht und wollig, wie die Wolle des Guanaco.

Durchwandert ein einzelner Yamana den einsamen Wald oder streckt er sich darin zum Schlafe aus, dann nähert sich ihm der *Hánnuł*. Die Leute vermeiden es deshalb aus Furcht vor ihm, tief in das Innere des Waldes einzudringen und halten sich gewöhnlich am Waldesrande auf. Hier aber vernehmen sie das Krachen der Bäume und Brechen der Zweige, die dort zusammenknicken, wo er seinen Fuß hinsetzt; auch hören sie oft ein sturmartiges Windesbrausen, durch das er seine Annäherung ankündigt. Auf diese Weise gewarnt, bringt sich jeder, der dazu noch eine Möglichkeit sieht, schleunigst in Sicherheit; am besten besteigt er sein Kanu und fährt auf einen offenen Kanal hinaus, wohin ihm der *Hánnuł* niemals folgen könnte. Mit Vorliebe überfällt dieser Riese jene Männer und Frauen, die sich dem Schlafe

überlassen haben; er beraubt und erschlägt sie. Auch nähert er sich des Nachts den Hütten, die am Waldesrande aufgerichtet worden sind, zumal dann, wenn sie nur wenige Leute beherbergen; diese bringt er um. Erst recht sieht er es auf träge Weiber ab, die in den Wald gekommen sind, um Holz und Beeren zu sammeln, statt dessen aber sich zum Schlafe niedergelegt haben. Sachte und leise schleicht er sich an sie heran, dann läßt er einen tiefen Schlaf über sie kommen. Jetzt wohnt er ihnen bei und befriedigt seine Lust. Junge Frauen schleift er am liebsten zu seiner Behausung, wo sie ihm wehrlos ausgeliefert sind. Jeder *Hánnuš* gilt als ein geiler Geselle. Männern versetzt er gern einen schweren Schlag mit seiner mächtigen Keule und läßt sie im Walde liegen. Am liebsten jagt er halberwachsenen Kindern, erst recht Mädchen nach; alle, die er einfängt, schleppt er mit sich in den Wald hinein, wo er selbst wohnt. Seine Behausung ist fast immer eine große Höhle tief drinnen im Walde, in der sich gelegentlich auch noch der und jener *Hánnuš* einrichtet. Hier hält er alle jene Kinder zurück, die er eingefangen hat; er bemalt ihren ganzen Körper gleichmäßig rot und spielt oft mit ihnen. Diese Kinder sind, genau so wie er selbst, splitternackt; sie müssen mit ihm ihr ganzes Leben verbringen. Sehr zahlreich ist dieses *Hannuš*-Volk. Ausnahmsweise nur läßt *Hánnuš* das eine oder andere Kind, das ihm nicht gefällt, wieder entweichen, und zwar schon in den ersten Tagen, nachdem er es eingefangen hat, daß es zu seinen Eltern zurückkehren kann. Sämtliche *Hánnuš* sind männlichen Geschlechtes und immer vollreif.

Der eine und andere meiner Gewährsleute vertrat die Meinung, die *Hánnuš* hätten früher unter den gewöhnlichen Menschen gelebt und sich erst später in den Wald zurückgezogen. Seitdem sind sie den Menschen feindlich gesinnt, in erhöhtem Maße den Männern. Aus bloßer Lust am Morden schlägt der *Hánnuš* jeden Mann nieder, den er erreicht. Selbstverständlich bleiben die Yamana jenen Plätzen fern, auf denen ein *Hánnuš* sich häufiger bemerkbar macht, unter keinen Umständen übernachten sie drinnen im Walde.

Bridges (a): 211 hat schon einige Hinweise auf die *Hánnuš* gebracht: „These Indians believe in ghosts, in wild men of the woods, called *Kanoosh* ... Some of them pretend to have seen and killed *hanoosh*, but they never prove their bravery by showing any part of the body, which is said to be very dreadful. They have many *hanoosh* tales. Ocoko supposes the *hanooshes* to be men who either in madness, or after a murder, have run away into the woods, and so became wild." Später hat er (i): 15 und (k): 237 das ein wenig ergänzt; auf ihn stützen sich Cojazzi: 106, Dabbene (b): 203 und Hyades (q): 256.[221]

Noch früher hatte Fitz-Roy (a): 180 von diesen Waldriesen erfahren und eine auf sie passende Geschichte berichtet, ohne ihren richtigen Namen anzu-

[221] Bridges (e): 322 schreibt anderswo reichlich unbestimmt: Die Yamana „glaubten an das Vorhandensein von Wahnsinnigen in den Wäldern, welchen sie übersirdische Kräfte und die größte Feindschaft gegen das menschliche Geschlecht zuschrieben. Vor diesen hegten sie eine sehr große Furcht und sie wagten sie sich allein auf große Entfernungen in die Wälder". Das paßt am ehesten auf die Waldriesen.

geben: „A great black man is supposed to be always wandering about the woods and mountains, who is certain of knowing every word and every action; who cannot be escaped, and who influences the weather according to men's conduct. York related a curious story of his own brother who had committed a murder. 'In woods of my country, said he, some men go about alone; very wild men — have no belly (meaning probably that they were very thin), live by stealing from other men.' He then went on to say, that his brother had been getting birds out of a cliff, and, on coming down, hid them among some long rushes, and went away. Soon afterwards he returned, and, seeing feathers blown away by the wind from the spot, suspected what was going on; so taking a large stone in his hand, he crept stealthily towards the place, and there saw one of these wild men plucking a bird which he had got out of the cliff. Without saying a word, he dashed the stone at the wild man's head, and killed him on the spot. Afterwards York's brother was very sorry for what he had done, particularly when it began to blow very hard. York said, in telling the story, 'rain come down — snow come down — hail come down — wind blow very much. Very bad to kill man. Big man in woods no like it, he very angry'. At the word 'blow', York imitated the sound of a strong wind; and he told the whole story in a very low tone of voice, and with a mysterious manner; considering it an extremely serious affair."[253]

Wie aus dieser Geschichte zu entnehmen ist, erzählt dann und wann ein Yamana von seinem persönlichen Zusammentreffen mit *Hánnuï*, von seinem Ringen und Kämpfen mit ihm.[254] Nelly Lawrence hat mir am 10. April 1923 folgendes wiederholt: „Mein Onkel weilte einst auf einer Insel und schaute nach Bäumen, in denen Kormorane saßen; er wollte einige fangen. Die einzelnen Stellen merkte er sich gut. Am Abend ging er dorthin zurück und da gewahrte er auf einem Baume einen ungewöhnlich dicken Ballen. Sofort warf er mit seiner Schleuder darnach und der Ballen fiel mit lautem Aufschlag zu Boden. Geängstigt eilte er zu seiner Hütte, es war dunkle Nacht. In der Helle des nächsten Morgens suchte er gemeinsam mit seinem Bruder [Vater der Nelly] jene Stelle auf. Ganz nahe dabei befand sich unauffällig eine tiefe Höhle. Hier lag der entstellte Körper eines *Hánnuï*. Heute noch liegen dort die großen schweren Knochen des *Hánnuï*, die ich mit eigenen Augen gesehen habe."

Noch eine andere Begebenheit hat mir Nelly etwas später mitgeteilt: „Vor vielen Jahren hat mein Vater im Walde nach Rinde für ein neues Kanu gesucht. Ermüdet setzte er sich auf einen Baumstamm und schlief ein. Leise schlich sich ein *Hánnuï* heran und versetzte ihm mit seiner Keule einen schweren Schlag auf den Kopf. Mein Vater sank um und blieb regungs-

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[253] Einiges hiervon hat Darwin (d): 247 wörtlich wiederholt.

[254] Bascoz (h): 237 hat die gleiche Beobachtung gemacht: „Pasaban de boca en boca historietas de las hazañas de otros Hannuhes, y se refería que fulano o sutano se había encontrado con uno de estos seres, que le había batido, vapeado y muerto, y otros cuentos por el estilo."

los liegen. Der *Hánnuš* befühlte ihn nun auf allen Seiten und glaubte, er wäre tot. Er legte meinen Vater auf einen Rasenplatz im Walde und deckte ihn mit Reisig zu. Hier ließ er meinen Vater liegen und eilte davon. Mein Vater indes, obgleich schwer verwundet, beobachtete genau, was der *Hánnuš* mit ihm trieb und stellte sich tot. Nach zwei Tagen erst erhob er sich vorsichtig und schleppte sich unbeobachtet zu seiner Hütte zurück. Am Strande hatten seine Frau und wir Kinder lange in banger Sorge auf ihn gewartet. Wir hatten geglaubt, er wäre verunglückt; denn drei Tage war er ausgeblieben. Nun erzählte er uns allen den Vorfall. Erst nach langer Zeit hat er sich von jenem Keulenschlage erholt." Der alte WHAITS erzählte mir in Gegenwart einiger Familien: „Ich kenne einen Knaben aus meiner Verwandtschaft, der sehr waghalsig und unerschrocken war. Einst kam er im Kanu mit seiner Familie zu jener Stelle, an der sich einige *Hánnuš* aufhielten. Der Knabe wußte nichts davon. Deshalb lief er frei und furchtlos dort herum. Die Mutter warnte ihn: ‚Sei vorsichtig und entferne dich nicht zu weit von uns in den Wald hinein!' Doch der Knabe achtete nicht auf diese Mahnung, sondern lief immer weiter weg und spielte ahnungslos mit seiner kleinen Harpune. In der Dämmerung überraschte ein *Hánnuš* diesen Knaben und schleppte ihn mit sich fort."

Sogar zwei eigentliche Mythen sind *Hánnuš* gewidmet. Die erste lautet: Einst hatte sich ein *Hánnuš* in die *Maxutuwêr'elakīpa* verliebt. Sie war ein außergewöhnlich schönes Weib, überdies schlau und listig. Sie selber wollte vom *Hánnuš* gar nichts wissen und wehrte ihn jedesmal ab, so oft er sich ihr näherte und sie liebkosen wollte. Erst fühlte er sich enttäuscht. Später aber verdroß es ihn arg, so oft zur Hütte der *Maxutuwêr'elakīpa* ganz vergeblich gekommen zu sein. Schließlich drohte er ihr damit, sie umzubringen, falls sie sich ihm nicht hingäbe.

Diese Frau lebte auf einer Insel. Es war eben Winter. Als der *Hánnuš* ihr in Aussicht stellte, er würde bald mit vielen anderen *Hánnuš* wiederkommen und ihr den Garaus machen, da dachte sie ernstlich an Abwehr. Eilig richtete sie eine feste Hütte auf und deckte diese mit starken Rindenstücken. Den Eingang hielt sie besonders eng und niedrig. Gegenüber diesem Eingang beließ sie ein kleines Schlupfloch; sie stellte Reisig davor und niemandem wäre es aufgefallen. Sie verstand es, schöne und feste Krabbengabeln *sirsu* (Abb. 62) herzustellen; davon hatte sie regelmäßig auf Vorrat.

Eines Abends fand sich nun wieder der *Hánnuš* bei dieser Frau ein und brachte noch einige Gesellen mit. Sie aber hatte sich gut vorbereitet. Als sie sah, daß der *Hánnuš* an ihre mit großen Rindenstücken gedeckte Hütte herantrat, kroch sie schnell durch die enge rückwärtige Öffnung hinaus ins Freie und nachdem der *Hánnuš* eingetreten war, fand er sie nicht. Er wandte sich wieder dem Eingange zu und schaute hinaus. Während er sich bückte und sich durchzwängen wollte, erhob sich die Frau in ihrem Versteck ein wenig und stieß ihm kräftig eine Krabbengabel ins Gesäß. Da schrie der *Hánnuš* vor Schmerz laut auf und zwängte sich jetzt eiligst durch den

engen Eingang hinaus. Sofort drängte sich ein anderer *Hánnuš* in die Hütte hinein; er wollte sehen, was vorgefallen wäre. Aber auch er fand die *Maxutuwêr'elakīpa* nicht. Als er nun ebenfalls sich bückte, um hinauszukriechen, jagte die Frau auch ihm mit kräftigem Stoß eine *slrsa* ins Gesäß. Er mußte laut aufschreien und augenblicklich preßte er sich durch den schmalen Eingang hinaus; er zog die *slrsa* mit, die ihm im Hintern steckte. Darüber verwunderten sich die übrigen *Hánnuš*. Noch ein dritter wagte sich in die Hütte hinein, suchte hier nach jener Frau umher und konnte sie ebensowenig entdecken. Er stellte sich an den Eingang und rief von drinnen den andern *Hánnuš* zu: „Ich finde das Weib hier nicht!" Während er sich bückte, um hinauszurutschen, stieß die *Maxutuwêr'elakīpa* aus ihrem Versteck auch ihm eine Krabbengabel in das Gesäß. Vor Schmerz konnte er sich kaum rühren; denn die *slrsa* war sehr tief eingedrungen. Er zwängte sich hinaus und die *slrsa* in seinem Hintern schleifte er so lange nach, bis ein anderer *Hánnuš* ihn davon befreite. Er schrie entsetzlich. Daraufhin wurde den übrigen *Hánnuš* unheimlich zu Mute. Sie überlegten und entschlossen sich: „Am besten wird es sein, wir alle machen uns schleunigst davon!" Wirklich, sie standen auf und eilten in das Waldesinnere zurück.

Die schlaue *Maxutuwêr'elakīpa* dort drüben auf der Insel hatte längst ihre sämtlichen Sachen an eine andere Stelle des Strandes geschleppt. Als die *Hánnuš* sich weit genug entfernt hatten, kroch sie aus ihrem Versteck hervor und eilte an den Strand hinunter. Schwerer Winter herrschte und der Kanal war zugefroren. Sie trat auf die dicke Eisdecke, die nicht durchbrach. Während sie voranschritt, schlug sie hinter sich kleinere Eisschollen ab. Kaum hatte sie die Mitte des Kanals erreicht, waren auch die *Hánnuš* oben auf dem nahen Berge angelangt. Von dort aus erblickten sie die *Maxutuwêr'elakīpa*. Sie gerieten in Wut und eilten den Berg hinunter zum Strande hin; sie wollten jenes erbärmliche Weib, das sie alle überlistet hatte, umbringen. Die *Maxutuwêr'elakīpa* aber rief spöttisch den *Hánnuš* zu: „Kommt nur nach, ich werde hier indessen auf euch warten!" Da rannten die ersten von ihnen auf das Eis. Sie hatten nämlich geglaubt, es bilde noch das zusammenhängende große Stück einer festen, unbeweglichen Eisdecke, über die jene Frau hinweggeschritten war. Weil diese aber die geschlossene Eisdecke zu kleinen Eisschollen zerstückelt hatte, sanken jene ersten *Hánnuš* sofort unter; denn die kleinen Eisschollen trugen diese großen, schweren Wesen nicht. Als jene anderen *Hánnuš* am Ufer sahen, wie die ersten ertranken, blieben sie zurück; sie schickten der *Maxutuwêr'elakīpa* noch viele Drohungen nach und kehrten um.

Das eigentliche Ziel dieser Mythe ist es, die ganze *Hánnuš*-Gesellschaft als tölpelhaft und blöd zu kennzeichnen. Eben deshalb können sie mühelos von einem Yamana überlistet und zum Narren gehalten werden. Überdies sind die *Hánnuš* minderwertige Wesen, was die folgende Mythe zum Ausdruck bringt. Sie lautet:

Einst lebte ein blinder Mann mit seiner Frau. Jedes von beiden schlief

auf eigenem Nachtlager, durch das Feuer vom andern getrennt. Eines Nachts schlich sich ein *Hánnuš* in diese Hütte hinein, er näherte sich jener Frau und erzwang den Beischlaf. Der alte Mann spürte leise Geräusche, als der *Hánnuš* sich entfernte, und fragte seine Frau: „Was rasselt denn da so merkwürdig?" Sie antwortete: „Hier rührt sich nichts; rege dich doch nicht unnötig auf!" Nach einiger Zeit aber erkannte der Alte, daß seine Frau schwanger war. Wirklich gebar sie bald einen Sohn. Der blinde Mann liebte diesen Sohn gar nicht; er wußte ja, daß er von ihm nicht herstammte. Und zwar war dieser Sohn ein ungewöhnliches Wesen. Schon nach wenigen Tagen war er um vieles größer, er war imstande zu laufen und zu klettern, er arbeitete sofort fleißig für die Eltern. Besonders dem blinden Manne half er viel, denn er sah in ihm seinen leiblichen Vater.

Wenn dieser Sohn durch den Wald ging, stieß er da und dort gelegentlich auf sonderbare Zeichen an den Bäumen. Er fragte sich: „Woher wohl mögen diese Zeichen stammen? Mein blinder Vater hat sie sicherlich nicht angebracht." Als er eines Tages wieder einmal diese Worte aussprach, schaute ein *Hánnuš* hinter dem Baume hervor und sagte freundlich: „Ich selber bin es, der diese Zeichen angebracht hat!" Der Kleine verstummte, denn er fürchtete sich vor dem *Hánnuš*. Dieser fuhr fort: „Mein eigener Sohn also erschrickt vor mir?" Darüber verwunderte sich der Kleine und lief zur Hütte zurück. Ihn hatten die Worte des *Hánnuš* verletzt, deshalb fragte er seine Mutter: „Es kann doch nicht sein, daß ich zwei Väter habe?" Seine Frage vernahm auch der blinde Vater; voller Ärger erklärte er jetzt dem Kleinen, daß dessen Mutter eines Nachts mit einem *Hánnuš* geschlafen hatte. Die Mutter aber wies das zurück und versicherte: „Das ist nicht so. Nur im Traume ist einmal ein *Hánnuš* an mein Schlaflager gekommen!" Trotzdem arbeitete der Kleine für den blinden alten Mann fleißig weiter; doch jenen *Hánnuš*, seinen richtigen Vater, liebte er nicht.

Eines Tages war der Kleine wieder im Walde beschäftigt. Sein Vater, der *Hánnuš*, näherte sich, nahm ihn in seine Arme und trug ihn an jenen Ort, wo seine große *Hánnuš*-Familie weilte. Das war eine weite Höhle. Hier waren viele *Hánnuš* beisammen, aber sämtlich sehr merkwürdige Wesen: Einige besaßen vier Augen, andere nur ein einziges, einigen fehlte der Kopf, anderen stand das Gesicht auf der Brust, diese hatten nur ein einziges Bein, jene nur einen Arm und andere waren anders verunstaltet. Diese nun stürmten ausnahmslos heran und begafften neugierig den Fremdling. Nach einiger Zeit geleitete der alte *Hánnuš* diesen seinen eigenen Sohn wieder zu jener Stelle im Walde zurück, von der er ihn weggenommen hatte. Dem Kleinen aber war sehr übel zu Mute. Nachher erzählte er den Yamana sehr genau alles, was er dort bei dem *Hánnuš*-Volke erlebt hatte. Auch weiterhin arbeitete er fleißig für jenen blinden alten Mann.

Allein schon diese beiden Mythen sprechen es deutlich genug aus, daß die *Hánnuš*-Geister nicht im entferntesten der Gegenstand kultischer Verehrung oder religiöser Huldigung sind.[237] Die Yamana erzählen, vor einem

Menschenalter seien hier in ihren Wäldern die *Hánnuš* zum letzten Male gesehen worden, seitdem habe man von ihnen keine Spur mehr entdeckt. An den langen Winterabenden, wenn zwei oder drei Familien gemeinsam die gleiche Hütte bewohnen oder wenn mehrere Familien geraume Zeit an der nämlichen Stelle lagern, werden mit Vorliebe die Geschichten von den *Hánnuš* und die Eigenerlebnisse mit ihnen wiederholt (S. 388). Sie gehören in den Winter sozusagen "saisongemäß". Zur Sommerszeit fehlt es dazu an der geeigneten Stimmung. Auf meiner dritten Reise sprachen eines Abends die Leute sehr ausführlich über das, was sie von den *Hánnuš* wußten; der blinde WRAITS war zugegen. Arglos warf er die Frage dazwischen: „Ist denn der Winter schon so nahe, daß ihr damit beginnt, von *Hánnuš* zu erzählen?"

Die hochbejahrten Männer verbargen vor mir ihren Schmerz darüber nicht, daß die Leute mittleren und jüngeren Alters den Geschichten und Mitteilungen über *Hánnuš* keinen Glauben mehr schenken und sie als Erzeugnisse der Selbsttäuschung oder Einbildung belächeln. Letztere machen nämlich geltend: „Wir haben doch zuweilen sogar wochenlang tief drinnen im Walde gearbeitet[206] und nie das geringste Anzeichen von einem *Hánnuš* beobachtet; viel weniger sind wir von *Hánnuš* belästigt worden!" So urteilt eben das neuzeitlich aufgeklärte junge Geschlecht der Yamana. Trotzdem halten die Alten an ihrem Glauben fest und sie bleiben dazu bereit, dann und wann aus ihrer festen Überzeugung heraus die beliebten Geschichten zu wiederholen. Vieles, was die Einbildungskraft der Yamana den *Hánnuš* zuschreibt, findet sich bei den *Yóši* der Selk'nam (Bd. I, 697) wieder.

4. Die Schutzgeister

Die Vorstellungen der Yamana von den *Yeſáčel* sind bei weitem nicht so ausgedehnt und so bestimmt, wie die von den *Hánnuš*. Das erklärt sich wohl daraus, daß die *yékamuš* jene Geister auffällig viel für sich selber in Anspruch nehmen; eben deswegen wird es den übrigen Leuten nicht bewußt, daß auch ihnen ein solcher Schutzgeist tatsächlich zugewiesen ist.

Die älteren Yamana, die sich mit dem Inhalt dieses Glaubens etwas nachdenklicher befassen, kennen übereinstimmend das Bild von der Persönlichkeit der *Yeſáčel*. RICHARD und auch einige Indianerinnen haben sie mir folgendermaßen beschrieben: Die *Yeſáčel* sind sehr kleine Gestalten, "nur eine Daumenlänge groß". Sie fallen dadurch auf, daß sie glatzköpfig sind; ein jeder besitzt nur drei bis vier lange Haare, die in der Gegend des großen Haarwirbels aufgerichtet stehen. Es gibt deren männlichen und weiblichen Geschlechtes in etwa gleicher Zahl. Sie legen keinerlei Kleidung an, sondern laufen splitternackt herum. Die alleinstehende Meinung des alten MAÄR-

[207] Auch BARRERA (k): 237 bestätigt: „Los indijenas jamas rendian culto ni reverencion a cushpik, hannush ni a ningun otro ser."

[206] Das waren Arbeiten im Dienste einiger Europäer für Sägewerke oder an Wegen im Auftrage der Regierung.

NIKENS, die *Yefáčel* wären ausschließlich männlichen Geschlechtes, haben alle Leute entschieden zurückgewiesen. Die *Yefáčel* sind in beträchtlicher Zahl da, doch nur ein *yékamuš* ist befähigt, im Traume sie zu sehen.

Was das Verhältnis der *Yefáčel* zu den Menschen und insbesondere ihr Können anbelangt, so meinen unsere Indianer: Jedwede Person besitzt ihren eigenen *Yefáčel*. Aufgabe des *yékamuš* ist es, jedem Kinde, das geboren wird, möglichst bald einen *Yefáčel* zu "setzen", d. h. zuzuweisen. „Jedermann muß seinen *Yefáčel* haben!" wird wiederholt und nachdrücklich versichert. Und zwar teilt der *yékamuš* jedem Menschen einen gleichgeschlechtlichen *Yefáčel* zu, ein Knabe also erhält einen männlichen *Yefáčel*. Sollte aus Versehen einem Neugeborenen dieser Schutzgeist nicht beigestellt worden sein, muß das Versäumte bei erster Gelegenheit, zumindest beim nächsten *lōima yékamuš*, der Zusammenkunft der Medizinmänner, nachgeholt werden. Des *Yefáčel* erste und wichtigste Aufgabe ist es, die ihm anvertraute Person vor Krankheit und leiblichen Schäden zu bewahren; darüber hinaus schützt er sie auch in Gefahren jedweder Art. Eben mit Rücksicht darauf darf man die *Yefáčel* als "Schutzgeister" der Menschen beurteilen. Wenn ein Kind erkrankt, sehen die Eltern als ersten Grund dafür den, daß ihm noch kein *Yefáčel* zugewiesen worden ist; sofort beauftragt man einen *yékamuš* damit. Wer einen *Yefáčel* besitzt, erfreut sich zeitlebens guter Gesundheit, und deshalb „muß jedermann seinen *Yefáčel* haben!" Stirbt der Mensch, verläßt ihn sein *Yefáčel* ganz und gar. Dieser bleibt seitdem Waise und irrt allein umher, unabhängig von den anderen. Über ihren Aufenthaltsort und ihre Lebensweise sagen die Yamana nichts. Die *yékamuš* jedoch ergänzen, daß jene verwaisten *Yefáčel* die sogenannten "gefährlichen Orte" bevorzugen; von hier aus stehen die *Yefáčel* auch weiterhin mit den *yékamuš* im Einvernehmen und sind diesen immerdar behilflich.

Man hat mir übereinstimmend das Verhältnis eines jeden Menschen zu seinem *Yefáčel* wie das von Vater und Sohn bzw. Mutter und Tochter, also überaus günstig und sehr vertraulich, geschildert. Noch enger ist jeder *yékamuš* mit seinem *Yefáčel* verbunden. Obwohl der *yékamuš* jedermann einen *Yefáčel* zuweist, hat er späterhin über diesen nicht mehr zu verfügen. Wohl aber, so ist mir mit viel Ernst versichert worden, müssen alle *Yefáčel* sich nach *Watayinēiwa* und seinen Weisungen gleich willfährig und unterwürfig wie die Menschen richten; denn von ihm „hängen die *Yefáčel* ebenso wie alle *yámana* [Menschen] ab!" Bei dieser Gelegenheit entschlüpfte jemandem die Äußerung: „Auch *Watayinēiwa* besitzt sein *Yefáčel*." Die Anwesenden verrieten durch ein deutliches Mienenspiel, daß sie dieser Vermutung nicht beipflichteten; noch weniger war jemand imstande zu erklären, wer dem *Watayinēiwa* jenen vermeintlichen *Yefáčel* zugeteilt hätte. Aus einzelnen vorausgegangenen Angaben ist bequem abzuleiten, warum der vollständige Name dieser Schutzgeister *Yefáčel xēola*, "Geistchen" lautet. Mancher Indianer spricht statt dessen *Yapáčel*.

Mehrmals hat BRIDGES diese kleinen Schutzgeister erwähnt und zwar

regelmäßig nur in Verbindung mit den *yékamuš*. Gewiß, der *Yefáčel* bedeutet für einen Medizinmann weit mehr, als für einen gewöhnlichen Menschen; denn er leistet ihm bei seiner beruflichen Betätigung besondere Dienste. Bei Bridges (a): 212 heißt es: Der *Yefáčel* „is a doctor's son and appears to doctors in their dreams, tells them many things."[200] Im BD: 661 liest man: „*Yāpāčāl*, a being of more than human power and sagacity whom the *yékamuš* claimed as their inspiring power and instructor." Wenn, anschließend hieran, Bridges meint, diese Bezeichnung beinhalte auch noch „spirits of men, especially such as have been killed by violence", so muß ich das als unrichtig ablehnen. Ein Sonderverhältnis zwischen einem *yékamuš* und seinem *Yefáčel* wird allgemein anerkannt, es kommt weiter unten nochmals zur Sprache. An dieser Stelle sollte vor allem auf den Glauben an die daumenhohen Schutzgeister hingewiesen werden, aus deren großer Zahl einem jeden Menschen sein *Yefáčel* auf Lebenszeit zugeteilt ist.

b. *Formen des Aberglaubens*

Mehrere Gruppen bestimmter Geister wurden soeben genannt und beschrieben. Diese stehen als selbständige Wesen nicht im Dasein, sondern sind nur im Glauben der Yamana vorhanden. Insofern müssen sie als Gegenstand des Aberglaubens betrachtet werden. Sie wurden aber aus besonderer Erwägung getrennt behandelt und zwar vor allem deshalb, weil jede Gruppe eine eigene, bestimmte Erscheinung ist. Nicht so die Gestalten, die in den Träumen auftreten, und die mannigfaltigen abergläubischen Ansichten, die mit dem einen oder anderen bestimmten Umstande verknüpft sind.

1. Träume

Auf die rege Wachsamkeit der Yamana im Alltag und auf die gesteigerte Lebhaftigkeit ihrer Phantasie ist es zurückzuführen, daß sie h ä u f i g t r ä u m e n. Sozusagen alltäglich ist es, daß am Morgen irgendeiner der Erwachsenen in einer Familienhütte über seinen Traum berichtet. Ebensowenig gilt es als Ausnahme, daß jemand mitten in der Nacht durch einen lebhaften Traum aus dem Schlafe gerissen wird, seine Angehörigen weckt und dessen Inhalt ihnen mitteilt. Ein *yékamuš* bringt es sogar fertig, von seiner Schlafstätte aus zu sämtlichen Nachbarhütten hinüberzurufen und den Leuten kundzutun, was er soeben im Traume erfahren hat, obwohl dasselbe für die Allgemeinheit meist ohne jede Bedeutung ist. Wie sehr die *yékamuš* in den Träumen berufsmäßig tätig sind, wird weiter unten dargelegt werden. Bei den gewöhnlichen Menschen, so glauben die Yamana, stellen sich die wirklich häufigen Traumbilder von selber ein und beschäftigen jeden reichlich.[200]

[200] Bei (h): 238 wieder: „El y o c a m u s h pretende tener trato con seres llamados yapahchel, y son éstos los que les dan la facultad de ver y hacer cosas fabulosas, y especialmente la de curar y matar."

Je nach Inhalt, nach persönlicher Veranlagung und nach den gegebenen Umständen legt jedermann dem einen oder dem andern Traume eine größere oder geringere Bedeutung bei. Eine gewisse Regel oder eine Art von Maßstab dafür gibt es nicht, der einzelne hält eben nach eigenem Empfinden oder Ermessen von diesem Traume mehr und von jenem weniger. Was einen unmittelbar berührt oder mit ernsten Folgen bedroht, beschäftigt ihn lebhafter und regt ihn stärker auf, als belanglose, unscheinbare Alltäglichkeiten. Jeder, der von einem Traum erfährt, beugt sich ohne Widerspruch der Deutung, die der Träumer selber ihm gibt. Niemals würde es jemand wagen, die Beurteilung des Traumes dessen, der ihn erlebt und der ihn nach seinem eigenen Ermessen wertet, irgendwie abzuschwächen oder gar abzuweisen. Wer durch einen Traum außergewöhnlich beunruhigt wird, der wendet sich damit an einen *yékamuš;* dieser unterstreicht auch seinerseits regelmäßig den Ernst der ganzen Sache und beginnt meist sofort mit der Abwehr des im Traume angedrohten Unheils.

So unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, daß die Yamana ihren Träumen, die sie erschüttern und beängstigen, unbedingten Glauben schenken.[281] Das gilt hauptsächlich dann, wenn ihr eigenes Leben oder das ihrer nächsten Verwandten irgendwie bedroht wird. Die Traumgebilde, seien es nun Geister aus den oben genannten Gruppen, oder befreundete und feindlich gesinnte Bekannte, oder die Seelen der Verstorbenen, oder selbst Tiere, wertet der Yamana als wirkliche Erscheinungen, als lebende Wesen, die sich ihm gelegentlich vorstellen, als *kēšpix.* Daher traut er ihren Worten und richtet sich nach ihren Warnungen, daher fürchtet er ihre Drohungen und stellt sich stillergeben auf das Unheil ein, das sie ankündigen. Erheblich werden unsere Indianer in ihrem vertrauensseligen Glauben an die Träume dadurch bestärkt, daß dann und wann eine durch den Traum veranlaßte Vorahnung sich erfüllt oder diese und jene Andeutung sich verwirklicht. Dergleichen sogenannte Beweise von der Zuverlässigkeit der Träume bzw. ihres Vertrauens auf dieselben bewahren sie ihr Leben lang im Gedächtnis und weisen darauf bei passender Gelegenheit immer wieder hin. Jeder beliebige Yamana wird zumindest ein derartiges Erlebnis, d. h. die Glaubwürdigkeit eines Traumes vorweisen können. Den Träumen der *yékamuš* mißt man erst recht vollen Wirklichkeitswert bei.

Schon Bridges hat das erkannt: „Dreaming of a doctor is much dreaded by these natives, since they believe it surely forebodes ill — either some sad disaster, or deaths caused by the doctor dreamt of. Uroopatoosh told me that his mother, the day she died, told him that she had dreamt of a doctor" (VSA: XI, 259; 1864). Viel früher hat Fitz-Roy (a): 181 den Jemmy Button als

[281] Hyades (q): 253 sagt kurz: „Les rêves sont fréquents; mais on ne paraît pas, en général, leur attribuer de signification ni d'importance." Nur der erste Teil dieser Behauptung ist richtig.

[282] Zuverlässig hat Bridges (i): 14 versichert: „The Yahgans had great faith in dreams and were consequently often troubled with anticipation of death without reason."

„a great believer in dreams" geschildert und das also begründet: „While at sea, on board the "Beagle", about the middle of the year 1832, he said one morning to Mr. Bynoe, whispered in his ear that his father was dead. Mr. Bynoe tried to laugh him out of the idea, but ineffectually. He fully believed that such was the case, and maintained his opinion up to the time of finding his relations in the Beagle Channel, when, I regret to say, he found that his father had died some months previously. He did not forget to remind Mr. Bynoe of their former conversation, and, with a significant shake of the head said, it was 'bad'. After that time he said no more about his father."

Der feste Glaube an Träume, den ich an Nelly Lawrence unmittelbar beobachten konnte, ist durchgehends allen Yamana eigen. Hier folgen noch einige Beispiele. Am 26. Juli 1923 erzählte mir Nelly betrübt, sie hätte in letzter Nacht sehr üble Dinge geträumt: „Aus Mejillones [auf Isla Navarino] sind einige Familien herüber [nach Punta Remolino] gekommen und haben mir erzählt, dort drüben herrsche allgemeine Trauer. Heute wird gewiß jemand von dort eintreffen und berichten, wer gestorben ist. Nach diesem Traume bin ich aufgewacht und nicht mehr eingeschlafen." Sie sprach sehr bestimmt und schüttelte ihre gedrückte Stimmung auch dann nicht ab, als ich ihr einzureden versuchte, Träume wären bedeutungslos. Wirklich war seit mehreren Tagen aus Mejillones gar kein Besucher bei uns eingelangt, wir fürchteten, eine Krankheit sei ausgebrochen. Zu unser aller Überraschung landete Alejandro gegen Mittag des gleichen Tages in Punta Remolino und erzählte sofort: „In der letzten Nacht sind drüben bei uns zwei Frauen gestorben, Anita, die Frau des Willert, und Sara, die des Maŝemikens. Dieser, wie auch die hochbejahrte Emilia sind bedenklich krank und werden wohl auch bald [der dort plötzlich aufgetretenen Grippe] erliegen!" Nachdem Alejandro etwa eine Stunde sich bei Nelly ausgesprochen hatte, suchte sie mich unverzüglich auf und machte mir von allem, was ihr soeben berichtet worden war, ausführlich Mitteilung. „Also hat sich mein Traum in der letzten Nacht, den ich dir heute früh erzählt habe, doch bewahrheitet, sagte sie traurig ernst; etwas [irgendwelche Nachricht] mußte heute eintreffen, dessen war ich sicher! Was ich im Traume erfahre, das erfüllt sich regelmäßig, mag es noch so Betrübliches sein! Ich täusche mich nie in meinen [in dem Inhalt meiner] Träumen! Wie schrecklich ist doch diese Nachricht. Nun müssen wir fürchten, daß bei der allgemeinen Erkrankung auch noch andere Leute dahingerafft werden. Das arme Kind des Maŝemikens hat jetzt seine Mutter verloren und wenn der Vater auch noch stirbt, steht das Mädchen verwaist da.[242] So ist zu fürchten, daß gar bald die letzten meiner Landsleute dahinschwinden. Ich bleibe dann als einzige übrig und muß das schwere, tragische Geschick meiner Landsleute fühlen. Als einzige werde ich selber ja auch nur noch kurze Frist dastehen und in mir wird die Letzte der Yamana ins Grab sinken." Jeder, der diese Frau in ihrer besorgten Trauer um ihr eigenes Volk

[242] Dieses Mädchen, die etwa siebenjährige Eva, ist das einzige Kind der eben verstorbenen Sara und des alten Pedro Maŝemikens, der jetzt schwer krank darniederliegt.

gesehen hätte, wäre gerührt worden. Aber hier sollte zunächst gezeigt werden, daß die Yamana ihren Träumen einen hohen Wirklichkeitswert beilegen.

Auf der vierten Reise habe ich meinen Aufenthalt am Canal de Beagle durch einen längeren Besuch bei den Selk'nam unterbrochen (S. 191). Als ich von dort nach Punta Remolino zurückgekehrt war, sagte mir NELLY eines Morgens: „Letzte Nacht habe ich zwar wieder geträumt, aber nichts Bemerkenswertes. Wie kommt es wohl, daß wir manchmal sehr gute Träume haben, in denen wir die Zukunft sehen? Ja, es ist sicherlich wahr, was man so oft im Traume schaut! — Aber ich habe dir noch nicht von jenen beiden Träumen berichtet, die ich hatte, während du bei den Selk'nam warst." NELLY erzählte nun: „Damals [im März 1923] träumte ich, MAŠEMIKENS ist zu kurzem Besuch hierher nach Punta Remolino gekommen. Beim Abschied sagte er mir traurig: ‚Es ist mir so zu Mute, als sähen wir uns heute hier zum letzten Male. Du bist eine gute, hilfsbereite Frau und gern möchte ich bald wiederkommen; aber ich fühle es, wir werden uns wohl nicht mehr wiedersehen!' So sagte MAŠEMIKENS. Wirklich, seitdem hat er sich in Punta Remolino nicht mehr sehen lassen und ist später [im August] gestorben." Noch ein anderes Vorkommnis fügte NELLY an: „Eines Morgens kam MAROCHA sehr aufgeregt zu mir, es war am Tage vor ihrem Tode. Sie erzählte mir: ‚Letzte Nacht habe ich sehr schlecht geträumt: Mein Bruder TOM [Vater des HOMESTEAD und Bruder des ALFREDO] kam zu mir und sagte: Wo ist ALFREDO? Ich erklärte: Er hält sich im Süden auf! Auch mir wäre es erwünscht, wenn er bald hierher käme und dem Weißen Freunde [GUSINDE] einige Geschichten erzählte. Dieser kehrt bald hierher aus dem Gebiete der Selk'nam zurück. TOM: Das kann noch lange dauern, bis er kommt. Ich aber muß bald gehen. MAROCHA: So bleibe du doch einige Zeit hier! TOM: Das geht nicht an; denn mein *hašywápisa* erwartet mich, er hat große Eile und gestattet mir keinen Aufenthalt. MAROCHA: Je nun, der *hašywápisa* mag warten. TOM: Das läßt sich von ihm nicht erwirken. Ich muß gemeinsam mit *hašywápisa* sofort wieder abziehen. Ich bin gekommen, um dich zu rufen! MAROCHA: Ich will aber noch hierbleiben! TOM: Nun aber muß ich wieder gehen; denn *hašywápisa* drängt auf Eile und gewährt mir keine Frist mehr! ... Als er schon eine gewisse Strecke entfernt war, winkte er mir nochmals mit der Hand, als wollte er sagen: Bald sehen wir uns wieder! Immer weiter entfernte er sich und entschwand schließlich ganz meinen Blicken.' ... Das alles hat mir MAROCHA erzählt, sie weinte und heulte dabei. Dann ergriff sie drei Körbchen, die sie am Vortage fertiggestellt hatte, und überreichte sie mir mit den Worten: ‚Nimm diese Körbchen für dich. Sollte ich wirklich schnell sterben, könnte ich dir ja nichts mehr schenken. Lieber ist es mir, du selber nimmst diese Körbchen für dich!' Ich nahm die Körbchen entgegen. Am Nachmittag des gleichen Tages fühlte sich MAROCHA sehr übel, sie bekam Fieber und am nächsten Morgen war sie tot. So ist alles verlaufen, wie ich es dir sage!" In jedem Worte lag der Ton ihrer ganzen Überzeugung.

Mit dem eben erwähnten *hašywápisa* hat es folgende Bewandtnis. Diesen

Namen trägt bekanntlich der gewaltige Blauwal, Balaenoptera Schlegelii (S. 36). Jener Ton, Marocha's Bruder, war längst vor ihrer Aussprache mit Nelly gestorben, er ist zu seiner Schwester Marocha im Traume gekommen. Von ihm heißt es: Als er eines Tages am Strande entlang ging, tauchte ein *haiywápisa* aus dem Wasser auf, verblieb in dieser Haltung längere Zeit und starrte Ton unentwegt an. Dieser starb noch im gleichen Jahre, der *haiywápisa* hat dessen *kĕipiź* mitgenommen. Seitdem blieben beide miteinander in [irgendwelcher] Verbindung. Im Traume ist nun Ton, von jenem *haiywápisa* begleitet, zu seiner Schwester Marocha gekommen; bei dieser Gelegenheit hat *haiywápisa* deren *kĕipiź* mitgenommen, wie er es damals mit dem *kĕipiź* des Ton gemacht hatte. Deswegen starb Marocha bald nach jenem Traume, in dem eigentlich der *haiywápisa* sie abgeholt hat. Diese befremdliche Deutung ist nach Grundsätzen, die dem Medizinmannwesen geläufig sind, als ein alleinstehender Einzelfall zu werten; damit wird demnach kein Gegensatz zur allgemeinen Auffassung vom *kĕipiź*, der menschlichen Seele nach dem Tode, geschaffen.

Die Einzelperson selber ist es, die ihre Traumgebilde mehr oder weniger belebt, ihnen größere oder geringere Bedeutung beilegt. Einen Wirklichkeitswert gibt sie mit Vorliebe jenen Vorstellungen, die ihr einen Blick in die Zukunft öffnen. Vermutungen und Ahnungen, die ihr erst als Traumbilder erschienen sind und nachher sich irgendwie erfüllen, bestärken sie erneut in ihrem Glauben daran und steigern ihr Vertrauen, das sie darauf setzen.

2. Abergläubische Vorstellungen

Gewisse Anschauungen und Urteile, die als echter Aberglaube in des Wortes engster Bedeutung zu werten sind, fehlen im einfachen Geistesleben der Feuerländer nicht. Diese Tatsache wird niemanden überraschen. Für die vielen Meinungen und Bräuche eine Erklärung oder Begründung bieten zu wollen, hieße etwa so viel, als sie ihres abergläubischen Charakters entkleiden. Sie sind eben einmal da und man richtet sich darnach. Hier zähle ich die ansehnliche Reihe der abergläubischen Vorstellungen auf, von denen gegebenenfalls unsere Yamana sich leiten lassen, einschließlich einiger magischer Gebräuche. Jene, die oben in dem Abschnitt über Pflege des Säuglings und Behandlung der Kinder, auch gelegentlich bei der Beschreibung des Wirtschaftslebens genannt worden sind, werden hier nicht wiederholt, ebensowenig der Glaube an die verschiedenen Gruppen von Geistern und an Gebilde der eigenen Phantasie. Die Tatsache, daß die Yamana leicht zum Aberglauben hinüberneigen, ist von einigen früheren Beobachtern aufgezeigt worden.[202]

[202] Fitz-Roy (a): 180, und Darwin (f): I, 123 mit ihm übereinstimmend, schreibt: „The natives whom I carried to England often amused us by their superstitious ideas, which showed, nevertheless, that their ideas were not limited by the visible world. If any thing was said or done that was wrong, in their opinion it was certain to cause bad weather. Even shooting young birds, before they were able to fly, was thought a heinous offence.

a. *Abergläubisches aus der Tierwelt*

Der Feuerländer steht in enger Abhängigkeit von den Tieren, die seine Heimat beleben; es befremdet also nicht, daß sie in seinen abergläubischen Vorstellungen eine bevorzugte Rolle spielen.

Wenn ein H u n d des Nachts anhaltend jämmerlich heult, so bedeutet das für seinen Herrn schlechte Aussichten jedweder Art, sei es für seine Person, sei es für sein geplantes Unternehmen, wie Jagd, Reise und größere Arbeit. *Heulen sämtliche Hunde in den wenigen Hütten, die irgendwo ein* kleines Lager bilden, ist eine Epidemie oder zumindest eine schwere Erkrankung vieler Personen zu erwarten. Hat das Geheul der vielen Hunde eine gewisse Zeit angehalten, treten alle Leute aus ihren Hütten heraus und schleudern gegen den Himmel jedwedes Ding, das sie irgendwie erreichen. Steine und Lederstücke, Gerätschaften und Waffen, am liebsten heiße Asche und glimmende Holzscheite. Niemand, halbwüchsige Kinder nicht ausgenommen, darf währenddessen auf dem Schlaflager verweilen oder sich der Ruhe überlassen; alle müssen sich bis zum Beginn des Morgengrauens auf den Beinen halten. Während der ganzen Nacht bewegen sich sämtliche Anwesenden sehr aufgeregt und gebärden sich wie wild, sie schlagen höchst erregt mit den Armen in der Luft herum, stoßen die Arme mit den flachen, auswärts gekehrten Händen nach vorn-oben und schreien aus gepreßter Kehle *tetete* ... Mit alledem wollen sie die drohenden Krankheiten abwehren.

Sitzen die Leute außerhalb der Hütte unter freiem Himmel, ereignet es sich vereinzelt, daß ein Hund sich über den Boden schleifend an eine Person heranschleicht. Er hält seine vier Pfoten ausgestreckt und schiebt sich, mit dem Bauche fest aufliegend, vorwärts. Das deuten sie dahin, daß jene Person selber oder jemand aus ihrem Verwandtenkreise bald sterben werde.

Abweichend von den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 707), sind unsere Yamana dem F u c h s weder hold noch gewogen; deshalb nämlich, weil er sich an menschliche Leichen heranmacht. Man erzählt: Zur Zeit, da [in den 80er Jahren] die ersten argentinischen Schiffe nach Ushuaia kamen, brachen verheerende Krankheiten aus (S. 300). Fast sämtliche dort angesiedelte Indianer lagen auf dem Strande und in den Hütten umher, unfähig, sich zu helfen. Sehr viele starben. Das Übel griff auf das Nordufer der Isla Navarino über und auch dort war bald der Strand mit Leichen besät. Die vielen kranken Leute sahen wohl jene Füchse, die aus dem Walde heraustraten und an den Leichen fraßen:

I remember York Minster saying one day to Mr. Bynoe, when he had shot some young ducks with the old bird: 'Oh, Mr. Bynoe, very bad to shoot little duck — come wind — come rain — blow — very much blow.'" Allgemeiner drückt sich Lovisato (b): 149 aus: „Sono superstiziosi, temono il temolino e considerano furse in generale gli elementi come agenti vendicatori." Auch Hyades (q): 253 spricht in diesem Sinne und er (q): 387 versichert, daß das Wirken der anglikanischen Missionare am Aberglauben der Yamana nichts gründert hat: „Les superstitions sont les mêmes qu'au temps jadis." Cooper: 159 hat auf Grund der wenigen, bis dahin vorliegenden Angaben richtig geahnt: „Superstitions exist, but apparently in moderate number only." An dieser Beurteilung braucht auch jetzt nichts geändert zu werden.

doch niemand war imstande, sie abzuwehren und davonzujagen. Eine Frau, die dem Tode schon sehr nahe war, hatte neben sich ihr Söhnchen sitzen, das ihr aber nicht helfen konnte. Auch an dieser Frau wagte ein Fuchs zu fressen, obwohl sie noch lebte. Das Söhnchen warf ein Messer gegen den Fuchs und daraufhin ließ er von ihr ab. Sie starb bald danach. Sofort zündete der Knabe drei Signalfeuer an. Ein Kanu war schnell zur Stelle und nahm ihn auf. Kaum hatte das Kanu sich vom Ufer entfernt, trat der Fuchs wieder an den Leichnam jener Frau heran und fraß davon.

Den Yamana ist *apamóta*, die F l e d e r m a u s, sozusagen widerlich und zwar wegen ihrer Ähnlichkeit mit der Ratte *utúina* (S. 586). Fliegt sie an Hütten vorbei, wird es den Leuten übel; alle schweigen, bis sie sich wieder entfernt hat. Jeder wendet zur Abscheu seine Augen von ihr ab. Auch Bamozo (i): 7 bestätigt: „There is a small Bat, loathed by the natives on account of its compound nature." (Vgl. Bd. I, 707.)

Die Yamana betrachten den Wal mit seinen vielen Begleitfischen, die niemals fehlen (S. 37), als eine große Familie. Besonders aufmerksam schauen sie nach dem unruhigen, wütenden *aúfula*, der kleinere S c h w e r t w a l (Pseudorca crassidens), und nach dem *ipájuli* (Orcinus orca). Vor beiden fürchten sich unsere Indianer. Bamozo (a): 208 äußert sich in anderem Sinne: Die Wale werden getötet „by swordfish, which they consequently esteem sacred". Am 9. Oktober 1871 berichtete Lawrence von einem „small whale, which ran ashore in the inlet. I hastened out, and heard a continuous thumping on the water, which Lorenzo informed me was a swordfish; he also observed, that if the dog barked, he [the swordfish] would be frightened and take the whale away. At early dawn we descended, and found the whale, minus any appearance of having been molested by a swordfish" (MM: IV, 34; 1872).

Den Vögeln widmen unsere Yamana nicht minder abergläubische Aufmerksamkeit. Aus ihrer großen Zahl erweisen sich einige als hilfsbereit, sie kündigen den Menschen wissenswerte Dinge zur Aufklärung und Warnung an, die See-Ente *dúku* (Tachyeres patachonicus) fällt sogar zeitweilig unter Speiseverbot (S. 707). Den Reigen der Vögel soll *wórsyda*, der mächtige K o n d o r (Cathartes aura), eröffnen. Er kann kleinen Kindern gefährlich werden, weswegen eine Mutter ihren Säugling niemals ohne Obhut lassen darf. Man erzählt: Eines Tages kroch ein kleines Kind während seines Spielens achtlos von der Hütte weg bis hinunter zu den Strand. Seine Mutter saß in der Hütte bei ihrer Arbeit und merkte davon nichts. Ein Kondor stieg aus den Lüften herunter, faßte das Kind mit seinen starken Krallen und schleppte es auf den nächsten Berg. Nach einiger Zeit trat die Mutter aus ihrer Hütte hervor und schaute nach dem Kinde. Sie suchte vergeblich in allen übrigen Hütten und niemand konnte ihr Auskunft geben. Sämtliche Leute halfen ihr suchen, doch das Kind fand sich nicht. Am nächsten Tage liefen sie die ganze Umgebung ab, doch erfolglos. Die Mutter aber und ihre Verwandten suchten weiter. Schließlich stießen sie oben am Gipfel des nahen

Berges auf die letzten Reste jenes Kindes, den Kopf und einige Knochen. Zufällig war das Gesicht unversehrt geblieben und daran erkannte die Mutter ihr Kind. Der Kondor hatte es weggeschleppt und verzehrt, weil es unbeaufsichtigt am Strande gesessen hatte. Die Mutter weinte bitterlich und kehrte zu ihrer Hütte zurück.

Zeigt sich der eine und andere Habicht *yowkally* (Milvago chimango) außergewöhnlich vergnügt und springt er munter umher, dann sieht gutes Wetter herauf. Wer eine lange Reise machen muß, bricht bei diesem Anzeichen früh auf; prächtiges Wetter wird ihn begleiten. Wenn *yowkally* nachts klagend schreit, ist Schnee und Kälte im Anzug; beide sind ihm lästig.

Allgemein beobachtet man sehr genau die hellfarbige Ohreule *alta* (Nyctalops accipitrinus). Umflattert sie ängstlich und anhaltend eine oder mehrere nahestehende Hütten, deutet ihr Schrei darauf hin, daß in der Nachbarschaft jemand gestorben ist. Falls sie sich auf einer Hütte niederläßt — und wäre es auch nur für wenige Augenblicke —, bringt sie damit zum Ausdruck, daß einer der Insassen dort bald sterben wird. Wenn aber diese *alta* bei ihren nächtlichen Flügen den gedehnten, kurz unterbrochenen Schrei *kit, kit, kit* ... ausstößt, der sich anhört, als würden Blutstropfen auf die Erde aufschlagen, gilt das als ein Vorzeichen für einen Mord, dem eine Person in nächster Nachbarschaft zum Opfer fallen wird. Nähert sich jemand einer kleinen Gruppe von Männern oder landet er bei einigen Hütten und beobachtet er, wie eine *alta* öfters während des Tages die Hütten umflattert, erkennt er darin eine bestimmte Warnung, nämlich daß diese Leute ihm übelgesinnt und feindselig gegenüberstehen, vielleicht es sogar auf seine Ermordung absehen. Deshalb macht er sich noch in der gleichen Nacht stillschweigend davon und entfernt sich so weit, daß ihm keiner jener Männer folgen kann. Sollte an einem der nächsten Tage abermals eine Ohreule in seiner Nähe auftauchen oder ihn umkreisen, so entnimmt er daraus, daß jene Männer ihm auf der Spur sind; unverzüglich enteilt er und begibt sich in seine nähere Heimat. Im Kreise seiner Verwandten ist er sicher.

Betonte Ehrfurcht muß man dem kleinen Sperlingsvogel *hélpul* (Taeniopteryx pyrope) zollen. Wer ihn belästigt und mit Steinen nach ihm wirft, muß sich auf sehr schlechtes Wetter einrichten. Denn aus Rache und aus gekränktem Ehrgefühl veranlaßt er starken Sturm und schweren Regen.

Wem der Ruf des grauen Nachtreihers *tâuwy* (Nycticorax obscurus) ans Ohr schlägt, der jubelt auf; denn dieser Vogel meldet ihm, bald werde ein Kanu mit lieben Besuchern eintreffen. Diese finden sich meist schon am nächsten Tage ein und zwar kommen sie aus eben der Richtung, aus der auch der Ruf dieses Reihers sich vernehmen ließ oder aus der er selber heranflog. Auch heutigentags noch wird der *tâuwy* allerorts geehrt.

Die großen Sturmvögel, besonders die Albatrosse, die weit draußen in der Hochsee über den Wellen aufsteigen und in der Luft weite Kreise beschreiben, kündigen den Leuten an, sie müßten sich auf eine stürmische See und ein wüstes Unwetter gefaßt machen.

Allgemein ist es üblich, einer Mollusaganz *lékul* (Chlorophaga hybrida), die ein Jäger erreicht hat, unverzüglich beide Beine zu brechen; sonst bleibt künftighin der Erfolg auf der Jagd aus. Hat jener Jäger aber ein neugeborenes Kind daheim, darf er mit eigener Hand die Beine jener Gans nicht brechen, will er Unheil von seinem Kinde fernhalten (S. 707).

Eine vereinzelte See-Ente *dfika* (Tachyeres patachonicus), die über eine Hütte hinwegfliegt, versetzt sämtliche Insassen in Angst und Schrecken. Sie fürchten nämlich, daß jene *dfika* den *kflpiá* der anwesenden Kinder mitnimmt. Deshalb werfen sie eiligst große Fellstücke über jeden Säugling und decken sie gut zu. Andere Leute strecken wiederholt ihre Arme nach vorn, wobei die flachen Hände vorwärts gerichtet sind und gleichzeitig bringen sie einen lautes, zischendes *f*-Laut hervor. Dieses zielt darauf hin, das unheilvolle Wirken der See-Ente zu entkräften und den *kflpiá* der Kinder zurückzuhalten. Unmittelbar nach einer Niederkunft dürfen die Mutter und ihr Mann das Fleisch der *dfika* nicht genießen (S. 707). Man empfiehlt diesen Eltern, dessen sich so lange zu enthalten, bis ihr Kind sein zweites Lebensjahr beginnt. Von da an ist es ganz außer Gefahr, wohingegen es vorher möglicherweise stirbt, wenn seine Eltern oft Fleisch von der See-Ente essen.

Während der rostbraune Brillenibis *Ifyuwu* (Theristicus melanopis) über gereifte Mädchen hinwegfliegt, kreuzen diese ihre Arme und pressen sie gegen die Brüste, um dieselben zu verdecken. Täten sie das nicht, würde *Ifyuwu* ihre Brüste lang nach unten ziehen; das ist ein vielbeklagter Schönheitsfehler. Auch ist diese *Ifyuwu* als eine empfindsame, auf ihre Ehre ängstlich bedachte Frau bekannt.

Daß die Yamana irgendwelchen Insekten mit abergläubischer Furcht begegnen, ist mir nicht bekannt geworden. Bancs (a): 212 allerdings schreibt: „Many insects are also much dreaded, from a believe that they enter the ear, and work their way into the body, and thus kill those they enter." Dabbene (b): 204 sagt dasselbe. Leider sind diese Hinweise zu allgemein gefaßt.

Vereinzelt sitzt auf einem Steine an der Küste, unter der Linie des niedrigsten Wasserstandes, eine außergewöhnlich große Napfschnecke (Fissurella). Diese betrachtet man als Herrin jener Gegend. In ihrer Nähe müssen alle Frauen, die dort Seetiere sammeln, sich ehrfurchtsvoll und schweigsam verhalten. Tun sie das nicht, veranlaßt diese *pájakalípa*, wie man jene Fissurella nennt, zur Strafe starke Wasserwirbel. Das *pájaka* ist nicht Eigenname, sondern eine Allgemeinbezeichnung (vgl. BD: 370); hier hat es seinen besonderen Sinn. Das Löchlein in der flachen Schale ist „das Auge, mit dem die *pájakalípa* alles sieht, was rund um sie geschieht".

Hat ein Vater seinen Sohn durch den Tod verloren, läßt er die männlichen Tiere, die er zur Strecke gebracht hat, unbenützt liegen oder er wirft sie ins Wasser. Ist ihm eine Tochter gestorben, rührt er die erbeuteten weiblichen Tiere nicht an. So verhält er sich durch mehrere Wochen nach dem Ableben seines Kindes. Er will damit seinen Schmerz über den erlittenen Verlust zum Ausdruck bringen und sich zu *Watanifjwa* gleichsam stellen.

β. Abergläubisches aus dem Alltag

Die Yamana kennen eine genaue, anhaltende Beobachtung die sie umgebende Natur. Jedwede außergewöhnliche Erscheinung erregt mehr oder weniger lebhaft ihre Aufmerksamkeit. Die eine und andere hat abergläubische Deutungen veranlaßt. Mit den Himmelskörpern beschäftigen sie sich bei weitem nicht so viel und so eingehend, wie die Selk'nam. Setzt eine Sonnen- oder Mondfinsternis ein, greifen alle Leute nach *Eimer*. Unter viel Geschrei reiben sich Männer, Frauen und Kinder damit das Gesicht, als würden sie sich waschen und reinigen; sie rufen und erwarten, daß Sonne bzw. Mond wieder sauber und glänzend werde. Da sie selber nämlich jenen Himmelskörper nicht erreichen können, er aber doch gepatzt worden muß, reiben sie ihr eigenes Gesicht nachhaltig ab; denn Sonnen- bzw. Mondfinsternis bedeutet für sie unsauberes, schmutziges Gesicht jener Gestirne. Sonnen- bzw. Mondfinsternis umschreiben sie mit *Ibu* — bzw. *hénuja* — *drugáin*, "Sonne bzw. Mond mit einem schmutzigen, gänzlich unsauberen und unsauberen Gesicht" (vgl. das *drúgaia* im BD: 61). In gleicher Weise bezeichnen sie einen Stern, der auffällig seine Farbe ändert, auch einen Sternschuppe und einen Kometen mit dem sichtbaren Schweif als *ayéwaia drugáin*, ein Stern, der in Unordnung geraten ist. Erscheint der Mond von einem Hof umgeben, der nach der einen oder anderen Himmelsrichtung hin eine offene Stelle erkennen läßt, erwartet man von derther schlechtes Wetter für die nächste Zeit. Kinder dürfen den Vollmond nicht lange anstarren. Man glaubt, während das Kind seine Augen unverwegt zum Monde hin gewendet hält, erscheint es dessen großen Mund und ruft unwillkürlich aus: „Du Mond, öffne deinen Mund!" Das hätte eine baldige Erkrankung des Kindes zur Folge. Auch die Yamana lesen aus der Vollmondscheibe ein ganzes Gesicht mit Augen und Mund heraus.

Selbstverständlich beschäftigen sich unsere Indianer auch außerordentlich mit dem Wetter. Wenn einige Personen im Kanu fahren und etwas essen, so dürfen Abfälle und Speisereste nicht ins Wasser geworfen werden; denn das würde sofort einen hohen Wellengang oder Sturm veranlassen. Jene Reste vernichtet man sorgfältig im Kanufeuer.

Bei der Geburt eines Kindes achtet man darauf, ob schönes oder ungünstiges Wetter herrscht. Für den, der bei gutem Wetter auf die Welt kommt, ist damit zugleich die Aussicht auf einen glücklichen Lebensweg gegeben; vor allem ist er imstande, schlechtes Wetter abzuwehren. Werden aber einige Familien durch Stürme und Regenschauer in einer Bucht zurückgehalten und an der Weiterfahrt behindert, benutzen sie eine Kreuz, einen Speerschaft oder ein Ruder mit roter Farbe, gebieten das "Schönwetter-Kind" an den Strand und geben ihm jenen benannten Stück mit der Weisung in die Hände, damit das Meer zu schlagen und günstiges Wetter zu fordern. Führt sich jenes Kind dabei verschämt und verschüchtert auf, oder ist es wegen seines jugendlichen Alters dazu noch unfähig, nimmt es der eigene Vater in seine Arme und stellt es gegen seine Brüste; er selber sagt dann die bestimmten Worte her

und teilt die Schläge gegen das Meer aus, wobei die Arme des Kindes etwas mitten müssen. Unbedingt wird gefordert, daß jener Gegenstand vom Schlagen herauf sei. Die Worte, die gegen das unholdete Wetter gerichtet werden, haben zum Inhalt, es möge sich schleunigst entfernen, seine Bestrebungen der Menschen einstellen und einem guten Wetter den Platz räumen. Sogar vom Wampichjaw wird die Aufforderung hinzugeschickt, er möge baldigst die Wetterlage ändern; denn letzten Endes ist er ja für die ungünstige Witterung verantwortlich. Beispielsweise sagt man:

Wile	mamajáge	Ikamáse	yelajáge
Sofort	vom Strand kommen	Schneefall	Schlechtwetter

yéyin,	ajéin	kaléipa	ilái.
Kind	ähnlich	von hier	da.

Das heißt etwa: „Damit du, Schlechtwetter, sofort von hier wegziehest, ist ein bewegtes Schlechtwetter-Kind an den Strand herausgegangen und schlägt gegen dich los." Währenddessen streckt dieses Kind seine Arme aus und greift in den Luftraum hinein, als würde es die Wolken fassen, die Nebel auseinandertreiben und den Regenschauer zurückschieben; gleichzeitig stößt es starke, einhemde H-Laute aus. Diese Anstrengungen dienen dem Ziele, das Unwetter schnell zu verscheuchen. Die hierbei gebrauchlichen Worte sind in eine freilegende Formel eingekleidet; ein Erwachsener sagt sie dem Kinde vor und dieses wiederholt sie nachmals, während es das Wasser schlägt.

Ein Kind, das bei ungünstiger Wetterlage oder gar unter schweren Stürmen zur Welt kommt, erweckt allein dadurch bei der Nachbarschaft leichtere Unbehagen. Die Leute verlieren dieses Zusammentreffen nicht aus dem Gedächtnis und merken das Kind selber damit in späteren Jahren vertraut. Ein solches Kind muß sich bei ruhigem Wetter und heißem Sonnenschein zurückhaltend und genügsam benehmen. Durchgängig wünschen die Frauleute, daß das so sich knapp benehmende Schlechtwetter, wenn es wirklich einmal eintritt, zumal warmer, ruhige Tage, ein wenig anhalten. Ebenderhalb muß dann ein „Schlechtwetter-Kind" es vermeiden, auf dem Strande laut herumzutollen, am Wasserrande lebhaft umherzugehen, Steine ins Meer zu werfen, die Wellen mit einem Stocken oder Ruder zu schlagen, einen Gegenstand niederfallen und heftig aufschlagen zu lassen. Dagegen zu verstoßen, hätte baldigen Wetterwechsel zur Folge. Die Erwachsenen unterlassen es nicht, das „Schlechtwetter-Kind" scharf zu beobachten und zu vorsichtigem Verhalten zu ermahnen. Sofern starker Gegenwind und hoher Wellengang einer Familie die Weiterfahrt unmöglich macht, verweist es die Frau, durch eine eigene Fürsichtigkeit jene Widerstände zu beseitigen. Sie schneidet einer ihrer Töchter, die das fünfte Lebensjahr noch nicht erreicht hat, vom Kopfe bis zu den Füßen mit Ruß ein, gebietet sie an den Strand hinunter, schickt sie nachmals in die Flut hinein und drückt sie wiederholt unter Wasser. So lange führt die Frau diese Handlung weiter, bis ihr Töchterchen, dessen Ähnlichkeit zu wünschen und schreien anfängt. Erst jetzt gibt sie ihre Tochter frei, die laut

beißend der Flut entsteigt, um sich am Hüttenfeuer zu wärmen. Die Mutter aber bleibt noch ein Weilchen am Strande und redet klagend das Meer also an:

Yelajága	yágina	inája	uóla	ruendru	ikumóna.
Schönwetter	Kind	abziehe	sofort	Mitleid haben	Schneefall.

Oder mit andern Worten: „Du Schlechtwetter, habe Mitleid mit jenem 'Schönwetter-Kinde' und entferne dich unverzüglich mit dem überreichlichen Schneefall." Mit ihrer Handlungsweise, besonders mit dem Unterstreichen, will die Mutter vortäuschen, ihr Kind ertrinke im Meere wegen ungünstigen Wetters.

Der Winter Mitte 1923 war ungewöhnlich hart und brachte sehr viel Schnee. Ich weilte auf Isla Navarino und die Indianer gaben mir oft ihren Unmut über die lästigen Schneemassen zu verstehen. Eines Tages versuchten sie es wieder einmal mit einer altbewährten Förmlichkeit, die der Abwehr dient. Zwei Männer richteten nahe den Hütten eine etwa 120 cm hohe, menschenähnliche Gestalt aus Schnee auf, sehr plump und wenig ebenmäßig von der Art, wie Schulkinder in Europa ohne Sorgfalt einen Schneemann aufbauen. In diesem Gebilde waren Kopf, Rumpf und Arme nur andeutungsweise und sehr ungenau ausgeführt; in wenigen Minuten hatte man es aufgerichtet. Währenddessen hatten sich mehrere Kinder und einige Erwachsene davor zusammengefunden. Sobald jene beiden Männer ihr plumpes Gebilde als beendet erklärten, ordneten sich alle Leute davor in einem Abstand von etwa 5 m und warfen in wüstem Zerstörungseifer mit Steinen und Klötzen, mit Knüppeln und Speeren dagegen, bis das harbere Gebilde ganz und gar auseinandergerissen als wirrer Schneehaufen dalag. Das erregte, wüste Gebaren soll dem "Winter", den man sich in jenem Gebilde verkörpert denkt, so verstehen geben, wie ungehalten, ja erbittert alle Leute über ihn sind und daß er sich schleunigst davon mache. Von dieser von den Vorfahren überkommenen Förmlichkeit versprechen sie sich baldigen Erfolg und sie nehmen dann mehrmals während der kalten Jahreszeit ihre Zuflucht.[20]

Einen andern Brauch, ebenfalls von der Art eines echten Analogiezauberes, hat Bennett aufgezeichnet; ich selber habe davon nichts erfahren: An einem stürmischen Tage, „all men were disguised with paint and charcoal. The men came along, many armed with clubs. One man, Lazarowlom, a vigorous, active young fellow, acted the champion and challenger, and stood prominently forward to meet the foremost and most excited of the opposite party. Like the man who confronted him, he had a broad band of white from his chin downward, and his head was bound with the skin of a kelp gander with white down on it, and his hair was also whitened. He had a white stone in either hand. His antagonist, who came leaping along making much noise, was

[20] Schon im Jahre 1861 hat Bennett dieselbe beobachtet: „The Fuegians, to drive such unpleasant weather away, build a figure of the snow, in shape somewhat like a man, and throw spears into it, and demolish it with paddles" (VIA: XII, 4; 1861). — Auch die Selk'nam bewahren sich, durch einen bestimmten, zauberischen Brauch den Winter abzuhalten. Dabei spielt ebenfalls je ein repräsentativer "Schlechtwetter-Kind" und ein "Schönwetter-Kind" die Hauptrolle (Bd. I, 683).

armed with a club. He kept on demanding what *jacnai* [a term for seals, penguins, and other sea birds] would let him kill some one, as thought he thirsted for blood. He held his club ready to use it, and they both spoke excitedly and loudly to each other. Presently LASAPOWLOON threw one of his stones a full yard behind his opponent's back, and ran after his stone to pick it up again. Presently looking to where I heard much noise I saw two others highly painted fellows engaged in loud vociferations and earnest gestures, each with an arm round the others neck, and bobbing their heads each to the other. The rest stood quietly looking on .... LASAPOWLOON acting the part he did, was according to custom, called *tuworoo*, or the storm of wind; the man who met him was called *tumoozzworoo*, or one who invited the storm to rage against him" (MM: IX, 13; 1875).

Des Eindruckes kann ich mich nicht erwehren, daß abergläubische Gebräuche und Förmlichkeiten zu dem Ziele, das Wetter zu Gunsten persönlicher Wünsche und Absichten zu beeinflussen, bei den Yamana eben deshalb in einem nur beschränkten Maße zur Entwicklung gelangt sind, weil ihr *Watuindjiru* als eigentlicher Beherrscher der Naturkräfte dasteht. An ihn, als den ersten und sichersten Helfer, wendet sich demnach jedermann unmittelbar mit den von altersher überlieferten Gebetsformeln (S. 1056).

Außerdem besteht noch dieser und jener gleichsinnige Brauch mit abergläubischer Begründung, der ganz eindeutig als ein kluges Speiseverbot sich zu erkennen gibt. Durch sie soll die Selbstbeherrschung gefördert und der Eigennutz hintangehalten werden. Einige derartige Bestimmungen sind früher schon genannt worden. So darf z. B. niemand die Pernettya-Beeren eher abpflücken, als sie ausgereift sind; sollte jemand dem zuwider handeln, würden "die Beeren fortgehen" (S. 588). Wer zu gegebener Zeit *amdjin* sammelt, darf wohl die eine und andere naschen; wer ihnen aber reichlich zuspricht, der beschwört durch seine Ungezügeltheit im Essen schlechtes Wetter herauf. Leicht macht man jene ungehorsame Person ausfindig und man setzt ihr mit harten Vorwürfen zu, falls ein plötzlicher Wetterwechsel eintritt. Bei diesem Verbot überwiegt wohl das Bestreben, jedwede Einzelperson zu zwingen, sämtliche von ihr gesammelten Beeren ins Lager zu bringen und andere Leute daran teilnehmen zu lassen, statt ihr selbstsüchtig allein den Genuß zu gewähren. Leute, die aus anderer Gegend kommen, auf fremdem Gebiete landen und hier reichliche Mengen von reifen *amdjin* antreffen, dürfen dieselben weder pflücken noch essen. Tun sie es dennoch, müssen sie sich während der Weiterreise auf bedrohliches Wetter einrichten. Der Genuß jener Beeren bedeutet für sie ein *dandjim*, Unheil und Verderben.

Die *palaxfqtix*, die "Regenbeere" vom Rubus proides (S. 556) darf man nur bei schönem Wetter zum Munde führen. Hat jemand eine Stelle entdeckt, an der diese Beeren in großer Zahl stehen, so soll er, will er sie sammeln, vorerst beim *idjuna* sich dazu Erlaubnis holen; diese den Erwachsenen und Kindern zu erteilen, steht ihm zu. Wer ohne diese Erlaubnis oder wer bei

Regenwetter die *palaččix* pflückt, muß sich zur Sühne, *ldneči*, für einen Ungehorsam darauf gefaßt machen, daß ihn auf offener See ein schwerer Sturm mit Regenschauern plötzlich überfällt und in Lebensgefahr versetzt. Der 16. März 1923 brachte einen außergewöhnlich schweren Wolkenbruch mit Überschwemmung. Zwei Tage vorher hatten sich einige Mädchen zu einem durch seine vielen *palaččix* bekannten Platz geschlichen — er liegt etwa eine Stunde von Punta Remolino entfernt — und solche Beeren gepflückt. Allen Ernstes erzählte mir NELLY am Abend des 16. März, daß die jugendliche Halakwulup JULIA mit einigen Mädchen zu jener Stelle gegangen sei. Ihr war jenes Verbot nicht bekannt, sie hat nach den Beeren gegriffen und viel davon gegessen; ihrem Beispiel waren auch jene Mädchen gefolgt. Als Strafe dafür ist der schwere Regen niedergegangen.

Über die nach Süden hin offenen, breiten Wasserarme brechen ganz plötzliche Unwetter gar nicht selten herein. Dort besteht der Brauch, gewisse Jagdtiere, die eben erbeutet worden sind, nicht schon am gleichen Tage zu verzehren, sondern bis zum folgenden Tage aufzubewahren. Wer darnach sich nicht richtet, hat für die nächste Zeit einen schweren Verlust zu gewärtigen. Wahrscheinlich soll dieser Brauch zur Vorsorge für den nächsten Tag anleiten und erziehen. Denn nur zu oft sieht sich eine Familie an der Weiterfahrt durch widerwärtige Naturkräfte behindert und könnte in arge Not geraten, wenn sie nicht gelernt hätte und gezwungen würde, mit ihrem ohnedies spärlichen Vorrat überlegend haushalten.

Während der Kanufahrt essen die Yamana sehr selten und dann immer nur wenig. Wer etwas zu sich nimmt, darf Speisereste und Abfälle nicht über Bord werfen, sondern soll sie im andauernd brennenden Feuer vernichten. *Ypólog* hat dies so angeordnet, heißt es. Wer sich gegen diese Vorschrift verfehlt, dessen Kind wird ebenso andauernd schreien, wie seinerzeit das des *Ypólog* geschrien hat (S. 1174). Überdies, so sagen andere Leute, wird jenes Kanu in bedrohliches Wetter geraten. SPENCER: 87 schreibt: „When crossing one of the Sounds, a man will paint broad transverse bands of black across the woman's face. This supposed to ensure a fairweather crossing." Davon habe ich durch meine Gewährspersonen nichts erfahren. Wohl aber, daß unverzüglich schlechtes Wetter einsetzt, falls jemand hohe Schilfpflanzen in einer Lagune zerreißt.

Überdies werden die Yamana noch gefangen gehalten in einem Kreise abergläubischer Vorstellungen von sogenannten unheilvollen Orten. Als solche bezeichnet man zunächst jene Stellen, an denen sich die *Lakáma* mit Vorliebe aufhalten. Dorthin soll sich niemand im Kanu vorwagen noch daselbst Muscheln sammeln. Außer den *Lakáma* und der übergesinnten *Hapóla* machen auch gewisse Tiere, die mit den *yékamul* in Verbindung stehen, einen Ort für die Leute bedenklich. Befreundete, wohlmeinende *yékamul* warnen davor; denn sie erkennen in ihren Träumen den Sachverhalt und die Gefahr, in die irgend jemand dewegen gerät. Wer ahnungslos eine derartige Zone betritt, fühlt plötzliches Unwohlsein, ermattet gänzlich und erblüft

sofort ein. Wird ein *yákamsi* nicht zeitig genug zu Hilfe gerufen, daß er jenen Menschen vom verderblichen Einfluß dieses unheilvollen Ortes befreit, dann geht er zugrunde. WRIGHT erzählte am 21. März 1923: „In *Lapatéje* ist eine verderbenbringende Stelle, wo sogar die Fische nicht verschont bleiben. Einst hatten mehrere Männer dort ein Netz aufgestellt. Schnell füllte es sich mit Fischen und die Männer begannen, es wieder einzuziehen. Als sie mit dem reichlich gefüllten Netze dem Ufer nahe waren, riß eine starke Kraft sämtliche Fische aus dem Netze heraus und die Männer starrten erstaunt ins leere Netz." Früher hat BRIDGES berichtet: „A certain SHAMIANJIZ had made up his mind to settle out at a beautiful place some three miles from Ushuaia. Accordingly he went there with his wife and family, and one or two friends. These built a wigwam, and had plenty of wood and water close at hand. But late in the afternoon they heard a strange voice or cry, whether from owl, hawk, bird, beast, or evil spirit they knew not and were too much frightened to go and ascertain, saying *sapiccoosh, sapiccoosh*, which means bloody arrow head. They forthwith packed up and hastened back to Ushuaia from the fatal spot" (MM: XIII, 80; 1879).

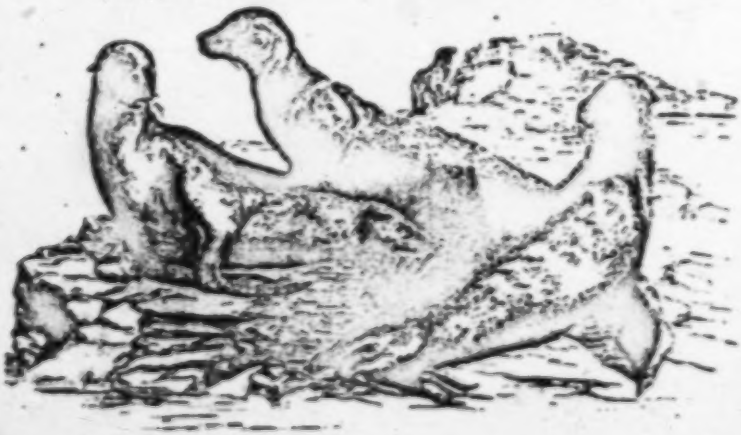
Schließlich gibt es noch einige wenige abergläubische Vorstellungen von einem andersgearteten Inhalt. NELLY hat mir versichert: „Wenn halberwachsene Kinder von der elterlichen Hütte fortlaufen, wenn sich jemand mit einer Axt eine schwere Verwundung zuzieht oder sonstwie bedenklich verletzt, indem er stürzt, stolpert oder fällt, so ist das ein Zeichen dafür, daß irgendeine Person seiner nächsten Umgebung bald sterben werde. Jene Personen, die sich verletzt haben, trifft keine Schuld; ebensowenig jene Kinder, die fortgelaufen sind. Ihr *kélipiś* gibt es ihnen so ein und sie selber können daran nichts ändern. Die eigenen Eltern klären ihr unmündiges Kind, das entlaufen ist, nicht auf; statt dessen erwarten sie mit Angst den dadurch angekündigten Todesfall." Diese Erklärung gab mir NELLY, als ich ihr davon sprach, daß an einem Spätnachmittag die kleine Tochter des MAÍZMIRENS mit anderen Mädchen davongelaufen war (S. 697); sie wies darauf hin, daß in der gleichen Nacht die Frau des THOMAS gestorben war.

Eine ungünstige Vorbedeutung für die Jagd verzeichnet das BD: 274 unter *kusóf:* a supposed evil influence arising from unclean and unwashed persons after sexual uncleanness eating animals, as guanaco or otter caught by dogs which caused them (the dogs) to cease to be successful in further hunting. Diese Ansicht habe ich nicht vorgefunden, sie läßt sich mit manchen sicher erwiesenen Vorstellungen nicht in Einklang bringen.

Der jugendliche DARWIN (f): II, 327 berichtet: „Als YORK MINSTER nach seinem Lande zurückgebracht wurde, sagten ihm die Eingeborenen, er solle die wenigen kursen Haare in seinem Gesichte ausreißen. Sie drohten auch einem jungen Missionär, welcher eine Zeitlang bei ihnen gelassen wurde, damit, ihn nackt auszuziehen und die Haare von seinem Gesicht und Körper auszureißen, und doch war er durchaus kein stark behaarter Mann." Darauf beruft sich HYADES (q): 255 und versichert: „Les Fuegiens jettent dans le feu

les cheveux arrachés ou tombés. Ce n'est certainement pas par précaution hygiénique qu'ils opèrent ces destructions." Tatsächlich sind alle Personen ängstlich darauf bedacht, jedwedes Haar eigenhändig im Feuer zu vernichten. Wie ihrerseits die Selk'nam (Bd. I, 712), tun das bewußt auch die Yamana und zwar aus Angst davor, ein *yékamuš* könne ein Einzelhaar in die Hände bekommen und vermittels dessen jener Person leichter einen Schaden anrichten. Wer dessen sicher ist, daß er nichts zu fürchten hat, läßt sich widerstandslos eine Haarprobe abschneiden; mir ist es gelungen.

Im Westen steht ein Gebirgsmassiv. Aus dem Umriß der höchsten Spitzen kann man die Person eines Jägers herauslesen, der auf seinem Rücken zwei Wildgänse trägt und der rechts und links von einem Hunde begleitet ist. Jener Mann ist dort zu Stein geworden, man weiß den Anlaß nicht mehr; wer vorbeifährt, soll sich ruhig verhalten. SPENCER: 82 schreibt: „KEN told me story of boiling lake high up on Hoste Island behind the tall snow peak on Dumas Peninsula seen from Rio Douglas. Too hot to hold hand in and very dangerous to go near." Nur wenig bekannt ist es, daß da und dort im Kap Hoorn-Archipel eine warme Quelle fließt. Unweit von Punta Remolino, auf ansehnlicher Höhe, habe ich selber eine kohlensäurehaltige Quelle besucht. Unbestimmt ist folgende Angabe, die SPENCER: 82 gemacht hat: „There is a special cove on Tekenika Bay with a cave in which lives a dangerous spirit. No Yaghan dare stay there at night. GEORGE told KEN, who had done so, that he was lucky to have got out alive. Strange noises are always to be heard there at night time." Im Yamana gibt es mehrere Ausdrucksweisen, die genau dem entsprechen, was wir in die Bezeichnungen "Glückspilz" oder auch "Pechvogel" hineinlegen. BD: 42 bringt, nach BRIDGES (k): 240, beispielsweise das *istauwūlux*, successful in hunting, und die damit gebildeten Zusammensetzungen. Die abergläubischen Anschauungen der Yamana bekunden ihre ängstliche Veranlagung und die regsame Tätigkeit ihrer Phantasie.



E. Die Kina-Feier

Die hervorragend fördernde Bedeutung der Jugendweihe für den Bestand der Gesellschaftsordnung unserer Feuerländer kommt äußerlich dadurch zum Ausdruck, daß die Jugendlichen beiderlei Geschlechtes daran zweimal teilzunehmen ausnahmslos verpflichtet werden. Im großen und ganzen ist *čičpuys* offensichtlich eine Weiterführung der elterlichen Erziehung über den engen Rahmen der Familienhütte hinaus und zwar mit dem besonderen Ziel, die Jugendlichen zu gut brauchbaren Gliedern der Gemeinschaft zu machen. Wie bestimmt man es darauf absieht, beweist überzeugend die Tatsache, daß die einzelnen Prüflinge mit Abschluß ihrer Jugendweihe in den Kreis der Erwachsenen übertreten und das Recht erhalten, durch baldiges Eingehen einer Ehe ihre eigene Familie zu begründen (S. 955). Eine besondere Ergänzung und einseitig gerichtete Erweiterung des bisher erlangten Wissens um das gesamte Gedanken- und Vorstellungsgut des Stammes erhalten später die jungen Männer in der geheimen Veranstaltung des *kina*, die grundsätzlich dem männlichen Volksteile vorbehalten ist. An erster Stelle wird hierbei nicht ein deutlich umschriebenes Ziel erzieherischer Art angestrebt — obgleich eine gewisse Erziehung nicht ganz und gar beiseite gestellt bleibt —, sondern die belehrende Einführung in einen eigenartigen mythologischen Gedankenkreis, den die Männer als ihren alleinigen Besitz betrachten. Eben deshalb hüten sie ihn ängstlich vor der Neugierde ihrer Frauen und vorübergehend lassen sie, im Bewußtsein dieses Besitzes, ihre Überheblichkeit und Vormachtstellung den weiblichen Bevölkerungsteil als Gesamtheit deutlich fühlen. Alles erklärt sich daraus, daß das *kina* vom tendenziösen Grundgedanken einer mehr oder weniger betonten Weiberfeindlichkeit getragen wird. Dieser einseitigen Richtung wegen entfernt sich das *kina* grundsätzlich vom *čičpuys*; letzteres ist beiden Geschlechtern im Reifealter zugänglich, ersteres nur den herangereiften Männern.[300]

Die Selk'nam besitzen in ihrer Kloketen-Feier (Bd. I, 808) eine Einrichtung, in der, wenn man so sagen darf, die beiden Veranstaltungen des *čičpuys* und des *kina* unserer Yamana zumindest äußerlich vereinigt wurden. Die Grundrichtung und viele Einzelheiten des *kina* machen genau jenen Gedankenkreis und jene Ausdrucksmittel aus, die sich als eine eigentliche Männerzeremonie zusammenfassen lassen. Alles, was zu einer solchen gehört, findet sich im *klóketen* der Selk'nam deutlicher ausgeprägt; dieses *klóketen* erweist sich als die mehr ursprüngliche, kaum irgendwie verfälschte oder verwässerte Form, obwohl es gleichzeitig eine eigentliche Jugendweihe ist. Um die Vergleiche dieser geheimen Einrichtungen bei beiden benachbarten Stämmen zu erleichtern, habe ich die nun folgende Beschreibung in Anlehnung an die Darstellung der *klóketen*-Feier aufgebaut. Die nicht allzu umfang-

[300] Die gleichen Verhältnisse habe ich auch bei den Halakwulup entdeckt. Diese Feuerländer besitzen neben einer eigentlichen Jugendweihe eine davon getrennte Männerfeier. Vgl. vorläufig Gesamt (a): 541 und (g): 287.

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

reiche Darstellung gewinnt an sachlichem und auch geschichtlichem Wert dadurch, daß ich das *kina* als erster Europäer aus persönlicher Anschauung kennengelernt habe und daß es nachweislich die letzte Veranstaltung seiner Art gewesen ist. Ein merkwürdiges Zusammentreffen ist es: Das letzte *klóketen*, das die Selk'nam im Jahre 1923 abgehalten, und das letzte *kina*, das die Yamana im Jahre 1922 gefeiert haben, durfte ich, als erster Europäer, aus unmittelbarer Anteilnahme noch eingehend kennenlernen und erleben.[247]

a. Kenntnisnahme durch Europäer

Das Kina ist eine geheime Veranstaltung, zu der grundsätzlich nur erwachsenen Männern der Zutritt gewährt wird. Im Alltag spricht ein Yamana darüber äußerst selten; und auch dann wird das bloße Wort *kina* kaum je wiederholt, wenn Männer unter sich sind. Allein aus diesem Umstande heraus erklärt es sich zur Genüge, daß weder die englischen Missionare, noch die dort seit einigen Jahrzehnten ansässigen Weißen und die gelegentlichen Besucher jenes Gebietes mit dem Kina der Eingeborenen vertraut geworden sind. Damals fehlte dem Durchschnittseuropäer, der bei primitiven Völkerschaften reiste, noch das volle Verständnis für geheime Zeremonien weit mehr, als für manche andere mit den bloßen Augen leicht aufzunehmende Einrichtung. Als Erzeugnis einer verbildeten Phantasie und eines unentwickelten Verstandes wiesen jene Reisenden durchgehends dergleichen Dinge zurück und gaben sich auch nicht Mühe, dieselben einigermaßen zu verstehen. Auf beiden Seiten also lagen die Gründe dafür, daß das Kina der Yamana ebensowenig wie die geheimen Feiern anderer Naturvölker frühzeitig zur Kenntnis der Europäer gelangt sind. Bei meiner dritten Reise haben sich die Yamana zu dieser Feier erst auf mein entschiedenes Drängen hin entschlossen (S. 186); sie hatten dieselbe ja auch seit langem nicht mehr abgehalten und wären deshalb in manchen Einzelheiten nicht ganz sicher. Trotzdem konnten damals die wesentlichen Teile zuverlässig von mir aufgenommen und die Grundgedanken dieser umständlichen, geheimen Veranstaltung aufgedeckt werden.

1. Frühere Angaben

Wie die Mehrheit der Reisenden, die über unsere Yamana berichten, in ihrer Darstellung der vielen Einzelheiten, aus dem Kulturbilde dieser Eingeborenen mehr oder weniger vollständig von den englischen Missionaren bzw. ausschließlich von Rev. Th. Bridges abhängig ist, so auch in dem wenigen, wo dieser Mann nur unklar und andeutungsweise über das Kina niedergeschrieben hat. Durchgehends haben alle Zeugen höchstens einige

[247] Bedeutsame Vorteile sind mir daraus erflossen, daß ich mit dem Kina der Yamana bereits vor der besser ausgeprägten und reichhaltiger gestalteten Form der Männerfeier des Klóketen der Selk'nam vertraut geworden bin. An mehreren Stellen habe ich darauf hingewiesen; vgl. wenigstens Bd. I, 816, sowie Gusinde (n): 973 und (q): 277.

kurze, undeutliche Hinweise geboten. Ihre überdies unzuverlässigen Andeutungen ließen sich bislang umso weniger verwerten, als sie die tragenden Grundgedanken jener Feier nicht faßbar genug zu erkennen gegeben hatten.

Auch hier ist es, wie das von manchen anderen bedeutsamen Dingen im Besitz der Yamana schon nachgewiesen wurde, aus den Missionaren allein BRIDGES, der nennenswerte Einzelheiten aus der Kina-Feier geliefert hat.[248] 1866 hat er (a): 204 zum ersten Male mit folgenden Worten darauf angespielt: „When boys and girls come to the years of virilty, they undergo a kind of discipline and teaching ... It is called *Ceena*. During the time the father and son is at *Ceena*, which is from a few days to about two weeks, neither father nor son sees any female; food sent them by the women, through some man or other, daily. The ceremonies here conducted are to impose upon the women, to effect which the men make large conical masks of bark which completely cover the head; they also paint their bodies peculiarly, and when all is ready they rush out of the *Ceena*, and dance and jump about as nimbly as they can in view of the women, who look upon them as beings from another world." Diese Sätze ergänzt er (a): 212 noch durch die folgenden: „There is a female, a woman who comes up out of the sea, into the *Ceena*, and does certain strange things. There is also a being who is supposed, to come from above, and he also visits the *Ceena* during the time the discipline of the youths is being conducted."[249] In diesen Mitteilungen darf man nicht übersehen — was ich schon S. 809 betont habe —, daß BRIDGES das genannte „kind of discipline and teaching" irrtümlicherweise als die einzige gemeinschaftliche Veranstaltung der Yamana beurteilt. Tatsächlich sind *čiéxaus* und *kina* zwei weit auseinanderliegende Einrichtungen.

Drei Jahre später erwähnt er „the wigwam called *Keena*, and is wholly set apart for celebrating religious ceremonies and superstitious practices. It is in these places that the youths receive their severe training, which

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[248] Außer BRIDGES ist es noch der Missionar ASPINALL: 270, der ganz kurz erwähnt: „Um das Recht und Ansehen des Herrn der Schöpfung zu wahren, nehmen die Männer zu geheimnisvollen Bräuchen ihre Zuflucht, die in größerer Gemeinschaft mit Ausschluß der Frauen ausgeführt werden." Einmal hat sich LEWIS nebenbei geäußert, auf den Inseln Wollaston gelegentlich im Jahre 1888 den Gottesdienst abgehalten zu haben, „in a Tooneeeoo uehr, i. e. play-house, formerly called a 'keena', a large wigwam, erected not to live in, but in which to perform certain initiatory rites with the youth etc." (MM: XXII, 218; 1888).

[249] Weiter heißt es dort: „When the youths attain thirteen or fourteen years, they are taken by their fathers or uncles to the Keena, where they sit with their eyes fixed on the floor for a long time ... The youths under training called Ooshwauls. At the end of the day they come to the Keena to sleep, and to have a very insufficient repast. No women enter or even go near to the Keena, only men sleep there. Sometimes the youths are made to lie down with their faces downward, and Lizeskeeps, an evil cruel being, is announced. The youth is very frightened, and dares not turn his head in order to look at this dreadful being, who is supposed to come up out of the sea. She sings a great deal, and with her club beats the earth violently close by the frightened prostrate youth, who expects every recurring blow to fall upon him; at last Lizeskeeps goes away, and he is allowed to sit up again."

is to introduce them to the privileges of man's estate, and every young fellow has to undergo it" (VP: III, 118; 1869). Die dabei gebräuchliche und oft wiederholte Maskierung deutet Bridges (e): 332 und (h): 208 folgendermaßen: Die Männer „stellten auch halb dramatische, halb religiöse Verkörperungen verschiedener schlimmer Mächte dar; diese Aufführungen aber, die für sie eine Quelle von Aufregung und Vergnügen waren, fanden nur statt, wenn eine große Zahl von ihnen versammelt war. Die Verkleidung der Vorsteller ging in besonderen Baulichkeiten vor sich, welchen sich die Weiber und Kinder nicht nähern durften, und man erwartete von ihnen, daß sie eine große Furcht vor jenen Dingen an den Tag legen würden, welche der Dämon vor ihnen aufführte, indem er sie mit allen möglichen Arten von Gewalttätigkeiten bedrohte." Zu dieser Beschreibung kommt in (i): 17 und (h): 209 noch: „The men would be occupied in the *keena*, painting and variously disguising themselves with barkhats, and smearing themselves with blood, procured by pricking the inside of their noses, to represent various characters. Some would appear as an evil being called *Chinoogoo*, others as another evil spirit known as *Tanoowa*, others again represented *Ushoomeena*, and others *Laincakeepa*, a female demon. When all was ready, the women and children being seated outside their wigwams, these variously disguised men, unrecognisable even to their nearest relatives would rush forth with club, spear or bow in hand, dancing and leaping about frantically, threatening the women with their weapons ... In the *keena* they would rest and, amidst roars of laughter, discuss the merits of the different actors. All dances and amusements were accompanied with singing or chanting for the varieties of which they had special names, derived from birds and plantes." Als Ergänzung hierzu sagt Bridges (k): 239 noch: „Los yaganes poseen cierto número de dramas de carácter semi-supersticioso, y a cada uno de estos corresponden disfraces, manera de representación y estilo de cantos especiales ... Los personajes representados eran todos seres mitológicos que, según se supponía, habían existido en otras épocas; todos eran perversos y habían venido de diferentes parajes. Uno, por ejemplo, había llegado a la escena desde los bosques, otro había salido del mar, algunos venían de las nubes y otros salían de la tierra." Das BD führt viele Kina-Geister mit Namen an. Insgesamt sind es also beträchtliche Einzelkenntnisse, die Bridges sich vom Kina erworben hatte; allerdings fehlte ihm das Verständnis, sich in dieses Vielerlei zu vertiefen, es zu ordnen und in seiner Bedeutung zu erfassen.

Gegenüber dem, was Bridges persönlich in Erfahrung gebracht hat, verschwinden die knappen Hinweise aus der Feder anderer Reisender. Letztere sind ausnahmslos von ihm abhängig. Es überrascht, bei Martial: 214 einige Gedanken aus der Umwälzungsmythe zu finden, in der hingewiesen wird auf jene Zeit, da „les femmes détenaient le pouvoir." Davon liefert Dabbene (b): 202 nicht mehr als eine wörtlich genaue Wiederholung. Deutlicher hat sich Hahn (c): 340 und (d): 44 ausgedrückt: „Les Yahganes célèbrent une fête, appelée *Kina*, est commemorative de la révolte des hommes

contre les femmes, qui avant cela avaient l'autorité dans la famille et possédaient les secrets du sorcier. Ils se masquent dans cette circonstance, crient et dansent tant que leurs forces le permettent." Seinerseits beruft sich HYADES (q): 377 auf ein "travail inédit" des Missionars BRIDGES. Dieses Manuskript führe ich unter (i) an, daraus habe ich die verwertbaren Sätze soeben wiederholt. Reichlich unbestimmt und knapp sind jene Andeutungen, die SPEGAZZINI (a): 170 bietet. Noch weniger sagt diesbezüglich ein Satz, der sich in WIEGHARDT: 30 findet. Endlich weist neuestens noch SPENCER: 111 auf das Ziel dieser geheimen Veranstaltung mit den kurzen Worten hin: „The initiation of the young men is supposed to prevent women from taking their dominion over men and making them again lead a dog's life." Offenkundig weiß er die eigentliche Jugendweihe von der Männerfeier nicht zu trennen.

2. Meine persönliche Beteiligung

Was an flüchtigen Hinweisen auf die Kina-Feier in weit verstreuten Druckschriften bis zu meinen Reisen vorlag, war nicht dazu angetan, mir irgendwelche Richtung zu geben; das um so weniger, als ja das *čiéxous* mit dem *kina* fast jedesmal vermengt und bis zur Irreführung verquickt erscheint. Statt dessen erhielt ich eine unmittelbare erste Andeutung auf meiner zweiten Reise von den Yamana selbst (S. 180). Als wir damals das *čiéxous* beendet hatten, äußerten sich die Leute in überschwenglicher Freude über den ungestörten, guten Verlauf dieser Feier und auch über die taktvolle Art, nach der ich persönlich daran als eigentlicher *uiwǵala* teilgenommen hatte. In diesem Zusammenhange machten sie sich erbötig, bei einer späteren Gelegenheit die Teilnahme am *čiéxous* mir zum zweiten Male zu ermöglichen; dadurch würde ich die rechtlichen Voraussetzungen erwerben, in das Kina einzutreten (S. 818). Weitgehend wurde ich damals schon über den Ablauf dieser Veranstaltung unterrichtet, hatte auch die Grundgedanken der sogenannten Umwälzungsmythe erfahren und war somit imstande, zuverlässig auf eine regelrechte Männerfeier mit deutlicher Abwehr des Einflusses der Frauenwelt zu schließen.

Als ich in jenem Jahre von den mir sehr ergebenen Yamana wieder Abschied nahm, stellte ich ihnen für den nächsten Sommer meine Rückkehr in Aussicht. Wirklich fanden wir uns im Sommer 1922 zusammen. Damals war es mein besonderes Ziel, das *čiéxous* zu wiederholen und daran sofort das *kina* anzuschließen (S. 186). Beides kam zustande und so habe ich damals die Männerfeier aus persönlicher Beteiligung kennengelernt. Diese Veranstaltung war bei weitem nicht das, was sie früher in den Zeiten einer gänzlichen Unabhängigkeit und unverminderten Kopfzahl der Yamana gewesen ist. Allein schon die Unerfahrenheit der meisten Teilnehmer in der eigentlichen Betriebsordnung hatte daran ihren beträchtlichen Anteil; denn reichlich zwanzig Jahre waren seit der letzten Veranstaltung dieser Art verflossen und für sämtliche Männer mittleren Alters war das Kina vom März

1922, genau so wie für mich, das erste ihres Lebens. Begreiflicherweise wirkte eine beträchtliche Unsicherheit in den vielen Einzelheiten fühlbar lähmend auf die wenigen Alten, die sich nun für den ungestörten Verlauf verantwortlich sahen; auch wollte jene unbefangene, unbehinderte Freude und Selbstgenügsamkeit sich nicht ganz voll entfalten, die ehedem das Herz eines jeden Yamana-Mannes höher schlagen ließ, der in dieser geheimen Hütte den wehrlosen Frauen einen rechten Possen spielen konnte. Ausschlaggebend hat mein unablässiges Drängen zum Zustandekommen dieser Veranstaltung beigetragen, was ich offen eingestehen muß; die Alten zeigten sich um so zaghafter, je näher der geplante Beginn heranrückte. Berechnend stützte ich mich auf einige jüngere Männer und beeinflußte sie in dem Sinne, daß auch sie ihrerseits den hochbejahrten Männern zusetzen müßten, diese möchten sie doch endlich einmal das Kina erleben lassen. Dem harten Druck von zwei Seiten her nachgebend, ließ sich PEDRO MAŠEMIKENS endlich gewinnen und in Puerto Mejillones kam im März 1922 die Männerfeier zustande. Sie war wirklich die letzte ihrer Art für die wenigen noch überlebenden Yamana. Unmittelbar mit dem *čiḗxaus* ist sie damals verbunden und auf eine ungewöhnlich kurze Zeitspanne beschränkt worden; die näheren Umstände sind in GUSINDE (c): 426 geschildert (S. 186). Trotz mancher Behinderung konnte Wesen und Ziel, Hergang und Ablauf dieser an sich reichhaltigen Veranstaltung beobachtet und mit allen Einzelheiten festgelegt werden. Auf der vierten Reise war es mir vergönnt, am *lóima-yékamnš* teilzunehmen. Bei dieser Gelegenheit ist mir die vollständige Fassung der Umwälzungsmythe über den Ursprung des *kina* und noch manches andere mitgeteilt worden.[270] Was ich aus persönlichem Erleben und aus den Mitteilungen zuverlässiger Yamana über ihre Männerfeier in Erfahrung gebracht habe, ist auf den sich hier anschließenden Seiten in einer folgerichtigen Anordnung niedergelegt worden.

b. Vorbereitung der Feier

Man mag das *kina* von verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten aus betrachten, immer wird man finden, daß es in jeder Hinsicht an Bedeutung gar weit hinter dem *čiḗxaus* zurücksteht. Infolgedessen befremdet es nicht, zu sehen, daß der gesamte Entwicklungsverlauf dieser Veranstaltung vom Anfang bis zum Schluß keineswegs in die strengen Formen eines geordneten und festgefügten Systems eingezwängt ist, vergleichbar dem, das jenes reichhaltige Vielerlei, aus dem das *čiḗxaus* besteht, eng verkettet zusammenhält. Immerhin sind die für das *kina* geltenden Regeln ausreichend, um bei geordnetem Ablauf der vielen einzelnen Darbietungen sein Ziel, sowohl bei den Frauen im Lager, wie auch bei jenen erstmalig eingeführten jungen Männern, zuverlässig zu erreichen. Der freien Entfaltung der persönlichen Veranlagung des Leiters und der Auswirkung der unter den beteiligten Männern vorherrschenden Stimmung bleibt hier ein viel weiterer Spielraum, als im *čiḗxaus*.

[270] Die näheren Bedingungen und Umstände finden sich in GUSINDE (a): 968 geschildert.

1. Anlaß und Dauer

Nach Charakter und Ziel, also aus inneren Gründen, ist das Kina keineswegs für eine bestimmte Gruppe innerhalb des Yamana-Volkes derart notwendig, wie die Jugendweihe. Dasselbe dann und wann abzuhalten, dafür besteht ein wirklich zwingender Grund nicht. Wer zweimal als *ušwǫǫla* in der *čiẹxaus*-Hütte gesessen hat, der gehört eben deshalb allein zur Bevölkerungsschicht der Erwachsenen, der kann durch Verheiratung seinen eigenen, unabhängigen Hausstand begründen. Darüber, daß jedes Kind beiderlei Geschlechtes die Jugendweihe erfahre, wacht die Allgemeinheit sehr scharf (S. 827) und sie bleibt in dieser Forderung auch dann noch unerbittlich, wenn irgend ein Kind, das nicht zum *čiẹxaus ušwǫǫla* gemacht werden konnte, längst zu einem Erwachsenen herangereift sein sollte (S. 828). Ob aber ein Mann das Kina erlebt hat oder nicht, dieser Umstand läßt die Allgemeinheit sowohl wie auch dessen Verwandtschaft ziemlich gleichgültig. Eine Erziehung in des Wortes strenger Bedeutung erhalten nämlich die Prüflinge hier sowieso nicht, und wenn dem einen oder andern auch alles Wissen um das eigentliche Männergeheimnis zeitweilig abgeht oder für längere Dauer vorenthalten bleibt, irgendwelche nennenswerte Nachteile erwachsen ihnen daraus nicht.

Wieder sind es, wie so oft im Volksleben dieser Feuerländer, ungezwungen verflochtene Umstände, die völlig ungewollt zum nächsten Anlaß für eine Kina-Feier werden. Die bloße plötzlich auftauchende Neigung und Lust, von dem und jenem Manne innerhalb einer kleinen Gruppe zur Begeisterung gesteigert, gebiert den Entschluß. Einige saumselige Nachbarn werden leicht gewonnen, niemand wagt zu widersprechen. Waren beispielsweise viele Leute durch einige Wochen im *čiẹxaus* vereinigt und sind sie dieses Beisammenseins müde geworden, bringen neue Besucher einen frischen Geist mit und bietet der Lagerplatz gewisse Vergünstigungen, auf die keine der hier versammelten Familien ohne weiteres verzichten will, nun so bleiben sie eben noch länger an der gleichen Stelle und beginnen zur Abwechslung mit dem Kina. Doch kommt diese Veranstaltung wie von selber auch dann zustande, wenn mehrere Familien sich neben einem gestrandeten Wal niederließen und von vornherein dazu entschlossen waren, etwa wegen des Winters, hier möglichst lange zu verweilen. Hat ein *yamalaẽmǫ́na* eine ansehnliche Zahl von Erwachsenen zusammengeführt und finden sie bald heraus, daß die Versorgung mit Lebensmitteln an diesem Platze überraschend bequem ist, bleiben sie kurz entschlossen sitzen und schaffen sich durch ein Kina-Fest einen angenehmen Zeitvertreib. Nirgendwo also macht sich ein Zwang geltend, keinerlei Verpflichtung drängt, wenn da oder dort, wenn in diesem Jahre oder nach einer Frist von mehreren Jahren, die geheime Männerfeier zustande kommt. Gewiß, diese und jene äußeren, rein zufälligen Gelegenheiten regen mehr als andere an; doch niemals werden sie zu einem zwingenden Anlaß.

Zieht man dieses alles in Erwägung, wird von selber offenkundig, daß auch die Dauer einer solchen Männerfeier sich in keinem Einzelfalle von vornherein bestimmen läßt und einfachhin unberechenbar ist. Jene zwang-

los miteinander verflochtenen Umstände, die eine Zusammenkunft der Männer haben zustande kommen lassen, bleiben das eine Mal länger und das andere Mal kürzer wirksam. Wie im *čiźaya*, so gibt auch hier im *kina* die nach gewisser Zeit noch herrschende Stimmung den entscheidenden Ausschlag. Freilich spricht die Nahrungsmittelversorgung ein schwerwiegendes Wort mit. Haben sich beispielsweise sehr viele Familien bei einem gestrandeten Wal eingefunden, daß aller Speck und alles Fleisch in kurzer Zeit aufgebraucht wurde, bietet aber jener Fleck dort nicht jene Menge von Muscheln und Vögeln, die der vielköpfigen Versammlung das Auskommen ermöglicht, so müssen sich die Familien eben wieder in alle Winde zerstreuen, mögen sie sich am Kina noch so begeistert, erfreut und vergnüglich ergötzt haben. Man hat mir versichert, daß frühere kleinere Gruppen von Männern zuweilen sogar bis zu vier Monaten in der Großen Hütte ausgeharrt hätten; für gewöhnlich wurden jedoch diese Spiele schon nach einigen Wochen wieder eingestellt.

Folgende Umstände darf man nicht zu niedrig einschätzen: Die Yamana lassen sich von ihrem unruhigen Trieb zu einem unsteten Hin und Her fast widerstandslos führen, sie können sozusagen von Natur aus nirgendwo lange sitzen bleiben. Wo immer sie einige Wochen verweilt haben, erschöpfen sich in der nächsten Nachbarschaft gewisse Quellen für die Nahrungsversorgung bis zu einem Grade, der sie zwingt, beim Jagen und Sammeln sich weit über ihre Kräfte anzustrengen. Da sie diesen Zustand nicht aushalten können und auch nicht zu ertragen brauchen, wechseln sie kurzerhand den Standort. Endlich wird durch das Beisammensein vieler Leute und die reichlichen Abfälle von den Mahlzeiten jedweder Platz nach gewisser Zeit derart verunreinigt, daß alle von dort — obwohl die Yamana durchwegs dagegen fast unempfindlich sind — weggetrieben werden. Überdies ist beim Kina zu beachten, daß es ein bestimmtes Ziel, das so oder so unbedingt erreicht werden muß, nicht anstrebt. Mit seinen Grundgedanken und seiner vorwiegenden Richtung wird jeder junge Mann, der zum ersten Male dabei sein darf, schon nach wenigen Tagen genügend vertraut. Keiner der Veranstalter könnte also im einen wie im andern Falle zuverlässig voraussagen oder sicher bestimmen, wieviele Wochen oder Monate die Versammelten beisammen sein werden; höchstens wird er — und wohl mit Recht — vermuten, daß der Winter sie länger vereinigt hält als ein heiterer Sommer.

2. Die Teilnehmer

Zwar bleibt das Kina der Yamana, als eigentliche Männerfeier, grundsätzlich nur Männern vorbehalten; doch wird, seit einiger Zeit, ausnahmsweise auch diese und jene vertrauenswürdige Frauensperson zugelassen. Die ursprünglich folgerichtige Ablehnung jeder Frau wird mit dem Hinweis auf die sogenannte Ursprungsmythe begründet. Die Männerwelt soll und muß es eben verhüten, daß der weibliche Bevölkerungsteil jemals wieder in den Besitz dieser geheimen Veranstaltung gelange. Wann eine mildere Beurteilung

zu Gunsten weniger Frauen einmal Platz gegriffen hat, daß die eine und andere mit jenen Geheimnissen vertraut gemacht wurde, läßt sich heute nicht mehr nachweisen. Diese Tatsache an sich ist aber ein deutliches Zeugnis dafür, daß der weiberfeindliche Grundgedanke des Kina der Yamana keineswegs an die Strenge heranreicht, mit der die Selk'nam ihre Frauen vom Kloketen fernhalten (Bd. I, 827).

Mehrmals ist schon die einzige Bedingung genannt worden, unter der ein junger Mann als Prüfling in die Kina-Hütte aufgenommen wird: Er muß sich nämlich in der Jugendweihe zweimal als *uǔwǫ́gla* bewährt haben. Dieser rechtliche Grundsatz ist seit altersher ausnahmslos geltend. Aber die durch eingedrungene europäische Siedler abgeänderten Lebensbedingungen der Yamana haben letztere gezwungen, in dem und jenem Falle die Strenge der genannten Forderung insoweit zu lockern, daß seit einigen Jahrzehnten zum Kina auch jener Bursche zugelassen wurde, der nur ein einziges Mal als *uǔwǫ́gla* im *čiḱxaus* gesessen hat.[771] Trotz unbegreiflicher Nachgiebigkeit in manchen Punkten sogar noch in jüngster Zeit, sind unsere Feuerländer von dieser Mindestforderung niemals abgewichen. Befremdliches enthält es nicht, wenn ich sage, die alten einflußreichen Männer wußten sehr genau, welche Burschen das Kina kennengelernt hatten und welche nicht. Jene, die zum ersten Male die Große Kina-Hütte betreten dürfen, werden als *uǔwǫ́gla* bezeichnet, genau so wie die Prüflinge im *čiḱxaus*. Im BD: 419 findet sich *tämöm*, a lad who has not yet been subjected to the *ceena* discipline.

Jeder junge Mann nun, der das *kina* einmal als eigentlicher *uǔwǫ́gla* über sich hat ergehen lassen, rechnet seitdem zu den Kennern. Als einem solchen steht ihm rechtlich der Eingang zu jedweder späteren Männerfeier offen, wo immer sie abgehalten wird. In Wirklichkeit ist ehedem jeder erwachsene Yamana-Mann damit vertraut geworden, obwohl weder Verpflichtung noch Zwang dabei wirksam waren. Als eine Selbstverständlichkeit gehört es eben zu jedem Manne, daß er um das, was dem männlichen Bevölkerungsteile vorbehalten ist, ausgiebig Bescheid weiß. Das Verlangen nach Geselligkeit und die Freude an diesem merkwürdigen Spiel wirken für sich allein stark genug, daß jeder dorthin eilt, wo eine Männerfeier abläuft, vorausgesetzt, daß die Entfernung nicht zu groß ist oder eine Krankheit nicht hindert. Wäre es auch nur aus Neugierde, weswegen dieser und jener sich in einer beliebigen Gruppe sehen läßt, die sich zum Träger dieser Veranstaltung gemacht hat, es drängt sie eben doch zum Versammlungsplatze hin. Wie lange jeder einzelne dabei bleibt, liegt uneingeschränkt in seinem persönlichen Belieben. Aus diesem Grunde läßt sich über die Zahl der Teilnehmer weder allgemein etwas aussagen, noch eine Mindestzahl für den einzelnen Tag bestimmen.

[771] Mir persönlich war diese Bedingung wohl vertraut. Ein zweites Mal habe ich mich deshalb zur Jugendweihe gestellt, weil ich diese noch einmal zu genauerer Sachkenntnis über mich ergehen lassen — das erste Mal bin ich sehr behindert worden (S. 179) — und die mir ergebene Indianergruppe sozusagen zwingen wollte, ihr Wort einlösend die Männerzeremonien abzuhalten (S. 184).

Auch dort, wo ein Kina-Fest sich abwickelt, gibt es ein unaufhörliches Kommen und Gehen einzelner Familien in unbestimmbarer, unberechenbarer Aufeinanderfolge, was selbstverständlich dann reger sich abwickelt, wenn der Zustrom zu dieser Feier an und für sich stärker ist. Auch persönliche Wünsche und Veranlagung sprechen mit, daß dieser Mann fast nie dabei fehlt und vom Anfang bis zum Ende ausharrt, während ein anderer wenig Geschmack und Freude daran findet, also schon nach wenigen Tagen sich gesättigt hat und wieder das Weite sucht.

Jedwede Gruppe, die sich endgültig zur Männerfeier entschlossen hat, muß noch einen erfahrenen Alten gewinnen, der sich bereit erklärt, das Amt eines Leiters zu übernehmen. Gute Kenntnisse und gründliche Vertrautheit mit vielen Einzelheiten werden dafür gefordert; außerdem kommt dem Leiter ein bedeutendes moralisches Übergewicht über sämtliche beteiligte Männer sehr zustatten; endlich muß er über viel geistige Beweglichkeit verfügen, um die bunte Mannigfaltigkeit der zahlreichen Geister und Geisterauftritte ablaufen zu lassen. Wirklich, nicht jedweder ältere Yamana gibt einen brauchbaren *kina tagáguwa* ab, wie man den Leiter bezeichnet. Auch trägt er die Verantwortung dafür, daß den Prüflingen an erzieherischem Gut und an Unterweisungen alles das geboten werde, was der alte Brauch fordert. Der Leiter allein bestimmt die Ordnung und gibt die Einteilung eines jeden Tages an. Einen Stellvertreter hat er nicht. Wäre er lange verhindert oder müßte er aus irgendwelchem Anlaß ganz ausscheiden, dann schaut sich die Versammlung nach einem anderen *kina tagáguwa* um oder löst sich selber wieder auf. Zwar besteht dafür keine bestimmte Regel, aber tatsächlich ist es so, daß ausnahmslos ein *yékamuš* das Amt des Kina-Leiters übernimmt. Die das Kina beherrschenden Grundgedanken fügen sich in die Vorstellungswelt des Medizinmannes widerspruchslos ein. Allein durch seine Eigenschaft als *yékamuš* besitzt der Leiter einen ansehnlichen Vorsprung.

Soeben ist auf den Umstand hingewiesen worden, daß zu der geheimen Männerfeier ausnahmsweise die eine und andere Frauensperson zugelassen wird. Diesen Vorzug läßt die Gruppe der älteren Männer nur jener Frau zuteil werden, die sich eines solchen Vertrauens als würdig erwiesen hat. Voraussetzung hierfür ist, daß die Männer nicht zu fürchten brauchen, ihr Kina-Geheimnis werde durch jene Frau mißbraucht und ihre Vormachtstellung werde durch Verrat ins Wanken gebracht werden. Jene bevorzugten Frauen werden in der Großen Hütte genau so wie die männlichen *ušrógula* behandelt; außerhalb derselben sind alle in gleicher Weise zum strengsten Stillschweigen verpflichtet. Lange Besprechungen einflußreicher Männer gehen der Erlaubnis voraus, diese oder jene Frau in die Kina-Hütte einzuführen. Wer dieses hohe Maß des Vertrauens von seiten der Männer erfährt, fühlt sich geehrt. Von sich aus dürfte eine Frau um diese Ausnahme nicht ansuchen; regelmäßig ist es ihr eigener Gatte oder ein naher Verwandter, der den versammelten Männern den Vorschlag macht. Wird ihm dieser zustimmend beantwortet, verständigt er persönlich jene Frau in aller Vertraulich-

keit; diese ihrerseits bereitet sich darauf vor, bald die geheime Hütte der Männer betreten zu dürfen. Beim Kina im März 1922 ist nur Gurrie bevorzugt und eingeführt worden; man hat mir versichert, daß sie von allen Frauen ihres Alters allein vertrauenswürdig wäre.

Je beträchtlicher die Zahl der Teilnehmer ist, um so anregender und abwechslungsreicher gestaltet sich das Fest. Die ansehnlich lange Reihe von Geistern kann nämlich nur dann mehr oder weniger vollständig zur Darstellung gelangen, wenn viele Männer beisammen sind, von denen jeder einzelne sich in eine bestimmte Rolle wirft. Mancher ist ehrgeizig genug, um sein Können zu zeigen und mit seiner Gelenkigkeit zu protzen; ihm bereitet es Freude, bald als dieser und bald als jener Geist aufzutreten. Aber es gibt auch Spiele, zu deren Darbietung sich mehrere Männer vereinigen müssen. Je mehr Teilnehmer also ein Kina-Fest aufweist, um so leichter ist die Auswahl unter den Darstellern, um so reicher sind die vorgeführten Einzelbilder.

3. Der Lagerplatz

Hat sich eine nennenswerte Gruppe von Familien dazu entschlossen, die Kina-Feier zu veranstalten, geben sie ihre Absicht bald den nächsten Nachbarn kund und zwar als bestimmte Einladung. Kaum je läßt ein Mann sich die Gelegenheit entgehen, im Kreise seiner Geschlechtsgenossen sich wieder einmal an der possenhaften Einschüchterung der Frauen zu ergötzen, und so finden sich binnen kurzem auch einzelne Familien ein, die einer entfernten Lokalgruppe angehören. Ist überdies ein berühmter yókamul als Leiter gewonnen worden, so übt dieser seinerseits eine eigene Anziehungskraft aus. Also warten viele Familien auf die genauen Weisungen, denen zufolge sie auf dem gleichen Platze bleiben oder an eine andere Stelle ziehen.

Das entscheidende Wort spricht selbstverständlich jetzt schon der Leiter; nach eigenem freien Ermessen urteilt er, wann der rechte Augenblick für den Umzug gekommen ist und wann die näheren Vorbereitungen beginnen müssen. Er persönlich macht sich vielleicht von dem Eintreffen dieses und jenes guten Freundes abhängig, der die ganze Festordnung zuverlässig kennt und als Berater oft befragt wird. Um diesen Leiter stellen sich auch noch einige andere erfahrene Alte, die ihrerseits ihn ohne jede Aufdringlichkeit beeinflussen und bersten. Im verträglichen Einvernehmen mit älteren Männern trifft der *kina tagégum* seine Anordnungen und die jüngeren Männer fügen sich ohne jeden Widerspruch. Daraus erklärt sich der unauffällige Beginn und der reibungslose Ablauf der ganzen Veranstaltung, vor allem die gemütliche, vergnügliche Stimmung, von der die Teilnehmer während der ganzen Zeit beherrscht werden.

Je nach den äußeren Gründen, die den Entschluß zu einer Kina-Feier haben reifen lassen, wird ein eigener Platz bezogen oder nicht. Das hängt von der gegebenen Örtlichkeit ab, an der jene Familien bisher gelagert haben. Gewisse Bedingungen werden gefordert. Die Kina-Hütte muß in einer

offenen Wiese und auf einer sanften Erhöhung stehen, weil die aus ihr heraustretenden Geister den in ihren Wohnhütten zurückbleibenden Frauen und Kindern bequem sichtbar sein sollen. Die Wiese selber muß möglichst eben sein, damit die tanzenden Männer nicht in Gefahr gerieten, zu stolpern oder zu stürzen. Selbstverständlich fordern einige allgemeine Bedingungen für eine Aufenthaltsmöglichkeit durch längere Zeit ihre Erfüllung, nämlich die unmittelbare Nähe von Trinkwasser und Brennholz, sowie die Leichtigkeit der Lebensmittelbeschaffung und die völlige Ungestörtheit durch Fremde und Neugierige. Viele Plätze gibt es im Kap Hoorn-Archipel nicht, die jene unerläßlichen Ansprüche erfüllen. Mit Vorliebe sammelt sich eine Familiengruppe also auf jener Stelle, die früher schon einmal sich als günstig für ein Kina bewährt hat. Dem Leiter obliegt es zu entscheiden, ob die irgendwo zufällig ansässigen Leute dortselbst verbleiben dürfen und nur die Wohnhütten ein wenig verlegen müssen, oder ob ein allgemeiner Umzug auf eine entfernte Stelle notwendig ist. Seiner Weisung fügt sich jedermann.

Doch genügt es nicht, die Kina-Hütte an einem günstigen Platze und auf einer geringen Erhöhung des Erdbodens aufzurichten, auch die W o h n h ü t t e n der einzelnen Familien müssen nach einer gewissen Ordnung aneinander gerückt und in der Weise aufgestellt werden, daß von ihnen aus der breite Eingang der Kina-Hütte nicht sichtbar ist. Die Wohnhütten liegen von dieser zumindest 55 m entfernt, damit das Gespräch und das ganze Treiben der Männer von den Frauen und Kindern nicht belauscht und beobachtet werden kann. Die erhöhte Stellung der Kina-Hütte gestattet es den Männern, mühelos und unauffällig jedwede Bewegung im eigentlichen Lager zu überwachen und zu verfolgen; vor allem darf kein Unberufener sich ihrem geheimen Versammlungsorte nähern.[270] Je enger die Wohnhütten zusammengedrängt dastehen, um so leichter ist die Übersicht von der Kina-Hütte her. Eben deshalb wird auch jenen Personen, die sich verwandtschaftlich nahe stehen, nachdrücklich empfohlen, in den sogenannten Mehrfamilienhütten (S. 386) sich zusammenzuschließen; zwei bis vier Familien bewohnen also den gleichen Raum. Daraus erwächst diesen Familien keine störende Unbequemlichkeit, weil die Männer sich fast ununterbrochen in der Kina-Hütte aufhalten.

4. Aufbau der Großen Hütte

Kaum haben sich die Familien auf dem ihnen zugewiesenen Platze eingerichtet, beginnt der Bau der Großen Hütte, nach A u f f o r d e r u n g und Weisung des Leiters. Die Männer mittleren Alters stellen sich für diese Arbeit bereitwillig zur Verfügung. Vorerst wird die auf der sanften Erhöhung erwählte Stelle von Steinen, niedrigem Gesträuch und manchem

[270] Grundsätzlich wiederholen sich hier die gleichen örtlichen Bedingungen, welche für die Lagereinrichtung bei der Klaketera-Feier der Selk'nam gefordert werden (Bd. I, 831). Der Versammlungsort der Männer ist gleichsam die Theaterbühne, von der, in angemessener Entfernung, die Wohnhütten liegen, als wären sie ein Zuschauerraum für Frauen und Kinder.

Baumstumpf gereinigt, nötigenfalls auch etwas geebnet. Frauen und Kinder dürfen von ihren Wohnhütten aus diesen Arbeiten zuschauen; von jetzt an ist es ihnen nicht mehr erlaubt, näher heranzukommen.

Fast jede Kina-Hütte zeigt die Form eines mehr oder weniger geneigten Kegels, je nach der Ausdehnung des immer kreisförmigen Grundrisses. Zuerst stellt man zwei starke Stämme auf, die den breiten Eingang begrenzen; ein jeder läuft in eine kurze Gabel aus; diese Gabeln greifen ineinander. Sie heißen *máselēx tāgwina*. Wo diese beiden Stämme oben zusammenstoßen, liegt das Ende eines dritten, meist längeren Stammes auf, der nach rückwärts mit einer höheren oder niedrigeren Neigung zur Grundfläche abfällt und *ūlēhun tāgwina* heißt.[274] Daher auch die mehr oder weniger geneigte Kegelform des Gerüstes, je nachdem die Länge dieses dritten Stammes die Höhe der beiden andern Pfosten übertrifft. Ist der Grundriß von vornherein klein, dann zeigt die Kina-Hütte eine ganz regelmäßige Kegelform. Jene drei Hauptpfosten bilden das tragende Gerüst, weswegen man sie einige Zentimeter tief in den Erdboden einläßt. Die beiden großen freien Felder rechts und links vom Eingange zum mittleren langen Pfosten hin werden mit enggestellten, mehr oder weniger dicken Stämmen ausgefüllt. Man setzt einen jeden derselben, den kreisförmigen Grundriß beachtend, dem Erdboden glatt auf, ohne ihn einzugraben, und lehnt ihn gegen die oben zusammenlaufenden freien Enden aller Pfosten. Die eigene Schwere jedes einzelnen von ihnen gewährt ausreichenden Zusammenhalt aller Stücke. Unvermeidlich bleiben zwischen den einzelnen Stämmen schmale Lücken offen. Um diese zu verdecken, baut man außen, vom Erdboden her nach oben und gegen das Hüttengerüst, rundherum Rasenklumpen auf, die eng aneinandergepreßt werden, etwa einen Meter hoch. Die darüberliegende Fläche deckt man mit langen, zusammengenähten Lederstücken zu, bis nahe an die Spitze, wo der Rauch des Hüttenfeuers frei entweicht. Mit alledem erscheint die Große Hütte hinreichend geschlossen, kein Lichtstrahl verrät den Außenstehenden das Treiben der Männer im Innern und kein Luftzug stört die ruhige Tätigkeit des Hüttenfeuers. Für gewöhnlich steht der breite Eingang *kina ēfya* nach Osten hin offen, und zwar mit Rücksicht darauf, daß von Westen her am häufigsten schweres Unwetter eintrifft. Ob bei dieser Anordnung auch der Gedanke daran, daß diese geheime Feier aus dem Osten in das Yamana-Gebiet eingedrungen ist, entscheidend mitgewirkt hat, ließ sich nicht mehr nachweisen. Tatsache ist, daß der Eingang zur Kloketen-Hütte bei den Selk'nam regelmäßig nach Osten (Bd. I, 838) schaut.

Im Innern dieser Kina-Hütte richtet man nun die eigentliche Lagerstätte, abweichend von der im *čiēxuys*, auf folgende Weise her. Um den für das Feuer freigelassenen Platz in der Mitte legt man Rasenklumpen, die man durch Einstampfen mit den Füßen möglichst auf gleiche Höhe bringt. Häufig streut man darüber eine Schicht des langen, breitblättrigen Grases

[274] Vgl. die Bezeichnung, mit der man die Hauptpfosten der Großen Hütte für die Jugendweihe belegt, auf S. 833.

lähe (Poa flabellata), das in den gewöhnlichen Wohnhütten verwendet wird (vgl. S. 382). Zu diesem Gras zu greifen, ist jedoch nur dann statthaft, wenn das kurze, scharfspitzige Pampagras *mér-ainka* nicht beschafft werden kann. Das letztgenannte Gras steht büschelförmig auf offenen Plätzen, ist sehr trocken, hart und kaum 35 cm hoch;[274] mit festem Griff nur kann ein solches Büschel unter drehender Bewegung von den Wurzeln abgerissen werden. Während die Männer viele Stämme und Stöcke für das Hüttengerüst herbeischaffen, werden die Frauen und Mädchen vom Kina-Leiter verpflichtet, die erforderliche Menge von Gras zu besorgen; er sagt ihnen sehr bestimmt, daß sie viel *mér-ainka* herbeibringen müssen.[275] Erst über dieser Grasschicht breitet jeder Mann seine Ledersäcke auf dem Sitzplatze aus, den er während der ganzen Feier inne hat.

Merkwürdig ist es, daß diese kegelförmige Große Hütte für die Kina-Feier eine besondere Innenbemalung trägt. Auf Mannshöhe zeichnet man rundherum einen dreifingerbreiten roten Strich, darüber einen ebenso breiten weißen, und über diesem einen schwarzen Strich; alle drei sind durch zwei einfingerbreite Zwischenräume voneinander getrennt. Man gibt diesen drei Strichen, die als Zierbemalung gelten, eine symbolische Deutung als Hinweis auf eine steinige Meeresküste. Das Rot erinnert an die unregelmäßigen Steine am Strande, die mehr oder weniger dicht mit Rotalgen (Rhodophyceae) bewachsen sind; das Weiß bezeichnet den Schaum der Wellen, der über jene Steine geworfen wird; und das Schwarz deutet die vielen Miesmuscheln an, die enggedrängt auf dem steinigen Ufer sitzen. Als ob die Kina-Geister, aus dem Meere heraustretend, an der Küste aufstiegen, so treten die als Geister maskierten Männer aus der Großen Hütte vor die Augen der Frauen und Kinder.[276]

Obwohl im ganzen Yamana-Gebiete die soeben beschriebene Hüttenform für das Kina-Fest nach einem einheitlichen Plane aufgebaut wird, ist im äußersten Westen daneben auch jene langgezogene Kuppelform statthaft, die man überall für die *ši̯ɛ̯ŋus*-Hütte wählt. Der Eingang an einer jeden der beiden Schmalseiten wird von zwei stärkeren, langen Stangen gebildet und ist viel breiter und höher als in einer *ši̯ɛ̯ŋus*-Hütte. Der Grund dafür liegt nahe; die mit hoher Maske ausgerüsteten Männer müssen bequem hinaus- und hereintanzen können. In dem angrenzenden südlichsten Gebiete der Halakwulup sind ebenfalls beide Formen für die Kina-Hütte nebeneinander in Gebrauch, obwohl die Kegelform den Vorzug hat; weiter nach Norden wird nur die langgezogene Kuppelform aufgerichtet.[277]

[274] Es handelt sich um Calamagrostis-Arten, die auch auf den felsigen Küsten zwischen Steinen gut gedeihen. Vgl. Bessaszem (d): 81.

[275] Sehr beachtenswert ist es, daß in der Klokstera-Hütte der Seth'kam ebenfalls nur dieses kurze, harte Pampagras für die Lagerstätte der Männer verwendet wird (Bd. I, 820).

[276] Auffälligerweise weicht hiervon die Klokstera-Hütte der Seth'kam ab; denn der fehlt jede Zierbemalung im Innenraume (Bd. I, 820). Hingegen wird die Große Hütte für die Männerfeier der Halakwulup mit Bemalungen noch reichhaltiger als bei den Yamana geschmückt. Vgl. Gusinde (bb): 346.

[277]

Oben wurde schon angedeutet, daß die nächste Umgebung der Großen Hütte glatt und eben sein muß. Links von dieser Hütte her, vom weiten Eingang hinc djye — beurteilt von den Zuschauern aus — wird ein 2 m breiter und 10 m langer Gang von Gras und Bodenen gesäubert und ganz geebnet. Hier zeigen sich die Tänzer, die oft und oft aus der Großen Hütte vor den Augen der Lagerinsassen auftreten. Der Hüttenumgang liegt regelmäßig seitwärts vom Lager abgewendet und meist sehr hohe Waldbäume, die Wohnhütten befinden sich gewöhnlich zwischen der Kina-Hütte und dem Strande. Während dieser Arbeiten am Hüttenbau und an der Inaugurierung vorstatten gehen, nehmen einige Männer dicke Holzhütte und Baumstämme in Menge herbeischleppen, bis ein ansehnlicher Haufen Brennholz sich neben der Großen Hütte aufgetürmt hat. Den Frauen kann man diese Arbeit jetzt nicht aufbürden; denn sie würden sich dabei so sehr dem geheimen Versammlungsorte der Männer nähern. Viel Brennholz aber wird benötigt, um ein breites Hüttenfeuer Tag und Nacht zu unterhalten.

Wie lange in jedem Einzelfalle die Vorarbeiten sich hinziehen, hängt von mehreren Umständen ab. Entscheidend ist jedesmal die Zahl der wahrlichen Teilnehmer und die besondere Eignung der erwählten Örtlichkeit. Sobald einmal die Männer von der Freude und Lust am Kina-Spiele erfaßt sind, greifen sie eifrig zu und bemühen sich auch ihrerseits, ohne unmittelbare Aufforderung von seiten des Leiters, daß die eigentliche Veranstaltung so schnell als möglich beginne. Ungünstige Witterung allerdings verzögert dann und wann sehr empfindlich die nötigsten Vorbereitungen.

c. *Verlauf der Feier*

Die Männergruppe erstrebt mit dem Kina als erstes Ziel, dem weiblichen Bevölkerungsteil ihre Überlegenheit erneut im Bewußtsein zu rufen und ihre Vormachtstellung alle Frauen deutlich fühlen zu lassen. Deswegen umgeben sie ihr ganzes Gehaben mit viel Geheimnistuerei und achten streng darauf, daß die Hintergründe ihres betrügerischen Spieles von den Frauen nicht entdeckt werden; erst recht vermeiden sie in ihrem Verhalten jedweden Umstand, der den Verdacht auf eine bewußte Täuschung erregen könnte. Auf eine alte Mythe gründet sich diese geheime Zusammenschaft und betrügerische Veranstaltung der Männer. Durch sie sollen die Frauen wieder einmal in dem falschen Glauben bestärkt werden, daß ihre Männer in engster Beziehung zu gewissen Geistern stünden und daß letztere den Männern dabei behilflich seien, die Frauen in Botmäßigkeit zu halten. Durch Jahrhunderte haben die Männer ihr Geheimnis in strenger Verschwiegenheit für sich bewahrt.

Im ganzen Verlauf dieser Feier werden alle Frauen und Kinder mit un-

[17] Vgl. Steinen, Gesamm. (s): 200. Auf die Form der geschlossenen Wohnhütten weist sich hier im Westen, vom Unterschiede von den Hütten im Osten des Tierra-del-Fuego (S. 271), die Nähe einer anderen Umwelt aus. Bei dieser Kuppelform der Hütte für die Kina-Feier spielt aber auch auch ein kultungeschichtlicher Einfluß von dem Nachbargebiete mit.

erhältlicher Schädel bewahrt. Während es für die in der Großen Hütte versammelten Männer langweilig ist, sich an ihre Tagesordnung zu halten, werden die im Lager zurückbleibenden Frauen zu empfindlichen Beschränkungen ihrer Freiheit verpflichtet und zwar aus dem Grunde, damit sie keinesfalls den Kina-Geheimnis entdecken. In dieser Zeit verfahren die Männer rücksichtslos streng gegen alle Frauen und Kinder. Dann wird dabei aber auch so viel Anregung und Abwechslung geboten, daß diese Tage und Wochen nicht etwa eine unerträgliche Qualerei sind. Verlustiere Besuchen und unbeträchtliche Neugierde werden schwer bestraft, dessen ist sich jede Frauenperson bewußt.

Nach bestimmten Regeln, die eine lange Vergangenheit herausgebildet hat, läuft die Kina-Feier ab. Das Vielerlei der Aufzüge und der Geisterscheinungen bringt es mit sich, daß die eine Veranstaltung sich von der andern durch größere Mannigfaltigkeit der Verkleidungen oder durch engere Beteiligung der Spieler abhebt; auch die persönliche Veranlagung des Leiters und die Zahl der männlichen Teilnehmer begründen manche Unterschiede. Das Grundsätzliche aber wiederholt sich regelmäßig. Irgendwelche regionale Sonderformen haben sich in den verschiedenen Teilen der Yamana-Heimat nicht ausgebildet, wohl aber hat man in den einzelnen Gegenden bald diesen und bald jenen Geisterauftritt den Vorzug gegeben.

Im Verlaufe der folgenden Beschreibung werden viele Übereinstimmungen des Kina unserer Yamana mit dem Klöhren der Selk'nam zutage treten. Schon jetzt sei darauf mit einem einzigen kurzen Worte hingewiesen; es würde zu weit führen, jedes Einzelteil unter dieser Rücksicht zu kennzeichnen. Eine hohe Gleichartigkeit lassen auch die beiden Fassungen der sogenannten Ursprungsmythe erkennen.

Im März 1922 hatte der alte Malowanto nach langem Zaudern sich endlich bereit erklärt, die Leitung des Kina-Festes zu übernehmen. Er war wirklich der einzige vertrauenswürdige Mann, der den vielen mit diesem Amte verbundenen Pflichten und Anforderungen auch vorzüglich entsprechen konnte. Dieser und jener Kina Yamana erinnerte sich auch, daß seinerzeit hier in Puerto Mejillones die geheimen Männerkiste abgehalten worden war, und sie zeigten die Stelle, auf der damals die Große Hütte gestanden hatte. Da diese Plätze sich jetzt noch als sehr vorteilhaft erwiesen, wurde auch diesmal die Kina-Hütte an der gleichen Stelle aufgerichtet; nur hielt man den Durchmesser der Grundfläche kleiner, nämlich 8 m, was für die geringe Beteiligung ausreichte. Die Ausdehnung der Grundfläche richtet sich selbstverständlich jedesmal nach der Zahl der an diesem geheimen Feste teilnehmenden Männer.

1. Der Beginn

Neigten sich die Arbeiten am Aufbau und im Innenraum der Großen Hütte dem Ende zu, begannen einzelne Männer damit, unauffällig und jeder für sich die notwendigen Bedarfsgegenstände in der eigenen Wohnhütte zu ordnen und zur Kina-Hütte zu bringen. Das sind einige Lederstücke für den

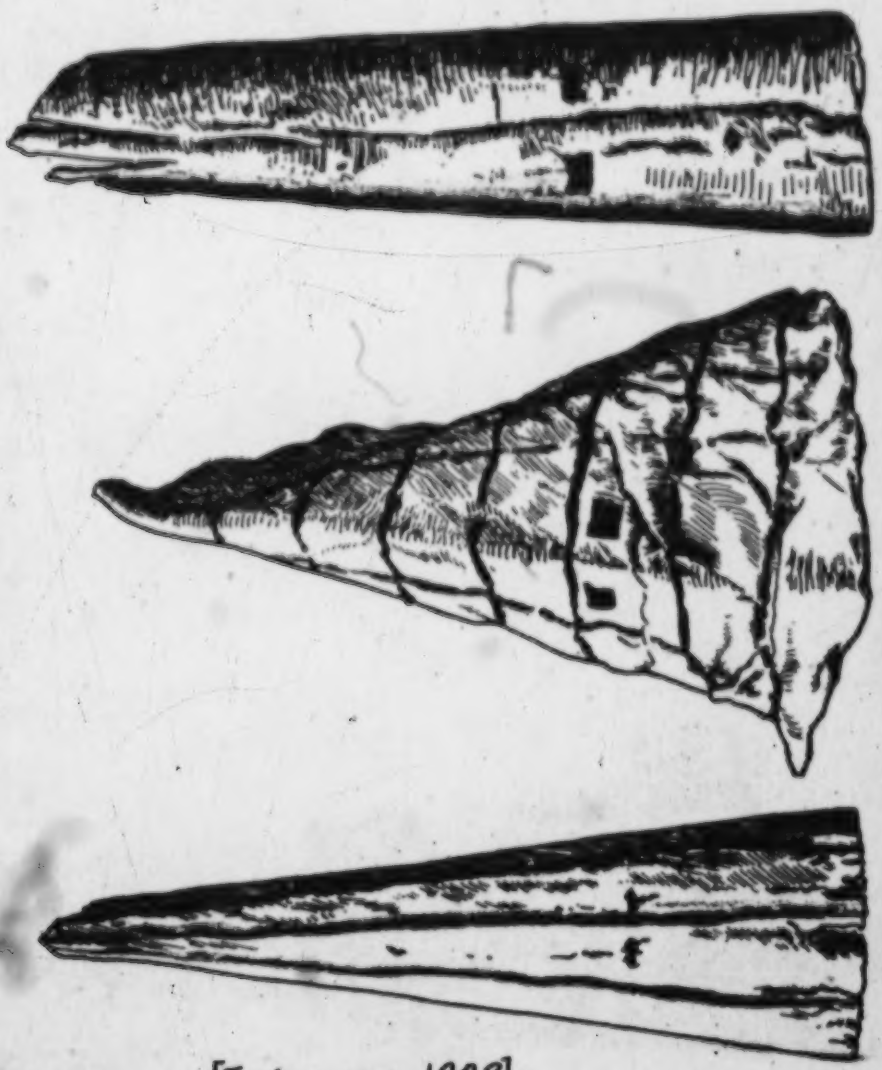
Schlaffänger, Waffen und Gerätschaften, endlich reichliche Mengen von Farbstoffen. Nach und nach sammeln sich alle im Lager anwesenden Männer in ihrer geheimen Hütte und zünden ein heiteres Feuer an. Steigen die ersten Rauchwolken auf, sehen Frauen und Kinder im Lager darin ein Zeichen für den Beginn der Feier. Ohne besondere Aufforderung, ohne Lärm und auffällige Bewegung haben sich die Männer in der Kina-Hütte vereinigt, einig folgend ihrem Urteil über die Sachlage und geleitet von der eigenen Überzeugung, daß die Vorarbeiten beendigt sind.

Die Yamana kennen eine bestimmte Ordnung, nach der in dieser geheimen Hütte für die anwesenden Männer die Platzverteilung erfolgt, nicht. Der Leiter läßt sich regelmäßig beim südlich gestellten Pfosten am Eingange nieder; denn von hier aus überzieht er mühelos die Tanzhöhle, die am Eingange ihren Anfang nimmt; auch kann er von da aus sehr bequem heraustreten, so oft er das Lager überschauen will. Die erfahrenen Männer suchen sich nach freier Wahl, ohne besondere Ansprüche zu stellen, einen Platz aus, wie es der Augenblick ihnen eingibt, und zwar in der Weise, daß vertraute Freunde oder nahe Verwandte sich nebeneinander niederlassen. Nur im Hintergrunde, nämlich dem Eingange gegenüber, blieben einige Sitzplätze für jene jungen Männer frei, die zum ersten Male als ständige eingeführt werden sollen.

Kaum haben sich die versammelten Männer im allgemeinen Stillschweigen ein wenig mit ihren eigenen Gedanken beschäftigt und sich auf das Ziel dieser Veranstaltung besonnen, beginnt der Leiter mit einer Ansprache. Ihm obliegt es, jene Männer zu gewinnen, die für eine Geisterrolle sich eignen und die bald damit anfangen müssen, sich einzuüben. Nicht minder wichtig ist es, jetzt schon jene Burschen zu bestimmen, die dieses mal als ständige in Aussicht genommen werden können. In dieser Frage entscheidet die übereinstimmende Meinung der einflußreichen Alten. Die frühere Zeit forderte, daß ein solcher Bursche zweimal das *tájaga* mitgemacht habe; neuerdings ist man in dieser Hinsicht nachgiebiger und man zeigt sich schon damit zufrieden, daß er die Jugendweihe einmal über sich hat ergehen lassen. Tatsächlich wird keinem dieser Burschen die Zulassung verwehrt, der irgendwie als verschwiegen und vertrauenswürdig gilt. Sind die geeigneten Burschen im Lager anwesend, einigen sich die Alten bald, sie auszusuchen. Doch könnte — im Gegensatz zum *tájaga* — ein Jüngerer auch dann stattfinden, wenn es an eigentlichen ständigen zufällig fehlen sollte. Weil seit einigen Jahrzehnten auch diese und jene verlobliche Frau in die geheime Hütte eingeladen wird, überlegen darüber die Männer ebenfalls schon am Anfange der Veranstaltung.

Unverzüglich beginnen die Vorarbeiten für das Auftreten der sogenannten Geister. Hierfür sind reichliche Mengen von Farbstoffen erforderlich, die jeder Mann heimlich herbeigeschafft hat. Ebenso unentbehrlich sind die Woohoo. Man benützt dafür ein größeres Rindenstück, das man nach einer langgezogenen Dreieckform zuschneidet. Die freien Kanten verbindet man oder der Spitze vermittels einer Wulkarte, der untere Rand bildet einen flachen Bogen. Diese untere Kante ruht dem Schulteren des Trägers auf. In

Tafel IV



Masken aus der Kina-Hütte

[Facing page 1328]

entsprechender Höhe werden kleine Löcher für beide Augen eingeschnitten.* Diese dütenförmige Rindenmaske heißt *ájyulu ákka*,[270] sie ist 50 bis 60 cm hoch. Kann man aus irgendwelchem Grunde die erforderlichen Rindenstücke nicht herbeischaffen, darf als Ersatz auch ein Lederstück zur Maske verwendet werden. Letztere führt den Namen *ukuline* und stimmt nach Form und Größe mit der Rindenmaske überein; ihr Unterteil jedoch ist gewöhnlich breiter und das ganze Stück läuft oben in eine scharfe Spitze aus. Vgl. *ukuline* im BD: 113. Schon Bridges (i): 17 hat von den Masken gesprochen und sie als "harkhots" bezeichnet. Zieht sich die Kina-Feier in die Länge, müssen die Rindenmasken wiederholt erneuert werden; denn unter der Hitze des Hüttenfeuers und beim unvermeidlichen Eintrocknen krümmen sie sich so eng zusammen, daß sie sich nicht mehr verwenden lassen. Aus diesem Grunde sind die Masken aus Leder zweckmäßiger und dauerhafter. Einige wenige Stücke genügen für das mannigfaltige Programm; denn bei der Darstellung der verschiedenen Geister brauchte nur die Bemalung geändert zu werden. Sorgsam behütet liegen diese Masken gewöhnlich im inneren Abschnitt der Großen Hütte, wo sie jedem Manne zugänglich sind, der sich ihrer bedienen will. Eine kurze Bemerkung sei hier eingefügt. Wegen der besonderen Bedeutung, die den Masken zukommt, gestattet man den Kindern nicht, mit Dingen zu spielen, die einer Maske gleichen oder darauf hindeuten (S. 763).

Während sich die Besprechungen und nächsten Vorbereitungen in der Kina-Hütte abwickeln, ändert sich im eigentlichen Lager die Geisteshaltung und das äußere Benehmen der F r a u e n ganz offensichtlich. Ihnen wird wirklich etwas unheimlich zumute, sie fühlen sich wie beängstigt und bedroht, sie laufen aufgeregt und unruhig hin und her, wie ratlos sprechen sie sich bald in dieser und bald in jener Hütte aus. Im großen und ganzen wirkt der Gedanke an das nahe herangerückte Kina mit seinen vielen Geisterauftritten beklemmend und belästigend auf jede Frau; die eine und andere wagt es kaum noch, ihre Wohnhütte zu verlassen und sich draußen zu zeigen. Das gedrängte Verhalten der Frauen wirkt einschüchternd auf die Kinder, die sich in der Hütte zusammendrängen und bekümmert auf ihre Mutter schauen. Dieser Zustand dauert bis kurz vor Sonnenuntergang an.

Was die Männer dort drüben in ihrer geheimen Hütte seit dem Aufsteigen des ersten Rauches treiben, entzieht sich der Kenntnis aller Frauen und Kinder, die in ihren Wohnhütten still und erwartungsvoll verharren. Kein Laut, keine Anweisung des Leiters dringt während langer Stunden von dorther in das Lager. Eben diese Unsicherheit versetzt Frauen und Kinder in höchste Spannung. Währenddessen aber sind die Männer in der Großen Hütte nicht untätig, sie bereiten das erste A u f t r e t e n d e r G e i s t e r vor. Im März 1922 haben die anwesenden Männer gegen fünf Uhr nachmittags mit der Bemalung begonnen. Früher trug man sie dem völlig nackten Körper auf,

[270] Diese Bezeichnung bezeugt ursprünglich: Köcher aus Rinde für die Pfeile, auch der Lederköcher führt den gleichen Namen (S. 689). Diese eine Bezeichnung für Köcher und Maske bestätigt auch das BD: 548.

jetzt entkleiden sich die Männer bis auf eine kurze Unterhose. Sie begnügen sich zunächst damit, handbreite weiße Querstreifen auf den Rumpf und die Gliedmaßen zu legen. Gegen sechs Uhr stellt sich der Leiter neben die Kina-Hütte und fordert mit lauter Stimme die Frauen im Lager auf, aus ihren Wohnhütten herauszutreten; als geschlossene Gruppe sollen sie sich etwa in der Mitte zwischen Lager und Kina-Hütte niederlassen. Dann geht er wieder zurück. Ein wüstes, bedrohliches Heulen setzt sogleich in der Großen Hütte ein, sämtliche Männer brüllen und stöhnen aus Leibeskräften. Damit wollen sie andeuten, daß der gewaltige *Tánuma*-Geist in der Kina-Hütte mit der Absicht eingekehrt ist, alle Leute zu knechten und zu quälen, zu mißhandeln und zu vergewaltigen; er tut das persönlich sowohl wie auch durch verschiedenartige Geister, die bald sich vor aller Augen zeigen werden. Angst und Schrecken prägt sich im Gesicht der Frauen und Kinder aus. In Zeitabständen von mehreren Minuten brüllen und heulen sämtliche Männer, was die Frauen jedesmal aufs neue erzittern macht. Inzwischen wurde es dunkel.

Kaum verstummt wieder einmal das Brüllen der Männer, als Maiwuxeno sich neben die Große Hütte stellt und seinen gestreckten Arm schnell im Halbkreis wagrecht durch die Luft sirbt, unter lautem, gedehntem e-Ziehen: er ruft damit den ersten Geist heraus, *Kinumjéne* genannt. Dieser springt tänzelnd auf der eigentlichen Tanzbahn hin und her; mit beiden Händen hält er einen Stab auf Augenhöhe, die Arme sind rechtwinklig gebogen, sein Körper zeigt auf weißem Untergrund viele rote und schwarze Querstriche. Mehrmals schwebt er tänzelnd über jene Tanzbahn hinweg, bis der Leiter durch ein Zeichen mit dem ganzen Arme ihn wieder zurückruft. Drinnen setzt augenblicklich ein starkes Brüllen und Heulen ein. Kaum ist es verklungen, stellt sich Maiwuxeno wieder neben die Große Hütte und ruft den Frauen laut warnend zu, alle müßten auf ihrem Platze verharren und das baldige Erscheinen der anderen Geister abwarten. In kurzen Pausen wiederholt sich drinnen das Brüllen der Männer.

Abermals tritt der Leiter heraus und meldet den Frauen mit ängstlicher Stimme: „Der gefürchtete *Kalampáia* ist soeben davongegangen, sie' sich unverzüglich vorstellen!" Die Männer haben sich inzwischen auf den Rumpf einige breite weiße Querstreifen und in der Mitte einen ebensolchen Längsstreifen gemeinsam. Bald beginnt die ganze Männerschar drinnen nach einem hämmernden Rhythmus, erst kaum vernehmbar, dann immer stärker, das *háj háin, háj háin* ... in gleicher Tonlage, mit langsam ansteigender Beschleunigung. Währenddessen ordnen sich sechs Männer hintereinander zu einer exaggerierten Reihe, wobei jeder seine Arme über die Schultern und um den Hals eines jeden seiner beiden Nachbarn legt. Seitwärts und kurz umschreitend bewegt sich diese fest verschlungene Reihe geradlinig auf den Tanzplatz hinaus. Hier verharrt sie fast regungslos etwa zwei Minuten, nur das *háj háin* ... andauernd wiederholend. Auf ein Zeichen des Leiters sieht sich diese *Kalampáia*-Gesellschaft eingrad wieder zurück und ihr rhythmischer Rufen verklingt langsam. Wenige Minuten später zeigt sie sich abermals auf

die gleiche Weise. Während sie noch draußen steht und ununterbrochen das Adj Adáu wiederholt, hebt im Innern der Großen Hütte ein sehr lautes Brüllen an, aus dem man deutlich ein rhythmisches *pay, pay* heraushört, und das bald jenen Ruf der *Kalampáiu*-Gruppe übertönt. Letztere schweigt nun langsam wieder zur Kina-Hütte zurück. Zur Erklärung sei jetzt schon eingefügt, daß diese Reihe nicht den *Kalampáiu*-Geist selber darstellt, sondern daß die Männer auf Grund seiner Weisung diesen Tanz aufführen.

Kaum ist jene Gruppe verschwunden, hinten sämtliche Männer gewöhnlich beängstigend. Da ich selber bei ihnen stehe, kann ich beobachten, wie Sawtaan ein trockenes, dickes Seetierfell zusammenrollt und damit fest gegen den glatten Erdboden schlägt. Auf jeden Schlag folgt ein jähes Aufbrüllen der Männer, das sich mehrmals wiederholt. Der ganze Vorgang soll den Frauen vorspiegeln: Der in dieser Kina-Hütte anwesende *Tánuwa*-Geist beabsichtigt in seiner heuchelnden Wut, sämtliche Männer niederzuschlagen; doch sie wehren sich dagegen, so daß es ihrer geschlossenen Übermacht dieses mal gelingt, sich von jenem mächtigen Geiste frei zu machen und ihn zu verdrängen. Durch aus jenem schweren Hinsen trägt jeder Mann seine Wunden davon. Zwei alte Frauen, die in der Kina-Hütte anwesend sein dürfen, stürzen angstverfüllt hinaus. Vorher haben sie mit spitzen Stäbchen in ihrer Nase herumgebohrt und in dicken Tropfen fließt sichtbar das Blut. Sie laufen auf die noch immer vor der Kina-Hütte versammelten Frauen und Kinder zu; diese erkennen genau deren Zustand und erschrecken darüber. Wirklich, alle erheben sich und eilen zu ihren Wohnhütten, wo sie sich einschließen und lautlos verharren. Die eine und andere Person hat sich ermutigt, jene beiden Alten mitleidsvoll zu fragen: „Was ist euch denn angetan?" Diese antworten unter schmerzhaften Schreien: „Wir haben dort drinnen mit der *Tánuwa* ringen müssen; sie hat uns blutig geschlagen, nur unter größter Anstrengung konnten wir uns retten!" Diese Worte erfüllen alle Leute mit Angst.

Eine halbe Stunde lang gewährt man Frauen und Kindern etwas Ruhe *in ihrer Wohnungen; einige sind auch etwas verwundet und in der Kina-Hütte* noch dann und wann. Wieder tritt der Leiter des Festes heraus und ruft laut ins Lager: „Die Frauen müssen sich abermals sammeln und näher kommen, bald wird der Sohn des *Kalampáiu* aus der Höhe herunterkommen und sich vor aller Augen zeigen!" Alle Lagerinsassen leisten dieser Aufforderung unverzüglich Folge und lauern sich wieder auf jenen Platz, den sie erst vor etwa zweilig Minuten verlassen haben. Inzwischen wird Sawtaan für den geplanten Geistauftritt vorbereitet. Er trägt schon breite weiße Längs- und Querstreifen auf dem ganzen Körper; man reibt man noch vier weiße Ringe auf die Arme und füllt die Zwischenräume mit Rot aus; die Beine schmückt man von oben bis unten mit weißer Farbe ein. Über seinen Kopf stülpt man eine Maske, die auf einfarbig weißem Untergrunde mehrere rote, schmale Querstriche zeigt.

Wieder lassen die Männer in der Großen Hütte ihre brüllenden Rufe hören. Die Frauen und Kinder haben gänzlich dessen, was angekündigt

worden ist. Inzwischen hat sich SANTIAGO drinnen ein wenig in der diesem Geiste eigentümlichen Tanzweise eingeübt. Abermals tritt MAŠEMIKENS neben die Kina-Hütte, diesmal hält er sein Gesicht mit einem Stück dunklen Stoffes verhüllt. In hoher Tonlage stößt er mehrmals ein starkes *hō* aus, das er in die Gruppe der aufmerksamen Frauen hineinruft. Dann dreht er sich um die eigene Körperachse, daß er diesen seinen Rücken kehrt, wendet seinen Kopf zum Hütteneingange, streckt den rechten Arm weit aus und zieht ihn mit kräftigem Ruck im Halbkreis wagrecht durch die Luft, indem er gleichzeitig laut vernehmbar ein gedehntes *s* zischt. Diesem Zeichen folgend tänzelt SANTIAGO heraus, der den Sohn des *Kalampāio*-Geistes darstellt. Breitbeinig nach seitwärts ausschreitend wiegt er sich in sanften Sprungbewegungen, mit einem Fuße ausgreifend und den andern nachziehend, entlang der Tanzbahn. Mehrmals bewegt er sich hin und her, MAŠEMIKENS folgt ihm mit seinen Blicken und ruft ihn schließlich wieder mit der nämlichen Armbewegung in die Kina-Hütte zurück. Hier empfängt ihn ein lautes, brüllendes, langgezogenes *hō hō* ... aller Anwesenden, das bald in ein rasches *la la* ... umschlägt und als gedehntes, halblautes *gū gū* ... allmählich verklingt. Die völlige Ruhe, die nun in der Kina-Hütte herrscht, deuten die Frauen als ein Anzeichen dafür, daß die "Geister" sich zurückgezogen haben. Demnach verlassen auch sie ihren Platz und eilen schweigend in ihre Wohnungen zurück. Die Männer ihrerseits waschen sich die Bemalung ab und kleiden sich an. Nun dürfen sie sich Ruhe gönnen in dem Bewußtsein, den Frauen und Kindern einen heillosen Schrecken eingejagt zu haben.

Bei vergnüglicher Unterhaltung vergeht eine halbe Stunde. Währenddessen ist SANTIAGO wieder ungestüm in seiner Nase herumgestochert, in dicken Tropfen fällt das Blut. Er verschmiert es sich selber im ganzen Gesichte und auf der Brust, sein Anblick wird reichlich Schrecken und Bedauern hervorrufen. Weil SANTIAGO selber das Anerbieten macht, fangen auch dieser und jener Mann sein Blut auf und verreiben es im eigenen Gesichte; sie ersparen sich somit kleine Schmerzen und den Verlust des eigenen Blutes. Die derart entstellten Männer zeigen sich ihrer Familie und wollen damit kundtun, vom gewalttätigen *Tánawa*-Geiste mißhandelt worden zu sein. Sie laufen mit diesen Schreckenszeichen so lange umher, bis sie von selber abfallen. Die gleiche Täuschung wiederholen die Männer mehrmals während der Kina-Feier.[179] Selbstverständlich bleibt das beklagenswerte Gesicht der Männer nicht ohne Eindruck auf Frauen und Kinder.

In früherer Zeit waren die Teilnehmer der Kina-Feier verpflichtet, in der Großen Hütte fast ununterbrochen auszuharren, hier nahmen sie das Essen ein und schliefen hier auch. Diesmal, im März 1922, ist es ihnen nur darum zu tun, die wichtigeren Eigenheiten dieser Veranstaltung zu zeigen; was darüber hinaus liegt, lassen sie beiseite, da sie sich nicht unnötig anstrengen wollen. Aus Bequemlichkeit nehmen sie das Essen nicht in der Großen Hütte

[179] Auch die Selk'nam kennen diese merkwürdige Art, Mißhandlungen der Männer durch die sogenannten Klaxon-Geister ihren Frauen vorzutäuschen. Vgl. Bd. I, 941.

ein, sondern jeder eilt zu seiner Familie und läßt sich hier von seiner Frau bedienen. Nur zwei jüngere Männer, die alles bewachen müssen, bleiben zurück. Da es in jener Männerrunde kurz vorher sehr vergnüglich zugegangen ist, drängt es alle Teilnehmer bald nach dem Essen wieder in ihre geheime Hütte hinüber. Hier besprechen sie in gemütlicher Unterhaltung alles, dessen sie sich als Erfolg ihrer gerissenen Täuschungen rühmen können, und fassen Mut zu weiteren Betrügereien gegen die Frauen. Zum Abschluß des Tages wollen sie letzteren noch einen besonders fühlbaren Schrecken einjagen. MAŠEMIKENS, der verschmitzte Leiter, legt den Männern dar, ein *Kalampáia mátu* würde den Lagerinsassen in die Glieder fahren. Begeistert stimmen alle Anwesenden zu. Als Bemalung genügt ein weißer Strich von den Mundwinkeln zu den Ohrläppchen; es ist ja dunkle Nacht und nicht zu fürchten, daß eine Frau den Männern scharf ins Antlitz schaut. *Kalampáia mátu* könnte man wiedergeben mit "Besuch des *Kalampáia*". BD: 318 bringt *mátū*, to come as crabs do into shallower water when the winter is past, to come as any special season. Wirklich ist der ganze Auftritt ein Zug der Männer hinüber ins Lager. Die jüngeren Leute zittern schon vor Neugierde und Begeisterung. Da tritt MAŠEMIKENS endlich wieder neben den Eingang der Kina-Hütte, schaut hinunter auf das Lager und ruft laut: „Habt ihr euch schon schlafen gelegt? — Ich nehme an, ihr seid noch auf den Beinen! — Also abwarten, es wird sich bald noch etwas ereignen!" In den folgenden zehn Minuten unterhalten sich die Männer und besprechen den geplanten Auftritt. Dann ruft MAŠEMIKENS laut in die stille Nacht hinein: „Soeben ist *Kalampáia* herabgestiegen. Ich weiß nicht, was er vorhat. Möglicherweise besucht er jetzt eure Hütten. Legt euch [auf der Schlafstätte] nieder und deckt euch gut zu. Hütet euch, aufzuschauen oder euch auch nur zu rühren, falls *Kalampáia* in eure Hütten eintreten sollte!" Auf diese Anweisung an die Frauen folgt aus der Kina-Hütte lautes *hō hō* ... Brüllen der Männer. Sie legen ihre Fußbekleidung ab, stellen sich hintereinander und schleichen im Gänsemarsch hinaus; jeder schweigt und sein Gesichtsausdruck verrät tiefen Ernst. In der Wohnung des Cuns sind einige Frauen und Kinder vereinigt; das ist den Männern bekannt und die lange Reihe begibt sich dorthin. Vorsichtig schleicht sie hinein. Wirklich, alle Personen liegen auf dem Boden und sind mit Decken vollständig verhüllt. Die Männer schließen um das Feuer einen Kreis; sie haben sich davon überzeugt, daß Frauen und Kinder reichlich bedeckt sind und sich nicht rühren. Auf ein stummes Zeichen des Anführers stoßen alle ein starkes, gedehntes *pū* aus und stampfen gleichzeitig heftig auf den Boden. Etwa zwei Minuten verweilen die Männer völlig regungslos, dann rufen sie abermals das laute *pū*. Nach einer weiteren Pause beginnen sie mit kurzen, sich schnell folgenden *hp hp* ... Rufen, stampfen noch einmal heftig gegen den Boden und trippeln in der gleichen Reihe, wie sie gekommen, wieder hinaus, geradewegs zur Kina-Hütte zurück. Kaum haben sie sich hier in Sicherheit gebracht, da bricht auch schon ihre verhaltene Genugtuung über den trefflich gelungenen Spaß in voller Ungebundenheit los, sie ergötzen sich lange an den

wenigen, für sie wertvollen Einzelheiten und beglückwünschen sich gegenseitig zum vollen Erfolge ihres Streiches. Die jüngeren Männer sind wie außer sich vor Vergnügen, mit viel Spannung besprechen sie die für morgen geplanten Auftritte.

Mit den erwähnten Geistererscheinungen schließt der erste Tag ab. MAIKNIKENS, der in außergewöhnlich guter Stimmung schwelgt, beginnt nun damit, einige persönliche Erlebnisse aus früheren Kina-Festen, die er sich frisch im Gedächtnis bewahrt hat, dem begeistert lauschenden Kreise der Männer zum besten zu geben. Von da leitet er auf die alte Mythe über, die den Ursprung dieser geheimen Veranstaltung schildert. Bis gegen elf Uhr sitzen wir vergnüglich in der geräumigen Kina-Hütte. Jetzt wird MAIKNIKENS sichtlich von Ermüdung übermannt und entfernt sich; ihm folgen bald die übrigen Teilnehmer. In früherer Zeit mußten alle Männer in der geheimen Hütte übernachten; heute suchen sie das viel bequemere Schlaflager in der eigenen Wohnhütte auf.

Auf die eben geschilderte Art ist auch ehedem jedes Kina-Fest eröffnet worden, nach der üblichen Ankündigung durch den Leiter trat irgendein "Geist" vor die versammelten Frauen und Kinder, und danach folgten sich andere dieser Art in unberechenbarer Reihenfolge. Zu Beginn trifft man niemals eine bestimmte, verpflichtende Einteilung; an jedem Tage und auch fast zu jeder Stunde entscheidet die augenblickliche Stimmung oder der glückliche Einfall eines Teilnehmers über das, was unmittelbar folgt.

2. Einführung der Prüflinge

In zwangloser Aussprache treffen die maßgebenden Alten untereinander gleich zu Beginn der Kina-Feier die A u s w a h l unter jenen Burschen, die *als ulufgla* zugelassen werden sollen. Dieselben weisen selbstverständlich die erforderliche geistige Reife auf, da sie in der Regel ein zweimaliges *čifgage* hinter sich haben. Wem immer dieser Vorzug zuteil wird, der freut sich der Auszeichnung nicht minder, als der merkwürdigen Geheimnisse, die sich ihm nun enthüllen werden. Der eigene Vater oder ein naher Verwandter läßt es den jungen Mann wissen, daß er diesmal als *ulufgla* das Kina mitmachen darf.

Seitdem er benachrichtigt worden ist, hält er sich fast ununterbrochen in seiner Wohnhütte auf; denn bald zu Beginn der Feier w i r d e r a b g e h o l t, ohne daß er den genauen Zeitpunkt kennt. Dabei muß eine bestimmte Förmlichkeit eingehalten werden. Im März 1922 ist sie nur bei Einführung der CENTH beachtet worden, bei welcher Gelegenheit ich sie zur persönlicher Beobachtung kennengelernt habe; sie war früher in jedem Falle verpflichtend. Läuft das Spiel schon einen oder zwei Tage, bestimmt der Leiter eine Stunde, in der jeder *ulufgla* herangeholt wird. Ein Verwandter eilt zum Lager hinüber, sucht den erwählten Burschen in der Wohnhütte auf und verbindet ihm die Augen mit einem breiten Lederstreifen. So geleitet er ihn zur Kina-Hütte. Hier ist inzwischen das Feuer entfernt und die Feuerstelle mit Erde

überschüttet worden; das geschah, um etwas Raum zu gewinnen. Mit einigen Lederstücken bildet man neben dem Eingange eine Art von Vorhang, hinter dem sich zwei bemalte Männer mit der Maske über dem Kopfe verstecken. Der *ušuǥǥla*, von einem Manne geführt, tritt nun durch den weiten Eingang ein und wird bis an die gegenüberliegende Innenwand geführt. Ein lautes Heulen und Brüllen hebt an. Inzwischen setzt sich der Prüfling und sein Führer an der bezeichneten Stelle nieder, den Rücken zum Eingang gewendet. Wenige Augenblicke später legt der Führer seinen Schützling um, daß dieser mit seinem Gesichte den Boden berührt und nicht sehen kann, was um ihn herum geschieht. Wenn nach einiger Zeit das Brüllen etwas nachläßt, erheben sich die Anwesenden ausnahmslos, aus jenem Versteck hinter dem Vorhange treten die beiden "Geister" heraus und springen neben der Feuerstelle auf den Boden, gleichzeitig einen lauten *pay*-Ruf ausstoßend.

Der *ušuǥǥla* liegt immer noch gegen die Innenwand gewendet. Hinter seinem Rücken, also in der Mitte der Hütte, tanzen und springen nun die beiden Geister; alle übrigen Männer können das bequem beobachten, weil sie um jene Tänzer einen geschlossenen Kreis bilden. Die Männer brüllen und heulen mit kurzen Unterbrechungen, in die der Leiter einige Ermunterungen und Befehle hineinwirft. Dann fordert er den *ušuǥǥla* und seinen Führer auf, sich zu erheben. Kaum ist das geschehen, springt ein Geist nach dem andern wütend auf den *ušuǥǥla* zu, als wollte er ihn umrennen; jeder rückt so nahe an den Burschen heran, daß er ein wenig nach hinten geschoben wird. Es ist das ein regelrechter Angriff des Geistes, den der *ušuǥǥla* zwar deutlich genug fühlt, nicht aber sehen kann. Das Heulen aller Männer und das hastige Stampfen des Bodens mit den Füßen wirkt unheimlich. Einige Minuten lang hält diese erregte Bewegung an. Schließlich nimmt der Führer dem *ušuǥǥla* die Binde vor den Augen weg und dieser sieht nun jene beiden "Geister" vor sich. Abermals fährt Schrecken durch seine Glieder. Der Leiter ruft ihm zu: „Fasse ihn am Kopfe!" Entschlossen streckt der Bursche seine Hand aus und reißt dem "Geiste" die Maske herunter. Jetzt erkennt er jenen Mann und zuckt vor Überraschung zusammen. Auf gleiche Weise muß er unverzüglich auch noch den andern "Geist" entlarven. Dieser ganze Vorgang wirkt auf ihn wie eine Offenbarung, er steht wie versteinert vor den ihrer Maske beraubten Männern. Währenddessen brüllt und trompete der geschlossene Kreis der Teilnehmer rundherum aus allen Kräften. Nun weiß er, welcher Art jene Geister sind, er benötigt keine weitere Erklärung.

Der *ušuǥǥla* muß sich jetzt niedersetzen. Er sieht eben noch, wie jene beiden "Geister" sich in den Kreis der Männer stellen. Wieder wird ihm sein Gesicht verhängt. Nun tanzen alle Männer um das Feuer in wilder Eile und heulen dabei ganz entsetzlich.[200] Plötzlich halten sie ein, springen am gleichen Fleck einmal in die Höhe, stoßen noch ein langgezogenes *hô* aus

[200] Beachtenswert ist es, daß der eben eingeführte Prüfling im Kinkatera der Selk'nam das Geheimnis um die maskierten Geister in der gleichen Weise entschleiert, nämlich dadurch, daß er selber die Maske wegzieht (Bd. I, 853).

und der ganze Kreis löst sich wieder auf. Jeder läßt sich auf seinem Sitzplatz nieder, die beiden "Geister" aber vor dem *alusqile* und neben ihm sein Führer. Doch scheut der *alusqile* auch jetzt wieder gegen die Innenwand und wendet seinen Rücken dem Eingange zu. Werden zwei oder drei junge Männer bei einer und derselben Gelegenheit erstmalig eingeführt, dann wickelt sich der oben beschriebene Vorgang zwar in gleicher Weise ab, doch so, daß vor jedem *alusqile* je ein Geist tanzt und diesen Tänzern wird von jenen Burschen auf ein Zeichen des Leiters im gleichen Augenblick die Maske über den Kopf gezogen.

An diese Enthüllung schließt sich eine nur kurze Pause an, in der die erschreckten Prüflinge sich etwas beruhigen. Die folgenden Minuten sind ganz ihrer Belehrung gewidmet. Regelmäßig erteilt sie der Leiter und sie hat eigentlich nur zum Inhalt, jene Burschen eindringlich zu ermahnen, das Kina-Geheimnis in aller Treue und Gewissenhaftigkeit zu hüten. Entweder vereinigt er die Prüflinge vor sich, daß sie in einem Halbkreise zu seinen Füßen hocken, oder er selber setzt sich neben den vielleicht einzigen *alusqile*, der da ist. Mehrmals wiederholt der Leiter allen Ernstes: „Du bist nun hier in der Großen Hütte. Du weißt jetzt, was unsere Spiele bedeuten. Nur Männer sind es, die jeden [sogenannten] Geist darstellen. Sie kommen weder aus der Höhe herunter, noch steigen sie aus der Erde heraus. Jeder [Geist], der sich draußen vor dieser Hütte den Frauen und Kindern zeigt, ist immer nur einer von uns Männern. Nun kennst du unser Geheimnis. Aber hüte dich, es irgendeinem, der draußen steht, zu verraten. Das ist eine Angelegenheit, die nur Männer wissen dürfen. Nimm dich in acht und sei auf der Hut; die alten Leute werden dich scharf beobachten, ob du verschwiegen bist!" Im März 1922 ist GEWIX in das Kina eingeführt worden. Der alte MALEWAXNE hatte sich neben sie auf den Boden gehockt und ihr diese eindringlich warnenden Worte vorgehalten. Er fügte noch an: „Jedermann kennt dich als eine gute Yamana-Frau. *Du fühlst dich treu zu sein, weil du bei uns lebtest*; deshalb erhüten dich Männer und Frauen. Wir haben dich in diese Große Hütte eintreten lassen. Du kennst nun das Geheimnis der Männer. Was hast du nun für eine Meinung von dieser Hütte? Du hast neben die Maske von dem einen und anderen ["Geister"] gefaßt; nachher hast du die beiden Männer erkannt. Also brauche ich dich nicht weiter aufzuklären. Vom *Jifunge* her weißt du es noch, niemand darf ausplaudern, was in dieser geheimen Hütte vor sich geht; wer es tut, wird umgebracht. Du weißt, in manchem Sumpfe, in dem hohes Schilf gedeiht, riecht es übel. Kennst du den Anlaß? Ich will es dir sagen: Vor langer Zeit hat eine junge Frau das Kina-Geheimnis erfahren und ausgeplaudert. Also hat man sie an den Sumpf geführt und dort versenkt. Dich wird die gleiche Strafe ereilen, wenn du etwas verrätst. Andere Männer werden dir noch manche Dinge enthüllen; ich bin ein alter Mann und muß mich auf wenigre beschränken. Schweige darüber vor jeder anderen Frau. Mißbrauche niemals das Vertrauen, das wir Männer dir heute schenken!" Während dieser Ermahnungen zeichnete sich tiefer Ernst in das Gesicht aller

Anwesenden, schweigend und regungslos lauschten sie. Regelmäßig vergeht gewisse Zeit, bis die Männer aus dieser angespannten Selbstbesinnung in die Heiterkeit ihrer vergnüglichen Betrügereien überleiten. Die weitere Behandlung, die den *ánagla* zuteil wird, soll später geschildert werden.

3. Die Ursprungsmythe

Die gesamte Gedankenwelt des Kina beruht auf einer alten Sage, in der auch die weiberfeindliche Richtung dieser geheimen Veranstaltung begründet ist. Wenn die Versammlung der Männer am **ersten Abend** durch einige Geisteraufträte den Beginn eingeleitet hat und sich ihrer ersten Erfolge erheblich freut, kommt der Leiter in der sich anschließenden Aussprache ganz zwanglos und wie selbstverständlich auf die Herkunft und Entstehung des Kina zu sprechen. Wie ich persönlich damals im März 1922 erfahren habe, sind es nur einige Hauptgedanken, die er in gedrängter Fassung bietet: für die damit längst vertrauten Männer genügen sie. Es ist, als würde damit eine Rechtfertigung für die geheime Zusammenkunft und das feindselige Verhalten der Männer gegen die Frauen geboten, erstere weisen sich gleichsam vor sich selber wegen ihres ganz ungewöhnlichen Benehmens aus.

Die Einführung jener Burschen in die Kina-Hütte, die zu *ánagla* auserwählt worden, läßt, nachdem die Veranstaltung einmal begonnen hat, nicht lange auf sich warten. Eines Abends also, gleich zu Beginn der Feier, wird ihnen die Ursprungsmythe vollständig und in der überlieferten **Fassung** vorgetragen. Zum ersten Male kommt sie jenen Burschen hier zu Ohren. Nicht ohne eine gewisse Feierlichkeit darf das abgehen. Selbstverständlich ist der jeweilige Leiter nicht immer geeignet und veranlagt, jene Erzählung gewandt und eindrucksvoll vorzutragen; ihm obliegt jedenfalls die Pflicht, dafür zu sorgen, daß sie den *ánagla* einwandfrei geboten wird. Fühlt er selber sich ohne Gewandtheit, erwählt er einen der anwesenden Alten, der vielleicht schon bei früherer Gelegenheit diesen Dienst erfüllt hat. Geißeltreffe ist es diesem Umstande zuzuschreiben, daß der Wortlaut der Ursprungsmythe im Laufe der Jahrhunderte gleich geblieben ist. Erst auf meiner vierten Reise habe ich sie aus dem Munde des zuverlässigen Maßmann genau zu erfahren, wie sie hier anschließend niedergelegt wurde:[281] anläßlich der Medizinmannschule hat er sie mir vor mehreren Männern wiederholt. Auf jeden jungen Mann, der sie zum ersten Mal erfährt, macht sie einen Eindruck von lange anhaltender Wirkung. Sie lautet in der möglichst wortgetreuen Übersetzung wie folgt:

Oben im Norden der Isla Grande[282] und dann weiter auf der schönen, weiten Pampa von *Yaiyáfpam*[283] spielten die Weiber als erste das Kina. Damals

[281] Dieser Wortlaut ist schon von Gusinde (ab) 278 und (bb): 337 veröffentlicht worden.

[282] Unzweifelhaft ist mit dieser bestimmten Angabe der nördliche Teil des Heimatgebietes der Selk'nam bezeichnet.

[283] Das ist der Name für die Flache Umgebung der Bahía Thetis.

hatten die Frauen allein die Gewalt; sie befahlen den Männern und diese waren untertan, so wie heute die Weiber den Männern gehorchen. Auch saßen die Männer hinten am Heck, die Frauen vorn am Bug des Kanus; alle Arbeiten in der Hütte verrichteten die Männer nach Anweisung der Frauen, sie betreuten die Kinder, hüteten das Feuer, reinigten die Felle. So sollte es immer sein. Deshalb erfanden die Weiber diese Große Hütte und alles, was darin vorgeht. Sie sagten den Männern: „Wir suchen *Tánuwu!* Ob sie sich wohl finden lasse, ob sie aus der Erde hervorkäme und in die Große Hütte einträte?" Das hielten die Männer für Wahrheit. Sie mußten mit weiter ziehen, so oft die Weiber irgendwo das Lager abbrachen.

Aber sie fanden die *Tánuwu* in jener Gegend nicht. Also zogen sie an einen anderen Ort, erst der Nordküste der Isla Grande entlang, bis an die Nordost-Spitze. Überall, wo sie Rast machten, bauten sie die Kina-Hütte auf und spielten wieder. Von dort wanderten sie das Ostufer der Isla Grande nach Süden entlang. Überall, wo sie spielten, bildete sich eine weite, flache Pampa. Allerorts suchten sie nach der mächtigen, bösen *Tánuwu*. Südwärts zogen sie weiter, bis sie in die Nähe des Cabo San Pablo kamen. Von hier an gingen sie nicht mehr der Küste entlang; daher sieht man auch heute noch südlich von diesem Kap nur bewaldetes, gebirgiges Land. Die Weiber schlugen nun eine südwestliche Richtung ein, überschritten das Gebirge und erreichten an der südlichen Küste dieser Isla Grande den Canal de Beagle, dort in der Gegend von Puerto Harberton. Von hier aus zogen sie westwärts. Wo sie ihre Kina-Hütte aufbauten und spielten, wie bei Puerto Brown, da wandelte sich die Erdoberfläche um und es bildete sich ebenes, offenes Land. An der [nördlichen] Küste des Canal de Beagle zogen sie entlang, immer westwärts, bis sie endlich nach *Yájaníga*[204] kamen. Hier spielten sie ihr Kina sehr lange Zeit. Sie traten aus der großen Hütte heraus, eine nur oder mehrere, über und über bemalt, mit einem *hllix* [Maske] auf dem Kopfe. Den Männern rief jedesmal eine *yékamuí* zu: „Das ist *Sána-yáka!*"; wieder ein andermal: „Das ist *Wasíaim-yáka!*" Und noch viele andere Geister kamen heraus. Die Männer glaubten, es wäre so. Eigentlich aber hatten die Weiber sich selber bemalt, und da sie mit der Maske ihr Gesicht verdeckten, konnte kein Mann sie erkennen.

Trotz langen Spielens und Suchens konnten sie die *Tánuwu* doch nicht finden und aus der Erde herausholen. Also entschlossen sie sich, nicht mehr weiterzuziehen, sondern hier in *Yájaníga* zu bleiben. Dieser Platz besitzt eine schöne Pampafläche, er gefiel ihnen sehr und sie sagten: „Hier wollen wir bleiben! Wir werden jetzt die Männer täuschen und ihnen zurufen: Wir haben *Tánuwu* gefunden, sie kam jetzt aus der Erde heraus und ist bei uns in der Großen Hütte!" Sogleich wickelten sie einige trockene Felle zu einer dicken Rolle zusammen, schlugen damit auf die Erde, daß es dröhnte, schrien, brüllten und heulten, wie aufs höchste gekränkt. Die Männer hörten das.

[204] Heute allgemein "Bahía del Inferno" genannt, sicherlich unter Einfluß jener Mythe. Diese Stelle findet sich auf der nach Süden vorstoßenden Halbinsel in der Bahía Ushuaia.

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan

eilten in ihre Hütten und versteckten sich hier voller Furcht. Sie raunten hier einander nur ganz leise zu: „Wirklich, unsere Frauen haben jetzt die *Tánuwu* entdeckt! Früher hatten sie nämlich nicht so laut und anhaltend geschrien, wenn die Geister auftraten." Als dieses fürchterliche Geheul anhob und die Erde dröhnte, sagten sich die Männer voll Überzeugung: „Das ist sicherlich *Tánuwu*, die aus der Erde heraufsteigt. Die Weiber haben sie also doch gefunden!" Diese spielten nun dort in *Yáçuládge* weiter. Die Männer wurden in Angst und Unterwürfigkeit gehalten; auch künftighin erledigten sie alle Arbeiten, wie die Frauen es angaben.

Lēm, der Sonnenmann, war ein trefflicher Jäger. Immer wieder wurde er auf die Jagd geschickt. Er brachte reiche Beute heim. Die zahlreichen Weiber in der Kina-Hütte benötigten viel Fleisch. Eines Tages hatte er wieder ein großes Guanaco auf der Jagd erlegt[300] und er lud es sich auf die Schultern. Während er sich dem Lager näherte, kam er an einer Lagune vorbei und hörte hier die Stimme zweier Mädchen. *Lēm* wurde neugierig und sagte sich: „Was treiben wohl diese beiden hier?" Er schlich sich leise heran, verdeckt vom Gebüsch. Nun sah er, wie die beiden Mädchen sich die Bemalung abwuschen, in welcher die "Geister" aufzutreten pflegten. Dabei machten sie Übungen, die Stimme und das Spiel seiner beiden Töchter [der Töchter des *Lēm*][300] nachzuahmen; denn diese spielte im Kina-Hause eine bevorzugte Rolle. Die Mädchen plauderten: „Wir wollen uns gut üben, daß wir die Tochter des *Lēm* genau nachahmen. Dann werden wir ihr singen helfen und mit ihr die Männer täuschen." Sie übten weiter und sprachen dabei über das Treiben der Weiber in der Kina-Hütte.

Plötzlich sprang *Lēm* aus seinem Versteck hervor. Er stellte sich derart nahe vor die Mädchen, daß sie nicht entwischen konnten. Außerordentlich ernst fuhr er sie an: „Was treibt ihr denn hier?" Erschreckt verstummten sie. Da befahl er ihnen: „Ihr müßt mir alles sagen, was ihr hier treibt, was ihr hier gesprochen habt und was in der Kina-Hütte vor sich geht! Vieles weiß ich schon, denn ich habe euch belauscht." Da wurden die Mädchen rot vor Scham und der Angstschweiß trat ihnen auf die Stirn. Schließlich erzählten sie dem *Lēm* alles und bekannten: „Die Weiber selber sind es, die sich bemalen und eine Maske aufsetzen; dann treten sie aus der Hütte heraus und zeigen sich den Männern. Andere [Geister] gibt es dort nicht. Die Weiber selber sind es, die brüllen und heulen; auf solche Art erschrecken sie die Männer. Aber die *Tánuwu* tut so etwas nicht." Noch manches andere erzählten die Mädchen. Da sagte *Lēm*: „Als Dank dafür will ich euch einen Rat geben: Bleibet hier an der Lagune und geht weder zum Lager noch zur Kina-Hütte zurück; etwas Schlimmes wird sich jetzt ereignen!" Also blieben die beiden Mädchen dort zurück, sie wurden später zu kleinen Süßwasser-Enten.[301]

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[300] Es verdient hervorgehoben zu werden, daß im mittleren Teile des Yamana-Gebietes Lēm je auf die dort sehr selten auftretenden Guanacos von unsern Feuerländern Jagd gemacht wird (S. 134).

[300] Der alte Wanto erwähnte bei dieser Stelle nur „eine Tochter des Sonnenmannes."

Ärgerlich nahm nun *Lôm* sein Guanaco wieder auf die Schultern und wandte sich dem Lager zu. Unterwegs dachte er darüber nach, wie er sich an den Weibern rächen sollte. Vor seiner Hütte angekommen, warf er das Guanaco auf die Erde und sagte mißmutig: „Dafür also schleppe ich alle Tage reichliche Jagdbeute herbei, daß meine Töchter sich über mich lustig machen und uns Männer insgesamt betrügen! Sie nehmen uns das Fleisch weg, als ob es für *Tánuwa* wäre; jedoch, sie selber verzehren es in der Kina-Hütte!" Alle Frauen, die in der Nähe seiner Hütte standen, horchten erstaunt auf und fragten sich: „Was ist geschehen? Was redet der *Lôm*? Weshalb ist er so wütend?"

Zufällig saß die *Tékur'kipa*[**] in der Nähe und arbeitete an einer Harpunenspitze. Sie hörte die erregten Worte des *Lôm* und sagte sich: „Irgend jemand muß ihm die Sache der Weiber erzählt haben! Vielleicht hat er die Mädchen belauscht, die zur Lagune gegangen sind, um sich zu waschen." Sie wurde rot vor Scham; denn sie ahnte, die Betrügereien der Weiber seien verraten worden. Sie überlegte nun: „Wie könnte ich den *Lôm* zum Schweigen bringen, daß er nichts erzählt und daß andere Männer nichts erfahren?" Viele Männer lagen nämlich allerdings zugedeckt, in der Hütte, vor der dieser Frau saß; aber sie waren wach. Nur sie allein saß aufrecht; sie brauchte ja nicht unter die Decke zu kriechen.[***] Als nun *Lôm* in jene Hütte eintrat, sagte ihm dieses Weib unter einer Redewendung, die alles vertuschen und ihn zum Schweigen bringen sollte: „Sachen haben wir Weiber den Männern hier einen

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[**] Schon im Januar 1920 hat der alte Wanate mir diesen Abschnitt in etwas anderer Form erzählt: Der Sonnenmann war ein tüchtiger Jäger. Obwohl er regelmäßig reichliche Beute von der Jagd heimbrachte, fehlte es bald wieder an Fleisch; es mußte er nochmals auf die Jagd gehen. Das Fleisch wurde ihm nämlich von den Weibern gestohlen. Als er einen Tages mit einem schweren Guanaco beladen sich dem Lager zuwandte, kam er an einer Lagune vorbei, in der sich zwei Mädchen badeten. Unbemerkt schlich er sich heran und belauschte ihre Unterhaltung. Da hörte er, wie sie sagten: „Lôm bringt regelmäßig viel Fleisch von der Jagd heim. Heute ist er wieder unterwegs und wird bestimmt nicht mit leeren Händen zurückkommen. Aber die schlauen Weiber stehlen ihm alles Fleisch, schleppen es zur Kina-Hütte und verzehren es miteinander. Deren weiß Lôm nichts." Als nun der Sonnenmann plötzlich aus seinem Versteck hervortrat, wurden die Mädchen seiner unsichtbar: erschreckt tauchten sie sich unter Wasser. Er aber rief ihnen zu: „Ich habe euch schon gesehen und erkannt, kommt nur hervor!" Angstverfüllt näherten sie sich. Lôm sagte ihnen: „Was redet ihr hier? Ich habe euch belauscht!" Sie erwiderten: „Wir haben nur gesagt: Lôm bringt regelmäßig viel Fleisch heim, hier wird es ihm gestohlen und deshalb muß er täglich wieder auf Jagd gehen." Lôm forderte sie nun auf: „Da ihr wißt, wer mir das Fleisch stiehlt, so müßt ihr mir diese [Personen] nennen!" Die Mädchen offenbarten ihm sogleich: „Alle Weiber, die in der Kina-Hütte zusammenkommen, stehlen das Fleisch, das du bringst, und verzehren es. Ihnen dieses Stehlen sie so lange in der Kina-Hütte, spielen weiter und erschrecken die Männer!" Jene beiden Mädchen, die den Geheimnis verraten hatten, blieben, auf Anraten des Lôm, in der Lagune. Sie wurden zu Enten und sind sehr scheu.

[**] Jetzt ein dort ordnender Spielfingerzeigt mit gelbem Gefieder.

[***] Beim Kokomanda-Spiel saßen die Leute im Lager sich gewöhnlich in einer großen Wohnhütte versammelt und hier den Beginn des gemeinsamen Essens abwarten. Dieser Abschnitt ist schon auf S. 1290 geschildert worden.

großen Schrecken eingejagt! Wir alle sind hierher in die Hütte gekommen und die Männer haben sich sogleich unter die Decken verkrochen; sie glaubten nämlich, wir selber wären der *Kalampéla*.“ Dies sagte sie, um *Lóm* verlegen zu machen und abzulenken, damit er nicht weiter herumsprüche und die Männer nichts erführen.

Danach lief sie sogleich zur Kina-Hütte und erzählte den Weibern: „Der *Lóm* weiß alles, was hier vor sich geht!“ Sämtliche Weiber waren über diese Worte sehr bestürzt. Sie standen auf, schrien sehr laut, malten sich, setzten sich Masken auf und kamen wieder zu jener Hütte, in der sich alle Männer zusammengefunden hatten. Diese wollten sie jetzt ganz besonders in Angst und Schrecken jagen. Doch diesmal schauten einige Männer unbeobachtet aus den Fellen hervor, mit denen sie zugedeckt waren. Sie sagten sich: „Jetzt wollen wir uns nicht erschrecken lassen, sondern gut zuschauen, ob es wirklich unsere Weiber sind, die hierher kommen!“ Wohl hielten sie sich die Hände vor das Gesicht, aber unbemerkt schauten sie zwischen den Fingern durch. Während die Weiber tanzten und schrien, auch ihren Mund den Ohren der Männer nahe brachten, schauten diese scharf zu, verhielten sich aber vollkommen regungslos. Als nach langem Tanzen die ermüdeten Weiber abzogen, deckten sich die Männer wieder auf und sagten zueinander: „Jene [Person] war meine Tochter. — Jene war deine Frau. — Jene war meine Frau, ich habe sie erkannt. Also ist das nicht *Kalampéla* gewesen, sondern unsere Weiber waren es!“

Damit war der Betrug der Weiber entlarvt. *Lóm* erzählte ausführlich den Männern, was er dort an der Lagune gesehen und gehört hatte. Jetzt wollten sich die Männer durch weitere Erkundigungen vergewissern. Sie überlegten, was zu tun wäre. Sie schickten den schnellsten von ihnen sogleich ab, den Weibern nachzulaufen. Er rannte hinter diesen her und huschte in die Große Hütte hinein: Die Weiber saßen rund um das Feuer und jede Frau hatte hinter sich ihre Maske gegen die Hüttenwand gelehnt; das Gesicht einer jeden erkannte der kleine Mann ganz deutlich. *Sakakólus* hieß er, heute ist er ein kleiner Vogel.[**] Er schlüpfte in die Große Hütte hinein und machte die Runde hinter dem Rücken der dort hockenden Weiber; dabei warf er alle Masken um und entwischte an der anderen Seite des breiten Eingangs. Angesichts dessen ahnten die Weiber, daß wohl ein schneller Mann hier durchgelaufen sein mußte; denn wir wären sonst alle Masken umgefallen! Aus Wut und Beschämung keiferten sie und schrien laut auf. Der kleine *Sakakólus* erzählte inzwischen den Männern: „Ich schlich in die Hütte, lief schnell von der einen Seite hinüber zur anderen und warf alle Masken um. Aber die Tänzerin habe ich nicht gesehen. Nur Weiber sitzen dort in der Großen Hütte!“ Das hörten sich die Männer an.

Sie glaubten indes, auch mehr Sicherheit sich verschaffen zu müssen; sie wollten wissen, ob die Weiber sie wirklich mit all dem, was sie über Tänzerin

[**] Dieser schwarze, flinke Vogel hält sich in sumpfigem Gebüsch auf; seine Gefiederfarbe ist schwarzblaulichweiß, er hat einen schlanken Schnabel. Auch das BB-VII erwähnt ihn.

zusammen, nur betrügen. Aber entwischten sie bald diesem und bald jenem Mann, der besonders schnell laufen konnte, erst die kleineren, dann die größeren. Ein jeder von ihnen schlich sich bei der einen Seite hinein, huschte schnell durch und entwischte auf der anderen Seite. Das merkten die Weiber gar bald und sie griffen nach Bogen und Pfeil. Jedem Manne, der wieder durch die Hütte gelaufen war und ihre Matten umgeworfen hatte, sandten sie einen Pfeil nach; der blieb ihm hinten stecken und wurde zu einem Schwanze. Besonders die schwerfälligen Tiere [die damals Männer waren] wurden leicht vom Pfeile erreicht, daher tragen sie bis heute einen Schwanz. Dem Fischotter warfen die Weiber eine Harpune nach, deshalb trägt er bis heute einen kurzen Schwanz. Dem Fuchs warfen sie einen dort liegenden *ūkhütto*-Strauch[221] mit allen Blättern und Zweiglein nach; der blieb ihm hinten stecken und so ist sein Schwanz buschig. Ein jeder Mann, der die Große Hütte durcheilte, wurde von den Weibern auf diese Weise verwandelt.

Als sich endlich unter den Männern kein schnellfüßiger Läufer mehr fand, ruhten sie aus. Dann bewaffneten sie sich mit Knüppeln und Schleudern, mit Harpunen und Speeren, mit Pfeil und Bogen, und zogen gegen die Große Hütte. Die Weiber gerieten in entsetzliche Angst. Aber jene stürmten vorwärts und es kam zum schweren Kampfe. Die Männer schlugen wütend auf die Weiber ein. Nur zwei von ihnen konnten unbehelligt entwischen, alle übrigen erhielten schwere Schläge und wurden in Tiere umgewandelt; ihnen allen kann man ansehen, daß sie damals arge Hiebe mitbekommen haben. Während dieses Kampfes schüttete *Lōm* große Wassermengen auf die Kina-Hütte, um das Feuer zu löschen; sie war nämlich in Brand geraten. Sehr viel Wasser goß er aus. Es wurde zu einer gewaltigen Welle. Diese Welle flutete weit hinaus ins Meer und nahm die großen Hochwasserbäume mit; denn für diese gibt es nicht Platz [Bewegungsmöglichkeit] auf der Erde. Noch heute sieht man diese Wellen; es sind die schweren Wogen, die sich an hochragenden, unbewegbaren Felsen brechen. Einen großen Eimer füllte, bis obenauf mit Wasser gefüllt, hat *Lōm* in diesen Brand hineingeschleudert. Das siechte stark auf. Auch diesen Eimerbrand ging auf die hohe See hinaus und noch heutigentags hört man es durch das gewaltige Rauschen der Wogen hindurch.

Sämtliche Weiber wurden umgebracht oder umgewandelt, einige entflohen, nur die kleinen Kinder blieben unbehelligt. Bald nach diesem schweren Kampfe ging *Lōm*, der Sonnenmann, zum Firmament hinauf; auch sein Bruder *Ahdjeiz*, der Regenbogen, und dessen Weib *Hānaya*, die Mondfrau. Seit jener Zeit nun spielen die Männer in der Kina-Hütte; sie tun es nach der gleichen Art und auf die nämliche Weise, wie ehedem die Weiber.

Als Ergänzung lasse ich hier die kurze Fassung dieser Umwälzungsmythe folgen, die Malinowski am Abend des 8. März 1922, als die geheime Feier eben eröffnet worden war, vorgetragen hat. Er führte aus: Wir Männer haben vor langer Zeit den Weibern das Feuer weggenommen. Hoch oben im Norden der

[221] Das ist der Wasserschlauch, Seiner Wurzel (S. 38).

Isla Grande, in der Gegend von *Yaiyépan* haben die Weiber das erste *kina* gespielt. Wer kann wissen, ob es Selk'nam-Weiber gewesen sind oder nicht? Vielleicht waren die Selk'nam damals noch nicht so verschieden von uns Yamana hierzulande, wie das heutzutage ganz offensichtlich ist. Auf ihrem Zuge von Norden hierher suchten die Weiber überall nach der *Tánuwa*, fanden sie aber nicht. Vergeblich bemühten sie sich darum an den verschiedenen Stellen, wo sie ihre Große Hütte aufrichteten; schließlich gelangten sie nach *Yájnaiége*. Hier gefiel es ihnen und sie entschlossen sich, zu bleiben. Sogleich täuschten sie sämtliche Männer und gaben vor, sie hätten hier endlich die *Tánuwa* gefunden. Alle lärmten und schrien, sprangen und tanzten sehr erregt. Die Männer sollten glauben, dieses alles verursache die *Tánuwa*; diese selber tat das aber nicht. Was die *Tánuwa* allein wirklich veranlaßt hat, sind die beträchtlichen Abfälle von Steinen, Schotter und Geröll, die man immer noch westlich von Ushuaia sieht. *Tánuwa* ist es gewesen, die jene Massen gehoben, aufgerührt und verschoben hat. Hätte sie selber nämlich derart wüst getobt und so erregt um sich geschlagen, wie jene Weiber sich in der Kina-Hütte benommen haben, wäre das ganze Gebiet zertrümmert und vernichtet worden. Alles Lärmen und Wüten haben die Weiber selber betrieben, diese haben jene Männer glauben gemacht, *Tánuwa* tobe sich auf diese fürchterliche Art aus.

Als *Lóm* eines Tages von der Jagd heimkehrte, belauschte er zwei Mädchen an einer Lagune. Während er sich im hohen Schilf verborgen hielt, plauderten jene Mädchen miteinander: „Wir wollen uns noch weiter üben." Dabei trillerten sie immer wieder das *lo lo lo*... Schließlich sagten sie: „Nun können wir es ganz genau so, wie die Weiber in der Kina-Hütte!" Als sie ihre Stimmübungen einstellen wollten, erhob sich *Lóm* in seinem Versteck und trat ihnen entgegen. In seinem Ärger redete er sie schroff und vorwurfsvoll an: „Also sind es unsere eigenen Weiber, die mit ihrem Singen uns Männer täuschen! Die *ukamlna*[a] steigen auch nicht aus der Höhe in die Kina-Hütte herab! Davon werde ich unverzüglich sämtliche Männer verständigen!" Die Mädchen zitterten vor Angst und Bestürzung. *Lóm* aber befahl ihnen: „Erzählt mir jetzt alles!" In ihrer Hilflosigkeit offenbarten sie ihm: „Dort in der Kina-Hütte halten sich nur unsere Frauen auf; sie allein sind es, die alles veranstalten. Die Männer aber werden getäuscht und in falschem Glauben gehalten." Damit gab sich *Lóm* zufrieden und versicherte den Mädchen: „Wohlan, euch beide werde ich retten. Bleibet hier an dieser Lagune und versteckt euch, so werdet ihr mit dem Leben davonkommen!" Als *Lóm* das Lager erreicht hatte, warf er ärgerlich das Gummen auf den Erdboden und sagte verachtlich: „Was das Fleisch betrifft, so täuschen die Weiber mich und alle Männer!" Diese Worte erschreckten die *Téku'kipa*. Angsterfüllt

[a] Eine bestimmte Art von Kina-Geistern. BO: 113 sagt zu dieser Beziehung: Certain men or beings supposed to be the sons of a certain hálapóla, who acted parts in the cross drama. So wird auch hier, wie in der anderen Fassung dieser Mythe, wieder auf den Kalaspeio-Aufzug (S. 1330 und S. 1340) hingewiesen.

eilte sie zur Kina-Hütte und erklärte den Frauen: „Der *Lôn* muß etwas [von unseren Betrügereien] erfahren haben!" Die Frauen wurden von Entsetzen erfaßt und bereiteten lärmend einen Geisteraufritt [das *Kalawpine ordu*] vor. Die Männer aber schauten aus ihrer Verhüllung hervor und erkannten deutlich ihre Weiber, die bemalt und maskiert waren.

Bald begann das gewaltige Ringen dort in *Yâjuníkpa*. Die Männer verdrängten die Weiber aus der Kina-Hütte und diese alle wurden dabei zu Tieren. Einer jedem warfen die Männer eine Harpune oder einen Speer nach; so sieht man heute noch, daß jedes Tier einen Schwanz hat.[107] Jener Mann, der nach der *ôlmudjikipa* warf, hatte keinen Speer mehr bei der Hand. So schleuderte er gegen sie den nächstbesten Winterrindenhaum samt Gezweig und Laubwerk, daher der buschige Schwanz [des Fuchses]. Die *yêkâlif* lief davon, ohne ihre Maske abzuwerfen, und flüchtete sich ins Wasser. Noch jetzt trägt sie die Maske.[108] Genau wie sie benahm sich auch die *hufîjin*; an ihr erkennt man bis heutigentags die Maske, die sie damals auf dem Kopfe hatte.[109] Ebenso die *tâpdrukipa*.[110] Die *udmar'kipa* (Larus glaucodes) ist von vielen Pfeilen getroffen worden; die vielen dunklen Striche und Punkte auf ihren Flügeldecken zeigen das an. Zufällig war *nâgîn* (der kleine Schwertwal, Pseudorca crassidens) abwesend, als das allgemeine Ringen begann. Als er später an diese Stelle zurückkehrte, fiel ihm auf, daß nur wenige Leute sich zeigten. Er sagte: „Hier muß sich etwas ereignet haben. Wie gerne hätte ich in diesem Kampfe mitgeholfen!" Er griff nach einem glimmenden Knüppel — dieser glomm noch von jenem allgemeinen Brande her —, dabei verzeugte er sich unter den Achseln und an anderen Körperstellen: Das sind die hellen Flecke, die man seitdem an ihm wahrnimmt.

Bei jener Lagune dort in *Yâjuníkpa* liegen gegenwärtig noch die gewaltigen Speere und Harpunen, die damals unsere Männer abgeschleudert haben; hohes Gras ist darüber hinweg gewachsen. Jedem, der dorthin kommt, fallen sie auf. Dazwischen liegen riesengroße Steine; auch diese haben unsere Männer damals gegen die Weiber geworfen. In dem allgemeinen Ringen wurden sämtliche Frauen, die Kina gespielt hatten, in Tiere verwandelt, in Landtiere, Vögel und Seetiere. Gleichzeitig verließ auch *Lôn* diese Erde. Er war ja gleichsam als Diener der Frauen am Kina beteiligt; denn er mußte alle mit Fleisch versorgen. Mit ihm stiegen sein Bruder *Akâjuiz* und deren Frau *Ikâmya*, sowie manche andere, zum Himmelszelt hinauf; alle wurden dort zu

[107] In der unsern Fassung dieser Mythe (S. 1342) hat der gleiche Mutmaßen erklärt, es könnte die Weiber den verschiedenen Männern verschiedene Waffen nachgeworfen, weshalb heutzutage man heute noch als Schwanz erkennt.

[108] Diese Bezeichnung trägt der Kormoran (Phalacrocorax atriceps). Wahrscheinlich meint auch Wb. 646 diese Art, a species of sea-fish with a hard bill or bone. Der gemeinte Kopfschmuck trägt am angeschwollenen Ende seines eigenartig langgestreckten Körpers ein Paar breiten, dreieckigen Flossen. Diese Bildung wird als "Maske" gedeutet, die er damals gewonnen haben soll.

[109] Das ist ein kranichähnlicher Kalifornischer mit kurzem Bauch auf dem gesamten Körper.

[110] Die Bildung der Maske dieser Bürgerschlen, Anthropoides canadensis (S. 42), deuten man als einer von der Frühere gewonnenen Maske.

Stoffen. Seitdem herrschen die Männer in der Kina-Hütte und keine Frau darf unbefugt sich nähern, noch weniger in deren Versammlung eintreten. —

Die beiden hier niedergelegten Fassungen der alten Sage sprechen eindeutig zwei Hauptgedanken aus. Erstens: Die Kina-Feier war anfänglich im Besitz der Frauen. Zweitens: Der vom Sonnenmann entdeckte Betrug hatte eine allgemeine Umwälzung zur Folge, bei der die Männer sich in den Besitz dieser geheimen Veranstaltung gebracht haben und alle beteiligten Personen in Tiere oder Bäume (S. 873, 884) oder Gestirne umgewandelt worden sind. Die Sage will erklären, daß seitdem eine neue Weltordnung herrscht und damals eine Beteiligung der Welt mit vielen Tierarten erfolgt ist; dem Nachdruck legt sie auf die Umgestaltung der beteiligten Menschen, da es ein Ringen der Männer mit den Frauen um Sein oder Nichtsein war.[*] Noch ein anderer bekannter Gedanke sei hier wiederholt: Unter Führung der Kina-spielenden Frauen sind die Familien aus dem Norden kommend an den Canal de Beagle eingewandert, der damals nicht bewohnt war; diese haben als erste Ansiedler sich hier niedergelassen. Mit diesem Hinweis erinnern die Yamana ihren Rechtsanspruch auf die Gegend, die sie seitdem als alleinige Besitzer besessen haben (S. 964). In Einzelheiten und Nebenumständen weicht der Wortlaut der oben niedergelegten einen Fassung von der anderen ab. Selbstverständlich kennen nicht nur alle gewiffen Männer, die das Kina an sich persönlich erlebt haben, diese Ursprungssage in ihren Grundgedanken, sondern sie ist auch anderen Frauen geläufig; das soll weiter unten noch erklärt und bewiesen werden.

4. Die Tagesordnung

Die Beteiligungsfrage haben sich die Yamana-Männer für bereitwilige, in der Großen Hütte versammelnden und das Kina grundsätzlich mit Ausschluß der Frauen zu feiern; sie wurden ausdrücklich gebeten, daß diese dieserwegen ebenfalls durch die gleiche Veranstaltung alle Männer in Unentbehrlichkeit gehalten haben. Ihre Handlungsweise ist also, nach ihrem eigenen Urteil, eine durchaus passende Erwiderung auf das, was früher einmal die Gruppe der Frauen in genau der gleichen Weise gegeben hat. Den Inhalt der Ursprungssage bewerten die Männer allen Ernstes als wahr und zuverlässig, auf ihn lassen sie ihre Rechtfertigung auf. Während im Alltag die Wertschätzung der Frauen durch die Männer grundsätzlich keine Beeinträchtigung erfährt und die gesellschaftliche Stellung jeder Frauenperson durchaus wichtig ist, lassen die Männer während der Kina-Feier alle diese ihnen angeborenen Rücksichten und überlieferten Gewohnheiten beiseite, als wären diese allen vollständig in ihrem Gedächtnis ausgelöscht. Daß damit eine immense Zwiespältigkeit empfindet wird, den sie irgendwie durch empfinden, ist selbstverständlich.

[*] Beachtenswert ist hier ein besonderer Hinweis auf die übereinstimmende vollständige Übereinstimmung der Grundgedanken in der Ursprungssage, mit der bei den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 870), Yamana und Halakwulup die geheimen Männerfeiten begründet worden. Alle drei sind bei Gusinde (s) : 302 nebeneinander gestellt. Vgl. die Zusammenfassung in Summer (d) : 990.

Trotzdem halten alle Männer während ihrer gebietenen Verwandlung unentwegt an dem Ziele fest, das sie durch dieselbe anstreben, nämlich alle Frauen zur Bereitschaft und Unterwürfigkeit zu zwingen. Dann wollen die Männer wieder einmal ihre persönliche Verwandlung zum Bewußtsein bringen und sie ihre stärkere Macht fühlen lassen. Tatsächlich vollzieht und wirksam zeigt sich bei dieser Gelegenheit der Zusammengehörigkeitsbewußtsein aller Männer, die sich als Hüter der von einmal bestehenden gesellschaftlichen Ordnung betrachten und sie mitin verantwortlich fühlen. Dabei auch ihre innerliche Einstellung und entsprechende Zusammenarbeit im Streben nach dem Ziele, der der Kina-Feier gesetzt ist.

Diese hörmit unerbittlichen Gesetzmäßigkeit kennzeichnet sich auch weiter durch einen unverwüstlichen und unerbittlichen Ernst, mit dem die gesamtheitliche Gemeinschaft der Männer auf der überlieferten Tagesordnung mit ihren mannigfaltigen Einzelheiten bestehe. Bis in die neueste Zeit herein ist an den grundlegenden Wesensmerkmalen nicht gerüttelt und nichts in den bisherigen Gedanken verwandelt worden. Keineswegs aber soll damit gesagt werden, daß die Männer ihre Lage als hoffnungslos betrachten; vielmehr wollen sie, nach ihrer entschlossenen Verwaltung, der Forderung einer neuen aber Zeit übermenschenen Verpflichtung entsprechen und mitwirken, an ihrem persönlichen Vorteil, auch erheblich mit ihrer eigenen Person wichtig tun. Mit der Verfolgung der überaus engsinnigen Gesetze und mit den durch die Tagesordnung auferlegten Verpflichtungen nehmen sie es verhältnismäßig sehr genau, das muß angegeben werden. Im großen und ganzen aber ist ihre gebietene Zusammenkunft durch ein vergnügliches Beisammensein mit unangenehmlichem Gedankenaustausch und unbewußter Hingabe an ein angenehmes Nichtsein. Das erst recht dann, wenn — wie bei den meisten Anlässen — das Kina-Fest in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft einer gastfreundlichen Wabu eingeleitet wurde. Während die Männer sonnengen hinter den Kulissen für sich in Geselligkeit und Ungezwungenheit schwelgen, nehmen sich alle Frauen und Kinder im Lager manche nahegelegene Einzelheiten ihrer persönlichen Freiheit und ihrer meist allgemein angestrebten Freiheitigkeit gefallen lassen. Die damit verbundene Ungemütlichkeit empfinden die Männer durchaus nicht als solche.

Um diese Bemerkungen unmittelbar vollständig zu gestalten, empfiehlt es sich, einmal darzulegen, wie die Männer in der Großen Hütte und wie die Frauen und Kinder im Lager während dieser Feier sich verhalten nehmen; darauf folgt ein Hinweis auf die Behandlung, die den erstmalig eingeführten abschließ unmöl wird. Später kommt noch zur Sprache, mit welchem Dingen jeder einzelne Tag und ein erheblicher Teil der Nacht ausgefüllt wird.

a. *Tagesordnung für die Männer*

Jeder Yamana-Mann, der den Gipfel als einzelnes zweimal durchgemacht hat, erwirbt dadurch die Berechtigung, bei sicherer Gelegenheit den Ähne zu erfahren. Diese erhabene Feier angegeben, hängt zu jeweils vom

Urteil der einflußreichen Alten ab, ob ein bestimmter Bursche zu der gegenwärtigen Veranstaltung empfohlen wird, oder ob man ihn bis zur nächsten Gelegenheit warten läßt. Irgendwie muß sich der Bursche nämlich als durchaus zweckmäßig erwiesen haben. Da beispielsweise ein Kina sich einem Häuptling dann und wann unmittelbar anschließt, hätte ein ständiger des letzteren keine Möglichkeit, sich in den Grundsätzen zu erproben, die er seinen mitbekommen hat. Die Alten geben ihm also, aus seiner Vereinzelt, dazu Gelegenheit, indem sie ihn bis zum nächsten Kina warten lassen.

Wer sich als ständiger einmal im Kina bewährt hat, erfreut sich für alle Zukunft der unbehinderten Freiheit, an jeweiliger Veranstaltung dieser Art sich zu beteiligen. Regelmäßig ist seine Anwesenheit sogar erwünscht; denn es geht gemütlicher und abwechslungsreicher zu, wenn zahlreiche Teilnehmer sich zusammengefunden haben. Den größten Vorteil indes zieht jeder für sich persönlich daraus, weil ihm viel Anregung geboten und sein ganzes Innenleben neu bereichert wird; aus eigenem Antrieb eilt also jeder gern zu einem Kina-Fest. Einem Stammesgenossen förmlich zusammenhängen, dazu ist es nie gekommen. Wer sich nämlich durch seinen unverträglichen Charakter mißliebig gemacht hat oder wer die Rache und gerechte Strafe anderer fürchten muß, der bleibt von sich aus einer Zusammenkunft von Männern fern, die geschlossen gegen ihn auftreten würden.

Ohne bestimmte Förmlichkeit wird aus dem Kreise der Teilnehmer ein erfahrener, gereifter Mann herausgehoben, der als Leiter die ganze Veranstaltung führen soll. Er wird nicht nach gewissen Regeln, etwa auf eine Art und Weise, die bei den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 829) gilt, erwählt und bezeichnet. Die bei den Yamana mehr oder weniger zufällige Wahl gewährt aber eine größere Sicherheit dafür, daß ein guter Kenner dieser Veranstaltung die Leitung übernimmt. Seinen Anordnungen und Weisungen, Befehlen und Aufträgen fügt sich jeder Teilnehmer; das beruht, in Anbetracht des unserem Yamana angeborenen Unterwürfigkeitsinstinktes, nicht eigens begründet zu werden.

Betrachtet man in der zweiten zeitlichen Reihe von Teilnehmern etwas genauer die persönliche Haltung der einzelnen, wird man erkennen, daß jeweiler sich möglichst bequem und gelassen dem empfohlenen Nichtstun überläßt. Der sogenannte Kampf zum Bunsie bewährt ihn hier überhaupt nicht und er wiegt sich unbewehrt in dem Glauben, daß er jetzt von seiner Familie im Lager sich nicht zu kümmern brauche; echte Mannespflichten harren nämlich seiner hier in der Kina-Hütte, die allerdings an sich nichts weniger als anstrengend sind. Letzten Endes sorgt der Leiter dafür, daß jeder reichlich zu essen hat; seinem die unterwegigen Lebensmittel dann und wann von der Frau beschafft werden, beauftragt er damit ausschließlich jüngere Leute, denen gemeinschaftliche Jagden eine Lust und ein Vergnügen sind. Ebensowenig läßt sich jemand hier durch unvermeidliche Arbeiten drängen. Zu seinem Zeitvertreib allerdings beschäftigt sich der eine oder andere bisweilen mit seinen Gerätschaften und Waffen, erneuert Mützen und dergleichen Schaffen merkt man seinem Tun keineswegs an. Für den

größten Teil des Tages ist jeder Mann sowieso sich selber überlassen, die Auftritte der einzelnen Geister fallen fast nur in die Zeit vom Niedergang der Sonne bis Mitternacht. Wer in einem ungestörten Nichtstun sich gehen lassen will, der hüllt sich zu beliebiger Stunde des Tages in seine Decken und streckt sich auf seinem Schlaflager aus; niemand behelligt ihn, vielmehr ahmt mancher sein Beispiel nach. In der Zeit von Sonnenaufgang bis nach Mittag ist in der Großen Hütte fast niemand tätig. In den späten Nachtstunden jedoch, wenn die Geisterauftritte vorüber sind und alle Anwesenden sich mittelbar oder unmittelbar daran beteiligt haben, geht es in der ganzen Gesellschaft lebhaft und munter her, dann schildern sich die Männer gegenseitig ihre Beobachtungen und Erfahrungen, dann finden sie für ihre Erzählungen und Witze kaum ein Ende.

Die eben beschriebene zwanglose Unabhängigkeit und möglichste Bequemlichkeit, der sich jeder Teilnehmer überläßt, fügt sich vollständig in die Festordnung ein, vorausgesetzt, daß gewisse F o r d e r u n g e n erfüllt werden. Oberstes steht die Pflicht, fast täglich den einen oder anderen Geist vor die Augen der Lagerinsassen treten zu lassen. Nun gewährt aber ein solcher Auftritt dem, der die Rolle des Geistes übernimmt, so viel persönliche Freude und eigene Genugtuung, daß Männer mittleren Alters sich darum drängen. Allerdings müssen sie sich in den ungewöhnlichen Tanzbewegungen geraume Zeit üben. Sie wählen dafür die späten Stunden der Nacht, wenn sie von den Leuten im Lager nicht beobachtet werden können; aber auch tagsüber, und zwar in der Großen Hütte selbst, gibt sich mancher dann mit diesen Übungen ab, wenn nur wenige Männer anwesend sind und genügend Raum frei steht. Für jeden sind sie ein vergnüglicher Zeitvertreib. Gelegentlich müssen jüngere Leute allerdings zu gemeinschaftlichen Jagden ausziehen, wie eben erwähnt worden ist. So wird für jeden Mann der Aufenthalt in der Kina-Hütte zu einer Erholung für Leib und Seele, zu einem Ausruhen und Auffrischen des ganzen Menschen. Allen obliegt es in gleicher Weise, recht wachsam zu sein, daß keine Frau und kein Kind sich der geheimen Zusammenkunft nähere, daß diesen nichts zu Gesicht oder zu Ohren komme, was den ganzen großen Betrug verraten würde. Mit alledem ist wahrhaftig nicht die mindeste Anstrengung für die Männer verbunden. Niemals, selbst nicht für wenige Stunden, darf die Große Hütte gänzlich entvölkert werden; zumindest ein Mann muß zurückbleiben und sie bewachen, irgend jemand hörtet sich dafür bereitwillig an.

Nicht einmal die S i t z p l ä t z e werden nach zwingenden Rücksichten vergeben. Jeder läßt sich nach freier Wahl gern neben einem Verwandten oder vertrauten Freunde nieder und sichert sich von vornherein ein gemütliches Beisammensein. Tagsüber steht es jedem frei, sich hierhin und dorthin zu setzen, auch vor der Großen Hütte sich niederzulassen und ins Lager zu gehen. Selbstverständlich wird niemand gezwungen, während der ganzen Dauer der geheimen Feier anwesend zu sein. Wem irgendetwas nicht behagt, wer sich aus persönlicher Rücksichtnahme auf andere nicht wohl fühlt, wem die Anwesenheit eines Gegners belästigt, der rafft unauffällig seine wenigen Sachen

nommen, verständigt seine Frau und Kinder im Lager und sucht wieder das Weite; keiß einziger der Kina-Teilnehmer wird ihn irgendwie daran hindern.

Allerdings fordert es die allgemeine Regel, daß die Teilnehmer in der Großen Hütte selbst ihren nächtlichen Schlaf verbringen. Die Sorge um Sicherung des Kina-Geheimnisses hat wohl zu dieser Bestimmung den Anlaß gegeben. Nur zu leicht kann es geschehen, daß jemand die Körperbemalung nicht restlos abwäscht, daß jemand in seiner Gemütserregung so redselig wird und bedenkliche Wendungen fallen läßt, daß einer laut träumend das Geheimnis ausplaudert. Freilich ist das gemeinsame Schlafen, wegen des beschränkten Raumes, für den einzelnen etwas lästig und unbequem; dafür aber kann er sich tagsüber unbehindert der Ruhe überlassen. Tatsächlich nehmen sich einige greise Männer die Freiheit, in ihrer Wohnhütte zu übernachten; niemand kann es ihnen zwingend verwehren und jeder gönnt ihnen neidlos diese geringe Bequemlichkeit. Im März 1922 haben alle Teilnehmer ausnahmslos ihre Familienhütte für den nächtlichen Schlaf aufgesucht; ich sehe darin einen stummen Beweis dafür, daß schon viel vom früheren Ernst dieser Verpflichtung verloren gegangen ist. Noch aus einem anderen Grund sollten die Männer in der Großen Hütte ihre Nachtruhe verbringen. Ehedem war man bemüht, Frauen und Kinder möglichst in Gemeinschaftshütten zu vereinigen; dazu hatten dann um so mehr Personen ihren Platz, wenn nicht auch für die Männer ein eigener Raum zum Nachtlager frei gelassen werden mußte. Auch war die Bewachung aller Lagerinsassen um so leichter, je mehr Personen in jeder Gemeinschaftshütte untergebracht waren.

Arg betrogen werden die Frauen über die Art und Weise, nach der die Männer in der Kina-Hütte sich das Essen verschaffen. Man macht sie glauben, die Männer nähmen in ihrer geheimen Hütte überhaupt nichts zu sich. Will ein Mann sich sättigen, geht er zu seiner eigenen Wohnung und läßt sich hier von seiner Frau mit etwas aufwarten. Selbstverständlich gibt jeder hier quälenden Hunger vor und fällt sich jedesmal gut auf. Wäre er auch gar nicht hungrig, er muß trotzdem diesen Anschein erwecken. Die Frauen und Kinder sollen nämlich in der Meinung bestärkt werden, jeder Mann werde von den Geistern gequält und mißhandelt, überanstrengt und entkräftet; ihr Mitleid soll erregt und ihre Furcht vor den Geistern gesteigert werden. Da die abwaschende Große Hütte nicht verlassen dürfen, nimmt ein Verwandter oder Bekannter von dessen Mutter oder Frau täglich mehrmals für ihn die Mahlzeit entgegen und trägt sie zur Großen Hütte. Gleichzeitig aber versichert dieser Mann es jener Frauenperson, daß fast regelmäßig irgendein Geist sich der Mahlzeit bemächtige und sie verzehre, mithin jener abwaschende das Nachsehen habe. Unter dem Eindruck dieser Worte schickt also eine solche Frau oft und viel zur Großen Hütte und zwar in der Erwartung, daß vielleicht doch die eine oder andere ihrer Sendungen in die richtigen Hände kommt. Tatsache ist ja — was vor den Frauen streng verborgen gehalten wird —, daß die Männer sich heimlich sehr reichlich mit Lebensmitteln versorgen und zwar vorwiegend auf gemeinschaftlichen Jagden. Die Beute, die sie erreichen,

schleppen sie unbemerkt in die Nähe der Kina-Hütte und überführen sie unter dem Schutze der Dunkelheit ins Innere. Hier machen sie sich unverzüglich darüber her und schwelgen fast regelmäßig im Überfluß. Auch den Großteil von dem, was Frauen für die nächsten bestimmt und übergeben haben, verzehren die Männer; jenen lassen sie nur eine Kleinigkeit zukommen. Jedes Anzeichen dafür, daß in der Kina-Hütte nicht nur gegessen, sondern auch üppig geschmaust wird, hüten die Männer sehr sorgfältig aus. Trotzdem vergeht kein Tag, an dem sie nicht durch Wort und Gebärde ihre Frauen mürrisch stimmen, und zwar hauptsächlich wegen der vermeintlichen Hungerquälen, die ihnen von den Geisteren bereitet würden.

Mit außerordentlich schlauer Berechnung spielen die Männer ihre Betrügereien vor den Frauen und mit staunenswerter Verschwiegenheit decken sie ihr vergnügliches Treiben in der Großen Hütte zu. Um jeder immerhin möglichen Unvorsichtigkeit vorzubeugen, wird jüngeren Männern empfohlen, tunlichst den Umgang mit ihren Verwandten im Lager zu vermeiden und sich dort nur bei einem dringlichen Anlasse zu zeigen. Gar mancher hält sich wirklich während der ganzen Dauer des Kina seiner Wohnhütte fern. Vor allen Frauenpersonen stellen die Männer einen unwandelbaren Ernst zur Schau; sie wollen dadurch an die Quälereien und Mißhandlungen erinnern, denen jeder von ihnen in der Großen Hütte von seiten der vielen Geister ausgesetzt sei. Demnach liegt auf den Wohnhütten eine trübe, gedrückte Stimmung, verursacht durch die Besorgnis der Frauen und Kinder um ihre Gatten, Väter und Verwandten. Dieses Ziel streben die Männer mit ihren schlau ausgeklügelten Vorstellungskünsten und ihrem geheimen Betrug bewußt an, ohne sich selber auch nur im geringsten wehe zu tun oder anzustrengen.

β. Tagesordnung für die Prüflinge

Jene jungen Burschen, die zweimal als eigentliche nächtliche des *Ajiyaqa* überstanden haben, werden zu dem Ziele in das *kina* eingeführt, daß sie hier mit den ausschließlich Männern vorbehaltenen Geheimnissen vertraut gemacht werden. Gleich zu Beginn erfahren sie die sogenannte Ursprungsmythe und damit wird ihnen der Sinn dieser Veranstaltung erläutert. Außerdem können sie das ganze Treiben unmittelbar hinter den Kulissen jetzt offenen Auges beobachten. Über diesen erste und hauptsächliche Ziel hinaus werden die nächtlichen aber auch noch erzieherisch beeinflußt, je nach Notwendigkeit. Unter dieser wie jener Rücksicht erweist sich das *kina* als eine Fortsetzung des *Ajiyaqa*, etwa wie dieses eine Weiterführung der häuslichen Erziehung im engen Kreise der Familie ist. Sehr genau stimmt die Behandlung, die man den nächtlichen im *kina* angedeihen läßt, mit jener überein, die alle nächtlichen zusammen im *Ajiyaqa* erfahren; allerdings nehmen die Belehrungen und Übungen in der Jugendwelle einen weit umschließenderen Umfang an (S. 864). Man hörtet ihnen hier den geschlossenen Erziehungskreis, der sich um die Yaḡlay-Familie zieht; etwas davon hörten sie früher im *Ajiyaqa* (S. 899).

Die weißen Prüflinge (S. 1330) werden ohne jeden Unterschied der Personen unter einer gewissen, weiter ohne besondere Feierlichkeit in die Gurbo Hütte gebracht (S. 1334). Frauen und Kinder sollen so ähnlich von eigener Wahrnehmung erfahren, welchem jungen Manne jener Vorzug der Beteiligung gewährt wird. Man redet davon, die Geister hätten diesen und jenen Bewerber als ungeeignet empfunden; einer derartigen Willensäußerung nicht zu widersprechen, bedeutet ähnliches Mißmut in größte Gefahr. Jener Mann nun, der den Prüfling zur Gurbo Hütte geleitet, betätigt sich in der Regel weiterhin als eine Art von Pate. Als solcher wählt er seinen Pate unter seinem Schützling, beobachtet und unterweist ihn sozusagen, sorgt

Abb. 96. Stirnschmuck der Prüflinge. ½ nat. Größe

für dessen Unterkunft und Schlaf. Beide sind miteinander nicht so eng verbunden, wie Prüfling und Pate im Jiljaqu; denn alle Mahlzeiten und die Tagesordnung im Kiva reichen bei weitem nicht an die Strenge heran, mit der sie dort geweitet und durchgeführt werden. Deshalb erwarten den Paten weitere Pflichten von seinem Amte über die Dauer dieser Vereinzelung hinaus nicht. Gewöhnlich stellt sich ein Verwandter von sich aus und freiwillig dem ständigen zur Verfügung; unfehlbarer Begegnungen dieser Angelegenheit weichen den Teilnehmern erfindsam sich. Dem Leiter genügt es, daß sich irgendein Mann als Pate für einen jeden der weißen ständigen empfohlen hat, besonderer Eignung für diesen Dienst bedarf es nicht.

In ähnlicher Weise, wie die ständigen des Jiljaqu, werden auch die der Kiva Inkorbtisch durch einen Bowatong gekennzeichnet. Letzterer bleibt ganz allein auf den Gebrauch beschränkt. Man hat es in einer Zeit mit weißer Farbe gleichmäßig eingerieben und ein Gegenstück, vergleichbar einer Beule hat über die Mitte der ganzen Stirn. Mit diesem erhält jeder Prüfling, mit unbestimmbarer langer Zeit, einen dickwandigen Stirnschmuck. Dieses bildet man aus einem etwa 15 cm langen und kaum 3 cm breiten Lederstreifen, dessen Enden sich ein wenig verjüngen, bevor sie miteinander verbunden werden.[20] Mit weißem Farbstoff wird er dick bestrichen, bevor man ihn locker um den Kopf legt (Abb. 96). Damit ist der Prüfling gekennzeichnet.

so lange er auf seinem Platze bleibt. Dann und wann wird ihm vom Pater eine unentbehrliche Belehrung im Gestide gereichen: Dreimalige Feier vom Beginne auf weißem Untergrunde, die, im Nasenmittel bzw. am unteren Augenlid beginnend und gleichmäßig verteilt, strahlenförmig nach unten verlaufen; die Gegenfärbung, wenngleich unter Stück verbleiben die beiden inneren Augenwinkel über dem Nasenmittel bleiben und unter sich vom äußeren Augenwinkel bis zum Ohre auf jede Seite fort.[*] Bald nach Beginn der Feier schneidet der Pater für seinen Schützling zwei Stäbchen, etwa 20 cm lang, in der Mitte etwa 1,5 cm dick, vierkantig und mit einem langgezogenen Rechteck als Querschnitt. Das eine Ende wird mehr als das andere zugespitzt; ersteres bleibt, so lange es in der Hand ruht, nach oben gerichtet. Während der Untersuchungen und der Vorzeigen der Unsyrangsgeister oder Tjallup-Geschichten hält der Prüfling in jeder Hand einen dieser beiden Stäbchen; dabei ruhen die geschlossenen Finger dem Erdboden auf. Nachher steckt er diese Stäbchen in die Bärenwand, wo sie bis zum nächsten Gebrauch aufbewahrt bleiben. Häufig reibt sie der Pater mit, rauchsamen Ind-Pulver ein (Abb. 97).[**]

Abb. 97. Kam-Stäbchen

Wenn es am ersten Tage nicht möglich war, so wurden am zweiten Tage nach Beginn dieser Veranstaltung die erwähnten Prüflinge gleichzeitig zur Großen Hütte gebracht. Hier kommt es möglich zu ihrer ersten Begegnung mit einem "Geister" und darauf folgen die ersten wichtigen Aufklärungen (S. 1320). Den Prüflingen weist man durch Singlaire gewöhnlich den rechten Eingange gegenüber an. Kaum haben sie sich vom heiligen Schwerkra erhoben und sind über den ersten Geister-aufhalt etwas zur Ruhe gekommen, bringt jeder Pater seinen Schützling in die gewaltigen Kopfschneidung, an der er während der ganzen Veranstaltung mehr oder weniger streng verpflichtet bleibt. Über die Tonne zur Grau wird ein Lederstück ausgebreitet, auf dem sich der abzuhaltende niederläßt. Er bricht die mit [illegible] Brisen, den Oberkörper leicht nach vorn gebeugt, die Arme vor der Brust verschränkt, die Augen starr auf den Boden gerichtet. Möglichst ungeziefer

[*] Man spaltet die jeder Seite dieses Lederstückes in der Mitte und reichlich die etwa 2 cm langen Bandchen frei entwickelt.

[**] Diese Bräuchung, von einem kleinen Gesamtbrauch in der Zeit der Bärenfeier abgeschen, erfolgt, nach Abb. 96, b (S. 1311), vor Teilnehmer der Jugendweihe.

[***] Diese beiden langen Schnitte haben die Gegenseitig in dem Singaren Vorzeich, den jeder Teilnehmer an der Jugendweihe in seiner Hand hält (S. 1311).

soll er auf diese Art verharren, selbstverständlich in strengem Stillschweigen, ohne sich irgendwie mit andern Personen abzugeben; er darf weder laut lachen noch seine Zufriedenheit über das munteres Treiben der Männer kundtun, weder sich gegen die Hüttenwand anlehnen, noch lässig in sich zusammensinken, weder sich an verschiedenen Körperstellen kratzen noch lästige Insekten abwehren. Auch das Ungemach, das ihm ein starker Luftstrom oder der Rauch vom Hüttenfeuer bereitet, muß er regungslos ertragen. Nur wenn dieses eine zu starke Hitze verursachend ausstrahlt, richtet der Pater eine einfache Schutzwand aus Ästen und Reisig auf, die er zwischen den Prüfling und das Feuer stellt. In den ersten Tagen halten sich die Anwärter an diese Fürsorgen peinlich genau; nachher aber verwehrt es ihnen weder der Pater noch der Leiter, daß sie ihre Augen erheben und offenen Blickes die verschiedenen Geisterauftritte betrachten, oder daß sie sogar das Gelächter der Männer über den wohlgelungenen Betrug mit deutlichem Schmunzeln begleiten. Damit ist die anfängliche Strenge ansehnlich gelockert und schließlich entwickelt der einzelne für sich selber eine reichliche Bequemlichkeit. Allerdings gewährt man ihm nie die Ungebundenheit voller Bewegungsfreiheit, deren die übrigen Teilnehmer sich erfreuen. Ein Anwärter darf wohl nach mehreren Tagen zu einer lässigeren Körperhaltung übergehen und seine Augen fast ungezügelt umherschweifen lassen, jedenfalls aber muß er unentwegt auf seinem Platze hocken bleiben.

Während tagsüber dieser und jener Mann sich bequem auf die Schlafstätte ausstreckt, muß der Prüfling sich aufrecht halten. Der nächtliche Schlaf ist für ihn allein durch den Ablauf der Tagesordnung kurz bemessen. Sind nämlich die Geisterauftritte eingestellt worden und haben die Männer ihre sich daran anschließende Unterhaltung beendet, ist Mitternacht gewöhnlich schon vorüber. Erst nachdem die übrigen Männer sich in ihre Decken gehüllt haben und tiefes Schweigen in die Große Hütte eingezogen ist — es soll den Frauen draußen anzeigen, daß sämtliche Geister sich wieder entfernt haben —, erteilt jeder Pater seinem Schützling mit ausdrücklichen Worten die Erlaubnis, sich dem Schlafe zu überlassen. So weit der an sich beschränkte Platz in der Großen Hütte es gestattet, darf der Anwärter sich ausstrecken und bequem einrichten. Zeichnet sich aber das erste Morgengrauen auf dem Ostkimmel, weckt ihn schon wieder ein Ruf oder unharmonischer Stoß, der vom Paten ausgeht. Sofort richtet sich der Anwärter auf und nimmt wieder die Haltung ein, zu der er verpflichtet ist. Mit der Hand reibt er sich die verschlafenen Augen aus und ordnet flüchtig das Kopfhaar; der Morgenmantelpatz ist damit beendet. Die regelmäßige Einschränkung des nächtlichen Schlafes hat zur Folge, daß der Prüfling matt und schwach wird.

An dieser Schwächung hat auch die wirklich knapp bemessene tägliche Nahrungsmenge ihren Anteil. Niemals gestattet man dem Anwärter einen freien Zutritt zu dem Fleische, das an manchen Tagen im Überfluß zur Großen Hütte gebracht wird; vielmehr bedenkt ihn der Pater eigenhändig gelegentlich nach seinem Urteil. In der Regel verabreicht er ihm in den ersten

Morgenstunden ein größeres Stück Fleisch oder etwa zwanzig Muscheln und gleichzeitig so viel Wasser, als das Gehäuse einer großen Vulsta-Schnecke faßt. Am späten Nachmittag, ehe die Geisterauftritte beginnen, läßt er seinem Schützlinge noch einmal wenige Bissen zukommen. Verspürt dieser in der einen und anderen Stunde des Tages wieder Durst, darf er um Trinkwasser bitten und es wird ihm gewährt. Jedoch über die angegebenen Kleinigkeiten von Fleisch hinaus erhält er nichts. Die anwesenden Männer sprechen wiederholt ihre Zufriedenheit darüber aus, daß der abwäpala sichtlich abmagert und in einen körperlichen Schwächezustand verfallen ist; in dieser Verfassung, so glauben sie, ist er empfänglicher für Belehrungen und prägt sich der Ernst der Eindrücke tiefer ein.[...]

Selbstverständlich sieht man die Prüflinge, im Auftrage des Leiters, zu jenen Arbeiten heran, die in der Großen Hütte verrichtet werden müssen. Die Burschen stehen dann immer unter der Obhut ihres Paten oder einer Gruppe jüngerer Männer. Ansehnliche Haufen von Brennholz werden benötigt, die sie zuweilen aus beträchtlicher Entfernung herbeischleppen. Auf gemeinschaftlichen Jagden werden die erforderlichen Mengen von Fleisch besorgt. Hierbei sehen es die Männer darauf ab, daß die Prüflinge sich weit über ihre Kräfte anstrengen und sehr ermatten. Bequemer sind andere Arbeiten. So müssen sie an jedem Morgen und nachts nach Beendigung der Geisterauftritte die Große Hütte fegen, das Feuer wieder ordnen, alle Farbspritzer sorgfältig abkratzen und manches Fellstück gleichmäßig ausbreiten. Von diesen Beschäftigungen abgesehen, ruft der eine und andere Mann einen abwäpala zu kleinen persönlichen Dienstleistungen auf, wenn er sich seinen Handarbeiten widmet oder eine Waffe zurecht macht. Den Prüflingen sind offensichtlich derglichen Handgriffe und langes Laufen vorteilhaft und erwünscht; das stumpfsinnige, fast regungslose Hocken am gleichen Platz ermüdet sie weit mehr, als eine angestrengte Jagd bei ausgiebiger Körperbewegung sie ermüdet. Gewissenhaft wird folgende Regel beibehalten, die man gleich bei Einführung der abwäpala erfüllt. Diese dürfen in der Großen Hütte nur auf der Seite ein- und ausgehen, die südlich vom Feuer liegt. Dieser Pflicht kann jedermann leicht entsprechen, da der weite Eingang sich bekanntlich nach Osten öffnet (S. 1324). Man weiß für diese Vorschrift keinen anderen Grund zu nennen als die Gewohnheit, von der sich ähnliche Frauen damals haben leiten lassen, als das Kind noch in ihren Händen lag. „Wir Männer halten es in dieser Großen Hütte mit allem und jedem genau so, wie es einst bei den Weibern üblich war!" Mit diesen Worten wurde meine Frage nach Sinn und Herkunft dieser Regel beantwortet.[...]

In gleicher Weise, wie dieser und jener junge Mann von selber so tut,

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[...] Für den gleichen Ziel werden auch die Prüflinge in der Jugendweihe durch Hungerübung und für die Belehrungen erfahrungsmäßig gemacht (S. [illegible]).

[...] Diese Gewohnheit läßt man als einen Hinweis auf die Herkunft der Kina-Feier eine nördlichen Gegenden werten, von der die Ungarungsmythe mit eindeutiger Bestimmtheit spricht (S. 1277).

empfehlen, der Leiter dann und wenn einen Prüfling, sich bei Übungen für die Tänze und Geistererscheinungen zu ergehen und anzustrengen. Jeder tut das bereitwillig; denn es gefällt ihm, in der Rolle eines Geistes sich vor andern zu zeigen. Ein erfahrener Mann erteilt die Anweisungen und macht wohl auch die Vorführungen, die zuschauenden Männer geben ihr Urteil ab. Selbstverständlich wickeln sich dergleichen Übungen im Innern der Großen Hütte ab, unter dem Schutze einer dunklen Nacht auch außerhalb, nahe dem Eingange. Erst dann, wenn ein junger Mann oder ein Prüfling die Tanzbewegungen fehlerfrei und sehr geschmeidig auszuführen imstande ist, wird ihm gestattet, eine Geistertolle vor den Augen der Frauen und Kinder zu überraschen. Bei dergleichen Übungen stellt sich auch heraus, welcher Mann sich mehr für diese oder jene Rolle eignet; je nachdem muß er sich dann weiter so oder so vervollkommnen. Auf diese Weise sorgt die Gesamtheit der Männer dafür, daß gut geschulte jüngere Leute die lange Reihe der Geister darzustellen befähigt sind.

Zu den genannten Fürsorglichkeiten, die das persönliche Äußere und die Körperhaltung des Prüflings betreffen, tritt selbstverständlich die schon gleich zu Beginn gebotene Aufklärung über den Sinn der Veranstaltung, und zwar an Hand der Ursprungsmythe. Darüber hinaus werden diesem und jenem obendrein noch besondere Belehrungen und Ermahnungen erteilt, falls er deren, nach der Meinung einiger Männer, bedarf. Gar nicht selten haben nämlich die Alten beobachtet, daß ein aus dem Jünglingsalter entwachsener obendrein mit den Unterweisungen und Vorsätzen, die er von dort mitgenommen hat, nicht genügend Ernst macht. Wo an Schwächen und Unarten bei ihm zutage tritt, merken sich die Erwachsenen gut, und sie äußern sich gegenseitig darüber ganz offen in der Absicht, jene Fehler des Burschen beim nächsten Kina-Feste abzustellen. Selbstverständlich denkt es sich dabei immer nur um die Eigenpersönlichkeit des betreffenden obendrein und um bestimmte Charakterschwächen. Gewöhnlich macht es ein näherer Verwandter sich zur Aufgabe, jenem Burschen eindringlich zuzureden und an ihn zu bestimmen, was Anlaß zu Klagen und Beanstandungen gegeben hat. Eine Kina-Feier ist wirklich die letzte Gelegenheit, bei der auf einen jungen Mann noch mit dem ganzen Gewicht der Autorität, deren ein an Jahren reiferer Stammesgenosse sich erfreut, erzieherisch eingewirkt werden kann; er ist hier eben ein obendrein und als solcher widerstandslos der ganzen Versammlung zur Behandlung und Erziehung ausgeliefert. Den Alten ist es aus aufrichtiger Gesinnung und aus weiterhinausreichender Besorgnis um das Allgemeinwohl darum zu tun, bei jungen Leuten gründlich jene Neigungen und Anlagen abzustellen, die zu bedenklichen Charakterfehlern auswachsen könnten. Deshalb nimmt jener Mann, der sich um den ihm verwandten Prüfling müht, auch auch den einen und anderen Trilnchaute zu Hilfe, nicht selten den Leiter selber; sie alle, heute diesen und morgen jenen, reden eindrücklich auf den obendrein ein, je nachdem sein Fehler oder seine Charakterschwäche es fordert. Sie belehren ihn in aller Güte, warnen ihn voller Besorgnis und scheuen sich auch nicht, ein übles

Ende seiner fehlerhaften Entwicklung anzudrehen. Wer auf diese Art sich um einen einzigen bemüht, der glaubt sich dann vollauf berechtigt und verpflichtet. Sollte es sich nach Jahren erweisen, daß seine Anstrengungen erfolglos geblieben sind, dann entschlägt sich dieser Mann vor der Allgemeinheit und bringt ihr in Erinnerung, was alles er einst im Kina für jenen einzigen getan hat. Nicht selten werden auch bei der Männerfeier anwesenden einige junge Leute ersichtlich bekandelt und zwar auch den allgemeinen Grundsätzen, die sie im Jijyaqa erfahren haben. Man sieht überzeugt vor der Sprödheit, mit der die Allgemeinheit den bevorzugtesten Geschlecht nach einmal im Kina betreut, auf daß jeder "ein guter und brauchbarer Mensch" werde.

Darauf ist schon hingewiesen worden, daß die Yamana zu ihrer Männerfeier zusammenrufen auch eine Frauenopferung enthaben (S. 1321). Wie es zu dieser bedauerlichen Nachgiebigkeit gekommen sein soll, erklärt man folgendermaßen. Früher hatte einmal eine Frau geheimlich und am Neugierde sich der Gestaltung Hütte sehr geschützt. Sofort erkrankten mehrere Männer auf die ein und schleppten sie gewaltsam mit sich fort. In der Gestaltung Hütte hielt man sie nur Stunde einige Tage versteckt. Obwohl sie die Augen verbunden hatte und die Männer sich sehr vorsichtig bei den Geheimnisfeiern benahmen, erkannte sie doch deren Treiben als einen geheimen Betrug. Demnach blieb den Männern nichts anderes übrig, als sich selbst vor dieser Frau zu entlarven und ihr unter Todesstrafe die Verpflichtung aufzuerlegen, das Geheimnis streng zu hüten. Von da an duldete sich jene Frau auch bei späteren Gelegenheiten in der Kina-Hütte einfinden; denn sie wollte jetzt über alles und jedes reichlich Bescheid. Später erfuhr diese und jene neugierige Frau die gleiche Strafe; einige Männer schleppten sie gewaltsam nur Gestaltung Hütte, wo man sie mit verbundenen Augen abwies einen und lange ohne jede Nahrung aufbewahrte. Mit solch rücksichtslosem Vorgehen wollte man gleichzeitig die übrigen Lagerinsassen warnen. Dieses Schicksal ereilte auch Gana und Pinna, als sie noch im mütterlichen Lebensalter standen. Als entscheidender Grund wird man aber wohl den bezeichnen müssen, der mir im März 1922 bei Einführung der Gaura genannt wurde: Vor einer vorzusammenkünftigen Frauenopferung verlangen wollten die Männer die Masken ihrer Berufsgenossen, mit denen ähnlicher Weiber bewußt gefunden werden, fallen lassen, und so scheint fast, als wollten sie auf diese Weise für die zweckdienige Trotzen einer gewissen Gesinnung bringen. Die Fürsichtlichkeit, unter der Gaura durch die beiden ohne gemeinsame Frauen in den Kreis der Männer gemischt wurde, habe ich selbst beobachtet (S. 1324). In der Gestaltung Hütte mußte sie sich schließen gerade so verhalten, wie jedwedes junge Mann, der sie einzigste zum ersten Male anwesend ist. Selbstverständlich wird keine dieser Frauen dem entgegenstehen, die Rolle einer Gattin zu übernehmen; die Ungewaschenheit ohne erfahren sie vielleicht. Darum ohne, daß überhaupt eine Frauenopferung den Raum für die geheimen Zusammenkunft der Männer bereiten darf, lang jeder female Bewerber unerläßlich abhalten, mit welch geringen Ernste die Yamana, gegenüber dem Schlimm, der Kina-Geheimnis für sich allein an bewahren bemüht sind.

Die bisherigen Einrichtungen lassen erkennen, daß die gesamte Tagesordnung für die ständig mit Ihren Verpflichtungen erfüllten eingestellt ist. Die jungen Männer sollen auch wirklich nachmals eine strenge Zucht und eine harte Schule erfahren, wenn wird erneuert das Bild unser Fehler und Unarten, die in der Allgemeinheit schon Bedenken geweckt haben, als letzte Warnung vor Augen gehalten. Jeder Tumeen, der das Kinn kennengelernt hat, wird damit zu einem vollwertigen Mann, weil ihm von vorn auch jene Geheimnisse, die sich die Männerwelt vorbehält, anvertraut worden sind. In dieser letzten Prüfung hat sich auch die Allgemeinheit auch vollkommen Bestätigen dieser Einrichtungspflicht entledigt, denn sie hat den jungen Mann dessen gründlich geprüft, daß sie von ihm erwarten darf, er werde sich als ein guter und bewährtem Glied der Volksgemeinschaft bewähren.

3. *Tagesordnung für die Frauen*

In dieser Grundsätzen ist die gesamte Verwaltung des Kinn bewahrt und betont frauenfeindlich. Demgegen richtet sich das Bestreben der Männer darauf, den Frauen jede Möglichkeit zu nehmen, diesen heiligsten Spiel als das, was es unzweifelhaft ist, zu entbeten und zu erkennen. Grundsätzlich blieben alle Frauenpersonen von der Teilnahme ausgeschlossen. Jene wenigen, die das Vertrauen verdienen und den Vorzug erhalten, die Kinn-Hütte zu betreten, werden zu strengsten Stillschweigen über das, was sie dort erlebt haben, verpflichtet. Jeder mitschuldige schwäche erwartet in gleicher Weise schwerste Strafe, wenn er es wagen würde, das Kinn-Geheimnis auszuplaudern. Der strengen Schweigepflicht zu entgegenkommen, ist weder schwer noch unlieber; im Alltag spricht niemand über das Kinn-Fest.

Während es andauert, beschäftigen die Männer sehr scharf den Frauen und Kinder. Diese werden in dieser Bewegungsfreiheit empfindlich behindert. Von vorderstes steht man dabei, mehrere Familien in Gemeinschaftshütten zu vereinigen. Diese wie auch die Einzelhütten werden von zusammengeschlagen. Da die Kinn-Hütte meistens auf einer geringen Erhöhung errichtet wurde, ist von der aus der Ebenheit auf das Lager langsam und unmöglich. Wenn immer die Frauen das unerlaßliche Brennholz suchen und Wasserholz sammeln wollen, müssen sie sich in weitem Bogen um die Großen Hütte bewegen, damit sie drei Blicke keinesweges in den heiligen Eingang hineinwerfen. Wer sich so allzuna wagte, weiß von vornherein, daß das die Männer empfindlich strafen und mißhandeln werden. Am spätern Nachmittag, bevor die Geheimnisfeiten beginnen, reißt ein Mann von der Großen Hütte bei allen Frauen und Kindern die Weisung an, sich sofort in ihren Wohnungen zu verkriechen. Groß und Klein im Lager suchte in hastiglicher Eile die eigene Hütte auf, verhängt den Eingang und verharrt eingeschüchtert bei engsten bei den Frauenzelle. Nach einiger Zeit kündet ein anderer Ruf aus der Großen Hütte an, wie Frauen und Kinder sich weiter zu verhalten haben. Tonen schaffen einige Geister auf, denen dürfen Frauen und Kinder, jedoch als eng-

gruppierten Gruppen, sich bis auf halbe Entfernung der Großen Hütte nähern und von dieser Stelle aus alle Vorgänge beobachten. So lange harren sie aus, bis ein besonderer Auftrag einer Mutter aus der Kina-Hütte sie wieder in ihre Wohnungen zurückruft. Bei anderen Geisterauftritten müssen sie sich auf ihren Schlafplätzen halten und unter Decken verkriechen. Sind während des Tages, an bestimmter Stunde, die Männer mit der umständlichen Vorbereitung einer größeren Aufführung beschäftigt, müssen die Frauen es sich gefallen lassen, daß sie während dieser Zeit aus ihren Hütten nicht hinaustreten dürfen. Sie alle wissen es, daß einige Männer scharf zusehen, ob jede Frau und jedes Kind sich auch den hier übermittelten Weisungen richtet. Eigens bemerkt es nicht hervorgehoben zu werden, daß bei dergleichen Einschränkungen die Männer willkürlich ihren Übermut an den Frauen auslassen.[100]

Nicht genug damit, daß die Frauen trotz alledem nach wie vor ihre Familie besorgen und den Lebensunterhalt besorgen müssen, verlangen die Männer von ihnen auch noch einige Arbeiten im Dienste der Kina-Hütte. Mehrmals werden sie durch einen lauten Rufer aufgefordert, Brennholz zu sammeln. Mehrere Frauen eilen daraufhin unverzüglich in den Wald, beladen sich dort mit ausreichenden Bündeln und legen diese etwa in der Mitte zwischen Lager und Kina-Hütte nieder. Einige jüngere Männer treten aus dieser heraus und schaffen den ganzen Stoß dort hinein, während die Frauen zu ihren Wohnungen eilen. So oft der Versammlung der Männer die Lebensmittel ausgehen, tritt einer vor die Große Hütte und ruft ins Lager hinein: „Die Geister benötigen wieder Fleisch!" Diesem Auftrag kommen mehrere, gewöhnlich alle jüngeren Frauen einer Zaudern nach. Was sie am Strande zusammengesucht haben, legen sie in gutem Abstand von der Großen Hütte nieder; während sie sich heraus entfernen, greifen die Männer, von dorther kommend, alle Muschelns auf und nehmen sie weg. Mit diesen gelegentlichen allgemeinen Aufträgen verbinden sich häufig noch allerlei persönliche Wünsche, die jeder Mann an seine Frau richtet. Sie muß ihm oft kleine Mengen von weißer und roter Farbe erschlagen, über die in der eigenen Wohnung bereitstehen. Mitbringen können auch Fleisch für die Kina-Hütte überlassen, vielleicht sogar ein großes Lederstück hergeben, das der Mann unauffällig sich aneignet, zurechtmacht und für eine Maske verwendet.

Man kann sagen, daß die Frauen während der ganzen Kina-Feier Tag für Tag in Anspruch genommen sind und sich im allgemeinen sehr belästigt fühlen. In dieser Stimmung sind sie empfindlich eingestellt und sie können sich bisweilen durch die sehr gereizt und unbeholfen auftretenden Männer. Auch erkennen diese es nicht, daß sich jemand im Lager über die Geschehnisse in und neben der Großen Hütte unterrichtet oder darüber sich Sorgen in einem größeren Kreise unterhält. Alle Äußerungen der Frauen werden durch einzelne Männer unauffällig belauscht; fangen diese wirklich

[100] Vergleiche zum Vorwurf der rücksichtslosen Vergehen der Ioh'xana-Männer gegen die Frauen während der Gleichnis-Feier (Bd. I, 877, 888), erhellt sich besser, daß die Yamana-Frauen viel gleichgültiger dastehen und verhältnismäßig weniger behandelt werden.

eine verdächtige Bewegung auf, wird die geheime Versammlung in der Kina-Hütte sofort verständigt, die ihrerseits augenblicklich Stellung nimmt. Da die Frauen es genau wissen, welcher Argwohn sie umgibt, verlieren sie überhaupt kein Wort über das, was während der Kina-Feier sich abspielt, und verhalten sich offensichtlich schweigsam. Eben das ist es, was die ängstlichen, mißtrauischen Männer wünschen und anstreben. Sehr aufdringlich fordern diese immer wieder, auch ohne jede Notwendigkeit, daß die Kinder streng behütet und zurückgehalten werden. Mag auch jedes Auftreten von Geistern den Frauen manchen Genuß bieten, die Kina-Veranstaltung an sich ist ihnen unangenehm und unerwünscht. Aber sie werden um ihre Zustimmung ja niemals gefragt, wenn die Männer zu diesen Betrügereien wieder einmal zusammentreten wollen. Wird die Feier beendet, atmen sie erleichtert auf.

5. Die Geisterauftritte

Unvermeidlich muß die hier folgende Beschreibung ermüdend schematisch gestaltet werden, auf daß sie vollständig sei. Dieses Vorgehen rechtfertigt sich damit, daß die Vorbereitung und die Darbietung der Geisterauftritte im großen und ganzen ziemlich einförmig gehalten werden. Mag auch eine lange Reihe von Geistern zur Vorführung gelangen, die meistens untereinander einzig durch geringfügige Besonderheiten in der Körperbemalung, gleichen einander aber ganz genau in ihren Bewegungen. Eben unter dieser Rücksicht beginnt die Kina-Feier nach einer gewissen Zeit langweilig zu wirken, was sich die beteiligten Männer und die im Lager zusammengerchlagenen Frauen durchaus nicht verhehlen und was auch offensichtlich wird.

a. *Vorbereitung und Darbietung*

Die in der Kina-Hütte vereinigten Männer sind darauf bedacht, daß an jedem Tage einige Geister den Frauen vorgeführt werden. Als geeignete Zeit dafür wählen sie die Abendstunden, wenn alle Leute zuweilen daheim bleiben. Auch soll die Dunkelheit der Nacht das Ihrige dazu beitragen, die Personen der Darsteller so zuverlässig zu verdecken, daß sie von den Zuschauern im Lager nicht erkannt wird. Sind die Männer bei guter Laune, dann ziehen sich die Auftritte der Geister bis lange nach Mitternacht hinaus. Regen und Sturmfall unterbrechen und verhindern zwar oft das Spiel der Männer; doch sie lassen sich ihre munntere Stimmung nicht verderben und holen bei anderer Gelegenheit reichlich nach, was jetzt durchaufführen nicht möglich ist. Die Dauer der ganzen Veranstaltung können sie zuweilen nach Belieben ausdehnen.

Sollten auch zufällig Frauen in die Große Hütte hereingelassen worden sein, die Rolle eines Geisters dürfen grundsätzlich nur Männer übernehmen. Jedem von ihnen bereitet es viel Genugtuung, vor andern sich zeigen zu können; ältere Männer allerdings sind weniger darauf versessen. Man läßt aber keinen hinauftreten, der sich nicht die merkwürdige Tanzweise der darzustellenden Geister gut angeeignet hätte. Jüngere Männer sind oft und oft,

auch allein zu ihrer Unterhaltung, damit beschäftigt, sich gut einzuüben; die anwesenden Zuschauer geben ihnen Anleitung und beurteilen ihr Können. Ein jeder überzeugt von sich aus zu lieberen jene Rolle, in der er selber sich am meisten wohlfühlt. Dieser Umstand bringt es mit sich, daß dieser und jener Geist viel häufiger den Frauen vorgeführt wird, als manchen anderen, für den sich nicht leicht ein Darsteller findet.

Auffällig ist es, daß die Yaununa sich für die überwiegende Mehrheit der vorzuführenden Geister mit einer einzigen Bewegungsart begnügen. Der Darsteller stülpt die Kindermaske über den Kopf und stützt sie auf jeder Seite mit den flachen Händen, die er auf die Oberpgrund preßt; die auch gekrümmten Arme hält er in der Ebene der Schultern. Die Bewegung selber ist ein seitliches Ausschreiten; das eine Bein wird weit seitwärts gestellt, der Körper neigt sich in der gleichen Richtung hinüber und das andere Bein wird langsam nachgezogen. Es ist ein leicht elastisches Tänzeln und sanftes Springen und bewegtes Schreiten zugleich, die nicht lange Tanzdauer auf und ab. Am Ende derselben wechselt der Darsteller einen Aufenthalt nur die Bewegungsrichtung und verschwindet wieder in der Großen Hütte. Ausnahmsweise bleibt auch einmal ein Geist am Ende der Tanzdauer für einige Minuten vorgebeugt stehen. Jeder Geist tritt in der Regel nach einer Unterbrechung von mehreren Minuten noch ein zweites bis fünftes Mal heraus, nach persönlichem Belieben oder seiner Wirkung auf die Anwesenden, wenn sie daran Empfinen finden.

Soll den Frauen und Kindern einer der vielen Geister gezeigt werden, muß der Darsteller selbstverständlich in einer bestimmten Bemalung auftreten. Man begnügt sich mit den üblichen Farben, schwarz, weiß und rot. Peinlich genaue Ausführung der Zeichnungen erübrigt sich, da die Zuschauer weit abstehen. Am häufigsten werden in einem weißen Untergrund rote bzw. schwarze Striche und Streifen, kleine Kreise und Halbkreise, Punkte und Strichlein nach gewisser Anordnung eingetragen. Von einem etwa faustgroßen Klumpen Kalk schabt ein Mann mit seinem Schnitzwerkzeug eine Schicht ab, verreibt das feine Pulver durch Kreisbewegungen mit Speichel und trägt diesen Gemenge durch Verreiben mit der Hand oder den Fingern auf. Wer damit bemalmiert wurde, stellt sich bald neben den Feuer, damit die Farbe schnell eintrocknet. Der rote und schwarze Farbstoff wird manchmal mit Tran vermischt, manchmal trocken aufgetragen. Mit einem mangelhaften Sorgfalt benutzt man die Finger und die aufgetragenen Zeichnungen erinnern mit denen auf dem Körper des Darstellers in etwa überein. Dieser führt eigenhändig die Bemalung nicht aus; andere Männer tun es und geben beständig sich der Leiter dazu, weil er meistens das zu wählende Grundmuster bestimmt. Man trägt es allein auf der Vorderseite des Körpers auf, denn nur sie ist den Blicken der Frauen und Kinder zugänglich. Nach jedem Auftritt wischt man die Farben sorgfältig ab. Während einer Bemalung beharrigen sich die Männer ununterbrochen an allerhand Scherzen. Als sie sich einmal für das Hirsche-Spiel vorbereiteten und die in reichlicher Menge ihrem Körper aufgetragene weiße Farbe eingetrocknet war, konnten manchmal Mann nur schwerlich erkannt werden. Mehr-

[illegible] schwarz schwarzmutig im Kreise der Männer umher und fragte schließlich: „Wo ist denn jener Mann geblieben, der sich Tuwaz nennt? Ich sehe ihn nicht mehr! Er ist doch anfangs auch hier gewesen." Tuwaz verstand den wichtigen Anruf und erwiderte: „Ich bin doch groß genug, daß jeder mich sehen könnte!" [**] Die ganze Gesellschaft lachte laut auf. Als die Männer auch mit der Besatzung beschäftigt waren, beauftragte Malewazza seine Frau Sena, die Weiber aus den Wohnungen herauszuholen und mitzum auf die Wiese zu führen; denn bald würden die Geister sich sehen lassen. Ob Sena die Frauen nicht streng genug aufgefordert hat oder ob diese selber davon Wurze nicht ernst genommen haben, wer weiß es; jedenfalls kam niemand auf die Wiese. Vergeblich stellte sich Malewazza neben die Grube Hütte und schimpfte im Lager einige drohende Worte gegen die Frauen. Der Schelk in den gewaltigen Gestalt die Oberhand, er mußte sich eilig zurückziehen und schützte seine heiße Gefährdung vor den Männern in der Grubna Hütte vor.

Wie es schon mehrmals angesprochen worden ist, wiederholt sich immer wieder die gleiche Art der Verführung der einzelnen Geister. Der Leiter, auch sie von dem beauftragten Mann, stellt sich neben den Eingang der Grubna Hütte und schaut vom Lager hin. Sind die Frauen auch nicht versammelt, ruft er sie herbei. Sogleich macht er dann eine kurze Mitteilung über den Geist, der sich bald verwirklichen wird, anschließend benennt er den weiteren Namen auch. Er ruft beispielsweise: „Dort hat sich Kalanyaina angemeldet. Ich weiß nicht, was ihn hierher in unsere Hütte zieht. Nun gilt es wieder auf sich warten!" Oder auch: „Kimanjiana weilt gegenwärtig hier unter uns. Sehr freundlich benimmt er sich, bald sollt ihr [Frauen] ihn sehen." Einmal habe ich gehört: „Mehrere Geister sind im Anzuge, unruhig und scheinbar gebärden sie sich. Wenn sie uns nur nicht gar zu sehr belästigen würden!" Ein anderer Ruf: „Merkwürdig, auch in so später Stunde nähert sich ein Geist unserer Hütte; er steigt von oben herab. Wer könnte es wohl sein? Um Männern wäre es lieber, er ließe uns in Ruhe. Richtig, schon trifft er ein; es ist Angaddijaka. Er läßt euch [Frauen] sagen, er habe einen weiten Weg hinter sich. Schaut ihn gut an." Endlich auch: „Soeben sind gleichzeitig zwei Geister in unsere Hütte hereingegangen. Ich kenne sie noch nicht. Sie scheinen indes guter Laune zu sein und hier sich wohl zu fühlen." Nach dieser oder einer ähnlichen Ankündigung dreht sich der Leiter um die eigene Achse und wendet den Frauen jetzt den Rücken zu; er schaut in die Grubna Hütte hinein und mit einem starken Zischlaut, begleitet von einer weiten Armbewegung, holt er den Geist aus dem Innern hervor; dieser hat im Kreise der Männer auf ein solches Zeichen gewartet, er bewegt sich nun auf der Tanzfläche hin und her und bald verschwindet er wieder. Nun folgt der Leiter unverzüglich in die Hütte nach, ohne irgendwelche Worte oder Zeichen an die Zuschauer. Soll dieser oder ein anderer Geist nochmals sich vorstellen, ruft der Leiter den nach der oben geschilderten Weise hervor. Niemals dient ein Geist ganz unvermittelt aus der Grubna Hütte vor die Augen der Frauen.

[**] Er war um etwa eine Kopf höher als Malewazza selber.

Anwesenwesen begleitet ein gähnend ungeschriebenes Geist vorhang der Tundaiden. Kurz vor Abschluß der Kina-Feier im Jahre 1922 lassen Anwesenen unerwartet die Große Hütte und schließt, im Tonnen beschlossen wurden sie sein, durch Cocoanuss den Geist einen bestimmten Platzen durchführen zu können. Niemand wagte sie, diesen Akten, der gänzlich ohne etwas schwach war, zu widersprechen und das auf die weit vorgeschobene Nachtzeuge hinzuweisen. Aber bewahrte Cocoanuss seinen ganzen Körper und die Wasser weiß, dreißiger erschienen er mehrere zweifingerbreite neue Längsstriche. Anwesenen, der schließlich bei, trug seine Federkrallen, Geschick und Gleichgewicht hatte er weiß bewahrt, unter der Nase rechtes bei so jedem Gleichgewichten ein neuer Gegenstück. Beide wollten sich gegenüber, die Geschicker einander angeschaut; Cocoanuss erinnerte, wie Ähnlich, seiner Mutter, hingegen hielt Anwesenen seine leichten Arme auf Schulterhöhe seitwärts gestreckt. Nun gab bisserner mit Inflationen, gedehnten Abhängen-Rufen den Rhythmus an. Erst tanzten sie, wie nur Chang, innerhalb der Hütte, danach führten sie den bereits erwähnten Springer vorhang der Tundaiden ein. Plötzlich traten sie heraus und bewegten sich hin und her, jedesmal nach einer Pause von wenigen Minuten. Anwesenen hatten dabei seinem Bärchen dem Leger an und symbolisierte unverwechselbar dem Cocoanuss ein wenig. Als beide diesen Tanz beendet hatten, setzte sich Anwesenen an den Feuer und sang noch lange leise weiter, ganz in sich versunken; Cocoanuss wandt sich die Brandung wieder zu.

In gleicher Weise, wie der Leiter die Frauen und Kinder zu Beginn der Geistermaskeiten herausgerufen hat, kündigt er diesen nach dem Abschluß mit einem kurzen Wort an. Er sagt: „Nun hat auch der langen Geist diese Hütte verlassen, kein einziger steht mehr hier im Kreise der Männer. Geht auch ihr in eure Wohnungen zurück!" Das Eintreten eines Geisters in die Kina-Hütte haben die Männer vorbeiläufig mit einem stillschweigen Jubel... Jubelausgegeben, wodurch die Frauen erwachen wurden, auf der Hut zu sein; nun ist es dort still, ein Zeichen, daß alle Geister sich verschwunden haben.

5. Die einzelnen Geister

Die verschiedenen Persönlichkeiten, die als Geister vorgeführt wurden, waren eine mittelbrand großo Zahl von. Indem, sie sind nicht bestimmt vorgeprägten Charakterzügen mit besonderen Eigenart, wie etwa die Kleinen Geister, sondern wurden überwiegend als Geister von bekannten Tieren mit schwacher Anlehnung der dieses Arten eigentümlichen Färbung dem Blatt oder dem Gefiedern dargestellt. Nicht an seinem charakteristischen Geräusch oder eigentümlichen Tanz erkennt man den Geist, sondern der Leiter benachbart das laut nach seinem Namen; schwach deutet auch die Körperbemalung der Tänzers die bisher unbekannte Anwesenheit der jeweilig dargestellten Tiergeist an.

Jeder bei der Kina-Vorgeschichte begegnete erscheinen Geist, sollte er auch den Frauen nicht zu Gesicht kommen, besitzt einen Namen. Meist hat er weiter nichts als die bildliche Bezeichnung für eine bestimmte Tierart,

mit der das Wort gilbe, d.h. "Spiel", verbunden wird.[*] Wenige Gelehrte tragen noch heute Eigennamen; diese Persönlichkeiten sind es, denen hier in Kino besondere Macht zugeschrieben wird. Damit ist auf den Unterschied oder die Zweigbeziehung hingewiesen, die wirklich besteben. Die lange Rede, die ich hinzugefügt habe, wird jene zugefügt.

Dieses nennt die Lijadsiga. Nach Ansicht der Tamma ist sie die hier in der Großen Hütte allen bekannteste Sokoroogoi. Einzig und allein während der Kino-Feier wird sie in Gebung und anbetende verehrt wird sie nicht einmal genannt, wird weniger angerufen, dafür aber erweist sie sich im Verhalt der gesamten Feier allen Beteiligten als Retter und Helfer. Dieser wirkliche Sokoroogoi ist den Menschen gut gesinnt und unwandelbar wohlwollend. Man sagte mir: „Wie im Alltage der Wenigjeliyen über allen [über der gesamten Einrichtung] steht, alle Teilnehmer [beherrschend] beobachtet und mit allen so gut meint, so steht die Lijadsiga in der Kino-Hütte da; sie ordnet alles an, hilft allen Teilnehmern und schützt jeden. Sie aber nicht jedermann sich fügen. Im Kino sprechen wir nicht von Wenigjeliyen, nicht aber von der Lijadsiga. Wie jeder Teilnehmer sich bei dieser Feier benehmen soll, bestimmt unser alter Brauch, dieser ist uns Gesetz, so will es Wenigjeliyen. Wer gegen diese Vorschriften verstößt und das Geheimnis verplaudert, wird von Wenigjeliyen zur Rechenschaft gezogen und mit einem vernichtigen Tode bestraft." Demzufolge stehe das Gebiete Wesen unter auch hier als allbekannter Grund für die beim Kino gebrauchte Gebung da, durch ihre unmittelbaren Beziehung zu dieser Feier und zu der Lijadsiga. Auf meine Frage, wie dieser Sokoroogoi mit der Großen Hütte in Verbindung gebracht sei, antwortete man: „Wir wissen das nicht. Gewiß ist, wie bisher die Tamma bei Unwetter für Kino gesprochen haben, wurde dieses Fest von den Menschen übernommen. Wir selbst haben nichts Neues hinzugefügt. Demnach wird die Lijadsiga schon damals ein Sokoroogoi des Kino gewesen sein!" Insofern, als die Lijadsiga die höchste Macht besitzen, sagt sie über die gewöhnlichen Tamma und sämtliche Gottes hinaus, daß [nicht von der beliebigen oder in unmittelbarer Abhängigkeit gebildet wurden] sagen die Tamma nicht. Als Sokoroogoi obliegt es ihr, die mitwirkenden Mächte gegen die vergeistlichten Willkürlichkeiten und Quälereien der anderen Geister zu verteidigen, außerdem die verwundeten und gestörten Mächte zu heilen und zu neuem Leben zu erwecken. Dergleichen Einrichtung mit der Leiber, den sich jedesmal neben die Große Hütte stellt, ins Lager hinüber, dabei liegt es in einer Weise zu viel Ernst und Übertreibung, als würden sich wirkliche Geschehnisse abwickeln; durch [illegible] Gebärdungen werden sichtlich die beweglichen Tänzerinnen, Nämlich wird die Lijadsiga außerhalb der Großen Hütte sprechende den anderen Lesern gezeigt.[*]

Ein gottähnlicher Kino-Geist ist Tamma, der alle anderen an Gewaltätig-

[*] In [illegible] lesen sich yiyo und yiiiu. Intention of recording, over the different names of beds which as within the traditional accounts of which are used in the various dance the names of the sons and women and others.

keit übertrifft und deswegen am meisten gefürchtet wird. Allein die *Lipaskipa* ist imstande, einem Treiben wirksam Einhalt zu gebieten. Sein verübergehendes Verweilen in der Großen Hütte täuschen die Männer mit sehr ernstem Lärmen vor; auf ihn weisen sie hauptsächlich dann hin, wenn sie die *ainagala* erschrecken und warnen wollen. Damit die heilsame Furcht tief eindringe und lange wirke, verhängt man ihr Gesicht während einem verwirrlichen Auftritten des *Tâmanu* innerhalb der Großen Hütte und verpflichtet sie alle, sich auf die Seite zu legen. Von jetzt an verständigen sich die Männer nur noch durch stumme Zeichen. Das ängstlich gestimmte *Infale* ... läßt keinen gutmütigen Geist erwarten. Wirklich, bald erkennen die Frauen draußen an verschiedenen Zeichen, daß *Tâmanu* eingetroffen ist.

Vorerst, um die Prüflinge einzuschüchtern, läßt der Vorsteher kleine Mengen von Wasser in die Glut des Hüttenfeuers fallen, daß ein leises Zischen erfolgt. Er fragt, vernehmlich und für die *ainagala* hervorhebt: „Was geht hier vor sich?" Bald darauf wird in dickem Strahl Wasser auf die Glut geschüttet, unter lautem Zischen erhebt sich eine Dampfwolke mit viel Asche und die Männer ertönen mit einem ängstlichen Brüllen ein. Sie erheben sich hastig und tanzen in wilden Sprüngen um das Feuer herum, während ein einzelner Mann mit einem trockenen Lederballen unbeweglich auf den Erdboden schlägt. Dieses Lärmen wird plötzlich abgebrochen und es folgt lautlose Stille. Nach etwa zehn Minuten stellt sich der alte Tamnaz an den Hüttenausgang und ruft wehmütig: „Seid aufmerksam! Ich weiß nicht, was hier geschehen ist und was wir zu gewärtigen haben. Es wird sich bald etwas ereignen. Seid auf der Hut!" Wirklich, bald erheben sich alle Männer, springen hin und her und stampfen den Boden, fassen sich gegenseitig und singen miteinander unter entsetzlichem Heulen und brüllenden Verzweiflungsrufen. Hier eine und andere schlägt mit einem Lederballen auf den Erdboden, dazwischen ertönen gellende Angstrufe, ein furchtbares Durcheinander wird bis zur höchsten Kraftanstrengung vorgetäuscht; dann läßt alles Lärmen allmählich nach und erstirbt mit matten Gurgellauten vollständig. Gleichzeitig legen sich die Männer auf die Seite und verharren regungslos, wie ein unregelmäßig aufgeworfener Haufen liegen sie da. Die aufgewühlten Staub- und Aschenmengen erfüllen als undurchsichtige Wolken die Luft.

Nach vielen Minuten erhebt sich Saamaan und fragt laut, daß sowohl die Schläfer in der Kino-Hütte, wie auch die Leute im Lager seine Worte vernehmen können: „Welch ein Bild tut sich mir auf! Alle Männer rund um mich herum sind erschlagen. Wehe mir armer; auch ich fühle mich schwach, weil ich einen schweren Schlag bekommen habe. Dieser hier und jener [Mann] sind tot, alle liegen regungslos da. Ich gehe von einem zum andern, ich berühre sie, ich rüttle sie; keiner bewegt sich, alle sind sie tot, wirklich, alle sind sie tot!" Nach kurzer Pause fährt er mit gebrochener, aber vernehmbarer Stimme fort: „O weh mir, auch ich sterbe jetzt." Seine

[*] Die gleiche, abscheulichmachende Stellung, die diese Lendskipa im Kino einnimmt, kommt der Kalpen im Kinderen der Bakiwen zu (Bd. I, 956).

Worte verhallen wie die eines Sterbenden. Auf ein lautloses Zeichen des Leiters stoßen zwei Männer in ihrer Nähe heftig, daß Blut fließt; diesen geben sie reichlich an ähnliche Männer ab, die es sich in ihr Gesicht schmieren. Manches kann ein vergnügliches Schmunzeln über diese heuchlerische Pose nicht unterdrücken, die als solche wieder von den umwandelnden, verhüllten abergläubischen Frauen draußen im Lager erkannt wird.

Zehn Minuten vergehen, dann setzt ein neuer, kettklingender Gesang ... ein, von zwei Männern vorgetragen; es soll das Eintreffen der *Lyakipa* zur Hinzuziehung ankündigen. Da erhoben sich die Männer langsam, wie wenn sie aus tiefem Schlafe erwachen würden, dehnen und recken sich, als würden sie noch empfindlichst Schmerzen leiden. Der eine klagt jammerlich: „Mich hat Tamaro unbarmherzig gepackt, als ich mich nur Wehr setzte. Mit einem dicken Knüppel schlug er auf mich ein. Ich wollte den Schlag auffangen, doch zwang er mich nieder. Lange wehrte ich mich, aber er überwand mich schnell und warf mich zur Hütte hinaus, trampelte auf mir herum und mißhandelte mich schrecklich. Kaum kann ich mich rühren vor Schmerzen!" Ein anderer stöhnt: „Alle Glieder tun mir weh, denn Tamaro hat mich ganz entsetzlich gewürgt. Ich wage es nicht einmal, meinen Arm zu heben vor Schmerzen mußte ich aufschreien!" Ein dritter Mann jammert: „Was soll ich erst sagen, der ich mich wie verwundet fühle? Alle Knochen hat Tamaro mir gebrochen. Langsam nur wird es besser!" Damit will er auf die Heilung und Rettung hinweisen, die durch die *Lyakipa* bewirkt wird. Dieser und jener Mann klagt ähnlich, läßt aber die frohe Hoffnung auf baldige Genesung durchblicken. Wie es ihrem "Patienten" entspricht, bedient sich jeder mit matter Stimme; doch das genügt und die abergläubische vernehmen jedes Wort. Nach einigen Minuten stimmen sie ein lautes Jodel, Jodel ... an. Sie lassen eine Pause von wenigen Sekunden vergehen und wiederholen diesen Ruf mit gesteigerter Kraft. Bald danach beginnen sie laut und lange *fiu-kuhibi* ... Dadurch wollen sie bekunden, in ihrer höchsten Gefahr sei endlich *Lyakipa* herbeigerufen, bei deren Anwesenheit Tamaro aus der Großen Hütte geflüchtet sei, *Lyakipa* habe ähnliche Männer zum Leben erweckt und schnell geheilt.

Alle erhoben sich schließlich, ordnen sich zu einer Reihe einer hinter den andern, und in gebückter Haltung, mit kurzen Schritten, gehen sie zum Lager. Anhaltend wiederholen sie in schnellem Rhythmus und auf gleichen Tonhöhe die unbenannten ... Sie gehen nahe an den Hütten vorbei, daß die blutigen Gesichte und ihre mißtönenden Stimmen von jeder Frau erkannt werden kann; nach diesem Rundgang verschwinden sie wieder in der Großen Hütte. Nun gehen sie still und lautlos, aber mit sehr deutlichem Mienenspiel, ihrer großen Genugtuung über den gelungenen Streich sichtlich Ausdruck. Fast später nimmt ein Mann endlich die Verhüllung von den abergläubischen herunter; diese stützen sich vor Angst vor Tamaro und wenden ihren verunstalteten Äußeren, sowie der der *Lyakipa*, als wirklichen Geschehen. Öffentlichkeit will man an erster Stelle die Priester und an zweiter Stelle die Frauen mit Tamaro vertraut machen, um allen Angst und Furchtbarkeit vor dem Kina-Geheimnis-

einzelnen. Wer sie ansieht, ohne eine weitere Hilfe in der Großen Hütte vorzeigt, erfährt willkommenlosen die wahre Natur des Tänzers nicht; dieser öffnet sich dem die Augen erst bei seiner spätesten Teilnahme. Niemals wird dieser Geist in ingenieurlicher Markierung dargestellt. BD: 421 sagt: vom Tänzer, a being personified in the cosmic drama, was supposed to come up out of the earth, he was an old man and did not come forth and leap about but lay still in the cosmos and heat the earth and beyond.

Den Tänzer überzeugt an Bösartigkeit Cuiche, ein ebenfalls unbeschreiblicher Geist. In einem Cuiche-yéke steigt er vom Himmel herab, wie Kommera kündigen die Männer mit sehr deutlich klingenden Jäkke-Rufen an. Am unteren gefällt er sich darin, die Männer zu morden und fortzuschleppen, wie ein Jäger die Seelhirsch erlegt und sich aufhält. Dieser Geist ist dünn und fliegt mit bemalt und zeigt einige weiße Flecke von der Größe einer Handfläche; sein Kopf ist mit einem grell bemalten Lederstück, das hinten hängt, verdeckt. In gleicher Weise ist sein Sohn ausgestattet. Kommt er in den Kreis der Männer eingetreten, begleitet dieser mit deutlichem Hinken und verwundetem Gesicht. Einer nach dem anderen beißt in einer Weise, als würde er verwundet, und machtlos schwingt er plötzlich. Alle diese Männer ruft nun Cuiche an den Eingang der Hütte, wo sie auf einem Haufen durcheinander liegen, ohne sich zu rühren; sie sind ohne von dem "verwundet" wurden! Die letzten Männer schickt er weiter vom Hütteneingange weg. Sein Weiten gegen sie alle bewachten die Frauen vom Lager aus. Mehrere Harpunen hat er derart an einem Pfosten des Eingangs gebracht, daß sie weit sichtbar herausragen; den Frauen will man verdeutlichen, Cuiche habe mit diesen Waffen ebenfalls Männer verwundet. An einer Harpune wurde artig prang und unauffällig ein langes, dünnes Stäbchen von der Mannsgröße angebracht, das man mit Blut bemalen hat. Nun tritt Cuiche erhöht herum, schaut auf den am unteren dünnen liegenden Mann und schreit: „Mir scheint, dieser Mann ist noch nicht tot. Also wurde ich den mit der Harpune den Garaus machen?" Er greift nach der unteren erwähnten Harpune und wirft sie gegen jenen Mann ab. Dabei stellt er sich, als würde er viel Kraft aufwenden; sieht aber rasch dazuhin, schleudert sie fast und trifft fast gleichzeitig mit, um sein heimtückisches Tun zu verdecken. Schnell hat er den Alpenmagel und sticht ihn in einer Weise hoch, daß die Zuschauer von der Entfernung den Eindruck gewinnen, er stoße jenen Mann die Gedärme aus dem Bauche. Gelangweilt und entsetzt schreien die Weiber auf, sie rufen dem Cuiche zu: „Du glaubst wohl einen Seelhirsch vor dir zu haben? Du verwundeter Mänbes, wie kannst du unsere Männer so grausam umbringen! Entfernen dich endlich von hier und gib uns frei!" Während packt Cuiche jenen Mann und stellt sich, als wolle er ihn in den Innern der Großen Hütte schleppen. Im gleichen Augenblicke tritt, wie durch blinden Zufall — vielleicht ist es ohne Wissen der Frauen so angemacht worden —, ein schmaler aus einer Wehmütter heraus, der sich auffällig mit einigen Schritten der Großen Hütte nähert. Ihn bemerkt Cuiche und eilig verschwindet er dort

[illegible]

Nach sehr langer Pause erscheint jetzt vor den Augen aller Frauen der supernaturale Sohn des Gaw'indo, in gleicher Weise wie sein verwandtschaftlicher Vater ausgestattet. Man hat für diesen Aufzug einen Mann gewählt, der etwas kleiner ist, als der Darsteller des ersten Gaw'indo. Nur diesmal springt er die Treppe auf und ab, dann verschwindet er. Dies geschieht deshalb, weil jener yékamal inzwischen bei der Grossen Hütte angekommen ist. Dieser umkreist nochmals den Haufen der Männer, die noch immer zusammen da liegen, macht weit ausgeführte Armbewegungen und beeilt sich sehr rasch, bis alle Männer vom Lehm erweckt sind und sich wieder erheben; als ob sie verhaftet wären, schleppen sie sich in den Innern der Grossen Hütte hinein. Ähnlicher Frauen, die bisher vor dem Wehklagen geflüchtet und angeschaut haben, eilen freudig einige dunkle zurück. Hier erscheint sich jede einen handfesten weißen Strich vom Halse bis zum Nabel und einen diagonalen roten Strich von jedem Mundwinkel zum Ohrläppchen. In der Grossen Hütte malt jener yékamal seinen ganzen Körper rot, darüber einige große weiße Punkte und einen handfesten weißen Strich vom Halse bis zum Nabel. Wieder tritt er aus der Grossen Hütte heraus und ähnlich Männer, die er vom Lehm aufgeschreckt hat, folgen ihm. Die Frauen eilen ihnen von den Wohnhütten her entgegen. Nach dem Weinangen des yékamal drängen sich die Männer zusammen und die Frauen schließen um sie einen Ring. Sogleich setzt sich dieser um die Männer herum in Bewegung und zwar nach dem Rhythmus, den die Männer stampfend begründen, anhaltend und schnell den Schrill auf dem gleichen Tone wiederholend. Gewisse Zeit ergötzen sich die Frauen auf diese Art; sie wollen ihre Freude deutlicher kundtun, daß ihre Männer ihnen zurückgegeben worden sind. Auf ein Zeichen des yékamal lösen sich beide Gruppen auf und trennen sich wieder voneinander.[107] Das Bh. 135 erkrankte Kindgirl, painted all over with spots and bands of white, danced almost naked and in frantic manner, and was supposed to come up through the earth and pretended to kill the men in the Grass.

Bemerkenswert und aufregend für die Frauen ist das Spiel vom Tamáqlo-Ignoma. Dieser Geist war und ist ein gefährlicher Mörder. Den Frauen im Lager wird er nicht sichtbar; statt dessen wütet er, für sie deutlich erkennbar, im Kreise der Männer. Besondere Vorbereitungen zu diesem Spiele braucht er nicht. Der Leiter stellt sich nur einmal neben den Hütteneingang und ruft mit ungewöhnlicher Stimme zum Lager: „Schlafmützen steht nun heraus, ein gefährlicher Geist hat sich unsere angeschlossen!" Wehe um wehdrohende Männer!" Diese beginnen sofort ein jammervolles Geheul. Die Frauen eilen nach neben Erhöhungen und Hügeln. Dann hervorbricht in der Grossen Hütte für unbemerkte Augenblicke tiefe Stille. Ein Mann stellt ein großes, hartes Lederstück zusammen, ein anderer erhängt einen frangipanenen Pfeil auf dem

[107] Viele Dialektsprecher setzen dieses Spiel mit dem Auftreten des Kanaka im Kinderspiel, dem Inventar an abendlichen grossen Freuden, die Männer an spätere und neuerdingsigen (Bd. I, 94).

Erdboden, jener hält weit aus und schlägt stark auf. Ein Teilnehmer schreit entsetzlich laut auf, als wäre er vom diesem Schlage tödlich getroffen worden, und läßt seine Stimme langsam verklingen, als würde er sterben. Nach einer Pause erfolgt ein zweiter Schlag; wieder schreit ein Mann auf, der seinen Ruf in der gleichen Weise zu Ende führt. So geht es weiter, bis sämtliche Männer, eingerechnet die Pyüllinga, "vom Geiste erschlagen sind". Die Frauen wissen, wieviele Männer in der Großen Hütte vereinigt sind, und achten genau auf die Zahl der Todesschreie; kein Mann verstellt seine Stimme, damit er von seinen Familienmitgliedern erkannt werde. Während der nun folgenden Minuten rührt sich nichts in der Großen Hütte, "denn alle sind tot". Auf ein Zeichen des Leiters setzen zwei oder drei Männer mit einem freudigen, schnellen *Iulule* ... in hoher Stimmlage ein, was das Herauskommen der Retterin *Lêyuhkipa* ansagen soll. Wenige Augenblicke danach gehen alle Männer ein lautes, jubelndes *yê* in hoher Stimmlage von sich; damit geben sie bekannt, durch die *Lêyuhkipa* zu neuem Leben erweckt worden zu sein. Nun wollen sie aber auch den Frauen beweisen, welche Qualen sie haben erdulden müssen. Also stocheln dieser und jener mit einem spitzen Hölzchen in seiner Nase herum, bis Blut fließt. Das verschmiert er nicht nur in seinem Gesichte, sondern gibt davon bereitwillig auch an anderer Männer ab. Mit diesen "Beweisen" der Mißhandlungen durch Yamâgalêyumma tritt jeder vor seine Familie hin. Diese betrachtet ihn mitleidig und bedauert ihn schwerigend. Haben sich nach einer oder zwei Stunden die Männer wieder in ihrer Kina-Hütte zusammengefunden, ergötzen sie sich weidlich an dem gut gelungenen Auftritt.

Von der gleichen Art, wie der eben beschriebene Geist, ist die *Kôyuhkîkipa*, eine Mörderin. Sie besucht hächstens zweimal während der Kina-Feier die Große Hütte und "ermordet" die Männer auf die nämliche Weise, wie Yamâgalêyumma es tut. Ihr Kommen sagt der Leiter mit lauter Stimme an. Auch nach diesem Auftritt zeigen sich alle Männer mit Blut im Gesicht ihren Familien im Lager.

Außer der *Lêyuhkipa*, die alle Geister überragt, nennen die Yamana noch einige untergeordnete Schutzgeister, die den verzauberten Männern wohlgesinnt und in mancher Lage behilflich sind. Letztere Kaiser meint es ein jeder Geist mehr oder weniger gut mit allen, die sich in der Kina-Hütte vereinigt haben. *Kinamijima* achtet hauptsächlich darauf, daß keine Frauenpersonen sich der Großen Hütte nähert oder irgendwelchen Schaden anrichtet. Bald zu Beginn der Feier wird er gezeigt. Man erkennt ihn an den vielen zweifingerbreiten weißen und schwarzen Querstrichen, die in ebenen breiten Abständen sich auf dem weißen Untergrunde folgen, von der Spitze der Maske an bis zu den Knien. Jeder Geist hat die Unterscheidungsmerkmal und Farbe einförmig weiß bemalt, einerlei, wie er heißt und gekennzeichnet ist. *Tulêwyêka*. Auch dieser gutmütige Schutzgeist zeigt sich schon zu Anfange der Feier. Auf weißem Untergrunde trägt er rechts und links zwei handbreite, senkrechte Streifen. Offensichtlich hängt diese Bezeichnung mit *tulêwyêka* zusammen, der Name für den kleinen Centrites niger.

Tuhéší-yáku ist ebenfalls ein wohlwollender Helfer und Schützer der Männer. Wer ihn darstellt, der bringt auf weißem Untergrunde mehrere senkrechte Reihen eingestellter roter Punkte auf seinem ganzen Körper an.

Kinajagüllum. Von diesem Geiste heißt es, ihm bereite es eine außergewöhnliche Freude, in der Kina-Hütte bei den Männern zu sitzen; nur deshalb steige er von Himmelshöhen herniederr. Der Darsteller schmiert sich seinen Körper zuerst mit roter Farbe ein: vom Halse bis zum Genitale verläuft ein dreifingerbreiter weißer Streifen, in dem drei Querstreifen ihren Anfang nehmen; jeder Arm trägt vier weiße Ringe. Auch BD: 165 erwähnt kurz und ohne nähere Erklärung das *kinajagüllum.*

Ulamifyku, das Spiel vom Waldgeist. Dieser wird als besonders eng mit dem Kina verbunden betrachtet. Man stellt ihn dar mit einer roten Körperbemalung, in die einige senkrechte weiße Striche von der Schulterhöhe abwärts eingetragen sind. Das BD: 88 sagt vom *ülúmina*, he was a man disguised by paint and a conical bark hat who acted the part of a lustful spirit in the presence of women whom he went to meet and speak to.

Wongolfuku, das Spiel vom Meergeist. Man zeigt ihn in reichhaltiger Bemalung. Auf weißen Untergrund zeichnet man viele kleine, eingestellte rote Halbkreise ein, welche Fischschuppen andeuten sollen. Dieser Geist hat Fischgestalt, ist der "Sohn" eines Wales und tritt als solcher meist in Begleitung von zwei in gleicher Weise bemalten Männern auf. Die Yamana erzählen, er sei den Menschen wohlgesinnt. Bisweilen taucht er neben einem Kanu aus den Tiefen auf und zeigt sich den Insassen: Kopf und Rumpf seien so schön, wie die eines reifen Mädchens, an Stelle von Beinen besitze er den rückwärtigen Körperteil eines großen Fisches; um seine Schläfen laufe ein Kranz aus dichten Buchenzweigen. An diesem Zeichen erkennt man ihn zuverlässig. Einmal hat er, nur mit diesem Kranze aus Reisig geziert, die Große Hütte verlassen und, begleitet von zwei jungen Männern ohne jede Bemalung, sich ins Lager begeben. Sein Kommen war durch laute Rufe den Frauen angekündigt worden. Da es an rotem Farbstoff mangelte, sollte er neue Mengen davon einsammeln. Wirklich legte jede Frau vor ihrer Wohnung ein Stäbchen mit *lui* nieder. Der Geist ging an den Hütten schweigend und ruhig entlang, hob jedes Päckchen auf, gab es seinen Begleitern und eilte mit den reichen Geschenken zur Männerhütte zurück.[109]

Mörwuku ist ebenfalls ein den versammelten Männern wohlgesinnter Geist. Auf weißem Untergrunde trägt er mehrere senkrechte, handtellergroße schwarze Punkte über den ganzen Rumpf verteilt.

Yagdruwa-yáku, das Spiel vom Geist der Hochsee. Der Darsteller zeigt auf seinem weiß bemalten Körper nur drei gleichmäßig verteilte handbreite, senkrechte rote Streifen.

Hání-yáku, das Spiel vom Nordhimmel. Auch dieser Geist ist ein Helfer der

[109] Man wird bei dieser Beschreibung an den Auftritt des Halé im Kloster der Seth'nam (Bd. I, 926) erinnert; auch er besucht die Wohnhütten und sammelt dort roten Farbstoff für die "Geister" in der Großen Hütte ein.

Männer in der Kina-Hütte; vor allem unterstützt er sie beim Singen und verleiht ihnen immer wieder neue Kraft. Der Darsteller malt seinen ganzen Körper und die Maske gleichmäßig weiß, auf letztere gibt er noch sieben fingerdicke schwarze Querstriche. Im BD: 270 heißt es: *Ámúnku*, a play enacted in the *ceremonial* drama accompanied with painting, singing, and acting in supposed imitation of the N. wind.

Aiyuhdjuku, das Spiel vom Südkiemel. Die Bemalung hierfür ist reichhaltig. Maske und Körper werden mit weißer Farbe eingreikmiert, ersterer erhält dann sieben fingerdicke schwarze Querstriche, der Rumpf samt Armen davon acht und die Beine sechs; in ein jedes der so entstandenen Felder wird noch ein roter Querstrich eingetragen.

Halgurdpino-yáku, das Spiel vom gewöhnlichen Blauwal (Balaenoptera intermedia). Kalkpulver mit Tran gemischt wird in fingerbreiten, eingestellten senkrechten Strichen von der Spitze der Maske an auf den Körper des Darstellers geschmiert. BD: 269 schreibt *Ahlúlépino-iuku*, a certain play in the *ceremonial* drama imitative of whales.

Sayúmay-yáku, das Spiel vom Kurzschnabeldelphin (Lagenorhynchus Fitzroyi). Die vordere Körperfläche und die Mitte der Maske bedeckt man mit einem etwa 20 cm breiten, senkrechten weißen Streifen, auf beiden Seiten verreibt man schwarzen Farbstoff.

Kiyinterko-yáku, das Spiel vom grauen Geierfalken (Circus cinereus). Der Darsteller bemalt Körper und Maske weiß, auf diesen Untergrund verteilt er unregelmäßig schwarze Punkte.

Akimapáio-yáku, das Spiel vom Falken (Ibycter australis). Auf dem weiß bemalten Körper trägt der Tänzer einen dreifingerbreiten roten Strich von der Maskenspitze über die Brust zum Genitale und einen anderen rundherum auf Nabelhöhe ein.

Kilaplla-yáku, das Spiel vom Bussard (Buteo polionotus). Zuerst verreibt man trockenen *Imi*-Pulver auf dem ganzen Körper und setzt dahinein, mit der Spitze des Zeigefingers, einige schwarze Punkte.

Lúruy-yáku, das Spiel von der Graukopfgans (Chloëphaga poliocephala). Der Körper des Darstellers erscheint von den Achselhöhlen an nach unten ganz weiß, weil mit Kalkpulver beschmiert; nach oben, samt der Maske, hellrot, weil mit *Imi*-Pulver eingerieben.

Kimapu-yáku, das Spiel von der Magellangans (Chloëphaga picta). Der ganze Körper wird rot bemalt und auf die Brust setzt man große weiße Punkte.[*]

Alakuá-yáku, das Spiel von der Dampfschiff-Ente (Tachyeres brachypterus). Man bemalt mit weißer Farbe den ganzen Körper und die Maske. In letztere wird Nase und Mund mit roter Farbe eingerichtet. Von der einen Schulter zur anderen verläuft in flachem Bogen über die Brust ein dreifingerbreiter schwarzer Strich.

[*] Die den beiden zuletzt genannten Arten verwandte Halbgans (Chloëphaga hybrida) wird nicht dargestellt. Man sagt, sie bei gehen zur Zeit der allgemeinen Unwissenheit der greisen, wie sie heute auch ist.

Wîmar'hîpa-yâka, das Spiel von der kleinen Hîwa (Larus glaucoides). Hierfür malt man Körper und Maske ganz weiß; Lanze, dünne, weißgemalte rote Strichlein werden überall eingetragen.

Tapatîlîwa-yâka, das Spiel vom Steinrauscher (Pallasea grisea). In genauer Übereinstimmung mit der natürlichen Färbung dieses Vogels genügt es, den ganzen Körper einfarbig schwarz zu bemalen.

Wîhapîlîyâka, das Spiel von der bewegten Kachinaiwa wihapîla (Megalestris skua chilensis). Um diesen Geist darzustellen, malt man sich Maske und Körper weiß. Von oben her sieht man sechs gleichmäßig verteilte Reihen kurzer, roter Striche bis an die Kniekehl. Die Maske wird anders bemalt. Auf weißem Untergrund sieht man von der Spitze vier zweifingerbreite rote Streifen bis zu ihrem unteren Rand, in einem jeden dieser Streifen setzt man dunnerdicke weiße Querstriche in kurzen Abständen ein.

Gîrépa-yâka, das Spiel vom weißen Albatros (Diomedea exulans, Abb. 98). Zu diesem Spiele malt man sich Kalkpulver, mit Wasser verrührt, auf Körper und Maske; letztere erhält in der Gegend der Nase noch einen fingerlangen, senkrechten roten Strich. BD: 246 wîhapîlîl gîrépâ-ôtê, the initiatory rite of the crows dance. — Eigenartig ist [illegible] gîrépa-ôtêwa-yâka. Die Männer und Prüflinge bemalen sich ihr Gesicht ganz weiß. Von jedem Mundwinkel zum oberen Augenlid spannen sie ein dünnes Stäbchen, das etwas federt; das Gesicht wird dadurch arg verzerrt. Alle hocken sich, zusammengedrängt, am Eingange nieder, als ob er abgesperrt werden müsse. Die Mitte dieser Gruppe nehmen die ôtêwâpîla ein. Ein jeder von ihnen hält einen Bogen und einen Köcher in der Hand. Diese Stücke müssen eigens hergestellt werden, sind von mangelhafter Ausführung und nicht für den Gebrauch auf der Jagd berechnet. Jeder der Männer faßt mit seinem Vorderzähnen einen yôkai, d. h. Pfeilspitze oder Speerspitze, in den Händen hält er das Geflecht einer noch nicht fertiggestellten Korbes, an dem er arbeitet. Ist die Gruppe der Männer auf diese Weise verbarrikadiert, naht einer von ihnen die Frauen und Kinder heran. Diese dürfen sich bis auf wenige Schritte nähern und die ganze Gruppe schweigend betrachten. Weder Worte noch Blicke werden gewechselt, die Männer halten unverwandt ihre Augen niedergeschlagen. Nach einigen Minuten werden die Frauen wieder zurückgeschickt. Das gleiche Schauspiel wiederholen auch die Yamana im Süden und Westen, jedoch mit folgender Änderung. Männer und Prüflinge malen sich das Gesicht weiß und ziehen von jedem äußeren Augenwinkel bis zum Ohr einen fingerdicken schwarzen Strich. Alle tragen in ihren Zähnen einen yôkai. Außerdem halten sie in ihren Händen einen gespannten Bogen mit einem Pfeile und ziehen damit auf die Frauen, während diese draußen vor dem Eingange stehen. Auch dieses Gebärdenspiel verläuft durchaus still und währt nur einige Minuten, seinen Sinn wußte mir niemand zu nennen.

Kaûmap-yâka, das Spiel von der See-Taube (Daption capensis). Der Spieler bemalt Körper und Maske ganz weiß und setzt nachher mit dem Zeigefinger viele schwarze Punkte ein. Genau so ist dieser Seevogel gezeichnet.

Taguriko-yaku, das Spiel vom kleinen See-Taucher (*Podiceps ruficollis*). Dieser Vogel, von der Größe einer Taube, trägt kennzeichnenden Gefieder und einen weißen Schwanz. Wer ihn als Geist darstellt, streicht trockenes Holzkohlenstaub auf seinen ganzen Körper, einschließlich der Maske, und zieht vom Nabel bis zum Genitale einen handbreiten weißen Strich.

Tôgy-yaku, das Spiel von der schwarzen Schwalbe (*Phalacrocorax carbo*). Der Spieler trägt keine Maske. Er bemalt den ganzen Körper mit Staub von Holzkohle, die mit etwas Tran vermischt wurde; die Brust, den bekannten Teil des Kopfes und die Wangen bemalt er weiß. Die Arme hält er in gleicher Weise, wie wenn er eine Maske stützen würde. Nach BD: 274 bemalt er *kugure*[1] der blick ebag und diesen Spiel. Vgl. Abb. 18 auf S. 525.

Wânjûm-yaku, das Spiel von der Kormorankarbe (*Phalacrocorax pelagicus*). Wer diesen Geist darstellt, trägt eine weiß bemalte Maske. Den Körper reibt er mit trockenem Holzkohlenpulver ein, vom Hals zum Genitale bleibt er einen sehr breiten weißen Streifen.

Ûkarîbi'-yaku, das Spiel vom Austernfischer (*Haematopus ater*). Über die Mitte der weißen Maske verläuft von der Spitze her ein zweifingerbreiter roter Strich. Der ganze Körper ist weiß, ein handbreiter schwarzer Bogen verläuft über die Brust von einer Schulter zur anderen. Auch BD: 117 nennt diesen Spiel. Vgl. Abb. 74 auf S. 626.

Sûrûs-yaku, das Spiel vom Seeiltaucher (*Aphrodroma magellanica*). Der Darsteller malt sich Brust und Bauch weiß, die übrigen Flächen seines Körpers schwarz; die weiße Maske trägt über jedem Loch für das Auge einen breiten, schwarzen Bogen. BD: 140 schreibt *mûrûs-kipu*.

Sûmuo-yaku, das Spiel des Rûkuda-Fisches (*Hexagrammos mordax*). Wurde geopfert einige weiße senkrechte Striche vom Halse her über Brust und Bauch, sowie einige schwarze strahlförmige Striche, die in den Achselhöhlen ihren Anfang nehmen. Auch BD: 261 erwähnt das *Sûmuô-yaku*.

Sûsu-yaku, das Spiel vom Igelfisch. Man sieht in die gleichmäßig weiße Maske einen fingerdicken roten Querstrich auf Mundhöhle, auf dem ganzen Körper des Darstellers setzt man sehr viele exaggerierte rote Halbkreise, als Nachahmung der Fischschuppen. Diese Zeichnung ist sehr wirkungsvoll.[1]

Sûsû-yaku, das Spiel vom Hering (*Clupea pretiosa*). Sowohl die Maske wie der ganze Körper sind gleichmäßig weiß bemalt, auf jeder Körperseite verläuft ein handbreiter schwarzer Strich von der Achselhöhle zum Knöchel.

Sûshui-yaku, das Spiel von der See-Forelle (*Achirichthys lyogi*). Der Tänzer verteilt sich unregelmäßig über den ganzen Körper und die Maske viele fingerdicke, dunkelrotbraune, weiße senkrechte Striche.

Kalampûs-yaku, das Spiel vom Fisch *Kalampûs*. Dieser trägt einen breiten Kopf und verjüngt sich von hier an gleichmäßig zur Schwanzflosse hin. Der Darsteller kennzeichnet den prunkenden Geist durch kleine rote Halbkreise auf dem ganzen Körper, der rücken weiß bemalt wurde; die weiße Maske

[1] Bekanntlich ist der Kind, der nach der Sage einen Sohnkrieg zum Vater und einer Schwester der Tochter-Schöner zur Mutter hatte, in diesem Fisch verwandelt worden (S. 1195).

erhält einen dreifingerbreiten roten Querstrich in der Mundgegend. Dieser Geist ernährt den Männern dann und wann den Anfang, verwandelt die gualdiscen Reihe aus der Grossen Hütte hinausmarschieren oder im ungeraden Kaiserpalastreihen die Einzelgrenzen nach dem Verhalten der Frauen in den Wohnungen zu erkennen. Auch das BD. 178 verzeichnet den kilogrüchtelnden.

Jyaldol-yellow, der Spirit vom kleinen Kaiffach. Der Spieler soll sich auf den ganzen Körper eine Unzahl weckendem, dünnen, fingerlangen roten Strichlein zug nehmen und übereinander setzen. Die Mauke bleibt weiß.

Hüte-Schüttle-yellow, der Spirit von der Quelle (Medium). Hierfür werden eine Gelle dünner, etwa 3 cm langer, weckendem roten Strichlein auf der ganzen Körperoberfläche und Mauke gefordert, aber nicht in so hoher Zahl, wie beim vorher genannten Spirit.

Hüte-yellow, der Spirit vom kleinen Tunnelfach (Gitterpost). Wer diesen Geist darstellt, der unterhand auch Zeichen gemacht wird, verwandle auf seinem Körper zwischen Ini-Pulver und bringt hinter dem seinen Kopf ein qualvoll-ruchen, ebenso gefärbten Lederstrich, ensteht der spätere Mauke.

Yldoldjl-yellow, der Spirit vom Kaiserer (Lodiga-schulzer). Der Tänzer bemalenient sich den ganzen Körper und die Mauke einfärbig rot. Bekanntlich ist die Yldoldjlfigur beim Überfall der Männer auf die Kiao-Hütte verwendet, die gemeinte Bemalung ist gleich jener, die sie damals gemacht hat und bestet auch an dieser kleinen Gestalt nur Schau stellt (S. 1364).

Kiaoldjl-yellow, der Spirit von der Schwarzfliege. Wer diesen Geist den Frauen vor Augen führt, malt seinen Körper und die Mauke schwarz, dazuel verteilt er mit dem Zeigefinger unregelmäßig viele weiße Punkte. Nach BD. 141 bedeutet Kiaoldjl auch Wespe und Biene.

Im Gesang wiederholte man das ungeraumte orangeblau-yellow. Ohne jede Bemalung treten nacheinander Männer als Gruppe aus der Kiao-Hütte heraus, jeder trägt einen mittelmäßigen, unten angespitzten Stock. In einiger Entfernung von der Grossen Hütte stehen die Männer eng zusammen, bilden einen Kreis und stoßen nachmals den Stock in die Erde hinein. Sie stoßen auf diese Weise einige Minuten lang, ohne aufzuschauen und ohne ein Wort zu sagen, dann kehren sie schweigend wieder zurück. Niemand wollte den Sinn dieses Aufzuges zu erklären. BD. 425 bringt orangeblau-gelbrot, to dig, bearer.

Einen eigenartigen geschichtlichen Wert hält das Mauke-Spiel erhalten. Während die Männer zu verhandeln, begann auf ein Zeichen den Leiters den einfärbigen, auf gleichem Tonbilde unterwegs wiederholten Jöjö, Jöjö ... mit schneller Bewegung. Langsam steigert sich Jöjö und Bewegung dieses Rufes, um die Frauen im Lager zur Aufmerksamkeit anzuregen. Inzwischen bemalen sich die Teilnehmer ihren ganzen Körper weiß; über die Stirn ziehen sie eine fingerdicke, rote, nach unten hängende Begrenzung. Dann ordnen sich die Männer, unter sehr langem Rufen, einer hinter dem anderen; sie bücken sich so weit nieder, daß sie sich mit beiden Fäusten stützen und das Gesäß fast den Boden berührt. In kurzen Schritten nur können sie sich vorwärts bewegen. Kaum werden die ersten dieser Reihe sichtbar, eilen einige Ältere

[illegible]en auf die Wiese und erwarten hier die Männer. Diese behalten ihre [illegible]aufstellung bei, ordnen sich aber zu einem geschlossenen Kreise. Die [illegible]en nähern sich und gehen außen zu diesem Kreise entlang; mit einem [illegible] Leder oder mit der Hand schlagen sie sanft jeden Mann und dieser [illegible] sich sofort um, als wäre er getötet worden. Eilig entfernen sich die [illegible]en. Erst nach etwa zehn Minuten, während welcher Zeit sich niemand im Lager rührt, erheben sich die Männer vorsichtig und gehen, tief gebeugt und hintereinander, ohne einen Laut von sich zu geben, zur Großen Hütte [illegible]ck. In aller Stille waschen sie sich die Bemalung ab und unterhalten sich mit gedämpfter Stimme sehr vergnüglich; denn sie sind ja nicht wirklich [illegible]tet und von den Frauen nicht umgebracht worden. *Illatuku* ist der Geist [illegible] Seehären *tépfru* (Arctocephalus australis). Damals beim großen Ringen [illegible] *téjenétga* bewegte er sich auf die gleiche schwerfällige Weise wie heute [illegible] und viele Weiber sind auf ihn losgestürzt, um ihn zu töten. Genau so [illegible]sieht es jetzt bei diesem Spiele."[illegible]

Mit all den hier aufgezählten Spielen, die ich persönlich erfahren habe, [illegible] die lange Reihe derselben noch nicht abgeschlossen. Das BD nennt [illegible]dies manche andere. Beispielsweise BD: 170 *hiúúgwiaka*, das Spiel von [illegible] Möwe *hiwúgu* (Larus dominicanus), dann BD: 413 *téhalaiaka*, das Spiel [illegible] der lauten *téhala* (Larus Belcheri), ferner noch BD: 112 *alúúgfaiaka*, [illegible]Spiel vom Schwertwal *alúúgla* (Pseudorca crassidens), endlich BD: 262 das [illegible]ige, BD: 277 *lamúkaiaka*, das Spiel vom Wal, BD: 276 das *laiahákipa* [illegible] BD: 247 das *gótanna*, d. i. "*tánáwrs son*", one of the opening scenes and [illegible]cters in the keena drama. Das BD erwähnt noch einige wenige Spiele. [illegible] jedenfalls im BD: 212 die Erklärungen zu *hápi*.

Zum Abschluß sei eigens hingewiesen auf das sogenannte *kina-tálagwúja*, [illegible] Totenfeier. Dann und wann ereignet es sich, daß im Verlaufe dieses [illegible]erfestes einer der beteiligten Männer oder einer ihrer Verwandten [illegible]. Die in der Großen Hütte vereinigten Teilnehmer veranstalten daraufhin [illegible] Abends für sich allein ein eigentliches *tálagwúja*. Die einzelnen legen [illegible] Körperbemalung an, die bei diesem Anlaß üblich ist (S. 1129), je nach [illegible]näheren oder entfernteren Beziehung, in der jeder zum Verstorbenen [illegible]. Damit nicht genug, bestimmt ein maßgebender *yókamul* einem Mann, [illegible]orliebe den Leiter, sich auf eine bestimmte Art zu bemalen. Im März [illegible] hat MAIKUKENO sich dann hergegeben, er war damals Vorsteher des [illegible]. Der ganze Körper wird weiß bemalt; darüber legt man insgesamt vier [illegible]eite schwarze Streifen, die in der Mitte eines jeden Schlüsselbeines [illegible] in jeder Achselhöhle beginnen und die bis zum Knie laufen. Nach [illegible]setzen sie sich als schmälere Streifen auf der weißen Maske bis zur [illegible] fort. Der Darsteller tanzt auf die gleiche Weise wie irgendeiner der [illegible] anderen "Geister" aus der Großen Hütte hinaus und bewegt sich auf [illegible]anzhöhe mehrmals hin und her. Die Leute im Lager erkennen ihn sofort

[illegible] Dieser Auftritt ist der Hottse-Szene im Kleinsten der Seli'nam fast gleich (Bd. I, 997).

[illegible] BD: 262 spricht von diesem Spiele „before the women and children as spectators."

an seiner Bemalung. An einem *tóhgwája*-Abend verhalten sich die Männer sehr schweigsam und zeigen sich traurig am aufrichtigen Mitgefühl. Für den auf die bezeichnete Weise dargestellten Geist besitzen die Yamana keinen Eigennamen. Unrichtig wäre es, ihn als den *hélpiz* des betrauerten Verstorbenen anzusehen; der ganze Auftritt soll allein an denen Hinscheiden und an die schmerzliche Teilnahme der Überlebenden erinnern.

Ausdrücklich versichern die Yamana, daß beim Kina die Geister jener Tiere nicht zur Darstellung gelangen, die zur Zeit der großen Umwälzung hier bereits als eigentliche Tiere gelebt haben. Das gilt vom Kalengeier *ururyáq*, vom Habicht *youkalla*, vom Geierfalken *kiótla*, von der gewöhnlichen Möwe *kiwáqu*[222] und erst recht von den vielen kleinen Vögeln. Die bestimmte Bemalung, in der jeder Geist auftritt, bringt zwar eine gewisse Abwechslung in den Ablauf des Kina-Festes, aber diese einförmigen Tanzbewegungen wirken bei beträchtlicher Dauer fühlbar langweilig auf die Frauen, ein wenig auch auf die Männer. In welcher Reihenfolge und Anzahl die Geister an jedem Abend vorgeführt werden, bleibt der willkürlichen Entscheidung des Leiters und der allgemeinen Stimmung der Teilnehmer überlassen. Unter dieser Rücksicht hebt sich die eine Kina-Feier von der andern manchmal sogar auschnlich ab und das begründet eine Abwechslung.

d. Abschluß der Feier

Offensichtlich sind es die von der Umwelt, im besonderen die vom Wirtschaftsbetrieb den Beteiligten aufgezwungenen G r ü n d e, die dazu zwingen, ein Kina-Fest zu beschließen. Auch hierbei entscheidet das gleiche Kräftespiel, das die Beendigung einer Jugendweihe herbeiführt (S. 947). Vor allem wären Nahrungsmangel, Überschwemmung des Lagerplatzes, die unzureichende Menge von Brennholz, Erkrankung mehrerer Personen und ein Todesfall zu nennen.

Ließe man auch diese unvorhergesehenen und dennoch bestimmenden Umstände ohne Berücksichtigung, so muß man doch bei jedem Kina fast ausnahmslos in Erwägung ziehen, daß die Aufmerksamkeit der Tänzer und Zuschauer schon nach mehreren Tagen ermattet. Man kann nicht umhin, die Anteilnahme aller Anwesenden an der Veranstaltung aufs neue zu beleben und anzuregen: Gelingt alles Bemühen nicht recht, so zeichnet sich deutlich die Langeweile in die Gesichter sämtlicher Anwesenden. Den Frauen ist das Kina von vornherein nicht erwünscht. Sie wirken von sich aus wahrhaftig nicht darauf hin, daß die Z e i t d a u e r für diese Veranstaltung verlängert werde. Die Männer allerdings fühlen sich in ihrer geschlossenen Gesellschaft eine Zeitlang ganz wohl und das um so mehr, je größer ihre Zahl ist und je lebhafter die einzelnen sich beteiligen. Eben damit werden alle über die bedrohliche und unvermeidliche Eintönigkeit, in der jeder Tag verläuft, hinweggetäuscht. Viel zu unruhig ist die Naturanlage der Yamana, als daß

[222] Das BD: 170 allerdings hat diesen Geist genannt.

sie ein oft sich wiederholendes Einerlei lange ertragen würden, und eine derart tiefgreifende Mannigfaltigkeit, die wirklich aufzufrischen, und zugr Lebhaftigkeit fa wecken vermöchte, bietet die an sich lange Reihe der Geister-auftritte wahrhaftig nicht. Schließlich entbehrt allen heterogenischen Treiben der maskierten Männer selbstverständlich jeder zwingenden Notwendigkeit. Ist aber ihre zuweilen hochgespannte Neugierde und ihre Lust an der vergnüglichen Täuschung der Frauen durch die verwirrlichen Geisterauftritte befriedigt, dann übrigens weiteres Spielen nicht mehr genügend starken Reiz aus, um die herauschleichende Langeweile und den Überdruß zu den sich gleichbleibenden Wiederholungen zu bannen. Ganz unbedeutendst Anlässe von außen her lassen jetzt sogar ohne den geringsten inneren Widerstand aller Teilnehmer den Wunsch zum Abschluß des Kina-Festes aus. Wie mir versichert worden ist, begnügten sich die Männer gewöhnlich mit zwei bis drei Wochen; doch blieben sie auch eine kürzere oder längere Zeit beisammen, je nachdem es ihnen beliebte oder irgendein Anlaß sie auseinander trieb.

Jedesmal aber bespricht sich der Leiter mit den älteren Männern und wenn alle mehr oder weniger sich einigen, bestimmt er den gleichen oder nächsten Abend für das sogenannte *Mahéjakina*, die förmliche Abschlußszene. Die jüngeren Männer fügen sich selbstverständlich; erst recht freuen sich die *ainágala*, aus ihrer Zwangslage befreit zu werden. Mit dieser letzten Zeremonie beabsichtigt man, alle unbefugten Geister aus der Kina-Hütte und ihrer Umgebung zu vertreiben. Sämtliche Anwesenden legen nur im Gesichte eine einfache Bemalung an, nämlich einen fingerdicken weißen Querstrich, der unter der Nasenscheidewand beginnt und zu jedem Ohrläppchen hinzieht; dazu kommt entweder ein roter Strich über den ganzen Nasenrücken hinweg oder eine wechselnde Anzahl von dünnen roten Strichen zwischen dem unteren Augenlid und jenem weißen Querstreifen. Um die Stirn windet jeder sein *apaxfra*. So ausgerüstet stellen sich alle Männer zu einem geschlossenen Kreise um das Hüttenfeuer. Der Leiter oder ein einflußreicher *yéhamal* ergreift einen Stab — gleich dem im *ûjfanga* üblichen Tanzstabe (S. 847) —, dessen oberes Drittel weiß bemalt ist. Diesen hält er senkrecht in der rechten Hand, bei ausgestrecktem Arme, nach Art eines Taktstockes. Erhebt er ihn, stoßen alle Männer ein wildes *hît hît* ...; aus, das sie zwei bis drei Minuten lang wiederholen. Plötzlich brechen sie es ab und fügen scharfe, schrille *i*-Laute unmittelbar an. Diese werden abgelöst von krächzend klingenden *ry ry* ... Rufen, die einander schnell folgen. Währenddessen streckt jeder Mann immer und immer wieder seine beiden Arme, die offenen Handteller nach vorn gewendet, geradeaus, zu unverkennbaren Abwehrbewegungen. Nach einiger Zeit wendet sich das Geschrei auf das anfängliche *hît hît* ... zurück und läuft in der eben beschriebenen Weise ab, jetzt aber viel lauter und erregter. Etwa eine halbe Stunde verbringen die Männer damit und schließen mit einem sehr starken *pû*. Unvermüglich ergreift jeder von ihnen einen zumindest meterlangen Knüppel, stößt damit leidenschaftlich auf den Boden und trampelt gleichzeitig sehr heftig mit beiden Füßen.

Noch bei diesen Lärmen und Trompeln stehen verhängen, bewegt sich, sobald die ganze Gruppe aus der Kina-Hütte hinaus auf den freien Platz dorne, und zwar in langer Reihe. Den Anfang bildet der Leiter selbst; ihm schließen sich die jüngsten an, die Älteren und jüngeren Männer, endlich die übrigen. Während sie hinausgehen, ergreift jeder einen kaum anderthalb Meter langen Kniippel. Werden die ersten in dieser Reihe sichtbar, beginnt abermals das laute hit hit ..., auf welches die schrillen i- und die krächzenden ey ey-Rufe folgen. Das alles geschieht unter sehr energischen Abwehrbewegungen, indem jeder seinen Kniippel drohend in der Luft schwingt. Auffälligerweise richtet sich diese Wut und Tobsucht zuerst und sehr nachdrücklich gegen Norden, die Abwehrenden Geister selbst möglichst zurückhaltend in südlicher Richtung verjagt und nachgedrängt werden. Während die Männer bisher nebeneinander und mit dem Gesicht nach Norden gewendet dastanden, drängen sie sich jetzt für den Abschluß zu einem engen Kreise zusammen; mit dem Kniippel stoßen sie sehr lebhaft auf den Erdboden und trampeln stark bei schnellen Bewegungen beider Füße. Rechtzeitig haben auch die Frauen und Kinder sich zu einer geschlossenen Gruppe vor dem Lager aufgestellt, angeblich den Männern gegenüber, und sie begleiten diese durch laute Schreie und wilden Herumschlagen mit den Armen; auch ihre Abwehrbewegungen richten sich nordwärts. Der enge Kreis der Männer löst sich wieder auf und wird zu einer Längsreihe, die nach Norden schaut. Alle stoßen ein sehr starkes pö aus und begleiten es mit einem kräftigen Ausstrecken beider Arme. Ohne daß die Männer sich Ruhe gönnen, dreht sich ihre eingedrängte Reihe in der Weise, daß der Leiter wie ein Flügelmann auf dem gleichen Fleck langsam eine halbe Rechtsdrehung ausführt, der jeder Mann, bis zum letzten in der Reihe, genau folgt. Nun steht diese lange Reihe nach Osten gewendet da. Wieder beginnen die Rufe und Abwehrbewegungen wie zuvor, diesmal nach Osten hin. Auch dieses alles findet nach einigen zwanzig Minuten seinen Abschluß mit starkem Trampeln. Dann lassen die Männer ihren Kniippel fallen, neigen den Kopf tief und gehen ein krächzendes hö gegen die Erde von sich; gleichzeitig stoßen sie ihre ausgebreiteten Hände mehrmals nach unten, als würden sie alle Geister in die Erde hineindrücken. Auf diese Art beschließen sie ihre Abwehr der Geister und wenden sich ohne bestimmte Ordnung wieder der Großen Hütte zu.

Hier treten sie einmal ein, zuerst der Leiter, dann einer nach dem anderen, indem die übrigen. Alle stellen sich in dichtgedrängtem Kreise in der Mitte auf. Es wiederholen sich die wilden hit hit ... Rufe, das schrille i i ... und schließlich das krächzende ey ey ... unter einem blindwütigen Gebrüll, das mit Trampeln des Bodens unter stärkstem ho ho ... Rufen beschlossen wird. Wie in wahnsinnigen Verkrampfungen legt jeder Mann seine beiden flachen Hände auf den Kopf und läßt sie unter leichter Pressung an dem Körperumriß entlang nach unten gleiten. Fünfmal wiederholt jeder schnell diese Bewegungen. Noch einmal legt er beide Hände auf den Kopf und verursacht mit gespannten, knipsenden Fingern einen harten Knall;

[illegible] Kopf in [illegible] Bewegungen und gibt sie Begegnungen, schließen [illegible] sich. Endlich [illegible] die Männer [illegible] Gebärdensprache mit einem [illegible] Partnerin der Arme [illegible] "was sind die Gelenke [illegible]". Jedenfalls, ganz und gar [illegible], scheint sich die Bewegung ab und gleicht sich Rahi für einige Minuten. Eine [illegible] Unterhaltung entwickelt sich nicht [illegible]. Schließlich scheint sich jeder [illegible] nach seinen eigenen Sachen zu, packt die [illegible] zusammen und [illegible] beim Verwandtschaftsgrade. Gemeinsamer wendet er sich seiner Wohnhütte zu, in der er [illegible] verschwindet. In wenigen Minuten [illegible] sich die Kino-Hütte auf diese Art. Der Leiter verfällt als ein [illegible]; er hat die Mienen [illegible] ganz im Feuer [illegible] und jedenfalls [illegible] Anzeichen [illegible], auf daß [illegible] mehr den [illegible] Trieben der Männer hier zu Frauen und Kinder [illegible].

Seitdem [illegible] einmal [illegible] die Kino-Hütte. Sie [illegible] von [illegible] den [illegible] Einflüssen der Neuerkrankten [illegible]. Schon am [illegible] oder zweiten Tag nach dem Abklingen [illegible] sich die Mehrzahl der Familien zur Abfahrt und bald ist das ganze Lager aufgelöst. Für alle Familien bedeutet die Rückkehr vom gewohnten Alltagsleben eine Entlastung und Befreiung von den [illegible] Pflichten dar. Für die Männerhütte gebrauchen Tagesordnung. Niemand verliert ein Wort darüber, was sich in den letzten Tagen und Wochen abgespielt hat, jede Familie fühlt sich wieder wohl in dem vertrauten Beschäftigung und gleichförmigen Leitung von anderen. Kein einziges Anzeichen an diesem Lager verrät, daß sie soeben eine Kino-Feier veranstaltet und erlebt haben. Einzig und allein die einzigste haben einen [illegible] Vorteil erreicht, insofern sie von jetzt an als vollwertige Mitglieder in der Gruppe der Männer dastehen. Namentlich gebührt diesen für alle Zukunft freier Zutritt zu jedem Kino-Feste und jener Einzelheiten, die diesen bisher noch unerklärt oder verhüllt geblieben sind, werden sich bei der nächsten Gelegenheit diesen offenen Augen auftun.

Im März 1922 ist das Kino von den Tamaara zum letzten Male abgehalten worden. Die beteiligten Männer haben es auf wenige Tage zusammengedrängt, dabei die reiche Mannigfaltigkeit dieser Feier treulich sich entfalten lassen. War sie nach den Europäern bisher in ihren Einzelheiten nicht bekannt, einem gütigen Geschick ist es zu danken, daß sie durch jene letzte Wiederholung auf meiner dritten Reise dieser bewahrt wurde, sparsam [illegible].

c. Kulturhistorische Beurteilung

Man kann nicht umhin, die gesamte Kino-Einrichtung nach der Art, wie sie sich in die allgemeine Gesellschaftsordnung der Tamaara einfügt, kurz zu kennzeichnen. Im großen und ganzen, aber auch wegen mancher Einzelheiten, mutet sie befremdlich an, sie trägt unverkennbar ihre Eigenbedeutung an der Stirn geschrieben. Dafür spricht schon das Wort Kino selber, für dessen ursprünglichen Sinn ich eine befriedigende Erklärung

[illegible] wiedergegeben sowohl mit: flock, crowd, herd, als auch mit: separate, [illegible] apart and of lags always for superstitious purposes, je nach mit to burn, flame up, kindle, to be burning up or a fire to catch. Man fragt sich, wie kann das gleiche Wort einmal "Herde, Trupp, Gruppe", ein andermal als Zeitwort "brennen, aufflammen ..." bedeuten? Selbst wenn man angäbe, daß innerhalb der Großen Hütte regelmäßig das Feuer brennt, oder daß "separate" dem Sinne nach mit "grouped together" sich vereinigen läßt, so kann doch "Hütte, Gruppe, Brennen" nicht dasselbe sein. Vergleiche man die andern auf das Kina bezüglichen Ausdrücke, die im BI wiedergegeben werden, kann man sich leicht davon überzeugen, daß Bancas die "superstitious purposes" bewußt in den Vordergrund rückt. Mit dieser Bewertung ist er bestrebt zu finden, ob die vielen Kina-Geister tatsächlich im Glauben und in der Vorstellung der Yamana leben. Dem Reiche der Sage und Phantasie aber entnimmt dies Kina, seinen Ursprung erzählt die sogenannte Urwelthöhlenmythe (S. 1327).

Was dieser über den Ursprung der geheimen Veranstaltung berichtet, ist als Überzeugung der Männer von einem Geschlecht zum andern weitergegeben worden. Die Yamana nennen jenen darin erwähnten Geschlechtsnamen den gleichen Wort, wie dem Inhalt einer ihrer vielen Mythen bei, und sie treten zum Kina in dem Glauben zusammen, dazu verpflichtet zu sein. Diese Verpflichtung entspringt zwar weniger der Furcht, es könnten die Frauen wieder einmal die gegenwärtige Gesellschaftsordnung umkehren, als vielmehr der Ehrfurcht vor der überlieferten Gewohnheit. Deshalb nämlich, weil das verhängnisvolle Geschlecht sich dann und wann in der Großen Hütte zusammengefunden und die jungen Männer als ebenbürtig mit dem geheimen Treiben vertraut gemacht hat, handelt das gegenwärtige Geschlecht in der gleichen Weise. Ein erneuter oder gar bedrohlicher Zwang aus den Grundgedanken dieser heidnischen Veranstaltung heraus, hat entscheidend die Männer niemals in ihre Kina-Hütte hineingetrieben.

Auf der gleichen Bahn eindeutiger, dem Wesen der Yamana eigenen Gedankenfolge bewegt sich auch das Urteil der Frauen. Man braucht nur zu fragen, was die selben vom Kina im großen und ganzen halten und wie weit sie mit seinen Grundgedanken vertraut sind. Die kurze Antwort darauf lautet, daß die Frauen ohne Zweifel zwar mehr oder weniger bestimmt um das heidnische Treiben der Männer wissen, daß sie aber gleichzeitig mit überzeugtem Glauben an den Verhandensein und der Betätigung jener Geister festhalten, die genannt werden oder auftreten. Im einzelnen läßt es sich kaum feststellen, welchen von beiden Urteilen bei der einen und andern Person Überwiegt und ob die Wertung der mannigfaltigen Einzelheiten irgendwie einheitlich ist; denn die Frauen tauschen ihre Meinung niemals weitläufig miteinander aus. Manche von ihnen dürften es wohl wissen, daß die vielgenannten Geister weder in die Große Hütte einziehen, noch im Kreise der dort versammelten Männer sitzen; sie sprechen sich aber nie darüber deutlich aus.

Im volkstümlichen Bevölkerungsteile erzählt man sich: Einst hat sich eine

Frau über ihren Mann verhältnismäßig spöttisch ausgesprochen, weil er hässlich und verkrüppelt wäre, falsch auftrete und eine schlechte Gangart besitze. Diesen Verwandten begegnete sich deutlicher und offenbarten jenem Manne schließlich die abfälligen Urteile seiner Frau. Schnell war er entschlossen, sich gründlich zu rächen; er machte seinen Verwandten und Freunden den Vorschlag, ein Kina veranstalten, im Verlaufe dessen er sein Weib einschüchtern und erschrecken würde. Wirklich traten bald viele Männer zu der geheimen Feier zusammen. Jene Frau aber war sehr schlau; sie merkte bald, daß die Männer es diesmal auf ihre Person abgesehen hatten. Sie scheute davor nicht zurück, sich zu wehren. In dunkler Nacht bemalte sie sich ihren ganzen Körper genau so, wie nach ihrer Vermutung die Männer drinnen in der Großen Hütte bemalt wären und schlich sich unbemerkt hinein. Die Männer saßen eng gegeneinander gedrängt rund um das Feuer und hielten den Kopf in ernstem Nachdenken tief gesenkt. Ganz leise schob sie sich an der einen Seite des Eingangs hinein, schlich hinter allen Männern schnell herum, zeichnete jedem im Vorbeilaufen einen Strich auf den Rücken und verschwand wieder an der anderen Seite des Ausgangs. Im Lager erzählte sie allen Frauen, daß sie einem jedem Manne den gleichen Strich auf den Rücken gezeichnet hätte; daran möge jede Frau erkennen, daß nur ihre Männer in der Kina-Hütte säßen, nicht aber Geister. Wirklich, als bald darauf die Männer heraustraten, trug jeder auf seinem Rücken jenen eingezeichneten Strich. Seitdem wissen alle Frauen um den ganzen Sachverhalt.

Man wird wohl zugeben müssen, daß alle Frauen ihre eigenen Männer tatsächlich in der Rolle der einzelnen Geister erkennen, aber ihr Glaube an diese letzteren steht trotzdem unerschütterlich fest. Einem europäischen Beobachter wird es schwerlich gelingen, klarzulegen, wie jenes Wissen und jener Glaube im Verstande einer Yamana-Frau zur Übereinstimmung gebracht werden. Weil sämtliche Weiber und Kinder der Überzeugung sind, die Männer stünden im Verkehr mit den Kina-Geistern, so ist es für sie selbstverständlich, alle Weisungen ihrer Männer als Aufträge der Geister anzuerkennen und zu befolgen. In dieser ihrer Beurteilung und Stellungnahme werden sie durch das Beispiel der früheren Geschlechter entscheidend geleitet; denn als unwandelbares Gesetz gilt für das lebende Geschlecht jedwede allgemeine Anschauung und Gewohnheit, die ihm von dem vorhergegangenen übermittelt worden ist. Gerade deshalb würde keine Frau es wagen, während einer Kina-Feier ihr Verhalten irgendwie zu ändern.[100]

Zur Beurteilung der Grundgedanken, auf denen diese geheime Männerfeier ruht, ist es nicht unwichtig, an die rege Beteiligung der yékamal zu erinnern. Einer von ihnen übernimmt in der Regel nicht nur die Leitung des ganzen Kina, sondern auch fast regelmäßig das Amt, mit der üblichen Armbewegung einen jeden der oft auftretenden Geister aus der Großen

[100] Der Glaube der Selk'nam-Frauen an die Kiskosna-Geister ist tiefer und überzeugter (Bd. I, 901); aber auch für sie ist die Pflicht, den ihnen überlieferten Verhaltungsvorschriften sich zu fügen, von entscheidender Bedeutung.

Hütte hervorzurufen. Bei allen Übungungen und Entwicklungen der Männer sprechen die yékamal den entscheidenden Wert.[80] Sie betrachtet man als eng mit dem Geisteren verbunden; unwillkürlich einem von ihnen, der sich dann angeregt fühlt, hat er gestattet, gemeinsam mit einem Geister außerhalb der Großen Hütte den übrigen Tanz aufzuführen. Oft und oft nähert sich dieser und jener yékamal einem Tänzer oder Darsteller und versuchte ihm seine Kraft und Fertigkeit der Gliedmaßen durch die ihm eigene Art von ungeheuer Massage. Bei den Yamana gibt es keine andere für eine größere Gruppe berechnete Veranstaltung, deren Verlauf sonnengen ganz und gar in den Händen der yékamal liegt, als eben das Kina.

Man darf sich über die aufgezählten hervorstechenden Eigenschaften des Kina aber nicht etwa durch die Tatsache hinwegtäuschen lassen, daß fast jedesmal Prüflinge eingeführt werden, die einer strengen Behandlung unterliegen. Hauptsächlich will man sie mit der Ursprungsmythe vertraut machen, mit eigentlicher Erziehung kommt man ihnen erst an zweiter Stelle. Nur jene Burschen werden je in eine harte Schule und in persönliche Beeinflussung genommen, bei denen üble Charakterfehler zutage getreten sind oder deren Beurteilen schlimme Auswirkungen befürchten läßt. Die übrigen Mitglieder des Stammes dürfen eben, mit Rücksicht auf das Allgemeinwohl, keine Gelegenheit unbenutzt lassen, um Nachteile und Schäden von der Einzelperson und vom Volksganzen fernzuhalten. Erzieherische Aufgaben hat das Kina-Fest an der Gesamtheit der abzuhalten denn doch nicht zu erfüllen.

Betrachtet man es schließlich in seiner Verbindung mit der gesamten Gesellschaftsordnung, dann erscheint es unvermeidlich als ein Fremdkörper. Auch wenn man der Ursprungsmythe einen geschichtlichen Wert nicht beizulegen gewillt ist, erfordert doch der Hinweis eine gewisse Berücksichtigung, daß das Kina aus dem nördlichsten Teile des Selk'nam-Gebietes in die jetzige Heimat der Yamana gebracht worden sein soll. Die herrschende Wirtschaftsform mit ihrer Verteilung der Arbeiten innerhalb der Familie auf Mann und Frau ist derart glücklich, vernünftig und so ganz naturhaft, daß eine Umkehrung offensichtlich den Bestand des Volksganzen gefährden würde. An eine Gefahr, etwa die in der Mythe geschilderten Anfangsereignisse könnten wiederkehren, denkt ernstlich nicht ein einziger Mann; ebensowenig käme auch einer Frau der Plan in den Sinn, die wahrhaftig nicht drückende Unterordnung unter die Männer, wie sie zum Bestand und Gedeihen der Familie unabänderlich gehört, abzuschütteln und die Verhältnisse umzukehren. Die Betätigung der Männer während ihrer geheimen Veranstaltung verrät nicht im entferntesten einen dringend nötigen Wider-

[80] Genau so ist es im Klubetera. — Von einem eingehenden Vergleich der Männerfeiern bei den Selk'nam und Yamana kann hier füglich abgesehen werden, da er bereits von Gusinde (q): 291, unter Einbeziehung der gleichen geheimen Veranstaltung der Halakwulup, durchgeführt worden ist. Auf den ersten Blick fällt auf, daß bei den Selk'nam die eigentliche Jugendweihe mit der charakteristischen Männerfeier zu einer einzigen Veranstaltung vereinigt dasteht (Bd. I, 1082).

[illegible] gegen irgendwelche Art von Bedeutung dieser Vormachtstellung durch die Frauen. Diese auch viel weniger als die Männer selber widmen sich diesem Spiele mit dem Ernst und der Begeisterung, die beide Geschlechter beispielsweise für das Jiljaqa an den Tag legen. Übrigens ist nicht etwa, wie anderswo, ein ständig übriger Männerkreis der Teilgeber dieser geheimen Feier, sondern jedweden Burschen, der zweimal das strenge Jiljaqa über sich hat ergehen lassen, steht auch unbeschränkt der Zutritt zu der offen, und erst mit der ehrlichen, nachher als vollkommendigmer Tatsachen, jedenfalls, so oft sie abgehalten wird. Alle Beschränkung der geschlechtlichen Freiheit, die den Frauen durch die Tagesordnung und Gesamtverhältnisse auferlegt wird, bedeutet für die Männer nicht mehr, als ein vorgeschriebenes Pensumgebiet auf diesem Kontinent, das sie nach dem langen Zeitraumes von einem Kina vom anderen sich herumtreiben zu dürfen glaubten; eine Feindseligkeit erster Art liegt darum ganz und gar fern.

Da, wie erwähnt, beim Kina die Beteiligung der jüngeren Heranwachsenden ist, unterbleibt auch jeder direkte Hinweis auf das Höchste Wesen. Um so mehr auch dieser Mangel bei einer solch unentbehrlichen Veranstaltung auffallen, weil sogar manche bedeutungslosere Kleinigkeit im Alltag der Yamana mit diesem Wesenspriffen in Verbindung gebracht wird. Kein einziger der vielen angenommenen Geister wird außerhalb dieser Männerfeier irgendwie erwähnt, auch viel weniger kann dieser ein Einfluß auf das gesellschaftliche Leben oder Verhalten der Einzelpersonen sein; denn sie sind ja nur jene Jiljaqa, die teils ehedem von den Frauen dargestellt worden sind, teils den damals in Tiere umgewandelten Frauen angehört haben. Ist das Kina vorüber, dann wickelt sich das gesamte Gesellschaftsleben in seiner ausgeglichenen Harmonie der Kräfteverteilung wieder so ruhig und selbstverständlich ab, als wüßte niemand etwas von jener Veranstaltung; auch viel weniger empfindet jemand eine Notwendigkeit, sie nach gewisser Zeit abermals in die Wege zu leiten.

Mehrere Umstände also kennzeichnen das Kina als einen Fremdkörper in der Gesamtkultur der Yamana. Diese haben sich allerdings damit abgefunden, es in ihrem Stammesleben dann und wann zu berücksichtigen, doch so, daß letzteres nicht beeinträchtigt wird. Die Beteiligung der Männer in dieser geheimen Zusammenkunft zu offensichtlicher Feindseligkeit gegen die Frauen ist ihnen nicht nur nicht erwünscht gewesen, sondern widerspricht auch ihrer innersten Naturanlage; deshalb rechtfertigen sie ihr Treiben mit Hinweis auf die Ursprungsmythe, obwohl sie nicht im entferntesten es für möglich halten, die Frauen könnten sich gegen das bestehende Verhältnis der Geschlechter erheben. Vielmehr deutet darauf hin, daß die Yamana ihre Männerfeier auf dem Wege über die Selk'nam erhalten haben. Auf eine für die allgemeine Beurteilung derartiger Veranstaltungen bedeutsame Eigenart des Kina hat W. Schmidt (d): 954 mit folgenden Worten hingewiesen: „Kaum irgendwo auf der Welt wird der Charakter dieser Männerfeier als Reaktion der Männer gegen die mutterrechtliche Vormachtstellung der Frauen so deutlich, auf eine geradezu klassische Weise in der Mythe selbst zum Ausdruck gelangt sein wie hier." Für weitere Vergleiche fehlt mir der Raum.

F. Das Medizinmannwesen

Aus Mitteilungen der Missionare und Reisenden ist längst bekannt, daß es dem Yaunde nicht an Personen fehlt, die sich gewohnheitlich auf die gleiche Weise und für die gleichen Ziele betätigen, wie die bekannten Medizinmänner bei den nordamerikanischen Indianerstämmen. Im Kap Kamerun-Gebiet heißen sie yékanual. Der Wirkungskreis ist ausgeschärft, die Einzelperson wie auch die Allgemeinheit weiß mit dem yékanual rechnen und ist auf die ungeschriebene Vorgeschichte unter den Medizinmannwesen unserer Yaunde mit dem der benachbarten Bulû'mem (Bd. I, 717), dessen treuen manche Übereinstimmungen bestehen. Die Einzelheiten besonders hier nicht nebeneinander gestellt zu werden. Darauf allein sei hingewiesen, daß im großen und ganzen dem gut bei den Bulû'mem gegründeten dem vollständigen yékanual der Yaunde weit mehr machtvollen Einsatz und ein unbeschränkteres Wirken zugesprochen wird. Während den Gedankengängen, auf denen das Medizinmannwesen bei den Bulû'mem sich folgerichtig durchgebildet und reich entwickelt ist, fehlt es in den Vorstellungen vom yékanual gar manchmal an der bisherigen Gedankenfolge; dafür aber verfügen die Yaunde über eine gut eingeübtere Medizinmannschaft, zu welcher die Bulû'mem nicht gelangt sind; bekanntlich ist das erste Ziel dieses Pfeiles nicht die Herausbildung jungen Bewußtseinsmen (Bd. I, 717).

Mahnen war es oft, meinen Gewährsmännern auf den verwickelten Gedankengängen durch das Reich der yékanual-Vorstellungen zu folgen. Eine wesentliche Förderung brachte mir der außerordentliche Vorzug, daß ich den angesehenen Mîmo-yékanual, einen Medizinmannschule im eigentlichen Wortsinne, mitmachen durfte. Die vielen Beobachtungen und Erklärungen, die ich zu diesem Gegenstande auf meinen Reisen gesammelt habe, folgen hier in übersichtlicher Anordnung. Wenn ich die Bezeichnung yékanual mit "Medizinmann" übersetzte, so gebe ich damit durchaus nicht eine inhaltlich genaue und eindeutige Erklärung, wie etwa nach Art einer Definition; ich bin mir dessen wohl bewußt, daß bisher weder die Ethnologie, noch im besonderen die Völkerpsychologie so verwendet hat, eine deutliche Terminologie zwischen dem sachlichen Inhalt der Bezeichnungen: Medizinmann, Zauberer, Zauberer, Zauberpriester und Schamane zu ziehen. Der Ausdruck "Zauberer" umfaßt einen großen Teil der rein suggestiven Beeinflussung gewöhnlicher Leute durch den yékanual nicht und "Zauberer" gibt ebensowenig wie "Schamane" zu erkennen, daß dem yékanual eine unmittelbare Einwirkung auf die Naturkräfte zugeschrieben wird. Aber "Medizinmann" ist eine Prägung, deren vielseitiger Inhalt nur nordamerikanischen Verhältnissen bekannt ist. Bezeichnungen wie Doktor, Arzt und Heilkünstler, eignen sich deshalb wenig oder gar nicht für unsere Zwecke, weil jede von ihnen die Vorstellung vom Wirken gegen ein körperliches Übel oder gegen Gebrechen des erkrankten Leibes weckt. Im Gegensatz dazu macht der yékanual seinen Einfluß auf das Seelenleben der Stammesgenossen geltend, weswegen er weit eher als Seelenarzt" oder "Seelsorger" angesprochen zu werden verdient. Die folgenden Am-

Gläubigen entschlüpfen die hier geschilderte Überzeugung den Worten yókumul. Obwohl die gegenwärtigen Kräfte der Tamoro mit einigen Jahrzehnten schon verschiedene edlere Gottesbegriffe, Vorbilder übernommen hat, hat dennoch der Medizinmann sich einen Prestigeplatz unentbehrlicher Tätigkeit bis zu den Jahren erhalten, in denen ich meine Beobachtungen durchführte; in seiner Eigenart konnte ich es noch vollständig erfassen. Sogar Missionare mitteren Alters, die durch viel Bestrebung mit Europäern unseriöse ganz deutlich so etwas wie "Unmöglichkeit" von den Eingeborenen Anschauungen und Gewohnheiten zu erkennen gelernt, sind in den Vorstellungen von Ihrer yókumul-Einrichtung unverbrüchlich und unverbrüchlich verwurzelt geblieben.

a. Persönlichkeit des Medizinmannes

Die Tamoro schreiben Ihrem yókumul einer außerordentlichen Macht zu, die von diesem wirklich unter gewissen Bedingungen zum Schaden und Nachteil einer Sippenangehörigen angewendet wird. Obwohl die yókumul vielleicht eigen auch lebendiger auch zum Vorteil Ihrer nächsten Umgebung tätig sind und manchmal Personen die größten Dienste erweisen, ist dennoch der einzelne Persönlichkeit dem yókumul gegenüber dieser eingeprägt, wie es Ehrfurcht und heilige Scheu, Mißtrauen und Angst ausgeschlossen.[**] Gewisser bringt man Ihre Beziehungsgrenzen ebenmäßig wie Ihre Verbindung mit den vielen Geistern, mit denen sie zusammenschließen, nicht so sehen von der Art Ihrer Einflüsse auf Persönlichkeiten, welche sie beherrschen sie ausgeben. Diese Verunsicherung erklärt ein Gefühl der Unsicherheit bei jedermann im Verkehr mit den yókumul und schon vor Ihrem unseriösen auch bisheriges gemischtgute Angst. Sie sollen auch auch durch Ihrer bisherigen Beschaffenheit von den übrigen Stammesgenossen gemeinschaftlichen sein und dieser Glaube verbreitet die Kluft zwischen diesen und jenen. Im alltäglichen Verkehr tritt die von der Furcht vor den yókumul empfohlenen Zurückhaltung der Allgemeinheit kaum je deutlich erkennbar in die Erscheinung, auch bei dieser Beziehung ersteren ganz unerheblich. Trotzdem empfiehlt es sicherlich, daß der Medizinmann als ein Wesen eigener Art oder wenigstens so behandelt und am klügsten so erziehen ist, weil dem Kräfte zur Verfügung stehen und er mit Fähigkeiten ausgerüstet ist, die der Mehrheit der Tamoro versagt sind und denen gegenüber sie machtlos dasteht.

3. Seine Volkszugehörigkeit

Wollte man alle jene Eingeborenen aus beiden Gemeinschaften zusammenstellen, die im Kap Hoorn-Archipel mit ihrer genauen Persönlichkeit und die

[**] Ein Versuch zur Einordnung dieser Begriffe bei eingeborenen Indianern, und zwar geschichtlicher Art, ist in Cooper (11): 286 unternommen worden. In den vielen Hinweisen auf den yókumul wechseln die Bezeichnungen wahrscheinlich. Vgl. dies in Cooper: 139 zusammengestellten Quellenschriften, außerdem Bennett (1): 18 und Gerrit (g): 54.

[**] Die gleiche Haltung konnte bei den Selk'nam (Bd. I, 718). Nur flüchtig sei darauf hingewiesen, da Vergleiche hier zu einzelnen zu lange auffallen würden.

mit einem geringeren Können bis zu stümperhaften Versuchen hinunter sich so oder so als yékamal betätigen, würde man eine ansehnliche Zahl erreichen. Schaut man genauer zu, dann stellt sich heraus, daß gar mancher bejahrte Mann sich selber mehr oder weniger überzeugt für einen Medizinmann hält.[117] Damit ist aber noch nicht gesagt, daß jeder von ihnen auch bei der Allgemeinheit und seiner Umgebung als vollwertig gilt. Hierfür ist nämlich die Berufung zu diesem Amte in jungen Jahren eine unumgängliche Voraussetzung. Im BD: 73 findet sich die Bezeichnung ógusa, a man who is not a yezamanah.

Sämtliche yékamal sind miteinander nicht in einem Verbande oder Verein zusammengeschlossen, sondern jeder steht auf eigenen Füßen und wirkt für sich allein. Als allgemeine Regel gilt, daß jede Familiengruppe, also die Vereinigung einiger verwandter Familien, ihren eigenen yékamal besitzt. Selbstverständlich nimmt er in diesem Kreise einen gewissen Vorrang ein. Eine derartige Auszeichnung ist zwar rechtlich nicht begründet, besteht aber wirklich. In diesem Sinne verbindet den yékamal jeweils Bande des Blutes mit seiner Gruppe. Der Vorteil seines höheren Lebensalters kommt ihm dabei zugute, nicht minder seine reiche Erfahrung und manche hervorragende Leistung, die ihm nachgerühmt wird. Sein Pflichtenkreis ist ausgedehnt und von ihm erwartet die Familiengruppe, in der er steht, gar vielerlei Hilfe. Gewährt er sie gern und erfolgreich, steigert sich sein Ansehen immer mehr. Schließlich entwickelt sich eine derart weiterreichende Abhängigkeit aller von ihm, daß es den Anschein erweckt, er sei eine rechtlich bestellte Autoritätsperson.[118] Doch wäre es falsch, zu meinen, der einzelne werde durch den yékamal in seiner Bewegungsfreiheit oder unabhängigen Lebensweise empfindlich behindert. Nur gelegentlich nämlich betätigt sich der Medizinmann in einer Form, daß der ihm unliebsame Stammesgenosse nachgeben muß oder in eine seinem Wunsche entgegenlaufende Richtung abgedrängt wird. Vorwiegend gewährt der yékamal seiner Gruppe und seinen Verwandten viel Hilfe in den Nöten und Sorgen des Alltags, darin sieht er selber und auch seine Umgebung die erste Berufspflicht.

Gern sei das wohltuende Wirken des yékamal anerkannt. Darüber hinaus ist er aber doch die Ursache einer großen Ruhestörung. Das gilt hauptsächlich für jenen, der beschuldigt wird, den Tod einer beliebten Person oder

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[117] Schon Bennett hat beobachtet, daß „most of the older men are doctors, but very seldom a young man, unless he is particularly cunning and clever" (VSA: XI, 238; 1861). Später versichert er (h): 299 und (i): 18 bestimmter: „Los hombres que pasan los treinta o cuarenta años de edad salían entrar en las filas de los médicos o curanderos."

[118] Dieses Zustand hat Pyro-Rov (a): 211 richtig beurteilt: „I never could distinctly ascertain whether the oldest man, or the doctor of a tribe had the most influence; but from what little I could learn, it appeared to me that the elder of a family or tribe had a sort of executive authority, while the doctor gave advice, not only in domestic affairs, but with respect to most transactions."

eine allgemeine Erkrankung veranlaßt zu haben. Der eine und andere yékamal sind für viele Leute fast unantastbarer als Anlaß zu Angst und Beführchtung; vor ihnen kann man sich nur eigenen Sicherung nicht einmal in die Ferne flüchten, da sie ihren Einfluß sogar über weite Abstände ausdehnen. (Die Missionare haben deswegen oft Klage geführt. BRACKEN u. B. schrieb am 29. Oktober 1892: „Death has removed from us one poor woman who gave us much trouble at Wulhamm with her conversion, and by causing the death of those she hated, and who went so far as to try her evil designs upon us because I reproved her and some others for their sins" (MM: XXVIII, 57; 1892). Die Bezauberung einer Familiengruppe zieht sich sogar beträchtlich in die Länge, wenn mehrere yékamal sich auf die ihnen eigener Kampfesart betätigen.

Trotz alledem ist es gerade der yékamal, in dem sie Zeiten persönlicher Bedrängnis und allgemeiner Not die Leute ihr ganzes Vertrauen setzen. Er muß ihnen helfen in schwerer Krankheit, sie schützen gegen das Drohen der unbeliebten Naturgewalten, in einem Rachezug die Führung übernehmen und jedem einzelnen gegen allerlei Fährnisse, die der Alltag mit sich bringt, verteidigen. Im großen und ganzen wirkt er tatsächlich mehr zu Nutz und Frommen, als zum Nachteil und Schaden der Einzelpersonen und seiner Gruppe. Ein tüchtiger, hilfsbereiter yékamal ist deswegen bei seinen Leuten beliebt, sie schätzen und verehren ihn, leisten ihm Folge und vertrauen sich ihm an. Eine höhere Tüchtigkeit des einen yékamal gegenüber dem anderen verursacht sogar bedenkliche Eifersüchteleien der einzelnen Familiengruppen untereinander. Im allgemeinen hält jede derselben zu ihrem führenden yékamal, vertraut sich ihm an und verteidigt ihn gegen andere. Aus alledem ist ersichtlich, wie eng ein yékamal mit seiner nächsten Umgebung verbunden ist.

Wenn die Eingeborenen selber davon sprechen und manche Europäer es bestätigen, daß auch Frauen als yékamal wirken, so darf man nicht verzagen, dergleichen Angaben auf das richtige Maß einzuschränken. Meist tut eine solche Frau nicht mehr, als dann und wann ihren Mann beim Singen zu begleiten oder neben ihm stillschweigend auszuharren, wenn er sich der tiefsten Sammlung überläßt. Dessen bin ich oft genug Zeuge gewesen; die alte FAELIA, mit MANUEL mittleren Alters verheiratet, und SARA, die Frau des MALWELLEWE, sind mir als yékamal bezeichnet worden.[269] Weder in früherer noch in heutiger Zeit hat sich eine Frau auf diesem Gebiete ganz selbständig betätigt oder sich mit dem jedem vollwertigen yékamal vorbehaltenen Federschmuck öffentlich geziert. Das aber ist gewiß, daß manche Leute jener Frau, die durch ihr Verhalten zu dem Verdacht angeregt hat, wirklich die Fähigkeit und Bosheit zuzusprechen, sie füge Schaden und Krankheiten ihren Gegnern nach Art der Medizinmänner zu. Auf diese Einflüsse allein beschränkt sich der Argwohn der Leute gegenüber einer solchen Frau und nur unter dieser Rücksicht wird sie als eine yékamal bezeichnet; darüber hinaus vermag sie nicht zu wirken. Ihr Können reicht demzufolge bei weitem nicht an das eines

[269] Auch HYADES (q): 257 schreibt: „M. Bennett ajoute qu'il peut arriver de rencontrer une vieille femme qui soit yokamanch."

vollwertigen Medizinmannes heran. Durchgehends handelt es sich um vereinzelt stehende, hochbejahrte Frauen, die nicht beliebt sind und wegen ihres unangenehmen Wesens oder widerlichen Charakters von der Umgebung gemieden werden. Befremdlich ist es angesichts dessen nicht, daß man gerade sie für fähig hält, mit geheimen Kräften zu arbeiten und andern Leuten in boshafter Absicht irgendwelchen Schaden zuzufügen.

Die Yamana glauben ausnahmslos an das Können ihrer Medizinmänner und sind von deren Macht überzeugt. Am deutlichsten beweist diesen Glauben sowohl die scheue Ehrfurcht und betonte Angst, mit der jedermann einem mächtigen *yékamuš* begegnet, als auch das Vertrauen, mit dem der einzelne ihm seine Bitten vorträgt, und endlich die Zuversicht, mit der die Allgemeinheit in kleineren wie größeren Nöten von ihm Abhilfe erwartet. In äußerster eigener Hilflosigkeit bleibt manchem Yamana nur noch der Medizinmann als letzte Rettung. Gewiß, die Leute unterscheiden bei ihren *yékamuš* eine größere und geringere Tüchtigkeit, sie schmälern wohl auch den guten Ruf des einen und andern, als sei er schwach und unfähig; aber jedermann fürchtet sie trotzdem und muß ihre Rache für den Fall gewärtigen, daß sie sein verächtliches Urteil erfahren. Bamoes hat die Yamana wiederholt aufgefordert: „Glaubt doch nicht dem, was eure *yékamuš* sagen und treiben; denn ihr Tun und Gebaren ist gerissene Täuschung. Glaubt nicht dem schlau berechneten Unsinn, den sie euch vormachen!" Er hat sich in der Tat über ihre Wirksamkeit derart verächtlich ausgelassen, daß es jedermann, erst recht die Medizinmänner, empören mußte. Nach einigem Zuwarten faßten zwei gekränkte *yékamuš* den Entschluß, die Verunglimpfung ihres Standes zu rächen, und sagten sich: „Wir wollen uns reichliche Genugtuung verschaffen! Vielleicht gelingt es uns, jenem Europäer[199] einen empfindlichen Schaden zuzufügen!" Nun schleuderte jeder von ihnen einen *yékuš*. Dieser gelangte wirklich zu Bamoes hin und drang tief in seinen Bauch ein. Seit jener Zeit war Bamoes krank und er hat sich bis zu seinem Lebensende über ein schweres Unterleibsleiden beklagt. Sämtliche Yamana sind davon überzeugt, daß ihm die Krankheit von jenen beiden *yékamuš*, namens Kalasakun und Kalakem, beigebracht worden sei; sie hatten sich in Lapatsin zusammengefunden und von dort aus ihre *yékuš* gegen Bamoes, der in Ushuaia lebte, geschleudert. Die Leute erzählten mir auch: „Im Augenblick, da die beiden *yékuš* in seinen Bauch eindrangen, empfand er plötzlich heftige Schmerzen, gab sich von der eigentlichen Ursache sofort Rechenschaft und rief aus: ‚O wehe mir! Ich habe die *yékamuš* lächerlich gemacht, deshalb haben sie Rache an mir geübt. Jetzt weiß ich, daß sie über große Macht verfügen!' Obwohl Bamoes zweimal weit weg gefahren ist [nach Buenos Aires], ist er von jenem Übel nicht befreit worden; jene beiden *yékamuš* wollten ihm wirklich für sein Leben lang ihre Rache zu fühlen geben." Diese Darstellung ist mir mehr-

[199] Sie sprechen hier den Zweifel aus, ob ihr Können über die eigenen Landsleute hinausreichend, einen europäischen Fremdling zu erfassen imstande sei.

mals vorgetragen worden, damit auch ich mich von den hervorragenden Leistungen und der erfolgreichen Wirksamkeit der *yékamuł* überzeuge.[221]

Unverhohlen haben meine Gewährsmänner ihre Überzeugung ausgesprochen, daß die *yékamuł*, ganz allgemein beurteilt, früher tüchtiger und in ihren Kunstfertigkeiten leistungsfähiger gewesen wären. Gegen dergleichen Behauptungen erheben die Medizinmänner der Jetztzeit keinen Widerspruch; sie gestehen ihre Minderwertigkeit im Vergleich zu ihren Vorgängern leidenschaftslos ein und entschuldigen sich damit, daß ihnen persönlich wirklich große Meister dieser Kunst nicht zur Verfügung gestanden hätten. Eine bezeichnende Antwort erhielt ich auf meine Frage an die Männer, aus welchem Grunde ihnen gegenwärtig die tüchtigen *yékamuł* fehlen: „Das kommt her vom vielen und guten [nahrhaften] Essen, das die Europäer zu sich nehmen und das auch wir jetzt zu bevorzugen uns angewöhnt haben. Davon werden Körper und Geist schwerfällig, die Träume sind nicht mehr so lebhaft. Früher haben die *yékamuł* bis Mittag gar nichts zu sich genommen und sich mit zwei oder drei Miesmuscheln an dem Tag begnügt, da sie einen Kranken heilen oder einen üblen Geist verscheuchen oder im Traume ihre Schutzgeister befragen wollten; sie kannten weder Wein noch Tee noch Kaffee, wir hingegen genießen diese Dinge häufig. Jene tüchtigen *yékamuł* von ehedem haben sich mit einigen Tropfen Wasser begnügt, nachts gönnten sie sich Ruhe nur kurze Zeit und verharrten dabei in Hockerstellung; die *yékamuł* der Gegenwart sind von alledem abgekommen."

Um mir die Tüchtigkeit der früheren *yékamuł* zu veranschaulichen, erzählte Nelly Lawrence folgende Geschichte, die ihr von ihrer Tante Flora mitgeteilt worden war: Zu Flora's Verwandtschaft gehörten zwei *yékamuł*, die zu den tüchtigsten aller Zeiten gezählt werden müssen. Die Leute im Westen waren einst in große Not geraten; denn wegen schlechten Wetters konnten sie seit langem weder Seelöwen jagen noch Muscheln sammeln. Die *yékamuł* erkannten diesen Notstand. Da überließ sich der eine von ihnen dem Schlafe, um im Traume tätig zu sein. Am andern Morgen sagte er seinen Leuten: „Zieht weiter nach Westen und haltet euch am Südufer!" Unverzüglich brachen alle Familien auf und begaben sich dorthin. In der folgenden Nacht träumte jener *yékamuł* abermals und erklärte am nächsten Morgen: „Ich habe [im Traume] gesehen, daß zwei Wale sich uns nähern. Es sind Schwestern. Beide sind trächtig; jede von ihnen hat ein nahezu reifes Junges im Leibe. Draußen auf hoher See hat sich ihnen ein *aldyla* [der kleine Schwert-

[221] Im Februar 1878 hat Bridges (i): 18 versichert: „The natives, strange as it may seem, had great faith in these doctor's alleged powers and entertained some fear of them." Für die Unrichtigkeit der angeführten Behauptung: „But this state of things has long since passed away, there are no more doctors", ist er persönlich ein überzeugender Gegenbeweis. Allein von dessen Worten hat sich Bove (e): 158 abhängig gemacht, wenn er versichert: „In der Mission Ushuaia schämen sich die Jakumusch schon so sehr ihres Handwerks, daß sie nur bei Nacht ausgehen und ihr Handwerk ohne Geschrei, ohne Gesang und ohne jeden Lärm ausüben." Heutigentags noch sind die Medizinmänner der Yamana in gleichem Umfange wie ehedem tätig; mehr brauche ich hierzu nicht zu sagen.

wal, Pseudorca crassidens] genähert und sie wütend bedroht. Die beiden Schwestern baten ihn flehentlich: ‚Töte uns nicht! Falls du uns tötest, sterben auch die Kleinen in unserem Leibe, damit gäbest du vier Lebenden auf einmal den Tod!' Indes, jener *alóyla* ließ sich nicht rühren und tötete erbarmungslos die beiden Wale. Bald werden sie in Sicht kommen und an diesen Strand hier getrieben werden." Die Leute freuten sich außerordentlich über das, was ihr *yékamuł* ihnen mitgeteilt hatte. Wirklich, noch am gleichen Abend setzte die Flut zwei mächtige Wale dort auf die flache Küste. Es waren weibliche Tiere. Als man ihre Leiber öffnete, sah man je ein Junges darin. Lange hielt das höchste Erstaunen der Leute an. — Als NELLY diese Geschichte beendet hatte, bekräftigte sie mit bestimmten Worten ihren eigenen Glauben an die Macht der *yékamuł* und versicherte mehrmals mit Bedauern, daß heutigentags kein einziger Medizinmann dergleichen Leistungen zu vollbringen vermag. Offensichtlich erwirbt sich ein *yékamuł*, der seiner Gruppe solche Wohltaten erweist, wie jene Geschichte berichtet, die Hochschätzung und den Dank aller.

2. Seine körperliche Beschaffenheit

Ebensowenig wie die *yékamuł* einen Verband oder eine eigene Gesellschaftsklasse bilden, leben sie getrennt von den übrigen Stammesgenossen. Sie unterscheiden sich von diesen im Aussehen durch nichts, weder durch ein besonderes Benehmen, noch durch äußerliche Abzeichen irgendwelcher Art. Jeder von ihnen muß für sich und seine Familie genau so, wie ein beliebiger Yamana, den Lebensunterhalt herbeischaffen, auch seine Hütte und sein dinglicher Besitz gleichen in allem dem der Nachbarn.[222] Im Kreise mit andern Männern, gewähren diese zuweilen einem Medizinmanne unauffällig den Vortritt und richten sich gern nach seinem entscheidenden Worte; von ihm erwartet die ganze Umgebung weit mehr Hilfsbereitschaft und Selbstlosigkeit als von andern Personen.

Wann immer der *yékamuł* seinem eigentlichen Berufe gemäß für irgendein Ziel tätig ist, legt er den ihm allein zustehenden Schmuck an. Mit diesem äußeren Kennzeichen bringt er bewußt zum Ausdruck, daß der ihm verbundene Schutzgeist sich seiner Person bemächtigt hat und er im Verein mit ihm tätig ist, daß jetzt die gesamte Umgebung ihn in keiner Weise stören darf. Danach richten sich selbstverständlich alle Leute, die den *yékamuł* beruflich beschäftigt sehen.[223] Er trägt, wie DESPARD (b): 717 kurz angibt, als „distinguishing mark: white down on the head, and pipe-clay lines across his face". Kennzeichnend ist der diademartige Federschmuck *apawóra*. Man benützt hierfür die fingerlangen, mattgrauen Federn, die der Nachtreiher *tāmuz* (Nyc-

[222] Zu Unrecht behauptet SERGAXENI (a): 169, daß deren Hütten „difieren por tener la parte superior alargada en un cono en lugar de ser esférica". Vgl. auf S. 371 die allgemeinen Angaben über den Bau der Wohnhütten.

[223] Gänzlich abwegig ist, was BOMCKE (b): 237 hierzu geäußert hat: „Para darse el aspecto de la vejez colian untar las cabezas diariamente con tumrapu", d. i. rote Farberde.

ticeraz obscurus) auf der Unterseite seines Körpers trägt. Diese werden in einem Flechtwerk von drei Strähnen dünner Schnurfasern eng nebeneinander gereiht. Der *yékamul* windet sich dieses Schmuck nach Art eines Stirnbandes in der Weise um die Schläfen, daß die natürliche Neigung der Federn nach unten gewendet ist. Legt er sein *apaudra* wieder ab, rollt er es strumm zusammen und verwahrt es in einem Lederbeutelchen, damit es keinen Schaden leide. Zur Bemalung seines Gesichtes und ganzen Kopfes bevorzugt er den weißen Farbstoff. Offensichtlich ist es eine Übertreibung, wenn Bumoen (e): 332 berichtet, die Medizinmänner „möchten sich den Kopf jeden Morgen mit Kreide weiß". Dadurch würden sie sich ja von allen Stammesgenossen abheben, was nicht in ihrer Absicht liegt. Sie haben vielmehr zur Regel, ausschließlich dann sich zu bemalen, wenn sie sich zu irgendwelchem Ziele berufslich betätigen. Also greifen sie sogar auch in tiefer Nacht zum Farbstoff, wenn sie nach besonderen Träumen erwachen und sich ernstem Nachdenken überlassen. Am häufigsten verreibt der *yékamul* trockenes Kalkpulver im Kopfhaar und Gesicht. Früher trug er es auch seinem Oberkörper auf, als er diesen noch nicht in europäische Kleider hüllte. Zuweilen begnügt er sich damit, einen fingerdicken weißen Strich unter der Nase her von einem Ohrläppchen zum andern zu ziehen. Selten nur führt er diesen Strich mit roter Farbe aus. Selbstverständlich verzichtet er gelegentlich auf jedwede Bemalung, aber auch dann ist er deutlich genug an seinem *apaudra* zu erkennen. Weiter unten muß noch die Bemalung der Prüflinge in der Medizinmannschule beschrieben werden; daraus geht nicht minder eindeutig die Vorliebe der *yékamul* für die weiße Farbe hervor.[555]

Schwierig ist es zu erklären, wie die Yamana sich den Körperbau ihrer Medizinmänner vorstellen. Diese besitzen — wie ich erfahren konnte — einen S c h e i n l e i b, der auf die Augen der gewöhnlichen Yamana ebenso wirkt, wie der Körper eines der Ihrigen. Vor allem soll die Körperhaut des *yékamul* unbeschreiblich zart und dünn sein, der gesamte Umfang ihres Körpers den eines andern Menschen um ein Vielfaches übertreffen; nach Maßen, die man mir angegeben hat, überschreitet der Durchmesser des Medizinmannes sogar hundert Meter. Trotzdem erscheint dieser den Augen seiner Umgebung als ein gewöhnlicher Yamana. Letzten Endes, so möchte ich sagen, wird dieser sogenannte Körperumfang am besten als Einflußzone des *yékamul* zu deuten sein; denn es heißt: „Alles, was in diesem Umfange vorhanden ist und sich abspielt, erkennt der *yékamul* so genau, als ob es drinnen in seinem Körper wäre." Diese Deutung wird als richtig durch folgendes bestätigt. Die Yamana sagen nämlich auch: „Wenn ein *yékamul* sich verwandelt oder sein Körper sich irgendwie verändert, täuscht sich unser Auge demgegenüber; wir sehen das alles in einer Weise, nach der solche Geschehnisse sich an unserm eigenen Leibe vollziehen, in Wirklichkeit ist erheim *yékamul* aber nicht so." Niemand ist imstande, bestimmtere Erklärungen zu geben, und viele Yamana haben

[555] Frühere Mitteilungen, z. B. von Spegazzini (a): 168, die eine andere Ausbeutung des Medizinmannes nennen, entsprechen meinen Erfahrungen nicht.

sichtlich für sich selber keine deutliche Vorstellung von dem, was sie immer wieder mit den gleichen Worten behaupten. Mir scheint ein Hinweis auf die Ansicht der Selk'nam von ihren Medizinmännern berechtigt (Bd. I, 749); denn manche Einzelheiten, die sie ihren *zpa* zuerkennen, passen genau auf die *yékamuj* unserer Yamana, z. B. die Überempfindlichkeit und äußerste Leichtverletzlichkeit der Körperhaut. In den folgenden Zeilen finden sich noch einige Ergänzungen zu dieser merkwürdigen Vorstellung der Yamana vom körperlichen Sein bzw. von der Körperbeschaffenheit ihrer *yékamuj*.

3. Seine seelische Veranlagung

Im Anschluß an die vorausgegangene Beschreibung befremdet es nicht, daß die Yamana nur wenig über die geistige Seite und seelische Ausrüstung eines Medizinmannes auszusagen imstande sind. Sie vertiefen sich überhaupt nicht in dieses schwer zugängliche Gebiet und geben sich mit dem zufrieden, was sie mit ihren Sinnen vom Wirken des *yékamuj* wahrnehmen. Dieser ist vorwiegend von seinen ganz persönlichen Gefühlen und unfaßlichen Phantasiegebilden abhängig, die er weder deutlich zu erkennen gibt, noch mit menschlichen Worten beschreibt. Man bleibt mithin darauf angewiesen, die Arbeitsweise der *yékamuj* so darzustellen, wie sie sich einer genauen Beobachtung bietet. Die Selk'nam besitzen einen durchsichtigen Aufbau ihrer Vorstellungen vom *zpa* und die Gedanken, auf denen ihr Medizinmannswesen ruht, sind gut entwickelt. Weit hinter dem steht alles das zurück, was die Personen des *yékamuj* umgibt und ausfüllt. Dieser Unterschied, sowohl nach dem Umfange als auch nach dem Erfassen der Gedanken und Vorstellungen vom Medizinmannswesen bei diesen beiden feuerländischen Stämmen, fällt für eine kulturhistorische Betrachtung entscheidend in die Wagschale.

Einige grundsätzliche Tatsachen aus der Handlungsweise und dem Wirkungskreis des *yékamuj* gestatten eine immerhin eindeutige Beurteilung. Diese ist um so wichtiger, als nach einer weitverbreiteten Ansicht das ganze Tun eines Medizinmannes nur ausgeklügelter Betrug und feinstberechneter Schwindel sein soll. Mit aller Bestimmtheit sei festgestellt, daß jeder *yékamuj* ein durchaus normaler, geistig gesunder Mensch ist. Personen von geistiger Minderwertigkeit und vorgeschrittener Altersschwäche werden nicht einmal im Alltag ernst genommen; wie könnten sie da einen gewissen Vorrang erreichen, dessen jeder tüchtige Medizinmann sich erfreut. Vielmehr kann man es als allgemeine Regel ansehen, daß der *yékamuj* eine den Durchschnitt überragende Begabung aufweist, daß er regsamer und leistungsfähiger als die Männer seiner Umgebung ist. Sein größeres Können und seine reicheren Geistesgaben allein heben ihn über seine Nachbarn hinaus, sein ausgedehntes und vertieftes Erfahrungswissen verschafft ihm Ansehen. Diesen natürlichen Vorzügen verleiht die Betätigung als Medizinmann eine erhebliche Steigerung.

Selbstverständlich wird, je nach Begabung und Wissen der einzelnen, auch deren Können unterschiedlich beurteilt und gewertet. Man

kennt und nennt jene wenigen *yékamuš*, die unerreichbare Leistungen vollbracht haben, und man gibt sich mit der Mehrheit jener zufrieden, die über eine Mittelmäßigkeit nicht hinausgekommen sind. Bei der Veranlagung unserer Yamana überrascht es nicht, daß die größere Tüchtigkeit eines *yékamuš* Eifersüchteleien von seiten einer andern Gruppe veranlaßt, deren *yékamuš* niedrig eingeschätzt wird. Wer sich in seiner Ehre getroffen fühlt, fordert den Nebenbuhler zu einer der üblichen Kraftproben heraus. Grundsätzlich spielen diese sich in der Weise ab, daß der eine *yékamuš* einen Gegenstand, z. B. *yēkuš*, auf seinen Widersacher wirft. Falls der angegriffene *yékamuš* den herannahenden Fremdkörper nicht erkennt oder dessen Wirkung nicht zu brechen vermag, wird er verwundet, ermattet und stirbt. Gelingt es dem Angreifer von vornherein nicht, den *yēkuš* weit genug zu schleudern, so daß dieser vor seinem Ziele schon niederfällt oder vom angegriffenen Medizinmann aufgefangen wird, dann gilt eben der Angreifer als der Schwächere und er hat den Wettstreit verloren. Alles dieses vollzieht sich im geistigen Sehbereich der Medizinmänner, welcher den gewöhnlichen Yamana unzugänglich bleibt; letztere erfahren davon allein aus dem, was die kämpfenden *yékamuš* selber mitteilen, und nur so viel, als diese bekannt geben.

Am 19. März 1923 haben mir die Yamana folgende alte Erzählung wiederholt: Einst lebten zwei Brüder. Sie waren tüchtige *yékamuš*. Lange Zeit hatten sie friedlich miteinander gelebt, aber eines Tages verfeindeten sie sich arg. Sämtliche Leute, die gleichzeitig mit diesen beiden Brüdern in *Agáio-xráia* [ein Küstenstrich im Seno Ponsonby] beisammen waren, trennten sich ebenfalls in zwei Gruppen; eine jede schloß sich dem *yékamuš* an, für den sie die meiste Zuneigung hegte. Eine jede dieser beiden Gruppen zog von dort weg. Beide suchten einen langen Kanal im Westen auf; die eine ließ sich auf dem Südufer und die andere auf dem Nordufer nieder. Die Feindschaft zwischen den beiden Brüdern und der Gegensatz der beiden Gruppen dauerten an, jeder *yékamuš* hielt sich selbst für leistungsfähiger als den andern und jede Gruppe lobte den am meisten, dem sie sich angeschlossen hatte. Endlich dort in jenem langen Kanal sagte[225] der eine zum andern: „Dir will ich es nun beweisen, daß ich mehr vermag und stärker bin als du!" Sogleich bereiteten sie sich beide [auf die Kraftprobe] vor. Der eine verließ [im Traume] seine Hütte, bestieg sein Kanu und fuhr bis zur Mitte des Kanals. Hier traf er mit seinem Bruder zusammen, der vom gegenüberliegenden Ufer gekommen war. Augenblicklich begann er den Kampf gegen ihn und schleuderte einen spitzen *yēkuš* in dessen Herz. Dann kehrte er an sein Ufer zurück und begab sich in seine Hütte. Der andere Bruder hatte ebenfalls geträumt: Er verließ seine Hütte, bestieg sein Kanu und fuhr bis zur Mitte des Kanals. Hier traf er mit seinem Bruder zusammen, der vom gegenüberliegenden Ufer gekommen war. Augenblicklich begann er den Kampf

[225] Alles das geschah in der Vision bzw. im Traumzustande und jeder der beiden Gegner hatte so genaue Kenntnis davon, als würde es sich im Alltag abspielen. Das ist eben die besondere Betätigungsart der Medizinmänner.

gegen ihn und schleuderte einen spitzen *yékuš* in dessen Herz. Dann kehrte er an sein Ufer zurück und begab sich in seine Hütte. Am andern Morgen wachten beide *yékamuš* auf. Jeder fühlte sich sehr matt und schwach, jeder sagte zu seiner Umgebung: „Ich werde bald sterben, viel Blut fließt mir aus Mund und Nase. Mein Bruder hat mich letzte Nacht tödlich verwundet!" Wirklich starb der *yékamuš*, noch bevor die Sonne im Mittag stand. Sogleich zündeten seine Leute ein Signalfeuer an und benachrichtigten die Gruppe auf dem andern Ufer, daß hier bald ein *lóima* gesungen werden würde. Genau zur gleichen Zeit zündeten auch die Leute auf dem andern Ufer ein Signalfeuer an und benachrichtigten die Gruppe auf dem gegenüberliegenden Ufer, daß hier bald ein *lóima* gesungen werden würde. Von jedem der beiden Ufer ging unverzüglich ein Kanu mit Boten ab, welche die Nachricht ans andere Ufer tragen sollten. Beide Kanus trafen sich mitten im Kanal und die einen erzählten den andern: „Unser *yékamuš* ist soeben gestorben, sein Bruder hat ihn getötet!" Nun wußten es bald alle Leute, was sich zugetragen hatte und daß jene beiden *yékamuš* gleich leistungsfähig gewesen waren.

Die Macht des Medizinmannes reicht auch über die Grenzen seiner eigenen Heimat hinaus, sie bezwingt Europäer, wie am Beispiele BRIDGES' erörtert worden ist (S. 1387) und die benachbarten Selk'nam, wie CLARA im März 1923 erzählt hat: Einst saßen nahe Puerto Harberton mehrere Yamana beisammen. Nicht weit von ihnen entfernt hatten einige Selk'nam ihre Hütte aufgerichtet. Als diese dort der Yamana ansichtig wurden, traten sie heraus und machten sich lustig über sie. Dadurch fühlten sich die Yamana beleidigt, wagten aber nicht, jene anzugreifen. Ein *yékamuš* aber sagte schließlich: „Jenen werde ich doch einen Schaden zufügen!" Unbemerkt schleuderte er gegen den letzten jener Selk'nam, die sich wieder in ihre Hütte zurückzogen, einen *yékuš*. Dieser Mann war am nächsten Morgen, da er erwachte, auf einem Auge blind; als er später einen kurzen Gang machen wollte, stürzte er tot zu Boden. So schnell hatte der *yékuš* jenes Medizinmannes gewirkt. — Sämtliche Anwesende bestätigten mir diesen Vorfall überzeugt als reine Wahrheit.

Genug der Beweise sind nun dafür angeführt worden, daß die *yékamuš* selber an ihr eigenes Können glauben. Sie sind davon überzeugt, daß ihre Träume und ihre Unternehmungen im Traumzustande einen Wirklichkeitswert besitzen, daß ihre Machteinflüsse auf die Naturkräfte den angestrebten Erfolg zeitigen. Wer sich mit Bitten um Hilfe an seinen befreundeten *yékamuš* wendet, dem stellt er die Erfüllung in Aussicht und beginnt meist ohne Verzug sich zu betätigen; sollte der *yékamuš* das angestrebte Ziel nicht sogleich erreichen, wiederholt er seine Bemühungen auch ein zweites und drittes Mal. Jeden Erfolg und jede Wunscherfüllung anerkennt die ganze Umgebung dankbar, vor allem jene Person, die den größten Vorteil erreicht hat. Gänzlich ungerecht und falsch wäre es also, den Medizinmann als einen Betrüger und Schwindler hinzustellen.[336] Er hat ja wirklich und offensichtlich

[336] Hemmungslos fällt BOVE (g): 235 dieses ungerechte Urteil. Als Beweis führt er

Erfolge, an die er persönlich sowie seine Umgebung glaubt. Allerdings ist damit noch nicht erklärt, auf welche Weise er das angestrebte Ziel erreicht. Darum kümmert sich die Allgemeinheit nicht, wohl aber ist jede Gruppe auf die überragenden Leistungen ihres eigenen *yékamuł* reichlich stolz.

b. *Berufung des Medizinmannes*

Wenn ein *yékamuł* sich beruflich betätigt, wirkt und arbeitet nicht etwa er persönlich, sondern einer oder mehrere seiner Schutzgeister regen sich für ihn zur Erreichung des Zieles, das er anstrebt. Mit jenen Schutzgeistern tritt die Einzelperson zum ersten Male bei einer wirklichen Berufung zu diesem Amte in Verbindung. Wer durch sie nicht schon in jüngeren Jahren gewonnen und gefördert worden ist, bringt es nie zu einem tüchtigen, vollwertigen *yékamuł*. Die Berufung ist eine mehr oder weniger bestimmte, deutliche Aufforderung eines Geistes an die erwählte Person, sich den Aufgaben eines *yékamuł* zu widmen; Sache des einzelnen und seiner nächsten Umgebung oder einiger Medizinmänner ist es, zu erkennen, ob eine Berufung wirklich erfolgt ist und ob die derart berufene Einzelperson derselben sogleich stattgeben muß.

2. Die persönliche Berufung

Unsere Yamana sind sehr empfänglich für Regungen und Bewegungen in ihrem Seelenleben, alles Außergewöhnliche erschüttert sie stark, sie lassen sich außerordentlich leicht gefangen nehmen von jenen vielen sogenannten Geistern, an die sie glauben. Von Jugend auf erfahren sie die Betätigungsweise ihrer *yékamuł*, sie können dieselbe mit eigenen Augen beobachten, sie hören davon bei einer Aussprache der Erwachsenen, sie erhalten manche Erklärungen darüber durch die *yékamuł* selber. Die gewöhnlichen Leute verstehen zwar die inneren Zusammenhänge im Wirken der Medizinmänner nicht, noch viel weniger deren vermeintliche enge Verbindung mit den oft genannten Geistern; aber eine gewisse Vorstellung von alledem haben sie doch und diese genügt ihnen, um mit einigem Verständnis das Medizinmannwesen zu würdigen. Jeder Yamana weiß mehr oder weniger genau, auf welchem Wirkungsfelde die *yékamuł* tätig sind, welcher Mittel sie sich bedienen, an welche äußeren Bedingungen ein Erfolg geknüpft ist und wie sehr sich der eine vom andern nach seiner Leistungsfähigkeit unterscheidet. Diese Einzelkenntnisse sind Allgemeingut, die *yékamuł* widmen sich ja ihrer Aufgabe vor den Augen der nächsten Stammesgenossen und in aller Öffentlichkeit. Dabei lernt jedweder, sofern er ein wenig Bedacht darauf nimmt, die äußere Handlungsweise eines Medizinmannes mühelos kennen. Verknüpft er damit dessen Erklärungen, so macht er sich schließlich mit dessen ganzem Gedankengut vertraut. Ist bei dem und jenem Yamana die sichere Überzeugung vom eigenen Können

c): 131 an: „Sorprende su habilidad para escender objetos en la boca." Dieses Satz wiederholt wörtlich WIEGANDT: 48 und SPEGAZZINI (a): 169 spricht den gleichen Verdacht aus.

weit genug gereift, entscheidet die Zeit, nach der er selber sagt, damit beginnt, sich als ein *yékamal* zu betätigen. Mit diesen kurzen Strichen ist der Entwicklungsgang jener Personen gezeichnet, die in vorgeschrittenen Lebensjahren von sich aus noch anfangen, das Handwerk eines Medizinmannes in bescheidenen Grenzen auszuüben.

Dergleichen Einzelpersonen fehlt jedoch eine Berufung nach dem Worte strenger Bedeutung. Ohne diese wird aber niemand zu einem vollwertigen *yékamal*. Zunächst, so glaube ich, kann man von einer indirekten bzw. m i t t e l b a r e n B e r u f u n g sprechen. Dieser Ausdruck besagt ein Dreifaches. Haben Verwandte eines jungen Mannes oder befreundete *yékamal* an ihm die Befähigung für diesen Amt entdeckt und halten sie ihn für geeignet, mit den *ŏówóni*-Geistern mühelos Verbindung anzuknüpfen, indem er sich schnell in einen Traumzustand zu versetzen vermag, dann tun diese Beobachter jenem Manne ihre eigene Überzeugung kund und raten ihm, ein Medizinmann zu werden. Auch kann es sein, daß irgendein *yékamal* im Traume von Geistern beauftragt wird, den von ihnen bezeichneten Mann in seine Kunst einzuführen, auf daß dieser sie später ausübe. Jener *yékamal* wirkt eifrig auf den bezeichneten Mann ein; denn er will sich den Geistern willfährig erweisen und es bereitet ihm viel Freude, einen Schüler auszulernen. Endlich muß man hierher alle jene Personen stellen, die aus sich heraus dem *yékamal*-Amte sich widmen. Das tun sie deshalb, weil sie persönlich zur Überzeugung gelangt sind, zu den gleichen Leistungen, die sie an vollwertigen *yékamal* beobachtet haben, fähig zu sein. Bei dieser letztgenannten Art von *yékamal*, zu der auch vereinzelt Frauen gehören, kann man am wenigsten von einer Berufung sprechen; ein wenig besser steht es bei jenen beiden Gruppen, die zuerst erwähnt worden sind. In keinem Falle hat die Person irgendwelchen Schaden zu gewärtigen oder die Rache der Geister zu fürchten, die sich zum Amte eines *yékamal* trotz jener Aufforderungen nicht entschließt; denn letztere gelten nur als zwanglose Einladungen. Falls nämlich gewisse Geister einen Mann ernstlich für diesen Dienst wünschen, so berufen sie ihn mit unzweideutiger Bestimmtheit. Ebenso [illegible]ig braucht jemand anderen Einflüssen oder unklaren Eindrücken Fo[illegible]geisten. Das erklärte mir Cazes im März 1923 an einem persönlichen Erlebnis. Vor Jahren ging ich einmal allein durch dichten Wald. Da hörte ich plötzlich sehr schönen Gesang, wie von einer Vogelstimme vorgetragen; noch nie hatte ich dergleichen vernommen. Ich schlug die Richtung zu jener Stimme ein. Als ich ganz nahe war, klang der Gesang noch schöner; aber ich sah niemanden. Da warf ich einen Speer in der Richtung jener Stimme. Ich sah niemanden, aber das Singen brach plötzlich ab. Kurz darauf fühlte ich mich sehr schwach und unwohl, mühsam schleppte ich mich weiter und erreichte meine Hütte. Die *yékamal* in der Nachbarschaft erkannten sofort, daß sich mit mir etwas Besonderes ereignet haben müßte und sie rieten mir, ein *yékamal* zu werden. Dazu aber verspürte ich keine Lust und deshalb drängten jene Männer nicht weiter. Ein Jahr darauf hatte ich einen Traum. Ich sah einen Greis, der mich ernstlich

warnte: „Werde nie ein *yékamuš*! Am Tage, da du dich als solcher betätigst, wirst du sterben!" Ich weiß nicht, wer jener Greis gewesen ist; ich habe mich zu seiner Warnung gehalten." Wer also aus den hier bezeichneten Anlässen die Aufgaben eines Medizinmannes übernimmt, spielt immer nur eine unterprivilegierte Rolle.

Dem steht nun die mit einem entscheidenden Zwange verbundene außergewöhnliche oder direkte bzw. unmittelbare Berufung gegenüber. Sie erfolgt auf verschiedenem Wege. Da geht z. B. ein junger Mann durch den Wald und sucht ein Stämmchen für einen Harpunenschaft. Lange schlendert er umher, viel länger als sonst, schaut hierhin und dorthin, doch kein Bäumchen will ihm so recht gefallen. Er kennt sich selber nicht wieder wegen seines Verhaltens, er wundert sich über sein eigenes Ich, er ist wie verändert und wie verzaubert. Plötzlich steht er vor einem Bäumchen, das ihm außerordentlich gefällt und ganz seinem Geschmack entspricht. Er setzt sogleich seine Axt an, doch erst nach manchem schwerem Schlage erreicht er das Mittelstück. Augenblicklich quillt daraus eine ansehnliche Wassermenge. Er erschrickt und erkennt dieses Zeichen. Unverzüglich wendet er jenem Bäumchen den Rücken und eilt zu seiner Hütte. Ohne sonst ein Wort zu verlieren, bittet er nur Frau und Kinder, ihn nicht zu berühren, anzureden und zu stören, sondern sich ganz ruhig zu verhalten. Er legt sich nieder und schon ist er in tiefem Schlaf befangen. Da stellt er seinen *kŏ̄pix̄* wieder vor jenem Bäumchen dort im Walde, aus dem immer noch reichlich Wasser quillt. Rundumher stehen zahlreiche andere *kŏ̄pix̄*; einige sind ihm bekannt, die meisten aber nicht. Diesen und jenen befreundeten *yékamuš* entdeckt er dabei. Der eine und andere *yékamuš* zeigt auf seinen eigenen *kŏ̄pix̄* in jener Gruppe, benimmt sich sehr freundlich und kommt dem Träumer wohlwollend entgegen. Nach und nach lassen sich alle Geister an jener schönen Stelle dort nieder. Dann bieten sie dem *kŏ̄pix̄* des Träumers vorzügliche Geschenke an und reichen ihm zu essen und zu trinken; dort erscheint nämlich eine Überfülle von allem. Der *kŏ̄pix̄* des Träumers fühlt sich wohl in jener Gesellschaft, alles ist herrlich und ganz nach seinen Wünschen, jede Einzelheit sagt ihm zu. Lange unterhalten sich die *kŏ̄pix̄* miteinander, besprechen allerlei Dinge und verbringen vergnüglich eine geraume Zeit. Plötzlich erheben sich alle Geister und jeder einzelne nimmt eilig Abschied vom *kŏ̄pix̄* des träumenden Mannes. Bald wacht dieser auf und sieht sich wieder allein in seiner Hütte. Mit gedämpfter Stimme ruft er seine Nachbarn herbei; diese erkennen seinen geistverlorenen Zustand und die anwesenden *yékamuš* beginnen den *čōwánni*-Gesang. Das Herz jenes Mannes hat sich mit Trauer gefüllt und sehnsüchtig schmachtet er nach jenen freundlichen Geistern, in deren Gesellschaft er sich soeben noch unbeschreiblich glücklich gefühlt hat. Der *čōwánni*-Gesang bringt gar bald jene freundlichen Geister zu ihm zurück, er sieht sich wieder in ihrer Gemeinschaft und ist ganz glücklich. Stellen die Leute ihr Singen ein, ziehen jene Geister wieder fort und dieser Mann sieht sich in den gewöhnlichen Alltag zurückversetzt. Er ist beruhigt; denn nun weiß er, daß jene

Geister ihn in ihre Gemeinschaft aufgenommen haben. Schon in der folgenden Nacht träumt er wieder. Sein *kēlpiź* eilt zu jenem Bäumchen im Walde zurück, aus dem immer noch Wasser quillt. Dort findet sich unverzüglich auch jene frohe Gesellschaft ein, die ihn als Freund und Vertrauten herzlich begrüßt. Dieser und jener der Geister benimmt sich besonders zutraulich, bietet sich diesem *kēlpiź* hilfsbereit an und sagt ihm offen heraus, er müsse ein *yékamuł* werden. Am andern Morgen erwacht dieser Mann. Jeder Nachbar sieht es ihm an, daß er sich wohl fühlt; die Erinnerung an jene Geistergesellschaft ist es, die noch in ihm lebt. Ohne sich auszusprechen, greift er seine Sachen auf, verläßt seine Familie und begibt sich zu jenem erfahrenen *yékamuł*, dessen Geist er in der letzten Nacht gesehen hat; bei ihm bleibt er längere Zeit und läßt sich von ihm unterrichten.

Auf ähnliche Weise erfolgt eine andere Berufung. Geht jemand träumerisch in sich selber versunken durch den Wald und vergißt er sozusagen das eigene Ich, da sieht er plötzlich vor sich eine große Zahl von Geistern. Diese sind ein Volk von niedriger Gestalt und nach ihrer Körperform den Menschen gleich. Bald sinkt jener Mann in sich zusammen und ein tiefer Schlaf übermannt ihn. Im Traume sieht er jetzt jenes kleine Volk viel deutlicher. So erkennt er, daß viele Geister rund um ein Feuer dasitzen, sich wärmen und leise miteinander plaudern; freundlich winken sie auch dem *kēlpiź* des Träumers und einer zeigt sich ganz besonders wohlwollend. Alle laden ihn ein, neben ihnen sich am Feuer niederzulassen; er tut es und fühlt sich wohl in ihrem Kreise. Nach einiger Zeit erwacht jener Mann und muß sich mühsam den tiefen Schlaf aus den Augen reiben. Der Traum aber steht lebhaft vor ihm und jener besonders wohlwollende *kēlpiź* bleibt sein Schutzgeist: dieser wird ihm seinen Gesang geben und damit ist er ein *yékamuł*. Die erwähnte Art von Geistern heißt *hēltęka-yékamuł*. Mit Vorliebe halten sie sich in alten Baumstämmen auf. Sie bewegen zuweilen desgleichen Stämme so, daß diese sich ungewöhnlich tief neigen, um die eigene Längsachse drehen und unter starkem Zittern schütteln. Alte, morsche Baumstämme sind es, die jenen *hēltęka-yékamuł* als Wohnung dienen.

Die unmittelbare Berufung kann auch durch eigentliche *čówánni*-Geister erfolgen. Ein Mann schlendert allein die Küste entlang, wie in der Traumwelt verloren, ohne bestimmte Vorstellungen. Plötzlich sieht er sich in ein geistiges Schauen versetzt, das man *aikáku* nennt: Vor ihm drängt sich eine unübersehbare Schar von Heringen, Walen, Schwertfischen, Geiern, Kormoranen, Sturmvögeln und anderen Tieren. Alle reden schmeichelnd auf ihn ein, zeigen sich liebenswürdig und ihm ganz ergeben, benehmen sich wie die freundlichsten Menschen. Jener Mann ist ganz von Sinnen und weiß nicht, was ihm geschieht; gefühllos am ganzen Körper, ist er umgesunken und liegt regungslos da. Sein *kēlpiź* verkehrt nämlich mit jenen *čówánni*-Geistern und empfindet dabei ein außerordentliches Glück. Plötzlich verabschieden sich die Geister und verschwinden. Aus dem schweren Traume erwachend taumelt der Mann nach Hause. Er weiß kaum, was um ihn geschieht; er läßt sich auf sein Lager

nieder und sinkt in seinen Traum zurück. Wieder erscheint ihm jener Schwarm von Tieren; alle verkehren freundlich mit ihm und locken seinen *kŏipiź* an. Bald folgt dieser ihnen weit hinaus auf die Hochsee. Einer jener Geister bemüht sich um diesen *kŏipiź* mit überschwenglicher Liebenswürdigkeit, er wird der besondere Schutzgeist dieses Mannes werden; alle andern Geister stehen ebenfalls zu seiner Verfügung als Freunde und Gehilfen. Die nächste Umgebung dieses Mannes, erst recht jeder *yékamul*, erkennt an seinem Verhalten, was in ihm vorgeht; man läßt ihn unbehelligt und wartet geduldig, bis er seinen schweren Traum abgeschüttelt hat.

Vereinzelt wird jemand auch durch die *Hapŏéllakipa*, den mächtigsten Geist im *Idjma-yékamul*, berufen. Der von ihr erwählte Mann sinkt ganz plötzlich in einen tiefen Traum. Seinem *kŏipiź* stellt sich die *Hapŏéllakipa* in Form eines ungeheuren Wales vor, der bedeutend größer ist als jeder Vertreter dieser Art. Der *kŏipiź* versteht, was diese Erscheinung besagt; er kann nicht mehr entrinnen und muß ein *yékamul* werden. Die alten Meister werden durch ihre eigenen Schutzgeister von jeder einzelnen *aikáku*-Berufung verständigt. Wem eine derartige Erscheinung zuteil wurde, verliert während einiger Tage ganz und gar die Herrschaft über sich selber, er ißt und trinkt nicht und bleibt jedermann fern. Diese Zeit verbringt er träumend und sein *kŏipiź* kehrt oft in den Kreis jener Geister zurück, wo er sich anscheinend wohler fühlt. Schon bald stellt sich diesem *kŏipiź* einer jener Geister als sein *yefáčel* und persönlicher Schutzgeist mit überwältigender Freundlichkeit zur Verfügung. Gibt der *yefáčel* schließlich jenem *kŏipiź* sogar seinen Gesang, dann ist der Besitzer dieses *kŏipiź* ein *yékamul*. Hat er es so weit gebracht, daß er traumverloren von selber laut diesen Gesang anstimmt, dann weiß seine ganze Umgebung, was aus ihm geworden ist. Jedweder Mann, der eine dergleichen direkte Berufung erhalten hat, geht auf einige Monate zu einem erfahrenen Medizinmann in die Lehre. Ist er zu seiner Familiengruppe zurückgekehrt, stellt er sich ihr zur Verfügung.

Nur der ist ein vollwertiger *yékamul*, der zu diesem Amte auf dem Wege eines *aikáku* gelangt ist. In einer der sich folgenden „Erscheinungen" stellt sich der träumenden Person ein besonderer Schutzgeist vor, der ihr von da an ständig als persönlicher Helfer verbunden bleibt. Er läßt von jener Person nicht mehr ab, so daß sie sich als *yékamul* betätigen muß. Weigert sie sich, nimmt jener *yefáčel*, den man richtiger *yefáčel-ɣkŏla* und auch *ǫóna-ɣkŏla* nennt, bald ernste Rache, indem er jene Person sterben läßt. Vereinzelt kann ein aufmerksamer *yékamul* diesen schlimmen Ausgang verhüten. Nelly Lawrence erzählte mir ihre Berufung; sie hat derselben nicht Folge geleistet und ist deswegen in höchste Lebensgefahr geraten: „Einst ging ich mit meiner kleinen Tochter durch den Wald. Aus einem Baumstamme erklang plötzlich ein sonderbares lautes *pźź*. Ich schaute zurück und sah in jenem morschen Stamme ein niedliches *ǫóna-ɣkŏla*, das mir sehr freundlich winkte. Ich hielt es nicht für ein *aikáku*, sondern für einen gewöhnlichen *kŏipiź*. Wie wenn ich bewußtlos geworden wäre, schleppte ich mich weiter; unheimliche Angst

steckte mir in allen Gliedern und eine unwiderstehliche Ermattung warf mich auf mein Schlaflager. Ich träumte und wieder stand jener *gdna-gdgla* vor mir. Sehr freundlich lächelte er mir zu und überschüttete mich mit allerlei Geschenken, mit Fellen und Körbchen, Schmuckschnüren und *yékal*; sogar einen besonderen Gesang überließ er mir. Nachdem ich schwerfällig erwacht war, klang jener Gesang noch lange in meinem Innern weiter. Mehrere Tage war ich matt und krank, ich fühlte mich wie entkräftet und leblos. Eine *yékamalkipa* redete mich an: „Wie bist du doch jetzt gar so matt? Vor kurzem erst sah ich dich frisch und gesund!" Ich gab ihr keinen bestimmten Bescheid, sondern bot ihr eine Tasse Tee an. Sie ergriff die Tasse und schreckte zurück: „Warum bietest du mir dieses ekelhafte Tier an?" Ich stutzte und sagte: „Aber ich habe dir doch eine Tasse Tee angeboten!" Jene Frau erwiderte erregt: „Nein, das ist ein ekelhaftes Tier!" Mich hat nämlich jener *gdna-gdgla* seit meinem Traume nicht mehr frei gegeben, er hat mich verfolgt auf Schritt und Tritt. Langsam kam mir die Überzeugung, ich müsse mich als *yékamal* betätigen; drum das eben strebte jener Geist bei mir an. Aber dann konnte ich mich nicht entschließen. Jene *yékamalkipa* wurde nun, als sie die Tasse Tee in Händen hielt, von ihrem Geiste aufgeklärt und sofort erkannte sie, was mir zugestoßen war. „Du mußt eine *yékamal* werden!" sagte sie mir. Sie sah nämlich: Jener *gdna-gdgla* hatte mir einen Fellmantel umgehegt, der mit einem Lederriemen mir am Halse hing; eben dieser Mantel drückte mich so sehr, daß ich oft zu Boden fiel! Voller Angst um mich eilte jene Frau in ihre Hütte zurück. Bald schlief sie ein. Im Traume sah sie, wie jener Fellmantel mir immer mehr die Kehle zuschnürte, daß ich in wenigen Tagen erstickt wäre. In aller Morgenfrühe begann sie gängstigt ihren Gesang. Sie rief mich herbei und fragte: „Hast du dort im Walde ein *aihdku* gehabt und hast du seitdem das Gefühl, als ob jemand dich würgt, daß du oft niederfällst ins Atmnot?" Ich sagte ihr: „Ja, so ist es!" Nun mußte ich mich vor ihr auf den Boden niederlassen. Mit beiden Händen griff sie suchend nach jenem Fellmantel und nach den vielen Geschenken, mit denen das *gdna-gdgla* mich überhäuft hatte; alles warf sie mit energischen Bewegungen so lange beiseite, bis ich endlich von diesen Dingen frei war; auch den Gesang und das *aihdku* nahm sie von mir. Erst dann fühlte ich mich erleichtert und seitdem habe ich keine Beschwerden mehr. Jener *yékamalkipa* danke ich ihre Hilfe heute noch, sie hat mich vor einem nahen Sterben bewahrt." Die vollständige Bezeichnung für einen, der durch eine Vision seine Berufung zur Betätigung als *yékamal* erhalten hat, lautet demnach *aihdku-yékamal*.

2. Die Medizinmannschule

Wenn auch feststeht, daß die *yékamal* der Yamana nicht in einem Verbande zusammengeschlossen sind, so kennt man allgemein doch *jrówoden*, der in diesem Amte tätig ist. Befreundete *yékamal* vereinigen sogar gelegentlich ihre Kräfte zu einer gemeinsamen Handlung. Ein bejahrter Meister nimmt

selbstverständlich darauf Bedacht, daß ein junger Mann aus seiner Verwandtschaft für dieses Dienst zeitig genug herangebildet werde; eine größere Familiengruppe ist eben doch auf den Wirkens eines yikamaal angewiesen und sie könnte auf ihn nicht ganz verzichten, ohne sich selber zu schädigen. Fühlen zu gewisser Zeit mehrere yikamaal die Notwendigkeit, dieses und jenes jugendlichen Anwärter auf den von ihnen empfohlenen Beruf vorzubereiten, regen sie zu einem *Mjma-yikamaal* an. Das Ziel dieser so bezeichneten Zusammenkunft ist damit deutlich angegeben, sie ist m. a. W. eine eigentliche Schule für solche, die als Medizinmänner in Aussicht genommen werden.

Wie durch Zufall hatte ich erfahren, daß die yikamaal sich dann und wann mit der Absicht in einer besonderen Hütte vereinigen, jüngere Nachfolger für ihr Amt zu gewinnen.[47] Auf meiner vierten Reise habe ich darauf hingearbeitet, diese merkwürdige Einrichtung zu erfahren (s. 968). Meine Irgurkindlichen Freunde waren anfänglich für diesen Plan überhaupt nicht zu haben. Sie führten sich nämlich vorsicht, weil mit der letzten Feier dieser Art, die unter Leitung des Ahnamm in Ismaifyemaja (Punta Pentelin auf Isla Navarino) stattgefunden hatte, etwa 25 Jahre verstrichen waren und weil die yikamaal der Gegenwart sich selber, im Vergleich zu ihren Vorgängern, als schwach und minder leistungsfähig beurteilen. Trotzdem ist mir der seltene Vorzug zuteil geworden, auch diese unter mancher Rücksicht sehr bedeutsame Veranstaltung aus persönlicher Beteiligung kennen zu lernen (S. 190). Sie ist seitdem nicht mehr wiederholt worden und so war sie, im eigentlichen und strengen Wortsinne, das letzte *Mjma-yikamaal* überhaupt.

c. *Die Vorbereitung*

Falls diese und jene Medizinmänner ihre Absicht, bald ein *Mjma-yikamaal* einzuleiten, mit Nachdruck betreiben, einigen sie sich in der alltäglichen Unterhaltung gar bald über den Platz, auf dem sie zusammenkommen wollen. Besondere Anforderungen stellen sie an ihn zwar nicht; doch kommt nur eine Gegend in Betracht, die sich für einen längeren Aufenthalt mehrerer Familien eignet. Die Bedingungen, die sich erfüllen müssen, gleichen jenen, die man für Plätze fordert, auf denen man die *Ajipuga-* oder *Mma-Hütte* aufzurichten plant. Vor allem muß es eine Stelle sein, in der größere Störungen irgendwelcher Art nicht zu fürchten sind.

Haben sich mehrere Familien auf dem vereinbarten Platze niedergelassen, beginnt unverzüglich der Aufbau der besonderen Hütte. Man bezeichnet sie mit *Mjma tawâkir*, zuweilen spricht man deutlicher *Mjma ôrna Jâkir* aus. Sie zeigt die gleiche Art wie jene für eine *Mma*-Feier, ist also eine geräumige Hütte von regelmäßiger Kegelform. Die Grundfläche erscheint kreisförmig oder zu einem Oval umgewandelt, je nachdem sie für wenige oder viele Teilnehmer aufgerichtet wird. Die einzelnen Stämmchen dieses Baues

[47] Damals wußte ich noch nichts von Peters der Schl'ham (Bd. I, 786), das vielleicht den gleichen Zweck wie die Medizinmannschule der Yamana diente.

werden an größerer Standfestigkeit wenige Zweigpfeiler in den Erdboden eingelassen und rag nebeneinander gestellt. Dieses geschlossene Gerüst behängt man außen mit Lederstücken. Sollten sie nicht ausreichend vorhanden sein, benützt man dichtes Laubwerk von Bäumen als Deckung. Die höchste Höhe im Innern beträgt etwa 3½ m. Mit einem handfesten weißen Strich, der etwa 1 m über dem Boden rundherum läuft, ist es vorüber; ausnahmsweise benützt man auch die Innenflächen vom Erdboden an bis auf etwa 2 m Höhe einförmig weiß. In der Mitte der Hütte bewacht das Feuer unbeirrend. Rund um dieses bleibt ein schmaler Gang frei. Zwischen ihm und der Innenwand zieht sich eine geräumige breite Fläche hin, auf der die Teilnehmer sitzen oder liegen. Diese ganze Fläche bedeckt man mit einer 8 cm hohen Schicht von dichtbelaubten Zweigen der immergrünen Buche (Nothofagus betuloides), darüber legt man eine Schicht von dem harzen, kurzen Pampagras, *ufr-ainko* (Calamagrostis), das man auch in der Inja-Hütte für den gleichen Zweck verwendet. Daraufhin wird Brennholz aufgestapelt, das gelegentlich jüngere Männer, die als Zuschauer oder Besucher — ohne weiter yékamul sind, noch solche werden wollen — mitbringen, bereitschaffen. Die Verteilung der Sitzplätze ist derart, daß der Leiter dieser Veranstaltung sich links beim Eingange niederläßt; weiter nach innen schließen sich die yékamul und Prüflinge in abwechselnder Folge an, daß ein bis drei von diesen je zwischen zwei *yékamul* kommen. Selbstverständlich ist die Große Hütte so angelegt, daß ihr weiter Eingang sich nach Osten hin öffnet und vom Lager mit den Familienwohnungen abwendet.

Wie oben angedeutet wurde, versieht ein sehr einflußreicher, älterer Medizinmann das Amt des Leiters. Man nennt ihn *Mjma-ufr-ainko*. Auf ihn geht gewöhnlich die entscheidende Anregung zu dieser Veranstaltung zurück, er trifft die ersten Vorbereitungen, sammelt einige befreundete Amtsgenossen um sich und bespricht mit ihnen die Einzelheiten der Tagesordnung. Ohne besondere oder förmliche Wahl ist er wie von selbst zum Leiter bestimmt und jedermann unterwirft sich widerspruchslos seiner Führung. Nur ein Mann von überragendem Wissen und reicher Erfahrung kommt für diesen Posten in Frage, er gilt viel bei allen Leuten wegen seiner starken Könnens und seiner unvergleichlichen Leistungen. Dieser Leiter nun gibt den Teilnehmern die Einzelanweisungen auf Grund der überlieferten Tagesordnung, die ihm geläufig sein muß. Vor allem achtet er darauf, daß jede Störung und Ablenkung von den Anwesenden ferngehalten wird.

Dem Ziele dieser Veranstaltung entsprechend, finden sich an ihr selbstverständlich mehrere yékamul als Teilnehmer ein; denn das Ganze ist so recht für eigenes Unternehmen, zu dem sie an erster Stelle offensichtlich den Zutritt haben. Aus der Nachbarschaft eilen sie herbei. Doch findet sich zuweilen auch ein yékamul aus weiter Ferne ein, falls er mit dieser Veranstaltung durch Freundschaft verbunden ist und seine überragenden Leistungen für vor Augen führen will. Als Lehrlinge werden jene jungen Männer zugelassen, die sich dem Amte eines yékamul aus eigenem Antrieb widmen

wollen, die dazu Befähigung und Anlage zeigen und die von ihrem Verwandten eingeführt werden. Mancher Bursche steht unter Zwang, wenn ein *yékamal* in seinen Träumen erfahren hat, jener sei zu diesem Amte unmittelbar von den Geistern berufen worden. Somit ist das *lájma-yékamal* eine Zusammenkunft für Auserlesene. Selbstverständlich würde solchen Personen kein Daueraufenthalt gewährt, die dort, ohne irgendwelche Dienstleistungen, nur ihre Neugierde zu befriedigen wünschen. Bei den sogenannten *ulwáglóyamal* (gebildet aus *ulwágla yékamal*) muß der ernstliche Wille vorhanden sein, das Handwerk der *yékamal* zu lernen, um selber es später auszuüben. Mancher Vater bringt seinen erwachsenen Sohn mit der Absicht, daß er in dieser Schule Lust bekomme, ein *yékamal* zu werden; aber unter ernstem Zwang von seiten der Verwandten und Freunde wird niemand gestellt.

Allerdings darf sich die Gattin eines Medizinmannes täglich auf mehrere Stunden einfinden; in dieser Zeit begleitet sie ihn bei den üblichen Gesängen, wie sie das auch außerhalb der Großen Hütte oft zu tun pflegt. Zur Nachtruhe zieht sie sich wieder in das Lager zurück. Dorthin darf ihr der Mann nicht folgen; während der ganzen Veranstaltung, die wenige Monate andauert, muß der eheliche Verkehr und das gemeinschaftliche Schlafen unterbrochen. Einige Männer mittleren Alters werden von dem maßgebenden *yékamal* gebeten, sich ganz oder für gewisse Zeit im *lájma*-Hause niederzulassen. Ihnen werden die notwendigen Arbeiten und Dienstleistungen übertragen, auf daß die *yékamal* und alle Lehrlinge ungestört sich selber überlassen bleiben und nicht die mindeste Ablenkung durch Handarbeiten erfahren. Jene Männer also, die eigentlich Helfer sind, bedienen das Hüttenfeuer; sie sorgen auch für den Unterhalt, mag dieser noch so knapp sein, und achten sehr scharf darauf, daß jedwede Störung vom *lájma tarakkə-* ferngehalten werde. Allein vom Leiter sind jene Helfer abhängig, obwohl sie auch den übrigen Teilnehmern auf jede Weise behilflich sind. Mehr als fünfzehn Personen sind es zumindest, die zu einem *lájma-yékamal* sich vereinigen. Außerdem finden sich für diesen und jenen Abend mehrere Männer mit Erlaubnis des Leiters ein; sie wollen sich von den Fortschritten der Lehrlinge überzeugen und verfolgen in gewissen Zeitabständen den Verlauf der Veranstaltung mit eigenen Augen. Doch müssen diese Besucher sich gänzlich ruhig verhalten, sie dürfen weder plaudern noch irgendwie stören; regungslos sitzen sie nahe dem Eingang und betrachten unauffällig das, was sich ihren Blicken bietet.

Schließlich kommen als Teilnehmer noch die eine und andere Frau in Betracht, die als *yékamal* sich bereits in engen Grenzen betätigt haben; sie wollen sich im *lájma-yékamal* sozusagen fortbilden. Zu Beginn desselben muß der Leiter ihnen die Beteiligung zusichern. Gerade am Verhalten der drei Frauen, die am 19. März 1923 zum ersten Male das *lájma*-Haus betraten, konnte ich die Ehrfurcht und Scheu ermessen, die jedwede Person vor demselben empfindet. Es gilt als ein besonders gefürchteter Ort. Zuerst verharrten sie in ihrer Wohnung zwei bis drei Stunden in ernster Sammlung, dann traten sie heraus und wandten sich dem *lájma*-Hause zu. Jede neigte

den Kopf tief nach unten und hielt ihre Augen mehr geschlossen als geöffnet. Mit betonter Zaghaftigkeit schob sie den einen Fuß so langsam vor den anderen, als würde sie den Erdboden befühlen; etwa 150 cm glitt sie vorwärts und etwa 80 cm wieder zurück. Einige Minuten verharrte sie regungslos, dann bewegte sie sich aufs neue. Von Zeit zu Zeit hob sie zaghaft den Kopf und richtete ihre angsterfüllten Augen auf das *lájma*-Haus. Scheu und zitternd wandte sie ihre Blicke schnell wieder ab, als hätte sie etwas Schreckliches wahrgenommen. Ganze fünfviertel Stunden benötigte jede Frau, bis sie endlich den Eingang der *lájma*-Hütte erreicht hatte. Hier mußte sie einige Minuten warten, von drinnen rief der Leiter sie an und hieß sie eintreten. Gebeugtest kam sie sehr langsam herein und ließ sich an der für angewiesenen Stelle nieder. Jedermann, der dem *lájma*-Hause nahekommt, fühlt, daß er wehrlos der Gewalt vieler Geister anheim fällt, die auch eine geringe Unkreuzhörigkeit schwer strafen. Behend und ganz verschüchtert begeben sich selbstverständlich auch die *alaqálgamal* zur Versammlungshütte. Bei anderen Frauen, die sowieso für das *yékamal*-Handwerk keiner Lust verspüren, obsiegt die Neugierde nicht über die Furcht vor den Geistern; sie meiden entschieden jene Große Hütte. „Wer sich ihr ohne ernste Sammlung und tiefe Ehrfurcht nähert, verfällt schwerer Bestrafung von seiten der Geister!"; so wurde mir allen Ernstes mehrmals versichert.

Als günstigste Zeit für ein *lájma-yékamal* bezeichnen unsere Yamana die stillen, zur Selbstbesinnung mahnenden Wintermonate. Dann ist die allgemeine Freude am Reisen sowieso gemindert, dann fühlt sich jede Familie am wohlsten, wenn sie möglichst lange auf der gleichen Stelle verharren kann. Die äußere Ruhe, die in der Natur herrscht, wirkt günstig auf die seelische Verfassung der *yékamal*; eben diesem Umstande tragen sie Rechnung. Einige Monate dauert diese Veranstaltung. Sie zieht sich unter Umständen in die Länge, falls die Lehrlinge, nach dem Urteil der Meister, nur langsam Fortschritte machen. Merkwürdig ist es, angesichts der unruhigen Veranlagung unserer Yamana, daß die Medizinmänner für ihr Ziel einige Monate selbst zu hirten vermögen, obwohl sie Tag für Tag zu einer ganz gleichförmigen Haltung und strengen Zusammenfassung ihrer Geisterkräfte gezwungen sind.

β. Der Verlauf

Alle vollberechtigten Teilnehmer, die wirklich tätigen *yékamal* und die Lehrlinge, müssen ohne Unterbrechung im *lájma*-Hause aushalten. Auch nicht in der Absicht dürfen sie es verlassen, in der eigenen Familienhütte eine längere Arbeit durchführen oder dort sich dem nächtlichen Schlafe zu widmen. Jedwede Ablenkung unterbleibt während der ganzen Zeit, die Tagesordnung selber dient einer ernsten Sammlung des Geistes. Die Teilnehmer verharren ununterbrochen auf ihrem Platze. Sowie sich gegen vier Uhr das Abenddunkel, beginnt das gemeinschaftliche Singen; es wird ohne Pause so lange weitergeführt, bis die beiden *Ypálay* ihren höchsten Stand am Himmel

überwachtem Lebens", das ist 2 bis 3 Uhr. Jetzt weckt sich jeder der Nachtruhe überlassen. Zeigt sich das erste Morgengrauen, schüttelt alle den Schlaf wieder ab und rufen ihre Gedanken zusammen. Regungslos kauern sie nun, bis die Sonne ihren Mittagsstand hinter sich hat. Jetzt beginnen an manchem Tage für die abergläubisch einige Divertissements, die sie stillschweigend verrichten. Man will ihnen die naturnotwendige Körperbewegung verschaffen, obwohl Schlaf ihnen auch mehr nutzt. Sie ordnen das Hütteneisen und Schlafinger oder sammeln Brennholz im Walde und bauen es vor der Großen Hütte auf, einige begeben sich, geführt von Frauen, zu den Strand hinunter und suchen nach Muscheln. Für derjenigen Beschäftigungen werden etwa drei Stunden freigegeben. Danach setzt sich jeder wieder regungslos auf seinen Platz und überläßt sich seinen Träumereien. Diese Ordnung läuft einen Tag wie den andern in gleicher Weise ab, immer mit größter Ruhe und strenger Schweigsamkeit.

Bei manchen Gelegenheiten, die bekannt sind, verzichten unsere Yamana grundsätzlich auf volle Sättigung. Im Jäger-Hause begnügen sie sich mit einer möglichst geringen Menge von Nahrung. Während dieser Veranstaltung beurteilt man die Muscheln als die am meisten geeignete Speise dafür, daß die Alten und Lebhaften sicher ihr Ziel erreichen. Nahrung nimmt jeder nur einmal am Tage zu sich und zwar bald nach dem Aufstehen. Die abergläubischen erhalten höchstens drei Muscheln, alle anderen Teilnehmer begnügen sich selber die gleiche Einschränkung auf und manchen bleibt sozusagen den ganzen Tag vollständig nüchtern. Im Einzelfalle erhält man einen Schüler, statt der Muscheln einen Fisch zu essen; er gönnt aber nur die hintere Hälfte 'und verzichtet die vordere samt Kopf im Feuer. Auf jeden Bissen, den der Lehrling zum Munde führt, streut man ein wenig zerquäpfen-Pulver.[**] Alles Essen wird in der Großen Hütte selbst gekocht, die Überreste verzehrt man täglich im Feuer. Macht der Schüler erkenntnisse Fortschritte, werden die drei Muscheln für den Tag erst auf zwei, später sogar auf einen herabgesetzt, und zwar bis zum Abschluß der Veranstaltung. Um geschickt, damit er sich unaufhaltsam und schnell vervollkommnet. Mehrmals täglich reicht man dem Wasser, das er in begrenzter Menge verzehrte den bekannten Sudaden, ein dünner Bäckerknochen (S. 618), aus einer geübten Mythen-Schule schlürft, ein zähnend reicht sie dem. Jeder Teilnehmer weiß es und den Lehrlingen wird es vom Leiter wiederholt: Je Geringer das Maß von Speise und Trank ist, mit dem einer auskommt, um so schneller stellen sich Träume ein, um so lebhafter wird der Verkehr mit den Geistern, um so geeigneter macht sich jeder älterer zähnend für seine Leistungen. Sollte ein abergläubischer, dem quälenden Hunger nachgebend, heimlich etwas genießen, etwa dann, wenn er im Walde Holz sammelt, gelten, wie es heißt, die zyklisch dieses Vergehen den zähnend bekannt. Einer von diesen sieht daraufhin jenen Sterbenden nur Rede: „Wir wissen es, du hast heimlich außerhalb dieser Jäger-Hütte ge-

[**] Niemand konnte mir den Grund für diese merkwürdigen Verhältnisse nennen.

gemacht." Eine Bemerkung folgt aber nicht, jener Ehemann hat gewissermaßen eingewilligt und nimmt den Vorwurf ohne Widerrede hin, er hat keinen Ehrenmann.

Für die eigentlichen Tätowierer, die yibomwal wird die abwägbgemäß, ist eine Bemalung vorgeschrieben, diese sind während der ganzen Zeit, da sie sich in der Hütte aufhalten, vollständig nackt. Zur Bemalung schabe jeder mit seinem Schneidezahn feinen Pulver von einem Kalkspat, Kalk oder Ton ab und vermischt es, durch Kauberwegungen, mit Speichel. Diese Mischung spuckt er auf seine Farben Hände und verreibt sie auf dem ganzen Körper. Bevor sie eingetrocknet ist, hilft ihm sie anderen Mann weiter. Dieser kratzt mit den Nägeln seiner ausgestreckten Fingerspitzen von der Stirn bis zu den Knöcheln, also über den ganzen Körper, von oben nach unten, und reibt Bahnen in die aufgetragenen Farben, diese erweckten spätere den Eindruck von dunklen, eingeritzten Stellen. Manchen Mann begnügt sich damit, nur mit einem Finger mehrere Bahnen einzukratzen, An manchem Tage greift der Verreiber auch zum Ini-Pulver. Das ist eine Aufforderung an alle Teilnehmer, sich ebenfalls nur zu ziehen und auf dieser Grundbemalung die weiten Linien anzubringen. In den Kopfhaar reibt manchen nur trockenen weißen, lose, reinen Pulver ein, die meisten schmieren sich auf den Kopf eine reichliche Menge von der lockigen Masse zu temperieren. Um die Schläfen windet sich jeder dem Federschmuck, der allein den yibomwal vorbehalten ist, das sprießen, nicht etwa den Hauptzeichen mit Dammbrücken, das bequeß (S. [illegible]). Diese Körperbemalung erscheint jedermann sündlich, gewissermaßen gewichtig, das ein Nachmittag und zwei gewissermaßen. Jener Frauen, die als Helfer oder Zuschauer sich in der Großen Hütte aufhalten, und alle yibomwal-Frauen nehmen sich Gestalt und Gleichtinger weiß machen, unbemalt von jedem Mannwinkel bis zum Gleichtigenhaus einem Gegenstücken reinen Gleich sichern. Diese Bemalung darf einmal im Mjam-Haus sein.

Jedem eigentlichen Teilnehmer wird schon am Beginn der Feier ein bestimmter Sitoplato angewiesen. Dieses gewisse man sinken und Sehr mit einem kurzen Kalbgeil ab. Jedermann hält die Beine nach vorn ausgestreckt; der mehrmalige Gleichtinger sticht so nahe an den Hängeapparat heran, daß der Hinterkopf anstößt. In den Farben wird ein kurzes, dickes Stück von weichem, schwammartigem Holze gelegt, Schlafbäne genannt, als wäre es ein Nackenkissen; der Hals paßt so gegen die Hinterwand und so hält er sich in dieser Lage. Wie unbeholfen, auch jedermann steif und ungegelenk dieses Sitzen. Die Arme fallen locker an beiden Körperseiten hinunter. Auf die Dauer erzeugt diese Haltung über alle Maßen an und wird zu einer unerträglichen Qual. Es ist jedoch unerlaubt, daß jemand seine Füße an den Rumpf zu einer Kniebeugung anzieht, ausnahmsweise darf er auch mit ausgestreckten Beinen einige Zeit dasitzen; dabei hält er die Arme vor der Brust verschränkt. Unbeschreiblich anstrengend ist der Eindruck, den die Rumbi jener eigenartigen, vollkommenen Gestalten auf mich gemacht hat.

Mokomoko ist schon angedeutet worden, daß den Teilnehmern der sitzlichen Schlaf knapp bemessen wird, und zwar fällt er in die vier bis fünf

[illegible] von Gehirnen den Tagen. Aber Beweis empfindlich so, und die richtigen [illegible] [illegible] sich dennoch, in der ohne besonderen [illegible] Haltung zu erhalten. Manche sieben die Reise [illegible] so und [illegible] sie wenig [illegible], daß der gewaltige Riesen an die Hirnnerven [illegible] und der Neuen auch weiter auch den Beobachtern trägt. Wer den [illegible] [illegible] kann, der darf sich auch auf eine Reise legen und die Reise [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] er [illegible] [illegible] Reise [illegible] [illegible]. In [illegible] Hinsicht, von [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ihrem geistigen Schauen und verständigen sich gegenseitig in kurzen Worten, die für alle Schüler verständlich sind. Keinesfalls handelt es sich um ein mechanisches Zerstören der wirklichen Gesichtshaut; vielmehr glauben autosuggestiv auch die *ušwǫǫlèxamuš* an jene vermeintlichen Veränderungen, die jene alten Lehrmeister mit vernehmbarer Stimme besprechen. Man sagt dann weiter, daß jene außerordentliche Empfindlichkeit der Gesichtshaut zwar allmählich schwinde, doch behalte sie ihre sehr zarte Art. Im Anschluß an die Umgestaltung der Gesichtshaut bildet sich auch die übrige Haut und der ganze Körper zu jenem Scheinleibe um, den man allen *yékamuš* zuspricht.

Im Verlauf des *lóima-yékamuš* führen die alten Meister wiederholt zwei Arten von Bewegungen aus, für die sie viel Vorliebe zeigen. Mit ihren beiden hohlen Händen fahren sie über das Hüttenfeuer hinweg und fangen sozusagen eine Handvoll Wärme auf, die sie über dem Kopfe eines Lehrlings gleichsam ausschütten; zumindest dreimal hintereinander tun sie das. Auch fangen sie Wärme über dem Hüttenfeuer mit nur einer hohlen Hand auf, bei gestrecktem Arme, und führen diesen derart weiter, daß ihre hohle Hand sich auf den Mund eines Lehrlings legt; ihm schütten die förmlich die Wärme hinein. Diese beiden Bewegungsweisen, so heißt es, entfernen eine Art von undurchdringlicher Nebelwand vor den Augen des *ušwǫǫlèxamuš*, von nun an kann er unbehindert die Geister sehen bzw. sein Singen wird durch nichts mehr gehemmt.

Bekanntlich führen die *yékamuš* jedwede ihrer beruflichen Handlungen im Traume aus, wie man sich allgemein ausdrückt. Gemeint ist eine starke Einbildung oder Autosuggestion, eine lebhafte Phantasietätigkeit und rege Vorstellungskraft. Man behauptet, der *yékamuš* verliert seine Eigenpersönlichkeit und an deren Stelle tritt sein Geist, nämlich der ihm eigene *kètpiš* bzw. *yeſáčel-xégla;* dieser eigentlich führt das aus, was der *yékamuš* anstrebt oder wünscht. Die engste Verbindung mit seinem *yeſáčel* erhält der *yékamuš* "im Traume". Eben deshalb ist es für ihn von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung, imstande zu sein, schnell und mühelos sich in den Traumzustand zu versetzen. Diese Kunst vor allem soll jeder Lehrling sich im *lóima-yékamuš* aneignen. Er beobachtet die anwesenden erfahrenen Meister, denen es gelingt, nach kurzem Singen ganz geistesabwesend dasusitzen; dadurch bekunden sie, ihre Eigenpersönlichkeit habe sich verloren. Entweder sinken sie in sich zusammen und verharren regungslos wie im Schlafe, oder sie bewegen gemächlich ihren Oberkörper, leise singend, hin und her, während die halbgeöffneten matten Augen wie glasern sich auf einen bestimmten Punkt heften. Alles das ahmt der *ušwǫǫlèxamuš* nach; die Alten beobachten ihn, erteilen jedoch keine bestimmte Anweisung. Er selber spricht sich ebensowenig darüber aus, ob seine Einbildungskraft sich gesteigert hat und seine Phantasie lebhaft arbeitet. Von seiner Gewandtheit erfahren die gewöhnlichen Leute erst später, nachdem jeder *ušwǫǫlèxamuš* selbständig zu wirken begonnen hat.

In der Gewalt eines jeden *yékamuš* liegt es, seinen eigenen Schutzgeist und beliebige andere Geister durch Singen herbeizurufen. Anläßlich des *aiškáku* übermittelt das *yeſáčel-xégla* jenem Manne, dem es sich zugesellt,

seinen Gesang. Hat jener Auserwählte diesen Gesang in sich aufgenommen und sich zu eigen gemacht, besitzt er damit den Schlüssel zum Eintritt in das Reich der Geister; denn auf diesen Gesang hört vor allem der persönliche Schutzgeist und stellt sich früher oder später seinem Schützling zur Verfügung. Die Yamana behaupten nun, nicht der *yékamuš* singe wirklich, sondern sein *yeſáčel*. Genauer besagt diese Wendung: Der *yékamuš* beginnt mit dem vom *yeſáčel* übermittelten Gesang, aber binnen kurzem übernimmt das *yeſáčel* den Gesang und führt ihn lange weiter; schließlich zieht sich das *yeſáčel* aus dem Traumbilde seines *yékamuš* zurück und dieser erwacht. Bei diesen Gesängen handelt es sich um sehr einfache Melodien auf einem einzigen Tone und um solche, in denen zu Beginn oder am Schluß eine Terz oder Quart eingefügt wird; dabei wiederholen sich die Silben *háiyang háiyang hô* oder auch *hôh yô yô*, endlich *hainán wagán harán* und ihnen naheliegende Lautschwankungen. Ein *ušwóglexamuš* kennt längst diese Melodien aus seiner Jugendzeit. Hier im *lôima-yékamuš* fängt er, unter lebhafter Phantasietätigkeit, eine bestimmte Melodie auf und klammert sich an sie fest; ihn belebt der Glaube, sie von seinem *yeſáčel-xéqla* erhalten zu haben. Daraus erklärt sich ihre suggestive Wirkung auf das eigene Ich, so oft ein *yékamuš* sie wiederholt. Hier im *lôima-yékamuš* muß der Prüfling lernen, mit kurzem Singen sich in das Traumreich zu versetzen, in dem die Geister zu seiner Verfügung stehen. Außerhalb der *lôima*-Hütte zu singen ist nicht statthaft; denn dadurch würde das *yeſáčel* herausgelockt. Sollte aber doch ein *yeſáčel* dem Lehrling, der in den Wald gegangen ist und dort Holz sammelt, gefolgt sein und ihn zum Singen anregen, dann allerdings muß der Lehrling den Gesang aufgreifen und seine Begleiter müssen ihn dabei mit leiser Stimme unterstützen. Die fertigen *yékamuš* werden regelmäßig im Traume zum Singen angeregt und sie führen es, nachdem sie erwacht sind, selbstverständlich so lange weiter, als die Anregung anhält, d. h. ihr *yeſáčel* bei ihnen ist, ausnahmsweise sogar über die Mittagstunde hinaus.

Die Lehrlinge bleiben in der Medizinmannschule fast ganz und gar auf die eigene Beobachtung und Selbsttätigkeit angewiesen; sie schauen den alten Meistern alles und jedes ab, ahmen es nach bestem Können nach und machen es sich zu eigen. Ausführliche Belehrungen gibt es im *lôima-yékamuš* nicht. Die Autosuggestion läßt es einen jeden Prüfling fühlen, wie weit sein Wünschen bei ihm schon Wirklichkeit geworden ist. Ihrerseits erkennen die alten Meister im geistigen Schauen das, was der Lehrling erreicht hat und was von ihm noch zu erwarten ist. Hierüber sprechen sie sich nicht etwa mit bestimmten Worten aus, vielmehr verständigen sie sich untereinander in jenem Traumreiche, in dem sie jedwede Wirksamkeit ausüben.

Die bisherige Beschreibung hat nur die Lehrlinge des *lôima*-Hauses berücksichtigt. Über das Verhalten der alten Meister ließen sich viele Einzelheiten anführen; doch dürfte es genügen, einige Grundzüge zu zeichnen. Wenn ich soeben versichert habe, daß alles Beobachten und Wirken der *yékamuš* sich in ihrem geistigen Schauen vollzieht, so bleibt trotzdem bestehen,

daß sie in den späten Abendstunden mit sehr reger Tätigkeit manches aus ihren Halluzinationen mit deutlichen Worten aussprechen. Sie schildern vor allem das Auftreten ihres eigenen *yeſáčel*, sein Verhalten im *lôjma*-Hause und seinen Abschied; auch den Flug ihres eigenen *kêipix* in das Reich der Geister und sein Zusammensein mit ihnen. Das alles wickelt sich u. a. in folgender Weise ab. Während des gemeinschaftlichen Singens verstärkt ein Mann in kurzer Frist ansteigend seine Stimme, sein ganzer Körper gerät ins Zittern, seine Augen heften sich starr auf einen bestimmten Punkt und in der gleichen Richtung rutscht er ein wenig auf das Hüttenfeuer zu. Plötzlich ruft er — ich wiederhole Worte des Maženikens —: „Mein *yeſáčel* ist schon ganz nahe!" Er erhebt sich, geht mit tief gebücktem Oberkörper rund um das Feuer, rührt diesen und jenen Mann an und fragt ihn: „Wer bist du?" Ein jeder antwortet „*Karendáylum mûtu*, ich stamme aus dieser Gegend hier!" Nachdem Maženikens sich auf seinem Platze niedergelassen hat, spricht er weiter: „Ich sehe, wie mein *yeſáčel* und andere *yeſáčel* nach *Anjawája* gehen; dort holen sie einige *yeſáčel* ab. Sie bereiten viele Dinge vor! Seid auf der Hut und achtet auf alles, was sie tun werden!" Nach kurzem Singen und Heulen sagt Maženikens: „Jeder muß sich immer wieder malen!" Er greift nach *čilēr*[1] und *tumǫrápu*, damit reibt er sich die Wangen. Währenddessen strecken einige *yékamuž* ihre beiden hohlen Hände nach der vom Hüttenfeuer aufsteigenden Wärme aus, schöpfen sie sozusagen und schütten sie über den eigenen Körper. Dann schreit Maženikens, am ganzen Leibe heftig zitternd: „Mein *yeſáčel* ist schon da, eben tritt es in dieses *lôjma*-Haus ein!" Dabei rutscht er an das Hüttenfeuer heran, die *yeſáčel* nämlich lieben die Wärme. Maženikens ruft: „Mein *yeſáčel* ist jetzt bei mir! Seid ihr alle mutig und stark genug, um laut mitzusingen? Viele *yeſáčel* drängen sich in unsere *lôjma*-Hütte herein!" Jetzt beginnt ein lautes Heulen und angsterfülltes Schreien, sämtliche Anwesenden zittern erregt, als wären sie von Sinnen, jeder erhebt seine Augen und starrt wie geistesabwesend ins Weite. Thomas brüllt dazwischen: „Ich singe aus allen Kräften! Mein *yeſáčel* ist auch schon hier und lauscht meinem Gesange!" Whaits sagt laut: „Ich kann nicht verstehen, welche Worte die *yeſáčel* miteinander wechseln. Sehr viele sind hier im *lôjma*-Hause. Wir alle müssen kräftig singen!" Plötzlich schlägt Emilia mit beiden Armen wie eine Wahnsinnige um sich. Maženikens erklärt dies mit folgenden Worten: „Emilia hat soeben ein *yeſáčel* gepackt und ins Feuer gestoßen. Das aber entwischte schnell!" Der Gesang geht erregter weiter. Maženikens schreit: „Ich sehe, die *yeſáčel* sind sehr erzürnt! Mit ihren Schleudern werfen sie Steine gegen uns, weil Emilia ein *yeſáčel* ins Feuer gestoßen hat. Emilia hat dies getan, weil jenes *yeſáčel* nicht mitsingen wollte." Bald danach ergreift Emilia die Hand des Santiago und reibt mit ihrer Hand dessen Handteller, indem sie sagt: „Ich habe diesen *yékuž* hier, den jenes *yeſáčel* mit seiner Schleuder geworfen hatte, aufgefangen; er gehört jetzt dir [Santiago], ich gebe ihn dir!" Während alle Anwesenden weitersingen, fügt sie noch an: „Ich habe große Gewalt über die *Haučélla*. Mein erster

Mann war nämlich ein tüchtiger *yékamuš*, von ihm habe ich viel gelernt!" Der Gesang wird nach einiger Zeit etwas matter; deshalb ruft Emilia gänzgtigt: „Alle Leute hier scheinen sehr entmutigt zu sein! Sie strengen sich gar nicht mehr an und sind wie tot. Helft mir doch beim Singen, das mein *yeféčel* sehr liebt. Aus weiter Ferne kam es, aus *kīgstgí-tulkru* [auf den Inseln Wollaston]. Sind alle *ulwǥlétumuš* anwesend?" Ein vielstimmiges Ja ertönt. Emilia führt fort, während ihre Augen ins Weite starren: „Andere *yeféčel* sehe ich dort auf dem Kap Hoorn. Einige gleiten fortwährend auf dem glatten Eise aus. Aber die anderen kommen mit Windeseile herbei. Schon stehen sie hier. Ich muß mich vor ihnen auf den Boden setzen!" Ein wenig später hockt sich Emilia vor mich hin, ihre flachen Hände läßt sie erregt an meinem Körper entlang gleiten, vom Scheitel bis zu den Knien, dann preßt sie ihre Hände stark gegen meine Brust und sagt mir schließlich ins Gesicht: „Dir gebe ich hiermit dein eigenes *yeféčel*. Aus dem äußersten Süden mit dem vielen Eise stammt es. Von jetzt an gehört es dir!" Thomas ruft laut: „Sehr freundlich benimmt sich dieses *yeféčel*!" Lautes Singen folgt und hält zehn Minuten an. Endlich verkündet Maizniekens: „Nun ziehen sich alle *yeféčel* wieder zurück. Das meinige ist traurig, weil es mich verlassen muß; aber das fordern eben die andern *yeféčel*. Schon sind sie draußen auf hoher See!" Schnell wird es wieder still in der *lóima*-Hütte, nur der eine und andere setzt mit matter Stimme sein Singen fort.

Ähnliche Auftritte wechseln einen Abend um den andern ab und alle Anwesenden beteiligen sich daran. Die Worte und Gebärden sind Ausdruck der ungeordneten Phantasietätigkeit eines jeden Sprechers, dem es jeweils freisteht, sein Fühlen in Worte zu kleiden. Dann und wann tragen die *yékamuš* auch ihre bekannten Kraftproben aus, nämlich den einen und anderen Wettstreit, zu dem gewöhnlich zwei Gegner im geistigen Schauen zusammentreten. Die übrigen *yékamuš* verfolgen genau deren Kampf und teilen den Anwesenden mit, was sie beobachten. Enttäuschung und Mißvergnügen bei jenen, deren *yékamuš* unterlegen ist, Freude und Genugtuung bei jenen, deren *yékamuš* gesiegt hat, sind die selbstverständliche Folge derartiger Kraftproben. Die alten Meister erfreuen sich reichlich daran; denn das *lóima-yékamuš* ist die beste Gelegenheit, ihr Können vor andern zu beweisen. Jene Kraftproben werden wieder abgelöst von lautem Singen und den Zwischenrufen der Anwesenden. Auf ein Zeichen des Vorstehers bricht Gesang und Rufen plötzlich und scharf ab. Sofort beugen sich alle tief nach unten und drücken ihre beiden flachen Hände stark gegen den Erdboden, als würden sie ihn pressen; damit wollen sie die vielen Geister hier in der Hütte oder in nächster Nähe zurückhalten. Nachher nimmt jeder wieder die starre Haltung ein und verharrt schweigsam auf seinem Sitzplatze. Wenn jemand die *lóima*-Hütte verläßt, ergreifen die Anwesenden seinen *kēlpiš*, damit dieser zurückbleibe und auch weiterhin alle beim Singen begleite.

Mehrmals schon sind die *Haučéllakīpa* genannt worden. Diese Geister gelten als die Beherrscher des *lóima-yékamuš*. Es gibt viele *Haučélla*, männ-

lichen und weiblichen Geschlechtes, die eine schlimme Gesellschaft bilden. Jeder *yékamuš* besitzt seine *Hayčéllakīpa*, ebenso wie er auch sein eigenes *yeſáčel* hat. Wenn es heißt, *Hayčéllakīpa* ist Herrin und Beherrscherin des *lōima-yékamuš*, will man damit zum Ausdruck bringen, daß die Geister dieser Art dort drinnen sich häufig bemerkbar machen, ihre Streitigkeiten unter sich mit gesteigerter Wut austragen und sämtliche Männer ihren ganzen Ingrimm fühlen lassen. Täglich finden sie sich in der Großen Hütte ein; mehrere *Hayčélla* vereinigen sich sogar und bedrohen die Runde der Männer mit dem Tode. Die *yékamuš* beobachten in ihrem geistigen Schauen alle Einzelheiten. Daher die ständige Angst und Wachsamkeit der *yékamuš* gegenüber den *Hayčélla*. Eine jede von ihnen ist zwar im Alltag ihrem eigenen *yékamuš* dienstbar, aber hier in der Großen Hütte benimmt sie sich zuweilen wie eine gewalttätige Feindin. Niemand ist hier vor ihren Übergriffen sicher, sie tobt ihre ganze Wut aus und hält alle Männer in Schrecken. Eben das wollen die Leute ausdrücken, wenn sie die *Hayčéllakīpa* als Beherrscherin des *lōima-yékamuš* hinstellen. Die höchste Erregung und bedrohlichste Haltung dieser Geister ist dann erreicht, wenn sie alle Anwesenden zwingen, das *hętę, hętę, hętetetętę*, mit scharfem Rhythmus auf gleicher Tonhöhe schnell zu wiederholen. Man nennt es: Gesang der *Hayčéllakīpa*. Dabei erheben sich die Männer zur Gegenwehr, sie ringen diese Geister entweder nieder oder unterliegen deren Übermacht.

Eines Abends, während des üblichen Singens, erregte sich Emilia über alle Maßen. Sie schreit: „Eine *Hayčéllakīpa* hat sich des Maižnikens bemächtigt! Ich werde sie unverzüglich umbringen!" Maižnikens muß sich vor ihr auf die Erde hocken. Sie singt und mit dem Zeigefinger kratzt sie einen Strich in den Erdboden rund um ihn. Dann brüllt sie laut, ballt beide Fäuste, trommelt damit gegen den Erdboden, heult entsetzlich, knirscht mit den Zähnen, legt den Mund an die Erde und beißt wütend hinein. Während die andern Leute ängstlich weitersingen, setzt sich Emilia auf, und macht mit der gestreckten Hand einige hastige Bewegungen, als würde sie irgendein großes Stück auf der Erde zerschneiden und die Stücke nach allen Richtungen verteilen. Über jener Stelle am Boden häufelt sie Sand zusammen. Dann schlingt Emilia wiederholt ganz fest ihre Arme um Maižnikens, von der Schulterhöhe bis zu den Knien hinunter, als müßte sie ihn zusammenraffen; laut heult sie währenddessen. Der ganze Auftritt besagt: Emilia hat die *Hayčéllakīpa*, in deren Gewalt sich Maižnikens befand, umgebracht und diesen befreit. Nun meldet sich die Eifersucht der Frau des Maižnikens, welche ruft: „Schon seit geraumer Zeit habe ich gemerkt, daß mein Mann im Banne jenes Weibes steht!" Emilia fällt ihr ins Wort: „Mit einer *Hayčéllakīpa* darf man kein Erbarmen haben! Eilig muß man sie umbringen, sie ist immer höchst gefährlich! Ein Mann, an den die *Hayčéllakīpa* sich hängt, lebt nicht mehr lange, er geht an ihr schnell zugrunde!" Wütend schlägt sie mit beiden Fäusten in der Luft umher und schreit: „Jetzt sehe ich, mein *yeſáčel* regt sich darüber auf, daß ich jene *Hayčéllakīpa* umgebracht habe;

es kommt zurück, um seinen hellen Zorn an uns allen auszutoben. Ich werde ihm offen sagen, daß ich allein die Mörderin bin; daraufhin wird es euch unbehelligt lassen!" Während sie weitersingt, macht sie Bewegungen, als würde sie Steine mit der Schleuder gegen jenen Geist werfen. Schließlich ruft sie freudig erregt: „Ich sehe, mein *yefáčel* zieht sich wieder zurück!" Bei diesen Worten atmet MAŠEMIKENS erleichtert auf und bekennt: „Seit langem war ich ganz mutlos, ich war völlig entkräftet, ich fühlte mich sehr bedrückt. Nun bin ich wieder frei!" Der ganze Kreis der Teilnehmer beruhigt sich daraufhin. Szenen, wie diese, wiederholen sich fast täglich. Bisweilen vereinigen die Männer ihre Kräfte und gehen gemeinsam gegen *Haučélla* vor (S. 1411). Die Frauen im Lager geraten in Angst, so oft sie aus dem Gebrüll der Männer darauf schließen, daß diese wieder mit *Haučélla* ringen müssen.

γ. *Der Abschluß*

Aus der vorausgegangenen Darstellung ersieht man gut, welches Ziel das *lóima-yékamuš* anstrebt: Eine volle Entfaltung der Vorstellungskraft und Autosuggestion, Belebung und Bereicherung der Phantasie, Steigerung der schnellen Verquickung äußerer Erscheinungen und alltäglicher Vorkommnisse mit den eigenen Phantasiegebilden. Ein *yékamuš* muß imstande sein, vermittels seines Gesanges sich schnell in einen Traumzustand versetzen zu können, auf daß er die Traumgestalten und Phantasiebilder als wirklich lebende Persönlichkeiten empfinde, mit ihnen umgehe und verhandle, ihnen Widerstand leiste und Aufträge erteile, als ob sie Menschen seien. Wie weit es ein *uxuɣaléxamuš* in dieser Fertigkeit bringt, läßt sich eindeutig nicht bestimmen; er bleibt mit alledem auf seine Einbildung angewiesen. Was die alten Meister hierüber aussagen, gilt nicht als sachliches Werturteil. Zu einem besonderen Verfahren entschließen sie sich bei einem Prüfling, der nur sehr langsam Fortschritte macht. MAŠEMIKENS hat es an sich selber erfahren und mir beschrieben. Ein tüchtiger *yékamuš* stellt jenen erfolgarmen Lehrling vor sich auf und sagt ihm: „Ich werde versuchen, dich zu erwürgen!" Er ergreift eine feste Lederleine, legt sie ihm um den Hals und sagt: „Jetzt gib acht!" Der *yékamuš* würgt den Lehrling mit aller Kraft, bis dieser umfällt; wiederholt ruft er ihm zu: „Bedenke, dieses *lóima*-Haus ist ein Ort der *Haučélla!*" Bald sieht nun der Lehrling viele *Haučélla*, die rund um das Feuer sitzen und sich wärmen. Dann geht des Lehrlings *kéšpiš* auf diese Geister zu; doch es wird ihm in deren Gesellschaft unheimlich und angsterfüllt zieht er sich wieder zurück. Der *yékamuš* nimmt jetzt jene Lederleine vom Halse des Lehrlings herunter. Seitdem hat dieser keine Mühe mehr, sich schnell in den Kreis der *kéšpiš* zu versetzen; MAŠEMIKENS versicherte dies aus eigener Erfahrung. Selbstverständlich würgt ein *yékamuš* den Lehrling nicht handgreiflich; vielmehr vollzieht sich auch dieses Verfahren im geistigen Schauen und der *yékamuš* schildert es nur in vernehmbaren Worten.

Die alten Meister erstreben mit dem *lóima-yékamuš*, einigen Prüflingen

die hinreichende Fertigkeit in dem Amt, das sie vertreten, anzuerziehen. Demnach läßt sich die Dauer dieser Schulung von vornherein nicht bestimmen. Die meisten *yékamuš*, wenn auch nicht alle, bleiben so lange beieinander, bis sie die erwünschten Erfolge erreicht haben, d. i. während des ganzen Winters, vielleicht sogar fünf Monate. Das tägliche Einerlei zermürbt die *ušwóqlexamuš* und bringt ihre Nerven in den Zustand höchster Reizbarkeit. Auf diesem Boden entwickeln sich üppig jene Halluzinationen und Phantasiegebilde, die von der Autosuggestion gewünscht und von der nächsten Umgebung angestrebt werden. Jeder Lehrling schließt sich, nach Beendigung des *lóima-yékamuš*, jenem Manne an, der ihn währenddessen besonders betreut hat. Von ihm läßt er sich allein noch weiter unterrichten, bis er die Kunst des Medizinmannes selbständig auszuüben beginnt. Die übrigen *yékamuš* beobachten auch weiterhin genau einen jeden, der in der *lóima*-Hütte ausgebildet worden ist, und verfolgen sein Wirken; sie tauschen gegenseitig ihre Meinung darüber aus, ob von ihm besondere Leistungen zu erhoffen sind oder nicht.

Haben sich die Erwartungen der alten Meister erfüllt, besprechen sie mit dem Leiter den Abschluß. Bald hat man sich geeinigt, die bekannten Besucher werden verständigt und jedermann erneuert seine Köperbemalung mit besonderer Sorgfalt. Der förmliche Abschied vom *lóima*-Hause erfolgt durch einen *čōwánni*-Gesang, mit dem man die Geister der vielen Strand- und Seetiere aller Arten aufruft. Am letzten Abend also verstärken die Anwesenden zu gegebener Stunde ihr Singen, geraten in seelische Erregung und rufen zunächst die *kēšpiź* jener *yékamuš*, die in dieser Gegend hier gestorben sind, in das *lóima*-Haus herein. Jeder Teilnehmer glaubt nach kurzem Singen deren Anwesenheit zu fühlen und von da an wird der Gesang nur noch matt weitergeführt. Währenddessen besinnt sich jeder auf die *čōwánni*-Geister. Nach einiger Zeit wird das Singen wieder lauter und stärker. Gleichzeitig deutet jeder mit den Fingern seiner beiden Hände auf dem Erdboden laufende Bewegungen an. Damit will er zum Ausdruck bringen, daß sein *kēšpiź* mit dem der Pinguine den Strand hinunter bis zur Wasserlinie läuft; von hier aus tritt sein *kēšpiź* einen Flug weit über das Meer hinweg an, um aus der Ferne die *čōwánni*-Geister herbeizuholen. Sogleich folgen Bewegungen der Arme, als würden die hohlen Hände fortwährend Wasser von unten nach oben schaufeln. Das besagt, daß die *kēšpiź* der *llēāči* (Heringe) aus den Meerestiefen emporsteigen und sich sammeln. Ihnen gesellen sich die *kēšpiź* von Walen und Seelöwen, von Hochsee- und Strandvögeln bei. Maižmikens ruft: „Es bildet sich Schaum auf den Wellen, der ständig anwächst! Bald werden die *čōwánni*-Geister die Richtung auf unsere *lóima*-Hütte einschlagen!" Sofort reinigt Emilia ein wenig den Erdboden im Hüttencingang, „damit die Kanus der *kēšpiź* bequem einfahren können." Sie ruft dazwischen: „Jene *čōwánni* Geister besitzen viele Fahrzeuge!" Nun starrt sie hinaus in bestimmter Richtung und bewegt ihre Arme sehr lebhaft, „damit jene Geister eilig herankommen". Das Singen aller Teilnehmer wird erregter. Emilia ruft begeistert: „Die *čōwánni*-Geister sind schon ganz nahe!" Sie starrt vor sich auf den Boden

hin und schreit freudig erregt: „Hier, wo ich sitze, stehen jetzt alle Kanus! Sehr viele sind es. Wir müssen auf der Hut sein, sonst eilt dieses und jenes Kanu mit unseren *kélpiź* davon!" Sofort streut Black *lmi* über die vielen Fahrzeuge, d. h. auf den Platz vor Emilia, weil auch er im Geiste die vielen Kanus schaut. Ganz aufgeregt benimmt sich Emilia, sie starrt wie suchend auf den Boden und erklärt: „Diese *kélpiź* bringen viele Ruder mit, die Männer besitzen viele Harpunen. Ich werde jetzt einige von diesen Dingen verteilen!" Sie macht Bewegungen, als würde sie Ruder bzw. Harpunen ergreifen, und reibt die Hände aller Frauen und Männer, denen sie damit jene Dinge übermittelt. Alle Frauen machen nun Bewegungen, als würden sie rudern, und alle Männer machen Bewegungen, als würden sie eine Harpune abwerfen; dazwischen tönen schrille *hi hi hi*...-Rufe. Mit alledem wollen diese Leute den anwesenden *kélpiź* eine Freude bereiten. Mašemikens schreit wiederholt dazwischen: „Seid auf der Hut!" Der Gesang wird schwächer. Emilia schaut wie geistesabwesend im Kreise umher und sagt mit krächzender Stimme, als ginge ihr der Atem aus: „Mein eigener *kélpiź* sitzt jetzt in einem Kanu der *čōwánni*-Geister. Von diesen kenne ich gar manchen!" Noch einmal lebt das Singen auf, alle Leute beteiligen sich mit ganzer Kraft; immer ist es die einförmige Melodie auf gleicher Tonhöhe, ohne Zusammenklang der Beteiligten. Erst nach geraumer Zeit werden die Stimmen schwächer und Emilia sagt laut: „Nun werde ich alle Kanus wieder zurückschicken!" Die Leute rufen zustimmend: „Gut, sie mögen sich entfernen!" Während das schwache Singen weitergeht, erheben sich alle Anwesenden und beginnen damit, ihre Arme parallel immerfort nach vorwärts zu stoßen; dabei sind die Hände gestreckt und aufgerichtet. Diese Bewegungen begleiten sie mit lauten *kéketr*...-Rufen und wollen damit die *čōwánni*-Geister aus dem *lōima*-Hause in weite Ferne abdrängen. Dann trampeln sie kräftig den Erdboden mit beiden Füßen, damit die *Haučélla*-Geister tief ins Erdinnere hinuntersteigen. Der Gesang verklingt endlich. Mit matten Augen schaut der und jener noch ins Weite, als verfolge er das Hinscheiden der *čōwánni*-Geister.

Mit dem erregten, etwa eine Stunde anhaltenden *čōwánni*-Gesange haben alle Anwesenden endgültig Abschied genommen von den Geistern, die in der *lōima*-Hütte aufgetreten sind. Ein jeder ergreift seine Sachen und verläßt dieselbe ohne Förmlichkeit. In der Familienhütte beginnt nun für jedermann wieder das alltägliche Einerlei. Die große *lōima*-Hütte überläßt man ihrem Schicksal. Bald zerstreuen sich die Familien in alle Richtungen.

Nicht nur das *lōima-yékamuš*, das gesamte Medizinmannwesen überhaupt ist schon lange im Besitz der Yamana. Sie wissen nichts Bestimmtes über seine Herkunft, keine Mythe erzählt davon. Der alte Thomas hat mir die Überzeugung maßgebender Leute enthüllt: „Die *yékamuš*-Einrichtung ist schon sehr alt. In weit zurückliegender Zeit haben jene Leute, die *klna*-spielend als erste in dieses unser Gebiet eingewandert sind, auch die *yékamuš*-Einrichtung mitgebracht. Sie haben dieselbe erfunden, wie sie auch das *klna* erfunden haben. Als sich dann die allgemeine Umwälzung in *Yáiaašága* voll-

zogen hat und den Weibern das *kina* durch die Männer abgenommen worden ist, da haben sich die großen *yékamuš* der damaligen Zeit in Gestirne und Tiere umgewandelt, *Lëm* und *Akáinix*, *Ašóyla* (Pseudarea crassidens), *Yo-okalla* (Milvago chimango) und noch mancher tüchtige *yékamuš*. Die wenigen Männer *[yékamuš]* und Frauen, die bei jener Umwälzung nicht zugrunde gegangen sind, wurden die Lehrmeister aller folgenden *yékamuš*. Deren gab es zu allen Zeiten." Dieser Hinweis auf die Herkunft der *yékamuš*-Einrichtung aus dem Norden besagt gleichzeitig ihren Zusammenhang mit dem *kina*; schon in Gusinde (n): 972 ist das hervorgehoben worden. Hieraus erklärt sich die Bezeichnung *ŋóna-xéola*, die mit *yefáčel-xéola* gleichbedeutend ist. Mit *Watayinéiwa* wird *lóima-yékamuš* in gar keine Verbindung gebracht. Ich stellte die bestimmte Frage: „Wie verhält sich *Watayinéiwa*, wenn sich die *yékamuš* im *lóima*-Hause versammeln?" Darauf erwiderten meine Vertrauensmänner einstimmig und ohne Zaudern: „Er schaut nur zu und läßt sie gewähren!" Den erfahrenen Meistern bereitet ein *lóima-yékamuš* viel Genugtuung, erst recht dann, wenn sie einige junge Männer für ihr Amt gewinnen.

c. Betätigung des Medizinmannes

Wann immer ein *yékamuš* sich beruflich betätigen will, muß er sich in einen Zustand der Autosuggestion versetzen. Die Leute sagen, er wirkt "im Traume". Nun kann es sein, daß im Schlafe ein gewöhnliches Traumbild ihn lebhaft erregt und weckt. Er deutet es als das Erscheinen eines Geistes. Mit der so gewonnenen Vorstellung beschäftigt er sich im halbwachen Zustande noch weiter; damit er sie nicht verliere, singt er seine einförmige Melodie unter ruhigem Hin- und Herschwanken seines nach vorn geneigten Oberkörpers. Der Vorgang ist kurz so zu deuten, daß das eigene *yefáčel* oder ein anderer Geist mit dem *yékamuš* in Verbindung getreten ist; diese Verbindung dauert so lange an, als er das Singen weiterführt; währenddessen werden Mitteilungen gegenseitig ausgetauscht. Aber noch häufiger geht vom *yékamuš* selber der Wunsch nach einer Verbindung mit seinem *yefáčel* aus. Um dieses heranzuholen, setzt sich der *yékamuš* auf seine Schlafstätte, wehrt jedwede Zerstreuung ab, richtet seine Gedanken starr auf seinen Schutzgeist und singt ununterbrochen seine eigene Melodie, unter leichtem Wiegen des Oberkörpers.[339] Nach einiger Zeit wird das Singen plötzlich lebhafter: Das ist der Augenblick, in dem das *yefáčel* selber die Melodie übernimmt und weiterführt. Damit ist die persönliche Wirkungsweise des Medizinmannes ausgeschaltet und seitdem betätigt sich das *yefáčel*; es erkennt die Ziele und Absichten, die der *yékamuš* anstrebt, und bemüht sich seinerseits, dieselben

[339] Barges (e): 332 und (k): 237 hat schon berichtet: Sie „stimmten viele und lange Zaubergesänge an, wenn sinnloses und einförmiges Geräusch und andauerndes Hin- und Herwiegen des Körpers so genannt werden kann... Por medio de encantos, ayunos y mecimientos del cuerpo, procuraban inducir un estado de sobreexcitación; y llegados a esta condición, pretendían poseer poderes extraordinarios".

zu verwirklichen. Alles, was das *yeſáčel* durchführt, erfaßt der *yékamuł* in seinem eigenen Bewußtsein, *er* gibt sich Rechenschaft von der Gesinnung und Tätigkeit des *yeſáčel* und unterhandelt mit ihm. Verläßt es ihn wieder, verstummt das Singen und der *yékamuł* erwacht aus seiner Traumverlorenheit.

Mit diesen knappen Worten habe ich die Grundlinien des Zusammenwirkens des *yékamuł* mit seinem *yeſáčel* bzw. mit anderen Geistern gezeichnet. Der *yékamuł* mag vorhaben und erstreben, was auch immer, die ausführende Kraft ist sein *yeſáčel* bzw. ein anderer Geist. Die Leute drücken dieses Zusammenwirken in der Weise aus, daß sie sagen: „Der *kēipiź* des *yékamuł* tritt vor dem *yeſáčel* zurück; dieses ist seitdem so lange allein tätig, als das Singen andauert." Der *yékamuł*, der irgendetwas durchführen will, beginnt also damit, von sich aus durch Singen sein *yeſáčel* anzulocken. Vereinzelt bleibt es aus, obwohl der *yékamuł* sich länger als eine Stunde singend angestrengt hat; gegenüber dieser Erfolglosigkeit stellt er sein Singen ein und teilt seiner Umgebung unumwunden mit: „Mein *yeſáčel* läßt mich heute im Stiche!" Bei anderer Gelegenheit macht er einen zweiten Versuch.

1. Sein Wirken für Stammesgenossen

Niemals verzichtet der Medizinmann, selbst wenn er in dunkler Nacht sein Singen eröffnet, auf seine an sich einfache äußere Ausstattung. Sie besteht im *apawêra*, das er sich um die Schläfen windet (S. 1389), und in einer einfachen Bemalung des Gesichtes. Hierfür verreibt er trockenes weißes Pulver im Gesicht und auf dem Kopfe, oder er zieht einen einzigen fingerdicken weißen, auch roten Strich von einem Ohrläppchen zum andern. Diese Dinge trägt er in erreichbarer Nähe ständig mit sich, seine Frau besorgt ihm zeitig genug die Farbstoffe.

Früheren Berichten und Mitteilungen konnte man unzweideutig entnehmen, daß dem *yékamuł* eine vielseitige Betätigung obliegt. Schon Despard (b): 717 hat versichert: „His business is to allay the storm; and as he must lead in funeral ceremonies, his qualifications must be to weep whenever he desires. His practice is to outshout, if possible, the roaring of the wind, and to stay the pitiless pelting of the storm by pelting mussel shells into it." Bridges schreibt: „Doctors are believed to have great power in their dreams, even to eat persons, that is, to kill them" (VSA: XI, 259; 1861); er (h): 209 und (a): 213 sagt auch: „Se decian poseídos de influencias sobrenaturales para procurar el buen o mal tiempo, curar las enfermedades etc." Nach Burleigh, „the *yékamuł* practice a kind of witchcraft and profess to be able to see into the future and foretell events" (MM: XXIII, 245; 1889). Wirklich verhält es sich so.

Auf diese mehrfache Inanspruchnahme der *yékamuł* ist es zurückzuführen, daß diese sich in ihrem Aufgabenkreise sozusagen spezialisieren, demnach fast ein jeder sich einem besonderen Teilgebiete widmet, auf dem er es zu gewisser Meisterschaft bringt. Demzufolge wissen einige *yékamuł*

sehr genau Bescheid um Himmel und Sonne, Mond und Sterne; andere um Wetter und Wolken, Regen und Schnee, Frost und Eis; wieder andere um Luftströmungen, nämlich Winde und Stürme, und um Bewegungen im Wasser, vor allem Wellen und Strudel; andere *yékamuš* kennen zuverlässig alles, was sich im Walde regt, hauptsächlich das Verhalten der Guanacos und Füchse, der Ratten und Eulen; wieder andere beobachten sorgfältig die Züge der Wale, Robben und Fischschwärme im Wasser und der Vogelschwärme an den Küsten; endlich sind gewisse *yékamuš* hervorragend tüchtig im Bekämpfen von Krankheiten. Ein Yamana also, der sich in irgendeiner Notlage sieht, wendet sich an einen befreundeten "Spezialisten", von ihm erbittet er sich Rat und Aufklärung, Hilfe und Unterstützung.

Nochmals sei betont, daß jeder Medizinmann sich beruflich nur "im Traume", d.h. im g e i s t i g e n S c h a u e n betätigt. Wie traumverloren singt er anhaltend und was er in diesem Zustande der Wachvision sieht, hat für ihn Wirklichkeitswert; er nennt und beschreibt mit vernehmbaren Worten die Einzelheiten seiner und seiner Geister Handlungsweise und auf Grund dessen verfolgen die Umstehenden seine Tätigkeit. Was immer er während des Singens zeigt oder beschreibt, ergreift oder hergibt, ist weder tatsächlich als solches vorhanden noch kann es von den anderen Leuten mit den Sinnen wahrgenommen oder mit den Händen betastet werden. Allein der *yékamuš* geht mit den verschiedensten von ihm aufgezählten Dingen, *yékuš* und Schleuder, Waffen und Gerätschaften, *kŏ̄pix̌* von Menschen und Tieren, *yefáčel* und *Hayčélla*, in seinem Traumzustande genau so um, als wäre alles reine Wirklichkeit; die Umstehenden, denen er davon mehr oder weniger genau Mitteilung macht, glauben daran und halten es für wahr. Ruft er beispielsweise: „Ich habe diesen *yékuš*, geschleudert von einem feindlichen *yékamuš*, mit meiner rechten Hand aufgefangen und lege ihn vor meinen Füßen auf den Erdboden!", so will das besagen: In der Vision führt der *yékamuš* diese Handlungen durch, einerlei, ob er dabei auch seine Arme bewegt oder nicht. Alle Leute, die seine Worte hören, nehmen diese mit genau der gleichen Gläubigkeit entgegen, wie ein Europäer die Mitteilung über Traumbilder seines Nachbarn sich anhört; unsere Yamana aber beurteilen alle Vorgänge "im Traume" ihres *yékamuš* als wirkliches Geschehen und glauben an deren unmittelbare Wirkung bzw. an die angekündigten Erfolge.

a. *Krankenheilung*

Das Gebiet, auf dem am meisten die Medizinmänner sich betätigen und ihre Hilfe von den Landsleuten gefordert wird, ist die Krankenheilung. Zu richtiger Beurteilung dessen muß man sich vergegenwärtigen, daß der *yékamuš* nicht das eigentliche physische Leiden bekämpft. Hat sich ein solches eingestellt, kann es wohl sein — und er erkennt diesen Umstand "im Traume" oder aus einer Mitteilung seines *yefáčel* —, daß ein böswilliger *yékamuš*, ein Feind der erkrankten Person, das Leiden ihr geschickt hat.

Liegt das wirklich vor — man könnte die Herkunft eines solchen Leidens als magisch kennzeichnen —, dann allerdings muß ein stärkerer *yékamuž* die betroffene Person davon befreien, indem er den Zauber jenes feindlichen *yékamuž* unwirksam macht. Wer beispielsweise gestolpert ist oder sich den Magen verdorben hat, der wendet ein erprobtes Mittel an, das er selber kennt oder seine Familienmitglieder ihm anraten; aber darüber hinaus unterläßt er es nicht, um ja sicher zu sein, zu einem befreundeten *yékamuž* zu gehen und sich von ihm auf dessen magische Art behandeln zu lassen. Der gewöhnliche Mensch kann nämlich nicht unterscheiden, ob sein Leiden sich einzig und allein auf natürliche Ursachen zurückführt oder ob ein böswilliger Medizinmann die Hand im Spiele hat. Die meisten Leiden, besonders jede ungünstige Beeinträchtigung des Seelenlebens, werden bewußt von einem rachsüchtigen *yékamuž* verursacht, um jenen Menschen krank zu machen oder sogar dem Tode zu überliefern.

Abb. 98. Yekuž. 1/3 n. Gr.

Der Medizinmann geht dabei folgendermaßen vor: Er versetzt sich durch sein Singen "in den Traum". Jetzt sieht er den *kēlpiž* der andern Person, ergreift einen *yēkuž* und schleudert diesen gegen jene Person; diese wird an einer mehr oder weniger gefährlichen Stelle verwundet, genau nach der Absicht des *yékamuž*. Er erkennt sogleich die Wirkung seines *yēkuž*, obwohl die betroffene Person sich erst nach einiger Zeit von dem, was ihr zugestoßen ist, Rechenschaft gibt. Über seinen Erfolg freut sich der boshafte *yékamuž*; erst recht dann, wenn er diese Handlung auf besonderen Auftrag eines Stammesgenossen ausgeführt hat. Jene andere Person nun fühlt früher oder später stechende Schmerzen, vielleicht bekommt sie Angstgefühle oder wird unvermittelt vom Schreck geschüttelt. Da sie einen äußeren Anlaß dafür nicht findet und sich ihre Lage aus augenfälligen Ursachen nicht erklären kann, offenbart sie sich einem befreundeten *yékamuž*. Dieser versetzt sich in den Traumzustand, entdeckt und beobachtet die Verwendung des *kēlpiž* jener Person, findet auch den eingedrungenen *yēkuž*, holt ihn heraus, beschaut ihn genau und erkennt daran die Person dessen, der ihn geschleudert hat. Eben, weil er stark genug ist, d. h. stärker als jener erste *yékamuž*, gelingt es ihm, die verwundete Person vom *yēkuž* zu befreien und gesunden zu lassen; andernfalls kann er in seiner Ohnmacht ihr Hilfe nicht bieten und sie muß sterben, wenn der *yēkuž* nicht zeitig genug so oder so beseitigt wird.[330] Wie

[330] Durchgehends ungenau ist diese Auffassung früher schon von Alvarez: 147, Bridges (i): 18, Cojazzi: 106, Dabbene (b): 192 u. a. angedeutet worden. Etwas bestimmter sagte Bridges einmal: „Yecoosh, they suppose, is driven into their bodies by some ill-disposed

immer auch seine Betätigung ausgefallen sein mag, bald, nachdem er wieder erwacht ist, verständigt er jene Person von ihrem Zustand und bezeichnet ihr auch den *yékamuš*, der sie verwundet hat. Überdies wendet er sich bald danach, selbstverständlich "im Traume", an jenen *yékamuš*, hält ihm seine verderbenbringende Handlungsweise vor und tadelt ihn nachdrücklich: „Wisse, daß ich stärker bin als du! Hüte dich, irgendeinen meiner Verwandten und Freunde zu schädigen! Sieh hier den *yēkuš*, den du gegen X. [er nennt den Namen] geschleudert hast und von dem ich ihn befreit habe!" Der andere *yékamuš* sieht sich entlarvt und erhebt keinen Widerspruch. Gelegentlich zeigt der erfolgreiche *yékamuš* auch seiner Umgebung den *yēkuš*, den er aus der verwundeten Person herausgeholt hat; alle, die den *yēkuš* — selbstverständlich, zufolge den Worten der *yékamuš*, nur in ihrer Einbildung — sehen, bestaunen seine Größe und die Leistungskraft ihres Medizinmannes. Die Verwunderung der Leute steigert sich, wenn der *yékamuš* eine befreundete Person befreit hat, die bereits in höchster Gefahr durch einen feindlichen *yékamuš* schwebte, ohne selber ihren Zustand zu ahnen. Auf dem weiten Gebiet der Phantasie und Einbildung tummeln sich manche Medizinmänner reichlich; offensichtlich sind sie der Anlaß zur Verhetzung mancher Einzelpersonen und ganzer Gruppen untereinander.

Für gewöhnlich führt der *yékamuš* die Heilung unmittelbar an der kranken Person aus. Er hat sich seinen eigenen Körper mit weißer Farbe eingerieben und um die Schläfen das *apawēra* gewunden; zwei oder drei Stücke dieser Art legt er sich manchmal auch um den Rumpf. Durch diese äußere Aufmachung gestaltet er seine Tätigkeit besonders feierlich. Der Kranke liegt auf seiner Schlafstätte ausgestreckt, neben ihm hockt der *yékamuš*; meist sind dessen Familienmitglieder anwesend. Der Medizinmann beginnt seinen Gesang und in der Wachvision bezeichnet er mit dem Finger den Körperteil, in dem der *yēkuš* steckt. Zunächst preßt und knetet er jene Stelle mit den Händen; dann legt er seinen Mund an und saugt, als würde er den *yēkuš* an die Oberfläche ziehen. Schließlich, im Augenblick höchster Erregung, währenddessen sein ganzer Körper beängstigend zittert, führt er einen erschütternden Ruck aus und hebt in seinen krampfhaft geballten Fäusten den hervorgeholten *yēkuš* hoch. Statt dessen beugt er manchmal seinen Oberkörper tief nach vorn, drückt mit heftigen Pressungen seinen Bauch und macht anstrengende Brechbewegungen; mit alledem will er sich des *yēkuš* entledigen, den er aus dem Körper des Kranken in seinen eigenen hineingesogen hat.[331] Wurde der *yēkuš* bzw. ein Stein, eine Harpunenspitze,

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doctor or other. This Yecoush, which can only be seen by a doctor, and can only be held by him, the doctors pretend to suck out of the body of the sick person, who afterwards is supposed to recover his health quickly" (VSA: XI, 258; 1864).

[331] Bridges (i): 18 schildert die Tätigkeit der Medizinmänner folgendermaßen: „They oftentimes handle the sick very roughly when in this wrought-up state, excited through much chanting and violent contortions they exercised the pain and its cause from the body of the sufferer, pretending to do this by the hands and suction and to swallow the malady

so oder so herausgeholt, zeigt ihn der *yékamuš* auf seiner flachen Hand den Leuten rund umher. Danach führt er seine gestreckte Hand nahe an den Mund heran, der flache Handteller ist nach oben gerichtet, und mit einem starken, kurzen Luftstoß schiebt er den *yékuš* in weite Ferne, daß er sich dort verliere. Nach kurzem Singen wacht der *yékamuš* allmählich auf und erlangt sein volles Bewußtsein zurück. Jedermann dankt ihm für seine Bemühungen. Die auf solche Art behandelte Person erhebt sich ebenfalls und verspürt irgendwie Erleichterung.[222] Wir würden eine derartige Erscheinung als autosuggestive Wirkung deuten.

Bei oberflächlichen Verletzungen oder wenn jemand nur gestrauchelt ist, bei einem leichten geistigen Unwohlsein oder nach unangenehmen Träumen suchen die Yamana ihren vertrauten *yékamuš* auf. Sofort behandelt er den Bittsteller mit seiner, wie ich wohl sagen darf, "magischen Massage"; daraufhin zieht jener erleichtert von dannen. Der *yékamuš* reibt nämlich sanft mit beiden flachen Händen die schmerzvolle Stelle, oder knetet die Knie- und Armgelenke, oder fährt bei einem Augenleiden mit den flachen Händen in kleinem Kreise mehrmals vor dem Gesichte her; nachher reibt er beide Hände gegeneinander, richtet die Handteller nach oben und bläst mit starkem Luftstoß, der sich wie schrilles *ft* anhört, das "Übel" weit fort. Die gleichen Bewegungen führt er über einer Person aus, die ahnungslos einen "unheilvollen Ort" betreten hat (S. 1309), oder über gewissen Nahrungsmitteln, um ihren Genuß unschädlich zu machen (S. 707).

Bestimmt und eindeutig unterscheiden die gewöhnlichen Leute, wie auch die Medizinmänner, ob ein Übel und Leiden von einem *yékamuš* oder von *Watayinéjwa* verursacht worden ist; jedweder *yékamuš* kann sich "im Traume" bzw. durch Nachfrage bei seinem *yefáčel* darüber Gewißheit verschaffen und seine Umgebung verständigen. Falls ein Leidender sehr mühsam ę, ę stöhnt, ist es offensichtlich, daß *Haučélla* das Übel verursacht hat und selber aus ihm heraus-ruft. Setzt aber eine Krankheit heftig ein und bringt ihre rasche Entwicklung den Betroffenen an den Rand des Grabes, erkennt man an diesen Umständen das Eingreifen des *Watayinéjwa*. In jedem Falle, zur Beruhigung der Leute und vor allem des Kranken, versucht es der *yékamuš* mit seiner Heilungsmethode. Er weiß es genau so gut wie seine Umgebung, daß das Leiden von *Watayinéjwa* selber jener Person zur Strafe geschickt worden ist und eine wirkliche Krankheit ist, die nur er zurücknehmen kann, daß also weder ein geschleuderter *yékuš* noch eine *Haučélla-kípa* hieran beteiligt ist. Im Bewußtsein dessen, daß *Watayinéjwa* allein Hilfe gewähren kann, strengt sich der *yékamuš* auf seine Art an und bittet gleichzeitig, im Namen des Kranken: „Möge Jener-dort-oben dir die Gesundheit zurückgeben!" Erkennt der Medizinmann sein Unvermögen gegenüber

and its cause, which was supposed to be an arrow or spear pointed flint called yecoash, of which the doctors always professed to have a supply in their stomachs."

[222] Auf Grund dieser Beschreibung muß das richtiggestellt werden, was z. B. Bamoes (k): 237, Bove (e): 158 und anders über die Behandlung eines Kranken aufgezeichnet haben.

einer Krankheit, dann wendet also auch er sich unmittelbar an jene höhere Macht, die das schwere Leiden verursacht hat. Ja noch mehr. Bevor der *yékamai* bei einer besonders ernsten Erkrankung sein Heilungsverfahren beginnt, wendet er sich betend an *Watuinéjwu* und sagt: „Heile du diesem Menschen! Wenn du ihn aber deshalb nicht gesunden lassen willst, weil du berechtigterweise ihm zürnst, so nimm doch mir zuliebe die Krankheit von ihm! Zeige dich wenigstens mir gefällig; denn mir ist es sehr darum zu tun, daß dieser Mensch gesunde. Sei gut zu mir und gib mir so viel Kraft, daß ich mit dieser Kraft ihn gesund mache! Verleihe dem Kranken Mut und gib ihm die Gesundheit zurück, mir zuliebe!" Offensichtlich ist es aufrichtige Absicht, aus der heraus der *yékamai* sich an *Watuinéjwu* mit diesen Worten und andern uralten Gebetsformeln wendet, damit der Kranke schnelle Heilung erhalte. Doch treibt auch Ehrgeiz den *yékamai*; denn weil er unter allen Umständen den Leuten sein Können beweisen will, ruft er sogar den *Watuinéjwu* zu Hilfe und pocht auf seine günstigen Beziehungen zu ihm. Sind einige Angehörige der gleichen Familie schnell hintereinander gestorben, kann es geschehen, daß ein befreundeter *yékamai* den Überlebenden sagt: „Jener *yékamai* [er bezeichnet ihn mit Namen] hat die Todesfälle verschuldet!" Nun ist es allgemeiner Glaube, daß nur *Watuinéjwu* einen Menschen sterben lassen kann. In dem erwähnten Falle wenden die Leute sich klagend an *Watuinéjwu*; sie werfen ihm vor, mit jenem *yékamai* in Verbindung zu stehen und gemeinsame Sache gemacht zu haben. Sie sagen z. B.: „*Hitupáyn*, warum hast du dich mit jenem *yékamai* eingelassen und gemeinsam mit ihm unsere Verwandten getötet?" Das ist der Schrei aus einem von Trauer gequälten Herzen, nach Art der bekannten Trauerrufe (S. 1062).

β. Allgemeine Hilfeleistung

Sowohl der einzelne Yamana als auch die geschlossene Familiengruppe wendet sich an einen befreundeten *yékamai* in den vielfachen Nöten des Alltags. Obwohl ich oft gehört habe: „*Hidáiqan* verursacht das schlechte Wetter, *Hidábqan* schickt den reichlichen Schnee und die starken Stürme!", zuerkennen die Yamana doch auch ihren *yékamai* einen bestimmten Einfluß auf das Wetter.[222] Wem wäre dort im Kap Hoorn-Archipel ruhige, klare und warme Witterung nicht erwünscht? Im Winter drängen die Familien gern ihre Wohnungen etwas zusammen, so daß einige *yékamai* längere Zeit beieinander sind. Hält gelegentlich dichtes Schneegestöber an und werden die Leute traurig, versprechen ihnen die *yékamai*: „Haltet euch still und mutig, morgen [bzw. übermorgen] trifft günstiges Wetter ein!" Die Kinder an erster Stelle benehmen sich geräuschlos und die alten Leute sind voller Erwartung: Wirklich, am angekündigten Tage läßt zumindest das Schneegestöber nach und vielleicht zeigt sich überdies ein wolkenfreier Himmel.

[222] Bridges (i): 18 und (k): 237 hat schon seinerzeit versichert, daß die Medizinmänner „had power to procure good weather and drive away bad".

Auch hörte ich einmal an einem regnerischen Tage: „Morgen wird *uxápu* [Das Sternbild: "Der Jakobstab", S. 1276] erscheinen!" An einem andern Wintertage versicherte ein *yékamuš*: „Wir werden morgen wieder die *Ypólog-tórnagipu* sehen und damit beginnt gutes Wetter!" Wirklich, jedesmal erfüllte sich die Vorhersage. Ob jene *yékamuš* sich von einem Erfahrungswissen, begründet auf genauer Beobachtung, haben leiten lassen? Ich kann es nicht entscheiden. Jedenfalls schreiben die Leute den Wetterwechsel dem überragenden Wissen und Können der *yékamuš* zu. Beim *ášpu-yékamuš* kommen bekanntlich mehrere Medizinmänner zusammen. Da diese gemeinsam ihren Einfluß auf die Naturkräfte geltend machen, herrscht, wie die Leute sagen, während der ganzen Dauer jener Veranstaltung ein günstiges Wetter.

Bei anhaltenden Stürmen sind die Leute in ihrer Bewegungsfreiheit behindert und sie gerieten zuweilen in arge Not. Jetzt muß der *yékamuš* sie durch Nahrungsbeschaffung retten. Er legt sich zum Schlafe nieder, stimmt den *čówónni*-Gesang an und ruft damit die *čówónni*-Geister herbei. Diese führen ganze Heringsschwärme mit sich, in deren Begleitung selbstverständlich viele andere Tierarten sind; bald bedecken diese dicht den Strand, auf dem jene notleidenden Leute wohnen. In gleicher Weise treiben die *čówónni*-Geister viele Rundkrabben (*Lithodes antarctica*, Abb. 13) das Ufer hinauf oder bewirken, daß viele Vögel auf nahen Steinen sich niederlassen. Der *yékamuš* bedient sich auch eines andern Helfers. Im Traume ruft er einen *aídgla* zu sich und schildert ihm die bedrohliche Lage seiner Familiengruppe. Dadurch veranlaßt kehrt der *aídgla* in seine Gegend zurück und fährt von dorther am nächsten Tag der bedrängten Gruppe einen Wal mit seinen Begleittieren zu (S. 1268). Sobald die Leute der vielen Tiere ansichtig werden, danken sie freudebrennend für diese erlösende Tat ihrem *yékamuš*; er entläßt schließlich mit seinem *čówónni*-Gesange die hilfebereiten Geister, die sich wieder weit hinaus auf die Hochsee zurückziehen. Planen die Männer für den nächsten Tag eine gemeinschaftliche Jagd, dann setzen sich die *yékamuš* tags zuvor zusammen und beginnen den *čówónni*-Gesang; damit wollen sie für morgen die Hilfe dieser Geister sich selber und gleichzeitig guten Erfolg den Jägern sichern. Während sie singen, starren sie in die Weite, strecken beide Arme aus, öffnen die Hände und greifen in die Luft, führen die geschlossenen Hände zu ihrem Körper zurück, öffnen sie, pressen sie gegen die Brust und fahren damit, unter leichtem Druck, bis zu den Knien hinab. Mehrmals wiederholen sie dabei ein schrilles *st*. Sie wollen mit diesen Bewegungen die *kípid* der Jagdtiere herzuholen, an sich ziehen und in ihre Gewalt bringen. Voll Vertrauen ziehen die Männer am nächsten Tage hinaus.

Die Yamana glauben, daß ihre Medizinmänner die Zukunft schauen können und über ein untrügliches Vorherwissen verfügen. Die *yékamuš*, erst recht davon überzeugt, warnen zeitig genug diese und jene Person, auch mahnen sie ihre ganze Gruppe zur Vorsicht oder stellen ein vorteilhaftes Ereignis in Aussicht. Am 22. März 1923 stand ich selber bei einigen Leuten, als Maizwanne deutlich vernehmbar sagte: „Ich sehe draußen ein langes

Kanu mit *tequ̇kina* [Phalacrocorax olivaceus] näher kommen!" Wirklich, tags darauf erblickten die Leute ungewöhnlich dichte Schwärme dieser Vögel, die in solcher Menge nur selten einen Wasserarm überqueren. Bei einer andern Gelegenheit rief EMILIA, indem sie wie eine Seherin auf den Ozean starrte: „Das Meer wird weiß, es bilden sich Wellenberge und viel Schaum sammelt sich!" Da die Wasseroberfläche völlig glatt war, befremdete uns ihr Wort. Aber am andern Morgen zog aus dem Osten schlechtes Wetter mit hohem Wellenschlag herauf und wir erinnerten uns, daß EMILIA gestern mittag diesen Wechsel angekündigt hatte. Einige Leute sagten verwundert: „Wie merkwürdig, daß unsere *yékamul* gar vieles im Voraus wissen!"

Wird die Bevölkerung von einer Allgemeinerkrankung befallen, etwa wegen Genusses schlechten Fleisches, oder neuestens von einer eigentlichen Epidemie, eingeschleppt durch Europäer — was die *yékamul* bisweilen im Traume voraussehen —, fühlen sie sich zu sofortiger Abhilfe verpflichtet. Im Traume wird ihnen bekannt gegeben, an welcher Stelle sich alle Leute versammeln müssen. Diesen machen die *yékamul* davon Mitteilung und fordern unverzüglich zu einem *makájnkina* auf. Zunächst wird ein großes Feuer angefacht. Alle Erwachsenen und Kinder stellen sich um dasselbe herum. Sobald dieser Kreis sich zu drehen beginnt, erheben alle ihre Fäuste, heulen in dumpfen Tönen und werfen oft laute *tę tę*-Rufe dazwischen. Schließlich ergreifen sie glimmende Holzscheite und werfen diese hoch in die Luft. Sie glauben, *Watayinčjuu-sčf* habe das Leiden geschickt (S. 1049); gegen ihn also richtet sich der Ingrimm aller. Nachher stoßen sie die flachen Hände mit gespreizten Fingern wiederholt mit voller Kraft mehrmals gegen das Feuer, als würden sie das "Krankheitsübel" in die Flammen schieben. Nach diesen erregten Gebaren versprechen die *yékamul* den Leuten, daß sie bald von ihrem Leiden befreit würden.

Daran sei hier wieder erinnert, daß der Medizinmann gelegentlich eine Art von Führeramt bekleidet. Das ist offensichtlich beim *tčjmu-yékamul* und *kinu* (S. 1321). Bei einer Blutrache befehligt er gewöhnlich seine Leute (S. 998) und zwei sich bekämpfende Gruppen gehen nach Anleitung ihrer *yékamul* auf einander los. Auch im Alltag holt sich jedermann gern Rat bei dem ihm befreundeten Medizinmanne und richtet sich nach seinen Weisungen. Erst recht dann, wenn Gefahren irgendwelcher Art drohen, nimmt die ganze Gruppe zu ihm ihre Zuflucht. Daß die *yékamul* ihren Gruppen gegenüber sich verpflichtet fühlen, ersieht man aus folgendem. Hat eine bedrückende Stimmung, ein geistiges Unwohlsein, ein allgemeines Angstgefühl die Leute erfaßt, wie etwa bei einer Allgemeinerkrankung, dann veranstalten die *yékamul* das *makájnkina*; auch eine Kina-Feier wird meist damit beschlossen (S. 1376). Dieses Mittel verscheucht jene besonderen Geister, die Trübsinn und allgemeine Mutlosigkeit herbeigeführt haben. Wollen die *yékamul* nach den Aufregungen eines Tages die Gemüter wieder beruhigen und für einen ungestörten Schlaf vorbereiten, stimmen sie den *tčger*-Gesang an; dieser ist ein wirkliches Abendlied, ein alle versöhnender Abschied vom untergehenden Tage (S. 922, 954).

9. Schadenbringende Huldigung

Hat sich der yékamal selber mit einer Person verfeindet und will er sie schwer schädigen, oder trägt er sich mit der Absicht, eine persönliche Beleidigung gründlich zu rächen, oder führt er den geheimen Auftrag eines Freundes aus, der einem Gegner heimzahlen lassen will, dann muß er zunächst darauf trachten, den *kîpiî* jener Person aufzufangen und in einem Beutelchên einzusperren, sollte dieser *kîpiî* auch noch so weit entfernt sein. Er benützt ein winziges Teilchen, das mit jener Person in einiger Verbindung oder Berührung gestanden hat, sei es ein Haar von ihrem Fellmantel, ein Hölzchen aus ihrer Hütte, eine Schnurfaser aus ihrer Tasche, sei es sogar ein Haar von ihrem Haupte oder ein Splitter vom Fingernagel, sei es irgendwelches unscheinbare Ding. Dieses nimmt er in seine Hände, starrt es geraume Zeit unentwegt an, knetet und preßt, zerrt und fasert es solange, bis es die Gestalt jener zu schädigenden Person angenommen hat. In seiner Wortvision kann er diese Umwandlung verfolgen. Dann verstreicht er dieses Teilchen in einem unscheinbaren Beutelchen, wékar' genannt.[*] Nun ist der *kîpiî* jener Person darin wie in einem Gefängnis eingeschlossen und er kann sich daraus mit eigenen Kräften nicht befreien. Mit Vorliebe benützt der yékamal für ein wékar' den dösteröseigen, etwa 3 cm langen Kokon von der Thermotaxyche chilensis (Bombycidae), ein unscheinbares feuerländischer Schmetterling, dessen Raupe ihren Kokon gewöhnlich an Berberitzenzweigen hängt. Von Zeit zu Zeit holt der yékamal aus seinem wékar' jenes Teilchen hervor, drückt und knetet, quetscht und preßt, zerrt und zerrt es, wirft es zu Boden und stampft mit den Füßen darauf herum, schleudert es hoch in die Luft und fängt es wieder kraftvoll mit seinen Händen auf, quält es auf alle erdenkliche Art, und zwar mit einer bestimmt gewaltsamen Bösartigkeit. Schließlich fühlt sich jener Person, der dem Teilchen im wékar' des yékamal entstammt, etwas matt und unwohl. Je länger nun so mehr steigert sich ihre Übelkeit; sie entbehrt ja ihres *kîpiî*, den der yékamal in seinem wékar' zurückhält und andauernd quält. Da der Körper dieser Person so lange den *kîpiî* entbehren muß, verausgabt er seine ganze Lebenskraft und erschöpft fortschreitend. Falls jener nicht ein stärkerer yékamal im Traume den Sachverhalt schaut und, die bedrohte Lage jener Person erkennend, Hilfe gebietet, ist sie dem Tode geweiht. Er muß, sofern er stärker ist als jener andere yékamal, unverzüglich ihren *kîpiî* aus dessen wékar' befreien und zum Körper zurückführen. Die leidende Person erfüllt es in der Regel nicht sehr lang, daß ein yékamal sie ihres *kîpiî* beraubt hat; erst, nachdem viel Blut aus Nase und Mund geflossen und sie schon sehr geschwächt ist, denkt sie stärkerer yékamal ihre Lage auf und bringt ihr die dringend notwendige Rettung. Das geschieht auf die Weise, daß er ihren *kîpiî* aus der Gewalt

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[*] Ich kann nicht entscheiden, ob damit dasselbe gemeint ist, was im BD-278 unter "kowolaf", a skin bag in which yékamal keeps their souls and souls, verzeichnet wird. Hyades (q):307 gibt dieses Wort wieder mit "Sac de guérisseur".

jener bestimmten Hellseherinnen bedient, in seinem eigenen Kleinen entfliegt und ihn der bestimmten Person zuschickt. Gewöhnlich sieht dieser Bruder den anderen gelassen wegen seiner sinnverwirrenden Handlungsweise vor Kindesmißhandlung.

Die hier beschriebene Art, einen anderen Person zu schädigen und zu Tode zu quälen, übers fast alle gelassen. Jedem Mißgeist, den sie eingefangen haben, stecken sie in ein eigenes schlaf[1]. In einem unbewachten Augenblick hebt sich ein gelassen darum ein Teilchen nach dem anderen von dem einzelnen Personen und damit davon Mißgeist hervor, wenn jedem mit Namen, quält jeden auf eigene Weise und schließlich einen jedem abermals in sein eigenes schlaf ein. Dieses Gift ist bündig mit Tran an, und daß der Mißgeist unbeweglich verhaftet, und nähet er mit Schmerzlaunen an. Die einzelnen schlaf verwahrt er sicher an einem geheimen Ort. Seiner Qualenzeit setzt er an jedem einzelnen Mißgeist so lange fort, bis die betreffende Person vorzeitig zusammenbricht und stirbt. Im gütigen Schauen der Hellseherinnen Gilt der Mißgeist die gleiche Form und Gestalt erkennen, die dem lebendigen Menschen eigen ist, so dem dieser gehört; allerdings sieht der gelassen den nur in winziger Größe.

Will ein Hellseherinnen besonders nachhaltigen Eindruck bei seinem Lesern erwecken, teilt er sie einen Tages zusammen. Nach Lesens Singen versteht er sich in Wachsinnen. Dann zeigt er den Lesern ein wirkliches schlaf vor, hält ein verschwindend kleines Ding hervor und starrt anstrengt einer bestimmten Person an; ihr sagt er: „Allerseit gehe ich die deinem Mißgeist nach, er war in der Gewalt des X.[1]" Das Gleiche wiederholt sich bei der einen und anderen Person. Diese sind überrascht und glauben sich zu erinnern, einer gütigen oder geringen Erwartung gefühlt zu haben. Dann sind sie aus erster Gefahr erlöst und danken dem gelassen laut für ihre Rettung; dieser zeigt noch mehr in ihrer Achtung.

Einem sinnlichen Hellseherinnen gelingt es zuweilen, einen anderen Menschen innerhalb weniger Tage umzubringen. Entweder geht er gegen einen persönlichen Feind vor oder er handelt im besonderen Auftrage einer Dämonenpersonen. Singend versteht er sich ins Trinnern, sein eigener Mißgeist verläßt den Körper und trifft sich irgendwo mit seiner Singsbildnerin. Beide unterhalten jetzt einen temporären Angriff auf den Mißgeist jener Person, die sie ungemein sicheren wollen; sie wingen ihn, singen ihn nieder und stampfen auf ihn herum. Mag der Mißgeist sich noch noch so tapfer wehren, Singsbilde ist stärker und schließlich schließlich gegen ihn einen pflicht, daß er ist niederstürzt. Singsbilde ab davon und der Mißgeist des Hellseherinnen kehrt zu seinem Körper zurück. Jener armer Mensch aber wacht mit einer vollständigen Erwartung auf, Blut strömt ihm aus Nase und Mund, Erbrechen und andere ernste Beschwerden stellen sich ein. Es ist dessen geschehen, daß sein Mißgeist sich gar nicht davon erinnert, in der vergangenen Nacht schwere gewagen zu haben.

[1] Es scheint deutlich dem Patienten einem Hellseherinnen und einer gewissen einen schlaf, von dem er weiß, daß er ihm gewöhnlich oder jener Person lebendig gegenüberstehe.

[illegible]

6. Kraftgenuss

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Später bestätigte er darüber seinen Verwandten. Diese erkannten [illegible] keine Anzeichen von Verletzung und waren sehr erstaunt." Offensichtlich ist das alles im gnädigen Schoße der Mohikanerinnen geschehen. Im März 1922 erzählte mir Gunnar: „Einst saßen in Sakis Haus einige yilmazl beisammen. Zufällig trieb genau durch ein toter Wal auf dem breiten Wasserstrom. Es war keiner Wahrnehmung, mit einem Kanu wagte sich niemand hinaus. So blieb dann kein anderer Ausweg, als den Wal mit dem "Kraft" herauszuziehen. Sie ersteten sich an die Wasserfläche und begannen zu singen. Währenddessen erhebendete ein jeder anderer yilmazl gegen den Wal. Die yilmazl schlugen ein und trieben den Wal ans Ufer. Als die Leute von dieser Handlungsweise dieser yilmazl erfahren, bestaunten sie ihr Können." Wieder eine ein Vorgang, der sich im gnädigen Schoße der yilmazl abgespielt hat und der nachher den Umstehenden erzählt wird.

Ebenfalls treten auch zwei yilmazl in einem eigentlichen Wettstreit, bei dem der eine den anderen zu übertreffen suchte. Ein Beispiel wurde schon auf S. 1392 geschildert. Im allgemeinen gelten sie damit von, daß sie sich eine bestimmte Zeit ersehen, auf das jeder seiner yilmazl setzen, wessen yilmazl bis dorthin gelangt oder wegen dorthin kommen liegt, der ist der Sieger über den Gegenspieler. Eine andere Konstellation ist die, daß der eine yilmazl den vom Gegner abgeschickten yilmazl im Tiefe entfängt und zurückschickt, wer dann die Kraft nicht aufbringt, ist unterlegen. Derjenigen Vorgänge können die übrigen yilmazl in diesen gnädigen Schoßen beobachten und sie werden den gewöhnlichen Leuten davon Mitteilung. Die Überlegenheit des einen yilmazl über seinen Gegner wird auch dann offenbar, wenn er einen anderen zwingt, seine schadenbringende Handlungsweise einzustellen. Beispiele dieser Art sind S. 1419, 1425 gemacht worden. Sie bewirken auch, wie leicht ein yilmazl den Frieden seiner und Freiheitsfeld beweiflbarkeiten kann (S. 1393).

Jeder yilmazl kann sich den kilpiçi eines gewöhnlichen Menschen willkürlich bemächtigen, machen und das um so leichter, je jünger derselbe ist. Der yilmazl hält jenen "Geist" so lange in seiner Gewalt, als er ihn befiehlt, es sei denn, daß ein stärkerer yilmazl ihn davon befreit. Geschieht das nicht und wird jener kilpiçi nicht freigegeben, stirbt der "verlorene" Körper allmählich hin und der Mensch stirbt. Wenn beispielsweise ein Mohikanerin in seiner Hütte den Hipnotismus ausübt und er dabei von einem Kinde gestört wird, ergreift er dessen kilpiçi. Das wirkt sich für das Kind in der kurzen Zeit des Gesangs zwar nicht Größer nachteilig aus; die Anwesenden aber sind begreiflich darauf bedacht, daß der yilmazl dem Kinde bald den kilpiçi wieder zurückstellt. Also macht er nach Abschluß seines Gesangs seinen Bewegungen, gibt den kilpiçi von sich und übersieht ihn jenem Kinde, indem er mit seinen Fingern Hände an dessen Körper nachmals hervor und hegnetes gleitet. Geschieht diese Rückgabe des kilpiçi nicht, würde jenes Kind nach einiger Zeit sterben. Von der eigenen Umgebung wird jeder yilmazl scharf beobachtet, das ist notwendig und natürlich; darauf beruhen die günstigen oder ungünstigen Urteile der Dasseinsgenossen über ihn.

2. Seine Beziehungen zu Geistern

Die bisherige Beschreibung läßt keinen Zweifel darüber offen, daß alle Tätigkeit des Medizinmannes sich auf dem Gebiete des Geistigen vollzieht; auf gewisse Geister bleibt er dabei ganz und gar angewiesen. Ist er streng beruflich tätig, hat er mit *Watayindéjuu* gar keine Fühlung; er anerkennt aber in einzelnen Fällen, daß er gegen das Höchste Wesen nichts zustande bringt (S. 1420). Mit bestimmten Worten erklärte mir einmal MAÈNIKENS: „*Watayindéjuu* kümmert sich nicht um das, was die *yékamuš* treiben. Diese lassen ihn ganz beiseite. Zuweilen allerdings bitten sie ihn um Hilfe." Ebensowenig erwähnt man Verbindungen des *yékamuš* mit *Yetáita*, auf den in der Jugendweihe hingewiesen wird (S. 894), oder mit *Tánuuu*, die beim Kina eine bedeutende Rolle spielt, oder mit der *Yoálox*-Familie, die den Yamana bedeutsame Dienste erwiesen hat (S. 1159). Die Wassergeister *Lakáma*, von denen die gewöhnlichen Leute bedroht werden, erweisen sich einem *yékamuš* wohlwollend und lassen ihn unbehelligt weiterziehen, wenn er sich durch sein Singen zu erkennen gibt. In seinem beruflichen Wirken ist er unmittelbar auf die *Yefáčel* und *Hayrélla* angewiesen,[337] er wendet sich aber gelegentlich auch an andere Geister.

Man hat mir folgendes *lakâm-asikáku yékamuš*, d. i. der visionäre Verkehr eines *yékamuš* mit einem *lakâma*, erzählt: Ein *yékamuš* war mit einer Frau verheiratet, die auf ihn sehr eifersüchtig war. Er nahm sehr auf das Wohl seiner Landsleute Bedacht, was ihr mißfiel. Als beide wieder einmal eine Kanufahrt machten, sagte sie spöttelnd: „Ich hatte geglaubt, du seiest ein tüchtiger *yékamuš*! Andern Leuten verschaffst du allerlei zum Essen; für mich läßt du weder einen Wal noch Fische stranden, weder Vögel landen noch Rundkrabben aufsteigen. Du solltest dich deines Weibes viel mehr annehmen!" Der *yékamuš* wurde durch diese anzüglichen Worte arg verstimmt und ohne zu erwidern, legte er sich nieder. Obwohl er seine Augen geschlossen hielt, stichelte seine Frau weiter. Erst als der Medizinmann laut schnarchte, hörte sie auf. Sie steuerte ihr Kanu auf *Kágueja* hin. Währenddessen schlief der *yékamuš* und rief zwei *Lakâma* aus *Kálauu* [im Westen] herbei, das weit entfernt war. Diese trafen schließlich in *Kágueja* ein, faßten sogleich das Kanu und hoben den Bug hoch. Angsterfüllt rief die Frau ihren Mann, der noch schlief: „Stehe auf und hilf mir in dieser Gefahr, du bist ja ein *yékamuš*!" Er erwiderte ganz ruhig: „Versuche es, allein fertig zu werden. Du hast mir oft genug zu verstehen gegeben, ich leiste nichts!" Sie flehte: „Laß dich erbitten und hilf mir, sonst bringen mich die *Lakâma* um!" Nachdem seine Frau lange gezittert hatte, richtete er sich auf, rührte aber noch immer keine Hand. Die Frau schwebte in entsetzlicher Angst. Schließlich trug er ihr auf: „Bemale beide *Lakâma* mit weißer Farbe!" Sie erwiderte: „Unmöglich, das bringe

[337] Duvan hat schon BARCEZ (h): 238 gesprochen: „El yecamush pretende tener trato con seres llamados yapahchel y hoschiella, y son estos los que les dan la facultad de ver y hacer cosas fabulosas, y especialmente la de curar y matar."

ich nicht zustande!" Da sagte er ihr: „So reiche mir den Farbstoff!" Damit näherte er sich dem Bug, neigte sich hinaus und bemalte beide *Lakûma*; der eine war auf der rechten und der andere auf der linken Seite. Die *Lakûma* ließen das widerstandslos an sich geschehen. Nachher richtete sich der *yékamuš* auf, streckte beide Arme aus und lachte *hī hī*... Die beiden *Lakûma* ließen das Kanu langsam sinken und tauchten selber unter. Augenblicklich schickten sie dem Kanu günstigen Wind und schnell erreichte es sein Ziel. Die Frau war gänzlich umgestimmt und bekannte reumütig ihrem Manne: „Bisher habe ich mich über dich lustig gemacht und dich sehr niedrig eingeschätzt; nun weiß ich, daß du wirklich ein tüchtiger *yékamuš* bist!"

a. *Die Yefačel*

Bekanntlich steht jedwedem Yamana ein Schutzgeist zur Seite, *yefáčel* genannt. Während die gewöhnlichen Leute diesen Glauben wenig oder gar nicht wirksam machen, unterhält jeder *yékamuš* mit seinem *yefáčel* die engsten Beziehungen. Sogar im BD: 661 wird diese Tatsache bestätigt: *yāpāčāl*, a being of more than human power and sagacity whom the *yékamuš* claimed as their inspiring power and instructor.

Der Medizinmann behandelt das *yefáčel* so etwa wie sein Kind; er ruft es mit zärtlichem Singen herbei und spricht sich ganz vertraulich mit ihm aus; er erteilt ihm allerlei Aufträge, die es widerspruchslos erfüllt. Der *kēlpix* des *yékamuš* verkehrt mit dem *yefáčel* in allem und jedem genau nach Menschenart, im geistigen Schauen sehen sie sich und verhandeln miteinander. Das *yefáčel* ist es eigentlich, von dem das berufliche Wirken des Medizinmannes ausgeführt wird. Während es allein in weiter Ferne tätig ist, verharrt jener gänzlich regungslos, hingestreckt auf seinem Lager und wartet, bis es sich des erteilten Auftrages entledigt hat;[225] bleibt es in der Nähe, führt es den vom *yékamuš* angestimmten Gesang weiter, d. h. es singt aus diesem heraus. Der *yékamuš* ruft seinen kleinen Schutzgeist, so oft er dessen Hilfe bedarf, vermittels jenes bestimmten Gesanges zu sich, den das *yefáčel* ihm vor langer Zeit, bei Berufung zu diesem Amte, überlassen hat (S. 1398, 1407). Dieses Singen heißt *ušûna yefáčel* und *ašûna lôima*. Sollte *yefáčel* sich ausnahmsweise nicht einstellen, fühlt sich der *yékamuš* vereinsamt und enttäuscht; er sagt klagend und laut genug, daß seine Umgebung ihn versteht: „Wo hält sich denn heute mein *yefáčel* auf? Es wird wohl im Walde zurückgeblieben sein und mich läßt es hier warten. So ist mir jetzt mein Gesang nicht gelungen, ich werde ihn später wiederholen müssen!" Mit ihresgleichen und mit den *yékamuš* unterhalten sich die *yefáčel* in eigener Sprache. Sie hört sich für gewöhnliche Menschen zwar wie tiefklingende *tę, tę*-Laute an, doch verbergen sich darunter Worte, die für alle *yefáčel* und *yékamuš* verständlich sind.

[225] Diesen Zustand hat auch Bridges (i): 18 angedeutet: „When under the influence of the yapachel they pretended to be insensible to outward things, the burning of the fire and the presence of their friends. They at such times acted as though really possessed."

In der Gesellschaft seines *yeſáčel* fühlt sich der *yékamuš* wohl. Um es dann und wann bei sich zurückzuhalten, preßt er beide Hände mit starkem Druck gegen die Brust oder er legt sie an die Gurgel. Das *yeſáčel* berichtet aus eigenem Antrieb seinem *yékamuš* diese und jene Dinge, die für ihn wissenswert sind. Dieser Schutzgeist ist die tätige Kraft in der Wirksamkeit des *yékamuš* und sein engster Begleiter auf Lebenszeit, immer zu seiner Verfügung stehend.

β. Die Haučella

Außer einem *yeſáčel* steht dem Medizinmanne eine *Haučéllakīpa* zur Seite. Allerdings treffen sie sich beide nicht häufig; dafür aber ist die *Haučélla* unvergleichlich mächtiger als das *yeſáčel*. Die Herkunft dieser Geister, die männlichen und weiblichen Geschlechtes sind, ist schon beschrieben worden (S. 1158). Hierzu sei ergänzt, was Maizmikens mir im August 1923 erzählt hat: Damals, als die allgemeine Umwälzung sich vollzog, enteilten einige Weiber ihrer Kina-Hütte und verbargen sich auf den Islas Wollaston. Dort wurden sie zu *Haučéllakīpa* und drangen in die Erde ein. Sie stehen den Menschen feindlich gegenüber. Einer jeden gelang es, einen Mann in das Innere der Erde hinunter zu ziehen; dort wurde er zu einem *Haučélla*. Alle gehen darauf aus, unsere Männer und Frauen mit ihren Liebeständeleien zu umgarnen. Sehr übel ist es, daß vereinzelt [männliche] *Haučélla* sich sogar mit unseren Männern und *Haučéllakīpa* sich sogar mit unsern Frauen vergehen.[222] Wer von diesen Geistern berückt wird, der ist verloren, es sei denn, daß ein *yékamuš* ihn zeitig genug rettet. Aber echte Liebe ist das nicht. Gehe ich da, ganz in Gedanken verloren, zu einem Bache, scheint vor mir plötzlich ein bezaubernd schönes Weib auf, das mich schmeichelnd anlockt und widerstandslos gefangen hält. Das ist eine *Haučéllakīpa*. Seitdem werde ich dieses Bild nicht mehr los, es steht unwandelbar vor meinen [geistigen] Augen, es hält mich im Liebesbann gefangen. Wo ich gehe und stehe, wo ich sitze und arbeite, überall schwebt mir dieses Bild vor, es folgt mir überallhin nach. Monate vergehen und immer noch überwältigt mich das Bild jenes Weibes. Während sich das alles mit jenem Manne abwickelt, kommt ihm schließlich die rechte Einsicht und er sagt: „Jede Bewegung ist mir beschwerlich, ich fühle mich unwohl, meine Kräfte sind mir längst entschwunden. Von jener Frau aber kann ich mich nicht mehr trennen, ich bin ihr derart eng verbunden, als wären wir verheiratet. Als ob eine Krankheit in meinen Leib eingedrungen sei, so erfüllt und beherrscht mich jenes Weib; es hat mich längst bezwungen, ich muß sterben!" So redet ein solcher Mann. Wirklich zieht ihn die *Haučéllakīpa* zu sich unter die Erde, sein *kēlpix* bleibt mit ihr für immer verheiratet und sein Leib auf der Erde stirbt. In gleicher Weise berückt ein [männlicher] *Haučélla* eine Yamana-Frau, bis auch sie ihm ganz und gar anheimfällt. Ein *yékamuš* erkennt genau, was zwischen einem jeden von unsern Leuten und

[222] Mit diesen Worten wird deutlich homosexueller Verkehr zugegeben, aber doch nur als eine seltene Entgleisung der genannten schlimmen Geister.

den *Haučélla* sich abspielt; zeitig genug muß er ihn aus der Gewalt jener üblen Erdgeister befreien, damit er nicht zu einem sicheren Tode komme.

Maišenikens hat an diese Schilderung noch folgende angefügt: Als junger Mann bin ich mit meinem Vetter durch den Canal Molinare südwärts gefahren. Er stand in Verbindung mit einer *Haučélla*, ohne daß er sich Rechenschaft davon gab. Seit mehreren Tagen schon hatte er nichts gegessen. Obwohl ich ihm mehrmals zu essen anbot, nahm er nichts zu sich. Regelmäßig entgegnete er: „Zum Essen fehlt mir alle Lust! Ich weiß nicht, was mit mir vorgeht!" Wir kamen an einer Stelle vorbei, an der wir viele Vogeleier fanden. Mein Vetter aß nichts. Als wir weiterfuhren, leuchtete mir plötzlich ein: Mein Vetter ist in der Gewalt einer *Haučélla!* Nachdem wir einige Zeit weitergefahren waren, sprang er im Vorderteil des Kanus auf und schrie ängstlich: „Ein bedrohliches Unwetter zieht herauf!" Ich erwiderte: „Keineswegs! Wir haben herrliches, ruhiges Wetter!" Er war ganz von Sinnen. Als wir *Arákuswélla* erreicht hatten, befahl mein Vetter: „Zünde ein großes Feuer an! Schon kommt sie näher und bringt viele *axlya* [Rundkrabben] mit." Ich tat nach seinen Worten, doch bald befahl er wieder: „Fache das Feuer stärker an! Sie wird von der Kälte empfindlich geplagt." Ich war sprachlos. Da schrie mein Vetter: „Jetzt ist sie hier und packt mich!" Augenblicklich griff ich nach einem Knüppel und schlug damit rund um meinen Vetter. Allmählich beruhigte er sich, wir legten uns nieder und schliefen ein. Da mein Vetter sich am andern Morgen wohler fühlte, fuhren wir nach *Ilakéteyiška*. Dort angekommen, landeten wir. Voll Verzweiflung sagte er mir: „Laß du dich warnen! — Ich muß bald sterben." In meiner Angst griff ich wieder nach einem Knüppel und schlug dicht neben meinem Vetter auf die *Haučéllakipa* los. Diese aber entwischte unter der Hüttenwand hinaus ins Freie. Mein Vetter eilte ihr sofort nach und rief sehnsüchtig: „Mein Weib entflieht!" Nach einigen Schritten brach er zusammen und war tot.

Allgemein bezeichnet man das Innere der Erde als den regelmäßigen Aufenthalt der *Haučélla*-Gesellschaft. Dort bewohnen diese Geister gemeinsam eine außerordentlich geräumige Hütte. Was jeder einzelne dort treibt, kann ein *yékamuš* in seinem geistigen Schauen mehr oder weniger deutlich beobachten. Mašenikens hat mir versichert: „Wenn ein *yékamuš* plötzlich niederfällt, wie betrunken zusammenbricht und regungslos liegen bleibt, dann gerade sieht er ganz klar, was in der geräumigen Hütte der *Haučélla*-Gesellschaft vor sich geht." Man bezeichnet die *Ilóima*-Hütte deshalb als "Haus der *Haučélla*", weil diese Geister hier den Männern mehr als anderswo zu schaffen machen. Mit Vorliebe verweilen einzelne *Haučélla* an den sogenannten "gefährlichen Orten", denen jeder Yamana ängstlich ausweicht (S. 1309). Calderon erzählte: „Betritt ein einzelner Mann ahnungslos eine solche Stelle, so wird er plötzlich matt, setzt sich erschöpft nieder und schläft ein. Im Traume sieht er sich neben einer *Haučéllakipa* liegen, die ihn liebkost und geschlechtlich mißbraucht. Da er sich ganz entkräftet fühlt, kann er sich ihrer nicht erwehren und muß sie gewähren lassen. Nachdem er

aufgewacht ist, erinnert er sich nur schwach noch dessen, was er im Traume erlebt hat und erschrickt darüber, in der Umarmung der *Haučélla* gelegen zu haben. Seine eigene Schwäche zwingt ihn, sich wieder niederzulegen, und Traumseligkeit überfällt ihn. Das alles bewirkt die *Haučéllakīpa*, weil sie mit ihm geschlechtlich verkehren will. Lange Wochen dauert ein derartiger Zustand an, bis ein tüchtiger *yékamuš* den widerstandslosen Mann befreit. Der *yékamuš* sieht ja, wie eine *Haučélla* mit jedem Manne umgeht, den sie in ihre Umarmung gebannt hat; mit seinem Singen holt er die *čōwánni*-Geister herbei, die einen solchen Mann aus dem Banne jenes Weibes wieder herausreißen müssen. Ein schweres Ringen setzt ein, das der *yékamuš* im Traume verfolgt. Die Geister fassen jenen Mann [seinen *kēipix*] und zerren ihn weg; er blutet und seine Eingeweide hängen heraus. Die *Haučélla* verteidigt ihn gegen die Geister und wehrt diese ab. Schließlich aber siegen die vielen *čōwánni*-Geister, befreien den Mann aus dem Banne der *Haučélla* und bringen ihn auf die Erde zurück. Für immer ist er nun jenes bösen Weibes ledig und langsam erholt er sich von seiner Schwäche. Die *čōwánni*-Geister sind eben die Helfer des *yékamuš;* sie benehmen sich wie Menschen, sehen und kennen alles, er verkehrt mit ihnen wie mit seinesgleichen und erteilt ihnen Aufträge, die sie nach seinem Wunsche durchführen. Der *yékamuš* ist gänzlich frei, sich dieser Geister zu bedienen; aber er hilft nur jenen Personen, denen er seine Hilfe angedeihen lassen will. Daß viele andere Yamana im Banne der *Haučélla* stehen, sieht er zwar, bemüht sich aber nicht um sie."

Ausnahmsweise besitzt ein *yékamuš* ein weibliches *yefáčel* als Schutzgeist. Dieses ist wie seine Tochter, ungeziemende Dinge darf er sich mit ihr nicht zu schulden kommen lassen. Falls aber der *yékamuš* sein [weibliches] *yefáčel* zu Liebeleien zwingt, wird seine *Haučéllakīpa* eifersüchtig, kommt im Traume zu ihm, überläßt sich ihm und macht ihn glauben, er sei in der Umarmung des *yefáčel*. Der *yékamuš* fühlt sich überglücklich; er weiß ja nicht, daß er durch seine *Haučéllakīpa* irregeführt wird. Langsam ermattet er, sein Zustand verschlimmert sich unaufhaltsam und schließlich gerät er beim Sterben ganz in die Gewalt der *Haučéllakīpa*. Von vornherein muß ein solcher *yékamuš* wegen seines weiblichen *yefáčel* auf der Hut sein. Wieder tritt zutage, daß alle *Haučélla*-Geister den gewöhnlichen Menschen wie den *yékamuš* unfreundlich, mißgünstig, ja feindlich gegenüberstehen.

Aus der schon mehrmals erwähnten geschlechtlichen Vereinigung eines Yamana mit einem *Haučélla*-Geiste gehen Kinder hervor. „Diese sind immer vollwertige *Haučélla*, bleiben bei der *Haučélla*-Gesellschaft in der Erde und lassen zeitweilig den oder jenen Menschen ihre Abneigung fühlen. Sehr zahlreich sind die *Haučélla*-Geister. Ein *yékamuš* kennt jeden genau."

Zwar muß sogar der *yékamuš* vor seiner *Haučéllakīpa* auf der Hut sein, doch ist sie ihm eine verläßliche Helferin bei einer besonders schwierigen Tat. Will er schnell einen Feind aus dem Wege schaffen, schickt er gegen ihn seine *Haučéllakīpa* ab. Sie dringt in dessen Leib ein, der ungeheuer anschwillt, und bald ist das Ende da. Mancher Person ist es ein Genuß, den Lockungen

der *Hayčéllakīpa* in die Erde hinein zu folgen und bei ihr zu bleiben (S. 1100). Hierzu erhielt ich folgende Erklärung: „Wenn jemand auf Veranlassung eines *Hayčélla*-Geistes stirbt, so lebt sein *kēpix* in der *Hayčélla*-Gesellschaft weiter; er wird aber nicht auch ein *Hayčélla* und tut keinem Menschen etwas zu leide. Die *yékamuš* müssen darauf achten, daß kein Yamana sich von den *Hayčélla* berücken läßt oder von diesen zugrunde gerichtet wird." Ist eine Person im Banne eines *Hayčélla*-Geistes, dann lädt der *yékamuš* mehrere Männer ein, daß sie um jene kranke Person einen enggeschlossenen Kreis bilden. Er selber hält einige Zeit den bösen Geist in diesem Kreise zurück, auf daß er ermatte; nachher beißt der *yékamuš* wütend in den Erdboden und verwundet den *Hayčélla*-Geist tödlich. Damit ist der Kranke erlöst. Es kommt auch vor, daß ein böswilliger Medizinmann auf einem Gange durch das Lager von seiner *Hayčéllakīpa* begleitet wird. Gehen beide an einem ahnungslosen Kinde vorbei, nimmt sie dessen *kēpix* fort. Eilig muß ein aufmerksamer *yékamuš* der *Hayčéllakīpa* den geraubten *kēpix* entreißen und ihn dem Kinde zurückgeben. Also ruft er das Kind herbei, fährt mit seinen flachen Händen sanft streichend an dessen Körper mehrmals auf und ab, macht Brechbewegungen und hustet unter starken Erschütterungen; schließlich knetet er des Kindes Körper und erklärt: „Nun hast du deinen *kēpix* zurück!"

Eine gewisse Folgerichtigkeit sehe ich darin, daß die Yamana das e r s t e K r a n k s e i n mit diesen Geistern in Verbindung bringen. Es wird erzählt: „Vor der allgemeinen Umwälzung in *Yáinaiága* gab es keinen einzigen Kranken. Nach derselben aber fühlte plötzlich ein Mann heftige Schmerzen, die andauerten; er war krank und mußte liegen bleiben. Aufgeregt liefen viele Männer zusammen und überlegten, wie wohl das Kranksein zustande gekommen wäre. Nach langem Suchen entdeckten sie, daß das Leiden von jener böswilligen Frau herstamme, die damals entwischt und nach Süden geflüchtet war, wo sie in die Erde eindrang.[340] Die Männer nannten jenes gefährliche Weib *Hayčéllakīpa*. Dann überlegten sie, wie sie sich gegen das Kranksein schützen könnten und beauftragten die *yékamuš*, allen Yamana ihre Hilfe zu bieten." Diese Angaben beleuchten gut die erste Betätigung der Medizinmänner.

d. Eigenart des Medizinmannwesens

Aus der vorliegenden Beschreibung ergibt sich mit Bestimmtheit, daß der *yékamuš* eine Sonderstellung im Yamana-Volke einnimmt. Die P e r s o n des Medizinmannes ist mehr oder weniger gefürchtet, mag er seiner Familiengruppe noch so viel Hilfe gewähren. Da er doch darnach trachtet, andern Stammesgenossen gelegentlich sogar empfindlichen Schaden und den Tod zuzufügen, sei es aus eigenem Antrieb, sei es auf Bitten eines Freundes, ent-

[340] Einmal heißt es, „eine Frau hat es versucht, ob sie sich umwandeln und eine Haučella werden könnte" (S. 1158); ein andermal wird gesagt, daß „einige Weiber auf den Inlet Wollaston zu Haučella wurden und in die Erde eindrangen" (S. 1430). Der Unterschied in der Personenzahl ist belanglos, bedeutsam ist die übereinstimmend geschilderte Tatsache.

fernt er sich weit von der oft empfohlenen Tugend allgemeiner Hilfsbereitschaft. Die Vorzugsstellung, die man ihm bei manchen Anlässen einräumt, widerspricht der Gleichberechtigung, die allgemein den Stammesmitgliedern zuerkannt wird. Eine Folge davon ist, daß jeder *yékamuš* übertrieben ängstlich auf seine persönliche Ehre bedacht ist, wie das die Geschichten vom Medizinmann (S. 1266) beweisen. Damit verbindet sich Selbstsucht, die im Alltag unserer Yamana arg verpönt ist. Hat ein *yékamuš* auf eine schöne, tüchtige Frauensperson sein Auge geworfen, so folgt diese ihm in die Ehe auch dann, wenn sie nur wenig Lust dazu verspürt; aber geleitet von der Überlegung, daß er ihr bei einer Weigerung ernsten Schaden zufügen könnte. Ausschließlich den *yékamuš* ist der besondere Federschmuck *apawêr-a*, eine eigene Bemalung und das *lóima-yékamuš* vorbehalten. Sitzen mehrere Medizinmänner im Kreise beieinander, müssen sich die andern Leute, vor allem die Kinder, besonders ehrfürchtig und schweigsam benehmen, auf daß jene nicht gestört werden. Gar oft ergreift ein *yékamuš* den Geist jener Person, die ihm nahe kommt. Deshalb ist es ratsam, nicht hinter ihm, sondern vor ihm vorbeizugehen, damit man sein Verhalten beobachte. Müßte jemand an seinem Rücken vorbeigehen, soll er das sehr langsam und vorsichtig tun. Die Medizinmänner trauen einander selber nicht. Wer einen Bissen Fleisch oder einen Schluck Wasser zum Munde führt, soll vorher das "Unheil" entfernen, das ein Feind möglicherweise hineingelegt hat; andernfalls erkrankt er. Also macht er Bewegungen, als würde er das "Übel" herausschöpfen, legt es auf die flache Hand und bläst es weit fort.

Eine sorgfältige Behandlung erfährt der Leichnam eines Medizinmannes. Bald nach dem Ableben wird er in der Weise, die ihm eigentümlich ist, bemalt und mit dem *apawêr-a* geschmückt (S. 1105); auch ganz rot bemalt man ihn (S. 1151). Daneben legt man seine dinglichen Besitzgüter und steckt die Hütte in Brand.[341] Die vielen Leute, die sich eingefunden haben, werfen allerlei Gegenstände, die sie eben erreichen, ins Feuer; sie entledigen sich derselben aus Wertschätzung des Toten (S. 1111). Da in neuester Zeit auch die Medizinmänner beerdigt werden, achtet man darauf, daß das Gesicht nach oben gewendet bleibt. Die Gemeinschaft der Seelen aller verstorbenen *yékamuš* und jener Menschen, die ertrunken sind, betrachtet man als die eigentlichen *ûlulufôala*. Diese Bezeichnung, die auch eine mehr allgemeine Bedeutung hat (S. 1101), hängt mit *ûlûuf* im BD: 91 zusammen. Jene Seelen bewegen sich nach Osten hin, wo sie verweilen.[342] Nachts kehren sie manchmal in ihre Heimat zurück und jeder lebende Medizinmann kann sie sehen. Nelly Lawrence erzählte allen Ernstes: „Da im nächtlichen Traume oder im träumerischen Brüten tagsüber unsere *kêipiš* gern nach Osten ziehen, müssen die *yékamuš* singen

[341] Dezpard (b): 717 behauptet: „When yaccomoch dies, his body is burned to ashes, and those ashes thrown to the winds he rules so mightily, for them to make sport withal." Der letzte Teil ist unrichtig.

[342] Zwar schreibt Bamers (i): 19, daß „shooting stars were spoken of as the dead wizards of their people". Doch habe ich diesen Glauben nicht angetroffen. Bekanntlich werden Sternschnuppen von den Selk'nam als "Spiel der Medizinmänner" gedeutet (Bd. I, 680).

und die *kēlpiź* bald zurückholen; sonst verlieren sie sich in jener fernen Gegend, wo eigentlich die *kēlpiź* der toten *yékamuš* sich aufhalten." Mit alledem ist die Sonderstellung der Medizinmänner gekennzeichnet, mögen sie sich auch im Alltag gar nicht von ihren Landsleuten merklich unterscheiden, sondern als echte Yamana sich nach der Stammesüberlieferung einrichten.

Betrachtet man Sinn und Charakter des Medizinmannwesens, so wird die Eigenart dieser Einrichtung offenkundig. Sie entspricht weder der naturhaften Veranlagung unserer Yamana noch den Grundzügen ihrer geistigen Haltung. Die Mythe verlegt den Ursprung des Medizinmannwesens außerhalb der Grenzen des heutigen Yamana-Gebietes und bringt es in enge Beziehung zum Kina. Als erste *yékamuš* hat MAŠEMIKENS den *Hčēpul*, den *Yookallg* und andere Vögel bezeichnet (S. 1268, 1271). „Diese haben ihre Kunst einigen Leuten gelehrt und so ist sie auf uns gekommen!" Mit andern Einrichtungen unserer Feuerländer zeigt das Medizinmannwesen keine Zusammenhänge, es steht in ihrem Kulturganzen deutlich als eine Sonderbildung da.

G. Die geistige Befähigung

Kein Volk auf amerikanischem Boden ist von der gesamten Europäerwelt derart niedrig eingeschätzt und gering gewertet worden, wie unsere Yamana. Richtunggebender Anstoß zu diesem ungerechten Urteil sind schon die Mannschaften der holländischen Flotte des L'HERMITE gewesen, die als erste Europäer den Bewohnern des Kap Hoorn-Archipels zu Gesicht gekommen sind (S. 50). Weitester Verbreitung indes erfreute sich die mangelhafte und ungenaue Schilderung, die der damals 22jährige CHARLES DARWIN niedergeschrieben hat (S. 97). Zwar hat er in seinen Schriften vereinzelt einen richtigen Ausspruch[242] getan und als hochbejahrter Mann seine Meinung sehr zu Gunsten unserer Feuerländer geändert (S. 106), doch ist davon die Voreingenommenheit der Allgemeinheit nicht beeinflußt worden. Wer die staunenswert zahlreichen Berichte der Missionare (S. 146) durchblättert, den berührt es eigenartig, daß diese fast nur geringschätzig, ja verächtlich von der geistigen Haltung dieser Eingeborenen sprechen, und daß auch nach jahrzehntelanger Berührung sich ihr Urteil über sie nicht gebessert hat. In der Unterschätzung des gesamten geistigen Kulturgutes unserer Feuerländer ist BRIDGES allen andern Missionaren zuvorgekommen (S. 323); es wäre ja auch keinem von diesen gelungen, ihm gegenüber mit einer andern Meinung durchzudringen. Die Yamana hatten es bald erfaßt, daß BRIDGES ihre eigenen Anschauungen und Gebräuche, die ihnen ausnahmslos wertvoll und verehrungswürdig waren, mit betonter Verachtung ablehnte; deshalb entfernten sie sich von ihm und verschlossen ihm

[242] Er (f): I, 234 sagte: „Die Feuerländer gehören zu den niedersten Barbaren; ich habe mich aber fortwährend darüber wundern müssen, wie genau die drei an Bord der "Beagle" befindlichen Feuerländer ... uns in der ganzen Anlage und den meisten unserer geistigen Fähigkeiten glichen."

unerreichbar viele ihrer geistigen Güter (S. 144). An ihrer Haltung änderte auch der Umstand nichts, daß BRIDGES ausnahmsweise ein kurzes Wort zu ihren Gunsten fallen ließ.[244] In Wirklichkeit ist BRIDGES der Berater und die ausschlaggebende Nachrichtenquelle aller jener Feuerlandbesucher gewesen, die ihn während seiner langjährigen Missionstätigkeit befragt haben; auch seine vielen Veröffentlichungen sind als die eines maßgebenden Beobachters, den zu berichtigen andere keine Gelegenheit hatten, anerkannt worden. Zwar haben beispielsweise die Mitglieder der Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn ein ganzes Jahr hindurch mit einer Gruppe der dortigen Eingeborenen nahe Beziehungen unterhalten; wie sehr sie aber gerade in Beurteilung der seelischen Ausrüstung und der geistigen Güter der Yamana von BRIDGES abhängig geblieben sind, bezeugen ihre Veröffentlichungen. Aus diesem Sachverhalt heraus erklärt sich das einförmige, niedrig gehaltene Urteil fast aller Reisenden, die sich über die geistige Befähigung unserer Feuerländer ausgesprochen haben. Trotzdem fehlt es an vorteilhaften Zeugnissen, wie das eines SNOW (b): 266, nicht ganz und gar: „I will only venture to call your attention to the fact, that these savages have a heart and feeling as well as we have. And I saw many instances of warm love and affection for their children, and for each other."

Gute Kenner der Naturvölker haben gar bald die Unglaubwürdigkeit jener vielen Mitteilungen aus dem Feuerland in Zweifel gezogen und aus unscheinbaren Angaben wie aus gerechten Urteilen manchen günstigen Umstand hervorgeholt. WAITZ: 507 schon hat nachdrücklich betont: „Man darf doch nicht glauben, daß die geistige Stumpfheit [der Feuerländer] bei ihnen durchgängig herrsche ... Die vier Feuerländer, welche Kapitän FITZ-ROY mit nach London nahm, zeigten durchaus gute Fähigkeiten." RATZEL: I, 520 würdigt ihren Besitz an dinglichen Gütern und gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen. Darüber hinaus versichert er: „Je nähere Kenntnis man von ihren gemütlichen und geistigen Fähigkeiten im näheren Umgang gewann, desto höher stieg auch in dieser Hinsicht ihre Wertschätzung. Die Feuerländer sind, wenn auch durch das Elend ihrer Lage gedrückt, im Kerne doch Indianer wie alle anderen. Die ungenügenden Ergebnisse der Mission können nichts dagegen beweisen." Hält man die Yamana also für echte Indianer, müssen sie auch als vollwertige Menschen betrachtet werden. Daß sie es wirklich sind, beweisen überzeugend ihre auf den vorausgegangenen Seiten geschilderten Einrichtungen; die folgenden Seiten bringen eine nicht unbeträchtliche Ergänzung dazu. Befremdlich mutet es uns, die wir so tiefe Einblicke in das Geistesleben der meisten heute noch erreichbaren Naturvölker tun durften, gegenwärtig an, daß man sich genötigt sieht, zu beweisen, auch die Yamana seien ganze Menschen.

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[244] Einem jedem solcher Worte, wie dem in (i): 12, kommt für den Außenstehenden deshalb ein erhöhter Wert zu: „These natives have usually been described as a great deal worse than they were. I well know they were bad enough as all ignorant, lawless people must be, but they were falsely reported to be cannibals, and the sketches of them have been rather caricatures than likenesses."

a. Geisteskraft und Sinnestätigkeit

Als ungenau erachte ich die oft wiederholte Frage, ob die Yamana ein "intelligentes Volk" und für die Forderungen unseres Kulturlebens geeignet seien. Eine gerechte Würdigung ihrer Geisteskräfte wird man nur dann erzielen, wenn man die Feuerländer nach ihrem erfolgreichen Beherrschen der Umwelt zu verstehen gelernt hat. Sie haben sich in ihre Heimat vorzüglich eingepaßt, die verfügbaren dinglichen Güter zu zweckdienlichen Gerätschaften verwenden gelernt und im Ringen mit den Naturkräften ihre überragende Stellung verteidigt. Wirklich, sie behaupten sich in ihrem Lebenskreise und haben einige nicht unbeträchtliche Leistungen vollbracht, zu denen viele Europäer, plötzlich dorthin versetzt, nicht fähig wären. Ihr gesamter Kulturbesitz, richtig verstanden als herausgebildet aus der umgebenden Natur, ist ein beredtes Zeugnis für die geistigen Fähigkeiten und die gut ausgebildeten Sinne, deren unsere Feuerländer sich freuen. Ihre geistigen Anlagen konnten und brauchten sie nur bis zu einem gewissen Grade zu entwickeln, und zwar in Übereinstimmung mit den Forderungen, die an sie von außen herangetreten sind. War dieses Gleichgewicht erreicht,[245] fehlte nicht nur der Drang zu weiterer Steigerung der Leistungen, sondern es hätten diese sogar Störungen desselben zur Folge gehabt. Deshalb ein wirklicher Stillstand und ein unentwegtes Beharren durch Jahrhunderte auf der besonderen Kulturform mit ihren vielen auffälligen und unscheinbaren Eigenheiten, die nach einer unübersehbaren Reihe von Einzelerfahrungen einmal zustande gebracht worden ist und die dem Feuerländer ein ausreichend befriedigendes Dasein verbürgt.

1. Verstandestätigkeit

Weit entfernt davon, sich allein von den blinden Trieben drängen und leiten zu lassen, entspringt das Tun und Lassen des Yamana gar oft einer gründlichen, langen Überlegung. Er stellt den Plan für ein bestimmtes Ziel zusammen, überdenkt die Mittel, die ihm dazu verhelfen, er prüft die verfügbaren Kräfte, er beobachtet scharf den Werdegang seines Unternehmens. Zuweilen spricht er mit anderen darüber und sichert sich deren Rat, Erfahrung und Mithilfe; klug zieht er in Erwägung, was am meisten zweckdienlich zu sein scheint. Ist ihm der Versuch geglückt oder nicht, er legt sich selber und seiner Umgebung darüber schonungslos Rechenschaft ab; mit be-

[245] Diesen Gleichgewichtszustand hat DARWIN nicht gesehen. In seinen Erörterungen von der Armut jenes Erdwinkels ausgehend, urteilt er (d): 247 durchaus unrichtig: „Wie wenig können hier die höheren Geisteskräfte in Tätigkeit kommen; was kann dort die Einbildungskraft sich vormalen, die Vernunft vergleichen, das Urteil entscheiden. Eine Schüssel Muscheln vom Felsen zu stoßen erfordert nicht einmal Schlauheit, diese niedrigste Geisteskraft eines Tieres. Ihre Geschicklichkeit kann in mancher Beziehung mit dem Instinkt der Tiere verglichen werden; denn er wird durch Erfahrung nicht veredelt: ihr Canoe, ihre ingeniöseste Arbeit, so elend es ist, ist, wie wir von DRAKE wissen, die letzten 250 Jahre dasselbe geblieben."

stimmten Worten beurteilt er diese Handlung als einen Fehlgriff und jene als die entscheidende Wendung zum Erfolge. Zur Selbstbeschämung klagt mancher Mann und manche Frau offen vor andern: „Ich hätte dieses oder jenes auf andere Art tun müssen, dann hätte ich mich nicht erfolglos angestrengt!" Jeder Außenstehende, der die Yamana genau beobachtet, kann Beweise für ihr kausales Denken zu hunderten sammeln. Gewiß, unsere Feuerländer handeln oft ohne lange Überlegung und bohren sich nicht nachdenkend tief in manchen Sachverhalt ein, wenn sie sich augenblicklich entschließen müssen; ihre Gedanken steigen jetzt ruckartig auf und ihre Entscheidungen fallen ohne Vorbedacht. Aber abgesehen davon, daß sie auch in dieser Handlungsweise allen übrigen Menschheitsgruppen gleichen, leitet sie in solcher Lage zumindest ein im Erfahrungswissen geschulter und von schnellem Denken erleuchteter Instinkt. Für Personen, die regelmäßig unbedachtsam handeln oder sich blöde anstellen, verfügt ihre Sprache über grob kennzeichnende Worte zur Auswahl.

Wer die eigene Erfahrung oft zu Rate zieht und die Handlungsweise der Personen seiner Umgebung mehr als andere überdenkt, der gelangt zu einem nennenswerten Scharfsinn im Urteil. Mit dessen Hilfe bewahrt er sich selber vor Fehlgriffen. Nicht zu verwundern ist es, daß ein scharfsinniger Yamana mit Vorliebe betont: „Was die Vorfahren uns gelehrt haben, ist ganz vorzüglich, ist am geeignetsten!" Er erkennt eben, daß diese und jene Einrichtung oder Besonderheit weit besser als neue Versuche sich bewährt. Daher die Ehrfurcht aller Leute vor dem überlieferten Gut, und zwar vor den vielen Einzelheiten und Einzelstücken ihres gesamten Kulturbesitzes. Bei einer geistig überragenden Person holen die Stammesgenossen sich Rat; sie richten sich nach deren Weisungen, wenn Umstände außergewöhnlicher Art zusammentreffen. Nach scharfsinnigen Überlegungen vorzugehen, ruhig die Wirkungen einer Handlung zu werten und nach der Menge des Erfahrungswissens vieler Geschlechter sich einzurichten, hat unsere Yamana dazu geführt, das Zweckdienlichste in ihrer Heimat sich anzueignen. Alle kommenden Geschlechter haben daran festgehalten.[308]

Besser, als unsere Feuerländer es erreicht haben, ließen sich die dort kärglich gebotenen Naturerzeugnisse für bescheidene Ansprüche wohl nicht ausbeuten. Im besonderen sei auf die technische Vollendung der Waffen und Gerätschaften hingewiesen (S. 508), deren Leistungsfähigkeit sich kaum erhöhen ließe. Den Männern sowohl wie den Frauen stehen nur unzureichende Rohstoffe und Hilfsmittel zur Verfügung. Das Handwerkszeug, dessen sie sich bedienen, ist ja auch ihr Werk. Man muß sich wundern, wie nützlich und wirkungsvoll alle Gegenstände sind, die sie mit geduldiger Arbeit aus dem spröden Stoffe anfertigen. Aufmerksam achten die "Handwerker" auf

[308] Nichtssagende Worte sind es, wenn Hyades (q): 248 von den geistigen Fähigkeiten der Yamana behauptet, „qu'elles sont peu développées, ne s'appliquent pas à améliorer les conditions d'existence et paraissent incapables de perfectionnement"; oder wenn Lovisato (b): 144 versichert, daß „i Furghini hanno poca intelligenza, pochissima memoria, nessuna ritenitiva".

Schönheit und Regelmäßigkeit; diese wird von anderen Leuten entsprechend mehr oder weniger belobigt. Ein Weiterstreben und der Drang, das eine oder andere Stück nach seiner Leistungsfähigkeit zu vervollkommnen, liegt also außerhalb von Wunsch und Willen der Yamana; denn die ihnen überlieferten Güter sind für sie eben deshalb die besten und wirkungsvollsten, weil sie als solche bei den früheren Geschlechtern sich bewährt haben. Mit diesen und ähnlichen Worten rechtfertigt sich das abtretende Geschlecht vor dem aufsteigenden Nachwuchs für seinen entschiedenen Entschluß, auf der von den Vorfahren erreichten und überlieferten Kulturform beharrt zu haben und dabei unentwegt stehen geblieben zu sein.[247] Die fördernde Hilfe des erst vor etwa zwei Jahrhunderten eingeführten Hundes erkennend, haben sie dieses Tier binnen kurzer Frist in ihren Dienst genommen (S. 565) und mit Rücksicht darauf Bogen und Pfeil seitdem weniger gebraucht (S. 470). Was an dinglichem Besitz den Yamana in neuester Zeit von Europäern zugeflossen ist, bedeutet für sie eine Bereicherung oder eine Verbesserung ihrer Lebensbedingungen wahrlich nicht (S. 624).

Wer die Betätigung der Geisteskräfte unserer Yamana mit der des benachbarten Selk'nam-Volkes vergleicht, wird sich von einem leicht erkennbaren Unterschiede überzeugen. Die bei den Selk'nam vorhandene geistige Schwerfälligkeit bei Entschlüssen und ihre deutliche Ratlosigkeit bei plötzlich veränderter Lage ist bei den Yamana längst nicht so allgemein; diese sind, gegenüber jenen, lebhafter, regsamer und schneller schlüssig. Besonders fällt auf, daß der Yamana einen Scherz oder eine witzige Bemerkung sofort erfaßt, während der Selk'nam fast regelmäßig eine Erklärung dazu braucht. Beide Volksstämme gleichen sich jedoch im staunenswerten Gedächtnis, das unter keiner Rücksicht versagt (Bd. I, 1089); diese Worte gelten im besonderen für das Ortsgedächtnis. Schließlich sei noch hingewiesen auf eine ganz verläßliche Beobachtungsgabe, die den Yamana dazu verholfen hat, alles und jedes in ihrer Heimat genau zu kennen und jedwede Veränderung sofort zu bemerken; diese Gabe macht es ihnen auch möglich, die Bewegungen und Laute der Tiere mit vollkommener Naturtreue[248] nachzuahmen. Gelegenheiten, diese Fertigkeit zu zeigen, bieten sich oft, nicht nur auf der Jagd oder im Kina, sondern wirklich ausgiebig bei ihren Gesellschaftsspielen.

2. Charakter

Mit wenigen Strichen läßt sich der Charakter des Yamana-Volkes zeichnen, er ist ja im ganzen einfach und durchsichtig, auch drückt er sich im Gebaren

[247] Wendell (a): 6 hat eine nicht zutreffende Erklärung genannt: „Den Einwohnern des Feuerlandes hat man alle Fähigkeit zur geistigen Ausbildung abgesprochen und ihnen einen tierischen Instinkt zuerkannt. Ich glaube, daß dieser Zustand bloß eine Folge ihrer abgeschiedenen Lage ist, der durch öfteren Besuch von Fremden bald verbessert werden würde; ich fand sie willfährig und friedlich, ja in mehrerer Hinsicht tätig und erfinderisch."

[248] Meine Angaben werden durch bestimmte Beispiele, die Hyades (q): 249 aufzählt, und durch viele Aussprüche der Missionare reichlich bestätigt.

der Einzelperson leicht erkennbar aus. Gegenüber Fremden sind unsere Feuerländer außerordentlich scheu und zurückhaltend; eben daraus erklären sich die unrichtigen Aussagen voreiliger Beurteiler.[249] Im Grunde ihrer Seele sind die Yamana g u t m ü t i g und verträglich, friedliebend und Störungen durch Feindschaft und Gehässigkeit deutlich abhold.[250] Sie sind genügsam und mit einiger Bequemlichkeit schon zufriedengestellt; obwohl für sich anspruchslos, sind sie doch gegen jedermann unbegrenzt hilfsbereit. Wer sich einer bestimmten Gruppe überläßt, mag er selbst Europäer sein, ist in ihrer Hut gut geborgen und wird mit dem Besten, was ihr zur Verfügung steht, versorgt. Im gleichen Maße, wie Selbstlosigkeit gepriesen und geübt wird, verurteilt und haßt man Eigennutz in jedweder Form. Ein staunenswertes Feingefühl für den Verkehr mit andern und für das Verhalten des einzelnen in Gesellschaft hat Umgangsregeln aufgestellt (S. 1006), die auch in Europa am Platz wären und empfohlen werden können.

Überzeugtes Pflichtgefühl macht unsern Indianern das oft unangenehme Tagewerk zu einer willkommenen Beschäftigung, dem sie sich ohne Murren widmen (S. 511). Aus E h r f u r c h t fügen sie sich dem übernommenen Brauch, beugen sie ihr Urteil den überlieferten religiösen und mythologischen Vorstellungen, vermeiden sie jedes Nörgeln und Deuteln am ererbten Gedankengut. Ihre Gefühle wissen sie bis zur vollständigen Unkenntlichkeit zu verbergen, wenn sie verdächtigen und feindlich gesinnten Personen gegenüberstehen; in munterer Gesellschaft benehmen sie sich zuweilen frischfröhlich ausgelassen. Ihren Trauerschmerz, der immer tief empfunden ist, gießen sie auch in einem großen Kreise von Stammesgenossen schrankenlos aus. HYADES (p): 33 zeichnet diese Züge mit folgenden Worten: „Le caractère est serieux et concentré. On ne rit pas facilement; le rire est toujours bruyant." Es ist nicht zu viel behauptet, wenn ich sage: Jeder Yamana, ob Mann oder Frau, kann augenblicklich aufbrausen und hemmungslos sein überschäumendes Gemüt austoben lassen; nach einigen Stunden, wenn ruhige Überlegung eingesetzt hat, sinkt er wie ein gänzlich Entwaffneter in sich zusammen.

Für sein eigenes Recht tritt jeder mit zäher Unnachgiebigkeit ein. Jedermann nimmt persönliche Belobigung mit Wohlgefallen entgegen, ohne es zu erkennen zu geben; verächtlich gemacht zu werden, kränkt sogar Kinder, erst

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[249] Beispielsweise behauptet Forster (b): 244 von den wenigen Eingeborenen, die er Dezember 1774 im Paso Christmas angetroffen hat: „Ihr Zustand war weit von aller Behaglichkeit entfernt; daher bemerkt man sie einen Ausdruck der Freude oder Zufriedenheit in ihren Mienen, vielmehr waren ihnen diese sittlichen, gesellschaftlichen Gefühle fremd, und ganz in dem Gefühl ihrer Bedürfnisse verschlungen."

[250] ASPINALL: 270 sagt ähnlich: „Überhaupt sind sie von Charakter gutmütig und hilfsbereit. Nie sagen sie die Unwahrheit oder versuchen sie fremdes Gut sich anzueignen. Um so nachdrücklicher fordern sie dagegen, was ihnen 'von rechtswegen' zusteht und greifen selbst zu den Waffen, um das ihnen Gebührende zu erlangen." HYADES (c): 142 und (d): 307 versichert: „Le caractère des Fuégiens est généralement gai, rieur, mobile mais peu expansif." Vgl. SOLCZANIN (a): 167. In unschönen Farben und mit unwahren Behauptungen entwirft BARGES (a): 203 eine arg verzerrte Charakterzeichnung von den Yamana.

recht Erwachsene außerordentlich tief. Alle sind reichlich eitel. Jedweder Gefahr gegenüber zeigt sich der Yamana kühn und unerschrocken, an der Durchführung seiner Pläne hält er im Vertrauen auf seine Kräfte fest. BRIDGES (e): 332 versichert, daß die Yamana „in ihrer eigenen Schätzung stärker und weiser als die Bleichgesichter waren".

Der Umgang mit diesem Volke ist mir angenehm und gemütlich gewesen; das gleiche Wohlgefühl hatte ich in solcher Stärke bei den Selk'nam nicht. Der hier niedergelegten kurzen Charakterzeichnung füge ich folgendes Zeugnis aus HYADES (q): 244 an: „Quand on les a fréquentés longtemps, et pour ainsi dire apprivoisés, on constate comme nous que les dispositions générales de leur caractère sont plutôt bonnes que mauvaises."[251] In ihren Charakterzügen erscheinen die Yamana als ganz und gar menschlich, dafür sprechen die hier zusammengestellten Urteile und viele Angaben auf den vorhergehenden Seiten. Sogar DARWIN (f): I, 234 bekennt: „Ich war, als ich mit den Feuerländern an Bord der 'Beagle' zusammenlebte, unaufhörlich von vielen kleinen Charakterzügen überrascht, welche zeigten, wie ähnlich ihre geistigen Anlagen den unsrigen waren."

Jene eben gezeichnete Charakterbildung fördern die vielen Grundsätze, nach denen die Erziehung der Jugend in der elterlichen Hütte (S. 854) durchgeführt wird; nicht minder fördernd wirkt auf Erwachsene der Zwang zu so manchen gesellschaftlichen Pflichten (S. 1000). Die Sittlichkeit, in des Wortes weitester Bedeutung, steht allgemein hoch (S. 1086), durchgehends bemühen sich die Stammesmitglieder um treue Pflichterfüllung. Sogar BRIDGES (e): 333 hat mit folgender Anerkennung nicht zurückgehalten: „Unter den Yahgans war Laster jeder Art, der üblen Folgen wegen, verdammt und die Tugend, ihrer guten Resultate wegen, empfohlen." Nochmals sei zugegeben, daß mancher Feuerländer vorwiegend deshalb nicht vom rechten Wege, besonders im Gebiete der geschlechtlichen Moral, abweicht, weil er seinen guten Leumund bei seiner Umgebung bewahren will. Das Empfinden für eine schickliche Sittsamkeit, mehr bei Frauen als bei Männern,[252] und für Recht im allgemeinen sind gut entwickelt, die feuerländischen Anstandsregeln überraschen nach Form und Inhalt. Manche seiner falschen Behauptungen hat BRIDGES später berichtigt, wenn er das Geständnis macht: „The native mind is much more settled in approval of what is good and against evil than ever I have known before, and they are consequently better behaved, and exercise more self-control" (MM: XVIII, 31, 1884). Die von Europäern eingeschleppte Zügellosigkeit hat den früheren Ernst sittlicher Bindungen und Verpflichtungen zum schweren Schaden der Eingeborenen ganz erheblich gelockert (S. 353).

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[251] Im Anschluß an diese Worte bietet HYADES (q): 244 noch einen eigenen Abschnitt über: Expression des émotions.

[252] Snow (a): I, 326, 349 hat mehrmals sein Erstaunen darüber ausgedrückt. Von den Frauen sagt er (b): 262 freudig erregt: „The modesty of their conduct was very remarkable, and nothing would induce them to come on deck." Auch HYADES (d): 308 versichert: „La pudeur existe dans les deux sexes, mais elle est plus développée chez la femme." Vgl. das

3. Ausbildung der Sinne

Was bisher über die Geisteskräfte unserer Feuerländer gesagt worden ist, spricht gleichzeitig für eine genügende Ausbildung ihrer Phantasie. Diese ist lebhaft, allerdings wenig schöpferisch. Ihre Leistungen sind trotzdem nicht gering; man vergegenwärtige sich nur die vielen Geistergestalten im Kina und die zahlreichen Persönlichkeiten in der Mythenwelt, ferner die ansehnliche Auswahl an Spielen und Zieraten, Schmucksachen und Körperbemalungen. Eine Erfindungsgabe, die alles das und manches andere geschaffen hat, kann nicht als beschränkt gewertet werden. Daß sie sich immer noch regt, beweist die neugierige Haltung dieser Naturkinder gegenüber fremden Dingen; nicht selten benehmen sie sich dabei sogar aufdringlich. Übereinstimmend mit manchen Reisenden hat schon DESPARD bestätigt: „The Fuegians are very curious, and naturally watch all you do; they like to touch, and feel everything they see" (VP: VI, 167; 1859). Mit dieser gesunden Neugierde ist ein gutes Maß Wißbegierde und Gelehrigkeit verbunden.

In der Ausbildung ihrer Sinnestätigkeit übertreffen die Feuerländer bei weitem uns Europäer und die Leistung ihrer Sinne setzt uns zuweilen in Staunen. Darin sind alle Beurteiler einig. Dem scharfen Gesichtssinn des Yamana entgeht sozusagen nichts, keine noch so unscheinbare Veränderung auf seinem Wege, an seinen Gebrauchsgegenständen, an einer anderen Person. Mit sicherem Urteil bestimmt er die Spuren und Anzeichen von Tieren am Boden, sowie die Insassen eines am Horizont aufsteigenden Kanus; in der Nahbeobachtung wie in der Fernsicht ist sein Auge untrüglich. Noch im hohen Alter erfreut sich jedermann seiner vorzüglichen Sehkraft; bei einigen bejahrten Personen setzt allerdings Weitsichtigkeit ein, daß sie kleinere Gegenstände beim Beschauen oder Bearbeiten etwas weiter von ihren Augen abrücken müssen. Die Augen der Eingeborenen vertragen direkte Sonnenstrahlen und starkes Licht vom Hüttenfeuer bedeutend leichter, als das Europäeraugen möglich wäre. HYADES (f): 580 und (p): 329 versichert: „Les Fuégiens ont une acuité visuelle satisfaisante et ... Ils sont, en général, doués d'un grand pouvoir d'accomodation." Aus seiner Erfahrung bestätigt DARWIN (f): I, 43 kurz: „Ich habe reichlich Gelegenheit gehabt, das außerordentliche Sehvermögen der Feuerländer zu beobachten."[333] Hier sei auch ihre staunenswerte Fertigkeit in der Zeichensprache erwähnt. Selbst bedeutsame Mitteilungen verstehen sie zuverlässig auf eine für andere nicht zu erkennende Art jenem zukommen zu lassen und an jenen weiterzugeben, für den sie be-

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gleichlautende Urteil in BRIDGES (h): 208. HYADES (p): 335 und (q): 239 geht sogar weiter in folgenden Worten: „On pourra peut-être s'étonner de lire ici que le sentiment de la pudeur est très développé chez les Fuégiens, habitués à vivre nus."

[333] Er (d): 239 sagt noch ergänzend: „Ihr Gesicht war merkwürdig scharf. Sowohl YORK als YERRY waren allen Matrosen an Bord bedeutend überlegen: mehrmals erklärten sie, was irgendein entfernter Gegenstand gewesen sei, und obschon es von allen bezweifelt wurde, stellte es sich heraus, daß sie Recht hatten, wenn derselbe durch ein Teleskop untersucht wurde. Sie waren sich dieses Vermögens wohl bewußt." Ebenso BOVE (e): 125 u. a.

rechnet sind. Daher wird das Mißtrauen aller gegen alle, die eine größere gesellschaftliche Runde bilden, verständlich. Um die physiologische Leistungsfähigkeit der Augen unserer Yamana zu bestimmen, hat HYADES (q): 196 genaue Untersuchungen durchgeführt.

Da die Feuerländer sehr aufmerksam auf alles, was sie umgibt, Bedacht nehmen müssen, beanspruchen sie auch ihr Gehör bei Tag und bei Nacht. Ihnen entgeht ebensowenig, wie einem wachsamen Hunde, der leiseste Ton oder das schwächste Geräusch, man möchte meinen, sie halten andauernd ihre Ohren gespitzt. Es mag sein, daß, nach HYADES (q): 329, „l'ouïe a la même acuité et la même portée que chez la majeure partie des Européens"; indes, unsere Feuerländer sind aufmerksamer, weswegen sie eben doch mehr bewußt aufnehmen, als Europäer. Andauernde Übung macht es ihnen sehr leicht, mit Sicherheit die einzelnen Geräusche auf ihre Ursache zurückzuführen, die Stimme von Vögeln und Säugetieren zu unterscheiden, sogar sehr schwache Töne zuverlässig zu deuten. Merkwürdig ist, daß eine ungewöhnlich starke Erschütterung der Luft, etwa ein lauter Knall oder schriller Pfiff, sie weder schreckt noch belästigt.

Aus dem zu schließen, was über das Gefühl für Reinlichkeit unserer Indianer mitgeteilt worden ist (S. 425), könnte man ihren Geruchsinn als hochgradig unempfindlich ansehen. HYADES (q): 209 drückt sich auf diese Weise aus: „La sensibilité olfective est assez émoussée chez les Fuégiens; ils ne paraissent pas faire de différences entre ce que nous appelons les bonnes et les mauvaises odeurs." Doch mit alledem will ich nicht sagen, daß ihr Geruchsinn weniger leistungsfähig als der eines Europäers sei. Auch der Yamana läßt seine Nase oft und oft entscheiden, ob ein Stück Fleisch schon in Fäulnis übergegangen und somit ungenießbar geworden ist, oder ob verwesende Stoffe ihm den Aufenthalt an einer bestimmten Stelle unmöglich machen (S. 384). Ihren heftigen Widerwillen erregt der Gestank von Exkrementen eines Menschen und Hundes. An ihren eigenen, uns Europäern ekelhaften Hautgeruch haben sie selber sich so vollkommen gewöhnt, daß sie ihn gar nicht zu verspüren scheinen.

Bei der Nahrungssuche und beim Essen gehen die Yamana offensichtlich wählerisch vor (S. 586). Ihr Geschmackssinn unterscheidet deutlich genug, was ihrem Gaumen mehr oder weniger oder gar nicht zusagt. Auf einige Dinge, des Geschmackes wegen, sind sie sozusagen versessen, z. B. auf den flüssigen Tran in einem kurzen Darmstück (Abb. 99) und auf gewisse Teile vom Wal (S. 577). Ihre Heimat liefert ihnen außerordentlich wenige Süßstoffe (S. 570), deshalb führen die Leute sich neuerdings Zucker in verschwenderischer Menge zu. Ihr Verlangen nach Salz ist aus einleuchtenden Gründen sehr gering: sie nehmen es eben in ihrer ausschließlichen Fleischkost zur Genüge auf (S. 570). Alkoholische Getränke bieten ihnen wirklichen Genuß nicht; die meisten Yamana von heute verlangen aber sehr darnach wegen des Rausches (S. 571). Sogar dann, wenn einen schwerer Hunger quält, weist er Dinge ab, die seinem Geschmack zuwider sind.

Auf den ersten Blick erscheint es, als wäre es etwas Eigenes um den **Gefühlssinn** unserer Feuerländer. In Wirklichkeit ist dem aber nicht so; auch nach HYADES (p): 328, „la sensibilité tactile n'est ni plus ni moins développée que chez les observateurs français". Der Yamana ist allerdings nicht im gleichen Maße empfindlich und wehleidig, wie ein Europäer. Er fühlt Kälte und Hitze, Frost und Sonnenbestrahlung, die spitzen Steine auf dem Boden und den harten Druck seiner Schlafstätte, Verletzungen und Wunden. Aber jedwedes Ungemach nimmt er gleichmütig hin und trägt es schweigsam; muß jemand andauernd sehr empfindliche Schmerzen aushalten, dann stöhnt und wimmert er nur leise. Wo er sich leicht einige Bequemlich-

Abb. 99. Darmstück mit Tran gefüllt. 1/3 nat. Größe

keit schaffen kann, unterläßt er es nicht; ist aber die Belästigung nicht abzustellen, findet er sich gleichgültig damit ab. Sicherlich reagiert seine Körperhaut, zumal die an Händen und Füßen, nicht so wirksam wie bei Europäern, die sich andauernd durch Kleidung und geschlossene Wohnung schützen; er aber hat sich selber auch reichlich gegen äußere Einwirkungen abgestumpft und deshalb beherrscht er seine Gefühle weit stärker. Daß auch feines Empfinden in seinen schweren Händen und klobigen Fingern steckt, geben manche zierliche und genaue Gegenstände, die er anfertigt, zu erkennen. Überdies spricht die Geschicklichkeit, die jeder Yamana auf der Jagd und beim Fallenstellen aufbietet, für die gute Ausbildung seiner Sinne.[*]

b. *Allgemeines Wissen*

Die Begabung, die jedes Kind als Erbteil von seinen Eltern und als natürliche Ausrüstung auf diese Welt mitbringt, weist auch hier im Feuerlande sehr verschiedene Grade auf. Die Veranlagung des einzelnen wird in der eigentlichen Erziehung ausgebildet, zunächst in der elterlichen Hütte, später im *ciḡnus*. Die Erwachsenen betrachten ihre eigenen erzieherischen Be-

[*] Sogar DARWIN (f): I, 43 ist darüber in Staunen geraten und sagt: „Einen Stein genau nach einem Ziele zu werfen, wie es ein Feuerländer kann, wenn es gilt sich zu verteidigen

mühungen um die heranreifende Jugend als eine ernste Pflicht, der sie sozusagen tagtäglich nachkommen. Unermüdlich lernen sie ihre Kinder an, sie zeigen ihnen dieses und jenes Handgriff, erklären ihnen das eine wie das andere, machen ihnen das und jenes vor, stellen selber Fragen und beantworten die der jugendlichen Fragestellen, beobachten deren Fortschritte und warnen vor falscher Richtung. Handelt es sich bei diesen Anleitungen vorwiegend darum, dem jungen Geschlecht zu hoher Fertigkeit im Gebrauch der Waffen und Geräteschaften zu verhelfen, übermitteln ihm die Erwachsenen im täglichen Verkehr auch allgemeine Kenntnisse und gelegentlich das besondere Wissen um bestimmte Einrichtungen und Gebräuche, um das Religiöse und Mythologische im weiteren Sinne des Wortes. Schätzenswerte und ähnlich, so wie die Umstände es empfehlen und die geistige Reife des Jugendlichen es erfordert, erfährt er mehr und mehr aus dem reichen und mannigfaltigen Wissensgut seines Stammes. Von einem geordneten Unterricht kann keineswegs die Rede sein; die Erklärungen und Deutungen erfolgen bei den im Alltag sich bietenden Anlässen, den Knaben vorwiegend von den männlichen, den Mädchen von den weiblichen erwachsenen Stammesmitgliedern, hauptsächlich von den Verwandten innerhalb der Familiengruppe.

Ohne empfindlichen Zwang bereichern sich die Jugendlichen, der eine mehr als der andere, je nach dir natürlichen Begabung und dem persönlichen Fleiß. Wer besonders geweckt und geistig regsam ist, macht schnellere Fortschritte; seiner nehmen sich die Alten mit größerer Gewissenhaftigkeit an und sie lassen ihn manches früher wissen, was seinen Altersgenossen noch vorenthalten wird. Auf Anlage, Fleiß und Wißbegierde ist es zurückzuführen, daß auch bei den Yamana einzelne Personen über das durchschnittliche Wissen hinaus noch viele Kenntnisse besitzen. Manche sind außerordentlich beschränkt und kommen sich nur im Notwendigsten geistigen aus. Wer ein überragendes Wissen sein eigen nennt, der sieht seiner Umgebung an, der nimmt Einfluß auf sie, der gilt sehr viel bei nah und fern. Die Vormachtstellung der meisten yékamai beruht darauf, daß sie ihre Landsleute durch den Besitz an geistigen Gütern übertreffen.

Würde man das gesamte Erfahrungswissen und die zahlreichen Einzelkenntnisse, die jeder Yamana sein eigen nennt, zusammenrechnen, es würde sich ein erstaunlicher Wissensschatz aufbauen. Aus ihm schöpfend, bereichert sich jeder heranwachsende Geschlecht aufs neue. Er genügt, um den Anforderungen des Daseins entsprechen, um die Bedürfnisse des Geistes befriedigen, um die Ziele der Wirtschaftstätigkeit erreichen, um ein geordnetes, harmonievolles Stammesleben zum Wohle jedes einzelnen führen zu können. Vertrauend auf sein Wissen und seine Kräfte arbeitet und strebt der Feuerländer zielgerichtet seinen Zielen entgegen, als ein Herrscher über die Tierwelt und die starken Naturkräfte seiner unfreundlichen Heimat.

oder Vögel zu töten, erfordert die höchste Vollendung der in Geschicklichkeit verbundenen Wirkungen der Muskeln der Hand, des Armes und der Schultern, einen feinen Gefühlssinn dabei gar nicht zu erwähnen."

1. Worte und Zählen

Das Tamana fehlt ein allgemein gültiger Wortnamen nach Art der Gattung oder der verschiedenen Nahe. Sie bedient durch umgrenzen, den Tschwori begandeln abzuschätzen. Dieser wird nach verschiedenen Rücksichten bestimmt, nicht selten und oft sogar ausschließlich nach der Schätzung und individuellen Auffassung des Gegenstandes. Je schwerer ein Ding zu erreichen ist, um so höher steht es im Wert. Diese und andere Rücksichten sind selbstverständlich im Tauschhandel ausschlaggebend, sie bestimmen auch, ob der Empfänger den den übersichtlich Gesichtsch höher oder niedriger wiedgt. Beispiele für einen Art von Wertskala sind S. 978 aufgeführt. Daß unsere Tamana die Dinge wie Europäer überhaupt Dinge nicht abzuschätzen imstande sind, ist offensichtlich, deshalb bedrauder es einmandeng, wenn er sieht, daß die Indianer trotz Farben oder seltener Stücke weder schnaun noch gut aufbewahren. Ganz allgemein gilt, daß sie mit ihrer Gesichtsfarbe weder vorsichtig umgehen noch sie bekleiden schützen, sondern vertrauen sie auf dem eigenen Körnern und verlassigen sich ohne viel Mißverwahrung, was sie benötigen. Irgendwelche Rücksichten und ein Ankleben von Gegenständen wären für sie weiter nichts, als komischende Belastung.

Die Basis an dinglichen Gütern ist ausnahmsweise gering. Deshalb können sie Zahlwörter nach höchstens als eine unentbehrliche Wertskala entbehren. Bestimmt sind die Bezeichnungen für eins = yéhgli, für zwei = kompéjye und für drei = mówa. Im allgemeinen zählen die Tamana nicht höher hinauf. Wie Drei übersteigt, bezeichnen sie als mówa = viel, was sehr viel ausmacht, kompéjówa ein zuweilen als mówa mówa oder auch als Ville mówa; für eine ganz außerordentliche Menge gebrauchen sie den Ausdruck mengóna mówa. Außerdem gibt es einige Zusammensetzungen, mit denen man Zahlen über drei ausdrückt. Man sagt yéhgli yéli = eine Hand und kompéji yéli = zwei Hände, das bedeutet: fünf bis, sehr. Im BD, 235 finden sich dazu, a few as from five to twenty. Auch noch einige andere Formen bringt das BD. Bildungen, wie mówa Ville mówa, dürften eine unter Einfluß der Europäer entstanden sein. Vgl. Brunne (p): 217. Wollen die Tamana eine höhere Zahl als drei angeben, bedienen sie sich am Gebiete der Finger und deutete die zu kennzeichnende Zahl durch Schätzung des betreffenden Fingers an, ohne ein eigenes Zahlwort zu bilden oder anzugeben. Längen- und Höhenmaße besaßen unsere Freundinnen nicht. Um eine unbestimmte Ausdehnung anzugeben, halten sie beide Hände und gehen durch Entfernung derselben voneinander die ersichtliche Länge an; gleichzeitig sagen sie: kyéwada, ein kurzes = wie dieser hier, mówa = lang. Wieder im Zählen noch im Messen erreichen die Tamana annähernd Genauigkeit an.

Kurz sei noch auf einige Worte hingewiesen, denen sich unsere Indianer als Ausrufe bedienen. Stimmen sie einem Worte oder Anfrage zu, gemeinen sie ein mutiere a hervor, ohne den Mund zu öffnen; verneinend neigen sie auch den Kopf ein wenig. Bei bildlicher Bestätigung sprechen sie ein lautes dá = gut, richtig, wahrlich aus; auch ein energisches ma = so ist, endlich ein

oft so gebräuchlich, unangemessen. Es fällt Ihnen aber dann, wenn wir in eine Reihe hineingehen. Wer den Wortes einen anderen nicht annimmt, verhält sich ernsten und engagiert, vorzüglich dieser an den Kopf anders nur Lieben und gerade willkommenheiten jede keine Schlusses a Inertion. Vgl. Dreyer (gl) 247.

2. Zeitbestimmung

Die Unterschiede von Tag und Nacht, sowie von einer zur anderen Jahreszeit, sind so groß, als daß unsere Feuerfinder sie nicht mit eigenen Worten benennen würden. Einen Ausdruck, der genau Tag bezeichnet, würde, bestimmt sie nicht; sie bedienen sich des mögl. = Licht, Helligkeit. Hiervon leitet sich das vielgebrauchte mögl.lich = täglich, und noch manche andere Zusammensetzung ab. Vgl. BD 111. Zwar kennen die Tonnen eine genaue Grundeinteilung nicht, sie verlegen aber den Tag in Abschnitte von etwa vier Stunden. Man sagt dabei oder auch mögl. mögl.ges für die Zeit vom Morgengrauen nach Aufhen Hochstand der Sonne, d.h. bis etwa 10 Uhr. Das dritte hat als Grundbedeutung: Morgengrauen. Das mögl.ges gibt BD 119 wieder mit to spread as light does so that day is spread abroad. Hiernach folgt ebenfalls mögl.ges, die Mittagszeit, von 10 bis 2 Uhr. Vgl. ebenso, to cross over ... bei BD 433. Dann schließt sich hinzufügend an, der Nachmittag, die Zeit bis etwa 6 Uhr. BD 151 bringt das Schlusses, to get down, to go a long way off. Hiernach folgt schon Abendhaus, die Zeit der Abendbildungszeit bis etwa 9 Uhr. Alle diese Ausdrücke sind den Tonnen geläufig.

Aber auch die Nacht teilen sie ein, bei den ersten erwähnen Abschnitten schließt sich der Mitt an, die Zeit des ersten Nachtschlafs bis Mitternacht. Hiernach setzt der Abschnitt jüngster Mitt ein, die Zeit von Mitternacht bis etwa 3 Uhr. Endlich folgt das mögl.ges gegenüberges, die Zeit des sich anbahnenden Morgens, zwischen 3 und 7 Uhr. Obwohl diese Wendungen allgemein verständlich sind, gibt ein guter Kenner der Tonnen dazu und wenn auch nach dieser Deutung am Hiernach die Nachtzeit an.

Die Tonnen teilen das Jahr in deutlich erkennbaren, möglichst nicht scharf abgegrenzten Abschnitten ein, die man täglich als Jahreszeiten bezeichnet. Die Natur selbst erscheint in einem viermal verschiedenen Kleide, dessen Wandlung sehr auffällig ist; deshalb sprechen unsere Feuerfinder bestimmt von vier Jahreszeiten. Das Erste bedeutet Frühling; BD 41 schreibt drive, spring, season of spring. Das Mal ist der Sommer. Das Mittel ist der Herbst. Dieses Wort ist eine Zusammensetzung aus Mitt, sonnengeschen Bucht (Mittelalgen gemittet) und aus Ad, ent, ohne. Zeit der ungeschlachten Buchstäbchen. Das ist endlich Winter. Vgl. BD 3 und das phrase, the early part of winter, bei BD 438. Die erwähnten Bezeichnungen werden an verschiedenen Wortverbindungen gebraucht, z.B. bringt Schlechtes der nächste Frühling, und Schlechtes der nächste Sommer. Vgl. BD 242 und Sommer (3) 25. Der Allgemeinbegriff: Jahreszeit fehlt nicht, auch das BD 42 bringt drum, season, time. Die Tonnen bevorzugen indes folgende Jahreszeitenfolge:

Ashdubwa: "Die Zeit, da die Binde locker ist", wenn die Bälle in den Buchenstämmen wieder rollen und die Binde sich leicht loschlägt. Mk. Der Vorfrühling, September und Oktober, wenn die ersten Triebe sprießen, Gi gemeint. Wer wissen will, "ob die Binde schon locker ist", hält Umschau und horcht auf, ob er das *Ayk, Ayk* vernimmt, den Ruf der großen Ente. Unsere Schnepfe, genannt *Ayhdaw* bzw. *yilldundy*. Dieser Ruf klingt genau so wie das Geräusch, das beim rückwärtigen Abklopfen einer Binde entsteht. Das *Ayhdaw* dürfte zusammenhängen mit *Aka*, to make cones, in BD: 132. Auch BD: 270 bringt *Ashdawdawa*, the early season for making spring cones early in October.

Sawa: "Die Zeit, da sowa die ersten Vogeleier findet", der Vorfrühling. Wer jetzt das erste frische Ei entdeckt, schlägt es auf und schlürft sich mit dem Eigelb einen erdverbrauchenden Trieb ihrer Stirn und Nasenlöcher, zum Erleben seiner Freude (S. 1968). Auch sucht jetzt jeder an der Küste aufzuwachsen nach *Ashyalbil*, der Sawane (*Artiniaria*). Dagegen dem bewundern hellwachende Kolonien dieser Tierchen, jauchzt er auf, denn sie sind den Boten des Frühlings (S. 1968). BD: 61 bringt auch *dziadawa*, very early in spring. Aber man begnügt sich nicht mit einem einzigen Anzeichen für das Eintreffen des Frühlings. Ein mannigfaltiges Merkmal ist das Ausreifen der Samen. Wer gut zu beobachten weiß, hält von einer bestimmten Stelle seiner Hütte aus und in der gleichen Körperhaltung einige Tage lang durch ein Lichtbrin genau Ausschau. Hat er sich überzeugt, daß die Samen wieder anreifen, hält er auch die anderen eben erwähnten Anzeichen gelten und verkündet freudig der Nachbarschaft: „Der Frühling ist da!"

Ikki: "Die Zeit, in der die Vogeleier schwer sind", weil die Vögel schon brüten und der Embryo wächst. Der Vorsommer ist gemeint.

Ikiy-Ashkilldiw: "Die Zeit, da die Vogeleier leer werden", denn die Brut ist beendet. Das ist der beginnende Hochsommer. Jene Bezeichnung ist weiter nichts als eine Zusammenziehung von *Ikiy*, *Ei* und *Ashkilldiw*, leer sein. Die BD: 291 sagt hierzu: *Ashkilldiw*, the season of the year when empty shells are in the nests, answering to January.

ayiwilbagi: "Die Zeit, in der die jungen Vögel sich vergnügt rühren und erwachen", denn es bilden sich bereits ihre großen Flügelfedern und sie sind bald flügge. Der Hochsommer. Man erklärt jene Bezeichnung aus: *ayiya*, the young of any animals or birds, und *bagi*, to lie or sit down in the sun to enjoy its heat, nach BD: 44, 298.

Ashdabdi: "Die Zeit der entfalteten Buchenblätter", der eigentliche Herbst, der ganze März. Jetzt kommen die Gänsewaldchen mit ihren Jungen von Küsten und Lagunen im Innern der Inseln wieder an den Mutterstrand zurück, wo die wärmlichen Tiere sich immerhin noch aufhalten haben.

ayiyilbin: "Die Zeit der ersten Schauer", der Vorsommer, April und Mai. Erst fällt Schauer auf den Bergen, dann dringt er in tiefere Schichten vor und erreicht schließlich den Strand. Über Küste und Lagunen legt sich eine dünne

Eiedecke. Jetzt sind alle Säugetiere und Vögel fett, die Seetiere besonders schmackhaft, und darum ist während dieser acht Wochen die Jagd einträglich.

lāmkāmōči: "Die Zeit, da die Sonne nach Westen geht", *d.* h. am längsten im Westen bzw. Norden verweilt, der Jahresabschnitt mit den kürzesten Tagen um die Sonnenwendzeit. Jene Wortbildung ist ebenfalls nur einfache Zusammensetzung aus: *lām*, die Sonne, und *kamōči*, to enter going W., nach BD: 210. Die Zeit des strengsten Winters. Die Yamana sagen erklärend: „Der Sonnenmann verbirgt sich in seiner Wohnung und unter der gewaltigen Schneemenge; er will den Leuten verheimlichen, daß er wieder zurückkehrt." Einige bejahrte Männer verfolgen mit besonderer Aufmerksamkeit, daß die Tage länger werden; ihre Beobachtungen geben sie weiter und ihre Versicherungen wecken laute Freude. Die Jagd ist auch jetzt noch sehr ergiebig.

Die genannten acht Zeitabschnitte bilden den geschlossenen Kreislauf des Jahres. Um sie ungefähr abzugrenzen, beobachten die Yamana gleichzeitig den Stand gewisser Sterne; sie wollen die Übereinstimmung ihrer Stellung am Himmelszelt mit den entsprechenden Vorgängen hier auf der Erde nachweisen. Entscheidend sind der Stand der Sonne und auffällige Wetterverhältnisse. Um diese Bewegungen der Sonne hervorzuheben, verwenden die Feuerländer das *ūsiāgulū*, time of return of the sun E.ward after midwinter, nach BD: 104. Oder das *lākilla*, strong S. or SW. winds accompanied with rain and sleet prevalent at the break up of winter, nach BD: 283. Ferner das *haurōlāmūku*, the late autumn, early winter, referring to the snowy, overcast, dull weather then prevalent, nach BD: 274. Sogar deutliche Erscheinungen an gewissen Tierarten benützen die Yamana dazu, die Jahreszeit zu kennzeichnen. Sie weisen auf *hakyāluī* hin (S. 1060); sie gebrauchen *iūen*, the time of the young crabs, Oct. and Nov., nach BD: 11; endlich sprechen sie von *lākāiun*, shell time when the young birds are hatched, i. e. January, nach BD: 281.

Sogar die regelmäßigen Veränderungen an der Pflanzenwelt, vorzüglich an Pilzen, dienen den Yamana als Anknüpfungspunkte zur Bestimmung der Jahreszeit. Sie gebrauchen das *tiindeka*, the time of the withering of plants i. e. early winter, nach BD: 387. Sehr beliebt ist die Ausdrucksweise, die auf den Entwicklungsstand der *ayčiš*, Cyttaria Darwinii fußt. Nach BD: 64 ist dieser Pilz "the chief summer fungus", der auf Wulstungen an Buchenästen (Abb. 8) gedeiht. Die allgemeine Bezeichnung ist *čeč*, das Reifestadium heißt *ayčiš* (S. 554).

ayčiš manačigēra: der eben erscheinende Pilz.

ayčiš kālala, der bis zur endgültigen Größe auswachsende Pilz.

ayčiš tāpa, der Pilz schmeckt süß, seine Oberfläche ist noch glatt.

ayčiš tanēra, der Pilz mit durchlöcherter Oberfläche.

ayčiš agēnadēr, der von den Hyphen gelockerte, leicht abfallende Pilz.

ayčiš tupāgna, fast sämtliche Pilze sind abgefallen, aber noch etwas weich.

ayčiš mālaku, die auf feuchtem Waldboden liegenden Pilze werden schwarz und beginnen zu faulen.

Die hiermit gezeichnete Entwicklung der Cyttaria Darwinii vollzieht sich von Anfang Dezember bis Ende Februar. Auch das Wachstum der kleineren Cyttaria Harioti *allm* (S. 555) dient zur Zeitbestimmung.

maylnix heißt dieser winzige Pilz bei seinem Erscheinen im Januar.

hötörna nennt man ihn, so lange er bei endgültiger Größe seine Oberfläche glatt bewahrt.

hötörna älgg ist der abfallende, faulige Pilz. Diese Entwicklung füllt die Zeit von Januar bis Ende April. In gleicher Weise bezieht man sich auf das wechselnde Entwicklungsstadium des großen Baumpilzes *ámaa* und teilt darnach die erste Winterhälfte ein.

Wie ersichtlich, verfügen die Yamana über mehrfache Zeitbestimmungen, von denen eine jede an Erscheinungen in ihrer nächsten Umgebung anknüpft. Außer Wendungen, die soeben genannt worden sind, hört man auch: „Ich komme wieder, wenn die ersten grünen Sprossen erscheinen, — wenn die jungen *lárin* aus dem Ei kriechen, — wenn die *klmoa* flügge sind, — wenn die roten Buchenblätter fallen, — wenn das Wasser [im Canal] braun wird,[355] — wenn die Miesmuscheln mager sind."[356] Diese Ausdrucksformen sind einfach gebildet und für jedermann durchaus eindeutig verständlich.

3. Himmelskunde

Das Hervortreten und Verschwinden, der Hochstand und Tiefstand einiger Sterne kennzeichnet ebenfalls die einzelnen Abschnitte im Jahresverlauf. Alle Sterne, ob sie heute nach ihrem Namen bekannt sind oder nicht, waren früher, und zwar vor den eigentlichen Menschen, als selbständige Persönlichkeiten auf dieser Erde; einigen sind besondere Mythen gewidmet. Es ist Tatsache, daß dieser und jener Yamana, vor allem gilt das für gewisse *yékomuí* der früheren Zeit, die Eigenart und Bewegung der Sterne gut gekannt und darüber ihre Umgebung unterrichtet haben. Neuestens, während ich im Feuerland weilte, habe ich mich gar manchmal mit einigen Alten in eine sternenklare Nacht gestellt, um von ihnen etwas Sicheres über die Sterne zu erfahren; ihre Kenntnisse waren jedoch auffallend mangelhaft. Mit Bedauern haben diese Personen eingestanden, daß ihnen viele Einzelheiten verloren gegangen wären, seitdem sie die Sprechweise der Europäer übernommen hätten.

Die unregelmäßige Zusammenstellung einiger Sterne faßt man als Familiengruppe auf, in der die größeren Sterne als Erwachsene und die kleineren als Kinder gelten. Die dichte Anhäufung vieler kleiner Sterne betrachtet man als eine Menge *amájm*, Beeren. Gern strecken Mädchen ihre Arme aus, als würden sie darnach greifen, und machen dann Bewegungen, als würden sie eine Handvoll überallhin ausstreuen; sie versprechen sich davon, daß die *amájm* reichlich wachsen. Das Sternbild *uyápu*, der "Jakobstab" im Orion

[355] In Wirklichkeit ändern im Frühling nur die Algen ihre Farbe; das drücken die Yamana so aus, als würde das Wasser seine Farbe ändern.

[356] Damit ist der ausgehende Winter gemeint.

(S. 1276), leuchtet im mittleren Winter besonders stark. Solange es sichtbar ist, darf man weder Holz spalten noch lautes Geräusch verursachen; ebensowenig darf man währenddessen ein glimmendes Holzscheit offen tragen und man schließt es in Rindenstücke ein. In nächster Nähe von ihm steht *hájuxīpa*, der Rigel. Als *Yǫálox-tárnuxīpa* wird Aldebaran α Tauri bezeichnet. Die zwei erkennbaren Nebelflecke *hámulaf* deutet man als Taschen der *Yǫálox*-Brüder, die darin allerhand Dinge aufbewahren und darauf scharf achten. Der helle, rötlich funkelnde Beteigeuze α Orionis ist die *Mákuxīpa*, als Stern meist *Láikipa* genannt, die erste Frau der beiden *Yǫálox*-Brüder (S. 1170). Die Milchstraße *hǢlīǥka tāgwina* ist am Himmelsgewölbe das, was ein breiter bemalter Gerüststab für die *čiǢxuxa*-Hütte bedeutet (S. 835). Aus dem Glanz ihrer Sterne schließen einige Yamana auf die zu erwartende Windrichtung. Ein geschlossener Sonnenring gilt als Anzeichen für gutes Wetter; öffnet er sich an einer Stelle, dann kommt aus dieser Richtung starker Wind.

Selbstverständlich beobachten unsere Feuerländer den fortlaufenden auffälligen Wechsel des M o n d e s und mit besonderen Ausdrücken bezeichnen sie die einzelnen Phasen. So ist *hánuxa taiylgata* der Vollmond, *akuščára* der völlig unsichtbare Neumond, *yárum hánuxa* der zunehmende Mond und schließlich noch *hánuxa hǢgku*, der abnehmende Mond. Das *hǢgku* dürfte dem *hakū* another, the other, im BD: 262. gleich sein. Auch noch andere Bezeichnungen für die Mondphasen finden sich im BD. Mit Vorliebe wählt man den ganzen Mondlauf als Zeitmaß. Beispielsweise sagt jemand: „*Yárum hánuxa kūtja-muš har-t-hainǢg*, beim eintretenden Neumond werde ich wiederkommen."[887]

Von ihrem Nomadenleben werden unsere Yamana gezwungen, das in ihrer Heimat außerordentlich wechselreiche W e t t e r genau zu beobachten und jede besondere Erscheinung zuverlässig zu deuten. In langer Erfahrung haben sie hierin wirkliche Meisterschaft erreicht und man kann sich unbedingt auf ihr Urteil verlassen. In ihre Beobachtung beziehen sie gewöhnlich zwei bis drei Erscheinungen gleichzeitig ein, nicht zuletzt das Verhalten der Tiere. Trotzdem wird zuweilen eine Familie im Kanu von einem plötzlichen Wetterwechsel überrascht und gerät in Lebensgefahr. An Ausdrücken für die einzelnen Wettererscheinungen fehlt es den Yamana wahrlich nicht. Donner *kiklka* vernimmt man in jenen Gegenden fast nie; weder für ihn noch für den nicht minder seltenen Blitz (S. 21) haben unsere Feuerländer eine bestimmte Erklärung.

4. Geographisches Wissen

Auf ihren ununterbrochenen Fahrten durch die vielverschlungenen Wasserarme des Kap Hoorn-Archipels sind die Yamana deshalb so zuverlässig sicher, weil sie einen gut ausgebildeten Sinn für Orientierung nach den H i m m e l s g e g e n d e n besitzen. Bezeichnungen hierfür stehen ihnen in guter Auswahl

[887] Auf die verschiedenartigen Zeitbestimmungen der Yamana haben auch Hyades (p): 340 und Spegazzini (s): 189 kurz hingewiesen.

zur Verfügung. Die Grundformen sind *ilu*, *ile* der Süden, südwärts; *itu*, *ita* der Osten, in östlicher Richtung; *lugu* nördlich, der Norden; endlich *inu* in westlicher Richtung, der Westen. Diese Wurzelworte dienen zu mannigfaltigen Bildungen. Statt sie aufzuzählen, verweise ich auf das BD. Außerordentlich häufig werden sie gebraucht, nicht nur um die Verteilung der großen Volksgruppen zu bestimmen, sondern auch um die Richtung der Luft- und Wasserströmungen, die der Vögel- und Fischzüge, die einer Wanderung und Kanufahrt zu bezeichnen. Demnach heißt es: *Itulum-ɣɣla* Leute des Ostens, vollständiger ist die Form *Itulum-dáɣlum-ɣɣla*. Das *dáɣlum* oder *dáɣnlum* besagt: von dieser Stelle her, von dorther. Als Gegenprobe sei genannt: *Itulum-hála*, der Ostwind. Man kann als Regel aufstellen, daß die Angabe einer Bewegung oder Bewegungstätigkeit gleichzeitig die bestimmte Richtung erkennen läßt. Eine derartige Genauigkeit, die an sich noch nicht ein Beweis für den Reichtum der Sprache selber ist, erscheint uns vielleicht übertrieben, doch dem nomadisierenden Feuerländer ist sie wertvoll und zuweilen lebensnotwendig. Ein Beispiel möge das erläutern: Stehe ich in einiger Entfernung und nördlich von einem Wasserarm, zugleich nach Süden schauend, so bezeichne ich die nördliche Küste dieses Kanals mit *kutáɣutekniyála*, aber seine südliche Küste mit *Ilakupe-háɣunÑi-yála*. Diese letzte Bildung verwendend, sagt der Yamana *Ilakupe-aláɣa*, ein im Süden von mir sich hinziehender Kanal, bzw. *Iugakupe-aláɣa*, ein Kanal, der nördlich von meinem Standpunkt aus verläuft. Wie aus diesen Beispielen ersichtlich ist, wird die Beziehung des einen Dinges zum andern im Raume eigens gekennzeichnet. Das geschieht am häufigsten unter Hinweis auf die Himmelsgegend allein; vielfach wird sogar die senkrechte Beziehung eines Dinges im Raume zugleich mit der waagrechten Beziehung, d. h. nach der Himmelsgegend, ausgedrückt.[555]

Was aber noch mehr überrascht, ist die fast unglaublich hohe Zahl von Ortsnamen. Küsten, die häufiger von den einzelnen Familien betreten und aufgesucht werden, vor allem der Canal de Beagle und die Angostura Murray, haben eigene Benennungen, die ganz kurze Strecken oder nur einen Punkt, einen kleinen Vorsprung oder größeren Stein, eine seichte oder tiefe Einbuchtung, ein steiles oder flaches Ufer kennzeichnen; jedwede besondere Eigentümlichkeit, mag sie nebensächlich erscheinen, wird genannt und mit dem entsprechenden Ergänzungswort versehen. Dieser Art sind *ɣflakir*[1] Vorsprung, Spitze; *aláɣa* Kanal, Arm, Abzweigung; *yála* Küstenstreifen, Strand; *ɣála* große und kleine Bucht; *yilka* Insel, alleinstehender Felsen, aus dem Wasser hervorragender Stein. In eine geographische Karte vom Heimatgebiet der Yamana habe ich die geläufigsten Benennungen eingetragen und ich zähle deren über 370. Die meisten von ihnen sind wirkliche Eigennamen, die andern sind einfache Beschreibungen mit einem Ergänzungswort. Beispiele für die erste Gruppe finden sich auf S. 200, 730; solche für die zweite Gruppe sind

[555] Die auffallend häufige Verwendung von Beziehungen für die Himmelsrichtungen hat Bamaca (h): 206 mehrmals bestätigt. Vgl. Fenzoni (r): 171, Hyades (q): 281, Lovisato (b): 151.

hallênaka-alma-yiika, die "Insel des schmutzigen Wassers", zwischen Tierra Mayor und der Isla Gable, — *hallênaka* schmutzig, trüb; *alma* Wasser; *yiika* die Insel — und das S. 732 aufgeführte längste Wort der Yamana-Sprache. Selbstverständlich gibt es besondere Namen für jeden größeren Wasserarm: so *gánj(a)-aádga*, östlicher Canal de Beagle; *wájman-aádga*, der Brazo Nordoeste; *lêluj-aádga*, der Brazo Suroeste; für eine größere Insel und eine ganze Inselgruppe, so *Wulája-yiika*, Isla Button vor der Wulaia-Bucht, *Uštánux*, Isla de Hornos, *Yêlkâlin*, Islas Wollaston; für eine größere Bucht, so *Agáiya*, Ponsonby Sound, *Hátuwêja*, New Year Sound; für einen längeren Küstenstrich, so *Wasanjága*, der Südrand der Isla Navarino; endlich für ausgedehntere Flächen nahe dem Strande, so *Anjuwája*, das Tal zwischen *Ulusája* und *Lapatája*. Jedwedes größere Gebiet im Innern einer Insel, von der Küste wenig oder weiter entfernt, heißt allgemein *úla*; man kennt hierfür bestimmte örtliche Sonderbezeichnungen nicht. Auch begnügt man sich mit dem Allgemeinbegriff *tulêra* Berg, ohne die eine Erhöhung von der andern durch Eigennamen zu trennen. Der weite Ozean heißt *kiha*. Sehr vereinzelt trägt auch ein größerer Bach oder Fluß eine Sonderbenennung, beispielsweise *lêsêj-hâlax*, Rio Mayor bei Puerto Harberton.[255] Der vielen Einzelnamen bedienen sich die Yamana mit staunenswerter Sicherheit.

Dabei kommt ihnen eine nicht minder zuverlässige und sehr genaue Ortskenntnis zu Hilfe, die sie sich von jedweder Stelle bei den oft wiederholten Besuchen erwerben. Ihr Ortsgedächtnis wird jedesmal, wenn sie im Kanu fahren oder irgendwo verweilen, aufgefrischt. So erklärt eines das andere. In Wirklichkeit ist das eigentliche Heimatgebiet, das jede Familie unaufhaltsam durchquert, nicht sehr ausgedehnt; dessen Grenzen überschreitet sie nur bei besonderen Anlässen und sie vertraut sich dann einer Familie an, die dort beheimatet ist. Dank überdies der vorzüglichen Beobachtungsgabe, über die unsere Feuerländer verfügen, kennt groß und klein wirklich jeden Fleck und Felsen, jede Bucht und Küste, jeden Bach und Strand. Wie die vielen breiten und schmalen, ganz unregelmäßigen Wasserarme entstanden sind, die den ganzen Kap Hoorn-Archipel als eine wild zerzauste Landmasse erscheinen lassen, erzählt die Geschichte vom *Laiuwája*-Felsen (S. 1216); die Herkunft der Bächlein, die von Hügeln und Bergen herunterfließen, wird im *Čilawája-wátuwa* erklärt (S. 1207); sogar vom Ursprung der prächtigen Gletscher im Brazo Nordoeste, die *dáyn* heißen, berichtet die Sage (S. 1233).

Gegenüber diesem Reichtum an Ortsnamen erscheint der Mangel an Bezeichnungen, die Entfernungen, Abstände und Zeitmaße ausdrücken, um so auffälliger. Man richtet sich gewöhnlich nach der Stellung der Sonne bzw. der Sterne, um ungefähr die Tages- bzw. Nachtzeit zu bestimmen. Dergleichen Angaben lassen offensichtlich einen weiten Spielraum offen, die damit gegebene Ungewißheit stört den Feuerländer nicht im geringsten. Bei seinen Wanderungen und Fahrten ist er sowieso von ganz unberechenbaren Einflüssen

[255] Diesen echten Yamana-Namen findet man in Karten als "Lasiparchas" eingezeichnet.

der Naturkräfte abhängig; in welcher Weise diese sich auswirken werden, das weiß er von vornherein nie. Jene unbezähmbaren Naturgewalten, denen er ausgeliefert bleibt, sind stärker als er; deshalb wäre es widersinnig, sich ein Ziel zu stellen, das er innerhalb einer kurzen Frist unter allen Umständen sicher zu erreichen trachtet. Will unser Feuerländer ausgedehnte Entfernungen kennzeichnen, dann spricht er von zwei oder drei oder vielen Fahrttagen und rechnet für den einzelnen Tag eine Fahrt von sechs bis acht Stunden. Ob er sein Ziel früher oder später erreicht, er gewinnt und verliert ja doch nicht so viel, daß es nennenswert wäre; seinem Glück dort im Kap Hoorn-Archipel schlägt wirklich keine Stunde! — genommen im strengsten Sinne des Wortes.

5. Pflanzenkunde und Tierkunde

Höhere Pflanzen sind im Heimatgebiet der Yamana nur in wenigen Arten vertreten, von höheren Tieren gibt es bedeutend mehr Arten. Von den einen wie andern besitzen unsere Feuerländer eine genaue Kenntnis. Zunächst soll das heißen, daß sie jede Pflanze, die ihnen für den Wirtschaftsbetrieb von irgendwelchem Nutzen ist, nach dieser besonderen Eignung kennen, und daß sie eine Auswahl unter dem, was ihnen zur Verfügung steht, nach Rücksichten der größeren Zweckmäßigkeit getroffen haben. Bei Beschreibung der einzelnen Gerätschaften und Waffen habe ich auf diesen Umstand nachdrücklich hingewiesen. Das Pflanzenreich liefert dem Yamana nennenswerte Nahrungsmittel nicht; das ganz wenige aber, was es ihm an Genußmitteln — wenn man so sagen darf — bietet (S. 570), kennt er gut und nützt es auch aus. Man wird kaum berechnen können, wie viele Versuche und welch lange Beobachtungen frühester Geschlechter dieser Art von Kenntnissen vorausgegangen sein müssen, ehe sie Gemeingut des ganzen Stammes geworden sind; durch Jahrhunderte sind sie dann dem folgenden Geschlecht vom vorhergehenden übermittelt worden.

Lebensnotwendig ist der Yamana täglich von der Tierwelt abhängig, ihr ausschließlich verdankt er seinen Lebensunterhalt. Somit ist jedermann gezwungen, die ihm nützlichen Arten nach ihrer Lebensweise und Bewegungsart genau zu beobachten. Wie er jede größere Pflanzenart mit Eigennamen bezeichnet, so erst recht jede Tierart; abgesehen von unscheinbaren niederen Tieren, die ihm in keiner Weise dienlich sind. Die verschiedenen Fangmethoden hat er auf Grund seiner guten Kenntnis der Gewohnheiten einer jeden Tierart ersonnen und ausgebildet (S. 511). Seine Beute ist keineswegs gleichwertig; er unterscheidet die Tierarten und sogar die Körperteile derselben Art nach der Schmackhaftigkeit des Fleisches, die höhere und geringere Brauchbarkeit der Knochen und Federn, der Felle und Häute, sogar die Darmstücke nach ihrer Dauerhaftigkeit und Leistungsfähigkeit. Dem allen liegt ein reiches Erfahrungswissen zugrunde. Staunenswert geschickt können die Yamana ihre Beutetiere beschleichen und in einigen ihrer Spiele die Bewegungen gewisser Tierarten nachahmen. Auch darin kommt zum Ausdruck, welch scharfe Beob-

achtung unsere Feuerländer der ihnen benachbarten Tierwelt widmen. Darauf beruhen wieder ihre Regeln für die Jagd, für das Einsammeln von Eiern und Schalentieren. Mit kluger Berechnung halten sie bei gewissen Arten eine eigentliche Schonzeit ein und kennen jene Zeitabschnitte des Jahres, für die sich der Genuß einer bestimmten Art nicht empfiehlt. Das harmlose Spiel der Elterntiere mit ihren Jungen betrachten unsere Indianer mit viel Vergnügen, sie bestaunen den wunderbar majestätischen Flug der gewaltigen Sturmvögel und ergötzen sich an den plumpen Bewegungen der Pinguine (Abb. 100) und Kormorane, die anmutige Gewandtheit der Flossenfüßer im Wasser setzt sie nicht minder in Erstaunen, als deren plumpes Benehmen auf dem Lande (Abb. 95) sie zum Lachen reizt. Je nach der Charakter-Anlage, Körperkraft und Regsamkeit einer bestimmten Art geht der Jäger mit ihr äußerst vorsichtig oder siegessicher um. Wie gut er mit der gesamten Eigenart der häufigsten Tiergruppen vertraut ist, ersieht man aus den unübertrefflichen Charakterzeichnungen, die manche Mythen enthalten. Im häufigen Spiel mit jungen Tieren und in täglicher Beobachtung erwirbt sich der Feuerländer von früher Jugend an seine reichen Kenntnisse von den Eigenheiten der nicht unbeträchtlichen Anzahl von Tierarten, die in gleicher Weise wie er dort am sturmumtosten Kap Hoorn ihre Heimat haben und die ihm für seinen und seiner Familie Lebensunterhalt zur Verfügung stehen.

Abb. 100. Pygoscelis adeliae

Man wird es unsern Indianern nicht verübeln, daß sie manches eigentümliche Benehmen der Tiere abergläubisch deuten (S. 1301). Sie wollen sich eben mit einer Erklärung dafür befriedigen und urteilen meist aus dem heraus, was in ähnlichen Umständen unter Menschen geschieht. Also sagen sie, um noch ein Beispiel zu nennen: Wenn ein Hund wie verzweifelnd in der Familienhütte stöhnt, ist das eine Trauerkundgebung; denn er weiß, daß ein naher Verwandter seines Herrn soeben gestorben ist oder bald sterben wird.

6. Heilkunde

In den folgenden Zeilen kommt selbstverständlich das berufliche Wirken der *yékamuš*, das auf Suggestion bzw. auf eigenartigen Geistervorstellungen beruht, nicht zur Sprache. Ebensowenig werden Infektionen und Epidemien berücksichtigt, die nachweislich erst durch Europäer eingeschleppt worden sind (S. 340). Die Yamana sind ein widerstandsfähiges, gesundes Volk, mag ihre Körperform uns Europäer wenig oder gar nicht ansprechen (S. 214). Ausschreitungen auf dem Gebiet der geschlechtlichen Sittlichkeit kennen sie ebensowenig wie Alkohol. Obwohl sie sich das eine oder andere Mal im Jahre den Magen überfüllen, wenn ein Wal gestrandet ist (S. 579), müssen sie doch auch vorübergehenden Nahrungsmangel dann und wann ertragen (S. 574); gar manches, was ihnen das Leben angenehm machen könnte, entbehren sie (S. 569). Ihrer Lebensweise und den atmosphärischen Bedingungen ihrer Heimat ist es zu danken, daß viele Leute ein beträchtliches Lebensalter erreicht haben; Jahreszahlen zu nennen, wäre willkürlich. Altersbeschwerden, die ohne Zweifel auftraten, belästigten kaum je eine Person ernstlich. Ohne daß ein langwieriges Leiden vorausgegangen ist, sind die meisten aus eigentlicher Altersschwäche einem fast plötzlichen, sanften Tod erlegen.[240] Überraschend hat es auf Fitz-Roy (a): 186 gewirkt, weder Männern noch Frauen begegnet zu sein, „who appeared to be very old — certainly no one was decrepit".

Unsere Feuerländer sind nichts weniger als wehleidig, körperliche Schmerzen ertragen sie still mit mutigem Dulden, ihr Schmerzempfinden ist bei weitem nicht so lebhaft wie bei Europäern. Vgl. Hyades (p): 328. Schon die ersten Missionare Despard (b): 698 und Bridges (a): 202 haben die am meisten verbreiteten Krankheiten genannt, eine zuverlässige Zusammenstellung hat Hyades (f): 580 und (q): 222 gemacht, aus eigener Beobachtung kann ich einiges ergänzen. Am häufigsten sind eigentliche Unglücksfälle, nämlich Verbrennungen und Verwundungen.[241] Personen jeglichen Alters klagen viel über Kopfschmerzen, *lēkápi-sēx*. Als Allgemeinerscheinung tritt Rheumatismus auf, *akutarʲána* oder *akutaxēlla*, allerdings ist die akute Form selten. Die erste Bezeichnung entspricht wohl dem *akūtāsāna*, to chop off, im BD: 18. Gicht befällt ein einzelnes Glied bei vielen Personen, hebt sich aber schnell wieder. Die Atmungsorgane werden selten von Bronchitis angegriffen, ganz ausnahmsweise von Lungenentzündung und Rippenfellentzündung. Leiden dieser Art heißen *šemōjna-sēx*, d. i. Stechen, Schmerzen in der Brust (S. 1127). Ältere

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[240] Auch Hyades (f): 573 versichert: „Les Fuégiens peuvent parvenir à un âge avancé (70 à 80 ans). Ils présentent alors des signes extérieurs de décrépitude, mais leurs aptitudes physiques sont, pour la plupart, conservées. Les infirmités de l'âge avancé sont, à peu près exclusivement, des douleurs rhumatismales chroniques."

[241] Burlesch versichert mit vollem Recht: „To meet a person of mature age who has not received an injury in some form or other, either violence or accident, is a rare occurrence" (MM: XXV, 23; 1891). Hierzu paßt, was Hyades (f): 585 sagt: „Il est probable que les accidents et les blessures doivent enlever un grand nombre d'indigènes, car ils ne donnent aucun soin aux blessés."

Personen husten häufig. Unterleibskrankheiten sind eine Seltenheit, statt dessen gibt es viele Verdauungstörungen, hauptsächlich Diarrhöen, als Folge übermäßigen Essens oder verdorbenen Fleisches. Ekzeme und andere leichte Hautübel trifft man häufiger an; sie heilen meist binnen kurzer Zeit. Daß Wunden, die nicht gepflegt werden, zu Phlegmone und Gangrän führen, leuchtet ein. HYADES (f): 581 versichert: „Je n'ai pas eu à observer une seule maladie cancéreuse." Auch steht fest, daß die Yamana ursprünglich von Syphilis, Gonorrhöe und jeder Form der Tuberkulose frei waren. An Entzündung der Augen leiden die meisten Leute, weil sie dauernd dem Einfluß des Rauches vom Hüttenfeuer her ausgesetzt sind. Geistesstörungen sind als sehr seltene Erscheinungen nachgewiesen; aber „l'idiotie n'est pas connue", wie HYADES (p): 339 versichert. Schwerhörigkeit *ufkir'tásou* plagt manche hochbejahrte Person. Infektiöse Allgemeinerkrankungen, eigentliche Epidemien, *lēkhója*, *lēmája*, gab es vor der Berührung mit Europäern nicht.

Unter Krankheiten hatten also unsere Yamana nur ganz wenig zu leiden. Das war auch insofern vorteilhaft, weil in ihrem Heimatgebiet wirksame Heilmittel ganz und gar fehlen.[242] Man bemüht sich, den Schmerz oder das Übel mit Dingen zu beheben, die eine allgemeine Gesundheitspflege empfiehlt. Viel verspricht man sich bei Unwohlsein aus irgendwelcher Ursache vom gänzlichen Verzicht auf Nahrung während eines ganzen Tages; davon erwartet jeder, wie auch BRIDGES (i): 19 versichert, sogar „good health and efficiency in hunting". Aus diesem Gedanken heraus hält ein Jäger es unter seiner Würde, einen Imbiß mitzunehmen, wenn er sich auf die Jagd begibt. Wer krank ist, sitzt zusammengekauert in seiner Hütte, hält sich regungslos und läßt die Wärme des Hüttenfeuers auf sich einwirken. Ein Familienmitglied reicht ihm bei Aufforderung das, was er wünscht. Oft empfiehlt man das Schwitzen; der Kranke wird neben das Feuer gelegt und mit vielen Fellstücken zugedeckt. Tran wendet man vielfach an: Bei Rheuma reibt man damit den leidenden Körperteil ein; bei Ohrleiden wärmt man ihn auf einer Muschelschale vor und träufelt ihn in den Gehörgang. Statt dessen, besonders zur Reinigung der Ohren kleiner Kinder, preßt man einer Frau etwas Milch aus der Brust, wärmt diese in einer Muschelschale vor und läßt sie in den Gehörgang einfließen. Das gleiche Mittel wendet man zur Reinigung der Augen Neugeborener und allgemein bei Augenleiden kleiner Kinder an. Zieht Krampf *kēšēki* durch ein Glied, reibt man es mit frischen Blättern der Drimys ein. Bei Hexenschuß läßt sich ein Mann auf folgende Weise behandeln: Er legt sich auf den Bauch. Seine Frau erwärmt sich den rechten Fuß am Feuer und setzt

[242] Das wird mehrmals bestätigt. FITZ-ROY (a): 186 schreibt: „When ill, however seriously, they know of no remedies but rubbing the body with oil, drinking cold water, and causing perspiration by lying near the fire, wrapped up in skins." DESPAND (b): 698 versichert: „Remedies are simple indeed; they burn the part where pain is felt, or produce counter-irritation by whipping with stinging nettles." Nach HYADES (f): 585, „les Fuégiens ne connaissent pas de médicaments." Endlich sagt ASPINALL: 270 kurz: „Die Arzneikunst beschränkt sich auf das Frottieren und den Aufguß einiger Wurzeln."

ihn sanft auf dessen Rücken; dann hebt sie den linken Fuß, daß ihre ganze Körperlast auf dem rechten Fuße ruht. Nach einiger Zeit, wenn die Wärme ihrem rechten Fuße entschwunden ist, steigt sie herunter und erwärmt ihn aufs neue. Auf dieselbe Art behandelt sie den ganzen Rücken, Teil für Teil, beginnend beim Gesäß und fortschreitend bis hinauf zum Genick.

Als Abführmittel empfiehlt man, die Blätter *łłuš* von *uškútta* (Drimys Winteri) zu kauen; das hilft auch bei Herz- und Magenleiden. Noch wirksamer sind reichliche Mengen von Tran, die in kurzen Abständen hintereinander getrunken werden müssen. Endlich erwirbt man sich den Saft aus einem jungen Buchenstämmchen auf folgende Weise: Dieses wird abgebrochen oder abgehackt, das Ende hält man über ein Feuer und den abtropfenden Saft fängt man in einer Muschelschale auf; den Saft verschluckt man ohne weiteres und wartet die abführende Wirkung ab. Dieses Mittel heilt auch entzündete Augen. Außerdem empfiehlt man bei entzündeten Augen, *téllu sêx*, ein eigentliches Augenbad, nämlich das Gesicht in Salzwasser einzutauchen und dabei mehrmals die Augenlider zu öffnen und zu schließen. Viel Salzwasser trinkt man bei starkem Erbrechen *amája*. Die große Bartflechte *tūxalapaiǵla* (Usnea barbata) ist wirksam gegen die dort häufige Diarrhöe *ušpalaxána* oder *yikêna:* Man kaut kleine Mengen, verschluckt den Saft und speit die Holzfasern aus. Heutigentags bereitet man in passendem Topfe einen Absud. Die Sellerie *húšun* empfiehlt man bei Leiden der Atmungsorgane; Stengel dieser Pflanze werden gekaut und der Saft wird geschluckt. Bei Husten schmieren die Yamana den Hals außen mit Speichel ein, führen eine kurze, eigentliche magische Massage aus und blasen schließlich die Hustenstöße *háša* mit lebhaften Handbewegungen fort. Wer Blut spuckt, trinkt Seewasser; noch besser ist es, er stellt sich in die Flut, taucht einigemale unter, schluckt mehrmals Wasser, trocknet sich nachher gut ab und legt sich neben das Hüttenfeuer nieder. Bei starkem Herzklopfen und Stechen im Herzen muß der Kranke regungslos auf seinem Schlaflager verharren. Wer Fieber spürt, was eine seltene Erscheinung ist, der legt sich derart auf den Strand, daß die Flut ihn bedeckt; je nachdem hält er zwanzig Minuten oder länger unter Wasser aus, weder Tran und Speck, noch Fleisch vom Wal, von Seelöwen oder Vögeln genießt er.

Gegen den sehr allgemeinen Kopfschmerz legt man sich frische Brennesseln um die Schläfen und hält sie mit Lederstreifen fest. Auch peitscht man sanft den ganzen Kopf mit einem Sträußchen der Pernettya mucronata (Abb. 12, S. 121), deren Blättchen bekanntlich in scharfe, harte Spitzen enden. Der *yékamuš* hilft auf seine Art damit nach, daß er ein Bündel Haare der leidenden Person faßt und es plötzlich hochzieht, wodurch ein leichtes Knacksen verursacht wird. Statt dessen, wie Despard (b): 698 angibt, „they roast their heads, and take repeated draughts of stagnant sea-water to produce nausea". Bridges (i): 19 behauptet, was auch ich beobachtet habe: „Headache was relieved by making the nose to bleed by cutting it within the nostrils." Schmerzhafte Stellen erleichtert man durch kurze flache Einschnitte zu geringem Blutfluß. Bei Stichen in der Brust und erschwertem Atmen legt man flache,

handgroße Steine auf, die man vorher im Feuer erhitzt hat; haben sie sich abgekühlt, erhitzt man sie aufs neue. Ein magischer Einfluß ist es, wenn jemand die schmerzende Stelle mit einem Fellstücke mehrmals schlägt und bei jedem Schlage mit viel Anstrengung einen Luftstrom laut auspreßt.

Eiterwunden und Geschwüre *álax* heilen die Yamana auf mehrfache Art. Die Rinde von jungen Ästen oder lange Zweige von irgendwelchem Baume hält man mit dem einen Ende über das Feuer; den am andern Ende abtropfenden Saft läßt man auf die kranken Stellen fallen. Im Winter greift man statt dessen zu fingerdicken Stämmchen der Macrocystis. Gewisse kirschengroße Wucherungen an Buchenstämmen enthalten einen klebrigen Saft; diesen läßt man in die Wunden fallen, nachdem man das Gebilde zerquetscht hat; darüber streut man Daunen, die festkleben und die Wunde trocknen. Außerdem schmiert man bei Hautausschlägen, Ekzemen u. dgl. den ganzen Körper mit Kalkpulver ein. Statt dessen verreibt man die harzigen, gummiartigen Ausscheidungen der Polsterpflanzen (Azorella); dieses Mittel wirkt zuverlässig gegen furunkelartige Gebilde. Pusteln betupft und reibt man sanft mit Speichel. Auf Schwellungen legt man die frischen Stengelchen und Blättchen von Macrocystis; sie entwickeln eine schleimige Masse, die man wirken läßt. Auf einen schmerzenden Zahn legt man frisch geschabte Spänchen der Berberitze. Lockere Zähne bricht man mit den Fingern aus. Hyades (p): 339 sagt, was ich aus eigener Beobachtung nicht bestätigen kann: „La folie, si elle existe, est très rare. Les folies sont traitées par les bains froids." Um einen gebrochenen Arm legt man erst dünne Stöcke und dann einige Lederstücke, nachher umwickelt man alles mit festen Lederstreifen; diesen Verband läßt man liegen, bis Schmerzen und Schwellungen nachgelassen haben. Auf diese Art wissen sich die Feuerländer bei ihren Unfällen und körperlichen Leiden zu helfen.

7. Die Sprache

Bekanntlich ist über die Sprache der Yamana in allgemeinen Angaben erstaunlich viel und oft geschrieben worden. Mancher hat sich überraschen lassen von dem wiederholten Hinweis auf einen ungewöhnlich reichen Wortschatz; Bridges selber hat hierzu den Anstoß gegeben. Wie es dazu gekommen ist, daß er den Umfang seines Dictionary mit 32 430 Wörtern angegeben hat, habe ich in (gg): 162 zu erklären versucht. Auch habe ich es nicht unterlassen, nachdrücklich darauf hinzuweisen, daß die Yamana-Sprache die eben genannte Zahl von Wörtern nicht besitzt und daß ein reicher Wortschatz an sich keinesfalls ein Gradmesser für den hohen Entwicklungsstand dieser Sprache ist. „Ganz im Gegenteil wird man in der Notwendigkeit, daß eine Sprache sich mit vielen Worten behelfen muß, ihre empfindliche Armut erkennen;" so habe ich mich (hh): 183 schon früher ausgesprochen. Lange vorher hatte Gabbe: 336 auf diesen entscheidenden Umstand hingewiesen. Daß eine kritische Untersuchung der gesamten Grammatik des Yamana bislang noch nicht durchgeführt worden ist — F. Hestermann hat einige Teile bearbeitet —,

sei niemandem zum Vorwurf gemacht; denn es fehlen Texte, das umfangreiche Dictionary des Rev. T. Bridges ist erst 1933 von Hestermann und Gusinde herausgegeben worden und die bekannten Übersetzungen des neuen Testamentes, die Bridges vor sechs Jahrzehnten durchgeführt hat, eignen sich nicht für diesen Zweck. Man mache aber auch mir nicht den Vorwurf, ich hätte es versäumt, Originaltexte zu sammeln. Zu meiner Entlastung weise ich darauf hin, daß ich auf meinen Reisen von andern, nicht minder dringlichen Arbeiten vollauf in Anspruch genommen war. Auch verdient der Umstand ernste Beachtung, daß die heute gebräuchliche Sprachform abgeändert und verunreinigt worden ist, nämlich als Folge des Zusammenschlusses der letzten Überlebenden aus den fünf ursprünglichen Dialektgruppen und ihrer Verbindung mit dem Europäertum. Bezeichnend hierfür ist es beispielsweise, daß ihr eigenes Wort für "nichts" gänzlich außer Gebrauch gekommen ist und von groß und klein durch "nothing" ersetzt wird. Ich persönlich stand also vor der beklagenswerten Tatsache, daß es zu Beginn meiner Reisen für eine Aufnahme des reinen, unverfälschten Sprachgutes der Yamana zu spät war. Doch konnte ich noch die Grenzen der ehemaligen, von mir so genannten Dialektgruppen (S. 199) und das Lautsystem bestimmen. Vgl. Gusinde (s): 1000.

Hier ist nicht der Ort, an dem die wichtigeren Besonderheiten der Grammatik des Yamana ausführlich geschildert werden können. Auch brauche ich nicht zu wiederholen, was ich in (hh): 183 erörtert habe, daß „der niedrige Bildungsgrad der Sprache in vollkommener Übereinstimmung mit der gesamten geistigen Verfassung der Yamana, wie sie sich auch auf anderen Gebieten offenbart, erscheint. Damit wird nicht im mindesten bezweifelt, daß diese Indianer, nach ihrer geistigen Befähigung beurteilt, vollreife Menschen sind". Bis auf weiteres muß man das Yamana als eine isolierte Sprache ansehen, die nicht einmal mit dem benachbarten Selk'nam und Halakwulup eng verwandt ist; ob es sich mit den noch erhaltenen spärlichen Resten einer bestimmten Chaco-Sprache wird in Verbindung bringen lassen, werden vergleichende Untersuchungen lehren.

Nur auf folgende Merkmale dieser Sprache sei hier hingewiesen: Wurzel und Wort sind selten dasselbe. Meist ist Verbum und Nomen, seltener im Nomen das Adjektiv und Substantiv, immer aber das Pronomen geschieden. Die Wortbildung und jede andere grammatikalische Bildung vollziehen sich durch Anwendung eigentlicher Präfixe und Suffixe. Verbum und Nomen zeigen reiche Bildungen, die allerreichste weist das Pronomen auf; deswegen nimmt es vor allen Sprachen der Welt eine ganz hervorragende Stellung ein. Die Nomina sind einsilbig und mehrsilbig, letztere nicht immer als Zusammensetzung erkennbar. Oft stehen Präfix und Suffix zugleich in einer und derselben Bildung. Das grammatische Geschlecht fehlt, Zahl und Kasusverhältnisse sind um so reichhaltiger. Das Nomen umfaßt die dreifache Zahl Singular, Dual und Plural, die beiden letzteren bildet man allein durch Suffixe. Der Genetiv steht vor. Das dem Genetiv angefügte Suffix tritt aber auch als Objektskasus auf. Das Adjektiv ändert durch bloße Stellung seinen Wert; vorgesetzt ist es

attributiv und nachgesetzt ist es prädikativ. Das Pronomen ist von einheitlicher Wurzel, aber seine Form wird als verbal und personal, possessiv und subjektiv unterschieden. Die Vielgestaltigkeit der gesamten Pronomina steigert sich ganz erstaunlich, vor allem dadurch, daß Ortsbestimmungen gleichzeitig in waagrechten und senkrechten Beziehungen ausgedrückt werden, oft sogar die her-Bezeichnung als Präfix und die hin-Bezeichnung als Suffix mit einem einzigen Worte verbunden wird."[243]

Das Verbum läßt sich durch zahlreiche Suffixe von nominaler Grundlage aus bilden. Auch kann man Verben zusammensetzen, die gleichgeordnet nebeneinander stehen. Nach den vier verschiedenen Endvokalen hat man vier Konjugationen aufgestellt. Auch erstreckt sich die soeben beim Nomen geschilderte lokale Variation in jeder Hinsicht über das ganze Verbum. Zumindest sechs verschiedene Formen verbaler Verneinung sind vorhanden. Wie Hesternann versichert, „bilden die hier nur kurz angedeuteten Abwandlungen mit denjenigen am Nomen eine geradezu unerschöpfliche Erscheinung, die sich durch formvollendete Kürze sowohl, wie auch durch feinsinnige Eleganz auszeichnet. Das Yamana ist ein schönklingender Typ einer Indianersprache, knapp, reich, präzise und inhaltsvoll". Wenn ich in diesem Werke mehrmals von Dialektunterschieden gesprochen habe (S. 200), sind damit durchaus nicht etwa erhebliche Abweichungen der einen Gruppe von der andern gemeint, sondern nur geringe Unterschiede in Worten und Benennungen für das gleiche Ding, sowie in einigen Lauten. Mit diesen unbedeutenden örtlichen Sonderbildungen sind Dialekte im strengen Wortsinne offensichtlich noch nicht gegeben.

c. *Kunstgefühl*

Das Sinnen und Trachten unserer Wassernomaden am Kap Hoorn ist dem unumgänglichen Lebenserwerb zugewendet, von ihm wird die Einzelperson fast voll und ganz in Anspruch genommen. Was darüber hinaus ihr an freier Zeit und unverbrauchter Kraft noch übrigbleibt, widmet sie der Ruhe oder ihren bescheidenen gesellschaftlichen Bedürfnissen. Gefühl für das Schöne und Sinn für Ebenmaß besitzen die Yamana wohl, ihm aber zu reicher Entfaltung zu verhelfen, dazu sind die Lebensbedingungen nicht angetan. Von der Umwelt, die sich in matte Farben kleidet und wild zerzauste Formen zeigt, erhält der Yamana eine nennenswerte Anregung zu ästhetischem Genuß oder künstlerischer Betätigung nicht. Ein Verlangen darnach bricht dann und wann aber doch aus seiner innersten Naturveranlagung hervor und wirkt sich auch tatsächlich innerhalb bescheidener Grenzen in dieser oder jener Weise aus.

1. Schönheitssinn

Bei einigen Gelegenheiten geben unsere Feuerländer ihren gut entwikkelten Sinn für körperliche Schönheit unbestreitbar zu erkennen. Am meisten gefällt eine schlanke, bewegliche, mittelgroße, ebenmäßige Gestalt

voll gesunder Kraft; eine solche wirkt besonders eindrucksvoll auf jugendliche Vertreter des andern Geschlechtes, die in Gesellschaft sich ganz offen darüber aussprechen. Die heiratsfähigen Burschen und Mädchen lassen sich vor der Ehe zuweilen ganz erheblich durch die Körperform der Person ihrer Wahl beeindrucken und bestimmen (S. 637). Die Eltern und nächsten Verwandten sind darauf bedacht, daß ein Säugling sich zu einer schönen Gestalt von frühester Jugend an entwickle. Diesem Ziele hauptsächlich dient eine Art von leichter Massage (S. 722), obwohl sie allein den Erfolg nicht regelmäßig sicherstellt. Man sagt, daß ein besonders reizender, anmutiger Säugling später meist umschlägt und häßlich wird, während häufig ein weniger schönes Kind nach einigen Jahren sehr wohlgestaltet erscheint. Auf die Augen unserer Feuerländer wirkt Körperbehaarung unangenehm, weswegen sie Achsel- und Schamhaare, auch das Barthaar ausrupfen (S. 422). Gern bedienen sie sich hierzu zweier genau aufeinander passender Muschelschalen nach Art einer Pinzette. Einige Personen achten mit viel Sorgfalt auf ein gutgeordnetes Kopfhaar, das sie mit etwas Tran einfetten und mehrmals täglich kämmen (S. 423). Die meisten lassen es sich zeitig genug in der Weise kürzen, daß es bis etwa auf die Schultern reicht (S. 421); zu Zöpfen wird es nicht zusammengeschlossen. Wenn ausnahmsweise einige Männer sich unmittelbar vor einem Kampfe das Kopfhaar glatt scheren lassen, wollen sie vermeiden, vom Gegner an den Haaren gefaßt und gezerrt zu werden. Auch ein Europäer empfindet das gleiche Wohlgefallen an dieser und jener Gestalt, die bei den Yamana als schön gelten; Spegazzini (a): 165 weist ausdrücklich darauf hin. Die verschiedenen Arten von Schmuck sollen den Reiz der körperlichen Schönheit erhöhen; der Antrieb

Abb. 101. Körbchen in schöner Ausführung

[*] Beispiele hierfür vorzulegen, würde zu weit führen; man findet sie in guter Auswahl in Hesterbaum (b), Bamgas (h): 235 und mehr noch in Hyades (q): 280.

hierzu ist je nach Person, Alter und Geschlecht verschieden, jedoch fast genau übereinstimmend mit dem, was man diesbezüglich in Europa beobachten kann.

Bei Herstellung seiner Gerätschaften und Gebrauchsgegenstände, Waffen und Schmuckstücke achtet jedermann auf ein gewisses Ebenmaß und zwar allein deshalb, weil es seinem Auge und Empfinden wohl tut. Sogar eigene Bezeichnungen für solche Personen gibt es, die gewisse Dinge kunstgerecht und tadellos ausführen. Einigen dieser Ausdrücke liegen nur Nützlichkeitsrücksichten zugrunde; man sagt *wōläpūtas*, clever, expert, careful in cutting up a whale, nach BD: 630, oder auch *wōglina* für einen Mann, dem der Kanubau gut gelingt. Jene Personen sind überall bekannt, die ein Körbchen oder Schmuckstück besonders sorgfältig herstellen; dessen genaue Ausführung wird von andern Leuten deshalb besprochen, weil sie ihnen gefällt und wahren Genuß bereitet. Oft hört man Wendungen, wie die folgenden: „Welch schönes Ding! — Wie gut schaut das aus! — Sehr genau und ebenmäßig ist es gearbeitet! ..." Jedermann belobigt die Mühe, die ein Handwerker aufgewendet hat; angesichts eines formvollendeten Stückes muntern bejahrte Leute die Jugend zur Nachahmung auf. Jedes Lob tut dem Yamana wohl und damit es ihm zuteil werde, strengt er sich an. Darüber hinaus findet er aber auch an den Vorzügen des schönen Gegenstandes an sich ein eigenes Wohlgefallen. Ein Europäer muß, falls er in seinem Urteil gerecht sein will, die Schwierigkeiten in Erwägung ziehen, die sich dem Yamana bei Anfertigung und Bearbeitung seiner Gerätschaften entgegenstellen. Dieser verfügt beispielsweise nicht über Handwerkszeug aus Metall und über Meßinstrumente, sondern er ist allein auf seine harten, wenig gelenkigen Finger und auf das Augenmaß angewiesen. Offensichtlich ist deshalb die Reihenfolge einzelner Glieder eines Körbchens (Abb. 101) und Schmuckstückes, oder die Linienführung bei Bemalungen niemals einwandfrei genau. Trägheit und Nachlässigkeit einzelner Personen, die sich nicht anstrengen und mühen wollen, sind selbstverständlich auch ein Grund für manche mangelhafte Ausführung.

Die Schönheit gewisser Gegenstände und des eigenen Körpers erhöhen die Yamana durch Bemalung. Sie bedienen sich der bekannten Stoffe (S. 427) zu den allein verwendeten drei Farben, nämlich *lūi* = rot, scharlachfarben; *yágu* = hell, leuchtend, weiß; endlich *lōmbi* = schwarz. Die Farbstoffe werden entweder trocken verrieben oder erst mit Wasser bzw. Tran in einer großen Mytilus-Schale (Abb. 102) zu einem dicken Brei verrührt und dann mit dem Finger bzw. Malstäbchen (S. 429, 860, 917) aufgetragen. Für andere Farbentöne fehlen die Bezeichnungen nicht ganz, werden aber selten gebraucht. So sagt man *laklma* = graufarben, allein für Kopfhaar und Pelze, hingegen *pēwajágu* für die graue, fahle und matte Farbe jedweden anderen Dinges; ein Hellrot oder rötliches Gelb kennzeichnet man mit *pájalūi*. Keiner dieser Farben an sich kommt eine bestimmte Bedeutung zu (S. 430),[884] obwohl man bei gewissen Anlässen der einen oder andern den Vorzug gibt, z. B. bei

[884] Ohne Berechtigung sind dafür Martens: 188 und Spegazzini (a): 170 eingetreten.

Trauerbemalungen (S. 1116). Das Scharlachrot bereitet den Yamana einen hohen Genuß,[300] es ist ihnen in eben der Tönung, welche die *máku*-Blüte besitzt, ein Gradmesser und Vergleichspunkt (S. 701). Der bekannten Farbstoffe bedienen sich die Yamana zur Bemalung des eigenen Gesichtes oder ganzen Körpers bei verschiedenen Anlässen. Die bunte und reiche Mannigfaltigkeit, die sie in ihre Zeichnungen hineinlegen, spricht deutlich für ihren keineswegs engbegrenzten Schönheitssinn. Dieser wirkt sich noch deutlicher bei den eigentlichen Schmuckstücken und bei den Farbenmustern aus, mit denen man manche Gegenstände bedeckt; hingewiesen sei auf die Kina-Masken und Zierstäbchen in der *ʔiʔyaga*-Hütte (Tafel II, III, IV). Je nachdem eine

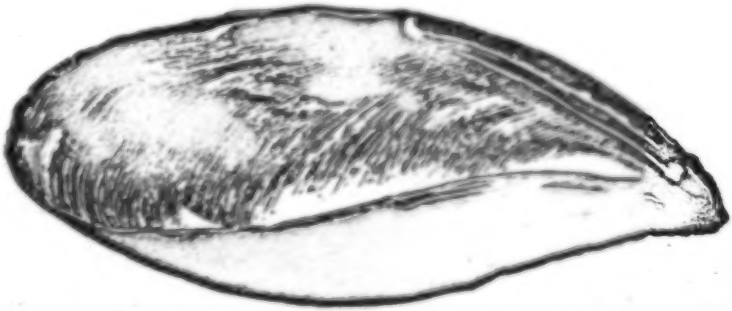

Abb. 102. Schale einer großen Mytilus-Muschel. 2/3 nat. Größe

Bemalung auf diese oder jene Art ausgeführt wird, verwenden die Yamana eine beträchtliche Zahl eigener Bezeichnungen. Das *ufyatéku* besagt: to paint horizontal lines upon the face with *lmi* as a mark of friendship, nach BD: 610; das *ójasina* besagt: to paint the face with up and down bands or lines of either red or black. Die Bemalung wird zuweilen durch Federschmuck ergänzt. Weder besondere Anlage noch Lust zum Zeichnen habe ich bei den Yamana beobachtet;[301] niemals sah ich die Kinder mit Fingern oder Stäbchen einfache Striche oder Zeichnungen in den Sand einkratzen, noch mit Holzkohlestückchen das Hüttengerüst oder Kanu bekritzeln. Obwohl ich sehr häufig in meinem

[300] Das wird mehrmals besagt. Hyades (b): 1345 und (d): 306 sagt: „La couleur préférée est la couleur rouge; les autres couleurs sont souvent confondues." Auch im letzten Teile seiner Behauptung stimme ich ihm bei. Die von ihm (a): 285 aufgeführten Bezeichnungen für einzelne Farben sind wertlos.

[301] Hiervon abweichend, hat Pancaro (a): 1811 berichtet: „Merkwürdig war es, daß die Feuerländer große Neigung zum Zeichnen verrieten. Ungeübtere hatten ein Papierstreifen genommen und mit Kohle darauf Gegenstände gezeichnet, die ihre Gemeinden vorstellen sollten. Man versah sie dann mit Bleistiften, und ein älterer ihrer Könige eilig fort, um dieses und jenes, namentlich Porträts, zu copieren, freilich mit sehr mäßigen Erfolgen." Agassiz: 271 begründet nicht, was er behauptet, daß „sie ein großes Talent zum Zeichnen besitzen".

Tagebuch schrieb und zeichnete, wurden dadurch nicht einmal die Erwachsenen, und noch viel weniger die Jugendlichen, zur Nachahmung angeregt.[207]

2. Kunstbetätigung

Die vielen Gelegenheiten sind schon genannt worden, in denen sich zeigt, wie sehr der Yamana schmucklieben ist. Bei manchem tritt sogar die Sorge für die körperliche Reinlichkeit weit zurück hinter das Verlangen, mit der Schönheit des eigenen Körpers oder mit besonderem Zierat andern zu gefallen. Diese Art von Eitelkeit wird schon den Kindern bewußt anerzogen und niemand erblickt etwas Fehlerhaftes in ihr. Eben deshalb beschafft sich mancher gleichzeitig mehrere Schmuckstücke und glänzt besonders gern mit jenen, die von auffälliger Eigenart sind oder aus abgelegener Gegend stammen. Auch gibt es Personen, die aus bloßer Lust sich fast jeden Tag bemalen. Da ein Besucher in der Regel eine Gesichtsbemalung tragen soll, wenn er sich vorstellt (S. 431, 1013), verwendet manche Person darauf viel Zeit und Mühe, damit man sie bewundere. Doch geht es nicht an, mit Bove (e): 157 zu behaupten: „Die Begierde nach Schmuck scheint bei den Männern noch stärker als bei den Frauen zu sein." Im einen wie im andern Geschlecht finden sich nämlich einzelne Personen, die in der Sucht zu gefallen weit über die große Menge hinausragen.

Die Gefallsucht bedient sich, außer eigentlicher Körperbemalung in mannigfaltiger Ausführung, noch bestimmter Schmuckstücke. Von einfacher Art sind Gelenkbänder (S. 433), reicher ausgestattet die Halsschnüre. Entweder werden feingefaserte Sehnenfäden vom Guanaco oder Wal geflochten und die langen Schnüre zu mehreren Kreisen zusammengelegt, oder man reiht auf ihnen kurze Knochenstückchen auf bzw. bindet enggestellte kleine Gehäuse *šôn ūlpūka* von der Photinula violacea an. Das sind die Grundformen für die von den Yamana getragenen Halsschnüre. Eine jede von ihnen läßt noch verschiedene Besonderheiten zu. Die aufgefädelten Knochenstückchen sind, je nach Wahl, länger oder kürzer; man ritzt in jedes der längeren auch deutlich erkennbare Ringe ein, welche sehr kleine Stückchen vortäuschen sollen. Überdies läßt man die von Natur aus weißlichen Stückchen mit solchen abwechseln, die eigens geschwärzt worden sind (S. 435). Endlich bringt man noch als besonderen Anhänger unten in der Mitte den toten Schnabel des Austernfischers (Haematopus ater, Abb. 76) an, oder man verteilt vier bis sechs dieser Schnäbel auf die untere Hälfte des ganzen Halsbandes (Abb. 103). Statt kurzer Stückchen, die man von dünnen, hohlen Vogelknochen abschneidet, fädelt man zur Abwechslung auf eine lange Sehnenschnur die kurzen Kalkröhrchen von Seewürmern. Doch dergleichen Stückchen sind wenig regelmäßig, weswegen

[207] Was Snow (a): I, 339 erzählt, bewirkt die Neugierde der Feuerländer in Banner Cove: „They were all greatly astonished at my writing in pencil on blank paper; ... and they eagerly begged of me some magic wood. Of course I gave them some, and they soon set to work trying to write as I did."

1666 Vierter Fuß

Abb. 160. Scheibenmilb. 7/1 v. Gr.

Diese ganze Zusammenstellung kann gewertet wird (1216, 1[illegible]). Am einfachsten sind jene Zierrate, bei denen die Schmuckform eine einzelne Wiederholung oder den kleinen Schnabel eines Vogels als einzigen Anhänger oder mehrere dieser Stücke trägt. Als die schönste und wertvollste Halskette gilt die lange Kette von Gehängen der Phoenicia, deren es dieser Herstellung noch viel lange[illegible] aufgewendet wurden (1216, 1[illegible]).

Abb. 1[illegible]. Halsschmuck. [illegible]

Ebenso deutlich fehlt diesem Stück, das zweifles mehr als 2 m Länge aufweist, keiner Fremdgenossen, die etwas auf sich hält. Schon Pere Ber (a): 201 hat erkannt, und später Bassano (1): 33, daß „les Fenigies mettaient dans cette ingenuity in those who make them, ... that one is, at first, inclined to doubt their being the manufacture of such uncouth savages". Auch Swinburne (a): 141 verweigert nicht die Anerkennung, daß diese Dinge „are tolerably harmonic ensemble" darstellen, „yet so curious do believe"; sie deutete einen gut entwickelten, friedensinnigen Geschmack an. Ein Gleiches muß man über die Verwendung von Federschmuck sagen, den man bei einigen friedlichen Arbeiten im Alpage (S. 860, 917) und bei Transversumtätigungen (S. 1130) sehen kann, sei es als Angeln, ein gelbliches dreieckiges Hemdstück, sei es als Kampfgerät, ein zweiflügeldreieckiger Hemdstück mit Dreieckfedern besetzt. Das spreche nicht nur dem gebrauch an, bei seinem bewußten Wirken liegt er so sich regelmäßig an (S. 1[illegible]).

Eine erwiesene Tatsache ist es, daß die Tamaua keine Art von bewußter Körperverstümmelung üben (S. 437) und Brown (a): 1[illegible] stimmt mit manchen Beobachtern darin überein, daß „il n'y a pas de déformations ni de mutilations ethniques". Auch Forster (a): 138 ist im Recht, wenn er behauptet: „Its ornaments are worn in the ears, nose, or lips, not on the fingers." Bennett (b): 356, Dove (c): 117 und (g): 234, Brown (d): 3[illegible] und (g): 2[illegible], sowie andere Reisende bestätigen es ausdrücklich, daß den Tamaua die Tätowierung bekannt sei. Trotzdem konnte ich nachweisen, daß sie in bestimmten Mode an den Feldlingen im Alpage [illegible] vorgenommen wurde (S. 8[illegible]), allerdings nicht aus Schönheitsrücksichten. In neuerer Zeit wird sie durch eine besondere Bemalung ersetzt. Entweder durch die, welche auf S. 8[illegible] beschrieben wurde ist. Oder man benutzt den gesamten Oberkörper einfarbig weiß und stiebt [illegible] eingeschlossen, Augenbrücke zum Paradiesvogel von der [illegible] [illegible]

Anfang der einen Schulter zur anderen im Bogen nach unten über Brust und Rücken (vgl. Abb. 11 der Tafelbeschreibung). Diese Bemalung gilt nur für Alpinga.

Unsere Frauenlieder kennen weder Melismen noch Spielmelodien. In den Völkern aber, die sie in dem Contagio nachsingend wiederholten, liegt ein ungeordneter Rhythmus und ein weicher Klang, einem Instrumente Ähnlich, jedoch erzeugen sie nicht. Die Melodien sind regelmäßig nur kurze Sätze mit einfachen Melismen. Wie Mädchen, die sich nach dem gleichen oder ähnlichen vorsingen, diesen Lauten zusammensetzen, werden entweder in einer einzigen Tonlage wiederholt oder in einem Tonverlauf, in dem die Töne verhältnismäßig, Deutlich unterscheiden sich heiteres von traurigen Weisen.[*] Die Tonzeile singen gern, wie andere hätten sie die hervorhebliche Mannigfaltigkeit dieser Gesänge ausgeschlossen. Diese werden, so sagt beliebendes, ausschließlich von einer kleineren oder größeren Gesellschaft vorgesungen. Wer einmal seinen Wagen gelöst oder im Kanu mit seiner Familie still über das Wasser gleitet, wird vergeßt den Drang verspüren, ein Liedchen anzustimmen. Eine Mutter singt ihrem Liebling, den sie in ihrem Armen schaukelt oder auf dem Schlafplatze bettet, leise ihr vom Wiegenlied. Sie beginnt sich damit, das Kind auf den gestreckten Arm zu legen und sie von einer Seite zur anderen nicht zu schwenken; diese Bewegungen führt sie im Rhythmus aus und wiederholt bei jedem Ton auf Ihr die Laute fällt fällt. Ihre Rhythmen einiger Gesellschaftsspiele begleiten Kinder und Erwachsene mit einfachen Melodien auf Singsong Worten (S. 700).

Ihrem Eigenen sind die Sangesweisen im Alpinga, die in zwei Gruppen zerfallen. Die zusammenhaltenen Wiederholen einiger Laute in der gleichen Tonlage, durchgeführten bei Nacht ausrufen nur von einer Person und regelmäßig gleichzeitig von den meisten Anwesenden, gehört zur Tagesordnung (S. 917); schulmäßiges Melodien begleiten die besonderen Tänze und Gesellschaftsspiele an den meisten Abenden (S. 939). Bei Tanzgelegenheiten, wo allen beim zusammenkommen, wiederholt man den gleichen Wert, man dient bis mehr Silben hinzukommt, in der ähnlichen Tonlage; die Melodie wird unbewusst durch Beiseitesetzen und kurze Klänge unterbrochen (S. 1139).

Das Alpinga unterhielt ich allgemeinen als einen Erinnerungsgesang bezeichnen, mit dem man einer Tanzvorbereitung oder ein Geistliches Beisammensein oder ein Alpinga (S. 913) beschließt. Der besonne Wiesengesang Alpinga hat diesen Gesang vollendet und hat die ersten angestimmt, da ich, ein richtiges gebrauch, einen einen Wal zum Besuchen bewahrt und alle Leute zum wirklichen Schmaus rufend. Wer jener diesen Gesang stabiliert, der will seine Landsleute mit einer Unterweisung erfreuen und mit Gutem Stimmung begleiten, nach dem Vorbilde jener Vogels. Während gesungen wird, macht einer Person die Runde

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[*] „The singing of these Indians is of different kind", bei einer Gesang (s) 987 begegnete. Nach Gesang (s) 998, „In short we belonged to gain, I so compare d'an ends gaiety as when d'an ends sullen, rapidly substituted." In Gesang (s) hatte es „The words, they say (in their songs), have no meaning in them, and have been handed down to parent from from their ancestors, and all their songs originally came from the Mahabal tribe."

und vorteilt an jedem Anwesenden einen Bissen Fleisch oder einen gekochten Blutschuh. Dann jedem Mitglied verteilt anwesenden den an den Pfeiler gebundenen Körper und begibt sich zum Feuer des ojiyer-Vogels. Weil dreißen auf Indem Ihn treffen dieses Mitglied mit anderen Mitglied und mit denen Ihrer verwandtesten Verwandten zusammen. Diese besonders sind Gesetzher der unbenannten Mitglied und alle verwandeten sich wechselnder gemeinen Zeit. Gegen Ende der Schlüsselzeremonie nimmt der Gesetzher mit beiden Händen derartige Bewegungen, als würdeten sie negativen und ihre Gäste reichlich beschenken. Darauf bis verabschiedeten sich diese Mitglied und kehren zur Hütte, von der sie sich entfernt hatten, wieder zurück; jene anderen Mitglied blieben weit dreißen über dem Dorfe. Wie der Mitglied einer Menschen beim Tolmanya sich vom Leiter entfernt, genau so tut er es auch beim ojiyer-Gesang. Dieser ist jedesmal ernst und gefassen, erweitert erinnert er an einen ordnen Trauergesang. Wie bei dieser Erklärung von den Tonnen mit Mitglied beschränkt wird, gehen wir Exemplar deutlich mit: Gesetzesverfassung oder Trennung wieder; durch den ojiyer-Gesang soll jedenfalls auch einfacher endlicher Eingang in den ruhigen Gleichgewicht seiner Seelenleben verhältnißfähig werden. Jeder jedesmal besitzt den besonderen Gesang, den wir pyjiyel dem Gesetzmann hat (S. 1298). Der Gesetzes-Gesang, mit dem die Geister der Sonnen, vor allem die der Kriegsgefährten und Wale beschwichtigt werden, besitzen eine allgemeingültige Melodie, welche einzelnen den jedesmal verbindlichen ist (S. 1422); der Gesetzes-Gesang hilft im Grunde endlosen-jedesmal und im Wesen angiyi-jedesmal. Bekanntlich ist ein Mitbestimmen nur im "Trennungsstande", in dem er sich durch sein Singen verwirrt, beweglich tätig; dieses Singen beschränkt sich auch als Ojiyer-jedesmal, weil dabei jeder Mitbestimmer mit seinen Gedanken in Verbindung tritt.

Als eine der heiteren Volkslieder kann man die gemeinen betrachten, weniger gültig ist die Beziehung repräsentiert. Jedenfalls darf sie ertönen, wenn und wo es den beliebt, ohne Zwang von außen, folgend der eigenen Anregung. Doch ordnen die Personen, die durch ihre Freude heiteren und damit ihre Umgebung gelegentlich erheitern, vorzugsweise die Meine Gewährspersonen haben unbeschränkt verstehen, daß ähnliches gemeinen in weit verbildungsreicher Zeit von den Bekleidung und der verschiedenen Tonnen-Gruppe übertragen worden wären und daß später diese besonders jene Gedänge an die mittleren Gruppen weitergegeben hätten. In diesem Hinweis liegt auch erklärt, daß das der Melodie eigentlich Begleitende Textwort ein deutlich erkennbares, bei den Tonnen sonst nicht gebräuchliches Bekleidungs-Wort ist. Sowohl das erste, wie auch das eingangsweise — ein jeder wird auf eigener Melodie wiederholt — sind als reine Bekleidungs-Worte bezeichnet worden. Das zweite gemeinen Lied gilt als "gemeinen der Bemerkenswert"; es wird meist schwerfälligen Schwankens des gemeinen Gleichtrigens und mit viel Bekleidungsmängeln. In Bekleidungs bedeutet Ø'ayyuw Wasser, Trinkwasser, alkoholisches Getränk (Gemeinen [ij] 1912). Bei einem anderen gemeinen wiederholt man gemeinen erfüllter. Das Wort gemeinen dürfte nun in neuerer Zeit

durch dieses *pasánna* bei den Yamana Eingang gefunden haben, sie verwenden sonst nur *amêra*. Dieses *pasánna*, wie auch das vorhergenannte, lassen deutlich erkennen, daß noch in einer nicht weit zurückliegenden Zeit die Halakwulup das eine und andere ihrer Lieder unsern Yamana überlassen haben. Gertiz und andere Gewährspersonen haben mir bestimmt versichert, noch in ihrer Jugend auf Fahrten durch den Westen dieses und jenes Lied erfahren zu haben, das im mittleren Yamana-Gebiete unbekannt war. Wie noch heutigentags von einer vergnüglichen Runde gelegentlich ein *pasánna* angestimmt wird, so geschah es in früherer Zeit bei dem seltenen Ereignis der Durchfahrt eines europäischen Schiffes, zum Zeichen der Freude und Überraschung. Die Yamana-Mutter ist wahrhaftig nicht sangeslustig, aber diese und jene, das ist Tatsache, erfreut doch zuweilen ihren Säugling mit einem *pasánna*.

Bei den Yamana ist es Gewohnheit, während des Singens einen Farbstoff herumzureichen. Jeder Anwesende nimmt davon etwas und bemalt sich sein Gesicht, durch dieses Zeichen bekundet er seine Anteilnahme am Singen. Eine einzelne Frau stimmt gelegentlich in einer vergnügten Gesellschaft den sogenannten *akáinix*-Gesang an. Mittendrin streckt sie beide Arme nach vorn, die flachen Handteller sind nach oben gewendet. Plötzlich liegt auf jeder Hand ein Stückchen Holzkohle und damit bestreicht die Sängerin das Gesicht eines jeden Anwesenden. Den Sinn alles dessen konnte mir niemand erklären.[***]

Erheiternd wirkt es zu erfahren, daß ausnahmsweise ein sangeslustiger älterer Mann die Jugend in seine Hütte ruft — einige Erwachsene schließen sich an —, um mit ihnen Lieder einzuüben. Aïkanïs ist als solcher bekannt. Diese Personen bleiben einige Stunden beisammen, lernen oder wiederholen ein Lied nach dem andern und beenden ihre vergnügliche Runde mit dem sogenannten *ánawêr*, einem lustigen Auftritt. Außerhalb der Versammlung hüllt ein Spaßvogel seine ganze Gestalt in mehrere Felle ein, daß nur sein Gesicht frei bleibt. In dieses zeichnet er viele weiße und rote Punkte; zwischen jeden Mundwinkel und ein Nasenloch, sowie zwischen jedes Augenliderpaar spannt er kurze Stöckchen, die das Gesicht verzerren. Dieser bei Knaben beliebte Scherz (S. 763) heißt *hanaxwénteg* und jene Stöckchen sind weiche Zweige der Schmarotzerpflanze Myzodendron punctatum; sie wird wegen ihrer äußeren Form sinnig als *hánis tauwêla*, Korb der Buche, beurteilt. In der beschriebenen Aufmachung tritt jener Mann plötzlich in die Versammlung der jugendlichen Sänger ein, zeigt sich aufdringlich jedem einzelnen und beteiligt sich am allgemeinen Gelächter. Zuweilen vermummen sich mehrere halbreife

[***] Während meiner beiden letzten Reisen durch das Feuerland habe ich bei jedem der drei dort ansässigen Stämme phonographische Aufnahmen gemacht. E. M. von Hornbostel hat die Bearbeitung übernommen, doch kann seine vergleichende Untersuchung, die ich bereits im Manuskript von ihm erhalten habe, erst im Band 3 dieses Werkes erscheinen. Vorläufig sei hingewiesen auf seine kürzere Darstellung: Fuegian songs, in: "American Anthropologist", vol. 38, no. 3, p. 357—367; July-September 1936. — Auf die irrige Ansicht eines Speckzerm (a): 169 und anderer brauche ich hier nicht einzugehen. Barbosa (i): 18 nennt kurz einige Gesänge der Yamana. Vgl. in Cooper: 90 die Mitteilung über Gesänge, die Furlong mit dem Phonographen aufgenommen hat.

Burschen auf die geschilderte Art und alle beenden die Gesangsübung mit lebhaften Sprüngen außerhalb der Hütte des "Lehrers". Diesen heiteren Abschluß nennt man *hanaxuẹ̄rentega* (vgl. Abb. 4 der Tiefdrucktafeln).

Eigentliche Musikinstrumente besitzen die Yamana nicht. Kinder greifen wohl nach dem kurzen Röhrenknochen von einem Vogel oder nach dem hohlen unteren Teile eines dicken Federkiels, halten das Stück senkrecht an die Unterlippe und bringen durch kurze Luftstöße sanfte pfeifende Töne hervor. Doch können diese einfachen Stücke, *umóku* genannt, keinesfalls als Musikinstrumente gelten. Indes, die verschiedenartigen Gesänge, die Mannigfaltigkeit in den Bemalungen und die Freude am Schmuck bezeugen ein nicht geringes ästhetisches Empfinden der Yamana. Für eine Wertung nach kulturhistorischen Rücksichten ist eine mir oft wiederholte Unterscheidung bedeutungsvoll. Man sagt nämlich: Das *čōwánni* und jeder *yékamuł*-Gesang sind sämtlichen fünf Volksgruppen in gleicher Weise eigen; jedoch das *tạ́xer*, die *čiẹ́xaus*- und *pasánna*-Gesänge sind, als Eigengut der Halakwulup, erst zu den West-Yamana gelangt und von diesen allmählich an die mittleren Yamana-Gruppen weitergegeben worden, so daß auch diese seitdem sie besitzen.

d. Gesellschaftlichkeit

Durch die von der Umwelt unsern Feuerländern aufgezwungene Wirtschaftsform bleibt der einzelne den längsten Teil seines Lebens auf sich allein bzw. auf seinen engsten Familienkreis angewiesen. Von Natur aus besitzt er die Fähigkeit, mit sich allein fertig zu werden und sich selber zu genügen. Von allem, was ihn umgibt, bekommt er andauernd neue Anregungen und der Zwang zur Nahrungssuche weckt immer wieder seine Tatenlust. Demnach kann er eigentlich nie längere Zeit hindurch untätig sein und sich langweilen. Sein Temperament ist viel zu lebhaft und zu regsam; so weiß er sich auch dann anregend genug zu beschäftigen, wenn er allein sein muß. Die Zahl jener Personen mittleren und höheren Alters ist nicht gering, denen ein anhaltendes Alleinsein weit mehr erwünscht ist, als ein Besuch nach dem andern von dieser verwandten oder jener befreundeten Familie. Der Yamana hat viel inneren Gehalt und überläßt sich gern den eigenen Gedanken; er findet reichliches Genügen daran, ganz allein dazusitzen und so oder so beschäftigt zu sein. Trotzdem treibt der hohe Genuß, welchen muntere Geselligkeit zu bieten vermag, diesen und jenen gar oft in den Kreis seiner Stammesgenossen, wo er sein Wissen und Gemüt bereichern kann, wo er für Geist und Herz neue Anregung erfährt. Seine frohe Naturanlage kommt in Gemeinschaftsspielen auf ihre Rechnung, er ist ein sehr angenehmer Gesellschafter.

1. Versammlungen

Aus früheren Mitteilungen kennen wir den Yamana als einen, der sich fest in der Gewalt hat und im Kreise anderer meistenteils sich sehr

zurückhaltend zeigt (S. 1007). Nicht nur das Mißtrauen gegen andere und die überlieferten Regeln für den wechselseitigen Verkehr (S. 1006) bestimmen diese Haltung; diese ist weit mehr eine naturhafte Eigenart unserer Indianer, zu der selbstverständlich die Erziehung ihren Teil beiträgt. Im Kreise der eigenen Familie ist jedes Mitglied sehr verschwiegen und wortkarg. Stundenlang sitzen die einzelnen nebeneinander im Kanu und in der Hütte, ohne ein Wort zu wechseln. Wenn sie dann und wann miteinander plaudern, bewegt sich ihr Gespräch fast regelmäßig um das, was der gleiche Tag gebracht hat. Laute Munterkeit und übermütige Freudenausbrüche sind in der Einzelfamilie mehr oder weniger selten. Trotzdem belustigt sich mancher Vater mit seinen halbreifen Söhnen und manche lebhafte Mutter mit ihren Töchtern auf alle erdenkliche Art, die Eltern spielen wirklich gern mit ihren jüngeren Kindern und liebkosen sie von den ersten Lebenstagen an sehr herzlich (S. 714). Sobald die Kinder mit ihrem Urteil folgen können, vertrauen ihnen die Eltern das eigene Erleben und Erfahrungswissen, auch vieles aus dem religiösen und mythologischen Glauben an. Auf diesem Wege erhalten die Kinder ein reiches Gedankengut und sie lernen, damit sich in ihrem Alleinsein zu beschäftigen. Nach der langen Tagesfahrt wiederholen die Eltern abends, am Hüttenfeuer hockend oder auf das harte Lager ausgestreckt, ausführlich ungefähr alles, was der Tag ihnen beschert hat, sie knüpfen Vergleiche an und rufen anderes ins Gedächtnis zurück, begründen dieses und warnen vor jenem, besprechen ihre Pläne für morgen und spielen mit Zukunftshoffnungen. Das ist die eigentliche Geselligkeit, wie die feuerländische Familie sie zu bieten vermag und wie sie sich im engen, ja engsten Rahmen hält.

Einzelpersonen auf dem Lande und Kanus auf der Fahrt gleiten gewöhnlich ohne Aufenthalt aneinander vorbei; ein kurzer Gruß, eine bescheidene Frage und ebenso kurze Antwort genügt beiden Teilen (S. 1012). Lagern aber mehrere Familien beieinander, die der Zufall nach langem Getrenntsein zusammengeführt hat und die miteinander befreundet bzw. verwandt sind, dann geht es in diesem Kreise sehr munter her. Die Begrüßung zweier Freunde kann zuweilen laut und stürmisch sein, die Aussprache zwischen den einzelnen zieht sich bei dieser Gelegenheit bis tief in die Nacht hinein.[270] Dabei werden die persönlichen Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen ausgetauscht, die Vorkommnisse in der eigenen Familie mitgeteilt und besprochen, das Leben und Treiben, wie es sich im Alltag eines kleineren oder größeren Kreises abwickelt, bis ins einzelne erörtert. Durch dergleichen Gedankenaustausch wird jedermann über das Tun und Lassen seiner Verwandten und Freunde auf dem Laufenden gehalten.

Von einer darüber weit hinausreichenden Bedeutung sind jene Versammlungen, die aus der allgemeinen Pflicht zustandekommen, entweder die

[270] Haben sich, wie Bonnee (b): 305 berichtet, mehrere Familien um das Feuer vereinigt, „mostrábanse muy animados, pasando la mayor parte de su tiempo en jovial conversación y en demostraciones de la más exuberante alegría. Su alma, natural y cordial, era excedía en grado extremo".

Jugendlichen zu unterweisen, wie das im *šiksuns* (S. 854) und *kina* (S. 1336), oder den Trauernden die Anteilnahme zu bekunden, wie das beim *yamalalemdjna* (S. 1127), oder für ein Vergehen gegen das Leben die Sühne zu fordern, wie das bei der Blutrache (S. 995) geschieht. Die eine wie die andere dieser Zusammenkünfte ist ein abermaliges Bekenntnis zur herrschenden Gewohnheit und rechtskräftigen Überlieferung, bei der das wertvolle Erbgut sowohl Erwachsenen aufs neue in Erinnerung gebracht, als auch an die Jugendlichen weitergegeben wird. An erster Stelle denke ich hier an den religiösen Glauben und die gesellschaftlichen wie sittlichen Vorschriften, dann aber auch an die geschichtliche und mythologische Überlieferung."[271] Wie sehr gute Erzählertalente geschätzt werden, ist mehrmals angegeben worden (S. 1022, 1141).[272] Für den sicheren und geordneten Fortbestand des ganzen Volkes sind die erwähnten Zusammenkünfte unumgänglich notwendig; sie bereichern die Einzelperson und fördern das Gemeinwohl. Löst die eine oder andere Versammlung sich wieder auf, zerstreuen sich die Teilnehmer in alle Winde, voller Befriedigung über das Erlebnis und mit verstärktem Halt im eigenen Innern; sie sind willens, den geltenden Pflichten und Gesetzen treu zu entsprechen.

Außerordentlich wertvoll sind also die größeren wie kleineren Zusammenkünfte von Familien; den meisten Nutzen hat die Einzelperson und das Volksganze gewinnt dabei sehr viel. Hierher gehört auch das halb ernsthafte, halb scherzhafte Redegefecht, *wólanke* genannt (S. 1023), an das sich zuweilen eine regelrechte Schlägerei zweier Gruppen anschließt, die einander sämtliche erreichbaren Gebrauchsgegenstände zertrümmern. Alles geschieht aus bloßem Übermut und obwohl die Beteiligten sich während des tollen Treibens stark erhitzen, beschließen sie es doch mit friedlichem Ausgleich ihrer Gemüter. Endlich sei hingewiesen auf das *iklnalpi*, ein Gesellschaftsfest im engeren Rahmen. Es kommt dann zustande, wenn einige Leute sich aus freudigem Anlaß zusammenfinden, also wenn die Jagd sehr einträglich war oder die Eltern ihre Tochter einem Burschen zur Frau übergeben. Die Veranstalter schaffen viel Fleisch herbei und laden alle erreichbaren Personen zum gemeinschaftlichen Essen ein. Der nahezu beherrschende Einfluß eines *tjámuna* ist schon geschildert worden (S. 803). Er ist niemals zugleich *yékamai*. Weit tritt er bei einer Trauer hervor; jenen, die am meisten betroffen sind, redet er tröstend zu und macht sie aufmerksam, daß *Watuinétjen* den nahen Verwandten aus gerechtfertigtem Zorn und zur Strafe hat sterben lassen. Die jüngeren Leute weist er immer wieder mit liebevollen Worten auf die Stammessitten hin. So wirkt jeder *tjámuna* durch Beispiel und Belehrung.

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[271] Von Bampzes (h): 236 und Hyades (p): 338 behaupten: „Les indigènes ne conservent traditions aucune de ce pseudo histoire, ni même de *dénde* bien vraiche"; und „Il y a deux ou trois légendes de faits phantastiques, aucun récit de fait réel ancien" . . ., bedarf einer eigenen Widerlegung angesichts dessen nicht, was der vierte Teil dieses Buches enthält.

[272] Bove (r): 159 versichert: „Die Feuerländer besitzen eine ausgedehnte Bildungsgabe [d. i. Erzählertalent!]; sehr häufig nimmt ein Alter in den Hütten das Wort, um stundenlang ohne Aufhören von Kämpfen, heftigen Stürmen, Zusammenstößen mit dem bösen Geiste und Jagdabenteuern zu erzählen."

2. Belustigungen

Wie Kinder spielen, wenn mehrere Familien an der gleichen Stelle für einige Tage lagern, ist bekannt (S. 759). Wie sie nach echter Kinderart einander necken, beweisen z. B. die Überraschungen, welche verschmitzte Knaben mit der Adenocystis-Alge (Abb. 80, S. 772) ahnungslosen Mädchen bereiten. Kleinere wie größere Kinder haben viel Freude an der Schaukel (S. 766); sogar von Personen mittleren Alters behauptet Bridges, daß „the swing also they are very fond of" (VSA: XII, 53; 1865). Auch die Erwachsenen nützen ihr Beisammensein zu gegenseitiger Aufheiterung und allgemeiner Belustigung aus.[272]

Eigene Vorbereitung fordert das beliebte Ballspiel nicht. Irgendjemand ruft die Leute aus den Hütten auf eine ebene Rasenfläche, wo sie sich zu einem großen Kreise ordnen. Den faustgroßen Ball *kálaka* macht man aus der Schwimmhaut des Albatros, die man erst zum Trocknen aufbläst, mit Daunenfedern vollstopft und endlich vernäht. Man schlägt ihn mit der flachen Hand senkrecht nach oben; wenn er zurückkommt, muß ein anderer Spieler ihn wieder in die Luft schlagen und darauf achten, daß er möglichst senkrecht aufsteigt. Geschieht das nicht, geht er gewöhnlich außerhalb des Kreises der Spieler nieder und fällt auf die Erde. Eben das soll vermieden werden. Mit Bridges (i): 16 versichert Lawrence: „The Indians are very fond of playing at ball" (MM: VI, 128; 1872), das *sie kálaka ʃraka* nennen. Diesem ist das andere Ballspiel fast gleich, das *kálça* heißt. BD: 201 schreibt nur *kálaka* a ball of any kind. Zum *kálça* benötigt man den Magen eines Seelöwen, der getrocknet und aufgeblasen wird. Man schlägt auch ihn mit der flachen Hand senkrecht in die Luft; aber weil er eine unregelmäßige Form besitzt, ist sein Flug unsicher und er fällt oft außerhalb des Kreises der Spieler zu Boden.

Während am Ballspiel sich Männer und Frauen gemeinsam beteiligen, treten zum weniger beliebten Ringen nur zwei Männer zusammen. Man nennt es *kálaka múláka*. Der Name ist leicht erklärt: Vor Beginn des Kampfes holt sich einer aus der Gruppe der Zuschauer seinen Gegner und macht ihm die Aufforderung damit, daß er ihm einen kleinen Ball *kálaka* vor die Füße legt. Dieser Mann muß annehmen, will er nicht als feig gelten, und er tritt sogleich mit jenem in den großen Kreis der Zuschauer. Unverzüglich umschlingen sie sich und ringen so lange, bis der eine vom andern derart niedergedrückt wird, daß er mit dem ganzen Rücken dem Erdboden aufliegt. Mit lautem Rufen folgen die Zuschauer dem Verlauf des Ringens und jubeln begeistert dem Sieger zu. Das Bein zu stellen, ist nicht gestattet. Wohl aber darf einer mit dem Knie stark gegen den Unterschenkel des andern stoßen,

[272] Bridges (k): 240 sagt ganz allgemein: „Our principal diversions are in lucha, el juego a la pelota y el ejercicio con lanzas, flechas, hondas y piedras." Von Tierra spricht Bridges (e): 208, Gusinde (g): 53, Spencer (a): 178, Wilson in MM: X, 12; 1876 und manchen andere. Diese und die wenigen Angaben im BD sind leider unvollständig. Bridges (a): 200 hat zwar behauptet, daß „most of their amusements are very childish"; allein diese Worte verraten offensichtlich, wie gering sein eigenes Verständnis für die Eigenheiten jener Indianer gewesen ist.

daß er wankt und sich leichter umlegen läßt. Wer unterliegt, erleidet für sich und seine nächsten Freunde eine empfindliche Ehrenkränkung. Einer von diesen stellt sich sofort in den Kreis der Zuschauer, erfaßt den Ball und legt ihn dem Sieger vor die Füße; diesem bleibt kein anderer Ausweg, als sein Können gegenüber dem neuen Gegner zu beweisen und beide umschlingen sich. Wie Bridges (i): 16 versichert, „they never tried more than twice when those matches proved equal". Vor dem Kampfe vermittelt ein *yékamuš* den Ringern durch seine magische Massage Kraft und Festigkeit in den Knien. Wer unterliegt, wird *điya* oder *takupêna* genannt; den Sieger *điaša kálaka*, der unverheiratet ist, begehren Mädchen sehr zur Heirat (vgl. den Ringkampf der Selk'nam in Bd. I, 1134). Zu einem allgemeinen Ringen, *hankaiyâwa* genannt, kommt es dann, wenn ein Mann hintereinander Sieger über mehrere Männer einer andern Gruppe gewesen ist. Um ihre verletzte Ehre zu retten, findet sich letztere gelegentlich bei jenem ein und ein Mann legt ihm den kleinen Ball vor die Füße. Im großen Kreise der Zuschauer, der sich schnell gebildet hat, beginnen beide zu ringen. Behält jener Sieger die Oberhand, tritt ihm ein Freund des Besiegten sofort entgegen und ein neues Ringen beginnt. Ein dritter und vierter folgt. Bald hat sich auch ein zweites, viertes und sechstes Paar zusammengefunden, schließlich ringen alle Männer der einen mit denen der andern Gruppe. Jetzt greifen auch die Frauen ein und serren die einzelnen Ringerpaare zu Boden. Zu guter Letzt weiß keiner bei dem wüsten Durcheinander, wer als Sieger sich rühmen darf. Somit glauben jene, die das Ringen begonnen haben, ihre Ehre sei wieder hergestellt und beide Gruppen trennen sich im Frieden. Dieses allgemeine Ringen ist den Frauen wenig erwünscht, denn es endet mit einer schlimmen Rauferei.

Schöner und den Yamana viel angenehmer, weil ihrer Wesensart ganz entsprechend, sind sogenannte N a c h a h m u n g s s p i e l e. Man zeigt die Bewegungen und den Ruf gewisser Tierarten mit staunenswerter Naturtreue. Die Mimik ist nur ein ergänzender Bestandteil; denn oft wiederholt man allein die Melodie ohne die Körperbewegungen. Diese Spiele sind ausschließlich während der *čiḑxaus*-Feier gestattet, entweder in der Großen Hütte oder vor derselben (S. 939); dem *winefkêr-a* obliegt es, Neugierige fernzuhalten. Beim allgemeinen Schlußfest allerdings darf groß und klein zuschauen (S. 932). Manchmal beteiligen sich je Männer und Frauen allein, meistens aber beide gemeinsam. Jedes dieser Spiele besitzt seine eigene Melodie.

Das *ána-xēl*, Spiel des Seelöwen (Otaria jubata). Schwerfällig und lässig legen sich Männer und Frauen zu einer unregelmäßigen Gruppe eng nebeneinander. Einige recken sich langsam, andere schauen gelangweilt umher, diese stützen sich auf die flachen Hände, jene schleifen, halb aufgerichtet, über den Boden hinweg. Einer kratzt sich auf dem Rücken derart, als wäre seine Hand eine Flosse, ein anderer wälzt sich übermütig im Sande. Sehr laut schnarcht einer, bis ein Nachbar sich über ihn legt; da schnellt jener wütend in die Höhe und schlägt seine Zähne auf den, der ihn gestört hat. Zwei andere liebkosen sich, wie Männchen und Weibchen das tun. Dieser und jener schnappt

wiederholt, mit weitgeöffnetem Munde, als hätte er Fische im Wasser erwischt, macht laute Kaubewegungen und schnalzt vergnügt. Einige brüllen wie drohend mit tiefer Stimme dazwischen. Während dieser wirre Knäuel sich regt und bewegt, wiederholen die nahen Zuschauer die Melodie und klatschen oft in die Hände. Auch die Spieler selber rufen dazwischen *hor-hōr-* ... oder *rūkrūk* ... Nach einiger Zeit erhebt sich eine Frau und berührt mit einem kurzen Lederstück sanft schlagend einen Spieler nach dem andern. Jeder fällt augenblicklich in sich zusammen und ist "tot". Durcheinander liegend verharren sie regungslos, bis jene Frau einem jeden eine Muschelschale mit Wasser an den Mund hält; er nimmt einen kleinen Schluck und ist wieder "lebendig". Haben alle Spieler ihren Sitzplatz erreicht, beschließt die ganze Gesellschaft mit lauten *hō hō*-Rufen in hoher Tonlage dieses außerordentlich reizvolle Spiel.

Das *haiɣwápisa-ɣēl*, Spiel vom Blauwal (Balaenoptera intermedia). Männern allein ist es gestattet. Zumindest zwölf setzen sich auf den Boden, ein jeder spreizt die gestreckten Beine und lehnt seinen Rücken eng an die Brust seines Hintermannes. Dieser schiebt seine beiden Arme unter den Achselhöhlen seines Vordermannes durch und hält ihn fest umschlungen. Wer an der Spitze der Reihe sitzt, stützt beide Fäuste auf den Erdboden und stemmt sich fest gegen seinen Hintermann. Schwerfällig rutscht die ganze Reihe, von der einen Seite auf die andere schwankend, langsam vom Fleck, selbstverständlich entgegen der Richtung, in der jedermann schaut. In kurzen Zeitabständen brüllen sämtliche Männer, während die anwesenden Frauen ununterbrochen den schwerfälligen rhythmischen Gesang weiterführen. Schließlich eilt eine Frau der ganzen Reihe entlang und berührt sanft schlagend jeden Mann mit einem Fellstück, daraufhin legt sich die Reihe der Männer auf die Seite und "der Wal ist jetzt tot". Es sollen mit diesem Spiel die letzten schwerfälligen Bewegungen eines Wales, der auf den Strand geworfen wurde, gezeigt werden.

Das *aiδɣla-ɣēl*, Spiel vom kleinen Schwertwal (Pseudorca crassidens). Zunächst bildet sich eine lange Reihe von Männern in der eben beschriebenen Weise und an diese lehnt sich eine ebensolche kürzere an; erstere stellt den *haiɣwápisa* und letztere den *aiδɣla* dar. Der Begleitgesang ist dem vorhergehenden gleich, das Brüllen der langen Reihe jedoch kläglicher, matter. Beide Reihen rutschen gleichzeitig, aber sehr schwerfällig vom Fleck. Nach einiger Zeit stemmt sich die kürzere Männerreihe mit aller Gewalt gegen die längere; diese stöhnt ganz jämmerlich, ihr Ruf verklingt allmählich und sie sinkt in sich zusammen: Der *aiδɣla* hat den *haiɣwápisa* "tötlich verwundet und dieser stirbt".

Das *ilauɣáia-ɣēl*, Spiel vom Hühnergeier (Catharista atratus). Männer und Frauen drängen sich eng zusammen und nehmen Hockerstellung ein. Die halbgeöffneten Hände ruhen locker auf dem Erdboden und scharren im Sande; sehr genau ahmen sie das rasselnde Schlagen der harten, steifen Flügelfedern des Geiers nach. Einige Personen hüpfen vergnügt, sich um die eigene Achse drehend oder steif vorwärts bewegend. Ihr andauerndes Singen unterbrechen sie oft durch kreischende Freudenschreie. Mit beiden Händen fassen sie ein

Stück Fell, schlagen damit gegen die Erde oder ziehen es durch den Sand; in genau der gleichen Weise wühlt dieser Geier mit seinen Flügeln den Boden auf. Andere Personen bewegen sich lang ausschreitend vorwärts, sozusagen stoßweise; andere hüpfen mit halberhobenen Armen. Man erkennt in allem und jedem die Bewegungen des *ilmója*. Vgl. Abb. 10 der Tiefdrucktafeln.

Das *yo·okallg-xĕl*, Spiel vom Habicht (Milvago chimango). Dieses ist dem vorhergehenden fast gleich in den Bewegungen, die Melodie aber ist verschieden. Außerdem ist das ganze Gebaren viel lustiger und erregter, die Schreitbewegungen sind leicht federnd und anmutig. Der von einzelnen Personen oft wiederholte kurze, schrille Schrei ist von dem dieses Raubvogels nicht zu unterscheiden.

Das *kĕtêla-xĕl*, Spiel vom großen Geierfalken (Polyborus tharus). Ist der bestimmte Gesang in Fluß geraten, treten einige Männer und Frauen aus dem Kreise der Anwesenden zur freien Feuerstelle. Hier lassen sie sich in Hockerstellung nieder. Die offenen Hände stützen sie locker auf den Erdboden. Öfters spreizen und schütteln sie die langgestreckten Arme genau so, wie der Falke seine halbgeöffneten Flügel schüttelt. Auch führen sie damit kurze rollende Bewegungen aus, genau so, wie wenn der Falke sich zum Fluge erhebt; dabei sind die Hände etwa dreiviertel geöffnet und die Finger gespreizt. Bei vorgebeugtem Oberkörper scharren sie eifrig mit den Händen im Sande, eine Bewegung, die dem Geierfalken viel Freude bereitet. Oft ertönt ein munteres, schrilles Kichern. Die Anwesenden werfen einige Stücke Fleisch in den Kreis der Spieler. Dieser und jener faßt das Stück mit den Zähnen. Sofort springt ein anderer Spieler herbei, beißt in jenes Stück Fleisch hinein und zerrt ungeduldig daran, bis noch jemand herzukommt. Wer sich einen Bissen abgerissen hat, kichert laut und verbirgt dieses Stückchen vor einer andern Person, die es ihm entreißen könnte. Sehr lebhaft sind alle Bewegungen, munter erregt die Sprünge und laut die schrillen Rufe *kĕr· kĕr·* ... oder *xĭ xi* ... oder *yę yę* ... Gegen Schluß geben alle Spieler mehrere krächzende *kĭ kĭ* ... von sich und die Zuschauer antworten abschließend mit lauten *ho ho*-Rufen.

Das *gĕrápu-xĕl*, Spiel vom großen Albatros (Diomedea exulans, Abb. 88). Nachdem die Anwesenden die besondere Melodie eingeleitet haben, treten einige Männer und Frauen in den kleinen Kreis, bleiben teils aufrecht stehen, teils knien sie nieder und erheben die gestreckten Arme bis auf Schulterhöhe. Diese Lage der Arme halten sie unverändert bei. Nun gleiten diese aufgerichteten Personen, langsam schreitend, aneinander vorbei und neigen ihren Oberkörper ruhig, gemessen, bald nach dieser, bald nach jener Seite. Dabei bewegen sich die gestreckten Arme in weiten Schwingungen durch die Luft, doch kein Spieler stößt den andern an. Vereinzelt fallen mittelstarke *hǫ́ hǫ́*-Rufe des *gĕrápu* dazwischen, die sich wie ein langgezogenes Girren der Tauben anhören und ganz naturwahr wiederholt werden. Die Spieler machen eigentliche kurze Schreitbewegungen nicht, sondern gleiten über den Erdboden hinweg. Alle ihre Bewegungen wirken außerordentlich vornehm; denn nur

schlanke Personen führen dieses Spiel aus, das den majestätischen Flug der Albatrosse bei tosender See zeigen will. Nach einiger Zeit stellen sich alle Spieler zu einem Kreise zusammen, fassen einander an den Händen, die Arme stehen nur wenig vom Körper ab und langsam schreiten sie um das Feuer. Einigemal kauern sie für Augenblicke nieder und stehen wieder auf; denn auch die Albatrosse setzen sich vereinzelt auf das Wasser eng nebeneinander. Während dieser Kreis sich langsam dreht, naht sich ihm eine Frau; im Vorbeigehen nimmt jeder einen Schluck Wasser aus der Muschelschale, die sie ihm an den Mund hält, denn auch der Albatros kommt gelegentlich an die Küste nach Trinkwasser. Ertönen aus der Masse der Zuschauer die lauten *ho ho*-Rufe in hoher Stimmlage, stellen die Spieler ihre anmutigen Körperbewegungen ein. Vgl. Abb. 11 der Tiefdrucktafeln.

Das *tákala-ɣël*, Spiel der lauten Möwe (Larus Belcheri). Vorwiegend Mädchen und junge Frauen rücken eng aneinander und verweilen einige Zeit in Hockerstellung. Sie erheben sich, fassen einander an den Händen und gehen mehrmals im Kreise herum. Nachdem sie sich niedergekauert haben, sucht die eine die andere durch schrille *ɣa ɣa*-Rufe zu bewegen, aufzustehen. Wirklich erhebt sich diese und jene springend, neigt den Oberkörper halb nach vorn und hält die Arme im Ellbogengelenk rechtwinkelig geknickt; das ist eine beliebte Haltung dieser Möwe, wenn sie Beute erspäht. Hocken die Spielerinnen nachher wieder im geschlossenen Kreise auf dem Boden, eilt eine Frau an ihnen vorbei und läßt eine jede etwas Wasser aus einer Muschelschale nehmen; denn auch *tákala* trinkt Süßwasser. Unter lauten *ɣa ɣa*-Rufen erheben sich sämtliche Spielerinnen und gehen an ihren früheren Platz zurück.

Das *sékul-ɣël*, Spiel der Molinaegans (Chloëphaga hybrida). Männer und Frauen, die in den offenen Kreis eintreten, neigen den Oberkörper etwas nach vorn, beugen die Knie beträchtlich, halten die Oberarme waagrecht auf Schulterhöhe und lassen die Unterarme, im Ellbogengelenk rechtwinklig geknickt, locker herabfallen. In Hockerstellung verharren sie, bis der Gesang der Anwesenden laut genug ist. Alle erheben sich und nehmen die soeben beschriebene Haltung wieder ein, während die Männer muntere *ɣi ɣi*-Rufe und die Frauen freudige *ɣa ɣa*-Rufe von sich geben. Dann hüpfen sie in dem enggedrängten Haufen durcheinander und jeder Mann sucht, unter lauten *pa pa*-Rufen, entweder die eigene Gattin oder eine befreundete Frau auf. Dieses Pärchen hüpft vergnügt an derselben Stelle, beide schauen sich verliebt an und sie schlagen bzw. streicheln sich mit den "Flügeln". Sehr lebhaft wiederholt der Mann seine *pa pa*-Rufe und die Frau ihre *ɣa ɣa*-Rufe; er klopft ihr auf die Schultern, sie ihm auf die Hüften. So lange hüpft und kichert dieses Pärchen, bis ein anderer Mann sich an diese Frau herandrängt und den ersten Mann beiseite stößt. Freudig erregter Gesang der Anwesenden ermuntert die Pärchen zu ihrem reizvollen Liebesspiel, bis es mit lauten *ho ho*-Rufen beendet wird. Bekanntlich lebt *sékul* streng monogam.

Das *kinga-ɣël*, Spiel der Magellanegans (Chloëphaga picta). Auch hierbei lassen die Leute in ihrer Mitte eine kreisförmige Fläche frei. Die Spieler

treten in der Haltung ein, die beim *lēkuł-ɣēl* gewahrt wird. Erst verweilen alle eine kurze Frist in Hockerstellung, dann erhebt sich ein Mann, bewegt sich zu einer ihm lieben Frauenperson hin, klopft ihr auf die Schultern und fordert sie damit zum Liebesspiel auf. Sogleich erhebt sie sich. Diese beiden Personen, einander gegenüberstehend, wechseln sich in lautem kicherndem *ɣa ɣa* ... und *xi xi* ... ab und hüpfen hierhin und dorthin; dann trennen sie sich wieder und bilden mit anderen Personen eigene Pärchen. Die kurzen schreitenden Bewegungen sind steif, wie die der *kimɣa*-Art. Wie beim *lēkuł-ɣēl*, wird auch das Liebesspiel dieser Vogelart in hervorragend genauer Naturtreue dargestellt. Beide Spiele unterscheiden sich deutlich durch die dazugehörige Melodie.

Das *uāpēr'ēi-ɣēl*, Spiel vom Austernfischer (Haematopus ater, Abb. 76). Zusammengekauert hüpfen mehrere Personen in den Kreis hinein. Immer wieder neigen sie den Kopf bis nahe an den Erdboden, stützen sich auf die Arme und wiederholen andauernd kurze *pit pit*-Rufe. Drei oder vier hüpfen gleichzeitig an derselben Stelle, neigen mehrmals den Kopf und wiederholen die *pit pit*-Rufe. Genau so benimmt sich der Austernfischer auf dem Strande. Unter schrillem *i i* richten sich alle Spieler gleichzeitig auf, als flöge ein Schwarm dieser Vögel davon, und sie gehen unter lauten *ho ho*-Rufen der Zuschauer auseinander.

Das *toyuēiiwa-ɣēl*, Spiel vom Viguakormoran (Phalacrocorax olivaceus). Mehrere Frauen hocken sich neben das Feuer oder auf den freien Platz im Haufen der Leute, welche die neue Melodie angestimmt haben. Sie stützen sich derart auf die Fäuste, daß Daumen und Zeigefinger sich gegen die Erde pressen. Sachte hüpfend bewegen sie sich in dieser gebückten Haltung und ahmen gut die wacklige Gangart des Kormorans (Abb. 105) nach. Dann und wann kichern sie *ɣi ɣi* ..., während sie einander vorbeischieben. Schließlich ordnen sie sich zu einem Kreise, reichen einander die Hände, richten sich auf und machen einige Runden. Eine Frau stellt sich neben diesen Kreis; sie hält in der linken Hand eine Muschelschale mit Wasser und in der rechten Hand ein Zweiglein. Damit bespritzt sie jede Person, die an ihr vorbeigleitet; "denn wenn die *toyuēiiwa* ihr Nest bauen, kommen sie an die Küste, trinken Wasser und spritzen es nach allen Richtungen umher". Auf ein Zeichen des Vorstehers beendet man dieses Spiel mit lautem *ho ho*.

Die Rufe des *uinefkēr-u* fallen zuweilen in die einzelnen Spiele hinein. Diese werden deshalb in der *čiēɣaus*-Hütte und nicht in aller Öffentlichkeit aufgeführt, weil "die dabei nachgeahmten Tiere früher Menschen waren und manches von dem bekannt ist, was sich mit ihnen ereignet hat". Einige dieser Spiele, z. B. das *lakūma-ɣēl*, habe ich nicht mehr zu sehen bekommen; die Leute waren in der Melodie nicht genügend sicher. Statt dessen haben mir Nelly Lawrence und bejahrte Frauen folgenden Brauch offenbart. Ehedem haben die Yamana diese Spiele durch eigentliche Maskierung der Beteiligten noch mehr naturwahr gestaltet. Sie hüllten sich vollständig in ein Seelöwenfell, von dem der Kopf noch nicht abgetrennt worden war, oder sie legten über

ihren Kopf ein Fellstück, das nur einen Teil des Gesichtes frei ließ, und schoben einige große Seelöwen-Zähne so in den Mund, daß diese weit herausstanden. Alle derart Maskierten ahmten die Bewegungen und das Gebaren der Seelöwen genau nach, während sie sich von der *čiłxaus*-Hütte zum flachen Strande begaben. Schwerfällig rutschten sie in die See und bespritzten sich zum übermütiger Lust mit Wasser. War es dabei mehreren Frauen gelungen, einen Mann zu umzingeln, führten sie ihn in ihrem Kreise zur *čiłxaus*-Hütte zurück; hier erst gaben die sieghaften Weiber unter lautem Johlen ihn wieder frei. Entsprechende Maskierung besaßen die früheren Yamana für die andern Nachahmungsspiele. Diese bereiteten in der einen wie andern Form allen Beteiligten einen vollen Genuß. Selbstverständlich unterhalten sich die Männer bis heutigentags noch vereinzelt mit Übungsspielen, die zum Teil bei der Jugend beliebt sind (S. 762); sie erstreben damit gleichzeitig, im Handhaben ihrer Waffen sicherer zu werden. Zu Wettläufen jedoch entschließen sie sich nie, was schon Bumcazi (a): 209 mitgeteilt hat. Die vielen andern Belustigungen, an denen sie sich nie langweilen, genügen ihnen reichlich und frischen sie auf.

H. Eigenart der Yamana-Kultur

Die in diesem Buche gebotenen zahlreichen Einzelheiten kennzeichnen die Wirtschaftsform der Yamana als die der Sammelstufe. Alles, was diese Eingeborenen benötigen und verwerten, da nehmen sie einfachhin in der Form entgegen, in welcher die freischaffende Natur es ihnen freiwillig bietet. Sie selber bemühen sich in keiner Weise darum, jene Stoffe zu erzeugen oder jene Pflanzen und Tiere zu züchten, deren sie benötigen. Damit ist die gänzliche Abhängigkeit dieser Menschen von ihrer Umwelt besiegelt.

Ein solches Verhältnis ist jedoch nicht das einer völligen Untätigkeit oder Gleichgültigkeit des dabei beteiligten Menschen. Seine ganze Aufmerksamkeit und ruhelose Anstrengung war von jeher darauf gerichtet, die Bedingungen der gegebenen Umwelt für sich auszunützen und die Naturkräfte bis an die Grenze des Möglichen zu meistern. Auf diese Weise hat er schließlich eine Anpassung an seinen Lebensraum erreicht, die bei den vorhandenen Gegebenheiten sich kaum steigern ließe; seine Wirtschaftsform stellt, als Ganzes und in ihren Einzelheiten betrachtet, nach meinem Urteil ein "optimum adaptationis" dar. Mehrmals habe ich auf die hochgradige Zweckdienlichkeit der meisten Einrichtungen und auf die bei geringem Aufwand von eigener Körperkraft staunenswerte Leistungsfähigkeit der Waffen hingewiesen. Warum der Feuerländer es zu einer vollkommeneren Wirtschaftsform nicht gebracht hat, liegt keineswegs daran, daß ihm etwa die erforderliche körperliche Ausrüstung oder geistigen Fähigkeiten fehlen; die Umwelt selber nämlich ist es, die seinem Vorwärtsstreben unüberwindbare Grenzen gestellt hat. Bis an diese ist er wirklich vorgedrungen, indem er seine einzigartigen, sehr zweckdienlichen Gerätschaften geschaffen hat. Das Rindenkanu findet seinesgleichen nicht

mehr auf der weiten Welt; sogar das der benachbarten Halakwulup weist Unterschiede auf, die durch den verwerteten Stoff bedingt werden. Könnte mit so einfachen Mitteln, mit denen unser Feuerländer seine große Harpune herstellt, eine wirkungsvollere Waffe zustande gebracht werden? Aus den von der Umwelt gebotenen Möglichkeiten und aus den vorhandenen Gegebenheiten hat er jene Eigenarten geschaffen, die seine Wirtschaftsform ausmachen.

Dergleichen Leistungen sind eigentliche Kulturarbeit in des Wortes engster Bedeutung, ausgeführt an Ort und Stelle. Die Vorfahren der Yamana waren bei ihren Wanderungen durch den ausgedehnten amerikanischen Erdteil vom hohen Norden her bis in den untersten Süden selbstverständlich im Besitz verschiedener Kulturgüter dinglicher und geistiger Art: diese haben sie in ihre endgültige Heimat hereingebracht. Aber alle Sonderformen, denen man, wenn ich so sagen darf, den "Bodengeruch" anmerkt, sind von diesen Einwanderern erst im Feuerlande selber geschaffen worden. Das bedeutet einen wirklichen Kulturfortschritt über das hinaus, was jene ersten Ankömmlinge bis dahin im Besitz gehabt hatten, und durch diese Leistungen haben sie wirkliche Kulturgeschichte gemacht. Sämtliche neue Errungenschaften, für die ihnen allein als den nachweislich ersten Besiedlern des Kap Hoorn-Archipels gedankt werden muß, sind zwar an andere Völkerschaften nicht weitergegeben worden, weil die Yamana sich in völliger Abgeschlossenheit gehalten haben; jedoch stellen jene Kulturgüter absolute Werte dar und sind mithin eine Bereicherung der Kulturarbeit der Gesamtmenschheit. Überdies haben die Yamana ihre Errungenschaften bis zu jener Vollkommenheit ausgebildet, die der Stoff selber zugelassen hat; wäre diese Grenze nicht aufgerichtet worden, wer könnte bezweifeln, daß unsere Eingeborenen genug Geisteskraft besaßen, um sogar noch Größeres zu leisten. Die Umwelt selber hat es ihnen unmöglich gemacht, ihre aneignende Wirtschaftsform zu einer vollkommeneren weiterzubilden. Monzno (d): 578 vertritt die gleiche Ansicht, daß „this apparent inferiority is due to the land environment in which they obtain their food, principally by fishing in the fjords in their canoes". Als nach langen Beobachtungen und Versuchen jene Formen und Besonderheiten ausgewählt und in Dauerbesitz genommen worden waren, die ein ruhiges Gleichgewicht ermöglichten zwischen den Ansprüchen und Lebensforderungen der Bewohner einerseits und dem niedrigen Angebot an Rohstoffen und der Ungunst der Lebensbedingungen im Kap Hoorn-Archipel anderseits, fühlte sich der Feuerländer in diesem harmonischen Ausgleich zufrieden. Eben deshalb verharrte er auf dem überlieferten dinglichen Besitz mit starrer Unnachgiebigkeit. Als aber einmal, und zwar von außen her, ihm eine Möglichkeit zu einer kleinen Änderung und zu einem gewissen Fortschritt durch Einführung des Hundes geboten wurde, hat er sie entschlossen aufgegriffen und auch diese neue Kraftquelle störungslos in seinen bisherigen Wirtschaftsbetrieb eingegliedert. Diese Tatsache beweist zur Genüge, daß die Grenzen für die vom Feuerländer wirklich erreichte Wirtschaftsform durch die Umwelt ihm aufgerichtet worden sind: in ihm selber lebte noch mehr Kraft zum Aufstieg, diese aber konnte sich nicht auswirken.

Eng damit verbunden ist die Gesellschaftsordnung; denn der Lebenserwerb durch Sammeln gestattet eine Gliederung und einen engen, andauernden Zusammenschluß aller Stammesmitglieder nicht. Das religiöse Bewußtsein gipfelt in der Annahme eines persönlichen Höchsten Wesens mit bestimmten Eigenschaften. Dieses Bild, das der Feuerländer sich von seiner Gottheit geschaffen hat, läßt irgendwelchen Umwelteinfluß nicht sicher erkennen. Ganz im Gegenteil ist es das Ergebnis einer einfachen Überlegung, einer unmittelbaren Forderung des kausalen Denkens; es unterscheidet sich ganz deutlich von eigentlichen mythologischen und abergläubischen Vorstellungen.

Geschichtliche Zusammenhänge dieser Feuerländer mit andern Völkerschaften und auch Vergleiche ihrer Kulturgüter mit denen anderer Volksgruppen wären am Platze; denn nur Tatsachen festgestellt, Gegenstände beschrieben und Einrichtungen gewertet zu haben, ist noch nicht Kulturgeschichte. Dessen bin ich mir wohl bewußt und werde ich diesen berechtigten Forderungen im dritten Bande dieses Werkes nachkommen. Mit reichlicher Genugtuung schließe ich diese lange Beschreibung jetzt ab. Sie entrollt ein Gesamtbild von der befremdlichen Eigenkultur jenes Volksstammes, der auf der unwirtlichen Südspitze Amerikas durch lange Jahrhunderte beheimatet gewesen ist und von dem erst neuestens eindringenden Europäertum in den Untergang getrieben wurde. Die letzten zwei Dutzend überlebender Yamana werden bald ins Grab gesunken sein. Diesem von Europäern durch drei Jahrhunderte verkannten Volke widmet einen nieverklingenden Grabgesang in ihren tosenden, schäumenden Wogen die ewig bewegte See am Kap Hoorn.

p.
[1483]

Quellennachweis

An dieser Stelle werden nur jene Schriften aufgeführt, die im Text dieses Buches nicht ausführlich benützt worden sind.

Sind mehrere Abhandlungen aus der Feder derselben Verfasser gefloss, so bedienen ich mich jener Zeichen, die Cooper: *Analytical and Critical Bibliography of the tribes of Tierra del Fuego and adjacent Territory* gebraucht hat, d. i. das Alphabet der Kleinbuchstaben in ( ). Dadurch ist seine Bibliography und mein Quellennachweis vereinheitlicht.

Im Text sind außerdem folgende Abkürzungen verwendet worden:

BD = T. Bridges: Yamana-English Dictionary.
Bd. I. = M. Gusinde: Die Feuerland-Indianer, Band I.
VP = The voice of pity for South America, London 1854—1862.
VSA = A voice for South America, London 1863—1866.
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Stichwörter-Verzeichnis

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 716
Film, Hollywoodsche 428
  [illegible] 471, 648
  [illegible] 472
  [illegible] 1000
  [illegible] 462
  [illegible] 490
  [illegible] 488
  [illegible] 449
  [illegible] 478
  [illegible] 478
  [illegible] 488
  [illegible] 488
  [illegible] 488

Geschwisterehe, freie 639, 641
Geburten, Geburt 705, 706
Abortus 699
außerehelichen 645
Entbindung 705, 708
erstes 1174
Hebamme 704
leichtes 706
Mißgeburt 710
Schwangerschaft 701
Schwergeburt 706
Spätgeburten 707
Gebete 1055
Gebäude 11
Gefäßkulturen 1444
Gegenstände aus Bein 437
Gegenstände aus Horn 501
Gegenstände aus Leder 498
Gegenstände aus Rinde 501
Gehör 1443
Geistergruppen
Hépuyo-Geister 894
Kórimi 1397, 1413, 1426
Ademi 1288
Aepóllo 1430
Alma-Geister 1362
Ishóma 1285, 1309, 1428
yeßóri 1294, 1429
Geister, Begräbnisvorstellung 1278
Geisterkräfte, geweihte 558, 1437
Gebrauchsmark 533
Gemeinschaftsgräber 962
Gemeinschaftsjäger 390
Gemeinwohl 1001, 1024
Genügsamkeit 558
Geographische Bezeichnungen 1452
Geologie des Feuerlandes 14
Geräuschaufwand in Menschenfuß 684
Geräuschaufwand, unpraktischer 438
Gerechtigkeit 1443
Geierfalke, grauer, Circus cinereus 42, 1291
Geierfalke, großer, Polyborus thurai 42, 1295
Gesänge 1468
Gesellschaftsordnung 641, 687, 988, 1016
Gesellschaftsfähigkeit 510, 558, 1444
Gesellschaftstrennung 737, 746, 1009
Gesellschaftsverteilung 729
Gesellschaftliche Aufklärung 631, 747
Gesellschaftliche Last, ihr Anfang 1168
Gesichtssinn 1443
Gesichtsfarbe 738
Gesellschaftliche Pflichten 1000
Gesellschaftsfähigkeit 1020, 1171
Gesellschaftsfest 1173
Gesellschaftsspiele 766, 939, 1474
Gesichtsringe 220
Gesichtsnarben 1442
Gestirne im Abraphaden 1305
Gesundheitszustand 216, 1456
Gewohnheitsrecht 1001
Gewitter fehlen 570
Gletscher 12
Gleichverteilung aller 778
Gottheit = Höchstes Wesen
Grammatik des Yamana 1468
Grenzen der Lokalgruppen 199, 799, 1019
Grenzen der Yamana-Heimat 2
Grindwal, Globicephala melas 37, 1227
Großfeuern 1012, 1072
Gummorojagd 535
Gütertrennung 969
Gutmütigkeit im Charakter 1440

Badetracht 421
Haberbesmark 431, 436, 1466
Hammer 496
Handfertigkeit 510, 558, 1444, 1463
Handschutz aus Leder 448
Handwerkszeug 491
Harpune, große 474, 516, 518
Harpune, kleine 478, 515
Harpunenspitze, 476, 510, 608
Harpunenspitze, ihre Erfindung 1165
Hauptgegenden 781
Hautbeutel 501
Häute, Bearbeitung 412
Hautfarbe 221
Hautgeruch 419, 1443
Hebamme 701
Heilkunde 1456
Heilmittel 1457
Heimatbewußtsein 797
Heimatbezirk 799
Heimatliche 798
Heirat = Ehe
Heirat einer Witwe 646
Heiratsfähiges Alter 631
Heiratsfähigkeit 631
Heringsfang 550
Heringsschwärme 549
Hilfsbereitschaft für einander 887, 979, 1010
Himmelsgegenden 1451
Himmelskunde 1450
Höchstes Wesen
Allwissenheit 1018
Aufenthaltsort 1018
Besitzer der Tiere 1069
immerwährendes Dasein 1052
Gebete 1055
Geistigkeit 1018
Macht 1019
und die Menschen 1050, 1052
Name 1015
Namensumschreibung 1017
Persönlichkeit 1015
und Rache eines Menschen 1301
Schöpfer 1050
Selbständigkeit 1053
und Sintflut 1156
und Sittengesetz 1048
Urheber des Sterbens 1132
Verehrung 1054, 1088
und Wetter 1300

Wirkungsweise 1049
und *Yefétel*
und *yéhamal*
und *Yoálos* 1184
Hochzeitsbemalung 455
Hochzeitsfeier 454
Höflichkeit 888
Holz, Brennholz 397
Hungersnot 574
Hund 535, 536, 560
Hund als Spielzeug 766
Hund im Aberglaube 1301
Hütte, kegelförmige 375
Hütte, kuppelförmige 378
Hütte als Wohnung 379, 388
Hüttenbau 367
Hüttenfeuer 394
Hüttenformen, zwei 371, 375, 378

Jagdmethoden 512
Jahreszeiten 24, 1447
Jakobstab, Sternbild 1276
Jenseitsglaube 1096
Jugendweihe 805
Abschluß 947
Andenken 954
Anlaß 823
Arbeitsübungen 900
Belehrungen 864, 868
Besuche 944
Dauer 825, 832
Entdeckung 176, 808
Folgenschwere 892
Frauenzuverzicht 951
Geistersammlung 845
Hauptbegriffen 886
Hüttenbau 832
Hüttenmaterial 834
Körperhaltung 856, 859
Körperschmuck 846, 860, 916
Kratzstäbchen 953
Kürbishütte 837
Lehrmeister 864
Leiter 828, 832
Mehlspeisen 838
Mythenerzählen 891
Nahrungsbeschränkung 857
Namensänderung 950
Ordnungsdienst 838
Paten 852, 953
Platzverteilung 844
Prüflinge 827, 848
Rechtsbestimmungen 936
Religiöse Gedanken 894
Sangriberben 953
Schlafbeschränkung 858
Schlußfest 952
Selbstwertung 855
Singen 817, 917, 1468
Spiele 939
Stillschweigen 856, 892
Strafen 893
Tagesordnung für Erwachsene 904
Tagesordnung für Prüflinge 854
Tanz 919
Tanzstab 847, 861
Tatauierung 862
Teilnehmer 826, 831
Totengedenken 923
Vorbereitungen 821, 826, 831
Vorsteher 829
Wächter 838, 930
Wächtergehilfen 840
und *Watuinéjiwa* 894, 897
und *Yetáita* 850, 894, 929
und *Yoálos* 899
Ziele 807, 841, 864, 886, 955

Kahn, urzeitlicher 460
Kälteschutz durch Einfetten 411
Kanon 422
Kanu 438
Aufbau 443
Bauart 439
Fahrt 614
von der Frau bedient 456, 614, 618
Haltbarkeit 455
Leistungsfähigkeit 439, 452
Zubehör 448
Kanu-Indianer 198, 208
Kaufehe 640
Kegelförmige Hütte 375
Keil aus Brin 496
Keppel, Ida, Missionsstation 290, 309
Keule 514
Keule bei Trauer 1131
Keuschheit, vorehelliche 645, 686
Kina = Männerfeier
Kind 693
geschlechtliche Aufklärung 747
Ehrfurcht vor Eltern 773
Erziehung 776, 855
Freude am Kind 694
Herkunft 700, 748
Kindermord 724
Liebe zu Eltern 773
Nabelschnur 708, 721
Namensgebung 729
Pflegekind 695
Spiele 759, 763
Spielzeug 723
Statistik 726
Sterblichkeit 727
Streichkur 722
Kinderhütte 388
Kindermord 710, 724
Kindesliebe 773
Klagerufe zum Höchsten Wesen 1862
Klagweiber 1122
Kleiderlaus 421
Kleidung 399
Änderung 411
allgemeine Art 399, 405, 407
der Frau 405

des Kindes 407
des Mannes 401
Zweck 409
Knochen unter sich 741
Knochenspiele 760
Knochenkeil 441, 496
Knochenspitze 472, 475, 518, 608
Körber 369
Kolibri 42, 1208, 1211, 1215, 1218
Kopfbedeckung fehlt 407
Kopfhaar 220, 421
Kopfhaut 420
Kopfschmerzen 1438
Korb zum Fischfang 551
Körbe 502
Kormorane 43, 525, 1187, 1482
Körperbehaarung 422, 1462
Körperbemalung — Bemalung
Körperbemalung, erster Anfang 1368
Körperform 214, 367
Körpergröße 218, 228
Kommunion 1139
Körperkraft 559
Körperpflege 417
Körperschmuck 416, 433
Körperschutz 412
Krabben 544
Krabbengabel 489, 543
Kranke, Fürsorge für 1028
Krankheiten, eingeschleppte 340
Krankheiten, einheimische 1456
Krankenin, erstes 1433
Krematöberben 953
Kryptogamen 32
Kupferstein, schwarzer 491, 1212
Kulturbringer 1150
Kulturform der Muschelhaufen 608
Kulturform der Sammelstufe 1480
Kulturgut, geistiges 1435
Kunstbetätigung 1465
Kultgefühl 1061
Kupferfärmige Hütte 378
Küsten 714, 1012

Lagerverkehr 300, 385
Landerten 619
Landschaft, feuerländische 9
Landübergänge 622
Lanzen 481
Lanzenspitzen 481, 601
Laus 420, 421
Lebensmittelaufbewahrung 595
Lederbereitung 498
Ledertücher 500
Leviatanbar 636
Leichen, Scheu davor 1123
Leichenverbrennung 1185
Leiden, körperliche 1457
Leiches 970, 1019
Lichtverklärung 636
Lieder 1368
Luchsfarbe 607
Lokalgruppen, ihre Grenzen 199, 799, 1019
Luftfeuchtigkeit 21

Mädchen unter sich 741
Mädchenspiele 763
Mahlsteinen 592
Mahlsteinbrüche 129
Männerfeier — Kina
Abschlußfeuer 1376
Anlaß 1318
Belehrung der Prüflinge 1336, 1355
Bericht, erster 1313
beschränkte Freiheit 1348, 1357
beschränkte Nahrung 1349, 1353
beschränkter Schlaf 1349, 1353
Cinlku, Geist 1366
Dauer 1318, 1373
Eröffnung 1327
Feuergeister 1349
Feuer, außerordentliche 1329, 1357
Feuerabteilung 1321, 1356
Feuerdienstleistungen 1358
Geisterangriffe 1329, 1350
Geisterbemalung 1360
Geisterzeuner 1362, 1368, 1374
Hüttenbau, Hüttenfeuer 1323
Kina-Stäbchen 1352
kultuhistorische Wertung 1378
Leiter 1321
Lépakipa, Schutzgeist 1363
Marken 1328
Pates der Prüflinge 1351
Platzverteilung 1328, 1348
Prüflinge 1329, 1331, 1351, 1354
Tagesordnung für Lagerinsassen 1357
Tagesordnung für Prüflinge 1350
Tagesordnung für Männer 1316
Tänzen, Endgeist 1338, 1363
Trilherkuer 1319
Totengedenken 1374
Umwandlung in Tiere 1312, 1344
Ursprungsmythe 1337
Verbrennung der Weiber-Kina 1342
Vorbereitung 1317
zeitweise Einflüsse 1321, 1380
Männerschinkel 711
Marsipobranchus grandiflorum, Fisch 303
Mäßigkeit 1041
Maytenus magellanica 15, 28
Medizinmann 1383
Anzahl 1385
Aufrichtigkeit 1387, 1393
Ausbildung 1391, 1397, 1413
Berufung, mittelbare 1395
Berufung, unmittelbare 1396
Beziehung zu Hanéwlla 1430
Beziehung zu Lépaki 1427
Beziehung zu Lokóma 1430
Beziehung zu Watanáiéwa 1426
Beziehung zu xéfáiél 1429
Einfluß auf Lépaki 1427
Frauen in diesem Amt 1386

Führerstellung 1423
Geschichten vom Medizinmann 1264
Herkunft dieser Einrichtung 1414, 1453
Hilfe bei Epidemie 1423
Hilfe bei Nahrungsmangel 1422
Krankheiten, äußere 1389, 1416
Krankheiten, unterschiedliche 1385, 1391
Körperbeschaffenheit 1389, 1406
Kraftquellen 1392, 1408, 1426
Krankenheilung 1417
Persönlichkeit 1384
Schädigung, andere 1418; 1424
Schamen, geistiges 1417
Schule für Lehrlinge 1399
Siegen 1407, 1415
Traum, Träumen 1417
Ursprungsgang, erblicher 1391
Volksverbundenheit 1384
Vorbereitung, besondere 1400
Vorbereiten 1422
Weiterbildungsmittel 1421
Wettstreit der Medizinmänner 1392, 1427
Wirken, allgemeines 1415, 1420
Wirken, spezielleres 1417
Menstruationsnarben 58
Mehrfamilienhäuser 386
Meidungsmittel bei Schwangerschaften 450
Menarche 753
Menopause 729
Menschenopferung, erste 1158, 1174
Menschenfresser 252, 1280
Menstruation, Anfang der 733, 1049
Menstruation, Deutung 738
Messer 191
Mimenmerkmale, als Nahrung 330, 385
Mißbildungen 1420
Missionen, englische
Anfänge 288
Ansiedlungsversuche 301
Arbeitsweise 321
Erfolge 310, 324, 328, 330
Europäisierungsversuche 326
Geschichte 288
Kanal-Station 290
Nahrungsversorgung 312
Rio Douglas-Station 301
Schwierigkeiten 310, 312
Scharben 311, 330
Stationen 290, 298, 302, 304
Tagesordnung 317
Tekenika-Station 302
Ushuaia-Station 290
Mißernten 1113
Mitgift 642
Mondfrau 1120
Mondphasen 1120, 1150
Monogamie 663
Mond 909
Mordhäuptlinge 388, 340
Mordschlacht 387, 340
Mordschlachten 386
Mordkinstrumente frühere 1071
Mythen, heidnische 1243
Mythen, religiösen 1187
Mythenerzählen 1139

Nabelschnur 786
Nachbesserungsgeräte 1475
Nachrichtenübermittlung 1420
Nachrichtenübermittlung 1447
Nachtvögel, Nyctiornis amicorum 1259
Nackheit 399, 403
Nähen der Felle 416
Nahrung, Zubereitung 560, 581, 587
Nahrungsverzehr 511, 550
Nahrungsmittel 539, 553
Nahrungsmarkt der Frau 538
Nahrungsbeschaffung 705, 729
Nahrungsbeschaffung 950
Nebelflecke, Sterne 1430
Neckereien der Kinder 732
Nelken, verwandte 646
Niederschläge 20
Nomadenkultur 631, 635
Nordwind, nördlicher 125, 1014
Nothelfer, Barbara 27

Obrigkeitspersonen frühere 802, 1000
Öffentliche Meinung 1007, 1025
ornamente 103, 209, 237, 279, 292
Ohrl, vierfaches 646
Ohrl, mittelfaches 648
Onissa, Stern 1130
Otter, mythische 1309, 1331
Ozeanien 1152
Ozeangruppe 291

paradiesisch 57, 62, 112, 198, 263
Pfeil 161, 166
Pflanzen 167, 605, 1163
Pflanzenkunde 557, 560
Pflanzenkunde 1151
Pflanzenreich, feuerländischer 26
Pflichten, gesellschaftliche 1000, 1024
Pfeifen 695
Phantasie 1167
Pfeife 555, 1109
Pinguine, Jagd auf 559
Polygamie 656, 663, 670
Prokyon, Stern 1184
Puppe, Spiel 764
Putzmacht 633
Pyth zur Feuerbereitung 392

Rachenkäse 904
Rauchen 642
Rauch in der Hütte 394
Rauchsignale 1420
Recht, allgemeines 1021
Recht, Eigentumsrecht 975
Recht, Selbsthilfe 802
Rechtsbruch 1002
Rechtsgeschäfte 1023
Regenbogen, mythologische Person 1140

Regenwald 27
Reise, geistige 631, 753, 828
Reise, körperliche 753, 827
Reisefähigkeit in der Hütte 364, 621
Reisefähigkeit, körperliche 707, 823, 1404
Reisen – Forschungen 65
Alberto de Agostini 137
Jacques d'Arquistade 55
W. S. Barclay 135
Expedition der "Belgica" 134
Giovanni Bove 14a
George M. Cabezas-Cruz 107
James Cook 2a
Charles Robert Darwin 97
Adolph Dorbes 24
Robert Fitz-Roy 77, 88
J. Reinhold und George Forster 2a
Charles W. Furlong 12a
Sarmiento de Gamboa 65
Allen Gardiner 13b, 200
Factor M. Giglioli 14a
Martin Gusinde 9d
1. Reise 164
2. Reise 172
3. Reise mit W. Koppers 180
4. Reise 187
Jacques L'Hermite 47, 50
Philipp Parker King 77
Samuel E. Lothrop 129
Ferdinando de Magellanes 45
Robert M'Cormick 123
Mission Sociale Religieuse du Cap Horn 148
Otto Nordenskjöld 153
James Clark Ross 139
Andrew Spurrunna 64
Carlos Spegazzini 87
Robbie Spurrer 146
William Parker Snow 125
Nikijaako A. Uspenski 150
Johannes von Wallenrodt 20
W. H. H. Webster 198
James Weddell 64
Jemmie Wiegbende 132
Charles Wilkes 112
Religion, 1033
Begriff 1030
Bestimmung 1054
Eigenwert 1077
Einheitlichkeit 1087
Erkenntnung 1035
Inhalt 1041
Originalgeschichte 1075
religiöse Entstehung 707
Renaro 332
Riten, magischaiscus 31
Rigel, Sterne 1124
Rinderschädeln 442
Rindenkähne 360
Rindenkanu 138
Rindenkähne der Wilmer 1074
Die Rinden-Kähne 364
Robbenjagd 314
Robben, Plantagebau 38
Rückverlebung 990, 995, 997
Ruder 148
Rundkähnen 364, 544

Salzbrückeln 270, 1440
Sammelfähigkeit der Frau 598, 560
Sandalen 391
Sankt-Lorenz, amerikanische 1080
Sauberkeit 825
Säugetiere im Feuerland 34
Sauging 714
Abwaschen 720
Adaptationsgrad 713
Behandlung 714
Bewegungsfreiheit 723
Entwickeln 720
Gerüche, Wärmeraum 715, 723
Hüttenraum 723
Lagern und Tragen 717
Lichtmangel 715
Lightbar 719
Mutterfelle 721
Regenwasserqualität 724
schwarzer Schwarzen 718
Spielzeug 723
Spielerei 723
Sparsamkeit 724
Stillen 719
Waschung 708, 716, 720
Zeltnetze 715
Saugpfeifen 373, 932
Schabber 992, 995
Schaengefäßl 993, 995, 1000
Schaenerkanu 993, 994, 998
Schaeffers Kopenhagen
Schaeffers im Feuerland 1038
Schaeffel 700
Schaeffenkampf bei Yaraco 1134
Schädel, Schädelform 1003
Schädelnähte 1002, 1007
Schädeln 691, 727, 728
Schädelgestalt 693, 728
Schädelgrundform 694, 730
Schädelmessungsgerät 1007
Schaenerschädelform 697
Schaenerkanu 6-Ruder 697
Schaenerkanu 100, 1065
Schamanen, Körperliche 1233, 1060
Schamanen eines Gegenstandes 1068
Schamanenmann 1061
Schapfen zum Rinde 650
Schatzkiste 1031
Schatzgegenstände, religiöse 1290
Schatzkiste, verschlossene 646
Schatzgewicht 630
Schatzgegenstände 700
Schatzgegenstände 1000
Schatzgegenstände 630
Schatzgegenstände 630, 1300
Schatzmeister 647
Scheibe, magischaiscus 1000, 1070

Bezeichnung 1094
Eigenschaften 1094
Herkunft 996
Seehunde 1093
Weiterleben 1099
Seelgeld 543
Seelsorge 38, 311
Seeluftjagd 14, 1162
Sehtüchtigkeit im Kanu 619
Sehnenfasern 16
Selbstbeherrschung 588, 889
Selbstdarstellung 148
Selbstliebe 108
Selbstständigkeit 190, 1018
Selbstverstümmelung 511
Sendung, eingeschleppte 340
Siedlungen, geheimtuerische 369
Signalfeuer 1069
Singen – Gesänge 723, 1468
Sitte, Ausbildung 1442
Sitte, ihre Ausbildung 1437
Skeletten 1123
Sklave, Sterben 118
Sklavenverkäufer 1087, 1090
Sklaverei 141
Sklave, Haltung beim 621
Sonderbegräbnis 967
Sonnenmann, dürrer 1145
Sonnenmann, jagender 1147
Sprache, gesungene, Ipocrantor 42, 1200
Sprache, kleinere, Dendrocopus 42, 1197
Sprech 583
Sperr 672
Spielverbote 31, 707, 1308
Spiele 730, 761 939
Spiele, männliche 1475
Spielzeug 723
Spielzeugmesser 729 731
Sprache, Eigenart 577, 1459
Sprachentwicklung des Kindes 731
Sprecher, bildliche 426
Sprachgewalt 80
Stammesgemeinschaft 778, 797
Stammesgliederung 798
Stammesgruppen 799, 964, 1001
Stammesnamen 993, 197
Statistik der Yamana 222, 736
Steinbeil 893
Stehen, Haltung beim 622
Steilen 983
Steinbohrer 686
Steinel-messer 686
Steinkistengrab 893, 601
Steinmann-Mythe 1209
Steinspitzen 886, 881, 685
Steinspitzenmacher-Mythe 1273
Stellen 1095, 1082
Stemmbilder 1450
Stern, Kometen der 1150
Sternbilder 50
Sterben durch Hinkaten Wesen 887, 1063, 1082
Streitereien 991
Südgruppe 200
Südwestgruppe 205
Süßstoffe 570, 1443

Tabak 572
Tageseinteilung 1447
Tatauierung 1467
Tau aus Binsen 451
Tausch, Tauschhandel 509, 977
Technik des Flechtens 503, 507
technische Fertigkeiten 508
technisches Können 1438
Tekeniks-Missionsstation 302
Temperatur 23
Tieraberglaube 1301, 1455
Tierarmut im Feuerland 34
Tierkunde 1454
Todesursache 1456
Tran 584, 1167
Trauerausdrücken 1124, 1131
Trauerbemalung 924, 1116, 1129
Trauerfeier, gemeinschaftliche 1126
Trauergesänge 1120, 1131
Trauerkundgebung, private 1111
Trauerschmerz 1062, 1111
Trauertonsur 1119
Träume, Glaube an 1296
Trocknen der Felle 413

Überfälle der Yamana 250
Überlieferung ist unabänderlich 1440
Überschwemmung, allgemeine 1153
Übungen der Knaben 750
Übungen der Mädchen 750
Ufer-bildung 11
Uhu, Bubo magellanicus 42, 1190
Umgangsformen 1006, 1018
Umwälzung, allgemeine 1147, 1155
Umwirtschaftung 623, 1468
Umweltbedingungen 5
Unergiebigkeit 888
Unfälle, tödliche 1104
Unmäßigkeit im Essen 589
Unterhaltungsmusik 1014, 1472
Unverwüstlichkeit 988
Urteilsschärfe 1438
Ushuaia-Missionsstation 298

Vaterrecht 782
Venus, Gestirn 1148
Verzauberung, geistige 1444
Vergeltung nach dem Tode 1099
Verwisung, allgemeine 1155
Verkehr, verkehrsbeständiger 1006, 1118, 1472
Verwandschaften 1471
Verschärfung 617
Verstandesbildung 1437
Verstümmelung fehlt 1467
Verwandtenkreis 782, 801
Verwandtschaft 618, 777, 779
Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen 781

Verwandtschaftsgrade 777
Verwundung aus Trauer 1119
Vögel im Feuerland 41
Vogeleiersuchen 553
Vogeljagd 521, 1162
Vogelpfeiler 477, 523
Volkslieder 1469
Volksstärke 222, 227
Vorbild der Alten 742
Vorrecht des Alters 803, 1026

Wachstum der Kinder 735
Wahlfreiheit der Heiratsfähigen 641, 649, 943
Waisenkinder 648, 1028
Wal, Zerstückeln des 576
Walarten 36
Waldform im Feuerland 27
Waljagd 517
Walken der Häute 415
Waldriesen, *Hánnuš* 1288
Wandertrieb 612
Wanderungsmythe 231
Waschen des Körpers 417
Wassergeister, *Lakáma* 1285
Wassertrinken 572
Wechseljahre 729
Weltbrand 1146, 1157
Weltentstehung 1142
Werten, Sachwert 978, 1446
Westgruppe 205
Wetteraberglaube 1305
Wettereinflüsse 368
Wettermacher *hèipul* 1272
Wetterschutz 370
Wetterzonen, zwei 19
Wildgansfang 528
Winde im Feuerland 22
Winterhütte 388
Wirtschaftsform, ureigenende 366, 613
Wirtschaftsleben 365
Wissen, allgemeines 1444
Wissen, geographisches 1451
Wissen, pflanzenkundliches 1454
Wissen, tierkundliches 1454
Witwenheirat 646
Witwenschaft 647
Witterung im Feuerland 18
Wohnungsweise 367, 379, 388
Wort, längstes im Yamana 732
Wortschatz der Sprache 1459
Wunden 1459
Wurfspieß 477
Wurst 584

Yamana
in günstiger Beurteilung 256
Beziehungen zu Halakwulup 241
Beziehungen zu Selk'nam 234
als Europabesucher 267
Herkunft 230
Stellung zum Europäertum 246, 264, 332
Stellung zu Missionaren 257
Stammesname 193

Zahlwörter 1446
Zauberer – Medizinmann
Zeichensprache 1442
Zeichnen nicht üblich 1464
Zeitbestimmungen 1447, 1450
Zentralgruppe 204
Zerlegen der Beutetiere 576, 582
Zierbemalung 430, 1464
Zierkeule 1131
Zweckdienlichkeit der Kleidung 410
Zweckmäßigkeit der Gerätschaften 438, 491, 508
Zwillinge 708

[p. 1498]

Verzeichnis einiger Yamana-Wörter

Abuijéhin Höchstes Wesen 1046
ednhutdrunaxipa Pflegemutter 713
dinpuz Fledermaus, Lutra felina 36, 536, 1193, 1277
ekdinig Regenbogen 1148, 1342
dilm Schwager 1250
amdin Beeren 556, 1450
amfru Gesang 1240
ánan Kanu 448
aóno-yéula Schutzgeist 1398
apanandii Land der Halakwulup 243, 1282
apanfru Federdiadem des yékamai 1389, 1116
apanóta Federmann 1302
áppi Ruder 419
asinu Beutel für Feuerzeug 393
asikáhu Erscheinung 1398, 1426
asina Halsschnur 431
astlu Wetterschutzdach 371
aiápa Kanal, Wasserarm 1452
aiim Cyttaria Harioti 554
aidula Schwertwal 37, 1261, 1302
anilfi Außenmutter, Lutra felina 536
aupiii Cyttaria Darwinii 554
aylya Rundkrabbe, Lithodes antarctica 364, 189
dyuinfhir' Mehrfamilienhütte 386
ifiznu Jugendweihe 176, 184, 805, 823
ifiuráin, ifipin großer Furbe 25, 537, 1307
ifiir' geschälter Berberis-Spänchen 397
fúwanni Geister 1397, 1413, 1426
dáinlay Albatros, Diomedea melanophrys 43
dápn Gletscher, großes Eis 1453
dfiku See-Ente 1304
dirihdrug kleiner Specht 42, 1197
ififfi Kinderhütte 388
fmhalim Seegrüberchen 573, 953
ipéjati Schwertwal 37
frna Frühling 1447
frnf Miesmuschel, Mytilus chilensis 487, 1464
fuij Pilz, Cyttaria Darwinii 554
ćrtrx Kormoran, Phalacrocorax magellanicus 43, 1189
gúlfhir' kegelförmige Hütte 375
halakwúlup Halakwulup 246
hánithai Herbst 1447
Hánnai Waldriesen 1288
hánuan Mondfrau 1152, 1342
hapanandii Land der Halakwulup 243, 1282
hapaylí Stirnschmuck 846, 868, 1130
haipudpine Blauwal 36, 1299
hatamdij Buchenast mit Wucherung 864, 1300
hilazuru Elefantenrobbe, Macrorhinus leoninus 40, 1225
hdzul Hebamerde 435
Hagfélu böser Geist 804, 1062, 1108, 1158, 1209, 1398, 1410, 1425, 1430
hélpai Sperlingsvogel 954, 1271, 1303
héitgho-yéhamai Geist 1397
Hiddihgan, Hitapdgn Höchstes Wesen 1046, 1048
Hike Guron 1453
Hilix Mache aus Rinde 1329
Hyai Bimsstein 471, 497
halahlnuru Zaunkönig 42, 1149, 1274
hapaghfmak Halsierde 434
hdru/ Macroncetes gigantes 43, 1237
ihamdna zeichnen, malen 429
ila Knochenkeil 441
ilahamgala Südwestgruppe 205
Ilfiki Hering 549
ilu Süden, südwärts 1452
imun Onkel mütterlicherseits 648
ini roter Farbstoff 428
ina Winter 1447
inalamgala Westgruppe 205
indúruru Onkel väterlicherseits 648, 663
inu Westen, westwärts 1452
inpa Norden, nordwärts 1452
iñkan Fleisch 579
itu Osten, ostwärts 1452
itahamgala Ostgruppe 205
kála Rindenbehälter 501
kálaha Ball, Ballspiel 772, 1474
kálaha mélfiha Ringkampf 1474
kalána Muschelgehäuse 487
kálru Ballspiel 1474
kpfdja Miesmuschel, Mytilus edulis 487
kélpii Seele 1094, 1278
kfiéla Geierfalke, Polyborus theras 42, 1205
kfui Wurst 584, 1191, 1267
kiii Sandalen 404
kina Männerfrier 1312
kina tagdnuru Kino-Leiter 1321
kisi Sommer 1447
kiudga Möwe, Larus dominicanus 43
kipintcha grauer Geierfalke, Circus cinereus 42, 1201
kempdjer zwei 1446
kahdrug Uhu, Bubo magellanicus 42, 1190
kun Tran 584
kumfru Muschelhaufen 598

kwagwáyyni Hautstreifen mit Daunen 1467
kwánan wieder verheiratete Witwe 647
lóku Feuerzange 396
lukóma Wassergeist 1236, 1285, 1309, 1428
lóna großer Specht, Ipocrantor magellanicus 42, 1199
lóla Lederbeutel 499
lólir Mauerschwalbe 1227
lówuskipa Brillenibis, Theristicus melanopis 42, 1155, 1232, 1304
lówu jüngerer Sonnenmann 1147, 1339, 1342
lówkipa Kina-Geist 1363
lólma-yékamal Medizinmannesschule 1399
lul rot, scharlachfarben 1463
makájinkina Veranstaltung zu allgemeiner Beruhigung 1376
máku Strauch, Embothrium coccineum 702, 1243
mákuzipa Frau des Yególag 1169, 1451
Manundkin Höchstes Wesen 1046
mápi Binse, Marsippospermum 503
mainkóna Schamorhaare 406
mótru drei 1446
mógola Tag, Licht 1447
mrunthór' kuppelförmige Hütte 378
mfruna kuppelförmige Hütte 375
mun Gelenkband 434
omóru Kolibri, Sephanoides 42, 1208, 1211, 1215, 1218, 1276
pólala Europäer 333
panóma Unterhaltungslied 723, 1469
pulóki Feuer 392
sóy körperlicher Schmerz 1458
Sinalowatupinkiwa 547
sóru Krabbengabel 544
sóta Ohrenrole 42, 1303
sypkótai Rundkrabbe, Paralomis granulosus 489
taftua Schleuder 481
tgwili Feuerstein 392
Ótkuf Medizinmann, Chlorophaga hybrida 42, 1197, 1304
tópetes Eisvogel, Ceryle torquata 42, 1219
tólnaipi Gesellschaftsfest 1473
tóu ólipika Photinula violacea 1465
tópun Junggeselle 1256
tólagunia Trauer 1122
tolagitkumóna Malstäbchen 429
Tónuru Höchstes Wesen 1046
tónuru Kina-Geist 1338, 1363
tórunolím Älterer Sonnenmann 1145
tóyer Gesang 922, 1423, 1468
tokomiku geographischer Name 194, 209, 237
tóki Kugelstein 491, 547, 1212
tómuna einflußreicher Alter 803, 1473
tuguíkiwa Vigunhornmoos, Phalacrocoscus oliveresus 43, 1259, 1482
tókin Schöpfgefäß 450
tulóru Berg 1453
tumgápu weißer Farbstoff 427
túrikipa Mädchen in der Menstrie 743, 1172
tóta kleiner Vogel, Myiotheretes 1239
tuwógki Rückenbehang 401, 405
tywin Wiesenvogel, Spinus icterius 42
tówuz Nachtreiher, Nyctiorax obscurus 42, 1219, 1303
ufkór' Schalen 192
úkrin langer Lederriemen 440, 840
Ululujóla Volk bestimmter Seelen 1401, 1434
úri Hautfaseln 145
úlpin einer ohne Geburtsort 930
úlku europäische Kleidung 111
uikóyungóna sagenhafter Volk 201, 243
uimóna Mütze aus Leder 1329
úlpóku Halsziersch 435
ulúnim Kanon 422
uiurógola Prüfling 1320
uiurógoiyamai yékamal-Lehrling 1405
uiurimi Schnurfasern 416
uzápu Strohbild 1276
wúin Bucht 1432
wúkuf Pfriemen 195
wókinógola Zentralgruppe 205
wúnim Kormoran, Phalacrocorax gaimardi 43, 1187, 1216
Watuinkiwa Höchstes Wesen 1045, 1156, 1158, 1184
wógiwa Grind, Globicephala melas 37
wólukir' Felsenspitze, Vorsprung 1432
Wólapatuz Höchstes Wesen 1046
wótóru Schlauder 1258
wórivóy Kondor, Cathartes aura 42, 1302
wincfkóru Raubvogel, Leucopharus occipitalis 43, 838
wiyen Ente, Anas cristata 43
wolukfuru Zwillinge 708
wókur' Beutel des *yékamal* 1424
wóru viel 1146
yil Narbenmonogramm 1473
yunga, yukgum, yagum 196
yuli, yukir' [illegible] *Fischwehr* [illegible]
Yámnóga [illegible], 1338, 1344
yamalóromóna [illegible] Trauer 1127
yómuna Mensch 197, 332
yamuskóna Ruf 103, 133, 198, 265, 283, 333
yapuhóir Holzkohle 127
yególof Schutzgeister 1294, 1398, 1430
yékamal Medizinmann 190, 1383
Yetaiza Geist 856, 894
yóhili eine 1146
yókui Pfeilspitze 466, 880, 1418
yólfu Hund 568
yókkóinógola Südgruppe 200
yógodahi Tante mütterlicherseits 642
yógolem Venus-Gestirn 1149
yóko Insel, Felsen 1432
Yególag Kulturbringer 178, 1144, 1159, 1168
yorohally Habicht, Milvago chimango 42, 1266, 1303
yóin Strand, Küstenstrich 1432

Personennamen-Verzeichnis

Nur die aufschlußreichsten Stellen werden angegeben. Die Namen der Eingeborenen sind in dieses Verzeichnis nicht aufgenommen worden, ausgenommen jene fünf bekannten, die für die Geschichte der Yamana-Forschung von bemerkenswerter Bedeutung sind.

Agostini, Alberto de 157
Alvarez, José J. 155
Arquintade, Joaquín v 55
Aspinall, F. C. 303
Bamlett, W. S. 155
Beauvoir, José María 150
Bent Memory 83, 88, 269
Bove, Giacomo 146
Bridges, Thomas 139, 144, 258, 298, 301 783, 1035, 1039, 1314, 1435
Burlinck, L. H. 303
Button, Jemmy 86, 88, 97, 104, 195, 267, 276, 280, 282, 291, 297
Button, Tommy 96, 270
Calão Pinochet, A. 152
Chiappi, Antonio 157
Chittenden, George M. 117
Cook, Frederick A. 143, 154
Cook, James 56
Dabbene, Roberto 156
Darwin, Charles Robert 97, 259
Decker, Adolfo 51
Dempsey, C. Parkman 139, 298, 296
Emanuelli, Crescente 182
Fitz-Roy, Robert 77 88 196 191
Forster, George 56
Forster, J. Reinhold 56
Fuegia Basket 88, 88, 267, 281, 284
Furlong, Charles W. 156
Gallardo, Carlos 155
Gardner, Allen Francis 136, 288
Gallegos, Enrico H. 160
Gusinde, Martin 161, 164, 172, 181, 187, 813, 818, 845, 1001, 1316
Hahn, Philippe 148
L'Hermite, Joseph 67, 58, 192
Hettenhausen, F. 143, 285, 1159
Hyades, Paul D. 148
King, Philipp Parker 77
Kuppel, Wilhelm 183, 818, 845, 1010
Lawrence, Alberto 170, 1085
Lawrence, Fred 168, 170, 1085, 1115
Lawrence, Jack 145, 162, 168, 298, 301, 305, 1074, 1079, 1083
Lawrence, Martin 170, 192
Lawrence, Nelly 170, 175, 183, 191, 319, 815, 819, 1040, 1079, 1098, 1130
Lechner, Gregorio 154
Le Maire, Jacob 1
Lepray, J. 29
Lothrop, Samuel K. 159
Lovisato, Domenico 148
Magallanes, Fernando de 45
Martial, L. F. 148
Matthews, R. 94, 100, 104, 272, 276
M'Cormick, Robert 123
Nordenskjöld, Otto 153
Ocampo, Aureliano 162, 189
Phillips, Garland 139, 257, 291, 294
Pleschow, Gustavo 280
Rae, R. R. 149
Rosenkranz, José, E. 158
Ross, James Clark 120
Sarmiento de Gamboa 45
Schmidt, P. Wilhelm 182
Schmidten, Wilhelm Johann 1
Snow, William Parker 125, 290
Spangenberg, Augustus 64
Spears, John Randolph 152
Speggazzini, Carlos 147
Spencer, Baldwin 160
Stanley, W. H. 148, 258, 283, 290
Steffen, H. Jonas 196
Thomas, Antonio 157
Vanzetti, Stefanos A. 159
Waldeck, Jonkheer van 50
Weddell, H. 286
Webster, W. H. D. 148
Wheeler, James 64
Wickham, Joseph 155
Wilkes, Charles 112
Williams, Jemmy 146, 162, 284, 286
York Minster 91, 88, 267, 276, 280
Zeppin, Giovanni 158

[p. 1500]

[p.1500-A]

Abb. 1. Yamana-Frau

Abb. 2. Yamana-Frau

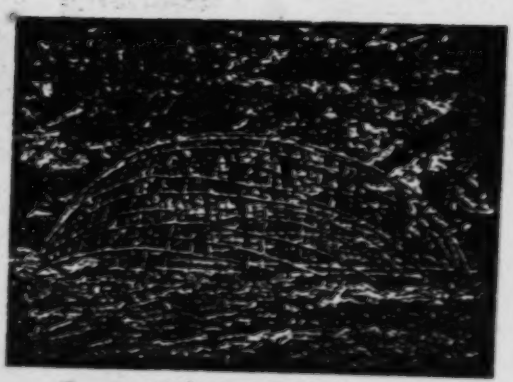
Abb. 3. Yamana-Mutter

Abb. 4. Khalbus beim Spiel

Abb. 5. Am Strande des Canal de Beagle

[P-1500-B]

Abb. 6. [illegible]



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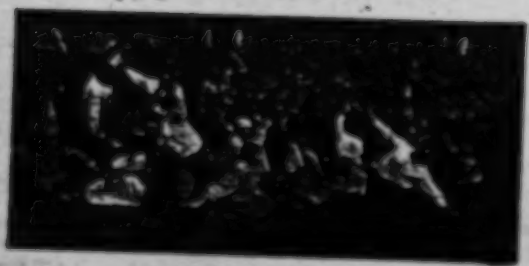

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[P 1500-C]

Abb. 13. Wächter in Tätigkeit

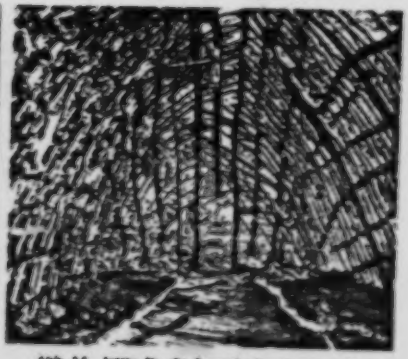


Abb. 14. Hütte für die Jugendlichen, Innenansicht

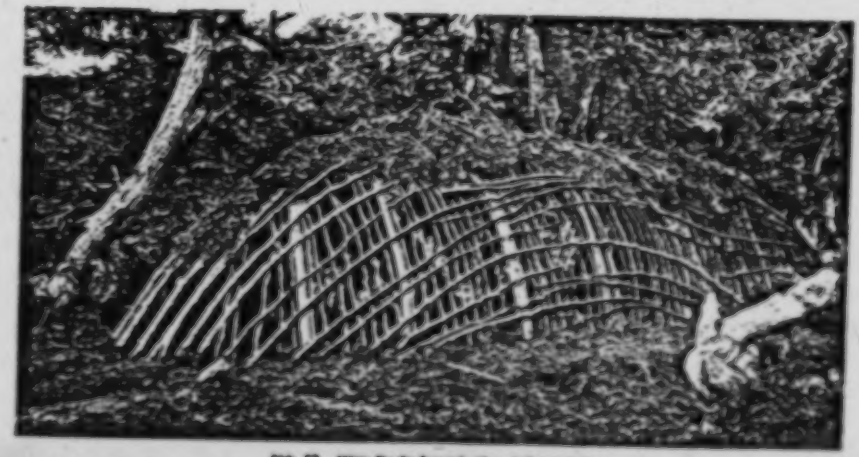


Abb. 15. Hütte für die Jugendlichen, Außenansicht

Abb. 16. Ältester Einwohner

Abb. 17. Wächter

Abb. 18. Heilungsgeister

[p. 1500-D]

Abb. [illegible] Ónawo-Initiation [illegible]

Abb. [illegible] Yámgan-Anatomie

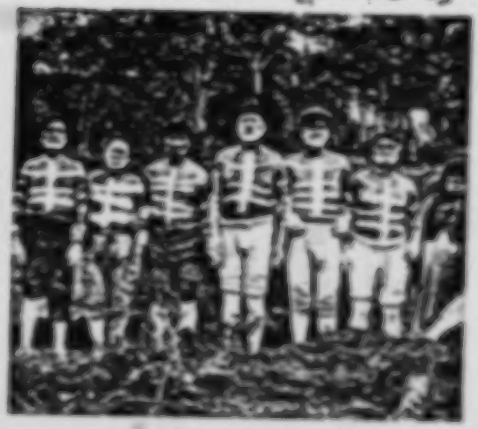
Abb. [illegible] Ónawo-Initiation [illegible]

Abb. [illegible] Ónawo-Anatomie

Abb. [illegible] Gesichts- und Körper-Farbe

Abb. [illegible] Yámgan

[p. 1500-E]



[A 1500-F]

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HANDBOOK
OF
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

Julian H. Steward, *Editor*

Volume 1

THE MARGINAL TRIBES

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[Title page]

THE YAHGAN

By *Jesse M. Cooper*

INTRODUCTION

[33] **Natural environment.**—The *Yahgan* habitat is archipelagic, the innumerous islands constituting the last outposts of the Andean chain before it dips beneath the sea at Cape Horn (map 1, *No. 14*; map 2).[1] Atmospheric temperatures at sea level differ somewhat
[32] from locality to locality, with a summer mean around 50° F., a winter mean close to the freezing point, and a winter minimum around 20° F. Snowfalls not infrequently occur even in the summer months (pl. 30). Relatively very cold or very warm spells are usually of short duration. Sudden changes in temperature, in wind velocity, and in sunshine, cloudiness, and precipitation are characteristic. Violent squalls and strong gales are common.

[31] The islands up to about 1,000 feet altitude are heavily wooded, chiefly with beeches (*Nothofagus betuloides* and *N. pumilio*, evergreens; *N. antarctica*, deciduous), together with Winter's bark (*Drimys winteri*), "cypress" (*Libocedrus tetragona*), and lofa dove (*Myrtus nummularia*). The forest floor is thickly covered with rotting and rotten fallen trunks, which with the thick spiny masses of barberry bushes (*Berberis ilicifolia* and *B. buxifolia*) and holly (*Pernettya mucronata*) make travel through the woods extremely
[34] slow and difficult. Foxes and rats, the land mammals that could have helped in the *Yahgan* history, were unknown. Marine mam-
[35] mals, fish, and other sea food were abundant in most localities. As
[36] a result of the foregoing conditions, the *Yahgan* lived mostly on the water and along the shore line, penetrating inland very little.

[37] **Territory.**—In the last century and probably from much earlier times the *Yahgan* regularly occupied the southern coast of Tierra del Fuego Island from about the eastern end of Beagle Channel to Bookmark Peninsula, and the islands south of this line to Cape Horn. But they evidently wandered more widely; *Yahgan* house sites and implements have been found as far north as Elizabeth Island in the Strait of Magellan (Bird, 1938, p. 90). Between Good Success Bay and the eastern end of Beagle Channel, there was considerable

1 [These maps have not been preserved; see Source. Illustrations (except 16), and maps, for similar information.—Editor.]

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

131 contact, barter, and intermarriage with the *Ona;* between Brecknock Peninsula and the western end of Beagle Channel, with the *Alakaluf*.

101 **Names and divisions.**—The *Yahgan* called themselves *Yámana*, "human beings." They were first called *Yahgan* by the Rev. Thomas Bridges, from Yahga, the native name for the Murray Narrows region, a locality much frequented by some of them. *Yámana* would be preferable for anthropological use, but *Yahgan* is so well established in the literature that we are retaining it in the Handbook. The *Yahgan* recognized five subdivisions, each with its own aboriginal name: a southern, an eastern, a central, a western, and a southwestern (Koppers, 1927, p. 468; 1928 a, pp. 158–159; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 199–208; Lothrop, 1928, p. 120, map opp. p. 24). These subdivisions differed more dialectically than culturally.

114 **History of investigation.**—The *Yahgan* were first visited and described by Jacques L'Hermite in 1624. The next important landmark was the *Beagle* expeditions under Admiral Robert Fitz-Roy in 1829–32. It is, however, to the Rev. Thomas Bridges that we are indebted for our first intimate insight into *Yahgan* culture and linguistics. The Italo-Argentinian expedition in 1882 and the French Cape Horn expedition in 1882–83 made important advances in *Yahgan* somatology but were largely indebted to Bridges for their cultural and linguistic data. The field studies of Fathers Martin Gusinde in 1919–23 and Wilhelm Koppers in 1922 served to complete the picture, particularly as regards social and magico-religious life. Samuel K. Lothrop's field study of 1924–25 (1928, 1932 a) rounded out our knowledge of *Yahgan* technology. The only remaining gap is that of archeology, a gap in part filled by Vignati and by Lothrop, and more recently by Junius Bird in 1932–37.

The more valuable first-hand sources on the *Yahgan* from 1624 to 1917 are: Bove (1882, 1883: the two identical on culture); T. Bridges (1866, 1886, 1892, 1893); Dabbene (1911); Despard (1863); C. W. Furlong (1909, 1917 a); Hyades (1885); Hyades and Deniker (1891: of basic importance); Lovisato (1883, 1885); South American Missionary Magazine (1854–); Spegazzini (1882). The anthropological information given in these and the other sources up to 1917 is analyzed and made available in Cooper (1917). Since 1917, the most important contributions are: Lothrop (1928), for technology; Koppers (1924) and especially Gusinde (1937), for all phases of culture, particularly the social and religious ones; Von Hornbostel (1936), for music; T. Bridges (1933), for language and general culture; Vignati (1927) and Bird (1938), for archeology; Gusinde (1936), for physical anthropology.

Gusinde's exhaustive monograph, "Die Yamana" (1937), based mostly on his and Koppers' field studies and in part on a thorough combing of the literature, gives nearly all that is known of *Yahgan*

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 culture. If this large and expensive monograph is not accessible, the following more important papers may be consulted: Gusinde (1921–22, 1924, 1925 a, 1925 c, 1926 a, 1926 c, 1927, 1928 b, 1929); Koppers (1925 a, 1925 b, 1926 a, 1926 b, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b).

For bibliographies of the *Yahgan* see: Cooper (1917), for sources, with comments on each, to 1917; Lothrop (1928), for sources from 1917 to 1928; Gusinde (1937), for selected and added sources, and for evaluations (pp. 48–161) of the publications of the more important first-hand observers.

19 **Language.**—The *Yahgan* language with its five mutually intelligible dialects constitutes a distinct linguistic family, with no known relationship to any other. The elder Bridges' *Yámana*-English dic-
[114] tionary, the one completed in 1879, contains about 23,000 words, a carefully restricted, not a padded, list, as he himself emphasized (1933, p. xvii). *Yahgan*, in contrast to *Ona*, is markedly euphonic. There were no words for numerals beyond three, and none for fractions.

161 **Population.**—According to our first dependable estimates, the *Yahgan* population, in the third quarter of the 19th century, totaled between 2,500 and 3,000 souls. In 1881 a sharp decline set in. By 1884 numbers had dwindled to about 1,000; by 1886, to 400; by 1890, to 200; by 1902, to 120; by 1913, to less than 100; by 1933 to 40. The
[164] immediate causes of the sudden drop in the eighties were the respiratory diseases and a severe outbreak of measles in 1884, followed by epidemics of typhoid, whooping-cough, and smallpox. Syphilis does not appear to have played an important role. Contributory, or rather
[199] basic predisposing, factors were, it seems, the then introduced European ways of life, especially the clothing, but also the food, alcoholic beverages, and type of shelter and work.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

231 **Foods.**—The *Yahgan* had no domesticated plants, and no domesti-
[89] cated animals except the dog. Whether the earlier pre-Columbian and post-Columbian *Yahgan* had dogs is uncertain. No bones of dogs have been found in early archeological sites in *Yahgan* or other Fuegian territory. The earlier explorers,—L'Hermite, 1624; d'Arquistada, 1715—make no mention of the dog in their descriptions of *Yahgan* culture, as none is made of it among the *Alacaluf* by the 15 accounts of them prior to Narbrough's of 1670. The dog was first recorded among the *Yahgan* in 1823 by James Weddell; it is recorded consistently thereafter by later observers (Cooper, 1917, pp.
[26] 166–167). Dogs were not eaten.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 Sh6 Yahgan Sh6

262 Lothrop (1928, p. 38) rated the relative importance in the *Yahgan* dietary of their foods as follows: (1) Easily of first importance, mussels; (2) next, seals, and fish of many kinds; (3) next, porpoises, gulls, and bird eggs; (4) then, whales, limpets, crabs, sea urchins, geese, penguins, cormorants; (5) last and least, otter (chiefly in the west), guanaco (only in the east), conchs, ducks, berries (especially wild black currants). The fungi eaten were those growing on trees; those growing on the ground were not eaten. Some wild celery and wild parsnips and two varieties of cress and young shoots of tussock grass were also eaten. Foxes were eaten only in famine as a last
[263] resort. Salt was not used.

225 Hunting.—Seals were hunted with spear or harpoon from canoes or from land (pl. 36), or killed with clubs. Whales were occasionally hunted in the open sea with spear or harpoon; stranded or dead whales were eagerly exploited. Dogs helped in otter and fox hunting.
223 Cormorants were taken at night by torchlight with clubs; also with a pronged wooden gorge hook. Birds were taken with pole snares (fig. 11, *d*) and with single or multiple tether snares of sinew or whalebone. No lifting pole snares, deadfalls, or pitfalls are reported.

226 Fishing and sea-food gathering.—Mussels were gathered by hand; limpets, with a flat-ended stick; sea urchins, with a four-pronged wooden fork; crabs and other Crustacea, with a harpoon or a three-pronged stick. For taking sea food, the *Yahgan* also used a spear with two diverging shanks, or two to four spears lashed together. Women fished with a kelp-stem or braided whale-sinew line, that had a slipknot of whalebone or of quill at the end, instead of a hook, to hold the bait; slowly drawing the fish to the surface, they would grab it by hand. Fishhooks were probably lacking. Weirs of branches or stakes were used. True fish nets were absent. The nearest approach thereto was a small basket attached to the end of a pole and used as a sort of dip net for diminutive fish.

251 Food storage.—Limited quantities of dried tree fungi were stored; so too was oil, especially whale and seal oil.

415 Food preparation and eating.—Large mussel shells were used for
[258] melting fat and holding grease. Water was heated and grease melted by throwing hot stones into them, but there is no record of stone boiling proper.

Shells of large mussels were sometimes used as plates; shells or bark baskets as cups; hollow bird bones or reeds as drinking tubes.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

361 There were no permanent villages. Certain groups of natives re-
621 lated apparently by blood and marriage frequented and occupied more or less fixed separate localities within the respective five sub-

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Tahgan SH6

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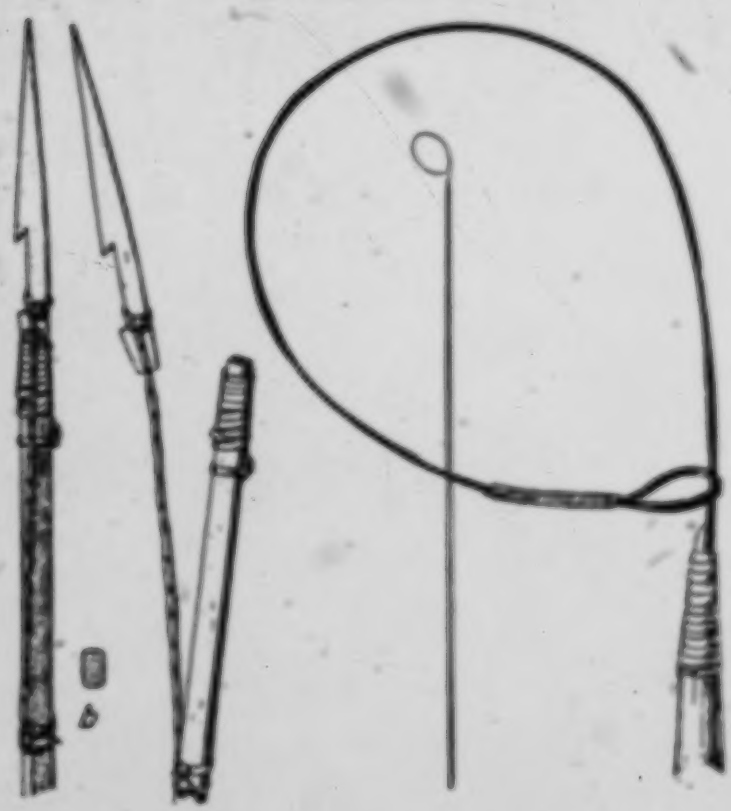

FIGURE 11.—Tahgan harpoon and pole snare. a, Harpoon assembled for casting; b, cross section of harpoon shaft; c, position when dragging through water (length of harpoon head 18 in., or 35.5 cm.); d, two views of bird snare (diameter of loop 6½ in., or 16.5 cm.). (After Lothrop, 1928, figs. 33, 37.)

361 621 divisional areas. Apart from initiation and other social or religious functions, which brought larger numbers together temporarily in a common camp, each biological family or small group of two or three families tended to camp apart, more frequently in the same shelter.

342 The two chief forms of family shelter were the beehive hut and the conical hut. The beehive or domed hut, the more common form, especially in the west, was circular or elliptical in ground plan, made of a framework of flexible sticks bent over dome-shape and fastened together, and covered with grass, ferns, branches, bark, skins, or anything at hand (pl. 23, b). The conical hut, more fre-

2: Cooper K-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan S35

342 quently used toward the east, was tipi-form, with a framework of stiff sheet saplings or tree trunks.

The ground in the interior of the hut was often, but not always, scooped out, to a depth of 2, 3, or more feet (0.6 to 1 m.) beneath the outside ground level, and was usually covered with a little grass or
[354] some brushes. The fire was made in the center. The huts had one door, facing the sea; or else two doors, one facing the sea, the other being opposite.

172 Archeological stratification in the *Yahgan* area of Navarino Island
342 shows an earlier culture with shelters like those still used by the *Alacaluf*, oval in ground plan, having two entrances, and without scooped-out pits; and a later one with circular shelters having one entrance, and with pits 12 to 18 feet (4 to 6 m.) in diameter, scooped out in some cases to a depth of more than 3 feet (1 m.) (Bird, 1938, p. 261). The two historic types of *Yahgan* wigwam, oval and circular, unpitted and pitted, may thus represent two chronologically distinct cultures.

342 Larger and more substantial huts were built for initiation rites (q. v., infra); sometimes very small ones, for the use of children. The *Yahgan* also at times used caves or made a very rude shelter of a few branches tied together or stuck in the ground.

197 At the time of Lothrop's visit in 1924-25, practically all the then
342 surviving *Yahgan* were accustomed to pass the winter months at Puerto Mejillones and Puerto Piedra, on Navarino Island, in huts poorly constructed of ill-fitting boards (Lothrop, 1928, p. 130). Lothrop (1928, p. 131) considers the use of the wing of a large bird for
[359] sweeping out the shelter to have probably been the result of missionary
[360] influence.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Clothing.—The chief garment, for men and women, was a small cape, of seal, sea-otter, or fox skin, sometimes of two or more skins sewn together—occasionally of bird skins—worn with the fur outside, covering the shoulder and breast or reaching to the waist, and held in place by a string across the chest. It was commonly shifted outdoors over the windward shoulder. Very frequently it was left off entirely. The women rarely if ever went without a small triangular pubic covering of bird skin or hide, held in place by a string attached to each upper corner and encircling the waist (pl. 32, *f*). No head covering was worn. Usually the *Yahgan* went barefoot, but sometimes when traveling or hunting on land they wore rather crudely made moccasins (fig. 12), resembling closely the *Ona* ones in pattern, of sealskin, with the hair outside, and stuffed inside with grass (cf. Lothrop, 1928, p. 256, photo). The eastern *Yahgan*, when hunting guanaco in winter, sometimes wore guanaco skin leggings, like the *Ona*, from whom they

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

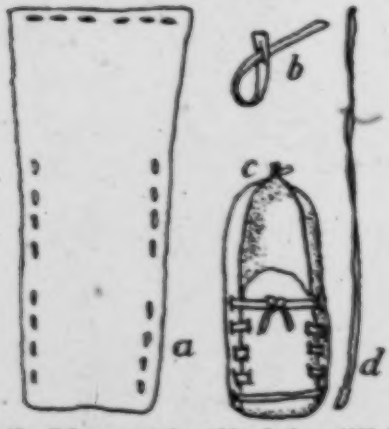

FIGURE 12.—Yahgan moccasin. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 48.)

291 probably borrowed them. The *Yahgan* occasionally used a rude fingerless working glove of hide. The clothing of the *Yahgan* seems to us utterly inadequate, given the climatic conditions—temperatures commonly around and well below freezing point in winter, high winds, frequent snow, hail, sleet, and cold rain—but in view of the seeming [291] role played in their decline by introduced European clothing and their relative good health prior thereto, perhaps their clothing was reasonably well adapted to the environment.

302 **Hairdressing and depilation.**—The hair was worn loose, not in braids, and was often banged. Sometimes a sort of tonsure was worn. A sharp-edged mussel shell was used to cut the hair. For [297] combing the hair, more commonly the jawbone of a porpoise or otter, or a toothed comb made of whalebone, was used; sometimes, a brush comb made of a bundle of roots (Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 138) or of quills (Gusinde, 1937, p. 423). Depilation, with two mussel shells as tweezers, of all face and body hair was practically universal, for both sexes.

304 **Scarification.**—Scarification was practiced as a mourning observance and tattooing as an initiation rite (Gusinde, 1937, p. 863), but neither for ordinary decorative purposes. There was no head deformation, no ear, lip, or septum piercing, no body mutilation of any other kind.

302 **Painting.**—Smearing the head and body with grease or oil was as much protective as decorative. Face and body painting was common, sometimes with use of a small spatula. Only three colors—red, black, and [302] white—were used. Red was derived from burnt earth, black from charcoal, and white from clay. Red symbolized peace;

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

Red symbolized Peace;

302 white, war and ritual; black, mourning. Designs were very simple,
[822] confined to lines, dots, and, less commonly, circles.

Ornaments.—Personal adornments were: necklaces, of sections of
301 bird leg bones strung on braided sinew, of strung punched shells
237 (*Phetinula violacea*), or of frapped hanks of braided sinew, often colored red; bone or shell pendants, sometimes attached to the necklaces; and wristlets and anklets of sinew and hide. Feather diadems and bird-skin, feather, or down-ornamented fillets or forehead caps were also used.

TRANSPORTATION

501 Canoes.—Travel by the *Yahgan* was almost entirely by water. Their earlier sole form of watercraft was the built-up bark canoe, of a crescent or gondola shape that characterizes other craft well up the west coast of South America to Perú; the plank boat, the *Aweoscoma* dugout, the seal-hide float, and the double-ended reed balsa were absent (Lothrop, 1932 a, pp. 253–54).

The *Yahgan* canoe (pls. 34, 35) was made of three strips of beech bark, one-half inch to more than an inch (1.2 to 2.5 cm.) thick, which ordinarily formed the bottom and two sides respectively. Average length was about 15 feet (5 m.), with a range from about 12 to 20 feet (4 to 7 m.); gunwale to gunwale width in center, about 3 feet (1 m.); depth in center, about 2 feet (0.6 m.). The bark, taken only
396 from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), was stripped off in the spring, when the sap was running. In removing the bark from the tree, the natives used a bone chisel or mussel-shell knife to cut it and a bone barking tool to strip it, and in ascending the tree held themselves thereto with a strong rawhide thong. After smoothing the bark on both sides with a small chisel, they cut it into three cigar-shaped pieces. These pieces were then sewn together with whalebone or with shreddings of warmed saplings, the seams being wadded with the stringy seams of wild celery grass or with moss mixed with mud. The gunwales were next lashed on. The ribs, of split Winter's bark, were then fitted in and locked in place under the gunwales. The thwarts, usually five or six, of hardwood, were inserted and lashed to the gunwale.

501 The fireplace was set amidships. The paddle was in one piece with a long lanceolate blade and short round-section handle without crosspiece or other grip. The *Yahgan* canoe leaked much; the cylindrical bailers (pl. 33, *e*) were usually of bark or sealskin. Sealskin thongs
[X3] and braided grass ropes were used as mooring lines. The construction and repair of the canoe were the man's task; but its management, in-
[462] cluding paddling and mooring off shore in a kelp bed, were the woman's. In a sense, she was mistress of the canoe, with its hearth and ever-lighted fire. In a favorable wind a crude sail, made of a sealskin or

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

501 of several skins sewn together, was sometimes set up—a practice whose origin, native or European, is uncertain. (For details on manufacture and use of canoe, cf.: Lothrop, 1928, pp. 143–145; 1932 a, pp. 251–253; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 436–457.)

501 177 After about 1880 the *Yahgan* began to give up their traditional bark canoes, and to adopt the dugout. Still later, prior to Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, the dugout had been entirely superseded by the dory, of European type and origin.

The *Yahgan* never adopted the plank boat from their *Alacaluf* neighbors and never used rafts or skin-covered watercraft, so far as our records reveal.

MANUFACTURES

172 Pottery, weaving, and metallurgy were entirely absent; no traces of pottery have been discovered archeologically in *Yahgan* territory.

283 **String-making and sewing.**—Plant fibers, plain, shredded, or braided, were used in basket making, canoe sewing, and for mooring lines, respectively; braided whale sinew, for necklaces, fishing lines, and tool and weapon lashings; braided guanaco sinew, for bowstrings; whalebone, in sewing canoes and for bird snares and fishline nooses; seal-hide thongs, for tool and weapon lashings, harpoon lines, basket handles, mooring lines, and bowstrings. Awls were made of bone and wood, unhafted. The drill was lacking.

812 285 **Basketry.**—Four techniques in basket making were in use: (1) Simple half-hitch coiled, the commonest type (fig. 13, *top*); (2) twisted half-hitch coiled, rarer (fig. 13, *center*); (3) knotted half-hitch coiled, not common (fig. 13, *bottom*); (4) a sort of wrapped type. The first three were of excellent craftsmanship; the last, very crudely woven, and used only as a dip net for catching very small fish. The material for all four was a rush (*Juncus magellanicus*). The coiled baskets were more or less oblong-spheroid in shape, and had a carrying handle of thong or plaited rush (pl. 23, *c*).

281 **Skin dressing.**—No process of dressing proper is reported. Sealskins were stretched on the ground, covered with grass and moss, and left so for a while, to help dehair them. Drying frames were apparently used. The scraper consisted of a mussel shell lashed to a cylindrical stone haft. The *Yahgan* made thongs flexible by drawing them through their teeth or by chewing them.

812 324 **Stoneworking.**—Little use of worked stone was made except for arrowheads and, rarely, scrapers. The workmanship was crude. Archeologically, there are some traces of stone pecking and polishing (Lothrop, 1928, p. 203; cf. Bird, 1938).

192 415 **Containers.**—Cylindrical buckets (pl. 23, *c*), of *Nothofagus betuloides* bark, for carrying and holding drinking water and for boiling, were made by the women, with the use of a barking tool dif-

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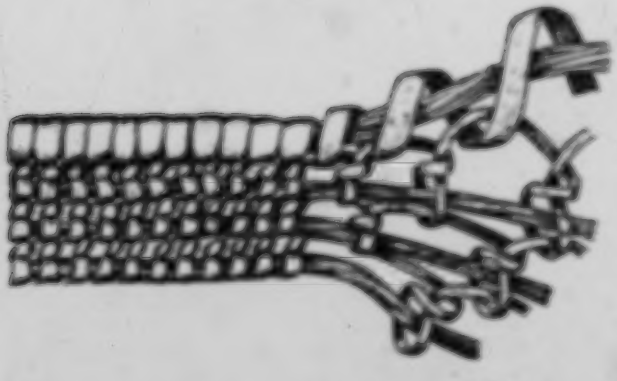

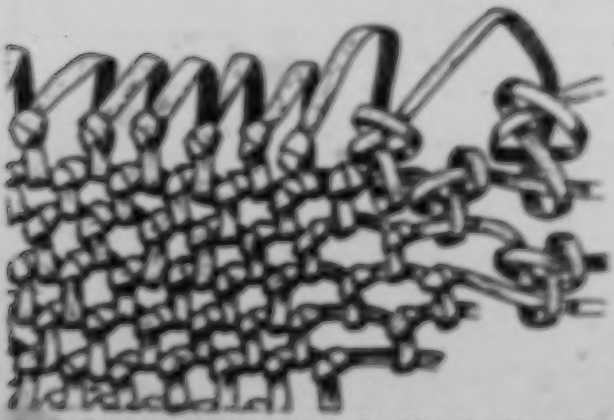

FIGURE 15.—Details of Yahgan coiled baskets. Top: Simple half-hitch coiling (height 1 in., or 2.5 cm.). Center: Twisted half-hitch coiling (height 1 in., or 2.5 cm.). Bottom: Knotted half-hitch coiling (height 1 in., or 2 cm.). (After Lothrop, 1928, figs. 61, 62, 63.)

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415 forest from the man's. Among other more usual containers were: pouches of seal or penguin skin for holding small objects; bladders or windpipes of seals or porpoises for holding other and firestones; crops of geese and stomachs of seals for holding oil. (Cf. others in Lothrop, 1928, p. 122.)

412 **Tools.**—These have mostly been dealt with incidentally in the preceding sections. The hafted mussel-shell scraper, mentioned above under "Skin dressing," was also the common knife. Stone-headed daggers or knives were used by the earlier *Yahgan* (Cooper, 1917, p. 207). The stone celt or ax was lacking. Wedges were of bone; arrow polishers, of a bit of pumice.

411 **Weapons.**—The characteristic weapons used by the *Yahgan* both in hunting and in fighting were the spear and harpoon (fig. 11, *a–e*), the club, and the sling. The bow and arrow, in contrast to *Ona* usage, occupied a very subordinate position.

The spear shaft was quadrangular, hexagonal, octagonal, or decagonal in section, from 8 feet (2.5 m.) or less to 12 feet (4 m.) long; the shank, ordinarily of bone, with unilateral or bilateral single or serrate barbs and with notched tang, lashed to the split or slotted end of the shaft. The atlatl was absent. The harpoon, without toggle, was merely a spear with a detachable shank tied by a thong to the shaft. The club was a plain straight heavy stick. The cradle of the sling was of hide, the lines of braided whale gut.

Yahgan bows, arrows, and quivers closely resembled those of the *Ona*—a curved self bow, ranging from about 3 to 4 feet long, with string of seal hide or of braided seal, whale, or guanaco sinew; the arrow, without foreshaft, and with triangular pointed and barbed head of stone, bone, or, more recently, glass; the quiver, rectangular, of skin, or tubular, of bark. Arrow poisoning was absent. Both archeological and ethnological evidence suggests that the *Yahgan* most likely acquired the bow and arrow after their arrival in their historic habitat, from the *Ona*. (Cf. Bird, 1938, pp. 261–262; Cooper, 1917, pp. 211–213.)

372 **Fire making and illumination.**—The only method of fire making was by percussion with flint and pyrites, bird down or dried fungus serving as tinder. Fire was carried around in the canoe on a hearth of earth, shell, or stones. Two-pronged tongs were in use. Dark torches provided illumination. Fire was employed not only for cooking, heating, and lighting, but also for signaling, straightening arrow and spear shafts, bending canoe ribs, felling trees, preparing bark for canoes and material for baskets, and other purposes.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

364 **Marriage and the family.**—The sexes were kept separate after about the age of 7 and were warned by their elders against sexual liberties.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

536 tion. Intercourse between the unmarried was disapproved, but breaches of the code were not infrequent. Marriage between blood
582 relatives, however distant, was in theory taboo; in practice, the prohibitions included half-siblings, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, first cousins, both parallel and cross, and seemingly extended somewhat beyond these limits. Since near relatives commonly lived near one another, marriages tended to be locally endogamous. Marriages with mates from far distant localities, especially outside one's own of the five dialectic groups, were disliked and infrequent. Marriage with a mother and her daughter was disapproved, but not so strongly as marriage with near blood-kin. Spouses were barred from marrying their respective candidates of the fifteen initiation rite.

584 Choice of mate was ordinarily free on the part both of the boy and of
585 the girl, and appears to have been based largely on mutual affection and regard. Gifts from the groom to the bride's father were given and expected, as were also certain services before and after marriage. But a bride-price as stipulated by or haggled for by the father was absent. Bride capture or stealing, if it occurred, must have been very rare.

582 Boys and girls did not marry until they had passed through the required fifteen initiation. Gusinde (1937, p. 633) estimates the more common chronological ages of first marriages as about 17 to 19 years for boys, and 16 to 18 for girls.

Monogamy was by far the most prevalent form of marriage. Polyandry did not occur. Polygyny was permitted, but was uncommon.
583 A few men had two wives, more commonly sisters; cases of three wives,
587 if they occurred, must have been very rare. On the death of a man's wife, he had a certain marriage claim to her unmarried sister. On the death of a woman's husband, she frequently became, and under certain circumstances was expected or obliged to become, the wife of his oldest surviving brother, especially his unmarried brother, unless she married another man. This custom (the levirate) was, from the native point of view, primarily an obligation of the father's brother to be responsible for his nephews and nieces, a responsibility that lay on the uncle even though his brother's widow married another man. A surviving married brother was not entirely free to marry the widow, as his own wife might object.

585 The chief wedding rite consisted in painting the cheeks of the couple with three red parallel horizontal lines. These were worn and renewed for a week, during which time they were feasting and dancing, and at the end of which the couple went off together in their own canoe.
591 Customarily, they remained with the bride's people for a few months,

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591 after which they would usually go for good to the groom's kin. Thus, localized groups of kin tended to be patrilineal.

604 After marriage the husband's paternal uncle and the wife's maternal aunt took particular interest in them, superseding in large measure their respective parents. Children-in-law were expected to
606 look after their parents-in-law in sickness or other needs. Children-in-law observed a number of avoidances regarding their parents-in-law: greeting their parents-in-law, speaking to them or breaking in on their conversation with remarks, looking at them, and sitting down beside them were all taboo. When in the same hut with their parents-in-law, they turned their sides or backs on them. A year or so after marriage, the restrictions between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law were partly, but never wholly, relaxed; those between son-in-law and father-in-law lasted through life. On visits of the father-in-law to his daughter, he and his son-in-law communicated wishes and news through the daughter and wife or by indirect discourse.

562 The man was, in theory, considered the head of the family, with
593 authority to rule. Actually, his authority was very far from absolute, and the woman was largely her own mistress, particularly in such provinces of her own as child rearing, food gathering, and canoe managing. Some men domineered over their wives, but not a few husbands were under the thumbs of their spouses. Some husbands were cruel, but if so they ran afoul of the wife's kin. More generally, woman's position both in the family and in the community seemed a respected one, not that of a drudge, slave, or inferior being, and she enjoyed a fairly high degree of freedom and independence.

684 Adultery was disapproved by the *Yahgan* code, but apparently
639 the code suffered appreciable infringement in practice. Adultery on the wife's part was, if discovered, punished by the husband with sound beatings, very rarely with death. Public opinion disapproved of her behavior. Adultery on the husband's part also gave rise to domestic battles in which the husband sometimes suffered severe treatment at his offended wife's hands. Jealousy on the part of both husband and wife was common. Wife lending was absent. There
[596] was no professional prostitution; a woman, married or unmarried, of markedly loose character was looked down upon.

586 Separation and divorce were fairly frequent, but were not lightly resorted to. The most common cause appears to have been cruel treatment of the wife by the husband, though there were other causes such as marked laziness, negligence, or crabbedness on the part of the
[598] wife. In case the wife became incapacitated through illness or age, the man could, and, it seems, more commonly did, take to himself a second wife.

586 mond with. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

818 The aged were, according to all dependable evidence, usually respected, well treated, and well cared for. Neither abandonment or killing of the aged was ordinarily practiced but may have occurred in exceptional cases.

621 Political Life.—Over and above the biological family there was no closely organized larger group or constituted authority. There were no clan, secret or other societies, or social classes, and no chiefs or ruling group or caste of any kind. Each biological family was for most practical purposes a sovereign political unit. The sense of individual independence was deep. No man took or heeded orders

555 or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

612 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

619 The five regional divisions of the *Yahgan*, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

621 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been composed, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1946 b, p. 1). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Usheuia, for instance, occupied 30 miles (50 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups,

[622] these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function was that of holding the *Kina* initiation rite. The leader chosen

[624] thereby had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the *Kina* rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social authority and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

625 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case

[642] of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which clubs,

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Yahgan SHS

clubs, fists, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did not exist, and the *Yahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups appear to have been normally tranquil, but violence and bloodshed were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually intervened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast. Bridges found 22 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1884—an annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that of the United States. Mercy killings occurred for the purpose of putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human sacrifice was unknown; so too was premeditated suicide.

The evidence that the *Yahgan* practiced no form of cannibalism—gastronomic, funeral, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of devouring human flesh.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—The *Yahgan* resented and avenged exploitative trespass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part thereof by non-*Yahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gusinde, 1937, pp. 944-962) or, according to Koppers (1935 b, p. 176), of any one of the numerous local groups, by outsiders. Since these local groups seemingly were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Yahgan* land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting-ground system. There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast on a stranded whale, and to gather firestones and suitable canoe bark, which were found only in certain parts of the *Yahgan* territory. Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adornments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things. The ownership of certain other things—food, bark, canoe—appears to have been vested in the biological family.

Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor, donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-

[illegible] Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

[illegible]

[illegible] Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vociferations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, [illegible] especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

[illegible] On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up elsewise. A graduate from the fifteen initiation rite on approaching his spouse was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting [illegible] was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much exposure in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expectorating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs [illegible] were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

[illegible] When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

[illegible] It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead. [illegible] The Yahgan had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of Yahgan etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. [illegible]).

[illegible]

[illegible] These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

[illegible]

[illegible] Childbirth and infancy.—There was clear awareness of the deleterious of conception on cohim. Desire for children was marked. In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by concerned mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

§46 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first child, the father remaining quiet in the hut and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the cord cut, dried and kept.

§47 Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 12 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly named after its birthplace.

§48 Education.—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions scanned in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

§49 Girls' puberty observances.—At her first menses, the girl fasted, eating little or nothing, for 5 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red vermilion streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 6th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

§50 The Ishmaw initiation rite.—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 65-66; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805-806), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic step of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the Ishmaw, could the samjiwa, 0 sense, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole Yaigan tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

§51 The chosen officials in charge of the rite were a leader, a master, and guards. A special large hut, of oval bamboo or conical construction, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special distinctive feather

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437 rency of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
438 on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
[439] with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
[440] gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who
could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

968 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
428 ceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Both burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

594 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries. Since mussels were the chief food resources, the woman's part as
[462] provider was an extremely important one.

[522] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to men and women jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 Sinh Tetgen Sinh

881 head bead and had a special painted staff. To each candidate were assigned sponsors, one or two men and a woman to the boy, one or two women and a man to the girl.

The candidates were subjected to certain unknown restrictions: little sleep, food, and drink, hard work, a daily bath in cold sea water, cross-legged posture during much of the time. They had to drink through a hollow bird bone. The boys were given a sort of temporary tattoo. Much vocational instruction was given, and particularly an elaborate moral instruction in the native code, with very concrete counsels on the obligations of altruistic behavior, respect for the aged, peacefulness, industry, not spending overtime or carrying tales, and so forth. This moral instruction was given by the mentor, sponsors, and other elders, as the will of Watauineiwa, the Supreme Being, who saw everything and who would punish delinquents with shortened life and with the death of their children. Yoálin also, the chief evil spirit, would harm them if they did wrong.

The ritual consisted otherwise mostly of dances and of songs peculiar to it. Toward the end, the sponsors gave each candidate a basket, a bird-bone drinking tube, and a scratching stick. The rite ended with a mock battle between the men and women, and with a feast.

849 Only those who had gone through the fóiwan rite were considered full-fledged members of the tribe, and were told the whole mythological complex of the Yálloc brothers and their sister. And only twice-initiated boys could take part in the kina rite (cf. infra under Religion), which was often held just after the fóiwan.

96 Death and burial.—Mourning was expressed by fasting, body painting, gashing of the breast with sharp stones, and a special mourning dirge accompanied by a mourning speech. Angry complaints were directed to Watauineiwa for letting the person die. A general mourning rite in which the men and women painted themselves, wept, buried complaints at Watauineiwa, and engaged in a mock battle, the men with clubs and the women with pebbles, was also held.

The more common form of disposal of the body, up until recent times, was cremation—lest foxes, rats, or dogs should eat the body, so the natives said. The dead person's personal property, or some of it, was burned with the body. In some cases, especially of children, the body was buried in a kitchen midden. The burial spot was avoided as a camping place, for several years where the deceased was an adult. The name of the dead was never spoken.

915 Future life.—The kodapik (kúapis), or soul, flew east, but exactly whither was not known. Nor was it known what its fate was, happy or unhappy, nor whether such fate was at all dependent on moral behavior on earth.

519 A great deal of *Tolgao* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of larger duration combined by tenuous ties in the shape of extended whole. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play showing tendency developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

[illegible] Excesses were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating
[illegible] beverages were made or used by the *Tolgao* before their contact with
[illegible] the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 16). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Tolgao* and their neighbors, the *Alamiki'* and *Ona*.

524 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games where group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at
[illegible] stone throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity.
[illegible] There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillsides, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tumblins, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tumblins" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward
[illegible] through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were common accompaniments of children's group play.

[illegible] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swim-
[illegible] ming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's buff, hopping and sing-ing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball
526 game was popular: A ball made of soft gut stuffed with feathers or grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

531

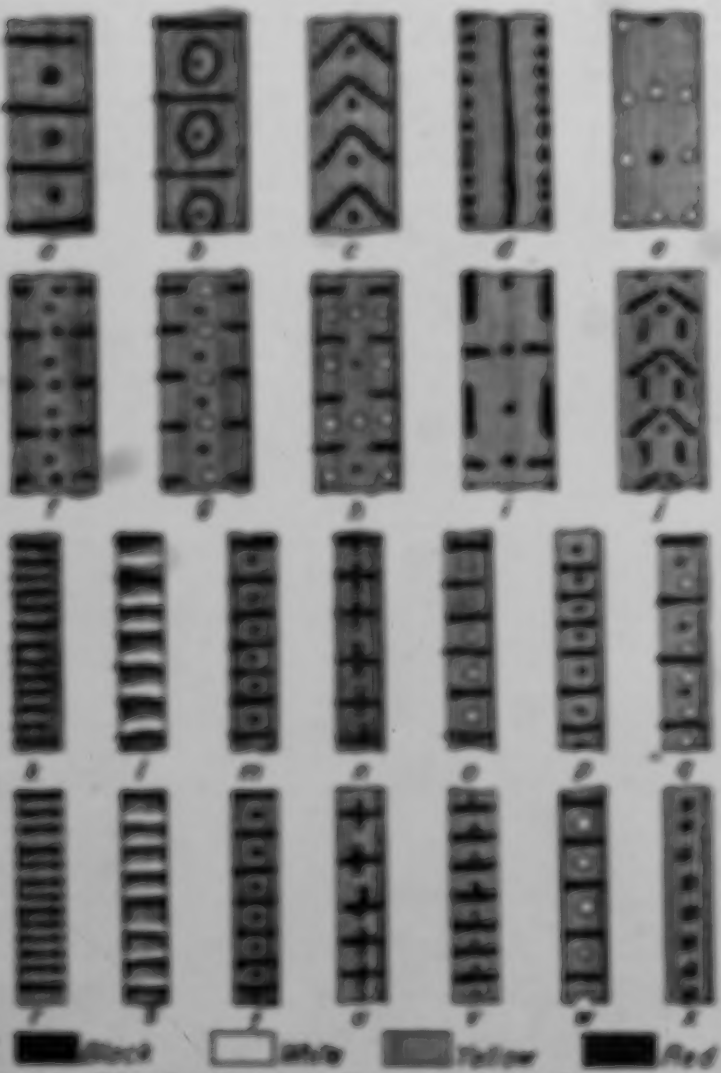

Figure 14.—Tahgan basketry patterns. From the painted frame of a ceremonial tahgan (Roberts from Lowie, 1909, pl. 5.)

Wrestling was indulged in a good deal, mostly by the men, although the women would sometimes intervene in the group wrestling. In pair wrestling, a man challenged an opponent by putting a small ball at his feet. The onlookers formed a circle around the contestants and applauded vigorously. The aim was to put the opponent on his back.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

526 The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically massaged by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

538 Music.—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which never in songs. The songs themselves were extremely
533 simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the *chiéuen* and camping rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to von Hornbostel (1906). There were no musical instruments at all.
534 Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

535 Dances.—Apart from the dances carried out during the *chiéuen* and kina rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

541 Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men.
543 But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and foval to shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observances. Each
544 *Yahgan* had a yelétel, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The kina rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

546 Theism.—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Watauineiwa or Wataiuineiwa, who was also called by other

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

776 names meaning "The Powerful One," "The Highest One," and especially by the name of "My Father." He was not the maker or creator, but rather the master and ruler. He was the owner and giver of animals and plant food. It was he who gave life to human beings, and who took it away. He was fundamentally good and benevolent. He lived above in the heavens. He had no body nor had he wife or children. He was distinctly and eminently set off against and above all other spirits, good and bad, and in this sense stood as it were alone. He did not enter into the tribal folklore and mythology. He saw what human beings did, and upon those who broke the precepts of the *Yahgan* socio-moral code, which represented his will, he inflicted punishment in the way of early death, and often the death of their children.

782 The central role of Watauinéwa in the initiation rites has previously been mentioned. Apart, however, from these rites, Watauinéwa was prayed to a great deal by the individual *Yahgan*. These prayers were mostly petitions to him for food (as the owner of the food animals and plants), for cure and health, and for protection from the elements, as well as expressions of thankfulness. A good many of them were more or less traditionally crystallized formulae, of a few words each, but prayer was likewise expressed in free wording. A quite distinctive feature of *Yahgan* communication with the Supreme Being was the frequency of complaint expressions and charges directed toward him on the occasion of sickness, bad weather, or other evil fortune, and particularly on the occasion of death. Gusinde and Koppers collected over 60 of these various kinds of prayer formulae. Some of them are in somewhat archaic language.

771 In view of these archaisms in the complex, of the many distinctly 777 native features (e. g., master, owner, not creator or maker), of the absence of all characteristically European or Christian conceptions, and of the express and emphatic statements by the natives whose memories or whose knowledge from their elders reached back to pre-missionary days, there can be no reasonable question but that *Yahgan* theism is aboriginal, and not the result of missionary influence. It seems equally clear that it was central in the religious outlook of the *Yahgan* and that it entered deeply and dynamically in their thoughts, emotional life, and personal behavior.

756 **Shamanism.**—A person became a medicine man (yŕkamush) 787 through an inner call manifested to him in dreams and visions. The héshteka-yŕkamush, dwarfish spirits, appeared to him; a female spirit, a Hauŏéllakípa, also played an important part in shamanism, as the shaman's helper. Through the dreams and visions the future medicine man learned which of the small spirits was to be his yefŏél, or particular guardian spirit. From this spirit he also received a song.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

756 He was trained in his professional duties by an older shaman. There was also held a shamans' institute and feast, which could last several months, to condition and school young candidates. During it, the candidates were secluded, and were required to fast, to sing much, to maintain a certain posture, to go with little sleep, and to drink water only through a hollow bird bone; and were taught healing techniques, tricks of the trade, and so forth. Women were barred from this shamans' school. Shamans were not banded into an organized society.

A full-fledged shaman, besides getting help from his special guardian spirit, was also in close touch with the spirit of a deceased shaman. The shaman's relations were with the world of lesser spirits, not with the Supreme Being, Watauinéwa; and the latter did not figure in the shamans' school.

The shaman's chief function was that of curing the sick, but he also influenced weather, helped in hunting, prognosticated, and so forth. The familiar procedures of massage, friction, and anointing, with the extraction of some object supposed to be the immediate cause of the disease, were used in curing. Such objects were often believed to have been sent by malevolent shamans from whose power the good shaman endeavored to deliver the victim. An evil shaman could steal and keep in his possession the soul of a victim, and the victim would die unless his soul were freed by another shaman. It was also the function of the shaman to assign to each infant as soon after birth as possible its own yefáčel, a male one to the male infant and a female one to the female. It was the primary and most important duty of the yefáčel to protect its charge against sickness and bodily harm and against dangers of all kind.

575 Kina rite.—This *Yahgan* institution, with its numerous analogies to the yinchihaus of the *Alacaluf* (p. 76) and with the klóketen of the *Ona* (p. 120), could have been properly discussed under Social Culture because it had primarily a social function. But it is treated here because it also had important religious or pseudo-religious features and was largely under the direction of the shamans. In fact only a shaman could be the leader of the kina rite. Back of the kina rite was a long myth of an earlier time when the women held mastery of the tribe and lorded it over the men. To maintain their supremacy the women used masks to impersonate spirits and to hoodwink the men. Finally, one man discovered the deception, told the other men, and overthrew the women, killing all females except one very young child. In the kina rite only men who had passed twice through the čéxaus rite could take part. Women were kept away from the large conical tent. The men secretly painted themselves and wore conical or conoidal masks (pl. 33, *d*) of bark or sealskin to impersonate a very great number

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

of spirits (pl. 33, *a*). So decked out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire penalties if they did not remain submissive to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the *Yáhgan* have been presented by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1139–1277), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1937, pp. 1278–1294). Perhaps the most important single phase of the mythology is the Yoálox cycle. The elder of the two Yoálox brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the cormorant, the otter, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the medicine man. The long story of the earlier matriarchate was briefly summarized *supra* under Kina rite with which it was associated, just as the Yoálox cycle was more or less associated with the čéxaus. The chief folklore beings believed in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, the Lakóma water spirits, and the Hánnush giants.

LORE AND LEARNING

In general, *Yáhgan* technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and coiled basketry, gives little indication of inventive strivings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple *Yáhgan* harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect *Yáhgan* culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern *Athabaskan* and northern *Algonquians* of sub-Arctic America.

There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no means of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or, so far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the inclined stick to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Nothofagus betuloides* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 18 feet (5 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a balloonlike cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our own, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Yahgan SHS

278-
959 There was almost nothing in the way of herbal curatives, unless the chewing of the leaves of *Drimys winteri* as a purgative could be considered such. Sap from the broken end of a beech branch was swallowed for certain ailments. Other simple remedial measures employed were drinking oil, rubbing the body with it, massaging with *Drimys winteri* leaves, drinking sea water, covering with robes and sweating near the fire. Chalk dust was smeared on for skin eruptions. To cure headache, the nasal passages were scratched to bring about nosebleed.

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[113] For bibliographic references, see pages 52-62.

116

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In Lothrop E.5 (1924-1925) 1928
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THE INDIANS OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO

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BY
SAMUEL KIRKLAND LOTHROP

NEW YORK
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
HEYE FOUNDATION
1928

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3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

CONTENTS

PAGE

Illustrations 7
Preface 11
Introduction 13
Geography 16
Cartography 18
History and Literary Sources 20
The Indians of Tierra del Fuego 24
Climate 25
Flora 28
Fauna 30
Culture Status 33
Physical Type 38
Note on the Anthropometric Characters of the Yahgan and the Ona, by Prof. E. A. Hooton 41

PART I—FOOT INDIANS

The Ona 48
Language 48
Clothing 51
Ornamentation and Decoration 58
The Encampment 59
Camp Equipment 64
Tools 68
Weapons and Methods of Hunting 71
Social Organization 84
Kinship 84
Marriage 86
Children 87
Feuds 87
War 87
Wrestling 88
The Duel 90
Making Peace 90
Amusements 91
Deportment 91
Initiation 92
Religion 96
Shamans 96
Beliefs Concerning the Dead 97
Mythology 98
The Haush 106

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S96 Yahgan S96

PAGE
Archeology of Eastern Tierra del Fuego 100
Composition 100
East-coast Archeological Finds 101

PART II—CANOE INDIANS

The Yahgan 108
Language 109
Clothing 111
Ornamentation 114
The Encampment 117
Camp Equipment 119
Tools 130
Boats and Boating 143
Weapons and Methods of Hunting 148
Social Organization 160
Kinship 161
Marriage 162
Children 163
Games and Amusements 163
Feuds 164
Initiation 165
Religion 171
The Shaman 172
Death 173
Mythology 174
The Alacaluf 178
Archeology of Southern Tierra del Fuego 178
Composition 178
Archeological Finds 189
Age of Archeological Remains 192

PART III—COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Origin of the Fuegians 198
Fuegian Culture Status 202
Fuegians Compared with Primitive Europeans 202
Fuegians Compared with the Seri 204
Fuegians Compared with the Eskimo 209

APPENDIX

Ona Vocabulary 213
Yahgan Vocabulary 217
Bibliography 219

Index 229

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SHi Yahgan SHi

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

PAGE

I. The Plains of Tierra del Fuego 18
II. Fuegian mountains seen from the Harberton-Lake Fagnano trail 18
III. South coast of Tierra del Fuego ..... [illegible]
IV. Ethnographical map of Tierra del Fuego ..... [illegible]
V. Ona bow and arrow ..... [illegible]
VI. Shamb encampment ..... [illegible]
VII. Stone blades found in central, Estancia Viamonte ..... [illegible]
VIII. Scrapers ..... [illegible]
IX. Yahgan painted decoration ..... [illegible]
X. Yahgan scrapers ..... [illegible]
XI. Canoe runways ..... [illegible]
XII. Fish-spear heads ..... [illegible]
XIII. Ancient Yahgan bows ..... [illegible]
XIV. Yahgan ceremonial lodge ..... [illegible]
XV. Yahgan horn-phone headbands ..... [illegible]
XVI. Cobble-faced shellheaps ..... [illegible]
XVII. Shellheaps on Cambaceres and Varela bays ..... [illegible]
XVIII. Kuchuro shellheap, Puerto Mejillones ..... [illegible]
XIX. Stone blades, Wiyinar-ombeakalum, Harberton ..... [illegible]

FIGURES

1. Magellan discovering Tierra del Fuego 18
2. Fuegian forest 18
3. Fungi dried on a rod for winter use 30
4. Young guanaco 31
5. Yahgan Indians 39
6. Ona guanaco robe 31
7. Ona Indians 32
8. Pattern of Ona moccasin 33
9. Ona moccasins 34
10. Ona headband 35
11. Ona shaman's headband 35
12. Ona man's carrying-bag 36
13. Ona cradle 37
14. Ona braided grass anklet 39
15. Ona family in camp 60
16. Skin windbreak (after Oviedo) 61
17. Ona family on a journey 62
18. Ona pack harness 63

1: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

PAGE

19. Ona fire-tongs, hide-lasso, and dog-whip 64
20. Ona water-bag 65
21. Ona guanaco-hide storage-bag 66
22. Ona basket 67
23. Ona knife 68
24. Ona feather without lashings 69
25. Ona scraper and feather 70
26. Ona awls 70
27. Ona arrowshaft polisher 74
28. Ona polisher of skin 74
29. Thong of guanaco-hide (a); guanaco back sinew (b) 75
30. Ona chipping tool 75
31. Ona sharpening stones 76
32. Ona and Patagonian arrowpoints 77
33. Ona quiver 78
34. An Ona forearm 79
35. Ona seal-net 81
36. Ona fish-spear 81
36a. Ona bird-snare 83
37. Ona wrestling contest 89
38. Ona ceremonial lodge 93
39. Abandoned Ona camp 97
40. Stone blade, Estancia Vicuñamuro 113
41. Bola, Estancia Vicuñamuro 114
42. Yahgan Indian 117
43. Yahgan guanaco cape 122
44. Yahgan pelt covering 123
45. Yahgan moccasin 124
46. Pattern of Yahgan moccasin 124
47. Yahgan legging 124
48. Yahgan guanaco-hide satchel 125
49. Yahgan shell necklace 125
50. Detail of Yahgan shell necklace 126
51. Yahgan house 127
52. Modern Yahgan house 128
53. Yahgan fire-making apparatus 129
54. Yahgan combs and seal-throat pouch 130
55. Yahgan bark bucket 131
56. Yahgan weaves: (a) Rope making; (b) Making a bark bucket 132
57. Yahgan shell cup 132
58. Yahgan seal-bladder oil container 133
59. Yahgan basket of *tenel'ia* type 134
60. Method of beginning a *tenel'ia* basket 134
61. Detail of *tenel'ia* basket 135
62. Yahgan baskets of *gaikhiw* and *ainbu* types 136
63. Detail of *ainbu* basket 137
64. Yahgan basket of *gaikhiw* type 138

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

PAGE
65. Detail of *gaikáiw* basket 139
66. Yahgan scraper and whetstone 140
67. Yahgan man's bark-working tool 141
68. Yahgan woman's bark-working tool 141
69. Yahgan awls and spatula 142
70. Yahgan hammerstone 142
71. Yahgan pumice polisher 143
72. The last Yahgan bark canoe 143
73. Model of Yahgan canoe 144
73a. Yahgan dugout canoe 145
74. Modern Yahgan boat 146
75. Yahgan paddle 147
76. Yahgan seal-hide thong 147
77. Yahgan grass rope 148
78. Yahgan bark bailer 148
79. Yahgan spears 149
80. Yahgan fish-spears 150
81. Yahgan seal and guanaco spearheads 151
82. Yahgan harpoon 152
83. Yahgan spearpoint case 153
84. Yahgan limpet- and crab-spears 154
85. Yahgan bone arrowpoint 155
85a. Yahgan club 156
86. Yahgan sling 157
87. Yahgan bird-snare 158
88. Yahgan fish-line 159
89. Yahgan dip-net 160
90. Eastern Yahgan initiate's headband and scratching-stick (a); Kelp-goose down headband (b) 166
91. Yahgan painted ceremonial wands 167
92. Yahgan dance masks 170
93. Model Yahgan dance masks 171
94. Yahgan shaman's bag 173
95. Yahgan ceremonial club 174
96. Wâpiatumánakulum shellheap 180
97. Wâpiatumánakulum shellheap 181
98. Camp-sites and place-names near Harberton 182
99. Approximate cross-section of shellheap 17, Imiwaia bay 185
100. Location of shellheaps on the channel between Gable island and Tierra del Fuego 185
101. Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra shellheaps 186
102. Róbulo bay, Navarin island, showing the location of shellheaps 188
103. Akawalakirrh shellheap, Róbulo bay 189
104. Scrapers from Wâpiatumánakulum, Harberton 190
105. Stone blades from various camp-sites 191

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SHS Yahgan SHS

TABLES

PAGE
I. Economically important flora of Tierra del Fuego 89
II. Fuegian foods 30
III. Statistical constants for the Ona and the Yahgan 41
IV. Ona relationship terms 83
V. Yahgan relationship terms 162
VI. Yahgan camp-sites and huts near Harberton 184

3: Lothrop K-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5366 Yahgan 5366

PREFACE

THIS account of the natives of Tierra del Fuego is the result of a three months' visit to the island, accompanied by Mr. J. Linton Wold, during the summer of 1924-25. We studied Ona Indians at three settlements: one at the southeast corner of Lake Fagnano, one to the northeast of the same lake, and the third lying east of the Laguna de Pescados. Yahgan Indians were encountered at Tierra Mayor, Cambaceres bay, Gable island, and Puerto Mejillones on Navarin island.

Although the time available was short, aids to study were unusual. Thus, Cooper's "Bibliography" offered in a readily available form an accurate analysis of previous work, with an exception to be noted presently. Furthermore, the help of three intelligent white men—Messrs. Lucas and William Bridges and Fred. Lawrence,—all intimately acquainted with the Indian lore and languages, made it possible to procure accurate data with unusual celerity and facility. All the information thus obtained was checked by the Indians and vice versa, while just before I left the island Mr. William Bridges most kindly went over all my notes and vocabularies. Therefore I feel confident that they are detailed and accurate.

In planning my work, owing to the limited time available it seemed wise to concentrate on obvious and concrete problems which could be covered with reasonable thoroughness. Although the studies of Gusinde and Koppers[1] had not then appeared in print, I was told that they had worked chiefly on the religion, initiation ceremonies, folklore, and linguistics. Hence my most profitable course was to devote myself primarily to the material culture and technology. This decision was fostered by the fact that both tribes had been reduced almost to extinction by a recent epidemic of influenza, so that the older men who once took part in native rites had died almost without exception. Secondly, on Beagle channel a thorough examination of camp-sites was undertaken with a view of determining their nature and age so far as

[1] Consult the Bibliography in the appendix.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1925
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(2) was possible without extensive excavation. In addition, customs and ceremonial practices were noted as opportunity offered. In preparing this account of the Indians I have followed my own notes even when at variance with previous studies; yet I have tried to incorporate enough material gathered by other observers to present a reasonably complete picture, at least of the material culture.

Tierra del Fuego is a land where the frontier traditions of hospitality still reign, so that acknowledgment of the help received seems stiff and formal in the light of the generosity and kindness to be found there. To the Bridges family is due primarily the success of our trip and also a deep debt of gratitude not only for technical and material aid but for kindly hospitality and companionship on the justly famous Estancia Viamonte. My mouth still waters when I think of poached wild-goose eggs on mutton steak or *calafate* pie with clotted cream. Mr. John Goodall, manager of the *Estancia* at Río Grande, was also a most kindly host. At Harberton Captain and Mrs. Sigurd Nielsen, Mrs. John Lundberg, their many children, and Mr. Eric Fagelle not only offered us their unstinted hospitality but supplied every facility for travel and work. At Remolino Mr. Fred. Lawrence was both my host and a mine of information. The American and Belgian consuls at Punta Arenas, Mr. John Sharp and Mr. Charles Kwanten, the latter our traveling companion southward from New York, gave us most useful advice and helped us ship our collections northward. Mr. John Williams of Punta Arenas furnished important information. Mr. Thomas Constandaras and Mr. R. H. Gerton motored us across vast stretches of southern Patagonia, while Mr. John Hamilton most kindly allowed us to inspect his large and important archeological collection. I have space to mention but a few of the many who went out of their way to be helpful to us, but to all I give my most sincere thanks. Most particularly I am indebted to Mr. J. Linzee Weld for help and support under circumstances of many kinds and for genial companionship during many months in distant lands.

In this country, I wish to thank Mr. George G. Heye for the opportunity to take a most interesting journey and for making possible this publication. Mr. F. W. Hodge has both edited and aided in the preparation of the manuscript, as has also my wife. Prof. E. A. Hooton, assisted by Mr. Walter Cline and Miss Barbara Clark, have worked over all available data on somatology, while

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Professor Hunter has most kindly written his impressions of the statistics thus prepared. The American Geographical Society has courteously allowed me to use the base-map prepared by that institution.

Of the illustrations, the drawings were prepared by Mr. William Baxter, Mr. Louis Schellbach, and myself, and the maps were drawn by Mr. Schellbach and myself. Through the courtesy of Mr. L. W. Jenkins and the Peabody Museum at Salem I am able to illustrate two bows housed in that institution. To Mr. John Williams of Punta Arenas I am indebted for a picture of a Yahgan back canoe. The great majority of the photographs were taken by Mr. J. Linares Wield and myself in Tierra del Fuego and by Mr. Fred. P. Orchard in New York. Illustrations from other sources are acknowledged in their individual places.

S. K. Lothrop

New York
December, 1927

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3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

INTRODUCTION

TIERRA DEL FUEGO and the many adjacent islands are the southernmost inhabited land in the world, a distinction they have enjoyed from time immemorial. Discovered in 1520 by Magellan on the first hazardous voyage of circumnavigation, these wind-swept shores and their savage inhabitants have overwhelmed all European would-be settlers until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Yet during the long years between discovery and colonization Fuegia did not remain isolated from outside contact, for its storm-vexed waters were traversed by later circumnavigators, by vessels engaged in the China and the Northwest Coast fur-trade, and by tall clipper ships carrying gold-seekers to California.

The Straits of Magellan, the Straits of Le Maire, and the passage of the Horn—all are peculiarly difficult for sailing ships, especially voyaging westward. Even today charts are incomplete and inaccurate; tides range from four to forty-two feet, so strong and vicious currents must be met; anchors, entangled in huge beds of unyielding kelp, may be lost; winters are long, dark, and cold. But above all, storms are common: the mountainous seas off Cape Horn, flowering with foam, and the violent prevailing westerly winds prove a stumbling-block for square-rigged vessels inherently slow in working to windward. "Our passage of the straits [of Magellan] had consumed fifty-one days, and had been effected without accident," writes a nineteenth-century traveler.[1] Owing to the conditions we have described, many a ship was cast ashore on Tierra del Fuego and other islands, there to be greedily plundered by the Indians.

Sometimes shipwrecked crews were slaughtered or otherwise maltreated. In retrospect it is but just to say that the land was then thickly settled in relation to its food supply, and the Indians resented any trespassing on their hunting rights, dealing a similar fate to one another under the same provocation. However, the natives of the Magellanic archipelago acquired a dreadful reputation

[1] Bourne (1853), p. 210.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5306 Yahgan 5306

for savagery and ferocity, which their uncouth appearance and hardiness no little augmented. Indeed even today Tierra del Fuego is regarded by many of the world's inhabitants as a strange and romantic land, peopled by unmitigated cannibals, inhospitable, forlorn, and barren. The very distance of Tierra del Fuego from the places where most of us live is a gap not easily overleaped by the mind, and indeed this gap is not only geographical, but racial and cultural as well.

The very fundamentals of Europe, racially and culturally, have for the greater part come directly from the Asiatic continent, so that historians in a philosophic vein have assumed that the march of civilization is constantly westward. *Ex oriente lux.* However, the current anthropological viewpoint is that man developed his peculiar physical and his primitive cultural attributes within the continent of Asia, and, thus primed with hitherto unknown powers to survive and to perpetuate the species, expanded in all directions with great rapidity. This expansion we may liken to the ripples spreading from a stone dropped into a pond, and of such ethnocultural waves the first settlers of Europe and the Fuegians mark the marginal extremes in opposite directions. In other words, until the application of the compass made the oceans a highway instead of a barrier, the western Europeans and the Fuegians were the most widely separated peoples in the world.

12 To students of human culture the Indians of Tierra del Fuego prove of unusual interest because with such tribes as the Tasmanians they are reputed among the world's most primitive inhabitants. Such isolated and backward peoples may exhibit, through cultural stagnation or degeneration, an early stage in the development of our own and of other complex civilizations. Moreover, the natives of Fuegia afford a clue as to the state of the first men to attain the shores of the Western Hemisphere.

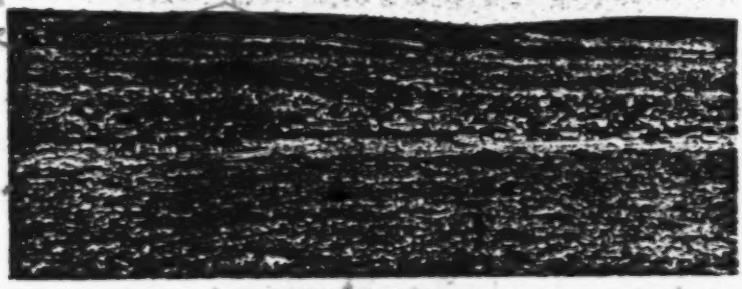
GEOGRAPHY

13 The term *Tierra del Fuego* is loosely applied to the large archipelago lying south of the mainland of South America; more strictly the name is assigned to the main island, shaped like an irregular triangle. It measures about 240 miles along the south coast, the base of the triangle, and 170 miles from north to south.

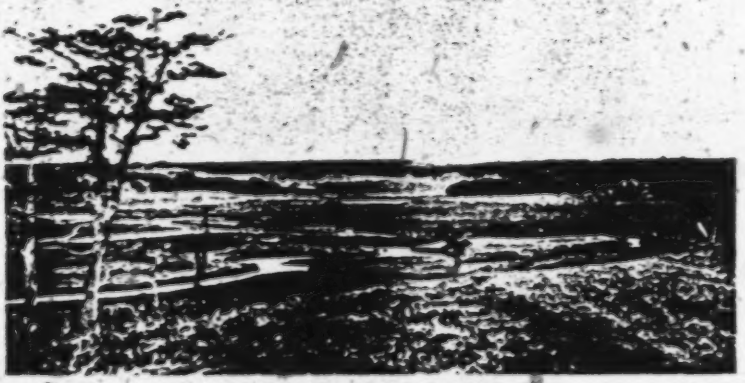
South of the main island, separated from it by the narrow waters of Beagle channel, are three large islands (Gordon, Hoste, Navarin).

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

133



ESTANCIA GRANDE ARGENTINA



ESTANCIA VIANDONTZ, NEAR NEW HARBERTON

THE PLAINS OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO

[p. 16-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

and a host of smaller ones (Gable, Picton, Lennox, New, etc.). 131
Still farther south lie the Wollaston islands. Of these the southernmost is Horn island, terminating in the well-known Cape Horn. This isolated, sea-girt landmark faces the unquiet waters of the Antarctic ocean about seventy miles off the south shores of Tierra del Fuego.

Westward from the main island of Tierra del Fuego, across the Straits of Magellan, is the Brunswick peninsula, whose ultimate tip, Cape Froward, boldly marks the end of continental South America. Nearby are Dawson island, Clarence island, Santa Inés island, and others too numerous to mention.

The main island of Tierra del Fuego presents two types of 133
topography: plains and mountains. The northern and eastern parts are a rolling plain, bare except for grass and small bushes, hummocked by glacial ice, of the same Tertiary formation as the Patagonian plains (pl. I). In the northwest the land rises abruptly and Mesozoic rocks appear as in the Pre-Cordillera range in South America. The western and southern coasts are almost completely isolated from the rest of the island by Admiralty sound, an arm of the sea, and Lake Fagnano, a freshwater lake lying in the same axis. Between these two submerged valleys and the Antarctic ocean pass the Andes, which, after running north and south through the continent, here bend eastward to disappear beneath the waters of the South Atlantic. Their peaks in Tierra del Fuego reach an average height of 3500 feet, but numerous passes exist at about the 2000-foot level, where snow-pockets linger even in summer (pl. II). Glaciers nourished by beds of eternal snow creep to the sea on the west and south.

The Magellanic archipelago then falls in three geographic 131
entities, and each of these was occupied not long ago by corresponding kinds of Indians, speaking unrelated tongues. These divisions are: (1) Tierra del Fuego, occupied by the *Ona* and *Haush;* (2) the southern islands and the south shore of Tierra del Fuego (pl. III), peopled by the *Yahgan;* and (3) the western islands, where lived the *Alacaluf*. The Yahgan and Alacaluf were separated by Brecknock peninsula, a barren headland, sea-girt, with no protecting island fringe, and therefore exposed to the full fury of storms sweeping across the Pacific ocean.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

CARTOGRAPHY

114 After the discovery, Tierra del Fuego fell heir to a veil of romantic mysticism spun long ago by Grecian philosophers and embroidered by scholars of the Middle Ages, for it became linked with the fabulous Terra Australis, the antichthon or counter-world of the ancients. Here, it was reasoned, dwelt the Antipodes, who walked foot to foot with the peoples of Europe, in a land where the trees grew downward and the rains and snows fell upward. With the coming of Christianity this postulated continent was banned by

FIG. 1.—Magellan discovering Tierra del Fuego.

the church,[1] for theologians were "scandalized by the suggestion that somewhere on the face of the sphere there existed a race of men who were not of the seed of Adam, and therefore outside the scope of human redemption."[2] Yet belief in this southern continent did not die, but lingered in men's minds. Dante placed his "Hill of Purgatory" in the center of a southern continent.

With the discovery of the Straits of Magellan an accomplished fact, European geographers believed that the Terra Australis of

[1] Augustine, De Civitate Dei, XVI, 9: "Quod vero et Antipodes esse fabulantur, id est homines a contraria parte terrae ubi sol oritur quando occidit nobis, adversa pedibus nostris calcare vestigia, nulla ratione credendum est."
[2] Payne, History of the New World called America, I, p. 45.

3: Lothrop E 5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

114

the ancients had emerged from the realm of fancy, and they showed Tierra del Fuego on their maps as part of a vast circumpolar antarctic continent, separated from South America by the straits Magellan discovered. The vagueness of their ideas is brought out by illustrations such as fig. 1, which pictures an elephant-bearing roc in flight over the masthead of Magellan's *Victoria*, while enticing mermaidens disport alongside in the waters called Pacific from a rare moment of tranquillity.

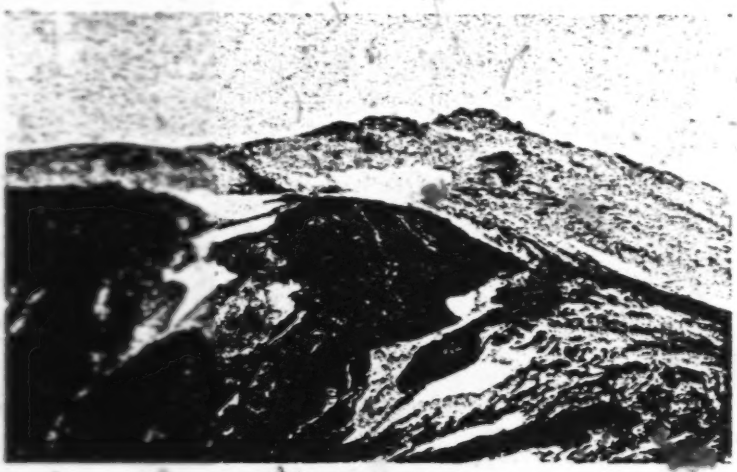
That the cartographers were at fault might soon have been suspected, for in 1526 one of the ships under the command of Loaysa ran southward along the east coast of Tierra del Fuego to "where it appeared there was an end to the land."[1] In 1540 one of the ships of Camargo sailed through the Straits of Le Maire and passed the winter somewhere on the south side of Tierra del Fuego, perhaps in Beagle channel, before returning to Spain. The name of this ship and of its captain is unknown, but part of the log has been preserved.[2] Neither of these voyages, however, attracted the attention of geographers. In 1578 Sir Francis Drake, having successfully passed the Straits of Magellan, was blown southward from Cape Pilar to the Wollaston islands, and the result of his unwilling course is reflected in a map published in Amsterdam by Cornelius Clarz in 1598. In 1616 the Dutchmen Schouten and Le Maire weathered the surf-ringed headland which they named Cape Horn, and, continuing their voyage across the Pacific, thereby definitely established that Tierra del Fuego is an island. When this voyage came to the attention of the Spanish crown, its importance was at once admitted, because it opened to the Far East a road over which Spain had no claim. Hence an expedition was despatched in 1619 under the brothers Nodal to gather exact information for their government. The resultant voyage was favored with fortune and the ships were the first completely to circumnavigate Tierra del Fuego, and also, I believe, the first to complete a voyage in Magellanic waters without loss of life. In 1643 another Dutchman, Brouwer, sailed along the eastern and southern coast of Staaten island. With this voyage the unreality of an antarctic continent near South America was fully established, yet the misconception, or at any rate the old

[1] Relación of Andrés de Urdanete, in Fernández de Navarrete's Colección de los Viages y Descubrimientos, v, p. 402, Madrid, 1837.

[2] Early Voyages to the Straits of Magellan, Sir Clements Markham, tr. et ed., Hakluyt Soc., ser. II, vol. XXVIII, London, 1911.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

133



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SOUTH CREST OF THE PASS

PUEBLAN MOUNTAINS SEEN FROM THE HARBERTON-LAKE FAGNANO TRAIL

[p. 19-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 map plates, persisted in Europe until well into the eighteenth century. For instance, the map in the 1730 edition of Herrera's *Descripción* depicts Tierra del Fuego as extending indefinitely to the south.

114 103 Traditionally Tierra del Fuego received its name from the flickering lights of camp-fires seen by Magellan. A variant tale is that Magellan called it Tierra del Humo, "Land of Smoke," and that Charles V changed the name to Tierra del Fuego, jocosely remarking that where there was smoke there must be fire. However, I suspect that some idea of Dante's Purgatory underlies the name, because an active volcano (actually non-existent) appears on maps of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and even eighteenth centuries. I have before me a 1799 edition of Anson in which the map shows a "Volcan de Brandende Berg" in active eruption on the south coast of Tierra del Fuego.

HISTORY AND LITERARY SOURCES

114 In the preceding section we have mentioned several voyages, which were of importance in the development of geographical knowledge. This list might be greatly extended. Fagalde (1901) summarizes more than fifty voyages of scientific interest, completed before the end of the eighteenth century, but unfortunately with all ethnological data omitted. Much of this information may be gleaned, however, from De Brosses' *Histoire des Navigations* or Barclay's *The Land of Magellan*. Yet in truth it must be said that early contact with the natives was casual and brief, while the descriptions of ethnological significance apply usually to Indians north of the Straits of Magellan.

During the second half of the eighteenth century a general awakening to the importance of scientific investigations permeated Europe, with the result that various scholars were despatched to Latin America by the Spanish government. Fuegian waters were visited at this time by several surveying parties, and the basis of an accurate knowledge of the region was laid down. The general results of these investigations will be found in De Vargas Ponce's *Relación*. With the rise of Napoleon, however, Spain had no resources to spare for continuing this work, while the collapse of Spanish authority in the New World brought a definite end to it.

Great Britain had emerged from the Napoleonic wars as the dominant sea power. With growing colonial and commercial

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

133

HARBERTON

HOUSES, BAY WITH BEAGLE CHANNEL AND NAVARIN ISLAND IN THE DISTANCE

SOUTH COAST OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO

[p. 20-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

interests in the Far East, the route thither by way of Tierra del Fuego became a matter of national importance, so that surveying expeditions under the command of Captain King and later Captain Fitzroy were despatched to Magellanic waters.[1] Captain Fitzroy brought back to England after his first voyage a Yahgan and three Alacaluf Indians. On his second voyage he was accompanied by Charles Darwin, the celebrated naturalist. The era of exact and scientific study of the natives of Tierra del Fuego was thus initiated.

Fitzroy's and Darwin's account of the Fuegians attracted wide notice in England, while the primitive society, destitution, and ferocity they pictured engendered a desire to Christianize that far-off people. The public in England were further roused by the fate of Captain Allen Gardiner and his companions, amateur missionaries who died of privation and exposure under tragic circumstances in 1851.[2] As a result the South American Missionary Society was organized and a mission station was set up on Keppel island (West Falklands). In 1856 this station was placed in charge of Canon G. Pakenham Despard, who brought with him a thirteen-year-old adopted boy, Thomas Bridges. Young Bridges soon learned to speak the Yahgan tongue fluently. In 1869 he returned to England, where he was ordained and married. The following year he founded at Ushuaia the first mission station on Tierra del Fuego. With him he brought as an assistant John Lawrence.[3] After many years' labor as a missionary Mr. Bridges retired, and in recognition of his services in opening up the country was given a land grant at Harberton by the Argentine government where he raised sheep. Mr. Lawrence received a similar grant at Remolino.

Bridges and Lawrence children were born on Beagle channel on the south coast of Tierra del Fuego, and were reared in close association with the Yahgan Indians. The Lawrence family, who still live at Remolino, today have an unsurpassed knowledge of Yahgan customs and linguistics. The Bridges brothers, as they grew up, began to explore to the north and east across the mountains, and finally secured for themselves a vast property on the east coast, today a flourishing sheep ranch known as the Estancia

[1] See Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H. M. S. *Adventure* and *Beagle*, 3 vols., London, 1839.

[2] For a full but sentimental account of this event see Jesse Page, "Captain Allen Gardiner," London, n.d.

[3] A full account of these events is given in the booklet by John U. Marsh, First Fruits of the South American Mission, London, 1873.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 Viamonte. Their peregrinations through the heart of the island brought them in close contact with the Ona tribe. Indeed, they were the first white men to establish friendly relations with the Ona, and two of the brothers, Messrs. Lucas and William Bridges, have been formally initiated as members of the tribe by the *kóktex* ceremony herein described.

We have related this story at some length because so much literature of ethnological interest depends on it. The elder Mr. Bridges has left among his reports to the missionary society a mine of ethnological information, while Mr. Lawrence's observations are also valuable. In addition Mr. Bridges has written several articles dealing directly with native life, published in various scientific journals, and he has left a monument to himself in what is probably the most intensive study of primitive linguistics ever carried out. Of this we shall have more to say.

Beside the contributions from the pen of Mr. Bridges, he aided greatly the success of the scientific studies made by the Argentine, French, and Italian governments in Tierra del Fuego during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The important works of Hyades and Bove gain authority from this association. In recent years the Bridges' children, especially Messrs. Lucas and William Bridges, have sponsored practically all the information about the Ona tribe which has found its way into print. Indeed (without detracting from the merits of any writer) it may be said that the importance of most published data on the Ona varies according to whether or not the information was obtained from this generous and hospitable family.

649 After the Argentine government had established itself at Ushuaia a gold rush to Tierra del Fuego took place, which caused the coming of many undesirables. The result of this sudden contact with Europeans was disastrous to the native tribes.

The history of white settlement of the island emanating from the missionary post in the south is one of kindly dealing with the native races. Unfortunately the same cannot be said for the north. Sheep were introduced into the northern part of Tierra del Fuego in 1878, and trouble with the natives immediately ensued, for while the Indians had no objection to somebody stocking their game tracts, at the same time they maintained their right to hunt the "white guanaco" on lands which they regarded as their own. Naturally the hard-pressed pioneers of what has now become a

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

great industry objected to having their sheep killed, and they retaliated by killing the Indians. 648

Thus there soon sprang into being a class of professional head-hunters, recruited from the shepherds and miners, who received one pound sterling from the ranchers for each Indian head—man, woman, or child. The Indians, on foot and armed with bows and arrows, had little chance in the open plains against horsemen with rifles. Some of the atrocities committed in the '80's are recounted by Fuentes Rabe;[1] the writer heard from discrete and trustworthy sources many similar tales of brutality.

In 1891 a Salesian mission was established on Dawson island, and in 1893 a second station was set up at Cape Peñas and later transferred to Rio Grande. Although dedicated for three-quarters of a century to the eradication of troublesome Indians, the Government decided to stop the scandals arising from head-hunting by turning the Indians over to the missions. To this end troops scoured the country, rounded up the natives, and drove them like cattle to the mission stations. Families were mercilessly broken up. Strange foods caused sickness and implanted the belief that they were being poisoned. Unaccustomed European clothes and indoor quarters—as in so many well-intended missionary efforts—brought pneumonia and tuberculosis, and augmented the effect of their vitamin-deficient diet. Liquor and venereal diseases, against which Indians have surprisingly little resistance, both took their toll. Few indeed survived the "civilizing" process. Today the Dawson Island mission has been abandoned. The east-coast mission still existed in 1924, ostensibly to support two aged native women in idleness, in reality as a prosperous sheep ranch. 648 797

The record of the white settlers in Tierra del Fuego, with of course certain splendid exceptions, is not one to be reviewed with pride; not the Indians but Europeans have proved the greater savages. Missionary efforts, however well intended, have hastened the course of their neophytes to the grave. No more striking example can be adduced of the importance of anthropological and medical training for those who would change the religion and alter the habits of heathen peoples.

One of the chief ethnological results of the northern missions has been the establishment of the Museo Rejional "Mayorino Borgatello" at Punta Arenas. Unfortunately the ethnological 114

[1] 1922, II, 177–181.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 section of this institution, especially rich in Alacaluf and Ona material, has never been adequately organized, so that in 1924 it was musty, moth-eaten, and unlabeled. A more permanent result of the Salesian efforts is the detailed linguistic study of Father José Maria Beauvoir. Also we must mention the most extraordinary photographic record of Alberto M. De Agostini.

A more detailed discussion of Fuegian anthropological literature by the present writer would be superfluous in view of the very thorough and critical study published in 1917 by the Reverend Dr. John M. Cooper, now of the Catholic University of America at Washington. In the appended bibliography I have listed those works to which reference is made in this volume and have added thereto all the titles I can find which have appeared in the last ten years in order to form a supplement to Father Cooper's admirable treatment of the subject.

THE INDIANS OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO

101 The natives of Tierra del Fuego were divided into three linguistic stocks or four tribal groups known to modern students as the Ona and Haush, Yahgan, and Alacaluf (pl. IV). These terms, of which variously spelled versions are found, come for the greater part from the Yahgan tongue because of the early missionary contact with that tribe. Haush is an Ona word. Alacaluf seems to have been employed by the group thus named to designate themselves and was also used by the Yahgan. The intertribal nomenclature is as follows:

English	Yahgan	Ona
Yahgan	Yámana[1]	Wówun (man) Allen (woman)
Ona	Óna	Shílknam[a]
Alacaluf	Alacaluf	Alrro
Haush	Italum Óna	Haúsh

[1] In recent years several writers have used this word to designate the tribe in place of the older term *Yahgan*. Were the tribe to be named for the first time, current practice would dictate the choice of *Yamana*, but *Yahgan* has been the accepted name of the group for many years and is found in most ethnological literature; hence I have continued to use it. For similar reasons I have used *Ona* instead of *Shílknam*[a]. Likewise I have retained the tribal name *Alacaluf* in place of the recently introduced and no doubt more phonetically correct *Halakwúlup*. Such changes of terms long recorded in print form a stumbling-block to the general reader and at the same time contribute little or nothing to the specialist.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928

SH6 Yahgan SH6

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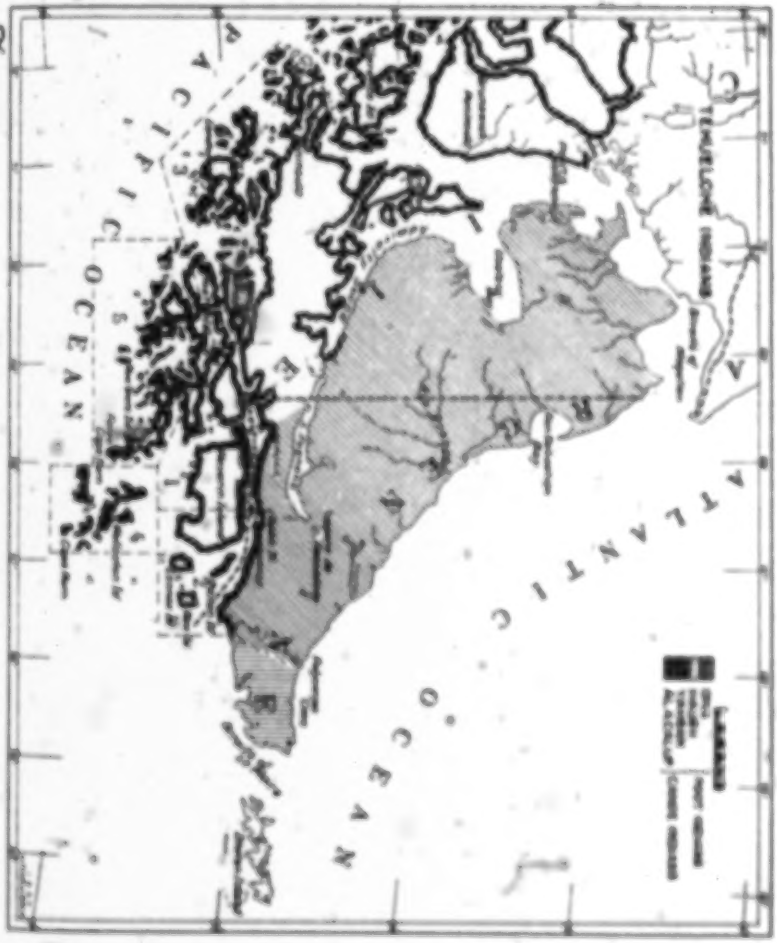

[p. 24-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S316 Yahgan S316

The Ona and the Haush spoke related dialects and occupied the interior of the main island of Tierra del Fuego; they are often called the Foot Indians because of their manner of living. The Yahgan frequented the south coast of the main island and the islands to the south; the Alacaluf formerly lived at the western end of the Straits of Magellan but have moved northward toRación sound. The habitat of each tribe as it was half a century ago is shown in pl. IV. 101

No census of the indigenous population in the old days was ever taken, but from several different estimates the numbers of each tribe seventy-five years ago were approximately: 161

Ona,	3600	Yahgan,	2800-3000
Haush,	300	Alacaluf,	3500-4000

Since at least half of the Alacaluf lived north of the Straits of Magellan, the total native population of Tierra del Fuego and the adjacent islands can scarcely have been more than 9000.

At the time of the writer's visit (1924-25) the Indian population, including mixed-bloods, was approximately:

Ona,	60-70	Yahgan,	40-50
Haush,	2- 3	Alacaluf,	150

Of the Alacaluf only two were seen south of the Straits of Magellan, as they now live far to the north, for the greater part in the vicinity ofRación sound. The figure for their numbers is the estimate of the Rev. John Williams of Punta Arenas.

Later in the same year (1925) an epidemic of measles ravaged Tierra del Fuego. What happened to the Yahgan I do not know, but Mr. William Bridges wrote me that more than twenty adult Ona and an unknown number of children had died. With the exception of a few mixed-bloods the Indians of Tierra del Fuego are probably extinct. [164]

Because the writer saw little of the Alacaluf and Haush, it is principally of the Ona and Yahgan we shall speak below. Before beginning a detailed description we shall discuss their environment and physical peculiarities, and shall list the features of their culture.

CLIMATE

Tierra del Fuego lies between 53° and 56° south latitude, corresponding to the position in the northern hemisphere of the Aleutian islands, southern Labrador, or the central part of Great Britain. 138

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S386 Yahgan SH6

[32] The shores of Tierra del Fuego are washed by an Antarctic current which ranges in temperature during the year between 40° and 50° Fahrenheit. Hence the land temperature is low, but there are no great extremes.

Let us examine some figures. At Ushuaia, the southernmost town in the world, according to Argentine government reports the mean summer temperature is 50° Fahrenheit, while the winter mean is 25°. In summer the thermometer rarely registers above 65°, yet in winter the mercury seldom falls below 10°. At Punta Arenas on the Straits of Magellan the summer mean is 51° and the winter mean is 28°. Although I have no figures to support the assertion, I believe the eastern side of the island is colder than the western.

As to rainfall, at Ushuaia it amounts to 24.8 inches annually, while in Punta Arenas there are 16 inches, to which must be added 14 inches of snow. In the east rain is more frequent, and about 50 inches are said to fall on Staaten island annually. It is quite surprising that the comparatively light rainfall of Ushuaia and Punta Arenas should foster the growth of forests almost tropical in their density. The controlling factor probably is the feebleness of evaporation, owing to low average temperatures.

The figures cited for rainfall and temperature show that extremes are absent from Tierra del Fuego, yet they do not give a just picture of the climate as it affects human life. For instance, the writer witnessed snowfalls at sea-level in December, January, and February, the three summer months. Two of Captain Cook's men were actually frozen to death near Good Success bay on the night of January 16, 1769.[1] To be sure, Cook's men may be criticized with some justice for allowing night to overtake them in a strange land at a place where no firewood was nearby; yet the incident shows that even in the Fuegian summer one must prepare to face cold. In winter, snow piles deep in the wooded portions of the island, but on the open plains it often turns to sheet-ice.

In some years the fruits never leave the ground in Tierra del Fuego. Grains never ripen except occasionally in the vicinity of Porvenir on the north coast.

Owing to the ecliptic orbit and inclined axis of the earth, summer is eight days shorter and winter eight days longer in the southern than in the northern hemisphere. The upper photograph in pl. II

[1] See Hawkesworth, ii, chap. iv.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

was taken at an elevation of 2020 feet on December 22. It shows midsummer snow-pockets above the tree-line at an elevation of only 1800 feet. At 3000 to 3500 feet one reaches fields of eternal snow from which numerous glaciers descend to the sea. Glaciers reach sea-level not only in Tierra del Fuego but for hundreds of miles northward on the west coast of Chile, as far in fact as the Gulf of Peñas, which corresponds in latitude to the position of Duluth, Seattle, Budapest, or Geneva. This is about 1250 miles nearer the equator than the most southerly coastal glacier in Norway. 132

In addition to cold, wind is an unfavorable factor on human life in Tierra del Fuego. Cape Horn gales are world famous; squalls are sudden and savage; even the prevailing westerly winds blow with enough vigor to make life in the open unpleasant. To the Foot Indians of the interior the winds were more disagreeable than dangerous, but to the Canoe Indians they were fraught with peril. Not only might treacherous williwaws sweep from the mountains to overwhelm their bark canoes, but prolonged gales might isolate them on barren islands for days or even weeks till they starved to death.

The picture we have painted of the Fuegian climate is a most unpleasant one. In the mind of the writer it is mitigated by the memory of warm summer days with motionless air and brightly shining sun. On such days sea-bathing is no more uncomfortable than on the coast of Maine or the English channel. However, one must pick a place where the incoming tide sweeps across sun-warmed sands.

The most unusual aspect of the Fuegian summer climate is the rapidity with which it changes. At one moment it will be a clear bright day with no wind, while half an hour later it may be blowing a gale and snowing. This summer climate—except for the rapid changes—is not unlike a New England October, blessed with "Indian summer" and not infrequent frosts. It is bracing and invigorating, however, and in Tierra del Fuego causes both men and animals, domestic or foreign, to grow robustly.

When the climate of Tierra del Fuego has been pictured, the most unfavorable aspect of the environment on human beings has been described, for the flora and fauna both supply many economic assets to the inhabitants.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

FLORA

137 The northern and eastern parts of Tierra del Fuego, as we have said, are open rolling plains covered with short grass and small shrubs. South of the Rio Fuego small clumps of trees surrounded by grass-lands are encountered. These clumps gradually increase in size and height until they finally form a solid forest broken only by *pantanos*, or peat-bogs, which are found in the valley bottoms and above the tree-line on the mountainsides. All the slopes of the Andes up to an elevation of 1400 feet or more, the south coast, and the nearby islands are covered by forest. And these forests

FIG. 2.—Fuegian forest. (From Alberto De Agostini, *I Miei Viaggi nella Terra del Fuoco.*)

are surprisingly dense, damp, luxuriant, and impenetrable (fig. 2). Fostered by snow-fed streams and mists, dampness encourages the growth of lichens, mosses, fungi, and orchids. Travel through virgin woods is impeded by fallen trunks, thick underbrush, and mud, but, owing to the relative absence of spiny growth, is not so discouraging as in the tropics.

The trees and bushes of prime economic use to the Indians we list below. The various purposes to which they are put we shall discuss together with the manufacture of the articles used by the Indians. These trees and shrubs are:

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S316 Yahgan S316

TABLE I.—ECONOMICALLY IMPORTANT FLORA OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO

English	Spanish	Latin	Ona	Yahgan
beech	fire	Nothofagus antarctica	char[a]	kartchaw
beech	coigüe	Nothofagus betuloides	gheyow	ainchi
beech[1]	roble	Nothofagus pumilio	[illegible]	falcon
pickwood	lenga dura	Maytenus magellanica	halfer[b]	shiley[b]
Winter's bark	canelo	Drimys winteri	chiel	chiliaku
cypress	ciprés	Libocedrus tetragona	—	—
holly	chacaya	Pernettya mucronata	yuk[a]	gas
barberry	calafate	Berberis buxifolia	ceeq	[illegible]
barberry	calafate	Berberis ilicifolia	—	chilla
lichens	—	Chilenichaos crassifolium	gheych	yiya
—	circulillo	Embothrium coccineum	—	ed ge
—	—	—	chiterlala	epilah
grass	juncos	Juncus magellanicus	tai	mipi
fungus	—	Cytraria darwinii	yilkon	cowchig

Although the Indians of Tierra del Fuego subsisted chiefly by hunting and fishing, they did not overlook the food value of various berries which grow on the island. Of these the most easily obtainable is the barberry, which flourishes everywhere. It is a variety different from the red-berried barberry (*Berberis vulgaris*) found in northern climes, for it looks and tastes not unlike our blueberry and makes an excellent stewed fruit. There there is the red berry of an arbutus, similar to our cranberry in size and shape but rather tasteless; also what is locally called a "strawberry" (*Rubus geoides*) looks like a raspberry, tastes like a blend of peach and papaya, and grows half underground.

The Ona are said to collect grass-seeds (called *tai*) which they grind to a paste and eat, but this I did not see.

There are ten or more kinds of fungi on Tierra del Fuego, which, according to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1886), were eaten at various times of year by the Yahgan. Of these the most important both to the Ona and the Yahgan was a brilliant orange growth (*Cytraria darwinii*) found on beech trees. When ripe, it is mucilaginous and rather insipid. The Yahgan still dry this fungus on rods and preserve it for winter use (fig. 3). Darwin remarks that since

[1] This tree is an evergreen.
[a] Word borrowing is suggested by the similarity of Ona and Yahgan terms.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
2006 Yahgan 2006

137 the introduction of the potato to New Zealand, Tierra del Fuego is the only part of the world where cryptogamic plants form the chief vegetal diet.

However, the Fuegian Indians failed to utilize many native food plants of value, such as wild celery, two kinds of cress, wild sagebush, wild parsnip, scurvy grass, and mushrooms.

[25]

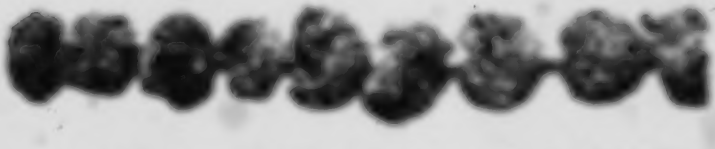

FIG. 5.—Fungi dried as a red-hot ember pan. Length, 8 in. (MEJIA)

137 The description of the flora of Tierra del Fuego can omit mention of the gigantic kelp (*Fucus giganteus*) which almost everywhere fringes the coasts. Though the stems are not thick, they often exceed a hundred feet in length. Darwin* picturesquely writes: "I can only compare these great aquatic forests of the southern hemisphere with the terrestrial ones in the intertropical regions. Yet if the latter should be destroyed in any country, I do not believe that nearly so many species of animals would perish, as, under similar circumstances would happen with the kelp. Amidst the leaves of this plant numerous species of fish live, which neither else would find food or shelter; with their destruction the many cormorants, divers, and other fishing birds, the otters, seals, and porpoises, would soon perish also; and lastly the Fuegian savage, the miserable lord of this miserable land, would unkindly lose a constant basis, decrease in numbers, and perhaps cease to exist." The kelp forms an excellent breakwater and mooring for canoes, but it is an impenetrable barrier to swimmers and has prevented many unfortunate shipwrecks of overturned canoes from safely reaching the shore. Its appearance on the surface of the water may be seen in pl. xx, top, and pl. xi, top.

FOOD

136 From the Indian point of view what made Tierra del Fuegian suitable land for habitation was the edible fauna, which in turn

* (1839, p. 300.

D. Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
2005 Tolgas 2006

depended on the flora, especially the grasses on land and the kelp along the shore.

Of the land animals first place in economic importance falls to the guanaco, one of the four New World varieties of camel (fig. 4). The guanaco is closely related to the llama of Peru, but, whereas the llama is found only as a domestic animal, the guanaco has never been successfully domesticated, although easily tamed. The guanaco has been succinctly described as having "the neigh of a horse, the wool of a sheep, the neck of a camel, the feet of a deer, and the wildness of the devil."[1] In Tierra del Fuego, guanacos attain a much larger size than in Patagonia, while on Navarin island they are nearly as large as a cow.

FIG. 4.—Young guanaco.

Material culture of the Ona is based on the guanaco, and the importance of this animal in their economic life is emphasized by the highly specialized vocabulary used to describe it. For from one horn guanaco is exceedingly soft, and the Tehuelche of Patagonia used it for robes. The Fueguians, however, confronting greater cold, made their robes from skins of the adult animal. From guanaco hide the Ona made their windbreaks (which served as houses), storage bags, water bags, and thongs; from the forehead they fabricated caps; from the sinews they made twine; from a leg bone they manufactured a chipping tool; from the hoofs they fashioned moccasins. Guanaco meat, rather dry, stringy, and

[1] Hudson, p. 117.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

136 tasteless to our notions, formed the principal meat diet of the Foot Indians. Wool was the only asset of the guanaco not utilized by the Ona, for lacking knowledge of weaving and ability to organize in large numbers, they never rounded up the wild guanaco to shear them, as was done to the llama on a large scale under the Inca dynasty in Peru.

For the Ona, second place in importance among the land animals falls to the fox (Ona: *uash*), one of the two varieties of which grows to an unusual size. I have been told that on occasions of great scarcity the foxes in Tierra del Fuego have combined to form packs in the fashion of wolves, and it is then well for a man to avoid them. Fox was sometimes eaten by the Ona, and the skin was occasionally used for robes, if guanaco were scarce. Two kinds of bags (*hási** and *kólue*) found in every Ona household were made of fox-skin.

A small burrowing rodent (*Ctenomys fueginus*), known in Spanish as the *tucotuco* or *cururo*, was eaten by the Ona, who dug up the burrows with sticks. In places large areas of the Fuegian plains,

TABLE II.—FUEGIAN FOODS[1]

136
262

	ONA	YAHGAN
animal	guanaco***** fox (two kinds)** tucotuco seal (four kinds) whale rat (rare)	seal*** porpoise** } oil stored whale* otter (chiefly in west) guanaco (only in east)
fish	chiefly eels**	many kinds***
shellfish, etc.	mussels* limpets crabs	mussels***** limpets* conchs crabs* sea-urchins*
birds (chiefly in summer)	goose (four kinds)** duck (five kinds) cormorant*	goose* duck gulls** } and their eggs** penguin* cormorant*
vegetal (in summer)	fungus (several kinds) berries (three kinds) grass-seeds	fungus* berries

[1] Putative relative importance of foods is indicated by asterisks.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

undermined by this animal, recall the gopher burrows in western North America. 136

The Fuegian dog is not known in a wild state, and today it is extinct, although much blood of the native breed must run in the veins of the innumerable sheep dogs and hounds to be found on the island. In height the native dog ranged from 11 to 20 inches. Their ears were pointed, muzzles sharp, and skulls broad. The markings were black and white, with tan running-gear. Like most Indian dogs they lived largely on such garbage as they could pick up around the encampment, but in times of plenty they were given meat or mussels by their masters. Also occasionally they might pull down a guanaco and enjoy a square meal before the arrival of the hunter, as illustrated in the legend of Kuanip, presented later. 231

Of the sea animals, the four kinds of seal found in Fuegian waters formed the principal meat diet of the Yahgan. Not only did they eat the seal, but they used its hide for capes, moccasins, house-tops, and thongs. It is surprising they never invented a hide boat, which would have been much less perishable than their bark canoes. The Haush also ate a great many seal, and the Ona ate seal but did not specialize in its pursuit. 136

Otter of three kinds, one living on land and two in the sea, were prized by both Yahgan and Alacaluf, who used their skins for clothing. Both these peoples attacked porpoises, and at times, when some innate instinct assured them of good weather, they pursued them far into the open sea.

To the Fuegian tribes whale was a great delicacy, and by all accounts this leviathan existed in large numbers in Fuegian waters until recently. Sometimes the Canoe Indians ventured to attack whales that had blundered into shallow water, but usually they were secured dead on the beaches. These were gala occasions, and feuds and animosities were forgotten as great numbers gathered to gorge themselves on the often putrid, diseased, and stinking flesh. When satiated, the Yahgan sometimes buried a meat supply far under ground where, were there frost, it might be preserved for many months. This custom recalls the burying of salmon on the northwest coast of North America, where the decomposed fish was mixed with oil and eaten with gusto. [251]

Fuegian waters abound in fish, both large and small, which were eaten by all the tribes. The Ona took fish from pools at low tide, 136 226

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

136 while the Yahgan speared them in deep water or drew them with bait to the surface where they could be seized by hand. Failure 226 to utilize fully the fish supply must be regarded as a great deficiency of the Fuegian economic system, a lack which might have been overcome by the invention of fish-traps and the fish-hook.

Both Foot and Canoe Indians ate great numbers of mussels, conchs, and limpets, and ancient camp-sites often are indicated by large piles of shells. This is especially true in the Yahgan country, because all their camp-sites were on the beach where shellfish were easily obtained.

136 The Canoe Indians ate a species of sea-urchin some three or four inches in diameter, and also crabs. Of these the most succulent is a giant spider crab (*Lithodes antarctica*), so good to eat that today it is canned and exported from Punta Arenas.

Birds abound in Tierra del Fuego. Many, to be sure, have a fishy taste, but to a palate not over-delicate they offer an abundant food supply. Among birds of economic use to the Indians we should mention four kinds of goose and five kinds of duck. The upland goose and the pin-tail duck are the best eating. Also there are many kinds of gull (including the albatross), penguins, vultures, eagles, doves, plover, and, curiously enough, a paroquet and a hummingbird.

182 As to the environment in general, it is much more suitable for supporting human life than is realized by those who have not visited Tierra del Fuego. The public mind, we believe, is unduly impressed by the romantic place of the island in history, by adventurous accounts of midwinter weatherings of the Horn in sailing vessels, by modern travelers elated at the length and labor of their journeys. Glaciers descend to the sea in Tierra del Fuego, but the land also nourishes orchids, mushrooms, paroquets, hummingbirds, and butterflies. Prosperous sheep ranches with their comfortable and commodious houses and their well-stocked vegetable and flower gardens show that European standards of living can be achieved on the island. And these settlements, were over-sea transportation to be cut off, could probably maintain themselves better on local resources than most European settlements in the tropics.

The climate of Tierra del Fuego, to be sure, is severe, but it is not so extreme as inhabited regions of Europe, Asia, North America, and Greenland. Agriculture within certain limits is entirely

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

feasible. Timber of many kinds is available—and with this we may contrast the condition of certain Eskimo who must rely on driftwood for some of their manufactures and on oil for their heat. Furthermore, animal foods are found by land and by sea in sufficient quantities to support a relatively large population of a non-agricultural, hunting class. 182

Clearly then some of the very primitive features we shall describe were not forced on the natives by their environment, but rather were the result of lack of ingenuity or of inertia.

CULTURE STATUS

Fuegian culture ranks among the most primitive that has been known within the limits of recorded history. To emphasize this statement we subjoin a list of all the articles and materials observed among the Ona and the Yahgan. This list at first glance seems fairly long, but one must consider that it embraces not only the individual but a complete family including both sexes and all ages. Further, it includes not what appeared for any given occasion but everything with which any Indian normally came in contact during an entire lifetime. In contrast, if the reader will list the objects he makes use of between bed and breakfast, he will find that in half an hour of daily routine he has utilized more articles and more materials than a Fuegian ever manipulated. 105

More justly, however, we should compare the Fuegian culture with the status usually found among Indian hunting tribes. On this basis we find that the Fuegians lacked such simple implements as the drill, the ax, the spear-thrower, fish-hooks, and cooking containers. They had no pottery, no weaving, no method of softening skins except by use, nor had they more than a rudimentary art of painting, while sculpture was beyond them. They rarely stored food against a time of stress. Their games, their social organization and ceremonies, were but slightly developed. Religion was largely a negative affair, for they indulged less in religious acts probably than any people known in the world in recent times. Animistic beliefs they had, but scarcely a trace of fetishism has been noted, and of totemism—so widely developed throughout the Americas—there is not a vestige.

In estimating this list it must also be borne in mind that the Ona and Yahgan cultures have intermingled especially along the frontier. In some instances, such as the initiation ceremonies or 105 177

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

105 the method of fire-making, the borrowing group made the introduced
177 feature completely their own. But often the borrowed trait never became characteristic, and its use was only local and occasional. If these acquired features are subtracted the cultural poverty of each tribe is greatly intensified.

SUMMARY OF FUEGIAN MATERIAL CULTURE

105
171

Ona	Yahgan
Clothing	
robe	cape
slip	——
pubic covering	pubic covering
moccasins	moccasins (rare)
leggings (rare)	leggings (rare)
hunter's cap	——
shaman's cap (rare)	shaman's cap (rare)
——	mittens (rare)
Ornamentation	
anklets	anklets (rare)
wristlets (rare)	wristlets (rare)
necklace	necklace
paint	paint
tattooing	——
House	
skin windbreak	skin-covered dome of saplings
log tipi (rare)	log tipi (rare)
Transportation	
pack harness	canoe
walking-stick	paddle
——	bailer
——	mooring rope
Camp Equipment	
flint and pyrites	flint and pyrites
fire-tongs	fire-tongs
grease stone	grease stone
skin water-bag	bark bucket
——	shell cup
skin storage-bags	skin storage-bags
gut storage-bags (rare)	gut storage-bags
——	kelp storage-bag

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

basket (one kind)	baskets (three kinds)	105
frame cradle	——	171
dog leash	——	
——	feather broom (recent?)	
comb	comb	
——	face-painting stick	

Tools

knife	knife
flesh-scraper	flesh-scraper (rare)
wood-scraper	wood-scraper
sharpening stone	sharpening stone
awl	awl
chipping tool	?
stone shaft-polisher	?
skin polisher	pumice
——	barking tools (two kinds)

Weapons and Hunting Equipment

bow and arrow	bow and arrow (rare)
spear (rudimentary)	spears (five kinds)
sling (rare)	sling
——	club
bird-snare	bird-snare
net (rare, two kinds)	net (rare)
——	grass dip-net
——	fish-line
bark torch	bark torch

Games

ball	ball
circular grass target (rare)	——

Religious and Ceremonial Paraphernalia

masks	masks
feather headband	feather headband
kelp-goose down headband	kelp-goose down headband
——	painted sticks
——	painted thong
——	guanaco-hide headband
——	tickling stick
——	ceremonial spear

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Materials

wood	wood
sinew	sinew
skin	skin
stone	stone
bone	bone
whalebone (rare)	whalebone
——	kelp
grass	grass
feathers	feathers
——	pumice
white clay	white clay
red burnt earth	red burnt earth
charcoal	charcoal
pitch (post-European)	——
iron (post-European)	iron (post-European)
glass (post-European)	glass (post-European)

PHYSICAL TYPE

The writer engaged in no anthropometric investigation in Tierra del Fuego, but certain measurements are available by which the physical types there to be found may be determined. The most important study yet published is that of Hyades (1891) on the Yahgan prepared in coöperation with Deniker, a work surprisingly sound in method considering how long ago it appeared. A series of measurements on the Ona taken many years ago but printed recently (1927) by Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche is also of prime importance. Somatological data collected by Gusinde and Koppers in recent years is beginning to appear in print, but with a single exception it has not been possible to obtain copies in time to incorporate the material here. Other studies of smaller scope are available and have been listed by Cooper (1917, pp. 138–140) and Dixon (1923, pp. 454–455). Even when concentrated into a single group, Fuegian somatological material is not abundant.

Primary division of the Indians of Tierra del Fuego into groups, Foot Indians and Canoe Indians, is made on cultural grounds. This classification might also be based on physical type, and, in case of the Foot Indians, on linguistic relationship. As with the cultural evidence, physical data on the Alacaluf and Haush are so scanty that we shall confine our discussion to the Ona and the Yahgan.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

142 To casual observation the Ona impress one by their great height, their barrel-like chests, their splendidly upstanding carriage, and their patent strength and endurance (figs. 7 and 37). Their hair grows abundantly on the head, but sparsely on the face and body, from which in the old days they plucked it with a pair of mussel-shells. Their feet, ankles, hands, and wrists are surprisingly delicate in proportion to their great stature. A peculiar physical characteristic which has escaped comment is the not infrequent presence of purple-black patches like birthmarks on the skin. These may appear on any part of the body, but are especially common on the base of the neck, where an example was noted among the Yahgan. As the Indians are sensitive about such nævi, examination is difficult.

FIG. 5.—Yahgan Indians. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

141 In sharp contrast to the Ona the Yahgan are exceedingly short. Their stature approximates closely that of the Alacaluf, among whom Hyades (1891, p. 120) found an average of 157.4 for eleven men and 148.8 for six women. All visitors to Tierra del 142 Fuego have commented on the corpulence of the Yahgan in relation to their slender legs, a characteristic attributed to long hours spent

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

142 in the cramped positions compulsory in their canoes. The eastern Yahgan, it is asserted, had better developed legs than the other groups because they hunted more frequently on shore. Like the Ona, the Yahgan had little hair on their faces and removed this growth with mussel-shell pincers. It is stated [1] that on the arrival of the French scientific expedition in 1883 the Yahgan mistook the beards of the Frenchmen for tobacco, and in that belief tried to pull them off.

142 We should also mention a curious Yahgan anomaly noted by Hyades and Deniker (1891, p. 163) that these Indians tended to
147 put on fat with unusual rapidity in times of plenty, and were able to live on this reserve when food was scarce. Yahgans of age before the white settlement resulted in a less erratic food supply exhibited skin hanging in folds on underfed individuals (fig. 5). The ability to store unusual amounts of fat, most developed in modern races among the Hottentot, has been thought a survival of a hibernating stage in the development of man. Its existence in Paleolithic Europe is deduced from steatopygous figurines among the most ancient carvings produced by human hands. Anatomically, Hyades and Deniker explain this feature by long intestines coupled with a small stomach, leading to rapid and frequent digestion of small amounts of food. The Yahgan stomach was found to contain 1800 cc. as against 3700 cc. for Europeans, presumably Frenchmen, while the Yahgan intestines were six times the length of the body as compared with five times the length of the body in Europeans. These observations and conclusions, it may be mentioned, are not in accord with more recent investigations which reveal a correlation between long intestines and a vegetal diet.

000 We can say little about the physique of Haush and Alacaluf. the former clearly were related to the Ona, while the latter were short in stature like the Yahgan.

141 Turning to more exact data, in the accompanying table we give statistical constants for the Ona and the Yahgan, based on all available material. For the preparation of this table I am indebted to Prof. E. A. Hooton of Harvard University, to Mr. Walter Cline, and to Miss Barbara Clark. I am further indebted to Professor Hooton for the subjoined comment.

[1] Capt. Le Clerk in the *South American Missionary Magazine*, 1884, p. 58.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

TABLE III.—STATISTICAL CONSTANTS FOR THE ONA AND THE YAHGAN

		Number of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Coefficient of Variation	Range
Stature						
Onas	Adult Males	25	175.44 ± .64	4.71 ± .45	2.68 ± .26	168–186
Yahgans	" "	67	158.10 ± .43	5.23 ± .30	3.31 ± .19	146–169
Onas	Adult Females	34	159.24 ± .58	5.02 ± .41	3.15 ± .26	149–169
Yahgans	" "	56	147.54 ± .34	3.82 ± .24	2.59 ± .17	141–157
Head Length						
Onas	Adult Males	22	198.77 ± .51	3.57 ± .36	1.80 ± .18	192–205
Yahgans	" "	27	190.04 ± .87	6.72 ± .62	3.54 ± .32	175–207
Onas	Adult Females	30	190.37 ± .60	4.86 ± .42	2.55 ± .22	182–200
Yahgans	" "	26	180.38 ± .74	5.59 ± .52	3.10 ± .29	168–193
Head Breadth						
Onas	Adult Males	22	158.91 ± .48	3.31 ± .34	2.09 ± .21	152–164
Yahgans	" "	27	150.78 ± .64	4.95 ± .45	3.29 ± .30	145–163
Onas	Adult Females	30	153.20 ± .62	5.06 ± .44	3.30 ± .29	142–163
Yahgans	" "	26	142.46 ± .35	2.63 ± .25	1.85 ± .17	138–147
Length-breadth of head						
Onas	Adult Males	22	80.05 ± .32	2.20 ± .22	2.75 ± .28	77–85
Yahgans	" "	26	79.27 ± .37	2.78 ± .26	3.51 ± .33	74–88
Onas	Adult Females	30	80.57 ± .34	2.77 ± .24	3.43 ± .30	74–86
Yahgans	" "	26	79.04 ± .34	2.56 ± .24	3.24 ± .03	73–84
Nasal Index						
Onas	Adult Males	22	71.18 ± 1.00	6.93 ± .70	9.73 ± .99	58–84
Onas	Adult Females	30	70.30 ± .79	6.45 ± .56	9.17 ± .80	60–87
Facial Index						
Onas	Adult Males	20	85.50 ± .75	4.95 ± .53	5.78 ± .62	78–97
Onas	Adult Females	30	85.80 ± .53	4.30 ± .37	5.01 ± .44	75–91

NOTE ON THE ANTHROPOMETRIC CHARACTERS OF THE YAHGAN AND THE ONA

BY PROF. E. A. HOOTON

THE statistical constants in the accompanying table are derived from the data of Lehmann-Nitsche and Gusinde in the case of the Ona, and from the data of Hyades and Deniker, Bove, and Hahn in the case of the Yahgan.

The difference in size between these adjacent tribes, both of which live almost exclusively on animal food, is prodigious. Twenty-five adult male Ona yield a mean stature of 175.44 cm., which is

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

|4| probably the highest to be found among American Indians. It is, of course, possible that the neighboring Patagonians equal this figure. On the other hand the stature of 67 adult male Yahgans is only 158.10, which ranks them among the shortest of American Indian groups. Even more remarkable than the means are the standard deviations and coefficients of variation for stature. In a series of 540 full-blood Sioux, Sullivan [1] found a standard deviation of 5.64 cm. and a coefficient of variation of 3.27 per cent. The corresponding figures are somewhat lower in the Yahgan and significantly lower in the Ona. Davenport [2] lists the standard deviations of stature for eight samples of males of military age of various nationalities. All of these standard deviations exceed 6 cm. It is then apparent that the variability of the Fuegians in stature is low.

It may also be observed from the table that the variabilities of the short Yahgan with respect to stature are somewhat higher than those of the tall Ona. The reverse is true however in the female series.

The head lengths of both groups show similar statistical features. The mean of the dimension for Ona males, 198.77 mm., is the largest known to the present writer, and the variability of this measurement is wonderfully small. The Yahgan too have long heads, but are much more variable than the Ona in this respect. Similar observations apply to the head breadth.

The means of the cephalic indices indicate a predominance of mesocephaly in both groups. The Ona show slightly higher means than the Yahgan. Here again variabilities are extraordinarily low. The Ona range in males is from 77 to 85, and the Yahgan from 74 to 88. In case of the females the ranges are: Ona 74–86; Yahgan 73–84. The variabilities of the female groups with respect to this index do not differ significantly.

Data for the nasal and total facial indices are available only for the Ona series. In both of these cases the standard deviations and variabilities are rather large. All varieties of nasal and facial proportions occur. One expects, however, to find a large measure of variability in both of these indices; first, because of the extreme difficulty in locating the nasion point from which both nasal height

[1] L. R. Sullivan, Anthropometry of the Siouan Tribes, *Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci.*, vi, no. 3, pp. 131–134, Mar. 1920.

[2] Charles B. Davenport and Albert G. Love, Army Anthropology, p. 113, 1921. *The Medical Department of the U. S. Army in the World War*, xv, Statistics, pt. 1.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

and facial height are measured; second, because of age changes in the individual which affect these parts. The length of the nose increases with age and the length of the face tends to diminish with wear and loss of teeth. Nevertheless it would appear that these indices in the Ona group by their dispersion indicate a lack of homogeneity of the group when compared with the measurements and indices previously considered. 141

It is proposed to consider here the problem of Ona and Yahgan anthropometry only so far as deductions may be made from the accompanying table and from information as to the environmental factors which seem to be important. First of all it is apparent that the Yahgan as a group are less homogeneous than the Ona, particularly in the case of the males. How may this difference in variability be explained? The conditions of diet, occupation, climate, etc., are somewhat different from those obtaining in the case of the Ona, but presumably quite uniform for the entire Yahgan group. Indeed it would appear that the life of the Ona is much more varied than that of the adjoining tribe. The Yahgan are canoe people, but it does not seem probable that their life in boats and on the shore would tend to diversify them in physical type any more than the roaming life of the Ona. I think we must admit that the Yahgan owe their greater variability probably to the presence of more diverse physical types of an hereditary character than are found among the Ona. By this I mean that two or three, or more perhaps, of the various elements which have blended to form the composite "Indian" race in America, are found among the Yahgan, whereas in the Ona we have to deal either with a single type or with a group in which one single type overwhelmingly predominates. 143

In a "refuge" area one may expect to find all sorts of samples of the weaker and more primitive populations which have, from time to time, inhabited the continent. These odds-and-ends are likely to have been reduced to a certain homogeneity through isolation which brings about inbreeding and through selection. Both of these factors are notably operative in Tierra del Fuego. I think that it is an assumption justified by the evidence that the earliest inhabitants of the New World were short dolichocephals and that these were followed by short brachycephals. Among the Yahgan we have a fusion of two such elements, just as we have, to cite another instance, in Pueblo peoples of southwestern United States.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

143 We must however consider the possibility that the canoe life of the Yahgan has tended to exercise a selective influence on their stature. Small men are less likely to fall out of small and primitive canoes than are large and unwieldy men. Great length of legs (which always distinguishes tall persons) is a great disadvantage in such craft. We are given to understand that the Yahgan women swim well and the men not at all. If this is true, it is conceivable that the shorter elements in this population have survived because the larger men proved to be too awkward for canoeing and were consequently eliminated by drowning. But this would necessitate the assumption that the large women were also eliminated or that they failed to transmit their large stature. While it is perfectly true that a large woman and a small canoe make a bad combination, it is equally true that a large woman makes as good a floater or swimmer as a small woman, and even a better.

However, there is another possibility that is worthy at least of mention. The legs of the Yahgan may have been shortened as a result of their boating habits. It is perfectly easy to suppose that a man who spends most of his time sitting in a canoe will have poorly developed legs, as have the Yahgan. It is not at all certain, however, that disuse of the legs for purposes of locomotion would necessarily decrease their length. And it is altogether improbable that such a decrease in leg length would establish itself as an hereditary characteristic. Moreover, the Yahgan are not merely "sawed-off" counterparts of the Ona. Not only are their legs shorter, but they are smaller in every way than their neighbors.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that the stocks which have blended to form the Yahgan were originally short-statured, short-legged peoples, and that, although canoe life may have operated to some extent to eliminate the taller individuals, the stunted stature of this people is in the main a characteristic of the original stocks from which they sprung.

The Ona are one of the tallest people in the world if any reliance can be placed upon our compiled figures and upon the estimates of various writers. They are exceptionally homogeneous in stature and in cephalic dimensions and indices, but not especially so in facial measurements and indices. They are not canoe people, but range over a wide area on foot. Apparently they have a harder time in gaining their subsistence than do the Yahgan. Are we to suppose that these people have attained their commanding

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

height by the exercise of their lower limbs in walking? We do not know that walking increases the length of the legs. Very tall men are not especially good walkers in the experience of modern armies; short men march more rapidly and endure better. On the other hand, there is nothing to lead us to suppose either that walking shortens the legs or that a life of wandering about on foot would tend to eliminate by some process of selection the short-legged strains. If one were to attribute the maximum imaginable effect to natural selection or to processes of atrophy and hypertrophy in altering either by selection or by the transmission of functional adaptations the hereditary leg-lengths of Ona and Yahgan, and if we brought ourselves to believe that some environmental agency had radically shortened the legs of the latter and lengthened those of the former, we should still be faced by a difference in stature between the two groups altogether beyond the adequacy of such an explanation. The Ona males are more than 17 cm. taller than the Yahgans! 143

At this point we may inquire with Cassius:

> "Now, in the name of all the gods at once,
> Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed
> That he is grown so great?"

If we take into consideration the dietetic differences between the Ona and the Yahgan (see Table II), we observe that the outstanding fact is the dependence on the flesh of the guanaco by the Ona as contrasted with a reliance on mussels as a staple on the part of the Yahgan. Guanaco seems also to have been the principal article of diet of the Patagonian Tehuelche, who, according to reports, were as tall as the Ona, if not taller (mean stature of males 175 cm., according to Moreno and Lista). Yet it is hardly worth while to toy with the supposition that the statural differences between these groups are a matter of camel-meat versus shell-fish, especially since the ethnographic authorities seem to think that the Ona have a harder time in getting sufficient food than their stunted neighbors. 146 143

More promising perhaps is the factor of artificial selection in the warlike pursuits of the Ona. If it could be shown that the smaller and weaker of these people had been eliminated as a result of warfare, our problem would be solved. But in spite of the fact that the Ona are said to be more warlike than the Yahgan, it does not seem reasonable to ascribe their stature to military selection. There is no evidence, so far as I know, which would justify such a 143

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

143 conclusion. Nevertheless, the statistical homogeneity of this group does argue that some sort of selection has been at work. The Ona men are said sometimes to take Yahgan wives, and if this is true we should expect some at least of the offspring of such unions to be short. The Ona women are, however, almost as tall for their sex as are the men. Could it be possible that the Ona practise infanticide upon undergrown specimens of their race? There is no evidence that such is the case.

It is reported that the Ona of Tierra del Fuego are not alone in their attainment of an unusual bodily size, since animals transported to this region far exceed the size and bulk to which they ordinarily grow in other places. For example, it is stated that the guanaco in Tierra del Fuego is larger than the same animal farther north in the Andean area. Also it is said that foxes grow large and that imported English cattle produce gigantic offspring. If this be the case, it is very difficult to account for the stunted Yahgan who have practically the same environment as the Ona.

Most anthropologists ascribe the size of the Ona to their probable relationship with the Patagonian Tehuelche, to whom they are also allied culturally. In other words, the size of the Ona is thought to be a matter of heredity. As a matter of fact this explanation seems to be the only possible one unless some physiologist can demonstrate that the slight differences between Yahgan and Ona diets are directly responsible for their disparity in size. Even more striking instances of statural difference within the same environment occur in East Africa and the Lake region where the shortest pygmies known live cheek-by-jowl with gigantic Hamito-Negroids, the tallest people in the world.

Tall stature is generally a matter of heredity, and it is thought by Davenport that certain growth-repressing factors are dominant over their absence, inasmuch as he found high variability in short families as contrasted with tall families. If this is correct it is possible that the stature of the Ona is an expression of a recessive feature in a relatively pure stock. But the Ona are said occasionally to take Yahgan wives, and the variability of their facial and nasal indices is scarcely indicative of purity of race. We must consider also the hypothesis of heterosis or hybrid vigor, whereby hybrid offspring often exceed both parents in bodily size. But heterosis does not manifest itself always in human crosses. It does not occur, for example, in crosses between Hawaiians and Chinese,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S306 Yahgan S306

are apparently in most Negro-white crosses. There is, moreover, no evidence in the case of the Ona of any recent admixture with another stock except perhaps the Yahgan, who would scarcely be expected to contribute factors making for gigantic stature or even to maintain the average stature of any ordinary group with which they interbred.

I should be inclined to the speculation that the high stature of both Tehuelche and Ona is the result of the predominance in them of a tall and probably brachycephalic strain belonging to one of the later waves of immigrants into South America. I am of the opinion that this tall brachycephalic type, which occurs elsewhere in the New World, resulted from the intermixture of a brachycephalic type of medium stature with a tall dolichocephalic strain. It would appear that in this particular cross tallness was dominant. This is, admittedly, a speculation, but it is not based merely on a short consideration of the inadequate and second-hand anthropometric data on the Fuegians here presented. I do not pretend to be able to prove this contention, nor can I say exactly what "races" were involved in this postulated cross. I think, however, that the Mongoloid element in the American Indians came largely from the brachycephals, and that the tall dolichocephals were neither Negroid nor Mongoloid. Nor do I assume that the crossings which gave rise to this tall "hybrid" type necessarily took place in the New World; many of the American Indian groups included in this type may have originated in Asia.

We really need a good deal more of information about the effect of diet and climate on physical type before we can confidently dismiss the remarkable size contrast between the Ona and the Yahgan as a mere matter of hereditary difference. I should want more precise information about certain morphological characters of these two groups before committing myself finally to the opinion that they represent distinct racial combinations. However, upon the present showing I incline to the opinion that the size differences discussed above are primarily the result of hereditary factors, accentuated perhaps by occupational selection tending to make for shortness in the Yahgan and for great stature in the Ona.

[pp. 48-115 contain no data on the Yahgan. — Author]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

PART II

CANOE INDIANS

THE YAHGAN

101 THE Yahgan Indians, the southernmost people in the world, lived on the southern shores of Tierra del Fuego from Brecknock peninsula to Spaniard harbor, and on the adjacent islands southward to Cape Horn itself (pl. IV). In spite of the tempestuous waters they confronted, they were a seafaring people and derived their livelihood almost entirely from the sea and its beaches.

172 Like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance, but their camping-places were limited by the fact that each family was dependent on a fragile bark canoe, for which shelter must be provided. Thus favorable stretches of beach today are marked by great refuse-heaps, of most extraordinary size when one recalls that they represent only temporary stopping-places and that no family ever camped on a spot where it was known that a death had occurred. Centuries or even milleniums must have witnessed the building up of these vast agglomerations of bone and shell.

177 The Yahgan came under missionary influence in the middle of the nineteenth century, and a permanent mission station was 197 maintained among them from 1870 until recently. Hence their culture was much modified before they could be studied by trained ethnologists. For instance, by the eighties they had modified their initiation rites. We must add that among the Ona those without missionary training tended to survive the longest, but among the Yahgan the last survivors have almost invariably been mission reared.

142 Writing nearly a century ago, Fitzroy (pp. 137–139, 186) thus describes the untrammeled Yahgan of his day:

> The Tekeenica, natives of the south-eastern portion of Tierra del Fuego, are low of stature, ill-looking, and badly proportioned. Their color is that of very old mahogany, or rather between dark copper and

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S306 Yahgan S306

142 bosom. The trunk of the body is large in proportion to their cramped and rather crooked limbs. Their rough, coarse, and extremely dirty black hair half hides yet heightens a villainous expression of the worst description of savage features. . . .

MAN IN CHRISTMAS SUITS, TIERRA DEL FUEGO

FIG. 42.—Yahgan Indian. (After Hockenworth.)

291 Sometimes these natives upon wedding wear a part of the skin of a guanaco or a seal skin upon their backs (fig. 42), and perhaps the skin of a penguin or a bit of bird hide hangs in front; but often there is nothing, either to hide their nakedness or to preserve warmth, except a scrap of hide, which is tied to the side or back of the body, by a string around the waist. Even this is only for a pocket, in which they may carry stones for their slings, and hide what they pick up or pilfer. A man always carries his sling around his neck or waist, wherever he goes.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
Yahgan 5305

291 Women wear rather more clothing, that is, they have nearly the whole skin of a guanaco, or seal, wrapped about them, and usually a distinctive apron. The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an infant. Neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes.

302 Both sexes all thereabouts, or rub their bodies with grease; and daub their faces and bodies with red, black, or white. A fillet is often worn
301 around the head, which upon ordinary occasions is simply a string, made of sinews; but if going to war or dressed for show, the fillet is ornamented with white down, white feathers, or pieces of cloth, if they have obtained any from shipping. . . .

411 It is rather curious that each of these nations is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear; another with the sling; another with a bow and arrows; but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others.

266 Before entering on the details of Yahgan life we shall dwell briefly on the charges of savagery and cannibalism made by numerous writers. As early as 1600 the *Alacaluf* were thought to be cannibals, for in that year Van Noort marooned on Santa Maria island one of his officers charged with insubordination, in the belief that he would die of hunger or be eaten by the savages. A quarter of a century later Jacques L'Hermite charged the Yahgan with cannibalism. In more recent years Darwin and Fitzroy have repeated the accusation on hearsay evidence, and their dictum has been widely published. However, no white man has ever witnessed the act of anthropophagy among any of the Fuegian tribes, while in recent years those who have lived with the natives and come to know them well all agree that the idea of eating human flesh is as repugnant to a Fuegian as to a European. According to Martial (p. 192) the Yahgan ordinarily do not eat dog, fox, or cat, because these animals will eat human flesh.

699 The imputation of barbarity, on the other hand, rests on firmer ground, for there are well-authenticated instances of attack by the Yahgan on European crews. The earliest of these resulted in the death at Nassau bay in 1824 of seventeen men from L'Hermite's ships; the most widely published was the massacre at Wooloya in 1859 of the crew of the missionary schooner *Allen Gardiner*. What provoked these attacks is a secret intended with their victims. Early voyagers habitually kidnapped natives to serve as pilots and thus aroused marked resentment. Native women often have

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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been a source of contention. Intelligent and amicably intended travelers through ignorance of native customs may easily wound native feelings to the point of causing open hostility. Of the looting of ships and robbing of their crews, it is but just to remark that the Yahgan, although recognizing personal property, habitually shared their provisions with one another. Also, among primitive people in general the robbing or tricking of strangers alone is considered entirely ethical or even especially deserving of praise, though the same performance at the expense of a relative or a friend might be condemned. The Yahgan have suffered in public esteem because their morality has been judged on the basis of Christian ethics.

Language

The Yahgan tongue, although it has been studied since the visit of Darwin, as yet is thought to be related to no other New World language. Through missionary labors, chiefly those of the Rev. Thomas Bridges, three large vocabularies have been compiled. Of these one containing about 4000 words on 137 pages in Mr. Bridges' handwriting is still in possession of the Bridges family in Tierra del Fuego. It covers only eleven initial letters. Inside the front cover is written: "Begun this June 19th, 1879." A second vocabulary compiled by Mr. Bridges, aided by several lay members of the English mission, contains about 12,000 words. It is now in possession of the Rev. John Williams in Punta Arenas. Finally, there exists in Belgium a Yahgan vocabulary in two volumes of about 22,430 words written on 1081 pages. It is the result of Mr. Bridges' life-long contact with the Yahgan extending from 1856 until his death in 1898. During his later years, according to his sons, he was continually working over this manuscript. After his death it was lent to Dr. Frederick A. Cook, who had been to Tierra del Fuego with the Belgian Antarctic expedition in 1897 and 1899. Cook removed the manuscript to Belgium, where it has since remained. Plans for its publication were interrupted by the World War.

For printed source-material in Yahgan, students are further indebted to Mr. Bridges for translations of the gospels of St. Luke and St. John, and the Acts of the Apostles. All these, as well as his manuscript dictionaries, are written in the Ellis alphabet. The Rev. John Williams of Punta Arenas has translated the collects and morning and evening prayers into Yahgan, and also has

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1929) 1928
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116 published a broadsheet with the Lord's prayer. Both are written in the ordinary alphabet with a ˘ to denote the short vowels and soft g.

117 As for the nature of the Yahgan tongue, in direct contrast to Ona, it is soft and pleasant to the ear. There is a great abundance of vowel sounds, and the pronunciation of consonants presents no difficulties. The line between *p* and *b* is hardly drawn. There is a soft and a hard g, and also a soft *ch* sound (*g*).

117 According to Mr. Fred. Lawrence, of Romolos, generally regarded as the best living authority on the Yahgan language, in the old days there were five distinct dialects, distributed as follows:

1. Central dialect, including Ushuaia and Murray narrows. This is the speech recorded in the Bridges dictionaries.
2. Eastern dialect, spoken from Harberton eastward and on Lennox island, New island, etc.
3. Western dialect, found from Cape Divide westward.
4. Wollaston Islands dialect.
5. New Year's Sound dialect, spoken to the south and west of False Cape Horn and on the southern part of Hoste island.

These dialects are said to have differed from one another as much as Scotch from Cockney; that is to say, they were mutually intelligible but there was wide variation in accent and the choice of words. Thus the double-barbed harpoon is *wuhi* in the west and *wul* in the east; the fish-spear is *wohlmuin* in the east and *shuderyan* in the central dialect; bark of the *Notofagus betuloides* is *ulirube* in the east and *ulirukow* at Ushuaia; a sling is *waterud* in the east and *waimul* in the central dialect, etc. Today it is difficult to know just what dialect one is hearing, because the few surviving Yahgan live together much of the time and have fused their speech. However, the fact that considerable divergence once existed within such a small geographical limit indicates that but little movement of the tribe as a whole had taken place for centuries, at least.

115 The Yahgan words in the present text were obtained chiefly from Mr. William Bridges and Mr. Fred. Lawrence, who speak the central dialect; from William, born at Halopul (see fig. 98); from Walter, a Lennox islander; from Charley, son of a Hamb called Isiah and a Yahgan woman; from Mary, a westerner. The four Indians mentioned were all mission-reared and therefore today

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

speak the central dialect. The entire vocabulary was checked by Mr. William Bridges and any words not in the central dialect were noted.

The richness of the language is indicated by the more than 32,000 words brought together by Rev. Thomas Bridges. Many of these words, of course, are compounds, but such a vast number are fundamentally due to unusual specialization in meaning.

On the other hand, Yahgan exhibits the lack, usual among primitive people, of abstract ideas and generalizations. In fact, even in English (which, due to missionary training, some of the Indians spoke fairly well) the Yahgan exhibited inability to grasp the concept of generalities.

The manner of counting was even more primitive than the Ona count, for the Yahgan had no words for 4 and 6, which, to be sure, were compound numbers in the primitive Ona system. The Yahgan count is:

1.	*hikóli*	one
2.	*kambafbi*	two
3.	*matén*	three
5.	*hikóli ifrsh* [1]	one hand
10.	*kambaf ifrsh*	two hands

Clothing

From Fitzroy's description of the Yahgan, cited above, it appears that there was very little order or regularity in their scanty dress. However, though seemingly inadequate, their clothes were of well-defined forms which we shall describe. It is no exaggeration or overstatement to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in the world. As compared to the Ona, their garments, similar in nature, were deficient in size, while the stiff and unyielding skins they employed from their very nature lacked the warmth supplied by the pliable, voluminous, and snug-fitting robes of the Foot Indians. We must add that individuals of both sexes and all ages often went entirely naked.

1. Cape.—The usual cape worn in summer and winter alike by both men and women was a seal or sea-otter skin. Sometimes two

[Text continues on page 123]

[1] Bove gives the word *cupakpa* for 5. It was not known to any Yahgan Indian or member of the Bridges or Lawrence families encountered by the writer.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

291

FIG. 43.—Yahgan guanaco cape. Size, 35 by 50 in. (14/2251)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

or more were sewn together. In general, however, this garment extended only to the waist and did not completely encircle the body. It was tied across the chest with thongs. When out-of-doors it was worn over the windward shoulder. And these people dwelt in a latitude corresponding to that of the Aleutian islands and Labrador! 291

The eastern Yahgan at times wore capes of guanaco-skin which were better suited to the cold. One of these (fig. 43) we illustrate; it does not attain the size of the Ona robe shown in fig. 6. The western Yahgan and the Alacaluf used skins of the coypu, a small land-otter known to the Yahgan as *saiapaí*.

2. Pubic Covering.—A triangular pubic covering of skin (*múshwalána*) was usually worn by the women (fig. 44).

Fig. 44.—Yahgan pubic covering. Width, 9 in. (14/2356)

3. Moccasins.—The Yahgan often went barefoot, but at times they wore moccasins of seal-skin (*kíli*), which resemble the guanaco-skin footwear of the Ona, but are not made in quite the same way (fig. 45). To begin with, a piece of skin shaped like a truncated triangle is cut out and trimmed to the proper size. This lacks the attached heel-strap of the Ona moccasin (fig. 8, *a*). Holes are made across the large end (fig. 46, *a*), which is fitted snugly around the heel. A short strap is then looped through the upper pair of holes (fig. 46, *b*) and the heel sewn together. Holes are pierced on the long sides; these are doubled over and laced in the Ona fashion with a strap across the toes and across the instep. These moccasins are worn with the hair-side outward and are stuffed with grass. The writer found them when wet even more foul than the guanaco moccasins, and neither so warm nor so comfortable for walking. 291 294

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

291

FIG. 45.—Yahgan moccasin. Length, 11 in. (14/2346)

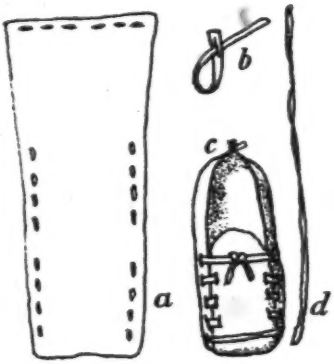

FIG. 46.—Pattern of Yahgan moccasin.

FIG. 47.—Yahgan legging. Height, 13 in. (14/2266)

3. LEGGINGS.—The eastern Yahgan, who were much more concerned with the guanaco than other members of their tribe, sometimes wore guanaco-skin leggings (*páwa*), such as fig. 47, for winter hunting. This garment was also sometimes used by the Ona, from whom the Yahgan probably borrowed it.

ORNAMENTATION

302

The Yahgan used no set form of hair-dressing, but allowed their locks to fall in a confused mass, except over the forehead where the hair was cut to form a bang. Facial and body hair they pulled out with a pair of mussel-shells.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

302

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The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days. The materials used are mentioned below. While paint was often applied with the finger, an elaboration over the Ona practice is seen in the use of a small spatula (*telákikamána*). One of these is illustrated in fig. 69, *d*. The Yahgan did not tattoo.

Feather diadems and goose-down forehead caps were worn at times, but their purpose was more ceremonial than utilitarian or decorative, and will be discussed below.

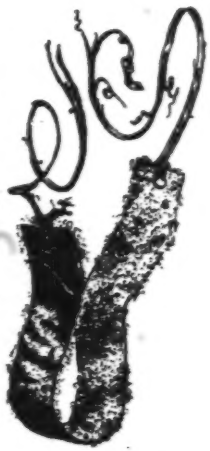

FIG. 48.—Yahgan guanaco-hide wristlet. (14/2358)

Wristlets and anklets were worn, but not so generally as among the Ona. The common type (*maíamasár*) is not braided of grass or sinew in Ona fashion, but consists of a narrow band of guanaco-hide painted white (fig. 48). This was attached in place with small sinew laces.

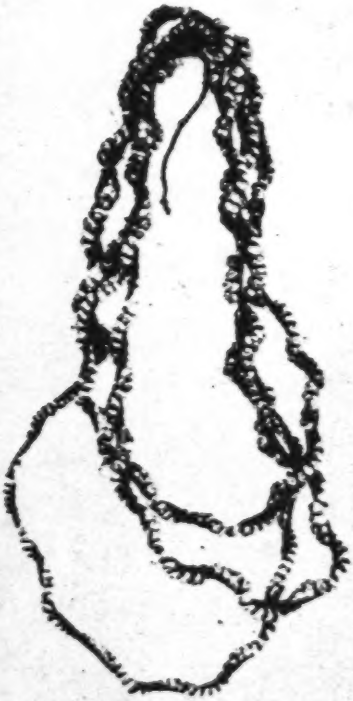

FIG. 49.—Yahgan shell necklace. Total circumference, 96 in. (14/2341)

Of necklaces the Yahgan made two kinds. The simpler type is constructed with cylindrical sections cut from the leg-bones of gulls or of ducks and strung on braided sinew. A more elaborate and attractive necklace (*opúrrshka*) they made from small shells (Latin, *Photinula violacea;* Yahgan, *haúsh undálu*) found in the kelp (*haúsh*) which fringes the coast (fig. 49). When polished by use, beautiful opalescent tints appear in these shells. The Yahgan strung them by punching

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

301 a small hole near the lip of the shell. Through these holes a braided sinew cord was run, doubled back on itself, and lashed with spiral wrappings of sinew. This method of stringing is illustrated in fig. 50. The shells thus united are always graded according to size, sometimes with the biggest shell at one end and the smallest at the other, sometimes with the big shells in the middle and the small ones at either end.

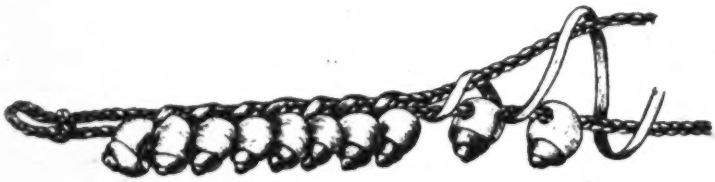

FIG. 50.—Detail of Yahgan shell necklace. Length of shells, one-half in. (14/2339)

USE OF PAINT

386 Like the Ona, the Yahgan made regular use of a red paint (*ími*) obtained by burning earth, a black paint (*yapúshak*) made of 822 charcoal, and a white paint (*tum'rápo*) of clay. According to Fitzroy (p. 177) and Dabbene (1907, p. 58) these colors have symbolic significance. Thus, white was the sign of war or ceremonial display, black was the mark of grief and mourning, while red denoted peace and happiness. With their paints the Indians 531 adorned their persons, their dance masks, their ceremonial lodges, and some of their tools and utensils. The latter were often embellished with solid color, but body, dance masks, and ceremonial lodges were made the field for painted designs.

In pl. IX is shown a selection of patterns taken from the frame of a ceremonial lodge. No simpler motives of artistic significance can be achieved, for these designs are mere smudges of color applied with thumb or finger. The elements are a dot, a short line, and, in one instance, a circle. Two lines are combined to form a cross, a T, and a chevron. Design units repeat themselves in simple rhythm.

Dance masks are illustrated in figs. 92 and 93. Their designs, though of symbolic significance, are again abysmally primitive. Facial painting may be studied in the photographs published by Koppers (1924); they are similar to the patterns here described.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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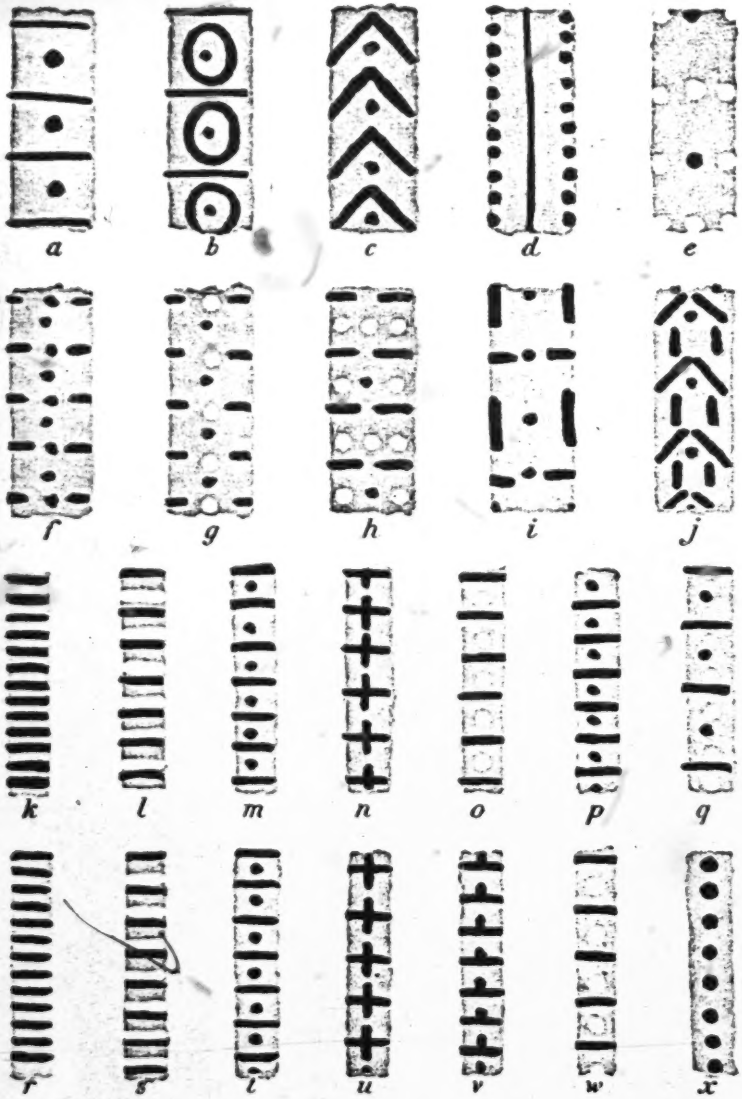

YAHGAN PAINTED DECORATION

[p 126-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

The Encampment

291 Yahgan clothes were less suited to the climate than those of the
342 Ona, because they were smaller and gave less bodily protection, and because the skins they used were less suitable for their purpose. Thus, guanaco-skin, regularly employed for Ona robes, is thin and flexible, so that it will readily conform with the contours of the body, while the hair is heavy, so that it will shed water and preserve warmth. In contrast, seal-skin and sea-otter skin of Yahgan capes has a heavy and stiff hide and short hair, and therefore

Fig. 51.—Yahgan house. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

gives less protection. As a result of this disparity, to maintain life the Yahgan had to have more shelter than that afforded by an Ona windbreak. And possessing the means of water transportation they could handle heavier equipment than their inland neighbors, though, to be sure, their bark canoes were small and frail to bear much cargo in addition to the human freight.

342 Normally the Yahgan lived in a wigwam known as *ákharh*. In the west, like the Alacaluf hut, this was usually a domed affair about the size and shape of a large haycock, framed with saplings set upright in a circle or oval and then bent inward until they met

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

342 (fig. 51). Farther east the wigwam more frequently was pointed, for it was constructed of poles too thick to be bent. The introduction of the ax has increased the use of the pointed house form. Both kinds of houses were covered in summer with leaves, bark, kelp, grass, or whatever was handy. But during the winter months it was necessary further to break the force of the wind, and so the wigwam was overspread with a roof of seal-skins sewn together (*kaſkis*). This was a heavy and cumbersome object to handle, and hence was usually divided into two or even three sections, each of which could be transported in a separate canoe. Thus each house sheltered two or sometimes three families, usually closely related. In such a dwelling one family lived on each side, separated by a door facing the beach, a central fire, and sometimes a second door at the rear. The entrances could be closed with a flap of seal-skin.

FIG. 52.—Modern Yahgan house.

In recent years the Yahgan have used in summer a log tipi covered with burlap. The small burlap-covered shelter shown in fig. 52 was occupied by eleven individuals in the summer of 1923–24. Thus housed they have had immeasurably poorer protection from the weather than in the days when hunger drove them to secure many seals and consequently many seal-skins were available for housetops.

342 354 The Yahgan kept their houses warm by building the tops low, for they appreciated the fact that heat rises. To take further advantage of this propensity they scooped out the floor to a depth of two or three feet or more. Thus the fire could be placed at the bottom of the pit while the inmates occupied a higher level, where bunks were outlined with logs held in position by stakes driven in the sloping floor. In old camp-grounds where the accumulated shell and ash gave excellent drainage, the pitted house floors reach

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

as much as five feet below the surface. Here the housetop need scarcely have risen above the ground level, and the people within must have been snugly lodged against winter gales. But the swirling smoke was a constant annoyance, and many accounts speak of the Yahgans' red and inflamed eyes. 342 354

Initiation or ceremonial houses differed from the living houses chiefly in size. In the west they were domed and oval in outline, as shown in pl. XIV. In the east they took the form of a heavy solid tipi-shape dwelling of logs like the Ona initiation lodge (fig. 38). 346

Under mission influence the Yahgan in late years built small plank houses of European type. A group of these was found at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra on Navarin island which were used as winter quarters (pl. XVIII). They were wind- and water-tight, and some had wooden floors, bunks, and stoves. The material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach. 177 342

Camp Equipment

Yahgan camp equipment, in spite of superior transportation facilities, was just as primitive as that of the Foot Indians, among whom every article, and the infants as well, had to be carried on the back. Strong and simple as are the objects below listed, they 511

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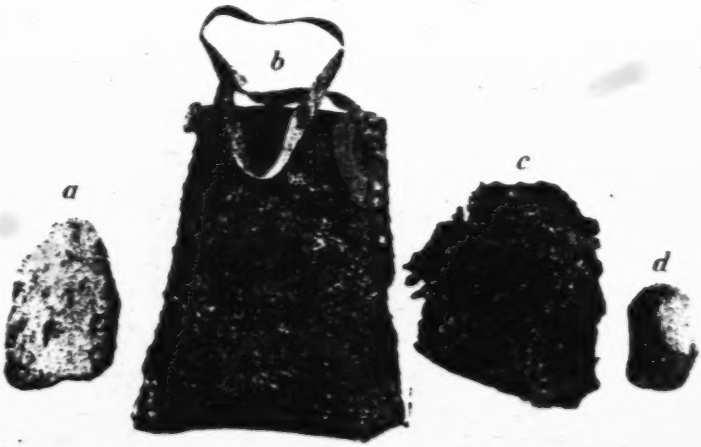

Fig. 53.—Yahgan fire-making apparatus. *a*, Flint; *b*, pouch; *c*, tinder; *d*, pyrites. Width of bag, 5 in. (14/2352)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

511 afforded a basis for little more than the mere act of existence and mutely testify to the cultural poverty of their makers.

372 1. Fire-making Apparatus.—By all accounts the Yahgan rarely made fire, because they carried it with them on the hearths in their canoes. In their semi-nude society to lack fire might mean death, and so wherever they went they tried to husband a wisp of flame. When it was necessary to kindle a new blaze they used flint and pyrites (*s'wálli*) with dried fungus or down for tinder, after the fashion of the Ona. Various places in Fuegian waters where pyrites can be secured are mentioned on page 65; one of these, Merton island, lies in Yahgan territory. However, Rev. Thomas Bridges states that they got this material by trade with the Alacaluf, who obtained it on Clarence island. Especially fine flints were found in a valley called Aníawaía between Lapataía and Ushuaia. To protect the fire-making apparatus from the weather it was kept in a small hide pouch called *asánu* (fig. 53, *b*).

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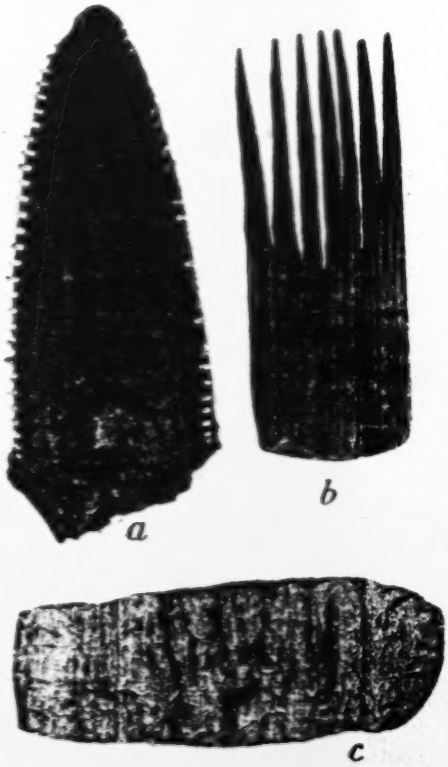

Fig. 54.—*a*, Porpoise-jaw comb; length, 6 in. (14/2370). *b*, Whalebone comb; length, 5½ in. (14/2374). *c*, Seal-throat pouch; length, 8½ in. (14/2369)

412 2. Fire-tongs. — For tending the fire and for removing the objects from it the Yahgan used tongs. These are no more than a stick an inch or so in diameter and a couple of feet long, split for three-quarters of its length. Cultural borrowing is indicated by the name of this implement—*láka* in Yahgan,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

412

lákel in Ona,—but there is no means of determining which tribe was the inventor.

3. Hammer and Grease Stone.—On old camp-sites numerous smooth, water-worn stones can be picked up. They were used as hammers to break open various shellfish, and also they served as anvils for cracking hot marrow-bones to allow the grease to solidify on the cool surface, whence it could be scraped up and eaten.

4. Broom.—The Yahgan housewife today occasionally sweeps out her domicile, employing for that purpose the wing of some large bird such as a goose. This custom probably is not aboriginal, but is rather the result of missionary contact.

Fig. 55.—Yahgan bark bucket. Height, 12½ in. (14/2267)

[302]

5. Comb.—The Yahgan sometimes comb their hair, and for this they make rude combs (*ushtánim*) of whalebone or employ the jaw of a porpoise. Combs of both types are illustrated in fig. 54, *a*, *b*.

6. Spatula.—Another article for beautifying the person, found in the well-ordered Yahgan house, is a small spatula (*telákikamána*) used for painting the face and body. One of these appears in fig. 69, *d*.

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7. Bucket.—Under the Ona manner of existence a bark bucket (fig. 55) would have been of little service, for it would soon be broken under the exigencies of their system of transport; but the Yahgan found the bucket (*atakála*) an extremely valuable object, and used it to bail their canoes and to store water in their camps. Like the canoe itself the bucket was made from the bark of the evergreen beech, but while the canoe was man's work, the bucket was woman's work. Hence the bark for the bucket was removed from the tree with the woman's barking tool (*téshupu*), which is a chisel-like device made from the leg-bone of the guanaco (fig. 68). The inner fat lining of the bark was then scraped off, and a rec-

[412]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

415 tangular piece was cut for the sides and a circular piece for the
322 bottom of the bucket. Narrow strips of whalebone were then scraped thin and pliable, and the bottom and sides were sewn tightly together (fig. 56, *b*). Around the inside of the lip a strip

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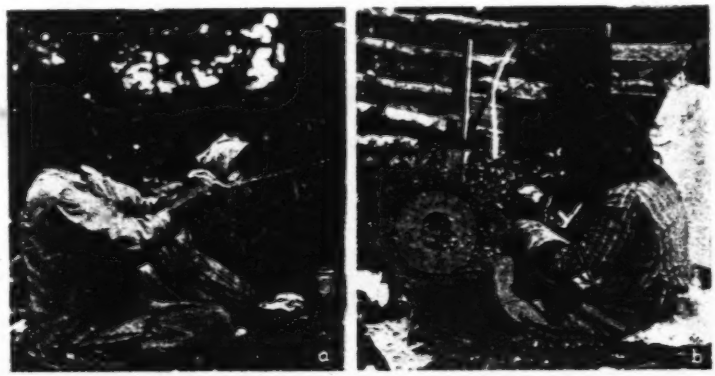

FIG. 56.—Yahgan women. *a*, Rope-making; *b*, Making a bark bucket.

of wood—*leña dura*, Winter's bark, or barberry—was introduced to give additional strength and to prevent the bark from splitting. Finally a hide thong was attached to serve as a handle, and the whole outside was painted red.

415 In general the Yahgan buckets are taller in proportion to their width than those of the Alacaluf. The Alacaluf seem to have been better craftsmen than the Yahgan, hence their buckets are usually more neatly finished.

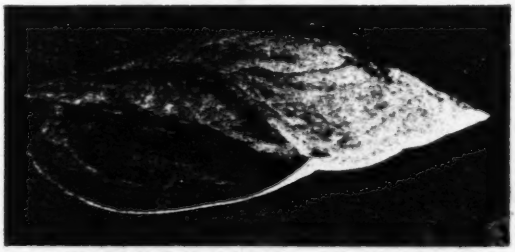

FIG. 57.—Yahgan shell cup. Length, 6¼ in. (14/2372)

8. CUP.—A Yahgan refinement over the Ona is the use of a shell cup (*auflán*). As seen in fig. 57, this is nothing more elaborate than a simple shell, its shape in no way modified. Such a receptacle could be used to dip water from a bark bucket, but would have been of little service in removing water from the Ona skin water-bag.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

9. Pouches and Bags.—For storage the Yahgan used various pouches, bags, and baskets. While there seems to have been a tendency to employ the most readily available material, at the same time certain definite types of bags were normally used for distinct purposes. For general storage, bags were made from the skins of the seal, penguin, and guanaco. For keeping the fire-making apparatus, a small guanaco-hide bag covered with red paint was used (fig. 53, *b*). A larger bag of guanaco-hide (*humulúf*) covered with white paint was employed by the shaman to store his ritualistic paraphernalia (fig. 94). For porpoise- or whale-oil, containers were made from water-proof substances, such as seal-gut (*kália*), seal-bladder (*athhlahání*), or a species of giant kelp (*shówen*) which grows around the seaward islands. In fig. 58 we illustrate 415

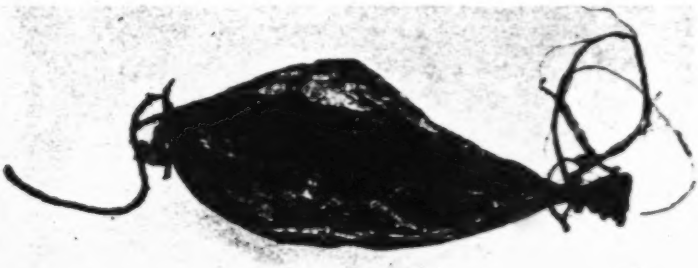

Fig. 58.—Yahgan seal-bladder oil container. Length, 7¼ in. (14/2338)

an oil container of seal-gut. Red paint they habitually stored in small sacks (*yái*) made from the throats of seal (fig. 54, *c*). A recent invention is the otter-tail pouch (*yeten*) employed at the present time for carrying tobacco.

10. Baskets.—All the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego and the west coast of Chile to the north make baskets. This art is probably the most intricate technological achievement of the Yahgan, Alacaluf, and Chono, so that we shall consider the making of baskets in some detail. Among the Yahgan, the writer found that four types were manufactured, of which only one has been adequately described. Two of these are based on half-hitches around a coiled foundation; one has half-hitches without foundation; while the fourth, employed as a dip-net, is a wrapped stitch. 285

The material used for all four kinds of baskets is a native grass

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

285 (*Juncus magellanicus*) known to the Yahgan as *mápi*. This is a coarse, round-stemmed grass, about 18 inches in height, which resembles the grass of our saltwater marshes. It is picked by the women and carried to the encampment in long bundles. The handsomest baskets are those woven in the fall when the frost has changed the greens to red, but this brilliant color fades after a few weeks. During the course of manufacture, each grass-stem is chewed to flatten it and to make it more pliable.

FIG. 59.—Yahgan basket of *tawé'la* type. Height, 6 in. (14/2317)

In discussing the various kinds of Yahgan baskets below, the different weaves have been designated by their native names. These types are:

a. *Tawé'la*.—This class of basketry, normally called "Fuegian basketry" in ethnological literature, is by far the commonest kind in use (fig. 59). It may be described as a half-hitch or buttonhole stitch over a coiled foundation.

The process of manufacture starts with selecting three or four stems of grass, placing them together, and bending them to form a little circle about half an inch in diameter which becomes the bottom of the basket. The loose stems forming this circle are

FIG. 60.—Method of beginning a *tawé'la* basket. (14/2319)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

then lashed in place by a series of half-hitches, which leave the part of the foundation stems not included in the circle projecting at a tangent from it. Fig. 60 illustrates this initial step in the manufacturing process.

Next the projecting grass-stems are bent to form a second circle around the original one. In this position they are lashed by a second series of half-hitches, which are inserted through the loops of the first row with the aid of an awl (fig. 69). This process may be studied in fig. 61. It is repeated, additional grass-stems being

FIG. 61.—Detail of *tmeÑa* basket. Height, 1 in. (14/2299)

added as necessary, until a circular piece of woven material two or three inches in diameter is created.

At this stage it becomes necessary to curve the sides of the basket, so the finished fragment is suspended at a suitable height by passing a cord through the hole in the center of the base and tying it to a small toggle. In this position, mouth downward, both hands are free for the weaving, and the foundation coils can be controlled to give the desired shape.

When the body of the basket has been completed, the edge is finished by a simple spiral wrapping considerably broader than is used in the rest of the weaving.

Next, two loops are attached at opposite points of the rim, and also are covered with spiral wrappings. To these loops a handle of braided grass is fastened, and the basket is completed.

In comment on this kind of basket we should point out that

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

coiled baskets are found along the entire west side of the New World in practically unbroken distribution, and also to the west across the Pacific. The Fuegian or half-hitch coil is also found across the Pacific, a fact that has given rise to much unrestrained speculation on the origin of the Fuegians. Variants of the half-hitched coil, somewhat similar to the *uloénastíko* basket presently to be described, have been noted by the writer in Basket-maker collections from the Southwest and in collections from Kentucky caves, both of great antiquity.

Several authorities have argued that coiled basketry is not a very ancient type. With this the writer does not agree, because, in the New World at least, coiled basketry is the most widely distributed kind known, and also because it is almost the only type of basketry associated with the most ancient New World archeological finds now known. In other words, it seems to the writer that one would expect *a priori* that the basketry of an isolated and backward people like the Yahgan would be of the coiled variety.

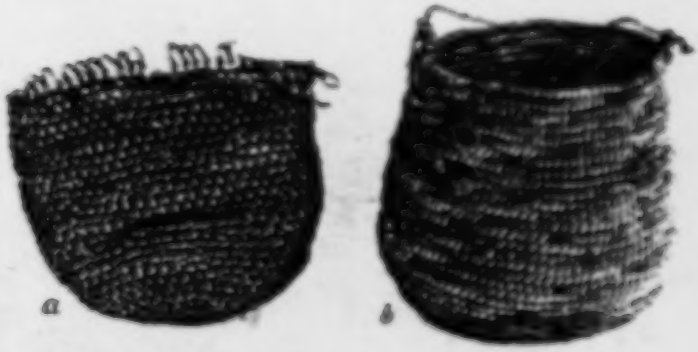

FIG. 62.—Yahgan baskets of *gaíchim* and *uloénastíko* types. Height of *b*, 6¼ in. (14/2812, 2298)

The hitch-coil is typical in South America only of the Yahgan, Ona, and Alacaluf, but it turns up sometimes in the Amazon valley and to the northward. A Surinam hat illustrated by Goeje[1] is woven in a fashion exactly like the Yahgan *tawíko*.

b. *Uloénastíko.*—This weave, illustrated in figs. 62, *b*, and 63, is very rarely employed among the Yahgan, and a single specimen

[1] *Intern. Archiv für Ethnogr.*, Bd. XVII, Suppl., 1906, pl. IX, fig. 13.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SHS Yahgan SHS

was secured only with difficulty. Like the *tewfle* weave it is a series of half-hitches built up over a coiled foundation, and the steps taken in the manufacture of the two types are the same. Also the rims and the handles in both types are identical.

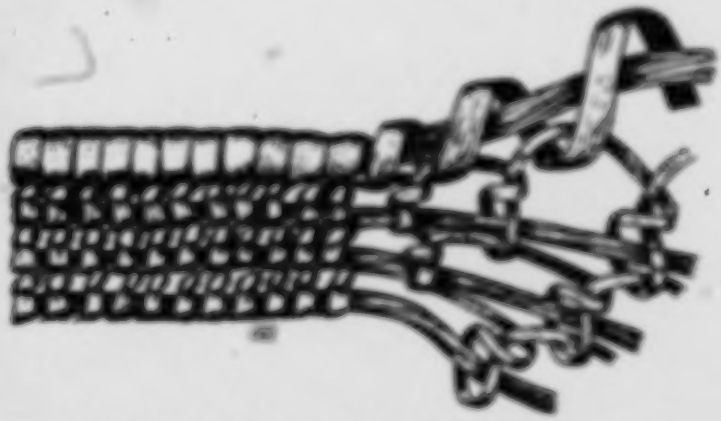

FIG. 63.—Detail of *alodwatilie* basket. Height, 1 in. (16/2317)

The difference between the *tewfle* and the *alodwatilie* lies in the fact that the former is a simple half-hitch while the latter is a twisted half-hitch, for at each knot the weft takes a half-turn around itself. This distinction may be seen by comparing figs. 61 and 63.

More elaborate twisted-hitched-coiled baskets are found in Central America, notably among the Pipil and Lenca of Salvador, in collections from Pacific islands near the meeting point of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia, also in Africa, and among Bush negroes in the Guianas, and doubtless elsewhere. This world-wide distribution of the type leads to the belief that it may be an ancient form of basketry. The only exact New World parallel to the *alodwatilie* which has come to the attention of the writer is an Alaskan specimen illustrated by Moser,[1] a bark vessel to which a wooden lip has been sewn in a manner identical with the Yahgan stitch.

[1] *Aboriginal American Basketry*, *Rep. U. S. Nat. Mus. for 1902*, fig. 99, Washington, 1904.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1929) 1928
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c. *Guitchim.*—A third class of Yahgan basketry, not very common at least in recent years, may be described as a knotted weave without any foundation (fig. 65). The body of the basket is built up in a series of interlocking knotted loops, resulting in a soft and flexible container (fig. 65, c). In order to stiffen the basket and to secure a wide-open mouth, the rim is finished off in a series of loops and in these a circle of wood—Winter's bark or barberry—is inserted, as shown in fig. 66. To this rim is attached a three-meshes braided handle.

FIG. 66.—Yahgan basket of guitchim type. Height, 42 in. (106.7cm)

When completed the guitchim often shows irregularities, as the interior is packed tightly with sand or small pebbles which are kept moist until the basket has assumed a symmetrical shape. The result of this stretching process is seen by comparing figs. 65, c, and 66.

d. *Chimewick.*—A fourth type of Yahgan basket, illustrated in fig. 66, was lashed to a pole and used as a dip-net for catching small fish. The complete net with the handle may be seen in the bow of the model canoe in fig. 11.

The *chimewick* consists of a circular opening of Winter's bark or barberry wood, to which four U-shape members of the same material were secured. The interstices were then filled in with strips of grass of the kind shown indicated, looped about the solid frame.

FIG. 40.—Detail of gutskin basket. Height, 2 in. (10/2012)

TOOLS

Yahgan tools are just as primitive as the Ona tools, although adapted to different uses. The Yahgan have a constant tendency when making something to pick up the first object that comes to hand—a bit of shell, a fire-flaked stone—and employ it, rather than to take the trouble to get good tools which would better serve their purpose.

1. SEWING.—The old-time Yahgan scraper (ta'ta'ba) was a mussel-shell blade (hilaf) set on a stone handle (ptel). The shell blade was not the ordinary mussel-shell, but a giant variety (ibis-mindo), four or five inches in length, which now grows on the beaches of the outer islands toward the Antarctic. Formerly, however, it must have flourished on Beagle channel, as many examples were found in the interior of a shellheap at Harberton. To set this shell blade on the stone handle, the edges of the base of the shell were carefully broken away in order to reduce the curve and make the blade lie flat against the stone. However, the blade could not be attached directly to the stone, as it would have broken too easily, hence it was bedded on a small bunch of shredded barberry wood (ahdorr*) or a wad of moss (ishendile). These two

* The word was obtained from a Lennox Islander. I am not certain whether it means "shredded barberry" or whether it is a dialectic variant of the normal

3: Lothrop E.-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5305 Yahgan 5305

variant forms are seen in pl. x, *a*, *b*. For lashings on scrapers the Yahgan used either a seal-hide thong (*tamanéw*, pl. x, *a-c*) or later a braided whale-sinew line (*alpéw*, pl. x, *d*) such as was employed for fishing.

Since the European settlement the natives have substituted a steel blade (*ishífter*) for the shell whenever possible, and the resultant tool is called *mimo*. It is illustrated in fig. 66, *a*. They

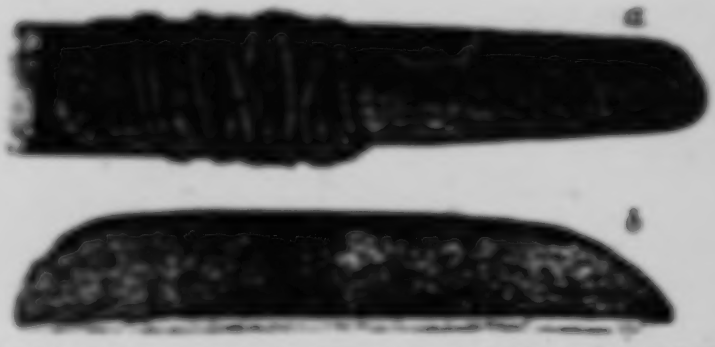

FIG. 66.—Yahgan scraper and whetstone. Length, 11 and 9½ in. (14,067, 22,[illegible])

now also set the steel blade in a split wooden handle in the same fashion as the Ona, as can be seen in pl. x, *c*.

The scraper was the most important tool to the Yahgan and served a great variety of purposes.[1] Owing to the weight of the stone handle it could be used not only for scraping but also as a serviceable hand-ax. When the shell blade became chipped or dull it was sharpened on a stone (*ékipi*) with a long flat surface (fig. 66, *b*). In type this scraper corresponds to the Ona wood scraper (fig. 25, *c*).

In the old days before steel was available, the Yahgan are said to have used a tool like the transverse Ona flesh-scraper (fig. 25, *b*). This was denied by Yahgans whom I questioned, but was affirmed by Mr. William Bridges, whose statement was supported by the discovery of ancient stone blades apparently designed for transverse hafting (fig. 106, *b*, *c*). The abandonment of the transverse scraper may be due partly to the use of steel, but also may be accounted

[1] Yahgan skins, which assume "leathery" in general (*Berberis ilicifolia*). Shredded barberry was also employed as a towel after hafting.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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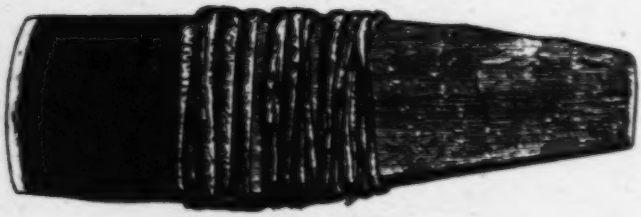
a

b



c

d

YAHGAN SCRAPERS

a, b, d, PRIMITIVE TYPE; LENGTH, 14, 12½, 9 IN. (14/2264, 2266, 2265). c, MODERN TYPE; LENGTH, 9 IN. (14/2262)

[p. 140-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

412 for on the ground that since the Yahgan have ceased to use skin houses and skin clothing they have much less need of such an implement.

[177] 2. KNIFE.—Ancient knife-blades from Beagle channel are described on page 190. In recent years the Yahgan, like the Ona, have made knives from any available scrap iron or steel.

FIG. 67.—Yahgan man's bark-working tool. Length, 31 in. (14/2332)

3. BARKING TOOLS.—The Yahgan employ two kinds of tools for removing bark from trees. One of these (*sánakaí*), used exclusively by the men (fig. 67), is made from a large piece of the jaw-bone of a whale and has a blade usually at each end. The woman's tool (*téshupu*) is part of a guanaco leg-bone and consequently is much smaller (fig. 68); it has a single chisel-like blade, while the other end, the articular extremity of the bone, forms a convenient handle.

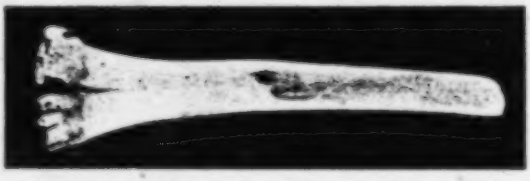


FIG. 68.—Yahgan woman's bark-working tool. Length, 9 in. (14/2331)

4. AWL.—The old-time awl (*ámi*) was a sharpened bit of wood or of bone (fig. 69, *c*, *e*), but in recent years the Yahgan have used a nail set in a wooden handle (fig. 69, *a*, *b*). Awls were employed for piercing skins to make clothes, housetops, and bags; to pierce bark in the manufacture of canoes, bailers, and buckets; and also for the weaving of baskets.

Like the Ona, the Yahgan had no drill, and so their material culture was limited by the fact that they were unable to make holes in such a relatively soft substance as wood.

5. HAMMERSTONES.—Usually present on Yahgan camp-sites are a number of stones which show marks of abrasion (fig. 70). The

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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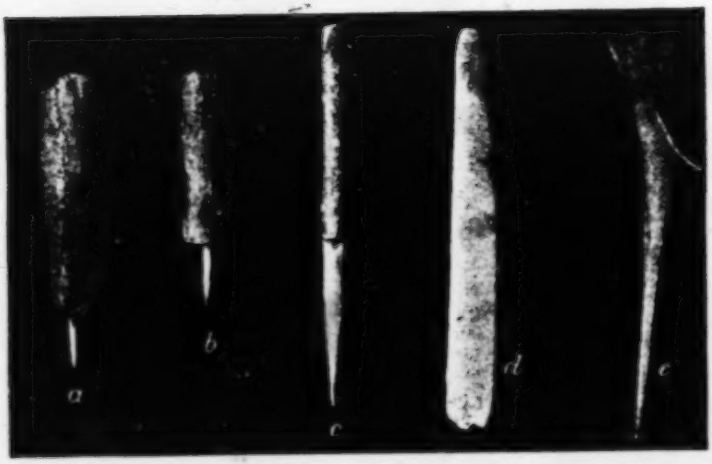


FIG. 69.—Yahgan awls and spatula. Length, 3¼ to 5¼ in. (14/2376, 2376, 2378, 2333, 2334)

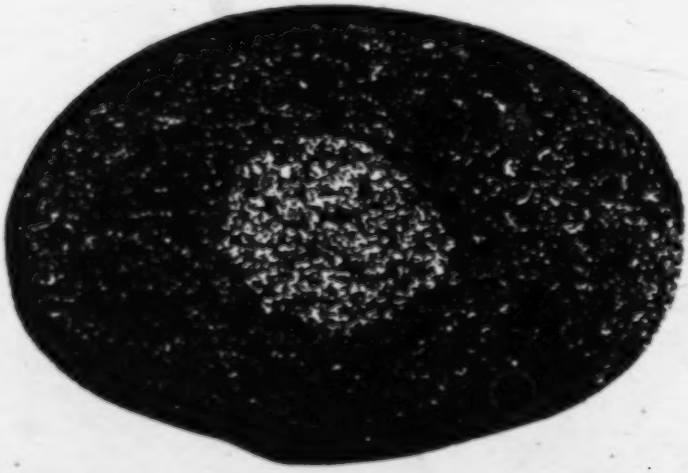


FIG. 70.—Yahgan hammerstone. Length, 5 in. (14/3984)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

principal purpose for which such stones were used was opening shellfish. These stones never were hafted. 442

6. Sharpening Stones.—For sharpening knife and scraper blades the Yahgan employed a smooth stone (*chípi*) such as is shown in fig. 66, *b*. They can frequently be picked up on old camp-sites. The rounded hammerstones may also have been employed for sharpening.

Fig. 71.—Yahgan pumice polisher. Length, 2¼ in. (14/2224)

7. Pumice.—For polishing, in place of our sandpaper or the Ona fox-skin and grit, the Yahgan used pumice (*hiól*). This material (fig. 71) is found on Picton island and on the coast of Tierra del Fuego to the north. It frequently floats down Beagle channel and may be picked up on the beach.

Boats and Boating

Bark Canoe

In the old days the Yahgan used a curved bark canoe which in outline is well described by Goicueta's phrase, "like a moon of four days, with raised tips." The last one ever afloat is shown in fig. 72. 501

Fig. 72.—The last Yahgan bark canoe ever used. (Courtesy of Rev. John Williams.)

The bark employed (*afirshun*) was taken from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), known to the Yahgan as *súschi*. It had to be stripped from the tree in the spring (October or November) when the sap was rising. For this purpose a tool made from the jaw-bone of a whale (*sónakaf*) was employed (fig. 67), and the 396

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

396 men ascended the tree by means of a thong of seal-skin (*wurrsh*). An industrious and forehanded man often removed two pieces of bark at the right season of the year in case his canoe might be wrecked. The extra piece was placed under water in a running stream to keep it flexible and was held there by means of stones. The piece intended for immediate use was scraped with a shell scraper (*tu'wē'na*) until the fat inner bark (*ushkaq*) had been removed. The bark was then cut to pattern, three cigar-shape pieces usually serving for the skin of the canoe.

The bark was next tightly sewn together with pieces of whalebone, or, if none were obtainable, with saplings warmed before the fire and shredded when very hot. Split saplings were then set close together for ribs (*ushkúlakin*), and the ends of these were held in place by tapering gunwales (*wurri*) lashed to the bark sides (fig. 73).

[501]

FIG. 73.—Model of Yahgan canoe. Length, 40½ in. (14/4331)

Across from gunwale to gunwale, thwarts, usually six in number, were lashed in order to keep the sides from collapsing. Finally the slender bow and stern were joined to the nearest thwart by a seal-hide thong or a braided grass rope in order to give additional strength to the extremity of the vessel.

To complete the canoe a fireplace (*af*) was installed amidships, for even in these days of matches and European clothes no Yahgan goes to sea without his fire. The fireplace consisted of a heavy piece of sod with much earth attached. Over this was a layer of pebbles, and the whole was soon covered with ash. In the bow a rest for harpoons was installed.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

When fully equipped, the Yahgan canoe carried the following articles: 501

two or more paddles	dip-net
three kinds of baskets	club
two fire-tongs	grass mooring rope or thong
four spears (fish, seal crab, and limpet)	bark bucket
	fish-line.

Such was the bark canoe in which these Indians often ventured far from shore and even attacked whales. Its great virtue was that it could be made with few tools; indeed in an emergency it could be created with no more than fire and a knife. Furthermore, its high pointed ends made it seaworthy. On the other hand, the seams often leaked and the beech-bark is brittle—much more so than the birch-bark of the North American canoes. The canoes of bark found nearest to Tierra del Fuego are those of Brazil. Their construction is so different, however, that there seems no possibility of relationship between the two types.

DUGOUT CANOE

The first dugout canoe used by the Yahgan was made near Ushuaia about 1880 by an Indian known as "John Furness." 501 176 177 This innovation apparently was an independent invention, instigated through the introduction of metal tools during the previous decade. At any rate the idea rapidly became popular, for the advantage of the stronger construction over the bark canoe was patent, and indeed the Alacaluf soon seized upon this type and abandoned their plank canoes.

FIG. 73A.—Yahgan dugout canoe. (Courtesy of J. L. Weld, Esq.)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

501 In outline the dugout canoes resembled their bark prototypes, modified by the material of which they were wrought. Thus, through ineptitude or a fault in the wood, one end sometimes was not pointed but was cut off square. Into the opening a tail-board was then fitted. This usually leaked. The sides of the canoe often were raised by nailing on boards.

501 177

FIG. 74.—Modern Yahgan boat. (Courtesy of J. L. Weld, Esq.)

With the coming of Europeans the Yahgan adopted the use of oars and sails. The latter were raised on temporary masts and could be employed only when running before the wind.

501 178 The Yahgan bark canoe has gone entirely out of use today, and the writer was unable to discover an Indian competent to make one properly, although models can yet be obtained. The dugout canoe is still in use, but it is many years since a new one has been launched. The last double-ended dugout afloat (fig. 73A) was purchased and is now in the Museum. It is 16 feet 6 inches long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet 7 inches deep. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy. Also it was the most unstable vessel in which the writer has ever set foot.

DORY

501 177 354 Today the few surviving Yahgan use a flat-bottom dory with square stern and high-pointed bow (fig. 74). This boat is of European manufacture and carries no mark of native identity except a fireplace. Today the fireplace is no picturesque affair of sod, but usually is an upright five-gallon gasoline tin, half-filled with stones, and with a hole cut in the side to facilitate the draft.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

PADDLES

The old-fashioned paddle (*ápi*) had a long pointed blade and a short rounded handle (fig. 75). The blade was diamond-shape in 501

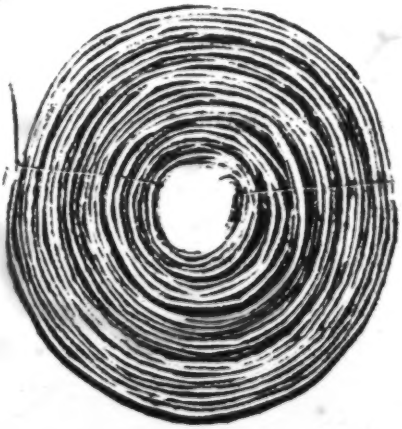
FIG. 75.—Yahgan paddle. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

section, so there was a tent-like ridge centrally down each side. Today most of the blades have rounded tips, a shape which the Yahgan may well have adopted from the Alacaluf.

The women, who were the paddlers, often joined their men folk in fighting, using their paddles with deadly effect.

MOORING ROPES

Canoes were moored either with a seal-skin thong (*wurrsh*) as shown in fig. 76, or more commonly with a braided grass rope (*shukamí*) such as is seen in fig. 77. The process of braiding the rope is illustrated in fig. 56.



[283]

FIG. 76.—Yahgan seal-hide thong. Diameter of coil, 8 in. (14/2347)

CANOE BAILER

As all the Yahgan canoes leaked more or less, some kind of a bailer was imperative to keep them afloat. For this purpose a bark bucket like the water-bucket, but not so tall, normally was used (fig. 78). The writer has seen small seal-skin buckets said to have been used for this purpose.

CARE AND MANAGEMENT OF THE CANOE

The canoe was paddled by the women, who sat in the stern, while the men crouched in the bow to cast the spears. When paddling, owing to the short handle, one hand was under water. 502

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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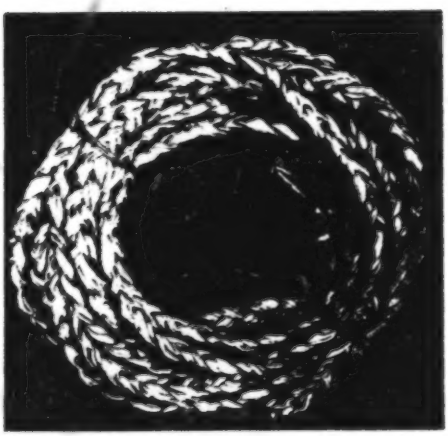

[283]

FIG. 77.—Yahgan grass rope. Diameter of coil, 5¼ in. (14/2349)

[481]

As a result of the exercise, the women were very strongly developed above the waist, but poorly developed in the legs.

When it was desired to make a landing the canoe was paddled in to the beach, bow-on, and the man of the family and the children stepped ashore. The wife then paddled the canoe out to a piece of kelp, moored it, and swam ashore. As a result all the women were able to swim, while few of the men could do so.

504 The canoe was kept in the water habitually, because hauling it up on the beach was difficult owing to the fragility of the bark. When it was necessary to make repairs, the beach was carpeted with wet kelp to make a soft and slippery surface over which the canoe could be dragged with ease. The dugout canoes, however, were a different proposition, so for them runways were made by removing the stones (pl. XI). Stakes were driven at the head of the runways to which the canoes were tied. Campsites used habitually since the invention of the dugout may be distinguished by the presence of such runways.

[415]

FIG. 78.—Yahgan bark bailer. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

WEAPONS AND METHODS OF HUNTING

SPEARS

411 Yahgan weapons were the spear, club, sling, and bow. In their fashion of living, spears were almost as import-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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PORTO PIEDRA

PUERTO MEJILLONES

CANOE RUNWAYS, NAVARIN ISLAND

[p. 148-A]

411

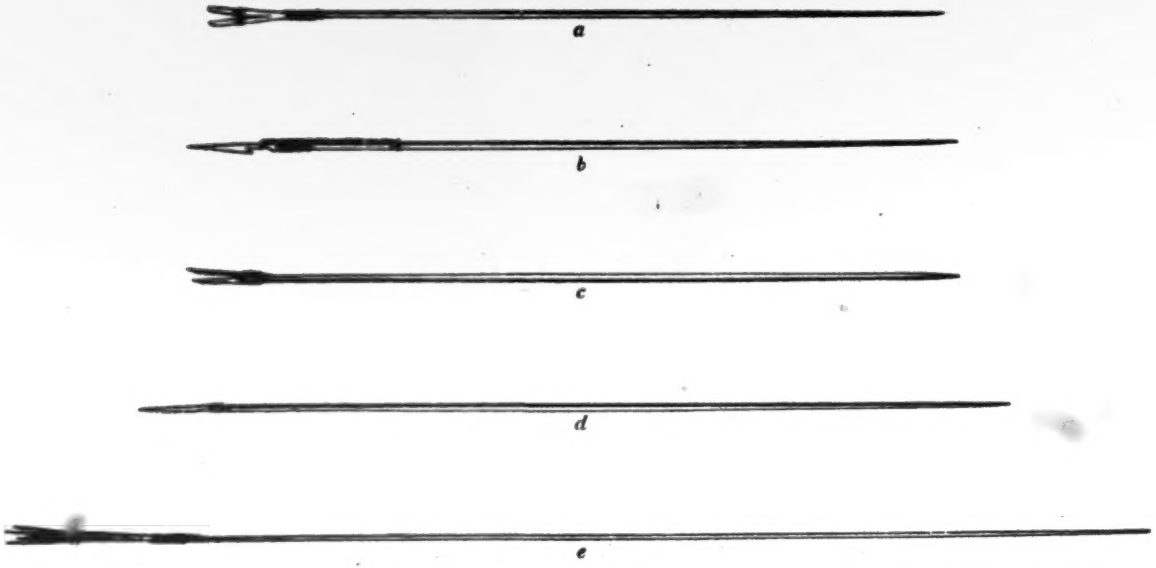

FIG. 79.—Yahgan spears. *a*, Limpet-spear (14/2272); *b*, Seal-harpoon (14/2271 c); *c*, *d*, Fish-spears (14/2273, 2271 f); *e*, Crab-spear (14/2272). Length, 8½ to 13 ft.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

41
[86]

ant as the bow among the Ona. The use of this weapon was taught from childhood; practice in casting a headless spear, usually with an old basket as a target, was a frequently enacted sport. The basket was slung far ahead from the end of a spear; then all the young men present would cast at the target, walk up to recover their shafts, and toss the basket ahead again.

In fig. 79, drawn to scale, are shown five types of Yahgan spears, each designed for a special purpose, differing in point, shaft, and lashing. These details and certain regional variations we shall discuss at length.

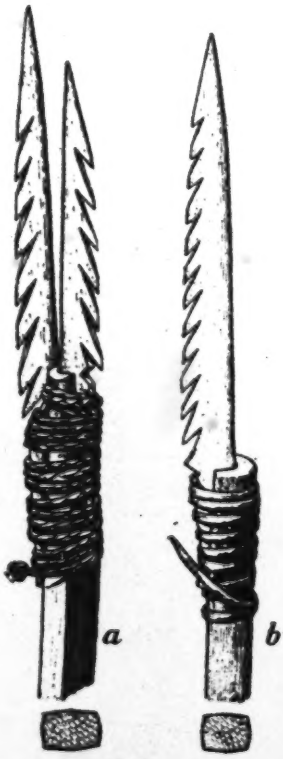

FIG. 80.—Yahgan fish-spears. Length of point of *b*, 10¾ in. (14/2273, 2271)

1. BIRD- AND FISH-SPEAR. — This spear (*shushróya*) is an all-purpose spear, but it was specifically intended for capturing fish and birds. It was commonly used in warfare. It may be briefly described as a beechwood shaft tipped with a serrated whale-bone head lashed in place with seal-hide or braided sinew (fig. 79, *c*, *d*).

The shaft of this spear (called *shoshaía*) is eight-sided, as can be seen in fig. 80, having four wide and four narrow surfaces. In casting, the flat of the shaft was placed on the palm of the hand. The head of the shaft is about three-quarters of an inch in diameter; the central diameter is nearly twice as much; at the butt it tapers to a point. Red or sometimes black paint covers the completed shaft. On one side of the head-end of the shaft a slot is cut, into which the tang of the spearhead is inserted and there lashed with a seal-hide thong. This is shown in fig. 80, *b*.

The head of the fish-spear is cut from the lower jaw-bone of a whale. In the old days whales were plentiful in Beagle channel and the waters to the south, but since the establishment of whaling

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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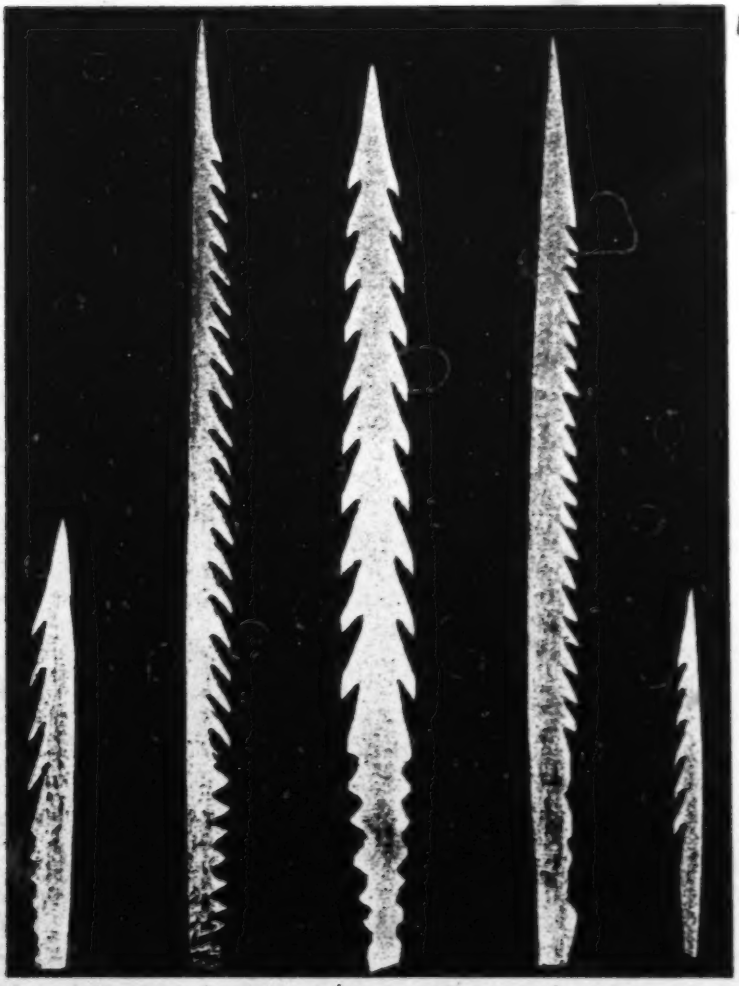

a b c d e

FISH-SPEAR HEADS

d (14/2253), ALACALUF; OTHERS (14/2329, 10/9633, 14/2330, 2320), YAHGAN.
LENGTH, 6 TO 16 IN.

[p. 150-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

411 stations on South Georgia,[1] some years ago, they have become exceedingly rare. During the writer's visit to Beagle channel the supply of whalebone became completely exhausted, and it was said that four years had elapsed since a whale had come ashore.

Details of the spearhead hafting appear in fig. 80. The usual assemblage is that shown in *b* where a single point has been set in a deep notch and secured there by heavy spiral lashings. Sometimes, when the presence of certain kinds of fish made it desirable, a second point was set against the side of the shaft opposite the notch and there secured by lashings of the usual kind.

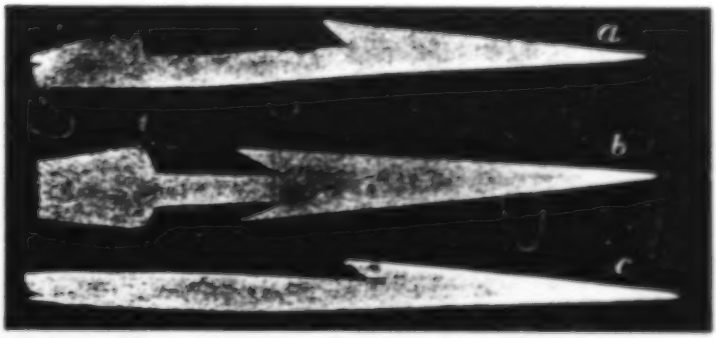

FIG. 81.—Yahgan spearheads. *a*, *b*, Seal spearheads (14/2327, 2328); *c*, Guanaco spearpoint (14/2321). Length, 11½ to 12 in.

In size fish-spear heads range from six to eighteen inches, with anywhere up to twenty barbs. Eastern and central Yahgan points (pl. XII, *a–c*) have barbs along one side only. In the west this type, and also points with barbs along both sides, were used (pl. XII, *c*). Among the Alacaluf, I was informed, both single and double rows of barbs were employed. Pl. XII, *d*, shows a point made by an Alacaluf living with a Yahgan wife on Navarin island; it differs from Yahgan workmanship in the superior finish.

The tools employed in manufacturing the spearpoint were: (1) a stone hammer to secure a bone fragment of proper size, (2) a shell scraper or knife to shape the blade, and (3) a piece of pumice to polish it.

Yahgan fish-spear heads are strikingly like bone spearpoints

[1] A recent account of this industry will be found in Morley and Hodgson's Whaling North and South, New York, 1926.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

941

FIG. 82.—Yahgan harpoon. a, Shoulder for coating; b, Section of shaft; c, Position when dragging through water. Length of head, 10 in. (14/2271)

discovered in late Paleolithic deposits in Europe, yet between the Yahgan and the Magdalenian peoples of Europe roll great oceans of time and space.

2. HARPOONS.—In the pursuit of seal, porpoise, and whale, the Yahgan employed a harpoon with a heavy shaft and a detachable head joined to the shaft by a thong (fig. 79, *b*).

The shaft differs from the fish-spear shaft in material and in weight: it is heavier than the fish-spear and consequently will deliver a harder blow; it is usually made not of beech but of cypress wood. Cypress grows only along the western channels of Tierra del Fuego, but in the old days the wood passed thence in trade to Beagle channel and the southern islands.

There are regional differences in the kind of point attached to the cypress shaft: in the east a single-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

barbed head (*ausáu*) was used (fig. 81, *a*); in the west a double-barbed form (fig. 81, *b*) was employed. In both regions, however, the head had a flat-base tang with an expanded foot. 441

In assembling the weapon, the tang of the spearhead was inserted in a slot which ran completely through the head of the shaft, where it was loosely lashed by an encircling seal-hide thong (*tumuwáru*). It was held in place by a second thong (*tumutá*) tied to the tang and attached to the shaft two or three feet from the head. As illustrated in fig. 82, *a*, this thong was twisted until its length was lessened and it acted as a spring to hold the butt of the tang firmly against the bottom of the slot in the spearhead. The tension of this thong was a matter of constant adjustment, for it varied according to the wetness or dryness of the thong and even with the state of the weather.

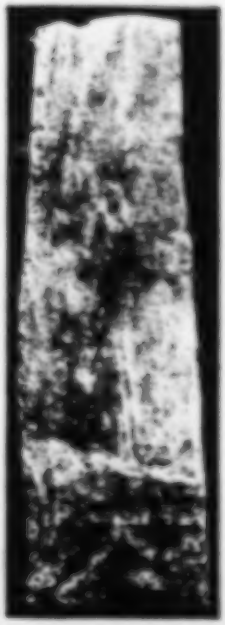

FIG. 83.—Yahgan spearpoint case. Height, 14 in. (16/2370)

[45]

When the seal-spear had been buried in the flesh of a porpoise, whale, or seal, the point promptly pulled out of the socket and the shaft then acted as a drag, as shown in fig. 82, *c*. But owing to the fact that the thong from the shaft to the head was tied near one end of the shaft, it dragged at an acute angle, so that sufficient pressure to break the thong or the shaft was not produced. The Yahgan apparently did not employ inflated skins or bladders for this purpose.

3. GUANACO-SPEAR.—In the eastern part of Beagle channel and on Lennox and New islands the Yahgan hunted the guanaco with a special kind of spearpoint (*uwuf*), shown in fig. 81, *c*. It resembles the seal-spear in having a single barb, but lacks the projection seen on the seal-spear's tang. It was lashed on the light hexagonal shaft of a fish-spear. This kind of weapon apparently was in use only among the eastern Yahgan, for it was unknown to Messrs. William Bridges and Fred. Lawrence. The example illustrated was obtained from a Lennox islander. To spear guanaco the animal was chased into a swamp or else the 224

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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Fig. 80.—Yahgan bisport spear (a) and crab-spear (b). Length of heads, 18½ and 19½ in. (14/2271, 2272)

hunter climbed a tree over a guanaco runway in the woods and waited there until an animal passed beneath him.

The three spear types described all had bone points, specialized in type but of approximately the same length. To carry the extra points that might be needed were the one in use to become lost, the Yahgan employed a small case made of seal-hide with the hair side inward. Old-time containers were simply a rectangle of skin folded double and sewn up the side and bottom (fig. 83). In recent years the Yahgan have followed the pattern of the Ona quiver (fig. 33) and have inserted a small oval piece of hide at the bottom of the case.

4. Crab and Sea-urchin Spear.—As shown in fig. 79, *c*, this spear (*abwiowána*) was considerably longer than the other Yahgan spears, for it was designed to secure crabs and sea-urchins under water.

The shaft was not octagonal like the other spears considered, but was round. It was covered with minute flutes like the Ona bow, but they were not so carefully worked.

The head of the crab-spear (*ólin*) was a piece of yellow barberry wood split at one

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
DSS Yahgan ESA

end to form four prongs which were sharpened and hardened in the fire (fig. 84, 5). These prongs were wedged apart with small wooden toggles held in place by a lashing of either braided cords or whalebone. The head was lashed to the shaft with a sealskin thong.

5. Leister-spear.—The leister-spear (*hokiwa*) had either the fish or the crab-spearhead. It is seen with the former in fig. 79, c. The head (fig. 84, c) had but two prongs with flat, chisel-like blades. They were forced slightly apart by a small toggle.

BOW AND ARROW

In the old days, according to all accounts, the Yahgan habitually used the bow and arrow, but during the last half of the nineteenth century this weapon rapidly fell into disuse, until by the end of the century the bow had become a toy for children.

FIG. 85.—Yahgan bow-arrowpoint. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

According to Fitzroy (1839, pp. 104, 107) the Yahgan everywhere arrowed birds and, in the east, guanacos. Their bows he described as three or four feet long and "quite plain." The arrows were two feet in length, well polished, and with the points so loosely attached that they remained in the flesh when the shaft was withdrawn (fig. 85).

An example of Yahgan bow which the Rev. John Williams kindly allowed the writer to examine had been given to his children several years ago as a toy. In general type it resembled the Ona bow, like which it was flexed, a characteristic due, I suspect, to contact with the Ona at Harberton. However, it was much shorter than the Ona bow, and much more curved, especially at the ends. This latter feature may have been accidental, for guanaco-sinew has a tendency to shrink for many years, and the writer has noted in numerous Ona bows unduly curved owing to the increasing tension of the cord.

The arrows were short, clumsy, and unfeathered—very crude

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1929
5288 Yahgan 5288

[illegible] The remarked [illegible] of bone, cut to the Ona pattern with two barbs, but it had a long tang and was loosely attached to the shaft with heavy lashings like the Yahgan spears. Notches in the blade of the specimen illustrated (fig. 69) suggest the lithomorphic prototype seen in fig. 105, 5.

In the Peabody Museum at Salem are two old Yahgan bows, one the gift of Capt. B. Morrell, Jr., who obtained it in 1825, the other collected by Lieutenant Wilkes, probably on Orange Harbor or Wollaston island. These bows, illustrated in pl. xxx through the kindness of Mr. L. W. Jenkins, are respectively 3 ft. 9½ in. and 4 ft. 1 in. from tip to tip. Though the general outline and cross-section recall the Ona bow, the flaring typical of the handwork of that tribe is absent. Both specimens appear to be made of beechwood, but this has become dark through age, much handling, and the application of grease. Bowstrings are of guanaco-sinew; they are attached in Ona fashion with a slip-noose at the bottom (to the right in pl. xxx) and with several turns secured by a bull-birch at the top.

CLUBS

Yahgan clubs (*kiwa*) are short stout sticks, painted red where new (fig. 65c). These weapons were intended for killing seal on

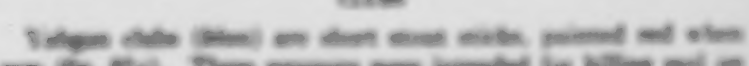

FIG. 65c.—Yahgan club. Length, 67½ in. (34707)

shore, or for killing birds on sight with the aid of a torch of bull-birch (*ahrshun*). Also they were commonly used in fighting.

SLINGS

Slings (*ao-tual*) were an extremely effective weapon among the Yahgan, for some are said to have been so dextrous in their use that they often brought down flying birds. The usual sling (fig. 66) has a pouch of guanaco or seal-hide suspended on braided whale-gut lines. The ends terminate in knots enlarged with a little guanaco wool. In discharging a stone, one knot is placed between the fourth and the little finger with the cord running across the palm of the hand, the other knot is held between the thumb and forefinger as the sling is whirled around the head.

The *Kaweskar*, as well as the Yahgan, were skilful users of slings, but of the Ona only those in the south had slings. At first glance

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928

SH6 Yahgan SH6

411

LOTHROP—TIERRA DEL FUEGO

ANCIENT YAHGAN BOWS

LENGTH, 3 FT. 6½ IN. AND 4 FT. 1 IN. (COURTESY OF THE PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM, MASS. (CAT. NOS. 9194, 9195))

[p. 156-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

411 it would seem clear that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this
177 weapon from the Yahgan. However, the Ona word for sling (*shínkai*) is not taken from the Yahgan, while slings are mentioned in a supposedly ancient Ona legend. Possibly then the Ona might not have borrowed the sling from their Yahgan neighbors, but in all probability they did,

FIG. 86.—Yahgan sling. Length, 27 in. (14/2351)

BIRD-SNARES

411 Three different forms of snare were applied to the capture of birds by the Yahgan. In all of these, active prehensile function was performed by a noose of whalebone scraped thin to make it flexible. The simplest procedure was to set such a noose over a bird's nest during its absence. Also a series of nooses might be set on a cord, staked down in an open spot, and covered with suitable bait (fig. 36A). Finally, a whalebone noose was set on the end of a pole (*aárum*), as illustrated in fig. 87. With this implement it was possible to snare roosting birds during the night.

BIRD-CATCHING BY HAND

223 In addition to killing birds with arrows, slings, club and torch, and snares, the Yahgan sometimes took birds by a method which, if successful, often resulted in prodigally wasteful and unnecessary slaughter. At night a man would paddle silently to a rock where birds, preferably shags, as they are heavy sleepers, were roosting. He would steal silently ashore, and then seize the nearest bird with one hand around its wings and with the other hand pinch its windpipe so that it could neither flap its wings nor make an outcry. Then he bit off the head, placed the corpse on the ground, and went for the next bird. Thus with luck great numbers might be taken. But the steamboat duck (*Tachyeres cinereus*), a light sleeper, could seldom be captured by this method, and, if any were roosting on the rock selected, they usually gave the alarm. Fitzroy (1839, p. 184) says that the Yahgan dogs were trained to catch birds by stealing upon them as they roosted during the night.
[231]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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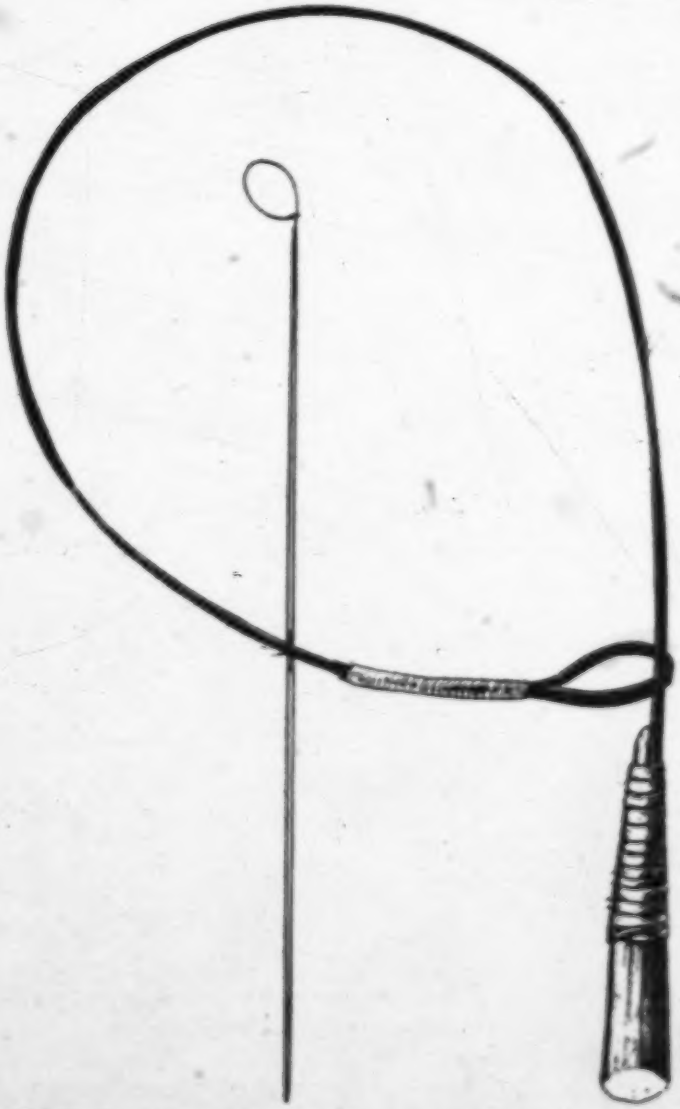

FIG. 87.—Yahgan bird-snare. Diameter of loop, 6½ in. (14/2276)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

On Gable island and other places where birds nested the Yahgan captured the young and tamed them to frequent their wigwams until they were large enough to be eaten. The writer has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed. Also, in the summer, the Yahgan had special bird hunts near the breeding places, because at this time of year the birds, though nearly full-grown, have not learned to fly and may be captured by running them down. 223 [231]

FIG. 88.—Yahgan fish-line. Length of coiled line, 6 in. (14/2375)

227

FISH-LINE

The Yahgan fish-line, shown in fig. 88, consists of three elements: line (*ídpim*), sinker (*ídrshir*), and bait noose (*tuhuléna*). The line is of braided whale-sinew and is ten to twelve feet long. The sinker is a small stone with notches knocked in opposite sides. The noose, like the bird nooses, is a narrow strip of whalebone scraped thin and flexible with a bit of shell. In an emergency a piece of kelp was used as a fish-line.

In order to fish, the Yahgan women paddled in their canoes to a shallow reef. There they anchored the canoe by inserting the handle of the paddle under a gunwale so that the blade projected outboard on the other side. A heavy piece of kelp was hauled across this, which not only served to prevent the canoe from drifting but also steadied it. Bait was then inserted in the noose and the line was lowered. When a fish had nibbled at and partly swallowed the bait it was pulled to the surface, seized by a quick dart of the hand, and killed by biting it in the head. Fish were cleaned as soon as they were caught by biting a hole in the belly through which the guts could be extracted with the finger. 225

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

FISH-NET

227 At certain seasons of the year Beagle channel is infested by small sardine-like fish which the Yahgan captured in dip-nets (*chiwanúsh*) woven of grass. A rather poorly-made example of these is shown in fig. 89. It will be noted that there is a light wooden frame enclosed by parallel stems of grass tied to the members of the frame. This was lashed to the end of a pole and with it the fish were dipped out. A model of this implement appears in the bow of the canoe in fig. 73.

FIG. 89.—Yahgan dip-net. Height, 12 in. (14/2321)

FISH-WEIRS

According to Hyades (1891, p. 372) the Yahgan sometimes erected in suitable places fish-weirs consisting of a row of stakes. Of these I saw no trace in Tierra del Fuego.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

594 Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit. However, related families usually paddled their canoes in
484 couples, as the skin housetop was heavy for a single canoe, and they divided the common roof into two parts, of which each carried one. While the Yahgan were rovers, they usually stayed regularly in one district, where most of the people were their relatives.

622 All observers of the Yahgan comment on their lack of leadership.
554 Medicine-men asserted a certain authority through the fear they inspired, but at times they were roughly handled, so their power was in no wise secure. As no communal enterprises were undertaken, there existed no need for chiefs.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Kinship

The Yahgan kinship terms, like the Ona, were compounded with the possessive adjectives "my," "your," "his," or "her" (*háwu*, *sína*, *kichin*). These whole expressions may or may not be contracted. Additional complications were introduced by the fact that different terms in some cases were used when speaking of a person nearby or far away, and again when two people or several people took part in the conversation. 601 192

The kinship terms listed below were obtained in part from Mr. Fred. Lawrence and in part from Yahgan at Puerto Mejillones, and have been checked by Mr. William Bridges. It is difficult to gather these words, because much time has passed since many of them were used.[1] We have given many terms only in the first person when the second and third persons are regularly formed. 601

Table V.—YAHGAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Father	
my father	*háwahímun, háwimun*
your father	*sínahímun, sínimun*
his (her) father (when nearby)	*kichinhímun, kichimun*
his (her) father (when afar)	*kúnchiminhímun*
Mother	
my mother (when two speak)	*háwadábe*
my mother (when several speak)	*hídabéyan*
your mother	*sínadábe*
his (her) mother (when nearby)	*kichindábe*
his (her) mother (when afar)	*kidabéan*
Brother	
my elder brother	*háwawaíamun*
your elder brother (when nearby)	*sínawaíamun*
your elder brother (when afar)	*waímhaki*
his elder brother	*kichinwaíamun*
my middle (of 3) brother	*háwayínatápawaíma*
your middle (of 3) brother	*sínayínatápawaíma*
his middle (of 3) brother	*kichinyínatápawaíma*
my younger brother	*háwaashuwá, háwaashuwaíki*
your younger brother	*sínaashuwá, sínaashuwaíki*
his younger brother	*kichinashuwá, kichinashuwaíki*
my brother next to my eldest	*háwawaímakinchigaíakigaíaki*
my brother next to my youngest	*háwaashuwaíakinchigaíaki háwaáshpaki*
my brother next to my second	*háwayénatawaímakinchigaíakigaíaki*

[1] Both Fitzroy and Darwin comment on the extraordinary rapidity with which the Yahgan and Alacaluf taken to England in the *Beagle* forgot how to speak their native tongues.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

	Sister
601 my sister	*háwamukúskípan*
my elder sister	*háwawaíkípan*
my younger sister	*háwadshkípan*
my sister next to the oldest	*háwawaíkipánchigaíakigaíaki*
my sister next to the youngest	*háwayénatapawaíkipan*
	Uncle
my father's elder brother	*háwahimúnchiwaíamun*
my father's younger brother	*háwahimúnchiashuwá*
my mother's elder brother	*háwadabeínchiwaíamun*
my mother's younger brother	*háwadabeínchiashuwá*
my paternal uncle	*háwaí'man*
	Aunt
my mother's elder sister	*háwadabínchiwaíakípan*
my mother's younger sister	*háwadabínchiáshkípan*
my maternal aunt	*háwayéhaddábe*
my paternal aunt	*háwalemapúa*
	Grandfather
my mother's father	*háwakolúna*
	Wife
my wife	*háwakulodna*
	Son
my son	*háwamákun*
	Daughter
my daughter	*háwamakípan*
	Grandson
my grandson	*háwamágulsa*
	Cousin
my father's sister's son	*háwawúturu*
my father's sister's daughter	*háwakipawúturu*
my brothers and cousins (in general)	*háwamákusyérmalin*
my sisters and cousins (in general)	*háwamákuskípayérmalin*
	Family
my family	*háwamamakuísawila*

Marriage

601 The Yahgan addressed cousins of the first and second degree as "brother" or "sister," and were not allowed to marry within that range of consanguinity. A man spoke of his female relatives with whom marriage was forbidden as *háwamákuskípayérmalin;* a woman's prohibited relatives she named collectively *háwamákusyérmalin.* The restriction was absolute.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Among the Yahgan, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Ona. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will soon abandoned the undesired husband. In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 206) a man might have from one to four wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by custom.

Infidelity resulted in no fixed form of punishment, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yahgan man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his amours, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him.

Children

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted orphans set down in the mission records, the Yahgan did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon put an end to them or drove them under cover.

Soon after birth had taken place the Yahgan mother bathed in the sea and the new-born child was also immersed in order to toughen it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° to 50° Fahrenheit, while the air at best could be described as no warmer than temperate. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that soon after birth all but the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly eliminated.

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see incipient couvade.

Games and Amusements

The Yahgan to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much care and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling, and stones; but while these exercises often assumed the form of

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

517 sport, the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive.
526 Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport,
857 so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kahleka*, another between two groups known as *ungiana*.

524 Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball-game
857 like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

533 Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (op. cit., p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *loima*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *telania*, are songs of mourning; the *arua* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jacos* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the
535 dances are called *uona*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

526 The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

578 In general the Yahgan were not an amicable people, according
628 to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to aid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General mêlées, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges sponsors the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

628 The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1884, p. 224.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

death of a relative. All these called for vengeance, but the Yahgan seem to have felt antipathy rather than hatred, so vengeance might be deferred for several years, during which time mutual friends might compose the quarrel. 628

Blood loyalty was recognized among the Yahgan, but apparently was not fiercely cherished as among the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges states that when a murder occurred the friends and relatives of the victim would take revenge, but the family of the murderer abandoned him and made no effort to defend him. This certainly is not customary among primitive people with a highly developed consciousness of consanguinity like the Yahgan, and perhaps Mr. Bridges' statement represents the result of missionary contact rather than the original state of affairs.

Organized warfare, during which any member of one group would kill at sight any member of another group, as among the Ona, was unknown to the Yahgan, but blood revenge was sometimes executed on a relative of a murderer. [21]

Initiation

Thanks to the studies of Gusinde and Koppers full and complete information about the Yahgan initiation rites is available, and the reader desirous of fuller information than is given here is referred to their various publications on this subject listed in the bibliography. Two ceremonies were in use among the Yahgan, known as *shiehâus* and *kina*. The first of these, celebrated by both sexes, apparently is the ancient Yahgan rite, while the other corresponds closely to the Ona *klóktes* ceremony and represents culture borrowing from that tribe. Both may be described as a systematic educational course for the youth of the tribe—"going to school," the Yahgan called them. 881

For the *shiehâus* ceremony a large domed hut (*mánaga*), elliptical in outline, was erected near the encampment. The framework was of split saplings an inch or two in diameter, bent and set up to form arch-like ribs, and secured in place by a few horizontal beams (pl. XIV). These timbers were held together by lashings of gut. At either end of the hut were doors, one large to admit spectators, one small for the use of the candidates. On the roof they piled branches of the evergreen antarctic beech to afford shelter to those within, but the sides were left open to the weather. Rows of logs staked in place on the floor divided it into a central gangway 346

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

346 flanked by benches, built up by branches covered with skins. In the middle of the gangway burned a fire.

The house we have described was the type used by the central and western Yahgan. Our illustrations show the lodge erected in

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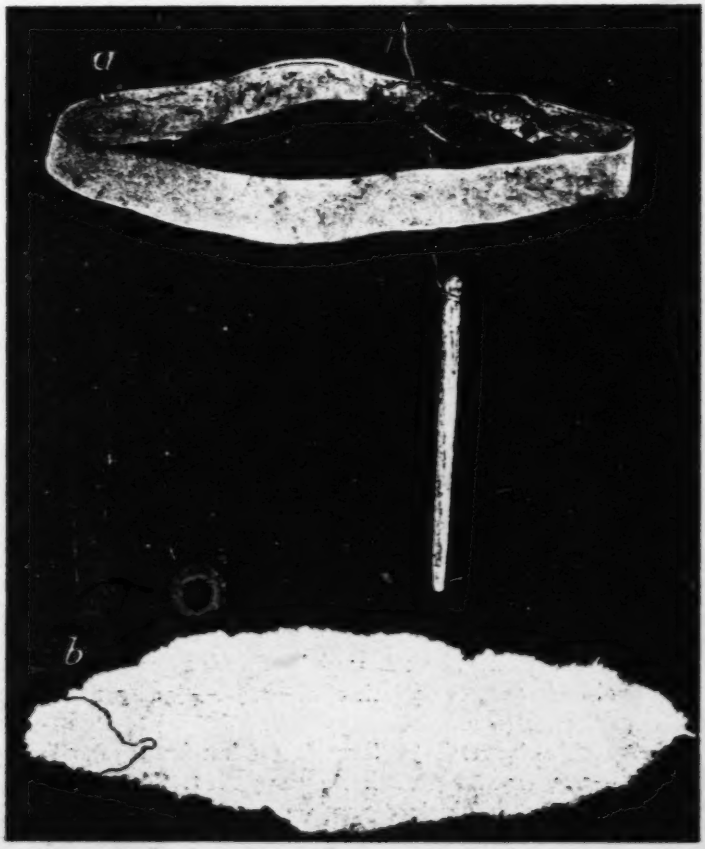

FIG. 90.—a, Eastern Yahgan initiate's headband and scratching-stick (14/2361); length of stick, 5 in. b, Kelp-goose down headband (14/2344); length, 19 in.

1922 at the instance of Gusinde and Koppers on Navarin island. The eastern Yahgan, I was informed, did not use a domed hut for this rite, but a pointed conical wigwam like that seen among the Ona (fig. 38).

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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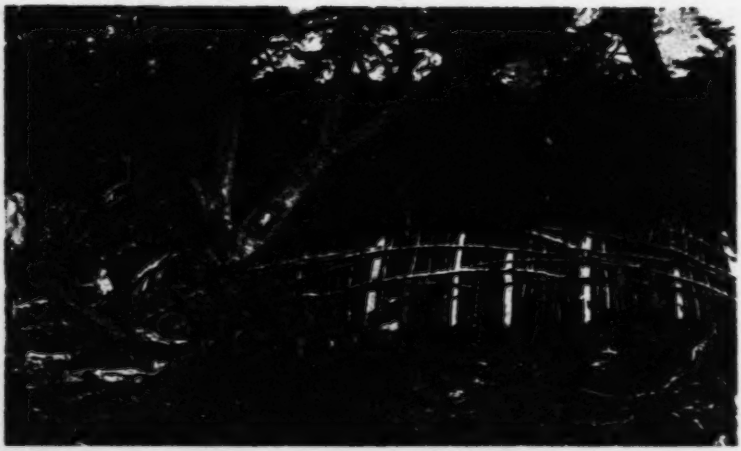

YAHGAN CEREMONIAL LODGE, PUERTO MEJILLONES, NAVARIN ISLAND

[p. 166-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

346 To beautify the initiation lodge, the flat inner surface of the
352 split saplings constituting the framework was painted with red,
531 white, and black paint. Broad boards, inserted at regular intervals in the frame, as may be seen in the upper view in pl. XIV, received similar decoration. The nature of the embellishment is shown in pl. IX, a series of designs copied from the lodge we have described. When a ceremony was in progress the hut was further adorned with small painted tablets hung from the roof, while an additional touch of color came from painted wands (fig. 91) which often were wedged in the frame of the house when not in use.

FIG. 91.—Yahgan painted ceremonial wands. Length of *b*, 24 in. (14/2227½)

343 Two hundred feet or so from the initiation lodge a second and smaller hut was erected to serve as a cook-house where meals for the candidates and officials were prepared.

292 The paraphernalia used during the ceremony we illustrate in
293 pl. XV and figs. 90 and 91. It consists of heron-plume headbands (*hapawára*) worn by the officials, kelp-goose down headbands (*pagal*) worn by the others present, a narrow hide headband painted white (*hehel*) worn by the initiate during part of the ceremony, a small stick also painted white (*w'matáinia*) used for scratching, and variously painted wands (*tumoistáka*). The scratching-stick is assigned to all the Yahgan by Koppers (1925), but I was told that it was used only by the easterners. The wands were held in the hand during the singing and dancing, and were swung in time with the music. When not in use they were thrust upright in the ground or stuck in the frame of the lodge. If one fell on the ground it was considered an evil omen. I was told that these wands were not in use among the easterners. The men in charge of the ceremony kept at hand a seal-hide thong like that pictured in fig. 76, but adorned with closely spaced red dots; it was used to tie up any candidate who became unruly.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 The oldest and most experienced of the men present assembled before the ceremony and agreed on the time and manner in which it was to be conducted. From their number they chose one who was both respected and well liked to be the master of ceremonies. Another they selected as the official instructor of the candidates, while others they designated "policemen." Their duties were to assemble the candidates in the lodge—by force if necessary—to see that they were submissive at all times, to sit on the roof during the ceremony and ward off any threat from without, and to communicate with the cook-house when necessary. Finally each candidate had three godparents, two of his own and one of the opposite sex. Their part was to see that the candidates fulfilled all the ritual properly and to help them as much as possible, for it was to the credit of the godparents if their adopted children did well. In addition to the candidates and the officials, most of the grown people came to celebrate the ceremony. Places were taken in family groups, while the initiates sat with their godparents. All sat with their legs crossed under them and with arms akimbo, thereby taking up as little room as possible so that a large number might receive the warmth of the central fire.

For the first three days of the initiation, candidates maintained a strict fast, for their allowance of food was only from three to five mussels a day. Their water supply also was limited and had to be consumed through a hollow bird-bone. At night they were forced to maintain their cross-legged position, with the exception of four to six hours when they were allowed to sleep. If they relaxed at any other time they were pushed back into position by the older people and perhaps beaten for their lapse.

During the day the initiates received instruction in the art of making a living. The men instructed the boys in the methods of hunting, how to make tools and weapons, how to build canoes and houses, etc. Similarly the women taught the girls how to gather mussels and fungi, how to make baskets, buckets, and necklaces, how to rear children, etc.

At nightfall all the candidates were taken to the beach and forced to bathe in the icy water of the ocean. After the first bath the boys received a sort of tattooing on their chests, consisting of three lines of scratches into which they rubbed red paint. This was not real tattooing, because the cuts were not deep enough to retain the color permanently.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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[p. 168-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S366 Yahgan S366

The greater part of the *chiokdas* ceremony was filled with singing and dancing. By means of song they sought both to communicate with and to keep at a distance the *Fetaix*, a great evil spirit, who, the candidates were told, might seriously injure the occupants of the initiation lodge. Dancing served to neutralize the evil of his presence. To frighten him, the walls of the hut were beaten with sticks. Candidates were told to follow directions exactly or the *Fetaix* would seize them. Sometimes the *Fetaix* actually appeared —a man fantastically painted. Finally the candidates were told who it was and were warned that the real *Fetaix* was much worse than what they had seen.

The master of ceremonies usually was the leader in the singing, though sometimes this duty was assigned to another old man. The dances, which usually came late at night, were named for certain animals. Both the melody and the movements suggested characteristic peculiarities of this animal.

The moral instruction of the candidates they divided between the godparents and the official teacher, at whose feet the initiates had to sit from time to time. They were taught to be altruistic in thought and conduct, and to exhibit the virtues of hospitality and generosity. Respect for the aged was inculcated, for all must grow old in time. The boys they taught to be peaceful and not to make enemies, to treat women with respect, to help the young and the blind. The girls they told to rise early in the morning to get their water and wood, to care faithfully for their husbands and children, not to fuss about trifles, nor to repeat gossip. Behind these instructions stood a certain amount of religious sanction, for the evil *Fetaix* threatened them, while the supreme *Wainaiowa* observed their every action. This moral code set a standard for the tribe to which in practice they did not adhere too rigidly.

After some days of instruction the ceremony came to a close. At a given hour the candidates assembled behind a curtain at one end of the hut. One by one they were called forth with the master of ceremonies dancing beside them and were ceremonially surrendered to their godparents and therewith accepted as members of the tribe. The godfather gave his child three gifts: a finely woven *goikim* basket adorned with feathers, a bird-bone like the one used to drink with, and a scratching-stick.

In the final hours of the last evening the women took charge under the leadership of an old woman. She and the other women

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1920
Yahgan 5008

[illegible] song, seated in the central part of the lodge. Finally a mask hatch between the seats was stayed.

Such then was the shelter ceremony. On it the Yahgan believed their well-being depended, and without it no one could have any standing in the community. In fact each individual repeated the performance two or more times, but received preliminary treatment after the first course.

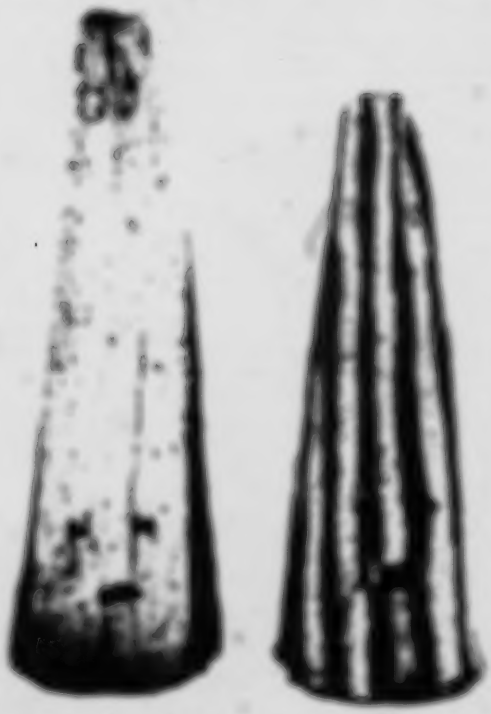

Fig. [illegible]—Yahgan dance masks. Height of n. 27 in. (MCCIII, 5000)

After having experienced the shelter, Yahgan men were allowed to enter the time ceremony. This rite resembled the Ona Kloke. Gusinde and Koppers believe that it originated among the Ona, pointing out that inequality of the sexes was foreign to Yahgan precept and that it was not taken as seriously by the Yahgan as the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges speaks of the shrill laughter among the Yahgan women when a mask fell off a whipped spirit, thus revealing his human character.

This ceremony fell into disuse among the Yahgan as early as the eighties of the last century; but it was revived in 1922 for the benefit of Gusinde and Koppers, to whom accounts of it the reader is referred. While differing in details, it was essentially like the Ona rite except that the treatment of the candidates neither lasted so long nor was as severe as among the Fuegian Indians.

3: Lothrop E-9 (1924-1925) 1928
3385 Yahgan 3356

In figs. 92 and 93 are illustrated masks of the masks used by the Yahgan. The material is either bark (fig. 92) or seal-hide (fig. 93), cut to pattern and sewed together with whalebone and gut respectively. There is usually a small opening at the top for ventilation. As Yahgan paints were not waterproof, a single mask could be adorned to represent many characters by the simple expedient of washing and repainting it.

As to the characters represented by the Yahgan, in fig. 92, a, is the rainbow, distinguished by broad red, white, and black bands; b has alternate red and white stripes, and is represents a mask-like fish. In fig. 93, a, is a model of the Ashijanika ghost mask, while b represents the sea-lion. The wearers of these masks painted their bodies and faces with similar decorative patterns.

a b

FIG. 92.—Model Yahgan dance masks. Height of a, 10 in. (14.5 cm.)

Religion

Although it has been repeatedly stated on excellent authority that the Yahgan had no real religion, I think it definitely established that they had religious beliefs and practices.

The Yahgan world was peopled by innumerable unseen beings: ghosts (*kashpin*) of departed shamans, spirits of the sea, the rocks, and the trees. These people, for the greater part, were malicious by nature, resentful of intrusion on their privacy, and, when seen by man, terrifying in aspect. Solitary travelers might suddenly find themselves facing a fierce spirit across the light of his camp-fire,

1: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SM6 Yahgan SM6

and might be seized and done to death. However, the shaman usually had power over demons of this type and could give protection.

Apart from and above these lesser spirits was the great Watuiwaia, described by Koppers (1925). This supreme being, though not concerned with creation, was the master of all. He sent the great flood in days long past, he causes death, he controls the game and fish supply, he is perfect and almighty. To him prayers were offered in sickness, grief, and thanksgiving, for this was not an aloof god normally forgetful of the affairs of mankind. Rather he was a supreme dispenser of justice, and he always punished the wicked.

The Shaman

Among the Yahgan both medicine-men and medicine-women existed and played an important part in the community. Supernatural powers were attained by certain individuals thought to have command over a natural spirit and the ghosts of departed witch-doctors. Thus dowered they could either kill or cure the individual and could affect the well-being of the community by controlling the weather or the food supply.

Disease, as among many primitive folk, they accredited to causes no less concrete than wounds. Hence the shaman must work his cure by removing some foreign object lodged in the body of the patient through accident or malice. Usually the doctor, after much massage, manipulation, and incantation, would triumphantly produce a stone or some other object, which he claimed to have extracted from the sufferer. The cures actually wrought can be attributed to the often beneficial results of the massage and to the healing power of suggestion.

According to Koppers (1925), the shaman assumed his function as the result of a "call" coming to either a man or a woman. This inner vocation took the form of a dream in which friendly relations were established with natural spirits and with the ghosts of dead shamans. After several such dreams a personal guardian spirit would be established. To the men a sort of shaman's school was open, but women were barred from this because they had not passed the men's final initiation. During the period of this school dreams were encouraged by rigorous training, much practice was given in the necessary sleight-of-hand tricks, and the proper chants were memorized. The curious spectacle of a man walking on hot

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

756 coals witnessed by Rev. Thomas Bridges (1893, p. 238) may have been part of this training.

Graduation from the shaman school did not insure a successful 756 professional career, for only by repeated proofs of power could the 887 individual's reputation be established. It seems that there was much competition among the medicine-men, and several early observers note a tendency of almost all the older people to work cures, to prophesy, etc.

FIG. 94.—Yahgan shaman's bag. Diameter, 11 in. (14/2337)

756 In fig. 94 is illustrated the 415 guanaco-hide bag in which the shaman carried his impedimenta. The contents were diadems of heron-plumes and of kelp-goose down, and white paint. To these doubtless should be added a number of small hard objects to be shown to the sick as the cause of their pain.

DEATH

764 When death took place the corpse was wrapped in old seal-skins and buried outside of the house within twenty-four hours. If the ground were frozen, the corpse might be covered with stones and shrubs to keep off dogs and foxes, or it might be buried in a cave or on a small island. Hyades (1891, p. 379) says that when death occurred far from home the body was carried into the woods and cremated. This was done that the bones might not fall into the hands of enemies and be made into harpoon-points.

765 For mourning the family of the defunct covered themselves with

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

765 [535] black paint and indulged in formal ululation. They summoned their friends and relatives to the death-dance known as *yamalashemoina*, which might be repeated at intervals for several months. For it the men and women donned the white kelp-goose headband; the men supplied themselves with clubs of unusual length (fig. 95),

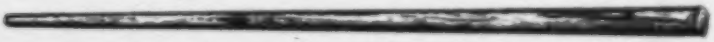

FIG. 95.—Yahgan ceremonial club. Length, 5 ft. (14/2261)

[761] and the women carried paddles. As with many primitive tribes, the Yahgan believed death due to some positive and active force, visible or invisible. Hence the mourning ceremony carried the threat of revenge and assumed the character of a sham battle.

775 It has been both asserted and denied that the Yahgan believed in the immortality of the soul. Testimony on this point secured in recent years from mission-reared Indians might not be considered conclusive, but mythological tales clearly indicate belief in survival. As among the Ona, only unusually powerful and bold spirits, such as those of shamans, were able to maintain contact with the visible world.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The Yahgan possessed the usual collection of myths found among primitive peoples, but these are exceedingly simple in character and lacking in humor or sublety. The most extensive study of the mythology of this tribe was conducted by Gusinde and Koppers, and has been published only in outline. Barclay, Thomas Bridges, Cojazzi, and Martial also have contributed mythological material of importance, while a few scattered tales occur in the works of other writers. It has seemed worth while to summarize these published sources because they often are difficult to obtain and have appeared in five different languages. We have followed the classification of Koppers (1924).

EXPLANATORY MYTHS

There are a large number of tales which explain the various phenomena of nature such as the slow approach of dawn, the shape of the rainbow, the spots on the moon, the bare tops of the mountains, etc. Such tales often form incidents in the more complex myth cycles we shall discuss.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

ETHICAL MYTHS

In this class are various stories dealing with adultery and incest. The wrongdoer is invariably punished and usually dies in disgrace. These stories are told the young during the initiation ceremonies as part of their education.

GHOST STORIES

Ghosts (*kushpig*), especially of dead shamans, were greatly feared among the Yahgan, as they were thought at times to intervene maliciously in human affairs. Hence tales exist of close escapes or death at their hands. We should also mention tales of men who had gone mad from some cause. Living in savage solitude, they sometimes terrified the Yahgan by appearing before them or attacking with desperate fury.

"ONCE-UPON-A-TIME" STORIES

There are many stories of varied character dealing with the escapades of unnamed individuals. Quite often these tales merge in classification with transformation myths. As an example we quote the following story recorded by Cojazzi (1914, p. 32):

"A young girl was playing on the beach, following the retreating waves. A seal saw her and swam in on a big wave which caught and spilled her. He swam off with her on his back to an island where they lived two years. The seal learned Yahgan. They had a son like a man in shape but covered with seal-hide. One day the woman said she would like to visit her family, and the seal agreed; so he loaded the mother and son on his back and swam to the beach, where he waited while the girl visited her parents, who failed to recognize her. But finally they received her with joy and commenced to prepare a feast. And the men, seeing a seal on the beach, ran down and killed it, and they cooked it for the feast and gave it to the mother and son to eat. Then the son said to his mother, 'Isn't seal meat good?' The mother had a horrid presentiment and ran to the beach where she had left her husband and encountered the traces of blood. Furiously she beat her child over the head, and he fell in the sea and became the fish called *sciuno*."

GIANT STORIES

To the Yahgan the giants (*kanush*) were large and fearsome creatures with hairy skin, flowing locks, and ferocious natures.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

773 Their appearance could not be foretold, with the exception of a few who in ancient times set up as highwaymen on traveled thoroughfares. In general, however, they confined their attention to solitary travelers or to women and children who strayed from the encampment. Martial (p. 213) and Dabbene (p. 66) record the story of a giant shaped like a huge sea-lion, who lived in a cave on Gable island and killed and ate the crews of passing canoes. A young man named Oumoara, small in stature but dextrous with his weapons and courageous in conflict, decided to kill this giant. So he said good bye to his wives and set off alone in a canoe. As he drew near shore he put out the giant's eyes with two successive sling shots; then he poured all his arrows into the giant's body and finished him off with the harpoon.

Once, as the result of the amours of a woman and a block of stone, there was born a giant, who, like Achilles, was vulnerable only in the heel. He lived on the coast of Hoste island where he killed the men and carried off the women. One day he hurt himself in the heel by accident. Oumoara heard of this, and, knowing his weakness, decided to attack him. Thus the giant was slain.

CULTURE-BEARER MYTHS

Koppers (1924) outlines a complex story dealing with two brothers called Yoä'lox and their sister Yoä'loxtörnikipa. According to Yahgan tradition these three were culture-bearers who introduced the use of fire, the art of killing birds, hunting sea-lion, getting fish-oil, making spears with barbs. They were said to have come from the east by land. Taken in conjunction with the Ona legend of bearded white men, I think it is clear that in Tierra del Fuego we have an outlying trace of the Quetzalcoatl-Viracocha myth complex, most highly developed in Mexico, Colombia, and Peru. In the art of more developed cultures than the Fuegian, this hero is associated with the plumed serpent or dragon complex which is the most basic and wide-spread of compound symbolic patterns found among the American Indians, for it can be traced from southern Canada to northern Argentina.

The Yahgan version is that the older Yoä'lox was stupid and lazy, and he wished that the fire would never go out, that the spear would return of itself to the hand after the cast, that seawater should be fish-oil, that man should not die. The younger brother, active and intelligent, said that the unguarded fire should

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

go out, that the carefully cast spear hits the mark and need not return to the hand, that fish-oil tastes better if one works for it, that it is better to die as one lives again elsewhere. In this the sister, the cleverest of the three, sided with the younger brother.

On arrival in the Yahgan country, the various arts and industries were introduced. There followed a general giving of names, the beginning of sexual intercourse, rules governing menstruation, etc. The two brothers and their sister are now stars in the sky.

DEBACLE MYTHS

In this myth cycle belong the story of the origin of the initiation ceremonies, and a flood myth. According to Koppers, it is told as follows:

Long ago the women ruled the men, who then performed all the duties today allotted to the women. The weaker sex had gained their power by the *kina* ceremony. Painted fantastically and disguised by masks, they terrified into subjection their men folk, who believed they were looking at supernatural spirits controlled by their wives. At that time Hanuxa, the moon, was the leader of the women and chief oppressor of the men.

Lōm, the sun, was the ablest hunter and bravest of the men. One day, as he was returning from a successful hunt, he hid behind some bushes and listened to the talk of two girls who were bathing, and from them he learned the whole *kina* secret: there were no ghosts or spirits, only the women themselves. Then a great rage seized Lōm, and with other men whom he quickly aroused he rushed into the *kina* hut and killed all the grown women, so that only young and ignorant girls remained living. Since that day the *kina* ceremony has been celebrated by and for the benefit of the men, who thus keep the women in subjection. According to Martial (p. 213), this event transpired near Ushuaia at a time when the Ona were encamped there, so that the two tribes uprooted their social systems together.

Hanuxa, the leader of the women, escaped the general massacre, but she was badly beaten and immediately went to the sky where she became the moon, and today the result of her beating shows in the spots on her face. Discomfited and angry at what had transpired she planned revenge, and so she sent a great flood which covered all the earth except a few mountain-peaks where some people managed to survive.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Later Lōm took to the heavens and became the sun; his father, Taruwa Lōm, became a star (Venus?); his brother, Akainix, became the rainbow.

Several variants of the flood myth have been recorded in Yahganland. Koppers himself speaks of another version in which Laxuwakipa, the ibex, in rage once sent a great cold spell so that vast quantities of snow fell. Later this all melted and a destructive flood followed. Cojazzi (1914, p. 31) records that among the central and eastern Yahgan they say the moon once fell in the sea. Hence the waters rose above everything but the loftiest mountain-peaks, where a few men and women took refuge with the animals. When the moon climbed back into the sky, the survivors descended and feasted on a dead whale that they found. Another version given by Cojazzi (*loc. cit.*) is that at the time of the flood Gable island became loose at the bottom and floated like a great ship, on which many were saved. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 13) it was not the moon but the sun who fell in the sea and caused the flood.

THE ALACALUF

Of the Alacaluf, the second tribe of Canoe Indians found on Fuegian shores, only two members were seen by the writer. We therefore have no contribution to make on the Alacaluf. In general Alacaluf material culture was almost identical with that of the western Yahgan. They were, however, slightly better workmen than the Yahgan, so that at times their manufactures can be distinguished from those of their neighbors by the superior finish. For a useful summary of Alacaluf literature the reader is referred to Dr. Cooper's Bibliography.

ARCHEOLOGY OF SOUTHERN TIERRA DEL FUEGO

Camp-sites

The shores of Beagle channel are dotted with the refuse of former Yahgan camp-sites. Composed of ash, bone, stone, and shell, and partly denuded of vegetation, these middens can be recognised from afar by their peculiar pearl-gray color, which differs from the green-gray rock and the brown-gray soil. They are found in sheltered places, where there is a beach for landing, kelp off-shore for mooring canoes, and where water and firewood are readily available.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Examination of the surfaces of the middens reveals on top a series of pits which represent house-sites (fig. 103). These pits are from ten to fifteen feet in diameter, anywhere up to six feet deep (two feet being an average figure), and are circular in outline. Within the pits are traces of inhabitation—hammers, grease stones, etc.—usually today half engulfed by grass. Sometimes house-sites can be determined by small circular patches of unusually luxuriant grass fertilized by refuse, where various utensils can be found. 172

Like the Ona, the Yahgan did not speak of the dead or camp on a spot where death was known to have occurred. So certain house-pits on any given site must at times have remained unoccupied during many decades until the memory of one who died there had passed. The other pits were occupied but intermittently by the ever-roving Yahgan. Rarely did they pass even a few weeks at any given spot. This factor makes difficult any attempt to estimate the age of these great shellheaps by calculating their cubic contents in relation to the probable number of inhabitants. 769 172

The seaward slopes of the middens are fronting the beach and stand so close to the waters that they are occasionally dashed with spray, and many are undercut by the waves for a foot or two at the base (pl. XVI). From this, slight submergence of the land since the heaps were commenced may be argued. As the shellheaps are really great terraces built out from rising ground toward the beach, the seaward slopes are steep. This steepness is increased by the undercutting of the waves, which often cause small landslides. Thus the vegetation is removed and large sections of refuse are exposed for examination as well as if trenches had been dug. At the same time the shells, bone, and ash brought down to the beach by erosion are carried away by the sea, but the heavier stone implements are left at the base of the exposed face where they may be readily gathered. 172

An interior feature frequently exposed by erosion is that the shells have in places solidified into a breccia, which forms a floor a foot or so in thickness. These spots occur sporadically and at no uniform depth, and it was impossible to determine the special conditions which had given rise to them.

It must be remembered that, as the Yahgan had no cooking-vessels, many of the shells in the refuse have been exposed to the action of fire and hence are calcined. From this it follows that they are very brittle and have been crushed by passing feet when

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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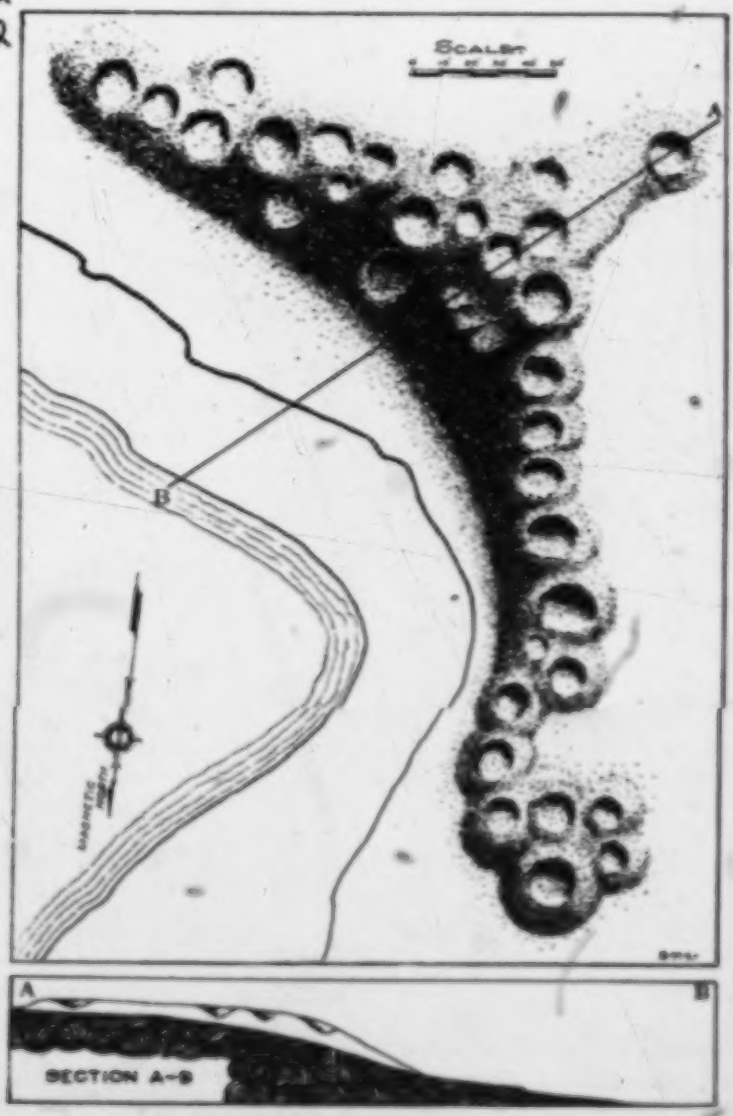

FIG. 96.—Wāpisatumlookulum shellheap, Harberton, Tierra del Fuego.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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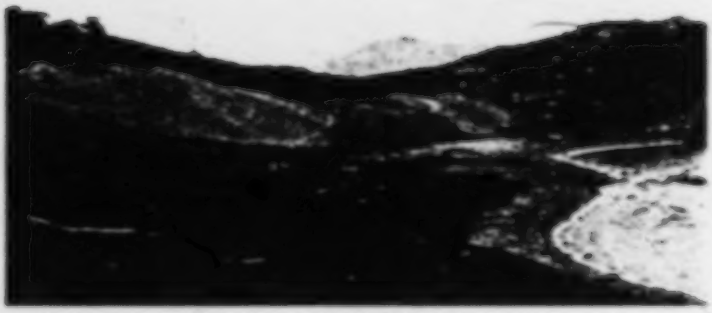

GABLE ISLAND SHELLHEAPS
[p. 180-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 they were on the surface and perhaps again centuries later by the weight of the superposed débris. Any theory that the rotting of shells is due solely to age would therefore seem to be untenable.

As a typical example of a Beagle Channel shellheap we shall describe a site (No. 2 in fig. 98) at Harberton. The Yahgan called it *Wápistumdmahalum*, meaning "the dead whale floated away," in reference to a long past yet tragic alimentary loss. A plan of this midden we show in fig. 96, while a photograph of the southern arm appears in fig. 97. As is usually the case, it stands just above the beach, here composed of shingle on which many shellfish can be picked up. The site fronts on a small cove facing eastward and thus is protected from the prevailing westerly winds and storms. The land has been cleared, but formerly the peninsula was forest-covered and supplied abundant firewood. There is now no water

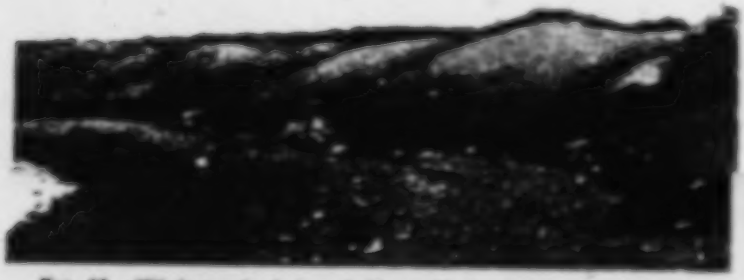

FIG. 97.—*Wápistumdmahalum* shellheap, Harberton, Tierra del Fuego.

supply nearby, but there may have been a spring on the peninsula which has dried up since the trees were cut down.

The thirty-odd house-sites pitting the upper surface of the shellheap face the cove in an irregular line. They vary greatly in size, for it seems that some of them have been abandoned for many years and partly filled in. The southern arm of the midden appears to have been longest inhabited, because additional house-pits in front of the original line were placed in the rubbish as it was built out toward the sea. In some of the larger shellheaps as many as four or five rows of house-pits can be distinguished.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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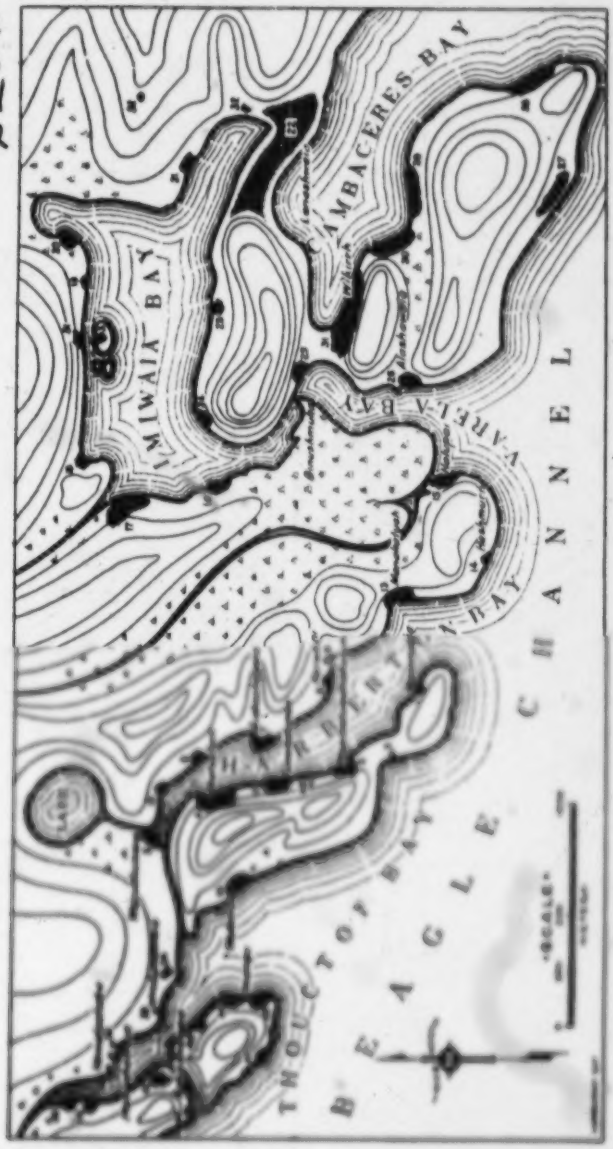

FIG. 98.—Canoe-sites and place-names near Harberton, Tierra del Fuego.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Excavation of a test pit (just behind the bushes at the right edge of fig. 97) yielded the following results: 172

1. The interior shells were found to be as solid as those on the surface.
2. Finely powdered wood-ash had not been washed away, although the drainage was good.
3. At a depth of a little more than a foot appeared a type of mussel-shell which could not be found on the beach locally. To this too great significance should not be attached, as it is well known that shell-fish types migrate rapidly. Near San Julian in Patagonia the writer also found giant oyster-shells of a type not known locally.
4. Animal bones are common. At the bottom, long-bones, although wet and very cold (the frost often does not leave the ground till after Christmas), were as strong and sound as if only a year or two old. Vertebræ, ribs, scapulæ, etc., on the other hand, were usually badly rotted and often crumbled at a touch.
5. No distinction between stone objects on the surface and in the interior of the mounds could be detected.
6. The shellheaps throw little light on the culture or antecedents of the Yahgan except for two points:

   a. It seems that no other people except the Yahgan ever occupied southern Fuegia.

   b. It seems that the Yahgan have lived there for a very long time.

On several sections of the coast of Beagle channel a careful examination of the shellheaps was made, because, while an individual mound might give no clue to the density and antiquity of the migratory population in pre-European times, it seemed that a group of mounds might do so. The districts thus studied were: (1) the adjacent Varela, Cambaceres, Imiwaia, Harberton, and Thouctof bays; (2) the channels between Gable island and Tierra Mayor; (3) Puerto Mejillones and the vicinity on Navarin; (4) Róbalo bay on Navarin island. Other localities on Beagle channel or on the islands down to the Horn might equally well have been selected, but the above-mentioned places were convenient and accessible. The location of each shellheap was carefully plotted and an accurate count of the hut-pits made at each site. These counts usually were made by two observers independently to insure their correctness.

Turning now to fig. 98, a map is shown which locates fifty-two shellheaps. In an air-line this map extends from east to west a little more than three miles, but the ever-curving shoreline covers

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 approximately sixteen miles. Fresh water flows into all of these bays and is found in a pond on Camfiaceres peninsula behind middens 29, 30, and 31; small springs are encountered in several places. Firewood is obtainable anywhere except on the marshes flanking the Varela river. Shellfish abound everywhere except in the upper part of Imiwaia bay. Excellent shelter in case of storms is amply provided, and, except in the roughest weather, it is possible to round the various peninsulas in a canoe owing to the heavy bands of kelp that encompass them off-shore. It is an ideal region for a people materially equipped to face life as were the Yahgan.

172 361 The number of house-pits counted—1215—indicates that the Yahgan fully appreciated the advantages of the district. The size of each individual camp-site is shown in the following table:

TABLE VI.—YAHGAN CAMP-SITES AND HUTS NEAR HARBERTON

Camp-site	Number of Huts	Camp-site	Number of Huts
1	12	27	16+
2	35+	28	22+
3	2	29	26
4	40+	30	73
5	50+	31	114+
6	12	32	5
7	31	33	8+
8	8	34	14
9	2	35	22+
10	43	36	6
11	50+	37	5
12	5	38	5
13	43	39	10+
14	7	40	11
15	23	41	23+
16	18	42	9
17	62	43	14
18	15	44	28
19	2	45	27
20	10	46	6
21	9	47	13
22	130+	48	13
23	13	49	4
24	15	50	25+
25	21	51	8
26	35+	52	4
		Total	1215+
		Average	23+

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928

SH6 Yahgan SH6

17a
133

[p. 189-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5386 Yahgan 5386

Fig. 96.—Approximate cross-section of shellheap 17, Isla Navarin, Tierra del Fuego.

162
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163

Fig. 100.—Location of shellheaps on the channel between Gable Island and Tierra del Fuego.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 361 The densest population in this group centered on Cambacuna bay, where 367 hut-pits were counted. The camp-sites on the south side, known to the Indians as Wikirrh, display unusually deep house-pits, while Landebwala (pl. XVII, 5) on the opposite

[102 103]

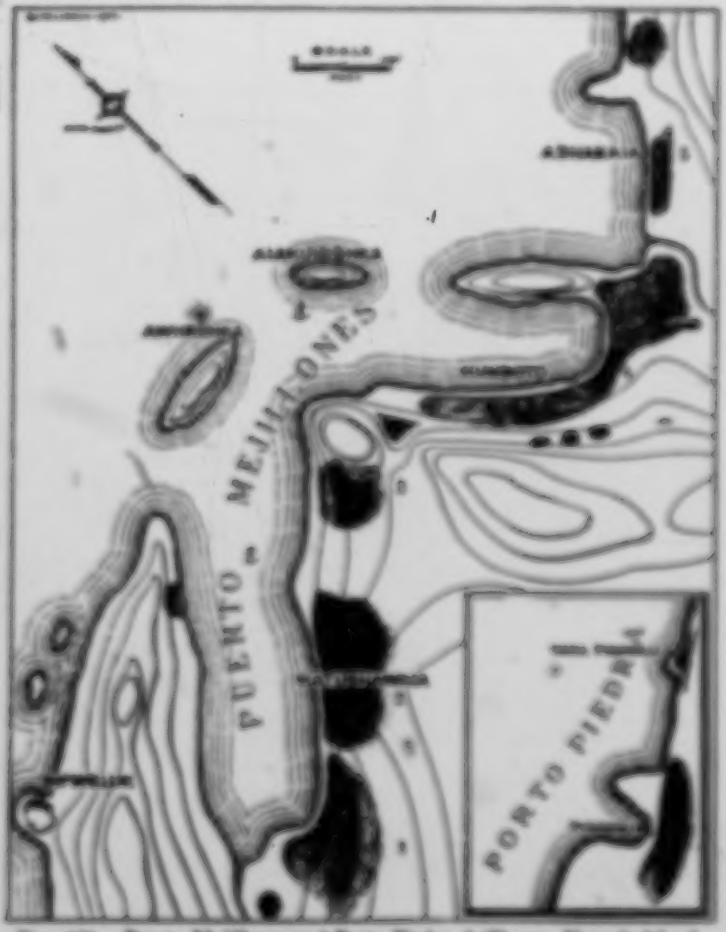

FIG. 101.—Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra shellheaps, Navarin island.

shore was evidently a later or less popular settlement, as the pits are relatively shallow.

731 About 1880 there occurred here one of those tragedies which must have been not uncommon among the Yahgan. A dead

3: Lothrop E-5 (1926-1925) 1928
SHS Yahgan SHS

whale floated ashore, and Gua and Hanch came to join the local Yahgan in the coming feast. But all were poisoned by the meat and most of the company died—so many indeed that the survivors fled, leaving the bones of their relatives to whiten the beach for many years afterward.

Iniwaia bay (pl. xx, lower) is completely landlocked and the tide runs strongly through the narrow entrance. Hence it is not readily accessible. The large heap No. 22 (Lanikawia) backs on it, but the principal access to this camp must have been from the Cambaceres side. In the northwest corner, however, there is a large and very deep middden (No. 17), of which we give a section in fig. 99. This is conveniently situated beside a small stream, and its approach from the entrance channel is sheltered from the prevailing westerly winds. Heap 31, on the north shore, was evidently abandoned long ago, as large beech-trees had grown on top of the refuse—the only case of this kind observed by the writer. The upper end of Iniwaia bay is shallow and muddy, and not suited for camp-sites.

Harberton bay, the headquarters of the Bridges' sheep ranches on the south coast, is ideally suited for camp-sites, and no fewer than fifteen were inspected. Of these, No. 2, which has been described above (page 181), and Nos. 4, 5, 11, and 15, are large and important. No. 6 was occupied by Indians in the summer of 1923-24. This bay well illustrates the Yahgan tendency to give every few hundred yards of coast-line a separate name.

The Thouvenel bay middens, although numerous, are for the greater part small, and offer no peculiarities.

The other groups of shellheaps examined differ in no material way from the Harberton cluster. In fig. 100 we show the settlements along the channel between Tierra Mayor and Cable island, a sheltered, well-watered, and well-wooded region, which affords a convenient resting place at the end of an exposed strip of coast to the westward. The size of some of the middens is as follows:

Camp-site	Number of Boys	Camp-site	Number of Boys
4	4	9	8
5	16	10	40
6	7	11	12
7	1	12	8
8	8	13	12

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1929
5885 Yaigan 5885 -

[illegible] Of these, No. 6 was occupied by the Yaigan during the summer of 1923-24. No. 10, seen in pl. [illegible] (upper view), was an unusually deep midden conveniently situated beside a spring.

Another group of Yaigan camp-sites, at Puerto Mejillones and at Puerto Piedra along the coast to the westward, is seen in pl. [illegible] and mapped in fig. 101. Here practically all the Yaigan now come to pass the winter months, living on the proceeds of the skins they have sold during the preceding summer or on their wages earned on various sheep ranches. They dwell in poorly constructed houses built of driftwood boards. The size of the shellheaps is as follows:

Camp-site	Number of Huts	Camp-site	Number of Huts
1	12	5	20
2	30	—	0
3	25	Piedrada	25
4	10	Valle Piedrada	12

[illegible]

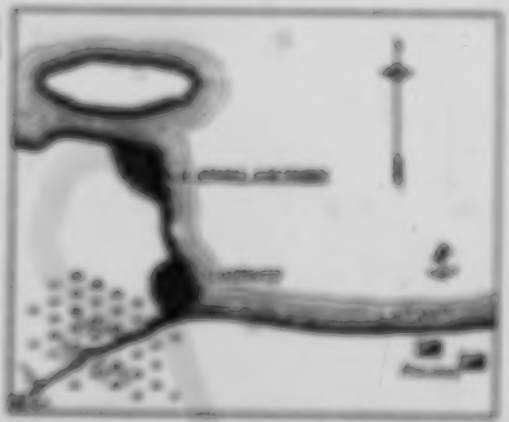

Fig. 101.—Bilindo bay, Navarin island, showing the location of shellheaps.

Puerto Mejillones vary in size considerable size, and the original number of house-pits was much greater than that given above, but they have been trampled flat by cattle. The greatest depth of deposit was seen at site 2, where the debris appeared to be 12 or 15 feet thick (pls. [illegible], [illegible]).

One of the Puerto Piedra shellheaps is of unusual size. This site today is covered by several modern houses and the house-pits have been trampled down by cattle.

At Bilindo bay of Navarin island are two large shellheaps containing 43 and 38 house-sites. The one called Alamelakirk is

3: Lothrop E-3 (1924-1925) 1928

SMS Tokyo SMS

[illegible]

[illegible]

[3]
[72]

[illegible]

[p. 188-A]

3: Lothrop E.-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SHS Yahgan SHS

fig. 102, pictured in fig. 103, is an exceptionally deep midden; it towers over the head, although situated on flat land. On the seaward side this heap has been undercut by the waves, which have exposed a large and solid layer of lenticia near the bottom of the refuse.

FIG. 102.—Shell-midden, Ribalo bay.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL FORMS

We have discussed at some length the nature of the Yahgan camp-sites and now must take up the very primitive remains to be found in their dwellings.

First, however, we should remark that the Yahgan, even today when metal tools are readily available, show a marked tendency to use anything which comes to hand, be it a shell fragment or a flint chip. Consequently, in the old days they must have accomplished much of their handwork with such eolithic implements, and probably used their more formal tools principally for the arduous or very delicate tasks. This tendency is brought out by the small number of really well-wrought implements which have come from the middens in comparison with the comparatively great number of crude or half-finished ones.

The specimens illustrated were picked up on the seaward slope of various middens where the undercutting of the waves had

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172
4/2

disturbed the surface. In consequence there is no evidence from what level they had come originally.

1. KNIVES.—Chipped blades apparently intended for use as knives normally are leaf-shape, from two to five inches long, and, unlike the Ona knives, are worked on both sides. In pl. XIX, *a*, *b*, are shown two examples of large knives, each with a small nock near one end to assist in the hafting. Smaller blades appear in *c*, *d*, and *e* of the same plate; these may well have served as knives or conceivably might have been barbless tips for spear or arrow.

2. SCRAPERS.—Although two kinds of scrapers come from the shellheaps, neither is very common, probably because the Yahgan did most of their scraping with shell. In fig. 104, *a*, we show a

FIG. 104.—Scrapers from Wápisatumánakulum, Harberton, Tierra del Fuego. Length of *a*, 2⅞ in. (14/3977)

disc scraper with a cutting edge completely encircling it. Fig. 104, *b* and *c*, both seem to be scraper-blades fashioned for hafting in the manner of the modern Ona flesher. One of them (*c*) has a recessed curve at one end of the blade; this may have been intended for cleaning bones, or possibly it served merely to give additional grip for the lashings.

The Yahgan with whom the writer came in contact denied that they had ever used this type of scraper. Mr. William Bridges however, stated that he had seen them employed, an assertion borne out by the discovery of these archeological specimens.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172
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STONE BLADES, WÁPISATUMÁNAKULUH, HARBERTON, TIERRA DEL FUEGO
LENGTH OF b, 9 cm. (natural)

[p.190-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172
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3. Spearpoints.—Four spear- or arrow-points are illustrated in fig. 105. Of these, *a* is a triangular blade with barbs but no tang,

Fig. 105.—Stone blades. *a*, Near Gable island (5/R544); *b*, *c*, Whpémumkuhlum, Harberton (14/3977); *d*, Róbalo bay, Navarin island (14/4002). Length of *b*, 3 in.

while *b* has a tang but no barbs. However, *c* and *d* had both tang and barbs, and this seems to be the dominant Beagle Channel

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 type, because several other specimens have been published by
412 Bove (1883) and Hyades (1891). The general shape of these points is similar to that of modern Ona arrowpoints and ancient stone points from eastern Tierra del Fuego. Yahgan workmanship, on the whole, is cruder than Ona, and to the writer's knowledge no points have been found on the south coast equal to the delicate blade illustrated in fig. 40.

4. Hammerstones, Anvils, Grease Stones.—Every Yahgan family carried an oval water-worn stone which was used for a variety of purposes, such as hammering. These stones (fig. 70) may be picked up at every ancient camp-site.

5. Bone Tools.—Bone tools of modern type sometimes are found in shellheaps under conditions implying considerable antiquity.

Age of Archeological Remains

172 The age of the archeological remains on Beagle channel is a
174 problem that has intrigued the writer from the moment of his arrival there, and every effort was made to collect data for its solution. It should be frankly stated at the outset of this discussion that there is no exact answer, but it is nevertheless possible to deduce an approximate figure. There are several methods by which the problem may be attacked; thus we shall discuss (1) the variations in Yahgan speech, (2) known historical movements in other parts of South America, (3) the internal evidence of age in Fuegian shellheaps, and finally (4) their probable rate of accumulation.

1. Antiquity of the Yahgan Dialects

174 As explained above, the Yahgan spoke five distinct though
197 mutually intelligible dialects. This is rather surprising because (a) they were a roving people occupying only a small territory, (b) they were exogamous, and (c) the total population was only about 3000 individuals. Assuming, as seems probable, that the Yahgan reached Tierra del Fuego more or less as a unit speaking a single tongue, how long did it take them to modify their language in five distinct ways?

In the more civilized parts of the world linguistic change also has taken place, and, because language is not only spoken but written, the archaic forms are preserved and can be studied. For instance, the breaking up of Latin into the modern Romance

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

languages, mutually intelligible only to a very slight extent, can be observed and checked in various stages. In this instance the Latin tongue was grafted on the native speech of various conquered peoples, who undoubtedly pronounced it from the beginning with local flavor so that the separation into dialects began at the outset, its course being retarded by the educated classes. Latin, however, was spoken over a very wide area with relatively poor communications, hence there existed every facility for rapid linguistic change.

The contrast between this condition and that of the Yahgan is obvious. We should not expect the Yahgan dialects to differ nearly so much in a given time as the Romance tongues. In fact, granted the circumstance, it is surprising that there were any Yahgan dialects at all. The very presence of these Yahgan dialects shows that the tribe had remained stationary as a whole for a great many centuries at least.

2. CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

The Yahgan are the southernmost unit of a group of primitive fisherfolk who at various times have lived on the west coast of South America. In southern Peru this fishing population was displaced by the rise of the typically Peruvian agriculturists who later built the great structures seen in ruins today on that coast. While there is yet no exact chronology for Peruvian archeology, the two leading authorities, Tello[1] and Uhle,[2] agree that this event must have materialized at least 2000 years ago in order to explain the known stratigraphy of Peruvian remains.

It is a far cry from Peru to Tierra del Fuego, but in the displacement of the Peruvian coastal population there is an ostensible cause for the general shunting to the south of all the coastal peoples. If, as we shall presently show, Fuegian camp-sites give evidence of occupancy at that remote period, then we may at least tentatively consider that the displacement of the Peruvian fisherman and the settlement of Fuegia are correlated, because this change of population in Peru is the only remote migration in South America which archeology has definitely yielded to the realm of history.

In Chile there seems to have taken place a similar displacement of the early population by the Araucanian tribes. Stratigraphical

[1] Julio C. Tello, *Introducción á la Historia Antigua del Perú*, Lima, 1922.
[2] Max Uhle, *Los Principios de las Antiguas Civilizaciones Peruanas*, *Boletín de la Sociedad Scientífica de Estudios Históricos Americanos*, IV, no. 11, Quito, 1926.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

174 studies clearly prove this. Cooper (1917a) has pointed out the general resemblance of the earlier culture at such sites as Taltal with the historic culture of the Magellanic archipelago. He lists as features shared in common with the Canoe Indians: the use of spear and harpoon, and disuse of the bow, nets, coiled basketry, combs, shell necklaces, and supine burial. To this should be added the strikingly close resemblance in physical type. Granted this relationship, however, we lack sufficient evidence to translate it into historical terms, for we cannot say how long ago the Araucanians displaced the earlier culture. Possibly the change in population in coastal Peru pushed the Yahgan into Tierra del Fuego, while a later shift on the coast of Chile may have been responsible for the presence of the Alacaluf; but this is mere conjecture.

3. INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF AGE IN FUEGIAN SHELLHEAPS

172 For several reasons an inspection of Beagle channel shellheaps leads to the conclusion that they mark camp-sites inhabited for many centuries. We list these reasons as follows:

a. *Bulk.*—The first and most obvious sign of age is the very size of the refuse-heaps. Clearly it must have taken a great many centuries to deposit such vast masses of débris. Below we have attempted to calculate the cubic contents of the refuse near Harberton.

b. *Breccia.*—The formation of breccia in the lower levels of middens, to the writer is not a positive criterion of great age, because so little is understood of the reasons which cause shells to unite in a solid mass. If some climatic change of temporary nature caused the formation of hard floors at one time in all shellheaps, then a valuable means of determining relative age would be available, because the depth of the breccia varies.

c. *Trees.*—In one instance, shellmound 51 in fig. 98, large trees were found growing on top of an ancient camp-site. This midden was discovered on the afternoon before our departure for the north, so that there was no opportunity for cutting down a tree to count the rings and thus learn how long ago the site was abandoned. The site is a small one, with only eight house-pits situated at the base of a steep slope rising sharply from the beach.

d. *Land Subsidence.*—Many instances of the undercutting of the base of middens on both shores of Beagle channel (as can be seen

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

in pl. XVI) seem to indicate slight submergence of the land since the first settlement. This conclusion is not in agreement with that of Lovisato (1885), who believes that the Elizabeth Island shellheaps have been elevated several meters. N. O. G. Nordenskjöld concludes that Tierra del Fuego has risen about sixty meters since relieved from the pressure of general glaciation. The slight and recent submergence noted by the present writer may be a local adjustment since the general rising of the land. 172

E. *Animal Bones.*—Considerable age may be argued from the presence of badly rotted animal bones in a Harberton shellheap. In general this is an almost worthless criterion of age, but in Tierra del Fuego, where the frost scarcely leaves the ground, all animal remains tend to be preserved. The body of a sailor buried in the South Shetland islands was exhumed after several years with the flesh in perfect preservation,[1] so that Beagle channel is only 400 miles from land where animal remains do not decay at all.

4. RATE OF ACCUMULATION OF REFUSE-HEAPS

Mr. N. C. Nelson[2] has most ingeniously worked out the probable age of California shellheaps by determining three factors: (*a*) the total former population, (*b*) the bulk of the débris, and (*c*) the probable daily rate of deposit. While lacking the concrete data to apply this method of determining age as accurately as has Nelson, nevertheless we shall persist with it, because a definite figure can be reached by this method, a figure not incompatible with criteria for age already discussed. We therefore shall examine the three factors above enumerated, which are not without interest in themselves. 172 174

Nelson's estimate of the total population was simply obtained, because he dealt with a permanent village-site. In Tierra del Fuego, however, no site was occupied for more than a brief period at a time, so the population of any camp or even the portion of the year it was occupied cannot be exactly determined. Yet, although the Yahgan were rovers, they wandered in rather fixed limits, hence the number of inhabitants for an area might be calculated in relation to the food supply.

Nelson assumed that each Californian family consists of six individuals. This number might be thought too large for the 174

[1] *Geographical Journal*, pp. 65-66, London, 1830.
[2] Shellmounds of the San Francisco Bay region; *Univ. Calif. Pub. Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol.*, VII, no. 4, p. 345.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

174 Yahgan family, but Martial (p. 215) assures us that six individuals was the average seen in more than 200 canoes. More specifically he states that 388 people of all ages were counted in 65 canoes, which results in an average of 5.97.

174 How much shore-line did an average family need to keep it supplied with mussels, conchs, limpets, crabs, fish, and sea urchins?
162 Let us assume that they required from a third to two-thirds of a mile. This does not seem unreasonable when we recall that meat and vegetal foods also formed part of their diet. This would mean that around Thouctof, Harberton, Varela, Imiwaia, and Cambaceres bay on the average there stood 12 to 24 wigwams, containing 24 to 48 families, or 144 to 288 individuals of all ages. Furthermore, from one to two percent. of the house-sites would always be occupied at any given moment. That house-sites were tabooed where death had occurred would not affect this calculation over many years, because these places were reoccupied when the deceased had been forgotten.

A means of checking this broad estimate of the population exists in the census of the Yahgan[1] made by Rev. Thomas Bridges. The figures he gives are:

Navarin island	237
Hoste island	258
Tierra del Fuego (south coast)	218
Picton, Lennox, New islands	55
Wollaston and Hermite islands	65
Gordon island	36
Cuguawulof (Londonderry?) island	20
Other western islands	60

From this table it appears that in 1883 there were 218 Yahgan on the south coast of Tierra del Fuego between Spaniard harbor and Brecknock peninsula. This figure represents a much reduced population, and it must be multiplied by 3 + to determine the population in the days when the whole tribe numbered 3000. We thus find that the total population of this area exceeded 654. As the western part of Beagle channel is precipitous and pierced by glaciers, most of the inhabitants lived east of Yendegaia bay, and in fact centered on Ushuaia and Harberton. Hence the assumed population of 144 to 288 for the Harberton and adjacent bays means that between twenty-two and forty-four percent. of the

[1] Published in the *South American Missionary Magazine* for 1884, p. 234.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

total population of the south coast of Tierra del Fuego resided there. The true figure probably falls between these limits, so we may continue to assume that the average population of Varela, Harberton, Thouxtof, Cambaceres, and Iniwaia bays was between 144 and 288 individuals.

To measure the volume of shellheaps accurately would be an endless task. However, the average house-pit with its adjacent share of débris, on the basis of exact measurements, covers approximately 570 square feet. The average depth of deposit runs about two feet, so that each house-pit accounts for 1140 cubic feet of rubbish, and the 1215 house-pits on Thouxtof, Harberton, Varela, and Iniwaia bays represent 1,385,100 cubic feet of deposited material.

In order to find the daily rate of deposit, Nelson assumed that each individual ate fifty shellfish a day. By trial he proved that 5000 shells, the daily allotment of 100 people, can be packed into 1200 cubic inches which may be raised to a cubic foot when ash, earth, and animal bones are added. These figures were worked out for California Indians, but we believe that they also will apply to the Yahgan, for if they ate less vegetal food they ate more meat, which would not greatly change the proportion of rubbish.

We may now state our problem and its answer succinctly as follows:

(a) Probable number of inhabitants: 144 to 288.
(b) Total contents of shellheaps: 1,385,100 cubic feet.
(c) Probable rate of deposit: 1.4 to 2.9 cubic feet per day.
(d) Number of years sites were inhabited: 1300 to 2600 years.

In criticism of the age deduced for the shellheaps we may point out that while no factor—even the number of heaps in the area discussed and the number of house-pits in those visited—is certain, nevertheless there is no reason that the errors should be cumulative. At any rate, the application of Nelson's method to Tierra del Fuego shows that it has been settled a very long time. To the writer it seems that the larger limit selected for the population is too great, and that the bulk of the shellheaps might well be considerably greater than estimated, because the assumed depth is certainly a very conservative figure.

In view of these figures and the other criteria for age already adduced, it seems not unwarranted to believe that the south coast of Tierra del Fuego has been occupied for 2000 years at least.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
506 Yahgan 506

Part III

COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

ORIGIN OF THE FUEGIANS

THE origin of the tribes of Tierra del Fuego is obscured in the mists of the past; but study of their physical type, their language, and their cultural development make it possible to trace them far to the north. Evidence of all kinds blends in agreement that the Yahgan and Alacaluf, the Canoe Indians, came down the west coast of South America, where the remains of their ancestors or relatives can be identified at least as far north as Peru. Furthermore, the Foot Indians, Ona and Haush, clearly are connected directly with the inhabitants of Patagonia and perhaps with the tribes of the Chaco and the Amazon valley. The evidence on which these conclusions rest we shall examine in detail.

1. Somatological Evidence.—Along the west coast of South America a short-statured, dolichocephalic strain repeatedly has been discovered under conditions indicating great antiquity. These people, almost the direct ancestors, may well have been collateral relatives of the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia (Weidenreich). This physical type, for reasons too complex for discussion here,[1] is now regarded by discreet and cautious students as the most ancient human strain in the New World. The anthropometry of the Yahgan, herein discussed, indicates that, while they may basically belong to this physical group, they have acquired a short-statured and brachycephalic mixture, generally regarded as the second type to reach the Western Hemisphere. Somatological evidence indicates then that the Yahgan are a cross of the two most ancient types of man in the New World.

The Ona, on the other hand, mesocephalic like the Yahgan, but exceedingly tall, appear to be a cross of two tall strains and of varied head forms. The dolichocephalic factor in this tribe may be

[1] This subject has been covered by Dixon (1923), and by Hrdlička in *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, LXV, pp. 123–148.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S986 Yahgan SH6

of the early variety correlated with short stature, but proof is wanting. At any rate it seems obvious that relationship exists between the Ona and the Tehuelche, legendary giants of Patagonia. To be sure, the modern Tehuelche are brachycephalic, but their heads may be shortened by deformation and the use of a cradle-board, for ancient skulls from Patagonia are mesocephalic or even dolichocephalic.

2. Linguistic Evidence.—Connection between either the Yahgan or Alacaluf tongue and any other linguistic group has not been demonstrated. Ona and Haush are clearly related to each other and to the Tehuelche of Patagonia, thus forming a linguistic family.

3. Cultural Evidence.—For the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego we have a well-developed cultural chain leading northward along the west coast of South America. From the Yahgan culture to the Alacaluf, and from the Alacaluf to the Chono, more than 600 miles north of the Straits of Magellan, there is but little change in material equipment or manner of life. From Chiloe island far northward archaeological remains underlying those of the historic tribes of the coast may be attributed to the ancestors or collateral relatives of the Fuegians. Skeletal remains of the early shellheap culture are dolichocephalic and short of stature, and so belong to the principal strain of the Canoe Indians. Material culture of the coast north of the Chilean islands cannot closely resemble that of Fuegia, for the climate and character of the country rapidly change from moist woodlands to arid desert; yet, as we have already pointed out (pp. 193-194), significant parallels exist. To these we may add that in the Inlao with high pointed ends, typical of the desert coast, we have a possible prototype for the Fuegian canoe, shaped like the new moon. On the Atlantic coast of South America there are no sea-going canoe Indians south of the equator.

The Foot Indians, Ona and Haush, we have shown to be linguistically allied with the Tehuelche of Patagonia. Physical resemblances between the tall Tehuelche and Ona tribes is striking. Among cultural features found in common we may list the skin robe, skin petticoat, man's bag, moccasin type, bone type, transversely hafted scraper, skin water-bag, use of fungus for tinder, tattooing, bow and arrow, etc. Clearly this evidence indicates that the these tribes lived together on the Patagonian plateau long enough to develop a typical culture in common. A further proof

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

that the Ona once dwelt in Patagonia, according to Mr. William Bridges, is that they have a legend concerning a large flightless bird, which obviously refers to an ostrich, or rhea, found in Patagonia but not in Tierra del Fuego.

We can trace then with reasonable certainty the Foot Indians of Tierra del Fuego to the Patagonian plains, but to say when and whence they came to Patagonia is a difficult problem, to solve which but slender evidence exists. I am inclined to see relationship with the tribes of the Chaco and the upper Amazon valley. This relationship is probably rather with an earlier population than with the historic peoples. Mysterious remnants of these earlier settlers exist in the upper Amazon valley. Apparently they are held by the dominant population in a position intermediate between slaves and pet animals. Little is known of their manner of life, except that they are nomadic hunters using the bow and arrow but having no canoes or houses. If a list of culture parallels between the Amazon tribes and Fuegian Foot Indians be made, the features in common, it will be found, with but few exceptions are those we shall show presently to be basic to all Indian culture. It therefore follows that no exact deductions can be made from existing data, chiefly characterized by the primitive state of all the peoples involved. We find exceedingly significant, however, the parallel development of masked dances and initiation in each region, a similarity already indicated (page 95).

4. Chronological Evidence.—One can but wonder when and how the natives reached Tierra del Fuego. The first-comers doubtless were the Yahgan, for we have advanced positive evidence that they had occupied their historic territory for somewhere around twenty centuries. Next to arrive in all probability were the Alacaluf, unless it is thought that the Yahgan, to reach southern Fuegia, pushed through the Alacaluf country after its occupancy. Beauvoir (1915) records a tradition among the Ona that they reached Tierra del Fuego by a land bridge, but afterward a cataclysm formed the Straits of Magellan and isolated them. This tale will hardly bear the scrutiny of geological opinion, and so we are forced to the conclusion that the Foot Indians were ferried across—by the Alacaluf presumably, because they had canoes capable of carrying fifteen or twenty people, while the Yahgan had only small ones.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

This sequence of settlement is based on the theory that the Foot Indians could not and did not carry themselves across the straits. To be sure, the Tehuelche stuffed their hide sides with saplings and made rude coracles like the bull-boats of North America.[1] In these, with numerous wettings and considerable peril, they crossed the Patagonian rivers. But by no stretch of the imagination could the storm-vexed tide-rippled waters of Magellan strait be navigated successfully in such flimsy craft.

Mr. William Bridges assured me that neither the Ona nor the Haush, to the best of his knowledge, had ever used a boat. In the summer of 1907 certain Indians were taken to Navarin island to tend sheep, and displayed great apprehension upon the waters of Beagle channel. No Ona could swim, and this tribe crossed swift rivers by forming a huddle so that any individual who stumbled[2] would not fall and be drowned. Lacking all knowledge of navigation, unable to swim a stroke, and inherently afraid of deep water, how could the Foot Indians have crossed to Tierra del Fuego without the aid of others?

Of the Foot Indians, evidently the Haush came first. This is indicated by their geographical location in the southeastern corner of the island, and is corroborated by the existence of place-names of Haush derivation in territory occupied in recent times by the Ona.

The linguistic diversity of the Haush, Ona, and Tehuelche implies separation into distinct groups a very long time ago, because language in that part of the world is known to be exceedingly stable and slow to change. Thus Lista[2] significantly points out that the tongue of Patagonia has undergone little change since Pigafetta, the historian of Magellan, collected a vocabulary in 1520. Similarly Cooper (1917, p. 28) remarks that the Alacaluf vocabulary made by La Guilbaudière not later than 1696 indicates linguistic stability since that date.

We have no archeological indication of when the Foot Indians reached Tierra del Fuego. Yet no aspect of Ona culture implies separation from the Patagonia mainland by more than a few centuries before the voyage of Magellan.

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[1] Bancroft, 1855, pp. 132-134.
[2] 1906, p. 114. Comparative vocabularies of Pigafetta (1520), Viedma (1782), d'Orbigny, Moreno, and Lista, while not identical, are closely similar.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S305 Yahgan S305

FUEGIAN CULTURE STATUS

171/105 We have considered the Fuet and Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego as they have revealed themselves to modern investigation and as they have been reflected in archeological remains. Before closing this account it will be well to fix their position in relation to cultural development and adaptation to environment in other parts of the world. We shall therefore examine the attainments of the Paleolithic and Neolithic inhabitants of Europe, of the Seri Indians of Mexico, and of the Eskimo—all in the light of Fuegian culture.

A.—Fuegians Compared with Primitive Europeans

Assayed by the standards of Old World archeology, the Fuegian tribes stand definitely in the early Neolithic stage of culture, for they understand the use of the bow, made coiled basketry, used canoes (which may or may not have existed in Paleolithic Europe), and they had domesticated dogs. As for stoneworking, however, aside from some of their arrow- and spear-points (which are not only well made but barbed), Fuegian implements are fully equaled by finds dating from the Aibeulean and Mousterian floors in Europe; that is to say, the latter half of the lower Paleolithic period.* In fact, in the stone drill, invented during the Mousterian age and perfected in the Aurignacian, Europeans possessed a tool unknown to the Fuegians, who could puncture nothing harder than hide or bark with their bone awls. By the time of the Aurignacian period Europe also had developed the bone needle with a pierced eye to which the Fuegians did not attain.

Magdalenian Europe offers strong likeness to the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego, owing to the very similar types of barbed bone harpoons used in both regions. Yet by this time in Europe the chipping of stone had risen to the level of an art, the spear-thrower was widely used (an implement which one suspects that the Fuegian tribes may have forgotten), clothes were carefully

* It is unfortunate that the names attached to the great primary periods of human life should denote technological methods of manufacturing stone implements, for current practice distinguishes these specific and their subdivisions by the forms and by the kinds of materials to use rather than by the manner in which they were made. This change in classification became necessary when it was recognized that the Paleolithic techniques persisted into the Neolithic and even the Metal ages. We must emphasize that these terms are without chronological significance in the New World.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
Sibb Tehgan Sibb

tattooed (as attested by the finding of bone bracelets), elaborate three-strand necklaces were manufactured, and, above all, sculpture was common and pulpting had reached both relatively and absolutely a very developed phase. The depiction of masked human figures suggests parallel religious phenomenaria in both regions. In contrast the Fueguans were totally devoid of sculpture, and their painting was limited to the crudest dados. Their necklaces were most primitive. Their garments were merely wrapped around the body and held in place by hand, or, if they did not completely envelop the body, were tied on by thongs crossing the bare flesh.

As to polished stone implements, Tierra del Fuego has produced few. In fig. 61 we show a bola from the east coast. Outes (1908, p. 427) has fully demonstrated that the true home of this weapon is in the northwestern Pampas and that it was unknown in Patagonia until the eighteenth century. Clearly it is no ancestral area carried to Tierra del Fuego by Foot Indians in remote centuries, but rather a recent introduction, not long antedating the white colonization. Also we have seen a stone spike recovered in Yahgan territory. Apparently it has been shaped in part by pecking; at least it is an isolated instance of the Neolithic technique.

The rarity of polished stone implements in Fuegia is to be explained not by the lack of aptitude but by the indolence of the natives. To so-called civilized men the chipping of stone seems a mysterious craft, while it is patent that anyone who takes the time can grind a stone to the desired shape. As a matter of fact, the chipping of serviceable tools can be learned with a few days' practice, though of course the more delicate flaking, as with all handicraft, can come only as the result of long experience. And furthermore, chipped implements can be turned out quickly,—it takes only two or fifteen minutes for a skilled One to finish a most delicate arrowpoint,—while ground stone implements require patience, mental discipline, and foresight.

This point is one to recall in estimates of all or any phases of Fuegian culture, for it will be found that deficiencies arise not from any innate mental or physical handicap, but from laziness and lethargy. This generalization applies not so much to the necessities as to the conveniences of life. Thus the Ona bow and the Yahgan spear are admirable weapons, but the houses of both tribes were woefully inadequate. Yet there is no reason why the Yahgan and Ona should not, with forethought and initiative,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1926-1929) 1928
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have made themselves as comfortable as other tribes occupying an equivalent environment. That they did not, to the writer, indicates a lack of something vital in their mental makeup.

The brief comparisons we have made between primitive European and Fuegian cultures show that although the Fuegians had partly attained the technological phase called Neolithic in the Old World, nevertheless in most respects they were scarcely better off than the semi-civilized Neanderthal man of Europe. Clearly then they were laggards or backsliders in the development of mankind, so that in depicting their manner of life we are justified in assuming that we are recreating a view of life in Europe or elsewhere many thousands of years ago.

However, the tribes of Tierra del Fuego are not a unique phenomenon, as we shall show by comparison with an equally though differently savagized New World group.

B.—Primitive Conditions were not Rare

The Seri, who inhabit a barren territory on the mainland shore of the Gulf of California and the adjacent islands, of which the largest is Tiburon, are one of the most primitive Indian tribes on the North American continent. Their climate is hot and dry. Their food supply is abundant—both marine and terrestrial. Like Fuegia the region occupied by the Seri is isolated from the main stream of cultural development, so that the native society probably represents a form of life much more widespread long ago.

Like the Fuegians, the Seri had no agriculture and no domestic animals except the dog, which indeed seems to have been left-wild. Their most important food was the turtle, which they caught with a harpoon having a detachable head tied to a rope. This may be compared to the Yahgan eel-spear. Long ago they used a two-headed bagfish spear with the barbs facing inward a catch fish. The Yahgan also employed a two-headed fish-spear but did not set the barbs inward. For bears the Seri made use bolas with high pointed ends, a seemingly crude but one which can be used only in warm climates because in rough weather he crew are drenched with spray or wet by water coming through in floor. These bolas the Seri propelled with clam-shells or bamboo held in the hands. In addition to spearing fish off-shore the Seri also caught them with their hands in shallow pools at low tide for the sea, and they obtained on the beach large quantities of shellfish—chiefly clams and oysters.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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Seri NIII

On shore the Seri gathered various wild vegetal foods. They clubbed roosting pelicans at night. They caught also many deer and rabbits. We saw the wood caught adriftly, for usually the Seri, fleet of foot and hardy, ran these animals down and literally caught them in their hands. Meat was eaten raw except when there was an oversupply. Then it was partly cooked to tempt their jaded appetites. At times in hunting and regularly in war they employed a bow and arrows of simple type. The arrow had a wooden tip, rarely a chipped stone point.

For tools the Seri used a bone or a wooden awl, a wooden marlinspike, a stone hammer and anvil, and a clam-shell. The latter served as a knife, but its shape was not modified, nor was it set in a handle. Manual dexterity was at a minimum among these people, and their implements and weapons were even more primitive than those of the Fuegians.

The fundamental Seri garment was a pelican-skin robe, which, like the Yahgan cape, was shifted from side to side with the wind in inclement weather. Also they wore at times a kilt and shoved shirt of woven material, and thus they placed themselves on a higher cultural plane than the Fuegians, for they not only had acquired the art of weaving, but of tailoring their garments, neither of which were known to the Indians of Tierra del Fuego. In addition, the Seri wore a belt, often of snake-skin, and sometimes sandals of turtle-flippers. They adorned their persons with necklaces of seeds, of wooden beads, of shell, and of hair. They painted designs on the faces much more elaborate in character than those of the Ona and Yahgan.

Seri houses, scarcely better than the Ona windbreak, were arches of saplings partly shingled with sponges and turtle-shells. Inadequate even in a warm climate, yet they afforded more protection comparatively than the Fuegian houses. As the Seri were constantly moving from place to place, these rude shelters were frequently abandoned to be reoccupied on some other occasion.

Of household furniture the chief article was a globular pottery water-jar, because water was scarce in Seriland and had to be transported long distances. A parra ring-base was provided for the water-jar, and at times two jars were transported in nets slung on a shoulder yoke. In addition the Seri sometimes made a cooking-pot, an open dish, miniature vessels, and crude figurines; they also used a shell cup, and made simple coiled baskets. Their

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SMI Yahgan SMI
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185

bables they carried on wooden frames like the Ona. Fire they made with a drill.

From the above remarks it appears that other inhabitants of the New World held on a technological plane different in detail but no higher than the natives of Tierra del Fuego. Indeed in many respects—notably the lack of a knife and a scraper—the Seri are the more primitive. Yet their need was not so great, because the climate they enjoyed did not make such demands on their vitality.

When we examine social institutions we find the Seri on a markedly higher plane than the Fueguians. The tribe as a whole had marked national consciousness. It was divided into exogamic totemic clans based on maternal descent. Authority was lodged in the matrons, delegated to the older brother for such masculine occupations as war and hunting. Religious concepts and practices also were on a higher plane than in Tierra del Fuego.

On the whole then we may say that the Seri, like the Fueguians, were a marginal group representing an early cultural stratum; that both peoples were markedly deficient in houses, tools, and accoutrements; but that the Seri, being closer to the fringe of higher culture, had borrowed in rudimentary form such higher arts as pottery-making and weaving, and had become endowed with more advanced religious and social practices. In both cases it seems that, although migratory by nature, their peregrinations had been circumscribed within fixed limits with resultant cultural atrophy, so that centuries had passed with little modification in their form of life.

The status of very primitive groups like the Fueguians and the Seri has bearing on the unknown pioneers who settled the New World, for the simplest and crudest tribes of the present may reflect the conditions of their primitive migratory ancestors. We shall examine then the evidence afforded by such backward groups to throw light on the time when the Americas were settled and on the nature of the culture that was first introduced.

Boas,[1] Wissler,[2] Kroeber,[3] and others have brought forward evidence that man reached the New World in a state of cultural development corresponding to the beginning of the Neolithic period in Europe. This hypothesis rests on fairly well assured

[1] The History of the American Race, Annals N. Y. Acad. of Sciences, xxi, 1912.
[2] The American Indian, New York, 1922.
[3] Aboriginal Culture and the Northwest Coast, Amer. Anthr., n.s., xxx, no. 5, Also Anthropology, New York, 1923.

3: Lothrop E.-9 (1924-1925) 1928
Bibl. Yalgan Bibl.

ground. In the first place, no American tribe, past or present, living on the Paleolithic plane of culture has yet been detected. In other words, all American Indians, even the most primitive such as the Fueguans and the Seri, have Neolithic elements in their culture. Hence with justification we can assume that man did not reach America until the Neolithic epoch. Furthermore, the absence from the Western Hemisphere of all typical Old World domesticated plants and animals, except the dog, shows that all significant migration to America had ceased before these elements had been developed. Thus the settlement of the Americas is fixed by these limits: the close of the Paleolithic period, but before the Neolithic period had fully dawned.

When did the Neolithic period begin? According to the elaborate chronological yard-stick developed for European archeology, this would take us back more than 10,000 years. But Europe geographically is only a peninsula of Asia, and archeological evidence denotes that the Neolithic culture developed in Asia and spread to Europe long afterward. Primitive Neolithic arts and industries may have reached America as soon as, if not before, they penetrated Europe. At present we cannot say whether the migration to the New World was completed in a century or in a thousand years. We cannot hope further to correlate Old World and New World archeology until stratigraphical and chronological studies in Asia have yielded the secret of the development of Neolithic culture.

To the above remarks we may add that, according to current geological opinion, glaciation could not be considered a barrier to migration, because the ice sheets were not in existence at the period (as indicated by the cultural evidence) when the settling of America took place. Of the three North American ice sheets, the Cordilleran or western field, which alone could have proved a barrier to travel from Asia, was the first to disappear. The Labrador sheet, the last and most recent, is estimated to have released Niagara Falls from 20,000 to 30,000 years ago.[1]

Well documented New World archeological finds, obviously of great antiquity, have been unearthed in North, South, and Central America during the last two decades. The remains to which the greatest age is assigned, however, Basket-maker in the United States and "Archaic" in Mexico and Salvador, all indicate a much higher technological plane than that of the Fueguans or Seri.

[1] See A. P. Coleman, Ice Ages, Recent and Ancient, New York, 1926, p. 46.

3: Lothrop E-9 (1924-1925) 1928
3305 Yahgan 3305

Hence it seems that the limits of our definite knowledge of the past are far from extending back to the time of the first immigrants. However, as pointed out by Kroeber,[1] the primitive American cultural traits can be defined by listing the elements of primitive nature having a wide distribution through both continents. On this basis it is not unsound reasoning to assume that characteristics common to widely separated primitive tribes in radically different environments, such as the Seri and the Fueguans, are basic in American culture. These features are:

1. A windbreak or domed house of saplings covered with the most readily available materials.
2. Untanned skin robe sewed with sinew.
3. A small kilt-like garment.
4. Use of facial and body painting.
5. Simple necklaces.
6. Cradle with cross-slats.
7. Coiled baskets.
8. Fire-drill. (This the Fueguians had, and probably once the Fueguans.)
9. Bows or rules with high pointed ends.
10. The self bow and stone-tipped arrows.
11. The harpoon with single, double, and detachable heads.
12. Shellfish, fish, game, and wild vegetables as food.
13. Domesticated dogs.

From this list we gain a definite picture of the material culture enjoyed by the first settlers in the New World. It is not a complete visualization, however, of their manner of life, because it does not include social and religious customs. Among these in all probability should be included shamanistic control of spirits and disease, puberty rites attended with the infliction of physical suffering, masked ceremonials, and social organization based on local groups of blood relations. All these added features were characteristic of all the tribes of Tierra del Fuego.

We have listed as probable features of primordial American culture certain traits not included by Kroeber. On the other hand he incorporates others not found in Tierra del Fuego, such as the spear-thrower, twined baskets, mats, mortars, rattles, whistles, and flutes. Their absence from Tierra del Fuego may indicate that they should not be considered as primitive American traits.

[1] Op. cit.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S386 Yahgan S86

because they are objects which would have been valuable to the Fuegians, because they could have been made from materials easily obtainable, and because they were not superseded by other inventions. If the Fuegians had enjoyed these features, I can see no reason why they should have given up using them; yet some of the listed traits, the spear-thrower for instance, have such wide New World distribution that it is hard to place them on any but the earliest cultural plane.

Fuegians Compared with the Eskimo

We have seen that the natives of Tierra del Fuego lived on a cultural plane comparable with that of the early inhabitants of Europe, who were the advance guard of culture-bearers from central Asia toward the west, just as the Fuegians may have been toward the east. We have also seen that the low plane on which the Fuegians lived was not an isolated phenomenon in the New World, but was approached or duplicated elsewhere. We shall now compare the cultural status of the Fuegians and the Eskimo, because their respective habitats are environmentally parallel and their necessities were similar. In fact the Eskimo are called on to face the more rigorous conditions of the two, for they live in higher latitudes where the winters are darker and colder, while the lack of trees in many places forces them to exercise great ingenuity to find substitutes for wood.

The Eskimo inhabit the Arctic coast of North America and the adjacent islands, including Greenland. As in Fuegia, the vegetation of their habitat is not rich enough to support life, so that they have to subsist principally on animal food. During the winter the polar seas freeze over, and the Eskimo spear seals as they rise to their blowholes in the ice. When open water forms, they take to the sea in boats made of a wooden frame covered with hide, which in every way seem stronger and more seaworthy than the Yahgan canoes. In these they spear seal, walrus, and whale. In summer the Eskimo spear fish and birds, and make long trips inland to shoot deer with bow and arrow. With the return of winter, seal again becomes their only food supply.

For houses, in the summer the Eskimo use skin tents or stone walls roofed with skin which give better protection than the Yahgan wigwams and are infinitely superior to the Ona windbreak. In winter they make themselves snug in ingeniously constructed,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

multi-chambered, snow houses, usually provided with skin linings, windows, and ventilation holes. They take advantage of the propensity of heat to rise, locate their houses on sloping ground, and place their living-quarters in the uppermost part of the house. Under favorable circumstances the temperature can be maintained at above 70° or 80° Fahrenheit by means of an oil lamp.

As for clothing, the Eskimo are as well provided as the Fuegians were deficient. Their carefully tailored fur garments not only supply warmth and protection to every part of the person, but are so skilfully designed that adequate ventilation is supplied as well. Arctic explorers of recent years have been unable to design garments better suited to the climate and have adopted the Eskimo dress.

The chief weapons of the Eskimo are the harpoon and the bow. Their harpoons are made with detachable heads like the Yahgan seal-spear, but the points are designed to turn in the flesh of the wounded animal so that they form a toggle when it tries to escape. Harpoons of slightly different size and type are employed for small seals, for ordinary seals, for walrus, and for whale. To secure the larger animals a cord leading from the harpoon-head is attached to inflated seal-hides or hoop-drags, which enables them to tire out the wounded animal rapidly. The great superiority of the Eskimo equipment lies partly in their ability to drill bone and wood, so that they can lash or rivet joints more securely than the Fuegians. Also all the accessories, the ivory support for the hand lashed on the shaft, the loop with ivory clasp to hold the harpoon line, ivory plugs to stop the wounds of the slain animal, ivory swivels, ivory toggles, etc.—all these show a control of material never attained by the Fuegians. Furthermore, these details show mental superiority in that the Eskimo look beyond the bare necessities of the chase and provide themselves with comforts and conveniences.

The Eskimo bow is made of one or more pieces of spruce-wood riveted together, or of antler. It is sinew-backed—an adequate and powerful weapon in spite of a lack of proper material for bows. The arrowhead is usually ground stone riveted to a foreshaft lashed to a main shaft. In addition the Eskimo have a specialized type of bird-spear and fish-spear far superior to anything in Fuegia. Also they propel lances with throwing-sticks. Furthermore, they catch fish with hook-and-line, and with an ivory minnow for bait.

When we examine Eskimo tools it is found that their makers are neat and finished workmen, and that they provide for their primitive

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

necessities most adequately. Their knives and scrapers are ordinarily of iron or, when metal is unavailable, of stone ground down to thin, uniform, and symmetrical blades, which are hafted to wooden or ivory handles with rivets or gut lashings. Other tools include ivory needles, thimble, sharp graving tool, arrowshaft straightener, and—most important of all—the pump-drill. This last implement makes possible the rapid drilling of bone, stone, and wood, which contrasts strongly with the inability of the Fuegians to pierce anything harder than bark or skin. Among other elements of Eskimo material culture we should mention the stone lamp, fork and spoon, drinking tube, snow-goggles, and the sled with harness, traces, and toggles for pulling it. 171

Esthetically the Eskimo are not on a low plane. Their garments are distinctly beautiful from the juxtaposition of contrasting furs and are further adorned with beadwork. Their carvings in relief are realistic and charming. Incised drawings on bone and ivory show vigor and imagination. Their games, including cat's-cradle, are much more complex than Fuegian pastimes.

Like the Fuegians, the Eskimo lack definite social organization larger than the family. Both groups are polygynous. The Fuegians trace blood lines farther and are more rigid in debarring marriage of relatives.

Religiously the Eskimo are on the same plane as the Fuegians, but their religious activities played a larger part in their lives. In general they believed in supernatural beings, most of whom were malevolent, and they attempted to appease these creatures by prayer and offerings.

We have given but the briefest outline of Eskimo culture, for it is too complex to be summarized in a few words; yet enough has been said to indicate that the Eskimo live entirely as a hunting people, but in almost every aspect of life they are better off than were the natives of Tierra del Fuego. And this in spite of the more rigorous climate the Eskimo have to face. However, the comparison is not entirely fair, because the Fuegians were completely isolated, while the Eskimo received cultural impulses from more civilized neighbors such as the tribes of the northwestern coast of Canada or of northeastern Asia. The belief is not unjustified that climate and environment are the limiting factors with the Eskimo, and that, given better opportunities, they would work out a superior mode of existence.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

187 We have already pointed out that the lack of mental vigor seemingly underlay the cultural deficiencies of the Fuegians. This in turn we may trace to their manner of life, thus forming a vicious circle. Partial nakedness in the snows of winter is possible only to those endowed with a constitution we cannot help but admire, yet it can only result in unusual demands on the vitality and in the stunting of mental growth. Out of such pictures as the naked mother nursing a naked new-born child with driving sleet melting on them both, described by Darwin (1839, p. 235), one cannot envisage the breeding of mentally alert human beings. The Yahgan, writes Barclay (1904), mark "the limit to which a man may strip himself of all aid and comfort and yet survive and perpetuate his kind." "Their skill," says Darwin, "in some respects may be compared to the instinct of animals; for it is not improved by experience."

The writer does not regard the climate of Tierra del Fuego as a necessarily stunting factor; indeed the ample and hospitable scale of living introduced by the sheep ranchers proves that it is far from so. Wild foods—vegetal, game, and fish—can be procured with comparative ease. The discomforts of aboriginal life could well have been eradicated by forethought and a more aggressive mental attitude. This the missionaries tried vigorously if unsuccessfully to instil, and so the Fuegian tribes have quietly melted away in the face of the competition of our ruthless civilization.

[pp. 213-4 contain no text]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6
Ona SH4

VOCABULARIES

WHILE I made no study of Fuegian linguistics, yet I endeavored to record the native terms for all aspects of their material culture and to set down such other linguistic data as came my way without special effort on my part. These words are given below. Fuegian phonetics and variation in pronunciation have been briefly discussed in the main text. To properly represent the explosive force of the Ona speech is beyond any phonetic system in use (see page 49). I have employed consonants in their normal English values, except *g*, which has been used to designate *ch* as in *lock*, and ' and ' which are scarcely audible. Vowels have the following values:

a as in *father*
e as *ey* in *they*
i as in *hen*
' a barely audible *e*
i as in *police*
i as in *ill*

o as in *no*
u as in *rule*
i as in *put*
ou as *ow* in *how*[1]
oi as in *oink*

ONA VOCABULARY

ANIMALS AND BIRDS

cormorant, *hurkai*.
dog. See page 50.
dove, *akik*.
duck: (1) A black duck, *ainkin*; (2) a black duck, *gaiirok*; (3) pintail duck, *kiin*; (4) a small duck (Oxyura ferruginosa cyanostriata), *kenikl*; (5) a white-headed duck, *ayal*; (6) steamboat duck, *kiru*; (7) unidentified duck, *kakipenaiin*; (8) unidentified duck, *kaiir*.
fox, *wank*.
goose, *hoip*, *ankk*.
grebe, spotted: (1) male, *kaikin*; (2) female, *kiirwa*'; (3) very large, *kurrk*.
guanaco. See page 48.
gull, *kajerrk*.
hawk: (?), *kenderkin*.
otaria, *aiyap*.
owl, *kenik*.
plover, *kirke*.
seal: (1) *kerre*; (2) *kenikin*; (3) *kikapen*; (4) male seal, *kiinyatik*; (5) female seal, *kiinkenkank*.
tarantuco, *ajar*.
unidentified birds: (1) *kaip*; (2) *kiar*; (3) *kerka*; (4) *kaikin*; (5) *kain*; (6) *ainink*; (7) *ckip*.
whale, *ackir*'.

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

anklet: (1) of reed, *kei*; (2) of sinew, *chang*.
headband: (1) warrior's, *gichiin*; (2) shaman's, *pakerk*'.
leggings, *crab'kill*.
moccasin: (1) adult type, *kiawai*; (2) child's type, *kaik*.
pubic covering, *akk*.
robe, *ilit*.
woman's slip, *kai ilen*.

[1] Except in times of *ka*, *ei*, and *oi*, where each of the vowels has its distinct value.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5386 Yahgan
Ona 5394

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

1912

bag: (1) large fox-skin bag, *kóm**; (2) small fox-skin bag, *kóhm*; (3) guanaco-hide bag, *shéshik*; (4) horse-skin bag, *kóchépa*; (5) water-bag, *ol*.
ball, *chóin*.
basket, *tai*. (This word is used for grass, grass-mats, baskets, and articles woven of grass.)
carrying harness, *wéter**.
comb, *ómok*.
cradle, *tang*.
fire-tongs, *lóhel*.
hatpin used for cinder, *ses*.
pillow, *yaw kuik*.
stick: (1) for walking, *ses k'lóel*; (2) for the windbreak, *kial ur ómin*.
windbreak, *kómi*.

HUMAN BODY

skull: (1) top of, *chéiówk*; (2) front of, *ryuking*; (3) occiput, *kuki*; (4) nasal bone, *ovok*.
jaw, *ostéig*.
hair, *ólig*.
ear, *ché*.
throat, *ichi*.
breast, *chawk*.
chin, *pawrk*.
heart, *kuji*.
diaphragm, *kóick, kóji*.
stomach, *kol*.
collar-bone, *kokóna*.
scapula, *kwag*.
humerus, *ówrk*.
forearm, *ówrk*.
wrist-bones, *chwagang*.
hand, *chen*.
fingers, *ówrk*.
thumb, *kwó k'ówka*.
first finger, *kwag*.
first and second fingers, *kójuke*.
third and fourth fingers, *ménkuhen*.
buttock, *ówrok, ów*.
leg, *ówk**.
knee-cap, *kowrk*.
shin, *kockówrk*.

MATERIALS

ashes, *ójel*.
bone, *ko*.
charcoal, *kawrk*.
clay, white, *kóiówrk*.
leather, *chówrk*.
fungus, edible, *yóken*.
grass, *kai*.
guanaco bark sinew, *yuk*.
guanaco sack thong, *ness*.
pitch, *ink, ink*.
stone, *yaw*.
tree: (1) *wówki*; (2) dead standing tree, *gólin*; (3) dead fallen tree, *ólu*. (For special varieties of trees see page 30.)
water, *chem*.

NUMERIS

See page 30.

TOOLS

arrowshaft polisher: (1) of skin, *che chówkinl, chówkówkinl*; (2) of stone, *kow k'yaw*.
awl, *mink*.
beater for skins, *ówu kóipówk*.
bone chipping tool, *ko kówówk*.
knife, *pi'yu*.
scraper: (1) for hides, *chem*; (2) for wood, *ówk*.
whetstone for chipping tool, *yaw kówówk*.

WEAPONS

arrow, *yuk**.
arrow feather, *che chówk*.
arrowhead, *kówrk*.
bird-snare, *ólik*. The handle is *kóki*.
bow, *ko*.
bowstring, *ko kyuk*.
quiver, *ól*.
seal-net, *chew*.
sling, *chówkoi*.
spear, *chóki**.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6
Qua SH4

O
192

MISCELLANEOUS

[illegible], *chen*.
[illegible], *ai*.
[illegible], *[illegible]*.
[illegible], *[illegible]*.
[illegible], *[illegible]*.
[illegible], *yéhen*.

earth, *wuk*.
sky, *tóro*.
afternoon, *grispelirsh*.
sunrise, *mahsh*.
rain, *chéle*.
initiation lodge, *kaiw*.

YAHGAN VOCABULARY

Y
192

ANIMALS AND BIRDS

[illegible], *[illegible]*.
[illegible]: (1) locally called swallow, *[illegible]*; (2) locally called swallow, *[illegible]*.
[illegible], *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*.

guanaco, *amarapéus*.
heron, *téwach*.
porpoise, *skowiana*.

CANOE PARTS AND EQUIPMENT[1]

[illegible] of *Halobaena* [illegible], *[illegible]*.
[illegible]: (1) of bark, *[illegible]*; (2) of wood, *[illegible]*.
[illegible], *of*.
[illegible], *[illegible]*.

mooring rope, *shahami*.
mooring thong, *wurrsh*.
paddle, *épi*.
ribs, *ushkúlakis*.
whalebone, *tirsh*.

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

[illegible] skin cape, *[illegible]*.
[illegible]: (1) of horse-[illegible], *[illegible]*; (2) of baby-goose down, *[illegible]*.
[illegible], *[illegible]*.

moccasin, *kili*.
necklace of shell, *epárrshu*.
pubic covering, *[illegible]*.
wristlet or anklet, *[illegible]*.

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

basket: (1) [illegible] coil ("Fuegian" basketry), *[illegible]*; (2) twisted [illegible] coil, *[illegible]*; (3) [illegible] bark without foundation, *[illegible]*; (4) wrapped, *[illegible]*.
[illegible], *[illegible]*.
[illegible], *[illegible]*.
fire-tongs, *[illegible]*.
fungus used as tinder, *[illegible]*.
[illegible], *[illegible]*.
[illegible] of seal-hide, *[illegible]*.

pouch: (1) of guanaco-hide for fire-making apparatus, *aáiw*; (2) of guanaco-hide for shaman's paraphernalia, *hawulif*; (3) of otter-tail for tobacco, *yeten*; (4) of seal-bladder for oil, *athlokéni*; (5) of seal throat for paint, *yii*; (6) of seal-gut for oil, *kélis*.
pyrites, *rwilli*.
shell cup, *aaffás*.
stick for painting face, *téfibiamás*.

MATERIALS

[illegible], *[illegible]*.
[illegible], *[illegible]*.
[illegible]: (1) ordinary variety, *[illegible]*; (2) [illegible]-headed variety, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*.
[illegible], *[illegible]*.
[illegible], *[illegible]*.
seal-hide thong: (1) for joining [illegible].

poon-point and shaft, *tawuté*; (2) for circular lashing, *[illegible]*; (3) for mooring canoes, *wurrsh*.
shell: (1) for drinking-cup, *aaffás*; (2) for necklace, *[illegible]*; (3) for scraper-blade, *chiamúshe*.
whalebone, *tirsh*.
wood. See Table I, page 29.

[1] See also household equipment, and weapons and hunting equipment.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

192

NUMBERS

See page 121.

TOOLS

awl, *dmi*.
bark remover: (1) for man, *ténekel*; (2) for woman, *tétuepu*.
scraper: (1) of shell, *tewel'ne*; (2) of steel, *mána*.
sharpening stone, *chépi*.

WEAPONS AND HUNTING EQUIPMENT

bird-snare, *náram*.
club, *kíma*.
dip-net, *chimmáich*.
fish-line, *tépim*. The sinker is *tírshir*; the bait-sinker is *tubelíma*.
harpoon: (1) single-barb type, *ewela* (eastern dialect, *wela*); (2) double-barb type, *wéihi* (eastern dialect, *wrk*). The shaft is called *shoshela*; the thong around the socket is *tenewóra*; the thong from point to shaft is *témata*.
harpoon-point cover of seal-hide, *yewélka*.
knife (steel), *hárfkar*.
sling, *wetrad*, *wetel'ad*.
spear: (1) for fish, *shushrépa* (eastern dialect, *ushéwela*); (2) double-headed fish-spear, *ámpy ámpa*; (3) crab-spear, *rím* (the shaft is *ámmámma*); (4) limpet-spear, *halúma*; (5) gaucho-spear, *wamel*.
torch (made of bark of *Nothofagus betuloides*), *elirshen* (eastern dialect, *ellshe*).

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

[p. 219]

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S306 Yahgan S306

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S305 Yahgan S305

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INDEX

Abortion among Yahgan, 160
Achelenian culture of Europe, 202
Adzes, ancient, situation of, 17
Adornment, see *Body-painting*; *Face-painting*; *Ornamentation*; *Paint*
Adultery, cause of quarrels, 160; stories regarding, 173
Adventure, voyage of the, 21. See *Beagle*
Africa, hunting of, 137
Age of archeological remains, 192-197
Aged, customs of, 97; respect for, lavished, 160
Agostini, Alberto M. de, photographs by, 24, 28, 32, 60, 62, 79, 84, 89
Agriculture in Tierra del Fuego, 30-35; lacking among Ona and Yahgan, 206
Aiers, Ona name of Almirante, 26
Alacaluf, mythic personage, 170
Alacaluf-Ona, a dialect, 160-169
Alacaluf and Chono relationship, 199; and Yahgan stature, 60; and Yahgan trade, 130; hunting, 133, 136; bows, 72; bow-forts, 132; coordination excelled in, 110; canoes, 145; clothing, 33, 123; habitat, 17, 25; houses, 177; initiation ceremonies, 95; linguistic relations, 24, 199; migration, 200; note on, 178; origin of, 194; paddles, 147; population, 25; slings, 136; spears, 72, pl. xxi; stature, 30; trade in pyrites, 65; visit to England, 21
Alacaluf, hunting of, 137
Allen Gardiner, measure of crew of, 118
Amazon valley, hunting of, 136; Fuegian migration from 199; initiation ceremony of, 95; relationship of tribes of, 200
American Geographical Society, acknowledgments to, 13
Amusements, Ona, 91; Yahgan, 163-164
Anatomical terms, Ona, 216
Andes, terminus of the, 17
Animals, a source of flint, 130
Animals created by Kenin, 98; dances named for, 100; in Haush myth, 108; lodges named for, 94; Ona terms for, 215; size of, in Tierra del Fuego, 32, 46; spirits of, 96; Yahgan terms for, 217. See *Fauna*; *Food*
Anomalous beliefs, Fuegian, 10
Antlers, Haush, 109; Ona, 89; Yahgan, 128
Arach, chief, 89
Anthropomorphic characters, Yahgan and Ona, 83-87. See *Physical type*
Antipodes, belief regarding, 10
Anvils of stone, 66, 102
Appearances, creation, 98. See *nothing*, *all*, in Chile, 189-190; weapons, 112
Arawacan, Carajá connexion, 92
Archaic culture, age of, 207
Archeology of Fuegia, 119-123, 176-197
Archery, Ona, 79-82, 86. See *Arrows*; *Bows*
Arrow-makers, Ona, belief regarding, 102
Arrowpoints from ancient camp-sites, 116, 191-192; of Chile and Fuegia compared, 72; Ona, 87
Arrows, Kaliana, 209-210; Haush, 107; in dueling, 90; in Yahgan myth, 170; of Patagonian coast, 115; Ona, 70-71, 73-74, 100, pl. v; Tehuelche, 199; never mentioned with 92; stone-tipped, distribution of, 200; used by boys, 162; used in grave-making, 90-91; Yahgan, 118, 123-126. See *Bows*; *Fire-arrows*; *Weapons*
Arrowshaft polishers, Ona, 74-75, 90. See *Polishers*; *Smoothing stones*
Arrowshaft straightener, Kaliana, 211
Art of the Kaliana, 211
Ash used in arrow cement, 74
Asia, culture developed in, by Kaliana influenced from, 211
Atacama desert, bow from cave in, 72
Atlatl, see *Spear-thrower*
Augustine quoted, 10
Aurignacian period of Europe, 202
Axes, Ona, 69-70; Sett, 203; Yahgan, 141-142
Ax, metal, introduction of, 62-64, 128; stone, unknown to Fuegians, 35. See *Chisels*; *Metal*

Banks, William, acknowledgment, 13
Babies, see *Children*; *Infants*
Bags, distribution of, 199; Ona, 51-52, 56-57, 62; Yahgan, 133, 173. See *Pouch*; *Storage-bags*; *Water-bags*
Bahia Buenaventura, explorers at, 115
Bahia de la Victoria, windbreak near, 61

1: Lathrop E-1 (1904-1909) 1918
208 Yahgan 306

Bahia Inútil, mulberrying in, 115
Bahia, Yahgan, 125, 127-128. See *Harbors*
Ball game, Ona, 81; Yahgan, 152
Balsas, usage of one of, 206; Ona, 206. See *Boats*
Bands, Dwarfs, among the Ona, 189, cited, 197
Barbarity, see *Culture status*
Barbarity, spectrum of, 73; burdens associated with, 125; cult-spectrum of, 126; footwear of, 86; shoulding the building equipment, 126; used as leadership, 130
Barnhart, F. J., cited, 30, 94, 95, 105, 109, 146, 173, 217
Bark, Gulliver of, 147; footwear of, 110-111; contents of, 127, 143-146; footwear covered with, 126; murder of, 171; spirit personnage clothed in, 95; necklace of, 42, 139
Barking pots, Yahgan, 131-132, 142
Barsch, linguists of, see *Lang-states*, 112
Basket-making, age of materials, 207; hardness of, 126
Basketry, bark used in making, 69, 142; cribbed, distribution of, 208; cribbed, map-use of, 194; twined, unknown to Fuegians, 208
Baskets given in initiation, 149; Alacaluf, 102, 108-110; Ona, 82, 87-88; Yahgan, 102; used as weights, 130; Yahgan, 110-130
Bat in Ona myth, 193-202
Bath, sham, among sorcerers, 174. See *Bands*; *Fighting*; *Wrestling*
Beads, Dwarfs, 189; Ona, 39; Yahgan, 125. See *Necklace*; *Ornaments*
Beadwork, Eskimo, 213
Beagle, voyage of the, 21, 112, 161
Beagle channel, Bridges and Lawrence leave on, 21; Cambaga probably in, 79; camp-sites on, 11, 170, 189, 192, 194; fishing in, 160; gamesmanship on, 152; navigators from, 112, 113; spectrum from, 191-192; view of, pl. iii
Beards, have regarded by Yahgan, 60. See *Hair*; *Moustache*
Beauvoir, José M., cited, 24, 30, 98, 200
Beech, leaves of, 71, 156; in Ona myth, 192; lodge-roof of, 163; Ona spirit of, 95; on shoulders, 187; spear-shafts of, 130
Beech-bark, see *Bark*
Bertis, Ona belief regarding, 196
Begal, leaves of the, 114
Berries eaten by Fuegians, 28. See *Food*
Bibliography, 219-225
Bird represented by conical figure, 94
Bird-bone used for smoking, 148, 69
Bird-down used as cloth, 60, 130. See *Down-cloth*; *Eider-down*
Bird-hitting cockle weight of, 171
Birds, have hunted by Yahgan, 155-159, have taken by Ona, 3-84; in Ona myth, 192-196; of Terra del Fuego, 59; Ona totem for 215; spectral by Eskimo, 200; Yahgan totemism, 217. See *Fowers*; *Fishers*; *Food*
Bird-skin, bags made of, 40
Bird-snares, Yahgan, 157. See *Snares*
Bird-spears, see *Spears*
Bird-wing used as fanners, 129
Blades, stone, distinctiveness, pl. vi, 218. See *Knives*; *Daggers*
Blood-family among Yahgan, 32
Blood revenge, usage of, 104. See *Family*; *Revenge*
Boas, Franz, cited, 200
Boats, distribution of, 206; Eskimo, 206, not used by Fuegians, 201; Tehuelche, 206; Yahgan, 10-148. See *Balsas*; *Canoes*; *Rafts*
Body-painting by sorcerer, 171; by sorcerers, 173-174, by Ona, 58, 86, by Yahgan, 118, 137, 141, 164; distribution of, 209; in Yahgan myth, 177. See *Face-painting*; *Ornamentation*; *Paint*
Bolas, distribution of, 209, from northern camp-sites, 116-117; used by Tehuelche, 72
Bone, awl handles of, 69; chipping tool of, 31; combs of, 69; fish beads of, 149; Ona beads of, 39; tools of, fish-shellfish, 192; Yahgan arrows of, 131-136; Yahgan beads of, 125. See *Cormorant-bone*; *Whale-bone*
Bones, animal, age of shellfish-argued from, 192; human, used by sorcerers, 173; in Hachenian shellfish, 183
Borrowing of culture, 19-20, 46, 130-131, 133-136, 163, 200
Bougainville, L. A. de, voyage of, 115
Bounty on Fuegian heads, 23
Bowers, R. F., cited, 13, 209
Bow, Guayaki, cited, 22, 61, 121, 192
Bows, distribution of, 209; Eskimo, 209-210; Hawaii, 107; how carried, 13; in Peabody Museum, Salem, 13, pl. v; of Patagonian coast, 115; Ona, 71-74, 78-80, 194, 208, pl. v; Ona and Tehuelche, 199; used by boys, 163; Yahgan, 118, 155-156, pl. xxx. See *Archery*; *Arrows*; *Weapons*
Bowstrings, Ona, 57, 72; Yahgan, 156
Boys, Yahgan, training of, 163-164, 168-169. See *Initiation*; *Training*

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1929) 1928
Yahgan Sib

Beaudoin, Fleurdé, 100. See *Ornaments; Wrinkles*
Beauty-symbols among aborigines, 61, 67; of South American natives, 189–190
Beaver, see *Amazon valley*
Beechnut peninsula, character of, 17; Yahgan boundary, 116, 196
Bridges family, acknowledgments to, 12; labors of, 21; sheep ranches of, 183. See *Estancia Vicente*
Bridges, Lucas, information given by, 11, 22, 94–95, 97, 106, 107; initiated by Ona, 22; in wrestling contest, 89–90
Bridges, Rev. Thomas, cited, 29, 65, 130, 163–165, 170, 173, 174, 178, 196; dictionary of, 121; ethnological knowledge, 22; linguistic work, 119
Bridges, William, information given by, 11, 22, 23, 48–50, 72, 79, 84, 107, 114, 120, 121, 140, 153, 161, 198, 200, 201; initiated by Ona, 22
Brinton, D. G., cited, 90
Browns, Yahgan, 131
Bruzzi, Charles de, cited, 20
Brouwer, Hendrick, voyage of, 19
Brunswick peninsula, situation of, 17
Buckets, bark, of the Yahgan, 131–132. See *Boilers*
Burnes Aires, stone objects from, 112
Burdens, how borne by Ona, 62–63, 81
Burial, see *Mortuary customs*
Burlap, Yahgan shelters covered with, 128
Bush Negroes, basketry of, 137
Butterflies in Tierra del Fuego, 34

California, shellheaps in, 195, 197
Camarge, discoveries of, 19
Cambaceres bay, shellheaps on, 183, 186, 196, 197, pl. XVII; Yahgan at, 11
Cambaceres peninsula, fresh water on, 184
Camp equipment, Ona, 36, 64–68; Yahgan, 36, 129–138
Camps, winter, of Yahgan, 188. See *Encampment*
Camp-sites of eastern Fuegia, 110–111; of southern Fuegia, 178–197. See *Shellheaps*
Cannibalism ascribed to Fuegians, 16, 118; in Ona myth, 99
Canoe equipment, Yahgan terms for, 217
Canoe Indians, account of, 115–178; application of term, 38, 198; culture of, compared, 194, 199; quivers of, 78. See *Alacaluf; Fuegians; Yahgan*
Canoes, effect of, on physical type, 40, 44; of Alacaluf, 200; of Fuegians, 199; of Yahgan, 13, 127, 131, 143–146, 159–160, 196; runways for, pl. XI. See *Bolsas; Boats*
Cape Dorado, Yahgan distant boundary, 120
Cape Pyramid, situation of, 17
Cape Horn, characteristics, 15, 27; situation, 17; when and by whom named, 19; Yahgan boundary, 116. See *Polar Cape Horn*
Cape Kayet, father of Kanaip, 99
Cape Pelon, Sabanas situated at, 23
Cape Pilar, Drake at, 19
Capes, Haush, 107; Ona, 31, 79; Yahgan, 121–123. See *Clothing*
Caps, Haush, 107; Ona, 31, 33–36; Yahgan, 125. See *Clothing; Headband*
Captives, Ona treatment of, 88
Capture, marriage by, 86, 87, 163
Carajo, ceremony at, 95
Cartography of Tierra del Fuego, 18–20
Carvings of the Eskimos, 211. See *Sculpture*
Cat's-cradle of the Eskimos, 211
Cattle, size of, in Tierra del Fuego, 46
Cave, a giant's home, 176; how found in, 72; dead deposited in, 173
Ceremal, see *Pâsh*
Cephalic index, see *Physical type*
Ceremonial lodge, Ona, 63; Yahgan, 165–166, pl. XIV. See *Initiation; Lodge*
Ceremonial objects, Fuegian, 37
Ceremonies, Fuegian, 35. See *Initiation; Mourning*
Chaco tribes, relationship of, 198, 200
Characters, anthropometric, Fuegian, 41
Charcoal used for paint, 58–59, 126; used in tattooing, 58
Charles V names Tierra del Fuego, 20
Charley, a Haush-Yahgan native, 120
Charrua, bolas of the, 114
Chert, objects of, on camp-site, 112. See *Stone implements*
Chiefs lacking among Yahgan, 160
Childbirth, see *Children*
Children, amusements of, 163–164; attitude of initiates toward, 93; barred from ceremony, 95; how carried, 118, 206; Ona, 58, 79, 87, 96, 105; taught spearing, 150; Yahgan, 163, 212. See *Boys; Captives; Girls*
Chile, bow from cave in, 72; culture of, compared with Fuegian, 194, 199; stone objects from, 77, 114
Chiloe island, archeological remains on, 199
Chinhol, a bird, in Ona myth, 102–103

3: Lothrop E-S (1924-1925) 1928
Sub: Yahgan Sub

Chipped implements, Ona, 76, 202. See *Stone implements*
Chipping tools, Ona, 51, 68-70, 73
Chiselers, use, how heated in, 72
Chisel and Fuegian culture-complex, 199; tradition of, 133; bows of, 72
Christmas sound, Yahgan of, Hammond, 117
Chronology, a basis of Fuegian origin, 202
Civilization, effect of, on Fuegians, 33. See *Missions*
Clam-shells as knives, 205; as pendants, 206. See *Shell*
Class, see *Social organization*
Clermont island, pyrites from, 65, 120; situation, 17
Clark, Barbara, acknowledgments to, 12, 40
Clark, Cornelius, map of, 19
Clay in Ona myth, 104; used for paint, 56, 72, 94, 126; used as arrow-shaft, 75. See *Paint*
Clearing at ancient camp-sites, 113. See *Stone implements*
Climate and physical type, 47; culture influenced by, 206, 209, 211-212; of Tierra del Fuego, 23-27, 34; variability affected by, 42
Cline, Walter, acknowledgments to, 12, 40
Clothing, effect of, on Fuegians, 23; Eskimo, 210-211; Fuegian, 36, 203, 212; Hamb, 107, 109, 110; in Ona myth, 102; of early Europeans, 202-203; Ona, 31-32, 51-58, 67; Seri, 205; skin, distribution of, 199, 208; Yahgan, 117-118, 121-124, 127. See *Dress; Skin*
Clouds, Ona spirit of, 94-95
Club of the Yahgan, 156; uses of, 64, 71, 81, 174. See *Weapons*
C'mauta, see *K'mauta*
Coan-yi-pij, see *Kuanip*
Cojazzi, Antonio, cited, 84, 95, 97, 99, 101-103, 105-108, 174, 175, 178
Coleman, A. P., cited, 207
Color, see *Paint*
Combs, non-use of, 194; Ona, 68; Yahgan, 130, 131
Conchs, see *Food; Shell; Shellfish*
Constantinus, Thos., acknowledgments to, 12
Cook, Capt. James, uses of, lemons, 26; voyage of, 107-108
Cook, Frederick A., takes Bridges dictionary to Belgium, 119
Cooking by Ona, 67; containers unknown to Fuegians, 33, 179
Cooking-pots made by Seri, 205
Cooper, Dr. John M., cited, 11, 24, 38, 64-65, 99, 178, 194, 204, 219
Ceremonial, see *Feast*
Cosmology, Ona, 103, 105
Counting, Ona, 80. See *Numerals*
Cousin, incipient, among Yahgan, 142
Crabs-claw, cups made of, 127
Crab-eaters by Fuegians, 32-34. See *Food*
Crab-spears, see *Spears*
Cradle-board, deformation by use of, 199
Cradles, distribution of, 208; Ona, 57-59
Creation myths, Ona, 96-99
Creator, Ona belief in, 96
Cremation of dead by Yahgan, 171
Cunningham island, Yahgan population of, 190
Cultural traits, distribution of, 208
Culture, age determined by, 193; of Amazon tribes, 209; of Chile and Fuegia compared, 193-194, 199; origins determined by, 16, 199-200; status of Fuegians, 25-32, 110-119, 202-212
Culture-hero myths, Yahgan, 176-177
Culture-hero, see *Hero myths*
Cups, shell, of Seri, 205; shell, of Yahgan, 132
Curved mitts, arrows made of, 73
Curves notes by Ona, 32; how learned, 81. See *Tunstaco*
Cypress, harpoon-shafts of, 152

Dabbene, Roberto, cited, 101, 104, 105, 126, 176
Dances, Yahgan, 163-164, 169, 174
Dante, "Hill of Purgatory" of, 18, 20
Darwin, Charles, cited, 23, 29, 30, 118, 121, 161, 212
Davenport, C. B., cited, 42, 46
Dawson island, Indian lives, 114; mission on, 23; situation, 17
Death, a cause of quarrels, 164-165; cause of, in Yahgan belief, 172; Yahgan customs regarding, 173-174. See *Mortuary customs*
Debacle myths, Yahgan, 177-178
Decoration, Ona, 58; Yahgan, in color, pl. IX. See *Body-painting; Face-painting; Ornamentation; Paint*
Deer hunted by Eskimo, 209
Deities, see *Spirits*
Dewiker, Joseph, cited, 38, 40, 41, 127, 147, 148
Department of the Ona, 91-92. See *Etiquette*
Descent among Ona, 84; among Seri, 206
Despard, Canon G. P., missionary, 21
Diadem, see *Headband*
Dictionary, Ona, of Thomas Bridges, 22. See *Language; Vocabulary*

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Diet and physical type, 42, 45–47; effect on intestines, 40. See *Food*
Dip-nets of basketry, 138, 160. See *Nets*
Disease among Fuegians, 23, 105; controlled by shamans, 172, 208. See *Influenza; Measles; Sickness*
Dixon, R. B., cited, 38
Doctor, Ona spirit representing, 95. See *Shamans*
Dog, Ona terms for, 50; tabooed as food, 118
Dog-leash of the Ona, 64, 68
Dogs, domesticated, 202, 204, 207, 208; effect of, on hunting, 84, 87; in Ona myth, 99–100; of dead distributed, 97; of the Fuegians, 33; trained for hunting, 157
Dolichocephaly of American natives, 43, 47, 198–199
Domestication of plants and animals, 207. See *Dogs; Taming*
Dories of the Yahgan, 146. See *Boats; Canoes*
Down, see *Bird-down; Feathers; Goose-down; Kelp-goose down*
Dragon complex, extent of, 176
Drake, Sir Francis, voyage of, 19
Dreams, shamanistic power derived from, 172
Dress, Ona terms for, 215; Yahgan terms for, 217. See *Clothing*
Drill unknown to Fuegians, 35, 141, 202, 211; used by Eskimo, 210 See *Fire-drill; Pump-drill*
Drinking-cup absent among Ona, 67
Drinking-tube, Eskimo, 211. See *Bird-bone*
Duck, steamboat, habits of, 157; mythic origin of, 94. See *Food*
Duclos-Guyot, voyage of, 115
Duels, Ona, 90. See *Feuds; Wrestling*
Dugouts, see *Boats; Canoes*
Dutch, voyages to Fuegia by, 19
Dwellings, Ona, 59, 63–64. See *Houses; Lodge; Windbreak*

Eagle-feathers used on arrows, 75
Eels, see *Fish; Fishing; Food*
Elizabeth island, shellheaps on, 195
Encampment, Haush, pl. VI; Ona, 59–68; Yahgan, 127–139
Endurance taught by Ona, 91–92. See *Ordeal*
England, Fuegians taken to, 161
Environment and stature, 46; culture influenced by, 209, 211
Eskimo and Fuegians compared, 35, 209–212
Estancia Segunda Argentina, pl. I
Estancia Viamonte, Bridges ranch, 12, 21–22; camp-site at, 110; stone objects from, 113, 114, pl. VII; view of, pl. I. See *Bridges family*
Etiquette in initiation lodge, 168; of the Yahgan, 119; of wrestlers, 89; regarding childbirth, 87; regarding food, 81. See *Deportment*
Europeans, primitive, Fuegians compared with, 202–204
Exploration, see *Cartography*
Eyes affected by smoke, 129

Face-painting, distribution of, 208; Haush, 109; Ona, 58; Seri, 205; Tehuelche, 59; Yahgan, 118, 125, 126, 131, 164. See *Body-painting; Paint*
Facial index, see *Physical type*
Fagalde, Alberto, cited, 20
False Cape Horn, Yahgan dialect at, 120
Family, Ona, 48; Yahgan, size of, 196. See *Social organization*
Fan'u, see *Tan'u*
Fashine, arrows made from, 73
Fasting by initiates, 168
Fauna of Tierra del Fuego, 30–34. See *Animals*
Feathering, see *Arrows*
Feathers carried by Ona, 57; headband ornamented with 118, 173, pl. XV; in Ona myth, 102; used for arrows, 75; worn by masked figure, 94. See *Bird-down; Bird-wing*
Fetishism and the Fuegians, 35
Feuds, Ona, 87–91; when forgotten, 33; Yahgan, 164–165
Fighting, mock, in initiation rite, 170. See *Battle; Feuds; War; Wrestling*
Figurines, Seri, 205
Fillet, see *Headband*
Fire burned over dead, 98; Haush spirit issues from, 107; mythic origin of, 176; property destroyed by, 97–98, 101
Fire-arrows, spirits mastered with, 97. See *Arrows*
Fire-drill, distribution of, 208; Seri, 206
Fire-making borrowed, 36; by Yahgan, 129–130, 133; Ona apparatus for, 57, 64–65
Fireplace on Yahgan canoes, 144, 146
Fire-tongs, Ona, 64, 66; Yahgan, 130–131
Fire-walking by shamans, 172–173
Firewood accessible to camp-sites, 184; in Ona myth, 100
Firewood-gatherer, spirit personator, 95
Fish, importance of, to Fuegians, 32–34; represented on mask, 171;

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

supply controlled by a great spirit, 172. See *Fauna; Food; Shellfish*
Fish dance, Caraja ceremony, 95
Fish-hook not used by Fuegians, 34, 35
Fishing by Ona, 81–83, 204; by Seri, 204; by Yahgan, 138, 159–160; implements, Eskimo, 209–210
Fish-lines, Yahgan, 159
Fish-nets ascribed to Ona, 83; Yahgan, 160. See *Nets*
Fish-oil in myth, 176
Fish-spears, Alacaluf, pl. XII; Ona, 82–83; Yahgan, 204, pl. XII. See *Spears*
Fish-trap not used by Fuegians, 34
Fish-weirs, Yahgan, 160. See *Weirs*
Fitzroy, Robert, cited, 21, 115–118, 121, 126, 155, 157, 161
Fleshers of the Ona, 69–70, 190. See *Scrapers*
Flies in Ona myth, 101
Flint for firemaking, 64, 129–130; in Ona myth, 100
Floats used by Eskimo, 210
Flood in myth, 99, 177, 178; in Yahgan belief, 172
Flora of Tierra del Fuego, 28–30. See *Plants; Trees*
Flutes unknown to Fuegians, 208
Folklore, see *Mythology*
Food, effect of, on stature, 41; of Eskimo, 209; of Fuegian tribes, 15, 29–34, 45; of Haush, 109; of Ona, 81, 204–205; of Seri, 204–205; of Yahgan, 116, 196, 197, 212; storage by Fuegians, 35; supply controlled by shamans, 172; tabooed at childbirth, 87. See *Animals; Deportment; Diet; Etiquette; Fauna; Fish; Fishing; Flora; Hunting*
Foot Indians, account of, 48–115; and Amazon tribes compared, 200; application of term, 25, 38, 106, 198; origin of, 200. See *Fuegians; Haush; Ona*
Foot-racing absent among Yahgan, 164; by the Ona, 91
Footwear, Seri, 205. See *Moccasins*
Forests of Tierra del Fuego, 28. See *Beech; Flora; Timber; Trees*
Forks used by the Eskimo, 211
Fox, importance of, to Ona, 32; in Haush myth, 108; in Ona myth, 104; size of, in Tierra del Fuego, 46; tabooed as food, 118. See *Food*
Fox-skin, bags made of, 67; clothing of, 32; used in arrow-making, 74, 76
Frost, see *Climate*
Fuegians, character of, 15–16, 21; origin of, 198–201. See *Alacaluf; Canoe Indians; Foot Indians; Haush; Ona; Yahgan*
Fuentes Rabe, Arturo, cited, 23
Fugellie, Eric, acknowledgments to, 12
Fungus used as food, 29, 32; used as tinder, 64–65, 130, 199
Furlong, C. W., cited, 48, 81, 98
Furness, John, a Yahgan, 145

Gable island, birds captured on, 159; giant's cave on, 176; myth regarding, 178; shellheaps, 183–187, pl. XVI; situation, 17; stone implements, 191; Yahgan at, 11
Gallardo, Carlos R., cited, 59, 68, 75, 83, 87; illustration from, 63
Galliegos, collection at, 112–114
Game controlled by a spirit, 172; drives ascribed to Ona, 80. See *Animals; Hunting*
Games, Eskimo, 211; Fuegian, 35, 37; Yahgan, 163–164. See *Amusements; Wrestling*
Gardiner, Allen, dies in Fuegia, 21. See *Allen Gardiner*
Geese, tamed by Yahgan, 159. See *Kelp-goose*
Generosity, instruction in, 169
Gentes, see *Social organization*
Geography of Tierra del Fuego, 15–17
Geology of Tierra del Fuego, 17
Ghost-mask, Yahgan, 171
Ghosts, Ona belief in, 96; Yahgan belief in, 171. See *Spirits*
Ghost stories, Ona, 105–106; Yahgan, 175
Giants, stories of, 175–176
Gifts to initiates, 169
Giraudais, voyage of, 115
Girls, instruction of, 168–169; Tehuelche ceremony for, 95. See *Children; Training; Women*
Gketermen, an Ona spirit, 95
Gkmánta, see *K'mantu*
Glaciers and migration, 207; of Tierra del Fuego, 17, 27, 34, 111, 195
Glass, arrowpoints of, 57, 76, 109; scrapers bladed with, 69, 113
Godparents of initiates, 168–169
Goeje, C. H. de, cited, 136
Goggles, see *Snow-goggles*
Gold rush, effect of, on natives, 22
Goodall, John, acknowledgments to, 12
Good Success bay, Captain Cook in, 26, 92; Haush sacred locality near, 108
Goose, see *Food; Geese; Kelp-goose*
Goose-down, Yahgan caps of, 125. See *Kelp-goose*
Goose-feathers used on arrows, 75
Gordon island, situation, 16; Yahgan population of, 196
Gossip discouraged, 169
Gow-Smith, F., cited, 95

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Grain in Tierra del Fuego, 26
Grass, balls stuffed with, 91; baskets made of, 68, 133–134; braided, on crab-spears, 155; dip-nets made of, 160; moccasins stuffed with, 54; ornaments plaited of, 59; ropes of, 59, 144, 147–148
Grass-seeds eaten by Ona, 29. See *Food*
Grass-stalks, torches of, 83
Graves, see *Mortuary customs*
Grease applied to bows, 73; paint mixed with, 59; skin garments treated with, 52; Yahgan bodies rubbed with, 118
Grease stones from shellheaps, 192; Ona, 66; Yahgan, 131
Great Britain, interest of, in Fuegia, 20
Guanaco described in 1520, 55; how hunted, 153–155; hunted by Haush, 107; importance of, to Fuegians, 31–32, 45, 80–81; in Ona myth, 99, 102, 104, 108; Ona terms for, 49–50; size of, 46. See *Food; Hide; Skin*
Guanaco-bone, barking tools of, 141; for chipping, 70; spearpoints of, 83. See *Bone*
Guanaco-hide, bags of, 67, 133, 156, 173; windbreaks of, 59–61; wristlets of, 125. See also *Guanaco-skin; Hide; Skin*
Guanaco-sinew, arrows attached with, 77; bowstrings of, 72, 79, 156
Guanaco-skin, clothing of, 51–58, 107, 109, 117–118, 122–124, 127; footwear of, 53–55, 123; uses of, 31. See *Guanaco-hide; Hide; Skin*
Guanaco-spear, see *Spears*
Guiana, basketry of, 137
Gulf of Peñas, glaciers at, 27
Gulls tamed by Yahgan, 159. See *Food*
Gull-skin, balls made of, 91
Gum, see *Pitch*
Gusinde, Martin, cited, 11, 38, 41, 94, 96, 98, 165, 166, 170, 174
Gut, Eskimo lashings of, 211; lodge-frame lashed with, 165; masks sewn with, 171. See *Intestines; Whale-gut*

Habitat, Alacaluf, 25; Eskimo, 209; Haush, 106; of Fuegian tribes, 17, pl. IV; Ona, 11, 48; Seri, 204; Yahgan, 11, 25, 116
Hach'i, Ona spirit, 94–95
Hahn, Philippe, cited, 41
Hair of the Ona, 39, 40, 56; of the Yahgan, 40; removed by Ona, 58; removed by Yahgan, 124. See *Beards; Mustache*
Hair-dressing not practised by Ona, 58; Yahgan, 124
Halakwilup, the Alacaluf, 24
Halimink, an Ona, 86, 98
H'alpin, Ona spirit, 94–95, 108
Halupat in Yahgan territory, 120
Hamilton, John, acknowledgments to, 12; collection of, 112–114
Hamito-Negroids and environment, 46
Hammerstones from shellheaps, 192; Ona, 66; used in spear-making, 151; Yahgan, 131, 141–143. See *Stone implements*
Hanuxa, the moon, 177
Harberton, author at, 12; a Yahgan center, 196; land grant given Bridges at, 21; sacred mountain near, 99; stone implements from, 190–191, pl. XIX; tinder fungus near, 65; view of, pl. III; Yahgan dialect boundary, 120
Harberton bay, shellheaps on, 180–184, 195–197
Harberton trail, view on, pl. II
Harciai, see *Hach'i*
Harness used in carrying, 62–63
Harpoon-points made of enemy bones, 173
Harpoons, distribution of, 194, 208; Eskimo, 210; Haush, 107; in Yahgan myth, 176; of Canoe Indians, 202; Seri, 204; Yahgan, 151–152. See *Spears*
Hase, see *Hash'ai*
Hash'ai, Ona spirit, 95
Haush, account of, 106–110; and Ona relationship, 40, 48–49, 199; and Ona stature, 40; encampment, pl. VI; etiquette, 92; habitat, 17; initiation ceremonies, 94–95; linguistic position, 24–25; population, 25; seal eaten by, 33; tattooing, 58; tools, 113
Hawkesworth, John, cited, 26, 92, 108–110; illustrations from, 117, pl. VI
Headband, Haush, 109; Ona, 55–56, 96; Yahgan, 118, 125, 166–167, 173, pl. XV. See *Caps*
Head breadth, see *Physical type*
Head-hunters, Fuegians suffer from, 23
Head-length, see *Physical type*
Heredity and physical type, 42, 46–47
Hermite island, Yahgan population of, 196. See *L'Hermite*
Hero myth of the Ona, 99–101
Heron-plumes, headbands of, 173, pl. XV. See *Feathers*
Herrera, Antonio de, cited, 20
Heterosis of Fuegians, 46–47
Heye, George G., acknowledgments to, 12

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Il-ger-re, yellow clay, in Ona myth, 104
Hide, boats not made of, 33; bucket handles of, 132; used with fleshers, 69. See *Guanaco-hide; Guanaco-skin; Horse-hide; Seal-skin; Skin; Thongs*
Hide-beater, Ona, 64, 71
Hill of Purgatory of Dante, 18
History, age determined by, 193; of Tierra del Fuego, 20–24
Hodge, F. W., acknowledgments to, 12
Holemin, see *Olimin'khe*
Holmes, W. H., cited, 112, 113
Hooton, E. A., acknowledgments to, 12–13, 40; on anthropometric characters of Fuegians, 41–47
Horn island, situation, 17
Horse-hide, Tehuelche moccasins of, 54
Hospitality, instruction in, 169
Hoste island, situation, 16; story of giant on, 176; Yahgan dialect of, 120; Yahgan population of, 196
Household equipment, Ona terms for, 216; Yahgan terms for, 217
House-pits in shellheaps, 183–188, 194, 197
Houses, Eskimo, 209; Fuegian, 36, 203; Haush, 107, 109; Ona, 33, 52, 91; Seri, 205; Tehuelche, 60; Yahgan, 64, 127–129, 188. See *Ceremonial lodge; Dwellings; Initiation; Lodge; Windbreak*
House type, distribution of, 199
Hummingbirds in Tierra del Fuego, 33; mythic origin of, 102
Hunting equipment of Fuegians, 37; equipment, Yahgan terms for, 218; Eskimo, 209; Haush, 107; in Ona myth, 102, 104; in Yahgan myth, 177; mythic origin of, 176; Ona, 48, 71–84; rites of Fuegians, 15; Seri, 205; territories, Ona, 48, 84, 87; Yahgan, 155–159. See *Fishing; Weapons*
Hyades, P. D. J., cited, 22, 38–41, 147, 148, 160, 173, 192; illustration from, 127

Iniwaia bay, shellheaps on, 183, 185, 187, 196, 197; view of, pl. III
Immortality, Yahgan belief in, 174
Implements, Eskimo, 209–211; for arrow-making, 73–78; for bow-making, 71–73; Ona, 64–84; Seri, 205; stone, from shellheaps, 189–192. See *Metal; Stone implements; Tools*
Inca, llama sheared by, 32
Incantation by shamans, 96, 172; in Ona myth, 101
Incest, Ona conception as to, 86; stories regarding, 175
Infanticide among Yahgan, 163; by Ona, 46. See *Murder*
Infants, Ona, cradle of, 58. See *Children*
Infidelity, punishment for, 163
Influenza among Fuegian tribes, 11. See *Disease*
Iniolk, a Haush, 120
Initiation among Ona, 92–95; among Yahgan, 116, 165–171; ceremonies borrowed, 35–36; ceremony of Haush, 107; lodge o fOna, 129; lodge of Yahgan, 129; rite, mythic origin of, 177; rites, range of, 200
Insult, cause of quarrels, 164
Intestines of the Yahgan, 40. See *Gut; Whale-gut*
Iron, Ona implements of, 68–69. See *Metal*
Islands of Fuegian region, 16–17
Italum Ona, Yahgan name for Haush, 24, 106
Ivory, Eskimo objects of, 210–211

Jenkins, L. W., acknowledgments to, 13, 156

Kaitrrh, a hill, 110–111
Kamschout in Ona myth, 102
Karkaai, a vulture, in Ona myth, 103
Kelo, a Haush spirit impersonator, 108
Kelp for mooring canoes, 178; influence of, on canoeing, 184; of Tierra del Fuego, 15, 30, 125; oil-containers made of, 133; runways of, 148; used as fish-line, 159; used for house-covering, 128
Kelp-goose, mythic origin of, 94, 103; down, headband of, 55, 96, 166–167, 174; down, shamans' bag of, 173. See *Bird-down, Goose-down*
Kenós, Ona creator, 98
Kent, Rockwell, cited, 86
Kentucky, basketry from caves in, 136
Keppel island, mission on, 21
Kerren, the moon, in Ona myth, 104
Kidnapping of Yahgan, 118
Kina, Yahgan ceremony, 165, 170, 177
King, Captain, expedition of, 21
Kinship, Ona, 84–86; Yahgan, 161–162
Klókten and Kina rites compared, 165, 170; initiation ceremony, 22, 92–96; in Ona myth, 104
K'mantu, Ona spirit, 95
Knives, clam-shells used as, 205–206; Ona, 57, 68–69; stone, from shellheaps, 112, 190; Yahgan, 141. See *Blades; Stone implements*
Koherzd in Ona myth, 99
Koppers, Wilhelm, cited, 11, 38, 126, 164–167, 170, 172, 174, 176–178

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Kouchen, a Haush locality, 108
Ki'on, the sun, in Ona myth, 104
Kroeber, A. L., cited, 106, 208
Kuwten, a Haush earth spirit, 107–108
Ki'eishe, the shag, in Ona myth, 103
Kuosip in Haush myth, 108; legend of, 33; Ona culture hero, 99–104
Kuubete shellheap, illustrated, pl. XVIII
Kwanten, Charles, acknowledgments, 12
Kuo-a-ishen, a vulture, in Ona myth, 103

La Guilhaudière, cited, 201
Laguna de Pescados, Ona near, 11
Lake Fagnano, Ona on, 11, 81; pyrites from, 65; situation, 17; tinder fungus at, 65; trail illustrated, pl. II
Lakes, Ona spirits of, 94, 96
Lamps of the Eskimo, 211
Landshuela, shellheap at, 186, pl. XVII
Lance of the Eskimo, 210. See *Harpoons; Spears*
Land tenure, see *Hunting territories*
Languages, distribution by, pl. IV; of Fuegians, 24–25, 201; Ona, 48–51, 88; origins based on, 199; variations in, 192–193; Yahgan, 119–121. See *Vocabulary*
Lawrence, Fred., information given by, 11, 12, 120, 153, 161
Lawrence, John, missionary, 21
Larumkipa, the ibis, in myth, 178
Leaves used for house-covering, 128
Le Clerk, Captain, cited, 40
Left-handedness, Ona, 75
Leggings, Ona, 56–57; Yahgan, 124
Legs of the Fuegians, 44–45
Lehmann-Nitsche, R., cited, 38, 41, 48, 106, 107, 109
Le Maire, see *Schouten and Le Maire; Straits of Le Maire*
Lenca, basketry of the, 137
Lennox island, guanaco-hunting on, 153; situation, 17; Yahgan dialect of, 120; Yahgan population of, 196
L'Hermite, Jaques, on Yahgan cannibalism, 118. See *Hermite*
Limpets, see *Food*
Limpet-spears, see *Spears*
Liquor, effect of, on Fuegians, 23
Lista, Ramón, cited, 106, 107, 201
Llama sheared by the Inca, 32
Loayza, Fr. G. J. de, discoveries of, 19; on natives near Bahía de la Victoria, 61
Lodge, initiation, of Ona, 93–94; adorned with paint, 126. See *Ceremonial lodge; Initiation lodge*
Lów, the sun, in Yahgan myth, 177–178
Londonderry island, Yahgan population of, 196
Lothrop, Mrs. S. K., acknowledgments to, 12
Lowe, Albert G., cited, 42
Lovisato, Domenico, cited, 195
Low, Mr., cited, 115
Lundberg, Mrs. John, acknowledgments to, 12

Madness in ghost stories, 175
Magdalenian period of Europe, 202
Magellan names Tierra del Humo, 20; on Fuegian moccasins, 54–55; voyage of, 15, 18–19, 201. See *Straits of Magellan*
Magellanic archipelago, geography, 17
Magic in Haush ceremony, 107; in Ona myth, 100–101
Mánekenkn, Haush self-name, 106
Maps, see *Cartography*
Markham, Sir Clements, cited, 19
Marriage among the Yahgan, 162–163; customs of Eskimo, [illegible] of the Ona, 86
Marrow, how procured, 66, 131. See *Grease stones*
Martial, L. F., cited, 118, 174, 176, 177, 196
Mary, a Yahgan woman, 120
Masked ceremonies in Indian culture, 208
Masks adorned with paint, 126; in Haush ceremony, 107–108; in Ona ceremony, 93–95; range of use of, 200, 203; Yahgan, 94, 170–171, 177
Mason, O. T., cited, 137
Massage employed by shamans, 96, 172
Material culture of earliest Indians, 208; effect of guanaco on, 31; of Ona and Yahgan, 36
Materials, raw, of Fuegians, 38; Ona terms for, 216; Yahgan terms for, 218
Matriarchy suggested by legend, 94
Mats unknown to Fuegians, 208
Measles, epidemic of, in Fuegia, 25. See *Disease*
Meat, dog, tabooed, 118; guanaco a source of, 31–32. See *Animals; Fauna; Food; Hunting*
Medicine-men, see *Doctor; Shamans*
Medina, José Toribio, cited, 114
Menstruation, mythic origin of, 177
Mercury sound, pyrites from, 65
Merton island, pyrites from, 65, 130
Mesocephaly, see *Physical type*
Metal, effect of tools of, 128; Eskimo tools of, 211; Ona tools of, 112; Yahgan tools of, 140–141, 145, 189. See *Iron*
Middens, see *Camp-sites; Shellheaps*

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Migration from Asia to America, 207; of Canoe Indians, 198–199; of Fuegians, 200; Yahgan, 193–194. See *Habitat*
Miracle, see *Magic*
Missionaries, massacre of, 118
Missions, effect of, on natives, 116, 129, 131, 163, 165, 174, 212; established in Fuegia, 21–23, 116
Mist created in Ona myth, 103; Ona spirit of, 94–95
Moccasins, distribution of, 199; Haush, 109; Ona, 31, 53–55, 58; Yahgan, 55, 118, 123–124. See *Clothing; Footwear*
Moieties, see *Social organization*
Mongoloid element in Indians, 47
Moon, Haush beliefs regarding, 108; in Ona myth, 101, 104–105; mythic origin of, 93–94, 177; sickness caused by, 96
Morley and Hodgson cited, 151
Morrell, Capt. B., Jr., gift of bow by, 156
Mortars unknown to Fuegians, 208
Mortuary customs of Canoe Indians, 194; Ona, 97–98; Ona and Haush, 107; Yahgan, 173–174
Moss, Ona spirit of, 94–95; used with scrapers, 69, 113, 139
Mount Haupin, see *Mount Hewhuepen*
Mount Hewhuepen, explored by Bridges, 97; Ona belief regarding, 104
Mountain, the mother of Kuanip, 99
Mountains of Tierra del Fuego, pl. II; spirits of, 96–97, 105
Mourning, black a symbol of, 126; by Yahgan, 173–174; hair shaved during, 58; songs of, 164
Mousterian culture of Europe, 202
Murder among the Ona, 86, 93–94, 97, 103; among Yahgan, 164–165; of women in myth, 177. See *Infanticide*
Murray narrows, Yahgan dialect at, 120
Museum at Punta Arenas, 23, 65
Mushrooms in Tierra del Fuego, 34. See *Fungus*
Mussels as food, 45. See *Food*
Mussel-shells, scraper blades of, 69, 139; used for pincers, 39, 40, 58, 124
Mustaches, unusual among Ona, 86. See *Beard; Hair*
Musters, G. C., cited, 59, 95
Mythology, Haush, 108; Ona, 98–106; Yahgan, 174–178

Narr of Fuegians, 39
Name of Tierra del Fuego, origin, 20
Names, mythic origin of, 177; of dead tabooed, 98. See *Place-names*
Nana, an Ona, 86
Nasal index, see *Physical type*
Nassau bay, massacre at, 118
Navarin island, guanaco on, 31; initiation lodge on, 166; Ona temporarily on, 48; shellheaps on, 183, 186–188, pl. XVII, XVIII; situation of, 16; stone implements from, 191; view of, pl. III; Yahgan on, 11, 129; Yahgan population of, 196
Neanderthal man and Fuegians compared, 204
Necklaces, distribution of, 208; Haush, 107; of early Europeans, 203; of Fuegians, 203; Ona, 59; shell, non-use of, 194; Yahgan, 125–126
Needles unknown to Fuegians, 202; used by Eskimo, 211
Negroids and dolichocephals, 47
Nelson, N. C., cited, 195, 197
Neolithic period, age of, 202, 204, 206–207
Nets, burdens borne by Seri in, 205; non-use of, by Canoe Indians, 194; seals caught with, 81–82. See *Dip-nets; Fish-nets*
New island, guanaco-hunting on, 153; situation, 17; Yahgan dialect of, 120; Yahgan population of, 196
New Year's sound, Yahgan dialect of, 120
Niagara falls, age of, 207
Nielson, Capt. and Mrs. Sigurd, acknowledgments to, 12
Nodal brothers, [illegible]ge of, 19
Nomenclature of Fuegian tribes, 24
Nordenskjöld, N. O. G., cited, 195
Numerals of the Yahgan, 121. See *Counting*

Oazy bay, location of, 61
Obsidian lacking in Fuegia, 112
Occupation and physical type, 40, 42, 44, 47
Oerton, R. H., acknowledgments to, 12
Oil, see *Porpoise-oil; Whale-oil*
Oil containers, Yahgan, 133
Oklö, a bat, in Ona myth, 101–102
Okrisen, an owl, in Ona myth, 101–102
Olimin'kke, Ona spirit, 95
Omen associated with wands, 167
Ona, account of the, 48–106; and Haush relationship, 106–107, 199; and Tehuelche relationship, 199; and Yahgan artifacts compared, 121, 192; and Yahgan cultures intermingled, 35; and Yahgan intermarriage, 46–47; anthropometric characters of, 41–47; arrows, 156; association of Bridges with, 22; basketry, 136; bolas, 115; bows, 155; fishing, 33–34; habitat, 11, 17, 48;

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

leggings, 124; linguistic position, 24–25; material culture, 36; measles among, 25; moccasins, 123; mortuary customs, 107; murder among, 164; names of flora, 29; physical type, 198–199; population, 25; seal eaten by, 32–33; slings, 156–157; statistical constants for, 41; stature, 39; tattooing, 58; vocabulary, 215. See *Foot Indians; Fuegians*
Orange harbor, bow probably from, 156
Orbigny, A. D. d', cited, 201
Orchard, Fred. P., photographs by, 13
Orchids in Tierra del Fuego, 34
Ordeal at puberty rites, 208; by Yahgan mothers, 163; of initiates, 93, 95, 168; suffered by patients, 96. See *Fire-walking*
Organization of the Haush, 110. See *Social organization*
Orientation of lodges, 94; of Yahgan houses, 128
Origin of the Fuegians, 198–201
Ornamentation by Fuegians, 36; in Ona myth, 102; of ceremonial wands, 167; of initiation lodge, 167; Ona, 58; Yahgan, 124–126. See *Body-painting; Decoration; Face-painting; Paint*
Ornaments, Eskimo, 211; Haush, 109; Ona terms for, 215; Seri, 205; Yahgan, 118; Yahgan terms for, 217. See *Beads; Bracelets; Combs; Necklaces; Wristlets*
Otter, see *Coypu; Food*
Otter-jaw, combs made of, 68
Otter-skin, clothing of, 33
Otter-tail, tobacco-pouch of, 133
Oumoara, a giant-killer, 176
Outes, F. F., cited, 68, 112–114, 203
Overshoes worn by Tehuelche, 54
Oviedo y Valdés, G. F. de, cited, 72, 75, 115; windbreak illustrated by, 61
Owl in Ona myth, 101–102

Paddles as weapons, 164; carried by mourners, 174; clam-shells used as, 204; Yahgan, 147. See *Boats; Canoes*
Page, Jesse, cited, 21
Paint applied to clubs, 156; bows finished with, 73; containers for, 67, 133; hides treated with, 59, 67; how applied, 131; Ona, how obtained, 58; Ona uses of, 57, 67; on skin garments, 52, 53, 57; used by masked figures, 94; used by shamans, 173; used on bags, 133; used on buckets, 132; used on masks, 170–171; used on spear-shafts, 83, 150; Yahgan uses of, 126, pl. IX. See *Body-painting; Face-painting; Ornamentation*
Painting by early Europeans, 203; by Fuegians, 35, 203; of lodge framework, 167, pl. IX; of spirit impersonators, 108; 169. See *Body-painting; Face-painting*
Paleolithic period of Europe, 202, 207
Pampas tribes, fire-making by, 65. See *Patagonians*
Paraguay, bows of, 72
Paroquet in Ona myth, 102; in Tierra del Fuego, 34
Patagonia, bolas introduced in, 203; giant oyster-shells in, 183; guanaco in, 31; origin of Foot Indians in, 198–200; stone objects in, 72, 77, 112–114
Patagonians, stature of, 42. See *Tehuelche*
Payne, E. J., cited, 18
Peabody Museum, Salem, bows in, 13, 156, pl. XIII
Peace, how made by Ona, 90–91; red a symbol of, 126
Pegs for windbreaks, 59–60
Penguins, see *Food*
Penguin-skin, bags of, 133; Yahgan clothing of, 117
Peru, origin of Canoe Indians in, 193–194, 198
Physical type, Chilean and Fuegian, 194; Fuegian, 38–47; Haush, 108–109; Yahgan, 116–117. See *Somatology*
Pickett bay, location of, 61
Picton island, pumice from, 143; shell-heap on, pl. XVII; situation, 17; Yahgan population of, 196
Pigafetta, Antonio, cited, 201
Pimaukel, Ona deity, 98. See *Temáukl*
Pincers, mussel-shells used as, 39, 40, 124
Pipil, basketry of the, 137
Pitch, blades hafted with, 113; used in arrow-making, 74
Pitirrojo, a bird, in Ona myth, 102–103
Pits, hunting, ascribed to Ona, 81
Place-names, Haush, 106, 201; near Harberton, 182
Planets, Ona belief as to, 105. See *Stars*
Plants created by Kenós, 98. See *Flora*
Plumed serpent complex, extent of, 176
Polishers in arrow-making, 74; of pumice, 143, 151. See *Arrowshaft polishers*
Polygyny among Fuegians and Eskimo, 211; among Ona, 98; among Yahgan, 163. See *Marriage*
Pomegashaka, shellheaps at, pl. XVI
Population of Fuegian tribes, 11, 25; Yahgan, 192, 196–197

3; Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Porpoise hunted by Fuegians, 33, 152–153. See *Food*
Porpoise-jaw, combs made of, 68, 130–131
Porpoise-oil, containers for, 133
Porto Piedra, canoe runway at, pl. XI; shellheaps at, 187–188; Yahgan at, 129
Porvenir, grain ripens near, 26
Pottery of the Seri, 205–206; unknown to Fuegians, 35
Pouches for fire-making apparatus, 129–130; made of seal-throat, 130; of the Yahgan, 133. See *Bags*
Power of shamans, 96, 172–173
Prayers to Watauinewa, 172
Property, how regarded by Yahgan, 119; of dead destroyed, 97–98, 101. See *Hunting territories*
Puberty rites in Indian culture, 208. See *Girls*
Pubic covering, bags used as, 57; Haush, 109; Ona, 58; Yahgan, 39, 123
Puelche, bolas of the, 115
Puerto Mejillones, canoe runways at, pl. XI; ceremonial lodge at, pl. XIV; kinship terms from, 161; shellheaps at, 183, 186–188, pl. XVIII; Yahgan at, 11, 129
Puma-skin, Tehuelche moccasins of, 54
Pumice, polishers of, 143, 151
Pump-drill, Eskimo, 211. See *Drill; Fire-drill*
Punishment for infidelity, 163; of novices, 167–168. See *Ordeal*
Punta Arenas, author at, 12; bolas from, 114; climate of, 26; crabs exported from, 34; museum at, 23, 65; Rev. John Williams at, 25, 119
Purchas, Samuel, cited, 55
Purgatory and Tierra del Fuego, 20. See *Hill of Purgatory*
Pygmies and environment, 46
Pyrites used in fire-making, 64–65, 129–130

Quarrels, see *Feuds; Wrestling*
Quartz, objects of, on camp-site, 112
Querandi, bolas of the, 114
Quetzalcoatl complex in Fuegia, 176; myth cycle of, 99
Quivers, Ona, 78, 154. See *Spearpoint case*

Ración sound, Alacaluf on, 25
Rafts, see *Balsas; Boats*
Rainbow, mythic origin of, 178; symbolized on mask, 171
Rainfall in Tierra del Fuego, 26. See *Climate*
Rat tabooed as food, 118
Rattles unknown to Fuegians, 208
Raw materials, see *Materials*
Receptacles, see *Bags; Baskets; Buckets; Cooking-pots; Pouches*
Refuse-heaps in Yahgan region, 116. See *Camp-sites; Shellheaps*
Relationship terms, Ona, 84–86; Yahgan, 161–162
Religion, Eskimo, 211; Fuegian, 35; Haush, 110; Ona, 96; Seri, 206; Yahgan, 171–172. See *Ceremony; Initiation*
Religious objects of Fuegians, 37
Remolino, author at, 12; land grant given Lawrence at, 21
Resin, see *Pitch*
Revenge for murder, 165; simulated by mourners, 174. See *Blood revenge; Feuds*
Reynolds, Percy, Jr., acknowledgments to, 113
Rhea in Ona legend, 200
Right-handedness, Ona, 75
Rio de la Plata, bolas from, 114
Rio Grande, bolas from, 114; Salesian mission at, 23
Róbalo bay, shellheaps on, 183, 188; stone implements from, 191
Robes, Ona, of fox-skin, 32; skin, distribution of, 208. See *Clothing; Skin*
Rocks, spirits of, 171. See *Stones*
Ropes for mooring, 147–148; of braided grass, 144; of the Yahgan, 59, 132
Runways for canoes, 148, pl. XI

Saint Vincent's bay, Haush on, 110
Salesians, missions founded by, 23
Saliva, paint mixed with, 59; skin garments treated with, 52
Salvador, basketry of, 137
Sandals, Seri, of turtle-flippers, 205
San Julian, giant oyster-shells near, 183; Magellan at, 55
Santa Cruz, Alonso de, map of, 61
Santa Inés island, situation of, 17
Santa Maria island occupied by Yahgan, 118
Scarification by mourners, 98; by Yahgan, 168. See *Tattooing*
Scatology in Ona myth, 99
Schellbach, Louis, acknowledgments to, 13
Schort, see *Sk'ord*
Schouten and Le Maire, discoveries, 19
Scrapers at ancient camp-sites, 112–113; distribution of, 199; from Fuegia, pl. VIII; lacking among Seri, 206; of shell, 151; of the Ona, 57, 69–70; of the Yahgan, 139–141,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

144, pl. x; stone, from shellheaps, 190; used in arrow-making, 73; used in bow-making, 71
Scratching stick of Yahgan initiate, 166–167, 169
Sculpture of early Europeans, 203; Fuegians devoid of, 35, 203. See *Carvings*
Sea, spirits of the, 171
Sea-food of the Yahgan, 196. See *Fauna; Fish; Food; Shellfish*
Sea-hen represented on mask, 171
Seal, how hunted, 81, 107, 153, 156; hunted by Eskimo, 209; importance of, to Fuegians, 32–33; in Yahgan myth, 175. See *Food*
Seal-bladder, bags made of, 68, 133
Sea-lion in Yahgan myth, 176
Seal-skin, bags made of, 68, 133; clothing of, 33, 109, 117–118, 121, 127; corpse wrapped in, 173; door-flaps of, 128; masks made of, 171; moccasins of, 123; quivers of, 78; scraper lashings of, 140; sling pouch of, 156; thongs of, 144, 147, 153, 167; used for house-covering, 128
Seal-spear, Yahgan, 204, 210. See *Spears*
Seal-throat, containers made of, 130, 133
Sea-otter skin, Yahgan capes of, 121, 127
Sea-urchin eaten by Fuegians, 32, 34. See *Food*
Sea-urchin spears, see *Spears*
Seeds, how cooked by Ona, 67. See *Berries; Grass-seeds*
Selection, artificial, of Ona discussed, 45–46
Seri and Fuegians compared, 204–209
Sexual intercourse, mythic origin of, 177
Shaft-polishers, see *Arrowshaft polishers; Polishers*
Shag in Ona myth, 103
Shamans, how buried, 107; in Haush ceremony, 108; of the Ona, 55–56, 96–98, 105–106; pouches used by, 133; power of, 174–175, 208; songs of, 164; spirits of, 171; Yahgan, 160, 172–173
Sharp, John, acknowledgments to, 12
Sharpening stones, Ona, 66, 70, 76; Yahgan, 140, 143. See *Whetstone*
Sheep in Tierra del Fuego, 21–22, 34. See *Estancia Viamonte*
Shell, beads of, 109; cups of, 67, 132; necklaces of, 125; scrapers of, 151, 157, 190. See *Clam-shell; Mussel-shell*
Shellfish available to camp-sites, 184; eaten by Fuegians, 32, 34, 109, 208; hammerstones for opening, 143; migration of, 183. See *Fauna; Fish; Food; Mussels*
Shellheaps of Tierra del Fuego, 34, pl. xvi–xviii; rate of accumulation, 195. See *Camp-sites*
Shiehdus, Yahgan ceremony, 165
*Shilhaam**, application of term, 24
Ships plundered by Fuegians, 15
Sik'ord, Ona spirit, 94–95, 108
Siaaiels in Ona myth, 99–101
Siaaiz, a hill, in Ona myth, 100
Sickness controlled by shamans, 96; prevented by painting, 59. See *Disease*
Sinew, clothing sewed with, 32, 208; Eskimo bows backed with, 210; headband made of, 110; ornaments braided of, 59; shell beads strung on, 126; twine made of, 31; wristlets attached with, 125. See *Guanaco-sinew; Whale-sinew*
Singing in initiation rites, 163–164, 169
Sinkers for fish-lines, 159
Sioux, stature variation of, 42
Skin, clothing made of, 31–32, 127; dead wrapped in, 98, 107; shaft-polisher of, 71. See *Clothing; Guanaco-skin; Gull-skin; Hide; Penguin-skin; Snake-skin*
Skin-dressing not practised by Fuegians, 35. See *Fleshers; Scrapers*
Sleds of the Eskimo, 211
Sleeping-bunks of the Ona, 64
Sleight-of-hand practised by shamans, 172
Slings as weapons, 164; in Ona myth, 101; in [illegible]an myth, 176; of the Yahgan, [illegible]56; Ona and Yahgan compar[illegible] 83; stones for, how carried, 117; [illegible]d by boys, 163
Smoke, effect [illegible] on Yahgans' eyes, 129
Smoothing stones for arrow-making, 73–74. See *Arrowshaft polishers; Polishers*
Snake-skin, Seri belts of, 205
Snares used by Ona, 83. See *Bird-snares*
Snipe, Strickland's, see *Woodcock*
Snow created in myth, 103, 178. See *Climate*
Snow-goggles, Eskimo, 211
Social organization, Eskimo, 211; Fuegian, 35; in Indian culture, 208; Ona, 84; Seri, 206; Yahgan, 160
Somatology as evidence of Fuegian origin, 198. See *Physical type*
Songs of the Yahgan, 163–164, 169
South American Missionary Society, activities, 21
Southern Cross, origin of, 101

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Spaniard harbor, Yahgan boundary, 116, 196
Spaniards, expeditions to Fuegia by, 19–20; natives exterminated by, 115
Specials for painting, 125, 131, 142
Spearpoint-case, Yahgan, 153–154
Spearpoints from ancient camp-sites, 114, 191–192
Spears as weapons, 164; distribution of use of, 194; Eskimo use of, 209; made in myth, 176; of Haush, 107; of Yahgan, 118, 149–153, 203; used by boys, 163. See *Fish-spear; Harpoons; Seal-spear*
Spear-thrower, early use of, 202; unknown to Fueghans, 33, 206–209
Spirits controlled by shamans, 96, 107, 172, 174, 208; how frightened, 169; invoked by Eskimo, 211; of Ona shamans, 106; of the Haush, 107–108; of the Ona, 94, 96–98, 105–106; represented by masks, 93–95; Yahgan belief in, 171
Spoons used by Eskimo, 210
Sports, see *Amusements; Games; Wrestling*
Spruce for Eskimo bows, 210
Staaten island, rainfall on, 26; skirted by Brouwer, 19
Stakes, see *Pegs*
Stars in Haush myth, 108; Ona belief regarding, 105; mythic origin of, 177–178. See *Planets; Southern Cross*
Stature, see *Physical type*
Steatopygy, cause of, 46
Stone, scraper handles of, 139–140. See *Green stone; Rocks*
Stone implements from shellheaps, 111–113, 179, 183, 189–192; illustrated, pl. VII, VIII, XIX; of Eskimo, 210–211; of Fueghans, 202–203; Ona, 70, 73–74, 76; Seri, 205; Yahgan, 131. See *Arrows; Fishers; Knives; Scrapers; Tools*
Stones, arrow-shape, as talismans, 102; as weapons, 164; Ona spirits of, 95. See *Rocks; Slings*
Storage, bags for, 31, 67, 133; of food by Fueghans, 33, 35
Storms created in Ona myth, 103; in Magellan straits, 15; Ona belief regarding, 97
Straits of Le Maire, Camargo in, 19; character of, 15
Straits of Magellan, Alacaluf on, 25; character of, 15; cartography of, 18–19; Francis Drake in, 19; pyrites from, 65
Streams, Ona spirit of, 94
Submergence of shellheap sites, 194–195
Suggestion employed in healing, 172
Sullivan, L. R., cited, 42
Summer, see *Climate*
Sun in Ona myth, 101, 104–105; mythic origin of, 177–178
Surinam, basketry of, 136
Swan, mythic origin of, 94
Swan-feathers used on arrows, 75
Swimming, Ona not practised in, 201
Symbolism of mask painting, 171; of the Eskimo, 211; of Yahgan paints, 126

Taboo during initiation, 92–93; marriage, 162; of animal food by Yahgan, 118; of camp-sites by death, 116, 179, 196; of food at childbirth, 87; of names of dead, 98
Talismans of the Ona, 102
Taltal, culture of, 194
Taming of birds by Yahgan, 159. See *Domestication*
Tane, see *Tan'u*
Tan'u, Ona spirit, 94–95
Taruwa Lōm, a star, in myth, 178
Tasmanians, character of, 16
Tattooing by Fuegians, 58, 125, 168, 199. See *Scarification*
Teeth used in arrow straightening, 73
Tehuelche and Ona relationship, 46, 199; arrows, 75; bags, 57; boats, 201; bolas, 115; clothing, 31, 53, 58; cradles, 58; custom of hunters, 81; face-painting, 59; fire-making, 65; food, 45; footgear, 54–55; houses, 60–61; initiation ceremonies, 95; linguistic relations, 106, 199; quivers not used by, 78; stature, 47; tattooing, 58; water-bags, 67; weapons, 72. See *Patagonians*
Tekeenica described, 116–118
Tello, Julio C., cited, 193
Temáuhl, Ona deity, 96
Temperature, see *Climate*
Teninisk', an Ona, 48
Terminology of culture epochs, 202
Terra Australis, linked with Fuegia, 18
Theft, a cause of quarrels, 164
Thongs for burden-bearing, 62; for halting scrapers, 113; for tree-climbing, 144; for various uses, 31, 54, 57, 58, 75, 140, 153. See *Guanaco-skin; Hide; Seal-hide*
Thorns used for pegs, 59
Thouctof bay, shellheaps on, 183, 187, 196–197
Throwing-stick used by Eskimo, 210
Tiburon island, Seri on, 204
Tides of Magellan straits, 15
Tierra Mayor, Yahgan at, 11

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Tierra Mayor channel, shellheaps on, 183
Timber in Tierra del Fuego, 35. See *Flora; Forests; Trees*
Tinder, fungus used for, 199; of the Ona, 64–65; of the Yahgan, 129–130
Tobacco, pouch for, 133
Tongs, see *Fire-tongs*
Tools adorned with paint, 126; for spear-making, 151; Fuegian, 37; Ona terms for, 216; Yahgan, 139–143; Yahgan terms for, 218. See *Implements; Iron; Metal; Stone implements*
Topography of Tierra del Fuego, 17, 28
Torch used in bird-hunting, 83, 156
Torture, see *Ordeal*
Totemism absent among Fuegians, 35, 94
Tracking, Ona expert in, 80
Trade in cypress wood, 152; Yahgan and Alacaluf, 130
Training of initiates, 175; of shamans, 172. See *Children; Initiation*
Transformation myths, Ona, 101–105
Transportation by Fuegians, 36, 62. See *Burdens; Canoes*
Travel, see *Transportation*
Trees lacking in Eskimo region, 209; list of, 29; on shellheaps, 187, 194; spirits of, 95, 105, 171. See *Flora; Forests*
Trickster in Haush myth, 108
Tshou, application of term, 48
Tube, see *Drinking-tube*
Tucotuco eaten by the Ona, 32. See *Cururo; Food*
Turtle-flippers, Seri sandals of, 205
Turtles eaten by Seri, 204
Tweezers, see *Pincers*
Twine of the Ona, 31. See *Sinew; Thongs*

Uhle, Max, cited, 193
Uhaihenaia, shellheaps at, pl. XVI
Union bay, pyrites from, 65
Urdanete, Andrés de, cited, 19
Useless bay of Tierra del Fuego, 48
Ushuaia, Argentine establishment at, 22; a Yahgan center, 196; climate of, 26; locus of myth, 177; mission station at, 21; Yahgan dialect at, 120
Utensils, paint used on, 126. See *Implements; Tools*

Van Noort, O., voyage of, 118
Varela bay, shellheaps on, 183, 196, 197, pl. XVII
Vargas Ponce, José, cited, 20, 57
Victoria, Magellan's ship, 19
Virdma cited, 201
Villages, see *Camp-sites; Shellheaps*
Viracocha complex in Fuegia, 176; myth cycle of, 99
Vocabulary, Ona, 215; Yahgan, 217. See *Language*
Volcanoes represented in Tierra del Fuego, 20
Vomiting employed by shaman, 96
Vulture in Ona myth, 103
Vulture-feathers used on arrows, 75

Walking-stick used by Ona women, 62
Walrus speared by Eskimo, 209–210
Walter, a Yahgan, 120
Wands of initiation ceremony, 167
Wápisatumánakulum, a shellheap, 180–181; stone objects from, 190–191, pl. XIX
War customs of the Ona, 87–88; for obtaining women, 86; Ona and Yahgan, 105; organized, unknown to Yahgan, 165; white a symbol of, 126
Watouineiwa, Yahgan deity, 169, 172
Water, how obtained by the Ona, 67
Water-bags, distribution of, 199; Ona, 31, 65, 67
Weapons, Eskimo, 209–210; Fuegian, 37; Haush, 109; Ona, 71–84; Ona terms for, 216; Yahgan, 148–157, 164; Yahgan terms for, 218. See *Arrows; Bolas; Bows; Clubs; Slings; Spears*
Weather controlled by shamans, 172. See *Climate*
Weaving by the Seri, 205–206; unknown to Fuegians, 32, 35
Weirs ascribed to Ona, 83. See *Fish-weirs*
Weld, J. L., acknowledgments to, 145–146; companion of author, 11–13, 54
Whale as food, 48, 84, 105, 107, 178; how pursued, 145, 152–153; importance of, to Fuegians, 33; in Ona myth, 102; natives poisoned by, 186–187; speared by Eskimo, 209–210; stranded, dependence on, 151. See *Food*
Whalebone, buckets sewn with, 132; canoes sewn with, 144; combs made of, 130–131; fish-line nooses of, 159; on crab-spears, 155; masks sewn with, 171; snare nooses of, 157
Whale-bone, barking tools of, 141, 143; combs of, 68; spearheads of, 150
Whale excrement, Ona belief as to, 74
Whale-gut, bags made of, 68; sling lines of, 156
Whale-oil, containers for, 133
Whale-sinew, fish-lines of, 140, 159

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Whetstone, see *Sharpening stones*
Whistles unknown to Fuegians, 208
White men in Ona legend, 99, 176
Wigwams, see *Houses*
Wilkirk, Yahgan camp-site, 186
Wilkes, Lieut. Charles, bow collected by, 156
William, a Yahgan, 120
Williams, Rev. John, acknowledgments to, 12, 13, 143; Bridges dictionary in possession of, 119; mentioned, 155; on Alacaluf numbers, 25; translations by, 119–120
Wind avoided by painting, 59; in Ona myth, 102; Ona belief regarding, 105. See *Climate*
Windbreak, distribution of, 208; Haush, 107; Ona, 31, 59, 63–64
Winter, see *Climate*
Wissler, Clark, cited, 206
Witch-doctors, see *Shamans*
Withand bay, location of, 61
Wollaston island, bow probably from, 156; Drake at, 19; situation, 17; Yahgan dialect of, 120; Yahgan population of, 196
Women as masked spirits, 108; as rulers in Yahgan myth, 177; as shamans, 172; attitude of initiates toward, 93; bags used by, 67; Haush, character of, 109; Haush, clothing of, 109; Haush, work of, 109; how treated by Ona, 81; how treated in Haush ceremony, 108; in initiation rites, 168–170; mourning custom of, 174; murdered by Ona, 103; Ona, beliefs of, 96; Ona, clothing of, 57–58; Ona, mourning by, 98; Ona, tradition regarding, 93–94; Ona, work of, 62, 81; prohibited from ceremony, 95; regard for, taught, 169; spirits personated by, 94; Yahgan, clothing of, 118; Yahgan, customs of, 212; Yahgan, source of contention, 118–119; Yahgan, work of, 131–132, 134, 147, 159. See *Captives; Marriage*
Wood for arrow-making, 73. See *Trees*
Woodcock, mythic origin of, 94
Woodworking, scrapers for, 69–70. See *Arrows; Bows*
Wool, guanaco, not used by Ona, 32
Woolya, massacre at, 118
Workshop, ancient, at Estancia Viamonte, 111
Wrestling by Ona, 48, 88–90; by Yahgan, 164; gatherings at, 84; in Ona myth, 103
Wristlets, Ona, 59; Yahgan, 125. See *Bracelets; Ornaments*

Yahgan, account of the, 116–178; and Haush compared, 107; and Haush relations, 106–107; and Ona cultures intermingled, 35, 46–47; anthropometric characters of, 41–47; baskets, 68; bird-snares, 83; bows, 72; clothing, 33, 55, 58; drinking-shells, 67; fire-tongs, 66; fishing, 33–34; food, 33–34; grass ropes plaited by, 59; habitat, 17, 25; hair, 40; houses, 64; initiation ceremonies, 95; initiation lodge, 94; leggings, 57, 124; linguistic position, 24; masks, 94; material culture, 36; meat stored by, 33; missionary efforts among, 21; moccasins, 55; names of flora, 29; Ona spears adapted from, 83; physical type, 39, 40, 198; population, 25, 196–197; shaman's cap, 56; slings, 83; statistical constants for, 41; stone blades, 114; trade for pyrites, 65; torches, 83; visit to England, 21; vocabulary, 217. See *Foot Indians; Fuegians*
Yamana, application of term, 24
Yendegaia bay, Yahgan boundary, 196
Yetoite, Yahgan evil spirit, 169
Yol'lex in Yahgan myth, 176
Yol'lexterwikipa in Yahgan myth, 176
Yose, an Ona ghost, 106

/1030 cont./
181 play of forces in this ethnic group on the Cape Horn Archipelago now belongs to the past. /Fig. 88 appears here./

/1031/ Part 4

The Spiritual World of the Yamana

114 There was a time not far back when people quite generally and as a matter of course inferred from the poverty and simplicity of the external arrangements and the objects used by a primitive people that they were lacking in ideas and that their spiritual world was limited. Ever since the Yamana were visited and superficially observed by European navigators, the entire cultured world has classed them among the most unworthy representatives of the human race on account of their inhospitable native land and the unfavorable conditions of their existence. Roskoff-49 and others often repeated: "The Fuegians are, according to Reinhold Forster's remarks, 'apparently the most miserable of all peoples.'" They were judged solely by what caught the eye and by the hasty first impression that their nakedness and unattractive appearance, their way of life, and their wild behavior inevitably makes upon every European. Once established, the general opinion became deeply entrenched and continued to be untouched by this or that report which sounded somewhat more favorable. How could such a report have brought about a complete change of the previously held view when the Yamana themselves did not change in any way externally!

114 It is not enough to evaluate a human group solely by what
• 121 strikes the eye; for that reason modern ethnography in all seriousness desires penetration into the spiritual domain of every tribe.

[[36]]

Fig. 88. Diomedea exulans.

/1021 cont./

114 Unfortunately, the Europeans who had all kinds of opportunities
121 to do this during their sojourn on the Cape Horn Archipelago did not fully meet this demand. In their defense it is willingly admitted that they were given no particular assignment to do this, nor were they specially prepared. The English missionaries, who, in retrospect, must be loudly praised for their exemplary zeal in the study of the Yamana language, strangely enough made almost no effort to gain a deeper understanding of the souls of these Indians, despite the fact that they lived with them for decades. A small residual group of survivors was already on the brink of the grave into which a once populous tribe had by now disappeared, when as yet no full account of their /1030/ spiritual endowment had been offered by reliable research and preserved for the history of humanity. Hence I chose to make it my most important task to rescue these treasures at the eleventh hour. No less a person than W. Schmidt (6):879 declares "that, as far as the spiritual culture of the Fueguians is concerned, [my] four expeditions alone surpass in quantity as well as quality of achievements all the work of the previous authors put together."

121 A number of favorable circumstances helped me in this work, and these will have to be mentioned in the proper place. In spite of decades of contact with a great many features of European culture, the Fueguians have retained the total content of their spiritual heritage, not only practically intact, but also in its pristine state. This shows that it was vital and irreplaceable for them, and that after it was lost the undisturbed continuance of the people as a whole was impossible. The Yamana themselves know what it was that held them together and what was guaranteed them by orderly, peaceable conditions of life; they called it simply "that which was handed down to us by our forefathers in the way of habits and customs." They were also sensitively aware that their doom would be sealed the moment they deviated from it or were prevented by outside influences from carrying on their tribal life according to the previous patterns.

114 I remained aware of my serious responsibility while undertaking
123 the four expeditions into the Cape Horn region, and I ceaselessly tried to feel my way into the strange conceptual world of the Yamana. This required time and in this I was helped by the long free months away from Tierra del Fuego between the four separate

PREFACE

THIS account of the natives of Tierra del Fuego is the result of a three months' visit to the island, accompanied by Mr. J. Linzee Weld, during the summer of 1924–25. We studied Ona Indians at three settlements: one at the southeast corner of Lake Fagnano, one to the northeast of the same lake, and the third lying east of the Laguna de Pescados. Yahgan Indians were encountered at Tierra Mayor, Cambaceres bay, Gable island, and Puerto Mejillones on Navarin island. 114

Although the time available was short, aids to study were unusual. Thus, Cooper's "Bibliography" offered in a readily available form an accurate analysis of previous work, with an exception to be noted presently. Furthermore, the help of three intelligent white men—Messrs. Lucas and William Bridges and Fred. Lawrence,—all intimately acquainted with the Indian lore and languages, made it possible to procure accurate data with unusual celerity and facility. All the information thus obtained was checked by the Indians and vice versa, while just before I left the island Mr. William Bridges most kindly went over all my notes and vocabularies. Therefore I feel confident that they are detailed and accurate. 115

In planning my work, owing to the limited time available it seemed wise to concentrate on obvious and concrete problems which could be covered with reasonable thoroughness. Although the studies of Gusinde and Koppers[1] had not then appeared in print, I was told that they had worked chiefly on the religion, initiation ceremonies, folklore, and linguistics. Hence my most profitable course was to devote myself primarily to the material culture and technology. This decision was fostered by the fact that both tribes had been reduced almost to extinction by a recent epidemic of influenza, so that the older men who once took part in native rites had died almost without exception. Secondly, on Beagle channel a thorough examination of camp-sites was undertaken with a view of determining their nature and age so far as 121

[1] Consult the Bibliography in the appendix.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

121 was possible without extensive excavation. In addition, customs and ceremonial practices were noted as opportunity offered. In preparing this account of the Indians I have followed my own notes even when at variance with previous studies; yet I have tried to incorporate enough material gathered by other observers to present a reasonably complete picture, at least of the material culture.

Tierra del Fuego is a land where the frontier traditions of hospitality still reign, so that acknowledgment of the help received seems stiff and formal in the light of the generosity and kindness to be found there. To the Bridges family is due primarily the success of our trip and also a deep debt of gratitude not only for technical and material aid but for kindly hospitality and sumptuous fare on the justly famous Estancia Viamonte. My mouth still waters when I think of poached wild-goose eggs on mutton steak or *calafate* pie with clotted cream. Mr. John Goodall, manager of the *frigorifico* at Rio Grande, was also a most kindly host. At Harberton Captain and Mrs. Sigurd Nielson, Mrs. John Lundberg, their many children, and Mr. Eric Fugellie not only offered us their unstinted hospitality but supplied every facility for travel and work. At Remolino Mr. Fred. Lawrence was both my host and a mine of information. The American and Belgian consuls at Punta Arenas, Mr. John Sharp and Mr. Charles Kwasten, the latter our traveling companion southward from New York, gave us most useful advice and helped us ship our collections northward. Mr. John Williams of Punta Arenas furnished important information. Mr. Thomas Constanduros and Mr. R. H. Oerton motored us across vast stretches of southern Patagonia, while Mr. John Hamilton most kindly allowed us to inspect his large and important archeological collection. I have space to mention but a few of the many who went out of their way to be helpful to us, but to all I give my most sincere thanks. Most particularly I am indebted to Mr. J. Linase Weld for help and support under circumstances of many kinds and for genial companionship during many months in distant lands.

In this country, I wish to thank Mr. George G. Heye for the opportunity to take a most interesting journey and for making possible this publication. Mr. F. W. Hodge has both edited and aided in the preparation of the manuscript, as has also my wife. Prof. E. A. Hooton, assisted by Mr. Walter Cline and Miss Barbara Clark, have worked over all available data on somatology, while

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S96 Yahgan S96

for savagery and ferocity, which their uncouth appearance and hardiness no little augmented. Indeed even today Tierra del Fuego is regarded by many of the world's inhabitants as a strange and romantic land, peopled by unmitigated cannibals, inhospitable, forlorn, and barren. The very distance of Tierra del Fuego from the places where most of us live is a gap not easily overleaped by the mind, and indeed this gap is not only geographical, but racial and cultural as well.

The very fundamentals of Europe, racially and culturally, have for the greater part come directly from the Asiatic continent, so that historians in a philosophic vein have assumed that the march of civilization is constantly westward. *Ex oriente lux.* However, the current anthropological viewpoint is that man developed his peculiar physical and his primitive cultural attributes within the continent of Asia, and, thus primed with hitherto unknown powers to survive and to perpetuate the species, expanded in all directions with great rapidity. This expansion we may liken to the ripples spreading from a stone dropped into a pond, and of such ethno-cultural waves the first settlers of Europe and the Fueguans mark the marginal extremes in opposite directions. In other words, until the application of the compass made the ocean a highway instead of a barrier, the western Europeans and the Fueguans were the most widely separated peoples in the world.

[2] To students of human culture the Indians of Tierra del Fuego prove of unusual interest because with such tribes as the Tasmanians they are reputed among the world's most primitive inhabitants. Such isolated and backward peoples may exhibit, through cultural stagnation or degeneration, an early stage in the development of our own and of other complex civilizations. Moreover, the natives of Fuegia afford a clue as to the state of the first men to attain the shores of the Western Hemisphere.

GEOGRAPHY

[3] The term *Tierra del Fuego* is loosely applied to the large archipelago lying south of the mainland of South America; more strictly the name is assigned to the main island, shaped like an irregular triangle. It measures about 240 miles along the south coast, the base of the triangle, and 170 miles from north to south.

South of the main island, separated from it by the narrow waters of Beagle channel, are three large islands (Gordon, Hoste, Navarin).

/187 cont./

BS

> "girls and boys wave by their proud parents often laden with a profusion of native necklaces of bone or shells and their faces painted as attractively as possible" /cited in English/.

themselves with the children, or, as Hyades (ii):304 expresses it: "The parents love their children and occupy themselves with them" /translated from French/. Anyone who is not busy with something else is happiest when he is spending his time playfully with a child. Parents are also, of course, extremely receptive toward any attention and kindness shown their child by neighbors. I have observed that every adult, women more than men, displays much tenderness and affection toward another person's child, without discrimination. If, however, a boy should be a public nuisance because of his naughtiness, he is severely reprimanded and disciplined by everybody alike. In any case, the behavior of adults toward children is quite uniform. Judging from this behavior alone, a European observer will consider a woman for the mother of a child when she is not even a relative. All the good things, even merely a friendly smile, given by a European are valued so high highly by the parents when bestowed upon their child (p. 483). Fitz-Roy (v):185, too, noted: "Both men and women are remarkably fond of the little children, and were always much pleased at any notice taken of them by our parties, when they felt sufficient confidence in us to bring the children forward" /cited in English/.

[23] BS

/188/ By nature the Tasman children of today are not as open-hearted and uninhibited as the Yaghan children. I was very much aware of the difference on my journeys. I explain it on the basis of the disposition of our Fuegian group and their greater racialmity. Nevertheless I succeeded in amusing myself with these little creatures most amazingly and also in pleasing them. Old Alfredo who often saw me amid a group of gay young people simply could not understand why, at my advanced age, I was not yet married. When I discussed it with him, he asked me the unexpected question: "And among your own people can you also romp about with the children as you do here with us?" Not only he, but other people as well found it a great satisfaction that I so much enjoyed playing and frolicking with their little darlings. Thus, there was a repetition of what earlier travelers, such as Snow and Fitz-Roy, had observed.

/732 cont./

551 As the longest male proper name known, I learned of an almost monstrous construction which can probably be regarded as the longest Yamana word, namely, hūmaxkamērnaᵛgājyatakwēlakirˇˇenjis (i.e., hūmax, "tree trunk tossed ashore by the waves"; kamērnaᵛgājyata, "to be set up, to place upright"; wēlakirˇˇ, "rocky or coastal promontory"). This means "man from the place on the shore where a tree trunk washed up by the waves stands upright." This construction corresponds to the rule regarding proper names.

553 Finally a superstitious custom should be noted, /733/ to which Bridges (a):176 long ago referred. "The natives have an idea that naming children early stops their growth, and since children so frequently die in early infancy" /cited in English/. Later Hyades (g):39 referred to this: "They first give their children names when they are about two years old and begin to walk. They say they do this so that, in case a child dies younger than that, they will not accidentally hear his name and be reminded of their loss." As I was able to confirm, however, this custom was adopted less out of superstitious fear than because of the utter uselessness of emphasizing the name of the child during the first 20 months. The child's name is automatically determined by his place of birth. Moreover, it is not customary among our Yamana to address a person present by name or to speak of him by name. This explains why quite generally they do not attach much importance to the proper name.

8. The Baby's Development

•123 Not all the families with whom I was in contact on Cape Horn Archipelago had the pleasure of having small children for company. A few aged persons, who had long since abandoned the hope of offspring, had married only to avoid being alone. Hence I was dependent on a small number of children in my observations and can, therefore, furnish only incomplete data on the development of young lives.

554 The solicitude of the young mother for her darling during the first few weeks of his existence gradually disappears. Not that her love diminishes -- in fact, it increases -- but anxiously vigilant care

/812 cont./

X881 114 he probably gathered independently are valid only for the men's ceremony.

If all that Bridges noted down about the common training of youth at puberty is applied, even unjustifiably, to the youth initiation, it seems so meager that the character of this secret rite is not recognizable even in rudimentary form. It remained completely undisclosed to European insight, like so many other valuable treasures, until shortly before the decline of this people.

2. My Participation

X881 123 It seems to me important to point out that up to my second journey the above references in Bridge's writings were completely unknown to me. My vague conjecture that in the declining years of these people I would still discover secret ceremonies was precipitated by a reference of Cooper's:156 that among the Yamana such rites had not been held for at least four decades. Since I was nevertheless privileged to experience the men's secret rites and the school for the medicine man, besides the initiation, I may be justified in maintaining that I was the sole discoverer of the čiéxaus and the first to understand its underlying idea.

There is no other institution about which our Indians are as strictly silent as they are about the youth initiation. Their reticence in this matter could be compared only with their habit of never repeating the name of a deceased person. In their daily life there is actually almost no occasion to speak of it, and if it [195] should be necessary, they regularly resort to circumlocution which they are also fond of using on other occasions. One would not go astray in tracing to this circumstance the fact that Bridges could learn little more than the name /813/ of this ceremony. Fred Lawrence, who at the time of my first initiation had been married to Nelly almost 20 years, had learned from her, as well as from the rest of the Yamana, a great many of their customs, and had himself been a good observer, had only a few vague impressions about the čiéxaus. His older brother Martin knew nothing at all about it. As for the venerable Reverend John Lawrence, he had one of his greatest surprises when I outlined my experience to him after my first participation. Two years later I told him that I took

/813 cont./

X 881 123

part in the čiéxaus in Mejillones, in other words, that I had become acquainted with this ceremony a second time. He was sincerely happy about my success and told me quite frankly that he had never made an effort to gain the confidence of the natives to such an extent that he could take part in their secret rites. Thus, the facts are convincing enough that the Yamana conceal the čiéxaus in strict silence even from one of their own people.

When I began my investigations among these people, there was only a handful of older persons left who could tell me with some certainty about the uncorrupted practices and customs of earlier times and answer my questions. The final moment had come to rescue valuable cultural possessions from total oblivion! I was fully aware of this and felt the weight of my responsibility. It will now be understandable why I seized the opportunity to take part in the čiéxaus with steadfast determination, and with indefatigable tenacity I worked with the natives until the entire contents of the ceremony was saved for scientific study. Even the greatest exertion on my part, however, would not have led me to my goal if I had not had the all-surmounting help of kind Nelly Lawrence. In the final analysis it was her decisive influence on her countrymen that made them decide in January, 1920, to put on an initiation ceremony and let me take part in it as an actual candidate.

a. My First Youth Initiation

After a general survey of the possibilities for research among the Fuegians, which I obtained on my first journey (p. 164 /untranslated/), I decided to begin my work with the Yamana. At the end of December, 1919, I was again in Punta Remolino where, shortly before, several Indian families had gathered (p. 175 /untranslated/). During the day the men were busy on the farm, and it was only in the evening and during rainy weather that they formed a circle around the hut fire of a venerable old man in order to talk. I was never absent on these occasions. Even after the first week of my stay there, we had grown accustomed to one another, they told me many things, and they were soon so friendly

X481 /813 cont./
123 that without embarrassment they began to speak of their myths.

/814/ One evening I noticed that a few men to whom old Alfredo had secretly given a hint sent the boys and girls out of the hut. Their excuse was that it was getting late and the children should go to bed. It was not until the adults were alone that Alfredo told two stories. Obviously the children were not supposed to know about them. Then I realized that on the previous evening and the evening before an oppressive embarrassment had hung over the adults and the really uninhibited flow of talk had not begun until all the youngsters had been removed. On one of the following evenings I asked them directly: "Why do you not tell these stories when a child is present here in the hut?" A younger man was ready, almost too ready, with the answer: "Only those who have been in the čiéxaus are permitted to know all that!" These words had an extremely embarrassing effect on all the men -- there did not happen to be any women present. They tried to cover it up by summoning all their self-control, but I was aware of it. I felt only too clearly that the man had been somewhat hasty and blurted out something which he should have held in strict secrecy. Dead silence! Minutes passed and no one dared to pick up the thread of the story. When some dogs outside suddenly broke the deadly stillness of the night by starting a fight, all the men, as though released from a spell, started up with exaggerated eagerness and rushed out of the hut. They soon dispersed and disappeared into their dwellings. There was nothing for me to do but to seek my bed also. I could not sleep, however, because of the excitement of having found a clue to a noteworthy matter (p. 177 /untranslated/).

The next morning I tried in vain even with well-meaning Chris to find out something more specific about the strange words that had been spoken the night before. On this evening the men were unmistakably slow-witted when I strongly suggested that we assemble around old Alfredo's hut fire as on the previous evenings. After much urging most of them finally sat down together again and we spoke of this and that. Scarcely had the children retired when, with recognizable firmness I put the question: "Exactly what does čiéxaus, which I heard last night, mean?" They obviously did not like this demand, and one of them cut me off with

X881 123

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the brief remark: "One does not speak about that!" Well, at least I knew that there must be something significant connected with this word and that I would learn nothing more about it from the men.

I could not let this strange matter rest. I promised myself some enlightenment from good old Nelly, and she did not disappoint me. From her I got the first intimation that the Yamana have an actual, well-developed youth initiation. /815/ After that I gave her no peace until one day she assured me that this ceremony would be carried out by her countrymen when their farm work was over and that I might take part in it (245).

245. On pages 179 and 184 /both untranslated/ I described how I influenced her and her husband Fred Lawrence and what in addition she herself did independently. Compare also Gusinde (b):149.

From now on I occasionally ventured to drop a remark about it to the old people; I plainly expressed to them my happiness at soon being permitted to see their beautiful ceremony. At first, however, nothing in the world would make them accept the idea, and they simply could not grasp the notion that a European should enter the sacredness of their čiéxaus. One evening, at the instigation of his wife, Fred Lawrence called all the men together. He told them point-blank of Nelly's wish and emphatically demanded that they begin this ceremony. He referred to all the help and assistance that both of them had always given them. Since I was a beloved guest of the Lawrence family and also a desirable comrade of the Yamana, they must not deny me admission along with Nelly. In spite of stubborn objections on the part of a few men, Fred firmly persisted in his demand. As though for spite, they, in turn, made it a condition that I must conduct myself exactly like the actual candidates, uswáala, just as ancient custom demands of each of their children who is first introduced into the Great Hut. As soon as Fred informed me of this and I had, of course, agreed (246), the men calmed down somewhat,

246. In spite of my advanced age, this demand

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X881 • 123

was not unusual. Particularly in recent times it has occasionally happened that a Yamana did not have an opportunity to be initiated until early manhood. For example, one of the candidates who entered when I did was 27 years old. They do not bother about age, but they do demand actual participation sooner or later.

but still struggled for a long time with the monstrous idea that a European should experience the čiéxaus (247). Meanwhile Nelly

247. In Volume I, 814, I described the serious difficulties I was obliged to overcome before the Selk'nam admitted me to their men's secret rites.

inspired the old women with enthusiasm for her plan, and with them, particularly, she had the desired success.

While the men finished their work on the farm, I arranged with Fred Lawrence to provide food for all participants. We had promised them that we would be responsible for the needs of everyone during the ceremony so that no one would be impeded by food-seeking and we would thus be assured of a smooth running of the affair. He was kind enough to provide the necessary sheep; I bought flour, legumes, coffee, and sugar, besides a few little things. In their leisure hours the old men discussed the plan in detail among themselves. Quite voluntarily they gathered around Alfredo as the one with the most experience and yielded to his decisions. The women prepared the small ornaments that are necessary and /816/ gradually put themselves into the serious mood of this ceremony. Nelly felt an indescribably great satisfaction as her longed-for čiéxaus approached. Meanwhile I personally was with the men a good deal and showed obvious willingness to meet all the demands that would be put upon me.

X881 346

It was agreed to erect the Great Hut close to the farm buildings in Punta Remolino, out of consideration for Nelly who could not be separated from her family for a longer period and who wanted her three grown daughters to take part in the concluding ceremony. Round about lay the huts and the smaller dwellings

/816 cont./

X881 of the Indians; hence it was not necessary for them to move.
344 Even before the farm work was finished, Alfredo, who was the actual leader of the festival, had appointed four men as watchmen. It was their duty to keep a strict watch so that no one should approach who was not invited or who would cause any kind of disturbance and particularly that all the children left behind in the camp would be scrupulously quiet. Hardly was everyone free when the younger men went into the woods and cut suitable small beech trunks which were shaped and prepared on the festival site. Meanwhile old Alfredo, along with other men, built the framework, and the watchmen attended to their duty whenever a few inquisitive children came too close. Each time they uttered the same strange cry, which everyone knows and fears. Within three days the Great Hut stood there, covered and finished. It was 12 meters long on the ground, with a maximum width of 2.60 meters in the center and a maximum height, also in the center, of 2.40 meters. It was long, with an almost uniform slope, and had a long elliptical outline. After that the fire was lighted inside.

X881 Slowly all the men and the older women assembled. After making a quick selection, they squatted down in a place which
123 they retained the whole time thereafter. Then they considered which young people were to be introduced as candidates. The bitter realization of their sad destiny now struck these people in the Great Hut with full force when they saw how few candidates there were left. At first it looked as though there were no young people who could be chosen for uswáala, for this or that family had only very small children. They agreed on 17-year-old Homestead and on Clement who was already 27 years old, but had never before been initiated in this ceremony. I was the third candidate.

While these deliberations were going, the rest of the adults who wanted to experience the whole procedure arrived. Their attitude was as reserved as though they were going to a religious ceremony. For more than an hour they maintained the deepest silence and strongest composure. Then Alfredo started singing a monotonous, sad song which a few others softly accompanied. They all sat there earnestly and thoughtfully and continued singing. This was the opening of the ceremony. In the late

/816 cont./

X881 123

/Plate 2 appears here/ /817/ afternoon, upon a signal from the leader, the four watchmen, equipped with leather straps, crept out of the Great Hut. They caught first me, then Clemente, and finally Homestead. They brought each of us to the hut separately. I could, therefore, quietly observe the strange ghostly scene which was repeated, as it had been for me, as each of the other two candidates was pushed in through the entrance.

After that each of the three of uswas constantly under the care of his sponsors. This service was performed in my case by Chris and Gertie. Later I learned that they had specifically asked to do it because they had no children. I now followed the proceedings of the entire ceremony day and night. The burdensome compulsory posture for long hours was indescribably agonizing, I sorely missed sleep and physical movement, and hunger made me very weak, but the serious leader, Alfredo, remained adamant concerning all the requirements and spared neither me nor the other two candidates. I was only exempted from bathing at night in the cold water of Beagle Channel (p.711). I found the strict prohibition against taking notes and asking any kind of questions incomparably more difficult, however, than the purely external rigors. The weakness from which my entire body suffered was transmitted to my memory and power of perception. Many details, since they were not explained, escaped my attention. Nevertheless, I was content, since my being in this Great Hut was in itself rare good fortune.

Everything served to discipline the candidate's will-power and self-control, to teach and admonish him, and to make him physically and practically efficient. The basic principles of the Ciéxaus became clearly illuminated, and its high moral value became apparent from the golden rules of life that a special master teacher, this time old Whaits, recited to us almost every evening. Under the guidance of a capable man, I often had to go out with the other two candidates for all kinds of tasks and hunting, which are the man's life work. Occasionally stories were told, some of which I had already learned confidentially, but anything concerning the Yoālox /a family of culture heroes/ can be repeated only in this sacred hut. Here for the first time I became acquainted with the mimes and the various songs and dances. From day to

/817 cont./

X881 123

day my observations and experiences were augmented. Everything pleased me very much, in spite of considerable deprivation and physical weakness.

The diversified schedule of the festival proceeded without interruption; all the participants were in the best mood and showed the greatest seriousness. Several times a day Nelly also entered the Great Hut. She took part in everything so conscientiously and enthusiastically that she inspired the other adults by her example. After ten days the conclusion of the ceremonies was agreed upon by the old people. For this particularly festive occasion Nelly had also brought her three grown daughters into the Great Hut. Altogether we were only 24 persons, but everyone was very eager /818/ during the spirited, lively concluding festivities. Every face showed complete contentment and great satisfaction with the success of this ceremony. During the last common meal everyone was happy and gay. The older men expressed their gratification at my great willingness in the face of all the rigors which I, too, could not be spared. One of them whispered in my ear: "Come again next summer; then we shall repeat this festival and afterwards you may enter the kína!" Later it was explained to me that kína is the name for the men's secret ceremony and that every man is obliged to be uswáala twice in the čiéxaus before he is admitted to it. During the course of this final meal the good mood of the people was so intensified that they cried out often and loudly: "This was the best čiéxaus. We'll repeat it next summer!" Since they urged me, I gladly promised to come back then, for in my mind I already had visions of the kína which I wanted to become acquainted with also.

Wanderlust was beginning to take hold of these people. By the second day after the čiéxaus ended, the last of them had left Punta Remolino. I entered the many experiences in my diary from memory, and soon after I, too, took leave of that beloved place. In the comprehensive account below the experiences of my first initiation will be evaluated (248).

248. In Gusinde (b):150 there is a somewhat more detailed description of my first initiation ceremony, which I experienced in Punta Remolino in February, 1920 (p. 179 /untranslated/).

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β. My Second Youth Initiation

X881 123 In January, 1922, I returned to the territory of the Yamana for the third time and with the special purpose of seeing the kĭna (p. 184 /untranslated/). Since the preliminary condition for this was that one had to be tested twice in the čiéxaus, I naturally counted on a repetition of the latter. This time more families had gathered in Punto Remolino than two years before. To my regret, old Alfredo and his wife were missing, both of whom had been remarkably useful and helpful to me on my earlier visit. I was told they were far out around the southernmost Wollaston Islands where the woman's home was.

The people were easily won over to our plan, and scarcely had I returned to Punta Remolino with my companion, Father Koppers, from a short visit among the Selk'nam when our preparations and theirs began. This time we wanted to be completely undisturbed and quite free. Hence everyone agreed to go to Puerto Mejillones. Most of them have a little wooden house there, had left behind all kinds of implements, and felt much more comfortable in that favorite spot than here under the eyes of certain Europeans. I bought quite a number of food supplies and naturally also /819/ a goodly number of fat sheep. The Indians effortlessly packed together their few belongings. Nelly did not conceal her regret at not being able to join us immediately and promised to visit us occasionally. The work on the farm this summer had been delayed unusually long. When it was finally finished in the last few days of February, Fred Lawrence willingly put his cutter "Garibaldi" at our disposal for the crossing. Everything was loaded, we went aboard, and in the early forenoon of March 1, 1922, we crossed Beagle Channel due south (p. 185 /untranslated/).

When they arrived in Puerto Mejillones, each family without delay hastened to their dwelling and again comfortably installed themselves. We had no other choice but the little house of Santiago, for this time he had to take over the leadership of the čiéxaus. He had beforehand reserved the sponsorship of Koppers for himself and his wife; this was reason enough for us to associate more closely with him. My sponsors were, as two years previously Chris and Gertie. Soon there was a general discussion among the

/867 cont./

X881 One understands the difficult position of many an uǰwǝ̄ala in
867 view of the fact that every adult has the right to criticize and correct him in anything that he feels is necessary. Many a relative and friend has previously perhaps made a fruitless effort in behalf of a boy or girl, his influence having been of brief duration. Here, however, the candidate is in the hands of the adult for a longer period. The latter makes the best use of this opportunity, for it is the last, so to speak. After his initiation every
[885] candidate regards himself more or less as one of the adults. Time and again the uǰwǝ̄ala is told explicitly: "You are now old enough. Up to now your father and mother have provided food for you, made a place for you in the hut, and helped you in everything. They [your parents] have taken enough trouble with you over a period of many years, you may no longer be a burden to them. Seek your life's companion soon and stay by yourself [in your own dwelling] (286)!"

123 286. I, personally, experienced for myself how seriously they take the admonitions directed toward a prompt marriage. On my second visit I had shown the Yamana various photographs and pointed out each person as in some way related to me. I said to them: "This is my mother, my grandfather, my paternal uncle, and so forth." I was using this means to induce them to let me photograph them. After a while they asked: "Won't you also show us a picture of your wife?" When I assured them that I was not yet married, they found it incomprehensible that a person of my age should still be single. At the end of my first initiation that year, old Alfredo, the leader of the affair, said to me: "We have taught you many good things in the Great Hut, now act accordingly! When you get back to your people do not forget to take a girl as your wife!" In order to show myself obliging to the dear old man, I replied affirmatively: "I shall gladly comply with your words and also soon look

/867 cont./

123

for a wife'" During the subsequent years I completely forgot this promise which, to begin with, was not meant to be taken seriously.

I did not see Alfredo again until my fourth journey (p. 187 /untranslated/). One day, within a circle of men, I passed around many photographs which I had taken the year before and gave a few explanations about them. The Yamana also made comments. Finally Alfredo turned to me and asked in so many words: "Didn't you also bring a photograph of your young wife?" I was not prepared for this question. The old man looked me sternly in the eye, and I stammered, half instinctively, half embarrassed: "Oh, well now, I completely forgot to get married!" The gentle features of the good old man suddenly changed, and after a short pause which was embarrassing to me, he exposed me in front of those present in a reproachful tone: "Here we let you enter the Great Hut, gave you good instruction, and you pay no attention to it!... Who gets your food for you?" I replied: "My father." He: "From whom do you get your clothing?" I: "From my mother." He: "Where do you live?" I: "With my parents." He continued with the forceful admonition: "Shame on you! Your parents have been working for you so many years already, and you are still a burden to them. They have certainly done enough for you!...Isn't there any girl among your people who likes you and would like to marry you?" I pretended to be very much ashamed, and I loudly assured the well-meaning old man: "This time when I get home, I shall really get married immediately and be very nice to my parents!" He calmed down after these words. All who were present took sides with him against me.

/1031 cont./

114 Unfortunately, the Europeans who had all kinds of opportunities
121 to do this during their sojourn on the Cape Horn Archipelago did not fully meet this demand. In their defense it is willingly admitted that they were given no particular assignment to do this, nor were they specially prepared. The English missionaries, who, in retrospect, must be loudly praised for their exemplary zeal in the study of the Yamana language, strangely enough made almost no effort to gain a deeper understanding of the souls of these Indians, despite the fact that they lived with them for decades. A small residual group of survivors was already on the brink of the grave into which a once populous tribe had by now disappeared, when as yet no full account of their /1032/ spiritual endowment had been offered by reliable research and preserved for the history of humanity. Hence I chose to make it my most important task to rescue these treasures at the eleventh hour. No less a person than W. Schmidt (d):879 declares "that, as far as the spiritual culture of the Fuegians is concerned, [my] four expeditions alone surpass in quantity as well as quality of achievements all the work of the previous authors put together."

121 A number of favorable circumstances helped me in this work, and these will have to be mentioned in the proper place. In spite of decades of contact with a great many features of European culture, the Fuegians have retained the total content of their spiritual heritage, not only practically intact, but also in its pristine state. This shows that it was vital and irreplaceable for them, and that after it was lost the undisturbed continuance of the people as a whole was impossible. The Yamana themselves know what it was that held them together and what was guaranteed them by orderly, peaceable conditions of life; they called it simply "that which was handed down to us by our forefathers in the way of habits and customs." They were also sensitively aware that their doom would be sealed the moment they deviated from it or were prevented by outside influences from carrying on their tribal life according to the previous patterns.

114 I remained aware of my serious responsibility while undertaking the four expeditions into the Cape Horn region, and I ceaselessly
● 123 tried to feel my way into the strange conceptual world of the Yamana. This required time and in this I was helped by the long free months away from Tierra del Fuego between the four separate

/1032 cont./

114 expeditions. My repeated return, on the other hand, properly strengthened the Indians in their belief that I esteemed them and
•123 their various institutions highly. That is why they proved more accommodating and more trusting from one year to the next and were more willing to let me take part in one thing or another from which they had previously excluded me. The more I tried to rid myself of the European way of thinking and acquired values and to exchange them for those of the Fuegians, the more advance I made in learning their subjective qualities. The hoary connoisseurs of tribal tradition felt this approach very definitely and with great satisfaction, regarded me more and more as one of themselves, and finally let me penetrate into the immeasurable depths of the inner spirit of their tribe. After arduous research and by means of constant observation and thorough discussion, those treasures from the spiritual heritage of the much misunderstood Yamana which fill the following pages were brought to light. They are all the more valuable because they reach back into the early age of mankind from which they have been preserved down to our own day because of the complete isolation of the feared Cape Horn Archipelago at the southern tip of America.

/1033/ A. Religion and Morality

771 Because of their nomadic way of life the Yamana do not present the compact unity enjoyed, for example, by an agricultural society. It is probably for this reason that they have cultivated a high level of mental flexibility and that they show alertness in all spheres of their human endeavors. Hence it was possible for definite, universally binding forms to develop only to a limited extent, since, on the one hand, the numerically scant population lives scattered in many, small fragmentary groups and, on the other hand, each of these groups, as well as the single individual, strives to preserve for itself the greatest possible freedom and independence.

Even more striking is the scarcity of definite forms expressing their religious conceptions. As such, these are very limited, and people like our Fuegians do not parade them. Quite the contrary, everything supernatural is regarded by them with such seriousness and piety that they do not make it the subject of long, penetrating

/1041 cont./

124 After a good long time and probably also in order to break the
113 general silence, Chris boldly said: "Wataunéjwa is [similar to]
116 what God is to Christians [Europeans]." His brief words were spoken in a tone which made it clear to me that further questions would not be in order. The attitude of all the men was clearly aloof. Some of them had an expression suggesting that in this discussion some information had heedlessly slipped out which should have remained secret. After that the men timidly exchanged a few words and the gathering soon broke up.

On the next evening I dared not ask about Wataunéjwa again; I suspected that the people would misunderstand. It was partly caution and partly disappointment that made me think the missionaries had told these Indians the Biblical account of the flood, but that they had not completely understood it. Hence I entered the following remark in my diary: "Probably Christian influence by the missionaries" and marked the whole paragraph with a question mark.

123 A week later the secret gathering of the čiŕaus began, in
116 which I was able to participate in March, 1920 (p. 176 /untranslated/). At that time I was treated as strictly as the Indian uŕwala and was not allowed to ask questions or to take notes. I remember clearly that at this initiation the names Wataunéjwa and Hidŕbuan were repeatedly used, but I was fully aware of what they meant only two years later when those names were again recalled to my memory. Although I did not grasp the fact on that occasion, I had actually discovered the Supreme Being whom the Yamana worship. I had finally come close to their religious faith.

123 On my third visit at the end of January, 1922, the men were not yet free for the planned čiŕaus celebration (p. 184 /untranslated/). In order to spend the time profitably, W. Koppers, who accompanied me at that time (p. 181 /untranslated/), and I did a good deal of research during the day with the Indian women. Nelly Lawrence was regularly and gladly present and thanks to her personal stimulation the women willingly answered our questions. We all wanted to be undisturbed, and so we assembled daily in the shed, a spacious corrugated tin house in which the /1042/ Lawrence family had major housework performed, laundry, for example. This house stood apart from the small dwellings of the Yamana families.

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Any death can be the occasion for a yamalaśemōina which unites many people, but a murder always induces it within the shortest possible time. In individual cases, however, the Yamana do not follow a definite rule, but make it contingent on whether enough members of the tribe assemble. An example may explain this. In March, 1923, several men had conducted the medicine-man school on Navarino Island. The following night, on March 24, 1923, the wife of old Thomas finally died of a long illness. I was startled out of my sleep by loud moans and lamentation from all the huts. It was not until dawn that I went to the place where the dead woman lay, surrounded by many people who were weeping and groaning in genuine sorrow. I purposely presented myself as a sympathetic, but altogether silent onlooker, and they were all appreciative that I was not in the least disturbing. A deeply felt mood of sorrow lay oppressively on the small Indian settlement. I was reverently silent and very reserved so that the people should not be influenced in any way and could express their feelings without restraint, /1128/ for I was, of course, the only White among these Fuegians. I carefully observed each one and the group as a whole. I gained the impression that the mood and the emotions of everyone grew more animated from hour to hour. Toward eleven o'clock Santiago happened to pass me. Heedlessly and with a tearful voice he said to me: "We are all terribly sad, so we shall soon begin the yamalaśemōina!" And that is what happened. The fact that a considerable number of families were already gathered together proved favorable and probably decisive. On another occasion they would have had to wait and call together the individual families. Conditions are right for the yamalaśemōina if enough people are assembled and the requisite mood has developed either through the discussions of the old people or in view of an impending death.

It was incalculably valuable for me to have personally experienced the large funeral ceremony at the time on Navarino Island (p. 190 /untranslated/). The woman was buried around noon in exactly the way our Fuegians had learned from Europeans. After that they gathered in a spacious little house while I retired by myself to the house of Santiago. In the other hut the singing and wailing which had long been familiar to me soon began, and many people were taking part, as I could

/1128 cont./

765 gather from the tumult of voices which reached me. This ac-
123 tivity had been going on for about an hour when a man came to me and asked me in a pleading tone whether I would go over to them. Plaintively he made it clear to me that everything I should see and hear there could not please me personally because all the people were in an extremely sad mood, but that they would nevertheless appreciate it greatly if I condoled with them and showed that I shared their sorrow. The good old man had no idea how eagerly I had been waiting for an invitation, for how could I have afforded to miss an opportunity of seeing these Fuegians open up completely and reveal their innermost feelings in front of everyone. I followed him without delay to the assembly of mourners. Truly, what I experienced far exceeded my expectations, and here I became fully acquainted with the innermost attitudes of these Indians. Without fear of men and without the slightest shame they loudly expressed their thoughts and feelings; they spoke of their Supreme Being with a matter-of-factness that seemed to come from daily habit and that surprised me, treating him as though he were one of them. At the same time, without any effort on my part and like a gift of grace, a goodly number of the ancient lamentu and prayer formulas dropped into my lap. I was already familiar with some of them, but here I saw how the Indians use them in a state of utmost anguish and spiritual agitation. I was astonished at the easy naturalness with which men as well as women abusively reproached the Supreme Being. Some of them seemed to me like naughty pupils who have been punished /1129/ and who, aware of their own helplessness, sulkily discuss it with their teacher. All seemed to have freed themselves of any restraint.

765 As may be seen from what has been said, there are no definite regulations for the participants in the yamalaĕemójna. For obvious reasons, the nearest and more distant relatives, friends, and neighbors gather with the family who is mourning a recently deceased person. Everyone wants to comfort the mourners and to accompany them in their daily tílaywaja. Word of the death soon spreads, and no one hesitates to seek out the survivors. Everyone says to himself: "Anyone who is in mourning expects others to condole with him. Some day, I, too, shall be in mourning and then I shall want to have many comfort

/1312 cont./

X 575 171

The Selk'nam in their Kloketen ceremony (Vol. I, 898) have an arrangement in which, if one can express it thus, the two Yamana institutions of the Čiekan and the kina are, at least outwardly, combined. The basic character and the many details of the kina embrace precisely the kinds of ideas and the means of expressing them that may be summed up as constituting an actual men's ceremony. Everything that is included in such a ceremony is more pronounced in the klóketen of the Selk'nam. This klóketen proves to be a more original form, scarcely corrupted or weakened in any way, although it is at the same time an actual initiation of youth. In order to facilitate comparison of these secret ceremonies among the two neighboring tribes, I have arranged the following description with reference to the account of the klóketen ceremony. The portrayal, which is not too voluminous, /1313/ has historical as well as factual value, because I was the first European to learn about the kina from personal observation and because it proved to be the last ceremony of its kind. It is a strange coincidence that I, as the first European, was permitted to experience and, through direct participation, to become intimately acquainted with the last klóketen, which the Selk'nam held in 1923, and the last kina, which the Yamana celebrated in 1922 (267).

X 575 123

267. I reaped important benefits from having witnessed the Kina of the Yamana before seeing the more clearly defined and elaborate form of the men's ceremony of Kloketen among the Selk'nam. I have pointed this out in a number of places; compare at least Vol. I, 816, as well as Gusinde (q):973 and (q):277.

a. Information through Europeans

X 575 114

The Kina is a secret ceremony to which, on principle, only adult men are admitted. A Yamana will very seldom speak about it in everyday life. Even when men are among themselves, the word kina is scarcely ever mentioned. This circumstance alone

/1914 cont./

X 515 114

masked themselves on this occasion, shouting and dancing as long as their strength permitted" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):377, for his part, refers to "an unpublished work" of the missionary Bridgen. I cite this manuscript under (i) and have just quoted the pertinent sentences. The allusions offered by Spegazzini (e):170 are quite vague and scant. A sentence in Wieghardt:30 says even less on the subject. Finally, and most recently, Spencer:111 mentions the aim of this secret ceremony in the following brief words: "The initiation of the young men is supposed to prevent women from taking their dominion over men and making them again lead a dog's life" /cited in English/. Apparently he does not know the difference between the actual youth initiation and the men's ceremony.

2. My Personal Participation

X 515 123

The vague references to the Kina celebration in widely scattered publications which were available up to the time of my journeys were not such as to give me any kind of guide, and even less so because *Fal* *yaga* and *kina* are almost always confused and deceptively linked. Instead, I obtained the first direct hint on my second journey from the Tocanos themselves (p. 180 /untranslated/). On that occasion, when we had ended the *Falcaya*, the people expressed their boundless joy over the undisturbed, smooth way in which the celebration had proceeded and also the tactful manner I had shown in taking part in it as an actual *chiquia*. In this connection they declared themselves willing, on a later occasion, to make it possible for me to participate a second time in the *Falcaya*. This would earn me the right to enter the Kina (p.658). At that time I already knew a good deal about the procedure of this celebration; I had also learned the basic ideas of the so-called myth of the upheaval and was thus able to participate with confidence a regular men's festival with its definite repudiation of the influence of the female world.

In that year, when I again took leave of the Tocanos who were very affectionate toward me, I told them that I expected to come back the following summer, and, as a matter of fact,

/136 cont./

we were together again in the summer of 1951. At that time it was my special goal to repeat the *fikange* and immediately to follow it with the *kine* (p. 136 /continued/). Both events came about, and so I learned about the men's festival from direct participation at that time. This festival was nowhere near what it had been back in the days when the Tamara were completely independent and not yet dominated. The reason for this was largely the inexperience of most of the participants concerning the actual program, for a good 20 years had gone by since the last ceremony of this kind, and for all the men of middle age the *kine* of March, /137/ 1951, was the first of their lives, entirely as it was for me. It is understandable that a good deal of uncertainty about the many details had a decidedly paralyzing effect on the few old people who felt responsible for the smooth running of the affair. Patently an unaffected, unadmixed joy and satisfaction made the heart of every Tamara man beat faster when he had been able to play a real trick in this secret but on the defamation women, but this time it did not fully develop. The common pressure I covered to bring about this affair had a decisive effect, I must confess. The old people became more and more timid the nearer we came to the planned opening. I wheedingly worked on a few young men and persuaded them that they, in turn, must try to influence the old men to let them, at long last, experience a *Kine*. Yielding to pressure from two sides, Pedro Mañamiñam was finally won over, and in Puerto Maijiñam in March, 1951, the men's ceremony took place. It was truly the last of its kind for the few surviving Tamara. At that time it immediately followed the *fikange* and was limited to an unusually short period. The details have been described in Gwinde (p.438 (p. 186 /continued/). Despite many obscure, the nature and goal, the program and procedure of this intensively complex affair could be observed and established in all its details. On my fourth journey I was privileged to take part in the *Ñame-ybkamal*. On this occasion I was given the complete version of the myth of the ybkamal, which tells of the origin of the *kine* and many other things [270]. In the following pages I have set down in logical

270. The specific conditions and circumstances are described in Gwinde (p).865.

/1917 cont./
under the facts that I learned from personal experience and from the accounts of reliable Tonsana about their men's festival.

b. Preparation for the Festival

From whatever point of view one looks at kine, it is far behind the tjibange in importance. Therefore it is not surprising to find that the entire program of this affair, from beginning to end, is by no means bound by the strict formalities of an ordered and rigid system comparable to those that hold together the richly varied tjibange. Nevertheless, in the orderly succession of individual events, the rules governing the kine are adequate to achieve the goal concerning both the women in the camp and the young men who are getting their first introduction to it. There is much more scope here than in the tjibange for the free display of the personal talents of the leader and its effect on the prevailing mood of the men taking part.

/1918/ 1. Occasion and Duration

From the point of view of character and aim, in other words, for subjective reasons, the Kine is by no means as necessary for a given group within Tanimbar society as is the youth initiation. There is no really urgent reason why it should be held at one time rather than another. A person who has set in the tjibange but twice as an ubugale is an adult through that alone; he can get married and establish his own independent household. The public is very wrathful to see that every child of both sexes experiences the initiation (p.449) and even remains adamant toward a child who could not be made a tjibange ubugale and has meanwhile long since become an adult in years (p.449). The public, as well as man's kinsmen, however, are quite indifferent about whether or not he has experienced the Kine. Here the candidates do not receive an education in the strict sense of the word, and if a man temporarily has no knowledge of the men's secret or is deprived of it for some time, he does not thereby suffer any disadvantage worth mentioning.

/1383 cont./

X756 171 Selk'nam are believed to be far more powerful and more malevolent in their activities than are the full-fledged yékamuš of the Yamana. Whereas the body of thought of the medicine-man system among the Selk'nam is consistently worked out and elaborately developed, there are very often gaps in the train of ideas pertaining to the yékamuš. The Yamana, however, have a well organized medicine-man school which the Selk'nam have not achieved; it is well known that the primary goal of the latter's Pešére is not the training of young members of the calling (Vol. I, 787).

X756 It was often tiring to follow my informants in their involved lines of thought through the realm of yékamuš conceptions. I was substantially helped by the extraordinary advantage of being [23] permitted to attend the so-called lōima-yékamuš, a medicine-man school in the actual sense of the word. The many observations and explanations that I gathered on this subject in the course of my journeys follow in an arrangement for clarity. When I translate the designation yékamuš as "medicine man," I am by no means giving an exact and clear explanation or a definition. I am well aware that hitherto neither ethnology nor particularly ethnopsychology has attempted to draw a sharp line of distinction between the content of the terms: medicine man, sorcerer, witch doctor, magic priest, and shaman. The term "sorcerer" does not include a large part of the purely suggestive influence on ordinary people by the yékamuš, and neither "witch doctor" nor "shaman" indicates that the yékamuš is believed to have considerable influence upon natural forces. "Medicine man" is a term whose varied connotation is familiar from conditions in North America. Terms such as "doctor," "physician," and "healer" are either not very appropriate or wholly unsuitable for our purposes because each implies the conception of an activity directed against a physical ailment or against infirmities of the sick body. In contrast to this the yékamuš exerts his influence on the psychic life of the tribesmen, which is why he deserves far more to be called "physician of souls" (315) or "spiritual adviser." The following

315. An attempt to clarify these terms among the South American Indians according to

/629 cont./

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periods lacks the proper completeness and accuracy. As an example, which we could replace by even more inadequate ones, Fitz-Roy (a):182 will suffice. He writes about how a bride is obtained: "As soon as a youth is able to maintain a wife, by his exertion in fishing or bird-catching, he obtains the consent of her relations, and does some piece of work for her parents. Having built or stolen a canoe for himself, he watches for an opportunity, and carries off his bride. If she is unwilling, she hides herself in the woods until her admirer is heartily tired of looking for her, and gives up the pursuit; but this seldom happens" /cited in English/. Now one should compare this with the following lines on how a marriage actually takes place.

124 I, too, began my observations at a time when original conditions were already showing changes here and there as a result of the devastating influence of European civilization. Hence my research could not rest solely on direct observation, but was largely dependent on questions and inquiries. Fortunately, at that time I met several older men and women who still vividly recalled all the laws and customs upon which marriage and family life were built in former times. They themselves had strictly resisted almost all the activity of the missionaries and the influence of European civilization. Even though these conditions of research were less favorable, they at least helped me to grasp clearly those principles of the marriage institution and the course of family life that in former times were exclusively valid.

114 If we contrast with this the judgments and assertions of travelers of former times, we see with frightening clarity how little truth they often contain and how boldly and unscrupulously they were circulated. They not only burdened my research work, but it sometimes also became a highly ungrateful task. /630/ It is a satisfaction to me, however, that the final result, as it is contained in the following pages, has been set forth in detail and without error.

/630 cont./

584 are also established customs which apply to the actual marriage proposal and which set up certain limits as genuine barriers to marriage. A marriage among the Yamana never takes place without form and without rules, although in principle there is unlimited freedom in the choice of partners.

•124 Our natives would like Europeans to know how much they value the responsible decision to enter the marriage union as an event, because it is significant for the tribal community. For this reason it is made known at least to the nearest fellow-tribesmen. On my third journey, the people wanted to show us the procedure of a wedding ceremony, but unfortunately the marriage plans of two young natives who had been fond of each other for a time finally fell through. I do not know of any European, missionaries possibly excepted, who personally witnessed the modest ceremony of a proposal /631/ and a wedding. Nevertheless, many presumptuous travelers gave their opinion of it. It is not worthwhile here to mention individual unreliable opinions. It is more important and, for several reasons, of special significance to describe here in detail existing customs of courtship and marriage.

1. The Marriageable Age

582 881 It never occurs to a Fuegian to count a person's age in years. Hence, they never set a definite age after which young people may marry. They presuppose, as an absolute condition, participation in the youth initiation, less because a certain age is thereby assumed, but rather because in that lengthy preparation the young man is trained in obtaining food and instructed in his behavior toward others, that is to say, he is educated to become a good and useful human being. First he must prove, as it were, his ability to lead an ordered, independent life and to work successfully economically before society agrees to his marriage. Most chaps were probably not spared attendance even a second time as actual candidates at the youth initiation, for only in this way did they obtain the right to take part in the men's ceremony. There was no similar condition connected with a second entrance

/693 cont./

861 rearing in an unexpectedly favorable light and which reveal our much misunderstood Yamana as sensitive experts in all matters pertaining to a child. An opportunity to appreciate their mastery of child-rearing skills is provided by clear insight concerning the youth initiation ceremony which I was twice /694/ privileged to experience and which I shall describe in detail below. In the principles for the treatment of the maturing generation, a good deal of unadulterated practical philosophy and sound child-rearing wisdom from the remote past has been preserved to this day among the much misunderstood primitive people of frosty Tierra del Fuego.

a. The Infant and Its Care

• 124 The sensitivity of the people and delicate consideration for the mother impel them to conceal as far as possible from the eyes of the men a new citizen's entrance into the world and his care during the first few days of his life. Hence the following details were not personally observed, but were given to me by women. I gladly admit that greater completeness would have been possible, but probably nothing important is missing in the following lines, except perhaps one or another minor detail that they did not wish to mention to me because of a natural feeling of delicacy. In any case, nothing has changed in modern times in the treatment of infants. Only the pieces of fur formerly used as covers are now replaced by European rags which have very much increased the lack of cleanliness in the child's sleeping place.

854 A European would superficially describe many of their customs as unhygienic and senseless, but on closer observation he might recognize a great deal of purposefulness and empirical wisdom. Travelers of former times saw the tender, solicitous care of Fuegian children by adults so clearly and in such vivid detail that they did not hide their astonishment. Their observations correspond exactly with what everyone can still find today. Therefore, no one should be surprised if all the details in the following account seem brightly and kindly illuminated by the warm glow of genuine parental love for the always welcome child.

/1040 cont./

3. My Own Conclusions

111 It was anything but encouraging at the start of my journeys
114 to be faced with the strange fact that all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego, as well as all the missionaries without exception, denied with emphatic, unequivocal words that our Indians had any kind of religious view and practice. Everyone regarded the Yamana as irreligious. On my first and second visit, therefore, I consciously avoided touching upon this subject in my conversation with the members of the Lawrence family and in my contact with the Indians. Besides, there were other, more immediate problems which first had to be solved.

124 The traveling investigator must be favored by fortune; other-
113 wise his efforts are in vain. I obtained the first indications of the
116 religious ideas of the Yamana quite incidentally and without my doing anything. One evening on my second journey I was again sitting with a group of several men who were explaining to me the ancient traditions of their tribe. It was then that I learned for the first time about their myth of a great flood which, in hoary antiquity, had inundated their present homeland. All of us who had listened with obvious seriousness to the old storyteller were silent for some time and thought about the catastrophe of that flood. Afterward one or two men made some short explanatory remarks. I now bravely ventured to ask:"Whoever sent that big flood?" Everyone present instantly became quiet and a painful silence followed. Embarrassed, they lowered their eyes and avoided my gaze so that they would not be forced to answer me. I repeated my question and in a friendly way asked for the desired explanation. Old Alfredo who had done the talking that evening replied /1041/ emphatically: "Lēxuwakīpa sent that tremendous flood'" When he did not add anything more, I asked: "Is Lēxuwakīpa really so mighty?" Alfredo replied: "As a matter of fact it was strong Wataɥinēiwa who sent the general flood. Lēxuwakīpa prevailed upon him to do it; it was her intention to demolish the whole world. With Wataɥinēiwa she succeeded in having the great flood come!" Naturally I asked again: "Who is this Wataɥinēiwa?" This very obviously increased the general embarrassment and everyone present maintained strict silence. I felt as though I had been guilty of an impropriety or had ventured on dangerous ground.

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124 After a good long time and probably also in order to break the
113 general silence, Chris boldly said: "Watauinēiwa is [similar to]
116 what God is to Christians [Europeans]." His brief words were spoken in a tone which made it clear to me that further questions would not be in order. The attitude of all the men was clearly aloof. Some of them had an expression suggesting that in this discussion some information had heedlessly slipped out which should have remained secret. After that the men timidly exchanged a few words and the gathering soon broke up.

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/1042 cont./

124 776 Again one day old traditions were discussed, and the name Watauinéjwa was directly mentioned. Full of suspense we pressed for a further explanation. This caused great embarrassment among the women and there was deep silence; not even the otherwise brave Nelly ventured a word. Finally, in order to ease the constraint, old Mary summoned up her courage and said briefly: "Watauinéjwa is like God, like Christian God /cited in English/!" I was nonplused and again faced the same barrier that I had experienced two years before, apparently on the threshold of a new world of ideas to which the Indians refused admittance. Importunate questions on that afternoon would have been futile and would surely have evoked ill humor. Mary only disclosed that upon the death of an own child or a near relative, the neighbors point to [761] the mourner with the expression: "Watauinéjwa is punishing him!" This means that the deceased and his family have been punished by Watauinéjwa through this death.

After a long pause the Indian women attempted a digression. I could not accept this and ventured cautiously to come back to that anxiously guarded name. My efforts remained unsuccessful. The whole conversation flagged and our discussion simply could not get started again. In order to satisfy us and put us off once and for all, the women finally started to tell about ëkëtémakalo-watauinéjwa. How craftily they had chosen this way out of their embarrassment! We surrendered our hope of finally finding out more about the real Watauinéjwa. Actually they only offered us the [773] story of the small band of people who, in olden times, had set out for ëkëtémaka, where there was stranded whale, and afterwards they remained in that region west of Ushuaia. In this combination the designation watauinéjwa has nothing to do with the name for the Fuegian deity. The crafty Indian women in this way slipped out of the trap and very smartly duped us without betraying their secret. In any case it was now clear that all kinds of things worth knowing were concealed behind that name, and to discover them would probably justify serious effort.

Several times Nelly Lawrence had willingly helped me obtain information I sought in my research on the institutions and customs of her countrymen, and this time, too, she did not fail me. As I definitely learned later, she valued the native heritage of religious ideas extraordinarily highly, and inasmuch as she

/1042 cont./

776 assumed that I was of the same mind, she worked toward making
•124 it accessible to me. Three days after the discussion described above, on Wednesday, January 25, 1922, /1043/ she again invited us to the large workshed, with the enticing prospect: "Today Adelheid and I shall tell you everything about Watauinéiwa!" Nelly explained candidly why these two women were the only ones who came: "Watauinéiwa has punished neither of us, he has not let a single one of our children die, so we are not ashamed to have him mentioned in our presence. We may freely speak of him [in front of others also]. The other women, however, whose children he took away [through death which he caused], feel that they have been punished by him; they find it unpleasant if he [Watauinéiwa] is mentioned in their presence!" These very significant words contain a complete explanation of the strange behavior of the people when I asked about Watauinéiwa (9).

> 9. It is conceivable that this also explains the Yamana's cautious silence in the presence of earlier travelers. Some of them probably noticed this, for example, even Darwin (p. 102 /untranslated/); they were not aware of the ultimate and most profound reason, however.

Whenever I had questioned them, there were always a few persons present in their circle who were obliged to lament the loss of a close relative. It would have been the equivalent of pillorying them if the others present had spoken in detail about Watauinéiwa in my presence. Considerately, Nelly came only with Adelheid, for these two could describe Watauinéiwa, what he is and how he acts, freely and without embarrassment. On that Wednesday we learned most of the names which are given him, as well as a few definite prayers directed toward him.

Obviously, that discussion did not exhaust the subject and bring to light all that the Yamana carry within their hearts in the way of ideas about their Supreme Being. I realized that the rest could be obtained only through a wise procedure, and our course lay outlined in the explanation that Nelly had just given us. After that the other people probably learned that we were familiar with their conceptions of the person and actions of Watauinéiwa. When

/1043 cont./

776 I subsequently directed the conversation toward their Supreme
●124 Being on suitable occasions, I did it very considerately and with sympathetic understanding for the depressed feeling of a person who is reminded of one or several deceased persons who were dear to him whenever the name of Watauinéiwa is mentioned. This gentle manner, which was shown intentionally to avoid hurting anyone, was not only comforting to all the Yamana, but steadily diminished their aversion to brief discussions about that feared spirit. In the course of time the discussions gradually became more open and free, and finally, despite a respectful attitude, were almost completely without restraint. Our own attitude toward the ideas sacred to them also helped; we neither criticized nor made fun of them; rather, we valued them highly and treated them with the same respect that they themselves showed. /1044/ Even earlier I had repeatedly heard their comparison: "Christians speak scornfully of their god, revile him and even reject him. No Yamana speaks of our Watauinéiwa in this way!" It was obviously consoling to them that we, too, showed veneration toward him. Some of the Fuegians, however, continued to be reticent whenever Watauinéiwa was mentioned. Although this was always done with genteel reserve, nevertheless it seemed incredible to many of them that something which they themselves revere as sacred could be the same to us.

On that third journey I was permitted to experience the youth initiation a second time (p. 185 /untranslated/), where I heard new references to Watauinéiwa, which were in accordance with the ancient program for the čiéxaus (p.759). Finally on my fourth visit (p. 190 /untranslated/) I was offered an extraordinarily valuable addition to what I had previously learned with regard to a ceremony for the dead. Thus, several times, through none of my doing and quite suddenly, I came upon religious utterances of the Yamana. It was primarily for this that I sought uninterrupted and open discussions with all the older people. By doing so, I could bring to light what I have put together in the following pages. I know of no reason why they should have concealed anything from me.

114 There is no longer any lack of convincing explanations as to why these Fuegians have so anxiously guarded their heritage of

/1053 cont./

776 A complete picture of the Supreme Being as it exists in the imagination of the Yamana must show his absolutely independent position with regard to all the other spirits and human souls. In none of the many myths that I collected is he included in any way; in fact, there is a wide gap between him and all the mythological personalities and the so-called kīna spirits. It has been shown on page 765 to what extent he is linked with the Tánuwa spirit in the čiéxaus. He is not viewed as sharing the conditions of existence which the Yamana regard as vital, such as being married. On
776 one occasion, with studied carelessness, as though it were an
•124 everyday matter, I asked a few people: "To whom, I wonder, is Wataɣinéiwa married?" In response an expression appeared on their faces, showing what, in their view, a very stupid, gauche utterance deserves. Nelly Lawrence seemed disconcerted, and long seconds passed before she regained her composure after the impact of that strange question. This time, too, as in all her other statements, she wanted to be accurate, and she assured me innocently: "That is something I never heard about! I'll ask the old people whether they perhaps know something!" She was already fully convinced that anything like it was utterly unknown to the old people also; that is why she never came back to the subject. Soon afterward, when Chris alone was asked this question, he replied indignantly: "Who in the world maintained that!" Calming him, we explained: "As a matter of fact no one maintained anything like that; we just wanted to ask!" He then fell silent and showed pity for Europeans who confused themselves with such useless questions. The Yamana have no conception whatever of how Wataɣinéiwa actually lives -- that is to say, his dwelling, food, weariness, sleep, etc. -- and they have nothing to say on the subject. They definitely know that he has a very unique manner of existence; this is enough for them and they have no desire to find out about details.

776 All the characteristics attributed to Wataɣinéiwa add up to quite a richly endowed personality, despite the simplicity of the picture. He has a wholly independent position above all creation, as well as separate from other spirit-beings and from human beings. His intervention in the destinies of the inhabitants of the earth, and thus his activity in general, is revealed in the association

/1142 cont./

124 113 The material in the following pages probably constitutes the entire treasure of myths that has been at the disposal of our Fuegians since ancient times. In gathering it, I was remarkably favored by fortune on my second journey (p. 178 /untranslated/). Although it is not customary among our Fuegians for a woman in a mixed gathering to relate long episodes from her own experiences or from a myth, nevertheless some Fuegian women faithfully preserve much legendary material in their memories, and very willingly offer it at an occasional gathering of female friends and neighbors. It seems to me that vainglory and the desire to shine in front of others by relating one's own deeds and remarkable experiences is far less developed in women than in men and that it is therefore easier for a woman storyteller, without much digression, to adhere logically to the main point of the myth. For most of the stories current among the Yamana I am indebted to the mentally alert Julia, the wife of old Alfredo, who is unanimously regarded by her countrymen as the one best informed about them. I learned from her for days (p. 178 /untranslated/). Further material that I gathered on my third and fourth journey was made up of supplementary explanations and unimportant details. Many a myth was also repeated to me by other persons. Thus I believe that I have gathered all the mythological material that the Yamana have preserved from hoary antiquity down to the present day.

a. The Origin of the World

113 153 The mentality and the way of thinking of our Fuegians have been only cursorily described above. Nevertheless, from what has been said, no European will expect much from them in the way of a clear conception of the origin of the world or a well-ordered picture of the universe. Actually they have only individual short trains of thought which can be neither consistently combined nor linked together without gaps. What may have happened at the beginning of everything visible is much too distant to merit special attention by our Fuegians, who are creatures of the moment, so to speak, for whom the given

/453 cont./

501 A strange feeling comes over a European when he rides in it. At my request, Fred Lawrence had a bark canoe built by old [126] Pedro for the Museo de Etnología y Antropología in Santiago de Chile (143). It has a maximum length of 410 centimeters and a

143. See the more detailed accounts in Gusinde (b):153.

maximum width of 103 centimeters. He handed it over to me at the beginning of 1920. Until it was loaded, this valuable piece was kept in a sheltered bay near Punta Remolino, so that it would not dry out and crack. I, therefore, seized the opportunity and took several trips in it, accompanied by Indians. This canoe is actually the last of its kind that the practiced hands of a Fuegian have built (144). At first sight it surprises one not a little that

144. I attach importance to this fact. This canoe is kept in the Museo Histórico de Chile at Santiago, with which the previously independent collection of the Museo de Etnología y Antropología has been combined since 1929. Since it was not used by a Fuegian family, Lothrop (b):143, Figure 72 was correct, with this qualification, when he wrote under the reproduction of an earlier photograph, presumably from the year 1893: "The last Yahgan bark canoe ever used" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b): 181 refers to the same vessel: "At the Tekenika mission I saw what I believe to be the last Fagus-bark canoe still in existence. It is not being used there and is preserved by the missionaries solely as a specimen of this ancient industry" /translated from Spanish/.

only a short section of the keel is in the water. If one is the first to step in, he must put his foot on the center line, otherwise the vessel lists almost completely to one side. Inside, no matter how short a step one takes in front of the other foot, the center of gravity shifts, which causes considerable rocking lengthwise.

/460 cont./

501 abandoned this new invention. Today we run across an occasional dugout used for short trips; a new one has not been made for three decades.

501 126 On my second trip I brought back to the museum in Santiago (Gusinde [b]:145) a dugout that had for years lain in the woods untouched near the mouth of the Rio Douglas. As Lothrop (b):146 says: "the last double-ended dugout afloat was purchased and is now in the Museum [of the American Indian in New York]. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy" /cited in English/. In short, anyone who owns a 501 dugout, like old Pedro, uses it as long as it is still serviceable; middle aged men have long since adopted the skiff. In a period of about 40 years the dugout came into use among the Yamana and disappeared again (155).

155. In this connection Spencer:88 says briefly: "Bark canoe precedes dug-out, which has now and for some years past entirely replaced bark" /cited in English/.

396 [439 177] 2. The Flat Skiff. Since the sawmills were started on Beagle Channel by Europeans, the natives can easily obtain good boards of different thicknesses. They are also given nails and iron strips. If they cannot buy their own tools, they borrow them everywhere. They do not lack the skill to make a low, short skiff. It must be wide because it is short and low. They curve the gunwale and produce a noticeably elevated bow with a sharp keel that slants backward. This makeshift (156) has /461/ no advan-

156. Lothrop (b):146 gives a short description and an illustration of it.

tages over a European construction, except for the tin can that is placed in the center for the fire. In the forward part they nail a narrow wooden crosspiece with a small hole in the middle. Into this is placed a short mast. If a light breeze comes up from the 502 rear, they hoist a piece of sacking, remnants of a woman's skirt,

/480 cont./

411 shape and usually an almost rectangular tang (Fig. 39); the latter is inserted into the notch. Of decisive importance is the longitudinal measurement, for it is usually more than twice as much as a point on the arrow shaft. The former does not seem suitable for an arrowhead because of its size and weight. Since, moreover, it is fastened to a short stick, I regard the designation "dagger" as suitable for this weapon. It is also handled as such. A man grasps [225] the back third of the shaft and stabs toward a sea lion that he meets on land. He attacks it from the front, never from the side, and can get close enough to it without being bitten to thrust the dagger into its neck.

For the dagger points the natives formerly chose flat lamina of [177] black slate and greenish jasper; in modern times they prefer thick bottle-glass that is more easily worked. The edges of the glass

Fig. 38. The Dagger. One-third natural size.

dagger-points cut more sharply, but become dull more quickly. Continuous splintering under pressure with a short bone stick produces /481/ the form with the sharp edges and thick point. On my [126] second expedition, old Alfredo made me a dagger with a long glass point and with a total length of 48 centimeters (188). This

188. This piece is today preserved in the Museo Histórica at Santiago de Chile. See the observations made by Hyades (4):360 with the Indian named Yakaif.

enabled me to see how it was made and at the same time to learn in detail how it is actually manipulated.

From the dagger to the lance is only a short step. Sometimes it, too, has a large, heavy point in the form of a triangle. It must [172] come as a surprise that laurel-leaf forms of the /Fig. 39 appears here/ most frequent surface-finds on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 263) have to this day been found only very sporadically throughout the broad Cape Horn Archipelago. This lance is used in the same way and for the same

[Text continues on page 172.-Analyst]

/820 cont./

X881 once again addressed a long exhortation to the candidates. Everyone wrapped his things in a bundle /821/ and returned with it to actual camp. After that the Great Hut stood deserted. Later we often passed it, and the memories aroused at this time deepened the lasting impressions (249).

249. In this connection see Koppers (a):51; he describes everything that happened each day in the Great Hut. Compare also Gusinde (c):425 and the brief accounts below.

Much pleased over the success of the main project for this year's journey, we spent the next few days completing our observations and returned to Punta Remolino on March 17th. From there we set out on the 7th of April for the return journey to Punta Arenas (p. 186 /untranslated/).

Not until this Fuegian tribe was threatened with extinction was I favored by fortune to be the first European to experience the incomparably valuable and rich ceremony of its initiation. What a loss it would be for our knowledge of older primitive peoples, in view of all that we now know of what the Ona ceremony means and contains, if this so valuable institution had been completely lost with the last representatives of this race, if the richness of its highly significant details had remained unknown and forever inaccessible for scientific and practical evaluation.

b. Preparation for the Ceremony

X881 126 In the following account we shall summarize in a clearly organized recital (250) our own experiences based on two initiation

250. In the organization of this account I have consciously, as far as possible, adhered to the arrangement I used in describing the men's ceremony among the Selk'nam. This will markedly facilitate a comparison of the two ceremonies. The account given below of the kina celebration must also be consulted where necessary.

/821 cont./

ceremonies and many individual reports of the Yamana. This will bring out the value and significance of each individual part of the very extensive, complicated ceremony more distinctly and better than would a detailed description of the events of each day in chronological order. Now, in the declining years of this race and with the small number of survivors, not everything can be carried out with the same detail and accuracy as formerly. The Indians of today do not even have the undisturbed quiet and protracted time of which earlier generations were assured during this festival. Nevertheless, they still come together for the Xikaya because it must be offered to the boys and girls; besides, it is a great satisfaction for all the adults as well to experience once more the good things of olden times in this imaginative ceremony. At its conclusion we can always see clearly how the Xikaya stirs up all their thoughts and feelings, how it enriches and exalts them. This is evident when, in their enthusiasm, they loudly praise each performance as the best and most beautiful they have attended, /822/ when they regret that it is over so quickly, when they urgently insist that they must assemble again soon for another festival and make it a long one.

The traditional procedure and the many detailed requirements are still carried out as far as possible; the Yamana have merely somewhat relaxed the relentless austerity and rigidity of former times. Alfredo and Santiago led the performance very differently; the former was completely dominated by the earnest spirit of earlier times, whereas the latter was far too ready to make allowances for the disrupting influence of European civilization. Even this fact is valuable, however; it shows that in former times, too, the personality of each overseer or leader determined the emphasis during the ceremony. Although the many details and minor aspects that make up each day belong to the ceremonial program, nevertheless the order and frequency of repetition, the preference for one thing and the emphasis placed on another are variations for which there are no fixed rules. They are brought about by the character of the overseer, the mood of influential participants, the humor and inclination of the public, and finally by purely external influences. Such insignificant variations in one or another performance are sometimes very noticeable and, as a result, are always stimulating.

/#469 cont./

533 177 underlying the melody is a clearly recognizable Halakwulup word, not otherwise current among the Tamata. The word *ariwa*, as well as *alagwikwika* -- each of which is repeated to a separate melody -- are designated as genuine Halakwulup words. The song based on the latter word is called the "*pasiuna* of the drunken man". It is sung with great sentiment and accompanied by clumsy swaying of the entire upper part of the body. In Halakwulup the word *ka'ugwar* means "water, drinking water, alcoholic beverage" (Gusinde [4] 1013). In another *pasiuna* the expression *gasiko wuhiko* is repeated. The word *gasiko* possibly /1470/ found its way into Tamata only in ancient times through this *pasiuna*, for otherwise they use only *ensiwa*. This *pasiuna*, like the previous one, clearly shows that in the not too distant past the Halakwulup have transmitted one or another of their songs to our Tamata. Gertie and other informants assured me that in their youth, on trips through the west, they learned a song or two which was unknown in the central Tamata region. Just as today a jolly group will occasionally burst into a *pasiuna*, so, in earlier times, this was done on the rare occasion when a European ship passed by as a sign of joy and surprise. The Tamata mother is certainly not fond of singing, but it is true that one of them will occasionally amuse her baby with a *pasiuna*.

533 302 It is customary among the Tamata to pass around some pigment while singing is going on. Everyone present takes a little of it and paints his face, a sign that he is taking part in the singing. A single woman will sometimes sing the so-called *akkpain* song in jolly company. In the middle of it she will stretch both arms in front of her with the palms of the hands turned upward. Suddenly a little piece of charcoal will be lying on each hand, and with it the singer draws lines on the face of everyone present. No one could tell me the meaning of all this (308).

126 308. On my last two trips through Tierra del Fuego I made phonograph recordings for each of the three tribes living there. E. M. von Hornbostel has arranged this material, but his comparative study, which I received in manuscript, can only appear in the third

/1470 cont./

§4 volume of the present work. For the time being, I wish to call attention to his shorter account, "Yuagian Songs," in the American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 357-367, July-September, 1936. -- At this point I need not discuss the erroneous view of some-one like Spegazzini (x) 183 and others. Bridges (i) 19 briefly mentions a few songs of the Tamana. Cf. in Cooper 36 the report on the songs that Furlong recorded on the phonograph.

§33 It is amusing to learn that occasionally an older man who
§34 enjoys singing will call young people from his hut -- a few adults
§35 will join them -- in order to practice songs with them. Ahkaulle is known as such a person. They stay together for a few hours, learn or repeat one song after another, and conclude their jolly gathering with the so-called Sowiga, a merry performance. A clowish man will step outside and wrap himself in skins so that only his face is uncovered, upon which he draws many red and white dots. Between each corner of his mouth and a nostril, as well as between each pair of eyelids, he stretches short sticks which divert the face. This joke, a favorite among boys (p. 330), is called hanawhong, and the little sticks are flexible twigs of the parasitic plant Myrsodendron punctatum, appropriately called tikin nowlie, "basket of the beach," because of its shape. In this disguise the man suddenly steps into the gathering of youthful singers, acts very officiously toward each one, and joins in the general laughter. Sometimes several immature /1471/ youths will dress up in the manner described, and they all end the singing hours with lively leaps outside the hut of their "teacher." This gay conclusion is called hanawhongo (cf. Fig. 4 of the photogravure plates /at the end of the work/).

§36 The Tamana do not have actual musical instruments. It is true that children take the short hollow bones of a bird or the hollow lower part of a thick quill, hold the object vertically, and place it against the lower lip, producing soft whistling tones with short puffs of air. These simple objects, called wadlin, certainly
§37 cannot be regarded as musical instruments. Nevertheless, the

/785 cont./

601

number of people." From Vierkandt, Das genossenschaftliche Gemeinwesen der Naturvölker /The Cooperative Communal Life of Primitive Peoples/, Stuttgart, 1922.

601 127 The following list of Yamana kinship terms comes from the pen of the university lecturer Dr. Ferdinand Hestermann who at my request furnished it specially for this book. He writes:

Just as the language of the Yamana is extremely rich in forms, so also are there many designations for kinship. Reverend Bridges seems also to have felt this very strongly, for in his works we find several summaries of these designations.

The following list is first of all an excerpt from the Yamana-English Dictionary of Reverend Thomas Bridges (225). This

225. In the present book we refer to this work as BD.

furnishes the basis. As a supplement and a check, however, we have also used other accounts by Reverend Bridges, such as the one in his grammar published in London, as well as the manuscript of the above-mentioned dictionary, which was never published. From this manuscript edition, however, we obtained only clues since we had only the galleys which were not proof read and the handwritten copy was not available. Furthermore, the Gospel according to St. Luke was also used, namely, in the form of a vocabulary made from it by Platzmann (226). The grammar /786/ of

226. This refers to Platzmann (a). See the list of sources at the end of this book.

Lucien Adam has been used only sparingly, since it does not contain anything original; the same is true of the reports by Boggiani and Bove. We have, however, made abundant use of the lists of vocalizations made by the Mission Scientifique. In spite of all this, the summary is not entirely clear on all points; the matter is much too complicated for this.

I should like to permit myself two brief remarks. I go further than others in giving the scope of the designations, since this is

/786 cont./

601 clearly demanded by the language. I am also adding several verbs
127 which can only increase the clarity of this list of kinship terms for linguists as well as ethnologists, and above all for sociologists. Anyone who wishes to engage in more profound work is referred to the Dictionary.

601 Male relatives are given on the left, female on the right of the page. Occasionally we give the possessive and forms of address. Here and there we also give number, such as plural or dual, as well as the singular. Whatever appears in parentheses ( ) can be omitted or retained. The first numbers, which are not in parentheses and are followed by a period, indicate the person. The following number in parentheses indicates chapter and verse from the translation of the Gospel according to Luke.

601 The Indians call themselves yámana.

192 yamana-ūwa, man
yamali(m), people in the plural
ū-aiamalim, men (11, 44; 9, 14)

yamana-ā-kīpa, woman
yamanaiamalim, human beings
kīp-aiamalim, women (23, 49. 55; 24, 22)

[609] Strangers are clearly separated: agöpatūa, aua, mēamūa, the first being meant as European, the last as native strangers.
ūa, human being, man, also uōn (23, 2. 4. 14. 19); ūa in Luke (1, 31) used as "son" since here it can be the equivalent of the word "human being."

ūa, uōn, human being, man

kīpa, woman, wife, also kīpāki pa, the same in the eastern part of Beagle Channel

For the latter word kīpa-dāra, "all women, every woman," is striking. See "child" in this connection.

"Master" is gāligūa (12, 43), "sovereigns, aristocracy," tauīnaala (21, 12), in the singular tauīna, "lord, master" (9, 54; 12, 13) or tauīnūa, "the highest" (18, 18), whereas ökör mūtāgūua means "head of the house" (12, 39; 14, 26).
uātaala, "the elders, old one," appears in Luke (7, 3).
ma-gālig-ūa is used for "manservant" or "maidservant" (1, 38; 12, 36).

uöštöxyāgūuön, male servants (7, 2);

uöštāgūkīpeiamalim, female servants (12, 43. 45).

/854 cont./

X881 leader adheres to them. What is prevalent today was also the rule among previous generations who kept much more closely to the prevailing customs than the last survivors of this tribe under the inevitable influence of disruptive European culture. We can be X881 all the more certain that even in modern times this youth initiation is repeated according to the manner and custom of the an- 609 cestors because it is the one thing that is anxiously withheld from the cognizance of all strangers and is open only to fellow-tribesmen as something particularly sacred. We must remember that not even the missionaries, despite decades of association with the natives, obtained a tangible notion of this institution or, even less, direct insight into it (p. 644).

X881 This section on the daily program of the candidates has been put together on the basis of what we ourselves experienced, sup- 128 plemented with explanations by our Yamana. The description has been built up according to certain points of view, which is why it seems formalistic, but it guarantees that all the details are really brought out /855/ and properly set forth (276). In

> 276. This treatment also facilitates a detailed comparison with the order of the day to which the candidates of the men's celebration among the Selk'nam must submit (Vol. I, 1008).

particular the educational principles upon which the initiation is built come out most clearly. The initiation is, first of all, a continuation of the child's early training which, up to then, it received from its parents in the family circle.

X881 A valuable bit of educational wisdom has been preserved down to our own day in this čiéxaus celebration, for it has been 177 proved that European culture has exerted no decisive influence on the shaping of the external procedure or the form of the dominant principles. This fact should once again be strongly emphasized. In particular, the religious basis underlying the instruction of the candidates and the causal derivation of the whole performance help us to judge effectively the religious belief of these Fuegians.

X881 Although fully preserving the traditional, the Yamana do not by any means treat the daily program as a rigid, inflexible

/1044 cont./

114 religious ideas and practices from every stranger since their contact with European culture and why they entrusted me alone with this precious heritage, albeit under very special considerations. I must say that the same is true of my participation on two occasions in their secret youth initiation, čiéxaus, as well as my direct experience of the men's ceremony, kina, and the school for medicine men, lõjma-yékamuš. In their opinion I proved myself worthy of this extraordinary favor.

b. Content of the Yamana Religion

771 It is not a serious injustice to the Fuegians if, from the start, one expects no systematic organization of their religious ideas,
128 which do not form a complete, compact, interlocked chain of thought; in fact, wide gaps are sometimes apparent. Individual ideas are juxtaposed loosely and without connection. Although the Fuegian has these ideas, he does not bother to understand them completely, and also he does not seem to feel the need of having them arranged into a coherent whole. A summary and arrangement of what is presented here as the religious heritage of the Yamana would be entirely foreign to him. I have personally undertaken it in order to present a survey and to make possible a scientific evaluation.

776 On the preceding pages Wataŋinéjwa, the /1045/ sole deity of the Yamana in the more limited sense of the word "religion" (p. 949), has been designated as a "Supreme Being" (10). Although

10. For the same reasons I previously likewise referred to the deity worshipped by the Selk'nam as a "Supreme Being" (Vol. I, 496).

the Fuegian does not have this conception, he in fact knows no other spirit superior to Wataŋinéjwa. The latter is also the only one accorded a unique power and a superior position, whereby he stands far apart from every other being. Finally, his relationships to human beings are those of an absolute master and sole lawgiver; one renders religious homage to him alone. It is only in this sense that Wataŋinéjwa is called a deity, as is customary in theology generally.

1: Gusinde
101, 102, 131

SH6 Yahgan SH6

[End Map II, pages 1466-1471, has been divided into sections as indicated below.]

A 1466	B 1467	C 1468
D 1469	E 1470	F 1471

/365/ Part 2

Economic Life

131 The home of the Yamana /Yahgan/ is that vast maze of islands extending farthest into Antarctic waters like irregular fragments of land broken off from the solid bulk of the South American continent. It is
132 swept by raging storms. Foam-crested waves beat against its naked shores. The restless brine eats into its rocks. Heavy showers and dense snowstorms seldom permit the golden light of the sun to break through, and the entire landscape is wrapped in a weird gloom. The temperature of the air is kept low by the cold ocean current from the south. The large expanse of water favors abundant rainfall, and a disagreeable dampness soaks everything. Heavy frosts and extreme drops in temperature are, to be sure, almost entirely absent because of the moderating ocean, but the moisture-laden air and the dripping dampness everywhere have a more unfavorable effect on plants, land animals, and human beings than cold would have (p. 21 /untranslated/). Only a few hardy specimens of flora (p. 26 /untranslated/) and fauna (p. 33 /untranslated/) can flourish. For the human beings destined to live in this cheerless region, narrow limits have been set for their demands on life and for the development of material possessions.

181 Actually, the Yamana have not merely adapted themselves to the natural conditions of their homeland to the extent they were forced to do so; mastering their environment, they have created for themselves a dignified human existence of the most modest kind. Specifically, they have arranged their affairs so advantageously that, under the given conditions, another primitive people could scarcely improve anything essential. Creative intelligence and long experience have taught them to make their very meager external resources serve them. Their extremely limited material possessions relieve them of all cares with regard to daily necessities and permit them to enjoy life. Almost everything the Yamana calls his own is very functional. In his various arrangements he is far from having achieved the perfection and artistic accomplishments manifested by the peoples on the opposite side of the globe in the Arctic regions. The things that inhibit and impede him are almost completely beyond his influence.

1:Gusinde--1466 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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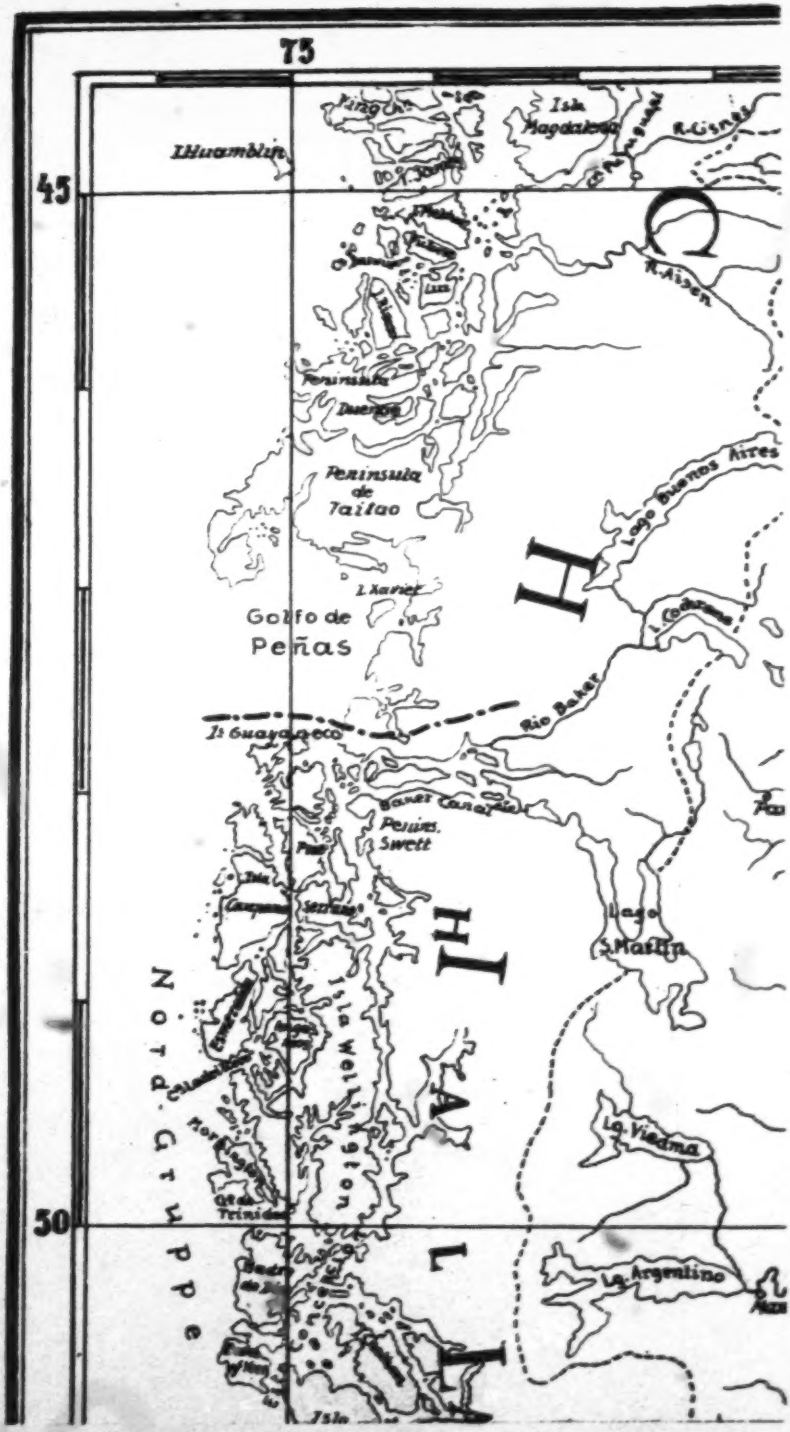

/End Map II, Section A/

1:Gusinde--1467 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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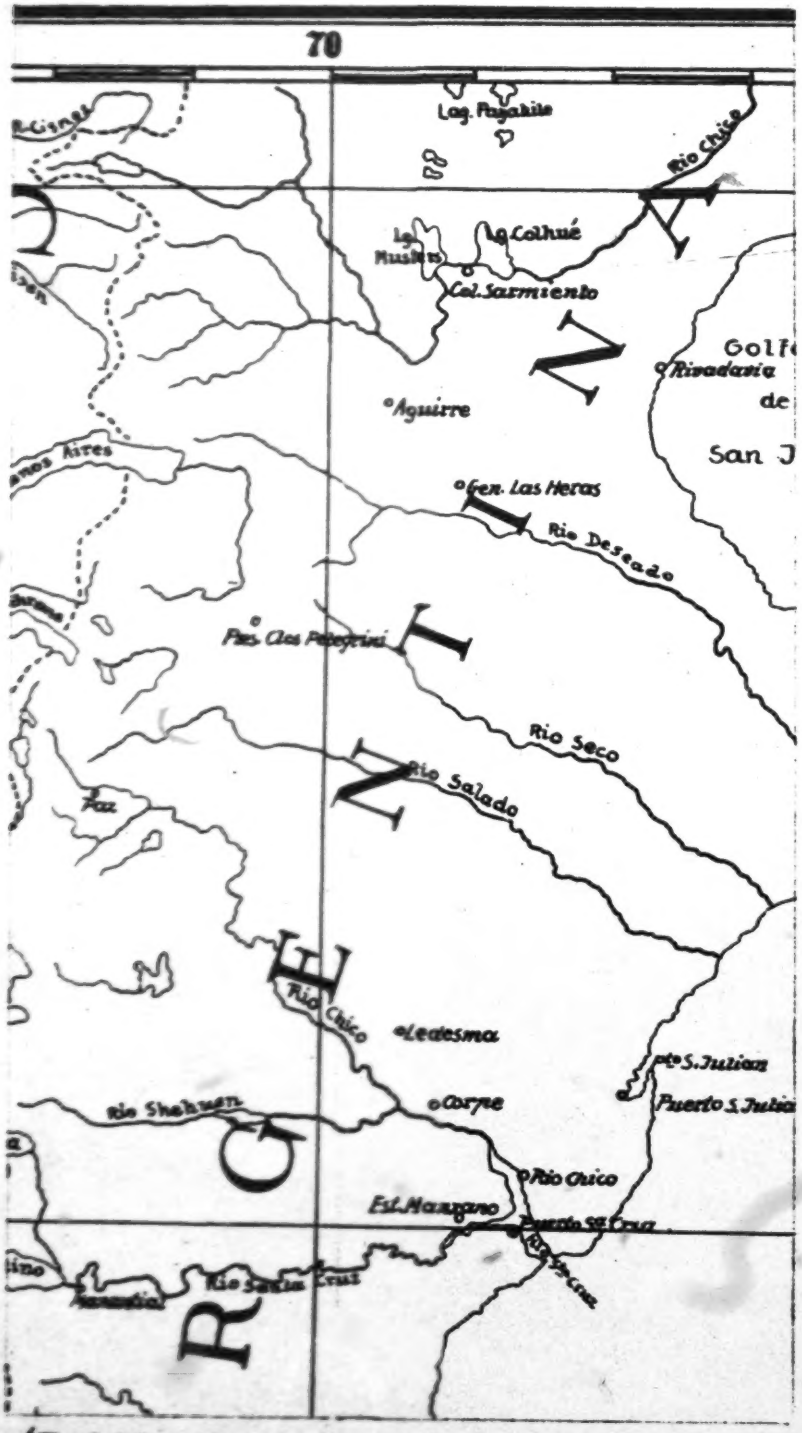
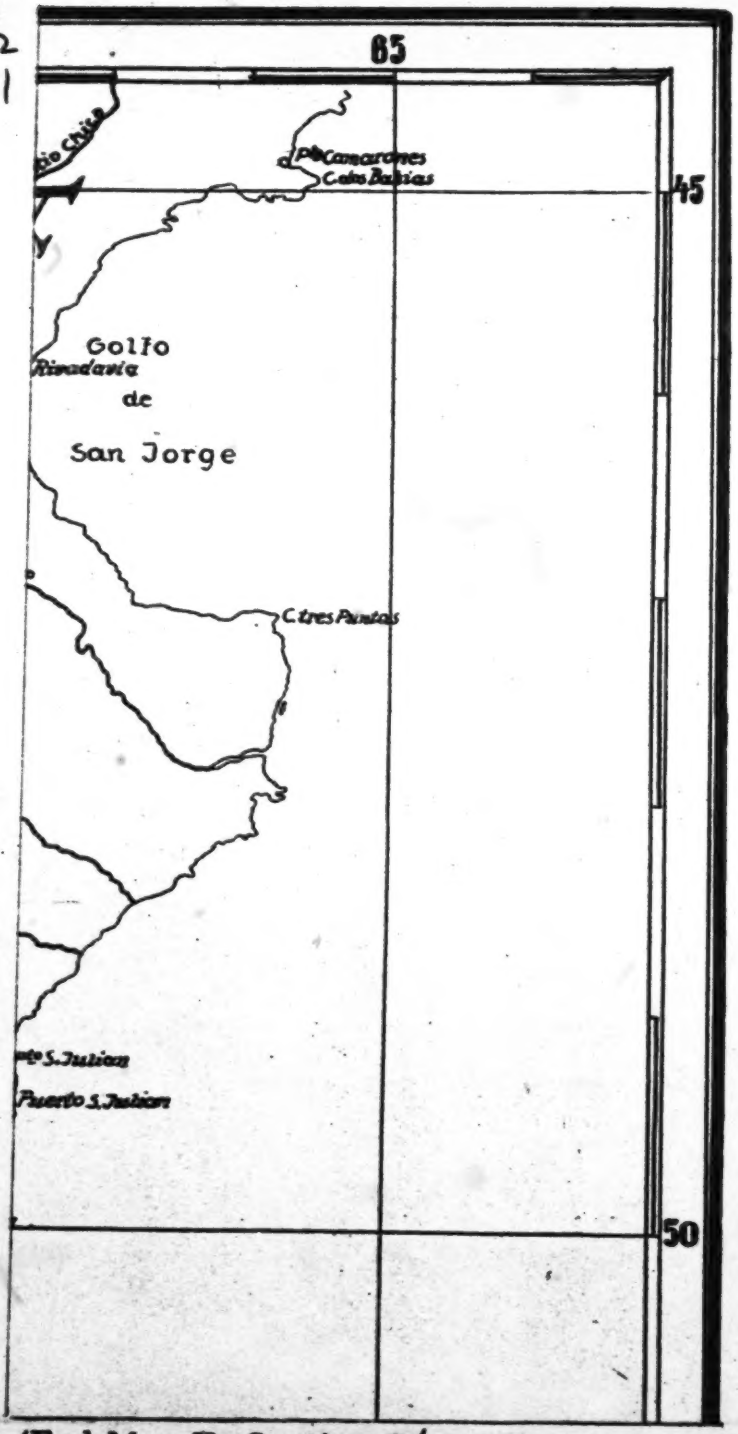


/End Map II, Section B/

101
102
131



/End Map II, Section C/

1:Gusinde--1469 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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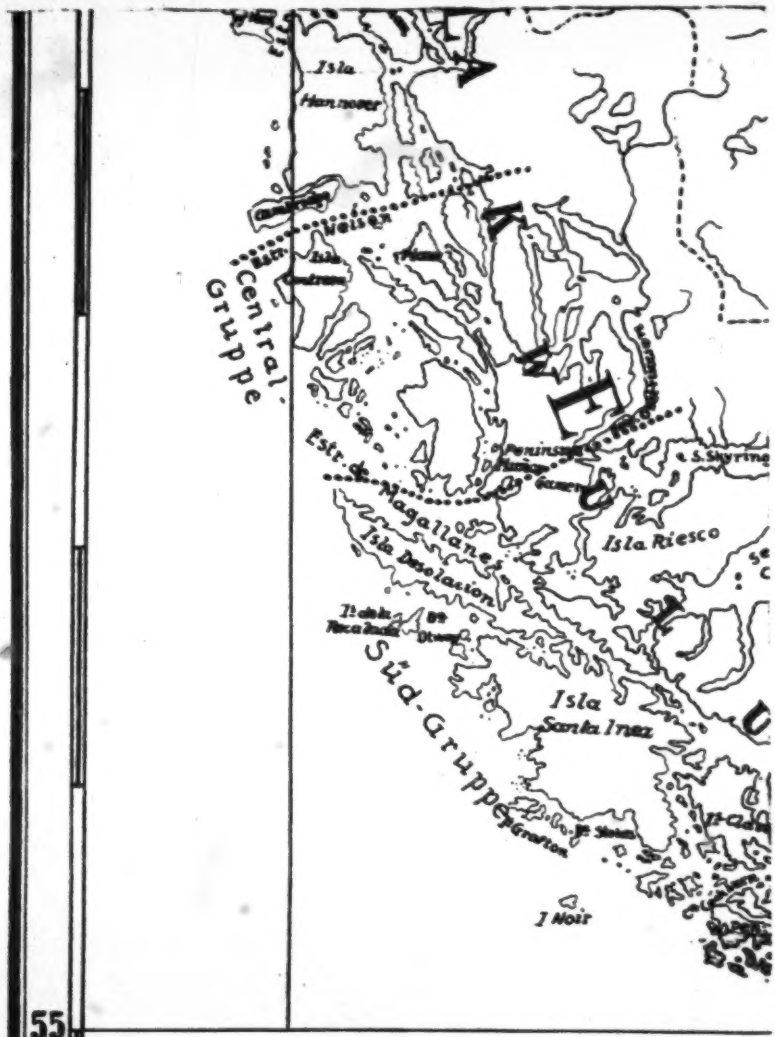

Geographic Distribution of the Indians of Tierra del Guego.

Based on the researches of M. Gusinde and on the official maps of the German Imperial Ministry of the Navy, prepared by K. Streit.

/End Map II, Section D/

1:Gusinde--1470 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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/End Map II, Section E/

1:Gusinde--1471 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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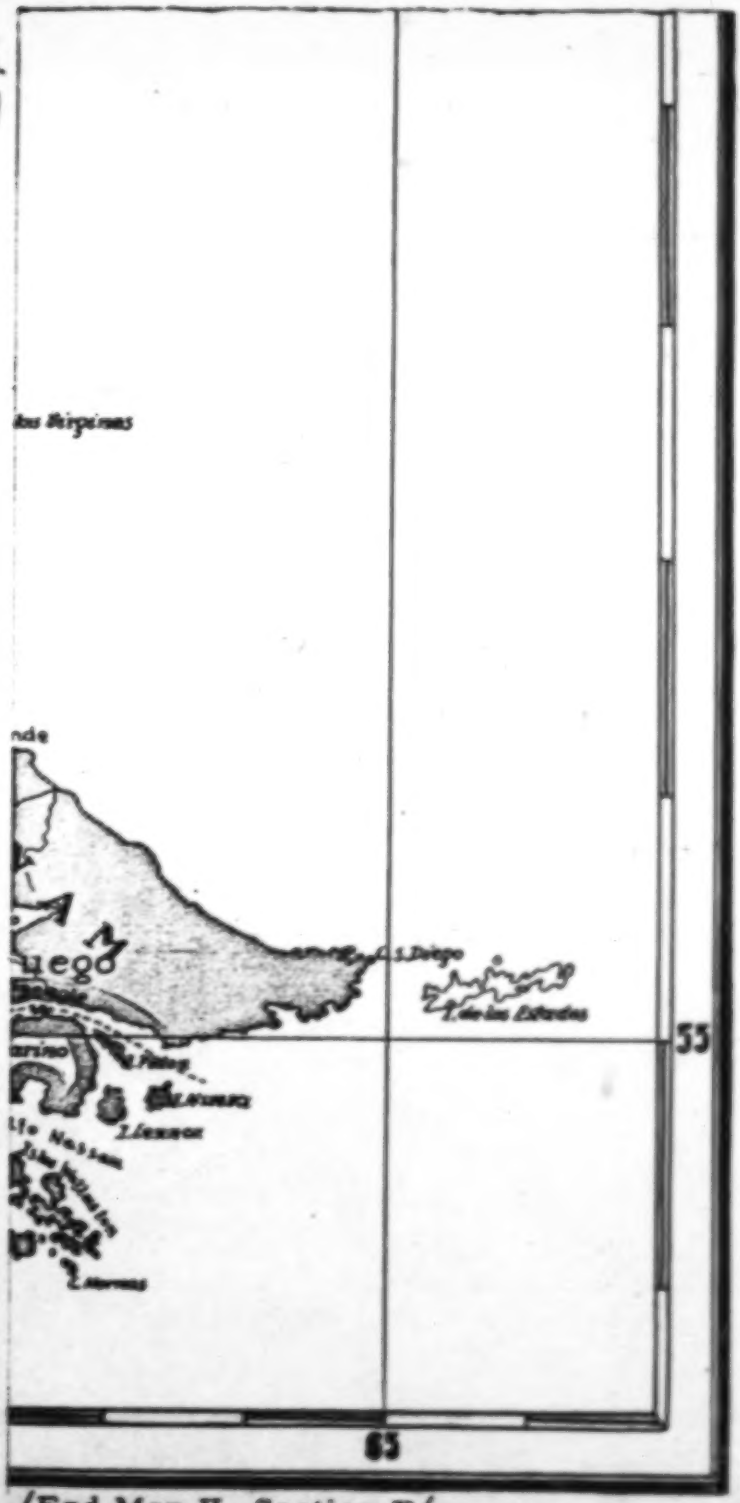

/End Map II, Section F/

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

THE YAHGAN

By John M. Cooper

INTRODUCTION

133 **Natural environment.**—The *Yahgan* habitat is archipelagic, the mountainous islands constituting the last outposts of the Andean chain before it dips beneath the sea at Cape Horn (map 1, *No. 1A;* map 2).[1] Atmospheric temperatures at sea level differ somewhat
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137 mals, fish, and other sea food were abundant in most localities. As
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[1] [These words have not been pressed; see South. 1: Southern Cordillera 165, and maps, for similar information.—Oakley]

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

131 contact, barter, and intermarriage with the *Ona;* between Brecknock Peninsula and the western end of Beagle Channel, with the *Alacaluf*.

101 **Names and divisions.**—The *Yahgan* called themselves *Yámana*, "human beings." They were first called *Yahgan* by the Rev. Thomas Bridges, from Yahga, the native name for the Murray Narrows region, a locality much frequented by some of them. *Yámana* would be preferable for anthropological use, but *Yahgan* is so well established in the literature that we are retaining it in the Handbook. The *Yahgan* recognized five subdivisions, each with its own aboriginal name: a southern, an eastern, a central, a western, and a southwestern (Koppers, 1927, p. 468; 1928 a, pp. 158–159; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 199–208; Lothrop, 1928, p. 120, map opp. p. 24). These subdivisions differed more dialectically than culturally.

114 **History of investigation.**—The *Yahgan* were first visited and described by Jacques L'Hermite in 1624. The next important landmark was the *Beagle* expeditions under Admiral Robert Fitz-Roy in 1829–32. It is, however, to the Rev. Thomas Bridges that we are indebted for our first intimate insight into *Yahgan* culture and linguistics. The Italo-Argentinian expedition in 1882 and the French Cape Horn expedition in 1882–83 made important advances in *Yahgan* somatology but were largely indebted to Bridges for their cultural and linguistic data. The field studies of Fathers Martin Gusinde in 1919–23 and Wilhelm Koppers in 1922 served to complete the picture, particularly as regards social and magico-religious life. Samuel K. Lothrop's field study of 1924–25 (1928, 1932 a) rounded out our knowledge of *Yahgan* technology. The only remaining gap is that of archeology, a gap in part filled by Vignati and by Lothrop, and more recently by Junius Bird in 1932–37.

The more valuable first-hand sources on the *Yahgan* from 1624 to 1917 are: Bove (1882, 1883: the two identical on culture); T. Bridges (1866, 1886, 1892, 1893); Dabbene (1911); Despard (1863); C. W. Furlong (1909, 1917 a); Hyades (1885); Hyades and Deniker (1891: of basic importance); Lovisato (1883, 1885); South American Missionary Magazine (1854–); Spegazzini (1882). The anthropological information given in these and the other sources up to 1917 is analyzed and made available in Cooper (1917). Since 1917, the most important contributions are: Lothrop (1928), for technology; Koppers (1924) and especially Gusinde (1937), for all phases of culture, particularly the social and religious ones; Von Hornbostel (1936), for music; T. Bridges (1933), for language and general culture; Vignati (1927) and Bird (1938), for archeology; Gusinde (1939), for physical anthropology.

Gusinde's exhaustive monograph, "Die Yamana" (1937), based mostly on his and Koppers' field studies and in part on a thorough combing of the literature, gives nearly all that is known of *Yahgan*

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S86 Yahgan S86

for savagery and ferocity, which their uncouth appearance and hardiness no little augmented. Indeed even today Tierra del Fuego is regarded by many of the world's inhabitants as a strange and romantic land, peopled by unmitigated cannibals, inhospitable, forlorn, and barren. The very distance of Tierra del Fuego from the places where most of us live is a gap not easily overleaped by the mind, and indeed this gap is not only geographical, but racial and cultural as well.

The very fundamentals of Europe, racially and culturally, have for the greater part come directly from the Asiatic continent, so that historians in a philosophic vein have assumed that the march of civilization is constantly westward. *Ex oriente lux.* However, the current anthropological viewpoint is that man developed his peculiar physical and his primitive cultural attributes within the continent of Asia, and, thus primed with hitherto unknown powers to survive and to perpetuate the species, expanded in all directions with great rapidity. This expansion we may liken to the ripples spreading from a stone dropped into a pond, and of such ethnocultural waves the first settlers of Europe and the Fueglans mark the marginal extremes in opposite directions. In other words, until the application of the compass made the oceans a highway instead of a barrier, the western Europeans and the Fueglans were the most widely separated peoples in the world.

[2] To students of human culture the Indians of Tierra del Fuego prove of unusual interest because with such tribes as the Tasmanians they are reputed among the world's most primitive inhabitants. Such isolated and backward peoples may exhibit, through cultural stagnation or degeneration, an early stage in the development of our own and of other complex civilizations. Moreover, the natives of Fuegia afford a clue as to the state of the first men to attain the shores of the Western Hemisphere.

GEOGRAPHY

[3] The term *Tierra del Fuego* is loosely applied to the large archipelago lying south of the mainland of South America; more strictly the name is assigned to the main island, shaped like an irregular triangle. It measures about 240 miles along the south coast, the base of the triangle, and 170 miles from north to south.

South of the main island, separated from it by the narrow waters of Beagle channel, are three large islands (Gordon, Hoste, Navarin).

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5316 Yahgan 5316

and a host of smaller ones (Gable, Picton, Lennox, New, etc.). Still farther south lie the Wollaston islands. Of these the southernmost is Hoste island, terminating in the well-known Cape Horn. This isolated, sea-girt landmark faces the unquiet waters of the Antarctic ocean about seventy miles off the south shores of Tierra del Fuego. [3]

Westward from the main island of Tierra del Fuego, across the Straits of Magellan, is the Brunswick peninsula, whose ultimate tip, Cape Froward, boldly marks the end of continental South America. Nearby are Dawson island, Clarence island, Santa Inés island, and others too numerous to mention.

The main island of Tierra del Fuego presents two types of topography: plains and mountains. The northern and eastern parts are a rolling plain, bare except for grass and small bushes, hummocked by glacial ice, of the same Tertiary formation as the Patagonian plains (pl. i). In the northwest the land rises abruptly and Mesozoic rocks appear as in the Pre-Cordillera range in South America. The western and southern coasts are almost completely isolated from the rest of the island by Admiralty sound, an arm of the sea, and Lake *Fagnano*, a freshwater lake lying in the same axis. Between these two submerged valleys and the Antarctic ocean pass the Andes, which, after running north and south through the continent, here bend eastward to disappear beneath the waters of the South Atlantic. Their peaks in Tierra del Fuego reach an average height of 2500 feet, but numerous passes exist at about the 2000-foot level, where snow-pockets linger even in summer (pl. ii). Glaciers nourished by beds of eternal snow creep to the sea on the west and south. [3]

The Magellanic archipelago then falls in three geographic entities, and each of these was occupied not long ago by corresponding kinds of Indians, speaking unrelated tongues. These divisions are: (1) Tierra del Fuego, occupied by the *Ona* and *Haush*; (2) the southern islands and the south shore of Tierra del Fuego (pl. iii), peopled by the *Yahgan*; and (3) the western islands, where lived the *Alacaluf*. The Yahgan and Alacaluf were separated by Brecknock peninsula, a barren headland, sea-girt, with no protecting island fringe, and therefore exposed to the full fury of storms sweeping across the Pacific ocean. [3]

[p. 24-A]

/365/ Part 2

Economic Life

131 The home of the Yamana /Yahgan/ is that vast maze of islands extending farthest into Antarctic waters like irregular fragments of land broken off from the solid bulk of the South American continent. It is
132 swept by raging storms. Foam-crested waves beat against its naked shores. The restless brine eats into its rocks. Heavy showers and dense snowstorms seldom permit the golden light of the sun to break through, and the entire landscape is wrapped in a weird gloom. The temperature of the air is kept low by the cold ocean current from the south. The large expanse of water favors abundant rainfall, and a disagreeable dampness soaks everything. Heavy frosts and extreme drops in temperature are, to be sure, almost entirely absent because of the moderating ocean, but the moisture-laden air and the dripping dampness everywhere have a more unfavorable effect on plants, land animals, and human beings than cold would have (p. 21 /untranslated/). Only a few hardy specimens of flora (p. 26 /untranslated/) and fauna (p. 33 /untranslated/) can flourish. For the human beings destined to live in this cheerless region, narrow limits have been set for their demands on life and for the development of material possessions.

181 Actually, the Yamana have not merely adapted themselves to the natural conditions of their homeland to the extent they were forced to do so; mastering their environment, they have created for themselves a dignified human existence of the most modest kind. Specifically, they have arranged their affairs so advantageously that, under the given conditions, another primitive people could scarcely improve anything essential. Creative intelligence and long experience have taught them to make their very meager external resources serve them. Their extremely limited material possessions relieve them of all cares with regard to daily necessities and permit them to enjoy life. Almost everything the Yamana calls his own is very functional. In his various arrangements he is far from having achieved the perfection and artistic accomplishments manifested by the peoples on the opposite side of the globe in the Arctic regions. The things that inhibit and impede him are almost completely beyond his influence.

THE YAHGAN

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136 [262] [361]

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[illegible]—50——5

[1] [These maps have not been processed; see source 1: Gusinde, category 116, end maps, for similar information--analyst]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

The Ona and the Haush spoke related dialects and occupied the interior of the main island of Tierra del Fuego; they are often called the Foot Indians because of their manner of living. The Yahgan frequented the south coast of the main island and the islands to the south; the Alacaluf formerly lived at the western end of the Straits of Magellan but have moved northward to Ración sound. The habitat of each tribe as it was half a century ago is shown in pl. IV. 101

No census of the indigenous population in the old days was ever taken, but from several different estimates the numbers of each tribe seventy-five years ago were approximately: 161

Ona, 3600	Yahgan, 2800–3000
Haush, 300	Alacaluf, 3500–4000

Since at least half of the Alacaluf lived north of the Straits of Magellan, the total native population of Tierra del Fuego and the adjacent islands can scarcely have been more than 9000.

At the time of the writer's visit (1924–25) the Indian population, including mixed-bloods, was approximately:

Ona, 60–70	Yahgan, 40–50
Haush, 2– 3	Alacaluf, 150

Of the Alacaluf only two were seen south of the Straits of Magellan, as they now live far to the north, for the greater part in the vicinity of Ración sound. The figure for their numbers is the estimate of the Rev. John Williams of Punta Arenas.

Later in the same year (1925) an epidemic of measles ravaged Tierra del Fuego. What happened to the Yahgan I do not know, but Mr. William Bridges wrote me that more than twenty adult Ona and an unknown number of children had died. With the exception of a few mixed-bloods the Indians of Tierra del Fuego are probably extinct. [164]

Because the writer saw little of the Alacaluf and Haush, it is principally of the Ona and Yahgan we shall speak below. Before beginning a detailed description we shall discuss their environment and physical peculiarities, and shall list the features of their culture.

CLIMATE

Tierra del Fuego lies between 53° and 56° south latitude, corresponding to the position in the northern hemisphere of the Aleutian islands, southern Labrador, or the central part of Great Britain. 132

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

132 The shores of Tierra del Fuego are washed by an Antarctic current which ranges in temperature during the year between 40° and 50° Fahrenheit. Hence the land temperature is low, but there are no great extremes.

Let us examine some figures. At Ushuaia, the southernmost town in the world, according to Argentine government reports the mean summer temperature is 50° Fahrenheit, while the winter mean is 25°. In summer the thermometer rarely registers above 65°, yet in winter the mercury seldom falls below 10°. At Punta Arenas on the Straits of Magellan the summer mean is 51° and the winter mean is 28°. Although I have no figures to support the assertion, I believe the eastern side of the island is colder than the western.

As to rainfall, at Ushuaia it amounts to 24.8 inches annually, while in Punta Arenas there are 16 inches, to which must be added 14 inches of snow. In the east rain is more frequent, and about 50 inches are said to fall on Staaten island annually. It is quite surprising that the comparatively light rainfall of Ushuaia and Punta Arenas should foster the growth of forests almost tropical in their density. The controlling factor probably is the feebleness of evaporation, owing to low average temperatures.

The figures cited for rainfall and temperature show that extremes are absent from Tierra del Fuego, yet they do not give a just picture of the climate as it affects human life. For instance, the writer witnessed snowfalls at sea-level in December, January, and February, the three summer months. Two of Captain Cook's men were actually frozen to death near Good Success bay on the night of January 16, 1769.[1] To be sure, Cook's men may be criticized with some justice for allowing night to overtake them in a strange land at a place where no firewood was nearby; yet the incident shows that even in the Fuegian summer one must prepare to face cold. In winter, snow piles deep in the wooded portions of the island, but on the open plains it often turns to sheet-ice.

In some years the frosts never leave the ground in Tierra del Fuego. Grains never ripen except occasionally in the vicinity of Porvenir on the north coast.

Owing to the ecliptic orbit and inclined axis of the earth, summer is eight days shorter and winter eight days longer in the southern than in the northern hemisphere. The upper photograph in pl. II

[1] See Hawkesworth, II, chap. IV.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

was taken at an elevation of 2020 feet on December 22. It shows midsummer snow-pockets above the tree-line at an elevation of only 1800 feet. At 3000 to 3500 feet one reaches fields of eternal snow from which numerous glaciers descend to the sea. Glaciers reach sea-level not only in Tierra del Fuego but for hundreds of miles northward on the west coast of Chile, as far in fact as the Gulf of Peñas, which corresponds in latitude to the position of Duluth, Seattle, Budapest, or Geneva. This is about 1250 miles nearer the equator than the most southerly coastal glacier in Norway. 132

In addition to cold, wind is an unfavorable factor on human life in Tierra del Fuego. Cape Horn gales are world famous; squalls are sudden and savage; even the prevailing westerly winds blow with enough vigor to make life in the open unpleasant. To the Foot Indians of the interior the winds were more disagreeable than dangerous, but to the Canoe Indians they were fraught with peril. Not only might treacherous williwaws sweep from the mountains to overwhelm their bark canoes, but prolonged gales might isolate them on barren islands for days or even weeks till they starved to death.

The picture we have painted of the Fuegian climate is a most unpleasant one. In the mind of the writer it is mitigated by the memory of warm summer days with motionless air and brightly shining sun. On such days sea-bathing is no more uncomfortable than on the coast of Maine or the English channel. However, one must pick a place where the incoming tide sweeps across sun-warmed sands.

The most unusual aspect of the Fuegian summer climate is the rapidity with which it changes. At one moment it will be a clear bright day with no wind, while half an hour later it may be blowing a gale and snowing. This summer climate—except for the rapid changes—is not unlike a New England October, blessed with "Indian summer" and not infrequent frosts. It is bracing and invigorating, however, and in Tierra del Fuego causes both men and animals, domestic or foreign, to grow robustly.

When the climate of Tierra del Fuego has been pictured, the most unfavorable aspect of the environment on human beings has been described, for the flora and fauna both supply many economic assets to the inhabitants.

1: Gusinde

102, 103, 133, 491

SH6 Yahgan SH6

[End Map I, pages 1458-1465, has been divided into sections as indicated below.]

A 1458	B 1459	C 1460	D 1461
E 1462	F 1463	G 1464	H 1465

1: Gusinde--xv E-5 (1918-1924)1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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342
[123]

/371 cont./

Spanish/. Anyone who abandons his hut relinquishes the framework and, consciously or unconsciously, places it at the disposal of anyone who wishes to use it later.

mentioned here in all kinds of variations (7).

7. Hyades (q) :342 calls them "a kind of arbor of foliage" /translated from French/. Despard (b) :680 also mentions them.

2. The Two Types of Huts

In the extensive Yamana territory, from the Brecknock Peninsula to Nueva Island and down to Cape Horn, two types of huts for dwellings have developed, namely, the cone-shaped and the dome-shaped. For the time being we shall leave it an open question as to which of the two is ethnologically older here in Tierra del Fuego.

For this question a not unimportant fact is that each of the two types has its definitely limited geographical distribution: in the damp, heavily timbered west the dome-shaped hut is indigenous; in the drier, open east, the cone-shaped one. For both types environmental factors have been at least contributory, perhaps even decisive.

342 The Indians gave me reasons which alone may suffice to explain the origin of both types. In the west humidity and dampness
● 133 greatly predominate. The surface of the ground is much more irregu-
137 lar, and almost everywhere at sea level level ground with gravel or broken stones is absent. The northerly slopes of the rocks not only get the vital force of the sun, but are protected against storm and inclement weather. Thus, a thicker and more compact growth of trees develops here, and even in the smallest crevices the firm roots of the Antarctic beeches find sufficient anchorage. In the west there are few big trees, but there is a preponderance of thin, irregular, flexible trunks that shoot up quickly. They grow close to every shore /372/ and can be uprooted easily because their roots do not penetrate the rocky ground.

342 In low places the wind can not exert its full force, except in a few spots, and therefore the dome-shaped hut may be used. It has

/380 cont./

361 given to quiet bays and a coastline made safe by islands lying in front of it. Here, too, however, no one escapes all the hardships of the fickle weather (29) because the huts themselves are only frail

29. In this connection Bove (e) :157 writes: "Their miserable huts are usually placed on the inner side of the little bays that cut deep into Tierra del Fuego. Even though these afford them some protection against the weather, it nevertheless happens that the poor occupants are half buried in snow the next morning or half drowned by rain."

structures. These statements will explain the phenomenon, surprising to some Europeans, that today throughout the entire Yamana region one finds traces of former campsites at every turn.

361 A family is no more independent in choosing the length of
484 time they may stay in one place than it is in choosing a campsite. Journeys overland are not undertaken, if only because it is not easy to drag the canoe along. On journeys by water, wind and weather determine the direction or make progress impossible. Sometimes /381/ these people cannot leave their camp for days because of the unremitting disturbances of nature, and they are then powerless to undertake anything even if they are tormented by hunger. If, as a result of threatening danger, they have been obliged to land quickly at a random spot, their lot may be only boggy clods of earth or water-soaked ground (30) which they can escape only when the weather

8

[133]

30. Hyades (f) :557 observed: "The earth is so wet that often water runs off if one merely exerts a little pressure on the ground, and the natives are sometimes forced to make a ditch across the middle of the hut for drainage" /translated from French/.

grows calm. Thus, the restlessness of their nomadic life is very often linked with danger and considerable renunciation or even the abandonment of the most modest demands of human well-being. The stable dwelling, however, erected for a sojourn of several days at a suitable place that has been freely chosen, does offer some minor conveniences.

/600 cont./

172 other places were very often visited. For example, in Puerto Mejillones and in Puerto Róbalo long mound ridges were built up to a height of four meters and more. We can easily measure the depth of the shell mounds in those few places where the sea has washed away one side of the heap (Fig. 72).

172 133 From these occurrences, which are after all rare, Lothrop (b):195 concluded that the earth has settled since the first habitation. Contrary to this completely unauthoritative view, it is certain that this region underwent a post-glacial relative upheaval (392). Whether this is continuing in the present time and

392. Naturally we are referring here to the geologically latest post-glacial surface fluctuations. Unfortunately very little is known about them, and long-term soundings have not been undertaken in Tierra del Fuego. Thore G. Halle ("On Quarternary deposits and change of level in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego," Bulletin of the Geological Institute Upsala, Vol. 9, 1910) mentions elevated terraces six meters above sea level along the shore on the north side of Gable Island. J.G. Andersson also observed these at other places along Beagle Channel at a height of three and a half meters. Finally, O. Nordenskjoeld described terrace ten meters high at Ushuaia. They are all post-glacial phenomena, and their upthrust is very slight.

subsequent to the deposit of the lowest shell-heap strata has by no means been proved for Tierra del Fuego (393). Possibly an argument

393. In this interpretation of the age of the Beagle Channel shell mounds, I am relying on the trustworthy decision of Professor Dr. O. Schmieder of Kiel who, in reply to my request, gave the following additional information in his letter of March 18, 1933:

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/600 cont./
"In the present state of our knowledge we cannot definitely say whether the coast is rising, sinking, or remaining level. The land has been post-glacially elevated, but these recent upheavals proceed very slowly, and it remains to be determined whether or not the movement has continued in the last few centuries."

Since I have not personally made careful investigations of the height in relation to sea level of shell mounds farther away from the water line, my conjecture that the above-mentioned minor circumstance possibly argues for an upheaval does not definitively settle this question. Earlier, Nordenskjoeld (f):216 stated the following view: "When the glacial period ended, Tierra del Fuego was only about 60 meters lower than it is now. It rose after that, but now the upthrust seems to be slight or not going on at all."

in favor of it is that in some places along open and /601/ flat coasts the shell heaps lie far away from the water line and a wider beach may have formed later on. There are no tangible reasons why the earlier Indians should have built their huts as far from the water line /Fig. 72 appears here/ as the shell mounds are now to be found. In any case whether or not the insignificant factor mentioned above indicates an upheaval, there is nothing that proves the land has settled. In those places lying farther back, however, the advantage for research is that at least the actual depth of the mussel stratum becomes clearly visible. The fact that in the case of individual mounds some lateral walls facing the water have been undermined and eroded is, contrary to Lothrop's conjecture, correctly interpreted only as the action of high tides. The first deposits had initially formed near the water line, and the more they grew, the more the bottom strata spread out in the course of time, almost up to the highest water level at flood-tide.

172 On the shell mounds cut into by the waves, we can see at a

/1311 cont./

There is a mountain massif in the west, whose highest peaks suggest the figure of a hunter carrying two wild geese on his back and accompanied on either side by a dog. This man turned to stone there, it is no longer known why, but anyone traveling near there is supposed to remain quiet. Spencer:82 writes: "Ken told me story of boiling lake high up on Hoste Island behind the tall snow peak on Dumas Peninsula seen from Rio Douglas. Too hot to hold hand in and very dangerous to go near" /cited in English/. It is not generally known that there are warm springs here and [133] there in the Cape Horn Archipelago. Not far from Punta Remolino, at a considerable altitude, I myself visited a mineral spring. The following statement by Spencer:82 is vague: "There is a special cove on Tekenika Bay with a cave in which lives a dangerous spirit. No Yahgan dare stay there at night. George told Ken, who had done so, that he was lucky to have got out alive. Strange noises are always to be heard there at night time" /cited in English/. In the Yamana language there are several expressions which correspond exactly to our terms "lucky devil" and "unlucky fellow." According to Bridges (k):240, BD:42 gives, for example, inawálux, "successful in hunting" /cited in English/, and the combinations that can be formed with it. The superstitious beliefs of the Yamana show their tendency to be afraid and their active imaginations. /Fig. 96 appears here./

/1312/ E. The Kina Celebration

The great significance of the youth initiation for the permanence of the social order of our Fueguians is outwardly expressed by the fact that the young people of both sexes are, without exception, obliged to take part in it on two occasions. By and large, the kina is obviously a continuance of parental rearing beyond the narrow confines of the family but, and it has the special goal of making young people useful members of society. The definiteness of this goal is convincingly proved by the fact that, upon the conclusion of this initiation, the individual candidates enter adulthood and have the right to marry and found a family (p.[illegible]). Later on, the knowledge that they have obtained

1: Gusinde--1450 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHS Yahgan SHS

142
302
291

Yamana Man

Yamana Woman

Yamana Children

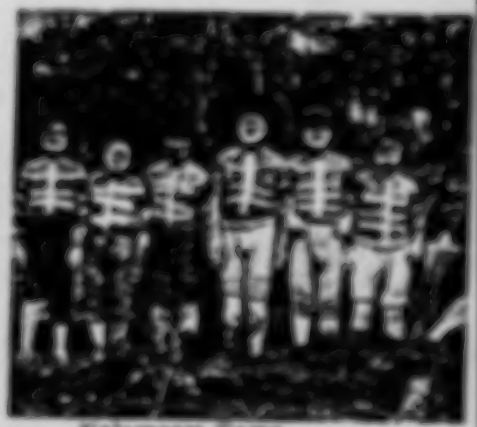
Children at Play

133

Beach of Beagle Channel

56
382
[348]

Kina Hut



Kalamyana Game

[292]

Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

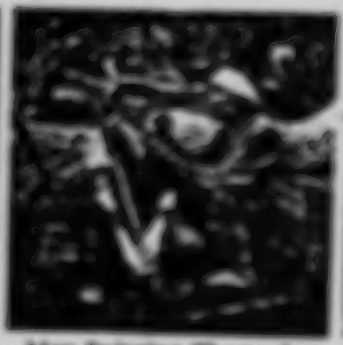
133

Uiburwala at the Foot of Mount Ollivia

137

Aamanto Pavilion

Mourning Painting



Man Painting Thermometer

Mourning Painting

• 133

Northeast of Inagio Channel

/End Map 1. Section A/

I.Gonzale--1489 8-5 (1910-1950) 1937 5098 Tahgon 5198

/End Map I. Section B/

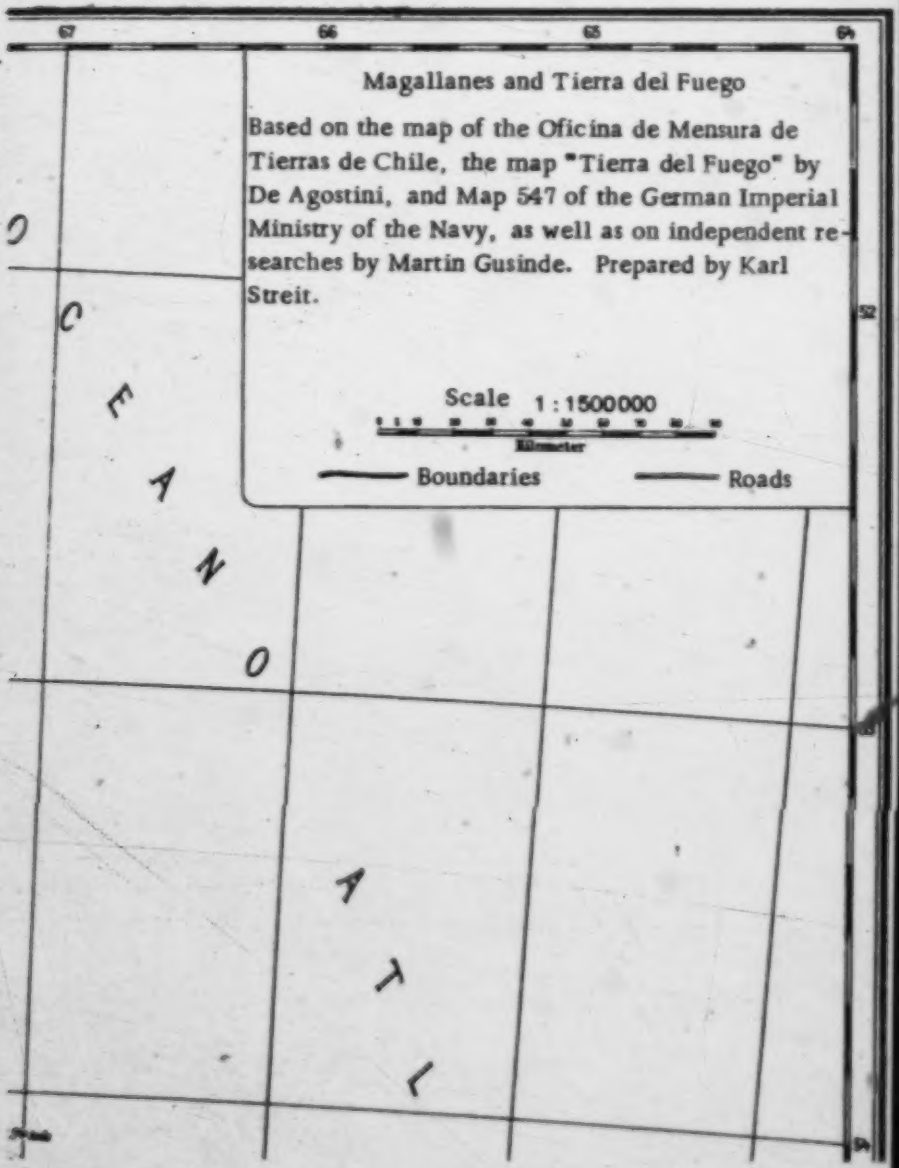
1:Gusinde--1460 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section C/

102
103
133
491

1:Gusinde--1461 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I. Section D/



1:Gusinde--1462 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section E/

102
103
133
491

1:Gusinde--1463 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I. Section F/

102
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491

1:Gusinde--1464 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section G/

102
103
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491

1.Gusinde--1465 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I. Section H/

102
103
133
491

THE YAHGAN

By JOHN M. COOPER

INTRODUCTION

133 **Natural environment.**—The *Yahgan* habitat is archipelagic, the mountainous islands constituting the last outposts of the Andean chain before it dips beneath the sea at Cape Horn (map 1, *No. 1A;*
132 map 2).[1] Atmospheric temperatures at sea level differ somewhat from locality to locality, with a summer mean around 50° F., a winter mean close to the freezing point, and a winter minimum around 10° F. Snowfalls not infrequently occur even in the summer months (pl. 35). Relatively very cold or very warm spells are usually of short duration. Sudden changes in temperature, in wind velocity, and in sunshine, cloudiness, and precipitation are characteristic. Violent squalls and strong gales are common.

137 The islands up to about 1,500 feet altitude are heavily wooded, chiefly with beeches (*Nothofagus betuloides* and *N. pumilio*, evergreens; *N. antarctica*, deciduous), together with Winter's bark (*Drimys winteri*), "cypress" (*Libocedrus tetragona*), and leña dura (*Maytenus magellanica*). The forest floor is thickly covered with rotting and rotten fallen trunks, which with the thick spiny masses of barberry bushes (*Berberis ilicifolia* and *B. buxifolia*) and holly (*Pernettya mucronata*) make travel through the woods extremely
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[362] mals, fish, and other sea food were abundant in most localities. As a result of the foregoing conditions, the *Yahgan* lived mostly on the
[361] water and along the shore line, penetrating inland very little.

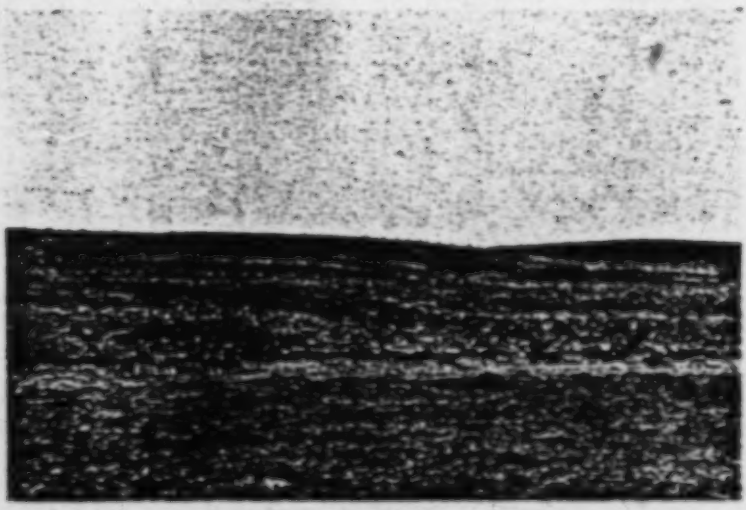
131 **Territory.**—In the last century and probably from much earlier times the *Yahgan* regularly occupied the southern coast of Tierra del Fuego Island from about the eastern end of Beagle Channel to Brecknock Peninsula, and the islands south of this line to Cape Horn. But they evidently wandered more widely; *Yahgan* house sites and implements have been found as far north as Elizabeth Island in the Strait of Magellan (Bird, 1938, p. 260). Between Good Success Bay and the eastern end of Beagle Channel, there was considerable

[illegible]—55——6

[1] [These maps have not been processed; see source 1: Gusinde, category 116, end maps, for similar information--analyst]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

133



THE PLAINS OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO

[p. 16-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

and a host of smaller ones (Gable, Picton, Lennox, New, etc.). Still farther south lie the Wollaston islands. Of these the southernmost is Horn island, terminating in the well-known Cape Horn. This isolated, sea-girt landmark faces the unquiet waters of the Antarctic ocean about seventy miles off the south shores of Tierra del Fuego. 131

Westward from the main island of Tierra del Fuego, across the Straits of Magellan, is the Brunswick peninsula, whose ultimate tip, Cape Froward, boldly marks the end of continental South America. Nearby are Dawson island, Clarence island, Santa Inés island, and others too numerous to mention.

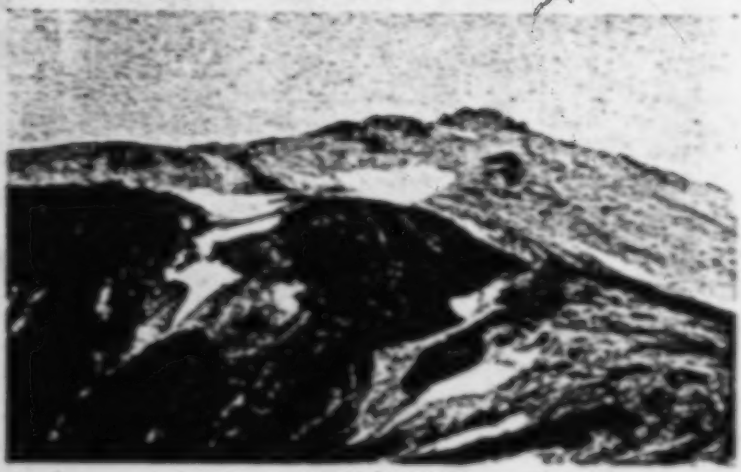
The main island of Tierra del Fuego presents two types of topography: plains and mountains. The northern and eastern parts are a rolling plain, bare except for grass and small bushes, hummocked by glacial ice, of the same Tertiary formation as the Patagonian plains (pl. I). In the northwest the land rises abruptly and Mesozoic rocks appear as in the Pre-Cordillera range in South America. The western and southern coasts are almost completely isolated from the rest of the island by Admiralty sound, an arm of the sea, and Lake Fagnano, a freshwater lake lying in the same axis. Between these two submerged valleys and the Antarctic ocean pass the Andes, which, after running north and south through the continent, here bend eastward to disappear beneath the waters of the South Atlantic. Their peaks in Tierra del Fuego reach an average height of 3500 feet, but numerous passes exist at about the 2000-foot level, where snow-pockets linger even in summer (pl. II). Glaciers nourished by beds of eternal snow creep to the sea on the west and south. 133

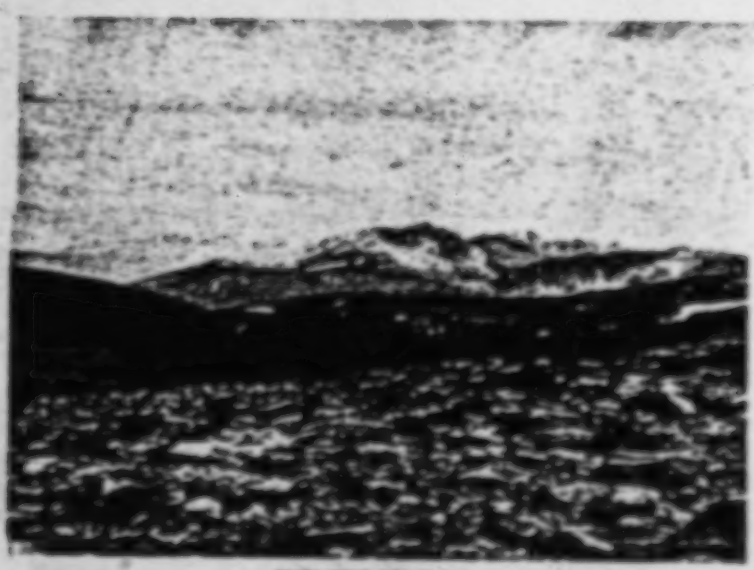
The Magellanic archipelago then falls in three geographic entities, and each of these was occupied not long ago by corresponding kinds of Indians, speaking unrelated tongues. These divisions are: (1) Tierra del Fuego, occupied by the *Ona* and *Haush;* (2) the southern islands and the south shore of Tierra del Fuego (pl. III), peopled by the *Yahgan;* and (3) the western islands, where lived the *Alacaluf*. The Yahgan and Alacaluf were separated by Brecknock peninsula, a barren headland, sea-girt, with no protecting island fringe, and therefore exposed to the full fury of storms sweeping across the Pacific ocean. 131

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928

SH6 Yahgan SH6

133





[p. 19-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

133

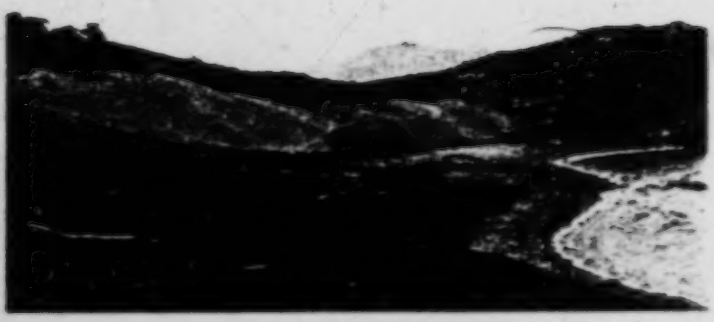
[illegible]

[illegible] TIERRA DEL FUEGO

[p 20-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

133●
172



OKAMANDA

POKEKENNA ISLAND

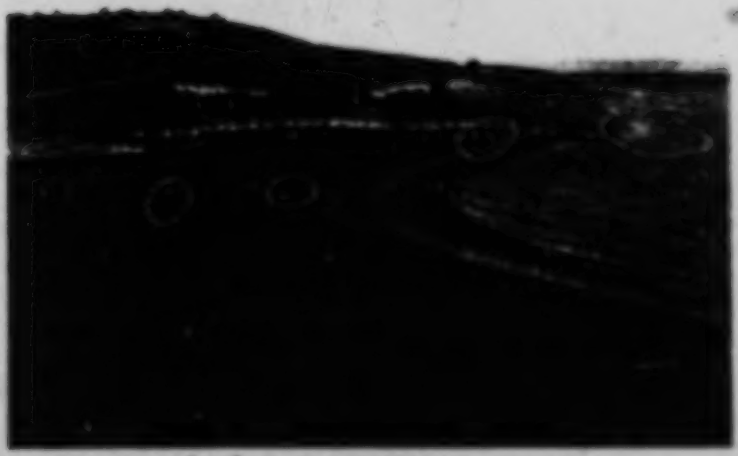
GABLE ISLAND SHELLHEAPS

[p. 180-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928

SH6 Yahgan SH6

172
133



[p. 184-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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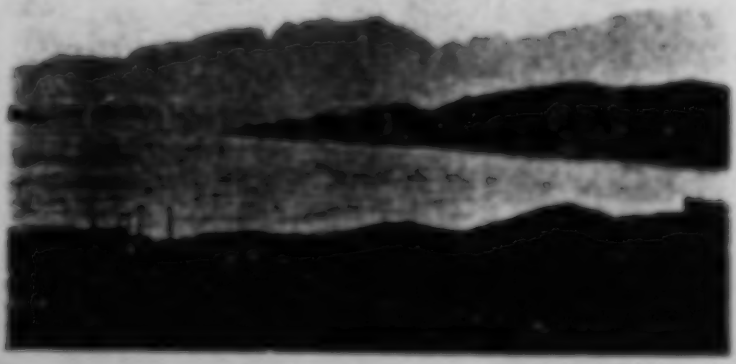
172



[p. 158-A]

135

[15] MINERAL RESOURCES—availability or significant lack of mineral deposits (e.g., marble, stone, coal, petroleum, clay, salt); quantity, quality, and distribution of minerals; etc. See also:

Exploitation of mineral resources . . . . . 16 Geology 98

Gold manufacture . . . . . 200 Petroleum and coal product industry . . . 203

/437 cont./

30 independence, which is one of the character traits of these Indians, allows everyone the most complete freedom in his use of articles of adornment, just as in the painting of his body (p. 90). No one is surprised and no one would regard it as heightened vanity or an over-fondness for dress if today this person and tomorrow that one would appear, unexpectedly and without occasion, decked out with quantities of ornaments.

As such, the amount of ornaments and jewelry of these Indians is meager and simple, like all their possessions generally. Bove (1):38, exaggerating this simplicity, says: "Two o three lines of paint on the face and a necklace of shells or bird bones are the sole ornaments of a Fuegian" /translated from Spanish/. Certain occasions, however, such as general gatherings and larger social activities, have induced these people to make other, special ornaments, namely, their favorite headbands of bird feathers and down. We shall discuss these things below. Here we have mentioned and described only what belongs to their everyday life. The ornaments of our Yaganes more or less resemble those of the Selk'nam, but are, on the whole, prettier, more artistic, and more varied. Here, however, we do not have [171] [172] [173] [174] [175] [176] [177] [178] [179] [180] [181] [182] [183] [184] [185] [186] [187] [188] [189] [190] [191] [192] [193] [194] [195] [196] [197] [198] [199] [200] [201] [202] [203] [204] [205] [206] [207] [208] [209] [210]

136

136 FAUNA--principal native species, especially mammals, reptiles, birds, fish and shellfish, insects, and disease-bearing micro-organisms; historical changes (e.g., introduced species), etc. See also:

[illegible] . . . . . 80 [illegible] 100

[illegible] 80

/416 cont./

ᏚᏂᏁᏗ ᏚᏂᏁᏗ

dually. They cut the edges approximately straight and lay them side by side. Near the edges of the two pieces they make a small hole by pricking the leather with an awl or a pointed bone. Into this hole they thread a tendon fiber, ᏙᏥᏍᏗ, holding it with thumb and index finger and licking it to make it pointed. Then another little hole is bored, and the thread is drawn from one hole to the other over the free edges in a spiral. Finally, they pound the two edges, which are not quite flat, with a round stone to make them flat and less hard so that they will not rub unpleasantly. Such work is very coarse and uneven, for they lack convenient tools. They fasten strands of leather and straps together or tie them to other things simply by knotting them.

ᏚᏂᏁᏗ ᏚᏂᏁᏗ

The fibers of tendon which we have just mentioned, known as ᏙᏥᏍᏗ or ᏗᏥᏍᏗ, are often used to sewing and joining pieces of leather. Strands of guanaco tendon are separated into fibers, but a person who does not have these uses the tendon fibers of otter or beaver (Castor canadensis) tails. The beaver is rare here, however. After they have skinned the animal, they cut off the tail at the root. It is dried for some time, and the individual vertebrae are broken off without tearing the tendons. The last two or three vertebrae are left together. The tendons which have been loosened by this process are separated with the fingernails until they become fine enough to be used for sewing. They then hang like a tuft on the smallest vertebrae of the tail and can be torn off with a sharp tug.

C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation

ᏚᏂᏁᏗ ᏚᏂᏁᏗ

Every stranger is repelled by the unclean, unkempt appearance of the Tamaca (91). It is disgusting to see these human

91. Among the opinions of foreign travelers I shall cite only what Brow (x) J. 041 has written: "They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves" /tried to English/.

/413 cont./

In this connection we may also mention the fact that these people do not have a definite characteristic skin odor. If they had, it would be hardly or not at all noticeable because of all the bubbles they smear on themselves and the thick, smothering smoke that constantly affects the skin. We realize the effect this smoke has when we see the dark brown coloring it produces, which apparently goes deep. Also, the skin is slightly moist from fog or damp air. It exudes a strong, almost biting odor which is most disagreeable to a closed room. It is, of course, transferred to the dogs and to all the implements they use which are lying about in the hut. Thus the European visitor is assailed with an indefinable mixture of /413/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ the odors of smoke and bubbles coming from the Indian himself, from his hut (90), and

> 90. Spegazzini (c) 183 says maliciously: "The smoke, the odor, not very much like roses, and the other dangerous inconveniences of these salons force the curious visitor to go out very quickly" /translated from Spanish/.

from everything he owns, which cannot be withstood by everyone.

Along with all this and the general lack of cleanliness, there are this particularly repulsive insect or two, cones with nits and crawling with vermin (91). The head louse (Pediculus capitis),

> 91. The effect this has on a European is made clear by Isaac (c)2, 348: "It may be mentioned, that vermin swarmed about them and in everything they had. Whatever we purchased or obtained from them, had to be several times subjected to a purifying process" /cited in English/.

were, thrive through the total lack of body care, and young and old are constantly scratching, especially at night in their sleep. It is impossible for the Yamana to defend themselves against this pest. The old people recall that in former times they were plagued with a similar, blackish louse, and that since the advent of the

[End of footnotes on page 87.—Analyst]

/Kill man./

[16] [17] Europeans in lice been replaced by a larger, gray one. Despite their unmistakably lower degree of sensitivity, the Indians find this vermin a torture. A mother will sympathetically pick lice from her child, cracking them between her fingernails or teeth (17).

> 17. Hyades (q) 348 briefly mentions "the hunt for parasites (Pediculi capitis) to which they devote themselves in their moments of leisure" /translated from French/.

No one minds having his neighbor carefully search his head. In the long, quiet intervals beside the evening fire in the hut these search, produced by first one and then another of those present, are a frequent /Kill/ occupation. The individual gets no relief, however, in spite of all his scrubbing, and they hardly ever lose patience throughout this torture.

[17] In the last decades the clothes louse (Pediculus vestimentorum) has also spread throughout the region, introduced by Europeans. The older people do not recall this pest, the general conditions for its development were poor in my case. When a person removes his clothing — nowadays everyone wears only European clothing — the well-known traces of lice are revealed all over his body. These people are constantly scratching their bodies. I cannot say whether Pediculus pubis is present, but this species also is probably not entirely absent.

[18] [19] The head hair of the Tsiigan is naturally black, soft, and thick. Although it is liberally greased with bubber, dirt and lice prevent it from ever being soft and attractively shiny. It grows uniformly long, and young women it reaches almost to their shoulders, which is why it does not lend itself to a particular type of coiffure. Everyone wears his hair open and loose. It lies on their head in thick strands. Some women cut the hair on their forehead at their eyebrows (18). Occasionally, if a person does

> 18. Hyades (q) 330 speaks of "hair cut in front 'dog fashion'" /translated from French/. Lehtisalo (b) 184 expresses himself in more general terms.

/SHS cont./

224 from the outermost islands, possibly into the quiet channels directly adjacent where most species can actually be seen throughout the year (277). Our Indians apparently are not the least interested

[36]

277. Careful observations of the Mission Scientifique, reported by Hyades (b):14, leave no doubt about the regular departure of certain smaller species of fish from the Orange Bay region. There they are "numerous and of good quality, but only during the months of the summer season, that is to say, from December to March" /translated from French/. In another place, namely, (g):17, he repeats: "When winter came, the fish completely disappeared; then they seemed to travel northward, for in Beagle Channel we find them all the year round." In point of fact, the difference in the average annual temperature between here and Ushuaia, about 80 kilometers in distance, is considerable.

to fresh water fish. In any case, the cold, torrential mountain streams contain but few, the most common being Galaxias maculatus. In this region there are no wide, deep rivers which it would pay to navigate (278).

278. According to Hyades (f):163, "the most common and the most prized fish are several types of Nototheniа, N. tessellata, N. macrocephalus, N. coriiceps, N. cyanobranchia, and the following species: Idiolucius gayi, Genigenus chilensis, Chosnichtys eax, and Lowpidochoenichthys tentaculum" /translated from French/.

1: Gusinde--385 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgans SH6

/626/

•136

Fig. 76. Oyster Catcher, Haematopus ater.

X881 /838 cont./
625 activities among suitable women, he also chooses a reliable man
to serve as guard, called winefkē̃ʌa. This is the name for
[136] Leucophaeus scoresbii, a feared predatory bird of the high seas,
who pounces with bloodthirsty rage on other birds and fastens on
to them. As a result its whole beak is often covered with blood
(Fig. 82).

X881 In imitation of the bird, the guard paints a wide red stripe
625 over the entire lower half of his nose, continuing it two fingers
302 in width on either side down to the edge of the chin. This deco-
ration, which is sometimes also applied in white

Fig. 82. Leucophaeus scoresbii. Natural size.

to make it visible in the dark, is meant to show how seriously and strictly he performs his office and how threateningly he pursues everyone who disturbs the peace /839/ or is guilty of an offense.
[292] As a headdress the winefkē̃ʌa properly wears the plaited wreath of white albatross feathers, just as the yēkamus /medicine men/ do. Sometimes he changes to the hapaxēl /headband/. Formerly when the Yamana did not have European clothing, the guard painted his entire body white with horizontal red stripes two fingers wide and a hand's breadth apart all around it. The Indians have retained a small remnant of this to this day, for the actual guard and his helpers paint /Fig. 82 appears here/ at least the lower part of the leg and the forearm in this fashion. They no longer paint the other parts of the body, which are covered with European clothing.

X881 The particular duty of the winefkē̃ʌa is quite obvious. He
625 must guard the hut so that no unbidden person, especially no child,
creeps up too close and sees what is going on. The camp with
the dwellings is, of course, not far from the Great Hut, and in
their play the children are careless enough to come too close to

/1030 cont./

181 play of forces in this ethnic group on the Cape Horn Archipelago now belongs to the past. /Fig. 88 appears here./

/1031/ Part 4

The Spiritual World of the Yamana

114 There was a time not far back when people quite generally and as a matter of course inferred from the poverty and simplicity of the external arrangements and the objects used by a primitive people that they were lacking in ideas and that their spiritual world was limited. Ever since the Yamana were visited and superficially observed by European navigators, the entire cultured world has classed them among the most unworthy representatives of the human race on account of their inhospitable native land and the unfavorable conditions of their existence. Roskoff:49 and others often repeated: "The Fuegians are, according to Reinhold Forster's remarks, 'apparently the most miserable of all peoples.'" They were judged solely by what caught the eye and by the hasty first impression that their nakedness and unattractive appearance, their way of life, and their wild behavior inevitably makes upon every European. Once established, the general opinion became deeply entrenched and continued to be untouched by this or that report which sounded somewhat more favorable. How could such a report have brought about a complete change of the previously held view when the Yamana themselves did not change in any way externally!

114 121 It is not enough to evaluate a human group solely by what strikes the eye; for that reason modern ethnography in all seriousness desires penetration into the spiritual domain of every tribe.

•[136]

Fig. 88. Diomedea exulans.

/1312 cont./

X515 562 about the entire heritage of ideas and conceptions of the tribe is supplemented and amplified for the young men exclusively in the secret ceremony of kina, which on principle is reserved for the male population. Here the primary aim is not a clearly-defined goal to be achieved through training -- although training is not altogether ignored -- but rather an introduction to a unique sphere of mythological ideas which the men regard as their exclusive property. They guard it anxiously from the inquisitiveness of their wives, and sometimes, in their consciousness of this possession, they make the female population as a whole keenly aware of their superior position and their arrogance. The explanation for all this is that the kina, based on prejudiced ideas, shows a more or less marked misogyny. This one-sidedness makes the kina fundamentally different from the čiexan. The latter is available to both sexes at puberty, the former only to mature men (266 /sic/).

[71] 266, I discovered the same conditions among the Halakwulup. These Fuegians have a separate men's ceremony besides the actual youth initiation. For the time being compare Gusinde (o):541 and (q):287.

•[136]

Fig. 95. Sea Lions, Otaria jubata.

1: Guinde--1432 E-5 (1918-1934) 1937 SHS Yahgan SHS

•136

/1432/

Fig. 106. *Phalacrocorax olivaceus.*

THE YAHGAN

By John M. Cooper

INTRODUCTION

[33] **Natural environment.**—The *Yahgan* habitat is archipelagic, the mountainous islands constituting the last outposts of the Andean chain before it dips beneath the sea at Cape Horn (map 1, *No. 1A;* map 2).[1] [32] Atmospheric temperatures at sea level differ somewhat from locality to locality, with a summer mean around 50° F., a winter mean close to the freezing point, and a winter minimum around 10° F. Snowfalls not infrequently occur even in the summer months (pl. 32). Relatively very cold or very warm spells are usually of short duration. Sudden changes in temperature, in wind velocity, and in sunshine, cloudiness, and precipitation are characteristic. Violent squalls and strong gales are common.

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[1] [These maps have not been processed; see source E-Engineer Geography 116, and maps, for similar information.—analyst]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

137 the introduction of the potato to New Zealand, Tierra del Fuego is the only part of the world where cryptogamic plants form the 262 chief vegetal diet.

However, the Fuegian Indians failed to utilize many native food plants of value, such as wild celery, two kinds of cress, wild seapink, wild parsnip, scurvy grass, and mushrooms.

[251]

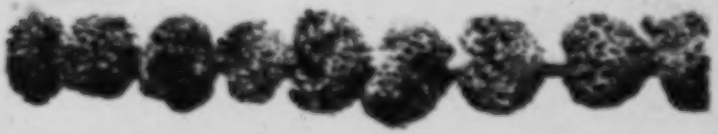

FIG. 3.—Fungi dried on a rod for winter use. Length, 8 in. (14/2279)

137 No description of the flora of Tierra del Fuego can omit mention of the gigantic kelp (*Fucus giganteus*) which almost everywhere fringes the coasts. Though the stems are not thick, they often exceed a hundred feet in length. Darwin[1] picturesquely writes: "I can only compare these great aquatic forests of the southern hemisphere with the terrestrial ones in the intertropical regions. Yet if the latter should be destroyed in any country, I do not believe that nearly so many species of animals would perish, as, under similar circumstances would happen with the kelp. Amidst the leaves of this plant numerous species of fish live, which nowhere else would find food or shelter; with their destruction the many cormorants, divers, and other fishing birds, the otters, seals, and porpoises, would soon perish also; and lastly the Fuegian savage, the miserable lord of this miserable land, would redouble his cannibal feast, decrease in numbers, and perhaps cease to exist." The kelp forms an excellent breakwater and mooring for canoes, but it is an impenetrable barrier to swimmers and has prevented many unfortunate occupants of overturned canoes from safely reaching the shore. Its appearance on the surface of the water may be seen in pl. III, top, and pl. XI, top.

FAUNA

•136 From the Indian point of view what made Tierra del Fuego a suitable land for habitation was the edible fauna, which in turn

[1] 1878, p. 303.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

depended on the flora, especially the grasses on land and the kelp along the shore. 136

Of the land animals first place in economic importance falls to the guanaco, one of the four New World varieties of camel (fig. 4). The guanaco is closely related to the llama of Peru, but, whereas the llama is found only as a domestic animal, the guanaco has never been successfully domesticated, although easily tamed. The guanaco has been succinctly described as having "the neigh of a horse, the wool of a sheep, the neck of a camel, the feet of a deer, and the swiftness of the devil."[1] In Tierra del Fuego, guanaco attain a much larger size than in Patagonia, while on Navarin island they are nearly as large as a cow.

FIG. 4.—Young guanaco.

Material culture of the Ona is based on the guanaco, and the importance of this animal in their economic life is emphasized by the highly specialized vocabulary used to describe it. Far from new-born guanaco is exceedingly soft, and the Tehuelche of Patagonia used it for robes. The Fuegians, however, confronting greater cold, made their robes from skins of the adult animal. From guanaco-hide the Ona made their windbreaks (which served as houses), storage-bags, water-bags, and thongs; from the forehead they fabricated caps; from the sinews they made twine; from a leg bone they manufactured a chipping tool; from the hocks they fashioned moccasins. Guanaco meat, rather dry, stringy, and

[1] Musters, p. 127.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

136 tasteless to our notions, formed the principal meat diet of the Foot Indians. Wool was the only asset of the guanaco not utilized by the Ona, for lacking knowledge of weaving and ability to organize in large numbers, they never rounded up the wild guanaco to shear them, as was done to the llama on a large scale under the Inca dynasty in Peru.

For the Ona, second place in importance among the land animals falls to the fox (Ona: **xank**), one of the two varieties of which grows to an unusual size. I have been told that on occasions of great scarcity the foxes in Tierra del Fuego have combined to form packs in the fashion of wolves, and it is then well for a man to avoid them. Fox was sometimes eaten by the Ona, and the skin was occasionally used for robes, if guanaco were scarce. Two kinds of bags (*hâzi** and *kâlwe*) found in every Ona household were made of fox-skin.

A small burrowing rodent (*Cienomys fuegiens*), known in Spanish as the *tucuca* or *cururo*, was eaten by the Ona, who dug up the burrows with sticks. In places large areas of the Fuegian plains,

TABLE II.—FUEGIAN FOODS[1]

136
262

	Ona	Yahgan
animal	guanaco***** fox (two kinds)** tucuca wolf (four kinds) whale cat (rare)	seal*** porpoise** whale* } all starred otter (chiefly in west) guanaco (only in east)
fish	chiefly cod**	many kinds***
shellfish, etc.	mussels* limpets crabs	mussels***** limpets* conchs crabs* sea-urchins*
birds (chiefly in summer)	goose (four kinds)** duck (five kinds) cormorant*	goose* duck gull** penguin* cormorant* } and their eggs**
vegetal (in summer)	fungus (several kinds) berries (three kinds) grass-seeds	fungus* berries

[1] Putative relative importance of foods is indicated by asterisks.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

undermined by this animal, recall the gopher burrows in western North America. 136

The Fuegian dog is not known in a wild state, and today it is extinct, although much blood of the native breed must run in the veins of the innumerable sheep dogs and hounds to be found on the island. In height the native dog ranged from 11 to 20 inches. Their ears were pointed, muzzles sharp, and skulls broad. The markings were black and white, with tan running-gear. Like most Indian dogs they lived largely on such garbage as they could pick up around the encampment, but in times of plenty they were given meat or mussels by their masters. Also occasionally they might pull down a guanaco and enjoy a square meal before the arrival of the hunter, as illustrated in the legend of Kaunip, presented later. 231

Of the sea animals, the four kinds of seal found in Fuegian waters formed the principal meat diet of the Yahgan. Not only did they eat the seal, but they used its hide for capes, moccasins, house-tops, and thongs. It is surprising they never invented a hide boat, which would have been much less perishable than their bark canoes. The Haush also ate a great many seal, and the Ona ate seal but did not specialize in its pursuit. 136

Otter of three kinds, one living on land and two in the sea, were prized by both Yahgan and Alacaluf, who used their skins for clothing. Both these peoples attacked porpoises, and at times, when some innate instinct assured them of good weather, they pursued them far into the open sea.

To the Fuegian tribes whale was a great delicacy, and by all accounts this leviathan existed in large numbers in Fuegian waters until recently. Sometimes the Canoe Indians ventured to attack whales that had blundered into shallow water, but usually they were secured dead on the beaches. These were gala occasions, and feuds and animosities were forgotten as great numbers gathered to gorge themselves on the often putrid, discored, and stinking flesh. When satisfied, the Yahgan sometimes buried a meat supply far under ground where, were there frost, it might be preserved for many months. This custom recalls the burying of salmon on the northwest coast of North America, where the decomposed fish was mixed with oil and eaten with gusto. [451]

Fuegian waters abound in fish, both large and small, which were eaten by all the tribes. The Ona took fish from pools at low tide, 136 224

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

while the Yahgan spaced them in deep water or drew them with bait to the surface where they could be seized by hand. Failure to utilize fully the fish supply must be regarded as a great deficiency of the Fuegian economic system, a lack which might have been overcome by the invention of fish-traps and the fish-hook.

Both Foot and Canoe Indians ate great numbers of mussels, conchs, and limpets, and ancient camp-sites often are indicated by large piles of shells. This is especially true in the Yahgan country, because all their camp-sites were on the beach where shellfish were easily obtained.

The Canoe Indians ate a species of sea-urchin some three or four inches in diameter, and also crabs. Of these the most succulent is a giant spider crab (*Lithodes antarctica*), so good to eat that today it is canned and exported from Punta Arenas.

Birds abound in Tierra del Fuego. Many, to be sure, have a fishy taste, but to a palate not over-delicate they offer an abundant food supply. Among birds of economic use to the Indians we should mention four kinds of geese and five kinds of duck. The upland goose and the pin-tail duck are the best eating. Also there are many kinds of gull (including the albatross), penguins, vultures, eagles, doves, plovers, and, curiously enough, a paroquet and a hummingbird.

As to the environment in general, it is much more suitable for supporting human life than is realized by those who have not visited Tierra del Fuego. The public mind, we believe, is unduly impressed by the romantic place of the island in history, by adventurous accounts of midwinter weatherings of the Horn in sailing vessels, by modern travelers elated at the length and labor of their journeys. Glaciers descend to the sea in Tierra del Fuego, but the land also nourishes orchids, mushrooms, paroquets, hummingbirds, and butterflies. Prosperous sheep ranches with their comfortable and commodious houses and their well-stocked vegetable and flower gardens show that European standards of living can be achieved on the island. And these settlements, were over-sea transportation to be cut off, could probably maintain themselves better on local resources than most European settlements in the tropics.

The climate of Tierra del Fuego, to be sure, is severe, but it is not so extreme as inhabited regions of Europe, Asia, North America, and Greenland. Agriculture within certain limits is entirely

342
[23]

/371 cont./

Spanish/. Anyone who abandons his hut relinquishes the framework and, consciously or unconsciously, places it at the disposal of anyone who wishes to use it later.

mentioned here in all kinds of variations (7).

7. Hyades (q) :342 calls them "a kind of arbor of foliage" /translated from French/. Despard (h) :680 also mentions them.

2. The Two Types of Huts

In the extensive Yamana territory, from the Brecknock Peninsula to Nueva Island and down to Cape Horn, two types of huts for dwellings have developed, namely, the cone-shaped and the dome-shaped. For the time being we shall leave it an open question as to which of the two is ethnologically older here in Tierra del Fuego.

For this question a not unimportant fact is that each of the two types has its definitely limited geographical distribution: in the damp, heavily timbered west the dome-shaped hut is indigenous; in the drier, open east, the cone-shaped one. For both types environmental factors have been at least contributory, perhaps even decisive.

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•137

The Indians gave me reasons which alone may suffice to explain the origin of both types. In the west humidity and dampness greatly predominate. The surface of the ground is much more irregular, and almost everywhere at sea level level ground with gravel or broken stones is absent. The northerly slopes of the rocks not only get the vital force of the sun, but are protected against storm and inclement weather. Thus, a thicker and more compact growth of trees develops here, and even in the smallest crevices the firm roots of the Antarctic beeches find sufficient anchorage. In the west there are few big trees, but there is a preponderance of thin, irregular, flexible trunks that shoot up quickly. They grow close to every shore /371/ and can be uprooted easily because their roots do not penetrate the rocky ground.

342

In low places the wind can not exert its full force, except in a few spots, and therefore the dome-shaped hut may be used. It has

/371 cont./

362 many advantages over the cone-shaped one. The frame is more tightly constructed, hence the warmth inside is evenly distributed up to the walls, and the moist air is dried. The good cover all around prevents the annoying penetration of rain and snow. The low inverse wind here in the west is kept out by the covered side walls, thus permitting the fire to glow undisturbed and the smoke to be drawn off in a straight line overhead. The Indians know how to appreciate all these advantages of the dome-shaped hut, which to a foreigner appear negligible. The flexible, long, thin, somewhat irregular and bent trunks of the beech are very suitable for the framework of this type of hut. The cone-shaped hut requires straight, uniform trunks which in the west are seldom found in the required numbers in one spot. Thus, it is the environment that favors the construction of the dome-shaped hut.

In the east, on the other hand, there are far fewer protected spots on the edge of the water. Along the north shore of Beagle Channel eastward from Ushuaia, the coast, except for indented coves, lies exposed to every wind and storm from the south and southwest. This is even more true of the long south coast of Navarino Island and of the three islands in the eastern outlet of Beagle Channel. If the Indians were to erect the closed dome-shaped hut on the open, broad surface of the gently sloping dune, they would have to be prepared to have their handiwork blown down by a strong gust of wind. With a cone-shaped hut one need fear this fate only in the most severe storm and tornadoes. The loosely set rows of slender trunks permit the wind to pass through and do not by any means offer the broad striking surface of the dome-shaped hut. In the east the young beech trunks

/373 show uniform growth. The flat ground provides the conditions for this; they shoot up more slowly and at the same time develop breadth. They stand close within easy access. They are excellently adapted for the cone-shaped hut because the heaviness of the small trunk also contributes to the solidity of the entire structure. Since the smoke is constantly at the mercy of the wind and gusts which stir the air even inside the hut, there must always be a convenient escape for it; the cone-shaped hut affords this much better than the other type. When there are rainy days free of rain, which in the west are less frequent than here in the east, a woman pulls the pieces of bark off the frame with a simple movement of her hand, and the interior quickly dries in the convenient cross-ventilation. Adaptation to the conditions

/377 cont./

[illegible] water is obtained and to the canoe which has been drawn up on the beach where it remains until the journey is resumed.

/378/ β. The Dome-shaped Hut

342 In the western and southwestern part of Tanana territory, including the Wulkaren group, only the dome-shaped hut, *[illegible]*, was known. In contrast to the cone-shaped hut, it shows adaptation to the nature of the region.

A somewhat flattened hemispherical form predominates. For a larger number of occupants it is stretched lengthwise, so that the groundplan is a drawn-out oval. The poles used for the framework determine this form of the hut. The slender and flexible, thin, long waste of young beeches are chosen. It is well known that these trees do not grow well in the shade of the forest and shoot up quickly, developing a short root system that lies entirely on the surface. They can be pulled up without effort, and with only the slightest exertion the sparse tangled roots and the scanty covers of leaves can be broken off. The result is an almost smooth pole that is as flexible as a twig and that hardly varies in thickness along its entire length.

[23] The framework made from such poles, if it is to have the desired stability, necessarily is a kind of basketwork. First a few larger poles are driven into the ground at wide intervals on the line indicating the groundplan. These include the two poles that are to flank the entrance. The natives try to achieve the dome shape from the beginning by bending and interweaving the poles, without regard to the direction or position of the poles relative to each other or to the points where they will later be fastened together. This initial framework is gradually filled out and reinforced with additional, supplementary poles that are inserted between the first ones. Most of these are so long that they reach far beyond the height of the dome down to the opposite side (34). This gives the framework as a

34. According to an often repeated, but incorrect account, the individual poles are said to meet at the top. Hyades (p. 343) also speaks incorrectly of "branches reach in the ground and coming

/[illegible] /
together on the top" /translated from French/.

whale or advantageous elastic tension. In the places where he individual poles cross, they are held together by a single loop made with the fibers of bhanjapanjanum vulva and young shoots of Hibiscuspa or bleyenna. These are sufficiently tough, and hey are as flexible as thick packing cord. This framework might be compared with a cosmetic and sensitly placed lacing.

On the outside, about halfway up the framework, lumps of earth, balls of moss, and pieces of turf are built up all around, like masonry, and this keeps out the wind. Rather large, leafy twigs are placed on the upper half and adequately fastened by being piled under and lapped over. Thick bunches of grass are also spread out all the way around, and lumps of earth are placed over their interstices to make a firm layer. Not /[illegible]/ uncommonly large pieces of bamboo are stretched over all of this and tied securely at thodgen. Their weight strengthens the loose cohesion of the structure (5).

> 5b. The bamboo covering stretched over the framework is not a single piece. It would be, as Lothrop (5): 138 admits, "a heavy and cumbersome object to handle" /Acted in English/. Large, individual skins prove to be more manageable. They are placed side by side in such a way that their edges overlap. One cannot compare these with the large hut covering used by the Sulu bans (TM, I, 180), which is a single piece made of many individual pieces skins, thoroughly wrapped on both sides. They are, to begin with, considerably lighter and incomparably more flexible than the thick, heavy [illegible] skins.

Outline bamboo or pieces of bamboo are placed on the pak; hence, the smoke of the hut fire has a free outlet. At the same time, there is no danger of the hut itself catching fire.

With this type of design, the gunadjiles can be crowded to any length if two to four families build a common dwelling or

/[illegible] cont./

354 Since the interior does not offer reliable protection, the occupants are constantly moving in and out, but in the end they must yield to all misfortune and be content with the little warmth given off by the fire.

513 They arrange their sleeping places directly on the ground and all around the inside wall. First they spread out twigs, with or without leaves, and flat pieces of bark. Over this they place finer twigs or a great deal of lichen (Usnea barbata) and, finally, a long piece of guanaco hide or seal skin. The latter is sometimes omitted. Formerly they also preferred to use bunches of the • [137] long stalks of Poa flabellata, but more recently this type of grass has become very rare here (22). A person lying down to sleep

22. Fred Lawrence called my attention to the fact that Poa flabellata, the so-called tussock grass, formerly flourished abundantly throughout the entire area, but since the introduction of sheep this type of grass is now found only in very remote places. After searching for a long time he brought me some plants which could be identified as this species.

curls up tightly and covers himself with his short back cape or somewhat larger coat. Sometimes they even use a type of bed-cover made of several skins pieced together, and this is drawn over several children or two or three adults at once. During sleep they move as close as possible to one another, to give each other the benefit of their body warmth. That is why a single medium-sized skin suffices to cover two to four persons. Not every family by any means owns such a cover (23). The fire itself throws out

23. Hyades (f) [illegible] also corroborates: "In order to protect themselves from the cold at night, they use a skin of the sea lion or several otter skins sewed together, which they spread over the upper part of the body, leaving the lower limbs outside. They are huddled together so closely that a single skin

/386 cont./

372 (Vol. I, 389). They choose a straight stick, as thick as one's
442 thumb, of Sabwia Sicifolia, strip it of leaves, twigs, and cracked
parts of bark, smooth the surface, and split it two-thirds of its
entire length which is hardly more than 65 centimeters. Afterwards the lower, split end is cut off flat. Since the tension of the wood fibers keeps the two ends spread slightly apart, these five rings can be easily manipulated simply with pressure (58).

[177]

58. Hyades (q) 384 and Lothrop (b) 138 have also described this implement briefly. The similarity in terminology between the Selk'nam and Yamana causes Lothrop to speak of a "cultural borrowing," which should not be dismissed.

• 137 The natives have the advantage, which they truly appreciate, of some growth of trees throughout their homeland, even on
2/3 the dreaded Cape Horn. It is lacking only on the low rocks and smooth stones that /387/ are exposed to waves and storms without any kind of protection. Wherever shallow crevices or protected ravines cut into the rocks, frail shrubs and thicker small trees cling, successfully resisting storms. The Indian finds his needed
3/3 fuel at every landing place, so to speak, although at some places he obtains it more easily. He prefers dry beechwood for his fire, for he dreads the damaging smoke of green logs (60). He finds it

60. Persistent watering of the eyes and slight inflammation of the eyelids are the consequences of the stinging smoke. See Hyades (q) 348 and Lothrop (b) 128, as well as footnote 56.

as driftwood that has been washed ashore by the waves. He also goes a few steps into the woods and breaks off dry branches with his hands. If they are higher up, he tosses the cones of his bows around them, taps vigorously, for beechwood is very tough, and pulls them down. He falls hollow tree trunks with the weight of his body and then splits them. As soon as a family lands, the children disperse throughout the neighborhood and gather wood which they bring to the campfire.

[178]

Fig. 37. [illegible]

/176 cont./

grow perfectly straight and have the great advantage of being heavy. They do not flourish on Beagle Channel, however, except in one or two places in the west (178), and for most of the Yamana they are simply inaccessible. Hence one sees all of them carrying merely a shaft made from the evergreen beech, [illegible], which is uniformly octagonal. Furthermore, one can /177/ observe on the average cross-section a rectangle of about 25 millimeters in width and 20 millimeters in height with the four /Fig. 26 appears here/ corners removed, producing the octagonal form. Shafts with six uniform sides are not as common as those mentioned above.

The narrow slit at the upper end of this large harpoon is, of course, also meant for a bone point which is jammed into it; a narrow leather strip is

178. On my fourth expedition I had definite proof of specimens of Libocedrus tetragona in Puerto Edwards on the southern shore of Brecknock Peninsula. This is the southern boundary for this species. Skottsberg (g) 20 reports that it extends somewhat farther south, namely, to Isla Choiz in Darwin Sound.

Fig. 26. The Large Harpoon.

/556 cont./

222 The ripe berries of Berberis buxifolia, hómōr amíjn, taste good and are much sweeter than the berries of Berberis ilicifolia, /ijamíjn. The former are easy to strip from the small twigs by hand and gather into a basket. An Indian woman would not bring home large quantities of these berries because a handful of them is all that anyone wants, but anyone who happens to pass these bushes strips off several berries and eats them immediately.

The small Rubus geoides, one of the Rosaceae, creeps along the ground in light patches of the forest and on the edge of it. Its fruit, pilaxjíte, which ripens in late summer, resembles a raspberry in size, shape, and color, but is less sweet. Women pick these also, but only when they are gathering ʼpisamíjn and

[37]

Fig. 67. Pernettya pumila. Natural size.

amíjnqa and inevitably come across isolated fruits of Rubus geoides. Our Indians do not have a taste for the fruits of Myrtus nummularia, but they like to pick the easily obtainable hipulamíjn, the clusters of the hipul bush (Ribes magellanicum), which likes the light and grows chiefly on the edge of the forest.

/557/ This concludes the list of the berries that are considered at all edible in the region of the Yamana. The fruits of Gunnera magellanica, for example, have almost no meat, and therefore no one touches these thalamíjn. This is also true of the small fruits of other species.

262 3. Other Plants. Other products of the vegetable kingdom can be regarded as actual food to an even lesser extent than is true of fungi and berries (303), but there are a very few plants, as

303. Bridges' (k):227 way of expressing himself is therefore misleading: "The

/701 cont./

843 activity, especially to those young women who are expecting their first child. Sexual intercourse is discontinued for two or three months before the confinement.

During this time the married couple are required to observe a 843 262 few food taboos. The /702/ woman may not eat roasted pieces of meat, mussels, or fish as hot as usual, but must let them cool off a bit. It is said that food that is too hot is now detrimental to her and her child. The man is not permitted to eat the head and hind portion of fish and birds; he must be content with the center piece. Shortly before the confinement neither of the two parents may eat the meat of cormorants, otherwise the child would be born deformed.

[824 137]

Fig. 78. Embothrium coccineum. One-half natural size.

/Fig. 78 appears here./ For a few days before and after confinement the woman herself may not break or crush the bones of birds. It is well known that in the case of some birds, especially cormorants, the longer bones are broken open before they are roasted in the fire, so that the marrow will penetrate the meat and make it juicier. Furthermore, their spinal columns are cracked at various places so that the feathers can be plucked more easily. Now if the woman

/772 cont./

857 lack this thoroughly wholesome, unspoiled characteristic. Since they stay within the limits of fun, the adults do not stop them. Thus, in winter, they throw a snowball at a passing girl from some hiding place and enjoy the greatest satisfaction over not being discovered. On another occasion they will hurl a stone from the sling to the ground or into the water beside an unsuspecting girl, only to frighten her. If several girls are sitting together, some boys will stealthily strip off a handful of small Cyttaria harioti fungi and from their hiding place toss them against the heads of the girls until the latter leave the vicinity of their tormenters.

Another time bolder rascals will provide themselves with a quantity of the short, thumb-length thallus buds of pēxi, a small brown alga (Adenocystis utricularis). These plants are found in masses on the stones of the shore and are filled with water (Fig. 80). They can be easily removed from the thallus by pressure with the thumb nail; at this point the plant structure is less resistant. As though each thallus bud were an elongated bubble, it is grasped between thumb and forefinger and pressed gently, whereupon the water filling it shoots out in a fine, far-reaching spray, as though from a small squirt. This is the way the fellows tease the girls whose affection they would like to win, while they squirt particularly heavily the girls they want to annoy. Of course the boys also squirt each other with the pēxi.

[37]

Fig. 80. Brown Alga, Adenocystis utricularis. Two-thirds natural size.

/773/ With these and similar harmless pranks the two sexes become sufficiently well acquainted; it would be a disadvantage for their spiritual development if they were always kept absolutely isolated from one another. Whenever the children of different families chance to meet, they immediately begin their social

1: Gusinde--1457 E-S (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

•137

Antarctic Beeches

142
301
302
765

Mourning Painting

Men Painting Themselves

Mourning Painting

133

Northeast of Beagle Channel

THE YAHGAN

By Joan M. Cooper

INTRODUCTION

133 **Natural environment.**—The *Yahgan* habitat is archipelagic, the mountainous islands constituting the last outposts of the Andean chain before it dips beneath the sea at Cape Horn (map 1, *No. 1A;* 132 map 2).[1] Atmospheric temperatures at sea level differ somewhat from locality to locality, with a summer mean around 50° F., a winter mean close to the freezing point, and a winter minimum around 10° F. Snowfalls not infrequently occur even in the summer months (pl. 38). Relatively very cold or very warm spells are usually of short duration. Sudden changes in temperature, in wind velocity, and in sunshine, cloudiness, and precipitation are characteristic. Violent squalls and strong gales are common.

139 The islands up to about 1,000 feet altitude are heavily wooded, chiefly with beeches (*Nothofagus betuloides* and *N. pumilio*, evergreens; *N. antarctica*, deciduous), together with Winter's bark (*Drimys winteri*), "cypress" (*Libocedrus tetragona*), and lenga dura (*Maytenus magellanica*). The forest floor is thickly covered with rotting and rotten fallen trunks, which with the thick spiny masses of barberry bushes (*Berberis ilicifolia* and *B. buxifolia*) and holly (*Pernettya mucronata*) make travel through the woods extremely 136 slow and difficult. Foxes and rats, the land mammals that could have helped in the *Yahgan* dietary, were eschewed. Marine mam- 135 mals, fish, and other sea food were abundant in most localities. As a result of the foregoing conditions, the *Yahgan* lived mostly on the 134 water and along the shore line, penetrating inland very little.

131 **Territory.**—In the last century and probably from much earlier times the *Yahgan* regularly occupied the southern coast of Tierra del Fuego Island from about the eastern end of Beagle Channel to Brecknock Peninsula, and the islands south of this line to Cape Horn. But they evidently wandered more widely; *Yahgan* house sites and implements have been found as far north as Elizabeth Island in the Strait of Magellan (Bird, 1938, p. 260). Between Good Success Bay and the eastern end of Beagle Channel, there was considerable

[1] [These maps have not been processed; see source 1: Business, category 116, and maps, for similar information--analyst]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SMS Yahgan SM6

FLORA

137 The northern and eastern parts of Tierra del Fuego, as we have said, are open rolling plains covered with short grass and small shrubs. South of the Río Fuego small clumps of trees surrounded by grass-lands are encountered. These clumps gradually increase in size and height until they finally form a solid forest broken only by *pantanos*, or peat-bogs, which are found in the valley bottoms and above the tree-line on the mountainsides. All the slopes of the Andes up to an elevation of 1400 feet or more, the south coast, and the nearby islands are covered by forest. And these forests

FIG. 2.—Fuegian forest. (From Alberto De Agostini, *I Miei Viaggi nella Terra del Fuoco.*)

are surprisingly dense, damp, luxuriant, and impenetrable (fig. 2). Fostered by snow-fed streams and mists, dampness encourages the growth of lichens, mosses, fungi, and orchids. Travel through virgin woods is impeded by fallen trunks, thick underbrush, and mud, but, owing to the relative absence of spiny growth, is not so disconcerting as in the tropics.

The trees and bushes of prime economic use to the Indians we list below. The various purposes to which they are put we shall discuss together with the manufacture of the articles used by the Indians. These trees and shrubs are:

B: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

TABLE I.—ECONOMICALLY IMPORTANT FLORA OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO

137

English	Spanish	Latin	Ona	Yahgan
beech	fáve	Nothofagus antarctica	char[a]	kurtóran
beech	[illegible]	Nothofagus betuloides	yáyyus	sóschi
beech[1]	[illegible]	Nothofagus pumilio	kawahtchéuk	hámo
dogwood	[illegible]	Maytenus magellanica	hafku[1]	ákku[1]
Winter's bark	canelo	Drimys winteri	chóel	ukúshta
cypress	ciprés	Libocedrus tetragona	——	——
holly	chacay	Ilex mucronata	yah[a]	gus
barberry	calafate	Berberis buxifolia	metq	ómash
barberry	calafate	Berberis ilicifolia	——	chétia
fuchsia	——	Chilianthemum amelloideum	góorrh	yéya
——	——	Embothrium coccineum	——	mú'gu
——	——	——	shéterhén	upúsh
grass	junco	Juncus magellanicus	tai	súpi
fungus	——	Cyttaria darwinii	yóken	awachiq

Although the Indians of Tierra del Fuego subsisted chiefly by hunting and fishing, they did not overlook the food value of various berries which grow on the island. Of these the most easily obtainable is the barberry, which flourishes everywhere. It is a variety different from the red-berried barberry (*Berberis vulgaris*) found in northern climes, for it looks and tastes not unlike our blueberry and makes an excellent stewed fruit. Then there is the red berry of an arbutus, similar to our cranberry in size and shape but rather tasteless; also what is locally called a "strawberry" (*Rubus geoides*) looks like a raspberry, tastes like a blend of peach and papaya, and grows half underground. 137 262

The Ona are said to collect grass-seeds (called *tai*) which they grind to a paste and eat, but this I did not see.

There are ten or more kinds of fungi on Tierra del Fuego, which, according to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1886), were eaten at various times of year by the Yahgan. Of these the most important both to the Ona and the Yahgan was a brilliant orange growth (*Cyttaria darwinii*) found on beech trees. When ripe, it is mucilaginous and rather insipid. The Yahgan still dry this fungus on rods and preserve it for winter use (fig. 3). Darwin remarks that since

[1] This tree is an evergreen.
[a] Word-borrowing is suggested by the similarity of Ona and Yahgan terms.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

137 262 the introduction of the potato to New Zealand, Tierra del Fuego is the only part of the world where cryptogamic plants form the chief vegetal diet.

However, the Fuegian Indians failed to utilise many native food plants of value, such as wild celery, two kinds of cress, wild seapink, wild parsnip, scurvy grass, and mushrooms.

[251]

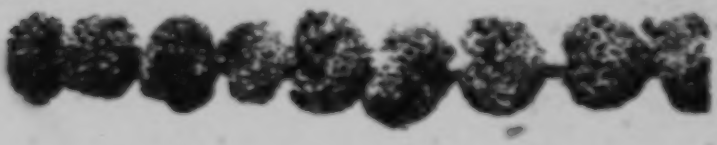


FIG. 3.—Fungi dried on a rod for winter use. Length, 8 in. (14/2279)

137 No description of the flora of Tierra del Fuego can omit mention of the gigantic kelp (*Fucus giganteus*) which almost everywhere fringes the coasts. Though the stems are not thick, they often exceed a hundred feet in length. Darwin[1] picturesquely writes: "I can only compare these great aquatic forests of the southern hemisphere with the terrestrial ones in the intertropical regions. Yet if the latter should be destroyed in any country, I do not believe that nearly so many species of animals would perish, as, under similar circumstances would happen with the kelp. Amidst the leaves of this plant numerous species of fish live, which nowhere else would find food or shelter; with their destruction the many cormorants, divers, and other fishing birds, the otters, seals, and porpoises, would soon perish also; and lastly the Fuegian savage, the miserable lord of this miserable land, would redouble his cannibal feast, decrease in numbers, and perhaps cease to exist." The kelp forms an excellent breakwater and mooring for canoes, but it is an impenetrable barrier to swimmers and has prevented many unfortunate occupants of overturned canoes from safely reaching the shore. Its appearance on the surface of the water may be seen in pl. III, top, and pl. XI, top.

FAUNA

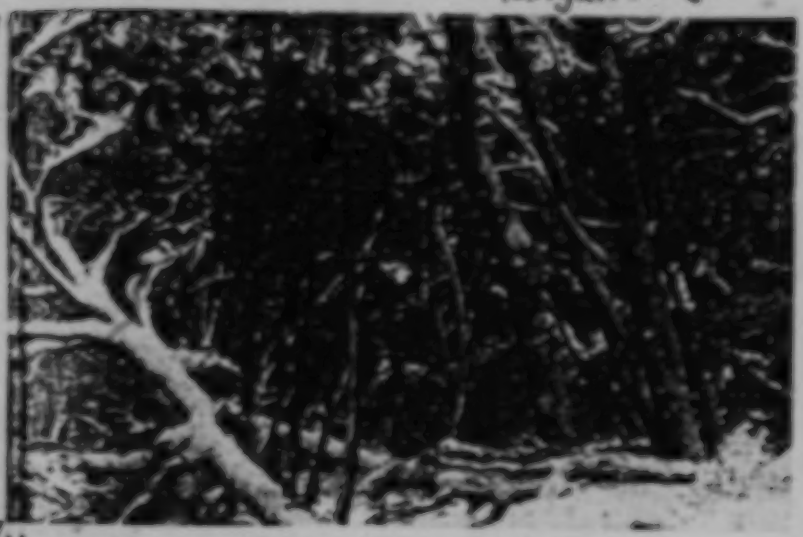
136 From the Indian point of view what made Tierra del Fuego a suitable land for habitation was the edible fauna, which in turn

[1] 1838, p. 303.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tshaalcha

Yahgan SH 6

137



797

[illegible]

[p. 160 C]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5305 Yahgan 5305

142 To casual observation the Ona impress one by their great height, their barrel-like chests, their splendidly upstanding carriage, and their patent strength and endurance (figs. 7 and 17). Their hair grows abundantly on the head, but sparsely on the face and body, from which in the old days they plucked it with a pair of mussel-shells. Their feet, ankles, hands, and wrists are surprisingly delicate in proportion to their great stature. A peculiar physical characteristic which has escaped comment is the not infrequent presence of purple-black patches like birthmarks on the skin. These may appear on any part of the body, but are especially common on the base of the neck, where an example was noted among the Yahgan. As the Indians are sensitive about such nævi, examination is difficult.

FIG. 5.—Yahgan Indians. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

141 In sharp contrast to the Ona the Yahgan are exceedingly short. Their stature approximates closely that of the Alacaluf, among whom Hyades (1891, p. 120) found an average of 157.4 for eleven men and 148.8 for six women. All visitors to Tierra del Fuego have commented on the corpulence of the Yahgan in relation to their slender legs, a characteristic attributed to long hours spent

142

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

in the cramped positions compulsory in their canoes. The eastern Yahgan, it is asserted, had better developed legs than the other groups because they hunted more frequently on shore. Like the Ona, the Yahgan had little hair on their faces and removed this growth with mussel-shell pincers. It is stated[1] that on the arrival of the French scientific expedition in 1883 the Yahgan mistook the beards of the Frenchmen for tobacco, and in that belief tried to pull them off.

We should also mention a curious Yahgan anomaly noted by Hyades and Deniker (1891, p. 163) that these Indians tended to put on fat with unusual rapidity in times of plenty, and were able to live on this reserve when food was scarce. Yahgans of age before the white settlement resulted in a less erratic food supply exhibited skin hanging in folds on underfed individuals (fig. 5). The ability to store unusual amounts of fat, most developed in modern races among the Hottentot, has been thought a survival of a hibernating stage in the development of man. Its existence in Paleolithic Europe is deduced from steatopygous figurines among the most ancient carvings produced by human hands. Anatomically, Hyades and Deniker explain this feature by long intestines coupled with a small stomach, leading to rapid and frequent digestion of small amounts of food. The Yahgan stomach was found to contain 1800 cc. as against 3700 cc. for Europeans, presumably Frenchmen, while the Yahgan intestines were six times the length of the body as compared with five times the length of the body in Europeans. These observations and conclusions, it may be mentioned, are not in accord with more recent investigations which reveal a correlation between long intestines and a vegetal diet.

We can say little about the physique of Haush and Alacaluf, the former clearly were related to the Ona, while the latter were short in stature like the Yahgan.

Turning to more exact data, in the accompanying table we give statistical constants for the Ona and the Yahgan, based on all available material. For the preparation of this table I am indebted to Prof. E. A. Hooton of Harvard University, to Mr. Walter Cline, and to Miss Barbara Clark. I am further indebted to Professor Hooton for the subjoined comment.

[1] Capt. Le Clerk in the *South American Missionary Magazine*, 1884, p. 58.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

TABLE III.—STATISTICAL CONSTANTS FOR THE ONA AND THE YAHGAN

		Number of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Coefficient of Variation	Range
Stature						
Onas	Adult Males	25	175.44 ± .66	4.71 ± .45	2.68 ± .26	168–186
Yahgans	" "	67	158.10 ± .43	5.23 ± .30	3.31 ± .19	146–169
Onas	Adult Females	34	159.26 ± .58	5.02 ± .41	3.15 ± .26	149–169
Yahgans	" "	56	147.54 ± .34	3.82 ± .24	2.59 ± .17	141–157
Head Length						
Onas	Adult Males	22	198.77 ± .51	3.57 ± .36	1.80 ± .18	193–205
Yahgans	" "	27	190.04 ± .87	6.72 ± .62	3.54 ± .32	175–207
Onas	Adult Females	30	190.37 ± .60	4.86 ± .42	2.55 ± .22	182–200
Yahgans	" "	26	180.38 ± .74	5.39 ± .52	3.10 ± .29	168–193
Head Breadth						
Onas	Adult Males	22	158.91 ± .48	3.31 ± .34	2.09 ± .21	152–164
Yahgans	" "	27	150.78 ± .64	4.95 ± .45	3.29 ± .30	145–163
Onas	Adult Females	30	153.20 ± .62	5.06 ± .44	3.30 ± .29	142–163
Yahgans	" "	26	142.46 ± .35	2.63 ± .25	1.85 ± .17	138–147
Length-breadth of head						
Onas	Adult Males	22	80.06 ± .32	2.20 ± .22	2.75 ± .28	77–85
Yahgans	" "	26	79.27 ± .37	2.78 ± .26	3.51 ± .33	74–88
Onas	Adult Females	30	80.57 ± .34	2.77 ± .24	3.43 ± .30	74–86
Yahgans	" "	26	79.04 ± .34	2.56 ± .24	3.24 ± .03	73–84
Nasal Index						
Onas	Adult Males	22	71.18 ± 1.00	6.93 ± .70	9.73 ± .99	58–84
Onas	Adult Females	30	70.30 ± .79	6.45 ± .56	9.17 ± .80	60–87
Facial Index						
Onas	Adult Males	20	85.50 ± .75	4.95 ± .53	5.78 ± .62	78–97
Onas	Adult Females	30	85.80 ± .53	4.30 ± .37	5.01 ± .44	75–91

NOTE ON THE ANTHROPOMETRIC CHARACTERS OF THE YAHGAN AND THE ONA

By Prof. E. A. Hooton

The statistical constants in the accompanying table are derived from the data of Lehmann-Nitsche and Gusinde in the case of the Ona, and from the data of Hyades and Deniker, Bove, and Hahn in the case of the Yahgan.

The difference in size between these adjacent tribes, both of which live almost exclusively on animal food, is prodigious. Twenty-five adult male Ona yield a mean stature of 175.44 cm., which is

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5366 Yahgan 5366

141 probably the highest to be found among American Indians. It is, of course, possible that the neighboring Patagonians equal this figure. On the other hand the stature of 67 adult male Yahgans is only 158.10, which ranks them among the shortest of American Indian groups. Even more remarkable than the means are the standard deviations and coefficients of variation for stature. In a series of 540 full-blood Sioux, Sullivan[1] found a standard deviation of 5.64 cm. and a coefficient of variation of 3.27 per cent. The corresponding figures are somewhat lower in the Yahgan and significantly lower in the Ona. Davenport[2] lists the standard deviations of stature for eight samples of males of military age of various nationalities. All of these standard deviations exceed 6 cm. It is then apparent that the variability of the Fuegians in stature is low.

It may also be observed from the table that the variabilities of the short Yahgan with respect to stature are somewhat higher than those of the tall Ona. The reverse is true however in the female series.

The head lengths of both groups show similar statistical features. The mean of the dimension for Ona males, 198.77 mm., is the largest known to the present writer, and the variability of this measurement is wonderfully small. The Yahgan too have long heads, but are much more variable than the Ona in this respect. Similar observations apply to the head breadth.

The means of the cephalic indices indicate a predominance of mesocephaly in both groups. The Ona show slightly higher means than the Yahgan. Here again variabilities are extraordinarily low. The Ona range in males is from 77 to 85, and the Yahgan from 74 to 88. In case of the females the ranges are: Ona 74–86; Yahgan 73–84. The variabilities of the female groups with respect to this index do not differ significantly.

Data for the nasal and total facial indices are available only for the Ona series. In both of these cases the standard deviations and variabilities are rather large. All varieties of nasal and facial proportions occur. One expects, however, to find a large measure of variability in both of these indices; first, because of the extreme difficulty in locating the nasion point from which both nasal height

[1] L. R. Sullivan, Anthropometry of the Sioux Tribes, *Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci.*, vi, no. 3, pp. 131–134, Mar. 1920.

[2] Charles B. Davenport and Albert G. Love, Army Anthropology, p. 113, 1921. *The Medical Department of the U. S. Army in the World War*, xv, Statistics, pt. I.

J: Lothrop E-9 (1924-1929) 1928
S305 Yahgan S305

and facial height are measured; second, because of age changes in the individual which affect these parts. The length of the nose increases with age and the length of the face tends to diminish with wear and loss of teeth. Nevertheless it would appear that these indices in the Ona group by their dispersion indicate a lack of homogeneity of the group when compared with the measurements and indices previously considered.

It is proposed to consider here the problem of Ona and Yahgan anthropometry only so far as deductions may be made from the accompanying table and from information as to the environmental factors which seem to be important. First of all it is apparent that the Yahgan as a group are less homogeneous than the Ona, particularly in the case of the males. How may this difference in variability be explained? The conditions of diet, occupation, climate, etc., are somewhat different from those obtaining in the case of the Ona, but presumably quite uniform for the entire Yahgan group. Indeed it would appear that the life of the Ona is much more varied than that of the adjoining tribe. The Yahgan are canoe people, but it does not seem probable that their life in boats and on the shore would tend to diversify them in physical type any more than the running life of the Ona. I think we must admit that the Yahgan owe their greater variability probably to the presence of more diverse physical types of an hereditary character than are found among the Ona. By this I mean that two or three, or more perhaps, of the various elements which have blended to form the composite "Indian" race in America, are found among the Yahgan, whereas in the Ona we have to deal either with a single type or with a group in which one single type overwhelmingly predominates.

In a "refuge" area one may expect to find all sorts of samples of the weaker and more primitive populations which have, from time to time, inhabited the continent. These odds-and-ends are likely to have been reduced to a certain homogeneity through isolation which brings about interbreeding and through selection. Both of these factors are notably operative in Tierra del Fuego. I think that it is an assumption justified by the evidence that the earliest inhabitants of the New World were short dolichocephals and that these were followed by short brachycephals. Among the Yahgan we have a fusion of two such elements, just as we have, to cite another instance, in Pueblo peoples of southwestern United States.

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] carve an shelter for a night or for a few days. Clothing, ornaments, [illegible] and household furnishings could scarcely be scanter or more modest. Weapons and implements in their very simplicity, which is striking, give evidence of much inventive intelligence. Wherever a person needs, he knows how to make and to obtain. In the matter of providing for his subsistence, everyone is on his own and /[illegible]/ a master of his environment. Trades have not developed, and the fundamental equality of all persons has likewise prevented the rise of social stratification. One and the same justice applies to all. Everyone enjoys complete independence from others, which is why only the uniformity of customs and habits, language, and social characteristics provides the outer and inner bond that unites all the Tamana into an ethnic entity.

The Tamana way of life as water nomads has without doubt contributed somewhat to the peculiar shape of their bodies. To what extent this is an advantage to them cannot be discussed here. Their small stature is all the more conspicuous since their neighbors, the Sali'tsan, together with the Tehuelche on the mainland, have the tallest stature among all South American Indians. Our Tamana, however, are not only small, but in addition to this they are not very symmetrically developed (p. 114 /unmodified/). A broad, turdy body with astonishingly strong musculature on the chest and arms rests on weak, thin legs. Excessive breadth is much more noticeable among the women than among the men, and among the former we come across plump figures much more often than among the latter. A total lack of simple grooming, generally coarse features, their perplexed facial expression, and unkempt hair complete the unpromising picture of the Tamana Indians. Almost all European travelers, not without ample reason, have expressed thoroughly unfavorable judgments about the physique of our natives (p. 114 /unmodified/). Undeniably, however, they enjoy abundant health and have an unbelievable resistance which enables them to overcome all the hardships of their frosty home and has secured the undiminished countenance of their people for centuries. True, the Tamana will always be the loser in a contest with other social groups for physical beauty, but the suitability of his body for the rigors of his way of life and the unfavorableness of his environment is unrivaled. In many respects he is well adapted to his home.

/420 cont./

136 Europeans it has been replaced by a larger, gray one. Despite
515 their unmistakably lesser degree of sensitivity, the Indians find this vermin a torture. A mother will sympathetically pick lice from her child, crushing them between her fingernails or teeth (97).

97. Hyades (q):348 briefly mentions "the hunt for parasites (Pediculi capitis) to which they devote themselves in their moments of leisure" /translated from French/.

No one minds having his neighbor restlessly scratch his head. In the long, quiet intervals beside the evening fire in the hut these sounds, produced by first one and then another of those present, are a frequent /421/ interruption. The individual gets no relief, however, in spite of all his scratching, and they hardly ever lose patience throughout this torture.

In the last decades the clothes louse (Pediculus vestimentorum)
[177] has also spread throughout the region, introduced by Europeans. The older people do not recall this pest; the general conditions for its development were poor in any case. When a person removes his clothing -- nowadays everyone wears only European clothing -- the well-known traces of lice are revealed all over his body. These people are constantly scratching their bodies. I cannot say whether Pediculus pubis is present, but this species also is probably not entirely absent.

[142] The head hair of the Yamana is naturally black, stiff,
302 and thick. Although it is liberally greased with blubber, dirt and lice prevent it from ever being soft and attractively shiny. It grows moderately long, and among women it reaches about to their shoulders, which is why it does not lend itself to a particular type of coiffure. Everyone wears his hair open and loose; it lies on their head in thick strands. Some women cut the hair on their forehead at their eyebrows (98). Occasionally, if a person does

98. Hyades (q):330 speaks of "hair cut in front 'dog fashion'" /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):194 expresses himself in more general terms.

/421 cont./

302 not want to be bothered with it, he ties a narrow strap, a tendon, or a few skins of snakes around his head to hold it. A man even uses his sling for this purpose. If women bend their heads, the hair falls forward and covers the whole face, but they never thought of pushing it aside. Rove (c):157 wrote: "Men and women wear very long hair that falls to their shoulders; only a few fasten it with a leather band. Most of them, however, let it grow so wild that both sexes look more like furies than human beings."

The men like to shorten their hair. That is the only difference in the so-called hair style of the two sexes. They use a [412] flat mussel shell, spread a small tuft of hair on it, and draw a sharp-edged shell over it in a sawing motion until the ends fall off. Then they take the next tuft, until they have done the whole head in this fashion. It cannot be helped that the hair-cutter grows tired; the other must endure much plucking and pulling, and the whole job is very irregular.

Modest grooming of the hair is not entirely lacking, however, Despard /422/ learned from an Indian that "only women [412] use oil to make fine hair; then comb very smooth with porpoise jaw" (VP:VI, 55; 1858) /cited in English/. Both sexes alike regard the secondary body hair as ugly and in bad taste. For this reason men pluck their sparse beard hair, and all adults their underarm and pubic hair, with their fingernails or with two shells that fit one on top of the other. Older people become careless [172] about this. In most recent times the men let their beards grow, in order to be like Europeans. Now one can easily see that they ● /42 do not produce more than isolated hairs on the lip and chin (99).
302

99. In this connection Rove (c):126 says that "the men, besides being beardless, habitually pull out the little beard hair that they have, and the two sexes have no hair of any kind on the body" /translated from Spanish/. Lovisato (b):129 agrees. Fitz-Roy (a):175 had mentioned: "They would have a straggling beard, but scrupulously pull out every hair with tweezers made of muscle-shells" /cited in English/. According to Despard (VP:IV, 185; 1857)

/726 cont./

847 cry from under the ground for some time, but finally it stopped.
845 Although Walter's wife herself did not divulge any details about
the incident, her attendants on that occasion apparently gossiped
626 about it. Since then she has not been safe from silent, but clearly noticeable reproaches from other women who severely condemned her action. Only a few of her friends sympathize with her about her misfortune. Everything points to the fact that the Yamana never approve of infanticide and severely condemn the malefactor.

6. Child Statistics

•163 Through a regrettable error Martial:198 made the statement that "one rarely sees families with a large number of children" /translated from French/. Other members of the Mission Scientifique convincingly contradict him. In reality, Fuegian families commonly have many children. Usually the Indian girl becomes a mother as early as her sixteenth year. Accurate counts are impossible because of the resistance of adults who refuse to speak about deceased children (161). Bridges (MM:XVIII, 223;1884)

161. Hyades (q):189 also encountered this difficulty.

repeatedly tried to determine accurately the population of the Yamana, for example, in June, 1884, but he could not find out the total number of children in each family.

We have a certain gauge in the observations of Hyades (q):189 in the region around Orange Bay in 1882, that is to say, at a time when the population had already been noticeably influenced by the Anglican missionaries. Among eight women from 35 to 60 years old he counted a total of 18 living children, namely, eleven girls and seven boys; among eight women from 25 to 30 years old there were again 18 living /727/ children, ten boys and eight girls. The sources of error in these data are so obvious that any comment is superfluous. Hyades was well aware of them and did not fail to point out a 50-year-old Fuegian woman who had given birth to 14 children; a 45-year-old woman was the mother of nine, and

/727 cont./

•163 another was the mother of ten children; finally there was a 38-year-old woman who had seven children. Although at the time of my journeys one was obliged to regard the entire race as deteriorating, some of the few surviving families nevertheless had many children. Walter, whose first and only wife was still living, kept a total of eleven children alive, and Felipe, whose wife was only 30 years old at the time of my count in May, 1923, was happy to have more than seven children (162).

162. It is only in Outes (g):55 that we come across the isolated statement: "The Fuegians do not have many offspring; it is very rare to have five, and generally they have no more than two" /translated from Spanish/. These are probably figures for the living children in each family, but even so they are wrong. Moreover, one should realize that parents never speak of their deceased children in front of strangers.

Mindful of the enormous difficulties involved, I believe that I must give at least six as the average number of children in a Fuegian family. Hahn (a):605 gives five (163). Hyades (q):189

163. I arrived at my figure independently of him and realized afterwards that it came close to his. He says: "The least number of children is five. I have, however, seen many old women who had as many as ten children" /translated from French/.

also ventured an estimate and was content with the number four, but he could scarcely have inquired specifically about the number of children in many families, or else, for the reason given above, he was not told the whole truth about deceased children. Bove (e):158 is not very reliable, although he correctly emphasizes the great fertility of Indian women (164). In Tierra del Fuego a large

164. He writes: "Moreover, the women are very fertile; seven or eight children are the

/727 cont./

163 average, but one not infrequently finds young women who already have ten or twelve."

brood of children is always a recommendation for the parents; no one would venture to make sarcastic remarks about supposed incontinence in sexual life. In general the children of a couple follow one another at brief intervals (165).

165. Obviously Martial:198 exaggerates with his remark that "children are often born after long intervals" /translated from French/. He was probably influenced by Bridges (a):202 whose assertion, "few women have more than six children, owing to the great length of time between the several births" /cited in English/, is wrong on both counts.

165 Although the fertility of Fuegian marriages is amazing, it is counteracted by a frighteningly high infant mortality. The reasons are not as easy to determine as the facts themselves. Why, in view of the high birth rate, the population has remained the same as in former centuries raises the question as to the specific nature of the agreement in numbers. It is brought about by the mortality of many young /728/ people. During their first year of life children seldom die, but all the more soon after, and it is only at the age of puberty that the mortality rate again sharply decreases. Bove (e):158 is right when he says: "Mortality between the ages of two and ten is enormous." The following figures will confirm in general what I have said. Each of the two groups of eight women from around Orange Bay just referred to (p. 531) had a total of only 18 living children. This, reduced to an average per family, is too little to keep the race alive. Hence there is no doubt that, in view of the well-known fertility of Indian women, a rather large number of children from those families must have died. To document this we give a few data which Hyades (q):189 likewise gives: "A Fuegian woman 50 years old had had 14 children, only three of whom had not died prematurely. Another woman 45 years old had had nine children, eight dead at an early age" /translated from French/. By way of contrast, however, he also mentions the

/575 cont./
261 days of need are over, they recover /576/ surprisingly fast; serious after-effects or a weakening of their health scarcely ever appear. Habit has taught them how best to overcome the brief periods of hunger without harm.

262 Ever since the Yamana have had easy access to the various
439 farms, they have bartered there for all kinds of European food and luxuries, such as sugar and wine, coffee and tea, onions, canned tomatoes, and other things. They also acquired cooking pots, in which they prepare our foods so that they are reasonably tasty. This strange diet, however, is not good for their health. [144] Besides toothache, other physical ailments appear, which the people in olden times were fortunately spared despite all kinds of deprivations.

2. How They Divide the Booty

225 We must insert here a few data about the way in which larger pieces of game are used. On the one hand we shall mention obligations of a social nature, for which we shall later give more detailed reasons. On the other hand, the receipt of a gift cannot be compared with ordinary food-getting. Since, however, in the case of the most important animals hunted, namely, seals and whales, there is a definite obligation to let others share it, we shall most conveniently describe here the prevailing custom.

Every local group greets with indescribable rejoicing a whale that has been driven inland or deposited on the beach. Dense swarms of sea birds announce this extraordinary gift of nature. According to the general conception, any man who has first seen or touched the whale is the owner of it, not, however, in the sense that he alone may eat of this animal, the enormous masses of which he would, in any case, be incapable of coping with, but only insofar as it is up to him to arrange an orderly distribution (347).

347. From an earlier period when whales were still plentiful Bridges (a):208 reported: "Certain persons, those who first found the whale, have the right to distribute it" /cited in English/.

/589 cont./

264 574 regard him as moderate and slow. Modest and contented reserve is very much praised (366). When several people are together,

366. Earlier Despard (b):680 mentioned that the Yamana "hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'smalleater' " /cited in English/.

they watch each other; the one who acts as though he would rather not eat a thing makes the best impression. Within the narrower family circle people are emphatically warned of mistakes of this nature in the presence of a stranded whale, for now there is great danger that someone will let himself go too far, given this favorable opportunity. In all this there is probably also an unconscious warning against damaging one's own health. It has been proved that the human stomach does not tolerate the great amounts of fat that are suddenly offered it. It is necessary to become somewhat accustomed to it (367). There is another

367. Bridges (MM:IX, 13;1875), on April 20, 1874, observed the ravenous appetite of several families: "The natives have suffered much temporary pain from eating the whale, and I hear that this is usual at first, but passes off with the continued use of whale-meat" /cited in English/. Thus a certain habituation is necessary for a normal digestion when large amounts of fat are eaten.

danger. Whale fat is considered tastier the longer the animal has lain dead in the water; it then melts by itself and is known as dégalëx in this state. Not infrequently there is serious poison-

164 262 ing when such putrified fat and meat are eaten, as missionaries have repeatedly reported.

For example, we have the following description by Lawrence, dated March 25, 1887 (MM:XXI, 173;1887): "A canoe brought

/589 cont./

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[to Ushuaia] the sad intelligence of several Yahgans and Ona Indians being poisoned from eating fish...(368). The melancholy

368. From data given below we realize that a whale is meant.

disaster having taken place among the natives now engaged by Mr. Bridges upon the farm [in Puerto Haberton]" /cited in English/. Lawrence went there personally (369). "We found the

369. Later Lothrop (b):186 more precisely determined the place where this whale was deposited as the northern edge of Bahía Cambaceres.

people still suffering from the effects of poison. Nineteen men, women and children (Ona and Yahgans) had died during the past week, the others were slowly recovering" /cited in English/. Lawrence saw the hopeless condition of those people. "Arriving at the place, we found them scattered about; three men and several children were lying in a very weak state; two of the former were unconscious most of the time...We went a little farther and found the lifeless body of a man who had apparently died /590/ about two days before...Near the body of the man we found in different places five dogs which had died from the same cause. We also found in another place part of the body of another man, the rest having been destroyed by two dogs...I will now give a few particulars of the circumstances. About a fortnight ago a canoe arrived at Down-east, and brought the report that a small whale had been found in Picton Island. They went over in Mr. Bridges' boat, and found parts of it, lying on the beach, which they brought back, and having some doubts about its quality, at first hesitated to eat it, but afterwards were persuaded by the Ona saying they had eaten such before. All who were there having taken a little, felt very unwell on the morrow, and gradually became worse, and in a few days those whom we suppose had eaten more than others succumbed...[Others] suppose it to have been a sword fish [a Drescher /Orca magellanica/; p. 37 /untranslated/]. It was about seven feet long. I have also been informed that of

/590 cont./

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late years they have not made use of such, having previously understood it was injurious" /cited in English/.

A similar case, soon after, created no less serious disorder, and Burleigh wrote about it on December 26, 1888 (MM:XXIII, 98;1889): "Numbers of people were suddenly striken down with blood-poisoning through eating rotten blackfish (370). The wigwams were in a terrible state -- men, women and children lying about as helpless as infants, unable to keep anything on their stomachs on account of their disordered condition. Two old doctors, fully powdered and dressed in their feathers (otherwise naked), went from case to case, and would now and again pause in their performance of rubbing and yelling at their patients. I administered emetics and other medicines and gave much relief. Most of the cases yielded to steady treatment, but in three families fever followed. Death followed in one case only" /cited in English/. According to this, the Yamana were sometimes in danger of being poisoned when they unwisely ate the fat of large mammals, not only of whales, but of seals also, which had been dead for some time (371). Faced with these large animals, our Indians seem at times to abandon the strict self-discipline of which

370. This probably simply means a whale.

371. On December 20, 1875, Bridges (MM:X, 81;1876) wrote: "These natives will readily eat animals and birds that have died of themselves, and to this fact is owing much of the mortality among them. Thus Jaminaze some time ago came across a dead seal. He brought it here, made a general distribution, and on the second day it had all been eaten. It made the people smell disagreeably; it was very foul" /cited in English/. He is obviously mistaken when he maintains that the Yamana also eat birds that have died by themselves.

262 /590 cont./
164 they are capable in other circumstances.

Every traveler has frequent and ready opportunity to observe
264 their conduct while eating. It is anything but beautiful. Usually
252 the individual squats beside the fire and waits until the piece of meat in the embers or ashes is done. He takes it out with a little stick, lets it cool a bit on stones or bits of brush lying about, and picks it up with /591/ both fists. Sometimes the piece is still so hot that he cannot hold it. Even so, he tears off large bites with his strong teeth and swallows them without ostensibly chewing. From a large roast the pieces are torn off more than bitten off and swallowed in sizable chunks. Strangely enough, the Yamana chews very little. This applies also to the sometimes tough meat of birds. He quickly swallows hot morsels that he cannot keep in his mouth and following them sometimes takes a swallow of water or a small lump of snow (372). Since they

372. The Selk'nam have the same habit (Vol. I, 297).

quickly put the too hot morsel into their mouths, they constantly make a sucking sound while they move it around in their mouths.

When the mussels that were shoved onto the embers are done, they burst open by themselves. They are fished out with a little stick and allowed to cool a bit on the ground. Then in one hand the Indian takes the shell to which the meat adheres, holds it horizontally, breaks off the empty shell with his other hand, and with his fingers tears out the meat which he immediately pops into his mouth. Finally he holds the flat mussel shell itself to his lips, since the drops accumulated in it are very tasty, and sucks them in noisily. Snail shells are broken into pieces with a handy stone to expose the roasted contents, and the same is done with the calcareous covering of the tasty sea acorn, lépa (Balanus psittacus).

Blubber sausages and the less common blood sausages are opened at one end, held up to the mouth, and the contents fall in. They place baked fish on the trampled earth and separate them with their fingers, the thumb nails used chiefly. The large crabs, axíya (Lithodes antarctica), as well as stekálus (Paralomis

/728 cont./

165 fact that "one woman 38 years old had had seven children, of whom only one had died prematurely" /translated from French/. The most striking case that I can report from recent times is the fate of Walter's children; out of a total of eleven, only two are living.

As we have said, however, it is difficult to understand the reasons for the abnormal infant mortality (166). In any case the

[164 177]

166. The explanations offered by Bridges (a):202 are not very useful. He merely establishes that "few women save all their children; most die in early infancy: a disease in the throat carries many off" /cited in English/. This vague reference to a throat ailment makes us think of diphtheria which was imported by Europeans.

assumption is justified that natural feeding at the mother's breast in the first year of life is a super guarantee of keeping the child alive than the food children eat from the second to the tenth year. During these years food seems to me far more important for the child than external protection, care, and clothing. A child that has reached the eleventh year has acquired enough physical resistance to go on living; weaklings have been eliminated by that time.

842 A reference to the barrenness of Fuegian woman is in order here. Formerly it was certainly an extremely rare occurrence (167),

167. Hyades (q):188 also represents the view that "sterility is doubtless rare among the Fuegians; we have seen no case of a woman under 25 years old who was sterile" /translated from French/.

and various informants, among them the aged Reverend John Lawrence, could not tell me of any women, except Flora and Gertie, who were childless. If there are no children in a marriage, the woman is regarded as defective. The childless husband, matúma gennakuwa, takes another woman who without doubt will give him

/729 cont./

145 in life. They are familiar with this phenomenon, and they are quietly resigned to what is in store for them. A few older Indian women said that the change of life caused them and other women scarcely any difficulties worth mentioning. It is not strange that •144 female diseases were completely unknown to the Yamana of olden times. For a while Nelly Lawrence suffered from a very painful prolapse of the womb (prolapsus uteri). When the attack was over, she emphatically expressed to me her absolute conviction that this condition had hitherto not troubled any woman and that she was the first to suffer from it.

7. Naming

551 For reasons we shall soon mention any festivity or ceremony on the occasion of giving a child a name is superfluous. Every Yamana, without exception, has a proper name, and in addition, most of them also have a personal nickname. Very definite mention of this double naming customary among the Yamana is found in Hyades (q):376 and in Outes (g):55: "A child is given the name of his birthplace or of the peculiarities that distinguish him" /translated from Spanish/ (169). The most important, of course,

169. Bridges (a):182 mentions a third kind, namely, "family names, handed down from generation to generation, from father to the eldest son. These kinds of names, generally have no meaning" /cited in English/. See footnote 174 below and Bridges (h):207.

is the actual proper name (170).

170. This should be especially emphasized as opposed to Despard (b):698, who reverses the order when he says: "Besides a proper name, a man will have one in memory of his birth-place" /cited in English/.

/730/ It is not hard to choose a proper name, for it is taken from the place where the child was born, and it is given the proper

/1456 cont./

147 Our Fuegians are anything but complaining. They bear physical pain with courageous patience; their feeling of pain is by far not as acute as that of Europeans. Compare Hyades (p): 328. The very first missionaries, Despard (b):698 and Bridges (a):202, mentioned the most common ailments, and Hyades (f): 580 and (q):222 gave an accurate list. I am able to give a few supplementary data from my own observations. The most frequent are regular accidents, namely, burns and wounds (361).

• 164

361. Burleigh is absolutely right when he declares: "To meet a person of mature age who has not received an injury in some form or other, either violence or accident, is a rare occurrence" /cited in English/ (MM:XXV, 23;1891). What Hyades (f):585 says is pertinent in this connection: "It is probable that accidents and injuries carry off a large number of natives, for they do not give any care to the injured" /translated from French/.

Persons of all ages complain of headaches, lēkāpi-sēx a great deal. Rheumatism, akutarīāna or akutaxēlla, is a common ailment, but its acute form is rare. The first designation probably corresponds to akūtāsāna, "to chop off" /cited in English/, in BD:18. Gout affects an individual limb for many people, but it soon passes. The respiratory organs are rarely affected by bronchitis and only in quite exceptional cases by pneumonia and pleurisy. Ailments of this kind are called ĕemōina-sēx, that is, "stabs, pains in the chest" (p.1079). Older /1457/ persons frequently cough. Abdominal diseases are rare; instead, there are a great many digestive disorders, chiefly diarrhea caused by immoderate eating or spoiled meat. Eczema and other slight skin troubles are more frequently seen; they usually heal within a short time. It is obvious that untended wounds lead to phlegmon and gangrene. Hyades (f):581 declares: "I have not had to see a single cancerous disease" /translated from French/. It is also true that originally the Yamana were free of syphilis, gonorrhea, and all forms of tuberculosis. Most people suffer from inflammation of the eyes

/1457 cont./

164 because they are constantly exposed to smoke from the hut fire. Mental disorders occur very rarely, but "idiocy is unknown" /translated from French/, as Hyades (p):339 asserts. Many an aged person suffers from impaired hearing, ufkir'tāwa. Infectious general diseases, actual epidemics, lēkhāja, lēmāja, did not occur before there was contact with Europeans.

759 Thus our Yamana suffered very little from disease. This was especially advantageous because effective remedies are totally lacking in their country (362). They try to alleviate the

362. This has been confirmed a number of times. Fitz-Roy(a):186 writes: "When ill, however seriously, they know of no remedies but rubbing the body with oil, drinking cold water, and causing perspiration by lying near the fire, wrapped up in skins" /cited in English/. Despard (b):698 asserts: "Remedies are simple indeed; they burn the part where pain is felt, or produce counter-irritation by whipping with stinging nettles" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (f):585, "the Fuegians do not know any medicines" /translated from French/. Finally, Aspinall:270 says briefly: "The art of medicine is limited to rubbing and the infusion of a few roots."

pain or ailment with procedures recommended by general health care. For some reason they expect great results when they are unwell by totally abstaining from food for a whole day. As Bridges (i):19 also declares, everyone expects that this will even bring "good health and efficiency in hunting" /cited in English/. For this reason a hunter considers it beneath his dignity to take refreshment with him when he goes hunting. A sick person sits huddled up in his hut, remains notionless, and lets the warmth of the hut fire have its effect on him. When he requests something, a member of the family hands him what he wants. The Yamana often recommend perspiring; the sick person is placed beside the fire and covered with many skins. Blubber is often used: for rheumatism, the affected part of the body is rubbed with it; for

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 culture. If this large and expensive monograph is not accessible, the following more important papers may be consulted: Gusinde (1921–22, 1924, 1925 a, 1925 c, 1926 a, 1926 c, 1927, 1928 b, 1929); Koppers (1925 a, 1925 b, 1926 a, 1926 b, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b).

For bibliographies of the *Yahgan* see: Cooper (1917), for sources, with comments on each, to 1917; Lothrop (1928), for sources from 1917 to 1928; Gusinde (1937), for selected and added sources, and for evaluations (pp. 48–161) of the publications of the more important first-hand observers.

19 **Language.**—The *Yahgan* language with its five mutually intelligible dialects constitutes a distinct linguistic family, with no known relationship to any other. The elder Bridges' *Yámana*-English dictionary, the one completed in 1879, contains about 22,000 words, a carefully restricted, not a padded, list, as he himself emphasized (1933, p. xvii). *Yahgan*, in contrast to *Ona*, is markedly euphonic. [114] There were no words for numerals beyond three, and none for fractions.

161 **Population.**—According to our first dependable estimates, the *Yahgan* population, in the third quarter of the 19th century, totaled between 2,500 and 3,000 souls. In 1881 a sharp decline set in. By 1884 numbers had dwindled to about 1,000; by 1886, to 400; by 1890, to 300; by 1902, to 130; by 1913, to less than 100; by 1923 to 40. The [164] immediate causes of the sudden drop in the eighties were the respiratory diseases and a severe outbreak of measles in 1884, followed by epidemics of typhoid, whooping-cough, and smallpox. Syphilis does not appear to have played an important role. Contributory, or rather [179] basic predisposing, factors were, it seems, the then introduced European ways of life, especially the clothing, but also the food, alcoholic beverages, and type of shelter and work.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

231 **Foods.**—The *Yahgan* had no domesticated plants, and no domesti- [231] cated animals except the dog. Whether the earlier pre-Columbian and post-Columbian *Yahgan* had dogs is uncertain. No bones of dogs have been found in early archeological sites in *Yahgan* or other Fuegian territory. The earlier explorers,—L'Hermite, 1624; d'Arquistade, 1715—make no mention of the dog in their descriptions of *Yahgan* culture, as none is made of it among the *Alacaluf* by the 13 accounts of them prior to Narbrough's of 1670. The dog was first recorded among the *Yahgan* in 1832 by James Weddell; it is recorded consistently thereafter by later observers (Cooper, 1917, pp. [235] 186–187). Dogs were not eaten.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S316 Yahgan S316

The Ona and the Haush spoke related dialects and occupied the interior of the main island of Tierra del Fuego; they are often called the Foot Indians because of their manner of living. The Yahgan frequented the south coast of the main island and the islands to the south; the Alacaluf formerly lived at the western end of the Straits of Magellan but have moved northward to Racón sound. The habitat of each tribe as it was half a century ago is shown in pl. IV. 101

No census of the indigenous population in the old days was ever taken, but from several different estimates the numbers of each tribe seventy-five years ago were approximately: 161

Ona,	3600	Yahgan,	2800–3000
Haush,	300	Alacaluf,	3500–4000

Since at least half of the Alacaluf lived north of the Straits of Magellan, the total native population of Tierra del Fuego and the adjacent islands can scarcely have been more than 9000.

At the time of the writer's visit (1924–25) the Indian population, including mixed-bloods, was approximately:

Ona,	60–70	Yahgan,	40–50
Haush,	2– 3	Alacaluf,	150

Of the Alacaluf only two were seen south of the Straits of Magellan, as they now live far to the north, for the greater part in the vicinity of Racón sound. The figure for their numbers is the estimate of the Rev. John Williams of Punta Arenas.

Later in the same year (1925) an epidemic of measles ravaged Tierra del Fuego. What happened to the Yahgan I do not know, but Mr. William Bridges wrote me that more than twenty adult Ona and an unknown number of children had died. With the exception of a few mixed-bloods the Indians of Tierra del Fuego are probably extinct. [164]

Because the writer saw little of the Alacaluf and Haush, it is principally of the Ona and Yahgan we shall speak below. Before beginning a detailed description we shall discuss their environment and physical peculiarities, and shall list the features of their culture.

CLIMATE

Tierra del Fuego lies between 53° and 56° south latitude, corresponding to the position in the northern hemisphere of the Aleutian islands, southern Labrador, or the central part of Great Britain. 132

/718 cont./

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dangling on their backs; and only supported by holding them by their wrists in front of them" /cited in English/.

leather, the sides of which are about 40 centimeters long, with short straps knotted to the four corners. After she has lifted the child onto her back, she places this piece over it and ties the straps in front of her chest. When she straightens up, the child sits securely and lets his legs dangle down on either side of her, encircling her neck with his little arms.

The child must, of course, submit to all the effects of the weather (147), although in heavy rain and strong wind the mother

147. Hyades (f):572 expresses his astonishment thus: "The Fuegian babies are never clothed. Thus they brave the inclemencies of the weather, uniquely protected by contact with the mother's warmth" /translated from French/.

remains in the hut as much as possible. Thus, the children, from the first days of their lives, become accustomed to the rigors and severities of their homeland. Nevertheless, it is striking that children under a year old rarely die (148). Perhaps the babies' freedom

[165]

148. Bridges (a):181 confirms: "It is a general custom with these people to bear their children out of doors, be the weather fine or inclement, even though it is snowing or raining, in winter and summer" /cited in English/. Compare Lovisato (b):146.

of movement is advantageous. As we have said, they are permitted to crawl about on the ground for many hours, completely naked and quite unimpeded, or they may lie on their backs kicking merrily as long as they like. On the canoe trip, however, they must forgo this. Any kind of baby carriage is unknown to the Yamana; it would be useless, since during the day the children spend a great deal of time in the fragile vessel.

854 145

Just as on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 376), the babies of the entire

/727 cont./

163 average, but one not infrequently finds young women who already have ten or twelve."

brood of children is always a recommendation for the parents; no one would venture to make sarcastic remarks about supposed incontinence in sexual life. In general the children of a couple follow one another at brief intervals (165).

165. Obviously Martial:198 exaggerates with his remark that "children are often born after long intervals" /translated from French/. He was probably influenced by Bridges (s):202 whose assertion, "few women have more than six children, owing to the great length of time between the several births" /cited in English/, is wrong on both counts.

•165 Although the fertility of Fuegian marriages is amazing, it is counteracted by a frighteningly high infant mortality. The reasons are not as easy to determine as the facts themselves. Why, in view of the high birth rate, the population has remained the same as in former centuries raises the question as to the specific nature of the agreement in numbers. It is brought about by the mortality of many young /728/ people. During their first year of life children seldom die, but all the more soon after, and it is only at the age of puberty that the mortality rate again sharply decreases. Bove (e):158 is right when he says: "Mortality between the ages of two and ten is enormous." The following figures will confirm in general what I have said. Each of the two groups of eight women from around Orange Bay just referred to (p. 531) had a total of only 18 living children. This, reduced to an average per family, is too little to keep the race alive. Hence there is no doubt that, in view of the well-known fertility of Indian women, a rather large number of children from those families must have died. To document this we give a few data which Hyades (q):189 likewise gives: "A Fuegian woman 50 years old had had 14 children, only three of whom had not died prematurely. Another woman 45 years old had had nine children, eight dead at an early age" /translated from French/. By way of contrast, however, he also mentions the

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•165 fact that "one woman 38 years old had had seven children, of whom only one had died prematurely" /translated from French/. The most striking case that I can report from recent times is the fate of Walter's children; out of a total of eleven, only two are living.

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and various informants, among them the aged Reverend John Lawrence, could not tell me of any women, except Flora and Gertie, who were childless. If there are no children in a marriage, the woman is regarded as defective. The childless husband, [illegible] [illegible], takes another woman who without doubt will give him

/1181 cont./

1. Death

761 The Fuegian faces all uncertainty with astonishing equanimity and quiet self-control. He is able /1192/ to await death with open eyes, without fear and alarm. Hyades (p).328 expresses himself conservatively and merely says: "They have little fear of death" /translated from French/, but this is admiring too much. Bridges (1).14 expresses himself more accurately: "They feared death because of the suffering and misery attending it and because it was the end of life" /tried in English/. Certainly, everyone clings to life and loves it very much, for that reason also the threats of Watanaiwa of an untimely death have a sure effect on the individual's conduct. As soon as he sees there is no escape, however, he submits at once without complaint. One never hears a person regretting that he must depart from this life, although he knows nothing about the new form of existence which he is entering.

165 761 [73] In earlier centuries, as in most recent times, almost all Yamana died a natural death. Fatal accidents were exceptions and murder even more so. It has been shown that epidemics have wrought havoc in the Indian population only since their closer association with Europeans. Except for children's deaths, the greater majority of Yamana succumb to old age. "Old people die because they are old!" Although in this case the Indians place more emphasis on the natural process as something they take for granted, nevertheless they do not completely forget that Watanaiwa causes death.

763 The indications of approaching death usually appear suddenly. If a person feels his strength leaving him, he stretches out on his miserable pallet and informs those present of his condition. They immediately take it into account, and from then on the nearest relatives stay close to him in order to observe the course of events. In such a situation death usually follows within a few hours. Strangely enough they make no effort to relieve the dying person by attending him, but squat around the fire, apparently quite indifferent. The person himself does not want or demand anything, for he rapidly becomes weaker. Actually the people present are waiting for a quick end and do not watch the dying one closely because they know they cannot help him. When the

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/375 cont./
opposite each other." On his first journey he was accompanied by the botanist Spegazzini (a):163, who became acquainted with only part of a region and who saw Indian dwellings "hemispherical in form" /translated from Italian/. His other companion, Lovisato (b):133, also speaks only of a single form of hut in which "the branches of trees are set into the ground and bent over to form a dome with other branches intertwined..." /translated from Italian/. Thus, we see that even in the reports of these three men who traveled in this region simultaneously there are obvious contradictions.

conical construction a result of the iron ax introduced there. The tools of their ancestors required great effort to fell trees as thick as an arm and to cut the heavy posts required for the framework of this more stable hut. When the last Yamana, to whom the iron ax quickly became indispensable, were restricted to the middle and eastern regions, the dome-shaped hut mĕrana completely disappeared, so to speak, and only the cone-shaped hut, gŭlĕkĕr, remained as a dwelling.

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If we glance at the two neighboring tribes, we find that only the dome-shaped hut appears in the region of the Halakwulup /Alacaluf/ where the weather and the landscape are the same as in the rainy western Yamana zone, whereas in the southern part of Isla Grande the Selk'nam, the neighbors of the eastern Yamana, build only the cone-shaped hut (17).

17. I have discussed the plausibility of a modification of the hut form under the influence of the European iron ax among the northern Selk'nam (Vol. I, 198).

a. The Cone-Shaped Hut

342

In earlier, as well as in more recent times, the individual family built a looser or more stable construction, depending on whether

/400 cont./

291 everywhere soon has a destructive effect. Everything, however,
281 testifies to a far-reaching modesty in their demands and to the complete self-sufficiency of these natives, which surprises every observer.

291 It is worth emphasizing that the amount of clothing as such does not always offer the best and most healthful protection for the body. In any case, however, the consequences are disastrous, for
[177] any people when their arrangements, which have for centuries proved serviceable, are forcefully suppressed or put aside by mistaken judges who have come from different conditions of life (65).

65. In this connection see page 315 /untranslated/ on the many disadvantages that developed for the Yamana when they adopted European clothing at the mission station and afterwards.

291 It is instructively stimulating to compare the customary
171 dress of the Yamana with that of their neighbors on either side. The Halakwulup in the west, in the same climatic conditions and like economic circumstances, have exactly the same body covering as the Yamana. The Selk'nam, on the other hand, living in a country with less precipitation, travel by day and do not make an open fire until evening to protect themselves for the cold night. They do not rub as much fat onto their bodies, but instead wrap themselves in a wide, well-fitting cloak of soft guanaco leather. Since they have less chance to remain beside an open fire, they seek a substitute in a warmer piece of clothing. This proves how intelligently and sensitively every tribe has chosen what is most serviceable and advantageous from among the few possibilities offered by its environment.

291 If we regard as body covering the inconsequential piece of leather that the Yamana hang around themselves, Lothrop:121 is right when he says: "It is no exaggeration to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in /401/ the world" /cited in English/. Anything less in the way of body protection than the Yamana have in their frosty Cape Horn region cannot be imagined.

/413 cont./

281 hard that the sticks of the frame can be removed (88).

•[171] 88. This basketwork frame for stretching skins is quite as simple and made after the same pattern as that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, p. 210, and Fig. 21). Some time ago Despard spoke of a preparation of "skins by streching /sic/ them in wooden frames, till quite dry; then scraping and rubbing with stones, till soft and smooth, and white inside" (VP:VI, 86; 1859) /cited in English/. This procedure is ancient and familiar also to the Halakwulup.

/414/ The procedure is the same for stretching and drying the skins of the fox and the otter, but the work is easier because these skins are lighter and smaller. Some care is required in skinning penguins and cormorants, as well as in stretching these skins, ʃpun, minuʃ, which are thin and delicate. The fur and skins of other animals are not dressed.

If the dried, stiff seal skins are used for the covering of the hut, they need no further preparation, but for their many other uses it is necessary to clean them. The ordinary knife or a sharp-
[342] edged mussel shell serves as a scraper. The woman scrapes the
[343] inner side, piece by piece, with the entire broad side of the blade. The skin is spread out on the ground with the hair side down, and she kneels or squats on it, pushing herself along bit by bit. With uninterrupted movements of the arm, she draws the scraper toward her body with moderate pressure and in short strokes. Hence the scraping marks appear in layers and point in the same direction. In any case, the scraped surface looks irregular because the sharpness of the scraper and the strength of her arm vary constantly. It is necessary to remove primarily the dried fatty tissue and the transparent horny layer of the surface because they tend to rot easily. The woman is mostly guided by feeling, hence it cannot be definitely determined how deep she should go as she scrapes. It depends on the thickness of the entire skin.

Often it is also necessary to remove the hair, as when pieces of leather are needed for the back-cape and for pouches or straps.

/415 cont./

281 the Yamana women have. There is no hurry about this, since the dried skin, if it is protected from being soaked, cannot be damaged. The work is done in small sections because it quickly tires any woman. She grasps a piece with both hands, makes fists, and presses them together with a kneading motion, so that this movement alone softens the leather. She lets every part slide through her hands several times and kneads it in different directions. Hard, scarred sections are put between her teeth, and after biting them for a long time and using a great deal of saliva on them they finally also soften up. In general, if she wants to make leather pieces quite pliable, she draws them through her teeth, chewing on them.

The Yamana are not familiar with any special process for making the leather stronger by tanning it and saturating it with special materials. To begin with, the dressed skins have plenty of fat and blubber, which are unintentionally smeared on them so often that they have some protection against rotting due to dampness and against cracking by drying out. The back-cape especially receives ample lubrication from the greasy body, merely by being worn. The Yamana only occasionally take out a piece of leather or a finished object of leather and rub it thoroughly with oil. Even less frequently they mix blubber and a red powder made of burnt clay into a putty-like substance and rub it over the surface of the leather with the pressure of the flattened hand (90). If they wish

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90. This is the common procedure among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 212), probably because the guanaco skins do not contain much fat and because the bodies of these Indians have only a thin layer of fat which is automatically and unintentionally transferred to the objects they use daily.

to make smaller pieces of leather soft and pliable, they saturate them for some time with blubber. Frequent use suffices to keep leather from getting hard and stiff.

281 /416/ Whenever it is necessary, as in the case of a larger
294 cloak of skins, for example, the cloak of otter skins, awaffix, the people also know how to sew leather pieces together easily and

/437 cont./

301 independence, which is one of the character traits of these Indians, allows everyone the most complete freedom in his use of articles of adornment, just as in the painting of his body (p. 90). No one is surprised and no one would regard it as heightened vanity or an over-fondness for dress if today this person and tomorrow that one would appear, unexpectedly and without occasion, decked out with quantities of ornaments.

As such, the amount of ornaments and jewelry of these Indians is meager and simple, like all their possessions generally. Bove (c):26, exaggerating this simplicity, says: "Two or three lines of paint on the face and a necklace of shells or bird bones are the sole ornaments of a Fuegian" /translated from Spanish/. Certain occasions, however, such as general gatherings and larger social activities, have induced these people to make other, special ornaments, namely, their favorite headbands of bird feathers and down. We shall discuss these things below. Here we have mentioned and described only what belongs to their everyday life. The ornaments of our Yamana more or less re- [171] semble those of the Selk'nam, but are, on the whole, prettier, more artistic, and more varied. Here, however, we do not have [384] tattooing which their neighbors are fond of in a certain form and frequency (Vol. I, 229). Every other type of ornamentation, such as ear rings, precious stones, actual trophies, and body mutilation, are unknown down there in the unfriendly Cape Horn region.

D. Implements, Tools, Weapons

32 178 In making his essential implements, the Yamana is altogether dependent on the scant products of his homeland. Hence it is not surprising that he uses only wood, bone, and shells to make the tools that he needs in his daily work and in hunting. He has not advanced to the use of stone to any degree worth men- [135] tioning. Copper ore which is found there in certain places has never been noticed, let alone utilized. If we judge the Fuegian by the materials that he uses for his implements, it becomes obvious that he occupies a lower stage in the development of material culture than the much-sought European man of the Stone Age. The former is still actually present among us, the latter disappeared long centuries ago.

501 /440 cont./

and the great efficiency of the bark boat, but have described the details only very superficially. Cooper: 197 simply listed the bibliography of the best descriptions.

[171] We should like to mention briefly that this bark canoe, ánan (or, more completely, ajyŭsu ánan), is actually very similar in its design and principal parts to the one that the neighboring Halakwulup make (Fig. 25).

a. The Bark Pieces

396 The vessel characteristic of the Yamana since ancient times is a canoe made out of three large pieces of bark. This is the one we shall describe in what follows. Most of our natives have in most recent times turned to the canoe made out of a single trunk and to the flat boat, but this happened only since Europeans [177] brought them the iron ax.

The entire region is more or less densely supplied with Ant-
396 arctic beeches, but straight, thick trunks that furnish a smooth,
313 even sheet of bark of sufficient length are found only singly and usually deep in the interior of an island. To discover these is probably the only reason a man is obliged to venture deep into the forest. Usually two or three men join together in the search, if for no other reason than because it is difficult for a single man to loosen the thick bark, ajyŭsu, from the trunk and because no one goes alone for great distances in the woods (123). This traveling

123. As Hyades (q):350 says: "the chief concern of the Fuegians is to select the best bark; it is often necessary for them to take a long journey to find it" /translated from French/. Despard (b):679 adds: "a man, having associated three others, proceeds into the forest for four or five miles" /cited in English/.

hither and yon is frequently laborious and requires great effort. They almost always decide on Nothofagus betuloides, šer ŭ ci, which

/463 cont./

411 and, without thinking about it, that they were generally absent in the west (163). This could certainly not be justified, for the

163. For example, Dabbene (b):185 maintains, without justification, "The bow and arrows were used solely by the Yahgan who inhabit the coasts of Beagle Channel, and it appears that they were never the preferred weapons" /translated from Spanish/.

adjoining southern Halakwulup always had bows and arrows. Without offering definite proof, therefore, no one can maintain that the western Yamana between the central Yamana and the Halakwulup did not know about these weapons. In former times a foreign fleet almost never visited the homeland of the western Yamana. It is true, however, that the people of the east carried these weapons more often than the rest of their countrymen, who usually bartered for them with the Selk'nam who were their only neighbors. Bows and arrows were also more suitable than other /464/ implements for hunting the guanaco which lives only in the eastern Beagle Channel and throughout Navarino Island.
[178] Finally, it can be proved that since the discovery of the Yamana the use of the bow and arrow constantly decreased, until finally, at the end of the nineteenth century, not a single remaining specimen was to be found in their possession (164).

164. Lothrop (b):155 also acknowledges this to be the actual fact of the matter.

a. The Bow

411 From the start, to prevent justifiable surprise, we should
171 like to emphasize that all three Fuegian tribes make their bow and arrow in exactly the same way. There are alight differences only in minor details. These weapons are the most important and almost the only ones of the Selk'nam, which is why we have given a thorough description of them elsewhere (Vol. I, 230).

/465 cont./

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Buen Suceso, and on December 29th the captain sent a boat to shore there. The lieutenant was "received by several inhabitants" when he disembarked among them. George Forster (a):II, 390, adds: "Our men stayed with them only two or three minutes, embarked again, and hurried back on board" (Vol. I, 36). Now it is hardly to be assumed that in this short space of time the sailors were presented with two bows by the native Haus or Selk'nam. It seems much more plausible that at least the bow stave in the private collection of Forster was taken by the latter himself from a Yamana on Isla Waterman, for he refers to this weapon in particular in his report. This probability is confirmed by the fact that the other objects in Göttingen that Cook brought back from his second expedition are characteristic specimens from the cultural heritage of the southernmost Fuegians. I refer to three bone spearheads, small necklaces of mussel shells, and a sling whose center section was made from a scrap of leather from the otter. The Selk'nam, as is well known, use only guanaco leather for their sling (Vol. I, 243).

specimens are 149 centimeters and 152 centimeters long. Lothrop (b):156 publishes a photograph (unfortunately too indistinct) of two bows which are also old and are in the Peabody Museum of Salem, "one the gift of Captain B. Morrell, Jr., who obtained it in 1825, the other collected by Lieutenant Wilkes, probably at Orange harbor or Wollaston island" /cited in English/. The straight-line distance between the two ends is three feet, nine and one-half inches in the case of one, and four feet, one inch in the case of the other.

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The details we have mentioned are characteristic of the bow stave of the Yamana as well as of the Selk'nam. The latter, in addition, shows a distinct fluting which, for handwork, is notably regular. It is lacking in the two old pieces in the Peabody Museum, as Lothrop (b):156 emphatically points out, nor do we

/465 cont./

411 171 find it on the specimens in the Göttingen Museum. This point may seem trivial, but actually the early Yamana were not as exact in making a bow stave as the Selk'nam. That is why they never applied the fine decorated edge upon which the Selk'nam laid great stress (Vol. I, 233). It has been proved that the inhabitants of Isla Grande gave many a bow to their neighboring canoeists. However, since the old bow staves described here lack the even and delicately ribbed surface, they are almost certainly recognizable as a genuine product of the Yamana. The latter have actually altered nothing in the form and shape of their bow staves for the past three centuries (167).

167. Hyades (q):361 confirms "that the bow and arrow of the present does not seem to have varied from that of the first European travelers in Fuegia" /translated from French/. In his works (h):31 and (q):Plate XXXI, he illustrates a bow that Bougainville picked up in Puerto Gallant on the Strait of Magellan in January, 1768. There is no question that this specimen comes from the Halakwulup. Since, as Hyades maintains, it "does not differ in any respect from the present bow" /translated from French/ of the Yamana, his words substantiate what I said in the beginning about the widespread uniformity of the bows of all Fuegian tribes.

411 283 For the bowstring, the people in the region of the Selk'nam and Haus without exception use the thick tendon cords from the legs of guanacos. The eastern Yamana do likewise; the other groups choose for this also thick bundles of tendons of the [177] pinniped; the westernmost Yamana, probably in imitation of the Halakwulup, even use the hide of the sea lion in a strip three millimeters wide (168). On the two bows which James Cook

168. Hyades (q):298 inaccurately says that "the string is a sealskin thong or a cord of a whale sinew" /translated from French/; the tendon fibers of large seals are used much more often.

283 411 /466/ brought back the bowstrings are now missing. Of the two in the Peabody Museum Lothrop (b):156 says that their "bowstrings are of guanaco-sinew" /cited in English/ (169). The latter,

> 169. In a few older reports they are erroneously said to be "gut."

known as sáli, are attached exactly as they are on the bow of the Selk'nam, namely, at one end by means of a running knot and at the other by being wound around it several times (see Fig. 31 in Vol. I, 231). A strip of leather as a bowstring is obviously much less elastic.

β. The Arrow

411 The navigators of earlier times repeatedly saw the arrow in the hands of these Fuegians, but instead of describing it in detail, most of them were content to mention it briefly. Weddell noted few details. The arrow of the Yamana also resembles that [171] of the Selk'nam in every respect; the latter is in general somewhat longer. Lothrop (b):155 calls it "short, clumsy, and untapered -- very crude indeed compared with Ona workmanship" /cited in English/. As far as I know, there is not an arrow preserved anywhere from olden times, and the available descriptions from the last decades are more or less inadequate. For whatever I have been able to discover about this at one time significant weapon, I am indebted chiefly to old Whaits, who, as a young man, made a few samples of them. Personally I did not succeed in seeing an arrow made by the hand of a Yamana.

Here, too, as on Isla Grande, they choose the small stems [824] of Berberis ilicifolia, sometimes even the branches of Maytenus 411 magellanica for the arrow shaft. Hence it is also called ʌiyakuʌ, 322 a name for the latter tree. The stick, still green, is given its final shape by constant scraping with a sharp-edged mussel shell. The middle third bulges slightly in contrast to the two ends. The high polish and final smoothing of the surface of the shaft is obtained by a gentle rubbing with pumice. Before that the man repeatedly straightens it by holding it between his teeth and

/468 cont./

411 there is only a single one" (Hyades [h]:37) /translated from French/. Both wings of this feathering are exactly perpendicular to the shaft and opposite each other. The feathering extends almost down to the lowest notch and is altogether about 25 millimeters long, whereas the entire arrow is about 70 centimeters.

Today we are no longer able to find out in what quantities
411 our Yamana took over arrowheads directly from the Selk'nam;
177 it did actually happen. Not only did the old men assure me of this, but in the piles of shells on the eastern Beagle Channel we find such points made of obsidian which are rare in central areas and almost entirely absent in the west. Whether the stimulus for making this characteristic /469/ form of the arrowhead was transferred from the Yamana to the Selk'nam or vice versa remains a question which cannot be solved in this context alone, but which is not without some significance.

γ. The Quiver

281 Obviously the Fuegian arrows are delicate constructions,
411 and they are carefully stored. The most durable quiver is made of the leather of pinnipeds; the one of otter leather is more highly valued because it is more beautiful. Martial:192 mentions only the latter. The quiver is a longish, narrow bag, with a loop sewed to the upper part to serve as a handle. To achieve this shape, the natives cut a long rectangle out of leather, place the two longitudinal edges together and sew them up. For the bottom they set in a small oval piece of leather, which is also sewed on. The quiver is always slightly longer than the arrows so that they will not stick out and break off; it is about 15 centimeters wide. Each individual arrow is slid into the quiver with the point downward. When one is needed, the end of the shaft is grasped between the feathering with the tip of the thumb and index finger and immediately placed on the bowstring.

411 This brief description also fits perfectly the quiver of the
[171] Selk'nam (Vol. I, 240), which, however, is a little longer and wider. The eastern Yamana are familiar only with this one of leather, whereas the people of the central area and the west not infrequently make a quiver out of two moderately curved pieces of

/477 cont./

411 Our Yamana use spears as ligher thrusting weapons. We can distinguish between a spear used for birds and one for fish. The shaft of the former is likewise a pole that is uniformly cut and prepared, but this is usually a young trunk of Maytenus magellanica or of Nothofagus or Drimys winteri, from which the bark has been peeled off. It is usually not more than three meters long. The thick end is cut off straight across. Here the notch is cut from one side without letting it come through to the other side. About a quarter of the diameter remains, and this serves to support the bone point which is inserted here with the back against the remaining portion of the wood. The lower part of the point has several short upright teeth. A narrow strap is tightly wound around it in the spaces between the teeth. The same shaft with the partial notch just described is also used for the susuwaja, securely and firmly held in it.

411 /478/ The serrated points made of bone or wood are character-
321 istic for these spears. For the bone teeth, whale ribs are used exclusively. They are first treated with coarse sandstone, then with quartz splinters or mussel shells, and finally burnished with pumice. The two edges end in a point at the top, the back is rounded off (183),

183. It cannot be definitely determined whether the Yamana made a bone point with both edges serrated. However, BD:64 mentions: "'auaia,' the single or double notched spear head used for seals, porpoises" /cited in English/. Among the Halakwulup I found the double-rowed, serrated spearhead of wood, as well as of bone, and sometimes even the two together.

[171]

and on the opposite side the natives laboriously cut or saw out one little tooth after another with sharp mussel shells or quartz splinters. These small teeth are narrow and more or less irregular; they are close together and point obliquely downward. The little piece at the lower end is irregularly serrated and tapers; it is set into the notch and lashed.

411 This spear with the bone point is used for hunting birds. It is
223 most often hurled against penguins which have tough flesh into which a wooden point would not penetrate deeply enough.

/479 cont./

411 mentioned that the shafts of harpoons and spears are sometimes rubbed with imi. The purpose of this is to beautify them; moreover, experience has proved that they are then easier to grasp and hold with the fist.

6. Dagger and Lance

It is easy to understand that the reports from earlier times are not as accurate and comprehensive in many details as we would wish. Many observers have not discussed the difference between dagger and arrow and have identified one with the other, probably because of the great similarity between their points. /480/ Those seafarers were completely unfamiliar with the things that the shell mounds have brought to light in modern times. All the more should attention be given to the reference offered only by Weddell (a):110 in December, 1823, that the arrow should be distinguished from the dagger. After describing the arrow as "having a triangular pointed stone forced in at the front," he added: these natives "also had another weapon, namely, a similarly formed stone is fitted into the top of a handle nine inches long and probably serves as a dagger."

As a matter of fact, the Yamana use this short thrusting weapon, which can properly be designated as a dagger (Fig. 38) (187). It

[171]

187 Among the Halakwulup I often came across this weapon. From them came the four beautiful daggers with glass points which the Natural History Museum in Vienna acquired through Hagenbeck toward the end of the 1880's.

consists of a shaft as thick as one's thumb, about 30 centimeters [824] long, for which the tough wood of Berberis ilicifolia is preferred. A stone point is forced into the completely open, narrow notch on the thicker end of the shaft. The point is secured by means of several lashings /Fig. 38 appears here/ of a small strap or thick sinew. The stone point, always referred to as yēkus, has a triangular

/482 cont./

411 missionaries and travelers of the last few decades still found this weapon (190). I saw the natives playing with it a great deal and

190. The following have furnished good descriptions: Bove (b):156, Cojazzi:109, Colini:161, Dabbene (b):185, Hyades (h):29 and (q):301, 357, Lothrop (b):156, Martial: 191, Spegazzini (a):162, Spencer:131, Wieghardt: 25, and others.

hunting smaller animals.

171 If one compares the sling of our natives (Fig. 40) with that
411 of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 243), he will scarcely find any marked difference; actually, the construction of both is, so to speak, completely identical. For the center section the Yamana choose a scrap of leather from the otter or the seal. Whereas the Selk'nam scrape off the fur, our Indians always leave it on, often using it on the inside, less frequently on the outside (191).

191. This is shown in the drawing found in Hyades (h):30 and (q):Plate XXX, 14. Figure 40 inserted here shows the less common usage, namely, the fur-side of the center piece turned outward.

In this respect the two specimens are different. This may seem like a minor detail, but it has real significance, which old Alfredo pointed out to me. The Yamana prefer a small piece of leather that is thickly furred, since all the stones that they pick up to throw have a smooth surface, /483/ either because they are actual shingle or because they are wet with sea water. They lie considerably more securely in a furred center section than in one from which the hair has been removed. The latter can be used successfully by the Selk'nam, for they use slingstones that have a rough surface and are at least covered with a fine layer of dust. Nevertheless, some men reverse their leather lappet to put the fur on the outside.

411 The center section is a longish oval in shape, about 22 centimeters long and eight centimeters wide. It becomes extraordinarily soft from frequent use. On the pointed ends the strings are

/487 cont./

223 284 long, slender shaft furnished with a running loop of whalebone" /translated from French/. The end piece is attached to the tip of the shaft by a knot in the lashing of sinew. It is surprising that this whalebone noose, kʷ̌ʷ̌ ʔf, is put together with two pieces, a long one and a short one. The two run side by side for a few centimeters and are lashed with sinews; the short one ends in a small loop-knot. We also find this same overlapping [171] in every one of the whalebone loops on the long snare-line of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 283), whereas on that of our Yamana each whalebone loop is one strip only (Fig. 59). A kʷ̌ʷ̌ ʔf consisting of two parts is more effective and more durable; our Yamana are convinced of that. But why they do not use these two-part loops on the long snare-line no one could tell me. Probably the people avoid the greater effort, since the work of making a snare-line is laborious enough.

223 We need not explain specifically how this snare-rod is used. It is, of course, put forward unnoticed by a man hidden in a suitable spot, drawn over the head of a bird, and immediately pulled in with a sharp jerk. The principle of the noose is exactly the same as in the case of the long snare-line. The natives even use a single whalebone noose without any kind of shaft to catch birds. Herewith we have adequately described and characterized the threefold way in which the whalebone snare is used by the Yamana.

γ. Mussel Fork, Mussel Breaker, Crab Fork

226 [562] The shellfish of the sea have the same importance for the diet of our Fuegian as bread, for instance, has for the European. Many of them he can gather on the beach, others he must take out of the water. The two types of mussels which are found there, namely ʔʷ uf (Mytilus chilensis) and kʷ̌ʷ̌ʔin (Mytilus edulis), occur in vast quantities. They are larger and tastier the more abundantly they are covered with water even at lowest ebb tide and the stronger the current is that swirls around them back and forth. It would be impossible to pry these animals loose with one's hand, as one can, for instance, the smaller and less tasty ones that every ebb tide uncovers.

/492 cont./

412 mussels thrive at particularly suitable places where small, restless eddies of water supply them with abundant nourishment. The shell selected is at least ten centimeters long. They carefully break off the convex side edges to retain the almost flat center section, and they finally taper the end where the hinge is. This produces a wedge-shaped basic form, albeit with curved edges, and the pointed end is placed on the handle.

The handle is a stone about 12 centimeters long, either rounded or with edges, found on the beach. It would not occur to anyone to shape it a bit or to smooth it. The firm hand of the Fuegian knows how to grasp it securely in one way or another. The only thing to which they pay attention is to fit the shell exactly against the flat part of the stone handle. If there were any hollow space, it would inevitably break with the slightest pressure. In order to avoid this and also to make possible a slight springiness, the Indian shoves a thin, intervening layer of chlor, whittled shavings of barberry, or of moss, under the upper part of the shaft which rests on the shell. This forms a springy bed, as it were, on which the shaft rests. A narrow leather strip or a braided cord of sinew wound around both pieces several times holds them together adequately (Fig. 44) (201).

201. Good descriptions are given by Colini: 161, Hyades (q):299, Lovisato (a):196 and (b):136, Lothrop (b):139, and Spegazzini (a): 163. Certain similarities with the scraper of the Selk'nam are immediately apparent (Vol. I, 248).

[171]

Everyone grasps the scraper in such a way that the handle fills the entire right /493/ hand while the mussel shell, with its concave surface turned toward the body, is visible above the little finger. The Yamana moves it toward himself in a stroking motion. The scraper has many uses. It is employed above all in removing and cleaning skins, in cutting up animals and cutting the meat into pieces, in fashioning shafts and rods for lances, harpoons, spears, and trapping and fishing implements, in removing bark, and in the preparation of individual timbers required for the canoe, /Figs. 43 and 44 appear here/ for scoring branches

/496 cont./

412 321 The wedge we have just described is carved out of the strong tissue of the large bones of the whale. The process is one of rubbing back and forth with pressure on a flat stone. As soon as the desired form roughly appears, the blade is carefully sharpened. The last thing is to grind and smooth the surface. For this a /497/ pumice stone the size of one's fist is suitable. The sea tosses these up in many places along the shore. We have repeatedly emphasized that our Indians must often resort to pumice, hiyal, for this very useful material is the only thing they employ to polish their bone points for harpoons and spears and their many wooden shafts. Lothrop (b):143 mentions: "For polishing, in place of our sandpaper or the Ona fox-skin and grit, the Yahgan use pomice hiśl" /cited in English/. BD:262 spells it hiual. The pumice, of course, soon wears down on the hard bone tissue, but it can be picked up anywhere on the shores (210). The Selk'nam

[171]

210. Lothrop (b):143 confirms: "It frequently floats down Beagle channel and may be picked up on the beach" /cited in English/. Lovisato (a):197 is wrong in saying that pumice is found only on Nueva Island and Lennox Island.

(Vol. I, 235), as we know, not infrequently use the same pumice.

E. Use of Iron

412 177 The Yamana of the first and oldest period were completely unfamiliar with the utilization of iron in any form. It is not found in their country nor could they obtain it through barter. As soon as they saw it on European ships and realized its usefulness, however, they learned how to obtain this raw material, as well as small plates of steel and copper, either legitimately or by stealing. Their impetuous desire for it sometimes led to dire consequences for themselves.

It is surprising how quickly they made iron serve them, taking it over in the form of nails, small plates for sheathing, and

/204 cont./

285 lengths. Before one roll is covered with knotting, she pushes in a new one. In this way she avoids having the entire roll /205/ start at a single point. The loops which are now made over this roll with a running stalk, frequently renewed, are more or less perpendicular to the roll. The simple half-hitch weave continues in spiral progression and, of course, runs clockwise. The last section of the free end of the running stalk is bent back several times and shoved under a knot which is pulled tight. At first the woman increases the number of loops on each woven ring and thus the weaving expands from below upward; more than halfway

Fig. 50. The Tight Basket Weave. Natural size.

up a slight narrowing sets in once more (219).

•[171]

219. The basket made according to this weaving technique is the only form which the Selk'nam also knew how to make (Vol. I, 206).

Soon after the /Fig. 50 appears here/ first coils are finished, the woman wants both her hands free for the work. With a sinew, a small leather strap, or a rush stalk, she hangs her basketwork up somewhere, either on a post of the hut frame or on a short stick which she pounds into the ground. She hangs it in such a way that the opening of the basket is turned toward the ground. She draws the cord by which it hangs through the small hole that she left at the

/306 cont./
beginning at the lowest point of the basket. Thus hung up, the basketwork is extraordinarily mobile and can be taken up at any point at which she wishes to continue the tedious work.

When the Indian woman feels that it is large enough, she thickens the regular roll of rush stalks somewhat for the edge and draws over it a somewhat wider rush as a running thread. On this she afterwards puts two low ears opposite each other which are also bound spirally with a wide rush stalk. The two ears are joined by a cord braided out of a few stalks, sometimes also by a small narrow strap, for a handle (XXI). One finds this basket in all sizes

XXI. To his description of this weaving technique, Lothrop (Ty.136 adds a few comparative comments and mentions: "The hitch-coil is typical in South America only of the Talgan, Ona, and Alacaluf, but it turns up sometimes in the Amazon valley and to the northwest" /cited in English/.

and corresponding widths, with a height of eight to 30 centimeters.

/306/ 3. Cotbiaiag: The basket with the loose weave, as I should like to designate this particular type, is by far made less often than tagwéla (XXII). The reason for this, I was told, is that

XXII. Lothrop (Ty.136 confirms this from his own experience: "This weave is very rarely employed among the Talgan, and a single specimen was secured only with difficulty" /cited in English/.

it is less durable than the other, but that it nevertheless requires almost the same amount of work to make and cannot be used for many requirements. The distinguishing characteristic of the basketry technique shown in tagwéla also predominates in Cotbiaiag, which Lothrop(Ty.136 calls sinkwanéla. Both are exactly the same at the very beginning. The only difference between them is that in this case the running rush stalk which makes the knotting

233

/520 cont./
(g):50 maintains: "Inside they put a bit of fish, mollusks, or meat in order to attract the birds" /translated from Spanish/.

feeding in the grass, gets caught in it and pulls it together more and more the harder it tugs at it. The hunter watches his trap from a distance and counts the birds that already belong to him. He does not come out of hiding until the wild geese that are still walking around freely are frightened away by the anxious unrest of the snared animals. He beats them to death with a cudgel or twists their necks off.

The Yamana has far less opportunity to lay this long snare-line ôka, successfully than does the neighboring Selk'nam; local conditions are markedly different in each case. Moreover, if we consider that this article requires considerable trouble to make and is awkward to store, we can understand that a Yamana only rarely owns one. Hyades (h):22 confirms this, saying "that during our year's stay at Orange Bay we saw only five or six specimens" /translated from French/. Other travelers do not even mention it. Hyades (g):200 is correct in his judgment: "The scarcity of these snares leads one to believe that they are no longer very much used for the hunt" /translated from French/. It can be seen at a glance that the snare-lines of the Yamana and Selk'nam are very much alike.

[171]

Aside from this, almost every man owns a simple but useful article for catching wild geese and other fowl, such as ducks, cormorants, and penguins. This akhmu I should like to call "noose-rod" (Fig. 60). At the top of a thin, strong rod at least two and a half meters long, there is fastened a single running loop, kipi, made out of a long, narrow strip of whalebone about 60 centimeters in length. In the dusk of evening or on a bright night a man cautiously creeps up to a bird asleep standing upright and places the open noose over its head. He quickly pulls the noose shut and drags the bird toward him, breaking its neck instantly. The more silent he is, the less the animals standing around will be disturbed and the more plentiful will be the nocturnal hunter's booty. The Yamana like to try their luck with

[Text continues on page 242.—Analyst]

/625 cont./

177 from his stay among the missionaries, "he returns with delight
181 to his canoe, to his independent wandering life, without pre-occupation and without cares" /translated from French/, as Hyades (j):166 reports. Every outside observer can be adequately convinced that there is no other possible way of life for the Yamana; they are used to it from their earliest childhood; they are forced into it by their given environment, into which they have been inescapably placed. Care for their daily subsistence and the necessary raw materials for their implements drive them restlessly from place to place. This powerful motivation drives
181 our Yamana with equal force and toward the same goal as it does
171 the neighboring Selk'nam; hence the many basic similarities in the characteristics of their economies between the two tribes, with whom the Halakwulup are to be compared in this respect. All careful observers agree that "like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance" /cited in English/, as Lothrop (b):116 tersely expresses himself. It is the instinct of self-preservation that makes both of them restless wanderers, that always and unmercifully puts them back on their feet again after they have given themselves a brief respite of only a few days. Despite this great dependence on external nature, our Fuegians have by no means become its slave, and their struggle for existence is not at all the degrading strife in which, for example, vast strata of so-called civilized Europe are at present engaged.

182 A glance at how the Yamana manage their affairs also shows that man with his superior mental equipment and his physical powers energetically comes to grips with nature on every spot of the earth that is entrusted to him. There he creates for himself a definite form of economy which will sooner or later strike every careful observer as harmonious co-operation between man and nature. Actually, the economic form of every long-domiciled primitive people possesses its inherent individuality conditioned by its environment and marked by its own structure. Thus, it is unique, and, despite external similarities with an economic form developed under other conditions, it differs from the latter /626/ more or less according to its inner structure, or at least according to its manifold purpose. This is not by any

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"Marriage was recognized just as much as all other degrees of relationship, for all of which they [the Yamana] have their specific terms."

about by the dominance of European civilization has strangled this judicious tribal custom, along with much that was original. The Indians of today regret that some of their countrymen enter a marriage without the ceremony of former times. Mary, who was indignant over the widespread lack of form, very much lamented these conditions: "A woman, after all, is not an object, not a piece of wood or something, that one takes without ceremony. A girl who gives herself to a man without the formalities customary among us is not a real woman. It was so nice in former times when the painted bride was given to the bridegroom, who was also painted. Everybody was very happy on those occasions!" Again it is European influence that has killed the feeling for their native tribal customs among the younger generation. I learned the bulk of what is contained in the preceding pages from reliable old Alfredo on my second journey.

/658/ 9. Parents-In-Law and Children-In-Law

584 606 In the days before and after the wedding, the bridegroom is very obliging and anxious to serve his parents-in-law. There is no legal obligation for service in the form of work or for gifts, but it is a matter of concern to him to obtain the favor of the girl's parents in order that they will surely and without reservation give their consent to the planned marriage. It is well known that a certain shyness prevents the lovers from revealing their turbulent desires. One day shortly before the wedding, when the love of the two young people has already become known, the bridegroom, in order to gain admittance into the hut of the girl's parents, places a rather large bundle of wood in front of the hut and waits until he is called in (40). If this happens, he interprets it as the surest

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40. It is well known that among the Selk'nam, also, the young chap who is anxious to marry resorts to silent, patient waiting in front of the

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hut of his beloved, until her father admits him and thereby announces his approval of the marriage (Vol. I, 327).

guarantee of the old people's approval of his marriage plan. He conceals his innermost joy and henceforth conducts himself as ancient tribal custom demands of a son-in-law. Free, open intercourse is not permitted him nor the daughter-in-law with their parents-in-law. On the other hand, they are obliged to render service to the latter. What the son-in-law does for them immediately before and after the wedding should probably more accurately be called appreciation and a show of gratitude for the willingness of these parents to hand over their daughter to him. In order to demonstrate clearly his readiness to please his father-in-law, the lover finds out what he lacks or expects or particularly desires, and that is what he procures, whether it be a canoe, a harpoon, or a beautiful fur cloak. Beyond that, he brings many other trifles to his father-in-law's hut until the marriage celebration begins. At the same time the bride, if possible, renders small services to her future mother-in-law, but these are not expected or taken for granted as in the case of the bridegroom. That she, too, favors her parents-in-law with gifts clearly indicates, however, that the presents delivered by the bridegroom cannot be regarded as bride purchase (p. 404).

606 The limitations on intercourse between children-in-law and their parents-in-law constitute a definite custom of avoidance. It is regarded as inadmissible and improper to address the parents-in-law or to interrupt their conversation with incidental remarks. When one meets them or enters their hut, one may not greet them; if one happens to run into them, one should, with downcast eyes, give them a wide berth. It is the general custom that one does not sit down opposite them, never looks them in the eye, and never sits next to them. If it happens that a son-in-law or daughter-in-law is in the same hut with the parents-in-law, the former must move far away and /659/ turn from them, that is to say, turn to one side or turn their backs. If several men gather together, the son-in-law chooses his place in this circle so that it is farthest removed from his father-in-law. He remains silent

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846 where it can be easily seen. It is supposed to remind him that mother and child still need special consideration.

catch the little tree runner, tĕčikǎ́šina (Aphrastura spinicauda), which often visits the dwelling out of curiosity. The mother then gives the child its own umbilical cord, and it must put this little ring around the neck of the bird, which flies away with it. This custom is meant to show everyone with what love and care the mother can keep such an intimate little thing and that therefore she is capable of lavishing incomparably more care and attachment on the child itself (156).

[171] 156. I pointed out an almost identical custom among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 377).

856 The women of the Cape Horn Archipelago, like the Selk'nam women (Vol. I, 372), give their newborn babies a sort of stroking treatment. They call it wǐ́ša, meaning "to form the body of the child." From the first day they strive to give the child a beautiful, well-proportioned form by stretching out and adjusting the limbs and by stroking and gently massaging the entire body. Almost any woman, but usually the adopted mother (p. 512), puts the various parts of arms and legs into position, strokes them lengthwise, gives them direction, puts the little body and head level, and, as it were, models the whole figure. The other part of the treatment consists of a gentle stroking of the individual areas of the body with the woman's flattened hand, without actually massaging. In long sweeps, the woman strokes the arms and legs, presses all around the joints with the palm of her hand, rubs all sides of the torso with a circular motion, and finally takes the little head in her cupped, ceaselessly stroking hands. Furthermore she handles the legs and feet, arms and hands, ears and eyelids, lips and chin, neck and nipples as though she were obliged to give all of them definite direction. The woman obviously enjoys this and never tires of repeating this stroking treatment daily. The child's own mother sees to it that it is not omitted a single day if possible, and she herself carries it out again and again if a neighbor or relative is not available to do it. Its purpose is to help the child to grow

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145 is almost mute, until, at about a year and a half, he suddenly
856 pronounces complete words. The young Fuegians do not carry on constant babbling monologues, as do European babies almost without exception. A few weeks before they venture to come out with full speech, however, they apparently do some silent speech exercises. They move their lips and tongues and show by their expressions that they are thinking and mentally active. The parents observe this inward activity with satisfaction. The children's earliest speech is somewhat awkward, but it is very much like the speech of adults. The latter almost never make any ef-
868 fort to help or correct the child. He is left to himself, no matter how much difficulty he has or how incorrectly he speaks. Later he corrects his own mistakes by listening and comparing. Similarly in subsequent years no adult ever teaches the child to speak clearly and correctly.

When the child enters his third year, there is usually a younger
145 brother or sister to whom the mother gives her full attention.
857 After that he is left even more to his own devices. Then he begins to seek the company of his older brothers and sisters and of other children, but keeps as much as possible to those of his own age. The play instinct brings these little ones together. They are well content by themselves. Sometimes they squat in a circle for hours, scratching the ground with their fingers, or they grub in the gravel or roll back and /735/ forth on the grass. In these early years they do not play any real games, but they look at everything with attentive eyes and probingly feel everything that seems strange to them. They do not whisper to each other about their experiences, nor do they talk together animatedly. Everywhere, even when they are with other children, they give the stranger the impression that they are thoughtful, patient observers, an attitude which every European would attribute to older children.

The parents enjoy daily observation of the small body which
856 visibly unfolds. Supposedly in order to accelerate growth, they
171 resort to a magical custom known as mūasa, which means roughly "to stretch upward." Either the father or someone else calls the child, makes him stretch up both arms, embraces him, and lifts him high enough so that their two faces are almost on top of each other. Then the child must squeeze down out of this embrace, and he wriggles his head through, with his face turned upward, he

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856 utters a loud and long-drawn-out "pš" just once. This move-
171 ment is repeated several times with the child, and after a few days or weeks he is asked to do it again (175).

175. The candidates in the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1019) are given almost the same treatment, and likewise to make them grow quickly.

856 There is another custom that has the same purpose. An adult, with the tips of his thumb and index finger, picks up the
[825] larva, uskájamina, of a large capricorn beetle grubbing in a decayed tree trunk and squeezes it gently. The larva, as though in defense, opens the two parts of its upper jaw, which have very sharp points. With these the person scratches a vertical line on the child's chest, slightly outside the nipples, and another line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. This is the custom among the western Yamana. In the east they merely scratch a pair of lines on the back, on either side of the spinal column. This procedure is repeated often on the same child, but without any definite arrangement.

I was told that children endure teething quietly and with resignation. The parents pay little attention to this process, although they are pleased that the child has reached this tangible stage in his development. Later when the permanent teeth are pushing through and the first baby tooth is loose, they send the child to the beach where he must pull out the loose tooth with his own hand and toss it in a wide arc into the sea. At the same
[825] time he must visualize the short-nosed dolphin (Lagenorhynchus F.) and repeat in a low voice:

sauyánux,	tun	hája	tágu
Dolphin,	tooth	me	give.

He also turns to pěr (Patella) and yekěr (Chiton, snail) (176)

176. It is clearly recognizable that the allusion is to the rows of teeth in the jaws of dolphins, to the toothlike edge of the Patella shells, and to the hair-soft, tufted bristles of most Chiton species.

/735 cont./

856 and asks one or the other of these soft-bodied animals: "Give /736/ me the best you have for this tooth!" The child may also toss his other milk teeth into the sea in the same way, but he is obliged to do so only with the first loose milk tooth.

855 During the further development manifested by the child, not only his own parents, but to an almost equal extent the relatives
856 and neighbors experience great satisfaction. Again and again they speak about it and happily measure the progress shown by the child since last they were together. In their indescribable happiness, they adorn their favorite with necklaces, give him tasty morsels, sometimes pet him wildly, and spend hours playing with him. The adults in Tierra del Fuego would find life unbearable if they did not constantly have small children around them, who, far more than grown children, are a natural and necessary plaything for all parents and a strong magnet for their parental feelings (177).

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177. I have purposely not mentioned similarities of insignificant details in infant care among the Selk'nam and Yamana, because there are too many. The close cultural relationship between the two tribes is shown in this respect also.

b. The Older Child and His Upbringing

861 With the exception of a few letters from Anglican missionaries, one looks in vain in the earlier accounts for detailed reports about the physical maturation of the child and the influence of the adults in his environment who train him. This is all the more regrettable since these much misunderstood Fuegians have surprisingly valuable child-rearing principles -- taking into consideration merely what I myself have discovered -- and, as competent teachers, know how to apply these principles successfully. The older people have preserved in their memories all that our Yamana do for the growing generation, or at least the principal outline, to this day. Hence the following account

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X881 and as though it were obliged to add to them, an institution has been created which obviously proves to be a prolongation of parental efforts and which continues, without a break, the training within the narrower family circle. It is of decisive significance in this connection that the child, at puberty, is taken from the care of its parents and subjected to a leadership created accidently, so to speak, from the assemblage of many families.

All children without exception are required to take part in this so-called youth initiation and no parents have the right to remove their children for any reason whatever. A superior power asserts itself in this universal obligation, and this is none other than the invisible power of the state. Specific positions of authority are lacking in this Indian society (p. 634), but these people, too, are guided by definite, all-embracing laws, and everyone willingly yields to them. One of their laws, which is regarded with great seriousness and which the public guards with scrupulous care, is the periodic repetition of the youth initiation, in which is expressed the actually existing power of the state, the incomplete development of which was described in the preceding section (p. 635).

Precisely because the initiation of youth is arranged by one or another part of the tribal society and because it represents an undertaking of legal standing independent of the individual family and outside of it, the following detailed description of it is added to the description of the social structure of the Yamana tribe.

X881 171 It is known that the neighboring Selk'nam also have a secret ceremony, called klóketen (Vol. I, 808). Only boys are admitted to it, which shows that it is very different from the čiéxaus. Aside from that, outstanding characteristics and a unidirectional aim show that it, too, is an actual youth initiation. As such, the klóketen strives for the same principal goal, namely, adequate instruction and forceful teaching, as well as repeated practice to achieve manual dexterity and skill in the daily tasks of adults. The chief purpose, therefore, is to train and instruct the young person in his tasks as a self-sufficient independent human being. With no obvious foreign element from matriarchal cultural conditions, as can be shown in the great ceremony of the klóketen (Vol. I, 1077), /807/ the čiéxaus pursues a very definite educational task aimed at physical fitness for the required skills and

/807 cont./

Y881 171 moral-spiritual training in such measure that the one does not seem to be favored above the other.

In the course of the discussion, this important basic direction will be clearly brought out. It is referred to here in order to intercept from the start an unjustifiable assumption. The elaborate accompaniment to the initiation serves neither exclusively nor primarily to train those young people so that they later will be proficient in obtaining food. Much attention is certainly paid to this need, but it is neither the only nor the most important goal (238).

238. Most recently Felix Speiser:254 laid sole stress on this supplementary goal. On the subject of initiations in Australia and New Guinea he concludes: "All kinds of motives have hitherto been given as reasons for the initiations...All these motives are present in the initiations, but do not form their central feature which, as we have tried to prove, is to guarantee the food supply. If this realization is at first somewhat surprising, it becomes comprehensible if we clearly understand how very important the assurance of obtaining food is for man in general...In ethnology, amid the many, often interesting aspects in the life of primitive people, we often forget how great must be the concern for their daily food." Speiser's reference to the oppressive worry for daily subsistence which torments primitive man deserves acknowledgment. In Tierra del Fuego, too, young people are trained to meet it effectively, but it is not the most important task of the initiation to which every young person is pledged before his marriage.

A much loftier and more universal goal can be seen in certain secondary aspects that surround this ceremony.

Y881 The ciexaus ceremony is made up of a great many individual parts; a rich store of ideas from the spiritual treasure of the Yamana

/829 cont./

X881 make his demands impressive. A person who has held this office before is preferred, because it requires a thorough knowledge of many details which are not familiar to everyone. It also demands all kinds of physical exertion, which cannot be expected of a weak old man. A person to whom this position is offered probably never refuses it, for it is an honor, and in the position of ulaštēkuwa one feels raised above all the participants.

X881 888 Almost always another man takes part, besides the leader of the entire performance mentioned above, whom I should like to call "overseer" (252). He presents a dignified appearance, is

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252. In this respect it corresponds to the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam, where there are also two directors. There, however, they are chosen for this position according to a definite rule (Vol. I, 829).

usually an old man, and enjoys great veneration on the part of all, if only because of his age. Not only does he have this moral superiority, but it is customary for even the leader to be subordinate to him. He is not directly concerned with the day-by-day procedure of the celebration and the organization of the daily work or with the tasks and work performed by adults and candidates. These are the duties of the leader. His chief duty is to see to it that the leader is not guilty of negligence or a change in the existing order, and he sometimes discusses with him in private what, in his opinion, should be particularly emphasized and considered, what should be omitted or shortened, how this or that should be handled. Thus he appears as the lawful guardian of ancient custom and as the devoted custodian of the youth initiation as a valuable tribal heritage (253).

253. Lothrop (b):168 has this to say about the two offices: "From their number they [the oldest and experienced of the men present] chose one who was both respected and well liked to be the master of ceremonies. Another they selected as the official instructor of the candidates" /cited in English/. Perhaps these data were given him by the natives.

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X881 346 point on the outside in order to keep a lookout. Truly, the hut framework withstands a great deal. Individual gaps that appear and let rain or snow in are immediately closed.

β. Construction of the Cookhut

X881 264 In their everyday life the Yamana have no fixed times for meals. They help themselves when they are hungry or when something is offered. During the youth initiation even the adults have their eating considerably curtailed because food may not be prepared in the Great Hut. The food is prepared outside for all the participants together and is brought in ready to eat. Everyone gets plenty and is, of course, satisfied with everything that is offered. Even with these common meals, the adults are free to go back to their own hut for brief hours and to eat there what they have on hand. Many of them make use of this freedom more or less often.

X881 343 For the place in which food is to be prepared for the sometimes large number of čiexaus participants, the Yamana choose a small hut which is specially erected about 20 to 30 paces from the Great Hut. In every respect it resembles the ordinary dwelling of that region, dome-shaped in the west and cone-shaped in the east. They do not use the ornamental plaques mentioned above [354] or any other decoration in it. In the center of the hut a huge fire burns, where the pieces of meat and the slabs of fat are roasted. The hot ashes serve to bake the fish and steam the mussels. This hut is large enough so that the Indian women working in it can also sleep there. Thus, even in size it resembles an ordinary dwelling. Usually this cookhut is built immediately after the Great Hut is finished, sometimes even while it is being built, for with the start of the ceremony, the work of the women engaged in cooking also begins (261).

[171] 261. In the same way the Halakwulup also erect a cookhut beside the Great Hut for their initiation rite, in which food for all the participants is prepared. See Gusinde (o):541.

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X881 utter exhaustion, the boy is unable to offer the slightest resistance. Powerlessly he lets himself be thrown down, lifted up, shoved, and dragged about.

Suddenly the dreadful yelling ceases. At the same moment one man, usually the leader, leans forward, puts his mouth against his cupped hand which rests upright on the ground, and bellows out a hollow-sounding, deep, long drawn-out hū against the ground. This means: "Yetā́ita is now dead!" At the same time the "evil spirit" ceases his wild commotion and crouches motionless in front of the candidate whom he has so mercilessly tormented. The latter gets up on his knees at the direction of another man who squats beside him. The boy must now look his tormentor full in the face, and then he recognizes him! The man beside him says to the boy: "Look closely, that is your kinsman (270), not Yetā́ita! The true Yetā́ita looks like your kinsman

> 270. He says specifically: "That is your uncle, that is your father..." Following the general custom of the Yamana, he does not mention his given name.

here, who is painted like Yetā́ita. Watch out for Yetā́ita! Pay careful attention to what will be demanded of you here in the čiēxaus. Do not leave this Great Hut on your own. Never look over at the camp and never let the children over there see you. Keep strict silence among other people about what you will experience here. Now you know that Yetā́ita is much rougher than your kinsman. This man is not Yetā́ita himself, but you should know now to watch out for him!"

While these words are being spoken, the agitation of the uswā́ala subsides somewhat as more and more clearly he recognizes the man as his kinsman. The latter immediately sits down beside him, for in this celebration he will be his sponsor. The sole purpose of this so-called apparition is to frighten the young chap thoroughly and to compel him to give scrupulous attention to the precepts that are emphasized here (271).

X881 171

> 271. In comparison we refer to the struggle which the candidates in the secret hut of the

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Selk'nam men's ceremony must undergo with a so-called spirit. The latter conducts himself much more wildly, and the men shout to the candidate that he should defend himself with all his might against this spirit. There, too, the masked man, after struggling with the candidate, discloses himself as his kinsman. The whole performance is likewise supposed to put awesome fear into the chap who enters this sacred place for the first time (Vol. I, 851).

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/852/ In former times each candidate separately experienced the same kind of introduction into the Great Hut. When there were many candidates, three or four men played the role of the spirit and took turns. Each man painted himself and, as Yetā̆ita, struggled with the particular chap whom he was to sponsor in this čǐéxaus celebration, insofar as this was possible. In the case of girls this struggle is omitted. They are led to the Great Hut and shoved through the main entrance in the same manner as was described above. They are left crouching in their places with faces covered until a boy who has been subsequently led in is obliged to begin the struggle with Yetā̆ita. At this moment the piece of leather is removed from the girl's face, and she can now watch, without recognizing the man. She is amply frightened and terrified.

Sometimes the spectral appearance is made more simply. A younger man paints himself behind the curtain near the secondary entrance, his companion doing the same. Here both remain hidden until all the uǐwā̆ala are led into the hut at once with their faces covered. The adults begin drumming against the ground, howling and screaming alarmingly. As the cover is removed from the faces of the candidates, the curtain is also drawn aside. The leader or some other man calls to them: "Yetā̆ita is sitting there beside the second entrance; he is squatting on the ground, his companion beside him!" The candidates are led near him so that they become very frightened. Some of them must touch the wad of twigs which the companion has tied around his forehead. Afterwards

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X881 is regarded as the most important law and as a rule of life that is taken for granted. The candidates are given ample opportunity to practice this.

X881 1. Physical Bearing. In the external forms of constraint the
866 Yamana make no distinction between boys and girls; both are affected in the same way. It is well known that each uŠwā̄ala has his place beside his sponsor. In other words, the principal sponsor has the secondary sponsor on one side of him and his protégé on the other (cf. Fig. 83). One of the two sponsors, who alternate, constantly watches over the hē̄takuxē̄ǫlan.

X881 Immediately after his reception in the Great Hut, each candi-
516 date must assume the customary position (p. 703), squatting on
866 his crossed legs which are bent at the knees at right angles. The upper part of the body leans slightly forward, the head is still more bent, and the eyes look at the ground directly in front of the knees. The arms are crossed over the chest (278). In this

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278. The posture required by the Selk'nam of their candidates in the Great Hut (Vol. I, 1016) is different from the one described here, but they, as well as the Yamana, demand this external constraint with exaggerated strictness.

position everyone shows strained effort. Even if all the other marks of distinction were lacking, a new visitor could immediately differentiate the uŠwā̄ala from the rest of the participants by this compulsory position.

This position, which is uncomfortable enough in itself, is made extraordinarily difficult because one must sit still. The candidate must do so for three hours or more, before he is permitted to move for some specific reason. He may not lean against anything, slump, bend sideways, slide around, unfold his arms, stretch, or lift his eyes and look around inquisitively; he may neither rub nor scratch any part of his body.

X881 The adults intentionally provide each uŠwā̄ala with repeated
866 opportunities to test himself. For instance, they secretly put a small weevil on his naked back, and while the insect is crawling around they observe him closely. Woe to him if he so much as

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way of rules for living and that for them even today is the backbone of a model way of life.

1. The Teacher. The efforts made by the adults on behalf of their young people aim toward making them morally good human beings who are not only capable in all manual skills and faithful in the performance of their daily work, but who act properly from inner conviction and the dictates of conscience. Our Fuegians also have their own, definite, clearly defined ideal of education. This is kept constantly in mind by the teachers of youth in the parental hut as well as those in the čiéxaus hut. The basic ideas seem so natural and beneficial that one would think they had been taken from our European world of ideas. The educational goal is summed up in one phrase: "Everyone must become a good and useful Yamana (283)!" The adults steer straight toward this

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283. We should like to emphasize that this expression has been literally translated. It coincides exactly with the Selk'nam conception of the educational ideal, and they express it in the same words (Vol. I, 1020). The complete unanimity of the two tribes in this significant matter is not surprising if we realize that the social order is one and the same both here and there, in spite of the stronger effect of the matriarchal influence in certain respects among the Selk'nam.

goal with relentless severity, apply all kinds of methods, and struggle for it tenaciously.

In the čiéxaus hut the general rules of life that are valid for the Yamana and dominate their public as well as personal life are presented to the candidates. Many of these rules have become familiar to the ulwála early in the parental hut, but now they are placed before them as a compact, coherent body of individual /865/ regulations. In their entirety they serve the one great purpose of making a good and useful member of society out of every young person. Our Fuegians agree that society can maintain itself only if every individual adapts himself to the

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X881 869 776

as his sponsor (p. 701). This candidate and the other uwāla now hear in so many words: "The one who appeared here in the shape and outward guise of Yetāja is not really this evil spirit. Yetāja is far worse and more dangerous. Beware of him: he takes everyone who is insubordinate and disobedient!"

In the course of the admonitions given to each candidate, the teacher at first repeatedly threatens them with this apparition. The favored wording is: "Be obedient, comply carefully with everything we charge you to do here in the Great Hut, otherwise Yetāja will cause your untimely death!" A no less frequent warning is: "Beware of Yetāja who is always watchful. If he sees that you are lazy and indolent, he will make you completely exhausted and you will die!" Punishment by this evil spirit is also predicted in case a candidate talks about the things that go on in the cīxam hut and betrays them to minors.

In collusion with a sponsor, a man will inconspicuously knock on the ground. Immediately the sponsor will ask his protégé: "Did you hear Yetāja down there in the earth?" Full of terror, the candidate says he did. Sometimes his face is meanwhile covered with a scrap of leather and then the knocking becomes even more mysterious. He is made to believe that Yetāja is bumping his head from below against the layer of earth directly under the place where the candidate is sitting or under the Great Hut in general, and that is his knocking.

The people outside the Great Hut, like the candidates, are also kept in check by the threat: "Yetāja will devour anyone who approaches our Great Hut or who acts disrespectfully!" They are likewise taught that whatever anyone carries into the hut in the way of food is immediately devoured by Yetāja. Outsiders therefore believe that this evil spirit exercises unlimited power in the Great Hut and is very much to be feared (319).

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319. In view of this, "Yetāja" is very much like an omnipotent female spirit known as "Xalpen," who in the Kloketen ceremony of the Selk'nam men rules everything and every individual with ruthless great power (Vol. I, 916). Among the Yamana, however, these threats are directed only toward children, for

X881 /897 cont./
869 It is necessary to create fear, for a person who is made to be
776 afraid will carefully observe the prevailing rules. That is why we often refer to Yetájta!"

After Chris expressed his view, I set forth my misgivings: "Why do the old people emphasize a fear of Yetájta, when in reality it is Watauinéiwa who really punishes?" He replied: "In olden times much more than now the fear of Watauinéiwa was inculcated, for he is always the mightiest one, that is, much stronger than Yetájta. The latter appears in the kína. The participants of the kína celebration maintain that he lives in the earth and devours human beings (324). That is why [in modern

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324. In the men's secret ceremony the Selk'nam maintain the same thing about Xalpen, the female, omnipotent spirit (see footnote 319).

times] we implant fear of Yetájta in the candidates of the čiéxaus. In olden times here in the čiéxaus, fear of Watauinéiwa was impressed on the uswála, for he /898/ is the mightiest. Yetájta is also called tánuwa (325); that is the name for Watauinéiwa.

325. The meaning is "my dear old man"; according to BD:421, also "(My) father, my old man" /cited in English/ (in the familiar sense). BD adds by way of supplement: "A being personified in the ceena [kina] drama, was supposed to come up out of the earth, he was an old man and did not come forth and leap about but lay still in the ceena and beat the earth and brayed" /cited in English/.

They are one and the same, only now we say they are different persons" (326). I inquired further: "How can you reconcile that,

326. Unfortunately I could not find out whether Chris was expressing a general opinion. If so, we can see in his words the confusion that a later body of ideas brought into the previously

/361 cont./

Meanwhile the women rested. After about 20 minutes he loudly and repeatedly called out: hôhohohohô. The women rose and the men followed their example. They respectively crowded into a cluster and assumed a threatening attitude. One cluster shuffled toward the other and they came so close to each other that they collided. Then they began strongly shoving one another; first one group retreated slightly in the face of the other's superiority; then the first group gained the upper hand. The triumph of victory constantly veered from one group to the other. One formed a strong wall against the other, and the two pressed against each other, body against body. Sometimes an individual woman would also oppose an individual man; each of them held a dance staff at shoulder-height, and in this manner she opposed him, and he, her, with the greatest possible effort. Each of the two groups struggled hard and intensely. The pressing and pushing lasted about 20 minutes. The men, who are stronger, kept the struggle undecided in order finally to help the women to victory by allowing themselves to be pushed back against the rear of the Great Hut and even partly out into the open through the secondary entrance. The women welcomed their victory with a loud howl of joy and vigorously expressed in gestures their satisfaction at their victory over the men. Triumphantly they went back to their seats at the main entrance; the men sat down in the center of the Great Hut, showing by their behavior that they were defeated.

The meaning of this sham battle is easily discernible. For one evening, at least, the women are to have sole sovereignty in the čîkaw hut (364). In their consciousness of victory they

[171]

364. This exhibition definitely reminds one of the "Hontan" scene in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam. Here, too, the feminine world is given an opportunity "to shake off completely, at least for a few hours, the depressing feeling of utter defenselessness against the powerful tormenting spirits of the Great Hut [and these are the men themselves] and to win back their own spiritual equilibrium" (Vol. I, 997).

actually /952/ do feel elated and are visibly refreshed by it (365).

365. Schmidt (d):953 regards this struggle

/367 cont./

the Halakwulup had, after all, been unable to overtake them and had turned back. After that Hilpd remained in Ulowlia.

Those Halakwulup got together. They decided: "The three men of the Yamana came here and wanted to murder us; they took away our meat and escaped into their territory. Now we want to /368/ build a very large hut and equip ourselves. Afterwards we shall build a long canoe, and we alone, without the women, shall row to the Yamana, seize them, and kill them. That is how the Kiskan began there. From the Halakwulup it later came to the Yamana (372).

> 372. There in the west, Halakwulup and Yamana were in contact with each other. Thus the latter learned the youth initiation from the former, and gradually it was also adopted by the central and eastern Yamana.-- A variation of this myth is given below.

In order to imitate what the Halakwulup had planned, the Yamana capture live birds and bring them into the Great Hut where they remain (373). These birds remind them of the Yamana

> 373. This custom is not followed very strictly. It is more a kind of amusement for one of the participants to catch a bird and in doing so to meet the requirements of this custom.

whom the Halakwulup had intended to catch. -- So goes the story.

I was also told that some men and women of earlier generations gave certain directions and commands during the Kiskan celebration in the Halakwulup language. The Yamana like to cite this as proof of the origin of the secret celebration in the west.

[171] We cannot judge here the historical value of this myth, and it will suffice to point out that among the Halakwulup, exactly as among our Yamana, the youth initiation is an independent institution, separate from the men's ceremony (374).

> 374. These two affairs are known to be

/361 cont./

E. Property Relations

42 The orderly and peaceable coexistence of the Tamata is largely made possible by the fact that their property relationships are regulated according to ancient laws. No one questions how these arose or upon what they are based, since for each generation up to the present time traditional custom was the immutable guiding principle. Certain legal titles are based on fact; the prevailing laws of custom are primarily decisive. Actually our Tamata have an adequate number of legal concepts, which they followed in olden times as well as now (376). The economy and the social

> 376. With a view toward facilitating comparison as much as possible, this section was organized to some extent according to the pattern in Volume I, 433. Compare Krickeberg (a):333.

organization have played a part in the formation of certain relationships involving property. These relationships /362/ are particularly apparent in the social intercourse of persons or groups and in the relations between members of the most intimate family circle (377).

• [71]

> 377. Since the economy and the social organization of our Tamata agree to a great extent with the Selk'nam forms, it is not surprising that the property relations of both are almost completely alike.

A careful observer can easily determine the prevailing legal conceptions of the Tamata insofar as they pertain to property, for they are simple and definite in themselves and are also translated into action. This is not to deny individual violations against the law, but the characteristics of the law may be recognized in these very transgressions. One need not be put off by the contradictory judgments of travelers and informants. Some facts and observations have simply not been correctly interpreted.

/968 cont./

422 himself to use in making things also belong to him, such as sticks for shafts, tendons for cords, and the rib bones of whales for spear points. Finally /969/ his property consists of such objects as he has made for barter and which he saves for a suitable opportunity. His dogs and the live birds that he has caught and kept with him must not be forgotten. A Yamana man finds these few and very simple earthly goods sufficient for his way of life and his happiness.

The woman is not much richer. She does, however, own a greater number of smaller objects, whereas the man has a few substantial pieces which he calls his own. Her belongings consist of what she needs to cover and to ornament her body, furthermore a small basket or so in which she keeps small artifacts, such as fishhooks, fire implements, pouch for pigments, knife, scraper, strap, etc., and finally the mussel breaker and the long crab fork, although these two articles were made by her husband. Nowadays she also carries from one place to another the tin dishes, cloth garments, and all kinds of trifles that she obtains from the Whites.

[ST] From its early years the child, like its father and mother, disposes of his own possessions, which include clothing and ornaments, playthings, and all the tame animals that were given to him for his amusement. There is no lack of examples from olden and modern times which clearly show that even the parents do not consider themselves entitled to dispose of some article belonging to the child without his consent (384).

384. Relying on several written sources, Cooper:179 comes to the conclusion that "women and children have well recognized property rights" /cited in English/. -- The same conditions hold no less strictly for children's rights of ownership among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 422) and the Halakwulup.

•[m]

It follows naturally from this segregation of goods that no one may arbitrarily dispose of something that belongs to another. Whenever Europeans wanted to trade for some object and approached the wrong person about it, they were always referred to the real owner. Fitz-Roy (a):78, 237 definitely became acquainted with

/972 cont./

b. The Right of Possession

421 The Yamana recognize actual possessions as personal property, aside from a few common possessions. Institutions and principles pointing to pure communism are completely absent. They are familiar with several titles for the right of possession, which we must now discuss, after having described the actual forms of property. In this respect, too, our Yamana agree almost completely with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 434). The recognized legal titles are as simple and clear as the forms of the [171] possessions of this tribal society.

1. Right of the Supreme Being as Creator

421 776 Later on we shall speak of the religious convictions of the Yamana, which culminate in the recognition of a Supreme Being. Common names applied to this being are Watauinéiwa, "the /973/ ancient one," and Hidabuan, "my father." He is lord over all visible things and their supreme owner. The compound term Watauinéiwa-sir, which is often used, evidently means: the sir, or thing in the sense of property, of Watauinéiwa (386). Practically

386. BD:379 interprets this word with: "tools, implements, vessels, toys, goods, property, things in general" /cited in English/.

everything visible and tangible, without reservation, is regarded by our Fuegians as Watauinéiwa-sir; therefore the Supreme Being is the owner of visible creation.

421 776 825 Among all that has been created, the necessary daily food is the most important for our Indians. Heading the list are the game animals hunted by the man and the many lower animals which the woman gathers. Although the individual exerts himself personally for these, it is nevertheless as though he first had to ask permission from Watauinéiwa for each piece, hence his repeated request in actual prayers to the Supreme Being for the things he needs for his subsistence. In this procedure there is a faint hint that Watauinéiwa will benevolently give each human being some of that which he

/1022 cont./

521 instance, one told to the others in an evening, how he had seen, during the daytime a fanirook, a black bird, passing down a sloping hill, step by step; the bird looked round about, then at once it commenced to shake its feathers and flew off, about which they burst out into a loud laugh. Another began to tell what he had seen strange, when he was out on horseback, and the third what he had seen when he drove the cattle home" /cited in English/.

521 203 Meanwhile everyone rests comfortably, and anyone who feels like eating is immediately served by the mistress of the hut. None of those present knows when there will be another opportunity for a comfortable time together. On its trips each family usually spends only one or two nights in the same place. If entertaining fellow-tribesmen offer them company on an evening, they take advantage of it until long after midnight, and yet early the following morning they are ready to travel on. The ample, unconstrained exchange offers the incalculable advantage of keeping the individual members of the tribe from far and near in close touch and of laying bare everyone's actions. In this way all their /1023/, traditions are kept alive and transmitted, and any deviation from ancient custom can be prevented if it should become noticeable in any way.

522 [171] Finally we must mention a custom that is practiced by the Yamana exactly as it is among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 471), a diverting, half-serious, half-humorous talk contest between two people from different regions who have met in a hut. One of them will intentionally challenge his opponent with jokes and banter by praising the virtues of his own home and the capability of his own local group. Soon the other interrupts him with laudatory remarks about his region, his relatives and friends, the habits and qualifications of his group. The verbal exchange goes back and forth and is attentively listened to by all present. Finally when the two opponents have exhausted their repartee and their wittiness, they resort to mild insults and definite accusations. Now one tries to outdo the other in this without letting it become obvious that he feels hurt. At the dangerous moment, however, the bystanders, who unerringly recognize it, break off the talk contest between the two with very loud applause, thus preventing an unfortunate outcome of the initially

/1055 cont./

781 often protects this or that person from lapses, but it is really be-
776 cause of the ancient tradition itself that they adhere to its de-
626 mands. No one would ever complain of the tight bonds imposed on free action. On the contrary, the customs of the old people are everywhere highly respected, because ultimately Watauinéiwa appears as the guardian of public order.

781 Inasmuch as he must be approached with piety, no one dares repeat his name without a special reason, much less hold it in
776 contempt. If the Supreme Being is mentioned, the Yamana shows
195 decided piety and a certain solemnity in his whole outward bearing when he speaks his name, thus giving the spoken word a marked note of consecration. The various names applied to the deity are never thoughtlessly uttered. Another sign of pious respect is the use of circumlocutions. These are used most often when in the course of a ceremony of mourning an excited person struggles with Manunákin, "the sole mighty one." It is as though he wanted to dampen his improper conduct, as though he would not turn immediately and directly to the familiar deity. The habitual respectful attitude of the Yamana toward the person of the Supreme Being himself forces them, so to speak, to the greatest possible fidelity to tribal custom, particularly the moral obligations, and does not let the thought of contradiction or renunciation arise.

β. Prayers of Supplication

782 The Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 509) are exactly
● [171] alike concerning the form and distinctive character of their religious veneration, but they are /1056/ conspicuously different in the use of prayers and invocations to their deity. Whereas the Selk'nam dedicate to their Temáukel a few more or less freely chosen words only on rare occasions (Vol. I, 510), our Fuegians have at their disposal a long list of established prayer formulas which everyone uses according to the given circumstances. They have adhered to them so strictly that they still repeat them even today, although individual words and expressions are no longer used in daily life and have even become incomprehensible; only the general sense of the whole formula has been preserved.

/1090 cont./

577 private duties or drifts into deviations in the field of sexual mo-
626 rality, but he knows it and is made to feel that by doing so he loses the respectful opinion of his neighbors and is avoided by them, as though in punishment. After a time his sense of honor or a threat from the Supreme Being forces him back on the path of duty. There is every indication that these demands of justice, /1091/ and hence the entire situation pertaining to justice, have been preserved unchanged among the Fuegians throughout generations up to the present time (30).

[171]

30. In this respect our Yamana are almost exactly like the Selk'nam. The moral law of the latter has been characterized and explained with an abundance of detail in Volume I, 519. A person who would take the trouble to compare the two would find surprisingly many likenesses and similarities.

577 An adequate explanation for the gravity of the demands of
776 justice and the power of universal duty is offered by the references
626 to the ultimate originator of all this, namely, the Supreme Being himself. Our natives derive the existing custom regarding obligatory rules and laws from Watauineiwa in definite terms. It is he who demands that the individual Yamana "adapt himself [in his conduct through life] as has always been customary," that is to say, according to the principles that he himself issued from the very beginning. The mental make-up of our Fuegians is not the kind that would split hairs over individual conceptions and arrange the result in a complex chain of ideas. A general reference to traditional forms of conduct of their ancestors satisfies their intellect. What has been shown to agree with them is legally valid, and only for this reason. Thus the entire body of moral law rests on the firmest foundation and the compulsion toward duty is given the strongest impetus. This is not changed even by the following minor factor. Now and then I was told, but without noticeable emphasis: "Yoilox let us know how we Yamana should conduct ourselves!" People like to say this to the uswāala in the čiexaus when they acquaint them with the myths that surround this figure.

/1096 cont./

114 761

spirit 'from nature'" /cited in English/. The Yamana does not express himself that way. Spencer adds, correctly: "Some imagine they see the spirits. Informant knows nothing of spirits' life except that they always remain" /cited in English/.

expressions also reveal this conception. For example, grieving parents say: "Watauinéiwa let my child die, the one he gave me," but they do not express themselves in more detail about the whole process.

114 825 Once I wanted to know whether animals also had their kěspiř. Apparently this thought had never occurred to them, for they shook their heads in denial. Then I said to them: "Animals are certainly clever, especially the dog. He understands the calls and gestures of his master, he helps in hunting and is faithful. How can that be?" They replied: "We care for the dog as for a child. He helps us a great deal. We never leave him behind all by himself in a deserted place, for if he were cut off from us we would always and everywhere be aware of the barking and howling of such an abandoned dog. Perhaps the dog does have a kěspiř of his own, but he is the only one, other animals do not have it." Thus, the Yamana do not in so many words attribute a kěspiř like that of the human soul to animals.

[171] 114 Their views are essentially like those of the neighboring Selk'nam about their kăspi (Vol. I, 537); even the names that the two tribes give to the human soul and to the spirit-being are almost the same.

b. Belief in a Future Life

115 Despite the contrary assertion of a few travelers who need not be taken seriously (35), the Yamana are, without exception,

35. Darwin (d):247 writes: "Captain Fitz Roy could never find out whether the Fuegians have any definite belief in a future life. They bury their dead sometimes in caves and

/1101 cont./

775 about the fate of the spirits in the other world nor do they fear them.

c. Mourning and Death Rites

765 The grief of our Fuegians over the loss of a tribal member in death has been described several times as unusually deep and lasting. It is caused chiefly by the uncertainty over the fate of the departed soul, for separation from it lasts forever. For obvious reasons the Yamana do not speak of events which agitate them and stir them to the depths. They hold back expressions of their grief especially in front of strangers. The travelers of earlier decades and the missionaries were able to furnish only brief and incomplete accounts. Favored by fortune, I had the opportunity to take part in the mourning of a small group of survivors, as well as in the general ceremony of mourning. Hence the following account describes my own experience. At the very beginning it should be pointed out that, generally speaking, expressions of mourning among these Indians are not mere formalities without content, but come from the deepest feelings. From the start certain unreliable opinions from other pens are rejected (40). Anyone

40. For example, Lovisato (b):146 uses almost insulting words: "True grief for the deceased does not exist; the facial painting, the shrieks, the blows, the wounds that the Fuegians make at the death of a relative, the destruction of the wigwam where the individual died, and so on... are more mere practices, rules of custom, than sincere expressions of grief" /translated from Italian/.

• [171] who compares the description of the mourning customs of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 542) with those of our Yamana will find considerable agreement. One must accept this fact as it stands, and although historical connections must be mentioned as the only correct explanation for it, they can no longer be clarified in detail or even thoroughly investigated.

/1113 cont./

765 stricken by death and is sometimes in a difficult position. The
202 duty to give unselfish aid which burns ardently in everyone's soul, especially at the sight of the universally recognized smoke signal, compulsively drives them to the scene of misfortune. The mourners themselves appreciate it very much if many tribal members soon answer their summons.

After the initial, very lively outbursts have somewhat abated,
765 the painful event drives all present away from the scene of the
768 misfortune with uncanny force. Within four days at the outside, after the hut of the deceased has been burned, the campsite is changed. Usually each of the families /1114/ which have experienced the death departs in a separate direction, for each family wishes to be by itself if possible so that the others will not constantly remind them of the event. The missionaries in particular
• [171] mentioned this conduct which is common to both the Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 566) (52). Hyades (q):379 also confirms

52. Here is one example only, which Bridges (VSA:XII, 53;1865) furnished on November 10, 1864. In Wulaia the youngest child of the well-known Ukokku died, and he immediately left this region. "For it is an ascertained fact that the Fuegians will not, sometimes for a long time, return to the place where their relatives have died" /cited in English/.

this: "In general the hut in which a native died is burned, and the place where it stood is abandoned for a long time by the friends of the deceased" /translated from French/. They, of course, stay away from this place for a certain time, and meanwhile it is altered by the blind forces of nature. If the grave or the burial place has become unrecognizable as a result of plant growth or other circumstances, no one feels any aversion to settling down there.

The strict rule of never mentioning the name of the deceased
765 is in accord with the effort they make not to be reminded in any
551 way of the deceased. There are several witnesses for this. The first is Fitz-Roy (a):181 who can refer directly to Jemmy Button: "He would not talk of a dead person, saying, with a grave shake

/1114 cont./

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551

of the head, 'no good, no good talk; my country never asserts: "The Fuegians do not even like to mention their deceased friends"; likewise Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869): the name of those who have died "is not mentioned for years, and they seek to utterly forget them" /cited in English/. That is not all; according to Bridges (VSA:XI, 259;1864), "the name of the dead is sacred for a long time after, and it is a great provocation to mention the name of the dead" /cited in English/ (53). In case a survivor has a name

53. Elsewhere he (a):206 repeats: "The name of the dead is not mentioned to the mourners, as it is considered very offensive, and would endanger a person's life" /cited in English/. When, in March, 1864, Stirling (VSA:XI, 193;1864) spent some time in the Wulaia region, he was asked "not to allude to the deceased by name; for the Fuegians, like the Patagonians and other Indians, bury in silence the names of the departed" /cited in English/. Further confirmation is found in Hyades (g):39 and (q):379, Lovisato (b):149, Spencer:102, and others.

which is identical with that of the deceased, he must give it up (54). For example, he will exchange the name taken from

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54. Not only the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 565), but also other tribes of North and South America follow this custom. We give here an example from the most recent times. H. Baldus, "Erbfolge der Häuptlinge bei den Tereno" /Hereditary Succession of Chiefs among the Tereno/ (Ethnologischer Anzeiger, Vol. IV, pp. 38-42, Stuttgart, 1935), reports of these Indians in the southern Matto Grosso: "If one of the parents dies, all the children of the family are given other names, so that the surviving parent is not reminded of the past by their former names and thereby saddened."

/1148 cont./

773 821 day star. Concerning "that other world" for which Lēm also kindly shines, the Yamana are referring quite generally to the territory of those peoples whom they assume live beyond their own territory. In more recent times they are thinking especially of the Whites whose home, as they are constantly assured, is far away from the Fuegian archipelago (74).

• [171]

74. There are a number of points of similarity between this description and the Selk'nam story of the old sun-man and his son, the day star. The only special point to be noted is that the latter was also decisively active in revealing the Kloketen secret of the women (Vol. I, 600).

δ. The Rainbow

821 With weather conditions as they are in the Cape Horn region, the rainbow is anything but a rare phenomenon. Nevertheless, it always delights our Yamana. One can clearly see that they love to look at it and that it gives them a great deal of satisfaction. They are refreshed and gratified by its radiant colors. On many occasions I observed how adults and children, even in pouring rain, crawled out of their hut, stood outside, and, wide-eyed, enjoyed the intense glow of the rainbow (75).

75. Cojazzi:105 writes: "The rainbow is regarded as the harbinger of the wrath above [of the malignant god], and the women and girls shudder at the sight of it, but the men curse it and spit at it" /translated from Italian/. This report is altogether erroneous and contrary to my own observations.

773 821 At the same time I was told in a wholly matter-of-fact tone: "This Akáinix is the brother of Lēm and likewise an imposing, very handsome man. How could it be otherwise, since both belong to the same family. Of all men Akáinix knew how to paint himself best; even today he shows himself in unattainably

/1151 cont./

773 relatives asked: 'Why are our men gone such a long time? Did
821 you perhaps see them out there near that cliff?' Akāinix answered: 'Certainly I saw them. They stepped into the sea in order to reach the cormorants who were swimming far out. Have patience, they will probably soon return!' The women again waited a long time, but the men did not return. After a while they became convinced that Akāinix himself had murdered all the men. They were overcome with anger and seized with rage. They began to suspect Akāinix openly and attacked him angrily. This aroused him and he began defending himself violently. Soon there was a terrific struggle between Akāinix and the men who were present. He was hard pressed because his opponents were numerous. They held him fast, but did not succeed in killing him. For some time they choked him and tried to break his neck, but they did not succeed despite the greatest effort, for he was a mighty yēkamuš. They only managed to bend his neck and his long back so far that since then he cannot quite raise himself up straight. Yāj, the son of Akāinix, also took part in this struggle and defended his father. The men, therefore, choked him just as they did his father and they also bent his spine. Since then Akāinix and his son Yāj (76) have remained deeply bowed and

76. This is the second, pale rainbow which sometimes accompanies the bright one.

curved to this day (77). The relatives of those amorous men whom

•[171] 77. This clear mythical motif is also familiar to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 609).

Akāinix murdered, however, also carried off something from that struggle. They soiled themselves with īmi while they were choking Akāinix, for he was a yēkamuš and therefore painted red all over, as is customary for a yēkamuš who has died. To this day these birds (78) carry the stain of red color on their feathers."

78. They were not mentioned by name or described in any other way. -- The story assumes conditions after the great upheaval.

/1153 cont./

773 slowly. She is still young and therefore small and thin. Gradu-
821 ally she becomes a full-bodied, adult woman. Then she conceives a daughter whom she carries under her heart [full moon]. After that her strength constantly decreases, and she becomes weaker and weaker [waning moon], in fact so weak finally that she nears the end of her life. Then she gives life to her daughter. Since she is giving birth, she makes herself inaccessible and avoids the glances of human beings. Soon she herself dies, but her daughter begins to live and to grow; she develops exactly like her mother. Sometimes this moon-child Hánuxa-xéolan comes down to earth. No one sees it except the yékamus. They can also hear it when it cries and weeps in its own peculiar way." According to this interpretation the appearance of the new moon is a progressive succession of generations and each moon's change is the development of a mother (82).

•[171]

82. The Selk'nam (Vol. I, 601) have more to say about the moon-woman. Some of their views deviate, others coincide in significant details with what I learned from the Yamana.

The Yamana do not have anything further to say about the children of the parental pair, Akáinix, the rainbow, and Hánuxéakuxípa, the moon-woman, or about their forefathers. They simply say that this couple came here along with the other families during the first immigration from the east.

ʃ. The Deluge

773 Several times reference has been made to a general flood, about which every adult is well informed. This is probably the reason that the reports of several missionaries /1154/ contain casual references to this belief. In Outes (g):54 one reads: "They believe in a period of great tides, and when the waters covered a good part of the country, a box happened to come floating by and stopped on the summit of a high mountain. This box

/1185 cont./

773 This circumstance, however, does not justify the view that there
776 is any close relationship between the Yoálox family and Watauinéiwa.

I also inquired very definitely as to whether the Yoálox took part in the great upheaval in the kīna at Yáiaašága. The most experienced old people replied: "By that time the Yoálox had surely already left the earth. The Yamana of earlier times never told us that the Yoálox participated in that great upheaval." In the myth about the origin of the kīna, also, they are not mentioned; hence there is no justification for connecting the Yoálox with the men's secret ceremony. However, as I was assured on one occasion in 1920, Yoálox-tárnuxīpa in her day had a great influence on all the women who came from the north to Beagle Channel (p. 1111). The Yoálox also are not associated with Lēm and his family. The only connection between the personalities mentioned is that they consecutively occupy a period that is separate from that of human beings (p. 1118), a period that can be justifiably designated as that of the heroes. Before the close of this period the younger Yoálox introduced actual childbirth (p. 1140), through which he was granted a son. This boy and his brother begin the succession of true human beings, the yámana. The transition from the age of pre-human beings to that of human beings takes place without any disruption.

A survey of the status and activity of the two Yoálox brothers shows that apparently they are endowed with superior power and are the founders of the way of life of the Yamana people. They designed the way of life, arranged it, and guaranteed it for all time by means of rules and regulations of binding legal power. They are responsible for valuable inventions which make life bearable and work easier. Thus they are shown to be culture heroes in that strict sense which Ehrenreich (a):236 applied specifically to conditions among primitive peoples. Very
773 briefly it should be mentioned that there are a surprising number
776 of points of agreement between the Yoálox brothers and the
171 Kwányip brothers and sisters of whom the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581) tell. Among the latter, most of the details are much clearer and more definite, and there is more accuracy and completeness in the succession of ideas. There is a striking basic connection

/1185 cont./

773 between the unique and definite ideas that surround the figure of
776 the younger Yoálox among the Yamana and the figure of Kwányip
171 with her brothers and sisters among the Selk'nam. Unfortunately, space does not permit detailed comparisons (108).

108. Instead, see the separate essay by Gusinde (ii):687, as well as the general remarks in Ehrenreich (b):44 and Schmidt (d):1016.

In any case, it is noteworthy that in this so-called age of heroes the individual personalities, except for contemporaries, succeed one another at definitely distinguishable intervals and carry on the development. It has already been shown that the same is true among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 606). /Ed., Section b, "Myths and Legends," pp. 1186-1277, is omitted./

/1278/ D. Belief in Spirits and Superstitions

776 A special group of spirits, distinctly separate from the body of ideas surrounding Watauinéiwa and from the heroes and mythological figures, lives in the imaginations of our Fuegians. Far from having originated anything important or advantageous for the Yamana, they represent something like apparitions and demons to them. If an individual on his daily wanderings or canoe trips chances to meet these creatures, it usually does not fail to happen that he is at least threatened or endangered, sometimes even badly harmed and murdered. They are generally malevolent spirits, with the single exception of the good-natured Yefáčel. To the following description of this group of spirits a section on how the Yamana regard their dreams and on certain superstitious conceptions will be added.

a. The Groups of Spirits

In the preceding sections it has often been shown that the Yamana have the same accurate and comprehensive idea of an

/1287 cont./

773 was not satisfied with that either. In their despair the people
776 now took hold of a little girl and tossed her into the water; the girl sank very quickly. Nevertheless, the Lakúma still did not release the canoe. Finally the people seized the big girl, the tú·ikípa, and shoved her overboard. Lakúma seized her avidly and, quick as lightning, sank down into the depths with her. Soon the entrails [of that girl] rose up and floated on the surface. This made the people very sad. After a time the Lakúma reappeared on the surface and stretched out, making himself very flat. Then the people discovered on his back a great many mussels of such uncommon size that they had never before seen any like them (253). The men reached for them and /1288/ took a

253. It is well known that there are numerous parasites on the back of an old whale, especially Balanus and Coropula types. This sentence refers to them.

few off his back. Their shells were particularly sharp. In their rage the men quickly cut up the whole Lakúma with them, tore out his entrails, and dismembered him completely. The Lakúma was dead immediately and sank to the bottom of the sea. At the same instant the canoe began to move, although no one was using the oars, and in no time at all it reached the shore. The people breathed a sigh of relief. But the girl was lost, for she had tasted the berries as a tú·ikípa.

This story, which obviously has a pedagogic aim, is definitely regarded as a myth, wátuwa, not as an actual experience of a known family. I suspect that Bridges (a):211 heard something about it and interpreted the genuinely mythical material as an actual occurrence. In any case, it is certain that the Lakúma should be regarded as creations of the imagination and the fear of our exceedingly superstitious Fuegians.

3. The Forest Giants

171
773 Inasmuch as the figure of the giant and man-eater Čáskels
776 exists among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 593), it is not strange that

171 /1288 cont./
173 our Yamana tell about many giant-like spirits which make the
176 Cape Horn Archipelago unsafe. If one compares the mythological material of the two tribes, it becomes clear that among the Selk'nam it is well organized and richer, but that there are also considerable differences. In any case, a comparison with the Yóši is recommended.

176 The giants are called Hánnuš. People say that there are a considerable number scattered through the country. Each one lives only in the forest, and he hides behind thick tree-trunks whenever a human being approaches. Each one also rules over a certain area where he lives all by himself; he regularly roams alone in all directions through it and only very rarely do several Hánnuš gather somewhere. Each one is at least twice as tall as an adult Yamana. He goes about stark naked, for his body hair is almost as thick as the wool of the guanaco.

If a Yamana wanders through a lonely forest all by himself or lies down to sleep in it, the Hánuš approaches him. Out of fear of meeting the giant, people therefore avoid penetrating far into the forest and usually stay close to the edge. Even from there they can hear the crashing of trees and the breaking of twigs wherever he sets foot. They also often hear a storm-like howling of the wind, which announces his approach. Thus warned, everyone who can hastens to safety. It is best for the person to get into his canoe and row out to the open channel where the Hánnuš cannot follow him. This giant prefers to surprise men and women who have fallen asleep; /1289/ he robs them and slays them. At night he also comes near the huts that have been erected at the edge of the forest, especially if they shelter only a few people, whom he murders. He watches particularly for lazy women who have come into the forest to gather wood or berries and instead have lain down and gone to sleep. Cautiously and softly he creeps up to them and makes them fall into a deep sleep. Then he lives with them and satisfies his desire. As for young women, he likes best to drag them to his quarters where they are at his mercy. Every Hánnuš is considered a lecherous fellow. He likes to give men a hard blow with his mighty club and leave them lying in the woods. He likes best of all to chase half-grown children, especially girls. When he

/1307 cont./

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a snow figure resembling a human being. It was about 120 centimeters high, very clumsy and irregular, the kind of snowman that school children in Europe fashion without any care. The head, body, and arms were merely suggested on the figure and very inaccurately fashioned. The men made it in a few minutes. Meanwhile several children and a few adults had assembled in front of it. As soon as the two men declared their clumsy structure finished, everybody gathered in front of it at a distance of about five meters and pelted it with stones, logs, clubs, and spears, in a spirit of savage destruction, until the wobbly structure was completely torn apart and lay there as a chaotic pile of snow. The excited, wild behavior is supposed to make clear to "winter," who is believed to be embodied in this figure, how displeased, indeed embittered, everybody is with him and that he should take himself off as soon as possible. They anticipate prompt success with this ceremony which has been handed down by their forefathers, and they resort to it several times during the cold season (264).

> 264. As early as 1865 Bridges observed the same thing: "The Fuegians, to drive such unpleasant weather away, build a figure of the snow, in shape somewhat like a man, and throw spears into it, and demolish it with paddles" /cited in English/ (VSA:XII,6;1865).--
> [171] The Selk'nam also try to change the weather by means of a certain magical custom, in which a so-called "bad-weather child" and a "fair-weather child" play the chief roles (Vol. I, 684).

Bridges reported another custom which is also of the type of genuine magic-by-analogy; I myself did not come across it. On a stormy day "all men were disguised with paint and charcoal. The men came along, many armed with clubs. One man, Lasapowloom, a vigorous, active young fellow, acted the champion and challenger, and stood prominently forward to meet the foremost and most excited of the opposite party. Like the man

/1312 cont./

X575 562 about the entire heritage of ideas and conceptions of the tribe is supplemented and amplified for the young men exclusively in the secret ceremony of kína, which on principle is reserved for the male population. Here the primary aim is not a clearly-defined goal to be achieved through training -- although training is not altogether ignored -- but rather an introduction to a unique sphere of mythological ideas which the men regard as their exclusive property. They guard it anxiously from the inquisitiveness of their wives, and sometimes, in their consciousness of this possession, they make the female population as a whole keenly aware of their superior position and their arrogance. The explanation for all this is that the kína, based on prejudiced ideas, shows a more or less marked misogyny. This one-sidedness makes the kína fundamentally different from the čiéxam. The latter is available to both sexes at puberty, the former only to mature men (266 /sic/).

•[171]

266. I discovered the same conditions among the Halakwulup. These Fuegians have a separate men's ceremony besides the actual youth initiation. For the time being compare Gusinde (o):541 and (q):287.

[136]

Fig. 95. Sea Lions, Otaria jubata.

/1312 cont./

X 575 171 The Selk'nam in their Klóketen ceremony (Vol. I, 808) have an arrangement in which, if one can express it thus, the two Yamana institutions of the čiéxaus and the kina are, at least outwardly, combined. The basic character and the many details of the kina embrace precisely the kinds of ideas and the means of expressing them that may be summed up as constituting an actual men's ceremony. Everything that is included in such a ceremony is more pronounced in the klóketen of the Selk'nam. This klóketen proves to be a more original form, scarcely corrupted or weakened in any way, although it is at the same time an actual initiation of youth. In order to facilitate comparison of these secret ceremonies among the two neighboring tribes, I have arranged the following description with reference to the account of the klóketen ceremony. The portrayal, which is not too voluminous, /1313/ has historical as well as factual value, because I was the first European to learn about the kina from personal observation and because it proved to be the last ceremony of its kind. It is a strange coincidence that I, as the first European, was permitted to experience and, through direct participation, to become intimately acquainted with the last klóketen, which the Selk'nam held in 1923, and the last kina, which the Yamana celebrated in 1922 (267).

X 575 123

267. I reaped important benefits from having witnessed the Kina of the Yamana before seeing the more clearly defined and elaborate form of the men's ceremony of Klóketen among the Selk'nam. I have pointed this out in a number of places; compare at least Vol. I, 816, as well as Gusinde (m):973 and (q):277.

a. Information through Europeans

X 575 114 The Kina is a secret ceremony to which, on principle, only adult men are admitted. A Yamana will very seldom speak about it in everyday life. Even when men are among themselves, the word kina is scarcely ever mentioned. This circumstance alone

/1503 cont./

X 575 361 Not only must the Kina hut be erected on a favorable spot and on a slight rise in the ground, but the dwellings of the individual families must also be moved together in a certain arrangement and be set up in such a way that they are not within range of the wide entrance to the Kina hut. The dwellings are at least 15 meters away so that the conversation and activities of the men cannot be overheard or observed by the women and children. The elevation of the Kina hut permits the men to watch and follow every movement in the camp proper without undue effort and unobtrusively. Above all no intruder may approach their secret gathering-place (272). The closer the

[171]

272. Basically, the local conditions here are the same as those required for the camp arrangement at the Kinkeren celebration of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 831). The gathering-place of the men is like the stage of a theater, with the dwellings in front and at a certain distance, as though they were the auditorium for the women and children.

dwellings are to one another, the easier it is to survey them from the Kina hut. For that reason persons who are closely related are definitely urged to move into the so-called multiple-family huts (p. 31). Two to four families thus live in the same room. This is not disturbing or uncomfortable for them because the men are almost always in the Kina hut.

4. Building the Great Hut

X 575 345 Scarcely have the families settled in the place assigned to them when the building of the Great Hut commences, following the request and directions of the leader. Middle-aged men willingly offer their services. First of all the chosen site on a slight rise is cleared of stones, low bushes, and many a /1504/ tree stump. If necessary it is also leveled off somewhat. The women and children may watch this work from their dwellings; from now on they may come no closer.

/1324 cont./

Kiskeum hut of the Selk'nam regularly faces east (Vol. I, 538).

In the interior of this Kina hut the actual resting places are now arranged in the following manner, unlike the Tekenen hut. Clumps of turf are put around the central open space for the fire, and they are stamped down with the feet as evenly as possible. A layer of the long, broad-leafed grass /1325/ Tika (Poa flabellata), which is used in the ordinary dwellings (cf. p. 55), is often scattered on top, but it is permissible to use this grass only if the short, sharp-pointed pampas grass, [illegible], cannot be obtained. The latter grows in bunches in open places, is very dry and hard, and scarcely 35 centimeters tall (274). A bunch of this grass can

274. Species of Calamagrostis are referred to here, which also flourish on the rocky coasts between moors. Cf. Spegazzini (6):86.

be pulled out only if one grasps it firmly and twists the roots. While the men are gathering many trunks and poles for the hut framework, the Kina leader directs the women and children to provide the necessary amount of grass. He tells them very definitely that they must bring in a great deal of [illegible] (275).

275. It is very remarkable that similarly in the Kiskeum hut of the Selk'nam only this short, hard pampas grass is used for the men's resting place (Vol. I, 538).

On top of this layer of grass each man spreads his piece of leather on the place where he will sit throughout the entire festival.

It is noteworthy that this conical Great Hut for the Kina festival is specially decorated on the inside. All around the interior a red band as wide as three fingers is painted at the level of a man's head. Above that a white band of equal width is applied, and above that, a black one. All three are separated from each other by two spaces each as wide as a finger. These three bands, which serve as decorative painting, are symbolically interpreted as suggesting a rocky moorscape. The red color recalls the irregular moors on the beach, which are more or less thickly

/1232 cont./

X515 302 Half an hour passes in pleasant conversation. Meanwhile Santiago has again been violently pricking the inside of his nose; the blood falls in thick drops. He smears it all over his face and chest; the sight of him will call forth ample terror and pity. Since Santiago himself offers it, a few of the other men collect some of his blood and rub it on their faces, thus saving themselves minor pain and the loss of their own blood. The men marked in this way show themselves to their families to indicate that they have been mistreated by the violent Tlauwa spirit. They wear these marks of terror until they are worn off. The men repeat this same deception several times during the Kina festival (279). Naturally, the deplorable countenances of the

•[11]

279. The Seik'nem also have this strange way of deceiving their women, pretending that they have been mistreated by the so-called Kloketen spirits. Cf. Vol. I, 941.

men do not fail to have an effect on the women children.

X515 In former times the participants in the Kina festival were obliged to remain in the Great Hut almost constantly; they ate and slept there. This time, in March, 1922, they are concerned only with demonstrating the more important features of this performance. They omit what is superfluous because they do not wish to exert themselves unduly. As a matter of convenience they do not eat in the Great Hut, /1233/ but each one hastens to his own family and lets his wife wait on him. Only two younger men stay behind to keep watch over everything. Since the men were having a very jolly time together earlier, they all want to get back to the secret hut soon after the meal. Here they comfortably talk over the success they can boast of in their crafty deception and gather courage for further tricks to be played on the women. To finish off the day they want to give them one more particularly bad fright. Malemiksa, the wily leader, points out to the men that a Kalemqiks mask would terrify the camp inmates to their very bones. Everybody agrees enthusiastically. A white line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes suffices as painting, for, after all, it is dark and they need not fear that a woman will look

/1335 cont./

X575 who now sees the two "spirits" in front of him. Again he is terror-stricken. The leader calls to him: "Grab him by the head!" Resolutely the lad stretches out his hand and pulls the mask off the "spirit." Now he recognizes the man and winces in astonishment. He must immediately unmask the other "spirit" in the same way. This whole procedure has the effect of a revelation; he stands in front of the men who have been unmasked as though he had turned to stone. While this is going on, the tight circle of participants all around him yell and stamp with all their might. Now the uš̌wā́ala knows the nature of the spirits; further explanation is unnecessary.

The uš̌wā́ala must now sit down. As he does so, he can see that the two "spirits" take their places in the circle of men. Again his face is covered. Now all the men dance around the fire in wild haste and howl quite dreadfully (280). Suddenly they

[171]

280. It is noteworthy that in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam the candidate who has just been introduced unveils the secret of the so-called spirits in the same way, namely, by pulling off the mask himself (Vol. I, 853).

stop, jump once where they stand, utter a long-drawn out hō, /1336/ and the whole circle breaks up. Everyone sits down in his place; the two spirits sit in front of the uš̌wā́ala, and the guide next to him. Once again the uš̌wā́ala faces the wall and turns his back to the entrance. If two or three young men are introduced for the first time on the same occasion, the procedure described above is followed, except that one spirit dances in front of each uš̌wā́ala and the masks are pulled off by the uš̌wā́ala at the same moment, following a signal from the leader.

This unmasking is followed by a brief pause during which the frightened candidates calm down somewhat. The next few minutes are devoted entirely to their instruction. This is regularly given by the leader and actually consists only of an urgent admonition that the youths faithfully and conscientiously guard the Kina secret. The leader either has the candidates assemble in front of him,

X575 /1345 cont./
773 transformation of the people taking part, for it was a struggle between men and women for existence or nonexistence (297).

[171] 297. There is justification for a brief reference here to the surprisingly complete agreement between the basic ideas of the origin myth and those underlying the secret men's ceremonies of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 859), Yamana, and Halakwulup. All three are juxtaposed in Gusinde (q):261. Cf. the summary in Schmidt (d):995.

[173] Another familiar idea should be repeated here: Under the leadership of the women who performed the Kina, the families immigrated from the north to Beagle Channel, which at that time was unpopulated. They were the first settlers here. The Yamana refer to this as the basis for their legal claim to the region, and they have occupied it since then as the sole owners (p.855). The text of the two versions given above differs in details and in minor incidents. Naturally, all mature men who have personally experienced the Kina are acquainted with the basic ideas of this origin myth, and it is also familiar to a number of women, as will be further explained and shown below.

4. The Daily Program

X575 To this day the Yamana men feel justified in assembling in the Great Hut and celebrating the Kina, while excluding the women as a matter of principle. They definitely maintain that in former times the women, for their part, kept all the men in subjection by means of the same celebration. Hence, they say, their action is an absolutely fitting retaliation for all that was once carried on in exactly the same way by the group of women. The men regard the content of the origin myth in all seriousness as true and reliable; they base their vindication upon it. While the esteem that the men have for the women in everyday life is not basically altered and the social position of every woman is a

/1367 cont./

Y575 to now have been standing in front of their huts watching, hasten back in, overjoyed. Each one draws a white line, a handbreadth wide, from her neck to her navel and a red line, the width of a finger, from the corners of her mouth to her ear lobes. Inside the Great Hut the yékamuš paints his whole body red, and over this he paints a few large white dots and a white line the width of a hand from his neck to his navel. Again he steps out of the Great Hut and all the men he has brought back to life follow him. The women hasten toward them from the dwellings. In accordance with instructions from the yékamuš, the men crowd together and [535] the women form a ring around them. Immediately this ring around the men begins to move in a rhythm which the men accompany by stamping and rapidly and continuously repeating šikušili in a monotone. The women enjoy themselves in this way for some time; they want to announce their happiness over the fact that their men have been given back to them. At a signal from the yékamuš the two groups disperse and separate (307).

[171] 307. This performance shows a great deal of similarity to the appearance of Kataix in the Kloketen; he, too, takes great pleasure in torturing and murdering the men (Vol. I, 960).

BD:135 gives činūgū, "painted all over with spots and bands of white, danced about naked and in frantic manner, and was supposed to come up through the earth and pretended to kill the man in the Ceena" /cited in English/.

The performance of Yamālakemana is disquieting and exciting for the women. This spirit was and is a dangerous murderer. He is not visible to the women in the camp; instead he rages about among the men and the women can plainly hear it. There are no special preparations necessary for this performance. The leader simply stands beside the hut entrance once, and in a voice filled with fear, he calls over to the camp: "We are faced with something terrible; a dangerous spirit has just announced himself! Woe to us defenseless men!" The latter immediately commence a pitiful howling. The women show outward signs of pity and

/1373 cont./

X575 The Histuku performance has historical value, so to speak.
535 While the men are preparing for it, the leader gives a signal and there begins an unvarying, constantly repeated hóitu, hóitu... on the same pitch and with sharp emphasis. The force and tempo of this call slowly increases in order to attract the attention of the women in the camp. Meanwhile the participants paint their
[302] bodies white. A red arc as wide as a finger is drawn across the forehead, with its ends pointing downward. Then, shouting loudly, the men arrange themselves one behind the other. They squat down so far that they support themselves with both fists and their buttocks almost touch the ground. They can move forward only in short steps. When the first men in this column are just visible, a few older /1374/ women hasten to the field and await the men. The latter keep their squatting position, but form a closed circle. The women approach and walk along the outside of the circle. They gently slap each man with a piece of leather or with the hand, and the man immediately falls over as though he had been killed. The women hastily depart. Not until after about ten minutes, during which no one in the camp stirs, the men cautiously get up and, deeply bent over and one behind the other, go back to the Great Hut without a sound. They quietly wash off their painting and in an undertone converse very gaily, for, after all, they have not been killed and have not been
[776 murdered by the women. Histuku is the spirit of the fur seal,
825] tëpëwa (Arctocephalus australis). At the time of the great struggle in Yāiaalāga he moved in the same clumsy way he does today, and many women fell upon him in order to kill him. That is exactly what happens now in this performance (311).

•[771] 311. This scene is almost exactly like the Hoštan scene in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 997). BD:262 also speaks of this performance "before the women and children as spectators" /cited in English/.

X575 All the plays listed here, which I experienced personally,
776 do not exhaust the long list. BD mentions many additional ones.
825 For example, BD:170, kiūāgwīaka, the performance of the sea

/1380 cont./

X575 the leadership of the entire Kina, but also, nearly always, the
156 duty of calling each of the spirits out of the Great Hut with the customary arm movement. /1381/ In all the deliberations and decisions of the men the yékamuš have the decisive voice (314).

•[[71]]

314. It is exactly the same in the Kolketen. -- A detailed comparison of the men's festivals among the Selk'nam and the Yamana may be omitted here, since this has already been done by Gusinde (q):291, with the secret ceremony of the Halakwulup also included. At first glance it is striking that among the Selk'nam the actual youth initiation and the characteristic celebration of the men are united in a single affair (Vol. I, 1083).

They are regarded as closely associated with the spirits. It is only one of them, one who feels an urge to do so, who is permitted to perform the customary dance with one of the spirits outside the Great Hut. Again and again this or that yékamuš will approach a dancer or performer and give him renewed strength and firmness of limbs by means of his peculiar kind of magic massage. Among the Yamana there is no other sizeable group affair whose program, so to speak, is so entirely in the hands of the yékamuš as it is in the Kina.

X575 With all the curious peculiarities of the Kina, it must not be overlooked that candidates are almost always introduced and are subject to strict treatment. The chief purpose is to familiarize them with the origin myth; actual training is only secondary. Only those chaps who have shown serious defects of character or whose behavior leads one to fear bad consequences are subject to strict discipline and personal influence. Out of consideration for the general welfare, the older members of the tribe may not miss any opportunity to protect the individual and the group as a whole from harm and injury. The Kina festival is not required to fulfill the task of educating all the uǰwáala.

Finally, if one regards the Kina in connection with the entire social order, it clearly seems to be a foreign body. Even if one is not inclined to attribute historical value to the origin myth, nevertheless the suggestion that the Kina is supposed to

X 575 /1382 cont./

When the Kina is over, all their social life with its balanced harmony in the distribution of energy goes on as quietly and matter-of-factly as though no one knew anything about this performance, and no one feels that it is necessary to hold it again after a certain time.

There are several factors, therefore, that characterize the Kina as a foreign body in the total culture of the Yamana. It is true that they have made allowances for it now and then in their tribal life, but in such a way that the latter is not affected. The activity of the men in their secret gathering is not seriously meant as obvious hostility against the women, and besides it is at variance with the men's innermost nature. For this reason they justify their action by referring to the origin myth, although they do not remotely believe it possible that the women could rise up against the existing relations of the sexes. There are many indi-
[177] cations that the Yamana have derived their men's celebration from the Selk'nam. W. Schmidt (d):954 has pointed out an important feature of the Kina in a general evaluation of such performances when he says: "Probably nowhere else in the world is the character of this men's celebration as a reaction of the men against the matriarchal superiority of the women so clearly expressed in an absolutely classic way in the myth itself." Space is lacking for further comparisons.

/1383/ F. The Medicine-Man System

X 756 ● 171 From the reports of missionaries and travelers it has long been known that the Yamana are not without persons who function basically in the same manner and for the same ends as the well-known medicine men among the North American Indians. In the Cape Horn region they are called yékamuš. Their field of activity is extensive; the individual and the people in general must reckon with the yékamuš and are dependent upon them. If one compares the medicine-man system of our Yamana with that of the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 717), he finds many points of agreement. The details need not be compared here. It will simply be pointed out that, by and large, the xon of the

/1383 cont./

X756 171 Selk'nam are believed to be far more powerful and more malevolent in their activities than are the full-fledged yékamuš of the Yamana. Whereas the body of thought of the medicine-man system among the Selk'nam is consistently worked out and elaborately developed, there are very often gaps in the train of ideas pertaining to the yékamuš. The Yamana, however, have a well organized medicine-man school which the Selk'nam have not achieved; it is well known that the primary goal of the latter's Pešére is not the training of young members of the calling (Vol. I, 787).

X756 It was often tiring to follow my informants in their involved lines of thought through the realm of yékamuš conceptions. [123] I was substantially helped by the extraordinary advantage of being permitted to attend the so-called lōima-yékamuš, a medicine-man school in the actual sense of the word. The many observations and explanations that I gathered on this subject in the course of my journeys follow in an arrangement for clarity. When I translate the designation yékamuš as "medicine man," I am by no means giving an exact and clear explanation or a definition. I am well aware that hitherto neither ethnology nor particularly ethnopsychology has attempted to draw a sharp line of distinction between the content of the terms: medicine man, sorcerer, witch doctor, magic priest, and shaman. The term "sorcerer" does not include a large part of the purely suggestive influence on ordinary people by the yékamuš, and neither "witch doctor" nor "shaman" indicates that the yékamuš is believed to have considerable influence upon natural forces. "Medicine man" is a term whose varied connotation is familiar from conditions in North America. Terms such as "doctor," "physician," and "healer" are either not very appropriate or wholly unsuitable for our purposes because each implies the conception of an activity directed against a physical ailment or against infirmities of the sick body. In contrast to this the yékamuš exerts his influence on the psychic life of the tribesmen, which is why he deserves far more to be called "physician of souls" (315) or "spiritual adviser." The following

315. An attempt to clarify these terms among the South American Indians according to

X 756

/1383 cont./

definite principles was undertaken in Gusinde (kk):286. In the many references to the yekamus, the names constantly vary. Compare the source material assembled in Cooper: 159, as well as Bridges (i):18 and Outes (g):54.

account /1384/ justifies the translation of the word yékamuš which has been chosen here. Although for a number of decades the entire culture of the Yamana has yielded to steady, progressive deterioration, the medicine-man system continued to the time when I made my observations without surrendering its essential parts. I was still able to comprehend its characteristics fully. Even middle-aged men who, through much contact with Europeans, sometimes showed perfectly clear signs of something like "emancipation" from traditional views and customs remained firmly and unshakably firm about their conceptions of their yékamuš system.

a. Personality of the Medicine Man

The Yamana ascribe an extraordinary power to their yékamuš, a power which, under certain circumstances, is really used to the harm and detriment of a tribal member. Although the yékamuš work perhaps even more frequently to the advantage of their immediate neighborhood and render great services to many a person, nevertheless the attitude of the individual Fuegian toward the yékamuš is such as is dictated by respect and awe, mistrust and fear (316). More specifically, the people know little about the

[171]

316. The same situation exists among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 718). This is mentioned only in passing, since detailed comparisons would be too long.

medicine men's method of operation or about their connection with the many spirits with whom they co-operate, to say nothing of the manner of their influence on natural forces which they purport to control. This supposition explains the feeling of

/1390 cont./

X756 but in reality it is not the same in the case of a yékamuš." No
826 one is able to give more specific explanations, and many Yamana
/1391/ themselves undoubtedly do not have a clear conception
of what it is that they always affirm in these same words. It
[171] seems to me that a reference to the view of the Selk'nam about
their medicine men is justified (Vol. I, 740). Many details that
they attribute to their xon exactly fit the yékamuš of our Yamana,
for example, the extreme sensitiveness of the skin that it is so
easily injured. In the following lines there are a few more supplementary remarks about this strange conception of the Yamana concerning the physical being, or rather the physical make-up, of their yékamuš.

3. His Psychic Nature

X756 In view of the preceding description it is not surprising
that the Yamana are able to say little about the mental side and
the psychic make-up of a medicine man. They do not try to
penetrate this area, which is difficult of access, and content
themselves with what they comprehend with their senses about
the operations of the yékamuš. The latter is primarily dependent
upon personal feelings and incomprehensible fantasy images,
which he neither clearly reveals nor describes in plain words.
Thus one can only describe the manner in which the yékamuš
operates as it presents itself to careful observation. The Selk'nam
have a lucid body of ideas about their xon and their basic thoughts
about their medicine-man system are well developed. In this
respect the notions of what surrounds and constitutes the personality of the yékamuš are far inferior. This difference in scope
as well as in the comprehension of the ideas and conceptions of
the medicine-man system between the two Fuegian tribes is of
decisive weight from a culture-history point of view.

A few basic facts about the manner of operation and the
sphere of action of the yékamuš will at least permit a clear
judgment. This is all the more important inasmuch as there is
a widespread view that everything a medicine man does is only
a refined type of deception and minutely calculated swindle.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

575 of spirits (pl. 33, *a*). So decked out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire penalties if they did not remain submissive to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

773 Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the *Yahgan* have been presented by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1139–1277), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1937, pp. 1278–1294). Perhaps the most important single phase of the mythology is the Yoálox cycle. The elder of the two Yoálox brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the cormorant, the otter, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the medicine man. The long story of the earlier matriarchate was briefly summarized supra under Kina rite with which it was associated, just as the Yoálox cycle was more or less associated with the čiéxaus. The chief folklore beings believed in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, [796] the Lakúma water spirits, and the Hánnush giants.

LORE AND LEARNING

171 In general, *Yahgan* technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and coiled basketry, gives little indication of inventive strivings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple *Yahgan* harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect *Yahgan* culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern *Athabaskan* and northern *Algonquians* of sub-Arctic America.

202 [804] [811] There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no means of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or, so far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the inclined stick to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Nothofagus betuloides* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 16 feet (5 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a balloonlike cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

805 The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our own, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

105 the method of fire-making, the borrowing group made the introduced
177 feature completely their own. But often the borrowed trait never became characteristic, and its use was only local and occasional. If these acquired features are subtracted the cultural poverty of each tribe is greatly intensified.

SUMMARY OF FUEGIAN MATERIAL CULTURE

105
171

Ona	Yahgan
Clothing	
robe	cape
slip	——
pubic covering	pubic covering
moccasins	moccasins (rare)
leggings (rare)	leggings (rare)
hunter's cap	——
shaman's cap (rare)	shaman's cap (rare)
——	mittens (rare)
Ornamentation	
anklets	anklets (rare)
wristlets (rare)	wristlets (rare)
necklace	necklace
paint	paint
tattooing	——
Houses	
skin windbreak	skin-covered dome of saplings
log tipi (rare)	log tipi (rare)
Transportation	
pack harness	canoe
walking-stick	paddle
——	bailer
——	mooring rope
Camp Equipment	
flint and pyrites	flint and pyrites
fire-tongs	fire-tongs
grease stone	grease stone
skin water-bag	bark bucket
——	shell cup
skin storage-bags	skin storage-bags
gut storage-bags (rare)	gut storage-bags
——	kelp storage-bag

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

105
171

basket (one kind)	baskets (three kinds)
frame cradle	——
dog leash	——
——	feather broom (recent?)
comb	comb
——	face-painting stick

Tools

knife	knife
flesh-scraper	flesh-scraper (rare)
wood-scraper	wood-scraper
sharpening stone	sharpening stone
awl	awl
chipping tool	?
stone shaft-polisher	?
skin polisher	pumice
——	barking tools (two kinds)

Weapons and Hunting Equipment

bow and arrow	bow and arrow (rare)
spear (rudimentary)	spears (five kinds)
sling (rare)	sling
——	club
bird-snare	bird-snare
net (rare, two kinds)	net (rare)
——	grass dip-net
——	fish-line
bark torch	bark torch

Games

ball	ball
circular grass target (rare)	——

Religious and Ceremonial Paraphernalia

masks	masks
feather headband	feather headband
kelp-goose down headband	kelp-goose down headband
——	painted sticks
——	painted thong
——	guanaco-hide headband
——	tickling stick
——	ceremonial spear

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Materials

105
171

wood	wood
sinew	sinew
skin	skin
stone	stone
bone	bone
whalebone (rare)	whalebone
——	kelp
grass	grass
feathers	feathers
——	pumice
white clay	white clay
red burnt earth	red burnt earth
charcoal	charcoal
pitch (post-European)	——
iron (post-European)	iron (post-European)
glass (post-European)	glass (post-European)

PHYSICAL TYPE

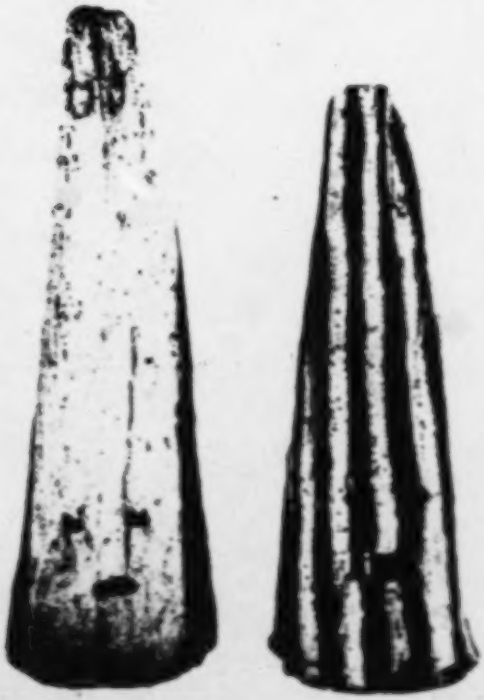
114 The writer engaged in no anthropometric investigation in Tierra del Fuego, but certain measurements are available by which the physical types there to be found may be determined. The most important study yet published is that of Hyades (1891) on the Yahgan prepared in coöperation with Deniker, a work surprisingly sound in method considering how long ago it appeared. A series of measurements on the Ona taken many years ago but printed recently (1927) by Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche is also of prime importance. Somatological data collected by Gusinde and Koppers in recent years is beginning to appear in print, but with a single exception it has not been possible to obtain copies in time to incorporate the material here. Other studies of smaller scope are available and have been listed by Cooper (1917, pp. 138–140) and Dixon (1923, pp. 454–455). Even when concentrated into a single group, Fuegian somatological material is not abundant.

114 Primary division of the Indians of Tierra del Fuego into groups,
101 Foot Indians and Canoe Indians, is made on cultural grounds. This classification might also be based on physical type, and, in case of the Foot Indians, on linguistic relationship. As with the cultural evidence, physical data on the Alacaluf and Haush are so scanty that we shall confine our discussion to the Ona and the Yahgan.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 sang, seated in the central part of the lodge. Finally a mock battle between the sexes was staged.

Such then was the *shiehâus* ceremony. On it the Yahgan believed their well-being depended, and without it no one could have any standing in the community. In fact each individual repeated the performance two or more times, but received preferential treatment after the first course.



a b

FIG. 92.—Yahgan dance masks. Height of *a*, 27 in. (14/2259, 2258)

After having experienced the *shiehâus*, Yahgan men were allowed to enter the *kisa* ceremony. This rite resembled the Ona *klôkten*. Gusinde and Koppers believe that it originated among the Ona, pointing out that inequality of the sexes was foreign to Yahgan precept and that it was not taken so seriously by the Yahgan as the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges speaks of the ribald laughter among the Yahgan women when a mask fell off a supposed spirit, thus revealing his human character.

This ceremony fell into disuse among the Yahgan as early as the eighties of the last century; but it was revived in 1922 for the benefit of Gusinde and Koppers, to whose accounts of it the reader is referred. While differing in details, it was essentially like the Ona rite except that the treatment of the candidates neither lasted so long nor was so severe as among the Foot Indians.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

FUEGIAN CULTURE STATUS

171 105 We have considered the Foot and Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego as they have revealed themselves to modern investigation and as they have been reflected in archeological remains. Before closing this account it will be well to fix their position in relation to cultural development and adaptation to environment in other parts of the world. We shall therefore examine the attainments of the Paleolithic and Neolithic inhabitants of Europe, of the Seri Indians of Mexico, and of the Eskimo—all in the light of Fuegian culture.

A.—Fuegians Compared with Primitive Europeans

Assayed by the standards of Old World archeology, the Fuegian tribes stand definitely in the early Neolithic stage of culture, for they understood the use of the bow, made coiled basketry, used canoes (which may or may not have existed in Paleolithic Europe), and they had domesticated dogs. As for stoneworking, however, aside from some of their arrow- and spear-points (which are not only well made but barbed), Fuegian implements are fully equaled by finds dating from the Acheulean and Mousterian floors in Europe; that is to say, the latter half of the lower Paleolithic period.[1] In fact, in the stone drill, invented during the Mousterian age and perfected in the Aurignacian, Europeans possessed a tool unknown to the Fuegians, who could puncture nothing harder than hide or bark with their bone awls. By the time of the Aurignacian period Europe also had developed the bone needle with a pierced eye to which the Fuegians did not attain.

Magdalenian Europe offers strong likeness to the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego, owing to the very similar types of barbed bone harpoons used in both regions. Yet by this time in Europe the chipping of stone had risen to the level of an art, the spear-thrower was widely used (an implement which one suspects that the Fuegian tribes may have forgotten), clothes were carefully

[1] It is unfortunate that the names attached to the great primary periods of human life should denote technological methods of manufacturing stone implements, for current practice distinguishes these epochs and their subdivisions by the fauna and by the kinds of utensils in use rather than by the manner in which they were made. This change in classification became necessary when it was recognized that the Paleolithic technique persisted into the Neolithic and even the Metal ages. We must emphasize that these terms are without chronological significance in the New World.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

tailored (as attested by the finding of bone buttons), elaborate three-strand necklaces were manufactured, and, above all, sculpture was common and painting had reached both relatively and absolutely a very developed plane. The depiction of masked human figures suggests parallel religious phantasmagoria in both regions. In contrast the Fuegians were totally devoid of sculpture, and their painting was limited to the crudest daubs. Their necklaces were most primitive. Their garments were merely wrapped around the body and held in place by hand, or, if they did not completely envelop the body, were tied on by thongs crossing the bare flesh.

As to polished stone implements, Tierra del Fuego has produced few. In fig. 41 we show a bola from the east coast. Outes (1905, p. 427) has fully demonstrated that the true home of this weapon is in the northeastern Pampas and that it was unknown in Patagonia until the eighteenth century. Clearly it is no ancestral arm carried to Tierra del Fuego by Foot Indians in remote centuries, but rather a recent introduction, not long antedating the white colonization. Also we have seen a stone spike excavated in Yahgan territory. Apparently it has been shaped in part by pecking; at best it is an isolated instance of the Neolithic technique.

The rarity of polished stone implements in Fuegia is to be explained not by the lack of aptitude but by the indolence of the natives. To so-called civilized man the chipping of stone seems a mysterious craft, while it is patent that anyone who takes the time can grind a stone to the desired shape. As a matter of fact, the chipping of serviceable tools can be learned with a few days' practice, though of course the more delicate flaking, as with all handicraft, can come only as the result of long experience. And furthermore, chipped implements can be turned out quickly,—it takes only ten or fifteen minutes for a skilful Ona to finish a most delicate arrowpoint,—while ground stone implements require patience, mental discipline, and foresight.

This point is one to recall in estimates of all or any phases of Fuegian culture, for it will be found that deficiencies arose not from any innate mental or physical handicap, but from laziness and lethargy. This generalization applies not so much to the necessaries as to the conveniences of life. Thus the Ona bow and the Yahgan spear are admirable weapons, but the houses of both tribes were woefully inadequate. Yet there is no reason why the Yahgan and Ona should not, with forethought and initiative,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6
Seri NU31

have made themselves as comfortable as other tribes occupying an equivalent environment. That they did not, to the writer, indicates a lack of something vital in their mental makeup.

The brief comparison we have made between primitive European and Fuegian cultures shows that although the Fuegians had partly attained the technological plane called Neolithic in the Old World, nevertheless in most respects they were scarcely better off than the semi-simian Neanderthal man of Europe. Clearly then they were laggards or backsliders in the development of mankind, so that in depicting their manner of life we are justified in assuming that we are recreating a vista of life in Europe or elsewhere many thousands of years ago.

However, the tribes of Tierra del Fuego are not a unique phenomenon, as we shall show by comparison with an equally though differently untutored New World group.

B.—Fuegians Compared with the Seri

The Seri, who inhabit a barren territory on the eastern shore of the Gulf of California and the adjacent islands, of which the largest is Tiburon, are one of the most primitive Indian tribes on the North American continent. Their climate is hot and dry. Their food supply is abundant—both marine and terrestrial. Like Fuegia the region occupied by the Seri is isolated from the main stream of cultural development, so that the native society probably represents a form of life much more wide-spread long ago.

Like the Fuegians, the Seri had no agriculture and no domestic animals except the dog, which indeed seems to have been half-wild. Their most important food was the turtle, which they caught with a harpoon having a detachable head tied to a cord. This may be compared to the Yahgan seal-spear. Long ago they used a two-headed barbed spear with the barbs facing inward to catch fish. The Yahgan also employed a two-headed fish-spear, but did not set the barbs inward. For boats the Seri made reed balsas with high pointed ends, a seaworthy craft but one which can be used only in warm climates because in rough weather the crew are drenched with spray or wet by water coming through the floor. These balsas the Seri propelled with clam-shells or boards held in the hands. In addition to spearing fish off-shore the Seri also caught them with their hands in shallow pools at low tide like the Ona, and they obtained on the beach large quantities of shellfish—chiefly clams and oysters.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6
Sari N131

Y S 171 185

On shore the Seri gathered various wild vegetal foods. They clubbed roosting pelicans at night. They caught also many deer and rabbits. We use the word caught advisedly, for usually the Seri, fleet of foot and hardy, ran these animals down and literally caught them in their hands. Meat was eaten raw except when there was an oversupply. Then it was partly cooked to tempt their jaded appetites. At times in hunting and regularly in war they employed a bow and arrows of simple type. The arrow had a wooden tip, rarely a chipped stone point.

For tools the Seri used a bone or a wooden awl, a wooden marline spike, a stone hammer and anvil, and a clam-shell. The latter served as a knife, but its shape was not modified, nor was it set in a handle. Manual dexterity was at a minimum among these people, and their implements and weapons were even more primitive than those of the Fuegians.

The fundamental Seri garment was a pelican-skin robe, which, like the Yahgan cape, was shifted from side to side with the wind in inclement weather. Also they wore at times a kilt and sleeved shirt of woven material, and thus they placed themselves on a higher cultural plane than the Fuegians, for they not only had acquired the art of weaving, but of tailoring their garments, neither of which were known to the Indians of Tierra del Fuego. In addition, the Seri wore a belt, often of snake-skin, and sometimes sandals of turtle-flippers. They adorned their persons with necklaces of seeds, of wooden beads, of shell, and of hair. They painted designs on the faces much more elaborate in character than those of the Ona and Yahgan.

Seri houses, scarcely better than the Ona windbreak, were arches of saplings partly shingled with sponges and turtle-shells. Inadequate even in a warm climate, yet they offered more protection comparatively than the Fuegian houses. As the Seri were constantly moving from place to place, these rude shelters were frequently abandoned to be reoccupied on some other occasion.

Of household furniture the chief article was a globular pottery water-jar, because water was scarce in Seriland and had to be transported long distances. A yucca ring-base was provided for the water-jar, and at times two jars were transported in nets slung on a shoulder yoke. In addition the Seri sometimes made a cooking-pot, an open dish, miniature vessels, and crude figurines; they also used a shell cup, and made simple coiled baskets. Their

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S86 Yahgan S86
S6P4 W031

Y 3 171 105

below they carried on wooden frames like the Ona. Fire they made with a drill.

From the above remarks it appears that other inhabitants of the New World lived on a technological plane different in detail but no higher than the natives of Tierra del Fuego. Indeed in many respects—notably the lack of a knife and a scraper—the Seri are the more primitive. Yet their need was not so great, because the climate they enjoyed did not make such demands on their vitality.

When we examine social institutions we find the Seri on a markedly higher plane than the Fueguans. The tribe as a whole had marked national consciousness. It was divided into exogamic totemic clans based on maternal descent. Authority was lodged in the matrons, delegated to the elder brother for such masculine occupations as war and hunting. Religious concepts and practices also were on a higher plane than in Tierra del Fuego.

On the whole then we may say that the Seri, like the Fueguans, were a marginal group representing an early cultural stream; that both peoples were markedly deficient in houses, tools, and accoutrements; but that the Seri, being closer to the fringe of higher culture, had borrowed in rudimentary form such higher arts as pottery-making and weaving, and had become endowed with more advanced religious and social practices. In both cases it seems that, although migratory by nature, their peregrinations had been circumscribed within fixed limits with resultant cultural atrophy, so that centuries had passed with little modification in their form of life.

The status of very primitive groups like the Fueguans and the Seri has bearing on the unknown pioneers who settled the New World, for the simplest and crudest tribes of the present may reflect the condition of their primitive migratory ancestors. We shall examine then the evidence afforded by such backward groups to throw light on the time when the Americas were settled and on the nature of the culture that was first introduced.

Y 174

Boas,[1] Wissler,[2] Kroeber,[3] and others have brought forward evidence that man reached the New World in a state of cultural development corresponding to the beginning of the Neolithic period in Europe. This hypothesis rests on fairly well assured

[1] The History of the American Race; *Annals N. Y. Acad. of Sciences*, XXI, 1912.
[2] The American Indian, New York, 1917.
[3] American Culture and the Northwest Coast; *Amer. Anthr.*, N.S., XXV, no. 1. Also Anthropology, New York, 1923.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
3305 Yahgan 3305

ground. In the first place, no American tribe, past or present, living on the Paleolithic plane of culture has yet been detected. In other words, all American Indians, even the most primitive such as the Fuegians and the Seri, have Neolithic elements in their culture. Hence with justification we can assume that man did not reach America until the Neolithic epoch. Furthermore, the absence from the Western Hemisphere of all typical Old World domesticated plants and animals, except the dog, shows that all significant migration to America had ceased before these elements had been developed. Thus the settlement of the Americas is fixed by these limits: the close of the Paleolithic period, but before the Neolithic period had fully dawned.

When did the Neolithic period begin? According to the elaborate chronological yard-stick developed for European archeology, this would take us back more than 10,000 years. But Europe geographically is only a peninsula of Asia, and archeological evidence denotes that the Neolithic culture developed in Asia and spread to Europe long afterward. Primitive Neolithic arts and industries may have reached America as soon as, if not before, they penetrated Europe. At present we cannot say whether the migration to the New World was completed in a century or in a thousand years. We cannot hope further to correlate Old World and New World archeology until stratigraphical and chronological studies in Asia have yielded the secret of the development of Neolithic culture.

To the above remarks we may add that, according to current geological opinion, glaciation need not be considered a barrier to migration, because the ice sheets were not in existence at the period (as indicated by the cultural evidence) when the settling of America took place. Of the three North American ice sheets, the Cordilleran or western field, which alone could have proved a barrier to travel from Asia, was the first to disappear. The Labrador sheet, the last and most recent, is estimated to have released Niagara Falls from 20,000 to 11,000 years ago.[1]

Well documented New World archeological finds, obviously of great antiquity, have been unearthed in North, South, and Central America during the last two decades. The remains to which the greatest age is assigned, however, Basket-maker in the United States and "Archaic" in Mexico and Salvador, all indicate a much higher technological plane than that of the Fuegians or Seri.

[1] See A. P. Coleman, Ice Ages, Recent and Ancient, New York, 1926, p. 68.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Hence it seems that the limits of our definite knowledge of the past are far from extending back to the time of the first immigrants. However, as pointed out by Kroeber,[1] the primitive American cultural traits can be deduced by listing the elements of primitive nature having a wide distribution through both continents. On this basis it is not unsound reasoning to assume that characteristics common to widely separated primitive tribes in radically different environments, such as the Seri and the Fueguians, are basic in American culture. These features are:

1. A windbreak or domed house of saplings covered with the most readily available materials.
2. Unsewed skin robe sewed with sinew.
3. A small kilt-like garment.
4. Use of facial and body painting.
5. Simple necklaces.
6. Cradle with cross-slats.
7. Coiled baskets.
8. Fire-drill. (This the Patagonians had, and probably once the Fueglans.)
9. Boats or rafts with high pointed ends.
10. The self bow and stone-tipped arrows.
11. The harpoon with single, double, and detachable heads.
12. Shellfish, fish, game, and wild vegetables as food.
13. Domesticated dogs.

From this list we gain a definite picture of the material culture enjoyed by the first settlers in the New World. It is not a complete visualization, however, of their manner of life, because it does not include social and religious customs. Among these in all probability should be included shamanistic control of spirits and disease, puberty rites attended with the infliction of physical suffering, masked ceremonials, and social organization based on local groups of blood relations. All these added features were characteristic of all the tribes of Tierra del Fuego.

We have listed as probable features of primordial American culture certain traits not included by Kroeber. On the other hand he incorporates others not found in Tierra del Fuego, such as the spear-thrower, twined baskets, mats, mortars, rattles, whistles, and flutes. Their absence from Tierra del Fuego may indicate that they should not be considered as primitive American traits,

[1] op. cit.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

because they are objects which would have been valuable to the Fuegians, because they could have been made from materials easily obtainable, and because they were not superseded by other inventions. If the Fuegians had enjoyed these features, I can see no reason why they should have given up using them; yet some of the listed traits, the spear-thrower for instance, have such wide New World distribution that it is hard to place them on any but the earliest cultural plane.

Fuegians Compared with the Eskimo

We have seen that the natives of Tierra del Fuego lived on a cultural plane comparable with that of the early inhabitants of Europe, who were the advance guard of culture-bearers from central Asia toward the west, just as the Fuegians may have been toward the east. We have also seen that the low plane on which the Fuegians lived was not an isolated phenomenon in the New World, but was approached or duplicated elsewhere. We shall now compare the cultural status of the Fuegians and the Eskimo, because their respective habitats are environmentally parallel and their necessities were similar. In fact the Eskimo are called on to face the more rigorous conditions of the two, for they live in higher latitudes where the winters are darker and colder, while the lack of trees in many places forces them to exercise great ingenuity to find substitutes for wood.

The Eskimo inhabit the Arctic coast of North America and the adjacent islands, including Greenland. As in Fuegia, the vegetation of their habitat is not rich enough to support life, so that they have to subsist principally on animal food. During the winter the polar seas freeze over, and the Eskimo spear seals as they rise to their blowholes in the ice. When open water forms, they take to the sea in boats made of a wooden frame covered with hide, which in every way seem stronger and more seaworthy than the Yahgan canoes. In these they spear seal, walrus, and whale. In summer the Eskimo spear fish and birds, and make long trips inland to shoot deer with bow and arrow. With the return of winter, seal again becomes their only food supply.

For houses, in the summer the Eskimo use skin tents or stone walls roofed with skin which give better protection than the Yahgan wigwams and are infinitely superior to the Ona windbreak. In winter they make themselves snug in ingeniously constructed,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

171 multi-chambered, snow houses, usually provided with skin linings, windows, and ventilation holes. They take advantage of the propensity of heat to rise, locate their houses on sloping ground, and place their living-quarters in the uppermost part of the house. Under favorable circumstances the temperature can be maintained at above 70° or 80° Fahrenheit by means of an oil lamp.

As for clothing, the Eskimo are as well provided as the Fuegians were deficient. Their carefully tailored fur garments not only supply warmth and protection to every part of the person, but are so skilfully designed that adequate ventilation is supplied as well. Arctic explorers of recent years have been unable to design garments better suited to the climate and have adopted the Eskimo dress.

The chief weapons of the Eskimo are the harpoon and the bow. Their harpoons are made with detachable heads like the Yahgan seal-spear, but the points are designed to turn in the flesh of the wounded animal so that they form a toggle when it tries to escape. Harpoons of slightly different size and type are employed for small seals, for ordinary seals, for walrus, and for whale. To secure the larger animals a cord leading from the harpoon-head is attached to inflated seal-hides or hoop-drags, which enables them to tire out the wounded animal rapidly. The great superiority of the Eskimo equipment lies partly in their ability to drill bone and wood, so that they can lash or rivet joints more securely than the Fuegians. Also all the accessories, the ivory support for the hand lashed on the shaft, the loop with ivory clasp to hold the harpoon line, ivory plugs to stop the wounds of the slain animal, ivory swivels, ivory toggles, etc.—all these show a control of material never attained by the Fuegians. Furthermore, these details show mental superiority in that the Eskimo look beyond the bare necessities of the chase and provide themselves with comforts and conveniences.

The Eskimo bow is made of one or more pieces of spruce-wood riveted together, or of antler. It is sinew-backed—an adequate and powerful weapon in spite of a lack of proper material for bows. The arrowhead is usually ground stone riveted to a foreshaft lashed to a main shaft. In addition the Eskimo have a specialized type of bird-spear and fish-spear far superior to anything in Fuegia. Also they propel lances with throwing-sticks. Furthermore, they catch fish with hook-and-line, and with an ivory minnow for bait.

When we examine Eskimo tools it is found that their makers are neat and finished workmen, and that they provide for their primitive

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

necessities most adequately. Their knives and scrapers are ordinarily of iron or, when metal is unavailable, of stone ground down to thin, uniform, and symmetrical blades, which are hafted to wooden or ivory handles with rivets or gut lashings. Other tools include ivory needles, thimble, sharp graving tool, arrowshaft straightener, and—most important of all—the pump-drill. This last implement makes possible the rapid drilling of bone, stone, and wood, which contrasts strongly with the inability of the Fuegians to pierce anything harder than bark or skin. Among other elements of Eskimo material culture we should mention the stone lamp, fork and spoon, drinking tube, snow-goggles, and the sled with harness, traces, and toggles for pulling it. 171

Esthetically the Eskimo are not on a low plane. Their garments are distinctly beautiful from the juxtaposition of contrasting furs and are further adorned with beadwork. Their carvings in relief are realistic and charming. Incised drawings on bone and ivory show vigor and imagination. Their games, including cat's-cradle, are much more complex than Fuegian pastimes.

Like the Fuegians, the Eskimo lack definite social organization larger than the family. Both groups are polygynous. The Fuegians trace blood lines farther and are more rigid in debarring marriage of relatives.

Religiously the Eskimo are on the same plane as the Fuegians, but their religious activities played a larger part in their lives. In general they believed in supernatural beings, most of whom were malevolent, and they attempted to appease these creatures by prayer and offerings.

We have given but the briefest outline of Eskimo culture, for it is too complex to be summarized in a few words; yet enough has been said to indicate that the Eskimo live entirely as a hunting people, but in almost every aspect of life they are better off than were the natives of Tierra del Fuego. And this in spite of the more rigorous climate the Eskimo have to face. However, the comparison is not entirely fair, because the Fuegians were completely isolated, while the Eskimo received cultural impulses from more civilized neighbors such as the tribes of the northwestern coast of Canada or of northeastern Asia. The belief is not unjustified that climate and environment are the limiting factors with the Eskimo, and that, given better opportunities, they would work out a superior mode of existence.

/480 cont./

411 shape and usually an almost rectangular tang (Fig. 39); the latter is inserted into the notch. Of decisive importance is the longitudinal measurement, for it is usually more than twice as much as a point on the arrow shaft. The former does not seem suitable for an arrowhead because of its size and weight. Since, moreover, it is fastened to a short stick, I regard the designation "dagger" as suitable for this weapon. It is also handled as such. A man grasps [225] the back third of the shaft and stabs toward a sea lion that he meets on land. He attacks it from the front, never from the side, and can get close enough to it without being bitten to thrust the dagger into its neck.

For the dagger points the natives formerly chose flat lamina of [177] black slate and greenish jasper; in modern times they prefer thick bottle-glass that is more easily worked. The edges of the glass

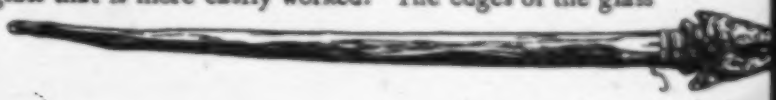


Fig. 38. The Dagger. One-third natural size.

dagger-points cut more sharply, but become dull more quickly. Continuous splintering under pressure with a short bone stick produces /481/ the form with the sharp edges and thick point. On my [126] second expedition, old Alfredo made me a dagger with a long glass point and with a total length of 48 centimeters (188). This

188. This piece is today preserved in the Museo Histórica at Santiago de Chile. See the observations made by Hyades (q):360 with the Indian named Yakaif.

enabled me to see how it was made and at the same time to learn in detail how it is actually manipulated.

From the dagger to the lance is only a short step. Sometimes it, too, has a large, heavy point in the form of a triangle. It must [172] come as a surprise that laurel-leaf forms of the /Fig. 39 appears here/ most frequent surface-finds on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 263) have to this day been found only very sporadically throughout the broad Cape Horn Archipelago. This lance is used in the same way and for the same

[Text continues on page 172.-Analyst]

/495 cont./

412 beech. It is about the length of a finger and is regularly used by all the women and girls for plaiting their small baskets (206).

[172]

206. Spencer:134 gives a detailed description of three bone awls that came from an old shell mound on Navarino Island. One of them is made from the bone of a young mammal.

With this punch small holes are pierced either into leather that is to be put together for cloaks and covers, bags, and pouches, into the bark pieces of a canoe, or in a scoop that is to be sewn together. In the most recent times the Yamana have
412 learned to make a genuine shoemaker's awl. They file off the
177 head of an iron nail the length of a finger and set this end into a short, cylindrical handle of wood; the other end is filed to a point. This punch, wájkul, penetrates leather and bark much more quickly, of course, and the people like to work with it (207). It must be specifically mentioned that drills have been

207. Lothrop (b):142 illustrated two of these modern pieces.

unknown to the Fuegians from ancient times; they are therefore unable to make holes in a piece of wood. For this purpose they have in most recent times used an iron nail which they obtain from Europeans.

/496/ δ. Wedge and Hammer

412 It is not at all seldom that a man must use a wedge of bone. It becomes absolutely necessary when he cuts out the bark pieces from a beech trunk for his canoe. This simple and yet valuable piece has been described on page 111 (Fig. 26) (208). The bone

208. Other illustrations are found in Hyades (a):Plate XXXII, 9, and in Spencer: 139.

/596 cont./

G. The Shell Heaps

172 Throughout the region of the Yamana there are mound-shaped accumulations of mussel shells, varying in height and length. It is unimportant whether or not they are designated as actual kitchen middens. Whether they can raise any claims to being deposits of archaeological finds is uncertain (389). Of real factual value is

389. Cooper:218 prefers to avoid this conception, for "it may be a little inaccurate to use this heading archaeology in the case of the meager remains obtained from Fuegia graves and middens" /cited in English/. South American observers use the terms "Conchales" and "Kjökkenmöddinger" somewhat indiscriminately.

a detailed description of the site of these shell heaps and all the implements that are preserved in their various layers. This shows without any doubt that the former way of living, insofar as it can be recognized from these deposits, coincides in general and in detail with the present form and that the people of those times and of the present day belong to the same race.

1. Their Arrangement

In this description we shall include not only the few very large shell heaps that were built up in isolated places, but also the insignificant dwelling sites which were still used during the last decade. /597/ The fact that Indian families built their huts on them up to the present time points definitely and clearly to the similarity of living habits between then and now (Fig. 70).

172 361 It is very easy for any traveler to establish the fact that there are shell heaps to be found in all parts of the Cape Horn Archipelago. They reveal certain differences, however, In general they are not as large and extensive in the west as in the east, for obvious reasons. Except for inlets, large and small, the western

/597 cont./

172 361

shores are everywhere steep, although they are not always very high. /Fig. 70 appears here./ Hence the Indians could build their huts only in places with a very low, flat, and usually narrow shore-line. Whatever they left behind was washed away by temporary high tides. Afterwards the shingle revealed hardly any traces of the fact that shortly before one or more families had camped there. In inlets with sloping and wide shores, accumulations of food remains are not entirely lacking even in the west, as I myself have seen in different places. They are limited in extent, however, by the rock walls which are close together and rise steeply. Since these heaps are sometimes crowded against the rock walls, a thick layer of earth washed down by the rain covers them in the course of time. Some of them are entirely covered and can be seen only

Fig. 70. Oldest Representation of a Shell Heap.

by the careful observer. In contrast to this, the eastern half of the Cape Horn Archipelago has many wide beaches. Whatever piled up and accumulated here remained almost intact and the amount of it gives the present-day visitor food for thought. The fact that in the formation of the shell heaps in the east and west there was a slight difference in diet will soon be discussed.

To begin with, we cannot expect that those deposits extend uninterruptedly along the entire shore-line. We find them only /598/ here and there. Moreover, it is obvious that whole hills have been formed in sheltered places that offered greater security and quiet for a dwelling, whereas on the exposed beach the deposits were extensive but low. It was the desirability of the

/598 cont./

172 361 site alone that was more or less attractive and invited more or fewer families to settle there, by no means the greater supply of mussels in one place or another (390). The shells themselves were

390. Lothrop (b):178 confirms that the heaps of refuse "are found in sheltered places, where there is a beach for landing, kelp off-shore for mooring canoes, and where water and firewood are readily available" /cited in English/. Compare also the geographic distribution of shell heaps in Furlong (r):180. Vignati (c): 85 has indicated on a special map the "Conchales" at Ushuaia and on the eastern coast of Isla Grande.

gathered not only at the place where today large amounts of refuse are lying, but many were also brought along to the place where the hut was to be erected, and the people often went great distances from it looking for mussels if they wished to stay longer at the same spot. The bays and hidden inlets in favorable locations were regarded and are today still regarded as favorite spots by many families. They not only frequently returned to such places, but remained in them longer than elsewhere. One was safe there from the strength of the winds and also found a flat shore-line on which to pull up the canoe. Moreover, firewood and drinking water were easily available. The cup of benefits was filled if the outlying sea floor was shallow and considerably facilitated occasional fishing.

172 The shores of Bahía Harberton and their environs were an advantageous spot from every standpoint. A few huge mounds are to be found on Gable Island opposite it, and Tierra Mayor, and there are two more in Puerto Róbalo, which are far surpassed in size by those in Puerto Mejillones. Less extensive than the latter are those that I saw on Pictón Island and in Puerto Rosa, Puerto Piedra, Wulaia, at the mouth of the Rio Douglas, and in Ushuaia Bay.

All this explains the differences in length and height of the shell heaps, kusimé'a, but in their formation they are completely uniform. All of them form a low, gently sloping, more

/598 cont./

172 or less long hillock. In those that are pushed up close to the water line, the shore side is sometimes much steeper than the land side. An explanation for this shape is not necessary. All shell mounds were built up in layers; hence inevitably the lower layer was from time to time enlarged. Just as in the early beginnings, if I may express myself thus, individual dwellings were placed close together, so also later on, hence the lateral expansion of each individual hillock and a progressive narrowing as it grew in height. On the top one can today see, at short intervals, ring-shaped depressions which in size indicate the groundplan of a dwelling. A distinct, worn footpath leads from this ring to the fresh-water spring /599/ in any direction or to the beach where one can easily make out the place where the canoes were pulled up and safely moored.

The greater the length of the shell heap and the more it expands laterally in one spot or another, the greater is the number of dwelling sites for individual families. In some places the groundplan is well preserved, but usually the edges are flattened out, which makes the central shallow depression less recognizable. In some places the latter is sharply and clearly outlined by the thick growth of grass that fills it (391). We are indebted to

391. According to Lothrop (b):179, "the surfaces of the middens reveal on top a series of pits which represent house-sites. These pits are from ten to 15 feet in diameter, anywhere up to six feet deep, and are circular in outline" /cited in English/.

Furlong (r):178 for the first detailed descriptions. He drew the "approximate plan of Woolyia on Navarin Island" /cited in English/, on which the individual sites of settlement were clearly indicated. /Fig. 71 appears here./ Lothrop (b):184 carefully inspected the shell heaps that are most easily reached. For example, in the entire Bahía Harberton area he counted 52 campsites with a total of 1,216 sites of family huts -- of the latter 367 in Bahía Cambaceres alone (Fig. 71); in Puerto Mejillones, including Puerto-Piedra, seven campsites with a total of 253 hut sites; in Puerto Róbalo on each of the two long shell mounds,

/599 cont./

172 43 and 56 family-hut sites, respectively. Since now, as then, safe inlets and sheltered nooks are still sought, the present-day Yamana erect the framework of their dwelling in exactly the same depressions used by many previous generations. For their part they are still adding to the shell heaps.

Besides the shell mounds that have kept their shape, there are /600/ some that have been more or less leveled by the active traffic of Europeans and the trampling of cows, sheep, and horses. We can clearly recognize this condition at the mouth of the Rio Douglas and in some places in Puerto Mejillones. Accordingly, the number of dwelling sites here was formerly greater than that just mentioned. The condition that animals and human beings have brought about here was achieved in other places, which

[102]

Fig. 71. Shell Heaps near Bahía Harberton.

were ruthlessly exposed to the winds, by inanimate nature. I am referring to many areas between Ushuaia and Punta Remolino. Here the many shell mounds appear scattered in all directions, mixed with much drifting sand, and now form a uniform layer, as though all the many patches had never been gathered together in a mound-shaped elevation and remained thus for some time.

Now it is no longer surprising that the depth of the layers fluctuates remarkably from place to place. Along the areas just mentioned the very uniform layer goes only to a depth of ten to 35 centimeters, proof that only a few families settled here and these much more seldom than elsewhere. On the other hand,

/600 cont./

172 other places were very often visited. For example, in Puerto Mejillones and in Puerto Róbalo long mound ridges were built up to a height of four meters and more. We can easily measure the depth of the shell mounds in those few places where the sea has washed away one side of the heap (Fig. 72).

172 133 From these occurrences, which are after all rare, Lothrop (b):195 concluded that the earth has settled since the first habitation. Contrary to this completely unauthoritative view, it is certain that this region underwent a post-glacial relative upheaval (392). Whether this is continuing in the present time and

392. Naturally we are referring here to the geologically latest post-glacial surface fluctuations. Unfortunately very little is known about them, and long-term soundings have not been undertaken in Tierra del Fuego. Thore G. Halle ("On Quarternary deposits and change of level in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego," Bulletin of the Geological Institute Upsala, Vol. 9, 1910) mentions elevated terraces six meters above sea level along the shore on the north side of Gable Island. J.G. Andersson also observed these at other places along Beagle Channel at a height of three and a half meters. Finally, O. Nordenskjoeld described terrace ten meters high at Ushuaia. They are all post-glacial phenomena, and their upthrust is very slight.

subsequent to the deposit of the lowest shell-heap strata has by no means been proved for Tierra del Fuego (393). Possibly an argument

393. In this interpretation of the age of the Beagle Channel shell mounds, I am relying on the trustworthy decision of Professor Dr. O. Schmieder of Kiel who, in reply to my request, gave the following additional information in his letter of March 18, 1933:

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/600 cont./
"In the present state of our knowledge we cannot definitely say whether the coast is rising, sinking, or remaining level. The land has been post-glacially elevated, but these recent upheavals proceed very slowly, and it remains to be determined whether or not the movement has continued in the last few centuries."

Since I have not personally made careful investigations of the height in relation to sea level of shell mounds farther away from the water line, my conjecture that the above-mentioned minor circumstance possibly argues for an upheaval does not definitively settle this question. Earlier, Nordenskjoeld (f):216 stated the following view: "When the glacial period ended, Tierra del Fuego was only about 60 meters lower than it is now. It rose after that, but now the upthrust seems to be slight or not going on at all."

in favor of it is that in some places along open and /601/ flat coasts the shell heaps lie far away from the water line and a wider beach may have formed later on. There are no tangible reasons why the earlier Indians should have built their huts as far from the water line /Fig. 72 appears here/ as the shell mounds are now to be found. In any case whether or not the insignificant factor mentioned above indicates an upheaval, there is nothing that proves the land has settled. In those places lying farther back, however, the advantage for research is that at least the actual depth of the mussel stratum becomes clearly visible. The fact that in the case of individual mounds some lateral walls facing the water have been undermined and eroded is, contrary to Lothrop's conjecture, correctly interpreted only as the action of high tides. The first deposits had initially formed near the water line, and the more they grew, the more the bottom strata spread out in the course of time, almost up to the highest water level at flood-tide.

172 On the shell mounds cut into by the waves, we can see at a

/601 cont./

• 172 a glance their composition from top to bottom. The mussel shells lie on top of each other in layers mixed with a little sand and, in some places, with layers of ashes. Near the bottom and also embedded in somewhat high layers, one sees a thin breccia stratum, five to 35 centimeters thick. Its origin cannot be explained simply as pressure from the superimposed material (394). More

394. Lothrop (b):179 has expressed himself similarly, "that the shells have in

[102]

Fig. 72. Shell Heaps near Puerto Mejillones and Puerto Piedra.

places solidified into a breccia, which forms a floor a foot or so in thickness. These spots occur sporadically and at no uniform depth, and it was impossible to determine the special conditions which had given rise to them" /cited in English/.

convincing is /602/ the suggestion that individual layers of shells were exposed to strong heat from the hut fire, which made them brittle, and that later the human foot often walked over them, crushing them still more. The same depression in a shell layer

/602 cont./

172 was used time and time again for the fire (396) until it, too, be-

396. To interpret these as ovens in the ground, as "estufa de tierra," as Vignati (c):120 does, is obviously misleading.

came somewhat raised with the general growth of the entire mound. Everywhere we come across large and small stones which were used in some way without being worked. They served as a base for the glowing embers or as hammers. Less frequently we find stone points and stone knives which even the earliest Yamana always made in small dimensions.

The mass of animal remains which make up the mounds belongs to exactly the same species (398) from which the present-

398. In a shell heap along the central western shore of Bahía Harberton, Lothrop (b):183 found that "at a depth of a little more than a foot appeared a type of mussel-shell which could not be found on the beach locally" /cited in English/. He does not think that the appearance of this particular type which, unfortunately, he does not in any way describe, has any particular significance. I did not come across it.

day Yamana nourish themselves. The shells of *[illegible]* (Mytilus chilensis) and *[illegible]* (Mytilus edulis) are by far more numerous than those of Patella, Fissurella and Trophon, Solen and Pecten, as well as small pieces of the shell of the sea-urchin *[illegible]* (Echinus) and the large Voluta snail, *[illegible]*. Mixed with these are bones of animals, most of which come from seals and the indigenous marine birds. As may be expected, particularly the bone remains in the lower strata are poorly preserved; they often disintegrate at the slightest touch (397). Here we see the destructive influence

397. Lothrop (b):196 is mistaken if he thinks that "in Tierra del Fuego the

/802 cont./

172

> foot scarcely leaves the ground" /cited in English/, and that therefore the bone remnants would be better preserved. The greater or lesser presence of air is a much more important factor in preservation.

of freezing and thawing to which these organic structures are exposed more than any other things. All the finds mentioned above unfold the picture of an animal world that still inhabits this region today.

The remains of human skeletons are less often found in these shell strata; occasionally they are uncovered by natural forces themselves. It is well known that the Yamana formerly burned their corpses in their own huts and afterwards buried the bone parts on the spot. It cannot be proved, but it is almost certain that they also buried the entire corpse in a shell mound without first cremating it. Unfortunately only an extremely small number of remains of human skeletons from the shell mounds have been gathered and accurately described scientifically. I know of only two skulls uncovered in the "Conchales de Ushuaia" and described by Vignati (c):181. /803/ He did not examine the corresponding skeletons. Exact measurements were not made of the skulls either, but the descriptions and illustrations leave no doubt that these specimens can definitely be assigned to two members of the Yamana tribe (308).

> 308. Vignati's (c):180 own opinion is that the characteristics found, "in summary, authorize one to suppose that both crania are from Yahgan, such as are familiar to us through the descriptions by Flower, Gomes, Hyslewers, etc." /translated from Spanish/.

Judging such remains is more difficult because one can probably never determine definitely whether the find goes back many centuries or only a few decades. The uniform construction of the shell mounds warrants only to a certain extent the inference that the remains more deeply buried are older. Hence the fact that skeletal remains are found somewhere in the lowest strata of a

/603 cont./

• 172 shell mound is not sufficient evidence to permit us to postulate an older or more recent racial type within the total Yamana group (399).

> 399. Some data are completely useless because they are too indefinite. A case in point is those of Lovisato (b):101 on shell heaps at Pictón Island, "in which, together with unusually large human skeletons, were found two arrowpoints of ordinary size and completely identical with those of the Patagonian paraderos" /translated from Italian/.

For comparison we give here a description that Spencer:59 furnished on May 11, 1929: "Spent afternoon searching on kitchen middens beside the Rio Douglas, and found large black somewhat coarsely chipped arrow, or spear head (?), lying among big cobble stones on river bank, and scrapers. Present-day Yahgans do not use these. Middens evidently very old, with enormous mass of shells, mainly mussels with limpets, barnacles, volutes, etc., seal and whale bones; of damp black earth, with beech trees, some quite twenty feet high, which have grown up on top of these middens since they were made and used (400);

> 400. This cannot be regarded as a rare phenomenon, because it occurs in various places. It does not in the least help to determine the age of the shell heaps. Compare Lothrop (b):194.

all middens overgrown by grass" /cited in English/. Of the same spot he says on May 20: "Claude Williams dug out one side of kitchen midden. Six of these formed a kind of semi-circle with open side towards the sea. Each one had depression in middle; longest being [perhaps 15] (401) feet in diameter and six feet

> 401. Miss Hamilton's memory. Mr. Williams writes to her that the average

/603 cont./

• 172

grave depression is six feet in diameter, and from three to four feet deep (ibid.) /cited in English/.

high. Looked as if natives camped in the middle with fires all round them. One mass of shells and black earth with layers of calcined pinkish earth. Mussel shells predominated, but large numbers of Fissurellas and Patellas and Modiola-like shells and Volutes. Bird bones, apparently gannet, seal bones, and whale bones. Very few stones, and no sign of any chipped ones. Single bone harpoon" /cited in English/. The shell heaps on Isla Elisabeth in the eastern Strait of Magellan were compared by Lovisato (b):102 with the "Conchales de Ushuaia": "These are not such marvels; they do not rise as high above sea level and on casual inspection might be called true dunes or skillfully made entrenchments. /604/ Besides the innumerable mollusk shells of Mytilus and Patella genera and bones of otarias, eared seals, and otters, there are fragments of crabs, of pettini, and of other bivalves. On the grassy carpet that has grown over these deposits stand the actual kitchen middens, with related wigwams, that are simple cumuli belonging to each wigwam, but cumuli of only cockle and Patella shells with the remains of crabs or a very few mammal bones" /translated from Italian/.

The shell heaps are easy to recognize even from a distance. Usually they are covered in patches with only individual malls or with small, sparse clumps of grass. Herbs and low shrubs do not thrive on the porous, loose subsoil. The largely bare surface has a peculiar pearl-gray color, which contrasts sharply with the dark humus ground, the yellow gravel, and the grayish-white stones surrounding each of these shell heaps.

E. The Embedded Implements

Although the sparse skeletal finds do not permit a definite judgment about the racial character of the earlier settlers, the implements that were brought to light clearly indicate that the former style of life coincides exactly with that of today. The

/604 cont./

172 shell heaps, luminous, as such are good proof of this, while the worked tools between it to the point of absolute certainty.

In numbers, the worked blades head the list. They evidently served as knives, since they are flat, usually longish and leaf-shaped with blunt points, and sharpened along the entire edge. A shallow notch that is sometimes visible indicates hafting. Another shape is more like a chisel, the cutting edge being almost straight and the entire piece tapering laterally toward the back which was forced into a wooden handle. The tool used by the present-day Yamana makes this inference plausible (see a description of it, p. 189, and Fig. 45).

In the same category belongs the triangular shape taken from the shell heap at Ushuaia, a single specimen of which Vignati (c):121 illustrates and calls "láminas embotadas" /Spanish, "blunt strip"/. It is not fully preserved, but it still measures 6.2 centimeters in length and 3.1 centimeters at its thickest point.

Lance points or dagger and arrow points are uncovered relatively often. Their shape unmistakably coincides with the same points to be found in the old sites of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 201). They come either in the shape of a triangle with a wide base line gently curved inward, or an extended triangle with sharp corners pointing downward between which a short projection protrudes (602), or finally /603/ the rarer type with a wide projection

602. Hyades (q):414 gives examples of these two forms, illustrated on Plate 30, which he describes as "flint arrowheads found in the old shell heaps at Ushuaia" /translated from French/. The same three pieces are reproduced in Hyades (b):36.

tapering at the bottom (Fig. 7b) (603). The two shapes of more

603. Vignati (c):123 defines this shape on the basis of two specimens and calls it "puntas dobles." The two specimens are 7.2 and 6.6 centimeters long.

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172

few mentioned were used by the Yamana until a few decades ago. They are still made today of glass by aged, experienced men, but these are usually smaller than the old ones which are as much as ten centimeters long (404). Lothrop (b):101 regards the long triangu-

404. I find it inexplicable that Hyades (b):34, in view of the finds just mentioned, maintains: "Certainly this model has not been used for a long time among the Yaigans" /translated from French/.

lar form with the pointed lateral notches and with a short middle projection as "the dominant Beagle Channel type" /cited in English/.

Fig. 73. Dagger Points and Arrow Points. Natural size.

but he overlooks the fact that it is also found in the region of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 363). /Fig. 73 appears here./ Among these shapes two noticeably dissimilar sizes are to be distinguished, namely, those of about six to ten centimeters and those of about two and a half to three centimeters (405). There was, besides, a single specimen

405. Vignati (c):134 regards the nine specimens from the shell heap at Ushuaia as "careful and perfect work, obtained by pressure flaking. All

/605 cont./

•172

> but one belong to the type of arrowpoint with wings /Spanish, aletas/, with two distinct sizes. The winged /Spanish, alettformig/ type is known in Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia" /translated from Spanish/.

with a very broad projection, which Vignati (c):124 calls "pedunculado" and which resembles many specimens from Patagonia (Fig. 74).

Apparently the Yamana in the distant past used stone scrapers little or not at all. They preferred a simple mussel shell without a haft because this was very easy to /606/ obtain and to sharpen at any time. We seldom find a stone scraper in the shell mounds. I never saw one, and Fred Lawrence could not remember having seen them either. The three specimens Lothrop (b):190 found in Bahía Harberton seemed unknown to his informants, although Guillermo Bridges contradicted this (Fig. 75). It is possible that they originated among the Selk'nam or as a result of their influence on the Yamana. Until further finds are brought to light, any discussion about it is fruitless. /Fig. 74 appears here./ I cannot but suspect, however, that the persons who picked up stone arrowpoints on the shell mounds either did not recognize actual scrapers as tools or did not appraise them.

Another strange object is a stone borer ("perforador") 4.8 centimeters long from the shell mound at Ushuaia. On a trapezoid-shaped lower part rises the evenly fashioned needle (Fig. 76). This type is not rare in Patagonia; I also found it on the shore of Useless Bay (Vol. I, 261). Compare Vignati (c):124.

[172] Finally we must mention the numerous stone hammers which show no shaping but unmistakably indicate that they were used. These are oval robble-stones which the sea itself has shaped and which the present-day Yamana still use very often, either to break open hollow cylindrical bones, to beat leather, or to make larger implements (606). It is strange that Vignati (c) does not

> 606. Lothrop (b):192 calls these pieces "Hammerstones, anvils, grease stones" and adds, "Every family carried an oval

• 172

/606 cont./
water-worn stone which was used for a variety of purposes, such as hammering" /cited in English/.

report their presence in the shell heap at /607/ Ushuaia, since Lothrop (b):192 without exaggeration assures us that "these stones may be picked up at every ancient camp-site" /cited in English/. As a matter of fact, they are lying around everywhere and are especially conspicuous in those places undermined or eroded by the restless sea.

Sometimes the so-called perforated stones are referred to. They frequently appear in central Chile. In all of Tierra del Fuego only

Fig. 74. Various Stone Implements. Natural size.

two specimens of this type were picked up. For one of these we are indebted to Furlong (r):180, who expresses himself on the subject as follows: "Most important of my finds was one of the so-called 'morning star' stones. /Fig. 75 appears here./ This perforated stone, about four inches in diameter, has knobby projections around its rim" /cited in English/. I saw this piece in the American Museum of Natural History in New York. According to the finder's own interpretation, it served as "the head of a primitive war club" /cited in English/. He is justified in not attributing it to the Yamana; "it may help in establishing the fact of certain trade relations and communications between the ancestors of these people and tribes of the Chilean

/607 cont./

•172 coast" /cited in English/. Lovisato (c):723 brought the other specimen to Europe (compare also Colini:240), it having been given to him, as I learned, by the Reverend John Lawrence. Today it is in the Museum Kircherianum in Rome, is listed as Number 36901, and bears the inscription: "stone disk with hole in center; Yagan of Tierra del Fuego, Presented by Dr. G. Dall'orto, 1887" /translated from Italian/. To me this stone gave the impression of being a natural formation. Besides, John Lawrence and his sons assured me earlier that such pieces were never used by the Yamana. In case these perforated stones are really the work of human beings, we shall be obliged to regard

Fig. 75. Stone Scrapers. Natural size.

them as foreign imports (407) until new finds force us to give

407. Cooper:214 shares this view with Furlong (r):180. Compare in this connection Outes (a):437. On the mainland these perforated stones made by human beings are to be found in extensive areas.

another explanation.

/608/ The shell heaps furnish a large number of bone implements, in conformity with the present-day common use of this type. Perfect specimens, however, are rare, for obvious reasons (408). I, too, often came across fragments of notched

408. Without going into specific descriptions,

/608 cont./

•172 Lothrop (b):192 says very briefly: "Bone tools of modern type sometimes are found in shellheaps under conditions implying considerable antiquity" /cited in English/.

spear- and harpoon-points. From the "Conchal de Ushuaia" Vignati (c):125 illustrated and described in detail three harpoon points, three borers, two wedges (409), and two mussel openers.

409. Vignati (c):128 calls one of these "hacha" /ax/, the other "de uso desconocido" /use unknown/. For me both pieces are the bone wedges mentioned above that are used to remove bark.

We see so clearly in these pieces their absolute conformity with the bone tools still used by present-day Yamana that no one will raise any doubts about it. Proofs of their age are lacking, however, for we come across them even in the lower strata of shell heaps in various places in Yamana territory.

3. Their Origin

174 The repeated comparisons and references called forth by the description of the finds in the shell heaps have made us realize that in those places a form of culture is expressed in external objects and implements that coincides in essence and with surprising accuracy with the things we have observed among modern generations of the Yamana people. A nomadic people, unfamiliar with fixed dwellings, has built up this form of culture. That the search for food was undertaken by individual families is proved by the difference in height and extent of the settlement sites. The sea furnished at least the major portion of the food supply, for no trace of vegetable nutrients has hitherto been uncovered. Peculiarities of smaller areas are clearly shown in some of the middens; for example, in the east, especially in Bahía Harberton and in Puerto Mejillones, the number and size of the deposits is far greater

/609 cont./

174 The considerable number of points of agreement justifies the assumption that the original founders of the shell mounds are to be regarded as bearers of a way of life and a form of culture that do not differ from the Yamana of recent decades. Continuously, the undiversified picture of their culture runs through the earlier refuse-layers up to the top, upon which the Yamana of the present, like the earliest beginners, are engaged in continuing the construction of these shell heaps (411). It is this very uniformity

411. In spite of his striking reserve, Lothrop (b):183 must admit: "The shellheaps throw little light on the culture or antecedents of the Yahgan except for two points: It seems that no other people except the Yahgan ever occupied southern Fuegia. It seems that the Yahgan have lived there for a very long time" /cited in English/.

of design and execution in the implements that makes it impossible for us to see in them a succession of long intervals of time and to use them in order to determine certain strata, like the types in European prehistory.

172 Since, therefore, we cannot rely on a so-called series of types
171 as a measure of time, the question arises whether the shell heaps in themselves permit any kind of decision about their age. The width and thickness of the layers plainly shows everyone at first glance that very many decades went into them; more, however, it does not reveal. A definite pointer is the noteworthy fact that in no single layer of these refuse heaps can we find definite objects or traces of European origin. On the other hand, we must note that for approximately a century the natives were given all kinds of things by Whites and these have come into everyday use. The bulk of these middens had therefore accumulated prior to that. In some places, it is true, the bulk has increased during the last hundred years, /610/ but this development cannot be compared with the earlier one because meanwhile the natives have decreased extraordinarily in numbers, because they have somewhat modified

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

342 quently used toward the east, was tipi-form, with a framework of stiff stout saplings or tree trunks.

The ground in the interior of the hut was often, but not always, scooped out, to a depth of 2, 3, or more feet (0.6 to 1 m.) beneath the outside ground level, and was usually covered with a little grass or [354] some branches. The fire was made in the center. The huts had one door, facing the sea; or else two doors, one facing the sea, the other being opposite.

172 342 Archeological stratification in the *Yahgan* area of Navarino Island shows an earlier culture with shelters like those still used by the *Alacaluf*, oval in ground plan, having two entrances, and without scooped-out pits; and a later one with circular shelters having one entrance, and with pits 12 to 18 feet (4 to 6 m.) in diameter, scooped out in some cases to a depth of more than 3 feet (1 m.) (Bird, 1938, p. 261). The two historic types of *Yahgan* wigwam, oval and circular, unpitted and pitted, may thus represent two chronologically distinct cultures.

342 Larger and more substantial huts were built for initiation rites (q. v., infra); sometimes very small ones, for the use of children. The *Yahgan* also at times used caves or made a very rude shelter of a few branches tied together or stuck in the ground.

197 342 At the time of Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, practically all the then surviving *Yahgan* were accustomed to pass the winter months at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra, on Navarino Island, in huts poorly constructed of ill-fitting boards (Lothrop, 1928, p. 189). Lothrop (1928, p. 131) considers the use of the wing of a large bird for [355] sweeping out the shelter to have probably been the result of missionary [356] influence.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The chief garment, for men and women, was a small cape, of seal, sea-otter, or fox skin, sometimes of two or more skins sewn together—occasionally of bird skins—worn with the fur outside, covering the shoulder and breast or reaching to the waist, and held in place by a string across the chest. It was commonly shifted outdoors over the windward shoulder. Very frequently it was left off entirely. The women rarely if ever went without a small triangular pubic covering of bird skin or hide, held in place by a string attached to each upper corner and encircling the waist (pl. 33, *f*). No head covering was worn. Usually the *Yahgan* went barefoot, but sometimes when traveling or hunting on land they wore rather crudely made moccasins (fig. 12), resembling closely the *Ona* ones in pattern, of sealskin, with the hair outside, and stuffed inside with grass (cf. Lothrop, 1928, p. 134, photo). The eastern *Yahgan*, when hunting guanaco in winter, sometimes wore guanaco skin leggings, like the *Ona*, from whom they

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

501 of several skins sewn together, was sometimes set up—a practice whose origin, native or European, is uncertain. (For details on manufacture and use of canoe, cf.: Lothrop, 1928, pp. 143–145; 1932 a, pp. 231–232; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 438–457.)

501 After about 1860 the *Yahgan* began to give up their traditional bark
199 canoes, and to adopt the dugout. Still later, prior to Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, the dugout had been entirely superseded by the dory, of European type and origin.

The *Yahgan* never adopted the plank boat from their *Alacaluf* neighbors and never used rafts or skin-covered watercraft, so far as our records reveal.

MANUFACTURES

172 Pottery, weaving, and metallurgy were entirely absent; no traces of pottery have been discovered archeologically in *Yahgan* territory.

283 **String-making and sewing.**—Plant fibers, plain, shredded, or braided, were used in basket making, canoe sewing, and for mooring lines, respectively; braided whale sinew, for necklaces, fishing lines, and tool and weapon lashings; braided guanaco sinew, for bowstrings; whalebone, in sewing canoes and for bird snares and fishline nooses; seal-hide thongs, for tool and weapon lashings, harpoon lines, basket
812 handles, mooring lines, and bowstrings. Awls were made of bone and wood, unhafted. The drill was lacking.

285 **Basketry.**—Four techniques in basket making were in use: (1) Simple half-hitch coiled, the commonest type (fig. 13, *top*); (2) twisted half-hitch coiled, rarer (fig. 13, *center*); (3) knotted half-hitch coiled, not common (fig. 13, *bottom*); (4) a sort of wrapped type. The first three were of excellent craftsmanship; the last, very crudely woven, and used only as a dip net for catching very small fish. The material for all four was a rush (*Juncus magellanicus*). The coiled baskets were more or less oblong-spheroid in shape, and had a carrying handle of thong or plaited rush (pl. 33, *c*).

281 **Skin dressing.**—No process of dressing proper is reported. Seal-skins were stretched on the ground, covered with grass and moss, and left so for a while, to help dehair them. Drying frames were appar-
818 ently used. The scraper consisted of a mussel shell lashed to a cylindrical stone haft. The *Yahgan* made thongs flexible by drawing them through their teeth or by chewing them.

324 **Stoneworking.**—Little use of worked stone was made except for arrowheads and, rarely, scrapers. The workmanship was crude.
[illegible] Archeologically, there are some traces of stone pecking and polishing (Lothrop, 1928, p. 223; cf. Bird, 1938).

415 **Containers.**—Cylindrical buckets (pl. 33, *e*), of *Nothofagus* betuloides bark, for carrying and holding drinking water and for bailing, were made by the woman, with the use of a barking tool dif-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

PART II

CANOE INDIANS

THE YAHGAN

101 THE Yahgan Indians, the southernmost people in the world, lived on the southern shores of Tierra del Fuego from Brecknock peninsula to Spaniard harbor, and on the adjacent islands southward to Cape Horn itself (pl. IV). In spite of the tempestuous waters they confronted, they were a seafaring people and derived their livelihood almost entirely from the sea and its beaches.

172 Like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance, but their camping-places were limited by the fact that each family was dependent on a fragile bark canoe, for which shelter must be provided. Thus favorable stretches of beach today are marked by great refuse-heaps, of most extraordinary size when one recalls that they represent only temporary stopping-places and that no family ever camped on a spot where it was known that a death had occurred. Centuries or even milleniums must have witnessed the building up of these vast agglomerations of bone and shell.

177 197 The Yahgan came under missionary influence in the middle of the nineteenth century, and a permanent mission station was maintained among them from 1870 until recently. Hence their culture was much modified before they could be studied by trained ethnologists. For instance, by the eighties they had modified their initiation rites. We must add that among the Ona those without missionary training tended to survive the longest, but among the Yahgan the last survivors have almost invariably been mission reared.

142 Writing nearly a century ago, Fitzroy (pp. 137–139, 186) thus describes the untrammeled Yahgan of his day:

> The Tekeenica, natives of the south-eastern portion of Tierra del Fuego, are low of stature, ill-looking, and badly proportioned. Their color is that of very old mahogany, or rather between dark copper and

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

713 Later Lōm took to the heavens and became the sun; his father, Taruwa Lōm, became a star (Venus?); his brother, Akainix, became the rainbow.

Several variants of the flood myth have been recorded in Yahganland. Koppers himself speaks of another version in which Laxuwakipa, the ibex, in rage once sent a great cold spell so that vast quantities of snow fell. Later this all melted and a destructive flood followed. Cojazzi (1914, p. 31) records that among the central and eastern Yahgan they say the moon once fell in the sea. Hence the waters rose above everything but the loftiest mountain-peaks, where a few men and women took refuge with the animals. When the moon climbed back into the sky, the survivors descended and feasted on a dead whale that they found. Another version given by Cojazzi (*loc. cit.*) is that at the time of the flood Gable island became loose at the bottom and floated like a great ship, on which many were saved. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 18) it was not the moon but the sun who fell in the sea and caused the flood.

THE ALACALUF

000 Of the Alacaluf, the second tribe of Canoe Indians found on Fuegian shores, only two members were seen by the writer. We therefore have no contribution to make on the Alacaluf. In general Alacaluf material culture was almost identical with that of the western Yahgan. They were, however, slightly better workmen than the Yahgan, so that at times their manufactures can be distinguished from those of their neighbors by the superior finish. For a useful summary of Alacaluf literature the reader is referred to Dr. Cooper's Bibliography.

ARCHEOLOGY OF SOUTHERN TIERRA DEL FUEGO

Camp-sites

172 The shores of Beagle channel are dotted with the refuse of former Yahgan camp-sites. Composed of ash, bone, stone, and shell, and partly denuded of vegetation, these middens can be recognized from afar by their peculiar pearl-gray color, which differs from the green-gray rock and the brown-gray soil. They are found in sheltered places, where there is a beach for landing, kelp off-shore for mooring canoes, and where water and firewood are readily available.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Examination of the surfaces of the middens reveals on top a series of pits which represent house-sites (fig. 103). These pits are from ten to fifteen feet in diameter, anywhere up to six feet deep (two feet being an average figure), and are circular in outline. Within the pits are traces of inhabitation—hammers, grease stones, etc.—usually today half engulfed by grass. Sometimes house-sites can be determined by small circular patches of unusually luxuriant grass fertilized by refuse, where various utensils can be found. 172

Like the Ona, the Yahgan did not speak of the dead or camp on a spot where death was known to have occurred. So certain house-pits on any given site must at times have remained unoccupied during many decades until the memory of one who died there had passed. The other pits were occupied but intermittently by the ever-roving Yahgan. Rarely did they pass even a few weeks at any given spot. This factor makes difficult any attempt to estimate the age of these great shellheaps by calculating their cubic contents in relation to the probable number of inhabitants. 769 172

The seaward slopes of the middens are fronting the beach and stand so close to the waters that they are occasionally dashed with spray, and many are undercut by the waves for a foot or two at the base (pl. XVI). From this, slight submergence of the land since the heaps were commenced may be argued. As the shellheaps are really great terraces built out from rising ground toward the beach, the seaward slopes are steep. This steepness is increased by the undercutting of the waves, which often cause small landslides. Thus the vegetation is removed and large sections of refuse are exposed for examination as well as if trenches had been dug. At the same time the shells, bone, and ash brought down to the beach by erosion are carried away by the sea, but the heavier stone implements are left at the base of the exposed face where they may be readily gathered. 172

An interior feature frequently exposed by erosion is that the shells have in places solidified into a breccia, which forms a floor a foot or so in thickness. These spots occur sporadically and at no uniform depth, and it was impossible to determine the special conditions which had given rise to them.

It must be remembered that, as the Yahgan had no cooking-vessels, many of the shells in the refuse have been exposed to the action of fire and hence are calcined. From this it follows that they are very brittle and have been crushed by passing feet when

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928

SH6 Yahgan SH6

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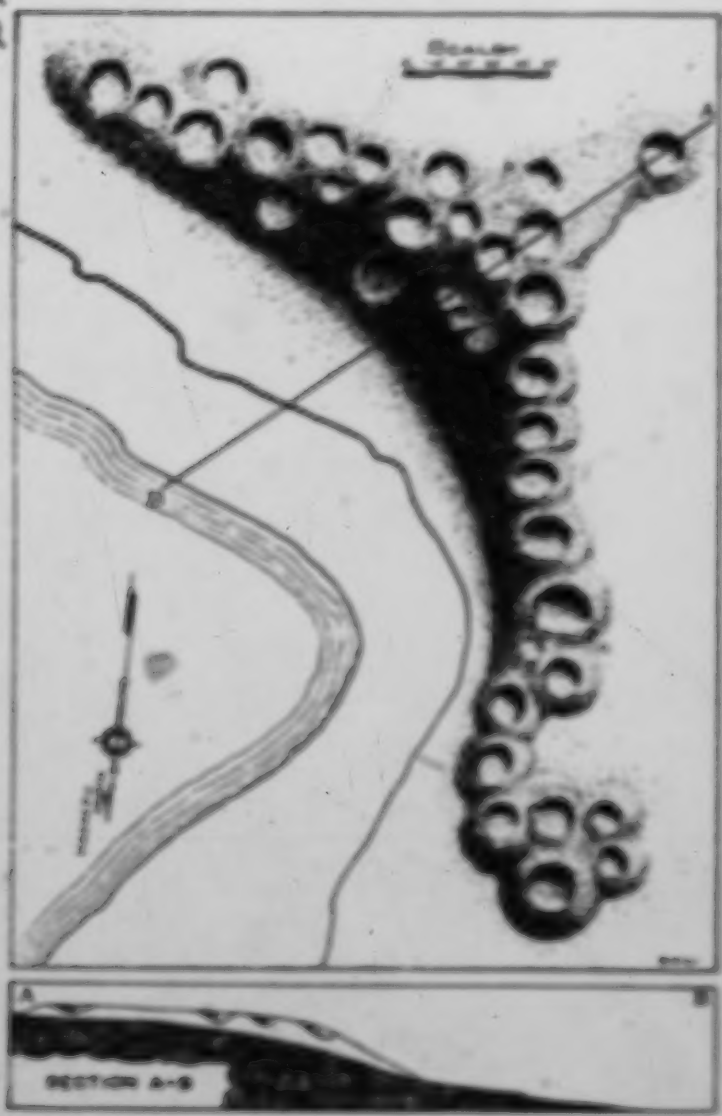

FIG. 96.—[illegible], Harberton, Tierra del Fuego.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928

SH6 Tahgan SH6

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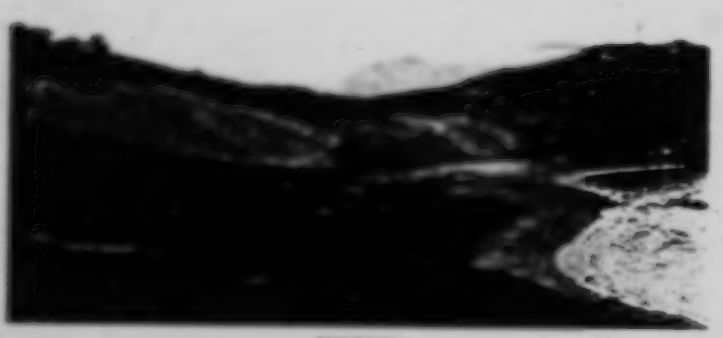

[p. 180-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 they were on the surface and perhaps again centuries later by the weight of the superposed débris. Any theory that the rotting of shells is due solely to age would therefore seem to be untenable.

As a typical example of a Beagle Channel shellheap we shall describe a site (No. 2 in fig. 98) at Harberton. The Yahgan called it *Wápisutumdnokulaw*, meaning "the dead whale floated away," in reference to a long past yet tragic alimentary loss. A plan of this midden we show in fig. 96, while a photograph of the southern arm appears in fig. 97. As is usually the case, it stands just above the beach, here composed of shingle on which many shellfish can be picked up. The site fronts on a small cove facing eastward and thus is protected from the prevailing westerly winds and storms. The land has been cleared, but formerly the peninsula was forest-covered and supplied abundant firewood. There is now no water

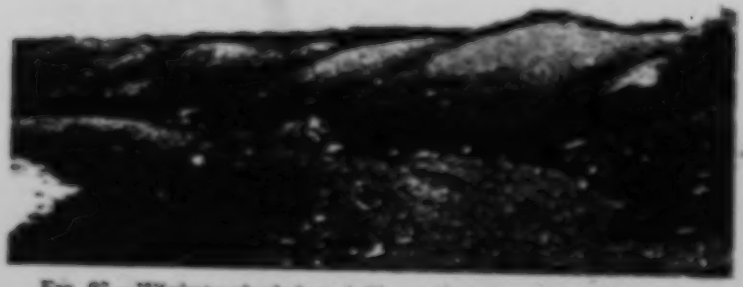

FIG. 97.—Wápisutumdnokulaw shellheap, Harberton, Tierra del Fuego.

supply nearby, but there may have been a spring on the peninsula which has dried up since the trees were cut down.

The thirty-odd house-sites pitting the upper surface of the shellheap face the cove in an irregular line. They vary greatly in size, for it seems that some of them have been abandoned for many years and partly filled in. The southern arm of the midden appears to have been longest inhabited, because additional house-pits in front of the original line were placed in the rubbish as it was built out toward the sea. In some of the larger shellheaps as many as four or five rows of house-pits can be distinguished.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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103
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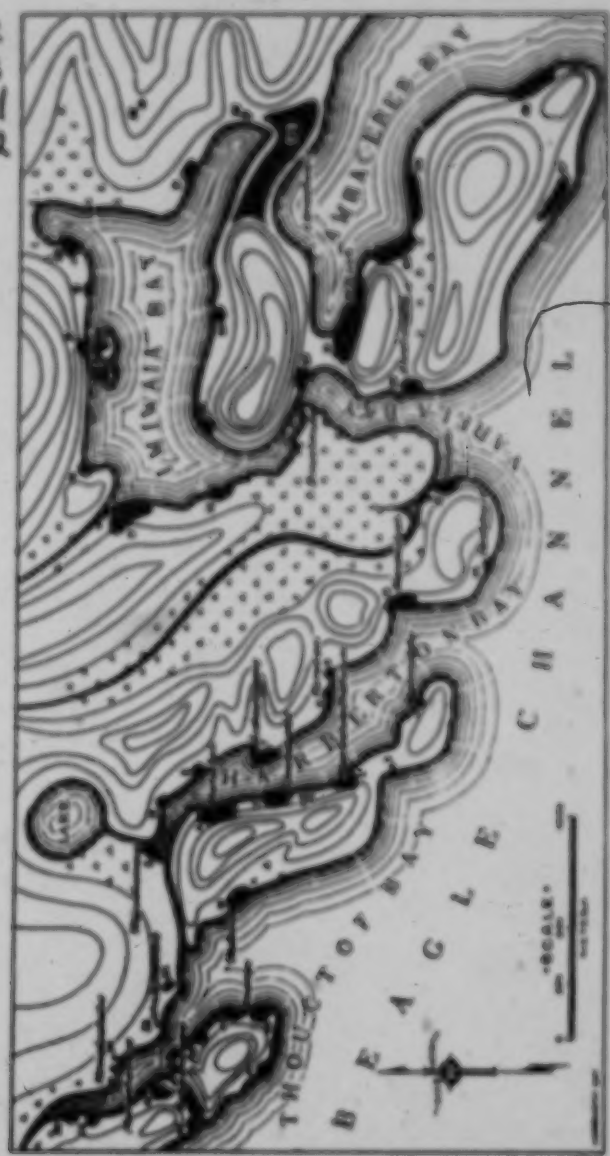

FIG. 98.—Geographic and place names near Harbortown, Tierra del Fuego.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5316 Yahgan 5316

172

Excavation of a test pit (just behind the bushes at the right edge of fig. 97) yielded the following results:

1. The interior shells were found to be as solid as those on the surface.
2. Finely powdered wood-ash had not been washed away, although the drainage was good.
3. At a depth of a little more than a foot appeared a type of mound-shell which could not be found on the beach locally. To this two great significances should not be attached, as it is well known that shellfish types migrate rapidly. Near San Julian in Patagonia the writer also found giant oyster-shells of a type not known locally.
4. Animal bones are common. At the bottom, long-bones, although wet and very cold (the frost often does not leave the ground till after Christmas), were as strong and sound as if only a year or two old. Vertebræ, ribs, scapulæ, etc., on the other hand, were usually badly rotted and often crumbled at a touch.
5. No distinction between stone objects on the surface and in the interior of the mounds could be detected.
6. The shellheaps throw little light on the culture or antecedents of the Yahgan except for two points:

   a. It seems that no other people except the Yahgan ever occupied southern Fuegia.

   b. It seems that the Yahgan have lived there for a very long time.

On several sections of the coast of Beagle channel a careful examination of the shellheaps was made, because, while an individual mound might give no clue to the density and antiquity of the migratory population in pre-European times, it seemed that a group of mounds might do so. The districts thus studied were: (1) the adjacent Varela, Cundaweno, Iniwain, Harberton, and Thomfel bays; (2) the channels between Gable island and Tierra Mayor; (3) Puerto Mejillones and the vicinity on Navarin; (4) Ribalo bay on Navarin island. Other localities on Beagle channel or on the islands down to the Horn might equally well have been selected, but the above-mentioned places were convenient and accessible. The location of each shellheap was carefully plotted and an accurate count of the hut-pits made at each site. These counts usually were made by two observers independently to insure their correctness.

Turning now to fig. 98, a map is shown which locates fifty-two shellheaps. In an air-line this map extends from east to west a little more than three miles, but the over-carving shoreline covers

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
2386 Yahgan SH6

approximately sixteen miles. Fresh water flows into all of these bays and is found in a pond on Cambaceres peninsula behind middens 29, 30, and 31; small springs are encountered in several places. Firewood is obtainable anywhere except on the marshes flanking the Varela river. Shellfish abound everywhere except in the upper part of Izaiwata bay. Excellent shelter in case of storms is amply provided, and, except in the roughest weather, it is possible to round the various peninsulas in a canoe owing to the heavy bands of kelp that encompass them all-about. It is an ideal region for a people materially equipped to lead life as were the Yahgan.

The number of house-sites counted—1215—indicates that the Yahgan fully appreciated the advantages of the district. The size of each individual camp-site is shown in the following table:

TABLE VI—YAHGAN CAMP-SITES AND HUTS NEAR HARBERTON

Camp-site	Number of Huts	Camp-site	Number of Huts
1	12	27	16+
2	35+	28	22+
3	7	29	26
4	60+	30	15
5	30+	31	104+
6	12	32	1
7	33	33	5+
8	8	34	24
9	2	35	22+
10	63	36	6
11	30+	37	1
12	1	38	1
13	42	39	10+
14	1	40	11
15	18	41	25+
16	18	42	9
17	6	43	24
18	14	44	28
19	2	45	37
20	10	46	6
21	9	47	13
22	130+	48	13
23	15	49	4
24	12	50	25+
25	20	51	8
26	30+	52	4
		Total	1215+
		Average	23+

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928

SH6 Yahgan SH6

172
133

[p. 184-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Tabgan SH6

FIG. 90.—Approximate cross-section of shellheap 17, Inocente bay, Tierra del Fuego.

FIG. 100.—Location of shellheaps on the channel between Cable island and Tierra del Fuego.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
Sub Yaigan 5306

(72 361 The dwarfest population in this group centered on Cambaceres bay, where 307 hut-pits were counted. The camp-sites on the south side, known to the Indians as Yiikirh, display unusually deep house-pits, while Lendebwala (pl. xvii, 5) on the opposite

[62 (63]

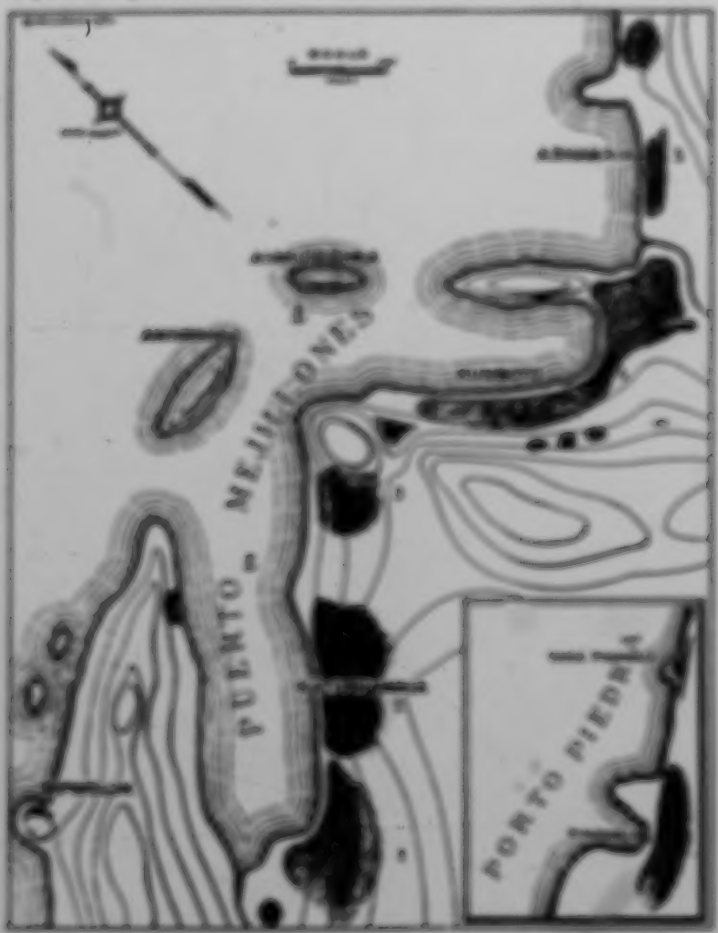

FIG. 101.—Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra shellmeps, Navarin island.

shore was evidently a later or less popular settlement, as the pits are relatively shallow.

731 About 1880 there occurred here one of those tragedies which must have been not uncommon among the Yahgan. A dead

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S306 Yahgan S306

whale floated ashore, and Oua and Haush came to join the local Yahgan in the running feast. But all were poisoned by the meat and most of the company died—so many indeed that the survivors fled, leaving the bones of their relatives to whiten the beach for many years afterward.

Iniwaia bay (pl. xii, lower) is completely landlocked and the tide runs strongly through the narrow entrance. Hence it is not readily accessible. The large heap No. 22 (Lanlabwala) backs on it, but the principal access to this camp must have been from the Cambaceres side. In the northwest corner, however, there is a large and very deep middden (No. 17), of which we give a section in fig. 99. This is conveniently situated beside a small stream, and its approach from the entrance channel is sheltered from the prevailing westerly winds. Heap 31, on the north shore, was evidently abandoned long ago, as large beech-trees had grown on top of the refuse—the only case of this kind observed by the writer. The upper end of Iniwaia bay is shallow and muddy, and not suited for camp-sites.

Harberton bay, the headquarters of the Bridges' sheep ranches on the south coast, is ideally suited for camp-sites, and no fewer than fifteen were inspected. Of these, No. 2, which has been described above (page 181), and Nos. 4, 5, 11, and 13, are large and important. No. 6 was occupied by Indians in the summer of 1923-24. This bay well illustrates the Yahgan tendency to give every few hundred yards of coast-line a separate name.

The Thourtif bay middens, although numerous, are for the greater part small, and offer no peculiarities.

The other groups of shellheaps examined differ in no material way from the Harberton cluster. In fig. 100 we show the settlements along the channel between Tierra Mayor and Gable island, a sheltered, well-watered, and well-wooded region, which affords a convenient resting place at the end of an exposed strip of coast to the westward. The size of some of the middens is as follows:

Camp-site	Hearths or Huts	Camp-site	Hearths or Huts
4	6	9	8
5	24	10	40
6	7	11	12
7	1	12	6
8	8	13	12

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 361 Of these, No. 4 was occupied by the Yahgan during the summer of 1923-24. No. 10, seen in pl. XVI (upper view), was an unusually deep midden conveniently situated beside a spring.

Another group of Yahgan camp-sites, at Puerto Mejillones and at Porto Piedra along the coast to the westward, is seen in pl. XI and mapped in fig. 101. Here practically all the Yahgan now come to pass the winter months, living on the proceeds of the skins they have sold during the preceding summer or on their wages earned on various sheep ranches. They dwell in poorly constructed houses built of ill-fitting boards. The size of the shellheaps is as follows:

Camp-site	Number of Huts	Camp-site	Number of Huts
1	55	5	20
2	50	—	6
3	25	Pinawala	73
4	10	Yaka Pinawala	12

[102]

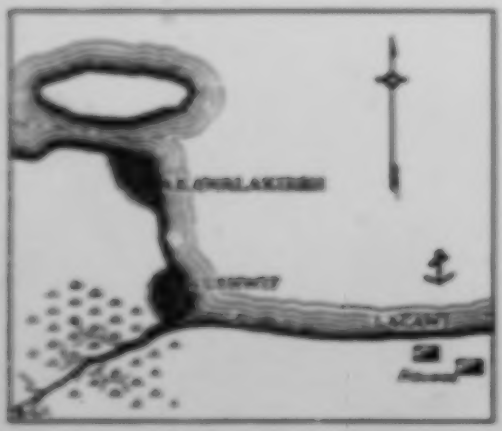

FIG. 102.—Ribalo bay, Navarin island, showing the location of shellheaps.

Puerto Mejillones really is one continuous site, and the original number of house-pits was much greater than that given above, but they have been trampled flat by cattle. The greatest depth of deposit was seen at site 2, where the débris appeared to be 12 or 15 feet thick (pls. XI, XVIII).

One of the Porto Piedra shellheaps is of unusual size. This site today is crowned by several modern houses and the house-pits have been trampled down by cattle.

172 At Ribalo bay of Navarin island are two large shellheaps containing 43 and 56 house-sites. The one called Akawalakirrh is

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

133
172

KUMBOTO SHELLHEAP, PUERTO MEJILLONES, NAVARIN ISLAND

[p. 188-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 fig. 102, pictured in fig. 103, is an exceptionally deep midden; it towers over the head, although situated on flat land. On the seaward side this heap has been undercut by the waves, which have exposed a large and solid layer of breccia near the bottom of the refuse.

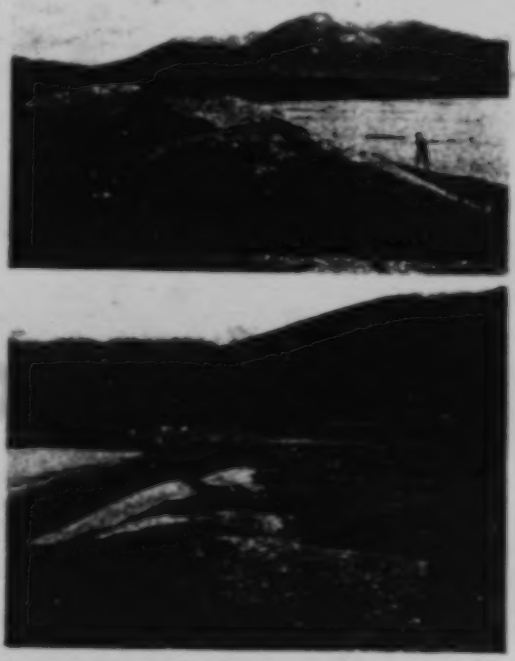

FIG. 103.—Akawalakirrh shellheap, Róbalo bay.

ARCHEOLOGICAL FINDS

We have discussed at some length the nature of the Yahgan camp-sites and now must take up the very primitive remains to be found in their débris.

172 412 First, however, we should remark that the Yahgan, even today when metal tools are readily available, show a marked tendency to use anything which comes to hand, be it a shell fragment or a flint chip. Consequently, in the old days they must have accomplished much of their handiwork with such eolithic implements, and probably used their more formal tools principally for the arduous or very delicate tasks. This tendency is brought out by the small number of really well-wrought implements which have come from the middens in comparison with the comparatively great number of crude or half-finished ones.

The specimens illustrated were picked up on the seaward slope of various middens where the undercutting of the waves had

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172
412

disturbed the surface. In consequence there is no evidence from what level they had come originally.

1. KNIVES.—Chipped blades apparently intended for use as knives normally are leaf-shape, from two to five inches long, and, unlike the Ona knives, are worked on both sides. In pl. XIX, *a*, *b*, are shown two examples of large knives, each with a small nock near one end to assist in the hafting. Smaller blades appear in *c*, *d*, and *e* of the same plate; these may well have served as knives or conceivably might have been barbless tips for spear or arrow.

2. SCRAPERS.—Although two kinds of scrapers come from the shellheaps, neither is very common, probably because the Yahgan did most of their scraping with shell. In fig. 104, *a*, we show a

FIG. 104.—Scrapers from Wápisatumánakulum, Harberton, Tierra del Fuego. Length of *a*, 2¼ in. (14/3977)

disc scraper with a cutting edge completely encircling it. Fig. 104, *b* and *c*, both seem to be scraper-blades fashioned for hafting in the manner of the modern Ona flesher. One of them (*c*) has a recessed curve at one end of the blade; this may have been intended for cleaning bones, or possibly it served merely to give additional grip for the lashings.

The Yahgan with whom the writer came in contact denied that they had ever used this type of scraper. Mr. William Bridges however, stated that he had seen them employed, an assertion borne out by the discovery of these archeological specimens.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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STONE BLADES, WÁPOIATUNÁNAKULUK, HARBERTON, TIERRA DEL FUEGO

LENGTH OF b, 9 CM. (3½ INCHES)

[p. 190-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

•172 412 3. SPEARPOINTS.—Four spear- or arrow-points are illustrated in fig. 105. Of these, *a* is a triangular blade with barbs but no tang,

FIG. 105.—Stone blades. *a*, Near Gable island (5/8544); *b*, *c*, Wigkatemenakalum, Harberton (14/3977); *d*, Ribado bay, Navarin island (14/6002). Length of *b*, 3 in.

while *b* has a tang but no barbs. However, *c* and *d* had both tang and barbs, and this seems to be the dominant Beagle Channel

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

type, because several other specimens have been published by Bove (1883) and Hyades (1891). The general shape of these points is similar to that of modern Ona arrowpoints and ancient stone points from eastern Tierra del Fuego. Yahgan workmanship, on the whole, is cruder than Ona, and to the writer's knowledge no points have been found on the south coast equal to the delicate blade illustrated in fig. 40.

4. HAMMERSTONES, ANVILS, GREASE STONES.—Every Yahgan family carried an oval water-worn stone which was used for a variety of purposes, such as hammering. These stones (fig. 70) may be picked up at every ancient camp-site.

5. BONE TOOLS.—Bone tools of modern type sometimes are found in shellheaps under conditions implying considerable antiquity.

AGE OF ARCHEOLOGICAL REMAINS

The age of the archeological remains on Beagle channel is a problem that has intrigued the writer from the moment of his arrival there, and every effort was made to collect data for its solution. It should be frankly stated at the outset of this discussion that there is no exact answer, but it is nevertheless possible to deduce an approximate figure. There are several methods by which the problem may be attacked; thus we shall discuss (1) the variations in Yahgan speech, (2) known historical movements in other parts of South America, (3) the internal evidence of age in Fuegian shellheaps, and finally (4) their probable rate of accumulation.

1. ANTIQUITY OF THE YAHGAN DIALECTS

As explained above, the Yahgan spoke five distinct though mutually intelligible dialects. This is rather surprising because (*a*) they were a roving people occupying only a small territory, (*b*) they were exogamous, and (*c*) the total population was only about 3000 individuals. Assuming, as seems probable, that the Yahgan reached Tierra del Fuego more or less as a unit speaking a single tongue, how long did it take them to modify their language in five distinct ways?

In the more civilized parts of the world linguistic change also has taken place, and, because language is not only spoken but written, the archaic forms are preserved and can be studied. For instance, the breaking up of Latin into the modern Romance

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

174 studies clearly prove this. Cooper (1917a) has pointed out the general resemblance of the earlier culture at such sites as Taltal with the historic culture of the Magellanic archipelago. He lists as features shared in common with the Canoe Indians: the use of spear and harpoon, and disuse of the bow, nets, coiled basketry, combs, shell necklaces, and supine burial. To this should be added the strikingly close resemblance in physical type. Granted this relationship, however, we lack sufficient evidence to translate it into historical terms, for we cannot say how long ago the Araucanians displaced the earlier culture. Possibly the change in population in coastal Peru pushed the Yahgan into Tierra del Fuego, while a later shift on the coast of Chile may have been responsible for the presence of the Alacaluf; but this is mere conjecture.

3. INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF AGE IN FUEGIAN SHELLHEAPS

172 For several reasons an inspection of Beagle channel shellheaps leads to the conclusion that they mark camp-sites inhabited for many centuries. We list these reasons as follows:

A. *Bulk.*—The first and most obvious sign of age is the very size of the refuse-heaps. Clearly it must have taken a great many centuries to deposit such vast masses of débris. Below we have attempted to calculate the cubic contents of the refuse near Harberton.

B. *Breccia.*—The formation of breccia in the lower levels of middens, to the writer is not a positive criterion of great age, because so little is understood of the reasons which cause shells to unite in a solid mass. If some climatic change of temporary nature caused the formation of hard floors at one time in all shellheaps, then a valuable means of determining relative age would be available, because the depth of the breccia varies.

C. *Trees.*—In one instance, shellmound 51 in fig. 98, large trees were found growing on top of an ancient camp-site. This midden was discovered on the afternoon before our departure for the north, so that there was no opportunity for cutting down a tree to count the rings and thus learn how long ago the site was abandoned. The site is a small one, with only eight house-pits situated at the base of a steep slope rising sharply from the beach.

D. *Land Subsidence.*—Many instances of the undercutting of the base of middens on both shores of Beagle channel (as can be seen

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

in pl. XVI) seem to indicate slight submergence of the land since the first settlement. This conclusion is not in agreement with that of Loviisato (1885), who believes that the Elizabeth Island shellheaps have been elevated several meters. N. O. G. Nordenskjöld concludes that Tierra del Fuego has risen about sixty meters since relieved from the pressure of general glaciation. The slight and recent submergence noted by the present writer may be a local adjustment since the general rising of the land. 172

E. *Animal Bones.*—Considerable age may be argued from the presence of badly rotted animal bones in a Harberton shellheap. In general this is an almost worthless criterion of age, but in Tierra del Fuego, where the frost scarcely leaves the ground, all animal remains tend to be preserved. The body of a sailor buried in the South Shetland islands was exhumed after several years with the flesh in perfect preservation,[1] so that Beagle channel is only 400 miles from land where animal remains do not decay at all.

4. RATE OF ACCUMULATION OF REFUSE-HEAPS

Mr. N. C. Nelson[2] has most ingeniously worked out the probable age of California shellheaps by determining three factors: (*a*) the total former population, (*b*) the bulk of the débris, and (*c*) the probable daily rate of deposit. While lacking the concrete data to apply this method of determining age as accurately as has Nelson, nevertheless we shall persist with it, because a definite figure can be reached by this method, a figure not incompatible with criteria for age already discussed. We therefore shall examine the three factors above enumerated, which are not without interest in themselves. 172 174

Nelson's estimate of the total population was simply obtained, because he dealt with a permanent village-site. In Tierra del Fuego, however, no site was occupied for more than a brief period at a time, so the population of any camp or even the portion of the year it was occupied cannot be exactly determined. Yet, although the Yahgan were rovers, they wandered in rather fixed limits, hence the number of inhabitants for an area might be calculated in relation to the food supply.

Nelson assumed that each Californian family consists of six individuals. This number might be thought too large for the 174

[1] *Geographical Journal*, pp. 65–66, London, 1830.
[2] Shellmounds of the San Francisco Bay region; *Univ. Calif. Pub. Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol.*, VII, no. 4, p. 345.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH5

total population of the south coast of Tierra del Fuego resided there. The true figure probably falls between these limits, so we may continue to assume that the average population of Varela, Harberton, Thouctof, Cambaceres, and Imiwaia bays was between 144 and 288 individuals.

To measure the volume of shellheaps accurately would be an endless task. However, the average house-pit with its adjacent share of débris, on the basis of exact measurements, covers approximately 570 square feet. The average depth of deposit runs about two feet, so that each house-pit accounts for 1140 cubic feet of rubbish, and the 1215 house-pits on Thouctof, Harberton, Varela, and Imiwaia bays represent 1,385,100 cubic feet of deposited material.

In order to find the daily rate of deposit, Nelson assumed that each individual ate fifty shellfish a day. By trial he proved that 5000 shells, the daily allotment of 100 people, can be packed into 1200 cubic inches which may be raised to a cubic foot when ash, earth, and animal bones are added. These figures were worked out for California Indians, but we believe that they also will apply to the Yahgan, for if they ate less vegetal food they ate more meat, which would not greatly change the proportion of rubbish.

We may now state our problem and its answer succinctly as follows:

(a) Probable number of inhabitants: 144 to 288.
(b) Total contents of shellheaps: 1,385,100 cubic feet.
(c) Probable rate of deposit: 1.4 to 2.9 cubic feet per day.
(d) Number of years sites were inhabited: 1300 to 2600 years.

In criticism of the age deduced for the shellheaps we may point out that while no factor—even the number of heaps in the area discussed and the number of house-pits in those visited—is certain, nevertheless there is no reason that the errors should be cumulative. At any rate, the application of Nelson's method to Tierra del Fuego shows that it has been settled a very long time. To the writer it seems that the larger limit selected for the population is too great, and that the bulk of the shellheaps might well be considerably greater than estimated, because the assumed depth is certainly a very conservative figure.

In view of these figures and the other criteria for age already adduced, it seems not unwarranted to believe that the south coast of Tierra del Fuego has been occupied for 2000 years at least.

1: Gustafe--692 E-8 (1969-1994) 1987 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/964 cont./

423 expeditions for a long time has led to absolutely no result, the
647 Yamana have never given up their exclusive legal claim to their
777 native region.

They trace this claim back to that so-called revolutionary
423 myth, which tells that in ancient times the women who were play-
173 ing kina pushed into this region and continued their secret cere-
mony here. Since this time, they say, all the Yamana have re-
mained in one and the same place, and inasmuch as they were
the first to take possession of this land for themselves, it has be-
come their property.

423 The nature of the landscape has divided the whole Yamana
territory into five large districts in which an equal number of dia-
635 lects have developed (p. 199 /unpublished/). Each dialect group
regards its home as, in a special sense, the common property of
all its members. It is the field in which each one may devote him-
self to the hunt for food without restraint. To begin with, the
individual has no vested right to a specific animal and no priority
in obtaining special products of the land. Without discrimination,
everything within the boundaries of the dialect region is available
to everyone living there. Thus, with regard to the natural prod-
ucts of their circumscribed homeland, there is no personal prop-
erty right; this becomes valid only at the moment when a person
appropriates something for himself.

423 It is no less important to point out that only the members
635 of the same dialect group may take what their circumscribed
685 area /965/ holds. Persons whose homes are in a neighboring
district generally do not have the right to cross the boundaries. A
few exceptional cases are regarded as legally valid. If these ex-
ceptions are misused, however, disputes may be kindled and, to
be sure, precisely because of violation of the sovereign rights
which only the actual owners of this region enjoy. They, alone
may indiscriminately appropriate in it whatever they need in the
way of animals and goods, even if some of it serves in barter with
people of another group.

It is obvious that every individual will defend the common
possession of his dialect group, to which he belongs by birth or
marriage and in which he himself has a share. Whenever and
wherever he observes encroachment by a neighbor, he at least
disapproves of it and speaks of it to others in his immediate

/1345 cont./
transformation of the people taking part, for it was a struggle between men and women for existence or nonexistence (297).

[171]

297. There is justification for a brief reference here to the surprisingly complete agreement between the basic ideas of the origin myth and those underlying the secret men's ceremonies of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 859), Yamana, and Halakwulup. All three are juxtaposed in Gusinde (q):261. Cf. the summary in Schmidt (d):285.

[173] Another familiar idea should be repeated here: Under the leadership of the women who performed the Kina, the families immigrated from the north to Beagle Channel, which at that time was unpopulated. They were the first settlers here. The Yamana refer to this as the basis for their legal claim to the region, and they have occupied it since then as the sole owners (p.855). The text of the two versions given above differs in details and in minor incidents. Naturally, all mature men who have personally experienced the Kina are acquainted with the basic ideas of this origin myth, and it is also familiar to a number of women, as will be further explained and shown below.

4. The Daily Program

To this day the Yamana men feel justified in assembling in the Great Hut and celebrating the Kina, while excluding the women as a matter of principle. They definitely maintain that in former times the women, for their part, kept all the men in subjection by means of the same celebration. Hence, they say, their action is an absolutely fitting retaliation for all that was once carried on in exactly the same way by the group of women. The men regard the content of the origin myth in all seriousness as true and reliable; they base their vindication upon it. While the esteem that the men have for the women in everyday life is not basically altered and the social position of every woman is a

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/008 cont./
Lothrop (b):192 says very briefly: "Bone tools of modern type sometimes are found in shellheaps under conditions implying considerable antiquity" /cited in English/.

spear- and harpoon-points. From the "Conchal de Ubiuela" Vignati (c):125 illustrated and described in detail three harpoon points, three lances, two wedges (409), and two stamed spatulas.

409. Vignati (c):128 calls one of these "hacha" /ax/, the other "de uso desconocido" /use unknown/. For me both pieces are the bone wedges mentioned above that are used to remove bark.

We see so clearly in these pieces their absolute conformity with the bone tools still used by present-day Yamana that no one will raise any doubts about it. Proofs of their age are lacking, however, for we come across them even in the lower strata of shell heaps in various places in Yamana territory.

3. Their Origin

174 The repeated comparisons and references called forth by the description of the finds in the shell heaps have made us realize that in those places a form of culture is expressed in external objects and implements that coincides in essence and with surprising accuracy with the things we have observed among modern generations of the Yamana people. A nomadic people, unfamiliar with fixed dwellings, has built up this form of culture. That the search for food was undertaken by individual families is proved by the difference in height and extent of the settlement sites. The sea furnished at least the major portion of the food supply, for no trace of vegetable nutrients has hitherto been uncovered. Peculiarities of smaller areas are clearly shown in some of the middens: for example, in the east, especially in Bahía Harberton and in Puerto Mejillones, the number and size of the deposits is far greater

/410 cont./

than in the west. There there was a greater variety of sea mammals and marine birds, sea urchins and crabs, whereas in the east, long open coastal strips were less favorable for hunting sea animals, hence the natives were primarily dependent on mounds in and near the large inlets. We cannot expect to find traces of pottery; the many hearth sites with ashes and bits of charcoal prove too conclusively that all food was roasted in an open hearth fire or baked in hot ashes.

In comparison with Mytilus mounds, all other animals were far less important in the diet; although it is true that the bones of mammals and birds were partly destroyed in the fire or left to the dogs, /410/ partly used for implements, and have disappeared in the course of several centuries, nevertheless we might expect larger quantities of them than we actually find. Thus, in those times, exactly as in the case of the present-day Tamena, the Mytilus mound was the same as "bread to the Europeans" -- to repeat a favorite comparison.

As far as bone implements are concerned, their characteristic shape in former times was exactly as definite and unmistakable as it is today, as though both groups had been made in the same year. Only the spear- and arrow-points were made in a definite way which, for a century, has not often been repeated, but which nevertheless persisted in worked glass (410).

> 410. Exclusively on the basis of the worked implements still used by those Indians [yaghanes] at the end of the last century correspond in general characteristics to those from the 'conchal de Ushuaia,' with the single exception of the arrows which are not commonly used in modern times. It is not risky, then, to attribute to this race the remains found in this accumulation of residue" /translated from Spanish/. On the subject of stone implements in particular Lothrop (b):183 decides: "No distinction between stone objects on the surface and in the interior of the mounds could be detected" /cited in English/.

/610 cont./

The considerable number of pieces of agreement justifies the assumption that the original founders of the shell mounds are to be regarded as bearers of a way of life and a form of culture that do not differ from the Yaligan of recent decades. Consistently, the undisturbed pieces of their culture rise through the earlier culture-layers up to the top, upon which the Yaligan of the present, like the earliest beginners, are engaged in continuing the construction of these shell heaps (611). In this way uniformity

611. In spite of his striking reserve, Lothrop (b).183 must admit: "The shellheaps throw little light on the culture or antecedents of the Yaligan except for two points. It seems that no other people except the Yaligan ever occupied southern Fuegia. It seems that the Yaligan have lived there for a very long time" /Cited in English/.

of design and execution in the implements that makes it impossible for us to see in them a succession of long intervals of time and to use them in order to determine certain events, like the types in European prehistory.

172 177 Since, therefore, we cannot rely on a so-called series of types as a measure of time, the question arises whether the shell heaps in themselves permit any kind of decision about their age. The width and thickness of the layers plainly show everyone at first glance that very many decades went into them; more, however, it does not reveal. A definite pointer is the noteworthy fact that in no single layer of these culture heaps can we find definite objects or traces of European origin. On the other hand, we must note that for approximately a century the natives were given all kinds of things by Whites and these have come into everyday use. The bulk of these middens had therefore accumulated prior to that. In some places, it is true, the bulk has increased during the last hundred years, /610/ but this development cannot be compared with the earlier one because meanwhile the natives have decreased extraordinarily in numbers, because they have somewhat modified

/610 cont./

176 their diet since the mission stations were erected, and because,
177 under pressure of the White settlers, they have changed their landing places. We are willing to admit that in those places still chosen for dwellings objects of European origin have found their way into the refuse layer, but that layer is high up and therefore shows its recent origin.

174 Would we perhaps be able to obtain tangible dates from the height of the midden? To me it seems hopeless to bother about it. For example, Lothrop (b):195, in a "Rate of accumulation of refuse-heaps," estimated the amounts of refuse according to the number of natives, taking as his scale of measurement the daily consumption of mussels and snails. His attempt contains so many sources of error that we must expect an extremely unreliable result from the start. The Yamana do not nourish themselves exclusively with mussels, although these represent a predominant part of their nutrition. At times when a whale is stranded, or swarms of herring swim up onto the coast, or sea birds, fish, and seals occur in extraordinarily large numbers, they prefer these things by far. All these phenomena, however, are not bound to certain periods of time. Moreover, a visit to a preferred, sheltered place was very irregular. Some places were more favored and were therefore more sought out by an indeterminately larger number of families than others. Furthermore, the length of time each of these families remained on the same spot depended on incalculable circumstances. We certainly must not underestimate what it would mean in amounts of refuse if all the families in one place stay three days longer than the same number of families in another place. The difference is very considerable. Hence we cannot doubt that one refuse layer at any given vertical distance from the ground is considerably older than another made under the same conditions of deposit, simply because the former accumulated much more slowly than the latter.

We should like to emphasize that a shell heap grows much faster than many Europeans imagine. If we assume, for example, that every member of a five-member family consumes 60 Mytilus mussels a day -- not too large a number, since I counted more than three times that amount among people who happened to

/610 cont./

have no other meat supply -- this makes a small pile of 1,000 shells in three days. This is increased by others, small cones, and bird bones. These remains are tossed out of the hut where they add to the height of the low, ring-shaped wall, also known as [illegible], which extends above the level of the flow. At first they lie loosely upon it, but they are soon pressed down to a more and more solid mass by drifting sand and the action of rain. Now we see very clearly what a single family under /611/ the assumed conditions has left behind altogether (412). Let us say that

412. On the basis of estimated refuse from the daily consumption of mussels, Lothrop (9):197, applying Nelson's scale, figured the age of the shell heaps around Bahía Harberton from 1,300 to 2,600 years. A range of 1,300 years altogether shows everyone clearly enough how unreliable such estimates are.

the same spot remains occupied -- counting the rest-days of the various families -- for a scant half year, that is, for 170 days, by an average family of five. The refuse heap will increase by 102,000 mussel shells. In a less frequently visited spot, on the other hand, the heap increases much more slowly in height and breadth. Who could today determine how rapidly this heap has increased and how slowly that one?

On my second trip I took the trouble in Puerto Róbalo to count and place together 1,000 mussel shells next to one of the large refuse heaps. The difference, it is true, was like that between hillock and mountain; anyone who would like to try this kind of game would find himself forced to reduce considerably the excessively high number of years in estimating the growth of even enormous shell mounds.

Now, can we expect special excavations (413) conscientiously

413. Cooper:218 is in favor of such: "Investigations thus far made in this field have been inadequate and have yielded only unimportant results. Systematic excavations

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142
302

"they were beardless. One or two of the older men had some hair on their faces, which, while talking, they were continually engaged in twitching out" /cited in English/. And Bove (MM:XVIII, 188; 1884) says: "The men have very little beard, and even that little they are accustomed to tear out or cut off with shells" /cited in English/.

In general, they have only very little and faint hair on their

[42]

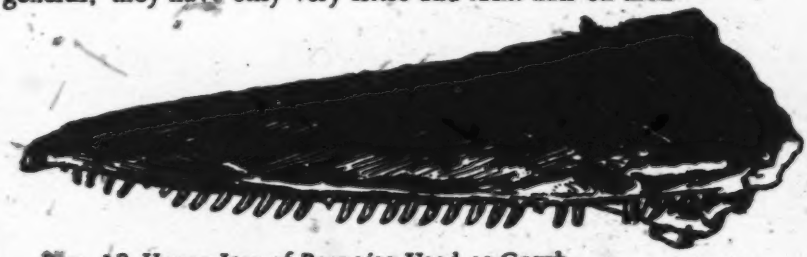

Fig. 18. Upper Jaw of Porpoise Used as Comb. Natural size.

bodies; in this respect they resemble the Selk'nam. /Fig. 18 appears here./

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Under the influence of Whites, younger and middle-aged Yamana have learned not only to dress in modern fashion, but also to wash their faces with soap and to arrange their hair with a comb. Vain chaps shave with imported razors.

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To loosen the hair matted with dirt and lice, not so much because of a desire for cleanliness but because of the discomfort, they use a somewhat coarse comb. It comes in three styles. The most easily obtainable is the upper jaw of the porpoise which is about 12 centimeters long and has two rows of short teeth (Fig. 18). It is occasionally found on the beach where it is so excellently cleaned of all organic matter by wood lice and other lower animals that it can be used without any further preparation. At first this bone is still greasy, which is beneficial for the hair. At any rate it is very easy to use and durable. This comb is called ustanim. Even an otter skull, cleaned of all meat /423/ and without the lower jaw, serves as a comb as long as the few and

/484 cont./

411 around some part of their body to have it quickly accessible at
482 any time, but it is not regarded as an ornament (195). The

195. Hyades (h):33 expressed the surprising view: "We must therefore admit that the sling of the Yahgan is as much an ornamental object for men as it is a weapon for hunting or war" /translated from French/.

Fig. 41. Man with a Sling.

[142 302]

Yamana use it not only to stun birds, but also in fighting against their own people.

411 /485/ All indications point to the fact that the sling was used in all parts of the Cape Horn Archipelago./Fig. 41 appears here./ Every man and boy owned and owns one. When the Mission Scientifique arrived in Orange Bay, according to Hyades (q):357, every man carried his sling. This was customary throughout the entire area occupied by this tribe. Lothrop (b):157 indulges in vain speculation about the [177] origin of the sling and says "that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yaghan" /cited in English/. I cannot agree with this view; I shall not go into his evidence and mine at this point. Instead, I take the view of Snow (b):264 that the Yamana "are remarkably expert with their slings" /cited in English/. Obviously, the fact that they own and use the sling also proves "their ingenuity" /cited in English/.

8. Snares and Fishing Implements

Our Yamana are fortunate in having a wide selection
223 among the animals of their homeland to meet their food needs.
226 They approach each species in a special way in order to catch them as easily and surely as possible. Besides the weapons mentioned

/615 cont./

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as Hyades (g):38 correctly judges, "work that is not too hard, since the canoes, made exclusively out of the bark of the birch-leaved beech, are marvelously light."

This work is a great strain on the entire upper part of the body, for the legs are neither braced nor do they offer support, and the arms do not rest on the rim of the canoe, yet bear the entire strain of free paddling (418). In the vessel all the occupants must squat

[142]

418. Hence the slight development of the legs in contrast to the sturdy torso of the healthy, active women (p. 219 /untranslated/).

close together deep in the bottom, with their legs tucked under. Its center of gravity is very high, even when it is loaded to capacity, and it would easily tip over if the balance were disturbed. Children are told that they should bend their heads and the upper part of their bodies low; usually they lift themselves only high enough for their eyes to reach the level of the gunwale (419).

419. The words of Lovisato (b):134 are to a certain extent correct: "In this canoe the Fuegians remain in such a position that only their heads may be seen, a position identical with the one they maintain in the wigwam" /translated from Italian/.

502 225 462

Before the family leaves the shore, man and wife have agreed on the goal of the journey or the course. She now steers toward this while he constantly is on the lookout for game. If an animal comes into view, he tells his wife and reaches for his spear or harpoon (420). As the vessel nears the animal, he slowly stands

420. The division of labor within the family is thus clearly expressed. Aspinall:270 refers to this: "Each canoe holds one family; the

/715 cont./

736 854 protected in her hands as in those of its mother (141).

141. Lovisato (b):150 simply repeats what Bridges (a):183 observed long before: "If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/.

142 Occasionally it has been maintained that the children are conspicuously small at birth, and Bridges (i):21 writes: "The children are decidedly small at birth and to this fact may be chiefly attributed the mother's immunity from danger" /cited in English/. Bove (e):158 repeats this. Nothing justifies this assumption, and it is a fact that Bridges was by no means in a position to prove it. The color of the skin of the newborn child is considerably lighter than that of adults and later becomes somewhat darker. Fitz-Roy (a):176 says about the Yamana and Halakwulup in general: "Little children are nearly of the same hue as their parents' skin is when cleaned; but infants are, for a few days, rather lighter coloured" [143] /cited in English/. The slight differences in the skin color of newborn children are hereditary.

There is a story dealing with the external appearance of the 773 little ones, which old Čenesin, father of Chris, sometimes told young women; "A long time ago a woman became pregnant. She was delivered extraordinarily quickly, and the child left the mother's womb without the slightest hindrance. Immediately it stretched its limbs, stood up by itself, and walked around a bit, for it was strong and sturdy enough to do this. Immediately after that it hastened back into its mother's womb. Thus the belly of that woman grew big. But soon the child again left its mother's womb, stood up, and walked about freely for a little while; then it hastened back in again. Motionlessly the mother lay there and grew big; she did not know what was happening to her. Since the child came out again and once more returned, she grew ever /716/ weaker. Meanwhile the child had grown and become larger, so she, too, swelled constantly. Finally she died as she once more lay on her sleeping place near the fire. At once she dissolved into nothingness, as though she had never consisted of flesh and bones. --

1: Gusinde--1450 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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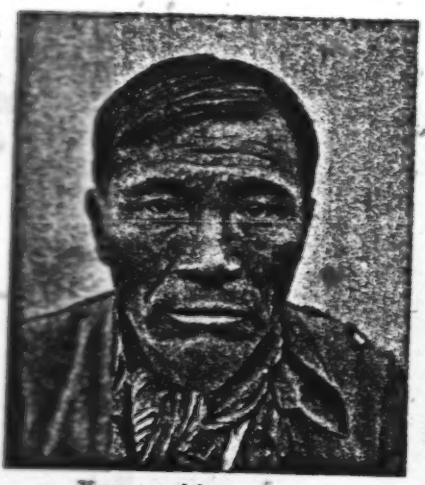

Yamana Man

Yamana Woman

Yamana Children

Children at Play

133

Beach of Beagle Channel

1:Gusinde--1453 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

881
302
142

Čiexaus Participants, 1920

Čiexaus Participants, 1922

Yékamuš Aspirant

Čiexaus Painting

Gusinde with his Sponsors

Yékamuš

1: Gusinde--1455 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

525
302
292

Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Kina-talauwáia

142
302
765
301

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

1: Gusinde--1456 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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765
301

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

1: Gusinde--1457 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHG Yahgan SHG

137

Antarctic Beeches

142
301
302
765

Mourning Painting

Men Painting Th[illegible]ves

Mourning Painting

133

Northeast of Beagle Channel

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

142 To casual observation the Ona impress one by their great height, their barrel-like chests, their splendidly upstanding carriage, and their patent strength and endurance (figs. 7 and 37). Their hair grows abundantly on the head, but sparsely on the face and body, from which in the old days they plucked it with a pair of mussel-shells. Their feet, ankles, hands, and wrists are surprisingly delicate in proportion to their great stature. A peculiar physical characteristic which has escaped comment is the not infrequent presence of purple-black patches like birthmarks on the skin. These may appear on any part of the body, but are especially common on the base of the neck, where an example was noted among the Yahgan. As the Indians are sensitive about such nævi, examination is difficult.

FIG. 5.—Yahgan Indians. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

141 In sharp contrast to the Ona the Yahgan are exceedingly short. Their stature approximates closely that of the Alacaluf, among whom Hyades (1891, p. 120) found an average of 157.4 for eleven men and 148.8 for six women. All visitors to Tierra del
142 Fuego have commented on the corpulence of the Yahgan in relation to their slender legs, a characteristic attributed to long hours spent

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

142 in the cramped positions compulsory in their canoes. The eastern Yahgan, it is asserted, had better developed legs than the other groups because they hunted more frequently on shore. Like the Ona, the Yahgan had little hair on their faces and removed this growth with mussel-shell pincers. It is stated [1] that on the arrival of the French scientific expedition in 1883 the Yahgan mistook the beards of the Frenchmen for tobacco, and in that belief tried to pull them off.

142 147 We should also mention a curious Yahgan anomaly noted by Hyades and Deniker (1891, p. 163) that these Indians tended to put on fat with unusual rapidity in times of plenty, and were able to live on this reserve when food was scarce. Yahgans of age before the white settlement resulted in a less erratic food supply exhibited skin hanging in folds on underfed individuals (fig. 5). The ability to store unusual amounts of fat, most developed in modern races among the Hottentot, has been thought a survival of a hibernating stage in the development of man. Its existence in Paleolithic Europe is deduced from steatopygous figurines among the most ancient carvings produced by human hands. Anatomically, Hyades and Deniker explain this feature by long intestines coupled with a small stomach, leading to rapid and frequent digestion of small amounts of food. The Yahgan stomach was found to contain 1800 cc. as against 3700 cc. for Europeans, presumably Frenchmen, while the Yahgan intestines were six times the length of the body as compared with five times the length of the body in Europeans. These observations and conclusions, it may be mentioned, are not in accord with more recent investigations which reveal a correlation between long intestines and a vegetal diet.

000 We can say little about the physique of Haush and Alacaluf. the former clearly were related to the Ona, while the latter were short in stature like the Yahgan.

141 Turning to more exact data, in the accompanying table we give statistical constants for the Ona and the Yahgan, based on all available material. For the preparation of this table I am indebted to Prof. E. A. Hooton of Harvard University, to Mr. Walter Cline, and to Miss Barbara Clark. I am further indebted to Professor Hooton for the subjoined comment.

[1] Capt. Le Clerk in the *South American Missionary Magazine*, 1884, p. 58.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

PART II

CANOE INDIANS

THE YAHGAN

101 THE Yahgan Indians, the southernmost people in the world, lived on the southern shores of Tierra del Fuego from Brecknock peninsula to Spaniard harbor, and on the adjacent islands southward to Cape Horn itself (pl. IV). In spite of the tempestuous waters they confronted, they were a seafaring people and derived their livelihood almost entirely from the sea and its beaches.

172 Like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance, but their camping-places were limited by the fact that each family was dependent on a fragile bark canoe, for which shelter must be provided. Thus favorable stretches of beach today are marked by great refuse-heaps, of most extraordinary size when one recalls that they represent only temporary stopping-places and that no family ever camped on a spot where it was known that a death had occurred. Centuries or even milleniums must have witnessed the building up of these vast agglomerations of bone and shell.

177 The Yahgan came under missionary influence in the middle of the nineteenth century, and a permanent mission station was 197 maintained among them from 1870 until recently. Hence their culture was much modified before they could be studied by trained ethnologists. For instance, by the eighties they had modified their initiation rites. We must add that among the Ona those without missionary training tended to survive the longest, but among the Yahgan the last survivors have almost invariably been mission reared.

142 Writing nearly a century ago, Fitzroy (pp. 137–139, 186) thus describes the untrammeled Yahgan of his day:

> The Tekeenica, natives of the south-eastern portion of Tierra del Fuego, are low of stature, ill-looking, and badly proportioned. Their color is that of very old mahogany, or rather between dark copper and

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

142 bronze. The trunk of the body is large in proportion to their cramped and rather crooked limbs. Their rough, coarse, and extremely dirty black hair half hides yet heightens a villainous expression of the worst description of savage features. . . .

MAN, IN CHRISTMAS SOUND, TIERRA DEL FUEGO.

FIG. 42.—Yahgan Indian. (After Hawkesworth.)

291 Sometimes these satires upon mankind wear a part of the skin of a guanaco or a seal skin upon their backs [fig. 42], and perhaps the skin of a penguin or a bit of bird hide hangs in front; but often there is nothing, either to hide their nakedness or to preserve warmth, except a scrap of hide, which is tied to the side or back of the body, by a string around the waist. Even this is only for a pocket, in which they may carry stones for their slings, and hide what they pick up or pilfer. A man always carries his sling around his neck or waist, wherever he goes.

1: Cooper R-4 (no date) 1946 [illegible] Tehuelche
Yahgan 5116

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411
516
●142

[illegible]

[p. 160 D]

Chiriguano SF19
Choroti SK8
Mataco SE7
Tehuelche SG5
Cerija SF9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SA4
Timbira SD8
Araucanians SG4
Pano SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF5
Ona SG4
Yahgan SG5

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: Hill et al., SS18 Warao, Category 118, pp. 107-114./

/706 cont./

work, carrying about with her the little creature whom she protects as best she can" /translated from French/ (Martial:197). Hyades (q):190 says very emphatically: "Childbirth is easy among the Fuegian women" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, even in earlier times there were occasionally difficult deliveries. In this connection Hahn (s):807 exaggerates slightly when, referring to Bridges, he says that "complications and abnormal positions are not rare in childbirth" /translated from French/.

When Adelheid's first child was born, it was a dangerous cross-birth, and the patient had great difficulty keeping mother and child alive. Fearing that she would experience the same danger another time, she resorted to the preventive measure recommended to women who do not want any more children. She threw the placenta to the dogs, who devoured it completely. To prove how reliably effective this procedure is, the woman constantly pointed to Adelheid who had not become pregnant again for almost two decades. Her husband, Santiago, was extremely worried about her for a long time, but he repeated what another man also told himself in a rare case of a difficult birth: "It is better that I give up having more children than that I lose my wife!" It is the husband himself who demands that the placenta be thrown to the dogs after a seriously difficult birth, or he does it himself, since he is called as soon as the woman seems to be in danger during labor. /707/ Sympathy impels him to this decision; he does not wish to expose his wife again to such pain or danger. Adelheid's sister, Elisa, had trouble, more or less, with each of her six children, and twice she had a miscarriage (p.481). We probably should not overlook an inherited tendency in this case, for the third sister, Gertrud, although she has had a few premature deliveries, has not carried a single healthy child for the normal period. No one will be able to determine whether European civilization has had a detrimental effect on these women. Their mother, who is still living, did not have such difficulties.

3. The Parents of the Newborn Child

As we have said, every Yamana woman gives birth to her own dwelling, if possible. She is assisted by an actual midwife and sometimes also by the adopted mother of the new baby. Her

/715 cont./
poured in her hands as in dress of its mother (141).

> 141. Lowiens (9):150 simply repeats what Bridgen (x):183 observed long before: "If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/.

(142) Occasionally it has been maintained that the children are conspicuously small at birth, and Bridgen (1):21 writes: "The children are decidedly small at birth and to this fact may be chiefly attributed the mother's immunity from danger" /cited in English/. Rowe (x):158 repeats this. Nothing justifies this assumption, and it is a fact that Bridgen was by no means in a position to prove it. The color of the skin of the newborn child is considerably lighter than that of adults and later becomes somewhat darker. Fitz-Roy (x):170 says about the T'ssaiss and Halakwlwlp in general: "Little children are nearly of the same hue as their parents' skin is when clothed, but infants are, for a few days, rather lighter coloured" /cited in English/. The slight differences in the skin color of newborn children are hereditary.

(143)

(143) There is a story dealing with the unusual appearance of the little ones, which old Čemnis, father of Chyis, sometimes told young women: "A long time ago a woman became pregnant. She was delivered extraordinarily quickly, and the child left the mother's womb without the slightest hindrance. Immediately it switched its limbs, stood up by itself, and walked around a bit, for it was strong and sturdy enough to do this. Immediately after that it hastened back into its mother's womb. Thus the belly of that woman grew big. But soon the child again left its mother's womb, stood up, and walked about freely for a little while, then it hastened back in again. Meticulously the mother lay there and grew big; she did not know what was happening to her. Since the child came out again and once more returned, she grew ever /716/ weaker. Meanwhile the child had grown and became larger, so she, too, swelled constantly. Finally she died as she once more lay on her sleeping place near the fire. At once she dissolved into nothingness, as though she had never consisted of flesh and bones. --

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1929) 1928
3355 Yahgan 3355

and facial height are measured; second, because of age changes in the individual which affect these parts. The length of the nose increases with age and the length of the face tends to diminish with wear and loss of teeth. Nevertheless it would appear that these indices in the Ona group by their dispersion indicate a lack of homogeneity of the group when compared with the measurements and indices previously considered.

It is proposed to consider here the problem of Ona and Yahgan [43] anthropometry only so far as deductions may be made from the accompanying table and from information as to the environmental factors which seem to be important. First of all it is apparent that the Yahgan as a group are less homogeneous than the Ona, particularly in the case of the males. How may this difference in variability be explained? The conditions of diet, occupation, climate, etc., are somewhat different from those obtaining in the case of the Ona, but presumably quite uniform for the entire Yahgan group. Indeed it would appear that the life of the Ona is much more variegated than that of the adjoining tribe. The Yahgan are canoe people, but it does not seem probable that their life in boats and on the shore would tend to diversify them in physical type any more than the running life of the Ona. I think we must admit that the Yahgan owe their greater variability probably to the presence of more diverse physical types of an hereditary character than are found among the Ona. By this I mean that two or three, or more perhaps, of the various elements which have blended to form the composite "Indian" race in America, are found among the Yahgan, whereas in the Ona we have to deal either with a single type or with a group in which one single type overwhelmingly predominates.

In a "refuge" area one may expect to find all sorts of samples of the weaker and more primitive populations which have, from time to time, inhabited the continent. These odds-and-ends are likely to have been reduced to a certain homogeneity through isolation which brings about inbreeding and through selection. Both of these factors are notably operative in Tierra del Fuego. I think that it is an assumption justified by the evidence that the earliest inhabitants of the New World were short dolichocephals and that these were followed by short brachycephals. Among the Yahgan we have a fusion of two such elements, just as we have, to cite another instance, in Pueblo peoples of southwestern United States.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

143 We must however consider the possibility that the canoe life of the Yahgan has tended to exercise a selective influence on their stature. Small men are less likely to fall out of small and primitive canoes than are large and unwieldy men. Great length of legs (which always distinguishes tall persons) is a great disadvantage in such craft. We are given to understand that the Yahgan women swim well and the men not at all. If this is true, it is conceivable that the shorter elements in this population have survived because the larger men proved to be too awkward for canoeing and were consequently eliminated by drowning. But this would necessitate the assumption that the large women were also eliminated or that they failed to transmit their large stature. While it is perfectly true that a large woman and a small canoe make a bad combination, it is equally true that a large woman makes as good a floater or swimmer as a small woman, and even a better.

However, there is another possibility that is worthy at least of mention. The legs of the Yahgan may have been shortened as a result of their boating habits. It is perfectly easy to suppose that a man who spends most of his time sitting in a canoe will have poorly developed legs, as have the Yahgan. It is not at all certain, however, that disuse of the legs for purposes of locomotion would necessarily decrease their length. And it is altogether improbable that such a decrease in leg length would establish itself as an hereditary characteristic. Moreover, the Yahgan are not merely "sawed-off" counterparts of the Ona. Not only are their legs shorter, but they are smaller in every way than their neighbors.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that the stocks which have blended to form the Yahgan were originally short-statured, short-legged peoples, and that, although canoe life may have operated to some extent to eliminate the taller individuals, the stunted stature of this people is in the main a characteristic of the original stocks from which they sprung.

The Ona are one of the tallest people in the world if any reliance can be placed upon our compiled figures and upon the estimates of various writers. They are exceptionally homogeneous in stature and in cephalic dimensions and indices, but not especially so in facial measurements and indices. They are not canoe people, but range over a wide area on foot. Apparently they have a harder time in gaining their subsistence than do the Yahgan. Are we to suppose that these people have attained their commanding

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

height by the exercise of their lower limbs in walking? We do not know that walking increases the length of the legs. Very tall men are not especially good walkers in the experience of modern armies; short men march more rapidly and endure better. On the other hand, there is nothing to lead us to suppose either that walking shortens the legs or that a life of wandering about on foot would tend to eliminate by some process of selection the short-legged strains. If one were to attribute the maximum imaginable effect to natural selection or to processes of atrophy and hypertrophy in altering either by selection or by the transmission of functional adaptations the hereditary leg-lengths of Ona and Yahgan, and if we brought ourselves to believe that some environmental agency had radically shortened the legs of the latter and lengthened those of the former, we should still be faced by a difference in stature between the two groups altogether beyond the adequacy of such an explanation. The Ona males are more than 17 cm. taller than the Yahgans! 143

At this point we may inquire with Cassius:

> "Now, in the name of all the gods at once,
> Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed
> That he is grown so great?"

If we take into consideration the dietetic differences between the Ona and the Yahgan (see Table II), we observe that the outstanding fact is the dependence on the flesh of the guanaco by the Ona as contrasted with a reliance on mussels as a staple on the part of the Yahgan. Guanaco seems also to have been the principal article of diet of the Patagonian Tehuelche, who, according to reports, were as tall as the Ona, if not taller (mean stature of males 175 cm., according to Moreno and Lista). Yet it is hardly worth while to toy with the supposition that the statural differences between these groups are a matter of camel-meat versus shell-fish, especially since the ethnographic authorities seem to think that the Ona have a harder time in getting sufficient food than their stunted neighbors. 146 143

More promising perhaps is the factor of artificial selection in the warlike pursuits of the Ona. If it could be shown that the smaller and weaker of these people had been eliminated as a result of warfare, our problem would be solved. But in spite of the fact that the Ona are said to be more warlike than the Yahgan, it does not seem reasonable to ascribe their stature to military selection. There is no evidence, so far as I know, which would justify such a 143

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

143 conclusion. Nevertheless, the statistical homogeneity of this group does argue that some sort of selection has been at work. The Ona men are said sometimes to take Yahgan wives, and if this is true we should expect some at least of the offspring of such unions to be short. The Ona women are, however, almost as tall for their sex as are the men. Could it be possible that the Ona practise infanticide upon undergrown specimens of their race? There is no evidence that such is the case.

It is reported that the Ona of Tierra del Fuego are not alone in their attainment of an unusual bodily size, since animals transported to this region far exceed the size and bulk to which they ordinarily grow in other places. For example, it is stated that the guanaco in Tierra del Fuego is larger than the same animal farther north in the Andean area. Also it is said that foxes grow large and that imported English cattle produce gigantic offspring. If this be the case, it is very difficult to account for the stunted Yahgan who have practically the same environment as the Ona.

Most anthropologists ascribe the size of the Ona to their probable relationship with the Patagonian Tehuelche, to whom they are also allied culturally. In other words, the size of the Ona is thought to be a matter of heredity. As a matter of fact this explanation seems to be the only possible one unless some physiologist can demonstrate that the slight differences between Yahgan and Ona diets are directly responsible for their disparity in size. Even more striking instances of statural difference within the same environment occur in East Africa and the Lake region where the shortest pygmies known live cheek-by-jowl with gigantic Hamito-Negroids, the tallest people in the world.

Tall stature is generally a matter of heredity, and it is thought by Davenport that certain growth-repressing factors are dominant over their absence, inasmuch as he found high variability in short families as contrasted with tall families. If this is correct it is possible that the stature of the Ona is an expression of a recessive feature in a relatively pure stock. But the Ona are said occasionally to take Yahgan wives, and the variability of their facial and nasal indices is scarcely indicative of purity of race. We must consider also the hypothesis of heterosis or hybrid vigor, whereby hybrid offspring often exceed both parents in bodily size. But heterosis does not manifest itself always in human crosses. It does not occur, for example, in crosses between Hawaiians and Chinese,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

nor apparently in most Negro-white crosses. There is, moreover, no evidence in the case of the Ona of any recent admixture with another stock except perhaps the Yahgan, who would scarcely be expected to contribute factors making for gigantic stature or even to maintain the average stature of any ordinary group with which they interbred. 143

I should be inclined to the speculation that the high stature of both Tehuelche and Ona is the result of the predominance in them of a tall and probably brachycephalic strain belonging to one of the later waves of immigrants into South America. I am of the opinion that this tall brachycephalic type, which occurs elsewhere in the New World, resulted from the intermixture of a brachycephalic type of medium stature with a tall dolichocephalic strain. It would appear that in this particular cross tallness was dominant. This is, admittedly, a speculation, but it is not based merely on a short consideration of the inadequate and second-hand anthropometric data on the Fuegians here presented. I do not pretend to be able to prove this contention, nor can I say exactly what "races" were involved in this postulated cross. I think, however, that the Mongoloid element in the American Indians came largely from the brachycephals, and that the tall dolichocephals were neither Negroid nor Mongoloid. Nor do I assume that the crossings which gave rise to this tall "hybrid" type necessarily took place in the New World; many of the American Indian groups included in this type may have originated in Asia.

We really need a good deal more of information about the effect of diet and climate on physical type before we can confidently dismiss the remarkable size contrast between the Ona and the Yahgan as a mere matter of hereditary difference. I should want more precise information about certain morphological characters of these two groups before committing myself finally to the opinion that they represent distinct racial combinations. However, upon the present showing I incline to the opinion that the size differences discussed above are primarily the result of hereditary factors, accentuated perhaps by occupational selection tending to make for shortness in the Yahgan and for great stature in the Ona.

[pp. 48-115 contain no data on the Yahgan. — Analyst]

/718 cont./

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> dangling on their backs; and only supported by holding them by their wrists in front of them" /cited in English/.

leather, the sides of which are about 40 centimeters long, with short straps knotted to the four corners. After she has lifted the child onto her back, she places this piece over it and ties the straps in front of her chest. When she straightens up, the child sits securely and lets his legs dangle down on either side of her, encircling her neck with his little arms.

The child must, of course, submit to all the effects of the weather (147), although in heavy rain and strong wind the mother

> 147. Hyades (f):572 expresses his astonishment thus: "The Fuegian babies are never clothed. Thus they brave the inclemencies of the weather, uniquely protected by contact with the mother's warmth" /translated from French/.

remains in the hut as much as possible. Thus, the children, from the first days of their lives, become accustomed to the rigors and severities of their homeland. Nevertheless, it is striking that children under a year old rarely die (148). Perhaps the babies' freedom

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> 148. Bridges (a):181 confirms: "It is a general custom with these people to bear their children out of doors, be the weather fine or inclement, even though it is snowing or raining, in winter and summer" /cited in English/. Compare Lovisato (b):146.

of movement is advantageous. As we have said, they are permitted to crawl about on the ground for many hours, completely naked and quite unimpeded, or they may lie on their backs kicking merrily as long as they like. On the canoe trip, however, they must forgo this. Any kind of baby carriage is unknown to the Yamana; it would be useless, since during the day the children spend a great deal of time in the fragile vessel.

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Just as on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 376), the babies of the entire

/718 cont./

854 Cape Horn Archipelago acknowledge the loving and sensible treat-
145 ment given them by almost never crying. This strange fact was observed by various travelers. Spegazzini (a):167, for example, reports: "I noted that the children there never cry; they are always happy and contented, whether it is cold or hot, with their completely Adamite clothing" /translated from Spanish/ (149).

149. Hyades (q):193 says of his observations of a new living creature on its first day: "The baby rarely cried and not for long"; the mother "calmed her baby when it cried with little pats on the back" /translated from French/.

The Fuegian little ones really have no reason for making the whole neighborhood aware of their discontent or displeasure by howling and crying, for they come into the world healthy and are not hindered in their movements in the fresh air; they are also abundantly nourished and given all kinds of attention. /719/ Other factors, however, may play a part here; I am thinking primarily of an effective, unconscious influence of the environment. One should visualize how deathly quiet the whole family is in the canoe while they stalk game and steer in its direction. All the persons in the boat are breathlessly attentive until they have reached their booty. Even the low cry of an infant would spoil their success. How the motionlessness of the adults is able to hold the child in check is not easy to explain, but it cannot be denied. A baby that is ill or not sufficiently fed, however, makes itself known loudly enough. Finally we must remember that the Yamana in general are a taciturn and quiet lot.

853 Every Fuegian mother regards nursing as a duty to be taken for
147 granted. What old Luisa impressed upon me in 1920 was later repeatedly confirmed. All the women emphasize that shortly be-
262 fore and long after confinement they must eat chiefly Mytilus mussels; otherwise their milk would be worthless, it would be less nourishing, and their babies would cry all night long. On the Cape Horn Archipelago it is unknown for a mother not to have enough milk, and Hahn (a):806 assures us that "all mothers are abundantly provided with milk" /translated from French/. The child announces
853 when he is hungry by restless movements of his head and his whole

/728 cont./

842 some. As a result the Yamana have the idea that sterility in marriage is solely attributable to the woman, whom they call a caxula. Thus this unusual fact (168) is not /729/ completely un-

168. The unreliability of what Hahn (a):805 maintains is obvious: "Sterility is very common in both sexes, according to Mr. Bridges, who attributes it to the precocity and the abuse of sexual relations" /translated from French/.

known, and they pity the woman who is forever denied the blessing of children. My inquiries agree with Hahn (a):805 that "spontaneous [843] abortion is very rare" /translated from French/. It happens almost always as a result of great physical exertion or very great shock.

162 According to all the observations that we know of, the sexes are somewhat unevenly distributed in favor of girls among the Yamana. The venerable John Lawrence assured me of this, and in Hyades (q):190 we read: "In our observations we have also established a slight predominance of girls over boys" /translated from French/. A census taken by Bridges in 1884 (p. 224 /untranslated, but the figures referred to are given in English/) showed that among 1,000 natives there were only 277 men as against 316 women.

845 In this tribe of Fuegians twins are just as rare as among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 390). From former times I am familiar with only the one definite report that "Jemmy Button's eldest daughter has two beautiful twin children about four months old" /cited in English/ (MM:XI, 274;1877). Later Hyades (q):190 mentions a woman 45 years old among whose ten children there was a pair of twin brothers. Finally, Holmberg (a):57 maintained: "I have a photograph of a Yahgan woman with twins, who are regarded as an extraordinary event" /translated from Spanish/. Were these witnesses really reliably informed? At any rate a twin birth is an extraordinarily rare phenomenon.

• 145 There are no accurate observations about the menopause, the time when menstruation ultimately ceases. Bridges and Hyades (q):189 observed pregnancy among women who were already 45 years old. Hence Fuegian women conceive until relatively late

/729 cont./

145 in life. They are familiar with this phenomenon, and they are quietly resigned to what is in store for them. A few older Indian women said that the change of life caused them and other women scarcely any difficulties worth mentioning. It is not strange that 144 female diseases were completely unknown to the Yamana of olden times. For a while Nelly Lawrence suffered from a very painful prolapse of the womb (prolapsus uteri). When the attack was over, she emphatically expressed to me her absolute conviction that this condition had hitherto not troubled any woman and that she was the first to suffer from it.

7. Naming

551 For reasons we shall soon mention any festivity or ceremony on the occasion of giving a child a name is superfluous. Every Yamana, without exception, has a proper name, and in addition, most of them also have a personal nickname. Very definite mention of this double naming customary among the Yamana is found in Hyades (q):376 and in Outes (g):55: "A child is given the name of his birthplace or of the peculiarities that distinguish him" /translated from Spanish/ (169). The most important, of course,

> 169. Bridges (a):182 mentions a third kind, namely, "family names, handed down from generation to generation, from father to the eldest son. These kinds of names, generally have no meaning" /cited in English/. See footnote 174 below and Bridges (h):207.

is the actual proper name (170).

> 170. This should be especially emphasized as opposed to Despard (b):698, who reverses the order when he says: "Besides a proper name, a man will have one in memory of his birth-place" /cited in English/.

/730/ It is not hard to choose a proper name, for it is taken from the place where the child was born, and it is given the proper

/733 cont./

854 is no longer regarded as necessary. Outwardly this becomes evident in that the baby is kept less clean. The little creature is given complete freedom to roll about on the ground and in the hut, to dig in the ashes and the grass, to touch everything and put it in its mouth. If the rain and the unconscious, purely mechanical rubbing on gravel and grass did not remove a considerable part of the encrusted dirt, things would be pretty bad for the little ones! Some mothers, it is true, wash and clean them often; Walter's little daughter was always neat as a doll and was carefully tended. Other women apparently did not even see the thick layer of dirt on their children. As long as it is absolutely necessary,
853 the mother prepares the bits of food for her darling every day and
862 sees to it that he eats only easily digested food, but she soon lets him make his own choice without giving him much instruction. Instinctively he chooses food that best agrees with him. Occasionally, however, he puts less suitable pieces into his mouth and must pay for it with slight digestive upsets.

854 The unobstructed freedom of movement that is permitted babies on /734/ land has been fairly earned by their motionlessness dur-
●145 ing the long and constant canoe trips. It may seem incredible, but it is true that, except for slight, brief movements, they stay for hours just as their mother has set them down, without kicking or rolling over. The mother has just as little trouble with the child who rides on her back while she wanders about and attends to her work, or whom she holds in her arms or has lying on her lap. The child does not think of wriggling out of position, fussing, and crying, as one often sees European children doing. He lies there all by himself, quietly happy, entertaining himself with whatever his little eyes take in or his little fingers touch. He would never dream of yelling loudly if the mother walks off or to cry anxiously if he is left alone. Under certain circumstances Fuegian babies behave as though they had mature judgment or were constantly exercising much patience. Without doubt the adult environment influences the little ones, for loud shouting and vehement speech are much less customary among our Fuegians than among their neighbors to the northwest and northeast. I do not claim however, to have given an exhaustive explanation for this phenomenon.

145 The extraordinarily quiet and gentle behavior of the child has
856 an overwhelming effect on its speech development. For months he

/734 cont./
145 is almost mute, until, at about a year and a half, he suddenly
856 pronounces complete words. The young Fuegians do not carry on constant babbling monologues, as do European babies almost without exception. A few weeks before they venture to come out with full speech, however, they apparently do some silent speech exercises. They move their lips and tongues and show by their expressions that they are thinking and mentally active. The parents observe this inward activity with satisfaction. The children's earliest speech is somewhat awkward, but it is very much like the speech of adults. The latter almost never make any ef-
868 fort to help or correct the child. He is left to himself, no matter how much difficulty he has or how incorrectly he speaks. Later he corrects his own mistakes by listening and comparing. Similarly in subsequent years no adult ever teaches the child to speak clearly and correctly.

When the child enters his third year, there is usually a younger
145 brother or sister to whom the mother gives her full attention.
857 After that he is left even more to his own devices. Then he begins to seek the company of his older brothers and sisters and of other children, but keeps as much as possible to those of his own age. The play instinct brings these little ones together. They are well content by themselves. Sometimes they squat in a circle for hours, scratching the ground with their fingers, or they grub in the gravel or roll back and /735/ forth on the grass. In these early years they do not play any real games, but they look at everything with attentive eyes and probingly feel everything that seems strange to them. They do not whisper to each other about their experiences, nor do they talk together animatedly. Everywhere, even when they are with other children, they give the stranger the impression that they are thoughtful, patient observers, an attitude which every European would attribute to older children.

The parents enjoy daily observation of the small body which
856 visibly unfolds. Supposedly in order to accelerate growth, they
171 resort to a magical custom known as múǎsǎ, which means roughly "to stretch upward." Either the father or someone else calls the child, makes him stretch up both arms, embraces him, and lifts him high enough so that their two faces are almost on top of each other. Then the child must squeeze down out of this embrace, and he wriggles his head through, with his face turned upward, he

/736 cont./

861 is based chiefly on repeated discussions with reliable informants about earlier customs. Nevertheless, I also learned much through direct observation, which was confirmed by the other, oral accounts.

Under present conditions educational influence and the sure guidance of youth are simply no longer possible to the extent that they were practiced in the old days. Parents cannot shield their children against the pernicious influences that have recently asserted themselves. It must be said in honor of the few old tribal members that, for their part, they sincerely regret and are painfully aware that they no longer can freely and without officious interference give their young people those educational benefits that /737/ they themselves regard as so auspicious and so advantageous for them throughout their lives.

Since there is no definite tribal organization, the training 861 process naturally rests on the shoulders of the parents themselves. 881 True, when the children have reached puberty they must submit to the youth initiation which is basically a common schooling, but which actually represents a continuation of the parental efforts in the narrowest family circle. Everything that was accomplished at home in the way of instruction and actual training is intensified in the youth initiation, Ćiéxaus, but is kept within the same channel, following unchanging guiding principles.

•145 Finally, I should like to refer briefly to the various periods in the development of the child's body. During my journey there were no longer enough children for me to make reliable observations; hence I could not clearly prove the stages of development set up by Stratz:134. Nevertheless, I found that, just as there is an initial plumpness in the so-called first period of childhood, the so-called first growth in height definitely begins with the fifth year. Then comes the second plumpness with the first phase of the second period, whereupon there is an apparent pause in development, only to lead, toward the end of the fourteenth year, to a sudden and quick unfolding of fully developed forms. Among the girls more than among boys, it is surprising to see how much the body fills out in this one year (178).

178. Stirling (MM:VI, 96;1872) was the first to emphasize this startling fact. This does

/737 cont./

•145

not contradict what Bridges asserted: "Youths of 19 and 20 you would frequently mistake for 14 and 15. For instance, Tymuran. I had thought him to be 13 or 14, but on looking into my registration of births I find he will be twenty years old in August... This and many similar cases tend to show that a hard life and short commons delay the growth" /cited in English/ (MM: XVIII, 223;1884). I cannot agree with this conclusion.

In the following account we have in mind those children who are slowly developing their mental power until, at puberty, they enter the youth initiation required of everyone.

1. Separation of the Sexes

864 In Tierra del Fuego, as in Europe, the little creature in the so-called neutral age of childhood is regarded as "sexless," for, without objection, it is permitted to romp about everywhere completely naked and, in its innocence, can relieve its natural needs in full view of other people. No adult would dream of making insinuating remarks about the unconscious behavior of infants or of covering up their nakedness before the eyes of others. With candid naturalness the mother feeds her darling at her breast, just as she would feed him a small piece of roasted fat. Our Fuegians show an entirely healthy and straightforward attitude toward such natural things.

/738/ This conduct changes as soon as the child has completed approximately his fourth year, for now it enters into what Stratz:335 has called the "bisexual age of childhood." Now the sexual character begins to assert itself, and the child himself begins to take it into account. He is now guided by his awakening awareness of himself, since parents and adults almost never offer instruction or admonition. Instead, they see to it that the child covers his sexual parts, and they adjust the little apron if it has

/753 cont./

a. Regulations for Girls

145 Among Yamana children there is a decided physical development around the fourteenth year, leading to a greater fullness among girls than among boys (p. 394) (188). For the

188. Hahn (a):804 also observed this: "The development of the young girl is most remarkable at the moment of puberty; it is so rapid that it is difficult to determine the age of a girl between ten and fourteen" /translated from French/.

majority of girls the menarche begins shortly before; girls experience it between the beginning of their 13th year and the 15th. Hyades (q):187, not deviating very much from these figures, says: "For all Fuegian women the menses begin between the 14th and the 15th year" /translated from French/ (189). In February,

189. Hyades (f):572 repeats this in essence: "Menstruation begins between 14 and 16 years of age. These figures coincide with the information given me by the Reverend T. Bridges" /translated from French/. Another, inaccurate assertion on the subject by this missionary was rejected by Hyades (l): 717, 720.

1920, Lola was exactly 12 years and four months old when menstruation began for her; the venerable John Lawrence knew her birthday. This occurred on my second journey, and I had an opportunity at that time to learn how a girl must adjust to the event. /754/ We must add that Lola bore her first child at the age of 13 years and seven months. It is usually impossible to determine the exact age for each girl, because no Fuegian pays any attention to the exact age of anyone (190).

190. Bridges (d):289 expresses himself vaguely: "As regards the time of puberty,

/754 cont./

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it is greatly retarded by hardship and forwarded by plenty. Some are as well developed at 13 as others at 18 or even 19 years" /cited in English/. He (a):204 is certainly referring to this period, however, when he says that girls "from 13 to 14 years of age were instructed by their aunts, after which they could marry" /translated from Spanish/.

881 The mother forewarns her daughter out of precautionary solicitude: "Soon you will feel very unwell and there will also be bleeding in an unusual place. Do not worry, and tell me about it!" Thus the girl is prepared. As soon as the first indications of menstruation appear, the girl tells an older sister or a woman close to her, an aunt or grandmother, who brings it to the attention of the girl's mother and women neighbors. The girl seldom tells her own mother; "she is ashamed!" I was told. The bleeding itself is called wélix, according to BD:605; and tú̀xi, tú̀xikipa is the name for the girls themselves during these days. Throughout, they have almost no physical discomfort. Hahn (f):572 agrees: "...this function is easily established, although the natives combine a few days of fasting with the first menstruation" /translated from French/.

At the same time various significant restrictions begin for these tú̀xikipa. Free play and carefree wandering cease, and the girl must remain close to the hut. She must either sit by the fire or perform various kinds of work. The more she moves and stirs about in doing this, the better. Primarily she must help and substitute for her own mother in the daily work, but she must also fetch water and wood for other women. Again and again she is specifically requested to do these services and is sent to the neighboring huts. If there is nothing left to be done, she must crouch quietly on the floor in the parental hut, be as motionless as possible, refrain from inquisitively looking about, and practice silence. The night's sleep is considerably shortened and early rising absolutely demanded. The tú̀xikipa is anxiously and solicitously watched, cared for, instructed, and admonished by other women. Occasionally a woman will invite her to join her at her daily tasks. They go out together to draw water, pick up

/1455 cont./

example: If a dog groans in the family hut, as though in despair, this is a sign of mourning, for it knows that a close relative of its master has just died or will soon die.

/1456/ 6. Medicine

In the following pages the work of the yékamuf, which is based on suggestion or on peculiar visions of spirits, will, of course, not be discussed. Similarly, the infections and epidemics that have been imported by Europeans (p. 340 /untranslated/) will not be considered. The Yamana are a healthy, resistant people, even though their physique may have little or no appeal for Europeans (p. 214 /untranslated/). They are as unfamiliar with transgressions against sexual morality as they are with alcohol. Although once or twice a year they overload their stomachs when a whale has been stranded (p.3[illegible]), they must now and then suffer a temporary food shortage (p.[illegible]). They lack many things that could make their lives more agreeable (p.[illegible]). The fact that many people have reached a considerable age is due to their mode of life and the atmospheric conditions of their country, but it would be arbitrary to mention age in figures. The infirmities of age, which undoubtedly occured, seldom annoyed a person seriously. Without protracted suffering, most of them died an almost sudden, gentle death from actual old age (360). Fitz-Roy (a):186 found it

360. Hyades (f):573 also declares: "The Fueglans can reach an advanced age (70 to 80 years). They then show external signs of decrepitude, but their physical capabilities are, for the most part, retained. The infirmities of advanced age are almost exclusively chronic rheumatic ailments" /translated from French/.

surprising that he met neither men nor women "who appeared to be very old -- certainly no one was decrepit" /cited in English/.

/595 cont./

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thus cured, and eaten some months after it has been out of season" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (op.:240.

conveniently in small baskets and leather bags, they are stripped off the little sticks and /596/ left as they are or made into a wreath on a few flexible rush stalks (Marsippospermum). Since they have been baked until they are quite hard, they resist the dampness of the air for a long time. Before they are eaten, they are soaked in liquid blubber (p. 324). For the final weeks of winter the woman keeps about 50 or 60 of these dried fungi, but only as a delicacy, not out of foresight, since fresh ones can be picked almost all the year round and no one wants to burden himself with them for long.

261 Basically our Fuegians know that they need not fear for the future, hence they do not pile up supplies. Year in and year out they can look forward to the next day, free of care. Despite all the monotony of their food, they always have an abundant amount at their disposal. At the same time, many a change and stimulus for the palate are afforded, for everyone has unimpeded access to anything and everything that Mother Nature is in a position to offer from her animal and vegetable kingdom (388).

388. It is only in this sense that we can interpret what Hyades (pp.328 says, namely, that "there are never preferred foods" /translated from French/.

In order to characterize briefly the value of their diet according to vitamin content, I should like to remind the reader that the A-vitamins, the so-called anti-xerophthalmic vitamins, occur abundantly in liver oil. Blubber, as is well known, has by far the greatest amount of vitamin A, namely, 300 times as much as butter fat, besides a great deal of the anti-rachitic D-vitamins. Several animal tissues furnish the anti-scorbutic C-vitamins, as well as the anti-neuritic B-vitamins.

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3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5386 Yahgan 5386

height by the exercise of their lower limbs in walking? We do not know that walking increases the length of the legs. Very tall men are not especially good walkers in the experience of modern armies; short men march more rapidly and endure better. On the other hand, there is nothing to lead us to suppose either that walking shortens the legs or that a life of wandering about on foot would tend to eliminate by some process of selection the short-legged strains. If one were to attribute the maximum imaginable effect to natural selection or to processes of atrophy and hypertrophy in altering either by selection or by the transmission of functional adaptations the hereditary leg-lengths of Ona and Yahgan, and if we brought ourselves to believe that some environmental agency had radically shortened the legs of the latter and lengthened those of the former, we should still be faced by a difference in stature between the two groups altogether beyond the adequacy of such an explanation. The Ona males are more than 17 cm. taller than the Yahgans!

At this point we may inquire with Cassius:

> "Now, in the name of all the gods at once,
> Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed
> That he is grown so great?"

If we take into consideration the dietetic differences between the Ona and the Yahgan (see Table II), we observe that the outstanding fact is the dependence on the flesh of the guanaco by the Ona as contrasted with a reliance on mussels as a staple on the part of the Yahgan. Guanaco seems also to have been the principal article of diet of the Patagonian Tehuelche, who, according to reports, were as tall as the Ona, if not taller (mean stature of males 171 cm., according to Moreno and Lista). Yet it is hardly worth while to toy with the supposition that the statural differences between these groups are a matter of camel-meat versus shell-fish, especially since the ethnographic authorities seem to think that the Ona have a harder time in getting sufficient food than their stunted neighbors.

More promising perhaps is the factor of artificial selection in the warlike pursuits of the Ona. If it could be shown that the smaller and weaker of these people had been eliminated as a result of warfare, our problem would be solved. But in spite of the fact that the Ona are said to be more warlike than the Yahgan, it does not seem reasonable to ascribe their stature to military selection. There is no evidence, so far as I know, which would justify such a

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] serve as shelter for a night or for a few days. Clothing, ornaments, [illegible] and household furnishings could scarcely be scanty or more modest. Weapons and implements in their very simplicity, which is surprising, give evidence of much inventive intelligence. Whatever a person needs, he knows how to make and to obtain. In the matter of providing for his subsistence, everyone is on his own and /[illegible]/ is master of his environment. Trades have not developed, and the fundamental equality of all persons has likewise prevented the rise of social stratification. One and the same justice applies to all. Everyone enjoys complete independence from others, which is why only the uniformity of customs and habits, language, and racial characteristics provides the outer and inner bond that unites all the Yamana into an ethnic entity.

[illegible] The Yamana way of life as water nomads has without doubt contributed somewhat to the peculiar shape of their bodies. To what extent this is an advantage to them cannot be discussed here. Their small stature is all the more conspicuous since their neighbors, the Selk'nam, together with the Tehuelche on the mainland, have the tallest stature among all South American Indians. Our Yamana, however, are not only small, but in addition to this they are not very symmetrically developed (p. 114 /[illegible]/). A broad, sturdy body with exceedingly strong musculature on the chest and arms rests on weak, thin legs. Excessive breadth is much more noticeable among the women than among the men, and among the former we come across plump figures much more often than among the latter. A total lack of simple grooming, generally coarse features, their perplexed facial expression, and unkempt hair complete the unpromising picture of the Yamana Indians. Almost all European travelers, not without simple reason, have expressed thoroughly unfavorable judgments about [illegible] the physique of our natives (p. 114 /[illegible]/). Undeniably, however, they enjoy abundant health and have an unbelievable resistance which enables them to overcome all the hardships of their heavy lot and has secured the unlimited continuance of their people for centuries. True, the Yamana will always be the loser in a contest with other racial groups for physical beauty, but the suitability of his body for the rigors of his way of life and the unfavorableness of his environment is unrivaled. In many respects he is well adapted to his home.

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/382 cont./
of a sea lion suffices to cover five or six persons" /translated from French/.

sufficient warmth so that everyone gets enough. If a person is cold, he moves nearer to the embers and pays no attention to whether or not he is disturbing his neighbors' sleep. Moreover, during the night everyone turns over a certain number of times, for cold air pours through the loose wall of the hut, or sometimes the fire becomes unbearable. Hence, everyone tries to get a little more comfortable in one or another position.

513 592 There is no definite, obligatory assignment of places. Unlike the custom of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 200), the man prefers to sit on one side of the entrance and the woman on the other, because both of them constantly like to look out. This leaves the back of the hut free for the children. If it is advisable to change places because of bad weather, greater comfort, or some other reason, it is no trouble for anyone to do so. If a man has two wives, /383/ the place between himself and the entrance to the hut belongs to the first wife. We shall speak of this rule below.

513 •147 The Indians' sleep is not only extremely restless as such, but is in general neither deep nor sound. We might more accurately call it a light slumber from which everyone awakens effortlessly and so quickly that his mind is fresh and he is completely aware of every local condition. Moreover, even during sleep itself, everyone, so to speak, heeds what is going on in his environment with a very faint attentiveness. He is actually sleeping, but upon awakening he knows a good deal of what has been going on. Even if a person wakes up repeatedly during the night, he does not seem to be tired in the morning, for just as easily as he comes awake, he falls back into sleep. He does not find it annoying to be wakened frequently by the restless movements of another person in the same hut, by the barking of dogs or the screech of an owl, by the creaking of a broken limb or the irregular pounding of the agitated sea. On such occasions I myself would give vent to my ill-humor by impatient remarks, but the Indians around me invariably remained calm.

The same aptitude makes it possible for everyone, at any time of day, to lie down and go to sleep, no matter how much

/383 cont./
513 commotion there is all about him. When he wakes up, he feels
147 adequately rested. These Indians are not noticeably fatigued if they must go without sleep for a long time. To me it was inexplicable how lively and fresh they remain, in fact, even continue to work hard, until they have a chance to sleep for a longer time. No matter how tired he was before he rested, I never saw an Indian struggling to shake off sleep, even though he was awakened again immediately. No matter when he is approached, at any time of the day or night, one finds him in full possession of his mental powers. This is not the place to explain such a condition which, in the last analysis, is probably a particular condition of the nerves. In winter they sleep considerably more than in summer (34).

34. Hyades (q) :221 pointed this out: "In general, during the winter the Fuegians sleep more and exercise less, and during the summer they devote much less time to sleeping and work more" /translated from French/.

461 Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Yamana are not
147 capable of continuous, daily hard labor, much to the chagrin of European farmers and employers for whom they often work. Their work is more a matter of fits and starts, and in these occasional efforts they can develop considerable energy for a certain time. After that, however, they show a desire for an incalculably long rest period during which they lie about doing nothing, without showing great fatigue. If a man has worked on a farm for only a few days, /384/ he quits and says he cannot go on working. It is obvious that repeated irregularities of this kind make the European employer despair, but the Indian cannot help it. It is his natural disposition. He lacks the nervous energy, so to speak, for regular, prolonged activity, no matter whether this is a natural bent or whether it is a lack of cultivation in that direction. It is wrong to accuse him of lassitude and laziness. Any kind of pressure toward systematic, prolonged work seriously affects his health and weakens him because he is unaccustomed to it (35).

35. I observed the same thing among the Selk'nam and had an even better opportunity

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/384 cont./

to learn about their unusual habits of sleep and work (Vol. I, 201).

513 What we have said about the unusual habits of sleep among the Yamana applies to both adults and children. No one rests on a comfortable bed or in a safe, quiet spot. If the ground is only more or less dry, a tired person will lie down for a nap anywhere and at any time. Our Indian, however, never sleeps sitting down or squatting (36). He must be lying down, even if he has so little

36. Spegazzini (a) :171 maintains the opposite, but he is mistaken.

space, for instance, in a canoe, that he can only curl up in a very cramped position. A person rarely sleeps with his head somewhat elevated, but if he does, he needs only a short tree stump or a stone, or even a large lump of meat that he will roast for himself the next morning. Since the sleepers generally do not stretch out -- because they would then lack adequate cover -- and since they crowd as closely together as though they were penned up, the small hut provides room at night for very many living beings (37). The

37. Hyades (f) :560 emphasizes this: "They are so accustomed to shrinking their bodies into as little space as possible that a small hide suffices to cover them completely when they are squatting" /translated from French/.

places in the hut are not all the same, however, since some persons are lying dry and protected, while others are more exposed to the wetness of the ground, the heat of the fire, or the disagreeable coolness of the night (38).

38. Hyades (q) :343 concludes: "As many as 20, and sometimes more, squat or lie there, veritably forming a heap of flesh around the central hearth" /translated from French/.

356 The Yamana by nature have little understanding and feeling for the most important requirements of general cleanliness. Their

372 /399 cont./
women are like the vestals of old, and never allow the fire to go out in the frail barques" (MM:X, 20; 1876) /cited in English/.

B. Clothing

291 511 Since the time the Yamana became known beyond the borders of their remote island world, an amazing fact concerning them continues to be discussed in European circles to this day, namely, that they enjoy excellent health in their damp, raw homeland without any clothing and body covering to speak of. Every European is convinced that a human being under the weather conditions existing there must be dependent on very ample protection if he is to survive. Nevertheless, the short scrap of leather that the Fuegians hang loosely around their necks does not even deserve to be called clothing or body covering. All observers agree, and in their accounts express their astonishment in no uncertain terms, that the natives "ordinarily go about completely naked." These are also the specific words of one of the first missionaries, Aspinall: 270. Further documentation will be found below.

147 At the same time, observers recognize the healthy physical development and the great resistance of the natives, although they never describe the full significance of that most vital resource which is constantly at their disposal, namely, their open fire.

372 /400/ This fire more than compensates for the complete lack of protective body covering. An easily accessible stand of trees furnishes the required fuel for everyone. With it he can maintain a warm fire in the hut, in the canoe, in any open place, and at every campsite. The fire alone makes life possible in that region.

291 A short back-cape of skin is the only article of clothing, alike in shape and brevity for all sexes and ages. It is functional chiefly because it gives the comforting fire unobstructed access to the whole surface of the body.

291 881 In their manufacture of articles, our Indians are dependent primarily on furs and skins as their raw material. This is also true of the little that one might call their "clothing." A complicated method of preparation is not possible because there are no tools for it. Also, it would not be worthwhile because the high humidity

515 /418 cont./
824 (Berberis ilicifolia, Fig. 17), huma, celis, which is obtained in the following way. They peel the bark off a twig as thick as one's thumb, scrape off the soft layer of fibers on the surface, and then, with a sharp-edged mussel shell and gentle pressure back and forth, they peel off /419/ the finest shavings. These are collected on a scrap of leather and must dry near the fire. By repeatedly squeezing the loose ball, a coarse powder is produced, which quickly absorbs any dampness. These shavings are kept in a piece of gut and if anyone needs them he takes out a handful. He uses this substance exactly like a sponge. It is used mostly by a mother in [854] washing and drying her infant, but almost all the people use it often to wipe under the arms -- custom demands this -- in order to prevent a bad odor, as they say.

515 These fine shavings are almost never used for a wet massage of face and body. For this they more often use a ball of moss saturated with water. Apparently Hyades (q):348 also makes this distinction: "When the natives see dirt on their bodies that demands attention, especially in the morning, ...they wipe themselves off with fine wood shavings that make a kind of tow, or they clean up by simply rubbing themselves with moss gathered around the hut, which is very wet and acts as a sponge" /translated from French/.

A person who has soiled his hands, whether it is with blood and dirt while working or with blubber and fat while eating or eviscerating an animal, rubs them off in the sand on the ground, on skins lying about, or on the hut covering. The fat dripping 515 from the fingers after a delicious roast is preferably rubbed on the 302 face and body to keep the skin soft and to protect it against the weather, hence the greasy shine of these people which gives them a strange appearance (p. 67). This is, of course, not provided naturally and is not sought for beautification, but rather it serves as protection for the body. On very cold days one or another of them will even pour a large quantity of liquid blubber over himself. The skin is never completely free of a visible layer of grease which is increased by continual contact with meat, fat, and greasy objects. The epidermis of these Indians is somewhat thicker [147] than that of Europeans as a result of their complete lack of protection against the cold air. That is also the reason why the skin is less sensitive.

/419 cont./

147 In this connection we may also mention the fact that these
302 people do not have a definite characteristic skin odor. If they
515 had, it would be hardly or not at all noticeable because of all the blubber they smear on themselves and the thick, smothering smoke that constantly affects the skin. We realize the effect this smoke has when we see the dark brown coloring it produces, which apparently goes deep. Also, the skin is slightly moist from fog or damp air, it exudes a strong, almost biting odor which is most disagreeable in a closed room. It is, of course, transferred to the dogs and to all the implements they use which are lying about in the hut. Thus the European visitor is assailed with an indefinable mixture of /420/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ the odors of smoke and blubber coming from the Indian himself, from his hut (95), and

> 95. Spegazzini (a):163 says maliciously: "The smoke, the odor, not very much like roses, and the other dangerous inconveniences of these salons force the curious visitor to go out very quickly" /translated from Spanish/.

from everything he owns, which cannot be withstood by everyone.

515 Along with all this and the general lack of cleanliness,
136 there are their particularly repulsive heads of hair, caked with dirt and crawling with vermin (96). The head louse (Pediculus capitis),

> 96. The effect this has on a European is made clear by Snow (a):I, 346: "It may be mentioned, that vermin swarmed about them and in everything they had. Whatever we purchased or obtained from them, had to be several times subjected to a purifying process" /cited in English/.

warm, thrives through this total lack of body care, and young and old are constantly scratching, especially at night in their sleep. It is impossible for the Yamana to defend themselves against this pest. The old people recall that in former times they were plagued with a smaller, blackish louse, and that since the advent of the

[Text continues on page 81.—Analyst]

/456 cont./

462 502 with a slight S-shaped movement in the water. This propels the canoe forward and gives it a definite direction at the same time. Paddling is made more difficult because the woman cannot brace her feet against anything and because she does not have a special seat. Also, she does not support her arms against the gunwale, but holds them entirely free. This is one explanation [147] for the unusually powerful development of the upper part of her body (p. 219 /untranslated/). As a rule she alone paddles (148).

> 148. Hence it is an exaggeration when Hyades (q):352 maintains that "the canoe is usually propelled with two paddles, each of which is manipulated by a woman in the large center section" /translated from French/.

If she needs help in a rough sea or when speed is required, she asks another woman or her grown daughter to take an oar. The other woman then paddles on the left side of the boat. Through daily practice, every woman learns to handle an oar skillfully. BD:32 uses the word atégaatas, "clever in paddling" /cited in English/. She also decides how the cargo is to be loaded or unloaded and distributed, what seat each child is to have, and who is to bail out the water and tend the fire.

If we consider everything that falls to her in the way of privileges and duties, she seems to be the sole ruler of the canoe. Her husband would not presume to compete for this privileged position of hers on the water nor tell her what to do. On shore the two agree on the course of the trip, /457/ and en route the husband expresses his particular wishes if game should approach, but the piloting and servicing of the vessel is entirely in her hands. If it should be necessary, she even requests him to leave his place at the bow and to sit near her and help her with the paddling. Every vessel has at least two paddles. She helps to make repairs, except in the case of larger tasks, such as putting in a side section, which are the responsibility of the man. Her constant duty is to renew the calking, for in the continual dampness, moss and grass, rushes, and algae rot quickly.

/543 cont./

226 Lothrop (b):154 speaks of the "Sea-urchin spear" /cited in English/.

Carefully she lifts the long pole up again, precisely perpendicular. The Indian woman pierces the shell only when, in exceptional cases, she is not successful otherwise. She piles up her booty in the bottom of the canoe. If she is lucky, she gathers /544/ a whole dozen within an hour; if not, it takes her three to five hours to collect this amount. She sacrifices this time on account of the eagerly awaited enjoyment.

226 481 In exceptional cases the Indian woman jumps out of her canoe and dives down to get the sea urchin with her hands (273). She

273. Despard (b):697 had already observed that "women dive for sea-eggs and the finer kinds of mussels" /cited in English/.

does this when she sees several animals next to each other on the sea floor, which she cannot grasp with her crab fork because of the tangle of algae floating on top of it. She is not afraid of the cold [147] water. She is used to it, because at all times of the year she must fasten her canoe a considerable distance from the beach and must swim back and forth (274).

274. Quite unjustifiably Hyades (h):12 and (q):370 makes this habit of the Indian women to dive for sea urchins the point of departure for a long explanation. Only an erroneous interpretation can lead him to speak of a "wretched duty" of the women to dive for sea urchins.

226 Hyades' (q):369 emphasis on the significance of sea urchins does not correspond to the facts. He would have us believe that "this fish supplies almost exclusively the food needs of the people at certain times of the year when mollusks become rare" /translated from French/, but the inexhaustible mass of shellfish never diminishes, least of all that of mussels. We must agree with him,

/558 cont./

147 The Yamana is proudly aware of his own superiority. Along
153 /559/ with his astonishing agility, he has developed his physical strength, and time and again on the hunt he has opportunities to develop and increase it (308). Thus he overcomes all difficulties

308. Bridges agrees with this unreservedly: "These people certainly show the greatest fortitude, endurance, and energy in following at their hunting" /cited in English/ (MM:XII, 12;1878).

and impediments in the way of his goals. He does not grow tired of hunting his prey and of fighting the hostile forces of nature, but each morning he devotes himself with fresh courage and renewed confidence of victory to his difficult daily task. Hence to struggle with his environment and to wrest from it the animals he needs for his sustenance is for every man a daily necessity, in part a desired one (309). It is not easy for him, but his well-

309. Hyades (f):567 has grasped this mental attitude of these children of nature in the following words: "The Fuegians, in fact, consider the hunt a pleasure as well as a necessity /translated from French/. He has really described the situation very well.

developed mental powers, his extraordinarily practiced senses, his great skill, and his personal assurance in the control of his tools and implements guarantee him success.

22 His mental agility effortlessly and intuitively senses the opportunities for the hunt and the general demands of every season. He never shows discontent with the rigors of winter, which impede his free movement on land, nor with the incalculable changes of weather in summer, which only too often lead his light canoe into danger on the water. During one half of the year he patiently does without the things that the other half will again offer him. He attentively follows the change which each

/568 cont./

252 Just as the choice of animals for food is very limited, so also is their preparation (330). From the start, the Fuegian relies

> 330. From among the opinions of many travelers we shall here quote only Barclay (a):64: "Living on mussels and fungus, this tribe marks the limit to which man may strip himself of all aid or comfort and yet survive and perpetuate his kind" /cited in English/.

solely on a meat diet. The isolated products of the vegetable kingdom are so insignificant and available at only certain times of the year, that he does not include them in his calculations. The preparation of food is limited to mere roasting in the fire /569/ or steaming in the ashes. Suitable utensils are lacking [445] for boiling, since the Fuegians have neither earthen nor metal vessels. In accordance with the total character of Fuegian culture, the type of diet and its preparation bear the stamp of extreme simplicity and the most abject poverty. Nevertheless, in this field also the Fuegian exercises and develops his mental powers, chiefly good judgment and a voluntary preference for the practical.

1. What They Must Do Without

• 147 Among the restrictions in diet that the Yamana must put up with and against which he is powerless, there are things that the European regards as indispensable. On the basis of conditions that actually exist in Tierra del Fuego and have been handed down unchanged for centuries from one generation to another, we could correct many inaccurate theories about what constitutes a healthy, beneficial, and necessary diet for man. In spite of much that these natives lack, they appear to be a healthy, vital people, who since time immemorial and in undiminished numbers have led a humanly dignified existence in their hostile environment. Their contentment has even reconciled them to all their troubles and has made them happy amid their pitiful living conditions. Their ugly physique is almost entirely the

/569 cont./

147 result of the way they are forced to sit and to work, not, however, of their diet.

262 To every stranger the most striking fact is that the Fuegians can get along with almost no food from the vegetable kingdom. What they eat in the way of fungi and berries occasionally, but always in modest amounts, cannot bear comparison with their uninterrupted meat diet. It is obviously an exaggeration for individual travelers to regard their eating of Cyttaria fungi as worth mentioning. The berries of Pernettya and Berberis have no nourishment, nor have the stalks of Apis, the leaves of Taraxacum, and the roots of Armeria. Cereals, that is, bread and flour, legumes and tubers, fruit and vegetables are unknown to the Fuegian. In summer a person will sometimes eat three or four handfuls of amáiŋagur at one time, which are the berries of Pernettya mucronata, or šepisamáim, the berries of Empetrum rubrum, and if there is a famine, he will eat only Cyttaria fungi for a few days. This, however, can never be upheld as a vegetarian meal (331) since it is obviously only a slight refreshment, an

> 331. The members of the Mission Scientifique maintain with Hyades (q):338 about the Yamana: "We never saw them make a meal of only vegetable foods" /translated from French/. Other reliable observers report it just as scarce.

expedient, or a very occasional tickling of the palate.

263 The invariable meat diet in itself scarcely gives them any real desire /570/ for salt, although all the meat is extremely fat. The meat salts probably suffice for the human body, and beyond that it gets, almost unconsciously and unnoticed, a not inconsiderable amount of salt from the sea water. In the shells of Mytilus and other mussels, in the calcareous shells of sea urchins and crabs, there is always a small amount of sea water, even though the contents have been cooked. When pieces of [252] meat of birds and seals are washed off, the Indians prefer to use sea water from which a tiny amount of salt inevitably remains on the meat.

/593 cont./

264 pokes into them with a little stick, constantly shifting the glowing embers or piling the hot ashes higher. He gets particular pleasure out of entertaining himself in this way, until he can give himself up completely to enjoying them. When the pieces are done and have proved to be very delicious, he clicks his tongue with delight and lets everybody around him know in what gluttonous ecstasy he is feasting. During the trip in the canoe every occupant must cautiously move up to the small fire, and one moves away when another person wants to roast something for himself. The woman, whose duty it is to do the rowing, must regularly go without food for hours, but she makes up for it later on the beach. If circumstances make it imperative -- usu-
261 ally it is bad weather -- everyone can get along all right without
147 food for considerable time. On the other hand, if one finds himself with a great abundance, he can consume almost incalculable amounts. A person can gain weight quickly, but he can just as quickly grow thin again; one can best trace these changes in children over a period of a few days. Their health apparently does not suffer, however (380).

380. Lothrop (c):303 has expressed some conjectures about the relation between diet and physical size in Tierra del Fuego, but he cites only inadequate observations which are not sustained by actual facts.

264 In conclusion, it becomes clear from certain customs that the Fuegian is guided by definite rules in eating. For example,
151 he does not bother with very dirty meat, but throws it away without further ado. Something that has been nibbled at by a dog he angrily lets him have. /594/ He removes decaying pieces of meat as far as possible from his hut, whereas he does not seem to have any feeling about melting fat or moldy skins. His sense of smell is unquestionably very much dulled, and he never holds a doubtful piece up to his nose. Anything that has become putrid has to give off a vile odor before he will remove it. He is certainly not clean in eating and in his ways. Nevertheless, one person will prove to be more of a greedy gourmet, the other less. He knows the tastier pieces and the juicier morsels and chooses

/718 cont./

854 Cape Horn Archipelago acknowledge the loving and sensible treat-
145 ment given them by almost never crying. This strange fact was observed by various travelers. Spegazzini (a):167, for example, reports: "I noted that the children there never cry; they are always happy and contented, whether it is cold or hot, with their completely Adamite clothing" /translated from Spanish/ (149).

149. Hyades (q):193 says of his observations of a new living creature on its first day: "The baby rarely cried and not for long"; the mother "calmed her baby when it cried with little pats on the back" /translated from French/.

The Fuegian little ones really have no reason for making the whole neighborhood aware of their discontent or displeasure by howling and crying, for they come into the world healthy and are not hindered in their movements in the fresh air; they are also abundantly nourished and given all kinds of attention. /719/ Other factors, however, may play a part here; I am thinking primarily of an effective, unconscious influence of the environment. One should visualize how deathly quiet the whole family is in the canoe while they stalk game and steer in its direction. All the persons in the boat are breathlessly attentive until they have reached their booty. Even the low cry of an infant would spoil their success. How the motionlessness of the adults is able to hold the child in check is not easy to explain, but it cannot be denied. A baby that is ill or not sufficiently fed, however, makes itself known loudly enough. Finally we must remember that the Yamana in general are a taciturn and quiet lot.

853 Every Fuegian mother regards nursing as a duty to be taken for
147 granted. What old Luisa impressed upon me in 1920 was later
262 repeatedly confirmed. All the women emphasize that shortly before and long after confinement they must eat chiefly Mytilus mussels; otherwise their milk would be worthless, it would be less nourishing, and their babies would cry all night long. On the Cape Horn Archipelago it is unknown for a mother not to have enough milk, and Hahn (a):806 assures us that "all mothers are abundantly provided with milk" /translated from French/. The child announces
853 when he is hungry by restless movements of his head and his whole

/760 cont./

857 In true boy-fashion they inquisitively stick their noses into everything; every unusual phenomenon arouses their attention. They swarm from one spot to another and never tire of testing themselves in all kinds of feats of strength. They like best to go away from /761/ the huts, to be safe from any interruption by calls and threats of elders. Then they hunt for birds' nests and tease the fledglings, to the chagrin of the pair of feathered parents. They knock over rotted tree trunks and shout with glee if they expose and scatter a whole swarm of capricorn beetles or fat larvae. If particularly good Cyttaria fungi should entice them, they will also climb trees, otherwise not. At low tide they tumble about on the wet beach and stamp their feet down hard in puddles so that the water squirts up high on both sides. They try to catch with their hands the little fish left in shallow puddles and with short sticks dig in the sand for the razor-shell clams (Solen) when the latter squirt out a few drops of water. Tirelessly they scour the coasts and rocks; everywhere something rivets their attention and they come across novelties that provide fun for them.

I often roved about in the company of these lively youngsters. With their extraordinarily keen eyes they discovered all kinds of insignificant things and devoted themselves to them with bustling liveliness. I realized how thoroughly these children learn from their earliest youth to train their senses, especially their eyes, and to use them well.

857 Furthermore, it is surprising to note that these boys are never squeamish and whining, but courageous and reckless. Stark naked
147 they trample about in the snow or in cold sea water, roll around on gravelly soil, run barefoot over rough stones on the beach, and march through thickets of thorny bushes. Afterwards they examine their many scratches and rub spittle on larger wounds, but they pay no attention to their aches and pains. When they wrestle, they hit hard and audaciously, scratch each other mercilessly, and fight until the opponent is exhausted to the point of offering no further resistance. I never saw a weaker one avoid a stronger one; sometimes a weakling even attacked a strong one and defended himself bravely.

524 There are no special playthings for boys. An adult, usually
868 the father, gives them imitations of the weapons and tools that the

/960 cont./

X881 182 576 Gertie's interference shows how well she is acquainted with the prevailing custom, and how conscientiously she respects all the details. Just the day before she had assured me: "What I was taught, as uŋwala I faithfully kept and ineradicably preserved in my memory. This [faithful fulfillment of duty] brings everyone happiness and benefit!" The whole conduct of this woman, who was my sponsor, showed conviction and loyalty to principles.

X881 182 177 If one wishes to be fair in judging the modern Yamana, one must consider a few reasons that justify their relaxation of the procedure during the last few decades. In modern times they cannot count on being free of annoying hindrances, nor are the families independent in choosing the locale and season for the initiation. Always and everywhere they must reckon with interference by the Europeans settled there or they are obliged to work on the farms. As a result, all or most of the tribal members can no longer join in this celebration for a long period.

X881 182 In view of these considerations, it happens that now and then immature boys and girls are admitted as uŋwala when their judgment is not yet sufficiently developed. No one knows when or whether the next ʔiʔxaus celebration will take place, and they do not want these young people to be deprived altogether of this group training. Their lack of physical development forbids their being subjected to the original rigors of fasting and curtailed sleep. Nowadays strong measures are even less appropriate, since the middle-aged adults themselves are unable to summon enough will power to endure the rigorous regulations of their fathers. They lack the determination to make personal sacrifices. They realize this with shame, and they by no means conceal this situation from the young people. They say frankly: "In former times the uŋwala came back to the camp from the Great Hut completely emaciated, weak, and exhausted at the end of the ʔiʔxaus; nowadays they are hardly bound by a few insignificant restrictions!"

X881 182 147 We cannot deny the obvious fact that in modern times the physical resistance of the Yamana has considerably diminished. The old people say: "In former times toothache was unknown, nor did one see gray heads among the aged. The Yamana of today are not as hardy as their ancestors. The decisive factor lies in their changed diet, in their consumption of sugar and alcohol, coffee

1: Gusinde--SD E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 S006 Yahgan SH6

/960 cont./

and tea, salt and tobacco. European clothing has also contributed a great deal to this decline. But no one has the courage /961/ today to go back to the life of the ancestors. Thus the ruin of our people draws ever nearer!" Concurrent with the physical weakness of the present generation is laxity in the general sphere of morals, which is continually spreading.

The ciexaus celebration, the principles of which have not essentially changed, is not without some effect on young people even in modern times. The logical application of these principles to life, however, has more or less ceased because the middle-aged adults no longer encourage this strongly enough by setting an example.

In the course of this description we have repeatedly mentioned the individual events which fill each day in the ciexaus hut. An hourly time schedule is unknown; the group depends on the momentary mood of everyone, on personal whim, the weather, and unpredictable coincidence. Certain general words, however, mark each day. Hence I believe that I may refrain from describing here the exact succession of each particular event on each day of the initiation, which I experienced twice. Anyone who wishes to know this is referred to Koppers (a):45.

The perpetuation of the Yamana as a people throughout the centuries is largely due to the high moral level of the educational work achieved with the young people in the ciexaus hut. After the strict supervision of the original procedure was relaxed, the stability of the society disintegrated, and it inevitably drifted toward destruction. It is useful for the history of human education that the educational art of the much misunderstood Yamana, as it is clearly and completely revealed in the ciexaus celebration (375),

> 375. The youth initiation of the Halakwulup, which I discovered on my fourth journey, shows the same essential characteristics as that of the Yamana. For the time being, compare Gusinde (o):541 and Schmidt (d):877.

has become illuminated and quite minutely known to us Europeans, even as the declining years of this people have set in.

/1443 cont./

151 extravagant amounts of sugar. Their desire for salt is slight for obvious reasons; they get enough of it in their exclusively meat diet (p.301). They do not really enjoy alcoholic beverages, but most present-day Yamana desire them very much because of their intoxicating effect (p. 302). Even if a person is tormented by hunger he will refuse things abhorrent to his taste.

/1444/ At first glance it seems as though there were some-
151 thing peculiar about the sense of touch of our Fuegians. In
147 reality this is not the case; according to Hyades (p):328, also, "their tactile sensitiveness is neither more nor less developed than among the French observers" /translated from French/. The Yamana, however, is not sensitive and plaintive to the same extent as a European. He feels cold and heat, frost and the sun's rays, the sharp stones on the ground and the hardness of his bed, injuries and wounds, but he accepts all hardship with equanimity and bears it silently. If a person must constantly endure considerable pain, he merely groans and whimpers softly. Whenever he can easily /Fig. 99 appears here./ make himself a little more comfortable, he does not fail to do so, but if the annoyance cannot be avoided, he pays no attention to it and makes the best of it. Certainly his skin, especially that of hands and feet, does not react as much as that of Europeans who are constantly protecting themselves with clothing and closed dwellings. He has, however, also hardened himself to a great extent against outward stimuli, and therefore he controls his feelings far better. The many delicate and precise objectr made by him show that there is fine feeling even in his heavy hands and clumsy fingers. Moreover, the dexterity that every Yamana shows on the hunt and in setting traps argues for well-developed senses (354).

354. Even Darwin (f):I, 63 was amazed at this and says: "To hit a mark accurately with a stone, as a Fuegian can when he is obliged to defend himself, or to kill birds requires perfection in the efficient correlation of the muscles of the hand, arm, and shoulders, not to mention a fine sense of touch."

/1456 cont./

147 Our Fueguians are anything but complaining. They bear physical pain with courageous patience; their feeling of pain is by far not as acute as that of Europeans. Compare Hyades (j): 328. The very first missionaries, Despard (b):696 and Bridges (a):202, mentioned the most common ailments, and Hyades (f): 580 and (q):222 gave an accurate list. I am able to give a few supplementary data from my own observations. The most frequent are regular accidents, namely, burns and wounds (361).

164

> 361. Burleigh is absolutely right when he declares: "To meet a person of mature age who has not received an injury in some form or other, either violence or accident, is a rare occurrence" /cited in English/ (MM.XXV, 23:1891). What Hyades (f):585 says is pertinent in this connexion: "It is probable that accidents and injuries carry off a large number of natives, for they do not give any care to the injured" /translated from French/.

Persons of all ages complain of headaches, lîkêpi-ôx a great deal. Rheumatism, alutar-êna or alutapêla, is a common ailment, but its acute form is rare. The first designation probably corresponds to alîtêlêna, "to chop off" /cited in English/, in ED:18. Gout affects an individual limb for many people, but it soon passes. The respiratory organs are rarely affected by bronchitis and only in quite exceptional cases by pneumonia and pleurisy. Ailments of this kind are called lemêna-ôx, that is, "stabs, pains in the chest" (p.1078). Older /1457/ persons frequently cough. Abdominal diseases are rare; instead, there are a great many digestive disorders, chiefly diarrhea caused by immoderate eating or spoiled meat. Eczema and other slight skin troubles are more frequently seen; they usually heal within a short time. It is obvious that untended wounds lead to phlegmon and gangrene. Hyades (f):581 declares: "I have not had to see a single cancerous disease" /translated from French/. It is also true that originally the Yamana were free of syphilis, gonorrhea, and all forms of tuberculosis. Most people suffer from inflammation of the eyes

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
3986 Yahgan 3986

in the cramped positions compulsory in their canoes. The eastern Yahgan, it is asserted, had better developed legs than the other groups because they hunted more frequently on shore. Like the Ona, the Yahgan had little hair on their faces and removed this growth with mussel-shell pincers. It is stated[1] that on the arrival of the French scientific expedition in 1883 the Yahgan mistook the beards of the Frenchmen for tobacco, and in that belief tried to pull them off.

We should also mention a curious Yahgan anomaly noted by Hyades and Deniker (1891, p. 163) that these Indians tended to put on fat with unusual rapidity in times of plenty, and were able to live on this reserve when food was scarce. Yahgans of age below the white settlement resulted in a less erratic food supply exhibited skin hanging in folds on undoubted individuals (fig. 5). The ability to store unusual amounts of fat, most developed in modern times among the Hottentot, has been thought a survival of a hibernating stage in the development of man. Its existence in Paleolithic Europe is deduced from steatopygous figurines among the most ancient carvings produced by human hands. Anatomically, Hyades and Deniker explain this feature by long intestines coupled with a small stomach, leading to rapid and frequent digestion of small amounts of food. The Yahgan stomach was found to contain 1600 cc. as against 2700 cc. for Europeans, presumably Frenchmen, while the Yahgan intestines were six times the length of the body as compared with five times the length of the body in Europeans. These observations and conclusions, it may be mentioned, are not in accord with more recent investigations which reveal a correlation between long intestines and a vegetal diet.

We can say little about the physique of Hyades and Alacaluf; the former clearly were related to the Ona, while the latter were short in stature like the Yahgan.

Turning to more exact data, in the accompanying table we give statistical constants for the Ona and the Yahgan, based on all available material. For the preparation of this table I am indebted to Prof. E. A. Hooton of Harvard University, to Mr. Walter Cline, and to Miss Barbara Clark. I am further indebted to Professor Hooton for the subjoined comment.

[1] Capt. Le Clerk in the *South American Missionary Magazine*, 1884, p. 16.

3: Lothrop E-9 (1924-1925) 1928
SMB Yahgan SMA

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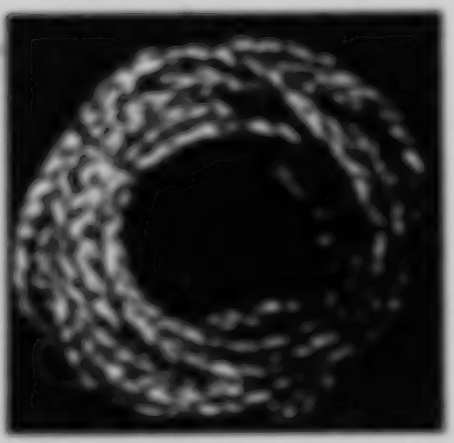

FIG. 32.—Yahgan green canoe. Diameter of coil, [illegible] (34.2cm).

As a result of the exercise, the women were very strongly developed above the waist, but poorly developed in the legs.

When it was desired to make a landing the canoe was paddled in to the beach, bow-on, and the men of the family and the children stepped ashore. The wife then paddled the canoe out to a piece of kelp, secured it, and swam ashore. As a result all the women were able to swim, while few of the men could do so.

[90]

[94]

The canoe was kept in the water habitually, because hauling it up on the beach was difficult owing to the fragility of the bark. When it was necessary to make repairs, the beach was carpeted with wet kelp to make a soft and slippery surface over which the canoe could be dragged with ease. The dugout canoes, however, were a different proposition, so for them runways were made by removing the stones (pl. xi). Stakes were driven at the head of the runways to which the canoes were tied. Comparison and habitually since the invention of the dugout may be distinguished by the presence of such runways.

FIG. 33.—Yahgan bark bailer. (After Wyndham and Dowdeswell.)

[90]

WEAPONS AND MEANS OF DEFENSE

[41] Yahgan weapons were the spear, club, sling, and bow. In their fashion of living, spears were almost as important

/593 cont./

264 pokes into them with a little stick, constantly shifting the glowing embers or piling the hot ashes higher. He gets particular pleasure out of entertaining himself in this way, until he can give himself up completely to enjoying them. When the pieces are done and have proved to be very delicious, he clicks his tongue with delight and lets everybody around him know in what gluttonous ecstasy he is feasting. During the trip in the canoe every occupant must cautiously move up to the small fire, and one moves away when another person wants to roast something for himself. The woman, whose duty it is to do the rowing, must regularly go without food for hours, but she makes up for it later on the beach. If circumstances make it imperative -- usu-
261 ally it is bad weather -- everyone can get along all right without
147 food for considerable time. On the other hand, if one finds himself with a great abundance, he can consume almost incalculable amounts. A person can gain weight quickly, but he can just as quickly grow thin again; one can best trace these changes in children over a period of a few days. Their health apparently does not suffer, however (380).

380. Lothrop (c):303 has expressed some conjectures about the relation between diet and physical size in Tierra del Fuego, but he cites only inadequate observations which are not sustained by actual facts.

264 In conclusion, it becomes clear from certain customs that the Fuegian is guided by definite rules in eating. For example,
151 he does not bother with very dirty meat, but throws it away without further ado. Something that has been nibbled at by a dog he angrily lets him have. /594/ He removes decaying pieces of meat as far as possible from his hut, whereas he does not seem to have any feeling about melting fat or moldy skins. His sense of smell is unquestionably very much dulled, and he never holds a doubtful piece up to his nose. Anything that has become putrid has to give off a vile odor before he will remove it. He is certainly not clean in eating and in his ways. Nevertheless, one person will prove to be more of a greedy gourmet, the other less. He knows the tastier pieces and the juicier morsels and chooses

/594 cont./

264 these if possible. The tender meat of young animals tickles his
157 palate, and the height of ecstacy for him is the nicely browned fat of a whale that has been stranded for some time. There are many things that conclusively prove that a Fuegian's taste is by no means insensible or dulled, no matter how uniform the taste of everything that he eats on account of so much blubber.

5. How They Store Food

251 The unsettled way of life and their uninterrupted changes of
261 dwelling do not permit the Yamana to lay in large supplies. The general statement of Hyades (d):306 "They do not make any provision for the future" /translated from French/, applies without qualification, since they do not strive to provide for the immediate or the distant future. A decisive factor may be that food does not keep in that arbitrarily inclement weather, and in order to preserve it, one would have to go through all kinds of complicated preparations. All this is superfluous, because throughout the entire year and with almost limitless generosity the sea puts all kinds of animals at the disposal of the man who hunts and the woman who gathers. Storm or accident will deprive a family of these things for no more than a few days. Generally no one need reckon with the danger of hunger, and everyone almost anywhere finds an abundance of what he needs (381).

381. Bridges' (h):205 brief statement says a great deal: "In general, food is abundant" /translated from Spanish/.

Why, then, should anyone worry about food for the future (382)!

382. Hyades (g):34 writes: "The most wonderful thing about the Fuegians is that they never think of providing for the next day. And yet winter is severe enough and there are by no means few periods when the Fuegian can neither hunt nor fish nor even pick up mussels on the rocks

/1442 cont./

153 This healthy curiosity is combined with a goodly measure of desire for knowledge and aptitude for being taught.

In the development of their sensory activity the Fuegians
●151 by far surpass us Europeans, and the acuteness of their senses sometimes amazes us, as all critics agree. The sharp eyes of the Yamana miss practically nothing, not the least change, no matter how insignificant, along his path, in his tools, in another person. With sure judgment he recognizes the tracks and traces of animals along the ground, as well as the occupants of a canoe appearing on the horizon. His eye is unerring in observations close at hand or at a distance. Even in old age everyone enjoys excellent vision, although some older people become farsighted, so that if they are looking at or working over smaller objects they must hold them farther away from their eyes. The eyes of the natives can stand direct sunlight and strong light from the hut fire far better than would be possible for European eyes. Hyades (f):580 and (p):329 declares: "The Fuegians have satisfactory visual acuity and... they are, in general, gifted with a great power of accommodation" /translated from French/. Darwin (f):I, 43 affirms briefly from his experience: "I had ample opportunity to observe the extraordinary eyesight of the
[201] Fuegians" (353). Their amazing skill in sign language must also

353. He (d):239 also says by way of supplement: "Their eyesight was remarkably acute. York and Yemmy both were considerably superior to all the sailors on board; several times they said what some distant object was, and, although everyone doubted it, they proved to be right when the object was examined through a telescope. They were well aware of this ability." Bove (c):125 and others agree.

be mentioned here. In a way unintelligible to others they can reliably send even important messages to a person and transmit them to the person for whom they /1443/ are intended. This explains the mistrust of everyone toward all those who form a

/1443 cont./

151 larger social group. Hyades (q):196 conducted careful investigations in order to determine the physiological soundness of the eyes of our Yamana.

Since the Fuegians must very attentively note everything around them, they also need their sense of hearing, day and night. The softest sound or the slightest noise does not escape them any more than it does a watchful dog; one would think that they were constantly pricking up their ears. It may be, as Hyades (q):329 says, that "their hearing is as sharp and has the same range as that of most Europeans" /translated from French/, but our Fuegians are more alert; hence they consciously absorb more than Europeans. Constant practice makes it very easy for them to trace individual noises accurately back to their cause, to distinguish the voices of birds and mammals, and to interpret even very faint sounds reliably. It is strange that an unusually violent rending of the air, for example, a loud bang or a shrill whistle, neither startles nor annoys them.

To judge from what was said about our Indians' feeling for cleanliness (p. 87), one might regard their sense of smell as highly insensitive. Hyades (q):209 expresses himself in this vein: "Olfactory sensitiveness is quite blunted among the Fuegians; they do not seem to make a distinction between what we call good and bad odors" /translated from French/. With all this, however, I do not mean to say that their sense of smell is less effective than that of a European. Even the Yamana many times lets his nose decide whether a piece of meat has started to decay and hence has become inedible, or whether putrid matter makes a certain spot uninhabitable for him (p.28). The stench of human or dog excrement arouses passionate repugnance. They have become so completely accustomed to their own skin odor, which is disgusting to Europeans, that they do not seem to notice it at all.

In seeking food and in eating, the Yamana are obviously selective (p.323). Their sense of taste decides clearly enough what appeals to their palate more or less or not at all. They are crazy, so to speak, about the taste of a few things, for example, liquid blubber in a short piece of gut (Fig. 99) and certain pieces of whale meat (p.310). Their country furnishes them extraordinarily few sweets (p.301); hence in recent times people eat

/1443 cont./

151 extravagant amounts of sugar. Their desire for salt is slight for obvious reasons; they get enough of it in their exclusively meat diet (p. 301). They do not really enjoy alcoholic beverages, but most present-day Yamana desire them very much because of their intoxicating effect (p. 302). Even if a person is tormented by hunger he will refuse things abhorrent to his taste.

151 /1444/ At first glance it seems as though there were some-
147 thing peculiar about the sense of touch of our Fuegians. In reality this is not the case; according to Hyades (p):328, also, "their tactile sensitiveness is neither more nor less developed than among the French observers" /translated from French/. The Yamana, however, is not sensitive and plaintive to the same extent as a European. He feels cold and heat, frost and the sun's rays, the sharp stones on the ground and the hardness of his bed, injuries and wounds, but he accepts all hardship with equanimity and bears it silently. If a person must constantly endure considerable pain, he merely groans and whimpers softly. Whenever he can easily /Fig. 99 appears here./ make himself a little more comfortable, he does not fail to do so, but if the annoyance cannot be avoided, he pays no attention to it and makes the best of it. Certainly his skin, especially that of hands and feet, does not react as much as that of Europeans who are constantly protecting themselves with clothing and closed dwellings. He has, however, also hardened himself to a great extent against outward stimuli, and therefore he controls his feelings far better. The many delicate and precise objects made by him show that there is fine feeling even in his heavy hands and clumsy fingers. Moreover, the dexterity that every Yamana shows on the hunt and in setting traps argues for well-developed senses (354).

354. Even Darwin (f):I, 63 was amazed at this and says: "To hit a mark accurately with a stone, as a Fuegian can when he is obliged to defend himself, or to kill birds requires perfection in the efficient correlation of the muscles of the hand, arm, and shoulders, not to mention a fine sense of touch."

/680 cont./

593 admonishing him, she expects him to provide for all the needs of the family and why she maintains complete independence in all the labors that are hers by ancient custom, without letting her husband interfere. She gathers mussels or goes fishing, arranges the pelts, and sews clothing whenever the whim strikes her and she is in the mood. If her husband expresses special wishes, he knows as well as she that she is by no means bound to fulfill them and that she does so only out of love and affection.

562 This does not alter the fact, however, that Yamana women
593 are ordinarily submissive and yielding. Almost never in words, but certainly in his /681/ attitude, the man, without offending, embodies a considerable preponderance of authority and power. For their part the Indian women, without losing themselves in slavish lack of will power, seem to be more willing to surrender their equality than is customary elsewhere among their sex. It is hard to say whether they are dominated by a sense of weakness or a feeling of inferiority. Outwardly, at any rate, the woman shows a subjection and subordination to her own husband which gives many European observers the impression that she is without rights and merely a weak plaything of her husband's tyranny. This impression is doubtless strengthened by the natural shyness and extraordinarily silent reserve of all Yamana women in the presence of a man (72). Hence in cases of incompatibility and

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72. This observation may have inspired Hyades (d):308 to say: "The woman submits to her husband, but provided she is faithful, he does not mistreat her" /translated from French/.

quarrels between the two there is never noise or shouting. If he should burst out with a few abusive words, she says nothing.

The excessive submissiveness of most of the women fosters
562 among the men a consciousness of superior power not established
593 by common law. If this is coupled with a nature given to violence
●152 and outbursts of rage among one or another of the men, the woman must occasionally expect maltreatment. In his anger, usually caused by minor incidents, he beats her with any stick or scrap of leather he happens to have at hand. She ducks or bends sideways without crying out or weeping. It is all over in a few

/681 cont./

562 minutes, but for the woman it is accompanied by several hours
593 or an entire night of suppressed pain. The deeply felt mortification
152 pains her incomparably more than the blow or beating.

An irascible and violent husband never has a good reputation,
562 even though at times he might have grounds for dissatisfaction
593 with his wife. None of my informants could remember that a
woman had ever suffered serious physical harm from maltreat-
626 ment. Her relatives would not have let matters go so far, but
would have helped her to escape before it happened. Basically,
public opinion condemns any physical attack on a woman, and
whenever it occurs people take a definite stand against the man
or against his wife, depending on the case, in order to prevent a
repetition of such quarrels.

562 In contrast, there is a considerable number of henpecked hus-
bands among the Yamana, according to the statements of the
593 three Lawrence brothers. There is no exaggeration in Bridges'
(i):21 words that "not a few men are domineered over by their
wives" /cited in English/ (73). Walter is one of these men,

73. Fifteen years later, Bridges (h):210
repeated this sentence without changing it.

helpless in the hands of his wife. Even more, Julia is really a
mannish woman, and the not very energetic Alfredo, sometimes
at his wits' end, lets her have her way. In contrast to these two
couples, /682/ Carmen suffers so much from the brutality and
violent outbursts of Calderon that all her fellow-tribesmen pity
her and sympathize with her. At present, just as in former times,
an individual incident may occur in which the wife bursts out
and takes violent measures against the man, without however,
actually establishing petticoat domination. Lovisato (b):146
gives an example: "We have seen a wife justifiably strike her
husband, without the other wives present taking her part or they
themselves understanding the grave deed" /translated from
Italian/. This, too, shows the occasional considerable inde-
pendence and arbitrariness on the part of the wife toward her
husband.

593 Aside from the above-mentioned disturbances in marital life,

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833 nonsense: "A man must wash himself after leaving the wigwam of his loves, because otherwise he cannot eat guanaco meat; if he does not wash himself, the dogs die" /translated from Italian/.

593 Among our Fuegians, far more than elsewhere, conjugal love
•152 assumes the form of genuine jealousy. The sharp vigilance with which a husband protected his wife at the approach of a stranger has made many a traveler of earlier times very uncomfortable, and the natives often shunned (80) his bold obtrusiveness by quick

80. This was the most frequent cause for the friction and quarrels accompanying the visit of European ships among our Indians, hence their shy reserve (p. 248 /untranslated/, p. 2).

flight. P. Snow (a):I, 149 clearly speaks of their "jealous disposition" /cited in English/, which they have retained up to the present time, some more, others less (81). It is striking that

81. Several similar opinions have been assembled by Cooper:168.

jealousy generally torments only the men, and that women, with a few exceptions, are spared it. These exceptions apply to wives of the same man. Hyades (q):239 also observed that "the woman, and above all the young woman, is so little aware of this feeling (82) that she seems very happy to see the same favors granted

82. Hyades (q):378 concedes rare exceptions, however, and realizes that "jealous women make life very disagreeable for their husbands" /translated from French/.

her friends by the man she loves" /translated from French/ (83).

83. He also emphatically denies the

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false assertion of a few navigators that our Fuegians had handed over their women and girls without resistance.

When there is greater inclination toward jealousy, it is without doubt "the reason for brutalities inflicted by the husband on his wife" /translated from French/. Many men are so susceptible that one cannot be careful enough in his attitude toward their wives, if he wishes to save himself unpleasantness. Outes (g): 55 reports: The men "are very jealous and an inopportune look at his wives is enough to arouse his distrust and to cause the murder of the suspect" /translated from Spanish/. It is true that the jealous husband will occasionally give vent to his rage in serious beatings, but it has never gone as far as murder, according to Fred Lawrence who corrected this report for me. The lot of a woman with a husband so unfortunately predisposed is unpleasant. She must always fear his outbursts of rage, although she herself is blameless and very careful in her conduct.

/684/ Is this pronounced jealousy among men caused by their
837 concern over marital fidelity among their wives? This may be true to a certain extent. Certainly, as a rule, the two spouses are faithful, and people without exception esteem this virtue highly. BD:267 gives hīngun: "a sober, sensible and faithful wife or woman" /cited in English/. We must agree with Spegazzini (a):166, who emphasizes: "Fidelity is a carefully guarded virtue, whether out of fear of the husband who will repudiate or kill her on account of mere suspicion or because of natural habit /translated from Spanish/ (84). Although fidelity is esteemed in public

84. On July 27, 1872, Bridges (i):18 entered the following in his diary: "Adultery was condemned as a crime and faithfullness extolled as a virtue" /cited in English/.

and everyone tries to avoid accusations of violating it, nevertheless individual violations occasionally did and do occur, and many a married person has secretly transgressed. Bridges' assertion, "there is no fidelity between man and wife" /cited in English/ (VSA:XIII, 203;1866), is false in its generality, and he

/695 cont./

855 their own favorite, seemed to me much more direct and spontane-
887 ous among these Fuegians, and hence more impressive, than among mothers in Europe.

As a result of their own love for the child, we can understand
855 why our Indians quickly gain confidence in all Europeans who show
609 themselves kindly disposed toward their children. How quickly
152 Snow (a):I, 349 realized this and took advantage of it for the safety of his own person! He writes: "They were very fond of their children, and any notice we took of the little ones always gave them pleasure. This I observed on my first visit; and it was, in addition to firearms in my breast coat-pocket, one of the means I was prepared to use, had there been occasion when I went alone amongst them. A child in my arms was, I considered, a guard against any sudden attack upon me, if they loved their offspring as most savage tribes do" /cited in English/ (108). Anyone wishing to win

108. Phillips:58, on his very first encounter with these natives on October 22, 1855, on Lennox Island, made the same observation: "The women were greatly pleased with the notice I took of their children, and kept appealing for something for the 'piccanini'" /cited in English/.

the favor of the adults need only show himself tender and loving toward their children. How often have they themselves held up their youngest toward the white strangers to beg for presents. They valued whatever was done for the child more highly than if it had been done for themselves. Snow (a):I, 326 may again serve as a witness. In Banner Cove he saw /696/ the first natives coming toward him in a canoe. A younger woman was among them. "She had a baby at the breast; and frequently, with a winning smile and plaintive voice, asked, by the oft repeated words, Yamana Scoona! for something for the pauca ninne. Mrs. Snow gave her many little presents, for which she returned grateful smiles and Cuttacutta (apparently: many thanks) over and over again. Her attachment to the child was evident; and what was given to the child she showed she understood was for that purpose by putting it

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855 609 152

immediately around its neck, or about its person" /cited in English/ (109). Later, after they had become sufficiently convinced

> 109. Snow (b):262 was so impressed by the love of children shown by these Fuegian mothers that he again speaks of his experiences and calls it unjust toward the parents that the missionaries wanted to take a few children for training to Isla Keppel. "One of the women had a baby with her, and there was something most winning in her manner when she asked us to give her child some present. She was much attached to her babe, even as I found all of the Fuegian mothers were, and I feel certain that to attempt taking those younger children away on any pretence whatever is wrong in the extreme... They are very fond of their children" /cited in English/.

of the kindliness of the missionaries for their children, a few families finally decided to entrust them with their darlings for a short time (p. 310 /untranslated/). Today Yamana children are much more suspicious of even the most well-intentioned Whites than I observed the children of the Selk'nam (110) to be, because they have had

> 110. On my first journey I effortlessly gained the confidence of the Selk'nam by way of the hearts of their children. See Gusinde (t):164 and (dd):78.

many sad experiences.

842 Now it will no longer be surprising to learn -- corresponding exactly to the ideas above -- that a married couple is envied because of their large flock of children. As each individual child provides great joy for the married couple, their happiness and satisfaction increase with the number of their offspring. "The more children, the more entertainment and variety in the hut on the long evenings," Walter confessed to me in a moment of deep sorrow when his youngest girl, who, with her slightly older brother, was what remained of eleven children, fell seriously ill. I often heard

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•152 Later we shall show that quite generally Fuegian families have many children, but it can scarcely be imagined how much every mother and father suffer at the death of a child. They feel the bitterest sorrow and do not recover from this loss for the rest of their lives. They destroy absolutely everything that might remind them of their lost darling, even if he was only a few months old. They never repeat his name, so as not to be reminded of the gap left by relentless death (113). The mother addresses urgent pleas

113. Hyades (g):39 reports: "The loss of children is commonly felt very deeply, and not infrequently the French [of the Mission Scientifique] saw the features of the savages cloud over and the women even burst into tears and lamentations if there was a chance reference to such a death."

to Hidábuan, the Yamana deity, to make her sick darling well, and she indulges in bitter reproaches against him if, in spite of her pleas, he tears the child away from her by death. The mother's lamentations over her lost darling never cease. Walter's wife, of whose eleven children only two are still living, watches over her frail daughter who is about five years old with almost pathological anxiety, in order not to lose her, too. All the women speak pityingly of her, for they see with what anxiety and apprehension she clings to this youngest child, as though to a last refuge.

855 For all parents many healthy, lively, and obedient children are not only an extraordinary satisfaction, but far beyond that also a justifiable pride (114). They stir up fresh life in the entire

114. Bridges (i):21 says only: "The mothers were always proud to tell how many children they had" /cited in English/. The fathers do the same.

neighborhood, and every adult delights in their enthusiastic play. They offer the women, who like to assemble in the hut of the happy parents, tireless entertainment during the long evening /699/ hours. Many a woman grows sick at heart if she remembers her own

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844 get up one by one at midnight. The old instructor led us out of
773 the Great Hut, pointed to certain stars, and mentioned their
881 names. He also showed us the Yoálox family, saying: 'The elder Yoálox is the husband of every girl who has become tú·ni; he causes the bleeding after every moon [-cycle]!' He also impressed upon us: 'Keep all this to yourselves, for this is a secret for girls and they should not speak about it with boys!'"

844 The women actually do avoid speaking about their monthly bleeding, wélix. It finally becomes so taken for granted that they probably seldom think of Yoálox in connection with it. I did not find out whether they specify a particular reason for the cessation of the menses in the change of life; they are indifferent toward it.

4. Children's Play

857 The happy disposition of our Fuegians is shown in entertaining games. Whenever there are many people gathered together and the weather is favorable, they greatly enjoy playing together for hours. Children soon show a great love of play, and when several get together, they, too, immediately begin to entertain themselves in their modest way.

Both boys and girls amuse themselves, each in their own way, and the demands on the sexes are already in force here. In play no less than in other things the separation of the sexes is supposed to be observed; this is gladly overlooked, however, when so-called social games are played, in which adults, too, often take part. There are no special playthings for older children; instead, for their childish entertainment they very often imitate grownups at work. Although the social games mentioned above are not confined to children alone, they are the ones who most frequently play them; hence we shall describe them here.

152 Despite the unrestricted merriment and wholesome liveliness that all children show in their play, this flock of little ones is relatively silent and quiet. True, they are not /760/ mute, but there is no wild noise and ceaseless yelling, and no one would dare shout at the top of his lungs or cry just to show off. This behavior fits very well with the quiet and hushed manner of babies (p. 520) and adults.

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"as a general rule, adults always respect their parents, the father a little more than the mother" /translated from French/.

The respectful attitude of Fuegian children toward their parents does not in the least affect the loving fellowship of parents and children together. They are naturally dependent on one another, and the more they are in harmony, the more surely will the /774/ family, as a self-contained social entity, *fulfill its* duty toward the tribe and the more easily it will attain its goal as an economic unit. The children complement their parents spiritually, and vice versa. They cling to each other and instinctively as well as consciously avoid anything that might separate them. They live for each other's happiness.

[52] Although embracing and kissing are not customary among them, they show their affection toward one another with friendly looks and heartfelt words, by caressing and leaning against one another, with affectionate play and all kinds of attentions. Parents are concerned day and night about their little ones; they provide food and shelter, maintenance and security; indeed, they risk their own lives and defy all kinds of danger to promote the health and welfare of their child (204). How dear and precious a child is

204. Like Lovisato (b):145 (see footnote 208), Bove (e):158 and (g):234 also makes the absurd assertion: "Mother love lasts about as long as the child nurses at the breast; by the age of seven or eight the parents' influence soon ceases altogether, for as soon as the son is able to get along without his parents, he leaves them. The only feeling that governs them is self-love." Hyades (p):331 describes the true situation, although much too tersely: "In general the parents care for their children until the day the latter marry" /translated from French/.

to its parents is unequivocally expressed when the child is severely ill or lost through death.

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867 jokes and obscenities from adults. The latter may reveal weaknesses during moments when they lose control of themselves, but in general they try to appear exemplary and without faults in

[133] front of youngsters. Parents are extremely careful in their conjugal relations, since the little ones sleep in the same hut.

583 Because parents honestly strive not to show their weaknesses before young people and to be truly at their best for their own child, the children see them in a pure light. This brings about the tender and deeply felt attachment of children toward those to whom they owe so much. Fortunately, this is also promoted by daily contact, which convincingly demonstrates how very much the members of an individual family are dependent upon one another. The consciousness of belonging together becomes so intense that individuals do not like to be separated even temporarily. Hence, it is impossible for some families to get a child from among their circle of relatives to stay with them in their hut for a few days, which is greatly desired by a family that for some reason or other does not have a little child.

591 152 At present there are a few families without children, and they are making an effort to take some child in with them for a short time (206). In spite of all the love and care that they offer,

> 206. Bridges (x):103 hints at this custom: "Children do not always live with their parents, sometimes a friend takes them away and they are away from their parents for weeks" /cited in English/.

the little ones scarcely ever feel quite at home with them and soon beg to be taken back to the parental hut. Children simply cannot stand to be with other people permanently (207). We can

> 207. Bridges (x):104 once maintained: "A girl before she is finally given away to her destined husband is now and again sent to live with him for a short time, when she again returns to her parents. But no sooner is she of marriageable age than she is finally disposed of" /cited in English/. Such a

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practice was not customary among the Yamana according to my inquiries.

easily imagine how the poor creatures who are orphaned suffer for years. Some relative, to be sure, takes charge of them and tries his best to care for them, but he cannot replace their real parents.

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Even after children have long since established their own households, they often visit their old parents (208) out of a childish

208. In the following words, which are incomprehensible to me, Lovisato (b):145 proves that he lacks a gift for observation: "Among the Fuegians... maternal love does not exist. The love of a mother for her child lasts only as long as he is nursing; when he leaves the breast, it diminishes, and by the time he is seven or eight years old it ceases completely... Also, the children have little love for their parents" /translated from Italian/.

desire for love; they are happy when they can see them and inquire about their circumstances. /776/ When they meet other people, they try to learn something about their own parents. The latter, too, follow their child no less with their thoughts and hopes when, as sometimes happens, they do not see him for months. They are happy when they hear good and pleasant news; unfavorable and derogatory reports make them sad. It is well known that during the first several weeks, the new bride often goes back to her mother, and the mother, overjoyed, says to her: "I want to paint you!" She does this with particular tenderness and in the hope that the young husband will learn to love her daughter very much (p.428). Afterwards the daughter presents herself to her husband and says: "My mother painted me!" This is intended to remind him of the wedding and to arouse his initial love. The frequent visits, however, are above all an expression of the firm attachment of the child to the parents, which even marriage does not loosen.

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the individuals have calmed their inner excitement at the dances each evening. These are the occasions when everyone is free to get up and, to the accompaniment of the dance movements, loudly pour out his feelings and impulses. Sometimes this is done with profound, trembling emotion. Accordingly, it is late before those present can lie down to sleep, but they can do so earlier in case they have spent the day in tiring work and hunting. When quiet has been restored after the final lively dance movements and everyone has resumed his place, the leader, with a vigorous, drawn-out hō ho ho ho hō, gives the sign for the night's rest. They all join in the same call and in a somewhat softer voice, repeat this hō ho ho ho hō. Immediately most of them wrap themselves in their covers and lie down to sleep. One or another of them will remain seated if he feels so inclined and continue the customary song in a low, soft voice.

Their sleep is not entirely quiet, however, for the song may never cease entirely and the many people lie close together. Our Yamana are used to this. In the early morning the candidates are awakened by their sponsors and immediately sit up again. After another one and a half to three hours, about six o'clock, the adults get up. The leader himself gets up when he thinks it is time and again gives the long, lazy call hō ho ho ho hō which he made the night before as the signal for going to sleep. At this summons the others also end their rest (333). The general move-

333. This happened at my first initiation in accordance with the old customs. Two years later, lively Santiago awakened the candidates, including myself, at about five o'clock with a thundering voice. The adults were allowed to sleep for another good hour, while a few women arranged the feeble fire.

ment in the Great Hut rouses the last sleepers. Everyone immediately gets up, straightens his sleeping-place, and squats down again. /911/ He rubs the sleep out of his eyes with his finger and then combs his hair. This is the whole of the morning toilette. Formerly most of the people went outside to a brook and washed, the uwagis being accompanied by their sponsors. Nowadays all

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Since every adult in the village has thoroughly reviewed in his mind the events and experiences of recent years, the memory of his dead relatives is very vivid. He gives repeated and open expression to it, first of all by means of a painting executed in such a way that everyone immediately interprets it as a sign of mourning. Occasionally a person will, in his grief, very accidentally pick up a small piece of charcoal, crush it with furious hate between the palms of his hands, and in a frenzy rub the powder all over his face. This is a sign of deepest mourning over

Fig. 96. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

the recent loss of a very close relative. In memory of loved ones who /904/ have been dead for some time, the face is covered with symbolic patterns inspired by an unpredictable fancy of the moment.

Figure 96 shows a few of these patterns. In a, a single black line is drawn straight across each cheek. Contrastingly in contrast to this, the whole face in b is rubbed with white powder, on top of which two medium-thick black lines are drawn. In c the unusual outlining of the eyes in black pigment and the short line below the under lip is likewise applied on a red background. /Fig. 96 appears here./ In d again the whole face is first painted red and afterward a complicated pattern is applied with black pigment. Still other

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dances and ceremonies are carried out, depending on the artistic
history that causes them. Each person present, of course, wears
the hayaki and carries his dart, decorated dance staff.

With this painted ornamentation and in memory of the de-
ceased, the individual dances back and forth for a while, gliding
through the entire room. As is the case with these dance move-
ments in general, the body is held almost straight, the legs are
kept somewhat at the knees, and the feet are placed one behind
the other, close together. The left foot hops a few centimeters
forward and the right foot is pulled after it. The fingers of both
hands hold the dance staff horizontally or slightly diagonally and
lift it slowly up and down with rolling motions toward the body.
Sometimes both hands grasp the dart staff held sideways and down-
ward and move it forward and backward as though rowing. It is
even grasped at the center with the right hand alone and held
horizontally at shoulder height, as though it were a harpoon. In
this position the dancing person will quickly glide along the area
of the fire, and another person will do the same in a path close to
him, but in such a manner that the two move past each other in
opposite directions from one side to the other.

Meanwhile the mourner will utter short laments. After a
few minutes he will sit down and repeat his show of grief in long
sentences. For example, on the second evening old Mary sadly
cried out while the dancing was going on. "At that time when my
parents, my uncle, and my aunt were still living and performed in
the Fiesta hut, a great many people were gathered together. All
of them knew the game well and all were enjoying it. Today we
are but a very /little/ few. We hardly know how to perform the
Fiesta beautifully. That makes me very sad!" On the next even-
ing I heard the following words from the same Mary: "Oh, how
poor we Tamano are today! Only a few of our people are still
living. That makes me indescribably sad. In my memory I see
the many who were with me in the Fiesta for the first time; to-
day I am the only one left of all of them!" She was immediately
joined by her husband Richard: "At the time when my mother
gave birth to me it was very nice among us Tamano; there were
still many people living and we were a large family. But today I
am in a very poor state, for I am alone in the world! My brothers
and sisters are dead, my parents have not been living for a long

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time, my uncle and aunt are long since gone. Who wouldn't be sad to be all alone here in this world as I am!"

Meanwhile Gertie was rubbing a lot of charcoal powder on her face. Then she excitedly rose from her place and began in a wild tune: "How sad is our lot! Last winter another of my kinfolk died. Only a very small remnant of us Tamana has remained behind!" Then, as though mad, she glided back and forth [illegible] black line across her right and left cheek (Fig. 86, a) and remained squatting in her place. Both of them wept for an aunt who had recently passed away.

Once old Whaim also cried out into the general singing the following words of grief: "Alas, poor me! I am completely orphaned, for last winter my very last kinsman died. Now I am alone in this world!" His wife who sat next to him sobbed loudly and wept bitterly: "Yes, it is true, you are all alone in the world! Your family had its home in the west and was once large. It is true, you are now the last of your large family. But these two whites who have come to us (330) raise our spirits. They have

330. Very conspicuously, by glance and gesture, she points to Gumnde and Koppen.

become Tamana and are therefore related to you. So cheer up!"

Almost every evening some participant will show his grief. Occasionally several people or the greater part of them will follow this example, so that a general lamenting, weeping, whimpering, and muttering commences. After the group as a whole has calmed down, one person or another continues his sobbing until far into the night; no one stops him.

4. Free Interjections. Proof of the complete freedom with which each participant in the Great Hut may express his innermost feelings is given by the impromptu words which he scatters through his singing. He is permitted to do this any time of day. Usually he commens himself with a few short sentences. The words of one will sometimes stimulate his neighbor to /916/ carry on the same thought or to supplement it. When almost all the people take part in the common singing in the evening, the various interjections not only follow one another directly, but also are given

X881 /926 cont./
533 simultaneously. They enliven the already excited movement still more. The spirit and content of these utterances will be shown in a few sentences which I shall give here.

X881 The people had already been loudly singing for about two
533 hours. The kitchen women enter with the meal and are greeted
264 with loud calls of hóhohohohō. Santiago, the leader, suddenly stops and simply calls out: "I am going to break off my song, for I am very tired and hungry!" Most of the people carry on the song; the rest eat hastily in order to take up the song soon after.

X881 One evening coffee is brought in very late. Everyone is
533 extremely happy about it. Every adult reaches for his cup, and
535 with outstretched arms bent only slightly at the elbow, he holds
264 it out. A few persons get up, skip back and forth, and lead the singing in a lively voice. Their gestures are lively because they are happy to be able to partake of something. They skip toward the kitchen woman with her large can, dance around her, and hold out their cups to her. As she fills each cup and also distributes bread, the others continue to hop all around her. Soon they draw away again, dancing with their filled cups, and sit down in their places. Their gay hopping is an expression of great satisfaction over the tasty drink. One of them says loudly: "How glad I am that I have been given something to eat and drink!" In a singing tone one woman cries: "Now there is something to eat and drink again; that is wonderful!" The kitchen woman who distributed food and drink brought joy and lively activity to the whole gathering.

X881 On the first evening when a short pause occurred in the group
537 singing, Santiago, the leader at that time, cried in a loud voice:
● 152 "Once again we have gathered here to celebrate čǐexaus. We
609 want to do it well! This game came to us from the west; it came here from the Halakwulup. Today we have a Halakwulup (339)

339. He meant the youthful Julia who, several weeks before, had fled to the Yamana and who was invited to this initiation in Puerto Mejillones (p. 692).

among us. She will observe us carefully and afterwards tell her

X 881 537 152 609

/926 cont./

people how we conduct the čiéxaus. So we must do it particularly well this time!"

Shortly afterwards he interjected a personal remark into the song of the others: "Today two puīala [instead of palalīala, p. 333 /untranslated/] are sitting among us. We are putting on the čiéxaus for their benefit (340). We want to celebrate it well!"

340. He means by this that Gusinde and Koppers are being granted the distinction never before given a European of experiencing this secret performance from beginning to end.

On the same evening Clara also spoke up: "I have a Halakwulup [Julia] as my protégé. She is doing everything that is required of her here in the čiéxaus; /927/ she faithfully observes all the regulations and is enjoying our celebration. She came here to us because she no longer has any close relatives; she is an orphan. We are gladly taking her in; she may live among us peacefully and undisturbed, for there are only a few of us Yamana left. My family was once also very large; now not one of my relatives is still living. I alone am left, that is why I am so sad; čiéxaus!"

Afterwards Peine interrupted the singing: "I am very happy about those two Whites [Gusinde and Koppers]. They are influential men, and they respect our customs. They are proving themselves uswīala tes [genuine candidates]. They are sticking to the čiéxaus program. That is why I am sincerely sorry that they will leave us soon. They are genuinely good human beings!" She was immediately followed by Mary: "I, too, am happy that these two Whites have become well acquainted with our čiéxaus and have carefully adapted themselves to all [the rules]. They are splendid men!" Old Peine again came forward: "How sorry I am that these two men will leave us! They are heeding the order of this hut better than many of our own people!"

Once, late in the afternoon, Pedro sang a very long time. His soft legato voice sounded like a chorale. Interrupting himself, he said: "I am an old man and have but little vitality left. But now I am happy, for I have heard that this White [Gusinde] wants to

/927 cont./

881 537 152 609

to help us because he appreciates us Yamana! If only he can bring to pass what he has promised us, namely, to intercede for us [with the Chilean government] so that we may continue to live peacefully in this place (341). I am happy about this

[648]

341. He has the following in mind. For a number of years the Lawrence brothers had leased the region around Puerto Mejillones on the north shore of Navarino Island from the Chilean government who permitted the Yamana to settle in this small harbor. The lease would run out the following year, and there was danger that this piece of land would fall into other hands. This would make the future very uncertain for the Yamana, and they had reason to be afraid that they would be driven out of this place which they had learned to love. In view of this, I had promised them to present their wishes to the Ministerio de Colonisación in Santiago. Later I kept my promise. Now the few surviving Yamana are spending their last days in this small harbor. Compare Gusinde (d):60 and page 364 /untranslated/.

[pleasant prospect]. That is why I took up the song and carried it on for so long!" Immediately afterward he continued his singing. The other people listened attentively and fell into a solemn mood, for his high voice was extraordinarily pleasant. Soon he paused again: "Truly, I am an old man. For a long time I have not taken part in a čiĕxaus. I am one of the last of the old people [of former times]. In my younger years I was always on hand wherever čiĕxaus took place. I was always among the first who took up the singing. For a long time I have not taken part in it for I am old. When I was young we went down to the beach at night to bathe; we sang as we did so, and I was never absent. And yet, to this day I have some /928/ strength and joy left. Truly, it is not right that I have been inactive until now. I shall summon the last of my strength and all the younger people will see that I as an old man am not holding back. So I shall go on singing!" He sang even more vigorously than before; he even stood up to dance

/928 cont./

X881 537 152 609

and jumped with sheer joy. His behavior encouraged everyone present.

This time blind Whaits also took an extremely active part in the singing. He constantly interrupted it and interjected: "I am a man well along in years and the singing is a strain on me. If I were still a young chap, as formerly when I took part in the čiēxaus with other young men, I would have more strength and fire, then I would sing better. You cannot expect more from an old, blind man than what I am actually offering." After a short pause he continued sadly: "I am well aware that this affair is not conducted as solemnly and seriously as formerly. I regret that very much. In olden times čiēxaus was unsurpassably beautiful!" As he said this, he was seized with anger; he knew that we two were present: "I am shocked that this time we have even [European] strangers among us. Off with you two! It is a disgrace that our čiēxaus is no longer as beautiful as it used to be, that everyone present no longer takes such an active and conscientious part in the dances as was formerly the rule. Off with you two; what is our čiēxaus to you! Even less should you see it now when it is done so badly. Leave this Great Hut immediately (342)!"

342. It was a momentary surge of high dudgeon that provoked this old man to such insulting words. He soon calmed down, was later thoroughly enlightened by his two daughters, both of whom were our sponsors, and finally proved to be our sincere friend. Through the sponsorship of his daughters, we even became related to him. See Koppers (a): 70.

X881 537 152

While dinner was being distributed and eaten, great stillness prevailed. After that quite loud group singing started up again. While it was going on, Whaits said: "The song [the melody] that I am singing originated with my uncle. He taught it to me when I was uswāla; since then I have repeated it often. How lovely it was in those days when I was still a young chap. At that time there were many people living!"

Somewhat later he added: "All the beautiful šewāli [flints] come from the west. The long ūkeša [leather straps to capture the

X881 /928 cont./
537 candidates], too, were best there. They covered the framework
152 of the Great Hut there with the most excellent skins. Truly,
everything [that is used for the čiéxaus ceremony] was incomparably more beautiful in the west than in the central part and in the east" (343).

343. In these words there is again a reference to the common view of the origin of this initiation in the extreme west and its infiltration into the central Yamana regions.

X881 After a while, the same Whaits again interrupted the gen-
537 eral singing: "Tomorrow we shall leave the Great Hut. This
152 čiéxaus went off nicely and yet it put me in a sad mood. I am
609 an old /Plate 3 appears here/ /929/ man who does not expect many more years of life. Among us there is a good White, I know him from former times (344). He will help us to keep this

344. On my first visit in February, 1919, I had met this old man in Punta Remolino, talked to him for a long time, and at that time received important data about Fuegian mythology. See Gusinde (a):39.

piece of land here [at Puerto Mejillones]; he promised us that. So, take advantage of his presence, young people! I personally will hardly benefit from it, for I am very old, I feel weak and tired of life. You young people may take advantage of his offer. I wish you success!"

Tormented by anxiety, blind Whaits again came back to this topic. Sadly he said: "Alas, poor me! I have been living in this place for many years. I have grown old. I always had enough to eat and my dwelling always stood here. But the Whites are betraying us Yamana. Now they will take this little spot away from us, then they will drive me and my wife from this island [Navarino]. Woe to us who are so helpless [against the Whites]! Where shall we turn? The Whites are already everywhere. If they should actually drive us away, then let them take

[Text continues on page 808]

X881 537 152 609

/929 cont./

the whole island [Navarino] away from here and drag it along with them wherever they wish!"

Each speaker and singer concludes his words with a loud and vigorous call, "čiéxaus." This is correctly interpreted as giving force to their utterances and emphasizing their assertions, as well as a cry of confidence in the fulfillment of wishes expressed, and finally as a curse upon whatever they complain of and condemn. Sometimes this concluding cry of "čiéxaus" sounds like a cry of despair.

X881 537 152

Just as the singing in general is meant to drive away Yetāita (p. 781), particularly interjections have the same purpose. If any leading person sees this evil spirit approaching, he loudly calls upon all those present to drive him away. One evening (345) the

X881 533 535 152

345. See Koppers (a):81 concerning this evening performance during the fourth day of the celebration.

women were very vigorously dancing, and Santiago felt an urge to incite them to a state of extreme excitement. He shouted to them from his seat: "Dance on! Yetāita is still very near and refuses to go away!" Soon he added: "Dance harder! Yetāita still shows no sign of withdrawing." After a few minutes he cried out, as though slightly relieved: "Just go on bravely! Already Yetāita is starting to retreat, he is sinking head-down into the earth!"

Our interpreters explained to us why Santiago and Pedro made such urgent demands for loud singing and vigorous dancing. As strangers and unbidden ones in this čiéxaus hut, they say, we attracted the special attention of Yetāita; the people present were afraid he could do us particular harm. Hence the greatest effort was required /930/ to push this Yetāita, who is very dangerous for everyone, deep into the interior of the earth so that he could not harm us in any way.

Again Santiago cried loudly: "Dance on! I still see Yetāita's feet sticking out of the ground." After a few minutes, as though relieved, he says: "I see only one foot [sticking out of the ground]. But go on dancing (346)!" Then: "Now I see only one toe of

346. Chris had meanwhile carefully observed Santiago, the leader. At these words, an

/930 cont./

X881 533 535 152

amused grin flitted over his face, and stealthily pointing with his finger, he whispered: "He [Santiago], too, has a foot sticking out of his blanket!"

Yetáita. Just go on dancing!" Fixedly Santiago stares at one spot on the ground. After about ten minutes he sighs with relief: "At last Yetáita has completely disappeared. But I still see the hole through which he descended. I must close that, too. So dance on!" After a few minutes he cries joyfully: "Even that deep hole is closed now. All I hear is a faint rumbling in the far distance. Yetáita has finally left us altogether! So stop dancing and rest yourselves!"... Scarcely an evening goes by during which Yetáita is not driven away with at least one or two loud utterances.

X881 625 533

5. Interjections by the Guard. It is well known that the so-called guard, winefkéxa, has a special position in the čiéxaus celebration. He is not only characterized by a particular facial painting (p. 684), but he may even wear a feather decoration reserved for the yékamuš. No one was able to explain why he has this privilege; they said: "It has always been like that!" Moreover, he has a definite song, more exactly, two melodies which are noticeably different from the group singing and which he alone intones. He does so when the group singing has died out. His rendition is very melodious and sonorous. Not even his assistants may accompany him.

X881 625

Outside the Great Hut the guard demonstrates that he is an alert guardian of this sanctuary who will terrify and drive away outsiders (p. 684). Inside the čiéxaus hut he repeatedly assumes the role of the furious winefkéxa whose name he bears (347). In

347. This word means Leucophaeus scoresbii, the fierce predatory bird of the high seas (Fig. 82).

March, 1922, Richard held this position. In the late afternoon of March 11, after the participants had again taken their seats in the Great Hut, he placed himself next to the main entrance and acted as though he had just entered. His face was white; his mouth and

/949 cont./

X881 into the adult circle. The čiēxaus hut is thoroughly cleaned and decorated; the color on the ornamental plaques and sticks, as well as on the long leather strap, ūkeša, is touched up; everyone present arranges his own ornaments and paints himself carefully. In the rear of the Great Hut a curtain of sea-lion skins is hung, just as on the occasion of visits (p. 821), and the candidates immediately seat themselves behind it. Soon afterwards, notified by the winefkēxa, there is a gathering here of the people who had remained behind in the camp almost entirely throughout the čiēxaus celebration. They, too, appear with extraordinarily beautiful facial painting and are equipped with the hapaxēl and dance staff.

A particularly solemn moment is at hand. All the adults very gravely squat in their places, and the uninterrupted singing by some one person sounds noticeably moved. At the direction of the leader a middle-aged man goes behind the curtain and bids the ušwāala to follow him. They arrange themselves in single file,
[535] headed by the man. With short, mincing steps, holding their dance staffs horizontally /950/ and lifting them up and down in a circular motion, they dance back and forth through the long hut several times. Meanwhile all the adults take part in the singing. Finally the row of youthful dancers stops in the middle of the rom. Their leader now accompanies one ušwāala after another to his respective sponsor. The sponsor, without getting up, takes his hētakuxēolan by the hand, moves slightly to one side, and invites him to sit down beside him. This act is regarded as a formal presentation of the ward to his sponsor and as an adoption of the young people into the adult group. The ušwāala is herewith declared a full-fledged mem-
[152] ber of the tribe. On this occasion everyone present is gripped with strong emotion. They cannot hold back tears of sentiment at the happiness of the sponsors and their adopted children. They quite rightly see in this solemn act the climax of the entire youth initiation, for in the latter, as we know, maturing young people are to
[608] become full-fledged tribal associates. At the same time this also publicly and forever seals the spiritual kinship between the sponsors and their wards, hētakuxēolan. Occasionally at this time, but
[431] usually not until the great feast, the ward receives from his sponsor a special gift consisting of three items.

/986 cont./

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and Ona; in this case it results in strife /translated from French/. Cooper:174 sums up the situation correctly, namely, that "as a rule on border territories the relations have been fairly peaceful" /cited in English/.

relations with Europeans (p. 246 /untranslated/), especially to missionaries (p. 288 /untranslated/), has also been treated in detail and has long been known. Cooper:174 characterizes it correctly and briefly as follows: "More commonly, however, the white man has, deliberately or unwittingly, been the first to give offence" /cited in English/. After the Whites spread out in the Cape Horn Archipelago and confiscated the useful land for themselves, there was nothing for the former sole owners of this region to do but to give in without resistance and with quiet resignation.

a. Causes

152 578 The Yamana know no more than other primitive peoples how to control their hurt feelings, especially their feeling of injured honor, nor how to settle insults or humiliations in the amicable way of quiet, matter-of-fact explanation or through a sort of arbiter. /987/ Everyone personally and with his own fist sees to it that justice is done him and that he obtains what he believes to be adequate satisfaction. The individual is first of all sole judge and avenger; in certain instances his nearest relatives help him in protecting his rights.

152 The desire and passion for revenge are extraordinarily emphasized among the Yamana (406). Sometimes they are so carried

406. It is misleading when Hyades (q):240 maintains: "The desire for vengeance does not occupy the Fuegians much..." /translated from French/. The small number of words for the feeling of revenge is no measure of its strength. In this connection see other opinions in Waitz:III, 507.

/987 cont./

•152 away that they are completely incapable of anything like a sensible judgment of an incident. A person will literally foam with rage, in fact storm around as though he had taken leave of his senses, and will even vent his wrath on persons who are intimately connected with the offender who is not within his reach (407). Nevertheless,

> 407. In agreement with Dabbene (b):198, Bridges and Furlong assert: "The Yahgan are very vengeful, and in the event of serious offenses or of homicide they are not so concerned about pursuing the criminal when he has successfully escaped, but in their fury they inflict vengeance on any member of the guilty person's family" /translated from Spanish/.

he can muster astonishing self-control when he realizes that he is too weak to stand against his opponent. He is even capable of hiding his feelings until he is sure of superior strength. This conduct obviously betrays genuine cowardice, and it was no different toward Europeans, for, as Cooper:174 definitely says, they have "often shown themselves hostile, aggressive, and treacherous, when they felt they were numerically superior" /cited in English/. According to the Indian, every satisfaction for an insult or an injustice is an actual act of revenge. This becomes clear from what Hyades (q):240 says, and even more so from the words of Bove (e):159: The family and friends of the injured person exact revenge. It is surely not love for the injured that causes a tribe [a family group] to take up arms, however; the spirit of revenge rules supreme in their hearts."

152 Closely connected with their exaggerated sensitivity and the
518 desire for revenge which is constantly alive in them is a high degree of suspicion. "There is, or was, a good deal of bad feeling for one another between the members of the three Fuegian tribes" /cited in English/ (Cooper:174). As a matter of fact, no one quite honestly trusts another, among men as well as among women, and everyone lies in wait, so to speak, as though at one time or another he expected a sign of hostile feeling or malevolent intent. Being conscious of this, the individual is more or less painfully exact and very cautious

/987 cont./

152 in associating with others. In spite of this, the suspicious eye of a neighbor is always discovering something, even though he does not
578 look for it in a decidedly malicious way, and so he interprets this word or that attitude as an offense or a slight, as a threat or a challenge. This kind of character promotes vehement /988/ arguments and wild brawls. The supposed opponent who is attacked is, in most cases, not only innocent, but even completely without presentiment.

578 Linked with this tendency toward constant active suspicion is a never-resting implacability. This is understandable to us and taken for granted by the Yamana. It is why people who have once had more or less serious altercations almost never find their way back to complete mutual trust, no matter how well they seem to get along outwardly. They simply can never forget the incident. No one can conceal his suspicious or hostile attitude toward another person to the point of complete deception. That is why everyone is on his guard if he meets another person or has dealings with him. From all this we now see that the urge of the individual family to be alone, completely cut off from other people, is perfectly understandable, for grave suspicion, together with cowardice and the feeling of the inadequacy of one's own powers, forces them far away from those who could do harm or exact vengeance. Even though the joy of social intercourse now and then brings individual families into contact, they are, as a rule, content with a short period of being together and feel relieved when, soon after, they are once more on their own, free from the glances of suspicious critics. Social intercourse with others is never sincerely friendly without a shadow of mistrust. They are, according to Lothrop (b):164, not an "amicable people, according to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence" /cited in English/. Hyades (q):375 emphasizes their implacability: "The offense which occasions the quarrel is sometimes very old, which proves that the Fuegians are vindictive" /translated from French/.

578 Inasmuch as the Yamana are incapable of completely hiding their inner feelings and emotions indefinitely from a sharp observer,
152 anyone who believes that he has been offended soon adopts a

/988 cont./

578 152 discernible counter-position. With such an attitude, insulting words soon follow. For example, several men will be sitting in a circle; someone will be talking with his neighbor and affecting a mysterious air, meanwhile casting a fleeting glance toward a person who is not fond of him. This alone may cause the latter to become falsely suspicious and to assume that the other is talking disparagingly about him. He watches them more sharply, confirms his preconceived idea, and becomes angry. When the circle breaks up or when he feels more confident among another group of people, he will go up to the other man and say to him excitedly: "You have evil designs on me!" The other, being unsuspecting, is dumbfounded for a few minutes and then replies vehemently: "You want to be hostile to me!" The eyes of both men blaze, and immediately, with growing /989/ excitement and more and more loudly, they hurl serious words of suspicion at each other. If they feel they are a match in strength or cowardice, they part sulkily after some blustering. Anyone who feels that a person has spoken disparagingly about his troublesome dog, his naughty child, a personal fault, his laziness in hunting, his neglect of his family, or his illicit relations with a woman, even if he has no further proof than his own suspicious assumption, will usually confront his supposed opponent on the spot and demand an explanation. Without exception, the latter will flare up and resort to invectives or threats which finally lead to blows. A person will be especially annoyed when insulting words and wounding opinions that were actually spoken are brought by a tale-bearer. This is especially the case among women. They are not only quicker to have it out with words, but are also ready with fists.

Such occasions for feuds are frequent and hence an everyday matter, so to speak, because they arise out of the association of a number of people. The situation becomes much more serious in case of adultery. It makes no difference how this becomes known. The mere suspicion creates a dangerous situation for both parties, even though one or the other is innocent. Actually, all the Yamana, without exception, are severe in their condemnation of this error, whether it is convincingly proved or merely probable, simply because they are decidedly jealous. This does not alter the fact that some of them in their own personal behavior may err even more

/989 cont./

578 seriously and habitually. The same serious situation arises when a
152 woman leaves her husband, for she usually tries to steal away because of a love affair with another man.

The thirst for revenge is, of course, most deeply aroused by
627 an actual, premeditated murder, and nothing sets families against
674 each other so violently as this act. For the Yamana every human life, even that of a child, is most precious and sacred (Bridges [h]:205); hence murder is an utterly abhorrent deed (408). There

408. In this connection compare our account of infanticide (p. 528) and abortion (pp. 491, 535).

are exceptions, however, Most murders come about through adultery.
[837] For example, if a married man is looking for a new tie and leaves his wife without cause, her relatives take her part, and they demand that the faithless husband give an account of himself or they simply take the law into their own hands and murder him. They say: "This woman joined herself to this man and they should live together to the end of their lives; since he failed in his duty, he must be punished!" Divorce without adequate cause is an offense against a generally recognized law. Each murder of this kind unleashes a serious /990/ danger for another human life because of the obligation for blood vengeance, and the danger is even greater in the case of a murder for an insignificant reason (409). In view

409. Bridges (VSA:XI, 260;1864) mentions: "If a man kills another causelessly, his relations are greatly displeased, since it brings each one of them into danger. This is a great preventive to blood-shedding" /cited in English/.

of the dangerous position one puts himself into by an act of murder, the individual holds himself in check, even on occasions of greatest excitement and the almost unconquerable passion for revenge.

It must be said that murder is rare among the Yamana, al-
674 though we cannot give exact figures (Cooper:174). On June 20, 1884, Bridges (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884) attempted some statistics on murder:

/1023 cont./

522 harmless game. Naturally, only skillful talkers and quick-witted humorists take up this game. Each member of the two groups for a long time afterward discusses the retorts and opinions given by the friend and by the opponent. Here, too, obscenities or offensive remarks are not permitted.

There is another practice which seems strange. Out of sheer 431 exuberance a man will silently leave his hut, hurry down to the ● 152 beach, and smash the canoe of his guest. The latter watches the 522 performance dumbfounded, and he says passively, half-jokingly, half-sighing: "What in the world is happening to my canoe there? If it lies shattered, how shall I get back home?" The other replies from the beach: "It shouldn't really matter to you if all your things are smashed!" Meanwhile he returns to the hut where a regular talk contest begins, which this man had intended all along. He finally justifies his action by giving his guest a new canoe which he had purposely made for him. His gift is supposed to become known everywhere as such, and that is why he destroyed the old canoe. It is only in exceptional cases that such a mad prank has dire consequences.

The same exuberant desire to smash and throw everything 152 into disorder sometimes seizes a whole group as, noisily and ob- 522 trusively, they assault the visitors from another region. Before these people can offer concerted resistance, their canoes, huts, tools, and utensils have long been chopped to pieces. They declare themselves conquered and withdraw as though defenseless until the opponents cease their raging, or they pull themselves together courageously, fall on the belongings of the others, and hack them to bits likewise. No one knows how this /1024/ mad prank is going to turn out. Usually the opposing parties come to terms and laugh heartily over their destruction. They quickly rebuild what they have lightheartedly destroyed. All effort seems slight compared to the great exuberance involved in their devastation.

Anyone who seeks diversion from monotonous daily work in the company of happy fellow-tribesmen can find it. To this end there are a number of practices which cultivate a community feeling and promote good fellowship.

/1062 cont./

782 539 for us, as he has these days. Our father will also protect these two Whites. For this, thanks be to thee, my father!

Just a reference to a few words which are also given in BD. BD:154 gives sönnakĩta, "solitary, lonely, secluded" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives: sahagödĩa, "to lie down happily, to lie down in peace, to be or live happily" /cited in English/. BD:281 explains laĩa, instead of lĩa given above, as, among other things: "shelving rocks with large spaces between them" /cited in English/, which is true of the coast at Puerto Mejillones. BD:177 mentions kögurĩida, "to be impatient to get" /cited in English/. BD:181 gives kömausteka, "to go, or come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. The word kettĩgede is the same as kategata in BD:170.

It is surprising, to mention this again, that our Fuegians have created definite formulas of sincere thanksgiving for various occasions and that they often address these to their Supreme Being to pay their debt of gratitude to him.

δ. Lamens

765 152 The formulas with which bereaved persons filled with grief pour out their hearts and with which /1063/ people also unburden their souls of other forms of sorrow are more numerous and varied. In such situations they show their very human and altogether sensitive natures which they never before revealed to a European as ~~openly as they never before revealed to a European as~~ openly as they did to me on the occasion of a large funeral ceremony or on a few other occasions. Besides the lamens given here, the people of former times had a larger number which must be regarded as hopelessly lost. I was assured of this several times. 765 539 The prayers follow here in a rather free order, beginning with those that are actual expressions of mourning.

(1)	Hitapĩgo,	kĩmuĩĩum	hĩja	ka-kĩya
	My father,	why indeed	me	from above

rutumeyowakĩte.
punished.

/1068 cont./

TLS 559 in me! This is the lament of a mother who looks around in her hut and seeks in vain for her children, for death took them all. -- BD:280 gives hĩnnąkpan, "I by myself, without anybody else whatever" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives ĩshągĩk, "to do happily, to be happily or at peace" /cited in English/. The children's hut, ĩkĩli, was described on page 36. Compare mõtalapõna, "to become quite calm" /cited in English/, in BD:320.

TLS 152 In a frenzy of emotion a grieving woman sometimes breaks the hut to pieces immediately after the funeral of her child. Whenever she looks around in the dwelling, she is aware of the gap which death made in the circle of her children. Therefore, she wants to destroy completely this picture which awakens the pain anew. At the same time she destroys the utensils used by the deceased child. John Lawrence and his sons assured me that they often witnessed this kind of wild behavior on the part of grieving parents.

TLS 559 (28) Hągakĩnnĩ̃ akĩ̃lowąjakĩ̃pan kągičĕkude
I am from the sea the woman he took away

kĩ̃ją, ĩ̃ąma.
me, oh grief.

A widow mourns because the Supreme Being allowed her husband to drown in the sea. -- BD:16 gives akĩ̃lõin, "a lake, pond, pool, puddle" /cited in English/. The above combination, a form familiar to the Tamana, says roughly: the woman who has something to do with the sea down there. BD:194 mentions kĩ̃gičekũ, "to rise up and get fast, so as not to be able to pull down!" /cited in English./ The exclamation ĩ̃ąma here is synonymous with tĩ̃ląwĩ̃ją. Compare ĩsema in BD:280.

(29) ininą ĩ̃ąpe-nĩ̃ąde mątĩ̃ąma. tĩ̃ląwĩ̃ją,
Yet from above observe cease, alas,

mątĩ̃ąnĩ/nĩ̃ją.
my father.

Specifically this formula says: My father, I wish very much that you cease looking at me so sharply, otherwise I shall avenge myself soon enough and inflict a hurt on you, too. -- Compare mĩ̃ąkn,

/1102 cont./

763 death rattle begins, they audibly start to moan and weep. This development almost always ends quickly.

The news has of course immediately spread to the nearest
763 huts. The neighbors remain quiet. They talk in subdued voices
152 among themselves and cease any work that might be disturbing. The longer this continues, the more silent, thoughtful, and sad they become. The reminder of death in the immediate neighborhood makes every Yamana serious. The neighbors, through messengers, keep other people in a wide area informed about the course of events. They are prepared /1103/ to appear at the place of mourning at the proper moment. It is not customary among the Yamana for many people to gather around the dying person. Distant relatives and neighbors arrive only after death has occurred. Every dying person, however, wants his intimate family to be with him during his last hours (41).

> 41. As Bridges (I):14 expresses it: "at the last closing scene all friends and relations were expected to be present and to make the occasion important by their united lamentations. It was a great gratification to the sick to have their friends around them and so much honour showing them" /cited in English/.

The nearest relatives of the dying person, however, observe him closely enough so that they can estimate when the actual death struggle will commence. The poor soul is by then already unconscious or at least insensible. Now the people standing around begin their loud weeping and pitiful moaning. They scream and lament as though in despair over the departure of this relative. They do not utter definite words, but constantly repeat their long drawn-out weeping and moaning cries, varying them in intensity and pitch and shedding copious tears at the same time. They get up and crouch down, or they throw themselves on top of the dying one and roll on the ground with dreadful contortions of their entire bodies. They can usually tell quickly and accurately when death is setting in, whereupon they cry out so drilly and shrieking that

/1103 cont./

763 152

one's blood curdles. Some of them behave uncontrollably, like lunatics, and tear the skin all over their bodies, rumple their hair, thrash about wildly, cramp themselves up and roll over the body, shake the hut framework, and scorch the fire with their hands, completely beside themselves. It is only when they are exhausted that they completely collapse, trembling all over. It is shattering to watch such individuals. The others present also behave in a very excited and wild fashion. Weeping and groaning, they bend their bodies, repeatedly clench their hair, and pull it angrily while a stream of tears flows unhindered down their cheeks to the ground. The shrill cry has told the waiting neighbors of the dying person's release; weeping and lamenting, they hasten there (42).

> 42. Bove (c):159 is the only one who reports on this and only briefly: "The last moments of a dying person are announced by a dreadful wailing; all who are present take part in the grief of the family. Women and men paint their faces and hands black and the nearest relatives even pull out their hair and cut their bodies with shells and knives."

763 739

There is little difference in the procedure when a person is released from a long illness by death. His relatives have carefully observed his condition and discussed it with neighbors and visitors. The sick person was obliged to remain in one place almost continuously with one or another of his nearest relatives, friends occasionally came to inquire about his condition and to bring him food or things he could use. Meanwhile /1104/ his strength deserts him. Those who have taken care of him are exhausted after watching him suffer for a long time. The nearer death comes, the more irritable and impatient they become, so that when the death struggle actually begins they behave as though they were completely mad. The suffering and agony that they have had to see their beloved relative endure have lasted too long. If the death struggle is considerably prolonged and if a person finally loses control of himself, it does not seem at all impossible

/1104 cont./

763 that he might strangle the dying one in order to release him from
764 the death agony (p. 344). Loud, shrill cries announce the end to the neighborhood, and people arrive without delay. I myself witnessed the two cases just described.

Fatal accidents are not uncommon. A whole family may
731 be taken if a canoe capsizes. A few men drag the body of a per-
766 son who has drowned or fallen from a rock into his hut if it is not too far away. Otherwise, if the men are far from their families on a communal hunt, they bury the victim then and there and learn to bring the news quickly to the family.

The demonstrations of mourning begin while a person is
763 dying and immediately afterwards. All the neighbors assemble in
152 front of the hut of the deceased or inside and start a loud, irregular mourning. Copious tears flow from grief and sincere sympathy. Everyone is again vividly reminded of Wanyinkiga who has taken this person away. As was learned earlier from Bridge (p.206): "When a person is very ill and likely to die, great grief is shown, and the near relatives keep near, so as to act as comforters at the decease of the sick. They show much grief, and when the sick actually dies great lamentation is made, and the mourners weep profusely" /cited in English/.

2. The Burial

766 There is a remarkable number of reports, most of them brief,
114 however, about the way our Fonglans treat the corpse. The dying one has scarcely ceased breathing when the persons present buy themselves over him. As Rowe (p.338 says, this time accurately: "They wrap the body of the deceased, which is still almost warm in a few rags." They use large pieces of leather and nowadays also scraps of cacking. Usually they leave the body in the position it assumed at death. The entire sheath is fastened and tied with strips of leather which are tightly wrapped around it in various directions (43). This happens in any case. "The dead are always

43. Dywdee (p.179 says briefly that "the body is wrapped in some old skins of cows or goats. It is then buried". Levinere

[illegible] Directly after the burial, as soon as their own things have been brought to safety, the widower or the widow usually sets fire to the hut, "setting fire to the grass and bushes of the neighbourhood" *[cited in English]* (Bridges [illegible]). The meaning of this is that the survivors want to "do all they can to blot out all remembrance of the departed" *[cited in English]*, according to Bridges (VIII.01, 200,1964). There should be nothing to remind them of the great loss they suffered when that beloved person was taken away from them. This is especially true of parents and children, as well as of spouses. Many a person believes the one deceased and, in his environment, does not even dry from sacrificing indispensible objects of his own. The individual articles need not be burned, since everything is indiscriminately destroyed. The surviving spouse even destroys the canoe if there is a prospect of fleeing from this place of death to another vessel. The canoe is regarded as the personal field of activity of the wife, and it would commonly remind the surviving husband of her. A mother is particularly sadness with all the little things used by her deceased child. She furiously cases articles of clothing, toys, little baskets, and other things into the fire. She, too, feels as though she must leave the hut when she sees the empty places where her child sat, slept, and played. For a long time the parents are haunted by the bitterest sorrow. If a father whose daughter has been snatched away by death is lucky in hunting, he carefully examines his spoils. He abandons female birds and sea lions because they remind him of his daughter. A hunter who mourns a dead son acts similarly. He takes only the female animals of those he has killed and throws the males into the sea. Our Tamata have a specific term for the animals that a grieving man puts aside in memory of his deceased child. *Tuyulagra*, which is perhaps related to *Tuyla* *Ulala* in BD-135. The dog is the sole exception. Out of pity, and also because he is particularly valuable, they do not want to kill him. Hence he is given to the elder son, daughter, or a relative of the deceased.

Anyone who has helped at a burial and in the destruction of the possessions of the deceased is rewarded with gifts from the nearest relatives who dispense them voluntarily (p. 1930). Bridges (VI.098) has already pointed out that "liberal presents are made to those who assist at the burning or the burial" *[cited in English]*.

/1110 cont./

Hyades (p):336 and (q):279 interpret this custom erroneously: "The heir divides among the friends of the deceased what belonged to the latter, as though the nearest relatives did not wish to draw any kind of profit from the death of one of them" /translated from French/. The idea of bequeathing the possessions of a deceased person to others is unfamiliar to our Fuegians. Rather, they emphasize that only the owner personally has a right to them, and therefore the belongings of anyone who has departed this life must be destroyed. BD:127 gives ĉiyellĉara, /1111/ "to give away things specially those left by the dead, as a sign of sorrow for the dead, as near relatives were expected to do to those who were not connected by kin with the dead" /cited in English/. This statement, which in part is inaccurate, is valid only to the extent I have just indicated. I refer to the meaning of ĉiyellĉara, which I obtained from present-day Yamana.

All the Indians are especially brisk in dealing with the corpse of a yĉkamuĉ, almost without exception it is burned. His tools and utensils are placed upon the fire from the start, and while the flames are consuming everything, the people present also toss in all kinds of things that they happen to have at hand, such as small baskets, ornaments, tools, and so forth. They want to show their esteem for the yĉkamuĉ and also that they are ruthlessly depriving themselves of even their own indispensable utensils and implements.

3. Minor Manifestations of Sorrow

Since our Fuegians do not know anything about the fate of souls after death and regard the separation from them as a state that will last forever, each death causes them untold sorrow. This is so sincere and so deeply felt that in this respect they surpass many Europeans. Not everyone who has traveled through those regions has had an opportunity to convince himself of this, since our Indians conceal their grief from strangers. I was a witness to it several times and can also rely on corresponding reports of missionaries. Bove (s):118, who does not even mention that he personally observed a funeral, nevertheless, and perhaps for that very reason, speaks of their "indifference toward the dead. The cries they utter, the way

/1111 cont./

● 152 they beat themselves, the destruction of the huts in which the deceased breathed his last are reflections of custom more than true expressions of grief." Nevertheless, he admits that "there really are persons who feel the loss very deeply." All doubt is removed by the conduct of parents whose child has been torn from them by death. Now and then they actually behave as though they had taken leave of their senses. According to Hyades (g):39 the "loss of children is in general deeply felt and often the French [of the Mission Scientifique] saw the features of the savages cloud over and the women even burst into weeping and lamentation if there happened to be a reference to such a death." Spegazzini's (a): 168 observation alone shows what every Fuegian mother goes through when she must part from the lifeless body of her child (51).

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51. He writes: "I have seen a young woman whose child had died take the corpse and go to the woods where the little body, cleaned and curiously painted, after having been pressed to her bosom several times, was wrapped in fox skins and enclosed in a framework of twigs, which she immediately buried under the leaves of a tree. Upon leaving she cast a look at the place where her little one was, one of those looks that would require a whole book to be explained and whose meaning could be appreciated only by a mother similarly stricken" /translated from Spanish/. Before that Fitz-Roy (a):179 had learned: "Matthews sometimes heard a great howling, or lamentation, about sun-rise in the morning; and upon asking Jemmy Button what occasioned this outcry, he could obtain no satisfactory answer; the boy only saying, 'people very sad, cry very much.' Upon one occasion when some canoes were alongside the 'Beagle,' a sudden howl from one of the Fuegians aroused several others who were near, and at the opposite side of the vessel, when a general howl of lamentation took place, which

/1111 cont./

152 766

was ended by a low growling noise. By this, as well as by pulling their hair, and beating their breasts, while tears streamed down their faces, they evinced their sorrow for the fate of some friends who had perished, some days before the 'Beagle' 's arrival, by the upsetting of a loaded canoe" /cited in English/.

152 Parents in particular /1112/ lose control of themselves and make loud and bitter accusations against Watauineiwa, insult him, and swear revenge against him (p. 988). Sorrow breaks through unrestrained among these unspoiled children of nature. The first utterance always exceeds all bounds, but the grief continues to be deeply felt for months and years and sometimes flares up in its initial violence. "The mourning lasts long, sometimes for two years, but it gradually becomes less, till the memory of the dead passes from the mind" /cited in English/ (Bridges [a] :206).

While the dying person is still struggling with death, his 764 nearest relatives are already weeping and howling. The strongest 152 outburst of their grief begins after life has departed. Loud, shrill cries are uttered at short intervals, and it seems as though each one is intended to surpass the other. Mixed in with them are unrestrained howling and groaning by other persons. A loud and indescribable confusion of voices fills the little hut. The longer it lasts, the more neighbors hasten there, and none stays away. Everyone squats on the ground, and sometimes they sit pressed so closely together that they can scarcely move. Once I even saw them remove the hut fire because of lack of room. Everyone present wants to be as close to the body as possible, at least to be inside the hut. Long hours are filled with whimpering and sighing, howling and lamenting. While this is going on, a few men begin wrapping the corpse in pieces of leather. While it is being dragged out of the hut, the howling reaches its loudest and wildest pitch. The behavior of the persons present clearly shows their feeling that the deceased is now departing forever. They writhe with pain, throw themselves on the ground and get up again, wave their arms about wildly and full of despair, and clutch one another as though they would tear each other apart. This continues

/1112 cont./

764 for hours with tireless persistence, although the loud lamentations
● 152 increase and diminish. Meanwhile the corpse has been buried. If it is burned, the howling and crying does not by any means cease while this is going on.

No matter how the corpse has been removed, it is only under /1113/ the compulsion of complete exhaustion that the neighbors who are not close to the deceased inconspicuously leave. After the hut of the dead person has been destroyed by fire, his nearest relatives crowd in elsewhere. Here they continue their lamentation for many more hours, heedless of the night which has perhaps long since fallen. This stimulates the neighbors to resume their cries of lament. For at least 20 hours after the soul's departure there is never an interval of complete quiet; the greater or lesser tumult of voices continues without pause. Even on the second and third day those who are nearest to the deceased barely interrupt their howling now and then for brief pauses, and the other people often fall in with them for two or three hours. All this depends on the disposition of the individual and on a number of incalculable motives. Almost all the adults become quite perceptibly exhausted. As though crushed, as though overwhelmed by grief, everyone remains in his hut almost without interruption. Now and then a person goes to those who have been directly affected by the misfortune, remains near them at least two hours, and weeps with them, as is demanded by sympathetic concern, according to the ideas of our Fuegians. Out of the same consideration everyone must remain still and quiet, even at a considerable distance from the mourning family. Even children may not talk loudly or laugh.

765 For the first few days after a death has occurred all is very
152 quiet in the entire camp. It was simply impossible for me to get people in front of the phonograph and the camera during this brief period. They rejected all my urging, which they interpreted as a violation of their innermost feelings, with the decisive words: "We are now in mourning!" Thus they told me, curtly and clearly, that they were simply unavailable for other matters.

765 The custom of announcing a death without delay by means of
202 signal fires has been discussed (p.933). Three thick clouds of smoke are sent up close together, which are chiefly meant to call other families to come quickly and help the family that has been

/1120 cont./

765 and lamentations" /translated from French/. Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869) speaks of "long-continued mourning and incantation for the dead" /cited in English/. Earlier, Despard (VP:VIII, 179; 1861) reported: "Afternoon, Ookokko enlarged upon the many deaths that happen in 'my uncle country,' and then described some of the concomitants. Men come, many come, sing much. Hah yang how yi ya say. Hawa hya gya owaticca loopen wota weneewan...Cut face with finger nail, make blood rub over face, cut hair head top, put on red, make body here red, here black, white round legs, all same tie stocking. Cry much, water run down face, make lines in black, red. Our men cry very much" /cited in English/ (62).

62. Shortly before, in Beagle Channel, Despard (VP:VI, 111;1859) observed something similar: "We noticed one lady, with a face deepened to a fine black by charcoal, and were informed she was in mourning. Afterwards a wailing and a monotonous dirge proceeded from her uccr [hut], being her funeral wail for two men and a boy belonging to her family, who have recently died, somewhere along the Beagle Channel" /cited in English/.

765 152 As I know from my own experience, the nearest relatives of the deceased avoid all distracting occupations during the first three or four days, and they remain almost constantly in the dwelling. This is the period of strictest mourning, which they spend in incessant lamentation and scarcely take any nourishment. Crouched by the fire, they weep and howl incessantly. With sad faces and mournful voices they repeat in a very simple rhythm a most monotonous melody with meaningless words, such as awáj awáj or óyojoj and others. When their agitation is great, their singing is louder and stronger; when they are exhausted, it subsides and becomes a monotonous murmur. Usually they move the upper part of the body gently back and forth or sideways with the rhythm. They roll their eyes, distort their faces, tear their hair, scratch slight wounds on their faces with their finger nails, and even throw

/1120 cont./

765 152 themselves flat on the ground and for a time behave as though they were mad. This need not surprise one, for after their continuous exertion they finally lose all self-control and mental power. It is possible that /1121/ this strange behavior has caused a person in strict mourning to be called hannúšun, or hannuškípa. BD:265 explains this as: "A man, woman like a hánnuš, i.e., insane, senseless" /cited in English/.

The people from the neighboring huts join the strict mourners several times a day, not all at once, but irregularly and freely in individual groups. The latter are still vigorous, and they fall in with the singing of those present and stimulate them anew; hence the singing does not stop day or night. Even if all the families have left the scene of death after two to four days, the mourners soon begin their weeping again at the place where they erect their hut. They stimulate the new neighbors here to take part in their lamentation. At first they devote a great many hours to it, and fewer later on, but they continue it even after two and three years, although then only at longer intervals (63).

> 63. Hyades (q):379 agrees: "This great sorrow soon subsides; nevertheless the women nurse their grief for several months, repeating the scenes of tears and lamentations almost every day" /tranlated from French/.

It is customary to interject the well-known, ancient formulas of lament and the reproaches against Watauinéjwa into the singing (p.989). This is done not only by the nearest relatives, but also by friends and neighbors who happen to take part in this song of mourning. Everyone, of course, appears with one of the customary body paintings of mourning. It is the absolute duty of every adult Yamana to accompany for a few hours every day those mourners who are relieving their souls of grief through loud whimpering and groaning. This goes on day and night and arouses the sympathy of everyone in the neighboring huts.

If someone dies during a čiéxaus or kína and the participants hear of it, they, too, devote several days and many hours to the customary song of mourning. As Nelly Lawrence asserted, the 769 western Yamana customarily inserted a ceremony of mourning

/1124 cont./

769

Fitz-Roy, as well as the missionaries, praise them for. One of the men accompanying Bove even sold the skeleton of his own father to which he addressed the following speech: 'Farewell, precious father! You who in life saw only our snow and our storms, now that you are dead are going far away. Farewell! May your journey be happy!'"

Today we shake our heads at the boldness with which such fantastic descriptions could be set forth a few decades ago. The Lawrence brothers to whom I showed the account absolutely declared it to be a bold invention. Finally one must keep in mind that Bove would never have accumulated his considerable collection of skeletons and skulls if it had not been furnished him from the mission cemetery. He does not maintain that the scattered, scarcely recognizable individual graves outside were ever pointed out and opened for him.

It is well known that they wipe out every trace indicating the site of a grave (p. 1053).

765 A touching example of the sincerity of their grief for a deceased person exists from olden times. On November 27, 1958, 152 Despard met a one-eyed man in Beagle Channel and inquired about the cause of his misfortune. The man answered that because of a deceased person dear to him he had wept so much that one of his eyes ran out. "Man die, here ashore, be very sorry, cry very much, eye ran away in water all over cheek; yes, sir!" /cited in English./ Our Fuegians never forget the loved ones whom death has taken from them.

765 It is well known that the tālauwaja gives the Yamana a very welcome opportunity to unburden their souls of all that oppresses 533 them. While the main body of those present carries the customary melody in its monotonous uniformity, this or that person interrupts with a more or less long discourse, speaking of things which at the moment happen to affect his feeling and his mood. He is usually quite excited by it, as is shown by his lively, agitated

/1130 cont./

765 of skin with white down-feathers taken from
30 the male Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida
[825] /Kelp goose/). The people obtain this fore-
head decoration when these geese are nesting;
during this time /1131/ they are lean and the
thin skin does not have the abundant fat that
is present at other times. /Fig. 90 appears
here./ A hapakēl is like the kōčel of the
Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215) in size and shape.
In recent times not all the adults make an
effort to obtain this ornament which is
actually seldom used. Instead, at a general
funeral ceremony, they use the narrow band
of skin with down, also called hapaxēl, which
they always have available and frequently use.

765 The club is part of the equipment of
those who take part in the so-called fight of
293 the yamalašemōina. It is justifiably regarded
as an ornamental club. No one would be
permitted to come with a plain stick that he
has just picked up or one used to kill a sea
lion. This club is used for no other purpose.
It is carefully carved out of a flawless small
trunk, is about 160 to 190 centimeters long,
has an angular or rounded surface and gently
tapers from one end to the other (Fig. 90).
It is regularly painted white, or red if one is
commemorating a murder. Actually the
women should also provide themselves with
a club, but sometimes they do not have it
and make do with an ordinary paddle which
they paint. At the dances in the hut every-
one uses the short dance-staff carried during
the čiēxaus ceremony, for it obviously helps
to emphasize the rhythmic movements of
the body.

765 The long-continued singing and
533 lamenting, sighing, and groaning are
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Fig. 90. Ornamental Club.

/1131 cont./

765 533 152 essential to the yamalaŝemõina in connection with the lõima. The actual mourners spend their time this way in any case. Whenever neighbors and friends enter the hut with their freshly applied painting, they sit down near these mourners and follow their song. The polyphonic group sings in a medley of voices; each one chooses pitch and rhythm, melody, and tone color as he sees fit; he stops and begins anew as it pleases him. Each person's performance, however, is serious and sad, his facial expression shows great mental anguish, and his whole conduct indicates how much he is suffering. Throughout, everyone in a howling voice constantly repeats the same sounds in a monotonous melody, exactly as at the tãlauwaia. The whole company devotes several hours to this collective demonstration of grief; they do not allow even brief general pauses.

765 781 152 Each person present occasionally interrupts his groaning and fills in an interval or two with exclamations. These are chiefly words addressed to the Supreme Being. One must remember that on these occasions everyone does not think merely of the recently deceased person -- who perhaps is even of secondary importance to him -- but of those loved ones whom he himself /1132/ lost through a recent death or an earlier one. The memory of them once more stirs him to the depths and makes him sharply feel anew his great loss. His own sorrow tortures him. That is why once again, as on earlier occasions, he confronts Watauinẽiwa to argue and remonstrate with him, to accuse him and cast aspersion upon him. He angrily hurls heavenward one after another of the ancient cries of lament, although he is well aware of his helplessness against Abãila up there behind the clouds. His immeasurable pain, so he believes, gives him the right to the ruthless, coarse invectives against that brutal Wẽlapatux who can be approached in no other way. These excited conversations with Watauinẽiwa, as I was emphatically assured, form an important part of the yamalaŝemõina. "Again and again each person must address 'the One-up-there' and must constantly repeat the old sayings!" I was told this several times with emphatic conviction. Thus I had the impression that the individual words were nothing more than a normal outcry and a quarrelsome discussion with the Supreme Being. Through all kinds of adaptations

/1132 cont./

765 the expression may be used with reference to the recently de-
781 ceased person, to the speaker himself, to his own deceased rela-
152 tives and friends, to the Yamana people as a whole. With angry vehemence Gertie repeatedly impressed upon me: "Each one of us must incessantly and emphatically come to terms with Watauinéjwa on this occasion!" Thus reproaches and words of abuse continually alternated with the old cries of lament. Everyone present regarded this as justifiable for every speaker and approvingly confirmed his words.

Until that time I had never had on opportunity to observe how vehemently the expression of their deeply rooted faith in their god breaks out from the depths of their soul, and with what unrestrained force it seeks expression. Truly their religious faith is firmly anchored in their convictions and in their hearts! Here it became plain that all the adults are dominated by it. I shall now mention a touching feature of their childlike religious sense. In their greatest agitation they feel justified in freely hurling the bitterest reproaches against Watauinéjwa. After the yamalaiemóina is over, however, and everyone has again sought the quiet of his own hut and by late evening has regained his mental balance, he feels deep within himself something like qualms of conscience. He is overcome with the feeling that he has offended the Supreme Being with his raging and scolding and that he has erred greatly with respect to the veneration due the deity. Ruefully he humbles himself, silently he thinks about the events of the day and his momentary position. A repentant and yet confident prayer of atonement softly slips from his trembling lips: "Hidábuan, you know it, today I was extremely angry with you! But the sorrow for my beloved dead was so violent that I lost control of myself. Don't be angry with me any longer, /1133/ Hidábuan!" Solaced and with his soul fully at ease, the Fuegian lies down to sleep; the supreme emotion which for hours shook his innermost being is past.

765 I shall add here a few words which I noted during the
152 yamalaiemóina. Often several persons were saying different things at the same time and I could not follow them.

Santiago: "This morning that woman died. Each of us is in a wretched state, no one feels well. I once suffered the same fate as that widower who now has no wife. I personally felt what

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it is like to lose one's relatives. One loses all desire to live!"

Halupem: "It is certainly just as you [Santiago] say; everyone who loses the person dearest to him feels [the sorrow] most acutely. The others feel it less, they are only accompanying that person! -- We must strive to understand each other well so that we shall not wrong one another. For one day Watauinéiwa will take us too [from the earth]. If we have lived in discord with someone and he dies, we will be sorry [for the way we behaved]. So let us live on the best terms with one another! After a quarrel everyone must quickly become reconciled with the other and make his peace with him."

Walter: "I, too, am thinking of the many whom I have lost. Today I feel somewhat relieved [at the thought] that it is not I who have lost his relative. But at the time when I lost my own children I was unutterably sad. Others probably thought it is not such a painful thing, but I spent whole days and nights in the forest and suffered terribly. -- How often Watauinéiwa has punished me! I wonder why he did it? Now we [I and my wife] have only two children left. It is possible that he will soon take another child from me. Why will that happen? I wonder if he will again punish me soon? I do not know. -- At that time I was really unutterably sad, more than other people can believe. Again and again that happened to me (68). Here on this occasion

68. He is referring to his sad fate that nine of his eleven children have died.

all who belong to the family of the deceased will properly understand how much I suffered at that time. In the same way I now understand what those relatives of the deceased woman are suffering and why they so loudly lament."

Mary: "I have little peace now, for during the time when we must again bury one of our people we come straight out with everything that our heart dictates."

Clara: "When I was still a girl, we did not conduct ourselves the way girls do nowadays. We did not leave our parents, but faithfully remained with them in the hut. But today girls often look to [the behavior of] the Whites; they have discovered

/1133 cont./

765 ISA

many things among them which they imitate. That is why they even run /1134/ away from their own parents; they do not give other countrymen any peace [because of their offensive behavior] and cause their own parents the greatest embarrassment. It is shameful for us, it is a disgrace for us (69)!"

69. She recalls that recently three girls left the camp alone in the late afternoon without their parents' knowledge. Cf. p.488 .

Santiago: "I did you [Halupens] no harm."

Halupens: "That is correct, and I did not want to reproach you for anything."

Santiago: "Good, then we agree."

Halupens: "If it weren't for the Whites [who prevent us], we would have declared war on those people and killed them. But this way [the way things are today] we do not dare."

Santiago: "Truly, that is the real reason. At present our hands are tied [as far as free action is concerned]" (70).

70. Santiago is referring to a murder which Halupens' brother committed in his day.

Luisa: "Whenever we were in mourning in the old days, we caught many animals and killed them, tore them all to pieces or crushed them, and then strewed all the pieces on the ground or threw them in the water. We did that because we were angry with Watagin̂ʍa, for we wanted to cause him great harm. My parents-in-law were very prominent in that."

Halupens: "I had no idea that today I would be in deep mourning. Watagin̂ʍa has caused it. I, personally, have, after all, done no one any harm; I did not kill anyone. I did, of course, kill a few birds and sea lions to keep me from hunger and to stay alive. But I never killed a human being. Therefore Watagin̂ʍa has no reason whatever to hurt me so badly that today I am in mourning because he let that woman die. I did nothing except hunt a few of his animals which he made in Yámalipe; I consumed them because I was hungry!"

/1134 cont./

765 152 Santiago: "Today Watauinéjwa has brought great harm to us all. We are all without exception in deep mourning. It would have been better if today Watauinéjwa had allowed a whale to be stranded. Then we would have gone there tomorrow and would have cut off large pieces for ourselves. Instead he has let that woman die and the widower is now mourning bitterly!"

Evidently all the participants at this yamalaŝemōjna often repeated the prayer formulas and lamentations listed above (p. 989), although most of them understand only the general drift and the basic meaning. I was present while the corpse was being wrapped, and old Asikansis happened to pass the hut. He stopped for a few moments and, pointing to the dead woman, murmured to himself: "Watauinéjwa has caused that, yes 'the one-up-there' has done this!" Then he continued on his way. Similar expressions were repeated by all those present.

765 769 152 It must be pointed out that although this general funeral rite is stimulated by a recent death and occasioned chiefly by it, /1135/ nevertheless every participant remembers all the dead whom he personally mourns. He speaks of them loudly and openly, always without mentioning their names, distinguishing them as "my father," "my daughter," and so forth. He mentions details of their lives, certain traits of character, and the cause of death. In this way he thoroughly relieves his tortured soul of the misery of oppressive thoughts about his dead.

765 152 The gathering of many mourners, which lasts for hours, is regularly terminated with a sort of mock battle. All during the yamalaŝemōjna one or another of the old men informally and yet decisively exerts his influence, like a kind of tímuna. They are above all anxious to direct the attention of the participants to Watauinéjwa, and they characterize him as the one who remains responsible for the death of this and every other person. They are familiar with the traditional prayer formulas and laments and often repeat them. In this way they also impress them upon the memory of the younger people who learn their meaning. The old people, however, never explain the meaning of the words in detail; the formulas simply issue from a grief-filled soul and are neither mentioned nor discussed in everyday life. As soon as the old people feel that the favorable moment has arrived, they call

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TLS 152

for the mock combat. The participants get up, reach for their clubs or paddles, and leave the hut. Sobbing and weeping loudly, they arrange themselves in two groups in an open place outside in no particular order. If the yamalaĕemōjna commemorates a recent murder, however, a more definite division is made, and the party of the victim and that of the murderer face each other. Each of the adults is equipped with a club; women who lack a club use their paddles (p. 1084). These objects have previously been painted.

While the two groups are slowly approaching each other, they sob loudly and speak of the deceased for whom the ceremony is being held. They mention his good characteristics and qualities in words of warm appreciation and sincere grief. These utterances cease as soon as the two groups meet. The mock battle immediately begins, with an individual from one side rushing at anyone in the other group and attacking him. The two large groups thus split up into many fighting pairs. Each pair continues to duel for some time. They do not intend to injure one another; hence a blow is checked before it falls. Nevertheless one person or another may receive quite a blow if a pair becomes excited or if two opponents who have many a former account to settle should happen to meet.

TLS 152 578

/1136/ A more important feature of this sham battle is the utterance of mutual reproaches, making the other person responsible for the death, as though he were to blame for the grief which depresses all the people. A person who is met with reproaches of this kind from his opponent defends himself just as vehemently and heaps the accusations back on the other. If one says, "You caused that one to die, it is your fault that we are all sad now!" then the other replies, "Quite the contrary, you are to blame for everything!" Or one will maintain, "Why didn't you pay more attention to that one [who has just died] and help him?" Whereupon his opponent will defend himself, "You're the one who should have helped him, then he would not have been taken from us!" Another will shout, "You did not give that one any of your booty and that is why he starved!" The retort is: "I always gave him plenty of our booty. If you had done the same he would have been spared us!" Elsewhere one hears: "Why did you not

/1136 cont./

765 come to his aid with your canoe when he was drowning?" The
•153 opponent replies: "I was much farther away from him than you,
578 I was on the Wollaston Islands. It was far easier for you to help him because you were near him." Alluding to the murder, one man says: "How could you be so carefree! You should have known that this murderer had murderous intentions!" The answer: "You are guilter. For if you had an inkling of it it was up to you to inform everybody and that one [the murdered one] would have been spared!" The verbal exchange continues for a long time. It often leads to attacks on personal conduct, to reminders of former quarrels and differences of opinion. Many become excited, and the combatants seriously attack each other. For some of them this opportunity is very welcome because a long-suppressed desire for revenge can be gratified without punishment. There is great confusion during the battle and sometimes a certain amount of brutality, depending on how much tempers are aroused, for the opponents facing each other change about several times, or three or four persons will pounce upon a single one who is then in a serious predicament. After about an hour the combat is declared over when a few influential old people return to the assembly hut. The rest of the people follow.

765 Inside, the customary song of mourning is resumed and
633 continues for a time, its duration depending on the hour of the
535 day and the state of mind of those present. One person or another will get up and dance through the hut, following the simple rhythm of the song with his body movements and the gentle swing of the short dance-staff. Finally the yamalafendua is concluded, following the clear, definite signal by one of the leading old people that all the participants should lay down their clubs, paddles, and dance staffs with an audible tap on the ground. While the singing was going on, /1137/ all the people were holding these things in their hands. After that each one spends long minutes in thoughtful concentration, and only then does he silently creep out. He goes to his dwelling and quietly resumes his ordinary tasks.

765 This affair regularly lasts eight hours and longer. Only the adults take part. In order to prevent any disturbance or distraction by their own or by strange children, none of the children

/506 cont./

[71] behavior, and this is here expressed in their high degree of contentment. Our natives are uncomplainingly satisfied with all the misfortune they must endure because of the weather, with the sharp restrictions resulting from the scarcity of products of the soil, and with the constant hampering of free movement as a result of the overwhelming forces of nature. One would scarcely believe it possible for a people to be resigned to such few pleasures and such scant comfort. One never hears them complain or grumble about the hard living conditions that have been imposed upon them, and they bear with remarkable composure the lot that has befallen them.

[53] Nevertheless, they have not let themselves become a weak plaything of natural forces. In the sign of battle they have sealed themselves in resistance, and their certainty of triumph gives them that independence and self-reliance that is content even in the most miserable situation. In their struggle with nature for subsistence our Fueguians develop well-trained mental powers and an unexpected skill. Even Bridges (b)340 in concise terms credits them with great merit: "They have various methods of hunting and killing birds, and in all they show much skill" /translated from Spanish/. The observations and experience of many generations have alone perfected the efficient methods of trapping and hunting with which every Indian is sure of success without having to waste effort. He practiced them from the days of his youth until he became skillful and resolute. Many of the manipulations and movements, carried out with adroitness and some effort, seem simple and easy to the eye of a European (307);

> 307. Rowe (p)137 adds to this, saying: "Only someone who has lived among them can have any idea of the effort and cunning which they are obliged to muster in order to obtain the most frugal livelihood for themselves." -

the keen hunter and unerring marksman excite admiration. If a European would try his hand at this he would become vividly aware of how stiff and awkward he is at doing the things the Indian does every day.

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147 753 The Yamana is proudly aware of his own superiority. Along /559/ with his astonishing agility, he has developed his physical strength, and time and again on the hunt he has opportunities to develop and increase it (308). Thus he overcomes all difficulties

> 308. Bridges agrees with this unreservedly: "These people certainly show the greatest fortitude, endurance, and energy in following at their hunting" /cited in English/ (MM:XII, 12,1878).

and impediments in the way of his goals. He does not grow tired of hunting his prey and of fighting the hostile forces of nature, but each morning he devotes himself with fresh courage and renewed confidence of victory to his difficult daily task. Hence to struggle with his environment and to wrest from it the animals he needs for his sustenance is for every man a daily necessity, in part a desired one (309). It is not easy for him, but his well-

> 309. Hyades (f):167 has grasped this mental attitude of these children of nature in the following words: "The Fueguians, in fact, consider the hunt a pleasure as well as a necessity /translated from French/. He has really described the situation very well.

developed mental powers, his extraordinarily practiced senses, his great skill, and his personal assurance in the control of his tools and implements guarantee him success.

22 His mental agility effortlessly and intuitively senses the opportunities for the hunt and the general demands of every season. He never shows discontent with the rigors of winter, which impede his free movement on land, nor with the incalculable changes of weather in summer, which only too often lead his light canoe into danger on the water. During one half of the year he patiently does without the things that the other half will again offer him. He attentively follows the change which each

/1142 cont./

124 The material in the following pages probably constitutes
773 the entire treasure of myth that has been at the disposal of our Fueguians since ancient times. In gathering it, I was remarkably favored by fortune on my second journey (p. 178 /untranslated/). Although it is not customary among our Fueguians for a woman in a mixed gathering to relate long episodes from her own experiences or from a myth, nevertheless some Fuegian women faithfully preserve much legendary material in their memories, and very willingly offer it at an occasional gathering of female friends and neighbors. It seems to me that vainglory and the desire to shine in front of others by relating one's own deeds and remarkable experiences is far less developed in women than in men and that it is therefore easier for a woman storyteller, without much digression, to adhere logically to the main point of the myth. For most of the stories current among the Tekenica I am indebted to the mentally alert Julia, the wife of old Alfredo, who is unanimously regarded by her countrymen as the one best informed about them. I learned from her for days (p. 178 /untranslated/). Further material that I gathered on my third and fourth journey was made up of supplementary explanations and unimportant details. Many a myth was also repeated to me by other persons. Thus I believe that I have gathered all the mythological material that the Tekenica have preserved from hoary antiquity down to the present day.

a. The Origin of the World

773 The mentality and the way of thinking of our Fueguians
•153 have been only correctly described above. Nevertheless, from what has been said, no Europeans will expect much from them in the way of a clear conception of the origin of the world or a well-ordered picture of the universe. Actually they have only individual short trains of thought which can be neither consistently continued nor linked together without gaps. What may have happened at the beginning of everything visible is much too distant to merit special attention by our Fueguians, who are creatures of the moment, so to speak, for whom the given

/(14) cont./

reality of each day is of decisive importance. /(15)/ Moreover, these remote events are recounted episodes and accomplished facts. The Tatsana clearly and definitely separate them from everything that Tatkiny introduced and from what the principal persons of the individual legends underwent. The Fangiens is reminded of their achievements almost daily without any effort on his part. Important inventions and significant regulations are attributed to the younger Tatkiny and some of his brothers and sisters, but they were not predominantly active in the formation of the universe. The Tatsana also say that the earth was destroyed, after that orderly conditions again developed.

As was just mentioned, the individual short narrations do not form a continuous, well-ordered whole. It is quite likely that in recent times small connective pieces have been lost. I personally, however, consider it probable that the quite large gaps have existed since ancient times. I base my conclusion chiefly on statements to this effect by a few old people. I am also guided by my experience among the Selk'nam who up to the present time have preserved an imaginative conception of the origin of the universe in its final form, which is more or less complete, as well as rich in content. If the Selk'nam succeeded in preserving their ancient tales so complete, coherent and rich, why should the Tatsana, who did not allow themselves to be robbed of many another heritage, have lost important connective portions? The fragmentary pieces that the Tatsana do possess, however, will be valuable for a comparative study of myths if they can be referred to some extent to the legends of other peoples.

1. Heaven and Earth

The Selk'nam are superior to the Tatsana insofar as they recognize in the person of Kaqals the creator of the visible world, who functions under the direction of the Supreme Being (Vol. I, 170) and who is therefore on a par with the redeemer as he appears in other mythologies. Our Fangiens regard their homeland as an accomplished, given phenomenon; they do not ask and do not

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181 Experts on primitive peoples were cast doubt upon the trustworthiness of all these reports on Tierra del Fuego, and from insignificant accounts as well as fair judgments, they brought out many a favorable detail. Martin 107 emphasized: "One must not believe that the mental dullness [of the Fueguians] prevails throughout among them.... The four Fueguians whom Captain Fitzroy took with him to London showed altogether good qualities." Farrell 1, 120 appreciates their material possessions and social institutions. Beyond that he declares: "The more one learned of their sensibilities and mental capacities upon closer contact, the higher one evaluated them in this respect. The Fueguians, even though they are oppressed by the misery of their situation, are basically Indians like all the rest. The inadequate results of missions cannot prove anything to the contrary." Thus, if the Yaganes are judged to be genuine Indians, they must also be regarded as capable human beings. The fact that they are indeed such is convincingly proved by their way of life which has been described in the foregoing pages. The following pages will be a not inconsiderable supplement to this. It seems strange to us who have been privileged to obtain such deep insight into the mental life of most of the primitive peoples still available today that it seems necessary to prove that the Yaganes, too, are altogether human beings.

/1451/ 6. Mental Power and Sensory Activity

153 I regard as beside the point the oft-repeated question as to whether the Yaganes are an "intelligent people" and capable of meeting the demands of our culture. One will obtain a just evaluation of their mental powers only after he has learned to understand the Fueguians with respect to their mastery of their environment. They have adapted themselves excellently to their country; they have learned to use the available materials for serviceable implements and have asserted their superiority in their struggle with the forces of nature. Indeed, they maintain themselves in their environment and have attained several not inconsiderable achievements of which many Europeans would be

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incapable if they were suddenly transplanted to that environment. The totality of their cultural possessions, properly understood as having been fashioned from their natural surroundings, is persuasive testimony as to the mental capacities and well-developed senses that our Fueguians enjoy. They needed to develop their mental aptitude only to a certain degree, and were able to do so, in accordance with the external demands made on them. Once this equilibrium was achieved (345), there was not only a

> 345. Darwin did not see this state of equilibrium. Basing his discussion on the poverty of that corner of the globe, he (d):247 judges quite falsely: "How little the higher mental powers can be exercised here; what can the imagination picture there, what can reason compare, judgment decide? To break off a bowlful of mussels from a rock does not even require craftiness, this humblest mental capacity of an animal. In some respects their skill can be compared to animal instinct, for it is not refined by experience; their canoe, their most ingenious invention, miserable though it is, has remained the same for the last 250 years, as we know from Drake.

lack of pressure for greater accomplishments, but these would have resulted in a disturbance of the equilibrium. Hence there was an actual standstill, with a steadfast persistence throughout centuries in the particular form of culture with its many striking and insignificant details which was finally achieved after an inestimable number of separate experiences and which assures the Fuegian an adequately satisfying existence.

1. Mental Activity

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Far from being forced and led by blind instinct alone, the Yamana's actions often follow long, thorough consideration. He

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153 makes a plan for a particular goal, considers the ways and means of achieving it, tests the forces at his disposal, and carefully observes the development of his undertaking. Sometimes he discusses it with others and secures the advantages of their advice, experience, and co-operation. He wisely takes into consideration what seems to be most useful for his purpose. Whether the attempt succeeds or not, he mercilessly renders an account of it to himself and his neighbors. In /1438/ so many words he judges this act a failure and that one as the decisive turning point toward success. To their own shame many a man and woman will frankly complain to others: "I should have done this or that some other way, then I would not have made a useless effort!" Every outsider who carefully observes the Yamana can find hundreds of examples to prove their causal thinking. True, our Fuegians often act without much reflection and do not thoughtfully go over a matter if they must make a momentary decision. Their thoughts then come in fits and starts and their decisions are made without premeditation. Aside from the fact that in this form of behavior they resemble all other groups of human beings, in such a situation they are at least guided by an instinct trained through experience and enlightened by quick thinking. Their language has plenty of bluntly descriptive words for persons who always act thoughtlessly or who behave stupidly.

A person who often considers his own experience and who more than others thinks about the behavior of persons around him will attain considerable keenness of judgment with which he protects himself against mistakes. It is not surprising that a sharp-witted Yamana likes to emphasize: "What our forefathers taught us is most preferable, is most suitable!" He realizes that this or that arrangement or specialty proves to be far better than new experiments, hence everybody's respect for tradition, for the many details and individual items of their cultural heritage. The members of the tribe seek advice from a person who is mentally superior; they follow this advice whenever unusual circumstances arise. To act after judicious consideration, to evaluate calmly the effects of an act, and to adapt to all the knowledge gathered by experience -- all this has led our Yamana to adopt whatever is most serviceable in their country. All subsequent generations

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have clung to it (346).

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346. It is meaningless to say, as Hyades (q):268 maintains about the mental capacities of our Yamana, "that they are little developed, are not applied to bettering existing conditions, and seem incapable of improvement" /translated from French/, or, as Lovisato (b):144 declares, "the Fuegians have little intelligence, very little memory, no retentiveness" /translated from Italian/.

182 The meager natural products that the region offers could probably not be better utilized for modest requirements than they have been by our Fuegians. In particular, the technical perfection of their weapons and implements should be noted (p.210), the efficiency of which could probably not be increased. Men, as well as women, have at their disposal only inadequate resources and raw materials. After all, the tools they use are their own handiwork. One must marvel at the usefulness and effectiveness of all the objects that their patient labor fashions from the rough material. The "artisans" pay careful attention to /1439/ beauty and regularity, which are, correspondingly, more or less praised by other people. Further endeavor and the urge to perfect a piece in order to achieve greater efficiency thus lie beyond the wish and will of the Yamana. For them the traditional goods are the best and most effective because they have been tested by previous generations. With these and similar words the retiring generation justifies itself to the rising generation for its definite resolve, in its own day, to cling to the form of culture achieved and handed down by their forefathers and to abide by it steadfastly (347). Recognizing the useful service of the dog,

347. Weddell (a):6 gave an incorrect explanation: "It has been denied that the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego have any capacity for mental development and they are credited with an animal instinct. I believe

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> this condition is merely the result of their remote location, and that it would soon improve with frequent visits from outsiders. I found them obliging and friendly, indeed, in some respects active and inventive."

which was introduced only about two centuries ago, they adopted this animal within a short time (p.292) and accordingly have used the bow and arrow less (p. 155). The material possessions that in recent times have passed from Europeans to the Yamana certainly do not represent an enrichment or an improvement of their conditions of life (p. 382).

153 Anyone who compares the mental activity of our Yamana with that of the neighboring Selk'nam will realize that there is an easily recognizable difference. The slowness of the Selk'nam in making decisions and their obvious perplexity in a suddenly altered situation is by no means as widespread among the Yamana. The latter are, by comparison, more animated, more active, and quicker in making decisions. It is particularly striking that the Yamana will immediately understand a joke or a humorous remark, whereas the Selk'nam almost always needs to have it explained. The two tribes, however, resemble one another in their amazing memory which does not fail them under any circumstances (Vol. I, 1089). This is especially true of their memory for places. Finally one must point out a very reliable gift of observation which has helped the Yamana to know in detail everything about their own country and to notice immediately any change. This gift also makes it possible for them to imitate exactly the movements and sounds of animals (348). They have

> 348. My statements are abundantly confirmed by definite examples given by Hyades (q):249 and by many statements of missionaries.

many opportunities to show this accomplishment, not only on the hunt or in the Kina, but especially in their social games.

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"Modesty exists in both sexes, but it is more developed among the women" /translated from French/. Compare the same opinion in Bridges (n):208. Hyades (p):335 and (q):239 goes even further in the following words: "One will perhaps be astonished to read here that the feeling of modesty is very highly developed among the Fuegians, who are in the habit of going naked" /translated from French/.

well developed; the form and content of Fuegian rules of etiquette are surprising. Bridges later corrected many of his false assertions when he confessed: "The native mind is much more settled in approval of what is good and against evil than ever I have known before, and they are consequently better behaved, and exercise more self-control" /cited in English/ (MM: XVIII, 31, 1884). The licentiousness imported by Europeans has very considerably undermined the former strictness of moral obligations and duties, to the great detriment of the natives (p. 353 /untranslated/).

/1442/ 3. Development of the Senses

153 What has been said about the mental powers of our Fuegians also implies that they have an adequately developed imagination. It is lively, though not very creative. Nevertheless, its achievements are not slight, considering the many spirit figures in the Kina and the numerous personalities in their mythical world, as well as the considerable variety of games and decorations, ornaments and body paintings. The gift of invention which has created all this and many other things cannot be regarded as limited. The fact that it is still alive is proved by the curiosity of these children of nature toward strange objects. Not infrequently their behavior is even importunate in this respect. Agreeing with many travelers, Despard confirmed: "The Fuegians are very curious, and naturally watch all you do; they like to touch, and feel everything they see" /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 167:1850).

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153 This healthy curiosity is combined with a goodly measure of desire for knowledge and aptitude for being taught.

151 In the development of their sensory activity the Fuegians by far surpass us Europeans, and the acuteness of their senses sometimes amazes us, as all critics agree. The sharp eyes of the Yamana miss practically nothing, not the least change, no matter how insignificant, along his path, in his tools, in another person. With sure judgment he recognizes the tracks and traces of animals along the ground, as well as the occupants of a canoe appearing on the horizon. His eye is unerring in observations close at hand or at a distance. Even in old age everyone enjoys excellent vision, although some older people become farsighted, so that if they are looking at or working over smaller objects they must hold them farther away from their eyes. The eyes of the natives can stand direct sunlight and strong light from the hut fire far better than would be possible for European eyes. Hyades (f):580 and (p):219 declares: "The Fuegians have satisfactory visual acuity and...they are, in general, gifted with a great power of accommodation" /translated from French/. Darwin (f):I, 43 affirms briefly from his experience: "I had ample opportunity to observe the extraordinary eyesight of the Fuegians" (353). Their amazing skill in sign language must also

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353. He (d):230 also says by way of supplement: "Their eyesight was remarkably acute. York and Yemmy both were considerably superior to all the sailors on board; several times they said what some distant object was, and, although everyone doubted it, they proved to be right when the object was examined through a telescope. They were well aware of this ability." Bove (c):135 and others agree.

be mentioned here. In a way unintelligible to others they can reliably send even important messages to a person and transmit them to the person for whom they /1443/ are intended. This explains the mistrust of everyone toward all those who form a

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86 Without noticeable coercion, the young people improve themselves, one more than another, according to their natural 153 gifts and personal diligence. Someone who is particularly alert and mentally active makes more rapid progress; the adults are more willing to take trouble with him and they teach him many things earlier than they do his contemporaries. The fact that among the Yamana, also, some persons have a good deal more knowledge than the average can be traced back to inclination, industry, and a desire to learn. Some are extraordinarily limited and know only what is most necessary. A person who commands [555] superior knowledge attracts those around him, influences them, and is highly regarded far and wide. The superior position of most yéhamul rests on the fact that they surpass their countrymen in their possession of things of the mind.

86 If one should gather together all the knowledge gained by experience and the numerous individual facts that every Yamana possesses, he would build up an astonishing fund of information. Borrowing from this source, every generation enriches itself anew and finds it adequate to meet the demands of existence, to satisfy the needs of the mind, to attain the economic goals, and to lead an ordered, harmonious tribal life beneficial to each individual. Relying on his knowledge and his powers, the Fuegian, as master of the animal kingdom and the strong forces of nature in his unfriendly country, strives toward his goals and is confident of victory.

/1446/ 1. Measuring and Counting

435 The Yamana lack a universal standard of value, such as money or the various kinds of measures. They must resort to estimating actual value in one way or another. This is done according to certain considerations, not the least of which, and often decisive, are the beauty and perfection of the object. The scarcer a thing is, the higher its value. These and other considerations are naturally decisive in barter. They also determine whether the recipient of a gift rates it higher or lower. On page 873 there are examples showing a kind of scale of value. It is obvious that our Yamana are unable to evaluate the things given to them by

/1296 cont./

776 in their dreams, tells them many things" /cited in English/ (259).

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> 259. And again at (k):238: "The yecamush claims to have dealings with beings called yapahchel, and they are the ones who give him the power to see and do fabulous things, especially to cure and to kill" /translated from Spanish/.

In BD:661 one reads: "Yapačal, a being of more than human power and sagacity whom the yěkamuš claimed as their inspiring power and instructor" /cited in English/. If, referring to this, Bridges believes that this designation also means "spirits of men, especially such as have been killed by violence" /cited in English/, I must reject this as inaccurate. A special relationship between a yěkamuš and his Yefčel is universally recognized, and it will be discussed below. Here it should merely be pointed out that there is a belief in thumb-sized guardian spirits, from whose large number every person is assigned his Yefčel for the rest of his life.

b. Forms of Superstition

781 Several groups of definite spirits have just been named and described. These are not independent beings which actually exist, but are present only in Yamana belief. To this extent they must be regarded as objects of superstition. For various reasons they were treated separately, first of all, because each group is an individual, definite phenomenon. This is not true of the figures which appear in dreams and the many superstitious views which are linked with some definite circumstance.

1. Dreams

781 The fact that the Yamana dream a great deal must be traced
• 157 back to their alertness in everyday life and to their very vivid imagination. Almost every morning one of the adults in a family

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787 but will relate his dream. It is not regarded as unusual for
154 someone who is suddenly awakened in the middle of the night by a vivid dream to wake up his family and tell them about it. A yékamuf may even call out to all the neighboring huts from his bed and announce to the people what he just experienced in a dream, although this is generally without any significance to outsiders. It will be explained below how much the yékamuf pursue their calling in dreams. The Yamana believe that the
[B28] very frequent dream images come by themselves to ordinary people, and everyone is very much concerned about them /1297/ (260).

260. Hyades (q):253 says briefly: "Dreams are frequent, but in general no one seems to attribute any meaning or importance to them" /translated from French/. Only the first part of this statement is correct.

787 Everyone attributes more or less importance to a dream, depending on its content, the person's temperament, and given circumstances. There is no rule or any sort of criterion; the individual attaches more significance to one dream and less to another according to his own feeling and judgment. A person will be more vividly concerned and more excited by something that touches him directly or threatens him with grave consequences than by unimportant and insignificant everyday things. Everyone who hears about a dream accepts without contradiction the dreamer's interpretation of it. No one would ever dare minimize in any way or even reject the interpretation of a dream given by the one who experienced it and who evaluates it according to his own judgment. Anyone who is extremely disturbed about a dream turns to a yékamuf, who, for his part, will always confirm the seriousness of the whole matter and will usually prepare at once to ward off the harm threatened in the dream.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the Yamana believe implicitly in the dreams which agitate and alarm them (261).

261. Bridges (q):14 has reliably declared: "The Yahgans had great faith in dreams

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and opens free passage to the spot where everyone can generously help himself.

To be sure, these are all modest beginnings of an active state power, but the latter is in effect, even in that completely unorganized community of people, and makes itself felt, although always to the advantage of the individual and in the service of the family, thereby guaranteeing the undiminished continuance of the group as a whole. This still invisible power does not even remotely pursue an end in itself.

In complete contrast to the veiled existence of the state in this society, the freedom of the individual shines forth brightly. A person who has attained physical maturity, married, and left the parental hut stands on his own feet, is responsible to no one, and has no master. Within the wide margins set by the law of usage and ancient custom, he conducts himself /805/ as he sees fit, divides up his time as he pleases, provides himself with food and tools as he feels inclined, and uses and disposes of them according to his own free judgment. A person is warned only if he is flagrantly guilty of repeatedly or constantly harming other fellow-citizens, as we have shown above.

Ordinarily no one dares issue definite orders or make demands on other people, whether or not he is justified or obliged to do so. Thus, a wife will not admonish her husband to go forth to hunt, even though she and her children may have to suffer hunger for a long time. Even to this extent these Indians would not allow themselves to make demands or issue orders to a specific person. This was often observed. If I ordered a man to demand some service of another in my name he listened to my words and departed, but he returned shortly thereafter without having spoken to the other man and gave me to understand that I should personally give my instructions to the one concerned. In this way each person guards the other's freedom, and he also would not allow his own freedom to be curtailed (107).

107. The missionaries have had many experiences in this connection, for instance, when they provided a sort of supervisor for community work. "To be placed as overseer

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brought on at once a native jealousy and dislike. The office, therefore, was not popular, and generally destitute of authority, and fulfilled with laxity of purpose" /cited in English/. The natural inclination of these Indians is such that "they cannot bear to be dictated to" /cited in English/, as Bridges (VP:XIII, 269; 1866 tersely and definitely expresses himself.

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In spite of the far-reaching independence and freedom that each individual enjoys, the conduct of affairs in this Fuegian group is orderly and peaceful, although there are neither lawfully appointed persons of authority nor written statutes. The community life of all fellow-tribesmen is so secure that they can pursue their food-gathering unmolested and devote themselves undisturbed to their family life, to their own happiness, and to the welfare of all. Every true Yamana carries in his heart the one important law which was indelibly impressed upon him during the youth initiation and which constitutes the unwavering rule of conduct throughout life: to be a good and useful member of the tribe!

D. Youth Initiation

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The Yamana are fully aware of their natural duty to educate the growing generation. Parents above all make an effort for their own children and do this with a seriousness not shown by many other peoples. The offspring is taken care of from its earliest childhood (p.484). While it is growing up, the father's influence on the boy and the mother's on the girl gradually take on more specific forms and more definite goals. The adults /896/ make it possible for young people to achieve practical competence and a certain measure of skills, but also, beyond that, spiritual enrichment and a mental attitude toward the ideal of a perfect Yamana who can serve as a model (p.552). The parental task is to rear their own children to a certain level of moral and practical development at maturity.

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As though the society were not satisfied with these achievements in training, which without doubt are attained in all families,

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one that the adult aim to achieve in the Tahgan but with the ulwala are identical. The rules of conduct that are set up in the two situations likewise coincide. The immature child is told briefly and definitely what he must do and must not do; he is won over by well-meaning persuasion to do his duty. It is different with the candidates in the /5117/ initiation who are offered rational arguments and are made to realize the consequences of their actions, for they are supposed to act out of conviction. Of the principles frequently mentioned we shall here mention only the more important ones; furthermore, certain standards for judging the conduct of the individual will be set forth.

Remarkably often the exhortations, whether they come from the teacher or from another person, point to personal honor. The following allusion is repeated again and again, almost word for word: "People will commend you and say you are a good human being!" Indeed, the sense of honor is highly developed among our Tamana. Anyone who touches them here strikes their most sensitive point. Hence everyone makes a serious effort to acquire a good reputation and undoubtedly performs some good deed only in order to be thought of as honorable and blameless. Many a person will make a considerable sacrifice, remain silent during a verbal battle between others, forgo eating in spite of hunger, give away a valuable object, perform work for an aged man whom he dislikes very much, and do many other things merely so that he will be generally regarded as a paragon. To be the object of sad reproaches would humiliate any one of them to such an extent that he would avoid contact with those who knew about it perhaps for a period of years and even live alone in obscure retreats. There is a danger here that the conduct of the individual may turn to duplicity and hypocrisy. The way of life, however, counteracts this effectively, for neither falsehood nor deceit can permanently hide behind its simplicity and transparency.

Closely allied to this is the explicit reference to the considerable and evident punishment that, according to the belief of these Indians, the Supreme Being inflicts upon a guilty person. Specifically they mention a long illness and, even more frequently, premature death. A person who wants to avoid the latter or who does not want to be punished by the loss of his

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expressly point out that the rich selection of the oddest things and the meanest implements fairly challenged these natives to reach out for them and /695/ entertain themselves with them, without actually intending to steal. They have pilfered all kinds of things just for amusement or in regular high spirits.

How punctiliously our Yamana respect the property rights of Europeans is shown in recent times, since they have formed a clear opinion about their relations to the Whites. The belongings of the latter are just as safe in Tierra del Fuego as in other parts of the world, but anything that they leave lying around in the open is thoughtlessly abandoned to confiscation by the first person who comes along. No Europeans in the Cape Horn region need fear major burglaries and premeditated banditry on the part of the Yamana. Although I lived with them for months, I never lost the most insignificant thing. On my third journey, as I was leaving Puerto Harpillanes after the Kina celebration, I threw away a pair of worn-out stockings beside the wooden house of Santiago. I was already sitting in the canoe when Santiago came running out, waving them high in the air, called loudly: "Martin, you left your stockings here!" It was not until I told him, "I do not need them anymore, keep them for yourself!" that the lustful old man calmed down and went back into his house.

The relatively clear and definite regulation of property relations among the Yamana contributes very considerably to the orderly, peaceful existence of the tribal society. Each of them is very exact about the prevailing rules and customs, and violations of the rights of ownership and property of tribal members are actually rare.

F. Feuds and Blood Vengeance

Compared to the Selk'nam, the Yamana impress the superficial observer as peaceable people. We must also admit that protracted brawls do not occur as often among them as among the Selk'nam. All this, however, does not alter the scarcely surprising fact that our Yamana, too, are very excitable and easily offended out of an exaggerated feeling of honor. In many things pertaining to their person, things that we Europeans regard as utterly unimportant, they show a sensitiveness which is quite

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incomprehensible to us. They have their superiority particularly in cases of intentional insults and humiliations. This is even more true in instances of a serious offense against their own rights and especially of murder, each case of which is sooner or later avenged if the culprit does not atone for it in time. A lesser no one quickly endures insults, no matter how small. Instead, he sees the first good opportunity to obtain satisfaction. One must realize, however, that a person is able to wait years for this, and he may take his revenge at a time when the other party has almost completely forgotten the incident. Since the Tarasas have such /386/ character traits, low serious brawls between individuals and between small groups are by no means rare. Bridges (p.13) has correctly characterized them as "very quarrelsome and touchy and the women were very careful not to offend the savages and were very courteous in their manner and language, often discussing with smiles and words of peace their hatred and disappoint" /sic/ in English/.

Since the entire tribe is broken up into very small family communities or hordes (p.335), it is impossible from the start for considerable masses of people to band together for battle or war. Instead of actual revenge for murder is obligatory for the nearest kin of the murdered person, the matter is settled only between them and the opposite party. In any case, however, such occurrences are in comparison with the above-mentioned quarrels. It would be entirely mistaken to assume that this ethnic group composed of several large divisions is constantly at war with its own kind. By nature they are anything but pugnacious, no matter how vengeful they are and how jealously sensitive of their personal honor. Anxious concern about their daily food requirements leaves them little time for the traditionally after of constantly or almost constantly lying in wait for a hostile division.

We need not repeat here anything about the relations of our Tarasas with the foreigners (p. 336 /unmodified/), whom they generally met with apprehension, and with their western neighbors (p. 341 /unmodified/) whom they feared as cannibals (sic). Their

385. Bridges (p.340) speaks without sufficient proof of an alleged hatred which "shown itself especially with regard to the neighboring people, Alakaloof /sic/ that is often bloody"

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0 00 gathered, the misery too bewildering for anyone to bear any length of time if he finds himself shunned and rejected by many persons as disloyal to ancient customs. Ambition, self-love, and the desire to be esteemed among his fellow-citizens can force every delinquent back on the path of universally observed proper behavior. For the Tuvanes this is the strongest motive forcing them to a way of life which is as blameless as possible, according to the example of their fathers. But even the prospect of punishment by Wrongdoers is an directly effective as a person's ambition to be regarded as a true Tuvanes by his fellow-citizens.

Everyone knows only too well how carefully he is being watched by all the people of his immediate /0000/ or more distant surroundings, how very much in detail his conduct, even in minor, unimportant matters, is discussed and judged by others. Sooner or later everyone learns clearly and definitely how everyone else feels about him and how they evaluate his conduct. The individual succumbs to swaying public opinion in his favor only by obedient, continuous servitude, in accordance with prevailing customs. Thus a person's concern about his own good reputation (427)

427. In this respect our Tuvanes are exactly like the bulk-base (Vol. I, 403). Compare Gamble (Ch. 100).

is much more effective in forcing him to observe the canons of the ancestors than, for example, the threat of police or written laws. Anyone who habitually deviates from the good ways of old loses all esteem and value in the eyes of the people.

b. Social Intercourse

0 00 427 Every Tuvanes consciously desires to count for something among his fellow-citizens and to be spoken of a circle of peers, he tries to accomplish these ends by his mere appearance and manners. He quite obviously makes an effort to be tactful toward everyone and to offend no one. He is anxiously concerned about his whole outward appearance. He is particularly careful to avoid open hostility with anyone, for he might suddenly, by the

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157 malevolent humor of overwhelming natural forces, find himself
577 in an embarrassing situation in which he is dependent on the help of any fellow-villagman who happens to come along. The
[477] nomadic way of life in a native region fraught with dangers incessantly demands that one person willingly aid another whenever it is necessary (428). A distressing situation which repeatedly

> 428. Bridges (MM:IX, 114;1970) confirms this: "The wandering habits of the natives result in making them servile to each other. Not knowing whom he may meet in any place, yet having to seek shelter with any one he may find there, a native would find it very awkward then to meet a man and his friends whose enmity he had incurred, causelessly or otherwise" /cited in English/.

assumes different forms has developed rules and obligations for social intercourse which the Yamana observe very punctiliously, keeping in mind their personal advantage and the public good. Everyone can be sure that fate will soon strike him, perhaps even harder than it is now hitting his neighbor. Sympathy for every fellow-villagman is very highly developed among our Fuegians, even if the thought of one's self and of praise may have something to do with it.

1. Special Forms of Social Intercourse

576 Among the considerable number of customs and rules that apply to the social behavior of the Yamana, there is a conspicuous absence /1007/ of marked formalities. They meet one another neither noisily nor excitedly, but rather with a definite expression of their really animated feelings of joy and friendship. We Europeans might interpret this cool, impolite way of meeting one another as dullness or lack of feeling if we were not certain of the sincere feeling behind it. This is not to deny that sometimes two good friends reunited after a long separation hurry toward each other with loud shouts, embrace and shake each other as though

/1997 cont./

they were mad. Some women also behave with exaggerated impetuosity when they part after having had a good time together, for example, on the occasion of the Tolgan. These are not everyday forms of behavior, however.

On the other hand, there is a definite, conscious calculation in the movements and the talk of people who visit each other. Quietly and inconspicuously the visitor enters the hut and squats down near the fire. It is not customary to offer a seat. The visitor keeps his eyes on the ground in front of him and never looks around freely and openly. When he speaks, even at length, he raises them only now and then and does not look friendly at anyone present. His words are measured and fall as though each one were carefully weighed beforehand. At the same time his bearing, even when he sits, is noticeably rigid. In the presence of others one may not lean back negligently, lounge around comfortably, or heartily stretch himself. Even very old people avoid behaving in an unmannerly way or otherwise acting without restraint. If a person is all alone, however, he rolls about in utter enjoyment and stretches himself until he dances his whole body, for now he knows no inhibitions. All the more credit must be given him for the self-control which he imposes upon himself even in front of his own children, to say nothing of visitors.

As a matter of principle the Tswana behaves as quietly as possible and without conspicuous vivacity wherever he is, whether he is eating or working and whether or not he is being observed. To a European the movements of a Fuegian is like that of a thief creeping up and sneaking off again. The Fuegian has himself firmly under control, and he does not lose his poise even when strange objects fascinate him or foreign visitors face him with their outlandishness. Artlessly he draws a vibrant, conscious reserve (428), /1998/ which most of the women of earlier times

428. Spegazzini (x:187) gives a pertinent opinion: "The Fuegian is very quiet and restrained, especially with a stranger, covering all his feelings, all his passions, with a cloak of indifference" /translated from Spanish/. He gives an example of

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> this attitude. Dobhana (b.1?' is still more explicit: "The Tulgans are somewhat reflective, melancholy, and taciturn, especially in the presence of a stranger. No object, even though new to them, is capable of arousing their interest or curiosity. They have a dismal look, like the land that they inhabit, and their physiognomy on all occasions shows complete indifference. For this reason it is very difficult to understand the emotions and feelings that dominate them" /translated from Spanish/.

unexpected or dubious and rapidity. Consciously or unconsciously, this was a false judgment.

The extent to which the Tulgans has cultivated self-control may be seen in his amazing ability to maintain silence. True, this is more calculation than virtue, but it is extraordinarily effective in his contacts with suspicious fellow-citizens. Except in cases of obvious and continual offenses against important laws of custom, everyone is continually reticent about his judgment of another in the presence of visitors and friends. Even few dare to publicly make known his dislike or even hostility, and, cleverly calculating, he lets a large circle of people persist in their erroneous opinion about his relationship to a person. Although such behavior is neither distinguished nor courageous, it avoids unrest and excitement, altercation and quarrels in the group. Everyone is inclined to weigh carefully everything he says, but he is even more strongly impelled to do this by the suspicious alertness with which his every word is exercised by others. He is just as careful not to expose anything that might cause other people to judge him negatively. The atmosphere of suspicious fault finding and the surrounding fear of being exposed before man's own kind apparently are deadening pressures on many a circle of men and women and prevent a free exchange of opinion. Most of them sit around as though they were utterly unable to speak. To a foreign visitor it seems at first glance as though they were intimidated or frightened and did not dare say anything because of anxious fear or justified

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fright. The presence of a feared relaxed of ill repute has an even more deadening and paralyzing effect on any exchange of ideas within a group. In free gatherings, however, shows all in games and after a successful hunt, the atmosphere is gaily noisy and merry without restraint.

The taciturn, quiet behavior of the Yamana is also an expression of their natural modesty. This characteristic is clearly apparent when one compares them with the proud, self-confident Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1148). It is not the nature of our Fueguian to be mainly conspicuous or to push themselves forward, to boast in front of their own people or to act important among their neighbors, to intimate others with their own feats of strength or to brag about real achievements. Careful European observers are struck by the shy reserve and timid anxiety of the women and girls. This disposition naturally determines social behavior. On their errands and in their wanderings the women generally keep their eyes on the ground in front of them; one scarcely ever meets a woman who animatedly and inquisitively glances all about her. In a circle of women squatting around the hut fire one is very much aware of how they have control of their eyes; they will sit for a long time as though they did not dare raise them and give them free play. As a matter of fact, /1908/ even in old age they retain the retiring, inconspicuous behavior that is imposed upon every girl on the occasion of her menarche (p. 569). Nelly Lawrence was particularly careful about it, which seems all the more strange since a free, self-confident bearing would have been justified by her higher social position. In spite of this, however, she was proud to follow exactly the ways of her ancestors.

Moreover, etiquette insistently demands, even for adults, a degree of the separation of the sexes required of young people (p. 549). If several families gather together, the men and women immediately separate, and each group stays by itself if there is a long conversation or entertainment. It is true that they often join in group games because they take place in the open and in front of many people. If they assemble in a dwelling, the women squat either in a closed group near the entrance or in a circle behind the men who sit down around the fire. It is not permissible and at the very least arouses suspicion if a man enters a hut in which a woman is sitting alone, nor would a woman enter a hut where a man is

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157 the Selk'nam. To the brief portrayal of character given here I add the following testimony from Hyades (q):244: "When one has been among them for a long time and become familiar to them, so to speak, one realizes, as we did, that the general traits of their character are good rather than bad" /translated from French/(351). In their character traits the Yamana appear wholly

> 351. Along with these words Hyades (q):244 also offers a special section entitled "Expression des émotions."

human. This is corroborated by the opinions assembled here and the many accounts on the preceding pages. Even Darwin (f):I, 234 confesses: "When I lived with the Fuegians on board the 'Beagle,' I was constantly surprised by many minor character traits which showed how similar their mental characteristics were to our own."

156 The character formation just described is fostered by the
S77 many principles that are followed in training the young in the paternal hut (p.704). No less beneficial for adults is the pressure for many kinds of social duties (p. 905). Morality in the widest sense of the term is held in universal esteem (p. 1022); the majority of tribal members try to fulfill their duty faithfully. Even Bridges (e):330 did not suppress the following acknowledgment: "Among the Yahgan, vices of all kinds were condemned on account of their evil consequences, while virtue, because of its good results, was recommended." Once again it is to be admitted that many a Fuegian stays on the proper path, especially in the realm of sexual morality, primarily because he wishes to retain his good reputation among his neighbors. The feeling for proper modesty, more among women than men (352), and for justice in general is

> 352. Snow (s):I, 326, 349 expressed his astonishment at this a number of times. He (h):282 says of the women, happily surprised: "The modesty of their conduct was very remarkable, and nothing would induce them to come on deck" /cited in English/. Hyades (d):208, too, declares:

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"Modesty exists in both sexes, but it is more developed among the women" /translated from French/. Compare the same opinion in Bridges (h):208. Hyades (p):335 and (q):239 goes even further in the following words: "One will perhaps be astonished to read here that the feeling of modesty is very highly developed among the Fuegians, who are in the habit of going naked" /translated from French/.

well developed; the form and content of Fuegian rules of etiquette are surprising. Bridges later corrected many of his false assertions when he confessed: "The native mind is much more settled in approval of what is good and against evil than ever I have known before, and they are consequently better behaved, and exercise more self-control" /cited in English/ (MM: XVIII, 31, 1884). The licentiousness imported by Europeans has very considerably undermined the former strictness of moral obligations and duties, to the great detriment of the natives (p. 353 /untranslated/).

/1442/ 3. Development of the Senses

153 What has been said about the mental powers of our Fuegians also implies that they have an adequately developed imagination. It is lively, though not very creative. Nevertheless, its achievements are not slight, considering the many spirit figures in the Kina and the numerous personalities in their mythical world, as well as the considerable variety of games and decorations, ornaments and body paintings. The gift of invention which has created all this and many other things cannot be regarded as limited. The fact that it is still alive is proved by the curiosity of these children of nature toward strange objects. Not infrequently their behavior is even importunate in this respect. Agreeing with many travelers, Despard confirmed: "The Fuegians are very curious, and naturally watch all you do; they like to touch, and feel everything they see" /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 167;1859).

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857 masks of bark, ajyúlu hílix, as they are used at the kina festival. As a substitute, they disfigure and distort their faces. They stretch open their eyelids by pressing a small bent stick against the upper and lower edge of the bony eye-sockets. Furthermore, they put one end of another pair of little sticks against the inside of the nostrils and the other end against the inner wall of the lower lip. Finally, they also paint their faces with all kinds of patterns in white, black, and red. Disfigured in this fashion, they swarm all over the camp and creep up on an unsuspecting child to terrify it.

We see that lively boys do not lack all kinds of fun and a variety of entertainment while their parents are camping in one spot and when favorable weather permits them to roam about freely. They are outside a great deal even in heavy rain and thick snow; they like to stretch their legs in vigorous exercise.

β. Girls' Play

857 Whether or not one judges by European standards, he must
159 admit that, in contrast to the always lively boys, Fuegian girls display an extraordinarily quiet manner. Among adults, too, the woman, in contrast to the man, keeps herself very modestly and submissively in the background. Hence girls are probably born with their unobtrusive nature, having inherited it from their mothers. In reality they are reserved and almost timid; they seldom shout loudly, and only occasionally, when they are far away from the huts, do they engage in noisy fun. They are by no means lacking in liveliness, but it does not show unless they are among themselves and not being watched by adults. They can even be audacious and decide on mad pranks that would be appropriate for vigorous boys. They are by far more courageous and unafraid than European girls of the same age.

857 Circumstances are such that girls far more than boys have to
868 perform small services in the family. When the mother leaves the hut for a while, perhaps to go fishing or to gather wood, they must often tend their brothers and sisters who are no longer babies. This does /764/ not rob them of their freedom, but merely puts a

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2. Character

•157 The character of the Yamana can be sketched in a few strokes, for in general it is simple and transparent, and it can be easily recognized in the behavior /1440/ of individuals. Our Fueglans are extraordinarily shy and reserved toward strangers, which accounts for the incorrect statements of hasty critics (349).

> 349. For example, Furner (b):244 maintains of the few natives he met in December, 1774, in Christmas Sound: "Their situation was far from any kind of comfort; hence one never notices an expression of joy or contentment on their faces. In fact, these moral, social feelings were foreign to them and were completely swallowed up in their concern for necessities."

In their hearts the Yamana are good-natured and genial, peace-loving and definitely averse to disturbances caused by animosity and hatred (350). They are unpretentious and content with even

> 350. Aspinall:270 writes similarly: "Generally they are by nature easy-going and helpful. They never speak an untruth or try to appropriate things belonging to others. All the more emphatically, on the other hand, do they insist on what belongs to them 'by right,' and even resort to weapons in order to obtain what is their due." Hyades (c):142 and (d):307 declares: "The character of the Fueglans is generally gay, laughing, changeable, but not very expansive" /translated from French/. Compare Spegazzini (a):167. Bridges (a):203, using ugly colors and untrue assertions, draws a badly distorted character sketch of the Yamana.

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157 a little comfort; although they demand nothing for themselves, they freely give help to everyone. A person who puts himself into the hands of a certain group is well taken care of, even if he is a European, and is provided with the best they have to offer. Just as they praise and practice unselfishness, they condemn and loathe egoism in any form. An astonishing delicacy of feeling for dealing with others and for the behavior of the individual in a group has set up rules of conduct (p. 9[illegible]) which would be appropriate and could be recommended even in Europe.

A strong sense of duty makes their often unpleasant daily work a welcome occupation for our Indians, to which they devote themselves without grumbling (p. 2[illegible]). They conform to the traditional customs out of respect; they defer to traditional religious and mythological conceptions in their opinions and avoid any kind of fault-finding and quibbling about their inherited fund of ideas. They can hide their feelings to the point of complete unrecognizability if they are confronted by suspicious or hostile persons. In gay company they are sometimes boisterously unrestrained. They pour out their grief, which is always deeply felt, without reserve in a large circle of fellow-villagers. Hyades (p):33 describes these traits in the following words: "Their character is serious and concentrated. They do not laugh easily; their laughter is always boisterous" /translated from French/. It is not maintaining too much when I say that every Yamana, man or woman, can momentarily flare up and give free vent to his exuberant temperament. After a few hours, when calm consideration has set in, he collapses like one who has been completely disarmed.

Everyone defends his rights with stubborn persistence and accepts personal praise with satisfaction, although he does not show it. To be treated scoundrelly hurts even children /1441/ to an extraordinary degree, and adults all the more. They are all quite vain. The Yamana is bold and unafraid toward any kind of danger; confident of his powers, he persists in carrying out his plans. Bridges (c):332 declares that the Yamana "were stronger and wiser in their own appraisement than were the pale faces."

My contact with these people was pleasant and comfortable. I did not have this feeling of well-being to such an extent among

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157 the Selk'nam. To the brief portrayal of character given here I add the following testimony from Hyades (q):244: "When one has been among them for a long time and become familiar to them, so to speak, one realizes, as we did, that the general traits of their character are good rather than bad" /translated from French/(351). In their character traits the Yamana appear wholly

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352. Snow (a):I, 326, 349 expressed his astonishment at this a number of times. He (b):262 says of the women, happily surprised: "The modesty of their conduct was very remarkable, and nothing would induce them to come on deck" /cited in English/. Hyades (d):308, too, declares:

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759 spread over it; the latter is a reliable remedy for growths resembling carbuncles. Pustules are daubed and rubbed gently with
278 saliva. Fresh small twigs and leaves of Macrocystis are put on swellings; they develop a slimy substance which is allowed to take effect. Fresh barberry shavings are put on an aching tooth. Loose teeth are broken and pulled out with the fingers. Hyades
• [15] (p):339 says something that I cannot confirm from my own observations: "Insanity, if it exists, is very rare. The mad are treated with cold baths" /translated from French/. A broken arm is treated
752 by first placing thin sticks and a few pieces of leather around it; then this is bound with stout strips of leather. The bandage is kept in place until the pain and swelling have subsided. These are the procedures that the Fuegians know for helping themselves in case of accidents and physical ailments.

7. The Language

192 It is well known that the language of the Yamana has often
114 been described in general accounts and there is an astonishing amount of material. Many a writer has let himself be carried away in repeated references to an unusually rich vocabulary. Bridges himself started this trend. I tried to explain in (gg):162 why he said that his dictionary contained 32,430 words. I have also emphatically pointed out that the Yamana language does not have that number of words and that a rich vocabulary by no means indicates a high level of development for this language. "Quite the contrary," I (hh):183 said earlier, "one will recognize the considerable poverty of a language from the fact that it requires many words." Long before, Garbe:336 pointed to this decisive condition. No one is to be blamed for the fact that a critical study of Yamana grammar as a whole has not yet been carried out -- F. Hestermann worked on a number of parts -- /1460/ for texts are lacking. The comprehensive dictionary of the Reverend T. Bridges was only published in 1933 by Hestermann and Gusinde, and the well-known translations of the New Testament that Bridges made six decades ago are not suitable for this purpose. I, too, should not be reproached and told that I failed to collect original texts. To exonerate myself, I may point out that on my journeys I was

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3 92 Scientifique still found the dome-shaped huts in the neighborhood of Cape Horn, where conical ones were already appearing, whereas on the shores of the middle and uppermost Beagle Channel there were only conical huts (Hyades [d] :363). Modern times have brought about a still more radical change with the introduction of the European hut [177 #12] ax, since with it and other iron tools thick trunks can be felled even in the west and south, and there are suitable for the construction of a solid conical hut (16). /775/ This explains why both types of huts

16. Lothrop (b):120 very emphatically points to this circumstance: "The introduction of the ax has increased the use of the pointed house form" /cited in English/. In Figure 15 he reproduces a "modern Yahgan house" of this type of construction.

were erected side by side in a few places of the middle zone, and why in a particular place one traveler spoke about this form, another about that form (15).

15. On the islands near Cape Horn in February, 1902, Dabbene (b) :178 saw the more stable, cone-shaped form of hut, which seemed strange to him. Twenty years earlier, among the Yamana of the south, the Mission Scientifique still found the dome-shaped hut.

*[161] 3 42 177 Since the west has become completely depopulated, the last Yamana are staying mostly in the central part and in the east where European travelers have found only cone-shaped huts with a framework of thick trunks (16). One is not mistaken if he considers this more stable

16. From the indefinite accounts of other travelers we cannot reach a safe judgment about the distribution of the two types of huts during their sojours in that region. In Bove (e):187 (and in MMLXVIII, 189; 1894) we read: "Their huts have, in general, a cone-shaped form and two doors diametrically

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 S316 Yahgan S316

[24] culture. If this large and expensive monograph is not accessible, the following more important papers may be consulted: Gusinde (1921–22, 1924, 1925 a, 1925 c, 1926 a, 1926 c, 1927, 1928 b, 1929); Koppers (1925 a, 1925 b, 1926 a, 1929 b, 1927, 1929 c, 1928 b).

For bibliographies of the *Yahgan* see: Cooper (1917), for sources, with comments on each, to 1917; Lothrup (1928), for sources from 1917 to 1928; Gusinde (1937), for selected and added sources, and for evaluations (pp. 49–68) of the publications of the more important first-hand observers.

[25] Language.—The *Yahgan* language with its five mutually intelligible dialects constitutes a distinct linguistic family, with no known relationship to any other. The older Bridges' *Yámana*-English dictionary, the one completed in 1933, contains about 32,000 words, a carefully restricted, not a padded, list, as he himself emphasized (1933, p. xvii). *Yahgan*, in contrast to *Ona*, is markedly euphonic. There were no words for numerals beyond three, and none for fractions.

[26] Population.—According to the first dependable estimates, the *Yahgan* population, in the third quarter of the 19th century, totaled between 3,000 and 1,000 souls. In 1881 a sharp decline set in. By 1884 numbers had dwindled to about 1,000; by 1886, to 400; by 1890, to 300; by 1903, to 150; by 1918, to less than 100; by 1923 to 40. The immediate cause of the sudden drop in the eighties were the respiratory diseases and a severe outbreak of measles in 1884, followed by epidemics of typhoid, whooping-cough, and smallpox. Syphilis does not appear to have played an important role. Contributory, or rather basic predisposing, factors were, it seems, the then introduced European ways of life, especially the clothing, but also the food, alcoholic beverages, and type of shelter and work.

[27] CULTURE

[28] SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

[29] Foods.—The *Yahgan* had no domesticated plants, and no domesticated animals except the dog. Whether the earlier pre-Columbian and post-Columbian *Yahgan* had dogs is uncertain. No bones of dogs have been found in early archeological sites in *Yahgan* or other *Fuegian* territory. The earlier explorers,—L'Hermite, 1624; d'Arquistade, 1715—make no mention of the dog in their descriptions of *Yahgan* culture, as none is made of it among the *Alacaluf* by the 15 accounts of them prior to Narborough's of 1670. The dog was first recorded among the *Yahgan* in 1823 by James Weddell; it is recorded consistently thereafter by later observers (Cooper, 1917, pp. 166–167). Dogs were not eaten.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S316 Yahgan S16b

The Ona and the Haush spoke related dialects and occupied the interior of the main island of Tierra del Fuego; they are often called the Foot Indians because of their manner of living. The Yahgan frequented the south coast of the main island and the islands to the south; the Alacaluf formerly lived at the western end of the Straits of Magellan but have moved northward to Raciže sound. The habitat of each tribe as it was half a century ago is shown in pl. IV. 101

No census of the indigenous population in the old days was ever taken, but from several different estimates the numbers of each tribe seventy-five years ago were approximately: 166

Ona,	3000	Yahgan,	2800–3000
Haush,	300	Alacaluf,	3500–4000

Since at least half of the Alacaluf lived north of the Straits of Magellan, the total native population of Tierra del Fuego and the adjacent islands can scarcely have been more than 9000.

At the time of the writer's visit (1924–25) the Indian population, including mixed-bloods, was approximately:

Ona,	60–70	Yahgan,	40–50
Haush,	2– 3	Alacaluf,	130

Of the Alacaluf only two were seen south of the Straits of Magellan, as they now live far to the north, for the greater part in the vicinity of Raciže sound. The figure for their numbers is the estimate of the Rev. John Williams of Punta Arenas.

Later in the same year (1925) an epidemic of measles ravaged Tierra del Fuego. What happened to the Yahgan I do not know, but Mr. William Bridges wrote me that more than twenty adult Ona and an unknown number of children had died. With the exception of a few mixed-bloods the Indians of Tierra del Fuego are probably extinct. [164]

Because the writer saw little of the Alacaluf and Haush, it is principally of the Ona and Yahgan we shall speak below. Before beginning a detailed description we shall discuss their environment and physical peculiarities, and shall list the features of their culture.

CLIMATE

Tierra del Fuego lies between 53° and 56° south latitude, corresponding to the position in the northern hemisphere of the Aleutian islands, southern Labrador, or the central part of Great Britain. 132

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] tdary told me this on the remembered case of her friends who had been dead for a long time (5). This sign of the sense toward

> 5. Bove (p).137 is probably referring to this when he says: "The desire for a man is felt early among [the women], and the interference of the mission in these circumstances is regarded as the greatest tyranny of civilization."

each other is natural.

For the last three decades an unnatural disturbance of the equilibrium has predominated among the Indian population because there are not enough girls for the number of boys of marriageable age. When, on my second journey, I took leave of the Yamana in Punta Remolino, Hermenegildo joined me on my ride to Rio Cartoon in the northeastern part of Isla Grande. His mother was a Selk'nam. He hoped to find a partner among this tribe, and on the way he repeatedly and longingly confessed this to me. I very clearly recognized his ardent desire. He stayed behind in the camp at Rio del Fuego where he had his eye on two girls who apparently understood and responded to his intentions. I did not wish to spoil his favorable prospects, and so I rode on alone (6).

6. See further details in Gusinde (p).154.

On various occasions I was told by several thoughtful older people: "How difficult the present situation is for many boys, because there are no suitable girls for marriage!" These words expressed a deep sympathy for a natural but unfulfilled desire. Truly, there is great tumult and agitation in the heart of a marriageable Fuegian until he completely possesses his beloved!

If we wish to establish a definite age in numbers, we need not resort to mere guesses. According to the missionaries and a few well-informed Indians, the average young man marries between the ages of 17 and 19, a weakling somewhat later. It is required -- and the boy's nearest relatives talk to him in this

/Old man./

574 two young people is not entered much earlier and that they do not secure themselves together as often as they have an opportunity, until finally none of the adults has any valid objections to their meetings.

2. Courtship of Marriageable Persons

574 Contrary to the inaccurate and false reports from the pens of several Europeans, we should like to emphasize strongly the freedom of choice in the selection of a mate. As has just been said, it is only in most recent times that there has been an imbalance in the numerical proportion of the two sexes. According to the general statements of several Fueguians whom I questioned, there were formerly exactly as many young men as girls of marriageable age (5). Assuming this, all the conditions for an

5. Bridges (5):240 definitely emphasizes that "the number of men and women is nearly equal" /translated from Spanish/. Nowadays it is probably impossible to determine whether the number of men or of women somewhat predominated; the few indications that I found point to fewer of the latter. In June, 1884, when Bridges took an accurate census and the Mission Scientifique likewise determined the number of persons in the southern group, devastating diseases had already disturbed the equilibrium. We must take this into account in comparing these numbers. Compare Martial 215.

unhindered, free courtship of youthful lovers during the previous centuries seem fulfilled.

574 The natural shyness and reserve characteristic of the female population in Tierra del Fuego, more pronounced than elsewhere, explain why the young man makes the first advances in courtship. The girl probably never begins it. Usually the two know each other from earliest youth or late childhood. Individual families of the same dialect group meet occasionally, stay together a few

/[illegible]/

[illegible] sexes. As a result the Yamana have the idea that fertility in marriage is solely attributable to the woman, whom they call a [illegible]. Thus the unusual fact (148) is not /[illegible]/ completely un-

> 148. The sterilizability of what Hahn (p.605 mentioned is obvious. "Sterility is very common in both sexes, according to Mr. Bridges, who attributes it to the poverty and the abuse of sexual relations" /translated from French/.

known, and they pity the woman who is forever denied the blessing of children. My impression agrees with Hahn (p.605 that "spontaneous abortion is very rare" /translated from French/. It happens almost always as a result of great physical exertion or very great shock.

According to all the observations that we know of, the sexes are somewhat unevenly distributed in favor of girls among the Yamana. The venerable John Lawrence assured me of this, and in Hyades (q):190 we read: "In our observations we have also established a slight predominance of girls over boys" /translated from French/. A census taken by Bridges in 1886 (p. 224 /untranslated, but the figures referred to are given in English/) showed that among 1,000 natives there were only 277 men as against 316 women.

In this tribe of Fuegians twins are just as rare as among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 200). From former times I am familiar with only the one definite report that "Jemmy Button's eldest daughter has two beautiful twin children about four months old" /cited in English/ (MM.33, 274.1877). Later Hyades (q):190 mentions a woman 45 years old among whose ten children there was a pair of twin boulders. Finally, Holmberg (o):57 maintained: "I have a photograph of a Yahgan woman with twins, who are regarded as an extraordinary event" /translated from Spanish/. Were these witnesses really reliably informed? At any rate a twin birth is an extraordinarily rare phenomenon.

There are no accurate observations about the menopause, the time when menstruation ultimately ceases. Bridges and Hyades (q):189 observed pregnancy among women who were already 45 years old. Hence Fuegian women conceive until relatively late

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S386 Yahgan S386

Yahgan family, but Martial (p. 215) assures us that six individuals was the average seen in more than 200 canoes. More specifically he states that 388 people of all ages were counted in 65 canoes, which results in an average of 5.97.

How much shore-line did an average family need to keep it supplied with mussels, conchs, limpets, crabs, fish, and sea urchins? Let us assume that they required from a third to two-thirds of a mile. This does not seem unreasonable when we recall that meat and vegetal foods also formed part of their diet. This would mean that around Thouctof, Harberton, Varela, Imiwaia, and Cambacceres bay on the average there stood 12 to 24 wigwams, containing 24 to 48 families, or 144 to 288 individuals of all ages. Furthermore, from one to two percent. of the house-sites would always be occupied at any given moment. That house-sites were tabooed where death had occurred would not affect this calculation over many years, because these places were reoccupied when the deceased had been forgotten.

A means of checking this broad estimate of the population exists in the census of the Yahgan[1] made by Rev. Thomas Bridges. The figures he gives are:

Navarin island	237
Hoste island	258
Tierra del Fuego (south coast)	218
Picton, Lennox, New islands	55
Wollaston and Hermite islands	65
Gordon island	36
Cuguawalof (Londonderry?) island	20
Other western islands	60

From this table it appears that in 1883 there were 218 Yahgan on the south coast of Tierra del Fuego between Spaniard harbor and Brecknock peninsula. This figure represents a much reduced population, and it must be multiplied by 3 + to determine the population in the days when the whole tribe numbered 3000. We thus find that the total population of this area exceeded 654. As the western part of Beagle channel is precipitous and pierced by glaciers, most of the inhabitants lived east of Yendegaia bay, and in fact centered on Ushuaia and Harberton. Hence the assumed population of 144 to 288 for the Harberton and adjacent bays means that between twenty-two and forty-four percent. of the

[1] Published in the *South American Missionary Magazine* for 1884, p. 224.

total population of the south coast of Tierra del Fuego resided there. The true figure probably falls between these limits, so we may continue to assume that the average population of Varela, Harberton, Thourtof, Cambaceres, and Isla Navarin bays was between 144 and 288 individuals.

To measure the volume of shellheaps accurately would be an endless task. However, the average house-pit with its adjacent shore of dibris, on the basis of exact measurements, covers approximately 570 square feet. The average depth of deposit runs about two feet, so that each house-pit accounts for 1140 cubic feet of rubbish, and the 1215 house-pits on Thourtof, Harberton, Varela, and Isla Navarin bays represent 1,385,100 cubic feet of deposited material.

In order to find the daily rate of deposit, Nelson assumed that each individual ate fifty shellfish a day. By trial he proved that 5000 shells, the daily allotment of 100 people, can be packed into 1200 cubic inches which may be raised to a cubic foot when ash, earth, and animal bones are added. These figures were worked out for California Indians, but we believe that they also will apply to the Yahgan, for if they ate less vegetal food they ate more meat, which would not greatly change the proportion of rubbish.

We may now state our problem and its answer succinctly as follows:

(a) Probable number of inhabitants: 144 to 288.
(b) Total contents of shellheaps: 1,385,100 cubic feet.
(c) Probable rate of deposit: 1.4 to 2.9 cubic feet per day.
(d) Number of years sites were inhabited: 1300 to 2600 years.

In criticism of the age deduced for the shellheaps we may point out that while no factor—even the number of heaps in the area discussed and the number of house-pits in those visited—is certain, nevertheless there is no reason that the errors should be cumulative. At any rate, the application of Nelson's method to Tierra del Fuego shows that it has been settled a very long time. To the writer it seems that the larger limit selected for the population is too great, and that the bulk of the shellheaps might well be considerably greater than estimated, because the assumed depth is certainly a very conservative figure.

In view of these figures and the other criteria for age already adduced, it seems not unwarranted to believe that the south coast of Tierra del Fuego has been occupied for 2000 years at least.

/611 cont./

174

in the abundant middens of the Magellanic archipelagos are urgently needed and may furnish us with important information on the past of the natives" /cited in English/. Furlong (r):178 entertains the same hopes.

carried out in the Fuegian refuse-layers to bring to light a number of finds that differ from those already known? In my opinion there is no prospect of this. The seaward wall of the individual shell mounds has actually been washed down by the waves to the water line, and unfamiliar forms of implements have not appeared. If possibly we might assume a lifting of the land (p. 344), it would be an absurdity to suppose that the customary dwellings were placed so close to the water line below sea level, and that gradually a wall of mussel shells had been built up around them.

Those strata which today are at the bottom of the mighty shell heaps were laid down many centuries ago. The implements they cover are similar to those used among our Indians up to the present time. No proof of a population preceding the Yamana, with a different form of culture and way of life has hitherto been discovered in the Beagle Channel area, nor can we expect it from further investigations there.

H. The Nomadic Life

182 The home of the Yamana is bleak and unfriendly, nature behaves wildly and brutally, and serious dangers threaten every Indian family who, in their frail canoe, cross the fragmented island realm. Nevertheless, not everything here is bad and disadvantageous; /612/ there are a few benefits and compensations. Weather conditions are anything but good, it is true, but at least the temperature is somewhat uniform, and the cool summer is matched by a cooler winter. Here, too, the inexhaustible sea pours out its bounty, so that the Indians can comfortably provide for their sustenance throughout the entire year. Concerning the food supply the Yamana are far more favorably situated than the neighboring Selk'nam. There are a few differences within our tribe, however, insofar as the families on the southern coasts are considerably

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 type, because several other specimens have been published by
412 Bove (1883) and Hyades (1891). The general shape of these points is similar to that of modern Ona arrowpoints and ancient stone points from eastern Tierra del Fuego. Yahgan workmanship, on the whole, is cruder than Ona, and to the writer's knowledge no points have been found on the south coast equal to the delicate blade illustrated in fig. 40.

4. HAMMERSTONES, ANVILS, GREASE STONES.—Every Yahgan family carried an oval water-worn stone which was used for a variety of purposes, such as hammering. These stones (fig. 70) may be picked up at every ancient camp-site.

5. BONE TOOLS.—Bone tools of modern type sometimes are found in shellheaps under conditions implying considerable antiquity.

AGE OF ARCHEOLOGICAL REMAINS

172 The age of the archeological remains on Beagle channel is a
174 problem that has intrigued the writer from the moment of his arrival there, and every effort was made to collect data for its solution. It should be frankly stated at the outset of this discussion that there is no exact answer, but it is nevertheless possible to deduce an approximate figure. There are several methods by which the problem may be attacked; thus we shall discuss (1) the variations in Yahgan speech, (2) known historical movements in other parts of South America, (3) the internal evidence of age in Fuegian shellheaps, and finally (4) their probable rate of accumulation.

1. ANTIQUITY OF THE YAHGAN DIALECTS

174 As explained above, the Yahgan spoke five distinct though
197 mutually intelligible dialects. This is rather surprising because (*a*) they were a roving people occupying only a small territory, (*b*) they were exogamous, and (*c*) the total population was only about 3000 individuals. Assuming, as seems probable, that the Yahgan reached Tierra del Fuego more or less as a unit speaking a single tongue, how long did it take them to modify their language in five distinct ways?

In the more civilized parts of the world linguistic change also has taken place, and, because language is not only spoken but written, the archaic forms are preserved and can be studied. For instance, the breaking up of Latin into the modern Romance

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

languages, mutually intelligible only to a very slight extent, can be observed and checked in various stages. In this instance the Latin tongue was grafted on the native speech of various conquered peoples, who undoubtedly pronounced it from the beginning with local flavor so that the separation into dialects began at the outset, its course being retarded by the educated classes. Latin, however, was spoken over a very wide area with relatively poor communications, hence there existed every facility for rapid linguistic change.

The contrast between this condition and that of the Yahgan is obvious. We should not expect the Yahgan dialects to differ nearly so much in a given time as the Romance tongues. In fact, granted the circumstance, it is surprising that there were any Yahgan dialects at all. The very presence of these Yahgan dialects shows that the tribe had remained stationary as a whole for a great many centuries at least.

2. CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

The Yahgan are the southernmost unit of a group of primitive fisherfolk who at various times have lived on the west coast of South America. In southern Peru this fishing population was displaced by the rise of the typically Peruvian agriculturists who later built the great structures seen in ruins today on that coast. While there is yet no exact chronology for Peruvian archeology, the two leading authorities, Tello[1] and Uhle,[2] agree that this event must have materialized at least 2000 years ago in order to explain the known stratigraphy of Peruvian remains.

It is a far cry from Peru to Tierra del Fuego, but in the displacement of the Peruvian coastal population there is an ostensible cause for the general shunting to the south of all the coastal peoples. If, as we shall presently show, Fuegian camp-sites give evidence of occupancy at that remote period, then we may at least tentatively consider that the displacement of the Peruvian fisherman and the settlement of Fuegia are correlated, because this change of population in Peru is the only remote migration in South America which archeology has definitely yielded to the realm of history.

In Chile there seems to have taken place a similar displacement of the early population by the Araucanian tribes. Stratigraphical

[1] Julio C. Tello, Introducción á la Historia Antigua del Peru, Lima, 1922.
[2] Max Uhle, Los Principios de las Antiguas Civilizaciones Peruanas; *Boletin de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Historicos Americanos*, IV, no. 12, Quito, 1920.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

174 studies clearly prove this: Cooper (1917a) has pointed out the general resemblance of the earlier culture at such sites as Taltal with the historic culture of the Magellanic archipelago. He lists as features shared in common with the Canoe Indians: the use of spear and harpoon, and disuse of the bow, nets, coiled basketry, combs, shell necklaces, and supine burial. To this should be added the strikingly close resemblance in physical type. Granted this relationship, however, we lack sufficient evidence to translate it into historical terms, for we cannot say how long ago the Araucanians displaced the earlier culture. Possibly the change in population in coastal Peru pushed the Yahgan into Tierra del Fuego, while a later shift on the coast of Chile may have been responsible for the presence of the Alacaluf; but this is mere conjecture.

3. INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF AGE IN FUEGIAN SHELLHEAPS

172 For several reasons an inspection of Beagle channel shellheaps leads to the conclusion that they mark camp-sites inhabited for many centuries. We list these reasons as follows:

A. *Bulk.*—The first and most obvious sign of age is the very size of the refuse-heaps. Clearly it must have taken a great many centuries to deposit such vast masses of débris. Below we have attempted to calculate the cubic contents of the refuse near Harberton.

B. *Breccia.*—The formation of breccia in the lower levels of middens, to the writer is not a positive criterion of great age, because so little is understood of the reasons which cause shells to unite in a solid mass. If some climatic change of temporary nature caused the formation of hard floors at one time in all shellheaps, then a valuable means of determining relative age would be available, because the depth of the breccia varies.

C. *Trees.*—In one instance, shellmound 51 in fig. 98, large trees were found growing on top of an ancient camp-site. This midden was discovered on the afternoon before our departure for the north, so that there was no opportunity for cutting down a tree to count the rings and thus learn how long ago the site was abandoned. The site is a small one, with only eight house-pits situated at the base of a steep slope rising sharply from the beach.

D. *Land Subsidence.*—Many instances of the undercutting of the base of middens on both shores of Beagle channel (as can be seen

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

in pl. XVI) seem to indicate slight submergence of the land since the first settlement. This conclusion is not in agreement with that of Lovisato (1885), who believes that the Elizabeth Island shellheaps have been elevated several meters. N. O. G. Nordenskjöld concludes that Tierra del Fuego has risen about sixty meters since relieved from the pressure of general glaciation. The slight and recent submergence noted by the present writer may be a local adjustment since the general rising of the land. 172

E. *Animal Bones.*—Considerable age may be argued from the presence of badly rotted animal bones in a Harberton shellheap. In general this is an almost worthless criterion of age, but in Tierra del Fuego, where the frost scarcely leaves the ground, all animal remains tend to be preserved. The body of a sailor buried in the South Shetland islands was exhumed after several years with the flesh in perfect preservation,[1] so that Beagle channel is only 400 miles from land where animal remains do not decay at all.

4. RATE OF ACCUMULATION OF REFUSE-HEAPS

Mr. N. C. Nelson[2] has most ingeniously worked out the probable age of California shellheaps by determining three factors: (*a*) the total former population, (*b*) the bulk of the débris, and (*c*) the probable daily rate of deposit. While lacking the concrete data to apply this method of determining age as accurately as has Nelson, nevertheless we shall persist with it, because a definite figure can be reached by this method, a figure not incompatible with criteria for age already discussed. We therefore shall examine the three factors above enumerated, which are not without interest in themselves. 172 174

Nelson's estimate of the total population was simply obtained, because he dealt with a permanent village-site. In Tierra del Fuego, however, no site was occupied for more than a brief period at a time, so the population of any camp or even the portion of the year it was occupied cannot be exactly determined. Yet, although the Yahgan were rovers, they wandered in rather fixed limits, hence the number of inhabitants for an area might be calculated in relation to the food supply.

Nelson assumed that each Californian family consists of six individuals. This number might be thought too large for the 174

[1] *Geographical Journal*, pp. 65–66, London, 1830.
[2] Shellmounds of the San Francisco Bay region; *Univ. Calif. Pub. Amer. Archæol. and Ethnol.*, VII, no. 4, p. 345.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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SH6 Yahgan SH6

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SH6 Yahgan SH6

PART III

COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

ORIGIN OF THE FUEGIANS

174 THE origin of the tribes of Tierra del Fuego is obscured in the mists of the past, but study of their physical type, their language, and their cultural development make it possible to trace them far to the north. Evidence of all kinds blends in agreement that the Yahgan and Alacaluf, the Canoe Indians, came down the west coast of South America, where the remains of their ancestors or relatives can be identified at least as far north as Peru. Furthermore, the Foot Indians, Ona and Haush, clearly are connected directly with the inhabitants of Patagonia and perhaps with the tribes of the Chaco and the Amazon valley. The evidence on which these conclusions rest we shall examine in detail.

1. SOMATOLOGICAL EVIDENCE.—Along the west coast of South America a short-statured, dolichocephalic strain repeatedly has been discovered under conditions indicating great antiquity. These people, if not the direct ancestors, may well have been collateral relatives of the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia Occidental. This physical type, for reasons too complex for discussion here,[1] is now regarded by discreet and cautious students as the most ancient human strain in the New World. The anthropometry of the Yahgan, herein discussed, indicates that, while they may basically belong to this physical group, they have acquired a short-statured and brachycephalic mixture, generally regarded as the second type to reach the Western Hemisphere. Somatological evidence indicates then that the Yahgan are a cross of the two most ancient types of man in the New World.

The Ona, on the other hand, mesocephalic like the Yahgan, but exceedingly tall, appear to be a cross of two tall strains and of varied head forms. The dolichocephalic factor in this tribe may be

[1] This subject has been covered by Dixon (1923), and by Hrdlička in *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, LXV, pp. 157–160.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

of the early variety correlated with short stature, but proof is wanting. At any rate it seems obvious that relationship exists between the Ona and the Tehuelche, legendary giants of Patagonia. To be sure, the modern Tehuelche are brachycephalic, but their heads may be shortened by deformation and the use of a cradle-board, for ancient skulls from Patagonia are mesocephalic or even dolichocephalic.

2. Linguistic Evidence.—Connection between either the Yahgan or Alacaluf tongue and any other linguistic group has not been demonstrated. Ona and Haush are clearly related to each other and to the Tehuelche of Patagonia, thus forming a linguistic family.

3. Culture Evidence.—For the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego we have a well-developed cultural chain leading northward along the west coast of South America. From the Yahgan culture to the Alacaluf, and from the Alacaluf to the Chono, more than 600 miles north of the Straits of Magellan, there is but little change in material equipment or manner of life. From Chiloe island far northward archeological remains underlying those of the historic tribes of the coast may be attributed to the ancestors or collateral relatives of the Fuegians. Skeletal remains of the early shellheap culture are dolichocephalic and short of stature, and so belong to the principal strain of the Canoe Indians. Material culture of the coast north of the Chilean islands cannot closely resemble that of Fuegia, for the climate and character of the country rapidly change from moist woodlands to arid desert; yet, as we have already pointed out (pp. 193–194), significant parallels exist. To these we may add that in the balsa with high pointed ends, typical of the desert coast, we have a possible prototype for the Fuegian canoe, shaped like the new moon. On the Atlantic coast of South America there are no sea-going canoe Indians south of the equator.

The Foot Indians, Ona and Haush, we have shown to be linguistically allied with the Tehuelche of Patagonia. Physical resemblance between the tall Tehuelche and Ona tribes is striking. Among cultural features found in common we may list the skin robe, skin petticoat, man's bag, moccasin type, house type, transversely hafted scraper, skin water-bag, use of fungus for tinder, tattooing, bow and arrow, etc. Clearly this evidence indicates that the three tribes lived together on the Patagonian plateau long enough to develop a typical culture in common. A further proof

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

that the Ona once dwelt in Patagonia, according to Mr. William Bridges, is that they have a legend concerning a large flightless bird, which obviously refers to an ostrich, or rhea, found in Patagonia but not in Tierra del Fuego.

We can trace then with reasonable certainty the Foot Indians of Tierra del Fuego to the Patagonian plains, but to say when and whence they came to Patagonia is a difficult problem, to solve which but slender evidence exists. I am inclined to see relationship with the tribes of the Chaco and the upper Amazon valley. This relationship is probably rather with an earlier population than with the historic peoples. Mysterious remnants of these earlier settlers exist in the upper Amazon valley. Apparently they are held by the dominant population in a position intermediate between slaves and pet animals. Little is known of their manner of life, except that they are nomadic hunters using the bow and arrow but having no canoes or houses. If a list of culture parallels between the Amazon tribes and Fuegian Foot Indians be made, the features in common, it will be found, with but few exceptions are those we shall show presently to be basic to all Indian culture. It therefore follows that no exact deductions can be made from existing data, chiefly characterized by the primitive state of all the peoples involved. We find exceedingly significant, however, the parallel development of masked dances and initiation in each region, a similarity already indicated (page 95).

6.4. Chronological Evidence.—One can but wonder when and how the natives reached Tierra del Fuego. The first-comers doubtless were the Yahgan, for we have advanced positive evidence that they had occupied their historic territory for somewhere around twenty centuries. Next to arrive in all probability were the Alacaluf, unless it is thought that the Yahgan, to reach southern Fuegia, pushed through the Alacaluf country after its occupancy. Beauvoir (1915) records a tradition among the Ona that they reached Tierra del Fuego by a land bridge, but afterward a cataclysm formed the Straits of Magellan and isolated them. This tale will hardly bear the scrutiny of geological opinion, and so we are forced to the conclusion that the Foot Indians were ferried across—by the Alacaluf presumably, because they had canoes capable of carrying fifteen or twenty people, while the Yahgan had only small ones.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

This sequence of settlement is based on the theory that the Foot Indians could not and did not carry themselves across the straits. To be sure, the Tehuelche stuffed their hide *toldos* with saplings and made rude coracles like the bull-boats of North America.[1] In these, with numerous wettings and considerable peril, they crossed the Patagonian rivers. But by no stretch of the imagination could the storm-vexed tide-ripped waters of Magellan strait be navigated successfully in such flimsy craft.

Mr. William Bridges assured me that neither the Ona nor the Haush, to the best of his knowledge, had ever used a boat. In the summer of 1907 certain Indians were taken to Navarin island to tend sheep, and displayed great apprehension upon the waters of Beagle channel. No Ona could swim, and this tribe crossed swift rivers by forming a huddle so that any individual who stumbled would not fall and be drowned. Lacking all knowledge of navigation, unable to swim a stroke, and inherently afraid of deep water, how could the Foot Indians have crossed to Tierra del Fuego without the aid of others?

Of the Foot Indians, evidently the Haush came first. This is indicated by their geographical location in the southeastern corner of the island, and is corroborated by the existence of place-names of Haush derivation in territory occupied in recent times by the Ona.

The linguistic diversity of the Haush, Ona, and Tehuelche implies separation into distinct groups a very long time ago, because language in that part of the world is known to be exceedingly stable and slow to change. Thus Lista[2] significantly points out that the tongue of Patagonia has undergone little change since Pigafetta, the historian of Magellan, collected a vocabulary in 1520. Similarly Cooper (1917, p. 28) remarks that the Alacaluf vocabulary made by La Guilbaudière not later than 1696 indicates linguistic stability since that date.

We have no archeological indication of when the Foot Indians reached Tierra del Fuego. Yet no aspect of Ona culture implies separation from the Patagonia mainland by more than a few centuries before the voyage of Magellan.

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[1] Bourne, 1853, pp. 132–134.

[2] 1880, p. 116. Comparative vocabularies of Pigafetta (1520), Viedma (1781), d'Orbigny, Musters, and Lista, while not identical, are closely similar.

442 182 /438/ The more inflexible the raw material is from which our Indian manufactures his possessions, the more convincingly apparent are the creative and organizing power of his spirit, his keen gift of observation, and his dexterity. Repeated attempts must have preceded the shapes and the individual pieces chosen for the permanent store of possessions of this tribe and retained by many generations. If we examine each individual item, its extreme appropriateness in every respect becomes so clear that we realize hardly anything can be improved to any extent which would at the same time also increase the efficiency of the object. By itself the object looks poor and artless, but if you see how it is applied and used and with what little effort it functions very accurately, you cannot refrain from marveling at its merits.

178 411 231 If we compare the accounts since the middle of the nineteenth century with the reports from the first two centuries in which Europeans and Yamana came together, it is apparent that a change has taken place in the utilization of individual objects. By this I do not mean that European goods, such as knives and axes, have been taken over, but that bow and arrow were gradually superseded by the sling. The real reason for this -- to mention the point already -- seems to be the introduction and swift adoption everywhere of the dog. The dog serves the Indian in various ways in his hunt for otter. We know that it is not easy to aim accurately with bow and arrow from a canoe. I have frankly expressed the opinion that only after the Europeans discovered the Yamana did the dog become their inevitable companion, which is how travelers have designated this animal since the middle of the last century. Aside from this small change, all the things that are used daily have been preserved in their original form until the present time.

176 The implements and weapons of our Fuegians cannot be too thoroughly investigated and observed in their use. They reveal a gift of creative invention in these Indians, who have been wrongly underestimated and so often pitied as the "most miserable people." Yet they have created tools for themselves which make it very much easier for them to obtain food and to protect their bodies.

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12. Technical Skills

511 The material possessions of these southernmost Fuegians seem at first glance unusually frugal and poor. If we look more carefully, however, we are surprised at the considerable variety of implements and tools. Hence, our natives are not altogether destitute. In the variety of their utensils they without doubt considerably surpass the neighboring Selk'nam. The canoe alone is such an inestimably valuable means of transportation that it cannot be compared with travel on foot.

182 176 The environment into which our Yamana were placed was a good teacher. With their own resourcefulness and keen gift of observation, with the knowledge gained by experience through short, successive generations, they finally created weapons and tools of such high efficiency that it could hardly be noticeably increased within the possibilities of development originally afforded them. Anyone who will make an effort to gain an insight into the mechanics of each of the implements used by the Fuegians and the physical forces operating it will pay high tribute to their creative power.

Even Bridges (k):240 who was in a position to observe them for decades in closest proximity bowed to their ability, and offered the following brilliant testimony, probably with not a little inner resistance: "The natives have evolved all the qualities most /509/ useful for the life they live; their canoes are perfect specimens of their kind and the same can be said of all their utensils and implements. With the material at their disposal I do not know how these could be improved. They are perfectly adapted to the soil and climate of the country in which they live" /translated from Spanish/. Behind the unprepossessing form and the pitiful simplicity of Fuegian implements is hidden an unsurpassed suitability.

443 In general each person makes what he needs in material possessions with his own hands and for himself alone. Exceptions are those things which, in the normal household life, are needed by the family or by the husband and wife equally, and which, accordingly, he provides for her and she for him. Manufacture is, therefore, an individual matter. There is no special class of

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5305 Yahgan 5305

When fully equipped, the Yahgan canoe carried the following articles: 501

two or more paddles	dip-net
three kinds of baskets	club
two fire-tongs	green mooring rope or thong
four spears (fish, seal, crab, and limpet)	bark bucket
	fish-line.

Such was the bark canoe in which these Indians often ventured far from shore and even attacked whales. Its great virtue was that it could be made with few tools; indeed in an emergency it could be created with no more than fire and a knife. Furthermore, its high pointed ends made it seaworthy. On the other hand, the seams often leaked and the bark is brittle—much more so than the birch-bark of the North American canoes. The canoes of bark found nearest to Tierra del Fuego are those of Brazil. Their construction is so different, however, that there seems no possibility of relationship between the two types.

DUGOUT CANOE

The first dugout canoe used by the Yahgan was made near Ushuaia about 1880 by an Indian known as "John Furness." 501 176 177 This innovation apparently was an independent invention, instigated through the introduction of metal tools during the previous decade. At any rate the idea rapidly became popular, for the advantage of the stronger construction over the bark canoe was patent, and indeed the Alacaluf soon seized upon this type and abandoned their plank canoes.

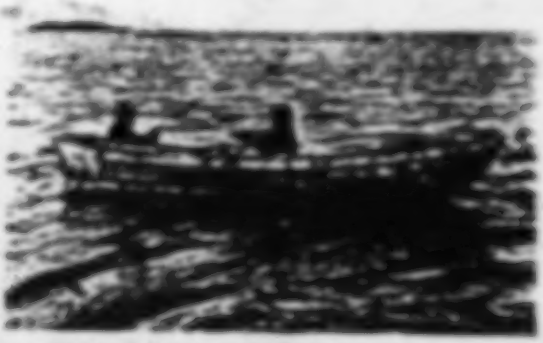

FIG. 11a.—Yahgan dugout canoe. (Courtesy of J. L. Wold, Esq.)

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372 built their wigwams in a manner differing from that of the western tribes, [western Yamana and Halakwulup /Alacaluf/], being made of a number of poles, or pieces of wood, placed on end around a small space, and meeting at the top" /cited in English/ (King:422). Later, (a) :140, he expresses himself even more exactly: "A Tekeenika wigwam is of a conical form, made of a number of large poles, or young trees, placed touching one another in a circle, with the small ends meeting. No Fuegians, except the Tekeenika, make their huts in this manner" /cited in English/ (11). The huts of the others,

> 11. His error may have arisen from the fact that he carried on his observations chiefly in the western part of Cape Horn and on the western Patagonian archipelago, where we find only the dome-shaped hut.

namely, the western tribal groups, "are shaped like bee-hives" /cited in English/. Hence, the eastern shore of the Hardy Peninsula must be regarded as the region where the two forms of huts mingled. Aside from that, the west was acquainted only with the dome-shaped huts (12).

> 12. More recently, Lothrop (b) :128 agrees with this geographical distribution.

[117] The advance of Europeans has increasingly lessened the isolation of the individual ethnic groups from one another, and since then the peoples of the west and east have also crossed the boundary between the zones of the types of huts. During their brief visit in strange regions, however, they conveniently retained those forms to which they had been accustomed from olden times (13). Thus, the Mission

> 13. A certain Fell (VP:VI, 180; 1859) reports that in the Wulaia region "all the wigwams here are much inferior to those we saw at Picton Island, and so are also the people" /cited in English/. He does not make clear, however, whether he means the conical or round hut.

/376 cont./

342 Scientifique still found the dome-shaped huts in the neighborhood of Cape Horn, where conical ones were already appearing, whereas on the shores of the middle and eastern Beagle Channel there were only conical huts (Hyades [c] .363). Modern times have brought about a

*[177 412] still more radical change with the introduction of the European iron ax, since with it and other iron tools thick trunks can be felled even in the west and south, and these are suitable for the construction of a solid conical hut (14). /377/ This explains why both types of huts

14. Lothrop (b):123 very emphatically points to this circumstance: "The introduction of the ax has increased the use of the pointed house form" /cited in English/. In Figure 52 he reproduces a "modern Yahgan house" of this type of construction.

were erected side by side in a few places of the middle zone, and why in a particular place one traveler spoke about this form, another about that form (15).

15. On the islands near Cape Horn in February, 1901, Dabbene (b) :178 saw the more stable, cone-shaped form of hut, which seemed strange to him. Twenty years earlier, among the Yamana of the south, the Mission Scientifique still found the dome-shaped hut.

[161] 342 177 Since the west has become completely depopulated, the last Yamana are staying mostly in the central part and in the east where European travelers have found only cone-shaped huts with a framework of thick trunks (16). One is not mistaken if he considers this more stable

16. From the indefinite accounts of other travelers we cannot reach a safe judgment about the distribution of the two types of huts during their sojourn in that region. In Bove (e):187 (cited in MMJXVIII, 189, 1884) we read: "Their huts have, in general, a cone-shaped form and two doors diametrically

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opposite each other." On his first journey he was accompanied by the botanist Spegazzini (p.163), who became acquainted with only part of a region and who saw Indian dwellings "hemispherical in form" /translated from Italian/. His other companion, Lovisato (p.131), also speaks only of a single form of hut in which "the branches of trees are set into the ground and bent over to form a dome with other branches interwoven..." /translated from Italian/. Thus, we see that even in the reports of these three men who traveled in this region simultaneously there are obvious contradictions.

conical construction a result of the iron axe introduced there. The tools of their ancestors required great effort to fell trees as thick as an arm and to cut the heavy poles required for the framework of this more stable hut. When the last Tatanta, to whom the iron axe quickly became indispensable, were restricted to the middle and eastern regions, the dome-shaped hut *[illegible]* completely disappeared, so to speak, and only the cone-shaped hut, *[illegible]*, remained as a dwelling.

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If we glance at the two neighboring tribes, we find that only the dome-shaped hut appears in the region of the Halakwulup /Alacalufe/ where the weather and the landscape are the same as in the rainy western Tatanta zone, whereas in the southern part of Isla Grande the Selk'nam, the neighbors of the eastern Tatanta, build only the cone-shaped hut (17).

17. I have discussed the plausibility of a modification of the hut form under the influence of the European axe as among the northern Selk'nam (Vol. I, 188).

[illegible] The Cone-Shaped Hut

392 In earlier, as well as in more recent times, the individual family built a lower or more stable construction, depending on whether

/[illegible] cont./

of the former dwellings, which was scarcely worth mentioning, since on present the Indians do not take the trouble to dry a few seal skins and stretch them over the framework. Instead they preferred /[illegible]/ light tarring which lets in rain and snow and hardly keeps off gusts of the wind (47). Complete larrous and Ilimery

47. Lafroy (b) :220 gives a similar judgment: "Thus houses they have had immemorably passed generation from the weather than in the days when hunger drove them to secure many seals and consequently many seal-skins were available for housings" /cited in English/.

indolence have so completely alienated the last survivors of the race from the industry of their fathers that even the most determined inclemency of the weather no longer rouse them from their state of lazy immobility. A few families have built small, very simple wooden houses, European style, in Pierre Ilmylliarow (48).

48. They obtain the raw materials for these houses through their work as day laborers or as gifts (p. 107 /commentary/). According to Lafroy (b) :220, "the material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach" /cited in English/.

but they spend only a small part of the year in them. They, too, travel about for weeks in their canoes looking for food, and meanwhile concern themselves with a cover of tarring on the cone-shaped framework of their flimsy hut.

6. The Community Camp

The Tatarns do not have permanent settlements in one place. There are a few occasions, however, when many families come together and remain in one place for a longer period of time. If a whale is stranded, people come from a great distance, and the

/396 cont./

3/2 (Vol. I, 295). They choose a straight stick, as thick as one's
4/2 thumb, of Berberis ilicifolia, strip it of leaves, twigs, and cracked parts of bark, smooth the surface, and split it two-thirds of its entire length which is hardly more than 65 centimeters. Afterwards the lower, split end is cut off flat. Since the tension of the wood fibers keeps the two ends spread slightly apart, these fire tongs can be easily manipulated simply with pressure (59).

[177]

59. Hyades (q):304 and Lothrop (b):130 have also described this implement briefly. The similarity in terminology between the Selk'nam and Yamana causes Lothrop to speak of a "cultural borrowing," which should not be dismissed.

137 The natives have the advantage, which they truly appreci-
3/3 ate, of some growth of trees throughout their homeland, even on the dreaded Cape Horn. It is lacking only on the low rocks and smooth stones that /397/ are exposed to waves and storms without any kind of protection. Wherever shallow crevices or protected ravines cut into the rocks, frail shrubs and thicker small trees cling, successfully resisting storms. The Indian finds his needed
3/3 fuel at every landing place, so to speak, although at some places he obtains it more easily. He prefers dry beechwood for his fire, for he dreads the damaging smoke of green logs (60). He finds it

60. Persistent watering of the eyes and slight inflammation of the eyelids are the consequences of the stinging smoke. See Hyades (q):346 and Lothrop (b):129, as well as footnote 56.

as driftwood that has been washed ashore by the waves. He also goes a few steps into the woods and breaks off dry branches with his hands. If they are higher up, he tosses the noose of his lasso around them, tugs vigorously, for beechwood is very tough, and pulls them down. He fells hollow tree trunks with the weight of his body and then splits them. As soon as a family lands, the
[157] children disperse throughout the neighborhood and gather wood which they bring to the campsite.

/400 cont./

291 everywhere soon has a destructive effect. Everything, however,
281 testifies to a far-reaching modesty in their demands and to the complete self-sufficiency of these natives, which surprises every observer.

291 It is worth emphasizing that the amount of clothing as such does not always offer the best and most healthful protection for the body. In any case, however, the consequences are disastrous, for
[177] any people when their arrangements, which have for centuries proved serviceable, are forcefully suppressed or put aside by mistaken judges who have come from different conditions of life (65).

65. In this connection see page 315 /untranslated/ on the many disadvantages that developed for the Yamana when they adopted European clothing at the mission station and afterwards.

291 It is instructively stimulating to compare the customary
171 dress of the Yamana with that of their neighbors on either side. The Halakwulup in the west, in the same climatic conditions and like economic circumstances, have exactly the same body covering as the Yamana. The Selk'nam, on the other hand, living in a country with less precipitation, travel by day and do not make an open fire until evening to protect themselves for the cold night. They do not rub as much fat onto their bodies, but instead wrap themselves in a wide, well-fitting cloak of soft guanaco leather. Since they have less chance to remain beside an open fire, they seek a substitute in a warmer piece of clothing. This proves how intelligently and sensitively every tribe has chosen what is most serviceable and advantageous from among the few possibilities offered by its environment.

291 If we regard as body covering the inconsequential piece of leather that the Yamana hang around themselves, Lothrop:121 is right when he says: "It is no exaggeration to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in /401/ the world" /cited in English/. Anything less in the way of body protection than the Yamana have in their frosty Cape Horn region cannot be imagined.

/402 cont./

291 toward the wind, for it hangs very loosely on a single strip of leather drawn around the neck. When they go to sleep at night, they untie this cape and use it as a cover. Fortunately, our Indians have such an enviable ability to curl themselves up that most of the body is covered by this tiny piece of leather.

291 It is principally the small sea lion that furnishes its skin for this cape. Sometimes two small pieces are sewed together. 291 The edges are cut fairly evenly. In the southern regions the man also uses a small cloak made of two or three otter skins, whereas the inhabitants of the east wear a similarly large fur piece from the guanaco. As we know, guanacos are easily obtainable on Navarino Island and on the north shore of eastern Beagle Channel. Sea lions are less common. It is possible that the eastern Yamana, [177] following the example of the neighboring Selk'nam, have only in the most recent times made the wider and longer cloak that covers the entire body. Originally they used it as little as did the other groups (68).

68. Bridges writes: "The natives of the shores of Beagle Channel are frequently enrobed in a guanaco skin; not the beautiful guanaco robes used by the Patagonians, but the coarse shaggy skins of the grown animals which the Patagonians use only as tent covers" (VP:III, 117; 1856) /cited in English/.

291 The cape does not demand any care, and when it is worn out, it can easily be replaced. The fur side is advantageously worn on the outside. If the layer of fur were next to the skin, a great deal of dirt and perspiration would accumulate, one's skin would be scratched or irritated by the larger bristles, /403/ and the entire piece would become hard and stiff, since the leather would constantly be exposed to rain. The layer of leather, however, although soaked with blubber, is lubricated, so to speak, by the oily skin of the body on which it lies, and this keeps it soft longer. Moreover, the rain easily drips off the layer of fur worn outside and cannot soak through the whole piece. The decisive factor, as I learned, is that the Indians find the layer of fur uncomfortable against the naked skin of their bodies. No wonder, since even this light cape

/403 cont./

291 often feels annoying or uncomfortable to them. In the hut and in the canoe, at work and on the hunt, the man carelessly lets it fall by loosening the leather knot, and he feels better now than he did before. He wants to be entirely free for the goal he happens to be pursuing. The piece is durable, but it gets hard wear and is given no care at all. After only a few weeks it is shabby and torn at the edges, but the man drags it about for more than half a year (69).

69. The following authors mention this back cape of the men: Aspinall:270, Bove (e):157, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (p) :337, Lothrop (b) :121, Snow (a) :II, 16, Spegazzini (a) :161, and others.

291 Most of the men at all times and everywhere wear a cover-
888 ing over the genitals which is somewhat larger than that worn by the women. They prefer a smooth piece of leather from which
834 the fur has been entirely removed. It is, of course, used only for the sake of decency. Nevertheless, some old men become so careless that they almost habitually go without it. When they sit or stand, their conduct betrays a certain bashfulness, it is true, but this feeling is no longer strong enough in them that they would go to the trouble of wearing a covering. The people generally do not like to see young or middle-aged persons completely naked, but no one dares to remonstrate with old men. Nevertheless, the latter, when they are sitting, take care that their nakedness does not offend the eyes of those present. Defiant nakedness is not approved on principle.

291 In olden times neither footgear nor any kind of foot cover-
●177 ing was known. Whereas it was always lacking among the people of the Cape Horn region, as Hyades (q) :348 maintains (70), it was

70. Fitz-Roy (a) :138 in his day reported of the southern people that "neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes" /cited in English/.

probably only in recent times that regular sandals of guanaco and seal skins were adopted in the middle and eastern region. Some

291 [177] /403 cont./
influence by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 213) cannot be dismissed, while in the west it may have come from the Halakwulup, for the latter wear sandals of sealskin, as do their northern neighbors, the now extinct Chono and the Araucanian natives of the Chiloé Archipelago (71).

71. On May 25, 1867, Bridges reported on a journey to the east: "The snow is about a foot deep, and it freezes hard every night, and some of the men wear mocassins" (MM:I, 164; 1867) /cited in English/. He does not describe these sandals; they may have been adopted from the Halakwulup.

/404/ The Yamana sandals, kílí, have almost the same cut as those of the Selk'nam (Fig. 15). A piece of hide from the guanaco or the sea lion, about 65 centimeters long and 20 centimeters wide, is cut to form approximately a rectangle. A few holes are punched close together across the wider of the two narrow ends and in the upper half near the edges. The foot is placed upon it in such a way that the front flap of leather is turned back over the toes and the dorsal part of the foot. The side edges are then folded up, and the perpendicular seam over the heel is laced with a short strap of leather. Beginning directly over the toes /Fig. 15 appears here/ the free ends of a single strap are drawn through the holes lying one above the other parallel to the edges, and the strap is fastened over the instep. Straw or moss is used to stuff the sandal, in which the foot stands warm and dry. Since the fur is on the outside, the foot has sufficient grip on the ground. Moreover, the hairs on the sole of the sandal always point forward, which prevents slipping. The leather is quickly softened by the damp earth, and the foot itself adjusts its grip to every kind of footing. In view of this, the sandals prove superior to European footgear, especially on treks over the uneven, wet forest floor. The packing rots quickly and becomes musty, but it is renewed without any trouble.

It is true that the sandals of sealskin have an even more

291 /404 cont./
unpleasant odor (72) when they are soaked by wet earth than those of guanaco skin, which are called ā̄mēr̄ akili (73). The latter

73. The western Yamana did not know this word; they almost always went barefoot.

are worn much less commonly by the Yamana, since sealskin is handier and more convenient for him. He wears his sandals for the most part only on longer treks through the forest, hardly ever in the hut or in the canoe. In spite of the many advantages they

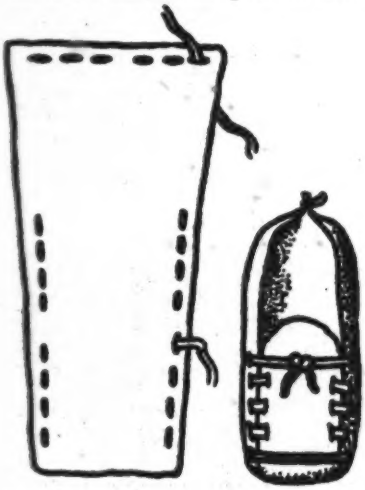

Fig. 15. Sandal.

afford, most men never wear them, even though going barefoot in some places is very disagreeable (see Bridges in VSA: SI, 260; 1864).

In the east where the guanaco is easy to hunt, the men, [177] presumably under the influence of the Selk'nam, learned to wear a type of leggings /405/ that form a tube-like protection for the lower calves. The piece of leather, cut like a trapezoid, is put on with the woolly side against the lower calf and is laced across the back lengthwise with a narrow leather band, so that it clings tightly to the leg. They protect themselves on tramps through the snow with these bā̄a, according to BD:164, "leggings used only when hunting guanaco in snowy weather" /cited in English/

/411 cont./

291 they alternately turn one side of the body and then the other to the fire, each time pushing their cape in the opposite direction with a slight movement of the hand.

Misdirected sympathy that knows nothing about the advantages of all the resources our natives have for the protection of their bodies pities them unduly and underestimates their wise judgment in the things they have expediently invented and chosen for themselves. As a matter of fact, they avoid much damage to their health because they do not tolerate material that clings to their bodies. Frequent rain and snow, wet air, and the vigorous splashing of waves which constantly wash them promote a healthy skin which is good for the whole organism. The short back-cape with its rough leather side turned toward the skin also acts as a gentle rubbing agent. If all this were omitted with a change in the mode of dress, what equivalent would the Indian have? To begin with, he does not have to be afraid of uneven warmth and of weakening the parts of his body that are covered among other
291 peoples. With their pure sensibilities, and even more, their dis-
●177 cerning judgment, these natural people were not unaware of all the harm that followed the later introduction of clothing to which they were not accustomed. Their effort to reject the foreign, unhealthful coercion was instinctive. Nowadays the last survivors are quite frank about their conviction that European clothing, úŝka, and diet, together with imported diseases and alcoholic beverages, have caused the swift destruction of their people (p. 339 /untranslated/).

302 The inhabitants of those distant islands need never reckon with extreme cold, although the weather and the air are always damp and cool. If the heat of the fire should be inadequate or if there is a long trek in prospect and it is very cold, they protect themselves by thoroughly rubbing the entire body with a mixture of blubber and red powder from burnt clay. Ordinarily scarcely any dampness clings to the skin of the body which has been amply greased, and sometimes one sees rain or sea water fall off in drops. This layer of thick grease is a protection also in that it retains the person's own body warmth (86). This was also true in the case of the

86. Aspinall:270, mentioning this expedient, wrote: They "have the habit of rubbing their

/411 cont./

302 bodies with an ointment made of blubber and red earth, which probably also affords some protection against the cold." Before that, Snow (b):264 mentioned it: "The only thing they do to keep more warm is to rub themselves over with grease and ochreous earth" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (a):139 mentioned the same purpose: "Both sexes oil them selves, or rubb /sic/ their bodies with grease" /cited in English/. Spears:53 also mentions this custom and adds: "Had the early explorers imitated instead of despised the Jahgan, they would have had fewer tales of suffering to tell" /cited in English/.

single anointment with blubber of the whale /412/ or sea lion. This made every person glisten with oil from head to foot, which had a most amazing effect on European travelers and missionaries until they became accustomed to the sight. This simple and very effective measure was available to everyone, and they all liked to use it when cold winds blew or when there was heavy rain. Such [77] an anointment with blubber is no longer possible with the European clothing that is customary today. Instead, every article of clothing is full of dirt and grease.

291 In spite of everything, the extremely meager body protection of our Indians proves their great power of resistance against the extreme inclemency of the weather in their homeland and their undemanding contentment. Even though their one article of clothing is serviceable and their open fire an indispensable advantage, there would still be room for a few simple comforts. Compared with the neighboring Selk'nam, our Yamana are obviously in a somewhat less favorable position.

5. Preparation of Furs and Skins

281 Our Indians need the furs and skins of their game animals (87),

87. In some places the Indian has a good selection. Thus Bridges wrote on June 4, 1864, about his visit

/420 cont./

136 Europeans it has been replaced by a larger, gray one. Despite
515 their unmistakably lesser degree of sensitivity, the Indians find this vermin a torture. A mother will sympathetically pick lice from her child, crushing them between her fingernails or teeth (97).

97. Hyades (q):348 briefly mentions "the hunt for parasites (Pediculi capitis) to which they devote themselves in their moments of leisure" /translated from French/.

No one minds having his neighbor restlessly scratch his head. In the long, quiet intervals beside the evening fire in the hut these sounds, produced by first one and then another of those present, are a frequent /421/ interruption. The individual gets no relief, however, in spite of all his scratching, and they hardly ever lose patience throughout this torture.

In the last decades the clothes louse (Pediculus vestimentorum)
●[177] has also spread throughout the region, introduced by Europeans. The older people do not recall this pest; the general conditions for its development were poor in any case. When a person removes his clothing -- nowadays everyone wears only European clothing -- the well-known traces of lice are revealed all over his body. These people are constantly scratching their bodies. I cannot say whether Pediculus pubis is present, but this species also is probably not entirely absent.

The head hair of the Yamana is naturally black, stiff,
[142] and thick. Although it is liberally greased with blubber, dirt and
302 lice prevent it from ever being soft and attractively shiny. It grows moderately long, and among women it reaches about to their shoulders, which is why it does not lend itself to a particular type of coiffure. Everyone wears his hair open and loose; it lies on their head in thick strands. Some women cut the hair on their forehead at their eyebrows (98). Occasionally, if a person does

98. Hyades (q):330 speaks of "hair cut in front 'dog fashion'" /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):194 expresses himself in more general terms.

/421 cont./

302 not want to be bothered with it, he ties a narrow strap, a tendon, or a few stalks of rushes around his head to hold it. A man even uses his sling for this purpose. If women bend their heads, the hair falls forward and covers the whole face, but they never tire of pushing it aside. Bove (e):157 wrote: "Men and women wear very long hair that falls to their shoulders; only a few fasten it with a leather band. Most of them, however, let it grow so wild that both sexes look more like furies than human beings."

The men like to shorten their hair. That is the only difference in the so-called hair style of the two sexes. They use a [142] flat mussel shell, spread a small tuft of hair on it, and draw a sharp-edged shell over it in a sawing motion until the ends fall off. Then they take the next tuft, until they have done the whole head in this fashion. It cannot be helped that the hair-cutter grows tired; the other must endure much plucking and pulling; and the whole job is very irregular.

Modest grooming of the hair is not entirely lacking, however, Despard /422/ learned from an Indian that "only women [142] use oil to make fine hair; then comb very smooth with porpoise jaw" (VP:VI, 55; 1859) /cited in English/. Both sexes alike regard the secondary body hair as ugly and in bad taste. For this reason men pluck their sparse beard hair, and all adults their underarm and pubic hair, with their fingernails or with two shells that fit one on top of the other. Older people become careless [177] about this. In most recent times the men let their beards grow, in order to be like Europeans. Now one can easily see that they 142 do not produce more than isolated hairs on the lip and chin (99). 302

99. In this connection Bove (c):126 says that "the men, besides being beardless, habitually pull out the little beard hair that they have, and the two sexes have no hair of any kind on the body" /translated from Spanish/. Lovisato (b):129 agrees. Fitz-Roy (a):175 had mentioned: "They would have a straggling beard, but scrupulously pull out every hair with tweezers made of muscle-shelles" /cited in English/. According to Despard (VP:IV, 185; 1857)

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"they were beardless. One or two of the older men had some hair on their faces, which, while talking, they were continually engaged in twitching out" /cited in English/. And Bove (MM:XVIII, 188; 1884) says: "The men have very little beard, and even that little they are accustomed to tear out or cut off with shells" /cited in English/.

In general, they have only very little and faint hair on their

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Fig. 18. Upper Jaw of Porpoise Used as Comb. Natural size.

bodies; in this respect they resemble the Selk'nam. /Fig. 18 appears here./

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Under the influence of Whites, younger and middle-aged Yamana have learned not only to dress in modern fashion, but also to wash their faces with soap and to arrange their hair with a comb. Vain chaps shave with imported razors.

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To loosen the hair matted with dirt and lice, not so much because of a desire for cleanliness but because of the discomfort, they use a somewhat coarse comb. It comes in three styles. The most easily obtainable is the upper jaw of the porpoise which is about 12 centimeters long and has two rows of short teeth (Fig. 18). It is occasionally found on the beach where it is so excellently cleaned of all organic matter by wood lice and other lower animals that it can be used without any further preparation. At first this bone is still greasy, which is beneficial for the hair. At any rate it is very easy to use and durable. This comb is called ustánim. Even an otter skull, cleaned of all meat /423/ and without the lower jaw, serves as a comb as long as the few and

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describe, but does speak of "a piece of the upper jaw from a dolphin or porpoise, with teeth" /translated from French/.

[237] As a makeshift when the two objects mentioned above are not available, they gather a bunch of bird feathers and tie them together at the bottom with a fiber of tendon. The bunch of feathers is grasped with the fist, and the quills are drawn through the hair, like the teeth of a comb (102). Girls like to

[157]

102. According to Fitz-Roy's terse words (a) :139, the hair grooming of the Indian women is confined to the following: "The hair of the women is longer, less coarse, and certainly cleaner than that of the men. It is combed with the jaw of a porpoise, but neither platted nor tied; and none is cut away, excepting from over their eyes" /cited in English/.

make this ttúku ukánim as playful dawdling, and conveniently loosen their hair with it.

515 Little though the Yamana heed a clean body, they nevertheless appreciate a clean person who washes often and keeps his hair combed. Many mothers care for their children; others appear disgustingly dirty and completely neglected. Such differences are not infrequently a topic of conversation among the old people who criticize in one case and praise in the other. At any rate it shows that a natural feeling for cleanliness is not entirely lacking. In spite of the many useful things that Europeans have brought them, they will never rise above a certain level of uncleanliness because they are inseparably bound to their conditions of life. The European clothing which everybody wears nowadays is likewise covered with dirt and fish oil. Because of it fresh air and beneficial rain can no longer act directly on the skin, hence their bodies are always covered with a thick, malodorous crust of dirt. Thus, the abandonment of their former sparse body covering is slowly but badly undermining the vitality and health of these Indians, who are themselves aware of it.

[17]

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301 wound around two or three times, in other words, several meters long. Thicker bunches of tendon are held together by a short thread wound around them crosswise at certain intervals. This neck ornament is called hupuxkĕmak. "These braids are a kind of necklace for only the women; they are arranged in a number of circles, held at a single or at several points /435/ by means of a little strand of hair" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q] :349) (116). Although each of these pieces is in

116. He also says (q):299 about these: "Another type of necklace is made simply by several twists of braid worn at the neck; a glass bead from the French Mission was sometimes hung on this necklace" /translated from French/.

itself greasy, they brush it with fish oil alone or with a mixture [237] of fish oil and red pigment, so that the short fibers do not stick out unattractively.

301 The strings of guanaco tendons separated into fine fibers 237 are generally called amĕpa uswúmi; those of whale bone, used [283] alike for sewing and braiding, are called wăpisa uswúmi. On these simple braided tendons the Indians sometimes string short pieces, fairly uniform in length and shape, of the hollow cylindrical bones of a bird, usually the cormorant. More rarely they use the well-known calcareous formations of the tube worm, which they cut into small pieces from 30 to 40 millimeters in length. The smaller and more regular they are, the more they are prized. They sometimes also insert two or four red beaks of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater) at suitable intervals, and for some time ●[177] now, even coins, glass beads, and other European baubles (117).

117. Wieghardt:23 writes: "The necklace worn in two or three twists around the neck is at times adorned by a beak of the oyster bird [Haematopus ater], animal teeth, or little shells" /translated from Spanish/.

501 /440 cont./

and the great efficiency of the bark boat, but have described the details only very superficially. Cooper: 197 simply listed the bibliography of the best descriptions.

[171] We should like to mention briefly that this bark canoe, ánan (or, more completely, ajyúsu ánan), is actually very similar in its design and principal parts to the one that the neighboring Halakwulup make (Fig. 25).

a. The Bark Pieces

396 The vessel characteristic of the Yamana since ancient times is a canoe made out of three large pieces of bark. This is the one we shall describe in what follows. Most of our natives have in most recent times turned to the canoe made out of a single trunk and to the flat boat, but this happened only since Europeans [177] brought them the iron ax.

The entire region is more or less densely supplied with Ant-
396 arctic beeches, but straight, thick trunks that furnish a smooth,
313 even sheet of bark of sufficient length are found only singly and usually deep in the interior of an island. To discover these is probably the only reason a man is obliged to venture deep into the forest. Usually two or three men join together in the search, if for no other reason than because it is difficult for a single man to loosen the thick bark, ajyúsu, from the trunk and because no one goes alone for great distances in the woods (123). This traveling

123. As Hyades (q):350 says: "the chief concern of the Fuegians is to select the best bark; it is often necessary for them to take a long journey to find it" /translated from French/. Despard (b):679 adds: "a man, having associated three others, proceeds into the forest for four or five miles" /cited in English/.

hither and yon is frequently laborious and requires great effort. They almost always decide on Nothofagus betuloides, sérci, which

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E. Dugout Canoe and Skiff

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With the tools that our Yamana had until they became more familiar with European iron implements, it was impossible for them to build any vessel other than the bark canoe which we have just described. It is only in the last fifty years that some men have built actual dugout canoes. Later they adopted the flat skiff.

1. The dugout. Without doubt our Yamana first saw this vessel in the possession of the neighboring Halakwulup. They had long before adopted it and occasionally appeared in the Yamana region. The Whites brought them the iron ax much earlier, and only with it were they able to hollow out a tree trunk properly. /458/ There is no difficulty in providing historical proof for this innovation among our southernmost Fuegians. In early July, 1876, Bridges (i):15 was on Isla Smoke in the Seno Ladrones, straight north of Stewart Island. Here he entered the following in his diary: "A native of these parts is on board, who by report is a maker of wooden canoes. It is very desirable for the sake of the Eastern natives to clear up the matter about these luputuj-anan, wooden canoes which have been for ages a source of continual fear to the Eastern" /cited in English/. The central and eastern Yamana groups actually do regard the extreme Westerners as murderers and cannibals, which is a subject we shall treat in detail below. On July 25, 1876, Bridges found such a specimen lying unused in the woods, "a hallowed /sic/ tree, 29 feet long, two feet through in widest part and three feet high. It is well hollowed out, but being so narrow is very crank and was left by its maker as of no use" /cited in English/. It was not until two years later, on February 2, 1878, that Bridges (i):16 saw the first fully occupied dugout in Yendegaia: "The wooden canoe of which we have heard so much came alongside this morning. It is a most ungainly object. It is very large and contains twenty persons easily. It was an immense piece of work" /cited in English/. Following this model (151), a few Yamana of the central areas also replaced

151. Lothrop (b):145, differing from my account, asserts: "The first dugout canoe used

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by the Yahgan was made near Ushuaia about 1880 by an Indian known as John Furnem" /cited in English/. That "this innovation apparently was an independent invention" /cited in English/, I cannot accept; the above historical data are proof of this.

their ancient bark canoe (152). This is emphatically confirmed

152. The Yamana never adopted the actual raft, such as Bridges (i):16 saw for the first time on February 16, 1883, in the possession of the Halakwulup, which consisted of five long planks sewed together. They probably never adopted it because they soon learned how to build the skiff.

by a report in La Nature:275: "The Yahgan...more rarely hollow out the trunk of a tree and give it the shape of a canoe (during the entire year 'La Romanche' saw only one single vessel of this type)" /translated from French/.

In the following years this new form almost completely superseded the bark vessel in all sections of the Fuegian area (153).

153. On January 2, 1902, Mr. Pringle wrote: "The Yahgans now make very few bark-canoes; they mostly use dug-outs" (MM:XXXVI, 49; 1902) /cited in English/. Exactly two decades earlier Martial: 191 announced: "We have found in Beagle Channel one of these canoes hollowed out of the trunk of a tree" /translated from French/.

Dabbene (b):181 was impelled to confess: "Today this kind of vessel [of bark] is no longer made, and the one used at present by the Yahgan is hollowed out from the trunk of a tree" /translated from Spanish/. Furlong (b):128 also mentions without qualification that "the Yahgan constructs his canoe of a heavy beech

501 /458 cont./
177 log" /cited in English/.

For about 20 years the dugout actually did rule supreme, while the bark canoe became more and more scarce. Since then a flat skiff has made its appearance, and today every family owns one of them.

396 /459/ There is not much to say about the construction and form of the dugout. A sound trunk was needed for it, which Nothofagus betuloides usually offered. It had to be quite smooth, straight, and tall enough so that when it was finished it corresponded in length to the medium-sized bark canoe. It was about a third narrower than the latter, whatever the thickness of the selected trunk. The tree was felled with blows of an ax, and the upper part, along with the crown, was cut off. Then the stump was trimmed. After the bark was peeled off, a short section of the curvature of the trunk was cut away, the two edges of which later became the gunwale. Then the hollowing-out process began and continued until the walls were reduced to a thickness of three to five centimeters. The natural curvature of the outer surface was retained, and only the bow was made blunt at the end. The work was extraordinarily facilitated if the cross-cut at the end was not retained. Instead, a small, U-shaped board was nailed on, which had to be carefully calked.

Sometimes the men made it easier for themselves by burning out the trunk, still upright, from below, but they guarded the fire well to make sure that the body of the prospective boat would not have holes in it. This procedure was advisable when the inner tissues of the trunk were largely rotten while the thick layer of wood fibers under the bark was still intact. One often finds such phenomena in the Antarctic beech forest.

The long open sides of the thin-walled body of the boat were widened at the top in the following manner. They spread a thick, protective layer of sand lengthwise and about 20 centimeters wide, and smeared the sides thickly with blubber. Then they placed glowing wood embers, evenly distributed, upon the entire layer of sand. The intense heat was transferred to the walls and made them somewhat expansible. This explains why every dugout looks as though it had been charred and burned. Suitable short thwarts squeezed in between the two side walls forced the latter apart and

/460 cont./

501 abandoned this new invention. Today we run across an occasional dugout used for short trips; a new one has not been made for three decades.

501 126 On my second trip I brought back to the museum in Santiago (Gusinde [b]:145) a dugout that had for years lain in the woods untouched near the mouth of the Rio Douglas. As Lothrop (b):146 says: "the last double-ended dugout afloat was purchased and is now in the Museum [of the American Indian in New York]. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy" /cited in English/. In short, anyone who owns a 501 dugout, like old Pedro, uses it as long as it is still serviceable; middle aged men have long since adopted the skiff. In a period of about 40 years the dugout came into use among the Yamana and disappeared again (155).

155. In this connection Spencer:88 says briefly: "Bark canoe precedes dug-out, which has now and for some years past entirely replaced bark" /cited in English/.

396 [439 177] 2. The Flat Skiff. Since the sawmills were started on Beagle Channel by Europeans, the natives can easily obtain good boards of different thicknesses. They are also given nails and iron strips. If they cannot buy their own tools, they borrow them everywhere. They do not lack the skill to make a low, short skiff. It must be wide because it is short and low. They curve the gunwale and produce a noticeably elevated bow with a sharp keel that slants backward. This makeshift (156) has /461/ no advan-

156. Lothrop (b):146 gives a short description and an illustration of it.

tages over a European construction, except for the tin can that is placed in the center for the fire. In the forward part they nail a narrow wooden crosspiece with a small hole in the middle. Into this is placed a short mast. If a light breeze comes up from the 502 rear, they hoist a piece of sacking, remnant of a woman's skirt,

/461 cont./

582 or some other rag as a sail on the yard, the end of which is tied to the edge of the boat by means of two or three thin ropes. Sometimes they are satisfied to stretch the rag between two strips of wood and hold it up high until their arms become tired (157).

157. Wienhardt:31 writes: "Some kind of rag or a seal skin is hoisted as a sail, sewed with ruth fibers to a small yard supported by a mast held in one of the compartments" /translated from Spanish/. Compare Martial:190. Formerly the Yamana did not know of this expedient, for, as Wilhemi:1,194 maintains, "they never make use of a sail" /cited in English/.

501 177 This flat skiff no longer reveals anything of native art. It is only through Europeans that the last survivors of the Yamana people have been able to put together the skiff described here, which, compared to their original bark canoe, has many advantages. It permits them to use a sail, albeit, of some kind, which the light construction of the bark canoe would not permit. With this new vessel they also adopted the long oars which are not suitable for paddling because of their shape.

501 178 All the available historical sources, beginning with the first writings of the Dutch admiral L'Hermite, confirm, without exception, that the bark canoe was the only method of transportation of the Yamana until the last decades, and that it was always put together in exactly the same way (158). Its advantages and its

158. Cooper:197 likewise came to the conclusion that "throughout the whole territory, the bark canoes were constructed in the same way of three or more pieces sewed together, with dowels and ribs and with pointed ends" /cited in English/. Lovisato (a):189 regards the bark canoe as "the most ingenious work by these poor people of Fuegia, which, however, from Drake to us, for 300 years this, has remained the same" /translated from Italian/.

efficiency have been described in detail above. Every careful observer will admit that neither the dugout nor the flat skiff compare with the bark canoe in technical construction and suitable form.

/149 cont./

48 171 find is on the specimens in the Göttingen Museum. This point may seem trivial, but actually the early Tamans were not as exact in making a bow cover as the Selk'nam. That is why they never applied the fine decorated edge upon which the Selk'nam laid great store (Vol. I, 233). It has been proved that the inhabitants of Isla Grande gave many a bow to their neighboring cousins. However, since the old bow covers described here lack the even and delicately ribbed surface, they are almost certainly recognizable as a genuine product of the Tamans. The latter have actually altered nothing in the form and shape of their bow covers for the past three centuries (147).

147. Hyades (p.38) confirms "that the bow and arrow of the present does not seem to have varied from that of the Ona Yaghan travelers in Fuegia" /translated from French/. In his works (p.31 and p.Plate XXXI, he illustrates a bow that Bougainville picked up in Puerto Galliant on the Strait of Magellan in January, 1768. There is no question that this specimen comes from the Halakwulup. Since, as Hyades maintains, it "does not differ in any respect from the present bow" /translated from French/ of the Tamans, his words substantiate what I said in the beginning about the widespread uniformity of the bows of all Fuegian tribes.

48 173 For the bowstring, the people in the region of the Selk'nam and Haus without exception use the thick tendon cords from the legs of guanacos. The eastern Tamans do likewise, the other groups chosen for this also thick bundles of tendons of the principal, the wanamount Tamans, probably in imitation of the Halakwulup, even use the hide of the sea lion in a strip three millimeters wide (148). On the two bows which James Cook

148. Hyades (p.238) inaccurately says that "the string is a reddish thong or a cord of a whale sinew" /translated from French/; the tendon fibers of large seals are used much more often.

/467 cont./

places on the edge of the little piece of stone, and by exerting strong pressure with slight turning, he gouges out tiny shell-shaped splinters very close together. In other words, he pares off fine flakes, little by little, from the entire piece until the desired shape is achieved. The upper and lower surface are easier to work because larger splinters can be broken off. It is much harder to shape the tang exactly. For the last few decades broken glass has been used instead of quartz; it can be worked much more easily and even more quickly.

On my second expedition I gave old Ahlende a piece of thick bottle-glass and asked him to make a dagger point nine inches long, with the usual triangular shape and the adjoining tang. He was particularly pleased when, under the pressure of the little bone stick, the tiny particles of glass chipped off with a crunching sound. To my surprise he finished the beautiful point in 35 minutes, without having hurried unduly. He confessed: "To make a point of quartz of the same size for an arrow, a capable Tarrana needs a whole /[illegible]/ day." Nowadays, instead of the customary small bone stick, they use a thick iron nail or an iron awl (172).

[177]

Fig. 32. Arrowheads of Slate, Bone, and Flint. Natural size.

172. Hyades (5):34 and (9):301 mentions that "the Fuegian Jokall simply cut the glass which was to form the point by scraping a piece of window glass with a knife. When he did not have glass he used a fragment of stone (flint)" /translated from French/.

411 /468 cont./

[177] introduced by Europeans.

Our Yamana have the lead over the Selk'nam in that they even use bone for arrowheads. The proportion of these to slate and quartz arrowheads can no longer be determined (173). They

173. In any case it is an unjustified generalization when Lothrop (b):156 maintains: "The arrowhead was of bone, cut to the Ona pattern with two barbs" /cited in English/.

also have the triangular shape, but the adjoining tang is wide at the top, between the two lateral corners, and tapers downward. The triangle itself is about 33 millimeters high, whereas the tang is 13 millimeters long. The little teeth on both sides are filed with the fine edges and individual splinters of sandstone. These sides are not sharp since they are slightly rounded; hence these bone points are effective because of the force of the thrust rather than because of their edges which are dull (Fig. 32).

The tang of the points mentioned above is set into the upper notch of the arrow shaft, without being cemented in. They are merely wound tight with a damp thread of sinew which, when dry, gives the desired rigidity. This thread of sinew would be too weak for a bone point. Hence the latter is held in the notch with a narrow strip of leather and by means of much tight lashing. The natives from the start know that now and then the shaft of the arrow will slide off while the bone point remains stuck in a wounded animal.

411 Finally, at the opposite end, feathers are added after the
237 model of the Selk'nam arrow. They prefer the hard wing-feathers of the cormorant. "On either side of this extremity they fasten a feather, the quill of which has been split and tied on by means of a fine lashing of bird gut (174) which passes at almost

174. Alfredo assured me that for this lashing the sinews of otter or sea lion are particularly suitable.

uniform intervals between three or four barbs of these small
411 feathers. The feathers are so well attached that one would think

/468 cont./

411 there is only a single one" (Hyades [h]:37) /translated from French/. Both wings of this feathering are exactly perpendicular to the shaft and opposite each other. The feathering extends almost down to the lowest notch and is altogether about 25 millimeters long, whereas the entire arrow is about 70 centimeters.

Today we are no longer able to find out in what quantities
411 our Yamana took over arrowheads directly from the Selk'nam;
177 it did actually happen. Not only did the old men assure me of this, but in the piles of shells on the eastern Beagle Channel we find such points made of obsidian which are rare in central areas and almost entirely absent in the west. Whether the stimulus for making this characteristic /469/ form of the arrowhead was transferred from the Yamana to the Selk'nam or vice versa remains a question which cannot be solved in this context alone, but which is not without some significance.

γ. The Quiver

281 Obviously the Fuegian arrows are delicate constructions,
411 and they are carefully stored. The most durable quiver is made of the leather of pinnipeds; the one of otter leather is more highly valued because it is more beautiful. Martial:192 mentions only the latter. The quiver is a longish, narrow bag, with a loop sewed to the upper part to serve as a handle. To achieve this shape, the natives cut a long rectangle out of leather, place the two longitudinal edges together and sew them up. For the bottom they set in a small oval piece of leather, which is also sewed on. The quiver is always slightly longer than the arrows so that they will not stick out and break off; it is about 15 centimeters wide. Each individual arrow is slid into the quiver with the point downward. When one is needed, the end of the shaft is grasped between the feathering with the tip of the thumb and index finger and immediately placed on the bowstring.

411 This brief description also fits perfectly the quiver of the
[171] Selk'nam (Vol. I, 240), which, however, is a little longer and wider. The eastern Yamana are familiar only with this one of leather, whereas the people of the central area and the west not infrequently make a quiver out of two moderately curved pieces of

/480 cont./

411 shape and usually an almost rectangular tang (Fig. 39); the latter is inserted into the notch. Of decisive importance is the longitudinal measurement, for it is usually more than twice as much as a point on the arrow shaft. The former does not seem suitable for an arrowhead because of its size and weight. Since, moreover, it is fastened to a short stick, I regard the designation "dagger" as suitable for this weapon. It is also handled as such. A man grasps
[225] the back third of the shaft and stabs toward a sea lion that he meets on land. He attacks it from the front, never from the side, and can get close enough to it without being bitten to thrust the dagger into its neck.

For the dagger points the natives formerly chose flat lamina of
[177] black slate and greenish jasper; in modern times they prefer thick bottle-glass that is more easily worked. The edges of the glass

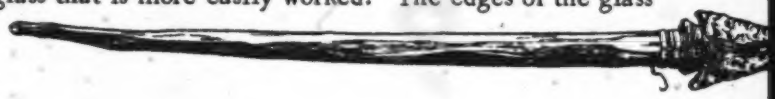

Fig. 38. The Dagger. One-third natural size.

dagger-points cut more sharply, but become dull more quickly. Continuous splintering under pressure with a short bone stick produces /481/ the form with the sharp edges and thick point. On my
[126] second expedition, old Alfredo made me a dagger with a long glass point and with a total length of 48 centimeters (188). This

188. This piece is today preserved in the Museo Histórica at Santiago de Chile. See the observations made by Hyades (q):360 with the Indian named Yakaif.

enabled me to see how it was made and at the same time to learn in detail how it is actually manipulated.

From the dagger to the lance is only a short step. Sometimes it, too, has a large, heavy point in the form of a triangle. It must
[172] come as a surprise that laurel-leaf forms of the /Fig. 39 appears here/ most frequent surface-finds on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 263) have to this day been found only very sporadically throughout the broad Cape Horn Archipelago. This lance is used in the same way and for the same

[Text continues on page 172.—Analyst]

/484 cont./

411 around some part of their body to have it quickly accessible at
482 any time, but it is not regarded as an ornament (195). The

195. Hyades (h):33 expressed the surprising view: "We must therefore admit that the sling of the Yahgan is as much an ornamental object for men as it is a weapon for hunting or war" /translated from French/.

[142 302]

Fig. 41. Man with a Sling.

Yamana use it not only to stun birds, but also in fighting against their own people.

411 /485/ All indications point to the fact that the sling was used in all parts of the Cape Horn Archipelago./Fig. 41 appears here./ Every man and boy owned and owns one. When the Mission Scientifique arrived in Orange Bay, according to Hyades (q):357, every man carried his sling. This was customary throughout the entire area occupied by this tribe. Lothrop (b):157 indulges in vain speculation about the [177] origin of the sling and says "that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yaghan" /cited in English/. I cannot agree with this view; I shall not go into his evidence and mine at this point. Instead, I take the view of Snow (b):264 that the Yamana "are remarkably expert with their slings" /cited in English/. Obviously, the fact that they own and use the sling also proves "their ingenuity" /cited in English/.

8. Snares and Fishing Implements

223 Our Yamana are fortunate in having a wide selection
226 among the animals of their homeland to meet their food needs. They approach each species in a special way in order to catch them as easily and surely as possible. Besides the weapons mentioned

/490 cont./

226 line. When the fish has been brought near the surface, she reaches down and grasps it with a sure hand, pushing her second and third finger under each gill cover. After she has lifted it out of the water, she bites through its neck and kills it.

227 /491/ The snares and fishing implements used by our Yamana show extreme appropriateness. Each one of these things proves that it enables the Indian, with a small amount of effort, to get the wild animals he wants or is stalking.

9. Tools

412 The Fuegians have not yet advanced to a universal or even
324 preponderant use of stone tools. To blame this on the sparse occurrence of quartzite and slate in those regions is not sufficient explanation. When iron and glass were introduced by Europeans,
[177] the natives used these materials immediately, albeit in limited measure, without, however, changing the original form of their implements or replacing them by others. Actual working of the stone seems necessary only in the case of stone arrowheads and dagger points (p. 169). It cannot be definitely shown whether these Fuegians also shaped the round black stone with a groove, known as tesi. Hence the greater part of their tools consists of mussel shells, wood, and bone. This fact can be easily ascertained from the accounts of earlier navigators.

The following description pertains to those items as they were made before being influenced by Europeans. We must credit our Fuegians with considerable cultural progress by reason of the fact that they succeeded in making a number of implements of different construction and form, each with a very definite use.

412 We should like to mention briefly here a peculiar form of be-
461 havior of the Yamana which Lothrop (b):139 has also referred to. When they need anything for their implements, they do not take the trouble to make a thorough search for a good piece or await an opportunity to come across a better part. Rather, they take the first thing that comes along if it suffices for their momentary need and if it promises to fulfill the purpose for which it was intended. A better shaped mussel shell to be used as a knife, a more regular

/491 cont./

412 stone as a handle is perhaps lying only a few steps away from the
461 hut, but the Indian is not in the habit of getting up and looking around a bit if he can reach some halfway suitable item from wherever he happens to be sitting. He places little or no value upon a beautiful and durable tool; he is content if it serves him for a time. To a certain extent his negligence and carelessness is explained by the fact that he cannot adequately protect his things nor store them safely. An item is soon lost or becomes useless. Why, therefore, devote special effort to making it?

412 In this trend of thought we also find the explanation for the fact that our Indians do not exert themselves too eagerly to obtain
177 European iron tools. /492/ If they have one or another tool, they are content and use it as a universal instrument. When iron strips, blades, and nails were still a great rarity for them, that is to say, in the first three centuries after they were discovered by the "Nassau fleet," they assiduously stole these things. As soon as they were reasonably provided with them, their desire for them was, so to speak, completely extinguished.

α. The Scraper

412 The scraper, ufkér, is an item that is used equally often by women and men. Cooper: 217 is right when he writes: "Among skin-using tribes like the Fuegian the scraper naturally takes an important place" /cited in English/ (Fig. 43). Every adult owns at least one of these as his personal property; for him it is more necessary than the pocketknife is for the European.

This object commonly has three parts, the most important being a large mussel shell which takes the place of a true blade. For this the natives choose a particularly strong, large specimen and give it the special designation of géluf (200). Vast quantities of

200. "A large, strong shelled mussel whose shell is used as a chipper," according to BD:245 /cited in English/. This is a large animal of Mytilus edulis, not another species, as Lothrop (b):139 erroneously says. Compare Hyades (q):299.

/493 cont./

412 has obtained a little flat piece of iron from a barrel hoop or from somewhere else gives it a rectangular shape and places one narrow side against a flattened stone handle or squeezes it into a split, short piece of wood, lashing it with a narrow cord. The cutting edge is likewise sharpened on a rough, flat stone (202).

202. Lothrop (b):140, as well as Hyades (q): Plate XXXII, illustrated this chipper or chisel in different versions.

● 177 412 It is clear that this chipper, as well as the one that the Selk'nam use (Vol. I, 248), has come into existence only since the Fuegians have received a few flat pieces of iron from the Europeans. How /494/ very much they pestered many ships' crews for these we shall merely touch on here. Soon they made this tool for themselves (203).

203. In King:417, Fitz-Roy several times mentions having observed among these Indians during his journeys after 1829 "cutting weapons made with pieces of iron hoop fastened on a stick" /cited in English/.

β. The Knife

412 The Fuegian can cut all kinds of things with his scraper; for certain types of work a kind of knife, wíila, wiilaki, is more advantageous for him. It would be a mistake to think of this as an object like our knife; their tool is nothing more than the symmetrical shell of the razor clam (Solen). /Figure 45 appears here./ The meat of this animal which is common in the sand of flat shores in that region is not eaten. It is dug out only in order to obtain the shell which is about 12 centimeters long and three centimeters wide and consists of identical halves.

It is used chiefly for fine work in bark, leather, and bone, less for actual cutting, or as Hyades (q) :300 expresses himself, "to carve the pieces of bark for the canoe or, more exactly, to

/495 cont./

412 beech. It is about the length of a finger and is regularly used by all the women and girls for plaiting their small baskets (206).

[172]

206. Spencer:134 gives a detailed description of three bone awls that came from an old shell mound on Navarino Island. One of them is made from the bone of a young mammal.

With this punch small holes are pierced either into leather that is to be put together for cloaks and covers, bags, and pouches, into the bark pieces of a canoe, or in a scoop that is to be sewn together. In the most recent times the Yamana have
412 learned to make a genuine shoemaker's awl. They file off the
177 head of an iron nail the length of a finger and set this end into a short, cylindrical handle of wood; the other end is filed to a point. This punch, wāikul, penetrates leather and bark much more quickly, of course, and the people like to work with it (207). It must be specifically mentioned that drills have been

207. Lothrop (b):142 illustrated two of these modern pieces.

unknown to the Fuegians from ancient times; they are therefore unable to make holes in a piece of wood. For this purpose they have in most recent times used an iron nail which they obtain from Europeans.

/496/ δ. Wedge and Hammer

412 It is not at all seldom that a man must use a wedge of bone. It becomes absolutely necessary when he cuts out the bark pieces from a beech trunk for his canoe. This simple and yet valuable piece has been described on page 111 (Fig. 26) (208). The bone

208. Other illustrations are found in Hyades (q):Plate XXXII, 9, and in Spencer: 139.

/496 cont./

412 The wedge we have just described is carved out of the strong
321 tissue of the large bones of the whale. The process is one of rubbing back and forth with pressure on a flat stone. As soon as the desired form roughly appears, the blade is carefully sharpened. The last thing is to grind and smooth the surface. For this a /497/ pumice stone the size of one's fist is suitable. The sea tosses these up in many places along the shore. We have repeatedly emphasized that our Indians must often resort to pumice, hiyal, for this very useful material is the only thing they employ to polish their bone points for harpoons and spears and their many wooden shafts. Lothrop (b):143 mentions: "For polishing, in place of our sandpaper or the Ona fox-skin and grit, the Yahgan use pomice hiól" /cited in English/. BD:262 spells it hiual. The pumice, of course, soon wears down on the hard bone tissue, but
[171] it can be picked up anywhere on the shores (210). The Selk'nam

210. Lothrop (b):143 confirms: "It frequently floats down Beagle channel and may be picked up on the beach" /cited in English/. Lovisato (a):197 is wrong in saying that pumice is found only on Nueva Island and Lennox Island.

(Vol. I, 235), as we know, not infrequently use the same pumice.

E. Use of Iron

412 The Yamana of the first and oldest period were completely
177 unfamiliar with the utilization of iron in any form. It is not found in their country nor could they obtain it through barter. As soon as they saw it on European ships and realized its usefulness, however, they learned how to obtain this raw material, as well as small plates of steel and copper, either legitimately or by stealing. Their impetuous desire for it sometimes led to dire consequences for themselves.

It is surprising how quickly they made iron serve them, taking it over in the form of nails, small plates for sheathing, and

/497 cont./

412 177 barrel hoops. They did not make entirely new forms of tools and implements with it. The awl made from an iron nail (p. 191) is only a modification of their original awl made of a bird's bone (Fig. 46), and, in the case of the knife, a small iron plate has since then been used as a blade in place of the mussel shell. It seems that after only brief experimentation our Fuegians made the above improvements, insignificant to the eye, with the iron they obtained, and after that they never made any more changes.

As is well known, their efforts to obtain pieces of metal go back to the time of the first visits by European ships, and they did not abate even in later times. Weddell (a):93 had already written what Colvocoresses:41 repeated several years later in similar words: "Of all the things small pieces of iron were the most welcome to them, for the only instruments they had for cutting were mussel shells." At the beginning of mission activity Reverend Jacob Rau on August 1, 1864, reported on the few Yamana who were brought to Isla Keppel: "The Fuegians have now learned to value everything which might be in future profitable to them. Pieces of iron which lie about they pick up, and grind them, and make knives out of them" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 290; 1864).

Naturally, some of them also became very quickly accustomed to /498/ finished iron implements which could, on occasion, be obtained from a European. Fitz-Roy in his time left Jemmy Button an iron ax, as well as many other things. On June 11, 1858, Despard made the following amusing comment about a few Indians whom he had visited in Wulaia: "It was surprising to see the dexterity with which they handled their rude axes. One of them, Jemmy said, was given him by Captain Fitz-Roy; so it must have been in use for twenty years. It was a very big one originally, but is worn down almost to nothing" /cited in English/. At the mission station the boys and men were not only given the common iron implements, but were carefully taught how to use them properly. In later decades most of them acquired some tool as their property. Today one sees the iron knife and the shoemaker's awl in the hands of every adult; the men work with hammer and pliers, with plane and iron nails, while at the same time every woman owns a pair of scissors and several large steel needles.

/498 cont./

412 The things our Indians make with their iron tools differ from
177 what they made formerly only in execution; in each and every object they retain the basic forms. An exception is the substitution of the flat skiff in place of the bark canoe. We can, therefore, by no means speak of an improvement or perfection of total Fuegian technical skill as a result of their adoption of iron implements.

10. Articles Made of Leather, Hide, Bark

323 None of the three Fuegian Indian tribes is acquainted with pottery. Clayey earths are present and, in small amounts, are heated and made into the above-mentioned red pigment used for decoration. It has not occurred to anyone to make pots out of them. The Indians are very poor in material possessions. Still,
415 they need many small things which they must keep in bags and pouches so as not to lose them in their restless moving about. None of these things are durable by any means, but are easily and quickly replaced by others. Most of the utilitarian objects of this kind have been mentioned in the foregoing parts of this book where in each case their use was discussed. Here they will be more or less completely classified according to the material out of which they are made.

281 The explanation for so many things being made of leather is the environment in which our Fuegians have been placed. Their body covering, which does not deserve the name clothing, consists of pieces of leather and of skins, as we have already mentioned on page 50. In that connection we also described the treatment and preparation of leather (p. 68). To repeat briefly, the hunter himself skins the slain animal -- otter, guanaco, seal. He removes the skin piece by piece, cutting it away from the layer of fat surrounding the body with a mussel shell. Immediately /499/ the woman scrapes the larger bunches of fat, muscle, and tissues from the skin which is still soft and wet, stretching it taut above the ground by means of short wooden pegs or a network of short sticks. As soon as the skin has become hard from drying, she scrapes the hairless layer with the ufker[1]. Sometimes she removes the /Fig. 47 appears here/ layer of fur by

/547 cont./

227 by a woman in ancient times. The quill fiber, tū̀xulina, with the running knot to hold the bait, which we have just described briefly, is the terminal point of every fishline (282).

282. Lista (b):48 speaks of "fishhooks of stone or of fishbones" /translated from Spanish/. His inaccurate data are worthless. Barclay (a):64 is more reliable; he reports on "fishing without hooks" /cited in English/, that is to say, without actual fishhooks.

226 /548/ The woman manipulates her fishline in a strange way, as earlier navigators had already noted. She never uses an actual fishing rod (283). In her canoe she rows to those spots in the many

[227 177]

283. BD:406 uses the expression "tömmökur, a rod used for fishing with from the shore" /cited in English/, but if it actually occurs, the fishing rod was introduced by Europeans. I myself never saw one.

inlets where there are extensive clusters of floating Macrocystis. In the intricate entanglement of the small stems of this alga there are scores of fish large and small. The Indian woman ties up her vessel on one of the thicker stalks or pulls a tangled bundle of these small stems over a part of the canoe, which secures it well. Now she has both hands free, reaches for her fishline, and puts some bait on the lower end of it. Under the weight of the sinker the fishline uncoils in her hands, and she holds the line loosely in the water. Bent over the side of her canoe, which is tilted a little, she stares fixedly at the bait. This, as well as the fishline, deceive all fish, since they correspond exactly to the environment. When a fish bites and has swallowed enough of the bait, the Indian woman lifts the entire line along with the fish with a gentle tug until it is close to the surface of the water. Then with one hand she suddenly jerks up the fishline and with the other hand she grasps the fish the moment it is lifted out of the water (284).

284. This method, which was observed

/564 cont./

231 supplemented by Dechambre's thorough examination and by the
114 appended measurements of the bodies of these two dogs (322).

322. Reprinted in Hyades (q):391. The less ample body measurements given by another investigator named Nocard are also published in Hyades (ibid., p. 365). Compare also Hyades (h):39 in connection with this whole subject.

In 1895 and 1896 Otto Nordenskjoeld brought back to Sweden the skeleton of a native dog from his journey to Tierra del Fuego. It came from an animal of the eastern Yamana, which, according to his opinion, could be regarded as one of pure breed. The skeleton was conscientiously studied by Loennberg:10, and each individual part was measured. On the basis of it he also made comparisons with other South American canines. Unfortunately Nordenskjoeld did not leave a description of this animal whose skeleton is now in Stockholm, nor of other Yamana dogs. During a personal interview with him I learned only about the general characteristics of this zoological variety, which were already known to me.

231 During the years of my sojourn in Tierra del Fuego there was
177 not a single pure-bred Indian dog left. In the case of most of the dogs one could easily see what foreign cross-breed they came from. The Whites living there introduced various breeds of dogs and distributed them among the Indians. The latter's dogs were not only very dangerous to strangers, but also caused grave injury among the breeding animals, especially among the sheep.

231 Fred Lawrence confirmed what the older natives had told me: the native dog was of medium size and had a thick, shaggy coat of medium length and predominantly dirty brown in color with irregularly distributed large light spots. The head drooped forward a little and ended in a long, pointed snout. The standing, narrow, medium-length ears were sharply pointed. The eyes were slanting. The long, bushy tail curled up in a half circle. In general the animals had a strong, firm build, but were long and lean. As recently as 1924 several Indians compared the native dog to the

231 177 /568/ It is not only the excitable animosity of Fuegian dogs that exceedingly provokes every European, but even more their mania for destruction and their voraciousness. They enter all buildings craftily and unobserved, plunder storage houses, and rummage through every corner. They enjoy attacking herds of sheep and goats. In order finally to get rid of these burdensome creatures, the White settlers poisoned and shot some and took others alive from the Indians in exchange for European breeds. Since all these bred unselectively among each other, the strangest mixtures resulted. With the decrease in the Indian population, however, they, too, are constantly decreasing and will disappear entirely along with the last Yamana.

F. Treatment of Foodstuffs

261 The little corner of earth that was destined as the home of the Yamana is poor in natural products. This in itself is responsible for many limitations in their means of livelihood. The natives have no choice but to be content with the little that harsh and parsimonious nature has provided for them. Unassuming as they are, they yield to the external pressure that has disciplined them to an amazing state of contentment and humility. Their attitude, however, is far from being one of dull insensibility. Our Indians have by no means lost all freedom of choice and will never, like a badly trained animal, fill their hungry stomachs indiscriminately with anything and everything that is at hand.

The Yamana is more favorably situated than the Selk'nam, because the sea offers more lavish gifts than the interior. Hence he differentiates more than the Selk'nam and shows himself more particular in his choice. He has his own guides and principles that lead him in his selection of food. They are primarily determined by taste, but not entirely, for the Fuegians consistently refuse [272 177] milk, for example, which they could easily obtain from White settlers, and they have adopted other items of European food only after a long period of resistance. In times of distressing hunger they also take things out of necessity which they would decidedly scorn in ordinary life.

/570 cont./

262 nourishment of very considerable importance.

For sweets, which they must painfully do without, they show 263 almost a passion, probably for that very reason. They have only temporarily at their disposal the ripe berries with low sugar content from the well-known shrubs. In early summer they take the nectar out of the blossoms of máku (Embothrium coccineim) with their tongues, chew the sweetish petals of the rare Philesia buxifolia, and suck the sweet young shoots of Poa flabellata, the type of grass that they use as litter for their beds (p. 31). Finally they peel a piece of bark from young tree trunks in the spring. /571/ Exerting pressure, they scrape a mussel shell along the exposed fibrous layer, from below upward. In the process the sweetish sap, uškex, collects in the mussel shell and they drink it. All this taken together is still only a tiny amount of sweets.

263 Nowadays our Indians always procure sugar first whenever 177 possible, and that abundantly (334). As may be expected, they

334. Along with other observers Hyades (f):564 emphasizes that they show "a real passion for natural sugar and heavily sweetened substances" /translated from French/.

use it indiscriminately and lavishly. They are guided, however, not so much by the physiological need, but far more by their enjoyment of it (335). Their partiality for onions is also re-

335. I noticed the same behavior among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 293).

markable. The cooked meat of crabs, especially axíya (Lithodes antarctica) and štekálus (Paralomis verrucosus), is very tasty prepared with a little vinegar and chopped onions. The Yamana, without exception, are enthusiastic about this. Nowadays if they cook a meal of beans or rice or other legume, they naturally use cooking salt; only when they do not have it do they stir up the mixture with sea water. The addition of salt is demanded in this type of food which tastes flat even when larger pieces of meat of

/571 cont./

263 sea birds or seals are cooked in it. Along with European foods,
177 the desire for salt was introduced there.

In the entire vegetable kingdom of the Cape Horn region there
273 is not a sufficient amount of a single fruit that would be suitable
177 for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The latter were unknown to the Yamana until they were offered to them by Europeans. The navigators of earlier times often noted that our natives could not develop a taste for spirits. They have come to it only through frequent use in the last few decades (336). Whiskey is almost never

336. Dabbene (b):187 from his own experience says: "Formerly they did not like alcoholic beverages, but now they have become accustomed to them through their contact with civilization and ardently desire them" /translated from Spanish/. Wieghardt: 37 and others say the same.

[439] available to them; instead they get the thick red wine from the
733 Mendoza region, which they call sfpa, "blood." When they have an opportunity, they put a great deal of this into their stomachs, and since their nerves react to it immediately, they drag their drunkenness with its attendant symptoms about with them for days. A small amount is very hard on these natural people who are not accustomed to it, and the damage to their health is inestimable (p. 351 /untranslated/) (337). A few /572/ persons, such as Nelly

337. Dune:93 writes that when in those distant regions "civilization obtruded and brought along its inevitable accompaniments [alcohol and tobacco], it became clear that these sons of the wilderness [the Selk'nam] did not place any value on them. The Yahgan, on the other hand, quickly fell victims to the new luxuries and were capable of giving up their last skin [of seal and otter] for a piece of tobacco or a drink of whiskey." Compare in this connection the more detailed account on page 348 /untranslated/.

/572 cont./

133 Lawrence and Adelheid, refuse all alcoholic beverages on principle. The former has often and emphatically lamented the devastation that alcohol still inflicts on her compatriots. She has repeatedly said that so much alcohol, which formerly was entirely unknown, has very much weakened the memory of the members of her tribe for their old traditions and beautiful legends. She is scarcely wrong in this.

276 Most men have, of course, become accustomed to tobacco.
177 They do not care so much for cigarettes, but prefer pressed tobacco which they smoke in pipes. They think this is more pleasurable, and it also lasts longer. The pipe is particularly convenient on the canoe trip. They are not capable of really enjoying the taste of tobacco; it is only the playful occupation with the pipe that amuses them. Not unimportant in this connection is their desire to be like Europeans. Self-respect and the need for recognition would make it impossible for a Yamana to refuse a cigarette offered by a European. Smoking never develops into a passion among our Indians; if they do not have tobacco, there is nothing in their behavior to indicate that they are missing something. Among primitive peoples tobacco does not have anywhere near the harmful effects on their health that alcohol has.

271 Since not a single alcoholic beverage is available to the
312 Fuegians, they are dependent solely on natural water. It comes to them from many rivulets, springs, and brooks. No matter how cold it is, it does not harm them; some people prefer it, the colder, the better. They lay stress on pure water. If they have no other choice but to get water from swampy, boggy places, they put a layer of beard moss (Usnea barbata) or small-leaved shrubs (Nothofagus antarctica) on top and press it down slightly. This causes the filtered water to seep slowly through to the surface, the roiled mud soon settles, and the water is potable. In other swampy spots they pull up a small shrub or the thick fleshy stalk of a swamp plant, and the water quickly gathers in this hole; in a few minutes it becomes clear (338).

338. Snow (a):1, 344 observed: "On one occasion, being thirsty, and seeing no fresh water near, I indicated my desire;

/587 cont./

262 This is all that is eaten; the adjoining soft parts are thrown away. Strangely enough, the Yamana reject the tender meat of the Solen, the evenly shaped shells of which serve them as knife and scraper. Several green and brown algae that White settlers there like to eat are rejected by our natives as a matter of principle.

262 177 Not anything and everything that Europeans like and that they offered the Fuegians was accepted by them. They have to this day very emphatically rejected many things, for example, cow's milk. Other things, such as wine and other alcoholic beverages, they accepted only later. Hence it is not just the taste that makes them decide on one thing or another. Beyond that they reserve for themselves a freedom of choice that cannot be influenced.

262 262 In part this also comes out in the different procedures used in the preparation of individual foods. Above all, meat may never be roasted long enough to become quite dry and hard. They find it most wholesome when it is still red inside. They are always intent on providing themselves whenever possible with their favorite blubber sausages (p. 320), because they do not want to be without blubber, kun, for long. Since they do not have vegetables and spices, they get a little variety into their diet with the liquid blubber. The craving for fat in those damp, cold regions is probably also a factor. A person who wants to eat the berries of Pernettya mucronata or the dry Cyttaria fungi pours oil from the whale or sea lion into a large Mytilus shell and dips each piece into it before putting it into his mouth. In the same manner he eats certain mussels or pieces of meat from birds if the meat is dry and tough. Sometimes the dried Cyttaria fungi are soaked for a longer time in oil. The small [illegible], as well as other fish, after they are baked in ashes, are dipped into the oil before they are eaten. Our Fuegians lack the most necessary items to prepare their food in a somewhat better and more complicated fashion; they are curtailed and impeded in all directions.

Only a few things are regularly eaten raw by them, except when they are in serious distress. This includes berries, especially those of Pernettya mucronata, and all fungi, most of which, like yélui, have a spongy meat. They like to pick the large Cyttaria

/409 cont./

174 The considerable number of points of agreement justifies the assumption that the original founders of the shell mounds are to be regarded as bearers of a way of life and a form of culture that do not differ from the Tarasca of recent decades. Continuously, the undiversified picture of their culture runs through the earlier refuse-layers up to the top, upon which the Tarasca of the present, like the earliest beginners, are engaged in continuing the construction of these shell heaps (411). It is this very uniformity

> 411. In spite of his striking reserve, Lothrop (9:183 must admit: "The shellheaps throw little light on the culture or antecedents of the Talgan except for two points. It seems that no other people except the Talgan ever occupied southern Fuegia. It seems that the Talgan have lived there for a very long time" /cited in English/.

of design and execution in the implements that makes it impossible for us to see in them a succession of long intervals of time and to use them in order to determine certain strata, like the types in European prehistory.

172 177 Since, therefore, we cannot rely on a so-called series of types as a measure of time, the question arises whether the shell heaps in themselves permit any kind of decision about their age. The width and thickness of the layers plainly show everyone at first glance that very many decades went into them; more, however, it does not reveal. A definite pointer is the noteworthy fact that in no single layer of these refuse heaps can we find definite objects or traces of European origin. On the other hand, we must note that for approximately a century the natives were given all kinds of things by Whites and these have come into everyday use. The bulk of these middens had therefore accumulated prior to that. In some places, it is true, the bulk has increased during the last hundred years, /410/ but this development cannot be compared with the earlier one because meanwhile the natives have decreased extraordinarily in numbers, because they have somewhat modified

/Kill cont./

their dim since the museum stations were started, and because, under pressure of the White settlers, they have changed their landing places. We are willing to admit that in these places still chosen for dwellings objects of European origin have found their way into the refuse layer, but that layer is high up and therefore shows its recent origin.

Would we perhaps be able to obtain tangible dates from the height of the middens? To me it seems hopeless to bother about it. For example, Ludewig (9):195, in a "Table of accumulation of refuse-heaps," estimated the amounts of refuse according to the number of natives, taking as his scale of measurement the daily consumption of mussels and snails. His attempt contains so many sources of error that we must expect an extremely unreliable result from the start. The Tonsens do not nourish themselves exclusively with mussels, although these represent a predominant part of their nutrition. At times when a whale is stranded, or swarms of herring swim up onto the coast, or sea birds, fish, and seals occur in extraordinarily large numbers, they prefer these things by far. All these phenomena, however, are not bound to certain periods of time. Moreover, a visit to a preferred, desirable place was very irregular. Some places were more favored and were therefore more sought out by an indeterminately larger number of families than others. Furthermore, the length of time each of these families remained on the same spot depended on incalculable circumstances. We certainly must not underestimate what it would mean in amounts of refuse if all the families in one place stay three days longer than the same number of families in another place. The difference is very considerable. Hence we cannot decide that one refuse layer at any given vertical distance from the ground is considerably older than another made under the same conditions of deposit, simply because the former accumulated much more slowly than the latter.

We should like to emphasize that a shell heap grows much fewer than many Europeans imagine. If we assume, for example, that every member of a five-member family consumed 50 Mytilus mussels a day -- not too large a number, since I counted more than three times that amount among people who happened to

/BBB cont./

Fueguans against the unfavorable, premature judgments of some observers and has upheld them in the following decisive words: "The travelers who have visited them are wrong in condemning them for their poverty and ignorance, of which they are not guilty. The construction of their canoes, weapons, implements, etc., and the labor of obtaining their sustenance from the sea, the coast, and the woods occupy nearly all their time" /translated from Spanish/. But then in modern times when the foreign utensils brought by Europeans were finally introduced among the Tamata, the harmonious, compact economic structure of this Indian tribe was disrupted, and its complete disintegration was prepared.

Were the Fueguans outwardly and inwardly or spiritually enriched by their adoption in recent times of a not inconsiderable amount of European goods? I believe not. George Forster (9): BBB already answered this question in the same vein, writing from Christmas Sound in mid-December, 1774: "We described the savages living in the southern tip of our globe as miserable, degenerate, and decadent. That it seemed to us, that it necessarily appeared to every European who knew and was accustomed to a better condition. In their own eyes they are not so unfortunate. Their way of life has become second-nature to them, they prefer it to any other, and not one of them would prefer our mild zone to their cold climate; his hut is dearer to him than a comfortable European residence; his seal skin seems more elegant to him than silk and embroidered clothing; a /BBB/ tasty dish from our kitchen by no means replaces the more delectable flavor of his seal meat." In order to avoid unnecessary repetition, I refer to my detailed accounts of the extended activity of the Anglican missionaries among the Yamana in several places of their country since the middle of the previous century (p. BBB /unpublished/), and of the manifold influence of all European civilization on these natives who have for several centuries already decreased considerably in numbers (p. BBB, BBB /unpublished/).

Our Indians cling, with all the fibers of their being, to the traditional nomadic life to which they have long been accustomed. They find it unbearable to be impeded in this way of life, even temporarily. Despite the many benefits each of them has derived

/625 cont./

177 from his stay among the missionaries, "he returns with delight
181 to his canoe, to his independent wandering life, without pre-
occupation and without cares" /translated from French/, as Hyades (j):166 reports. Every outside observer can be adequately convinced that there is no other possible way of life for the Yamana; they are used to it from their earliest childhood; they are forced into it by their given environment, into which they have been inescapably placed. Care for their daily subsistence and the necessary raw materials for their implements drive them restlessly from place to place. This powerful motivation drives
181 our Yamana with equal force and toward the same goal as it does
171 the neighboring Selk'nam; hence the many basic similarities in the characteristics of their economies between the two tribes, with whom the Halakwulup are to be compared in this respect. All careful observers agree that "like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance" /cited in English/, as Lothrop (b):116 tersely expresses himself. It is the instinct of self-preservation that makes both of them restless wanderers, that always and unmercifully puts them back on their feet again after they have given themselves a brief respite of only a few days. Despite this great dependence on external nature, our Fuegians have by no means become its slave, and their struggle for existence is not at all the degrading strife in which, for example, vast strata of so-called civilized Europe are at present engaged.

182 A glance at how the Yamana manage their affairs also shows that man with his superior mental equipment and his physical powers energetically comes to grips with nature on every spot of the earth that is entrusted to him. There he creates for himself a definite form of economy which will sooner or later strike every careful observer as harmonious co-operation between man and nature. Actually, the economic form of every long-domiciled primitive people possesses its inherent individuality conditioned by its environment and marked by its own structure. Thus, it is unique, and, despite external similarities with an economic form developed under other conditions, it differs from the latter /626/ more or less according to its inner structure, or at least according to its manifold purpose. This is not by any

/628 cont./

181 The entire social order, as the aggregate of conjugal or familial arrangements and vital functions of the tribe or community, proves to be naturally humane and, therefore, appears in an altogether friendly, pleasant light.

A. Courtship and Marriage

594 The individual family, the supporting pillar of the entire social order, is regulated in its origin and its continuation according to fixed, unchangeable fundamental principles. These principles are kept alive as customs in the consciousness and conscience of the people. They are made known to each member of the tribe and are more or less familiar to him. Since custom and practice are the primary law in the performance of duty, the centuries have not eaten away any of this, and whatever has remained down to the present time is to be justly and lawfully regarded as ancient tribal heritage.

581 The individual family consisting of parents and children is
/629/ basically independent and a compact union. It is founded
594 on mutual affection between the two lovers and the desire for lifelong union. It is held together by the increasing spiritual relationship of the two partners. Its vitality is assured by the fellowship of work and possessions, food gathering and consumption. It grows beyond itself by the self-evident duty of parents to beget several children and through them to insure the permanence of the tribe.

581 Although these vital customs pertaining to the institution of
177 the family have endured in century-long uniformity, foreign influences have exerted such pressure on it for several decades that this firm structure has finally become undermined. Conditions have arisen in recent times which cannot be regarded as natural, and their effects on marital conditions have created a sad caricature of the original pattern of marriage. These regrettable changes and the false and inadequate observations of most travelers since the middle of the previous century do not give a picture of the basic organization of the institution of the family among the Yamana (1).

583 114 1. What has been recorded from still older

/656 cont./

585 and spend the night at the place where the celebration /657/ took place (38). Here the people of the neighborhood again assemble

[783]

38. Bove (e):158, and Wieghardt:41 as well, maintain: "If the bridegroom does not wish to forgo forever the enjoyment of eating guanaco and seal meat, he must cleanse himself on the morning after the wedding by bathing in the water of the sea... These baths are without doubt the cause of many sicknesses to which the young people of Tierra del Fuego are subjected, but they are regarded as necessary to replace the lost strength." When I asked my informants whether a bridegroom was obliged to take a bath, they could not keep from laughing, they found it so preposterous. It is almost childish to attribute "many sicknesses" to this alleged custom. Whenever someone has washed himself in the sea, he immediately hastens to the fire.

in the days that follow, until the supply of meat is gone, the joyful mood has abated, and the long sojourn at the same place becomes boring. Meanwhile the bride often hastens to the hut of her mother where the two outdo each other in expressions of mutual affection, for soon the hour of parting will come. Each time [702] the mother carefully paints her daughter with the three horizontal lines, in order that she will be pleasing to her young husband and he will learn to love her. Many of the male guests give the bridegroom their good wishes and occasionally drop a warning word. The principals themselves are silent and are quite content in their own happiness. When all the wedding guests have dispersed and gone their separate ways, the newlyweds, who have meanwhile acquired their own canoe, also leave the place. They begin their independent life, free of their parents, and this is encouraged by very special rules applicable to parents-in-law and children-in-law.

585 A new family has now been established. The public regards
● 171 this event as so significant that they feel the necessity of surrounding it with legal formality (39). The modern confusion brought

39. Once Bridges (e):332, too, apparently lets his understanding of this come through:

585 /657 cont./
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"Marriage was recognized just as much as all other degrees of relationship, for all of which they [the Yamana] have their specific terms."

about by the dominance of European civilization has strangled this judicious tribal custom, along with much that was original. The Indians of today regret that some of their countrymen enter a marriage without the ceremony of former times. Mary, who was indignant over the widespread lack of form, very much lamented these conditions: "A woman, after all, is not an object, not a piece of wood or something, that one takes without ceremony. A girl who gives herself to a man without the formalities customary among us is not a real woman. It was so nice in former times when the painted bride was given to the bridegroom, who was also painted. Everybody was very happy on those occasions!" Again it is European influence that has killed the feeling for their native tribal customs among the younger generation. I learned the bulk of what is contained in the preceding pages from reliable old Alfredo on my second journey.

/658/ 9. Parents-In-Law and Children-In-Law

584 606 In the days before and after the wedding, the bridegroom is very obliging and anxious to serve his parents-in-law. There is no legal obligation for service in the form of work or for gifts, but it is a matter of concern to him to obtain the favor of the girl's parents in order that they will surely and without reservation give their consent to the planned marriage. It is well known that a certain shyness prevents the lovers from revealing their turbulent desires. One day shortly before the wedding, when the love of the two young people has already become known, the bridegroom, in order to gain admittance into the hut of the girl's parents, places a rather large bundle of wood in front of the hut and waits until he is called in (40). If this happens, he interprets it as the surest

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40. It is well known that among the Selk'nam, also, the young chap who is anxious to marry resorts to silent, patient waiting in front of the

/661 cont./

606 and lances for lance-shafts. In short, they help their parents-in-law in every way and outwardly show them far more veneration than their own parents. A son-in-law would neither demand anything of them nor borrow anything. More than that, the son-in-law and daughter-in-law must also display a certain reserve toward the brothers and sisters of their parents-in-law, although it is not inadmissible to exchange brief words with them occasionally. Every man, however, can associate freely with the grandparents of his wife (43).

43. In the relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law there are remarkable similarities between the Yamana and the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 332) and the Halakwulup (Vol. III).

• 177 182 European civilization, disrupting everything, has done away with many regulations formerly respected by the Yamana as sacred laws. For this reason, disgraceful disorders have met no opposition among the remaining survivors of the tribe. Older Indians whose principles are the same as those of their ancestors and who are helpless to stop this confusion complain bitterly and deeply regret the uncontrollable decline of their entire nation.

b. Married Life

591 593 With the marriage ceremony, independent life begins for the newly wedded couple. They are no longer dependent upon their own parents, and as a newly established conjugal union, they find themselves standing on their own feet. There is no definite rule about the time when the newlyweds break away from their parents. It depends on the position of the family of the bridegroom or of the bride. In exceptional cases, the young people remain with their elders until they have their first child.

The young man does not find it difficult to turn his back on the parental hut; he has long felt the urge for personal /662/ independence and the desire for the unimpeded development of

/662 cont./

604 custom grants the real parents. If the young woman should have the misfortune of having to seek help against infractions or cruel treatment by her husband, she first turns to her blood brother and then to her uncle.

In principle, the couple are united in marriage for life.
581 Their marriage is not only a union of hearts, but also a union of
593 work for the welfare of themselves and their children. Each of the two partners is assigned particular duties by ancient custom; it alone decides if and when the dissolution of a marriage is permissible. Unfortunately, the modern age has also changed the
[177] original /663/ form of marriage in families of today, so that it is only partly recognizable in its outward appearance; hence the information given by all the old people was particularly valuable to me.

1. Monogamy

114 In describing the marital arrangements and family customs
595 of the Yamana, the critic is faced with a difficult problem. The reports of earlier observers are often quite inadequate and in part clearly colored. In particular, the statements Bridges made about our Indians are consistently unfavorable to them, and his conscious or unconscious intention to show them in an unfriendly light can probably not be denied. The older reports from his pen are in a disparaging and disdainful vein. Later he had enough feeling for justice to correct some of his grossest errors. Other travelers, however, in describing things which they did not directly understand, leaned on Bridges, and this was especially true in the case of arrangements dealing with marriage and the family. This is why there is so much agreement and similarity of opinion among the writers. I personally no longer found the genuine form of married life among the Yamana of earlier times to be a common condition and was obliged to rely on the reports of trustworthy people, such as old Alfredo, during my second visit to Tierra del Fuego. Since their opinions were well founded, they at any rate counteract many false, unsubstantiated contentions.

Many of the earlier travelers maintain that the Yamana condone polygamy, but one cannot clearly tell from their words whether

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595 The intention of having more children is not a reason for polygamy among the Yamana, for the Indian women are very
581 /668/ fertile, and no one could remember a childless woman in
842 earlier times. Most cases of polygamy arose from the fact that a man who was already living with one or two women also took in a solitary widow, ēlátakakīpa. The latter perhaps did not find an opportunity for a new marriage with a bachelor or did not wish to return to her family group, and the man took her chiefly because he felt sorry for her. Whether or not he sometimes had intercourse with her, both knew from the start that they could not expect children from their union. Hence, it was actually the right of sanctuary which the husband granted this widow. In the strict sense of the word one cannot call such a life together a marriage.

595 In 1920 Walter explained to me how our Yamana must also
•177 make allowances for the changes forced on them by European civilization. His father had three women in his hut simultaneously, with whom he had marital relations. At that time there was already a shortage of men on Lennox Island and environs, that is to say, in the eastern group of the Yamana. Hence the women forced themselves on the few men in order to find sanctuary somewhere. From among his many brothers and sisters, Walter had for several years been the only one living. Here is another case. The young Halakwulup, Julia, had fled from a brutal European and found refuge on the farm near Punta Remolino. She could scarcely come to any understanding with the Yamana and lived very much to herself. She was treated in a friendly fashion and was supported by the Indian women there, but as a solitary woman with a son a year old she could no longer make out by herself. There was no suitable Yamana youth who could be her husband. Finally Manuel, who was about 35 years old and was married to fifteen-year-old Emilia, took pity on her and took her into his hut as his second wife (p. 439).

The quiet acceptance of polygamy brings with it the surprising phenomenon that married people are separated by a considerable age difference (55), which is not regarded as an obstacle

55. "An elderly man will be found often to possess two young wives in addition to one his

/684 cont./

837 himself corrected it soon after, saying that "generally a great deal of unfaithfulness" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869) is customary. Six years later he (i):19 learned of the splendid [538] Yamana simile, "an adulterous person was likened to a rotten tree which has only to be touched to fall" /cited in English/. If a people seeks such a means of defense, it confirms its alarm over the serious danger which threatens it from marital infidelity.

A surprisingly large number of words signifying adulterous action have been collected in BD. Hyades and Spegazzini several times mention the fact that adultery is committed by the husband as well as the wife. The reliable Fred Lawrence assured me with all certainty that, according to his ten years' experience, a considerable number of women had lovers. Each of them knew that she was bound to fidelity toward her husband (85), but

85. Hyades (q):378 also emphasizes that the Indian women "are bound in fidelity to their husbands" /translated from French/. It is an exaggeration, however, when Martial:199 says: "Fidelity is very rare in the Fuegian marriages, and morals are very loose" /translated from French/.

nevertheless yielded to the urge in greatest secrecy. It is difficult to decide who is chiefly to blame, but each of the guilty parties has his share. "The seducer was probably generally to blame" (Gusinde [ℓ]:168); we might deduce this from the admonitions given young girls in the čiĕxaus ceremony. "The women of to-
837 day," Fred Lawrence continued, "are scarcely ashamed of their
•177 transgressions and force themselves preferably on Europeans because they are paid by them. Where else did one or another of the women get her new dress, since neither she nor her husband earned anything to pay for it! In former times the illicit affair was kept secret, but nowadays many an older Indian woman is not at all embarrassed if one accuses her openly. Her husband is silent, for he knows that she /685/ is supplying herself with the things she wants." Some Indians were even offended at the behavior of old Marócha, so much so that they repeatedly spoke

/685 cont./

837 to me about her in very unfavorable terms (in this connection see
177 the account on p. 353 /untranslated/).

Formerly, as we have said, adulterous acts had to be anxious-
593 ly concealed from the eyes of the injured partner. If a man caught
837 his wife, he thrashed her soundly and watched her more closely
627 after that. If, moreover, he learned the identity of the other guilty party, he beat him if he was a match for him, or he summoned his own relatives to help (86). In any case he left the

86. Martial:199 describes the punishment of an adulterer which he himself observed in Orange Bay.

vicinity with his undependable wife. Many a man only gradually recovered from his wife's misstep and only after he had repeatedly thrashed her (87). It never went so far as conscious killing;

87. According to Hyades (p):335 and (d):309, "Adultery of the wife is punished by beatings which the husband or her parents inflict on the guilty party and her accomplice" /translated from French/.

there is the possibility, however, that a woman may have succumbed as a result of heavy blows (88). It very seldom happened

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88. Martial:199 and also Dabbene (b):189 express themselves in the same vein. It is not correct to speak of actual murder on the part of the husband. The assertion by Outes (g):58 is as false as it is emphatic.

that a man dismissed his faithless wife forever solely because of this offense, even though she may have stayed with her lover for a time and later returned to the hut of her lawful husband (89). If, however, it could be proved that she became

89. Martial:199 tells of an adulteress who

/728 cont./

165 fact that "one woman 38 years old had had seven children, of whom only one had died prematurely" /translated from French/. The most striking case that I can report from recent times is the fate of Walter's children; out of a total of eleven, only two are living.

As we have said, however, it is difficult to understand the reasons for the abnormal infant mortality (166). In any case the

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166. The explanations offered by Bridges (a):202 are not very useful. He merely establishes that "few women save all their children; most die in early infancy: a disease in the throat carries many off" /cited in English/. This vague reference to a throat ailment makes us think of diphtheria which was imported by Europeans.

assumption is justified that natural feeding at the mother's breast in the first year of life is a surer guarantee of keeping the child alive than the food children eat from the second to the tenth year. During these years food seems to me far more important for the child than external protection, care, and clothing. A child that has reached the eleventh year has acquired enough physical resistance to go on living; weaklings have been eliminated by that time.

842 A reference to the barrenness of Fuegian woman is in order here. Formerly it was certainly an extremely rare occurrence (167),

167. Hyades (q):188 also represents the view that "sterility is doubtless rare among the Fuegians; we have seen no case of a woman under 25 years old who was sterile" /translated from French/.

and various informants, among them the aged Reverend John Lawrence, could not tell me of any women, except Flora and Gertie, who were childless. If there are no children in a marriage, the woman is regarded as defective. The childless husband, matúma génnakuwa, takes another woman who without doubt will give him

861 /752/ Even the best human arrangements sometimes fail,
558 not, however, because they themselves are faulty. If there have actually been a few failures in training, the system itself is not immediately responsible, but rather the unfortunate nature of the child or the detrimental influence of outside forces. Calderon, who, on account of his unfortunate nature, disregards the tried and true principles, is probably the best example of how far a person can deviate from the ideal of the forefathers. He thinks he is better than other men and enjoys many advantages because he is Fred Lawrence's brother-in-law. He therefore disregards the warnings and advice of well-meaning fellow-tribesmen. The consequence is his offensive laxiness, which often causes his wife and children to suffer hunger; if he is irritated and in a bad humor, as he often is, he beats them without sufficient reason; usually he lacks the most essential implements, and the ones he has are not in order. We must really regard his two boys as spoiled children. They lounge about among other people, are impudent and rude, very unkempt in appearance, and never available to help anyone. How often have upright elders expressed their regret over this negligent family and said again and again: "In former times no man would have been allowed to become so negligent; at least his wife and children would have been taken away from him and put in better circumstances!"

• 177 The demoralizing influence of degenerate Europeans has
558 brought several women into disgrace (p. 353 /untranslated/).
861 To understand this we must realize that these unfortunate persons are no longer steadied and warned by the tribe as a whole, which must be regarded as already disintegrated. Today they have no possibility of marrying again, and the constant enticing temptation finally breaks down the last resistance of their honest sentiments. It would be wrong to blame the child-rearing principles themselves, for in contrast to these very few delinquencies, one can point to the virtuousness and soundness of by far the greater majority of the people as a whole. Missionaries, as well as many
861 travelers, speak of the most pleasant surprises and gratifying observations. I myself have learned to appreciate many of them as quite superior human beings and as sterling, reliable persons; I even sincerely love a few of them as true, valuable friends. This is the result of the influence of others in training them and of

/833 cont./

X881 The thicker and usually pointed end of the small trunk is pounded
346 into the earth very much at an angle to the main rib. The free end is tied to the opposite small trunk. Measured on the ground, all these small trunks are about 15 centimeters apart. A few more long poles are now placed longitudinally over the transverse arches in order to hold the vault together better. The thick end is likewise pounded into the earth at the proper angle, and the small pole itself, as parallel as possible to the others, is drawn over the transverse arches. The intersections are tied with rush stalks of
[824] Marsippospermum grandiflorum or with seal tendons. The long side areas of this framework are hung with large pieces of leather and the upper part is covered with thick leafy twigs of the ever-
[824] green Nothofagus betuloides. Sometimes the entire hut is covered with beech branches. This completes the hut. /834/ It has a long elliptical groundplan and an elongated dome shape (Fig. 81), something like the community hut (p. 31).

The time it takes to erect the Great Hut, two or three days, depends on the number and the agility of the men taking part. Meanwhile others are working on the interior. First they mark out the hearth with rather thick small trunks placed on the cleaned and leveled ground. These pairs of trunks start a little to the side of each of the trunks that mark off the main and the secondary entrances, and they extend from one end to the other. This center passage is thus somewhat wider than the main and secondary entrances. Pegs about as long as a hand are rammed into the earth to give some support to the parallel trunks. /Fig. 81 appears here./ Brush with thick foliage is spread on either side of them. Later on each participant will spread his pieces of
X881 leather and skins over the brush to make a seat for himself. Since
346 the people form only two rows, everyone can come close to the
354 fire (254) or move away from it as he chooses. The brush on the

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254. At present the Yamana use a rather large tin can or a wide iron pipe for the fire in their dwelling and in the canoe. This time they had placed two short pieces of a steamship funnel along the middle passage of the Great Hut. The fires inside of these produced sufficient warmth

X881 346 352 531

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and sticks with different patterns may be found in black and white in Koppers (a):48, and in color in Lothrop (b):126. In the latter reproductions, the background is too bright a yellow. It is not painted, but left in the natural color of the beech wood.

the ceremony is over (257), for such articles are not used in any

257. After my first initiation and later after my second, when I expressed the wish to take along a few of these ornamental objects, the Indians took down not only the long painted plaques and hanging sticks, but also removed the long thin pieces of wood and trunks out of the ground and gave them all to me without hesitation, further proof that they do not regard these things as having any value other than as decorations for the Great Hut during the initiation.

other way.

X881 346

There is no partition anywhere inside the hut, and one can survey the whole without obstruction from one end to the other. Also, there is no particular allotment of areas and places to sit. The candidates with their sponsors squat between the other participants in an informal, relaxed arrangement. The adults, however, use the wider entrance, tumẽči, almost exclusively, whereas the úšwāala have contact with the outside world only by way of the narrower entrance, úšatumẽči (258). The two entrances are so

258. BD:113 gives " 'ussa, ' position in or up..., up at the inner end of the room" /cited in Englist/.

arranged that the wider one for the adults faces the camp while the other one is nearer the woods so that the candidates, unobserved by children and adults in the camp, can disappear into it. Each of the entrances is closed off with a large piece of leather (259)

259. Nowadays they often use sacking and

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sailcloth which is also drawn over the entire framework as a covering. Very large pieces prevent the rain from dripping in annoyingly. The Fuegians appreciate this, and in February, 1920, they borrowed a wide tent canvas from Fred Lawrence for the Great Hut in Punta Remolino.

that hangs in front of it. It prevents the wind from beating in and also keeps anyone from looking into the room lighted by the fire. Sometimes a guard will pre-empt the seat near the tumēčí, although he does not have any particular right to it. Everyone is content to take a seat, mičí, to the right or left of the fire, in the middle or on the sides, as chance would have it. The entire interior is called "alāin" (260), but this designation is almost

260. This word originally meant "rock cave at the surface of the water where sea lions gather." Just as these animals assemble in their rock cave, so have the Yamana assembled in their play in the Great Hut. The further symbolic significance of this word and the meaning of the dance staff and forehead decoration are given in detail on p. 713

always used only for the little space near the narrower entrance at the rear.

The entire dome, despite its great flexibility, is stable enough because the individual poles forming the framework are tied and plaited together and also driven into the earth a short distance. The dome needs firmness, for sometimes it must withstand strong buffeting by the wind on its long side. During the dances /837/ held inside, the framework sometimes suffers heavy blows when a dance group falls against it. Moreover, it is customary, in order to ward off the influence of evil spirits, to shake it often so that it vibrates in all its parts. Individual persons will seize it with such force that one fears they will tear the whole weave apart. Finally, the watchmen climb up to the highest

/843 cont./

X 881 be newly made. Certain things that need protection are carefully packed away, and they arrange for a more or less long absence from their dwellings.

From this point onward the women in particular note the progress of the work on the čiēxaus hut, for when it is almost finished, the start of the festival is not far off. It remains for the leader to choose a few men as guard and guard assistants (p. 683), as well as a few women to work in the cookhut (p. 682). Sometimes it is not until then that a few authoritative men meet and consider which young people are to become uswāala.

Therefore, a few days elapse after arrival at the čiēxaus site before the leader states in plain words: "This evening our čiēxaus will begin!" As soon as his decision has been made, a few men notify all the inhabitants of the camp who immediately prepare themselves for it. Should anyone be detained, for instance, if he should be caring for a sick person or on account of a small child /844/ or physical infirmity, he may remain in his dwelling undisturbed. All the little children who may not as yet be admitted to the Great Hut and who cannot be left unsupervised are put in charge of two to five older women, depending on the number of families taking part. Each of these women gathers several children around her during the day, invites them into her own hut for the night, and sees that they are fed. Women with a nursing baby sometimes take it with them into the čiēxaus hut. These arrangements in the dwellings, as well as in the Great Hut, are attended to quite calmly, without the least fuss.

If the leader, for example, has announced the beginning of the celebration for that evening, one adult after another will move over to the Great Hut as early as noontime. Everyone takes with him the little that he needs for his bed and the frequently renewed body painting. There, on the brush covering the ground, he spreads out his pieces of skin, largely replaced nowadays by cloth covers (264), and places the other small items in

X 881 • 177

264. Many other European articles to which the Yamana are now accustomed are also brought along, for example, soap, combs, stearin candles, etc. They do not regard it

X88 [17]

/844 cont./

as a desecration of the sacred hut to unpack and use these foreign objects there.

the interstices of the hut framework. There are no particular rules for seating. The leader chooses his place approximately in the center, so that without effort he can announce his instructions to all the participants. The rest of the people sit here or there, as chance would have it and as they freely congregate. Sometimes close relatives and good friends stay together, and occasionally the leader calls a young man to his side so that he will be at his disposal (265). Many winefkées prefer the place next to the main

265. The complete lack of form is surprisingly different from the seating rules in the men's Great Hut of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1006).

entrance. If new guests arrive in the course of the celebration, they squeeze into the left or right row wherever suits them. Everyone, however, must keep his chosen place from the beginning to the end of the proceedings. Each candidate, of course, sits beside one of his sponsors.

As a rule the occupants form a row on either side of the hearth which extends from one entrance to the other. If there are many people from the start and additional guests unexpectedly join them, there is some crowding, and many a person must squeeze in between the participants squatting in their places and the wall of the framework. Such discomforts happen only to young people, of course. Each of the women who come into the Great Hut from the cookhut squeezes into the place she first chose in the row of people and likewise adjusts to the general rule.

In March, 1922, we sat in the following order. On one side /845/ of the secondary entrance in the direction of the main entrance were Richard and his wife Mary who was the sponsor of Elisa, the latter's mother Adelheid, whose husband Santiago was sponsor for Father Koppers, old Pedro who was the overseer of the entire gathering, Whaits, and Charlin. On the other side, beginning at the main entrance, were Calderon, myself, my sponsor Chris and his wife Gertie, Manuel who was the sponsor of Kines,

X881 /848 cont./
533 It is stronger and more universal during the evening dancing, very faint and soft during the forenoon hours.

With all the simplicity of the melody, there are nevertheless slight variations, which, one beside the other, produce some diversity. Many a person is pleased when he hears a certain variant from the mouth of another, which sometimes arouses precious memories within him. The čiéxaus truly keeps alive ancient melodies. Since most of them are sung only at the youth initiation, their sound awakens the spiritual mood which alone enables one to enjoy this solemn gathering profitably. The uninterrupted singing is also supposed to show that there is vigilance in the Great Hut and that nothing harmful can approach unnoticed.

X881 When darkness falls, the čiéxaus hut shelters all the adults who are regular participants. All the more immediate preparations, including the division of labor, were inconspicuously attended to, very gradually the beginning of the celebration was introduced, and the ceremony now runs its course quietly each day without any particular division of time.

2. Reception of the Candidates

X881 The weak superficiality of our Indians of today has unfortu-
•177 nately also interrupted the good custom of abstaining from all food
264 on the first evening of the assembly in the Great Hut. After the general singing has lasted about two hours, the kitchen women appear and place a tall metal container of thick soup in front of the leader, who, ladling it out with a large spoon, fills the plates while the women pass them around to all present. The meal is soon over, and the dishes are gathered up by the women who /849/ without delay disappear with them. Everyone carefully gathers the food remains and burns them; afterwards the central passage is cleaned and swept (267).

267. At the present time the Yamana keep to the routine that they have taken over from the Europeans, even in the Great Hut, but as of old they are very strict about burning all the remains

/849 cont./

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of food. These minor cleaning chores are considerably easier in modern times since the prepared food is usually handed to the people present on tin plates. Their original way of eating caused much more refuse.

α. Capture in the Camp

X881

Meanwhile the singing has been resumed by most of the people. With unobtrusive signs the leader gives a definite message to the winefkoʼsa, and he inconspicuously notifies his helpers. They get ready to capture the first candidate. The older participants have previously named the young people who are to be made uǀwǂʼala on this occasion (p. 669). Without disturbing the singing, in which usually the helpers, too, softly take part, the latter paint themselves (p. 683). Then they get up, form a row with one not very far behind the other, and grasp the leather strap, ǂkeʼa, which hangs, unrolled, lengthwise on the interior framework (p. 686).

With a long drawn-out ho ho ho, uttered in a threatening tone, the winefkoʼsa is the first to dash out of the Great Hut, followed by his helpers. Quickly they turn toward the dwelling from which they wish to fetch the uǀwǂʼala. The latter is frightened at the sight of the feared men. In his terror he crawls under the covers of his sleeping-place, but that does not help him; the men seize him and hold him tight, pull the lasso over his head, and bind him. Now he must follow them to the Great Hut. Resistance and stubbornness would be of no avail, so he follows the men and gives himself up to the fate that awaits him.

Many a boy and girl who previously have not been threatened by adults give themselves up willingly and without resistance to their relative, who leads them to the Great Hut. They, therefore, need not be dragged to it forcibly by the guardʼs assistants. At the entrance they are received in the manner reserved for all uǀwǂʼala without exception and, of course, for a definite purpose.

The appearance of the guards in the camp and the terrified screaming of their victim spread dismay in all the huts where there

/954 cont./

X 281 leader adheres to them. What is prevalent today was also the rule among previous generations who kept much more closely to the prevailing customs than the last survivors of this tribe under the inevitable influence of disruptive European culture. We can be all the more certain that even in modern times this youth initiation is repeated according to the manner and custom of the ancients because it is the one thing that is anxiously withheld from the cognizance of all strangers and is open only to fellow-villagers as something particularly sacred. We must remember that not even the missionaries, despite decades of association with the natives, obtained a tangible notion of this initiation or, even less, direct insight into it (p.844).

X 281 This section on the daily program of the candidates has been 12 put together on the basis of what we ourselves experienced, supplemented with explanations by our Yamana. The description has been built up according to certain points of view, which is why it seems formalistic, but it guarantees that all the details are really brought out /955/ and properly set forth (276). In

> 276. This treatment also facilitates a detailed comparison with the order of the day to which the candidates of the men's celebration among the Selk'nam must submit (Vol. I, 1908).

particular the educational principles upon which the initiation is built come out more clearly. The initiation is, first of all, a continuation of the child's early training which, up to then, it received from its parents in the family circle.

X 281 A valuable bit of educational wisdom has been preserved 177 down to our own day in this Yaghan celebration, for it has been proved that European culture has exerted no decisive influence on the shaping of the external procedure or the form of the dominant principles. This fact should once again be strongly emphasized. In particular, the religious basis underlying the instruction of the candidates and the causal derivation of the whole performance help us to judge effectively the religious belief of these Fuegians.

X 281 Although fully preserving the traditional, the Yamana do not by any means treat the daily program as a rigid, inflexible

/[illegible] cont./

Finally we must mention here the only form of tattooing which was formerly customary among these Fueguians, but of which I could not find a trace on any of the Yaghans living today. The reports which I received on this subject may be regarded as reliable (181). Soon after the beginning of the long ceremony, after

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181. Several men, as well as Molly Lawrence, spoke of this custom. The above data were given me by old Pedro, together with Wiwin. The latter is the oldest surviving Yamana, and although I examined him very carefully, I could not find the faintest trace of tattooing on him. He told me: "When I was a candidate in the Great Hut my countrymen gave up these marks, for they did not wish to appear before the ceremonies with them!" I suspect that they wanted to avoid divulging their secret initiation with the tattooing which was done at that time.

the candidates have become somewhat accustomed to the new living habits, all the members of the Great Hut go down to the flat beach the first thing in the morning if the weather is good. Only one of the guards remains behind. They choose a sheltered inlet with a shallow sea floor. The men, who are completely naked, and the women form separate groups. In their midst they have the candidates, the men taking the boys and the women, the girls. The men who arrive first step into the water and stand close together. The women arrange themselves in such a way that they form a more or less closed circle around the men. Then they all jump and leap about, play with one another, splash each other, perform all kinds of movements with their bodies, duck the candidates and drag them along under water. They disport themselves in every conceivable way with the members of their own sex, the inner circle of women never mingling with the group of men. After a time they come out of the water in this formation, and it is not until then that the circle of women breaks up, opening an exit

/963 cont./
them that a person has dutifully sat through his term as ufwfala in the youth initiation.

They have not entirely forgotten this earlier custom, but have provided a near substitute in the form of special body painting, which, however, only adult participants use. They paint the entire upper part of the body red and over this draw a white band the width of three fingers, which starts on either side of the spinal column and extends over the uppermost part of the arm and horizontally across the chest. It was definitely stated that this body painting is applied instead of the former tattooing. One day or another a man will still paint himself in this fashion.

The external measures to which each candidate of the Yahgan hut is subjected are really designed to better his whole body thoroughly. All candidates show great fatigue even after the first three days. This is consciously sought; it is meant to make each ufwfala amenable and to prepare him for the further aims of the Yahgan.

/964/ B. Instruction

The participants never lose sight of the fact that this event is supposed to be a period of serious training for their young people. Accordingly, some hours every day are devoted to teaching and instruction. Unfortunately, at present even this essential part of the entire Yahgan is not taken as seriously as it was formerly. The old people feel that the youth of today have for some time been alienated from the old tribal traditions and have adjusted to European standards of living. Hence the adults do not spend nearly as much time and effort on the actual instruction as they did formerly.

During my first initiation, however, we were required to congregate regularly each evening with our venerable instructor, for at that time Allwede, the leader, was particular about keeping strict order. During my second initiation old Whaits had all the ufwfala sitting at his feet on one occasion only, and at that time he could give us only a very small part of the wealth of earlier exhortations. Many conscientious Yamana regret this decline most deeply, but within themselves, faithfully shielded by a reliable memory, they carry everything that was once offered them in the

X881 /908/ strict judgment of others. Even if he lacks the urge toward
626 devotion to duty for its own sake, he at any rate practices it for the sake of his good reputation, which means a great deal to everyone.

X881 Despite the almost complete lack of a daily schedule and the small amount of authority exercised by the leader, there are a number of circumstances that naturally combine to make all the participants work together in perfect harmony and strive toward the twofold goal of this institution.

β Special Formalities

X881 The adults retain their personal freedom of movement only
577 to a certain degree. No one permits himself to make mistakes, although generally one cannot say what is and what is not permitted. It is a matter of general observation that the older and the very old persons are much more serious and concentrated in their conduct than middle-aged persons. This indication of decline goes back to
[177] the relaxation of the original strictness, for the most part a result of European influence.

An unwritten law regulates the behavior of the adult participants in this affair. Each person learns it from the example of the old people, without any special instructions. The leader keeps an eye on each one. He does not need to warn or admonish, but he does occasionally call upon one person or another for the required services. Each one is dominated by his determination to help in order that the traditional formalities be observed, even though it costs him personal sacrifices and the surrender of his own comfort. For the sake of order, everyone conducts himself irreproachably in the Great Hut and takes part in the common tasks, in song and dance.

1. Outward Calm. The adult participants regard their stay in the cíexaus hut as a period for collecting one's thoughts and deep meditation. They also absorb the admonitions and teachings imparted to the uswala. They recall their own period of probation and in their memory they renew the solemn pledge that they gave the overseer at that time (332).

332. Probably this oft-repeated self-reflection

X881 /911 cont./
the younger people wash with soap in the morning (334), usually
[515 177]

334. They have adopted this habit from Europeans, and they cling to it even in the Great Hut.

in front of the Great Hut. A few women busy themselves with the long fire and make bright flames leap up, while the men join in the continuous singing and give themselves up to their thoughts. [513] The night's sleep lasts only six to seven hours.

X881 3. Meals. Formerly during the ciexaus celebration the adults were also obliged to observe some restrictions in eating, as they 264 personally saw fit. To this day the Yamana uphold at least the rule that all food must be prepared exclusively in the secondary hut. In former times the kitchen women brought a meal from there to the people gathered in the Great Hut only twice a day, namely, a bite a few hours after arising and abundant portions toward four o'clock in the afternoon. The sponsors arranged it so that their protégés were usually not led outside before the first meal and that they were again present during the second. In case an adult missed the meals, he was permitted to go to the cookhut and receive something to eat there. It was not customary for extra food to be distributed in the Great Hut for latecomers after these two periods.

X881 In general the Yamana eat rapidly and even more so during the čiēxaus celebration. Food is brought in from the cookhut as 264 secretly as possible. Since the preparation of the food cannot be 869 hidden, the adults and, above all, the children outside in the camp who do not take part in the celebration are led to believe that it is devoured by Yetāja or by other spirits (p. 761), but not by the inmates (335). In order to carry out this deception, at a

335. At the end of the celebration the candidates actually do appear very weary and weak when they come back to the actual camp and they are quite generally pitied (p. 829).

certain time before the meal a few men and women inside the

/914 cont./

X881 264 into the čiéxaus hut for a short time, because they must not have any occasion for suspicion.

An individual does not help himself; the distribution is made by the kitchen women who bring in the food already prepared. Usually an older woman appears, accompanied by a younger one. The latter carries the pieces of meat or the mussels. The former stands in front of each person squatting in his place, reaches into the basket of the woman accompanying her, grasps with both hands whatever is to be distributed, and first moves it up and down, meanwhile uttering a low hō hō. Then the person takes the piece of meat or the mussel in his hands, moves it up and down in the same way, and repeats the soft hō hō. The kitchen women move along both rows of participants, give something to each one, and return to their hut next door (336).

[415 177]

336. Recently the kitchen women have used European food and prepare the meal in large buckets or metal containers. They serve the food with ladles and give each person his portion on a plate or in a bowl. Nowadays everyone who enters the Great Hut is provided with these implements; he therefore makes use of them when the occasion arises.

They do not personally serve the uiwāla but give the sponsors somewhat more, and they, in turn, let their protégés have a little. Everyone immediately eats what he has received and forthwith cleans his plate of scraps. He is content with what was given him; to ask for a second helping would be a regrettable example of lack of self-control. Actually, the adults, too, must always forgo full satisfaction.

X881 356 4. Cleanliness. It is certainly noteworthy that our Yamana who, in general, show a limited sense of cleanliness are not guilty of offenses against it in the čiéxaus hut. Everyone is painfully exact about removing all the food remains after the meal. Immediately after he gets up in the morning, he straightens out his sleeping-place and folds the covers that he does not need during the day. At least once a day all the

X881 /958 cont./

blended into one, called "Kloketen," among the Selk'nam. Compare Gusinde (bb):370 and (dd):1083.

X881 182 •177 Since the intrusion of European culture in the Cape Horn Archipelago, the strict procedure of the youth initiation has been relaxed, gradually and imperceptibly, but ultimately to the detriment of our Yamana. The initial indulgences obviously led to a regrettable deterioration of the original serious spirit of the čiéxaus celebration. It is the old people, who were brought up in the strictness of former times, who complain most of all about present-day laxity, inasmuch as they see in it a serious disadvantage to youth and a threat to the people as a whole.

X881 182 On March 5, 1922, Gertie told me in detail about a considerable length of time she had spent, as a girl, at the Tekenika Mission. No religious influence from that period was apparent in her and I became convinced that the teachings of the missionaries had left absolutely no impression. She said: "At that time there were still many Yamana living. But since then most of our people have died, precisely because they are very careless about observing the former strict customs and have become very indifferent about many things. When I first entered the čiéxaus as an uǰwǯala, I trembled with fear and terror. Full of awe, I showed my sponsors that I was willing and obedient. I carefully and faithfully fulfilled what was demanded by the daily program, which at that time was still very strict. At present even boys and small girls are admitted as uǰwǯala. They are not bound by strict discipline because they are still too young. /959/ Because of all this, the good ancient customs are given up. Even important arrangements are no longer taken seriously enough [she means, besides the initiation, the general conduct of the tribal members]. This is probably why our people are now dying in such numbers. The rules of conduct and precepts of our ancestors were excellent, although strict and serious, but people lived well by them and were a great people!" Gertie is a person who appreciates the value of strict tradition and clings to it tenaciously.

X881 182 576 Without doubt, even in the last few decades, the initiation was conducted, by and large, along the lines of ancient tradition. A minor incident in March, 1922, shows that, despite some laxity,

/960 cont./

X881 182 576 Gertie's interference shows how well she is acquainted with the prevailing custom, and how conscientiously she respects all the details. Just the day before she had assured me: "What I was taught, as uʍ̊ala I faithfully kept and ineradicably preserved in my memory. This [faithful fulfillment of duty] brings everyone happiness and benefit!" The whole conduct of this woman, who was my sponsor, showed conviction and loyalty to principles.

X881 182 177 If one wishes to be fair in judging the modern Yamana, one must consider a few reasons that justify their relaxation of the procedure during the last few decades. In modern times they cannot count on being free of annoying hindrances, nor are the families independent in choosing the locale and season for the initiation. Always and everywhere they must reckon with interference by the Europeans settled there or they are obliged to work on the farms. As a result, all or most of the tribal members can no longer join in this celebration for a long period.

X881 182 In view of these considerations, it happens that now and then immature boys and girls are admitted as uʍ̊ala when their judgment is not yet sufficiently developed. No one knows when or whether the next c̊ʍ̊xam celebration will take place, and they do not want these young people to be deprived altogether of this group training. Their lack of physical development forbids their being subjected to the original rigors of fasting and curtailed sleep. Nowadays strong measures are even less appropriate, since the middle-aged adults themselves are unable to summon enough will power to endure the rigorous regulations of their fathers. They lack the determination to make personal sacrifices. They realize this with shame, and they by no means conceal this situation from the young people. They say frankly: "In former times the uʍ̊ala came back to the camp from the Great Hut completely emaciated, weak, and exhausted at the end of the c̊ʍ̊xam; nowadays they are hardly bound by a few insignificant restrictions!"

X881 182 147 We cannot deny the obvious fact that in modern times the physical resistance of the Yamana has considerably diminished. The old people say: "In former times toothache was unknown, nor did one see gray heads among the aged. The Yamana of today are not as hardy as their ancestors. The decisive factor lies in their changed diet, in their consumption of sugar and alcohol, coffee

/1004 cont./

183 custom is based on the tested experience of generations. They interpret every deviation from it, no matter how small, almost /1005/ instinctively as disadvantageous and harmful for their society. This judgment may rest to a considerable extent on the balanced harmony between their needs and their environment. It has been shown that they have adjusted in the best possible way to the vital demands of their homeland and have identified themselves so well with it that other wishes and needs do not arise, so to speak.

177 This rigid, inflexible attitude of self-contained ethnic unity
183 at first excluded all the innovations that reached the Yamana from contact with European culture. Gradually a few raw materials and
182 objects that seemed advantageous to them, iron, for example, came into their possession, but even the strong and continuous influence of the Anglican mission has been unable to change anything in their social order and their spirit world (p. 324 /untranslated/). It is only in the last few decades that Indian culture has been torn asunder and more than once harshly oppressed by foreign settlers. After that it was impossible to continue to live according to ancient custom, and the doom of our tribe was sealed. Many old men and women who had had the good fortune to grow up amid the unadulterated customs of their people were obliged, with tears in their eyes, to see the acceleration of this fateful grievous devastation. Their litterest laments were unable to exorcise the evil. They frankly stated that, with the initial relaxation of the strict custom of former times, the disintegration of the people as a whole began.

183 Among the more general fundamental considerations pertain-
626 ing to the value of traditional customs, the personal sense of honor is, in practice, still strong in its effect. No one wants to be regarded as an inferior member of the tribe, as disloyal to the customs of his fathers, as indolent and negligent, as quarrelsome and selfish. On various occasions the ideal image of the "genuine, proper Yamana' is very clearly unfurled, everyone sees it spread out before him in all its details and in bright colors. A person who deviates consciously or habitually from this ideal displays a considerable degree of wickedness and inner corruption of which he himself is aware, as well as his entire neighborhood. The disgrace

/1074 cont./

782 197 regarded as lost. The few that were saved have unusual words and archaic sentence formations, showing their origin in the distant past. Even older persons were no longer able to give me an exact and detailed explanation of each formula, and they excused themselves by saying that such obsolete words and idioms were no longer used in everyday speech. It is therefore not surprising that old John Lawrence, as well as his sons who were versed in the language, was sometimes baffled by these sayings. The colloquial language of the present day is the result of considerable change since the time when the representatives of the individual dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) were more crowded together and intermingled. Thus, although almost always only the basic idea of any given formula can be determined, all of them together furnish a sufficiently complete picture of the Supreme Being whose image our Yamana carry in their hearts and whose characteristics are familiar to them.

/1075/ c. Originality of the Yamana Religion

771 177 The above details taken from the religious heritage of the Yamana are not inconsiderable in number. All of them were brought to light only through my travels. These facts contradict the unanimous agreement of earlier travelers and of the missionaries, active for many years, who, so to speak, flatly deny that our Fuegians have any religious conception and religious activity. This sharp contradiction demands a reliable explanation, all the more so since the religious heritage of the Yamana not only proves rich, but also has a determining, guiding influence on the whole moral attitude of these Indians. It has been repeatedly pointed out, and must still be treated in detail, that all the moral obligations and the traditional customs are, after all, bound up with the Supreme Being.

By way of negative proof it can be convincingly shown that neither the navigators who lay at anchor for only hours or days in the Cape Horn region nor those Europeans who took individual Yamana to Europe with them offered actual religious instruction (16).

16. One may certainly assume that if Fitz-Roy,

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during the journey to England and back had influenced his charges in a religious way, he, and Darwin as well, would in some way have expressed themselves about the results. Their accounts do not contain a single word on the subject. Matthews (p. 94 /untranslated/) probably also did not do anything along this line.

Those three or four men who occasionally referred to the Christian idea of God or who read aloud a chapter from the Bible, Weddell (p. 69 /untranslated/), for example, were personally certain that their references had not the slightest influence. Incidentally, it is not like rough sailors when they land and happen to be with a few natives for a short time to fill those hours with preaching their own Christianity and Christian moral precepts (17). Even if one

17. On page 333 /untranslated/ it was described how many of the navigators in the Cape Horn region behaved toward the natives; they surely did not inspire respect for the white race among those primitive children of nature.

were to assume this improbability, no serious critic could concede that so brief an influence, which would necessarily have taken place without sufficient knowledge of the language on both sides, would provide a lasting effect and an inner transformation on the part of the Fuegians.

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The definite determination to educate these people according to the Christian religion -- which, as has just been said, could not have been true of the sailors on their voyages through southern waters -- was, however, by contrast, the driving force among the missionaries who settled in that archipelago. Despite years of contact with the Yamana, they were the very ones, above all Bridges himself, who not only deny that the Indians had their own religious ideas and practices, /1076/ but who are constantly lamenting the poor success of their efforts which, in any case, reached only a few. None of these missionaries gives definite data about which Christian

/1076 cont./

771 truths and ideas the natives adopted, much less about whether they
791 adapted their everyday lives to them. The missionaries did not
177 achieve a genuine, inner transformation of their pupils and charges (p. 328 /untranslated/). In any case, no specific Christian idea is to be found in the religious heritage of the Yamana described above. What one Fuegian or another may have absorbed from the teaching of the missionaries remained, as can be shown, a mere bit of new information, for example, the English word "God." This slight increase of knowledge had no effect whatever; the Fuegian definitely separates it from his ancient heritage and even regards it as, for him, superfluous.

In particular one should note the small number of natives who, with few exceptions, always stayed at the various stations for only a short time (p. 312 /untranslated/), as well as the vast areas never reached by missionary influence, and, finally, the great fear the people had of coming near the mission stations after the ravages of epidemics. During the first decades mutual exchanges were greatly handicapped by insufficient knowledge of the language. The mere fact that small groups of natives listened attentively to English does not prove that they understood everything, much less that they would sooner or later have tramlated it into action from inner conviction (18).

> 18. On the subject of the natives sent to Isla Keppel, J. Lawrence (MM:VI, 37; 1872) writes, characteristically, on October 17, 1871: "Whenever I give them religious instruction..., they are most attentive, and while I endeavour, though very imperfectly, to explain to them some portion of Holy Scripture, they listen always with deep interest. If I question them as to their knowledge of Scriptural things, they confess they know very little, at the same time express their desire to know much more" /cited in English/.

They behaved as the missionaries wanted them to, and they also took part in the religious service and in the Bible reading as often

/1076 cont./

771 as they were urged to do so (19). Did this make them faithful

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19. The prayer meetings of the Indians are always described by the missionaries as good or successful. But what is to indicate that these "savages" took part from inner conviction? In his account Lewis (MM:VI, 90;1872), for example, mentions that the Yamana "George Despard informed me he himself had been to some of the other people's wigwams talking to them of all he knew concerning the future world, and remarked that some listened attentively to what he said, whilst others would not listen" /cited in English/.

Christians? Spegazzini (a):180, for example, emphatically denies it: "The catechized Indian generally does not believe, and when I asked some servants of the English missionaries if they believed, they replied: 'And you have seen the spirits of the woods /monte/ and of the water?'... Those who believe do so solely in order to make use of the missionaries /1077/... The children of the establishment [of the mission] leave and find themselves without tools, without social backing, without anything; they have to live, and they go back to living as their parents did" /translated from Spanish/. In this environment they quickly lose everything that teaching offered them. From the start Spegazzini (ibid.) regards any attempt to influence older children as useless: "An Indian older than ten is not responsive to civilization; he already has his principles of freedom and laziness too deeply rooted in his soul" /translated from Spanish/. The number of baptisms and marriages solemnized at the mission stations is remarkably small (p. 331 /untranslated/). Bridges, however, translated individual sections of the New Testament and recently Williams published a few prayers in Yamana (20), but I do not know of a single Fuegian

20. Cooper:73 and 135 collected the bibliographic details. Compare also my data on page 146 /untranslated/ and some supplementary material in Gusinde (11):274.

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who could have read these writings with understanding and profit. It has likewise not been shown that those who received special instruction transmitted their knowledge to their compatriots (21).

> 21. Despard (b):733 praises Button's good memory and says that the latter told on Isla Keppel "whatever he had learnt of religion and morality -- not much of these last, to be sure...When questioned as to the efforts he had made to impart his acquired notions of religion to his countrymen, he replied, 'Yes; me tell God very good, make everything; Jesus Christ God's Son, very good -- die. My people stupid -- no sabby [no saber]; I no tell more'" /cited in English/.

If one carefully surveys the entire religious heritage of the Yamana, its individuality is clearly apparent and nowhere can an amalgamation with Christian ideas be demonstrated. The belief in Watauinéiwa is not the result of missionary influence.

Without any doubt it proves to be the special heritage of the Yamana, which they held and cherished long before their first contact with Europeans. My own research, and particularly the wholly unusual, accidental way in which I personally stumbled upon their religious heritage (p.958), in itself explains why it was withheld from other visitors and even from the missionaries. It is not necessary to repeat the details; they have been fully presented.

1. Its Intrinsic Value

Many unequivocal circumstances definitely and clearly testify that the Yamana have preserved their heritage of religious ideas and practices and have transmitted it from ancient times to the present. Quite generally, these ideas and practices are to them a logical postulate of their thinking. This is not to credit them with a particular gift for philosophical speculation, but their

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771 driving power and active cause behind any occurrence whatever,
776 especially behind events of decisive import, then discussions, no matter how long, would change nothing, and the person affected has no recourse but to realize his own helplessness and to yield weakly to the situation imposed upon him. As may be expected, this decision restores his mental balance and calms even the greatest surges of fury against the severest losses and the bitterest disappointments. One must see these Fuegians on the occasion of a general funeral rite, yamalaš̌emōina. Everyone in the company of others acts as though he were mad with grief, and a few hours later, at any rate by evening of the same day, ruefully and full of confidence, he again turns to /1079/ his Hidāpuan with sincere requests for forgiveness and pardon for his excited, irreverent behavior which, he says, was, after all, not entirely unjustified.

771 The complete contentment which their religious heritage
797 gives the Yamana has prevented any desire for more. That is why
177 they regarded the Christian teachings presented to them by the English missionaries as utterly superfluous. It can scarcely be proved that a single one of them was drawn to these missionaries from a pure desire for Christian truths. In fact, the missionaries had great trouble getting a few children to stay in their stations for any length of time and occasionally gathering together a few adults for a religious service and instruction. The following statements illuminate the whole situation like a strong light. Mary told me that as a girl she was taken into the house of the Lawrence family in Ushuaia for a few months to do all kinds of work. She once described to me her usual occupations and also pointed out that every day ended with a short reading from the Bible, to which the missionary added a few explanations about his God. I asked her to tell me whether she welcomed this, whereupon she replied with surprising candor: "Oh well, I listened to everything. Mister Lawrence kept speaking about his God. He said: 'Our Lord' /cited in English throughout this passage/ demands that everyone be a good human being, that everyone work hard, that no one steal from another, and that no man have anything to do with another's wife, that we should all get along with each other. And he repeated all kinds of other things. But what he told us about his 'Our Lord,' all this Watauinełwa revealed to the Yamana long

/1079 cont./

before, all this was always known to our own ancestors. So we don't need his 'Our Lord'! Our Watauinéiwa is enough for us, and what he has told us suffices. I always realized that, each time Lawrence spoke of his 'Our Lord.'" As was proved by my questions, Mary actually adopted nothing from Christianity. The attitude of Nelly Lawrence is even more convincing. As the daughter-in-law of this missionary, she lived in the same house with him for several years and was in daily contact with this deeply religious man. After I became acquainted with Watauinéiwa through her efforts, she no longer hesitated to refer to him. She plainly showed me how pleased she was that I, too, sincerely enjoyed her religious views. Not for that reason alone, however, but out of innermost conviction she confessed to me that the traditional Watauinéiwa faith was perfectly adequate for her and that she felt no desire for the thing John Lawrence so often mentioned about his "Lord" /cited in English/. "Everything that the Yamana tell about our Watauinéiwa is incomparably more beautiful!" She repeated this conviction to me several times with proud self-confidence. In the general register of baptisms there is no mention that she was baptized /1080/ (p. 331 /untranslated/), and I never discovered any traces of Christian faith in her, but in her ideas about Hidábuan she felt happy and content; hers was really a deeply religious nature.

For the Yamana their Supreme Being is certainly no supernatural figure passively hidden beyond the stars, but rather someone they feel close to. They connect many of the minor details of everyday life with him, and by no means only the startling events. On August 9, 1923, I was in Punta Remolino, sitting at supper with the Lawrence family. Fred had a hired man in his service who came from Chiloé and who was old and quite stupid. Once again he had proved extremely awkward in his work, and Fred's description of it was so vivid that we all had to laugh heartily. Only Nelly remained serious and warned her husband with the following words: "Don't talk disparagingly about that old man. Watauinéiwa doesn't like it at all and will punish you for it. One must not make fun of old people!" Her reprimand to the whole group was so natural and serious that we were dumbfounded and, without demur, stopped laughing.

/1081 cont./

2. Its Characteristics

776 797 177

In a critical evaluation of the originality of the Watauinēʌwa faith the decisive fact is that the deity's characteristics and personality as imagined by the Yamana harmonize very well with the general psychology and the personal character of these Fuegians. To begin with it must be pointed out that clearly recognizable Christian characteristics are lacking. Not the slightest trace of the salient details which were constantly repeated in the teachings of the missionaries has remained among our Indians (22). Only

22. For example, Despard (VP:VI, 29;1859) asserts that he taught J. Button about Jesus Christ, and Lawrence (MM:XXXI, 143;1897) reports that for his part he constantly spoke of the Lord Jesus.

the words "God" and "Our Lord" /cited in English/ are mentioned, but their meaning is synonymous with what the Indians themselves have put into the name of their Supreme Being. They also remember the references of the missionaries and individual farmers to the resurrection of the body, for it completely disconcerted them.

The Yamana have come to the conclusion that both figures are more or less one and the same person, and they make comparisons. On March 8, 1923, Nelly once again came to my room, accompanied this time by Sara, the Lēpakērawāʌiakīpa and wife of Pedro Maŭemikens. Sara gave me a small basket as a present. In return I hastened to give her a string of beads and a small mirror. While Sara was looking at herself in the glass, Nelly discovered a picture of St. Joseph on the back. He was portrayed as a venerable older man with a long white beard. Nelly said to Sara: "Look at the other side, there is the Watauinēʌwa of the Christians!" When this name was mentioned, Sara was somewhat taken aback, but not markedly, and she asked Nelly softly: "Does this Martin [Gusinde] know who our Watauinēʌwa is?" Nelly nodded affirmatively. Sara was content with that and obviously relieved. Only then did she look at the picture thoughtfully and turned to me,

/1081 cont./

776 saying distinctly: "Watauinéjwa kēmaužtēka (23) hananikāja (the

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23. BD:181 translates this word: "to come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. In the ancient prayer formulas it is often repeated with the same meaning.

old-one-up-there is concerned about us)!" Her meaning was: Just as your Watauinéjwa takes care of you, the Whites, so /1082/ our Watauinéjwa is concerned about us! She said this quite naturally and without constraint while I was busy tying up the package from which I had taken the present; I did not influence her in any way. Among the Yamana the thought of their Supreme Being is actually ever present and not by any means concealed behind many other impressions and images from their everyday life. In judging this statement one must note the valuable fact that Sara's home is on the Wollaston Islands which were never influenced by English missionaries; she, therefore, had no definite conception of Christianity. Nevertheless she draws a definite dividing line between her own Watauinéjwa and a similar person who watches over the fate of Whites.

If our Fuegians are confronted with contrary or deviant European ideas, they usually refrain from asserting their own conception and defending it as the only correct one and as though the others were wrong. Nevertheless they once rebelled against their fellow-tribesman Ukokku whom the missionaries had sent to them as their teacher. Bridges (VSA:XII, 276; 1865) reports: "Lucca told me that Ookokkoo (he not being present) had often spoken to his people of God, or heaven and hell, and what sort of people should live in them; his people being very proud and bad would not listen, and were sometimes very angry, and said that Ookokkoo told lies; that as he had never seen nor heard God they would not believe, and that man and all things had ever been as they are, without beginning and therefore without a Maker. One man, they said, pretended to be Jesus Christ; some were afraid to be in hell, and wished to become quiet as a requisite preparation for heaven; some threatened to kill Ookokkoo, but were afraid to" /cited in English/. The Yamana were particularly excited by the missionaries' references to the resurrection of the dead and a life of the

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/1082 cont./

115 human soul after death under the most disparate conditions imag-
197 inable, in sharp contrast to their own faith. I myself experienced
177 this. During a burial, while the corpse in the grave was being covered with earth, an old man, in the helplessness of his grief, turned to me with the following words which sounded very scornful: "There he lies, my cousin. And yet you Europeans say: 'Every corpse will leave its grave and become that which it was in life.' No, there is no such thing!" This man, like all his countrymen, was simply not to be converted to the new teachings of the missionaries; he clung to the traditions handed down by his forefathers. They always know how to make a sharp division between their own indigenous body of ideas and newly introduced, foreign conceptions or views.

Furthermore, a characteristic feature of the religious ideas
116 of our Fuegians is their pronounced simplicity. The Supreme Being even lacks a proper name. Every Yamana is named after his /1083/ birthplace (p. 538). Is it not logical, therefore, that "the-one-up-there" has no such name because he was not born in the homeland of our Indians? Instead they use circumlocutions as ordinary social conventions. The names for the Supreme Being emphasize particular characteristics which are, however, intensified to the utmost. In both directions, therefore, tribal customs with regard to name-giving are transferred to him. If here below an aged person is shown general respect, all the more is this due the foremost and true "old one," Wacanifiwa. Similarly, the few remaining characteristics applied to him are part of the everyday events and social customs of the Yamana people. The fact remains, however, that he is a spirit and therefore exhibits forms of being that differ from people here on earth. Nothing specific is known about these forms. Truly, the Fuegian is consistent in his simple thinking, even concerning his deity.

Finally the considerable number and the diversity of their
182 prayer formulas must be noted. The archaic wording speaks for
197 itself. The Indians themselves vouch for the great age of these
197 short sayings because they contain many words and word combinations that have long since disappeared from ordinary speech. In addition there is the opinion of the aged John Lawrence and his sons who were well versed in the language and several times expressed

/1105 cont./

764 114

active in mischief" /cited in English/. In this instance he (VP:VI, 129;1859) relied altogether on the uncertain accounts of J. Button.

older reports admit that both types of interment were simultaneously known and used, for example, Stirling (VSA:XI, 198;1864) and Despard (b):698. At first Bridges (a):206 says: "Adult persons both male and female when they die are burned shortly after by the nearest male relatives, but sometimes (especially the females) are buried. Little children are generally buried when they die" /cited in English/. Later he writes: "Usually they bury their dead, but often they are burned." I know of no other place where it is said that they differentiated between adults on the basis of sex for cremation; in fact, local conditions were decisive for both sexes alike. Outes (g):56 made a certain qualification which in this general form is surely unjustified. He says: "If the death came about as the result of a fight or murder, the corpse is generally not burned, but is abandoned" /translated from Spanish/. Finally Hyades (f):585 tried to find out "in what situation they preferred cremation. They often told me that their practice was always to burn the bones of interred natives after they had been buried a certain time, but surely cremation is sometimes swifter..." /translated from French/. These words even indicate interment twice, for which there is absolutely no certain proof. Most of my aged /1106/ informants had experienced actual cremations. Under the influence of missionaries and [177] European settlers this custom quickly had to give way to burial, which has been done exclusively for the last few decades. During the years when Bove (e):159 was transversing the south the following was still applicable: "Formerly the dead were burned, but nowadays this rarely occurs." According to my investigations, cremation was not the exclusive custom in olden times, but it was universal and predominant.

764 Not one of the authors mentioned above has described the procedure of burning a corpse. I, too, must rely on the accounts of my Indians who gave me the following description. The corpse, which is wrapped in a large piece of leather and tightly

/1382 cont./

X 595 When the Kina is over, all their social life with its balanced harmony in the distribution of energy goes on as quietly and matter-of-factly as though no one knew anything about this performance, and no one feels that it is necessary to hold it again after a certain time.

There are several factors, therefore, that characterize the Kina as a foreign body in the total culture of the Yamana. It is true that they have made allowances for it now and then in their tribal life, but in such a way that the latter is not affected. The activity of the men in their secret gathering is not seriously meant as obvious hostility against the women, and besides it is at variance with the men's innermost nature. For this reason they justify their action by referring to the origin myth, although they do not remotely believe it possible that the women could rise up against the existing relations of the sexes. There are many indications that the Yamana have derived their men's celebration from the Selk'nam. W. Schmidt (d):954 has pointed out an important feature of the Kina in a general evaluation of such performances when he says: "Probably nowhere else in the world is the character of this men's celebration as a reaction of the men against the matriarchal superiority of the women so clearly expressed in an absolutely classic way in the myth itself." Space is lacking for further comparisons.

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/1383/ F. The Medicine-Man System

X 756 171 From the reports of missionaries and travelers it has long been known that the Yamana are not without persons who function basically in the same manner and for the same ends as the well-known medicine men among the North American Indians. In the Cape Horn region they are called yékamuf. Their field of activity is extensive; the individual and the people in general must reckon with the yékamuf and are dependent upon them. If one compares the medicine-man system of our Yamana with that of the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 717), he finds many points of agreement. The details need not be compared here. It will simply be pointed out that, by and large, the ngo of the

/1449 cont./

533 While the singing is going on, a person moves around the circle /1449/ and distributes a bit of meat or a roasted coconut to everyone present. The *bilgoil* of each person present abandons, so to speak, the body, which is bound to that place, and goes to the festival of the *ghost bird*. Far out on the high seas these *bilgoil* meet other *bilgoil* and those of their deceased relatives. The latter are hosts to the arriving *bilgoil* and they all enjoy themselves for some time. Toward the end of the gathering, the hosts motion with both hands as though they were grasping things and showering gifts on their guests. Thereupon these *bilgoil* take leave of one another and return to the hut from which they departed, the other *bilgoil* remain far out over the ocean. During the *ghost* song the *bilgoil* of a human being leaves its body, exactly as it does when the person is drowning. The song is always sung seriously and solemnly; sometimes it is reminiscent of a true song of mourning. What the Tanana express with the word *bilgoil* in this explanation closely corresponds to what we Europeans call "state of mind" or "mood"; the *ghost* song is supposed to bring everyone back to calm mental balance after great mental agitation. Every *yikamul* has a particular song that was given to him by his *yalitol* (p.1518). The *ibwiami* song, with which the spirits of the sea animals, especially those of schools of herring and those of whales, are enticed, has a set melody, the introduction of which is reserved for the *yikamul* (p.1599); in the east the *ibwiami* song is called *ewiwen-yikamul*, in the west, *engite-yikamul*. It is well known that a medicine man practices his calling only in the "drawn state" into which he puts himself by his singing. This singing is also called *ilyna-yikamul* because during it every medicine man makes contact with his spirits.

The *yaulana* may be regarded as a kind of jolly folksong; the designation *ugulaulana* is less common. Everyone may sing them whenever and wherever he chooses, following his own inclination without pressure from the outside. There are few people, 533 177 however, who enjoy them and occasionally entertain their neighbors with them. My informants assured me that all the *yaulana* were first given to the women Tanana group long ago by the Malaiwadup, and that later the former transmitted these songs to the central group. This also explains the fact that the word

[illegible] /

§11 underlying the melody is a clearly recognizable Huichewlop word, 111 not otherwise known among the Tarasca. The word *[illegible]*, as well as *[illegible]* -- each of which is repeated in a separate melody -- are designated as genuine Huichewlop words. The song based on the latter word is called the "*[illegible]* of the drunken [illegible]". It is sung with great merriment and accompanied by clumsy swaying of the entire upper part of the body. In Huichewlop the word *[illegible]* means "water, drinking water, alcoholic beverage" (Guzmán [c] 1919). In another *[illegible]* the expression *[illegible]* is repeated. The word *[illegible]* possibly /[illegible]/ found its way into Tarasca only in recent times through the *[illegible]*, for otherwise they use only *[illegible]*. This *[illegible]*, like the previous one, clearly shows that in the not too distant past the Huichewlop have transmitted one or another of their songs to the Tarasca. Garcia and other informants around me that in their youth, on trips through the west, they learned a song or two which was unknown in the central Tarasca region. Just as today a jolly group will occasionally burst into a *[illegible]*, so, in earlier times, this was done on the rare occasion when a European ship passed by as a sign of joy and surprise. The Tarasca mother is certainly not fond of singing, but it is true that one of them will occasionally amuse her baby with a *[illegible]*.

§12 It is customary among the Tarasca to pass around some pigment while singing is going on. Everyone present takes a little of it and paints his face, a sign that he is taking part in the singing. A single woman will sometimes sing the so-called *[illegible]* song in jolly company. In the middle of it she will stretch both arms in front of her with the palms of the hands turned upward. Suddenly a little piece of charcoal will be lying on each hand, and with it the singer draws lines on the face of everyone present. No one could tell me the meaning of all this (30).

24 30A. On my last two trips through Tierra del Fuego I made phonograph recordings for each of the three tribes living there. E. M. van Humbeeck has arranged this material, but his comparative study, which I received in manuscript, can only appear in the third

/1471 cont./

§13 various songs, the diversity of body painting, and the delight in ornaments show the not inconsiderable aesthetic feeling of the Tamana. For an evaluation from the viewpoint of culture history, a distinction that was often pointed out to me is significant. The Tamana say: The *fiwakani* song and every *yikamuf* song are peculiar to the five ethnic groups alike, but the *tiser* song, the

[17] *fahuya* song, and the *paalima* songs belonged to the Halakwulup and were first transmitted to the western Tamana, who gradually transmitted them to the central Tamana groups so that they, too, have had them since then.

d. Sociability

§71 As a result of the type of economy imposed on our Fuegians by their environment, the individual throughout most of his life is dependent upon himself alone or his immediate family. By nature he is capable of getting along by himself and of being self-sufficient. He is constantly stimulated anew by everything around him, and the pressure of food-seeking incessantly arouses his desire for action. Hence he can never be inactive for any length of time and become bored; his temperament is far too lively and active. He knows how to keep himself busy even if he has to be alone. There are many middle-aged and older persons who prefer continuous solitude for more than one visit after another by a related family or a family of friends. The Tamana has many inner resources and likes to give himself up to his own thoughts. He finds great satisfaction in sitting by himself and occupying himself in one way or another. Nevertheless, the great enjoyment that lively social intercourse can offer often drives one or another of them into the company of his fellows, where he can enrich his knowledge and his spirit and where mind and soul derive new stimulation. His happy nature comes into its own in group games; he is a very agreeable companion.

114 culture. If this large and expensive monograph is not accessible, the following more important papers may be consulted: Gusinde (1921–22, 1924, 1925 a, 1925 c, 1926 a, 1926 c, 1927, 1928 b, 1929); Koppers (1925 a, 1925 b, 1926 a, 1926 b, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b).

For bibliographies of the *Yahgan* see: Cooper (1917), for sources, with comments on each, to 1917; Lothrop (1928), for sources from 1917 to 1928; Gusinde (1937), for selected and added sources, and for evaluations (pp. 48–161) of the publications of the more important first-hand observers.

19 **Language.**—The *Yahgan* language with its five mutually intelligible dialects constitutes a distinct linguistic family, with no known relationship to any other. The elder Bridges' *Yámana*-English dic-
[114] tionary, the one completed in 1879, contains about 23,000 words, a carefully restricted, not a padded, list, as he himself emphasized (1933, p. xvii). *Yahgan*, in contrast to *Ona*, is markedly euphonic. There were no words for numerals beyond three, and none for fractions.

161 **Population.**—According to our first dependable estimates, the *Yahgan* population, in the third quarter of the 19th century, totaled between 2,500 and 3,000 souls. In 1881 a sharp decline set in. By 1884 numbers had dwindled to about 1,000; by 1886, to 400; by 1899, to 200; by 1902, to 130; by 1913, to less than 100; by 1933 to 40. The
[164] immediate causes of the sudden drop in the eighties were the respiratory diseases and a severe outbreak of measles in 1884, followed by epidemics of typhoid, whooping-cough, and smallpox. Syphilis does not appear to have played an important role. Contributory, or rather
[179] basic predisposing, factors were, it seems, the then introduced European ways of life, especially the clothing, but also the food, alcoholic beverages, and type of shelter and work.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

231 **Foods.**—The *Yahgan* had no domesticated plants, and no domesti-
[231] cated animals except the dog. Whether the earlier pre-Columbian and post-Columbian *Yahgan* had dogs is uncertain. No bones of dogs have been found in early archeological sites in *Yahgan* or other Fuegian territory. The earlier explorers,—L'Hermite, 1624; d'Arquistade, 1715—make no mention of the dog in their descriptions of *Yahgan* culture, as none is made of it among the *Alacaluf* by the 15 accounts of them prior to Narbrough's of 1670. The dog was first recorded among the *Yahgan* in 1823 by James Weddell; it is recorded consistently thereafter by later observers (Cooper, 1917, pp.
[267] 186–187). Dogs were not eaten.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

342 quently used toward the east, was tipi-form, with a framework of stiff stout saplings or tree trunks.

The ground in the interior of the hut was often, but not always, scooped out, to a depth of 2, 3, or more feet (0.6 to 1 m.) beneath the outside ground level, and was usually covered with a little grass or [354] some branches. The fire was made in the center. The huts had one door, facing the sea; or else two doors, one facing the sea, the other being opposite.

172 Archeological stratification in the *Yahgan* area of Navarino Island 342 shows an earlier culture with shelters like those still used by the *Alacaluf*, oval in ground plan, having two entrances, and without scooped-out pits; and a later one with circular shelters having one entrance, and with pits 12 to 18 feet (4 to 6 m.) in diameter, scooped out in some cases to a depth of more than 3 feet (1 m.) (Bird, 1938, p. 261). The two historic types of *Yahgan* wigwam, oval and circular, unpitted and pitted, may thus represent two chronologically distinct cultures.

342 Larger and more substantial huts were built for initiation rites (q. v., infra); sometimes very small ones, for the use of children. The *Yahgan* also at times used caves or made a very rude shelter of a few branches tied together or stuck in the ground.

177 At the time of Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, practically all the then 342 surviving *Yahgan* were accustomed to pass the winter months at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra, on Navarino Island, in huts poorly constructed of ill-fitting boards (Lothrop, 1928, p. 188). Loth- [237] rop (1928, p. 131) considers the use of the wing of a large bird for sweeping out the shelter to have probably been the result of missionary [356] influence.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The chief garment, for men and women, was a small cape, of seal, sea-otter, or fox skin, sometimes of two or more skins sewn together—occasionally of bird skins—worn with the fur outside, covering the shoulder and breast or reaching to the waist, and held in place by a string across the chest. It was commonly shifted outdoors over the windward shoulder. Very frequently it was left off entirely. The women rarely if ever went without a small triangular pubic covering of bird skin or hide, held in place by a string attached to each upper corner and encircling the waist (pl. 33, *f*). No head covering was worn. Usually the *Yahgan* went barefoot, but sometimes when traveling or hunting on land they wore rather crudely made moccasins (fig. 12), resembling closely the *Ona* ones in pattern, of sealskin, with the hair outside, and stuffed inside with grass (cf. Lothrop, 1928, p. 124, photo). The eastern *Yahgan*, when hunting guanaco in winter, sometimes wore guanaco skin leggings, like the *Ona*, from whom they

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

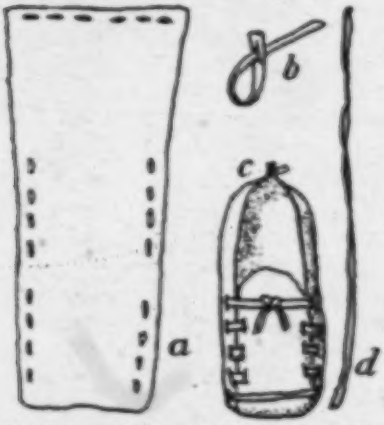

FIGURE 12.—Yahgan moccasin. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 46.)

291 probably borrowed them. The *Yahgan* occasionally used a rude fingerless working glove of hide. The clothing of the *Yahgan* seems to us utterly inadequate, given the climatic conditions—temperatures commonly around and well below freezing point in winter, high winds, frequent snow, hail, sleet, and cold rain—but in view of the seeming role played in their decline by introduced European clothing and their [177] relative good health prior thereto, perhaps their clothing was reasonably well adapted to the environment.

302 **Hairdressing and depilation.**—The hair was worn loose, not in braids, and was often banged. Sometimes a sort of tonsure was worn. A sharp-edged mussel shell was used to cut the hair. For [237] combing the hair, more commonly the jawbone of a porpoise or otter, or a toothed comb made of whalebone, was used; sometimes, a brush comb made of a bundle of roots (Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 138) or of quills (Gusinde, 1937, p. 423). Depilation, with two mussel shells as tweezers, of all face and body hair was practically universal, for both sexes.

304 **Scarification.**—Scarification was practiced as a mourning observance and tattooing as an initiation rite (Gusinde, 1937, p. 863), but neither for ordinary decorative purposes. There was no head deformation, no ear, lip, or septum piercing, no body mutilation of any other kind.

302 **Painting.**—Smearing the head and body with grease or oil was as much protective as decorative. Face and body painting was common, sometimes with use of a small spatula. Only three colors—red, black, and white—were used. Red was derived from burnt earth, [286] black from charcoal, and white from clay. Red symbolized peace;

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

501 of several skins sewn together, was sometimes set up—a practice whose origin, native or European, is uncertain. (For details on manufacture and use of canoe, cf.: Lothrop, 1928, pp. 142–145; 1932 a, pp. 251–253; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 438–457.)

501 After about 1880 the *Yahgan* began to give up their traditional bark
177 canoes, and to adopt the dugout. Still later, prior to Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, the dugout had been entirely superseded by the dory, of European type and origin.

The *Yahgan* never adopted the plank boat from their *Alacaluf* neighbors and never used rafts or skin-covered watercraft, so far as our records reveal.

MANUFACTURES

172 Pottery, weaving, and metallurgy were entirely absent; no traces of pottery have been discovered archeologically in *Yahgan* territory.

283 **String-making and sewing.**—Plant fibers, plain, shredded, or braided, were used in basket making, canoe sewing, and for mooring lines, respectively; braided whale sinew, for necklaces, fishing lines, and tool and weapon lashings; braided guanaco sinew, for bowstrings; whalebone, in sewing canoes and for bird snares and fishline nooses; seal-hide thongs, for tool and weapon lashings, harpoon lines, basket
812 handles, mooring lines, and bowstrings. Awls were made of bone and wood, unhafted. The drill was lacking.

285 **Basketry.**—Four techniques in basket making were in use: (1) Simple half-hitch coiled, the commonest type (fig. 13, *top*); (2) twisted half-hitch coiled, rarer (fig. 13, *center*); (3) knotted half-hitch coiled, not common (fig. 13, *bottom*); (4) a sort of wrapped type. The first three were of excellent craftsmanship; the last, very crudely woven, and used only as a dip net for catching very small fish. The material for all four was a rush (*Juncus magellanicus*). The coiled baskets were more or less oblong-spheroid in shape, and had a carrying handle of thong or plaited rush (*pl. 33, e*).

281 **Skin dressing.**—No process of dressing proper is reported. Seal-skins were stretched on the ground, covered with grass and moss, and left so for a while, to help dehair them. Drying frames were appar-
[412] ently used. The scraper consisted of a mussel shell lashed to a cylindrical stone haft. The *Yahgan* made thongs flexible by drawing them through their teeth or by chewing them.

324 **Stoneworking.**—Little use of worked stone was made except for arrowheads and, rarely, scrapers. The workmanship was crude.
[192] Archeologically, there are some traces of stone pecking and polishing (Lothrop, 1928, p. 203; cf. Bird, 1938).

415 **Containers.**—Cylindrical buckets (pl. 33, *e*), of *Nothofagus betuloides* bark, for carrying and holding drinking water and for bailing, were made by the woman, with the use of a barking tool dif-

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

415 ferent from the man's. Among other more used containers were: pouches of seal or penguin skin for holding small objects; bladders or windpipes of seals or porpoises for holding ocher and firestones; crops of geese and stomachs of seals for holding oil. (Cf. others in Lothrop, 1928, p. 133.)

412 **Tools.**—These have mostly been dealt with incidentally in the preceding sections. The hafted mussel-shell scraper, mentioned above under "Skin dressing," was also the common knife. Stone-headed daggers or knives were used by the earlier *Yahgan* (Cooper, 1917, p. 207). The stone celt or ax was lacking. Wedges were of bone; arrow polishers, of a bit of pumice.

411 **Weapons.**—The characteristic weapons used by the *Yahgan* both in hunting and in fighting were the spear and harpoon (fig. 11, *a–c*), the club, and the sling. The bow and arrow, in contrast to *Ona* usage, occupied a very subordinate position.

The spear shaft was quadrangular, hexagonal, octagonal, or decagonal in section, from 8 feet (2.5 m.) or less to 12 feet (4 m.) long; the shank, ordinarily of bone, with unilateral or bilateral single or serrate barbs and with notched tang, lashed to the split or slotted end of the shaft. The atlatl was absent. The harpoon, without toggle, was merely a spear with a detachable shank tied by a thong to the shaft. The club was a plain straight heavy stick. The cradle of the sling was of hide, the lines of braided whale gut.

Yahgan bows, arrows, and quivers closely resembled those of the *Ona*—a curved self bow, ranging from about 3 to 4 feet long, with string of seal hide or of braided seal, whale, or guanaco sinew; the arrow, without foreshaft, and with triangular stemmed and barbed head of stone, bone, or, more recently, glass; the quiver, rectangular, of skin, or tubular, of bark. Arrow poisoning was absent. Both archeological and ethnological evidence suggests that the *Yahgan* most likely acquired the bow and arrow after their arrival in their historic habitat, from the *Ona*. (Cf. Bird, 1938, pp. 261–262; Cooper, 1917, pp. 211–212.)

312 **Fire making and illumination.**—The only method of fire making was by percussion with flint and pyrites, bird down or dried fungus serving as tinder. Fire was carried around in the canoe on a hearth of earth, shell, or stones. Two-pronged tongs were in use. Bark torches provided illumination. Fire was employed not only for cooking, heating, and lighting, but also for signaling, straightening arrow and spear shafts, bending canoe ribs, felling trees, preparing bark for canoes and material for baskets, and other purposes.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

964 **Marriage and the family.**—The sexes were kept separate after about the age of 7 and were warned by their elder against sexual liberties.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

names meaning "The Powerful One," "The Highest One," and especially by the name of "My Father." He was not the maker or creator, but rather the master and ruler. He was the owner and giver of animals and plant food. It was he who gave life to human beings, and who took it away. He was fundamentally good and benevolent. He lived above in the heavens. He had no body nor had he wife or children. He was distinctly and eminently set off against and above all other spirits, good and bad, and in this sense stood as it were alone. He did not enter into the tribal folklore and mythology. He saw what human beings did, and upon those who broke the precepts of the *Yahgan* socio-moral code, which represented his will, he inflicted punishment in the way of early death, and often the death of their children.

The central role of Watauinéwa in the initiation rites has previously been mentioned. Apart, however, from these rites, Watauinéwa was prayed to a great deal by the individual *Yahgan*. These prayers were mostly petitions to him for food (as the owner of the food animals and plants), for cure and health, and for protection from the elements, as well as expressions of thankfulness. A good many of them were more or less traditionaly crystallized formulae, of a few words each, but prayer was likewise expressed in free wording. A quite distinctive feature of *Yahgan* communication with the Supreme Being was the frequency of complaint expressions and charges directed toward him on the occasion of sickness, bad weather, or other evil fortune, and particularly on the occasion of deaths. Gusinde and Koppers collected over 30 of these various kinds of prayer formulae. Some of them are in somewhat archaic language.

In view of these archaisms in the complex, of the many distinctly native features (e. g., master, owner, not creator or maker), of the absence of all characteristically European or Christian conceptions, and of the express and emphatic statements by the natives whose memories or whose knowledge from their elders reached back to premissionary days, there can be no reasonable question but that *Yahgan* theism is aboriginal, and not the result of missionary influence. It seems equally clear that it was central in the religious outlook of the *Yahgan* and that it entered deeply and dynamically in their thoughts, emotional life, and personal behavior.

Shamanism.—A person became a medicine man (*yékamush*) through an inner call manifested to him in dreams and visions. The *Mahtaka-yékamush*, dwarfish spirits, appeared to him; a female spirit, a *Hanétilaktpa*, also played an important part in shamanism, as the shaman's helper. Through the dreams and visions the future medicine man learned which of the small spirits was to be his *yefáčel*, or particular guardian spirit. From this spirit he also received a song.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

feasible. Timber of many kinds is available—and with this we may contrast the condition of certain Eskimo who must rely on driftwood for some of their manufactures and on oil for their heat. Furthermore, animal foods are found by land and by sea in sufficient quantities to support a relatively large population of a non-agricultural, hunting class. 182

Clearly then some of the very primitive features we shall describe were not forced on the natives by their environment, but rather were the result of lack of ingenuity or of inertia.

CULTURE STATUS

Fuegian culture ranks among the most primitive that has been known within the limits of recorded history. To emphasize this statement we subjoin a list of all the articles and materials observed among the Ona and the Yahgan. This list at first glance seems fairly long, but one must consider that it embraces not only the individual but a complete family including both sexes and all ages. Further, it includes not what appeared for any given occasion but everything with which any Indian normally came in contact during an entire lifetime. In contrast, if the reader will list the objects he makes use of between bed and breakfast, he will find that in half an hour of daily routine he has utilized more articles and more materials than a Fuegian ever manipulated. 105

More justly, however, we should compare the Fuegian culture with the status usually found among Indian hunting tribes. On this basis we find that the Fuegians lacked such simple implements as the drill, the ax, the spear-thrower, fish-hooks, and cooking containers. They had no pottery, no weaving, no method of softening skins except by use, nor had they more than a rudimentary art of painting, while sculpture was beyond them. They rarely stored food against a time of stress. Their games, their social organization and ceremonies, were but slightly developed. Religion was largely a negative affair, for they indulged less in religious acts probably than any people known in the world in recent times. Animistic beliefs they had, but scarcely a trace of fetishism has been noted, and of totemism—so widely developed throughout the Americas—there is not a vestige.

In estimating this list it must also be borne in mind that the Ona and Yahgan cultures have intermingled especially along the frontier. In some instances, such as the initiation ceremonies or 105 177

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

105 the method of fire-making, the borrowing group made the introduced
171 feature completely their own. But often the borrowed trait never became characteristic, and its use was only local and occasional. If these acquired features are subtracted the cultural poverty of each tribe is greatly intensified.

SUMMARY OF FUEGIAN MATERIAL CULTURE

105
171

Ona	Yahgan
Clothing	
robe	cape
slip	——
pubic covering	pubic covering
moccasins	moccasins (rare)
leggings (rare)	leggings (rare)
hunter's cap	——
shaman's cap (rare)	shaman's cap (rare)
——	mittens (rare)
Ornamentation	
anklets	anklets (rare)
wristlets (rare)	wristlets (rare)
necklace	necklace
paint	paint
tattooing	——
Houses	
skin windbreak	skin-covered dome of saplings
log tipi (rare)	log tipi (rare)
Transportation	
pack harness	canoe
walking-stick	paddle
——	bailer
——	mooring rope
Camp Equipment	
flint and pyrites	flint and pyrites
fire-tongs	fire-tongs
grease stone	grease stone
skin water-bag	bark bucket
——	shell cup
skin storage-bags	skin storage-bags
gut storage-bags (rare)	gut storage-bags
——	kelp storage-bag

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

PART II

CANOE INDIANS

THE YAHGAN

101 THE Yahgan Indians, the southernmost people in the world, lived on the southern shores of Tierra del Fuego from Brecknock peninsula to Spaniard harbor, and on the adjacent islands southward to Cape Horn itself (pl. IV). In spite of the tempestuous waters they confronted, they were a seafaring people and derived their livelihood almost entirely from the sea and its beaches.

172 Like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance, but their camping-places were limited by the fact that each family was dependent on a fragile bark canoe, for which shelter must be provided. Thus favorable stretches of beach today are marked by great refuse-heaps, of most extraordinary size when one recalls that they represent only temporary stopping-places and that no family ever camped on a spot where it was known that a death had occurred. Centuries or even milleniums must have witnessed the building up of these vast agglomerations of bone and shell.

177 The Yahgan came under missionary influence in the middle of the nineteenth century, and a permanent mission station was 197 maintained among them from 1870 until recently. Hence their culture was much modified before they could be studied by trained ethnologists. For instance, by the eighties they had modified their initiation rites. We must add that among the Ona those without missionary training tended to survive the longest, but among the Yahgan the last survivors have almost invariably been mission reared.

142 Writing nearly a century ago, Fitzroy (pp. 137–139, 186) thus describes the untrammeled Yahgan of his day:

> The Tekenica, natives of the south-eastern portion of Tierra del Fuego, are low of stature, ill-looking, and badly proportioned. Their color is that of very old mahogany, or rather between dark copper and

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

as much as five feet below the surface. Here the housetop need scarcely have risen above the ground level, and the people within must have been snugly lodged against winter gales. But the swirling smoke was a constant annoyance, and many accounts speak of the Yahgans' red and inflamed eyes.

Initiation or ceremonial houses differed from the living houses chiefly in size. In the west they were domed and oval in outline, as shown in pl. XIV. In the east they took the form of a heavy solid tipi-shape dwelling of logs like the Ona initiation lodge (fig. 38).

Under mission influence the Yahgan in late years built small plank houses of European type. A group of these was found at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra on Navarin island which were used as winter quarters (pl. XVIII). They were wind- and water-tight, and some had wooden floors, bunks, and stoves. The material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach.

Camp Equipment

Yahgan camp equipment, in spite of superior transportation facilities, was just as primitive as that of the Foot Indians, among whom every article, and the infants as well, had to be carried on the back. Strong and simple as are the objects below listed, they

FIG. 32.—Yahgan fire-making apparatus. a, Flint; b, punk; c, cinder; d, pyrites. Width of bag, 3 in. (142357)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

variant forms are seen in pl. x, *a b*. For lashings on scrapers the Yahgan used either a seal-hide thong (*tuuuwdru*, pl. x, *a–c*) or else a braided whale-sinew line (*ápim*, pl. x, *d*) such as was employed for fishing.

Since the European settlement the natives have substituted a steel blade (*kéyhur*) for the shell whenever possible, and the resultant tool is called *uéus*. It is illustrated in fig. 66, *a*. They

FIG. 66.—Yahgan scraper and whetstone. Length, 11 and 9½ in. (14/2367, 2325)

now also set the steel blade in a slit wooden handle in the same fashion as the Ona, as can be seen in pl. x, *c*.

The scraper was the most important tool to the Yahgan and served a great variety of purposes.[1] Owing to the weight of the stone handle it could be used not only for scraping but also as a serviceable hand-ax. When the shell blade became chipped or dull it was sharpened on a stone (*ohípi*) with a long flat surface (fig. 66, *b*). In type this scraper corresponds to the Ona wood scraper (fig. 25, *a*).

In the old days before steel was available, the Yahgan are said to have used a tool like the transverse Ona flesh-scraper (fig. 25, *b*). This was denied by Yahgans whom I questioned, but was affirmed by Mr. William Bridges, whose statement was supported by the discovery of ancient stone blades apparently designed for transverse hafting (fig. 104, *b*, *c*). The abandonment of the transverse scraper may be due partly to the use of steel, but also may be accounted

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[1] Yahgan *ukíin*, which means "barbery" in general (*Berberis ilicifolia*). Shredded barbery was also employed as a towel after bathing.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

for on the ground that since the Yahgan have ceased to use skin houses and skin clothing they have much less need of such an implement.

2. Knife.—Ancient knife-blades from Beagle channel are described on page 190. In recent years the Yahgan, like the Ona, have made knives from any available scrap iron or steel.

Fig. 67.—Yahgan man's bark-working tool. Length, 31 in. (14/2332)

3. Barking Tools.—The Yahgan employ two kinds of tools for removing bark from trees. One of these (*sásakof*), used exclusively by the men (fig. 67), is made from a large piece of the jaw-bone of a whale and has a blade usually at each end. The woman's tool (*téskups*) is part of a guanaco leg-bone and consequently is much smaller (fig. 68); it has a single chisel-like blade, while the other end, the articular extremity of the bone, forms a convenient handle.

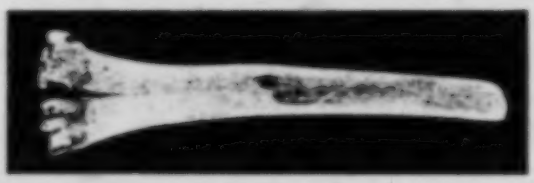

Fig. 68.—Yahgan woman's bark-working tool. Length, 9 in. (14/2331)

4. Awl.—The old-time awl (*ówi*) was a sharpened bit of wood or of bone (fig. 69, *c*, *e*), but in recent years the Yahgan have used a nail set in a wooden handle (fig. 69, *a*, *b*). Awls were employed for piercing skins to make clothes, housetops, and bags; to pierce bark in the manufacture of canoes, bailers, and buckets; and also for the weaving of baskets.

Like the Ona, the Yahgan had no drill, and so their material culture was limited by the fact that they were unable to make holes in such a relatively soft substance as wood.

5. Hammerstones.—Usually present on Yahgan camp-sites are a number of stones which show marks of abrasion (fig. 70). The

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

When fully equipped, the Yahgan canoe carried the following articles: 501

two or more paddles	dip-net
three kinds of baskets	club
two fire-tongs	grass mooring rope or thong
four spears (fish, seal, crab, and limpet)	bark bucket
	fish-line.

Such was the bark canoe in which these Indians often ventured far from shore and even attacked whales. Its great virtue was that it could be made with few tools; indeed in an emergency it could be created with no more than fire and a knife. Furthermore, its high pointed ends made it seaworthy. On the other hand, the seams often leaked and the beech-bark is brittle—much more so than the birch-bark of the North American canoes. The canoes of bark found nearest to Tierra del Fuego are those of Brazil. Their construction is so different, however, that there seems no possibility of relationship between the two types.

DUGOUT CANOE

The first dugout canoe used by the Yahgan was made near Ushuaia about 1880 by an Indian known as "John Furness." 501 176 177 This innovation apparently was an independent invention, instigated through the introduction of metal tools during the previous decade. At any rate the idea rapidly became popular, for the advantage of the stronger construction over the bark canoe was patent, and indeed the Alacaluf soon seized upon this type and abandoned their plank canoes.

FIG. 72a.—Yahgan dugout canoe. (Courtesy of J. L. Weld, Esq.)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

501 In outline the dugout canoes resembled their bark prototypes, modified by the material of which they were wrought. Thus, through ineptitude or a fault in the wood, one end sometimes was not pointed but was cut off square. Into the opening a tail-board was then fitted. This usually leaked. The sides of the canoe often were raised by nailing on boards.

501 177

FIG. 74.—Modern Yahgan boat. (Courtesy of J. L. Weld, Esq.)

With the coming of Europeans the Yahgan adopted the use of oars and sails. The latter were raised on temporary masts and could be employed only when running before the wind.

501 177 The Yahgan bark canoe has gone entirely out of use today, and the writer was unable to discover an Indian competent to make one properly, although models can yet be obtained. The dugout canoe is still in use, but it is many years since a new one has been launched. The last double-ended dugout afloat (fig. 73a) was purchased and is now in the Museum. It is 16 feet 6 inches long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet 7 inches deep. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy. Also it was the most unstable vessel in which the writer has ever set foot.

DORY

501 177 354 Today the few surviving Yahgan use a flat-bottom dory with square stern and high-pointed bow (fig. 74). This boat is of European manufacture and carries no mark of native identity except a fireplace. Today the fireplace is no picturesque affair of sod, but usually is an upright five-gallon gasoline tin, half-filled with stones, and with a hole cut in the side to facilitate the draft.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

411 indeed compared with Ona workmanship. The arrowhead was of bone, cut to the Ona pattern with two barbs; but it had a long tang and was loosely attached to the shaft with heavy lashings like the Yahgan spears. Notches in the blade of the specimen illustrated (fig. 85) suggest the lithomorphic prototype seen in fig. 105, *b*.

In the Peabody Museum at Salem are two old Yahgan bows, one the gift of Capt. B. Morrell, Jr., who obtained it in 1825, the other collected by Lieutenant Wilkes, probably at Orange harbor or Wollaston island. These bows, illustrated in pl. XIII through the kindness of Mr. L. W. Jenkins, are respectively 3 ft. 9½ in. and 4 ft. 1 in. from tip to tip. Though the general outline and cross-section recall the Ona bow, the fluting typical of the handiwork of that tribe is absent. Both specimens appear to be made of beechwood, but this has become dark through age, much handling, and the application of grease. Bowstrings are of guanaco-sinew; they are attached in Ona fashion with a slip-noose at the bottom (to the right in pl. XIII) and with several turns secured by a half-hitch at the top.

CLUBS

Yahgan clubs (*ómet*) are short stout sticks, painted red when new (fig. 85*a*). These weapons were intended for killing seal on

FIG. 85*a*.—Yahgan club. Length, 47½ in. (34,2271)

shore, or for killing birds at night with the aid of a torch of beech-bark (*ahirokan*). Also they were commonly used in fighting.

SLINGS

Slings (*aminal*) were an extremely effective weapon among the Yahgan, for some are said to have been so dextrous in their use that they often brought down flying birds. The usual sling (fig. 86) has a pouch of guanaco- or seal-hide suspended on braided whale-gut lines. The ends terminate in knots enlarged with a little guanaco wool. In discharging a stone, one knot is placed between the fourth and the little finger with the cord running across the palm of the hand; the other knot is held between the thumb and forefinger as the sling is whirled around the head.

411 177 The *Alacaluf*, as well as the Yahgan, were skilful users of slings, but of the Ona only those in the south had slings. At first glance

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S306 Yahgan S36

411 It would seem clear that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this
177 weapon from the Yahgan. However, the Ona word for sling (akénkai) is not taken from the Yahgan, while slings are mentioned in a supposedly ancient Ona legend. Possibly then the Ona might not have borrowed the sling from their Yahgan neighbors, but in all probability they did.

Fig. 86.—Yahgan sling. Length, 27 [illegible] (14,[illegible])

BIRD-SNARES

411 Three different forms of snare were applied to the capture of birds by the Yahgan. In all of these, active prehensile function was performed by a noose of whalebone wrapped thin to make it flexible. The simplest procedure was to set such a noose over a bird's nest during its absence. Also a series of nooses might be set on a bird, staked down in an open spot, and covered with suitable bait (fig. 35a). Finally, a whalebone noose was set on the end of a pole (ushuwa), as illustrated in fig. 87. With this implement it was possible to snare roosting birds during the night.

BIRD-CAPTURING BY HAND

223 In addition to killing birds with arrows, slings, club and torch, and snares, the Yahgan sometimes took birds by a method which, if successful, often resulted in prodigally wasteful and unnecessary slaughter. At night a man would paddle slowly to a rock where birds, preferably shags, as they are heavy sleepers, were roosting. He would steal slowly ashore, and then seize the nearest bird with one hand around its wings and with the other hand pinch its windpipe so that it could neither flap its wings nor make an outcry. Then he bit off the head, placed the corpse on the ground, and went for the next bird. Thus with fair good numbers might [illegible] taken. But the steamer duck (*Tachyeres cinereus*), a big sleeper, could seldom be captured by this method, and, if [illegible] were roosting on the rock selected, they usually gave the alarm.
[501] Fitzroy (1839, p. 184) says that the Yahgan dogs were trained [illegible] catch birds by stealing upon them as they roosted during the night.

/437 cont./

30 independence, which is one of the character traits of these Indians, allows everyone the most complete freedom in his use of articles of adornment, just as in the painting of his body (p. 90). No one is surprised and no one would regard it as heightened vanity or an over-fondness for dress if today this person and tomorrow that one would appear, unexpectedly and without occasion, decked out with quantities of ornaments.

As such, the amount of ornaments and jewelry of these Indians is meager and simple, like all their possessions generally. Bove (c):26, exaggerating this simplicity, says: "Two or three lines of paint on the face and a necklace of shells or bird bones are the sole ornaments of a Fuegian" /translated from Spanish/. Certain occasions, however, such as general gatherings and larger social activities, have induced these people to make other, special ornaments, namely, their favorite headbands of bird feathers and down. We shall discuss these things below. Here we have mentioned and described only what belongs to their everyday life. The ornaments of our Tamans more or less re-
[171] semble those of the Selk'nam, but are, on the whole, prettier, more artistic, and more varied. Here, however, we do not have
[344] tattooing which their neighbors are fond of in a certain form and frequency (Vol. I, 228). Every other type of ornamentation, such as ear rings, precious stones, actual trophies, and body mutilation, are unknown down there in the unfriendly Cape Horn region.

D. Implements, Tools, Weapons

32 In making his essential implements, the Tamans is altogether dependent on the waste products of his homeland. Hence
•178 it is not surprising that he uses only wood, bone, and shells to make the tools that he needs in his daily work and in hunting. He has not advanced to the use of stone to any degree worth mentioning. Copper ore which is found there in certain places has
[175] never been noticed, let alone utilized. If we judge the Fuegian by the materials that he uses for his implements, it becomes obvious that he occupies a lower stage in the development of material culture than the much-sought European man of the Stone Age. The former is still actually present among us, the latter disappeared long centuries ago.

/176/ The more inflexible the raw material is from which our Indian manufacturer his possessions, the more convincingly apparent are the creative and organizing power of his spirit, his keen gift of observation, and his dexterity. Repeated attempts must have preceded the shapes and the individual pieces chosen for the permanent store of possessions of this tribe and retained by many generations. If we examine each individual item, its extreme appropriateness in every respect becomes so clear that we realize hardly anything can be improved to any extent which would at the same time also increase the efficiency of the object. By itself the object lacks poor and action, but if you see how it is applied and used and with what little effort it functions very accurately, you cannot refrain from marveling at its merits.

If we compare the accounts since the middle of the nineteenth century with the reports from the last two centuries in which Europeans and Yamana came together, it is apparent that a change has taken place in the utilization of individual objects. By this I do not mean that European goods, such as knives and axes, have been taken over, but that bow and arrow were gradually superseded by the sling. The real reason for this -- to mention the point already -- seems to be the introduction and swift adoption everywhere of the dog. The dog serves the Indian in various ways in his hunt for game. We know that it is not easy to also accomplish with bow and arrow from a canoe. I have forcibly expressed the opinion that only after the Europeans discovered the Yamana did the dog become their inevitable companion, which is how travelers have designated this animal since the middle of the last century. Aside from this small change, all the things that are used daily have been preserved in their original form until the present time.

The implements and weapons of our Fuegians cannot be too thoroughly investigated and observed in their use. They reveal a gift of creative invention in these Indians, who have been wrongly underestimated and so often pitied as the "most miserable people." Yet they have created tools for themselves which make it very much easier for them to obtain food and to protect their bodies.

/Will cont./

or some other rag on a sail on the yard, the end of which is tied to the edge of the boat by means of two or three thin ropes. Sometimes they are satisfied to stretch the rag between two strips of wood and hold it up high until their arms become tired (117).

117. Wrighard.B: writes: "Some kind of rag or a seal skin is hoisted on a sail, sewed with rush fibers to a small yard supported by a mast held in one of the compasses" /translated from Spanish/. Compare Martial:130. Formerly the Yamana did not know of this expedient, for, as Wilhelm:2,194 maintains, "they never make use of a sail" /cited in English/.

This flat skiff no longer reveals anything of ancient art. It is only through Europeans that the last survivors of the Yamana people have been able to put together the skiff described here, which, compared to their original bark canoe, has many advantages. It permits them to use a sail, sheet, of some kind, which the light construction of the bark canoe would not permit. With this new vessel they also adopted the long oars which are not suitable for paddling because of their shape.

All the available historical sources, beginning with the first writings of the Dutch admiral L'Hermite, confirm, without exception, that the bark canoe was the only structure of [illegible] of the Yamana until the last decades, and that it was always put together in exactly the same way (118). Its advantages and its

118. Cooper:187 likewise came to the conclusion that "throughout the whole territory, the bark canoes were constructed in the same way of three or more pieces sewed together, with thwarts and ribs and with pointed ends" /cited in English/. Lovisato (p):139 regards the bark canoe as "the most ingenious work by these poor people of Fuegia, which, however, from Drake to us, for 300 years then, has remained the same" /translated from Italian/.

efficiency have been described in detail above. Every careful observer will admit that neither the dugout nor the flat skiff compare with the bark canoe in technical construction and suitable form.

/465 cont./

anchor in Bahía San Francisco at Cape Horn, and there he met a few Fueguians. Their weapons were "slings, bows and arrows. The latter are neatly made, and pointed with obsidian. Their bows and arrows are employed for the destruction of birds" /cited in English/ (p. 111 /Id., see foreign text, untranslated portion; the passage referred to is in English/). Wilkes:129 speaks of these weapons, though not in detail; actually he bartered for them among our Fueguians and to this day there is a bow stave in the Peabody Museum in Salem, U.S.A. Colvocoresses:40, however, who was a lieutenant serving under the commander mentioned above, says emphatically that "their arms consisted of bows, arrows, and spears" /cited in English/ (p. 119 /Id., see foreign text, untranslated portion; the passage referred to is in English/) (160).

> 159. Cooper:200 admits that "some of the explorers who visited the Yahgans in the earlier part of the last century found them in possession of the bow and arrow" /cited in English/. His qualification, "but it was not common," does not seem correct to me.

When, toward the middle of the last century, the Anglican missionaries made their first contacts with our Fueguians, bows and arrows had by no means disappeared, but were somewhat less prominent. For example, in March, 1864, Sorling traded for them with European articles (VSA:XI, 237, 1864) and Bridges (j):314 mentions them repeatedly (160). /463/ Later, however,

> 160. When he (b):220 speaks of the Kina ceremony, in which the men threaten the women with their various weapons, this does not mean that the bow at that time had become merely a plaything of the men.

they were used progressively less, and the members of the Mission Scientifique rarely across them only very occasionally. As Hyades (d):360 and (h):34 frankly admits: "They are actually very rarely used" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, Martial: 191

/463 cont./

411 maintains that "the Yahgans who live in the region east of the
178 Beagle Channel also use the bow and arrow to hunt guanaco" /translated from French/, whereas, according to Hyades (q):300, they were used in the central region to hunt birds (161). The

161. "These arrows are used very little at Orange Bay; the Fuegians say that they are sometimes useful to them in killing birds" (ibid.) /translated from French/.

Italian expedition under Bove that traveled through those regions in the following year saw neither bow nor arrow. Spegazzini's private complaint (a):162 prevailed also among his companions, namely, that among the Fuegians "the bow and arrows are well known to them, but I saw no one carrying such instruments" /translated from Spanish/. Luck was so little with Lovisato (a): 198 and (c):721 that he cried in despair: "The Yahgan... have neither bows nor arrows; on the contrary, I found no one among these people who knew how to make an arrow point for me" /translated from Italian/ (162). On my four trips I made a point

162. He (b):137 describes these weapons in detail as unique among the Selk'nam; he also mentions that they are used by the Halakwulup, but not by the Yamana. Compare Krickeberg: 318.

of asking about bows and arrows, but not a single specimen was in existence. Similarly, Lothrop (b):155 was unable to find out anything about them.

411 From these communications and reports, which could be amplified with unessential details, we may deduce the undeniable fact that this Indian tribe actually used bow and arrow. The conditions of our natives have been investigated much too little in the past centuries, and for a long time European ships anchored only a few days in individual places in the south and east. From the existing travel accounts one might conclude that these weapons were used more often in the east and less in the central regions,

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411 and, without thinking about it, that they were generally absent in the west (163). This could certainly not be justified, for the

163. For example, Dabbene (b):185 maintains, without justification, "The bow and arrows were used solely by the Yahgan who inhabit the coasts of Beagle Channel, and it appears that they were never the preferred weapons" /translated from Spanish/.

adjoining southern Halakwulup always had bows and arrows. Without offering definite proof, therefore, no one can maintain that the western Yamana between the central Yamana and the Halakwulup did not know about these weapons. In former times a foreign fleet almost never visited the homeland of the western Yamana. It is true, however, that the people of the east carried these weapons more often than the rest of their countrymen, who usually bartered for them with the Selk'nam who were their only neighbors. Bows and arrows were also more suitable than other /464/ implements for hunting the guanaco which lives only in the eastern Beagle Channel and throughout Navarino Island. [178] Finally, it can be proved that since the discovery of the Yamana the use of the bow and arrow constantly decreased, until finally, at the end of the nineteenth century, not a single remaining specimen was to be found in their possession (164).

164. Lothrop (b):155 also acknowledges this to be the actual fact of the matter.

a. The Bow

411 171 From the start, to prevent justifiable surprise, we should like to emphasize that all three Fuegian tribes make their bow and arrow in exactly the same way. There are slight differences only in minor details. These weapons are the most important and almost the only ones of the Selk'nam, which is why we have given a thorough description of them elsewhere (Vol. I, 230).

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exclusively confined to the women" /translated from French/. The word "fishing" here means the gathering and catching of small sea animals.

This division of labor is an ancient law of custom. This is true no less of the planned way in which both sexes carry on their activities, which goes back to the very beginnings of this ethnic group.

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It can be proved that the customary methods of hunting have been handed down unchanged from father to son; they guarantee sure success with little effort. The indigenous animals have also /513/ retained their habits and the hunter is dependent upon these if he wishes to attain his booty. With the exception of the guanaco which appears in only a small section of the Yamana country, the Indian stalks only the inhabitants of the sea, which is the reason why he cannot do without his canoe. Hence the latter is a vital method of transportation for him.

His wishes, however, are not directed toward anything and everything that the unfathomable sea contains. He consciously makes some selection among the animals, no matter how little freedom he has to begin with and how limited, after all, the number of useful animal species is. This applies even more to the gathering activity of the woman. Mother Nature is very stingy with the products of the vegetable kingdom, that man can use for food down there on the border of habitable territory. The lower animals are abundantly represented. They provide a considerable addition to subsistence, and gathering them is a constant, convenient occupation of the woman (230). How she goes about it and

230. Bridges (e):331 comments in general on their means of obtaining food. Bove (e):157 says: "The sea furnishes the staples of their diet in the form of fish, mussels, crabs, seals, and aquatic birds; furthermore, in the summer they find about 20 varieties of edible mushrooms in the woods and a few edible grasses." Compare Bove (g):234.

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/513 cont./
According to Lovisato (b):129 the Yamana are "fishermen and only sometimes hunters along the coast" /translated from Italian/.

the resources she employs are the heritage of the acquired wisdom of many past generations.

Now we understand why the customary procedure in hunting and gathering is retained unchanged even by the few remaining Yamana. The ancient methods and manipulations automatically recommend themselves by their almost unsurpassable appropriateness. This is reason enough why the representatives of this tribe cling to their valuable heritage with unyielding tenacity. The basis of Yamana economic life -- primarily the occupation of hunting by the man, together with a considerable contribution from gathering by the woman -- was forced upon them, so to speak, by their environment. This particular type of food quest forces each individual family to a restless nomadic life.

22 In these fundamental respects the Yamana are similar to their northeastern neighbors, but they also enjoy noteworthy advantages besides. Whereas the northern Selk'nam are dependent on the cururo (Vol. I, 277) and the southern Selk'nam on the guanaco, the Yamana men have such a limited variety of animals to hunt in all parts of their country that they are never dependent on a single species. Fortunately, the Yamana woman, too, has a greater selection in her gathering than does her Selk'nam neighbor. The latter has only a few mushrooms and fish, while the former in addition has easy access to masses of the almost indispensable mussels and crabs. All this simplifies the food quest and improves the way of life of the Yamana not inconsiderably as compared to their neighbors.

/514/ 1. Seal Hunting

225 Without doubt seals provided the chief contribution to Yamana subsistence at all times and in all sections of the country. Formerly several species lived in herds on the many islands and rocks, places of wreckage, and coasts of the Cape Horn Archipelago. Even the giant of this species, the bear seal, tépa (Arctocephalus

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581 marital union with a suitable lifelong companion. If a child hesitates for an unduly long time, the Yamana regard it as an impropriety on the part of the parents.

587 The reasons for an early marriage of young people are also of
589 paramount importance for widowed persons. The duty of a widow to marry has arisen chiefly out of solicitude for her children. Hence "as soon as a man dies, his wives are married to others" /cited in English/ (Bridges /692/ in Mbl:III,117;1869). As a result, "There are very few single women, not one among a hundred" /cited in English/ (Ibid.) (100). Extraordinary reasons prevent a new marriage.

> 100. With this statement Bridges (a):203 to a certain extent corrects an earlier assertion: "Owing to the almost general practice of polygamy, many men are without wives, and live so all their days. And owing to the general practice of giving young women to oldish men, the young men frequently can get no wives but relicts" /cited in English/.

589 Modern times have changed a great deal of this, for they have,
•178 in part, considerably altered even the conditions of life. On February 2, 1878, Bridges (i):17 reported from Tendegaia: "Widows did not long continue so; in fact, a single adult man or woman was a rarity. But with the march of civilized life marriage becomes less necessary and more difficult, and the number of single men and women increases" /cited in English/. At present, there are so few Yamana living that everyone is married; sometimes there is even a young man with an aged wife, because he has no other choice. Only old Flora has been alone for a long time; she is regarded as hard to get along with.

732 A factually insignificant supplementary statement from Bridges
589 (i):21 is added here: "Though deaf or dumb men never married, unless it were an old woman, a deaf woman would be a wife and have children -- the men remained single because usually no woman would marry such" /cited in English/.

587 What has been said about young persons and those of middle age
588 does not apply to old people. Since they no longer have their

/1908 cont. /

624 the Dobuaia local group extends over about 20 English miles
634 (MM:XIII, 151,1878), but this is only a third of the area that the
571 middle dialect group actually occupies.

Corresponding to the word formations given above, BD:259 also lists some in which the native district of the grandmother of some person is definitely taken into account: "hīkaiamakūtasa, the connection a person has with the land of his father's mother, or of his mother's mother; hīkaiamakūtasūsi, the country of my mother's mother's, my father's mother's country" /cited in English/. With this root word the terms for the male and female relatives of that region are formed by means of suffixes.

Such designations for the native district of the grandmother were probably created because each of the two grandmothers of the same grandson had home territories elsewhere; on the other hand, the paternal ancestors of the grandson remain almost without exception in the same locality. This comes out even more clearly in the explanation given in BD:168 for the word haiamākūtasa which recurs in hīkaiamakūtasa above, for it is "a term applied of the connection one has with a place or people from which one's grandmother came" /cited in English/. From this comes the further formation haiamākūtasūsi, "the country of my grandmother, or the country of one's grandchildren" /cited in English/, and, finally, hīkaiamākūtasāpai, "two persons belonging to one's grandmother's country" /cited in English/. It does not seem to me permissible to attempt to read into these designations a matriarchal type of social structure.

186 Our Indians are more conversant with expressions that contain the idea of belonging to a specific country, of indigenousness and the rights of residence. The root word hánnan is given in BD:266 in the sense of "my country, in opposition to palalísin, civilized country" /cited in English/. From this come the derivations hannajámalim "(used by natives specially of themselves) my country men, my country people," hannakipajámalim, "my country women," hannaala, "my countryman," and finally hannakipa, "my countrywoman" /citations in English/.

178 The changes wrought by recent influences have pushed the
634 dialect groups and circles of families, which hitherto were separated in their circumscribed local districts, closer and closer

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178 634 together. Since 1880 a particularly strong movement in this direction set in. According to Hyades ( ):718, Bridges noted the effect of this in June, 1884: "The Yahgan are now so much more coalesced that they form only a single colony" /translated from French/. Obviously Bridges would like his readers to believe that a change for the better had been brought about among these natives under the influence of the Anglican mission. He was mistaken. Furthermore, Hyades (ℓ):721 raised the justifiable objection against Bridges' assertion by pointing out that the Yamana "were formerly divided into tribes that were hostile or antipathetic toward one another" /translated from French/. This is not to deny that occasionally disputes and hostilities were carried on between [578] individual families of the same local group (230).

> 230. From his most recent experience Bove (e):158 reported: "The inhabitants of the east (Picton Island) and those from Addavia (New Year Sound) still [since the founding of the mission station in Ushuwaia] fought with each other frequently, and often enough the sad news of deeds of violence, murder and insults reaches the Mission."

571 612 /801/ The association of the five dialect groups is very tenuous (231), that of the local groups within each dialect group

> 231. This is probably what Aspinall:270 means when he says: "Despite the lack of closer ties of tribal society, one notices among them many expressions of true affection and deeper concern."

is somewhat less so, and that of the families of each circle of relatives who in their totality form the local group is truly strong. There is, of course, overlapping, insofar as a person has blood relatives in more than one local group. It is well known (p. 607) that in itself the circle of relatives is neither a definitely ordered structure nor a specifically organized system. For some the blood

/821 cont./

ceremonies and many individual reports of the Yamana. This will bring out the value and significance of each individual part of the very extensive, complicated ceremony more distinctly and better than would a detailed description of the events of each day in chronological order. Now, in the declining years of this race and with the small number of survivors, not everything can be carried out with the same detail and accuracy as formerly. The Indians of today do not even have the undisturbed quiet and protracted time of which earlier generations were assured during this festival. Nevertheless, they still come together for the χiéxaus because it must be offered to the boys and girls; besides, it is a great satisfaction for all the adults as well to experience once more the good things of olden times in this imaginative ceremony. At its conclusion we can always see clearly how the χiéxaus stirs up all their thoughts and feelings, how it enriches and exalts them. This is evident when, in their enthusiasm, they loudly praise each performance as the best and most beautiful they have attended, /822/ when they regret that it is over so quickly, when they urgently insist that they must assemble again soon for another festival and make it a long one.

The traditional procedure and the many detailed requirements are still carried out as far as possible; the Yamana have merely somewhat relaxed the relentless austerity and rigidity of former times. Alfredo and Santiago led the performance very differently; the former was completely dominated by the earnest spirit of earlier times, whereas the latter was far too ready to make allowances for the disrupting influence of European civilization. Even this fact is valuable, however; it shows that in former times, too, the personality of each overseer or leader determined the emphasis during the ceremony. Although the many details and minor aspects that make up each day belong to the ceremonial program, nevertheless the order and frequency of repetition, the preference for one thing and the emphasis placed on another are variations for which there are no fixed rules. They are brought about by the character of the overseer, the mood of influential participants, the humor and inclination of the public, and finally by purely external influences. Such insignificant variations in one or another performance are sometimes very noticeable and, as a result, are always stimulating.

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X 788 35 participants paint their bodies. Spots of color and everything indicating that such painting has been done are removed without delay. Anyone coming to the Great Hut finds no traces of painting nor any indication that eating is done here. The fire-area, too, is /915/ carefully kept in order and the ashes always scraped to the center again if a gust of wind or a strong movement has stirred them up (337).

> 337. Formerly the ashes were scraped together with a stick; today a broom is used and the floor swept, regardless of the thick clouds of dust stirred up. Often the ashes are simply heaped up with both hands.

These efforts at cleanliness are not applied to the body itself. Without doubt the participants become even dirtier in the Great Hut where they spend a long time. This offends no one.

X 788 36 [179] 5. Body Ornamentation. Everyone, on the other hand, is conscientiously concerned with whatever is demanded in the way of body ornamentation. In the modern period, however, this strict obligation has also been somewhat relaxed. Originally everyone in the ciyaxa hut wore the feather crown, hapasfi, even when no group singing or dancing was taking place. Although on these occasions adults nowadays tie this strip of skin with down-feathers around their foreheads, they take it off for comfort several hours of the day. This would never be permitted for the chwala. The latter wear a hapasfi of the same shape and size as the one worn by adults (p. 712).

X 788 30.2 [178] According to the ancient rule, no one may sit in the Great Hut without some kind of facial painting. In this matter, too, the people nowadays have become negligent, for they paint themselves for the most part in the evening only, just before the dances. A single red line as wide as a finger from the nostrils across the cheek to the ear lobe suffices, and it is very quickly applied. Soon after getting up, instead of washing themselves as we do, every adult draws this line on his face. If it should be rubbed off, as is unavoidable, it is easily renewed. This is the simplest form of facial painting. A person who feels like it will decorate

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SHS Yahgan SHS

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In outline the dugout canoes resembled their bark prototypes, modified by the material of which they were wrought. Thus, through inequitude or a fault in the wood, one end sometimes was not pointed but was cut off square. Into the opening a tail-board was then fitted. This usually leaked. The sides of the canoe often were raised by nailing on boards.

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FIG. 76.—Modern Yahgan boat. (Courtesy of J. L. Wight, Esq.)

With the coming of Europeans the Yahgan adopted the use of oars and sails. The latter were raised on temporary masts and could be employed only when running before the wind.

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The Yahgan bark canoe has gone entirely out of use today, and the writer was unable to discover an Indian competent to make one properly, although models can yet be obtained. The dugout canoe is still in use, but it is many years since a new one has been launched. The last double-ended dugout afloat (fig. 75c) was purchased and is now in the Museum. It is 10 feet 6 inches long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet 7 inches deep. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy. Also it was the most unstable vessel in which the writer has ever set foot.

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Today the few surviving Yahgan use a flat-bottom dory with square stern and high-pointed bow (fig. 76). This boat is of European manufacture and carries no mark of native identity except a fireplace. Today the fireplace is no picturesque affair of sod, but usually is an upright five-gallon gasoline tin, half-filled with stones, and with a hole cut in the side to facilitate the draft.

/365/ Part 2

Economic Life

131 The home of the Yamana /Yahgan/ is that vast maze of islands extending farthest into Antarctic waters like irregular fragments of land
132 broken off from the solid bulk of the South American continent. It is swept by raging storms. Foam-crested waves beat against its naked shores. The restless brine eats into its rocks. Heavy showers and dense snowstorms seldom permit the golden light of the sun to break through, and the entire landscape is wrapped in a weird gloom. The temperature of the air is kept low by the cold ocean current from the south. The large expanse of water favors abundant rainfall, and a disagreeable dampness soaks everything. Heavy frosts and extreme drops in temperature are, to be sure, almost entirely absent because of the moderating ocean, but the moisture-laden air and the dripping dampness everywhere have a more unfavorable effect on plants, land animals, and human beings than cold would have (p. 21 /untranslated/). Only a few hardy specimens of flora (p. 26 /untranslated/) and fauna (p. 33 /untranslated/) can flourish. For the human beings destined to live in this cheerless region, narrow limits have been set for their demands on life and for the development of material possessions.

181 Actually, the Yamana have not merely adapted themselves to the natural conditions of their homeland to the extent they were forced to do so; mastering their environment, they have created for themselves a dignified human existence of the most modest kind. Specifically, they have arranged their affairs so advantageously that, under the given conditions, another primitive people could scarcely improve anything essential. Creative intelligence and long experience have taught them to make their very meager external resources serve them. Their extremely limited material possessions relieve them of all cares with regard to daily necessities and permit them to enjoy life. Almost everything the Yamana calls his own is very functional. In his various arrangements he is far from having achieved the perfection and artistic accomplishments manifested by the peoples on the opposite side of the globe in the Arctic regions. The things that inhibit and impede him are almost completely beyond his influence.

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serves as shelter for a night or for a few days. Clothing, ornaments, and household furnishings could scarcely be scantier or more modest. Weapons and implements in their very simplicity, which is surprising, give evidence of much inventive intelligence. Whatever a person needs, he knows how to make and to obtain. In the matter of providing for his subsistence, everyone is on his own and /367/ is master of his environment. Trades have not developed, and the fundamental equality of all persons has likewise prevented the rise of social stratification. One and the same justice applies to all. Everyone enjoys complete independence from others, which is why only the uniformity of customs and habits, language, and racial characteristics provides the outer and inner bond that unites all the Yamana into an ethnic entity.

The Yamana way of life as water nomads has without doubt contributed somewhat to the peculiar shape of their bodies. To what extent this is an advantage to them cannot be discussed here. Their small stature is all the more conspicuous since their neighbors, the Selk'nam, together with the Teluelche on the mainland, have the tallest stature among all South American Indians. Our Yamana, however, are not only small, but in addition to this they are not very symmetrically developed (p. 314 /unpublished/). A broad, sturdy body with exceedingly strong musculature on the chest and arms rests on weak, thin legs. Excessive breadth is much more noticeable among the women than among the men, and among the former we come across plump figures much more often than among the latter. A total lack of simple grooming, generally coarse features, their perplexed facial expression, and unkempt hair complete the unprepossessing picture of the Yamana Indians. Almost all European travelers, not without ample reason, have expressed thoroughly unfavorable judgments about the physique of our natives (p. 314 /unpublished/). Undeniably, however, they enjoy abundant health and have an unbelievable resistance which enables them to overcome all the hardships of their frosty home and has secured the uninhibited continuance of their people for centuries. True, the Yamana will always be the loser in a contest with other racial groups for physical beauty, but the suitability of his body for the rigors of his way of life and the unfavorableness of his environment is unrivaled. In many respects he is well adapted to his home.

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with Spears:87: "One may doubt whether the Yahgan canoe shows greater ingenuity than Yahgan weapons and implements for obtaining food do" /cited in English/.

them to give up their material culture! If interrogated, they justify their adherence to the old, their preservation of the things inherited from their fathers, on the grounds that they suffice perfectly for their modest needs and the necessities of their life. The form and construction of their tools represent maximum efficiency within the framework of what is available to them. With these material means they have made their lives comfortable, pleasant, and humanly dignified. The words of Despard (D:680) with regard to the merits of the bark canoe apply absolutely to all their utensils: "Yet no improvements are thought of; what served the father serves the son for a pattern, and would never be departed from for a thousand generations" /cited in English/. They have taken over infinitesimally little from Europeans -- iron, for example. The basic form of their implements has remained unchanged for many centuries.

E. Obtaining Food

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The Indian's sole and vital care is centered on the necessary food. His thought and concern day and night are on his subsistence. If he has an exceptionally abundant supply, he feels extraordinarily relieved, and free of care, he abandons himself /S12/ to always desired rest. Ordinarily, however, the threat of hunger keeps him on the move day after day, forces him to abandon his hut and change his camp, goads him to a canoe trip or a journey on foot, all depending on whether the prospect of heavy backsoon here or there (T28).

T28. According to Despard (D:678), these Indians live only for the business of obtaining food: "The great want with them

/S15 cont./

in of food, naturally, and their habits are formed with a view to supply it, and all their implements are to serve in procuring it....Hence are they constantly roaming" /cited in English/.

Food gathering in the widest sense of the term is, after all, the sole and true occupation of our natives. If this exertion were not always obligatory and without exception unavoidable for everyone, there would be great danger that their physical and spiritual well-being would languish. Their work never leads to weakness or to a lessening of their ability. Quite the contrary, despite weariness and relaxation, despite rests and extreme exertion which are sometimes necessary, the man's hunting and the woman's collecting are so attractive and stimulating, so satisfying and filled with success for the victor, that these things alone make every adult uncomplainingly accept the unavoidable hardships of making a living, and this decreases the pressure of their cares about their daily food. This strain is further reduced by the unfailing prospect of their always finding, here or there and relatively easily, what is absolutely necessary.

Both sexes contribute their share to the support of the family, which consists of father, mother, and children. Not everyone contributes to the same extent, however, but in the manner appropriate to his sex. The woman more than the man is tied down by unavoidable duties in her hut where the man take care of the welfare of her children. What the man accomplishes in one field, she does in another. Both partners are, on the whole, provided equally with obligations, and their co-operation ensures the well-being of the individual family.

Even at first glance it seems natural for the man to take over the exertions of the hunt requiring strength and for the woman to busy herself with the easier collecting of smaller things (S16).

S16. Hyades (b) 33 has clearly pointed out this division of labor: "Everything connected with the hunt and even the cutting up of the dead animal is the exclusive occupation of the men, just as we have seen that fishing is

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himself. For instance, he says (MSS.III.116.1908): "Though celery *ofenide* everywhere, they never use *of it*" /cited in English/. In MS the root of this plant is several times and very definitely referred to by him as an "edible root" /cited in English/.

[265] Some people like to roast the celery root on the fire and then chew on it.

It can be seen from these accounts that plant food is widely eaten by the Yaghans, hence it is almost always a single individual who sets out to look for it if he feels a desire for it. It would be unjustified, therefore, to maintain that the gathering of such plants is a special activity of the women.

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A cursory review of the contribution of the Indian women to the subsistence of her family makes us realize that she performs an important service, mainly through gathering shellfish. The things she collects not only bring necessary variety into the monotonous meat diet furnished by the men, but seem indispensable certain times when hunting is impossible. With her diligent gathering the woman very often saves her family from suffering considerable hunger.

/266/ 6. The Food Quest throughout the Year

[1] In their manner of living and above all in everything they must provide for their maintenance, our Yaghans are and will remain inescapably dependent on their environment. They have adjusted to this inevitable pressure in all their economic adaptations, not the least in their implements and weapons. Darwin (1839:188) confirms this in his own way: "Nature, which has made natives an invariable force and its effects hereditary, has adapted the Fuegians to the climate and the products of its miserable habitation." The decisive factor in the new explanations is essentially different.

[2] The mental attitude or disposition of this Indian group, however, also betrays an unmistakable relationship with their own a

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[181] habitation, and this is best expressed in their high degree of contentment. Our natives are uncomplainingly satisfied with all the misfortune they must endure because of the weather, with the sharp restrictions resulting from the scarcity of products of the soil, and with the constant hampering of free movement as a result of the overwhelming forces of nature. One would scarcely believe it possible for a people to be resigned to such few pleasures and such scant comfort. One never hears them complain or grumble about the hard living conditions that have been imposed upon them, and they bear with invariable composure the lot that has befallen them.

153 Nevertheless, they have not let themselves become a weak plaything of natural forces. In the rigor of battle they have steeled themselves in resistance, and their certainty of triumph gives them that independence and self-reliance that is content even in the most miserable situation. In their struggle with nature for subsistence our Fueguians develop well-trained mental powers and an unsurpassed skill. Even Bridges (b):240 in concise terms credits them with great merit: "They have various methods of hunting and killing birds, and in all they show much skill" /translated from Spanish/. The observations and experience of many generations have alone perfected the efficient methods of trapping and hunting with which every Indian is sure of success without having to waste effort. He practiced them from the days [194] of his youth until he became skillful and steadfast. Many of the manipulations and movements, carried out with adroitness and some effort, seem simple and easy to the eye of a European (307).

> 307. Bove (c):157 adds to this, saying: "Only someone who has lived among them can have any idea of the effort and cunning which they are obliged to muster in order to obtain the most frugal livelihood for themselves."

the keen hunter and unerring marksman excite admiration. If a European would try his hand at this he would become vividly aware of how stiff and awkward he is at doing the things the Indian does every day.

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hindered in their search for food by the force of storm and waves, as compared to people in the sheltered channels (414). For

> 414. With remarkable emphasis Helm (1):330 describes the advantages enjoyed by the inhabitants of the inner Beagle Channel as contrasted to the people on the outlying islands.

the groups affected, these and other disadvantages are common, but they do not change any basic features of the economic life led by the Yaghans, for they all live in environmental conditions that are essentially similar.

It is these conditions which have exerted strong, in part inevitable pressure in the shaping of the economy. The Indian is proud of the latter as a creation of his mental powers, and he is fully justified. He must yield to the pressure of the environment to the extent that only an acquisitive gathering-economy is possible for him. This, however, he has developed so favorably for himself that, with little effort, he obtains what he needs for a human existence and what he desires for his well-being. He has not been able to lift himself beyond his dependence on the environment to become its sovereign ruler; nevertheless, he has made it subservient to himself up to the limit of his completely human mental capacity.

2. The Roving Spirit

The Yaghans are a peculiarly restless band. They can never remain long in one spot. When they are sitting together, first one and then another will leave the circle to look around by himself or to walk a few steps. If a family has built their hut somewhere, they are impelled to leave it again no later than the third day. An inner unrest moves these people, which they themselves cannot account for, because they were born with it. It is only strikingly noticeable to a European, it sometimes annoys him very much, for example, when he has employed Indians on

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[fl] his farm. It is generally said of them that they are unreliable and unpredictable. As a matter of fact, one never knows if tomorrow they will keep the promise they definitely gave today. Their feelings and plans change quite /fill/ suddenly and violently, like the weather of their homeland. They resemble fidgety birds of passage who feel happy and inwardly calm only when they are moving again in their swaying luck.

The ultimate reasons for their unrest and their urge for movement are easily uncovered. The care about their daily food requirement commands their entire attention, and in order to obtain it they are dependent on the opportunities offered and the propitiousness of the moment. This means not missing an opportunity and, if suddenly confronted with a choice, making the right one. The individual usually does not have much time to consider; if he wants to maintain his advantage, he must act quickly and decisively. Hence he remains, as it were, in a state of tense inner expectation of circumstances that may change at any time of day, in order that he may immediately be master of the situation. He does not even sleep soundly, and when he wakes up, even during the night, he is quite fresh again (p. 38). Just as he sees himself in the midst of an incalculable stream of natural forces, so his luck in the hunt will unexpectedly appear in this or that unknown form, and if he is subjectively ready for quick action, he will successfully seize his opportunity.

[fl] Perhaps the Indian is not consciously aware of this subjective state as we have described it, but he always acts from and with a feeling of great certainty that he will surely attain his goal. Long experience helps him to size up the given situation correctly at a glance, or to calculate the impending dangers, or to comprehend the limits of what is possible. He is almost never wrong in his decision. In part his inner restlessness may be explained by the fact that he is constantly observing the play of natural forces and the habits of the animals hunted, adjusting to both at the same time. Then he succeeds with the superiority that is confident of victory to master the first and evaluate the second to his advantage. Sometimes one thinks he faces great danger when storms gather or the waves run high, but he is too intimately acquainted with inanimate nature to be mistaken in his judgment. Sometimes a European

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will regard his hunting effort as completely hopeless, but not infrequently that is just the time when his booty is more than abundant. Complete satisfaction grows out of the success of which the Indian is confident from the start, and this further increases his reliance on his own ability.

Naturally, the drive toward random wandering coincides closely with his adopted form of economic management. In Tierra del Fuego agriculture and animal husbandry in a form which our natives would be obliged to choose would be simply impossible. They have no choice but to gather and hunt what nature offers them voluntarily. Now, game animals are driven away from the spot where one of them has been killed. Similarly, it is advisable for a woman to change the place of her gathering activity as soon as possible. Thus, as a matter of principle, a family remains in one place only as long as the meat from one of the larger /414/ animals lasts. If the family is dependent solely upon mussels, they set out even sooner. They do not stay more than an average of two or three days in the same place. Advantageously, the Yamana travel in very small groups, usually as individual families, sometimes with a second or third family. They separate again after a short distance, because personal safety, of which everyone is conscious, drives them toward complete independence and unrestricted freedom.

2. Underway in the Canoe

The only and indispensable means of transportation of our Indians is their bark canoe. Since it is lightly constructed, the woman is not excessively burdened by paddling. The canoe belongs to her. Although the man must build it, the care of it is left to her alone (415). She takes this very seriously, for the

415. Bridges (MS-III, 116.1869) writes: "Canoes are always under the charge of the women, who paddle them from place to place, and spend much of their time in them" /cited in English/, namely, on the otherwisible trips.

/223 cont./

(f2) Thus the territory of the Yamana shows a uniform character from one end to the other, for essentially the same natural conditions prevail everywhere and the total population is low.

The requirement of extraordinary mobility is linked with the form of economy created and adopted by the Fuegians, the only one possible there. At any one particular spot there are game and food for a single family for only one or two days; even if they wanted to stay longer, tormenting hunger would drive them on. To be heavily burdened with a quantity of tools and utensils, weapons, and clothing would soon prove unbearable. It is amazing to see how little in the way of material possessions our natives can get along with. They are not in the least hampered by them for quick, flexible movement. Even the indispensable canoe is so light in weight and can be /224/ manipulated on the water with so little effort, that these advantages could hardly be increased. Implements and weapons weigh almost nothing in the hands of the one who carries them; hence everyone can move quickly on land. Although, upon landing, the natives must exert themselves for about half an hour to erect a hut, they abandon the framework when they leave, since it can serve them again upon their return. In all their manipulations our Indians are agile and quick.

(f1) Their modesty and contentment fit in very well with all this and must probably be regarded as a result of the circumscribed simplicity of their material property. Everyone has adapted himself with such matter-of-factness to the meager conditions of life and to the perceptible limitations imposed on that region by a parsimonious and niggardly Nature, as though there were nothing better elsewhere. Everyone is content with his lot, and no one grumbles about his fate. At the same time he is fully aware of his sovereign superiority over the blind forces of nature, and his confidence of victory incessantly drives him toward new risks or more difficult acts. His mental ability and his implements are completely sufficient for him. Hence he has, for many decades and with superior disdain, rejected all kinds of things from Europeans and, in satisfied self-sufficiency, has tenaciously clung to the traditional implements. With perceptive appreciation of all this, even Bridges (1):240 has defended our experienced, capable

/624 cont./

181 Fuegians against the unfavorable, premature judgments of some observers and has upheld them in the following decisive words: "The travelers who have visited them are wrong in condemning them for their poverty and ignorance, of which they are not guilty. The construction of their canoes, weapons, implements, etc., and the labor of obtaining their sustenance from the sea, the coast, and the woods occupy nearly all their time" /translated from Spanish/. But then in modern times when the foreign uten-
177 sils brought by Europeans were finally introduced among the
181 Yamana, the harmonious, compact economic structure of this Indian tribe was disrupted, and its complete disintegration was prepared.

Were the Fuegians outwardly and inwardly or spiritually enriched by their adoption in recent times of a not inconsiderable amount of European goods? I believe not. George Forster (b): 252 already answered this question in the same vein, writing from Christmas Sound in mid-December, 1774: "We described the savages living in the southern tip of our globe as miserable, degenerate, and decadent. Thus it seemed to us, thus it necessarily appeared to every European who knew and was accustomed to a better condition. In their own eyes they are not so unfortunate. Their way of life has become second-nature to them, they prefer it to any other, and not one of them would prefer our mild zone to their cold climate; his hut is dearer to him than a comfortable European residence; his seal skin seems more elegant to him than silks and embroidered clothing; a /625/ tasty dish from our kitchen by no means replaces the more delectable flavor of his seal meat." In order to avoid unnecessary repetition, I refer to my detailed accounts of the extended activity of the Anglican missionaries among the Yamana in several places of their country since the middle of the previous century (p. 288 /untranslated/), and of the manifold influence of all European civilization on these natives who have for several centuries already decreased considerably in numbers (p. 333, 348 /untranslated/).

Our Indians cling, with all the fibers of their being, to the traditional nomadic life to which they have long been accustomed. They find it unbearable to be impeded in this way of life, even temporarily. Despite the many benefits each of them has derived

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177 from his stay among the missionaries, "he returns with delight
181 to his canoe, to his independent wandering life, without pre-
occupation and without cares" /translated from French/, as Hyades (j):166 reports. Every outside observer can be adequately convinced that there is no other possible way of life for the Yamana; they are used to it from their earliest childhood; they are forced into it by their given environment, into which they have been inescapably placed. Care for their daily subsistence and the necessary raw materials for their implements drive them restlessly from place to place. This powerful motivation drives
181 our Yamana with equal force and toward the same goal as it does
171 the neighboring Selk'nam; hence the many basic similarities in the characteristics of their economies between the two tribes, with whom the Halakwulup are to be compared in this respect. All careful observers agree that "like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance" /cited in English/, as Lothrop (b):116 tersely expresses himself. It is the instinct of self-preservation that makes both of them restless wanderers, that always and unmercifully puts them back on their feet again after they have given themselves a brief respite of only a few days. Despite this great dependence on external nature, our Fuegians have by no means become its slave, and their struggle for existence is not at all the degrading strife in which, for example, vast strata of so-called civilized Europe are at present engaged.

182 A glance at how the Yamana manage their affairs also shows that man with his superior mental equipment and his physical powers energetically comes to grips with nature on every spot of the earth that is entrusted to him. There he creates for himself a definite form of economy which will sooner or later strike every careful observer as harmonious co-operation between man and nature. Actually, the economic form of every long-domiciled primitive people possesses its inherent individuality conditioned by its environment and marked by its own structure. Thus, it is unique, and, despite external similarities with an economic form developed under other conditions, it differs from the latter /626/ more or less according to its inner structure, or at least according to its manifold purpose. This is not by any

/628 cont./

581 The entire social order, as the aggregate of conjugal or familial arrangements and vital functions of the tribe or community, proves to be naturally humane and, therefore, appears in an altogether friendly, pleasant light.

A. Courtship and Marriage

594 The individual family, the supporting pillar of the entire social order, is regulated in its origin and its continuation according to fixed, unchangeable fundamental principles. These principles are kept alive as customs in the consciousness and conscience of the people. They are made known to each member of the tribe and are more or less familiar to him. Since custom and practice are the primary law in the performance of duty, the centuries have not eaten away any of this, and whatever has remained down to the present time is to be justly and lawfully regarded as ancient tribal heritage.

581 The individual family consisting of parents and children is
/629/ basically independent and a compact union. It is founded
594 on mutual affection between the two lovers and the desire for life-long union. It is held together by the increasing spiritual relationship of the two partners. Its vitality is assured by the fellowship of work and possessions, food gathering and consumption. It grows beyond itself by the self-evident duty of parents to beget several children and through them to insure the permanence of the tribe.

581 Although these vital customs pertaining to the institution of
177 the family have endured in century-long uniformity, foreign influences have exerted such pressure on it for several decades that this firm structure has finally become undermined. Conditions have arisen in recent times which cannot be regarded as natural, and their effects on marital conditions have created a sad caricature of the original pattern of marriage. These regrettable changes and the false and inadequate observations of most travelers since the middle of the previous century do not give a picture of the basic organization of the institution of the family among the Yamana (1).

583 1. What has been recorded from still older
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/1930 cont./

T84 a definite instance which he might have observed, and Hyades
T63 (q):242, referring to alleged infanticide and the strangulation of individuals on the point of death, relies on statements of the missionaries and is careful to say that "personally we have not been able to verify these last two assertions" /translated from French/. As late as 1929, Spencer:88, leaned toward this view, without any kind of proof.

T63 A way out of this uncertainty is provided by an opinion for which I am indebted to the brothers, Martin and Fred Lawrence, with whom I had long discussions. They said that it is possible and most likely that some one, at the sight of a relative caught in the death struggle, lost control of himself after several hours. In his agitation, driven by his own pain at the imminent separation from the dying one and impotent in the face of the hopelessness of recovery, he may have seized his throat and strangled him so that instantly the death rattle and any movement stopped. This happened, however, only when the dying person was completely unconscious and there was absolutely no hope of recovery. The desire was simply to terminate his agony.

Only once did I come across the following remark, "taken from conversations with Mrs. Burleigh" /cited in English/ (MM: XXVIII, 128;1894): "In some cases when the wife was near death the husband would put her into a canoe, take her miles away and leave her, hoping that exposure and starvation would hasten death" /cited in English/. Such behavior so obviously contradicts everything that has been definitely proven about the value of Yamana put on human life that any comment is superfluous. They have never been cannibals (p. 254 /untranslated/), nor does suicide [T62] occur among them, according to definite assertions by Dabbene (b):203 and Bridges (a):211.

• 181 The entire social order of our Fuegians impresses one as kind and worthy of human beings, for it rests on natural marital relations and favorable mutual relations between parents and children, between the members of a kinship group, and among all the local groups. The small population and the lack of serious disturbances from without facilitate the cohesion of the people as a whole. This social order is conditioned by the nature of the economy of our Yamana. The charming picture of the harmoniously balanced

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[81] play of forces in this ethnic group on the Cape Horn Archipelago now belongs to the past. /Fig. 88 appears here./

/1031/ Part 4

The Spiritual World of the Yamana

114 There was a time not far back when people quite generally and as a matter of course inferred from the poverty and simplicity of the external arrangements and the objects used by a primitive people that they were lacking in ideas and that their spiritual world was limited. Ever since the Yamana were visited and superficially observed by European navigators, the entire cultured world has classed them among the most unworthy representatives of the human race on account of their inhospitable native land and the unfavorable conditions of their existence. Roskoff-40 and others often repeated: "The Fuegians are, according to Reinhold Forster's remarks, 'apparently the most miserable of all peoples.'" They were judged solely by what caught the eye and by the hasty first impression that their nakedness and unattractive appearance, their way of life, and their wild behavior inevitably makes upon every European. Once established, the general opinion became deeply entrenched and continued to be untouched by this or that report which sounded somewhat more favorable. How could such a report have brought about a complete change of the previously held view when the Yamana themselves did not change in any way externally!

114 It is not enough to evaluate a human group solely by what
121 strikes the eye; for that reason modern ethnography in all seriousness desires penetration into the spiritual domain of every tribe.

[34]

Fig. 88. Diomedea exulans.

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basic features of their mental attitude. Legend puts the origin of the medicine-man system outside the boundaries of present-day Yamana territory and connects it with the Kina. Maiemikens designated Hipul, Yo'okalia, and other birds as the first yékamus (pp. 1288, 1371 /both untranslated/). "They taught their art to a few people and that is how it came to us!" There is no connection between the medicine-man system and the other institutions of our Fuegians; it is clearly a peculiar form within their culture as a whole.

G. Mental Capacity

No people on American soil has been rated as low and esteemed as little by the entire European world as our Yamana. The seed for this unjust opinion was sown by the crew of the Dutch fleet of L'Hermite, the first Europeans seen by the inhabitants of the Cape Horn Archipelago (p. 50 /untranslated/). The description that enjoyed the most notoriety was the inadequate and inaccurate account set down by Charles Darwin, then 22 years old (p. 97 /untranslated/). Although he occasionally made an accurate statement in his writings (343) and, as an old

> 343. He (f):I, 234 said: "The Fuegians belong among the lowest savages; I was constantly surprised, however, at how closely the three Fuegians on board the 'Beagle' ...resembled us in general traits and in most of our mental abilities."

man, changed his opinion very much in favor of our Fuegians (p. 106 /untranslated/), nevertheless this did not effect the bias of the general public. Anyone who leafs through the amazingly large number of accounts by missionaries (p. 146 /untranslated/) will find it strange that the latter almost uniformly speak disparagingly, indeed, contemptuously of the mental performance of these natives, and their opinions of them have not improved despite decades of contact. Bridges outdoes all the other

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missionaries in his underestimation of the entire cultural heritage of our Fuegians (p. 323 /untranslated/), and none of the missionaries would have succeeded in persuading him otherwise. The Yamana soon realized that Bridges, with emphatic disdain, rejected their ideas and customs, which, without exception, were valuable to them and worthy of respect. Consequently they drew away from him and /1436/ made many of their spiritual possessions unavailable to him (p. 144 /untranslated/). Their attitude did not change even when Bridges, in exceptional cases, spoke a brief word in their favor (344). Actually, Bridges was the

> 344. These statements, such as the one in (i):12, therefore have much more value for an outsider: "These natives have usually been described as a great deal worse than they were. I well know they were bad enough as all ignorant, lawless people must be, but they were falsely reported to be cannibals, and the sketches of them have been rather caricatures than likenesses" /cited in English/.

adviser and the decisive source of information for all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego who consulted him during his long years of missionary activity. His many publications were also regarded as those of an authoritative observer whom others had no opportunity to correct. Although the members of the Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn, for example, maintained close contact with a group of natives there for an entire year, nevertheless their publications prove how dependent they were on Bridges, especially in their evaluation of the spiritual equipment and mental assets of the Yamana. This state of affairs explains the uniformly low opinion of almost all the travelers who commented on the mental capacity of our Fuegians. Nevertheless, favorable testimony, such as that of Snow (b):266, is not altogether lacking: "I will only venture to call your attention to the fact, that these savages have a heart and feeling as well as we have. And I saw many instances of warm love and affection for the children, and for each other" /cited in English/.

/1436 cont./

•181 114 Experts on primitive peoples soon cast doubt upon the trustworthiness of all those reports on Tierra del Fuego, and from insignificant accounts as well as fair judgments, they brought out many a favorable detail. Waitz:507 emphasized: "One must not believe that the mental dullness [of the Fuegians] prevails throughout among them...The four Fuegians whom Captain FitzRoy took with him to London showed altogether good qualities." Ratzel:I, 520 appreciates their material possessions and social institutions. Beyond that he declares: "The more one learned of their sensibilities and mental capacities upon closer contact, the higher one evaluated them in this respect. The Fuegians, even though they are oppressed by the misery of their situation, are basically Indians like all the rest. The inadequate results of missions cannot prove anything to the contrary." Thus, if the Yamana are judged to be genuine Indians, they must also be regarded as capable human beings. The fact that they are indeed such is convincingly proved by their way of life which has been described in the foregoing pages. The following pages will be a not inconsiderable supplement to this. It seems strange to us who have been privileged to obtain such deep insight into the mental life of most of the primitive peoples still available today that it seems necessary to prove that the Yamana, too, are altogether human beings.

/1437/ a. Mental Power and Sensory Activity

153 182 I regard as beside the point the oft-repeated question as to whether the Yamana are an "intelligent people" and capable of meeting the demands of our culture. One will obtain a just evaluation of their mental powers only after he has learned to understand the Fuegians with respect to their mastery of their environment. They have adapted themselves excellently to their country: they have learned to use the available materials for serviceable implements and have asserted their superiority in their struggle with the forces of nature. Indeed, they maintain themselves in their environment and have attained several not inconsiderable achievements of which many Europeans would be

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S316 Yahgan S316

talkowd (as attested by the finding of bone buttons), elaborate three-strand necklaces were manufactured, and, above all, sculpture was common and painting had reached both relatively and absolutely a very developed plane. The depiction of masked human figures suggests parallel religious phantasmagoria in both regions. In contrast the Fuegians were totally devoid of sculpture, and their painting was limited to the crudest daubs. Their necklaces were most primitive. Their garments were merely wrapped around the body and held in place by hand, or, if they did not completely envelop the body, were tied on by thongs crossing the bare flesh.

As to polished stone implements, Tierra del Fuego has produced few. In fig. 41 we show a bola from the east coast. Outes (1905, p. 427) has fully demonstrated that the true home of this weapon is in the northeastern Pampas and that it was unknown in Patagonia until the eighteenth century. Clearly it is no ancestral arm carried to Tierra del Fuego by Foot Indians in remote centuries, but rather a recent introduction, not long antedating the white colonization. Also we have seen a stone spike excavated in Yahgan territory. Apparently it has been shaped in part by pecking; at best it is an isolated instance of the Neolithic technique.

The rarity of polished stone implements in Fuegia is to be explained not by the lack of aptitude but by the indolence of the natives. To so-called civilized man the chipping of stone seems a mysterious craft, while it is patent that anyone who takes the time can grind a stone to the desired shape. As a matter of fact, the chipping of serviceable tools can be learned with a few days' practice, though of course the more delicate flaking, as with all handicraft, can come only as the result of long experience. And furthermore, chipped implements can be turned out quickly,—it takes only ten or fifteen minutes for a skilful Ona to finish a most delicate arrow-point,—while ground stone implements require patience, mental discipline, and foresight.

This point is one to recall in estimates of all or any phases of Fuegian culture, for it will be found that deficiencies arose not from any innate mental or physical handicap, but from laziness and lethargy. This generalization applies not so much to the necessaries as to the conveniences of life. Thus the Ona bow and the Yahgan spear are admirable weapons, but the houses of both tribes were woefully inadequate. Yet there is no reason why the Yahgan and Ona should not, with forethought and initiative,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S386 Yahgan S386
Seri NU31

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have made themselves as comfortable as other tribes occupying an equivalent environment. That they did not, to the writer, indicates a lack of something vital in their mental makeup.

The brief comparison we have made between primitive European and Fuegian cultures shows that although the Fuegians had partly attained the technological phase called Neolithic in the Old World, nevertheless in most respects they were scarcely better off than the semi-simian Neanderthal man of Europe. Clearly then they were laggards or backwaters in the development of mankind, so that in depicting their manner of life we are justified in assuming that we are recreating a vista of life in Europe or elsewhere many thousands of years ago.

However, the tribes of Tierra del Fuego are not a unique phenomenon, as we shall show by comparison with an equally though differently untutored New World group.

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B.—Fuegians Compared with the Seri

The Seri, who inhabit a barren territory on the eastern shore of the Gulf of California and the adjacent islands, of which the largest is Tiburon, are one of the most primitive Indian tribes on the North American continent. Their climate is hot and dry. Their food supply is abundant—both marine and terrestrial. Like Fuegia the region occupied by the Seri is isolated from the main stream of cultural development, so that the native society probably represents a form of life much more wide-spread long ago.

Like the Fuegians, the Seri had no agriculture and no domestic animals except the dog, which indeed seems to have been half-wild. Their most important food was the turtle, which they caught with a harpoon having a detachable head tied to a cord. This may be compared to the Yahgan seal-spear. Long ago they used a two-headed barbed spear with the barbs facing inward to catch fish. The Yahgan also employed a two-headed fish-spear, but did not set the barbs inward. For boats the Seri made reed balsas with high pointed ends, a seaworthy craft but one which can be used only in warm climates because in rough weather the crew are drenched with spray or wet by water coming through the floor. These balsas the Seri propelled with clam-shells or boards held in the hands. In addition to spearing fish off-shore the Seri also caught them with their hands in shallow pools at low tide like the Ona, and they obtained on the beach large quantities of shellfish—chiefly clams and oysters.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

We have already pointed out that the lack of mental vigor seemingly underlies the cultural deficiencies of the Fuegians. This in turn we may trace to their manner of life, thus forming a vicious circle. Partial subsistence in the snows of winter is possible only to those endowed with a constitution we cannot help but admire, yet it can only result in unusual demands on the vitality and in the stunting of mental growth. Out of such pictures as the naked mother nursing a naked new-born child with driving sleet melting on them both, described by Darwin (1839, p. 235), one cannot envisage the breeding of mentally alert human beings. The Yahgan, writes Bentley (1904), mark "the limit to which a man may strip himself of all aid and comfort and yet survive and perpetuate his kind." "Their skill," says Darwin, "in some respects may be compared to the instinct of animals; for it is not improved by experience."

The writer does not regard the climate of Tierra del Fuego as a necessarily stunting factor; indeed the ample and hospitable scale of living introduced by the sheep ranchers proves that it is far from so. Wild foods—vegetal, game, and fish—can be procured with comparative ease. The discomforts of aboriginal life could well have been eradicated by foresthought and a more aggressive mental attitude. This the missionaries tried vigorously if unsuccessfully to instill, and so the Fuegian tribes have quietly melted away in the face of the competition of our ruthless civilization.

[pp. 213-4 contain no text.]

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/438/ The more inflexible the raw material is from which our Indian manufactures his possessions, the more convincingly apparent are the creative and organizing power of his spirit, his keen gift of observation, and his dexterity. Repeated attempts must have preceded the shapes and the individual pieces chosen for the permanent store of possessions of this tribe and retained by many generations. If we examine each individual item, its extreme appropriateness in every respect becomes so clear that we realize hardly anything can be improved to any extent which would at the same time also increase the efficiency of the object. By itself the object looks poor and artless, but if you see how it is applied and used and with what little effort it functions very accurately, you cannot refrain from marveling at its merits.

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If we compare the accounts since the middle of the eighteenth century with the reports from the first two centuries in which Europeans and Yamana came together, it is apparent that a change has taken place in the utilization of individual objects. By this I do not mean that European goods, such as knives and axes, have been taken over, but that bow and arrow were gradually superseded by the sling. The real reason for this -- to mention the point already -- seems to be the introduction and swift adoption everywhere of the dog. The dog serves the Indian in various ways in his hunt for otter. We know that it is not easy to aim accurately with bow and arrow from a canoe. I have frankly expressed the opinion that only after the Europeans discovered the Yamana did the dog become their inevitable companion, which is how travelers have designated this animal since the middle of the last century. Aside from this small change, all the things that are used daily have been preserved in their original form until the present time.

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The implements and weapons of our Fueglans cannot be too thoroughly investigated and observed in their use. They reveal a gift of creative invention in these Indians, who have been wrongly underestimated and so often pitied as the "most miserable people." Yet they have created tools for themselves which make it very much easier for them to obtain food and to protect their bodies.

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12. Technical Skills

511 The material possessions of these southernmost Fueguians seem at first glance unusually frugal and poor. If we look more carefully, however, we are surprised at the considerable variety of implements and tools. Hence, our natives are not altogether destitute. In the variety of their utensils they without doubt considerably surpass the neighboring Selk'nam. The canoe alone is such an inestimably valuable means of transportation that it cannot be compared with travel on foot.

• 182 176 The environment into which our Tamata were placed was a good teacher. With their own resourcefulness and keen gift of observation, with the knowledge gained by experience through short, successive generations, they finally created weapons and tools of such high efficiency that it could hardly be noticeably increased within the possibilities of development originally offered them. Anyone who will make an effort to gain an insight into the mechanics of each of the implements used by the Fueguians and the physical forces operating it will pay high tribute to their creative power.

Even Bridges (k):240 who was in a position to observe them for decades in closest proximity bowed to their ability, and offered the following brilliant testimony, probably with not a little inner resistance: "The natives have evolved all the qualities most /[illegible]/ useful for the life they live; their canoes are perfect specimens of their kind and the same can be said of all their utensils and implements. With the material at their disposal I do not know how these could be improved. They are perfectly adapted to the soil and climate of the country in which they live" /translated from Spanish/. Behind the unpretentious form and the pitiful simplicity of Fuegian implements is hidden an unsurpassed suitability.

443 In general each person makes what he needs in material possessions with his own hands and for himself alone. Exceptions are those things which, in the normal household life, are needed by the family or by the husband and wife equally, and which, accordingly, he provides for her and she for him. Manufacture is, therefore, an individual matter. There is no special class of

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] beneath, the particular shape of the weapon or implement, in accordance with his own personal convenience, according to his best and taste, depending on how he has practiced making it or is in the habit of doing it differently. From this arise the differences between the utensils of one man and another, between such small things as baskets, sewing work, and so forth, which one Indian woman or another will make for herself alone.

Because each weapon and each tool fits its maker's own hand, so to speak, it follows that each person has great dexterity in handling his own articles. /[illegible]/ Time and again their suppleness and accuracy of aim, their sure grip and controlled fist, their ability to make estimates, and their sharp eye have been justly regarded with awe and wonder by Europeans (226). It is true

> 226. Many agree with Bove's (p) 226 judgment concerning their weapons, that the Fuegians "knew how to handle them with marvelous dexterity and precision" /translated from Italian/.

that with constant practice everyone can accomplish a great deal. Many a European who has tried to use the sling or the harpoon or some other native implement has gone about it very awkwardly and become the laughing stock of the Indians.

The fact that no one owns more than one extra utensil of those most frequently needed is an indication of self-confidence. The less a person must carry around with him on his constant travels, the more comfortable it is for him and the freer he feels. It is only when want and need force him to remove the loss of an implement that he instantly and decisively sets to work. Since not even the thought of his own needs forces our Indian to make this or that object in-order to have it on hand, how much less can we expect him to make anything for barter.

Our Fuegians procure and make their implements with little effort. They manipulate them very adroitly and readily. They can depend absolutely on their own ability and the effectiveness of their weapons (227). What, therefore, should press and drive

227. Every careful observer will agree

/[illegible] cont./

with Spears (7). "One may doubt whether the Yahgan canoe shows greater ingenuity than Yahgan weapons and implements for obtaining food do" /cited in English/.

them to give up their material culture. If investigated, they justify their adherence to the old, their preservation of the things inherited from their fathers, on the grounds that they suffice perfectly for their modest needs and the necessities of their life. The form and construction of their tools represent maximum efficiency within the framework of what is available to them. With these material means they have made their lives comfortable, pleasant, and humanly dignified. The words of Despard b):680 with regard to the merits of the bark canoe apply absolutely to all their utensils: "Yet no improvements are thought of; what served the father serves the son for a pattern, and would never be departed from for a thousand generations" /cited in English. They have taken over infinitesimally little from Europeans — iron, for example. The basic form of their implements has remained unchanged for many centuries.

E. Obtaining Food

181 261 The Indian's sole and vital care is centered on the necessary food. His thought and concern day and night are on his existence. If he has an exceptionally abundant supply, he feels extraordinarily relieved, and free of care, he abandons himself /[illegible]/ to always desired rest. Ordinarily, however, the threat of hunger keeps him on the move day after day, forces him to abandon his hut and change his camp, goads him to a canoe trip or a journeyon foot, all depending on whether the prospect of hunty beckons here or there (228).

228. According to Despard (b):679, these Indians live only for the business of obtaining food: "The great want with them

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/557 cont./
himself. For instance, he says (MM.III,116,1869): "Though celery abounds everywhere, they never use of it" /cited in English/. In BD the root of this plant is several times and very definitely referred to by him as an "edible root" /cited in English/.

[252] Some people like to roast the celery root at the fire and then chew on it.

It can be seen from these accounts that plant food is seldom eaten by the Yamana, hence it is almost always a single individual who sets out to look for it if he feels a desire for it. It would be unjustified, therefore, to maintain that the gathering of such plants is a special activity of the woman.

222 462

A cursory review of the contribution of the Indian woman to the subsistence of her family makes us realize that she performs an important service, mainly through gathering shellfish. The things she collects not only bring necessary variety into the monotonous meat diet furnished by the man, but seem indispensable at certain times when hunting is impossible. With her diligent gathering the woman very often saves her family from suffering considerable hunger.

/558/ 6. The Food Quest throughout the Year

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In their manner of living and above all in everything they must provide for their sustenance, our Yamana are and will remain inescapably dependent on their environment. They have adjusted to this inevitable pressure in all their economic adaptations, not the least in their implements and weapons. Darwin (d):248 confirms this in his own way: "Nature, which has made custom an irresistible force and its effects hereditary, has adapted the Fuegian to the climate and the products of his miserable fatherland." The causative factor in the two explanations is essentially different.

181

The mental attitude or disposition of this Indian group, however, also betrays an unmistakable conformity with their area of

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> to the abundant middens of the Magellanic archipelago are urgently needed and may furnish us with important information on the past of the natives" /cited in English/. Furlong (r):178 entertains the same hopes.

carried out in the Fuegian refuse-layers to bring to light a number of finds that differ from those already known? In my opinion there is no prospect of this. The seaward wall of the individual shell mounds has actually been washed down by the waves to the water line, and unfamiliar forms of implements have not appeared. If possibly we might assume a lifting of the land (p. 344), it would be an absurdity to suppose that the customary dwellings were placed so close to the water line below sea level, and that gradually a wall of mussel shells had been built up around them.

Those strata which today are at the bottom of the mighty shell heaps were laid down many centuries ago. The implements they cover are similar to those used among our Indians up to the present time. No proof of a population preceding the Yamana, with a different form of culture and way of life has hitherto been discovered in the Beagle Channel area, nor can we expect it from further investigations there.

H. The Nomadic Life

182 The home of the Yamana is bleak and unfriendly, nature behaves wildly and brutally, and serious dangers threaten every Indian family who, in their frail canoe, cross the fragmented island realm. Nevertheless, not everything here is bad and disadvantageous; /612/ there are a few benefits and compensations. Weather conditions are anything but good, it is true, but at least the temperature is somewhat uniform, and the cool summer is matched by a cooler winter. Here, too, the inexhaustible sea pours out its bounty, so that the Indians can comfortably provide for their sustenance throughout the entire year. Concerning the food supply the Yamana are far more favorably situated than the neighboring Selk'nam. There are a few differences within our tribe, however, insofar as the families on the southern coasts are considerably

/612 cont./

182 hindered in their search for food by the force of storms and waves, as compared to the people in the sheltered channels (414). For

414. With remarkable emphasis Hahn (c):338 describes the advantages enjoyed by the inhabitants of the inner Beagle Channel as contrasted to the people on the outlying islands.

the groups affected, these and other disadvantages are onerous, but they do not change any basic features of the economic life led by the Yamana, for they all live in environmental conditions that are essentially similar.

It is these conditions which have exercised strong, in part inevitable pressure in the shaping of the economy. The Indian is proud of the latter as a creation of his mental powers, and he is fully justified. He must yield to the pressure of the environment to the extent that only an acquisitive gathering-economy is possible for him. This, however, he has developed so favorably for himself that, with little effort, he obtains what he needs for a human existence and what he desires for his well-being. He has not been able to lift himself beyond his dependence on the environment to become its sovereign ruler; nevertheless, he has made it subservient to himself up to the limit of his completely human mental capacity.

1. The Roving Spirit

181 The Yamana are a peculiarly restless band. They can never remain long in one spot. When they are sitting together, first one and then another will leave the circle to look around by himself or to walk a few steps. If a family has built their hut somewhere, they are impelled to leave it again no later than the third day. An inner unrest moves these people, which they themselves cannot account for, because they were born with it. It is only strikingly noticeable to a European, it sometimes annoys him very much, for example, when he has employed Indians on

/613 cont./

181 will regard his hunting effort as completely hopeless, but not infrequently that is just the time when his booty is more than abundant. Complete satisfaction grows out of the success of which the Indian is confident from the start, and this further increases his reliance on his own ability.

182 Naturally, the drive toward restless wandering coincides abstractly with his adopted form of economic management. In Tierra del Fuego agriculture and animal husbandry in a form which our natives would be obliged to choose would be simply impossible. They have no choice but to gather and hunt what nature offers them voluntarily. Now, game animals are driven away from the spot where one of them has been killed. Similarly, it is advisable for a woman to change the place of her gathering activity as soon as possible. Thus, as a matter of principle, a family remains in one place only as long as the meat from one of the larger /614/ animals lasts. If the family is dependent solely upon mussels, they set out even sooner. They do not stay more than an average of two or three days in the same place. Advantageously, the Yamana travel in very small groups, usually as individual families, sometimes with a second or third family. They separate again after a short distance, because personal safety, of which everyone is conscious, drives them toward complete independence and unrestricted freedom.

2. Underway in the Canoe

462 502 The only and indispensable means of transportation of our Indians is their bark canoe. Since it is lightly constructed, the woman is not excessively burdened by paddling. The canoe belongs to her. Although the man must build it, the care of it is left to her alone (415). She takes this very seriously, for the

415. Bridges (MM:III, 115;1869) writes: "Canoes are always under the charge of the women, who paddle them from place to place, and spend much of their time in them" /cited in English/, namely, on the unavoidable trips.

/623 cont./

487 crosses the streams by fording them" /translated from French/.

[B97] If the water is high and there is a strong current, the shores are connected by means of two sticks or short trunks and thus bridged. BD:78 gives ukilāaraxtēka, "to put logs or beams, etc., across a stream to form a bridge" /cited in English/. As I learned, however, this kind of unsteady construction is very seldom made.

4. Nomadic Life, the Result of Environmental Conditions

•182 In the beginning we emphasized the fact that the Yamana are forced to lead a migratory life because of their environment, or because of conditions in their homeland. They did not respond to this necessity purely mechanically, but, applying their mental powers, they have organized a form of economy that seems to be the best possible adaptation to their environment (440).

440. On September 18, 1858, Despard wrote in his diary: "The Fuegians in themselves cannot be other than they are" /cited in English/ and explains this in detail on the basis of negative arguments (VP:VI, 83;1859). Bridges (k):240 furnishes the following positive account: "The natives have developed all the more useful qualities for the life they lead: their canoes are perfect for their kind, and as much can be said for all their utensils and implements. With the materials at their disposal I do not see how they could be improved. They have adapted themselves perfectly to the land and climate in which they find themselves" /translated from Spanish/. The words of Crawshay:XXIII with regard to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 306) applies without qualification to our Yamana: "Judged from the point of view of the Land they inhabit, they are perfect" /cited in English/.

/623 cont./

182 Thus the territory of the Yamaña shows a uniform character from one end to the other, for essentially the same natural conditions prevail everywhere and the total population is low.

The requirement of extraordinary mobility is linked with the form of economy created and adopted by the Fuegians, the only one possible there. At any one particular spot there are game and food for a single family for only one or two days; even if they wanted to stay longer, tormenting hunger would drive them on. To be heavily burdened with a quantity of tools and utensils, weapons, and clothing would soon prove unbearable. It is amazing to see how little in the way of material possessions our natives can get along with. They are not in the least hampered by them for quick, flexible movement. Even the indispensable canoe is so light in weight and can be /624/ manipulated on the water with so little effort, that these advantages could hardly be increased. Implements and weapons weigh almost nothing in the hands of the one who carries them; hence everyone can move quickly on land. Although, upon landing, the natives must exert themselves for about half an hour to erect a hut, they abandon the framework when they leave, since it can serve them again upon their return. In all their manipulations our Indians are agile and quick.

181 Their modesty and contentment fit in very well with all this and must probably be regarded as a result of the circumscribed simplicity of their material property. Everyone has adapted himself with such matter-of-factness to the meager conditions of life and to the perceptible limitations imposed on that region by a parsimonious and niggardly Nature, as though there were nothing better elsewhere. Everyone is content with his lot, and no one grumbles about his fate. At the same time he is fully aware of his sovereign superiority over the blind forces of nature, and his confidence of victory incessantly drives him toward new risks or more difficult acts. His mental ability and his implements are completely sufficient for him. Hence he has, for many decades and with superior disdain, rejected all kinds of things from Europeans and, in satisfied self-sufficiency, has tenaciously clung to the traditional implements. With perceptive appreciation of all this, even Bridges (k):240 has defended our experienced, capable

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177 from his stay among the missionaries, "he returns with delight
181 to his canoe, to his independent wandering life, without pre-occupation and without cares" /translated from French/, as Hyades (j):166 reports. Every outside observer can be adequately convinced that there is no other possible way of life for the Yamana; they are used to it from their earliest childhood; they are forced into it by their given environment, into which they have been inescapably placed. Care for their daily subsistence and the necessary raw materials for their implements drive them restlessly from place to place. This powerful motivation drives
181 our Yamana with equal force and toward the same goal as it does
171 the neighboring Selk'nam; hence the many basic similarities in the characteristics of their economies between the two tribes, with whom the Halakwulup are to be compared in this respect. All careful observers agree that "like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance" /cited in English/, as Lothrop (b):116 tersely expresses himself. It is the instinct of self-preservation that makes both of them restless wanderers, that always and unmercifully puts them back on their feet again after they have given themselves a brief respite of only a few days. Despite this great dependence on external nature, our Fuegians have by no means become its slave, and their struggle for existence is not at all the degrading strife in which, for example, vast strata of so-called civilized Europe are at present engaged.

182 A glance at how the Yamana manage their affairs also shows that man with his superior mental equipment and his physical powers energetically comes to grips with nature on every spot of the earth that is entrusted to him. There he creates for himself a definite form of economy which will sooner or later strike every careful observer as harmonious co-operation between man and nature. Actually, the economic form of every long-domiciled primitive people possesses its inherent individuality conditioned by its environment and marked by its own structure. Thus, it is unique, and, despite external similarities with an economic form developed under other conditions, it differs from the latter /626/ more or less according to its inner structure, or at least according to its manifold purpose. This is not by any

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182 means to deny the historically demonstrated connection of the basic factors of certain types of economy, for the latter do actually exist and around them are entwined the locally conditioned separate structures. In the total picture of general cultural events within human society, the external conduct of life of our Yamana deserves a particular, even a favored place, inasmuch as it has maintained itself from its earliest beginnings up to the time of European intervention cut off from outside influences by practically impenetrable natural barriers. /Fig. 76 appears here./

/627/ Part 3

Social Organization and Tribal Custom

The external form of life of the Yamana is that of an acquisitive gathering-economy closely dependent on given natural conditions. Just as the environment decisively influences the total economy, determining its form, so does this form of economy very definitely determine the specific social organization. The latter, in turn, rests on the independence of each individual family, with its special capacities and social performances. "The kind of subsistence which predominates in a social group, the form of their production which is not arbitrarily chosen but determined by certain conditions of life, directly or indirectly shapes all other ideas and actions of that society. If we know what a people eats, we also know what it is" (Grosse:25). This dependence of the social organization upon the form of economy, which has been proved among other primitive peoples, is also very definitely true of the Fuegians, especially of our Yamana.

594 The invariable obligation of a nomadic people to gather food without pause excludes a stratified organization of the whole society. Its sole supporting pillar is the individual family. In the form of a monogamous single marriage, the family appears as the universal, narrowly circumscribed, definitely determined social structure. Not only is it bounded by strong safeguards, but even from the start, as soon as a marriage is planned, certain conditions which guarantee its permanence and its natural function

[Text continues on page 386.-Analyst]

/649 cont./

584 elsewhere. In the opinion of the majority, such abuses are re-
604 garded as unjust; hence the guilty ones -- they are aware of be-
626 ing such -- make a secret of the fact that they have interfered without permission. The relatives and the larger community are steadfastly and as a matter of course on the side of the lovers, provided always that blood relationship is excluded. To the extent that the general public knows of the marriage plans of the couple, it prepares steadfastly for the forthcoming marriage. Meanwhile the aunts and female neighbors approach the girl in friendly good-will and wish her all kinds of happiness for the future, making this dependent on the recently imparted advice and the earlier instructions on the occasion of the menarche. The boy is merely given additional earnest warnings in case his conduct requires it.

587 When a couple enters a second marriage, the /650/ formalities that apply to the first marriage are omitted. "They are simply no longer necessary," as Calderon emphasized. "The couple know very well that they need not let themselves be influenced by anyone in their decision!". In one way or another, however, the newly wedded couple tells those nearest them of their union, so that the public in general will soon learn of it.

584 Marriageable young people in olden times were in an in-
182 comparably more favorable position; each one, following the dictates of his heart, selected from many persons the one desired. For the last few decades marital conditions have been affected by a complete disintegration of the natural order. They do not offer even a slight guarantee that the Yamana will continue as a people. In fact, the fate of the Yamana is already sealed.

7. Obstacles to Marriage

582 The basic freedom in the selection of a mate does not eliminate the fact that there are some things taken for granted which prohibit marital union. All adults are well informed about them. In particular it is the duty of the parents under no circumstances to permit the marital union of their child with a related person (p. 416). A few introductory remarks will be given before we list the actual obstacles to marriage.

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606 and lances for lance-shafts. In short, they help their parents-in-law in every way and outwardly show them far more veneration than their own parents. A son-in-law would neither demand anything of them nor borrow anything. More than that, the son-in-law and daughter-in-law must also display a certain reserve toward the brothers and sisters of their parents-in-law, although it is not inadmissible to exchange brief words with them occasionally. Every man, however, can associate freely with the grandparents of his wife (43).

43. In the relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law there are remarkable similarities between the Yamana and the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 332) and the Halakwulup (Vol. III).

177 European civilization, disrupting everything, has done away
•182 with many regulations formerly respected by the Yamana as sacred laws. For this reason, disgraceful disorders have met no opposition among the remaining survivors of the tribe. Older Indians whose principles are the same as those of their ancestors and who are helpless to stop this confusion complain bitterly and deeply regret the uncontrollable decline of their entire nation.

b. Married Life

591 With the marriage ceremony, independent life begins for the
593 newly wedded couple. They are no longer dependent upon their own parents, and as a newly established conjugal union, they find themselves standing on their own feet. There is no definite rule about the time when the newlyweds break away from their parents. It depends on the position of the family of the bridegroom or of the bride. In exceptional cases, the young people remain with their elders until they have their first child.

The young man does not find it difficult to turn his back on the parental hut; he has long felt the urge for personal /662/ independence and the desire for the unimpeded development of

/692 cont./

589 888 strength, they could not do full justice to the tasks incumbent on them by the division of labor and would thus be more of a burden than a help in life with a marriage partner. Hence they forgo another marriage and try to find refuge in the hut of one of their relatives where they can be included in the daily routine without trouble. Sometimes they continue to run their own households. "Older women whose husbands have died exercise quite firmly all the rights of the head of the family. Even when they live alone, they always have with them a few children or grandchildren who are absolutely obedient to them" (Hyades [g]:35) (106). Aside

> 106. Bridges' (i):14 diary entry of July 2, 1872, sounds almost the same: "The lives of the old women who have been reported as the usual victims of cannibalism, were as sacred as those of any other persons, because they had sons and daughters, nephews and nieces, younger brothers and sisters, who felt as such towards them, and none dared to suggest their deaths" /cited in English/.

from the good influence they have, they are still at times helpful in economic life. "The old women, by the way, are by no means as useless as is assumed in the tale [of their being done away with during a famine]; their experience makes them definitely appreciated in obtaining food, as well as in other household tasks, and not at all infrequently young people would rather marry an experienced older woman than a young girl even though she is prettier" (ibid). The woman herself finally decides, according to her situation and character, whether she will go on living as a widow or marry again at an advanced age.

/693/ The arbitrary assertions of certain Europeans have given •182 a distorted picture of marital conditions among the Yamana. Neither Darwin nor Bove fulfilled the requirements which would entitle them to judge an arrangement as difficult to investigate as marriage is. They did not even admit to themselves that the conditions they describe are unnatural; had such conditions really developed, the people would have been driven in mad haste to complete destruction.

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•182 Primitive people in such an unfavorable environment as that around Cape Horn cannot deviate very much from the norms of life imposed by nature if they are to survive as a people. Actually the marital arrangements of our Fuegians, including polygamy which is occasionally permitted and the obligation to marry widows, strike one as quite self-explanatory and natural, hence also as homely and appealing. Bridges' opinion after decades of experience as a missionary carries greater weight than other judgments, and he (i):21 summarized it in the following very terse, but truly comprehensive words: "On the whole, the family life was happy and correct" /cited in English/.

B. Parents and Child

594 The nature of the economy, which is the only kind possible in the Cape Horn region, forces our Fuegians to split up into individual families, each one devoting itself independently to the quest for food. Hence, day after day, the parents and their children are dependent on their own resources. Although the daily work of the Yamana family is more diversified than that of the neighboring Selk'nam, a great deal of unavoidable monotony is connected with it. It is of inestimable spiritual value, as well as almost an indispensable necessity, for every family to have several children, who not only form a tie that unites the two parents, but also contribute a great deal to their mental enrichment and spiritual stimulation. No wonder that the longing for a child is so strong that a couple cannot live, so to speak, without it, and that the care and treatment of the child reveal a love that cannot be intensified. Even in their parental happiness, however, adults do not let themselves be blinded or diverted from the strict duty of a firm upbringing that one must describe not only as good, but even as stern. All parents, with the exception of a few who have defective personal tendencies, devote themselves conscientiously to this upbringing to the best of their abilities and with a view to the child's welfare.

861 Profound observation and careful research have brought to light principles and techniques which put their efforts at child

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C. Kinship and Tribal Society

182 Among peoples on the low cultural level of our Yamana it is easy to observe the close reciprocal relationship between the nature of the economy and the social order. No one will regard the one as caused solely by the other, nor may one summarily deny a certain inner connection between the two.

The total number of this Fuegian tribe is low, and there is nothing to indicate that it has been noticeably higher at any time during its long presence in the Cape Horn region (p. 227 /untranslated/). This fact alone permits only one interpretation, that a complex social order, according to the various points of view from which one judges and evaluates social structures, is not to be expected here, particularly since a compact social life in one place involving all the members of the tribe is completely lacking. What our natives acquire in the way of subsistence is certainly sufficient; they do not die of hunger, and can even eat their fill. An excess of any part of their limited assets, however, is impossible. They are dependent on an imperfect form of production; hence, they can neither become numerous nor unite in a compact social life. The population is limited, so to speak, by the available food supply, and since this is sparsely distributed over a wide area, a permanent association of all tribal members in one place or in a few specific places is impossible.

594 621 The entire tribe seems torn asunder into very small individual groups, each of whom lives widely separated from any of the others and enjoys complete independence. These groups cannot be subdivided into still lower units. They are the individual families. Each family, as such, forms an independent economic unit which is isolated as a distinct community and pursues its own goal in life. Lothrop (b):160 says briefly and definitely: "Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit" /cited in English/.

602 571 Closer and more remote degrees of kinship spread out around the individual family as around a point of crystallization, and the consciousness of belonging together is more pronounced the closer the blood tie is. The more distant the individual families are as kinsmen, the more tenuous their mutual relations. This /778/ is the basis for the limited association and wide dispersion of all

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"They are very exact in preserving the remembrance of the precise relationship born by members of a family each to other" /cited in English/.

From the start we are surprised not only by the large number, but also by the logical formation of the kinship terms (222).

222. The long lists gathered by a few earlier observers are still incomplete; above all Hyades (p):333 and (q):297, Lothrop (b):161, and Spencer: 61, 65 are referred to here.

Referring to Bridges, Hyades (q):261 says: "There are specific terms for all the degrees of kinship" /translated from French/, in fact, considerably more than most Europeans are able to apply (223).

223. Bridges frankly admits this in Hyades (q):261, and no one will contradict him when he says that our natives "in this respect have more distinctions and more terms than we ourselves" /translated from French/.

[182] Today, however, some of them are no longer current among the younger Indians because their tribal life has been disintegrating for a long time. Formerly there was more opportunity to use such terms (224).

224. We are confronted here with a universal phenomenon in the world of primitives. "This alone [the confined situations] explains the complicated kinship terms of some tribes and the accurate mastery of these by the native who can accurately fit every single member into this system. Anyone who from childhood has been taught to place the greatest importance on these things finds it easy with the years to learn to distinguish them clearly with a limited

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1. Occasion and Duration

X881 182 The European often greatly underestimates primitive man's dependence on food-getting. Concern about the daily necessities arbitrarily and uncontrollably pushes aside every wish and plan, every claim and calculation that might stand in its way. Speiser's 255 observation about the Australians also applies to our Fuegians, namely, that "food is the central feature of their material and mental pursuits, "that their attention is primarily and most strongly directed toward subsistence. Seemingly primitive people know nothing about exact divisions of time or about constancy in their decisions. They do not keep their word or fulfill their promises. In reality this is not the case, and it is an injustice if they are depicted as fickle, irresolute, and disloyal. Their decisions are changed or abandoned at the last minute according to the advantages for food-getting and for the safety of their lives. It seems much more important to them to banish hunger or to escape danger to their lives than to do what they have said, to keep their promise, to appear at a rendezvous, or to make a promised visit. This controlling and decisive principle is no less effective when it applies to the success and duration of the čiẽxaus. Hence we should not expect immutable laws in this respect.

X881 182 571 Sooner or later the families will come together again so that their maturing children may have an opportunity to take part in the initiation. It is only within the local group that the desire for this is made known, but as a rule the impetus for the decision comes from the outside. The strongest reason seems to be /824/ the stranding of a whale somewhere. Then the families crowd in not only from nearby, but sometimes even from a distance, and settle around the mighty animal. Now they are all free from concern about food for many days and even have a surplus for the immediate future (p. 336). If this spot offers the additional advantage that the men can easily hunt game animals and the women are richly rewarded in their gathering, most of the families, perhaps even all of them, remain in this productive area. There is nothing forcing them to look for another region where, to begin with, they could not be sure of such favorable conditions. Thus,

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the stranded whale with the enormous amount of meat it offers the people for many days is not the incentive for the initiation, but rather the gathering of numerous families who have met here for this reason and who wish to remain longer in this favorable little spot because of its many advantages for obtaining food. This occasionally but by no means regularly brings about the desire to celebrate the čiłxaus.

The same thing happens if many families come together in one place for some other reason, such as a bad accident in which several persons have been the victims or a large funeral for an esteemed old man or a capable medicine man. The suitability of the campsite determines the final decision, although the mood and inclination of the people, as well as the influence of individual aged persons, have a great deal to do with it.

It is only when many families are assured of effortless provisioning in a given place that they look about for young people who would be suitable for the čiłxaus. No one knows much about it until the families have come together, for even within the local group one family may not be in touch with another. In olden times this festival would never have been omitted for want of suitable children, if the campsite were favorable, because formerly there were plenty of them.

Now and then there is a strong urge for a more prolonged gathering, such as is required for the čiłxaus, because of the desire for society and a thorough exchange of ideas. We must never forget how much heavier the burden of loneliness rests upon the few members of the individual family the longer it must be endured. Above all the men like to be among themselves once more, and even the women have all kinds of things to tell one another. The men are eager to talk about their hunting experiences and successes in their work. The women have all kinds of little things to tell about their children and are even more anxious to chat with their relatives. How stimulating it is to listen to the stories of an experienced old man, and how one likes to gather around a lively wag who is stimulated to new sallies by the applause of the multitude! If only to enjoy once more this refreshing, vitalizing fellowship, many a person will visit the campsite where the initiation /825/ takes place. A number of

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families will remain together for a longer time, especially if favorable local conditions are particularly inviting.

From this account we can easily see how the many circumstances and details of unpredictable daily life influence the duration of a ciéxaus ceremony and even determine it. One of these factors is the availability of wood and food, the protection of the campsite against strong winds and flood, the prevailing mood of intimate sociability among the families, and finally the variety offered by the festival and its lively leadership under a talented overseer. According to my elderly informants, most families in earlier times remained together long enough so that the candidates were detained in the Great Hut for at least six weeks. At any rate, those families who had a child or close relative who was an uiwala remained for the entire period, as did the families of the overseer and the leader because these two had to carry through to the end the offices they had assumed. The rest of the families, of course, had unimpeded freedom of movement. Often the festival would last over three months, since the leader made himself responsible for the success and effectiveness of this training with one or another of the candidates whom he treated with special consideration. A certain goal was to be attained with all the uiwala, and if forcefulness did not achieve it, it had to be attained by an extension of time.

Since for the past few decades the tribe as a whole has been in the process of complete disintegration, the important ciéxaus has become an occasional affair under the pressure of outside circumstances, but not for the older Yamana. They are now satisfied if the festival lasts one or two weeks. At my first initiation we sat in the Great Hut for ten days. In 1921 the people celebrated it by themselves in Puerto Mejillones where it lasted 12 days. In the following year, they ended it after six days.

What we experienced in March, 1922, had sometimes also happened earlier, namely, that some external event forced them to discontinue it. The most common reason for this was a death or unfavorable conditions of the land, less often because of lack of food. They would move the camp to another place where a new ciéxaus hut was built. In Puerto Mejillones it was the great desire of the younger men for the kina celebration, which they had never experienced, that caused them to interrupt the initiation.

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Even the Indians, however, always regard it as a disturbance if
182 the thread is broken, and they only yield to the force of necessity or of greater benefits.

Although generally unpredictable external circumstances convened the festival, winter was preferred as the most suitable time of year for it. People were more settled then, which was brought about by economic conditions./826/ They were happy to interrupt this boring, monotonous way of life with the čiexaus and to enjoy it fully. In summer, on the other hand, only a few people would have been able to tolerate crouching in the Great Hut uninterruptedly for many weeks. In reality, these Fuegians do not have fixed rules for the occurrence of an initiation and its duration, any more than do their nearest neighbors to the northwest, the Halakwulup.

2. Long-range Preparation

X 881 All persons who unite in the čiexaus must, of course, submit to the single purpose behind its regulations and organization. The general decrees are sacred traditions and are binding for everyone. The presiding overseer sees to it that every participant submits to the unwritten laws. Everyone regards this occasion much too seriously to dream of offending against a single obligation, but someone might accidentally transgress from carelessness or natural negligence, whereupon the vigilance of the overseer must be shown. There are no special privileges for individual adults, any more than there are exceptions for this or that candidate.

X 881 Every participant retains his absolute property rights over the utensils or implements he brings along to the Great Hut.
422 Anyone who has a long strap with which to capture the candidates offers it for the entire period of the festival, but takes it back again afterwards. Only the small painted panels which are hung up in the Great Hut are regarded as belonging to it. The person who made them and hung them there loses his own right to them; after the festival no one would think of taking one of these small ornamental tablets for his own use.

X 881 In view of the strictness with which the prevailing decrees are observed and honored, one can confidently assume that they

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X881 The čiexaus training is designed to enrich the candidates mentally, to discipline their character, and to give them manual 861 skill. It attains this goal through weeks of effort and tenacious persistence. The young people, after the conclusion of this training, begin a life of self-sufficiency and independence from the parental family by establishing their own household. They have been reliably prepared to fulfill their important duties as husband and wife, as father and mother, as full-fledged members of the tribe. For its part, the community can now have full confidence in the new family which will soon be founded. This richly rewards the old people for all their care and efforts for the ulwala, since the perpetuation of the prevailing way of life and the dominant principles seems assured. The entire training process itself with its many individual aspects is also pleasing to the European; effective training methods are employed in beautiful proportion, without torture, repulsive harshness, and cruel brutality. The clarified, purely natural element in the training skills of our Fuegians has given them very fine and sure results throughout the centuries and up to the present time.

4. Daily Program for the Adults

X881 Obviously the čiexaus institution is thought of first of all 182 as a vitally important schooling of the candidates. In any event the need of the members of the tribe for social life is fully taken into account, and the consciousness of their solidarity is strengthened anew.

It is undeniable that, aside from all other considerations, the adults at certain intervals are seized by an inner urge "to celebrate the youth initiation once again!" This, and in no other way, is how they show their strong determination to hold fast to the old tradition, to renew themselves in it, and to hand it on in its entirety to the growing generation. Consciously and unconsciously they are governed by the power of the good things of old. That is why they do not let the čiexaus secret sink into oblivion; they safeguard it from the disrespectful eyes of Europeans and, even today, fight off as much as possible every relaxation of the buttressing principles.

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X881 162

They zealously see to it that every grown child without exception experiences the spirit and meaning of the initiation, as though the stability of their tribal life would be strongly shaken and the pattern of their social life broken up if some young person had no opportunity to do this. They believe that they have done a service to the people as a whole if, from time to time, they loudly demand that this event take place. This is the /905/ deeper meaning behind the constant urging of old people for the čiŕxaus celebration, the necessity of it for the adults and for the society itself; it is not exclusively the duty of letting boys and girls experience it. As a result, the participants accept without demur anything in the way of unpleasantness and restrictions of their liberty that happens to them when they enter the Great Hut. All of them are animated by the strong desire to conform exactly with the important obligation handed down from early times. He willingly endures all the physical exertion demanded by the daily program and the curtailment of personal freedom that every participant voluntarily accepts.

It seems to show an intolerant spirit of pettiness that these Fuegians in our day dare not relax any of the rigid formality of the prevailing order. With perverse unreasonableness they pay strict attention to what is important and what is unimportant, so that nothing is diluted or mitigated, nothing is distorted or omitted of all that has been handed down. They have lived and still live in the conviction that only a relentlessly rigid persistence in the traditional pattern will assure the continuance of their ethnic unity.

If, nevertheless, in the last two decades many things have been given up or curtailed or changed for the sake of the new spirit of the times, this has occurred as a result of the manifest knowledge of the younger people that their tribe is already in the process of dissolution. Today even the youth initiation could not bring about the firm cohesion of fellow-countrymen on the traditional basis of former times. With deep insight Nelly once complained to me: "The former strict order has for some time disappeared from the čiŕxaus, we Yamana will not last much longer [as an ethnic unit]!" The experience of the vast world of primitive peoples confirms the fact that as soon as obligatory social

/905 cont./

X881 arrangements deviate from the traditional order, even at single points, their very essence is endangered and sooner or later they
182 break up completely. This is also a sign of the simultaneous decay of the social order and the whole spiritual wealth of such primitive peoples.

At the eleventh hour I was privileged to experience the original strictness and the serious spirit of the Kina celebration on the occasion of my first initiation in 1920. Even at that time, however, allowance was made for the physical weakness of the candidates and for many comforts which had become second nature to the adults. Two years later Santiago, as the leader, held the reins of the daily program very much looser. The older people not only deplored the excessive leniency, but were quite openly ashamed of it, for they realized only too clearly that they themselves, with their lax comforts, were digging an early grave for their traditional tribal heritage. Nevertheless, my two participations in the Kina gave me fair insight into what this affair means to the group of adults also.

/906/ α. General Regulations

X881 It is well known that every Yamana who has twice gone
186 through the Kina ceremony as ulwala may thereafter again take part in it with all the privileges accorded the adults. He is, of course, bound to the regulations as long as he is in or near the Great Hut. Everyone knows the meaning of this arrangement. To begin with there is no danger that anyone will risk obvious infractions against some regulation. The participants watch each other carefully and one is an example to the other in the gravity of his outward appearance of composure.

X881 Inasmuch as the Kina is a common undertaking, every-
624 one must on occasion put his energy at its disposal. Younger persons help with the building and initial furnishing of the Great Hut and later on with obtaining food and supervising the candidates. These and other services are performed by each one under the jurisdiction of the leader, for even the adults are subordinate to him so that order is maintained and the ceremony will proceed

/938 cont./

his words to indicate that he was now beginning the dance. Then he called: "The people here are beginning to get up, they are all in considerable motion!" He was answered: "awéi!" The dance lasted about 20 minutes. Immediately all the ufwála left the ʍáʍa hut and hastened into the forest for wood (359).

359. One should keep in mind the following custom. Two or three men, on repeated occasions, lead a small group of three to five candidates to hunt. If they set out to kill guanaco, they are gone at least two days, during which time they, of course, spend the night out-of-doors. Wherever they settle down for a longer or shorter rest, the leader watches carefully so that no intruder may approach. He often utters loud cries of ho-ho, which warn any stranger. For his part the guard at the Great Hut observes the movement of the people over in the camp and with loud cries warns anyone who sets out in the direction of the candidates. This applies to brief as well as to long outings by the candidates.

The wincfhúʍa called loudly: /939/ "It seems to me a few of you over there are watching [as the candidates leave the Great Hut]." They replied: "pff, no!" Nevertheless, he repeated: "Take care that nb-one looks!" Response: "awéi!" After a short pause he requested formally: "I should now like to eat something!"

While the low singing continued, old Class spoke: "Nowadays the ufwála are not as thoroughly taught as formerly. They scarcely learn [in detail] our old laws and institutions. This is because the older people take no interest in teaching the ufwála the essentials. We ourselves have become negligent and careless. For us personally this is a great disadvantage, too. Today almost every Yamana leads the life of the Whites; none of our younger people thinks earnestly anymore about our former customs and our old laws. If this [attitude] continues, the good old tradition will soon be completely lost and we shall cease being true Yamana! We must

/939 cont./

X881 really make a great effort to instruct our candidates carefully, for our old laws and customs are good. Every Yamana, old and
182 young, must adapt himself to them. I am very sad, for I see some of our younger people who neither know nor follow our habits of former times!"

After a few minutes the winefkéa called one last time:
X881 "Control your eyes and do not look at the Great Hut. I shall soon
625 go away from here." At this moment the uswáala returned.

In conclusion the particular duty of the guard should be remembered. He must keep intruders away from the čiéxaus hut and see to it that inquisitive glances do not discover anything that goes on there. In order to demonstrate his watchfulness to outsiders, he repeatedly steps in front of the main entrance and a few paces away from it. He also climbs up on the hut framework where he can be seen still more plainly. Finally, he makes himself noticeable by repeated calls. Everyone is afraid of the winefkéa and no one dares to desecrate the sanctity of the čiéxaus hut.

X881 6. Social Games. In the course of time the daily program
524 in the čiéxaus hut leads to weariness, not only for the candidates, but also for the adults. Quite generally the participants are very punctilious about their duties, and individuals among them are even over-zealous, which is not surprising among good-humored children of nature. Even experienced nerves would be unable to stand too great a strain for any length of time if there were absolutely no relaxation at certain intervals. That is precisely the deeper significance of the custom of occasionally having social games interspersed through the serious čiéxaus celebration. To a superficial observer this custom seems strange and irreconcilable with the strictness of the prevailing order of the day, but the decisive factor is the psychological need of the participants for /940/ occasional refreshment by means of a game, which never deteriorates into boisterousness or licentiousness since it is restrained by certain guide lines.

Inasmuch as everyone present at the initiation is pledged more or less equally to silence and quiet behavior and to all kinds of exertions and discomforts, participation in the social games is, without exception, open to all, and of course also to the uswáala.

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d. Conclusion of the Celebration

X881 Chance and many imponderable influences were the decisive factors in bringing about the čiéxaus celebration (p. 664). They are also paramount in concluding this affair. From the very beginning no one commits himself to a definite period for the exercises and social intercourse; without concern the group yields to the circumstances of the moment that may advise termination. This is not a disorderly dispersal of the participants, however, but a regulated formality. Here, too, the Yamana taste for formal control and their appreciation of formality come through strongly. The individual customs that terminate the long youth initiation are just as important to them as the individual features of the daily program, and both are given the same attention. It would be a psychological outrage to assume that the whole group or the majority of participants would forgo the concluding ceremonies.

Even at the end of the long period of being together, the basic idea dominating the čiéxaus clearly and characteristically comes through, namely, that the mature young people should now be introduced into the group of adults as useful members of the tribe and that the individual families form a closed community, united for mutual protection and for the preservation of the tribe as a whole. Every adult and every youthful participant leaves the čiéxaus hut with renewed eagerness to practice the prevailing virtues of the tribe, and the memory of the čiéxaus hut stays with him as an effective guide for future independent action.

1. Reasons for Termination

X881 ● 182 As we have said, our Yamana do not pledge themselves to a definite period of time for the initiation, but they do hold themselves to one positive and by no means unimportant commitment: concern for the success of the candidates' training. It is no mere accident that the Yamana in the čiéxaus, like the Selk'nam in their Kloketen celebration (Vol. I, 1047), /948/ plan to stay until the training goal for the uswáala seems to have been achieved (363).

363. Some of the external circumstances which

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> caused the termination of the men's ceremony among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1050) have the same effect in ending the youth initiation among our Yamana. In Tierra del Fuego calamitous natural forces are, after all, stronger than human wishes and desires.

The old people know very well that during the few weeks of training neither the young fellow nor the mature girl will become a wholly adult human being. Up to a certain point, however, they can judge whether the principles of life presented have made a sufficiently strong impression on them and whether they have acquired enough manual dexterity or skill so that with further practice they can achieve the requisite proficiency. External forces, of course, act directly and powerfully on the conclusion, and they can even push aside the consideration mentioned above.

In spite of all the precautions taken at the beginning, it sometimes happens that a serious food shortage develops during the course of the celebration. Even though the adults and the candidates are content with little food, at least this amount must be easily obtainable. If the people have been attracted to a place by a stranded whale, they pay no attention to how much of their customary food is to be found there, and they realize the actual state of affairs only when the huge animal has been cut up and consumed by the many people. If they are obliged to undertake excessively long journeys in their canoes or on treks through the woods and over rocks in order to obtain the required quantities of meat, the daily program cannot be carried on without considerable interruption. They must then either look for a new camping place or break up the meeting.

Sometimes the unfavorableness of the site is recognized only after some time. The change of season, for example, will alter the condition of the ground very considerably, so that floods and the saturation of the earth or piled-up snow will irrevocably force them to move the whole camp. Adverse air currents or strong eddies, for example, will so unpleasantly and so frequently hamper canoe trips that food-seeking is impossible for days. It may

/948 cont./

X881 even become impossible to obtain much firewood conveniently in
●182 a particular place. Yielding to natural forces, the group will retreat to a more favorable spot.

[731] It is only in most recent times that an epidemic in the common camp around the čiexaus hut has forced the termination of the celebration. In olden times the people did not have to cope with this obstacle. Occasionally, however, the demise of a particularly beloved person during an initiation has been such a shock to the people present that they /949/ were unable to continue it and dispersed. Usually they met elsewhere for yamalašemōina, the great ceremony of mourning.

X881 In all this one must not overlook the fact that after a considerable length of time, especially when the affair has continued for several months, an oppressive boredom affects all the participants. In spite of its diversity, the daily program does not offer enough variety to keep the restless temperaments of these Fuegians interested beyond a certain period. Their wanderlust often strikes so forcefully that during the čiexaus celebration they now and then depart for a few days and seek the desired relaxation in another environment. Once the paralyzing leadenness has settled on a considerable number of the participants, hardly anything can restore their initial fresh enthusiasm. In such an instance, release comes only with the conclusion of the celebration.

The leader and the overseer watch the predominating mood. If some indication makes them uneasy, they first exchange opinions between themselves and afterward with older men. After a certain amount of consideration, the leader finally requests those present to prepare for the concluding ceremony. He need expect no contradiction from individuals or from a group, and everyone complies with his order. His word alone suffices, and with the announcement of his decision, which, of course, always is made with the consent of several influential men, the čiexaus celebration is actually over. The last act is a brief, but meaningful and stimulating formality.

On the evening of the same day on which the leader has announced the impending conclusion of the celebration, rarely on the following evening, a special ceremony must be held, based on two important ideas. First comes the formal adoption of the uswala

X881 /958 cont./

blended into one, called "Kloketen," among the Selk'nam. Compare Gusinde (bb):370 and (dd):1083.

X881 Since the intrusion of European culture in the Cape Horn Archipelago, the strict procedure of the youth initiation has been
●182 relaxed, gradually and imperceptibly, but ultimately to the detri-
177 ment of our Yamana. The initial indulgences obviously led to a regrettable deterioration of the original serious spirit of the čiéxaus celebration. It is the old people, who were brought up in the strictness of former times, who complain most of all about present-day laxity, inasmuch as they see in it a serious disadvantage to youth and a threat to the people as a whole.

X881 On March 5, 1922, Gertie told me in detail about a considerable length of time she had spent, as a girl, at the Tekenika
182 Mission. No religious influence from that period was apparent in her and I became convinced that the teachings of the missionaries had left absolutely no impression. She said: "At that time there were still many Yamana living. But since then most of our people have died, precisely because they are very careless about observing the former strict customs and have become very indifferent about many things. When I first entered the čiéxaus as an ušwąala, I trembled with fear and terror. Full of awe, I showed my sponsors that I was willing and obedient. I carefully and faithfully fulfilled what was demanded by the daily program, which at that time was still very strict. At present even boys and small girls are admitted as ušwąala. They are not bound by strict discipline because they are still too young. /959/ Because of all this, the good ancient customs are given up. Even important arrangements are no longer taken seriously enough [she means, besides the initiation, the general conduct of the tribal members]. This is probably why our people are now dying in such numbers. The rules of conduct and precepts of our ancestors were excellent, although strict and serious, but people lived well by them and were a great people!" Gertie is a person who appreciates the value of strict tradition and clings to it tenaciously.

X881 Without doubt, even in the last few decades, the initiation
182 was conducted, by and large, along the lines of ancient tradition.
576 A minor incident in March, 1922, shows that, despite some laxity,

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X881 ●182 576

the former strict regard for the prevailing regulations of the daily program is still demanded. One evening, shortly before the general dancing began, Adelheid inconspicuously handed Koppers and myself a few swallows of red wine from a small tin container beside her. Soon afterward she stepped into the ranks of dancers. While she was moving with them back and forth in the hut, her sister Gertie, who had been quiet up to now, seized the vessel of wine and ran out with it. After a few minutes she unexpectedly dashed back into the Great Hut, behaved very excitedly, and loudly cried: "A while ago my sister [Adelheid] handed those two [Europeans] there some wine, and only them. Such [partiality] is not customary in this hut; here all [present] must be invited if there is anything to be distributed! That is why I took away the wine that stood in a container beside her. I filled a bottle with it and have brought it back. All the other people should have some of it too!" Then Gertie placed herself approximately in the center of the čiéxaus hut and let the whole row of dancers pass by her. She handed the bottle to each one as he stood in front of her, so that he could take a swallow of wine. The dancer did not stop, but moved forward with short, mincing steps, swinging his dance staff. He merely bent his head to one side and opened his mouth. Walter stood at the main entrance as the winefkéxa, but since no one may be overlooked if there is something to be distributed, Walter likewise came dancing up to Gertie and let her put the wine bottle to his mouth, from which he took a swallow.

It is a general rule that everyone may help himself in case only individual persons have been remembered when edibles are being distributed. Anyone who has been passed by and wishes to retaliate will pull out a few branches from the covering of the hut or pick them out of his sleeping-place, light them, and excitedly rush up to the person who overlooked him. He terrorizes him by threatening him with the burning or smoldering branches; in fact, he sometimes burns him. No one is offended at this rough, violent treatment; rather, it is regarded as mild punishment for the monstrous selfishness displayed by the person in his partiality toward a few. Everyone present /960/ appreciates the indignation of the person seeking revenge, for their innermost feeling peremptorily demands that everyone conscientiously follow the most important rules of conduct, at least on the solemn occasion of the initiation.

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X881 182 576 Gertie's interference shows how well she is acquainted with the prevailing custom, and how conscientiously she respects all the details. Just the day before she had assured me: "What I was taught, as uswáala I faithfully kept and ineradicably preserved in my memory. This [faithful fulfillment of duty] brings everyone happiness and benefit!" The whole conduct of this woman, who was my sponsor, showed conviction and loyalty to principles.

X881 182 177 If one wishes to be fair in judging the modern Yamana, one must consider a few reasons that justify their relaxation of the procedure during the last few decades. In modern times they cannot count on being free of annoying hindrances, nor are the families independent in choosing the locale and season for the initiation. Always and everywhere they must reckon with interference by the Europeans settled there or they are obliged to work on the farms. As a result, all or most of the tribal members can no longer join in this celebration for a long period.

X881 182 In view of these considerations, it happens that now and then immature boys and girls are admitted as uswáala when their judgment is not yet sufficiently developed. No one knows when or whether the next čiéxaus celebration will take place, and they do not want these young people to be deprived altogether of this group training. Their lack of physical development forbids their being subjected to the original rigors of fasting and curtailed sleep. Nowadays strong measures are even less appropriate, since the middle-aged adults themselves are unable to summon enough will power to endure the rigorous regulations of their fathers. They lack the determination to make personal sacrifices. They realize this with shame, and they by no means conceal this situation from the young people. They say frankly: "In former times the uswáala came back to the camp from the Great Hut completely emaciated, weak, and exhausted at the end of the čiéxaus; nowadays they are hardly bound by a few insignificant restrictions!"

X881 182 147 We cannot deny the obvious fact that in modern times the physical resistance of the Yamana has considerably diminished. The old people say: "In former times toothache was unknown, nor did one see gray heads among the aged. The Yamana of today are not as hardy as their ancestors. The decisive factor lies in their changed diet, in their consumption of sugar and alcohol, coffee

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X881 and tea, salt and tobacco. European clothing has also contributed a great deal to this decline. But no one has the courage /961/ today to go back to the life of the ancestors. Thus the ruin of our people draws ever nearer!" Concurrent with the physical weakness of the present generation is laxity in the general sphere of morals, which is continually spreading.

● 182 147

X881 182 The čiēxaus celebration, the principles of which have not essentially changed, is not without some effect on young people even in modern times. The logical application of these principles to life, however, has more or less ceased because the middle-aged adults no longer encourage this strongly enough by setting an example.

In the course of this description we have repeatedly mentioned the individual events which fill each day in the čiēxaus hut. An hourly time schedule is unknown; the group depends on the momentary mood of everyone, on personal whim, the weather, and unpredictable coincidence. Certain general trends, however, mark each day. Hence I believe that I may refrain from describing here the exact succession of each particular event on each day of the initiation, which I experienced twice. Anyone who wishes to know this is referred to Koppers (a):45.

The perpetuation of the Yamana as a people throughout the centuries is largely due to the high moral level of the educational work achieved with the young people in the čiēxaus hut. After the strict supervision of the original procedure was relaxed, the stability of the society disintegrated, and it inevitably drifted toward destruction. It is useful for the history of human education that the educational art of the much misunderstood Yamana, as it is clearly and completely revealed in the čiēxaus celebration (375),

375. The youth initiation of the Halakwulup, which I discovered on my fourth journey, shows the same essential characteristics as that of the Yamana. For the time being, compare Gusinde (o):541 and Schmidt (d):977.

has become illuminated and quite minutely known to us Europeans, even as the declining years of this people have set in.

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183 custom is based on the tested experience of generations. They interpret every deviation from it, no matter how small, almost /1005/ instinctively as disadvantageous and harmful for their society. This judgment may rest to a considerable extent on the balanced harmony between their needs and their environment. It has been shown that they have adjusted in the best possible way to the vital demands of their homeland and have identified themselves so well with it that other wishes and needs do not arise, so to speak.

177 This rigid, inflexible attitude of self-contained ethnic unity
183 at first excluded all the innovations that reached the Yamana from contact with European culture. Gradually a few raw materials and
182 objects that seemed advantageous to them, iron, for example, came into their possession, but even the strong and continuous influence of the Anglican mission has been unable to change anything in their social order and their spirit world (p. 324 /untranslated/). It is only in the last few decades that Indian culture has been torn asunder and more than once harshly oppressed by foreign settlers. After that it was impossible to continue to live according to ancient custom, and the doom of our tribe was sealed. Many old men and women who had had the good fortune to grow up amid the unadulterated customs of their people were obliged, with tears in their eyes, to see the acceleration of this fateful grievous devastation. Their bitterest laments were unable to exorcise the evil. They frankly stated that, with the initial relaxation of the strict custom of former times, the disintegration of the people as a whole began.

183 Among the more general fundamental considerations pertaining to the value of traditional customs, the personal sense of honor
626 is, in practice, still strong in its effect. No one wants to be regarded as an inferior member of the tribe, as disloyal to the customs of his fathers, as indolent and negligent, as quarrelsome and selfish. On various occasions the ideal image of the "genuine, proper Yamana" is very clearly unfurled, everyone sees it spread out before him in all its details and in bright colors. A person who deviates consciously or habitually from this ideal displays a considerable degree of wickedness and inner corruption of which he himself is aware, as well as his entire neighborhood. The disgrace

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115 no one believed them. How could it be true that we shall all meet again later? After all, the body disintegrates. So there will never be a reunion!" Each time she told me something about her people's doctrine of the soul, this noble woman spoke with a passion which sounded like hopelessness. The monotonous, lugubrious melody of mourning of the tálauwaja and the yamalaśemóina will not be silenced until the earth covers the last Yamana on the distant Cape Horn Archipelago.

/1139/ C. Cosmogony and Mythology

113 The world of religious ideas with which the doctrine of the soul is subjectively connected proves to be rich and comprehensive among our Yamana, but their world of mythological personalities is more vast and alive. These two broad spheres of ideas are sharply differentiated and distinctly separate from each other; each exists by itself, so to speak. Just as the figures in the myths and legends have not been closely connected with the figure of the Supreme Being at any point in our description above, so, too, the latter appears to be entirely separate from the former; moreover, Watauinéiwa is just as far removed from the actual spirits and medicine men. Every attentive observer can easily separate the ideas of these two disparate spheres of imaginative conception, just as the Yamana do.

113 In former times every figure described in their myths and legends was very familiar to our Fuegians; the individual rep-
● 182 resentatives of the animal world and the celestial bodies, as well as of the objects of everyday use, often awakened the familiar combinations of ideas which were associated with those figures. Formerly favorite stories were told over and over again during the long hours of comfortable fellowship in the evening around the hut fire. Unfortunately, for the last few decades the former close ethnic unity has been disrupted and the remnants of the once large group are scattered over the broad areas of their homeland in detached fragments. The surviving families, no longer very numerous, are rarely in touch with one another, and when they do meet their exchange of opinions is limited to certain details of daily life. In view of this, it is not strange that

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773 the former general acquaintance with the rich mythological ma-
•182 terial has been lost and that the younger generation devotes more attention to all the things that came with European culture. There are only a few old people who have still preserved most of it to the present day. Why they cannot transmit this precious heritage, as was so easily possible in earlier times when the European newcomers were not yet disturbingly active, need not be specifically pointed out. Many a young person frankly regrets that the old people hold back their lovely stories even when they find willing ears in a sizable gathering of fellow-tribesmen. At present, however, all is in the process of disintegration, and the old people suffer very much under the collapse of all the institutions and customs; for that very reason they are no longer available for things which already, so to speak, belong far in the past.

On rare occasions one or another of them will once more
538 offer to tell a story as in former times. /1140/ He himself takes the initiative; it would be a breach of respect if a younger person openly or with slightly veiled hints were to ask for an old myth. It is almost always an accidental circumstance that awakens remembrance of a mythological subject, and it usually happens that while someone is speaking of his experiences, his words, as though a self-contained unit, drift over into the other realm of thought. This adequately suggests the peculiar way in which the Yamana recite an old myth. Actually, the storyteller never tells the entire myth from beginning to end in the progressive continuity of a meaningful construction. Rather, the general habit is to select some part of it and add to it a personal event, an independent achievement, a unique experience. To begin with the storyteller does not care whether his own report ties up meaningfully, if one may use this word, with some part of the myth. The Yamana has a lively fancy which will not let itself be forced into rules of ordered logic. If one judges the recitation of an old Indian from this standpoint, he will be surprised to find, for example, that the thread is broken at an inappropriate point and that a short section of an entirely different nature is inserted without any justification whatever, perhaps even absurdly. An account built up this way, with a combination of elements which obviously disturb the sense, does not bother the

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X756 166 and the hut is set on fire (341). The many people who have

341. Despard (b):717 maintains: "When yaccomosh dies, his body is burned to ashes, and those ashes thrown to the winds he rules so mightily, for them to make sport withal" /cited in English/. The last part of this statement is incorrect.

assembled throw all kinds of objects into the fire, whatever they can lay their hands on. They do this in honor of the deceased (p. 1056). Since in recent times even medicine men are buried, the people see to it that his face is turned upward. The community of souls of all deceased yékamuš and of people who have drowned is regarded as the actual ūlulufāala. This term, which also has a general meaning (p. 1042), is related to ūlūuf in BD:91. These souls move toward the east where they dwell (342). At

[821] 342. Bridges (i):19 writes that "shooting stars were spoken of as the dead wizards of their people" /cited in English/. I did not encounter this belief. It is well known that the Selk'nam regard shooting stars as the "play of the medicine men" (Vol. I, 680).

night they sometimes return to their homes and every living medicine man can see them. Nelly Lawrence said in all seriousness: "Since our késpiš like to travel to the east when we dream at night or are dreamily brooding during the day, the yékamuš must sing /1435/ and soon bring back the késpiš, or they would be lost in that distant region where the késpiš of dead yékamuš actually dwell." All this shows the unique position of the medicine men, even though they cannot be noticeably distinguished from their countrymen in everyday life, but conform to tribal tradition as true Yamana.

X756 ●182 If one examines the meaning and nature of the medicine-man system, its uniqueness becomes apparent. It does not correspond either to the natural disposition of our Yamana or to the

/1435 cont./

X756 basic features of their mental attitude. Legend puts the origin
●182 of the medicine-man system outside the boundaries of present-day Yamana territory and connects it with the Kina. Mašemikens designated Hešpul, Yo'okalia, and other birds as the first yěkamuš (pp. 1268, 1271 /both untranslated/). "They taught their art to a few people and that is how it came to us!" There is no connection between the medicine-man system and the other institutions of our Fuegians; it is clearly a peculiar form within their culture as a whole.

G. Mental Capacity

181 No people on American soil has been rated as low and es-
114 teemed as little by the entire European world as our Yamana. The seed for this unjust opinion was sown by the crew of the Dutch fleet of L'Hermite, the first Europeans seen by the inhabitants of the Cape Horn Archipelago (p. 50 /untranslated/). The description that enjoyed the most notoriety was the inadequate and inaccurate account set down by Charles Darwin, then 22 years old (p. 97 /untranslated/). Although he occasionally made an accurate statement in his writings (343) and, as an old

> 343. He (f):I, 234 said: "The Fuegians belong among the lowest savages; I was constantly surprised, however, at how closely the three Fuegians on board the 'Beagle' ...resembled us in general traits and in most of our mental abilities."

man, changed his opinion very much in favor of our Fuegians (p. 106 /untranslated/), nevertheless this did not effect the bias of the general public. Anyone who leafs through the amazingly large number of accounts by missionaries (p. 146 /untranslated/) will find it strange that the latter almost uniformly speak disparagingly, indeed, contemptuously of the mental performance of these natives, and their opinions of them have not improved despite decades of contact. Bridges outdoes all the other

/1436 cont./

181 Experts on primitive peoples soon cast doubt upon the trust-
114 worthiness of all those reports on Tierra del Fuego, and from in-
significant accounts as well as fair judgments, they brought out many a favorable detail. Waitz:507 emphasized: "One must not believe that the mental dullness [of the Fuegians] prevails throughout among them...The four Fuegians whom Captain Fitz-Roy took with him to London showed altogether good qualities." Ratzel:I, 520 appreciates their material possessions and social institutions. Beyond that he declares: "The more one learned of their sensibilities and mental capacities upon closer contact, the higher one evaluated them in this respect. The Fuegians, even though they are oppressed by the misery of their situation, are basically Indians like all the rest. The inadequate results of missions cannot prove anything to the contrary." Thus, if the Yamana are judged to be genuine Indians, they must also be regarded as capable human beings. The fact that they are indeed such is convincingly proved by their way of life which has been described in the foregoing pages. The following pages will be a not inconsiderable supplement to this. It seems strange to us who have been privileged to obtain such deep insight into the mental life of most of the primitive peoples still available today that it seems necessary to prove that the Yamana, too, are altogether human beings.

/1437/ a. Mental Power and Sensory Activity

153 I regard as beside the point the oft-repeated question as to
182 whether the Yamana are an "intelligent people" and capable of meeting the demands of our culture. One will obtain a just evaluation of their mental powers only after he has learned to understand the Fuegians with respect to their mastery of their environment. They have adapted themselves excellently to their country: they have learned to use the available materials for serviceable implements and have asserted their superiority in their struggle with the forces of nature. Indeed, they maintain themselves in their environment and have attained several not inconsiderable achievements of which many Europeans would be

/1437 cont./

153 incapable if they were suddenly transplanted to that environment.
182 The totality of their cultural possessions, properly understood as having been fashioned from their natural surroundings, is persuasive testimony as to the mental capacities and well-developed senses that our Fuegians enjoy. They needed to develop their mental aptitude only to a certain degree, and were able to do so, in accordance with the external demands made on them. Once this equilibrium was achieved (345), there was not only a

> 345. Darwin did not see this state of equilibrium. Basing his discussion on the poverty of that corner of the globe, he (d):247 judges quite falsely: "How little the higher mental powers can be exercised here; what can the imagination picture there, what can reason compare, judgment decide? To break off a bowlful of mussels from a rock does not even require craftiness, this humblest mental capacity of an animal. In some respects their skill can be compared to animal instinct, for it is not refined by experience; their canoe, their most ingenious invention, miserable though it is, has remained the same for the last 250 years, as we know from Drake.

lack of pressure for greater accomplishments, but these would have resulted in a disturbance of the equilibrium. Hence there was an actual standstill, with a steadfast persistence throughout centuries in the particular form of culture with its many striking and insignificant details which was finally achieved after an inestimable number of separate experiences and which assures the Fuegian an adequately satisfying existence.

1. Mental Activity

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Far from being forced and led by blind instinct alone, the Yamana's actions often follow long, thorough consideration. He

/1438 cont./
have clung to it (346).

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346. It is meaningless to say, as Hyades (q):248 maintains about the mental capacities of our Yamana, "that they are little developed, are not applied to bettering existing conditions, and seem incapable of improvement" /translated from French/, or, as Lovisato (b):144 declares, "the Fuegians have little intelligence, very little memory, no retentiveness" /translated from Italian/.

182 The meager natural products that the region offers could probably not be better utilized for modest requirements than they have been by our Fuegians. In particular, the technical perfection of their weapons and implements should be noted (p.210), the efficiency of which could probably not be increased. Men, as well as women, have at their disposal only inadequate resources and raw materials. After all, the tools they use are their own handiwork. One must marvel at the usefulness and effectiveness of all the objects that their patient labor fashions from the rough material. The "artisans" pay careful attention to /1439/ beauty and regularity, which are, correspondingly, more or less praised by other people. Further endeavor and the urge to perfect a piece in order to achieve greater efficiency thus lie beyond the wish and will of the Yamana. For them the traditional goods are the best and most effective because they have been tested by previous generations. With these and similar words the retiring generation justifies itself to the rising generation for its definite resolve, in its own day, to cling to the form of culture achieved and handed down by their forefathers and to abide by it steadfastly (347). Recognizing the useful service of the dog,

347. Weddell (a):6 gave an incorrect explanation: "It has been denied that the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego have any capacity for mental development and they are credited with an animal instinct. I believe

/1439 cont./

•182

> this condition is merely the result of their remote location, and that it would soon improve with frequent visits from outsiders. I found them obliging and friendly, indeed, in some respects active and inventive."

which was introduced only about two centuries ago, they adopted this animal within a short time (p.292) and accordingly have used the bow and arrow less (p. 155). The material possessions that in recent times have passed from Europeans to the Yamana certainly do not represent an enrichment or an improvement of their conditions of life (p.382).

153 Anyone who compares the mental activity of our Yamana with that of the neighboring Selk'nam will realize that there is an easily recognizable difference. The slowness of the Selk'nam in making decisions and their obvious perplexity in a suddenly altered situation is by no means as widespread among the Yamana. The latter are, by comparison, more animated, more active, and quicker in making decisions. It is particularly striking that the Yamana will immediately understand a joke or a humorous remark, whereas the Selk'nam almost always needs to have it explained. The two tribes, however, resemble one another in their amazing memory which does not fail them under any circumstances (Vol. I, 1089). This is especially true of their memory for places. Finally one must point out a very reliable gift of observation which has helped the Yamana to know in detail everything about their own country and to notice immediately any change. This gift also makes it possible for them to imitate exactly the movements and sounds of animals (348). They have

> 348. My statements are abundantly confirmed by definite examples given by Hyades (q):249 and by many statements of missionaries.

many opportunities to show this accomplishment, not only on the hunt or in the Kina, but especially in their social games.

/1480 cont./

524 him encircled and led him back to the Kiexaus hut. It was only here that the victorious women released him amid loud hoots. The Yamana of earlier times also had appropriate masks for the other imitative games. In any case, however, the games gave all the participants great enjoyment. Naturally, the men to this day also entertain themselves now and then with games for practice, some of which are popular among young people (p.577); during these games they try, at the same time, to become more proficient in handling their weapons. They never have races, however, which Bridges (a):209 mentioned. Their many other amusements, which never bore them, are amply sufficient for them and relax them.

H. Characteristics of Yamana Culture

182 The numerous details presented in this book characterize the economy of the Yamana as one at the gathering stage. Everything that these natives need and use is simply taken by them in the form offered voluntarily by nature. They themselves make no effort to produce the materials they need or to raise plants and animals. Thus, these people are wholly dependent on their environment.

Such a relationship, however, is not one of total inactivity or indifference on the part of man. His entire attention and untiring efforts were always directed toward utilizing the conditions imposed by the given environment and controlling natural forces as much as possible. By doing so he finally achieved an adaptation to his environment which could scarcely be improved upon under existing conditions. In my opinion, his economy, as a whole and in its details, represents optimum adaptation. I have often referred to the high degree of efficiency of most of the arrangements of the Yamana and the amazing effectiveness of their weapons which require a minimum of human effort. The reason that the Fuegian did not achieve more in his economy is by no means because he lacks the necessary physical equipment or mental powers. It is the environment itself which has set insurmountable barriers to his efforts toward progress. He has truly pushed ahead to these barriers by creating his unique, very

/1480 cont./

182 functional implements. The bark canoe has no counterpart /1481/ anywhere in the wide world. Even that of the neighboring Halakwulup shows differences imposed by the material used. Could a more effective weapon be invented with such simple materials as those used by our Fuegian for his large harpoon? Using the possibilities offered by his environment and by existing conditions, he has created the characteristics of his form of economy.

Such achievements are true works of culture in the narrowest sense of the term, accomplished in the given locale. The ancestors of the Yamana, in their wanderings through the extensive American continent from the far north to the southernmost tip, possessed, of course, various cultural assets of a material and spiritual nature, which they brought with them to their ultimate homeland. However, all the special forms that have an "indigenous smell," if I may to express it, were created by those immigrants in Tierra del Fuego itself. This means true cultural progress beyond that enjoyed by those first newcomers up to that time, and by means of these accomplishments they actually made cultural history. All the new achievements with which they, as the first proven settlers of the Cape Horn Archipelago, must be credited were, to be sure, not transmitted to other peoples, because the Yamana have remained completely isolated. Nevertheless, this cultural heritage has absolute value and therefore is an enrichment of the culture of mankind as a whole. Moreover, the Yamana developed their achievements to the degree of perfection permitted by the material itself. If this limit had not been imposed, who could doubt that our natives commanded sufficient mental power to have accomplished even greater things. The environment itself made it impossible for them to develop further the economy they adopted. Moreno (d):578 is of the same opinion, that "this apparent inferiority is due to the land environment in which they obtain their food, principally by fishing in the fjords in their canoes" /cited in English/. When, after long observation and experimentation, those forms and peculiarities were chosen and permanently adopted, which made possible a calm equilibrium between the inhabitants' demands and necessities of life on the one hand, and the meager supply of raw material and the unpropitious living conditions of the Cape Horn Archipelago on the other,

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the Fuegian was satisfied with this harmonious balance. For that reason he stubbornly persisted in maintaining his traditional material heritage. Once he was offered from the outside the possibility of a slight change and a certain amount of progress through the introduction of the dog, he resolutely adopted it and made this new source of strength an integral part of his previous economic arrangements. This is proof enough that the limitations of the economic form actually achieved by the Fuegian were imposed upon him from the outside; there was still more vitality for progress within him, but it could not become effective.

/1482/ Fuegian social organization is closely connected with this state of affairs. A livelihood through gathering does not permit an organization of all tribal members and a close, permanent union. Their religious awareness culminates in the assumption of a personal Supreme Being with definite characteristics. The image of his deity that the Fuegian has created does not show any kind of environmental influence. Quite the contrary, it is the result of simple reflection, of a direct demand for causal thinking. It is quite different from mythological and superstitious conceptions.

Historical relationships between these Fuegians and other peoples, as well as comparisons of their culture with that of other ethnic groups, would be in order, for merely to ascertain facts, describe objects, and evaluate institutions is not culture history. I am well aware of this, and I shall comply with these justifiable demands in the third volume of this work. With abundant satisfaction I shall now conclude this long description. It presents a total picture of the strange and unique culture of this tribe of people that lived on the inhospitable southern tip of the Americas for centuries and has only recently been driven to destruction by the intrusion of European culture. The last two dozen surviving Yamana will soon have sunk into their graves. To this people misunderstood by Europeans for three centuries, the tossing, foaming waves of the eternally restless sea around Cape Horn will sing a never-ending dirge. /Fig. 105 appears here./

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

while the Yahgan speared them in deep water or drew them with bait to the surface where they could be seized by hand. Failure to utilize fully the fish supply must be regarded as a great deficiency of the Fuegian economic system, a lack which might have been overcome by the invention of fish-traps and the fish-hook.

Both Foot and Canoe Indians ate great numbers of mussels, conchs, and limpets, and ancient camp-sites often are indicated by large piles of shells. This is especially true in the Yahgan country, because all their camp-sites were on the beach where shellfish were easily obtained.

The Canoe Indians ate a species of sea-urchin some three or four inches in diameter, and also crabs. Of these the most succulent is a giant spider crab (*Lithodes antarctica*), so good to eat that today it is canned and exported from Punta Arenas.

Birds abound in Tierra del Fuego. Many, to be sure, have a fishy taste, but to a palate not over-delicate they offer an abundant food supply. Among birds of economic use to the Indians we should mention four kinds of goose and five kinds of duck. The upland goose and the pin-tail duck are the best eating. Also there are many kinds of gull (including the albatross), penguins, vultures, eagles, doves, plover, and, curiously enough, a paroquet and a hummingbird.

As to the environment in general, it is much more suitable for supporting human life than is realized by those who have not visited Tierra del Fuego. The public mind, we believe, is unduly impressed by the romantic place of the island in history, by adventurous accounts of midwinter weatherings of the Horn in sailing vessels, by modern travelers elated at the length and labor of their journeys. Glaciers descend to the sea in Tierra del Fuego, but the land also nourishes orchids, mushrooms, paroquets, hummingbirds, and butterflies. Prosperous sheep ranches with their comfortable and commodious houses and their well-stocked vegetable and flower gardens show that European standards of living can be achieved on the island. And these settlements, were over-sea transportation to be cut off, could probably maintain themselves better on local resources than most European settlements in the tropics.

The climate of Tierra del Fuego, to be sure, is severe, but it is not so extreme as inhabited regions of Europe, Asia, North America, and Greenland. Agriculture within certain limits is entirely

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

feasible. Timber of many kinds is available—and with this we may contrast the condition of certain Eskimo who must rely on driftwood for some of their manufactures and on oil for their heat. Furthermore, animal foods are found by land and by sea in sufficient quantities to support a relatively large population of a non-agricultural, hunting class. 182

Clearly then some of the very primitive features we shall describe were not forced on the natives by their environment, but rather were the result of lack of ingenuity or of inertia.

CULTURE STATUS

Fuegian culture ranks among the most primitive that has been known within the limits of recorded history. To emphasize this statement we subjoin a list of all the articles and materials observed among the Ona and the Yahgan. This list at first glance seems fairly long, but one must consider that it embraces not only the individual but a complete family including both sexes and all ages. Further, it includes not what appeared for any given occasion but everything with which any Indian normally came in contact during an entire lifetime. In contrast, if the reader will list the objects he makes use of between bed and breakfast, he will find that in half an hour of daily routine he has utilized more articles and more materials than a Fuegian ever manipulated. 105

More justly, however, we should compare the Fuegian culture with the status usually found among Indian hunting tribes. On this basis we find that the Fuegians lacked such simple implements as the drill, the ax, the spear-thrower, fish-hooks, and cooking containers. They had no pottery, no weaving, no method of softening skins except by use, nor had they more than a rudimentary art of painting, while sculpture was beyond them. They rarely stored food against a time of stress. Their games, their social organization and ceremonies, were but slightly developed. Religion was largely a negative affair, for they indulged less in religious acts probably than any people known in the world in recent times. Animistic beliefs they had, but scarcely a trace of fetishism has been noted, and of totemism—so widely developed throughout the Americas—there is not a vestige.

In estimating this list it must also be borne in mind that the Ona and Yahgan cultures have intermingled especially along the frontier. In some instances, such as the initiation ceremonies or 105 177

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a. The Teachers

861 Nature itself has given a child its parents as teachers; who else would the Yamana have, with their entire tribe broken up into individual families. Aware that they must meet an obligation imposed by nature, the parents instinctively recognize a certain child-rearing ideal toward which their efforts tend. The child should become "a good and useful human being!" That is their watchword, which they repeat again and again. It expresses the double task of the teacher, namely, to form the child in accordance with his spiritual and temperamental nature and to train him for the everyday demands of life. Their first consideration is that everyone must stand on his own feet; hence he must be reared to become an independent personality, able to conduct himself according to rules and to maintain himself singlehanded. Everyone who has reached maturity soon founds a family; he must therefore have the character and manual skills required to maintain this most important and only social institution and to lead it in its significant tasks. Finally, he is a member of a tribal community to which he is all the more bound because it is small, for here any great deviation from the general trend by the individual brings about more perceptible effects on the group as a whole than would be the case in a larger group. The teacher wishes to make his charge capable of meeting all these demands, and that is what he means when he says he wants to make of him "a good and useful human being."

861 The child-rearing ideal proves to be unequivocally moral,
•183 and in its application to any given circumstance it is summed up in the words: "As is customary among us!" The example of their ancestors, custom, and traditional usage are their criteria; if there is any doubt about an act, it is judged and evaluated on the basis of these factors. Hence the teachers find it simple and easy to do justice to their task, for they need only adhere to what has always been regarded as valid and legal, good and fine.

Since everyone stands or falls with the supporting group as a whole, it is vital for him to protect the group's existence with new, properly prepared members who will sooner or later reach

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861 adult status. That is why all older people regard /743/ the
183 training of youth as an obligation, and no one shies away from it out of laziness. The adults influence the young people by means of instruction and admonition, at least by setting a good example, and they are solicitous about their physical well-being and the perfection of their character and morals. No one -- with the exception of a few who are remiss in their duties -- tires of always exerting his best efforts to make the child a valuable member of the tribe, one who will benefit the group as a whole. Since this was always customary among their ancestors, responsible adults now make no exceptions with regard to this duty, for ancient custom is to this day their law.

861 Since Nature herself has established the parents as the first qualified teachers, they devote themselves to their task with all their love and ability. They are guided by their concern for the welfare of their child. Anyone who is skilled in all kinds of manual work can easily make a living, and a person who knows how to behave and adopts a way of life that will make him liked by all his neighbors is in a pleasant position. Parental pride also spurs them on a bit, for it is a great satisfaction to everyone to have his children praised as industrious and good. Less clearly than for the celebration of the youth initiation, but definitely
[776] enough, conscientious parents are charged by Hidābuan, their only deity, with the duty of rearing their children. For primitive people like our Yamana, there is no stronger pressure for efforts at guidance than religious sanction.

Besides the parents, adults in general are required to promote the training of all children, with less urgency, however. If the former neglect their duty or have died, the nearest relatives are obliged to offer the poor child what he needs without any formalities. In fact, every person, whoever he may be, is obliged to give a child help whenever it is needed and to deal with a bad deed wherever he may observe it. No Yamana would say, "This or that child is no concern of mine." He feels an urgent need to help if he sees that a child is suffering physical injury or that its training is being neglected. The individual adult acts on behalf of the child from a feeling of tribal solidarity and in the service of the general welfare. More often than a European realizes, he openly expresses these considerations upon which he acts.

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868 that "girls and boys are required to take part in the work at an early age."

Y. Results of the Training

183 Nelly once confessed to me: "Adults worked on a child long
861 enough and forcefully enough to convince themselves that he would become a good and industrious human being!" It can be said without exaggeration that, throughout, the Yamana have fulfilled their general duties and this must be regarded as a favorable result of their training. Although many vicious outside influences have very much undermined the strictness of the old customs, nevertheless, even up to the present time, almost everyone is more or less punctilious about the things he regards as just and good and proper. They are especially concerned that their children should be favorably influenced and well brought up. Although today some mature women tend to be somewhat slovenly, yet the group as a whole puts restrictions on youth now as before in order to make it impossible for them to transgress seriously. The fact that, despite grave hindrances, the youth initiation has not been entirely given up proves better than words how much the seriousness of child-rearing in former times is still preserved to this day.

861 If one surveys the individual child-rearing principles that
are obviously emphasized in the ciexaus, he is amazed at their
881 extraordinary soundness. They have been tested during centuries of application and have proved themselves successful for many generations. The parents act as natural educators, and the group as a whole supports them. Love for the child and steadfast patience are virtues which will probably never be lacking among the Fuegians in training their children. Education will always be individual and will aim for the perfection of soul and character in the child, as well as the development of manual skill. Among those much despised Fuegians one would scarcely suspect as much educative wisdom as is revealed in their admonitions, which, moreover, are couched in such brief and concise statements!

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554 Thus our Fuegians lack appointed persons of authority and
571 written laws. Nevertheless, there is a sovereign power, even though it is invisible. As we know, the whole tribe is divided into five definitely demarcated dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each of them is divided into several local groups who in turn occupy smaller regions. Finally, each of these is made up of a few family groups. The /804/ individual family, finally, relies upon itself and enjoys complete independence. It is a family decision to associate more often with some families or more closely with others. Sometimes they travel and spend several days together as a result of a chance meeting. This purely external tie is just as quickly dissolved if another family arrives with whom they choose to associate. The above-mentioned tiámuna sometimes makes arrangements with the tiámuna of another group of families to bring together a larger number for a definite purpose. These are always free decisions, however, and there is no outside pressure. Fluent speech and a faculty for quick persuasion are usually the only decisive factors.

571 Such an arrangement is made for the initiation ceremony,
881 the men's ceremony, or common burial rites. Everyone knows the universal obligation of young people to take part in the initiation ceremony. It is the duty of the adults to create the opportunity for it, and certain influential people are moved to hold it, all depending on the circumstances. The fact that the general public safeguards that important institution and does not let any young person suffer the loss of its advantages must be unequivocally interpreted as an effect of the invisible but mighty compulsion of the power of the state (p. 640).

•183 If anyone is repeatedly guilty of serious violations against
626 the prevailing customs and causes apparent harm to a number of persons by doing so, nothing happens for a while, but then a close relative of the transgressor will arouse himself and, referring to the opinion of others, will appeal to his conscience. They do not even stop at a fight and care nothing about protecting their own lives, since they put greater value on respect for the existing order. Thus again an invisible power of the state sees to it that laws are kept pure and respected. When famine breaks out in a local group and a whale is driven ashore somewhere, an unwritten law goes into effect which does away with the narrower boundaries of intercourse

183 /804 cont./
626 and opens free passage to the spot where everyone can generously help himself.

To be sure, these are all modest beginnings of an active state power, but the latter is in effect, even in that completely unorganized community of people, and makes itself felt, although always to the advantage of the individual and in the service of the family, thereby guaranteeing the undiminished continuance of the group as a whole. This still invisible power does not even remotely pursue an end in itself.

183 In complete contrast to the veiled existence of the state in this society, the freedom of the individual shines forth brightly.
554 A person who has attained physical maturity, married, and left the parental hut stands on his own feet, is responsible to no one, and has no master. Within the wide margins set by the law of usage and ancient custom, he conducts himself /805/ as he sees fit, divides up his time as he pleases, provides himself with food and tools as he feels inclined, and uses and disposes of them according to his own free judgment. A person is warned only if he is flagrantly guilty of repeatedly or constantly harming other fellow-tribesmen, as we have shown above.

Ordinarily no one dares issue definite orders or make demands
511 on other people, whether or not he is justified or obliged to do so.
156 Thus, a wife will not admonish her husband to go forth to hunt, even though she and her children may have to suffer hunger for a long time. Even to this extent these Indians would not allow themselves to make demands or issue orders to a specific person. This was often observed. If I ordered a man to demand some service of another in my name he listened to my words and departed, but he returned shortly thereafter without having spoken to the other man and gave me to understand that I should personally give my instructions to the one concerned. In this way each person guards the other's freedom, and he also would not allow his own freedom to be curtailed (237).

237. The missionaries have had many experiences in this connection, for instance, when they provided a sort of supervisor for community work. "To be placed as overseer

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brought on at once a native jealousy and dislike. The office, therefore, was not popular, and generally destitute of authority, and fulfilled with laxity of purpose" /cited in English/. The natural inclination of these Indians is such that "they cannot bear to be dictated to" /cited in English/, as Bridges (VP:XIII, 209; 1866 tersely and definitely expresses himself.

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In spite of the far-reaching independence and freedom that each individual enjoys, the conduct of affairs in this Fuegian group is orderly and peaceful, although there are neither lawfully appointed persons of authority nor written statutes. The community life of all fellow-tribesmen is so secure that they can pursue their food-gathering unmolested and devote themselves undisturbed to their family life, to their own happiness, and to the welfare of all. Every true Yamana carries in his heart the one important law which was indelibly impressed upon him during the youth initiation and which constitutes the unwavering rule of conduct throughout life: to be a good and useful member of the tribe!

D. Youth Initiation

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The Yamana are fully aware of their natural duty to educate the growing generation. Parents above all make an effort for their own children and do this with a seriousness not shown by many other peoples. The offspring is taken care of from its earliest childhood (p. 484). While it is growing up, the father's influence on the boy and the mother's on the girl gradually take on more specific forms and more definite goals. The adults /806/ make it possible for young people to achieve practical competence and a certain measure of skills, but also, beyond that, spiritual enrichment and a mental attitude toward the ideal of a perfect Yamana who can serve as a model (p. 552). The parental task is to rear their own children to a certain level of moral and practical development at maturity.

X881

As though the society were not satisfied with these achievements in training, which without doubt are attained in all families,

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643 On the basis of population, the Yamana were and are a small nation. In spite of everything, they lack a common head, whether we mean by this a person who through heredity or election is provided with special sovereign power, or one who has earned a dominant position as a result of sacerdotal or sorcerous activity, or one who is superior to his nearest kin, such as the first-born of a patriarchal extended family. /1001/ The influence which a tiámuna occasionally achieves is a certain moral prerogative resulting from personal virtues.

631 Again, it was the given geographical facts which divided the country of the Yamana into five districts and, on the basis of this, the people as a whole into five tribal groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Since these groups live more or less strictly apart from one another, certain peculiarities of speech and living habits have developed in the course of time. These are the factors which easily and naturally distinguish each group. Obviously this tribal division is purely external because it is spatially conditioned. Within each of the five large dialect groups geographical conditions have brought about further division into local groups (p. 629) which, in turn, are made up of a few kinship groups. The relations of the individual families in each of the latter are very close and firm; these families regularly and frequently have social intercourse with one another.

•183 The above-mentioned organization of the Yamana people as a whole is a loose one and largely external, since unification under a common head is lacking. Nevertheless, fixed rules, with unavoidable obligations for everyone, determine the social intercourse of the divisions mentioned and of individual persons. They ensure coexistence without friction and a well-ordered social life. In an extremely simple society like that of our Yamana one might find it astonishing that there are certain arrangements to regulate intercourse with others, and, even more surprising, that they have subjective value and are successful and dependable. They guarantee, above all, the stability of the individual family and the harmonious coexistence of its members. Their vital significance stems from the fact that the unity of the whole ethnic group rests on the individual family as the single definitely determined social structure. They therefore protect and support many thoroughly effective general rules.

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•183 Besides that, the great mass of people are led and ruled by unwritten laws which, in a word, can be designated as the demands of the traditional law of custom. Every adult knows it and is thoroughly familiar with it; the younger generation learns it in the family and in everyday association, as well as quite purposefully in the indispensable youth initiation (p. 717). The wiser and more influential old men regard it as their particular task to insist,over and over again and on suitable occasions, on the observance of traditional customs and on keeping their exact meaning unchanged and uncorrupted.

While this, directly and indirectly, ensures the common welfare, there are, in addition, specific rules of conduct for the general populace and for a larger group in the case of a specific misfortune of an individual. No matter how loosely these Fuegians /1002/ are held together as a people, they know that they are obliged to lend effective aid in case one of their members is in any kind of danger. On the basis of this they have developed rules for a kind of assistance that approximates a general welfare service for the needy and helpless. Earnest scrutiny shows that such things are not lacking in the extremely simple social order of the Yamana.

These many rules and regulations direct the individual in his conduct toward others and bind the people as a whole to certain needs and demands. They were not developed and are not observed merely for their own sake; rather, they clearly aim toward the personal safety of every member of the group and toward a peaceful existence of the whole. They have a power that dominates all members of the tribe and that, without exception and with a view to the well-being of society, binds everyone. This is nothing less than a power of state, although still modest in form. Even though it is unimpressive and its action has not yet been set forth in written formulas, it has at least held together in social amity the individual members of the widely scattered Yamana tribe and guaranteed the individual, as well as the society, an existence worthy of human beings within the possibilities offered by the environment (p.910).

In the following account we shall not discuss each and every thing that serves the common weal and that may be regarded

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183 as public welfare, for this would, after all, include the mutual relatives and members of the local dialect group, as well as the many precepts pertaining to the youth initiation (p. 717) and the menarche (p. 571). We shall list only the rules for social intercourse and the duties toward the needy which have not yet been mentioned in the preceding sections.

a. Custom and Justice

It would have been impossible for the Yamana people as a whole to have perpetuated itself as a vital entity if it had not been directed and unified by an all-embracing social order. The prevailing laws are nowhere to be found in writing, but they operate with relentless urgency as vital forces. Their success is obvious. The relations of individuals to one another and to the society as a whole disclose a balanced harmony (426); everyone feels com-

> 426. It is inconceivable to me how Bridges (MM:IX, 218;1875) could write, on April 21, 1875, that "horrible looseness prevails through everything. No discipline, no order, no agreements or arrangements; hap-hazard, confusion, 'happy-go-lucky,' these are the usages of Fireland life. A general absence of confidence, faithfulness, and love is everywhere apparent. There is a great show of friendship, but little sincerity" /cited in English/.

pletely safe in his common nationality /1003/ and knows that he is protected against possible dangers from other tribesmen. As a matter of fact, order prevails, which, in short, means that everyone in his attitude toward life completely submits to the recognized regulations, and that disobedience of any kind is exceptional and is always censured and punished.

These laws, or, as the Yamana themselves express it, "the traditional custom," are universally binding. Only in this way can they ensure the peaceful coexistence of all tribal members

/1003 cont./

183 within a common society. As a matter of principle, no one claims an exemption for himself. If in some situation he occasionally lets himself be led astray from the path of recognized duty by passion or by the weakness of his nature, he himself clearly feels that he has made a mistake and is doing wrong. The disapproval of his wrong-doing by the members of the tribe who learn about it also has a definite effect on him. Naturally, certain regulations apply to every age and sex, without exception, others only to children or adults, man or woman. No one, no matter what the situation, would, by word or action, presume to intimate to others that some custom which everyone in his position observes has no meaning for him and does not obligate him. Such behavior would make it impossible for him to live in Yamana society. Quite the contrary, as we shall soon show, everyone is anxious to avoid any suspicion that he, on occasion or as a matter of principle, disdains any law of custom whatever.

183 The Yamana can justify this inescapable pressure on everyone by referring to Watauinéiwa, their only deity. Their whole 776 body of custom, so to speak, embraces the true moral law in the narrower sense of the term, as well as all obligations for social coexistence and for the individual toward himself, in the widest sense of the term. The Fuegian has a general formula with which he derives this, his body of custom, that is to say, all the principles and guides practiced, from his deity as the ultimate source; he says: "Watauinéiwa wants everyone to be a good human being! -- Watauinéiwa wants it that way [as custom has hitherto decreed]; he watches carefully to see whether everyone is acting accordingly!" He does not remember his lawgiver on the occasion of every single act, which would be superhuman, but this general formula remains in his subconscious and at times he is very definitely openly conscious of it. Just as this deity remains the same and has in no way and at no time changed the obligations once set forth, so these obligations endure in unmitigated strictness and retain their unchanging character through all generations. For the Yamana the terse, definite wording above gives /1004/ the ultimate source and universal duty, embracing all times and persons, toward every kind of valid obligation. Further details will be given in the section on the actual moral law.

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•183 Thus, in everyday reality the sole guide, the established norm of life, consists of the prevailing customs, the tradition of the ancestors, the conduct of former generations. Old and young take this so much for granted that it seems to have become second nature to them. It is neither criticized nor resented, never attacked nor altered. Everything characterized as ancient custom is regarded as legal and therefore binding; whatever is contrary to it is universally condemned as unjust or improper.

Everyone pays great respect to traditional custom for its own sake and as a compulsory expression of the will of Wataunéiwa. Certain institutions, such as the ciéxaus, kina, and lōima, are cherished with exceptional care; other customs, such as the instructions for girls at the menarche (p. 571) and sharing of spoils brought home from hunting (p. 314), are cultivated with great conscientiousness. Everyone accepts his individual obligation as fact and yields without contradiction; it suffices for him to know that this or that has always been accepted among the Yamana, which is enough to make it binding for him, too, under like circumstances. It is the oldest persons of any group who, of their 183 887 own accord, feel the greatest urge to follow exactly along the lines of ancient custom in their personal conduct. They are clearly aware of their duty to set a good example for the younger age levels, since this is more impressive than words. As often as there is an opportunity on public occasions and in private exchanges, they demand strict observance of the traditional order and good ancient custom. They also admonish anyone who in any particular point becomes negligent toward universal custom. Several men will even confer among themselves to see how they can stem the increasing offenses of a younger member of the tribe, with severity, if need be. Everything that was handed down by their forefathers is much too sacred to them to have it destroyed, even in small part, by thoughtless young people.

183 In this attitude their sound judgment concerning the value of the good things of old is a contributory factor. The group of young people cannot yet appreciate this value, but the old people are absolutely convinced of it and therefore base upon it alone the firm continuance of their society and the contented existence of the individual. Many an old Fuegian emphatically told me, "If our forefathers found all our institutions good, why should they not be just as advantageous for us!" Their rigid adherence to traditional

/1004 cont./

183 custom is based on the tested experience of generations. They interpret every deviation from it, no matter how small, almost /1005/ instinctively as disadvantageous and harmful for their society. This judgment may rest to a considerable extent on the balanced harmony between their needs and their environment. It has been shown that they have adjusted in the best possible way to the vital demands of their homeland and have identified themselves so well with it that other wishes and needs do not arise, so to speak.

177 This rigid, inflexible attitude of self-contained ethnic unity
183 at first excluded all the innovations that reached the Yamana from contact with European culture. Gradually a few raw materials and
182 objects that seemed advantageous to them, iron, for example, came into their possession, but even the strong and continuous influence of the Anglican mission has been unable to change anything in their social order and their spirit world (p. 324 /untranslated/). It is only in the last few decades that Indian culture has been torn asunder and more than once harshly oppressed by foreign settlers. After that it was impossible to continue to live according to ancient custom, and the doom of our tribe was sealed. Many old men and women who had had the good fortune to grow up amid the unadulterated customs of their people were obliged, with tears in their eyes, to see the acceleration of this fateful grievous devastation. Their bitterest laments were unable to exorcise the evil. They frankly stated that, with the initial relaxation of the strict custom of former times, the disintegration of the people as a whole began.

183 Among the more general fundamental considerations pertain-
626 ing to the value of traditional customs, the personal sense of honor is, in practice, still strong in its effect. No one wants to be regarded as an inferior member of the tribe, as disloyal to the customs of his fathers, as indolent and negligent, as quarrelsome and selfish. On various occasions the ideal image of the "genuine, proper Yamana" is very clearly unfurled, everyone sees it spread out before him in all its details and in bright colors. A person who deviates consciously or habitually from this ideal displays a considerable degree of wickedness and inner corruption of which he himself is aware, as well as his entire neighborhood. The disgrace

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183 626 is too profound, the infamy too humiliating for anyone to bear any length of time if he finds himself shunned and rejected by many persons as disloyal to ancient custom! Ambition, self-love, and the desire to be esteemed among his fellow-tribesmen soon force every delinquent back on the path of universally observed proper habits. For the Yamana this is the strongest motive forcing them to a way of life which is as blameless as possible, according to the example of their fathers. Not even the prospect of punishment by Watauinéiwa is as directly effective as a person's ambition to be regarded as a true Yamana by his fellow-tribesmen.

Everyone knows only too well how carefully he is being watched by all the people of his immediate /1006/ and more distant surroundings, how very much in detail his conduct, even in minor, unimportant matters, is discussed and judged by others. Sooner or later everyone learns clearly and definitely how everyone else feels about him and how they evaluate his conduct. The individual succeeds in swaying public opinion in his favor only by absolute, continuous rectitude, in accordance with prevailing customs. Thus a person's concern about his own good reputation (427)

427. In this respect our Yamana are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 463). Compare Gusinde (1):160.

is much more effective in forcing him to observe the customs of the ancestors than, for example, the threat of police or written laws. Anyone who habitually deviates from the good ways of old loses all esteem and value in the eyes of the people.

b. Social Intercourse

156 577 Since every Yamana consciously desires to count for something among his fellow-tribesmen and to be spoken of in terms of praise, he tries to accomplish these ends by his mere appearance and manners. He quite obviously makes an effort to be tactful toward everyone and to offend no one; he is anxiously concerned about his whole outward appearance. He is particularly careful to avoid open hostility with anyone, for he might suddenly, by the

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c. The Commonweal

627 The Yamana are linked together in a definitely circumscribed area by a common language and a uniform way of life, but as a whole they are not under the administration of an authoritative person (p. 906), nor are the various groups, large or small, led by a chief (p. 602). In reality there are a number of strong but invisible forces which command with coercive force and which without doubt must be deemed a supreme power. This imposes order upon relationships which lie outside the organization of the sole social structure, the family, and for which the public, so to speak, is responsible. In this category belong the administration of justice and many obligations or customs which have already been discussed. The public itself is responsible for the enforcement of individual regulations and vigilantly backs them.

1. Rules of Justice

183 627 The coherence of our Fuegian society is possible only on the basis of a conception of justice which protects each person and at the same time obligates him, both in an effective manner. Everyone retains his personal freedom and a far-reaching independence, but, along with these, there are also many obligations anchored in universal justice. One must not underestimate their number; moreover, like a net, they encompass all relationships. For example, these obligations determine the everyday life of the man and woman, the mutual relations of husband and wife, parents and children, closest relatives, local groups, and dialect groups, the public education of young people outside the family in the čiéxaus, and the further education of boys in the kina; they secure material possessions and personal safety from any kind of danger. This system of justice is not written, and no one can boast of being permitted to administer it. It simply exists and is supported by the public, which sustains justice and guards against its being altered. Expressed in a few general formulas, it is traced back to Watauinéiwa as its source, which determines its immutability and its binding force.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

576 Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given,
574 especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the čiéxaus initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting
[264] was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expec-
[514] torating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead.
[195] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

000 These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked.
847 In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took
844 place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

/724 cont./

854 the concern and pleasure of the fathers and mothers in adorning and taking good care of their little ones" /translated from Spanish/. Actually the parents often kiss and caress the baby with pleasure (p.314).

constantly reminded of the unusual, almost uncontrolled pleasure of several Indian women who occasionally came to Punta Remolino. The Lawrence family there had a Spaniard as a cook, whose young wife one day had her first child. She handled it so awkwardly and clumsily that the Indian women refrained from laughing heartily only because they pitied the child, but among themselves they quite frankly discussed how much better they could handle a new-born baby. Nelly used this as an example to emphasize that in such important matters her country-women had incomparably more thorough experience and "the Whites could learn a great deal from Yámana women about how to treat a baby!"

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5. Infanticide

847 In view of what has been reliably reported about the love for children among the Yamana, it is apparent that there is no place among these people for intentional and frequent infanticide. Not a single European can prove it by having been an eye-witness to this act, and Hyades (p):331 denies any intentional infanticide with the following brief sentence: "Infanticide is not customary" /translated from French/. It is only Bridges who made statements on this subject, and a few travelers (158), such as Dabbene (a):63 and

158. Cooper:171 mentions the various citations.

(b):190, repeated his words. As early as 1866 he maintained: "It is very seldom a young infant is killed unless under the following circumstances: Should the mother's husband have deserted her, the child is then often killed by its mother. Also those children that have any great imperfections, or are otherwise much deformed, are sure to be killed very shortly after their birth. Also should a

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619 An attribute of this mental attitude and trend of thought of the Yamana is their pronounced consciousness of homeland. They know the exact boundaries that separate their territory from their neighbors, and they regard this territory as exclusively theirs; every stranger in it is an intruder. They are intimately attached to their homeland and particularly deeply rooted in their narrower local region. /798/ They praise its beauty and advantages, without, however, indulging in extravagant enthusiasm; they are thinking only of the material goods that it furnishes them. They feel a strong impulse to come back to it after they have been far away to trade or hunt or to attend festivals. In their opinion, complete happiness flourishes only on one's native soil. A Yamana who must live outside his local homeland, that is to say, outside his so-called local group, feels like someone living in a bleak, alien land. He misses the many things it offered him, or at any rate he imagines he does, and he yearns to go back.

• 86 In the case of Nelly Lawrence her love for her home often came out very strongly. An important contributory factor was her very different form of life by the side of her European husband on the farm in Punta Remolino. When she began telling about her beloved West from where she came, this quiet, taciturn woman who was almost too timid to speak became unbelievably lively and talkative. Then she would praise the beauty of the landscape with its many glaciers and meandering waterways, the steep peaks with their eternal snow, and the sheltered safety of the many calm bays. She would extol the fresh green of the dense beech forests of that rainy zone and the quiet ways of its animal kingdom. Finally, she would put her own countrymen above all praise. She presented everything as a special advantage, chiefly in contrast to the feared neighbors of the western Yamana, the Halakwulup. She never let an opportunity go by to emphasize strongly in front of others that the lovely pasina song is native to her region, that a story from there spread to the east, that at the large secret gatherings this or that special form is customary there, and so forth. Truly, the Fuegian, too, loves his home with a whole and warm heart. This one example is convincing proof.

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621 the Ushuaia local group extends over about 20 English miles
634 (MM:XIII, 151;1879), but this is only a third of the area that the
571 middle dialect group actually occupies.

Corresponding to the word formations given above, BD:259 also lists some in which the native district of the grandmother of some person is definitely taken into account: "hīkaiamakūtasa, the connection a person has with the land of his father's mother, or of his mother's mother; hīkaiamakūtasūsi, the country of my mother's mother's, *my father's mother's country*" /cited in English/. With this root word the terms for the male and female relatives of that region are formed by means of suffixes.

Such designations for the native district of the grandmother were probably created because each of the two grandmothers of the same grandson had home territories elsewhere; on the other hand, the paternal ancestors of the grandson remain almost without exception in the same locality. This comes out even more clearly in the explanation given in BD:168 for the word kaiamākūtasa which recurs in hīkaiamakūtasa above, for it is "a term applied of the connection one has with a place or people from which one's grandmother came" /cited in English/. From this comes the further formation haiamākūtas'ūsi, "the country of my grandmother, or the country of one's grandchildren" /cited in English/, and, finally, hīkaiamākūtasāpai, "two persons belonging to one's grandmother's country" /cited in English/. It does not seem to me permissible to attempt to read into these designations a matriarchal type of social structure.

186 Our Indians are more conversant with expressions that contain the idea of belonging to a specific country, of indigenousness and the rights of residence. The root word hánnan is given in BD:265 in the sense of "my country, in opposition to palalísin, civilised country" /cited in English/. From this come the derivations hannajámalim "(used by natives specially of themselves) my country men, my country people," hannakipajámalim, "my country women," hannaala, "my countryman," and finally hannakípa, "my countrywoman" /citations in English/.

178 The changes wrought by recent influences have pushed the
634 dialect groups and circles of families, which hitherto were separated in their circumscribed local districts, closer and closer

421 /963/ They not only acknowledge that material goods have a definite owner who has sole right of disposal, but they also apply this acknowledgment to specific relationships between individuals. Accordingly, children belong to both of their own parents as their [858 736] property, and one spouse has an actual right to the other. Step-parents have similar rights to children who have only one parent or are completely orphaned. We shall soon discuss the fact that certain groups have a definite title of possession for sections of land marked off with boundaries.

The social order of the Yamana recognizes two types of property, namely, common possessions and personal property. The former is based on the absolute necessity of hunting and the roving mode of life. Since everyone, or rather the individual family, is thrown back on its own resources for a considerable time, it is also the sole, unrestricted master of everything it carries along, and it disposes of this quite freely. This distribution of possessions is natural; we come across it not only among all three Fuegians tribes, but quite generally among peoples with a low gathering economy.

It would be a mistake to regard the common property as a communistic form of possession, for the individual person only has the usufruct of it under certain conditions. In like manner it would [476] be incorrect to explain along these lines the obligation of mutual aid which is emphasized to a remarkable degree among the Yamana (379). Voluntary distribution of possessions in the form of

379. Hyades (q):243 opposed such an obviously false interpretation: "They like to share what they have with those around them, and one cannot say that this is because of the community of property. This community does not exist in Fuegia" /translated from French/.

booty and tools occurs as a result of social considerations, but leaves completely untouched the right of disposal itself.

1. Common Property

186 The consciousness of ethnic unity is very pronounced among 423 our Yamana, as among all primitive peoples. It is based on identity

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186 of language and way of life no less than on sharing the same na-
423 tive region. They regard the fragmented maze of islands within the triangle between the Cape Horn cliffs, Brecknock Peninsula, and Punta Julieta at Bahía Aguirre as their country, within whose boundaries they alone, from ancient times, have the exclusive right to live and to hunt. Actually they make their property rights, in the widest sense of the word, apply to this whole area.

423 They condemn the crossing of these borders by their Indian
648 neighbors in the northeast, as well as in the southwest, as trespass on their land, simply because it belongs to them alone (380).

> 380. Spegazzini (a):168 has mentioned "that the boundaries of a tribe are well defined; no Alucăluf /Alacaluf/ canoe goes into Iajan /Yahgan/ territory unless it has a particular and important mission" /translated from Spanish/.

They do not drive off the intruders with weapons, but they regard their encroachment quite /964/ frankly as a legal offense. Only the families who reside in an area may grant their neighbors free entrance if personal reasons make it advisable.

423 They also regard it as robbery when Europeans settle on
648 their land and crowd out their countrymen. For the last few
797 decades they have become resigned to this condition of constraint because they feel too weak to resist. Formerly they overwhelmed many a European ship with hostility and made its landing difficult in order to deprive the unpopular Whites of any possibility or desire to settle here (p. 250 /untranslated/). For the same reason even the missionaries were made to feel the resistance of the natives. For example, it cost the former much toil and labor to found the mission station in Ushuaia, but this did not make that region the property of the missionaries, according to the Indians, and they actually had to submit to all kinds of annoyances. It was only after direct negotiations that Bridges (MM:IV, 133;1870) could content himself with the following solution: "I got full permission from the natives of Ushuaia to take possession of any land for house and gardens. Next time I intend giving them some thing as a small acknowledgment" /cited in English/. Although

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implicit in what Missionary Phillips relates. One sultry day when he complained to a young Fuegian about the heat, the latter cried, alarmed: 'Do not say the sun to hot, immediately it will hide and the wind will blow cold.'"

Thus the conception of kēspix́ is very broad and contains many things which cannot be summed up in a terse formula. Hyades (q):255 discussed this word as "an intranslatable term referring to fantastic beings who live in deserted caves in the middle of dense forests" /translated from French/. The idea of kēspix́ must not be so limited, however, as will be adequately shown in the following discussion.

1. Cannibals

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From the start it does not seem strange that the Yamana, too, in one way or another, believe in cannibals. This belief may have originated in their apprehensiveness and fear of the Halakwulup (p. 205 /untranslated/) who are directly adjacent to the western group. A particular incident may have brought this about in the first place. One thing is certain, that almost all the Yamana designate a group within the Halakwulup tribe, about which nothing is definitely known, as the asásan, which is the same as calling them cannibals. Sometimes they include all the Halakwulup in this belief. There are others among the Yamana who include only the group living farther north somewhere near Smith Channel, some of whom it is believed now and then appear in Beagle Channel. Occasionally someone will even suspect the western Yamana, the so-called Inanumáala, of practicing this habit (241). It is said: These asásan have long canoes

241. Bridges (VSA:XI, 259;1864) had already learned: "These natives say there is a tribe speaking their language, but with a peculiar accent, they call them 'Ishawa,' who are cannibals, but they

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strenuously deny any such enormities among themselves" /cited in English/. Hyades (b): 1346 and (p):331, on the other hand, definitely asserts: "There are no traditions of anthropophagy" /translated from French/. If he means by this that the Yamana themselves do not practice cannibalism, he is perfectly right (p. 252 /untranslated/).

of solid /1281/ construction, which accommodate many men. Because all of them row, the canoe moves with extraordinary speed. The asásan invade Yamana territory only at night. Anyone they catch at that time is dragged off and devoured. They take advantage of the dark so that they will be successful and meet no resistance. During the day they stay within their boundaries or hide in a sheltered spot in the territory of the Yamana until night falls, for only under its protection do they carry out their surprise attacks. Not only the western group but all the Yamana live in constant dread of the asásan, precisely because they come up very swiftly and then depart again. They are also called wélapatux, "murderers" (cf. BD:619), because they murder and eat anyone who falls into their hands. A third designation, Hapánana-yámana, "the people in Hapananúši," is derived from a myth (p. 1162); it is also pronounced "Apananúši" (p. 243 /untranslated/).

Even the young Bridges (a):207 came across traces of this belief: "Cannibalism is unknown, but they have reports that it is practised by some people far to the westward, whom they call Hapúnanóoshiaúla" /cited in English/. Later he (k):237 wrote more explicitly: "They believe in the existence of certain murderers in the west, called asasyu, attributing to them wondrous powers and a fabulous wickedness. They supposedly wander at night, traveling in fast and strongly built canoes, with the object of killing anyone they meet. It is said that they conceal themselves with trickery in such a way that they could never be found, but stories tell of this one and that one who, having seen them at night, succeeded in escaping from them" /translated from Spanish/ (242).

242. Likewise Bridges (i):15, Dabbene

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(b):204, Hyades (f):588 and (q):259, and so forth.

BD:30 gives the meaning of asāsiū, "persons who go about in the dark of night to kill persons" /cited in English/. To this Hyades (g):39 adds: "Anyone who sees the Ualapatu is lost; one often hears their voice, which resembles that of the seal, but which the Fuegians can immediately distinguish. If they think they hear it, they are frightened out of their wits; they carefully barricade every opening of the hut and, weapon in hand and trembling, they await the morning. Then they immediately leave the campsite and flee to another island. Often the specter follows them even there and harasses them for several nights."

From direct observation Bridges (i):15 tells how the fear of these cannibals affects the Yamana: "The Asasyu, or Apunanusiaula, people of the West, were much feared. During the afternoon (January 1st, 1872) Sisoiange's wife was sleeping and awoke hearing a strange noise in the next room, she got up, but could see nothing. She was in a great fright and spread a report that an Asasyu had come into the house" /cited in English/. /1282/ Hyades (f):588 and (q):254 also repeats in detail the view disclosed to him by three Yamana men in Orange Bay on April 3, 1883. According to them, the murderers penetrate Yamana territory with large boats. "If the men are asleep, the inhabitants of the west immediately enter the huts, cut off the heads of everyone, men and children (except perhaps the women), and then eat them, cooking them over the fire" /translated from French/.

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Moreover, the Yamana tell a separate story about the cannibals, Hamanǎulum wǎtuwa, as follows. Once a few people from the central group were camping in Hamanǎulum (243). They had

243. A short beach about three kilometers west of present-day Ushuaia.

noticed that many other families had traveled westward. A rumor was going around: "There in Wǎiman (244) a whale is lying on

244. This is the designation for the entire

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western part of Yamana territory, particularly the north shore of Beagle Channel (p. 205 /untranslated/).

the beach." So these people said to themselves: "We shall go there too, in order to get a lot of meat and fat. Only tonight we shall stay here and get a good rest!" The next morning they boarded their canoes. They traveled all day and went farther and farther, even during the night, for they wanted to reach the whale as soon as possible. There were ten families and a yĕkamuš. Because they traveled all night -- and these nights were very dark -- they could not see the coastline very clearly. Actually, they rowed past that whale! But they kept right on rowing farther and farther. They had reached Hapananúši (245) long before,

245. The designation for the bordering territory of the Halakwulup.

and they finally entered a harbor; they were all very tired. They disembarked in order to find out the actual location of the whale that they had been seeking for so long.

Many people had made a big camp here, but these people were cannibals. It was their custom to devour everyone who came here from the east. To make it easier to murder everyone, they always let only one stranger enter a hut to spend the night, for a family could easily cope with one stranger and quickly murder him.

Now when the ten families disembarked here, they were divided up among ten different huts, and the yĕkamuš was sent into another hut. He entered this hut; an old woman was sitting near the fire making a little basket. When the yĕkamuš entered, the old woman's husband said to him: "Sit down here near the fire! You are probably very hungry?" Whereupon the yĕkamuš replied: "Yes, I am very hungry, for we traveled a long time and looked for the stranded whale without finding it. Where do you suppose the whale is?" Then the husband took a knife and reached for his wife's left breast. It was long and heavy and he cut it off. He immediately hung this piece over the fire to roast it. The /1283/ yĕkamuš saw this. Horrified, he said: "Are you

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186 by any chance roasting this piece for me?" The other man replied: "Yes, that is for you because you are very hungry!" Thereupon the yékamuš said, quite indignantly: "I shall never eat human flesh! What do you take us for? We came to hunt the whale that we were told was stranded here in the west. We do not eat human flesh!" Saying this, he left the hut and looked around outside until he found a piece of meat. He came back to the hut with it, placed it on the fire, and roasted it. Then he ate it.

There was a basket hanging in this hut, and ten small children were sitting in it. When they saw the yékamuš, they jumped up happily in their basket and sang: "yárum hapánana, yárum hapánana." This meant: "Today we should like to eat this man." But the two adults replied, also very happily: "hamašúnna hapánana, hamašúnna hapánana" (246).

246. I was told that the word "hapanana" used here by the Halakwulup has no meaning. The children wanted to say to the old people that they wanted to devour that man this very day, whereas the old people wanted to postpone the feast until the morrow. In order that the stranger should not recognize what they had in mind, they merely emphasized the adverbs "today" and "tomorrow," in combination with a word without any meaning whatever. This was sufficient for the adults as well as the children, and they understood one another. Whether it is related to "hapõna" in BD:266 I cannot determine. -- The same nonsense word was also the reason they were called "Hapanana-Yamana" and their territory, "Hapananusi" (p.844).

Then the yékamuš had an inkling of what this was supposed to mean; he recognized the grave danger hanging over himself and his people! Because he was a great yékamuš, he tossed a piece of fat into the fire, unnoticed. While it was burning, he

/1283 cont./

186
773

caused a very deep sleep to come over all the people of this camp. Instantly all these people fell asleep and slept so soundly that no one stirred. The yékamuš now ran quickly to his own people and told them that they all were in grave danger. They all immediately seized their things and stole whatever they could that belonged to these cannibals, loaded everything into their canoes, and rowed off as fast as possible. They hastened toward the east to their homeland.

When they were already far away, a dog began barking loudly. He barked so vigorously that those people woke up again and immediately noticed that they had been robbed of all their things. They could just see the fleeing thieves in the far distance. They quickly made ready to pursue them. When the latter saw that the cannibals were coming after them, they were seized with great fear. They hid in Asúsiwaja (247). But the

247. This little inlet lies west of La Romanche Bay, in the northwest branch.

Hapanaṇúši people noticed this and now hurled a large šewāli [flint] with the sling. It landed quite near the hiding-place of the fugitives; it burst and gave off a loud report, like thunder. One can hear it to this day in that region (248). /1284/ The

248. This refers to the thunder-like noise or shocks, caused by a collision of icebergs or the breaking off of large ice floes from the glaciers.

fugitives then tossed a large part of the stolen goods out of their canoes to make them lighter and speedier for their escape. They rowed on again, always toward the east, past Lapatāja and Hamanāulum, until they reached Ušuwāja once more, where they had previously had their camp. But the Hapanaṇúši people continued to hurl large stones after them.

To this day, therefore, one can see large stones lying about in this entire region, especially in Asúsiwaja, Lapatāja, and Hamanāulum; the Hapanaṇúši people hurled all of them at the

/1284 cont./

186 thieves, using their slings. All the things that they had stolen
113 also turned into stones and to this day lie scattered about where the fugitives tossed them out of their canoes.

A variant of this story is always told to the ušwā̆ala at the end of their initiation. At that time it serves the special purpose of confirming the historical derivation of the čiéxaus institution from the west and its transmission to the central region of the Yamana (p. 843).

186 The entire portrayal shows clearly enough that the feared cannibals are merely phantoms created by the Yamana's terror of their western neighbors. Even Bridges (i):15 reached this view: "This Apunanúši people are reputed to be cannibals, but I do not believe the report, which is so like others we have proved to be false" /cited in English/. This much is certain, that the Halakwulup possess actual plank-boats which they have had for several decades (249). It is obvious that these carry a larger

> 249. Besides the plank-boat, the Halakwulup much more often make and use the dugout. Gusinde (o):547 has already pointed out that they had these two articles. Our Yamana first became acquainted with the dugout among the Halakwulup and took it over from them (p. 137). The Yamana did not adopt the plank-boat because their region lacks suitable timber.

number of oars than the fragile bark canoes. Bridges (i):16 frankly admits that he finally saw the first vessel of this kind on February 16, 1883, near Stuart Island. It was manned by Halakwulup and is generally called lēpĕtĕx-ā̆nan (cf. in BD: 280, lōpŏtŏx, "a pole, log, trunk of a tree /cited in English/). He adds the following remark to this personal observation: "It is very desirable for the sake of the Eastern natives to clear up the matter about these luputuj-anan wooden canoes which have been for ages a source of continual fear to the Eastern. These luputuj-anan were supposed to be manned by murderers who moved about in them by night in order to kill any natives they

/1284 cont./

186 might meet. They drew up their canoes by day and secreted themselves and never lit a fire for fear of detection" /cited in English/. In any case, the fact is that not a single Yamana saw those murderers by day and that the crew of one of their canoes never attacked our Yamana and overpowered them. Hence, those Wélapatux are nothing more than fantasy images.

/1285/ 2. The Water Spirits

116 Everyone is much more frequently and more vitally concerned with certain water spirits than with cannibals. These spirits are called Lakúma. They prefer to inhabit certain places favorable to them, but they traverse any inlet whatever. This sea monster has already been described as dangerous in the Ašóulaxīpa wátuwa /"Story of Ašóulaxīpa," untranslated; see pp. 1261-1262 in the original text/. It threatens every canoe, lifts out the occupants, and sucks them down into the depths. Each Lakúma has the habit of flattening himself out on the surface of the water so that his back protrudes a little. He waits in this fashion until a canoe approaches. It is hard to recognize the Lakúma from a distance. People often say that outwardly he is like a whale; others compare him to the calamary húka (Loligo subulata or squid) which is not uncommon in those regions; still others to the ray. He is also said to be large and very strong, "a great monster like a huge worm" /cited in English/, according to Spencer:80. If the occupants of a canoe have unwittingly come within reach of the monster, they rarely succeed in escaping disaster, and only if the Lakúma is sleeping or in a good mood.

He does not merely attack a canoe and its occupants. It is also within his power to cause high waves and threatening storms if he wants to endanger a vessel. That is why the Yamana avoid the regions presumably occupied by a Lakúma. Emilia told me: "When I was still a girl, my family planned to leave Wulaia and travel north. On the very morning we intended to leave, the yékamuš who later became my father-in-law had a dream and told us, full of anxiety: 'Be careful, or disaster will befall you!' In his dream he saw a mighty Lakúma suddenly tip over our boat as it

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 culture. If this large and expensive monograph is not accessible, the following more important papers may be consulted: Gusinde (1921–22, 1924, 1925 a, 1925 c, 1926 a, 1926 c, 1927, 1928 b, 1929); Koppers (1925 a, 1925 b, 1926 a, 1926 b, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b).

For bibliographies of the *Yahgan* see: Cooper (1917), for sources, with comments on each, to 1917; Lothrop (1928), for sources from 1917 to 1928; Gusinde (1937), for selected and added sources, and for evaluations (pp. 48–161) of the publications of the more important first-hand observers.

19 **Language.**—The *Yahgan* language with its five mutually intelligible dialects constitutes a distinct linguistic family, with no known relationship to any other. The elder Bridges' *Yámana*-English dic-
[114] tionary, the one completed in 1879, contains about 23,000 words, a carefully restricted, not a padded, list, as he himself emphasized (1933, p. xvii). *Yahgan*, in contrast to *Ona*, is markedly euphonic. There were no words for numerals beyond three, and none for fractions.

161 **Population.**—According to our first dependable estimates, the *Yahgan* population, in the third quarter of the 19th century, totaled between 2,500 and 3,000 souls. In 1881 a sharp decline set in. By 1884 numbers had dwindled to about 1,000; by 1886, to 400; by 1899, to 200; by 1902, to 130; by 1913, to less than 100; by 1933 to 40. The
[164] immediate causes of the sudden drop in the eighties were the respiratory diseases and a severe outbreak of measles in 1884, followed by epidemics of typhoid, whooping-cough, and smallpox. Syphilis does not appear to have played an important role. Contributory, or rather
[179] basic predisposing, factors were, it seems, the then introduced European ways of life, especially the clothing, but also the food, alcoholic beverages, and type of shelter and work.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

231 **Foods.**—The *Yahgan* had no domesticated plants, and no domesti-
[241] cated animals except the dog. Whether the earlier pre-Columbian and post-Columbian *Yahgan* had dogs is uncertain. No bones of dogs have been found in early archeological sites in *Yahgan* or other Fuegian territory. The earlier explorers,—L'Hermite, 1624; d'Arquistade, 1715—make no mention of the dog in their descriptions of *Yahgan* culture, as none is made of it among the *Alacaluf* by the 15 accounts of them prior to Narbrough's of 1670. The dog was first recorded among the *Yahgan* in 1823 by James Weddell; it is recorded consistently thereafter by later observers (Cooper, 1917, pp.
[262] 186–187). Dogs were not eaten.

/577 cont./

225 will hanker after a piece of breast, another for a piece from the neck; that one prefers the head or the tail fin, some like other parts better. This conversation arises from unrestrained exuberance, and everybody's joy over the rich gift finds expression in such spontaneous wishes. In reality, however, so many special demands could not be considered, nor is the distributor bound to comply with them. In spite of all the previous talk, everyone is content to take any piece that is given him, no matter whether he previously expressed himself in favor of some other one. A sense of honor and the pressure of self-discipline forbid loud demands for preferred parts or expressions of discontent over the piece offered. Since I am not in a position to check personally, I must trust the statements of the Indians that some layers of fat are tastier than others. In general, the entire belly covering is regarded as the best piece.

225 825 192 There are special names for the larger individual body areas of all species of whales. The lips are called kāuwa. The adjacent lower part between the lower jaw bones is télaix; the upper part adjacent to the central head area is tāsa. To the right and lest of this are the two cheeks, čítēška. Next to the jaw region and lower neck, yāuaxēx, is māmaja, the generally furrowed breast and belly area. The areas below the cheeks are very rich in fat and are called ēpēlēr. On the back, tāsa leads into tauwēla, the anterior middle back which /578/ leads into hēssēn, or hēssētēx. On either side of this are the ápi areas. Between these and the māmaja region are the kāuiya māmaja, the actual sides of the whale above the vestigial dorsal fins; in front of these, toward the cheeks, are éntēs and énča. The entire rear tapering part is called yēšápi and leads into the wide tail fin, lēpus. The pair of front side fins is called kāuiči. These areas are named with reference to the layer of fat because the fat is first removed from every stranded whale. An exception is made in the case of the finback, čiyix (Ziphius spec.?), the fat of which has a very laxative effect. When afterwards they want to refer to the meat exposed directly under the layer of fat, they choose, in part, names having the additional word iskun (meat). Thus ápi iskun is the meat in the abdominal covering. Moreover, there is a special designation for the meat of the entire upper and lower rump, namely, uskúpur. The

/578 cont./

225 parts on the upper jaw extending far back are called yíuaxë̃x;
825 the tongue, léxki; and the entrails, hésuwa. For the meat close
192 between and on the bones, they use the special designation híta (349),

349. BD:260 gives a different meaning: "Old and much wasted blubber as found on shores after being long in the sea" /cited in English/.

and for the fatty tissue in the body cavities, apéla. The great importance of a stranded whale for an entire group of people explains why there are special designations for the individual areas and parts of the body. Even the place where the whale has been tossed up has the special name ufkáriteka. The word tuufkáritekána, which BD:451 translates "to send (as God does) supplies of whale meat" /cited in English/, comes from the same root.

225 It is easy to see the reason for the distribution by different men. It is nothing more nor less than the best possible utilization of the entire huge animal. They do not want any part to be lost or soiled and trampled. Such devastation would be unavoidable if everybody could step up to the whale unhindered and ruthlessly cut out certain parts for himself. In an orderly distribution the special wishes of those present are considered as much as possible, everyone receives an abundance, and the entire supply is utilized. Hence everybody adheres strictly to the established custom and lets the respective distributors attend to their duty. In spite of
225 this, selfishness sometimes prevails, and a group will try to con-
578 ceal the stranding of a whale from others or, if the latter should come near, deny them access to the dead sea monster. Immediately a fight begins and the weaker side must give up the booty to the others (350). Such events /579/ are rare because a floating

350. Bridges (a):208 leaves no doubt about serious encounters over a stranded whale: "As long as a party can safely keep a whale to themselves they take care not to spread the news...But great fights sometimes happen through the selfishness of a party. For

/786 cont./

601 clearly demanded by the language. I am also adding several verbs
127 which can only increase the clarity of this list of kinship terms for linguists as well as ethnologists, and above all for sociologists. Anyone who wishes to engage in more profound work is referred to the Dictionary.

601 Male relatives are given on the left, female on the right of the page. Occasionally we give the possessive and forms of address. Here and there we also give number, such as plural or dual, as well as the singular. Whatever appears in parentheses ( ) can be omitted or retained. The first numbers, which are not in parentheses and are followed by a period, indicate the person. The following number in parentheses indicates chapter and verse from the translation of the Gospel according to Luke.

The Indians call themselves yámana.

601 yamana-ūwa, man
192 yamali(m), people in the plural
ū-aiamalim, men (11, 44; 9, 14)

yamana-ā-kīpa, woman
yamanaiamalim, human beings
kīp-aiamalim, women (23, 49. 55; 24, 22)

[609] Strangers are clearly separated: agōpatūa, aua, mēamūa, the first being meant as European, the last as native strangers.
ūa, human being, man, also uōn (23, 2. 4. 14. 19); ūa in Luke (1, 31) used as "son" since here it can be the equivalent of the word "human being."

ūa, uōn, human being, man

kīpa, woman, wife, also kīpāki pa, the same in the eastern part of Beagle Channel

For the latter word kīpa-dāra, "all women, every woman," is striking. See "child" in this connection.

"Master" is gāligūa (12, 43), "sovereigns, aristocracy," tauīnaala (21, 12), in the singular tauīna, "lord, master" (9, 54; 12, 13) or tauīnūa, "the highest" (18, 18), whereas ōkōr mūtāgūua means "head of the house" (12, 39; 14, 26).
uātaala, "the elders, old one," appears in Luke (7, 3).
ma-gālig-ūa is used for "manservant" or "maidservant" (1, 38; 12, 36).

uōštōxyāgūuōn, male servants (7, 2);

uōštāgūkīpeiamalim, female servants (12, 43. 45).

/787 cont./

601 Contemptuously one speaks of hannūwa, "my countrymen." We shall occasionally mention such analogies.

Just as a term may be restricted with reference to a locality, so also may one be restricted with reference to sex: winni-ūalan, all the female relatives of someone, such as nieces, cousins, second cousins, etc. The expression is familiar, however, and this must be taken into consideration each time.

There are two expressions for "parents": dāšinakaiamalim and tūkūtūrū. The designation for a pair also applies to a single spouse, like tuku, tūkū(n), tūkun (8, 3; 18, 29), or ākin'ha, "my husband, my wife." kī-tūku-n, "his wife, her husband." kōtū-pai tuku kōnjin, "this is the wife of that man, this is the husband of that woman." There are also designations exclusively for one, but only with reference to the woman. Thus: paua-tuku-āki, if simply a wife is meant, whereas the next wife or the second wife is called uidāg(āki), called this because her place is at the upper or inner side in the wigwam of her husband. dārā-kīp-a means simply "old woman." Bride and bridegroom are tuku, like "husband, wife" above. On the other hand, matuku is used only for "husband, wife."

601 /788/ The latter word means only "to marry," or more
192 exactly, to go or come north and marry or be married or in order to marry. "A married pair" or "to marry one another" is matūkūpai. "One man and his wives, two men and their wives" is matūkwiamalim. There are a great many expressions in this category, for example, tūmūšānuiyāgū, to detain or take in someone's wife or husband. gōr'-tūkū, to marry a woman when one has no right to her. gālīgū, to send or to give in marriage, namely, a man his daughter (but not his son). gālīgūmūtū, to cause to go and sit down in the wigwam, as a father his daughter with regard to her future husband. wōhyākin, the first wife whose place is at the door-side of her husband. Yamalūwāna (sēapōna, sēipōna) means to treat female relatives with such familiarity as is proper only toward those with whom a marriage is to be contracted, or to marry relatives, such as female cousins, aunts, etc., to permit oneself unusual liberties with someone's relatives or family, to desecrate something sacred, or to be crude. tūtux-gāmata, to give someone in marriage in

/788 cont./

601 192 place of someone else. tuxkīna, to marry on the boat. tunkīlla, to be married to or to marry more than two women. tunnana, to love, to treat with love and kindness, such as a man his wife (said only about women). tituxyellāki, a woman who was abandoned or sent away by a former husband. twīlamallwana, twīlamallwanallīgū, to give a man as his wife a woman who is related to him. tīmūkrīlin tīkīpei, to be promised to a man in marriage (1, 27). tītīkōkandaulum, of the wedding in the house of his wife (12, 36). kōmōkūdē kīpa, they courted (17, 27). kōtūmūgālīgīkindē kīpa, women given in marriage (17, 27). kōtuxmūkūdē ūa, one who has lived with her husband (2, 36). makurīla, the beloved woman, the chosen one (9, 35; 23, 25). matunan-īnīgīla, a woman above all others favored by her husband.

601 Concerning the word for "father," it is noteworthy that Bridges uses only a single one with the possessive 3; he expressly points to the fact that only the possessives given for a word by him can be used. And as a matter of fact, the connection mentioned is given in all his entries.

imū, imū, īmūn, father (11, 2.13; 12, 30)
īmundeian, fathers (21, 16)
imūlan, fathers (23, 26)

hau īmun, 1. do.
sin īmun, 2. do.
kōnjimin īmun, 3. do.
kīc imun, 3. do. (15, 28)
kīc īmun, 3. do.
kōtaasīki, do., old man, elderly man
kōtaas (fam.) kōtas(in), do.

/789/

dīrūcīa, elder, old man, do.

dīrūkin, dīrūkkin, do. (12, 53; 15, 22)

dībi(n), mother (1, 43.4, 30)
kīgōmux, mother of sons only
dībindeian, mothers (21, 16)
hi-dībī(a)n, 1. mother (8, 21)
hi-dībin, 1. do.
dībeia, 2. do. (8, 20)
sin(a) dībin, 2. do.
kōnjimin dībin, 3. do.
kī dībin 3. do. (8, 19)

kōtaas-kīp-īki, mother, old woman
kōt(a)as-kīpa, do.

dīrīkīpa, elder, old woman, do. (1, 18; 12, 53; 2, 36)
darakīpa, dīrīpa, an elder, large and strong woman, mother

/789 cont./

(5) dĭhua, your father (15, 27)
dĭhua(n), 2. do.
hĭ dĭhua(n), 1. do.
hĭ dĭhŭan, 1. do. (15, 12)
(u)hĭhua(n), older man
tĭnĭwa, my father, my old husband (fem.)
tanima, 2. do.
(hous) tĭmagaiwa, 1. do., do. (fem. and friendly on the part of younger people)
yanana, my father (local in the east)

dara-winni, dĭra-inni, do., do.

tĭnĭwa-kĭpa, my mother, my old wife (fem.)

pasanĭpa, mother
hous pasanĭpa, 1. do.

(5) 192 A few further supplementary items. dapĭk, dĭpĭk (11, 27; 23, 29) tĭmmuĭa (in the south), "mother's breast"; dapĭka "to suck"; gaiaĭ, "to grow to maturity" (said of a mother's breast). gĭmma, "a mother who bears only female offspring." mĕamana, maiamana, "pregnant." yembĭna, "to have a small child." yembĭnĭkĭpa, "mother of a small child." yellĭmĭgĭ, "to be confined before another woman." tĭmĭnuĭĭĭĭĭ, "to have children or descendants." tĭnĭiana, "embryo, to be with child in the first few months." galaĭa, "embryo," amagĭna, "belly, embryo, egg, pregnant," mĭgĭ, "to adopt as a son, to bring forth a child, to have a boy." mĭĭtĭnĭĭri, "to come forth, to come into the world." tĭĭĭkĭpinana, "to have a child or other dependents whose life is endangered by others." tĭmĭgĭmaka, "not to have brought forth offspring, children, sterile." ĭĭnul, "sterile, not having offspring." mĭgĭmaka, "not to have (borne) a child." mĭrĭmĭgĭpai, "to have two children." wĕna, "fruit of the womb," kĭĭn wĕna, 2. do.; hao galaĭa, 1. do. wĕnanna, "you will conceive (in the womb)" (1, 21), kĭnĭnamĭĭ, "she became pregnant" (1, 24). mĭĭanin, "having borne" (after pregnancy; 11, 27). sa tĭmĭgĭaĭa "you will bear a son (man) (1, 21). ĭĭmmĭĭgĭ, "embryo," ĭĭmmĭĭgĭ-ĭĭĭĭ, hasanana kĭpa, "a pregnant woman." ĭĭĭĭĭĭ, "afterbirth, navel cord." gapa, "navel," gĭpai, "navel cord."

Pertaining to the man: fag-gale, ahat-gale, bĭĭĭĭa, "testicles," bĭĭĭĭakai-tĭĭĭĭĭ, "kidneys." This is associated with bĭĭĭĭgaĭna,

/789 cont./

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92

a favorite game in which this word is repeated. hallōĉi, "penis." matūmāgōmahūwa, "a man who has no children, childless man." matūmāgū, "to have or conceive a child (said only of the man), to be born in a designated place or at a designated time." matūlōla, "to have (conceived) more than two children." ha-matūmāgūpikin-dē kaiūala ūmōlategan-apai, "I conceived twins." yembōnūwa, "a man who has a small child." tūkatega (said of a man), "to take a woman into his canoe as his wife." ana, /790/ siamanūja, "to have sexual intercourse." lōūaiella, "to cease conceiving or to cease bringing forth offspring."

ūgūgo, "adulterous, lascivious, lewd." ūun, "adulterous, tending toward importunity or violence," kīpata, "to commit adultery, to rape a woman, adulterous, rake." kīpūtaki, "the adulterer." kīpatīkin'a "Oh, you adulterous human being!" kīpūlōmbi, "adulterous, incestuous, fornicator." gōr ʿgaia, "to pester a man shamelessly and provocatively by trying to flirt with his wife against her will."

haua matūmāgū magala, "my birthday."

ūpūn-ūa, widower, bachelor
ūlūtakīki, do.
ūpūn kīpa, widow
ūlūtakīkika, do. (2, 37; 21, 2)
ūlūtaka, "deprived of husband or of wife, absent (living alone) from husband or wife"; magaiūpunanīkīpa, "a woman whose husband has been murdered." gūtūt ūpōna, "to die in childbed."

makū, mākun, mākūn, son
mākū, do. (9, 58; 12, 8)
kōmbei mākū, two do. (15, 11)
māk-kīpa, mā-kīpa, daughter
mā-kīpa-n, do. (2, 36; 8, 49)
makipeiamalim, daughters (23, 28)

haua mākūin, 1. do. (15, 31; 9, 38)
haua mākīpan, 1. do.

sa mākun, 2. do. (15, 30)
kī mākun, 3. do. (20, 44)
kī mā(kī)pan, 3. do.
ōlūtua, ualewa, do. (1, 13. 57)
imni, imia, do.
uimia, my daughter! (8, 48)
haua uei-kipa-n, 1. daughter

tūmāgū kai-uala, son (illeg.)
kaiūala, child (especially male)
tūmāgū imi, daughter (illeg.)
kīpa kaiūala, child (f.)
kei-yūala, do. (2, 40; 43)
kaigūala, do.

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192

/790 cont./

yārūmatīa, small baby (m.)

yārū-kīpa, young woman, wife, daughter

yārumūa, do., youth (12, 53; 7, 14; 15, 21)

yārumūāki, the son

ǰakauīya, ūǰakauīya, baby (m.)

ūǰakauīyākīpa, baby (f.)

šatukumara, child (m.), do.

šatukumarakīpa, child (f.)

Now just a few more additions to this already large selection, which, as in all cases, will be merely a sampling.

mōtakaiyin, "descendant, offspring." pikin-ini, "infant." keiiūalaiamalim, "children" (6, 35; 11, 7; 20, 34). ōsūuākin, "youngest" (m., f., 15, 12). kūpašpāki(n), kagušpa, kaguspaki, kōčiyella, "the last-born," aiannaaiamamāgūa, kiūeiamunyaeiamamagyūwa, "first-born," keiyaeiamana mūgudē wōlēwa, "she bore her first-born" (2, 7). šōla (usually šela), "young," šōl-āki, "little innocent child," šōladāra, "the world of childhood." amapīta, "a child that cannot yet speak." yekākin, "small child" (2, 12. 16). yekaalēwa, "a small boy." yakauiyanda, "a little (huge) fellow." maalēwa, "boys together, /791/ no girls among them." mīakanakausa, "little one /male/" (7, 28). uidāga, "a youth, male, male sex" [human beings and animals].

yōaiamana, "to be the oldest or first-born of the family."

yōaiamānūwa, first-born

yōaiamanākīpa, oldest daughter

yāčikaiāki, oldest, first-born

yāčikaiākīpa, first-born (sing., f.)

yatuwaiim oldest, first-born son or brother

yātūwaikīpa, do., sister

šamaraačin haanaa, "what a brother!" yatuwaiimpai, "the two eldest brothers." uaana, "a man who is not yet a yékamuš, a non-initiate." tāmōm, "a boy who has not yet been subjected to the kīna discipline, who has not yet been initiated in the kīna rites." yōnmamāgūa, "first-born." yarumaala, "young people." dāraalēwa, "an old heavy boy, an old fellow, a heavy youth, a man and no longer a youth." dārūaala, dārūwa, "old people, an old man." dārūwāki, "the old man." mašūpunāpai, "two persons together, both of whom are unmarried," mōtūōnata, "to grow to full manhood."

šuganikīpa, "girl (1, 27; 8, 54), maiden, young woman." umbul(l)ux, "a girl, a baby (f.), a young daughter." yeka-šuganikīpa, "a little girl." tūwaikīpa, "the eldest or first-born

/791 cont./

601 192

daughter, the one before all others." sāpa, "blood" (11, 50. 51; 22, 44), sāpa, do., sāpan(ī)a, "to menstruate," turi, "the first menstruation, "wēlix, "menses." kīmūakīpa, "a woman who is convalescing after a severe illness" (fam.).

auakōšandaulumūa kōnjin, "he is a man who does not belong to my family or to my place." auakōšan hai annū, "I am a man who is not closely related to him." mamāgwīamalim, "a man and his children, the whole family." matūkwīamalim, "a man and his wives who are related to one another. annū mamōkus kōndaian, "those who are brothers and sisters to one another, they are brothers," mamōkus-pai, "two who are brothers," mamōkus-yamalim, "brothers, companions." mamāgū(pai), "a father and his sons, a mother and her sons." hauiyama' ūsi-ndaulum ūa, "a man from my region."

maaimpai, maaimyamalim, "two and more who are brothers."

maaikīpāpai, maaikīpaimalim, "two and more who are sisters."

aniūali, "a person who has little influence or is unprotected against injustice because most of his male relatives are dead." arūgo, "orphan," ārūkūāki, ārūkū(a), "one who has neither father nor mother, a double orphan."

wōšakīya, orphan boy

yōšōla, an orphaned child

pillušī sons and daughters of someone murdered (m.)

tauwōlūwa, a man in mourning for child, parents, brother, or sister

wōsakīyakīpa, orphan girl

yōšōlakīpa, a double orphan

pillušīkīpan, daughters of someone murdered (m.)

tauwōlūwākīpa, a woman in mourning for child, parents, brother, or sister

/792/

tōpōr(ūw)a, father or brother of someone murdered

tōpōrakīpa, a mother of someone murdered, her son or sister /sic; daughter/, her brother or sister

tōpōra, "relatives, such as mother or father and brothers and sisters, of someone murdered." tōpōrana, "the obligation to exact vengeance on the murderers of someone's child or brother or sister." mēašōlāpai, "two persons, boys, who are orphans."

[627]

hikapillušī, hikōška, "a boy whose father or mother drowned."

[603]

ūsiluŝwa, an expression applied to a place instead of its real name, out of respect for the dead person who was named after it.

601 /792 cont./
192 ūsiluswōnji(z?), a name given a boy in place of the name he was
[551] given at birth, out of respect for the late deceased who had the same name as his. Thus, if two persons have the same name, the survivor is called ūsiluswōnji(z?); if the person is a woman, ūsiluswōnji(z?)-kīpa. Ūsitōpa, "a person whose close relatives are dead, an orphan (because of negligence or through the fault of the father)." hau-ūlūuf, "my deceased relatives." mā̄meiā̄kindeian, "the dead" (20, 37). [Some of these terms will be repeated in the section on mourning customs.]

auaköša kīpaiamalim, "women who are not related." hau'usi-kīpaiamalim, "my country-women," sa-kaiamā̄kūtasā̄kīpan, "a woman from your grandmother's region." winni-ūalan, all the female relatives of someone, such as nieces, cousins, second cousins, etc. (fam.). manökus-kīpa, three or more who are sisters or sisters and brothers or first cousins. mamökus-kīpā̄pai, "those who are sisters or sisters and brothers." mamökus-kīpaiamalim, "three or more who are sisters or brothers and sisters." mamā̄kīpa, mamā̄kīpā̄pai, "mother and daughter, father and daughter," mamā̄kīpaiamalim, "a mother and her daughters, a father and his daughters." kwīnan, "a woman, recently widowed, taken as a wife by another man." möxye[illegible] "to die and leave a child as orphan" (said only of a mother). möxyellā̄ki, "a child whose mother died, a motherless child." köšpix-kīpa, "a woman who recently lost a brother, a sister, or a male or female cousin. ūāruxyellādātū, a family of children surviving the death, for example, of a mother. ūātölliyellādātū, "to leave orphans," as a mother her family. gaiiūasana, "female descendants," girls in general, and, if little protected by men, "weak women."

tūmā̄gūdārūwa(n), stepfather
tūmā̄gūdārūa, do.
tūmā̄gūdāruōn, do.
kī tumā̄gūdārūwan, 3. do.
tūmā̄gun, stepson
tūmā̄gu (kaiiūala), do.
kī tumā̄gun, 3. do.
tūnā̄gun, do.

tūmā̄gūdārakīpan, stepmother
tūmā̄gūdārakīpa, do.
tūmayakīpa, do.
kī tumā̄gūdārakīpan, 3. do.
tūmā̄kīpan, stepdaughter
tūmā̄gū'in(n)i, do.
kī tumā̄kīpan, 3. do.

/793/
[597] tūmā̄kīpana, "to adopt or to become a stepparent of daughters by marrying their father or mother."

/962 cont./

421 Sometimes it can even be shown that this or that person expressed himself first one way and then another. If one takes the trouble to evaluate the actions of the natives from their standpoint, it becomes clear that they are almost never in violation of the legal norms of Europeans. The repeatedly circulated opinion that our Yamana have no feeling for "thine" and "mine" and that therefore they practice uninhibited theft and robbery is wholly unproved slander. If we were to assume such behavior, how would peaceful coexistence with their own kind be possible? Every Indian knows the laws pertaining to common property as well as personal property, and there are all kinds of considerations that force him to observe them carefully; otherwise he could not live in the society of his fellow-tribesmen.

a. Kinds of Property

In view of the unique position of the Yamana within the totality of lower primitive peoples and also for an exact understanding of the individuality of their culture traits, it is advisable to point out definitely at the beginning what a well-developed conception of property our Fuegians possess. They have a clear conception of "thine" and "mine"; accordingly, they understand occasional violations of property rights and actually observe the titles of possession which are current there. They use possessive pronouns [192] (Pronomina possessiva) to distinguish a specific person as the owner of certain things. There is a large selection of words designating theft and damage to goods belonging to others, and there are plenty of opprobrius terms for persons who seize the property of others (378).

378. Strangely enough, Spegazzini (a):177 maintains that among all three Fuegian tribes "the verbs to take and to steal are equivalent" /translated from Spanish/. A glance into BD and at the word lists of the Selk'nam and Halakwulup would easily have shown him his mistake.

/971 cont./

422 everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and
593 sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing. Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

The little supplementary word "sē" clearly emphasizes the
422 urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather
593 simultaneously and without exception. BD:379 states: "sē [is] used
192 by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. sē čkāli manāax ājan, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. sē kipajuin ex-uf (a man to his wife)come, get us some mussels" /cited in English/.

Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in
422 the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother
593 puts the roast or the mussels on the fire in response to the wish of
264 the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a
576 special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid;
431 hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the things he
476 brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family
593 saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fuegians, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /972/ has lost his weapons, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family hut from his hunting or she herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

/1015 cont./

551 If matters pertaining to a specific person come up in the conversation, his name is not mentioned but is indicated by circumlocutions. The Yamana are particularly adept at this. Two men or women are all the more likely to do it when, in low tones, they discuss someone present. A person is never addressed or called by his first name; this also applies to children. People 192 who are fond of each other avoid flirtatious and endearing expressions in front of others. Also, no one shows his dislike for another 201 person. The Yamana do not have expletives and swear words. They roar with laughter, double up and roll convulsively on the floor. When they answer in the affirmative, they utter a deep n sound between closed lips and slowly raise their heads; they express a negative with a long drawn-out "bāf."

It is not only improper but very serious to poke fun at anyone 576 present in such a way that he himself becomes aware of it. Peo- 574 ple who have a guest from distant parts are extraordinarily careful not to arouse the least suspicion that they are disparaging or disdainful about his countrymen or his country. They are governed primarily by the fear that out of revenge for bad treatment the strange visitors might cause them much harm through their yĕkamuš at home and might refuse to help anyone from this group who later came to them. They do not have this fear toward children. 522 Since the Yamana /1016/ have a tendency toward ridicule and 576 sarcasm, however, they do not hold back critical and joking opinions in front of those who cannot properly defend themselves. In March, 1923, I had sent a boat from Beagle Channel to the Wollaston Islands with a special message. After a few days it brought back a lad about ten years old, whom Gertie took in temporarily. On the very first evening I saw how all the people present openly made fun of the boy's unfamiliar accent. He spoke the pure southern dialect (p. 200 /untranslated/) of the Yĕškusin̄ala /southern group/. When I expressed my astonishment that they were deviating from their customary behavior, they justified themselves: "That boy speaks a different language than we do. Some words we don't understand. Everything he says sounds so strange that it makes us laugh! After all, he is still young and small, so he can't hurt us if we openly show our amusement!" No one would dare behave this way toward adults from distant regions. When the guests have departed, however, intimate

/1446 cont./

435 Europeans, and therefore no one should find it strange that the Indians neither protect nor take good care of costly or rare objects. It is quite generally true that they do not handle their tools carefully or protect them; they carelessly trust their own ability and manufacture what they need without much trouble. Any kind of wealth and an accumulation of objects would be nothing more than a burden to them.

802 Their material possessions are amazingly meager. Hence they can do without numbers even more easily than without a complicated scale of value. There are definite designations: one = yëkā̆li; two = kompē̆ipe; and three = mā̆ten. In general the Yamana do not count beyond that. They designate anything beyond three as wū̆ru = much. "Very much" is designated either as wū̆ru wū̆ru or čílla wū̆ru. For an extraordinary amount the expression manā̆ana wū̆ru is used. A few compounds are also used to express numbers above three. They say yëkā̆li yēš, "one hand," and kompē̆i yēš "two hands," which mean "five" and "ten," respectively. BD:235 gives dauačí, "a few as from five to twenty" /cited in English/. A few other forms are also given in BD. Constructions such as mā̆ten čílla mā̆ten probably first arose under the influence of Europeans. Compare Hyades (q):317. If the Yamana wish to express a figure beyond three, they prefer to use their fingers, and they indicate the number by shaking the specific finger, without forming or expressing a special word for the number. Our Fuegians are unacquainted with measures of length and height. To indicate an insignificant length they make a fist with both hands and, by holding them apart, show the specified length. At the same time they say ketē̆muka, from ketē̆m = like this here, múka = long. The Yamana do not strive for any particular accuracy either in counting or measuring.

● 192 201 A few words that our Indians use as exclamations should be mentioned briefly. If they agree with a word or a request, they utter a faint ŋ, without opening the mouth; sometimes they also bow the head slightly. If they are very much interested, they utter a loud ā̆ii = good, right, very well; or an excited tas = yes, yes; finally, /1447/ wič = splendid, excellent. They lack what we imply with "no." If a person does not agree with the words of

/1447 cont./

•192 another, he remains silent and motionless; sometimes he turns
201 his head gently to the left and at the same time utters a barely perceptible ŋ. Compare Hyades (q):247.

2. Time Designations

805 The differences between day and night and between one season and the next are too great for our Fuegians not to have designated them with special words. They do not have an expression corresponding exactly to "day"; they use mā̆ala = light, brightness. From this they derive the much used mā̆alā̆alan = daily, and a number of other compounds. Compare BD:351. Although the Yamana do not have a definite division of time in hours, they divide the day into sections of about four hours. They say ūtēka or mā̆ala tupā̆ana for the time from dawn to the time when the sun is about halfway to the zenith, that is, about ten o'clock. The basic meaning of ūtēka is "dawn." BD: 550 gives tupā̆ana as "to spread as light does so that day is spread abroad" /cited in English/. This is followed by yīnatapa mā̆ala, noontide, from ten to two o'clock. Compare yinata, "to cross over..." /cited in English/ in BD:653. Then comes kēnigā̆inata, the afternoon, the time to about six o'clock. BD:181 gives kōnīnata, "to get distant, to go a long way off" /cited in English/. This is followed by yārum lēkagēna, the time of evening twilight until about nine o'clock. The Yamana are familiar with all these expressions.

They also divide up the night. The above-mentioned lēkagēna is followed by lēkēx, the time from the first darkness to midnight. This is followed by the period yīnatapa lēkēx, from midnight to about three o'clock. Finally there is mā̆alupe yepatūgata, the time when it grows light in the morning, between three and seven o'clock. Although these expressions are universally understood, an expert on the stars will now and then also indicate the time of night by their position in the sky.

The Yamana divide the year into definitely recognizable, though not sharply separated periods which they appropriately call seasons. Nature appears in a different garb four times, the change

/1459 cont./

751 spread over it; the latter is a reliable remedy for growths resem-
278 bling carbuncles. Pustules are daubed and rubbed gently with saliva. Fresh small twigs and leaves of Macrocystis are put on swellings; they develop a slimy substance which is allowed to take effect. Fresh barberry shavings are put on an aching tooth. Loose teeth are broken and pulled out with the fingers. Hyades
[158] (p):339 says something that I cannot confirm from my own obser-
vations: "Insanity, if it exists, is very rare. The mad are treated with cold baths" /translated from French/. A broken arm is treated
752 by first placing thin sticks and a few pieces of leather around it; then this is bound with stout strips of leather. The bandage is kept in place until the pain and swelling have subsided. These are the procedures that the Fuegians know for helping themselves in case of accidents and physical ailments.

7. The Language

●192 It is well known that the language of the Yamana has often
114 been described in general accounts and there is an astonishing amount of material. Many a writer has let himself be carried away in repeated references to an unusually rich vocabulary. Bridges himself started this trend. I tried to explain in (gg):162 why he said that his dictionary contained 32,430 words. I have also emphatically pointed out that the Yamana language does not have that number of words and that a rich vocabulary by no means indicates a high level of development for this language. "Quite the contrary," I (hh):183 said earlier, "one will recognize the considerable poverty of a language from the fact that it requires many words." Long before, Garbe:336 pointed to this decisive condition. No one is to be blamed for the fact that a critical study of Yamana grammar as a whole has not yet been carried out -- F. Hestermann worked on a number of parts -- /1460/ for texts are lacking. The comprehensive dictionary of the Reverend T. Bridges was only published in 1933 by Hestermann and Gusinde, and the well-known translations of the New Testament that Bridges made six decades ago are not suitable for this purpose. I, too, should not be reproached and told that I failed to collect original texts. To exonerate myself, I may point out that on my journeys I was

/1460 cont./

192 completely absorbed by no less urgent tasks. Serious consideration should also be given to the fact that the language in use today has been altered and corrupted as a result of the banding together of the last survivors of the five original dialect groups and their contact with European culture. For example, their own word for "nothing" has dropped out of use completely, and old and young have substituted "nothing" /cited in English/ for it. I was thus faced with the lamentable fact that at the beginning of my journeys it was too late to record the pure, uncorrupted linguistic heritage of the Yamana. However, I was still able to determine the boundaries of the former dialect groups, as I called them (p. 199 /untranslated/), and the phonetic system. Compare Gusinde (s):1000.

This is not the place to describe in detail the more important
197 peculiarities of Yamana grammar. Nor need I repeat that in (hh): 183 I maintained that "the low stage of development of the language is in perfect agreement with the whole mental constitution of the Yamana as it is revealed in other areas. This does not in the least cast any doubt on the fact that these Indians, judged by their mental capacity, are fully mature human beings." For the time being one must regard Yamana as an isolated language which is not even closely related to neighboring Selk'nam and Halakwulup. Comparative studies will show whether Yamana can be related to the meager remains of a definite Chaco language.

Only the following characteristics of this language will
193 be mentioned. The root and the word are seldom the same. Usually verb and noun are separated; this is less often true of adjective and substantive in the noun, but always of the pronoun. Word formation, as well as every other grammatical formation, occurs through the use of actual prefixes and suffixes. Verbs and nouns abound in formations. The richest of all is the pronoun; on this account it has a prominent place among all the other languages of the world. Nouns are monosyllabic and polysyllabic, the latter being always recognizable as compounds. Often prefix and suffix occur in the same formation. There is no grammatical gender, but number and case are all the more elaborate. The noun has three numbers: singular, dual, and plural, the last two being formed only with suffixes. The genitive is prominent.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

speak the central dialect. The entire vocabulary was checked by Mr. William Bridges and any words not in the central dialect were noted.

The richness of the language is indicated by the more than 32,000 words brought together by Rev. Thomas Bridges. Many of these words, of course, are compounds, but such a vast number are fundamentally due to unusual specialization in meaning.

On the other hand, Yahgan exhibits the lack, usual among primitive people, of abstract ideas and generalizations. In fact, even in English (which, due to missionary training, some of the Indians spoke fairly well) the Yahgan exhibited inability to grasp the concept of generalities.

The manner of counting was even more primitive than the Ona count, for the Yahgan had no words for 4 and 6, which, to be sure, were compound numbers in the primitive Ona system. The Yahgan count is:

1.	*hikóli*	one
2.	*kambalbi*	two
3.	*matén*	three
5.	*hikóli ilrsh* [1]	one hand
10.	*kambal ilrsh*	two hands

Clothing

From Fitzroy's description of the Yahgan, cited above, it appears that there was very little order or regularity in their scanty dress. However, though seemingly inadequate, their clothes were of well-defined forms which we shall describe. It is no exaggeration or overstatement to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in the world. As compared to the Ona, their garments, similar in nature, were deficient in size, while the stiff and unyielding skins they employed from their very nature lacked the warmth supplied by the pliable, voluminous, and snug-fitting robes of the Foot Indians. We must add that individuals of both sexes and all ages often went entirely naked.

1. Cape.—The usual cape worn in summer and winter alike by both men and women was a seal or sea-otter skin. Sometimes two

[Text continues on page 123]

[1] Bove gives the word *capatpa* for 5. It was not known to any Yahgan Indian or member of the Bridges or Lawrence families encountered by the writer.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Kinship

The Yahgan kinship terms, like the Ona, were compounded with the possessive adjectives "my," "your," "his," or "her" (*háwu*, *sína*, *kichin*). These whole expressions may or may not be contracted. Additional complications were introduced by the fact that different terms in some cases were used when speaking of a person nearby or far away, and again when two people or several people took part in the conversation. 601 192

The kinship terms listed below were obtained in part from Mr. Fred. Lawrence and in part from Yahgan at Puerto Mejillones, and have been checked by Mr. William Bridges. It is difficult to gather these words, because much time has passed since many of them were used.[1] We have given many terms only in the first person when the second and third persons are regularly formed. 601

Table V.—YAHGAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Father	
my father	*háwahímun, háwimun*
your father	*sínahímun, sínimun*
his (her) father (when nearby)	*kichinhímun, kichimun*
his (her) father (when afar)	*kúnchiminhímun*
Mother	
my mother (when two speak)	*háwadábe*
my mother (when several speak)	*hídabéyan*
your mother	*sínadábe*
his (her) mother (when nearby)	*kichinddbe*
his (her) mother (when afar)	*kidabéan*
Brother	
my elder brother	*háwawaíamun*
your elder brother (when nearby)	*sínawaíamun*
your elder brother (when afar)	*waímhaki*
his elder brother	*kichinwaíamun*
my middle (of 3) brother	*háwayínatápawaíma*
your middle (of 3) brother	*sínayínatápawaíma*
his middle (of 3) brother	*kichinyínatápawaíma*
my younger brother	*háwaashuwá, háwaashuwaíki*
your younger brother	*sínaashuwá, sínaashuwaíki*
his younger brother	*kichinashuwá, kichinashuwaíki*
my brother next to my eldest	*háwawaímakínchigaíakigaíaki*
my brother next to my youngest	*háwaashuwaíakínchigaíaki háwaúshpaki*
my brother next to my second	*háwayénatawaímakínchigaíakigaíaki*

[1] Both Fitzroy and Darwin comment on the extraordinary rapidity with which the Yahgan and Alacaluf taken to England in the *Beagle* forgot how to speak their native tongues.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6
Ona SH4

O
192

MISCELLANEOUS

man, *chon.*
woman, *na.*
child, *tělken.*
infant, *kaŭlgen.*
fire, *kaŭk.*
flame, *yálue.*
earth, *wuk.*
sky, *sk'o.*
afternoon, *gringaiirsk.*
sunrise, *makok.*
rain, *chálo.*
initiation lodge, *kain'.*

YAHGAN VOCABULARY

Y
192

ANIMALS AND BIRDS

coypu, *saiapai.*
fish: (1) locally called mullet, *kaímush;* (2) locally called sardine, *takápi.*
goose, kelp, *shákush.*
guanaco, *amarapáwa.*
heron, *túwuch.*
porpoise, *shawiano.*

CANOE PARTS AND EQUIPMENT [1]

bark of *Nothofagus betuloides*, *aíirshun.*
canoe: (1) of bark, *ánan;* (2) of wood, *lapatáganan.*
fireplace, *af.*
gunwale, *wúrri.*
mooring rope, *shukamí.*
mooring thong, *wurrsh.*
paddle, *ápi.*
ribs, *ushkúlakin.*
whalebone, *tirsh.*

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

guanaco-skin cape, *maiáka.*
headband: (1) of heron-feathers, *kapawára* (eastern dialect, *kapawúrrh*); (2) of kelp-goose down, *paqal.*
leggings, *páwa.*
moccasin, *kili.*
necklace of shell, *opúrrshka.*
pubic covering, *múshwalána.*
wristlet or anklet, *maíamasár.*

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

basket: (1) hitched coil ("Fuegian" basketry), *tawě'la;* (2) twisted hitched coil, *uloánasiába;* (3) knotted hitch without foundation, *gaíchim;* (4) wrapped, *chiwanúsh.*
bucket, *alakála.*
comb, *ushtánim.*
fire-tongs, *láka.*
fungus used as tinder, *awachiq.*
house, *ákharh.*
housetop of seal-hide, *kaíkis.*
pouch: (1) of guanaco-hide for fire-making apparatus, *asánu;* (2) of guanaco-hide for shaman's paraphernalia, *humulúf;* (3) of otter-tail for tobacco, *yeten;* (4) of seal-bladder for oil, *athhlahání;* (5) of seal throat for paint, *yái;* (6) of seal-gut for oil, *kália.*
pyrites, *s'wálli.*
shell cup, *auflán.*
stick for painting face, *teláikhamána.*

MATERIALS

grass, *mápi.*
guanaco-sinew, *ushwámi.*
kelp: (1) ordinary variety, *kaúsh;* (2) broad-leafed variety, *shon* (eastern dialect, *shówen*).
moss, *hánakóhl.*
pumice, *kiól.*
seal-hide thong: (1) for joining harpoon-point and shaft, *tamutú;* (2) for circular lashing, *tuwawáru;* (3) for mooring canoes, *wurrsh.*
shell: (1) for drinking-cup, *auflán;* (2) for necklace, *kaúsh uuddlu;* (3) for scraper-blade, *chiamúnka.*
whalebone, *tirsh.*
wood. See Table I, page 29.

[1] See also household equipment, and weapons and hunting equipment.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

192

NUMBERS

See page 121.

TOOLS

awl, *ámi.*
bark remover: (1) for man, *sánakal;* (2) for woman, *téshupu.*
scraper: (1) of shell, *tuʷwl'na;* (2) of steel, *wána.*
sharpening stone, *chípi.*

WEAPONS AND HUNTING EQUIPMENT

bird-snare, *aúrum.*
club, *kíwa.*
dip-net, *chiwanúsh.*
fish-line, *tápim.* The sinker is *társhir;* the bait noose is *tukaléna.*
harpoon: (1) single-barb type, *awaía* (eastern dialect, *naía*); (2) double-barb type, *waíki* (eastern dialect, *wek*). The shaft is called *shoshaía;* the thong around the socket is *tuwawíru;* the thong from point to shaft is *túmutu.*
harpoon-point case of seal-hide, *yamíku.*
knife (steel), *hárfkar.*
sling, *watewó, mataʷwó.*
spear: (1) for fish, *shushróya* (eastern dialect, *ushówaia*); (2) double-headed fish-spear, *ámpa, úmpa;* (3) crab-spear, *sítu* (the shaft is *akwisimána*); (4) limpet-spear, *haliúno;* (5) guanaco-spear, *wunaí.*
torch (made of bark of *Nothofagus betuloides*), *alirshun* (eastern dialect, *aílshu*).

/1460 cont./

192 completely absorbed by no less urgent tasks. Serious considera-
114 tion should also be given to the fact that the language in use today has been altered and corrupted as a result of the banding together of the last survivors of the five original dialect groups and their contact with European culture. For example, their own word for "nothing" has dropped out of use completely, and old and young have substituted "nothing" /cited in English/ for it. I was thus faced with the lamentable fact that at the beginning of my journeys it was too late to record the pure, uncorrupted linguistic heritage of the Yamana. However, I was still able to determine the boundaries of the former dialect groups, as I called them (p. 199 /untranslated/), and the phonetic system. Compare Gusinde (s):1000.

This is not the place to describe in detail the more important
197 peculiarities of Yamana grammar. Nor need I repeat that in (hh): 183 I maintained that "the low stage of development of the language is in perfect agreement with the whole mental constitution of the Yamana as it is revealed in other areas. This does not in the least cast any doubt on the fact that these Indians, judged by their mental capacity, are fully mature human beings." For the time being one must regard Yamana as an isolated language which is not even closely related to neighboring Selk'nam and Halakwulup. Comparative studies will show whether Yamana can be related to the meager remains of a definite Chaco language.

Only the following characteristics of this language will
•193 be mentioned. The root and the word are seldom the same. Usually verb and noun are separated; this is less often true of adjective and substantive in the noun, but always of the pronoun. Word formation, as well as every other grammatical formation, occurs through the use of actual prefixes and suffixes. Verbs and nouns abound in formations. The richest of all is the pronoun; on this account it has a prominent place among all the other languages of the world. Nouns are monosyllabic and polysyllabic, the latter being always recognizable as compounds. Often prefix and suffix occur in the same formation. There is no grammatical gender, but number and case are all the more elaborate. The noun has three numbers: singular, dual, and plural, the last two being formed only with suffixes. The genitive is prominent.

/1460 cont./

193 The suffix added to the genitive, however, also occurs as objective case. The adjective changes in value by its mere position: if it precedes, it is /1461/ attributive; if it follows, it is predicative. The pronoun has a uniform root, but in form it differentiates verbal and personal, possessive and subjective. The diversity of all pronouns is surprisingly great, especially because designations of place are expressed in horizontal and vertical relationships and because the qualification "toward" as a prefix and "away from" as a suffix are joined with a single word (363).

> 363. It would lead too far afield to give examples of this; a good selection of them may be found in Hestermann (b), Bridges (k):235, and even more in Hyades (q):280.

The verb can be constructed from a nominal basis by numerous suffixes. Verbs can also be compounded and stand as coordinates. There are four conjugations according to the four different final vowels. The place variation of the noun as described above also extends in every respect to the entire verb. There are at least six different forms of verbal negation. As Hestermann declares, "the inflections briefly alluded to here, along with those affecting the noun, form a veritably inexhaustible phenomenon distinguished by consummate brevity of form as well as sensitive elegance. Yamana is a melodious type of Indian language, terse, rich, precise, and full of meaning." If, in this study, I
197 have several times mentioned dialect differences (p. 200 /untranslated/), I certainly did not mean substantial deviations between one group and another, but merely slight differences in words and appellations for the same thing, as well as in some sounds. These insignificant local peculiarities obviously do not constitute dialects in the strict sense of the word.

c. Artistic Sense

517 All the thoughts and endeavors of our water nomads on Cape Horn are directed toward the inescapable food quest; it almost completely absorbs the individual. Whatever remains of leisure

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 published a broadsheet with the Lord's prayer. Both are written in the ordinary alphabet with a ˘ to denote the short vowels and soft g.

194 As for the nature of the Yahgan tongue, in direct contrast to Ona, it is soft and pleasant to the ear. There is a great abundance of vowel sounds, and the pronunciation of consonants presents no difficulties. The line between *p* and *b* is loosely drawn. There is a *soft* and a hard g, and also a *soft ch* sound (*g*).

197 According to Mr. Fred. Lawrence, of Remolino, generally regarded as the best living authority on the Yahgan language, in the old days there were five distinct dialects, distributed as follows:

1. Central dialect, including Ushuaia and Murray narrows. This is the speech recorded in the Bridges dictionaries.
2. Eastern dialect, spoken from Harberton eastward and on Lennox island, New island, etc.
3. Western dialect, found from Cape Divide westward.
4. Wollaston Islands dialect.
5. New Year's Sound dialect, spoken to the south and west of False Cape Horn and on the southern part of Hoste island.

These dialects are said to have differed from one another as much as Scotch from Cockney; that is to say, they were mutually intelligible but there was wide variation in accent and the choice of words. Thus the double-barbed harpoon is *wolbi* in the west and *wek* in the east; the fish-spear is *wokhuaia* in the east and *skuskréyu* in the central dialect; bark of the *Nothofagus betuloides* is *oiirukw* in the east and *oiirukow* at Ushuaia; a sling is *wutowul* in the east and *wutowul* in the central dialect, etc. Today it is difficult to know just what dialect one is hearing, because the few surviving Yahgan live together much of the time and have fused their speech. However, the fact that considerable divergence once existed within such a small geographical limit indicates that but little movement of the tribe as a whole had taken place for centuries, at least.

115 The Yahgan words in the present text were obtained chiefly from Mr. William Bridges and Mr. Fred. Lawrence, who speak the central dialect; from William, born at Halupai (see fig. 98); from Walter, a Lennox islander; from Charley, son of a Haush called Inidh and a Yahgan woman; from Mary, a westerner. The four Indians mentioned were all mission-reared and therefore today

/813 cont./

X881 114 he probably gathered independently are valid only for the men's ceremony.

If all that Bridges noted down about the common training of youth at puberty is applied, even unjustifiably, to the youth initiation, it seems so meager that the character of this secret rite is not recognizable even in rudimentary form. It remained completely undisclosed to European insight, like so many other valuable treasures, until shortly before the decline of this people.

2. My Participation

X881 123 It seems to me important to point out that up to my second journey the above references in Bridge's writings were completely unknown to me. My vague conjecture that in the declining years of these people I would still discover secret ceremonies was precipitated by a reference of Cooper's:156 that among the Yamana such rites had not been held for at least four decades. Since I was nevertheless privileged to experience the men's secret rites and the school for the medicine man, besides the initiation, I may be justified in maintaining that I was the sole discoverer of the Kina and the first to understand its underlying idea.

There is no other institution about which our Indians are as strictly silent as they are about the youth initiation. Their reticence in this matter could be compared only with their habit of never repeating the name of a deceased person. In their daily life there is actually almost no occasion to speak of it, and if it [95] should be necessary, they regularly resort to circumlocution which they are also fond of using on other occasions. One would not go astray in tracing to this circumstance the fact that Bridges could learn little more than the name /813/ of this ceremony. Fred Lawrence, who at the time of my first initiation had been married to Nelly almost 20 years, had learned from her, as well as from the rest of the Yamana, a great many of their customs, and had himself been a good observer, had only a few vague impressions about the Kina. His older brother Martin knew nothing at all about it. As for the venerable Reverend John Lawrence, he had one of his greatest surprises when I outlined my experience to him after my first participation. Two years later I told him that I took

/1046 cont./

776 Manunā́kin is popular, as is Manauanā́kin, in the sense of "the sole mighty one." BD:285 gives these words in the combination manūnāki hauan, "this is valued" /cited in English/; it has the same root as auwēn, according to BD:65 auwōn, "true, sincere, in earnest, in truth" /cited in English/, and auwōnā́ki, "the good one" /cited in English/.

Only once was Tumū́učikánaku used, "he who makes others angry and infuriates them." These words are also used by the Yamana in ordinary speech. Compare in BD:519 the expression tūmūučikāna, "cause, permit any person to učikana (BD:112), to annoy, trouble, vex by demands, requests, entreaties, etc." /cited in English/.

[761] On the occasion of a death and at a public funeral, Wḗlapatux-sēf, "the murderer up in heaven," is often used and always with strong emotion. BD:619 clearly states "wōlāpatux, cruel, murderous; acting in a manner braving danger in a reckless manner as though one could not be hurt or as one was like hard stone and invulnerable" /cited in English/.

/1047/ Finally one also finds in BD:629 "wāgunā́ki, the upper or higher one, the one above, the highest one; a term for God as 'the Highest'" /cited in English/. I did not come across this word and Bridges does not give an explanation for it anywhere. A definite contradiction should be pointed out, however. In his dictionary he lists an expression for "God" and yet for decades he denied that the Yamana had any kind of religious conception.

The above terms for the Supreme Being are variously used, depending on the given situation, but never thoughtlessly and always with conscious reference to this deity. The expressions always show more or less veneration for the deity, except for the names which the poor human being angrily uses to relieve his soul concerning his own impotence in relation to him.

195 776 Often, though not to the same extent as the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 497), our Indians use circumlocutions in place of the designations just listed. On the basis of the position occupied by Watauinḗwa in visible creation, according to their belief, they more or less consciously connect striking events and important happenings with him as the true creator and ultimate cause. They say briefly: "This comes from above!" and use the particle kūp

/1047 cont./

195 or kūpa. Compare BD:210, 211. This replaces the name, but is clear to everyone who hears it. Calderon and other men regard 776 this substitution as "palabra política," as a wisely calculated way of speaking, outwardly mild but actually perfectly clear and full of meaning, somewhat like a key symbol in cryptography. Out of respect they avoid addressing the Supreme Being with the customary names as much as possible. Moreover, they do not wish to [765] hurt openly a person who is in mourning and who, if one of the customary designations were used, would be publicly shamed or reminded of the fact that the death just mentioned was sent as a punishment by Watauinéiwa. The nature of the conversation and the particular circumstances of an utterance safely prevent a misunderstanding of the circumlocution on the part of the persons present.

β. His Characteristics

776 The above names and the prayer formulas familiar to the Yamana both contribute their share to form a complete picture of the Supreme Being's uniqueness as it lives in the soul of these Fuegians. At first glance we recognize Watauinéiwa as an independent personality who is clearly distinguished from other beings of all kinds and, far removed from them, is completely independent. Watauinéiwa is a being apart; his whole nature is different from that of the other spirit-beings and even more from that of all human beings.

/1048/ We have already referred to his spirituality. For the concept "spirit" the Yamana use kēspix. To them Watauinéiwa is the very great kēspix who is properly, and more than other spirit-beings, a spirit in the real sense of the word. As such he is invisible and thus cannot be seen by human eyes. Repeatedly someone flies into a rage because Watauinéiwa has caused the death of a near relative, and he would like to confront him directly, but as kēspix that one is inaccessible to any human being. Since he is incorporeal, no one has a perceptual idea of his person. I was emphatically told: "He does not have the body which every Yamana has down here [on earth]; he also does not die, as each

/1055 cont./

781 often protects this or that person from lapses, but it is really be-
776 cause of the ancient tradition itself that they adhere to its de-
626 mands. No one would ever complain of the tight bonds imposed on free action. On the contrary, the customs of the old people are everywhere highly respected, because ultimately Watauinéiwa appears as the guardian of public order.

781 Inasmuch as he must be approached with piety, no one dares repeat his name without a special reason, much less hold it in
776 contempt. If the Supreme Being is mentioned, the Yamana shows
195 decided piety and a certain solemnity in his whole outward bearing when he speaks his name, thus giving the spoken word a marked note of consecration. The various names applied to the deity are never thoughtlessly uttered. Another sign of pious respect is the use of circumlocutions. These are used most often when in the course of a ceremony of mourning an excited person struggles with Manunákin, "the sole mighty one." It is as though he wanted to dampen his improper conduct, as though he would not turn immediately and directly to the familiar deity. The habitual respectful attitude of the Yamana toward the person of the Supreme Being himself forces them, so to speak, to the greatest possible fidelity to tribal custom, particularly the moral obligations, and does not let the thought of contradiction or renunciation arise.

β. Prayers of Supplication

782 The Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 509) are exactly
[171] alike concerning the form and distinctive character of their religious veneration, but they are /1056/ conspicuously different in the use of prayers and invocations to their deity. Whereas the Selk'nam dedicate to their Temáukel a few more or less freely chosen words only on rare occasions (Vol. I, 510), our Fuegians have at their disposal a long list of established prayer formulas which everyone uses according to the given circumstances. They have adhered to them so strictly that they still repeat them even today, although individual words and expressions are no longer used in daily life and have even become incomprehensible; only the general sense of the whole formula has been preserved.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

576 Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, 574 especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the čiéxaus initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting [264] was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expec- [514] torating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead. [195] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

000 These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked. 847 In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took 844 place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

/1378 cont./

X575 they are now full-fledged members of the men's group. From now on they will have free access to every Kina festival, and those details which up to now have remained unexplained or undisclosed will be presented openly before them on the next occasion.

In March, 1922, the Kina was held for the last time among the Yamana. The men who took part crowded it all into a few days, but nevertheless displayed the rich variety of this festival. Although up to that time it was not known in detail among Europeans, it was, thanks to a kind fate, rescued from total oblivion by this final repetition on my third journey.

e. Significance for Culture History

X575 196 The entire Kina arrangement must be briefly characterized with respect to its place in the general social order of the Yamana. On the whole, but also on account of many details, it strikes one as strange; its peculiar significance is unmistakably obvious. This is confirmed by the very word kína, for whose original meaning I did not find a satisfactory explanation. /1379/ In BD:165 it is equated with "flock, troop, herd" /cited in English/, as well as with "wigwam built apart and of logs always for superstitious purposes" /cited in English/, in fact, even with "to burn, flame up, kindle, to be burning up as a fire to catch" /cited in English/. One asks himself, how can the same word at one time mean "herd, troop, flock" and at another time, as a verb, "to burn, flame up..."? Even if one concedes that the fire is always burning in the Great Hut or that the meaning of "wigwam" /cited in English/ could be related to "grouped together" /cited in English/, nevertheless "hut, flock, burn" cannot be the same. A comparison of the other expressions relating to the Kina that are given in BD makes it easy to believe that Bridges consciously put the "superstitious purposes" /cited in English/ into the foreground. This judgment is correct insofar as the many Kina spirits actually do live in the belief and imagination of the Yamana. The Kina does originate in the realm of myth and fantasy, and its origin is told in the so-called myth of the upheaval (p. 1237).

/778 cont./

619 554 Basically one tribal member is equal to every other socially and enjoys complete independence. All of them have about the same number of objects, little though this is, and there are no differences in property and economic pursuits which elsewhere sometimes cause very disparate social levels (211). In general,

211. This means, as Hyades (p):335 expresses himself: "There is no king, chieftain, aristocracy, castes, social hierarchy, or slaves; it is a regime of equality in the purest sense" /translated from French/.

therefore, every adult has the same rights within his tribe, and along with this they all have some duties. No one is specifically raised above the legal equality of the multitude by special privileges; they recognize neither one nor several headmen. One person or another may acquire a certain morally superior position within the narrow circle of relatives and acquaintances /779/ through richer experience after a long life and moral rectitude. His superiority, however, is solely a matter of personality and is neither precisely defined nor founded on objective legal norms.

[197] A division of the whole tribe into so-called dialect groups has occurred under the pressure of local conditions. It is purely external. The slight differences resulting from it are in line with the unavoidable pursuit of a livelihood by each independent group. The social order in which degrees of rank are unknown is just as simple as the economic structure (212).

212. The basic ideas of this section have already been published by Koppers (c):155.

a. Kinship

594 602 Yamana social organization rests on individual families (213).

213. Spegazzini (a):165 gives this fact in another form: "The family constitutes all their society" /translated from Spanish/.

/798 cont./

1. Its Structure

197 634 571 It is an inborn tendency of the Yamana to emphasize contrasts. These are certainly present in his homeland, and each person knows the characteristics of his local area, in fact, he must take them into account. We have mentioned in detail (p. 199 /untranslated/) that the entire Cape Horn Archipelago is geographically divided into five separate regions. As a result, there are an equal number of dialect groups living here (228).

> 228. Even the members of the Mission Scientifique did not agree uniformly about the individual ethnic groups. Hyades (j):148 is definitely at variance with the opinion of Hahn (b):1533, the ship's doctor. Compare the more specific boundaries in Gusinde (a): 1018.

Since time immemorial boundaries erected by Nature herself have been determined for each of these groups, and they have formed a dividing wall up to the last few decades. It is only recently that unfavorable forces have succeeded in breaking them down. Nevertheless, even today each of the few surviving Yamana boasts of his competence in this or that dialect district. No one knows who first marked this region /799/ and assigned the tribesmen to it. No myth says anything about it. They all readily accept given reality. It is well known that within his dialect district everyone enjoys complete independence and unrestricted freedom of movement. He has the same right to subsistence as his countryman.

609 634 Journeys into neighboring districts are undertaken for the special purposes of obtaining food or bartering for essential tools. No one remains away longer than is necessary. The people living in another district will permit a strange family to come in and provide themselves with whatever they need, but they do not tolerate anyone roaming about their territory an unnecessarily long time. If he should do so, it would cause hostility which could become serious, but as long as a stranded whale has not been completely consumed or as long as it is impossible to obtain

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(7) Hīia čílla akigamāni Tānuwa asūnan
Me again hit the old one in the woods

lēkēskēta; kēndam hitaualašinānude?
my head; how I bear it?

[753] /1074/ In wandering through the woods a man was in danger of being killed by a falling tree trunk; again he once was lightly struck. This gave him such a shock that he developed a headache. He mentions the old-one-up-there as the cause of it. That is why his situation is particularly serious and he does not know how he will regain his mental balance. -- Most of the words used here are repeated in the following exclamation.

(8) Tānuwa hāja cílla akigamanīta lēkēskēta
The old one me again hit my head

asūnan kēndam hitaualašinānude?
in the woods, how I bear it?

In content this saying does not differ from the preceding one and says the same thing, but it expresses more definitely and emphatically the intention of Watauinēiwa to let the man be killed. -- Compare the verb akigāmata, "to hit unintentionally, or by mistake" /cited in English/, in BD:15. BD:183 translates kōndīm as: "such, so, in such a manner, in that way" /cited in English/. The word asūnan is evidently synonymous with ōsunna, "forest, wood, jungle, thicker" /cited in English/, in BD:46.

(9) Watauinēiwa čikīja kēlakanīa sa-kumīlu.
The old one you will take away [if] you lazy.

[867] This formula is one example of the precepts which are given the candidates in the youth initiation. It warns the uiwala that the old-one-up-there does not tolerate a lazy person, but will let him die prematurely. -- The word kēlakanīa is related to kōlenkōna, "to drive, shove, push away" /cited in English/, in BD:178, and to related forms.

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Besides the formulas listed here the Yamana of former days used many others containing the same ideas, which now must be

/1074 cont./

182 197 regarded as lost. The few that were saved have unusual words and archaic sentence formations, showing their origin in the distant past. Even older persons were no longer able to give me an exact and detailed explanation of each formula, and they excused themselves by saying that such obsolete words and idioms were no longer used in everyday speech. It is therefore not surprising that old John Lawrence, as well as his sons who were versed in the language, was sometimes baffled by these sayings. The colloquial language of the present day is the result of considerable change since the time when the representatives of the individual dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) were more crowded together and intermingled. Thus, although almost always only the basic idea of any given formula can be determined, all of them together furnish a sufficiently complete picture of the Supreme Being whose image our Yamana carry in their hearts and whose characteristics are familiar to them.

/1075/ c. Originality of the Yamana Religion

171 177 The above details taken from the religious heritage of the Yamana are not inconsiderable in number. All of them were brought to light only through my travels. These facts contradict the unanimous agreement of earlier travelers and of the missionaries, active for many years, who, so to speak, flatly deny that our Fuegians have any religious conception and religious activity. This sharp contradiction demands a reliable explanation, all the more so since the religious heritage of the Yamana not only proves rich, but also has a determining, guiding influence on the whole moral attitude of these Indians. It has been repeatedly pointed out, and must still be treated in detail, that all the moral obligations and the traditional customs are, after all, bound up with the Supreme Being.

By way of negative proof it can be convincingly shown that neither the navigators who lay at anchor for only hours or days in the Cape Horn region nor those Europeans who took individual Yamana to Europe with them offered actual religious instruction (16).

16. One may certainly assume that if Fitz-Roy,

/1082 cont./

775 human soul after death under the most disparate conditions imag-
797 inable, in sharp contrast to their own faith. I myself experienced
177 this. During a burial, while the corpse in the grave was being covered with earth, an old man, in the helplessness of his grief, turned to me with the following words which sounded very scornful: "There he lies, my cousin. And yet you Europeans say: 'Every corpse will leave its grave and become that which it was in life.' No, there is no such thing!" This man, like all his countrymen, was simply not to be converted to the new teachings of the missionaries; he clung to the traditions handed down by his forefathers. They always know how to make a sharp division between their own indigenous body of ideas and newly introduced, foreign conceptions or views.

Furthermore, a characteristic feature of the religious ideas
776 of our Fuegians is their pronounced simplicity. The Supreme Being even lacks a proper name. Every Yamana is named after his /1083/ birthplace (p. 536). Is it not logical, therefore, that "the-one-up-there" has no such name because he was not born in the homeland of our Indians? Instead they use circumlocutions as ordinary social conventions. The names for the Supreme Being emphasize particular characteristics which are, however, intensified to the utmost. In both directions, therefore, tribal customs with regard to name-giving are transferred to him. If here below an aged person is shown general respect, all the more is this due the foremost and true "old one," Watauinéiwa. Similarly, the few remaining characteristics applied to him are part of the everyday events and social customs of the Yamana people. The fact remains, however, that he is a spirit and therefore exhibits forms of being that differ from people here on earth. Nothing specific is known about these forms. Truly, the Fuegian is consistent in his simple thinking, even concerning his deity.

Finally the considerable number and the diversity of their
782 prayer formulas must be noted. The archaic wording speaks for
197 itself. The Indians themselves vouch for the great age of these
797 short sayings because they contain many words and word combinations that have long since disappeared from ordinary speech. In addition there is the opinion of the aged John Lawrence and his sons who were well versed in the language and several times expressed

/1083 cont. /

712 themselves along the same lines. John Lawrence, after he had
•197 examined those formulas for the first time, assured me emphati-
797 cally: "I have been associated with the Yamana for all of 53 years and I never learned anything whatever about this!" He examined them carefully and said afterward: "Neither the names for the native deity nor the prayer formulas disclose any kind of borrowing from our Christian conceptions. Everything throughout has the stamp of the original and genuine heritage of the Yamana!" He felt it necessary to point out emphatically and repeatedly that the words and grammatical construction of the prayer formulas are not current in the language spoken today (24).

> 24. The opportunity is open to everyone to examine these data, for we have Bridges' dictionary and a number of grammatical studies from the pen of Hestermann. Bridges' translations of the New Testament could also be used for comparison.

776 Stimulated by this new information, John Lawrence made
797 personal investigations which added to the material. He began by asking general questions about Watauinēiwa of this or that aged Indian, all of whom were friendly and confiding. Later when he discussed with other people the religious ideas and prayer formulas which were now familiar to him, he obtained the same result: "This heritage of ideas is an unadulterated, genuine, and unique possession of the /1084/ Yamana!" The whole discovery gave him sincere and lasting pleasure. He realized how much more favorably these greatly misunderstood Fuegians must be judged if they possess such a beautiful, pure conception of God and practice religion. In the twilight of its existence this much maligned people had the great satisfaction of knowing that now at last European circles will obtain full knowledge of this ancient Watauinēiwa faith. John Lawrence expressed his admiration for the research work and frankly confessed: "Even if I could live here another 50 or 100 years, the natives would not give me the trust that you enjoy among them!"

797 He viewed his long years of mission work, which had ended earlier, in the light of this unexpected experience. He was honest

/1460 cont./

192 114 completely absorbed by no less urgent tasks. Serious consideration should also be given to the fact that the language in use today has been altered and corrupted as a result of the banding together of the last survivors of the five original dialect groups and their contact with European culture. For example, their own word for "nothing" has dropped out of use completely, and old and young have substituted "nothing" /cited in English/ for it. I was thus faced with the lamentable fact that at the beginning of my journeys it was too late to record the pure, uncorrupted linguistic heritage of the Yamana. However, I was still able to determine the boundaries of the former dialect groups, as I called them (p. 199 /untranslated/), and the phonetic system. Compare Gusinde (s):1000.

This is not the place to describe in detail the more important 197 peculiarities of Yamana grammar. Nor need I repeat that in (hh): 183 I maintained that "the low stage of development of the language is in perfect agreement with the whole mental constitution of the Yamana as it is revealed in other areas. This does not in the least cast any doubt on the fact that these Indians, judged by their mental capacity, are fully mature human beings." For the time being one must regard Yamana as an isolated language which is not even closely related to neighboring Selk'nam and Halakwulup. Comparative studies will show whether Yamana can be related to the meager remains of a definite Chaco language.

193 Only the following characteristics of this language will be mentioned. The root and the word are seldom the same. Usually verb and noun are separated; this is less often true of adjective and substantive in the noun, but always of the pronoun. Word formation, as well as every other grammatical formation, occurs through the use of actual prefixes and suffixes. Verbs and nouns abound in formations. The richest of all is the pronoun; on this account it has a prominent place among all the other languages of the world. Nouns are monosyllabic and polysyllabic, the latter being always recognizable as compounds. Often prefix and suffix occur in the same formation. There is no grammatical gender, but number and case are all the more elaborate. The noun has three numbers: singular, dual, and plural, the last two being formed only with suffixes. The genitive is prominent.

/1460 cont./

193 The suffix added to the genitive, however, also occurs as objective case. The adjective changes in value by its mere position: if it precedes, it is /1461/ attributive; if it follows, it is predicative. The pronoun has a uniform root, but in form it differentiates verbal and personal, possessive and subjective. The diversity of all pronouns is surprisingly great, especially because designations of place are expressed in horizontal and vertical relationships and because the qualification "toward" as a prefix and "away from" as a suffix are joined with a single word (363).

> 363. It would lead too far afield to give examples of this; a good selection of them may be found in Hestermann (b), Bridges (k):235, and even more in Hyades (q):280.

The verb can be constructed from a nominal basis by numerous suffixes. Verbs can also be compounded and stand as coordinates. There are four conjugations according to the four different final vowels. The place variation of the noun as described above also extends in every respect to the entire verb. There are at least six different forms of verbal negation. As Hestermann declares, "the inflections briefly alluded to here, along with those affecting the noun, form a veritably inexhaustible phenomenon distinguished by consummate brevity of form as well as sensitive elegance. Yamana is a melodious type of Indian language, terse, rich, precise, and full of meaning." If, in this study, I •197 have several times mentioned dialect differences (p. 200 /untranslated/), I certainly did not mean substantial deviations between one group and another, but merely slight differences in words and appellations for the same thing, as well as in some sounds. These insignificant local peculiarities obviously do not constitute dialects in the strict sense of the word.

c. Artistic Sense

517 All the thoughts and endeavors of our water nomads on Cape Horn are directed toward the inescapable food quest; it almost completely absorbs the individual. Whatever remains of leisure

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S166 Yahgan S166

been a source of contention. Intelligent and amicably intended travelers through ignorance of native customs may easily wound native feelings to the point of rousing open hostility. Of the looting of ships and robbing of their crews, it is but just to remark that the Yahgan, although recognizing personal property, habitually shared their provisions with one another. Also, among primitive people in general the robbing or tricking of strangers often is considered entirely ethical or even especially deserving of praise, though the same performance at the expense of a relative or a friend might be condemned. The Yahgan have suffered in public esteem because their morality has been judged on the basis of Christian ethics.

Language

The Yahgan tongue, although it has been studied since the visit of Darwin, as yet is thought to be related to no other New World language. Through missionary labors, chiefly those of the Rev. Thomas Bridges, three large vocabularies have been compiled. Of these one containing about 4000 words on 137 pages in Mr. Bridges' handwriting is still in possession of the Bridges family in Tierra del Fuego. It covers only eleven initial letters. Inside the front cover is written: "Begun this June 19th, 1879." A second vocabulary compiled by Mr. Bridges, aided by several by members of the English mission, contains about 12,000 words. It is now in possession of the Rev. John Williams in Punta Arenas. Finally, there exists in Belgium a Yahgan vocabulary in two volumes of about 32,430 words written on 1081 pages. It is the result of Mr. Bridges' life-long contact with the Yahgan extending from 1856 until his death in 1898. During his later years, according to his sons, he was continually working over this manuscript. After his death it was lent to Dr. Frederick A. Cook, who had been to Tierra del Fuego with the Belgian Antarctic expedition in 1897 and 1899. Cook removed the manuscript to Belgium, where it has since remained. Plans for its publication were interrupted by the World War.

For printed source-material in Yahgan, students are further indebted to Mr. Bridges for translations of the gospels of St. Luke and St. John, and the Acts of the Apostles. All these, as well as his manuscript dictionaries, are written in the Ellis alphabet. The Rev. John Williams of Punta Arenas has translated the collects and morning and evening prayers into Yahgan, and also has

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 published a broadsheet with the Lord's prayer. Both are written in the ordinary alphabet with a ˘ to denote the short vowels and soft g.

194 As for the nature of the Yahgan tongue, in direct contrast to Ona, it is soft and pleasant to the ear. There is a great abundance of vowel sounds, and the pronunciation of consonants presents no difficulties. The line between *p* and *b* is loosely drawn. There is a soft and a hard g, and also a soft *ch* sound (*q*).

197 According to Mr. Fred. Lawrence, of Remolino, generally regarded as the best living authority on the Yahgan language, in the old days there were five distinct dialects, distributed as follows:

1. Central dialect, including Ushuaia and Murray narrows. This is the speech recorded in the Bridges dictionaries.
2. Eastern dialect, spoken from Harberton eastward and on Lennox island, New island, etc.
3. Western dialect, found from Cape Divide westward.
4. Wollaston Islands dialect.
5. New Year's Sound dialect, spoken to the south and west of False Cape Horn and on the southern part of Hoste island.

These dialects are said to have differed from one another as much as Scotch from Cockney; that is to say, they were mutually intelligible but there was wide variation in accent and the choice of words. Thus the double-barbed harpoon is *wafši* in the west and *wek* in the east; the fish-spear is *wahdwuio* in the east and *akaakróya* in the central dialect; bark of the *Nothofagus betuloides* is *aiirsku* in the east and *aiirskus* at Ushuaia; a sling is *wutarud* in the east and *wutend* in the central dialect, etc. Today it is difficult to know just what dialect one is hearing, because the few surviving Yahgan live together much of the time and have fused their speech. However, the fact that considerable divergence once existed within such a small geographical limit indicates that but little movement of the tribe as a whole had taken place for centuries, at least.

115 The Yahgan words in the present text were obtained chiefly from Mr. William Bridges and Mr. Fred. Lawrence, who speak the central dialect; from William, born at Halupai (see fig. 98); from Walter, a Lennox islander; from Charley, son of a Haush called Iniith and a Yahgan woman; from Mary, a westerner. The four Indians mentioned were all mission-reared and therefore today

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

type, because several other specimens have been published by Bove (1883) and Hyades (1891). The general shape of these points is similar to that of modern Ona arrowpoints and ancient stone points from eastern Tierra del Fuego. Yahgan workmanship, on the whole, is cruder than Ona, and to the writer's knowledge no points have been found on the south coast equal to the delicate blade illustrated in fig. 40.

4. Hammerstones, Anvils, Grease Stones.—Every Yahgan family carried an oval water-worn stone which was used for a variety of purposes, such as hammering. These stones (fig. 70) may be picked up at every ancient camp-site.

5. Bone Tools.—Bone tools of modern type sometimes are found in shellheaps under conditions implying considerable antiquity.

Age of Archeological Remains

The age of the archeological remains on Beagle channel is a problem that has intrigued the writer from the moment of his arrival there, and every effort was made to collect data for its solution. *It should be frankly stated at the outset of this discussion* that there is no exact answer, but it is nevertheless possible to deduce an approximate figure. There are several methods by which the problem may be attacked; thus we shall discuss (1) the variations in Yahgan speech, (2) known historical movements in other parts of South America, (3) the internal evidence of age in Fuegian shellheaps, and finally (4) their probable rate of accumulation.

1. Antiquity of the Yahgan Dialects

As explained above, the Yahgan spoke five distinct though mutually intelligible dialects. This is rather surprising because (a) they were a roving people occupying only a small territory, (b) they were exogamous, and (c) the total population was only about 3000 individuals. Assuming, as seems probable, that the Yahgan reached Tierra del Fuego more or less as a unit speaking a single tongue, how long did it take them to modify their language in five distinct ways?

In the more civilized parts of the world linguistic change also has taken place, and, because language is not only spoken but written, the archaic forms are preserved and can be studied. For instance, the breaking up of Latin into the modern Romance

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S116 Yahgan S116

languages, mutually intelligible only to a very slight extent, can be observed and checked in various stages. In this instance the Latin tongue was grafted on the native speech of various conquered peoples, who undoubtedly pronounced it from the beginning with local flavor so that the separation into dialects began at the outset, its course being retarded by the educated classes. Latin, however, was spoken over a very wide area with relatively poor communications, hence there existed every facility for rapid linguistic change.

The contrast between this condition and that of the Yahgan is obvious. We should not expect the Yahgan dialects to differ nearly so much in a given time as the Romance tongues. In fact, granted the circumstance, it is surprising that there were any Yahgan dialects at all. The very presence of these Yahgan dialects shows that the tribe had remained stationary as a whole for a great many centuries at least.

2. CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

The Yahgan are the southernmost unit of a group of primitive fisherfolk who at various times have lived on the west coast of South America. In southern Peru this fishing population was displaced by the rise of the typically Peruvian agriculturists who later built the great structures seen in ruins today on that coast. While there is yet no exact chronology for Peruvian archeology, the two leading authorities, Tello[1] and Uhle,[2] agree that this event must have materialized at least 2000 years ago in order to explain the known stratigraphy of Peruvian remains.

It is a far cry from Peru to Tierra del Fuego, but in the displacement of the Peruvian coastal population there is an ostensible cause for the general shunting to the south of all the coastal peoples. If, as we shall presently show, Fuegian camp-sites give evidence of occupancy at that remote period, then we may at least tentatively consider that the displacement of the Peruvian fisherman and the settlement of Fuegia are correlated, because this change of population in Peru is the only remote migration in South America which archeology has definitely yielded to the realm of history.

In Chile there seems to have taken place a similar displacement of the early population by the Araucanian tribes. Stratigraphical

[1] Julio C. Tello, Introducción á la Historia Antigua del Perú, Lima, 1922.
[2] Max Uhle, Los Principios de las Antiguas Civilizaciones Peruanas; *Boletín de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Históricos Americanos*, IV, no. 12, Quito, 1926.

/941 cont./

leather strap so tightly around him that he cannot move his limbs, and leave him lying a half day or longer at the smaller exit, the so-called alin. At the same time, of course, he gets nothing to eat or drink. This effective measure never fails. Finally, the guard's assistants have the habit of suddenly emerging singly in front of the Great Hut with the leather strap in hand simply to intimidate the people in the dwellings by their threatening attitude. Their appearance is not without effect on the children.

They, as well as the winefkwa, have a definite call, familiar to everyone. It is a short ho ho ho..., repeated several times on the same high tone. At night the guard gives this a particularly threatening inflection to warn old and young against approaching in the dark.

The two huts, as well as the guard duty, have now been prepared. Meanwhile the individual families have arrived at the site of the festivities and have built their dwellings. There is nothing more to hinder the opening of the planned ceremony following the traditional arrangements.

c. Procedure of the Ceremony

All previous reports have made it sufficiently clear that the initiation of Yamana youth is by no means merely training for the actual candidates. Far beyond that it is also an affair for adults, offering all kinds of special features. This latter subordinate goal does not overshadow the main goal, nor does it hinder its attainment. Rather, both, at first glance, seem necessarily bound together, although basically they are far apart. It takes little effort for each participant to separate the arrangements and activities that serve either the one goal or the other, but in order to /942/ obtain an over-all picture of the variety making up the cicaxa celebration and to take account of all the details, I have arranged them in the following report according to general points of view and describe them as individual aspects of the whole. Thus they can be definitely judged and fairly evaluated according to their individual worth.

In this connection, of course, the treatment of the candidates takes up the most space. It deserves this for its own sake. For

X881 /896 cont./
it were. A person who disregards what we tell him, who becomes
869 lazy and bad, will have something like earth sticking to him.
776 This something will make him weak, dull, tired, and he will die in a very short time. Everyone who reveals the happenings in the čiéxaus hut can expect the same [fate]. Our ancestors used the following example: 'Behold the cormorants! There they sit pressed close together on high rocks along the shore. They are also conducting their čiéxaus. They discuss their way of life and their duties, each one adjusts to them. Thus they live together (320)

> 320. This means that their life together is possible and their living assured on the basis of dutiful, definite conduct. -- It is extraordinary for the Yamana that reference is made here to an example from the animal kingdom.

and find their food. When their young leave the nest as fledglings, they at first follow their parents for a while. Later they enter their čiéxaus, where they are taught and are attentive. If a young one stays behind and does not join its parents, it does not find anything to eat by itself. It does not learn properly how to obtain food; it becomes weak, cannot follow the others [the adult birds], and soon perishes. After all, they must be obedient and follow everything faithfully, then their life is secure and they have enough to eat, they are gay and happy. In the same way the uśwała must let themselves be taught by the old people and must adjust to everything [to all regulations].'

X881 "But a person who pays no attention to this is, as we have
869 said, punished by Yetźita /897/ and taken away by him [through
776 an untimely death]. It is good to implant the fear of him in the candidates! For now they will more faithfully follow all the teachings and will live as good, industrious human beings. That
• 198 is why they are often threatened with this villain! Finally the uśwała believe that he is really present. The old people strengthen this belief of the candidates by all kinds of delusions. For example, they pretend that Yetźita makes his voice heard (321). This

> 321. This is done in the following way. A man places himself flat on the ground and leans his face

X881 /897 cont./
869
776
198

against his hands which rest on his little fingers and encircle his mouth. This creates a small hollow space into which he yells a long drawn-out, howling sound. At a slight distance this sound seems to come from the interior of the earth.

Sometimes this howling is interrupted by a quick drumming on the ground with both fists. While this hocus-pocus is going on, all those present remain motionless. Beforehand the heads of the candidates have been covered with a scrap of leather.

helps to increase their fear and terror. Later, if they take part in an initiation, they plainly see (322) that such calls only come

322. Now, as adults, they are fully qualified participants who may carefully examine everything that takes place.

from the men, who in this way conjure up Yetáʌta for the uswáʌla. This realization does not destroy anything for them now, for they are already on the right path, which they will follow in the future also" (323).

323. This is supposed to mean that the fear and terror implanted earlier in the candidate through the appearance of this evil spirit were not without effect, but put him so firmly on the right path that he will not deviate from it even when he recognizes the true nature of this scary device.

X881 I should like to insert here a remark for which I am indebted
869 to old Whaits. He pointed out that one must respectfully esteem
776 all the decrees of the číexaus. "A person who does not hold this opinion is devoured by Yetáʌta who sits in the earth. We teach outsiders this wholesome fear so that they will not approach the Great Hut; we threaten that they will be seized by this spirit.

/910 cont./

X881 the individuals have calmed their inner excitement at the dances
577 each evening. These are the occasions when everyone is free
513 to get up and, to the accompaniment of the dance movements,
[152] loudly pour out his feelings and impulses. Sometimes this is done with profound, trembling emotion. Accordingly, it is late before those present can lie down to sleep, but they can do so earlier in case they have spent the day in tiring work and hunting. When quiet has been restored after the final lively dance movements and everyone has resumed his place, the leader, with a
[198] vigorous, drawn-out hṓ ho ho ho hō, gives the sign for the night's rest. They all join in the same call and, in a somewhat softer voice, repeat this hṓ ho ho ho hō. Immediately most of them wrap themselves in their covers and lie down to sleep. One or another of them will remain seated if he feels so inclined and continue the customary song in a low, soft voice.

X881 Their sleep is not entirely quiet, however, for the song may
513 never cease entirely and the many people lie close together. Our Yamana are used to this. In the early morning the candidates are awakened by their sponsors and immediately sit up again. After another one and a half to three hours, about six o'clock, the adults get up. The leader himself gets up when he thinks it is time and again gives the long, lusty call hṓ ho ho ho hō which he made the night before as the signal for going to sleep. At this summons the others also end their rest (333). The general move-

333. This happened at my first initiation in accordance with the old custom. Two years later, lively Santiago awakened the candidates, including myself, at about five o'clock with a thundering voice. The adults were allowed to sleep for another good hour, while a few women arranged the feeble fire.

ment in the Great Hut rouses the last sleepers. Everyone immediately gets up, straightens his sleeping-place, and squats down
X881 again. /911/ He rubs the sleep out of his eyes with his finger
515 and then combs his hair. This is the whole of the morning toilette. Formerly most of the people went outside to a brook and washed, the uǐwāala being accompanied by their sponsors. Nowadays all

/682 cont./

593 Bridges' (h):210 words, "...in general family life is happy and correct" /translated from Spanish/, apply to the relations between the two spouses. They are attached to each other by genuine love. Affection and the desire for love brought them together in marriage, and the things they have done for each other have constantly increased their mutual esteem, so that after a few years they consciously or unconsciously live for one another's happiness (74). They exchange their thoughts and plans; they

74. According to Lovisato's (b):146 unauthoritative opinion, the wife of a Fuegian means no more to him than "a means for having children; we cannot say that she is the equal of the man, not even his slave, although she is given the most painful work" /translated from Italian/. Hyades (p):332, on the other hand, says: "The woman whose conduct is good is independent and respected" /translated from French/. This is the truth!

discuss their own experiences and their observations of their children; they avoid being separated for long and are filled with bitter sorrow if one of them falls sick or dies. From time to time
593 one of them will make the other happy with some surprise or will
201 express the customary, very modest but always effective tenderness. This is limited to a gentle stroking of the cheeks or individual parts of the body, or they lean their head together and move close to each other (75). Everyone is very receptive toward

75. From this account one should correct what Spegazzini (a):166 maintained: "... caresses and kissing are completely unknown among these people" /translated from Spanish/. Parents are certainly not sparing with kisses for their infant (p. 514).

/682 cont./

593 demonstrations of love on the part of his spouse (76), the one

> 76. Hyades (d):308 confirms that "the Fuegians are very capable of feeling love and jealousy" /translated from French/.

more, the other less, according to personal inclination. In this respect Mary seemed to me most conspicuously tender and solicitous of her Robert, whereas not the least reason why old Pedro curtailed all social intercourse with other families was because he wanted to belong only to his very jealous wife (77).

> 77. Our Fuegians avoid passionate outpourings of emotion. If Lovisato (b):146 had been aware of this, he would never have come to the false conclusion that "conjugal love does not exist" /translated from Italian/.

683 According to the reliable intimations that I received, the Yamana practice moderation in their sex life and perform the sexual act in /683/ the normal position (78). To maintain that

> 78. Hyades (q):187 confirms that "among adult Fuegians sexual functions are performed with moderation...The women are as moderate as the men in their demand for sexual pleasure" /translated from French/.

this is the influence of their diet is probably inadequate; there is a greater effect from the constant cool and damp atmosphere than many people suspect. Also it should be noted that the man and wife tire themselves physically almost every day. If they are very weary, they abstain from sexual pleasure and make up for it when they rest for a few days at one place (79).

> 79. A false statement by Bove (e):158, quoted in footnote 38, is further exaggerated by Lovisato (b):150 in the following

/714 cont./

854 her suggestions if it is required for the child's welfare. His wife becomes even dearer to him because of her efforts and care for the child, and from one confinement to the next he appreciates her more. This increases the regard for her among the whole family.

Once more we should like to emphasize that children are the 854 joy of their parents' life. This is what Hyades (p):331 means when 201 he says: "Parents love their children very much" /translated from French/. His assertion, "They caress them very rarely, practically never /translated from French/, is, however, false. True, in another place Hyades (f):586 is right when he says, "they do not know how to kiss" /translated from French/, but parents frequently do press their mouths or their entire faces against the head and face of the infant, pick it up with both hands under its shoulders and lift it high, pass their fingers playfully over its entire body when it lies on its back, and finally provide it with all kinds of happy visual impressions by means of pantomime. They also give their darling a real kiss, ūpášu, on the /715/ cheeks, which has been customary since ancient times between parents and their newborn child -- not, however, between adults. By and large, they dandle and play with their small child exactly the way European parents do. With them, however, all this goes on soundlessly, and they are less tempestuous in their caresses. For the sake of the baby, the parents carefully observe all the restrictions imposed on them before and after confinement (140). The death of a child is viewed as an irreplace-

140. Bridges (a):183 reports: "Should a sucking child fall sick, its sickness is sure to be attributed to something the mother has eaten, who, under these circumstances, does not eat whale blubber" /cited in English/.

able loss.

736 If a mother dies soon after her delivery, another woman will 854 be most willing to take charge of the orphaned baby immediately. Almost always this is done by one of the closest relatives, usually an aunt. The father actually does not have to bother about finding a nurse himself. Purely out of sympathy for the orphan, many women vie for it. No matter who takes it, it is just as safe and well

/908 cont./

X881 577 is why almost all the adults can recall without a gap the exhortations that they received when they were candidates. Compare the examples given above on page 724.

X881 577 524 Their own desire is directed toward undisturbed self-reflection which is possible only through an enduring silence. Long conversations in the čiǰexaus hut are not permitted. One may say whatever is necessary, but always briefly and in a low voice. This is done in such a way that it hardly seems as though a person is requesting something of another or asking his neighbor for something. Persons who are sitting farther /909/ apart resort to [201] unobtrusive signs. The čiǰexaus hut is not the place to have a heart-to-heart talk or to chat. Nevertheless, since olden times it has been regarded as proper for related persons or friends to visit with each other, and during the first few days most of those present take advantage of this freedom. One person will leave his place and sit beside the person with whom he wishes to talk. He chats inconspicuously and in a very low voice, afterwards creeping back to his place. The hours just before and after the noon hour are chosen for these visits, but the conversation is usually terminated after a brief hour.

A person addressed by an outsider sometimes lets him know how annoyed he is to have been torn from meditation. He will answer briefly without relaxing his attitude of concentration. To begin with everyone is careful never to approach a person unless it is absolutely necessary. The late afternoon hours until shortly X881 before the nocturnal dances and games are a period of especially 577 serious concentration. This is also the time for the instruction of the candidates, during which the adults, without exception, are very quiet. During the forenoon when the ulwala are sometimes practicing outside the Great Hut or are busy getting food, one or another of the old people will devote himself to some minor manual occupation, and some of the women will occasionally look after things in their dwellings. Inside, however, the same calm prevails as during the afternoon, and anyone meditatively pursuing his own thoughts will not be disturbed.

X881 As for the candidates, they are expected not to move at all 577 (p. 707). Even the adults, however, maintain an almost motionless 516

/909 cont./

X881 posture. Everyone stays in the seat he chose for himself at the
S77 beginning, where he remains quietly and stiffly, avoids all un-
516 necessary movement, and almost continuously stares into space in front of him. He does not turn his head in all directions nor does he move his whole body back and forth. Even at night when the dances are going on, no matter whether a single person is moving about or several at a time, some persons continue to concentrate in their squatting position and do not even lift their eyes. A person who is doing some urgent manual work avoids making any kind of noise or noticeable movement. If someone would disturb his neighbors by making something, he must leave the ξiξaxas hut to do it. The individual has every right to expect that his reflections will not be disturbed in any way by other participants. Everyone is concerned about this even before the start of the affair.

X881 With the same purpose in mind, the leader gives his in-
S77 structions to individual adults only in brief, unobtrusive words or
201 solely by means of signs. All of them are very good at this and there is no misunderstanding. The sponsors communicate with their protégés in the same way; even outside the Great Hut, in the chores and exercises, they limit themselves to only the most necessary words. A /910/ stranger can hardly believe how many thoughts, wishes, and directions these children of nature reliably communicate to one another by means of inconspicuous signs.

X881 2. Sleeping. In other respects, too, the adults quite no-
S77 ticeably restrain themselves by giving in very little or not at all
513 to comfort. In his own dwelling, as we know, everyone stretches out on his bed as he pleases, rolls from one side to another, and exuberantly extends his limbs in all directions. Here in the ξiξaxas hut, however, a person does not dare behave in even a slightly relaxed fashion. If an old person now and then becomes very tired, he lies down, curls up, and remains motionless. He is gladly permitted a brief rest. Younger people must remain upright during the day.

Our Yamana are unfamiliar with the pressure of a schedule because they are dominated primarily by the mood of the moment. The entire group of participants does not get to sleep until

/1011 cont./

5Th that everybody in the vicinity knows about it. A person who be-
264 haves too greedily and hastily at meals, who audibly drinks and smacks, is unquestionably regarded as a glutton and sacrifices a great deal of standing. When one is hungry, he cleverly feigns otherwise and fills his stomach without making his hosts consciously aware of it. Very early Despard (b):680 observed this attractive trait: "They hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'small-eater'" /cited in English/. In this respect they are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 474).

When the Fuegians are by themselves, however, or in the
264 small circle of most intimate friends, their great voracity occasionally breaks all bounds, and the sight is sometimes repulsive even to their own countrymen (p. 331). As is well known, they grasp the usually very hot piece of meat /1012/ with their hands, put it to their mouths, and tugging hard, they tear off thick pieces with their teeth. The abundant blubber and meat juice ooze out of both corners of their mouths, and thick drops of it fall on their torsos and thighs. They rub it on their faces and bodies and lick their sticky fingers with their tongues. The scene around a stranded whale is almost disgusting, for everyone discards the customary cautious self-control and stuffs himself with such large amounts that his taut belly stands out prominently. In drinking, which
271 was formerly limited to water, no one need restrain himself. The Yamana drink large quantities daily.

Ordinary visits are quiet and without ceremony. The visitor
5Th enters the hut, looks around, and sits down near the fire. Con-
5Th siderable time goes by before the owner of the hut addresses him, and then there is another interval before the visitor consents to converse or to make known his reason for coming. He leaves again just as wordlessly. Certain forms of greeting, however, are
5Th customary among them (432): when they are separating to go long
201

432. Therefore I reject what Spegazzini (a):166 says, for example, and what Despard (b):696 maintained in the following words: "There are no gestures of affection amongst them; they neither kiss, rub noses, nor shake hands. Nevertheless, the affection exists, and is strong" /cited in English/. The former

/1012 cont./

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> however, admits: "Although there are no manifestations of love, neither kisses nor caresses, it nevertheless is much in evidence" /translated from Spanish/.

distances, when they have not seen each other for a long time, when they pass each other in their canoes without stopping, and when they have spent some time together happily. Intimate friends, whether men or women, rush impetuously toward each other after a long separation, embrace enthusiastically, and shake each other with impulsive hugs. They utter only sounds of joy, not definite words of greeting, until they let each other go. Snow: I, 346, for example, experienced the heartiness of their embrace: "It was in their friendly hugs that I felt most of their power, and the unpleasantness of too close a contact. The strength displayed in these hugs was greater than I could have supposed. It was, indeed, no joke to have this manifestation of their good-will. It was like being pressed in a wedge" /cited in English/. Adults do not kiss, but even today, just as formerly, women and, occasionally, men press their mouths hard against the cheek of a baby among their relatives. This type of kiss, ūpāšu (433),

> 433. Hence the assertion of Spegazzini (a): 186, for example, or of Hyades (p):334 that "the kiss is quite unknown" /translated from French/ is incorrect. BD:181 translates the above expression as follows: "to make any smacking noise with the lips or mouth, or fingers, to kiss" /cited in English/.

means affectionate intimacy between parents and their darlings (p.114).

5Tb

Anyone who takes formal leave says loudly, "hāla, yĕlla, I am going away"; according to BD:263, "I'm off, I'm going away" /cited in English/. According to BD:263, hāla kātakīa, meaning "I will go, i.e., I will wait no longer, I think I had better go" /cited in English/, is more explicit, as is hāla yellīa ołīa. As Bridges (bbb:VII,118;1872) reliably maintains, /1013/ this is "the only form of farewell known here" /cited in English/.

/1015 cont./

551 If matters pertaining to a specific person come up in the conversation, his name is not mentioned but is indicated by circumlocutions. The Yamana are particularly adept at this. Two men or women are all the more likely to do it when, in low tones, they discuss someone present. A person is never addressed or called by his first name; this also applies to children. People 192 who are fond of each other avoid flirtatious and endearing expressions in front of others. Also, no one shows his dislike for another 201 person. The Yamana do not have expletives and swear words. They roar with laughter, double up and roll convulsively on the floor. When they answer in the affirmative, they utter a deep n sound between closed lips and slowly raise their heads; they express a negative with a long drawn-out "bif."

It is not only improper but very serious to poke fun at anyone 576 present in such a way that he himself becomes aware of it. Peo- 574 ple who have a guest from distant parts are extraordinarily careful not to arouse the least suspicion that they are disparaging or disdainful about his countrymen or his country. They are governed primarily by the fear that out of revenge for bad treatment the strange visitors might cause them much harm through their yĕkamuĭ at home and might refuse to help anyone from this group who later came to them. They do not have this fear toward children. 522 Since the Yamana /1016/ have a tendency toward ridicule and 576 sarcasm, however, they do not hold back critical and joking opinions in front of those who cannot properly defend themselves. In March, 1923, I had sent a boat from Beagle Channel to the Wollaston Islands with a special message. After a few days it brought back a lad about ten years old, whom Gertie took in temporarily. On the very first evening I saw how all the people present openly made fun of the boy's unfamiliar accent. He spoke the pure southern dialect (p. 200 /untranslated/) of the Yĕkusinĭala /southern group/. When I expressed my astonishment that they were deviating from their customary behavior, they justified themselves: "That boy speaks a different language than we do. Some words we don't understand. Everything he says sounds so strange that it makes us laugh! After all, he is still young and small, so he can't hurt us if we openly show our amusement!" No one would dare behave this way toward adults from distant regions. When the guests have departed, however, intimate

/1442 cont./

153 This healthy curiosity is combined with a goodly measure of desire for knowledge and aptitude for being taught.

151 In the development of their sensory activity the Fuegians by far surpass us Europeans, and the acuteness of their senses sometimes amazes us, as all critics agree. The sharp eyes of the Yamana miss practically nothing, not the least change, no matter how insignificant, along his path, in his tools, in another person. With sure judgment he recognizes the tracks and traces of animals along the ground, as well as the occupants of a canoe appearing on the horizon. His eye is unerring in observations close at hand or at a distance. Even in old age everyone enjoys excellent vision, although some older people become farsighted, so that if they are looking at or working over smaller objects they must hold them farther away from their eyes. The eyes of the natives can stand direct sunlight and strong light from the hut fire far better than would be possible for European eyes. Hyades (f):580 and (p):329 declares: "The Fuegians have satisfactory visual acuity and...they are, in general, gifted with a great power of accommodation" /translated from French/. Darwin (f):I,43 affirms briefly from his experience: "I had ample opportunity to observe the extraordinary eyesight of the Fuegians" (353). Their amazing skill in sign language must also

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353. He (d):239 also says by way of supplement: "Their eyesight was remarkably acute. York and Yemmy both were considerably superior to all the sailors on board; several times they said what some distant object was, and, although everyone doubted it, they proved to be right when the object was examined through a telescope. They were well aware of this ability." Bove (c):125 and others agree.

be mentioned here. In a way unintelligible to others they can reliably send even important messages to a person and transmit them to the person for whom they /1443/ are intended. This explains the mistrust of everyone toward all those who form a

/1446 cont./

435 Europeans, and therefore no one should find it strange that the Indians neither protect nor take good care of costly or rare objects. It is quite generally true that they do not handle their tools carefully or protect them; they carelessly trust their own ability and manufacture what they need without much trouble. Any kind of wealth and an accumulation of objects would be nothing more than a burden to them.

Their material possessions are amazingly meager. Hence 802 they can do without numbers even more easily than without a complicated scale of value. There are definite designations: one = yékili; two = kompíjne; and three = mítten. In general the Yamana do not count beyond that. They designate anything beyond three as wítu = much. "Very much" is designated either as wítu wítu or čílla wítu. For an extraordinary amount the expression manísna wítu is used. A few compounds are also used to express numbers above three. They say yékili yéf, "one hand," and kompíj yéf "two hands," which mean "five" and "ten," respectively. BD:220 gives dauéli, "a few as from five to twenty" /cited in English/. A few other forms are also given in BD. Constructions such as mítten čílla mítten probably first arose under the influence of Europeans. Compare Hyades (Q):217. If the Yamana wish to express a figure beyond three, they prefer to use their fingers, and they indicate the number by shaking the specific finger, without forming or expressing a special word for the number. Our Fuegians are unacquainted with measures of length and height. To indicate an insignificant length they make a fist with both hands and, by holding them apart, show the specified length. At the same time they say kefúmka, from kefúm = like this here, míka = long. The Yamana do not strive for any particular accuracy either in counting or measuring.

192 A few words that our Indians use as exclamations should be 281 mentioned briefly. If they agree with a word or a request, they utter a faint ɣ, without opening the mouth; sometimes they also bow the head slightly. If they are very much interested, they utter a loud ɣii = good, right, very well; or an excited ías = yes, yes; finally, /1447/ wíf = splendid, excellent. They lack what we imply with "no." If a person does not agree with the words of

/1447 cont./

another, he remains silent and motionless; sometimes he turns his head gently to the left and at the same time utters a barely perceptible ɣ. Compare Hyades (op.)247.

2. Time Designations

The differences between day and night and between one season and the next are too great for our Fuegians not to have designated them with special words. They do not have an expression corresponding exactly to "day": they use mɨɨle = light, brightness. From this they derive the much used mɨɨlen = daily, and a number of other compounds. Compare BD:251. Although the Yamana do not have a definite division of time in hours, they divide the day into sections of about four hours. They say thóka or mɨɨle tuyéne for the time from dawn to the time when the sun is about halfway to the zenith, that is, about ten o'clock. The basic meaning of thóka is "dawn." BD: 100 gives tuyéne as "to spread as light does so that day is spread abroad" /cited in English/. This is followed by yíkuepe mɨɨle, noontide, from ten to two o'clock. Compare yíuuis, "to come over..." /cited in English/ in BD:612. Then comes kéuighuene, the afternoon, the time to about six o'clock. BD:181 gives kéuiuere, "to get distant, to go a long way off" /cited in English/. This is followed by yíkum íkagíne, the time of evening twilight until about nine o'clock. The Yamana are familiar with all these expressions.

They also divide up the night. The above-mentioned íkagíne is followed by íkóla, the time from the first darkness to midnight. This is followed by the period yíuuepe íkóla, from midnight to about three o'clock. Finally there is mɨɨkepe yepéíkene, the time when it grows light in the morning, between three and seven o'clock. Although these expressions are universally understood, an expert on the stars will now and then also indicate the time of night by their position in the sky.

The Yamana divide the year into definitely recognizable, though not sharply separated periods which they appropriately call seasons. Nature appears in a different garb four times, the change

752 /398 cont./

The whole of the lower part of her body was badly burnt, in some places the bones were exposed" /cited in English/.

585 It is not surprising that the entire surface of the body of these Indians and also every larger object they use exudes a penetrating odor of smoke. Moreover, the uncovered parts of their body become deeply tanned. I observed that my own face and hands became colored after only a few days of frequent visits to the Indian huts. This change disappeared only after persistent, thorough scrubbing with soap and warm water for a few weeks at home.

/399/ Our Indians do not use special material for illumina-
373 tion. The weak light given off by the fire suffices. They do not work at night anyway. If a light is necessary to look for something or to examine something, they strip off a handful of the brush with which their hut is covered and place it on the fire which immediately flames up brightly. In order to light a path in the dark, they wave a dry, smoldering piece of bark back and forth until it flares up. Signal fires serve to convey messages over a
• [202] long distance and have special meaning.

The Indian roasts and fries his food at the fire and also
372 melts his whale blubber there. He never eats animal food raw. Finally, he needs the fire for some of his handiwork. With fire, he makes rushes flexible for the braiding of baskets and ropes; he bends the large pieces of bark for his canoe; he dries raw materials and implements before or during their utilization; he fells hollow tree trunks by burning them out, and so forth (63).

63: For the manifold uses of fire by these Indians, see Hyades (q):345. In Volume I, page 207, I have described how the Selk'nam make use of it.

The Tamana could probably do without their clothing and their miserable hut on the frosty Cape Horn archipelago, but they could never give up their open fire in the hut and in the canoe (64).

64. "As life is impossible here without fire, the

/619 cont./

582

kept at it for hours and would not be fatigued. In fact, in all kinds of sailor's work the Fuegians show an uncommon skill, and this occupation obviously affords them entertainment."

It would be unjust to dispute the fact that the Yamana are daring seafarers. It takes great courage and presence of mind to set out in the light, unready bark boat with the waves high and with the rapid weather changes of their country, feared even by European seamen (432). In spite of this, they have pushed forward

432. These daring canoeists were marveled at by many Europeans. Loviisato (b):135 wrote: "With these poor boats they do not fear the disastrous hazards on high seas" /translated from Italian/. Other opinions are even more laudatory of the Yamana.

as far as the Islas de Ilidefonso, as Bridges (k):233 assures us. One can see these islands distinctly from Seno Año Nuevo in clear weather. We cannot accuse them of cowardice, with Pickering: 19, because they have not visited the Falkland Islands, for these lie far beyond their field of vision. On the open sea there are almost no game animals; why, then, venture out so far? It is only when a sick or dead whale is floating in the waves that many canoes go far from shore, if there is the slightest hope that they can reach it. Near the outlying islands and in the inner channels the Indian family finds all higher and lower animals needed for their subsistence. They are obliged to go after them almost every day. Hence we are fully justified in calling the Yamana genuine water nomads.

Despite all their skill and precaution, occasionally a family would lose their canoe when they looked for eggs or cormorants on a low island without being able to moor their vessel securely beforehand. Usually they had no choice but to summon strangers [320] with smoke signals. Hyades was right when he said (g):36: "The loss of their canoe renders a Fuegian family completely helpless

/1020 cont./

213 in various ways, and it sometimes happens that even the report of a death or a murder is false, which causes grave complications and unnecessary excitement (440). Since messages travel very

> 440. Stirling (VS:X, 198;1863) tells of an example. In the Wulaia region the rumor spread that Ukokko and his family, whose home was there, had been shipwrecked at Picton Island and murdered by the people living there. Without delay Ukokko's brother, along with a few friends, set out on an expedition for revenge and found himself in a very awkward situation when it became known that Ukokko had not been molested at all.

quickly in all directions, it is obvious that on certain occasions a large number of families flock together with amazing speed.

• 202 On special occasions this rather simple news service is supplemented by a few signal fires. BD:64 writes "xgina, Signal smoke or fires" /cited in English/. Earlier, Bridges (a):213 had already mentioned: "They signal to one another by fires, which they are very expert in making" /cited in English/. In reality it is less a fire than a thick cloud of smoke with which a signal is given. It is made in such a way that it cannot be confused with the ordinary smoke of the hut fire. First, rather thick pieces of dry wood are brought to a faint glow. Meanwhile the natives gather many branches of the evergreen beech (Nothofagus betuloides), which are the length of an arm and covered with dense foliage. A large bundle of these branches is then gathered together and pressed down on the glowing fire. Now no flame can arise, but a thick cloud of smoke immediately ascends. When it has reached a height of about five meters, the fire is quickly put out, and, as though cut off, the balloon-shaped cloud rises perpendicularly into the air. The thick mass of smoke remains intact for a long time, reaches a considerable height, and is recognizable for some distance as an actual signal. If /1021/ it did not have this balloon-shape but rose up in a long column or even as an irregularly shaped smudge,

/1933 cont./

282 it would remind one of a forest fire.

If the Yamana let a single cloud of smoke, [illegible] [illegible], rise up, they are announcing a serious illness or an accident and want other people, above all the [illegible], to bring help soon. In order to make two to four clouds of smoke, they previously prepare the corresponding number of fires which are placed about four meters apart. With two smoke clouds, [illegible] [illegible], they announce a condition of serious distress that might be caused by all kinds of reasons, for example, loss of the canoe and the hunting implements or serious damage to them, the loss of the hut fire, or total lack of food. Three smoke clouds, [illegible] [illegible], announce a death. With four smoke clouds, [illegible] [illegible], they announce that a whale is stranded. Finally it is customary to let one or more large smoke clouds ascend as a farewell to Europeans. They prepared this pleasure for me personally on two different occasions, when once a Chilean cutter, and the next time the "Garibaldi," picked me up in Punta Remolino and carried me westward. On the trip past Puerto Mejillones on the southern coast of Beagle Channel this sign of a final greeting arose with unmistakable distinctness. Long before, in March, 1834, Darwin (d) 263 was honored in this strange fashion. On the last visit of the "Beagle," after the well-known Jemmy "had reached land, he lit a signal fire, the smoke rose up and gave us a final and long farewell as the ship was on its way out to the open sea." The Yamana do not, however, greet each other with smoke signals; they use them only for the above reasons.

476 From the duty of mutual assistance there has arisen the rule that everyone must respond to an invitation for a common search for food, which applies particularly when a few men decide to search for cormorant nests. This enterprise is successful only if several of them join forces (p. 238). Anyone who is asked may not refuse to take part. Likewise they must join in an attack on a herd of seals (p. 30 /untranslated/) which is to be undertaken from a favorable shore. In the same way two or more canoes go out into a channel together where the women hunt for fish, crabs, and mussels for hours. They also invite each other to gather firewood in the forest. Such joining of forces is also necessary for personal safety in all kinds of dangerous undertakings.

571 Although many practices governing mutual association among the Yamana have arisen out of the necessity to help one another,

/1112 cont./

764 for hours with tireless persistence, although the loud lamentations
152 increase and diminish. Meanwhile the corpse has been buried. If it is burned, the howling and crying does not by any means cease while this is going on.

No matter how the corpse has been removed, it is only under /1113/ the compulsion of complete exhaustion that the neighbors who are not close to the deceased inconspicuously leave. After the hut of the dead person has been destroyed by fire, his nearest relatives crowd in elsewhere. Here they continue their lamentation for many more hours, heedless of the night which has perhaps long since fallen. This stimulates the neighbors to resume their cries of lament. For at least 20 hours after the soul's departure there is never an interval of complete quiet; the greater or lesser tumult of voices continues without pause. Even on the second and third day those who are nearest to the deceased barely interrupt their howling now and then for brief pauses, and the other people often fall in with them for two or three hours. All this depends on the disposition of the individual and on a number of incalculable motives. Almost all the adults become quite perceptibly exhausted. As though crushed, as though overwhelmed by grief, everyone remains in his hut almost without interruption. Now and then a person goes to those who have been directly affected by the misfortune, remains near them at least two hours, and weeps with them, as is demanded by sympathetic concern, according to the ideas of our Fueglans. Out of the same consideration everyone must remain still and quiet, even at a considerable distance from the mourning family. Even children may not talk loudly or laugh.

For the first few days after a death has occurred all is very
765 quiet in the entire camp. It was simply impossible for me to get
152 people in front of the phonograph and the camera during this brief period. They rejected all my urging, which they interpreted as a violation of their innermost feelings, with the decisive words: "We are now in mourning!" Thus they told me, curtly and clearly, that they were simply unavailable for other matters.

The custom of announcing a death without delay by means of
765 signal fires has been discussed (p.933). Three thick clouds of
• 202 smoke are sent up close together, which are chiefly meant to call other families to come quickly and help the family that has been

/1113 cont./

765 stricken by death and is sometimes in a difficult position. The
202 duty to give unselfish aid which burns ardently in everyone's soul, especially at the sight of the universally recognized smoke signal, compulsively drives them to the scene of misfortune. The mourners themselves appreciate it very much if many tribal members soon answer their summons.

After the initial, very lively outbursts have somewhat abated,
765 the painful event drives all present away from the scene of the
768 misfortune with uncanny force. Within four days at the outside, after the hut of the deceased has been burned, the campsite is changed. Usually each of the families /1114/ which have experienced the death departs in a separate direction, for each family wishes to be by itself if possible so that the others will not constantly remind them of the event. The missionaries in particular
[171] mentioned this conduct which is common to both the Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 566) (52). Hyades (q):379 also confirms

52. Here is one example only, which Bridges (VSA:XII, 53;1865) furnished on November 10, 1864. In Wulaia the youngest child of the well-known Ukokku died, and he immediately left this region. "For it is an ascertained fact that the Fuegians will not, sometimes for a long time, return to the place where their relatives have died" /cited in English/.

this: "In general the hut in which a native died is burned, and the place where it stood is abandoned for a long time by the friends of the deceased" /translated from French/. They, of course, stay away from this place for a certain time, and meanwhile it is altered by the blind forces of nature. If the grave or the burial place has become unrecognizable as a result of plant growth or other circumstances, no one feels any aversion to settling down there.

The strict rule of never mentioning the name of the deceased
765 is in accord with the effort they make not to be reminded in any
551 way of the deceased. There are several witnesses for this. The first is Fitz-Roy (a):181 who can refer directly to Jemmy Button: "He would not talk of a dead person, saying, with a grave shake

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

575 of spirits (pl. 38, *a*). So decked out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire penalties if they did not remain submissive to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

793 Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the *Yahgan* have been presented by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1139–1277), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1937, pp. 1278–1294). Perhaps the most important single phase of the mythology is the Yoálox cycle. The elder of the two Yoálox brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the cormorant, the otter, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the medicine man. The long story of the earlier matriarchate was briefly summarized supra under Kina rite with which it was associated, just as the Yoálox cycle was more or less associated with the čiéxaus. The chief folklore beings believed in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, [796] the Lakúma water spirits, and the Hánnush giants.

LORE AND LEARNING

171 In general, *Yahgan* technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and coiled basketry, gives little indication of inventive strivings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple *Yahgan* harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect *Yahgan* culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern *Athabaskan* and northern *Algonquians* of sub-Arctic America.

•202 [804] [817] There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no means of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or, so far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the inclined stick to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Nothofagus betuloides* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 16 feet (5 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a balloonlike cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

805 The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our own, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.

/659 cont./

606 In spite of these prohibitions, and precisely because of the prevailing obligations, the two parties must associate in an indirect and roundabout way. For about a year after her marriage, the daughter-in-law may exchange a few necessary words with her mother-in-law; the son-in-law for the rest of his life refrains from any direct conversation with his father-in-law. We have just spoken of this. It is the daughter who intercedes for her husband with her father, or the son who does so with his parents for his wife. The corresponding brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law also serve as mediators.

In a concrete situation, social intercourse runs as follows. /660/ When the son-in-law becomes aware that his father-in-law is approaching him and his family, he sends his wife out to meet him and has her say: "My husband sends me, he invites you into our hut!" Pleased over this, her own father replies: "Thank you very much, but I was about to build my own hut!" He decides to do this in order not to embarrass his son-in-law, for the latter would have to remain silent, sit apart at meals, and humble himself constantly, which would spoil the visit for him. Hence, in order to save him any embarrassment and unpleasantness, the father-in-law builds his own hut nearby, and he is assisted by his daughter. When the building is nearly finished, she returns to her own hut and addresses her husband in a voice that all can hear: "I invited your father-in-law to stay with us, but he prefers to live in a hut of his own. He thanks you!" Then her husband speaks in a loud voice so that the father-in-law can hear it: "I am very sorry that my father-in-law is not coming to my hut!" In this delicate way he expresses the fact that he is glad to be at the disposal of his father-in-law. While the latter is in the vicinity, his own daughter visits him repeatedly; the son-in-law himself appears in the father-in-law's hut only once or twice and inquires about the possible needs of his father-in-law from his own wife.

521 As a substitute for direct conversation, which is not permitted, they manage in their own way. As soon as it is quiet outside, the 203 son-in-law, in a loud voice and without addressing anyone, tells 606 what he has recently experienced, observed, and learned, especially things which are worth knowing for his parents-in-law. The latter hear each word and are kept up-to-date.

/1019 cont./
597 476 friendly neighbors, but is willingly offered to every fellow-tribesman.

484 481 Each of the many individual families is constantly traveling about, not only under the pressure of the daily food quest, but also from a natural wanderlust (p. 363). They move slowly, but nevertheless cover long distances in the course of time. Definite boundaries separate the many local groups (p. 630) and the five dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) from one another. These boundaries may be crossed under certain circumstances, and no visitor from another region can be lawfully prevented from doing so by the local residents. In general every family stays within its narrower home area, if only because they do not like to meet strange groups. [609] It is a universal characteristic of the Yamana to stay away from strangers in the first place or at least to avoid them; they feel constrained in the presence of strangers, and suspicion makes them almost ill (430).

> 430 Bridges (a):210 gives a reason for this which is not quite correct: "Those people dare not go where they have no friends, and where they are unknown, as they would most likely be soon killed"/cited in English/. We have repeatedly mentioned that certain circumstances make it permissible for anyone to travel in the territory of another dialect group.

• 203 /1020/ The ceaseless travel of individual families who thus meet one another and whose travel routes intersect partly explains the remarkably good propagation of news, which works invisibly. Everything that happens and any event that is in any way noteworthy are circulated far and wide and with a speed that sometimes seemed inexplicable to me. This much is certain, the Yamana lack such means of communication as loud calls or drumbeats. I cannot reliably state whether or not they give each other digital signs within a visible range, but I infer this from careful observations. Every adult learns what has happened within the confines of a wide area and usually without much delay. Most news, of course, is communicated from mouth to mouth. The facts are inevitably altered

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/1022 cont./

521 instance, one told to the others in an evening, how he had seen, during the daytime a fanirook, a black bird, passing down a sloping hill, step by step: the bird looked round about, then at once it commenced to shake its feathers and flew off, about which they burst out into a loud laugh. Another began to tell what he had seen strange, when he was out on horseback, and the third what he had seen when be drove the cattle home" /cited in English/.

521 Meanwhile everyone rests comfortably, and anyone who feels like eating is immediately served by the mistress of the hut. None
203 of those present knows when there will be another opportunity for a comfortable time together. On its trips each family usually spends only one or two nights in the same place. If entertaining fellow-tribesmen offer them company on an evening, they take advantage of it until long after midnight, and yet early the following morning they are ready to travel on. The ample, unconstrained exchange offers the incalculable advantage of keeping the individual members of the tribe from far and near in close touch and of laying bare everyone's actions. In this way all their /1023/, traditions are kept alive and transmitted, and any deviation from ancient custom can be prevented if it should become noticeable in any way.

522 Finally we must mention a custom that is practiced by the Yamana exactly as it is among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 471), a
[171] diverting, half-serious, half-humorous talk contest between two people from different regions who have met in a hut. One of them will intentionally challenge his opponent with jokes and banter by praising the virtues of his own home and the capability of his own local group. Soon the other interrupts him with laudatory remarks about his region, his relatives and friends, the habits and qualifications of his group. The verbal exchange goes back and forth and is attentively listened to by all present. Finally when the two opponents have exhausted their repartee and their wittiness, they resort to mild insults and definite accusations. Now one tries to outdo the other in this without letting it become obvious that he feels hurt. At the dangerous moment, however, the bystanders, who unerringly recognize it, break off the talk contest between the two with very loud applause, thus preventing an unfortunate outcome of the initially

626 /1025/ Nevertheless, properly understood, public opinion
209 could be regarded as the guardian and executor of the individual obligations which universal justice has created. The judgment of the public is reliable and decisive, not that of the individual person who speaks for his own advantage. Public opinion evaluates every concrete detail of traditional custom which is regarded as a reliable and immutable standard. No one concerns himself about purely theoretical considerations. Hence the judgment of public opinion is instantly effective. Anyone whom it concerns must yield to it absolutely and immediately if he wants to save himself from being universally ostracized. This strikes every guilty person harder than severe blows. Our Yamana are unfamiliar with any kind of formal judiciary. Instead, to put it briefly, just action is approved without reservation and every unjust act is definitely condemned by the public. In both cases the public expresses itself loudly and fearlessly, for it has the advantage in any case over the private individual. The great pressure it puts upon a person can be clearly seen from the fear which everyone, not only the average Indian, has of a bad reputation and even more of public ostracism. If he sees himself ensnared by it, he promptly hastens back to the path of virtue and constantly tries with exaggerated zeal to change the bad opinion about him into a good one. None of this matters, however, to a dishonorable person who has lost all sense of shame. In former times such persons were scarcely to be found; only recently, under the influence of some Europeans have they sunk so low that they must avoid the company of their fellow-tribesmen. An attentive observer does not fail to note this state of affairs since it is so significant. Hyades (q):243 writes: "When they steal among themselves, they seek as much as possible to conceal their thefts; when the culprit is discovered and chastised, public opinion is satisfied. The murderer is ostracized by his compatriots; isolated from everyone, he is fatally condemned to perish of hunger or someday to fall under the blows of a group of extemporaneous judges. Mr. Bridges in his conversations with us has put a great deal of emphasis on the importance of public opinion among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. One could speak of public opinion as the guardian of laws and as the avenger of serious transgressions. It acts no less successfully than a police force or a court of justice.

627 In all this the individual is by no means without rights; in

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

575 of spirits (pl. III, c). He dashed out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire punishm if they did not remain submissive to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

993 Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the *Yahgan* have been presented by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1189–1277), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1937, pp. 1278–1294). Perhaps the most important single phase of the mythology is the Yoálox cycle. The elder of the two Yoálox brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the cormorant, the otter, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the medicine man. The long story of the mother matriarchate was briefly summarized supra under Kina rite with which it was associated, just as the Yoálox cycle was more or less associated with the Girsen. The chief folklore beings believed in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, 994 the Lokómas water spirits, and the Hómoush giants.

DOMESTIC ARTS AND CRAFTS

991 In general, *Yahgan* technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and coiled basketry, gives little indication of inventive strivings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple *Yahgan* harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect *Yahgan* culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern *Athabaskan* and northern *Algonquian* of sub-Arctic America.

803 There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no means of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or, 804 so far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the inclined stick to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Nothofagus betuloides* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 16 feet (5 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a balloonlike cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

805 The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our own, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.

22 /365/ Natural conditions have an overwhelming effect in shaping and determining the form of the material culture of the Yamana. This is equally true of the neighboring Selk'nam /Ona/ (Vol. I, 192). Since the indispensable conditions for gardening and farming, as well as for animal husbandry, are lacking, they can only be simple gatherers or hunters with a nonsedentary way of life. They practice the nomadism of a people at home on the water and along the shores. Less than fishermen, more than hunters or gatherers, they are engaged in obtaining food and are, therefore, appropriately referred to as "water nomads." Almost all day long they travel in their canoes along the intricate water channels or hunt on the shore. When they are not doing that, they squat in the hut, which is always erected on the shore near the water line. Only occasionally and for special purposes do they leave the shore and push inland to the center of the island. The surface of the water and the narrow strip of coast are the field of action and the sphere of life for the Yamana. Whatever they encounter here in the form of plants and animals determines their economic activity and is indispensable for their standard of living. The large sea mammals, the indigenous species of seals and whales, play the most important role. Sea otters and sea birds are no less important. Finally, from among the lower animals, nothing could rival the mussels and large crabs. Hunting and gathering these things constitute the chief part of the economic activity of the Yamana. [342] The vegetable kingdom offers practically nothing, hence our natives rely exclusively on a meat diet.

422 The vegetable kingdom and the products of the hunt furnish the raw materials for their property in goods. As a matter of principle, these possessions are of such a nature that they not only do not impede unrestricted wandering, but assure the acquisition of everything needed for subsistence and, above all, facilitate hunting and gathering. All their property is limited to what is absolutely essential. As such, this is so little that a demanding, civilized human being marvels at such perfected self-sufficiency. This is a result of the fact that every item beyond the limit of what is indispensable would be a burden that would become more grievously oppressive the longer one carried it around.

342 Preparedness for uninterrupted movement precludes fixed dwellings from the outset, either in the form of individual establishments or community settlements. A loose, carelessly constructed hut served as shelter for a night or for a few days.

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/512 cont./

exclusively confined to the women" /translated from French/. The word "fishing" here means the gathering and catching of small sea animals.

This division of labor is an ancient law of custom. This is true no less of the planned way in which both sexes carry on their activities, which goes back to the very beginnings of this ethnic group.

•22 178

It can be proved that the customary methods of hunting have been handed down unchanged from father to son; they guarantee sure success with little effort. The indigenous animals have also /513/ retained their habits and the hunter is dependent upon these if he wishes to attain his booty. With the exception of the guanaco which appears in only a small section of the Yamana country, the Indian stalks only the inhabitants of the sea, which is the reason why he cannot do without his canoe. Hence the latter is a vital method of transportation for him.

His wishes, however, are not directed toward anything and everything that the unfathomable sea contains. He consciously makes some selection among the animals, no matter how little freedom he has to begin with and how limited, after all, the number of useful animal species is. This applies even more to the gathering activity of the woman. Mother Nature is very stingy with the products of the vegetable kingdom, that man can use for food down there on the border of habitable territory. The lower animals are abundantly represented. They provide a considerable addition to subsistence, and gathering them is a constant, convenient occupation of the woman (230). How she goes about it and

230. Bridges (e):331 comments in general on their means of obtaining food. Bove (e):157 says: "The sea furnishes the staples of their diet in the form of fish, mussels, crabs, seals, and aquatic birds; furthermore, in the summer they find about 20 varieties of edible mushrooms in the woods and a few edible grasses." Compare Bove (g):234.

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178

/§13 cont./
According to Lovisato (b) 129 the Yamana are "fishermen and only sometimes hunters along the coast" /translated from Italian/.

the resources the employs are the heritage of the acquired wisdom of many past generations.

Now we understand why the customary procedure in hunting and gathering is retained unchanged even by the few remaining Yamana. The ancient methods and manipulations automatically recommend themselves by their almost unsurpassable appropriateness. This is reason enough why the representatives of this tribe cling to their valuable heritage with unyielding tenacity. The basis of Yamana economic life -- primarily the occupation of hunting by the men, together with a considerable contribution from gathering by the women -- was forced upon them, so to speak, by their environment. This particular type of food quest forces each individual family to a restless nomadic life.

22 In these fundamental respects the Yamana are similar to their northeastern neighbors, but they also enjoy noteworthy advantages besides. Whereas the northern Selk'nam are dependent on the cururo (Vol. I, 277) and the southern Selk'nam on the guanaco, the Yamana men have such a limited variety of animals to hunt in all parts of their country that they are never dependent on a single species. Fortunately, the Yamana woman, too, has a greater selection in her gathering than does her Selk'nam neighbor. The latter has only a few mushrooms and fish, while the former in addition has easy access to masses of the almost indispensable mussels and crabs. All this simplifies the food quest and improves the way of life of the Yamana not inconsiderably as compared to their neighbors.

/§14/ 1. Seal Hunting

225 Without doubt seals provided the chief contribution to Yamana subsistence at all times and in all sections of the country. Formerly several species lived in herds on the many islands and rocks, places of wreckage, and coasts of the Cape Horn Archipelago. Even the giants of this species, the bear seal, tépa'a (Arctocephalus

/1327 cont./

22 23 to the superior number and the rage of his opponents. After the Indian has skinned the dog, he tosses the entire body to his dogs; he very decidedly scorns this meat.

22 Among the few species of mammals on the Cape Horn Archipelago, seals occupy first place in the food quest of the Yamana. /1328/ They are hunted not only because of their meat, but because their skins are urgently needed. The very desirable whale is primarily regarded as an occasional present that provides for many families over a long period. In comparison the guanaco is much less important because it is locally confined, and the otter actually furnishes only its skin. Tracking down a fox is a matter for the dogs. The many bird species that the Indian hunts could hardly be dispensed with in his household. Sometimes he is wholly dependent on them alone.

E. The Woman in the Food Quest

42 Among the Yamana, man and wife form an economic cooperative, and it is especially in the matter of obtaining food that they are dependent on one another. The woman, of course, does not take an active part in the hunt, which is regarded as a vital duty of the men, but she sometimes helps him indirectly by means of absolutely necessary knacks. She, as mistress of the canoe, takes him to those places where he wants to try his luck and go after game. She shares with him the difficulties of perilous crossings and long watches through the hours of the night when he devotes himself to catching birds. Finally, she brings him, along with his booty, to a safe place where both of them can enjoy a well-earned rest after all their trouble and exertions.

Far beyond the limited participation of the man in procuring food, she makes a considerable, altogether independent contribution to the support of her family by means of an activity that she alone can carry on. This is gathering, for which she is equipped by nature and to which she can devote herself without jeopardizing her more important duties as mother and wife. This activity is actually an important supplement to her husband's hunting activities. It is her duty to bring in lower animals and vegetable products.

/558 cont./

147 The Yamana is proudly aware of his own superiority. Along
153 /559/ with his astonishing agility, he has developed his physical strength, and time and again on the hunt he has opportunities to develop and increase it (308). Thus he overcomes all difficulties

308. Bridges agrees with this unreservedly: "These people certainly show the greatest fortitude, endurance, and energy in following at their hunting" /cited in English/ (MM:XII, 12;1878).

and impediments in the way of his goals. He does not grow tired of hunting his prey and of fighting the hostile forces of nature, but each morning he devotes himself with fresh courage and renewed confidence of victory to his difficult daily task. Hence to struggle with his environment and to wrest from it the animals he needs for his sustenance is for every man a daily necessity, in part a desired one (309). It is not easy for him, but his well-

309. Hyades (f):567 has grasped this mental attitude of these children of nature in the following words: "The Fuegians, in fact, consider the hunt a pleasure as well as a necessity /translated from French/. He has really described the situation very well.

developed mental powers, his extraordinarily practiced senses, his great skill, and his personal assurance in the control of his tools and implements guarantee him success.

• 22 His mental agility effortlessly and intuitively senses the opportunities for the hunt and the general demands of every season. He never shows discontent with the rigors of winter, which impede his free movement on land, nor with the incalculable changes of weather in summer, which only too often lead his light canoe into danger on the water. During one half of the year he patiently does without the things that the other half will again offer him. He attentively follows the change which each

/560 cont./

22 At this time also the seals guard their newly born young on the beach and are easy to get at (p. 30 /untranslated/).

The gathering activity of the woman is somewhat more dependent on the various seasons. This, obviously, applies first of all to the hunt for berries which ripen in late summer and in the fall. Cyttaria harioti can be picked in the fall and in the first half of winter. With the beginning of summer Cyttaria darwinii are also matured and remain on the trees until shortly before the end of winter. The cold season is not suitable for fishing with a line (313). On the other hand, sea urchins (Echinodermata) taste

313. Bridges (j):25 referred to "many kinds of smaller yet valuable fish, chiefly plentiful through summer and autumn and early winter"/cited in English/. Hyades (q):339 also confirms this. See footnote 290.

best in July and August, that is, toward the end of winter. In the spring girls and women busily hunt for birds' eggs as long as the opportunity lasts. They rejoice when the terrors of winter are past and the providing of food is made easier for them by the warmer season.

221 262 The variety that the Yamana family can count on in obtaining food is limited in these few details. Their safest supplementary source throughout the entire year is the inexhaustible amount of Mytilus mussels. All Indian women can successfully dip into this source when there is no other prospect. Despite all this, the family is not spared a few days of hunger if in some spot even the supply of mussels is exhausted and they cannot proceed elsewhere because of bad weather. As we have said, mussels have the same importance for the Yamana as bread has for Europeans, and they tire of them just as little as Europeans do of bread. Finally, we should like to remind the reader that the individual periods of the whole year are determined according to the various stages of development of Cyttaria darwinii. This does not mean, however, that this fungus contributes to any extent to the diet of our Indians (p. 277). Despite the very slight variations, the monotony of a meat diet exclusively continues all during the year.

/387 cont./

372 openings in the top prevented it from escaping easily. The entire
342 structure was well insulated, for it was meant to offer special protection against the rigors of the climate. Since it was built in the damp western part where dry firewood was not available in large quantities, the Indians managed by constantly carrying green wood into the hut and piling it up. In a few days it was dry and only then was used for burning. Even a supply of tussock grass
[513] (Poa flabellata) was kept on hand, for this litter for the bed had to be renewed at least every two weeks.

251 The men supplied the necessary food for their families on communal hunting expeditions which were usually so successful that a good share of the booty could be stored away for a few days. This helped in periods when the hunt was seriously hindered by continuous stormy weather. They were anxiously concerned about having an abundant supply of meat always on hand, if not perhaps a whale /388/ lying on the shore. Otherwise the gathering of many people in the same place in a securely built hut would not only be pointless, but even dangerous. Inevitably the inhabitants frightened the game farther and farther away from the dwelling, which made hunting increasingly difficult. Then only ample stores kept off the threatening specter of hunger.

342 A hut for several families was occupied only in winter.
362 Wanderlust was too strong to detain a family in one spot any length of time for other reasons. The people who built a com-
●221 munal hut would perhaps come back to it for a second winter, but not after that, for the game supply had been exhausted over a wide area, and they themselves were kept away by the boredom of sitting still. The arrangement described here might be referred to as the "winter hut." Near it a sort of winter supply was piled up. The very safe shelter provided somewhat comfortable living
[517] conditions, and during the long periods of inactivity together, favorite myths and legends were repeated, or the people told each other stories of their own experiences and Hánnus stories. Communal huts were not built in the east, and the reason is simple: weather and hunting conditions were much more favorable there.

342 After a few families have settled in the so-called multiple-
593 family hut, they not infrequently erect another building directly beside it for the half-grown children, and this is appropriately known as the "children's hut." It resembles the first hut in shape

/545 cont./

226 animal on the bottom with her own eyes. If she has caught sight of one, she holds her crab fork perpendicular with both hands and lets it glide into the water. Ample experience has taught her to estimate correctly the light refraction in the water so that, with a vigorous, accurate push, she penetrates the calcareous capsule around the actual body. The entire animal is now securely speared and can be drawn up perpendicularly. In the canoe it is stripped off the fork with a blow of a stick. It usually goes on moving for a long time. Even though the actual body is perforated, this does not constitute a loss, for it has no solid meat in any case. The meat is in each of the long legs which remain undamaged. Whenever possible, the women like to search the bottom near the coast toward the end of low tide, for they, too, enjoy the excellent meat of these crabs (275).

275. Hyades (h):10 and (q):369 briefly mentions crab fishing. We have the impression that he did not become acquainted with the entire process from personal observation.

226 4. Fish. How eager the Yamana are for a change in their diet can be seen from the fact that they often go out to fish (276).

276. In travel accounts we frequently come across an exaggerated estimate, implying that a fish diet constituted a large part of Fuegian subsistence. This is what is maintained by an earlier account (VSA:XIII, 81;1866): "They live from hand to mouth, dependent chiefly upon fish for a subsistence" /cited in English/.

[221] Summer with its longer period of daylight and its less unfavorable weather conditions is far more suitable for this than the unfriendly winter. Nevertheless, one often finds women fishing even /546/ in the cold season. It is not unimportant in this connection that in winter the type of fish which the Yamana choose to catch withdraw

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22 At this time also the seals guard their newly born young on the beach and are easy to get at (p. 39 /untranslated/).

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best in July and August, that is, toward the end of winter. In the spring girls and women busily hunt for birds' eggs as long as the opportunity lasts. They rejoice when the terrors of winter are past and the providing of food is made easier for them by the warmer season.

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/619 cont./

582 for the moment, and if they are shipwrecked on a lonely rock and do not happen to be noticed by others, they are in danger of starving to death." Such rare accidents, however, do not in the least weaken the brilliant record of the seamanship of the Indian women.

3. On Land

361 461 We are justified in saying that the Fuegian's principal field of action is the sea, for on land he makes only a temporary brief halt here and there. He never settles anywhere for a long stay. /620/ Soon after landing, the man, aided by his wife and children, builds a simple, loosely constructed hut or only a meager protection against the weather and the rigors of the night. If adverse natural forces do not prevent it, the family usually travels on the next day or the day after. The sojourn on land is for rest and certain manual work. After the day's trip the woman, especially, needs adequate rest, but the man no less, for he is sometimes very agitated and active while hunting and does not feel his great exhaustion until later. Sometimes both husband and wife must exert all their skill for hours to combat headwinds and counter-currents until landing is possible. They expend all their strength doing this and need two or three days before they dare venture out to sea again. On shore, the man makes the tools he needs; however, in this occupation he is never tied down to a certain place. He works here and there on the same piece until it is finished, even though he has to load and unload it, unfinished, 20 times. Similarly, the woman performs all her manual work on land and combs the vicinity of the hut for mussels and snails, fungi and berries.

●221 In its ceaseless crisscross journeys, the family follows a certain plan dictated by the prospect of success in food-seeking. In general a family travels far more in summer than in winter, even though unfavorable weather is more predominant (p. 24 /untranslated/) (433). In summer they have a larger selection of animals

433. Without giving this as a reason, Bridges (VSA:XIII, 207;1866) simply says:

/620 cont./

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> "In winter they lead a comparatively settled life, and generally winter in their own proper country" /cited in English/. In other words, they avoid extensive trips which are less profitable in winter.

at their disposal, which they take from here and there, whereas in winter they depend on fewer kinds. Penguins, for example, nest on low, remote islands; cormorants, in rock walls against the open sea; fish prefer calm, shallow inlets, and berries thrive in sunny spots; crabs gather on a gently sloping sea floor, and seals congregate close to rock caves. The Indian knows all these spots, and, in accordance with the season, he tries his luck in one or another of them. He takes advantage of his most recent experience, supported by his excellent knowledge of the locale, but he does not return to the same spot very soon, in order to give the frightened animals enough time to calm themselves and to reassemble; later on he can successfully surprise them there. Not infrequently the hunter lands at some spot without any success at all, for example, if some other family appeared there a day or two previously or if unfavorable weather has driven the animals away. He is constantly drawn back to the places that never disappoint him; they then become his favorite places, so to speak.

481 /621/ On land the Yamana display a less steady gait than the neighboring Selk'nam. This is by no means to deny that they are highly adroit in hunting and gathering, capturing birds, and overtaking seals. We simply refer to the way in which they stand and walk. In this they are without doubt somewhat awkward. It is hard for them to run and jump; if they walk slowly, they soon tire (434). Nevertheless, there are many steps they cannot spare

> 434. The Anglican missionaries repeatedly called attention to this. For example, Despard (b):697: "Firelanders travel very little on land; they can neither jump nor run well, and are soon tired with walking" /cited in English/.
>
> To say that when they walk for a longer

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226 daily tasks. Hence every other type of fishing, with the exception of the occasional mass-catch of ílēščí, is avoided as much as possible (297).

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297. According to Hyades (h):20: "...the ease with which they get fish among the large algae relieves them of all the work of making a fishing pen" /translated from French/, and the same is equally true of similar arrangements.

222 5. Birds. Birds' eggs are also counted among the foods from the animal kingdom by our Fuegian natives. Earlier travelers, for example, Fitz-Roy (a):184, often observed that "eggs are eagerly sought for by the natives" /cited in English/. Spring is the time for them. Wherever the family lands, the girls and women hunt [462] for the nests of larger birds. They do not choose among them, nor does it bother them if the eggs have been sat on for some time. Their hunt is, without exception, rewarded by a rich harvest, for they are very familiar with the brooding places of all kinds of birds. Gathering is very easy where penguins brood, for they lay large eggs. The women bring their harvest to the canoe or the hut in their little baskets, and it is promptly consumed. They never risk any special dangers in order to obtain birds' eggs.

223 At the beginning of summer they also take young birds of large species still in the nest. They kill the tender animal by hitting it on the head with a stone or stick or by beating it hard against a rock. Above all, when they search out the breeding places of cormorants and penguins, they quickly fill their baskets with this game. Young cormorants cannot escape beyond the immediate vicinity of their nest because their wings cannot as yet carry them from the height of their nest into the sea, and penguins are likewise nest-bound because they do not yet know how to move in the water.

231 For entertainment and out of playfulness, the women also like to take an occasional young bird to their hut where they feed it until it is full-grown. If it proves tame enough, it is

/553 cont./

231 kept alive; otherwise it is one day devoured. This explains why in early summer in the huts of the Indians we find at least half a dozen young birds, all very familiar with each other, although they usually belong to different species. They belong to the family (298), so to speak, and are a plaything for children.

298. Lothrop (b):159 "has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed" /cited in English/.

β. Food From the Vegetable Kingdom

262 The inclement weather of the Cape Horn Archipelago permits only a few types of plants to reach maturity, and the soil yields only a very few things that the Indian can use for food. A vegetable diet has no basic significance for them. It would be inaccurate to speak of actual subsistence on the vegetable kingdom. The Indian gets only a small taste from it now and then, which, as such, is monotonous and, in /554/ comparison with his meat consumption, quite unimportant (299). Mother Nature

299. Fitz-Roy (a):185 expressed himself very definitely on this point: "Of vegetable food they have very little: a few berries, cranberries, and those which grow on the arbutus, and a kind of fungus which is found on the birch-tree, being the only sorts used" /cited in English/.

voluntarily offers him fungi and berries of various kinds, and these, as we realize, are mere condiments. They are gathered [462] only by women and girls; men strip off a few fruits in passing and immediately pop them into their mouths without any kind of preparation.

222 262 1. Fungi. If we consider the conditions of vegetation in the Yamana region, we are not surprised to find a great abundance of mushrooms and fungi there. /Fig. 66 appears here./ There are no very poisonous kinds. Some are spongy; others have a woody

•222 [262] /554 cont./

texture. These do not tempt the Indian since the supply of tasty fungi is large enough as it is, and he does not care for them particularly. Everywhere one finds goodly quantities of a few Cyttaria species, among which Cyttaria darwinii Berk. is the most common. The latter is in general known as ŝsêf; when it is ripe it is called aukix. It grows on the protuberances or excrescences (Fig. 66) of a particular spot on the beech branch, known as amŝif or ŝamŝif. Each of these fungi reaches the size of a green, unripe walnut and is absolutely round and yellowish-white. One is right next to another, and they break off at the slightest touch. Women and girls break them off from the branches they can reach with their arms. After they have combed a particular area of the forest for them, the woman asks her grown son or even her husband to help her gather the ones on the higher branches. For decency's sake females are not permitted to climb trees or walk over branches; the men are called in to do this. The latter pick the fungi with their hands and toss them down, or they [illegible] them off with their toes an[illegible] them. Women gather them up and carry them in little baskets to the hut (300).

222 462

Fig. 66. Beech Branch with Growth. One-half natural size.

[481 934]

300. Bridges (MM:VII, 120;1873) once mentions that an adult male Yamana gathered these fungi and brought them to the camp. If he was alone in doing this, it is a rare and exceptional case.

222 With the exception of the brief period of mid-summer, the Cyttaria darwinii are always found on trees and are edible in any

/554 cont./

222 phase of development during all the other months (301).

301. Outes (g) 52 has collected descriptions of this type of fungus from the pens of several observers. In addition to this there are data by Spencer: 64, 100, 103.

/555/ A less widespread variety, and fully matured only in the autumn, is ałim, Cyttaria harioti F. BD:46 writes ōšuyim, "a small dark brown pear-shaped fungus which grow in clusters out of an excrescence which forms on the wood like a band" /cited in English/. This yellowish-brown, pear-shaped fungus, ranging in size from an orange seed to the seed of a small wild cherry, appears in rows on thin branches of the Antarctic beech. One can very easily strip off the whole row with one's half-closed hand and catch them in a small basket. The black uškēyon mēma (Cyttaria hookeri Berk.) is still smaller, the shape and size of a grape seed. It likewise forms on beech branches in rows.

[162] Although women and girls like to pick these two kinds, it is not their habit to gather them and bring them to the hut; they eat a few handfuls on the spot. The men do likewise, but less often. The ałim (Cyttaria harioti) is much preferred to the other.

Other types of fungi are of less importance to the Indian woman than ešef (Cyttaria darwinii). The latter is easy to obtain along the edge of the forest, whereas the other kinds are to be found chiefly or almost exclusively inside, in dark shade and in thickets. Women almost never go that far, or perhaps only to fetch wood, but they almost never go deep into the forest just to gather fungi. The large tree fungi, áman, are valued the most as long as they are still soft and meaty, and among these yēlus above all, which, according to BD:649, is "a soft, watery, and large flesh-colored fungus" /cited in English/.

262 The Fuegian eats about ten kinds of fungi (302), but I am

302. Bridges mentions "one very important item in the food of these people, which is fungus, of which there are about twenty varieties, some one or more of which are all

/555 cont./

262 the year round abundant /cited in English/ (MM:III, 116;1869). He is saying a little too much in the first part of this statement.

not in a position to give all of these their exact botanical names. It is very remarkable that he eats only those that grow on trees, never those growing on the ground. Each species matures in one particular month, which is why the Indian could at any time give himself a little variety in his monotonous meat diet by using fungi. "Fungi of many kinds are also all the year round much used as food, different kinds coming in at different seasons" /cited in English/ (Bridges [a]:213).

222 262 It is left to each individual to hunt occasionally for a few fungi whenever he feels like it. The only ones actually gathered are the very common Cyttaria darwinii which are strung up on [251] small sticks in the hut and kept for a time in a dried state. Bridges (MM:VII, 121;1873) is obviously exaggerating when he attaches special significance to fungi in the daily household of the Yamana. [261] When there is a famine, however, the people use fungi to help out as long as they can find them. Aspinall:270 expresses himself more accurately when he speaks of the individual foods in order of their importance: "For their subsistence [these Indians] are dependent solely on the hunt; /556/ in an emergency they content themselves with a diet of mussels. Digestive difficulties that may result from this are healed with a diet of fungi." Fungi are neither more nor less than a rare, occasional addition to the main diet.

222 2. Berries. It is obvious that the Yamana can enjoy berries, amáim, for only a few weeks. The most common are amáiiugurž, the fruit of Pernettya mucronata which sometimes covers extensive areas in the form of a low shrub (Fig. 12 /untranslated; see foreign text, p. 121/). In spite of the hard points on the leaves, women and girls move through the bushes and pick the ripe crimson berries, gather them in their little baskets, and take them to their hut. Less common in that region is the /Fig. 67 appears here/ smaller Pernettya pumila (Fig. 67), the fruit of which is called šanamáim, and the somewhat taller Empetrum rubrum, ašána, the fruit of which is known as šepisamáim. These two bushes have only small fruits which attract the Indians less.

/556 cont./

222 The ripe berries of Berberis buxifolia, hūmēr̄ amā̄in, taste good and are much sweeter than the berries of Berberis ilicifolia, čeljamā̄im. The former are easy to strip from the small twigs by hand and gather into a basket. An Indian woman would not bring home large quantities of these berries because a handful of them is all that anyone wants, but anyone who happens to pass these bushes strips off several berries and eats them immediately.

The small Rubus geoides, one of the Rosaceae, creeps along the ground in light patches of the forest and on the edge of it. Its fruit, pālaxlačix, which ripens in late summer, resembles a raspberry in size, shape, and color, but is less sweet. Women pick these also, but only when they are gathering šēpisamā̄im and

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Fig. 67. Pernettya pumila. Natural size.

amā̄iroguri and inevitably come across isolated fruits of Rubus geoides. Our Indians do not have a taste for the fruits of Myrtus nummularia, but they like to pick the easily obtainable hūpusamā̄im, the clusters of the hūpuš bush (Ribes magellanicum), which likes the light and grows chiefly on the edge of the forest.

/557/ This concludes the list of the berries that are considered at all edible in the region of the Yamana. The fruits of Gunnera magellanica, for example, have almost no meat, and therefore no one touches these tūxalamā̄im. This is also true of the small fruits of other species.

262 3. Other Plants. Other products of the vegetable kingdom can be regarded as actual food to an even lesser extent than is true of fungi and berries (303), but there are a very few plants, as

303. Bridges' (k):227 way of expressing himself is therefore misleading: "The

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/557 cont./
himself. For instance, he says (MM:III, 116;1869): "Though celery abounds everywhere, they never use of it" /cited in English/; in BD the root of this plant is several times and very definitely referred to by him as an "edible root" /cited in English/.

[252] Some people like to roast the celery root at the fire and then chew on it.

It can be seen from these accounts that plant food is seldom eaten by the Yamana, hence it is almost always a single individual who sets out to look for it if he feels a desire for it. It would be unjustified, therefore, to maintain that the gathering of such plants is a special activity of the woman.

222 462

A cursory review of the contribution of the Indian woman to the subsistence of her family makes us realize that she performs an important service, mainly through gathering shellfish. The things she collects not only bring necessary variety into the monotonous meat diet furnished by the man, but seem indispensable at certain times when hunting is impossible. With her diligent gathering the woman very often saves her family from suffering considerable hunger.

/558/ 6. The Food Quest throughout the Year

182 In their manner of living and above all in everything they must provide for their sustenance, our Yamana are and will remain inescapably dependent on their environment. They have adjusted to this inevitable pressure in all their economic adaptations, not the least in their implements and weapons. Darwin (d):248 confirms this in his own way: "Nature, which has made custom an irresistible force and its effects hereditary, has adapted the Fuegian to the climate and the products of his miserable fatherland." The causative factor in the two explanations is essentially different.

181 The mental attitude or disposition of this Indian group, however, also betrays an unmistakable conformity with their area of

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assured us: "Their common way of cooking is to put everything into the ashes until sufficiently done for their taste, or until their hunger could allow them to wait no longer" /cited in English/. All later observers, for example, Hyad.. (p). 328, vouch for this general rule.

262 Although the Fuegian literally lives from hand to mouth and sometimes finds himself in dire distress, he still shows an astonishing amount of self-control in eating, and this is sometimes forced on him by certain rules. We refer to his duty to cut up the booty he has brought home and let the neighbors share it (p. 314). Moreover, not every individual has free access to a stranded whale, but is content with the pieces that are given him by the chosen distributors (p. 309). Finally there are a few definite food taboos on certain occasions, which everyone observes. A law given by Yoshot says that berries -- actually, only those of Pernettya mucronata -- may not be gathered prematurely, and that they must be left on the bushes until old men declare that they are ripe. If some people should discover favorable spots where there are many berries, they warn their friends and neighbors: "There are many amáim there, but wait until they are ripe!" If, nevertheless, some women and children should look for that place and pick the berries, subsequent visitors will find the bushes empty and will say: "amáin aghu, the berries have gone away!" This means that the berries removed themselves in revenge and expiation for that forbidden act. Since the culprits are not known, but the bushes are actually stripped of fruit, the entire occurrence is given a superstitious interpretation. /589/ This is supposed to prevent the berries from being picked before they are ripe. At certain times determined by ancient custom, only a little food or only certain things are permitted, as, for instance, during the initiation, during the first menstrual period, after confinement, and so forth. In general everyone adheres to this conscientiously.

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Only occasionally is a person carried away to real immoderation in eating. Anyone who eats hastily and greedily is called Yúmja which is anything but respectable. Everyone is supposed to control himself sufficiently in eating so that others always

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411 Our Yamana use spears as ligher thrusting weapons. We can distinguish between a spear used for birds and one for fish. The shaft of the former is likewise a pole that is uniformly cut and prepared, but this is usually a young trunk of Maytenus magellanica or of Nothofagus or Drimys winteri, from which the bark has been peeled off. It is usually not more than three meters long. The thick end is cut off straight across. Here the notch is cut from one side without letting it come through to the other side. About a quarter of the diameter remains, and this serves to support the bone point which is inserted here with the back against the remaining portion of the wood. The lower part of the point has several short upright teeth. A narrow strap is tightly wound around it in the spaces between the teeth. The same shaft with the partial notch just described is also used for the ñuñuwaia, securely and firmly held in it.

411 /478/ The serrated points made of bone or wood are characteristic for these spears. For the bone teeth, whale ribs are used ex-
324 clusively. They are first treated with coarse sandstone, then with quartz splinters or mussel shells, and finally burnished with pumice. The two edges end in a point at the top, the back is rounded off (183).

183. It cannot be definitely determined whether the Yamana made a bone point with both edges serrated. However, BD:64 mentions: "'auaia,' the single or double notched spear head used for seals, porpoises" /cited in English/. Among the Halakwulup
[171] I found the double-rowed, serrated spearhead of wood, as well as of bone, and sometimes even the two together.

and on the opposite side the natives laboriously cut or saw out one little tooth after another with sharp mussel shells or quartz splinters. These small teeth are narrow and more or less irregular; they are close together and point obliquely downward. The little piece at the lower end is irregularly serrated and tapers; it is set into the notch and lashed.

411 This spear with the bone point is used for hunting birds. It is
223 most often hurled against penguins which have tough flesh into which a wooden point would not penetrate deeply enough.

/483 cont./

411 both attached on the same side, namely, the side without hair. Each string ends in a small knot, having first been sewed on with sinews. The strings are tightly braided with three strands of sinew. On a specimen in my collection one string is 66 centimeters, the other, 62 centimeters. Each string terminates in a small knot which is sewn into a ball the size of a hazelnut, made of otter leather. The sling brought back by J. Cook and now in the ethnographic collection at Göttingen has a total length of 167 centimeters. This is the measurement of the so-called long sling. There is also a shorter one which is used by a man in a canoe. Here he would not have firm footing and the space is too small to swing the long sling with force and without injuring the occupants.

411 Earlier observers left no doubt as to the use of the sling.
223 Actually, it is used a great deal, especially in hunting birds. Colini:161 does not exaggerate when he says that "the weapon most used by the Fuegians is the sling" /translated from Italian/. Martial:191 confirms: "They more commonly use the sling for birds" /translated from French/. They hurl stones which are somewhat smaller than a hen's egg and that lie around in masses. They lay in a supply for the canoe each time before they leave.

Some men prefer to use two or three stones at once, especially if they venture a throw at a thick flock of birds standing close together. Other men are in the habit of using only one larger stone. The man places the terminal knot of the longer string into the palm of his hand between the fourth and fifth fingers, so that the string runs tight across the back of his little finger up to the leather piece; he grasps the terminal knot of the shorter string with the first /484/ joint of thumb and index finger. Then the fingers of his left hand grasp the center section with the stone, and his right hand, with a slight push, begins to turn the taut sling horizontally above his head two or three times. At the right moment the shorter string is released, the sling opens, and the stones fly out straight in front of the slinger. The more forceful the previous turning motion was, the stronger will be the impact of the stones. Some men are content with a single half-turn of the taut sling.

If the stones are to have the desired effect, they are not hurled beyond a 12-meter limit, and everyone aims at the heads

/484 cont./

223 411 of the crowded flock of birds; this may hit one or another of them and stun them. Even the Fuegian cannot hit a definite target at the same distance or farther away, since the sling is not very accurate, but it does carry a stone in a high arc to a distance of 80 meters (192). Nevertheless, we must admit, to

192. On this subject Bove (x):150 and Colini:161, as well as Lovisato (x):198 and (b):136, have grossly exaggerated. Hyades (b):32 and (g):207 protested against their assertions which literally coincide.

[526] use Hyades' (g):35 words, that the Tamana "are very skillful in manipulating them," and in the course of the day they very often use the sling just for fun (193).

193. This can hardly be more clearly expressed than Bridges has done: "The amusement these natives are most fond of is slinging at birds; they often go along the shore here with their slings" (VIA XII, 3):1865) /cited in English/.

411 48 Naturally, our Indians must have their slings handy. Their way of carrying them is surprisingly advantageous. Most of them hang the two strings of sinew around the neck and draw the last third of it over the folded center section, without any kind of knotting; the ends hang down freely. With a single movement of the left hand to grasp the center section, the sling is ready to be used. At the same moment the right hand puts the stones in position and grasps the ends, ready to throw (Fig. 41). Others draw the two sinew-strings around the head, one on each side, so that the center section is in the back, and then simply loop the free ends over each other. Finally, a few of them tie the sling around their hips (194). As we have said, they put the sling

194. Fitz-Roy (x):128 noticed that "a man always carries his sling around his neck or waist, wherever he goes" /cited in English/.

/424 cont./
carried some part of their body to have it quickly accessible at any time, but it is not regarded as an ornament (116). The

116. Hyades (b).33 expressed the surprising view: "We must therefore admit that the sling of the Yahgan is as much an ornamental object for men as it is a weapon for hunting or war" /translated from French/.

Fig. 41. Man with a Sling.

Yamana use it not only to stun birds, but also in fighting against their own people.

/425/ All indications point to the fact that the sling was used in all parts of the Cape Horn Archipelago./Fig. 41 appears here./ Every man and boy owned and owns one. When the Mission Scientifique arrived in Orange Bay, according to Hyades (p).387, every man carried his sling. This was commonly throughout the entire area occupied by this tribe. Lothrop (b).137 indulges in vain speculation about the origin of the sling and says "that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yaghan" /cited in English/. I cannot agree with this view. I shall not go into his evidence and mine at this point. Instead, I take the view of Snow (b).204 that the Yamana "are remarkably expert with their slings" /cited in English/. Obviously, the fact that they own and use the sling also proves "their ingenuity" /cited in English/.

8. Snares and Fishing Implements

Our Yamana are fortunate in having a wide selection among the animals of their homeland to meet their food needs. They approach each species in a special way in order to catch them as easily and surely as possible. Besides the weapons mentioned

/585 cont./

223 above, they also use several implements which we shall briefly
224 characterize here and describe in greater detail below. These implements have been brought under one heading in this section. They help the men and women to obtain the smaller representatives of Fuegian fauna, namely, birds and the so-called lower animals, such as crustacea and crabs.

C. The Snare-line

223 This is a construction that is used for incomplete mass fishing. The Yaganes call it ufka. I believe the most suitable designation is large snare-line. It could also be called "snare-trap." It is used more often by the Halakwulup than by our Fuegians. Hyades (4):350 correctly reminds us that it was observed by Bougainville in the year 1769 on the shores of the Strait of Magellan.

223 The foundation, so to speak, of this large snare-line is a
223 thick, braided cord of long guanaco sinews. Since few /586/ people can obtain this, they content themselves with whale sinews and make a first braid with three strong strands. This is saturated with fat and repeatedly greased, for it often lies on the damp earth for a long time and must be protected from rotting.

On the long cord at intervals of about 60 centimeters, there
223 are tied as many knotted loops, known as ufkapel, as the length
224 of cord will permit. Each of them consists of a single strip of whalebone about four millimeters wide, the edges of which must not bite since this would interfere with the free movement of the small loop-knot at the upper end. The other end, after being drawn through the loop, terminates in a simple knot and is fastened to the long cord. All the knotted loops are placed on the same side of the cord. Each one, when it is entirely loose, has a diameter of nearly 30 centimeters.

223 Actually, therefore, the large snare-line ufka, is, following Hyades (4):304, a "game of snare" /translated from French/ (Fig. 59). Martial 136 calls it "a snare" /translated from French, lacet/, which he describes as "a rope of seal tendons on which

/486 cont./

223 running loops of whalebone are placed at intervals" /translated from French/ (196).

196. There is a good illustration in Hyades (q):Plate XXX. Lothrop (b):157 calls attention to the large snare-line of the Selk'nam; he overlooks the fact that this differs in the arrangement of the whalebone running-loops of our Yamana.

It is best suited to catch wild geese, which prefer a certain locality. Here this snare-line is spread out on the level ground, pulled taut, and finally tied at either end to a post driven into the ground. It is of little or no use for catching other birds. Hyades (q):304 expresses himself too vaguely when he says, "this snare is used to catch large birds" /translated from French/. That is also the reason why only a few Yamana families actually own and use this article, since it is laborious to make and must be very carefully stored. Thus it represents a considerable value.

β. The Snare-rod

Whereas the long snare-line serves to catch masses of birds, another implement which I call the snare-rod catches them singly. With this the Indian stalks chiefly geese and ducks, but also cormorants and penguins. Hence one sees this akāmuš, as the implement is called, in almost every family.

It consists of two parts. A light, long rod as a shaft, known as yēyakērī, with a rounded, smooth surface is nothing more than [824] a young trunk of Nothofagus betuloides or Maytenus magellanica, which has been treated by a long process of scraping. It must be very light, hence Drimys is not suitable. The average diameter is evenly scaled down /487/ to 15 millimeters. This shaft tapers a very little at either end and very gradually. The longer it is, the more suitable.

223 284 At the top a large noose of whalebone is attached, and thus the whole thing appears, as Hyades (q):359 expresses it, like "a

/487 cont./

223 284 long, slender shaft furnished with a running loop of whalebone" /translated from French/. The end piece is attached to the tip of the shaft by a knot in the lashing of sinew. It is surprising that this whalebone noose, kēʔᵘ ēf, is put together with two pieces, a long one and a short one. The two run side by side for a few centimeters and are lashed with sinews; the short one ends in a small loop-knot. We also find this same overlapping [171] in every one of the whalebone loops on the long snare-line of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 283), whereas on that of our Yamana each whalebone loop is one strip only (Fig. 59). A kēʔᵘ ēf consisting of two parts is more effective and more durable; our Yamana are convinced of that. But why they do not use these two-part loops on the long snare-line no one could tell me. Probably the people avoid the greater effort, since the work of making a snare-line is laborious enough.

223 We need not explain specifically how this snare-rod is used. It is, of course, put forward unnoticed by a man hidden in a suitable spot, drawn over the head of a bird, and immediately pulled in with a sharp jerk. The principle of the noose is exactly the same as in the case of the long snare-line. The natives even use a single whalebone noose without any kind of shaft to catch birds. Herewith we have adequately described and characterized the threefold way in which the whalebone snare is used by the Yamana.

γ. Mussel Fork, Mussel Breaker, Crab Fork

226 [262] The shellfish of the sea have the same importance for the diet of our Fuegian as bread, for instance, has for the European. Many of them he can gather on the beach, others he must take out of the water. The two types of mussels which are found there, namely ēʔᵘ uf (Mytilus chilensis) and kecoin (Mytilus edulis), occur in vast quantities. They are larger and tastier the more abundantly they are covered with water even at lowest ebb tide and the stronger the current is that swirls around them back and forth. It would be impossible to pry these animals loose with one's hand, as one can, for instance, the smaller and less tasty ones that every ebb tide uncovers.

/521 cont./

225 whale, be it large or small, will provide for many families, often entirely free.

3. Bird Hunting

223 825 The home of the Yamana swarms with land birds and sea birds. A gaily colored, feathered throng of many shapes animates the islands and rocks, inhabits the inlets and lagoons, and crosses the network of channels and the broad open spaces in flocks, in stormy and sunny weather. Their habits and characteristics are all well known to the Indian, but he pays them special heed only insofar as they have something to offer him or to tell him. Some of them furnish him with tasty meat and others with fresh eggs in spring; some yield him coveted feathers for body decoration, others their bones for necklaces; certain ones announce a change of weather or of seasons, and a few are heralds of interesting events in the distance, even in the future. All of them live in his belief [773] as the descendants of that stratum of population which inhabited this region long before the actual human beings of today.

As is to be expected, however, those species mean most to him which serve him as food. Not just any animal that comes within the Indian's range tempts his palate and his appetite. He has good judgment in distinguishing among them, and he consciously chooses what is good for him. He avails himself of only a few species for his own use from the plentiful feathered world of his homeland. What does not serve him and does not suit his wishes, he lightheartedly passes by. Everywhere he is selective and wisely calculating, not least in evaluating the types of birds available to him.

223 From the start he pays no attention to small animals; the meat they could give him would not be worth his efforts. Herons and owls mean nothing to him either, for they are all skin and bones. Sea birds and the easily available gull chasers, especially the diurnal predatory birds, such as condor and falcon, vulture and hawk, repulse him because they feed on carrion. There are other birds, however, that he would not want to be without in his selection of food; they are a welcome change in the dull taste of his monotonous meat diet. Primarily he has his eye on penguins and

/521 cont./

223 cormorants, on wild geese and /522/ ducks, and finally on oyster catchers and divers. He does not mind the predominant blubber taste of their meat; he feels a compulsive need for a good deal of fat in that cold region where he must sustain himself with insufficient body covering and poor living conditions.

We recognize his sharp gift of observation from the way in which he hunts birds. Their habits form the basis of his methods of hunting and snaring them. These methods again point to his mental gifts, since the suitability of his implements can hardly be surpassed (244). Environment educates primitive man far more

244. This does not become evident if one dis-

Fig. 56. Use of the Sling.

misses the various methods of hunting and trapping with a few words, as do Outes (g):53, for example, or Martial: 195. Bridges (k):240, on the other hand, emphasizes the skill of the Yamana in their bird hunting: "They have various methods of hunting and killing birds, and in all they show much skill" /translated from Spanish/.

than civilized man, who, to begin with, is much more comfortably situated. /Fig. 56 appears here./ Concern with necessary subsistence makes primitive man a keen judge of his territory and an unsurpassed inventor in the realm of his activities. This is true in

/522 cont./

223 the highest degree of a people who, like our Fuegians, are in the so-called economic gathering stage. They are and remain wholly dependent on what nature voluntarily offers them in their homeland. Hence, if they wish to preserve life -- and this their strongest instinct compels them to do -- they must, with rigorous deliberation and repeated practical attempts, take what serves them and what leads safely to their goal with a minimum of effort.

In spite of the abundance of birds, the Yamana, as we have said, prefer certain kinds, above all penguins and cormorants, wild ducks, and sea geese. Even among these they make a selection and get a little variety into their meal. They also aim for the giant sea birds (Diomedea, Querquedula, Phoebetria, Puffinus, Thalassoea), for gulls (Larus), terns (Sterna), and swans (Cygnus melanocoryphus), and now and then land birds, such as herons (Nycticorax), snipes (Gallinago), spectacled ibis (Theristicus), plovers (Charadrius), sandpipers (Totanus), coots (Fulica), and oyster catchers (Haematopus); finally, the small songbirds, /523/ such as thrushes (Turdus, Curaeus), passerines (Cinclodes), and parrots (Microsittace) (245). They kill some with stones hurled

245. Hyades (f):562 has made an almost complete list of the birds hunted by the Yamana. It clearly shows the great variety.

with their bare hands or with a sling (Fig. 56), others with bow and arrow or with the so-called bird spear (Fig. 57), and still others with snares and traps, all depending on whether the method promises success. The more important species of birds are hunted according to definite methods that bear favorable testimony to the skill, cunning, and energy of the hunter.

a. Penguins

It is not surprising that the Yamana most often hunt penguins. They inhabit the rocks and inlets there in large groups. Fitz-Roy (a):184 noted that "penguins are much prized" /cited in English/.

/523 cont./

223 Most easily accessible because they are most often found in the channels are the spectacled penguin, súrsa, sússa (Spheniscus magellanicus), and the rock penguin, kelóina (Spheniscus humboldti), which are smaller in number and in body size than the two related species, the golden-haired penguin, kálawina (Catarrhactes chrysocome), and the golden-crowned penguin, kernux (Catarrhactes chrysolophus). The considerably larger king penguin (Aptenodytes patagonica) prefers the southern waters and very seldom is found in the country inhabited by the Yamana.

During the day most of the birds of the two species first mentioned remain on the outlying islands and rocks. On calm days, which are rare, the family rows there in their canoe. The man disembarks and easily approaches the clumsy animals which he strikes down with a cudgel. He can comfortably kill a good dozen in a few minutes; he tosses them into his vessel and leaves the place.

Ordinarily he can only kill the individual animals that he runs across now and then on his trips. Penguins like to form small groups and are not timid. With some cleverness the hunter can approach them. The woman rows the canoe in the direction of the birds while the man keeps the sling, as well as the bird spear, in readiness; he must decide on one or the other in a moment of time. He does not promise himself much with the sling, for only a very lucky hit with the stone will stun the powerful penguin. Hence he tries to get very close. He prefers to hurl the bird spear. It does not matter whether this has one or two bone points (Fig. 57), the animal is almost always fatally wounded because the heavy, coarse weapon tears open a large wound and it soon bleeds to death. It cannot sink, in part because of the wooden spear shaft. It is easily lifted into the canoe.

Thus an individual family will steer toward those spots where these birds frolic about and will try their luck in the above manner. /524/ /Fig. 57 appears here./ Sometimes two or several vessels will encircle a small flock of penguins, the men hurling their spears from a greater distance or swinging their slings with heavy stones. It is easy to lay hands on a wounded or stunned bird on the water as well as on land. Since the penguin swims a certain distance only slightly below the surface and can be attracted with

/524 cont./
223 a soft whistle, the hunter instructs his wife how to steer the canoe. He observes the movements of the bird and tries to meet it suddenly as it comes up out of the water two meters or less away. The alert hunter must take advantage of the moment when the penguin, reappearing out of the water, lifts its head above the surface, and then he must thrust the spear in its body. The proximity of the boat, which frightens the unsuspecting animal, would cause it to dive again immediately. Penguin hunting shows how dependent man and wife are upon each other and how their cooperation brings success which will benefit them and their family.

[411]

Fig. 57. Bird Spear. Natural size.

β. Cormorants

No less valuable than the penguins for the hungry Yamana are the cormorants which are almost as plentiful there. These Indians are primarily interested in four kinds, namely, the Vigua cormorant, touwīšiwa (Phalacrocorax olivaceus), the Magellanic cormorant, ē'ętex (Phalacrocorax magellanicus), the tufted cormorant, wāsénim (Phalacrocorax gaimardi), and finally the black cormorant, yęsęx, yęsaëx (Phalacrocorax atriceps) (Fig. 58). Other species, such as Phalacrocorax verrucosus, only occasionally visit the inner channels. The meat of this type of bird is tougher and drier than that of the penguins, but the Indian welcomes it nevertheless. He also uses their bones and feathers.

One usually sees the cormorants in small groups on the water and on the beach. The hunter tries to get close enough to them so that he can use his sling successfully if several animals are standing close together. He selects

/524 cont./
two to four medium-sized stones which he hurls forcefully all at once (246). He aims at the heads of the birds, and one hit stuns

246. Hyades (g):35 mentions briefly: "To kill birds they use the sling, in the manipulation of which they are very adroit."

them so completely that he can easily capture them. Whether he is in his boat or on land, he pursues the ones that were not so severely

Fig. 58. Phalacrocorax atriceps.

wounded and try to escape. He kills them with his bird spear or with a cudgel. In the water they are more awkward than penguins.

/525/ As for animals that spend the night on flat land, he creeps up on them in the dark when the weather is calm. They are not sound asleep. If they are awakened, they have the habit of running away, but not taking flight. He carefully conceals a piece of bark, a small section of which is burning faintly, until he is standing in front of the birds. Suddenly he swings the piece of bark or a glowing stick, the end of which is split into thin sections, rapidly back and forth in the air as a kind of torch, šǎala, blinding the startled animals. Before they know /Fig. 58 appears here/ what is happening to them, the hunter strikes down several with a cudgel and runs after the ones that are escaping. With this method, in a very short time he has a rich booty and is content.

/525 cont./

223 On a stormy, rainy night the cormorants sleep soundly. They stick their head under a wing and bury it deep in their feathers. The hunter creeping on all fours is certain to get at them without having to exert undue caution. With a sure, firm grip of both hands he grasps the bent neck of the animal, immediately plunges his teeth into the section of the neck left free between his fists, and while he is biting into the neck, his two fists crack it through. The animal dies without a sound. The hunter immediately seizes the next one in the same manner. Nevertheless, sometimes a dying animal will utter a soft sound or struggle convulsively. This wakens the birds standing nearby. The hunter calms them by setting /526/ a dead bird upright with his hands and having it bow gently from one side to the other. Thanks to the darkness of the night and the confusion of the storm, the startled bird is soon quieted and, deceived, puts its head back under its wing. The hunter tries his luck further until he is content with his rich booty (247). He leaves the animals he has killed until the next

247. Twice Bridges (MM:III, 116; 1869 and MM:XIII, 157; 1879) describes in great detail a Yamana attack on cormorants.

morning, and as inconspicuously as he came, he departs. His chief concern is not to startle this flock of birds because they will probably spend the night here again in the near future, and he would prefer to come again not in vain (248).

[231] 248. Furthermore, Fitz-Roy (a):184 maintains: "On moonlight nights, birds are caught when roosting, not only by the men but by their dogs, which are sent out to seize them while asleep upon the rocks or beach; and so well are these dogs trained, that they bring all they catch safely to their masters" /cited in English/.

/526 cont./

223 In this method of catching birds the Yamana show an incredible dexterity in controlling their whole bodies and in deceiving the startled birds. One night I accompanied two men merely to observe them. I crept along behind them. Simply because I had no practice whatsoever, I almost deprived them of success in their hunt.

223 481 The cormorants prefer to nest on the smooth, steep rocks that jut out far into the open sea. From below it is impossible to climb up some of these walls, in which hundreds of the birds make their nests. Sometimes a forced ascent can be made from the other side, and for this the Yamana do not lack daring when their food has become scarce. Several men set out together on a dark, stormy night, after they have oriented themselves somewhat by daylight. They climb up to the top of the rock and get close to the edge of the steep wall within which the many nests have been built. One of the younger men ties a long, firm strap, ūkęšą, around his loins. He is carefully lowered by the other men who have secured a safe footing up above. Previously they have agreed 223 on certain knocks as signals which the man who is lowered is to communicate to those above by hitting his strap -- this to enable him to move successfully. He seizes the sleeping cormorant, which has hidden its head in its wing, by its bent neck and bites through it. The animal dies at once. Depending on the terrain, he either drops his booty or ties it to the strap around his hips or to a strap that has been lowered. Immediately he seizes another bird. He is favored by the blowing and howling of the dark night, and a good yield is assured him because of the great number of birds, even though some should wake up and escape. If he grows tired or finds himself already heavily laden with booty, he lets himself be hoisted up. Usually another man takes his place in this work, for they want /527/ to take full advantage of this favorable opportunity and be well repaid for their efforts. The people know very well that this undertaking is dangerous (249), but when an emergency

249. This is proved by experiences that Bridges (MM:XIII, 157; 1879) had: "Many accidents occur in following these risky pursuits. Sometimes sharp rocks cut the

223

/527 cont./
thongs, sometimes the man slips, lets go his hold, and falls into the surging sea below" /cited in English/.

presses them, they decide to do it (250) and admonish each other

250. Similar descriptions of this type of cormorant hunting are given by Bridges (in VSA:XII, 214; 1866 and in MM:XIII, 156; 1879), Dabbene (b):186, Hyades (h):39 and (q):359, Outes (g):53, and others.

to be particularly cautious.

In this connection the hunter must count on another difficulty which sometimes puts him in the greatest danger. His wife must row him to those high rock walls or low flat stones on which he plans to hunt the cormorant. He lands during the day and keeps hidden until evening when the birds are expected to come back to their nests. Meanwhile the wife in the canoe has gone back to a safe inlet on another island, but has left her husband some meat and drinking water. Woe unto him if bad weather suddenly sets in, and he is detained longer than expected at this place. "Many days may pass before his wife can venture to cross over the islet to take him off. The solitary man then husbands to the utmost his limited supply of fresh water. The rising billows nearly overflow the islet, sometimes quite so, and threaten to wash him away, and the spray keeps him thoroughly wet. I have heard of very distressing cases, when the men have had to drink shag's blood and to eat them raw, and when they have nearly perished with the cold" /cited in English/. This description by Bridges (MM:XIII, 158;1879), drawn from reality, makes us realize the many dangers and sacrifices that the Yamana encounter on their hunt for cormorants. His accurate knowledge of the region and his sure estimate of the weather, however, stand him in good stead, hence he never recklessly plunges into danger (see Hyades [q]:360).

[261 271]

These birds even spend the night on the stronger trees that grow near the water's edge and are easy to reach. Such trees

/527 cont./

223 soon die because of the abundant guano deposits. When in a short time they are bare of leaves, the cormorants like them even better and roost on their branches in large numbers. The Indian stealthily approaches these, too, cautiously climbs up one of these trees, and kills one sleeping animal after another by biting through its neck and dropping it to the ground. In order to be well covered, he [302] paints his body completely black. This undertaking also demands a masterful dexterity on the part of the hunter. Bridges (MM:XIII, 158; 1879) confirms this: "All are not able to signalize themselves [555] in the difficult art of shag catching, but such as do become valued members of society" /cited in English/, and the rest of the men trust in their leadership.

Finally, cormorants are caught in another, but simple /528/ and not dangerous manner, namely, with bait in a sort of trap known as čewur. This procedure is recommended for level ground and for places that do not have high rocks with breeding holes. The Indians ram a sturdy post into the ground and on it fasten several long, thin sinews, each of which ends in a short, small bone pointed at both ends and with a dead fish drawn over it. The bait is partially covered with a very loose, thin layer of dried algae, and a few pieces of fat are placed on top, which are, first of all, supposed to attract gulls. Along with them cormorants will also gather around this bait and will swallow the anchored dead fish mentioned above. The small pointed bone concealed in the bait settles obliquely in the stomach, and they try to get rid of the discomfort, but the longer they tug and choke, the more surely will they bleed to death (251). The trapper can

251. Bridges (h):210 is referring to this bait when he writes: "Or else, for the cormorants, they avail themselves of wooden lures" /translated from Spanish/.

easily get at them.

Hyades (q):359, relying on Bridges, describes a similar bait arrangement: This "consists of three slivers of hard wood, well sharpened, fastened together at the bottom of a curved stick. Their points, facing in opposite directions, are stuck into and

/528 cont./

223 hidden in bait of fish meat. The cormorants are caught by this snare, swallowing, along with the bait, the splinters of wood which penetrate deep into the bird's throat and cause it to die" /translated from French/. Some cormorants are even caught with the so-called noose-rod (Fig. 60). BD:465 speaks of tūkatsīa, "to catch shags with a noose at the end of a long rod" /cited in English/. The method chosen, of course, depends on local conditions.

γ. Wild Geese

Our Yamana appreciate the meat of wild geese even more than do the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 282). According to BD:291, Maiū is the "generic term for geese" /cited in English/. The most common are kímǫa (Chloëphaga magellanica) and lūrux (Chleöphaga poliocephala); the strictly monogamous šēkuš (Chloëphaga hybrida) is very timid and hard to obtain.

Wild geese congregate in the evening on flat places covered with fresh grass. The Indians use this opportunity to spread out the large snare-line, as I should like to call this trap (Fig. 59) for mass capture. On a strong rope of whale sinews, uswúmi wápisa, or a stout leather thong of sealskin, áma wára, there are fastened with a simple knot as many running loops of whalebone, kēx ēf, as the line of about 20 meters will permit. The loops, about 60 centimeters apart, are a single piece and when open have a diameter of no more than 20 centimeters. Since they consist of a single piece, they are not as safe as those made of two pieces of whalebone of different lengths such as the Selk'nam use (Vol. I, 283, Fig. 63), /529/ hence I regard the latter as more perfect. Moreover, the loops of the Selk'nam snare are placed on either side of the rope, whereas the Yamana put them on one side only (252). They fasten the two ends of the long line /Fig. 59 appears here/ to short posts rammed into the ground. Sometimes a post or two are put in the middle, and the whole line is thus adequately secured. /530/ The individual running loops are open and lie flat on the ground (253). A wild goose walking along,

253. I could not find out whether bait is laid inside the individual loops. Outes

[Text continues on page 240.-Analyst]

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284

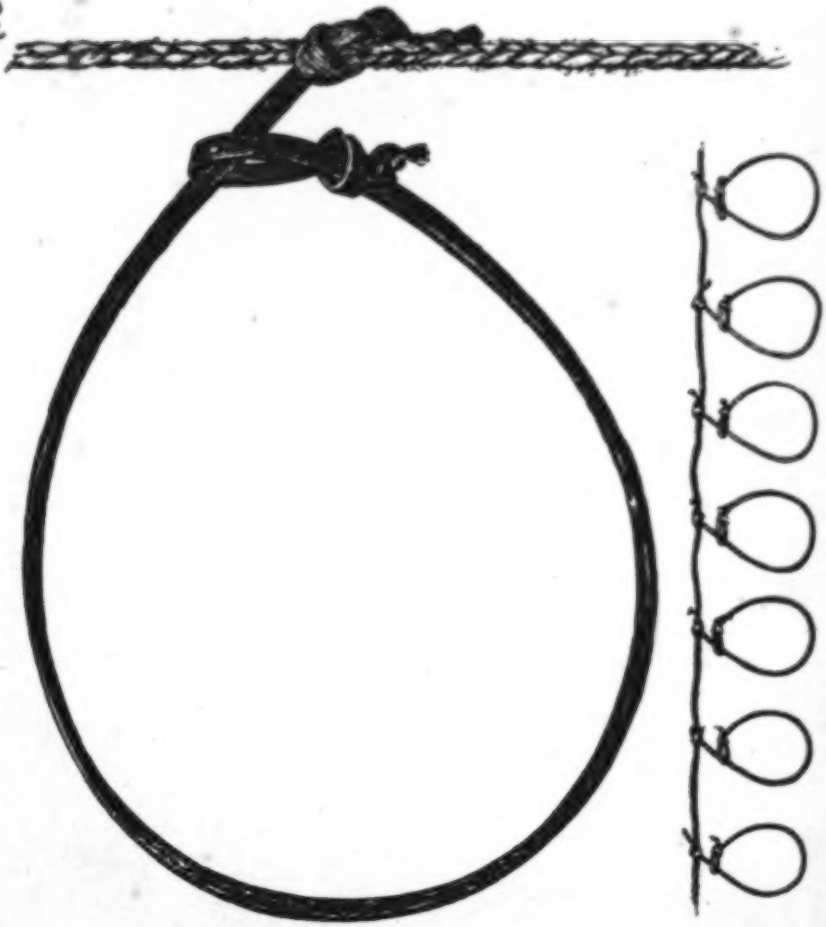

Fig. 59. The Large Snare-line. Two-thirds natural size.

223

/530 cont./
(g):53 maintains: "Inside they put a bit of fish, mollusks, or meat in order to attract the birds" /translated from Spanish/.

feeding in the grass, gets caught in it and pulls it together more and more the harder it tugs at it. The hunter watches his trap from a distance and counts the birds that already belong to him. He does not come out of hiding until the wild geese that are still walking around freely are frightened away by the anxious unrest of the snared animals. He beats them to death with a cudgel or twists their necks off.

The Yamana has far less opportunity to lay this long snare-line ŭfka, successfully than does the neighboring Selk'nam; local conditions are markedly different in each case. Moreover, if we consider that this article requires considerable trouble to make and is awkward to store, we can understand that a Yamana only rarely owns one. Hyades (h):22 confirms this, saying "that during our year's stay at Orange Bay we saw only five or six specimens" /translated from French/. Other travelers do not even mention it. Hyades (q):359 is correct in his judgment: "The scarcity of these snares leads one to believe that they are no longer very much used for the hunt" /translated from French/. It can be seen at a glance that the snare-lines of the Yamana and Selk'nam are very much alike. [171]

Aside from this, almost every man owns a simple but useful article for catching wild geese and other fowl, such as ducks, cormorants, and penguins. This akámuŭ I should like to call "noose-rod" (Fig. 60). At the top of a thin, strong rod at least two and a half meters long, there is fastened a single running loop, kĕ̄ŭ-ĕf, made out of a long, narrow strip of whalebone about 60 centimeters in length. In the dusk of evening or on a bright night a man cautiously creeps up to a bird asleep standing upright and places the open noose over its head. He quickly pulls the noose shut and drags the bird toward him, breaking its neck instantly. The more silent he is, the less the animals standing around will be disturbed and the more plentiful will be the nocturnal hunter's booty. The Yamana like to try their luck with

[Text continues on page 242.—Analyst]

/531/

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284

Fig. 60. The Noose-rod.
One-half natural size.

/530 cont./

223 this noose-rod, and they do so often, there being many favorable places for it in their country (254).

254. Hyades (q):359, Lothrop (b):157, and Martial:195 have briefly described this object, without going into greater detail about how it is used.

δ. Steamer Ducks

In the sheltered channels one finds a goodly number of steamer ducks (loggerhead-ducks /English/, steamboat-ducks /English/, canards à vapeur /French/, patovapor /Spanish/. The Yamana call Tachyeres brachypterus by the name ɬiakuĩ. /531/ /Fig. 60 appears here./ The large animals have tasty meat. Since the Indians cannot get at the birds in any other way because of their light slumber, they try their luck with the sling, which, however, is not very promising, for even a powerful hit by a stone does not hurt the strong birds. They are most successfully bagged with the noose-rod, the well-known kɛ́ʔɛf. In daylight at the place where they congregate, the man builds a small [343] temporary hut, marɛ́na, out of a few sticks and twigs with thick foliage, just large enough to cover himself. He continues to sit here until the birds fly up. Cautiously he pushes the long noose-rod through the loose wall of the hut, places the noose over the bird's head, and with a sharp tug pulls in the captured animal. He kills it immediately so that the other birds are not disquieted by its fluttering.

In addition he uses a special decoy which Bridges (MM:XIII, 158;1879) observed: "An Indian builds himself a little bower. Here with a long, slender rod, having a fine noose of whalebone at the end of it, he sits awaiting in patience the landing of the birds. When they are sufficiently near, he cleverly imitates their cry, which awakens their curiosity; they approach his hiding-place nearer, till he is able with noose to catch one of them. He pulls this in to him, and if a male he keeps it alive as a decoy. He thrusts out his noose little by little, and makes his poor

/531 cont./

223 decoy-bird cry out; this brings the birds up again, and so he nooses another" /cited in English/ (255). This requires great

255. Hyades (op. 359 probably also relies on these data given only once here.

dexterity.

/532/ Whenever there is an opportunity, a man will try to attract these ducks with a call. He well knows how sharp-eyed and timid they are. When he approaches them, they quickly dive and escape. Forthwith the man hides behind a rock or under brush. If he has with him a large yellow beak of this duck, he puts it in his mouth and through it makes the call of the female: tē, tē... If the little pair nevertheless remains motionless where they are, he gives the male call: tuk, tuk..., thereby arousing their jealousy. Both animals immediately head in the direction of the caller and, despite their excited struggle, will often look under water for the supposed partner. If the man succeeds in reaching them with his noose-rod, he first captures the female. Thereafter the male hardly moves away, and so he gets it also. If the pair of flakuf are sitting on the open beach, the hunter likewise holds the duck bill in front of his mouth and gives the same call until the two animals jealously fight each other and, unsuspecting, usually draw near to the hunter. He tries to capture them by placing the noose-rod over the head of one after the other and pulling them in.

Finally, the Indian takes advantage of the awkward, brief flight of these heavy ducks who prefer to seek out quiet bays. If several canoes happen to be together, they form a row, block the ducks' escape into the open sea, and slowly push them back to shore. Meanwhile the hunters try to wound or kill the animals with slings or bird spears. On the beach they run after them with a cudgel and knock them down. Since each of the ducks likes to dive and swim short distances under water, the hunter tries to change its course by hurling a few stones with his sling, making them drop into the water just in front of the duck as it swims off. Startled, it turns to one side and thus, by a succession of such stones, is unknowingly steered toward the shore or near the canoe where it falls into the hands of the hunter.

/530 cont./

E. Other Species of Ducks

223 Besides the above species there are others whose coming is welcome to the Indian. The most common are wiyen (Anas crecca), mälga (Nettion flavirostre), wipetig (Querquedula cyanoptera), Mned (Querquedula versicolor), and wi'gabif (Gallis spinicauda).

On the open channel the hunter has a hard time getting near them. Hence he surprises them by creeping up on them when they are on the beach. They usually stand close together. From a short distance the man hurls a few stones simultaneously from his sling into the small flock, aiming at their heads. He is satisfied to stun them, /§30/ for this prevents them from flying or running away. The ones that have not been wounded quickly escape into the water and swim off. From the skiff the man hurls a few more stones after them, and without much trouble he or his wife afterward collect the wounded animals from their canoe wherever the birds happen to be floating on the water.

E. Special Methods of Capture

In looking for food the Tamana are inescapably dependent on the conditions of their environment. If they want to obtain through a mass catch a moderate number of certain birds, they stick to the tested methods. Beyond that they capture every bird in a special way and with implements which will guarantee the desired result (236). Dexterity and cunning, a sharp gift of

236. The following statement on the Tamana in Gomez (p.)33 is incorrect. "They seldom succeed in catching birds" /translated from Spanish/. The above descriptions are the best evidence to the contrary.

observation, and a sure command of their own bodies aid them in this.

Whenever there is an opportunity, a man lies in ambush and tries to lure a bird. He is surprisingly good at an exact imitation.

/133 cont./

223 of the voice of whatever bird species he is after. Since he remains concealed in bush or under a pile of loose sticks or in a low hut as a hiding place, the bird keeps coming closer until it can be reached with the noose-rod. The hunter is even more successful when he catches a bird, usually a duck or a goose, and forces it to utter loud calls itself at the desired moment. Hyades (p.309 calls this procedure "hunting in ambush" /translated from French/. The hunter uses his hands to catch young animals and birds brooding on their nests.

He is also very clever at using a torch to blind birds spending the night at certain places and standing close together. He suddenly swings a piece of wood or bark faintly glowing at one end, and before the confused animals can decide to fly away he or his companion has already knocked down a goodly number with cudgels. They bite through the head or neck of the stunned birds in order to kill them quickly. This convenient method is often chosen, especially when a flock of birds is spending the night near the hut.

If the man is bent on getting a single bird whose nest he has discovered, he catches it with the ~~[illegible]~~, the single noose. He uses the narrow strip of whalebone with the running loop, such as is fastened to the top of the long noose-rod (Fig. 60). The man fastens it to a short stick which he drives vertically into the ground. If the nest is well hidden by twigs or branches, he places the open noose in the path which the bird itself has opened. If the nest lies open, however, he blocks it on all sides with twigs and leaves free only a single /134/ approach where he stretches the open noose. In one way or another the bird returning to the nest will unsuspectingly put its head in the noose and pull it shut with its own forward movement. The hunter immediately seizes his booty, the reward for his skill.

It has been occasionally maintained that the Tatuana also shoot birds with bow and arrow (187). I questioned several old

187. Fim-Boy (p.194 wrote: "Birds are also frequently killed with arrows" /cited in English/. Somewhat later Osoro (p.60 maintained: "Birds are hunted with bow and arrow" /translated from Spanish/. Both opinions are not very reliable.

/324 cont./

223 cum about this. They assured me that an arrow was much too precious to their ancestors to waste it on a bird, and that the other implements proved more effective for catching birds.

Naturally, there is a difference in the frequency with which the various methods are used in various regions. The decisive factor is the special type of bird and the Indian's desire for variety in his monotonous diet. Every man is more or less skillful in all the various maneuvers and therefore probably always successful. In particular details the Yamana frequently proceed exactly like their neighbors on the Great Island (Vol. I, 182).

A prevailing habit among our Fueguans is that every man ostracizes on the spot the birds he has caught. He places the animal on its back, opens its belly with a knife or a sharp mussel shell, and pulls out all the internal organs with a single movement. He almost always finds water close by, which he scoops up with his hand, rinsing out the abdominal cavity of the bird. He pulls a leather strap through the beaks and either ties it around his hips so that the birds encircle his body or he places it over his shoulder so that the birds are evenly distributed front and back. In this way he always has his hands free, for it is possible that other prey will cross his path, which he does not want to escape and which he must pursue without losing a moment of time.

4. Hunting Guanacos, Otters, Foxes

224 Although the Yamana sometimes hunt the guanaco, the otter, and the large fox, they do it not so much for their meat, but chiefly, and in the case of the last two species, exclusively, for their skin. The way they capture these mammals remains to be described.

The guanaco (Lama huanachus) lives only in the eastern part of Yamana territory, on both shores of Beagle Channel, approximately from Puerto Brown or Puerto Harberds on eastward and throughout Navarino Island. The hunter stracks the animal on foot, for his dogs are only now and then trained for this and as a rule do not help him much. Hence several men always band together for a hunting expedition. /325/ They take advantage of

/553 cont./

226 daily tasks. Hence every other type of fishing, with the exception of the occasional mass-catch of ílëšči, is avoided as much as possible (297).

462

297. According to Hyades (h):20: "...the ease with which they get fish among the large algae relieves them of all the work of making a fishing pen" /translated from French/, and the same is equally true of similar arrangements.

222 5. Birds. Birds' eggs are also counted among the foods from the animal kingdom by our Fuegian natives. Earlier travelers, for example, Fitz-Roy (a):184, often observed that "eggs are eagerly sought for by the natives" /cited in English/. Spring is the time for them. Wherever the family lands, the girls and women hunt [462] for the nests of larger birds. They do not choose among them, nor does it bother them if the eggs have been sat on for some time. Their hunt is, without exception, rewarded by a rich harvest, for they are very familiar with the brooding places of all kinds of birds. Gathering is very easy where penguins brood, for they lay large eggs. The women bring their harvest to the canoe or the hut in their little baskets, and it is promptly consumed. They never risk any special dangers in order to obtain birds' eggs.

223 At the beginning of summer they also take young birds of large species still in the nest. They kill the tender animal by hitting it on the head with a stone or stick or by beating it hard against a rock. Above all, when they search out the breeding places of cormorants and penguins, they quickly fill their baskets with this game. Young cormorants cannot escape beyond the immediate vicinity of their nest because their wings cannot as yet carry them from the height of their nest into the sea, and penguins are likewise nest-bound because they do not yet know how to move in the water.

231 For entertainment and out of playfulness, the women also like to take an occasional young bird to their hut where they feed it until it is full-grown. If it proves tame enough, it is

262 Lothrop (1928, p. 32) rated the relative importance in the *Yahgan* dietary of their foods as follows: (1) Easily of first importance, mussels; (2) next, seals, and fish of many kinds; (3) next, porpoises, gulls, and bird eggs; (4) then, whales, limpets, crabs, sea urchins, geese, penguins, cormorants; (5) last and least, otter (chiefly in the west), guanaco (only in the east), conchs, ducks, berries (especially wild black currants). The fungi eaten were those growing on trees; those growing on the ground were not eaten. Some wild celery and wild parsnips and two varieties of cress and young shoots of tussock grass were also eaten. Foxes were eaten only in famine as a last [263] resort. Salt was not used.

225 **Hunting.**—Seals were hunted with spear or harpoon from canoes or from land (pl. 36), or killed with clubs. Whales were occasionally hunted in the open sea with spear or harpoon; stranded or dead whales were eagerly exploited. Dogs helped in otter and fox hunting. 223 Cormorants were taken at night by torchlight with clubs; also with a pronged wooden gorge hook. Birds were taken with pole snares (fig. 11, *d*) and with single or multiple tether snares of sinew or whalebone. No lifting pole snares, deadfalls, or pitfalls are reported.

226 **Fishing and sea-food gathering.**—Mussels were gathered by hand; limpets, with a flat-ended stick; sea urchins, with a four-pronged wooden fork; crabs and other Crustacea, with a harpoon or a three-pronged stick. For taking sea food, the *Yahgan* also used a spear with two diverging shanks, or two to four spears lashed together. Women fished with a kelp-stem or braided whale-sinew line, that had a slipknot of whalebone or of quill at the end, instead of a hook, to hold the bait; slowly drawing the fish to the surface, they would grab it by hand. Fishhooks were probably lacking. Weirs of branches or stakes were used. True fish nets were absent. The nearest approach thereto was a small basket attached to the end of a pole and used as a sort of dip net for diminutive fish.

251 **Food storage.**—Limited quantities of dried tree fungi were stored; so too was oil, especially whale and seal oil.

415 **Food preparation and eating.**—Large mussel shells were used for melting fat and holding grease. Water was heated and grease melted [252] by throwing hot stones into them, but there is no record of stone boiling proper.

Shells of large mussels were sometimes used as plates; shells or bark buckets as cups; hollow bird bones or reeds as drinking tubes.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

361 There were no permanent villages. Certain groups of natives re-
621 lated apparently by blood and marriage frequented and occupied more or less fixed separate localities within the respective five sub-

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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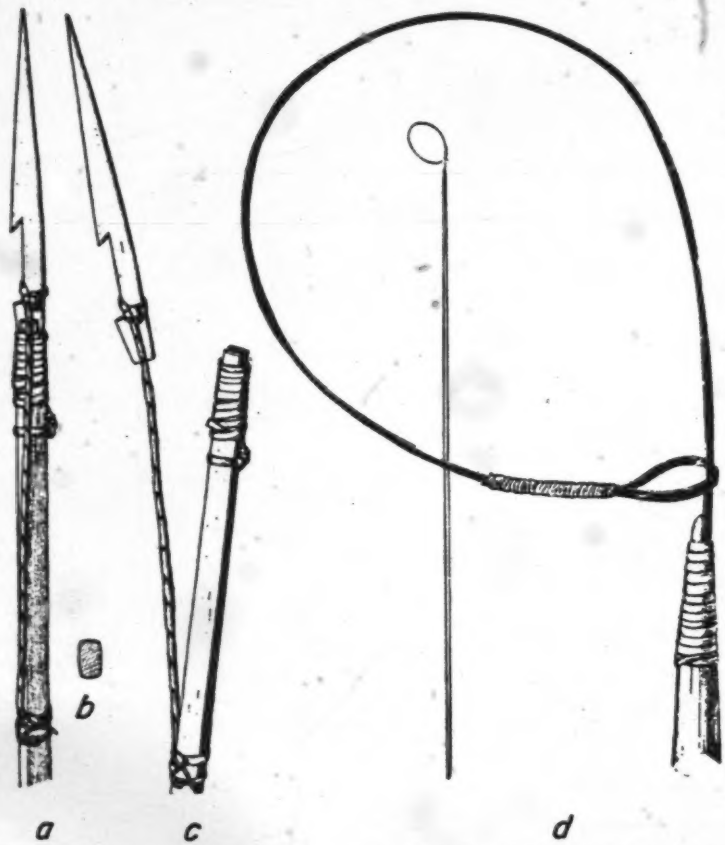

FIGURE 11.—*Yahgan* harpoon and pole snare. *a*, Harpoon assembled for casting; *b*, cross section of harpoon shaft; *c*, position when dragging through water (length of harpoon head 10 in., or 25.5 cm.); *d*, two views of bird snare (diameter of loop 6½ in., or 16.5 cm.). (After Lothrop, 1928, figs. 82, 87.)

361 621 divisional areas. Apart from initiation and other social or religious functions, which brought larger numbers together temporarily in a common camp, each biological family or small group of two or three families tended to camp apart, more frequently in the same shelter.

342 The two chief forms of family shelter were the beehive hut and the conical hut. The beehive or domed hut, the more common form, especially in the west, was circular or elliptical in ground plan, made of a framework of flexible sticks bent over dome-shape and fastened together, and covered with grass, ferns, branches, bark, skins, or anything at hand (pl. 33, *b*). The conical hut, more fre-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

411 it would seem clear that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this
177 weapon from the Yahgan. However, the Ona word for sling (*shínkai*) is not taken from the Yahgan, while slings are mentioned in a supposedly ancient Ona legend. Possibly then the Ona might not have borrowed the sling from their Yahgan neighbors, but in all probability they did,

FIG. 86.—Yahgan sling. Length, 27 in. (14/2351)

BIRD-SNARES

411 Three different forms of snare were applied to the capture of birds by the Yahgan. In all of these, active prehensile function was performed by a noose of whalebone scraped thin to make it flexible. The simplest procedure was to set such a noose over a bird's nest during its absence. Also a series of nooses might be set on a cord, staked down in an open spot, and covered with suitable bait (fig. 36A). Finally, a whalebone noose was set on the end of a pole (*aúrum*), as illustrated in fig. 87. With this implement it was possible to snare roosting birds during the night.

BIRD-CATCHING BY HAND

223 In addition to killing birds with arrows, slings, club and torch, and snares, the Yahgan sometimes took birds by a method which, if successful, often resulted in prodigally wasteful and unnecessary slaughter. At night a man would paddle silently to a rock where birds, preferably shags, as they are heavy sleepers, were roosting. He would steal silently ashore, and then seize the nearest bird with one hand around its wings and with the other hand pinch its windpipe so that it could neither flap its wings nor make an outcry. Then he bit off the head, placed the corpse on the ground, and went for the next bird. Thus with luck great numbers might be taken. But the steamboat duck (*Tachyeres cinereus*), a light sleeper, could seldom be captured by this method, and, if any were roosting on the rock selected, they usually gave the alarm.
[231] Fitzroy (1839, p. 184) says that the Yahgan dogs were trained to catch birds by stealing upon them as they roosted during the night.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

On Gable island and other places where birds nested the Yahgan captured the young and tamed them to frequent their wigwams until they were large enough to be eaten. The writer has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed. Also, in the summer, the Yahgan had special bird hunts near the breeding places, because at this time of year the birds, though nearly full-grown, have not learned to fly and may be captured by running them down.

223 [231]

FIG. 88.—Yahgan fish-line. Length of coiled line, 6 in. (14/2375)

227

FISH-LINE

The Yahgan fish-line, shown in fig. 88, consists of three elements: line (*tápim*), sinker (*társhir*), and bait noose (*tukaléna*). The line is of braided whale-sinew and is ten to twelve feet long. The sinker is a small stone with notches knocked in opposite sides. The noose, like the bird nooses, is a narrow strip of whalebone scraped thin and flexible with a bit of shell. In an emergency a piece of kelp was used as a fish-line.

In order to fish, the Yahgan women paddled in their canoes to a shallow reef. There they anchored the canoe by inserting the handle of the paddle under a gunwale so that the blade projected outboard on the other side. A heavy piece of kelp was hauled across this, which not only served to prevent the canoe from drifting but also steadied it. Bait was then inserted in the noose and the line was lowered. When a fish had nibbled at and partly swallowed the bait it was pulled to the surface, seized by a quick dart of the hand, and killed by biting it in the head. Fish were cleaned as soon as they were caught by biting a hole in the belly through which the guts could be extracted with the finger.

225

281

/412 cont./
in the Wulaia region: "The greater part of the skins we saw on the natives, were Otter skins; there were very few Guanaco skins... Seal skins, both fur and hair, were numerous. Many of the skins were sufficiently large to cover the whole person" (VSA:XI, 260; 1864) /cited in English/.

not only to make their meager articles of clothing, but for all kinds of implements and utilitarian articles. The otter and the fox [224] are hunted only for their fur. Following an old, sanctioned cus- [462] tom, man and wife share in the work of preparation; the heavier work falls to the man, and the lighter handwork to the woman. Fortunately, the skins are extremely greasy and oily. After they have been removed, they keep perfectly for several days despite complete neglect. The sometimes continuous inclemency of the weather very often hinders the man in accomplishing pressing tasks, during which time many objects are badly damaged from lack of immediate care and proper treatment.

281 When possible, the successful hunter makes every effort to skin the seal immediately at the place where he killed it or at 224 the first best landing place. His main object is the delicious blubber and the fresh meat. First he must pull off the skin. He places the sea lion or related species on its back lengthwise on the ground. His first and only long incision is made from the neck over the chest and belly to the end of the rump. A sharpened mussel shell [412] serves as a knife. The second and deeper incision runs around the neck. He does not yet sever the head completely, /413/ but thrusts his knife in so deeply that the whole head can be grasped with both hands and, after the cervical vertebra has been broken, torn off with a sharp tug. He begins above at one edge of the skin or the other and, holding his knife in his right hand and grasping the skin with his left, he peels it away from its adhering layer of fat by means of short, contiguous, oblique cuts. The flippers are peeled out intact from the joints under the skin which has been severed all around, and thus they remain hanging on the skin. He works his way along, piece by piece, first on one side, then on the other, always in the direction of the rump until the whole

/413 cont./

281 carcass lies on the outspread skin from which it has now been
224 separated. He sees to it that only thin remnants of the layer of fat cling to the skin; they are wasted as food since he does not scrape them off later. He then peels off the thick subcutaneous layer of fat all around the carcass, going over it up to four more times, in the form of shreds as large as the palm of one's hand, which the women and children carry to the hut. It is only then that he opens the abdominal cavity, takes out the entrails, along with the stomach and lungs, which he tosses to the dogs or throws into the water, and reserves the heart for himself. Turning the carcass, he lets the blood flow out, and finally he cuts it into several large pieces.

281 As soon as circumstances permit -- a few days do not matter -- the skin is dried. Until then caution must be exercised so that the dogs do not chew on it. The man takes charge of stretching it. First he cuts out the four flippers which are still hanging in the skin, and his wife immediately sews up these holes with strong tendon fibers. Along the outer edge of the skin he punches small holes a finger's length apart. Rods about as thick as a finger are fixed into the holes under tension and from one side of the skin to the other, lengthwise and crosswise. The rods are crudely pointed and protrude only a little beyond the hole. There is more tension on the thicker sticks than on the thinner ones, but all are turned and pushed in such a manner that there are no wrinkles in the entire stretched skin. Irregular and confused though this basketwork is in appearance, the skin itself is evenly stretched throughout.

It is leaned against the outer wall of the hut to dry. A protruding stick is pounded into the earth, so that the stretched skin stands upright and both sides are exposed to currents of air. The basketwork is put on the inner side, not the hair side, to keep it from getting soiled, since many remnants of fat still cling to it. The moving current of air dries the skin quickly, hence it makes no difference if the piece of leather is often rained on while it is still soft. If it were dried in front of the fire, parts of it would shrink or even rot, and it would become distorted; therefore the Indians do not try it. After two to three weeks, depending on the time of the year and the thickness of the skin, it is so stiff and

/469 cont./

411 bark, into which they also set a narrow bottom piece of bark. They sew up the edges with strips of wood fiber or whalebone, like those of a water scoop made of bark (Fig. 30). Naturally, this quiver, which, like the one of leather, is called hilix, is less resistant and durable.

It need not surprise us that not a single one of the earlier navigators, nor a visitor from more recent times, with the exception of Martial:192, mentions the quiver, the latter being subsidiary to bow and arrow. Even the arrow is not mentioned by many. The illustrations of bow, arrow, and quiver given in Volume I, 231, 239, and 240, could, without objection, also be used for these implements of the Yamana. With the exception of minor details, they show in general what these objects were like among the southern Fuegians. Formerly there were plenty of men capable of making these things for their own use. [439] It is also undeniably certain that the eastern Yamana obtained them through barter from the neighboring Haus or Selk'nam.

They are very serviceable in hunting on land as a long-range weapon against guanaco. For this they are not excelled by any other weapon of the Yamana. On the other hand, it is not easy to manipulate them in a rocking canoe, /470/ and from this vantage point a practiced archer can use them effectively only against otter. A person on land has a better chance to catch birds with the sling and the snare, and sea lions with the club. Moreover, the Yamana do not like to go far from the coast. It is only in cases of particular necessity that they push deeper into the woods where none of their weapons would be easy to manage.

224 441 In view of local conditions, we realize that the bow and arrow cannot be recommended for general use and that it is really suitable only for hunting guanaco. The range of this animal, however, ends with the central Yamana. In view of this, the bow and arrow were used most of all in the east and less in the west where the guanaco is wholly absent. Here these weapons were largely used for hunting otter, and this explains why, with the progressive adoption of the dog, they lost importance. These changes in the economy of the Yamana cannot be discussed until later; they deserve attention for several reasons.

/534 cont./

223 men about this. They assured me that an arrow was much too precious to their ancestors to waste it on a bird, and that the other implements proved more effective for catching birds.

Naturally, there is a difference in the frequency with which the various methods are used in various regions. The decisive factor is the special type of bird and the Indian's desire for variety in his monotonous diet. Every man is more or less skillful in all the various maneuvers and therefore probably always successful. In particular details the Yamana frequently proceed exactly like their neighbors on the Great Island (Vol. I, 282).

A prevailing habit among our Fuegians is that every man eviscerates on the spot the birds he has caught. He places the animal on its back, opens its belly with a knife or a sharp mussel shell, and pulls out all the internal organs with a single movement. He almost always finds water close by, which he scoops up with his hand, rinsing out the abdominal cavity of the bird.
[482] He pulls a leather strap through the beaks and either ties it around his hips so that the birds encircle his body or he places it over his shoulder so that the birds are evenly distributed front and back. In this way he always has his hands free, for it is possible that other prey will cross his path, which he does not want to escape and which he must pursue without losing a moment of time.

4. Hunting Guanacos, Otters, Foxes

224 Although the Yamana sometimes hunt the guanaco, the otter, and the large fox, they do it not so much for their meat, but chiefly, and in the case of the last two species, exclusively, for their skin. The way they capture these mammals remains to be described.

The guanaco (Lama huanachus) lives only in the eastern part of Yamana territory, on both shores of Beagle Channel, approximately from Puerto Brown or Puerto Harbertón on eastward and throughout Navarino Island. The hunter attacks the amema on
[231] foot, for his dogs are only now and then trained for this and as a rule do not help him much. Hence several men always band together for a hunting expedition. /535/ They take advantage of

/535 cont./

224 the habits of the guanaco, with which they are very familiar (p. 34 /untranslated/). It is well known that the animal lives in small herds. In summer it prefers to remain on the wooded heights, but seeks out the plains and valleys when it goes for water. It always uses the same path which, through much traffic, is easily discernible to the hunter. Several men, somewhat hidden and many meters apart, station themselves along this trodden path and wait until the guanacos pass by. The animals either come of their own accord or a man with his dogs has previously, in a roundabout way, climbed the height and herded several guanacos onto this descending path. If they are pursued, they always head for the lowlands. When they come walking along, one animal close behind the other, one of the stationed men will throw his javelin or his small harpoon against a guanaco. The animal that escapes one hunter will be struck down by another, for the men are all standing along one line. Each man tries to hit the animal directly behind its shoulderblade, since a wound in this vital spot will quickly bring it down (see Bove in MM:XVII, 279;1883).

Now and then a few men will also set out with bow and arrow. They take along trained dogs which climb a height and drive the hunted animals toward the hunters. Guanacos escape from the dogs only by fleeing down the mountain. The hunters listen for the barking of the dogs and try to kill the pursued animals. The Yamana hunts them almost exclusively in the cold season, because the guanacos seldom leave their mountain heights in summer, but in winter their presence near the beach can be seen by their tracks in the snow. The Yamana does not like to venture far from the coastline, in which case he would have to leave behind his hut, his canoe, and his family. According to BD:528, Tūmūmalagōna means "to hunt guanaco with dogs" /cited in English/.

Apparently the eastern Yamana, under pressure of necessity, even tried their luck at a guanaco hunt (258), but in general they

258. This is to be inferred from a statement by Despard (VP:VI, 52;1859).

did not decide to do this very often. This type of hunting is too

/535 cont./

224 difficult for them, and the slight success does not repay their efforts. They are less accustomed to prolonged marches through high snow in the forest than the Selk'nam, and since they usually do not have trained dogs, they do not even come near guanacos. Certain conditions, which Fitz-Roy (a):186 enumerated in his day, make this hunt easier in the winter. At other times of the year "they sometimes get them by lying in wait, and shooting them with arrows, or by getting into a tree near their track, and spearing them as they pass beneath the branches" /cited in English/.

Nevertheless, some men enjoy this hunt, even exerting extreme efforts to kill the animals and letting no obstacle discourage them. This may be /536/ inferred from a long description which Bridges (MM:XII, 13;1878) wrote down on July 7, 1877 (259),

> 259. Hyades (q):356 also mentions the hunting of guanaco by the method which we spoke of first. Lothrop (b):153, without substantiation, speaks of a "Guanaco-spear" /cited in English/. The method of hunting that he describes also seems to me improbable: "To spear guanaco the animal was chased into a swamp or else the hunter climbed a tree over a guanaco runway in the woods and waited there until an animal passed beneath him" /cited in English/.

Whereas the eastern Yamana enjoy the meat of a slain guanaco, the people of the south and west often hunt otters (Lutra felina), but only for their fur. In exceptional cases when there is a period of severe famine, their meat is also eaten. We can distinguish clearly by size and coloring (260) between the regular small otter,

> 260. Weber reports in detail on the habits and distribution of these two types, also in the methods of capture by Indians and Whites. One can recognize the smaller land-otter by its shrill, almost whistling tone, and the larger sea-otter by its muted, more grunting tone.

/536 cont./

224 auilǎf, and the sea otter, ǎiapux. If the Yamana wants an otter, he is almost always dependent on the help of his dogs, but he himself discovers and lies in wait for it, since the Fuegian dog does not have a sufficiently sensitive nose for hunting in the water. The hunter recognizes the nearness of an otter by the fresh remnants of sea urchins on the beach. Led on by this spoor, he gets into his vessel on a sunny, calm day. He always keeps close to a coast with rocks and large stones. Long practice has given him a sharp eye, and he looks out in all directions.

Wherever an otter comes up from the water to breathe, the Indian hurries up to it. It is, of course, the woman who rows the canoe swiftly and silently while the man stands in the bow and keeps his weapon ready. When he is close enough to the otter to hurl the harpoon successfully, he tries to do so. If the animal was mortally hit, it is easily lifted into the canoe. Even a skin with holes in it is better than nothing for the Indian, because he can always use individual small parts in one way or another.

224 231 Otherwise the otter hurries to shore and seeks refuge in its lodge. It is only now that the Indian lets his dogs, which have been watching the otter all the time, leap into the water and follow its spoor. Soon they discover the lodge, and one of the dogs goes in. If he should not venture to do so, his master forces him into an entrance. Inside a severe battle immediately develops. The dogs always attack the otter head-on. They try to bite its face. After a struggle they succeed in sinking their sharp teeth into the otter's brain, killing it instantly.

The otter resists furiously throughout the entire fight, and whistling loudly, he stands his ground against the dogs. Usually he lies on his back and turns his head as fast as lightning in all directions. He bites and tugs his attackers quite pitilessly. The dogs are trained not to grasp the /537/ otter anywhere except on their heads. If possible, the valuable skin is not to be riddled with holes by their teeth. Inevitably the dog receives many severe and deep bites, for the nimble otter knows how to defend himself successfully, but usually the dog wins and the otter seeks a last refuge in flight from the lodge. Outside, however, there are not only other dogs waiting, but the Indian himself. He finally succumbs to so many opponents, even if the hunter has to hurl a spear at him. Also, even the hunter leaps on the otter, grasps him, and strangles

/537 cont./

224 231 him without fear of painful bites. When the animal is sufficiently exhausted or if it might still escape, the hunter takes it by a hind leg and, swinging it high into the air, beats it against a large stone on which its head is shattered. Afterwards, when the dogs whine with pain for hours or are lame for days, one realizes what a pitiful condition they are in (261). They are the ones that

261. See the accounts of Hahn in Hyades (q):363 and of Weber, passim.

overcome an otter and thereby perform an indispensable service for their masters (262). The otter skin is preferred for clothing

262. Dabbene (b):185 and Hyades (q):353 overlook the fact that in the otter hunt the dog is the decisive factor. Hyades (g):35 writes somewhat more accurately elsewhere.

(p. 57); that is why one Fuegian or another will hunt these animals.

We cannot speak of an actual fox hunt. Hyades (h):21 gave a not altogether reliable explanation in the following words: "The Fuegians...replied that their dogs hunt the foxes alone, that they track them down and, after having killed them, bring them back to their masters...Moreover, it is believed that they do not care much for fox hunting; they do not like to eat its meat" /translated from French/.

The large fox (Canis magellanicus) on the southern shore of Isla Grande and the small fox (Canis griseus) on several islands are known as čilaǎja; both species occur only here and there (p. 35 /untranslated/). No Indian bothers about them or hunts them with traps or bait. He has no special use for the skin; hence he does not make special weapons for the fox hunt. Actually it is only the keen scent and the power of the dogs which occasionally track down a fox. If the Indian deduces this from his dog's behavior, he lets himself be led to the place where the dead fox is lying. His dogs are not well enough trained to carry the booty to their master by themselves. Usually the battle takes place between a fox in his lair and several dogs that have discovered him there. He succumbs

/537 cont./

224 to the superior number and the rage of his opponents. After the
23/ Indian has skinned the fox, he tosses the entire body to his dogs;
he very decidedly scorns this meat.

22 Among the few species of mammals on the Cape Horn Archipelago, seals occupy first place in the food quest of the Yamana. /538/ They are hunted not only because of their meat, but because their skins are urgently needed. The very desirable whale is primarily regarded as an occasional present that provides for many families over a long period. In comparison the guanaco is much less important because it is locally confined, and the otter actually furnishes only its skin. Tracking down a fox is a matter for the dogs. The many bird species that the Indian hunts could hardly be dispensed with in his household. Sometimes he is wholly dependent on them alone.

5. The Woman in the Food Quest

462 Among the Yamana, man and wife form an economic cooperative, and it is especially in the matter of obtaining food that they are dependent on one another. The woman, of course, does not take an active part in the hunt, which is regarded as a vital duty of the man, but she sometimes helps him indirectly by means of absolutely necessary knacks. She, as mistress of the canoe, takes him to those places where he wants to try his luck and go after game. She shares with him the difficulties of perilous crossings and long watches through the hours of the night when he devotes himself to catching birds. Finally, she brings him, along with his booty, to a safe place where both of them can enjoy a well-earned rest after all their trouble and exertions.

Far beyond the limited participation of the man in procuring food, she makes a considerable, altogether independent contribution to the support of her family by means of an activity that she alone can carry on. This is gathering, for which she is equipped by nature and to which she can devote herself without jeopardizing her more important duties as mother and wife. This activity is actually an important supplement to her husband's hunting activities. It is her duty to bring in lower animals and vegetable products.

/938 cont./

X881 his words to indicate that he was now beginning the dance. Then he called: "The people here are beginning to get up, they are all in considerable motion!" He was answered: "awā!" The dance lasted about 20 minutes. Immediately all the uswāala left the čičxaus hut and hastened into the forest for wood (359).

X881 224

359. One should keep in mind the following custom. Two or three men, on repeated occasions, lead a small group of three to five candidates to hunt. If they set out to kill guanaco, they are gone at least two days, during which time they, of course, spend the night out-of-doors. Wherever they settle down for a longer or shorter rest, the leader watches carefully so that no intruder may approach. He often utters loud cries of ho-ho, which warn any stranger. For his part the guard at the Great Hut observes the movement of the people over in the camp and with loud cries warns anyone who sets out in the direction of the candidates. This applies to brief as well as to long outings by the candidates.

X881 The winefkēra called loudly: /939/ "It seems to me a few of you over there are watching [as the candidates leave the Great Hut]." They replied: "pāf, no!" Nevertheless, he repeated: "Take care that no one looks!" Response: "awā!" After a short pause he requested formally: "I should now like to eat something!"

X881 182 While the low singing continued, old Clara spoke: "Nowadays the uswāala are not as thoroughly taught as formerly. They scarcely learn [in detail] our old laws and institutions. This is because the older people take no interest in teaching the uswāala the essentials. We ourselves have become negligent and careless. For us personally this is a great disadvantage, too. Today almost every Yamana leads the life of the Whites; none of our younger people thinks earnestly anymore about our former customs and our old laws. If this [attitude] continues, the good old tradition will soon be completely lost and we shall cease being true Yamana! We must

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

barbed head (*awaía*) was used (fig. 81, *a*); in the west a double-barbed form (fig. 81, *b*) was employed. In both regions, however, the head had a flat-base tang with an expanded foot. 441

In assembling the weapon, the tang of the spearhead was inserted in a slot which ran completely through the head of the shaft, where it was loosely lashed by an encircling seal-hide thong (*tuwawáru*). It was held in place by a second thong (*tamutú*) tied to the tang and attached to the shaft two or three feet from the head. As illustrated in fig. 82, *a*, this thong was twisted until its length was lessened and it acted as a spring to hold the butt of the tang firmly against the bottom of the slot in the spearhead. The tension of this thong was a matter of constant adjustment, for it varied according to the wetness or dryness of the thong and even with the state of the weather. [445]

FIG. 83.—Yahgan spearpoint case. Height, 14 in. (14/2370)

When the seal-spear had been buried in the flesh of a porpoise, whale, or seal, the point promptly pulled out of the socket and the shaft then acted as a drag, as shown in fig. 82, *c*. But owing to the fact that the thong from the shaft to the head was tied near one end of the shaft, it dragged at an acute angle, so that sufficient pressure to break the thong or the shaft was not produced. The Yahgan apparently did not employ inflated skins or bladders for this purpose.

3. GUANACO-SPEAR.—In the eastern part of Beagle channel and on Lennox and New islands the Yahgan hunted the guanaco with a special kind of spearpoint (*tuwaí*), shown in fig. 81, *c*. It resembles the seal-spear in having a single barb, but lacks the projection seen on the seal-spear's tang. It was lashed on the light hexagonal shaft of a fish-spear. This kind of weapon apparently was in use only among the eastern Yahgan, for it was unknown to Messrs. William Bridges and Fred. Lawrence. The example illustrated was obtained from a Lennox islander. To spear guanaco the animal was chased into a swamp or else the 224

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S86 Yahgan S86

224
411
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FIG. 84.—Yahgan limpet-spear (*a*) and crab-spear (*b*). Length of heads, 16½ and 19½ in. (14/2271, 2272)

hunter climbed a tree over a guanaco runway in the woods and waited there until an animal passed beneath him.

The three spear types described all had bone points, specialized in type but of approximately the same length. To carry the extra points that might be needed were the one in use to become lost, the Yahgan employed a small case made of seal-hide with the hair side inward. Old-time containers were simply a rectangle of skin folded double and sewn up the side and bottom (fig. 83). In recent years the Yahgan have followed the pattern of the Ona quiver (fig. 33) and have inserted a small oval piece of hide at the bottom of the case.

4. CRAB AND SEA-URCHIN SPEAR.—As shown in fig. 79, *a*, this spear (*ahuvimdini*) was considerably longer than the other Yahgan spears, for it was designed to secure crabs and sea-urchins under water.

The shaft was not octagonal like the other spears considered, but was round. It was covered with minute flutes like the Ona bow, but they were not so carefully worked.

The head of the crab-spear (*sin*) was a piece of yellow barberry wood split at one

/472 cont./

3. The Small Harpoon

225 411 For nourishment the Tsimsia are almost as dependent on porpoids as they are on mamals. Fortunately these animals lie about on the rocks and islands in large herds and cross the individual channels in all directions (p. 38 /unnumbered/). The hunter goes after them with his small seal harpoon (Fig. 32). I use this term to distinguish the weapon I wish to describe here from other similar specimens (175).

175. Lutkeep (p.132) describes this weapon as consisting of "a heavy shaft and a detachable head joined to the shaft by a thong" /cited in English/.

411 313 [illegible] The small harpoon is a powerful missile, and for this reason the shaft must be long, heavy, and absolutely straight. For it, almost without exception, the wood of the evergreen hemlock (tsuhadagu hemlock) is chosen, since its trunk usually has a very regular shape and the younger trees have sound wood for a long time. It takes a good eye to find a suitable trunk; it must be flawless if the weapon is to function dependably. It is troublesome to fell the tree. A ring of bark a hand's breadth wide is cut out just above the ground. Then, with a shell knife or a sharpened mussel shell, the layers of wood fibers are scraped off, one after the other, until the incision is deep enough. The running knot of a long sinew, wuhagu, is thrown into the high branches and pulled tight. Then a man swings from it and, aided by his own body weight, tugs until the incised portion breaks through. He immediately cuts off the upper part with the crown in the manner described above, /472/ and he now has a trunk about four meters long lying on the ground. /Fig. 33 appears here./ To cut the suitable piece out of this is a no less protracted and arduous task. The man is aiming for the middle third between the pith and the bark zone. He splits off almost half of it with the bone wedge, tskalagaha (Fig. 34) and with a suitable stone as hammer. He has to split the remaining piece lengthwise a second and third time. Finally, by carefully peeling off in splinters the

/473 cont./

This large bone point requires a two-fold fastening, if we may express it thus. Its tang is pressed into the open notch of the wooden shaft. Since it is wedge-shaped and the notch is narrow, it is jammed in tightly. In spite of that, a narrow strip of leather, towards-from, is wrapped around it about nine times. This strip has previously been well soaked and is tightly lashed, whereupon the free end is knotted. When it dries, this lashing is even more constricted and becomes all the more secure. There is by no means a special attempt to secure the spearhead in the notch; in fact, they expect it to slide out at the proper moment. Hence a second fastening is intended to keep the spearhead joined to the shaft and freely movable. Over the tang of the bone spearhead, that is, around the lower part of the notch, they place a leather strap of sealskin about 12 millimeters wide and knot it. The other end is knotted securely on the wooden shaft itself, not more than 70 centimeters from the notch. The strap is not taut, and they purposely let it hang loosely. Before the spearhead is pressed into the notch, the strap is twisted around its longitudinal axis until it is rolled up lengthwise and has a strong tendency to unwind. It is kept from doing so as soon as it is secured at the top. Sometimes this short piece of strap hangs flat and loose.

Only now is the weapon ready for the hunter to use. It is surprisingly functional. Since it is hurled, the heavy wooden shaft gives it ample force. When the bone point has penetrated the body of a seal or related animal, the latter immediately tries to shake off the burdensome foreign body. In one way or another the spearhead will detach itself from the shaft. Immediately the latter will twist somewhat sideways and will keep on turning in the water until the rolled-up strap has uncoiled itself. The strap was purposely fastened, not in the middle part of the shaft, but on the upper third. After the shaft has detached itself from the spearhead, it does not stand exactly at right angles, but at a more or less acute angle from the direction in which the animal strains forward. This avers the danger of its mapping and yet acts as a considerable brake. Sometimes floating algae get tangled up in the shaft and the thong, which notably increases the resistance in the water. The wounded animal is seriously hindered in quick flight or deep diving, and the successful hunter can

[For the harpoon — Analysis]

/473 cont./

411 easily overtake it. If it flees into a floating /474/ cluster of
225 algae, the dragging shaft will inevitably get tangled up, and the exhausted animal will certainly fall into the hands of its pursuer.

Extraordinary ingenuity has invented this weapon and perfected it. It works with surprising certainty.

4. The Large Harpoon

What we have just discovered about the working principle of the small harpoon also controls the missile that I call the large harpoon (Fig. 35): the wounded animal must not escape the hunter who has just delivered a piercing blow. The two weapons differ only in a minor factor, which, however, furnishes brilliant testimony of the keen power of invention of the Indians. Earlier observers speak about the harpoons, but the way in which they safely and easily deliver the booty into the hands of the Indian is nowhere described. It is this which reveals the great efficiency of these weapons.

In most of its details the large harpoon is like the small one, and the latter can be transformed into the former with a few manipulations. Above all, the shaft, for which the hard wood of the evergreen beech is chosen, must be altogether even and about three meters long. If it were bent only the slightest bit or otherwise defective, there would not be sufficient certainty of hitting the target. In general our natives do not handle their implements very cautiously or carefully, but every man treats his missile weapons with care and a certain amount of attention. He places them as upright as possible beside his hut, and in the canoe he lays them safely in the bow section so that they do not warp. The wood for the shaft is taken out of the concentric layers
[824] of a younger Nothofagus betuloides in the manner shown in Figure 34.

411 Earlier accounts of this are inaccurate and incomplete.
824 Anyone who knows the various species of Fuegian wood will never agree with Hyades (h):24 and (q):352 that the trunk of Drimys winteri (p. 28 /untranslated/) is also suitable for the harpoon shaft. The situation is different with the young trunks of the Fuegian cypress (Libocedrus tetragona), lipaix, which always

/474 cont./

411 grow perfectly straight and have the great advantage of being
824 heavy. They do not flourish on Beagle Channel, however, except in one or two places in the west (179), and for most of the Yamana they are

179. On my fourth expedition I had definite proof of specimens of Libocedrus tetragona in Puerto Edwards on the southern shore of Brecknock Peninsula. This is the southern boundary for this species. Skottsberg (g):28 suspects that it extends somewhat farther south, namely, to Isla Chair in Darwin Sound.

[137]

simply inaccessible. Hence one sees all of them carrying merely a shaft made from the evergreen beech, šer,ᵃ ši, which is uniformly octagonal. Furthermore, one can /475/ observe as the average cross-section a rectangle of about 35 millimeters in width and 28 millimeters in height with the four /Fig. 35 appears here/ corners removed, producing the octagonal form. Shafts with six uniform sides are not as common as those mentioned above.

411 The narrow slit at the
225 upper end of this large harpoon is, of course, also meant for a bone point which is jammed into it; a narrow leather strip is

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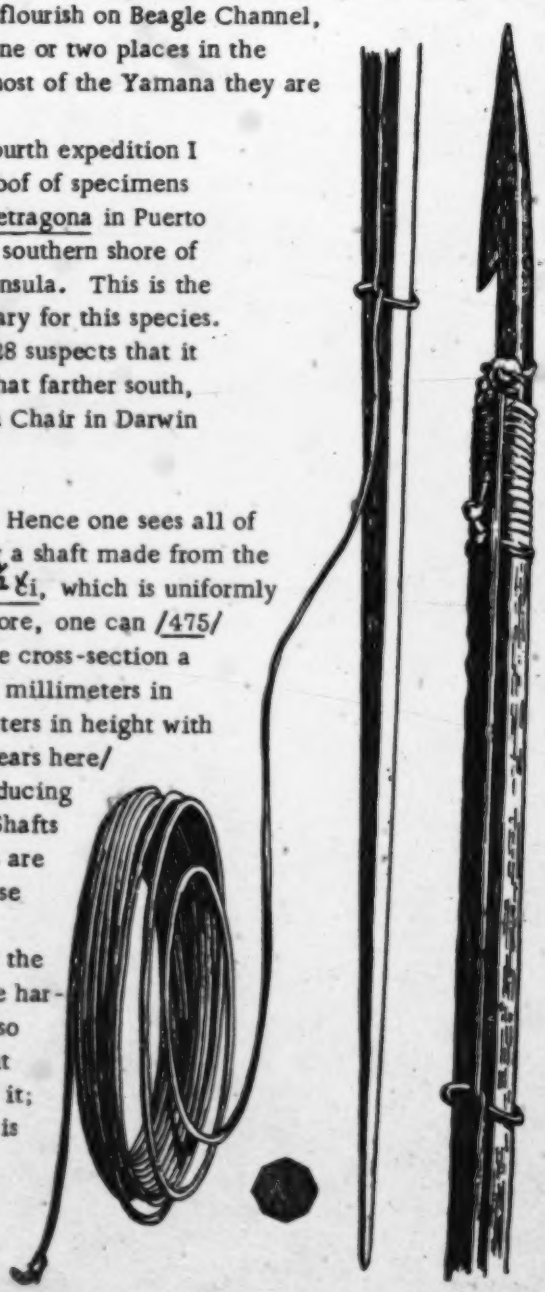

Fig. 35. The Large Harpoon.

/475 cont./

411 wound around it tightly in about ten close lashings. If one of
225 the pinnipeds is to be harpooned, even if it is the mighty male of the sea elephant, hāsaxuwa (Macrorhinus leoninus) (Fig. 9 /Ed., see foreign text, untranslated portion/), the hunter chooses a bone point of medium length with a single large tooth or the still shorter one with two large barbs (Fig. 36) (180). The latter

180. Hyades (q):356 mistakenly maintains: "It is very rare to see harpoon points in bone, movable, with a notch on either side in the form of a spearhead" /translated from French/. This form is no less frequently made and used than the medium-sized and very large bone point with a single tooth.

measures about 15 centimeters. Under their thick leather skin the above-mentioned animals carry a thinner layer of fat than whales do under their epidermis, but the bone point is supposed to penetrate as deep as possible into the muscular layer where the two lateral teeth function more precisely as barbed hooks. This is also the reason why a bone spearhead more than 40 centimeters long with a sharp tooth is preferred for harpooning whales. A shorter bone point would, for the most part, stick fast in the layer of fat and therefore be almost ineffectual.

225 The thing that conspicuously distinguishes this weapon from
411 the so-called small seal-harpoon is a long leather rope of 20 or
284 more meters. It is evenly cut from the freshly skinned hide of a pinniped and is always left rolled up. One end is securely fastened to the notch /476/ of the spearhead. From here it is drawn down along the shaft and held there with two or three loose cross-loops. In aiming and throwing, the man holds the shaft approximately in the center, and the wreath of coiled rope hangs on his left forearm (181). /Fig. 36 appears here./ When he has hit the animal,

181. Snow (a):II, 361 says: "To the bone is attached a string hide of various lengths. In using the spear, they hold it nearly by the middle, and with the right eye cast along it, they dart it with great precision" /cited in

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English/. Bove's (e):158 description is more accurate.

the bone point and the shaft remain attached for a time, but it is much more disadvantageous for the wounded animal if it must drag along the loosened shaft which moves irregularly. With beating movements of the rope -- that is why it is attached to the shaft with cross-loops -- the man succeeds in detaching the shaft from the bone point that is stuck in the animal. Then he gives the animal as much rope as possible; after it has grown tired or lost a great deal of blood, he draws it toward him slowly and gently, at the same time easily rolling in the rope.

Fig. 36. Twin-barbed Harpoon Point. Two-thirds natural size.

It hardly seems possible that the man can to such an extent influence the direction taken by the escaping seal with the loose shaft which is directly beside the harpoon point sticking in the flesh. Even if one or the other of the cross-loops on the shaft should be loosened or shift, the shaft never stands at right angles, but at an acute angle to the direction of movement. This prevents it from breaking when the wounded animal violently strains forward.

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The hunter usually throws off this weapon as soon as he is on firm ground. If he uses it while he is in the canoe the greatest caution is required, especially when a whale has been wounded with it. After the animal has been hit with a lucky thrust, some men succeed in leaping on shore or on a rock while holding onto the end of the long leather rope or wrapping it around their body. Now they have a firm foothold and the canoe is out of danger. Sometimes the canoe can get close to the wounded animal and another person gives it the fatal stab. With the long leather rope of this harpoon several men may even pull a floating dead whale to shore.

/476 cont./

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Despite the fact that they are very similar, the large harpoon and the small harpoon are somewhat different. The virtue of both lies in their /477/ movable bone point (182). The longest that is

182. That is why Hyades (q):353 and (h):24 describes them as "movable harpoons" /translated from French/, and Dabbene (b):184, concurring, calls them "harpoons with a movable point" /translated from Spanish/.

ever made is placed on the small harpoon and then again on the large harpoon when a whale is attacked. With this the men strive to inflict a deep wound.

5. Javelin and Spear

Besides the missile weapons with movable points, the Yamana also uses those with a fixed point. The former I call harpoons; among the latter I distinguish the javelin from the spears. The javelin also consists of the octagonal shaft described above, šǎja, about three meters long, which is usually surmounted by the long bone point with one tooth, ɛ́owaja. Both are securely fastened. When the point is embedded in the animal's body, the shaft must not slide out, but must, by its weight, enlarge the wound and prevent the animal from escaping. The hunter uses this javelin primarily when attacking a seal that he has surprised on land or when he wishes to inflict severe wounds on an exhausted whale. This weapon is particularly suitable for that, since the shaft is heavy and the sharpened, long bone point penetrates deeply. Against smaller animals that carry a thinner layer of fat on their bodies, the two-barbed shorter bone point, wáixil, is also reliable, or even the long-toothed bone point, šúsuwaja. Although neither of them pierces deeply into the body because they are blunter than the ɛ́owaja, they cling sufficiently so that the dragging shaft tears open the wound and there is greater loss of blood. In other words, the javelin is most effective when the hunter is on firm ground and can put the entire strength of his arm into the thrust.

/480 cont./

411 shape and usually an almost rectangular tang (Fig. 39); the latter is inserted into the notch. Of decisive importance is the longitudinal measurement, for it is usually more than twice as much as a point on the arrow shaft. The former does not seem suitable for an arrowhead because of its size and weight. Since, moreover, it is fastened to a short stick, I regard the designation "dagger" as suitable for this weapon. It is also handled as such. A man grasps
[225] the back third of the shaft and stabs toward a sea lion that he meets on land. He attacks it from the front, never from the side, and can get close enough to it without being bitten to thrust the dagger into its neck.

For the dagger points the natives formerly chose flat lamina of
[177] black slate and greenish jasper; in modern times they prefer thick bottle-glass that is more easily worked. The edges of the glass

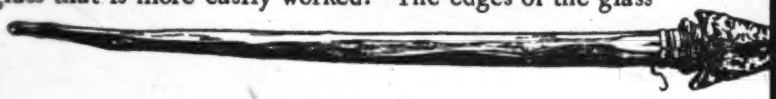

Fig. 38. The Dagger. One-third natural size.

dagger-points cut more sharply, but become dull more quickly. Continuous splintering under pressure with a short bone stick produces /481/ the form with the sharp edges and thick point. On my
[126] second expedition, old Alfredo made me a dagger with a long glass point and with a total length of 48 centimeters (188). This

188. This piece is today preserved in the Museo Histórica at Santiago de Chile. See the observations made by Hyades (q):360 with the Indian named Yakaif.

enabled me to see how it was made and at the same time to learn in detail how it is actually manipulated.

From the dagger to the lance is only a short step. Sometimes it, too, has a large, heavy point in the form of a triangle. It must
[172] come as a surprise that laurel-leaf forms of the /Fig. 39 appears here/ most frequent surface-finds on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 263) have to this day been found only very sporadically throughout the broad Cape Horn Archipelago. This lance is used in the same way and for the same

[Text continues on page 172.-Analyst]

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/513 cont./
According to Lovisato (b):129 the Yamana are "fishermen and only sometimes hunters along the coast" /translated from Italian/.

the resources she employs are the heritage of the acquired wisdom of many past generations.

Now we understand why the customary procedure in hunting and gathering is retained unchanged even by the few remaining Yamana. The ancient methods and manipulations automatically recommend themselves by their almost unsurpassable appropriateness. This is reason enough why the representatives of this tribe cling to their valuable heritage with unyielding tenacity. The basis of Yamana economic life -- primarily the occupation of hunting by the man, together with a considerable contribution from gathering by the woman -- was forced upon them, so to speak, by their environment. This particular type of food quest forces each individual family to a restless nomadic life.

22 In these fundamental respects the Yamana are similar to their northeastern neighbors, but they also enjoy noteworthy advantages besides. Whereas the northern Selk'nam are dependent on the cururo (Vol. I, 277) and the southern Selk'nam on the guanaco, the Yamana men have such a limited variety of animals to hunt in all parts of their country that they are never dependent on a single species. Fortunately, the Yamana woman, too, has a greater selection in her gathering than does her Selk'nam neighbor. The latter has only a few mushrooms and fish, while the former in addition has easy access to masses of the almost indispensable mussels and crabs. All this simplifies the food quest and improves the way of life of the Yamana not inconsiderably as compared to their neighbors.

/514/ 1. Seal Hunting

225 Without doubt seals provided the chief contribution to Yamana subsistence at all times and in all sections of the country. Formerly several species lived in herds on the many islands and rocks, places of wreckage, and coasts of the Cape Horn Archipelago. Even the giants of this species, the bear seal, tēpē̄ʌ̄a (Arctocephalus

/514 cont./

225 australis), and the elephant seal, hásaxuwa (Macrorhinus leoninus), were among them. During the last decades only the small sea lions ama (Otaria jubata), and the maned seal, tiáta (Otaria byronia), remained in the vicinity of our Indians. Occasionally the larger bear seal (Arctocephalus australis) emerges again, but the other species stay far away. Along those coasts European seal hunters have long since exterminated these animals which were so valuable as food for the natives (231). Since then the number

231. In his day Hyades (r):295 reported on the elephant seal: "It is a species almost entirely destroyed" /translated from French/.

of natives has also noticeably decreased; hence the remaining specimens of the small Otaria jubata suffice to fill the food requirements and to provide the necessary variety in the diet. Seal hunting is the daily task, so to speak, of the man, but this is not to say that he actually engages in it every day. We properly give it first place here.

During the day individual animals like to lie on low flat stones and abandon themselves to sleep. The color of their bodies is an excellent protection for them, but the sharp eye of the Indian catches sight of them nevertheless. If possible, and if it seems advisable, he attacks the animal usually with a club or a heavy cudgel (232). He has plenty of practice in rowing up to the animal

232. Bridges (i)23 makes too fine a distinction and speaks of "three kinds of clubs, the largest of which called Yoj, pointed at one end. The second is called Wosin, and the third Kneea. This is the smallest and is also used as a missile" /cited in English/.

and creeping close to it. With a heavy blow he stuns the sleeping animal so that it can no longer escape. A few more blows of the club, carried out cautiously because of the animal's rage, kill it.

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225 If a man coming across a seal unexpectedly should not have a club, he ventures near with a medium-sized stone. He repeats these blows in quick succession until the animal falls over stunned (233).

233. Fitz-Roy (a):184 observed this manner of approaching smaller seals.

If there are several men together, they will even venture to approach a large herd lying on the beach. They take their places according to a definite plan and proceed in such a way that individual animals will separate themselves from the closed ranks of the herd. It is only these that they can approach closely enough to beat them with their clubs. On land the seals are awkward in their movements. If they are attacked, they raise themselves up in self-defense. They topple forward easily, whereas /515/ /Fig. 55 appears here/ sideways they can stretch far forward without losing their balance, thanks to the strength of their two pairs of flippers. The Indians know this, which is why they always attack a sea lion only from the front.

Seals are far more often pursued on the water. The hunter takes advantage of their confident and inquisitive natures (p. 38 /untranslated/). If he notices a playful seal frisking about on the water out of sheer pleasure and exuberance, he lures it toward him by whistling softly, by singing in a low voice, or by splashing rhythmically with his paddle. He continues this even if the animal disappears from the surface. At the same time he uses these few seconds to get nearer to it and lay out his harpoon in readiness. The seal will

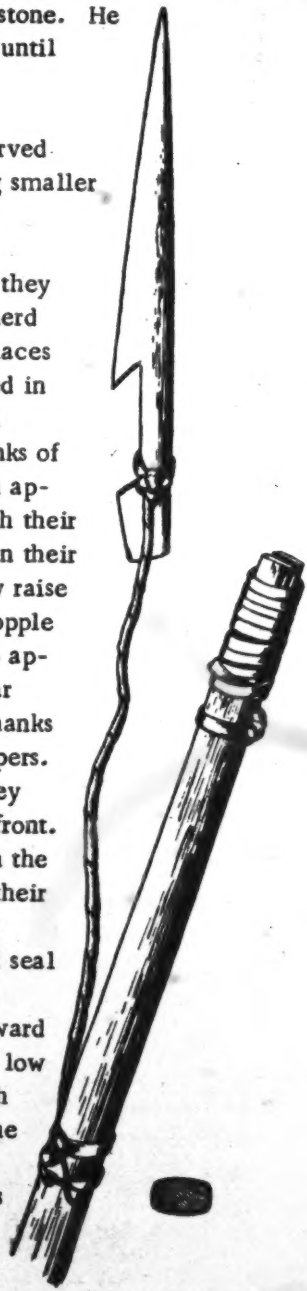

Fig. 55. Small Harpoon.

/515 cont./

225 perhaps dive down and up again several times. Meanwhile the occupants of the canoe remain motionless so as not to frighten it away. When it is close enough, the hunter, who has meantime stood up unobserved, thrusts the small harpoon vigorously into its body (Fig. 55). He makes sure that the weapon penetrates deep into the body. He has no time to aim at a certain spot, for he never knows in what position the seal will approach him as it emerges from the water.

He reached for the small harpoon because nearby he sees broad tangles of Macrocystis algae floating on the surface, whither the wounded seal will seek refuge. When the seal has the barbed bone point in its body, it will, in its pain, try to shake it off. It will try first with its teeth which usually do not reach. It hopes, therefore, to relieve its pain in the knotted tangle of algae stalks. In mortal terror it squeezes in there and worms its way through, meanwhile causing the bone point to detach itself from the notch of the shaft. Both /516/ pieces remain fastened together by a short strap. Since the shaft has become entangled in the tough snarl of algae, the seal is hampered in all further movement. The more it exerts itself, the greater pain it feels, since the sharp tooth of the bone point is embedded in its flesh and any tugging enlarges the wound. Loss of blood soon exhausts the seal. It and the harpoon shaft are confusedly intertwined in the knot of algae, and escape is impossible. Meanwhile the canoe has approached, and the hunter kills the seal with his javelin or club. Laboriously he detaches his booty from the tangle of algae and, full of satisfaction, lifts it into his vessel. Usually he also gets his harpoon back.

Sometimes he still has to undergo a serious battle with the seal which is incited by its wound in case the harppon has not penetrated deeply enough or no vital organ has been hit. At other times it will sink immediately if the wound was fatal. In that case the hunter loses not only his booty, but his weapon as well.

This is the method of hunting most frequently used, but every man must be prepared for the situation when the usual floating tangles of algae are missing at the spot where he has hurled his small harpoon against a seal. Now the functional construction of his weapon is equally helpful, for if the wounded seal should succeed in detaching the bone point from the shaft, it would not experience any relief thereby. While the seal swims away, the

/516 cont./

225 shaft of the harpoon will stand obliquely to the direction in which he moves, not only braking the seal's progress but also increasing the pain of the wound which is opened up more by the constant tugging of the shaft as it is dragged along. These two impediments are even effective, although less so, when point and shaft of the harpoon remain connected. The wounded animal becomes more exhausted the longer it struggles. The dragging harpoon shaft determines the direction in which it is escaping and prevents it from remaining long under water (234). The canoe of the hunter

234. Hyades (q):353 is right in saying that the detached shaft "thus becomes the buoy and guides the hunter who is able to pursue his prey and inflict new blows until it is killed" /translated from French/. Compare Dabbene (b):184.

can follow it quickly enough and will perhaps still overtake it in a tangle of algae where it tries to hide. He kills the wounded animal with a blow of his paddle or with a cudgel.

In open bays and in places where there are no accumulations of floating Macrocystis algae, where the hunter could hardly pursue the wounded seal, he uses the so-called large harpoon with the single-barbed bone point of medium length or the short twin-barbed point (Fig. 36) (235). If the animal has been well hit, the

235. Without justification Lothrop (b):152 speaks of "regional differences in the kind of point attached to the cypress shaft: in the east a single-barbed head was used; in the west a double-barbed form was employed" /cited in English/. As a matter of fact, both forms were used in the whole extent of the homeland of the Yamana.

bone /517/ point is secure in its flesh and the shaft becomes detached as a result of its agitated movements. This is the hunter's intention (p. 163). The farther away the seal gets in its escape,

/517 cont./

225 the more rope he gives it until the long lasso has run out. He holds fast to the end of the rope. The pulling power of the wounded seal now proves an advantage to the canoe, but on account of its agitated movements the greatest caution is required of the canoe occupants. Meanwhile the wounded animal has spent itself and constant loss of blood has weakened it until it is motionless. The encumbrance alone, which is attached to the harpoon point sticking in the flesh, forces the seal, which at first has thrown itself about wildly, to slow down its rapid escape and yield to the slow intake of the rope which the man immediately begins. The hunter and his booty finally come so close together that a blow with the paddle and a wound inflicted with the small harpoon or the javelin puts an end to the exhausted animal. If possible the hunter then concerns himself with the harpoon shaft which is sometimes floating about freely nearby.

The hunter prefers to use his large harpoon when he surprises sea lions in caves along the water. He lies in wait for his prey on the beach or from the vantage point of a stone sticking out of the water. From there he throws his dangerous weapon toward a seal that is swimming by and immediately lets the long rope unwind itself. Usually he has already tied the free end of the rope around his body (236). Since he is standing on firm ground, he can all

236. This less common method of hunting was also mentioned by Bridges (MM:XIII, 158; 1879).

the more safely pull in the wounded animal and kill it. No matter when the above-mentioned missiles are used in a seal hunt (237), they assure the hunter quick results with little effort.

237. Neither Hyades (g):24 and (q):353 nor Lothrop (b):152 mentioned the large harpoon which was no less frequently used on the seal hunt than the small harpoon. Bridges (MM:XIII, 158;1879), however, referred to it.

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2. Whale Hunting

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It sounds unbelievable that the short Yamana in their frail bark boats venture to approach the mighty giants of the ocean. Actually they do so, confident of their personal dexterity and the effectiveness of their large harpoon. In former times there were frequent opportunities to pursue a whale (238); for the last

238. A communication by Bridges (MM:IX, 14;1875) of May 2, 1874, shows how often they were provided with this lavish present: "The new visitors...brought much whale from Agia, where we hear three whales have lately been supplied to the people by a bountiful God, through the instrumentality of sword fish and whale beaters...Another whale is reported at Canagoosh" /cited in English/.

few decades a stray animal is seldom found in the Fuegian /518/ channels (239). Children and middle-aged persons whom I

239. Crawshay:XXVII exaggerated when he wrote as late as 1907: "Whales are plentiful in these waters, from those of the largest size known to some of the smallest" /cited in English/.

questioned about it had only occasionally experienced the stranding of a whale on their native shores (240). European whalers can be

240. As late as July 19, 1902, Williams (MM:XXXVI, 277;1907) reported from the mission station Tekenika: "A little time ago a whale was found on the beach in Cunna-ooosh" /cited in English/.

credited with the fact that these once numerous giants of the ocean have been almost completely exterminated in the Cape Horn region.

/518 cont./

225 The most common were Balaenoptera intermedia and Balaenoptera patagonica, the former exceeding all others in length and girth (p. 36 /untranslated/). The Yamana always had to expect to be disappointed when a čiyix (Ziphius) was stranded; its fat is not wholesome and has a laxative effect, which is something they well know from ancient experience.

225 476 We cannot speak of an actual chase when a dead whale is slowly washed to shore by the waves. If it is floating within reach, they try to pull it ashore. The dense flock of well-known sea birds announces this happy event to people far and wide, and they come rowing up from all sides. Unafraid, they venture forth far into the open sea and join forces to get the mammoth animal to the nearest beach. They take advantage of a favorable ocean current and line up in one direction. Every man plunges his large harpoon deep into the animal's body and lets the long rope uncoil (Fig. 35). As soon as it becomes taut, he must be very cautious in his canoe. Then every woman paddles her own canoe to the nearest coast while the men pull the whale after them with their rolled-up lassos. Loud shouts bring uniformity into their efforts. When about 20 canoes have assembled, and if the ocean current helps them along, this strange procession slowly approaches the nearest shore. Herewith success has actually been achieved, for neither a heavy sea nor storms can snatch this booty away from the lucky Indians. They keep the animal close to land on the long leather rope of their harpoons. They are even safer if they leap to shore and pull up the whale from there. They try to transfer the animal which is still floating in the water to a flat slope of this beach. They keep it parallel to the coast, and the long lassos of their large harpoons remain taut. If the bone point should become detached, it is once more thrust into the dead body of the animal, and this time deeper. Depending on the force of the current, many men must make sure that the mighty prize is brought quite near to the coast, and they must sometimes continue their vigil during the night, for the restless sea would surely drive it elsewhere or far out again. They wait for a breaker or high tide to deposit the whale with a powerful push onto the beach. Days can go by before this happens. Meanwhile a few people set about cutting large scraps of fat out of the carcass, which they /519/ bring to shore in their boats. Sooner or later the current will deposit it on firm ground. Now they can enjoy their rich booty.

/519 cont./

225 They are still more fortunate if a tidal wave alone tosses a whale ashore, for then their table is richly laid without effort on their part. No matter where this highly desired gift of Mother Nature falls, it relieves many families for a time from the urgent, day-by-day cares of subsistence.

For a genuine attack people gather around a sick or completely exhausted whale. It is easily recognized, for it floats almost motionless on the surface. This attracts large quantities of great sea birds that circle around it. If after long pauses it moves only a little, several canoes approach and the man hurl their large harpoons against it. They aim to inflict many severe wounds upon the animal in the shortest time, hence they hurl all the weapons they have. The whale looks very strange with javelins, spears, and harpoons, especially since it is still moving somewhat. Hour after hour the men keep at it, plunge their weapons into the body of the weary animal with their utmost strength, pull them out again if their supply of harpoons and spears is exhausted, and do not tire of this violent exertion until they are assured of their booty (241).

241. Bridges (MM:IX, 12;1875), very much amazed, describes such a chase: "This evening some ten or more canoes came, each having a share of the poor whale, which literally was killed by inches, having received into its body somewhere about a hundred spears, and from first to last was being followed and wounded from Friday, four p.m., till ten p.m. (Saturday, 25th April, 1874)" /cited in English/.

Not infrequently a whale, unpleasantly aroused by the many wounds and painful attacks, escapes. The men tug hard on the lasso after they have plunged the large harpoon in deep, in order to enlarge the wound and make it bleed more. The excited animal not infrequently capsizes several canoes by strong movements of its body or by powerful blows with its tail. The endangered occupants sometimes meet their deaths in the waves.

/519 cont./

225 If the many men succeed in actually killing the whale, they haul it ashore. They build their huts beside it and feast on the rich booty. Sometimes, however, the sick whale does not stay in the same place, but swims farther away. Most families try to follow it. While the women steer the light vessel, the men [462] thrust their large harpoons deep into its body and let out the long lassos, the ends of which they grasp securely with both hands. The whale then pulls the canoe after it. Now a very daring ride begins! If the whale dives down to considerable depths or accelerates his flight, every man must release the rope at the dangerous moment. He loses his weapon, but at least saves his own life and that of his family. Perhaps the hunted animal will reappear again within available distance; then the men /520/ attack it with renewed courage. As long as a chance of success beckons, they are after it, exposing themselves to utmost mortal danger, for to be deprived of this great booty means considerable loss to them, to say nothing of the many weapons they have sacrificed in vain.

Their hunting prospects are somewhat more favorable when they are pursuing a whale being chased by a grampus, špájači (Orca magellanica). In this case their boldness is far more dangerous. It is well known that the above-mentioned animal makes a habit of attacking younger, smaller whales. With his powerful back fin, he strikes and jabs against the whale which can only seek refuge in flight. It makes for narrow channels and shallow bays. Its pursuer hastens after it and even wounds it badly. The whale tries to help himself by frequent leaps out of the water (p. 37 /untranslated/). The Indians are very familiar with this (242).

242. Dabbene (a):36 writes about this in detail.

The špájači is accompanied not only by a few of its own species, but even more by smaller related animals; he is regarded as the "master" whom the others of his "people" hasten after. When the whale realizes he is being cornered, he approaches the coast in his despair. Now the many followers become plainly visible; before that they had often surfaced. The badly wounded whale

/520 cont./

225 sometimes finds a last refuge on the shallow shore of a quiet bay, to which he glides and where his importunate pursuers finally desist.

A conspicuous battle among the large sea animals does not escape the sharp observation of our Yamana, and they determinedly hasten after them in their canoes. They know that the pursued whale will prefer to seek refuge in a shallow inlet. Quickly they plunge their large harpoons into its body and tug on the coiled rope of leather so that the wounds grow larger. If many men are together, the whale receives one harpoon blow after another without pause, and the considerable loss of blood makes him mortally weary. Chased by dolphins and Indians, he dies in a sheltered inlet, usually lying on the shallow beach. Immediately they pounce on the booty. Perhaps they must lament the loss of one or more canoes that fell victim to the rage of the mortally weary whale.

Obviously it is very dangerous to approach a whale in a weak bark boat, but courageous men decide to do it when they can tell by various signs that the animal is sick or has been badly wounded by dolphins (243). No one dares approach a healthy adult animal,

243. The too brief account of Hyades (h):23 gives only an incomplete picture of this type of dangerous undertaking in which many men take part.

for they could not kill it with their ineffective harpoons. The fact that the Indians accomplish anything with these weapons is the result of their uninterrupted efforts. Again and again they must thrust their harpoons and spears deep into the exhausted animal, /521/ until it bleeds from many jabs. It is pursued for days, until it finally succumbs to its countless wounds. The daring of these small human beings is amazing. As Bove (e):158 and Lovisato (b):136 acknowledge, they set out with only the harpoon, "with such a simple weapon, to attack the whale, but often enough canoe, harpooner, and paddler are tossed into the air by a blow from the tail of the aroused animal." They think of the abundance of fat and meat as well as the other important things that a single

/521 cont./

225 whale, be it large or small, will provide for many families, often entirely free.

3. Bird Hunting

223 825 The home of the Yamana swarms with land birds and sea birds. A gaily colored, feathered throng of many shapes animates the islands and rocks, inhabits the inlets and lagoons, and crosses the network of channels and the broad open spaces in flocks, in stormy and sunny weather. Their habits and characteristics are all well known to the Indian, but he pays them special heed only insofar as they have something to offer him or to tell him. Some of them furnish him with tasty meat and others with fresh eggs in spring; some yield him coveted feathers for body decoration, others their bones for necklaces; certain ones announce a change of weather or of seasons, and a few are heralds of interesting events in the distance, even in the future. All of them live in his belief [773] as the descendants of that stratum of population which inhabited this region long before the actual human beings of today.

As is to be expected, however, those species mean most to him which serve him as food. Not just any animal that comes within the Indian's range tempts his palate and his appetite. He has good judgment in distinguishing among them, and he consciously chooses what is good for him. He avails himself of only a few species for his own use from the plentiful feathered world of his homeland. What does not serve him and does not suit his wishes, he lightheartedly passes by. Everywhere he is selective and wisely calculating, not least in evaluating the types of birds available to him.

223 From the start he pays no attention to small animals; the meat they could give him would not be worth his efforts. Herons and owls mean nothing to him either, for they are all skin and bones. Sea birds and the easily available gull chasers, especially the diurnal predatory birds, such as condor and falcon, vulture and hawk, repulse him because they feed on carrion. There are other birds, however, that he would not want to be without in his selection of food; they are a welcome change in the dull taste of his monotonous meat diet. Primarily he has his eye on penguins and

261 /375 cont./
days of need are over, they recover /376/ surprisingly fast. Serious after-effects or a weakening of their health scarcely ever appear. Habit has taught them how best to overcome the brief periods of hunger without harm.

262 [4] Ever since the Tatanto have had easy access to the various farms, they have borrowed there for all kinds of European food and luxuries, such as sugar and wine, coffee and tea, onions, canned tomatoes, and other things. They also acquired cooking pots, in which they prepare our foods so that they are reasonably tasty. This strange diet, however, is not good for their health. Besides toothache, other physical ailments appear, which the people in olden times were fortunately spared despite all kinds of deprivations.

[4]

2. How They Divide the Booty

225 We must insert here a few data about the way in which larger pieces of game are used. On the one hand we shall mention obligations of a social nature, for which we shall later give more detailed reason. On the other hand, the receipt of a gift cannot be compared with ordinary food-getting. Since, however, in the case of the most important animals hunted, namely, seals and whales, there is a definite obligation to let others share in, we shall most conveniently describe here the prevailing custom.

Every local group greets with indescribable rejoicing a whale that has been driven inland or deposited on the beach. Dense swarms of sea birds announce this extraordinary gift of nature. According to the general conception, any man who has first seen or touched the whale is the owner of it, not, however, in the sense that he alone may eat of this animal, the enormous masses of which he would, in any case, be incapable of coping with, but only insofar as it is up to him to arrange an orderly distribution (347).

347. From an earlier period when whales were still plentiful Bridgen (c).209 reported. "Certain persons, those who first found the whale, have the right to distribute it" /cited in English/.

/[illegible] cont./

225 the one claimant for priority rights since, in view of the gigantic size of the animal, everyone can abundantly satisfy his wishes.

[illegible] In general, the old, influential men reach an agreement with the one who first sighted or touched the whale as to which of them should undertake the direction. Not everyone has the experience and skill to do this, but these are demanded in order that the distribution can proceed without a hitch and as little as possible of the meat and fat is lost. A so-called [illegible], a man who is practiced in cutting up a whale (348), chooses four or five helpers with

[illegible]

348. BD-E30 describes him as "clever, expert, careful in cutting up a whale" /cited in English/.

whom he attacks the giant animal.

They make a quick estimate to determine the number of people present. Then they immediately step up to the whale or on top of it, and with /[illegible]/ sharp round shells they cut off one piece of fat after another, the size of a small table-top. Each distributor begins at a certain spot on the carcass and first of all scrapes off the parasites from the surface, especially the common balanus barnacle. Then he strips off the thin skin and makes incisions from above deep enough to strike the muscle tissue. Finally he separates the square flap of fat from below and lets it go to the first applicant. One small area close to another is taken off the whole carcass by the distributor. Before he gives away an individual piece, he makes a long incision in the middle of this large flap of fat, through which the recipient sticks his head. It hangs around his neck like a shoulder-cape and he goes off with it happily in the direction of his hut. It could not be so conveniently carried either on his back or in his arms. It cannot slide off and, besides, he has his hands free. Without discrimination, one after another of the persons assembled gets his piece and returns where he has commenced it.

Naturally, one or another of them can state his preference to the distributor, he certainly even one twice than others. Even on the trip to the spot where the whale is stranded people talk about the abundance that has now been offered them and express their preference for this or that morsel. One person, for instance,

/377 cont./

225 will bother after a piece of beast, another for a piece from the neck, that one prefers the head or the tail fin, some like other parts better. This convention arises from unrestrained exuberance, and everybody's joy over the rich gift finds expression in such spontaneous wishes. In reality, however, so many special demands could not be considered, nor is the distributor bound to comply with them. In spite of all the previous talk, everyone is content to take any piece that is given him, no matter whether he previously expressed himself in favor of some other one. A sense of honor and the pressure of self-discipline forbid loud demands for preferred parts or expressions of discontent over the piece offered. Since I am not in a position to check personally, I must trust the statements of the Indians that some layers of fat are tenier than others. In general, the entire belly covering is regarded as the best piece.

225 There are special names for the larger individual body areas
326 of all species of whales. The lips are called ifgwa. The adja-
192 cent lower part between the lower jaw bones is ifiaja; the upper part adjacent to the central head area is ifla. To the right and left of this are the two cheeks, ififfka. Next to the jaw region and lower neck, ifgwa-fa, is ufmaja, the generally furrowed breast and belly area. The areas below the cheeks are very rich in fat and are called ifgifiki. On the back, ifla leads into tagwila, the anterior middle back which /378/ leads into hilifu, or ufifuly. On either side of this are the ifgi areas. Between these and the ufmaja region are the ifgwa ufmaja, the actual sides of the whale above the ventral dorsal fins; in front of these, toward the cheeks, are ifuff and ifufa. The entire rear tapering part is called ufifgi and leads into the wide tail fin, ifgwi. The pair of front side fins is called ifgufi. These areas are named with reference to the layer of fat because the fat is first removed from every stranded whale. An exception is made in the case of the finback, ifgia (ifgifiki spec.?), the fat of which has a very laxative effect. When afterwards they want to refer to the meat exposed directly under the layer of fat, they choose, in part, names having the additional word ifkun (meat). Thus ifgi ifkun is the meat in the abdominal covering. Moreover, there is a special designation for the meat of the entire upper and lower rump, namely, uufgwi. The

/578 cont./

225 parts on the upper jaw extending far back are called yáuaxē; 225 the tongue, lēqki; and the entrails, hēsuwa. For the meat close 192 between and on the bones, they use the special designation hita (349).

349. BD:260 gives a different meaning: "Old and much wasted blubber as found on shores after being long in the sea" /cited in English/.

and for the fatty tissue in the body cavities, apēla. The great importance of a stranded whale for an entire group of people explains why there are special designations for the individual areas and parts of the body. Even the place where the whale has been tossed up has the special name ufkāriteka. The word tuufkāritekána, which BD:451 translates "to send (as God does) supplies of whale meat" /cited in English/, comes from the same root.

225 It is easy to see the reason for the distribution by different men. It is nothing more nor less than the best possible utilization of the entire huge animal. They do not want any part to be lost or soiled and trampled. Such devastation would be unavoidable if everybody could step up to the whale unhindered and ruthlessly cut out certain parts for himself. In an orderly distribution the special wishes of those present are considered as much as possible, everyone receives an abundance, and the entire supply is utilized. Hence everybody adheres strictly to the established custom and lets the respective distributors attend to their duty. In spite of 225 this, selfishness sometimes prevails, and a group will try to con- 578 ceal the stranding of a whale from others or, if the latter should come near, deny them access to the dead sea monster. Immediately a fight begins and the weaker side must give up the booty to the others (350). Such events /579/ are rare because a floating

350. Bridges (a):208 leaves no doubt about serious encounters over a stranded whale: "As long as a party can safely keep a whale to themselves they take care not to spread the news...But great fights sometimes happen through the selfishness of a party. For

/579 cont./

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578

the news must spread abroad, and then a rush of people happens, they are disappointed by coming too late, and should those who hoarded up the blubber not part it out, there is a fight, canoes are broken, and this brings on a general engagement" /cited in English/. As we have said, however, these are rare occurrences.

dead whale is announced over a wide area, and many people hasten there, even from afar. In comparison with these, the ones that first take possession of it are always in the minority.

225 It hardly seems possible, but in the end even a whale is not an inexhaustible source of fat and meat. If 20 families -- usually, however, the number is doubled and quadrupled -- descend on this sea monster, eating excessively and storing large masses of [251] fat in the swamp, the supply diminishes perceptibly. Sometimes many people will leave after about a week, tired of the monotonous diet, and will make room for others. The new arrivals pounce on the rest ravenously, and it diminishes all the more quickly the more numerous they are. A whale has probably never lasted for more than a month, even if it was one of the largest species, such as hašuwápisa (Balaenoptera intermedia), and was an extraordinarily large specimen, kupatmérana. Sooner or later the skeleton lay there pretty much cleaned of meat and fat, left to the further cleansing of rain and waves.

Lewis, from his own experience, reported on October 9, 1871, about a seemingly mortally weary small whale (351) which was

351. "It was a whale, very young, about 17 feet in length" /cited in English/.

effortlessly killed near the coast on September 13th. "The process of dissection was carried on with such zest, that by eleven A.M. the same day not a vestige of flesh or bone remained on the spot, save the liver, not eaten as a rule by the natives. Our poor fellows jumped into the almost freezing water nearly up to their armpits, and applied themselves as I had never previously seen them do;

/579 cont./

225 a fire was soon made on the spot, some strips of blubber frizzled thereon, and eaten with a gusto. Canoes from all directions soon made their appearance, and a sorry time of it had our poor fellows, for whilst a bit of whale remained to be obtained by coaxing, importunity, or bullying, not a woman would stur /sic/ to get a mussel. The little wood adjacent became the midnight resort of wandering spirits, who turned up [in] all suspicious-looking places in the little stream, often alighting upon some cautiously concealed blubber, much to the loss and sorrow of the owners who had deposited it there for safety, and preservation from corruption" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34;1872). This shows the bustling general activity of the people gathered round the sea monster, for it furnishes the raw material for many useful things.

Until the most recent times a stranded whale was a great attraction for all the natives. On July 19, 1902, Williams (MM: XXVI, 277) wrote: "A little time ago a whale was found on the beach in Cunna-voosh, and as soon as the news reached Tekenika about thirty left for /580/ a feast. Most of them returned in seven or eight days" /cited in English/. Since then it has not become known that a dead or sick whale was stranded in the area inhabited by the Yamana. This has been a real loss which they bitterly lament.

225 431 577 Quite different from all this is the procedure of a man who occasionally dissects and distributes a large seal. Anyone who has been favored with success in the hunt takes the booty intact to his hut. Here he immediately skins it (p. 68). If it is a particularly large animal, perhaps a bear seal, tēpēʔa (Arctocephalus australis), or an elephant seal, hāšaxuwa (Macrorhinus leoninus), he usually summons two other men and says: "Here is the seal, divide it among us all!" With these words he hands over, as it were, to the community of all the families who happen to be there the fresh carcass of the animal and relinquishes his personal right of disposal. These men cut up the booty into several large pieces, according to the number of huts, and send them off. The hunter is scarcely favored, but nevertheless he shows himself satisfied with what he gets, just like any of the others. Social considerations for the group as a whole have created this habit which we shall discuss later in this book.

/580 cont./

225 431 577

Although it involves only a moral obligation, no one can actually avoid it in the long run. It also applies to less important things. For example, in the case of a small sea lion, either ǎma (Otaria jubata) or lēfkeǎma (Otaria falklandica), the successful hunter drags it in front of his own hut and cuts it up himself into several pieces. Now it is the duty of the woman to share it with other families. She counts the women who live next to her and brings each one a good piece of meat, even if she should have no more left over for her own family than what she gave each of the others. Sometimes she goes empty-handed when there are many who expect a gift from her. To give away inferior parts or to keep conspicuous amounts for herself would arouse a harsh suspicion of selfishness. It seems that in former times every hunter would bring a guanaco whole back to his hut and only then dissect it. His wife took over the task of distributing the individual pieces (352).

352. Only Aspinall:270 reports: "Anyone fortunate enough to kill a guanaco must give certain parts to relatives and friends, and this is always done very willingly." It would be more accurate to say that the neighbors, whoever they happen to be, are, without discrimination, presented with a decent piece of meat.

This duty to let others share in one's own success also applies to the things that the women and girls have gathered. If they bring home fungi and berries, mussels and snails, crabs and fish in their little baskets, they immediately make gifts to all the women. A person who gets sea birds or birds' eggs divides them equally. Thus, no one keeps for himself everything he has hunted or gathered, and everyone strives to fulfill this universally applicable duty. The pieces to be distributed are given to the neighboring families according to certain rules which we shall discuss later.

/615 cont./

502

as Hyades (g):38 correctly judges, "work that is not too hard, since the canoes, made exclusively out of the bark of the birch-leaved beech, are marvelously light."

This work is a great strain on the entire upper part of the body, for the legs are neither braced nor do they offer support, and the arms do not rest on the rim of the canoe, yet bear the entire strain of free paddling (418). In the vessel all the occupants must squat

[142]

418. Hence the slight development of the legs in contrast to the sturdy torso of the healthy, active women (p. 219 /untranslated/).

close together deep in the bottom, with their legs tucked under. Its center of gravity is very high, even when it is loaded to capacity, and it would easily tip over if the balance were disturbed. Children are told that they should bend their heads and the upper part of their bodies low; usually they lift themselves only high enough for their eyes to reach the level of the gunwale (419).

419. The words of Lovisato (b):134 are to a certain extent correct: "In this canoe the Fuegians remain in such a position that only their heads may be seen, a position identical with the one they maintain in the wigwam" /translated from Italian/.

502 225 462

Before the family leaves the shore, man and wife have agreed on the goal of the journey or the course. She now steers toward this while he constantly is on the lookout for game. If an animal comes into view, he tells his wife and reaches for his spear or harpoon (420). As the vessel nears the animal, he slowly stands

420. The division of labor within the family is thus clearly expressed. Aspinall:270 refers to this: "Each canoe holds one family; the

502 /615 cont./
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women row and the man is on the lookout with raised javelin."

up and, at the appropriate moment, throws his weapon. Only the perfectly synchronized co-operation of both of them assures the success of the hunt, and every married couple achieves absolute perfection in this in the course of the years. When they pursue a wounded animal, the woman must occasionally exercise extraordinary strength. She is equipped for it by the habit of almost daily paddling.

502 If the family has been rewarded with unexpected luck in the hunt or if they are very tired from the pursuit of an animal, they sometimes suddenly decide to land at the nearest good place. The most suitable site is a flat, gently sloping beach, covered with coarse pebbles, in a calm inlet. The woman does not let the canoe run aground, since all friction is to be avoided. She holds the bow steady at right angles to the shore while the inmates disembark one after the other (421) and /616/ toss all the implements

[158]

421. Only exceptionally, in case the man is ill and cannot walk, does Aspinall's:270 assertion hold: "In leaving the canoe, the woman must first carry the man ashore. He carefully holds the firebrand, protected between sticks of wood, above water, and begins first of all to erect a primitive hut." As a rule, however, the landing proceeds as described above and, for example, as is described in La Nature:274.

along with all the provisions onto the shore. One of the children carries a glowing stick of wood to the place that the father has pointed out to the child as the chosen campsite. The girls usually do this. The adults make sure that the last sparks of the fire in the canoe have been extinguished. Meanwhile the Indian woman remains seated in her canoe and keeps it on the same spot by paddling. When everything has been unloaded, she still has to moor it. If the landing place is suitable, a layer of Macrocystis

/966 cont./

423 children while his relatives live far away.
635

Finally, there is a completely different kind of occasion
225 when all boundaries are ignored, namely, when a whale is stranded.
423 A certain priority is conceded to those in whose home district this
425 mighty animal is deposited on the shore, for sometimes they have worked hard before the rich booty is spread out before them (p.
635 224). Nevertheless, their priority consists chiefly of the privilege to determine the so-called distributors of the fat and meat. It is not left to the discretion of the individual to go up to the animal and cut out a piece here or there for himself. Rather, it is the task of a few men to cut up the big animal properly and to give something to each one present if he wishes it (p. 310). This is the only way to prevent useless waste.

Anyone within the widest radius who learns of the stranding of a whale may head toward the spot unmolested and remain until all the suitable parts are consumed or distributed. The people native to the region arrive ahead of the visitors from a distance; nothing prevents them from taking the prized whalebone and from having the tastiest pieces cut out for themselves. Hence the people within the bounded area where the mighty animal was washed ashore do enjoy certain advantages. It is easy to see why other tribal members are also allowed to share this rich gift of Mother Nature, according to common law. A small number of people would be unable to consume the considerable amount of fat and meat quickly enough in the short time before it spoils. Therefore, nothing would be more natural than to apply, without restraint, the common principle of sharing with others, especially when there is abundance to be had without effort. Alerted by dense flocks of sea birds, the Indians come pouring in to the stranded whale, even from some distance, and they all enjoy the excellent taste of the blubber. No one would dare rebuff a visiting stranger nor hinder him; if one were to do so, he would be loudly decried as a selfish human being.

423 As for material goods that are common property, our Yamana have only the two Great Huts built for the čiéxaus and the kína, the men's ceremony. Both serve in the fulfillment of a task for which the group as such is obligated, and the adult participants busy themselves at it quite as a matter of course. From the start

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

262 Lothrop (1928, p. 32) rated the relative importance in the *Yahgan* dietary of their foods as follows: (1) Easily of first importance, mussels; (2) next, seals, and fish of many kinds; (3) next, porpoises, gulls, and bird eggs; (4) then, whales, limpets, crabs, sea urchins, geese, penguins, cormorants; (5) last and least, otter (chiefly in the west), guanaco (only in the east), conchs, ducks, berries (especially wild black currants). The fungi eaten were those growing on trees; those growing on the ground were not eaten. Some wild celery and wild parsnips and two varieties of cress and young shoots of tussock grass were also eaten. Foxes were eaten only in famine as a last [263] resort. Salt was not used.

225 **Hunting.**—Seals were hunted with spear or harpoon from canoes or from land (pl. 36), or killed with clubs. Whales were occasionally hunted in the open sea with spear or harpoon; stranded or dead whales were eagerly exploited. Dogs helped in otter and fox hunting. 223 Cormorants were taken at night by torchlight with clubs; also with a pronged wooden gorge hook. Birds were taken with pole snares (fig. 11, *d*) and with single or multiple tether snares of sinew or whalebone. No lifting pole snares, deadfalls, or pitfalls are reported.

226 **Fishing and sea-food gathering.**—Mussels were gathered by hand; limpets, with a flat-ended stick; sea urchins, with a four-pronged wooden fork; crabs and other Crustacea, with a harpoon or a three-pronged stick. For taking sea food, the *Yahgan* also used a spear with two diverging shanks, or two to four spears lashed together. Women fished with a kelp-stem or braided whale-sinew line, that had a slipknot of whalebone or of quill at the end, instead of a hook, to hold the bait; slowly drawing the fish to the surface, they would grab it by hand. Fishhooks were probably lacking. Weirs of branches or stakes were used. True fish nets were absent. The nearest approach thereto was a small basket attached to the end of a pole and used as a sort of dip net for diminutive fish.

251 **Food storage.**—Limited quantities of dried tree fungi were stored; so too was oil, especially whale and seal oil.

415 **Food preparation and eating.**—Large mussel shells were used for [252] melting fat and holding grease. Water was heated and grease melted by throwing hot stones into them, but there is no record of stone boiling proper.

Shells of large mussels were sometimes used as plates; shells or bark buckets as cups; hollow bird bones or reeds as drinking tubes.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

361 There were no permanent villages. Certain groups of natives re-
621 lated apparently by blood and marriage frequented and occupied more or less fixed separate localities within the respective five sub-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

On Gable island and other places where birds nested the Yahgan captured the young and tamed them to frequent their wigwams until they were large enough to be eaten. The writer has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed. Also, in the summer, the Yahgan had special bird hunts near the breeding places, because at this time of year the birds, though nearly full-grown, have not learned to fly and may be captured by running them down. 223 [231]

227

FIG. 88.—Yahgan fish-line. Length of coiled line, 6 in. (14/2375)

FISH-LINE

The Yahgan fish-line, shown in fig. 88, consists of three elements: line (*tápim*), sinker (*társhir*), and bait noose (*tukaléna*). The line is of braided whale-sinew and is ten to twelve feet long. The sinker is a small stone with notches knocked in opposite sides. The noose, like the bird nooses, is a narrow strip of whalebone scraped thin and flexible with a bit of shell. In an emergency a piece of kelp was used as a fish-line.

In order to fish, the Yahgan women paddled in their canoes to a shallow reef. There they anchored the canoe by inserting the handle of the paddle under a gunwale so that the blade projected outboard on the other side. A heavy piece of kelp was hauled across this, which not only served to prevent the canoe from drifting but also steadied it. Bait was then inserted in the noose and the line was lowered. When a fish had nibbled at and partly swallowed the bait it was pulled to the surface, seized by a quick dart of the hand, and killed by biting it in the head. Fish were cleaned as soon as they were caught by biting a hole in the belly through which the guts could be extracted with the finger. 225

/484 cont./
411 around some part of their body to have it quickly accessible at
482 any time, but it is not regarded as an ornament (195). The

195. Hyades (h):33 expressed the surprising view: "We must therefore admit that the sling of the Yahgan is as much an ornamental object for men as it is a weapon for hunting or war" /translated from French/.

[142 302]

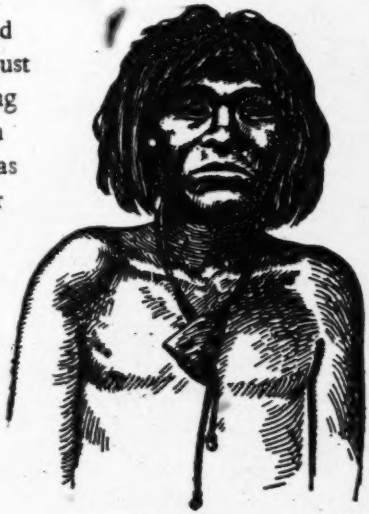


Fig. 41. Man with a Sling.

Yamana use it not only to stun birds, but also in fighting against their own people.

411 /485/ All indications point to the fact that the sling was used in all parts of the Cape Horn Archipelago./Fig. 41 appears here./ Every man and boy owned and owns one. When the Mission Scientifique arrived in Orange Bay, according to Hyades (q):357, every man carried his sling. This was customary throughout the entire area occupied by this tribe. Lothrop (b):157 indulges in vain speculation about the [177] origin of the sling and says "that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yaghan" /cited in English/. I cannot agree with this view; I shall not go into his evidence and mine at this point. Instead, I take the view of Snow (b):264 that the Yamana "are remarkably expert with their slings" /cited in English/. Obviously, the fact that they own and use the sling also proves "their ingenuity" /cited in English/.

8. Snares and Fishing Implements

223 Our Yamana are fortunate in having a wide selection
226 among the animals of their homeland to meet their food needs. They approach each species in a special way in order to catch them as easily and surely as possible. Besides the weapons mentioned

/485 cont./

223 above, they also use several implements which we shall briefly
226 characterize here and describe in greater detail below. These implements have been brought under one heading in this section. They help the men and women to obtain the smaller representatives of Fuegian fauna, namely, birds and the so-called lower animals, such as mussels and crabs.

a. The Snare-line

223 This is a construction that is used for inconspicuous mass capture. The Yamana call it ufka; I believe the most suitable designation is large snare-line. It could also be called "snare-trap." It is used more often by the Halakwulup than by our Fuegians. Hyades (q):359 correctly reminds us that it was observed by Bougainville in the year 1769 on the shores of the Strait of Magellan.

223 The foundation, so to speak, of this large snare-line is a
283 thick, braided cord of long guanaco sinews. Since few /486/ people can obtain this, they content themselves with whale sinews and make a firm braid with three strong strands. This is saturated with fat and repeatedly greased, for it often lies on the damp earth for a long time and must be protected from rotting.

223 On the long cord at intervals of about 60 centimeters, there
284 are tied as many knotted loops, known as kerʔ̈ef, as the length of cord will permit. Each of them consists of a single strip of whalebone about four millimeters wide, the edges of which must not fray since this would interfere with the free movement of the small loop-knot at the upper end. The other end, after being drawn through the loop, terminates in a simple knot and is fastened to the long cord. All the knotted loops are placed on the same side of the cord. Each one, when it is entirely loose, has a diameter of nearly 20 centimeters.

223 Actually, therefore, the large snare-line ufka, is, following Hyades (q):304, a "game of snares" /translated from French/ (Fig. 59). Martial:195 calls it "a noose" /translated from French, lacet/, which he describes as "a rope of seal tendons on which

/487 cont./

223 284 long, slender shaft furnished with a running loop of whalebone" /translated from French/. The end piece is attached to the tip of the shaft by a knot in the lashing of sinew. It is surprising that this whalebone noose, kē̄ʍ ēf, is put together with two pieces, a long one and a short one. The two run side by side for a few centimeters and are lashed with sinews; the short one ends in a small loop-knot. We also find this same overlapping [171] in every one of the whalebone loops on the long snare-line of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 283), whereas on that of our Yamana each whalebone loop is one strip only (Fig. 59). A kē̄ʍ ēf consisting of two parts is more effective and more durable; our Yamana are convinced of that. But why they do not use these two-part loops on the long snare-line no one could tell me. Probably the people avoid the greater effort, since the work of making a snare-line is laborious enough.

223 We need not explain specifically how this snare-rod is used. It is, of course, put forward unnoticed by a man hidden in a suitable spot, drawn over the head of a bird, and immediately pulled in with a sharp jerk. The principle of the noose is exactly the same as in the case of the long snare-line. The natives even use a single whalebone noose without any kind of shaft to catch birds. Herewith we have adequately described and characterized the threefold way in which the whalebone snare is used by the Yamana.

γ. Mussel Fork, Mussel Breaker, Crab Fork

● 226 [262] The shellfish of the sea have the same importance for the diet of our Fuegian as bread, for instance, has for the European. Many of them he can gather on the beach, others he must take out of the water. The two types of mussels which are found there, namely ē̄ʍ uf (Mytilus chilensis) and kęcōin (Mytilus edulis), occur in vast quantities. They are larger and tastier the more abundantly they are covered with water even at lowest ebb tide and the stronger the current is that swirls around them back and forth. It would be impossible to pry these animals loose with one's hand, as one can, for instance, the smaller and less tasty ones that every ebb tide uncovers.

/487 cont./

227 The Indian woman uses the so-called mussel fork, which she calls kalāna, in order to loosen the cluster-like accumulations on the deep coastline and to break off the individual shells on the stalks of Macrocystis algae. The husband must make this implement for her, for he alone has the necessary tools. He chooses for the shaft /488/ a young tree as tall as possible. He prefers [824] Maytenus magellanica, the wood of which is heavier than that of the beech. He takes the bark off the little trunk and smooths it well, cutting off the upper end somewhat obliquely. He allows a length of two and a half meters and more.

The actual fork, which is only about one-fifth as long as the shaft, yēyakēr, is lashed onto the latter with a narrow leather strap. The only suitable wood for this is hūma, the large Berberis [824] ilicifolia which is extraordinarily tough and hence very flexible. A rather thick small stem is split lengthwise, the more suitable half is cut off at the bottom like a spatula, and a long incision is made to produce a two-pronged fork. A small, short wooden plug is inserted into this slit and lashed with a braided thread of rush or with whalebone (197); this keeps it always open. Through

197. Lothrop (b):154 reproduces what he calls a "limpet-spear" /cited in English/, in which the short plug is lashed with a narrow strip of whalebone. Figure 61 of the present work shows a lashing with braided rush stalks.

its own expansion the layers of wood fibers warp so advantageously that the entire piece seems curved outward. This slight bending facilitates penetration into the clustered accumulations of mussel shells. The upper part of the fork is whittled all around and tied to the shaft (Fig. 61).

226 The Indian woman lets this long implement glide from her canoe perpendicularly into the depths. She uses it, however, only on days when the sea is calm and the water transparent (198).

198. Hyades (q):369 writes: "This fishing is common practice and each canoe is always furnished with tools for this purpose" /translated from French/.

/488 cont./

226 She loosens each individual shell, breaks it off from the place where it is lodged, and lifts it up. The mussel fork almost always lies in the front part of the canoe between the harpoons and spears of the husband, since it is safest here.

227 226 When the Indian woman, walking on the uncovered sea-floor at ebb tide or wading in the water, breaks off the mussel shells, she perceptibly lessens the strain on her hands if she uses a pointed stick which I call the mussel breaker (Fig. 42). This is nothing more than a sturdy stem or [224] thick branch of Berberis ilicifolia. The husband makes it for his wife. He removes the twigs smoothly but leaves the bark, since its rough surface always assures the hand a firm grip, no matter how thoroughly the stick is soaked with sea water. It was just mentioned that the wood of this bush is very tough, yet soft and pliable. Another type of wood would seldom stand the strain of the springy movements which are necessary to pry off the mussels. At the bottom the mussel breaker is cut off in the shape of a chisel and with a dull edge so that it can easily dig deeply enough into the clustered accumulations of mussels. The woman is very adept at handling it effortlessly.

/489/ If she does not happen to have it, she reaches for a /Fig. 42 appears here/ stick the length of an arm which she cuts to a short, dull point. With this wasinix she pokes into the cluster of mussels, moving the upper free end back and forth until the individual animals are loosened.

226 The very tasty oxystomes are also appreciated by the Yamana as a delicacy. We refer to the large axiya [262] (Lithodes antarctica) and the small steiálul (Paralomis granulosus). These animals are found there in considerable numbers and constantly move up and down the coast on the sea floor according to the movements of ebb and flow. They are always, however, under a considerable amount of water. The natives are not always successful in diving to catch them because they stay in the depths and seek to escape. Hence a long implement has been invented which it 227 seems suitable to call a crab fork and which the Yamana call sinsa (Fig. 62) Its basic form corresponds precisely to the

Fig. 42.
Mussel Breaker.

/489 cont./

227 musel fork. There is a complete description of it elsewhere, as well as a discussion of how it is used.

[824] The bark of a small, straight trunk of the evergreen beech is scraped off and the surface made octagonal. For the part that is added on, the natives choose a small, thick stem of the large barberry, hûma, the particular suitability of which has been repeatedly described. They split it crosswise two-thirds of its total length, and the four prongs are pried apart with two small, short wooden plugs. These prongs are tapered to blunt ends. The other end, after it has been suitably cut off, is lashed tight to the shaft with a strap or with a small cord of braided rushes. Colini: 161 describes a specimen, the total length of which is 3.25 meters; most of them are not longer. The thinner it is, the more suitable.

226 The Indian woman slides this long fork perpendicularly into the depths from her canoe and pushes the prongs into the round, flat calcareous shell of the so-called cephalothorax of a crab. The pressure and construction which these prongs cause among the broken particles prevent the whole animal from sliding off when it is being drawn up, no matter how actively it wriggles with its long legs. In the canoe the Indian woman strips it off the prongs with her feet while she holds the crab fork perpendicularly in her hands, whereupon the animal falls to the bottom of the boat.

[462] It is, of course, again the duty of the husband to make this crab fork for his wife. While he is working on the shaft, he protects his hand with a special piece of leather (Fig. 28).

/490/ ♂. The Fishline

The tender, fresh meat of fish is a welcome change for the Yamana in their somewhat monotonous diet. Sometimes the man throws a spear toward a larger fish that is resting in a shallow cove or that elsewhere affords a sure target. Much more often the Indian woman is busy with her fishline which she merely slips into the water from her canoe, never from the beach and still less by means of any kind of long fishing rod.

/490 cont./

227 Two types of fishline are used, and they differ from one an-
283 other only in the actual line. One is nothing more nor less than
a small, pencil-thick stem of the large brown alga (Macrocystis
[924] pyrifera) from which, with the fingernail, the branches are re-
moved so close to the stalk that it seems quite smooth (Fig. 63).
After each use it is rolled up; hence it dries very slowly and does
not readily become brittle. When it is needed, 20 minutes in
the water will suffice to soften it up completely and make it
flexible once more.

The other fishline is braided out of three thin filaments of
sinew. Like the one mentioned first, it is eight and more meters
long (Fig. 64). To make it last longer, it, too, is rolled up,
but into a tight ball, after each use (199). The latter is incom-

199. Bridges (MM:III, 115; 1869) briefly describes both types. Hyades (g):38 repeated: "The lines are made partly out of dried seaweed [Macrocystis pyrifera], partly out of seal tendons, and are lowered with a stone tied to them." See Krickeberg: 320 and Lovisato (b):142.

parably more durable and proves to be much more trustworthy when it is hauled in.

227 Both lines terminate in a loop with a running knot made out
284 of a quill. When it is opened up, it measures about 12 centi-
meters. Since the actual line ends in a small knot, the upper end
of the quill is joined on in front of the knot. Along its smooth
surface the running loop moves without any friction. As bait it
holds a small piece of seal meat or a small mussel.

Since the bait must sometimes be sunk to considerable depths,
227 a sinker is indispensable. The natives use any stone with flat
sides and irregular edges. It is about three centimeters high. The
line is wound around it, about eight centimeters above the loop.
In the central Yamana regions the natives sometimes select the
round black stone teli, but few women have any of them handy.

226 Every Indian woman is extraordinarily skillful in fishing.
Since she does not use an actual fish hook, she waits until the
fish has swallowed the bait and only then very gently pulls up the

/490 cont./

226 line. When the fish has been brought near the surface, she reaches down and grasps it with a sure hand, pushing her second and third finger under each gill cover. After she has lifted it out of the water, she bites through its neck and kills it."

227 /491/ The snares and fishing implements used by our Yamana show extreme appropriateness. Each one of these things proves that it enables the Indian, with a small amount of effort, to get the wild animals he wants or is stalking.

9. Tools

412 The Fuegians have not yet advanced to a universal or even
324 preponderant use of stone tools. To blame this on the sparse occurrence of quartzite and slate in those regions is not sufficient explanation. When iron and glass were introduced by Europeans,
[177] the natives used these materials immediately, albeit in limited measure, without, however, changing the original form of their implements or replacing them by others. Actual working of the stone seems necessary only in the case of stone arrowheads and dagger points (p. 169). It cannot be definitely shown whether these Fuegians also shaped the round black stone with a groove, known as tálu. Hence the greater part of their tools consists of mussel shells, wood, and bone. This fact can be easily ascertained from the accounts of earlier navigators.

The following description pertains to those items as they were made before being influenced by Europeans. We must credit our Fuegians with considerable cultural progress by reason of the fact that they succeeded in making a number of implements of different construction and form, each with a very definite use.

412 We should like to mention briefly here a peculiar form of be-
461 havior of the Yamana which Lothrop (b):120 has also referred to. When they need anything for their implements, they do not take the trouble to make a thorough search for a good piece or await an opportunity to come across a better part. Rather, they take the first thing that comes along if it suffices for their momentary need and if it promises to fulfill the purpose for which it was intended. A better shaped mussel shell to be used as a knife, a more regular

/550 cont./

the few and simple implements that make gathering easier for her. All of them are very functional and testify to a practical good sense. As a result, the procuring of food never becomes a burdensome task to the woman. She takes the great majority of her produce from the animal kingdom, but the vegetable kingdom, too, offers her some things which she finds welcome now and then.

C. Food From the Animal Kingdom

1. Mussels. On the rocky shore-line of the many islands are dense colonies of mussels. There are two kinds (Mytilus chilensis) Ko of and kaiKoa (Mytilus edulis) that cover broad areas along a slightly sloping, stony bottom (p. 44 /unwaslawal/) (254). They

> 254. Hyades (p)33 was astonished at the inexhaustible riches of shellfish, especially mussles, in Orange Bay. George Forster (p)II, 378 writes that in Isla Nueva "the rocks along the shore were covered with large mussels (Mytilus edulis), the meat of which seemed tastier to us than that of the best oysters." One finds the same abundance, more or less, throughout the entire Yamana region.

do not go beyond the highest water level, hence almost every low tide covers them. The deepest layers are not even uncovered at lowest ebb tide and consist of larger specimens. These mussels thrive best and attain unusual size in places where there are constant small eddies and restless waves or currents. The Yamana are acquainted with every little spot of their country and each tiny corner of their coasts. They often come back to the same spot, move about anew over the same course, and find their way again in local conditions without any trouble.

The most dense, cluster-like accumulations of large mussels can actually be reached only at low tide with the canoe. Their meat is not only fresh and tasty, but yields a rich mussel. /Text/ /Fig. 61 appears here./ Hence the woman is willing to take the

/Tab.cont./

224 wooden to mark out the profitable spots where there are large shell-fishing in the canoe, the beasts there off with a long wooden fork (Fig. 61) and bite them up with it. Even the husband sometimes reaches for this useful tool while the women tends to the bear, if there is a possibility that a canoe might push it off. The people call the tool kaiten. I designate it as "long round fork." It consists of a head and a long stick with a square cross-section (203). A suitable piece of

227

203. It was well illustrated and described by Hyades (D):13 and (S):201, 202. Ledoux (D):135 gives it as "[illegible]" /cited in English/, Hyades (D):13 as "a harpoon, the spatula of wood" /translated from French/.

Pl. 9

Hesbalqua hemlocks is chosen, or Mayanna magellanica, which they like even better. The latter is heavier and stronger and makes the work easier for the women. The upper part is always made out of the tough wood of the large barberry (Berberis [illegible]). A piece about three centimeters thick is split down the middle, the suitable part freed of bark and flattened on either side until it resembles a chisel. The upper, wider end is split into two prongs which are held apart by the insertion of a short wooden plug about as thick as a pencil. This is put approximately in the center of the entire groove of the split and is tied with a braided cedar thread, a whalebone strip, or a bast fiber. The thicker end of the long pole is also flattened on its broad side, the two pieces are fitted against each other and secured with a narrow baleen strap or a braided cedar cord, just as in the case

Fig. 61. Wooden Fork.

/240 cont./

227 of the crab fork (Fig. 62). This long mussel fork is very easy to handle. A gentle push from above loosens the clinging mussel below, and making the fork spring back and forth, always from the same direction, finally releases it. If possible, it is lifted up from the ground by hand. In deep places the woman with her long fork pushes it under water to the open beach. Usually, however, and this is a second reason for the long shaft, she presses the shell between the two diminished prongs and carefully draws it up. Often the shell slides out just before she gets it up; then she simply picks it up again. To decrease resistance, the woman lifts the long rod up vertically and grasps the shell with her other hand. Patiently she squats in her vessel, bent over the edge, and spears one mussel after another /241/ until after two or three hours she returns to the hut with the yield of her diligence. For this work the sea must be calm and clear, for the deeply bedded mussels are usually covered over with floating algae of various kinds and are not easily recognized. The mussel fork is a necessary adjunct to the canoe, and no Indian woman is without it.

234 Since there are many days that are not suitable for plucking off the large mussels in deep water according to the method described, the people also content themselves with the somewhat smaller and less tasty animals near the beach. Women and girls step into the water and wade out to the densest accumulations of mussels. They either tear them off with their hands or loosen them with a stick the length of an arm, flattened at one end, which I call the mussel breaker, wesiix, and which BD:379 refers to as xiyaqiix (Fig. 63). Finally, they also use any stick that is pointed at the bottom. They immediately place the shells in their little baskets, which they have hanging on their arms or which they set on the ground at the edge of the water. Bent low, they walk along slowly and silently, without straightening up; they collect busily until the little basket is filled. Since several persons may be occupied in this way at the same time, the line they form looks somewhat strange to a European observer who happens to meet them (266).

266. Hyades (1):308 agrees: "It is a curious sight which confronts the European who

226

/541 cont./
observes them and unconsciously compares them with the women of our coasts going fishing at low tide: the same grave silence, the same busyness, and from a distance the same silhouettes" /translated from French/.

At almost every ebb tide the women comb the wide surfaces laid bare by the receding sea. On a slightly sloping shore these are sometimes ten or more meters (267). Here there are only

267. Fortunately, the strip of earth along the shore which is laid bare at low tide is easily pervious and soon becomes hard. Hyades (f):553 specially refers to this.

medium-sized and small mussels, but they are easy to gather. They are sometimes loosened with a short, strong stick or with the above-mentioned mussel-breaker, wasínix. It is just as easy to break them off with one's bare hand, since the clinging filaments of the live animals are weak.

226 461 [854 857] Assuming that low tide sets in during the day, one woman will make a date with another, and immediately others will join them. Each of them brings along her baby clinging to her back, and little girls run ahead, each with her own little basket. Sometimes a boy or two will run along out of curiosity and sheer pleasure, and they will watch for a while, but it would never occur to them to help because that is not their work. These women are only short /542/ distances apart. Walking slowly, they go from one spot to another, for the entire ocean floor is usually densely strewn with mussels. They seldom exchange a few words, and they keep their bent position unchanged. Sometimes they also squat down, without touching the damp earth, since the mussels can be easily grasped from any position. They stop working only when their little baskets are full. The women sometimes also set out late in the evening and in the early morning if the tide is particularly low. In winter they take along a glowing stick of wood and a few dry sticks in order to fan up a fire near the place where they are gathering. They return to it for a few minutes to warm their stiff

/542 cont./

226 hands and refresh themselves with a few roasted mussels. After
461 they have filled their baskets, if the harvest is ample, they even spread their back-capes on the ground and empty more mussels on them, with which they afterwards return heavily laden to the hut.

226 In this type of mussel-gathering, they collect some Patella, auwēra, known as pīna when they are smaller and as álakuš auwēra when they are still smaller. They also collect Fissurella, úngu (amúŋku in the western dialect, ēŋku in the southern dialect), some Pecten, čāpi, and some Chiton, yčkēr or yakīa. Patella and Chiton are often imbedded in deeper spots and preferably under a broad tangle of kelp. The Indian woman ties up her canoe on the kelp and plucks these shellfish out singly with her long mussel fork. Mytilus mussels, of course, constitute the greater part of her gathering. The Yamana speak of edible mollusks under the generic term of čipāala (268), and, as is well known, they

> 268. Hyades (r):294 maintained that of the many shellfish living in those frigid waters "all the large species are edible" /translated from French/.

are very abundant there.

Summarizing from this account, we may say that the Indian woman gathers mussels in three different ways (269): either she

> 269. Bridges (MM:X, 58; 1876) had already mentioned the "three ways of gathering mussels" /cited in English/ of the Yamana, but his scant reports do not compare with the detailed description given in these lines.

walks along the flat beach laid bare by ebb tide and with her hand plucks off mussels and incidentally a few other shellfish; or she wades through shallow water to the rocks where somewhat larger mussels cling, which she removes with her short mussel-breaker, wasínix, and which reward her for poking about in the water; and

/542 cont./

226 finally, when the sea is calm and clear, she uses her long mussel-fork, kalā́na, with which, from her canoe, she lifts up from the bottom the largest, deeply embedded mussels individually. As Hyades (q):367 points out, the Indian woman is perfectly adapted for this work, since "it suffices for this fishing by hand to watch the movement of the tides, to know the beaches that are richly provided with shellfish, and to have a little manual practice in pulling up quickly the mussels that cover the shore" /translated from French/. To the Yamana the mussel is /543/ /Fig. 62 appears here/ simply indispensable. To gather them in the required amounts is a daily duty of the woman who devotes herself to it whenever the weather permits (270).

270. Bridges (MM:X, 58;1876), Dabbene (b):183, Hyades (h):2 and (q):366, and others have expressed themselves accurately and in detail about this. Bridges (loc. cit.) used the comparison of earlier navigators, namely, that "mussels are to the Firelanders what bread is to the Englishmen: the staff of life all the year round" /cited in English/. Hyades (q): 339 likewise repeated that mollusks "are a sort of daily bread to them" /translated from French/.

Her daughters of all ages help her.

Along inlets which are bordered with a flat shore and fine sand, the women sometimes look for the tasty tačówin (Mactra) and the large snail, hĕflā́n

[227]

Fig. 62. Crab Fork.

/543 cont./

226 (Voluta). The former must be dug out of the sand with a short stick. The latter keeps to the sea bottom under water and is pushed forward on the bottom with the crab fork, until it can be picked up by hand. It yields a good, fresh morsel of meat. Although it can be reached only from the canoe, the Indians enjoy it so much that they go to all kinds of trouble to obtain it. They have no use for the shell.

2. Sea Urchins. In the eastern Beagle Channel sea urchins are far less frequent than in the west and south. Here they are often gathered because the so-called tongues (ovaries, ʃpax), which are eaten, and the liquid inside the calcareous shell, which is drunk, have a particular flavor. Hyades (q):369 even maintains that "fishing for sea urchins...in certain seasons provides a principal article of food for the Fuegians and the women devote much time to it" /translated from French/. This opinion must be limited to the southernmost islands in locale and to autumn in time, since during the other months sea urchins are not wholesome. It would be a gross exaggeration if, with Hyades, we assumed that sea urchins were eaten as frequently throughout the year (271). Their rich

271. In Argentina and Chile everyone knows that sea urchins are edible only in certain months; during the other months they are very harmful.

iodine content makes them tasty.

These animals, ʃkff (Echinodermus), always keep to the sea floor and are never uncovered even by the lowest tide. In order to catch them the woman rows a short distance from shore, ties up her canoe in a tangle of floating Macrocystis algae, and through the clear, quiet sea water hunts for the sea urchins on the bottom. She squats in her light vessel and bends her head far over the rim. As soon as she discovers a sea urchin, she lets the crab fork (Fig. 62) slide down perpendicularly through both her hands and tries to squeeze the calcareous shell bristling with spikes into the prongs (272).

272. I use the word "crab-fork" rather than "crab-spear," thus agreeing with Hyades (h):10 and (q):369, although

/543 cont./

226 Lothrop (b):154 speaks of the "Sea-urchin spear" /cited in English/.

Carefully she lifts the long pole up again, precisely perpendicular. The Indian woman pierces the shell only when, in exceptional cases, she is not successful otherwise. She piles up her booty in the bottom of the canoe. If she is lucky, she gathers /544/ a whole dozen within an hour; if not, it takes her three to five hours to collect this amount. She sacrifices this time on account of the eagerly awaited enjoyment.

226 481 In exceptional cases the Indian woman jumps out of her canoe and dives down to get the sea urchin with her hands (273). She

273. Despard (b):697 had already observed that "women dive for sea-eggs and the finer kinds of mussels" /cited in English/.

does this when she sees several animals next to each other on the sea floor, which she cannot grasp with her crab fork because of the tangle of algae floating on top of it. She is not afraid of the cold [147] water. She is used to it, because at all times of the year she must fasten her canoe a considerable distance from the beach and must swim back and forth (274).

274. Quite unjustifiably Hyades (h):12 and (q):370 makes this habit of the Indian women to dive for sea urchins the point of departure for a long explanation. Only an erroneous interpretation can lead him to speak of a "wretched duty" of the women to dive for sea-urchins.

226 Hyades' (q):369 emphasis on the significance of sea urchins does not correspond to the facts. He would have us believe that "this fish supplies almost exclusively the food needs of the people at certain times of the year when mollusks become rare" /translated from French/, but the inexhaustible mass of shellfish never diminishes, least of all that of mussels. We must agree with him,

/544 cont./

226 however, that the Indian woman "practices (this type of fishing) with extreme dexterity" /translated from French/.

3. Oxystomes. More important than sea urchins for the Indian household are the large oxystomes plentiful in those waters, namely, stetálus (Paralomis granulosus) and the much larger axiya (Lithodes antarctica). The latter are sometimes 60 centimeters wide between the fourth pair of feet. These animals move across the sea floor, proceeding slowly toward the shore during high tide and then back to the middle of the channel toward the end of low tide, in other words, in the direction of the water according to the tides. The Indian women take advantage of their habits. They go out to catch crabs about two hours before the tide rises because at that time the animals are nearest to the surface and are just beginning to move back from the shore, following the ebb.

227 Oxystomes can be reached only with the canoe which the woman rows, and by means of the long crab-fork, known as sirsa. Usually /545/ one woman will steer the canoe and another will fish. For the above-mentioned fork (Fig. 62) they choose a perfectly straight, light pole about two and a half meters long from [824] the young trunks of Nothofagus betuloides or Drmys winteri or Maytenus magellanica. The bark is scraped off and a smooth surface obtained. The first of the above trees is preferred, and from this they fashion an even, octagonal shaft. In the case of the other trunks their roundness is retained. The added part consists of [824] a stick about 70 centimeters long of Berberis ilicifolia, the upper half of which is split twice crosswise. The four prongs are whittled to a sharp point and spread apart somewhat with two short small plugs forming a cross and tied together with a braided cord of rushes. Both parts are flattened so that they fit well on top of each other and are then lashed with a narrow leather strap. The expansion of the tough, flexible barberry wood explains the fact that the four prongs are slightly curved outward. This piece was drawn through the fire for a short time as soon as the stick was cut off from the root and split. No other wood is so suitable, and the Yamana know this from long experience (p. 254).

226 It is possible to catch oxystomes (Notopoda) only when the sea is calm, because the Indian woman must look for each individual

/545 cont./

226 animal on the bottom with her own eyes. If she has caught sight of one, she holds her crab fork perpendicular with both hands and lets it glide into the water. Ample experience has taught her to estimate correctly the light refraction in the water so that, with a vigorous, accurate push, she penetrates the calcareous capsule around the actual body. The entire animal is now securely speared and can be drawn up perpendicularly. In the canoe it is stripped off the fork with a blow of a stick. It usually goes on moving for a long time. Even though the actual body is perforated, this does not constitute a loss, for it has no solid meat in any case. The meat is in each of the long legs which remain undamaged. Whenever possible, the women like to search the bottom near the coast toward the end of low tide, for they, too, enjoy the excellent meat of these crabs (275).

275. Hyades (h):10 and (q):369 briefly mentions crab fishing. We have the impression that he did not become acquainted with the entire process from personal observation.

226 4. Fish. How eager the Yamana are for a change in their diet can be seen from the fact that they often go out to fish (276).

276. In travel accounts we frequently come across an exaggerated estimate, implying that a fish diet constituted a large part of Fuegian subsistence. This is what is maintained by an earlier account (VSA:XIII, 81;1866): "They live from hand to mouth, dependent chiefly upon fish for a subsistence" /cited in English/.

[221] Summer with its longer period of daylight and its less unfavorable weather conditions is far more suitable for this than the unfriendly winter. Nevertheless, one often finds women fishing even /546/ in the cold season. It is not unimportant in this connection that in winter the type of fish which the Yamana choose to catch withdraw

/546 cont./

226 from the outermost islands, possibly into the quiet channels directly adjacent where most species can actually be seen throughout the year (277). Our Indians apparently are not the least interested

[136]

277. Careful observations of the Mission Scientifique, reported by Hyades (h):14, leave no doubt about the regular departure of certain smaller species of fish from the Orange Bay region. There they are "numerous and of good quality, but only during the months of the summer season, that is to say, from December to March" /translated from French/. In another place, namely, (g):17, he repeats: "When winter came, the fish completely disappeared; then they seemed to travel northward, for in Beagle Channel we find them all the year round." In point of fact, the difference in the average annual temperature between here and Ushuaia, about 80 kilometers in distance, is considerable.

in fresh water fish. In any case, the cold, torrential mountain streams contain but few, the most common being Galaxias maculatus. In this region there are no wide, deep rivers which it would pay to navigate (278).

278. According to Hyades (f):563, "the most common and the most prized fish are several types of Notothenia, N. tessellata, N. macrocephalus, N. cornucula, N. cyaneobrancha, and the following species: Merluccius gayi, Genipterus chilensis, Choenichtys esox, and Loepidochoenichthys tentaculum" /translated from French/.

/546 cont./

226 Although in general fish adds a welcome change to the monotonous diet of the Indian, it is by no meam of real significance for his nourishment. Referring to this, Hyades (h):14 has very much exaggerated. For example, no one touches the representatives of the order Harpagifer, tĕ́pun, tĕ́ppun, although they would be very easy to catch. They are about as long as one's hand and have a broad head. They remain in the residual pools and cling to wet stones when the tide recedes.

[4c] It is exclusively the woman's occupation and task to fish with a line for certain smaller salt-water species. A man would never do this. The women use two different kinds of lines (see Hyades 227 [q]:303). They fish with a line throughout the year, but only 283 when the sea is calm (279). The woman makes the very simple

> 279. To say that a woman fishes only "three months," that is, in summer with its long days, as Hyades does (q): 370, is unjustified.

[8a4] line (Fig. 63) herself. She chooses a long pencil thick stem of the easily obtainable large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera) and removes the few branches by nipping them off lightly with her fingernail. In this way she produces an almost smooth thread, tuina, tĕ́kĕpuwa. Since it is elastic, it can be easily wound into a loose coil. In the shade it dries only partially so that it remains 227 slightly damp. Any dull-colored, flattened, irregular stone about the size of a pocket watch will do as a sinker (280). The line is

> 280. In an emergency the woman will even use a longish, stone spear-point as a sinker. This may have led some less careful observers to conclude that the Yamana use actual fish hooks such as are employed elsewhere.

wound around it and knotted so that the free end hangs down a few centimeters /547/ below it. This end is finished off with a small knot, into which is fastened a fiber from the quill of a stout bird feather, about ten centimeters long and four millimeters wide. The quill tapers somewhat /Fig. 63 appears here/ at the bottom and ends in a running knot that holds the bait. The latter consists

/547 cont./

227 by a woman in ancient times. The quill fiber, tíxulina, with the running knot to hold the bait, which we have just described briefly, is the terminal point of every fishline (282).

282. Lista (b):48 speaks of "fishhooks of stone or of fishbones" /translated from Spanish/. His inaccurate data are worthless. Barclay (a):64 is more reliable; he reports on "fishing without hooks" /cited in English/, that is to say, without actual fishhooks.

226 /548/ The woman manipulates her fishline in a strange way, as earlier navigators had already noted. She never uses an actual fishing rod (283). In her canoe she rows to those spots in the many

[227 [77]]

283. BD:406 uses the expression "sómmókur, a rod used for fishing with from the shore" /cited in English/, but if it actually occurs, the fishing rod was introduced by Europeans. I myself never saw one.

inlets where there are extensive clusters of floating Macrocystis. In the intricate entanglement of the small stems of this alga there are scores of fish large and small. The Indian woman ties up her vessel on one of the thicker stalks or pulls a tangled bundle of these small stems over a part of the canoe, which secures it well. Now she has both hands free, reaches for her fishline, and puts some bait on the lower end of it. Under the weight of the sinker the fishline uncoils in her hands, and she holds the line loosely in the water. Bent over the side of her canoe, which is tilted a little, she stares fixedly at the bait. This, as well as the fishline, deceive all fish, since they correspond exactly to the environment. When a fish bites and has swallowed enough of the bait, the Indian woman lifts the entire line along with the fish with a gentle tug until it is close to the surface of the water. Then with one hand she suddenly jerks up the fishline and with the other hand she grasps the fish the moment it is lifted out of the water (284).

284. This method, which was observed

226

/548 cont./
by Fitz-Roy, has remained unchanged to the present day (Kng:428). He repeated his report on this subject on May 23, 1830 (ibid., p. 450). Compare Lothrop (b):159.

Sensitive feeling, a sure eye, and much practice make it possible for every Indian woman to obtain her booty safely in this unusual manner. She develops an extraordinary skill in this work, although accompanying circumstances, namely, the adaptation of the fishline to the environment in which the fish move, favor her (285). In BO:615 we find wikitanakipa, "a good fishing

285. The advantages of this fishline over a European fishing rod makes a comparison pointed out by Hyades (h):15 very clear: "The women have extraordinary skill at this type of fishing, and very often we have seen them catch quantities of fine fish with this simple tackle" /translated from French/. The Yamana language has several expressions for fishing with a line.

woman" /cited in English/. It is clear that long fishing poles are out of place here.

The woman immediately bites into the neck of the fish or cuts it with a sharp mussel shell. She places the dead animal in the bottom of her canoe. Usually she draws a bast stalk through its gills and mouth and strings other fish on it. Soon eight to 12 fish are hanging on it, like beys on a large ring. Afterwards the woman ties more bait to the lower end of her line and again lowers it into the water. She goes on working in this way until she has collected a goodly number of fish. They do not amount to much meat, but all the women like to spend a few quiet hours fishing.

/549/ In all her maneuvers the Indian woman is as quiet and motionless as possible. Sudden motions of her hands would be reflected in the water and frighten away the fish. This would be even more true of perceptible rocking of the canoe. /Fig. 64 appears here./ Usually several women are busy fishing at the

/549 cont./

226 same time. They have previously agreed on their plan in accordance with the weather and their own moods. Although they are close together in their canoes, they avoid all conversation. Within a short time, especially if they are favored by the weather, every woman has roughly a few dozen fish (286).

286. Fishing with the line is sometimes very profitable, as Hyades (h):15 confirms.

Several species of fish with tasty meat take the bait, most frequently tápun (Notothenia cornucula), súna (Notothenia macrocephalus), imakára (Genipterus chilensis), čátax (Choenichthys esox), lasár[1] (Latilus aff.), and others. In general, these species can be [22] pulled up with the fishline made of kelp, which 283 seldom breaks even when the fish is moderately large (287). In places where

287. Hyades (q):371 also confirms: "The common lines of seaweed rarely break, and they are adequate to take fish of medium size, up to half a kilogram" /translated from French/.

larger fish bite, the Indian woman chooses a fishline of woven sinew fibers (Fig. 64) so as not to lose her catch, for sinew fibers are strong and resistant as well as much more durable.

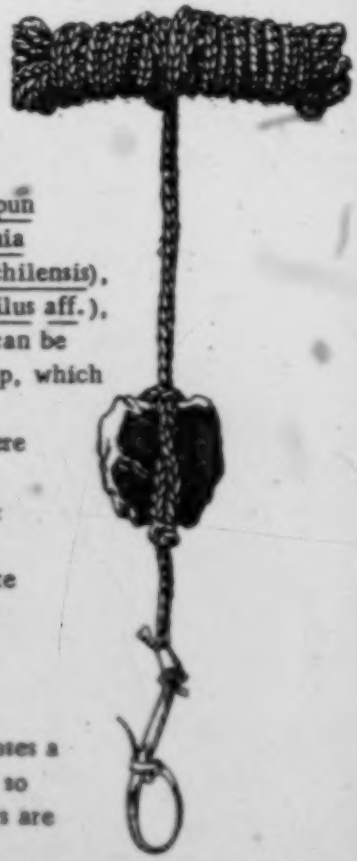


Fig. 64. Fishline Made of Sinew Cord. Three-quarters natural size.

The Yamana women set out in their canoes at any hour of the day, if the surface of the water is smooth and the weather promises success. They even venture out on the water during the brief summer nights which are rather light there, but never in the dead of night, however, even with bright moonlight (288). They like to go

288. Many observers described this type

226

/549 cont./
of line-fishing, the following in detail: Bridges (h):210, Despard (VP:VI, 127; 1859), Hyades (h):15, Lothrop (b):159. Darwin (d):245 said: "The women jerk up small fish with a baited line and without any kind of hook."

fishing in the early morning, as Despard (b):697 accurately observed.

A method very different from this one is an actual mass catch directed primarily toward the dense shoals of true herring, ĥeĉi. We are referring to Clupea arcuata J. and Clupea pectinata J. They arrive unpredictably along the coasts at any time of the year /550/ except summer. This shoal of millions announces itself with a peculiar, utterly monotonous sound and squeezes into the narrow channels or small bays, not infrequently running up the shallow, wide beach. Afterwards these small fish lie spread out by the thousands in layers several centimeters high. A not unimportant factor in all this for the overjoyed natives is the diversified animal accompaniment of these two kinds of herring, namely, the much larger predatory fish of various species and even seals. Rapacious sea birds also circle around this mass invasion. For the Yamana this means a rich selection of booty among several edible species (289).

289. On February 6, 1877, Bridges (MM:XI, 109;1877) described an invasion of fish from his own experience: "There has been a remarkable supply of fish, represented by sprats and mackerel, inclusive of such birds, and even seals, which prey upon them. Sprats were so plentiful as to be left repeatedly in dense masses on the shores around us, and for some days the air was scarcely fit to breathe through the stench of millions of sprats which literally covered the shores of the inlet.

226

/550 cont./

> Four kinds, -- or rather five -- of fish are found in company with the sprats, which are decidedly larger than those found around the coasts of England. These five kinds of larger fish are excellent in flavour and richness, and their livers supply the natives with abundance of oil during the season...The noise made by the approaching myriads of fish was like that of quickly rippling water; we could even hear it, though some 400 yards off" /cited in English/.

When this procession comes up the beach, the Indians first pick the larger animals out of the abundant masses, and not until later do they tackle the inexhaustible abundance of small fish. It is obvious that dense swarms of birds which also feed immoderately can now be easily caught. We can understand what extraordinary joy such a swarm of fish with its varied accompaniment evokes among the Yamana (290), for it gives them a superfluity

> 290. Bridges (j):25 says: "As regards fish, these are found at seasons in immense quantities" /cited in English/. Thus, the amount of fish varies slightly with the seasons.

to choose from for several days. Moreover, it is offered them in an easy way; indeed, it is scattered over a wide, flat beach. All hands, of course, help themselves to the gay profusion, although here, too, the usual division of labor prevails whereby the men try to get the larger animals while the women alone, supported by the girls, scoop the small fish into their baskets with their cupped hands. Everyone is busily collecting, for the harvest lasts only a few days at this richly laid table. Some considerable amounts of the fish strewn about the beach are washed away by the tide, and the sea birds contribute to the diminution by their

/550 cont./

226 limitless voracity; finally the remainder decays. As soon as the mounting stench becomes somewhat more penetrating, the many people that have assembled quickly leave the place and scatter in all directions.

/551/ Sometimes similar shoals of *ishi* (*Clupea accuata* and *Clupea pectinata*) travel into the inner channels or encircle larger inlets without running up on the beach. The Indians clearly recognize them by their numerous and varied followers. As quickly as possible they row after the shoal and try to approach it from the side without getting into the throng. With a special basket known as *capwenus* (Fig. 65) (291),

[227 285]

Fig. 65. Fishing Basket. One third natural size.

291. In order to avoid confusion, I shall retain the designation "fishing basket," because it is made of the same type of rush (*Marippospermum grandiflorum*) as the other three types of baskets, but without a complex weave of the rush stalks. Compare Hyades (q).272. Lothrop (b).160 called it "Fish-net" /cited in English/.

[D24]

/Fig. 65 appears here/ they scoop the small fish directly out of the water into their canoe. While one of the women tends to the vessel, the other sticks the loose fishing-basket on the end of a pole about one and a half meters long. She grops the lower end of the pole and, from the canoe, draws the upper part with the basket through the water as though the whole thing were a large ladle. The women handles it carefully so that the basket does not slide off. Only when it is nearly above the bottom of the canoe does she let the basket,

/361 cont./

now filled with fish, drop gently off with its contents. The basket is turned upside-down, the fish emptied, and without delay it is stuck onto the pole once more. Agility is now demanded, for the fish shoal quickly passes. No hands can be idle (200).

200. Hyades (p).272 also briefly describes this mass catch with the loosely woven basket at the thick end of a short pole.

Only the women are busy with all this, for the men meanwhile seeks to catch the larger accompanying animals with his weapon. Sometimes, however, he, too, takes the pole with the loosely woven basket if the woman has grown tired or is otherwise occupied. In less than an hour the occupants of a canoe, if they keep busy, can fill it so full of booty that they must head for shore. Quickly they take the many animals to their hut and set out again, for they know that the larger the shoal is, the /362/ more quickly it will be pushed out again into the open sea. They cannot draw uninterruptedly upon the abundance of the large swarm for more than one whole day. After the exertion of such great haste, they can feast for days on the varied booty and meanwhile rest up thoroughly.

We have just mentioned the fact that the man sometimes also takes part in fishing (201). Fishing with a line, as we have

201. The general rule set up by Bridges (p).301 long before is true, namely, "[illegible] very seldom help their wives to catch fish" /cited in English/. Fishing is women's work.

said, is an exclusive task of the women, but when the swarms of [illegible] approach, he sometimes also takes up the [illegible]. He alone, however, drives a spear or a small harpoon into the body of a larger fish. He is stimulated to this action when dense masses of [illegible] are encircled by large fish that are often lifted above the surface of the water and brought quite close to him. If the wood or bone point of the missile penetrates deeply into the fish, it is badly harpooned in its movements and falls helplessly into the man's hands. Large sharks (Sharks mentioned)

/552 cont./

226 462

like to hover at the bottom of shallow inlets in the sunshine. These are also easy to spear from a rock or from the canoe and can afterwards be easily hauled in (294).

294. Hyades (b):20 refers to Fitz-Roy (a):184 and adds: The Yamana "Take large fish with the saw-toothed harpoon" /translated from French/.

In exceptional cases the men also build weirs. They decide to do this when there are several families assembled and it is impossible to travel on, but a shortage of food threatens. An ómmaku, wúlpa is a hastily erected woven construction consisting of short sticks driven into the ground and longer interwoven rods, the whole filled in with dense brush. The weir is never more than a meter high. They are placed in narrow inlets or, preferably, in narrow brooks running into a broad channel (295). During an incoming

295. I noted the same construction, here and there, among the Halakwulup.

tide, depending on the water level, the entire brushwork is filled in only when the tide is highest, or only a small top strip is put along the whole width of the bundle at high tide. In other circumstances the center is left open, being blocked off only at the beginning of ebb tide, depending on whether the whole weir is wide or narrow. At the lowest ebb the fish are held back and can be caught with the hands or killed with sticks. Weirs are used very little, because, as I was told, they can be erected only amid all kinds of inconveniences and because they do not promise sure success (296). Fishing with a line, however, is always most

296. Hyades (b):17 is the only European observer who mentions weirs. See also further pertinent data in Cooper:109 and Hyades (q):372.

successful and, by comparison, requires little effort. Indeed, it affords the woman a certain amount of rest in her /553/ active

/553 cont./

221 daily tasks. Hence every other type of fishing, with the exception of the occasional mass-catch of [illegible], is avoided as much as possible (297).

297. According to Hyades (b):20: "...the ease with which they get fish among the large algae relieves them of all the work of making a fishing pen" /translated from French/, and the same is equally true of similar arrangements.

222 5. Birds. Birds' eggs are also counted among the foods from the animal kingdom by our Fuegian natives. Earlier travelers, for example, Fitz-Roy (a):184, often observed that "eggs are eagerly sought for by the natives" /cited in English/. Spring is the time for them. Wherever the family lands, the girls and women hunt for the nests of larger birds. They do not choose among them, nor does it bother them if the eggs have been set on for some time. Their hunt is, without exception, rewarded by a rich harvest, for they are very familiar with the breeding places of all kinds of birds. Gathering is very easy where penguins breed, for they lay large eggs. The women bring their harvest to the canoe or the hut in their little baskets, and it is promptly consumed. They never risk any special dangers in order to obtain birds' eggs.

223 At the beginning of summer they also take young birds of large species still in the nest. They kill the tender animal by hitting it on the head with a stone or stick or by beating it hard against a rock. Above all, when they search out the breeding places of cormorants and penguins, they quickly fill their baskets with this game. Young cormorants cannot escape beyond the immediate vicinity of their nest because their wings cannot as yet carry them from the height of their nest into the sea, and penguins are likewise nest-bound because they do not yet know how to move in the water.

231 For entertainment and out of playfulness, the women also like to take an occasional young bird to their hut where they feed it until it is full-grown. If it proves tame enough, it is

262 Ludewig (1858, p. 30) rated the relative importance in the Yaghan dietary of their foods as follows: (1) Bulty of first importance, mussels; (2) sea, seals, and fish of many kinds; (3) sea, porpoises, gulls, and bird eggs; (4) dog, whales, limpets, crabs, sea urchins, geese, penguins, cormorants; (5) lark and heat, otter (chiefly in the west), geese (only in the east), conies, ducks, berries (especially wild black currants). The fungi eaten were those growing on trees; those growing on the ground were not eaten. Some wild celery and wild parsnips and two varieties of cress and young shoots of tussock grass were also eaten. Cress were eaten only in famine as a last resort. Salt was not used.

225 Hunting.—Seals were hunted with spear or harpoon from canoes or from land (pl. 36), or killed with clubs. Whales were occasionally hunted in the open sea with spear or harpoon; stranded or dead whales were eagerly exploited. Dogs helped in otter and fox hunting.

223 Cormorants were taken at night by torchlight with clubs; also with a pronged wooden gorge hook. Birds were taken with pole snares (fig. 12, *d*) and with single or multiple tether snares of sinew or whalebone. No lifting pole snares, deadfalls, or pitfalls are reported.

224 Fishing and sea-food gathering.—Mussels were gathered by hand; limpets, with a flat-ended stick; sea urchins, with a four-pronged wooden fork; crabs and other Crustacea, with a harpoon or a three-pronged stick. For taking sea food, the Yaghan also used a spear with two diverging shafts, or two to four spears lashed together. Women fished with a help-stone or knotted whale-sinew line, that had a slipknot of whalebone or of quill at the end, instead of a hook, to hold the bait; slowly drawing the fish to the surface, they would grab it by hand. Fishhooks were probably lacking. Weirs of branches or stakes were used. True fish nets were absent. The nearest approach thereto was a small basket attached to the end of a pole and used as a sort of dip net for diminutive fish.

251 Food storage.—Limited quantities of dried tree fungi were stored; so too was oil, especially whale and seal oil.

415 Food preparation and eating.—Large mussel shells were used for cooking fish and boiling grass. Water was heated and grass cooked by throwing hot stones into them, but there is no record of stone boiling grass.

Shells of large mussels were sometimes used as plates; shells or bark baskets as cups; hollow bird bones or reeds as drinking tubes.

CLASSES AND GROUPINGS

361 There were no permanent villages. Certain groups of native relatives apparently by blood and marriage frequented and occupied more or less fixed separate localities within the respective five sub-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5306 Yahgan 5306

underwined by this animal, recall the gopher burrows in western North America. 136

The Fuegian dog is not known in a wild state, and today it is extinct, although much blood of the native breed must run in the veins of the innumerable sheep dogs and hounds to be found on the island. In height the native dog ranged from 11 to 20 inches. Their ears were pointed, muzzles sharp, and skulls broad. The markings were black and white, with tan running-gear. Like most Indian dogs they lived largely on such garbage as they could pick up around the encampment, but in times of plenty they were given meat or mussels by their masters. Also occasionally they might pull down a guanaco and enjoy a square meal before the arrival of the hunter, as illustrated in the legend of Kaunip, presented later. 231

Of the sea animals, the four kinds of seal found in Fuegian waters formed the principal meat diet of the Yahgan. Not only did they eat the seal, but they used its hide for capes, moccasins, house-tops, and things. It is surprising they never invented a hide boat, which would have been much less perishable than their bark canoes. The Haush also ate a great many seal, and the Ona ate seal but did not specialize in its pursuit. 136

Some of these kinds, one living on land and two in the sea, were prized by both Yahgan and Alacaluf, who used their skins for clothing. Both these peoples attacked porpoises, and at times, when some lucky instinct assured them of good weather, they pursued them far into the open sea.

To the Fuegian tribes whale was a great delicacy, and by all accounts this leviathan existed in large numbers in Fuegian waters until recently. Sometimes the Canoe Indians ventured to attack whales that had blundered into shallow water, but usually they were secured dead on the beaches. These were gala occasions, and feasts and ceremonies were forgotten as great numbers gathered to gorge themselves on the alien putrid, diseased, and stinking flesh. When secured, the Yahgan sometimes buried a meat supply for under ground where, were there frost, it might be preserved for many months. This custom recalls the burying of salmon on the northwest coast of North America, where the decomposed fish was mixed with oil and eaten with gusto. [65]

Fuegian women showed in fish, both large and small, which were eaten by all the tribes. The Ona took fish from pools at low tide, 136 231

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

while the Yahgan speared them in deep water or drew them with bait to the surface where they could be seized by hand. Failure to utilize fully the fish supply must be regarded as a great deficiency of the Fuegian economic system, a lack which might have been overcome by the invention of fish-traps and the fish-hook.

Both Foot and Canoe Indians ate great numbers of mussels, conchs, and limpets, and ancient camp-sites often are indicated by large piles of shells. This is especially true in the Yahgan country, because all their camp-sites were on the beach where shellfish were easily obtained.

The Canoe Indians ate a species of sea-urchin some three or four inches in diameter, and also crabs. Of these the most succulent is a giant spider crab (*Lithodes antarctica*), so good to eat that today it is canned and exported from Punta Arenas.

Birds abound in Tierra del Fuego. Many, to be sure, have a fishy taste, but to a palate not over-delicate they offer an abundant food supply. Among birds of economic use to the Indians we should mention four kinds of geese and five kinds of duck. The upland geese and the pin-tail duck are the best eating. Also there are many kinds of gull (including the albatross), penguins, vultures, eagles, doves, plover, and, curiously enough, a paroquet and a hummingbird.

As to the environment in general, it is much more suitable for supporting human life than is realized by those who have not visited Tierra del Fuego. The public mind, we believe, is unduly impressed by the romantic place of the island in history, by adventurous accounts of midwinter weatherings of the Horn in sailing vessels, by modern travelers elated at the length and labor of their journeys. Glaciers descend to the sea in Tierra del Fuego, but the land also nourishes orchids, mushrooms, paroquets, hummingbirds, and butterflies. Prosperous sheep ranches with their comfortable and commodious houses and their well-stocked vegetable and flower gardens show that European standards of living can be achieved on the island. And these settlements, were over-sea transportation to be cut off, could probably maintain themselves better on local resources than most European settlements in the tropics.

The climate of Tierra del Fuego, to be sure, is severe, but it is not so extreme as inhabited regions of Europe, Asia, North America, and Greenland. Agriculture within certain limits is entirely

/487 cont./

227 The Indian woman uses the so-called mussel fork, which she calls kalāna, in order to loosen the cluster-like accumulations on the deep coastline and to break off the individual shells on the stalks of Macrocystis algae. The husband must make this implement for her, for he alone has the necessary tools. He chooses for the shaft /488/ a young tree as tall as possible. He prefers [824] Maytenus magellanica, the wood of which is heavier than that of the beech. He takes the bark off the little trunk and smooths it well, cutting off the upper end somewhat obliquely. He allows a length of two and a half meters and more.

The actual fork, which is only about one-fifth as long as the shaft, yēyakēr, is lashed onto the latter with a narrow leather strap. The only suitable wood for this is hūma, the large Berberis [824] ilicifolia which is extraordinarily tough and hence very flexible. A rather thick small stem is split lengthwise, the more suitable half is cut off at the bottom like a spatula, and a long incision is made to produce a two-pronged fork. A small, short wooden plug is inserted into this slit and lashed with a braided thread of rush or with whalebone (197); this keeps it always open. Through

197. Lothrop (b):154 reproduces what he calls a "limpet-spear" /cited in English/, in which the short plug is lashed with a narrow strip of whalebone. Figure 61 of the present work shows a lashing with braided rush stalks.

its own expansion the layers of wood fibers warp so advantageously that the entire piece seems curved outward. This slight bending facilitates penetration into the clustered accumulations of mussel shells. The upper part of the fork is whittled all around and tied to the shaft (Fig. 61).

226 The Indian woman lets this long implement glide from her canoe perpendicularly into the depths. She uses it, however, only on days when the sea is calm and the water transparent (198).

198. Hyades (q):369 writes: "This fishing is common practice and each canoe is always furnished with tools for this purpose" /translated from French/.

/488 cont./

226 She loosens each individual shell, breaks it off from the place where it is lodged, and lifts it up. The mussel fork almost always lies in the front part of the canoe between the harpoons and spears of the husband, since it is safest here.

227 226 When the Indian woman, walking on the uncovered sea-floor at ebb tide or wading in the water, breaks off the mussel shells, she perceptibly lessens the strain on her hands if she uses a pointed stick which I call the mussel breaker (Fig. 42). This is nothing more than a sturdy stem or [324] thick branch of Berberis ilicifolia. The husband makes it for his wife. He removes the twigs smoothly but leaves the bark, since its rough surface always assures the hand a firm grip, no matter how thoroughly the stick is soaked with sea water. It was just mentioned that the wood of this bush is very tough, yet soft and pliable. Another type of wood would seldom stand the strain of the springy movements which are necessary to pry off the mussels. At the bottom the mussel breaker is cut off in the shape of a chisel and with a dull edge so that it can easily dig deeply enough into the clustered accumulations of mussels. The woman is very adept at handling it effortlessly.

/489/ If she does not happen to have it, she reaches for a /Fig. 42 appears here/ stick the length of an arm which she cuts to a short, dull point. With this wasínix she pokes into the cluster of mussels, moving the upper free end back and forth until the individual animals are loosened.

226 The very tasty oxystomes are also appreciated by the [262] Yamana as a delicacy. We refer to the large axíya (Lithodes antarctica) and the small stekálus (Paralomis granulosus). These animals are found there in considerable numbers and constantly move up and down the coast on the sea floor according to the movements of ebb and flow. They are always, however, under a considerable amount of water. The natives are not always successful in diving to catch them because they stay in the depths and seek to 227 escape. Hence a long implement has been invented which it seems suitable to call a crab fork and which the Yamana call sírsa (Fig. 62) Its basic form corresponds precisely to the

Fig. 42.
Mussel Breaker.

/489 cont./

227 mussel fork. There is a complete description of it elsewhere, as well as a discussion of how it is used.

[824] The bark of a small, straight trunk of the evergreen beech is scraped off and the surface made octagonal. For the part that is added on, the natives choose a small, thick stem of the large barberry, huma, the particular suitability of which has been repeatedly described. They split it crosswise two-thirds of its total length, and the four prongs are pried apart with two small, short wooden plugs. These prongs are tapered to blunt ends. The other end, after it has been suitably cut off, is lashed tight to the shaft with a strap or with a small cord of braided rushes. Colini: 161 describes a specimen, the total length of which is 3.25 meters; most of them are not longer. The thinner it is, the more suitable.

226 The Indian woman slides this long fork perpendicularly into the depths from her canoe and pushes the prongs into the round, flat calcareous shell of the so-called cephalothorax of a crab. The pressure and construction which these prongs cause among the broken particles prevent the whole animal from sliding off when it is being drawn up, no matter how actively it wriggles with its long legs. In the canoe the Indian woman strips it off the prongs with her feet while she holds the crab fork perpendicularly in her hands, whereupon the animal falls to the bottom of the boat.

[462] It is, of course, again the duty of the husband to make this crab fork for his wife. While he is working on the shaft, he protects his hand with a special piece of leather (Fig. 28).

/490/ δ. The Fishline

The tender, fresh meat of fish is a welcome change for the Yamana in their somewhat monotonous diet. Sometimes the man throws a spear toward a larger fish that is resting in a shallow cove or that elsewhere affords a sure target. Much more often the Indian woman is busy with her fishline which she merely slips into the water from her canoe, never from the beach and still less by means of any kind of long fishing rod.

/490 cont./

227 Two types of fishline are used, and they differ from one an-
283 other only in the actual line. One is nothing more nor less than
a small, pencil-thick stem of the large brown alga (Macrocystis
[824] pyrifera) from which, with the fingernail, the branches are re-
moved so close to the stalk that it seems quite smooth (Fig. 63).
After each use it is rolled up; hence it dries very slowly and does
not readily become brittle. When it is needed, 20 minutes in
the water will suffice to soften it up completely and make it
flexible once more.

The other fishline is braided out of three thin filaments of
sinew. Like the one mentioned first, it is eight and more meters
long (Fig. 64). To make it last longer, it, too, is rolled up,
but into a tight ball, after each use (199). The latter is incom-

199. Bridges (MM:III, 115; 1869) briefly describes both types. Hyades (g):38 repeated: "The lines are made partly out of dried seaweed [Macrocystis pyrifera], partly out of seal tendons, and are lowered with a stone tied to them." See Krickeberg: 320 and Lovisato (b):142.

parably more durable and proves to be much more trustworthy when it is hauled in.

227 Both lines terminate in a loop with a running knot made out
284 of a quill. When it is opened up, it measures about 12 centi-
meters. Since the actual line ends in a small knot, the upper end
of the quill is joined on in front of the knot. Along its smooth
surface the running loop moves without any friction. As bait it
holds a small piece of seal meat or a small mussel.

227 Since the bait must sometimes be sunk to considerable depths,
a sinker is indispensable. The natives use any stone with flat
sides and irregular edges. It is about three centimeters high. The
line is wound around it, about eight centimeters above the loop.
In the central Yamana regions the natives sometimes select the
round black stone tém, but few women have any of them handy.

226 Every Indian woman is extraordinarily skillful in fishing.
Since she does not use an actual fish hook, she waits until the
fish has swallowed the bait and only then very gently pulls up the

/490 cont./

226 line. When the fish has been brought near the surface, she reaches down and grasps it with a sure hand, pushing her second and third finger under each gill cover. After she has lifted it out of the water, she bites through its neck and kills it.

227 /491/ The mares and fishing implements used by our Yamana show extreme appropriateness. Each one of these things proves that it enables the Indian, with a small amount of effort, to get the wild animals he wants or is stalking.

9. Tools

412 The Fuegians have not yet advanced to a universal or even
324 preponderant use of stone tools. To blame this on the sparse occurence of quartzite and slate in those regions is not sufficient explanation. When iron and glass were introduced by Europeans,
[171] the natives used these materials immediately, albeit in limited measure, without, however, changing the original form of their implements or replacing them by others. Actual working of the stone seems necessary only in the case of stone arrowheads and dagger points (p. 169). It cannot be definitely shown whether these Fuegians also shaped the round black stone with a groove, known as tell. Hence the greater part of their tools consists of mussel shells, wood, and bone. This fact can be easily ascertained from the accounts of earlier navigators.

The following description pertains to those items as they were made before being influenced by Europeans. We must credit our Fuegians with considerable cultural progress by reason of the fact that they succeeded in making a number of implements of different construction and form, each with a very definite use.

412 We should like to mention briefly here a peculiar form of be-
461 havior of the Yamana which Lothrop (b):139 has also referred to. When they need anything for their implements, they do not take the trouble to make a thorough search for a good piece or await an opportunity to come across a better part. Rather, they take the first thing that comes along if it suffices for their momentary need and if it promises to fulfill the purpose for which it was intended. A better shaped mussel shell to be used as a knife, a more regular

/540 cont./

226 trouble to seek out the preferable spots where there are large shells. Sitting in the canoe, she breaks them off with a long wooden fork (Fig. 61) and lifts them up with it. Even the husband sometimes reaches for this useful tool while the woman tends to the boat, if there is a possibility that a current might push it off. The people call the tool kalána; I designate it as "long mussel fork." It consists of a head and a long stick with a square cross-section (265). A suitable stem of

227

Fig. 61. Mussel Fork.

265. It was well illustrated and described by Hyades (h):13 and (q):300, 368. Lothrop (b):155 gives it as "limpet-spear" /cited in English/, Hyades (h):13 as "a hafted, ilit spatula of wood" /translated from French/.

[224]

Nothofagus betuloides is chosen, or Maytenus magellanica, which they like even better. The latter is heavier and stronger and makes the work easier for the woman. The upper part is always made out of the tough wood of the large barberry (Berberis ilicifolia). A stem about three centimeters thick is split down the middle, the suitable part freed of bark and flattened on either side until it resembles a chisel. The upper, wider end is split into two prongs which are held apart by the insertion of a short wooden plug about as thick as a pencil. This is put approximately in the center of the entire groove of the split and is tied with a braided rush thread, a whalebone strip, or a bast fiber. The thicker end of the long pole is also flattened on its broad side; the two pieces are fitted against each other and secured with a narrow leather strap or a braided rush cord, just as in the case

/540 cont./

227 of the crab fork (Fig. 62). This long mussel fork is very easy to handle. A gentle push from above loosens the clinging mussel below, and making the fork spring back and forth, always from the same direction, finally releases it. If possible, it is lifted up from the ground by hand. In deep places the woman with her long fork pushes it under water to the open beach. Usually, however, and this is a second reason for the long shaft, she presses the shell between the two distended prongs and carefully draws it up. Often the shell slides out just before she gets it up; then she simply picks it up again. To decrease resistance, the woman lifts the long rod up vertically and grasps the shell with her other hand. Patiently she squats in her vessel, bent over the edge, and spears one mussel after another /541/ until after two or three hours she returns to the hut with the yield of her diligence. For this work the sea must be calm and clear, for the deeply bedded mussels are usually covered over with floating algae of various kinds and are not easily recognized. The mussel fork is a necessary adjunct to the canoe, and no Indian woman is without it.

226 Since there are many days that are not suitable for plucking off the large mussels in deep water according to the method described, the people also content themselves with the somewhat smaller and less tasty animals near the beach. Women and girls step into the water and wade out to the densest accumulations of mussels. They either tear them off with their hands or loosen them with a stick the length of an arm, flattened at one end, which I call the mussel breaker, wasínix, and which BD:379 refers to as sajaasínix (Fig. 42). Finally, they also use any stick that is pointed at the bottom. They immediately place the shells in their little baskets, which they have hanging on their arms or which they set on the ground at the edge of the water. Bent low, they walk along slowly and silently, without straightening up; they collect busily until the little basket is filled. Since several persons may be occupied in this way at the same time, the line they form looks somewhat strange to a European observer who happens to meet them (266).

266. Hyades (c):366 agrees: "It is a curious sight which confronts the European who

/542 cont./

226 finally, when the sea is calm and clear, the uses her long mussel-fork, kalína, with which, from her canoe, she lifts up from the bottom the largest, deeply embedded mussels individually. As Hyades (q):367 points out, the Indian woman is perfectly adapted for this work, since "it suffices for this fishing by hand to watch the movement of the tides, to know the beaches that are richly provided with shellfish, and to have a little manual practice in pulling up quickly the mussels that cover the shore" /translated from French/. To the Yamana the mussel is /543/ /Fig. 62 appears here/ simply indispensable. To gather them in the required amounts is a daily duty of the woman who devotes herself to it whenever the weather permits (270).

270. Bridges (MM:X, 58:1876), Dabbene (b):183, Hyades (h):2 and (q):366, and others have expressed themselves accurately and in detail about this. Bridges (loc. cit.) used the comparison of earlier navigators, namely, that "mussels are to the Fuelanders what bread is to the Englishmen: the staff of life all the year round" /cited in English/. Hyades (q): 339 likewise repeated that mollusks "are a sort of daily bread to them" /translated from French/.

Her daughters of all ages help her.

Along inlets which are bordered with a flat shore and fine sand, the women sometimes look for the tasty tacówin (Mactra) and the large snail, hóʍin

Fig. 62. Crab Fork.

/544 cont./

226 however, that the Indian woman "practices (this type of fishing) with extreme dexterity" /translated from French/.

3. Oxystomes. More important than sea urchins for the Indian household are the large oxystomes plentiful in those waters, namely, ukáfiu (Paralomis granulosus) and the much larger axíya (Lithodes antarctica). The latter are sometimes 60 centimeters wide between the fourth pair of feet. These animals move across the sea floor, proceeding slowly toward the shore during high tide and then back to the middle of the channel toward the end of low tide, in other words, in the direction of the water according to the tides. The Indian women take advantage of their habits. They go out to catch crabs about two hours before the tide rises because at that time the animals are nearest to the surface and are just beginning to move back from the shore, following the ebb.

227 Oxystomes can be reached only with the canoe which the woman rows, and by means of the long crab-fork, known as tíru. Usually /545/ one woman will steer the canoe and another will fish. For the above-mentioned fork (Fig. 62) they choose a perfectly straight, light pole about two and a half meters long from [124] the young trunks of Nothofagus betuloides or Drimys winteri or Maytenus magellanica. The bark is scraped off and a smooth surface obtained. The first of the above trees is preferred, and from this they fashion an even, octagonal shaft. In the case of the other trunks their roundness is retained. The added part consists of [124] a stick about 70 centimeters long of Berberis ilicifolia, the upper half of which is split twice crosswise. The four prongs are whittled to a sharp point and spread apart somewhat with two short small plugs forming a cross and tied together with a braided cord of rushes. Both parts are flattened so that they fit well on top of each other and are then lashed with a narrow leather strap. The expansion of the tough, flexible barberry wood explains the fact that the four prongs are slightly curved outward. This piece was drawn through the fire for a short time as soon as the stick was cut off from the root and split. No other wood is so suitable, and the Yahgans know this from long experience (p. 154).

226 It is possible to catch oxystomes (Notopoda) only when the sea is calm, because the Indian woman must look for each individual

/546 cont./

Although in general fish adds a welcome change to the monotonous diet of the Indian, it is by no means of real significance for his nourishment. Referring to this, Hyades (b):14 has very much exaggerated. For example, no one touches the representatives of the order Harpagifer, tʰpun, tʰpun, although they would be very easy to catch. They are about as long as one's hand and have a broad head. They remain in the residual pools and cling to wet stones when the tide recedes.

It is exclusively the woman's occupation and task to fish with a line for certain smaller salt-water species. A man would never do this. The women use two different kinds of lines (see Hyades (c):303). They fish with a line throughout the year, but only when the sea is calm (279). The woman makes the very simple

279. To say that a woman fishes only "three months," that is, in summer with its long days, as Hyades does (c):370, is unjustified.

line (Fig. 63) herself. She chooses a long pencil thick stem of the easily obtainable large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera) and removes the few branches by snipping them off lightly with her fingernail. In this way she produces an almost smooth thread, tʰpin, tʰkʰpowa. Since it is elastic, it can be easily wound into a loose coil. In the shade it dries only partially so that it remains slightly damp. Any dull-colored, flattened, irregular stone about the size of a pocket watch will do as a sinker (280). The line is

280. In an emergency the woman will even use a longish, stone spear-point as a sinker. This may have led some less careful observers to conclude that the Yamana use actual fish hooks such as are employed elsewhere.

wound around it and knotted so that the free end hangs down a few centimeters /547/ below it. This end is finished off with a small knot, into which is fastened a fiber from the quill of a most bird feather, about ten centimeters long and four millimeters wide. The quill tapers somewhat /Fig. 63 appears here/ at the bottom and ends in a running knot that holds the bait. The latter consists

/547 cont./

227 of bits of meat, the size of a cherry, from a small mussel, or a tiny bit of seal meat, or whatever else the woman happens to have. As soon as the long thread of alga is dipped into the water it is quickly impregnated with moisture. In spite of its extreme flexibility, it is strong enough. As a substitute they also choose a fishline, apúr [illegible] [illegible], made out of several meters of braided, tough sinews, tálim (tálim) (Fig. 64). The sinews, [illegible], of the guanaco are well adapted to this because they are long, fine, and durable. If they are not available, sinews of whale, seal, or otter are used. Even heavy fish cannot tear this line. Sometimes the woman flattens the sides of the sinker [illegible], also [illegible], according to BD-399, "a sink [round stone or lead] for fish lines" /cited in English/, rounds the edge, and cuts a shallow notch into it for the thread (281). She goes to the trouble of

Fig. 63. Fishline Made from an Alga Stem. Three-quarters natural size.

281. Hyades (b):19 illustrated a stone fashioned in this way and comparable to a sounding lead. Next to it he shows a second fishline "of braided whale sinews with a polished, grooved stone serving as a weight" /translated from French/.

specially shaping the stone only when the fishline is of braided sinews, which is stronger than a line made of an alga stem. In the central part of Beagle Channel the people even use a spherical black stone about four centimeters in diameter, which is provided with a shallow groove for the fishline. According to the old myth about [illegible] [illegible], this [illegible] was said to have been introduced by a woman in ancient times.

/547 cont./

227 by a woman in ancient times. The quill fiber, tíxulina, with the running knot to hold the bait, which we have just described briefly, is the terminal point of every fishline (282).

282. Lista (b):48 speaks of "fishhooks of stone or of fishbones" /translated from Spanish/. His inaccurate data are worthless. Barclay (a):64 is more reliable; he reports on "fishing without hooks" /cited in English/, that is to say, without actual fishhooks.

226 /548/ The woman manipulates her fishline in a strange way, as earlier navigators had already noted. She never uses an actual fishing rod (283). In her canoe she rows to those spots in the many

[227 177]

283. BD:406 uses the expression "tómmôkur, a rod used for fishing with from the shore" /cited in English/, but if it actually occurs, the fishing rod was introduced by Europeans. I myself never saw one.

inlets where there are extensive clusters of floating Macrocystis. In the intricate entanglement of the small stems of this alga there are scores of fish large and small. The Indian woman ties up her vessel on one of the thicker stalks or pulls a tangled bundle of these small stems over a part of the canoe, which secures it well. Now she has both hands free, reaches for her fishline, and puts some bait on the lower end of it. Under the weight of the sinker the fishline uncoils in her hands, and she holds the line loosely in the water. Bent over the side of her canoe, which is tilted a little, she stares fixedly at the bait. This, as well as the fishline, deceive all fish, since they correspond exactly to the environment. When a fish bites and has swallowed enough of the bait, the Indian woman lifts the entire line along with the fish with a gentle tug until it is close to the surface of the water. Then with one hand she suddenly jerks up the fishline and with the other hand she grasps the fish the moment it is lifted out of the water (284).

284. This method, which was observed

/549 cont./

226 same time. They have previously agreed on their plan in accordance with the weather and their own moods. Although they are close together in their canoes, they avoid all conversation. Within a short time, especially if they are favored by the weather, every woman has roughly a few dozen fish (286).

286. Fishing with the line is sometimes very profitable, as Hyades (b):15 confirms.

Several species of fish with tasty meat take the bait, most frequently tépun (Notothenia cornucula), ména (Notothenia macrocephalus), imakára (Genypterus chilensis), ŝétay (Choenichthys eos), lasár (Latilus aff.), and others. In general, these species can be pulled up with the fishline made of kelp, which seldom breaks even when the fish is moderately large (287). In places where

[227] 223

287. Hyades (c):271 also confirms: "The common lines of seaweed rarely break, and they are adequate to take fish of medium size, up to half a kilogram" /translated from French/.

larger fish bite, the Indian woman chooses a fishline of woven sinew fibers (Fig. 64) so as not to lose her catch, for sinew fibers are strong and resistant as well as much more durable.

Fig. 64. Fishline made of sinew Cord. Three-quarters natural size.

The Tamata women set out in their canoes at any hour of the day, if the surface of the water is smooth and the weather promises success. They even venture out on the water during the brief summer nights which are rather light there, but never in the dead of night, however, even with bright moonlight (288). They like to go

288. Many observers described this type

/5860 cont./

226 limitless voracity. finally the remainder decays. As soon as the mounting stench becomes somewhat more penetrating, the many people that have assembled quickly leave the place and scatter in all directions.

/5861/ Sometimes similar shoals of [illegible] (Clupea encrasta and Clupea pertinata) travel into the inner channels or encircle larger inlets without running up on the beach. The Indians clearly recognize them by their numerous and varied followers. As quickly as possible they row after the shoal and try to approach it from the side without getting into the throng. With a special basket known as [illegible] (Fig. 65) (291).

[227 285]

Fig. 65. Fishing Basket. One third natural size.

291. In order to avoid confusion, I shall retain the designation "fishing basket," because it is made of the same type of rush (Marippempemum gaudichaudii) as the other three types of baskets, but without a complex weave of the rush stalks. Compare Hyades (p.272. Lothrop (p.160 called it "Fish-net" /cited in English/.

[224]

/Fig. 65 appears here/ they scoop the small fish directly out of the water into their canoe. While one of the women tends to the vessel, the other sticks the loose fishing-basket on the end of a pole about one and a half meters long. She grasps the lower end of the pole and, from the canoe, draws the upper part with the basket through the water as though the whole thing were a large ladle. The woman handles it carefully so that the basket does not slide off. Only when it is barely above the bottom of the canoe does she let the basket,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
.S35 Yahgan S35

On Gable island and other places where birds nested the Yahgan captured the young and tamed them to frequent their wigwams until they were large enough to be eaten. The writer has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed. Also, in the summer, the Yahgan had special bird hunts near the breeding places, because at this time of year the birds, though nearly full-grown, have not learned to fly and may be captured by running them down.

FIG. 60.—Yahgan fish-line. Length of coiled line, 8 in. (16,157)

FISH-LINE

The Yahgan fish-line, shown in fig. 60, consists of three elements: line (*ajpaw*), sinker (*ainder*), and bait snood (*ta-holiwa*). The line is of braided whale-sinew and is ten to twelve feet long. The sinker is a small stone with notches knotted in opposite sides. The snood, like the bird snood, is a narrow strip of whalebone wrapped thin and flexible with a bit of shell. In an emergency a piece of kelp was used as a fish-line.

In order to fish, the Yahgan women paddled in their canoes to a shallow reef. There they anchored the canoe by inserting the handle of the paddle under a gunwale so that the blade projected outboard on the other side. A heavy piece of kelp was hooked across this, which not only served to prevent the canoe from drifting but also steadied it. Bait was then inserted in the snood and the line was lowered. When a fish had nibbled at and partly swallowed the bait it was pulled to the surface, seized by a quick dart of the hand, and killed by biting it in the head. Fish were cleaned as soon as they were caught by biting a hole in the belly through which the guts could be extracted with the finger.

9: Lothrop E-5 (1926-1929) 1928
SMB Yaigan 596

[illegible]

227 At certain seasons of the year Beagle channel is infested by small sardine-like fish which the Yaigan capture in lip-nets (*[illegible]*) woven of grass. A rather poorly-made example of these is shown in fig. 80. It will be noted that there is a light wooden frame enclosed by parallel cords of grass and to the members of the frame. This was lashed to the end of a pole and with it the fish were dipped out. A model of this implement appears in the bow of the canoe in fig. 71.

FIG. 80.—Yaigan dip-net. Beagle. [illegible]

[illegible]

According to Hyades [illegible], p. [illegible]) the Yaigan sometimes erected a row of stones. Of these I saw no trace in Tierra del Fuego.

[illegible]

599 Yaigan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit. However, related families usually pitched their cones in complex, as the elite housecup was heavy for a single cone, and they divided the common roof into two parts, of which each carried one. While the Yaigan were roamers, they usually stayed regularly in one district, where most of the people were their relatives.

632 All observers of the Yaigan comment on their lack of leadership. Medicine-men asserted a certain authority through the fear they inspired, but at times they were roughly handled, so this power was in no wise secure. As no communal enterprises were undertaken, there existed no need for chiefs.

/138/ The more inflexible the raw material is from which our Indian manufacturer his possession, the more convincingly apparent are the creative and organizing power of his spirit, his keen gift of observation, and his dexterity. Repeated attempts must have preceded the shapes and the individual pieces chosen for the permanent store of possession of this tribe and retained by many generations. If we examine each individual item, its extreme appropriateness in every respect becomes so clear that we realize hardly anything can be improved to any extent which would at the same time also increase the efficiency of the object. By itself the object looks poor and artless, but if you see how it is applied and used and with what little effort it functions very accurately, you cannot refrain from marveling at its merits.

If we compare the accounts since the middle of the nineteenth century with the reports from the first two centuries in which Europeans and Tamata came together, it is apparent that a change has taken place in the utilization of individual objects. By this I do not mean that European goods, such as knives and axes, have been taken over, but that bow and arrow were gradually superseded by the sling. The real reason for this -- to mention the point already -- seems to be the introduction and swift adoption everywhere of the dog. The dog serves the Indian in various ways in his hunt for game. We know that it is not easy to aim accurately with bow and arrow from a canoe. I have hardly expressed the opinion that only after the Europeans discovered the Tamata did the dog become their inevitable companion, which to how travelers have designated this animal since the middle of the last century. Aside from this small change, all the things that are used daily have been preserved in their original form until the present time.

The implements and weapons of our Pueblans cannot be too thoroughly investigated and observed in their use. They reveal a gift of creative invention in these Indians, who have been wrongly underestimated and so often pitied as the "most miserable people." Yet they have created tools for themselves which make it very much easier for them to obtain food and to protect their bodies.

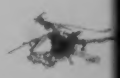
/[illegible] cont./

223 On a stormy, rainy night the cormorants sleep soundly. They stick their head under a wing and bury it deep in their feathers. The hunter creeping on all fours is certain to get at them without having to exert undue caution. With a sure, firm grip of both hands he grasps the bare neck of the animal, immediately plunges his teeth into the vertigo of the neck left free between his fists, and while he is biting into the neck, his two fists crack it through. The animal dies without a sound. The hunter immediately seizes the next one in the same manner. Nevertheless, sometimes a dying animal will utter a soft sound or struggle convulsively. This wakens the birds standing nearby. The hunter calms them by setting /[illegible]/ a dead bird upright with his hands and having it bow gently from one side to the other. Thanks to the darkness of the night and the confusion of the storm, the startled bird is soon quieted and, deceived, puts its head back under its wing. The hunter slips his back further until he is content with his rich booty (247). He leaves the animals he has killed until the next

247. Twice Bridges (N24:III, 116, 1969 and N24:XXII, 137, 1970) describes in great detail a Tarnera attack on cormorants.

morning, and as inconspicuously as he came, he departs. His chief concern is not to startle the flock of birds because they will probably spend the night here again in the near future, and he would prefer to come again not in vain (248).

[illegible] 248. Furthermore, Fire Bay (n) 184 maintains: "On moonlight nights, birds are caught when roosting, not only by the clers but by their dogs, which are sent out to seize them while asleep upon the rocks or beach; and so well are these dogs trained, that they bring all they catch safely to their masters" /Cited in English/.



/[illegible] cont./

223 men about this. They assured me that an arrow was much too precious to their ancestors to waste it on a bird, and that the other implements proved more effective for catching birds.

Naturally, there is a difference in the frequency with which the various methods are used in various regions. The decisive factor is the special type of bird and the Indian's desire for variety in his monotonous diet. Every man is more or less skillful in all the various maneuvers and therefore probably always successful. In particular details the Yamana frequently proceed exactly like their neighbors on the Great Island (Vol. I, 193).

A prevailing habit among our Fueguians is that every man eviscerates on the spot the birds he has caught. He places the animal on its back, opens its belly with a knife or a sharp mussel shell, and pulls out all the internal organs with a single movement. He almost always finds water close by, which he scoops up with his hand, rinsing out the abdominal cavity of the bird. He pulls a leather strap through the beaks and either ties it around his hips so that the birds encircle his body or he places it over his shoulder so that the birds are evenly distributed front and back. In this way he always has his hands free, for it is possible that other prey will cross his path, which he does not want to escape and which he must pursue without losing a moment of time.

4. Hunting Guanacos, Otters, Foxes

224 Although the Yamana sometimes hunt the guanaco, the otter, and the large fox, they do it not so much for their meat, but chiefly, and in the case of the last two species, exclusively, for their skin. The way they capture these mammals remains to be described.

The guanaco (*Lama huanachus*) lives only in the eastern part of Yamana territory, on both shores of Beagle Channel, approximately from Puerto Bayo-on-Puerto Harberton on eastward and throughout Navarino Island. The hunter [illegible] the animal on foot, for his dogs are only now and then trained for this and as a rule do not help him much. Hence several men always band together for a hunting expedition. /[illegible]/ They take advantage of

224 small, and the sea otter, [illegible]. If the Yamana wants an otter, he is almost always dependent on the help of his dogs, but he himself discovers and lies in wait for it, since the Fuegian dog does not have a sufficiently sensitive nose for hunting in the water. The hunter recognizes the nearness of an otter by the fresh remnants of sea urchins on the beach. Led on by this spoor, he gets into his vessel on a sunny, calm day. He always keeps close to a coast with rocks and large stones. Long practice has given him a sharp eye, and he looks out in all directions.

Wherever an otter comes up from the water to breathe, the Indian hurries up to it. It is, of course, the woman who rows the canoe swiftly and silently while the man stands in the bow and keeps his weapon ready. When he is close enough to the otter to hurl the harpoon successfully, he tries to do so. If the animal was mortally hit, it is easily lifted into the canoe. Even a skin with holes in it is better than nothing for the Indian, because he can always use individual small parts in one way or another.

224 231 Otherwise the otter hurries to shore and seeks refuge in its lodge. It is only now that the Indian lets his dogs, which have been watching the otter all the time, leap into the water and follow its spoor. Soon they discover the lodge, and one of the dogs goes in. If he should not venture to do so, his master forces him into an entrance. Inside a severe battle immediately develops. The dogs always attack the otter head-on. They try to bite its face. After a struggle they succeed in sinking their sharp teeth into the otter's brain, killing it instantly.

The otter resists furiously throughout the entire fight, and whistling loudly, he stands his ground against the dogs. Usually he lies on his back and turns his head as fast as lightning in all directions. He bites and tugs his attackers quite pitilessly. The dogs are trained not to grasp the /537/ otter anywhere except on their heads. If possible, the valuable skin is not to be riddled with holes by their teeth. Inevitably the dog receives many severe and deep bites, for the nimble otter knows how to defend himself successfully, but usually the dog wins and the otter seeks a last refuge in flight from the lodge. Outside, however, there are not only other dogs waiting, but the Indian himself. He finally succumbs to so many opponents, even if the hunter has to hurl a spear at him. Also, even the hunter leaps on the otter, grasps him, and strangles

/537 cont./

224 231 him without fear of painful bites. When the animal is sufficiently exhausted or if it might still escape, the hunter takes it by a hind leg and, swinging it high into the air, beats it against a large stone on which its head is shattered. Afterwards, when the dogs whine with pain for hours or are lame for days, one realizes what a pitiful condition they are in (261). They are the ones that

261. See the accounts of Hahn in Hyades (q):363 and of Weber, passim.

overcome an otter and thereby perform an indispensable service for their masters (262). The otter skin is preferred for clothing

262. Dabbene (b):185 and Hyades (q):353 overlook the fact that in the otter hunt the dog is the decisive factor. Hyades (g):35 writes somewhat more accurately elsewhere.

(p. 57); that is why one Fuegian or another will hunt these animals.

We cannot speak of an actual fox hunt. Hyades (h):21 gave a not altogether reliable explanation in the following words: "The Fuegians...replied that their dogs hunt the foxes alone, that they track them down and, after having killed them, bring them back to their masters...Moreover, it is believed that they do not care much for fox hunting; they do not like to eat its meat" /translated from French/.

The large fox (Canis magellanicus) on the southern shore of Isla Grande and the small fox (Canis griseus) on several islands are known as čilaǰia; both species occur only here and there (p. 35 /untranslated/). No Indian bothers about them or hunts them with traps or bait. He has no special use for the skin; hence he does not make special weapons for the fox hunt. Actually it is only the keen scent and the power of the dogs which occasionally track down a fox. If the Indian deduces this from his dog's behavior, he lets himself be led to the place where the dead fox is lying. His dogs are not well enough trained to carry the booty to their master by themselves. Usually the battle takes place between a fox in his lair and several dogs that have discovered him there. He succumbs

/537 cont./

22 to the superior number and the rage of his opponents. After the
23 Indian has skinned the fox, he tosses the entire body to his dogs;
he very decidedly scorns this meat.

22 Among the few species of mammals on the Cape Horn Archipelago, seals occupy first place in the food quest of the Yamana. /538/ They are hunted not only because of their meat, but because their skins are urgently needed. The very desirable whale is primarily regarded as an occasional present that provides for many families over a long period. In comparison the guanaco is much less important because it is locally confined, and the otter actually furnishes only its skin. Tracking down a fox is a matter for the dogs. The many bird species that the Indian hunts could hardly be dispensed with in his household. Sometimes he is wholly dependent on them alone.

5. The Woman in the Food Quest

462 Among the Yamana, man and wife form an economic cooperative, and it is especially in the matter of obtaining food that they are dependent on one another. The woman, of course, does not take an active part in the hunt, which is regarded as a vital duty of the man, but she sometimes helps him indirectly by means of absolutely necessary knacks. She, as mistress of the canoe, takes him to those places where he wants to try his luck and go after game. She shares with him the difficulties of perilous crossings and long watches through the hours of the night when he devotes himself to catching birds. Finally, she brings him, along with his booty, to a safe place where both of them can enjoy a well-earned rest after all their trouble and exertions.

Far beyond the limited participation of the man in procuring food, she makes a considerable, altogether independent contribution to the support of her family by means of an activity that she alone can carry on. This is gathering, for which she is equipped by nature and to which she can devote herself without jeopardizing her more important duties as mother and wife. This activity is actually an important supplement to her husband's hunting activities. It is her duty to bring in lower animals and vegetable products.

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226 462 daily tasks. Hence every other type of fishing, with the exception of the occasional mass-catch of lieści, is avoided as much as possible (297).

297. According to Hyades (h):20: ". . . the ease with which they get fish among the large algae relieves them of all the work of making a fishing pen" /translated from French/, and the same is equally true of similar arrangements.

222 5. Birds. Birds' eggs are also counted among the foods from the animal kingdom by our Fuegian natives. Earlier travelers, for example, Fitz-Roy (a):184, often observed that "eggs are eagerly sought for by the natives" /cited in English/. Spring is the time for them. Wherever the family lands, the girls and women hunt [462] for the nests of larger birds. They do not choose among them, nor does it bother them if the eggs have been sat on for some time. Their hunt is, without exception, rewarded by a rich harvest, for they are very familiar with the brooding places of all kinds of birds. Gathering is very easy where penguins brood, for they lay large eggs. The women bring their harvest to the canoe or the hut in their little baskets, and it is promptly consumed. They never risk any special dangers in order to obtain birds' eggs.

223 At the beginning of summer they also take young birds of large species still in the nest. They kill the tender animal by hitting it on the head with a stone or stick or by beating it hard against a rock. Above all, when they search out the breeding places of cormorants and penguins, they quickly fill their baskets with this game. Young cormorants cannot escape beyond the immediate vicinity of their nest because their wings cannot as yet carry them from the height of their nest into the sea, and penguins are likewise nest-bound because they do not yet know how to move in the water.

•231 For entertainment and out of playfulness, the women also like to take an occasional young bird to their hut where they feed it until it is full-grown. If it proves tame enough, it is

/553 cont./

231 kept alive; otherwise it is one day devoured. This explains why in early summer in the huts of the Indians we find at least half a dozen young birds, all very familiar with each other, although they usually belong to different species. They belong to the family (298), so to speak, and are a plaything for children.

298. Lothrop (b):159 "has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed" /cited in English/.

β. Food From the Vegetable Kingdom

262 The inclement weather of the Cape Horn Archipelago permits only a few types of plants to reach maturity, and the soil yields only a very few things that the Indian can use for food. A vegetable diet has no basic significance for them. It would be inaccurate to speak of actual subsistence on the vegetable kingdom. The Indian gets only a small taste from it now and then, which, as such, is monotonous and, in /554/ comparison with his meat consumption, quite unimportant (299). Mother Nature

299. Fitz-Roy (a):185 expressed himself very definitely on this point: "Of vegetable food they have very little: a few berries, cranberries, and those which grow on the arbutus, and a kind of fungus which is found on the birch-tree, being the only sorts used" /cited in English/.

voluntarily offers him fungi and berries of various kinds, and these, as we realize, are mere condiments. They are gathered [462] only by women and girls; men strip off a few fruits in passing and immediately pop them into their mouths without any kind of preparation.

222 262 1. Fungi. If we consider the conditions of vegetation in the Yamana region, we are not surprised to find a great abundance of mushrooms and fungi there. /Fig. 66 appears here./ There are no very poisonous kinds. Some are spongy; others have a woody

/360 cont./

7. The Fuegian Dog

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The dog, yéfis, must be regarded as a constant, indispensable member of the Fuegian family; it is taken for granted /361/ just like the children. The fact that the dog as their companion has been historically acknowledged for only a century is by no means without significance in the appraisal of the economic life of our Indians. The dog does not appear in written accounts nor in pictures given by the navigators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (314). If we realize how obtrusively and persistently

314. Banks was the first European to report on the native dogs belonging to the Selk'nam whom he met on the southeast shore of Isla Grande in the year 1769. See Vol. I, 276.

Indian dogs rush up to every stranger and how excited they are for hours during his presence in the camp or in an individual hut, we are forced to conclude that those travelers of the earliest period just did not see the Fuegian dog and that the Yamana did not as yet own dogs. The conduct of these animals towards strangers is exceptionally conspicuous. No one recounting his experiences and impressions could have failed to describe the impudent behavior of the dogs (315).

315. These words surely do not express an unjustified expectation. Even if the native dogs had been friendly to the foreign visitor, the very fact that they were found in the company of Indians would have been reason enough for mentioning them. For example, Captain John Narbrough tells about his visit among the Patagonians in Puerto San Julián on the southern Patagonian coast, August 16, 1670, and says, among other things: "Their dogs are much of the race of Spanish dogs, large mongrel, but very tame: they were of a grey colour and were painted red in spots: they were very lean" /cited in

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/361 cont./

English/ (Burney:III, 345). Not even such modest references are given in the older travel accounts of those navigators who expressed themselves in detail and sometimes also very accurately about many other things concerning our Yamana.

In the face of complete silence for more than two centuries, we cannot help but be surprised that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost simultaneously, several different first references are made to the Fuegian dog. Weddell (a):94 is the first European to speak of it. On November 28, 1823, his fleet lay at anchor in Bahía San Francisco, between Horn Island and Hermit Island. Here one of his sailors acquired a young dog "which was conspicuous because of its intelligence." In this connection he relates that those natives "have only this kind of dog which resembles very much the fox and is about the size of a terrier. They love their dogs very much, and if they attribute supernatural power to any object, it is probably to dogs, for the care and attention to their welfare are extraordinary" (p. 66 /untranslated/). Unfortunately, Weddell does not say anything more about this animal.

A few years later, on the first trip of the "Beagle," King:413, 444 and Fitz-Roy repeatedly observed the dog. King:529 speculated as follows: "The dogs are certainly of the domesticated kind, originally obtained, probably, from the Spanish settlements at /362/ Buenos Ayres; generally they resemble the Esquimaux breed, but are much more diminutive in size" /cited in English/. From the second journey of the "Beagle" Fitz-Roy (a):201 brought back a more extensive description of the Yamana dog (316). He was very surprised that "these dogs bark at

316. He (a):119 also occasionally referred to the neighboring Selk'nam, "accompanied by several large dogs" /cited in English/; (a):174 describes the dog of the Patagonians in much more detail. Soon after him the fleet of Captain Wilkes (a):I, 118 landed in Bahía Buen Suceso. There the latter saw

/562 cont./

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that "the natives had the common dog which they seemed to prize much" /cited in English/.

strangers with much fury; and they give tongue eagerly when hunting the otter" /cited in English/. At the same time Webster mentions the Fuegian dog (p. 109 /untranslated, but the page is in English/). Scarcely three years later Pickering:20 calls attention to the fact that "the presence of the dog among the tribes inhabiting this extreme point of America, is another fact that deserves attention" /cited in English/ (317). Simultaneously

317. Moreover he expressed the following conjecture: "America, when first visited by Europeans, appears to have contained but a single species of quadruped of foreign origin, the domestic dog" /cited in English/.

Wilkes (a):I, 129 (p. 114 /untranslated, but the page is in English/) and, three years later, in February, 1842, Ross (p. 122 /untranslated, but the page is in English/) refer to the constant companion of the Indian family. In travel accounts of subsequent decades up to our own day and in letters from the pens of missionaries, specific mention of the characteristics and services of the Fuegian dog is almost never lacking.

For obvious reasons the travelers, with very few exceptions, did not bother about the origin of this dog. Since most of them were not qualified, their descriptions give only an incomplete picture of the specific zoological nature of the dog. Fitz-Roy (a):201 mentioned useful details: "The dog of a Fuegian or Chonos Indian is small, active, and wiry, like a terrier with a cross of fox. Hir hair is usually rough, and dusky, or dark-coloured; but there are many dogs among the Fuegians almost white, or prettily spotted, some of which have fine smooth hair. All that were examined had the roof of their mouth black, the ears erect, large, and pointed, the nose sharp, like that of a fox; the tail drooping, and rather inclined to be bushy" /cited in English/. Snow (a):I, 334 points out only: "Their small, sharp, ferret-like dogs were exceedingly troublesome" /cited

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/562 cont./
in English/ (318). According to Lovisato (b):102, "the dog of the

318. The following report dates from the 1860's, by which time the Yamana could easily acquire European breeds of dogs because of more frequent shipping: These Indians "have two kinds of dogs: one, a native breed, small and shaggy, with a pointed snout; and the others introduced by the ships. The two breeds actually live almost exclusively on fish and mollusks, being very skill-

Fig. 68. Male and Female Dogs.

ful at catching the latter, opening them, extracting the little animal cleanly, and eating it" /translated from Spanish/ (Outes [g]:53).

Yahgan is a cross between the fox and the wolf with shaggy, light hair, long, straight, and not very large ears, and a short, pointed tail" /translated from Italian/. Spegazzini (a):163 could hardly express himself more succinctly when he says, the dog "looks much like the common fox" /translated from Spanish/. Dabbene (b):185 writes more exactly: "They are /563/ small and ugly, with long, varicolored hair, a long snout, and large ears that look like those of a fox" /translated from Spanish/ (319). Martial:194 confirms that the dog is "small

319. We shall omit here other descriptions, for example, those of Lista (b):63 and Wieghardt:33.

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and ugly, its hair long and fawn-colored, and its snout pointed resembling that of a fox" /translated from French/.

Incomparably more valuable than these casual and partial descriptions is Koenichel's expert examination of two animals of pure breed. In Orange Bay Hyades acquired a newborn bitch from the Indians in January, 1883, and a male dog in February. He raised both animals himself, and since they quickly adjusted to their new masters (320). /Fig. 68 appears here/ he took them to

320. In striking contrast to full-grown animals "which do not let themselves be tamed by Europeans" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q]:363).

Paris with him in September of the same year (Fig. 68). Careful examination revealed: "As Fitz-Roy says, the dog of Tierra del Fuego is small, lively, nervous, resembling a terrier crossed with a fox; his fur is usually rough, sometimes soft, dark or blackish, but he is often completely white or nicely spotted. All the specimens examined had black palates and mouths, straight, large, and pointed ears, noses tapering like that of the fox, the tail hanging down, with a tendency to become bushy" /translated from French/. Agreeing literally with Hyades (q):364, Koenichel:138 continues: "Well proportioned in its small midriff, the Fuegian dog is characterized by straight, large, pointed ears, by his long, very pointed snout; he also looks like an animal that is more savage than domestic, shaped very much like the jackal; the color of his fur is extremely varied; it is often uniformly dull fawn-colored /564/ which increases its resemblance to this latter animal; frequently, also, the basic color is white and the body is mottled with large black (Tapar) or fawn-colored spots (Katekita) (321); thus Katekita seems to have more natural

321. These are the names of the male and female animals of the above-mentioned pair.

markings. The paws are plainly palmate. This is the physical picture " /translated from French/. This detailed description is

/164 cont./

• 231 114 supplemented by Deckamber's thorough examination and by the appended measurements of the bodies of these two dogs (222).

222. Reprinted in Hyades (p. 301). The less ample body measurements given by another investigator named Hocard are also published in Hyades (ibid., p. 303). Compare also Hyades (b) 39 in connection with this whole subject.

In 1895 and 1896 Otto Nordenskjeld brought back to Sweden the skeleton of a native dog from his journey to Tierra del Fuego. It came from an animal of the eastern Yamana, which, according to his opinion, could be regarded as one of pure breed. The skeleton was conscientiously studied by Lonnberg 10, and each individual part was measured. On the basis of it he also made comparisons with other South American canines. Unfortunately Nordenskjeld did not leave a description of this animal whose skeleton is now in Stockholm, nor of other Yamana dogs. During a personal interview with him I learned only about the general characteristics of this zoological variety, which were already known to me.

231 177 During the years of my sojourn in Tierra del Fuego there was not a single pure-bred Indian dog left. In the case of most of the dogs one could easily see what foreign cross-breed they came from. The Whites living there introduced various breeds of dogs and distributed them among the Indians. The latter's dogs were not only very dangerous to strangers, but also caused grave injury among the breeding animals, especially among the sheep.

231 Fred Lawrence confirmed what the older natives had told me: the native dog was of medium size and had a thick, shaggy coat of medium length and predominantly dirty brown in color with irregularly distributed large light spots. The head drooped forward a little and ended in a long, pointed snout. The standing, narrow, medium-length ears were sharply pointed. The eyes were slanting. The long, bushy tail curled up in a half circle. In general the animals had a strong, firm build, but were long and lean. As recently as 1924 several Indians compared the native dog to the

/564 cont./

23| large fox, which was only somewhat smaller. Fred Lawrence described him as similar to those dogs that Europeans had brought along for journeys through the south polar regions. Long before, Wolever had declared of the Fuegian dog, "he is very ferocious, and not unlike an Esquimaux dog" /cited in English/ (p. 109 /untranslated, but the page is in English/).

At this point I do not as yet wish to express my own view of the origin of the /325/ Fuegian dog (323). Instead, let me add

> 325. In Volume I, 95, I had indicated that I would give a final opinion about the origin and development of the Fuegian dog only after I had described the domestic dog of the Halakwulup in Volume III. In Volume I, 276, I briefly described the dog of the Selk'nam according to its zoological characteristics.

that the Yamana do not seem to have any understanding at all of how to breed a special type; in any case they do not go in for it. Hence their animals reproduce erratically, as chance brings them together. According to Kuenckel:138, the Fuegians as a whole "do not have sufficient intelligence to practice methodical selection, they let nature take its course and assert its rights; actually, the dog which is their companion is savage like themselves" /translated from French/.

We have already briefly mentioned the place of the dog in the Indian family. Every family owns several dogs, from three to eight, and each one is regarded as the property of either the man or the woman, or some other person. To have a dog as common property of all the members of the family would be an impossible idea to the Yamana. Many travellers agree in their opinion that the Fuegian has an unmistakable affection for his dogs. From a very early period comes the observation of Captain Snow (a):I, 349: "I also noticed that their dogs claimed a large share of affection" /cited in English/. They belong to the family as a matter of course (324). If one knows the Indian well, one realizes that he

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324. Hyades (b):1343 says: "The dog is part

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of the Fuegian family, to which it is very much attached and which it accompanies everywhere around the hut and in the canoe" /translated from French/.

does not pay the slightest attention to his dogs, much less giving them great care or fondling them. The dogs scarcely expect the slightest attention from their master. They never expect to be fed regularly, for no one finds this convenient. Whenever any person in the canoe or in the hut is eating, the dogs crowd up and wait eagerly to see if a few scraps might be left over for them. If not, they are not disappointed. From the time they were puppies they had to become accustomed to finding their own food. Hunger drives them to the beach where, at low tide, they gnaw the outer calcareous shell of the numerous shellfish and expose the meat. They can leap high and climb bent tree trunks. If the Indian has not secured the birds or seal meat on the branches, the dogs try to get these pieces down. If they are hungry, they take skins that have just been stripped off or even hard leather. Several dogs together will even attack a guanaco and eat their fill of it, and, of course, in their restless foraging they can easily get sleeping birds or young nestlings.

Most of the dogs give an impression of terrible neglect. It is no wonder, for, as Hyades (p):331 admits, "the dogs are never cared for" /translated from French/. The sight of them does not move the Indian, however, even if they walk around battered, with /566/ broken legs, covered with scabs and sores (325). He

325. It has been proved that rabies does not occur among Fuegian dogs.

has no feeling about helping animals. Nevertheless, he would not permit another person to whip his dog, even if that person were completely justified in doing so. He himself is content to punish his dog's mistake with a blow or to drive away the culprit simply with a striking movement (326). Our Indian, however, cannot

326. Kuenckel describes the dog very precisely as "spare, inured to privations, faithful

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23/ to his manner who is attached to him but never pets him and often strikes him" /translated from French/.

bring himself to kill a few animals out of a large litter, even when he already has half a dozen dogs and does not in the least need any more. He seldom leaves an island without expecting all of his animals to be in the canoe. He would never have the heart to let one or another of them shift for itself. In a fit of rage, however, he will beat his animal so mercilessly that it succumbs (327).

> 327. "The natives do not like to kill puppies, and children take a fancy to this one or that, and they are kept in a half-starved state. Unless in a passion the natives very seldom kill a dog...The natives themselves are not infrequently attacked and badly bitten by these savage dogs" /cited in English/ (Bridges, in MM.XV, 250, 1881).

From this alone we can see how mistaken Lovisato (b):150 is when he maintains that to their masters the dogs were "the dearest of their creatures, dearer than their women" /translated from Italian/. In another place (b):102, he repeats: "To the Fuegians the dogs are dearer than their women, because they catch the otter, the fox, and the birds" /translated from Italian/. In this opinion he evidently relies on the members of the "Beagle" [622] expedition, for a young Fuegian had succeeded "in persuading Fitz-Roy, as a macabre jest, that in periods of famine they began to eat old women suffocated by being held in thick smoke, whereas they saved the dogs who helped to get otters" /translated from French/. Hyades (h):39 is referring to these words when he says: "The Fuegians are evidently less attached to their dogs than to women, young or old, whom they never dreamed of eating" /translated from French/. Despite utter neglect, the dog is faithfully attached to his master, but this does not prevent him from occasionally attacking his master.

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231 We gladly admit that the Fuegian dog actually performs some services for the Indian, but we must warn of exaggeration. Kuenckel:140 is going too far when he describes the dog as "an associate, a very valuable collaborator" /translated from French/ of his master. It is true that no one likes to give up his animal to a European, but this shows only a certain attachment, not an extraordinary appreciation of the dog's achievements. Kuenckel, however, is right when (ibid., p. 139) he speaks of the dog as "extremely agile and strong in relation to his small size, very watchful and never resting, he is very crafty, defiant, and above all cunning" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy (c):201 emphasizes other natural characteristics of these dogs: "They are exceedingly vigilant and faithful. Their sagacity is shown in many ways; and /347/ not least, in their providing for themselves, each low-water, by cunningly detaching limpets from the rocks, or by breaking muscle /sic/ and other shells, and then eating the fish" /cited in English/. As a result, the dogs cause their masters no worry and are nevertheless useful to them. Each of these animals, to a greater or lesser degree, "despite a very unsightly external appearance, possesses the qualities of its race, such as speed in running, dexterity in hunting the otter, the fox, and birds" /translated from French/ (Hyades [c]:290). It is only in hunting the otter and guanaco that the dog serves the Indian well (328), but by no means in a manner comparable to the dog

328. Compare Hahn in Hyades (c):364, Spegazzini (a):163, Loviseto (b):102, Dabbene (b):185, Martial:194, Kuenckel: 140, and others.

of the Selk'nam. Not a single Yamana actually bothers to train his dog; the things the latter does he has learned by himself or from the example of other dogs. Bridges (i):7 makes a point of saying: "Dogs are never eaten, nor are their skins used; to eat a dog would be almost as bad as cannibalism" /cited in English/.

Day and night he proves to be an extremely reliable watchdog. He seldom leaves his master, only when he must look for food. At night he lies beside his master or on his feet. He starts up at the slightest noise outside. If steps approach, he storms at

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231 the newcomer in Iranian environment. One can defend yourself against his wild attack only with a stick or by throwing stones. He is silenced only by the continuous scolding of his master. Naturally, all the other dogs from neighboring huts will promptly join a dog when he barks and moves against a stranger. All together they make such a noise that the whole camp becomes excited. Sometimes, however, they can be driven off just as quickly, and then they spend their nags in prolonged growling. Often they actually attack, but never from the front. If their barking does not make the strange visitor stop or draw back, they confine themselves to individual barking sounds with interruptions, but during one of these pauses when the stranger is unsuspecting, they will plunge their sharp teeth into his calves. They like to take advantage of the moment when he is stooping to pass through the low entrance or when his head is turned away. Sometimes the dogs behave so madly that it takes their master a long time to calm them; only then will they permit the stranger to enter the hut without danger (XII). In general the dogs are very easily

XII. A minor experience of Missionary Bridges: "We find the native dogs very troublesome, they are not half fed, and are of course all loose, and always on the look out for something to do. The other day I was passing with my two boys a parcel of dogs, which began to bark at me, and then the pack set upon me, and though I had a stick I had just as much as I could do to keep them off. One of them bit my boy's trowsers /sic/, and no sooner were we engaged in driving away one, than another rushed on us from behind....It is absolutely necessary to take a stick when one goes to visit the natives or for a walk" /cited in English/ (MM:XV, 249;1881).

aroused and dangerous.

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/165/ It is not only the excitable community of Fuegian dogs that exceedingly provoke every European, but even sure their mania for destruction and their voracious. They enter all buildings (with) and unobserved, plunder storage houses, and rummage through every corner. They enjoy attacking herds of sheep and goats. In order finally to get rid of these burdensome creatures, the White settlers poisoned and shot some and took others alive from the Indians in exchange for European breeds. Since all these lived amicitiously among each other, be resurgent mixtures resulted. With the decrease in the Indian population, however, they, too, are commonly decreasing and will disappear entirely along with the last Yamana.

F. Treatment of Foodstuffs

261 The little corner of earth that was destined as the home of the Yamana is poor in natural products. This in itself is responsible for many limitations in their means of livelihood. The natives have no choice but to be content with the little that harsh and parsimonious nature has provided for them. Unassuming as they are, they yield to the external pressure that has disciplined them to an amazing state of contentment and humility. Their attitude, however, is far from being one of dull insensibility. Our Indians have by no means lost all freedom of choice and will never, like a badly trained animal, fill their hungry stomachs indiscriminately with anything and everything that is at hand.

The Yamana is more favorably situated than the Selk'nam, because the sea offers more lavish gifts than the interior. Hence he differentiates more than the Selk'nam and shows himself more particular in his choice. He has his own guides and principles that lead him in his selection of food. They are primarily determined by taste, but not entirely, for the Fuegians commonly refuse milk, for example, which they could easily obtain from White settlers, and they have adopted other items of European food only after a long period of resistance. In times of distressing hunger they also take things out of necessity which they would decidedly scorn in ordinary life.

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862 disgusting to the baby, and after that it says away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /*ši*/, fish, and berries" /cited in English/ (153), but for a long time the chief food

> 153. Hyades (a):195 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women soon commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked muscls, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the roasted fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, *šiakuī*. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

271 The young mother does not give the newborn child water from
863 a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds. The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Punta Remolino. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from
[753] a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such matters than my countrymen!"

•231 In Hahn (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs" /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with
827 the physiological connection between conception and nursing in
833 the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

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534 857 On most days, if the girl is not needed by her mother, she is left to her own resources. She spends these hours among her playthings. Chiefly she takes up her doll, which is extraordinarily simple and hardly deserves the name, quite in contrast to the not unattractive article that makes the Selk'nam girls happy (Vol. I, 268). A cylindrical-shaped stone the size of one's fist or a short rounded piece of wood without any finish or ornament suffices for this yékanógla. The girl treasures, cherishes, carries, and treats her little doll exactly the way a European girl does. Sometimes she even talks to it.

The child is not supposed to play with this yékanógla too long, and the adults sometimes warn her out of superstitious fear. For example, the father will say /765/ to his daughter: "If you fondle and care for this stone much longer it might turn into a Sinuluwatkinéjwa!" The latter is a person of stone in a myth told by our Yamana. Intimidated and frightened, the girl will throw the stone away and choose another as her yékanógla, or the stuffed skin of a small bird or of a young otter. They remove the skin of these animals in one piece by turning it inside out after making a short incision in the belly. Then they stuff it tightly with dried grass or rush stalks and sew it up. With touching tenderness the girl ceaselessly runs her hand up and down it, caressing the soft otter pelt.

The child also obtains a doll in another way. She takes the carcass of an adult bird, usually a wild goose or a cormorant, cuts the skin all the way round at about the center of the bird, strips it off, dries it, fills it with dry grass, and sews up the large openings. In this way the head, neck, and breast take on their natural shapes.

857 231 In imitation of some of the women, many girls constantly go after young animals, usually a newly hatched bird. They care for it and feed it with the most loving concern, play with it, and sometimes caress it rather wildly so that the tight grip or constant tugging causes the animal pain. They take it along with them on their almost daily trips and care for it until it is ready to fly. It is not customary to clip its wings in order to keep it from flying away. If only for the sake of variety, they let the animal fly as soon as it can. For this purpose they most often choose a wild goose, a wild duck, the laughing gull, kiwágu (Larus dominicanus),

/765 cont./

857 and the brown robber gull, wilaúla (Megalestris skua chilensis);
231 cormorants and penguins, which are too dirty, are less desirable. After the girls have become fond of such a bird in the course of a few weeks, they do not have the heart to kill it even if it would make a succulent roast. If one day it flies off, they follow it enthusiastically with their eyes and send good wishes after it.

857 As is well known, the bark canoe belongs entirely to the woman (p. 135). For very obvious reasons the father makes a
868 small model of it for his daughter. It is like a larger canoe in
501 every detail and is large enough for a single girl to sit in and row about. On my second journey I noticed a seven-year-old girl in Puerto Robalo who was extraordinarily skillful in managing her vessel which was 145 centimeters long. Her father had previously given her a smaller canoe. It was a charming sight when one sunny day toward noon the mother set out in her boat and was accompanied by this daughter. Each of them steered her boat into a tangle of large brown algae /766/ and they began to fish. After three hours they returned to the landing place and the girl, too, had a few pieces of booty, to the delight of her father. More often a father will give his daughter a small paddle with which she strikes the water while standing on the shore.

857 If one sums up what a solitary girl has in the way of entertainment and play, diversion, and minor manipulations, it is clear that she is not condemned to boredom and that, on the contrary, many a day will be too short for her if she has become absorbed in her play. If several children are together in the same place, they choose other forms of entertainment.

γ. Social Games

857 The designation "social games" does not precisely fit all the forms of diversion which are listed here; all I wish to express is that several children come together in them. Adults often take part in these games, but children are always in the majority.

857 By way of introduction it should be said that a tame, patient
231 dog is used by boys, as well as girls, for all kinds of jests and mad pranks. It sometimes seemed impossible to me that such an animal would take so much from foolhardy boys! They tug him around

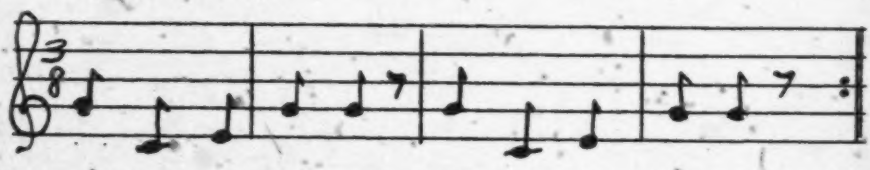
/766 cont./

857 and push him, tease and provoke him, tie his legs together, load
231 him down with all kinds of things, duck him in the water, imprison him in a hollow tree trunk stuff indigestible things into his mouth, and daub him with paint; in short, they try out the craziest notions on him. The rude handling and the sudden bursts of laughter of the children frighten the dog, but although he growls and barks, he does not have the heart to bite. This is perhaps the same animal from whose furious attacks a European can sometimes scarcely defend himself (p. 296). No matter how wildly children treat a dog, their parents do not scold them for it. Occasionally, however, a child will play very affably and affectionately with one. They all treat young animals with particular tenderness.

857 Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 395), Yamana children of both
524 sexes amuse themselves with a regular swing. A strong rope suffices, of the kind, for example, used in the large harpoon. Its ends are tied to a high branch, so that the middle part hangs down about half a meter above the ground. A child sits down on it, without using a special seat, and hangs on with both hands; another child starts it swinging by giving it a push. The little ones swing for hours until bad weather drives them into the hut (199).

199. Fitz-Roy (a):186 mentioned the swing: "Swinging between branches of trees, as our children do, is also a favourite pastime, the ropes being made of strips of sealskin" /cited in English/.

[33] Usually they endlessly repeat the five-syllable word kaiyennamāla in the following rhythm: /767/



114 culture. If this large and expensive monograph is not accessible, the following more important papers may be consulted: Gusinde (1921–22, 1924, 1925 a, 1925 c, 1926 a, 1926 c, 1927, 1928 b, 1929); Koppers (1925 a, 1925 b, 1926 a, 1926 b, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b).

For bibliographies of the *Yahgan* see: Cooper (1917), for sources, with comments on each, to 1917; Lothrop (1928), for sources from 1917 to 1928; Gusinde (1937), for selected and added sources, and for evaluations (pp. 48–161) of the publications of the more important first-hand observers.

19 **Language.**—The *Yahgan* language with its five mutually intelligible dialects constitutes a distinct linguistic family, with no known relationship to any other. The elder Bridges' *Yámana*-English dic-
[114] tionary, the one completed in 1879, contains about 23,000 words, a carefully restricted, not a padded list, as he himself emphasized (1933, p. xvii). *Yahgan*, in contrast to *Ona*, is markedly euphonic. There were no words for numerals beyond three, and none for fractions.

161 **Population.**—According to our first dependable estimates, the *Yahgan* population, in the third quarter of the 19th century, totaled between 2,500 and 3,000 souls. In 1881 a sharp decline set in. By 1884 numbers had dwindled to about 1,000; by 1886, to 400; by 1891, to
[164] 200; by 1902, to 130; by 1913, to less than 100; by 1933 to 40. The immediate causes of the sudden drop in the eighties were the respiratory diseases and a severe outbreak of measles in 1884, followed by epidemics of typhoid, whooping-cough, and smallpox. Syphilis does not appear to have played an important role. Contributory, or rather
[179] basic predisposing, factors were, it seems, the then introduced European ways of life, especially the clothing, but also the food, alcoholic beverages, and type of shelter and work.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

231 **Foods.**—The *Yahgan* had no domesticated plants, and no domesti-
[241] cated animals except the dog. Whether the earlier pre-Columbian and post-Columbian *Yahgan* had dogs is uncertain. No bones of dogs have been found in early archeological sites in *Yahgan* or other Fuegian territory. The earlier explorers,—L'Hermite, 1624; d'Arquistade, 1715—make no mention of the dog in their descriptions of *Yahgan* culture, as none is made of it among the *Alacaluf* by the 15 accounts of them prior to Narbrough's of 1670. The dog was first recorded among the *Yahgan* in 1823 by James Weddell; it is recorded consistently thereafter by later observers (Cooper, 1917, pp.
[262] 186–187). Dogs were not eaten.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

undermined by this animal, recall the gopher burrows in western North America. 136

The Fuegian dog is not known in a wild state, and today it is extinct, although much blood of the native breed must run in the veins of the innumerable sheep dogs and hounds to be found on the island. In height the native dog ranged from 11 to 20 inches. Their ears were pointed, muzzles sharp, and skulls broad. The markings were black and white, with tan running-gear. Like most Indian dogs they lived largely on such garbage as they could pick up around the encampment, but in times of plenty they were given meat or mussels by their masters. Also occasionally they might pull down a guanaco and enjoy a square meal before the arrival of the hunter, as illustrated in the legend of Kuanip, presented later. 231

Of the sea animals, the four kinds of seal found in Fuegian waters formed the principal meat diet of the Yahgan. Not only did they eat the seal, but they used its hide for capes, moccasins, house-tops, and thongs. It is surprising they never invented a hide boat, which would have been much less perishable than their bark canoes. The Haush also ate a great many seal, and the Ona ate seal but did not specialize in its pursuit. 136

Otter of three kinds, one living on land and two in the sea, were prized by both Yahgan and Alacaluf, who used their skins for clothing. Both these peoples attacked porpoises, and at times, when some innate instinct assured them of good weather, they pursued them far into the open sea.

To the Fuegian tribes whale was a great delicacy, and by all accounts this leviathan existed in large numbers in Fuegian waters until recently. Sometimes the Canoe Indians ventured to attack whales that had blundered into shallow water, but usually they were secured dead on the beaches. These were gala occasions, and feuds and animosities were forgotten as great numbers gathered to gorge themselves on the often putrid, diseased, and stinking flesh. When satiated, the Yahgan sometimes buried a meat supply far under ground where, were there frost, it might be preserved for many months. This custom recalls the burying of salmon on the northwest coast of North America, where the decomposed fish was mixed with oil and eaten with gusto. [251]

Fuegian waters abound in fish, both large and small, which were eaten by all the tribes. The Ona took fish from pools at low tide, 136 226

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

411 it would seem clear that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this
177 weapon from the Yahgan. However, the Ona word for sling (*shínkai*) is not taken from the Yahgan, while slings are mentioned in a supposedly ancient Ona legend. Possibly then the Ona might not have borrowed the sling from their Yahgan neighbors, but in all probability they did,

FIG. 86.—Yahgan sling. Length, 27 in. (14/2351)

BIRD-SNARES

411 Three different forms of snare were applied to the capture of birds by the Yahgan. In all of these, active prehensile function was performed by a noose of whalebone scraped thin to make it flexible. The simplest procedure was to set such a noose over a bird's nest during its absence. Also a series of nooses might be set on a cord, staked down in an open spot, and covered with suitable bait (fig. 36A). Finally, a whalebone noose was set on the end of a pole (*aúrum*), as illustrated in fig. 87. With this implement it was possible to snare roosting birds during the night.

BIRD-CATCHING BY HAND

223 In addition to killing birds with arrows, slings, club and torch, and snares, the Yahgan sometimes took birds by a method which, if successful, often resulted in prodigally wasteful and unnecessary slaughter. At night a man would paddle silently to a rock where birds, preferably shags, as they are heavy sleepers, were roosting. He would steal silently ashore, and then seize the nearest bird with one hand around its wings and with the other hand pinch its windpipe so that it could neither flap its wings nor make an outcry. Then he bit off the head, placed the corpse on the ground, and went for the next bird. Thus with luck great numbers might be taken. But the steamboat duck (*Tachyeres cinereus*), a light sleeper, could seldom be captured by this method, and, if any were roosting on the rock selected, they usually gave the alarm. Fitzroy (1839, p. 184) says that the Yahgan dogs were trained to [231] catch birds by stealing upon them as they roosted during the night.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

On Gable island and other places where birds nested the Yahgan captured the young and tamed them to frequent their wigwams until they were large enough to be eaten. The writer has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed. Also, in the summer, the Yahgan had special bird hunts near the breeding places, because at this time of year the birds, though nearly full-grown, have not learned to fly and may be captured by running them down. 223 [231]

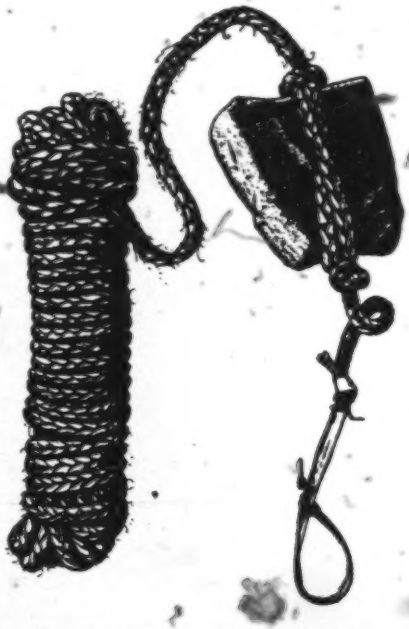


FIG. 88.—Yahgan fish-line. Length of coiled line, 6 in. (14/2375)

227

FISH-LINE

The Yahgan fish-line, shown in fig. 88, consists of three elements: line (*tápim*), sinker (*társhir*), and bait noose (*tukaléna*). The line is of braided whale-sinew and is ten to twelve feet long. The sinker is a small stone with notches knocked in opposite sides. The noose, like the bird nooses, is a narrow strip of whalebone scraped thin and flexible with a bit of shell. In an emergency a piece of kelp was used as a fish-line.

In order to fish, the Yahgan women paddled in their canoes to a shallow reef. There they anchored the canoe by inserting the handle of the paddle under a gunwale so that the blade projected outboard on the other side. A heavy piece of kelp was hauled across this, which not only served to prevent the canoe from drifting but also steadied it. Bait was then inserted in the noose and the line was lowered. When a fish had nibbled at and partly swallowed the bait it was pulled to the surface, seized by a quick dart of the hand, and killed by biting it in the head. Fish were cleaned as soon as they were caught by biting a hole in the belly through which the guts could be extracted with the finger. 225

/416 cont./

281 durably. They cut the edges approximately straight and lay them
294 side by side. Near the edges of the two pieces they make a small hole by pricking the leather with an awl or a pointed bone. Into this hole they thread a tendon fiber, uśwúmi, holding it with thumb and index finger and licking it to make it pointed. Then another little hole is bored, and the thread is drawn from one hole to the other over the free edges in a spiral. Finally, they pound the two edges, which are not quite flat, with a round stone to make them flat and less hard so that they will not rub unpleasantly. Such work is very coarse and uneven, for they lack convenient tools. They fasten strands of leather and straps together or tie them to other things simply by knotting them.

283 The fibers of tendon which we have just mentioned, known
•237 as uśwúmi or ūnána, are often used in sewing and joining pieces of leather. Strands of guanaco tendon are separated into fibers, but
[136] a person who does not have these uses the tendon fibers of otter or beaver (Myocastor coipus) tails. The beaver is rare here, however. After they have skinned the animal, they cut off the tail at the root. It is dried for some time, and the individual vertebrae are broken off without tearing the tendons. The last two or three vertebrae are left together. The tendons which have been loosened by this process are separated with the fingernails until they become thin enough to be used for sewing. They then hang like a tuft on the smallest vertebrae of the tail and can be torn off with a sharp tug.

C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation

515 Every stranger is repulsed by the unclean, unkempt appear-
356 ance of the Yamana (91). It is disgusting to see these human

91. Among the opinions of former travelers I shall cite only what Snow (a) :I, 345 has written: "They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves" /cited in English/.

302
442

/423 cont./

describe, but does speak of "a piece of the upper jaw from a dolphin or porpoise, with teeth" /translated from French/.

As a makeshift when the two objects mentioned above are [237] not available, they gather a bunch of bird feathers and tie them together at the bottom with a fiber of tendon. The bunch of feathers is grasped with the fist, and the quills are drawn through the hair, like the teeth of a comb (102). Girls like to

[57]

102. According to Fitz-Roy's terse words (a) :139, the hair grooming of the Indian women is confined to the following: "The hair of the women is longer, less coarse, and certainly cleaner than that of the men. It is combed with the jaw of a porpoise, but neither plaited nor tied; and none is cut away, excepting from over their eyes" /cited in English/.

make this tīrōku uhūnim as playful dawdling, and conveniently loosen their hair with it.

505 Little though the Yamana heed a clean body, they nevertheless appreciate a clean person who washes often and keeps his hair combed. Many mothers care for their children; others appear disgustingly dirty and completely neglected. Such differences are not infrequently [illegible] of conversation among the old people who criticize in one case and praise in the other. At any rate it shows that a natural feeling for cleanliness is not entirely lacking. In spite of the many useful things that Europeans have brought them, they will never rise above a certain level of uncleanliness because they are inseparably bound to their conditions of life. The European clothing which everybody wears [171] nowadays is likewise covered with dirt and fish oil. Because of it fresh air and beneficial rain can no longer act directly on the skin, hence their bodies are always covered with a thick, malodorous crust of dirt. Thus, the abandonment of their former sparse body covering is slowly but badly undermining the vitality and health of these Indians, who are themselves aware of it.

/428 cont./

382 in the form of a thick paste mixed with seal oil. It is prepared
386 less often in the palm of the left hand, more frequently in a medium-sized Mytilus /429/ shell so that the mixture can be well stirred and evenly applied. The red coloring must be uniform.

382 As has already been mentioned, in using all three colors
413 they sometimes prefer to mix the powder with oil or blubber instead of using it dry. If they want to make even strokes and precise dots, they cut a suitable painting stick, known as talapikamána in the dialect of the west, puscitákutasena in the central dialect, derived from ikamána, "to paint," "to draw." The little stick is about ten centimeters long, sharp at one end and smoothly cut off and flattened like a spatula at the other end. It is used to draw lines. If they want to draw dots, they dip the other end into the color and place it on the skin like a stamp. Almost every woman carries this little stick around with her everywhere. The sponsor uses it daily to paint her candidate during the protracted initiation ceremonies, čiexaus. A person who is without one easily and quickly makes himself another (109).

109. Hyades (q):300 speaks of an "awl or spatula of wood" /translated from French/. Moreover, he gives linguistic expressions for the many patterns of drawing and painting, which are given in greater detail and probably complete in BD.

415 Since the white and, even more, the red pigments are
237 valued, they are carefully kept in a kind of color pouch, known as yíi or yájyi. For this purpose they like to use the esophagus of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus), known as álakuš yájyi, or the small intestine of seals (110). A piece 25 to 45

110. Hyades (q):350 mentions them as "bags made from the windpipes of seals or porpoises /translated from French/, and Lothrop (b):133, as "small sacks made from the throats of seal" /cited in English/.

/429 cont./

445 centimeters long is cut out, sewed up at one end with a straight
237 edge, blown up taut, and immediately tied with tendon fibers at the other end. Sometimes they leave the circular cardiac muscles at the opening of the stomach attached to the lower part. These close automatically, which simplifies the work. This air bubble dries quickly, and the upper part of it is cut off straight. The elongated pouch is filled with pigment only to the middle. The free upper half is pressed flat and rolled down from the upper edge (Fig. 20). This not only makes a safe and convenient closing, but protects the contents against dampness and spilling. Sometimes they also tie a few tendon fibers lengthwise around the rolled packet to keep it closed. The white pigment, tumarapu, nevertheless hardens into a firm lump after a time, but this does not affect its use. Compared with this, the black pigment, yapuike, namely, pounded charcoal, is used far less. It does not pay to take special pains to keep it because it is available everywhere.

302 Much later we shall discuss the significance of the individ-
P22 ual colors within the manifold patterns, but here we should like to correct the inaccurate opinion of certain observers who attribute to each color as /430/ such a definite meaning or a single and exclusive significance. Without qualification Dabbene (a):38 maintains that "the three colors, white, black, and red, which are used for painting, have their signification, since they are used respectively, as signs of war, mourning, or joy" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (e):332 is much closer to the truth. He writes: "The external sign of mourning was the face blackened with charcoal. White applied in dots and stripes was the color of revenge for murder, and red was the emblem of friendship and joy." /Fig. 20 appears here./ None of the three colors (111)

111. I herewith reject the inaccurate statements of Fitz-Roy (a):177, Dabbene (a):38 and (b):176, Lothrop (b):126, Spegazzini (a):170, and others. Hyades (q):349 repeats in detail the opinion of Bridges, upon whom Krickeberg: 331 also relies.

/433 cont./

301 population. They prefer a band of guanaco leather two to three centimeters wide. The one of seal leather is less highly valued. The hair and wool is usually scraped off; if not, the woolly side is worn on the inside. This piece is pulled tight to the ankle. They bore a small hole in the end that is somewhat wider, through which they draw the other, pointed end, pull it taut, and prevent it from getting loose by tucking in the free point (see Hyades [q]:349). Often they also pull a string of tendon or a filament of whale bone through the two ends of an even band, /434/ and tie them together with a tight knot. In this case the threads inevitably stick out, which is considered less beautiful; hence some people prefer the first method. /Fig. 21 appears here./ In order to beautify these pieces, they are painted with red pigment (115). One just as often sees the

115. Lothrop (b):125 inaccurately maintains that this leather band is painted white. We are certain this would make it too conspicuous, which is something our Indians like to avoid.

[237] dried umbilical cord of the otter used as a bracelet. This is up to 30 centimeters long and about nine millimeters wide (Fig. 22). The two ends are tucked under to keep it together. Both pieces are called mun (in the dialect of the east and west) and temunenaka (in the southern dialect).

Contrary to all fact Hyades (q):296 writes that "the women never wear more than one of them on each limb" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, he showed (on Plate 12) three young women who wear this ornament on both ankles and both wrists. The only difference is that the strip of leather on their wrists seems to be noticeably narrower.

[237] Three thin, fine strands of tendon of the guanaco, sea lion, or otter are braided into a simple neck cord, known as asina. /Fig. 22 appears here./ More rarely they choose the stiff fibers of whalebone for it. The free ends are knotted. The knotted cord is drawn over the head to hang freely around the neck. Sometimes the cord is initially braided in such a manner that it can be

[Text continued on page 102.-Analyst]

/434 cont./

301 wound around two or three times, in other words, several meters long. Thicker bunches of tendon are held together by a short thread wound around them crosswise at certain intervals. This neck ornament is called hupuhkumak. "These braids are a kind of necklace for only the women; they are arranged in a number of circles, held at a single or at several points /435/ by means of a little strand of hair" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q] :349) (116). Although each of these pieces is in

116. He also says (q):299 about these: "Another type of necklace is made simply by several twists of braid worn at the neck; a glass bead from the French Mission was sometimes hung on this necklace" /translated from French/.

itself greasy, they brush it with fish oil alone or with a mixture [237] of fish oil and red pigment, so that the short fibers do not stick out unattractively.

301 The strings of guanaco tendons separated into fine fibers 237 are generally called amapa uiwimi; those of whale bone, used 238 alike for sewing and braiding, are called wipua uiwimi. On these simple braided tendons the Indians sometimes string short pieces, fairly uniform in length and shape, of the hollow cylindrical bones of a bird, usually the cormorant. More rarely they use the well-known calcareous formations of the tube worm, which they cut into small pieces from 30 to 40 millimeters in length. The smaller and more regular they are, the more they are prized. They sometimes also insert two or four red beaks of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater) at suitable intervals, and for some time [177] now, even coins, glass beads, and other European baubles (117).

117. Wieghardt:23 writes: "The necklace worn in two or three twists around the neck is at times adorned by a beak of the oyster bird [Haematopus ater], animal teeth, or little shells" /translated from Spanish/.

/436 cont./

301 [453] which occasionally reached the neighboring Haun /Haush/ and Halakwulup through barter, was repeatedly mentioned by early travelers. One often sees it in the ethnographic collections of European and American museums. See Bove (c):126, Collini:722, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (q):300, 348, Lothrop (b):125, Wieghardt: 23, and others.

Another necklace more highly prized than this is a braided cord of tendon on which short, small pieces of the dried windpipe of the /Fig. 23 appears here/ wildgoose (Cygnus melanocorypha) are very loosely strung. J.L. Myres:97 is right when he says that this "type of necklace is rare and much prized /cited in English/, for the swan seldom appears there in the south, and it is extremely difficult to obtain.

[237] Finally, another necklace is described by Hyades (q):299, which I did not see. "Plaited necklace, Ongakh' ouana: this type of necklace is plaited with fibers of the intestines of young seals, Acuis ama; in the center, Itakoun, there is a fine braid, Açina, made of the sinew of a whale, which /Fig. 24 appears here/ also forms the double braid at the ends of the necklace; the fastening, Yamacéta, of the necklace is a braid made of whale tendon. It is worn only by women: Kipa tapac makou" /translated from French/.

301 237 243

301 The necklaces mentioned above, irrespective of type and construction, are procured by people of either sex and all ages. "The men wear these necklaces also, as well as the women and children" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):349 confirms. Older men do not decorate themselves as much with them, but /437/ older women do, and most of all the younger people. They are almost wholly a plaything for children. A woman will adorn her baby with a necklace chiefly out of a feeling of maternal happiness. The women and girls make all these types of ornament for themselves and for their male relatives, since this is work for women's hands. The personal need for adornment and the vanity of each individual determine how often and how long one decorates himself with this or that piece. Unimpeded

[462]

411 /[illegible] cont./
[173] introduced by Europeans.

Our Yamana have the lead over the Selk'nam in that they even use bone for arrowheads. The proportion of these to slate and quartz arrowheads can no longer be determined (173). They

173. In any case it is an unjustified generalization when Lothrop (Op.156) maintains: "The arrowhead was of bone, cut to the Ona pattern with two barbs" /cited in English/.

also have the triangular shape, but the adjoining tang is wide at the top, between the two lateral corners, and tapers downward. The triangle itself is about 33 millimeters high, whereas the tang is 13 millimeters long. The little teeth on both sides are filled with the fine edges and individual splinters of sandstone. These sides are not sharp since they are slightly rounded; hence these bone points are effective because of the force of the thrust rather than because of their edges which are dull (Fig. 32).

The tang of the points mentioned above is set into the upper notch of the arrow shaft, without being cemented in. They are merely wound tight with a damp thread of sinew which, when dry, gives the desired rigidity. This thread of sinew would be too weak for a bone point. Hence the latter is held in the notch with a narrow strip of leather and by means of much tight lashing. The natives from the start know that now and then the shaft of the arrow will slide off while the bone point remains stuck in a wounded animal.

411 Finally, at the opposite end, feathers are added after the
237 model of the Selk'nam arrow. They prefer the hard wing-feathers of the cormorant. "On either side of this extremity they fasten a feather, the quill of which has been split and tied on by means of a fine lashing of bird gut (174) which passes at almost

174. Alfredo assured me that for this lashing the sinews of otter or sea lion are particularly suitable.

uniform intervals between three or four barbs of these small
411 feathers. The feathers are so well attached that one would think

/478 cont./

411 This bird spear, as we might call it (Fig. 37), is perceptibly
237 lighter than a harpoon. The fish spear is even lighter. It is the same length and must therefore be as light as possible in order to be handled easily and quickly. For the shaft, a specially selected small trunk of the evergreen beech is used; a partial notch is likewise cut into the thicker end and a shorter bone or wood point with
[824] a serrated edge is set in it. For the latter the most suitable wood is that of Berberis ilicifolia which is very tough and flexible. Hence this wooden point, hima ímpa, has the great advantage of durability; it is also incomparably quicker to make than the serrated bone point.

Since the fish offers only a narrow striking surface, the Yamana makes use of the double-pointed spear (184). He selects a shaft that

184. Spears:58 maintains that sometimes even three points were used for the fish spear, "and the barbs were all on the inside" /cited in English/. This is unknown to me and is reported by no other traveler. I saw such fish spears among the Halakwulup, however.

[824] forms a wide octagon in section. He usually cuts it out of Nothofagus betuloides. At the top he cuts out two long, flat notches, opposite each other and separated by a thin layer of wood. Into each one he places a serrated bone point, and both of them are lashed and held fast with the same leather strap. The two points stand slightly apart from each other because the back of each is curved. This considerably increases the possibility of hitting a fish (Fig. 37). /479/ /Fig. 37 appears here./ Even if the point does not penetrate very far, each tooth pointing downward acts as a barbed book and the shaft as ballast, precluding escape (185).

185. Lothrop (b):153 also mentions a Guanaco-spear" of the eastern Yamana. I believe he bases this on doubtful reports. What he illustrates is obviously the fish spear of the Selk'nam. See Figure 40 in Volume I, 245.

412

/494 cont./
for example, even mentions three kinds of knives.

/495/ Whatever it is they use in the way that we use our knife, it is never put together like the latter, but is nothing more than a bare mussel shell. Hyades (q):200 emphasizes: "The Fuegians do not have an indigenous tool similar to our knife; in its place they use a chisel of shell, or iron if they can get it" /translated from French/. In order to be able to grasp the mussel shell securely for cutting, they first place a thin scrap of leather in the palm of the hand, and by this means they can grasp the shell securely enough. /Fig. 46 appears here./

Fig. 46. Punch. Two thirds natural size.

γ. The Punch

The punch or bone awl, fmi, or whatever one wishes to call this tool, is used a great deal. The natives prefer the humerus of a cormorant from which all the meat is removed. [237] The thinner end is broken off and filed to a sharp point. It is now about 13 centimeters long and is easy to handle. Occasionally, however, the bone of another bird is used.

In order to protect the point, the Indians take a bunch of rush stalks about as thick as one's thumb and lash it with another stalk of the same to hold it together. The point of the punch is stuck into this bundle, wfna, for which they allow a length of about eight centimeters. Because of the packing, the point does not slide out, but is protected as by a sheath (Fig. 46). Sometimes this punch is nothing more than a small whittled stick of the hard wood of a

/496 cont./

412 wedge, Ila, performs even more important services in splitting thin and thick stems for the lower portion of a crab fork or a mussel fork. It is also used to split sound as well as rotten tree trunks which are desired for firewood and thicker trunks which are afterwards broken off by body weight.

412 237 Only the large bones of the whale are suitable for wedges. I did not learn whether or not the Indians ever tried to use bones of large seals. Such wedges have been used by the Fuegians since ancient times. Spencer:132 writes: "Many wedges of whale-bone were found in middens on Navarin Island. These are roughly made, more or less parallel-sided, cut and ground at one end to a curved cutting-edge. The other end is squared and most of the examples show signs of crushing by heavy blows at this end, caused, no doubt, when the wedges were driven in for splitting wood. The bone used appears to be cetaceen rib, a very suitable material for making wedges..." /cited in English/.

412 The bone wedge is hammered with a stone into a small groove which must first be incised with a knife or scraper. This stone can justifiably be referred to as a hammer only insofar as it is hit against the bone wedge. It is not prepared in any way. For heavier work one looks for a larger and rounded stone with flat sides, which can be comfortably grasped with the fingers without having them meet over it. This keeps the middle surface of the stone free, and this hits the wedge. Inevitably, the portion hit shows definite traces. One often finds the hammer-stones lying around on the shell mounds. Just as the Indians pick up the first stone handy wherever they need it, they heedlessly throw it away at the place where they have finished working with it. Small hammer-stones, so-called hand-pieces, are used every day to open shellfish and to crush animal bones (209). It is

209. Lothrop (b):141 also speaks of the "Hammerstones. These stones never were hafted" /cited in English/. He illustrates one and mentions "five inches" as its length.

obvious that for these simple purposes the stone does not need hafting.

/947 cont./

227 of bits of meat, the tips of a cherry, from a small mamel, or a tiny bit of seal meat, or whatever else the woman happens to have. As soon as the long thread of algae is dipped into the water it is quickly impregnated with moisture. In spite of its extreme flexibility, it is strong enough. As a substitute they also choose a fishline, *ayla* [283 *yaikha*, made out of several meters of braided, tough sinews, *chum* 237 (*chum*) (Fig. 64). The sinews, *thelmi*, of the guanaco are well adapted to this because they are long, fine, and durable. If they are not available, sinews of whale, seal, or otter are used. Even heavy fish cannot tear this line. Sometimes the woman flattens the sides of the sinker *ell*, also *ukhik* according to RD-300, "a sinker [round stone or lead] for fish lines" /cited in English/, rounds the edge, and cuts a shallow notch into it for the thread (281). She goes to the trouble of

281. Hyades (Ep.19 illustrated a stone fashioned in this way and comparable to a rounding lead. Next to it he shows a second fishline "of braided whale tendons with a polished, grooved stone serving as a weight" /translated from French/.

specially shaping the stone only when the fishline is of braided sinews, which is stronger than a line made of an alga stem. In the central part of Beagle Channel the people even use a spherical black stone about four centimeters in diameter, which is provided with a shallow groove for the fishline. According to the old myth about [72] *Shuta-waya-ulwa*, this *ell*, *ukhik*, was said to have been introduced by a woman in ancient times.

Fig. 63. Fishline Made from an Alga Stem. Three-quarters natural size.

/1484 cont./

§12 continued to practice their skill, copying this and that, chiefly parrots, albeit with very moderate success." Aspinall 271 does not prove his statement that "they have a great talent for drawing."

Used as drawings in the sand with their fingers or with small sticks or middles on the bat framework or the canoe with pieces of charcoal. Although I very often /1485/ wrote and drew in my diary, this did not even stimulate the adults, much less the youngsters, to imitate

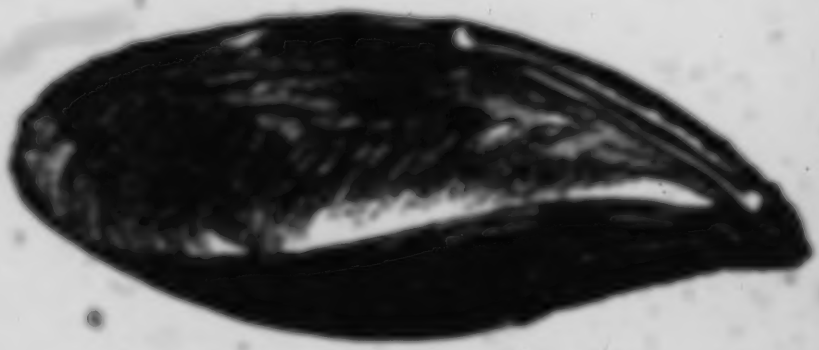


Fig. 102. Shell of a Large Mytilus Mussel. Three-fourths natural size.

me (367).

367. What Snow (n):1, 339 has to say proves the curiosity of the Fuegians in Banner Cove: "They were all greatly amazed at my writing in pencil on blank paper. . . . and they eagerly begged of me some magic wood. Of course I gave them some, and they soon set to work trying to write as I did" /cited in English/.

/1465 cont./

2. Art Activity

301 The many occasions that show how much the Yamana loves ornamentation have already been mentioned. For some of the people, body cleanliness is far less important than their desire to please others with the beauty of their bodies or with special ornaments. This type of vanity is consciously instilled even in children, and no one sees anything wrong in it. For this reason many persons acquire several ornaments at once and prefer to display those that are conspicuous or that come from a remote region. There are also persons who paint themselves every day just for the fun of it. Since a visitor, as a rule, is supposed to wear a facial painting when he presents himself (pp. 96, 922), many people spend a great deal of time and effort on it, so that they will be admired. It would not do, however, to maintain with Bove (e): 157: "The eagerness for ornamentation seems to be even stronger among the men than among the women." In the one sex as well as the other there are individuals who far surpass most of the people in their passion to please.

237 301 Their excessive desire to please leads them to avail themselves of definite ornaments, besides the actual body painting in all its forms. Ankle bands (p. 99) are of a simple type; necklaces are more elaborate. Either the fine fibers of guanaco or whale tendon are plaited into a long cord and worn in several loops, or the latter is used to string short pieces of bone or small shells, *són lispúka*, of *Photinula violacea* are tied to it close together. These are the basic forms of the necklaces worn by the Yamana. Each of them also has certain unique touches. The small pieces of bone may be longer or shorter; clearly recognizable rings are incised in each of the longer ones, which are then supposed to look like small pieces. Moreover, the pieces that are naturally whitish are alternated with some that have been purposely blackened (p. 103). Finally, as a special pendant, the red beak of the oyster catcher (*Haematopus ater*, Fig. 76) is attached in the center, or four to six of these beaks are distributed along the lower half of the necklace (Fig. 103). Instead of the short pieces cut from thin, hollow bird bones, the Yamana, for variety, also string the short calcareous tubes of sea worms on a long tendon. Such small pieces

/1466/

237
301

Fig. 103. Necklace. Two-thirds natural size.

/1465 cont./

237 are not very regular, however; hence /1466/ /Fig. 103 appears
301 here./ /1467/ this whole assemblage is not valued very much (Fig. 104). The simplest ornaments are those with only a single mussel shell or a small beak of a bird, or several of these pieces, hanging on the tendon. A long string of Photinula shells is regarded as the most beautiful and valuable neck ornament, for it

Fig. 104. Necklace. One-third natural size.

requires great care to make (Fig. 23). /Fig. 104 appears here./
301 For this reason no woman who thinks well of herself is without this piece, which is sometimes more than three meters long. Fitz-Roy (a):201, and later Bridges (i):23, recognized that "the Fuegian necklaces show some ingenuity in those who make them, . . . that one is, at first, inclined to doubt their being the manufacture of such uncouth savages" /cited in English/. Spegazzini (a):161, too, does not refuse to acknowledge that these things represent "such careful work that they do not lack beauty" /translated from Spanish/. They indicate a well-developed, sensitive taste. The

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

342 quently used toward the east, was tipi-form, with a framework of stiff stout saplings or tree trunks.

The ground in the interior of the hut was often, but not always, scooped out, to a depth of 2, 3, or more feet (0.6 to 1 m.) beneath the outside ground level, and was usually covered with a little grass or [354] some branches. The fire was made in the center. The huts had one door, facing the sea; or else two doors, one facing the sea, the other being opposite.

172 Archeological stratification in the *Yahgan* area of Navarino Island 342 shows an earlier culture with shelters like those still used by the *Alacaluf*, oval in ground plan, having two entrances, and without scooped-out pits; and a later one with circular shelters having one entrance, and with pits 12 to 18 feet (4 to 6 m.) in diameter, scooped out in some cases to a depth of more than 3 feet (1 m.) (Bird, 1938, p. 261). The two historic types of *Yahgan* wigwam, oval and circular, unpitted and pitted, may thus represent two chronologically distinct cultures.

342 Larger and more substantial huts were built for initiation rites (q. v., infra); sometimes very small ones, for the use of children. The *Yahgan* also at times used caves or made a very rude shelter of a few branches tied together or stuck in the ground.

177 At the time of Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, practically all the then 342 surviving *Yahgan* were accustomed to pass the winter months at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra, on Navarino Island, in huts poorly constructed of ill-fitting boards (Lothrop, 1928, p. 188). Loth- [237] rop (1928, p. 131) considers the use of the wing of a large bird for sweeping out the shelter to have probably been the result of missionary [356] influence.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The chief garment, for men and women, was a small cape, of seal, sea-otter, or fox skin, sometimes of two or more skins sewn together—occasionally of bird skins—worn with the fur outside, covering the shoulder and breast or reaching to the waist, and held in place by a string across the chest. It was commonly shifted outdoors over the windward shoulder. Very frequently it was left off entirely. The women rarely if ever went without a small triangular pubic covering of bird skin or hide, held in place by a string attached to each upper corner and encircling the waist (pl. 33, *f*). No head covering was worn. Usually the *Yahgan* went barefoot, but sometimes when traveling or hunting on land they wore rather crudely made moccasins (fig. 12), resembling closely the *Ona* ones in pattern, of sealskin, with the hair outside, and stuffed inside with grass (cf. Lothrop, 1928, p. 124, photo). The eastern *Yahgan*, when hunting guanaco in winter, sometimes wore guanaco skin leggings, like the *Ona*, from whom they

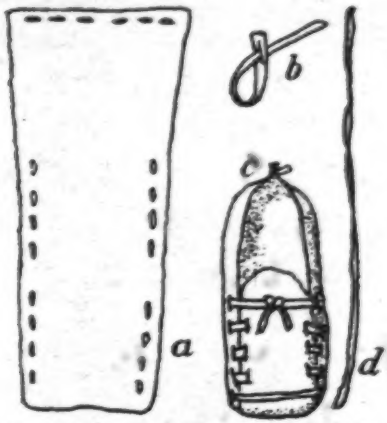


FIGURE 12.—*Yahgan* moccasin. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 46.)

291 probably borrowed them. The *Yahgan* occasionally used a rude fingerless working glove of hide. The clothing of the *Yahgan* seems to us utterly inadequate, given the climatic conditions—temperatures commonly around and well below freezing point in winter, high winds, frequent snow, hail, sleet, and cold rain—but in view of the seeming [177] role played in their decline by introduced European clothing and their relative good health prior thereto, perhaps their clothing was reasonably well adapted to the environment.

302 **Hairdressing and depilation.**—The hair was worn loose, not in braids, and was often banged. Sometimes a sort of tonsure was worn. A sharp-edged mussel shell was used to cut the hair. For [237] combing the hair, more commonly the jawbone of a porpoise or otter, or a toothed comb made of whalebone, was used; sometimes, a brush comb made of a bundle of roots (Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 138) or of quills (Gusinde, 1937, p. 423). Depilation, with two mussel shells as tweezers, of all face and body hair was practically universal, for both sexes.

304 **Scarification.**—Scarification was practiced as a mourning observance and tattooing as an initiation rite (Gusinde, 1937, p. 863), but neither for ordinary decorative purposes. There was no head deformation, no ear, lip, or septum piercing, no body mutilation of any other kind.

302 **Painting.**—Smearing the head and body with grease or oil was as much protective as decorative. Face and body painting was common, sometimes with use of a small spatula. Only three colors—red, black, and white—were used. Red was derived from burnt earth, [386] black from charcoal, and white from clay. Red symbolized peace;

Red symbolized Peace;
302 white, war and ritual; black, mourning. Designs were very simple,
[822] confined to lines, dots, and, less commonly, circles.

Ornaments.—Personal adornments were: necklaces, of sections of
301 bird leg bones strung on braided sinew, of strung punched shells
237 (*Photinula violacea*), or of frapped hanks of braided sinew, often colored red; bone or shell pendants, sometimes attached to the necklaces; and wristlets and anklets of sinew and hide. Feather diadems and bird-skin, feather, or down-ornamented fillets or forehead caps were also used.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Canoes.**—Travel by the *Yahgan* was almost entirely by water. Their earlier sole form of watercraft was the built-up bark canoe, of a crescent or gondola shape that characterizes other craft well up the west coast of South America to Perú; the plank boat, the *Araucanian* dugout, the seal-hide float, and the double-ended reed balsa were absent (Lothrop, 1932 a, pp. 253–54).

The *Yahgan* canoe (pls. 34, 35) was made of three strips of beech bark, one-half inch to more than an inch (1.2 to 2.5 cm.) thick, which ordinarily formed the bottom and two sides respectively. Average length was about 15 feet (5 m.), with a range from about 12 to 20 feet (4 to 7 m.); gunwale to gunwale width in center, about 3 feet (1 m.); depth in center, about 2 feet (0.6 m.). The bark, taken only
396 from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), was stripped off in the spring, when the sap was running. In removing the bark from the tree, the natives used a bone chisel or mussel-shell knife to cut it and a bone barking tool to strip it, and in ascending the tree held themselves thereto with a strong rawhide thong. After smoothing the bark on both sides with a small chisel, they cut it into three cigar-shaped pieces. These pieces were then sewn together with whalebone or with shreddings of warmed saplings, the seams being wadded with the stringy seams of wild celery grass or with moss mixed with mud. The gunwales were next lashed on. The ribs, of split Winter's bark, were then fitted in and locked in place under the gunwales. The thwarts, usually five or six, of hardwood, were inserted and lashed to the gunwale.

501 The fireplace was set amidships. The paddle was in one piece with a long lanceolate blade and short round-section handle without cross-piece or other grip. The *Yahgan* canoe leaked much; the cylindrical bailers (pl. 33, *e*) were usually of bark or sealskin. Sealskin thongs
[283] and braided grass ropes were used as mooring lines. The construction and repair of the canoe were the man's task; but its management, in-
[462] cluding paddling and mooring off shore in a kelp bed, were the woman's. In a sense, she was mistress of the canoe, with its hearth and ever-lighted fire. In a favorable wind a crude sail, made of a sealskin or

114 culture. If this large and expensive monograph is not accessible, the following more important papers may be consulted: Gusinde (1921–22, 1924, 1925 a, 1925 c, 1926 a, 1926 c, 1927, 1928 b, 1929); Koppers (1925 a, 1925 b, 1926 a, 1926 b, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b).

For bibliographies of the *Yahgan* see: Cooper (1917), for sources, with comments on each, to 1917; Lothrop (1928), for sources from 1917 to 1928; Gusinde (1937), for selected and added sources, and for evaluations (pp. 48–161) of the publications of the more important first-hand observers.

19 **Language.**—The *Yahgan* language with its five mutually intelligible dialects constitutes a distinct linguistic family, with no known relationship to any other. The elder Bridges' *Yámana*-English dic-
[114] tionary, the one completed in 1879, contains about 23,000 words, a carefully restricted, not a padded, list, as he himself emphasized (1933, p. xvii). *Yahgan*, in contrast to *Ona*, is markedly euphonic. There were no words for numerals beyond three, and none for fractions.

161 **Population.**—According to our first dependable estimates, the *Yahgan* population, in the third quarter of the 19th century, totaled between 2,500 and 3,000 souls. In 1881 a sharp decline set in. By 1884 numbers had dwindled to about 1,000; by 1886, to 400; by 1899, to 200; by 1902, to 130; by 1913, to less than 100; by 1933 to 40. The
[164] immediate causes of the sudden drop in the eighties were the respiratory diseases and a severe outbreak of measles in 1884, followed by epidemics of typhoid, whooping-cough, and smallpox. Syphilis does not appear to have played an important role. Contributory, or rather
[179] basic predisposing, factors were, it seems, the then introduced European ways of life, especially the clothing, but also the food, alcoholic beverages, and type of shelter and work.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

231 **Foods.**—The *Yahgan* had no domesticated plants, and no domesti-
[241] cated animals except the dog. Whether the earlier pre-Columbian and post-Columbian *Yahgan* had dogs is uncertain. No bones of dogs have been found in early archeological sites in *Yahgan* or other Fuegian territory. The earlier explorers,—L'Hermite, 1624; d'Arquistade, 1715—make no mention of the dog in their descriptions of *Yahgan* culture, as none is made of it among the *Alacaluf* by the 15 accounts of them prior to Narbrough's of 1670. The dog was first recorded among the *Yahgan* in 1823 by James Weddell; it is recorded consistently thereafter by later observers (Cooper, 1917, pp.
[262] 186–187). Dogs were not eaten.

356 /386 cont./
342 meanwhile airs out thoroughly, is completely cleansed by the rain, and after considerable time is again suitable as a temporary refuge. With this in mind they leave the first dwelling undamaged when they move out, and upon their return they need make only a few additions. Again, unreasoning nature helps where these Indians themselves are lacking in cleanliness. Even though the dwelling may be changed, certain circumstances may make it imperative to remain for a longer period in one place. When such circumstances are absent, every family unhesitatingly and at frequent intervals moves its campsite a great distance.

342 Each individual family erects a dwelling exclusively for itself wherever it temporarily happens to be. Formerly, however, in the west an exception was made where a hut known as ǎyusuĕkĕr was built to be occupied by several families. The reason for this [187] was either the prophetic warning of a few yĕkamuš who predicted a severe winter or the stranding of a whale at the beginning of the cold season. Three to six families who were related or friends joined in the building of this community hut. They chose a suitable spot near the stranded whale or near the swamp where they [251] preserved large pieces of fat in the water, in any case on dry ground and particularly well protected from wind and weather by a high rock. The men taking part in the construction of the dwelling, the customary dome-shaped hut, but elongated in this case, fetched suitable poles and built a stable, unusually strong framework.

They devoted great care to this work, which therefore occupied them all for perhaps half a day, whereas the ordinary dome-shaped hut took only two to three hours and the conical hut even less time. The length and width of this communal dwelling depended on the number of occupants, and the height of the interior was increased somewhat to prevent any discomfort that might be caused from the smoke of the larger fire. An unusually thick cover was laid on the firm framework, consisting of several alternate layers of tree bark and grass, rushes and twigs, with large, thick pieces of leather occasionally inserted between them. Thongs were stretched over large areas in order to /387/ secure the outer cover firmly. An entrance was left on each of the two narrow ends, and this was covered with a leather hanging. Both entrances were

/387 cont./

372 openings in the top prevented it from escaping easily. The entire
342 structure was well insulated, for it was meant to offer special protection against the rigors of the climate. Since it was built in the damp western part where dry firewood was not available in large quantities, the Indians managed by constantly carrying green wood into the hut and piling it up. In a few days it was dry and only then was used for burning. Even a supply of tussock grass
[513] (Poa flabellata) was kept on hand, for this litter for the bed had to be renewed at least every two weeks.

The men supplied the necessary food for their families
• 251 on communal hunting expeditions which were usually so successful that a good share of the booty could be stored away for a few days. This helped in periods when the hunt was seriously hindered by continuous stormy weather. They were anxiously concerned about having an abundant supply of meat always on hand, if not perhaps a whale /388/ lying on the shore. Otherwise the gathering of many people in the same place in a securely built hut would not only be pointless, but even dangerous. Inevitably the inhabitants frightened the game farther and farther away from the dwelling, which made hunting increasingly difficult. Then only ample stores kept off the threatening specter of hunger.

A hut for several families was occupied only in winter.
342 Wanderlust was too strong to detain a family in one spot any
362 length of time for other reasons. The people who built a com-
221 munal hut would perhaps come back to it for a second winter, but not after that, for the game supply had been exhausted over a wide area, and they themselves were kept away by the boredom of sitting still. The arrangement described here might be referred to as the "winter hut." Near it a sort of winter supply was piled up. The very safe shelter provided somewhat comfortable living
[517] conditions, and during the long periods of inactivity together, favorite myths and legends were repeated, or the people told each other stories of their own experiences and Hánnuš stories. Communal huts were not built in the east, and the reason is simple: weather and hunting conditions were much more favorable there.

After a few families have settled in the so-called multiple-
342 family hut, they not infrequently erect another building directly
593 beside it for the half-grown children, and this is appropriately known as the "children's hut." It resembles the first hut in shape

/424 cont./

356 of indifference toward even their meager possessions and to teach them at least a modicum of care in regard to the things they need. At present some families have built themselves simple little houses in Puerto Mejillones and partly furnished them with European furniture (p. 357 /untranslated/), but they do not worry about leaving all this for months and are hardly aware of heavy losses. Expensive things that are given them are treasured for a few hours, out of curiosity; after that they thoughtlessly let everything deteriorate in the mud and wet. The less they own, the more /425/ comfortably they can travel, and what is ruined they occasionally replace. Hence they are completely indifferent to any material possessions.

Nevertheless they do not neglect themselves to the extent of perishing in dirt and disorder. They are consciously concerned with necessary cleanliness. They never build their huts in places that are malodorous and swampy, or where a large animal carcass is decaying. They do not tolerate the smell of decaying animals. Hence they immediately throw into the fire all waste from their meals and the remnants of skins or leather pieces that they are working on. Small animals and pieces of meat •[251] obtained by hunting are hung on branches outside the hut where they are protected from the dogs and from the uneven heat of the fire. They promptly remove meat that is decaying or that smells musty; they are extremely annoyed by its stench. On the other hand, the heavy, nauseous fumes of blubber and sea animals that fill their hut and deter every European do not seem to affect them, nor are they sensitive to the putrid odors issuing from the long piles of algae and seaweed, sea animals, and shells that the agitated ocean tosses ashore in tangled disorder and that are subsequently exposed to the hot rays of the sun. If a man has been successful on the hunt, he sometimes brings the slain animal to the hut intact, but he removes the entrails some distance away. The women, for their part, go down to the edge of the water when they pluck birds and eviscerate them, so that the waves can carry off the refuse. The litter for the bed is renewed after a few days, for the dampness of the earth promotes mold and rot. On sunny days they even pull down the large leather pieces from the hut framework, so that the interior will dry out and air. If they stay in one place for any length of time, they

/555 cont./

262 the year round abundant /cited in English/ (MM:III, 116;1869). He is saying a little too much in the first part of this statement.

not in a position to give all of these their exact botanical names. It is very remarkable that he eats only those that grow on trees, never those growing on the ground. Each species matures in one particular month, which is why the Indian could at any time give himself a little variety in his monotonous meat diet by using fungi. "Fungi of many kinds are also all the year round much used as food, different kinds coming in at different seasons" /cited in English/ (Bridges [a]:213).

222 262 It is left to each individual to hunt occasionally for a few fungi whenever he feels like it. The only ones actually gathered are the very common Cyttaria darwinii which are strung up on [251] small sticks in the hut and kept for a time in a dried state. Bridges (MM:VII, 121;1873) is obviously exaggerating when he attaches special significance to fungi in the daily household of the Yamana. [261] When there is a famine, however, the people use fungi to help out as long as they can find them. Aspinall:270 expresses himself more accurately when he speaks of the individual foods in order of their importance: "For their subsistence [these Indians] are dependent solely on the hunt; /556/ in an emergency they content themselves with a diet of mussels. Digestive difficulties that may result from this are healed with a diet of fungi." Fungi are neither more nor less than a rare, occasional addition to the main diet.

222 2. Berries. It is obvious that the Yamana can enjoy berries, amāim, for only a few weeks. The most common are amāiiegurĕ, the fruit of Pernettya mucronata which sometimes covers extensive areas in the form of a low shrub (Fig. 12 /untranslated; see foreign text, p. 121/). In spite of the hard points on the leaves, women and girls move through the bushes and pick the ripe crimson berries, gather them in their little baskets, and take them to their hut. Less common in that region is the /Fig. 67 appears here/ smaller Pernettya pumila (Fig. 67), the fruit of which is called ɣanamāim, and the somewhat taller Empetrum rubrum, aŝāna, the fruit of which is known as sĕpisamāim. These two bushes have only small fruits which attract the Indians less.

/579 cont./

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578

the news must spread abroad, and then a rush of people happens, they are disappointed by coming too late, and should those who hoarded up the blubber not part it out, there is a fight, canoes are broken, and this brings on a general engagement" /cited in English/. As we have said, however, these are rare occurrences.

dead whale is announced over a wide area, and many people hasten there, even from afar. In comparison with these, the ones that first take possession of it are always in the minority.

225 It hardly seems possible, but in the end even a whale is not an inexhaustible source of fat and meat. If 20 families -- usually, however, the number is doubled and quadrupled -- descend on this sea monster, eating excessively and storing large masses of [251] fat in the swamp, the supply diminishes perceptibly. Sometimes many people will leave after about a week, tired of the monotonous diet, and will make room for others. The new arrivals pounce on the rest ravenously, and it diminishes all the more quickly the more numerous they are. A whale has probably never lasted for more than a month, even if it was one of the largest species, such as hatuwípisa (Balaenoptera intermedia), and was an extraordinarily large specimen, kupatmérana. Sooner or later the skeleton lay there pretty much cleaned of meat and fat, left to the further cleansing of rain and waves.

Lewis, from his own experience, reported on October 9, 1871, about a seemingly mortally weary small whale (351) which was

351. "It was a whale, very young, about 17 feet in length" /cited in English/.

effortlessly killed near the coast on September 13th. "The process of dissection was carried on with such zest, that by eleven A.M. the same day not a vestige of flesh or bone remained on the spot, save the liver, not eaten as a rule by the natives. Our poor fellows jumped into the almost freezing water nearly up to their armpits, and applied themselves as I had never previously seen them do;

/594 cont./

264 these if possible. The tender meat of young animals tickles his
151 palate, and the height of ecstacy for him is the nicely browned fat of a whale that has been stranded for some time. There are many things that conclusively prove that a Fuegian's taste is by no means insensible or dulled, no matter how uniform the taste of everything that he eats on account of so much blubber.

5. How They Store Food

●251 The unsettled way of life and their uninterrupted changes of
261 dwelling do not permit the Yamana to lay in large supplies. The general statement of Hyades (d):306 "They do not make any provision for the future" /translated from French/, applies without qualification, since they do not strive to provide for the immediate or the distant future. A decisive factor may be that food does not keep in that arbitrarily inclement weather, and in order to preserve it, one would have to go through all kinds of complicated preparations. All this is superfluous, because throughout the entire year and with almost limitless generosity the sea puts all kinds of animals at the disposal of the man who hunts and the woman who gathers. Storm or accident will deprive a family of these things for no more than a few days. Generally no one need reckon with the danger of hunger, and everyone almost anywhere finds an abundance of what he needs (381).

> 381. Bridges' (h):205 brief statement says a great deal: "In general, food is abundant" /translated from Spanish/.

Why, then, should anyone worry about food for the future (382)!

> 382. Hyades (g):34 writes: "The most wonderful thing about the Fuegians is that they never think of providing for the next day. And yet winter is severe enough and there are by no means few periods when the Fuegian can neither hunt nor fish nor even pick up mussels on the rocks

/594 cont./

•251 261

pounded by the surf." He is obviously exaggerating the dangers of hunger and distress to which these natives on Cape Horn are exposed.

Nevertheless, the surplus that is left over for the people by a stranded whale is regularly stored, simply because they do not like to let the huge masses of fat and meat spoil and because they would like to give themselves the great treat of roasted whale fat another time. It would be utterly erroneous to see in this endeavor any specific provision, /595/ for, if the stranded animal is young and the number of people that have hastened to it is unusually large, all the fat and all the meat are consumed within a few days, the only exception being that some family or another will carry a few pieces around with them somewhat longer. Thus, they save only what the individual families cannot and do not wish to consume in the vicinity of the whale. The consumption of the fat and meat of this animal exclusively is wholesome for the human body only for a certain length of time.

251 Most of the people transport the entire canoe-load to their home area. Here they put the large pieces in a swamp with good drainage and secure them well between the tangles of peat and roots at a certain depth. The dark-brown water excludes light and air. To prevent them from being washed up, they are weighted down with flat stones or logs, which also protects them from foxes and dogs. Undoubtedly the abundance of soluble salt acts as a preservative, and the tannic acid probably also helps. The pieces put down are never so thick that they cannot be completely soaked and pickled. It is clear that this produces an improvement in the flavor. The natives justifiably praise the advantages of conserved fat, even if it has lain in the swamp for several months (383). Occasionally, if chance permits, the

383. Fred Lawrence found a piece that had lain in the swamp for a year and a half still tasty. Our Indians know that their preserves are safe in it for a long time. "They hoard up the blubber for months by burying it in mud

/595 cont./

251

under a run of fresh water" /cited in English/, Bridges (a):208 explained. Compare Dabbene (b):186, Wieghardt: 35, and others.

family will return to the place where they have preserved their whale fat. It is probably never hunger that impels them. They use a stick and poke around in the brown water to find the pieces, which have meanwhile usually sunk somewhat. If they touch a soft, pliable mass, they have reached their goal (384).

384. BD:240 lists gaiatenaka, "to search for, feel or seek for with the end of a stick as for blubber buried in mud" /cited in English/.

The surface layer of the lappet of fat, which has usually turned very brown, is removed from the roast (385). No matter how

385. Martial:193 describes how the superfluous fat of a stranded whale is preserved in the same way.

oppressive the odor is for a European, it does not disturb the Yamana in his enjoyment of it (386).

386. The words of Martial:193 are not exaggerated: "Sometimes the animal is in an advanced state of decomposition and gives off an unbearable odor, but it does not in the least disgust them" /translated from French/.

In comparison with these masses of fat that individual families preserve in the swamp, the drying of ripe Cytaria fungi, aufcir, is quite unimportant. They are strung on little sticks and dried in the radiant heat of the fire (387). In order to keep them more

387. Bridges (MM:VII, 120;1872) also assures us that "this fungus is very generally

/595 cont./

251

thus cured, and eaten some months after it has been out of season" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (q):340.

conveniently in small baskets and leather bags, they are stripped off the little sticks and /596/ left as they are or made into a wreath on a few flexible rush stalks (Marsippospermum). Since they have been baked until they are quite hard, they resist the dampness of the air for a long time. Before they are eaten, they are soaked in liquid blubber (p. 324). For the final weeks of winter the woman keeps about 50 or 60 of these dried fungi, but only as a delicacy, not out of foresight, since fresh ones can be picked almost all the year round and no one wants to burden himself with them for long.

261 Basically our Fuegians know that they need not fear for the future, hence they do not pile up supplies. Year in and year out they can look forward to the next day, free of care. Despite all the monotony of their food, they always have an abundant amount at their disposal. At the same time, many a change and stimulus for the palate are afforded, for everyone has unimpeded access to anything and everything that Mother Nature is in a position to offer from her animal and vegetable kingdom (388).

388. It is only in this sense that we can interpret what Hyades (p):328 says, namely, that "there are never preferred foods" /translated from French/.

In order to characterise briefly the value of their diet according to vitamin content, I should like to remind the reader that the A-vitamin, the so-called anti-xerophthalmic vitamin, occur abundantly in liver oil. Blubber, as is well known, has by far the greatest amount of vitamin A, namely, 300 times as much as butter fat, besides a great deal of the anti-rachitic D-vitamin. Several animal tissues furnish the anti-scorbutic C-vitamin, as well as the anti-neuritic B-vitamin.

146

/1444 cont./

b. General Knowledge

The endowment that each child brings into this world as his heritage from his parents and as his natural equipment shows many different gradations even here in Tierra del Fuego. The aptitude of the individual is developed in actual education, at first in the parental hut, later in the *Yahgan*. Adults regard their own /1445/ efforts to train growing youngsters as a serious duty which they perform daily, so to speak. Tirelessly they teach their children, they show them this and that operation, explain one thing and another to them, demonstrate this and that, ask their own questions and

Fig. 98. Piece of Gut Filled with Blubber. Two-thirds natural size.

answer those of youthful questioners, observe the latter's progress and warn them of a wrong course. Although this instruction is primarily designed to help the younger generation obtain great proficiency in the use of weapons and implements, nevertheless in their daily contact the adults also give general information and occasionally special knowledge about definite usage and customs, about religion and mythology in the broadest sense of the term. Step by step and gradually, as circumstances advise and the mental maturity of the young person demands it, he learns more and more about the rich and manifold fund of knowledge of his tribe. There can be no question of orderly lessons; explanations and comments are given on occasions offered in everyday life, the boys being taught primarily by the male, girls by the female adult tribal members, chiefly by relatives within the family group.

262 Lothrop (1928, p. 32) rated the relative importance in the Tehgan dietary of their foods as follows: (1) Rarity of first importance, ostrich; (2) seal, sealion and fish of many kinds; (3) seal, porpoises, gulls, and bird eggs; (4) rhea, whales, limpets, crabs, sea urchins, geese, penguins, cormorants; (5) lost and lost, otter (chiefly in the west), guanaco (only in the east), condor, ducks, berries (especially wild black currants). The fungi eaten were those growing on trees; those growing on the ground were not eaten. Some wild celery and wild parsnips and two varieties of cress and young shoots of tussock grass were also eaten. Fungi were eaten only in famine as a last resort. Salt was not used.

225 Hunting.—Seals were hunted with spear or harpoon from canoe or from land (pl. 36), or killed with clubs. Whales were occasionally hunted in the open sea with spear or harpoon; stranded or dead whales were eagerly exploited. Dogs helped in otter and fox hunting.

223 Cormorants were taken at night by lamplight with clubs; also with a pronged wooden gorge hook. Birds were taken with pole snares (fig. 11, *d*) and with single or multiple tether snares of sinew or whalebone. Bo lifting pole snares, deadfalls, or pitfalls are reported.

224 Fishing and sea-food gathering.—Mussels were gathered by hand; limpets, with a flat-ended stick; sea urchins, with a four-pronged wooden fork; crabs and other Crustacea, with a harpoon or a three-pronged stick. For taking sea food, the Tehgan also used a spear with two diverging shoulders, or two to four spears lashed together. Women fished with a kelp-stem or braided whale-sinew line, that had a slipknot of whalebone or of quill at the end, instead of a hook, to hold the bait; slowly drawing the fish to the surface, they would grab it by hand. Fishhooks were probably lacking. Weirs of branches or stakes were used. True fish nets were absent. The usual approach thereto was a small basket attached to the end of a pole and used as a sort of dip net for diminutive fish.

251 Food storage.—Limited quantities of dried tree fungi were stored; no tin was oil, especially whale and seal oil.

415 Food preparation and eating.—Large mussel shells were used for melting fat and boiling grease. Water was heated and grease melted by throwing hot stones into them, but there is no record of stone boiling proper.

Shells of large mussels were sometimes used as plates; shells or bark baskets as cups; hollow bird bones or reeds as drinking tubes.

CLOTHS AND DRESSING

361 There were no permanent villages. Certain groups of natives related apparently by blood and marriage frequented and occupied more or less fixed separate localities within the respective five sub-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S306 Yahgan S306

137 the introduction of the potato to New Zealand, Tierra del Fuego
262 is the only part of the world where cryptogamic plants form the chief vegetal diet.

However, the Fuegian Indians failed to utilize many native food plants of value, such as wild celery, two kinds of cress, wild snapink, wild parsnip, scurvy grass, and mushrooms.

[25]

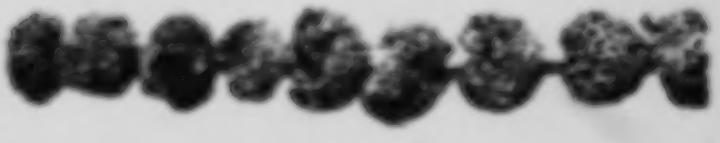

FIG. 1.—Fungi dried on a rod for winter use. Length, 6 in. (14/2279)

137 No description of the flora of Tierra del Fuego can omit mention of the gigantic kelp (*Fucus giganteus*) which almost everywhere fringes the coasts. Though the stems are not thick, they often exceed a hundred feet in length. Darwin[1] picturesquely writes: "I can only compare these great aquatic forests of the southern hemisphere with the terrestrial ones in the intertropical regions. Yet if the latter should be destroyed in any country, I do not believe that nearly so many species of animals would perish, as, under similar circumstances would happen with the kelp. Amidst the leaves of this plant numerous species of fish live, which nowhere else would find food or shelter; with their destruction the many cormorants, divers, and other fishing birds, the otters, seals, and porpoises, would soon perish also; and lastly the Fuegian savage, the miserable lord of this miserable land, would reluctable his cannibal feast, decrease in numbers, and perhaps cease to exist." The kelp forms an excellent breakwater and mooring for canoes, but it is an impenetrable barrier to swimmers and has prevented many unfortunate occupants of overturned canoes from safely reaching the shore. Its appearance on the surface of the water may be seen in pl. xvi, top, and pl. xx, top.

FAUNA

136 From the Indian point of view what made Tierra del Fuego a suitable land for habitation was the edible fauna, which in turn

[1] 1839, p. 300.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

undermined by this animal, recall the gopher burrows in western North America. 136

The Fuegian dog is not known in a wild state, and today it is extinct, although much blood of the native breed must run in the veins of the innumerable sheep dogs and hounds to be found on the island. In height the native dog ranged from 11 to 20 inches. Their ears were pointed, muzzles sharp, and skulls broad. The markings were black and white, with tan running-gear. Like most Indian dogs they lived largely on such garbage as they could pick up around the encampment, but in times of plenty they were given meat or mussels by their masters. Also occasionally they might pull down a guanaco and enjoy a square meal before the arrival of the hunter, as illustrated in the legend of Kuanip, presented later. 231

Of the sea animals, the four kinds of seal found in Fuegian waters formed the principal meat diet of the Yahgan. Not only did they eat the seal, but they used its hide for capes, moccasins, house-tops, and thongs. It is surprising they never invented a hide boat, which would have been much less perishable than their bark canoes. The Haush also ate a great many seal, and the Ona ate seal but did not specialize in its pursuit. 136

Otter of three kinds, one living on land and two in the sea, were prized by both Yahgan and Alacaluf, who used their skins for clothing. Both these peoples attacked porpoises, and at times, when some innate instinct assured them of good weather, they pursued them far into the open sea.

To the Fuegian tribes whale was a great delicacy, and by all accounts this leviathan existed in large numbers in Fuegian waters until recently. Sometimes the Canoe Indians ventured to attack whales that had blundered into shallow water, but usually they were secured dead on the beaches. These were gala occasions, and feuds and animosities were forgotten as great numbers gathered to gorge themselves on the often putrid, diseased, and stinking flesh. When satiated, the Yahgan sometimes buried a meat supply far under ground where, were there frost, it might be preserved for many months. This custom recalls the burying of salmon on the northwest coast of North America, where the decomposed fish was mixed with oil and eaten with gusto. [251]

Fuegian waters abound in fish, both large and small, which were eaten by all the tribes. The Ona took fish from pools at low tide, 136 226

/557 cont./

262

natives use the following plants for food: the roots and leaves of the uryata, and the roots of the ouwunin and yeshama" /translated from Spanish/. These are not food in the true sense of the word.

Hariot:402 correctly explains, "that the natives eat only in case of absolute necessity" /translated from French/. Among these are, first of all, āwánim (Osmorrhiza chilensis), the roots of which are gathered by women and girls during times when food is scarce, as well as yéxama (Armeria chilensis), and finally wíyata (Taraxacum magellanicum). With the roots of the first two (304)

304. These two plants are meant when Bridges says: "The roots of sea anemonies, and of a plant resembling parsnip, are much used for food and are generally baked" /cited in English/ (VP:XIII, 214; 1866).

[252]

and the leaves of the last mentioned the Indians appease their hunger (305). Of the two species first mentioned Bridges main-

305. Despard mentioned incidentally: "Today the natives gathered and ate large quantities, unwashed and raw, of a species of dandelion [Taraxacum]; they relish it very much /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 129; 1859). Compare Hariot:402 and Hyades (q):338.

tains, with not a little exaggeration, that the Indians "extensively use the roots of sea pinks and of Owwúnim" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 116;1869). Celery, húšun (Apium australe), is by no means a nourishing plant; nevertheless a person will occasionally put a stalk in his mouth and chew on it. He does this in order to give himself a change of taste and also to prevent vomiting (306).

[751]

306. In this connection Bridges contradicts

262 /557 cont./
himself. For instance, he says (MM:III, 116;1869): "Though celery abounds everywhere, they never use of it" /cited in English/; in BD the root of this plant is several times and very definitely referred to by him as an "edible root" /cited in English/.

[252] Some people like to roast the celery root at the fire and then chew on it.

222 462 It can be seen from these accounts that plant food is seldom eaten by the Yamana, hence it is almost always a single individual who sets out to look for it if he feels a desire for it. It would be unjustified, therefore, to maintain that the gathering of such plants is a special activity of the woman.

A cursory review of the contribution of the Indian woman to the subsistence of her family makes us realize that she performs an important service, mainly through gathering shellfish. The things she collects not only bring necessary variety into the monotonous meat diet furnished by the man, but seem indispensable at certain times when hunting is impossible. With her diligent gathering the woman very often saves her family from suffering considerable hunger.

/558/ 6. The Food Quest throughout the Year

182 In their manner of living and above all in everything they must provide for their sustenance, our Yamana are and will remain inescapably dependent on their environment. They have adjusted to this inevitable pressure in all their economic adaptations, not the least in their implements and weapons. Darwin (d):248 confirms this in his own way: "Nature, which has made custom an irresistible force and its effects hereditary, has adapted the Fuegian to the climate and the products of his miserable fatherland." The causative factor in the two explanations is essentially different.

181 The mental attitude or disposition of this Indian group, however, also betrays an unmistakable conformity with their area of

/568 cont./

252 Just as the choice of animals for food is very limited, so also is their preparation (330). From the start, the Fuegian relies

> 330. From among the opinions of many travelers we shall here quote only Barclay (a):64: "Living on mussels and fungus, this tribe marks the limit to which man may strip himself of all aid or comfort and yet survive and perpetuate his kind" /cited in English/.

solely on a meat diet. The isolated products of the vegetable kingdom are so insignificant and available at only certain times of the year, that he does not include them in his calculations. The preparation of food is limited to mere roasting in the fire /569/ or steaming in the ashes. Suitable utensils are lacking [445] for boiling, since the Fuegians have neither earthen nor metal vessels. In accordance with the total character of Fuegian culture, the type of diet and its preparation bear the stamp of extreme simplicity and the most abject poverty. Nevertheless, in this field also the Fuegian exercises and develops his mental powers, chiefly good judgment and a voluntary preference for the practical.

1. What They Must Do Without

147 Among the restrictions in diet that the Yamana must put up with and against which he is powerless, there are things that the European regards as indispensable. On the basis of conditions that actually exist in Tierra del Fuego and have been handed down unchanged for centuries from one generation to another, we could correct many inaccurate theories about what constitutes a healthy, beneficial, and necessary diet for man. In spite of much that these natives lack, they appear to be a healthy, vital people, who since time immemorial and in undiminished numbers have led a humanly dignified existence in their hostile environment. Their contentment has even reconciled them to all their troubles and has made them happy amid their pitiful living conditions. Their ugly physique is almost entirely the

/569 cont./

147 result of the way they are forced to sit and to work, not, however, of their diet.

262 To every stranger the most striking fact is that the Fuegians can get along with almost no food from the vegetable kingdom. What they eat in the way of fungi and berries occasionally, but always in modest amounts, cannot bear comparison with their uninterrupted meat diet. It is obviously an exaggeration for individual travelers to regard their eating of Cyttaria fungi as worth mentioning. The berries of Pernettya and Berberis have no nourishment, nor have the stalks of Apis, the leaves of Taraxacum, and the roots of Armeria. Cereals, that is, bread and flour, legumes and tubers, fruit and vegetables are unknown to the Fuegian. In summer a person will sometimes eat three or four handfuls of amáiin̥agurž at one time, which are the berries of Pernettya mucronata, or šépisamáim, the berries of Empetrum rubrum, and if there is a famine, he will eat only Cyttaria fungi for a few days. This, however, can never be upheld as a vegetarian meal (331) since it is obviously only a slight refreshment, an

> 331. The members of the Mission Scientifique maintain with Hyades (q):338 about the Yamana: "We never saw them make a meal of only vegetable foods" /translated from French/. Other reliable observers report it just as scarce.

expedient, or a very occasional tickling of the palate.

263 The invariable meat diet in itself scarcely gives them any real desire /570/ for salt, although all the meat is extremely fat. The meat salts probably suffice for the human body, and beyond that it gets, almost unconsciously and unnoticed, a not inconsiderable amount of salt from the sea water. In the shells of Mytilus and other mussels, in the calcareous shells of sea urchins and crabs, there is always a small amount of sea water, even though the contents have been cooked. When pieces of [252] meat of birds and seals are washed off, the Indians prefer to use sea water from which a tiny amount of salt inevitably remains on the meat.

/581/ 3. How They Prepare the Food

252 Like the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 296), our Yamana are also exclusively meat-eaters (353). This means, as Hyades

> 353. This means, conversely, according to Hyades (q):338: "We have never seen them make a meal of vegetable foods alone" /translated from French/.

(d):306 expresses himself: "their food is exclusively animal" /translated from French/. Because of all kinds of hindrances, however, they cannot spend much time or effort in preparing their food. The simplicity to which their entire household management is geared is clearly reflected in their type of diet and the preparation of their food.

The Fuegians, like any other primitive people in the wide world, do not eat most of their food in a raw state. It is a proved fact that in everyday circumstances they roast, steam, or boil every morsel that they eat, with very few exceptions. Many observers have unanimously confirmed this. Bridges' (e):332 assertions merit full confidence: "The Yahgans do not eat raw meat, neither fowl nor fish, but cook [roast!] all their meat at the fire"; and in (h):205: "They do not eat meat or fish raw" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (f):564 repeatedly emphasized that "they eat all this food only after having put it in the ashes or over the fire" /translated from French/, and (b): 1345 that "foods are preferably eaten cooked or partially roasted" /translated from French/. Certain restrictions, such as Despard's (b):680 that "all food, but limpets, is roasted" /cited in English/, are correct, but in this case it means that only meat is roasted at the open fire, whereas mussels and snails are heated in the ashes.

Moreover, in these general statements it is assumed that the Indians are not hindered in the preparation of their food by unusual circumstances. A family which has accidentally been cut off without a fire on a small island must, of course, to avoid starving to death, swallow the meat of birds and shellfish raw.

/581 cont./

•252 These are emergency situations, however, which Fitz-Roy (a):184 has characterized as follows: "When there is time, the natives roast their shell-fish, and half-roast any other food that is of a solid nature; but when in haste, they eat fish, as well as meat, in a raw state" /cited in English/. As confirmation, we finally have the testimony of the catechist Lewis: "During the whole twenty years in which I have known them I have never seen or heard of a Fuegian eating even a piece of raw meat or uncooked mussel. The latter shellfish is the staff of life with them, but they always cook them, and never eat raw meat. Their food is grilled on the embers or baked in the ashes of the fire" /cited in English/ (MM: XII, 248;1878) (354). This alone proves the significance of the

354. Compared to the many definite assertions of conscientious observers, the vague words of Lovisato (b):151 and Outes (g):52, for example, lose all their reliability.

fire, which each family constantly maintains, even in the canoe, during their journeys which are usually long (p. 43).

/582/ They are content with merely the action of heat and fire on their food; it is impossible to do more with it because pots and vessels are lacking. There is no actual cooking (355).

[415]

[412]

355. If someone should happen to need something warm, he fills a large Voluta snail shell, places it in the ashes, and puts a few small stones which have been heated in the fire into the shell with fire tongs. In this process, of course, the water never evaporates, hence it would not be suitable for cooking meat or vegetables.

At the same time it is impossible to use spices and condiments. If they were added, they would disappear in the fire. I can only repeat with Hyades (p):328 that "intoxicating, narcotic, or stimulating substances are not known" /translated from French/.

/582 cont./

252 The only taste that a morsel offers is what it has naturally.

When the Indian has caught a seal and skinned it, he dissects the carcass into as many large pieces as he has neighbors to whom he must give presents (p. 314). If he is somewhere by himself, he first takes off the outer layer of fat and hangs the carcass on a high branch. He cuts off only as much meat as can be eaten. The lump of meat, which is almost never washed beforehand, is placed on glowing wood embers that give off no flame and glow evenly; thus the meat does not immediately burn. It is turned at brief intervals with a stick until it is done to a certain extent. Less juice is lost and the heat treatment is more uniform if a short stick is pounded into the earth near the embers. The upper end of the stick is pointed, and the lump of meat is pressed on it so as to hang down like a small, limp flag. When one side has had enough heat, the piece is turned around with the fingers. The turning is repeated at short intervals until even the innermost layers are tender. If there is a great deal of dripping fat, a mussel shell is placed underneath to catch it. The meat of the whale and guanaco is roasted in the same way, for it can be conveniently cut into uniformly thick pieces after the bones have been carved out.

When the Indian woman has a bird which she has just killed, she first opens the breast and abdominal cavity with a lengthwise incision of a mussel shell and tears out all the entrails with a few vigorous pulls. She lets the dogs have these. Only occasionally she rinses out the blood-filled body cavity with water. She cuts off the head straight across and high up. Then she plucks out the larger feathers by grasping a bunch of them in her hand and pulling them out with a sharp jerk. The lower sections of wings and legs she breaks off at the joints. She does not waste any time over the short, fine feathers, but holds the carcass near the flame and singes them. She scrapes off the small burned parts with a mussel shell. A penguin, which has a very thick layer of meat over the breast bone, /583/ is cut up or torn apart into several uneven pieces. These are placed on the embers to roast or are impaled on small perpendicular sticks beside the fire. The carcass of a cormorant, which has dry, tough meat is also treated in this way, but more often the body cavity is filled with heated stones the size of a fist or smaller and the entire animal

/583 cont./

252 is placed on a low fire. The heat inside and out is slow but steady.

Before fish are brought to the fire, the Indian woman opens the abdomen with a mussel shell or with a vigorous bite of her teeth and eviscerates the animal with her fingers. She scrapes off most of the scales with a mussel shell. Then she immediately piles up a thick layer of hot ashes near the flame and puts the fish in a deep bed of these ashes. Sometimes she also puts a single smoldering piece of charcoal on top of it. In this sheath the fish bakes slowly but evenly. When the Indian woman afterwards lifts it out, she scrapes it more carefully than before to get the remaining scales and all the ashes off. I observed the custom mentioned by Hyades (c):142 that "fish and game are partly roasted on the fire and basted with clear water, like all the drinking water" /translated from French/. Only one Indian woman explained to me that this made the meat tastier. The small fish from the schools of herring, ĺiěšči, were usually baked in the hot ashes. Sometimes the Indians prepared a savory morsel in the manner described correctly by Lovisato (b):142: "Sometimes a few small fish are cooked in seal fat or in the pestiferous fat of putrid whale; a Mytilus shell heated in the fire is put inside, and then some hot pebbles are put on top of the fish" /translated from Italian/. This preparation takes somewhat more time, but it is chosen by the people when they know they are free for days from food worries because of the abundant masses of fish.

Birds' eggs, like fish, are always placed in hot ashes. First at least a small hole, sometimes two, are bored in the shell so that it does not burst in the uneven heat. The egg is frequently turned in the hot ashes, but is left there until it is quite hard inside. A Yamana would never eat half-cooked, much less raw eggs (356). BD:68 gives warukěna, "to cook eggs as the natives

356. Lewis has explained this convincingly: "Even eggs are invariably cooked [in the ashes of the fire]. I remember Mrs. Lewis once asking an Indian woman at Ushuaia to find and bring her some wild goose eggs, and to her surprise the woman brought them already cooked" /cited in English/ (MM: XXIV, 84;1890).

/583 cont./

252 do, with great care, in the ashes or embers" /cited in English/.

In the household of the Yamana the fat of mammals plays an important part and is very much in demand (357). The layer

> 357. We often read, as in Bridges (a):213: "Whale-blubber is the most highly esteemed dish, and they soon get very fat on it" /cited in English/.

of fatty tissue which is very thick directly under the skin is /584/ cut off in long strips with mussel shells and hung over tree branches. They are taken down as needed. They are preferably roasted between hot stones because they taste best that way. A rather large flat stone is first heated thoroughly at the fire and set firmly on the ground near the fire. When the second, smaller flat stone also seems hot enough, a thin lappet of fat is laid on the first stone and covered with the second. They are called hapátux. After several minutes the piece is already brown on the outside and well roasted inside. We may add briefly that whale meat is always prepared in this manner, sometimes also that of seals and guanacos, because the fat does not drip out completely nor is the surface scorched. If someone wants a crisp piece of fat, he hangs it up on a small stick driven into the ground near the fire and exposes it to the radiating heat. A great deal of fat drips off which is caught in flat Mytilus shells and sometimes in the large shell of the Voluta snail. The very much shriveled fat tissue tickles the palate of the gourmet. The melted fat, kun, is collected in pieces of sea lion intestines.

For later use the fatty tissue is cut up into short finger-thick strips and stuffed into a piece of gut. The fat melts if it is kneaded between the fingers or exposed to the heat near the fire and in hot ashes. The piece of gut has been previously turned inside out, cleaned, tied shut at one end, filled with air and fastened at the other end with sinews. It is used only after it is dry, and now it is filled with pieces of fat instead of air, or immediately with liquid blubber, and tied shut with sinews. For greater safety, a short, thin little stick, like a sausage skewer, has been stuck into one end, in front of which the threads are wound so that they do not slide out. After the gut has been filled, the

/584 cont./

252 same thing is done at the other end. These blubber sausages, yáiyi, are easy to handle and they are hung up in the hut on strings. Often they are also filled with the fat of seals. Sometimes a larger amount of blubber is collected in the stomach of a sea lion.

Another kind of sausage, known as kéti, is made from the blood that collects in the abdominal cavity of a freshly killed sea lion or guanaco. It is poured into a soft, not yet dried piece of gut which, as we said before, is tied shut and placed in hot ashes. While it is roasting, they poke small holes into it with a small pointed stick, to keep it from bursting. Furthermore, they collect the heart, lungs, liver, the stomach walls cut into pieces, and the blood and fat tissues of a cormorant or wild goose, stuff all these small parts into the alimentary canal of the bird, knead them thoroughly on the outside with the fingers, and let them roast in hot ashes.

The women always have a supply of dried, short pieces of gut in order not to miss the frequent opportunity of collecting blubber. They also save /585/ the large, firm alimentary canal of the álakuš (Tachyeres cinereus) which they have previously blown up and dried. They like this particularly well to fill with blubber because it is easy to get and because it is wider than the alimentary canal of other birds.

262 It is well known that mussels are the chief ingredient in the diet of our Fuegians (358). Other shells and snails, which are

358. Bridges is entirely right when he says: "Mussels are to the Firelanders what bread is to the Englishman -- the staff of life all the year round" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 58; 1876). M'Cormick:I, 315 had already used the same comparison: "Limpets [are] their favorite food, and, as bread is with us, their staff of life" /cited in English/.

found there in much smaller amounts, are also eaten (359). The

359. Hyades (f):563 confirms this: The

/585 cont./

262 mollusks are the one somewhat constant article in the native diet" /translated from French/.

252 The preparation of the double-shelled mussels is a simultaneous steaming and boiling. When the Indian woman tears the mussel loose under water, it shuts its two valves tight; it does the same when it is exposed by low tide. It retains a few drops of sea water inside so that its breathing organs do not dry up. When it is placed in the heat of the fire, these drops are heated inside and finally turn to steam. By the time the force of the steam tears open the locked shells, the meat is tender. Thanks to the slight amount of salt in which it is steeped, it is really very tasty. Snails and crabs, as well as other lower animals, such as chitons, yëkër, are steamed in hot ashes, hence they are drier and nowhere near as tasty as ëzuf and kecoin.

This concludes the list of foods which the Fuegian prepares in a special way. Almost all of them originate in the sea or on the shore. Bove (d):291 thus maintains, very correctly: "The sea furnishes the principal foods of the Fuegians. Fish, limpets, crabs, seals, aquatic birds, in short whatever the sea produces forms part of their diet" /translated from Italian/. In the vegetable kingdom it is only fungi of the Cyttari species which are not often specially prepared, but are dried by being skewered on small sticks, strung up to form a chain, and put near the fire. Fungi gathered in winter and completely frozen are laid near the fire to thaw. Celery roots (Apium australe) are roasted in hot ashes. Only a few things are eaten raw (p. 324).

4. How They Eat

264 The entire conduct of the Fuegians at meals is repulsive to a European. To condemn them for this would be unjust because they are completely deprived of many comforts which are taken for granted by us in our ordered circumstances. Nevertheless, they, too, are guided by certain rules in eating. Sometimes they show extraordinary self-control. Finally, they do not by any means take anything and everything indiscriminately, just to satisfy their voracious appetite or to fill their stomachs.

/586 cont./

262 /untranslated/). If, in a period of great hunger, they would have to eat a fox or an otter (362), they are unreservedly emphatic

> 362. Fitz-Roy (a):184 says that "the otter is valued, excepting the body part, which they seldom eat unless hard pressed by hunger" /cited in English/.

about the sharp, bad taste of the meat. With the exception of the fat and meat of the whale, the Yamana do not touch putrid or moldy meat (363). Of the latter species, the southern whale,

> 363. Fitz-Roy (a):184 maintains, and Lovisato (b):142 uses almost the same words, that "they eat any thing and every thing that is eatable, without being particular as to its state of freshness, or as to its having been near the fire" /cited in English/. This general statement, however, is misleading.

lēmuka (Balaena australis), is most prized because of its tasty meat. On the other hand, the finback, čiyix (Ziphius spec.?), is not touched because its fat has a laxative effect. Fitz-Roy (a):185 asserted that "the fins of a dead whale are esteemed" /cited in English/, but the liver of the whale is rejected. The fat of the large grampus, ēpājačі (Orcinus orca), is thought to be poisonous, and for this reason alone no one touches it.

Our natives are dependent all the year round on mussels and snails, čipīala, and they know very well that these animals are not uniformly tasty at every season. From each small pile that they have gathered, they conscientiously reject the pieces that are not as good as others or even bad. They say that the [753] meat of the large Voluta snail, hēflēn, in certain areas is harmful for the brain; it makes people dizzy, and they lose their balance in walking. Anyone /587/ who observes these symptoms after eating this snail leaves the unfavorable place and warns others. [752] This type of snail, as well as a few other, smaller ones are always put into the fire first, after which the fleshy foot is torn out.

/587 cont./

262 This is all that is eaten; the adjoining soft parts are thrown away. Strangely enough, the Yamana reject the tender meat of the Solen, the evenly shaped shells of which serve them as knife and scraper. Several green and brown algae that White settlers there like to eat are rejected by our natives as a matter of principle.

262 177 Not anything and everything that Europeans like and that they offered the Fuegians was accepted by them. They have to this day very emphatically rejected many things, for example, cow's milk. Other things, such as wine and other alcoholic beverages, they accepted only later. Hence it is not just the taste that makes them decide on one thing or another. Beyond that they reserve for themselves a freedom of choice that cannot be influenced.

262 252 In part this also comes out in the different procedures used in the preparation of individual foods. Above all, meat may never be roasted long enough to become quite dry and hard. They find it most wholesome when it is still red inside. They are always intent on providing themselves whenever possible with their favorite blubber sausages (p. 320), because they do not want to be without blubber, kun, for long. Since they do not have vegetables and spices, they get a little variety into their diet with the liquid blubber. The craving for fat in those damp, cold regions is probably also a factor. A person who wants to eat the berries of Pernettya mucronata or the dry Cyttaria fungi pours oil from the whale or sea lion into a large Mytilus shell and dips each piece into it before putting it into his mouth. In the same manner he eats certain mussels or pieces of meat from birds if the meat is dry and tough. Sometimes the dried Cyttaria fungi are soaked for a longer time in oil. The small lizzi, as well as other fish, after they are baked in ashes, are dipped into the oil before they are eaten. Our Fuegians lack the most necessary items to prepare their food in a somewhat better and more complicated fashion; they are curtailed and impeded in all directions.

Only a few things are regularly eaten raw by them, except when they are in serious distress. This includes berries, especially those of Pernettya mucronata, and all fungi, most of which, like yĕlus, have a spongy meat. They like to pick the large Cyttaria

/587 cont./

darwinii from the beech boughs while it still has a smooth surface. Its texture is then very elastic and pleasant to chew. Old, dry pieces are soaked in blubber shortly before they are eaten. The so-called "tongues," apuj, actually the sex organs of the sea urchin, Ekö (Echinus), are picked out of the broken calcareous shell with the fingers /588/ and immediately eaten; the milky liquid in the shell is drunk also. The abundant iodine content of these parts stimulates the appetite, which is why the Indians often eat them (364). Naturally, they eat all of these things im-

364. Martial:192 reports: "The sea urchin remains their favorite dish and is always eaten 'even when one is not hungry,' our interpreter told us, and willingly demonstrated this rule". /translated from French/. Contrary to the view expressed by Hyades (f):564, we should like to repeat that the above-mentioned parts are always eaten raw.--It is well known that the tongues of sea urchins are regarded as a delicacy in Argentina and Chile and are chiefly eaten raw with all kinds of condiments.

mediately after these animals have been taken out of the sea. The soft meat of Fissurella, [illegible] ([illegible] in the western dialect), and of Patella, [illegible], is squeezed out of the calcareous shell with a slight pressure of the fingers and is eaten without any preparation, except that occasionally the little morsel of fish is dipped into seal blubber. Some people find the raw fat of the young whale tasty. With the exception of the unimportant things mentioned here, every Yamana regularly exposes his food to the fire or the almost equal effect of hot ashes (365).

365. Spears:76 repeats a word from Bridges: "I have never seen or heard of the Yahgans eating any kind of meat or fish raw except certain kinds of limpets" /cited in English/. Previously Snow (a):1, 345 had already

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assured us: "Their common way of cooking is to put everything into the ashes until sufficiently done for their taste, or until their hunger could allow them to wait no longer" /cited in English/. All later observers, for example, Hyades (p):328, vouch for this general rule.

262 Although the Fuegian literally lives from hand to mouth and sometimes finds himself in dire distress, he still shows an astonishing amount of self-control in eating, and this is sometimes forced on him by certain rules. We refer to his duty to cut up the booty he has brought home and let the neighbors share it (p. 314). Moreover, not every individual has free access to a stranded whale, but is content with the pieces that are given him by the chosen distributors (p. 309). Finally there are a few definite food taboos on certain occasions, which everyone observes. A law given by Yoflox says that berries -- actually, only those of Pernettya mucronata -- may not be gathered prematurely, and that they must be left on the bushes until old men declare that they are ripe. If some people should discover favorable spots where there are many berries, they warn their friends and neighbors: "There are many amfim there, but wait until they are ripe!" If, nevertheless, some women and children should look for that place and pick the berries, subsequent visitors will find the bushes empty and will say: "amfin agfiu, the berries have gone away!" This means that the berries removed themselves in revenge and expiation for that forbidden act. Since the culprits are not known, but the bushes are actually stripped of fruit, the entire occurrence is given a superstitious interpretation. /589/ This is supposed to prevent the berries from being picked before they are ripe. At certain times determined by ancient custom, only a little food or only certain things are permitted, as, for instance, during the initiation, during the first menstrual period, after confinement, and so forth. In general everyone adheres to this conscientiously.

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Only occasionally is a person carried away to real immoderation in eating. Anyone who eats hastily and greedily is called Ximja which is anything but respectable. Everyone is supposed to control himself sufficiently in eating so that others always

262 /590 cont./
164 they are capable in other circumstances.

Every traveler has frequent and ready opportunity to observe
264 their conduct while eating. It is anything but beautiful. Usually
252 the individual squats beside the fire and waits until the piece of meat in the embers or ashes is done. He takes it out with a little stick, lets it cool a bit on stones or bits of brush lying about, and picks it up with /591/ both fists. Sometimes the piece is still so hot that he cannot hold it. Even so, he tears off large bites with his strong teeth and swallows them without ostensibly chewing. From a large roast the pieces are torn off more than bitten off and swallowed in sizable chunks. Strangely enough, the Yamana chews very little. This applies also to the sometimes tough meat of birds. He quickly swallows hot morsels that he cannot keep in his mouth and following them sometimes takes a swallow of water or a small lump of snow (272). Since they

272. The Selk'nam have the same habit (Vol. I, 297).

quickly put the too hot morsel into their mouths, they constantly make a sucking sound while they move it around in their mouths.

When the mussels that were shoved onto the embers are done, they burst open by themselves. They are fished out with a little stick and allowed to cool a bit on the ground. Then in one hand the Indian takes the shell to which the meat adheres, holds it horizontally, breaks off the empty shell with his other hand, and with his fingers tears out the meat which he immediately pops into his mouth. Finally he holds the flat mussel shell itself to his lips, since the drops accumulated in it are very tasty, and sucks them in noisily. Snail shells are broken into pieces with a handy stone to expose the roasted contents, and the same is done with the calcareous covering of the tasty sea acorn, lipa (Balanus psittacus).

Blubber sausages and the less common blood sausages are opened at one end, held up to the mouth, and the contents fall in. They place baked fish on the trampled earth and separate them with their fingers, the thumb nails used chiefly. The large crabs, axiya (Lithodes antarctica), as well as mekklun (Paralomis

/101 cont./

vernacular), which are put in hot ashes, steam and cook until they are tender, since the slight amount of water in the shell turns into steam. Then the individual members are broken off, and the meat is removed with a small stick or is sucked out of the shell.

The meat of roasted birds is generally tough. It is grasped with both hands so that individual pieces can be torn off. In eating, the Tamana works only with his hands and fingers; he is not familiar with knives, forks, or spoons. Large drops of blubber and fat often fall off, some of which he catches with his mouth, the rest he licks off with his tongue. He wipes his fat-drenched hands first on his thighs, then on skins or the inside wall of his hut. After what has been said, it is not surprising that his whole body, especially his face, glistens with fat.

Fat from the whale and sea lion is sometimes melted in a shallow mussel shell of *Ipuf* (Mytilus) or *ngPaina* (Venus or Macrra) placed in hot ashes (273). Blubber drippings are also

273. We read in Le Nature:312 that a large mussel shell serves "as plate, as the dish in which fish oil is melted to serve as seasoning" /translated from French/.

caught in it, /102/ as well as in the shell of the Volute snail or on a shoulder blade of a seal. It is immediately drunk or collected in a piece of gut. It is not customary, however, to heat up liquid blubber deliberately. We cannot emphasize too often that the Tamana eat liquid blubber, *hun*, several times a day, but always in small amounts, say, a mouthful (274).

274. Even Spencer:102 noticed that "they drink this, like Scott's Emulsion" /cited in English/.

The meal proceeds very noisily with the common inhaling and smacking of lips. Remnants of food are immediately burned in the nearby fire or thrown to the dogs which lope about obnoxiously and are boldly persistent. While the Indian eats, he is very silent and devotes all his attention to what he is doing.

/475 cont./

and often him what he prefers. She roasts the larger pieces of meat in and beside the fire, bakes and cooks the fish and mussels, crabs, and birds' eggs in her ashes. She also provides drinking water and fetches it herself if none of her daughters is free to do it. Everyone expects her to make the small pieces of jewelry, such as necklaces and anklets.

/476/ Her field of work is the hut. She takes part, together with her husband, even in its construction and repairs damaged places and sections that have been loosened by the wind. She devotes particular attention to the hut fire, guarding it day and night, regulating the radiation of heat and the smouring flames, and seeing to it that the draft comes from the right direction and the smoke quickly drawn off. It is hard to believe how much attention and what numerous manipulations the hut fire demands if it is to benefit every member of the family and not annoy anyone. She prepares the sleeping place for everyone just as he wants it, and from time to time she renews the pallet. A good deal of refuse accumulates in the small living quarters, and the woman sees to it that this is promptly removed. She performs her many manual labors in the hut and in front of it, and she devotes herself tirelessly to the care of her children.

Her second field of activity is the canoe. It is the man's task to build it, but thereafter the care of this important means of transportation is entirely in her hands. She demands that the man make the repairs needed in the course of time, but she alone manages the canoe on the water and guards it on the beach (p.136). Before the family embarks, she gets the canoe ready so that everyone can comfortably pile in his things and easily climb in. She alone takes care of the paddling, which combines rowing and steering, and that is why she regularly takes her place at the stern end. She has previously come to an agreement with her husband as to the destination and the course. He gives her specific directions when he is on the trail of game. She anxiously guards the fire so that there is no danger to the bottom of the canoe, and she trains her children to keep it gently burning. To avoid capsizing, she sees to it that the occupants distribute themselves properly and that heavy pieces of game do not disturb the balance. She is always very conscious of the fact that on the water she alone is responsible for the boat and for her entire family.

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Our Indian woman contributes incomparably more to her family's sustenance than does her neighbor on Isla Grande. This is no exaggeration. One need only keep in mind that the alone gathers the mussels, which for the Yamana are as important as bread for a European. Her gathering activity, which lasts several hours on most days, also extends to snails and crabs, sea urchins and birds' eggs, berries and fungi. She catches many a fish with her fishline and many a young bird in its nest. All these articles of game benefit her whole family. She prepares for roasting the large mammals and the birds which her husband brings to the hut. Since no regular mealtimes are observed, she must serve first this one and then that one. She makes the popular blubber sausages (p. 300) and bakes the appetizing blood sausages in hot ashes. Finally, it is her task to dry Cytaria fungi. Without this varied co-operation of the woman, the menu /877/ of the Yamana would be lamentably monotonous. She shows amazing skill and tireless endurance in obtaining food through the year (p. 281).

With all these manifold duties, there are all kinds of smaller manual tasks. Seal, otter, and guanaco pelts and the skins of birds require a great deal of work. She must stretch, scrape, and, in part, dress them. She makes all the objects of leather and skins, especially bags and pouches, ornaments and toys, and naturally also the little that is used for body covering. For her personal use she needs small baskets and skin pouches. For the latter she chooses the alimentary canal of flakuf (Tachyeres brachypterus) and pieces of seal gut. She works on them during the brief intervals when she is free of other obligations. She looks for and prepares the colored earth for red and white body painting, prepares the fishing lines, and braids the rush hawsers for the canoe and the tendons for various uses (see particularly pp. 90, 196, 201).

If we add all this together, we are amazed and astonished at the extraordinarily extensive and versatile daily achievement of our Indian woman. Superficial travelers took this as a reason for describing her lot as oppressive and undignified, her burden of work as unbearable, and her existence as inhuman (67).

67. Brove (c):127 and (d):292 is one of those Europeans who exaggerate the most: "While

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X881 252 At work here are three to five women who have declared themselves willing to undertake the busy position of a so-called cook. They voluntarily put themselves at the leader's disposal. Although their work is not hard, it demands many sacrifices of them, the most difficult being to relinquish uninterrupted participation in the events in the Great Hut. /838/ These women spend most of their time in their kitchen quarters and meanwhile forgo the entertaining fellowship with the others. Formerly they prepared mussels, crabs, meat, and blubber; today they cook a thick soup of legumes, with mutton if they have it, in a bucket or large metal tub. When these Indians promised to let me take part in my first and second initiations (p. 652, 658), they requested European food and all kinds of extras. The Yamana do not have a special name for the cooks; they are simply makalīku kīpa, that is, "capable, handy women." The cookhut is simply kīpa ēkēr, "hut for the women." In March, 1922, the chief women in the hut were the wife of Pedro and the wife of Calderon, and they were assisted by the two sisters, Gertie and Adelheid. Actually, throughout the whole ceremony, they missed the proceedings in the Great Hut for several hours each day.

X881 252 244 If there should be no volunteers for this kitchen duty, the leader must specifically appoint several persons. He also reminds them of the three meals, which, according to ancient custom, occur in the early morning, at noon, and at twilight. The women are already well aware of this. In modern times these hours are kept automatically since the Indians have become accustomed to them by their routine on the farms. During the initiation, however, they are not too exact; when the women have the food ready, they bring it to the Great Hut where every other activity is immediately cut short. When the cooks have finished their day's work, they take their places in the Great Hut and, along with the rest of the adults, take part in the performances, preferring especially the dances and games in the evening.

Y. Guard Duty

X881 625 Just as inconspicuously as the leader divides the work of building the Great Hut among certain men and the kitchen

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

262 Lothrop (1928, p. 32) rated the relative importance in the *Yahgan* dietary of their foods as follows: (1) Easily of first importance, mussels; (2) next, seals, and fish of many kinds; (3) next, porpoises, gulls, and bird eggs; (4) then, whales, limpets, crabs, sea urchins, geese, penguins, cormorants; (5) last and least, otter (chiefly in the west), guanaco (only in the east), conchs, ducks, berries (especially wild black currants). The fungi eaten were those growing on trees; those growing on the ground were not eaten. Some wild celery and wild parsnips and two varieties of cress and young shoots of tussock grass were also eaten. Foxes were eaten only in famine as a last [263] resort. Salt was not used.

225 **Hunting.**—Seals were hunted with spear or harpoon from canoes or from land (pl. 36), or killed with clubs. Whales were occasionally hunted in the open sea with spear or harpoon; stranded or dead whales were eagerly exploited. Dogs helped in otter and fox hunting. 223 Cormorants were taken at night by torchlight with clubs; also with a pronged wooden gorge hook. Birds were taken with pole snares (fig. 11, *d*) and with single or multiple tether snares of sinew or whalebone. No lifting pole snares, deadfalls, or pitfalls are reported.

226 **Fishing and sea-food gathering.**—Mussels were gathered by hand; limpets, with a flat-ended stick; sea urchins, with a four-pronged wooden fork; crabs and other Crustacea, with a harpoon or a three-pronged stick. For taking sea food, the *Yahgan* also used a spear with two diverging shanks, or two to four spears lashed together. Women fished with a kelp-stem or braided whale-sinew line, that had a slipknot of whalebone or of quill at the end, instead of a hook, to hold the bait; slowly drawing the fish to the surface, they would grab it by hand. Fishhooks were probably lacking. Weirs of branches or stakes were used. True fish nets were absent. The nearest approach thereto was a small basket attached to the end of a pole and used as a sort of dip net for diminutive fish.

251 **Food storage.**—Limited quantities of dried tree fungi were stored; so too was oil, especially whale and seal oil.

415 **Food preparation and eating.**—Large mussel shells were used for melting fat and holding grease. Water was heated and grease melted [252] by throwing hot stones into them, but there is no record of stone boiling proper.

Shells of large mussels were sometimes used as plates; shells or bark buckets as cups; hollow bird bones or reeds as drinking tubes.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

361 There were no permanent villages. Certain groups of natives re-
621 lated apparently by blood and marriage frequented and occupied more or less fixed separate localities within the respective five sub-

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182 with Spears:57: "One may doubt whether the Yahgan canoe shows greater ingenuity than Yahgan weapons and implements for obtaining food do" /cited in English/.

them to give up their material culture! If interrogated, they justify their adherence to the old, their preservation of the things inherited from their fathers, on the grounds that they suffice perfectly for their modest needs and the necessities of their life. The form and construction of their tools represent maximum efficiency within the framework of what is available to them. With these material means they have made their lives comfortable, pleasant, and humanly dignified. The words of Despard (b):680 with regard to the merits of the bark canoe apply absolutely to all their utensils: "Yet no improvements are thought of; what served the father serves the son for a pattern, and would never be departed from for a thousand generations" /cited in English/. They have taken over infinitesimally little from Europeans -- iron, for example. The basic form of their implements has remained unchanged for many centuries.

E. Obtaining Food

181 261 The Indian's sole and vital care is centered on the necessary food; his thought and concern day and night are on his subsistence. If he has an exceptionally abundant supply, he feels extraordinarily relieved, and free of care, he abandons himself /512/ to always desired rest. Ordinarily, however, the threat of hunger keeps him on the move day after day, forces him to abandon his hut and change his camp, goads him to a canoe trip or a journey on foot, all depending on whether the prospect of booty beckons here or there (228).

228. According to Despard (b):679, these Indians live only for the business of obtaining food: "The great want with them

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is of food, naturally; and their habits are formed with a view to supply it, and all their implements are to serve in procuring it...Hence are they constantly roaming" /cited in English/.

Food gathering in the widest sense of the term is, after all, the sole and true occupation of our natives. If this exertion were not always obligatory and without exception unavoidable for everyone, there would be great danger that their physical and spiritual well-being would languish. Their work never leads to weakness or to a lessening of their ability. Quite the contrary, despite weariness and exhaustion, despite strain and extreme exertion which are sometimes recurrent, the man's hunting and the woman's collecting are so attractive and stimulating, so satisfying and filled with success for the victor, that these things alone make every adult uncomplainingly accept the unavoidable hardships of making a living, and this decreases the pressure of their cares about their daily food. This strain is further reduced by the unfailing prospect of their always finding, here or there and relatively easily, what is absolutely necessary.

462 Both sexes contribute their share to the support of the family, which consists of father, mother, and children. Not everyone contributes to the same extent, however, but in the manner appropriate to his sex. The woman more than the man is tied down by unavoidable duties in her hut where she must take care of the welfare of her children. What the man accomplishes in one field, she does in another; both partners are, on the whole, provided equally with obligations, and their co-operation assures the well-being of the individual family.

Even at first glance it seems natural for the man to take over the exertions of the hunt requiring strength and for the woman to busy herself with the easier collecting of smaller things (229).

229. Hyades (h):23 has clearly pointed out this division of labor: "Everything connected with the hunt and even the cutting up of the dead animal is the exclusive occupation of the man, just as we have seen that fishing is

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thongs, sometimes the man slips, lets go his hold, and falls into the surging sea below" /cited in English/.

presses them, they decide to do it (250) and admonish each other

250. Similar descriptions of this type of cormorant hunting are given by Bridges (in VSA:XIII, 214; 1866 and in MM:XIII, 156; 1879), Dabbene (b):186, Hyades (h):39 and (q):359, Outes (g):53, and others.

to be particularly cautious.

In this connection the hunter must count on another difficulty which sometimes puts him in the greatest danger. His wife must row him to those high rock walls or low flat stones on which he plans to hunt the cormorant. He lands during the day and keeps hidden until evening when the birds are expected to come back to their nests. Meanwhile the wife in the canoe has gone back to a safe inlet on another island, but has left her husband some meat and drinking water. Woe unto him if bad weather suddenly sets in, and he is detained longer than expected at this place. "Many days may pass before his wife can venture to cross over the islet to take him off. The solitary man then husbands to the utmost his limited supply of fresh water. The rising billows nearly overflow the islet, sometimes quite so, and threaten to wash him away, and the spray keeps him thoroughly wet. I have [261 271] heard of very distressing cases, when the men have had to drink shag's blood and to eat them raw, and when they have nearly perished with the cold" /cited in English/. This description by Bridges (MM:XIII, 158;1879), drawn from reality, makes us realize the many dangers and sacrifices that the Yamana encounter on their hunt for cormorants. His accurate knowledge of the region and his sure estimate of the weather, however, stand him in good stead, hence he never recklessly plunges into danger (see Hyades [q]:360).

These birds even spend the night on the stronger trees that grow near the water's edge and are easy to reach. Such trees

/555 cont./

262 the year round abundant /cited in English/ (MM:III,116;1869). He is saying a little too much in the first part of this statement.

not in a position to give all of these their exact botanical names. It is very remarkable that he eats only those that grow on trees, never those growing on the ground. Each species matures in one particular month, which is why the Indian could at any time give himself a little variety in his monotonous meat diet by using fungi. "Fungi of many kinds are also all the year round much used as food, different kinds coming in at different seasons" /cited in English/ (Bridges [a]:213).

222 262 It is left to each individual to hunt occasionally for a few fungi whenever he feels like it. The only ones actually gathered are the very common Cyttaria darwinii which are strung up on [25] small sticks in the hut and kept for a time in a dried state. Bridges (MM:VII,121;1873) is obviously exaggerating when he attaches special significance to fungi in the daily household of the Yamana. [26] When there is a famine, however, the people use fungi to help out as long as they can find them. Aspinall:270 expresses himself more accurately when he speaks of the individual foods in order of their importance: "For their subsistence [these Indians] are dependent solely on the hunt; /556/ in an emergency they content themselves with a diet of mussels. Digestive difficulties that may result from this are healed with a diet of fungi." Fungi are neither more nor less than a rare, occasional addition to the main diet.

222 2. Berries. It is obvious that the Yamana can enjoy berries, amáim, for only a few weeks. The most common are amáiiugurž, the fruit of Pernettya mucronata which sometimes covers extensive areas in the form of a low shrub (Fig. 12 /untranslated; see foreign text, p. 121/). In spite of the hard points on the leaves, women and girls move through the bushes and pick the ripe crimson berries, gather them in their little baskets, and take them to their hut. Less common in that region is the /Fig. 67 appears here/ smaller Pernettya pumila (Fig. 67), the fruit of which is called ǩanamáim, and the somewhat taller Empetrum rubrum, ašána, the fruit of which is known as šépisamáim. These two bushes have only small fruits which attract the Indians less.

231 /568/ It is not only the excitable animosity of Fuegian dogs
177 that exceedingly provokes every European, but even more their mania for destruction and their voraciousness. They enter all buildings craftily and unobserved, plunder storage houses, and rummage through every corner. They enjoy attacking herds of sheep and goats. In order finally to get rid of these burdensome creatures, the White settlers poisoned and shot some and took others alive from the Indians in exchange for European breeds. Since all these bred unselectively among each other, the strangest mixtures resulted. With the decrease in the Indian population, however, they, too, are constantly decreasing and will disappear entirely along with the last Yamana.

F. Treatment of Foodstuffs

261 The little corner of earth that was destined as the home of the Yamana is poor in natural products. This in itself is responsible for many limitations in their means of livelihood. The natives have no choice but to be content with the little that harsh and parsimonious nature has provided for them. Unassuming as they are, they yield to the external pressure that has disciplined them to an amazing state of contentment and humility. Their attitude, however, is far from being one of dull insensibility. Our Indians have by no means lost all freedom of choice and will never, like a badly trained animal, fill their hungry stomachs indiscriminately with anything and everything that is at hand.

The Yamana is more favorably situated than the Selk'nam, because the sea offers more lavish gifts than the interior. Hence he differentiates more than the Selk'nam and shows himself more particular in his choice. He has his own guides and principles that lead him in his selection of food. They are primarily determined
[272 by taste, but not entirely, for the Fuegians consistently refuse
177] milk, for example, which they could easily obtain from White settlers, and they have adopted other items of European food only after a long period of resistance. In times of distressing hunger they also take things out of necessity which they would decidedly scorn in ordinary life.

/574 cont./

271 465 881

any. The candidates in the čiexaus, however, must use the tube each time, and toward the end of their probation they are instructed to go on using it. The little tube probably did not originate solely as a precaution against the cold water. It is also used in the hut when someone has brought in water in the large Voluta shell or in a leather pouch. This pouch is exactly like the one used by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, Figs. 71 and 72) and here as well as there is made out of the stiff leather of an old male seal. Other water dippers or containers that hold the contents as safely as does the Voluta shell are not used by the Yamana.

261 731

The Yamana, especially those in the border regions, are never at any time of the year safe from the threatening specter of hunger. It would be entirely incorrect to interpret the references of a few travelers to mean that misery overtakes the entire tribe more or less constantly (341). Famine actually cannot

341. The assertion of Outes (g):56 that "during the winter when the coasts become inaccessible, many victims of hunger perish" /translated from Spanish/ is inaccurate.

appear there as a general phenomenon; lack of food overtakes individual families only temporarily, that is, for a few days. The most common cause is such stormy weather with an angry sea for several days that a family cannot leave the place where they are in order to look for food elsewhere. When their few provisions are used up -- and that happens very quickly, since there is never a thought of stocking up -- trouble begins if all the sources on the spot are exhausted and calamitous natural forces put a stop to further travel. This fate will overtake a family, for example, who has fled to an island or been detained on a small island where birds do not alight and where the coast falls off abruptly. In most places on the Cape Horn Archipelago they find at least medium-sized and small mussels which are temporarily laid bare by low tide, even in bad weather. In some places they can make shift with fungi. "When bad weather lasts a long time, fishing becomes impossible and resources, always very small, are quickly exhausted; then they eat fungi which are found abundantly on beech trees" /translated from French/ (Martial:193).

/574 cont./

261 This shows that individual families may be in danger of
731 having to suffer hunger at any time during the year, but only in certain places (342). A family may suffer dire distress for

342. Despard (b):680 says very definitely: "Occasionally, through stress of weather in winter, they suffer hunger, but from their fat lookes /sic/, one would judge these painful occasions are rare" /cited in English/.

another, but far less frequent reason, when they lose their canoe and do not make immediate contact with their own people. There are places where the available food /575/ animals are quickly exhausted, and whoever cannot leave such a place in time must be prepared to suffer hunger. Formerly, when this Indian tribe was more numerous, canoes were everywhere actively moving about; an abandoned family immediately summoned help by means of the customary smoke signals and was soon relieved. Finally, in most recent times, the food supplies of a family could become scarce when the family was struck by an epidemic. Children especially were in a serious situation when their parents or adult relatives were prevented from hunting for food because of illness. Neighbors, of course, were glad to help out, but even so, the days of bitter want sometimes continued for a while. It was probably very seldom, if at all, that a Yamana died of hunger alone.

261 Hyades (g):34 has described how the Indians behave in such difficulties. In times of food scarcity "if chance does not let them find a dead seal or a stranded whale on the shore, it means, of course, fasting. Then they lie motionless in their huts around the smoldering fire and get up only if fresh firewood is needed. If their hunger grows too intense, they gather the roots of Armeria magellanica (343) on the beach, and although these contain

343. Sometimes also dandelion leaves (Taraxacum). They want this, above all, to suppress the feeling of hunger. Compare Outes (g):53 and Hyades (f):564.

/575 cont./

261 almost no food value, they stuff their rumbling stomachs with them. Fortunately, snow storms (344) such that make any outside

> 344. A much greater impediment than snowstorms is the agitated sea when meter-high waves roll up from the south and churn up the water even in remote channels.

activity impossible seldom last more than three or four days, and that, after all, can be endured. In such periods of fasting the people quickly become emaciated, but as soon as they have enough food they recover almost as quickly, and then they can eat quite surprising quantities of meat." Sometimes the emergency can reach such a point that the people begin to chew pieces of leather. Darwin (d):245 ventured the false assertion [266] that "if in winter they are plagued with hunger, they would sooner kill and eat their old women than slaughter their dogs." The reliable Bridges (h):206 (345) and later Hyades (q):339

> 345. He specified: "There have been occasions of extreme hunger, when bad weather kept them from obtaining provisions from the forest, shore, or sea, during which they ate their leather shoes and thongs, but no one thought of proposing the eating of human flesh" /translated from Spanish/.

both very definitely disagreed with this. The Indians, however, [674] do steal from any European settled there if they are unable to obtain the most necessary food in any other way (346). When the

> 346. Bridges (e):333, for example, concedes this: "The natives killed some cattle and goats, and they steal crops from the fields; still, one is surprised at the limited extent of their thefts, if one considers the half-starved state in which they live."

261 /575 cont./
days of need are over, they recover /576/ surprisingly fast; serious after-effects or a weakening of their health scarcely ever appear. Habit has taught them how best to overcome the brief periods of hunger without harm.

262 439 Ever since the Yamana have had easy access to the various farms, they have bartered there for all kinds of European food and luxuries, such as sugar and wine, coffee and tea, onions, canned tomatoes, and other things. They also acquired cooking pots, in which they prepare our foods so that they are reasonably tasty. This strange diet, however, is not good for their health. [144] Besides toothache, other physical ailments appear, which the people in olden times were fortunately spared despite all kinds of deprivations.

2. How They Divide the Booty

225 We must insert here a few data about the way in which larger pieces of game are used. On the one hand we shall mention obligations of a social nature, for which we shall later give more detailed reasons. On the other hand, the receipt of a gift cannot be compared with ordinary food-getting. Since, however, in the case of the most important animals hunted, namely, seals and whales, there is a definite obligation to let others share it, we shall most conveniently describe here the prevailing custom.

Every local group greets with indescribable rejoicing a whale that has been driven inland or deposited on the beach. Dense swarms of sea birds announce this extraordinary gift of nature. According to the general conception, any man who has first seen or touched the whale is the owner of it, not, however, in the sense that he alone may eat of this animal, the enormous masses of which he would, in any case, be incapable of coping with, but only insofar as it is up to him to arrange an orderly distribution (347).

347. From an earlier period when whales were still plentiful Bridges (a):208 reported: "Certain persons, those who first found the whale, have the right to distribute it" /cited in English/.

/593 cont./

264 pokes into them with a little stick, constantly shifting the glowing embers or piling the hot ashes higher. He gets particular pleasure out of entertaining himself in this way, until he can give himself up completely to enjoying them. When the pieces are done and have proved to be very delicious, he clicks his tongue with delight and lets everybody around him know in what gluttonous ecstasy he is feasting. During the trip in the canoe every occupant must cautiously move up to the small fire, and one moves away when another person wants to roast something for himself. The woman, whose duty it is to do the rowing, must regularly go without food for hours, but she makes up for it later on the beach. If circumstances make it imperative -- usu-
• 261 ally it is bad weather -- everyone can get along all right without
147 food for considerable time. On the other hand, if one finds himself with a great abundance, he can consume almost incalculable amounts. A person can gain weight quickly, but he can just as quickly grow thin again; one can best trace these changes in children over a period of a few days. Their health apparently does not suffer, however (380).

380. Lothrop (c):303 has expressed some conjectures about the relation between diet and physical size in Tierra del Fuego, but he cites only inadequate observations which are not sustained by actual facts.

264 In conclusion, it becomes clear from certain customs that the Fuegian is guided by definite rules in eating. For example,
151 he does not bother with very dirty meat, but throws it away without further ado. Something that has been nibbled at by a dog he angrily lets him have. /594/ He removes decaying pieces of meat as far as possible from his hut, whereas he does not seem to have any feeling about melting fat or moldy skins. His sense of smell is unquestionably very much dulled, and he never holds a doubtful piece up to his nose. Anything that has become putrid has to give off a vile odor before he will remove it. He is certainly not clean in eating and in his ways. Nevertheless, one person will prove to be more of a greedy gourmet, the other less. He knows the tastier pieces and the juicier morsels and chooses

/594 cont./

264 these if possible. The tender meat of young animals tickles his
151 palate, and the height of ecstacy for him is the nicely browned fat of a whale that has been stranded for some time. There are many things that conclusively prove that a Fuegian's taste is by no means insensible or dulled, no matter how uniform the taste of everything that he eats on account of so much blubber.

5. How They Store Food

251 The unsettled way of life and their uninterrupted changes of
261 dwelling do not permit the Yamana to lay in large supplies. The general statement of Hyades (d):306 "They do not make any provision for the future" /translated from French/, applies without qualification, since they do not strive to provide for the immediate or the distant future. A decisive factor may be that food does not keep in that arbitrarily inclement weather, and in order to preserve it, one would have to go through all kinds of complicated preparations. All this is superfluous, because throughout the entire year and with almost limitless generosity the sea puts all kinds of animals at the disposal of the man who hunts and the woman who gathers. Storm or accident will deprive a family of these things for no more than a few days. Generally no one need reckon with the danger of hunger, and everyone almost anywhere finds an abundance of what he needs (381).

381. Bridges' (h):205 brief statement says a great deal: "In general, food is abundant" /translated from Spanish/.

Why, then, should anyone worry about food for the future (382)!

382. Hyades (g):34 writes: "The most wonderful thing about the Fuegians is that they never think of providing for the next day. And yet winter is severe enough and there are by no means few periods when the Fuegian can neither hunt nor fish nor even pick up mussels on the rocks

/594 cont./

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pounded by the surf." He is obviously exaggerating the dangers of hunger and distress to which these natives on Cape Horn are exposed.

Nevertheless, the surplus that is left over for the people by a stranded whale is regularly stored, simply because they do not like to let the huge masses of fat and meat spoil and because they would like to give themselves the great treat of roasted whale fat another time. It would be utterly erroneous to see in this endeavor any specific provision, /595/ for, if the stranded animal is young and the number of people that have hastened to it is unusually large, all the fat and all the meat are consumed within a few days, the only exception being that some family or another will carry a few pieces around with them somewhat longer. Thus, they save only what the individual families cannot and do not wish to consume in the vicinity of the whale. The consumption of the fat and meat of this animal exclusively is wholesome for the human body only for a certain length of time.

251 Most of the people transport the entire canoe-load to their home area. Here they put the large pieces in a swamp with good drainage and secure them well between the tangles of peat and roots at a certain depth. The dark-brown water excludes light and air. To prevent them from being washed up, they are weighted down with flat stones or logs, which also protects them from foxes and dogs. Undoubtedly the abundance of soluble salt acts as a preservative, and the tannic acid probably also helps. The pieces put down are never so thick that they cannot be completely soaked and pickled. It is clear that this produces an improvement in the flavor. The natives justifiably praise the advantages of conserved fat, even if it has lain in the swamp for several months (383). Occasionally, if chance permits, the

383. Fred Lawrence found a piece that had lain in the swamp for a year and a half still tasty. Our Indians know that their preserves are safe in it for a long time. "They hoard up the blubber for months by burying it in mud

/395 cont./

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thus cured, and eaten some months after it has been out of season" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (q):340.

conveniently in small baskets and leather bags, they are stripped off the little sticks and /396/ left as they are or made into a wreath on a few flexible rush stalks (Marippospermum). Since they have been baked until they are quite hard, they resist the dampness of the air for a long time. Before they are eaten, they are soaked in liquid blubber (p. 324). For the final weeks of winter the woman keeps about 50 or 60 of these dried fungi, but only as a delicacy, not out of foresight, since fresh ones can be picked almost all the year round and no one wants to burden himself with them for long.

261

Basically our Fuegians know that they need not fear for the future, hence they do not pile up supplies. Year in and year out they can look forward to the next day, free of care. Despite all the monotony of their food, they always have an abundant amount at their disposal. At the same time, many a change and stimulus for the palate are afforded, for everyone has unimpeded access to anything and everything that Mother Nature is in a position to offer from her animal and vegetable kingdom (388).

388. It is only in this sense that we can interpret what Hyades (p):328 says, namely, that "there are never preferred foods" /translated from French/.

In order to characterize briefly the value of their diet according to vitamin content, I should like to remind the reader that the A-vitamins, the so-called anti-xerophthalmic vitamins, occur abundantly in liver oil. Blubber, as is well known, has by far the greatest amount of vitamin A, namely, 300 times as much as butter fat, besides a great deal of the anti-rachitic D-vitamins. Several animal tissues furnish the anti-scorbutic C-vitamins, as well as the anti-neuritic B-vitamins.

146

22 /266/ Natural conditions have an overwhelming effect in shaping and determining the form of the material culture of the Yamana. This is equally true of the neighboring Selk'nam /Ona/ (Vol. I, 192). Since the indispensable conditions for gardening and farming, as well as for animal husbandry, are lacking, they can only be simple gatherers or hunters with a nomadenary way of life. They practice the nomadism of a people at home on the water and along the shores. Less than fishermen, more than hunters or gatherers, they are engaged in obtaining food and are, therefore, appropriately referred to as "water nomads." Almost all day long they travel in their canoes along the intricate water channels or hunt on the shore. When they are not doing that, they squat in the hut, which is always erected on the shore near the water line. Only occasionally and for special purposes do they leave the shore and push inland to the center of the island. The surface of the water and the narrow strip of coast are the field of action and the sphere of life for the Yamana. Whatever they encounter here in the form of plants and animals determines their economic activity and is indispensable for their standard of living. The large sea mammals, the indigenous species of seals and whales, play the most important role. Sea otters and sea birds are to less important. Finally, from among the lower animals, nothing could rival the mussels and large crabs. Hunting and gathering these things constitute the chief part of the economic activity of the Yamana. *[262] The vegetable kingdom offers practically nothing, hence our natives rely exclusively on a meat diet.

422 The vegetable kingdom and the products of the hunt furnish the raw materials for their property in goods. As a matter of principle, these possessions are of such a nature that they not only do not impede unrestricted wandering, but ensure the acquisition of everything needed for subsistence and, above all, facilitate hunting and gathering. All their property is limited to what is absolutely essential. As such, this is so little that a demanding, civilized human being marvels at such perfected self-sufficiency. This is a result of the fact that every item beyond the limit of what is indispensable would be a burden that would become more grievously oppressive the longer one carried it around.

3B2 Preparedness for uninterrupted movement precludes fixed dwellings from the outset, either in the form of individual establishments or community settlements. A loose, carelessly constructed hut served as shelter for a night or for a few days.

/487 cont./

223 224 long, slender shaft furnished with a "running loop of whalebone" /translated from French/. The end piece is attached to the tip of the shaft by a knot in the lashing of sinew. It is surprising that this whalebone noose, [illegible], is put together with two pieces, a long one and a short one. The two run side by side for a few centimeters and are lashed with sinews; the short one ends in a small loop-knot. We also find this same overlapping in every one of the whalebone loops on the long snare-line of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 282), whereas on that of our Yamana each whalebone loop is one strip only (Fig. 50). A [illegible] consisting of two parts is more effective and more durable; our Yamana are convinced of that. But why they do not use these two-part loops on the long snare-line no one could tell me. Probably the people avoid the greater effort, since the work of making a snare-line is laborious enough.

[171]

223 We need not explain specifically how this snare-end is used. It is, of course, put forward unnoticed by a man hidden in a suitable spot, drawn over the head of a bird, and immediately pulled in with a sharp jerk. The principle of the noose is exactly the same as in the case of the long snare-line. The natives even use a single whalebone noose without any kind of shaft to catch birds. Herewith we have adequately described and characterized the threefold way in which the whalebone snare is used by the Yamana.

V. Mussel Pick, Mussel Breaker, Crab Pick

226 [243] The shellfish of the sea have the same importance for the diet of our Fuegian as bread, for instance, has for the European. Many of them he can gather on the beach, others he must take out of the water. The two types of mussels which are found there, namely [illegible] (Mytilus chilensis) and [illegible] (Mytilus edulis), occur in vast quantities. They are larger and tastier the more abundantly they are covered with water even at lowest ebb tide and the stronger the current is that swirls around them back and forth. It would be impossible to pry these animals loose with one's hand, as one can, for instance, the smaller and less tasty ones that every ebb tide uncovers.

/[illegible] cont./

224 the lessons each individual shell, breaks it off from the place where it is lodged, and lifts it up. The tunnel fork almost always lies in the front part of the canoe between the harpoons and spears of the husband, since it is valued here.

227/228 When the Indian woman, walking on the uncovered sea-floor at ebb tide or wading in the water, breaks off the [illegible] if she uses a pointed stick which I call the tunnel breaker (Fig. 42). This is nothing more than a sturdy stem or thick branch of Barbaris dielitia. The husband makes it for his wife. He removes the twigs smoothly but leaves the bark, since its rough surface always assures the hand a firm grip, no matter how thoroughly the stick is soaked with sea water. It was just mentioned that the wood of this bush is very tough, yet soft and pliable. Another type of wood would seldom stand the strain of the springy movements which are necessary to pry off the tunnels. At the bottom the tunnel breaker is cut off in the shape of a chisel and with a dull edge so that it can easily dig deeply enough into the clustered accumulations of tunnels. The woman is very adept at handling it effectively.

/229/ If she does not happen to have it, she reaches for a /Fig. 42 appears here/ stick the length of an arm which she cuts to a short, dull point. With this wedge she pokes into the clusters of tunnels, moving the upper free end back and forth until the individual animals are loosened.

226 The very tasty oysters are also appreciated by the Tatanua as a delicacy. We refer to the large oyster (Ostrea cucullata) and the small oyster (Pecten [illegible]). These animals are found there in considerable numbers and constantly move up and down the coast on the sea floor according to the movements of ebb and flow. They are always, however, under a considerable amount of water. The natives are not always successful in diving to catch them because they stay in the depths and seek to escape. Hence a long implement has been invented which is quite suitable to call a crab fork and which the Tatanua call [illegible] (Fig. 43). Its basic form corresponds precisely to the

Fig. 42.
Tunnel Breaker.

/553 cont./

23/ kept alive; otherwise it is one day devoured. This explains why in early summer in the hum of the Indians we find at least half a dozen young birds, all very familiar with each other, although they usually belong to different species. They belong to the family (298), so to speak, and are a plaything for children.

> 298. Lothrop (b):159 "has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed" /cited in English/.

β. Food From the Vegetable Kingdom

262 The inclement weather of the Cape Horn Archipelago permits only a few types of plants to reach maturity, and the soil yields only a very few things that the Indian can use for food. A vegetable diet has no basic significance for them. It would be inaccurate to speak of actual subsistence on the vegetable kingdom. The Indian gets only a small taste from it now and then, which, as such, is monotonous and, in /554/ comparison with his meat consumption, quite unimportant (299). Mother Nature

> 299. Fitz-Roy (a):185 expressed himself very definitely on this point: "Of vegetable food they have very little: a few berries, cranberries, and those which grow on the arbutus, and a kind of fungus which is found on the birch-tree, being the only corn used" /cited in English/.

voluntarily offers him fungi and berries of various kinds, and these, as we realize, are mere condiments. They are gathered 263 only by women and girls; men strip off a few fruits in passing and immediately pop them into their mouths without any kind of preparation.

222 262 1. Fungi. If we consider the conditions of vegetation in the Tierra region, we are not surprised to find a great abundance of mushrooms and fungi there. /Fig. 66 appears here./ There are no very poisonous kinds. Some are spongy; others have a woody

222 /554 cont./
[262] texture. These do not tempt the Indian since the supply of tasty fungi is large enough as it is, and he does not care for them particularly. Everywhere one finds goodly quantities of a few Cyttaria species, among which Cyttaria darwinii Berk. is the most common. The latter is in general known as ēsēf; when it is ripe it is called auácix. It grows on the protuberances or excrescences (Fig. 66) of a particular spot on the beech branch, known as amāif or ēsamāif. Each of these fungi reaches the size of a green, unripe walnut and is absolutely round and yellowish-white. One is right next to another, and they break off at the slightest touch. Women and girls break them off from the branches they can reach with their arms. After they have combed a particular area of the forest for them, the woman asks her grown son or even her husband to help her gather the ones on the higher branches. For decency's sake females are not permitted to climb trees or walk over branches; the men are called in to do this. The latter pick the fungi with their hands and toss them down, or they pick them off with their toes and drop them. Women gather them up and carry them in little baskets to the hut (300).

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Fig. 66. Beech Branch with Growth. One-half natural size.

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300. Bridges (MM:VII, 120;1873) once mentions that an adult male Yamana gathered these fungi and brought them to the camp. If he was alone in doing this, it is a rare and exceptional case.

222 With the exception of the brief period of mid-summer, the Cyttaria darwinii are always found on trees and are edible in any

/554 cont./

222 phase of development during all the other months (301).

301. Outes (g):52 has collected descriptions of this type of fungus from the pens of several observers. In addition to this there are data by Spencer: 64, 100, 103.

/555/ A less widespread variety, and fully matured only in the autumn, is aśim, Cyttaria harioti F. BD:46 writes ōšuyim, "a small dark brown pear-shaped fungus which grow in clusters out of an excrescence which forms on the wood like a band" /cited in English/. This yellowish-brown, pear-shaped fungus, ranging in size from an orange seed to the seed of a small wild cherry, appears in rows on thin branches of the Antarctic beech. One can very easily strip off the whole row with one's half-closed hand and catch them in a small basket. The black uškēyon mēma (Cyttaria hookeri Berk.) is still smaller, the shape and size of a grape seed. It likewise forms on beech branches in rows.

[162] Although women and girls like to pick these two kinds, it is not their habit to gather them and bring them to the hut; they eat a few handfuls on the spot. The men do likewise, but less often. The aśim (Cyttaria haroti) is much preferred to the other.

Other types of fungi are of less importance to the Indian woman than ēsēf (Cyttaria darwinii). The latter is easy to obtain along the edge of the forest, whereas the other kinds are to be found chiefly or almost exclusively inside, in dark shade and in thickets. Women almost never go that far, or perhaps only to fetch wood, but they almost never go deep into the forest just to gather fungi. The large tree fungi, śman, are valued the most as long as they are still soft and meaty, and among these yēlus above all, which, according to BD:649, is "a soft, watery, and large flesh-colored fungus" /cited in English/.

262 The Fuegian eats about ten kinds of fungi (302), but I am

302. Bridges mentions "one very important item in the food of these people, which is fungus, of which there are about twenty varieties, some one or more of which are all

/555 cont./

262

> the year round abundant /cited in English/ (MM:III, 116;1869). He is saying a little too much in the first part of this statement.

not in a position to give all of these their exact botanical names. It is very remarkable that he eats only those that grow on trees, never those growing on the ground. Each species matures in one particular month, which is why the Indian could at any time give himself a little variety in his monotonous meat diet by using fungi. "Fungi of many kinds are also all the year round much used as food, different kinds coming in at different seasons" /cited in English/ (Bridges [a]:213).

222 262 It is left to each individual to hunt occasionally for a few fungi whenever he feels like it. The only ones actually gathered are the very common Cyttaria darwinii which are strung up on [251] small sticks in the hut and kept for a time in a dried state. Bridges (MM:VII, 121;1873) is obviously exaggerating when he attaches special significance to fungi in the daily household of the Yamana. [261] When there is a famine, however, the people use fungi to help out as long as they can find them. Aspinall:270 expresses himself more accurately when he speaks of the individual foods in order of their importance: "For their subsistence [these Indians] are dependent solely on the hunt; /556/ in an emergency they content themselves with a diet of mussels. Digestive difficulties that may result from this are healed with a diet of fungi." Fungi are neither more nor less than a rare, occasional addition to the main diet.

222 2. Berries. It is obvious that the Yamana can enjoy berries, amǎim, for only a few weeks. The most common are amǎiiǎgurǎ, the fruit of Pernettya mucronata which sometimes covers extensive areas in the form of a low shrub (Fig. 12 /untranslated; see foreign text, p. 121/). In spite of the hard points on the leaves, women and girls move through the bushes and pick the ripe crimson berries, gather them in their little baskets, and take them to their hut. Less common in that region is the /Fig. 67 appears here/ smaller Pernettya pumila (Fig. 67), the fruit of which is called ǎanamǎim, and the somewhat taller Empetrum rubrum, aǎna, the fruit of which is known as ǎpisamǎim. These two bushes have only small fruits which attract the Indians less.

/556 cont./

222 The ripe berries of Berberis buxifolia, hūmërž amāin, taste good and are much sweeter than the berries of Berberis ilicifolia, čeljamāim. The former are easy to strip from the small twigs by hand and gather into a basket. An Indian woman would not bring home large quantities of these berries because a handful of them is all that anyone wants, but anyone who happens to pass these bushes strips off several berries and eats them immediately.

The small Rubus geoides, one of the Rosaceae, creeps along the ground in light patches of the forest and on the edge of it. Its fruit, pálaxlačix, which ripens in late summer, resembles a raspberry in size, shape, and color, but is less sweet. Women pick these also, but only when they are gathering šepisamāim and

[137]

Fig. 67. Pernettya pumila. Natural size.

amāirogurž and inevitably come across isolated fruits of Rubus geoides. Our Indians do not have a taste for the fruits of Myrtus nummularia, but they like to pick the easily obtainable hūpusamāim, the clusters of the hūpuž bush (Ribes magellanicum), which likes the light and grows chiefly on the edge of the forest.

/557/ This concludes the list of the berries that are considered at all edible in the region of the Yamana. The fruits of Gunnera magellanica, for example, have almost no meat, and therefore no one touches these tūxalamāim. This is also true of the small fruits of other species.

262 3. Other Plants. Other products of the vegetable kingdom can be regarded as actual food to an even lesser extent than is true of fungi and berries (303), but there are a very few plants, as

303. Bridges' (k):227 way of expressing himself is therefore misleading: "The

/557 cont./

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> natives use the following plants for food: the roots and leaves of the uryata, and the roots of the ouwunin and yeshama" /translated from Spanish/. These are not food in the true sense of the word.

Hariot:402 correctly explains, "that the natives eat only in case of absolute necessity" /translated from French/. Among these are, first of all, ēwánim (Osmorrhiza chilensis), the roots of which are gathered by women and girls during times when food is scarce, as well as yēxama (Armeria chilensis), and finally wīyata (Taraxacum magellanicum). With the roots of the first two (304)

> 304. These two plants are meant when Bridges says: "The roots of sea anemonies, and of a plant resembling parsnip, are much used for food and are generally baked" /cited in English/ (VP:XIII, 214; 1866).

[752]

and the leaves of the last mentioned the Indians appease their hunger (305). Of the two species first mentioned Bridges main-

> 305. Despard mentioned incidentally: "Today the natives gathered and ate large quantities, unwashed and raw, of a species of dandelion [Taraxacum]; they relish it very much /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 129; 1859). Compare Hariot:402 and Hyades (q):338.

tains, with not a little exaggeration, that the Indians "extensively use the roots of sea pinks and of Owwúnim" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 116;1869). Celery, hūfun (Apium australe), is by no means a nourishing plant; nevertheless a person will occasionally put a stalk in his mouth and chew on it. He does this in order to give himself a change of taste and also to prevent vomiting (306).

[751]

> 306. In this connection Bridges contradicts

262

/557 cont./
himself. For instance, he says (MM:III, 116;1869): "Though celery abounds everywhere, they never use of it" /cited in English/; in BD the root of this plant is several times and very definitely referred to by him as an "edible root" /cited in English/.

[252] Some people like to roast the celery root at the fire and then chew on it.

232 462 It can be seen from these accounts that plant food is seldom eaten by the Yamana, hence it is almost always a single individual who sets out to look for it if he feels a desire for it. It would be unjustified, therefore, to maintain that the gathering of such plants is a special activity of the woman.

A cursory review of the contribution of the Indian woman to the subsistence of her family makes us realize that she performs an important service, mainly through gathering shellfish. The things she collects not only bring necessary variety into the monotonous meat diet furnished by the man, but seem indispensable at certain times when hunting is impossible. With her diligent gathering the woman very often saves her family from suffering considerable hunger.

/558/ 6. The Food Quest throughout the Year

182 In their manner of living and above all in everything they must provide for their sustenance, our Yamana are and will remain inescapably dependent on their environment. They have adjusted to this inevitable pressure in all their economic adaptations, not the least in their implements and weapons. Darwin (d):248 confirms this in his own way: "Nature, which has made custom an irresistible force and its effects hereditary, has adapted the Fuegan to the climate and the products of his miserable fatherland." The causative factor in the two explanations is essentially different.

181 The mental attitude or disposition of this Indian group, however, also betrays an unmistakable conformity with their area of

/560 cont./

22 At this time also the seals guard their newly born young on the beach and are easy to get at (p. 39 /untranslated/).

The gathering activity of the woman is somewhat more dependent on the various seasons. This, obviously, applies first of all to the hunt for berries which ripen in late summer and in the fall. Cyttaria harioti can be picked in the fall and in the first half of winter. With the beginning of summer Cyttaria darwinii are also matured and remain on the trees until shortly before the end of winter. The cold season is not suitable for fishing with a line (313). On the other hand, sea urchins (Echinodermum) taste

313. Bridges (j):25 referred to "many kinds of smaller yet valuable fish, chiefly plentiful through summer and autumn and early winter"/cited in English/. Hyades (q):339 also confirms this. See footnote 290.

best in July and August, that is, toward the end of winter. In the spring girls and women busily hunt for birds' eggs as long as the opportunity lasts. They rejoice when the terrors of winter are past and the providing of food is made easier for them by the warmer season.

221 262 The variety that the Yamana family can count on in obtaining food is limited in these few details. Their safest supplementary source throughout the entire year is the inexhaustible amount of Mytilus mussels. All Indian women can successfully dip into this source when there is no other prospect. Despite all this, the family is not spared a few days of hunger if in some spot even the supply of mussels is exhausted and they cannot proceed elsewhere because of bad weather. As we have said, mussels have the same importance for the Yamana as bread has for Europeans, and they tire of them just as little as Europeans do of bread. Finally, we should like to remind the reader that the in- [805] dividual periods of the whole year are determined according to the various stages of development of Cyttaria darwinii. This does not mean, however, that this fungus contributes to any extent to the diet of our Indians (p. 277). Despite the very slight variations, the monotony of a meat diet exclusively continues all during the year.

/569 cont./

147 result of the way they are forced to sit and to work, not, however, of their diet.

To every stranger the most striking fact is that the Fuegians 262 can get along with almost no food from the vegetable kingdom. What they eat in the way of fungi and berries occasionally, but always in modest amounts, cannot bear comparison with their uninterrupted meat diet. It is obviously an exaggeration for individual travelers to regard their eating of Cyttaria fungi as worth mentioning. The berries of Pernettya and Berberis have no nourishment, nor have the stalks of Apis, the leaves of Taraxacum, and the roots of Armeria. Cereals, that is, bread and flour, legumes and tubers, fruit and vegetables are unknown to the Fuegian. In summer a person will sometimes eat three or four handfuls of amáiin̄gurž at one time, which are the berries of Pernettya mucronata, or šépisamáim, the berries of Empetrum rubrum, and if there is a famine, he will eat only Cyttaria fungi for a few days. This, however, can never be upheld as a vegetarian meal (331) since it is obviously only a slight refreshment, an

331. The members of the Mission Scientifique maintain with Hyades (q):338 about the Yamana: "We never saw them make a meal of only vegetable foods" /translated from French/. Other reliable observers report it just as scarce.

expedient, or a very occasional tickling of the palate.

263 The invariable meat diet in itself scarcely gives them any real desire /570/ for salt, although all the meat is extremely fat. The meat salts probably suffice for the human body, and beyond that it gets, almost unconsciously and unnoticed, a not inconsiderable amount of salt from the sea water. In the shells of Mytilus and other mussels, in the calcareous shells of sea urchins and crabs, there is always a small amount of sea water, even though the contents have been cooked. When pieces of [252] meat of birds and seals are washed off, the Indians prefer to use sea water from which a tiny amount of salt inevitably remains on the meat.

/570 cont./

263 on the meat. Finally, without conscious intent, the Indians take
[271] the ocean spray, even larger drops, into their mouths when it strikes their faces while they work in the canoe or on the beach. These individually very insignificant particles of salt I should estimate as a not too small daily total in view of the high salt content of sea water (332). The Yamana need a somewhat larger

332. We look in vain for any reference to this among those Europeans who have only expressed their astonishment at the absence of salt. All the missionaries and many travelers report that the food is not specially salted, for example, Outes (g):52, Hyades (q):339, and others. The latter (d):306 also maintains: "Sea salt as a condiment is unknown and would not be appreciated" /translated from French/; it is much sharper than cooking salt, as is well known.

amount of salt than the Selk'nam because they eat considerable amounts of light fat daily and because the meat juice of all the animals they consume contains far less salt than guanaco meat. This amount of salt is supplied to their bodies unconsciously, so to speak, but very definitely, and for this reason they do not need to sprinkle additional salt on their roast.

It is not surprising that the Fuegians are also unacquainted with any kind of spices and stimulants. Without reservation Hyades
[276] (d):306 emphasizes: "They do not use any intoxicating, narcotic, or stimulating substance" /translated from French/ and adds in another place (f):564 that they do not have "condiments." This designation includes pepper and nutmeg, cloves and caraway,
262 vinegar, and similar things. Liquid fat, however, from seals and whales, if one wishes to include that here, is very often taken in small amounts (333), but it serves the natives as actual

333. Hyades (f):564 confirms that "seal oil is very much enjoyed and that the natives drink it with pleasure in small amounts, before or after the meal" /translated from French/.

/570 cont./

262 nourishment of very considerable importance.

For sweets, which they must painfully do without, they show
263 almost a passion, probably for that very reason. They have only temporarily at their disposal the ripe berries with low sugar content from the well-known shrubs. In early summer they take the nectar out of the blossoms of máku (Embothrium coccineim) with their tongues, chew the sweetish petals of the rare Philesia buxifolia, and suck the sweet young shoots of Poa flabellata, the type of grass that they use as litter for their beds (p. 31). Finally they peel a piece of bark from young tree trunks in the spring. /571/ Exerting pressure, they scrape a mussel shell along the exposed fibrous layer, from below upward. In the process the sweetish sap, uškex, collects in the mussel shell and they drink it. All this taken together is still only a tiny amount of sweets.

263 Nowadays our Indians always procure sugar first whenever
177 possible, and that abundantly (334). As may be expected, they

334. Along with other observers Hyades (f):564 emphasizes that they show "a real passion for natural sugar and heavily sweetened substances" /translated from French/.

use it indiscriminately and lavishly. They are guided, however, not so much by the physiological need, but far more by their enjoyment of it (335). Their partiality for onions is also re-

335. I noticed the same behavior among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 293).

markable. The cooked meat of crabs, especially axíya (Lithodes antarctica) and štekálus (Paralomis verrucosus), is very tasty prepared with a little vinegar and chopped onions. The Yamana, without exception, are enthusiastic about this. Nowadays if they cook a meal of beans or rice or other legume, they naturally use cooking salt; only when they do not have it do they stir up the mixture with sea water. The addition of salt is demanded in this type of food which tastes flat even when larger pieces of meat of

261 /575 cont./
days of need are over, they recover /576/ surprisingly fast; serious after-effects or a weakening of their health scarcely ever appear. Habit has taught them how best to overcome the brief periods of hunger without harm.

262 439 Ever since the Yamana have had easy access to the various farms, they have bartered there for all kinds of European food and luxuries, such as sugar and wine, coffee and tea, onions, canned tomatoes, and other things. They also acquired cooking pots, in which they prepare our foods so that they are reasonably tasty. This strange diet, however, is not good for their health. [144] Besides toothache, other physical ailments appear, which the people in olden times were fortunately spared despite all kinds of deprivations.

2. How They Divide the Booty

225 We must insert here a few data about the way in which larger pieces of game are used. On the one hand we shall mention obligations of a social nature, for which we shall later give more detailed reasons. On the other hand, the receipt of a gift cannot be compared with ordinary food-getting. Since, however, in the case of the most important animals hunted, namely, seals and whales, there is a definite obligation to let others share it, we shall most conveniently describe here the prevailing custom.

Every local group greets with indescribable rejoicing a whale that has been driven inland or deposited on the beach. Dense swarms of sea birds announce this extraordinary gift of nature. According to the general conception, any man who has first seen or touched the whale is the owner of it, not, however, in the sense that he alone may eat of this animal, the enormous masses of which he would, in any case, be incapable of coping with, but only insofar as it is up to him to arrange an orderly distribution (347).

347. From an earlier period when whales were still plentiful Bridges (a):208 reported: "Certain persons, those who first found the whale, have the right to distribute it" /cited in English/.

/584 cont./

252 same thing is done at the other end. These blubber sausages, yáiyi, are easy to handle and they are hung up in the hut on strings. Often they are also filled with the fat of seals. Sometimes a larger amount of blubber is collected in the stomach of a sea lion.

Another kind of sausage, known as kéti, is made from the blood that collects in the abdominal cavity of a freshly killed sea lion or guanaco. It is poured into a soft, not yet dried piece of gut which, as we said before, is tied shut and placed in hot ashes. While it is roasting, they poke small holes into it with a small pointed stick, to keep it from bursting. Furthermore, they collect the heart, lungs, liver, the stomach walls cut into pieces, and the blood and fat tissues of a cormorant or wild goose, stuff all these small parts into the alimentary canal of the bird, knead them thoroughly on the outside with the fingers, and let them roast in hot ashes.

The women always have a supply of dried, short pieces of gut in order not to miss the frequent opportunity of collecting blubber. They also save /585/ the large, firm alimentary canal of the álakuš (Tachyeres cinereus) which they have previously blown up and dried. They like this particularly well to fill with blubber because it is easy to get and because it is wider than the alimentary canal of other birds.

262 It is well known that mussels are the chief ingredient in the diet of our Fuegians (358). Other shells and snails, which are

358. Bridges is entirely right when he says: "Mussels are to the Firelanders what bread is to the Englishman -- the staff of life all the year round" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 58; 1876). M'Cormick:I, 315 had already used the same comparison: "Limpets [are] their favorite food, and, as bread is with us, their staff of life" /cited in English/.

found there in much smaller amounts, are also eaten (359). The

359. Hyades (f):563 confirms this: The

/585 cont./

262 mollusks are the one somewhat constant article in the native diet" /translated from French/.

252 The preparation of the double-shelled mussels is a simultaneous steaming and boiling. When the Indian woman tears the mussel loose under water, it shuts its two valves tight; it does the same when it is exposed by low tide. It retains a few drops of sea water inside so that its breathing organs do not dry up. When it is placed in the heat of the fire, these drops are heated inside and finally turn to steam. By the time the force of the steam tears open the locked shells, the meat is tender. Thanks to the slight amount of salt in which it is steeped, it is really very tasty. Snails and crabs, as well as other lower animals, such as chitons, yēkér I, are steamed in hot ashes, hence they are drier and nowhere near as tasty as ē̂xuf and kecóin.

This concludes the list of foods which the Fuegian prepares in a special way. Almost all of them originate in the sea or on the shore. Bove (d):291 thus maintains, very correctly: "The sea furnishes the principal foods of the Fuegians. Fish, limpets, crabs, seals, aquatic birds, in short whatever the sea produces forms part of their diet" /translated from Italian/. In the vegetable kingdom it is only fungi of the Cyttari species which are not often specially prepared, but are dried by being skewered on small sticks, strung up to form a chain, and put near the fire. Fungi gathered in winter and completely frozen are laid near the fire to thaw. Celery roots (Apium australe) are roasted in hot ashes. Only a few things are eaten raw (p. 324).

4. How They Eat

264 The entire conduct of the Fuegians at meals is repulsive to a European. To condemn them for this would be unjust because they are completely deprived of many comforts which are taken for granted by us in our ordered circumstances. Nevertheless, they, too, are guided by certain rules in eating. Sometimes they show extraordinary self-control. Finally, they do not by any means take anything and everything indiscriminately, just to satisfy their voracious appetite or to fill their stomachs.

262 /586/ The general opinion that each and every one of them is consciously selective in eating and in food-seeking is fully justified. Their first criterion is the degree of savoriness. Accordingly, they prefer one animal rather than another, one piece rather than another of the same animal, and appreciate a young animal more than an old one of the same species. They do not hunt herons or owls because the meat of both is too scant and too lean. The bat, apawáta, is very much like a rat, hence it is scorned and no one dares eat it. All petrels and gulls are rejected, just like the diurnal predatory birds (360), because they

360. Darwin (d):246 says: "Jemmy Button did not want to eat any land birds because they ate corpses." He may have meant the diurnal predatory birds.

live on animal carcasses and putrid meat. This is why the fox and rat, wēsína, wuasína (361), are repulsive to them, the black rat,

361. Bridges (a):206 says very definitely: "Foxes, on account of their propensity to eat the dead, are, with rats, held in the greatest detestation" /cited in English/. Hyades (f):562 makes a distinction: "The fox... is eaten only when they are pressed by hunger" /translated from French/, and in (h):21 he says that of rats "the natives have a great horror" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):186 gives as the reason "that these animals eat human cadavers" /translated from Spanish/. This induces him to draw the obvious conclusion: "This fact in itself is sufficient to demolish all the accusations that they are accustomed to anthrophagy" /translated from Spanish/. Martial:193 and Cojazzi:110 agree with this literally, likewise Wieghardt:37.

pēakaasana, as well as the gray rat, aiīnaasana (p. 36

/586 cont./

262 /untranslated/). If, in a period of great hunger, they would have to eat a fox or an otter (362), they are unreservedly emphatic

> 362. Fitz-Roy (a):184 says that "the otter is valued, excepting the body part, which they seldom eat unless hard pressed by hunger" /cited in English/.

about the sharp, bad taste of the meat. With the exception of the fat and meat of the whale, the Yamana do not touch putrid or moldy meat (363). Of the latter species, the southern whale,

> 363. Fitz-Roy (a):184 maintains, and Lovisato (b):142 uses almost the same words, that "they eat any thing and every thing that is eatable, without being particular as to its state of freshness, or as to its having been near the fire" /cited in English/. This general statement, however, is misleading.

lémuka (Balaena australis), is most prized because of its tasty meat. On the other hand, the finback, číyix (Ziphius spec.?), is not touched because its fat has a laxative effect. Fitz-Roy (a):185 asserted that "the fins of a dead whale are esteemed" /cited in English/, but the liver of the whale is rejected. The fat of the large grampus, špájačí (Orcinus orca), is thought to be poisonous, and for this reason alone no one touches it.

Our natives are dependent all the year round on mussels and snails, čipála, and they know very well that these animals are not uniformly tasty at every season. From each small pile that they have gathered, they conscientiously reject the pieces that are not as good as others or even bad. They say that the [753] meat of the large Voluta snail, hélen, in certain areas is harmful for the brain; it makes people dizzy, and they lose their balance in walking. Anyone /587/ who observes these symptoms after eating this snail leaves the unfavorable place and warns others. [752] This type of snail, as well as a few other, smaller ones are always put into the fire first, after which the fleshy foot is torn out.

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262 This is all that is eaten; the adjoining soft parts are thrown away. Strangely enough, the Yamana reject the tender meat of the Solen, the evenly shaped shells of which serve them as knife and scraper. Several green and brown algae that White settlers there like to eat are rejected by our natives as a matter of principle.

262 177 Not anything and everything that Europeans like and that they offered the Fueglans was accepted by them. They have to this day very emphatically rejected many things, for example, cow's milk. Other things, such as wine and other alcoholic beverages, they accepted only later. Hence it is not just the taste that makes them decide on one thing or another. Beyond that they reserve for themselves a freedom of choice that cannot be influenced.

262 262 In part this also comes out in the different procedures used in the preparation of individual foods. Above all, meat may never be roasted long enough to become quite dry and hard. They find it most wholesome when it is still red inside. They are always intent on providing themselves whenever possible with their favorite blubber sausages (p. 320), because they do not want to be without blubber, kun, for long. Since they do not have vegetables and spices, they get a little variety into their diet with the liquid blubber. The craving for fat in those damp, cold regions is probably also a factor. A person who wants to eat the berries of Pernettya mucronata or the dry Cyttaria fungi pours oil from the whale or sea lion into a large Mytilus shell and dips each piece into it before putting it into his mouth. In the same manner he eats certain mussels or pieces of meat from birds if the meat is dry and tough. Sometimes the dried Cyttaria fungi are soaked for a longer time in oil. The small halfi, as well as other fish, after they are baked in ashes, are dipped into the oil before they are eaten. Our Fueglans lack the most necessary items to prepare their food in a somewhat better and more complicated fashion; they are curtailed and impeded in all directions.

Only a few things are regularly eaten raw by them, except when they are in serious distress. This includes berries, especially those of Pernettya mucronata, and all fungi, most of which, like yilef, have a spongy meat. They like to pick the large Cyttaria

/587 cont./

262 252 darwinii from the beech boughs while it still has a smooth surface. Its texture is then very elastic and pleasant to chew. Old, dry pieces are soaked in blubber shortly before they are eaten. The so-called "tongues," apax, actually the sex organs of the sea urchin, Ikiš (Echinus), are picked out of the broken calcareous shell with the fingers /588/ and immediately eaten; the milky liquid in the shell is drunk also. The abundant iodine content of these parts stimulates the appetite, which is why the Indians often eat them (364). Naturally, they eat all of these things im-

> 364. Martial:192 reports: "The sea urchin remains their favorite dish and is always eaten 'even when one is not hungry,' our interpreter told us, and willingly demonstrated this rule": /tranlated from French/. Contrary to the view expressed by Hyades (f):564, we should like to repeat that the above-mentioned parts are always eaten raw. --It is well known that the tongues of sea urchins are regarded as a delicacy in Argentina and Chile and are chiefly eaten raw with all kinds of condiments.

mediately after these animals have been taken out of the sea. The soft meat of Fissurella, ɛ̄ɔgu (amɛ̄ɔku in the western dialect), and of Patella, aywɛ̄ɔa, is squeezed out of the calcareous shell with a slight pressure of the fingers and is eaten without any preparation, except that occasionally the little morsel of fish is dipped into seal blubber. Some people find the raw fat of the young whale tasty. With the exception of the unimportant things mentioned here, every Yamana regularly exposes his food to the fire or the almost equal effect of hot ashes (365).

> 365. Spears:76 repeats a word from Bridges: "I have never seen or heard of the Yahgans eating any kind of meat or fish raw except certain kinds of limpets" /cited in English/. Previously Snow (a):I, 345 had already

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assured us: "Their common way of cooking is to put everything into the ashes until sufficiently done for their taste, or until their hunger could allow them to wait no longer" /cited in English/. All later observers, for example, Hyades (p).328, vouch for this general rule.

262 Although the Fuegian literally lives from hand to mouth and sometimes finds himself in dire distress, he still shows an astonishing amount of self-control in eating, and this is sometimes forced on him by certain rules. We refer to his duty to cut up the booty he has brought home and let the neighbors share it (p. 314). Moreover, not every individual has free access to a stranded whale, but is content with the pieces that are given him by the chosen distributors (p. 308). Finally there are a few definite food taboos on certain occasions, which everyone observes. A law given by Tonton says that berries -- actually, only those of Pernettya mucronata -- may not be gathered prematurely, and that they must be left on the bushes until old men declare that they are ripe. If some people should discover favorable spots where there are many berries, they warn their friends and neighbors: "There are many amijin there, but wait until they are ripe!" If, nevertheless, some women and children should look for that place and pick the berries, subsequent visitors will find the bushes empty and will say: "amijin aptis, the berries have gone away!" This means that the berries removed themselves in revenge and expiation for that forbidden act. Since the culprits are not known, but the bushes are actually stripped of fruit, the entire occurrence is given a superstitious interpretation. /508/ This is supposed to prevent the berries from being picked before they are ripe. At certain times determined by ancient custom, only a little food or only certain things are permitted, as, for instance, during the initiation, during the first menstrual period, after confinement, and so forth. In general everyone adheres to this conscientiously.

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Only occasionally is a person carried away to real intemperation in eating. Anyone who eats hastily and greedily is called Mmja which is anything but respectable. Everyone is supposed to control himself sufficiently in eating so that others always

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regard him as moderate and slow. Modest and contented reserve is very much praised (384). When several people are together,

> 384. Earlier Despard (Dy.690 mentioned that the Tarumia "hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'swallower'" /cited in English/.

they watch each other; the one who acts as though he would rather not eat a thing makes the best impression. Within the narrower family circle people are emphatically warned of mistakes of this nature in the presence of a stranded whale, for now there is great danger that someone will let himself go too far, given this favorable opportunity. In all this there is probably also an unconscious warning against damaging one's own health. It has been proved that the human stomach does not tolerate the great amounts of fat that are suddenly offered it. It is necessary to become somewhat accustomed to it (385). There is another

> 385. Bridges (MMS.IX, 13.1870), on April 30, 1874, observed the ravenous appetite of several families: "The natives have suffered much temporary pain from eating the whale, and I hear that this is usual at first, but passes off with the continued use of whale-meat" /cited in English/. Thus a certain habituation is necessary for a normal digestion when large amounts of fat are eaten.

danger. Whale fat is considered tastier the longer the animal has lain dead in the water; it then rails by itself and is known as *dagaiki* in this case. Not infrequently there is serious poisoning when such putrified fat and meat are eaten, as missionaries have repeatedly reported.

For example, we have the following description by Lawrence, dated March 28, 1887 (MMS.XXI,170.1887): "A canoe brought

/169 cont./

[to Udwala] the sad intelligence of several Tolgans and Ona Indians being poisoned from eating fish...(369). The melancholy

> 369. From data given below we realize that a whole is meant.

disaster having taken place among the natives now engaged by Mr. Bridges upon the farm [in Puerto Hoberson]" /cited in English/. Lawrence went there personally (369). "We found the

> 369. Lewis Lothrop (D).188 more precisely determined the place where the whale was deposited on the northern edge of Bahia Centinelas.

people still suffering from the effects of poison. Nineteen men, women and children (Ona and Tolgans) had died during the past week, the others were slowly recovering" /cited in English/. Lawrence saw the hopeless condition of these people. "Arriving at the place, we found them scattered about. Three men and several children were lying in a very weak state. Two of the former were unconscious most of the time...We went a little further and found the idolous body of a man who had apparently died /169/ about two days before...Near the body of the man we found in different places five dogs which had died from the same cause. We also found in another place part of the body of another man, the rest having been destroyed by two dogs...I will now give a few particulars of the circumstances. About a fortnight ago a canoe arrived at Down-east, and brought the report that a small whale had been found in Picton Island. They went over to Mr. Bridges' boat, and found parts of it, lying on the beach, which they brought back, and having some doubts about its quality, at first hesitated to eat it, but afterwards were persuaded by the Ona saying they had eaten such before. All who were there having taken a little, felt very unwell on the morrow, and gradually became worse, and in a few days those whom we suppose had taken more than others recovered...[Others] suppose it to have been a dead fish [a Dorachar /Ona magellanica/, p. 97 /unreviewed/]. It was about seven feet long. I have also been informed that of

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later years they have not made use of such, having previously understood it was injurious" /cited in English/.

A similar case, soon after, created no less serious disorder, and Burleigh wrote about it on December 26, 1889 (MM XXIII, 98,1890). "Numbers of people were suddenly stricken down with blood-poisoning through eating rotten blackfish (370). The wig-

370. This probably simply means a whale.

warns were in a terrible state -- men, women and children lying about as helpless as infants, unable to keep anything on their stomachs on account of their disordered condition. Two old dames, fully powdered and dressed in their feathers (otherwise naked), went from case to case, and would now and again pause in their performance of rubbing and yelling at their patients. I administered emetics and other medicines and gave much relief. Most of the cases yielded to ready treatment, but in three families fever followed. Death followed in one case only" /cited in English/. According to this, the Tamata were sometimes in danger of being poisoned when they unwisely ate the fat of large mammals, not only of whales, but of seals also, which had been dead for some time (371). Faced with these large animals, our

371. On December 20, 1875, Bridges (MM X, 81,1878) wrote: "These natives will readily eat animals and birds that have died of themselves, and to this fact is owing much of the mortality among them. Thus Jammaxe some time ago came across a dead seal. He brought it here, made a general distribution, and on the second day it had all been eaten. It made the people smell disagreeably. It was very foul" /cited in English/. He is obviously mistaken when he maintains that the Yamana also eat birds that have died by themselves.

Indians seem at times to abandon the strict self-discipline of which

262 /590 cont./
164 they are capable in other circumstances.

Every traveler has frequent and ready opportunity to observe
264 their conduct while eating. It is anything but beautiful. Usually
252 the individual squats beside the fire and waits until the piece of meat in the embers or ashes is done. He takes it out with a little stick, lets it cool a bit on stones or bits of brush lying about, and picks it up with /591/ both fists. Sometimes the piece is still so hot that he cannot hold it. Even so, he tears off large bites with his strong teeth and swallows them without ostensibly chewing. From a large roast the pieces are torn off more than bitten off and swallowed in sizable chunks. Strangely enough, the Yamana chews very little. This applies also to the sometimes tough meat of birds. He quickly swallows hot morsels that he cannot keep in his mouth and following them sometimes takes a swallow of water or a small lump of snow (372). Since they

372. The Selk'nam have the same habit (Vol. I, 297).

quickly put the too hot morsel into their mouths, they constantly make a sucking sound while they move it around in their mouths.

When the mussels that were shoved onto the embers are done, they burst open by themselves. They are fished out with a little stick and allowed to cool a bit on the ground. Then in one hand the Indian takes the shell to which the meat adheres, holds it horizontally, breaks off the empty shell with his other hand, and with his fingers tears out the meat which he immediately pops into his mouth. Finally he holds the flat mussel shell itself to his lips, since the drops accumulated in it are very tasty, and sucks them in noisily. Snail shells are broken into pieces with a handy stone to expose the roasted contents, and the same is done with the calcareous covering of the tasty sea acorn, lēpa (Balanus psittacus).

Blubber sausages and the less common blood sausages are opened at one end, held up to the mouth, and the contents fall in. They place baked fish on the trampled earth and separate them with their fingers, the thumb nails used chiefly. The large crabs, axīya (Lithodes antarctica), as well as stekálus (Paralomis

/592 cont./

264 by no means only a few tidbits; it is almost always a considerable amount, so that the total during a single day is astonishingly large. Every observer will agree with the words of Spegazzini (a):171: "These people have no set time for eating; they eat all day, they eat whenever and whatever they please, and according to what I saw, they eat a great deal" /translated from Spanish/. As we have said, at any one time they take liquid blubber, kun, in only small quantities, but all the more frequently; /593/ a man or woman will sometimes empty a blubber sausage ten centimeters [431] long in one draught (378). Visitors like to bring it along as a present.

[262] 378. Hyades (f):564 mentions: "They are likewise fond of the oil of the liver of morne, but always small quantities at a time" /translated from French/.

With the exception of mornings and evenings, everyone begins to eat whenever he feels like it. This is the general custom. One is more likely to be stimulated if he sees someone else chewing and he will join him. There is never much preparation involved. A person will reach into a basket of mussels or will tear off a piece of meat from a sea lion or a bird hanging on a beech tree in front of the hut and place it on the fire. Everyone helps himself, and whatever supplies are in the hut are at everyone's disposal (379).

379. The words of Hyades (p):328 that "women and children eat with the men" /translated from French/ do not mean anything.

Everyone acts as though it were completely taken for granted and not a disturbance to his neighbor if he moves near the fire at night and satisfies his appetite undisturbed. The only rule generally [515] observed is that in the morning before the first bite is taken one rinses out his mouth with cold water and spits it out again. Most people are more particular about this than about daily morning ablutions. While the individual pieces are roasting in the fire, everyone watches them attentively, turns them often and meanwhile increases his appetite. He tests them with his fingers or

/701 cont./

843 activity, especially to those young women who are expecting their first child. Sexual intercourse is discontinued for two or three months before the confinement.

During this time the married couple are required to observe a 843 262 few food taboos. The /702/ woman may not eat roasted pieces of meat, mussels, or fish as hot as usual, but must let them cool off a bit. It is said that food that is too hot is now detrimental to her and her child. The man is not permitted to eat the head and hind portion of fish and birds; he must be content with the center piece. Shortly before the confinement neither of the two parents may eat the meat of cormorants, otherwise the child would be born deformed.

[824 137]

Fig. 78. Embothrium coccineum. One-half natural size.

/Fig. 78 appears here./ For a few days before and after confinement the woman herself may not break or crush the bones of birds. It is well known that in the case of some birds, especially cormorants, the longer bones are broken open before they are roasted in the fire, so that the marrow will penetrate the meat and make it juicier. Furthermore, their spinal columns are cracked at various places so that the feathers can be plucked more easily. Now if the woman

/702 cont./

843 who herself abstains from the meat of cormorants and, even better,
262 from birds generally wishes to prepare a roast for her family, she either leaves the bones whole or she asks someone else to break the bones in the meat of the bird. If she herself were to do it, she would have to be prepared to give birth to a crippled child. The woman must also abstain from sea urchins, but the man is not required to do this. He may not break open the calcareous shell, however, but must have someone else do it, otherwise the child would be born with a split skull (119).

119. Calderon told me this in August, 1923. As a result of searching questions I obtained the impression that this superstition is connected with the greater or lesser width of the fontanel with which the child is born.

843 When the external indications of pregnancy point to an imminent confinement -- this was unmistakable in former times when nakedness was customary -- the relatives and neighbors are more concerned in their thoughts and speech with the two persons who /703/ are soon to be presented with a child. They also discuss the expected event with the young couple. There are always several women on hand with good advice, especially for a woman who is giving birth for the first time. They encourage her with the following prospect: "Soon you will hold your own child in your arms. What happiness and what joy you will feel! -- It is indescribably gratifying for a woman to take care of her own child. -- Only then will you be a real woman, when you have a child of your own, and this will soon happen!" Old Mary repeated these words to me as the basic ideas behind such reassurances.

844 Women who are giving birth for the first time receive special attention. They are supposed to move about constantly or at least walk a great deal and to gather wood and berries diligently, in other words, to sit as little as possible. The things that were told the girl on the occasion of her first menstruation are now repeated, and special emphasis is placed on what was said about the treatment of newborn babies. The constant encouragement, together with the restless activity, hardly gives the young woman time to become

/707 cont./

immediate surroundings are quiet; small children are either sent far away or held in check; finally, all the dogs are forcibly kept silent.

From the day of delivery both parents (p. 495) must very conscientiously observe the regulations familiar to everyone. The mother refrains from taking any kind of nourishment for the entire day. This assures her of a good delivery and the future well-being of her child. For his part, the man may neither fell heavy wooden beams in the forest nor kill large game animals. He may neither break open the bones of birds to get out the marrow nor crush the shell of the sea urchin. In case he should fell decayed trees or split wood, his child would have an open wound on its breast. If he should break apart the wing bones of birds, the arms of his child would also break; if he should pluck out the feathers of a bird, his child would soon lose its hair. On the day of the birth he is just as restricted in his choice of foods as his wife is on this and the following days. She is permitted to eat again on the day after her confinement, but at first by no means everything. She limits herself to fish, as well as ɛ̃auf (Mytilus chilensis), kɛ́ɛ́n (Mytilus edulis), and amɛ́ɛ́n (Fissurella). She is not permitted the many other lower sea animals. These mussels must come from "good" places [in the magical sense], in other words, not from places where one suspects the lakúma /water spirit/ might be nor from places where there are many cormorants and sea lions. It seems to me that the magical fear comes from the fact that these animals do not play a favorable role in mythology. A single species of duck, namely, Mareca sibilatrix, also belongs to the "good" things. On the other hand, the meat of the sea otter, ɛ́ɛ́ka (Tachyeres patachonicus), is forbidden. When things to be eaten are unavailable or not present in sufficient quantities, the yɛ́kamuš /shaman/ must help out. Stretching out both hands, he gathers up the "bad and harmful," /708/ holds it for a moment on his open palms and, with a strong puff of air from his mouth and a softly uttered "ft," blows it away. Now the food has been freed of everything "dangerous" and is no longer harmful.

Directly after the child has been separated from its mother, the woman who has been the midwife goes out of the hut and sends a message to the father by anyone who is available that a boy or a

/718 cont./

Cape Horn Archipelago acknowledge the loving and sensible treatment given them by almost never crying. This strange fact was observed by various travelers. Spegazzini (a):167, for example, reports: "I noted that the children there never cry; they are always happy and contented, whether it is cold or hot, with their completely Adamite clothing" /translated from Spanish/ (149).

149. Hyades (q):193 says of his observations of a new living creature on its first day: "The baby rarely cried and not for long"; the mother "calmed her baby when it cried with little pats on the back" /translated from French/.

The Fuegian little ones really have no reason for making the whole neighborhood aware of their discontent or displeasure by howling and crying, for they come into the world healthy and are not hindered in their movements in the fresh air; they are also abundantly nurished and given all kinds of attention. /719/ Other factors, however, may play a part here; I am thinking primarily of an effective, unconscious influence of the environment. One should visualize how deathly quiet the whole family is in the canoe while they stalk game and steer in its direction. All the persons in the boat are breathlessly attentive until they have reached their booty. Even the low cry of an infant would spoil their success. How the motionlessness of the adults is able to hold the child in check is not easy to explain, but it cannot be denied. A baby that is ill or not sufficiently fed, however, makes itself known loudly enough. Finally we must remember that the Yamana in general are a taciturn and quiet lot.

Every Fuegian mother regards nursing as a duty to be taken for granted. What old Luisa impressed upon me in 1920 was later repeatedly confirmed. All the women emphasize that shortly before and long after confinement they must eat chiefly Mytilus mussels; otherwise their milk would be worthless, it would be less nourishing, and their babies would cry all night long. On the Cape Horn Archipelago it is unknown for a mother not to have enough milk, and Hahn (a):806 assures us that "all mothers are abundantly provided with milk" /translated from French/. The child announces when he is hungry by restless movements of his head and his whole

/754 cont./

881 wood, gather mussels, pick berries, etc. In all this the girl is willing and eager and behaves very submissively and quietly. Her whole expression shows gravity and inner concentration. The girl also clearly shows these traits when she performs work at one of the neighboring huts. She keeps her eyes cast down and moves as though she were afraid and intimidated. She may not look at the moon or stars, nor at the sun and rainbow, much less adopt a comfortable or negligent attitude.

/755/ Once I was standing with Nelly when Adelheid passed by. She was completely preoccupied, her head bowed; she was looking at the ground with half-closed eyes and moving forward almost furtively. Nelly carefully pointed to her attitude and said softly: "This is the way every tu'ikipa behaves!" She is supposed to preserve the same retiring attitude and a quiet withdrawal until her first child appears; at any rate it is expected of her just before her first confinement. After she has given life to her first-born, she may be somewhat freer in her ways and talk happily and animatedly.

881 As may be expected of our Yamana, they require the girl
262 to fast strictly upon this occasion. Originally she was given nothing to eat or drink during the first three days; not until the fourth day was she given a total of three mussels and a little water at intervals. Since most girls, however, begin to feel weak before the end of this time, they are immediately given a few mussels or something else to eat, but always only good things and better pieces, since ordinary things would be physically harmful to them. With the sixth day the food and drink restrictions are in part removed. Before the end of this period, on the eighth or tenth day, the girl must bathe and wash in sea water; then she is given a piece of guanaco meat, if there is any in the camp. If she had not taken her bath before eating this piece of meat, the dog that tracked down the guanaco would forever lose its scent and would henceforth not be able to find other guanacos. The tu'ikipa is forbidden to kill any animal. If there is an opportunity to do it, namely, at the time young birds take flight, she gives the animals she has caught to a man who kills them

/755 cont./
881 for her (191).
262

191. In Hahn (a):804 we read: "The first menstruation takes place between 14 and 15 years of age. The first appearance of the menses is celebrated by the parents and their friends. Nevertheless she is considered impure, and for four days the young girl is obliged to abstain from certain foods" /translated from French/.

881 In order to emphasize effectively the rule to eat little or nothing, the women tell the following story: "Once a tū'ikipa
[173] sat alone in a canoe. She knew about the restriction yet she secretly ate a few berries. Soon a strong lakūma /water spirit/ came along, seized this tū'ikipa, lifted her out of the canoe, and devoured her. He left only her intestines, which other people afterwards found on the beach. Now they knew what had happened. That is how this disobedient girl was punished." Every girl is given this warning on the occasion of her first menstruation.

881 The women regard the urgent admonitions they give the tū'ikipa as more significant than the above-mentioned restric-
867 tions. In connection with this I learned from Nelly and Mary that the tū'ikipa is above all given instruction in the duties of a married woman and mother, as well as in her conduct /756/ from now until marriage. They recommend to her as the foremost virtues willingness to help and to please others, industry, and unselfishness. She is gravely warned against secretly yielding to an importunate chap because the result would be an illegitimate child (p. 411). By this time the girl is sufficiently enlightened about sexual life and knows where children come from. Many observations from earliest childhood have helped her obtain this information (p. 392). Every tū'ikipa has ample opportunity immediately to practice the virtues listed here; we have just spoken of this above.

Besides these things I also learned the following definite admonitions from Nelly, which I repeat here verbatim and without change.

/912 cont./

X881 264 869 eat, the adults try to make almost no sound. Meanwhile the candidates, well covered with pieces of leather, are sent to the area near the secondary entrance, for they are not supposed to realize that the other people are eating. Before the cover is removed from the faces of the ulwĭala, all the food remains which could arouse suspicion are removed. Meanwhile the ulwĭala are told: "Every glutton or lazy person falls as prey to Yetăita and is devoured by him!" Thus we see that this opportunity, too, is used to increase the candidates' fear and terror of Yetăita.

If, in the course of the day, the adults wish to take a few extra bites, they hang something over the faces of the ulwĭala or cover their faces entirely with a piece of leather. Some person while eating will throw a piece of meat into the fire and say in an audible voice: "This is for Yetăita!" This, too, is supposed to encourage the candidates' false belief in this spirit.

X881 264 The actual meal is soon disposed of, for scarcely anyone has his fill. When a person eats he grasps the piece of meat with one hand, and with his other hand closed in a fist, he makes a rolling motion of the arm toward another person who is likewise eating or to whom he has given a piece. /913/ This gesture is supposed to indicate that one courteously extends an invitation to the other and is enjoying the food in his company.

Now and then, when the mood strikes the leader, a special delegation is sent from the ʏéxaus hut to the cookhut to fetch something to eat between meals. The leader and two or three men selected by him break into the customary general singing with a very loud, high-pitched xoa three times. This is repeated at intervals and finally sounds like hŏxoĭ. For the women in the cookhut it means nothing less than an urgent request to prepare something quickly which they can hand over to the delegation. Again, a few minutes pass and the hŏxoĭ is repeated. Finally the two men dash out of the secondary exit, hasten to the cookhut, and disappear inside.

One evening I saw them take along a painted pot. Amid [272 262] continuous calls of "hŏxoĭ" it was filled with coffee for them; at the same time other women impaled a large loaf of bread on a pointed stick and placed it in the hand of one of the two men. With this "booty" they hastened back to the ʏéxaus hut where they

/1121 cont./

769 resembling a yamalaĕemŏina into each čičaus celebration, even if no one had died meanwhile. During this ceremony they vividly remembered in particular those persons who in former years had taken a very active part in the affair. The other groups now and then imitated this custom. While it was going on, the participants, each to himself, thought about the deceased person whose loss was most painful to them, and they painted themselves to indicate the manner of his death. A true Yamana can never quite forget his dead, even though their names are no longer mentioned.

765 It has already been mentioned that for a few days the nearest relatives of a deceased person take almost no nourishment. 262 Their neighbors and friends generally follow their example, especially if a murder is being mourned. Formerly even children were made to fast, and everywhere there was strict quiet. In order to carry out all this undisturbed, /1122/ the mourners sometimes retired into the nearby woods and stayed there for a few days and nights, weeping and moaning beside an open fire. After that they returned to their dwellings. The women who told me this were unstinting in their admiration for the hardiness of their countrymen of former times and frankly confessed that they themselves lacked the strength and perseverance for such feats.

767 Although everyone willingly participates in a song of mourning, there is a type of wailing woman who may on occasion assist someone. A person will invite these women if he himself has no near relatives, for with the loss that death has inflicted upon him he feels his isolation all the more painfully. Shame also plays a certain role in the case of a person who clearly feels that the death he mourns is a punishment for wrongdoing and who is made conscious of it by others. During the first few days nature quite impetuously demands her rights and the mourner expresses his grief without restraint; later he is sometimes overcome by consciousness of his guilt. According to ancient custom, the lamenting, groaning, weeping, and singing must continue for several weeks. Sometimes distant relatives or friends chosen at random are given this duty. On occasion, as so-called ammuna čilaqwala, they render an outstanding performance. Men also may do this, and they act on special invitation; indeed they are enlisted, so to speak, and receive some reward for their efforts. These so-called weeping women simply repeat the customary

/1304 cont./

uttering a loud, hissing ł sound. The purpose of the latter is to weaken the baleful effect of the sea duck and hold in the késpix of the children. Immediately after confinement the mother and her husband may not eat the meat of the déška (p.503). The parents are advised to abstain from it until their child enters the second year of life. From then on it is completely out of danger, whereas before that it might possibly die if its parents should often eat the meat of the seaduck.

When the rust-colored pectacled ibis, léxuwa (Theristicus melanopis), flies over the heads of mature girls, they cross their arms and press them against their breasts to hide them. If they did not do this, léxuwa would pull their breasts far down; this is a beauty flaw of which they complain a great deal. This léxuwa is also known as a sensitive woman who anxiously guards her honor.

I did not learn that the Yamana are superstitiously afraid of any kind of insects, but Briges (a):212 writes: "Many insects are also much dreaded, from a belief that they enter the ear, and work their way into the body, and thus kill those they enter" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):204 says the same thing. Unfortunately, these references are too general.

Sometimes an unusually large cap-shaped shell (Fissurella) clings to a rock along the coast, below the lowest water level. It is regarded as the mistress of that region. All the women who are gathering marine animals in its vicinity must remain silent and respectful. If they do not do this, the páiakakípa, as it is called, causes strong sudden [illegible]. The word páiaka is not a proper name, but a general term (compare BD:370); here it has its special meaning. The little hole in the flat shell is "the eye with which páiakakípa sees everything that happens around it."

If a father has lost a son in death, he abandons the male animals that he kills or he throws them into the water. If a daughter has died, he does not touch the female animals that he catches. He does this for several weeks after the death of his child to express his grief over the loss and to avenge himself, as it were, on Watayinéwa.

/1307 cont./

821 789 who confronted him, he had a broad band of white from his chin downward, and his head was bound with the skin of a kelp gander with white down on it, and his hair was also whitened. He had a white stone in either hand. His antagonist, who came leaping along making much noise, was /1308/ armed with a club. He kept on demanding what facasi [a term for seals, penguins, and other sea birds] would let him kill some one, as though he thirsted for blood. He held his club ready to use it, and they both spoke excitedly and loudly to each other. Presently Lasapowloom threw one of his stones a full yard behind his opponent's heels, and ran after his stone to pick it up again. Presently looking to where I heard much noise I saw two others, highly painted fellows, engaged in loud vociferations and earnest gestures, each with an arm round the other's neck, and bobbing their heads each to the other. The rest stood quietly looking on.... Lasapowloom acting the part he did, was according to custom, called tsworoo, or the storm of wind; the man who met him was called tumoozsworoo, or one who invited the storm to rage against him" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 13;1875).

I cannot help thinking that the superstitious customs and ceremonies aimed at influencing the weather in favor of personal wishes and intentions have developed among the Yamana only to a limited extent simply because their Watauinéjwa is regarded as the actual ruler of the forces of nature. Hence everyone turns directly to him as the first and surest helper, using the ancient traditional prayer formulas (p.978).

262 834 In addition, there are a few similar superstitious customs which are clearly wise food taboos. They are supposed to promote self-control and check selfishness. A few such decrees have already been mentioned. Thus, for example, no one may pick Pernettya berries until they are ripe. If anyone should ignore this, the "berries would go away" (p.327). Anyone who gathers amájm at the proper time may nibble a few, but anyone who eats many of them brings on bad weather by his lack of restraint in eating. It is easy to catch this disobedient person, and he is severely reproached in case there is a sudden change in the weather. The primary object of this taboo is probably to force each individual to bring all the berries he has gathered into camp

/1308 cont./

262 824 [821] and let the others share them, instead of selfishly enjoying them alone. People from another region who land on strange territory and find large quantities of amāim may neither pick them nor eat them. If they do, they must be prepared for threatening weather when they continue their journey. Their taking the berries would portend ǽnačiwa, ruin and destruction for them.

The "rain berry," palaxǽačis, Rubus geoides (p.279), may 262 824 821 be eaten only in fair weather. If someone has discovered a spot where there are great numbers of these berries and he wants to gather them, he must first obtain permission from the tǽuina who has the right to distribute them to adults and children. A person who picks the palaxǽačix without such permission or in /1309/ rainy weather must be prepared for a sudden heavy storm with rain on the open sea, which will endanger his life, as atonement, hǽnečí, for his disobedience. On March 16, 1923, there was an unusually heavy cloudburst with floods. Two days earlier a few girls had stolen off to a place that was well known for its many palaxǽačix -- it is about an hour's distance from Punta Remolino -- and picked these berries. In all seriousness Nelly told me on the evening of March 16th that the young Halakwulup, Julia, had gone to this place with a few other girls. Julia was unfamiliar with the taboo, and she had picked and eaten many of the berries. The other girls followed her example. The heavy rain was a punishment for this.

It is not at all seldom that sudden bad weather breaks out 262 over the wide inlet open to the south. In this region it is customary not to eat certain game animals that have been caught on the same day, but to keep them until the following day. A person who does not conform to this must be prepared for a heavy loss in the immediate future. This custom is probably meant to teach people to provide for the next day, for all too often a family is unable to travel because of unfavorable natural forces, and they could suffer great hardship if they had not learned and were not compelled to economize with their already meager supply.

The Yamana very seldom eat during a canoe trip and, if 264 821 484 they do, always very little. Anyone who eats may not throw food remains and refuse overboard, but should destroy them in the fire which is always kept burning. It is said that Yǽlox decreed this.

THE YAHGAN

By JOHN M. COOPER

INTRODUCTION

133 **Natural environment.**—The *Yahgan* habitat is archipelagic, the mountainous islands constituting the last outposts of the Andean chain before it dips beneath the sea at Cape Horn (map 1, *No. 1A;*
132 map 2).[1] Atmospheric temperatures at sea level differ somewhat from locality to locality, with a summer mean around 50° F., a winter mean close to the freezing point, and a winter minimum around 10° F. Snowfalls not infrequently occur even in the summer months (pl. 38). Relatively very cold or very warm spells are usually of short duration. Sudden changes in temperature, in wind velocity, and in sunshine, cloudiness, and precipitation are characteristic. Violent squalls and strong gales are common.

139 The islands up to about 1,500 feet altitude are heavily wooded, chiefly with beeches (*Nothofagus betuloides* and *N. pumilio*, evergreens; *N. antarctica*, deciduous), together with Winter's bark (*Drimys winteri*), "cypress" (*Libocedrus tetragona*), and lofa dora (*Maytenus magellanica*). The forest floor is thickly covered with rotting and rotten fallen trunks, which with the thick spiny masses
136 of barberry bushes (*Berberis ilicifolia* and *B. dasyfolia*) and holly (*Pernettya mucronata*) make travel through the woods extremely slow and difficult. Foxes and rats, the land mammals that could have helped in the *Yahgan* dietary, were unknown. Marine mam-
[135] mals, fish, and other sea food were abundant in most localities. As
[134] a result of the foregoing conditions, the *Yahgan* lived mostly on the water and along the shore line, penetrating inland very little.

131 **Territory.**—In the last century and probably from much earlier times the *Yahgan* regularly occupied the southern coast of Tierra del Fuego Island from about the eastern end of Beagle Channel to Brecknock Peninsula, and the islands south of this line to Cape Horn. But they evidently wandered more widely; *Yahgan* house sites and implements have been found as far north as Elizabeth Island in the Strait of Magellan (Bird, 1938, p. 300). Between Good Success Bay and the eastern end of Beagle Channel, there was considerable

[1] [These maps have not been preserved; see Source: Guinea, Cooper 1946, and Map, for Special information—Oakley]

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 culture. If this large and expensive monograph is not accessible, the following more important papers may be consulted: Gusinde (1931–39, 1934, 1935 a, 1935 c, 1936 a, 1936 c, 1937, 1939 b, 1939); Koppers (1935 a, 1935 b, 1936 a, 1936 b, 1937, 1938 a, 1938 b).

For bibliographies of the *Yahgan* see: Cooper (1917), for sources, with comments on each, to 1917; Lothrop (1928), for sources from 1917 to 1928; Gusinde (1937), for selected and added sources, and for evaluations (pp. 49–191) of the publications of the more important first-hand observers.

19 **Language.**—The *Yahgan* language with its five mutually intelligible dialects constitutes a distinct linguistic family, with no known relationship to any other. The elder Bridges' *Yámana-English dic-*
[114] *tionary*, the one completed in 1879, contains about 32,000 words, a carefully restricted, not a padded, list, as he himself emphasized (1933, p. xvii). *Yahgan*, in contrast to *Ona*, is markedly euphonic. There were no words for numerals beyond three, and none for fractions.

164 **Population.**—According to our first dependable estimates, the *Yahgan* population, in the third quarter of the 19th century, totaled between 2,500 and 3,000 souls. In 1881 a sharp decline set in. By 1884 numbers had dwindled to about 1,000; by 1886, to 400; by 1888, to
[114] 300; by 1903, to 130; by 1913, to less than 100; by 1923 to 60. The immediate causes of the sudden drop in the eighties were the respiratory diseases and a severe outbreak of measles in 1884, followed by epidemics of typhoid, whooping-cough, and smallpox. Syphilis does not appear to have played an important role. Contributory, or rather
[119] basic predisposing, factors were, it seems, the then introduced European ways of life, especially the clothing, but also the food, alcoholic beverages, and type of shelter and work.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

23 **Foods.**—The *Yahgan* had no domesticated plants, and no domes-
[24] ticated animals except the dog. Whether the earlier pre-Columbian and post-Columbian *Yahgan* had dogs is uncertain. No bones of dogs have been found in early archeological sites in *Yahgan* or other Fuegian territory. The earlier explorers,—L'Hermite, 1624; *Frézoulesie*, 1715—make no mention of the dog in their descriptions of *Yahgan* culture, as none is made of it among the *Alacaluf* by the 18 accounts of them prior to Narborough's of 1670. The dog was first recorded among the *Yahgan* in 1833 by James Weddell; it is recorded consistently thereafter by later observers (Cooper, 1917, pp.
[24] 186–187). Dogs were not eaten.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Yahgan SH6

262 Ludewig (1858, p. 88) rated the relative importance in the *Yahgan* dietary of their foods as follows: (1) Beasts of first importance, mussels; (2) next, seals and fish of many kinds; (3) next, porpoises, gulls, and bird eggs; (4) then, whales, limpets, crabs, sea urchins, geese, penguins, cormorants; (5) last and least, otter (chiefly in the west), gooses (only in the east), coots, ducks, berries (especially wild black currants). The fungi eaten were those growing on trees; those growing on the ground were not eaten. Some wild celery and wild parsnips and two varieties of cress and young shoots of tussock grass were also eaten. Roots were eaten only in famine as a last resort. Salt was not used.

225 Hunting.—Seals were hunted with spear or harpoon from canoes or from land (pl. 36), or killed with clubs. Whales were occasionally hunted in the open sea with spear or harpoon; stranded or dead whales were eagerly exploited. Dogs helped in otter and fox hunting. 223 Cormorants were taken at night by twilight with clubs; also with a pronged wooden gorge hook. Birds were taken with pole snares (fig. 11, *d*) and with single or multiple tether snares of sinew or whalebone. No lifting pole snares, deadfalls, or pitfalls are reported.

224 Fishing and sea-food gathering.—Mussels were gathered by hand; limpets, with a flat-ended stick; sea urchins, with a four-pronged wooden fork; crabs and other Crustacea, with a harpoon or a three-pronged stick. For taking sea food, the *Yahgan* also used a spear with two diverging shanks, or two to four spears lashed together. Women fished with a kelp-stem or braided whale-sinew line, that had a slipknot of whalebone or of quill at the end, instead of a hook, to hold the bait; slowly drawing the fish to the surface, they would grab it by hand. Fishhooks were probably lacking. Weirs of branches or stakes were used. True fish nets were absent. The nearest approach thereto was a small basket attached to the end of a pole and used as a sort of dip net for diminutive fish.

251 Food storage.—Limited quantities of dried fish fungi were stored; so too was oil, especially whale and seal oil.

415 Food preparation and eating.—Large mussel shells were used for melting fat and holding grease. Water was heated and grease melted by dipping hot stones into them, but there is no record of stone boiling proper.

Shells of large mussels were sometimes used as plates; shells or bark baskets as cups; hollow bird bones or reeds as drinking tubes.

CLASSES AND GROUPINGS

361 There were no permanent villages. Certain groups of natives related exclusively by blood and marriage frequented and occupied more or less fixed separate localities within the respective five sub-

437 [437] rency of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
[439] on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
[305] with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
[486] gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

768 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
428 ceased's property was buried with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Such burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

574 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries. [502] Since mussels were the chief food resources, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[502] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to men and women jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S306 Yahgan S306

TABLE 1.—ECONOMICALLY IMPORTANT FLORA OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO

137

ENGLISH	SPANISH	LATIN	ONA	YAHGAN
beech	fire	Nothofagus betuoides	chur[1]	[illegible]
beech	magnol	Nothofagus betuloides	[illegible]	[illegible]
beech [1]	coihue	Nothofagus pumilio	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	lenga [illegible]	Myrtaceae magellanica	[illegible][2]	[illegible]
Winter's bark	canelo	Drimys winteri	chiel	[illegible]
cypress	ciprés	Libocedrus tetragona	—	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	chaura	Pernettya mucronata	[illegible]	[illegible]
barberry	calafate	Berberis buxifolia	[illegible]	[illegible]
barberry	calafate	Berberis ilicifolia	—	[illegible]
[illegible]	—	Chilotrichum amelloides	[illegible]	[illegible]
—	[illegible]	Empetrum rubrum	—	[illegible]
—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
grass	junco	Juncus magellanicus	tai	[illegible]
fungus	—	Cytaria darwinii	yilhen	[illegible]

137
262

Although the Indians of Tierra del Fuego subsisted chiefly by hunting and fishing, they did not overlook the food value of various berries which grow on the island. Of these the most easily obtainable is the barberry, which flourishes everywhere. It is a variety different from the red-berried barberry (*Berberis vulgaris*) found in northern climes, for it looks and tastes not unlike our strawberry and makes an excellent stewed fruit. There there is the red berry of an arbutus, similar to our cranberry in size and shape but rather tasteless; also what is locally called a "strawberry" (*Rubus geoides*) looks like a raspberry, tastes like a blend of peach and papaya, and grows half underground.

The Ona are said to collect grass-seeds (called tai) which they grind to a paste and eat, but this I did not see.

There are ten or more kinds of fungi on Tierra del Fuego, which, according to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1886), were eaten at various times of year by the Yahgan. Of these the most important both to the Ona and the Yahgan was a brilliant orange growth (*Cytaria darwinii*) found on beech trees. When ripe, it is mucilaginous and rather insipid. The Yahgan still dry this fungus on rods and preserve it for winter use (fig. 5). Darwin remarks that since

[1] This tree is an evergreen.
[2] Word borrowing is suggested by the similarity of Ona and Yahgan terms.

[137] the introduction of the potato to New Zealand, Tierra del Fuego is the only part of the world where cryptogamic plants form the chief vegetal diet.

However, the Fuegian Indians failed to utilize many native food plants of value, such as wild celery, two kinds of cress, wild maqueh, wild parsnip, scurvy grass, and mushrooms.

[25]

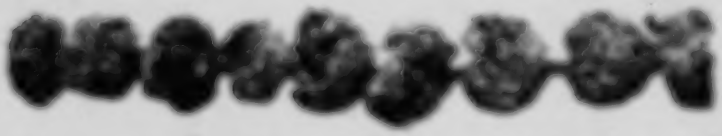

FIG. 5.—*Fungi dried as a vat for winter use.* Length, 9 in. (NEGATIVE)

[137] No description of the flora of Tierra del Fuego can omit mention of the gigantic kelp (*Fucus giganteus*) which almost everywhere fringes the coasts. Though the stems are not thick, they often exceed a hundred feet in length. Darwin[1] picturesquely writes: "I can only compare these great aquatic forests of the southern hemisphere with the terrestrial ones in the intertropical regions. Yet if the latter should be destroyed in any country, I do not believe that nearly so many species of animals would perish, as, under similar circumstances would happen with the kelp. Besides the leaves of this plant numerous species of fish live, which nowhere else would find food or shelter; with their destruction the many cormorants, divers, and other fishing birds, the seals, and porpoises, would soon perish also; and lastly the Fuegian savage, the miserable lord of this miserable land, would relish his cannibal feast, decrease in numbers, and perhaps cease to exist." The kelp forms an excellent breakwater and mooring for canoes, but is an impenetrable barrier to swimmers and has prevented many unfortunate occupants of overturned canoes from safely reaching the shore. Its appearance on the surface of the water may be seen in pl. iv, top, and pl. vi, top.

FAUNA

[136] From the Indian point of view what made Tierra del Fuego a habitable land for habitation was the edible fauna, which in turn

[1] [illegible], p. [illegible]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
3306 Yahgan 3306

136 tantalus to our notions, formed the principal meat diet of the Fuegian Indians. Wind was the only asset of the gunners not utilized by the Ona, for lacking knowledge of weaving and ability to organize in large numbers, they never rounded up the wild guanaco to shoot them, as was done to the Incas on a large scale under the Inca dynasty in Peru.

For the Ona, second place in importance among the land animals falls to the fox (Ona: *mash*), one of the two varieties of which grows to an unusual size. I have been told that on occasions of great scarcity the foxes in Tierra del Fuego have combined to form packs in the fashion of wolves, and it is then well for a man to avoid them. Fox was sometimes eaten by the Ona, and the skin was occasionally used for robes, if guanaco were scarce. Two kinds of bags (*Ishir*[illegible] and *Ishiur*) found in every Ona household were made of fox-skin.

A small burrowing rodent (*Cricetomys fuegianus*), known in Spanish as the *tucutuco* or *cururo*, was eaten by the Ona, who dug up the burrows with sticks. In places large areas of the Fuegian plains,

TABLE II.—FUEGIAN FOODS[1]

136 [illegible]

	Ona	Yahgan
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
fish	[illegible]	[illegible]
shellfish, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]
birds (chiefly in summer)	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] (in summer)	[illegible]	[illegible]

[1] Parallelism indicates importance of foods is indicated by asterisks.

/569 cont./

147 result of the way they are forced to sit and to work, not, however, of their diet.

To every stranger the most striking fact is that the Fuegians
262 can get along with almost no food from the vegetable kingdom. What they eat in the way of fungi and berries occasionally, but always in modest amounts, cannot bear comparison with their uninterrupted meat diet. It is obviously an exaggeration for individual travelers to regard their eating of Cyttaria fungi as worth mentioning. The berries of Pernettya and Berberis have no nourishment, nor have the stalks of Apis, the leaves of Taraxacum, and the roots of Armeria. Cereals, that is, bread and flour, legumes and tubers, fruit and vegetables are unknown to the Fuegian. In summer a person will sometimes eat three or four handfuls of amáiro-gur at one time, which are the berries of Pernettya mucronata, or sépisamájm, the berries of Empetrum rubrum, and if there is a famine, he will eat only Cyttaria fungi for a few days. This, however, can never be upheld as a vegetarian meal (331) since it is obviously only a slight refreshment, an

331. The members of the Mission Scientifique maintain with Hyades (q):338 about the Yamana: "We never saw them make a meal of only vegetable foods" /translated from French/. Other reliable observers report it just as scarce.

expedient, or a very occasional tickling of the palate.

263 The invariable meat diet in itself scarcely gives them any real desire /570/ for salt, although all the meat is extremely fat. The meat salts probably suffice for the human body, and beyond that it gets, almost unconsciously and unnoticed, a not incomsiderable amount of salt from the sea water. In the shells of Mytilus and other mussels, in the calcareous shells of sea urchins and crabs, there is always a small amount of sea water, even though the contents have been cooked. When pieces of
[252] meat of birds and seals are washed off, the Indians prefer to use sea water from which a tiny amount of salt inevitably remains on the meat.

/570 cont./

263 [271] on the meat. Finally, without conscious intent, the Indians take the ocean spray, even larger drops, into their mouths when it strikes their faces while they work in the canoe or on the beach. These individually very insignificant particles of salt I should estimate as a not too small daily total in view of the high salt content of sea water (332). The Yamana need a somewhat larger

332. We look in vain for any reference to this among those Europeans who have only expressed their astonishment at the absence of salt. All the missionaries and many travelers report that the food is not specially salted, for example, Outes (g):52, Hyades (q):339, and others. The latter (d):306 also maintains: "Sea salt as a condiment is unknown and would not be appreciated" /translated from French/; it is much sharper than cooking salt, as is well known.

amount of salt than the Selk'nam because they eat considerable amounts of light fat daily and because the meat juice of all the animals they consume contains far less salt than guanaco meat. This amount of salt is supplied to their bodies unconsciously, so to speak, but very definitely, and for this reason they do not need to sprinkle additional salt on their roast.

It is not surprising that the Fuegians are also unacquainted with any kind of spices and stimulants. Without reservation Hyades [276] (d):306 emphasizes: "They do not use any intoxicating, narcotic, or stimulating substance" /translated from French/ and adds in another place (f):564 that they do not have "condiments." This designation includes pepper and nutmeg, cloves and caraway, 262 vinegar, and similar things. Liquid fat, however, from seals and whales, if one wishes to include that here, is very often taken in small amounts (333), but it serves the natives as actual

333. Hyades (f):564 confirms that "seal oil is very much enjoyed and that the natives drink it with pleasure in small amounts, before or after the meal" /translated from French/.

/570 cont./

262 nourishment of very considerable importance.

For sweets, which they must painfully do without, they show
263 almost a passion, probably for that very reason. They have only temporarily at their disposal the ripe berries with low sugar content from the well-known shrubs. In early summer they take the nectar out of the blossoms of mʍku (Embothrium coccineim) with their tongues, chew the sweetish petals of the rare Philesia buxifolia, and suck the sweet young shoots of Poa flabellata, the type of grass that they use as litter for their beds (p. 31). Finally they peel a piece of bark from young tree trunks in the spring. /571/ Exerting pressure, they scrape a mussel shell along the exposed fibrous layer, from below upward. In the process the sweetish sap, ulkex, collects in the mussel shell and they drink it. All this taken together is still only a tiny amount of sweets.

263 Nowadays our Indians always procure sugar first whenever
177 possible, and that abundantly (334). As may be expected, they

334. Along with other observers Hyades (f):564 emphasizes that they show "a real passion for natural sugar and heavily sweetened substances" /translated from French/.

use it indiscriminately and lavishly. They are guided, however, not so much by the physiological need, but far more by their enjoyment of it (335). Their partiality for onions is also re-

335. I noticed the same behavior among the Selk'nam (Vol. 1, 293).

markable. The cooked meat of crabs, especially axʍya (Lithodes antarctica) and ʍekflus (Paralomis verrucosus), is very tasty prepared with a little vinegar and chopped onions. The Yamana, without exception, are enthusiastic about this. Nowadays if they cook a meal of beans or rice or other legume, they naturally use cooking salt; only when they do not have it do they stir up the mixture with sea water. The addition of salt is demanded in this type of food which tastes flat even when larger pieces of meat of

/571 cont./

263 sea birds or seals are cooked in it. Along with European foods,
177 the desire for salt was introduced there.

In the entire vegetable kingdom of the Cape Horn region there
273 is not a sufficient amount of a single fruit that would be suitable
177 for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The latter were unknown to the Yamana until they were offered to them by Europeans. The navigators of earlier times often noted that our natives could not develop a taste for spirits. They have come to it only through frequent use in the last few decades (336). Whiskey is almost never

336. Dabbene (b):187 from his own experience says: "Formerly they did not like alcoholic beverages, but now they have become accustomed to them through their contact with civilization and ardently desire them" /translated from Spanish/. Wieghardt: 37 and others say the same.

[439] available to them; instead they get the thick red wine from the
Mendoza region, which they call sāpa, "blood." When they have
733 an opportunity, they put a great deal of this into their stomachs, and since their nerves react to it immediately, they drag their drunkenness with its attendant symptoms about with them for days. A small amount is very hard on these natural people who are not accustomed to it, and the damage to their health is inestimable (p. 351 /untranslated/) (337). A few /572/ persons, such as Nelly

337. Duse:93 writes that when in those distant regions "civilization obtruded and brought along its inevitable accompaniments [alcohol and tobacco], it became clear that these sons of the wilderness [the Selk'nam] did not place any value on them. The Yahgan, on the other hand, quickly fell victims to the new luxuries and were capable of giving up their last skin [of seal and otter] for a piece of tobacco or a drink of whiskey." Compare in this connection the more detailed account on page 348 /untranslated/.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Yahgan SHS

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CAMPS AND SETTLEMENTS

361 There were no permanent villages. Certain groups of natives re- 621 lated apparently by blood and marriage frequented and occupied more or less fixed separate localities within the respective five sub-

/384 cont./

357 huts present a picture of utter confusion. They own but few objects, and these they are always dragging about with them. They have no idea of how to take care of them. Often these insignificant possessions are left out in the rain and snow, lie in dirt and mud, are lost by the dogs, or damaged by fire and smoke. Inside the hut small baskets and pieces of skin, tools and implements, weapons and ornamental objects are shoved about hither and yon; there is no thought of handling them gently or taking care of them. /385/ True, the single small hut serves many purposes. Not only the members of the family, but the dogs and all the possessions are housed in the same crowded space. Under such conditions how can order and cleanliness thrive and be maintained!

[514] Small children are almost never absent, and in their lack of judgment they cause a lot of confusion and take care of their natural requirements inside the hut. Dogs rummage around the sleeping places and among the things that have been carelessly tossed about. Everyone usually eats squatting beside the fire. • 244 Many of the scraps are immediately tossed into the fire, but not everything can be cleared away. Here and there are bits of meat and fat, crushed, raw mussels and crabs, remnants of sea birds and fish.

The considerable amount of blubber clinging to these things is transferred to the people themselves, who after their meals wipe their dripping hands either on the sides of their own 357b bodies or on the sleeping place. There is a persistent heavy smell of blubber throughout the interior of the hut, on all the objects and people, to which a European rarely grows accustomed. The moisture which penetrates everything quickly rots the vegetable matter used in the sleeping place, as well as the pieces of leather and skins which sometimes still need to be dressed. All this is mixed with the odor of the skin secretions of people and dogs. There is a disagreeable mixture of all kinds of fumes constantly rising in the small space. It increases from day to day, the longer the hut is used, and it is not affected by the ease with which fresh air blows through the loose structure. One cannot say that a really foul odor develops, but stuffy, musty, heavy fumes fill the whole interior (39). On a sunny day the Indians sometimes loosen the hut

39. Only with reservations can we accept Hyades's (f) :557 statement of his experience

/428 cont./

515 and down over their nostrils; afterwards they draw their hand
through grass or moss. No one is offended by belching and
516 breaking wind, the smacking of lips during eating, and gurgling
/427/ in drinking. Younger people, however, may not make
flatulent noises in the presence of old people without noticeably
offending them.

516 In the canoe, in contrast to a campsite on the beach, dirt
and filth cannot accumulate, although the family uses it almost
daily for their travels. Some water comes into the canoe on all
sides, and it is open to rain and snow; hence the whole interior
is often rinsed out. True, small remnants of leather and the re-
mains of animals obtained by hunting, food scraps, and shells
lie about and produce a noticeable stench, but the salt water pre-
vents fouler decomposition. It never occurs to the Indian to
clean his canoe thoroughly, but the forces of nature are more
than willing to do it. During the trip, everyone takes care of
517 his natural needs overboard if he cannot wait until the landing.
• 518 For good reason the people in the canoe seldom eat and then
only a little. They throw refuse into the fire, which is always
kept going, or simply overboard.

3. Body Painting

522 We shall speak here only of those efforts of the Tamana
which arise from their desire to adorn and beautify themselves.
Their interest in rubbing their bodies with fish oil or a suitable
kind of earth (p. 68) to protect themselves against the cold or
against dirt serves another purpose. The most frequent and
principal method of adornment is to paint the face and the
whole body. Compared with this, objects for ornamentation are
quite secondary (165). Moreover, all painting, whether it is

165. Lothrop (b):125 confirms this: "The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days" /cited in English/.

that of their own bodies or of an object, has a special meaning
and a recognizable purpose.

/585 cont./

262 mollusks are the one somewhat constant article in the native diet" /translated from French/.

252 The preparation of the double-shelled mussels is a simultaneous steaming and boiling. When the Indian woman tears the mussel loose under water, it shuts its two valves tight. It does the same when it is exposed by low tide. It retains a few drops of sea water inside so that its breathing organs do not dry up. When it is placed in the heat of the fire, those drops are heated inside and finally turn to steam. By the time the force of the steam tears open the locked shells, the meat is tender. Thanks to the slight amount of salt in which it is steeped, it is really very tasty. Snails and crabs, as well as other lower animals, such as chitons, yéhir ℓ, are steamed in hot ashes, hence they are drier and nowhere near as tasty as ℓ̄ ̄ and hᵊ̄ ̄.

This concludes the list of foods which the Fuegian prepares in a special way. Almost all of them originate in the sea or on the shore. Bove (d):291 thus maintains, very correctly: "The sea furnishes the principal foods of the Fuegians. Fish, limpets, crabs, seals, aquatic birds, in short whatever the sea produces forms part of their diet" /translated from Italian/. In the vegetable kingdom it is only fungi of the Cyttari species which are not often specially prepared, but are dried by being skewered on small sticks, strung up to form a chain, and put near the fire. Fungi gathered in winter and completely frozen are laid near the fire to thaw. Celery roots (Apium australe) are roasted in hot ashes. Only a few things are eaten raw (p.304).

4. How They Eat

•264 The entire conduct of the Fuegians at meals is repulsive to a European. To condemn them for this would be unjust because they are completely deprived of many comforts which are taken for granted by us in our ordered circumstances. Nevertheless, they, too, are guided by certain rules in eating. Sometimes they show extraordinary self-control. Finally, they do not by any means take anything and everything indiscriminately, just to satisfy their voracious appetite or to fill their stomachs.

/588 cont./

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swered us: "Their common way of cooking is to put everything into the ashes until sufficiently done for their taste, or until their hunger could allow them to wait no longer" /cited in English/. All later observers, for example, Hyades (p).328, vouch for this general rule.

262 Although the Yaegan literally lives from hand to mouth and sometimes finds himself in dire distress, he still shows an astonishing amount of self-control in eating, and this is sometimes forced on him by certain rules. We refer to his duty to cut up the booty he has brought home and let the neighbors share it (p. 314). Moreover, not every individual has free access to a stranded whale, but is content with the pieces that are given him by the chosen distribution (p. 308). Finally there are a few definite food taboos on certain occasions, which everyone observes. A law given by Yahgan says that berries -- actually, only those of Pernettya mucronata -- may not be gathered permanently, and that they must be left on the bushes until old men declare that they are ripe. If some people should discover favorable spots where there are many berries, they warn their friends and neighbors: "There are many amfgn there, but wait until they are ripe!" If, nevertheless, some women and children should look for that place and pick the berries, subsequent visitors will find the bushes empty and will say: "amfgn ashin, the berries have gone away!" This means that the berries removed themselves in revenge and expiation for that forbidden act. Since the culprits are not known, but the bushes are actually stripped of fruit, the entire occurrence is given a superstitious interpretation. /589/ This is supposed to prevent the berries from being picked before they are ripe. At certain times determined by ancient custom, only a little food or only certain things are permitted, as, for instance, during the initiation, during the first menstrual period, after confinement, and so forth. In general everyone adheres to this conscientiously.

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233
[illegible]

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Only occasionally is a person carried away to real immoderation in eating. Anyone who eats hastily and greedily is called Mmgo which is anything but respectable. Everyone is supposed to control himself sufficiently in eating so that others always

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576

/389 cont./

regard him as moderate and slow. Modest and contented reserve is very much praised (366). When several people are together,

> 366. Earlier Dempard (b):680 mentioned that the Yamana "hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'smalleater' " /cited in English/.

they watch each other, the one who acts as though he would rather not eat a thing makes the best impression. Within the narrower family circle people are emphatically warned of mistakes of this nature in the presence of a stranded whale, for now there is great danger that someone will let himself go too far, given this favorable opportunity. In all this there is probably also an unconscious warning against damaging one's own health. It has been proved that the human stomach does not tolerate the great amounts of fat that are suddenly offered it. It is necessary to become somewhat accustomed to it (367). There is another

> 367. Bridges (MSS:IX, 13,1875), on April 21, 1876, observed the ravenous appetite of several families: "The natives have suffered much temporary pain from eating the whale, and I hear that this is usual at first, but passes off with the continued use of whale-meat" /cited in English/. Thus a certain habituation is necessary for a normal digestion when large amounts of fat are eaten.

danger. Whale fat is considered tastier the longer the animal has lain dead in the water. It then melts by itself and is known as *ellgilli* in this state. Not infrequently there is serious poisoning when such putrified fat and meat are eaten, as missionaries have repeatedly reported.

For example, we have the following description by Lawrence, dated March 25, 1897 (MSS:XI, 173;1887): "A canoe brought

262 /590 cont./
164 they are capable in other circumstances.

Every traveler has frequent and ready opportunity to observe
264 their conduct while eating. It is anything but beautiful. Usually
252 the individual squats beside the fire and waits until the piece of meat in the embers or ashes is done. He takes it out with a little stick, lets it cool a bit on stones or bits of brush lying about, and picks it up with /591/ both fists. Sometimes the piece is still so hot that he cannot hold it. Even so, he tears off large bites with his strong teeth and swallows them without ostensibly chewing. From a large roast the pieces are torn off more than bitten off and swallowed in sizable chunks. Strangely enough, the Yamana chews very little. This applies also to the sometimes tough meat of birds. He quickly swallows hot morsels that he cannot keep in his mouth and following them sometimes takes a swallow of water or a small lump of snow (372). Since they

372. The Selk'nam have the same habit (Vol. I, 297).

quickly put the too hot morsel into their mouths, they constantly make a sucking sound while they move it around in their mouths.

When the mussels that were shoved onto the embers are done, they burst open by themselves. They are fished out with a little stick and allowed to cool a bit on the ground. Then in one hand the Indian takes the shell to which the meat adheres, holds it horizontally, breaks off the empty shell with his other hand, and with his fingers tears out the meat which he immediately pops into his mouth. Finally he holds the flat mussel shell itself to his lips, since the drops accumulated in it are very tasty, and sucks them in noisily. Snail shells are broken into pieces with a handy stone to expose the roasted contents, and the same is done with the calcareous covering of the tasty sea acorn, ifpa (Balanus psittacus).

Blubber sausages and the less common blood sausages are opened at one end, held up to the mouth, and the contents fall in. They place baked fish on the trampled earth and separate them with their fingers, the thumb nails used chiefly. The large crab, axlya (Lithodes antarctica), as well as mekklus (Paralomis

/591 cont./

264 252 verrucosus), which are put in hot ashes, steam and cook until they are tender, since the slight amount of water in the shell turns into steam. Then the individual members are broken off, and the meat is removed with a small stick or is sucked out of the shell.

264 The meat of roasted birds is generally tough. It is grasped with both hands so that individual pieces can be torn off. In eating, the Yamana works only with his hands and fingers; he is not familiar with knives, forks, or spoons. Large drops of blubber and fat often fall off, some of which he catches with his mouth, the rest he licks off with his tongue. He wipes his fat-drenched hands first on his thighs, then on skins or the inside wall of his hut. After what has been said, it is not surprising that his whole body, especially his face, glistens with fat.

264 252 Fat from the whale and sea lion is sometimes melted in a shallow mussel shell of *ǯɔuf* (Mytilus) or *ǯɔ̌ɔ̌ina* (Venus or Mactra) placed in hot ashes (273). Blubber drippings are also

> 273. We read in La Nature 312 that a large mussel shell serves "as plate, as the dish in which fish oil is melted to serve as seasoning" /translated from French/.

caught in it, /592/ as well as in the shell of the Volute snail or on a shoulder blade of a seal. It is immediately drunk or collected in a piece of gut. It is not customary, however, to heat up liquid blubber deliberately. We cannot emphasize too often that the Yamana eat liquid blubber, *kun*, several times a day, but always in small amounts, say, a mouthful (274).

> 274. Even Spencer 102 noticed that "they drink this; like Scott's Emulsion" /cited in English/.

264 The meal proceeds very noisily with the constant inhaling and smacking of lips. Remnants of food are immediately burned in the nearby fire or thrown to the dogs which lope about obsequiously and are boldly persistent. While the Indian eats, he is very silent and devotes all his attention to what he is doing.

/590 cont./

264

Thus he gives the effect of being wanton. He almost never eats while he is walking, except for a few berries or fungi just picked and immediately eaten. He always squats on the ground near a fire while eating.

The daily work of the Fueguian depends on the changing weather, that is to say, there is no particular hour for a single one of his occupations, nor are there definite mealtimes. In the usual order of the day everyone eats well in the morning and in the late afternoon, in other words, before they set out and soon after they land their canoe (375). This does not mean, however, that occasionally

375. In this sense the words of Hyades (p. 328 are correct: "There are two principal meals, one in the morning several hours after getting up and the other in the evening before going to sleep" /translated from French/.

someone does not also eat his fill at some other hour, whether he sits in his hut or in his canoe; everyone eats when he feels like it. The Fueguians eat often during the day and sometimes even at night (376). Apparently everything they eat is nourishing and

376. Fitz-Roy (a):185 confirms that "two or three times in the course of a night they wake to eat and drink. In the day-time also they eat and drink very frequently" /cited in English/.

advantageous, but we cannot deny that with a meat diet exclusively the body demands larger quantities than with a diet that includes plenty of carbohydrates. We must also consider the fact that the damp, cold climate takes a great deal out of the natives, because they are only scantily dressed and often are soaking wet. That is why they frequently desire to eat during the day (377) and

377. In Le Nature:311 we read: "The Fueguian must take [food] in large quantities, and even after a very large meal they are still hungry" /translated from French/.

/501 cont./

[264] by no means only a few tidbits. It is almost always a considerable amount, so that the meal during a single day is astonishingly large. Every observer will agree with the words of Ipagnoint (p) 171: "These people have no set time for eating; they eat all day, they eat whenever and whenever they please, and according to what I saw, they eat a great deal" /translated from Spanish/. As we have said, at any one time they take liquid bubbles, but, in only small quantities, but all the more frequently. /501/ A man or woman will sometimes empty a bubbler vessage ten centimeters long in one draught (370). Visitors like to bring it along as a present.

[243]

[243]

370. Hyodow (f) 164 mentions: "They are likewise fond of the oil of the liver of sharks, but always small quantities at a time" /translated from French/.

With the exception of mornings and evenings, everyone begins to eat whenever he feels like it. This is the general custom. One is more likely to be stimulated if he sees someone else chewing and he will join him. There is never much preparation involved. A person will reach into a basket of morsels or will tear off a piece of meat from a raw liver or a bird hanging on a bench tree in front of the hut and place it on the fire. Everyone helps himself, and whatever supplies are in the hut are at everyone's disposal (371).

371. The words of Hyodow (p) 328 that "women and children eat with the men" /translated from French/ do not mean anything.

Everyone acts as though it were completely taken for granted and not a disturbance to his neighbor if he moves near the fire at night and satisfies his appetite underwhelmed. The only rule generally observed is that in the morning before the first time is taken one rinses out his mouth with cold water and spits it out again. Some people are more particular about this than about daily morning ablutions. While the individual pieces are roasting in the fire, everyone watches them attentively, turns them often and meanwhile increases his appetite. He turns them with his fingers or

[315]

/103 cont./

246 [4] pokes into them with a little stick, constantly shifting the glowing embers or piling the hot ashes higher. He goes particular pleasure out of entertaining himself in this way, until he can give himself up completely to enjoying them. When the pieces are done and have proved to be very delicious, he clicks his tongue with delight and lets everybody around him know in what gluttonous ecstasy he is foaming. During the trip in the canoe every occupant must cautiously move up to the small fire, and one moves away when another person wants to roast something for himself. The woman, whose duty it is to do the rowing, must regularly go without food for hours, but she makes up for it later on the beach. If circumstances make it impossible -- usu-
261 ally it is bad weather -- everyone can get along all right without [47] food for considerable time. On the other hand, if one finds himself with a great abundance, he can consume almost incalculable amounts. A person can gain weight quickly, but he can just as quickly grow thin again. One can hear such changes in children over a period of a few days. Their health apparently does not suffer, however (300).

300. Lothrop (p.103) has expressed some conjectures about the relation between diet and physical size in Tierra del Fuego, but he cites only inadequate observations which are not sustained by actual facts.

246 [5] In conclusion, it becomes clear from certain customs that the Fuegian is guided by definite rules in eating. For example, he does not bother with very dirty meat, but throws it away without further ado. Something that has been nibbled at by a dog he angrily lets him have. /104/ He removes decaying pieces of meat as far as possible from his hut, whereas he does not seem to have any feeling about melting fat or moldy skins. His sense of smell is [illegible] very much dulled, and he never holds a doubtful piece up to his nose. Anything that has become putrid has to give off a vile odor before he will remove it. He is certainly not clean in eating and in his ways. Nevertheless, one person will prove to be more of a gourmet, the other less. He knows the tastier pieces and the juicier morsels and chooses

/[illegible] cont./

254 151 these if possible. The tender meat of young animals tickles his palate, and the height of ecstacy for him is the nicely browned fat of a whale that has been stranded for some time. There are many things that conclusively prove that a Fuegian's taste is by no means insensible or dulled, no matter how uniform the taste of everything that he eats on account of so much blubber.

5. How They Store Food

257 261 The unsettled way of life and their uninterrupted changes of dwelling do not permit the Yamana to lay in large supplies. The general statement of Hyades (d):306 "They do not make any provision for the future" /translated from French/, applies without qualification, since they do not strive to provide for the immediate or the distant future. A decisive factor may be that food does not keep in that arbitrarily inclement weather, and in order to preserve it, one would have to go through all kinds of complicated preparations. All this is superfluous, because throughout the entire year and with almost limitless generosity the sea puts all kinds of animals at the disposal of the men who hunt and the women who gather. Storm or accident will deprive a family of these things for no more than a few days. Generally no one need reckon with the danger of hunger, and everyone almost anywhere finds an abundance of what he needs (301).

> 301. Bridges' (b):306 brief statement says a great deal: "In general, food is abundant" /translated from Spanish/.

Why, then, should anyone worry about food for the future (302)?

> 302. Hyades (g):36 writes: "The most wonderful thing about the Fuegians is that they never think of providing for the next day. And yet winter is severe enough and there are by no means few periods when the Fuegian can neither hunt nor fish nor even pick up mussels on the rocks

/MS cont./

585 housekeeper (56), so to speak, for here she also arranges her

56. Martial.138 called her "the door-woman" /translated from French/. Bridges (1:3) wrote in exaggerated detail: "Each grown person had his or her place in the wigwam and the several wives of a man had each her appointed place as respected the seat of her husband, from which she derived her title. Thus the first, or rather principle /sic/ wife, for sometimes the first in respect of time became second or third in respect of rank, was spoken of as Wigwasis, i.e., the one on the dearside, because her place was invariably on that side of her husband. The second was called Uhsaigwi, because she sat next her husband on the inner side, and third Cwhiellabro, i.e., next beyond on the inner side of. Thus each knew her place when they went into any fresh dwelling, but usually a man had not more than one or two wives at a time" /cited in English/.

sleeping place did the husband has his place beside her. Next to him, on the inner side of the hut, the second wife takes her place, hence she is called [illegible], who is, according to BD.114, "the second wife, when there are two, because her place was on the upper or inner side of her husband in the wigwam" /cited in English/. Moreover, the first wife is entitled to give the other one certain tasks and other orders. The latter submits, more because she is younger than in acknowledgment of a special greater power of her superior. It never occurs to the first wife to misuse her power, much less to leave her rival in want or to harm her. Just as in general the first wife distributes to the neighboring huts the meat that her husband brings home, so she lets the second wife have a special piece (57). She is particularly attentive,

585 ● 247

57. Hence she is not dependent on the whims of the first wife at every meal, as Martial.138

/Bell cont./

[illegible]

> maintain. According to the common custom, everyone in a hut may eat what is there and whenever he pleases (p. 336).

from a feeling of common humanity, while the other is moving on infant. Both of them freely take part in the daily activities. A great deal is automatically regulated by the fact that the younger woman must take care of her small children. In most polygamous marriages the first wife is unable to work or is weak, but in any case the second wife /Bell/ has more or less all the work in the hut or the canoe. If, as often happens, they are sisters, the daily work runs harmoniously and smoothly.

In some cases, however, the relationship between two wives can be very much disturbed by envy and jealousy, if the two are not related, if the man shows more love and affection for the younger of the two, if he obviously treats her with more friendliness and tenderness. The first wife, who now is clearly aware of her lawful pre-eminence, controls her silent envy for a long time. Later, in regular waves of jealousy, she seriously reproaches her husband. Finally, if all her efforts to win his love are in vain, she definitely leaves him. Such conditions are the exception in polygamous marriages and probably occur only when the husband wants to get rid of his first wife. The two rivals almost always live together harmoniously, particularly if the older one is dependent on the younger because of physical ailments and even more often if both are sisters. Then neither one is jealous of the demonstrations of affection which the other receives from their common husband, no matter how intimately the fondness is displayed. The first wife never relinquishes her own rights (56).

> 56. The meaning of [illegible] which BD:180 gives, "to cause the first wife to take the place in the wigwam of the second or third" /cited in English/, has no legal significance.

[illegible]

Here is an example of how unreliably two Europeans who visited our Pueblos simultaneously reported on one and the same arrangement. According to Spegazzini (c):106, "the peace of

/937 cont.

point on the outside in order to keep a bonfire. Truly, the hut framework withstands a great deal. Individual gaps that appear and let rain or snow in are immediately closed.

Construction of the Cookhut

In their everyday life the Yamana have no fixed times for meals. They help themselves when they are hungry or when something is offered. During the youth initiation even the adults have their eating considerably curtailed because food may not be prepared in the Great Hut. The food is prepared outside for all the participants together and is brought in ready to eat. Everyone gets plenty and is, of course, satisfied with everything that is offered. Even with these common meals, the adults are free to go back to their own hut for brief hours and to eat there what they have on hand. Many of them make use of this freedom more or less often.

For the place in which food is to be prepared for the sometimes large number of fellow participants, the Yamana choose a small hut which is specially erected about 20 to 30 paces from the Great Hut. In every respect it resembles the ordinary dwelling of that region, dome-shaped in the west and cone-shaped in the east. They do not use the ornamental plaques mentioned above or any other decoration in it. In the center of the hut a huge fire burns, where the pieces of meat and the slabs of fat are roasted. The hut also serve to bake the fish and steam the mussels. This hut is large enough so that the Indian women working in it can also sleep there. Thus, even in size it resembles an ordinary dwelling. Usually this cookhut is built immediately after the Great Hut is finished, sometimes even while it is being built, for with the start of the ceremony, the work of the women engaged in cooking also begins (301).

301. In the same way the Halakwulup also erect a cookhut beside the Great Hut for their initiation rite, in which food for all the participants is prepared. See Gusinde (pp.341.

/837 cont./

At work here are three to five women who have declared themselves willing to undertake the busy position of a so-called cook. They voluntarily put themselves at the leader's disposal. Although their work is not hard, it demands many sacrifices of them, the most difficult being to relinquish uninterrupted participation in the events in the Great Hut. /838/ These women spend most of their time in their kitchen quarters and meanwhile forgo the entertaining fellowship with the others. Formerly they prepared mussels, crabs, meat, and blubber; today they cook a thick soup of legumes, with mutton if they have it, in a bucket or large metal tub. When these Indians promised to let me take part in my first and second initiations (p. 652, 658), they requested European food and all kinds of extras. The Yamana do not have a special name for the cooks; they are simply makaliku ŝipa, that is, "capable, handy women." The cookhut is simply ŝipa ŝuŝel, "hut for the women." In March, 1922, the chief women in the hut were the wife of Pedro and the wife of Calderon, and they were assisted by the two sisters, Gertie and Adelheid. Actually, throughout the whole ceremony, they missed the proceedings in the Great Hut for several hours each day.

If there should be no volunteers for this kitchen duty, the leader must specifically appoint several persons. He also reminds them of the three meals, which, according to ancient custom, occur in the early morning, at noon, and at twilight. The women are already well aware of this. In modern times these hours are kept automatically since the Indians have become accustomed to them by their routine on the farms. During the initiation, however, they are not too exact; when the women have the food ready, they bring it to the Great Hut where every other activity is immediately cut short. When the cooks have finished their day's work, they take their places in the Great Hut and, along with the rest of the adults, take part in the performances, preferring especially the dances and games in the evening.

Y. Guard Duty

Just as inconspicuously as the leader divides the work of building the Great Hut among certain men and the kitchen

X881 /848 cont./
533 It is stronger and more universal during the evening dancing, very faint and soft during the forenoon hours.

With all the simplicity of the melody, there are nevertheless slight variations, which, one beside the other, produce some diversity. Many a person is pleased when he hears a certain variant from the mouth of another, which sometimes arouses precious memories within him. The čiéxaus truly keeps alive ancient melodies. Since most of them are sung only at the youth initiation, their sound awakens the spiritual mood which alone enables one to enjoy this solemn gathering profitably. The uninterrupted singing is also supposed to show that there is vigilance in the Great Hut and that nothing harmful can approach unnoticed.

X881 When darkness falls, the čiéxaus hut shelters all the adults who are regular participants. All the more immediate preparations, including the division of labor, were inconspicuously attended to, very gradually the beginning of the celebration was introduced, and the ceremony now runs its course quietly each day without any particular division of time.

2. Reception of the Candidates

X881 177 264 The weak superficiality of our Indians of today has unfortunately also interrupted the good custom of abstaining from all food on the first evening of the assembly in the Great Hut. After the general singing has lasted about two hours, the kitchen women appear and place a tall metal container of thick soup in front of the leader, who, ladling it out with a large spoon, fills the plates while the women pass them around to all present. The meal is soon over, and the dishes are gathered up by the women who /849/ without delay disappear with them. Everyone carefully gathers the food remains and burns them; afterwards the central passage is cleaned and swept (267).

267. At the present time the Yamana keep to the routine that they have taken over from the Europeans, even in the Great Hut, but as of old they are very strict about burning all the remains

/849 cont./

X881
177
264

of food. These minor cleaning chores are considerably easier in modern times since the prepared food is usually handed to the people present on tin plates. Their original way of eating caused much more refuse.

α. Capture in the Camp

X881

Meanwhile the singing has been resumed by most of the people. With unobtrusive signs the leader gives a definite message to the winefkéʔa, and he inconspicuously notifies his helpers. They get ready to capture the first candidate. The older participants have previously named the young people who are to be made uswʔala on this occasion (p. 669). Without disturbing the singing, in which usually the helpers, too, softly take part, the latter paint themselves (p. 685). Then they get up, form a row with one not very far behind the other, and grasp the leather strap, fikeša, which hangs, unrolled, lengthwise on the interior framework (p. 686).

With a long drawn-out ho ho ho, uttered in a threatening tone, the winefkéʔa is the first to dash out of the Great Hut, followed by his helpers. Quickly they turn toward the dwelling from which they wish to fetch the uswʔala. The latter is frightened at the sight of the feared men. In his terror he crawls under the covers of his sleeping-place, but that does not help him; the men seize him and hold him tight, pull the lasso over his head, and bind him. Now he must follow them to the Great Hut. Resistance and stubbornness would be of no avail, so he follows the men and gives himself up to the fate that awaits him.

Many a boy and girl who previously have not been threatened by adults give themselves up willingly and without resistance to their relative, who leads them to the Great Hut. They, therefore, need not be dragged to it forcibly by the guard's assistants. At the entrance they are received in the manner reserved for all uswʔala without exception and, of course, for a definite purpose.

The appearance of the guards in the camp and the terrified screaming of their victim spread dismay in all the huts where there

X881 [515 177]

/911 cont./

the younger people wash with soap in the morning (334), usually

334. They have adopted this habit from Europeans, and they cling to it even in the Great Hut.

in front of the Great Hut. A few women busy themselves with the long fire and make bright flames leap up, while the men join in the continuous singing and give themselves up to their thoughts. [513] The night's sleep lasts only six to seven hours.

X881 264

3. Meals. Formerly during the ciexaus celebration the adults were also obliged to observe some restrictions in eating, as they personally saw fit. To this day the Yamana uphold at least the rule that all food must be prepared exclusively in the secondary hut. In former times the kitchen women brought a meal from there to the people gathered in the Great Hut only twice a day, namely, a bite a few hours after arising and abundant portions toward four o'clock in the afternoon. The sponsors arranged it so that their protégés were usually not led outside before the first meal and that they were again present during the second. In case an adult missed the meals, he was permitted to go to the cookhut and receive something to eat there. It was not customary for extra food to be distributed in the Great Hut for latecomers after these two periods.

X881 264 869

In general the Yamana eat rapidly and even more so during the čiexaus celebration. Food is brought in from the cookhut as secretly as possible. Since the preparation of the food cannot be hidden, the adults and, above all, the children outside in the camp who do not take part in the celebration are led to believe that it is devoured by Yetáita or by other spirits (p. 761), but not by the inmates (335). In order to carry out this deception, at a

335. At the end of the celebration the candidates actually do appear very weary and weak when they come back to the actual camp and they are quite generally pitied (p. 829).

certain time before the meal a few men and women inside the

/911 cont./

881 Great Hut shout: "We have been very hungry for a long time,
• 264 the spirits take all the food for themselves and quickly eat it up!"
869 In order to convince outsiders of the supposed hunger of the inmates, individual persons will go out and crowd around the secondary entrance without leaving. At the same time they act as though they could not wait until the kitchen women arrive and as though they wanted to make sure of getting a goodly quantity before the food is brought into the hut and the spirits pounce upon it. Finally the kitchen women approach. The vessel in which
[415] the food is brought was formerly a leather pouch, a little basket, or a bucket made of bark; today it is a bowl /912/ painted red and white. At the entrance the persons who were waiting outside crowd around them, apparently from hunger, but the kitchen women squeeze through, and as they step into the Great Hut they call out the hóhohohóh in a moderately strong and high-pitched voice. All the inmates respond loudly and enthusiastically. The uǐwǐala have had their heads covered in plenty of time, and now one of the men roars and pounds against the earth to impersonate Yetǐjta. At the secondary entrance where the kitchen women enter, the vessel is hastily drawn in, as though the evil spirit has been avidly waiting for it. Several women are standing ready here, and they immediately pour the food into another vessel and quickly toss the empty, painted bowl outside with a great racket. They do this very conspicuously for it is supposed to announce to the people standing outside that Yetǐjta himself, with inimitable haste and greed, is devouring the whole meal. To the outsiders the inference is supposed to be that within the few minutes from the time the kitchen women enter until the bowl is tossed out the abundant amount of food could neither be distributed to the people present nor consumed by them and the vessel emptied. Almost at the same time a few men within loudly call out: "The kéǐpif [spirits] alone have eaten all the food. Again there is nothing left for us!"

While the adults in the Great Hut eat merrily, albeit hastily, the uǐwǐala also consume the few bites that the sponsors hand them. Meanwhile, however, their faces remain covered. They are supposed to go on believing that Yetǐjta is at least taking part in the meal, even though he does not devour it all alone. While they

/912 cont./

X 881 264 869

eat, the adults try to make almost no sound. Meanwhile the candidates, well covered with pieces of leather, are sent to the area near the secondary entrance, for they are not supposed to realize that the other people are eating. Before the cover is removed from the faces of the ulwala, all the food remains which could arouse suspicion are removed. Meanwhile the ulwala are told: "Every glutton or lazy person falls as prey to Yetaja and is devoured by him!" Thus we see that this opportunity, too, is used to increase the candidates' fear and terror of Yetaja.

If, in the course of the day, the adults wish to take a few extra bites, they hang something over the faces of the ulwala or cover their faces entirely with a piece of leather. Some person while eating will throw a piece of meat into the fire and say in an audible voice: "This is for Yetaja!" This, too, is supposed to encourage the candidates' false belief in this spirit.

X 881 264

The actual meal is soon disposed of, for scarcely anyone has his fill. When a person eats he grasps the piece of meat with one hand, and with his other hand closed in a fist, he makes a rolling motion of the arm toward another person who is likewise eating or to whom he has given a piece. /913/ This gesture is supposed to indicate that one courteously extends an invitation to the other and is enjoying the food in his company.

Now and then, when the mood strikes the leader, a special delegation is sent from the ʔéesaxs hut to the cookhut to fetch something to eat between meals. The leader and two or three men selected by him break into the customary general singing with a very loud, high-pitched nox three times. This is repeated at intervals and finally sounds like hōnox. For the women in the cookhut it means nothing less than an urgent request to prepare something quickly which they can hand over to the delegation. Again, a few minutes pass and the hōnox is repeated. Finally the two men dash out of the secondary exit, hasten to the cookhut, and disappear inside.

One evening I saw them take along a painted pot. Amid continuous calls of "hōnox" it was filled with coffee for them; at the same time other women impaled a large loaf of bread on a pointed stick and placed it in the hand of one of the two men. With this "booty" they hastened back to the ʔéesaxs hut where they

[272 262]

/913 cont./

were received with a loud hóhohohohō. Immediately the coffee was poured into another vessel and the painted pot was promptly and noisily tossed out of the hut. Although it could not be seen from the camp, one could at least hear it come banging out. The other man danced through the hut several times with the pitch bearing the large loaf of bread before it was cut into pieces. Such an extra meal refreshes the people and stimulates them to more lively singing.

Aside from these rare occasions, a delegation is appointed and sent out by the leader on some days at the time of the regular evening meal, while the inmates are dancing. As we know, they hold their dance staffs crosswise while they are dancing. Thus, when the two or three men leave the čiexaus hut at the proper moment, they dance over to the cookhut maintaining the same tempo, one behind the other, and swinging their dance staffs with rolling movements of their hands and arms. They do not enter, but the women there hand the food out to them, hanging the little basket of mussels, a large piece of meat, or a filled leather pouch on their dance staffs. As they return to the čiexaus hut, the dancing men constantly swing their dance staffs up and down, in spite of the burden. Whatever they bring is hastily received at the Great Hut, usually through the entrance before they step inside. The loud yelling and furious knocking on the ground are supposed to announce that Yetấta is taking all the food for himself and disappearing with it into the earth. Without delay the little basket or the small leather pouch is again shoved on the proffered dance staff of the men, but instead of food it now contains ashes or a glowing stick of wood which they bear to the cookhut in dance step. They may /914/ not appear there without a return gift; indeed, they come purposely to bring it in recompense for the food, as it were. They conspicuously pour out what they have brought at the entrance. This proves to the people in the camp that the food brought over from the cookhut was quickly removed from the container and pulled into the čiexaus hut, but that the bearers themselves did not get any of it.

All the food remains to the last trace are destroyed in the fire immediately after the meal, partly out of cleanliness, partly in order to further the belief that Yetấta alone consumes all the food that reaches the Great Hut. Outside visitors are admitted

/914 cont./

X881 244

into the čiexaus hut for a short time, because they must not have any occasion for suspicion.

An individual does not help himself; the distribution is made by the kitchen women who bring in the food already prepared. Usually an older woman appears, accompanied by a younger one. The latter carries the pieces of meat or the mussels. The former stands in front of each person squatting in his place, reaches into the basket of the woman accompanying her, grasps with both hands whatever is to be distributed, and first moves it up and down, meanwhile uttering a low hō hō. Then the person takes the piece of meat or the mussel in his hands, moves it up and down in the same way, and repeats the soft hō hō. The kitchen women move along both rows of participants, give something to each one, and return to their hut next door (336).

[415 177]

336. Recently the kitchen women have used European food and prepare the meal in large buckets or metal containers. They serve the food with ladles and give each person his portion on a plate or in a bowl. Nowadays everyone who enters the Great Hut is provided with these implements; he therefore makes use of them when the occasion arises.

They do not personally serve the uswala but give the sponsors somewhat more, and they, in turn, let their protégés have a little. Everyone immediately eats what he has received and forthwith cleans his plate of scraps. He is content with what was given him; to ask for a second helping would be a regrettable example of lack of self-control. Actually, the adults, too, must always forgo full satisfaction.

X881 356

4. Cleanliness. It is certainly noteworthy that our Yamana who, in general, show a limited sense of cleanliness are not guilty of offenses against it in the čiexaus hut. Everyone is painfully exact about removing all the food remains after the meal. Immediately after he gets up in the morning, he straightens out his sleeping-place and folds the covers that he does not need during the day. At least once a day all the

X 881 533 /926 cont. /

simultaneously. They enliven the already excited movement still more. The spirit and content of these utterances will be shown in a few sentences which I shall give here.

X 881 533 264 The people had already been loudly singing for about two hours. The kitchen women enter with the meal and are greeted with loud calls of hóhohohohó. Santiago, the leader, suddenly stops and simply calls out: "I am going to break off my song, for I am very tired and hungry!" Most of the people carry on the song; the rest eat hastily in order to take up the song soon after.

X 881 533 535 264 One evening coffee is brought in very late. Everyone is extremely happy about it. Every adult reaches for his cup, and with outstretched arms bent only slightly at the elbow, he holds it out. A few persons get up, skip back and forth, and lead the singing in a lively voice. Their gestures are lively because they are happy to be able to partake of something. They skip toward the kitchen woman with her large can, dance around her, and hold out their cups to her. As she fills each cup and also distributes bread, the others continue to hop all around her. Soon they draw away again, dancing with their filled cups, and sit down in their places. Their gay hopping is an expression of great satisfaction over the tasty drink. One of them says loudly: "How glad I am that I have been given something to eat and drink!" In a singing tone one woman cries: "Now there is something to eat and drink again; that is wonderful!" The kitchen woman who distributed food and drink brought joy and lively activity to the whole gathering.

X 881 537 152 609 On the first evening when a short pause occurred in the group singing, Santiago, the leader at that time, cried in a loud voice: "Once again we have gathered here to celebrate čiźxam. We want to do it well! This game came to us from the west; it came here from the Halakwulup. Today we have a Halakwulup (339)

339. He meant the youthful Julia who, several weeks before, had fled to the Yamana and who was invited to this initiation in Puerto Mejillones (p. 692).

among us. She will observe us carefully and afterwards tell her

/971 cont./

422 everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and
593 sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing.
Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

The little supplementary word "sâ" clearly emphasizes the
422 urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather
593 simultaneously and without exception. BD:379 states: "sâ [is] used
192 by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. sâ ŭ-kâlli manâ'ya ŭan, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. sâ hîpagin ŭ-wuf (a man to his wife)cieme, get us some muneh" /cited in English/.

Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in
422 the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother
593 puts the roast or the muneh on the fire in response to the wish of
264 the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a
576 special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid,
431 hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the tidbits he
476 brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family
593 saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fuegians, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /978/ has lost his weapons, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family but from his hunting or she herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

/3011 cont./

574 hold nothing back, for they aim to please and satisfy their guests, and they are not sorry if their entire supply is consumed. Even a person who has come for the express purpose of eating his fill for once -- perhaps he saw his host returning home with rich spoils -- is not turned away, but can freely indulge his appetite. It is not customary for the visitor to ask for anything. The owner of the hut already knows the other's intention and serves him everything he has on hand. He is glad to do this also because, at the next opportunity, he will visit the one who is now his guest. Thus a person may eat first in one hut and then in another, but eventually he also must show that he is a generous host. No one expresses thanks for what he has eaten, even if choice morsels have been offered him (430). Since everyone wishes to avoid being called

> 430. Bridges (k):340 was acquainted with this custom which is strange to Europeans: "The natives...never express thanks, but on every occasion are prompt to repay [the] services" /translated from Spanish/.

stingy or mean, he offers his guest everything he has with unmistakable generosity (431).

> 431. According to Dahlemo (b):200 the Yamana are "hospitable, and however scanty the provisions may be, a new arrival will always find a place near the fire and some food. But they accept it coolly in silence, and if one has provisions, he must divide them with the rest" /translated from Spanish/.

576 In view of this, it might seem surprising that our Yamana also
• 264 regard moderation as one of their social virtues. Everyone must act as though he did not care anything at all about eating. Not even in front of his own family, let alone as a visitor in front of others, would a person say that he is hungry. Quite the contrary, if something is offered, he acts almost as though he were offended and waits quite some time before he actually helps himself. At the same time his stomach often grumbles so loudly from hunger

/1011 cont./

that everybody in the vicinity knows about it. A person who behaves too greedily and hastily at meals, who audibly drinks and smacks, is unpunishably regarded as a glutton and sacrifices a great deal of standing. When one is hungry, he cleverly feigns otherwise and fills his stomach without making his hosts consciously aware of it. Very early Despard (b):680 observed this attractive trait: "They hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gluttonous is 'small-eater'" /cited in English/. In this respect they are exactly like the Seik'nam (Vol. I, 474).

When the Fuegians are by themselves, however, or in the small circle of most intimate friends, their great voracity occasionally breaks all bounds, and the sight is sometimes repulsive even to their own countrymen (p. 331). As is well known, they grasp the usually very hot piece of meat /1012/ with their hands, put it to their mouths, and tugging hard, they tear off thick pieces with their teeth. The abundant blubber and meat juice ooze out of both corners of their mouths, and thick drops of it fall on their knees and thighs. They rub it on their faces and bodies and lick their sticky fingers with their tongues. The scene around a stranded whale is almost disgusting, for everyone discards the customary cautious self-control and stuffs himself with such large amounts that his taut belly stands out prominently. In drinking, which was formerly limited to water, no one need restrain himself. The Yamana drink large quantities daily.

Ordinary visits are quiet and without ceremony. The visitor enters the hut, looks around, and sits down near the fire. Considerable time goes by before the owner of the hut addresses him, and then there is another interval before the visitor consents to converse or to make known his reason for coming. He leaves again just as wordlessly. Certain forms of greeting, however, are customary among them (432): when they are separating to go long

432. Therefore I reject what Spegazzini (a):166 says, for example, and what Despard (b):698 maintained in the following words: "There are no gestures of affection amongst them: they neither kiss, rub noses, nor shake hands. Nevertheless, the affection exists, and is strong" /cited in English/. The former,

/1308 cont./

262 and let the others share them, instead of selfishly enjoying them
824 alone. People from another region who land on strange territory
and find large quantities of amájm may neither pick them nor
[821] eat them. If they do, they must be prepared for threatening
weather when they continue their journey. Their taking the
berries would portend ínačiwa, ruin and destruction for them.

The "rain berry," palaxíčix, Rubus geoides (p.279), may
262 be eaten only in fair weather. If someone has discovered a spot
824 where there are great numbers of these berries and he wants to
821 gather them, he must first obtain permission from the ŕgins who
has the right to distribute them to adults and children. A person
who picks the palaxíčix without such permission or in /1309/
rainy weather must be prepared for a sudden heavy storm with
rain on the open sea, which will endanger his life, as atonement,
hánečí, for his disobedience. On March 16, 1922, there was an
unusually heavy cloudburst with floods. Two days earlier a few
girls had stolen off to a place that was well known for its many
palaxíčix -- it is about an hour's distance from Punta Remolino --
and picked these berries. In all seriousness Nelly told me on the
evening of March 16th that the young Halakwulup, Julia, had
gone to this place with a few other girls. Julia was unfamiliar
with the taboo, and she had picked and eaten many of the berries.
The other girls followed her example. The heavy rain was a
punishment for this.

It is not at all seldom that sudden bad weather breaks out
262 over the wide inlets open to the south. In this region it is cus-
tomary not to eat certain game animals that have been caught
on the same day, but to keep them until the following day. A
person who does not conform to this must be prepared for a heavy
loss in the immediate future. This custom is probably meant to
teach people to provide for the next day, for all too often a fam-
ily is unable to travel because of unfavorable natural forces, and
they could suffer great hardship if they had not learned and were
not compelled to economize with their already meager supply.

264 The Yamana very seldom eat during a canoe trip and, if
821 they do, always very little. Anyone who eats may not throw food
484 remains and refuse overboard, but should destroy them in the fire
which is always kept burning. It is said that Yoflox decreed this.

/1309 cont./

When one fails to observe this rule, his child will scream just as incessantly as did the child of Tafgen (p. 1148). Moreover, other people say that his canoe will run into bad weather. Spencer:87 writes: "When crossing one of the Sounds, a man will paint broad transverse bands of black across the woman's face. This is supposed to ensure a fairweather crossing" /cited in English/. I did not learn anything about this from my informants, but I did hear that bad weather will set in immediately if someone pulls out tall reeds in a lagoon.

Moreover, the Tamana are still imprisoned in a realm of superstitious notions about so-called baleful places. These are first of all the places that the Lakóma like to inhabit. No one should venture there in his canoe or gather mussels there. Besides the Lakóma and the malevolent Hagéllo, certain animals who are in contact with the yékamuł make a place dangerous for human beings. Friendly, well-meaning yékamuł warn people about these places, for they know from their dreams what the situation is and the danger a person can get into on that account. A person who unwittingly enters such a zone suddenly feels unwell; he becomes utterly weak and immediately falls asleep. /1310/ He is lost if a yékamuł is not called in time to free him from the pernicious influence of this baleful place. On March 21, 1923, Whaits told the following story. "In Lapełija there is a fatal spot where even the fish are not spared. Once several men had set a net there. It was quickly filled with fish and the men began hauling it in. When they were near the shore with the heavy net, a strong force pulled out all the fish and the men stared astonished at the empty net." Earlier Bridges reported: "A certain Sisaniaujiz had made up his mind to settle out at a beautiful place some three miles from Ushuaia. Accordingly he went there with his wife and family, and one or two friends. These built a wigwam and had plenty of wood and water close at hand. But late in the afternoon they heard a strange voice or cry, whether from owl, hawk, bird, beast, or evil spirit they knew not and were too much frightened to go and ascertain, saying sapiccoosh, sapiccoosh, which means bloody arrow head. They forthwith packed up and hastened back to Ushuaia from the fatal spot" /cited in English/ (MM:XIII, 80; 1879).

/1404 cont./

X756 Our Tongan, as a matter of principle, forgo eating their fill on some occasions, which are well known. They content themselves with as little nourishment as possible in the Hima house. On this occasion the mussel is regarded as the most suitable food for insuring that the old people and the apprentices will reach their goal. They all eat but once a day, even after getting up. The uwʔaléxamuł are given three mussels at the most, all the other participants impose the same restrictions upon themselves, and sometimes a person takes nothing all day. In individual cases the pupil is permitted to eat a fish instead of a mussel, but he may eat only the tail end. He destroys the front end, along with the head, in the fire. A little tumtaqa powder (328) is sprinkled on each bite that the apprentice eats.

> 328. No one could tell me the reason for these strange rules.

All the food is cooked in the Great Hut itself, and the remnants are immediately destroyed in the fire. If the pupil is making obvious progress, the three mussels a day are cut down first to two, later even to one for the duration of the affair. This is done so that he will steadily and quickly perfect himself. He is given water which he sucks in limited quantities through the well-known ʔmbalim, a thin hollow bone (p. 309) made out of a large Mytilus shell, which is handed to him by a yékamuł. Every participant knows, and the apprentices are repeatedly told by the leader, that the less food and drink a person has, the more promptly his dreams will come to him, the more vivid his intercourse will be with the spirits, and the more capable the older yékamuł will be for his accomplishments. If a uwʔaléxamuł should give in to the pangs of hunger and secretly eat something, for instance, when he is gathering wood in the forest, then it is said that the yełčel tell the yékamuł of this infraction. Thereupon one of them will call the chap to account: "We know that you have secretly eaten outside this Hima hut!" /1405/ Punishment does not follow, however, for the boy is sufficiently intimidated and accepts the rebuke without contradiction. He has learned his lesson forever.

X756 302 Body painting is prescribed for the actual participants, the yékamuł and the uwʔaléxamuł. All of them are completely naked

[illegible] Hardly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

[illegible]

[illegible] Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vociferations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he consulted by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person hearing the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

[illegible] On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the *Ishnam* initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expectorating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

[illegible] When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

[illegible] It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead.

[illegible] The *Tahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Tahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. [illegible]).

WARFARE AND CONTRALOMA

[illegible] These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

[illegible] **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked. In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

/375 cont./

261 almost no food value, they stuff their rumbling stomachs with them. Fortunately, snow storms (344) such that make any outside

> 344. A much greater impediment than snowstorms is the agitated sea when meter-high waves roll up from the south and blown up the water even in remote channels.

activity impossible seldom last more than three or four days, and that, after all, can be endured. In such periods of fasting the people quickly become emaciated, but as soon as they have enough food they recover almost as quickly, and then they can eat quite surprising quantities of meat." Sometimes the emergency can reach such a point that the people begin to chew pieces of leather. Darwin (d):245 ventured the false assertion

[346] that "if in winter they are plagued with hunger, they would sooner kill and eat their old women than slaughter their dogs." The reliable Bridges (h):206 (345) and later Hyades (q):220

> 345. He specified: "There have been occasions of extreme hunger, when bad weather kept them from obtaining provisions from the forest, shore, or sea, during which they ate their leather shoes and thongs, but no one thought of proposing the eating of human flesh" /translated from Spanish/.

both very definitely disagreed with this. The Indians, however,

[347] do steal from any European settled there if they are unable to obtain the most necessary food in any other way (346). When the

> 346. Bridges (e):333, for example, concedes this: "The natives killed some cattle and goats, and they steal crops from the fields; still, one is surprised at the limited extent of their thefts, if one considers the half-starved state in which they live."

/996 cont./

674 "Since our coming here in 1871, we enumerated with the natives twenty-two murders, or deaths from violence amongst the Yahgans" /cited in English/. Hyades (c):721 regards this figure as low: "it means an average of less than two violent deaths per year; and this in a country where each one redresses wrongs and exacts justice for himself" /translated from French/. He (c):272 believes that one reason for this low figure is a deeply rooted conviction of the Indians "in regarding human life as sacred" /translated from French/. Bridges later only very rarely mentioned a murder (410). All this,

> 410. Without further explanation he (MM,XVIII, 184; 1884) writes, for example: "Here [near Ushuaia] I found the native John Willin, who killed his wife some two years ago" /cited in English/.

however, does not make me change my own opinion that murder occurred at least twice as often as Bridges and Hyades say. I am relying on the dependable reports of the Lawrence brothers and aged Indians. We must keep in mind the irascible nature of our Yamana and the many occasions for this deed, as a result of which they had to take the law into their own hands.

•266 It would be unthinkable to imagine that they would murder a person out of cannibalistic intentions. There is no convincing proof of anthropophagy; reliable informants emphatically deny this custom, and the Lawrence brothers never heard of it, to say nothing of never having observed it. Instances of it, beginning with the L'Hermite fleet (p. 51 /untranslated/) which is referred to for affirmation, have never been absolutely settled. Bridges (i):14 decidedly opposes this false accusation, since for all of them "is human life a very sacred thing and for this reason all the relations of the murdered person were in honour bound to avenge his death" /cited in English/. The Yamana even detest animals that gnaw at [125] human corpses, such as foxes, rats, and vultures. They do not even take water from brooks where there are many rats, and they give as their reason: "Animals that devour human flesh drink of this water!" If they see a dog come up to a corpse and start devouring it, or even try to dig out a body, they beat it on the spot, even

/990 cont./

266 though, as we know, they set great store by a dog. Whenever I /991/ wanted to discuss anthropophagy with them, they persistently refused because of aversion and disgust, and they shook their heads as a sign that they regard such a thing as impossible even among other peoples.

627 578 Every murder, no matter how the murderer justifies or excuses himself, brings revenge in its wake and usually involves a number of persons. Details will be given below. The yékamuš with his machinations is a by no means surprising cause of serious quarrels. It would be premature to go into that at this point; his behavior must first be described in detail, which will be done later. Hostilities and acts of murder arising from his interference are, as usual, settled by the parties involved and with the help of friendly yékamuš. Thus, the causes of discord and disputes among the Yamana are the same as among other peoples; in view of their character traits, the causes are primarily "insult, theft, adultery, and the death of a relative" /cited in English/ according to Lothrop (b):164 and Hyades (q):374. Mistreatment of the wife should be added. In general, quarrels and discord are not prolonged and sooner or later they are settled again. As has already been reported in Outes (g):59, "small differences are settled among themselves without much difficulty" /translated from Spanish/.

b. Ordinary Quarrels

578 The Yamana certainly are extraordinarily irascible and vengeful; sometimes they simply cannot control themselves and are little amenable to appeasing words. They are neither warlike nor combative by nature, however. This characterizes their natural inclination, but it by no means denies that they easily become involved in quarrels and brawls. "They are," as Hyades (q):374 confirms, "very susceptible and, as a result, inclined to quarrels and strife" /translated from French/. Their predominant tendency is to live in peace with others as much as possible and not to become involved in disputes. This is the sole reason why a family will sometimes remain hidden for years and have no contact, or almost none, with any of their countrymen. Despard

/1280 cont./

> implicit in what Missionary Phillips relates. One sultry day when he complained to a young Fuegian about the heat, the latter cried, alarmed: 'Do not say the sun to hot, immediately it will hide and the wind will blow cold.'"

Thus the conception of kěspix́ is very broad and contains many things which cannot be summed up in a terse formula. Hyades (q):255 discussed this word as "an intranslatable term referring to fantastic beings who live in deserted caves in the middle of dense forests" /translated from French/. The idea of kěspix́ must not be so limited, however, as will be adequately shown in the following discussion.

1. Cannibals

From the start it does not seem strange that the Yamana, too, in one way or another, believe in cannibals. This belief may have originated in their apprehensiveness and fear of the Halakwulup (p. 205 /untranslated/) who are directly adjacent to the western group. A particular incident may have brought this about in the first place. One thing is certain, that almost all the Yamana designate a group within the Halakwulup tribe, about which nothing is definitely known, as the asásan, which is the same as calling them cannibals. Sometimes they include all the Halakwulup in this belief. There are others among the Yamana who include only the group living farther north somewhere near Smith Channel, some of whom it is believed now and then appear in Beagle Channel. Occasionally someone will even suspect the western Yamana, the so-called Inanumǎ́ala, of practicing this habit (241). It is said: These asásan have long canoes

> 241. Bridges (VSA:XI, 259;1864) had already learned: "These natives say there is a tribe speaking their language, but with a peculiar accent, they call them 'Ishawa,' who are cannibals, but they

/1280 cont./

186
[266]

strenuously deny any such enormities among themselves" /cited in English/. Hyades (b): 1346 and (p):331, on the other hand, definitely asserts: "There are no traditions of anthropophagy" /translated from French/. If he means by this that the Yamana themselves do not practice cannibalism, he is perfectly right (p. 252 /untranslated/).

of solid /1281/ construction, which accommodate many men. Because all of them row, the canoe moves with extraordinary speed. The asásan invade Yamana territory only at night. Anyone they catch at that time is dragged off and devoured. They take advantage of the dark so that they will be successful and meet no resistance. During the day they stay within their boundaries or hide in a sheltered spot in the territory of the Yamana until night falls, for only under its protection do they carry out their surprise attacks. Not only the western group but all the Yamana live in constant dread of the asásan, precisely because they come up very swiftly and then depart again. They are also called wélapatux, "murderers" (cf. BD:619), because they murder and eat anyone who falls into their hands. A third designation, Hapánana-yámana, "the people in Hapananúši," is derived from a myth (p. 1162); it is also pronounced "Apananúši" (p. 243 /untranslated/).

Even the young Bridges (a):207 came across traces of this belief: "Cannibalism is unknown, but they have reports that it is practised by some people far to the westward, whom they call Hapúnanóoshiaúla" /cited in English/. Later he (k):237 wrote more explicitly: "They believe in the existence of certain murderers in the west, called asasyu, attributing to them wondrous powers and a fabulous wickedness. They supposedly wander at night, traveling in fast and strongly built canoes, with the object of killing anyone they meet. It is said that they conceal themselves with trickery in such a way that they could never be found, but stories tell of this one and that one who, having seen them at night, succeeded in escaping from them" /translated from Spanish/ (242).

242. Likewise Bridges (i):15, Dabbene

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

628 clubs, fists, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but
[921] grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did not exist, and the *Yahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups appear to have been normally irenic, but violence and bloodshed were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually intervened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder
[68] was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast. Bridges found 22 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1884—an annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that
[934] of the United States. Mercy killings occurred for the purpose of putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human
[968] sacrifice was unknown; so too was premeditated suicide.

266 The evidence that the *Yahgan* practiced no form of cannibalism—gastronomic, famine, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of devouring human flesh.

ECONOMIC LIFE

423 **Ownership.**—The *Yahgan* resented and avenged exploitative tres-
619 pass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part thereof by non-*Yahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gusinde, 1937, pp. 964–965) or, according to Koppers (1928 b, p. 176), of any one of the numerous local groups, by nonmembers. Since these local groups seemingly were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Yahgan* land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting-ground system. There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast on a stranded whale, and to gather firestones and suitable canoe bark, which were found only in certain parts of the *Yahgan* territory.
422 Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adornments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things. The ownership of certain other things—food, hut, canoe—appears to have been vested in the biological family.

[716] Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

437 Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor, donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

291 Women wear rather more clothing, that is, they have nearly the whole skin of a guanaco, or seal, wrapped about them, and usually a diminutive apron. The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an infant. Neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes.

302 Both sexes oil themselves, or rub their bodies with grease; and daub their faces and bodies with red, black, or white. A fillet is often worn
301 around the head, which upon ordinary occasions is simply a string, made of sinews; but if going to war or dressed for show, the fillet is ornamented with white down, white feathers, or pieces of cloth, if they have obtained any from shipping. . . .

411 It is rather curious that each of these natives is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear; another with the sling; another with a bow and arrows; but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others.

266 Before entering on the details of Yahgan life we shall dwell briefly on the charges of savagery and cannibalism made by numerous writers. As early as 1600 the Alacaluf were thought to be cannibals, for in that year Van Noort marooned on Santa Maria island one of his officers charged with insubordination, in the belief that he would die of hunger or be eaten by the savages. A quarter of a century later Jaques L'Hermite charged the Yahgan with cannibalism. In more recent years Darwin and Fitzroy have repeated the accusation on hearsay evidence, and their dictum has been widely published. However, no white man has ever witnessed the act of anthropophagy among any of the Fuegian tribes, while in recent years those who have lived with the natives and come to know them well all agree that the idea of eating human flesh is as repugnant to a Fuegian as to a European. According to Martial (p. 193) the Yahgan ordinarily do not eat dog, fox, or rat, because these animals will eat human flesh.

648 The imputation of barbarity, on the other hand, rests on firmer ground, for there are well-authenticated instances of attack by the Yahgan on European crews. The earliest of these resulted in the death at Nassau bay in 1624 of seventeen men from L'Hermite's ships; the most widely published was the massacre at Woolyia in 1859 of the crew of the missionary schooner *Allen Gardiner*. What provoked these attacks is a secret intombed with their victims. Early voyagers habitually kidnapped natives to serve as pilots and thus aroused merited resentment. Native women often have

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thongs, sometimes the man slips, lets go his hold, and falls into the surging sea below" /cited in English/.

presses them, they decide to do it (250) and admonish each other

250. Similar descriptions of this type of cormorant hunting are given by Bridges (in VSA:XIII, 214; 1866 and in MM:XIII, 156; 1879), Dabbene (b):186, Hyades (h):39 and (q):359, Outes (g):53, and others.

to be particularly cautious.

In this connection the hunter must count on another difficulty which sometimes puts him in the greatest danger. His wife must row him to those high rock walls or low flat stones on which he plans to hunt the cormorant. He lands during the day and keeps hidden until evening when the birds are expected to come back to their nests. Meanwhile the wife in the canoe has gone back to a safe inlet on another island, but has left her husband some meat and drinking water. Woe unto him if bad weather suddenly sets in, and he is detained longer than expected at this place. "Many days may pass before his wife can venture to cross over the islet to take him off. The solitary man then husbands to the utmost his limited supply of fresh water. The rising billows nearly overflow the islet, sometimes quite so, and threaten to wash him away, and the spray keeps him thoroughly wet. I have heard of very distressing cases, when the men have had to drink shag's blood and to eat them raw, and when they have nearly perished with the cold" /cited in English/. This description by Bridges (MM:XIII, 158;1879), drawn from reality, makes us realize the many dangers and sacrifices that the Yamana encounter on their hunt for cormorants. His accurate knowledge of the region and his sure estimate of the weather, however, stand him in good stead, hence he never recklessly plunges into danger (see Hyades [q]:360).

[261 271]

These birds even spend the night on the stronger trees that grow near the water's edge and are easy to reach. Such trees

/570 cont./

263 on the meat. Finally, without conscious intent, the Indians take
[271] the ocean spray, even larger drops, into their mouths when it strikes their faces while they work in the canoe or on the beach. These individually very insignificant particles of salt I should estimate as a not too small daily total in view of the high salt content of sea water (332). The Yamana need a somewhat larger

332. We look in vain for any reference to this among those Europeans who have only expressed their astonishment at the absence of salt. All the missionaries and many travelers report that the food is not specially salted, for example, Outes (g):52, Hyades (q):339, and others. The latter (d):306 also maintains: "Sea salt as a condiment is unknown and would not be appreciated" /translated from French/; it is much sharper than cooking salt, as is well known.

amount of salt than the Selk'nam because they eat considerable amounts of light fat daily and because the meat juice of all the animals they consume contains far less salt than guanaco meat. This amount of salt is supplied to their bodies unconsciously, so to speak, but very definitely, and for this reason they do not need to sprinkle additional salt on their roast.

It is not surprising that the Fuegians are also unacquainted with any kind of spices and stimulants. Without reservation Hyades
[276] (d):306 emphasizes: "They do not use any intoxicating, narcotic, or stimulating substance" /translated from French/ and adds in another place (f):564 that they do not have "condiments." This designation includes pepper and nutmeg, cloves and caraway,
262 vinegar, and similar things. Liquid fat, however, from seals and whales, if one wishes to include that here, is very often taken in small amounts (333), but it serves the natives as actual

333. Hyades (f):564 confirms that "seal oil is very much enjoyed and that the natives drink it with pleasure in small amounts, before or after the meal" /translated from French/.

/572 cont./

133 Lawrence and Adelheid, refuse all alcoholic beverages on principle. The former has often and emphatically lamented the devastation that alcohol still inflicts on her compatriots. She has repeatedly said that so much alcohol, which formerly was entirely unknown, has very much weakened the memory of the members of her tribe for their old traditions and beautiful legends. She is scarcely wrong in this.

276 177 Most men have, of course, become accustomed to tobacco. They do not care so much for cigarettes, but prefer pressed tobacco which they smoke in pipes. They think this is more pleasurable, and it also lasts longer. The pipe is particularly convenient on the canoe trip. They are not capable of really enjoying the taste of tobacco; it is only the playful occupation with the pipe that amuses them. Not unimportant in this connection is their desire to be like Europeans. Self-respect and the need for recognition would make it impossible for a Yamana to refuse a cigarette offered by a European. Smoking never develops into a passion among our Indians; if they do not have tobacco, there is nothing in their behavior to indicate that they are missing something. Among primitive peoples tobacco does not have anywhere near the harmful effects on their health that alcohol has.

• 271 312 Since not a single alcoholic beverage is available to the Fuegians, they are dependent solely on natural water. It comes to them from many rivulets, springs, and brooks. No matter how cold it is, it does not harm them; some people prefer it, the colder, the better. They lay stress on pure water. If they have no other choice but to get water from swampy, boggy places, they put a layer of beard moss (Usnea barbata) or sm[illegible]ved shrubs (Nothofagus antarctica) on top and press it dow[illegible]. This causes the filtered water to seep slowly through to the surface, the roiled mud soon settles, and the water is potable. In other swampy spots they pull up a small shrub or the thick fleshy stalk of a swamp plant, and the water quickly gathers in this hole; in a few minutes it becomes clear (338).

338. Snow (a):1, 344 observed: "On one occasion, being thirsty, and seeing no fresh water near, I indicated my desire;

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whereupon one of the men went to a tree and with a spear struck at the roots, and speedily procured some" /cited in English/.

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The people not only cannot do without drinking water for any length of time, but quite the contrary, they drink often and always a great deal. They do this so conspicuously that Fitz-Roy (a):185 noticed "the Fuegians drink only pure water, but often and in large quantities" /cited in English/ (339). The extraordinary quantities of fat which they eat arouse the /573/ desire for frequent drinking. Even "in the course of the meal they went to drink at a nearby spring, or carried the water when they had watertight utensils" /translated from French/ (Martial:194). They also drink when they are not thirsty.

339. What Despard (b):680 asserts, namely, "they drink great quantities of water" /cited in English/. Hyades (f):565 repeats in more detail: "They drink often and much; I have seen them take in considerable quantities of water at one draught" /translated from French/. Wieghardt:36, Martial:194, and others express themselves in a similar vein.

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This is chiefly the explanation for the fact that every family purposely erects its hut near a brook or rivulet, in order to avoid constant running to the spring. Usually each one goes by himself to the little body of water at which he quenches his thirst. Depending on local conditions, he lies down flat on the ground and puts his mouth to the water, sucking it in, or he crouches somewhat sideways close to the edge and scoops up the water in the cup of his hand or with /Fig. 69 appears here/ a large Mytilus shell, or finally, he squats quite close to the small stream, bends his head down low, and sucks the water into his mouth through a hollow bone, *ɛmbalim* (Fig. 69). This tube is nothing more than a long bird bone, the two ends of which are filed against a rough stone until the spongy bone fibers disappear. What is left is still 20 to 35 centimeters long. Almost always the long leg bone of a

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271 516 415 [881]

cormorant is chosen for it. Some people wear this small tube in front on a braided sinew cord tied around the neck, just as the sponsor puts it on the uswala /candidate/ at the close of the initiation ceremonies. Most persons find it more convenient to suck water through this small tube because they squat comfortably in doing so and take in only a thin stream of the sometimes ice-cold water (340).

340. Hahn (c):337 illustrated a man in a squat position drinking through a tube at a brook. This drawing had the caption:

Fig. 69. The Use of the Sucking Tube.

"Choungoungounsis drinking at a stream with a pipe of bone" /translated from French/ (Fig. 69). Wieghardt:37 designates this article as "a kind of tube ready-made from a bone" /translated from Spanish/, and Martial: 194 as "a kind of small pipe made from the foot bone of a cormorant /translated from French/. In place of this bone tube they also, as Hyades (q):341 maintains, use "hollow rush stalks or those of other plants" /translated from French/, but that is only in exceptional cases.

271 415 /574/ I could not find out anything about special rules for the everyday use of this little tube, and there did not seem to be

/574 cont./

271 445 [881] any. The candidates in the cikxaus, however, must use the tube each time, and toward the end of their probation they are instructed to go on using it. The little tube probably did not originate solely as a precaution against the cold water. It is also used in the hut when someone has brought in water in the large Voluta shell or in a leather pouch. This pouch is exactly like the one used by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, Figs. 71 and 72) and here as well as there is made out of the stiff leather of an old male seal. Other water dippers or containers that hold the contents as safely as does the Voluta shell are not used by the Yamana.

261 731 The Yamana, especially those in the border regions, are never at any time of the year safe from the threatening specter of hunger. It would be entirely incorrect to interpret the references of a few travelers to mean that misery overtakes the entire tribe more or less constantly (341). Famine actually cannot

341. The assertion of Outes (g):56 that "during the winter when the coasts become inaccessible, many victims of hunger perish" /translated from Spanish/ is inaccurate.

appear there as a general phenomenon; lack of food overtakes individual families only temporarily, that is, for a few days. The most common cause is such stormy weather with an angry sea for several days that a family cannot leave the place where they are in order to look for food elsewhere. When their few provisions are used up -- and that happens very quickly, since there is never a thought of stocking up -- trouble begins if all the sources on the spot are exhausted and calamitous natural forces put a stop to further travel. This fate will overtake a family, for example, who has fled to an island or been detained on a small island where birds do not alight and where the coast falls off abruptly. In most places on the Cape Horn Archipelago they find at least medium-sized and small mussels which are temporarily laid bare by low tide, even in bad weather. In some places they can make shift with fungi. "When bad weather lasts a long time, fishing becomes impossible and resources, always very small, are quickly exhausted; then they eat fungi which are found abundantly on beech trees" /translated from French/ (Martial:193).

/720 cont./

862 disgusting to the baby, and after that it stays away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /sic/, fish, and berries" /cited in English/ (153), but for a long time the chief food

153. Hyades (q):195 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women soon commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked mussels, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the roasted fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, flakuï. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

• 271 The young mother does not give the newborn child water from a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds. 863 The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Punta Remolino. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from [153] a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such matters than my countrymen!"

231 In Hahn (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs" /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with 827 the physiological connection between conception and nursing in 833 the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

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STb that everybody in the vicinity knows about it. A person who be-
264 haves too greedily and hastily at meals, who audibly drinks and smacks, is unquestionably regarded as a glutton and sacrifices a great deal of standing. When one is hungry, he cleverly feigns otherwise and fills his stomach without making his hosts consciously aware of it. Very early Despard (b):680 observed this attractive trait: "They hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'small-eater'" /cited in English/. In this respect they are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 474).

264 When the Fuegians are by themselves, however, or in the small circle of most intimate friends, their great voracity occasionally breaks all bounds, and the sight is sometimes repulsive even to their own countrymen (p. 331). As is well known, they grasp the usually very hot piece of meat /1012/ with their hands, put it to their mouths, and tugging hard, they tear off thick pieces with their teeth. The abundant blubber and meat juice ooze out of both corners of their mouths, and thick drops of it fall on their torsos and thighs. They rub it on their faces and bodies and lick their sticky fingers with their tongues. The scene around a stranded whale is almost disgusting, for everyone discards the customary cautious self-control and stuffs himself with such large amounts that his taut belly stands out prominently. In drinking, which
● 271 was formerly limited to water, no one need restrain himself. The Yamana drink large quantities daily.

STb Ordinary visits are quiet and without ceremony. The visitor
STb enters the hut, looks around, and sits down near the fire. Considerable time goes by before the owner of the hut addresses him, and then there is another interval before the visitor consents to converse or to make known his reason for coming. He leaves again just as wordlessly. Certain forms of greeting, however, are
STb 201 customary among them (432): when they are separating to go long

432. Therefore I reject what Spegazzini (a):166 says, for example, and what Despard (b):698 maintained in the following words: "There are no gestures of affection amongst them; they neither kiss, rub noses, nor shake hands. Nevertheless, the affection exists, and is strong" /cited in English/. The former

231 /568/ It is not only the excitable animosity of Fuegian dogs
177 that exceedingly provokes every European, but even more their mania for destruction and their voraciousness. They enter all buildings craftily and unobserved, plunder storage houses, and rummage through every corner. They enjoy attacking herds of sheep and goats. In order finally to get rid of these burdensome creatures, the White settlers poisoned and shot some and took others alive from the Indians in exchange for European breeds. Since all these bred unselectively among each other, the strangest mixtures resulted. With the decrease in the Indian population, however, they, too, are constantly decreasing and will disappear entirely along with the last Yamana.

F. Treatment of Foodstuffs

261 The little corner of earth that was destined as the home of the Yamana is poor in natural products. This in itself is responsible for many limitations in their means of livelihood. The natives have no choice but to be content with the little that harsh and parsimonious nature has provided for them. Unassuming as they are, they yield to the external pressure that has disciplined them to an amazing state of contentment and humility. Their attitude, however, is far from being one of dull insensibility. Our Indians have by no means lost all freedom of choice and will never, like a badly trained animal, fill their hungry stomachs indiscriminately with anything and everything that is at hand.

The Yamana is more favorably situated than the Selk'nam, because the sea offers more lavish gifts than the interior. Hence he differentiates more than the Selk'nam and shows himself more particular in his choice. He has his own guides and principles that lead him in his selection of food. They are primarily determined
• [272 by taste, but not entirely, for the Fuegians consistently refuse
177] milk, for example, which they could easily obtain from White settlers, and they have adopted other items of European food only after a long period of resistance. In times of distressing hunger they also take things out of necessity which they would decidedly scorn in ordinary life.

/912 cont./

X281 264 269 eat, the adults try to make almost no sound. Meanwhile the candidates, well covered with pieces of leather, are sent to the area near the secondary entrance, for they are not supposed to realize that the other people are eating. Before the cover is removed from the faces of the ulwala, all the food remains which could arouse suspicion are removed. Meanwhile the ulwala are told: "Every glutton or lazy person falls as prey to Yetaja and is devoured by him!" Thus we see that this opportunity, too, is used to increase the candidates' fear and terror of Yetaja.

If, in the course of the day, the adults wish to take a few extra bites, they hang something over the faces of the ulwala or cover their faces entirely with a piece of leather. Some person while eating will throw a piece of meat into the fire and say in an audible voice: "This is for Yetaja!" This, too, is supposed to encourage the candidates' false belief in this spirit.

X281 264 The actual meal is soon disposed of, for scarcely anyone has his fill. When a person eats he grasps the piece of meat with one hand, and with his other hand closed in a fist, he makes a rolling motion of the arm toward another person who is likewise eating or to whom he has given a piece. /913/ This gesture is supposed to indicate that one courteously extends an invitation to the other and is enjoying the food in his company.

Now and then, when the mood strikes the leader, a special delegation is sent from the čexaus hut to the cookhut to fetch something to eat between meals. The leader and two or three men selected by him break into the customary general singing with a very loud, high-pitched xox three times. This is repeated at intervals and finally sounds like hõxoх. For the women in the cookhut it means nothing less than an urgent request to prepare something quickly which they can hand over to the delegation. Again, a few minutes pass and the hõxoх is repeated. Finally the two men dash out of the secondary exit, hasten to the cookhut, and disappear inside.

One evening I saw them take along a painted pot. Amid continuous calls of "hõxoх" it was filled with coffee for them; at the same time other women impaled a large loaf of bread on a pointed stick and placed it in the hand of one of the two men. With this "booty" they hastened back to the čexaus hut where they

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only two persons were saved" /translated from French/.

to this day by the Tamana. the reports of missionaries and European travelers also refer to them. In Hyades (p.302 we read: "Shipwrecks of canoes are very frequent and annually cause a high mortality. Mr. Bridges in his unpublished work cites many accidents of this kind: shipwreck of five canoes, 30 persons drowned; shipwreck of two canoes, 13 drowned..." /translated from French/. The accident is usually caused by overconfidence. These people are extremely reckless, and, as Bridges (p.15 expresses it "venturesome in trusting themselves with comparative strangers" /cited in English/, which every observer verifies. In more recent times, however, unprincipled thoughtlessness destroys many a life when Indians in a highly intoxicated state venture out on the treacherous waves although they do not have control of themselves.

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Supremely confident of their own ability, these people may even decide to take long journeys in their fragile vessel. As a rule, however, they may within the narrow confines of their native district, every dialect group has one (p. 190 /untranslated/). Certain occasions, however, almost always the chase after the large urine seal, *Otaria* (*Arctocephalus australis*), and the pursuit of a sick, weary whale, make them forget, in their eagerness, how far behind they have left the coast. It has been proved that a few families visited Isla Ildefonso; others are supposed to have ventured as far as the Diego Ramirez Islands. They are guided in their journeys by their exact knowledge of the locality and by an excellent gift of orientation.

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Soon after the opening of the mission station in Ushuaia individual canoes arrived from great distances, even some from the Halakwulup. For example, Bridges (p.15 mentions incidentally: "I know several natives of Cuchawulaf who come at Ushuaia in the East and in the opposite direction as far as Port Gallant and Mercury Sound; this distance is considerably over two /illegible/ hundred miles" /cited in English/. Our Fueglans can accomplish these astonishingly distant journeys because, wherever they land, they provide for their needs in life, namely, meat from the most diverse types of animals, wood for the indispensable fire, and pieces of fur to protect their bodies.

/373 cont./

was birds or seals are cooked in it. Along with European foods, the desire for salt was introduced there.

In the entire vegetable kingdom of the Cape Horn region there is not a sufficient amount of a single fruit that would be suitable for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The latter were unknown to the Yaganes until they were offered to them by Europeans. The navigators of earlier times often noted that our natives could not develop a taste for spirits. They have come to it only through frequent use in the last few decades (336). Whiskey is almost never

336. Dobbhand (p.197 from his own experience says: "Formerly they did not like alcoholic beverages, but now they have become accustomed to them through their contact with civilization and ardently desire them" /translated from Spanish/. Wrighardt. 37 and others say the same.

available to them. Instead they get the thick red wine from the Mendoza region, which they call sipa, "blood." When they have an opportunity, they put a great deal of this into their stomachs, and since their nerves react to it immediately, they drag their drunkenness with its attendant symptoms about with them for days. A small amount is very hard on these natural people who are not accustomed to it, and the damage to their health is inestimable (p. 301 /unannotated/) (337). A few /373/ persons, such as Billy

337. Dove 93 writes that when in these distant regions "civilization abroaded and brought along its inevitable accompaniments [alcohol and tobacco], it became clear that these sons of the wilderness [the Selk'nam] did not place any value on them. The Yahgan, on the other hand, quickly fell victims to the new luxuries and were capable of giving up their law skin [of seal and otter] for a piece of tobacco or a drink of whiskey." Compare in this connection the more detailed account on page 348 /unannotated/.

√995 cont. /

273 578 We should also mention that the present-day Yamana almost without exception partake avidly of alcohol whenever they can get it. When intoxicated, they quickly lose control over themselves, become pugnacious, and get into noisy, brutal quarrels, in which many a man has been badly wounded, made a cripple, or forfeited his life. Even the gentle, quiet Richard killed his first wife in a state of complete drunkenness, so Fred Lawrence declared. Such derangement with serious consequences was unknown in the better olden times.

c. Blood Vengeance

628 Premeditated, serious brawls between two large groups are always the result of a murder. Inasmuch as a person's life is regarded as precious and not to be harmed (p. 880), murder is considered a most execrable deed which, for lack of an existing judicial power, must be avenged by the nearest relatives of the unfortunate victim. Blood vengeance in this case, therefore, is the equivalent of a demand for expiation of the crime which caused the death of a member of the tribe. It does not matter in the least whether death occurred immediately or some time after an attack. This idea of blood vengeance is complemented by the duty of the nearest relative of a victim to carry it out personally or to take part in carrying it out. All adults are in complete agreement on this point.

Without doubt, the fear of strict and inescapable expiation for every murderous deed contributes to everyone being carefully on guard to avoid it. Bridges (MM:IX, 215;1875) confirms this: "Fear is the powerful agent, fear of man, fear of death; without the latter there would not be the former to any profitable degree. A man is restrained from taking life by fear, fear of his friends, as well as dread of those whose vengeance he has incurred by taking the life of one of their kin. For according to native usage, and necessarily springing from it, all the kindred /996/ of a murderer are held as sharers of his offence, and frequently suffer in his stead. For though they (selfishly) may be ever so angry with their relatives, the murderer, for thus making them liable, yea, not only liable, but certain to be partners of his punishment, yet they will not give him up to death, but will avenge his death if he is killed" /cited in English/.

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ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 A great deal of *Yahgan* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play releasing tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

276 Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating
[273] beverages were made or used by the *Yahgan* before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 **Art.**—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 14). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Yahgan* and their neighbors, the *Alacaluf* and *Ona*.

526 **Games and sports.**—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at
857 stone throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity. There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillocks, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tcenalóra, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tcenalóra" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward
[533] through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were common accompaniments of children's group play.

[481] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's-buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball
526 game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

/500 cont./

281 course, increased when the strip dries. Since the man has carefully avoided having the strap curl up lengthwise, it comes out smooth and even after it is thoroughly dry.

The women often use a strip of leather about five meters long
281 and one centimeter wide as a carrying strap, mun. They coil the
482 center section several times lengthwise, the width of the coil corresponding to the width of their backs. Then they loop the two end pieces, left and right, in the coil. The two end pieces are placed over the shoulders, while the middle piece is drawn around a bundle of wood or a piece of baggage which the woman has previously loaded on her back as she bent the upper part of her body far forward. By drawing the straps tight, she keeps the burden immovable.

281 Leather in one form or another is used for sewing and tying things, for the water scoop and the hand protector, and for many other little things. They always keep it handy and it can easily be obtained (213). All types of leather, however, suffer from the

[276] 213. In recent times the Yamana have shown a great fondness for a cigarette-tobacco pouch made of a piece of leather from an otter tail.

excessive dampness.

281 /501/ Whereas in the foregoing other kinds of containers or
415 bags of hide were mentioned, here I refer to the kinds made of bird skins, minus. The skins of cormorants and penguins are regarded as very suitable; they are more durable because of the coarseness of the feathers. The natives make a long incision on the underside of the animal and remove the entire skin. They sever the wings and legs from the inside and finally the neck at its uppermost vertebrae. The head is sometimes left on. Sometimes they cut off the whole neck, as well as legs and wings, from the outside and afterward sew up these openings and also the long incision over the belly, except for a slit a hand's breadth wide which is left as the opening. In such a bird skin one keeps lighter and more delicate things, such as necklaces and pigments, the feather diadems, and so forth (214). They very seldom turn

214. Hyades (q):306 grouped together

/570 cont./

263 on the meat. Finally, without conscious intent, the Indians take
[271] the ocean spray, even larger drops, into their mouths when it strikes their faces while they work in the canoe or on the beach. These individually very insignificant particles of salt I should estimate as a not too small daily total in view of the high salt content of sea water (332). The Yamana need a somewhat larger

332. We look in vain for any reference to this among those Europeans who have only expressed their astonishment at the absence of salt. All the missionaries and many travelers report that the food is not specially salted, for example, Outes (g):52, Hyades (q):339, and others. The latter (d):306 also maintains: "Sea salt as a condiment is unknown and would not be appreciated" /translated from French/; it is much sharper than cooking salt, as is well known.

amount of salt than the Selk'nam because they eat considerable amounts of light fat daily and because the meat juice of all the animals they consume contains far less salt than guanaco meat. This amount of salt is supplied to their bodies unconsciously, so to speak, but very definitely, and for this reason they do not need to sprinkle additional salt on their roast.

It is not surprising that the Fuegians are also unacquainted with any kind of spices and stimulants. Without reservation Hyades
• [276] (d):306 emphasizes: "They do not use any intoxicating, narcotic, or stimulating substance" /translated from French/ and adds in another place (f):564 that they do not have "condiments." This designation includes pepper and nutmeg, cloves and caraway,
262 vinegar, and similar things. Liquid fat, however, from seals and whales, if one wishes to include that here, is very often taken in small amounts (333), but it serves the natives as actual

333. Hyades (f):564 confirms that "seal oil is very much enjoyed and that the natives drink it with pleasure in small amounts, before or after the meal" /translated from French/.

/572 cont./

133 Lawrence and Adelheid, refuse all alcoholic beverages on principle. The former has often and emphatically lamented the devastation that alcohol still inflicts on her compatriots. She has repeatedly said that so much alcohol, which formerly was entirely unknown, has very much weakened the memory of the members of her tribe for their old traditions and beautiful legends. She is scarcely wrong in this.

276 Most men have, of course, become accustomed to tobacco.
177 They do not care so much for cigarettes, but prefer pressed tobacco which they smoke in pipes. They think this is more pleasurable, and it also lasts longer. The pipe is particularly convenient on the canoe trip. They are not capable of really enjoying the taste of tobacco; it is only the playful occupation with the pipe that amuses them. Not unimportant in this connection is their desire to be like Europeans. Self-respect and the need for recognition would make it impossible for a Yamana to refuse a cigarette offered by a European. Smoking never develops into a passion among our Indians; if they do not have tobacco, there is nothing in their behavior to indicate that they are missing something. Among primitive peoples tobacco does not have anywhere near the harmful effects on their health that alcohol has.

271 Since not a single alcoholic beverage is available to the
312 Fuegians, they are dependent solely on natural water. It comes to them from many rivulets, springs, and brooks. No matter how cold it is, it does not harm them; some people prefer it, the colder, the better. They lay stress on pure water. If they have no other choice but to get water from swampy, boggy places, they put a layer of beard moss (Usnea barbata) or small-leaved shrubs (Nothofagus antarctica) on top and press it down slightly. This causes the filtered water to seep slowly through to the surface, the roiled mud soon settles, and the water is potable. In other swampy spots they pull up a small shrub or the thick fleshy stalk of a swamp plant, and the water quickly gathers in this hole; in a few minutes it becomes clear (338).

338. Snow (a):1, 344 observed: "On one occasion, being thirsty, and seeing no fresh water near, I indicated my desire;

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 A great deal of *Yahgan* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play releasing tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

276 Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating [273] beverages were made or used by the *Yahgan* before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 14). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Yahgan* and their neighbors, the *Alacaluf* and *Ona*.

526 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at 857 stone throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity.

There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillocks, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tcenalóra, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tcenalóra" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward [533] through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were common accompaniments of children's group play.

[481] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's-buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball 526 game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

/994 cont./

627 that makes a stealthy act seem advisable to a person. This is a favorite procedure of the yékamuš. The following method has proved successful. A person who wishes to do away with his opponent inconspicuously will discuss his plan with two or three trusted friends. One day they invite the opponent in the most unobtrusive way possible to accompany them on a hunt for young or full-grown cormorants. The other may not and will not refuse the invitation because of the compulsory rules of social intercourse. Unsuspecting, he lets himself be tied to a rope at the top of the steep rock wall and slides down (p. 235). At the proper moment and without any kind of signal, his adversaries cut the rope at the top, and he plunges down and breaks his neck. These malefactors afterwards tell other people that the man, due to his own carelessness, was killed on the cormorant hunt. Spears: 68 mentions this stealthy procedure, as Outes (g):58 did earlier, and is right in calling it "a favorite way of killing an enemy" /cited in English/; this method, however, is rarely used.

278 825 674 The plant kingdom offers not a single efficacious poison, but the blubber of the grampus ëpájačí (Orca magellanica), a pilot fish of the large cetaceans (p. 37 /untranslated/), is regarded as poisonous. I was assured, confidentially, that this blubber had been given now and then, its efficaciousness having been discovered long ago. Masemikens told me the following story which is widespread. Once in the west several people found a dead ëpájačí lying on the beach. /995/ Its meat and fat were still fresh, so some of them ate some of it. Soon afterward these people died. Once Hawaten also came to this place. He was a crafty man. Before he ate, he wanted to find out whether this fat caused death. Unobtrusively he gave a man a small piece of it. The man immediately died. Thereupon he said to himself: "Good, that serves my purpose!" He took a large piece of fat from the ëpájačí, cut it into small pieces, and filled a pouch made of the stomach of a šëkuš (Chloëphaga hybrida). Then he returned to the east. If he wanted to kill someone, he stealthily stuck a small piece of the fat from the ëpájačí into the person's food. He did this several times and a number of men died. Hawaten was quite generally hated and avoided because of his malevolent disposition. --Thus it was through him that the actual or alleged strength of this poison became known.

/1457 cont./

757 an ear ailment the blubber is warmed in a mussel shell and drops are put into the ear canal. As an alternative, especially to clean the ears of small children, a bit of milk is squeezed from a woman's breast, warmed in a mussel shell, and trickled into the ear passage. The same remedy is used to cleanse the eyes of newborn babies and generally for eye diseases in small children. If a person has a cramp, kełéki, in some limb, it is rubbed with fresh leaves of Drimys. In case of lumbago, a man is treated in the following manner. He lies down on his belly. His wife warms her right foot at the fire and places /1458/ it gently on his back. Then she lifts her left foot so that the entire weight of her body rests on her right foot. After some time, when the warmth has gone out of her right foot, she climbs down and again warms it. She treats the entire back, section by section, in this way, beginning at the buttocks and proceeding up to the neck.

As a laxative the Yamana recommend chewing the leaves, [278] líuš, of uškútta (Drimys winteri); this is also effective for heart and stomach ailments. Still more effective are large quantities of blubber which must be drunk at brief intervals. Finally, the sap of young beech trees is used in the following manner. The small trunk is broken off or chopped off, the end held over a fire, and the dripping sap caught in a mussel shell. They swallow the sap, as is, and await its laxative effect. This remedy also heals inflamed eyes. In the case of inflamed eyes, télla sēx, an actual eye bath is recommended, that is, dipping the face in salt water and opening and closing the eyelids several times while doing so. For cases of violent vomiting, amája, one drinks a great deal of [278] salt water. The large beard moss, tūxalapaíla (Usnea barbata), is effective against the type of diarrhea, uspalaxána or yikēna, that is common there. One chews small amounts of it, swallows the juice, and spits out the wood fibers. Nowadays an extract is prepared in a suitable pot. Celery, húšun, is recommended for dis- [278] eases of the respiratory organs; stalks of this plant are chewed and the juice swallowed. For coughs the Yamana rub the outside of the throat with spittle, perform a brief, actually magical massage, and finally blow away the coughs, háša, with lively motions of the hands. A person who coughs up blood drinks salt water; better still, he stands in the water, ducks under a few times, swallows

/1458 cont./

757 the water a number of times, and then dries himself and lies down beside the hut fire. For strong palpitations and shooting pains in the heart the patient must remain motionless on his bed. A person who feels feverish, a rare phenomenon, lies down on the beach in such a way that the waves cover him; sometimes he stays under water for 20 minutes or longer. He does not eat blubber, fat, or the meat of whales, seals, or birds.

As a remedy for the very common headache, fresh nettles are put around the forehead and secured with leather bands. The entire head is also gently whipped with a bunch of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12, p. 121 /in untranslated portion/), whose small leaves, as is known, end in sharp, hard points. The yékamus also helps in his way by grasping a bunch of the sufferer's hair and suddenly pulling upward, which causes a faint crackling sound. As an alternative, according to Despard (b):698, "they roast their heads, and take repeated draughts of stagnant sea-water to produce nausea" /cited in English/. Bridges (i):19 maintains, as I, too, observed: "Headache was relieved by making the nose to bleed by cutting it within the nostrils" /cited in English/. Painful areas are relieved by short superficial cuts, causing a slight flow of blood. For sharp pains in the chest and labored breathing, flat /1459/ stones the size of a hand are placed on the chest after being heated in the fire; when they cool off, they are reheated. A magical effect is obtained if someone hits the painful part with a piece of skin and with each blow loudly and with great exertion exhales a stream of air.

757 The Yamana heal suppurating wounds and abcesses, alax, in various ways. The bark of young branches or long twigs from
278 any kind of tree are held with one end over the fire. The sap dripping off the other end is allowed to fall on the affected part. In the winter finger-thick stalks of Macrocystis are used. Certain growths on beech trunks, about the size of a cherry, contain a sticky substance that is dripped into the wound after crushing the growth. Then down feathers are spread over the wound, which stick to it and dry it up. For skin eruptions, eczema, and similar conditions, chalk powder is rubbed over the entire body or the resinous, gum-like discharge of the cushion plant (Azorella) is

/1459 cont./

757 spread over it; the latter is a reliable remedy for growths resem-
•278 bling carbuncles. Pustules are daubed and rubbed gently with saliva. Fresh small twigs and leaves of Macrocystis are put on swellings; they develop a slimy substance which is allowed to take effect. Fresh barberry shavings are put on an aching tooth. Loose teeth are broken and pulled out with the fingers. Hyades
[158] (p):339 says something that I cannot confirm from my own obser-
vations: "Insanity, if it exists, is very rare. The mad are treated with cold baths" /translated from French/. A broken arm is treated
752 by first placing thin sticks and a few pieces of leather around it; then this is bound with stout strips of leather. The bandage is kept in place until the pain and swelling have subsided. These are the procedures that the Fuegians know for helping themselves in case of accidents and physical ailments.

7. The Language

192 It is well known that the language of the Yamana has often
114 been described in general accounts and there is an astonishing amount of material. Many a writer has let himself be carried away in repeated references to an unusually rich vocabulary. Bridges himself started this trend. I tried to explain in (gg):162 why he said that his dictionary contained 32,430 words. I have also emphatically pointed out that the Yamana language does not have that number of words and that a rich vocabulary by no means indicates a high level of development for this language. "Quite the contrary," I (hh):183 said earlier, "one will recognize the considerable poverty of a language from the fact that it requires many words." Long before, Garbe:336 pointed to this decisive condition. No one is to be blamed for the fact that a critical study of Yamana grammar as a whole has not yet been carried out -- F. Hestermann worked on a number of parts -- /1460/ for texts are lacking. The comprehensive dictionary of the Reverend T. Bridges was only published in 1933 by Hestermann and Gusinde, and the well-known translations of the New Testament that Bridges made six decades ago are not suitable for this purpose. I, too, should not be reproached and told that I failed to collect original texts. To exonerate myself, I may point out that on my journeys I was

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

278
757

There was almost nothing in the way of herbal curatives, unless the chewing of the leaves of *Drimys winteri* as a purgative and for cardiac and stomach pains could be considered such. Sap from the broken end of a beech branch was swallowed for certain ailments. Other simple remedial measures employed were drinking oil, rubbing the body with it, massaging with *Drimys winteri* leaves, drinking sea water, covering with robes and sweating near the fire. Chalk dust was smeared on for skin eruptions. To cure headache, the nasal passages were scratched to bring about nosebleed.

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[113]

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372 /399 cont./
women are like the vestals of old, and never allow the fire to go out in the frail barques" (MM:X, 20: 1878) /cited in English/.

B. Clothing

291 511 Since the time the Yamana became known beyond the borders of their remote island world, an amazing fact concerning them continues to be discussed in European circles to this day, namely, that they enjoy excellent health in their damp, raw homeland without any clothing and body covering to speak of. Every European is convinced that a human being under the weather conditions existing there must be dependent on very ample protection if he is to survive. Nevertheless, the short scrap of leather that the Fuegians hang loosely around their necks does not even deserve to be called clothing or body covering. All observers agree, and in their accounts express their astonishment in no uncertain terms, that the natives "ordinarily go about completely naked." These are also the specific words of one of the first missionaries, Aspinall: 270. Further documentation will be found below.

147 At the same time, observers recognize the healthy physical development and the great resistance of the natives, although they never describe the full significance of that most vital resource which is constantly at their disposal, namely, their open fire.

372 /400/ This fire more than compensates for the complete lack of protective body covering. An easily accessible stand of trees furnishes the required fuel for everyone. With it he can maintain a warm fire in the hut, in the canoe, in any open place, and at every campsite. The fire alone makes life possible in that region.

291 A short back-cape of skin is the only article of clothing, alike in shape and brevity for all sexes and ages. It is functional chiefly because it gives the comforting fire unobstructed access to the whole surface of the body.

291 ●881 In their manufacture of articles, our Indians are dependent primarily on furs and skins as their raw material. This is also true of the little that one might call their "clothing." A complicated method of preparation is not possible because there are no tools for it. Also, it would not be worthwhile because the high humidity

/400 cont./

291 everywhere soon has a destructive effect. Everything, however,
281 testifies to a far-reaching modesty in their demands and to the complete self-sufficiency of these natives, which surprises every observer.

291 It is worth emphasizing that the amount of clothing as such does not always offer the best and most healthful protection for the body. In any case, however, the consequences are disastrous, for
[171] any people when their arrangements, which have for centuries proved serviceable, are forcefully suppressed or put aside by mistaken judges who have come from different conditions of life (65).

65. In this connection see page 315 /untranslated/ on the many disadvantages that developed for the Yamana when they adopted European clothing at the mission station and afterwards.

291 It is instructively stimulating to compare the customary
171 dress of the Yamana with that of their neighbors on either side. The Halakwulup in the west, in the same climatic conditions and like economic circumstances, have exactly the same body covering as the Yamana. The Selk'nam, on the other hand, living in a country with less precipitation, travel by day and do not make an open fire until evening to protect themselves for the cold night. They do not rub as much fat onto their bodies, but instead wrap themselves in a wide, well-fitting cloak of soft guanaco leather. Since they have less chance to remain beside an open fire, they seek a substitute in a warmer piece of clothing. This proves how intelligently and sensitively every tribe has chosen what is most serviceable and advantageous from among the few possibilities offered by its environment.

291 If we regard as body covering the inconsequential piece of leather that the Yamana hang around themselves, Lothrop:121 is right when he says: "It is no exaggeration to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in /401/ the world" /cited in English/. Anything less in the way of body protection than the Yamana have in their frosty Cape Horn region cannot be imagined.

/402 cont./

291 toward the wind, for it hangs very loosely on a single strip of leather drawn around the neck. When they go to sleep at night, they untie this cape and use it as a cover. Fortunately, our Indians have such an enviable ability to curl themselves up that most of the body is covered by this tiny piece of leather.

291 It is principally the small sea lion that furnishes its skin for this cape. Sometimes two small pieces are sewed together. 291 The edges are cut fairly evenly. In the southern regions the man also uses a small cloak made of two or three otter skins, whereas the inhabitants of the east wear a similarly large fur piece from the guanaco. As we know, guanacos are easily obtainable on Navarino Island and on the north shore of eastern Beagle Channel. Sea lions are less common. It is possible that the eastern Yamana, [177] following the example of the neighboring Selk'nam, have only in the most recent times made the wider and longer cloak that covers the entire body. Originally they used it as little as did the other groups (68).

68. Bridges writes: "The natives of the shores of Beagle Channel are frequently enrobed in a guanaco skin; not the beautiful guanaco robes used by the Patagonians, but the coarse shaggy skins of the grown animals which the Patagonians use only as tent covers" (VP:III, 117; 1856) /cited in English/.

291 The cape does not demand any care, and when it is worn out, it can easily be replaced. The fur side is advantageously worn on the outside. If the layer of fur were next to the skin, a great deal of dirt and perspiration would accumulate, one's skin would be scratched or irritated by the larger bristles, /403/ and the entire piece would become hard and stiff, since the leather would constantly be exposed to rain. The layer of leather, however, although soaked with blubber, is lubricated, so to speak, by the oily skin of the body on which it lies, and this keeps it soft longer. Moreover, the rain easily drips off the layer of fur worn outside and cannot soak through the whole piece. The decisive factor, as I learned, is that the Indians find the layer of fur uncomfortable against the naked skin of their bodies. No wonder, since even this light cape

291 /407 cont./
834 lamented comrade, Naval Lieutenant Payen, who took this photograph, was very well acquainted with this girl, but he could never persuade her to move her right hand from the place where the apron belonged" /translated from French/.

This apron is thus strictly demanded by decency and a feeling of modesty. Even at night the women do not remove it (79).

> 79. Hyades (f):561 again speaks of this in detail: "The women have only a little covering for modesty, intended to hide the genital parts, which consists of a very short and very narrow triangle suspended between the thighs. It is made of guanaco hide, with the fur turned inward. They never, or almost never, remove this covering; during the conjugal act, it is simply raised up on the abdomen" /translated from French/. Compare also Hyades (b):1346.

291 It is usually triangular in shape, about 15 centimeters wide at the top and about ten centimeters long in the middle. Some are also trapezoidal or rectangular in shape. They always choose a soft
• [291] piece of leather and prefer guanaco leather, both sides of which are scraped and rubbed with blubber. Girls and younger women use pieces of otter and guanaco skins without removing the fur. They wear the fur side against their bodies (80). A hole is bored into

> 80. Hyades (d) :307 thinks that this is "probably because its contact against the skin is softer than that of leather" /translated from French/.

the two upper corners, in one of which is knotted a narrow leather band or a braided tendon. This is drawn over the hips and knotted on the other corner. The apron hangs freely, fits well, is tightly pressed between the legs, and serves its purpose (81). This piece

> 81. Lothrop (b) :333 says only: "A triangular public covering of skin was usually worn by the

302

/411 cont./

bodies with an ointment made of blubber and red earth, which probably also affords some protection against the cold." Below that, Snow (b):164 mentioned it: "The only thing they do to keep more warm is to rub themselves over with grease and ochreous earth" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (a):170 mentioned the same purpose: "Both sexes oil them selves, or rubb /sic/ their bodies with grease" /cited in English/. Spears:53 also mentions this custom and adds: "Had the early explorers imitated instead of despised the Jahgan, they would have had fewer tales of suffering to tell" /cited in English/.

single anointment with blubber of the whale /411/ or sea lion. This made every person glisten with oil from head to foot, which had a most amazing effect on European travelers and missionaries until they became accustomed to the sight. This simple and very effective measure was available to everyone, and they all liked to use it when cold winds blew or when there was heavy rain. Such [117] an anointment with blubber is no longer possible with the European clothing that is customary today. Instead, every article of clothing is full of dirt and grease.

291 In spite of everything, the extremely meager body protection of our Indians proves their great power of resistance against the extreme inclemency of the weather in their homeland and their undemanding contentment. Even though their one article of clothing is serviceable and their open fire an indispensable advantage, there would still be room for a few simple comforts. Compared with the neighboring Selk'nam, our Yamana are obviously in a somewhat less favorable position.

5. Preparation of Furs and Skins

291 Our Indians need the furs and skins of their game animals (97).

97. In some places the Indian has a good selection. Thos Bridges wrote on June 4, 1864, about his visit

/413 cont./
in the Wolsis region: "The greater part of the skins we saw on the natives, were Otter skins; there were very few Guanaco skins... Seal skins, both fur and hair, were numerous. Many of the skins were sufficiently large to cover the whole person" (YSA.XI, 180, 1914) /cited in English/.

not only to make their meager articles of clothing, but for all kinds of implements and utilitarian articles. The awar and the fox are hunted only for their fur. Following an old, sanctioned custom, man and wife share in the work of preparation; the heavier work falls to the man, and the lighter handwork to the women. Fortunately, the skins are extremely greasy and oily. After they have been removed, they keep perfectly for several days despite complete neglect. The sometimes continuous inclemency of the weather very often hinders the man in accomplishing pressing tasks, during which time many objects are badly damaged from lack of immediate care and proper treatment.

When possible, the successful hunter makes every effort to skin the seal immediately at the place where he killed it or at the first best landing place. His main object is the delicious blubber and the fresh meat. First he must pull off the skin. He places the sea lion or related species on its back lengthwise on the ground. His first and only long incision is made from the neck over the chest and belly to the end of the rump. A sharpened mussel shell serves as a knife. The second and deeper incision runs around the neck. He does not yet sever the head completely. /415/ but thrusts his knife in so deeply that the whole head can be grasped with both hands and, after the cervical vertebra has been broken, torn off with a sharp tug. He begins skin at one edge of the skin or the other end, holding his knife in his right hand and grasping the skin with his left, he peels it away from its adhering layer of fat by means of short, contiguous, oblique cuts. The flippers are peeled out inward from the joints under the skin which has been reversed all around, and thus they remain hanging on the skin. He works his way along, piece by piece, first on one side, then on the other, always in the direction of the rump until the whole

/413 cont./

carcass lies on the outspread skin from which it has now been separated. He sees to it that only thin remnants of the layer of fat cling to the skin; they are wanted as food since he does not scrape them off later. He then peels off the thick subcutaneous layer of fat all around the carcass, going over it up to four more times, in the form of sheets as large as the palm of one's hand, which the women and children carry to the hut. It is only then that he opens the abdominal cavity, takes out the entrails, along with the stomach and lungs, which he tosses to the dogs or throws into the water, and reserves the heart for himself. Turning the carcass, he lets the blood flow out, and finally he cuts it into several large pieces.

As soon as circumstances permit -- a few days do not matter -- the skin is dried. Until then caution must be exercised so that the dogs do not chew on it. The man takes charge of stretching it. First he cuts out the four flippers which are still hanging in the skin, and his wife immediately sews up these holes with strong tendon fibers. Along the outer edge of the skin he punches small holes a finger's length apart. Rods about as thick as a finger are fixed into the holes under tension and from one side of the skin to the other, lengthwise and crosswise. The rods are crudely pointed and protrude only a little beyond the hole. There is more tension on the thicker sticks than on the thinner ones, but all are turned and pushed in such a manner that there are no wrinkles in the entire stretched skin. Irregular and confused though this basketwork is in appearance, the skin itself is evenly stretched throughout.

It is leaned against the outer wall of the hut to dry. A protruding stick is pounded into the earth, so that the stretched skin stands upright and both sides are exposed to currents of air. The basketwork is put on the inner side, not the hair side, to keep it from getting soiled, since many remnants of fat still cling to it. The moving current of air dries the skin quickly, hence it makes no difference if the piece of leather is often rained on while it is still soft. If it were dried in front of the fire, parts of it would shrink or even rot, and it would become distorted; therefore the Indians do not try it. After two to three weeks, depending on the time of the year and the thickness of the skin, it is so stiff and

/413 cont./

•281 hard that the sticks of the frame can be removed (88).

[171]

88. This basketwork frame for stretching skins is quite as simple and made after the same pattern as that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, p. 210, and Fig. 21). Some time ago Despard spoke of a preparation of "skins by streching /sic/ them in wooden frames, till quite dry; then scraping and rubbing with stones, till soft and smooth, and white inside" (VP:VI, 86; 1859) /cited in English/. This procedure is ancient and familiar also to the Halakwulup.

/414/ The procedure is the same for stretching and drying the skins of the fox and the otter, but the work is easier because these skins are lighter and smaller. Some care is required in skinning penguins and cormorants, as well as in stretching these skins, ʃpun, minuʃ, which are thin and delicate. The fur and skins of other animals are not dressed.

If the dried, stiff seal skins are used for the covering of the hut, they need no further preparation, but for their many other uses it is necessary to clean them. The ordinary knife or a sharp-
[342] edged mussel shell serves as a scraper. The woman scrapes the
[343] inner side, piece by piece, with the entire broad side of the blade. The skin is spread out on the ground with the hair side down, and she kneels or squats on it, pushing herself along bit by bit. With uninterrupted movements of the arm, she draws the scraper toward her body with moderate pressure and in short strokes. Hence the scraping marks appear in layers and point in the same direction. In any case, the scraped surface looks irregular because the sharpness of the scraper and the strength of her arm vary constantly. It is necessary to remove primarily the dried fatty tissue and the transparent horny layer of the surface because they tend to rot easily. The woman is mostly guided by feeling, hence it cannot be definitely determined how deep she should go as she scrapes. It depends on the thickness of the entire skin.

Often it is also necessary to remove the hair, as when pieces of leather are needed for the back-cape and for pouches or straps.

/414 cont./

281 In the case of smaller pieces, the hair is sometimes scraped off with the scraper, but more often the natives encourage a process of decay. One method is to place the entire skin under the sleeping section from which a flat layer of earth has first been removed. It is then covered with damp earth, grass, or moss, and the bed is arranged upon it as before. They leave it there, and life in the hut goes on as usual. Dampness from below and a little warmth from above start a process of fermentation which loosens the layer of hair. Eventually this can easily be stripped off with the flat of the hand, as soon as the leather is covered with a slightly slimy, sticky layer (89). Another procedure, used by the woman, is more

89. In brief, general terms Hyades (q):347 also mentions this method of treating the skins to remove the hair.

[514] successful. She collects her own urine on the piece of leather which is spread out with the hairy side upward, letting it penetrate for some time. It does not matter whether the piece lies inside or outside the hut for several days, and it is at the same time exposed to the dampness of the earth. These people think that human urine is more effective when it is collected on the piece of leather and, still warm, is immediately /415/ rubbed in with the palm of the hand or with a small tuft of wood shavings. After this has been repeated several times, the skin is covered with a thin layer of damp earth and then frequently sat upon or slept on so that it is given a good deal of body warmth. After about two weeks the hair can be stripped off easily. The piece of leather is now extremely soft, and one can easily cut out long ropes or short straps.

An otter skin takes more work to prepare. When the woman has completely dried it on the framework of sticks mentioned above, she plucks out the long, coarse hairs individually with her fingers [412] or with two mussel shells that fit one on top of the other. This is an irksome process, but in the end it gives the even, velvety soft fur that everyone regards with pleasure and enjoys stroking with the palm of the hand.

After they are dried, the hard, thick seal skins must be thoroughly beaten, even though the underside has been well scraped, to make them soft and flexible. This requires strong hands, which

/415 cont./

281 the Yamana women have. There is no hurry about this, since the dried skin, if it is protected from being soaked, cannot be damaged. The work is done in small sections because it quickly tires any woman. She grasps a piece with both hands, makes fists, and presses them together with a kneading motion, so that this movement alone softens the leather. She lets every part slide through her hands several times and kneads it in different directions. Hard, scarred sections are put between her teeth, and after biting them for a long time and using a great deal of saliva on them they finally also soften up. In general, if she wants to make leather pieces quite pliable, she draws them through her teeth, chewing on them.

The Yamana are not familiar with any special process for making the leather stronger by tanning it and saturating it with special materials. To begin with, the dressed skins have plenty of fat and blubber, which are unintentionally smeared on them so often that they have some protection against rotting due to dampness and against cracking by drying out. The back-cape especially receives ample lubrication from the greasy body, merely by being worn. The Yamana only occasionally take out a piece of leather or a finished object of leather and rub it thoroughly with oil. Even less frequently they mix blubber and a red powder made of burnt clay into a putty-like substance and rub it over the surface of the leather with the pressure of the flattened hand (90). If they wish

[171]

90. This is the common procedure among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 212), probably because the guanaco skins do not contain much fat and because the bodies of these Indians have only a thin layer of fat which is automatically and unintentionally transferred to the objects they use daily.

to make smaller pieces of leather soft and pliable, they saturate them for some time with blubber. Frequent use suffices to keep leather from getting hard and stiff.

281 /416/ Whenever it is necessary, as in the case of a larger
294 cloak of skins, for example, the cloak of otter skins, awaiix, the people also know how to sew leather pieces together easily and

/416 cont./

281 durably. They cut the edges approximately straight and lay them
294 side by side. Near the edges of the two pieces they make a small hole by pricking the leather with an awl or a pointed bone. Into this hole they thread a tendon fiber, uswúmi, holding it with thumb and index finger and licking it to make it pointed. Then another little hole is bored, and the thread is drawn from one hole to the other over the free edges in a spiral. Finally, they pound the two edges, which are not quite flat, with a round stone to make them flat and less hard so that they will not rub unpleasantly. Such work is very coarse and uneven, for they lack convenient tools. They fasten strands of leather and straps together or tie them to other things simply by knotting them.

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[136] a person who does not have these uses the tendon fibers of otter or beaver (Myocastor coipus) tails. The beaver is rare here, however. After they have skinned the animal, they cut off the tail at the root. It is dried for some time, and the individual vertebrae are broken off without tearing the tendons. The last two or three vertebrae are left together. The tendons which have been loosened by this process are separated with the fingernails until they become thin enough to be used for sewing. They then hang like a tuft on the smallest vertebrae of the tail and can be torn off with a sharp tug.

C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation

515 Every stranger is repulsed by the unclean, unkempt appear-
356 ance of the Yamana (91). It is disgusting to see these human

91. Among the opinions of former travelers I shall cite only what Snow (a) :I, 345 has written: "They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves" /cited in English/.

/468 cont./

411 there is only a single one" (Hyades [h]:37) /translated from French/. Both wings of this feathering are exactly perpendicular to the shaft and opposite each other. The feathering extends almost down to the lowest notch and is altogether about 25 millimeters long, whereas the entire arrow is about 70 centimeters.

Today we are no longer able to find out in what quantities
411 our Yamana took over arrowheads directly from the Selk'nam;
177 it did actually happen. Not only did the old men assure me of this, but in the piles of shells on the eastern Beagle Channel we find such points made of obsidian which are rare in central areas and almost entirely absent in the west. Whether the stimulus for making this characteristic /469/ form of the arrowhead was transferred from the Yamana to the Selk'nam or vice versa remains a question which cannot be solved in this context alone, but which is not without some significance.

γ. The Quiver

28/ Obviously the Fuegian arrows are delicate constructions,
411 and they are carefully stored. The most durable quiver is made of the leather of pinnipeds; the one of otter leather is more highly valued because it is more beautiful. Martial:192 mentions only the latter. The quiver is a longish, narrow bag, with a loop sewed to the upper part to serve as a handle. To achieve this shape, the natives cut a long rectangle out of leather, place the two longitudinal edges together and sew them up. For the bottom they set in a small oval piece of leather, which is also sewed on. The quiver is always slightly longer than the arrows so that they will not stick out and break off; it is about 15 centimeters wide. Each individual arrow is slid into the quiver with the point downward. When one is needed, the end of the shaft is grasped between the feathering with the tip of the thumb and index finger and immediately placed on the bowstring.

411 This brief description also fits perfectly the quiver of the
[171] Selk'nam (Vol. I, 240), which, however, is a little longer and wider. The eastern Yamana are familiar only with this one of leather, whereas the people of the central area and the west not infrequently make a quiver out of two moderately curved pieces of

/498 cont./

412 The things our Indians make with their iron tools differ from
177 what they made formerly only in execution; in each and every object they retain the basic forms. An exception is the substitution of the flat skiff in place of the bark canoe. We can, therefore, by no means speak of an improvement or perfection of total Fuegian technical skill as a result of their adoption of iron implements.

10. Articles Made of Leather, Hide, Bark

323 None of the three Fuegian Indian tribes is acquainted with pottery. Clayey earths are present and, in small amounts, are heated and made into the above-mentioned red pigment used for decoration. It has not occurred to anyone to make pots out of them. The Indians are very poor in material possessions. Still,
415 they need many small things which they must keep in bags and pouches so as not to lose them in their restless moving about. None of these things are durable by any means, but are easily and quickly replaced by others. Most of the utilitarian objects of this kind have been mentioned in the foregoing parts of this book where in each case their use was discussed. Here they will be more or less completely classified according to the material out of which they are made.

281 The explanation for so many things being made of leather is the environment in which our Fuegians have been placed. Their body covering, which does not deserve the name clothing, consists of pieces of leather and of skins, as we have already mentioned on page 50. In that connection we also described the treatment and preparation of leather (p. 68). To repeat briefly, the hunter himself skins the slain animal -- otter, guanaco, seal. He removes the skin piece by piece, cutting it away from the layer of fat surrounding the body with a mussel shell. Immediately /499/ the woman scrapes the larger bunches of fat, muscle, and tissues from the skin which is still soft and wet, stretching it taut above the ground by means of short wooden pegs or a network of short sticks. As soon as the skin has become hard from drying, she scrapes the hairless layer with the ufker[1]. Sometimes she removes the /Fig. 47 appears here/ layer of fur by

/499 cont./

•281 means of a rotting process. She makes the piece still softer and more pliable by manipulating and kneading it with both hands. Then follows the removal of irregular edges and finally cutting it to size, according to the object that is to be made.

281 415 We need not describe again the body covering and how it is made. The many bags, pouches, and sacks of all sizes have a uniform shape; they are commonly longish and deep. This follows naturally from the way they originate. Out of a large scrap of leather the Indian woman cuts a somewhat longish rectangle and folds it so that the two narrow edges come together. These are meant for the upper rim of the bag. Then, with a rather thick sinew, she makes a whipstitch seam on the right and left sides and the bag is closed. Two, three, or four holes are pierced along the upper edge, and a

Fig. 47. Leather Bag.

short handle is attached through them. This is usually a narrow strap, but it may be a braided cord made of sinews or rushes (Fig. 47). No matter how tightly the thread of the seams is pulled, the bag nevertheless leaks if it is filled with water. After long use, however, fine particles of dirt lodge in the seams, which act as calking.

These leather bags, lǎšá, are, of course, of different sizes, but they are not noticeably different in shape. We can say that

/499 cont./

281 for certain purposes approximately the same measurements are used,
415 sometimes even the same type of leather (211). For storing the /500/

211. Lothrop (b):133 also mentions the various uses of individual bags.

fire-making apparatus, the Indians prefer a small pouch, gēsánux, of guanaco leather, about ten centimeters wide and deep. It is either tied shut at the top like a sack, or a short flap is left on when it is cut out, and this is flipped over the opening, whereupon a sinew is wound crosswise around the whole thing. It is important, however, to leave the fur on; it prevents the leather from getting soaked and thus ruining the contents. A somewhat larger but similar pouch is commonly used to store pigments. The man keeps his long harpoon points made of whale bone in a deeper, narrow leather bag, his tools and odds and ends in a wider, shorter bag. The woman puts her ornaments and implements in a large, wide leather bag with a handle.

281 Straps and ropes are also cut out of leather. The long lasso, ťúkeša, for the large harpoon (Fig. 35) and for other purposes (212)

212. As is well known, it serves many purposes in the hunt for food, a fact which Fitz-Roy (a):186 observed. The Selk'nam also use it (Vol. I, 254). BD:79 describes it as "a long piece of hide freed of hair used for many purposes" /cited in English/.

requires a great deal of work. It is made from the thick skin of the adult male bear seal, tëpē·a, (Arctocephalus australis). The work is begun immediately after the woman has removed the layer of hair by the above-mentioned fermenting process (p. 71). The man spreads the very soft skin flat on the ground, punches a hole in the center, and, with sharpened shells of Solen, cuts a strip as wide as a finger in unbroken concentric circles from the center until he has used up the skin. Then he ties one end to a tree trunk and pulls the entire long strip of skin against other trunks, stretching it as much as possible. The tension is, of

/500 cont./

281 course, increased when the strip dries. Since the man has carefully avoided having the strap curl up lengthwise, it comes out smooth and even after it is thoroughly dry.

The women often use a strip of leather about five meters long
281 and one centimeter wide as a carrying strap, mun. They coil the
482 center section several times lengthwise, the width of the coil corresponding to the width of their backs. Then they loop the two end pieces, left and right, in the coil. The two end pieces are placed over the shoulders, while the middle piece is drawn around a bundle of wood or a piece of baggage which the woman has previously loaded on her back as she bent the upper part of her body far forward. By drawing the straps tight, she keeps the burden immovable.

281 Leather in one form or another is used for sewing and tying things, for the water scoop and the hand protector, and for many other little things. They always keep it handy and it can easily be obtained (213). All types of leather, however, suffer from the

[276] 213. In recent times the Yamana have shown a great fondness for a cigarette-tobacco pouch made of a piece of leather from an otter tail.

excessive dampness.

281 /501/ Whereas in the foregoing other kinds of containers or
415 bags of hide were mentioned, here I refer to the kinds made of bird skins, minus. The skins of cormorants and penguins are regarded as very suitable; they are more durable because of the coarseness of the feathers. The natives make a long incision on the underside of the animal and remove the entire skin. They sever the wings and legs from the inside and finally the neck at its uppermost vertebrae. The head is sometimes left on. Sometimes they cut off the whole neck, as well as legs and wings, from the outside and afterward sew up these openings and also the long incision over the belly, except for a slit a hand's breadth wide which is left as the opening. In such a bird skin one keeps lighter and more delicate things, such as necklaces and pigments, the feather diadems, and so forth (214). They very seldom turn

214. Hyades (q):306 grouped together

• 281
415

/501 cont./
several of these small bags and described them in detail, as did Lothrop (b): 133. Compare Spegazzini (a): 162 and Colini:238.

the freshly removed bird skin inside out so that the feathered side is on the inside.

Dried pieces of gut and the dried stomach of smaller seals are also used as small bags. They are popular as containers for pigments and liquid blubber, for they are impermeable. These things are known as yáj (Fig. 20).

415 The above-mentioned articles of leather and skin are neither very strong nor particularly durable. Even more fragile and delicate are the buckets and smaller vessels made of bark. Such containers are not suitable for the type of life led by the Selk'nam; however, they are serviceable for the Yamana because they can be easily kept in the canoe and taken along. There is a larger type, kāla, x̌āla, and a smaller, tūku. BD:201, 469 also distinguishes between kāla, "a bark bucket," and tūkū, "a bark bailer" /cited in English/. The complete name for the large pail is ajyūšu x̌āla in the western dialect, and áta, x̌āla in the eastern dialect.

415 322 When one wants to make a pail, he peels a ring out of the bark of an evergreen beech with the usual bone tools. The outer rind and the inner dry bark fibers are scraped off; then all the edges are cut very evenly. Before the piece of bark curls up by drying its longitudinal edges are sewed together, carefully well overlapped. A round bottom of the same bark is set in and secured by means of a seam that runs all the way around. To prevent the upper edge from tearing a flexible strip of the soft wood layer of [824] Drimys winteri is placed around it and sewed on. Whalebone strips [283] as well as thin bundles of bast-fiber are used to sew it. A short leather strap or a braided rush cord is knotted above the opening as a handle. This makes it easy to handle the bucket which is up to 30 centimeters high and has a diameter of 13 centimeters (Fig. 48). For /502/ smaller vessels they take the bark of Drimys winteri [824] and even of Maytenus magellanica, both of which have less tendency to curl because their bark is thicker than that of beeches. For these they do no more than make a longitudinal seam and set in a

/676 cont./

462 Our Indian woman contributes incomparably more to her family's sustenance than does her neighbor on Isla Grande. This is no exaggeration. One need only keep in mind that she alone gathers the mussels, which for the Yamana are as important as bread for a European. Her gathering activity, which lasts several hours on most days, also extends to snails and crabs, sea urchins and birds' eggs, berries and fungi. She catches many a fish with her fishline and many a young bird in its nest. All these articles of game benefit her whole family. She prepares for roasting the 462 large mammals and the birds which her husband brings to the hut. 252 Since no regular mealtimes are observed, she must serve first this one and then that one. She makes the popular blubber sausages (p. 320) and bakes the appetizing blood sausages in hot ashes. Finally, it is her task to dry Cyttaria fungi. Without this varied co-operation of the woman, the menu /677/ of the Yamana would be lamentably monotonous. She shows amazing skill and tireless endurance in obtaining food through the year (p. 281).

With all these manifold duties, there are all kinds of smaller 462 manual tasks. Seal, otter, and guanaco pelts and the skins of 281 birds require a great deal of work. She must stretch, scrape, and, in part, dress them. She makes all the objects of leather and skins, especially bags and pouches, ornaments and toys, and naturally also the little that is used for body covering. For her personal use she needs small baskets and skin pouches. For the latter she chooses the alimentary canal of álakuš (Tachyeres brachypterus) and pieces of seal gut. She works on them during the brief intervals when she is free of other obligations. She looks for and prepares the colored earth for red and white body painting, prepares the fishing lines, and braids the rush hawsers for the canoe and the tendons for various uses (see particularly pp. 99, 196, 201).

If we add all this together, we are amazed and astonished 462 at the extraordinarily extensive and versatile daily achievement of our Indian woman. Superficial travelers took this as a reason for describing her lot as oppressive and undignified, her burden of work as unbearable, and her existence as inhuman (67).

67. Bove (e):157 and (d):292 is one of those Europeans who exaggerate the most: "While

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

501 of several skins sewn together, was sometimes set up—a practice whose origin, native or European, is uncertain. (For details on manufacture and use of canoe, cf.: Lothrop, 1928, pp. 143–145; 1932 a, pp. 251–253; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 438–457.)

501 177 After about 1880 the *Yahgan* began to give up their traditional bark canoes, and to adopt the dugout. Still later, prior to Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, the dugout had been entirely superseded by the dory, of European type and origin.

The *Yahgan* never adopted the plank boat from their *Alacaluf* neighbors and never used rafts or skin-covered watercraft, so far as our records reveal.

MANUFACTURES

172 Pottery, weaving, and metallurgy were entirely absent; no traces of pottery have been discovered archeologically in *Yahgan* territory.

283 **String-making and sewing.**—Plant fibers, plain, shredded, or braided, were used in basket making, canoe sewing, and for mooring lines, respectively; braided whale sinew, for necklaces, fishing lines, and tool and weapon lashings; braided guanaco sinew, for bowstrings; whalebone, in sewing canoes and for bird snares and fishline nooses; seal-hide thongs, for tool and weapon lashings, harpoon lines, basket [412] handles, mooring lines, and bowstrings. Awls were made of bone and wood, unhafted. The drill was lacking.

285 **Basketry.**—Four techniques in basket making were in use: (1) Simple half-hitch coiled, the commonest type (fig. 13, *top*); (2) twisted half-hitch coiled, rarer (fig. 13, *center*); (3) knotted half-hitch coiled, not common (fig. 13, *bottom*); (4) a sort of wrapped type. The first three were of excellent craftsmanship; the last, very crudely woven, and used only as a dip net for catching very small fish. The material for all four was a rush (*Juncus magellanicus*). The coiled baskets were more or less oblong-spheroid in shape, and had a carrying handle of thong or plaited rush (pl. 33, *c*).

281 **Skin dressing.**—No process of dressing proper is reported. Sealskins were stretched on the ground, covered with grass and moss, and left so for a while, to help dehair them. Drying frames were appar- [412] ently used. The scraper consisted of a mussel shell lashed to a cylindrical stone haft. The *Yahgan* made thongs flexible by drawing them through their teeth or by chewing them.

324 **Stoneworking.**—Little use of worked stone was made except for arrowheads and, rarely, scrapers. The workmanship was crude. [192] Archeologically, there are some traces of stone pecking and polishing (Lothrop, 1928, p. 203; cf. Bird, 1938).

415 **Containers.**—Cylindrical buckets (pl. 33, *e*), of *Nothofagus betuloides* bark, for carrying and holding drinking water and for bailing, were made by the woman, with the use of a barking tool dif-

/416 cont./

281 durably. They cut the edges approximately straight and lay them
294 side by side. Near the edges of the two pieces they make a small hole by pricking the leather with an awl or a pointed bone. Into this hole they thread a tendon fiber, uśwúmi, holding it with thumb and index finger and licking it to make it pointed. Then another little hole is bored, and the thread is drawn from one hole to the other over the free edges in a spiral. Finally, they pound the two edges, which are not quite flat, with a round stone to make them flat and less hard so that they will not rub unpleasantly. Such work is very coarse and uneven, for they lack convenient tools. They fasten strands of leather and straps together or tie them to other things simply by knotting them.

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C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation

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/434 cont./

301 wound around two or three times, in other words, several meters long. Thicker bunches of tendon are held together by a short thread wound around them crosswise at certain intervals. This neck ornament is called hupuxkemak. "These braids are a kind of necklace for only the women; they are arranged in a number of circles, held at a single or at several points /435/ by means of a little strand of hair" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q] :349) (116). Although each of these pieces is in

116. He also says (q):299 about these: "Another type of necklace is made simply by several twists of braid worn at the neck; a glass bead from the French Mission was sometimes hung on this necklace" /translated from French/.

itself greasy, they brush it with fish oil alone or with a mixture [237] of fish oil and red pigment, so that the short fibers do not stick out unattractively.

301 The strings of guanaco tendons separated into fine fibers 237 are generally called amepa uiwúmi; those of whale bone, used [213] alike for sewing and braiding, are called wápisa uiwúmi. On these simple braided tendons the Indians sometimes string short pieces, fairly uniform in length and shape, of the hollow cylindrical bones of a bird, usually the cormorant. More rarely they use the well-known calcareous formations of the tube worm, which they cut into small pieces from 30 to 40 millimeters in length. The smaller and more regular they are, the more they are prized. They sometimes also insert two or four red beaks of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater) at suitable intervals, and for some time [177] now, even coins, glass beads, and other European baubles (117).

117. Wieghardt:23 writes: "The necklace worn in two or three twists around the neck is at times adorned by a beak of the oyster bird (Haematopus ater), animal teeth, or little shells" /translated from Spanish/.

/436 cont./

301 [437] which occasionally reached the neighboring Haus /Haush/ and Halakwulup through barter, was repeatedly mentioned by early travelers. One often sees it in the ethnographic collections of European and American museums. See Bove (c):126, Colini:722, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (q):300, 348, Lothrop (b):125, Wieghardt: 23, and others.

Another necklace more highly prized than this is a braided [237] cord of tendon on which short, small pieces of the dried windpipe of the /Fig. 23 appear: here/ wild swan (Cygnus melanocoryphus) are very loosely strung. J. L. Myres:97 is right when he says that this "type of necklace is rare and much prized /cited in English/, for the swan seldom appears there in the south, and it is extremely difficult to obtain.

301 Finally, another necklace is described by Hyades (q):299, 237 which I did not see. "Plaited necklace, Oupakh' ouana; this ●283 type of necklace is plaited with fibers of the intestines of young seals, Aouia ama; in the center, Itakoun, there is a fine braid, Açina, made of the sinew of a whale, which /Fig. 24 appears here/ also forms the double braid at the ends of the necklace; the fastening, Yamacéta, of the necklace is a braid made of whale tendon. It is worn only by women: Kipa tapan makau" /translated from French/.

301 The necklaces mentioned above, irrespective of type and construction, are procured by people of either sex and all ages. "The men wear these necklaces also, as well as the women and children" /translated from French/, Hyades (q):349 confirms. Older men do not decorate themselves as much with them, but /437/ older women do, and most of all the younger people. They are almost wholly a plaything for children. A woman will adorn her baby with a necklace chiefly out of a feeling of maternal happiness. The women and girls make all these types of orna- [462] ment for themselves and for their male relatives, since this is work for women's hands. The personal need for adornment and the vanity of each individual determine how often and how long one decorates himself with this or that piece. Unimpeded

/444 cont./

396 out the earth in the shape of the planned canoe. Then each of the two poles, kéici, one after the other, is sewn to the straight edge of the side sheet of bark, as the board. Their front ends later form the extreme point of the bow which rarely extends two to three centimeters above the bark.

396 For the sewing, one needs strips about one millimeter thick
• 283 and three millimeters wide from the most recent layer under the
[824] bark of young trunks of Nothofagus antarctica. They are extremely flexible and so tough that they neither peel off in strands nor break, even when they are dried out. If a person can get the more suitable strips of whalebone, he chooses them, but otherwise he must /445/ resort to using the former which he carefully prepares (130). Near the upper edge of the sheet of bark he bores

130. Hyades (q):351 describes how they are prepared: "One divides the fibers of whalebone or of the layer under the bark into strips of equal length and thickness, polished on the edges by being scraped with broken shells" /translated from French/. They are kept under water so as not to dry out or warp prematurely.

a small hole with a pointed bone awl and sticks the strip of wood fiber, ūʼi, through it, draws it over the little pole, pulls it tight and continues in spirals about 13 centimeters apart until its entire length is fastened to the edge of the bark. The latter is safely protected by each of the two poles.

Before the long center piece of bark is fastened to the
396 lower edges of the two side sections, approximately eight crossbars are fastened to the top. For these witéga, one chooses
[824] branches as thick as a thumb from the ʼíakuʼ (Maytenus magellanica), whose wood is very tough and hard. He scrapes off the bark and at either end carves a stub-like button. Around the somewhat thinner neck just in front of this button he winds the uʼi thread, and with this he ties each end of the crossbar to the upper edge of the sheet of bark. The deep tapering of the crossbars just short of their ends serves as a collar for the ūʼi strip, preventing it from slipping in either direction. The center crossbar is, of course, the

/446 cont./

396 are put into place on bow and stern. Sometimes only the one on the bow is deemed sufficient, if the excellence of the large bark pieces permits the one on the stern to be omitted. I was told that the construction of the canoe is sounder if the three large pieces of bark do not all taper to fine points at either end, but are cut off straight. The short triangular end pieces that are sewed to the cut surface prevent any tearing or splitting of the keel strip because they fit loosely. These two ilkenix are also sewed on with [illegible] threads. Moreover, a thread made of braided mapi [583 824] Marsippospermum grandiflorum) is wound tight around the extreme tip, its free end knotted on the last or the next-to-the-last small crombar. This prevents the fine tip from twisting outward which it tends to do because it frequently gets damp and then dries again.

The middle third of the edges on both sides of the canoe is most subject to damage, for this is where one climbs in and out and also where most of the things are loaded. Hence, for greater safety, they make a separate gunwale of pieces of bark from a [824] trunk of Maytenus magellanica as thick as an arm. They peel off the bark and split it into equal halves; these are immediately placed on the edges of the canoe, each between two crombars. Each half bends to form a half cylinder and is automatically clamped into place; it needs no other fastening. This bark facing, tétaka, has another advantage. It extends along the section in which the woman sits to row and thus protects her arms from injury. In rowing and steering she often rests them on the gunwale.

The outer construction of the canoe is now finished. It needs only a few additions to give it support and firmness. For this purpose, slender wooden ribs as thick as a finger are used, [824] namely, branches of Drimys winteri or of a Nothofagus, split down the middle. Both ends are cut to a short point, and the individual ribs bent into a half circle. They are arranged according to their length and pressed into the belly of the canoe so that they lie tight against the entire inner wall and are clamped under the gunwale on either side. These wooden ribs, tmekila, are close to each other; about 50 are used altogether. Before they are finally clamped into place, the small spaces and holes between them and the lower half of the canoe wall are stuffed with moss, algae, and grasses, for the thin-walled construction requires a great deal of calking. The vegetable matter used for this purpose is known

/480 cont./

501 415 center of the longitudinal seam. Such a sieve does not have to be made watertight; small amounts can easily be scooped out if one uses it often and quickly. The girls /411/ even find this to be fun. The size and diameter of this scoop (Fig. 20) are a matter of chance. Some are 12 centimeters, others 22 centimeters high, and most of them fall between these two sizes. The leather ones are more durable than those commonly used made from the bark of Drimys winteri or Maytenus magellanica. The latter, however, are easier to hold (140). Several of

140. Hyades (q):207 gives several details about these scoops. To speak of "sieves made of tree-bark," as Rove (s):127 does, is not correct. See Lothrop (t):147.

Fig. 20. Scoop Made of Drimys Bark. One-half natural size.

these scoops lie about in every canoe. /Fig. 20 appears here./

501 283 The last item of the accessories that we must mention, which, however, is sometimes lacking, is the rope of rush mats that Hyades (q):414 calls "plait of rushes" /translated from French/. It is a simple braid of three

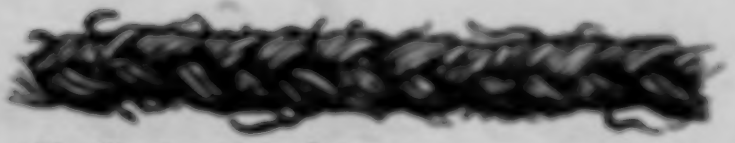

Fig. 21. Rope Made of Marilypopemum. One-half natural size.

strands and is at least 180 centimeters long (Fig. 21). There is a knot at either end to keep it from becoming unbraided. This rope

/421 cont./

531/ 283 is always left in the canoe, either rolled up in a ball or wound into a few coils. It is used where many banks make it impossible to draw the vessel onto land. One end is knotted to the first or second crossbar, wiñga; the other is wound around a stone or a tree trunk. This rope, which is not very strong, is used to fasten the canoe only in very quiet waters to prevent the boat's being carried off by the ebb and flow of the tide. Because of its lightness, it is much more suitable for this purpose than a heavier leather thong would be (141).

> 141. In his time, Snow (n):II, 16 called attention to it: "The ropes they had to fasten their canoes were made of grass rudely plaited" /cited in English/.

501/ 962 The few items listed here, oar, hearth, scoop, and rope are necessary adjuncts or accessories of the vessel. /Fig. 31 appears here./ The woman has charge of them also, and she sees to their replacements so that she will not at some time be seriously embarrassed or endangered.

/422/ ♂. Its Efficiency

525 Their restless, wandering life forces the Yamana to carry with them wherever they go all their material possessions, without exception. These do not necessarily belong to the canoe, but no one can part with them. They are distributed in such a way that the man keeps his weapons in the bow, and the woman has all the other implements and little baskets, skins, and pieces of meat in the stern. The children occupy the center section, except for the insignificant trifles which they hang on their bodies, they do not possess anything. The canoe as such is extremely light and is, therefore, not suitable for transporting loads. Although it is hard to say definitely how much the articles necessary to the adults weigh, it is obvious that it cannot be much. At most, a large sea lion that a man has killed is loaded on.

The number of people that a given canoe can accommodate depends on their weight and the existing weather conditions. They

/465 cont./

48 171 find it on the specimens in the Göttingen Museum. This point may seem trivial, but actually the early Yamana were not as exact in making a bow stave as the Selk'nam. That is why they never applied the fine decorated edge upon which the Selk'nam laid great store (Vol. I, 203). It has been proved that the inhabitants of Isla Grande gave many a bow to their neighboring canoeists. However, since the old bow staves described here lack the even and delicately ribbed surface, they are almost certainly recognizable as a genuine product of the Yamana. The latter have actually altered nothing in the form and shape of their bow staves for the past three centuries (167).

167. Hyades (q):261 confirms "that the bow and arrow of the present does not seem to have varied from that of the first European travelers in Fuegia" /translated from French/. In his works (b):31 and (q):Plate XXXI, he illustrates a bow that Bougainville picked up in Puerto Galiant on the Strait of Magellan in January, 1768. There is no question that this specimen comes from the Halakwulup. Since, as Hyades maintains, it "does not differ in any respect from the present bow" /translated from French/ of the Yamana, his words substantiate what I said in the beginning about the widespread uniformity of the bows of all Fuegian tribes.

48 173 For the bowstring, the people in the region of the Selk'nam and Haus without exception use the thick tendon cords from the legs of guanacos. The eastern Yamana do likewise; the other groups choose for this also thick bundles of tendons of the pinniped; the westernmost Yamana, probably in imitation of the Halakwulup, even use the hide of the sea lion in a strip three millimeters wide (168). On the two bows which James Cook

[177]

168. Hyades (q):198 inaccurately says that "the string is a sealskin thong or a cord of a whale sinew" /translated from French/; the tendon fibers of large seals are used much more often.

•283 /466/ brought back the bowstrings are now missing. Of the two
411 in the Peabody Museum Lothrop (b):156 says that their "bowstrings are of guanaco-sinew" /cited in English/ (169). The latter,

> 169. In a few older reports they are erroneously said to be "gut."

known as sáli, are attached exactly as they are on the bow of the Selk'nam, namely, at one end by means of a running knot and at the other by being wound around it several times (see Fig. 31 in Vol. I, 231). A strip of leather as a bowstring is obviously much less elastic.

β. The Arrow

411 The navigators of earlier times repeatedly saw the arrow in the hands of these Fuegians, but instead of describing it in detail, most of them were content to mention it briefly. Weddell noted few details. The arrow of the Yamana also resembles that [171] of the Selk'nam in every respect; the latter is in general somewhat longer. Lothrop (b):155 calls it "short, clumsy, and untapered -- very crude indeed compared with Ona workmanship" /cited in English/. As far as I know, there is not an arrow preserved anywhere from olden times, and the available descriptions from the last decades are more or less inadequate. For whatever I have been able to discover about this at one time significant weapon, I am indebted chiefly to old Whaits, who, as a young man, made a few samples of them. Personally I did not succeed in seeing an arrow made by the hand of a Yamana.

Here, too, as on Isla Grande, they choose the small stems [824] of Berberis ilicifolia, sometimes even the branches of Maytenus 411 magellanica for the arrow shaft. Hence it is also called ʔiyakuʔ, 322 a name for the latter tree. The stick, still green, is given its final shape by constant scraping with a sharp-edged mussel shell. The middle third bulges slightly in contrast to the two ends. The high polish and final smoothing of the surface of the shaft is obtained by a gentle rubbing with pumice. Before that the man repeatedly straightens it by holding it between his teeth and

/485 cont./

223 above, they also use several implements which we shall briefly
226 characterize here and describe in greater detail below. These implements have been brought under one heading in this section. They help the men and women to obtain the smaller representatives of Fuegian fauna, namely, birds and the so-called lower animals, such as mussels and crabs.

a. The Snare-line

223 This is a construction that is used for inconspicuous mass capture. The Yamana call it ufka; I believe the most suitable designation is large snare-line. It could also be called "snare-trap." It is used more often by the Halakwulup than by our Fuegians. Hyades (q):359 correctly reminds us that it was observed by Bougainville in the year 1769 on the shores of the Strait of Magellan.

223 The foundation, so to speak, of this large snare-line is a
283 thick, braided cord of long guanaco sinews. Since few /486/ people can obtain this, they content themselves with whale sinews and make a firm braid with three strong strands. This is saturated with fat and repeatedly greased, for it often lies on the damp earth for a long time and must be protected from rotting.

On the long cord at intervals of about 60 centimeters, there
223 are tied as many knotted loops, known as kěr,ᵃᵉěf, as the length
284 of cord will permit. Each of them consists of a single strip of whalebone about four millimeters wide, the edges of which must not fray since this would interfere with the free movement of the small loop-knot at the upper end. The other end, after being drawn through the loop, terminates in a simple knot and is fastened to the long cord. All the knotted loops are placed on the same side of the cord. Each one, when it is entirely loose, has a diameter of nearly 20 centimeters.

223 Actually, therefore, the large snare-line ufka, is, following Hyades (q):304, a "game of snares" /translated from French/ (Fig. 59). Martial:195 calls it "a noose" /translated from French, lacet/, which he describes as "a rope of seal tendons on which

/490 cont./

227 Two types of fishline are used, and they differ from one an-
283 other only in the actual line. One is nothing more nor less than
a small, pencil-thick stem of the large brown alga (Macrocystis
[824] pyrifera) from which, with the fingernail, the branches are re-
moved so close to the stalk that it seems quite smooth (Fig. 63).
After each use it is rolled up; hence it dries very slowly and does
not readily become brittle. When it is needed, 20 minutes in
the water will suffice to soften it up completely and make it
flexible once more.

The other fishline is braided out of three thin filaments of
sinew. Like the one mentioned first, it is eight and more meters
long (Fig. 64). To make it last longer, it, too, is rolled up,
but into a tight ball, after each use (199). The latter is incom-

199. Bridges (MM:III, 115; 1869) briefly describes both types. Hyades (g):38 repeated: "The lines are made partly out of dried seaweed [Macrocystis pyrifera], partly out of seal tendons, and are lowered with a stone tied to them." See Krickeberg: 320 and Lovisato (b):142.

parably more durable and proves to be much more trustworthy when
it is hauled in.

227 Both lines terminate in a loop with a running knot made out
284 of a quill. When it is opened up, it measures about 12 centi-
meters. Since the actual line ends in a small knot, the upper end
of the quill is joined on in front of the knot. Along its smooth
surface the running loop moves without any friction. As bait it
holds a small piece of seal meat or a small mussel.

227 Since the bait must sometimes be sunk to considerable depths,
a sinker is indispensable. The natives use any stone with flat
sides and irregular edges. It is about three centimeters high. The
line is wound around it, about eight centimeters above the loop.
In the central Yamana regions the natives sometimes select the
round black stone tesi, but few women have any of them handy.

226 Every Indian woman is extraordinarily skillful in fishing.
Since she does not use an actual fish hook, she waits until the
fish has swallowed the bait and only then very gently pulls up the

281
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/501 cont./
several of these small bags and described them in detail, as did Lothrop (b): 133. Compare Spegazzini (a): 162 and Colini:238.

the freshly removed bird skin inside out so that the feathered side is on the inside.

Dried pieces of gut and the dried stomach of smaller seals are also used as small bags. They are popular as containers for pigments and liquid blubber, for they are impermeable. These things are known as yáj (Fig. 20).

415 The above-mentioned articles of leather and skin are neither very strong nor particularly durable. Even more fragile and delicate are the buckets and smaller vessels made of bark. Such containers are not suitable for the type of life led by the Selk'nam; however, they are serviceable for the Yamana because they can be easily kept in the canoe and taken along. There is a larger type, kāla, xála, and a smaller, tūku. BD:201, 469 also distinguishes between kāla, "a bark bucket," and tūkū, "a bark bailer" /cited in English/. The complete name for the large pail is ajyūšu xála in the western dialect, and áta, xála in the eastern dialect.

415 322 When one wants to make a pail, he peels a ring out of the bark of an evergreen beech with the usual bone tools. The outer rind and the inner dry bark fibers are scraped off; then all the edges are cut very evenly. Before the piece of bark curls up by drying its longitudinal edges are sewed together, carefully well overlapped. A round bottom of the same bark is set in and secured by means of a seam that runs all the way around. To prevent the upper edge from tearing a flexible strip of the soft wood layer of [824] Drimys winteri is placed around it and sewed on. Whalebone strips [283] as well as thin bundles of bast-fiber are used to sew it. A short leather strap or a braided rush cord is knotted above the opening as a handle. This makes it easy to handle the bucket which is up to 30 centimeters high and has a diameter of 13 centimeters (Fig. 48). For /502/ smaller vessels they take the bark of Drimys winteri [824] and even of Maytenus magellanica, both of which have less tendency to curl because their bark is thicker than that of beeches. For these they do no more than make a longitudinal seam and set in a

/546 cont./

226 Although in general fish adds a welcome change to the monotonous diet of the Indian, it is by no means of real significance for his nourishment. Referring to this, Hyades (h):14 has very much exaggerated. For example, no one touches the representatives of the order Harpagifer, tāpun, tēppun, although they would be very easy to catch. They are about as long as one's hand and have a broad head. They remain in the residual pools and cling to wet stones when the tide recedes.

[462] It is exclusively the woman's occupation and task to fish with a line for certain smaller salt-water species. A man would never do this. The women use two different kinds of lines (see Hyades 227 [q]:303). They fish with a line throughout the year, but only 283 when the sea is calm (279). The woman makes the very simple

> 279. To say that a woman fishes only "three months," that is, in summer with its long days, as Hyades does (q): 370, is unjustified.

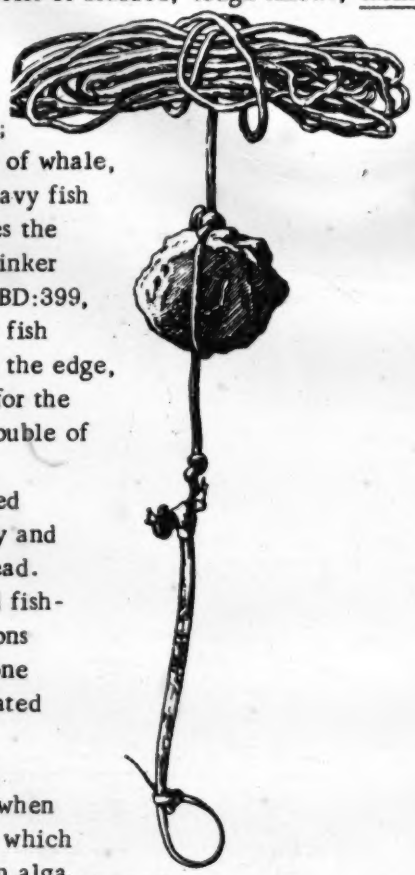
[824] line (Fig. 63) herself. She chooses a long pencil thick stem of the easily obtainable large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera) and removes the few branches by snipping them off lightly with her fingernail. In this way she produces an almost smooth thread, tuina, tēkēpuwa. Since it is elastic, it can be easily wound into a loose coil. In the shade it dries only partially so that it remains 227 slightly damp. Any dull-colored, flattened, irregular stone about the size of a pocket watch will do as a sinker (280). The line is

> 280. In an emergency the woman will even use a longish, stone spear-point as a sinker. This may have led some less careful observers to conclude that the Yamana use actual fish hooks such as are employed elsewhere.

wound around it and knotted so that the free end hangs down a few centimeters /547/ below it. This end is finished off with a small knot, into which is fastened a fiber from the quill of a stout bird feather, about ten centimeters long and four millimeters wide. The quill tapers somewhat /Fig. 63 appears here/ at the bottom and ends in a running knot that holds the bait. The latter consists

/547 cont./

227 of bits of meat, the size of a cherry, from a small mussel, or a tiny bit of seal meat, or whatever else the woman happens to have. As soon as the long thread of alga is dipped into the water it is quickly impregnated with moisture. In spite of its extreme flexibility, it is strong enough. As a substitute they also choose a fishline, apŭr tuarāna, made out of several meters of braided, tough sinews, tāfim [283 (tābim) (Fig. 64). The sinews, 237] ūswŭmi, of the guanaco are well adapted to this because they are long, fine, and durable; if they are not available, sinews of whale, seal, or otter are used. Even heavy fish cannot tear this line. Sometimes the woman flattens the sides of the sinker (čeči, also tōšisōši according to BD:399, "a sink [round stone or lead] for fish lines" /cited in English/, rounds the edge, and cuts a shallow notch into it for the thread (281). She goes to the trouble of



281. Hyades (h):19 illustrated a stone fashioned in this way and comparable to a sounding lead. Next to it he shows a second fishline "of braided whale tendons with a polished, grooved stone serving as a weight" /translated from French/.

specially shaping the stone only when the fishline is of braided sinews, which is stronger than a line made of an alga stem. In the central part of Beagle Channel the people even use a spherical black stone about four centimeters in diameter, which is provided with a shallow groove for the fishline. According to the old myth about [113] Sinulu-watauineiwa, this tēši, tēsix, was said to have been introduced by a woman in ancient times.

Fig. 63. Fishline Made from an Alga Stem. Three-quarters natural size.

/549 cont./

226 same time. They have previously agreed on their plan in accordance with the weather and their own moods. Although they are close together in their canoes, they avoid all conversation. Within a short time, especially if they are favored by the weather, every woman has roughly a few dozen fish (286).

286. Fishing with the line is sometimes very profitable, as Hyades (h):15 confirms.

Several species of fish with tasty meat take the bait, most frequently tāpun (Notothenia cornucula), sūna (Notothenia macrocephalus), imakára (Genipterus chilensis), čátax (Choenichthys esox), lasár[1] (Latilus aff.), and others. In general, these species can be [227] 283 pulled up with the fishline made of kelp, which seldom breaks even when the fish is moderately large (287). In places where

287. Hyades (q):371 also confirms: "The common lines of seaweed rarely break, and they are adequate to take fish of medium size, up to half a kilogram" /translated from French/.

larger fish bite, the Indian woman chooses a fishline of woven sinew fibers (Fig. 64) so as not to lose her catch, for sinew fibers are strong and resistant as well as much more durable.

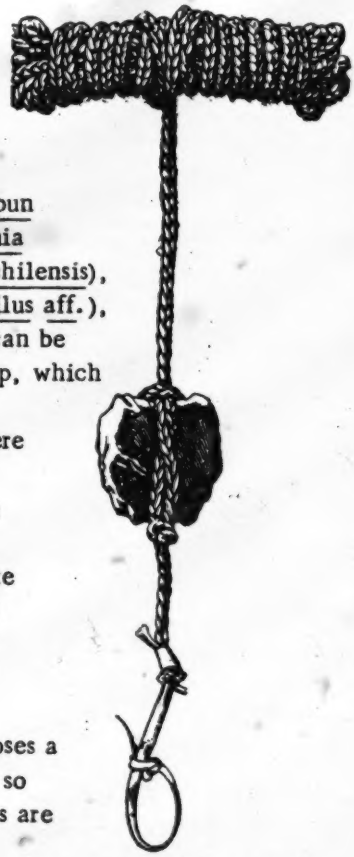


Fig. 64. Fishline Made of Sinew Cord. Three-quarters natural size.

The Yamana women set out in their canoes at any hour of the day, if the surface of the water is smooth and the weather promises success. They even venture out on the water during the brief summer nights which are rather light there, but never in the dead of night, however, even with bright moonlight (288). They like to go

288. Many observers described this type

/840 cont./

X881 625 302 a red stripe the width of a finger from each nostril to the opening of the ear. They are never without the proper hapaxél, but they are not entitled to the headdress of white feathers which distinguishes the winefkéxwa. Neither he nor his assistants are constantly painted this way, but they renew the painting frequently.

X881 625 These assistants do not have a special name. Their activity depends entirely on the guard, and they take their instructions from him. This describes their service. Above all they help to capture the candidates at the beginning of the ceremony, and they also assist if an outsider has caused a disturbance or has come up too close and must be apprehended. One or another of these assistants accompanies the uswáala to work outside the Great Hut because the winefkéxwa himself should never be too far away from it.

X881 625 283 When the guard and his assistants fetch one candidate after the other to the Great Hut, as we have just indicated, they use a long strip of leather which is about three centimeters wide and 12 to 15 meters long. This úkeša is painted white and has red horizontal strips 20 to 30 centimeters apart. It is knotted at the end and made into a noose. This leather strap is fastened loosely lengthwise, not rolled up, to the framework inside the Great Hut so that it can be taken down ready for use at any moment. It is always in the same place; hence it is convenient and /841/ certain to be at hand for the men, who can instantly form up in such a way that the first in the row, noose in hand, can run out of the Great Hut first and strike out in the direction agreed upon. Extreme haste is sometimes necessary, certainly always when someone disturbing the peace is to be caught.

X881 625 They run one behind the other about two to three meters apart in a row and grasp the long strap with the right hand while they carry the dancing sticks in the left hand. As soon as they are close enough to the candidate or the mischief-maker, the first in the row throws the noose over his head while the other helpers surround him until he is bound. Now they drag him to the Great Hut, whether or not he is willing. They also use this úkeša to implant some wholesome fear in a stubborn, disobedient uswáala. If the first and second warnings do not suffice and even a threat has no effect, the guard's assistants grab the rebel, wrap the

Red symbolized Peace;
302 white, war and ritual; black, mourning. Designs were very simple,
[822] confined to lines, dots, and, less commonly, circles.

Ornaments.—Personal adornments were: necklaces, of sections of
301 bird leg bones strung on braided sinew, of strung punched shells
237 (*Photinula violacea*), or of frapped hanks of braided sinew, often colored red; bone or shell pendants, sometimes attached to the necklaces; and wristlets and anklets of sinew and hide. Feather diadems and bird-skin, feather, or down-ornamented fillets or forehead caps were also used.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Canoes.**—Travel by the *Yahgan* was almost entirely by water. Their earlier sole form of watercraft was the built-up bark canoe, of a crescent or gondola shape that characterizes other craft well up the west coast of South America to Perú; the plank boat, the *Araucanian* dugout, the seal-hide float, and the double-ended reed balsa were absent (Lothrop, 1932 a, pp. 253–54).

The *Yahgan* canoe (pls. 34, 35) was made of three strips of beech bark, one-half inch to more than an inch (1.2 to 2.5 cm.) thick, which ordinarily formed the bottom and two sides respectively. Average length was about 15 feet (5 m.), with a range from about 12 to 20 feet (4 to 7 m.); gunwale to gunwale width in center, about 3 feet (1 m.); depth in center, about 2 feet (0.6 m.). The bark, taken only
396 from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), was stripped off in the spring, when the sap was running. In removing the bark from the tree, the natives used a bone chisel or mussel-shell knife to cut it and a bone barking tool to strip it, and in ascending the tree held themselves thereto with a strong rawhide thong. After smoothing the bark on both sides with a small chisel, they cut it into three cigar-shaped pieces. These pieces were then sewn together with whalebone or with shreddings of warmed saplings, the seams being wadded with the stringy seams of wild celery grass or with moss mixed with mud. The gunwales were next lashed on. The ribs, of split Winter's bark, were then fitted in and locked in place under the gunwales. The thwarts, usually five or six, of hardwood, were inserted and lashed to the gunwale.

501 The fireplace was set amidships. The paddle was in one piece with a long lanceolate blade and short round-section handle without cross-piece or other grip. The *Yahgan* canoe leaked much; the cylindrical bailers (pl. 33, *e*) were usually of bark or sealskin. Sealskin thongs
[283] and braided grass ropes were used as mooring lines. The construction and repair of the canoe were the man's task; but its management, in-
[462] cluding paddling and mooring off shore in a kelp bed, were the woman's. In a sense, she was mistress of the canoe, with its hearth and ever-lighted fire. In a favorable wind a crude sail, made of a sealskin or

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

501 of several skins sewn together, was sometimes set up—a practice whose origin, native or European, is uncertain. (For details on manufacture and use of canoe, cf.: Lothrop, 1928, pp. 143–145; 1932 a, pp. 251–253; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 438–457.)

501 177 After about 1880 the *Yahgan* began to give up their traditional bark canoes, and to adopt the dugout. Still later, prior to Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, the dugout had been entirely superseded by the dory, of European type and origin.

The *Yahgan* never adopted the plank boat from their *Alacaluf* neighbors and never used rafts or skin-covered watercraft, so far as our records reveal.

MANUFACTURES

172 Pottery, weaving, and metallurgy were entirely absent; no traces of pottery have been discovered archeologically in *Yahgan* territory.

283 **String-making and sewing.**—Plant fibers, plain, shredded, or braided, were used in basket making, canoe sewing, and for mooring lines, respectively; braided whale sinew, for necklaces, fishing lines, and tool and weapon lashings; braided guanaco sinew, for bowstrings; whalebone, in sewing canoes and for bird snares and fishline nooses; seal-hide thongs, for tool and weapon lashings, harpoon lines, basket [412] handles, mooring lines, and bowstrings. Awls were made of bone and wood, unhafted. The drill was lacking.

285 **Basketry.**—Four techniques in basket making were in use: (1) Simple half-hitch coiled, the commonest type (fig. 13, *top*); (2) twisted half-hitch coiled, rarer (fig. 13, *center*); (3) knotted half-hitch coiled, not common (fig. 13, *bottom*); (4) a sort of wrapped type. The first three were of excellent craftsmanship; the last, very crudely woven, and used only as a dip net for catching very small fish. The material for all four was a rush (*Juncus magellanicus*). The coiled baskets were more or less oblong-spheroid in shape, and had a carrying handle of thong or plaited rush (pl. 33, *c*).

281 **Skin dressing.**—No process of dressing proper is reported. Sealskins were stretched on the ground, covered with grass and moss, and left so for a while, to help dehair them. Drying frames were appar- [412] ently used. The scraper consisted of a mussel shell lashed to a cylindrical stone haft. The *Yahgan* made thongs flexible by drawing them through their teeth or by chewing them.

324 **Stoneworking.**—Little use of worked stone was made except for arrowheads and, rarely, scrapers. The workmanship was crude. [192] Archeologically, there are some traces of stone pecking and polishing (Lothrop, 1928, p. 203; cf. Bird, 1938).

415 **Containers.**—Cylindrical buckets (pl. 33, *e*), of *Nothofagus betuloides* bark, for carrying and holding drinking water and for bailing, were made by the woman, with the use of a barking tool dif-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

415 322 tangular piece was cut for the sides and a circular piece for the bottom of the bucket. Narrow strips of whalebone were then scraped thin and pliable, and the bottom and sides were sewn tightly together (fig. 56, *b*). Around the inside of the lip a strip

[283 516]

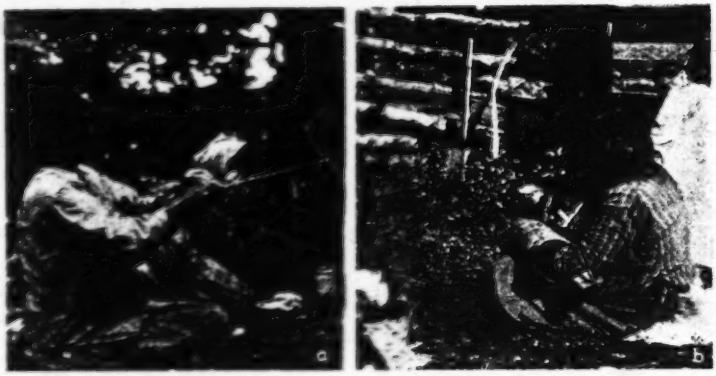


FIG. 56.—Yahgan women. *a*, Rope-making; *b*, Making a bark bucket.

of wood—*leña dura*, Winter's bark, or barberry—was introduced to give additional strength and to prevent the bark from splitting. Finally a hide thong was attached to serve as a handle, and the whole outside was painted red.

415 In general the Yahgan buckets are taller in proportion to their width than those of the Alacaluf. The Alacaluf seem to have been better craftsmen than the Yahgan, hence their buckets are usually more neatly finished.

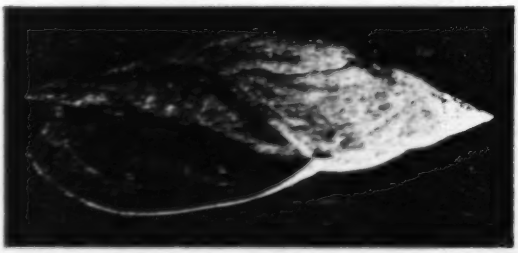


FIG. 57.—Yahgan shell cup. Length, 6¼ in. (14/2372)

8. CUP.—A Yahgan refinement over the Ona is the use of a shell cup (*auflán*). As seen in fig. 57, this is nothing more elaborate than a simple shell, its shape in no way modified. Such a receptacle could be used to dip water from a bark bucket, but would have been of little service in removing water from the Ona skin water-bag.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

PADDLES

The old-fashioned paddle (*ápi*) had a long pointed blade and a short rounded handle (fig. 75). The blade was diamond-shape in 501

FIG. 75.—Yahgan paddle. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

section, so there was a tent-like ridge centrally down each side. Today most of the blades have rounded tips, a shape which the Yahgan may well have adopted from the Alacaluf.

The women, who were the paddlers, often joined their men folk in fighting, using their paddles with deadly effect.

MOORING ROPES

Canoes were moored either with a seal-skin thong (*wurrsh*) as shown in fig. 76, or more commonly with a braided grass rope (*shukamí*) such as is seen in fig. 77. The process of braiding the rope is illustrated in fig. 56.

[283]

FIG. 76.—Yahgan seal-hide thong. Diameter of coil, 8 in. (14/2347)

CANOE BAILER

As all the Yahgan canoes leaked more or less, some kind of a bailer was imperative to keep them afloat. For this purpose a bark bucket like the water-bucket, but not so tall, normally was used (fig. 78). The writer has seen small seal-skin buckets said to have been used for this purpose.

CARE AND MANAGEMENT OF THE CANOE

The canoe was paddled by the women, who sat in the stern, while the men crouched in the bow to cast the spears. When paddling, owing to the short handle, one hand was under water. 502

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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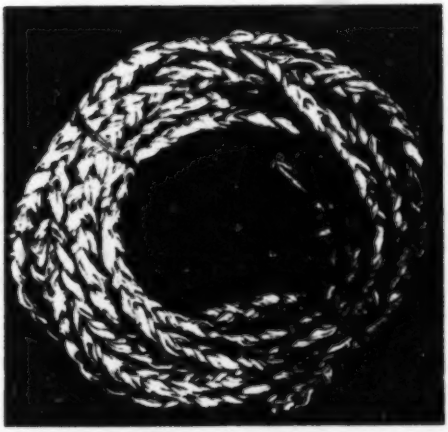

[283]

FIG. 77.—Yahgan grass rope. Diameter of coil, 5½ in. (14/2349)

As a result of the exercise, the women were very strongly developed above the waist, but poorly developed in the legs.

When it was desired to make a landing the canoe was paddled in to the beach, bow-on, and the man of the family and the children stepped ashore. The wife then paddled the canoe out to a piece of kelp, moored it, and swam ashore. As a result all the women were able to swim, while few of the men could do so.

[481]

504 The canoe was kept in the water habitually, because hauling it up on the beach was difficult owing to the fragility of the bark. When it was necessary to make repairs, the beach was carpeted with wet kelp to make a soft and slippery surface over which the canoe could be dragged with ease. The dugout canoes, however, were a different proposition, so for them runways were made by removing the stones (pl. XI). Stakes were driven at the head of the runways to which the canoes were tied. Campsites used habitually since the invention of the dugout may be distinguished by the presence of such runways.

[415]

FIG. 78.—Yahgan bark bailer. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

WEAPONS AND METHODS OF HUNTING

SPEARS

411 Yahgan weapons were the spear, club, sling, and bow. In their fashion of living, spears were almost as import-

/435 cont./

301 Finally, they create a popular oddity by alternating a small piece of black bone and a small piece of white. They also have ornamental chains consisting only of small black pieces. They blacken them by saturating them with fish oil and leaving them in hot ashes for some time. The latter varieties are all known as hátus (118).

118. Hyades (q):349 mentions only one of these types: "One type of necklace very commonly worn consists of small cylinders of bird bone, evenly cut and strung" /translated from French/. One does see this type very often, as a matter of fact.

301 The ornament for the neck that is considered the most
321 beautiful is ŭpŭka. To make it they gather pea-sized shells of Photinula violacea, known as son ŭpŭka. They scrape off the rough and dirty calcareous surface layer by rubbing the shells with wet sand between both hands or by placing them in the pebbles on the edge of a shallow brook that has a strong current, which produces the same scouring action. This gives the little snail shells a faint opalescent sheen on a sky-blue or light pink background. They make a small hole near the outer edge by rubbing the snail shell on a rough stone. First they place all the little shells next to each other according to size, beginning with the smallest up to the largest, but from the beginning they choose them so that the difference in size between the two extremes is
301 very slight. To string them they need a cord, asina, braided with three tendon fibers and laid double (Fig. 23). They thread
[28] the lower strand through the hole of each small shell and secure the upper one with a thread running spirally around the two and pressing each individual shell tight against the preceding one (Fig. 24). This ornament /436/ is arranged in two to five equal circles, depending on its length. At one point a short thread is wrapped around all the circles to keep them together. This is the way the ŭpŭka is worn at the neck. If they decide to make only a single strand of small shells, they put the largest one in the center and arrange the others very accurately according to size, so that the smallest ones finish off the two ends (119).

[29] 119. This characteristic ornament of the Yamana,
[Text continues on p.105-Analysis]

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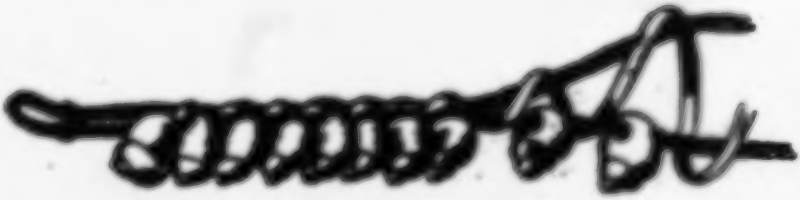

Fig. 33. Small Necklace. Natural size.

Fig. 34. String of Little Small Shells.

/473 cont./

411 This large bone point requires a two-fold fastening, if we
284 may express it thus. Its tang is pressed into the open notch of the wooden shaft. Since it is wedge-shaped and the notch is narrow, it is jammed in tightly. In spite of that, a narrow strip of leather, tuwarárum, is wrapped around it about nine times. This strip has previously been well soaked and is tightly lashed, whereupon the free end is knotted. When it dries, this lashing is even more constricted and becomes all the more secure. There is by no means a special attempt to secure the spearhead in the notch; in fact, they expect it to slide out at the proper moment. Hence a second fastening is intended to keep the spearhead joined to the shaft and freely movable. Over the tang of the bone spearhead, that is, around the lower part of the notch, they place a leather strap of sealskin about 12 millimeters wide and knot it. The other end is knotted securely on the wooden shaft itself, not more than 70 centimeters from the notch. The strap is not taut, and they purposely let it hang loosely. Before the spearhead is pressed into the notch, the strap is twisted around its longitudinal axis until it is rolled up lengthwise and has a strong tendency to unwind. It is kept from doing so as soon as it is secured at the top. Sometimes this short piece of strap hangs flat and loose.

411 Only now is the weapon ready for the hunter to use. It is
225 surprisingly functional. Since it is hurled, the heavy wooden shaft gives it ample force. When the bone point has penetrated the body of a seal or related animal, the latter immediately tries to shake off the burdensome foreign body. In one way or another the spearhead will detach itself from the shaft. Immediately the latter will twist somewhat slantwise and will keep on turning in the water until the rolled-up strap has uncoiled itself. The strap was purposely fastened, not in the middle part of the shaft, but on the upper third. After the shaft has detached itself from the spearhead, it does not stand exactly at right angles, but at a more or less acute angle from the direction in which the animal strains forward. This averts the danger of its snapping and yet acts as a considerable brake. Sometimes floating algae get tangled up in the shaft and the thong, which notably increases the resistance in the water. The wounded animal is seriously hindered in quick flight or deep diving, and the successful hunter can

§ [For the harpoon.— Analyst]

/474 cont./

411 grow perfectly straight and have the great advantage of being
[224] heavy. They do not flourish on Beagle Channel, however, except in one or two places in the west (179), and for most of the Yamana they are

179. On my fourth expedition I had definite proof of specimens of Libocedrus tetragona in Puerto Edwards on the southern shore of Brecknock Peninsula. This is the southern boundary for this species. Skottsberg (g):28 suspects that it extends somewhat farther south, namely, to Isla Chair in Darwin Sound.

[37]

simply inaccessible. Hence one sees all of them carrying merely a shaft made from the evergreen beech, Nothofagus, which is uniformly octagonal. Furthermore, one can /475/ observe at the average cross-section a rectangle of about 35 millimeters in width and 28 millimeters in height with the four /Fig. 36 appears here/ corners removed, producing the octagonal form. Shafts with six uniform sides are not as common as those mentioned above.

411 225 The narrow slit at the upper end of this large harpoon is, of course, also meant for a bone point which is jammed into it; a narrow leather strip is

[224] Fig. 36. The Large Harpoon.

/475 cont./

411 would around it tightly in about ten close lashings. If one of
225 the pinnipeds is to be harpooned, even if it is the mighty male of the sea elephant, 180 Arrows (Odocoileus lumina) (Fig. 9 /Ed., see foreign text, untranslated portion/), the hunter chooses a bone point of medium length with a single large tooth or the still shorter one with two large barbs (Fig. 36) (180). The latter

> 180. Hyades (p.)256 mistakenly maintains: "It is very rare to see harpoon points in bone, movable, with a notch on either side in the form of a spearhead" /translated from French/. This form is no less frequently made and used than the medium-sized and very large bone point with a single tooth.

measures about 15 centimeters. Under their thick leather skin the above-mentioned animals carry a thinner layer of fat than whales do under their epidermis, but the bone point is supposed to penetrate as deep as possible into the muscular layer where the two lateral teeth function more precisely as barbed hooks. This is also the reason why a bone spearhead more than 60 centimeters long with a sharp tooth is preferred for harpooning whales. A shorter bone point would, for the most part, stick fast in the layer of fat and therefore be almost ineffectual.

225 411 284 The thing that conspicuously distinguishes this weapon from the so-called small seal-harpoon is a long leather rope of 30 or more meters. It is evenly cut from the freshly skinned hide of a pinniped and is always left rolled up. One end is securely fastened to the notch /426/ of the spearhead. From here it is drawn down along the shaft and held there with two or three loose cross-loops. In aiming and throwing, the man holds the shaft approximately in the center, and the wreath of coiled rope hangs on his left forearm (181). /Fig. 36 appears here./ When he has hit the animal,

> 181. Snow (a) II, 361 says: "To the bone is attached a string hide of various lengths. In using the spear, they hold it nearly by the middle, and with the right eye cast along it, they cast it with great precision" /cited in

225
9/1
2/9

/478 cont./

English/. Bowe's (c).158 description is more accurate.

the bone point and the shaft remain attached for a time, but it is much more disadvantageous for the wounded animal if it must drag along the loosened shaft which moves irregularly. With beating movements of the rope -- that is why it is attached to the shaft with cross-loops -- the man succeeds in detaching the shaft from the bone point that is stuck in the animal. Then he gives the animal as much rope as possible; after it has grown tired or lost a great deal of blood, he draws it toward him slowly and gently, at the same time easily rolling in the rope.

Fig. 86. Twin-barbed Harpoon Point. Two-thirds natural size.

It hardly seems possible that the man can in such an easy manner influence the direction taken by the escaping seal with the loose shaft which is directly beside the harpoon point sticking in the flesh. Even if one or the other of the cross-loops on the shaft should be loosened or drift, the shaft never stands at right angles, but at an acute angle to the direction of movement. This prevents it from breaking when the wounded animal violently strains forward.

The hunter usually throws off this weapon as soon as he is on firm ground. If he uses it while he is in the canoe the greatest caution is required, especially when a whale has been wounded with it. After the animal has been hit with a lucky throw, some men succeed in keeping on shore or on a rock while holding onto the end of the long leather rope or wrapping it around their body. Now they have a firm foothold and the canoe is out of danger. Sometimes the canoe can get close to the wounded animal and another person gives it the fatal stab. With the long leather rope of this harpoon several men may even pull a floating dead whale to shore.

225
9/1

/485 cont./

223 above, they also use several implements which we shall briefly
224 characterize here and describe in greater detail below. These implements have been brought under one heading in this section. They help the men and women to obtain the smaller representatives of Fuegian fauna, namely, birds and the so-called lower animals, such as mussels and crabs.

C. The Snare-line.

223 This is a construction that is used for incomprehensible mass capture. The Tamatsa call it ufka. I believe the most suitable designation is large snare-line. It could also be called "snare-trap." It is used more often by the Halakwulup than by our Fuegians. Hyades (op.359 correctly reminds us that it was observed by Bougainville in the year 1769 on the shores of the Strait of Magellan.

223 The foundation, so to speak, of this large snare-line is a
223 thick, braided cord of long guanaco sinews. Since few /486/ people can obtain this, they content themselves with whale sinews and make a firm braid with three strong strands. This is saturated with fat and repeatedly greased, for it often lies on the damp earth for a long time and must be protected from rotting.

223 On the long cord at intervals of about 60 centimeters, there
224 are tied as many knotted loops, known as kaf-ar, as the length of cord will permit. Each of them consists of a single strip of whalebone about four millimeters wide, the edges of which must not fray since this would interfere with the free movement of the small loop-knot at the upper end. The other end, after being drawn through the loop, terminates in a simple knot and is fastened to the long cord. All the knotted loops are placed on the same side of the cord. Each one, when it is entirely loose, has a diameter of nearly 30 centimeters.

223 Actually, however, the large snare-line ufka, is, following Hyades (op.304, a "game of snares" /translated from French/ (Fig. 58). Martial:196 calls it "a noose" /translated from French, lacet/, which he describes as "a rope of seal tendons on which

/486 cont./

223 running loops of whalebone are placed at intervals" /translated from French/ (196).

196. There is a good illustration in Hyades (q):Plate XXX. Lothrop (b):157 calls attention to the large snare-line of the Selk'nam; he overlooks the fact that this differs in the arrangement of the whalebone running-loops of our Yamana.

It is best suited to catch wild geese, which prefer a certain locality. Here this snare-line is spread out on the level ground, pulled taut, and finally tied at either end to a post driven into the ground. It is of little or no use for catching other birds. Hyades (q):304 expresses himself too vaguely when he says, "this snare is used to catch large birds" /translated from French/. That is also the reason why only a few Yamana families actually own and use this article, since it is laborious to make and must be very carefully stored. Thus it represents a considerable value.

β. The Snare-rod

Whereas the long snare-line serves to catch masses of birds, another implement which I call the snare-rod catches them singly. With this the Indian stalks chiefly geese and ducks, but also cormorants and penguins. Hence one sees this akāmuš, as the implement is called, in almost every family.

It consists of two parts. A light, long rod as a shaft, known as yéyakārǐ, with a rounded, smooth surface is nothing more than [224] a young trunk of Nothofagus betuloides or Maytenus magellanica, which has been treated by a long process of scraping. It must be very light, hence Drimys is not suitable. The average diameter is evenly scaled down /487/ to 15 millimeters. This shaft tapers a very little at either end and very gradually. The longer it is, the more suitable.

223 At the top a large noose of whalebone is attached, and thus ●284 the whole thing appears, as Hyades (q):359 expresses it, like "a

/487 cont./

223 long, slender shaft furnished with a running loop of whalebone"
284 /translated from French/. The end piece is attached to the tip of the shaft by a knot in the lashing of sinew. It is surprising that this whalebone noose, kēⁿ ēf, is put together with two pieces, a long one and a short one. The two run side by side for a few centimeters and are lashed with sinews; the short one ends in a small loop-knot. We also find this same overlapping
[171] in every one of the whalebone loops on the long snare-line of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 283), whereas on that of our Yamana each whalebone loop is one strip only (Fig. 59). A kēⁿ ēf consisting of two parts is more effective and more durable; our Yamana are convinced of that. But why they do not use these two-part loops on the long snare-line no one could tell me. Probably the people avoid the greater effort, since the work of making a snare-line is laborious enough.

223 We need not explain specifically how this snare-rod is used. It is, of course, put forward unnoticed by a man hidden in a suitable spot, drawn over the head of a bird, and immediately pulled in with a sharp jerk. The principle of the noose is exactly the same as in the case of the long snare-line. The natives even use a single whalebone noose without any kind of shaft to catch birds. Herewith we have adequately described and characterized the threefold way in which the whalebone snare is used by the Yamana.

Y. Mussel Fork, Mussel Breaker, Crab Fork

226 The shellfish of the sea have the same importance for the
[262] diet of our Fuegian as bread, for instance, has for the European. Many of them he can gather on the beach, others he must take out of the water. The two types of mussels which are found there, namely ēⁿ uf (Mytilus chilensis) and kecoin (Mytilus edulis), occur in vast quantities. They are larger and tastier the more abundantly they are covered with water even at lowest ebb tide and the stronger the current is that swirls around them back and forth. It would be impossible to pry these animals loose with one's hand, as one can, for instance, the smaller and less tasty ones that every ebb tide uncovers.

/490 cont./

227 Two types of fishline are used, and they differ from one an-
283 other only in the actual line. One is nothing more nor less than
a small, pencil-thick stem of the large brown alga (Macrocystis
[824] pyrifera) from which, with the fingernail, the branches are re-
moved so close to the stalk that it seems quite smooth (Fig. 63).
After each use it is rolled up; hence it dries very slowly and does
not readily become brittle. When it is needed, 20 minutes in
the water will suffice to soften it up completely and make it
flexible once more.

The other fishline is braided out of three thin filaments of sinew. Like the one mentioned first, it is eight and more meters long (Fig. 64). To make it last longer, it, too, is rolled up, but into a tight ball, after each use (199). The latter is incomparably more durable and proves to be much more trustworthy when it is hauled in.

199. Bridges (MM:III, 115; 1869) briefly describes both types. Hyades (g):38 repeated: "The lines are made partly out of dried seaweed [Macrocystis pyrifera], partly out of seal tendons, and are lowered with a stone tied to them." See Krickeberg: 320 and Lovisato (b):142.

227 Both lines terminate in a loop with a running knot made out
284 of a quill. When it is opened up, it measures about 12 centi-
meters. Since the actual line ends in a small knot, the upper end
of the quill is joined on in front of the knot. Along its smooth
surface the running loop moves without any friction. As bait it
holds a small piece of seal meat or a small mussel.

227 Since the bait must sometimes be sunk to considerable depths,
a sinker is indispensable. The natives use any stone with flat
sides and irregular edges. It is about three centimeters high. The
line is wound around it, about eight centimeters above the loop.
In the central Yamana regions the natives sometimes select the
round black stone tefi, but few women have any of them handy.

226 Every Indian woman is extraordinarily skillful in fishing.
Since she does not use an actual fish hook, she waits until the
fish has swallowed the bait and only then very gently pulls up the

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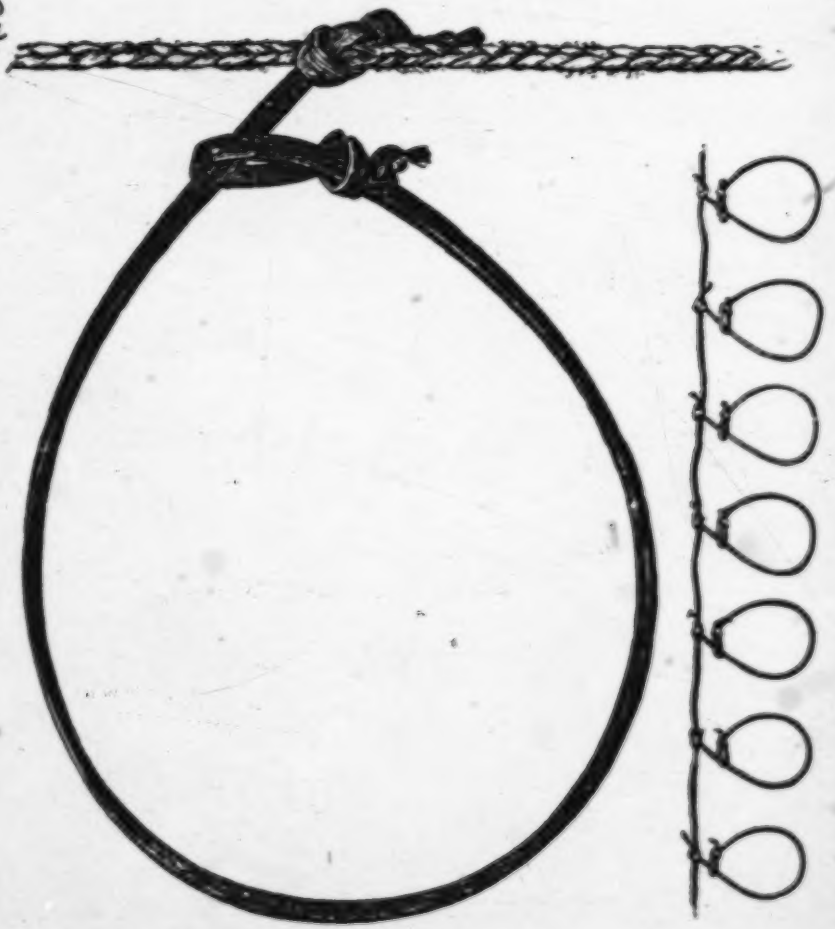

Fig. 59. The Large Snare-line. Two-thirds natural size.

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Fig. 60. The Noose-rod.
One-half natural size.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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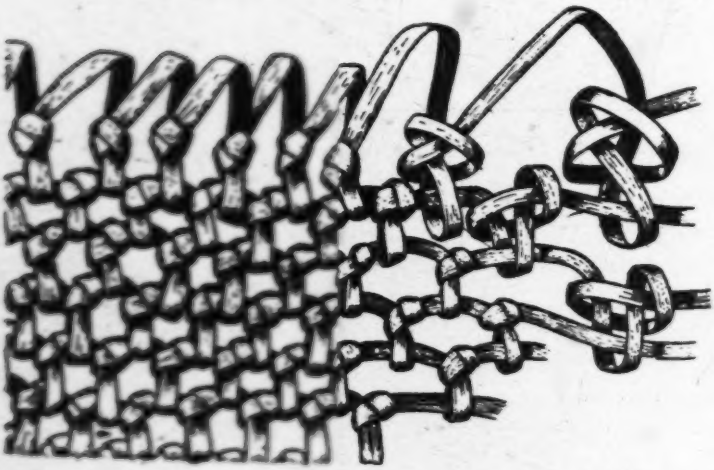

FIG. 65.—Detail of *gaikhim* basket. Height, 2 in. (14/2312)

TOOLS

Yahgan tools are just as primitive as the Ona tools, although adapted to different uses. The Yahgan have a constant tendency when making something to pick up the first object that comes to hand—a bit of shell, a fire-flaked stone—and employ it, rather than to take the trouble to get steel tools which would better serve their purpose. 412

1. SCRAPER.—The old-time Yahgan scraper (*lu'wĕ'na*) was a mussel-shell blade (*hálaf*) set on a stone handle (*áwi*). The shell blade was not the ordinary mussel-shell, but a giant variety (*chiamáuka*), four or five inches in length, which now grows on the beaches of the outer islands toward the Antarctic. Formerly, however, it must have flourished on Beagle channel, as many examples were found in the interior of a shellheap at Harberton. To set this shell blade on the stone handle, the edges of the base of the shell were carefully broken away in order to reduce the curve and make the blade lie flat against the stone. However, the blade could not be attached directly to the stone, or it would have broken too easily, hence it was bedded on a small bunch of shredded barberry wood (*ckélarr*[1]) or a wad of moss (*hánakóhl*). These two 412 284

[1] This word was obtained from a Lennox islander. I am not certain whether it means "shredded barberry" or whether it is a dialectic variant of the central

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

variant forms are seen in pl. x, *a*, *b*. For lashings on scrapers the Yahgan used either a seal-hide thong (*tuwawáru*, pl. x, *a–c*) or else a braided whale-sinew line (*tápim*, pl. x, *d*) such as was employed for fishing.

Since the European settlement the natives have substituted a steel blade (*hárfkar*) for the shell whenever possible, and the resultant tool is called *wána*. It is illustrated in fig. 66, *a*. They

FIG. 66.—Yahgan scraper and whetstone. Length, 11 and 9¼ in. (14/2367, 2325)

now also set the steel blade in a split wooden handle in the same fashion as the Ona, as can be seen in pl. x, *c*.

The scraper was the most important tool to the Yahgan and served a great variety of purposes.[1] Owing to the weight of the stone handle it could be used not only for scraping but also as a serviceable hand-ax. When the shell blade became chipped or dull it was sharpened on a stone (*chípi*) with a long flat surface (fig. 66, *b*). In type this scraper corresponds to the Ona wood scraper (fig. 25, *a*).

In the old days before steel was available, the Yahgan are said to have used a tool like the transverse Ona flesh-scraper (fig. 25, *b*). This was denied by Yahgans whom I questioned, but was affirmed by Mr. William Bridges, whose statement was supported by the discovery of ancient stone blades apparently designed for transverse hafting (fig. 104, *b*, *c*). The abandonment of the transverse scraper may be due partly to the use of steel, but also may be accounted

Yahgan *chélia*, which means "barberry" in general (*Berberis ilicifolia*). Shredded barberry was also employed as a towel after bathing.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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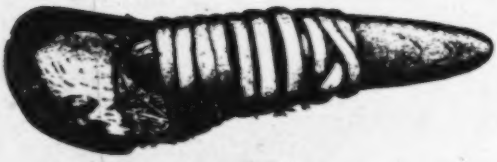
a



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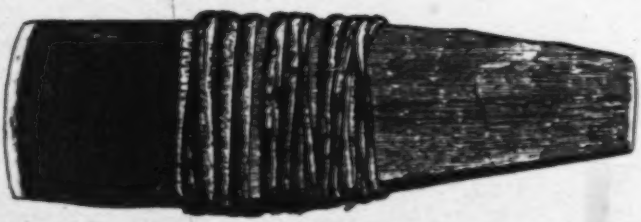

c

d

YAHGAN SCRAPERS

a, b, d, PRIMITIVE TYPE; LENGTH, 14, 10½, 9 IN. (14/2304, 2305, 2303). c, MODERN TYPE; LENGTH, 9 IN. (14/2306)

[p. 140-A]

/502 cont./

415 water from nearby streams and lagoons in the large bark buckets (216).

216. These bark receptacles are mentioned and described in Cañas Pinochet:358, Dabbene (b):181, Hyades (q):307, Lothrop (b):131, Martial:192, Spegazzini (a):163, Wieghardt: 27, and others.

11. Baskets

The baskets are excellently adapted for collecting and storing the always wet shellfish. These baskets lie around in the huts and in the canoes /503/ of our Fuegians in larger numbers than /Fig. 49 appears here/ among the Selk'nam. [422 462] They are the property of the woman because they were made by her. Only women and girls, less often boys, reach for them when mussels and snails, berries, and fruits are to be gathered; a man never carries a basket in his hand.

●285 Judged according to weaving technique, our Indians have three different kinds. I believe I must adhere to this grouping, although Lothrop (b):138 speaks of four kinds. Below, a net-like container, čaɯwénux, čaɯwénuš, will be described, which he and others regard as a basket.

[824]

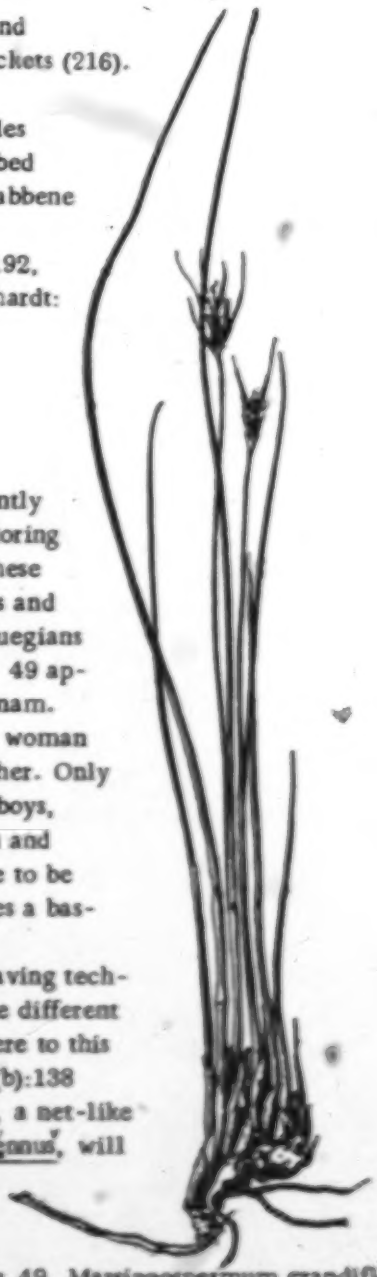

Fig. 49. Marsippospermum grandiflorum.

/503 cont./

285 In my opinion, however, this view is not justified, since the individual rush stalks are not braided in this case, but stretched in parallel rows. It is used like a sieve-shaped scoop on a long handle. The three actual baskets (217) show a coil construction

217. To be sure Bridges writes: "The woman has three kinds of baskets, called respectively touwella, cijim and jowwunnoosh" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 115; 1869); obviously he did not at that time know how to distinguish accurately between the designations. The observation of Hyades (h):5 was inadequate. He asserts that "the baskets are of two kinds; the one with fine meshes is called taouala, the other, loosely meshed, is called kaïdjime" /translated from French/. Lovisato (b):140 speaks of three kinds, and Cooper: 204 agrees.

in their weave. Seen in profile, they show a very definite short-oval outline.

[324] The native rushes, Marsippospermum grandiflorum, known as máipi, are used exclusively. This species flourishes abundantly in swamp and moor, has a sturdy, round stem, reaches a height of 50 centimeters, and is dark green (Fig. 49). The Indian woman, with a single jerk, pulls out three to five stalks and places them together in a bunch. She gathers at one time only as much as she can conveniently grasp with one hand, for dried stalks break easily and are no longer suitable for braiding. In her hut she arranges smaller bunches of about 20 stalks, grasps each of them with both hands, and holds the lower part in the fire where it burns down to within /504/ five centimeters of the root. At the same time she quickly draws the length of it through the flame. The heat makes the hard but damp stalk extraordinarily flexible. Without delay, while this little bunch is still hot, she bends it downward in the middle, takes this middle section between her teeth and twists the free ends spirally lengthwise. Then she immediately loosens this braid of rushes and stretches the little

/504 cont./

285 bundle straight, pulling the two ends and stripping the whole thing with her hands almost closed. The individual stalks are still hot, for the Indian woman does all these manipulations very quickly. One marvels at the flexibility of the rush stalks which just a moment before were quite stiff and hard. They remain flexible for several days during which time they must be woven. Before it is worked into the basket, the Indian woman pulls each individual stalk between her teeth lightly, in order to flatten it. She does not, however, bite hard enough to press out the juice. This treatment finally makes the stalk quite pliable. Rush stalks that were pulled up and allowed to lie around for more than a week without being used are worthless. Moreover, those that were unevenly warmed lying in the sun or beside the fire are thrown aside.

The Indian woman does not need any special implement for [412] basketry. The only thing she constantly picks up is a small pointed stick the length of a finger, or a short bone awl. With this she makes a small hole in the weave, through which she draws the running stalk and pulls it tight. The basketry is carried out according to a unified method which, however, allows three variations for which there are separate designations.

1. Tauwēla: This is the most common and the best known basketwork of Tierra del Fuego (218). The Indian woman begins

> 218. Cooper:204, agreeing, says: "The common form of basketry found among the three Fuegian tribes is of the half-hitch coiled variety made of rush with or without foundation" /cited in English/.

by placing together four or five rush stalks and rolling the end of this little bundle around her left index finger. She immediately draws off the ring and winds a stalk around it by means of half-hitches. This ring will form the center and the lowest portion of the basket (Fig. 50). As soon as the ring is closed, the weave begins according to the knotting method known as tauwēla. For the small thin bundle or roll of four or five stalks which the Indian woman constantly uses, she purposely selects stalks of different

/504 cont./

285 lengths. Before one roll is covered with knotting, she pushes in a new one. In this way she avoids having the entire roll /505/ start at a single point. The loops which are now made over this roll with a running stalk, frequently renewed, are more or less perpendicular to the roll. The simple half-hitch weave continues in spiral progression and, of course, runs clockwise. The last section of the free end of the running stalk is bent back several times and shoved under a knot which is pulled tight. At first the woman increases the number of loops on each woven ring and thus the weaving expands from below upward; more than halfway

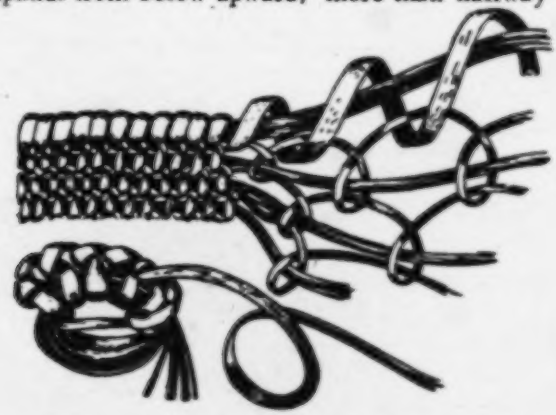

Fig. 50. The Tight Basket Weave. Natural size.

up a slight narrowing sets in once more (219).

[171] 219. The basket made according to this weaving technique is the only form which the Selk'nam also know how to make (Vol. I, 256).

Soon after the /Fig. 50 appears here/ first coils are finished, the woman wants both her hands free for the work. With a sinew, a small leather strap, or a rush stalk, she hangs her basketwork up somewhere, either on a post of the hut frame or on a short stick which she pounds into the ground. She hangs it in such a way that the opening of the basket is turned toward the ground. She draws the cord by which it hangs through the small hole that she left at the

285 /505 cont./
beginning as the lowest point of the basket. Thus hung up, the basketwork is extraordinarily mobile and can be taken up at any point at which she wishes to continue the tedious work.

When the Indian woman feels that it is large enough, she thickens the regular roll of rush stalks somewhat for the edge and draws over it a somewhat wider rush as a running thread. On this she afterwards puts two low ears opposite each other which are also bound spirally with a wide rush stalk. The two ears are joined by a cord braided out of a few stalks, sometimes also by a small narrow strap, for a handle (220). One finds this basket in all sizes

220. To his description of this weaving technique, Lothrop (b):136 adds a few comparative comments and mentions: "The hitch-coil is typical in South America only of the Yahgan, Ona, and Alacaluf, but it turns up sometimes in the Amazon valley and to the northward" /cited in English/.

[171]

and corresponding widths, with a height of eight to 30 centimeters.

/506/ 2. Čefkālax: The basket with the loose weave, as I should like to designate this particular type, is by far made less often than tawčla (221). The reason for this, I was told, is that

221. Lothrop (b):136 confirms this from his own experience: "This weave is very rarely employed among the Yahgan, and a single specimen was secured only with difficulty" /cited in English/.

it is less durable than the other, but that it nevertheless requires almost the same amount of work to make and cannot be used for many requirements. The distinguishing characteristic of the basketry technique shown in tawčla also predominates in čefkālax, which Lothrop (b):136 calls ulofnastfba. Both are exactly the same at the very beginning. The only difference between them is that in this case the running rush stalk which makes the knotting

/506 cont./

285 is each time drawn around the smooth bundle of rushes /Fig. 51 appears here/, not with a simple half-hitch but with a horizontal twisted loop (Fig. 51). This prevents the individual coils from fitting very tightly to one another, and the weave itself remains somewhat looser than in the case of tagwéin. This basket, too, has two low ears at opposite sides of the rim, which are joined by a loose handle of braided rush stalks. The čefiálay that one sees most frequently is about 22 centimeters high, and as a rule it is never as carefully worked nor as even over its entire surface as the tight weave of tagwéin.

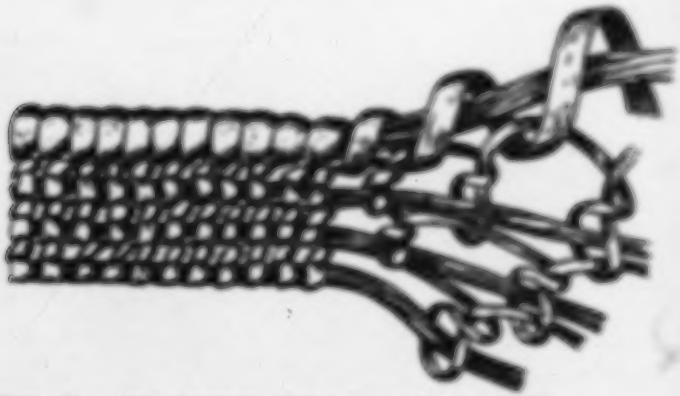

Fig. 51. Rim Section of the Loose Basket Weave. Natural size.

3. Kéjim: We realize at first glance that this type is different from the two other baskets mentioned. This weave can be referred to as open. Lothrop (b):138 calls it "a knotted weave without any foundation" /cited in English/. It is nothing more than a progressive number of knotted loops tied together in regular succession (Fig. 52). Certain coils, however, are not pulled tight, and they thus produce circles which hang in rows one above the other. These hold bunches of about /507/ five loose rush stalks (222). A diagram of this pattern is shown

222. Neither Hyades (b):4 nor Lothrop (b):138 refer to this in their descriptions or in their drawings.

in Figure 53. In order to reinforce this loose weave somewhat and keep

/DOT cont./

285 is wide open, a narrow wooden hoop is drawn through the top row of coils which are lower here. This hoop is probably cut from a stem of the pliable, tough Berberis ilicifolia. The entire loose weave is lightly and flexibly suspended from it. /Figure 32 appears here./ A handle made of three braided rush strings is fastened to the wooden hoop. These strings are knotted together at the highest point where they meet.

Since the baskets are not only used a great deal, but also

Fig. 32. Rim Section of the Open Basket Weave. Natural size.

easily damaged, every Indian woman always has several of them. 285 In her free moments she is constantly busy /Fig. 33 appears here/ with her basketry. Just as in Europe a housewife who sits down to rest for a bit or chats comfortably with another person will take out her knitting, so the Fuegian woman in a similar situation turns to her basketry. It is hard to judge how many hours she spends on a basket, for she fills many and different intervals of time with this occupation. Sometimes her already weary hands will move slowly: 285 some women are extraordinarily deft at it. A capable basket-weaver

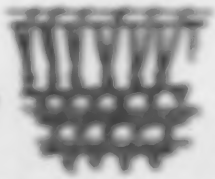

Fig. 33. The Open Basket-work.

/507 cont./

285 is referred to as yetánakípa or yetanalitéskípa (223). (Compare

223. According to BD:650 it is the equivalent of "clever, expert in yetanaing, well yetanaed" /cited in English/.

yetína, "to make a basket," according to BD:650.)

/508/ Naturally, the execution of one basket will sometimes be very different from that of another, depending on the facility which this or that Indian woman has acquired. In order to keep the final shape as symmetrical as possible, as soon as the weaving is finished the little basket is packed with fresh grass or moss that is not too wet. It is supposed to dry slowly, for some distortion would be unavoidable if it dried too rapidly. When this packing is removed after three or four weeks, the little basket is immediately used. In the weeks following it will discolor and become a uniform straw-yellow. It is used so much that it is, of course, repeatedly soaked and bruised, but the Indian woman sees to it that in drying it returns to its original even shape. No one handles the little baskets carefully (224).

224. A detailed description of these three baskets classified according to the weaving technique is found in Lothrop (b):133. Compare Dabbene (b):181, Outes (g):53, and Wieghardt:27. Hyades (q):303 made a list of pertinent designations.

Since the weaving technique is similar among the Selk'nam and Yamana and the names for it coincide somewhat among the two tribes, Cooper:204 concludes that "the Onas have perhaps borrowed this cultural element from the Canoe Indians" /cited in English/. I shall comment on this somewhat critically in Volume III of this monograph.

/550 cont./

226 limitless voracity; finally the remainder decays. As soon as the mounting stench becomes somewhat more penetrating, the many people that have assembled quickly leave the place and scatter in all directions.

/551/ Sometimes similar shoals of [illegible] (Clupea arcuata and Clupea pectinata) travel into the inner channels or encircle larger inlets without running up on the beach. The Indians clearly recognize them by their numerous and varied followers. As quickly as possible they now after the shoal and try to approach it from the side without getting into the throng. With a special basket known as čagwanu (Fig. 65) (291).

[227 285]

Fig. 65. Fishing Basket. One third natural size.

291. In order to avoid confusion, I shall retain the designation "fishing basket," because it is made of the same type of rush (Marsippospermum grandiflorum) as the other three types of baskets, but without a complex weave of the rush stalks. Compare Hyades (q):272. Lothrop (b):180 called it "Fish-net" /cited in English/.

[124]

/Fig. 65 appears here/ they scoop the small fish directly out of the water into their canoe. While one of the women tends to the vessel, the other sticks the loose fishing-basket on the end of a pole about one and a half meters long. She grasps the lower end of the pole and, from the canoe, draws the upper part with the basket through the water as though the whole thing were a large ladle. The woman handles it carefully so that the basket does not slide off. Only when it is barely above the bottom of the canoe does she let the basket,

/1402 cont./

that are regarded as beautiful among the Tamate. Spegazzini (e):165 refers to this specifically. The various types of ornaments are supposed to increase the allure of physical beauty. The impulse for this sort of thing /1403/ varies according to the person, his age and sex, but coincides almost exactly with what one observes in Europe under the same circumstances.

Fig. 103. A Well-made Little Basket.

517 In making implements and utensils, weapons and ornaments, everyone tries to achieve a certain degree of symmetry, mainly because it is agreeable to his eye and feelings. There are even special designations for persons who make certain things perfectly and according to the rules of good workmanship. Some of these expressions are based merely on considerations of usefulness. They use the word wikipitua, "clever, expert, careful in cutting up a

of several skins sewn together, was sometimes set up—a practice whose origin, native or European, is uncertain. (For details on manufacture and use of canoe, cf.: Lothrop, 1928, pp. 145-148; 1928 a, pp. 181-188; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 426-427.)

After about 1900 the *Yaháan* began to give up their traditional bark canoes, and to adopt the dugout. Still later, prior to Lothrop's visit in 1924-28, the dugout had been entirely superseded by the dory, of European type and origin.

The *Yaháan* never adopted the plank boat from their *Alacaluf* neighbors and never used rafts or skin-covered watercraft, as far as our records reveal.

MANUFACTURES

Pottery, weaving, and metallurgy were entirely absent; no traces of pottery have been discovered archeologically in *Yaháan* territory.

String-making and sewing.—Plant fibers, plain, shredded, or braided, were used in basket making, canoe sewing, and for mooring lines, respectively; braided whale sinew, for necklaces, fishing lines, and tool and weapon bindings; braided guanaco sinew, for harpoonings; whalebone, in sewing canoes and for bird arrows and fishfin arrows; and hide thongs, for tool and weapon bindings, harpoon lines, basket handles, mooring lines, and harpoonings. Awls were made of bone and wood, unbarbed. The drill was lacking.

Basketry.—Four techniques in basket making were in use: (1) Simple half-hitch coiled, the commonest type (fig. 18, *top*); (2) twined half-hitch coiled, rarer (fig. 18, *center*); (3) knotted half-hitch coiled, not common (fig. 18, *bottom*); (4) a sort of wrapped type. The first three were of excellent workmanship; the last, very crudely woven, and used only as a dip net for catching very small fish. The material for all four was a rush (*Juncus megalocaulus*). The coiled baskets were more or less oblong-spheroid in shape, and had a carrying handle of thong or plaited rush (pl. 18, *c*).

Skin dressing.—No process of dressing proper is reported. Sealskins were stretched on the ground, covered with grass and moss, and left as for a while, to help dehair them. Drying frames were apparently used. The scraper consisted of a mussel shell lashed to a cylindrical stone haft. The *Yaháan* made thongs flexible by drawing them through their teeth or by chewing them.

Stoneworking.—Little use of worked stone was made except for arrowheads and, rarely, scrapers. The workmanship was crude. Archeologically, there are some traces of stone pecking and polishing (Lothrop, 1928, p. 202; cf. Bird, 1938).

Containers.—Cylindrical baskets (pl. 18, *c*), of *Fuchsiopsis* lanceolata bark, for carrying and holding drinking water and for boiling, were made by the women, with the use of a hacking tool (13-

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 5316 Yahgan 5316

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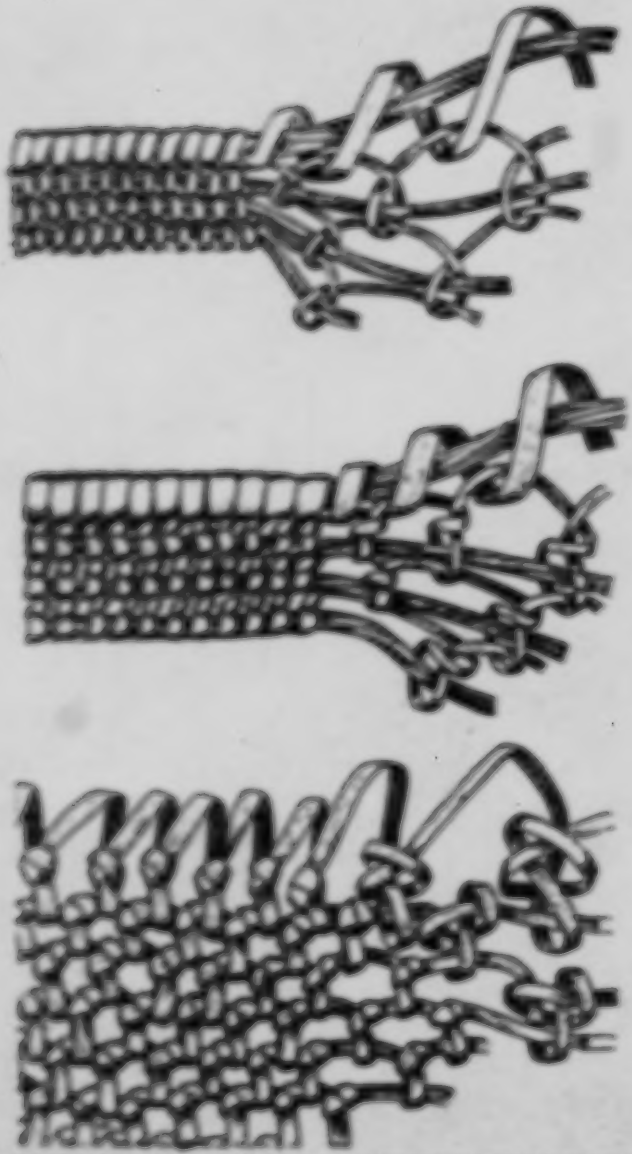

FIGURE 15.—Details of Yahgan netted hammock. Top: Simple half-stitch netting (height 1 in., or 2.5 cm.). Center: Twisted half-stitch netting (height 1 in., or 2.5 cm.). Bottom: Knotted half-stitch netting (height 1 in., or 2 cm.). (After Lothrop, 1928, figs. 65, 66, 68.)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

9. Pouches and Bags.—For storage the Yahgan used various pouches, bags, and baskets. While there seems to have been a tendency to employ the most readily available material, at the same time certain definite types of bags were normally used for distinct purposes. For general storage, bags were made from the skins of the seal, penguin, and guanaco. For keeping the fire-making apparatus, a small guanaco-hide bag covered with red paint was used (fig. 53, *b*). A larger bag of guanaco-hide (*humulúf*) covered with white paint was employed by the shaman to store his ritualistic paraphernalia (fig. 94). For porpoise- or whale-oil, containers were made from water-proof substances, such as seal-gut (*kália*), seal-bladder (*athhlaháni*), or a species of giant kelp (*shówen*) which grows around the seaward islands. In fig. 58 we illustrate

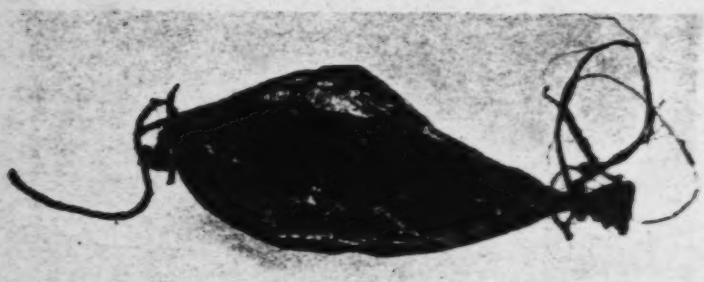

Fig. 58.—Yahgan seal-bladder oil container. Length, 7½ in. (14/2338)

an oil container of seal-gut. Red paint they habitually stored in small sacks (*yái*) made from the throats of seal (fig. 54, *c*). A recent invention is the otter-tail pouch (*yeten*) employed at the present time for carrying tobacco.

10. Baskets.—All the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego and the west coast of Chile to the north make baskets. This art is probably the most intricate technological achievement of the Yahgan, Alacaluf, and Chono, so that we shall consider the making of baskets in some detail. Among the Yahgan, the writer found that four types were manufactured, of which only one has been adequately described. Two of these are based on half-hitches around a coiled foundation; one has half-hitches without foundation; while the fourth, employed as a dip-net, is a wrapped stitch.

The material used for all four kinds of baskets is a native grass

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

285 (*Juncus magellanicus*) known to the Yahgan as *mápi*. This is a coarse, round-stemmed grass, about 18 inches in height, which resembles the grass of our saltwater marshes. It is picked by the women and carried to the encampment in long bundles. The handsomest baskets are those woven in the fall when the frost has changed the greens to red, but this brilliant color fades after a few weeks. During the course of manufacture, each grass-stem is chewed to flatten it and to make it more pliable.

FIG. 59.—Yahgan basket of *tawĕ'la* type. Height, 6 in. (14/2317)

In discussing the various kinds of Yahgan baskets below, the different weaves have been designated by their native names. These types are:

a. *Tawĕ'la*.—This class of basketry, normally called "Fuegian basketry" in ethnological literature, is by far the commonest kind in use (fig. 59). It may be described as a half-hitch or buttonhole stitch over a coiled foundation.

The process of manufacture starts with selecting three or four stems of grass, placing them together, and bending them to form a little circle about half an inch in diameter which becomes the bottom of the basket. The loose stems forming this circle are

FIG. 60.—Method of beginning a *tawĕ'la* basket. (14/2319)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

then lashed in place by a series of half-hitches, which leave the part of the foundation stems not included in the circle projecting at a tangent from it. Fig. 60 illustrates this initial step in the manufacturing process. 285

Next the projecting grass-stems are bent to form a second circle around the original one. In this position they are lashed by a second series of half-hitches, which are inserted through the loops of the first row with the aid of an awl (fig. 69). This process may be studied in fig. 61. It is repeated, additional grass-stems being

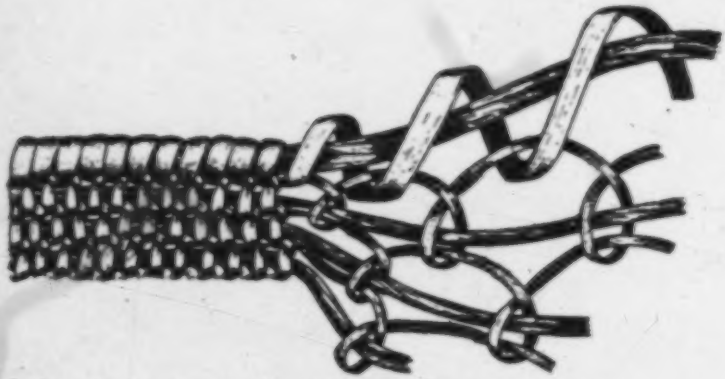

FIG. 61.—Detail of *towl'la* basket. Height, 1 in. (14/2288)

added as necessary, until a circular piece of woven material two or three inches in diameter is created.

At this stage it becomes necessary to curve the sides of the basket, so the finished fragment is suspended at a suitable height by passing a cord through the hole in the center of the base and tying it to a small toggle. In this position, mouth downward, both hands are free for the weaving, and the foundation coils can be controlled to give the desired shape.

When the body of the basket has been completed, the edge is finished by a simple spiral wrapping considerably broader than is used in the rest of the weaving.

Next, two loops are attached at opposite points of the rim, and also are covered with spiral wrappings. To these loops a handle of braided grass is fastened, and the basket is completed.

In comment on this kind of basket we should point out that

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

285 coiled baskets are found along the entire west side of the New World in practically unbroken distribution, and also to the west across the Pacific. The Fuegian or half-hitch coil is also found across the Pacific, a fact that has given rise to much unrestrained speculation on the origin of the Fuegians. Variants of the half-hitched coil, somewhat similar to the *uloénastábo* basket presently to be described, have been noted by the writer in Basket-maker collections from the Southwest and in collections from Kentucky caves, both of great antiquity.

Several authorities have argued that coiled basketry is not a very ancient type. With this the writer does not agree, because, in the New World at least, coiled basketry is the most widely distributed kind known, and also because it is almost the only type of basketry associated with the most ancient New World archeo-

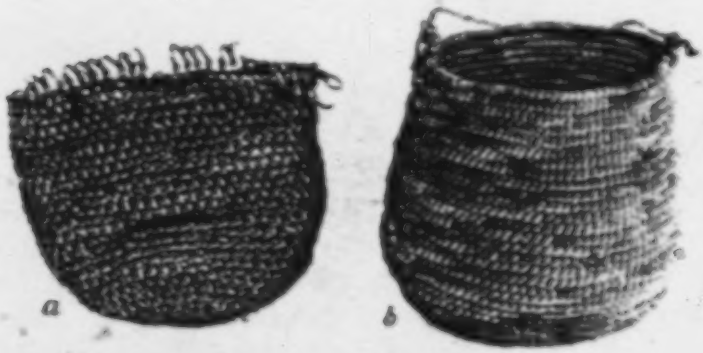

FIG. 62.—Yahgan baskets of *gaíchim* and *uloénastábo* types. Height of *b*, 6½ in. (14/2312, 2288)

logical finds now known. In other words, it seems to the writer that one would expect *a priori* that the basketry of an isolated and backward people like the Yahgan would be of the coiled variety.

The hitch-coil is typical in South America only of the Yahgan, Ona, and Alacaluf, but it turns up sometimes in the Amazon valley and to the northward. A Surinam hat illustrated by Goeje[1] is woven in a fashion exactly like the Yahgan *tawéla*.

b. *Uloénastábo.*—This weave, illustrated in figs. 62, *b*, and 63, is very rarely employed among the Yahgan, and a single specimen

[1] *Intern. Archiv für Ethnogr.*, Bd. XVII, Suppl., 1906, pl. IX, fig. 13.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

was secured only with difficulty. Like the *tawl'la* weave it is a series of half-hitches built up over a coiled foundation, and the steps taken in the manufacture of the two types are the same. Also the rims and the handles in both types are identical.

FIG. 63.—Detail of *ulolwastilu* basket. Height, 1 in. (14/2317)

The difference between the *tawl'la* and the *ulolwastilu* lies in the fact that the former is a simple half-hitch while the latter is a twisted half-hitch, for at each knot the weft takes a half-turn around itself. This distinction may be seen by comparing figs. 61 and 63.

More elaborate twisted-hitched-coiled baskets are found in Central America, notably among the Pipil and Lenca of Salvador, in collections from Pacific islands near the meeting point of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia, also in Africa, and among Bush negroes in the Guianas, and doubtless elsewhere. This world-wide distribution of the type leads to the belief that it may be an ancient form of basketry. The only exact New World parallel to the *ulolwastilu* which has come to the attention of the writer is an Alaskan specimen illustrated by Mason,[1] a bark vessel to which a wooden lip has been sewn in a manner identical with the Yahgan stitch.

[1] Aboriginal American Basketry, *Rep. U. S. Nat. Mus. for 1902*, fig. 90, Washington, 1904.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

c. *Gaikchim.*—A third class of Yahgan basketry, not very common at least in recent years, may be described as a knotted weave without any foundation (fig. 65). The body of the basket is built up in a series of interlocking knotted loops, resulting in a soft and flexible container (fig. 62, *a*). In order to stiffen the basket and to secure a wide-open mouth, the rim is finished off in a series of loops and in these a circle of wood —Winter's bark or barberry—is inserted, as shown in fig. 64. To this rim is attached a three-member braided handle.

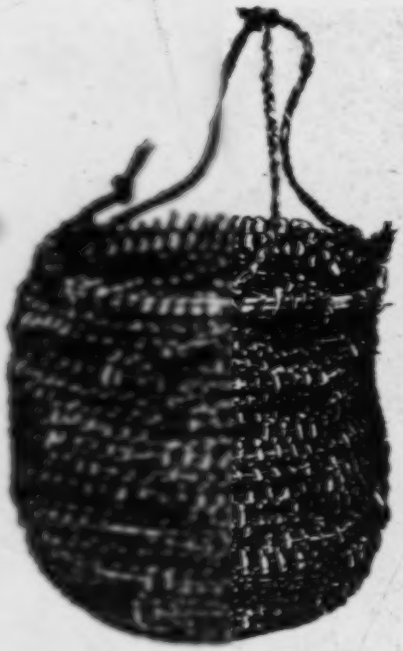

FIG. 64.—Yahgan basket of *gaikchim* type. (Hagen, ob'ro. (34/2313)

When completed the *gaikchim* often shows irregularities, so the interior is packed tightly with sand or small pebbles which are kept moist until the basket has assumed a symmetrical shape. The result of this stretching process is seen by comparing figs. 62, *a*, and 64.

d. *Chiumnish.*—A fourth type of Yahgan basket, illustrated in fig. 89, was lashed to a pole and used as a dip-net for catching small fish. The completed net with the handle may be seen in the bow of the model canoe in fig. 73.

The *chiumnish* consists of a circular opening of Winter's bark or barberry wood, to which four U-shape members of the same material were secured. The interstices were then filled in with strips of grass of the kind above indicated, looped about the solid frame.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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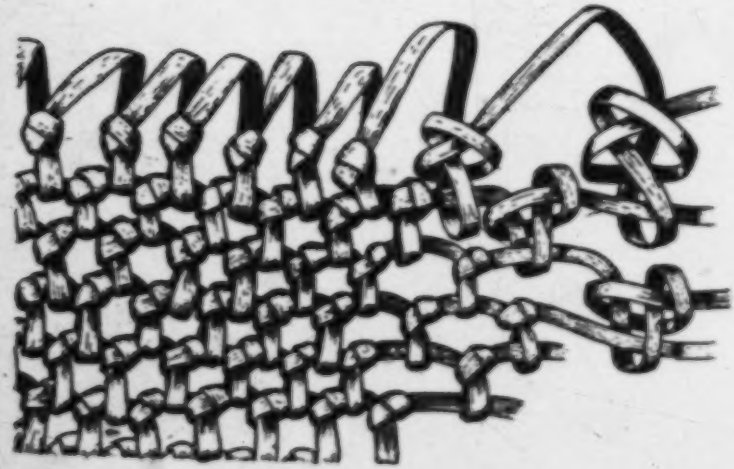

FIG. 65.—Detail of *goilchim* basket. Height, 2 in. (14/2312)

TOOLS

Yahgan tools are just as primitive as the Ona tools, although adapted to different uses. The Yahgan have a constant tendency when making something to pick up the first object that comes to hand—a bit of shell, a fire-flaked stone—and employ it, rather than to take the trouble to get steel tools which would better serve their purpose. 442

1. SCRAPER.—The old-time Yahgan scraper (*tu'wĕ'ns*) was a mussel-shell blade (*hálaf*) set on a stone handle (*dwi*). The shell blade was not the ordinary mussel-shell, but a giant variety (*chiamúsku*), four or five inches in length, which now grows on the beaches of the outer islands toward the Antarctic. Formerly, however, it must have flourished on Beagle channel, as many examples were found in the interior of a shellheap at Harberton. To set this shell blade on the stone handle, the edges of the base of the shell were carefully broken away in order to reduce the curve and make the blade lie flat against the stone. However, the blade could not be attached directly to the stone, or it would have broken too easily, hence it was bedded on a small bunch of shredded barberry wood (*chĕllerr* [1]) or a wad of moss (*hánakĕl*). These two 442 284

[1] This word was obtained from a Lennox islander. I am not certain whether it means "shredded barberry" or whether it is a dialectic variant of the central

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche

Yahgan SH6

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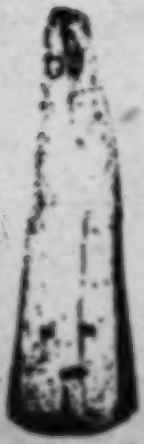

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[p. 160 A]

372

/399 cont./
women are like the vestals of old, and never allow the fire to go out in the frail barques" (MM:X, 20: 1878) /cited in English/.

B. Clothing

• 291 511 Since the time the Yamana became known beyond the borders of their remote island world, an amazing fact concerning them continues to be discussed in European circles to this day, namely, that they enjoy excellent health in their damp, raw homeland without any clothing and body covering to speak of. Every European is convinced that a human being under the weather conditions existing there must be dependent on very ample protection if he is to survive. Nevertheless, the short scrap of leather that the Fuegians hang loosely around their necks does not even deserve to be called clothing or body covering. All observers agree, and in their accounts express their astonishment in no uncertain terms, that the natives "ordinarily go about completely naked." These are also the specific words of one of the first missionaries, Aspinall: 270. Further documentation will be found below.

191 At the same time, observers recognize the healthy physical development and the great resistance of the natives, although they never describe the full significance of that most vital resource which is constantly at their disposal, namely, their open fire.

372 /400/ This fire more than compensates for the complete lack of protective body covering. An easily accessible stand of trees furnishes the required fuel for everyone. With it he can maintain a warm fire in the hut, in the canoe, in any open place, and at every campsite. The fire alone makes life possible in that region.

291 A short back-cape of skin is the only article of clothing, alike in shape and brevity for all sexes and ages. It is functional chiefly because it gives the comforting fire unobstructed access to the whole surface of the body.

291 481 In their manufacture of articles, our Indians are dependent primarily on furs and skins as their raw material. This is also true of the little that one might call their "clothing." A complicated method of preparation is not possible because there are no tools for it. Also, it would not be worthwhile because the high humidity

/400 cont./

•291 everywhere soon has a destructive effect. Everything, however,
281 testifies to a far-reaching modesty in their demands and to the complete self-sufficiency of these natives, which surprises every observer.

291 It is worth emphasizing that the amount of clothing as such does not always offer the best and most healthful protection for the body. In any case, however, the consequences are disastrous, for
[171] any people when their arrangements, which have for centuries proved serviceable, are forcefully suppressed or put aside by mistaken judges who have come from different conditions of life (65).

65. In this connection see page 35 /untranslated/ on the many disadvantages that developed for the Yamana when they adopted European clothing at the mission station and afterwards.

291 It is instructively stimulating to compare the customary
171 dress of the Yamana with that of their neighbors on either side. The Halakwulup in the west, in the same climatic conditions and like economic circumstances, have exactly the same body covering as the Yamana. The Selk'nam, on the other hand, living in a country with less precipitation, travel by day and do not make an open fire until evening to protect themselves for the cold night. They do not rub as much fat onto their bodies, but instead wrap themselves in a wide, well-fitting cloak of red guanaco leather. Since they have less chance to remain beside an open fire, they seek a substitute in a warmer piece of clothing. This proves how intelligently and sensitively every tribe has chosen what is most serviceable and advantageous from among the few possibilities offered by its environment.

291 If we regard as body covering the inconsequential piece of leather that the Yamana hang around themselves, Lothrop:121 is right when he says: "It is no exaggeration to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in /401/ the world" /cited in English/. Anything less in the way of body protection than the Yamana have in their frosty Cape Horn region cannot be imagined.

/401 cont./

• 291 For further documentation we give here a few more opinions of former travelers. Decker (p. 52) says briefly and emphatically: "The men go about quite naked; only the women cover their natural parts with a piece of leather" (66). George Forster (b):243

66. See Fig. 10, p. 55 /untranslated/ for the first picture of the Yamana, dated 1624.

wrote in December, 1774, about the natives of Christmas Sound: "They had no clothing other than a piece of sealskin which hung down over only about half of their loins and the upper part of which scarcely covered their shoulders. Thus, their hands, feet, and whole bodies were exposed to a cold which affected even us, although we were well protected against it." A few lines below he adds: "They seemed very sensitive to the cold, for their whole bodies were trembling..." Near Angostura Murray, Snow (a):II, 16 was surrounded by many natives. "They were all unclothed, except one or two of the women, who had fragments of some guanaco, or seal-skin, thrown across the shoulder" /cited in English/. Snow (b):262 gave them articles of European clothing, which they found cumbersome. "The men directly they came on deck were clothed by us, but evidently they did not like such confinement of their limbs" /cited in English/. Soon after his arrival Despard reported his impression of the miserable Yamana: "Their destitution is great, and they have but the pretence of clothing in a strip of seal or other skin over their shoulders" (VSA: XIII, 81: 1866) /cited in English/. Bove (d) :290 expressed himself in somewhat more detail: "A short, little cape of sealskin or guanaco hide, thrown on the back and held by a tape that passes around the neck, is the only clothing of a Fuegian. Some of them do not even have the meager cape" /translated from Italian/. This means, as indeed he briefly states (g) :234: "They go nearly nude in that rigorous and stormy climate" /translated from Italian/. Lovisato (b) :141 agrees with him that "everyone is completely nude, men and women. Sometimes one sees a woman, or even a man, whose back is covered with the skin of an otter or sea lion, used as a cape" /translated from Italian/. At the sight of these naked savages in the rough Cape Horn region every European marveled at their vitality, their degree of resistance, and their genuine good health.

/401 cont./

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1. Man's Clothing

The Yamana do not use special clothing for each sex. The sexes can be more than clearly recognized by their almost uncovered bodies. The essential article of clothing owned by the Indian is his tuwéaki, a cape that hangs over his back, which can properly be called his only article of clothing. It is almost never larger than the area of his back, the uneven edges forming a more or less rectangular shape. Through a few holes on the narrower edge the man draws a /402/ strap barely one centimeter wide which he puts around his neck and ties in a knot under his chin. The piece of leather hangs free, and he pushes it either to the right or left, according to whether he wishes to protect this or that side of his body. If it hinders him or becomes burdensome, he unties the knot of the strap under his chin and throws it off.

Weddel:157 describes this garment of the men as "a skin over their shoulders, reaching little more than half way down the back; some have not even this sorry garment" /cited in English/ (67).

> 67. A few years later Fitz-Roy (a):138 observed among the inhabitants of Tekenika Bay: "Sometimes these satires upon mankind wear a part of the skin of a guanaco or seal skin upon their backs; but often there is nothing, either to hide their nakedness or to preserve warmth, except a scrap of hide, which is tied to the side or back of the body, by a string around the waist" /cited in English/.

The same piece serves the undemanding Yamana summer and winter; even for the cold season he asks for no better protection. Bove (c) :127 also confirms this: In that dreadful climate, where there is much snow and rain, wild storms, and bitter, damp cold, everyone owns only "a little cape of sealskin or guanaco hide, held at the neck by a strip of leather" /translated from Spanish/.

The piece of leather is never large enough or wide enough to wrap around the entire torso. Upon leaving his hut, the wearer pushes it across his shoulders to whichever side of his body is turned

/402 cont./

291 toward the wind, for it hangs very loosely on a single strip of leather drawn around the neck. When they go to sleep at night, they untie this cape and use it as a cover. Fortunately, our Indians have such an enviable ability to curl themselves up that most of the body is covered by this tiny piece of leather.

291 It is principally the small sea lion that furnishes its skin for this cape. Sometimes two small pieces are sewed together. 291 The edges are cut fairly evenly. In the southern regions the man also uses a small cloak made of two or three otter skins, whereas the inhabitants of the east wear a similarly large fur piece from the guanaco. As we know, guanacos are easily obtainable on Navarino Island and on the north shore of eastern Beagle Channel. Sea lions are less common. It is possible that the eastern Yamana, [177] following the example of the neighboring Selk'nam, have only in the most recent times made the wider and longer cloak that covers the entire body. Originally they used it as little as did the other groups (68).

68. Bridges writes: "The natives of the shores of Beagle Channel are frequently enrobed in a guanaco skin; not the beautiful guanaco robes used by the Patagonians, but the coarse shaggy skins of the grown animals which the Patagonians use only as tent covers" (VP III, 119; 1858) /cited in English/.

291 The cape does not demand any care, and when it is worn out, it can easily be replaced. The fur side is advantageously worn on the outside. If the layer of fur were next to the skin, a great deal of dirt and perspiration would accumulate, one's skin would be scratched or irritated by the larger bristles, /403/ and the entire piece would become hard and stiff, since the leather would constantly be exposed to rain. The layer of leather, however, although soaked with blubber, is lubricated, so to speak, by the oily skin of the body on which it lies, and this keeps it soft longer. Moreover, the rain easily drips off the layer of fur worn outside and cannot soak through the whole piece. The decisive factor, as I learned, is that the Indians find the layer of fur uncomfortable against the naked skin of their bodies. No wonder, since ~~even~~ this light cape

/403 cont./

291 often feels annoying or uncomfortable to them. In the hut and in the canoe, at work and on the hunt, the man carelessly lets it fall by loosening the leather knot, and he feels better now than he did before. He wants to be entirely free for the goal he happens to be pursuing. The piece is durable, but it gets hard wear and is given no care at all. After only a few weeks it is shabby and torn at the edges, but the man drags it about for more than half a year (69).

69. The following authors mention this back cape of the men: Aspinall:278, Bove (x):107, Dabbene (b): 178, Hyades (g) :337, Lothrop (b) :121, Snow (x) :2, 16, Spegazzini (x) :161, and others.

291 Most of the men at all times and everywhere wear a cover-
287 ing over the genitals which is somewhat larger than that worn by
294 the women. They prefer a smooth piece of leather from which the fur has been entirely removed. It is, of course, used only for the sake of decency. Nevertheless, some old men become so careless that they almost habitually go without it. When they sit or stand, their conduct betrays a certain bashfulness, it is true, but this feeling is no longer strong enough in them that they would go to the trouble of wearing a covering. The people generally do not like to see young or middle-aged persons completely naked, but no one dares to remonstrate with old men. Nevertheless, the latter, when they are sitting, take care that their nakedness does not offend the eyes of those present. Defiant nakedness is not approved on principle.

291 In olden times neither footgear nor any kind of foot cover-
177 ing was known. Whereas it was always lacking among the people of the Cape Horn region, as Hyades (g) :268 maintains (70), it was

70. Fitz-Roy (x) :138 in his day reported of the southern people that "neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes" /cited in English/.

probably only in recent times that regular sandals of guanaco and seal skins were adopted in the middle and eastern region. Some

/403 cont./

influence by the Selk'nam (Vol. 1, 313) cannot be dismissed, while in the west it may have come from the Halakwulup, for the latter wear sandals of sealskin, as do their northern neighbors, the new extinct Chono and the Aracanian natives of the Chiloé Archipelago (73).

73. On May 10, 1867, Bridges reported on a journey to the east: "The snow is about a foot deep, and it freezes hard every night, and some of the men wear moccasins" (MS.I, 164, 1867) /tr.and to English/. He does not describe these sandals; they may have been adopted from the Halakwulup.

/404/ The Yaghan sandals, *ukis*, have almost the same cut as those of the Selk'nam (Fig. 11). A piece of hide from the guanaco or the sea lion, about 45 centimeters long and 20 centimeters wide, is cut to form approximately a rectangle. A few holes are punched close together across the wider of the two narrow ends and in the upper half near the edges. The foot is placed upon it in such a way that the front flap of leather is turned back over the toes and the dorsal part of the foot. The side edges are then folded up, and the perpendicular seam over the heel is laced with a short strip of leather. Beginning directly over the toes /Fig. 15 appears here/ the free ends of a single cross are drawn through the holes lying one above the other parallel to the edges, and the strap is fastened over the instep. Straw or moss is used to stuff the sandal, in which the feet stands warm and dry. Since the fur is on the outside, the foot has sufficient grip on the ground. Moreover, the laces on the sole of the sandal always point forward, which prevents slipping. The leather is quickly softened by the damp earth, and the foot itself adjusts its grip to every kind of footing. In view of this, the sandals prove superior to European footgear, especially on trails over the snows, and fewer flaws. The packing rots quickly and becomes rusty, but it is renewed without any trouble.

It is true that the sandals of sealskin have an even more

•291 /404 cont./
unpleasant odor (72) when they are soaked by wet earth than those of guanaco skin, which are called Emé-yakin (73). The latter

73. The western Yamana did not know this word; they almost always went barefoot.

are worn much less commonly by the Yamana, since seakkin is handier and more convenient for him. He wears his sandals for the most part only on longer treks through the forest, hardly ever in the hut or in the canoe. In spite of the many advantages they

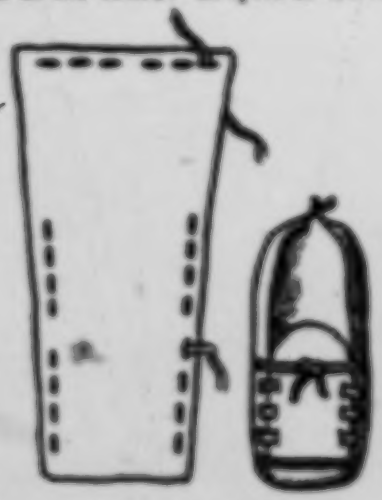

Fig. 15. Sandal.

afford, most men never wear them, even though going barefoot in some places is very disagreeable (see Bridges in VSA: 32, 280, 1904).

[177] In the east where the guanaco is easy to hunt, the men, presumably under the influence of the Selk'nam, learned to wear a type of leggings /405/ that form a tube-like protection for the lower calves. The piece of leather, cut like a trapezoid, is put on with the woolly side against the lower calf and is laced across the back lengthwise with a narrow leather band, so that it clings tightly to the leg. They protect themselves on tramps through the snow with these leg, according to RD:184, "leggings used only when hunting guanaco in snowy weather" /cited in English/

/406 cont./

•291 (Lothrop [b] :124 writes pówa) (74). Everything points to the fact

> 74. BD:164 also maintain that this type of legging was used to a limited extent, which is obvious from his words quoted above.

that this protection of the lower leg was neither originally nor generally used by the Yamana. See Pellyelliet in BD:130.

2. Woman's Clothing

The woman wears the same back-cape as the man, the tewáki, for body protection, scant though it is. There is no difference between the two sexes in the proportions, shape, or method of wearing it. In exceptional cases we find some woman with a leather piece somewhat longer or wider so that it looks like a shoulder cape (75). In general the women prefer otter skins and

> 75. With the same thing in mind Fitz-Roy (a) :138 wrote: "Women wear rather more clothing [than men], that is, they have nearly the whole skin of a guanaco, or seal, wrapped about them, and usually a diminutive apron" /cited in English/.

sew two to four of them together, occasionally even eight to ten. The heavier, longer hairs are removed from these skins, so that only the velvety smooth fur remains. The skins of several cormorants and penguins are chosen for this back-cape on the southern islands. Farther north the skin of two or three foxes is sometimes used. It is partly convenience, utilizing what is at hand, and partly fondness for furs, which is by no means wanting in Indian women, that determines the choice of furs and skins for the back-cape. A cape of otter skins is the most valuable; cormorant skins are supposed to be prettier. Each of these pieces affords as little protection and cover as the other, but no one expects or asks for more (76).

> 76. Bridges (bbd:III, 116, 1869) inaccurately

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judge the usefulness of this back-cape: "The Indians of the outer coasts are well supplied with skins of seals and otters, and are, or might be, well protected from the weather. But those of the inner shores are badly off for skins, and even use the skins of dogs and penguins for cloaks, and generally have only two fox or otter skins, or a single fur seal skin, only sufficient to cover their shoulders" /cited in English/.

It is almost never the case that an Indian woman does not have this modest back-cape. Sometimes a woman carrying an infant enlarges it, thus making a sort of shawl that covers the entire upper part of her body and under which the child can snuggle. If she wishes to protect the child especially well, she reverses the cloak so that the fur side is against her back. Furthermore, the woman who /[illegible]/ in bad weather wishes to save her cloak temporarily turns the leather side out. Afterwards she turns it over again.

In every respect the opinions of two earlier travelers are noteworthy. Snow (x) :II, 16 writes about a small group that he met in the Beagle Channel: "They were all unclothed, except one or two of the women, who had fragments of some guanaco, or seal-skin, thrown across the shoulder" /cited in English/. Snow (x) :III expresses himself in a more general way: "Ornaments and a small cloak of guanaco or seal skin comprise the outfit of a Fuegian; some do not even own a cloak, but defy all inclemencies of the weather with naked chest, naked arms and legs." Women, too, wishing to protect themselves to a certain extent against wind and weather, follow the habit of the men and sometimes hang this short, narrow cloak over the more exposed side of the body. Hyades (y) :IV says in this connection: "Most of the time each individual has a skin of seal or otter, which he places over his shoulders to protect himself after a fashion from the wind" /translated from French/. Long before this Aspinall: 170 wrote: "The inhabitants of Beagle Channel "ordinarily go completely naked, except for a small skin around their shoulders."

/[illegible] cont./

The brief "modesty apron" (77) worn by every woman and

77. This article is mentioned, for example, by Decker (p. 32), George Farmer (p. 19), Weddel (p. 60), Snow (fn:283 and others. "It is used by all the girls and women of the country, from the youngest to the oldest. It is extremely rare for a Fuegian woman to be without this article of clothing, and if she lacks it for some reason, her first concern is to procure another one" (La Nature: 302) /translated from French/.

even by most of the men is indispensable. It is known as *mafaldine*, *collaqine*, and they are never without it. We particularly want to refer to it here, because some European travelers take it so very much for granted that they either do not mention it specifically or do not describe it enough. It is so necessary to a woman's outfit that Hyades (p:338 wrote: "There is no difference between the two sexes, except that the women wear a little "vine leaf" made of guanaco hide" /translated from French/ (78). There is no such

78. In another connection Hyades (p:348 again speaks of this "article of dress which, by its location and dimensions, precisely reminds one of the vine leaf that is put on some statue" /translated from French/.

thing as going naked among the women and girls.

Whereas Deblenne (fn :178 assures us that men sometimes do not have any kind of covering, he nevertheless emphasizes without qualification: "The women always wear a belt with a little piece of hide that covers only the genital parts" /translated from Spanish/. How zealously every woman clings to this modesty-apron and avoids complete nudity in front of men is apparent from an observation which Hyades (p :403 has inserted in a description of the pirouen in his monograph. Plate 11 shows a nude girl named "Kamaaiaiar Kipa. Figure 1 shows her at a moment when she was not wearing her little apron, a very rare occurrence; our /[illegible]/

/407 cont./

lamented comrade, Naval Lieutenant Payen, who took this photograph, was very well acquainted with this girl, but he could never persuade her to move her right hand from the place where the apron belonged" /translated from French/.

This apron is thus entirely demanded by decency and a feeling of modesty. Even at night the women do not remove it (78).

78. Hyades (f):541 again speaks of this in detail: "The women have only a little covering for modesty, intended to hide the genital parts, which consists of a very short and very narrow triangle suspended between the thighs. It is made of guanaco hide, with the fur turned inward. They never, or almost never, remove this covering; during the conjugal act, it is simply raised up on the abdomen" /translated from French/. Compare also Hyades (b):1346.

It is usually triangular in shape, about 15 centimeters wide at the top and about ten centimeters long in the middle. Some are also trapezoidal or rectangular in shape. They always choose a soft piece of leather and prefer guanaco leather, both sides of which are scraped and rubbed with blubber. Girls and younger women use pieces of otter and guanaco skins without removing the fur. They wear the fur side against their bodies (80). A hole is bored into

80. Hyades (f) :307 thinks that this is "probably because its contact against the skin is softer than that of leather" /translated from French/.

the two upper corners, in one of which is knotted a narrow leather band or a braided tendon. This is drawn over the hips and knotted on the other corner. The apron hangs freely, fits well, is tightly pressed between the legs, and serves its purpose (81). This piece

81. Lothrop (b) :223 says only: "A triangular pubic covering of skin was usually worn by the

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women" /cited in English/. More explicitly Hyades (q) :338 again writes: "The women alone wear a little triangular scrap of guanaco skin in the pubic region. It is from twelve to fifteen centimeters long and from seven to eight centimeters wide at the bottom" /translated from French/.

is renewed only after long wear; it is not customary to wash it.

Women never wear sandals; they work much more comfortably barefoot. Moreover, they must often step into water and walk around on the wet earth. They also do not have any kind of head covering (82), nor do the men and children. Their thick,

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82. Fitz-Roy (a) :176 had observed: "A small fillet is all that is worn around the head. Usually this is a mere string, made of the sinews of birds or animals" /cited in English/. This piece is a simple head ornament.

strong, and abundant hair is an adequate covering against wind and rain for the Fuegians of all ages.

3. Children's Clothing

The body covering of children corresponds to that of adults, not only in its essentials, but even in small details. The little ones, too, have no other body protection than the short back-cape which is adapted somewhat to their undeveloped bodies and made of soft leather of younger animals. The Indians do not seem to know how to prepare it carefully, hence it hangs on the dirty body of the child like an old rag. /408/ It does not occur to anyone to take care of it. Hyades says briefly (q) :330: "Children three or four years old from time to time wear a small skin on the shoulder" /translated from French/. In such scanty covering these small, shy creatures give every European the impression of great neglect and pitiful destitution.

/408 cont./

297 As long as they are still dependent on the special care of their mothers, they crawl about naked. When they begin to walk by themselves, they get the back-cape which they wear or toss off according to their mood or fancy. /Fig. 16 appears here./ It serves them also as "cover" when they sleep at night. Somewhat later, at the age of four, the girl gets her mastakána, mĕlagána, the triangular modesty-apron, which henceforth she must not remove. All the women see to it that the child in its innocence does not expose itself. The size of the child's body

Fig. 16. Modesty-Apron for Girls.
Two-thirds natural size.

determines the proportions of this pubic covering (Fig. 16). Boys do not wear this covering until they are ten years old or older; it is left to the discretion of parents or relatives. They feel that it is not necessary for boys to wear a modesty-apron, since old men also sometimes omit it, but when they begin to mature physically, boys no longer appear without it in the company of adults.

[85] It is the task of the mother to make the simple, modest articles of clothing for their children. This does not require particular effort, and yet many a woman idly watches her child run about in a shabby, torn little cloak for a long time before she replaces the useless, soiled piece with a better one. Children

/408 cont./

291 take care of their clothing just as little as adults do. They drag it through mud and ashes and use it to sit on and as a cover for sleeping; they wrap meat and shells in it and make use of it whenever and however it may serve them. For its part the climate has a great deteriorating effect on all leather. Even though it is more or less saturated with blubber and is constantly, consciously or unconsciously, rubbed with fat, the layer of fur on the outside soon wears out through much use, /409/ and then dampness can get at it on both sides. Mold is constantly forming and in a short time causes large, irregular soft patches that easily tear and cause holes. Then, at last, the mother provides a long-needed replacement. Otter skins are more precious than seal skins, but every mother prefers to use the former because they are softer and more beautiful, and she does not mind that they are not as durable.

These children of nature do not worry and are not anxiously concerned about their clothing. If a boy has to wait for days for a new cloak because he has lost his old one, he makes up for it in the daytime with the warmth of the hut fire, and at night he snuggles close to his brothers and sisters who give him some of their body warmth or a little space under their own short backcapes which serve them all as a cover. They are satisfied with the least of everything.

4. Purpose of Clothing

291 834 The two pieces of leather with which the Yamana cover only small areas of their bodies cannot possibly be regarded as clothing. Without giving it much thought, one recognizes the brief triangular apron as something required on principle by a feeling of modesty. This is proved by the shape of this malakína as such, and the fact that all female persons must never be seen without it. As a matter of fact, all the young and middle-aged men, practically without exception, appear in front of women with this covering. It is only the old men who no longer give offense by complete nudity (p. 54), no matter how much the adults in their vicinity dislike seeing them in this state (83). Furthermore,

83. Lothrop's (b):121 too general assertion

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/409 cont./
"that individuals of both sexes and all ages often went entirely naked" /cited in English/ must thus be qualified.

the general practice of putting this pubic covering on girls when they are still children, without any kind of accompanying festivity or ceremony, is most significant. When women change these coverings or remove them for any reason, they avoid doing so in the presence of other persons (84). Girls learn to conduct them-

[867]

84. See page 59 as to the conduct of young Kamanakarkipa who was caught by surprise without her modesty-apron by a French officer.

selves properly while standing and sitting, not only by the example of the adults, but through special instruction.

This scrap of leather, to be sure, is only the size of one's hand and is suspended from a mere string around the hips, but, as Hyades (g) :33 has observed, "they never appear without this Mashakana, which is quite sufficient for them, although one can by no means say that they lack a sense of modesty." When sitting, they usually keep their thighs together and place one foot in such a position that the heel presses the pubic covering against the /416/ body. Only an old man sometimes squats on the ground without a covering and with his legs wide apart.

[516]

Hyades (p) :338 aptly says of this small piece of skin: "it is an emblem of modesty" /translated from French/. Women even regard it as improper merely to speak of it. For this reason I tactfully had to persuade an old woman to make this piece for me, which I wanted to add to my collection. She made it in secret and gave it to me with the remark that I should not mention it to other people. Sometimes younger women cover their breasts with the short back-cape, at any rate if men should annoy them with meaningful glances.

291

The little cloak can only provide meager and incomplete protection against wind and bad weather. A continuous cold current of air from one direction against a part of the body is intolerable for anyone. Even so, a person sitting in a canoe and obliged to reach a certain goal cannot protect himself against it in any other

291 /410 cont./

way but by pulling the brief cape around him as a cover. Actually it gives perceptible protection and saves these people from severe injury to their health. It cannot be longer or wider, or it would keep off the warmth of the nearby fire and get in the way of the arms while rowing or working. These are mainly the decisive considerations when the Yamana make the back-cape in its customary shape and size. A large and woolly fur cloak, somewhat like that used by the Selk'nam, may temporarily cover the body well and uniformly warm it, but it does not permit the free movement of the arms that everyone absolutely demands, especially in the canoe.

If a European would look at that pitiful body covering from the standpoint of the Indians, he would be convinced of its surprisingly functional nature and would, at the same time, have an opportunity to appreciate the ingenuity and adaptability of these people. Clothing to the native is just not useful if it swathes the entire body (85). Serviceable and durable furs and animal

85. Krickeberg:321 says briefly: "Protective clothing is almost entirely lacking. A small cloak of seal or otter skin hangs down from the man's shoulder. A triangular apron of guanaco leather is the only clothing of the woman." This outfit could not be reduced to less, even in tropical Africa.

skins are available to our Yamana, and they could easily be made into a closed garment for the entire body. It is not absolutely necessary, however, because everyone everywhere has easy access to the open fire. Besides the fresh air that constantly bathes the body, everyone benefits much more from this than they would from a closed garment which, in that rainy climate, would hardly ever be completely dry and could never be kept clean. It is true that the Indians' teeth sometimes chatter with cold or they bend over stiff with cold in a downpour and in a snow storm, but one need endure such discomfort /411/ only until he reaches a fire or lights a new one. In the shorter time the whole body is then thoroughly and evenly warmed and the skin completely dry, for

/411 cont./

291 they alternately turn one side of the body and then the other to the fire, each time pushing their cape in the opposite direction with a slight movement of the hand.

Misdirected sympathy that knows nothing about the advantages of all the resources our natives have for the protection of their bodies pities them unduly and underestimates their wise judgment in the things they have expediently invented and chosen for themselves. As a matter of fact, they avoid much damage to their health because they do not tolerate material that clings to their bodies. Frequent rain and snow, wet air, and the vigorous splashing of waves which constantly wash them promote a healthy skin which is good for the whole organism. The short back-cape with its rough leather side turned toward the skin also acts as a gentle rubbing agent. If all this were omitted with a change in the mode of dress, what equivalent would the Indian have? To begin with, he does not have to be afraid of uneven warmth and of weakening the parts of his body that are covered among other
291 people. With their pure sensibilities, and even more, their dis-
177 cerning judgment, these natural people were not unaware of all the harm that followed the later introduction of clothing to which they were not accustomed. Their effort to reject the foreign, unhealthful coercion was instinctive. Nowadays the last survivors are quite frank about their conviction that European clothing, Gika, and diet, together with imported diseases and alcoholic beverages, have caused the swift destruction of their people (p. 339 /untranslated/).

382 The inhabitants of those distant islands need never reckon with extreme cold, although the weather and the air are always damp and cool. If the heat of the fire should be inadequate or if there is a long walk in prospect and it is very cold, they protect themselves by thoroughly rubbing the entire body with a mixture of blubber and red powder from burnt clay. Ordinarily scarcely any dampness clings to the skin of the body which has been amply greased, and sometimes one sees rain or sea water fall off in drops. This layer of thick grease is a protection also in that it retains the person's own body warmth (86). This was also true in the case of the

86. Aspinall:270, mentioning this expedient, wrote: They "have the habit of rubbing their

/411 cont./

302 bodies with an ointment made of blubber and red earth, which probably also affords some protection against the cold." Before that, Snow (b):264 mentioned it: "The only thing they do to keep more warm is to rub themselves over with grease and ochreous earth" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (a):139 mentioned the same purpose: "Both sexes oil them selves, or rubb /sic/ their bodies with grease" /cited in English/. Spears:53 also mentions this custom and adds: "Had the early explorers imitated instead of despised the Jahgan, they would have had fewer tales of suffering to tell" /cited in English/.

single anointment with blubber of the whale /412/ or sea lion. This made every person glisten with oil from head to foot, which had a most amazing effect on European travelers and missionaries until they became accustomed to the sight. This simple and very effective measure was available to everyone, and they all liked to use it when cold winds blew or when there was heavy rain. Such [17] an anointment with blubber is no longer possible with the European clothing that is customary today. Instead, every article of clothing is full of dirt and grease.

•291 In spite of everything, the extremely meager body protection of our Indians proves their great power of resistance against the extreme inclemency of the weather in their homeland and their undemanding contentment. Even though their one article of clothing is serviceable and their open fire an indispensable advantage, there would still be room for a few simple comforts. Compared with the neighboring Selk'nam, our Yamana are obviously in a somewhat less favorable position.

5. Preparation of Furs and Skins

291 Our Indians need the furs and skins of their game animals (87).

87. In some places the Indian has a good selection. Thus Bridges wrote on June 4, 1864, about his visit

1: Gusinde--1450 E-S (1918-1924) 1937 SHS Yahgan SHS

142
362
291

Yamana Man

Yamana Woman

Yamana Children

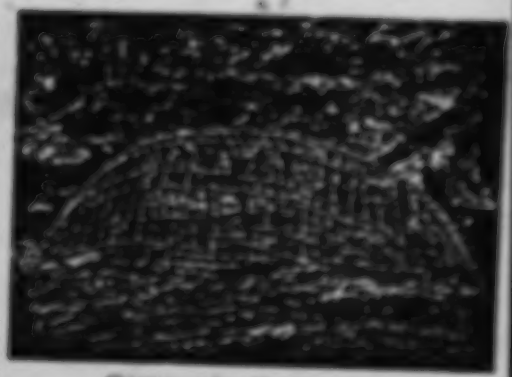
Children at Play

133

Beach of Beagle Channel

342

Single Hut



Community Hut

524

Waiyandella Game

Halyekanaushwa Game

[291]

Former Clothing

Vulture Game

Albatross Game

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Yahgan SHS

342 quently used toward the east, was tipi-form, with a framework of stiff about saplings or tree trunks.

The ground in the interior of the hut was often, but not always, scooped out, to a depth of 2, 3, or more feet (0.6 to 1 m.) beneath the outside ground level, and was usually covered with a little grass or [354] some branches. The fire was made in the center. The hute had one door, facing the sea; or else two doors, one facing the sea, the other being opposite.

172 342 Archeological stratification in the *Yahgan* area of Navarino Island shows an earlier culture with shelters like those still used by the *Alacaluf*, oval in ground plan, having two entrances, and without scooped-out pits; and a later one with circular shelters having one entrance, and with pits 12 to 18 feet (4 to 6 m.) in diameter, scooped out in some cases to a depth of more than 3 feet (1 m.) (Bird, 1938, p. 201). The two historic types of *Yahgan* wigwam, oval and circular, unpitted and pitted, may thus represent two chronologically distinct cultures.

342 Larger and more substantial huts were built for initiation rites (q. v., infra); sometimes very small ones, for the use of children. The *Yahgan* also at times used caves or made a very rude shelter of a few branches tied together or stuck in the ground.

177 342 At the time of Lothrop's visit in 1924-25, practically all the then surviving *Yahgan* were accustomed to pass the winter months at Puerto Mejillones and Puerto Finlay, on Navarino Island, in huts poorly constructed of ill-fitting boards (Lothrop, 1928, p. 189). Lothrop (1928, p. 191) considers the use of the wing of a large bird for sweeping out the shelter to have probably been the result of missionary influence.

[339] [340]

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Clothing.—The chief garment, for men and women, was a small cape, of seal, sea-otter, or fox skin, sometimes of two or more skins sewn together—occasionally of bird skins—worn with the fur outside, covering the shoulder and breast or reaching to the waist, and held in place by a string across the chest. It was commonly shifted outdoors over the windward shoulder. Very frequently it was left off entirely. The women rarely if ever went without a small triangular pubic covering of bird skin or hide, held in place by a string attached to each upper corner and encircling the waist (pl. 33, *f*). No head covering was worn. Usually the *Yahgan* went barefoot, but sometimes when traveling or hunting on land they wore rather crudely made moccasins (fig. 11), resembling closely the *Ona* ones in pattern, of sealskin, with the hair outside, and stuffed inside with grass (cf. Lothrop, 1928, p. 184, photo). The eastern *Yahgan*, when hunting guanaco in winter, sometimes wore guanaco skin leggings, like the *Ona*, from whom they

J. Cooper E.-4 (no date) 1946 2885 Yahgan SH6

(Figure 13.—Yahgan moccasin. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 44.)

291 probably borrowed them. The *Yahgan* occasionally used a rude fingerless working glove of hide. The clothing of the *Yahgan* seems to us utterly inadequate, given the climatic conditions—temperatures commonly around and well below freezing point in winter, high winds, frequent snow, hail, sleet, and cold rain—but in view of the seeming role played in their decline by introduced European clothing and their relative good health prior thereto, perhaps their clothing was reasonably well adapted to the environment.

302 **Hairdressing and depilation.**—The hair was worn loose, not in braids, and was often banged. Sometimes a sort of tonsure was worn. A sharp-edged mussel shell was used to cut the hair. For combing the hair, more commonly the jawbone of a porpoise or otter, or a toothed comb made of whalebone, was used; sometimes, a brush comb made of a bundle of roots (Gusinde and Brush, 1910, p. 128) or of quills (Gusinde, 1937, p. 488). Depilation, with two mussel shells as tweezers, of all face and body hair was practically universal, for both sexes.

304 **Scarification.**—Scarification was practiced as a mourning observance and tattooing as an initiation rite (Gusinde, 1937, p. 963), but neither for ordinary decorative purposes. There was no head deformation, no ear, lip, or septum piercing, no body mutilation of any other kind.

302 **Painting.**—Smearing the head and body with grease or oil was as much protective as decorative. Face and body painting was common, sometimes with use of a small spatula. Only three colors—red, black, and white—were used. Red was derived from burnt earth, black from charcoal, and white from clay. Red symbolized peace;

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

142 bronze. The trunk of the body is large in proportion to their cramped and rather crooked limbs. Their rough, coarse, and extremely dirty black hair half hides yet heightens a villainous expression of the worst description of savage features. . . .

MAN IN CHRISTMAS SOUND, TIERRA DEL FUEGO.

FIG. 42.—Yahgan Indian. (After Hawkesworth.)

● 291 Sometimes these natives upon mankind wear a part of the skin of a guanaco or a seal skin upon their backs [fig. 42], and perhaps the skin of a penguin or a bit of bird hide hangs in front; but often there is nothing, either to hide their nakedness or to preserve warmth, except a scrap of hide, which is tied to the side or back of the body, by a string around the waist. Even this is only for a pocket, in which they may carry stones for their slings, and hide what they pick up or pilfer. A man always carries his sling around his neck or waist, wherever he goes.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

291 Women wear rather more clothing, that is, they have nearly the whole skin of a guanaco, or seal, wrapped about them, and usually a diminutive apron. The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an infant. Neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes.

302 Both sexes oil themselves, or rub their bodies with grease; and daub
301 their faces and bodies with red, black, or white. A fillet is often worn around the brick which upon ordinary occasions is simply a string, made of sinews; but if going to war or dressed for show, the fillet is ornamented with white down, white feathers, or pieces of cloth, if they have obtained any from shipping. . . .

411 It is rather curious that each of these natives is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear; another with the sling; another with a bow and arrows; but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others.

266 Before entering on the details of Yahgan life we shall dwell briefly on the charges of savagery and cannibalism made by numerous writers. As early as 1600 the Alacaluf were thought to be cannibals, for in that year Van Noort marooned on Santa Maria island one of his officers charged with insubordination, in the belief that he would die of hunger or be eaten by the savages. A quarter of a century later Jaques L'Hermite charged the Yahgan with cannibalism. In more recent years Darwin and Fitzroy have repeated the accusation on hearsay evidence, and their dictum has been widely published. However, no white man has ever witnessed the act of anthropophagy among any of the Fuegian tribes, while in recent years those who have lived with the natives and come to know them well all agree that the idea of eating human flesh is as repugnant to a Fuegian as to a Europeap. According to Martial (p. 193) the Yahgan ordinarily do not eat dog, fox, or cat, because these animals will eat human flesh.

648 The imputation of barbarity, on the other hand, rests on firmer ground, for there are well-authenticated instances of attack by the Yahgan on European crews. The earliest of these resulted in the death at Nassau bay in 1824 of seventeen men from L'Hermite's ships; the most widely published was the massacre at Wooloya in 1859 of the crew of the missionary schooner *Allen Gardiner*. What provoked these attacks is a secret intended with their victims. Early voyagers habitually kidnapped natives to serve as pilots and thus aroused merited resentment. Native women often have

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S395 Yahgan S395

speak the central dialect. The entire vocabulary was checked by Mr. William Bridges and any words not in the central dialect were noted.

The richness of the language is indicated by the more than 22,000 words brought together by Rev. Thomas Bridges. Many of these words, of course, are compounds, but such a vast number are fundamentally due to unusual specialization in meaning.

On the other hand, Yahgan exhibits the lack, usual among primitive people, of abstract ideas and generalizations. In fact, even in English (which, due to missionary training, some of the Indians spoke fairly well) the Yahgan exhibited inability to grasp the concept of generalities.

The manner of counting was even more primitive than the Ona count, for the Yahgan had no words for 4 and 5, which, to be sure, were compound numbers in the primitive Ona system. The Yahgan count is:

1.	*chiéki*	one
2.	*kenéchi*	two
3.	*mutía*	three
5.	*kiéki tírú*[1]	one hand
10.	*kenéchi tírú*	two hands

Clothing

From Fitzroy's description of the Yahgan, cited above, it appears that there was very little order or regularity in their scanty dress. However, though seemingly inadequate, their clothes were of well-defined forms which we shall describe. It is no exaggeration or overestimement to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this westernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in the world. As compared to the Ona, their garments, similar in nature, were deficient in size, while the stiff and unyielding skins they employed from their very nature lacked the warmth supplied by the pliable, voluminous, and snuggfitting robes of the Fuegi Indians. We must add that individuals of both sexes and all ages alike went entirely naked.

1. Cape.—The usual cape worn in summer and winter alike by both men and women was a seal or sea-otter skin. Sometimes two

[1] Here given the word corresponding for 5. It was not known to any Yahgan Indian or member of the Bridges or Lawrence families encountered by the writer.

Fig. [illegible]—Tulgao gaucho-cape. Size, [illegible] by [illegible] in. ([illegible])

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5305 Yaigan 006

or more were worn together. In general, however, this garment extended only to the waist and did not completely encircle the body. It was tied across the chest with thongs. When out-of-doors it was worn over the windward shoulder. And these people (both in a latitude corresponding to that of the American islands and Labrador!

The women Yahgan at times wore capes of guanaco-skin which were better suited to the cold. One of these (fig. 43) we illustrate. It does not attain the size of the Ona robe shown in fig. 6. The western Yahgan and the Alacaluf used skins of the coypu, a small land-otter known to the Yahgan as *mujal*.

2. Pubic Covering.—A triangular pubic covering of skin (*mishandine*) was usually worn by the women (fig. 44).

FIG. 44.—Yahgan pubic covering. Height, 8 in. (20.32 cm.)

3. Moccasins.—The Yahgan often went barefoot, but at times they wore moccasins of seal-skin (*ahi*), which resemble the guanaco-skin moccasins of the Ona, but are not made in quite the same way (fig. 45). To begin with, a piece of skin shaped like a truncated triangle is cut out and trimmed to the proper size. This forms the crushed heel-strap of the Ona moccasin (fig. 8, c). Holes are made across the large end (fig. 46, c), which is bound snugly around the heel. A short strap is then looped through the upper pair of holes (fig. 46, b) and the heel seam together. Holes are pierced all the long sides; these are doubled over and laced to the Ona fashion with a strap across the toes and across the instep. These moccasins are worn with the hair-side outward and are stuffed with grass. The writer found them when wet even more foul than the guanaco moccasins, and neither so warm nor so comfortable for walking.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5395 Yahgan 5395

241

FIG. 65.—Yahgan moccasin. Length, 11 in. (14/2300)

FIG. 66.—Patterns of Yahgan moccasin.

302

FIG. 67.—Yahgan leggings. Height, 15 in. (14/2300)

2. LEGGINGS.—The eastern Yahgan, who were much more concerned with the guanaco than other members of their tribe, sometimes wore guanaco-skin leggings (pâne), such as fig. 67, for winter hunting. This garment was also sometimes used by the Ona, from whom the Yahgan probably borrowed it.

ORNAMENTATION

The Yahgan used no set form of hair-dressing, but allowed their locks to fall in a confused mass, except over the forehead where the hair was cut to form a bang. Facial and body hair they pulled out with a pair of mussel-shells.

3: Lothrop E-3 (1924-1925) 1928
Eth Yahgan Eth

The Equipment

291 Yahgan clothes were less suited to the climate than those of the Ona, because they were smaller and gave less bodily protection, and because the skins they used were less suitable for their purpose. Thus, guanaco-skin, regularly employed for Ona robes, is thin and flexible, so that it will readily conform with the contours of the body, while the hair is heavy, so that it will shed water and preserve warmth. In contrast, seal-skin and sea-otter skin of Yahgan capes has a heavy and stiff tip and short hair, and therefore

Fig. 31.—Yahgan house. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

gives less protection. As a result of this disparity, to maintain life the Yahgan had to have more shelter than that afforded by an Ona windbreak. And possessing the means of water transportation they could handle heavier equipment than their inland neighbors, though, to be sure, their bark canoes were small and frail to bear much cargo in addition to the human freight.

292 Normally the Yahgan lived in a wigwam known as *ákhark*. In the west, like the *Alacaluf* hut, this was usually a closed affair about the size and shape of a large haycock, framed with saplings set upright in a circle or oval and then bent toward until they met

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 [illegible] Tokwaiche
Yahgan 586

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285
881
342
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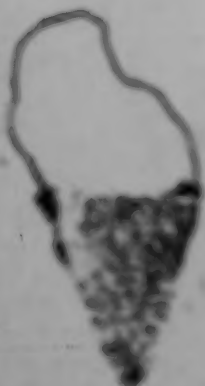

[p. 160 A]

Yakyan 5146

291
641
576
1962

[p. 160 D]

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Yahgan SH6
Ona SH4

T 281 171 as the fur mantle, we should naturally expect to find much variation in materials, methods of manufacture, and manner of use. Among the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego, robes were made typically of seal- or otter-skin, and were worn with the fur side outward. East-
T, Y* 281 ern Yahgan at times also used guanaco, while western Yahgan and Alacaluf employed coypo-skins. The stitching was of whale sinew. A characteristic feature of all Magellanic mantles is their small size, for they measure about 35 by 50 inches and covered only the upper part of the body, being held in place with thongs tied across the shoulders. Yahgan capes, to the knowledge of the writer, never received painted decoration on the skin side, but an Alacaluf cape of three coypo-skins, secured for the Museum in 1925 (14/2252), had been painted red.

T, O 281 171 Ona mantles were made of two or three skins of adult guanaco sewn together with sinews from the back of this animal. They measure about five feet square, which is enough to envelop the body from neck to ankle. Ona women painted their robes red on the skin side, which was worn next the body, and, when this task was finished, they turned the fur side uppermost to wipe their encrimsoned hands. Thus streaks were produced on the fur, but in no way could they be regarded as deliberately made patterns. In fact, the only fields for painted decoration among the Ona were their persons and their dance paraphernalia, while their patterns, like those of the Yahgan,[8] were crude daubs of color, uncertain in line and simple in rhythm.

T 281 171 On the use of fur robes in the Chaco, Nordenskiöld[9] writes that they are seemingly an impractical garment for a tropical climate infested with insects; but, as a matter of fact, the nights are often cool, while chilling winds sweep over the country in May and June. Formerly cloaks made of coypo-skins were common, but these have given way to sheep-skin robes owing to the trade value of the former, and the sheep-skin garments in turn are being replaced by capes or ponchos of woven material. Robes in the Chaco are worn fur side inward, and they are painted on the skin side (fig. 12).

T 281 The Tehuelche cape (fig. 1), known as *quillango*, is a fur robe measuring a few inches more than five feet on a side. The fur was worn next to the body and the skin side was elaborately painted.

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[8] Lothrop, 1928, pl. lx.
[9] 1910, p. 98.

/838 cont./

X881 activities among suitable women, he also chooses a reliable man
625 to serve as guard, called winefkē̂ʒa. This is the name for
[136] Leucophaeus scoresbii, a feared predatory bird of the high seas, who pounces with bloodthirsty rage on other birds and fastens on to them. As a result its whole beak is often covered with blood (Fig. 82).

X881 In imitation of the bird, the guard paints a wide red stripe
625 over the entire lower half of his nose, continuing it two fingers
302 in width on either side down to the edge of the chin. This decoration, which is sometimes also applied in white

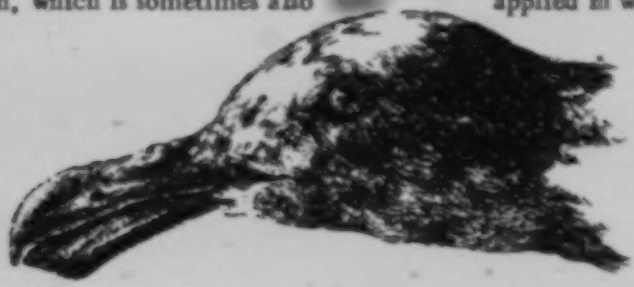

Fig. 82. Leucophaeus scoresbii. Natural size.

to make it visible in the dark, is meant to show how seriously and strictly he performs his office and how threateningly he pursues everyone who disturbs the peace /839/ or is guilty of an offense.
[292] As a headdress the winefkē̂ʒa properly wears the plaited wreath of white albatross feathers, just as the yékamuś /medicine men/ do. Sometimes he changes to the hapaxél /headband/. Formerly when the Yamana did not have European clothing, the guard painted his entire body white with horizontal red stripes two fingers wide and a hand's breadth apart all around it. The Indians have retained a small remnant of this to this day, for the actual guard and his helpers paint /Fig. 82 appears here/ at least the lower part of the leg and the forearm in this fashion. They no longer paint the other parts of the body, which are covered with European clothing.

X881 The particular duty of the winefkē̂ʒa is quite obvious. He
625 must guard the hut so that no unbidden person, especially no child, creeps up too close and sees what is going on. The camp with the dwellings is, of course, not far from the Great Hut, and in their play the children are careless enough to come too close to

/846 cont./

X881 781 matter whether he is occupied only with himself for two or five hours before the start of the ceremony, for he does not miss anything. Even during the final work on the Great Hut one can observe the deep seriousness and thoughtfulness written on the faces of the participants who do not converse with one another or act distracted. They feel, and they do not conceal their innermost feelings, that something important is imminent and they must also prepare themselves spiritually. Each participant regards the ʒ́éxaus rite as an extraordinary personal experience.

On March 3, 1922, Santiago announced shortly before noon that the ceremony would begin in the evening. A few older persons who had put the finishing touches on the Great Hut simply remained seated there and gave themselves up to their thoughts. Around two o'clock in the afternoon their number had increased to seven. Koppers (a):49 stepped in for a few minutes at this time and quietly asked one of those present why they had come so early since the celebration was not beginning until toward evening. The answer he received was: "Certainly, but one can't begin such a beautiful festival just like that; one has to be in the mood, and we are here to prepare ourselves for that!" I observed the same conduct two years before. The older people wish above all to prepare themselves spiritually for this celebration by several hours of concentration.

X881 The overseer is always among the first arrivals; the leader, too, comes in good time. Their mood has a decisive influence 292 on the other people. Meanwhile everyone makes his forehead decoration. This is nothing more than a piece of skin, two to four fingers wide and about 30 centimeters long. It is cut out of the [825] peritoneum of the small albatross, dášalux (Diomedea melanophrys), or of the male Molina goose, ʒ́ékus (Chloëphaga hybrida). The large feathers are plucked out and the down feathers fluffed up somewhat so that they appear abundant. On either end of this strip of skin the Yamana knot a short tendon. Every participant wears this hapaxél as a headband. If he leaves the Great Hut, he must take it off. Sometimes this strip of skin is given a triangular shape, so that a small point appears in the middle of the forehead, but it is not nearly as wide as the kóčel of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215).

/846 cont./

In former times when the Yamana were not yet wrapping their bodies in the disgusting rags of European culture, they used longer strips of skin covered with down, which they drew over the body and limbs in different directions. Still more often they made pads of small bunches of down (266) which they /847/ wound

266. To this day the Halakwulup have adhered to the long, narrow strips of skin with down feathers, and they use these at the youth initiation as well as during the men's secret ceremony. See Figs. 9 and 10 in Gusinde (bb).

with tendons and braided. They were known as kwayw̄ēweni. The hapayél was formerly also made in this fashion. In modern times this is no longer done, because this decoration could not be put on over European clothing, nor would it be effective. The hapayél has no significance other than as ornamentation.

The second indispensable object which every participant has and which he makes for himself at the very beginning is the dance staff. Its length varies between 50 centimeters and 70 centimeters. At the lower, pointed end it is about the thickness of one's thumb; toward the top it is a little thicker. The surface, freed of bark, is scraped quite smooth with a mussel shell. It is first smeared with a thick layer of white color, and after it is dried, red lines, circles, and dots are drawn on it. Usually a small ring of bird skin with down is also applied a short distance from the point and the end (cf. Plate 3).

During the singing and dancing the Yamana hold this stick crosswise and grasp it lightly with the fingers of both hands. They swing it up and down gently in time to the music and in very lively fashion during exciting songs. When the overseer or another man gives the customary instructions to the uwāla, he grasps the staff at its thick end, holds it upright on the ground, and leans his hand lightly upon it. The leader also does this when he gives orders, and similarly every man who tells a myth and every candidate when he is requested to take up this staff. The dance staff thus expresses a certain formality.

X 281 /960 cont./
302 the same drawings for themselves (Fig. 84). To this extent, they are not exclusively reserved for the ulwéla. Sometimes, especially for the nightly dances and if visits are expected, other patterns are also painted on the candidates' faces.

X 281 The adult participants really should always wear their hapaxît, the narrow headband (p. 693), the sponsor attends to this duty for
292 the candidate. He himself makes the hapaxît for his protégé, removes it from his head just before he goes to sleep at night, puts it on him again in the morning, and adjusts it for him /961/ several times during the day. It is carefully guarded; under no circumstances may it be left lying on the ground. Everyone hangs it up behind him on the /Fig. 84 appears here/ lattice work of the hut framework (280) when he removes it from his head.

> 280. This solicitude reminds one of the anxious attention that all the Selk'nam give to their own masks in the Great Hut of the men (Vol. I, 917).

X 281 Besides the hapaxît, the sponsor at the very beginning hands his
293 protégé the customary dance staff. During the evening games it is held in the hand, otherwise it stands upright and firm in the ground (p. 694).

X 281 /962/ There is a lovely symbolic meaning connected with these two objects. We have already briefly mentioned (p. 681)
292 that the ciyaxs hut, according to the original Yamana conception,
293 actually represents an alin, a rock cave on the shore into which dashes the water of the sea. The dancing waves are crested with foam. The delicate white fluff on the hapaxît symbolizes the evanescent foam on the crest of the waves; the rolling motions to and fro with the dance staff held crosswise are meant to indicate the undulating play of the waves which restlessly rise and fall. Because the waves in an alin ceaselessly ebb and flow, the occupants of the ciyaxs constantly wear the hapaxît and several times a day lightly swing their dance staffs as they make a few dance motions.

[Text continues on page 715.—Analyst]

1: Gamble--714 8-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

X301
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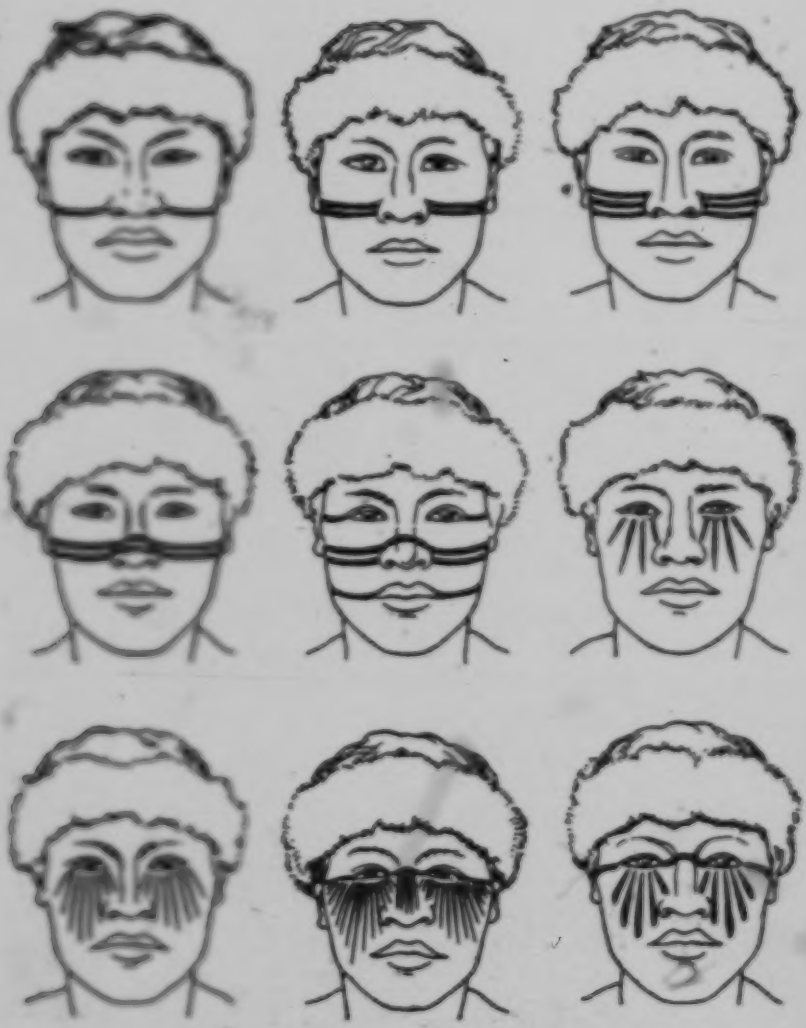

Fig. 84. Facial Painting of the Candidates.

/1328 cont./

X575 performance, the leader begins with a talk. It is his duty to win over the men who are suited for the role of a spirit and who must soon commence rehearsing. It is no less important to select the lads who may be uǐwā̄la on this occasion. The unanimous agreement of the influential old men decides this question. In former times a chap must have attended the čī̄xaus twice; nowadays there is more leniency in this respect, and the old men are satisfied if the youth has submitted to the initiation once. Actually, none of these lads is refused admission if he is halfway discrete and regarded as trustworthy. If suitable boys are present in the camp, the old men soon agree to admit them. Unlike the čī̄xaus, however, the kīna can take place even if uǐwā̄la are lacking. Since in the past few decades a dependable woman may also be invited into the secret hut, the men consult on this, too, at the beginning of the affair.

X575 292 Preparations are immediately begun for the appearance of the so-called spirits. This requires large amounts of pigment, which each man has secretly brought along. Masks are also indispensable. A large piece of bark cut in the shape of a longitudinal triangle is used in making them. The free edges are tied together near the peak with whalebone; the lower edge, which rests on the shoulders of the wearer, forms a shallow arc. /Pl. 4 appears here./ /1329/ At the proper height small holes are cut out for the two eyes. This conical-shaped mask of bark is called ī̄yuǐu hīlix (278) and is 50 to 60 centimeters high. If for any reason the

278. Originally this term meant: bark quiver for arrows, also quiver made of leather (p. 154). BD:260 confirms this one designation for quiver and mask.

required pieces of bark cannot be obtained, a piece of leather may be substituted for the mask. The latter is called uǐmīna and has the same shape and size as the bark mask, but the lower part is usually wider and the whole piece comes to a sharp point at the top. Compare uǐamīna in BD:113. Bridges (i):17 mentioned the masks and called them "barkhats" /cited in English/. If the Kina celebration is prolonged, the bark masks must be repeatedly

1: Gusinde--1226 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 5106 Yahgan 5106

X
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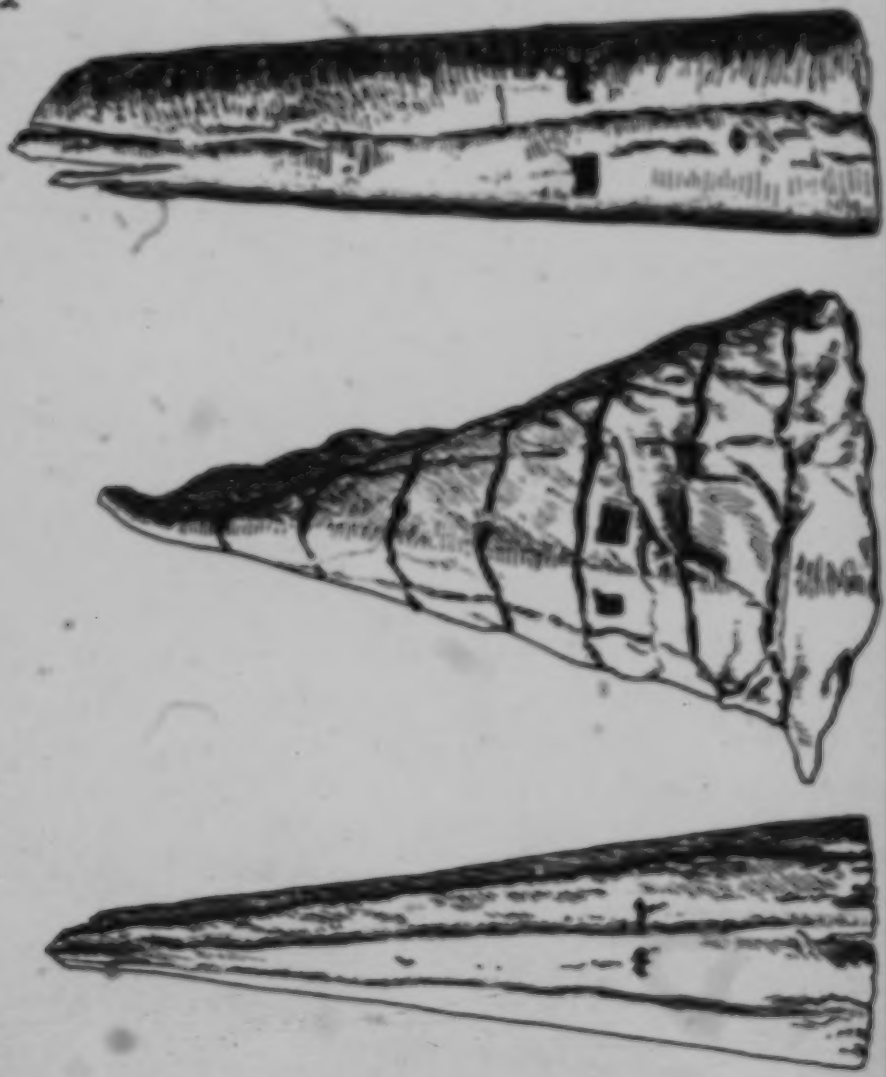


Masks from the Kina Hut.

/1329 cont./

X 575 replaced, for in the heat of the hut fire they unavoidably dry out and shrink to such an extent that they can no longer be used. Consequently the leather masks are more suitable and durable. A few of these masks suffice for the varied program, since only the painting needs to be changed to portray the various spirits. These masks are carefully protected and usually lie in the inner section of the Great Hut where they are handy for each man who wants to use them. A brief comment should be inserted here. Because of the special significance of the masks, children are not permitted to play with objects that resemble a mask or suggest one (p.580).

X 575 While the discussions and immediate preparations are going on in the Great Hut, the mental attitude and the outward behavior of the women in the camp undergo a very apparent change. They actually have a slightly uncanny feeling, as though they were threatened and alarmed; they run back and forth restlessly and excitedly, as though at their wit's end; they talk to one another, first in one hut and then in another. By and large the thought of the approaching Kina with its many spirit-appearances has a trying and oppressive effect on all the women; some of them scarcely dare leave their huts and appear outside. The frightened behavior of the women has an effect on the children who huddle together in the hut and anxiously watch their mothers. This state of affairs lasts until shortly before sundown.

The women and children who are quietly and expectantly waiting in their dwellings have no idea what the men are doing in the secret hut after the first smoke appeared. Not a sound, not a sign from the leader reaches the camp for long hours. It is this uncertainty that makes the women and children so extremely tense. Meanwhile, however, the men in the Great Hut are not idle. They are preparing for the first appearance of the spirits. In March, 1922, the men present began their painting about five [302] in the afternoon. Before that they had painted their completely naked bodies. /1330/ Now they undress except for a small covering. To begin with they paint themselves with white diagonal stripes a handbreadth wide on limbs and torso. Toward six o'clock the leader comes out and stands beside the Kina hut, demanding in a loud voice that the women of the camp come out of their

/1350 cont./

exactly with that experienced by all the ulwala without exception in the Kina, although the teachings and exercises are much more extensive in the youth initiation (p. 1317). Here they are offered the complete cycle of stories woven around the Yaitas family. They heard some of them earlier in the Kina (p. 1317).

/1351/ The chosen candidates (p. 1334), without discrimination, are conducted to the Great Hut with the formality described above (p. 1335). Women and children are supposed to learn from direct observation which young man has been granted the privilege of participation. They are told that the spirits demanded this or that chap as ulwala. Not to comply with such a request would put all the men in great danger. The man who accompanies the candidate to the Great Hut as a rule continues to act as a sort of sponsor. As such he chooses his place beside his protégé, observes and instructs him constantly, and takes charge /Fig. 96 appears here/ of his food and sleep. The two are not as closely united as are candidate and sponsor in the Kina, for the daily program and everything that goes on in the Kina are by no means as strictly observed and carried out as in the Kina. No duties are attached to the office of sponsor beyond the duration of this celebration. Usually a relative willingly offers to put himself at the disposal of the ulwala. There is no need for a detailed discussion of the matter between the participants. The leader is satisfied when some man offers to be the sponsor in the case of each ulwala selected. No particular aptitude is required for this service.

Like the ulwala of the Kina, those of the kina are also externally marked by a painting which is restricted to the face. In olden times the face was evenly rubbed with white pigment, and a red stripe, the width of a finger, was painted all the way across the center of the forehead. Now, however, as has been the case for an indeterminable length of time, each candidate is given instead a forehead decoration resembling a diadem. It is made of a band of leather about 55 centimeters long and scarcely three centimeters wide, the ends of which taper slightly before they are knotted together (298). It is thickly smeared with white pigment

298. Each end of this leather band is split in

/1301 cont./

the middle, and these limin strips, which are about three centimeters long, are securely fastened together.

before it is loosely tied around the head (Fig. 96). The candidate is distinguished by it /1302/ as long as he crouches in his place. Now and then his sponsor paints a more complicated decoration on his face: thirteen fine red lines on a white background, which, beginning on the bridge of the nose or the lower eyelid, are evenly distributed and radiate downward. /Fig. 97 appears here./ A horizontal red line as wide as a finger connects the two inner

Fig. 96. Forehead Decoration of the Candidates. Two-thirds natural size.

corners of the eyes by way of the bridge of the nose and continues on either side from the outer corner of the eye to the ear (299).

299. This same decoration, with the exception of a slight difference on the number of lines, is worn by a participant in the youth initiation, as is shown in Fig. 86, b (p. 790).

Soon after the beginning of the ceremony the sponsor carves two little sticks for his protégé, about 20 centimeters long and about one and a half centimeters thick in the middle, with four edges, forming a long rectangle in cross section. One end is tapered more than the other. The tapered end points upward when the stick is held in the hand. During the instruction and the narration of the origin myth or the Yaglog stories, the candidate holds

/1389 cont./

X756

maintain that their hum "differ by having the upper part cone-shaped rather than spherical" /translated from Spanish/. See the general description of the dwellings on p. 9 .

is sometimes inconspicuously given precedence, and the men willingly follow his decisions. The whole neighborhood expects him to be far more willing to help and more unselfish than other persons.

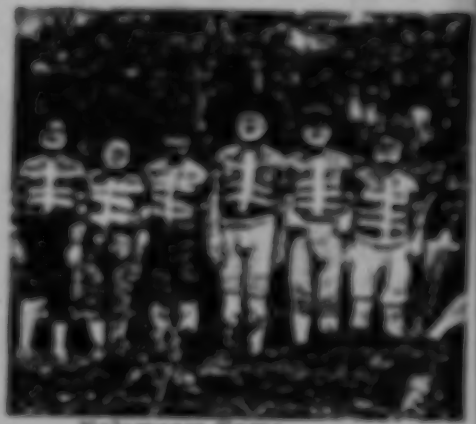
X756 Whenever the yékamuĭ is working toward some goal in connection with his actual calling, he puts on an ornament which 292 he alone is permitted to wear. This outward token is intended to show that the guardian spirit associated with him has taken possession of him and he is now acting with this spirit and may not be disturbed in any way by anything around him. Naturally, everybody who sees that the yékamuĭ is busy at his calling behaves accordingly (322). As Despard (b):717 briefly states, he

322. What Bridges (k):237 has said in this connection is wholly misleading: "In order to give the appearance of age, they were in the habit of rubbing their heads with tumrapu" /translated from Spanish/, namely, red earth.

wears as a "distinguishing mark: white down on the head, and pipe-clay lines across his face" /cited in English/. The feather ornament, apawĕ̄ra, resembling a diadem, is characteristic. They use the finger-long, pale gray feathers on the underside of the body of the night heron tŭwux (Nycticorax /1390/ obscurus), arranged close together in three woven strands of thin tendons. The yékamuĭ ties this ornament around his head like a headband, with the feathers pointing downward. When he removes his apawĕ̄ra, he rolls it up and keeps it in a small leather pouch so X756 that it will not be damaged. He prefers white pigment for painting his face and entire head. It is obviously an exaggeration when 302 Bridges (e):332 reports that the medicine men "made their heads white with chalk every morning." This would differentiate them from all their countrymen, which is not their intention. Instead,

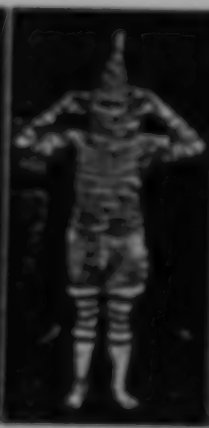
1: Gumde--1414 . E-6 (1918-1924) 1927 006 Yelgen 006

Kina Hut



Kalanyaia Game

Kina Spirit



Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Ushuwaia at the Foot of Mount Olivia

Kitse Spirit

Kitse Spirit

Kitse-sisewdis

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

[498] finished by benches, built up by branches covered with skins. In the middle of the gangway burned a fire.

The house we have described was the type used by the central and western Yahgan. Our illustrations show the lodge erected in

FIG. 98.—a, Eastern Yahgan initiate's headband and scratching-stick (14/2561); length of stick, 3 in. b, Kulp-goose down headband (14/2544); length, 19 in.

1922 at the instance of Gusinde and Koppers on Navarin island. The eastern Yahgan, I was informed, did not use a domed hut for this rite, but a pointed conical wigwam like that seen among the Ona (fig. 38).

To beautify the initiation lodge, the flat inner surface of the split saplings constituting the framework was painted with red, white, and black paint. Broad boards, inserted at regular intervals in the frame, as may be seen in the upper view in pl. xiv, received similar decoration. The nature of the embellishment is shown in pl. ix, a series of designs copied from the lodge we have described. When a ceremony was in progress the hut was further adorned with small painted tablets hung from the roof, while an additional touch of color came from painted wands (fig. 91) which often were wedged in the frame of the house when not in use.

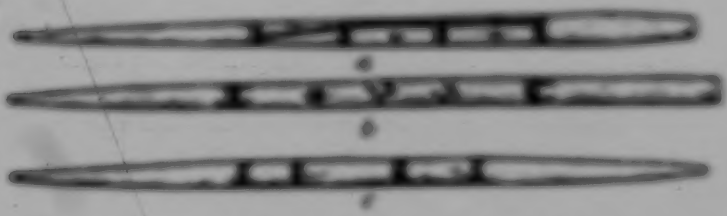


FIG. 91.—Yahgan painted ceremonial wands. Length of a, 24 in. (141222)

Two hundred feet or so from the initiation lodge a second and smaller hut was erected to serve as a cook-house where meals for the candidates and officials were prepared.

The paraphernalia used during the ceremony we illustrate in pl. xv and figs. 90 and 91. It consists of brown-phase headbands (*kapaxáx*) worn by the officials, help-grown down headbands (*pugul*) worn by the others present, a narrow hide headband painted white (*ketel*) worn by the initiate during part of the ceremony, a small stick also painted white (*u'mutúwiz*) used for scratching, and variously painted wands (*tawuúnide*). The scratching-stick is assigned to all the Yahgan by Koppers (1925), but I was told that it was used only by the easterners. The wands were held in the hand during the singing and dancing, and were swung in time with the music. When not in use they were thrust upright in the ground or stuck in the frame of the lodge. If one fell on the ground it was considered an evil omen. I was told that these wands were not in use among the easterners. The men in charge of the ceremony kept at hand a seal-hide thong like that pictured in fig. 76, but adorned with closely spaced red dots; it was used to tie up any candidate who became unruly.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928

SMS Yahgan SMS

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[p. 168-A]

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/448 cont./
Hyades (q):305 collected and wrote down many terms.

γ. Its Accessories

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The Fuegian family spends more than half the days of the year and most of the hours of a day in the canoe. Since they travel restlessly from one camping place to another, they always take all their /Fig. 28 appears here/ belongings, little though

[293]

Fig. 28. Leather Hand Protector.
Two-thirds natural size.

that is. For the man his weapons are indispensable, and the woman must always have a few little things handy. We shall not speak of all these things here, but rather, only those that are indispensable adjuncts to an ánan (137).

137. Lothrop (b):145 says: "When fully equipped, the Yahgan canoe carried the following articles: two or more paddles, three kinds of baskets, two fire-tongs, four spears (fish, seal, crab, and limpet), dip-net, club, grass mooring rope or thong, bark bucket, fish-line" /cited in English/.

/448 cont./

396 The oars are regarded as part of the most essential equipment. The man makes them of beechwood for his wife. With a bone wedge (Fig. 26), he splits a trunk about 20 centimeters thick into a plank that he cuts and planes with sharpened pieces of mussel shells. In order to be able to grasp the shells better and
396 also to protect his hand against wood splinters, he uses a scrap
293 of leather which is like a mitten (Fig. 28). It is cut nearly trapezoidal in shape from the thick hide of a sea lion, and the two corners of one of the narrow ends are tied together with a little bundle of rushes. This makes a narrow opening through which one sticks the three last fingers of the right hand. The little piece of leather now covers the entire back of the hand and these three fingers, so that they are adequately protected.

/449/ Planing and smoothing the wood is an irksome task.
396 Particular difficulties are encountered at the place where the
501 shaft runs out from the blade because at that point the blade is usually left wide and has an edge. In most of the oars, all of which lack a special handle, one part gently and gradually leads over to the other; they are lancet-shaped, so to speak. The shaft is about a third of the entire length. It is noteworthy that the blade is never sharply differentiated from the shaft, but more or less gradually runs into it (138) and rounds off more narrowly

138. This very strikingly distinguishes it from the woman's oar of the Halakwulup, which has an absolutely rectangular blade, as I duly showed (Gusinde [o]: 547). The measurements for the oars of the Halakwulup are also larger as a whole. Pickering:19 had already observed: "The [Yamana-] Fuegians [are] making the blade [of the paddles] even narrower than do the North-western tribes" /cited in English/.

at the end. The center of the blade is always thicker than the edges and has a completely flat center rib. /Fig. 29 appears here./ Lothrop (b):147 says briefly: "The old-fashioned paddle had a long pointed blade and a short rounded handle. The blade

X 881 292 /846 cont./

In former times when the Yamana were not yet wrapping their bodies in the disgusting rags of European culture, they used longer strips of skin covered with down, which they drew over the body and limbs in different directions. Still more often they made pads of small bunches of down (266) which they /847/ wound

266. To this day the Halakwulup have adhered to the long, narrow strips of skin with down feathers, and they use these at the youth initiation as well as during the men's secret ceremony. See Figs. 9 and 10 in Gusinde (bb).

with tendons and braided. They were known as [illegible]axwexweni. The hapaxél was formerly also made in this fashion. In modern times this is no longer done, because this decoration could not be put on over European clothing, nor would it be effective. The hapaxél has no significance other than as ornamentation.

X 881 293 The second indispensable object which every participant has and which he makes for himself at the very beginning is the dance staff. Its length varies between 50 centimeters and 70 centimeters. At the lower, pointed end it is about the thickness of one's thumb; toward the top it is a little thicker. The surface, freed of bark, is scraped quite smooth with a mussel shell. It is first smeared with a thick layer of white color, and after it is dried, red lines, circles, and dots are drawn on it. Usually a small ring of bird skin with down is also applied a short distance from the point and the end (cf. Plate 3).

During the singing and dancing the Yamana hold this stick crosswise and grasp it lightly with the fingers of both hands. They swing it up and down gently in time to the music and in very lively fashion during exciting songs. When the overseer or another man gives the customary instructions to the uswáala, he grasps the staff at its thick end, holds it upright on the ground, and leans his hand lightly upon it. The leader also does this when he gives orders, and similarly every man who tells a myth and every candidate when he is requested to take up this staff. The dance staff thus expresses a certain formality.

/847 cont./

X881 293 It is, naturally, the duty of the one who owns it to guard it carefully. When it is not needed, the Yamana push it into the ground beside them with considerable pressure, since it has a sharply pointed end. Some of them stick it behind them into the weave of the hut framework. For many hours every day each adult places his hand on the staff standing beside him. This fits in very well with the rigid position which everyone must maintain, even in sitting. It is regarded as irreverent to let the staff lie on the ground. A person who lets it fall out of negligence must be prepared to suffer misfortune or physical harm. Neighbors threaten him, saying that he or his children will soon die. Hence everyone treats his dance staff carefully and often renews the painting on it.

X881 533 After several hours of squatting quietly and gravely composing their thoughts, first one and then another of the participants will feel an urge to start a soft, rhythmic humming which during the next 20 to 30 minutes becomes a low singing. It is an uninterrupted repetition of a hō sound, the pronunciation of which varies a little, being more open or closed, drawn out or short, higher or lower, but continued on the same pitch, according to the voice quality and the momentary enthusiasm of the singer. Everyone sings to himself, rhythm, tempo, and pitch being half-subconscious, according to his inspiration at the moment and without regard for the other /848/ inmates of the Great Hut. It is only now and then, if one of them listens a little to another, that several people sing somewhat in unison, but these great variations in singing little disturb or annoy even sensitive ears because everyone sings his tune in a low, soft voice.

The fact that the greater number of those present has lapsed into singing shows that they are to a certain extent spiritually moved, and this state finds an outlet in rhythmic singing. Soon their frame of mind and inner feelings are such that the celebration will be successful and effective. As soon as it has reached the point of general singing, the čiěxaus celebration seems to have begun. From now until the end of the affair, the singing must not cease. At least one voice must carry it on, and one adult relieves another day and night. The singing is an indication at any given moment of the degree of enthusiasm and mood of the extent of participation and lively attention of all those present.

X881 /860 cont./
the same drawing for themselves (Fig. 84). To this extent, they
302 are not exclusively reserved for the uš̌wáala. Sometimes, especially for the nightly dances and if visits are expected, other patterns are also painted on the candidates' faces.

X881 The adult participants really should always wear their hapaxél,
the narrow headband (p. 693); the sponsor attends to this duty for
292 the candidate. He himself makes the hapaxél for his protégé, removes it from his head just before he goes to sleep at night, puts it on him again in the morning, and adjusts it for him /861/ several times during the day. It is carefully guarded; under no circumstances may it be left lying on the ground. Everyone hangs it up behind him on the /Fig. 84 appears here/ lattice work of the hut framework (280) when he removes it from his head.

280. This solicitude reminds one of the anxious attention that all the Selk'nam give to their own masks in the Great Hut of the men (Vol. I, 917).

X881 Besides the hapaxél, the sponsor at the very beginning hands his
293 protégé the customary dance staff. During the evening games it is held in the hand, otherwise it stands upright and firm in the ground (p. 694).

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292 that the čiéxaus hut, according to the original Yamana conception,
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[Text continues on page 715.—Analyst]

1: Gusinde--807 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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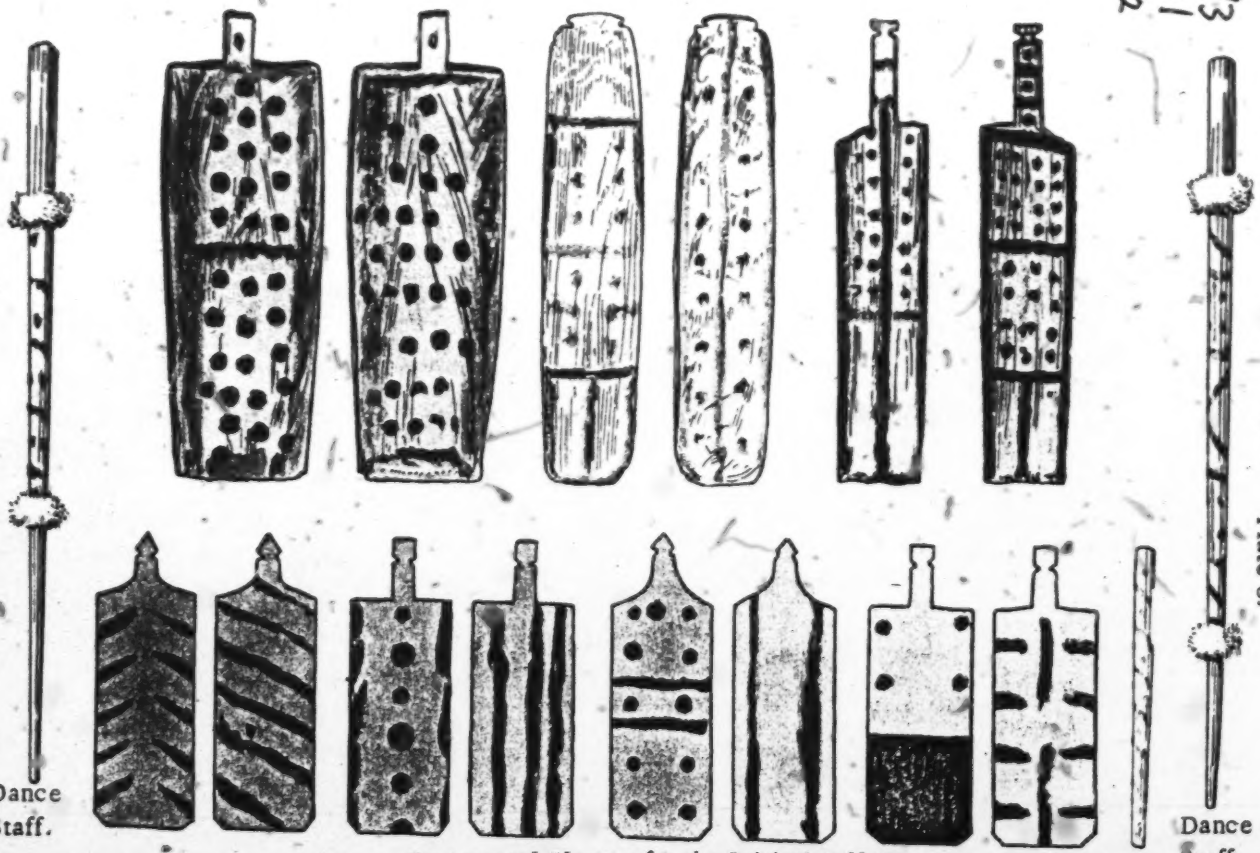
Plate 3.



Dance Staff.

Dance Staff.

Ornamental Plaques for the Initiation Hut.

/1130 cont./

765 of skin with white down-feathers taken from
301 the male Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida
[825] /Kelp goose/). The people obtain this fore-
head decoration when these geese are nesting;
during this time /1131/ they are lean and the
thin skin does not have the abundant fat that
is present at other times. /Fig. 90 appears
here./ A hapakēl is like the kōčel of the
Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215) in size and shape.
In recent times not all the adults make an
effort to obtain this ornament which is
actually seldom used. Instead, at a general
funeral ceremony, they use the narrow band
of skin with down, also called hapaxēl, which
they always have available and frequently use.

765 The club is part of the equipment of
those who take part in the so-called fight of
● 293 the yamalašemōina. It is justifiably regarded
as an ornamental club. No one would be
permitted to come with a plain stick that he
has just picked up or one used to kill a sea
lion. This club is used for no other purpose.
It is carefully carved out of a flawless small
trunk, is about 160 to 190 centimeters long,
has an angular or rounded surface and gently
tapers from one end to the other (Fig. 90).
It is regularly painted white, or red if one is
commemorating a murder. Actually the
women should also provide themselves with
a club, but sometimes they do not have it
and make do with an ordinary paddle which
they paint. At the dances in the hut every-
one uses the short dance-staff carried during
the čiēxaus ceremony, for it obviously helps
to emphasize the rhythmic movements of
the body.

765 The long-continued singing and
533 lamenting, sighing, and groaning are
152

Fig. 90. Ornamental Club.

X575
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/1351 cont./

the middle, and these little strips, which are about three centimeters long, are securely knotted together.

before it is loosely tied around the head (Fig. 96). The candidate is distinguished by it /1352/ as long as he crouches in his place. Now and then his sponsor paints a more complicated decoration on his face: thirteen fine red lines on a white background, which, beginning on the bridge of the nose or the lower eyelid, are evenly distributed and radiate downward. /Fig. 97 appears here./ A horizontal red line as wide as a finger connects the two inner

Fig. 96. Forehead Decoration of the Candidates. Two-thirds natural size.

corners of the eyes by way of the bridge of the nose and continues on either side from the outer corner of the eye to the ear (299).

299. This same decoration, with the [illegible]tion of a slight difference on the number of lines, is worn by a participant in the youth initiation, as is shown in Fig. 85, b (p. 790).

X575
293

Soon after the beginning of the ceremony the sponsor carves two little sticks for his protégé, about 20 centimeters long and about one and a half centimeters thick in the middle, with four edges, forming a long rectangle in cross section. One end is tapered more than the other. The tapered end points upward when the stick is held in the hand. During the instruction and the narration of the origin myth or the Yoálox stories, the candidate holds

X 595 293

/1352 cont./

one of these little sticks in each hand. He grasps it in his closed fist which rests on the ground. Afterwards he inserts the sticks into the hut wall where they are kept until used again. The sponsor often rubs them with dry ími powder (Fig. 97) (300).

Fig. 97. Kina Sticks.

300. These two short little sticks have their counterpart in the longer dance staff which each participant of the youth initiation holds in his hand (p. 713).

X 595 516 785

If it has not been possible to fetch the selected candidates to the Great Hut on the first day, they are all brought there the second day after the start of the celebration. Here they immediately meet a "spirit," followed by the first important explanations (p. 1235). The candidates are usually given seats opposite the wide entrance. When they have recovered from their terrible fright and calmed down somewhat after the first spirit appearance, each of the sponsors shows his protégé the unnatural position of the body which he is more or less strictly obliged to maintain throughout the entire affair. A piece of leather is spread out over the litter of grass and the uswáala crouches on it with his legs under him, the upper part of his body bent slightly forward, his arms folded on his chest, and his eyes fixed on the ground. He is supposed to remain this way as motionless as possible /1353/ and, of course, absolutely silent, paying no attention to the others. He may neither laugh out loud nor manifest his satisfaction over the jolly doings of the men, neither lean against the hut wall nor relax in a slouch, neither scratch any part of his body nor repulse annoying insects. He must also endure,

/1376 cont./

X575 variety to refresh them and arouse them to great enthusiasm. In the final analysis, of course, the deceptive performances of the masked men lack any urgent necessity. When their curiosity, which is sometimes extreme, and their fun in deceiving the women by supposed spirit appearances are satisfied, further performances do not hold enough enjoyment for them to counteract their slowly mounting boredom and the weariness caused by the same repetitions. In that case quite unimportant external reasons bring about the desire to terminate the Kina festival and there is not the slightest inner resistance on the part of any of the participants. I was assured that the men were usually content with two or three weeks, but they have stayed together a shorter or longer time according to whether they felt so disposed or were obliged to separate for some reason.

Each time, however, the leader discusses the matter with the older men, and if all more or less agree he chooses the same evening or the next evening for the so-called Makáinkina, the formal closing scene. The younger men, of course, yield; the uswáala are particularly pleased to be freed from their unnatural position. The purpose of this final ceremony is to drive away all melevolent spirits from the Kina hut and its vicinity. All the [302] men paint only their faces with a simple decoration, a white transverse line as wide as a finger, which starts below the septum of the nose and extends to each ear lobe. To this is added either a red line along the entire bridge of the nose or a varying number of fine red lines between the lower eyelid and the above-mentioned white transverse line. Each man winds his apawéza around his forehead. Thus adorned, all the men form a closed circle around the hut fire. The leader or an influential yékamuš [293] holds a stick -- similar to the dance staff used in the čiéxaus (p.694) -- the upper third of which is painted white. He holds the stick vertically, like a baton, in his right hand with his arm outstretched. When he lifts it, all the men break into a wild hit hit... which they repeat for two or three minutes. Suddenly they cease and immediately add sharp, shrill š sounds which are followed by croaking cries of te te... in quick succession. Meanwhile each man again and again stretches out both his arms, his open palms forward, in unmistakable warding-off motions. After

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

346 flanked by benches, built up by branches covered with skins. In the middle of the gangway burned a fire.

The house we have described was the type used by the central and western Yahgan. Our illustrations show the lodge erected in

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FIG. 90.—a, Eastern Yahgan initiate's headband and scratching-stick (14/2361); length of stick, 5 in. b, Kelp-goose down headband (14/2344); length, 19 in.

1922 at the instance of Gusinde and Koppers on Navarin island. The eastern Yahgan, I was informed, did not use a domed hut for this rite, but a pointed conical wigwam like that seen among the Ona (fig. 38).

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

344 To beautify the initiation lodge, the flat inner surface of the
352 split saplings constituting the framework was painted with red,
531 white, and black paint. Broad boards, inserted at regular intervals in the frame, as may be seen in the upper view in pl. XIV, received similar decoration. The nature of the embellishment is shown in pl. IX, a series of designs copied from the lodge we have described. When a ceremony was in progress the hut was further adorned with small painted tablets hung from the roof, while an additional touch of color came from painted wands (fig. 91) which often were wedged in the frame of the house when not in use.

FIG. 91.—Yahgan painted ceremonial wands. Length of *b*, 24 in. (14/2227 §)

343 Two hundred feet or so from the initiation lodge a second and smaller hut was erected to serve as a cook-house where meals for the candidates and officials were prepared.

292 The paraphernalia used during the ceremony we illustrate in
293 pl. XV and figs. 90 and 91. It consists of heron-plume headbands (*haperuíra*) worn by the officials, kelp-goose down headbands (*pugal*) worn by the others present, a narrow hide headband painted white (*hekel*) worn by the initiate during part of the ceremony, a small stick also painted white (*w'matámia*) used for scratching, and variously painted wands (*tumoistíka*). The scratching-stick is assigned to all the Yahgan by Koppers (1925), but I was told that it was used only by the easterners. The wands were held in the hand during the singing and dancing, and were swung in time with the music. When not in use they were thrust upright in the ground or stuck in the frame of the lodge. If one fell on the ground it was considered an evil omen. I was told that these wands were not in use among the easterners. The men in charge of the ceremony kept at hand a seal-hide thong like that pictured in fig. 76, but adorned with closely spaced red dots; it was used to tie up any candidate who became unruly.

/415 cont./

the Yamana women have. There is no hurry about this, since the dried skin, if it is protected from being soaked, cannot be damaged. The work is done in small sections because it quickly tires any woman. She grasps a piece with both hands, makes firm, and presses them together with a kneading motion, so that this movement alone softens the leather. She lets every part slide through her hands several times and knends it in different directions. Hard, scarred sections are put between her teeth, and after biting them for a long time and using a great deal of saliva on them they finally also soften up. In general, if she wants to make leather pieces quite pliable, she draws them through her teeth, chewing on them.

The Yamana are not familiar with any special process for making the leather stronger by tanning it and saturating it with special materials. To begin with, the dressed skins have plenty of fat and blubber, which are unintentionally smeared on them so often that they have some protection against rotting due to dampness and against cracking by drying out. The back-cape especially receives ample lubrication from the greasy body, merely by being worn. The Yamana only occasionally take out a piece of leather or a finished object of leather and rub it thoroughly with oil. Even less frequently they mix blubber and a red powder made of burnt clay into a putty-like substance and rub it over the surface of the leather with the pressure of the flattened hand (90). If they wish

90. This is the common procedure among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 212), probably because the guanaco skins do not contain much fat and because the bodies of these Indians have only a thin layer of fat which is automatically and unintentionally transferred to the objects they use daily.

to make smaller pieces of leather soft and pliable, they saturate them for some time with blubber. Frequent use suffices to keep leather from getting hard and stiff.

/416/ Whenever it is necessary, as in the case of a larger cloak of skins, for example, the cloak of otter skins, awaiko, the people also know how to sew leather pieces together easily and

/416 cont./

281 294 durably. They cut the edges approximately straight and lay them side by side. Near the edges of the two pieces they make a small hole by pricking the leather with an awl or a pointed bone. Into this hole they thread a tendon fiber, uźwúmi, holding it with thumb and index finger and licking it to make it pointed. Then another little hole is bored, and the thread is drawn from one hole to the other over the free edges in a spiral. Finally, they pound the two edges, which are not quite flat, with a round stone to make them flat and less hard so that they will not rub unpleasantly. Such work is very coarse and uneven, for they lack convenient tools. They fasten strands of leather and straps together or tie them to other things simply by knotting them.

283 237 The fibers of tendon which we have just mentioned, known as uźwúmi or ūnána, are often used in sewing and joining pieces of leather. Strands of guanaco tendon are separated into fibers, but a person who does not have these uses the tendon fibers of otter or [136] beaver (Myocastor coipus) tails. The beaver is rare here, however. After they have skinned the animal, they cut off the tail at the root. It is dried for some time, and the individual vertebrae are broken off without tearing the tendons. The last two or three vertebrae are left together. The tendons which have been loosened by this process are separated with the fingernails until they become thin enough to be used for sewing. They then hang like a tuft on the smallest vertebrae of the tail and can be torn off with a sharp tug.

C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation

515 356 Every stranger is repulsed by the unclean, unkempt appearance of the Yamana (91). It is disgusting to see these human

91. Among the opinions of former travelers I shall cite only what Snow (a) :I, 345 has written: "They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves" /cited in English/.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

or more were sewn together. In general, however, this garment extended only to the waist and did not completely encircle the body. It was tied across the chest with thongs. When out-of-doors it was worn over the windward shoulder. And these people dwelt in a latitude corresponding to that of the Aleutian islands and Labrador! 291

The eastern Yahgan at times wore capes of guanaco-skin which were better suited to the cold. One of these (fig. 43) we illustrate; it does not attain the size of the Ona robe shown in fig. 6. The western Yahgan and the Alacaluf used skins of the coypu, a small land-otter known to the Yahgan as *saiapai*.

FIG. 44.—Yahgan pubic covering. Width, 9 in. (14/2356)

2. PUBIC COVERING.—A triangular pubic covering of skin (*maiskwaldna*) was usually worn by the women (fig. 44).

3. MOCCASINS.—The Yahgan often went barefoot, but at times they wore moccasins of seal-skin (*kilii*), which resemble the guanaco-skin footwear of the Ona, but are not made in quite the same way (fig. 45). To begin with, a piece of skin shaped like a truncated triangle is cut out and trimmed to the proper size. This lacks the attached heel-strap of the Ona moccasin (fig. 8, *a*). Holes are made across the large end (fig. 46, *a*), which is fitted snugly around the heel. A short strap is then looped through the upper pair of holes (fig. 46, *b*) and the heel sewn together. Holes are pierced on the long sides; these are doubled over and laced in the Ona fashion with a strap across the toes and across the instep. These moccasins are worn with the hair-side outward and are stuffed with grass. The writer found them when wet even more foul than the guanaco moccasins, and neither so warm nor so comfortable for walking.

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/407 cont./

women" /cited in English/. More explicitly Hyades (q) :338 again writes: "The women alone wear a little triangular wrap of guanaco skin in the pubic region. It is from twelve to fifteen centimeters long and from seven to eight centimeters wide at the bottom" /translated from French/.

is renewed only after long wear; it is not customary to wash it.

Women never wear sandals; they work much more comfortably barefoot. Moreover, they must often step into water and walk around on the wet earth. They also do not have any kind of head covering (82), nor do the men and children. Their thick,

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82. Fitz-Roy (a) :176 had observed: "A small fillet is all that is worn around the head. Usually this is a mere string, made of the sinews of birds or animals" /Cited in English/. This piece is a simple head ornament.

strong, and abundant hair is an adequate covering against wind and rain for the Fueguians of all ages.

3. Children's Clothing

The body covering of children corresponds to that of adults, not only in its essentials, but even in small details. The little ones, too, have no other body protection than the short back-cape which is adapted somewhat to their underdeveloped bodies and made of soft leather of younger animals. The Indians do not seem to know how to prepare it carefully, hence it hangs on the dirty body of the child like an old rag. /408/ It does not occur to anyone to take care of it. Hyades says briefly (q) :330: "Children three or four years old from time to time wear a small skin on the shoulder" /translated from French/. In such scanty covering these small, shy creatures give every European the impression of great neglect and painful destitution.

/433 cont./

362 must be discussed below. We need only add that many individuals decorate themselves with facial paintings, if they feel like it, simply because they enjoy decking themselves out. Many mothers also do this to their small children. No one regards this reproachfully as vanity, much less accuses them of it. Everyone is given complete freedom to do what prevailing custom approves. A European who is ignorant of this critically shakes his head when he unexpectedly meets an Indian decorated with facial painting whose neighbors are not thus adorned but accept it as a matter of course.

4. Ornaments

361 The body-covering of these Indians is meager, but in contrast, their ornaments and jewelry, undifferentiated between the sexes, are more abundant. The raw materials used for these ornaments are furnished by the animal kingdom. They do not give any importance to mineral treasures, not even to the gold found in that region. These few objects serve their desire to decorate themselves and to enhance their physical charms (114).

> 114. There are a few testimonies. "Among the Pangiaro, the desire for ornaments is perhaps stronger in the man than in the woman" Bove (4):200 says /translated from Italian/. Lovharn (5):158 explains: "The passion for ornaments is predominant in the Pangiaro, not only in the women, but also in the men" /translated from Italian/. Finally, Hyades (1):141 adds: "The women, coquettes like all women, wear many more ornaments than the men do" /translated from French/.

The women and girls have bands that are almost always worn around the ankle and frequently around the wrist as well (Fig. 33). A male person almost never wears such a piece, hence it may be regarded as the exclusive property of the female

/433 cont./

•301 population. They prefer a band of guanaco leather two to three centimeters wide. The one of seal leather is less highly valued. The hair and wool is usually scraped off; if not, the woolly side is worn on the inside. This piece is pulled tight to the ankle. They bore a small hole in the end that is somewhat wider, through which they draw the other, pointed end, pull it taut, and prevent it from getting loose by tucking in the free point (see Hyades [q]:349). Often they also pull a string of tendon or a filament of whale bone through the two ends of an even band, /434/ and tie them together with a tight knot. In this case the threads inevitably stick out, which is considered less beautiful; hence some people prefer the first method. /Fig. 21 appears here./ In order to beautify these pieces, they are painted with red pigment (115). One just as often sees the

115. Lothrop (b):125 inaccurately maintains that this leather band is painted white. We are certain this would make it too conspicuous, which is something our Indians like to avoid.

[237] dried umbilical cord of the otter used as a bracelet. This is up to 30 centimeters long and about nine millimeters wide (Fig. 22). The two ends are tucked under to keep it together. Both pieces are called mun (in the dialect of the east and west) and temungaka (in the southern dialect).

Contrary to all fact Hyades (q):296 writes that "the women never wear more than one of them on each limb" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, he showed (on Plate 12) three young women who wear this ornament on both ankles and both wrists. The only difference is that the strip of leather on their wrists seems to be noticeably narrower.

[237] Three thin, fine strands of tendon of the guanaco, sea lion, or otter are braided into a simple neck cord, known as asina. /Fig. 22 appears here./ More rarely they choose the stiff fibers of whalebone for it. The free ends are knotted. The knotted cord is drawn over the head to hang freely around the neck. Sometimes the cord is initially braided in such a manner that it can be

[Text continued on page 102.-Analyst]

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Fig. 21. Band of Guanaco Leather. Worn on Wrist or Ankle. Two-thirds natural size.

Fig. 22. Umbilical Cord of the Otter. Worn as a Band on Wrist or Ankle. Natural size.

/434 cont./

•301 wound around two or three times, in other words, several meters long. Thicker bunches of tendon are held together by a short thread wound around them crosswise at certain intervals. This neck ornament is called hupuxkēmak. "These braids are a kind of necklace for only the women; they are arranged in a number of circles, held at a single or at several points /435/ by means of a little strand of hair" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q] :349) (116). Although each of these pieces is in

116. He also says (q):299 about these: "Another type of necklace is made simply by several twists of braid worn at the neck; a glass bead from the French Mission was sometimes hung on this necklace" /translated from French/.

itself greasy, they brush it with fish oil alone or with a mixture [237] of fish oil and red pigment, so that the short fibers do not stick out unattractively.

301 The strings of guanaco tendons separated into fine fibers 237 are generally called amēsa uswúmi; those of whale bone, used [283] alike for sewing and braiding, are called wāpisa uswúmi. On these simple braided tendons the Indians sometimes string short pieces, fairly uniform in length and shape, of the hollow cylindrical bones of a bird, usually the cormorant. More rarely they use the well-known calcareous formations of the tube worm, which they cut into small pieces from 30 to 40 millimeters in length. The smaller and more regular they are, the more they are prized. They sometimes also insert two or four red beaks of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater) at suitable intervals, and for some time [177] now, even coins, glass beads, and other European baubles (117).

117. Wieghardt:23 writes: "The necklace worn in two or three twists around the neck is at times adorned by a beak of the oyster bird [Haematopus ater], animal teeth, or little shells" /translated from Spanish/.

/435 cont./

301 Finally, they create a popular oddity by alternating a small piece of black bone and a small piece of white. They also have ornamental chains consisting only of small black pieces. They blacken them by saturating them with fish oil and leaving them in hot ashes for some time. The latter varieties are all known as hátus (118).

118. Hyades (q):349 mentions only one of these types: "One type of necklace very commonly worn consists of small cylinders of bird bone, evenly cut and strung" /translated from French/. One does see this type very often, as a matter of fact.

301 The ornament for the neck that is considered the most
321 beautiful is ŭspúka. To make it they gather pea-sized shells of Photinula violacea, known as son ŭspúka. They scrape off the rough and dirty calcareous surface layer by rubbing the shells with wet sand between both hands or by placing them in the pebbles on the edge of a shallow brook that has a strong current, which produces the same scouring action. This gives the little snail shells a faint opalescent sheen on a sky-blue or light pink background. They make a small hole near the outer edge by rubbing the snail shell on a rough stone. First they place all the little shells next to each other according to size, beginning with the smallest up to the largest, but from the beginning they choose them so that the difference in size between the two extremes is
301 very slight. To string them they need a cord, asina, braided with three tendon fibers and laid double (Fig. 23). They thread
[284] the lower strand through the hole of each small shell and secure the upper one with a thread running spirally around the two and pressing each individual shell tight against the preceding one (Fig. 24). This ornament /436/ is arranged in two to five equal circles, depending on its length. At one point a short thread is wrapped around all the circles to keep them together. This is the way the ŭspúka is worn at the neck. If they decide to make only a single strand of snail shells, they put the largest one in the center and arrange the others very accurately according to size, so that the smallest ones finish off the two ends (119).

[439] 119. This characteristic ornament of the Yamana,
[Text continues on p. 105.-Analyst]

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Fig. 23. Small Necklace. Natural size.

Fig. 24. String of Little Snail Shells.

/436 cont./

301 [439] which occasionally reached the neighboring Haus /Haush/ and Halakwulup through barter, was repeatedly mentioned by early travelers. One often sees it in the ethnographic collections of European and American museums. See Bove (c):126, Colini:722, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (q):300, 348, Lothrop (b):125, Wieghardt: 23, and others.

Another necklace more highly prized than this is a braided [237] cord of tendon on which short, small pieces of the dried windpipe of the /Fig. 23 appears here/ wild swan (Cygnus melanocoryphus) are very loosely strung. J. L. Myres:97 is right when he says that this "type of necklace is rare and much prized /cited in English/, for the swan seldom appears there in the south, and it is extremely difficult to obtain.

301 Finally, another necklace is described by Hyades (q):299, which I did not see. "Plaited necklace, Oupakh' ouana; this 237 type of necklace is plaited with fibers of the intestines of young 283 seals, Aouia ama; in the center, Itakoun, there is a fine braid, Açina, made of the sinew of a whale, which /Fig. 24 appears here/ also forms the double braid at the ends of the necklace; the fastening, Yamacéta, of the necklace is a braid made of whale tendon. It is worn only by women: Kipa tapan makou" /translated from French/.

301 The necklaces mentioned above, irrespective of type and construction, are procured by people of either sex and all ages. "The men wear these necklaces also, as well as the women and children" /translated from French/, Hyades (q):349 confirms. Older men do not decorate themselves as much with them, but /437/ older women do, and most of all the younger people. They are almost wholly a plaything for children. A woman will adorn her baby with a necklace chiefly out of a feeling of maternal happiness. The women and girls make all these types of orna- [462] ment for themselves and for their male relatives, since this is work for women's hands. The personal need for adornment and the vanity of each individual determine how often and how long one decorates himself with this or that piece. Unimpeded

/437 cont./

•30| independence, which is one of the character traits of these Indians, allows everyone the most complete freedom in his use of articles of adornment, just as in the painting of his body (p. 90). No one is surprised and no one would regard it as heightened vanity or an over-fondness for dress if today this person and tomorrow that one would appear, unexpectedly and without occasion, decked out with quantities of ornaments.

As such, the amount of ornaments and jewelry of these Indians is meager and simple, like all their possessions generally. Bove (c):26, exaggerating this simplicity, says: "Two or three lines of paint on the face and a necklace of shells or bird bones are the sole ornaments of a Fuegian" /translated from Spanish/. Certain occasions, however, such as general gatherings and larger social activities, have induced these people to make other, special ornaments, namely, their favorite headbands of bird feathers and down. We shall discuss these things below. Here we have mentioned and described only what belongs to their everyday life. The ornaments of our Yamana more or less re-
[171] semble those of the Selk'nam, but are, on the whole, prettier, more artistic, and more varied. Here, however, we do not have
[304] tattooing which their neighbors are fond of in a certain form and frequency (Vol. I, 229). Every other type of ornamentation, such as ear rings, precious stones, actual trophies, and body mutilation, are unknown down there in the unfriendly Cape Horn region.

D. Implements, Tools, Weapons

32 In making his essential implements, the Yamana is altogether dependent on the scant products of his homeland. Hence
178 it is not surprising that he uses only wood, bone, and shells to make the tools that he needs in his daily work and in hunting. He has not advanced to the use of stone to any degree worth men-
[135] tioning. Copper ore which is found there in certain places has never been noticed, let alone utilized. If we judge the Fuegian by the materials that he uses for his implements, it becomes obvious that he occupies a lower stage in the development of material culture than the much-sought European man of the Stone Age. The former is still actually present among us, the latter disappeared long centuries ago.

/764 cont./

857 little restraint on them. They are not too serious about taking
868 care of their brothers or sisters in any case. They do, however, like to hoist a younger brother or sister on their backs and drag him around everywhere for hours; they evidently do not find it taxing or tiring. Moreover, they must perform all kinds of work for the mother in the hut, such as tending the fire, fetching kindling, arranging the sleeping places, helping to clean and stretch skins, taking all kinds of implements from the canoe to the hut, and helping to load the canoe. Naturally they also often accompany women who are going out to hunt for berries, pick fungi, and gather mussels. From their own observations, implemented by some instruction, they become acquainted with all the kinds of manual work that the women must do, namely, dressing skins, weaving baskets, making little ornamental strings, catching fish, and servicing the canoe (198).

198. Bridges (a):183 also conceded: "Girls are early taught to make baskets, plait fish-lines and 'asina' (an ornamental fine plait of sinew worn on the neck), to paddle, and to do other work" /cited in English/. Elsewhere Bridges (i):22 and (h):208 repeats that girls amuse themselves "in threading berries as necklaces, paddling in the canoes, making reed baskets, or in attempts at painting faces, etc." /cited in English/.

Actual practice, such as is required of boys, is not spared the girls altogether, inasmuch as they must demonstrate to their mother or a woman neighbor their ability to do this or that work until they have acquired a certain dexterity.

857 When the girl is alone or with only a few sisters, she likes to
[301] make all kinds of ornaments. When she has reached a certain age, she makes herself a few necklaces and anklets as a matter of course. It gives her great pleasure to wind and braid the tendons or string on them the smallest pieces of bone and berries. If several girls are gogether, they paint their faces with all kinds of patterns and try to outdo each other in the careful execution of this ornamentation.

/914 cont./

X881 356 participants paint their bodies. Spots of color and everything indicating that such painting has been done are removed without delay. Anyone coming to the Great Hut finds no traces of painting nor any indication that eating is done here. The fire-area, too, is /915/ carefully kept in order and the ashes always scraped to the center again if a gust of wind or a strong movement has stirred them up (337).

> 337. Formerly the ashes were scraped together with a stick; today a broom is used and the floor swept, regardless of the thick clouds of dust stirred up. Often the ashes are simply heaped up with both hands.

These efforts at cleanliness are not applied to the body itself. Without doubt the participants become even dirtier in the Great Hut where they spend a long time. This offends no one.

X881 ●301 [178] 5. Body Ornamentation. Everyone, on the other hand, is conscientiously concerned with whatever is demanded in the way of body ornamentation. In the modern period, however, this strict obligation has also been somewhat relaxed. Originally everyone in the čiéxaus hut wore the feather crown, hapaxél, even when no group singing or dancing was taking place. Although on these occasions adults nowadays tie this strip of skin with down-feathers around their foreheads, they take it off for comfort several hours of the day. This would never be permitted for the uswāala. The latter wear a hapaxél of the same shape and size as the one worn by adults (p. 713).

X881 302 [178] According to the ancient rule, no one may sit in the Great Hut without some kind of facial painting. In this matter, too, the people nowadays have become negligent, for they paint themselves for the most part in the evening only, just before the dances. A single red line as wide as a finger from the nostrils across the cheek to the ear lobe suffices, and it is very quickly applied. Soon after getting up, instead of washing themselves as we do, every adult draws this line on his face. If it should be rubbed off, as is unavoidable, it is easily renewed. This is the simplest form of facial painting. A person who feels like it will decorate

/916 cont./

who uses the latter pours the fine powder /917/ into a mussel shell or into the hollow of his left hand, stirs it with saliva or with a few drops of water, and smears this mixture on his body with the palms of both hands. It quickly dries near the fire and looks dazzling. In order to rub it into the hair, they use čílēr$^{\chi}$, a small ball of fine wood shavings of Berberis ilicifolia, which is saturated with it. The red pigment is mixed with blubber, and

Fig. 85. Facial Painting of the Adult Participants.

they use the little painting stick to draw the fine lines; wider lines and dots are made with the index finger.

Nowadays people generally deplore the indolence of many adults who are scarcely able to summon the energy for the simplest facial painting for a few hours a day. With these empty complaints, however, they let the matter rest. Formerly a glance into the čiēxaus hut must have excited remarkable reactions when the white color all over the bodies of the participants squatting on the

/944 cont./

X881 him carefully and try to guess who he was, exchanging observa-
524 tions with glances or in a very low voice. The masker would leave after a while, without having identified himself. At any rate, this strange visit offered the gathering a refreshing change.

X881 7. Visits. It is convenient to add to our description of songs
574 and dances a brief discussion of the ceremonious visits of a separate group of people to the čiéxaus hut on any day. It is easy to guess the reason for this custom. Of necessity a few older persons remain behind in the camp while the čiéxaus celebration is going on in the Great Hut, either on account of illness or to care for the small children. They are, of course, free to come at any time, but the entire assembly also wants to thank formally those who /945/ devote themselves to the supervision of the camp. The solemn welcome is supposed to be a substitute to the outsiders for all the lovely things they must forgo. On their part, the inmates of the Great Hut feel honored by the interest of those persons who come on one occasion or another to the čiéxaus gathering. Naturally, only adults who have gone through an initiation may enter.

The visit would not take place under any circumstances unless there had been an announcement from one side or the other. Usually the outsiders who feel a compulsion to spend an evening once again among their fellow-tribesmen announce themselves. They inform the leader of their intention, either through the kitchen women or directly. Some preparation must be undertaken within the Great Hut; it would be quite impossible for the group of visitors to come there abruptly.

X881 A good, accurate facial decoration, such as is customary for visits, is the only special preparation the visitors must make. It
574 is unnecessary for them to paint the body. This is not the case for
302 the people in the čiéxaus hut, who, besides their facial painting, also decorate the whole body. A background of white pigment is first applied on the face and body. Over this a red line the width of a finger runs from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. Over the whole body, as well as on arms and legs, finger-thick red rings are drawn and spaced a hand's breadth apart. Everyone,
● [301] of course, wears his hapaxél. The uswāala are decorated with particular care on this occasion to prove to the visitors how attentively the candidates are cared for.

/1117 cont./

765
302

observers quite generally call black the color of mourning. Hyades (g):39, for example, writes: "They also wear outward signs of mourning, black body painting."

In addition, particular drawings are used to indicate any kind of violent death. If a person has fallen from a cliff or from a tree, one first of all rubs his face with fine powdered charcoal and over that paints three vertical white lines, namely, from the bridge of the nose to the tip and on down from the mouth to the chin, and on both sides of the face from the outer corners of the eyes over the cheek bones and down to the edges of the jaw. These marks are separated by a white cross-stripe over the eyes and nose to complete the pattern. There is another somewhat more complicated design. First, a black background is put over the whole face. Over it, on one side of the face beginning at the eye, three white vertical lines are drawn to the edge of the jaw and a fourth stripe from the bridge of the nose to the tip of the chin. The other half of the face remains uniformly black or has three white cross-stripes from the corner of the mouth, the nostril, and the outer edge of the eye. The white lines, which symbolize the cliff or the tree, are sometimes also applied on a black background. Now and then the three cross-stripes are made with a mixture of white lime and black powdered charcoal stirred up with blubber. This last procedure is almost regularly used by the messengers who spread the news of the accident. Others recognize from afar the substance of their report.

/1118/ A considerable number of Yamana die by drowning. In order to announce this type of death the people mix white and black pigments and rub the mixture over the lower part of the face down to the mouth. This gray mixture resembles the slimy sediment on the sea floor with which the mouth of a drowned person is filled. In addition, they put a strip of skin with white down [301] feathers around their foreheads, which indicates the foam-crested waves in which the unfortunate one was drowned. The painted area which extends down to the mouth and not beyond is meant to show that a great deal of water entered the mouth (61). Sometimes

61. Bridges (MM:X, 80;1875) mentions that

/1130 cont./

765 Almost all participants prefer the design which indicates
302 the cause of death of the one who is especially mourned. Actually the visitors exert a good deal of effort and care to show how honestly and sincerely they are participating in the event. /Fig. 89 appears here./ Definite pressure is put upon those present when a murder has been committed; they express this in their facial painting, for everything serves the

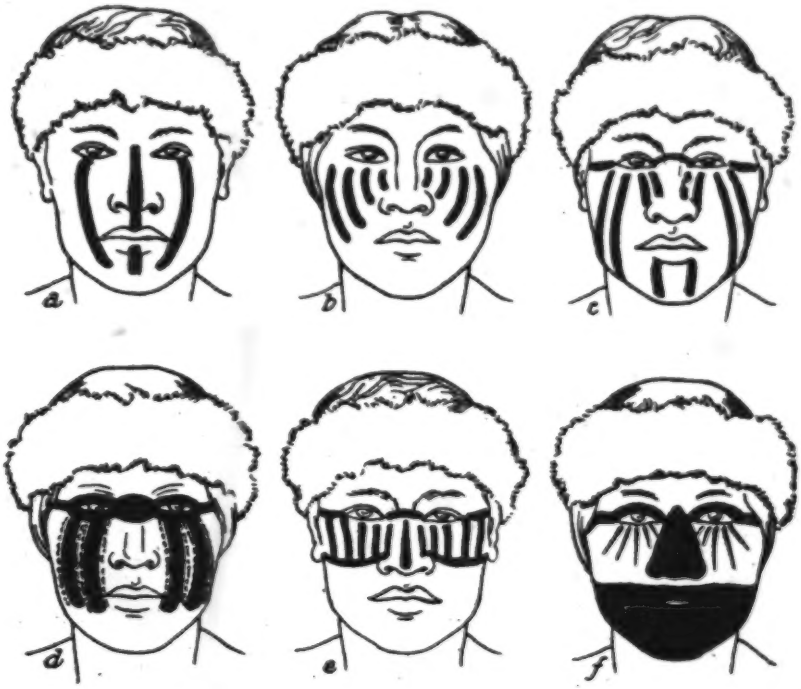

Fig. 89. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

purpose of intimidating the culprit and his circle of kinsmen. In this case they prefer the following design: one side of the face is uniformly black; on the other side are alternating vertical rows of red and white dots placed close together.

765 The people are busy for some time in preparing their facial
● 301 painting; they also wind the hapakēl around their foreheads. This
825 decoration, also called hapaxēl, is a rather large triangular piece

/1130 cont./

765 of skin with white down-feathers taken from
● 301 the male Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida
[825] /Kelp goose/). The people obtain this fore-
head decoration when these geese are nesting;
during this time /1131/ they are lean and the
thin skin does not have the abundant fat that
is present at other times. /Fig. 90 appears
here./ A hapakēl is like the kōčel of the
Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215) in size and shape.
In recent times not all the adults make an
effort to obtain this ornament which is
actually seldom used. Instead, at a general
funeral ceremony, they use the narrow band
of skin with down, also called hapaxēl, which
they always have available and frequently use.

765 The club is part of the equipment of
those who take part in the so-called fight of
293 the yamalašemōina. It is justifiably regarded
as an ornamental club. No one would be
permitted to come with a plain stick that he
has just picked up or one used to kill a sea
lion. This club is used for no other purpose.
It is carefully carved out of a flawless small
trunk, is about 160 to 190 centimeters long,
has an angular or rounded surface and gently
tapers from one end to the other (Fig. 90).
It is regularly painted white, or red if one is
commemorating a murder. Actually the
women should also provide themselves with
a club, but sometimes they do not have it
and make do with an ordinary paddle which
they paint. At the dances in the hut every-
one uses the short dance-staff carried during
the čiēxaus ceremony, for it obviously helps
to emphasize the rhythmic movements of
the body.

765 The long-continued singing and
533 lamenting, sighing, and groaning are
152

Fig. 90. Ornamental Club.

/1465 cont./

2. Art Activity

301 The many occasions that show how much the Yamana loves ornamentation have already been mentioned. For some of the people, body cleanliness is far less important than their desire to please others with the beauty of their bodies or with special ornaments. This type of vanity is consciously instilled even in children, and no one sees anything wrong in it. For this reason many persons acquire several ornaments at once and prefer to display those that are conspicuous or that come from a remote region. There are also persons who paint themselves every day just for the fun of it. Since a visitor, as a rule, is supposed to wear a facial painting when he presents himself (pp. 96, 922), many people spend a great deal of time and effort on it, so that they will be admired. It would not do, however, to maintain with Bove (e): 157: "The eagerness for ornamentation seems to be even stronger among the men than among the women." In the one sex as well as the other there are individuals who far surpass most of the people in their passion to please.

237 301 Their excessive desire to please leads them to avail themselves of definite ornaments, besides the actual body painting in all its forms. Ankle bands (p. 99) are of a simple type; necklaces are more elaborate. Either the fine fibers of guanaco or whale tendon are plaited into a long cord and worn in several loops, or the latter is used to string short pieces of bone or small shells, *šón ŭspúka*, of *Photinula violacea* are tied to it close together. These are the basic forms of the necklaces worn by the Yamana. Each of them also has certain unique touches. The small pieces of bone may be longer or shorter; clearly recognizable rings are incised in each of the longer ones, which are then supposed to look like small pieces. Moreover, the pieces that are naturally whitish are alternated with some that have been purposely blackened (p. 103). Finally, as a special pendant, the red beak of the oyster catcher (*Haematopus ater*, Fig. 76) is attached in the center, or four to six of these beaks are distributed along the lower half of the necklace (Fig. 103). Instead of the short pieces cut from thin, hollow bird bones, the Yamana, for variety, also string the short calcareous tubes of sea worms on a long tendon. Such small pieces

/1466/

237
301

Fig. 103. Necklace. Two-thirds natural size.

/1465 cont./

237 are not very regular, however; hence /1466/ /Fig. 103 appears
301 here./ /1467/ this whole assemblage is not valued very much (Fig. 104). The simplest ornaments are those with only a single mussel shell or a small beak of a bird, or several of these pieces, hanging on the tendon. A long string of Photinula shells is regarded as the most beautiful and valuable neck ornament, for it

Fig. 104. Necklace. One-third natural size.

requires great care to make (Fig. 23). /Fig. 104 appears here./
301 For this reason no woman who thinks well of herself is without this piece, which is sometimes more than three meters long. FitzRoy (a):201, and later Bridges (i):23, recognized that "the Fuegian necklaces show some ingenuity in those who make them,...that one is, at first, inclined to doubt their being the manufacture of such uncouth savages" /cited in English/. Spegazzini (a):161, too, does not refuse to acknowledge that these things represent "such careful work that they do not lack beauty" /translated from Spanish/. They indicate a well-developed, sensitive taste. The

/1467 cont./

301 same thing must be said about the feather ornaments, which can be seen on various ceremonial occasions in the čiźxaus (pp. 717, 790) and at the ceremonies of mourning (p. 1083) as hapaxēl, a larger triangular piece of skin, or kwaxwźxeni, a band of skin two fingers wide and covered with down. The apawźxa is only worn by the yźkamuš, who regularly puts it on when he is practicing his calling (p. 1307).

304 It has been proved that the Yamana do not practice any kind of intentional body mutilation (p. 106), and Hyades (h):1345 agrees with various observers that "there are no deformations or ethnic mutilations" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy (a):138 is also correct when he maintains: "No ornaments are worn in the nose, ears, or lips, nor on the fingers" /cited in English/. Bridges (h):206, Bove (e):157 and (g):234, and Hyades (d):306 and (p):329, as well as other travelers, emphatically deny that the Yamana are acquainted with tattooing. Nevertheless, I was able to prove that, to a modest extent, it was formerly practiced on the candidates in the čiźxaus (p. 715), not, however, for beauty. In the

302 most recent times it has been replaced by a special body painting, either that described on page 717, or the entire upper part of the body is painted uniformly white and two finger-thick, red parallel lines are drawn close together from the farthest lateral projection /1468/ of one shoulder to the other in an arc that extends over the chest and back (cf. Fig. 21 of the photogravure plates /at the end of this work/). This painting is used only for the čiźxaus.

[538] Our Yamana are acquainted with neither poetry nor proverbs,

533 but in the syllables constantly repeated in their songs, there is an agreeable rhythm and a rich sound; they do not have a definite meaning, however. The melodies are always merely short movements with simple motifs. The syllables, made up of the same or a few different sounds, are either repeated on a single pitch or in a variant in which the third predominates. Gay melodies are clearly distinguishable from sad ones (368). The Yamana like to sing;

368. Bridges (a):207 established that "The singing of these Indians is of different kinds" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (p):330, "the song is usually gay; it is made

1: Guinée--1455 E-6 (1918-1920) 1927 5100 Yaligen 5096

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Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

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Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

I: Grennde--1456 B-1 (1910-1924) 1927 Sitt Tx\gxx 1135

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Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

I. Gwinde—1457 F-5 (1910-1934) 1937 5118 Yahgan 5096

137

Assembly Pavilion

Mourning Painting

Men Painting Themselves

Mourning Painting

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Northeast of Beagle Channel

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

Red symbolized Peace;
302 white, war and ritual; black, mourning. Designs were very simple,
[829] confined to lines, dots, and, less commonly, circles.

Ornaments.—Personal adornments were: necklaces, of sections of
301 bird leg bones strung on braided sinew, of strung punched shells
237 (*Photinula violacea*), or of frapped hanks of braided sinew, often colored red; bone or shell pendants, sometimes attached to the necklaces; and wristlets and anklets of sinew and hide. Feather diadems and bird-skin, feather, or down-ornamented fillets or forehead caps were also used.

TRANSPORTATION

501 Canoes.—Travel by the *Yahgan* was almost entirely by water. Their earlier sole form of watercraft was the built-up bark canoe, of a crescent or gondola shape that characterizes other craft well up the west coast of South America to Perú; the plank boat, the *Araucanian* dugout, the seal-hide float, and the double-ended reed balsa were absent (Lothrop, 1932 a, pp. 253–54).

The *Yahgan* canoe (pls. 34, 35) was made of three strips of beech bark, one-half inch to more than an inch (1.2 to 2.5 cm.) thick, which ordinarily formed the bottom and two sides respectively. Average length was about 15 feet (5 m.), with a range from about 12 to 20 feet (4 to 7 m.); gunwale to gunwale width in center, about 3 feet (1 m.); depth in center, about 2 feet (0.6 m.). The bark, taken only
396 from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), was stripped off in the spring, when the sap was running. In removing the bark from the tree, the natives used a bone chisel or mussel-shell knife to cut it and a bone barking tool to strip it, and in ascending the tree held themselves thereto with a strong rawhide thong. After smoothing the bark on both sides with a small chisel, they cut it into three cigar-shaped pieces. These pieces were then sewn together with whalebone or with shreddings of warmed saplings, the seams being wadded with the stringy seams of wild celery grass or with moss mixed with mud. The gunwales were next lashed on. The ribs, of split Winter's bark, were then fitted in and locked in place under the gunwales. The thwarts, usually five or six, of hardwood, were inserted and lashed to the gunwale.

501 The fireplace was set amidships. The paddle was in one piece with a long lanceolate blade and short round-section handle without cross-piece or other grip. The *Yahgan* canoe leaked much; the cylindrical bailers (pl. 33, *e*) were usually of bark or sealskin. Sealskin thongs
[283] and braided grass ropes were used as mooring lines. The construction and repair of the canoe were the man's task; but its management, in-
[962] cluding paddling and mooring off shore in a kelp bed, were the woman's. In a sense, she was mistress of the canoe, with its hearth and ever-lighted fire. In a favorable wind a crude sail, made of a sealskin or

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

291 Women wear rather more clothing, that is, they have nearly the whole skin of a guanaco, or seal, wrapped about them, and usually a diminutive apron. The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an infant. Neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes.

302 Both sexes oil themselves, or rub their bodies with grease; and daub their faces and bodies with red, black, or white. A fillet is often worn
301 around the head, which upon ordinary occasions is simply a string, made of sinews; but if going to war or dressed for show, the fillet is ornamented with white down, white feathers, or pieces of cloth, if they have obtained any from shipping. . . .

411 It is rather curious that each of these natives is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear; another with the sling; another with a bow and arrows; but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others.

266 Before entering on the details of Yahgan life we shall dwell briefly on the charges of savagery and cannibalism made by numerous writers. As early as 1600 the Alacaluf were thought to be cannibals, for in that year Van Noort marooned on Santa Maria island one of his officers charged with insubordination, in the belief that he would die of hunger or be eaten by the savages. A quarter of a century later Jaques L'Hermite charged the Yahgan with cannibalism. In more recent years Darwin and Fitzroy have repeated the accusation on hearsay evidence, and their dictum has been widely published. However, no white man has ever witnessed the act of anthropophagy among any of the Fuegian tribes, while in recent years those who have lived with the natives and come to know them well all agree that the idea of eating human flesh is as repugnant to a Fuegian as to a European. According to Martial (p. 193) the Yahgan ordinarily do not eat dog, fox, or rat, because these animals will eat human flesh.

648 The imputation of barbarity, on the other hand, rests on firmer ground, for there are well-authenticated instances of attack by the Yahgan on European crews. The earliest of these resulted in the death at Nassau bay in 1624 of seventeen men from L'Hermite's ships; the most widely published was the massacre at Woolyia in 1859 of the crew of the missionary schooner *Allen Gardiner*. What provoked these attacks is a secret intombed with their victims. Early voyagers habitually kidnapped natives to serve as pilots and thus aroused merited resentment. Native women often have

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days. The materials used are mentioned below. While paint was often applied with the finger, an elaboration over the Ona practice is seen in the use of a small spatula (*telákikamána*). One of these is illustrated in fig. 69, *d*. The Yahgan did not tattoo.

Feather diadems and goose-down forehead caps were worn at times, but their purpose was more ceremonial than utilitarian or decorative, and will be discussed below.

Wristlets and anklets were worn, but not so generally as among the Ona. The common type (*maíamasár*) is not braided of grass or sinew in Ona fashion, but consists of a narrow band of guanaco-hide painted white (fig. 48). This was attached in place with small sinew laces.

FIG. 48.—Yahgan guanaco-hide wristlet. (14/2358)

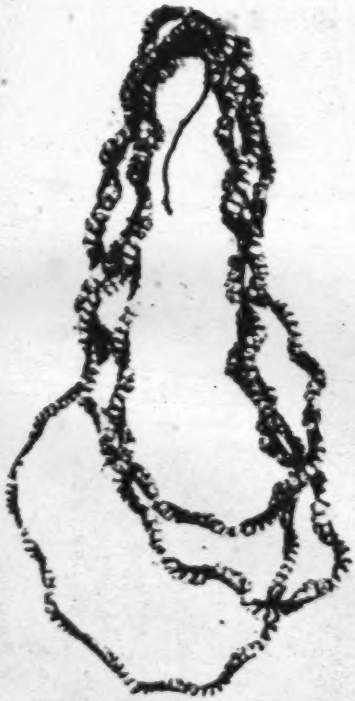

FIG. 49.—Yahgan shell necklace. Total circumference, 96 in. (14/2341)

Of necklaces the Yahgan made two kinds. The simpler type is constructed with cylindrical sections cut from the leg-bones of gulls or of ducks and strung on braided sinew. A more elaborate and attractive necklace (*opúrrshka*) they made from small shells (Latin, *Photinula violacea;* Yahgan, *haúsh undálu*) found in the kelp (*haúsh*) which fringes the coast (fig. 49). When polished by use, beautiful opalescent tints appear in these shells. The Yahgan strung them by punching

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

301 a small hole near the lip of the shell. Through these holes a braided sinew cord was run, doubled back on itself, and lashed with spiral wrappings of sinew. This method of stringing is illustrated in fig. 50. The shells thus united are always graded according to size, sometimes with the biggest shell at one end and the smallest at the other, sometimes with the big shells in the middle and the small ones at either end.

FIG. 50.—Detail of Yahgan shell necklace. Length of shells, one-half in. (14/2339)

USE OF PAINT

386 Like the Ona, the Yahgan made regular use of a red paint (*ímí*) obtained by burning earth, a black paint (*yapúshak*) made of
822 charcoal, and a white paint (*tum'rápo*) of clay. According to Fitzroy (p. 177) and Dabbene (1907, p. 58) these colors have symbolic significance. Thus, white was the sign of war or ceremonial display, black was the mark of grief and mourning, while red denoted peace and happiness. With their paints the Indians
531 adorned their persons, their dance masks, their ceremonial lodges, and some of their tools and utensils. The latter were often embellished with solid color, but body, dance masks, and ceremonial lodges were made the field for painted designs.

In pl. IX is shown a selection of patterns taken from the frame of a ceremonial lodge. No simpler motives of artistic significance can be achieved, for these designs are mere smudges of color applied with thumb or finger. The elements are a dot, a short line, and, in one instance, a circle. Two lines are combined to form a cross, a T, and a chevron. Design units repeat themselves in simple rhythm.

Dance masks are illustrated in figs. 92 and 93. Their designs, though of symbolic significance, are again abysmally primitive. Facial painting may be studied in the photographs published by Koppers (1924); they are similar to the patterns here described.

/411 cont./

291 they alternately turn one side of the body and then the other to the fire, each time pushing their cape in the opposite direction with a slight movement of the hand.

Misdirected sympathy that knows nothing about the advantages of all the resources our natives have for the protection of their bodies pities them unduly and underestimates their wise judgment in the things they have expediently invented and chosen for themselves. As a matter of fact, they avoid much damage to their health because they do not tolerate material that clings to their bodies. Frequent rain and snow, wet air, and the vigorous splashing of waves which constantly wash them promote a healthy skin which is good for the whole organism. The short back-cape with its rough leather side turned toward the skin also acts as a gentle rubbing agent. If all this were omitted with a change in the mode of dress, what equivalent would the Indian have? To begin with, he does not have to be afraid of uneven warmth and of weakening the parts of his body that are covered among other
291 peoples. With their pure sensibilities, and even more, their dis-
177 cerning judgment, these natural people were not unaware of all the harm that followed the later introduction of clothing to which they were not accustomed. Their effort to reject the foreign, unhealthful coercion was instinctive. Nowadays the last survivors are quite frank about their conviction that European clothing, ûŝka, and diet, together with imported diseases and alcoholic beverages, have caused the swift destruction of their people (p. 339 /untranslated/).

•302 The inhabitants of those distant islands need never reckon with extreme cold, although the weather and the air are always damp and cool. If the heat of the fire should be inadequate or if there is a long trek in prospect and it is very cold, they protect themselves by thoroughly rubbing the entire body with a mixture of blubber and red powder from burnt clay. Ordinarily scarcely any dampness clings to the skin of the body which has been amply greased, and sometimes one sees rain or sea water fall off in drops. This layer of thick grease is a protection also in that it retains the person's own body warmth (86). This was also true in the case of the

86. Aspinall:270, mentioning this expedient, wrote: They "have the habit of rubbing their

/411 cont./

302 bodies with an ointment made of blubber and red earth, which probably also affords some protection against the cold." Before that, Snow (b):264 mentioned it: "The only thing they do to keep more warm is to rub themselves over with grease and ochreous earth" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (a):139 mentioned the same purpose: "Both sexes oil them selves, or rubb /sic/ their bodies with grease" /cited in English/. Spears:53 also mentions this custom and adds: "Had the early explorers imitated instead of despised the Jahgan, they would have had fewer tales of suffering to tell" /cited in English/.

single anointment with blubber of the whale /412/ or sea lion. This made every person glisten with oil from head to foot, which had a most amazing effect on European travelers and missionaries until they became accustomed to the sight. This simple and very effective measure was available to everyone, and they all liked to use it when cold winds blew or when there was heavy rain. Such [177] an anointment with blubber is no longer possible with the European clothing that is customary today. Instead, every article of clothing is full of dirt and grease.

291 In spite of everything, the extremely meager body protection of our Indians proves their great power of resistance against the extreme inclemency of the weather in their homeland and their undemanding contentment. Even though their one article of clothing is serviceable and their open fire an indispensable advantage, there would still be room for a few simple comforts. Compared with the neighboring Selk'nam, our Yamana are obviously in a somewhat less favorable position.

5. Preparation of Furs and Skins

281 Our Indians need the furs and skins of their game animals (87),

87. In some places the Indian has a good selection. Thus Bridges wrote on June 4, 1864, about his visit

515 /418 cont./
824 (Berberis ilicifolia, Fig. 17), huma, celia, which is obtained in the following way. They peel the bark off a twig as thick as one's thumb, scrape off the soft layer of fibers on the surface, and then, with a sharp-edged mussel shell and gentle pressure back and forth, they peel off /419/ the finest shavings. These are collected on a scrap of leather and must dry near the fire. By repeatedly squeezing the loose ball, a coarse powder is produced, which quickly absorbs any dampness. These shavings are kept in a piece of gut, and if anyone needs them he takes out a handful. He uses this substance exactly like a sponge. It is used mostly by a mother in [854] washing and drying her infant, but almost all the people use it often to wipe under the arms -- custom demands this -- in order to prevent a bad odor, as they say.

515 These fine shavings are almost never used for a wet massage of face and body. For this they more often use a ball of moss saturated with water. Apparently Hyades (q):348 also makes this distinction: "When the natives see dirt on their bodies that demands attention, especially in the morning, ...they wipe themselves off with fine wood shavings that make a kind of tow, or they clean up by simply rubbing themselves with moss gathered around the hut, which is very wet and acts as a sponge" /translated from French/.

A person who has soiled his hands, whether it is with blood and dirt while working or with blubber and fat while eating or eviscerating an animal, rubs them off in the sand on the ground, on skins lying about, or on the hut covering. The fat dripping 515 from the fingers after a delicious roast is preferably rubbed on the • 302 face and body to keep the skin soft and to protect it against the weather, hence the greasy shine of these people which gives them a strange appearance (p. 67). This is, of course, not provided naturally and is not sought for beautification, but rather it serves as protection for the body. On very cold days one or another of them will even pour a large quantity of liquid blubber over himself. The skin is never completely free of a visible layer of grease which is increased by continual contact with meat, fat, and greasy objects. The epidermis of these Indians is somewhat thicker [147] than that of Europeans as a result of their complete lack of protection against the cold air. That is also the reason why the skin is less sensitive.

/419 cont./

147 In this connection we may also mention the fact that these
●302 people do not have a definite characteristic skin odor. If they
515 had, it would be hardly or not at all noticeable because of all the
blubber they smear on themselves and the thick, smothering smoke
that constantly affects the skin. We realize the effect this smoke
has when we see the dark brown coloring it produces, which ap-
parently goes deep. Also, the skin is slightly moist from fog or
damp air, it exudes a strong, almost biting odor which is most dis-
agreeable in a closed room. It is, of course, transferred to the
dogs and to all the implements they use which are lying about in
the hut. Thus the European visitor is assailed with an indefinable
mixture of /420/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ the odors of smoke and
blubber coming from the Indian himself, from his hut (95), and

95. Spegazzini (a):163 says maliciously: "The smoke, the odor, not very much like roses, and the other dangerous inconveniences of these salons force the curious visitor to go out very quickly" /translated from Spanish/.

from everything he owns, which cannot be withstood by everyone.

515 Along with all this and the general lack of cleanliness,
there are their particularly repulsive heads of hair, caked with dirt
136 and crawling with vermin (96). The head louse (Pediculus capitis),

96. The effect this has on a European is made clear by Snow (a):I, 346: "It may be mentioned, that vermin swarmed about them and in everything they had. Whatever we purchased or obtained from them, had to be several times subjected to a purifying process" /cited in English/.

warm, thrives through this total lack of body care, and young and
old are constantly scratching, especially at night in their sleep.
It is impossible for the Yamana to defend themselves against this
pest. The old people recall that in former times they were plagued
with a smaller, blackish louse, and that since the advent of the

[Text continues on page 81.—Analyst]

/420 cont./

136 Europeans it has been replaced by a larger, gray one. Despite
515 their unmistakably lesser degree of sensitivity, the Indians find this vermin a torture. A mother will sympathetically pick lice from her child, crushing them between her fingernails or teeth (97).

97. Hyades (q):348 briefly mentions "the hunt for parasites (Pediculi capitis) to which they devote themselves in their moments of leisure" /translated from French/.

No one minds having his neighbor restlessly scratch his head. In the long, quiet intervals beside the evening fire in the hut these sounds, produced by first one and then another of those present, are a frequent /421/ interruption. The individual gets no relief, however, in spite of all his scratching, and they hardly ever lose patience throughout this torture.

In the last decades the clothes louse (Pediculus vestimentorum)
[177] has also spread throughout the region, introduced by Europeans. The older people do not recall this pest; the general conditions for its development were poor in any case. When a person removes his clothing -- nowadays everyone wears only European clothing -- the well-known traces of lice are revealed all over his body. These people are constantly scratching their bodies. I cannot say whether Pediculus pubis is present, but this species also is probably not entirely absent.

The head hair of the Yamana is naturally black, stiff,
[142] and thick. Although it is liberally greased with blubber, dirt and
● 302 lice prevent it from ever being soft and attractively shiny. It grows moderately long, and among women it reaches about to their shoulders, which is why it does not lend itself to a particular type of coiffure. Everyone wears his hair open and loose; it lies on their head in thick strands. Some women cut the hair on their forehead at their eyebrows (98). Occasionally, if a person does

98. Hyades (q):330 speaks of "hair cut in front 'dog fashion'" /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):124 expresses himself in more general terms.

/421 cont./

302 not want to be bothered with it, he ties a narrow strap, a tendon, or a few stalks of rushes around his head to hold it. A man even uses his sling for this purpose. If women bend their heads, the hair falls forward and covers the whole face, but they never tire of pushing it aside. Bove (e):157 wrote: "Men and women wear very long hair that falls to their shoulders; only a few fasten it with a leather band. Most of them, however, let it grow so wild that both sexes look more like furies than human beings."

The men like to shorten their hair. That is the only difference in the so-called hair style of the two sexes. They use a [142] flat mussel shell, spread a small tuft of hair on it, and draw a sharp-edged shell over it in a sawing motion until the ends fall off. Then they take the next tuft, until they have done the whole head in this fashion. It cannot be helped that the hair-cutter grows tired; the other must endure much plucking and pulling; and the whole job is very irregular.

Modest grooming of the hair is not entirely lacking, however, Despard /422/ learned from an Indian that "only women [142] use oil to make fine hair; then comb very smooth with porpoise jaw" (VP:VI, 55; 1859) /cited in English/. Both sexes alike regard the secondary body hair as ugly and in bad taste. For this reason men pluck their sparse beard hair, and all adults their underarm and pubic hair, with their fingernails or with two shells that fit one on top of the other. Older people become careless [177] about this. In most recent times the men let their beards grow, in order to be like Europeans. Now one can easily see that they 142 do not produce more than isolated hairs on the lip and chin (99). 302

99. In this connection Bove (c):126 says that "the men, besides being beardless, habitually pull out the little beard hair that they have, and the two sexes have no hair of any kind on the body" /translated from Spanish/. Lovisato (b):129 agrees. Fitz-Roy (a):175 had mentioned: "They would have a straggling beard, but scrupulously pull out every hair with tweezers made of muscle-shelles" /cited in English/. According to Despard (VP:IV, 185; 1857)

/422 cont./

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"they were beardless. One or two of the older men had some hair on their faces, which, while talking, they were continually engaged in twitching out" /cited in English/. And Bove (MM:XVIII, 188; 1884) says: "The men have very little beard, and even that little they are accustomed to tear out or cut off with shells" /cited in English/.

In general, they have only very little and faint hair on their

[412]

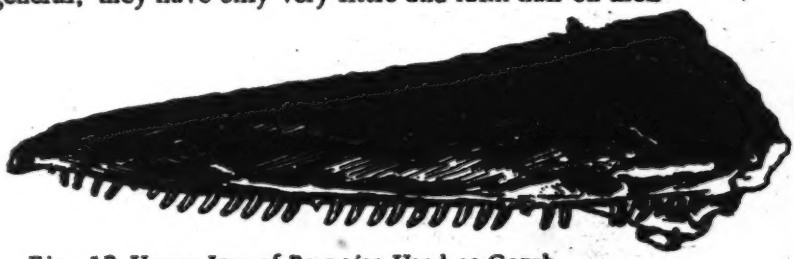

Fig. 18. Upper Jaw of Porpoise Used as Comb. Natural size.

bodies; in this respect they resemble the Selk'nam. /Fig. 18 appears here./

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Under the influence of Whites, younger and middle-aged Yamana have learned not only to dress in modern fashion, but also to wash their faces with soap and to arrange their hair with a comb. Vain chaps shave with imported razors.

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To loosen the hair matted with dirt and lice, not so much because of a desire for cleanliness but because of the discomfort, they use a somewhat coarse comb. It comes in three styles. The most easily obtainable is the upper jaw of the porpoise which is about 12 centimeters long and has two rows of short teeth (Fig. 18). It is occasionally found on the beach where it is so excellently cleaned of all organic matter by wood lice and other lower animals that it can be used without any further preparation. At first this bone is still greasy, which is beneficial for the hair. At any rate it is very easy to use and durable. This comb is called ustanim. Even an otter skull, cleaned of all meat /423/ and without the lower jaw, serves as a comb as long as the few and

/423 cont./

302 442 very irregular teeth are still firm in the short, narrow upper jaw (100).

100. Hyades (q):303 confirms this very emphatically.

[321] The other comb must be specially made and that is why not everyone has it. It is a flat piece of whale bone, the size

Fig. 19. Comb Made of Whale Bone. Two-thirds natural size.

of a child s hand, into which five to eight teeth are cut. The teeth project across the entire piece, with not very large spaces between them (Fig. 19). This is in contrast to the comb of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 222). In the central Yamana region where porpoises are rarer, this tumakitamasir[1] is generally used (101). [Fig. 19 appears here.]

101. Lothrop (b):131 mentions both types and says: "The Yahgan sometimes comb their hair" /cited in English/. Hyades (q):348 does not mention the last comb we

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/423 cont./

describe, but does speak of "a piece of the upper jaw from a dolphin or porpoise, with teeth" /translated from French/.

[237] As a makeshift when the two objects mentioned above are not available, they gather a bunch of bird feathers and tie them together at the bottom with a fiber of tendon. The bunch of feathers is grasped with the fist, and the quills are drawn through the hair, like the teeth of a comb (102). Girls like to

[157]

102. According to Fitz-Roy's terse words (a) :139, the hair grooming of the Indian women is confined to the following: "The hair of the women is longer, less coarse, and certainly cleaner than that of the men. It is combed with the jaw of a porpoise, but neither platted nor tied; and none is cut away, excepting from over their eyes" /cited in English/.

make this ffrúku ukánim as playful dawdling, and conveniently loosen their hair with it.

515 Little though the Yamana heed a clean body, they nevertheless appreciate a clean person who washes often and keeps his hair combed. Many mothers care for their children; others appear disgustingly dirty and completely neglected. Such differences are not infrequently a topic of conversation among the old people who criticize in one case and praise in the other. At any rate it shows that a natural feeling for cleanliness is not entirely lacking. In spite of the many useful things that Europeans have brought them, they will never rise above a certain level of uncleanliness because they are inseparably bound to their conditions of life. The European clothing which everybody wears nowadays is likewise covered with dirt and fish oil. Because of it fresh air and beneficial rain can no longer act directly on the skin, hence their bodies are always covered with a thick, malodorous crust of dirt. Thus, the abandonment of their former sparse body covering is slowly but badly undermining the vitality and health of these Indians, who are themselves aware of it.

[177]

/426 cont./

515 and down over their nostrils; afterwards they draw their hand through grass or moss. No one is offended by belching and
516 breaking wind, the smacking of lips during eating, and gurgling /427/ in drinking. Younger people, however, may not make flatulent noises in the presence of old people without noticeably offending them.

356 In the canoe, in contrast to a campsite on the beach, dirt and filth cannot accumulate, although the family uses it almost daily for their travels. Some water comes into the canoe on all sides, and it is open to rain and snow; hence the whole interior is often rinsed out. True, small remnants of leather and the remains of animals obtained by hunting, food scraps, and shells lie about and produce a noticeable stench, but the salt water prevents fouler decomposition. It never occurs to the Indian to clean his canoe thoroughly, but the forces of nature are more than willing to do it. During the trip, everyone takes care of
514 his natural needs overboard if he cannot wait until the landing.
264 For good reasons the people in the canoe seldom eat and then only a little. They throw refuse into the fire, which is always kept going, or simply overboard.

3. Body Painting

302 We shall speak here only of those efforts of the Yamana which arise from their desire to adorn and beautify themselves. Their interest in rubbing their bodies with fish oil or a suitable kind of earth (p. 66) to protect themselves against the cold or against dirt serves another purpose. The most frequent and principal method of adornment is to paint the face and the whole body. Compared with this, objects for ornamentation are quite secondary (105). Moreover, all painting, whether it is

105. Lothrop (b):125 confirms this: "The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days" /cited in English/.

that of their own bodies or of an object, has a special meaning and a recognizable purpose.

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/427 cont./

Like their neighbors in the northeast and northwest, the Selk'nam and the Halakwulup, the Yamana use only three pigments for their decorative painting, namely, black, white, and red (106), which they apply as a powder mixed with water or

106. The majority of European visitors noted these three colors and mentioned them. See Fitz-Roy (a):139, Darwin (a) :238, Hyades (q) :349, Weddel:152, and others.

fish oil. They can get black pigment, yapusáke (according to BD:654 also yapusáx), most easily, which is nothing more than ground charcoal. This dust is usually rubbed dry over the whole body, but for the face it is mixed with fish oil before it is applied. This mixture is also used to draw lines and dashes.

The white pigment, tumarápu, is chalk. They value chiefly the pure, fine calcareous earth found in Puerto Róbalo and Puerto Eugenia, both in the central part of the north shore of Navarino Island. They take it out, soften it and knead it with water, form it into a lump, and keep it, ready for use, in a pouch made of gut. They obtain smaller amounts for urgent /428/ use by heating a few Mytilus shells in the hut fire and afterwards crushing them to a powder between stones. This chalk powder is never prepared with fish oil or blubber because it would lose its shiny white color. Instead of water they use their own saliva, which makes the mixture more adhesive when dashes or dots are drawn on the face or the body. With the incisors a little powder is scraped off the hard lump and mixed with saliva (107),

107. According to Hyades (q):300, there is even a special verb for this, namely, "Jamba (or Jampa) tournarapou: to chew clay in order to dilute it with saliva" /translated from French/.

obtained by a vigorous chewing motion, to form a thick paste. A finger is then moistened with it in the mouth if one wishes to draw coarse lines. When more delicate drawings are made with a

/428 cont./

•302 386 little stick, the mixture is spit into the left palm and the stick dipped into it. If the whole body is to be painted, the white powder is mixed with a little water, and the thick paste is smeared over the skin with the flat of the hand. After it has dried, of course, this layer of color gradually falls off.

They go to some trouble to obtain the red pigment, known as imi and more often sewua, which is used far more extensively. Their emotional preference for bright scarlet may play a decisive part here. Hyades (p):329 corroborates this (108): "they prefer

108. He also says: "Red is the favorite coloring matter of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. From the chemical analysis he gives we see that iron oxide is the chief ingredient of this earth mixture.

vivid colors, especially red" /translated from French/. In several places in the west, more frequently than elsewhere, one [317] comes across thin layers of a yellowish or reddish or rust-colored mineral deposit, which is all the more desirable the less greasy and drier it is. Hyades (q):350 writes that the Indians "collect this ocher from pebbles to which it adheres; it shows that these stones probably were for a time in ferruginous water" /translated from French/. A lump the size of a fist is stirred with fresh water on an outspread rag of leather or a flat stone, kneaded well, and kept damp in the piece of leather until there is a sunny day with no wind. Then the embers of the hut fire are stirred up with some dry, sound wood. They wait until the smoke has disappeared and no breeze blows up the ashes, whereupon the still damp lump of clay is carefully placed in the fire so that it is thoroughly heated. It is vermilion when it is taken out with a stick. Ashes and embers are scraped off the surface, and it is pounded to a fine powder between stones. This powder is col- [415] lected in a piece of sea lion gut. The Indians are almost superstitiously exact in the preparation of this red pigment, for they are extraordinarily appreciative of its glowing brightness which neither dirt nor ashes impairs. It is used often and in various ways, but they like it best for facial painting, and then almost always

/428 cont./

302 386 in the form of a thick paste mixed with seal oil. It is prepared less often in the palm of the left hand, more frequently in a medium-sized Mytilus /429/ shell so that the mixture can be well stirred and evenly applied. The red coloring must be uniform.

302 413 As has already been mentioned, in using all three colors they sometimes prefer to mix the powder with oil or blubber instead of using it dry. If they want to make even strokes and precise dots, they cut a suitable painting stick, known as talaxikamána in the dialect of the west, pucitinutaléna in the central dialect, derived from ikamána, "to paint," "to draw." The little stick is about ten centimeters long, sharp at one end and smoothly cut off and flattened like a spatula at the other end. It is used to draw lines. If they want to draw dots, they dip the other end into the color and place it on the skin like a stamp. Almost every woman carries this little stick around with her everywhere. The sponsor uses it daily to paint her candidate during the protracted initiation ceremonies, ciéxus. A person who is without one easily and quickly makes himself another (109).

109. Hyades (q):300 speaks of an "awl or spatula of wood" /translated from French/. Moreover, he gives linguistic expressions for the many patterns of drawing and painting, which are given in greater detail and probably complete in BD.

415 237 Since the white and, even more, the red pigments are valued, they are carefully kept in a kind of color pouch, known as yéi or yéiyi. For this purpose they like to use the esophagus of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus), known as álainí yáiyi, or the small intestine of seals (110). A piece 25 to 45

110. Hyades (q):350 mentions them as "bags made from the windpipes of seals or porpoises /translated from French/, and Lothrop (b):133, as "small sacks made from the throats of seal" /cited in English/.

/420 cont./

45 237 centimeters long is cut out, sewed up at one end with a straight edge, blown up taut, and immediately tied with tendon fibers at the other end. Sometimes they leave the circular cardiac muscles at the opening of the stomach attached to the lower part. These close automatically, which simplifies the work. This air bubble dries quickly, and the upper part of it is cut off straight. The elongated pouch is filled with pigment only to the middle. The free upper half is pressed flat and rolled down from the upper edge (Fig. 20). This not only makes a safe and convenient closing, but protects the contents against dampness and spilling. Sometimes they also tie a few tendon fibers lengthwise around the rolled packet to keep it closed. The white pigment, tunqiqu, nevertheless hardens into a firm lump after a time, but this does not affect its use. Compared with this, the black pigment, yapuiko, namely, pounded charcoal, is used far less. It does not pay to take special pains to keep it because it is available everywhere.

• 382 422 / Much later we shall discuss the significance of the individual colors within the manifold patterns, but here we should like to correct the inaccurate opinion of certain observers who attribute to each color as /[illegible]/ such a definite meaning or a single and exclusive significance. Without qualification Debenne (x):38 maintains that "the three colors, white, black, and red, which are used for painting, have their signification, since they are used respectively, as signs of war, mourning, or joy" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (z):331 is much closer to the truth. He writes: "The external sign of mourning was the face blackened with charcoal. White applied in dots and stripes was the color of revenge for murder, and red was the emblem of friendship and joy." /Fig. 20 appears here./ None of the three colors (111)

111. I herewith reject the inaccurate statements of Fitz-Roy (q):177, Debenne (x):38 and (b):178, Lothrop (b):136, Spegazzini (x):178, and others. Wynden (q):349 repeats in detail the opinion of Bridges, upon whom Krickeberg: 332 also relies.

/[illegible] cont./

342 has a single and exclusively unique meaning, but their signifi-
343 cance is rather in how they are used together or singly for certain types of painting and patterns according to common habit and conscious intent. The fact that various things are painted for no purpose but to beautify the object remains to be discussed, as does the particular form of body painting for certain occasions, such as a wedding or mourning, initiation ceremonies and ceremonies of men, important battles, and the rituals of medicine men. The everyday motives and general intentions will be mentioned here; the special occasions we refer to will be discussed at the proper place.

[345]

Fig. 38. Pouch for Pigments. Natural size.

342 Without doubt Aspinall:178 is right when he emphasizes: "All painting among these Indians has a special significance." The everyday painting is only for decoration, in accordance with the requirements for beauty and the demands of courtesy. According to Hyades (p.33), women and girls are "by no means indifferent with regard to their appearance, and try to beautify their faces as much as possible with horizontal lines and dots of white clay." /[illegible]/ Both Bridges and Hyades (p.363 are inaccurate, however, when it is asserted "this painting is regarded as a pastime" /translated from French/.

Every native wants to be more beautiful and adorn himself by arranging different colors in the form of lines and dots, crosshatching, and circles, according to his own choice (312). He

[illegible]

312. With little accuracy Swan (p.127 wrote: "They paint themselves in all kind of ways.

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/431 cont./

usually they draw parallel lines of different colors across the face, crooked lines on the cheeks and nose, the most peculiar drawings on chest and arms. But most of them are satisfied with very thick applications of several colors on hair, face, and body." Like Rowe, travelers of earlier times did not recognize the meaning and significance of the body painting of our Tamana.

feels impelled to do this whenever many people are assembled, brought to the same place by chance. Every person, no matter what sex or age, paints at least his face and is careful to give his drawing a symmetrical arrangement. The arrangement and choice of symbols is completely arbitrary; the same person will change the pattern from one day to another. Some take more pains than others, depending on their disposition. Some are good at putting together all three colors; most of them are partial to white. Younger people use the little painting stick with scrupulous care, whereas older people handle it very carelessly. The torso and arms are decorated with perpendicular and horizontal lines and rows of dots; the legs are more rarely decorated. In general, however, less attention is given to the painting of the body than to facial painting.

Since everyone has absolute freedom in this ornamentation, it would be useless to try to discover a certain system or a basic meaning. Even the same person likes to see himself in one pattern today, another tomorrow. No actual contest develops between persons, although petty jealousies and envy because of physical advantages are never lacking.

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Visitors are obliged to adhere to a certain ornamentation, and this is a matter of good breeding. In this case it is true that one can recognize meaning and purpose in the drawing itself. Any color pattern on the face, no matter how simple, suffices; it is almost always white. A person decorates himself with it, as time and fancy dictate, and goes to the neighboring hut. The visitor leaves the hut painted with his facial painting, and the host is appreciative of what the visitor has unanimously strives to attain.

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302 574 If someone expects a visitor, he also decorates himself beforehand. If a visitor comes unexpectedly, however, the master of the hut does not reach for his painting material to decorate himself in the presence of his guest. He does this later on, returns the visit in the hut of the other, and in this way thanks him for the honor previously bestowed on him. Despite the closest kinship between individuals, it is a matter of principle never to omit such a declaration of love or honor, and they do not avoid the slight effort involved in facial /432/ painting, for example, just because of the cordial understanding that exists between close relatives. Everyone adheres very punctiliously to this duty.

In general it is regarded as reprehensible negligence, and almost contemptuous disrespect, for children to visit their parents in their hut, for čiexaus candidates to visit their sponsors in later years, and for young people to visit their older relatives and friends without having decorated themselves with a facial painting. This painting is meant to express the fact that the visitor bestows on the other the pleasure of his coming and that he is happy to be there. That is why the master of the hut sooner or later responds likewise with a facial painting to express his pleasure over the visit and his gratitude toward the guest.

We must call this decoration an actual duty which applies to all young and middle-aged persons without exception. Old women also conform to it, whereas old men become negligent. Although for visits any pattern of colors on the face is permissible and suffices, the natives nevertheless prefer two thin, parallel red lines beginning on either side of the nostrils and extending horizontally across the cheek to the ear. Among adults this facial painting has the same meaning everywhere.

302 574 881 Young people who visit their elderly relatives, children who visit their relatives, čiexaus candidates who visit their sponsors, and finally a lover who visits his intended wife, all these persons paint a few thin, straight red lines in the form of rays across the middle part of their cheeks. This decoration expresses heightened love and attachment. In accordance with this thoughtful custom, čiexaus candidates regularly appear in

/432 cont./

302 the hut of their sponsors with this decoration. They are espe-
574 cially close to their sponsors because the latter painted them
881 with this decoration every day in the Great Hut of the initiation. Without exception it is the sponsor, in the role of a second mother, who, overjoyed by the visit of the child she sponsored, immediately wipes off his decoration and in its place draws the decoration of visitors mentioned above. Other people see this and are also happy, and in their satisfaction over the cordial understanding between the two, say: "That boy [that girl] was painted by his sponsor!" Not infrequently this woman goes to see the sponsored child in his hut. In order to announce to him and everyone in the vicinity how happy she is, she goes to him and paints the red perpendicular stripes on his cheek, as she did so often during the festival of the Ciexaus. Her action never fails to have a favorable effect on the neighbors.

302 The fact that our Yamana commonly used decorative
574 painting when they paid visits is an adequate explanation of the
609 many accounts from the period of the first European travelers, who constantly emphasize that the natives approached the foreign ships with an unusual and peculiar facial painting. Precisely because /433/ this was a duty familiar to them in their relations with their own people, they applied it to the white strangers also (113).

113. The experience of Reverend Despard (b):679 on his first journey in April, 1857, in Cinco-May Harbor will suffice as an example from more recent times: The natives "had painted their cheeks, some with red ocre, some with charcoal; one had white lines horizontally drawn across the nose and eyes; another had white dots, in three rows, on each cheek, and a single row down his nose; none were tattooed" /cited in English/. Compare Lovisato (b):147.

302 The Indians adhere still more strictly to their habit of decorating themselves for occasions other than visits, but these

/433 cont./

302 must be discussed below. We need only add that many individuals decorate themselves with facial paintings, if they feel like it, simply because they enjoy decking themselves out. Many mothers also do this to their small children. No one regards this reproachfully as vanity, much less accuse them of it. Everyone is given complete freedom to do what prevailing custom approves. A European who is ignorant of this critically shakes his head when he unexpectedly meets an Indian decorated with facial painting whose neighbors are not thus adorned but accept it as a matter of course.

4. Ornaments

301 The body covering of these Indians is meager, but in contrast, their ornaments and jewelry, undifferentiated between the sexes, are more abundant. The raw materials used for these ornaments are furnished by the animal kingdom. They do not give any importance to mineral treasures, not even to the gold found in that region. These few objects serve their desire to decorate themselves and to enhance their physical charms (114).

114. Here are a few testimonies. "Among the Fuegians, the desire for ornaments is perhaps stronger in the man than in the woman" Bove (d):290 says /translated from Italian/. Lovisato (b):139 emphasizes: "The passion for ornaments is predominant in the Fuegians, not only in the women, but also in the men" /translated from Italian/. Finally, Hyades (c):142 adds: "The women, coquettes like all women, wear many more ornaments than the men do" /translated from French/.

The women and girls have bands that are almost always worn around the ankle and frequently around the wrist as well (Fig. 21). A male person almost never wears such a piece, hence it may be regarded as the exclusive property of the female

/484 cont./

411 around some part of their body to have it quickly accessible at
482 any time, but it is not regarded as an ornament (195). The

195. Hyades (h):33 expressed the surprising view: "We must therefore admit that the sling of the Yahgan is as much an ornamental object for men as it is a weapon for hunting or war" /translated from French/.

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Fig. 41. Man with a Sling.

Yamana use it not only to stun birds, but also in fighting against their own people.

411 /485/ All indications point to the fact that the sling was used in all parts of the Cape Horn Archipelago./Fig. 41 appears here./ Every man and boy owned and owns one. When the Mission Scientifique arrived in Orange Bay, according to Hyades (q):357, every man carried his sling. This was customary throughout the entire area occupied by this tribe. Lothrop (b):157 indulges in vain speculation about the [177] origin of the sling and says "that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yaghan" /cited in English/. I cannot agree with this view; I shall not go into his evidence and mine at this point. Instead, I take the view of Snow (b):264 that the Yamana "are remarkably expert with their slings" /cited in English/. Obviously, the fact that they own and use the sling also proves "their ingenuity" /cited in English/.

8. Snares and Fishing Implements

223 Our Yamana are fortunate in having a wide selection
226 among the animals of their homeland to meet their food needs. They approach each species in a special way in order to catch them as easily and surely as possible. Besides the weapons mentioned

/527 cont./

223 soon die because of the abundant guano deposits. When in a short time they are bare of leaves, the cormorants like them even better and roost on their branches in large numbers. The Indian stealthily approaches these, too, cautiously climbs up one of these trees, and kills one sleeping animal after another by biting through its neck and dropping it to the ground. In order to be well covered, he [302] paints his body completely black. This undertaking also demands a masterful dexterity on the part of the hunter. Bridges (MM:XIII, 158; 1879) confirms this: "All are not able to signalize themselves [555] in the difficult art of shag catching, but such as do become valued members of society" /cited in English/, and the rest of the men trust in their leadership.

Finally, cormorants are caught in another, but simple /528/ and not dangerous manner, namely, with bait in a sort of trap known as čewur ̯. This procedure is recommended for level ground and for places that do not have high rocks with breeding holes. The Indians ram a sturdy post into the ground and on it fasten several long, thin sinews, each of which ends in a short, small bone pointed at both ends and with a dead fish drawn over it. The bait is partially covered with a very loose, thin layer of dried algae, and a few pieces of fat are placed on top, which are, first of all, supposed to attract gulls. Along with them cormorants will also gather around this bait and will swallow the anchored dead fish mentioned above. The small pointed bone concealed in the bait settles obliquely in the stomach, and they try to get rid of the discomfort, but the longer they tug and choke, the more surely will they bleed to death (251). The trapper can

251. Bridges (h):210 is referring to this bait when he writes: "Or else, for the cormorants, they avail themselves of wooden lures" /translated from Spanish/.

easily get at them.

Hyades (q):359, relying on Bridges, describes a similar bait arrangement: This "consists of three slivers of hard wood, well sharpened, fastened together at the bottom of a curved stick. Their points, facing in opposite directions, are stuck into and

/617 cont./

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enough, women can swim, but not men. The women usually swim very well, but go into the water only when they have to. Only rarely, when it was relatively warm, did the Frenchmen have an opportunity to observe that the Fuegian women also jumped into the water for pleasure, and played about happily in it without any particular purpose."

A person who comes out of the water immediately hastens to the hut fire in order to warm himself thoroughly. In winter they also, as Fitz-Roy (a):186 observed, "rub their bodies all over with oil [302] or grease and ochreous earth, to keep out the cold" /cited in English/ (427). Aspinall:270, however, is right when he says that

427. Hyades (q):214 supplements this by saying: "We saw young women swimming, one of whom was five-months pregnant, another nursing, on a May day when the temperature of the water was not above six degrees" /translated from French/.

"men can seldom swim, women always" (428). When I asked

428. Hence Fitz-Roy (a):186 exaggerates with his assertion: "Men, women, and children are excellent swimmers" /cited in English/, because it is too general.

about this from one of the many who could not swim, I received the reply: "We don't have to learn it, for the woman takes us in the canoe to the beach and fetches us again from there (429)!"

429. To the same question Hyades (q):214 received the answer "given mockingly by a Fuegian: only the women can swim because their breasts keep them on top of the water" /translated from French/. Compare also

/654 cont./

585 about an actual marriage proposal following definite formalities, such as are /655/ practiced by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 326). They do, however, have an actual marriage celebration with certain conspicuous accompaniments, which they regard as legalizing the conclusion of a marriage.

It is easy to explain why earlier travelers did not understand this custom in its deeper significance, if, indeed, they had a chance to observe it, and that they saw in it only one of the universally common facial decorations. They should at least have avoided an abrupt denial of any kind of marriage ceremony, such as Bove (e):158, for example, did when he definitely maintained: "No festivity, no ceremony accompanies the wedding, which simply consists of the bride's going to the hut of the bridegroom or of the latter's settling down with his father-in-law" (35).

35. Hyades (b):1346 and (p):334 is as inaccurate as he is insistent when he tries to make out that "the marriage is accomplished without any ceremony" /translated from French/. According to Spegazzini (a):164 the marriage is concluded "very simply among them" /translated from Spanish/.

Bridges (e):333 made a slight concession, without grasping its real meaning: "The marriage ceremony was quite unimportant; there was no contract, no gathering of friends, no festivity, but they simply painted the face of the bride and sent her to her future husband in the best attire that they were able to afford." In contrast to this, we must emphasize that our informants positively established the socially valid significance of their ceremonies for the first marriage of a couple. These ceremonies were also regularly conducted, for without this public announcement the union of the two young people would not have been recognized as a valid marriage, but would have been regarded as a free, impermissible love affair.

585 Among all the things that surround and accompany a wedding
302 of those who are united for the first time, the facial painting of the bride and groom is the most significant feature. Like a public

/655 cont./

585 declaration, it announces to the neighborhood and therewith to
302 the entire tribe the free decision of both parties. It is this visible sign that proclaims the marriage as legally concluded (36). It

36. Since Hyades (q):378 did not understand the significance of this facial painting, he contradicts himself in the following assertion: "The marriage does not give rise to any special ceremony; the young girl adorns herself more on this day, at least with facial paintings and with necklaces which she receives as gifts, and the hair on her forehead is cut" /translated from French/. In view of the little sense of form that our Yamana have developed, all these details certainly mean display enough!

binds the bridegroom as well as the bride, and the painting in this special form is used exclusively for the wedding. It consists of three parallel, horizontal red stripes of medium width which begin at the edge of the nostril and are drawn across the cheeks almost up to the ear lobes (Fig. 77). For about a week the newlyweds appear with this painting, which is carefully renewed every day. The Īmi is mixed with seal blubber and applied with a little stick to achieve even, fine lines, a neat application being particularly prized (37).

37. Spears: 69 was the only one who learned of this custom: "The marriage ceremony consisted in painting the girl in a certain fashion for several days before she was delivered to her husband" /cited in English/. Among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 331) a "wedding decoration" is prescribed, which in style corresponds exactly with that of the Yamana.

/656/ The young people whose parents have cleared the way for their marriage begin this facial painting as soon as one of their

/656 cont./

585 relatives, usually the indāruwa, notifies them that the big feast
302 is soon to take place. A few related families are informed or specially fetched, and the men go hunting to collect a great deal of meat which the women prepare for roasting. Although no particular day is set, the general mood or the momentary decision of the relatives, or even the unpredictable weather, brings about the ceremonious delivery of the bride or the bridegroom to the hut occupied by the other party. /Fig. 77 appears here./ In this matter they are influenced by given circumstances; usually the bride moved into the hut of her new parents-in-law. A few hours earlier the news spontaneously spreads that this formality is about to take place, and everyone present prepares for it in happy excitement. The bride and bridegroom are once more carefully painted and somewhat dressed up with a new fur cloak. The other people also paint their faces, usually with the fine vertical red lines from below the eyelid, over the cheeks, to the level of the corner of the mouth. Finally, at a large fire outside the dwelling where the bridal couple is to meet, a few women roast the large amounts of meat. Messengers go from one hut to another to see how the preparations are progressing. At the appropriate moment a few women, followed by children and neighbors, accompany the bride to the hut occupied by the bridegroom. This procession is regarded as the core of the ceremony. Sometimes there is more formality, for example, when the bridegroom himself, surrounded by a few relatives, approaches the hut of his bride and invites her to follow him to the hut of his father. She joins him in the procession. There the happy celebration begins.

Fig. 77. Facial Painting of the Bride.

585 Young and old enjoy themselves at the abundant meal; there is lively conversation, and finally the wedding guests give eloquent expression to their joy in dance and play. They remain together many hours, and it is only general fatigue that puts an end to the celebration. The bridal couple do not yet have a hut of their own

/656 cont./

585 and spend the night at the place where the celebration /657/ took place (38). Here the people of the neighborhood again assemble

[783]

38. Bove (e):158, and Wieghardt:41 as well, maintain: "If the bridegroom does not wish to forgo forever the enjoyment of eating guanaco and seal meat, he must cleanse himself on the morning after the wedding by bathing in the water of the sea...These baths are without doubt the cause of many sicknesses to which the young people of Tierra del Fuego are subjected, but they are regarded as necessary to replace the lost strength." When I asked my informants whether a bridegroom was obliged to take a bath, they could not keep from laughing, they found it so preposterous. It is almost childish to attribute "many sicknesses" to this alleged custom. Whenever someone has washed himself in the sea, he immediately hastens to the fire.

in the days that follow, until the supply of meat is gone, the joyful mood has abated, and the long sojourn at the same place becomes boring. Meanwhile the bride often hastens to the hut of her mother where the two outdo each other in expressions of mutual affection, for soon the hour of parting will come. Each time [702] the mother carefully paints her daughter with the three horizontal lines, in order that she will be pleasing to her young husband and he will learn to love her. Many of the male guests give the bridegroom their good wishes and occasionally drop a warning word. The principals themselves are silent and are quite content in their own happiness. When all the wedding guests have dispersed and gone their separate ways, the newlyweds, who have meanwhile acquired their own canoe, also leave the place. They begin their independent life, free of their parents, and this is encouraged by very special rules applicable to parents-in-law and children-in-law.

585 171 A new family has now been established. The public regards this event as so significant that they feel the necessity of surrounding it with legal formality (39). The modern confusion brought

39. Once Bridges (e):332, too, apparently lets his understanding of this come through:

/756 cont./

881 "Gossiping at the home of other people and chattering a lot
867 in the huts create /757/ agitation and even start quarrels. Be quiet and reticent in speech. Too many words only cause mischief as a rule."

"You will now experience the wélix [the appearance of menstruation] with every moon. Be particularly active and industrious at that time, eat little and always only the good things. Think always of what we have taught you and of how you conducted yourself when you were tū'ikipa!"

Every woman who feels it is necessary repeats this advice to the girl, always along similar lines. The mother herself tells her how she must dab the blood with small bundles of čílěr /Berberis shavings/ which she must immediately burn, so that the men and children will never see them. /Fig. 79 appears here./

881 During these days the tū'ikipa is
302 also obliged to wear a special facial painting, consisting of fine red lines placed close together, drawn from below the eyes down over both cheeks (Fig. 79). For this purpose ímí /red pigment/ is used, mixed with fish oil and applied with a thin stick.

Fig. 79. Facial Painting during the Menarche.

881 The conclusion of all the ob-
514 servances and requirements on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation is the so-called "big meal" for all those present. It is called tū'ikipa tatu (193), "the big meal of the girl who has

193. BD:423 also gives "tatu: to distribute a lot of mussels to all people around" /cited in English/.

reached maturity." It is like a public banquet, to which the girl personally invites all tribal members. It is her duty to gather many mussels and crabs, berries, and birds' eggs; the other people contribute the meat of sea lions and birds, as well as a great many fish. Then in a gay mood they all sit around the quantities of food and enjoy themselves. They remain together a whole day, and the tū'ikipa must serve each of them again and again or encourage

/838 cont./

X881 625 activities among suitable women, he also chooses a reliable man to serve as guard, called winefkē̃ʍa. This is the name for [136] Leucophaeus scoresbii, a feared predatory bird of the high seas, who pounces with bloodthirsty rage on other birds and fastens on to them. As a result its whole beak is often covered with blood (Fig. 82).

X881 625 302 In imitation of the bird, the guard paints a wide red stripe over the entire lower half of his nose, continuing it two fingers in width on either side down to the edge of the chin. This decoration, which is sometimes also applied in white

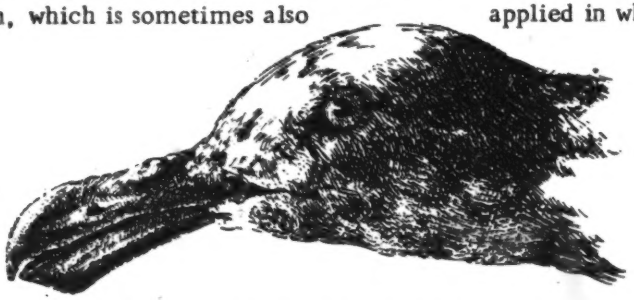

Fig. 82. Leucophaeus scoresbii. Natural size.

to make it visible in the dark, is meant to show how seriously and strictly he performs his office and how threateningly he pursues everyone who disturbs the peace /839/ or is guilty of an offense. [292] As a headdress the winefkē̃ʍa properly wears the plaited wreath of white albatross feathers, just as the yékamuš /medicine men/ do. Sometimes he changes to the hapaxél /headband/. Formerly when the Yamana did not have European clothing, the guard painted his entire body white with horizontal red stripes two fingers wide and a hand's breadth apart all around it. The Indians have retained a small remnant of this to this day, for the actual guard and his helpers paint /Fig. 82 appears here/ at least the lower part of the leg and the forearm in this fashion. They no longer paint the other parts of the body, which are covered with European clothing.

X881 625 The particular duty of the winefkē̃ʍa is quite obvious. He must guard the hut so that no unbidden person, especially no child, creeps up too close and sees what is going on. The camp with the dwellings is, of course, not far from the Great Hut, and in their play the children are careless enough to come too close to

/839 cont./

X881 625 the Great Hut unwittingly. They probably have no conscious purpose in doing so, but the adults wish to protect themselves against all eventualities. In order to intimidate the unbidden and to keep them within bounds, the guard sometimes climbs up the framework to the uppermost part of the Great Hut. From this vantage point he sends forth his customary call in a loud voice. Its effect is not lost, for with lightning speed the startled children creep into the nearest dwelling and do not appear again for a long time. During my first initiation the guard was obliged to resort to this practice repeatedly, for at that time the dwellings were dangerously near the čiéxaus hut. Moreover, the winefkéxa has to keep a special eye on the candidates as long as they are outside the Great Hut and within his field or vision. He emphatically inculcates on each of them the habit of giving an audible call at brief intervals so he can /840/ locate any one of them in a moment. Unseemly conduct on the part of the candidates is hardly to be feared, however. Finally, in former times he had to watch for the approach [721] of enemies who could have taken advantage of the opportunity to rob and set fire to the deserted dwellings while the owners were in the čiéxaus hut. In recent times this precaution is unnecessary.

In former times an energetic, lively, and prudent younger man was always chosen to the office of winefkéxa. Nowadays he need not take his task too seriously. What, for example, could have been accomplished by old Tomas who offered his services for the post at the initiation in March, 1922? On the first evening he was not even present in the Great Hut. He would not have had anything to do anyway, for there was no disturbance outside.

X881 625 302 When several uswaala are sitting in the čiéxaus, the professional duty of the guard is increased. In order to relieve him, the leader, after a discussion with him, chooses a few younger men as his assistants. In March, 1922, none were selected because they were not needed; at my first initiation, however, they had enough to do. They do not occupy a particular place in the Great Hut, any more than does the winefkéxa. Formerly they were painted just as he was, whereas today the body painting is limited to the forearm, lower leg, and face. On these parts of the body they too, put a white background upon which they draw

/840 cont./

X881 a red stripe the width of a finger from each nostril to the opening
625 of the ear. They are never without the proper hapaxēl, but they
302 are not entitled to the headdress of white feathers which distinguishes the winefkēxa. Neither he nor his assistants are constantly painted this way, but they renew the painting frequently.

X881 These assistants do not have a special name. Their activity
625 depends entirely on the guard, and they take their instructions from him. This describes their service. Above all they help to capture the candidates at the beginning of the ceremony, and they also assist if an outsider has caused a disturbance or has come up too close and must be apprehended. One or another of these assistants accompanies the uśwāala to work outside the Great Hut because the winefkēxa himself should never be too far away from it.

X881 When the guard and his assistants fetch one candidate after
625 the other to the Great Hut, as we have just indicated, they use a long strip of leather which is about three centimeters wide and
283 12 to 15 meters long. This ūkeša is painted white and has red horizontal strips 20 to 30 centimeters apart. It is knotted at the end and made into a noose. This leather strap is fastened loosely lengthwise, not rolled up, to the framework inside the Great Hut so that it can be taken down ready for use at any moment. It is always in the same place; hence it is convenient and /841/ certain to be at hand for the men, who can instantly form up in such a way that the first in the row, noose in hand, can run out of the Great Hut first and strike out in the direction agreed upon. Extreme haste is sometimes necessary, certainly always when someone disturbing the peace is to be caught.

X881 They run one behind the other about two to three meters apart
625 in a row and grasp the long strap with the right hand while they carry the dancing sticks in the left hand. As soon as they are close enough to the candidate or the mischief-maker, the first in the row throws the noose over his head while the other helpers surround him until he is bound. Now they drag him to the Great Hut, whether or not he is willing. They also use this ūkeša to implant some wholesome fear in a stubborn, disobedient uśwāala. If the first and second warnings do not suffice and even a threat has no effect, the guard's assistants grab the rebel, wrap the

/849 cont./

X881 are children. The adults intend this to be the case, whether the children are about to be fetched or are still too young. All the children now know that these men have been appointed as guards who do not understand fun and will tolerate no disturbance. As a result, the small children stay away from the čiéxaus hut because they are afraid (268).

> 268. The older women who remain in the camp to take care of the small children expressly tell them about the arrival of the guards and their dragging away the candidates. They also tell them about "Yetaita" /a spirit/ so that fear and terror will have a prolonged effect.

/850/ When the frightened candidate has been brought to the main entrance, his bonds are loosed. He must squat down on all fours. The moment a man slightly raises the entrance covering outside, another pushes the chap from behind through the entrance and into the Great Hut. Inside he is received by another man who immediately throws a large piece of leather over his head, so that he cannot see what is going on. Thus covered and crawling on hands and feet, he is pushed forward until he reaches the place beside the sponsor selected for him. Here he may straighten up and, with his legs crossed under him, squats in expectation of what soon follows.

β. Reception in the Great Hut

The candidate is still unable to see anything because his face remains covered. From the moment he is pushed in, all the occupants start an indescribable yelling and howling; they drum on the smooth ground with their fists and violently shake the entire framework. The helpless chap is in an awful state, for he has a foreboding of dreadful things and knows that he is completely defenseless.

X881 Long before, at the direction of the leader, several of the
302 men very stealthily prepared for the appearance of Yetāita. In

/850 cont./

X 881 302 the underbrush near the Great Hut a younger man has taken off his clothing and smeared his whole body with white paint on which he then evenly arranges short vertical lines five centimeters long and as wide as a finger. His face is covered with thick red paint, and many delicate white lines, like rays, extend in all directions from both corners of his mouth. From one shoulder to the other, forming an arc across his chest, hangs a feather ornament made exactly like the forehead decoration of a yēkamuĭ. This man does not wear an ornament on his head; instead, he ruffles up his hair and rubs ĭmi powder into it. Two other men usually help him make up.

The man who plays the part of Yetĭ́ita usually appears with a companion. The latter wears a headband of leafless twigs. The lower part of his face up to the nostrils is painted white, the upper part black; isolated parts of his body are rubbed with fine powdered charcoal (269).

269. This figure resembles the so-called "Hase" in the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 925).

X 881 When the candidate who has just been introduced has been shoved into his place, they motion to the man who represents the "evil spirit." Sometimes he has been kept hidden behind a curtain near the secondary entrance. Imperceptibly he moves toward the uĭwā́ala. At the moment /851/ the scrap of leather is removed from the face of the uĭwā́ala, Yetĭ́ita leaps in front of him. Two other men have stirred up the embers in such a way that it looks as though the "evil spirit" had risen up out of the flames. Immediately the struggle begins. Yetĭ́ita very energetically puts his arms around the frightened chap, shakes him vigorously, bends him angrily from side to side, presses him against the ground, and tortures him until beads of cold sweat appear on the boy's body. Yetĭ́ita does not say a word; he is careful to turn his head so that it is impossible for the boy to recognize his face. Meanwhile the yelling and howling of the inmates has increased, as well as their drumming and stamping upon the ground. The struggle with the "evil spirit" lasts about ten minutes. In desperate helplessness and

/860 cont./

X881 morning when old Alfredo noticed my troubled state, he merely said indifferently but decisively: "One must have learned to get 866 along with little room even for sleeping at night!" Later I again heard this explanation: "Sometimes bad weather overtakes several families, all of whom must find room in a single small hut. In the canoe, also, in dangerous seas, all the occupants must squat motionlessly crowded together for a long period. Our young people learn such [skills] here in the čiexaus!" If one of them should fall asleep from fatigue during the day, he is immediately shaken so hard that he soon gets over his sleepiness. With regard to these restrictions imposed on his protégé every sponsor is almost unfeeling.

[533] The uninterrupted singing throughout the whole night is intended not only to ward off evil spirits, but is also supposed to make the people in the dwellings believe that no one in the Great Hut is sleeping and that all of them are always awake.

X881 4. Body Decoration. The Yamana quite generally like to decorate their bodies on certain occasions. Chief among these 302 decorations is body painting, which is quickly and easily done. The uswala constantly wear certain facial designs which make them recognizable as such. At least twice a day these are touched up for them, because they unavoidably become blurred. The sponsor himself regularly paints these designs on his protégé. As is customary generally, he mixes the red or black powdered pigment with blubber, water, or saliva in a mussel shell or in the palm of his left hand and applies the mixture in lines or dots on the face with a short little painting stick. Often he first smears the entire face with white paint, since on this background the drawings stand out better.

It is not customary to paint the candidate's entire body. He is characterized by one, two, or three thin lines extending from the nostrils or corners of the mouth to the ear lobes on either side. These are red and only very exceptionally black. Furthermore, a favored design for the uswala consists of fine red lines extending from the lower eyelid over the cheek, perhaps three in number or even up to 15.

These two basic patterns are the ones most often used for the candidates, but there is nothing to stop the adults from copying

/860 cont./

X881 302 the same drawings for themselves (Fig. 84). To this extent, they are not exclusively reserved for the ulwala. Sometimes, especially for the nightly dances and if visits are expected, other patterns are also painted on the candidates' faces.

X881 292 The adult participants really should always wear their hapaxél, the narrow headband (p. 693); the sponsor attends to this duty for the candidate. He himself makes the hapaxél for his protégé, removes it from his head just before he goes to sleep at night, puts it on him again in the morning, and adjusts it for him /861/ several times during the day. It is carefully guarded; under no circumstances may it be left lying on the ground. Everyone hangs it up behind him on the /Fig. 84 appears here/ lattice work of the hut framework (280) when he removes it from his head.

> 280. This solicitude reminds one of the anxious attention that all the Selk'nam give to their own masks in the Great Hut of the men (Vol. I, 917).

X881 293 Besides the hapaxél, the sponsor at the very beginning hands his protégé the customary dance staff. During the evening games it is held in the hand, otherwise it stands upright and firm in the ground (p. 694).

X881 292 293 /862/ There is a lovely symbolic meaning connected with these two objects. We have already briefly mentioned (p. 681) that the čiéxaus huf, according to the original Yamana conception, actually represents an alfin, a rock cave on the shore into which dashes the water of the sea. The dancing waves are crested with foam. The delicate white fluff on the hapaxél symbolizes the evanescent foam on the crest of the waves; the rolling motions to and fro with the dance staff held crosswise are meant to indicate the undulating play of the waves which restlessly rise and fall. Because the waves in an alfin ceaselessly ebb and flow, the occupants of the čiéxaus constantly wear the hapaxél and several times a day lightly swing their dance staffs as they make a few dance motions.

[Text continues on page 715.—Analyst]

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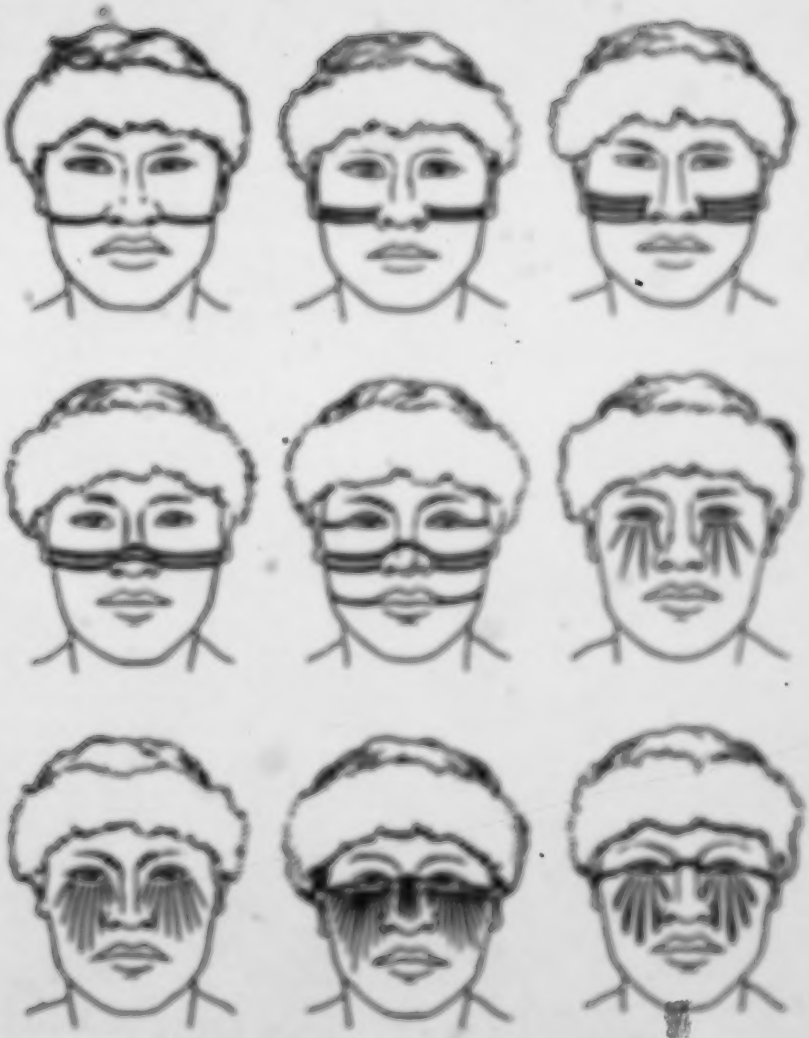

Fig. 94. Facial Painting of the Candidates.

/363 cont./

them that a person too dexterity set through his term as *ohwejin* in the youth initiation.

They have not entirely forgotten the earlier custom, but have provided a neat substitute in the form of special body painting, which, however, only adult participants use. They paint the entire upper part of the body red and over this draw a white band the width of three fingers, which starts on either side of the spinal column and extends over the uppermost part of the arm and horizontally across the chest. I was definitely assured that this body painting is applied instead of the former tattooing. One day or another a man will still paint himself in this fashion.

The external measures to which each candidate of the *Tahgan* has to submit are really designed to harden his whole body thoroughly. All candidates show great fatigue even after the first three days. This is consciously sought; it is meant to make each *ohwejin* amenable and to prepare him for the further aims of the *Tahgan*.

/364/ β. Instruction

The participants never lose sight of the fact that this event is supposed to be a period of serious testing for their young people. Accordingly, some hours every day are devoted to teaching and instruction. Unfortunately, at present even this essential part of the entire *Tahgan* is not taken as seriously as it was formerly. The old people feel that the youth of today have for some time been alienated from the old tribal traditions and have adjusted to European standards of living. Hence the adults do not spend nearly as much time and effort on the actual instruction as they did formerly.

During my first initiation, however, we were required to congregate regularly each evening with our venerable instructor, for at that time Alfwedo, the leader, was particular about keeping strict order. During my second initiation old Whalto had all the *ohwejin* sitting on his feet on one occasion only, and at that time he could give us only a very small part of the wealth of earlier exhortations. Many conscientious Tatanos regret this decline more deeply, but within themselves, faithfully shielded by a reliable memory, they carry everything that was once offered them in the

/914 cont./

participants paint their bodies. Spots of color and everything indicating that such painting has been done are removed without delay. Anyone coming to the Great Hut finds no traces of painting nor any indication that eating is done here. The fire-area, too, is /915/ carefully kept in order and the ashes always scraped to the center again if a gust of wind or a strong movement has stirred them up (337).

> 337. Formerly the ashes were scraped together with a stick; today a broom is used and the floor swept, regardless of the thick clouds of dust stirred up. Often the ashes are simply heaped up with both hands.

These efforts at cleanliness are not applied to the body itself. Without doubt the participants become even dirtier in the Great Hut where they spend a long time. This offends no one.

5. Body Ornamentation. Everyone, on the other hand, is conscientiously concerned with whatever is demanded in the way of body ornamentation. In the modern period, however, this strict obligation has also been somewhat relaxed. Originally everyone in the fighting hut wore the feather crown, hapagh, even when no group singing or dancing was taking place. Although on these occasions adults nowadays tie this strip of skin with down-feathers around their foreheads, they take it off for comfort several hours of the day. This would never be permitted for the dhegiale. The latter wear a hapagh of the same shape and size as the one worn by adults (p. 718).

According to the ancient rule, no one may sit in the Great Hut without some kind of facial painting. In this matter, too, the people nowadays have become negligent, for they paint themselves for the most part in the evening only, just before the dances. A single red line as wide as a finger from the nostrils across the cheek to the ear lobe suffices, and it is very quickly applied. Soon after getting up, instead of washing themselves as we do, every adult draws this line on his face. If it should be rubbed off, as is unavoidable, it is easily renewed. This is the simplest form of facial painting. A person who feels like it will decorate

X881
302

/915 cont./
himself somewhat better during the day; at least he does so in the late afternoon before the group dances begin.

Choosing one's ornamentation is a matter of personal taste and sense of beauty; the inspiration of the moment leads to one choice today and another tomorrow. A few basic patterns are expanded and varied in one way or another. Figure 85 shows the facial painting of women in the three upper heads and that of men in the three lower ones. We present only these few examples. In Drawing a, note a broken red line at the level of the eyes, ten fine red lines under each eye, and five on the nose. This is very much like Drawing b, where seven thin red lines are drawn under each eye and three on the nose. Drawing c is another variation; the whole face is painted red, and the white lines are then applied on this background. The latter ornamentation is generally used by the inmates of the čiéxaus hut when they expect outside visitors. In the next three examples of ornamentation a white background is first applied, upon which red lines are drawn according to the patterns reproduced in Figure 85. /916/ Sometimes the candidates are also decorated in this way. Now and then, in a fit of enthusiasm, someone will crush a little piece of charcoal and rub the fine powder all over his face and over his simple line paintings. Another person may do the same with white chalk powder.

In former times people were not satisfied with this ornamentation, but extended it to body painting for the nightly dances. /Fig. 85 appears here./ It was easily accomplished in these days because the body covering was very scant. Reminiscent of this is the men's present custom of rolling up their sleeves above their elbows and their pants above the knees in order to paint the exposed parts of these limbs. For their part, older women lay bare the entire upper body, including the arms, rub it with white color, and draw thick red lines and red dots in various arrangements upon it. Formerly this decoration was continued on the lower part of the body.

Since the painting must be renewed daily, considerable amounts of red and white pigment, namely, ímí and tumarápu, are used during the long period of the initiation. Everyone provides himself with sufficient amounts ahead of time. A person

/916 cont./

who uses the latter pours the fine powder /917/ into a mussel shell or into the hollow of his left hand, stirs it with saliva or with a few drops of water, and smears this mixture on his body with the palms of both hands. It quickly dries near the fire and looks dazzling. In order to rub it into the hair, they use čílēr, a small ball of fine wood shavings of Berberis ilicifolia, which is saturated with it. The red pigment is mixed with blubber, and

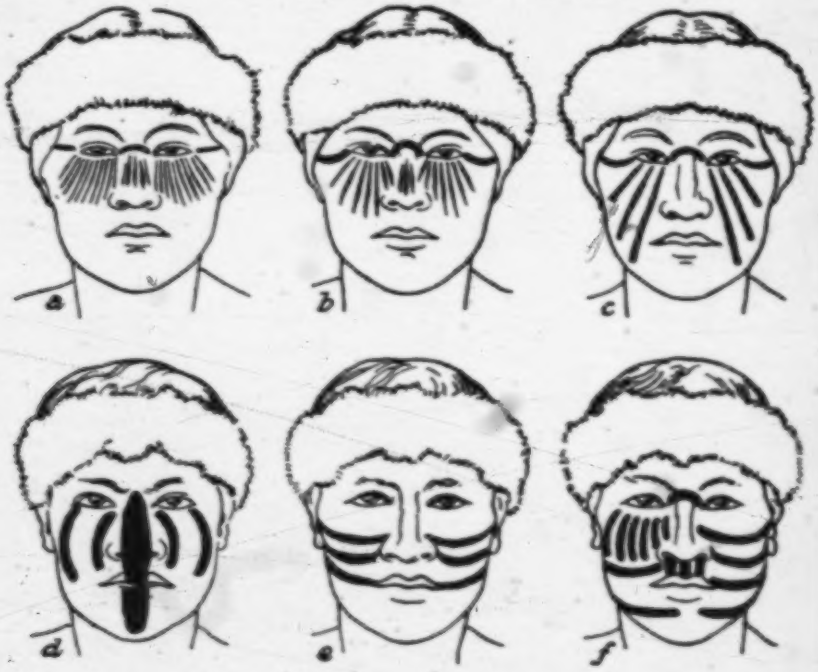

Fig. 85. Facial Painting of the Adult Participants.

they use the little painting stick to draw the fine lines; wider lines and dots are made with the index finger.

Nowadays people generally deplore the indolence of many adults who are scarcely able to summon the energy for the simplest facial painting for a few hours a day. With these empty complaints, however, they let the matter rest. Formerly a glance into the čiēxaus hut must have excited remarkable reactions when the white color all over the bodies of the participants squatting on the

/917 cont./

X881 302 floor in two rows was lighted by the glow of the fire. These white figures seemed like creatures from another world. The dull, dirty rags of culture into which the Yamana today wrap themselves have regrettably put an end to this strange and very effective costume.

γ. Song and Dance

X881 533 535 A person who enters the čiexaus hut wishes above all to give himself up to self-reflection and undisturbed concentration. The disposition of human beings, however, calls for change within a certain time span, in order to refresh the spirit and give strength for new efforts. Hence almost every day is concluded with dances in the late evening.

The Yamana reveal no particular talent for either song or dance. Nevertheless, they have created a few very simple melodies in which either the same tone is repeated rhythmically or simple combinations, mostly thirds, alternate. They are not familiar with round dances or complicated dance figures, but instead, with amazing mimicry, they imitate the particular type of animal which they wish to portray. This ability of our Fuegians will be described in more detail below. Here we simply point out that particularly in the čiexaus hut they enjoy dancing and singing to the point of satiety.

X881 533 1. The Constant Singing. There must never be complete silence in the Great Hut, either day or night. At least one person must sing in an audible voice. The reason given is that this is to prove to the spirits, especially Yetšita, that the people assembled here are awake. At the very beginning of the celebration, after the participants have assembled and have given themselves up for two or three hours to thoughtful meditation, the leader or overseer starts the low singing, other persons gradually join him, and after that it does not cease until the end of the long event. /918/ When most of the people present have gone to sleep in the late evening, some persons will remain in the squatting position and continue singing. If later on the latter, too, should abandon themselves to sleep, one of the sponsors will keep up the singing, for there is always one person awake to watch over each uwiala.

/922 cont./

X881 return, or rather, find their way back to where they belong." In
533 referring to these "spirits" our Yamana mean in particular the
781 memory-pictures and fantasies which take tangible form in their vivid imagination, with whom they associate in their thoughts and also converse in audible words. In the čiēxaus they feel they are in /923/ another state of mind and believe themselves to be in another world in which their imaginings appear to them as real persons. From this other imaginary world they first of all dismiss the "spirits" who have appeared and who are now returning to their own abode. After that they themselves turn back to their own everyday world by shaking off the extraordinary čiēxaus state of mind. That is why, at the conclusion of the tāxer song, everyone present summons back "his own spirit" by making a wide sweeping movement with his arm and pulling it back again quickly, at the same time closing his outstretched hand in a tight fist. This means, in other words, that everyone now returns from the enthusiasm or ecstasy brought on by the singing to an everyday, calm frame of mind. In reality, therefore, the words of the Yamana about the various kēspiť assembled in the čiēxaus hut do not refer to personified spirits but to a simple change of mood or a transfer from a world of very lively imagery to the passionless, prosaic activity of the mind.

X881 After the almost motionless squatting during the greater part
533 of the day everyone regards the physical exertion of dancing and
535 group singing as a boon. There must be such variety and it is regularly granted the ušwīala also. It is appropriately put at the end of the day, and directly after that the leader gives the signal for the night's rest (p. 782). Everyone sticks his dance staff upright into the ground, hangs his hapaxēl on the wall of the hut, and settles down to sleep. Now it is quiet again in the Great Hut and only one or two low voices continue the uninterrupted singing.

X881 3. Memories of the Deceased. Let it be briefly repeated
302 that everyone present paints himself expressly for these evening dances (p. 788). Formerly the women more than the men drew a great many patterns of red, white, and black lines in dots and circles all over their bodies; nowadays they are content to paint their faces, arms, and legs. Only a few women still paint the upper part of the body (p. 789). The facial painting of the ušwīala is, of course, renewed in the evening.

/923 cont./

X 881 ●302 769 152

Since every adult in the Cíexaus hut thoroughly reviews in his mind the events and experiences of recent years, the memory of his dead relatives is very vivid. He gives repeated and open expression to it, first of all by means of a painting executed in such a way that everyone immediately interprets it as a sign of mourning. Occasionally a person will, in his grief, very excitedly pick up a small piece of charcoal, crush it with furious haste between the palms of his hands, and in a frenzy rub the powder all over his face. This is a sign of deepest mourning over

Fig. 86. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

the recent loss of a very close relative. In memory of loved ones who /924/ have been dead for some time, the face is covered with symbolic patterns inspired by an unpredictable fancy of the moment.

X 881 302 769

Figure 86 shows a few of these patterns. In a, a single black line is drawn straight across each cheek. Noticeably in contrast to this, the whole face in b is rubbed with imi powder, on top of which two medium-thick black lines are drawn. In c the unusual outlining of the eyes in black pigment and the short line below the under lip is likewise applied on a red background. /Fig. 86 appears here./ In d again the whole face is first painted red and afterward a complicated pattern is applied with black pigment. Still other

X881 /924 cont./
drawings and patterns are carried out, depending on the artistic
● 302 fancy that creates them. Each person present, of course, wears
769 the hapaxēl and carries his short, decorated dance staff.

With this painted ornamentation and in memory of the de-
X881 ceased, the individual dances back and forth for a while, gliding
535 through the entire room. As is the case with these dance move-
769 ments in general, the body is held almost straight, the legs are bent somewhat at the knees, and the feet are placed one behind the other, close together. The left foot hops a few centimeters forward and the right foot is pulled after it. The fingers of both hands hold the dance staff horizontally or slightly diagonally and lift it slowly up and down with rolling motions toward the body. Sometimes both hands grasp the short staff held sideways and downward and move it forward and backward as though rowing. It is even grasped at the center with the right hand alone and held horizontally at shoulder height, as though it were a harpoon. In this position the dancing person will quickly glide along the area of the fire, and another person will do the same in a path close to him, but in such a manner that the two move past each other in opposite directions from one exit to the other.

X881 Meanwhile the mourner will utter short laments. After a
535 few minutes he will sit down and repeat his show of grief in long
769 sentences. For example, on the second evening old Mary sadly
152 cried out while the dancing was going on: "At that time when my parents, my uncle, and my aunt were still living and performed in the čiēxaus hut, a great many people were gathered together. All of them knew the game well and all were enjoying it. Today we are but a very /925/ few. We hardly know how to perform the čiēxaus beautifully. That makes me very sad!" On the next evening I heard the following words from the same Mary: "Ah, how poor we Yamana are today! Only a few of our people are still living. That makes me indescribably sad. In my memory I see the many who were with me in the čiēxaus for the first time; today I am the only one left of all of them!" She was immediately joined by her husband Richard: "At the time when my mother gave birth to me it was very nice among us Yamana; there were still many people living and we were a large family. But today I am in a very poor state, for I am alone in the world! My brothers and sisters are dead, my parents have not been living for a long

/944 cont./

X881 him carefully and try to guess who he was, exchanging observa-
524 tions with glances or in a very low voice. The masker would leave after a while, without having identified himself. At any rate, this strange visit offered the gathering a refreshing change.

X881 7. Visits. It is convenient to add to our description of songs and dances a brief discussion of the ceremonious visits of a sepa-
574 rate group of people to the čiēxaus hut on any day. It is easy to guess the reason for this custom. Of necessity a few older persons remain behind in the camp while the čiēxaus celebration is going on in the Great Hut, either on account of illness or to care for the small children. They are, of course, free to come at any time, but the entire assembly also wants to thank formally those who /945/ devote themselves to the supervision of the camp. The solemn welcome is supposed to be a substitute to the outsiders for all the lovely things they must forgo. On their part, the inmates of the Great Hut feel honored by the interest of those persons who come on one occasion or another to the čiēxaus gathering. Naturally, only adults who have gone through an initiation may enter.

The visit would not take place under any circumstances unless there had been an announcement from one side or the other. Usually the outsiders who feel a compulsion to spend an evening once again among their fellow-tribesmen announce themselves. They inform the leader of their intention, either through the kitchen women or directly. Some preparation must be undertaken within the Great Hut; it would be quite impossible for the group of visitors to come there abruptly.

X881 A good, accurate facial decoration, such as is customary for visits, is the only special preparation the visitors must make. It
574 is unnecessary for them to paint the body. This is not the case for
● 302 the people in the čiēxaus hut, who, besides their facial painting, also decorate the whole body. A background of white pigment is first applied on the face and body. Over this a red line the width of a finger runs from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. Over the whole body, as well as on arms and legs, finger-thick red rings are drawn and spaced a hand's breadth apart. Everyone,
[301] of course, wears his hapaxēl. The uswāala are decorated with particular care on this occasion to prove to the visitors how attentively the candidates are cared for.

/997 cont./

628 know how the injured party is doing when fears are felt for his death,
626 and I have heard them express the horrible sensations which creep over them when the sense of blood-guiltiness is likely to be charged against them" /cited in English/. The attention of the people in general and of every individual group is earnestly directed toward preventing any murderous deed.

Whenever such an act occurs, the nearest relatives of the vic-
628 tim adopt a special facial painting. Despard (VP:VII, 9;1860) (419)
302

419. Earlier Fitz-Roy (a):177 noted: "White feathers, or white down, on the fillet, is a sign of hostility, or of being prepared for war. Their white paint is added to the red when preparing for war; but the marks made are mere daubs, of the rudest, if of any design. Black is the mourning colour" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):198 and Hyades (q):375 write in a similar vein.

has already mentioned "white stripes dotted with black, in regular rows on the face" /cited in English/. Sometimes the whole body is uniformly smeared with black. All other persons who are close to the deceased also paint themselves in some way, but usually are satisfied with a few red, white, and black lines on their faces, in an arbitrary pattern. Around their foreheads they tie a narrow strip of skin with down, apawē̂ra. In doing this they are following a custom that is general when death occurs. The actual decoration signifying a murder consists of several vertical red lines on the face, spreading out in rays from the level of the eyes.

628 The persons concerned set about spreading the news of the murderous deed without delay and, along with reliable friends, form a fighting group, for the duty of blood vengeance hammers insistently on everyone's conscience. It applies to every friend and relative, as is shown by the specific /998/ term matā̂ja-magū̂wa, "a man against whom persons have a grudge and purpose to fight with and punish because he did not take up his and their murdered friend's cause as he ought" /cited in English/ (BD:306). When a considerable horde of avengers has banded together, the opponents,

/998 cont./

628 who anxiously watch every development, know it, and they, too, assemble in as great a number as possible. When both parties feel equal to each other, they prepare a regular attack. The able-bodied men and women get into their canoes, after they have provided themselves with ample supplies of stones and weapons (420).

> 420. I have nowhere found confirmed what Fitz-Roy (a):196 maintains: "When the Fuegians are inclined to attack an enemy with stones, they generally try to raise a breastwork of boughs or logs" /cited in English/. Another fact which he (a):186 mentions, however, is correct: "Hostilities are usually carried on with slings and stones rather than by close encounters" /cited in English/. Compare Bove (e):158 and Lothrop (b):164.

Persons who are old and feeble and children must remain behind in the camp. Usually it quite naturally happens that a capable yékamuš or a clever, reckless fellow commands and leads the whole group. As a rule, the persons who were associated with the dead person paint their whole bodies black, and the opposing group, red. [302]

The canoes then push off from shore and arrange themselves in an exact row so that their keels form a straight line, each about two meters apart. The so-called commander is very much on the alert to make sure that no canoe gets out of line. If it does, he hurls a stone from his sling into the water in front of the canoe as a warning. Thus lined up, the two fighting groups approach each other. During the slow journey, they stir up their excitement and fighting lust by means of loud talk, agitated gestures, and insulting calls directed at the opponents. When they are only about 20 meters apart, both sides begin hurling stones from their slings. When the two groups are close enough, they begin a furious scuffle, for as soon as the canoes touch lengthwise, the men face to face beat each other with clubs and poles, spears and harpoons. Meanwhile the women, paddling and maneuvering on either side, keep the boats of the fighting men close together. Soon the men shift over to actual wrestling; they seize each other and tug hard, opposing one

/1013 cont./

516 This greeting is usually not answered. If someone wants to reply, he says: "ŭla yĕlla, you may go"; "leave me, or You may leave me" /cited in English/.

If a person meets another in friendly fashion, he throws out an "ǵpa sǵ, how are you?" If the other has nothing special to report, he smilingly repeats this ǵpa sǵ. Often, however, he comes out, rather unconsciously, with: "bāf hăjma, I'm not too well!" No one takes this seriously, however. Others who are not so close to each other walk past utterly mute and are content with a few mutual glances in which, however, they visibly express all kinds of feelings (434).

> 434. Spegazzini (a):167 who denies that our Yamana have any kind of social etiquette nevertheless confesses: "They exchange looks that are as eloquent as any speech..." /translated from Spanish/. Compare also the brief footnote 433.

514 From an earlier period Despard (b):716 describes a form of welcome which I cannot confirm from my own experience. "The mode of receiving strangers is strange. Comers are seen approaching -- wigwam people hear the news -- and consult as to who they may be, look about inside, and make as many spaces round the fire as there are guests to occupy them. Newcomers enter and occupy. Then the in-party turn their back to the fire and make a simultaneous talking. The newly-arrived make a general response. Then both parties assume the face-to-fire position and the ceremony of reception is concluded" /cited in English/.

514 302 An actual visit is quite generally referred to as tĕppi, not just under the circumstances mentioned by BD:409. The visitor is not supposed to appear without any kind of body painting. At least a few white or red lines are drawn on the face, following the pattern customary for the ufwĭala in the čĭexaus. Women and children are much more punctilious about this duty than are older men. For simple visits one or two horizontal lines, say from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes, suffice. A person who wishes to honor the other particularly not only paints his face more elaborately, but also very precisely. Besides their faces, older women in particular also decorate the entire upper part of their bodies with

/1013 cont./

514 great care. This type of decoration, which is more or less com-
302 plicated, is used when a child appears before its parents, a bride-
groom before his bride, a woman before her intimate female friend. Young people who have already gone through the čiéxaus would not be permitted to present themselves before their sponsor or their adoptive mother, adakuťruwaxípa, without this decoration. Such negligence would be tantamount to an insult or contempt. A person who hears that he will soon have the pleasure of a visit quickly paints himself to show how pleased he is. If he has not had time to do it, he paints himself in the presence of the
[608] visitor. The sponsor loves to visit her protégé of the čiéxaus and paint on his cheeks the lines customary for that occasion. All the neighbors praise this evidence of the pair's great intimacy and joyfully tell everyone: "She [the sponsor] painted him!" /1014/ He must appear before her now and then with this design, just as adults, according to the universal rule, are expected to appear with painted decorations when repaying a visit.

514 Linked with this requirement to decorate oneself for visits
515 is the related one of physical cleanliness. Everyone at least removes the worst dirt from his face and from hands and feet, arranges his hair, and puts on his cleanest back-cape. No one makes great demands in this respect, but every visitor must at least show that he has done a little something to appear clean. Naturally he puts on his most precious ornaments. All this is to show that the visitor esteems the one whom he visits.

514 Although the Yamana are unpretentious about physical
516 cleanliness (p. 28), they are remarkably strict with regard to their natural functions. No one speaks of them. A person who wants to relieve himself quietly leaves the circle of people and goes some distance away. Two people would never do it close together; boys who venture to do so and are observed must expect to have stones thrown at them and be beaten. A person who has to go out at night must not show annoyance at having to go far away from the hut or he would be severely reproached. Children and young people may not loudly break wind in the circle of older people; the latter, however, are free to do so and reap smirks of approval.
516 Very loud and vigorous belching does not disturb anyone, nor do
515 the rasping clearing of the throat and the constant spitting. They are always scratching their heads and all over the body to relieve

/1060 cont./

782 539 With this longer phrase the people thank the Supreme Being for providing them with a new summer and with it another new bit of life. -- BD:25 writes annūočia.

(13) Ašárǰ, hipā́i tumiā́ana,
Thanks, us we paint with egg yolk,

hākukísin.
summer is here.

In detail this phrase means: Thanks be to thee, Watauinēiwa, that [through thy grace] we may experience this new summer; as an expression of our joy, we are painting ourselves with egg yolk. -- BD:262 writes hākukísin, "the other, another summer" /cited in English/. BD:493 gives tūmīaana, "to beautify or adorn oneself in any way" /cited in English/. -- With this exclamation they invite each other to make a special facial painting as soon as the first birds' eggs are available in spring. With the yolk of a fresh egg they smear /1061/ a line the width of a finger, which begins at the edge of the hair, goes across the forehead and the bridge of the nose, and down to the upper lip. While this is going on there is lively and sometimes boisterous merriment. Filled with gratitude, they do not always address Hidā́buan directly with this prayer formula, but it is done indirectly whenever they recite it.

[302]

(14) Annu, hā́ia, kēmaustuximaxuiā́ina yā́rum,
Now then, for me troubled himself for favorable weather

hipikā́ia kēmaustuximā́gua Watauinēiwa.
for us troubled himself Watauinēiwa.

With these words, too, they thank the Supreme Being for the favorable weather which he provided for the canoes. An individual is speaking for himself personally and for his companions. -- Compare ūīaina in BD:66, as well as its use in Formula 5 (p. 983) and Formula 2 (p. 983).

/1115 cont./

765 302 Since our Fuegians are very dependent on everything visual, actual outward signs of mourning are no less important for them. /1116/ Body painting is of primary importance. It is absolutely demanded -- and no one would be guilty of negligence in this respect -- that anyone who learns of the death must paint himself in some way. A person chooses the particular pattern he wants, but he must paint himself. This is the way one shows his participation in the event and his sympathy with those chiefly affected, and it is universally regarded as of primary importance. Even before death has set in, everyone present reaches for a small piece of charcoal, crushes it between his hands, and rubs the powder over his whole body. As soon as the shrill outcry from the hut of the dying person announces that he has expired, everyone in the neighboring huts immediately rubs his face with charcoal dust in the same manner. If a canoe approaches the coast and its occupants wear the decoration of mourning, the people on shore do not await its arrival and the message, but paint themselves without delay and, thus prepared, hasten toward the new arrivals from whom they hear the news. Everyone who receives news of a death from whatever source must immediately paint himself in some way.

The nearest relatives of the deceased always apply only the dry charcoal powder all over their bodies. They rub it into their faces several times a day, usually at times when their sorrow wells up more acutely. In their excitement they are not particular about distributing the color evenly. Irregular stripes and large spots cover their faces and bodies, and they look frightfully ugly. This appeals to them. For many days they must paint themselves anew each morning, soon after they awaken and before they eat anything. They also immediately commence their song of mourning, which they accompany with loud weeping. This occupies the period roughly between four and six o'clock. Some people regularly begin their day in this manner for many months after the death of their relative, and this incessant manifestation of mourning has a shattering effect on all the people in the neighboring huts. During the day, of course, they also maintain the customary body painting for the deceased.

There are, however, some mourners who after about three weeks begin to take some pains with their facial painting and do it

/1116 cont./

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more carefully. Their favorite pattern is nonsymmetrical. They rub half the face with red pigment, the other half with black, the color having first been mixed with blubber. With the nails of the four fingers they scratch thin lines into this even layer from the eyelids across the cheeks to the edge of the jaw bone. These lines are supposed to indicate the paths of the many tears, as though they had washed the color away.

It is the general practice, then, for the nearest relatives of the deceased, as well as all the friends and neighbors, to rub dry charcoal dust all over the body /1117/ during the days immediately following death. A few women are satisfied to paint only their heads and the upper part of their bodies. Some of the men go further, however, and draw a white, arched line a hand's breadth wide from one shoulder to the other; others add to this pattern by drawing a similar vertical line from the throat to the navel. All this applies to the nearest relatives, who regularly follow the above style, whereas other people are free to choose any kind of pattern. On their faces they usually apply white or red dots, crosshatching, and lines in all kinds of arrangements on the black background (59). This type of body painting is used

59. This practice can be illustrated by a small group of mourners whom Aspinall (MM:XXII, 192;1885) observed on May 31, 1885. "When we arrived they were all painted, and, on asking the cause, we found that on the morning of our arrival a canoe had upset and two children were drowned. The nearest relatives had their faces quite black, the chief friends had streaks of red radiating from the eyes over the cheeks, while one woman, to tell the cause of death, had two lines of white drawn from ear to ear across the bridge of the nose, with white spots between of graduated sizes from the nose to the ears" /cited in English/.

when the death was caused by illness or old age; in itself it means a natural death (60).

60. This is probably the reason that other

/1117 cont./

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observers quite generally call black the color of mourning. Hyades (g):39, for example, writes: "They also wear outward signs of mourning, black body painting."

In addition, particular drawings are used to indicate any kind of violent death. If a person has fallen from a cliff or from a tree, one first of all rubs his face with fine powdered charcoal and over that paints three vertical white lines, namely, from the bridge of the nose to the tip and on down from the mouth to the chin, and on both sides of the face from the outer corners of the eyes over the cheek bones and down to the edges of the jaw. These marks are separated by a white cross-stripe over the eyes and nose to complete the pattern. There is another somewhat more complicated design. First, a black background is put over the whole face. Over it, on one side of the face beginning at the eye, three white vertical lines are drawn to the edge of the jaw and a fourth stripe from the bridge of the nose to the tip of the chin. The other half of the face remains uniformly black or has three white cross-stripes from the corner of the mouth, the nostril, and the outer edge of the eye. The white lines, which symbolize the cliff or the tree, are sometimes also applied on a black background. Now and then the three cross-stripes are made with a mixture of white lime and black powdered charcoal stirred up with blubber. This last procedure is almost regularly used by the messengers who spread the news of the accident. Others recognize from afar the substance of their report.

/1118/ A considerable number of Yamana die by drowning. In order to announce this type of death the people mix white and black pigments and rub the mixture over the lower part of the face down to the mouth. This gray mixture resembles the slimy sediment on the sea floor with which the mouth of a drowned person is filled. In addition, they put a strip of skin with white down [301] feathers around their foreheads, which indicates the foam-crested waves in which the unfortunate one was drowned. The painted area which extends down to the mouth and not beyond is meant to show that a great deal of water entered the mouth (61). Sometimes

61. Bridges (MM:X, 80:1878) mentions that

/1118 cont./

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this type of accident is characterized by a special painting, but he does not describe it in detail: "By and by a company of Eastern arrived, they brought sad news: a canoe had been lost, with a large number of persons on board, among whom was the uncle and brother of this young fellow. He was very much troubled, yet mourned and grieved quietly. All those who came, and were in any way related to any of the lost party, had their faces painted in imitation of the waves of the sea, and all here, similarly circumstanced, did the same. This is their way of mourning and noted events" /cited in English/.

As "a sign of mourning for a drowned child," Aspinall:270 saw among the people of Wollamon "red lines on the faces of the men, as well as a dark cross-band with light dots on the faces of the women." This was merely common painting, not typical of this accident. Lovisato (b): 147 referred to specific kinds of painting for the various causes of death and probably based his statement on Bridges (i): 14, who clearly says: "There were regular systems of painting by which the nature of the death of the departed was indicated. Thus, for death by drowning the pattern was black bands with white edges, if by violence it was black or red with white spots, if natural a plain black" /cited in English/.

they also paint the upper half of the face a uniform black and add white cross-stripes close together or rows of dots. These horizontal lines are meant to indicate that the victim sank deeper and deeper which caused the rising water level to make

/1118 cont./

765 successive marks above the mouth.

302 Now and then a murder is committed. The friends and relatives of the unfortunate one call attention to it by means of several vertical red lines on the face, which radiate out from the level of the eyes. They set out to find the culprit and gather helpers to expiate the crime. They want to make it visible from afar that this is their intention. The straight red lines indicate the paths marked by the flowing blood. If this occasions combat (p. 901), the relatives and friends uniformly paint their entire bodies black, while the opponents paint themselves red. Each of these two groups paints the same color on their weapons and clubs.

Our Yamana do not by any means strictly adhere to these particular decorations. They often give in to momentary whims. One afternoon at a common funeral rite I saw that all the people present had followed the request of an old man /1119/ and painted half the face a uniform black while the other half was covered with fine vertical red lines, the former indicating an ordinary death a few weeks before, the latter as a reminder of a murder long ago. Actually, it is incumbent on the nearest relatives to apply the painting that indicates the specific cause of death, but just as they may disregard this and choose another type, so also may the friends and people less close to them adopt the latter. I was also told of the rule that the nearest relatives of the deceased must rub their faces and the upper part of their bodies to the navel with a uniform layer of dry charcoal dust, and that the neighbors and friends cover their entire bodies with vertical black lines set close together, with rows of white dots running over them and beside them. Actually, however, this ancient pattern is found only occasionally nowadays, and people limit it to the face alone. In more recent times, however, almost everyone as a rule wraps the strip of skin with down feathers around his forehead. A corpse is never painted, as has already been mentioned; only the corpse of a yékamuŕ is thus distinguished, as will be explained later.

Whereas the paintings described above have been preserved to this day, the tonsure of mourning, which was a general custom in former times has been abolished. Long ago Bridges (h):209 mentioned that "they were obliged to cut the hair on the crown of their

/1119 cont./

765 heads as a sign of mourning"/translated from Spanish/. On the
302 day when a death occurred, the women and children, not so often the men, had the hair on the top of their heads shaved with a mussel shell. Only a wide wreath of hair was left around the head. Thus, "for some time the hair on the crown of their head was shorn like a tonsure," as Hyades (g):39 and (p):330 expresses himself. The head was shaved only once; after that the hair was allowed to grown in freely. A man who wore this tonsure was called kēpikun, a woman, kēpikipa. BD:175 also gives this last word exactly as it is given here, but the first one somewhat differently. The Selk'nam (Vol. I, 556) have followed this custom more faithfully. Since Europeans have permanently settled in those regions, our Indians do not want to be conspicuous with a large tonsure and content themselves with cutting the hair all around their heads at the level of the ear lobes. They have recently given up even this symbol of mourning. The Tamana repeatedly assured me that formerly everyone took pains with the proper large tonsure of mourning. In recent times they all tie the strip of skin with down-feathers, apawōrs, around their heads instead.

765 Finally, a person who has been particularly affected by a death inflicts superficial wounds upon himself as a special expression of his sorrow. He takes sharp splinters of a mussel shell or a piece of slate and scratches first his arms and legs and then his chest until blood flows. /1120/ Bridges (MM:III, 119:1869), along with Hyades (q):379, Lovisato (b):147, and Spencer:104, asserts: "It is a common practice for near kindred to wound and cut themselves" /cited in English/. Nowadays among our Fuegians it is usually only the mother who inflicts such wounds upon herself when her child dies. Among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 556) many more people do this.

The hours immediately following the death of a relative or friend, during which the corpse is burned or buried, are filled with the shrill crying and pitiful howling of those present. After their feelings have been somewhat assuaged, more moderate songs of mourning replace the outcries. Other observers have made only fleeting references to them, for example, Hyades (q):379: "When the Fuegians learn of the death of a relative or friend, they immediately show their sorrow with great vehemence through tears

/1129 cont./

765 me with their support!" If many people happen to be together, a *tálagwaja* turn into a *yamalaémiqua* as a matter of course. As has been said, a special request goes out from the relatives of a murdered person because they are obliged to exact blood revenge and must solicit helpers. The final impetus for a general funeral rite is given by a few old people when they say that the situation and the mood of the people are appropriate for a general ceremony. Whoever happens to be on the spot takes part; no one would be excluded even if he came from a distant region. Sometimes families who are in the vicinity are notified, and they hasten there without delay.

765 302 If the people have quickly reached a decision in this simple and non-obligatory manner, they immediately begin the preparations. Actually, these involve nothing more than body painting which must be richer and more beautiful than for the inconspicuous *tálagwaja*. Everyone chooses a pattern according to his own taste and draws the stripes and dashes, rows of dots and lines in different colors and in various patterns of distribution on face, torso, and arms. Usually they develop the basic forms familiar to them from the *tálagwaja*, embellishing them into richer and more elaborate combinations.

The desire for colorful variety and a rich diversity of forms cannot be curbed even in the painting for mourning. At each *yamalaémiqua* I saw patterns that ranged from very simple to complex; a few are reproduced in Figure 86. The man (a) displays only three vertical black lines. The woman (b) has her whole face uniformly smeared with red and has six vertical black lines over it. The man (c) also has black lines on a red background. The woman (d) has wide black lines drawn upon the red background, the former being outlined by broken white lines. The man (e) also displays a red background; on each half of the face he has five vertical lines and one each line on the bridge of his nose as well as between the inner corners of the eyes. Finally the woman (f) has five thin red lines radiating out from the lower eyelid; the rest of the painting, that is, the entire lower part of the face, is black. Other /1130/ no less elaborate patterns are shown in Figure 86 on page 780. All the patterns, however, are derived from a few basic forms.

/[illegible] cont./

Almost all participants prefer the design which indicates the cause of death of the one who is especially mourned. Actually the citizens exert a good deal of effort and care to show how honestly and sincerely they are participating in the event. /Fig. 88 appears here./ Definite pressure is put upon those present when a murder has been committed; they express this in their facial painting, for everything serves the

Fig. 88. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

purpose of intimidating the culprit and his circle of kinsmen. In this case they prefer the following design: one side of the face is uniformly black; on the other side are alternating vertical rows of red and white dots placed close together.

The people are busy for some time in preparing their facial painting. They also wind the [illegible] around their foreheads. This decoration, also called [illegible], is a rather large triangular piece

/1315 cont./

Finally there are a few superstitious ideas of a different nature. Nelly assured me: "If half-grown children run away from their parental hut, if someone wounds himself badly with his ax or if he falls or stumbles and hurts himself seriously, it means that some person in his vicinity is going to die. The persons who have hurt themselves are not to blame, nor are these children who have run away. Their kéqui prompts them, and they can do nothing about it. The parents of a small child will not explain this to him if he has run away; instead they await with terror the death that has been thus announced." Nelly gave me this explanation when I told her that one day, late in the afternoon, the small daughter of Malemikeme had run away with some other girls (p.[illegible]). She pointed out to me that the wife of Thomas died that very night.

RO:274 gives hundí as a bad omen for the hunt, "a supposed evil influence arising from unclean and unwashed persons after sexual uncleanness saving animals, as guanaco or otter caught by dogs which caused them (the dogs) to cease to be successful in further hunting" /cited in English/. I did not come across this view; it does not agree with many ideas that have been definitely proved.

Young Darwin (f):II, 327 reports: "When York Minster was brought back to his own country the natives told him that he should pluck out the few short hairs on his face. They also threatened a young missionary who had been left among them for a time that they would strip him naked and pluck out the hairs on his face and body, although he was by no means very hirsute." Hyades (q):255 refers to this and asserts: "The Fueglans throw into the fire /1321/ hairs that have been plucked out or that have fallen out. They certainly do not destroy them as a hygienic precaution" /translated from French/. Actually, everyone is anxiously concerned about destroying every hair by fire with his own hands. Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 712), the Yamana do this purposely for fear a yékamul might pick up a single hair and, by means of it, more easily cause a person some harm. Anyone who is certain that he has nothing to fear does not resist having a sample of his hair cut off. I succeeded in doing this.

X575 /1329 cont./
292 replaced, for in the heat of the hut fire they unavoidably dry out and shrink to such an extent that they can no longer be used. Consequently the leather masks are more suitable and durable. A few of these masks suffice for the varied program, since only the painting needs to be changed to portray the various spirits. These masks are carefully protected and usually lie in the inner section of the Great Hut where they are handy for each man who wants to use them. A brief comment should be inserted here. Because of the special significance of the masks, children are not permitted to play with objects that resemble a mask or suggest one (p.580).

X575 While the discussions and immediate preparations are going on in the Great Hut, the mental attitude and the outward behavior of the women in the camp undergo a very apparent change. They actually have a slightly uncanny feeling, as though they were threatened and alarmed; they run back and forth restlessly and excitedly, as though at their wit's end; they talk to one another, first in one hut and then in another. By and large the thought of the approaching Kina with its many spirit-appearances has a trying and oppressive effect on all the women; some of them scarcely dare leave their huts and appear outside. The frightened behavior of the women has an effect on the children who huddle together in the hut and anxiously watch their mothers. This state of affairs lasts until shortly before sundown.

The women and children who are quietly and expectantly waiting in their dwellings have no idea what the men are doing in the secret hut after the first smoke appeared. Not a sound, not a sign from the leader reaches the camp for long hours. It is this uncertainty that makes the women and children so extremely tense. Meanwhile, however, the men in the Great Hut are not idle. They are preparing for the first appearance of the spirits. In March, 1922, the men present began their painting about five
•[302] in the afternoon. Before that they had painted their completely naked bodies. /1330/ Now they undress except for a small covering. To begin with they paint themselves with white diagonal stripes a handbreadth wide on limbs and torso. Toward six o'clock the leader comes out and stands beside the Kina hut, demanding in a loud voice that the women of the camp come out of their

/1330 cont./

dwellings. They are to sit in a tight group approximately midway between the camp and the Kina hut. Then he goes back in. Immediately a fearful, threatening howl begins in the Great Hut; all the men howl and groan at the top of their lungs to indicate that the mighty Tǎnuwa spirit has arrived in the Kina hut with intention of enslaving, torturing, maltreating, and assaulting everybody. The spirit does this personally as well as through various spirits which will soon appear before the eyes of all. Fear and terror are stamped on the faces of the women and children. The men howl and yell at intervals of several minutes, and each time the women tremble anew. Meanwhile it has grown dark.

Scarcely has the yelling of the men subsided when Masemikens places himself in front of the Great Hut and rapidly waves his outstretched arm in the air horizontally, describing a half-circle. He makes a loud, drawn-out hissing sound which is to invoke the first spirit, known as Kínamjāma. This spirit dances with mincing steps back and forth along the path on which the dances are performed. His arms are bent at right angles, and using both hands he carries a staff at eye level; his body has many red and black horizontal lines upon a white background. He glides along, dancing up and down the path several times, until the leader calls him back with a sign made with his arm. Instantly loud yelling and howling begin inside. Scarcely has it ceased when Masemikens again places himself beside the Great Hut and loudly calls a warning to the women that they must all stay in their places and await the appearance of other spirits. At brief intervals the yelling of the men inside is repeated.

Again the leader steps outside and announces to the women in an anxious voice: "The feared Kalampǎ́ǎ has just come down and will present himself immediately!" Meanwhile the men have [302] painted themselves with a few white diagonal stripes on their upper bodies and in the center a similar longitudinal stripe. Soon the [533] entire assembly of men inside begins to sing hāj húǐu, hāj húǐu in a monotone and with a hammering rhythm. At first it is scarcely audible; then it grows louder and is slowly accelerated. Meanwhile six men arrange themselves close together in a row, each placing his arms over the shoulders and around the neck of each of his neighbors. Moving sideways in short steps this intertwined row

/1331 cont./

X575 repeated in the Kina hut. The leader of the festival again steps out and shouts over to the camp: "The women must again assemble and come closer, soon the son of Kalampáĭa will come down from above and present himself before the eyes of all!" All the inmates of the camp immediately follow this summons and again squat down in the spot they quitted just about thirty minutes before. Meanwhile Santiago is being prepared for the proposed spirit-appearance. He already has wide horizontal and vertical
[302] stripes all over his body. Now four white rings are painted on his arms and the spaces between filled with red. His legs are covered from top to bottom with white. The mask that is slipped over his head has several narrow horizontal red lines on a uniformly white background.

Again the men in the Great Hut utter their howling calls. The women and children anxiously await the event that has been announced. /1332/ Inside, meanwhile, Santiago has been practicing the dance peculiar to this spirit. Again Maĭemikens steps out beside the Kina hut; this time he keeps his face covered with a piece of dark material. He utters a strong hō in a high-pitched voice several times in the direction of the group of attentive women. Then he turns about-face, with his back to the group, turns his head toward the hut entrance, stretches out his right arm, and makes a semicircle in the air with a vigorous jerk, at the same time hissing a loud and long drawn-out s sound. Santiago obeys this signal and comes dancing out, portraying the
[535] son of the Kalampáĭa spirit. With his legs far apart, he steps sidewise along the dance course, tripping lightly, extending one foot and drawing the other after it. He moves back and forth several times; Maĭemikens follows him with his glance and finally summons him back into the hut with the same arm movement. Here he is received with a loud, howling, long drawn-out hō hō... by all the people present. This soon changes to a rapid la la... and gradually dies away as a sustained, low gā gā... The women interpret the complete quiet that now prevails in the Kina hut as a sign that the "spirits" have withdrawn. Hence they, too, leave their places and silently hasten back to their dwellings. The men, for their part, wash off the painting and get dressed. Now they can take a rest, knowing that they have struck terror in the hearts of the women and children.

/1332 cont./

X575 ●302 Half an hour passes in pleasant conversation. Meanwhile Santiago has again been violently pricking the inside of his nose; the blood falls in thick drops. He smears it all over his face and chest; the sight of him will call forth ample terror and pity. Since Santiago himself offers it, a few of the other men collect some of his blood and rub it on their faces, thus saving themselves minor pain and the loss of their own blood. The men marked in this way show themselves to their families to indicate that they have been mistreated by the violent Tā́nuwa spirit. They wear these marks of terror until they are worn off. The men repeat this same deception several times during the Kina festival (279). Naturally, the deplorable countenances of the

[[11]]

279. The Selk'nam also have this strange way of deceiving their women, pretending that they have been mistreated by the so-called Kloketen spirits. Cf. Vol. I, 941.

men do not fail to have an effect on the women children.

X575 In former times the participants in the Kina festival were obliged to remain in the Great Hut almost constantly; they ate and slept there. This time, in March, 1922, they are concerned only with demonstrating the more important features of this performance. They omit what is superfluous because they do not wish to exert themselves unduly. As a matter of convenience they do not eat in the Great Hut, /1333/ but each one hastens to his own family and lets his wife wait on him. Only two younger men stay behind to keep watch over everything. Since the men were having a very jolly time together earlier, they all want to get back to the secret hut soon after the meal. Here they comfortably talk over the success they can boast of in their crafty deception and gather courage for further tricks to be played on the women. To finish off the day they want to give them one more particularly bad fright. Maǩemikens, the wily leader, points out to the men that a Kalampáła mā́ru would terrify the camp inmates to their very bones. Everybody agrees enthusiastically. A white line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes suffices as painting, for, after all, it is dark and they need not fear that a woman will look

/1350 cont./

exactly with that experienced by all the uŠwíala without exception in the čiéxaus, although the teachings and exercises are much more extensive in the youth initiation (p.717). Here they are offered the complete cycle of stories woven around the Yoflox family. They heard some of them earlier in the čiéxaus (p.767).

/1351/ The chosen candidates (p. 1214), without discrimination, are conducted to the Great Hut with the formality described above (p. 1233). Women and children are supposed to learn from direct observation which young man has been granted the privilege of participation. They are told that the spirits demanded this or that chap as uŠwíala. Not to comply with such a request would put all the men in great danger. The man who accompanies the candidate to the Great Hut as a rule continues to act as a sort of sponsor. As such he chooses his place beside his protégé, observes and instructs him constantly, and takes charge /Fig. 96 appears here/ of his food and sleep. The two are not as closely united as are candidate and sponsor in the čiéxaus, for the daily program and everything that goes on in the Kina are by no means as strictly observed and carried out as in the čiéxaus. No duties are attached to the office of sponsor beyond the duration of this celebration. Usually a relative willingly offers to put himself at the disposal of the uŠwíala, there is no need for a detailed discussion of the matter between the participants. The leader is satisfied when some man offers to be the sponsor in the case of each uŠwíala selected; no particular aptitude is required for this service.

Like the uŠwíala of the čiéxaus, those of the kina are also externally marked by a painting which is restricted to the face. In olden times the face was evenly rubbed with white pigment, and a red stripe, the width of a finger, was painted all the way across the center of the forehead. Now, however, as has been the case for an indeterminable length of time, each candidate is given instead a forehead decoration resembling a diadem. It is made of a band of leather about 56 centimeters long and scarcely three centimeters wide, the ends of which taper slightly before they are knotted together (298). It is thickly smeared with white pigment

298. Each end of this leather band is split in

/1351 cont./

X 575 302 292

the middle, and these little strips, which are about three centimeters long, are securely knotted together.

before it is loosely tied around the head (Fig. 96). The candidate is distinguished by it /1352/ as long as he crouches in his place. Now and then his sponsor paints a more complicated decoration on his face: thirteen fine red lines on a white background, which, beginning on the bridge of the nose or the lower eyelid, are evenly distributed and radiate downward. /Fig. 97 appears here./ A horizontal red line as wide as a finger connects the two inner

Fig. 96. Forehead Decoration of the Candidates. Two-thirds natural size.

corners of the eyes by way of the bridge of the nose and continues on either side from the outer corner of the eye to the ear (299).

299. This same decoration, with the exception of a slight difference on the number of lines, is worn by a participant in the youth initiation, as is shown in Fig. 85, b (p. 790).

X 575 293

Soon after the beginning of the ceremony the sponsor carves two little sticks for his protégé, about 20 centimeters long and about one and a half centimeters thick in the middle, with four edges, forming a long rectangle in cross section. One end is tapered more than the other. The tapered end points upward when the stick is held in the hand. During the instruction and the narration of the origin myth or the Yoálox stories, the candidate holds

/1360 cont./

X575 S35 spirit will sometimes stand motionless for a few minutes at the end of the dance course. As a rule every spirit reappears after an interval of a few minutes, and this may be repeated from two to five times as he chooses or according to his effect on the audience if they are enjoying it.

X575 ● 302 If the women and children are to be shown one of the many spirits, the performer must, of course, appear with a particular painting. The men are content to use the customary colors, black, white, and red. It is not necessary to be painfully exact in the drawing because the spectators stand far away. Most often red or black lines and stripes, small circles and semicircles, dots and dashes are painted on a white background in a certain arrangement. Using his incisors a man will scrape off a layer from a lump of chalk the size of a fist, mix the fine powder with saliva by making chewing motions, and apply this mixture by rubbing it on with his hand or fingers. A person who has been smeared with it stands beside the fire so that the color will quickly dry. Red and white pigments are sometimes mixed with blubber, sometimes applied dry. The mask is painted with just as little care, and the drawings on it coincide roughly with those on the body of the performer. The latter does not do the painting himself. This is done by other men, and the leader likes to take part because he is usually the one who decides on the decoration. It is applied only to the front of the body, for only this is visible to the eyes of the women and children. After each appearance the men carefully wash off the colors. While the painting is being done, the men constantly amuse themselves with all kinds of X575 S22 jokes. Once when they were preparing for the Histuku performance and the large amount of white pigment applied to their bodies was dry, many of them could hardly be recognized. /1361/ Malemikens, with a smirk, surveyed the group of men and asked jokingly: "Where in the world is the man who calls himself Thomas? I don't see him any more! He was here just a minute ago." Thomas understood the jest and replied: "I am big enough so that everybody ought to see me (304)!" The whole company laughed.

304. He was about a head taller than Malemikens himself.

/1361 cont./

X575 course and soon disappears again. The leader follows him into the hut immediately, without any words or any kind of sign to the spectators. If this spirit or another one is supposed to appear again, the leader calls him out in the manner just described. A spirit never steps out of the Great Hut suddenly before the eyes of the women.

X575 758 /1362/ In exceptional cases a yĕkamuš will accompany some spirit along the dance course. Shortly before the end of the Kina celebration in 1922, Asikansis unexpectedly stepped into the Great Hut and announced that he had been requested in a dream to let Calderon portray the spirit of a particular fish. No one dared to contradict this old man who was already somewhat feeble mentally or to point out to him that the night was far advanced. So Calderon painted his whole body and the mask white, and over [302] this he drew several vertical red lines two fingers wide. Asikansis, who is a yĕkamuš, wore his feather diadem; his face and the upper part of his body were painted white, with a red horizontal line extending from below the nose to either ear lobe. The two men stood facing each other. Calderon, as is customary, supported his mask, while Asikansis stretched his two arms out sidewise at shoulder height. Then Asikansis indicated the rhythm with low sustained cries of hŏhŏng. First they danced inside the hut as though they were practicing; then they performed their short, leaps sideways along the dance course. They stepped out five times and moved back and forth, each time after a pause of a few minutes. Asikansis always turned his back to the camp and *unavoidably hid Calderon a little. After both had ended their* dance, Asikansis sat down by the fire and softly sang on for a long time, completely absorbed. Calderon washed off his painting.

X575 Just as the leader calls together the women and children at the beginning of the spirit appearances, so he also announces the end of the performance with a brief word. He says: "Now the last spirit has left this hut, not a single one is now sitting among the group of men. You, too, go back to your huts!" The men regularly announced the entrance of a spirit into the Kina hut with a warbling lalala..., which warned the women to be on their guard; now all is silent there, a sign that the spirits have all withdrawn.

X 575 /1367 cont./
sympathy. Then for several seconds there is deep silence in the Great Hut. One of the men rolls up a large, stiff piece of leather; another cleans a spot on the ground that has been stamped down. /1368/ The first man lifts his arm in a wide sweep and strikes down hard. One of the participants cries agá in a terribly loud voice, as though he had been mortally wounded by this blow, and lets his voice slowly fade away as though he were dying. After a pause there is a second blow; again a man cries out and lets his cry trail off in the same way. This goes on until all the men, including the candidates, "have been killed by the spirit." The women know how many men are assembled in the Great Hut and pay careful attention to the number of death cries. None of the men disguises his voice in order that the members of his family will recognize him. During the next few minutes nothing stirs in the Great Hut, "for they are all dead." At a signal from the leader two or three men commence a joyous, rapid, high-pitched lalala...which is supposed to announce the approach of their deliverer Lḗxakīpa. A few minutes later all the men utter a loud, high-pitched, jubilant xā. This is to announce that they have been restored to life by Lḗxakīpa. Now, however, they also want to prove to the women what tortures they have suffered. One or two of them will poke around in his nose with a small pointed stick until blood flows. He not only smears this on his own face, but willingly gives some to other men. With these "proofs" of mistreatment by Yamḗalakemana each appears before the members of his family, who look at him sympathetically and silently pity him. When after an hour or two the men have again assembled in their Kina hut, they are immensely pleased over their successful performance.

Similar to the spirit that has just been described is Kōyutulḗlkīpa, a murderer. She visits the Great Hut twice at the most during the Kina festival and "murders" the men just as Yamḗalakemana does. The leader announces her arrival in a loud voice. After this appearance, too, all the men show themselves to their families in the camp with blood on their faces.

X 575 776 302 Besides Lḗxakīpa, who is superior to all the spirits, the Yamana also mention a few subordinate guardian spirits who are well disposed toward the assembled men and helpful to them in all

/1368 cont./

kinds of situations. In the final analysis each spirit is more or less kindly disposed toward all those who have assembled in the Kina hut. Kinamiáma chiefly sees to it that no woman approaches the Great Hut or does any kind of damage. He is presented soon after the beginning of the festival. He can be recognized by the many red and black transverse lines, the width of two fingers and separated by spaces equally wide, which are drawn on a white background and run from the tip of the mask to the knees. All the spirits have their shanks and feet painted uniformly white, no matter what name or characteristics they have.

Tulēa-yáka. This good-natured guardian spirit also appears at the very beginning of the festival. On the right and left side he wears two vertical stripes a handbreadth wide upon a white background. Apparently this identification is connected with tulēatéčix, the name for the small Centrites niger.

/1369/ Tukáčí-yáka is likewise a benign helper and protector of the men. The man who portrays him paints several vertical rows of red dots set close together on a white background all over his body.

Kinaiagēllum. It is said of this spirit that he takes extraordinary pleasure in sitting with the men in the Kina hut. That is the only reason he comes down from heaven. The man who portrays him first rubs his body with red color; from his neck to his genitals there is a white stripe the width of three fingers, from which three transverse stripes originate. There are four white rings on either arm. SD:165 also briefly mentions kīnaiagēllum without giving any explanation.

Ulamēáka, the performance of the flower spirit. This spirit is regarded as having an especially close connection with the Kina. He is portrayed with a red body painting upon which are drawn a few vertical white lines leading down from the shoulders. SD:88 says of Ēlmīna, "he was a man disguised by paint and a conical bark hat who acted the part of a lustful spirit in the presence of women whom he went to meet and speak to" /cited in English/.

Wonoyáka, the performance of the sea spirit. He is shown with elaborate painting. On a white background many small red semicircles are drawn close together to represent fish scales. This spirit is shaped like a fish, is the "son" of a whale,

X
398
776
.382

/1369 cont./

and appears as such, usually accompanied by two men painted in the same way. The Yamana say that he is well disposed toward human beings. It is said that sometimes he emerges from the depths beside a canoe and shows himself to the occupants; his head and torso are as beautiful as those of a mature girl; in place of legs he has the hind parts of a large fish, and around his forehead there is a thick wreath of beech twigs. One can be sure of recognizing him by this sign. Once, adorned only with this wreath of twigs, he left the Great Hut and, in the company of two young men who were unpainted, he went over to the camp. His arrival had been announced to the women by loud cries. Because there was a shortage of red pigment, he was supposed to fetch new supplies. Sure enough, every woman placed a small bag of ĩmi outside her hut. The spirit passed along the huts, quietly and without saying a word, took each packet, gave it to his companions, and hastened back to the men's hut with the abundant presents (308).

> 308. This description reminds one of the performance of Haĩ in the Klokeen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 926). He, too, visits the dwellings and gathers red pigment for the "spirits" in the Great Hut.

Mŏrŏrĕka is likewise a spirit who is kindly disposed toward the assemblage of men. On a white background he wears several vertical black dots the size of the palm of a hand which are distributed over his whole torso.

Yagŏrowa-yĕka, the performance of the spirit of the high seas. The performer's body is painted white and has only three evenly distributed vertical red stripes the width of a hand.

Hĕni-yĕka, the performance of the northern sky. /This spirit, too, is a helper of the /1370/ men in the Kina hut. He supports them, above all, in singing and constantly gives them new strength. The performer paints his whole body, as well as the mask, uniformly white, adding seven black transverse lines as wide as a finger to the mask. BD:270 says: "hăniaka, a play enacted in the cosma drama accompanied with painting, singing, and acting in supposed imitation of the N. wind" /cited in English/.

X /1370 cont./

575 Asepakāiaka, the performance of the southern sky. The
776 painting for this is elaborate. The mask and the body are rubbed
●302 with white pigment. In addition the mask has seven black transverse lines as wide as a finger; the torso and arms have eight of these lines, and the legs, six. In each of the areas thus formed a red transverse line is added.

X- Haǰuwāpisa-yāka, the performance of the mighty blue
575 whale (Balaenoptera intermedia). Powdered chalk mixed with
776 blubber is rubbed on the body of the performer in vertical lines,
302 the width of a finger, drawn close together and beginning at the
825 peak of the mask. BD:269 writes "hāǰūāpisa-iaka, a certain play in the ceena drama imitative of whales" /cited in English/.

Sauyānux-yāka, the performance of the short-beaked dolphin (Lagenorhynchus fitzroyi). The front part of the body and the center of the mask are covered with a vertical white stripe about 20 centimeters wide, on either side of which black color is applied.

Kixinteka-yāka, the performance of the gray gerfalcon (Circus cinereus). The performer paints his body and his mask white, and upon this background he distributes irregular black dots.

Akimagīja-yāka, the performance of the falcon (Ibycter australis). The dancer paints his body white and applies a red line the width of three fingers from the peak of the mask across his chest to the genitals and another line around his body at the height of his navel.

Kilaxīla-yāka, the performance of the buzzard (Buteo poliosomus). Dry īmi powder is first rubbed over the entire body, and a few black dots are applied over it with the tip of the index finger.

Lirux-yāka, the performance of the gray-headed goose (Cloephaga poliocephala). The body of the performer from the armpits down is completely white, having been rubbed with powdered chalk. Above the armpits, and including the mask, it is rubbed with īmi powder and is light red.

Kīmga-yāka, the performance of the Magellan goose (Chloephaga picta). The entire body is painted red, and large white dots are painted on the chest (309).

309. The Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida

X 575 776 302 825

/1370 cont./

/kelp goose/), which is related to the two species above, is not portrayed. The Yamana say that it was already present at the time of the general upheaval, as it is to this day.

Alakuš-yǎka, the performance of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus). The entire body and the mask are painted with white pigment. The nose and mouth are painted on the mask with red pigment. A black line as wide as three fingers is painted in a shallow arc from one shoulder to the other across the chest. /1371/

Wěmar^{L}kipa-yǎka, the performance of the small gull (Larus glaucodes). The performer paints his body and the mask white and applies short, fine, horizontal red lines all over it.

Tovwiliwa-yǎka, the performance of the diving petrel (Puffinus griseus /sooty shearwater/). It suffices to paint the entire body uniformly black, an exact imitation of the natural coloring of this bird.

Wilaulěǎka, the performance of the brown gull-teaser wilaulla (Megalestris skua chilensis). To portray this spirit the men paint their bodies and masks white. They draw six evenly spaced rows of short red lines from the upper part to the ankles. The mask is painted differently. On a white background four red stripes two fingers wide are drawn from the peak of the mask to the lower edge, and white transverse lines the width of a thumb are put in each stripe at close intervals.

Gěrǎpu-yǎka, the performance of the white albatross (Diomedea exulans, Fig. 88). For this performance mask and body are painted with powdered chalk mixed with water; the former, in the region of the nose, has a vertical red line as long as a finger. BD:246 writes "gěrǎpů čis, the initiatory rite of the ceema drama" /cited in English/. -- The gěrǎpu-lǒima-yǎka is peculiar. The men and the candidates paint their faces all white. A thin little stick which is slightly springy stretches from each corner of the mouth to the upper eyelid, so that the face is horribly distorted. They all squat close together at the low entrance, as though to barricade it. The ulwǎla are in the center of the group. Each of them holds a bow and a quiver in his hand. These articles must be specially made, but are not carefully

/1371 cont./

X 595 776 302 825

worked because they are not meant for use in hunting. With his front teeth each man holds a yëkuł, that is, an arrowhead or spear point; in his hands he holds an unfinished basket on which he is working. When the group is assembled in this manner, one of the men summons the women and children. They may come up to within a few steps and silently look over the group. Neither words nor looks are exchanged, the men steadfastly keeping their eyes on the ground. After a few minutes the women are sent back again. The Yamana of the south and west have the same performance, but with the following variation. The men and the candidates paint their faces white and draw a black line the width of a finger from the outer corner of each eye to the ears. They all have a yëkuł between their teeth and in addition hold in their hands a drawn bow and an arrow which they aim at the women who are standing outside in front of the entrance. This pantomime also goes on in complete silence and lasts only a few minutes. No one was able to tell me its meaning.

Katëmux-yëka, the performance of the sea dove (Daption capensis). The performer paints his body and mask completely white and then adds many black dots with his index finger. This is precisely the way this marine bird is marked.

/1372/ Tapenëla-yëka, the performance of the small diver (Podiceps calipareus). This bird, the size of a pigeon, has brownish-black feathers and a white tail. The person who portrays him as a spirit rubs a piece of dry charcoal all over his body, including his mask, and draws a white line, the width of a hand, from the navel to the genitals.

Yëlex-yëka, the performance of the black cormorant (Phalacrocorax atriceps). The performer wears no mask. He rubs charcoal dust mixed with a little blubber all over his body. He paints his chest, the hairy part of his head, and his cheeks white and holds his arms as though he were supporting a mask. According to BD:274, hagwur[1] means "the black shag" /cited in English/ and this performance. Compare Figure 58 on page 253.

Wëgenim-yëka, the performance of the hooded cormorant (Phalacrocorax gaimardi). The person who portrays this spirit wears a mask that is painted white. He rubs his body with dry charcoal dust and draws a very wide white stripe from his neck to his genitals.

/1372 cont./

Ūwūlēr-yāka, the performance of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater). A red line, the width of two fingers, runs from the peak of the mask down the center. The whole body is white, with a black arc the width of a hand running across the chest from one shoulder to the other. BD:117 also mentions this performance. Compare Figure 76 on page 385.

Sūrū-yāka, the performance of the spectacled penguin (Spheniscus magellanicus). The performer paints his chest and belly white, the rest of his body, black. There is a wide black arc above each of the eye-holes of the white mask. BD:160 gives sūrū-lama.

Hūmus-yāka, the performance of the robalo (Eleginus maclovinus). A few vertical white lines from the neck over the chest and belly, as well as a few vertical black lines beginning at the armpits, suffice to portray this spirit. BD:261 also mentions haimuī-yaka.

Sūna-yāka, the performance of the porcupine fish. On the uniformly white mask a red transverse line, the width of a finger, is painted at the level of the mouth. Many red semicircles are placed close together all over the body of the performer to represent fish scales. This design is very effective (310).

> 310. It is well known that, according to the legend, the child whose father was a sea lion and whose mother was the sister of the Yoalon brothers turned into this fish (p. 1140).

Ūūū-yāka, the performance of the herring (Clupea pertinens). The mask and the entire body are painted uniformly white. On either side of the body a black line as wide as a hand runs from the armpits to the ankles.

Imokaj-yāka, the performance of the sea trout (Atherinichthys). The dancer draws many vertical white lines as wide as a finger and as long as a thumb irregularly all over his body and his mask.

Kalamgāla-yāka, the performance of the fish Kalamgāla. This fish has a broad head and its body tapers evenly from the head to the tail fin. The performer characterizes this spirit by means of small red semicircles over his entire body which he first painted white. His white mask /1373/ has a red transverse line, the width

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of three fingers, in the region of the mouth. Now and then this spirit orders the men either to step out of the Great Hut in single file, or, in the so-called Kalampala-mâta, as individuals, to see how the women are conducting themselves in their dwellings. BD:178 also lists kilayâla-taka.

Jepâlal-yâka, the performance of the little redfish. The performer must paint a great number of fine, vertical, finger-length red lines close together and on top of one another all over his body. The mask is white.

Hikufkalâla-yâka, the performance of the jellyfish (Medusa). This also requires fine, vertical red lines about three centimeters long all over the body and the mask, but not in so great a number as in the preceding performance.

Mâka-yâka, the performance of the small cuttlefish (octopus). The person who represents this spirit, sometimes also called Fâcha, rubs dry lini powder on his body and hangs a square piece of leather similarly colored loosely over his head in place of the painted mask.

Yâchâlâl-yâka, the performance of the calamary (Loligo subulata). The dancer smears his whole body and the mask uniformly red. It is well known that Yâchâlâlâga escaped when the men stormed the Kina hut. The painting just described is like the one that she wore at that time and which she still displays on her diminutive figure (p. 1247).

Kinâjal-yâka, the performance of the blueberrie fly. The person who presents this spirit to the women paints his body and mask black and over this irregularly distributes many white dots with his index finger. According to BD:165, kinâja also means wasp and bee.

In the east the so-called wâjâka-yâka was performed. Several men step out of the Kina hut as a group without any kind of painting. Each one carries a stick that is pointed at the lower end and a meter long. At some distance from the Great Hut the men move close together, form a circle, and drive the stick into the ground several times. They poke around like this for a few minutes without looking up and without saying a word. Then they silently go back again. No one could tell me the meaning of this performance. BD:455 gives wâjâpa-yâmata, "to dig, hollow" /tried in English/.

/1373 com./

X575 The Histuku performance has historical value, so to speak.
535 While the men are preparing for it, the leader gives a signal and there begins an unvarying, constantly repeated hóju, hóju... on the same pitch and with sharp emphasis. The force and tempo of this call slowly increases in order to attract the attention of the women in the camp. Meanwhile the participants paint their
[302] bodies white. A red arc as wide as a finger is drawn across the forehead, with its ends pointing downward. Then, shouting loudly, the men arrange themselves one behind the other. They squat down so far that they support themselves with both fists and their buttocks almost touch the ground. They can move forward only in short steps. When the first men in this column are just visible, a few older /1374/ women hasten to the field and await the men. The latter keep their squatting position, but form a closed circle. The women approach and walk along the outside of the circle. They gently slap each man with a piece of leather or with the hand, and the man immediately falls over as though he had been killed. The women hastily depart. Not until after about ten minutes, during which no one in the camp stirs, the men cautiously get up and, deeply bent over and one behind the other, go back to the Great Hut without a sound. They quietly wash off their painting and in an undertone converse very gaily, for, after all, they have not been killed and have not been
[776 525] murdered by the women. Histuku is the spirit of the fur seal, tépa (Arctocephalus australis). At the time of the great struggle in Yáasága he moved in the same clumsy way he does today, and many women fell upon him in order to kill him. That is exactly what happens now in this performance (311).

[711] 311. This scene is almost exactly like the Holian scene in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 997). BD:202 also speaks of this performance "before the women and children as spectators" /cited in English/.

X575 All the plays listed here, which I experienced personally,
776 do not exhaust the long list. BD mentions many additional ones.
525 For example, BD:170, kilíqwlaka, the performance of the sea

/1274 cont./

X575 gull kiwĕgu (Larus dominicanus); BD:413, tĕkalaiaka, the per-
776 formance of the loud tĕkalĕ (Larus belcheri /a gull/); BD:112,
825 ŭŭglaiaka, the performance of the whale ŭŭgla (Pseudorca crassidens); finally, BD:262, haiyaiga, BD:277, lamĕkaiaka, the performance of the whale, BD:278; laiakĕkĕpa, and BD:267, gkanna, or "tĕnĕwa's son, one of opening scenes and characters in the keena drama" /cited in English/. BD also mentions a few more performances. In any case, see the explanations of ŭŭpi in BD:212.

X575 In conclusion the so-called kĭna-tĕlagwĕja, the death rite,
should be specifically mentioned. Now and then it happens that
765 in the course of this men's festival one of the participants or one of their relatives dies. Then one evening the participants assembled in the Great Hut put on an actual tĕlagwĕja for only themselves. The men adorn themselves with the body painting customary for this occasion (p. 1081), depending on the degree of their relationship to the deceased. This is not enough, however. An influential yĕkanuĕ appoints a man, preferably the leader, to paint himself in a special way. In March, 1922, Maĕomĕkum, who was then the leader of the Kina, volunteered to do this himself. The entire body is painted white and over this are painted four black stripes the width of a hand, beginning in the center of each collar bone and in each armpit and extending to the knee. These stripes, but narrower, are continued on the white magk up to its point. The performer dances out of the Great Hut just like any one of the many other "spirits" and moves back and forth several times on the dance course. The people in the camp immediately recognize him /1275/ by his painting. On the evening of a tĕlagwĕja the men remain very quiet and appear to be sad out of sincere sympathy. The Tamana have no proper name for the spirit portrayed in this manner. It would not be correct to call him the kĭŭja of the deceased person who is being mourned; the whole performance is meant to be reminiscent of his departure and of the sorrowful participation of the survivors.

X575 The Tamana emphatically assured me that there is no por-
776 trayal in the Kina of the spirits of those animals that were already
825 living here as actual animals at the time of the great upheaval.
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/1271 cont./
This applies to the raven vulture wilgeyido, the hawk yeiskello, the gadwicon ishiis, the common sea gull kiwdgu (312), and

312. RO:170, however, mentioned this spirit.

particularly the many small birds. The specific painting with which every spirit appears adds a certain variety to the course of the Kina festival, but after a time the monotonous dance movements become noticeably boring to the women and also somewhat to the men. The arbitrary decision of the leader and the general mood of the participants determine the number of spirits and the sequence of their appearance on each evening. In view of this, one Kina festival is sometimes very different from another, and this provides a change.

6. End of the Festival

Obviously it is the environment, especially the urgency of matters of subsistence, which forces the participants to terminate a Kina festival. Here, too, the decisive factor is that same play of forces that leads to the termination of a youth initiation (p.[illegible]). The most important of these would be lack of food, flooding of the campsite, insufficient firewood, the illness of a number of persons, or a death.

Even if these unforeseen and yet decisive circumstances were not taken into account, at practically every Kina the attention of the dancers and spectators begins to lag after only a few days. The men must stimulate and renew the interest of all the participants in the affair. If all their efforts fail, boredom is clearly written on the faces of all these persons. From the start, the women do not welcome the Kina. For their part they certainly make no effort to prolong it. For a time, however, the men feel quite content in their closed group, especially if there are many of them and the individual members take an active part. Thus they are unaware of the threatening and unavoidable monotony of each passing day. The Tsimsian are much too restless by nature to /1272/ bear unvarying monotony for very long, and the many spirit appearances certainly do not offer enough

/1278 cont./

[58] variety to refresh them and arouse them to great enthusiasm. In the final analysis, of course, the deceptive performances of the masked men lack any urgent necessity. When their curiosity, which is sometimes extreme, and their fun in deceiving the women by supposed spirit appearances are satisfied, further performances do not hold enough enjoyment for them to counteract their slowly mounting boredom and the weariness caused by the same repetitions. In that case quite unimportant external reasons bring about the desire to terminate the Kina festival and there is not the slightest inner resistance on the part of any of the participants. I was assured that the men were usually content with two or three weeks, but they have stayed together a shorter or longer time according to whether they felt so disposed or were obliged to separate for some reason.

Each time, however, the leader discusses the matter with the older men, and if all more or less agree he chooses the same evening or the next evening for the so-called blackpaint, the formal closing scene. The younger men, of course, yield, the elders are particularly pleased to be freed from their ceremonial position. The purpose of this final ceremony is to drive away all malevolent spirits from the Kina hut and its vicinity. All the men paint only their faces with a simple decoration, a white transverse line as wide as a finger, which runs below the septum of the nose and extends to each ear lobe. To this is added either a red line along the entire bridge of the nose or a varying number of fine red lines between the lower eyelid and the above-mentioned white transverse line. Each man winds his apron around his forehead. Thus adorned, all the men form a closed circle around the hut fire. The leader or an influential elderly [A3] holds a stick -- similar to the dance staff used in the Jiwaya (p.498) -- the upper third of which is painted white. He holds the stick vertically, like a lance, in his right hand with his arm outstretched. When he lifts it, all the men break into a wild hip hip...which they repeat for two or three minutes. Suddenly they cease and immediately add sharp, shrill ʃ sounds which are followed by croaking cries of ʒ ʒ...in quick succession. Meanwhile each man again and again stretches out both his arms, his open palms forward, in unmistakable warding-off motions. After

/1389 cont./

maintains that their huts "differ by having the upper part cone-shaped rather than spherical" /translated from Spanish/. See the general description of the dwellings on p. 9 .

is sometimes inconspicuously given precedence, and the men willingly follow his decisions. The whole neighborhood expects him to be far more willing to help and more unselfish than other persons.

Whenever the yéhamuf is working toward some goal in connection with his actual calling, he puts on an ornament which he alone is permitted to wear. This outward token is intended to show that the guardian spirit associated with him has taken possession of him and he is now acting with this spirit and may not be disturbed in any way by anything around him. Naturally, everybody who sees that the yéhamuf is busy at his calling behaves accordingly (393). As Despaud (b):717 briefly states, he

393. What Bridges (a):237 has said in this connection is wholly misleading: "In order to give the appearance of age, they were in the habit of rubbing their heads with rumaspu" /translated from Spanish/, namely, red earth.

wears as a "distinguishing mark: white down on the head, and pipe-clay lines across his face" /cited in English/. The feather ornament, apewlpa, resembling a diadem, is characteristic. They use the finger-long, pale gray feathers on the underside of the body of the night heron tlerug (Nycticorax /1390/ obscurus), arranged close together in three woven strands of thin tendons. The yéhamuf ties this ornament around his head like a headband, with the feathers pointing downward. When he removes his apewlpa, he rolls it up and keeps it in a small leather pouch so that it will not be damaged. He prefers white pigment for painting his face and entire head. It is obviously an exaggeration when Bridges (a):202 reports that the medicine man "made their heads white with chalk every morning." This would differentiate them from all their countrymen, which is not their intention. Instead,

/1390 cont./

X756 .302 it is the rule that they paint themselves only when they are working toward some goal of their calling. Hence they reach for their pigment even in the dead of night if they awaken after special dreams and give themselves up to serious meditation. Most often the yĕkamuš rubs his face and hair with dry powdered lime. In former times he also applied it to the upper part of his body, that is, before he covered it with European clothing. Sometimes he contents himself with drawing a finger-thick white stripe under his nose from one ear lobe to the other. It is rare that he draws this line in red. Sometimes, of course, he forgoes any kind of painting, but even then he can be recognized clearly enough by his apawĕ̆ya. Later on the painting of candidates in the medicine-man school will be described; this, too, shows clearly the preference of the yĕkamuš for white (324).

> 324. Earlier reports, for example, by Spegazzini (a):169, which mention another kind of outfit for the medicine man do not correspond to my experiences.

X756 .826 It is difficult to explain how the Yamana imagine the physical constitution of their medicine men. The latter have -- as I learned -- a phantom body which, to the eyes of ordinary Yamana, looks like the body of one of their own people. The skin of the yĕkamuš, above all, is supposed to be indescribably tender and thin, while the entire periphery of the body is supposed to exceed that of any other human being by far. According to measurements given to me, the diameter of a medicine man exceeds even 100 meters. Nevertheless, he looks like an ordinary Yamana to the eyes of the people around him. In the final analysis, it seems to me that this so-called periphery is best explained as the zone of influence of the yĕkamuš, for it is said: "the yĕkamuš knows everything that is present and that goes on within this periphery as definitely as though it were inside his body." This explanation is confirmed by the following. The Yamana also say: "If a yĕkamuš wounds himself or if his body changes in any way, our eyes are deceived. We see all this in the way in which such things happen to our own body,

/1404 cont./

X756 264 785 Our Yamana, as a matter of principle, forgo eating their fill on some occasions, which are well known. They content themselves with as little nourishment as possible in the lōima house. On this occasion the mussel is regarded as the most suitable food for insuring that the old people and the apprentices will reach their goal. They all eat but once a day, soon after getting up. The uŭwałaléxamuŭ are given three mussels at the most; all the other participants impose the same restriction upon themselves, and sometimes a person takes nothing all day. In individual cases the pupil is permitted to eat a fish instead of a mussel, but he may eat only the tail end; he destroys the front end, along with the head, in the fire. A little tumłrapu powder (328) is sprinkled on each bite that the apprentice eats.

328. No one could tell me the reason for these strange rules.

All the food is cooked in the Great Hut itself, and the remnants are immediately destroyed in the fire. If the pupil is making obvious progress, the three mussels a day are cut down first to two, later even to one for the duration of the affair. This is done so that he will steadily and quickly perfect himself. He is given water which he sucks in limited quantities through the well-known ēmbalim, a thin hollow bone (p. 709) made out of a large Mytilus shell, which is handed to him by a yēkamuŭ. Every participant knows, and the apprentices are repeatedly told by the leader, that the less food and drink a person has, the more promptly his dreams will come to him, the more vivid his intercourse will be with the spirits, and the more capable the older yēkamuŭ will be for his accomplishments. If a uŭwłaléxamuŭ should give in to the pangs of hunger and secretly eat something, for instance, when he is gathering wood in the forest, then it is said that the yefāčel tell the yēkamuŭ of this infraction. Thereupon one of them will call the chap to account: "We know that you have secretly eaten outside this lōima hut!" /1405/ Punishment does not follow, however, for the boy is sufficiently intimidated and accepts the rebuke without contradiction. He has learned his lesson forever.

X756 302 Body painting is prescribed for the actual participants, the yēkamuŭ and the uŭwłaléxamuŭ. All of them are completely naked

/1405 cont./

X756 during the entire time that they remain in the hut. To paint
● 302 themselves, each one scrapes fine powder from a lump of lime or clay with his incisors and mixes it with saliva by chewing it. He spits this on the palm of his hand and rubs it over his whole body. Before the mixture dries another man helps him complete the design. This man puts his fingertips close together and with his nails scratches vertical grooves into the pigment from the forehead to the ankles, that is, down the whole length of the body. These grooves later give the impression of dark lines that have been drawn in the pigment. Some men do not bother to use more than one finger to scratch in several grooves. On some days the leader also reaches for ĩmi powder, a signal that all the participants are likewise to paint themselves red and to put the many lines on this background. Some of the men merely rub the white or red powder into the hair; most of them smear a good deal of the sticky tumarãpu on their heads. Everyone ties the apawẽ̃a around his forehead, the feather ornament reserved exclusively for the yẽkamuŝ, not the strip of skin with down feathers known as hapaxẽ̃ (p. 719). Everyone renews this body painting every day, usually in the afternoon when they all do it at once. The persons who are in the hut as helpers or spectators and all the women yẽkamuŝ must paint their faces and the upper part of their bodies white. They must also draw a finger-thick red line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. No one may remain in the lõima house without being painted.

X756 Each actual participant is assigned a definite seat at the
785 very beginning of the celebration. The seats are divided off
516 on either side by a short stick. Everyone stretches his legs out in front of him; his upright torso is pressed so close to the hut framework that the back of his head touches it. Behind their necks they place a short, thick piece of soft, fungus-like wood known as ĩalalakĩna, as though it were a pillow. The neck presses it against the hut wall and thus it remains in position. Everyone must remain seated, stiff and motionless. His arms fall loosely on either side of his body. In the long run this position is a great strain and becomes indescribable agony. A person is permitted, however, to draw his feet up to his rump in a squatting position; in exceptional cases he may also sit for a

/1416 cont./

X756 787 533 time the singing suddenly becomes more lively. That is the moment at which the yefčel itself takes over the melody and carries it on. At this point the medicine man's personal effectiveness is eliminated, and thereafter the yefčel takes over. It recognizes the aims and intentions that the yékamuf is striving for and, for its part, makes an effort to /1416/ realize them. The yékamuf is aware of everything that the yefčel does; he assesses the attitude and actions of the yefčel and consults with it. When it leaves him, the singing stops and the yékamuf awakens from the absorption of his dream state.

With these brief words I have described the basic features of the co-operation between the yékamuf and his yefčel or other spirit. No matter what the yekamuf plans and strives for, the force that carries it out is his yefčel or another spirit. The people express this co-operation by saying: "The kéipif of the yékamuf gives way to the yefčel; the latter acts by itself as long as the singing lasts." Thus the yekamuf who is trying to accomplish something starts on his own initiative to attract his yefčel by singing. Sometimes it does not come although the yekamuf has been exerting himself for more than an hour by singing. Confronted with this lack of success, he stops singing and frankly tells the people around him: "Today my yefčel has forsaken me!" Sometimes he makes a second attempt.

1. His Efforts for Fellow-Tribesmen

X756 302 Even if he starts singing in the middle of the night, the medicine man never omits his simple outer trappings. They consist of the apéwqa which he ties around his forehead (p. 1307) and a simple facial painting. For the latter he rubs his face and head with dry white powder or he draws a single finger-thick white or red line from one ear lobe to the other. He always carries these things within reach and his wife sees to it that he has pigments.

X756 From earlier communications and reports one can clearly infer that the activities incumbent on the yékamuf are varied. Despard (b):717 declared: "His business is to allay the storm;

/1461 cont./

517 time and unspent energy is devoted to rest or modest social demands. The Yamana do have a feeling for beauty and an understanding of proportion, but the conditions of life are not conducive to a rich development of these tendencies. The Yamana does not receive much stimulation for aesthetic enjoyment or artistic activity from his environment, which is clothed in dull colors and presents wildly chaotic forms. A desire for them emerges now and then from his innermost nature, however, and actually expresses itself within modest limits in one way or another.

1. Sense of Beauty

832 On some occasions our Fueguians indisputably demonstrate their well-developed sense for physical beauty. They prefer a slim, mobile, well proportioned, moderately tall figure, /1462/ full of healthy energy. Such a figure is particularly impressive to youthful representatives of the opposite sex, who quite openly speak about it in company. Marriageable boys and girls are sometimes considerably influenced and affected by the physical form of the person of their choice (p.599). /Fig. 107 appears here./ [856] Parents and close relatives are anxious that a baby develop a beautiful figure from its earliest years. This is the chief purpose of a kind of light massage (p.525), although this alone does not always guarantee success. It is said that a particularly attractive and graceful baby usually changes to the opposite and becomes ugly, whereas often a less beautiful child becomes very well formed after a few years. In the eyes of our Fueguians body hair is unpleasant; hence they pluck out underarm and pubic hair, as well as beard hair (p. 82). For this purpose they like to use two mussel shells that fit together like a pair of pincers. Some people take great pains with the hair, oiling it with blubber and combing it several times a day (p. 85). Most of them have it shortened in due time, so that it hangs about shoulder-level (p.81); it is not gathered into braids. When, in exceptional cases, some men have their head hair cut off before a fight, it is because they wish to prevent their opponents from grabbing their hair and pulling them 832 by it. A European also finds the same satisfaction in the figures

/1463 cont./

517 whale," /cited in English/, according to BD:630, or wǎalina for a man who makes a good canoe. People who make a small basket or an ornament with particular care are known far and wide, and the accurate construction of such things is talked about by others because it gives them satisfaction and true enjoyment. One often hears expressions like the following: "What a pretty thing! -- How good-looking that is! -- The workmanship is very accurate and shapely!..." Everyone praises the effort made by an artisan. When they see a perfect specimen, old people encourage the young ones to imitate it. Any kind of praise is gratifying to the Tamana, and he makes an effort to obtain it. Beyond that, however, he also finds particular pleasure in the qualities of the beautiful object. A European, if he wants to be fair in his judgment, must take into consideration the difficulties that hamper the Tamana in the making and fashioning of his implements. For example, he does not have the use of metal tools and measuring instruments, but is dependent solely on his hardened, not very limber fingers and upon the measurements of his eye. For this reason, obviously, the various rows in a little basket (Fig. 101) or an ornament and the lines in a painting are never absolutely perfect. The indolence and the carelessness of persons who do not want to take pains and trouble are, of course, also reasons for many an inadequate piece of work.

531 The Tamana enhance the beauty of certain objects and their
•532 own bodies by means of painting. They use the well-known ma-
520 terials (p. 90) for the three colors that are the only ones applied: ūū = red, scarlet; yēgi = light, luminous, white; finally, ūmūi = black. The pigments are either rubbed to a dry powder or first mixed with water or blubber in a large Mytilus shell (Fig. 100) to form a thick paste and then applied with the finger or with a painting stick (pp. 91 , 712 , 790). Designations for other tones of color are not altogether lacking, but are seldom used. For instance, one says lohima, "gray," only for human hair and for fur, whereas the word ēwaifgu is used for the gray, faded, and pale color of any other object. Light red or a reddish yellow is designated by pēgēhi. There is no particular significance attached to any of these colors (p. 94) (364), although one or

364. Martius: 188 and Spegazzini (a):170

/1463 cont./

531 have maintained the contrary,
302 without justification.
822

another is preferred on certain occasions, for example, in the case of /1464/ mourning (p.1064). Scarlet gives the Yamana intense pleasure (365); the color of the máku blossom serves as a

365. This has been confirmed a number of times. Hyades (b):1345 and (d):306 says: "The favorite color is red; the other colors are often confused" /translated from French/. I also agree with the last part of his statement. The designations that he (d):205 lists for all kinds of colors are worthless.

standard of comparison for them (p.494). The Yamana use the
531 well-known pigments to paint their faces or their entire bodies
302 on various occasions. The gay and rich variety of their designs very clearly expresses their by no means limited sense of beauty. This is even more definitely shown in their ornaments and in the patterns of color with which they cover various objects, such as the Kina masks and the ornamental staffs used in the čičaxaus hut (Plates 2, 3, 4). /Fig. 102 appears here./ The Yamana have a considerable number of special designations for the various types of painting. The word wīgsteka means "to paint horizontal lines upon the face with īmi as a mark of friendship" /cited in English/, according to BD:610; the word ǐjasina means "to paint the face with up and down bands or lines of either red or black" /cited in English/. The painting is sometimes supplemented with a feather decoration. I observed neither a special gift nor an inclination to
532 draw among the Yamana (366); I never saw children scratch simple

366. Differing on this point, Phillips (a):1011 reported: "It was strange that the Fuegians showed a great inclination to draw. Without being told, they collected strips of paper and drew caricatures on them with charcoal, which were supposed to represent their comrades. They were then given pencils, and they eagerly

/1467 cont./

301 same thing must be said about the feather ornaments, which can be seen on various ceremonial occasions in the čiexaxe (pp. 717, 790) and at the ceremonies of mourning (p. 1045) as hapayel, a larger triangular piece of skin, or kwaxwexni, a band of skin two fingers wide and covered with down. The apawexa is only worn by the yekamuč, who regularly puts it on when he is practicing his calling (p. 1507).

304 It has been proved that the Yamana do not practice any kind of intentional body mutilation (p. 106), and Hyades (b):1345 agrees with various observers that "there are no deformations or ethnic mutilations" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy (a):138 is also correct when he maintains: "No ornaments are worn in the nose, ears, or lips, nor on the fingers" /cited in English/. Bridges (b):206, Bove (e):157 and (g):234, and Hyades (d):306 and (p):329, as well as other travelers, emphatically deny that the Yamana are acquainted with tattooing. Nevertheless, I was able to prove that, to a modest extent, it was formerly practiced on the candidates in the čiexaxe (p. 715), not, however, for beauty. In the

302 most recent times it has been replaced by a special body painting, either that described on page 717, or the entire upper part of the body is painted uniformly white and two finger-thick, red parallel lines are drawn close together from the farthest lateral projection /1468/ of one shoulder to the other in an arc that extends over the chest and back (cf. Fig. 21 of the photogravure plates /at the end of this work/). This painting is used only for the čiexaxe.

[532] Our Yamana are acquainted with neither poetry nor proverbs,

533 but in the syllables constantly repeated in their songs, there is an agreeable rhythm and a rich sound; they do not have a definite meaning, however. The melodies are always merely short movements with simple motifs. The syllables, made up of the same or a few different sounds, are either repeated on a single pitch or in a variant in which the third predominates. Gay melodies are clearly distinguishable from sad ones (368). The Yamana like to sing:

368. Bridges (a):207 established that "The singing of these Indians is of different kinds" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (p):330, "the song is usually gay; it is made

/1469 cont./

533 177 underlying the melody is a clearly recognizable Halakwulup word, not otherwise current among the Yamana. The word arŭwa, as well as aĉagwĭrafka -- each of which is repeated to a separate melody -- are designated as genuine Halakwulup words. The song based on the latter word is called the "pasfuna of the drunken one": it is sung with great merriment and accompanied by clumsy swaying of the entire upper part of the body. In Halakwulup the word ŭk'norwar means "water, drinking water, alcoholic beverage" (Gusinde [6]:1012). In another pasfuna the expression guanĥo sefthĭ̆r is repeated. The word guanĥo possibly /1470/ found its way into Yamana only in recent times through this pasfuna, for otherwise they use only amŭ̆ra. This pasfuna, like the previous one, clearly shows that in the not too distant past the Halakwulup have transmitted one or another of their songs to our Yamana. Gertie and other informants assured me that in their youth, on trips through the west, they learned a song or two which was unknown in the central Yamana region. Just as today a jolly group will occasionally burst into a pasfuna, so, in earlier times, this was done on the rare occasion when a European ship passed by as a sign of joy and surprise. The Yamana mother is certainly not fond of singing, but it is true that one of them will occasionally amuse her baby with a pasfuna.

533 362 It is customary among the Yamana to pass around some pigment while singing is going on. Everyone present takes a little of it and paints his face, a sign that he is taking part in the singing. A single woman will sometimes sing the so-called akĭnis song in jolly company. In the middle of it she will stretch both arms in front of her with the palms of the hands turned upward. Suddenly a little piece of charcoal will be lying on each hand, and with it the singer draws lines on the face of everyone present. No one could tell me the meaning of all this (369).

126 369. On my last two trips through Tierra del Fuego I made phonograph recordings for each of the three tribes living there. E. M. von Hornbostel has arranged this material, but his comparative study, which I received in manuscript, can only appear in the third

1: Gwaindo--1450 E-S (1918-1924) 1937 5108 Tahgan 5108

142
•362
291

Tsimsian Man

Tsimsian Woman

Tsimsian Children

Children at Play

133

Beach of Beagle Channel

1. Gaende--1432 E-5 (1918-1924) 1927 SH6 Tahgan SH6

971
396

Watchmen in Action

Tooth Initiation Hut, Interior

Tooth Initiation Hut, Exterior

382
H1

Canoe Painting

Watchman

Watchman's Assistant

1.Gusinde--1453 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHG Tahgan SHG

881
302
142

Čiexaus Participants, 1920

Téxamuf Aspirant

Čiexaus Participants, 1922

Čiexaus Painting

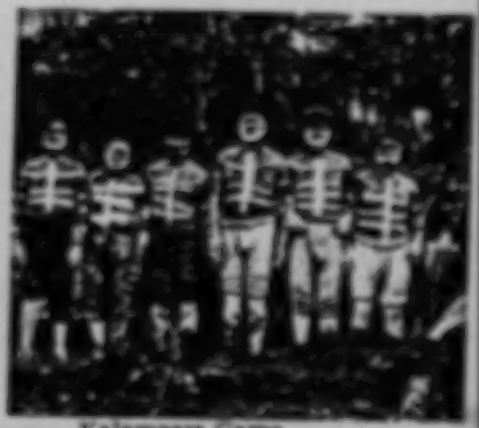
Gusinde with his Spouses

Téxamuf

1: Gwinde--1454 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHS Yahgan SHS

58
382
[348]

Kina Hut



Kalempam Game

[349]

Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit

133

Uhuwala at the Foot of Mount Olivia

1: Gustafs--1455 E-S (1918-1924) 1927 SOM Tahgan SOM

Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Kina-celowńia

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

1: Gwinde--1458 8-5 (1910-1924) 1927 SHE Yalgan SHE

162
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Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

(37)

Automatic Fowling

Morning Fowling

Man Fowling Themselves

Morning Fowling

(38)

Northern of Jungle Channel

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 5316 Tahgan 5316

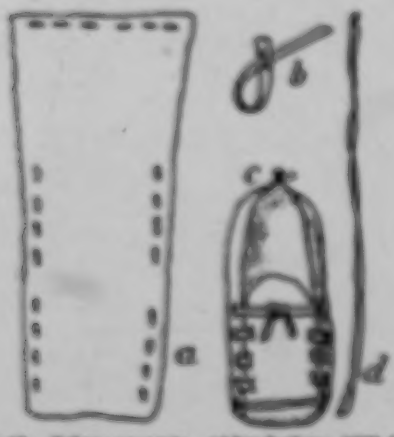

PLATE 12.—Tahgan moccasins. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 46.)

291 probably borrowed them. The *Tahgan* occasionally used a rude fingerless working glove of hide. The clothing of the *Tahgan* seems to be utterly inadequate, given the climatic conditions—temperatures commonly around and well below freezing point in winter, high winds, frequent snow, hail, sleet, and cold rain—but in view of the seeming
[291] role played in their decline by introduced European clothing and their relative good health prior thereto, perhaps their clothing was reasonably well adapted to the environment.

302 **Hairdressing and depilation.**—The hair was worn loose, not in braids, and was often banged. Sometimes a sort of tonsure was worn. A sharp-edged mussel shell was used to cut the hair. For
[289] combing the hair, more commonly the jawbone of a porpoise or otter, or a toothed comb made of whalebone, was used; sometimes, a brush comb made of a bundle of roots (Oetes and Brush, 1910, p. 186) or of quills (Gusinde, 1937, p. 422). Depilation, with two mussel shells as tweezers, of all face and body hair was practically universal, for both sexes.

304 **Scarification.**—Scarification was practised as a mourning observance and tattooing as an initiation rite (Gusinde, 1937, p. 462), but neither for ordinary decorative purposes. There was no head deformation, no ear, lip, or septum piercing, no body mutilation of any other kind.

302 **Painting.**—Smearing the head and body with grease or oil was as much protective as decorative. Face and body painting was common, sometimes with use of a small spatula. Only three colors—
[284] red, black, and white—were used. Red was derived from burnt earth, black from charcoal, and white from clay. Red symbolized peace;

Sub Symbolized Page

white, war and ritual; black, mourning. Designs were very simple, confined to lines, dots, and, less commonly, circles.

Ornaments.—Personal adornments were: necklaces, of sections of bird leg bones strung on braided sinew, of strung punched shells (Fissurella nimbosa), or of frapped hanks of braided sinew, often colored red; bone or shell pendants, sometimes attached to the necklaces; and wristlets and anklets of sinew and hide. Feather diadems and bird-skin, feather, or down-ornamented filets or forehead caps were also used.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes.—Travel by the Yahgan was almost entirely by water. Their earlier sole form of watercraft was the built-up bark canoe, of a crescent or gondola shape that characterizes other craft well up the west coast of South America to Peru; the plank boat, the *Aremonian* dugout, the seal-hide float, and the double-ended reed balsa were absent (Lothrop, 1928 a, pp. 255-24).

The Yahgan canoe (pls. 24, 25) was made of three strips of beech bark, one-half inch to more than an inch (1.2 to 2.5 cm.) thick, which ordinarily formed the bottom and two sides respectively. Average length was about 19 feet (5 m.), with a range from about 12 to 30 feet (4 to 7 m.); gunwale to gunwale width in center, about 3 feet (1 m.); depth in center, about 2 feet (0.6 m.). The bark, taken only from the evergreen beech (*Fagus betuloides*), was stripped off in the spring, when the sap was running. In removing the bark from the tree, the natives used a bone chisel or mussel-shell knife to cut it and a bone barking tool to strip it, and in securing the tree held themselves thereto with a strong rawhide thong. After smoothing the bark on both sides with a small chisel, they cut it into three cigar-shaped pieces. These pieces were then sewn together with whalebone or with shredded strips of wattled saplings, the seams being wadded with the stringy seaweed of wild celery grass or with moss mixed with mud. The gunwales were next lashed on. The ribs, of split Winter's bark, were then fitted in and lashed in place under the gunwales. The thwarts, usually five or six, of hardwood, were inserted and lashed to the gunwales.

The fireplace was set amidships. The paddle was in one piece with a long lanceolate blade and short round-section handle without cross-piece or other grip. The Yahgan canoe lashed crook; the cylindrical bailers (pl. 25, c) were usually of bark or sealskin. Sealskin thongs and braided grass ropes were used as mooring lines. The construction and repair of the canoe were the men's task; but its management, including paddling and mooring off shore in a help boat, were the women's. In a sense, she was mistress of the canoe, with its hearth and ever-lighted fire. In a favorable wind a crude sail, made of a sealskin or

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
Sub Yaigan Sub

291 Women wear rather more clothing, that is, they have nearly the whole skin of a guanaco, or seal, wrapped about them, and usually a distinctive apron. The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an infant. Neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes.

302 Both sexes oil themselves, or rub their bodies with grease; and daub their faces and bodies with red, black, or white. A fillet in olden were
301 around the head, which upon ordinary occasions is simply a string, made of sinews; but if going to war or dressed for show, the fillet is ornamented with white down, white feathers, or pieces of cloth, if they have obtained any from shipping. . . .

411 It is rather curious that each of these natives is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear; another with the sling; another with a bow and arrows; but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others.

266 Before entering on the details of Yahgan life we shall dwell briefly on the charges of savagery and cannibalism made by numerous writers. As early as 1600 the Alacaluf were thought to be cannibals, for in that year Van Noort marooned on Santa Maria island one of his officers charged with insubordination, in the belief that he would die of hunger or be eaten by the savages. A quarter of a century later Jacques L'Hermite charged the Yahgan with cannibalism. In more recent years Darwin and Fitzroy have repeated the accusation on hearsay evidence, and their dictum has been widely published. However, no white man has ever witnessed the act of anthropophagy among any of the Fuegian tribes, while in recent years those who have lived with the natives and come to know them well all agree that the idea of eating human flesh is as repugnant to a Fuegian as to a European. According to Martial (p. 193) the Yahgan ordinarily do not eat dog, fox, or cat, because these animals will eat human flesh.

699 The imputation of barbarity, on the other hand, rests on firmer ground, for there are well-authenticated instances of attack by the Yahgan on European crews. The earliest of these resulted in the death at Nassau bay in 1624 of seventeen men from L'Hermite's ships; the most widely published was the massacre at Woolgia in 1859 of the crew of the missionary schooner *Allen Gardiner*. What provoked these attacks is a secret intended with their victims. Early voyagers habitually kidnapped natives to serve as pilots and then secured marital consortment. Native women often have

2: Lothrop E-9 (1924-1925) 1928
5265 Yahgan 5266

FIG. 45.—Yahgan moccasin. Length, 11 in. (34/2266)

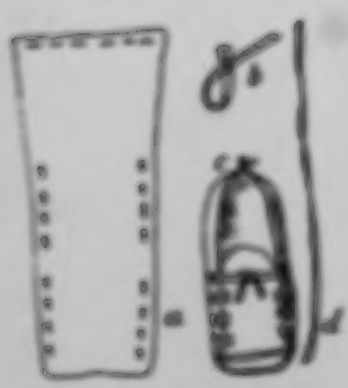

FIG. 46.—Pattern of Yahgan moccasin.

FIG. 47.—Yahgan leggings. Height, 13 in. (34/2268)

3. Leggings.—The eastern Yahgan, who were much more concerned with the guanaco than other members of their tribe, sometimes wore guanaco-skin leggings (pilwe), such as fig. 47, for winter hunting. This garment was also sometimes used by the Ona, from whom the Yahgan probably borrowed it.

Ornaments, etc.

The Yahgan used no set form of hair-dressing, but allowed their locks to fall in a confused mass, except over the forehead where the hair was cut to form a bang. Facial and body hair they pulled out with a pair of mussel-shells.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S306 Yahgan S306

302

The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days. The materials used are mentioned below. While paint was often applied with the finger, an elaboration over the Ona practice is seen in the use of a small spatula (*ukkikkowinu*). One of these is illustrated in fig. 69, *d*. The Yahgan did not tatton.

Feather diadems and goose-down forehead caps were worn at times, but their purpose was more ceremonial than utilitarian or decorative, and will be discussed below.

Wristlets and anklets were worn, but not so generally as among the Ona. The common type (*mo'ko-wa-ala*) is not braided of grass or sinew in Ona fashion, but consists of a narrow band of guanaco-hide painted white (fig. 48). This was attached in place with small sinew laces.

FIG. 48.—Yahgan guanaco-hide wristlet. (14/2359)

301

Of necklaces the Yahgan made two kinds. The simpler type is constructed with cylindrical sections cut from the leg-bones of gulls or of ducks and strung on braided sinew. A more elaborate and attractive necklace (*ipirr-ikko*) they made from small shells (Latin, *Phetisula sinlacus*; Yahgan, *kwisk uwalla*) found in the kelp (*kwisk*) which fringes the coast (fig. 49). When polished by use, beautiful opalescent tints appear in these shells. The Yahgan strung them by punching

FIG. 49.—Yahgan shell necklace. Total circumference, 90 in. (14/2361)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

lákel in Ona,—but there is no means of determining which tribe was the inventor. 412

3. Hammer and Grease Stone.—On old camp-sites numerous smooth, water-worn stones can be picked up. They were used as hammers to break open various shellfish, and also they served as anvils for cracking hot marrow-bones to allow the grease to solidify on the cool surface, whence it could be scraped up and eaten.

4. Broom.—The Yahgan housewife today occasionally sweeps out her domicile, employing for that purpose the wing of some large bird such as a goose. This custom probably is not aboriginal, but is rather the result of missionary contact.

5. Comb.—The Yahgan sometimes comb their hair, and for this they make rude combs (*ushtánim*) of whalebone or employ the jaw of a porpoise. Combs of both types are illustrated in fig. 54, *a*, *b*. [302]

6. Spatula.—Another article for beautifying the person, found in the well-ordered Yahgan house, is a small spatula (*telákikamána*) used for painting the face and body. One of these appears in fig. 69, *d*.

Fig. 55.—Yahgan bark bucket. Height, 12½ in. (14/2267) 415 322

7. Bucket.—Under the Ona manner of existence a bark bucket (fig. 55) would have been of little service, for it would soon be broken under the exigencies of their system of transport; but the Yahgan found the bucket (*atukála*) an extremely valuable object, and used it to bail their canoes and to store water in their camps. Like the canoe itself the bucket was made from the bark of the evergreen beech, but while the canoe was man's work, the bucket was woman's work. Hence the bark for the bucket was removed from the tree with the woman's barking tool (*iéshupu*), which is a chisel-like device made from the leg-bone of the guanaco (fig. 68). The inner fat lining of the bark was then scraped off, and a rec- [412]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

In figs. 92 and 93 are illustrated some of the masks used by the Yahgan. The material is either bark (fig. 92) or seal-hide (fig. 93), cut to pattern and sewed together with whalebone and gut respectively. There is usually a small opening at the top for ventilation. As Yahgan paints were not waterproof, a single mask could be adorned to represent many characters by the simple expedient of washing and repainting it. 535

As to the characters represented by the Yahgan, in fig. 92, *a*, is the rainbow, distinguished by broad red, white, and black bands; *b* has alternate red and white stripes, and it represents a smelt-like fish. In fig. 93, *a*, is a model of the *kalāpuska* ghost mask, while *b* represents the sea-hen. The wearers of these masks painted their bodies and limbs with similar decorative patterns.

a *b*

FIG. 93.—Model Yahgan dance masks. Height of *b*, 10 in. (14/2362)

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[302]

RELIGION

Although it has been repeatedly stated on excellent authority that the Yahgan had no real religion, I think it definitely established that they had religious beliefs and practices. 771

The Yahgan world was peopled by innumerable unseen beings: ghosts (*kushpig*) of departed shamans, spirits of the sea, the rocks, and the trees. These people, for the greater part, were malicious by nature, resentful of intrusion on their privacy, and, when seen by man, terrifying in aspect. Solitary travelers might suddenly find themselves facing a fierce spirit across the light of his camp-fire, 776

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehuelche
Yahgan SHG

342
285
881
302
445
291

[p. 160 A]

304

304 MUTILATION--scarification and tattooing; cranial deformations; tooth filing and removal; piercing of ears, noses, and lips; genital mutilation (e.g., castration, circumcision, clitoridectomy); age, sex, and status differences; special techniques and apparatus; associated beliefs; etc. See also:

Bloodshed	180	Self-mutilation	700
Mutilation of criminals	616	Taboos	800
Mayhem	800	Initiatory rites	900, 901
Mutilation of captives	707		

/437 cont./

301 independence, which is one of the character traits of these Indians, allows everyone the most complete freedom in his use of articles of adornment, just as in the painting of his body (p. 96). No one is surprised and no one would regard it as heightened vanity or an over-fondness for dress if today this person and tomorrow that one would appear, unexpectedly and without occasion, decked out with quantities of ornaments.

As such, the amount of ornaments and jewelry of these Indians is meager and simple, like all their possessions generally. Bove (c):36, exaggerating this simplicity, says: "Two or three lines of paint on the face and a necklace of shells or bird bones are the sole ornaments of a Fuegian" /translated from Spanish/. Certain occasions, however, such as general gatherings and larger social activities, have induced these people to make other, special ornaments, namely, their favorite headbands of bird feathers and down. We shall discuss these things below. Here we have mentioned and described only what belongs to their everyday life. The ornaments of our Yamana more or less re-
[171] semble those of the Selk'nam, but are, on the whole, prettier, more artistic, and more varied. Here, however, we do not have
• [349] tattooing which their neighbors are fond of in a certain form and frequency (Vol. I, 228). Every other type of ornamentation, such as ear rings, precious stones, actual trophies, and body mutilation, are unknown down there in the unfriendly Cape Horn region.

D. Implements, Tools, Weapons

32 In making his essential implements, the Yamana is altogether dependent on the scant products of his homeland. Hence
(77) it is not surprising that he uses only wood, bone, and shells to make the tools that he needs in his daily work and in hunting. He has not advanced to the use of stone to any degree worth men-
[35] tioning. Copper ore which is found there in certain places has never been noticed, let alone utilized. If we judge the Fuegian by the materials that he uses for his implements, it becomes obvious that he occupies a lower stage in the development of material culture than the much-sought European man of the Stone Age. The former is still actually present among us, the latter disappeared long centuries ago.

/[illegible] cont./

Finally we must mention here the only form of tattooing which was formerly customary among these Fueglans, but of which I could not find a trace on any of the Yamana living today. The reports which I received on this subject may be regarded as reliable (281). Soon after the beginning of the long ceremony, after

281. Several men, as well as Nelly Lawrence, spoke of this custom. The above data were given me by old Pedro, together with Whaits. The latter is the oldest surviving Yamana, and although I examined him very carefully, I could not find the faintest trace of tattooing on him. He told me: "When I was a candidate in the Great Hut my countrymen gave up these marks, for they did not wish to appear before the missionaries with them!" I suspect that they wanted to avoid divulging their secret initiation with the tattooing which was done at that time.

the candidates have become somewhat accustomed to the new living habits, all the inmates of the Great Hut go down to the flat beach the first thing in the morning if the weather is good. Only one of the guards remains behind. They choose a sheltered inlet with a shallow sea floor. The men, who are completely naked, and the women form separate groups. In their midst they have the candidates, the men taking the boys and the women, the girls. The men who arrive first step into the water and stand close together. The women arrange themselves in such a way that they form a more or less closed circle around the men. Then they all jump and leap about, play with one another, splash each other, perform all kinds of movements with their bodies, duck the candidates and drag them along under water. They disport themselves in every conceivable way with the members of their own sex, the outer circle of women never mingling with the group of men. After a time they come out of the water in this formation, and it is not until then that the circle of women breaks up, opening an exit

X881 /862 cont./
for the men (282). The winefkēna calls a warning over to the

> 282. I cannot avoid the impression that this play is possibly an imitation, in weakened form, of the so-called phallus dance which the Selk'nam perform in front of the women at the beginning of the men's ceremony (Vol. I, 1003).

camp that old and /863/ young should hide in the huts and not let their glances stray, for no one may watch the return of these two groups who then hasten back to the Great Hut.

Here the tattooing of the ŭwŭala of both sexes begins im-
X881 mediately. Expert men and women smear a thick, wide band of
304 ími across the candidates' chests and both upper arms to the back, so that only an area as wide as a hand over the spinal column remains bare. In the middle of the body this ring of color dips slightly. Within the band small vertical lines five to eight millimeters long and close together are scratched into the skin with a sharp mussel shell. They are careful to make the small lines very accurately and as even as possible. Soon after a few short incisions have been made, red pigment is smeared into them on the skin. It takes several hours to make this decoration, but it is not painful. After a short time the very shallow cuts are healed, but the pigment shines through the skin as a light blue line.

The ŭwŭala now wears on his body this visible sign of his first bath. Usually on that same evening, but at least within the next few days, all the adults of the camp are invited to the Great Hut and shown this marking on the candidates. The adults admire it and are pleased with it.

Within a few days all the occupants of the hut go down to the water to bathe a second and a third time, just as before. Afterwards a second and third row of small lines are tattooed on each candidate, directly underneath the first lines. This is his sign of having satisfied the demands of the čiexaus requirements; it is also a sign of his maturity. Asked about the meaning of the tattooing, the Indians themselves give no further information than to say: "It looks beautiful!" At any rate, it is proof for

X881 /863 cont./
them that a person has dutifully set through his term as uŭwĕ̆ala
• 384 in the youth initiation.

X881 They have not entirely forgotten this earlier custom, but
have provided a neat substitute in the form of special body paint-
382 ing, which, however, only adult participants use. They paint
the entire upper part of the body red and over this draw a white
band the width of three fingers, which starts on either side of the
spinal column and extends over the uppermost part of the arm
and horizontally across the chest. I was definitely assured that
this body painting is applied instead of the former tattooing. One
day or another a man will still paint himself in this fashion.

X881 The external measures to which each candidate of the
Ĕĕ̆kaan hut is subjected are really designed to batter his whole
866 body thoroughly. All candidates show great fatigue even after the
first three days. This is consciously sought; it is meant to make
each uŭwĕ̆ala amenable and to prepare him for the further aims
of the Ĕĕ̆kaan.

/864/ β. Instruction

X881 The participants never lose sight of the fact that this event is
supposed to be a period of serious training for their young people.
867 Accordingly, some hours every day are devoted to teaching and
instruction. Unfortunately, at present even this essential part of the
entire Ĕĕ̆kaan is not taken as seriously as it was formerly. The
[177] old people feel that the youth of today have for some time been
alienated from the old tribal traditions and have adjusted to European
standards of living. Hence the adults do not spend nearly as much
time and effort on the actual instruction as they did formerly.

During my first initiation, however, we were required to congregate regularly each evening with our venerable instructor, for at that time Alfredo, the leader, was particular about keeping strict order. During my second initiation old Whaits had all the uŭwĕ̆ala sitting at his feet on one occasion only, and at that time he could give us only a very small part of the wealth of earlier exhortations. Many conscientious Yamana regret this decline most deeply, but within themselves, faithfully shielded by a reliable memory, they carry everything that was once offered them in the

/1100 cont./

775 the alfuia through our region here [as though they were on a journey], as the yékamuš who can see both [groups] tell us!" Exceptions to this general rule are the kéipif of the yékamuš and of persons who have drowned. Of the latter it is said: "While a person is drowning he thrashes about excitedly. That is his kéipif which is leaving him. After that the kéipif stays in that place on water. Sometimes one hears his call. It sounds like the barking of a sea lion, but it is the call of the kéipif of the drowned person." As for the yékamuš, "all persons surrounding a dying yékamuš must continually utter a wailing hu hu hu; at the same time they let their arms hang down and move their hands forward as though they were pushing sand or water. These movements quickly drive far away the Hagčílis spirit (37) that is leaving the dying yékamuš.

775 756 763

37. This spirit was characterized and described in detail on p. 744.

If this were not done, this bloodthirsty villain would remain at the place of death and harass all the people." Naturally, everyone present is painted with the white horizontal line from the nostrils to the ear-lobes. The kéipif of certain persons, including those of the yékamuš, are strongly attracted by Hagčílis. If they follow this woman, they actually go down into the earth with her and remain with her. Finally the Yamana also concede that sometimes a kéipif appears near the hut and in the neighborhood of their own families. It whimpers and groans, although so softly that the people can scarcely hear it, but that is how they recognize it (38).

[309]

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38. Bove (d):297 and (e):159 assert: "In general the Fueguians are not very superstitious; if someone dies, they believe that the spirit leaves the body and roams about through the forests and beyond the mountains, restlessly suffering if he was evil in life, happily and quietly if he was good." His traveling companions Lovisato (b):149 and Spegazzini (a):172 repeat the same assertion. I did not encounter this

/1487 cont./

301 same thing must be said about the feather ornaments, which can be seen on various ceremonial occasions in the *tchenge* (pp. 707, 708) and at the ceremonies of mourning (p. 1043) as *tapapih*, a larger triangular piece of skin, or *kwayawkpai*, a band of skin two fingers wide and covered with down. The *apawkpa* is only worn by the *yehamuf*, who regularly puts it on when he is practicing his calling (p. 1307).

304 It has been proved that the Tamana do not practice any kind of ceremonial body mutilation (p. 106), and Hyades (h):340 agrees with various observers that "there are no deformations or ethnic mutilations" /translated from French/. Pino-Roy (p):138 is also correct when he maintains: "No ornaments are worn in the nose, ears, or lips, nor on the fingers" /cited in English/. Bridges (h):386, Rove (r):117 and (g):234, and Hyades (d):306 and (y):320, as well as other travelers, emphatically deny that the Tamana are acquainted with tattooing. Nevertheless, I was able to prove that, to a modest extent, it was formerly practiced on the candidates in the *tchenge* (p. 715), not, however, for beauty. In the

302 most recent times it has been replaced by a special body painting, either that described on page 707, or the entire upper part of the body is painted uniformly white and two-finger-thick, red parallel lines are drawn close together from the farthest lateral projection /1468/ of one shoulder to the other in an arc that extends over the chest and back (cf. Fig. 21 of the photogravure plates /at the end of this work/). This painting is used only for the *tchenge*.

[illegible] Our Tamana are acquainted with neither poetry nor proverbs,

533 but in the syllables constantly repeated in their songs, there is an agreeable rhythm and a rich sound; they do not have a definite meaning, however. The melodies are always merely short movements with simple motifs. The syllables, made up of the same or a few different sounds, are either repeated on a single pitch or in a variant in which the third predominates. Gay melodies are clearly distinguishable from sad ones (368). The Tamana like to sing;

368. Bridges (s):207 established that "The singing of these Indians is of different kinds" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (p):330, "the song is usually gay: it is made

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 [illegible] Yahgan SH6

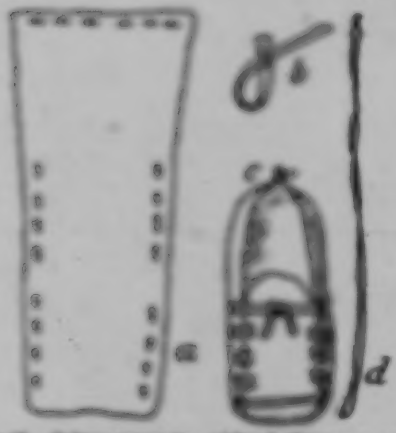

FIGURE 13.—Yahgan [illegible]. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 68.)

291 probably borrowed them. The *Yahgan* occasionally used a rude fingerless working glove of hide. The clothing of the *Yahgan* seems to us utterly inadequate, given the climatic conditions—temperatures commonly around and well below freezing point in winter, high winds, frequent snow, hail, sleet, and cold rain—but in view of the seeming role played in their decline by introduced European clothing and their relative good health prior thereto, perhaps their clothing was reasonably well adapted to the environment.

302 **Hairdressing and depilation.**—The hair was worn loose, not in braids, and was often banged. Sometimes a sort of tonsure was worn. A sharp-edged mussel shell was used to cut the hair. For combing the hair, more commonly the jawbone of a porpoise or otter, or a toothed comb made of whalebone, was used; sometimes, a brush comb made of a bundle of roots (Gusinde and Bruch, 1910, p. 128) or of quills (Gusinde, 1937, p. 488). Depilation, with two mussel shells as tweezers, of all face and body hair was practically universal, for both sexes.

304 **Scarification.**—Scarification was practiced as a mourning observance and tattooing as an initiation rite (Gusinde, 1937, p. 963), but neither for ordinary decorative purposes. There was no head deformation, no ear, lip, or septum piercing, no body mutilation of any other kind.

302 **Painting.**—Smearing the head and body with grease or oil was as much protective as decorative. Face and body painting was common, sometimes with use of a small spatula. Only three colors—red, black, and white—were used. Red was derived from burnt earth, black from charcoal, and white from clay. Red symbolized peace;

/378 cont./

233 Lawrence and Adelheid, refuse all alcoholic beverages on principle. The former has often and emphatically lamented the devastation that alcohol still inflicts on her compatriots. She has repeatedly said that so much alcohol, which formerly was entirely unknown, has very much weakened the memory of the members of her tribe for their old traditions and beautiful legends. She is scarcely wrong in this.

276 177 Most men have, of course, become accustomed to tobacco. They do not care so much for cigarettes, but prefer pressed tobacco which they smoke in pipes. They think this is more pleasurable, and it also lasts longer. The pipe is particularly convenient on the canoe trip. They are not capable of really enjoying the taste of tobacco; it is only the playful occupation with the pipe that amuses them. Not unimportant in this connection is their desire to be like Europeans. Self-respect and the need for recognition would make it impossible for a Yamana to refuse a cigarette offered by a European. Smoking never develops into a passion among our Indians; if they do not have tobacco, there is nothing in their behavior to indicate that they are missing something. Among primitive peoples tobacco does not have anywhere near the harmful effects on their health that alcohol has.

271 312 Since not a single alcoholic beverage is available to the Fuegians, they are dependent solely on natural water. It comes to them from many rivulets, springs, and brooks. No matter how cold it is, it does not harm them; some people prefer it, the colder, the better. They lay stress on pure water. If they have no other choice but to get water from swampy, boggy places, they put a layer of beard moss (Usnea barbata) or small-leaved shrubs (Nothofagus antarctica) on top and press it down slightly. This causes the filtered water to seep slowly through to the surface, the rolled mud soon settles, and the water is potable. In other swampy spots they pull up a small shrub or the thick fleshy stalk of a swamp plant, and the water quickly gathers in this hole; in a few minutes it becomes clear (338).

338. Snow (a):1, 344 observed: "On one occasion, being thirsty, and seeing no fresh water near, I indicated my desire;

/172 cont./

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312

> whereupon one of the men went to a tree and with a spear struck at the roots, and speedily procured water" /cited in English/.

271 The people not only cannot do without drinking water for any length of time, but quite the contrary, they drink often and always a great deal. They do this so conspicuously that Fitz-Roy (e):185 noticed "the Fueguians drink only pure water, but often and in large quantities" /cited in English/ (320). The concordances

> 320. What Dempsey (b):600 asserts, namely, "they drink great quantities of water" /cited in English/, Hyades (f):565 repeats in more detail. "They drink often and much. I have seen them take in considerable quantities of water at one draught" /translated from French/. Wieghardt:36, Martial:194, and others express themselves in a similar vein.

nary quantities of fat which they eat arouse the /172/ desire for frequent drinking. Even "in the course of the meal they went to drink at a nearby spring, or carried the water when they had watertight utensils" /translated from French/ (Martial:194). They also drink when they are not thirsty.

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516
415

This is chiefly the explanation for the fact that every family purposely erects its hut near a brook or rivulet, in order to avoid constant running to the spring. Usually each one goes by himself to the little body of water at which he quenches his thirst. Depending on local conditions, he lies down flat on the ground and puts his mouth to the water, sucking it in, or he crouches somewhat sideways close to the edge and scoops up the water in the cup of his hand or with /Fig. 69 appears here/ a large Mytilus shell, or finally, he squats quite close to the small stream, bends his head down low, and sucks the water into his mouth through a hollow bone, *ℓmbalim* (Fig. 69). This tube is nothing more than a long bird bone, the two ends of which are filled against a rough stone until the spongy bone fibers disappear. What is left is still 20 to 35 centimeters long. Almost always the long leg bone of a

/[illegible] cont./

372 (Vol. I, 369). They choose a straight stick, as thick as one's
342 thumb, of Indaura Gardiana, strip it of leaves, twigs, and crooked
parts of bark, smooth the surface, and split it two-thirds of its
entire length which is hardly more than 45 centimeters. After-
wards the lower, split end is cut off flat. Since the tension of the
wood fibers keeps the two ends spread slightly apart, these five
tongs can be easily manipulated simply with pressure (58).

[177] 58. Hyades (q) 364 and Lothrop (b) 138
have also described this implement briefly.
The similarity in terminology between the
Selk'nam and Tierra del Fuego causes Lothrop to
speak of a "cultural borrowing," which should
not be dismissed.

137 The natives have the advantage, which they truly appreci-
3/3 ate, of some growth of trees throughout their homeland, even on
the dreaded Cape Horn. It is lacking only on the low rocks and
smooth stones that /[illegible]/ are exposed to waves and storms without
any kind of protection. Wherever shallow crevices or protected
recesses cut into the rocks, frail shrubs and thicker small trees
cling, successfully resisting storms. The Indian finds his needed
3/3 fuel at every landing place, so to speak, although at some places
he obtains it more easily. He prefers dry beechwood for his fire,
for he dreads the damaging smoke of green logs (60). He finds it

60. Persistent watering of the eyes and
slight inflammation of the eyelids are the
consequences of the stinging smoke. See
Hyades (q) 346 and Lothrop (b) 128, as
well as footnote 56.

as driftwood that has been washed ashore by the waves. He also
goes a few steps into the woods and breaks off dry branches with
his hands. If they are higher up, he throws the noose of his lasso
around them, tugs vigorously, for beechwood is very tough, and
pulls them down. He fells hollow tree trunks with the weight of
his body and then splits them. As soon as a family lands, the
[57] children disperse throughout the neighborhood and gather wood
which they bring to the campsite.

/387 cont./

e38 which they bring to the campsite. The women also take part if more wood is needed. Even the men help, but limit themselves to uprooting heavy trunks or breaking off thick branches and dragging them to the hut. Sometimes they climb a tree, which the women never do. The branches they tow down are carried to the hut by the other members of the family. Everyone works in one way or another for this vital fuel.

38 Now and then they even store wood, chiefly in order to have some dry quickly available. In the simple family hut they pile up as much of it as space permits near the fire or on either side of the entrance. Larger quantities are stored in the so-called winter hut (p. 33), as well as in the enlarged hut for the celebration of the [illegible] and the [illegible]. It helps a great deal if the wet wood is kept under cover for some time and touched by the heat of the fire. In the canoe they carry only a small amount, which is all the more carefully handled (p. 43). Whatever has been gathered together by the industry of the family is loosely leaned upright against the outside of the hut. The air outside and the slight flow of warm air from within combine to cause the moisture to drip off and gradually disappear. They never leave the gathered wood behind in the forest because it would not dry there. They would rather arrange it in a bundle and place it in an open spot where the sun and wind can get at it, if they cannot stack it beside the dwelling. Such piles of wood are easily identified as the property of a family, and other people do not touch them.

In the west it is incomparably more difficult to light the fire and keep it going, for the air is saturated with moisture and the ground is a lake. Laboriously they dry a few sticks beside the canoe fire during the trip, and upon landing, these make it possible to start the /388/ fire on the beach. They immediately place other logs near it, which are preheated before the hut for covering the new fire is completed. The latter is now sure to continue burning, and at the same time a bad smoke condition has been prevented. The Yamana know very well that the wood for the hut fire is better after it has remained exposed to the hot fire for an hour or so, or after the wind has swept through it on an open, exposed spot. Hence their uninterrupted efforts to have dry firewood.

501 /440 cont./

and the great efficiency of the bark boat, but have described the details only very superficially. Cooper: 197 simply listed the bibliography of the best descriptions.

[171] We should like to mention briefly that this bark canoe, ʃnan (or, more completely, aiyúu ʃnan), is actually very similar in its design and principal parts to the one that the neighboring Halakwulup make (Fig. 28).

a. The Bark Pieces

396 The vessel characteristic of the Yamana since ancient times is a canoe made out of three large pieces of bark. This is the one we shall describe in what follows. Most of our natives have in most recent times turned to the canoe made out of a single trunk and to the flat boat, but this happened only since Europeans [171] brought them the iron ax.

The entire region is more or less densely supplied with Ant-
396 arctic beeches, but straight, thick trunks that furnish a smooth,
313 even sheet of bark of sufficient length are found only singly and usually deep in the interior of an island. To discover these is probably the only reason a man is obliged to venture deep into the forest. Usually two or three men join together in the search, if for no other reason than because it is difficult for a single man to loosen the thick bark, aiyúu, from the trunk and because no one goes alone for great distances in the woods (123). This traveling

123. As Hyades (q):350 says: "the chief concern of the Fuegians is to select the best bark; it is often necessary for them to take a long journey to find it" /translated from French/. Despard (b):679 adds: "a man, having associated three others, proceeds into the forest for four or five miles" /cited in English/.

hither and yon is frequently laborious and requires great effort. They almost always decide on Nothofagus betuloides, sérci, which

/440 cont./

396 313 develops an even, smooth trunk and becomes thicker than the two other species of beech; moreover, its bark does not crack so easily (p. 28 /untranslated/) (124).

124. BD:661 emphasizes: "The bark especially of the hanis [Nothofagus pumilio] is consequently unfit for canoes" /cited in English/. Bridges (k):223 says: "The natives use the bark of the perennial beech [Nothofagus betuloides] for the construction of their canoes, since that of the other species is useless for this purpose" /translated from Spanish/.

When the men come across a trunk that can furnish a suitable piece of bark, they set to work. At least one of them is a capable canoe builder, and he estimates the proportions by eye. They distribute their forces to remove the bark, after they have carefully looked over the faultless piece, free of branches and scar protuberances. The smooth surface must measure at least five meters. The middle part of a long strap of seal skin, ŭkesa, [48] wusŭkesa, is tossed over one of the higher branches, so that the two halves hang down freely for the time being. There is a loop at one end, which one of the younger men puts around his hips and fastens. While his companion pulls the other end, the young man climbs up the trunk bracing himself with his feet and more or less embracing the trunk with his hands. At the top he begins the incision and /441/ draws it perpendicularly to the bottom. Since he is secured with a cord and slowly lowered by the other man, he has both hands free for this work. /Fig. 25 appears here./ Having arrived at the bottom, he must climb up again. Now he draws the horizontal incision all around the trunk. If the trunk is unusually thick and if one section of bark suffices, he must outline this in the required width by a second lengthwise cut. The second horizontal cut a little above the ground is easier to make.

396 313 412 For this work the man uses a bone wedge and a suitable flat stone as a hammer. The former, actually, is used only for the incision in the bark and, very seldom, also to split thicker trunks into firewood. It is made out of a wide rib bone of the whale and

[Text continues on page 113. -Analyst]

/441 cont./

396 is about 35 centimeters long. There is no actual handle. The
313 piece of bone is filed on a rough stone until the wedge shape ap-
412 pears, with a slightly rounded blade (Fig. 26). The Indians grasp the upper half of this wedge, ila, with the left hand, place it against the bark with light pressure, and, with a stone in the right hand, hammer it in until they hit the fibers of the wood. They handle it like a chisel. If they do not have a wedge of bone, they make the incisions in the bark with a filed mussel shell or with the true shell knife (125), but this takes longer and is far

125. Hyades (q):350 is speaking only of this when he maintains that the Fuegians "cut the bark on the tree by means of their mussel shells, sharpened and provided with a handle" /translated from French/.

more tiring.

396 After the piece of bark in the shape of a long rectangle has
313 been outlined with the bone wedge, the man again ascends to the upper /442/ horizontal cut. Here he loosens the upper edge with the same or with a finer bone wedge, being careful not to split the bark. The more rounded the bark is, the more it tends to do this.

396 Some men use a peeler of bone known as /Figs. 26 and 27
313 appear here/ sēfsa, according to BD:383 "a bone bark stripper"
412 /cited in English/. Lothrop (b):143 writes sānaka. It is about 60 centimeters long, quite flat, seven millimeters thick, and has the shape of a curved paper knife. It is made from a whale rib. It is pushed under the bark, little by little, about 15 centimeters deep, and with light leverage the bark is loosened all the way around, all the more safely since the peeler is slightly springy (Fig. 27) (126).

126. Spencer:131 says in this connection: "The Yahgans make incisions with shells or with stone knives, and prise off the slabs with a long, slightly curved and flat bone tool" /cited in English/. Despard (b):679 probably also refers to this piece which he describes as "a whale's bone made into the fashion of a curved knife" /cited in English/.

[Text continues on page 115.-Analyst]

/442 cont./

396 After the man has separated the bark from the trunk at the top and freed a space, he places first one and then the other foot
313 into it. Now the weight of his body does the work. The more the sheet of bark is loosened, the farther he sinks down until finally he seems to be trapped between bark and trunk. He leans against the trunk and grasps the edges of the piece of bark with both hands, or he presses it away from his body with his hands flat. Stamping with his feet in this pinch, he finally peels it off entirely down to the bottom.

One can well imagine that this work is strenuous and uncomfortable, for the tough bark fibers cling fast and the strap does not give a firm hold. Sometimes the man makes it easier
[481] for himself by tying short wooden pegs, tstĕskasána, one above the other, to the trunk at given intervals. These he uses like steps, but only until he can slip between the loosened bark and the stripped surface of the trunk where he can hold himself.

Everyone knows that the best time to strip the bark easily
396 /443/ is during the spring weeks, from the middle of September
313 to the end of October (127), during which time metabolism in
824

127. Lovisato (b):134 extends this period, namely, from October to February, but Bridges (MM:VIII, 156; 1874) only to January.

the bast zone is very active and the turgescence of the tissues is very high. Of course, it does not fail to happen that a family loses its boat at some other time of year and that a man must, of necessity, decide to make a new one. Without delay he must obtain bark pieces, no matter how great the effort. He knows that at any other time but spring the stripped bark is more brittle and splits more easily, hence is less useful.

313 As a precaution in the spring a man occasionally peels off
396 pieces of bark which he does not need at the moment, but which he may later use for some urgent repair (128). This does not

128. "Not being able to build his boat except in the spring, the Fuegian foresightedly

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/443 cont./
sometimes makes two of them, but he always puts aside some pieces of bark with which to repair frequent damage" (La Nature: 275) /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):144 adds: "The extra piece was placed under water in a running stream to keep it flexible" /cited in English/.

help him, however, if he loses his vessel at some distant point and if there is no one nearby who will convey him to those pieces of bark. At the least everyone makes a mental note of the trees from which suitable sheets of bark can be removed; then when there is an emergency, he need not waste time looking. Sometimes there is nothing to be done but to wait until the next spring and only then start building anew.

Every piece of bark of the required size is protected from drying up and becoming distorted by being kept under water. It is laid in a pool with a marshy bottom, the buoyancy of which prevents warping. Moderately large stones are placed upon it to keep it from protruding above the surface of the water and expanding unevenly.

A. Its Construction

396 Every Indian knows that the dried sections of the sheet of bark can no longer be made flexible. That is why he generally removes the bark just before he needs it, or he scrupulously keeps it under water until he begins the work. Even when he is working on it and an interruption of several days is forced upon him because of very bad weather or a shortage of food, he at times must place the sheet of bark under water. The sooner he completes his work, the firmer the bark remains.

Three large pieces of bark are necessary (129) for the

129. There are two additional small triangular pieces for the tips on bow and stern. Altogether there are five pieces, never seven as Krickeberg:319 maintains.

/470 cont./

3. The Small Harpoon

225 For nourishment the Yámana are almost as dependent on
411 pinnipeds as they are on mussels. Fortunately these animals lie about on the rocks and islands in large herds and cross the individual channels in all directions (p. 38 /untranslated/). The hunter goes after them with his small seal harpoon (Fig. 33). I use this term to distinguish the weapon I wish to describe here from other similar specimens (175).

175. Lothrop (b):152 describes this weapon as consisting of "a heavy shaft and a detachable head joined to the shaft by a thong" /cited in English/.

411 The small harpoon is a powerful missile, and for this reason
313 the shaft must be long, heavy, and absolutely straight. For it, almost without exception, the wood of the evergreen beech
[324] (Nothofagus betuloides) is chosen, since its trunk usually has a very regular shape and the younger trees have sound wood for a long time. It takes a good eye to find a suitable trunk; it must be flawless if the weapon is to function dependably. It is troublesome to fell the tree. A ring of bark a hand's breadth wide is cut out just above the ground. Then, with a shell knife or a sharpened mussel shell, the layers of wood fibers are scraped off, one after the other, until the incision is deep enough. The running knot of a long strap, wusukesa, is thrown into the high branches and pulled tight. Then a man swings from it and, aided by his own body weight, tugs until the incised portion breaks through. He immediately cuts off the upper part with the crown in the manner described above, /471/ and he now has a trunk about four meters long lying on the ground. /Fig. 33 appears here./ To cut the suitable piece out of this is a no less protracted and arduous task. The man is aiming for the middle third between the pith and the bast zone. He splits off almost half of it with the bone wedge, tukalapēna (Fig. 26) and with a suitable stone as hammer, he has to split the remaining piece lengthwise a second and third time. Finally, by carefully peeling off in splinters the

/471 cont./

411 part that remains, he lifts out the core (Fig. 34). These
313 layers of wood are neither too flexible nor completely stiff, but are slightly springy and absolutely sound.

Through endless scraping with quartz splinters,
411 sharpened mussel shells, or the knife, enough of the
322 long pole is whittled off so that it is about 25 milli-
[342] meters in diameter and precisely octagonal. Attention is given to this because of a definite esthetic feeling, but also the edges make it possible to grasp the shaft more firmly and safely. The shaft tapers gradually toward the bottom and terminates in a blunt end. On top they carefully cut a notch 12 centimeters deep. For the final polishing of the shaft, it is rubbed with pumice, hiyal, very uniformly and with gentle pressure. To the end the shaft (176) is from 2.80 to 3.10 meters long.

176. Weddell (a):96 has furnished an exact description: "Their spears consist of firm bone, are seven feet long, sharply pointed, and have a barbed hook on one side, four inches from the point which... is fastened to a wooden shaft ten feet long and smooth and straight. A shorter or longer strip of skin is fastened to the bone." Snow (a):II, 15 supplements: "Their spears were about 12 feet long, made of hard wood, octangular, but about half an inch thick and one inch broad, tapering at one end to a point, and the other end to a butt" /cited in English/.

Fig. 33. Small Harpoon.

/471 cont./

441 313 In July, 1923, I asked old Walter to tell me exactly how the shafts for harpoons and spears were made in former times. He invited me to take a walk through the nearby forest at Punta Remolino. My faithful friend and dependable guide, the Selk'nam Indian Toin (Vol. I, 116) also joined us. Walter examined many beech trees with a sharp eye, and it took some time until he finally decided to cut down a suitable one. He used an iron ax, but showed both of us the former procedure which was incomparably more arduous. On our way home he emphasized several times that only the piece he had cut out had the required characteristics, and that the shaft must vibrate well when grasped in the middle. If one chooses other layers of wood, he has to worry about the shaft's bending or warping after repeatedly becoming wet.

441 321 /472/ The other part of this harpoon is the bone point with a single large tooth. For this one selects that portion of a whale rib that has the least curvature. The superfluous ends are taken off with sandstone by a long filing process (177). The piece of bone

177. Nowadays they use iron tools. Despard observed that with regard to the whalebone the Yamana "chop with axe, then cut with knife, then scrape with muscle /sic/ shell, then burnish with smooth stone" (VP:VI, 52; 1859) /cited in English/.

is shaped by pushing it back and forth with light pressure over a flat sandstone. When the curved edge of the back and the upper point are finished, a notch about ten centimeters long is cut into the lower third. This notch must then be finished off with a barb pointing downward. The whole process is nothing more than /Fig. 34 appears here/ endless grinding and filing with narrow pieces of sandstone and pumice. It requires a long time and much patience, for the bone tissue is extremely hard. The lower end, a rectangle about six centimeters long and three centimeters wide, is wedge-shaped. The sides of this tang are purposely left somewhat uneven so that it will fit more securely into the notch. A length of about 22 to 40 centimeters and a width of about 36 millimeters are the measurements most frequently observed for

/398 cont./

372 objects for striking fire were carried to keep them dry; thus they could manage anywhere. They protected the down and puff balls even more carefully by keeping them in the dry web of a large sea bird, although puffballs are protected against damp air as long as their outer skin does not burst. Every family always has a number of dry puffballs on hand, which are gathered in the fall and carefully stored throughout the year. Pyrite is found in several places in the extensive Yamana territory, but lumps of flint are rarer and are a popular object of trade. The flint most in demand, Iswili (BD: iswili), was obtained in the Aniawia Valley which lies [316] between Ushuaia and Lapataia (54). Only small amounts were

54. Compare Lothrop (b) :130. Thomas Bridges also once looked for it, in April, 1884, accompanied by several Yamana. He reports: "We ascended the large valley called Aniwia, celebrated for its flints, as the source of supply of arrow and spear flint heads for all Yagha land. We searched in vain for the spot whence the large supplies in former times were obtained" (MM:XVIII, 182; 1884) /cited in English/. Earlier, in June, 1883, this missionary wrote, (MM: XVII, 139; 1883) that flint was to be found only on Clarence Island (cf. Hyades [q] :10 and Vol. I, 207). It has been proved, however, that the Yamana fou[illegible] used it also in the[illegible]altport of their [illegible]. Fitz-Roy (a) :187 writes: "Where the pyrites is usually obtained, I do not know; but it cannot be plentiful in the Tekeenika country" /cited in English/. Certainly, these things were found there only sparingly.

found there, however. Hence the Yamana usually depend on [438] barter for their flint which was found in Cockbain Channel on the north shore of the Brecknock Peninsula, outside Beagle Channel. This flint was very hard and brownish-black. To guard against

/428 cont./

302 386 little stick, the mixture is spit into the left palm and the stick dipped into it. If the whole body is to be painted, the white powder is mixed with a little water, and the thick paste is smeared over the skin with the flat of the hand. After it has dried, of course, this layer of color gradually falls off.

They go to some trouble to obtain the red pigment, known as imi and more often ɛ̃wua, which is used far more extensively. Their emotional preference for bright scarlet may play a decisive part here. Hyades (p):329 corroborates this (108): "they prefer

108. He also says: "Red is the favorite coloring matter of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. From the chemical analysis he gives we see that iron oxide is the chief ingredient of this earth mixture.

vivid colors, especially red" /translated from French/. In several places in the west, more frequently than elsewhere, one [317] comes across thin layers of a yellowish or reddish or rust-colored mineral deposit, which is all the more desirable the less greasy and drier it is. Hyades (q):350 writes that the Indians "collect this ocher from pebbles to which it adheres; it shows that these stones probably were for a time in ferruginous water" /translated from French/. A lump the size of a fist is stirred with fresh water on an outspread rag of leather or a flat stone, kneaded well, and kept damp in the piece of leather until there is a sunny day with no wind. Then the embers of the hut fire are stirred up with some dry, sound wood. They wait until the smoke has disappeared and no breeze blows up the ashes, whereupon the still damp lump of clay is carefully placed in the fire so that it is thoroughly heated. It is vermilion when it is taken out with a stick. Ashes and embers are scraped off the surface, and it is pounded to a fine powder between stones. This powder is col- [415] lected in a piece of sea lion gut. The Indians are almost superstitiously exact in the preparation of this red pigment, for they are extraordinarily appreciative of its glowing brightness which neither dirt nor ashes impairs. It is used often and in various ways, but they like it best for facial painting, and then almost always

/437 cont./

301 independence, which is one of the character traits of these Indians, allows everyone the most complete freedom in his use of articles of adornment, just as in the painting of his body (p. 90). No one is surprised and no one would regard it as heightened vanity or an over-fondness for dress if today this person and tomorrow that one would appear, unexpectedly and without occasion, decked out with quantities of ornaments.

As such, the amount of ornaments and jewelry of these Indians is meager and simple, like all their possessions generally. Bove (c):26, exaggerating this simplicity, says: "Two or three lines of paint on the face and a necklace of shells or bird bones are the sole ornaments of a Fuegian" /translated from Spanish/. Certain occasions, however, such as general gatherings and larger social activities, have induced these people to make other, special ornaments, namely, their favorite headbands of bird feathers and down. We shall discuss these things below. Here we have mentioned and described only what belongs to their everyday life. The ornaments of our Yamana more or less re-
[171] semble those of the Selk'nam, but are, on the whole, prettier, more artistic, and more varied. Here, however, we do not have
[344] tattooing which their neighbors are fond of in a certain form and frequency (Vol. I, 229). Every other type of ornamentation, such as ear rings, precious stones, actual trophies, and body mutilation, are unknown down there in the unfriendly Cape Horn region.

D. Implements, Tools, Weapons

•32 178 In making his essential implements, the Yamana is altogether dependent on the scant products of his homeland. Hence it is not surprising that he uses only wood, bone, and shells to make the tools that he needs in his daily work and in hunting. He has not advanced to the use of stone to any degree worth men-
[135] tioning. Copper ore which is found there in certain places has never been noticed, let alone utilized. If we judge the Fuegian by the materials that he uses for his implements, it becomes obvious that he occupies a lower stage in the development of material culture than the much-sought European man of the Stone Age. The former is still actually present among us, the latter disappeared long centuries ago.

/433 cont./

342 442 very irregular teeth are still firm in the dust, narrow upper jaw (100).

100. Hyades (q):363 confirms this very emphatically.

[324] The other comb must be specially made and that is why not everyone has it. It is a flat piece of whale bone, the size

Fig. 18. Comb Made of Whale Bone. Two-thirds natural size.

of a child's hand, into which five to eight teeth are cut. The teeth project across the entire piece, with not very large spaces between them (Fig. 19). This is in contrast to the comb of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 222). In the central Fuegian region where porpoises are rarer, this *nunakitamaik*[101] is generally used (101). [Fig. 19 appears here.]

101. Lothrop (b):131 mentions both types and says: "The Yahgan sometimes comb their hair" /cited in English/. Hyades (c):348 does not mention the last comb we

/435 cont./

301 Finally, they create a popular oddity by alternating a small piece of black bone and a small piece of white. They also have ornamental chains consisting only of small black pieces. They blacken them by saturating them with fish oil and leaving them in hot ashes for some time. The latter varieties are all known as hátus (118).

118. Hyades (q):349 mentions only one of these types: "One type of necklace very commonly worn consists of small cylinders of bird bone, evenly cut and strung" /translated from French/. One does see this type very often, as a matter of fact.

301 The ornament for the neck that is considered the most
•321 beautiful is ispúka. To make it they gather pea-sized shells of Photinula violacea, known as son ispúka. They scrape off the rough and dirty calcareous surface layer by rubbing the shells with wet sand between both hands or by placing them in the pebbles on the edge of a shallow brook that has a strong current, which produces the same scouring action. This gives the little snail shells a faint opalescent sheen on a sky-blue or light pink background. They make a small hole near the outer edge by rubbing the snail shell on a rough stone. First they place all the little shells next to each other according to size, beginning with the smallest up to the largest, but from the beginning they choose them so that the difference in size between the two extremes is
301 very slight. To string them they need a cord, asina, braided with three tendon fibers and laid double (Fig. 23). They thread
[284] the lower strand through the hole of each small shell and secure the upper one with a thread running spirally around the two and pressing each individual shell tight against the preceding one (Fig. 24). This ornament /436/ is arranged in two to five equal circles, depending on its length. At one point a short thread is wrapped around all the circles to keep them together. This is the way the ispúka is worn at the neck. If they decide to make only a single strand of snail shells, they put the largest one in the center and arrange the others very accurately according to size, so that the smallest ones finish off the two ends (119).

[339] 119. This characteristic ornament of the Yamana,
[text continues on p.105 Analyst]

/471 cont./

411 313 In July, 1923, I asked old Walter to tell me exactly how the shafts for harpoons and spears were made in former times. He invited me to take a walk through the nearby forest at Punta Remolino. My faithful friend and dependable guide, the Selk'nam Indian Toin (Vol. I, 116) also joined us. Walter examined many beech trees with a sharp eye, and it took some time until he finally decided to cut down a suitable one. He used an iron ax, but showed both of us the former procedure which was incomparably more arduous. On our way home he emphasized several times that only the piece he had cut out had the required characteristics, and that the shaft must vibrate well when grasped in the middle. If one chooses other layers of wood, he has to worry about the shaft's bending or warping after repeatedly becoming wet.

411 321 /472/ The other part of this harpoon is the bone point with a single large tooth. For this one selects that portion of a whale rib that has the least curvature. The superfluous ends are taken off with sandstone by a long filing process (177). The piece of bone

177. Nowadays they use iron tools. Despard observed that with regard to the whalebone the Yamana "chop with axe, then cut with knife, then scrape with muscle /sic/ shell, then burnish with smooth stone" (VP:VI, 52; 1859) /cited in English/.

is shaped by pushing it back and forth with light pressure over a flat sandstone. When the curved edge of the back and the upper point are finished, a notch about ten centimeters long is cut into the lower third. This notch must then be finished off with a barb pointing downward. The whole process is nothing more than /Fig. 34 appears here/ endless grinding and filing with narrow pieces of sandstone and pumice. It requires a long time and much patience, for the bone tissue is extremely hard. The lower end, a rectangle about six centimeters long and three centimeters wide, is wedge-shaped. The sides of this tang are purposely left somewhat uneven so that it will fit more securely into the notch. A length of about 22 to 40 centimeters and a width of about 36 millimeters are the measurements most frequently observed for

/472 cont./

41/ these large bone points of the small harpoon. Sometimes one
32/ of them will turn out somewhat unsymmetrical or bent to one side when the natural curvature of the whale rib could not be completely obliterated by grinding. The lower /473/ jawbone, ináka, of the whale is most highly prized. It can be made into a very hard and quite symmetrical point which also has a more accurate aim (178).

178. Bridges (k):14 mentions: "Points for lances are made from the jaw of the whale" /translated from Spanish/. On the subject

[322]

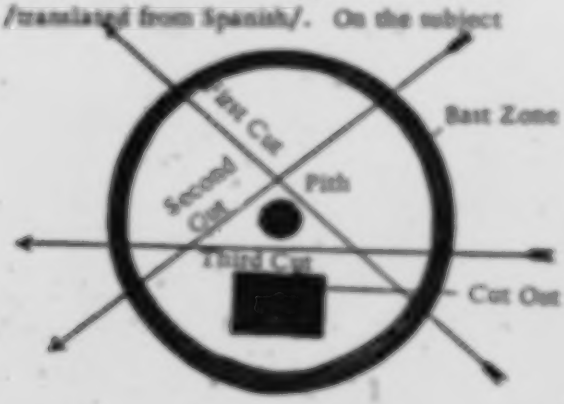

Fig. 34. Diagram Showing How a Shaft is Cut Out.

of making harpoon points, Hyades (q):355 makes the more general statement that "the Fuegians use a bone of the whale or sometimes a seal bone, but the bones of whale are preferred" /translated from French/. Earlier Snow (a):II, 361 reported: "Their principal spear-heads are entirely constructed of hard bone, and are about seven inches long, finely pointed, with a barb on one side four inches from the point" /cited in English/.

/477 cont./

411 Our Yamana use spears as lighter thrusting weapons. We can distinguish between a spear used for birds and one for fish. The shaft of the former is likewise a pole that is uniformly cut and prepared, but this is usually a young trunk of Maytenus magellanica or of Nothofagus or Drimys winteri, from which the bark has been peeled off. It is usually not more than three meters long. The thick end is cut off straight across. Here the notch is cut from one side without letting it come through to the other side. About a quarter of the diameter remains, and this serves to support the Mope point which is inserted here with the back against the remaining portion of the wood. The lower part of the point has several short upright teeth. A narrow strap is tightly wound around it in the spaces between the teeth. The same shaft with the partial notch just described is also used for the Mikwaia, securely and firmly held in it.

411 /478/ The serrated points made of bone or wood are characteristic for these spears. For the bone teeth, whale ribs are used exclusively. They are first treated with coarse sandstone, then with quartz splinters or mussel shells, and finally burnished with pumice. The two edges end in a point at the top, the back is rounded off (183).

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183. It cannot be definitely determined whether the Yamana made a bone point with both edges serrated. However, RD:64 mentions: "'asais,' the single or double notched spear head used for seals, porpoises" /cited in English/. Among the Halakwulup I found the double-edged, serrated spearhead of wood, as well as of bone, and sometimes even the two together.

[171]

and on the opposite side the native laboriously cut or saw out one little tooth after another with sharp mussel shells or quartz splinters. These small teeth are narrow and more or less irregular; they are close together and point obliquely downward. The little piece at the lower end is irregularly serrated and tapers; it is set into the notch and lashed.

411 This spear with the bone point is used for hunting birds. It is
233 most often hurled against penguins which have tough flesh into which a wooden point would not penetrate deeply enough.

/426 cont./

412 321 The wedge we have just described is carved out of the strong tissue of the large bones of the whale. The process is one of rubbing back and forth with pressure on a flat stone. As soon as the desired form roughly appears, the blade is carefully sharpened. The last thing is to grind and smooth the surface. For this a /427/ pumice about the size of one's fist is suitable. The sea tosses these up in many places along the shore. We have repeatedly emphasized that our Indians must often resort to pumice, hiyal, for this very useful material is the only thing they employ to polish their bone points for harpoons and spears and their many wooden shafts. Lothrop (b):143 mentions: "For polishing, in place of our sandpaper or the Ona fox-skin and grit, the Yahgan use pumice hiff" /cited in English/. BO-[illegible] spells it hiial. The pumice, of course, soon wears down all the hard bone tissue, but it can be picked up anywhere on the shores (233). The Selk'nam

[111]

> 233. Lothrop (b):143 confirms: "It frequently floats down Beagle channel and may be picked up on the beach" /cited in English/. Lovisato (a):197 is wrong in saying that pumice is found only on Nueva Island and Lennox Island.

(Vol. I, 238), as we know, not infrequently use the same pumice.

E. Use of Iron

412 177 The Yamana of the first and oldest period were completely unfamiliar with the utilization of iron in any form. It is not found in their country nor could they obtain it through barter. As soon as they saw it on European ships and realized its usefulness, however, they learned how to obtain this raw material, as well as small plates of steel and copper, either legitimately or by stealing. Their impetuous desire for it sometimes led to dire consequences for themselves.

It is surprising how quickly they made iron serve them, taking it over in the form of nails, small plates for sheathing, and

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Fig. 54. Long Bone Points.

/510 cont./

this fact: "It is rather curious that usually each of these natives is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear; another with the sling; another with a bow and arrows; but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others" /cited in English/. This is actually the case.

A person who lacks something that he is unable to make because of a shortage of raw material or as a result of his own incapacity acquires it through barter with someone who happens to be in a position to dispose of it. For example, only a few men are completely successful in cutting and filing the long bone harpoon points (Fig. 54), in putting an arrow together, or in removing a wide sheet of bark for canoe building. It is inevitable that the individual will sometimes become dependent on others to a certain extent when he must fill his need for certain implements. This considerably strengthens the awareness of the solidarity of all members of the tribe.

To begin with, however, scarcely anyone would think of using the object which he happens to have for purposes of barter, since in all his work and striving he is primarily and fundamentally concerned with his own needs. He uses his own measurements as a basis. That is to say, he decides on the length and

283 /466/ brought back the bowstrings are now missing. Of the two
411 in the Peabody Museum Lothrop (b):156 says that their "bowstrings are of guanaco-sinew" /cited in English/ (169). The latter,

> 169. In a few older reports they are erroneously said to be "gut."

known as sāli, are attached exactly as they are on the bow of the Selk'nam, namely, at one end by means of a running knot and at the other by being wound around it several times (see Fig. 31 in Vol. I, 231). A strip of leather as a bowstring is obviously much less elastic.

β. The Arrow

411 The navigators of earlier times repeatedly saw the arrow in the hands of these Fuegians, but instead of describing it in detail, most of them were content to mention it briefly. Weddell noted few details. The arrow of the Yamana also resembles that
[171] of the Selk'nam in every respect; the latter is in general somewhat longer. Lothrop (b):155 calls it "short, clumsy, and untapered -- very crude indeed compared with Ona workmanship" /cited in English/. As far as I know, there is not an arrow preserved anywhere from olden times, and the available descriptions from the last decades are more or less inadequate. For whatever I have been able to discover about this at one time significant weapon, I am indebted chiefly to old Whaits, who, as a young man, made a few samples of them. Personally I did not succeed in seeing an arrow made by the hand of a Yamana.

Here, too, as on Isla Grande, they choose the small stems
[824] of Berberis ilicifolia, sometimes even the branches of Maytenus
411 magellanica for the arrow shaft. Hence it is also called ajyakuz,
322 a name for the latter tree. The stick, still green, is given its final shape by constant scraping with a sharp-edged mussel shell. The middle third bulges slightly in contrast to the two ends. The high polish and final smoothing of the surface of the shaft is obtained by a gentle rubbing with pumice. Before that the man repeatedly straightens it by holding it between his teeth and

/466 cont./

441 322 elastically bending the parts that stand out. Painstakingly and carefully he must now cut a notch at either end; the one for the arrowhead is deep and sharp-edged, the other shallow and rounded. This is accomplished by means of protracted rubbing and filing with a small splinter of sandstone or with the rough edge of a mussel shell.

441 324 Slate, as well as quartz, is found in various places on the Cape Horn Archipelago, and both kinds of stone are used for the arrowheads, known as ëkëna, inix, yëlkus. Slate is the easiest to work. The Indians choose a suitable small slab of stone, and, scraping it on a fine-grained piece of sandstone, they try first to obtain the desired triangular shape with the sharp edges on both sides which converge in a flat point. Afterwards they carefully fashion the perfectly rectangular tang. /467/ These points always turn out to be small. Their total length is about 30 millimeters, seven millimeters of which apply to the tang; the largest distance between the lateral corners is around 15 millimeters (Fig. 32).

Sometimes the arrowheads of quartz (170) are a little

170. Fitz-Roy (a):139 speaks in general of "arrows headed with obsidian, agate, or jasper" /cited in English/, which is more or less correct.

longer, and the base of the triangle is a slightly curved arch. In order to achieve this and to fashion the necessary tang, the Yamana (171) proceeds exactly as does the Selk'nam. He hangs

171. Wieghardt: 26 erroneously believes that "the Ona make these points, because the Yahgan do not know how to work either glass or obsidians" /translated from Spanish/.

a soft /Fig. 32 appears here/ scrap of leather over his left palm and with this he grasps the suitable stone splinter with thumb and index finger. While he works he rests his left fist against his thigh. His right fist grasps a small blunt stick of bone which he

/471 cont./

411 part that remains, he lifts out the core (Fig. 34). These
313 layers of wood are neither too flexible nor completely stiff, but are slightly springy and absolutely sound.

Through endless scraping with quartz splinters,
411 sharpened mussel shells, or the knife, enough of the
322 long pole is whittled off so that it is about 25 milli-
[342] meters in diameter and precisely octagonal. Attention is given to this because of a definite esthetic feeling, but also the edges make it possible to grasp the shaft more firmly and safely. The shaft tapers gradually toward the bottom and terminates in a blunt end. On top they carefully cut a notch 12 centimeters deep. For the final polishing of the shaft, it is rubbed with pumice, hiyal, very uniformly and with gentle pressure. To the end the shaft (176) is from 2.80 to 3.10 meters long.

176. Weddell (a):96 has furnished an exact description: "Their spears consist of firm bone, are seven feet long, sharply pointed, and have a barbed hook on one side, four inches from the point which... is fastened to a wooden shaft ten feet long and smooth and straight. A shorter or longer strip of skin is fastened to the bone." Snow (a):II, 15 supplements: "Their spears were about 12 feet long, made of hard wood, octangular, but about half an inch thick and one inch broad, tapering at one end to a point, and the other end to a butt" /cited in English/.

Fig. 33. Small Harpoon.

/472 cont./

41/ these large bone points of the small harpoon. Sometimes one
321 of them will turn out somewhat unsymmetrical or bent to one side when the natural curvature of the whale rib could not be completely obliterated by grinding. The lower /473/ jawbone, iséska, of the whale is most highly prized. It can be made into a very hard and quite symmetrical point which also has a more accurate aim (178).

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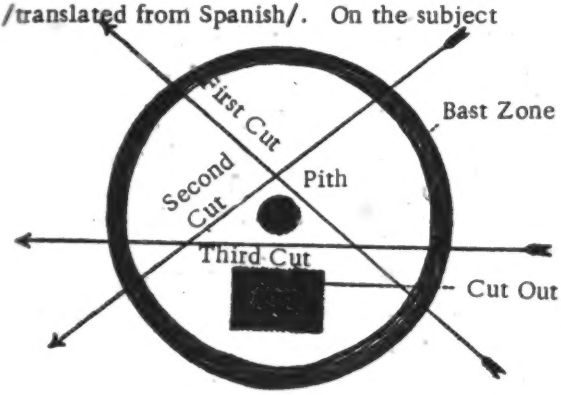

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/501 cont./
several of these small bags and described them in detail, as did Lothrop (b): 133. Compare Spegazzini (a): 162 and Colini:238.

the freshly removed bird skin inside out so that the feathered side is on the inside.

Dried pieces of gut and the dried stomach of smaller seals are also used as small bags. They are popular as containers for pigments and liquid blubber, for they are impermeable. These things are known as yáj (Fig. 20).

415 The above-mentioned articles of leather and skin are neither very strong nor particularly durable. Even more fragile and delicate are the buckets and smaller vessels made of bark. Such containers are not suitable for the type of life led by the Selk'nam; however, they are serviceable for the Yamana because they can be easily kept in the canoe and taken along. There is a larger type, kāla, xāla, and a smaller, tūku. BD:201, 469 also distinguishes between kāla, "a bark bucket," and tūkū, "a bark bailer" /cited in English/. The complete name for the large pail is ajyūšu xāla in the western dialect, and āta, xāla in the eastern dialect.

415 322 When one wants to make a pail, he peels a ring out of the bark of an evergreen beech with the usual bone tools. The outer rind and the inner dry bark fibers are scraped off; then all the edges are cut very evenly. Before the piece of bark curls up by drying its longitudinal edges are sewed together, carefully well overlapped. A round bottom of the same bark is set in and secured by means of a seam that runs all the way around. To prevent the upper edge from tearing a flexible strip of the soft wood layer of [824] Drimys winteri is placed around it and sewed on. Whalebone strips [283] as well as thin bundles of bast-fiber are used to sew it. A short leather strap or a braided rush cord is knotted above the opening as a handle. This makes it easy to handle the bucket which is up to 30 centimeters high and has a diameter of 13 centimeters (Fig. 48). For /502/ smaller vessels they take the bark of Drimys winteri [824] and even of Maytenus magellanica, both of which have less tendency to curl because their bark is thicker than that of beeches. For these they do no more than make a longitudinal seam and set in a

/502 cont./

415 bottom. /Fig. 48 appears here./

322 In order to prevent irregular curling and deep splits in the damp bark of the newly finished kā́la, they stuff wet moss mixed with fresh grass into it, exerting considerable pressure, and filling the entire bucket with it. Moreover, they avoid having it heated unevenly by the hut fire or by the sun. Along with the wet filler, the bark dries very gradually, preserves its shape, and keeps perfectly for a long time. In the case of the large bark receptacles, they sometimes press a few extra small moss plants between the individual seams as filler (215).

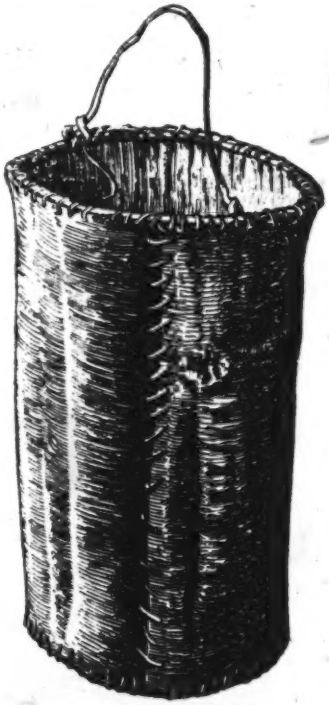

Fig. 48. Bark Pail.

215. Lothrop (b):132 mentions: "In general the Yahgan buckets are taller in proportion to their width than those of the Alacaluf" /cited in English/. I cannot confirm this statement from my own experience; there does not seem to be a difference.

415 The small bark receptacles are used as cups and water dippers; they have no other use. All kinds of implements are sometimes temporarily stuffed into the large buckets that hold at least five liters, but their real purpose is to serve as containers for water. This not so much for people who have settled down in a hut on the shore as for those who are setting out for a trip in their canoe. Although it may sound unbelievable, tight bark buckets actually hold a small amount of water for several hours. The older girls primarily take care of scooping out the water that oozes into the canoe with their little bark receptacles; they also fetch drinking

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

412

lákel in Ona,—but there is no means of determining which tribe was the inventor.

3. Hammer and Grease Stone.—On old camp-sites numerous smooth, water-worn stones can be picked up. They were used as hammers to break open various shellfish, and also they served as anvils for cracking hot marrow-bones to allow the grease to solidify on the cool surface, whence it could be scraped up and eaten.

4. Broom.—The Yahgan housewife today occasionally sweeps out her domicile, employing for that purpose the wing of some large bird such as a goose. This custom probably is not aboriginal, but is rather the result of missionary contact.

Fig. 55.—Yahgan bark bucket. Height, 12½ in. (14/2267)

[302]

5. Comb.—The Yahgan sometimes comb their hair, and for this they make rude combs (*ushlánim*) of whalebone or employ the jaw of a porpoise. Combs of both types are illustrated in fig. 54, *a*, *b*.

6. Spatula.—Another article for beautifying the person, found in the well-ordered Yahgan house, is a small spatula (*telákikamána*) used for painting the face and body. One of these appears in fig. 69, *d*.

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7. Bucket.—Under the Ona manner of existence a bark bucket (fig. 55) would have been of little service, for it would soon be broken under the exigencies of their system of transport; but the Yahgan found the bucket (*atakála*) an extremely valuable object, and used it to bail their canoes and to store water in their camps. Like the canoe itself the bucket was made from the bark of the evergreen beech, but while the canoe was man's work, the bucket was woman's work. Hence the bark for the bucket was removed from the tree with the woman's barking tool (*téshupu*), which is a chisel-like device made from the leg-bone of the guanaco (fig. 68). The inner fat lining of the bark was then scraped off, and a rec-

[412]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

415 tangular piece was cut for the sides and a circular piece for the bottom of the bucket. Narrow strips of whalebone were then 322 scraped thin and pliable, and the bottom and sides were sewn tightly together (fig. 56, *b*). Around the inside of the lip a strip

[283 516]

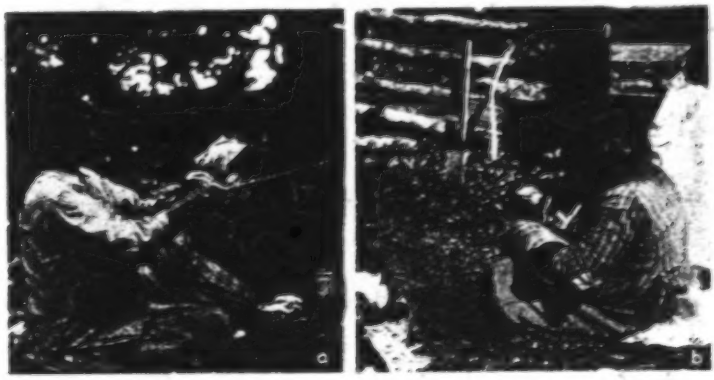

FIG. 56.—Yahgan women. *a*, Rope-making; *b*, Making a bark bucket.

of wood—*leña dura*, Winter's bark, or barberry—was introduced to give additional strength and to prevent the bark from splitting. Finally a hide thong was attached to serve as a handle, and the whole outside was painted red.

415 In general the Yahgan buckets are taller in proportion to their width than those of the Alacaluf. The Alacaluf seem to have been better craftsmen than the Yahgan, hence their buckets are usually more neatly finished.

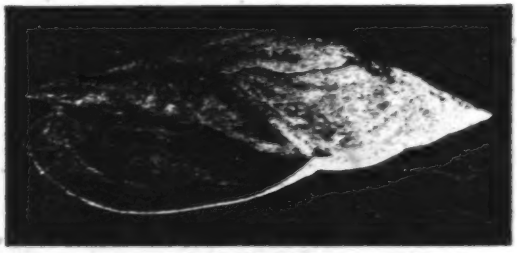

FIG. 57.—Yahgan shell cup. Length, 6¼ in. (14/2372)

8. CUP.—A Yahgan refinement over the Ona is the use of a shell cup (*auflán*). As seen in fig. 57, this is nothing more elaborate than a simple shell, its shape in no way modified. Such a receptacle could be used to dip water from a bark bucket, but would have been of little service in removing water from the Ona skin water-bag.

/498 cont./

412 The things our Indians make with their iron tools differ from
177 what they made formerly only in execution; in each and every object they retain the basic forms. An exception is the substitution of the flat skiff in place of the bark canoe. We can, therefore, by no means speak of an improvement or perfection of total Fuegian technical skill as a result of their adoption of iron implements.

10. Articles Made of Leather, Hide, Bark

• 323 None of the three Fuegian Indian tribes is acquainted with pottery. Clayey earths are present and, in small amounts, are heated and made into the above-mentioned red pigment used for decoration. It has not occurred to anyone to make pots out of them. The Indians are very poor in material possessions. Still,
415 they need many small things which they must keep in bags and pouches so as not to lose them in their restless moving about. None of these things are durable by any means, but are easily and quickly replaced by others. Most of the utilitarian objects of this kind have been mentioned in the foregoing parts of this book where in each case their use was discussed. Here they will be more or less completely classified according to the material out of which they are made.

281 The explanation for so many things being made of leather is the environment in which our Fuegians have been placed. Their body covering, which does not deserve the name clothing, consists of pieces of leather and of skins, as we have already mentioned on page 50. In that connection we also described the treatment and preparation of leather (p. 68). To repeat briefly, the hunter himself skins the slain animal -- otter, guanaco, seal. He removes the skin piece by piece, cutting it away from the layer of fat surrounding the body with a mussel shell. Immediately /499/ the woman scrapes the larger bunches of fat, muscle, and tissues from the skin which is still soft and wet, stretching it taut above the ground by means of short wooden pegs or a network of short sticks. As soon as the skin has become hard from drying, she scrapes the hairless layer with the ufkĕr[1]. Sometimes she removes the /Fig. 47 appears here/ layer of fur by

/466 cont./

441 322 elastically bending the parts that stand out. Painstakingly and carefully he must now cut a notch at either end; the one for the arrowhead is deep and sharp-edged, the other shallow and rounded. This is accomplished by means of protracted rubbing and filing with a small splinter of sandstone or with the rough edge of a mussel shell.

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/467 cont./

411 324 places on the edge of the little piece of stone, and by exerting strong pressure with slight turning, he gouges out tiny shell-shaped splinters very close together. In other words, he presses off fine flakes, little by little, from the entire piece until the desired shape is achieved. The upper and lower surface are easier to work because larger splinters can be broken off; it is much harder to shape the tang exactly. For the last few decades broken glass has been used instead of quartz; it can be worked much more easily and even more quickly.

On my second expedition I gave old Alfredo a piece of thick bottle-glass and asked him to make a dagger point nine inches long, with the usual triangular shape and the adjoining tang. He was particularly pleased when, under the pressure of the little bone stick, the tiny particles of glass chipped off with a crunching sound. To my surprise he finished the beautiful point in 55 minutes, without having hurried unduly. He confessed: "To make a point of quartz of the same size for an arrow, a capable Yamana needs a whole /468/ day." Nowadays, [177] instead of the customary small bone stick, they use a thick iron nail or an iron awl (172),

Fig. 32. Arrowheads of Slate, Bone, and Flint. Natural size.

172. Hyades (h):34 and (q):360 mentions that "the Fuegian Jakaif simply cut the glass which was to form the point by scraping a piece of window glass with a knife. When he did not have glass he used a fragment of stone (flint)" /translated from French/.

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/481/

Fig. 39. Dagger Points or Lance Points.
Natural size.

/490 cont./

226 line. When the fish has been brought near the surface, she reaches down and grasps it with a sure hand, pushing her second and third finger under each gill cover. After she has lifted it out of the water, she bites through its neck and kills it.

227 /491/ The snares and fishing implements used by our Yamana show extreme appropriateness. Each one of these things proves that it enables the Indian, with a small amount of effort, to get the wild animals he wants or is stalking.

9. Tools

412 The Fuegians have not yet advanced to a universal or even
324 preponderant use of stone tools. To blame this on the sparse occurrence of quartzite and slate in those regions is not sufficient explanation. When iron and glass were introduced by Europeans,
[177] the natives used these materials immediately, albeit in limited measure, without, however, changing the original form of their implements or replacing them by others. Actual working of the stone seems necessary only in the case of stone arrowheads and dagger points (p. 169). It cannot be definitely shown whether these Fuegians also shaped the round black stone with a groove, known as tesi. Hence the greater part of their tools consists of mussel shells, wood, and bone. This fact can be easily ascertained from the accounts of earlier navigators.

The following description pertains to those items as they were made before being influenced by Europeans. We must credit our Fuegians with considerable cultural progress by reason of the fact that they succeeded in making a number of implements of different construction and form, each with a very definite use.

We should like to mention briefly here a peculiar form of be-
412 havior of the Yamana which Lothrop (b):139 has also referred to.
461 When they need anything for their implements, they do not take the trouble to make a thorough search for a good piece or await an opportunity to come across a better part. Rather, they take the first thing that comes along if it suffices for their momentary need and if it promises to fulfill the purpose for which it was intended. A better shaped mussel shell to be used as a knife, a more regular

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

501 of several skins sewn together, was sometimes set up—a practice whose origin, native or European, is uncertain. (For details on manufacture and use of canoe, cf.: Lothrop, 1928, pp. 142–145; 1932 a, pp. 251–253; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 438–457.)

501 177 After about 1850 the *Yahgan* began to give up their traditional bark canoes, and to adopt the dugout. Still later, prior to Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, the dugout had been entirely superseded by the dory, of European type and origin.

The *Yahgan* never adopted the plank boat from their *Alacaluf* neighbors and never used rafts or skin-covered watercraft, so far as our records reveal.

MANUFACTURES

172 Pottery, weaving, and metallurgy were entirely absent; no traces of pottery have been discovered archeologically in *Yahgan* territory.

283 **String-making and sewing.**—Plant fibers, plain, shredded, or braided, were used in basket making, canoe sewing, and for mooring lines, respectively; braided whale sinew, for necklaces, fishing lines, and tool and weapon lashings; braided guanaco sinew, for bowstrings; whalebone, in sewing canoes and for bird snares and fishline nooses; seal-hide thongs, for tool and weapon lashings, harpoon lines, basket handles, mooring lines, and bowstrings. Awls were made of bone and wood, unhafted. The drill was lacking. [812]

285 **Basketry.**—Four techniques in basket making were in use: (1) Simple half-hitch coiled, the commonest type (fig. 13, *top*); (2) twisted half-hitch coiled, rarer (fig. 13, *center*); (3) knotted half-hitch coiled, not common (fig. 13, *bottom*); (4) a sort of wrapped type. The first three were of excellent craftsmanship; the last, very crudely woven, and used only as a dip net for catching very small fish. The material for all four was a rush (*Juncus magellanicus*). The coiled baskets were more or less oblong-spheroid in shape, and had a carrying handle of thong or plaited rush (pl. 33, *c*).

281 **Skin dressing.**—No process of dressing proper is reported. Sealskins were stretched on the ground, covered with grass and moss, and left so for a while, to help dehair them. Drying frames were apparently used. The scraper consisted of a mussel shell lashed to a cylindrical stone haft. The *Yahgan* made thongs flexible by drawing them through their teeth or by chewing them. [412]

324 **Stoneworking.**—Little use of worked stone was made except for arrowheads and, rarely, scrapers. The workmanship was crude. Archeologically, there are some traces of stone pecking and polishing (Lothrop, 1928, p. 203; cf. Bird, 1938). [192]

415 **Containers.**—Cylindrical buckets (pl. 33, *e*), of *Nothofagus betuloides* bark, for carrying and holding drinking water and for bailing, were made by the woman, with the use of a barking tool dif-

22 /[illegible]/ Natural conditions have an overwhelming effect in shaping and determining the form of the material culture of the Yamana. This is equally true of the neighboring Selk'nam /Ona/ (Vol. I, 192). Since the indispensable conditions for gardening and farming, as well as for animal husbandry, are lacking, they can only be simple gatherers or hunters with a nomadic way of life. They practice the nomadism of a people at home on the water and along the shore. Less than fishermen, more than hunters or gatherers, they are engaged in obtaining food and are, therefore, appropriately referred to as "water nomads." Almost all day long they travel in their canoes along the intricate water channels or hunt on the shore. When they are not doing that, they squat in the hut, which is always erected on the shore near the water line. Only occasionally and for special purposes do they leave the shore and push inland to the center of the island. The surface of the water and the narrow strip of coast are the field of action and the sphere of life for the Yamana. Whatever they encounter here in the form of plants and animals determines their economic activity and is indispensable for their standard of living. The large sea mammals, the indigenous species of seals and whales, play the most important role. Sea otters and sea birds are no less important. Finally, from among the lower animals, nothing could rival the mussels and large crabs. Hunting and gathering these things constitute the chief part of the economic activity of the Yamana. [illegible] The vegetable kingdom offers practically nothing, hence our natives rely exclusively on a meat diet.

¶22 The vegetable kingdom and the products of the hunt furnish the raw materials for their property in goods. As a matter of principle, these possessions are of such a nature that they not only do not impede unrestricted wandering, but assure the acquisition of everything needed for subsistence and, above all, facilitate hunting and gathering. All their property is limited to what is absolutely essential. As such, this is so little that a demanding, civilized human being marvels at such perfected self-sufficiency. This is a result of the fact that every item beyond the limit of what is indispensable would be a burden that would become more grievously oppressive the longer one carried it around.

• 3[illegible] Preparedness for uninterrupted movement precludes fixed dwellings from the outset, either in the form of individual establishments or community settlements. A lean-, cleverly constructed hut serves as shelter for a night or for a few days.

A. The Dwelling

/367 cont./

367. The dwelling arrangements form a considerable part of the material culture of the Yamana people and are in perfect accord with their roving, hunting life. The dwelling need offer only transitory shelter, for a single night or for a few days. If, for good reason, it is advisable to remain longer at the same place, the ordinary light, loose construction is made a little more solid, but ordinarily a weak frame suffices. According to the size, there are two types of huts: the dome-shaped and the cone-shaped (1). Generally it is /368/

1. According to Despard (9) :680, the huts vary with the season. There are "two kinds -- the *ashallee*, or summer house; and the *ucer*, or winter house" /cited in English/. The former is supposed to be built with a few poles; "the *ucer* is more carefully prepared and much larger" /cited in English/. This assertion is inaccurate, for the huts have the same form in summer as in winter. Later Bridges (VP: III, 118; 1869) also distinguished "the winter wigwam" from a "summer wigwam" /cited in English/.

[X] inhabited by a single family (2). A permanent assemblage of many

2. Lovisato (9) :192 distinguishes three forms of huts, according to use and purpose. Apparently he misinterpreted native words and took this division from a long description by Bridges (VP: III, 118; 1869).

families, such as a village settlement, would be totally unusable. All this likewise contributes to the unequivocal characterization of the Yamana dwelling as extremely humble.

/368 cont./

342 571 The inmates do not bestow noticeable effort or care on their paltry hut, either in building it or while they are living in it, for it serves but a few hours or days for their most urgent requirements for protection against the inclemency of the weather. One must by no means believe that the Indian strives for coziness or agreeable comfort in his hut. No, it serves merely as a meager cover and at the same time to keep the indispensable fire going. Beyond that, the things that Europeans consider necessary in a dwelling would only mean needless expenditure of energy and an unnecessary burden to the Yamana, for he must constantly carry all his belongings along with him. Indeed, he dare not part with them.

1. The Lack of Permanent Settlements

361 Since there is no other way for the natives of Cape Horn to obtain food except by hunting and gathering, all members of the tribe are divided up into individual families, and as such they go forth to hunt for food. Only occasionally a few band together. This manner of obtaining food prohibits a village settlement with many people.

484 571 361 Obtaining food is the chief concern of the man. Distant and sometimes futile journeys are necessary before he approaches rocks on which seals are lying, or reaches cliffs in which cormorants nest, or finds mussel banks where gathering is worthwhile. He always sees himself at the mercy of the arbitrary, eternally restless waves and the constant shifting of winds. Despite the best intentions, despite the greatest exertion and extreme hardship, he cannot guarantee that he will attain his goal, keep on his course, and come back to the place from where his canoe trip started. The inescapable dependence on changing weather, which not infrequently hinders any kind of movement for several days, permits neither an ordered grouping of many people nor plans by the hunters to return to a permanent settlement. Anyone staying behind /369/ to wait for food that others were supposed to bring in would too often find himself exposed to starvation (3).

3. These decisive factors have been overlooked by those European critics who, misconstruing the facts, have judged our natives to be backward

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because they do not build fixed dwellings or permanent settlements.

361 Then, too, closer consideration of the game itself, upon which our Indian is after all dependent, would make the longer sojourn in compact settlements seem inadvisable. The animals change their location quite erratically. If they do favor certain places, they stay there only as long as man does not disturb them. Once they have been frightened away, it may be days before they have regained a feeling of security and settle down there again. Assuming, then, that many families wanted to live together on the same spot, this region would surely be cleared of all game within a wide radius, no matter whether it were killed or frightened away. Accordingly, the hunter would be obliged to venture ever farther from his camp in order to find his prey. Quite apart from his previous exertions, his return would be more difficult and more uncertain; those anxiously awaiting him would look for his return with greater worry. Only a short time might pass before a new camp, considerably distant from the previous one, would have to be sought.

With these brief comments, the advantages of freedom of settlement for independent individual families, in contrast to a longer residence of many people in the same place, become convincing. It is true, however, and this should be mentioned at the outset, that many families gather around a stranded whale and thus form a fortuitous settlement of limited duration. This exists, however, only as long as the supply of meat and fat holds out, for even a sea monster of such giant proportions as these largest mammals does not by any means supply unlimited quantities of food. This isolated occasion, besides one or two others of the same nature, proves how unsuitable fixed settlements would be as a permanent arrangement for our natives. It is to the advantage of all that their extensive homeland has few people, so that each individual family has a wide area open to it in all directions where its members can devote themselves undisturbed to food-gathering.

342 361 Hence, the dwelling of the Yamana, in form as well as in construction and location, is a thing of chance. A person on a journey undoubtedly aims for a definite goal at which to land if the weather is good, but sometimes he does not attain it because good booty crosses his path along the way, because he is driven off his course in the pursuit of an animal, or because wind and waves are against him. After all,

361 /369 cont./
342 he wants to steer in the direction of a food supply; where /370/ and when something falls into his hands he will stop and land. Accordingly, the landing place determines whether the family will erect only a small protective roof or a cone-shaped hut or the somewhat more elaborate construction of a dome-shaped dwelling. For the latter many long flexible green saplings and thick foliage are needed; for the second type, several short poles suffice; for the first, the few hides which everyone carries along in his canoe are adequate. Whatever external circumstances present, whatever the landing place offers, what at the moment seems most suitable, that is what the Indian chooses and decides to do. Plans far in advance would prove not only impractical for him, but usually also impossible to carry out, and therefore he does not even consider them. As though by way of compensation, however, he has a ready mental agility for making sudden resolves, and this helps him in every situation to make an instantaneous decision.

The greatest contrast to permanent settlements is the very temporary shelter which a sudden impending need teaches him to erect very quickly. Whatever the Indian happens to find, he hurriedly collects and uses to help himself as best he can. One cannot call such provisional contrivances dwellings, since they are meant only to offer cover for brief hours, for example, during a storm or rain, during sunshine, or because of an unconquerable crosscurrent. They are erected in a few minutes and are always arranged according to the local condition (4).

> 4. It is only with reference to this that the following words are valid: "The Fuegians have several kinds of huts; they vary their constructions according to the nature of the country they are in and according to the length of time they must stay there" /translated from French/ (La Nature: 274).

342 Often they crawl under an overhanging rock, into a shallow de-
372 pression in a rock, or into a flat cave-shaped dip in the ground, using dense brush or coverings of pieces of leather to keep out pouring rain or a sweeping wind. Mostly they are content to use slight, effortless movements of the hands which suffice to keep the fire glowing steadily

/370 cont./

342 or to start a big flame. A Yamana family would scarcely ever
372 enter deeper rock declivities and actual caves, of which there are few, because they would not feel comfortable there and because the amount of smoke that would develop from the indispensable fire would drive them out again (5).

5. A few suitable rock formations and caves serve merely as cover which our Indians seek out in order to be barely sheltered for a few hours against sudden storms. In this sense Hyades (f): 558 is correct when he says: "They also settle under an overhanging rock in some easily accessible cave; for them the essential thing is to be able to build their fire" /Ed., translated from French/.

342 Actual wind screens, such as are indispensable to the northern Selk'nam (Vol. I, 197), are used as seldom as cave dwellings. /371/ It is true that for brief, forced encampments or for an urgent rest stop a simple protective roof is erected from rather large boughs covered with thick foliage, the free ends of which come together at the top, or they use a few poles and place pieces of leather on them to form a sheltering wall, or finally, they make a rude shelter of brushwood stuck in the ground as close together as possible. In all this, however, they do not follow a unified, invariable plan, but in each case choose what is possible and functional, depending on whether the sun is shining or whether they must mitigate the annoyance of bad weather, whether there is plenty of foliage at hand or nothing but a field of stone. Such a casual and transient shelter is called astēla. When the family travels on, they naturally abandon this construction without further thought to the destructive forces of nature and thus give up their right of ownership to it (6). I saw the three basic types

[423] 6. Rau (in Outes [g]:57) is the only one who holds the mistaken view that "the huts do not belong to the persons who built them, but rather are common property" /translated from

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Spanish/. Anyone who abandons his hut relinquishes the framework and, consciously or unconsciously, places it at the disposal of anyone who wishes to use it later.

mentioned here in all kinds of variations (7).

7. Hyades (q) :342 calls them "a kind of arbor of foliage" /translated from French/. Despard (b) :680 also mentions them.

2. The Two Types of Huts

In the extensive Yamana territory, from the Brecknock Peninsula to Nueva Island and down to Cape Horn, two types of huts for dwellings have developed, namely, the cone-shaped and the dome-shaped. For the time being we shall leave it an open question as to which of the two is ethnologically older here in Tierra del Fuego.

For this question a not unimportant fact is that each of the two types has its definitely limited geographical distribution: in the damp, heavily timbered west the dome-shaped hut is indigenous; in the drier, open east, the cone-shaped one. For both types environmental factors have been at least contributory, perhaps even decisive.

342 133 137 The Indians gave me reasons which alone may suffice to explain the origin of both types. In the west humidity and dampness greatly predominate. The surface of the ground is much more irregular, and almost everywhere at sea level level ground with gravel or broken stones is absent. The northerly slopes of the rocks not only get the vital force of the sun, but are protected against storm and inclement weather. Thus, a thicker and more compact growth of trees develops here, and even in the smallest crevices the firm roots of the Antarctic beeches find sufficient anchorage. In the west there are few big trees, but there is a preponderance of thin, irregular, flexible trunks that shoot up quickly. They grow close to every shore /372/ and can be uprooted easily because their roots do not penetrate the rocky ground.

342 In low places the wind can not exert its full force, except in a few spots, and therefore the dome-shaped hut may be used. It has

/372 cont./

•342 many advantages over the cone-shaped one. The former is more tightly constructed; hence the warmth inside is evenly distributed up to the walls, and the moist air is dried. The good cover all around prevents the annoying penetration of rain and snow. The less intense wind here in the west is kept out by the covered side walls, thus permitting the fire to glow undisturbed and the smoke to be drawn off in a straight line overhead. The Indians know how to appreciate all these advantages of the dome-shaped hut, which to a foreigner appear negligible. The flexible, long, thin, somewhat irregular and bent trunks of the beech are very suitable for the framework of this type of hut. The cone-shaped hut requires straight, uniform trunks which in the west are seldom found in the required numbers in one spot. Thus, it is the environment that favors the construction of the dome-shaped hut.

In the east, on the other hand, there are far fewer protected spots on the edge of the water. Along the north shore of Beagle Channel eastward from Ushuaia, the coast, except for isolated crannies, lies exposed to every wind and storm from the south and southwest. This is even more true of the long south coast of Navarino Island and of the three islands in the eastern outlet of Beagle Channel. If the Indians were to erect the closed dome-shaped hut on the open, broad surface of the gently sloping shore, they would have to be prepared to have their handiwork blown down by a strong gust of wind. With a cone-shaped hut one need fear this fate only in the most severe storm and tornadoes. The loosely set rows of slender trunks permit the wind to pass through and do not by any means offer the broad striking surface of the dome-shaped hut. In the east the young beech trunks [137] show uniform growth. The flat ground provides the conditions for this; they shoot up more slowly and at the same time develop breadth. They stand about within easy access. They are excellently adapted for the cone-shaped hut because the heaviness of the small trunk alone contributes to the solidity of the entire structure. Since the smoke is constantly at the mercy of the wind and gusts which stir the air even inside the hut, there must always be a convenient escape for it; the cone-shaped hut affords this much better than the other type. When there are sunny days free of rain, which in the west are less frequent than here in the east, a woman pulls the pieces of leather off the frame with a simple movement of her hand, and the interior quickly dries in the convenient cross-ventilation. Adaptation to the conditions

/372 cont./

342 of the weather and the landscape is easily recognized in the cone-shaped hut.

As a matter of fact, the boundary for the two types of huts /373/ coincides with the boundary between the rainier western zone and the drier eastern area. This boundary is a somewhat wavy line from Punta Divide through Angostura Murray to Nassau Gulf. Accordingly, the eastern and central Yamana had the cone-shaped hut, while the Wollaston people and those in the south and west used the other type of hut. The eastern shore of Hardy Peninsula should be regarded as a sort of transition area, since, according to travel accounts (8),

8. See below the references to Fitz-Roy, Pickering, Mission Scientifique, Dabbene, and Lothrop.

both forms were found there. The partial adoption of the cone-shaped hut may have occurred there only since the introduction of the European iron ax, but this cannot be determined today.

It is remarkable that some of the earlier seafarers definitely observed the types of construction peculiar to the east and west. In Parker Snow (a) :I, 264, we read: "Their dwellings on the eastern part of Tierra del Fuego are the conical wigwam built from branches of trees over a hollowed space of ground. On the west part their habitations I believe are somewhat different" /cited in English/ (9).

9. In Volume I he uses as a frontispiece, "Woman of Fuegia and child." The two are standing in front of their pointed conical hut which is drawn in a stylized manner and is at least twice the height of the Indian woman. On the frontispiece of Volume II, "Fuegian and his food," we also see a pointed conical hut. Both pictures were made in Banner Cove on Picton Island. Fitz-Roy:(a) in his frontispiece shows a Yapoo-Tekeenica man and in the background a family in front of their cone-shaped hut. This drawing was made in Portrait Cove in the eastern half of Beagle Channel.

/373 cont./

Colvocoresses:36, 38 expresses himself more specifically. The hut that he saw on the northeastern shore of Nueva Island "was constructed of logs, the lower ends of which were spread round so as to form nearly a perfect circle, while the upper ends leaned against each other" /cited in English/. This refers unequivocally to the conical shape. In Orange Bay he encountered the other type of hut: "it was built of boughs, leaves, and earth; in shape it resembled a bee-hive, and was impervious to wind and snow" /cited in English/. He even accounts for the advantages of the latter type of construction as against the former. Later Hyades (f) :556 referred to both types of huts; the one he compares "to a haycock, in form and in size ... except that the hut is often more conical than a haycock" /translated from French/. Even in the first report about the Fuegians there is a brief reference to their dwellings. Decker (in Brosse-Adelung:275) says of those he observed on the southern shore of Navarino Island (probably in Bahía Windhond) that they "are made of trees, round at the bottom, and, like the tents, end almost in a point at the top where there is a small opening to let the smoke out" (10). According to the few accounts

10. His comparison, "like the tents," as well as his drawing of three huts in the picture of that landing place, leaves no room for doubt that he meant the conical hut (cf. Fig. 10, p. 55 /untranslated/).

given here, the eastern Yamana built cone-shape dwellings exclusively.

/374/ We have comments no less definite on the shape of the huts in the west. From an early time George Forster (b) :243 reports on the inhabitants of Christmas Sound: "They live under a few dried branches tied together, which constitute the skeleton of a low, round, open hut; over this is placed some brush and a few bundles of dry grass, and here and there the gaps are covered with a seal skin." A half a century later Pickering:18 describes a hut in Orange Bay as follows: "In shape it was hemispherical, having the apex unfinished for the passage of smoke; and it seemed to be the work of but a few hours with the unassisted hands" /cited in English/. Strangely enough, Fitz-Roy, a few years earlier, on April 9, 1830, came across another type of hut in the same bay: "We afterwards found that these Yapoes

/374 cont. /

342 built their wigwams in a manner differing from that of the western tribes, [western Yamana and Halakwulup /Alacaluf/], being made of a number of poles, or pieces of wood, placed on end around a small space, and meeting at the top" /cited in English/ (King:428). Later, (a) :140, he expresses himself even more exactly: "A Tekeenika wigwam is of a conical form, made of a number of large poles, or young trees, placed touching one another in a circle, with the small ends meeting. No Fuegians, except the Tekeenika, make their huts in this manner" /cited in English/ (11). The huts of the others,

11. His error may have arisen from the fact that he carried on his observations chiefly in the western part of Cape Horn and on the western Patagonian archipelago, where we find only the dome-shaped hut.

namely, the western tribal groups, "are shaped like bee-hives" /cited in English/. Hence, the eastern shore of the Hardy Peninsula must be regarded as the region where the two forms of huts mingled. Aside from that, the west was acquainted only with the dome-shaped huts (12).

12. More recently, Lothrop (b) :128 agrees with this geographical distribution.

[177] The advance of Europeans has increasingly lessened the isolation of the individual ethnic groups from one another, and since then the peoples of the west and east have also crossed the boundary between the zones of the types of huts. During their brief visit in strange regions, however, they conveniently retained those forms to which they had been accustomed from olden times (13). Thus, the Mission

13. A certain Fell (VP:VI, 180; 1859) reports that in the Wulaia region "all the wigwams here are much inferior to those we saw at Picton Island, and so are also the people" /cited in English/. He does not make clear, however, whether he means the conical or round huts.

/374 cont./

342 Scientifique still found the dome-shaped huts in the neighborhood of Cape Horn, where conical ones were already appearing, whereas on the shores of the middle and eastern Beagle Channel there were only conical huts (Hyades [q] :343). Modern times have brought about a still more radical change with the introduction of the European iron ax, since with it and other iron tools thick trunks can be felled even in the west and south, and these are suitable for the construction of a solid conical hut (14). /375/ This explains why both types of huts

[177 412]

14. Lothrop (b):128 very emphatically points to this circumstance: "The introduction of the ax has increased the use of the pointed house form" /cited in English/. In Figure 52 he reproduces a "modern Yahgan house" of this type of construction.

were erected side by side in a few places of the middle zone, and why in a particular place one traveler spoke about this form, another about that form (15).

15. On the islands near Cape Horn in February, 1902, Dabbene (b) :178 saw the more stable, cone-shaped form of hut, which seemed strange to him. Twenty years earlier, among the Yamana of the south, the Mission Scientifique still found the dome-shaped hut.

[161] 342 177

Since the west has become completely depopulated, the last Yamana are staying mostly in the central part and in the east where European travelers have found only cone-shaped huts with a framework of thick trunks (16). One is not mistaken if he considers this more stable

16. From the indefinite accounts of other travelers we cannot reach a safe judgment about the distribution of the two types of huts during their sojourn in that region. In Bove (e):157 (and in MM:XVIII, 189; 1884) we read: "Their huts have, in general, a cone-shaped form and two doors diametrically

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opposite each other." On his first journey he was accompanied by the botanist Spegazzini (a):163, who became acquainted with only part of a region and who saw Indian dwellings "hemispherical in form" /translated from Italian/. His other companion, Lovisato (b):133, also speaks only of a single form of hut in which "the branches of trees are set into the ground and bent over to form a dome with other branches intertwined..." /translated from Italian/. Thus, we see that even in the reports of these three men who traveled in this region simultaneously there are obvious contradictions.

conical construction a result of the iron ax introduced there. The tools of their ancestors required great effort to fell trees as thick as an arm and to cut the heavy posts required for the framework of this more stable hut. When the last Yamana, to whom the iron ax quickly became indispensable, were restricted to the middle and eastern regions, the dome-shaped hut mĕrana completely disappeared, so to speak, and only the cone-shaped hut, gūlĕkĕr, remained as a dwelling.

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If we glance at the two neighboring tribes, we find that only the dome-shaped hut appears in the region of the Halakwulup /Alacaluf/ where the weather and the landscape are the same as in the rainy western Yamana zone, whereas in the southern part of Isla Grande the Selk'nam, the neighbors of the eastern Yamana, build only the cone-shaped hut (17).

17. I have discussed the plausibility of a modification of the hut form under the influence of the European iron ax among the northern Selk'nam (Vol. I, 198).

a. The Cone-Shaped Hut

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In earlier, as well as in more recent times, the individual family built a looser or more stable construction, depending on whether

/375 cont./

342 they were planning to stay in one spot briefly or for a longer time. For the more solid construction, heavier trunks were necessary, which took more time and labor to assemble. In the last few decades every man has had an iron ax, and with this he fells trunks even as thick as an arm without particular effort. For lighter construction a few /376/ sticks suffice, and these are usually lying around campsites that are much frequented. In the building of his hut the Yamana again proves to be a person who makes himself wholly dependent on given circumstances at any particular moment. He shows his clear grasp of the state of affairs, from which he makes an instantaneous decision.

If the completely open, unprotected campsite, the inclemency of the weather, or his desire to remain for several days demands it, he aims at the outset for a more stable construction that will offer greater protection. He gathers together ten to 20 poles as thick as an arm, sometimes also thicker posts two meters high, and places them on the flat ground, inclining them toward the center. Their own weight causes them to lean firmly against one another, and they are not bound together. The interstices are filled with lumps of earth, roots and turf, and balls of dried algae and tree lichen, which are covered with leafy twigs and short pieces of bark. Larger areas are also covered with dried seal skins which must be tied together with tendons or thin, narrow leather straps because gentle air currents loosen them and they are pulled down by their own weight. Initially the ground is cleared of tossed-up algae, rotten wood, and fresh bunches of grass, and a layer of earth several centimeters deep is scraped aside. Thus the entire inner surface is a little lower than the surroundings (18).

18. Sometimes a good deal of earth was dug out of the interior of the hut. Fell entered a hut in the Wulaia region. "The so-called floor is about three feet beneath the surface of the ground, so that when the inmates enter, they have to go as if under ground" /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 180; 1859).

There is little variation in the size of this construction. Usually the number of inmates is the determining factor. The vertical

/376 cont./

•342 dimension up to the peak is about 1.80 meters; the diameter of the approximately circular floor plan is about 3.30 meters; the straight-line width of the entrance, measured on the floor, is 0.90; and the length of the main post and of those flanking the entrance is two meters or more (19). The entrance is closed off with a piece of leather

19. Concerning the measurements of the conical hut, Hyades (q):343 says that "they scarcely exceed two meters in height at the highest points, and their diameter at the base varies from three and a half to five meters" /translated from French/. At variance with these proportions, Hyades (f):556 mentions incredibly large measurements.

or a few sticks are placed against it (20). This hut defies even quite

20. This type of hut was described in detail by Bridges (MM:III, 118; 1869), Hyades (q):342, and Lothrop (b):128.

strong winds (21).

21. A comparison of the cone-shaped hut of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 194) with the Yamana type of dwelling shows many points of agreement, but also significant differences.

A somewhat lighter construction of the same shape is also built. About 12 smooth, straight poles as thick as a /377/ chair leg and up to 1.90 meters long are placed upright on the ground in a circle with their free ends leaning against each other. The diameter of the groundplan scarcely ever exceeds 2.90 meters. Over this completely loose framework of straight sticks, rather large dried seal skins are spread and tied together with short, narrow straps. If the required sticks are lying about the campsite from a previous time, the dwelling is ready in a few minutes. If, however, the man has an iron ax handy, he can make it in almost as short a time. Since this structure, as such, is not very firm, it can be built only in protected spots or when there is no wind. A

/377 cont./

342 strong gust of wind makes it collapse immediately.

From the start the builder intends this hut to serve only as a transitory makeshift to shelter his family while they rest for a few hours or for a single night. Afterwards it is a matter of minutes to take down and fold the pieces of leather. The family is again ready to travel on.

The loose cone of smooth sticks is left standing. Soon a gust of wind scatters it, and a family landing at the same place later on can easily erect a protective dwelling (22). One frequently comes

22. Fitz-Roy (a):215 confirmed the fact that the sticks of a hut framework are never purposely destroyed: "The natives allow them to decay naturally, but never wilfully destroy them" /cited in English/.

across an abandoned encampment, and there are usually enough dry sticks lying around for the loose construction of a hut. Familiar places or favorable hunting areas are visited repeatedly by different families for varying periods of time.

Both of the cone-shaped huts we have just described have a single entrance which is regularly placed away from the wind (23).

23. "Branches or tree trunks often restrict the opening where one enters. This opening is, in general, on the side opposite the wind" /translated from French/ (Hyades [f]:556).

The more solid construction has a larger interior than the one which consists of loose sticks. In the latter, the surface of the ground inside is not scraped to form a depression, but instead a low ring-shaped wall, consisting of refuse from meals, is gradually formed on the outside, which makes it difficult for cold currents of air to enter. The peak of the conical framework is not covered, and the rising smoke escapes through it. The natives know how to place and distribute the pieces of skin on the outside so advantageously that a slight draft lets the smoke escape in a straight line. Rain and snow can very easily enter, but this apparently does not annoy the inmates.

487 A trodden path leads from the entrance of the hut to the place where

/377 cont./

481 water is obtained and to the canoe which has been drawn up on the beach where it remains until the journey is resumed.

/378/ β. The Dome-shaped Hut

342 In the western and southwestern part of Yamana territory, including the Wollaston group, only the dome-shaped hut, mĕrana, mĕranĕkĕr, was known. In contrast to the cone-shaped hut, it shows adaptation to the nature of the region.

A somewhat flattened hemispherical form predominates. For a larger number of occupants it is stretched lengthwise, so that the groundplan is a drawn-out oval. The poles used for the framework determine this form of the hut. The slender and flexible, thin, [157] long trunks of young beeches are chosen. It is well known that these trees do not grow well in the shade of the forest and shoot up quickly, developing a short root system that lies entirely on the surface. They can be pulled up without effort, and with only the slightest exertion the sparse tangled roots and the scanty crown of leaves can be broken off. The result is an almost smooth pole that is as flexible as a twig and that hardly varies in thickness along its entire length.

The framework made from such poles, if it is to have the desired stability, necessarily is a kind of basketwork. First a few larger poles are driven into the ground at wide intervals on the line indicating the groundplan. These include the two poles that are to flank the entrance. The natives try to achieve the dome shape from the beginning by bending and intertwining the poles, without regard to the direction or position of the poles relative to each other or to the points where they will later be fastened together. This initial framework is gradually filled out and reinforced with additional, supplementary poles that are inserted between the first ones. Most of them are so long that they reach far beyond the height of the dome down to the opposite side (24). This gives the framework as a

24. According to an often repeated, but incorrect account, the individual poles are said to meet at the top. Hyades (q) :342 also speaks inaccurately of "branches stuck in the ground and coming

/378 cont./

•342 together at the top" /translated from French/.

whole an advantageous elastic tension. In the places where the individual poles cross, they are held together by a single loop made [37] with the stems of Marsippospermum rushes and young shoots of Nothofagus or Maytenus. These are sufficiently tough, and they are as flexible as thick packing cord. This framework might be compared with a coarsely and untidily plaited basket.

On the outside, about halfway up the framework, lumps of earth, balls of moss, and pieces of turf are built up all around, like masonry, and this keeps out the wind. Rather large, leafy twigs are placed on the upper half and adequately fastened by being pushed under and lapped over. Thick bunches of grass are also spread out all the way around, and lumps of earth are placed over these intervals to make a firm layer. Not /379/ uncommonly large pieces of leather are stretched over all of this and tied securely at the edges. Their weight strengthens the loose cohesion of the structure (25).

25. The leather covering stretched over the framework is not a single piece. It would be, as Lothrop (b) :128 admits, "a heavy and cumbersome object to handle" /cited in English/. Large, individual skins prove to be more manageable. They are placed side by side in such a way that their edges overlap. One cannot compare these with the large hut covering used by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 185), which is a single piece made of many individual guanaco skins, thoroughly scraped on both sides. They are, to begin with, considerably lighter and incomparably more flexible than the thick, heavy seal skins.

Neither brushwood nor pieces of leather are placed on the peak; hence, the smoke of the hut fire has a free outlet. At the same time, there is no danger of the hut itself catching fire.

With this type of design, the groundplan can be extended to any length if two to four families build a common dwelling or

/378 cont./

342 if many persons erect the čiěxaus hut. Likewise, the covering and layers of earth, brushwood, or pieces of leather can be increased to obtain greater protection against strong winds, increasing cold, and heavy rain. Whatever the length of such a hut, the peak of the dome is never higher than 1.90 meters. In general the height of a single-family hut is around 1.75 meters; the width fluctuates between 2.60 meters and 3.30 meters. The low entrance permits only one person at a time to slide through sideways. When the hut is unusually elongated, an entrance is made on each of the two narrow sides; for a one-family hut, of course, the single entrance suffices (26).

26. The form and characteristics of Yamana dwellings have been more or less extensively described by Bove (c) :127 and (e) :157, Dabbene (b) :178, Despard (b) :680, Hyades (q) :343, L'Hermite:42, Lothrop (b) :127, Spegazzini (a) :170, and others. Cooper:193 has brought together the more important accounts.

3. The Hut as a Dwelling

342 571 Neither the conical nor the dome-shaped hut affords the Fuegian occupants complete comfort and convenience. It is far more a protection against the worst hardships of the weather and against the terrors of the night. A European acting as unprejudiced observer can best feel what discomfort and annoyance are connected with living in those cramped, poor dwellings (27). In the opinion

27. We must agree fully with the opinion of Lovisato (b) :133: "How very little protection this pretense of a dwelling offers the people, who in general are completely nude, resistant to all kinds of privation, and engaged in a continuous struggle to procure the necessities for their daily sustenance" /translated from Italian/.

/379 cont./

342 of the natives, however, this hardship does not by any means compare
511 with the unbearable misery that would result from a sojourn under the open sky. Thus, whenever external circumstances demand it, the natives build their hut, even during the severest /380/ storm, making it either more secure and durable as a dome-shaped dwelling or merely providing a light covering with the conical shape.

361 A family does not always have a choice of location. A sudden change in the weather or an accident will force them to make for shore without delay. In this case they must adjust themselves to the conditions provided by nature, perhaps even make do with a hasty shelter in a cliff. If they are not under pressure, they make a free selection according to the local weather conditions and the characteristics of the landscape (28). In general, however, everyone

28. When the Indian has a choice, he selects a sheltered spot for his hut. This is so generally true that Bove (MM:XVII, 234; 1883) believed he could go by it: "Generally the presence of wigwams indicates a locality sheltered from the coldest and the most frequent winds" /cited in English/.

stays on the dry gravel as close as possible to the highest water level. Their own comfort makes this strongly advisable, for all the utensils that a family carries along with them are dragged from the canoe to the hut. Packing and unpacking would be considerably more burdensome if the dwelling were far from the landing place. If they cannot build a hut for themselves, they seek cover and protection behind mounds of earth and low projecting rocks, at the foot of high rock walls, and at the edge of a forest. A hut is never placed deep in the forest because it is too damp there, but they like to stay under the broadest trees, which ward off rain and snowdrifts. If they are planning to remain only one night at a given location, they take a look at the weather to see if it will permit them to camp in a less protected spot. If not, or if they do not expect to travel on for a few days, a certain amount of caution is advisable. This explains why one finds just as many old campsites along the open, unprotected coast as in sheltered places farther back. An obvious preference is

/361 cont./

352 The interior arrangement is the same in either a dome-shaped hut or a conical hut. Actually, to be exact, there is no arrangement, since furniture and household furnishings are entirely absent. There are neither stools nor benches. The interior wall is neither covered nor decorated. Small baskets and leather pouches, pieces of meat, and fungi are hung on short pegs made of broken-off twigs. Tools and implements, ornaments, and other trifles are shoved between the poles of the framework. There is no floor
• 342 built as such, but while construction is going on the ground is stamped down. The natives like to dig out the entire interior surface, sometimes as much as 50 centimeters deep, and this shallow depression is a good protection against wind and cold air from outside. A preferred campsite is the dry, loose gravel that does not have to be leveled off, but is cleared of dirt, algae, and wet leaves. If the subsoil happens to be very wet or puddles are formed in persistent rain, pieces of bark are strewn about so that one does not have to sit in the water. Sometimes, If too much water comes
354 in, a layer of gravel has to be built up under the place for the fire, and the fire itself laid higher.

In the ordinary dwellings the fire is in the center, and the occupants squat around it in a circle. They are careful to maintain a broad, even glow which gives off little smoke but sends out abundant heat. The hours when heavy storms whirl the smoke around inside the hut are extremely distressing. In such cases the entrance is blocked with tree trunks or covered with a leather curtain. At night the natives regularly use something to close off the entrance securely. During the day and in good weather they let the air freely enter the hut. They move close to the entrance or they even squat out of doors beside the hut and keep a second fire going outside. In spite of a good covering, the loose construction does not prevent rain and snow /362/ from entering (31).

31. "Air circulates freely through the numerous interstices between the uprights of the hut. Rain, snow, or hail follows the same path, and the Pygmies are little disturbed by it" /translated from French/ (Hyades [4] :557).

357

/[illegible] cont./
in this respect: "Thanks to the constant ventilation of the hut, the air in it remains pure in spite of the number of its occupants" /translated from French/.

cover and drag a few leather pieces out into the open -- proof that these people feel the need of an airing -- but this does not help much either (40).

40. Hyades (q) :344 says: "Some filth accumulates in the hut; the urine of the little children penetrates the ground, which is also impregnated with the refuse from eating, although the natives are in the habit of throwing outside the remains of what they have eaten, such as shells, the bones of fish and birds, etc." /translated from French/.

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342

A family finally remedies the situation by building a new hut a short distance away. If it is advisable to remain at the same place for a longer period of time because of an abundant supply of meat, for example, a stranded whale. Even though the site for the new hut is less advantageous -- because the ground is very wet or because storms can move easily beat down on it -- nevertheless, the occupants find it tenable to remain longer at the previous site. /[illegible]/ "The sole reason is that the first hut is no longer as healthy as it was when they first lived in it" /translated from French/, so they say (Hyades [q]:344).

A change of dwelling is often necessary after about two weeks. Usually the Indians build an entirely new structure, but sometimes they use the frame poles of the previous one if these are hard to secure in any other way (41). The abandoned hut

41. Hyades (f) :[illegible] observed, for example, that the Indians "tore down their dwelling in order to use the same material to build others not very far away" /translated from French/.

35½ /308 cont./
•34½ meanwhile aire out thoroughly. It completely cleaned by the
rain, and after considerable time is again suitable as a temporary
refuge. With this in mind they leave the first dwelling undamaged
when they move out, and upon their return they need make only
a few additions. Again, unreasoning nature helps where these
Indians themselves are lacking in cleanliness. Even though the
dwelling may be changed, certain circumstances may make it
imperative to remain for a longer period in one place. When such
circumstances are absent, every family unhesitatingly and at fre-
quent intervals moves in campsite a great distance.

34½ Each individual family erects a dwelling exclusively for
itself whenever it temporarily happens to be. Formerly, however,
in the west an exception was made where a hut known as ayanukik
was built to be occupied by several families. The reason for this
[34] was either the prophetic warning of a few yékamuk who predicted a
severe winter or the stranding of a whale at the beginning of the
cold season. Three to six families who were related or friends
joined in the building of this community hut. They chose a
suitable spot near the stranded whale or near the swamp where they
[35] preserved large pieces of fat in the water, in any case on dry
ground and particularly well protected from wind and weather by
a high rock. The men taking part in the construction of the
dwelling, the customary dome-shaped hut, but elongated in this
case, fashioned suitable poles and built a stable, unusually strong
framework.

They devoted great care to this work, which therefore oc-
cupied them all for perhaps half a day, whereas the ordinary dome-
shaped hut took only two to three hours and the conical hut even
less time. The length and width of this communal dwelling de-
pended on the number of occupants, and the height of the interior
was increased somewhat to prevent any discomfort that might be
caused from the smoke of the larger fire. An unusually thick
cover was laid on the firm framework, consisting of several alter-
nate layers of tree bark and grass, rushes and twigs, with large,
thick pieces of leather occasionally inserted between them. Thongs
were stretched over large areas in order to /307/ secure the outer
cover firmly. An entrance was left on each of the two narrow ends,
and this was covered with a leather hanging. Both entrances were

/387 cont./

342 used except when the wind was too strong, in which case only one or the other was temporarily left open.

Inside the dwelling each family chose its particular place which it retained without any special boundary lines (42).

> 42. There were such boundaries in very isolated cases, however. Hyades (f) :556 says: "Twice at Orange Bay we saw huts with two or three interior compartments, niches made by vertical tree trunks. . . These niches served as quarters for the night for three or four persons" /translated from French/.

Members of the same family preferred to gather together on one side of the fire. Usually a single continuous fire extending the [372] entire length of the hut was kept going. In exceptional cases, however, when members of an individual family chose their places on either side of the middle line, each family made its own fire, so that one could tell how many families there were from the number of separate fires. One could sometimes observe the same thing in the ordinary dome-shaped hut if, for some reason, two or three families were occupying it together for a few days (43).

> 43. Bridges (MM:XII, 11; 1878) once wrote: "There were three men, five women, and seven children in this wigwam, and three fires lit in different parts" /cited in English/.

573 The wide areas on either side of the center line where the fire was burning were the sleeping places, where the Indians squatted or lay stretched out during the day. Bunches of the long [Poa] stems of Poa flabellata grass with its narrow leaves were preferred for a pallet. This served very well and became musty only after considerable time. It was then removed and replaced by a fresh layer. The lower part of the outside covering of the hut was 372 made tight to keep off the wind and to make the fire burn evenly. 342 Otherwise the smoke would be blown about, since the few

/387 cont./

372 openings in the top prevented it from escaping easily. The entire
342 structure was well insulated, for it was meant to offer special protection against the rigors of the climate. Since it was built in the damp western part where dry firewood was not available in large quantities, the Indians managed by constantly carrying green wood into the hut and piling it up. In a few days it was dry and only then was used for burning. Even a supply of tussock grass
[513] (Poa flabellata) was kept on hand, for this litter for the bed had to be renewed at least every two weeks.

251 The men supplied the necessary food for their families on communal hunting expeditions which were usually so successful that a good share of the booty could be stored away for a few days. This helped in periods when the hunt was seriously hindered by continuous stormy weather. They were anxiously concerned about having an abundant supply of meat always on hand, if not perhaps a whale /388/ lying on the shore. Otherwise the gathering of many people in the same place in a securely built hut would not only be pointless, but even dangerous. Inevitably the inhabitants frightened the game farther and farther away from the dwelling, which made hunting increasingly difficult. Then only ample stores kept off the threatening specter of hunger.

342 A hut for several families was occupied only in winter.
362 Wanderlust was too strong to detain a family in one spot any length of time for other reasons. The people who built a com-
221 munal hut would perhaps come back to it for a second winter, but not after that, for the game supply had been exhausted over a wide area, and they themselves were kept away by the boredom of sitting still. The arrangement described here might be referred to as the "winter hut." Near it a sort of winter supply was piled up. The very safe shelter provided somewhat comfortable living
[577] conditions, and during the long periods of inactivity together, favorite myths and legends were repeated, or the people told each other stories of their own experiences and Hánnus stories. Communal huts were not built in the east, and the reason is simple: weather and hunting conditions were much more favorable there.

342 After a few families have settled in the so-called multiple-
593 family hut, they not infrequently erect another building directly beside it for the half-grown children, and this is appropriately known as the "children's hut." It resembles the first hut in shape

/388 cont./

342 and finish, but is smaller. This separate hut for the children is
593 usually built because of lack of space in the large hut, and it is
855 always regarded as a necessary expedient, for parents do not like to be separated from their children unless it is absolutely necessary. Although the children stay by themselves several hours of the day and all night, they nevertheless like to be with their family a great deal, and they always have access to the large hut. An older woman takes charge of the small company and sometimes brings them a little food, but more often the children get their food from their own parents.

In exceptional cases, for instance, the illness of an older person, imminent confinement of the mother, and so forth, even the single family builds a separate hut for the children beside the one for the adults, much as they dislike to do so. This children's hut is an expedient, and the parents by no means decide on it because they do not wish to be disturbed by crying and noise, for Indian children as such are gentle and quiet.

342 Finally, if several families camp a few days in the same
857 spot, the children as a game build a little hut with their own hands beside the dwellings of their parents. After all, they must occasionally give vent to their energies. The understanding parents willingly support them in this, sometimes bringing the children meat and approvingly watching the happy gathering. This children's hut is called ëkëli. /389/ It is obvious and understandable that it cannot be an actual dwelling, but serves merely for the enjoyment and playful occupation of the little band (44).

44. This unequivocal appraisal of the so-called children's hut is absent in what Hyades (q):342 and Bridges (a) :183 write about it. The latter is more ambiguous than the former.

342 If one stands in front of an Indian hut as a European judge,
511 no matter which type of hut it is, one involuntarily asks himself: What protection does this poor makeshift afford? By nature our natives are extremely undemanding. If one would like definite proof of this, he need only observe them in their dwelling. If they have a little protection from the heaviest rainfall and the densest snowstorm, against the bitterest cold and the most

/389 cont./

342 511 devastating storm, they are content and uncomplaining, provided they are squatting beside their fire, to which they give all their attention. That is why they put something in front of the first entrance and open another one if the wind changes direction. To prevent the wind from coming through the walls, they pull larger pieces of leather over them, now here, now there, stuff up open places, and secure loose parts. If a big blast of wind tears down the whole hut, the people patiently await the end of the storm without any kind of cover, protected only a little by their meager clothing, provided their fire goes on after a fashion. The European has the impression, especially after having seen the living arrangements of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 198) that the Yamana regards his hut more as a protection for his fire than for his own body.

The dwelling itself is neither cozy nor comfortable. As regards the desire of the members of the family to be peacefully together, they are, in any case, with each other on the trips in the open canoe. That is why they do not miss the hut during the day if the weather is reasonably quiet, and for the night they are content with the meagerness of their simple little hut (45). Their

45. The discomfort of the meager living arrangements was clearly described by Spegazzini (a) :171 from his own experience.

restless, wandering life forces them to renounce the amenities of more stable, secure housing (46).

46. Bove (c) :127 expresses himself in a similar fashion: "The poverty of their huts must be attributed to the nomadic life they are forced to lead" /translated from Spanish/.

342 Today throughout Yamana territory we find only one form of hut, namely, the loose cone-shaped type. It is only for the secret initiation ceremony that the elongated dome-shaped hut is built. Their contemporary hut does not even afford the protection

/389 cont./

342 of the former dwellings, which was scarcely worth mentioning, since at present the Indians do not take the trouble to dry a few seal skins and stretch them over the framework. Instead they procure /390/ light sacking which lets in rain and snow and hardly keeps off some of the wind (47). Complete laxness and dilatory

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47. Lothrop (b) :128 gives a similar judgment: "Thus housed they have had immeasurably poorer protection from the weather than in the days when hunger drove them to secure many seals and consequently many seal-skins were available for housetops" /cited in English/.

indolence have so completely alienated the last survivors of the race from the industry of their fathers that even the most distressing inclemency of the weather no longer stirs them from their state of lazy immobility. A few families have built small, [177] very simple wooden houses, European style, in Puerto Mejillones (48),

48. They obtain the raw materials for these houses through their work as day laborers or as gifts (p. 357 /untranslated/). According to Lothrop (b) :129, "the material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach" /cited in English/.

but they spend only a small part of the year in them. They, too, travel about for weeks in their canoe looking for food, and meanwhile content themselves with a cover of sacking on the cone-shaped framework of their flimsy hut.

4. The Community Camp

361 The Yamana do not have permanent settlements in one place. There are a few occasions, however, when many families come together and remain in one place for a longer period of time. If a whale is stranded, people come from a great distance, and the

/424/ 2. Cleanliness in the Hut

342 With few and rare exceptions, the hut serves chiefly as scanty protection for a night or for a few days against inclemencies of the weather. Often it is erected by people who have barely escaped a storm, who in all haste were obliged to collect their few possessions from the canoe and, wet and shivering with cold, seek shelter under an inadequate cover. The first concern of everyone is to light the fire and keep it going in order to warm himself thoroughly; later, in his weariness, he begins to think of satisfying his hunger and seeking rest.

356 Everything that the Indian family has taken along in their canoe is tossed under the hut covering in disorder. There it remains, wet, crumpled, and topsy-turvey. If anyone needs some item, the whole jumble is pulled out, which only increases the confusion. They do not know how to take care of their belongings. No one dreams of putting them in order, folding them, drying or cleaning them, hanging them up, or putting them in a neat pile. If they are looking for some particular thing, they rummage carelessly through the hodgepodge of trifles in the little baskets. Larger objects that are piled in a heap in the hut are dragged hither and yon with no regard for the damage that might be done to them. The European observer has the impression that these Indians place no value whatever on their utensils and that they have completely forgotten the effort it took to make them. Actually, no one clings to his few goods and chattels which, as it is, are often and easily lost, but just as easily replaced. The chief and practically the sole concern of everyone everywhere is to preserve his own life, to have a little protection against exposure to the elements, and to appease his hunger. In the face of this, protective care of material possessions is pushed far into the background. The Indian does not even exercise care when he could very conveniently do so.

A European is likely to shake his head at the boundless indifference of these people who drag brand-new objects, precious clothing, fresh provisions, and valuable items through thick mud, or abandon them to their swift destruction by children and dogs. One will never succeed in lifting these Indians out of their state

/677 cont./

γ. Collaboration of the Spouses

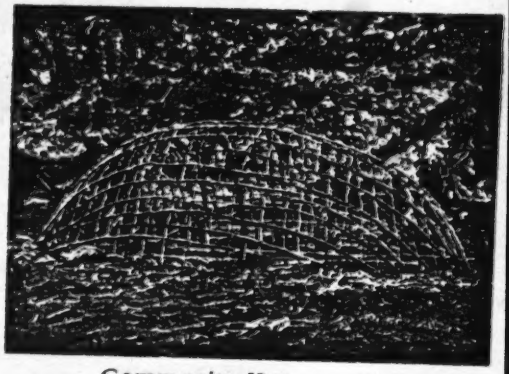
462 The activities and spheres of work of the man and wife are distinctly separate from one another. In their daily work both spouses strive for the material welfare of their family. This single aim /678/ is the reason why the two supplement each other harmoniously and beneficially. The identical direction of their efforts is shown even more in certain joint activities in which each lends a hand. In such cases, one alone may lack the necessary strength or their common effort may accomplish the work more quickly. This is true of hut-building; the man brings [342] the thicker trunks while she ties the framework together, stretches pieces of leather over it, and finally calks the whole construction. Usually the hut is built after a strenuous canoe trip on which man and wife have overtaxed themselves more or less, or at any rate enough. Hence the sooner they can move into the modest structure, the more advantageous it will be for the whole family. That is why they both work at it from the very beginning to the final touch. In order to moor the boat on the shore both of them must join forces, and again when it is once more pushed into the water. Together they lift the large pieces of leather, which are to be distributed over the hut framework, out of the canoe and put them back in again shortly before departure. Not infrequently the success of the hunt depends upon the accurately timed cooperation of both partners in the canoe, for as soon as the man starts pursuing a game animal, he is fully occupied with his weapons and his prey. It is the woman's responsibility to guide her vessel according to her husband's directions, to take it on this or that course faster or slower until the animal they have been pursuing is theirs. This sometimes requires the utmost exertion on the part of the man as well as the woman. In moments of greatest emergency she may even shout to him to take the paddle, for if a sudden violent storm breaks, she is unable to make shore paddling alone.

It is true that man and wife have their definitely circumscribed fields of activity. Nevertheless, if danger and distress, sickness, or incapacity demand it on occasion, neither of them

1: Gusinde--1451 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

342

Single Hut



Community Hut

524

Waiyandella Game

Haiyekasanaskwa Game

[291]

Former Clothing

Vulture Game

Albatross Game

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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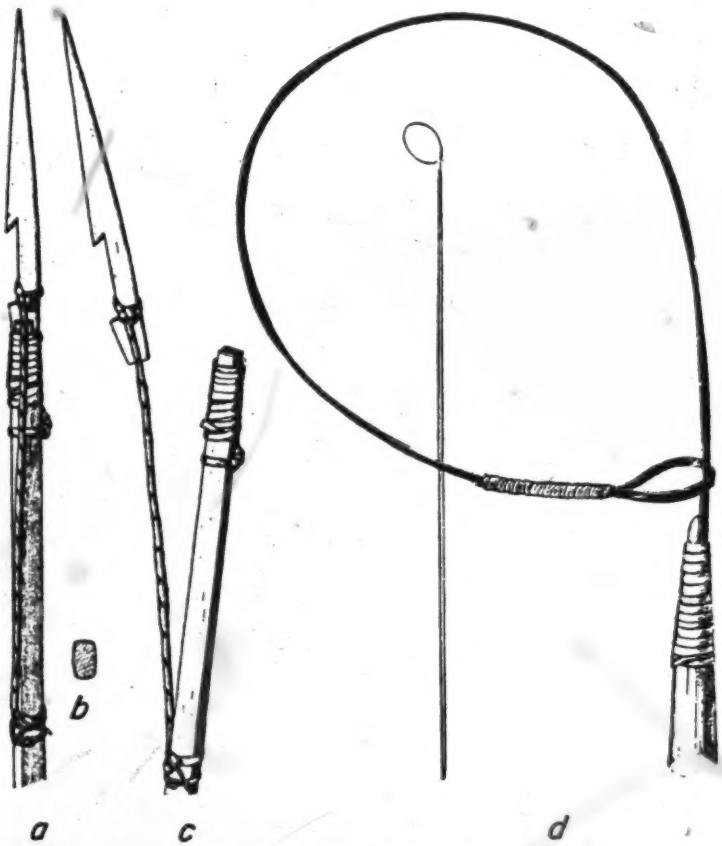

FIGURE 11.—*Yahgan* harpoon and pole snare. *a*, Harpoon assembled for casting; *b*, cross section of harpoon shaft; *c*, position when dragging through water (length of harpoon head 10 in., or 25.5 cm.); *d*, two views of bird snare (diameter of loop 6½ in., or 16.5 cm.). (After Lothrop, 1928, figs. 82, 87.)

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divisional areas. Apart from initiation and other social or religious functions, which brought larger numbers together temporarily in a common camp, each biological family or small group of two or three families tended to camp apart, more frequently in the same shelter.

342

The two chief forms of family shelter were the beehive hut and the conical hut. The beehive or domed hut, the more common form, especially in the west, was circular or elliptical in ground plan, made of a framework of flexible sticks bent over dome-shape and fastened together, and covered with grass, ferns, branches, bark, skins, or anything at hand (pl. 33, *b*). The conical hut, more fre-

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

342 quently used toward the east, was tipi-form, with a framework of stiff stout saplings or tree trunks.

The ground in the interior of the hut was often, but not always, scooped out, to a depth of 2, 3, or more feet (0.6 to 1 m.) beneath the outside ground level, and was usually covered with a little grass or [354] some branches. The fire was made in the center. The huts had one door, facing the sea; or else two doors, one facing the sea, the other being opposite.

172 Archeological stratification in the *Yahgan* area of Navarino Island 342 shows an earlier culture with shelters like those still used by the *Alacaluf*, oval in ground plan, having two entrances, and without scooped-out pits; and a later one with circular shelters having one entrance, and with pits 12 to 18 feet (4 to 6 m.) in diameter, scooped out in some cases to a depth of more than 3 feet (1 m.) (Bird, 1938, p. 261). The two historic types of *Yahgan* wigwam, oval and circular, unpitted and pitted, may thus represent two chronologically distinct cultures.

342 Larger and more substantial huts were built for initiation rites (q. v., infra); sometimes very small ones, for the use of children. The *Yahgan* also at times used caves or made a very rude shelter of a few branches tied together or stuck in the ground.

177 At the time of Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, practically all the then 342 surviving *Yahgan* were accustomed to pass the winter months at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra, on Navarino Island, in huts poorly constructed of ill-fitting boards (Lothrop, 1928, p. 188). Loth- [237] rop (1928, p. 131) considers the use of the wing of a large bird for sweeping out the shelter to have probably been the result of missionary [356] influence.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The chief garment, for men and women, was a small cape, of seal, sea-otter, or fox skin, sometimes of two or more skins sewn together—occasionally of bird skins—worn with the fur outside, covering the shoulder and breast or reaching to the waist, and held in place by a string across the chest. It was commonly shifted outdoors over the windward shoulder. Very frequently it was left off entirely. The women rarely if ever went without a small triangular pubic covering of bird skin or hide, held in place by a string attached to each upper corner and encircling the waist (pl. 33, *f*). No head covering was worn. Usually the *Yahgan* went barefoot, but sometimes when traveling or hunting on land they wore rather crudely made moccasins (fig. 12), resembling closely the *Ona* ones in pattern, of sealskin, with the hair outside, and stuffed inside with grass (cf. Lothrop, 1928, p. 124, photo). The eastern *Yahgan*, when hunting guanaco in winter, sometimes wore guanaco skin leggings, like the *Ona*, from whom they

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

THE ENCAMPMENT

291 Yahgan clothes were less suited to the climate than those of the
342 Ona, because they were smaller and gave less bodily protection, and because the skins they used were less suitable for their purpose. Thus, guanaco-skin, regularly employed for Ona robes, is thin and flexible, so that it will readily conform with the contours of the body, while the hair is heavy, so that it will shed water and preserve warmth. In contrast, seal-skin and sea-otter skin of Yahgan capes has a heavy and stiff hide and short hair, and therefore

FIG. 51.—Yahgan house. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

gives less protection. As a result of this disparity, to maintain life the Yahgan had to have more shelter than that afforded by an Ona windbreak. And possessing the means of water transportation they could handle heavier equipment than their inland neighbors, though, to be sure, their bark canoes were small and frail to bear much cargo in addition to the human freight.

342 Normally the Yahgan lived in a wigwam known as *ákharh*. In the west, like the Alacaluf hut, this was usually a domed affair about the size and shape of a large haycock, framed with saplings set upright in a circle or oval and then bent inward until they met

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

342 (fig. 51). Farther east the wigwam more frequently was pointed, for it was constructed of poles too thick to be bent. The introduction of the ax has increased the use of the pointed house form. Both kinds of houses were covered in summer with leaves, bark, kelp, grass, or whatever was handy. But during the winter months it was necessary further to break the force of the wind, and so the wigwam was overspread with a roof of seal-skins sewn together (*kaíkis*). This was a heavy and cumbersome object to handle, and hence was usually divided into two or even three sections, each of which could be transported in a separate canoe. Thus each house sheltered two or sometimes three families, usually closely related. In such a dwelling one family lived on each side, separated by a door facing the beach, a central fire, and sometimes a second door at the rear. The entrances could be closed with a flap of seal-skin.

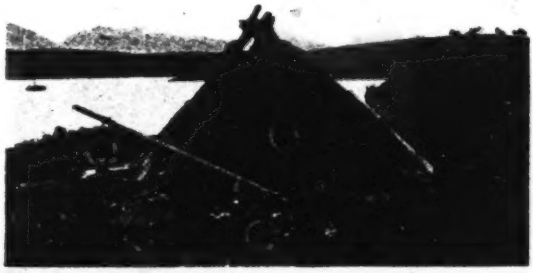

FIG. 52.—Modern Yahgan house.

In recent years the Yahgan have used in summer a log tipi covered with burlap. The small burlap-covered shelter shown in fig. 52 was occupied by eleven individuals in the summer of 1923–24. Thus housed they have had immeasurably poorer protection from the weather than in the days when hunger drove them to secure many seals and consequently many seal-skins were available for housetops.

342 354 The Yahgan kept their houses warm by building the tops low, for they appreciated the fact that heat rises. To take further advantage of this propensity they scooped out the floor to a depth of two or three feet or more. Thus the fire could be placed at the bottom of the pit while the inmates occupied a higher level, where bunks were outlined with logs held in position by stakes driven in the sloping floor. In old camp-grounds where the accumulated shell and ash gave excellent drainage, the pitted house floors reach

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

as much as five feet below the surface. Here the housetop need scarcely have risen above the ground level, and the people within must have been snugly lodged against winter gales. But the swirling smoke was a constant annoyance, and many accounts speak of the Yahgans' red and inflamed eyes. 342 354

Initiation or ceremonial houses differed from the living houses chiefly in size. In the west they were domed and oval in outline, as shown in pl. XIV. In the east they took the form of a heavy solid tipi-shape dwelling of logs like the Ona initiation lodge (fig. 38). 346

Under mission influence the Yahgan in late years built small plank houses of European type. A group of these was found at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra on Navarin island which were used as winter quarters (pl. XVIII). They were wind- and water-tight, and some had wooden floors, bunks, and stoves. The material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach. 177 342

Camp Equipment

Yahgan camp equipment, in spite of superior transportation facilities, was just as primitive as that of the Foot Indians, among whom every article, and the infants as well, had to be carried on the back. Strong and simple as are the objects below listed, they 511

[372]

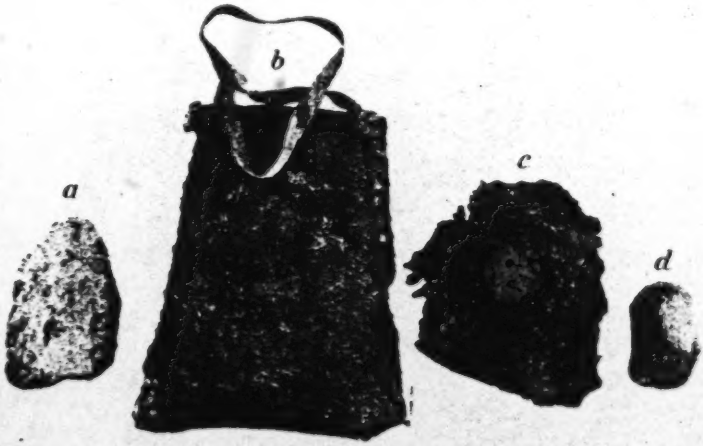

Fig. 53.—Yahgan fire-making apparatus. *a*, Flint; *b*, pouch; *c*, tinder; *d*, pyrites. Width of bag, 5 in. (14/2352)

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche

Yahgan SH6

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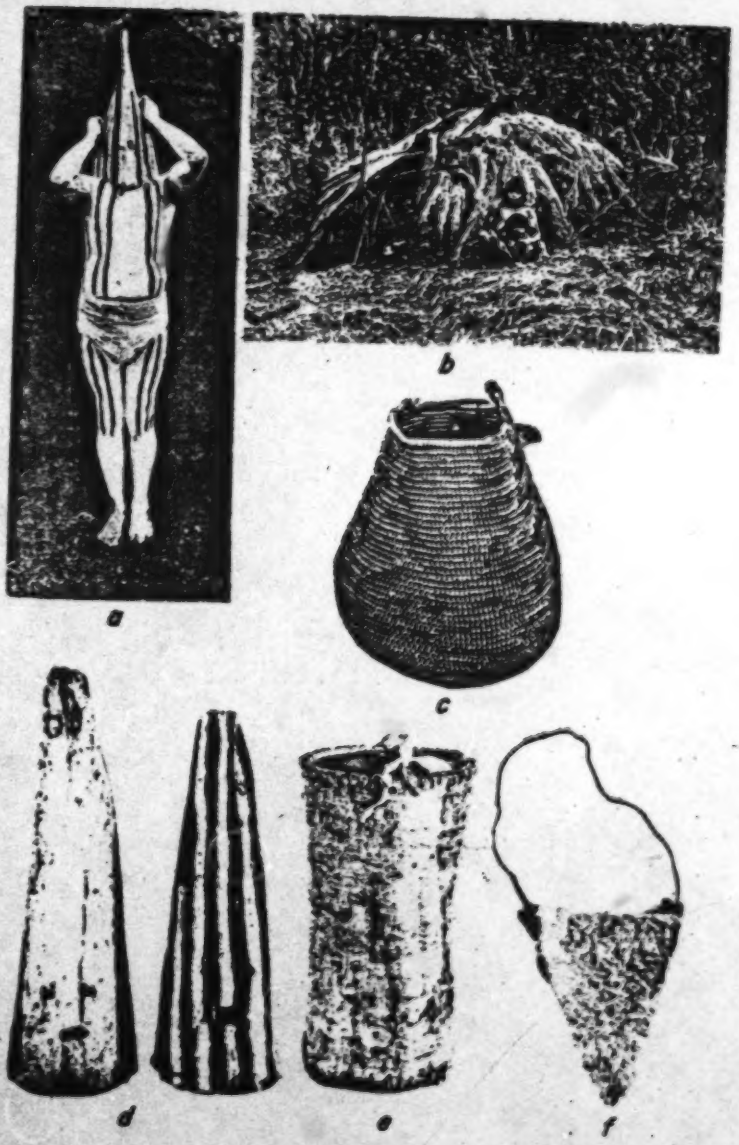

PLATE 28.—Yahgan life and manufactures. a, Masked Klaa spirit (after Gusinde, 1925 a, fig. 4); b, domed hut (after Hyades and Deniker, 1891, pl. 30); c, coiled basket (courtesy Museo Etnográfico, Buenos Aires); d, bark masks used in Klaa rite, height of taller 27 in., or 68.5 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 92); e, bark bucket, height 12½ in., or 31.7 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 88); f, pubic covering, width 9 in., or 23 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 44).

[p. 160 A]

/530 cont./

223 this noose-rod, and they do so often, there being many favorable places for it in their country (254).

254. Hyades (q):359, Lothrop (b):157, and Martial:196 have briefly described this object, without going into greater detail about how it is used.

δ. Steamer Ducks

In the sheltered channels one finds a goodly number of steamer ducks (loggerhead-ducks /English/, steamboat-ducks /English/, canards à vapeur /French/, patovapor /Spanish/. The Yamana call Tachyeres brachypterus by the name flaiuł. /531/ /Fig. 60 appears here./ The large animals have tasty meat. Since the Indians cannot get at the birds in any other way because of their light slumber, they try their luck with the sling, which, however, is not very promising, for even a powerful hit by a stone does not hurt the strong birds. They are most successfully bagged with the noose-rod, the well-known kéʔf. In daylight at the place where they congregate, the man builds a small [343] temporary hut, marína, out of a few sticks and twigs with thick foliage, just large enough to cover himself. He continues to sit here until the birds fly up. Cautiously he pushes the long noose-rod through the loose wall of the hut, places the noose over the bird's head, and with a sharp tug pulls in the captured animal. He kills it immediately so that the other birds are not disquieted by its fluttering.

In addition he uses a special decoy which Bridges (MM:XIII, 158;1879) observed: "An Indian builds himself a little bower. Here with a long, slender rod, having a fine noose of whalebone at the end of it, he sits awaiting in patience the landing of the birds. When they are sufficiently near, he cleverly imitates their cry, which awakens their curiosity: they approach his hiding-place nearer, till he is able with noose to catch one of them. He pulls this in to him, and if a male he keeps it alive as a decoy. He thrusts out his noose little by little, and makes his poor

/837 cont./

X881 346 point on the outside in order to keep a lookout. Truly, the hut framework withstands a great deal. Individual gaps that appear and let rain or snow in are immediately closed.

β. Construction of the Cookhut

X881 264 In their everyday life the Yamana have no fixed times for meals. They help themselves when they are hungry or when something is offered. During the youth initiation even the adults have their eating considerably curtailed because food may not be prepared in the Great Hut. The food is prepared outside for all the participants together and is brought in ready to eat. Everyone gets plenty and is, of course, satisfied with everything that is offered. Even with these common meals, the adults are free to go back to their own hut for brief hours and to eat there what they have on hand. Many of them make use of this freedom more or less often.

X881 ● 343 For the place in which food is to be prepared for the sometimes large number of ciexaus participants, the Yamana choose a small hut which is specially erected about 20 to 30 paces from the Great Hut. In every respect it resembles the ordinary dwelling of that region, dome-shaped in the west and cone-shaped in the east. They do not use the ornamental plaques mentioned above [354] or any other decoration in it. In the center of the hut a huge fire burns, where the pieces of meat and the slabs of fat are roasted. The hot ashes serve to bake the fish and steam the mussels. This hut is large enough so that the Indian women working in it can also sleep there. Thus, even in size it resembles an ordinary dwelling. Usually this cookhut is built immediately after the Great Hut is finished, sometimes even while it is being built, for with the start of the ceremony, the work of the women engaged in cooking also begins (261).

[171] 261. In the same way the Halakwulup also erect a cookhut beside the Great Hut for their initiation rite, in which food for all the participants is prepared. See Gusinde (o):541.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

346 To beautify the initiation lodge, the flat inner surface of the
352 split saplings constituting the framework was painted with red,
531 white, and black paint. Broad boards, inserted at regular intervals in the frame, as may be seen in the upper view in pl. XIV, received similar decoration. The nature of the embellishment is shown in pl. IX, a series of designs copied from the lodge we have described. When a ceremony was in progress the hut was further adorned with small painted tablets hung from the roof, while an additional touch of color came from painted wands (fig. 91) which often were wedged in the frame of the house when not in use.

FIG. 91.—Yahgan painted ceremonial wands. Length of b, 24 in. (14/2227)

● 343 Two hundred feet or so from the initiation lodge a second and smaller hut was erected to serve as a cook-house where meals for the candidates and officials were prepared.

292 The paraphernalia used during the ceremony we illustrate in
293 pl. XV and figs. 90 and 91. It consists of heron-plume headbands (*kapenáru*) worn by the officials, krip-goose down headbands (*pogal*) worn by the others present, a narrow hide headband painted white (*kekel*) worn by the initiate during part of the ceremony, a small stick also painted white (*u'matémia*) used for scratching, and variously painted wands (*tamoistéke*). The scratching-stick is assigned to all the Yahgan by Koppers (1925), but I was told that it was used only by the easterners. The wands were held in the hand during the singing and dancing, and were swung in time with the music. When not in use they were thrust upright in the ground or stuck in the frame of the lodge. If one fell on the ground it was considered an evil omen. I was told that these wands were not in use among the easterners. The men in charge of the ceremony kept at hand a seal-hide thong like that pictured in fig. 76, but adorned with closely spaced red dots; it was used to tie up any candidate who became unruly.

/1323 cont./

X 515 361 Not only must the Kina hut be erected on a favorable spot and on a slight rise in the ground, but the dwellings of the individual families must also be moved together in a certain arrangement and be set up in such a way that they are not within range of the wide entrance to the Kina hut. The dwellings are at least 15 meters away so that the conversation and activities of the men cannot be overheard or observed by the women and children. The elevation of the Kina hut permits the men to watch and follow every movement in the camp proper without undue effort and unobtrusively. Above all no intruder may approach their secret gathering-place (272). The closer the

[171]

272. Basically, the local conditions here are the same as those required for the camp arrangement at the Kinkesen celebration of the Selk'tsam (Vol. I, 331). The gathering-place of the men is like the stage of a theater, with the dwellings in front and at a certain distance, as though they were the auditorium for the women and children.

dwellings are to one another, the easier it is to survey them from the Kina hut. For that reason persons who are closely related are definitely urged to move into the so-called multiple-family hum (p. 31). Two to four families thus live in the same room. This is not disturbing or uncomfortable for them because the men are almost always in the Kina hut.

4. Building the Great Hut

X 515 ●345 Scarcely have the families settled in the place assigned to them when the building of the Great Hut commences, following the request and directions of the leader. Middle-aged men willingly offer their services. First of all the chosen site on a slight rise is cleared of stones, low bushes, and many a /1324/ tree stump. If necessary it is also leveled off somewhat. The women and children may watch this work from their dwellings. Even now on they may come no closer.

/1324 cont./

Almost every Kina hut has the shape of a more or less slanting cone, depending on the dimensions of the always circular groundplan. First the Yamana set up two strong trunks which mark off the wide entrance. Each of these has a short fork at the top, and the forks interlock. They are called mísalēx tāwina. At the place where the tops of these two trunks meet there rests a third, usually longer trunk which extends more or less obliquely to the ground toward the rear, which is called lēēlun tāwina (273).

273. Compare on p. 676 the term for the main posts of the Great Hut for the youth initiation.

This results in the more or less slanting conical shape of the framework, depending on how much longer this third trunk is than the height of the other two posts. If the groundplan is small to begin with, the Kina hut has a very regular conical shape. These three main trunks are the supporting framework; hence they are inserted a few centimeters into the ground. The two large free areas on either side of the opening up to the long center post are filled in with more or less thick trunks set close together. The men put each one on the ground, giving due consideration to the circular groundplan, without digging it in, and they lean it against the free ends of all the posts, forming a cluster on top. Each of these by its own weight helps to support all of them together. It is unavoidable that small gaps remain between the individual trunks. In order to fill them, clumps of turf are piled all around the outside, from the ground upward and against the hut framework, and pressed close together about a meter high. The area above this is covered with long pieces of leather stitched together and extending almost to the peak where the smoke from the hut fire can escape freely. With all this the Great Hut seems adequately closed; not a ray of light reveals to outsiders the doings of the men inside and not a current of air disturbs the quiet glow of the hut fire. Usually the wide entrance, kina ēlya, is open to the east because bad storms most often come from the west. It is no longer possible to determine whether the idea that this secret ceremony came into the Yamana territory from the east played any part in this arrangement. The entrance to the

/1324 cont./

X 575 Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam regularly faces east (Vol. I, 838).

345 In the interior of this Kina hut the actual resting places are now arranged in the following manner, unlike the čiéxaus hut. Clumps of turf are put around the central open space for the fire, and they are stamped down with the feet as evenly as possible. A [P.24] layer of the long, broad-leafed grass /1325/ šúka (Poa flabellata), which is used in the ordinary dwellings (cf. p. 25), is often scattered on top, but it is permissible to use this grass only if the short, sharp-pointed pampas grass, méxasuka, cannot be obtained. The latter grows in bunches in open places, is very dry and hard, and scarcely 35 centimeters tall (274). A bunch of this grass can

> 274. Species of Calamagrostis are referred to here, which also flourish on the rocky coasts between stones. Cf. Spegazzini (d):84.

be pulled out only if one grasps it firmly and twists the roots. While the men are gathering many trunks and poles for the hut framework, the Kina leader directs the women and children to provide the necessary amount of grass; he tells them very definitely that they must bring in a great deal of méxasuka (275).

[171]

> 275. It is very remarkable that similarly in the Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam only this short, hard pampas grass is used for the men's resting place (Vol. I, 839).

On top of this layer of grass each man spreads his piece of leather on the place where he will sit throughout the entire festival.

X 575 It is noteworthy that this conical Great Hut for the Kina festival is specially decorated on the inside. All around the in-
353 terior a red band as wide as three fingers is painted at the level of a man's head. Above that a white band of equal width is applied, and above that, a black one. All three are separated from each other by two spaces each as wide as a finger. These three bands, which serve as decorative painting, are symbolically interpreted as suggesting a rocky seacoast. The red color recalls the irregular stones on the beach, which are more or less thickly

/1325 cont./

X575 353 overgrown with red algae (Rhodophyceae): the white indicates the foam of the waves tossed over these stones; and the black signifies the many mussels that cling to the rocky coast in clusters. As though the Kina spirits, appearing out of the sea, were climbing up the coast, so the men masked as spirits appear from the Great Hut before the eyes of the women and children (276).

276. In this respect the Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam is quite different, for it has no decoration whatever in the interior (Vol. I, 839). On the other hand, the Great Hut for the men's festival of the Halakwulup is even more elaborately decorated than is that of the Yamana. Compare Gusinde (bb):346.

X575 ●345 Although the design described above for the hut of the Kina festival is followed throughout Yamana territory, the elongated dome shape which is chosen everywhere for the čiexaus hut is also permissible in the extreme west. The entrance on each of the narrow sides is made with two long, rather strong poles and is much wider and higher than in a čiexaus hut. The reason for this is obvious; the men wearing tall masks must be able to dance in and out comfortably. In the bordering southern territory of the Halakwulup the two shapes for the Kina hut are likewise used side by side, although the conical form is preferred. Farther north only the elongated dome shape is erected /1326/ (277).

277. In this connection compare Gusinde (q):288. Here in the west, a different kind of environment affects the shape of the ordinary huts used for dwellings, in contrast to the huts in the eastern part of the Yamana territory (p. 9). The use of this dome shape for the hut of the Kina festival, however, is also a result of cultural influence from the neighboring territory.

/1326 cont./

X575 345 It has previously been mentioned that the immediate area around the Great Hut must be smooth and even. To the left of this hut, or rather to the left of the wide entrance, kína éfya -- as seen by the spectators -- a passage two meters wide and ten meters long is cleared of grass and stones and made absolutely level. This is where the dancers who again and again appear from the Great Hut before the eyes of the camp inmates present themselves. The hut entrance is always away from the camp and is usually near the edge of the forest, whereas the dwellings are usually between the Kina hut and the beach. While the work of building the hut and arranging the interior is going on, a few men must drag up a quantity of thick logs and tree stumps until a considerable pile of firewood is stacked beside the Great Hut. The women cannot be entrusted with this because they would come too close to the secret gathering-place of the men. It takes a great deal of firewood to maintain a broad hut fire day and night.

X575 The length of time spent in preparation depends in each case upon several circumstances. Decisive factors at any time are the number of male participants and the convenience of the chosen locality. Once the men have been seized with a desire for the Kina performance and joyfully anticipate it, they fall to with a will and, even without a specific request from their leader, make every effort so that the actual affair may begin as soon as possible. Inclement weather, however, now and then causes considerable delays in the most essential preparations.

c. Procedure of the Festival

X575 562 The chief goal of the group of men at their Kina is to remind the female population anew of their superiority and to make all the women definitely feel their greater power. Consequently they surround their activities with all kinds of mystery and make very sure that the purposes behind their deceptive performances are not discovered by the women. They particularly avoid any situation that might arouse a suspicion of intentional deception. This secret gathering and illusory performance of the men is based

1: Gusinde--1454 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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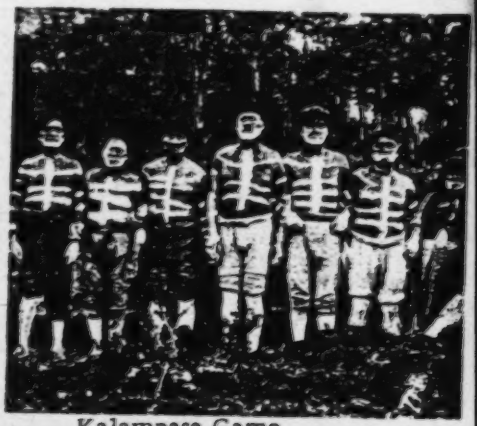
Kina Hut



Kalampasa Game

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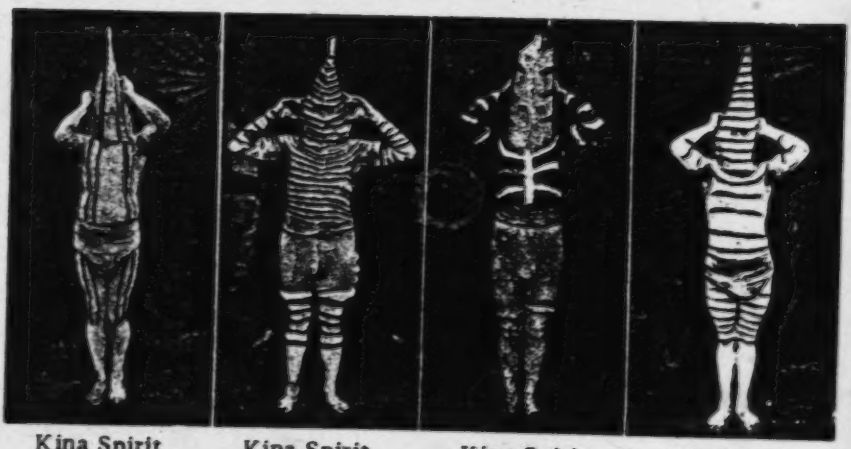

Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit

133

Ushuwaia at the Foot of Mount Olivia

/815 cont./

X881 123

was not unusual. Particularly in recent times it has occasionally happened that a Yamana did not have an opportunity to be initiated until early manhood. For example, one of the candidates who entered when I did was 27 years old. They do not bother about age, but they do demand actual participation sooner or later.

but still struggled for a long time with the monstrous idea that a European should experience the čiéxaus (247). Meanwhile Nelly

247. In Volume I, 814, I described the serious difficulties I was obliged to overcome before the Selk'nam admitted me to their men's secret rites.

inspired the old women with enthusiasm for her plan, and with them, particularly, she had the desired success.

While the men finished their work on the farm, I arranged with Fred Lawrence to provide food for all participants. We had promised them that we would be responsible for the needs of everyone during the ceremony so that no one would be impeded by food-seeking and we would thus be assured of a smooth running of the affair. He was kind enough to provide the necessary sheep; I bought flour, legumes, coffee, and sugar, besides a few little things. In their leisure hours the old men discussed the plan in detail among themselves. Quite voluntarily they gathered around Alfredo as the one with the most experience and yielded to his decisions. The women prepared the small ornaments that are necessary and /816/ gradually put themselves into the serious mood of this ceremony. Nelly felt an indescribably great satisfaction as her longed-for čiéxaus approached. Meanwhile I personally was with the men a good deal and showed obvious willingness to meet all the demands that would be put upon me.

X881 346

It was agreed to erect the Great Hut close to the farm buildings in Punta Remolino, out of consideration for Nelly who could not be separated from her family for a longer period and who wanted her three grown daughters to take part in the concluding ceremony. Round about lay the huts and the smaller dwellings

/816 cont./

X881 of the Indians; hence it was not necessary for them to move.
344 Even before the farm work was finished, Alfredo, who was the actual leader of the festival, had appointed four men as watchmen. It was their duty to keep a strict watch so that no one should approach who was not invited or who would cause any kind of disturbance and particularly that all the children left behind in the camp would be scrupulously quiet. Hardly was everyone free when the younger men went into the woods and cut suitable small beech trunks which were shaped and prepared on the festival site. Meanwhile old Alfredo, along with other men, built the framework, and the watchmen attended to their duty whenever a few inquisitive children came too close. Each time they uttered the same strange cry, which everyone knows and fears. Within three days the Great Hut stood there, covered and finished. It was 12 meters long on the ground, with a maximum width of 2.60 meters in the center and a maximum height, also in the center, of 2.40 meters. It was long, with an almost uniform slope, and had a long elliptical outline. After that the fire was lighted inside.

X881 Slowly all the men and the older women assembled. After
123 making a quick selection, they squatted down in a place which they retained the whole time thereafter. Then they considered which young people were to be introduced as candidates. The bitter realization of their sad destiny now struck these people in the Great Hut with full force when they saw how few candidates there were left. At first it looked as though there were no young people who could be chosen for uswáala, for this or that family had only very small children. They agreed on 17-year-old Homestead and on Clement who was already 27 years old, but had never before been initiated in this ceremony. I was the third candidate.

While these deliberations were going, the rest of the adults who wanted to experience the whole procedure arrived. Their attitude was as reserved as though they were going to a religious ceremony. For more than an hour they maintained the deepest silence and strongest composure. Then Alfredo started singing a monotonous, sad song which a few others softly accompanied. They all sat there earnestly and thoughtfully and continued singing. This was the opening of the ceremony. In the late

/819 cont./

X881 men to dispel from the start any doubt and uncertainty about our
123 plans. This time the situation was much more difficult than two years ago when Nelly was behind everything and was able to exert effective pressure. Since I had had some experience in handling these people, we soon came to an agreement.

X881 The next day, which was ushered in by wonderful sunlight
123 from a cloudless sky, a few men began with the erection of the
346 Great Hut. Actually it was not necessary to start from the ground up, for the year before a Great Hut had been built which was now put in shape again. As a matter of fact, the people had celebrated a čiéxaus here among themselves. The hut was barely 12 meters long. A favorable site had been chosen at the edge of the forest, far enough from the dwellings so that there would be no disturbances from the children. Many hands fell to work, and on the very next day the hut was standing and was well equipped. I had to whip up their enthusiasm constantly, but the abundant food and all kinds of tasty bits had a stimulating effect.

X881 Meanwhile two more families arrived late, among them old Pedro. The office of overseer fell to him quite naturally, for he was the best informed on tribal customs. Around noon on March 3, 1922, a few people had already taken their seats in the Great Hut; the start of the festival was planned for this day. They felt it necessary to sit there silently and compose themselves. The majority of the adults was still busy with all kinds of other work in their own huts. One person after another inconspicuously carried to the Great Hut what he needed for his bed. Thus there was quiet but constant traffic to and fro between the dwellings and the Great Hut, a sign that the ceremony would soon begin.

Toward five in the afternoon the last people arrived and we with them. /820/ As was customary, the participants squatted in two rows, to the right and left of the center aisle. Each of us kept his appointed place; the Indians had already distributed themselves at random. The place one chose had to be retained thereafter. When it began to grow dark outside, Santiago finally began a soft humming which gradually increased to a loud singing. The other people joined in and continued it. On the first evening there were already a few dances. Everyone maintained the mood that is necessary for this ceremony.

/830 cont./

X881 territory. Thus they isolate themselves from one another to a
361 certain extent, and slight differences and local peculiarities of this ceremony have arisen in one region or another.

X881 Although the geographical location does not matter, the
881 place must fulfill certain conditions. Today, and sometimes
361 formerly, the Great Hut is hidden from the eyes of the curious.
346 Europeans especially are regarded as such, as well as the neighboring Halakwulup and Selk'nam. They like to choose an island or an inlet that is seldom visited. The Great Hut is built at the edge of the forest or near a wall or rock, so that it is inconspicuous and, in addition, blends into the landscape. The ground on which it is placed must be as dry as possible, that is, it must be gravel or shingle, for clayey earth, with all the people walking on it, would become a morass beyond all description. Furthermore, the place must be well protected against the buffeting of heavy winds and rain. If rain leaked in at too many spots or smoke blew around inside as a result of repeated gusts of wind, many of the people would find it impossible to protect themselves. The Great Hut is always crowded, and disturbances of the strict proceedings must be avoided.

Moreover, the Yamana have a few other unavoidable requirements for the site of the Great Hut. Firewood must be available nearby, and there must be quantities of it, for during the long ceremony /831/ the numerous participants use a great deal. There must be a brook not too far off, for the Indians drink a great deal of water and it would be burdensome to go a long way for it. Finally, whatever else the place may offer the coasts of the vicinity must be provided with quantities of mussels because these are needed every day.

X881 There is a great deal of preliminary calculation and reconnoiter-
361 ing before the men in charge decide on a particular place of assembly. Aside from the work required to build a new Great Hut, a move is always regarded as disturbing and uncomfortable and is avoided from the outset, if possible. If they have a completely free choice, they assemble in a place that has already proved suitable in former years. It is taken for granted that the availability of food is always a decisive factor; half a hundred persons

/832 cont./

a. Construction of the Great Hut

X 881 346

Whether the families have assembled in one place for some extraneous reason or at the invitation of the chosen leader, several men survey the locality carefully to see which spot is most suitable for the construction of the Great Hut. We have just mentioned (p. 673) what is required of the place. Above all the earth must /833/ be dry and the adjoining area must furnish good protection. The distance to the nearest huts must not be more than 150 meters since every adult participant returns more or less frequently to his dwelling and does not want to go too long a distance. The women's concern about their small children does not permit them to be too far away. All these things are considered in the choice of the site for the Great Hut.

From the start the leader makes sure of a few younger men who prove to be active and willing to work. Hesitation and delay would have a paralyzing effect on the families; hence he promptly begins the construction of the Great Hut. If the place for it has been definitely determined, he sends his men into the woods where they cut long, thin beech trunks and bring them to the site. The number required depends on their plans for the size of the structure. At least 80 small trunks of different thicknesses and medium length are required.

They choose a smooth spot on the ground, measure the circumference with the naked eye, and remove any protruding stones. At the same time the leader estimates the length that he wants the entire structure to have. At one end two of the stronger trunks are rammed into the earth scarcely more than 50 centimeters apart at the bottom. They flank the entrance and are known as wéfia tŭawina. They are set at an angle of about 45 degrees. The same thing is done with two more trunks exactly opposite them, which flank the exit and are called uščlun tŭawina. The ends of these two pairs are fastened together. If these poles prove to be too short because a long hut is planned, pieces are inserted between them. The pair of poles does not serve as special support like pillars, nor is this necessary, but it does represent a kind of main rib for the entire vault, with reference to which all the other small poles are arranged.

After that the so-called transverse arches are set up, one after another and at right angles to the above-mentioned pair of poles.

/833 cont./

X881 346 The thicker and usually pointed end of the small trunk is pounded into the earth very much at an angle to the main rib. The free end is tied to the opposite small trunk. Measured on the ground, all these small trunks are about 15 centimeters apart. A few more long poles are now placed longitudinally over the transverse arches in order to hold the vault together better. The thick end is likewise pounded into the earth at the proper angle, and the small pole itself, as parallel as possible to the others, is drawn over the transverse arches. The intersections are tied with rush stalks of [824] Marsippospermum grandiflorum or with seal tendons. The long side areas of this framework are hung with large pieces of leather and the upper part is covered with thick leafy twigs of the ever-[824] green Nothofagus betuloides. Sometimes the entire hut is covered with beech branches. This completes the hut. /834/ It has a long elliptical groundplan and an elongated dome shape (Fig. 81), something like the community hut (p. 31).

The time it takes to erect the Great Hut, two or three days, depends on the number and the agility of the men taking part. Meanwhile others are working on the interior. First they mark out the hearth with rather thick small trunks placed on the cleaned and leveled ground. These pairs of trunks start a little to the side of each of the trunks that mark off the main and the secondary entrances, and they extend from one end to the other. This center passage is thus somewhat wider than the main and secondary entrances. Pegs about as long as a hand are rammed into the earth to give some support to the parallel trunks. /Fig. 81 appears here./ Brush with thick foliage is spread on either side of them. Later on each participant will spread his pieces of X881 leather and skins over the brush to make a seat for himself. Since the people form only two rows, everyone can come close to the 346 fire (254) or move away from it as he chooses. The brush on the 354

[177]

254. At present the Yamana use a rather large tin can or a wide iron pipe for the fire in their dwelling and in the canoe. This time they had placed two short pieces of a steamship funnel along the middle passage of the Great Hut. The fires inside of these produced sufficient warmth

X881
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/834 cont./

and no one was bothered very much by smoke. Formerly everyone felt the smoke, sometimes disagreeably, because the open fire extended the length of the hut.

hut framework above the fire is loosely arranged so that the smoke can get out quickly and easily.

X881
346

The length of the hut depends, of course, on the number of participants; all the other measurements are just about the same for a long or short structure. The Great Hut in Puerto Mejillones is 11.30 meters long and has a maximum width on the ground of 3.60 meters and a perpendicular height in the exact center of 2.35 meters.

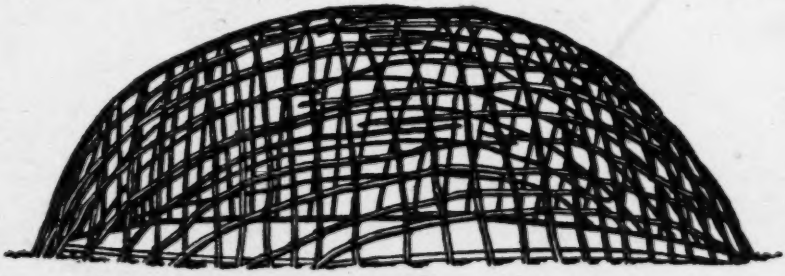

Fig. 81. Framework of the Great Hut.

The entrance is 0.46 meters wide on the ground and has a vertical height of 1.05 meters. The exit has a lower width of 0.40 meters and a vertical height of 0.90 meters. The exit is purposely kept lower /835/ and narrower. The two small openings are a little narrower on top because the two main trunks are not exactly parallel. Throughout Yamana territory the čiéxaus hut is erected according to the design just described (255) which is the only kind that furnishes

255. Lothrop (b):166 writes: "The eastern Yahgan, I was informed, did not use a domed hut for this rite, but a pointed conical wigwam like that seen among the Ona" /cited in English/. This statement is contrary to my experience. Old Water, who came from the east, often assured me that his countrymen, too, had exclusively built the same elongated, dome-shaped hut that is used in other parts of the region for the initiation.

/835 cont./
X881 comfortable seating for many people and can be extended in
346 length at will, so that all are safely under shelter.

The Yamana, however, are not satisfied with this plain con-
X881 struction, but decorate it to a considerable extent on the inside.
346 They are satisfied artistically with painting simple designs on wood.
352 Formerly when they did not have the European iron ax, they
531 scraped the bark off single small trunks with mussel shells and painted their designs directly on the exposed wood fibers. This is still done, but nowadays they more often make long, narrow little tablets with their ax, which are placed against the framework on the interior, are slightly curved at the bottom, and form an arch up to the highest center line. They are placed 40 to 60 centimeters apart and usually in such a way that two are opposite each other.

Finally, in the upper part of the framework they fasten short, small, painted tablets and sticks which hang down freely. The latter are 25 to 35 centimeters long, cylindrical, with a smooth surface and ends cut off straight. The thinner end points downward. The little tablets are always long and narrow, 20 to 45 centimeters long, seven to ten centimeters wide, and the corners are either rounded or sharp. In the latter case, the wider of the two narrow sides ends in a short, square little handle into which a small hole is bored or a flat notch is cut. The little tablets and sticks, yēxalapáteg ikamanáki, are fastened by a tendon or reed stalk in the center of the vaulted framework where they hang down freely and lightly swing in the draft or the vibration of the framework (cf. the reproductions on Plates 2 and 3).

If the Yamana wish to paint these ornamental plaques, as
[386] well as the small trunks and long, small tablets, they use the customary colors, black, white, and red, which they mix with seal blubber. They apply this mixture with their fingers, arranging dots and lines in varied patterns. The person painting them follows his artistic inspiration of the moment and his feeling for beauty; hence all kinds of combinations of lines, dots, and circles appear in manifold variety.

The Yamana repeatedly assured me that these ornamental objects had no particular meaning and served exclusively to beautify /836/ their čiēxaus hut (256). They are left there after

256. Reproductions of these ornamental plaques

X881 /836 cont./
●346
352
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and sticks with different patterns may be found in black and white in Koppers (a):48, and in color in Lothrop (b):126. In the latter reproductions, the background is too bright a yellow. It is not painted, but left in the natural color of the beech wood.

the ceremony is over (257), for such articles are not used in any

257. After my first initiation and later after my second, when I expressed the wish to take along a few of these ornamental objects, the Indians took down not only the long painted plaques and hanging sticks, but also removed the long thin pieces of wood and trunks out of the ground and gave them all to me without hesitation, further proof that they do not regard these things as having any value other than as decorations for the Great Hut during the initiation.

other way.

X881 There is no partition anywhere inside the hut, and one can survey the whole without obstruction from one end to the other.
346 Also, there is no particular allotment of areas and places to sit. The candidates with their sponsors squat between the other participants in an informal, relaxed arrangement. The adults, however, use the wider entrance, tumēči, almost exclusively, whereas the úšwāla have contact with the outside world only by way of the narrower entrance, úšatumēči (258). The two entrances are so

258. BD:113 gives " 'ussa,' position in or up..., up at the inner end of the room" /cited in Englist/.

arranged that the wider one for the adults faces the camp while the other one is nearer the woods so that the candidates, unobserved by children and adults in the camp, can disappear into it. Each of the entrances is closed off with a large piece of leather (259)

[177] 259. Nowadays they often use sacking and

/836 cont./

X881
•346
[177]

sailcloth which is also drawn over the entire framework as a covering. Very large pieces prevent the rain from dripping in annoyingly. The Fuegians appreciate this, and in February, 1920, they borrowed a wide tent canvas from Fred Lawrence for the Great Hut in Punta Remolino.

that hangs in front of it. It prevents the wind from beating in and also keeps anyone from looking into the room lighted by the fire. Sometimes a guard will pre-empt the seat near the tumeci, although he does not have any particular right to it. Everyone is content to take a seat, mici, to the right or left of the fire, in the middle or on the sides, as chance would have it. The entire interior is called "alin" (260), but this designation is almost

260. This word originally meant "rock cave at the surface of the water where sea lions gather." Just as these animals assemble in their rock cave, so have the Yamana assembled in their play in the Great Hut. The further symbolic significance of this word and the meaning of the dance staff and forehead decoration are given in detail on p. 713

always used only for the little space near the narrower entrance at the rear.

The entire dome, despite its great flexibility, is stable enough because the individual poles forming the framework are tied and plaited together and also driven into the earth a short distance. The dome needs firmness, for sometimes it must withstand strong buffeting by the wind on its long side. During the dances /837/ held inside, the framework sometimes suffers heavy blows when a dance group falls against it. Moreover, it is customary, in order to ward off the influence of evil spirits, to shake it often so that it vibrates in all its parts. Individual persons will seize it with such force that one fears they will tear the whole weave apart. Finally, the watchmen climb up to the highest

1: Gusinde--682 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan. SH6

/837 cont./

X881 346

point on the outside in order to keep a lookout. Truly, the hut framework withstands a great deal. Individual gaps that appear and let rain or snow in are immediately closed.

β. Construction of the Cookhut

X881 264

In their everyday life the Yamana have no fixed times for meals. They help themselves when they are hungry or when something is offered. During the youth initiation even the adults have their eating considerably curtailed because food may not be prepared in the Great Hut. The food is prepared outside for all the participants together and is brought in ready to eat. Everyone gets plenty and is, of course, satisfied with everything that is offered. Even with these common meals, the adults are free to go back to their own hut for brief hours and to eat there what they have on hand. Many of them make use of this freedom more or less often.

X881 343

For the place in which food is to be prepared for the sometimes large number of ~~[illegible]~~ participants, the Yamana choose a small hut which is specially erected about 20 to 30 paces from the Great Hut. In every respect it resembles the ordinary dwelling of that region, dome-shaped in the west and cone-shaped in the east. They do not use the ornamental plaques mentioned above [654] or any other decoration in it. In the center of the hut a huge fire burns, where the pieces of meat and the slabs of fat are roasted. The hot ashes serve to bake the fish and steam the mussels. This hut is large enough so that the Indian women working in it can also sleep there. Thus, even in size it resembles an ordinary dwelling. Usually this cookhut is built immediately after the Great Hut is finished, sometimes even while it is being built, for with the start of the ceremony, the work of the women engaged in cooking also begins (261).

[171]

261. In the same way the Halakwulup also erect a cookhut beside the Great Hut for their initiation rite, in which food for all the participants is prepared. See Gusinde (op.341).

/954 cont./

X881 enthusiasm develops and they all divert themselves for several
524 hours until they begin to feel exhausted. At times their eagerness borders on abandon. This is understandable, since now, no longer bound by the strict čiéxaus program, the people are free to burst out without restraint. The young people are called upon particularly often. Here in the open, in front of everyone, they are supposed to show also the skills they have acquired in the social games which they were often called upon to join in the čiéxaus hut (p. 813).

X881 The conversations and games after the big feast finally come to an end. At the proper moment the overseer or some older per-
533 son intones the tíxer song, and all the participants promptly join in. They immediately try to assume a respectful pose and to make their voices solemn. This tíxer song is the actual farewell song, during which all "spirits" arrange themselves and with which they are given an accompaniment back to their particular abode by the people here, just as this was done on almost every evening (p. 787). The people present, however, sing this song for themselves, too, before they take leave of each other, for today or tomorrow they will leave this place and probably not see each other again for a long time. This is why they put into the final tíxer song all their feelings of joy and gratitude for their renewed vigor during this enjoyable, inspiring čiéxaus celebration. The song dies away full of melancholy, and silently and for a long time thereafter everyone gives himself up to his thoughts.

X881 Gradually one person and then another get up and go back once more to the Great Hut. Here he collects his utensils, tools, and ornaments, and takes final leave of this place. Everyone takes care of his own things and moves them over to his own dwelling where, after a long time, he again settles himself for the night. If the weather is good, a family may board their canoe that same day and depart. /955/ Most of the people definitely leave the following morning and enthusiastically welcome the longed-for freedom to rove far and wide without restraint. The place where many people were still gathered together for the common celebration just a short time ago becomes depopulated surprisingly quickly.

X881 After that no one pays any attention to the Great Hut.
• 346

1. Guinde--942 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 Sitô Yahgan Sitô

/955 cont./

Deserted and unprotected, it remains exposed to the raging natural forces; storms work havoc with the roof and finally with the whole framework, and sooner or later it collapses. The decorated sticks and ornamental plaques are also destroyed with it. After a few months only a person's memory can tell him where the Kikuyu but recently stood.

Now the place where for weeks many human beings meditated about their own egos and where they adapted themselves to a time of restraint is silent and deserted. The rough wind again bravely shakes the branches through which, shortly before, thin columns of smoke curled up into the treetops. It drives withered leaves over the grassy area on which young and old delighted in lively games.

3. Meaning and Value of the Initiation

No matter how one looks at the Kikuyu celebration, its individual components work together to achieve the one definite goal of making the maturing young people spiritually and physically competent to fulfill the duties of a grown man or woman independently. It is above all a training of the mind; hence the teachings and exhortations make up a considerable part of the whole affair. In order to make the minds of young people susceptible and receptive, their bodies are forced to become subservient to it through difficult exercises in self-control, including physical immobility, constant silence, curtailed sleep, and considerable fasting. Beyond the self-control to be achieved, the spiritual life of the young ufwala becomes considerably enriched by the myths and legends, some of which are revealed to them here for the first time, as well as by the social games in which they must here, for the first time, publicly test themselves. Added to all this is the training in the required accomplishments and successful methods of work which make every man and every woman capable of obtaining a living as easily as possible for himself and his family.

Actually, the adults achieve this twin goal with their ufwala through a faithful application of the principles esteemed in the Kikuyu. Convincing proof is furnished by those upright, virtuous

/1400 cont./

my efforts toward witnessing this noteworthy arrangement (Gusinde [a]:96). At first my Yaegan friends would not hear of this plan. They felt unsure of themselves because about 35 years had passed since the last occasion of this kind, which took place under the leadership of Athanasio in Lowathyawaja (Punta Pantalla on Navarino Island) and because the yékamuf of the present time regard themselves as weak and less capable than their predecessors. Nevertheless, I was accorded the rare privilege of becoming acquainted with this observance, which is very significant in some respects, through personal participation (p. 190 /continued/). Since then it has not been repeated and that it was really the last Jécma-yékamuf in the actual and strict sense.

C. Preparation

In case this or that group of medicine men firmly intends to initiate a Jécma-yékamuf soon, they come to an agreement in ordinary conversation as to the place where they wish to gather. They have no special requirements for the location, but it must be suitable for a sojourn of several families for some time. The conditions which must be met are like those required for the Yáhaga or Kina. Above all it must be a place where they need not fear major disturbances of any kind.

As soon as several families have settled down in the place agreed upon, the erection of the special hut begins without delay. The hut is called Jécma tamáfa, sometimes more definitely Jécma tima fáfa. It resembles the one for the Kina celebration; in other words, it is a spacious hut in the usual cone shape. The base is circular or lengthened to an oval shape, depending on whether it is erected for a few or many participants. The individual small trunks of this construction /1401/ are planted a few centimeters in the ground for greater stability and are placed close together. This framework is covered on the outside with pieces of leather. If not enough of them should be available, thick beech foliage is used as a covering. The maximum interior height is about three and a half meters. The interior is decorated with a white line the width of a hand, which runs all

/1451 cont./

the way around about a meter above the ground. In some exceptional cases, the interior up to about two meters from the ground may be painted uniformly white. The fire is kept burning centrally in the center of the lot, and a narrow passage is left free around it. Between it and the wall there is enough space for the participants to sit or lie down. This whole area is covered with a layer, eight centimeters thick, of branches with dense foliage from the evergreen beech (Nothofagus betuloides). On top of this is a layer of dust, still pampas grass, [illegible] (Calamagrostis), which is also used in the [illegible] hut for the same purpose. Firewood is piled up outside the hut, furnished by younger men who take part as spectators or visitors, that is, who are neither [illegible] themselves nor intend to become such. In the seating arrangement the leader of this affair has the place to the left of the entrance; farther inside the [illegible] and candidates alternate in such a way that one to three of the latter sit between two [illegible]. Naturally the Great Hut is so situated that its broad entrance opens to the east and does not face the camp with its family dwellings.

As has already been indicated, a very influential older medicine man fills the office of leader. He is called [illegible]. He is usually responsible for the decisive stimulus that has instigated the affair. He makes the initial preparations and gathers together a few friendly colleagues to discuss the details of the program. He automatically becomes the leader, without being definitely or formally chosen, and everyone submits to his leadership without opposition. Only a man of superior knowledge and rich experience is considered for this post. He is held in high esteem by everyone because of his great ability and his incomparable achievements. This leader then gives detailed instructions to the participants, following the traditional program with which he must be familiar. Above all he sees to it that no disturbance or distraction of any kind interferes.

In accordance with the purpose of this occasion, a number of [illegible], of course, arrive as participants, for this is properly their own undertaking and they, obviously, are primarily concerned. They hasten to it from the surrounding vicinity, and sometimes a [illegible] will come from a great distance in case he has some friendly connection with this gathering and wishes to

1. Gwende--1450 E-5 (1910-1934) 1937 5316 Yahgan 5316

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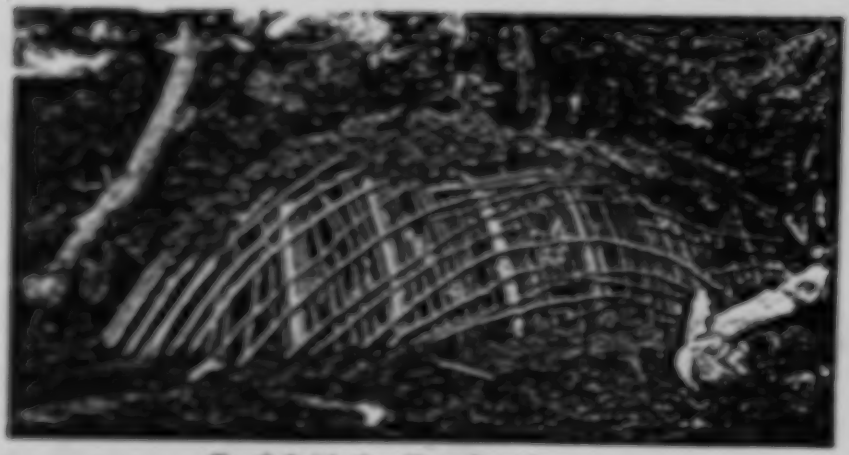
346

Watchmen in Action

Youth Initiation Hut, Interior



Youth Initiation Hut, Exterior

302
121

Cheeses Painting

Watchman

Watchman's Assistant

844 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first [846] child, the father remaining quiet in the tent and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the navel cord, dried and kept.

Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after [862] delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 15 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly [55] named after its birthplace.

Education.—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction 861 was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions stressed in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

841 **Girls' puberty observances.**—At her first menses, the girl fasted, 881 eating little or nothing, for 3 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red radiating streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 8th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

881 **The čiéxaus initiation rite.**—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 45–95; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805–961), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic stay of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the čiéxaus, under the auspices, it seems, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole *Yahgan* tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

The chosen officers in charge of the rite were a leader, a mentor, and guards. A special large hut, of oval beehive or conical construc- [346] tion, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special diademlike feather

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

as much as five feet below the surface. Here the housetop need scarcely have risen above the ground level, and the people within must have been snugly lodged against winter gales. But the swirling smoke was a constant annoyance, and many accounts speak of the Yahgans' red and inflamed eyes. 342 354

Initiation or ceremonial houses differed from the living houses chiefly in size. In the west they were domed and oval in outline, as shown in pl. XIV. In the east they took the form of a heavy solid tipi-shape dwelling of logs like the Ona initiation lodge (fig. 38). 346

Under mission influence the Yahgan in late years built small plank houses of European type. A group of these was found at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra on Navarin island which were used as winter quarters (pl. XVIII). They were wind- and water-tight, and some had wooden floors, bunks, and stoves. The material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach. 177 342

Camp Equipment

Yahgan camp equipment, in spite of superior transportation facilities, was just as primitive as that of the Foot Indians, among whom every article, and the infants as well, had to be carried on the back. Strong and simple as are the objects below listed, they 511

[372]

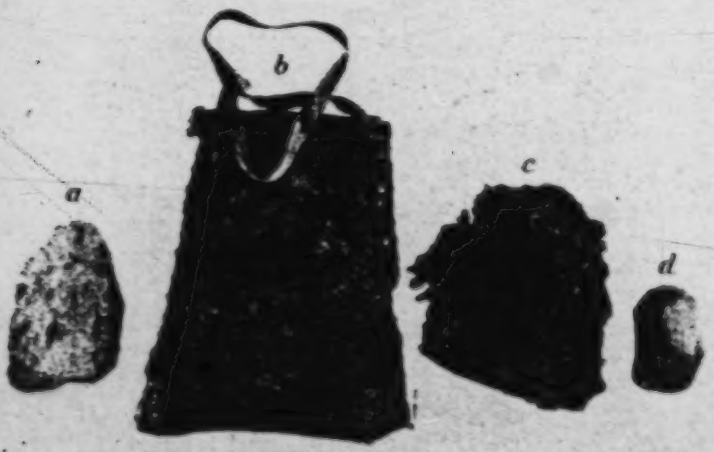


Fig. 53.—Yahgan fire-making apparatus. *a*, Flint; *b*, pouch; *c*, tinder; *d*, pyrites. Width of bag, 5 in. (14/2352)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

death of a relative. All these called for vengeance, but the Yahgan seem to have felt antipathy rather than hatred, so vengeance might be deferred for several years, during which time mutual friends might compose the quarrel. 628

Blood loyalty was recognized among the Yahgan, but apparently was not fiercely cherished as among the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges states that when a murder occurred the friends and relatives of the victim would take revenge, but the family of the murderer abandoned him and made no effort to defend him. This certainly is not customary among primitive people with a highly developed consciousness of consanguinity like the Yahgan, and perhaps Mr. Bridges' statement represents the result of missionary contact rather than the original state of affairs.

Organized warfare, during which any member of one group would kill at sight any member of another group, as among the Ona, was unknown to the Yahgan, but blood revenge was sometimes executed on a relative of a murderer. [21]

Initiation

Thanks to the studies of Gusinde and Koppers full and complete information about the Yahgan initiation rites is available, and the reader desirous of fuller information than is given here is referred to their various publications on this subject listed in the bibliography. Two ceremonies were in use among the Yahgan, known as *shiehâus* and *kina*. The first of these, celebrated by both sexes, apparently is the ancient Yahgan rite, while the other corresponds closely to the Ona *klókten* ceremony and represents culture borrowing from that tribe. Both may be described as a systematic educational course for the youth of the tribe—"going to school," the Yahgan called them. 881

For the *shiehâus* ceremony a large domed hut (*mánaga*), elliptical in outline, was erected near the encampment. The framework was of split saplings an inch or two in diameter, bent and set up to form arch-like ribs, and secured in place by a few horizontal beams (pl. XIV). These timbers were held together by lashings of gut. At either end of the hut were doors, one large to admit spectators, one small for the use of the candidates. On the roof they piled branches of the evergreen antarctic beech to afford shelter to those within, but the sides were left open to the weather. Rows of logs staked in place on the floor divided it into a central gangway 346

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

346 flanked by benches, built up by branches covered with skins. In the middle of the gangway burned a fire.

The house we have described was the type used by the central and western Yahgan. Our illustrations show the lodge erected in

[881 292 293]

FIG. 90.—*a*, Eastern Yahgan initiate's headband and scratching-stick (14/2361); length of stick, 5 in. *b*, Kelp-goose down headband (14/2344); length, 19 in.

1922 at the instance of Gusinde and Koppers on Navarin island. The eastern Yahgan, I was informed, did not use a domed hut for this rite, but a pointed conical wigwam like that seen among the Ona (fig. 38).

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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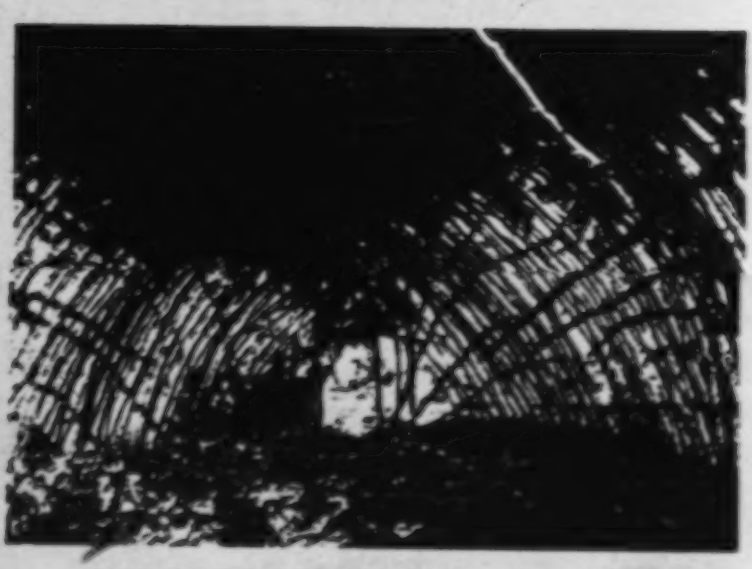

YAHGAN CEREMONIAL LODGE, PUERTO MEJILLONES, NAVARIN ISLAND

[p. 166-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

To beautify the initiation lodge, the flat inner surface of the split sapings constituting the framework was painted with red, white, and black paint. Broad boards, inserted at regular intervals in the frame, as may be seen in the upper view in pl. XIV, received similar decoration. The nature of the embellishment is shown in pl. IX, a series of designs copied from the lodge we have described. When a ceremony was in progress the hut was further adorned with smal painted tablets hung from the roof, while an additional touch of color came from painted wands (fig. 91) which often were wedged inthe frame of the house when not in use.

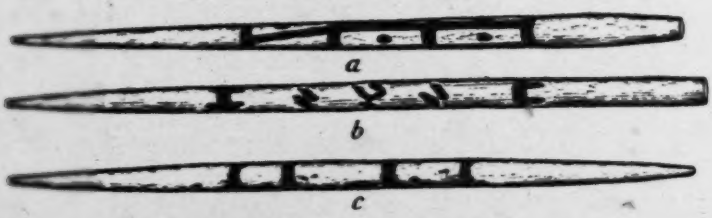

FIG. 91.—Yahgan painted ceremonial wands. Length of *b*, 24 in. (14/2227½)

Two hundred feet or so from the initiation lodge a second and smaller hut was erected to serve as a cook-house where meals for the candidates and officials were prepared.

The paraphernalia used during the ceremony we illustrate in pl. XV and figs. 90 and 91. It consists of heron-plume headbands (*hapawára*) worn by the officials, kelp-goose down headbands (*pugal*) worn by the others present, a narrow hide headband painted white (*hehel*) worn by the initiate during part of the ceremony, a small stick also painted white (*w'matámia*) used for scratching, and variously painted wands (*tumoistáka*). The scratching-stick is assigned to all the Yahgan by Koppers (1925), but I was told that it was used only by the easterners. The wands were held in the hand during the singing and dancing, and were swung in time with the music. When not in use they were thrust upright in the ground or stuck in the frame of the lodge. If one fell on the ground it was considered an evil omen. I was told that these wands were not in use among the easterners. The men in charge of the ceremony kept at hand a seal-hide thong like that pictured in fig. 76, but adorned with closely spaced red dots; it was used to tie up any candidate who became unruly.

/381 cont./

352 The interior arrangement is the same in either a dome-shaped hut or a conical hut. Actually, to be exact, there is no arrangement, since furniture and household furnishings are entirely absent. There are neither stools nor benches. The interior wall is neither covered nor decorated. Small baskets and leather pouches, pieces of meat, and fungi are hung on short pegs made of broken-off twigs. Tools and implements, ornaments, and other trifles are shoved between the poles of the framework. There is no floor
342 built as such, but while construction is going on the ground is stamped down. The natives like to dig out the entire interior surface, sometimes as much as 50 centimeters deep, and this shallow depression is a good protection against wind and cold air from outside. A preferred campsite is the dry, loose gravel that does not have to be leveled off, but is cleared of dirt, algae, and wet leaves. If the subsoil happens to be very wet or puddles are formed in persistent rain, pieces of bark are strewn about so that one does not have to sit in the water. Sometimes, if too much water comes
354 in, a layer of gravel has to be built up under the place for the fire, and the fire itself laid higher.

In the ordinary dwellings the fire is in the center, and the occupants squat around it in a circle. They are careful to maintain a broad, even glow which gives off little smoke but sends out abundant heat. The hours when heavy storms whirl the smoke around inside the hut are extremely distressing. In such cases the entrance is blocked with tree trunks or covered with a leather curtain. At night the natives regularly use something to close off the entrance securely. During the day and in good weather they let the air freely enter the hut. They move close to the entrance or they even squat out of doors beside the hut and keep a second fire going outside. In spite of a good covering, the loose construction does not prevent rain and snow /382/ from entering (31).

31. "Air circulates freely through the numerous interstices between the uprights of the hut. Rain, snow, or hail follows the same path, and the Fuegians are little disturbed by it" /translated from French/ (Hyades [f] :557).

X881 /835 cont./
346 comfortable seating for many people and can be extended in length at will, so that all are safely under shelter.

X881 The Yamana, however, are not satisfied with this plain construction, but decorate it to a considerable extent on the inside.
346 They are satisfied artistically with painting simple designs on wood.
● 352 Formerly when they did not have the European iron ax, they
531 scraped the bark off single small trunks with mussel shells and painted their designs directly on the exposed wood fibers. This is still done, but nowadays they more often make long, narrow little tablets with their ax, which are placed against the framework on the interior, are slightly curved at the bottom, and form an arch up to the highest center line. They are placed 40 to 60 centimeters apart and usually in such a way that two are opposite each other.

Finally, in the upper part of the framework they fasten short, small, painted tablets and sticks which hang down freely. The latter are 25 to 35 centimeters long, cylindrical, with a smooth surface and ends cut off straight. The thinner end points downward. The little tablets are always long and narrow, 20 to 45 centimeters long, seven to ten centimeters wide, and the corners are either rounded or sharp. In the latter case, the wider of the two narrow sides ends in a short, square little handle into which a small hole is bored or a flat notch is cut. The little tablets and sticks, yēxalapáteg ikamanŝki, are fastened by a tendon or reed stalk in the center of the vaulted framework where they hang down freely and lightly swing in the draft or the vibration of the framework (cf. the reproductions on Plates [illegible] and 3).

If the Yamana wish to paint these ornamental plaques, as
[386] well as the small trunks and long, small tablets, they use the customary colors, black, white, and red, which they mix with seal blubber. They apply this mixture with their fingers, arranging dots and lines in varied patterns. The person painting them follows his artistic inspiration of the moment and his feeling for beauty; hence all kinds of combinations of lines, dots, and circles appear in manifold variety.

The Yamana repeatedly assured me that these ornamental objects had no particular meaning and served exclusively to beautify /836/ their ciérans hut (256). They are left there after

256. Reproductions of these ornamental plaques

X881
346
•352
S31

/836 cont./

and sticks with different patterns may be found in black and white in Koppers (a):48, and in color in Lothrop (b):126. In the latter reproductions, the background is too bright a yellow. It is not painted, but left in the natural color of the beech wood.

the ceremony is over (257), for such articles are not used in any

257. After my first initiation and later after my second, when I expressed the wish to take along a few of these ornamental objects, the Indians took down not only the long painted plaques and hanging sticks, but also removed the long thin pieces of wood and trunks out of the ground and gave them all to me without hesitation, further proof that they do not regard these things as having any value other than as decorations for the Great Hut during the initiation.

other way.

X881
346

There is no partition anywhere inside the hut, and one can survey the whole without obstruction from one end to the other. Also, there is no particular allotment of areas and places to sit. The candidates with their sponsors squat between the other participants in an informal, school arrangement. The adults, however, use the wider entrance, umeci, almost exclusively, whereas the uwala have contact with the outside world only by way of the narrower entrance, uatumeci (258). The two entrances are so

258. BD:113 gives " 'uma,' position in or up. . . . up at the inner end of the room" /cited in English/.

arranged that the wider one for the adults faces the camp while the other one is nearer the woods so that the candidates, unobserved by children and adults in the camp, can disappear into it. Each of the entrances is closed off with a large piece of leather (259)

259. Nowadays they often use sacking and

1: Gusinde--807 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

Plate 3.

293
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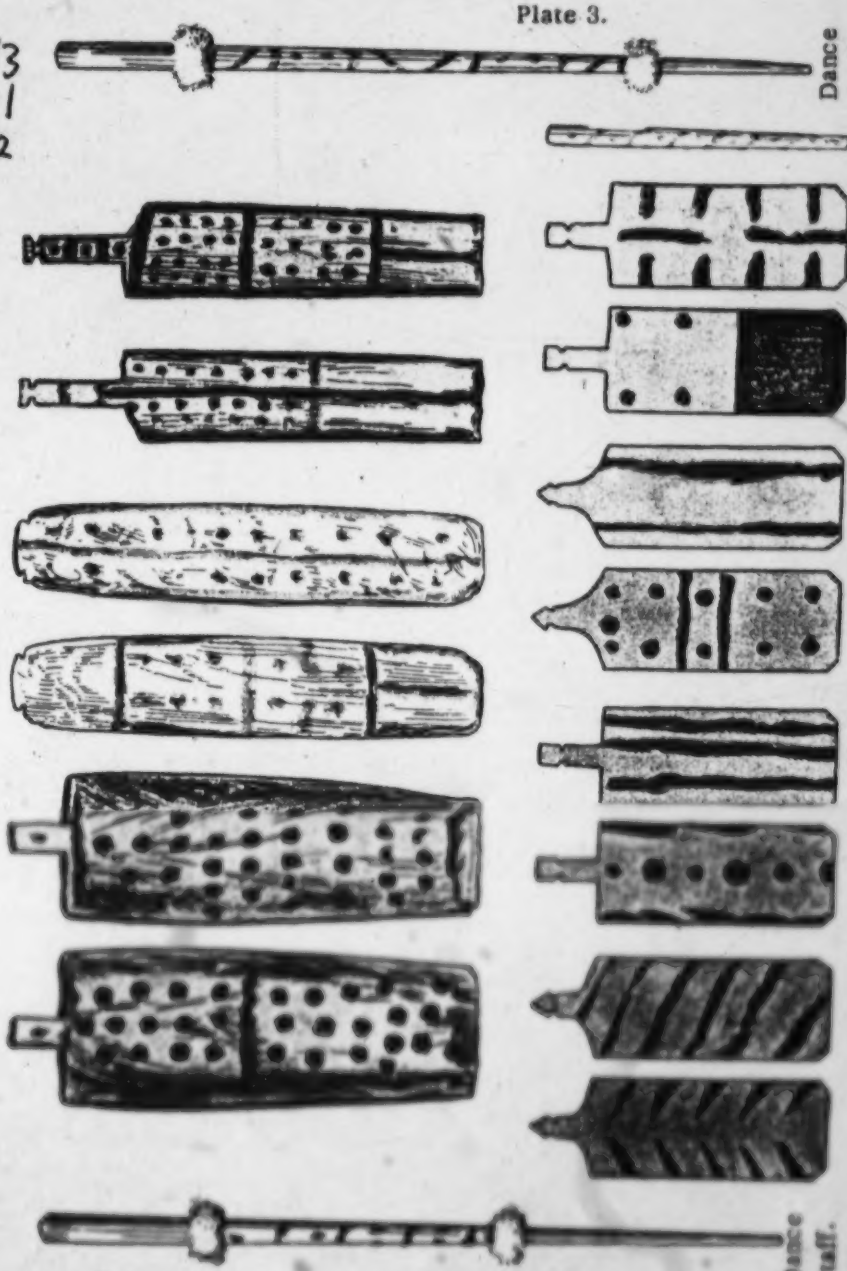


Dance Staff.

Ornamental Plaques for the Initiation Hut.

Dance Staff.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

346 To beautify the initiation lodge, the flat inner surface of the
352 split saplings constituting the framework was painted with red,
531 white, and black paint. Broad boards, inserted at regular intervals in the frame, as may be seen in the upper view in pl. XIV, received similar decoration. The nature of the embellishment is shown in pl. IX, a series of designs copied from the lodge we have described. When a ceremony was in progress the hut was further adorned with small painted tablets hung from the roof, while an additional touch of color came from painted wands (fig. 91) which often were wedged in the frame of the house when not in use.

FIG. 91.—Yahgan painted ceremonial wands. Length of *b*, 24 in. (14/2227 j)

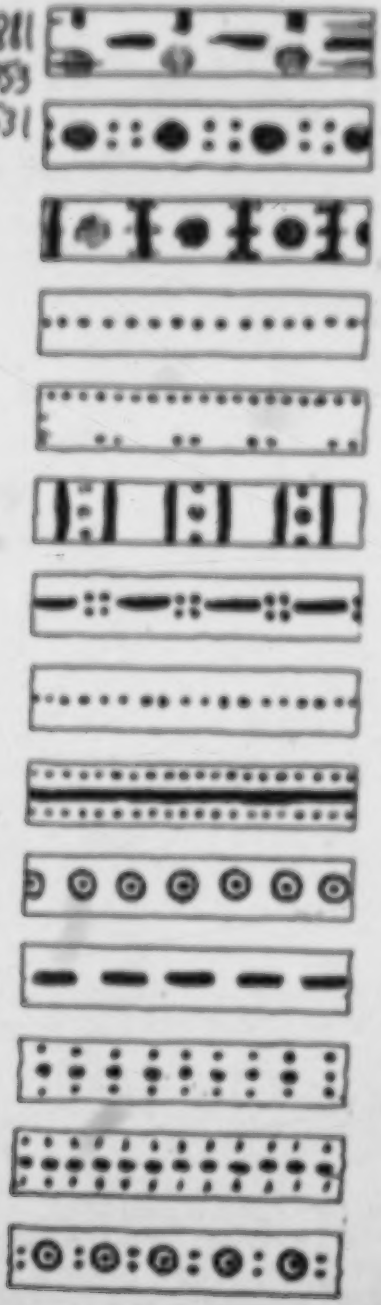
343 Two hundred feet or so from the initiation lodge a second and smaller hut was erected to serve as a cook-house where meals for the candidates and officials were prepared.

292 The paraphernalia used during the ceremony we illustrate in
293 pl. XV and figs. 90 and 91. It consists of heron-plume headbands (*kapawána*) worn by the officials, kelp-goose down headbands (*pugal*) worn by the others present, a narrow hide headband painted white (*hehel*) worn by the initiate during part of the ceremony, a small stick also painted white (*w'matáwia*) used for scratching, and variously painted wands (*tumoistáka*). The scratching-stick is assigned to all the Yahgan by Koppers (1925), but I was told that it was used only by the easterners. The wands were held in the hand during the singing and dancing, and were swung in time with the music. When not in use they were thrust upright in the ground or stuck in the frame of the lodge. If one fell on the ground it was considered an evil omen. I was told that these wands were not in use among the easterners. The men in charge of the ceremony kept at hand a seal-hide thong like that pictured in fig. 76, but adorned with closely spaced red dots; it was used to tie up any candidate who became unruly.

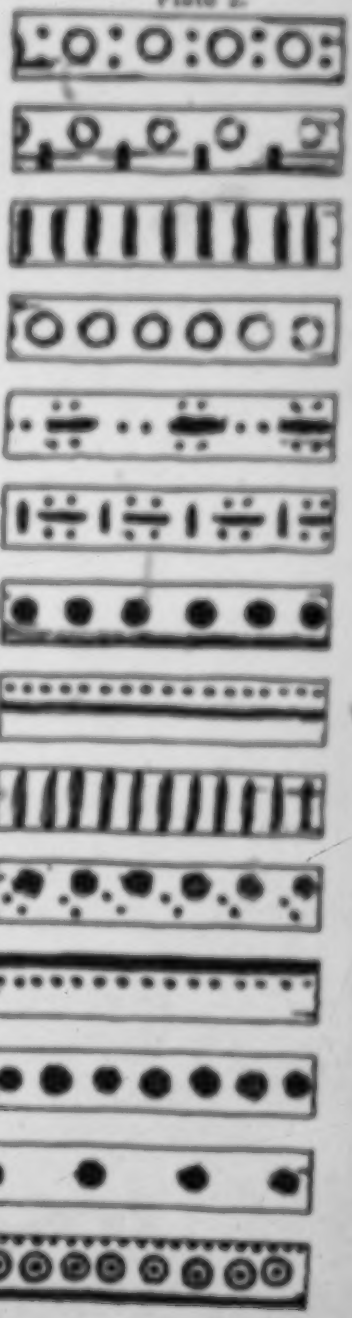
1: Gunindo--656 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 5116 Yalgan 5116

X 281
• 353
531

Plate 2.



Ornamental Designs Painted on the Framework of the Initiation Hut.



/1324 cont./

X 575 Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam regularly faces east (Vol. I, 838).

345 In the interior of this Kina hut the actual resting places are now arranged in the following manner, unlike the čiexaus hut. Clumps of turf are put around the central open space for the fire, and they are stamped down with the feet as evenly as possible. A [124] layer of the long, broad-leafed grass /1325/ ĭdka (Poa flabellata), which is used in the ordinary dwellings (cf. p.25), is often scattered on top, but it is permissible to use this grass only if the short, sharp-pointed pampas grass, mĕ'ŋaluka, cannot be obtained. The latter grows in bunches in open places, is very dry and hard, and scarcely 35 centimeters tall (274). A bunch of this grass can

> 274. Species of Calamagrostis are referred to here, which also flourish on the rocky coasts between stones. Cf. Spegazzini (d):84.

be pulled out only if one grasps it firmly and twists the roots. While the men are gathering many trunks and poles for the hut framework, the Kina leader directs the women and children to provide the necessary amount of grass; he tells them very definitely that they must bring in a great deal of mĕ'ŋasuka (275).

[171]

> 275. It is very remarkable that similarly in the Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam only this short, hard pampas grass is used for the men's resting place (Vol. I, 839).

On top of this layer of grass each man spreads his piece of leather on the place where he will sit throughout the entire festival.

X 575 It is noteworthy that this conical Great Hut for the Kina festival is specially decorated on the inside. All around the in-
● 353 terior a red band as wide as three fingers is painted at the level of a man's head. Above that a white band of equal width is applied, and above that, a black one. All three are separated from each other by two spaces each as wide as a finger. These three bands, which serve as decorative painting, are symbolically interpreted as suggesting a rocky seacoast. The red color recalls the irregular stones on the beach, which are more or less thickly

/1325 cont./

X525 353 overgrown with red algae (Rhodophyceae): the white indicates the foam of the waves tossed over these stones, and the black signifies the many mussels that cling to the rocky coast in clusters. As though the Kina spirits, appearing out of the sea, were climbing up the coast, so the men masked as spirits appear from the Great Hut before the eyes of the women and children (276).

276. In this respect the Klokesen hut of the Selk'nam is quite different, for it has no decoration whatever in the interior (Vol. I, 830). On the other hand, the Great Hut for the men's festival of the Halakwulup is even more elaborately decorated than is that of the Yamana. Compare Gusinde (bb):366.

X525 355 Although the design described above for the hut of the Kina festival is followed throughout Yamana territory, the elongated dome shape which is chosen everywhere for the Cipanas hut is also permissible in the extreme west. The entrance on each of the narrow sides is made with two long, rather strong poles and is much wider and higher than in a Cipanas hut. The reason for this is obvious: the men wearing tall masks must be able to dance in and out comfortably. In the bordering southern territory of the Halakwulup the two shapes for the Kina hut are likewise used side by side, although the conical form is preferred. Farther north only the elongated dome shape is erected /1326/ (277).

277. In this connection compare Gusinde (qq):288. Here in the west, a different kind of environment affects the shape of the ordinary huts used for dwellings, in contrast to the huts in the eastern part of the Yamana territory (p. 9). The use of this dome shape for the hut of the Kina festival, however, is also a result of cultural influence from the neighboring territory.

354

354 HEATING AND LIGHTING EQUIPMENT—systems for the lighting, heating, insulation, ventilating and air-conditioning of buildings; heaters and fireplaces; special lighting equipment (e.g., candles, oil lamps, gas lights, electric lights); special heating appliances (e.g., wood, coal, oil, gas, and electric stoves and furnaces), air-conditioning installations; insulating materials; etc.—See also:

Heat, light, and power	37	Manufacture of coal	280
Cooling	200	Manufacture of heating and lighting appliances	356
Electrical machines	107	Refrigerators, incinerators, and gasoline lights	416
Manufacture of fuel oil and illuminating gas	280		

/[illegible] cont./

The interior arrangement is the same in either a dome-shaped hut or a conical hut. Actually, to be exact, there is no arrangement, since furniture and household furnishings are entirely absent. There are neither stools nor benches. The interior wall is neither covered nor decorated. Small baskets and leather pouches, pieces of meat, and fungi are hung on short pegs made of broken-off twigs. Tools and implements, ornaments, and other trifles are thrust between the poles of the framework. There is no floor built as such, but while construction is going on the ground is stamped down. The natives like to dig out the entire interior surface, sometimes as much as 50 centimeters deep, and this shallow depression is a good protection against wind and cold air from outside. A preferred campsite is the dry, loose gravel that does not have to be leveled off, but is cleared of dirt, algae, and wet leaves. If the subsoil happens to be very wet or puddles are formed in persistent rain, pieces of bark are strewn about so that one does not have to sit in the water. Sometimes, If too much water comes in, a layer of gravel has to be built up under the place for the fire, and the fire itself laid higher.

In the ordinary dwellings the fire is in the center, and the occupants squat around it in a circle. They are careful to maintain a based, even glow which gives off little smoke but sends out abundant heat. The hours when heavy storms whirl the smoke around inside the hut are extremely tiresome. In such cases the entrance is blocked with raw cowhide or covered with a leather curtain. At night the natives regularly use something to close off the entrance securely. During the day and in good weather they let the air freely enter the hut. They move close to the entrance or they even squat out of doors beside the hut and keep a second fire going outside. In spite of a good covering, the loose construction does not prevent rain and snow /[illegible]/ from entering (11).

11. "Air circulates freely through the numerous interstices between the uprights of the hut. Rain, snow, or hail follows the same path, and the fragrance has little disturbed by it" /translated from French/ (Hyades [illegible] .[illegible]).

/[illegible] cont./

•354 Since the interior does not offer reliable protection, the occupants are constantly moving in and out, but in the end they must yield to all misfortune and be content with the little warmth given off by the fire.

513 They arrange their sleeping places directly on the ground and all around the inside wall. First they spread out twigs, with or without leaves, and flat pieces of bark. Over this they place finer twigs or a great deal of lichen (Usnea barbata) and, finally, a long piece of guanaco hide or seal skin. The latter is sometimes omitted. Formerly they also preferred to use bunches of the [97] long stalks of Poa flabellata, but more recently this type of grass has become very rare here (32). A person lying down to sleep

32. Fred Lawrence called my attention to the fact that Poa flabellata, the so-called tussock grass, formerly flourished abundantly throughout the entire area, but since the introduction of sheep this type of grass is now found only in very remote places. After searching for a long time he brought me some plants which could be identified as this species.

curls up tightly and covers himself with his short back cape or somewhat larger coat. Sometimes they even use a type of bed-cover made of several skins pieced together, and this is drawn over several children or two or three adults at once. During sleep they move as close as possible to one another, to give each other the benefit of their body warmth. That is why a single medium-sized skin suffices to cover two to four persons. Not every family by any means owns such a cover (33). The fire itself throws out

33. Hyades (f) :500 also corroborates: "In order to protect themselves from the cold at night, they use a skin of the sea lion or several otter skins sewed together, which they spread over the upper part of the body, leaving the lower limbs outside. They are huddled together so closely that a single skin

/393 cont./

372 losing it, a man would sometimes cut a groove in it, into which was fastened one end of a string of tendon, the other end being tied to a small basket or some larger object.

Everyone is anxious to avoid the trouble of kindling a fresh fire. Before he does so himself, he looks around to see /394/ if he can obtain a glowing stick of wood from a near neighbor. This he fetches and uses to light his own fire.

This comforting and indispensable element finds its most
372 important use as the hut fire. It occupies the center of the round
•394 or oval groundplan, but in certain constructions it extends lengthwise through the entire hut (pages 31 and 32). When there is no gravel or broken stone on the ground of the hut, the fire is built on a few flat stones or on a pile of several stones the size of a fist and many mussel shells (55). After some time a broad bed of ashes

55. As Lovisato (b) :133 points out, in the middle of the hut there is "the hearth, made with a few pieces of stone, but especially with many round, small pebbles upon a heap of cockle and limpet shells" /translated from Italian/.

protects this fire from any dampness of the earth. The fire place itself is called apin. Only beech wood is used. Logs of the pepper tree (Drimys winteri) cause a thick, stinging smoke and do not burn easily; hence, they are not used.

372 Throughout the day the Indians like to keep bright flames alive. They place the middle part of rather thick logs and long sticks into the fire. When that is burned through, they shove the two ends from the back gradually farther into the blaze. Since these pieces are arranged one above the other, there is enough draft; if it fails, someone helps it along by lying flat on the ground and, with puffed cheeks, blowing into the embers, or he fans it vigorously for a few minutes with a piece of leather or a bird's wing. Thick logs burn poorly if they are not laid on thin crossed sticks and if one does not constantly push glowing pieces against them.

For the night the fire is scraped closer together toward the center. This provides a deeper bed of embers and gives the

/833 cont./

X881 The thicker and usually pointed end of the small trunk is pounded
346 into the earth very much at an angle to the main rib. The free end is tied to the opposite small trunk. Measured on the ground, all these small trunks are about 15 centimeters apart. A few more long poles are now placed longitudinally over the transverse arches in order to hold the vault together better. The thick end is likewise pounded into the earth at the proper angle, and the small pole itself, as parallel as possible to the others, is drawn over the transverse arches. The intersections are tied with rush stalks of
[824] Marsippospermum grandiflorum or with seal tendons. The long side areas of this framework are hung with large pieces of leather and the upper part is covered with thick leafy twigs of the ever-
[824] green Nothofagus betuloides. Sometimes the entire hut is covered with beech branches. This completes the hut. /834/ It has a long elliptical groundplan and an elongated dome shape (Fig. 81), something like the community hut (p. 31).

The time it takes to erect the Great Hut, two or three days, depends on the number and the agility of the men taking part. Meanwhile others are working on the interior. First they mark out the hearth with rather thick small trunks placed on the cleaned and leveled ground. These pairs of trunks start a little to the side of each of the trunks that mark off the main and the secondary entrances, and they extend from one end to the other. This center passage is thus somewhat wider than the main and secondary entrances. Pegs about as long as a hand are rammed into the earth to give some support to the parallel trunks. /Fig. 81 appears here./ Brush with thick foliage is spread on either side of them. Later on each participant will spread his pieces of
X881 leather and skins over the brush to make a seat for himself. Since
346 the people form only two rows, everyone can come close to the
● 354 fire (254) or move away from it as he chooses. The brush on the

[177]

254. At present the Yamana use a rather large tin can or a wide iron pipe for the fire in their dwelling and in the canoe. This time they had placed two short pieces of a steamship funnel along the middle passage of the Great Hut. The fires inside of these produced sufficient warmth

X881
346
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/834 cont./

and no one was bothered very much by smoke. Formerly everyone felt the smoke, sometimes disagreeably, because the open fire extended the length of the hut.

hut framework above the fire is loosely arranged so that the smoke can get out quickly and easily.

X881
346

The length of the hut depends, of course, on the number of participants; all the other measurements are just about the same for a long or short structure. The Great Hut in Puerto Mejillones is 11.30 meters long and has a maximum width on the ground of 3.60 meters and a perpendicular height in the exact center of 2.35 meters.

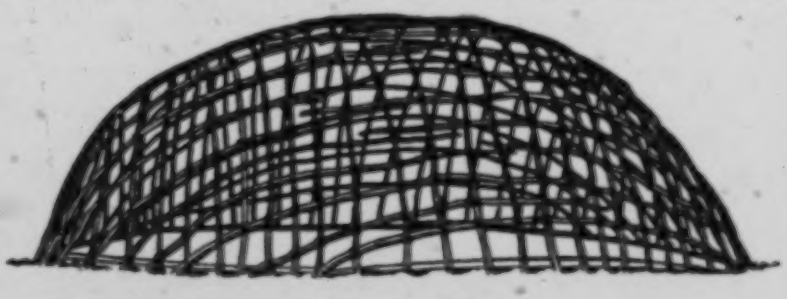

Fig. 81. Framework of the Great Hut.

The entrance is 0.46 meters wide on the ground and has a vertical height of 1.05 meters. The exit has a lower width of 0.40 meters and a vertical height of 0.90 meters. The exit is purposely kept lower /835/ and narrower. The two small openings are a little narrower on top because the two main trunks are not exactly parallel. Throughout Yamana territory the čiexaus hut is erected according to the design just described (255) which is the only kind that furnishes

255. Lothrop (b):166 writes: "The eastern Yahgan, I was informed, did not use a domed hut for this rite, but a pointed conical wigwam like that seen among the Ona" /cited in English/. This statement is contrary to my experience. Old Water, who came from the east, often assured me that his countrymen, too, had exclusively built the same elongated, dome-shaped hut that is used in other parts of the region for the initiation.

/837 cont./

X881 346 point on the outside in order to keep a lookout. Truly, the hut framework withstands a great deal. Individual gaps that appear and let rain or snow in are immediately closed.

β. Construction of the Cookhut

X881 264 In their everyday life the Yamana have no fixed times for meals. They help themselves when they are hungry or when something is offered. During the youth initiation even the adults have their eating considerably curtailed because food may not be prepared in the Great Hut. The food is prepared outside for all the participants together and is brought in ready to eat. Everyone gets plenty and is, of course, satisfied with everything that is offered. Even with these common meals, the adults are free to go back to their own hut for brief hours and to eat there what they have on hand. Many of them make use of this freedom more or less often.

X881 343 For the place in which food is to be prepared for the sometimes large number of ~~ciexaus~~ participants, the Yamana choose a small hut which is specially erected about 20 to 30 paces from the Great Hut. In every respect it resembles the ordinary dwelling of that region, dome-shaped in the west and cone-shaped in the east. They do not use the ornamental plaques mentioned above [354] or any other decoration in it. In the center of the hut a huge fire burns, where the pieces of meat and the slabs of fat are roasted. The hot ashes serve to bake the fish and steam the mussels. This hut is large enough so that the Indian women working in it can also sleep there. Thus, even in size it resembles an ordinary dwelling. Usually this cookhut is built immediately after the Great Hut is finished, sometimes even while it is being built, for with the start of the ceremony, the work of the women engaged in cooking also begins (261).

[171] 261. In the same way the Halakwulup also erect a cookhut beside the Great Hut for their initiation rite, in which food for all the participants is prepared. See Guinde (o):541.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan S36

342 quently used toward the east, was tipi-form, with a framework of stiff stout saplings or tree trunks.

The ground in the interior of the hut was often, but not always, scooped out, to a depth of 2, 3, or more feet (0.6 to 1 m.) beneath the outside ground level, and was usually covered with a little grass or [354] some branches. The fire was made in the center. The huts had one door, facing the sea; or else two doors, one facing the sea, the other being opposite.

172 342 Archeological stratification in the *Yahgan* area of Navarino Island shows an earlier culture with shelters like those still used by the *Alacaluf*, oval in ground plan, having two entrances, and without scooped-out pits; and a later one with circular shelters having one entrance, and with pits 12 to 18 feet (4 to 6 m.) in diameter, scooped out in some cases to a depth of more than 3 feet (1 m.) (Bird, 1938, p. 261). The two historic types of *Yahgan* wigwam, oval and circular, unpitted and pitted, may thus represent two chronologically distinct cultures.

342 Larger and more substantial huts were built for initiation rites (q. v., infra); sometimes very small ones, for the use of children. The *Yahgan* also at times used caves or made a very rude shelter of a few branches tied together or stuck in the ground.

197 342 At the time of Lothrop's visit in 1924-25, practically all the then surviving *Yahgan* were accustomed to pass the winter months at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra, on Navarino Island, in huts poorly constructed of ill-fitting boards (Lothrop, 1928, p. 188). Loth- [239] rop (1928, p. 131) considers the use of the wing of a large bird for [356] sweeping out the shelter to have probably been the result of missionary influence.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The chief garment, for men and women, was a small cape, of seal, sea-otter, or fox skin, sometimes of two or more skins sewn together—occasionally of bird skins—worn with the fur outside, covering the shoulder and breast or reaching to the waist, and held in place by a string across the chest. It was commonly shifted outboard over the windward shoulder. Very frequently it was left off entirely. The women rarely if ever went without a small triangular pubic covering of bird skin or hide, held in place by a string attached to each upper corner and encircling the waist (pl. 33, *f*). No head covering was worn. Usually the *Yahgan* went barefoot, but sometimes when traveling or hunting on land they wore rather crudely made moccasins (fig. 12), resembling closely the *Ona* ones in pattern, of sealskin, with the hair outside, and stuffed inside with grass (cf. Lothrop, 1928, p. 194, photo). The eastern *Yahgan*, when hunting guanaco in winter, sometimes wore guanaco skin leggings, like the *Ona*, from whom they

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

342 (fig. 51). Farther east the wigwam more frequently was pointed, for it was constructed of poles too thick to be bent. The introduction of the ax has increased the use of the pointed house form. Both kinds of houses were covered in summer with leaves, bark, kelp, grass, or whatever was handy. But during the winter months it was necessary further to break the force of the wind, and so the wigwam was overspread with a roof of seal-skins sewn together (*hoshis*). This was a heavy and cumbersome object to handle, and hence was usually divided into two or even three sections, each of which could be transported in a separate canoe. Thus each house sheltered two or sometimes three families, usually closely related. In such a dwelling one family lived on each side, separated by a door facing the beach, a central fire, and sometimes a second door at the rear. The entrances could be closed with a flap of seal-skin.

FIG. 52.—Modern Yahgan house.

In recent years the Yahgan have used in summer a log tipi covered with burlap. The small burlap-covered shelter shown in fig. 52 was occupied by eleven individuals in the summer of 1923–24. Thus housed they have had immeasurably poorer protection from the weather than in the days when hunger drove them to secure many seals and consequently many seal-skins were available for housetops.

342 354 The Yahgan kept their houses warm by building the tops low, for they appreciated the fact that heat rises. To take further advantage of this propensity they scooped out the floor to a depth of two or three feet or more. Thus the fire could be placed at the bottom of the pit while the inmates occupied a higher level, where bunks were outlined with logs held in position by stakes driven in the sloping floor. In old camp-grounds where the accumulated shell and ash gave excellent drainage, the pitted house floors reach

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

as much as five feet below the surface. Here the housetop need scarcely have risen above the ground level, and the people within must have been snugly lodged against winter gales. But the swirling smoke was a constant annoyance, and many accounts speak of the Yahgans' red and inflamed eyes. 342 354

Initiation or ceremonial houses differed from the living houses chiefly in size. In the west they were domed and oval in outline, as shown in pl. XIV. In the east they took the form of a heavy solid tipi-shape dwelling of logs like the Ona initiation lodge (fig. 38). 346

Under mission influence the Yahgan in late years built small plank houses of European type. A group of these was found at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra on Navarin island which were used as winter quarters (pl. XVIII). They were wind- and water-tight, and some had wooden floors, bunks, and stoves. The material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach. 177 342

Camp Equipment

Yahgan camp equipment, in spite of superior transportation facilities, was just as primitive as that of the Foot Indians, among whom every article, and the infants as well, had to be carried on the back. Strong and simple as are the objects below listed, they 511

[372]

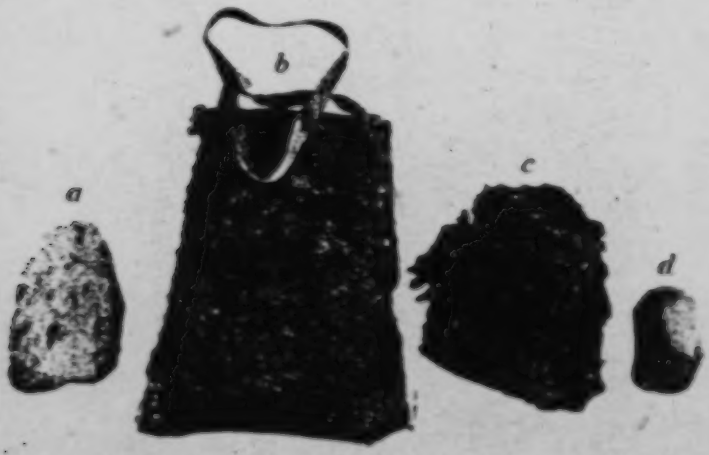

Fig. 53.—Yahgan fire-making apparatus. *a*, Flint; *b*, pouch; *c*, tinder; *d*, pyrites. Width of bag, 5 in. (14/2352)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

501 In outline the dugout canoes resembled their bark prototypes, modified by the material of which they were wrought. Thus, through ineptitude or a fault in the wood, one end sometimes was not pointed but was cut off square. Into the opening a tail-board was then fitted. This usually leaked. The sides of the canoe often were raised by nailing on boards.

501 177

FIG. 74.—Modern Yahgan boat. (Courtesy of J. L. Weld, Esq.)

With the coming of Europeans the Yahgan adopted the use of oars and sails. The latter were raised on temporary masts and could be employed only when running before the wind.

501 178 The Yahgan bark canoe has gone entirely out of use today, and the writer was unable to discover an Indian competent to make one properly, although models can yet be obtained. The dugout canoe is still in use, but it is many years since a new one has been launched. The last double-ended dugout afloat (fig. 73A) was purchased and is now in the Museum. It is 16 feet 6 inches long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet 7 inches deep. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy. Also it was the most unstable vessel in which the writer has ever set foot.

DORY

501 177 384 Today the few surviving Yahgan use a flat-bottom dory with square stern and high-pointed bow (fig. 74). This boat is of European manufacture and carries no mark of native identity except a fireplace. Today the fireplace is no picturesque affair of sod, but usually is an upright five-gallon gasoline tin, half-filled with stones, and with a hole cut in the side to facilitate the draft.

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/384 cont./

to learn about their unusual habits of sleep and work (Vol. I, 281).

513 What we have said about the unusual habits of sleep among the Yamana applies to both adults and children. No one rests on a comfortable bed or in a safe, quiet spot. If the ground is only more or less dry, a tired person will lie down for a nap anywhere and at any time. Our Indian, however, never sleeps sitting down or squatting (36). He must be lying down, even if he has so little

36. Spegazzini (a) :171 maintains the opposite, but he is mistaken.

space, for instance, in a canoe, that he can only curl up in a very cramped position. A person rarely sleeps with his head somewhat elevated, but if he does, he needs only a short tree stump or a stone, or even a large lump of meat that he will roast for himself the next morning. Since the sleepers generally do not stretch out -- because they would then lack adequate cover -- and since they crowd as closely together as though they were penned up, the small hut provides room at night for very many living beings (37). The

37. Hyades (f) :560 emphasizes this: "They are so accustomed to shrinking their bodies into as little space as possible that a small hide suffices to cover them completely when they are squatting" /translated from French/.

places in the hut are not all the same, however, since some persons are lying dry and protected, while others are more exposed to the wetness of the ground, the heat of the fire, or the disagreeable coolness of the night (38).

38. Hyades (g) :563 concludes: "As many as 20, and sometimes more, squat or lie there, variably forming a heap of flesh around the central hearth" /translated from French/.

*356 The Yamana by nature have little understanding and feeling for the most important requirements of general cleanliness. Their

/384 cont./

• 357 huts present a picture of utter confusion. They own but few objects, and these they are always dragging about with them. They have no idea of how to take care of them. Often these insignificant possessions are left out in the rain and snow, lie in dirt and mud, are lost by the dogs, or damaged by fire and smoke. Inside the hut small baskets and pieces of skin, tools and implements, weapons and ornamental objects are thrown about hither and yon; there is no thought of handling them gently or taking care of them. /385/ True, the single small hut serves many purposes. Not only the members of the family, but the dogs and all the possessions are housed in the same crowded space. Under such conditions how can order and cleanliness thrive and be maintained!

[574] Small children are almost never absent, and in their lack of judgment they cause a lot of confusion and take care of their natural requirements inside the hut. Dogs rummage around the sleeping places and among the things that have been carelessly tossed about. Everyone usually eats squatting beside the fire.

244 Many of the scraps are immediately tossed into the fire, but not everything can be cleaned away. Here and there are bits of meat and fat, crushed, raw mussels and crabs, remnants of sea birds and fish.

The considerable amount of blubber clinging to these things is transferred to the people themselves, who after their meals wipe their dripping hands either on the sides of their own bodies or on the sleeping place. Then

357 is a persistent heavy smell of blubber throughout the interior of the hut, on all the objects and people, to which a European never grows accustomed. The moisture which penetrates everything quickly rots the vegetable matter used in the sleeping place, as well as the pieces of leather and skins which sometimes will need to be dressed. All this is mixed with the odor of the skin secretions of people and dogs. There is a disagreeable mixture of all kinds of fumes constantly rising in the small space. It increases from day to day, the longer the hut is used, and it is not affected by the ease with which fresh air blows through the loose structure. One cannot say that a really foul odor develops, but really, musty, heavy fumes fill the whole interior (38). On a sunny day the heat sometimes loosen the hut

38. Only with reservations can we accept Hyades's (f) .007 measure of his experience

•357

/385 cont./
in this respect: "Thanks to the constant ventilation of the hut, the air in it remains pure in spite of the number of its occupants" /translated from French/.

cover and drag a few leather pieces out into the open -- proof that these people feel the need of an airing -- but this does not help much either (40).

40. Hyades (q) :344 says: "Some filth accumulates in the hum; the urine of the little children penetrates the ground, which is also impregnated with the refuse from eating, although the natives are in the habit of throwing outside the remains of what they have eaten, such as shells, the bones of fish and birds, etc." /translated from French/.

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A family finally remedies the situation by building a new hut a short distance away, if it is advisable to remain at the same place for a longer period of time because of an abundant supply of meat, for example, a stranded whale. Even though the site for the new hut is less advantageous -- because the ground is very wet or because storms can more easily beat down on it -- nevertheless, the occupants find it intolerable to remain longer at the previous site. /386/ "The sole reason is that the first hut is no longer as healthy as it was when they first lived in it" /translated from French/, so they say (Hyades [q] :344).

A change of dwelling is often necessary after about two weeks. Usually the Indians build an entirely new structure; but sometimes they use the frame poles of the previous one if these are hard to secure in any other way (41). The abandoned hut

41. Hyades (f) :558 observed, for example, that the Indians "tore down their dwelling in order to use the same material to build others not very far away" /translated from French/.

35½ /386 cont./
34½ meanwhile air out thoroughly, is completely cleaned by the rain, and after considerable time is again suitable as a temporary refuge. With this in mind they leave the first dwelling undamaged when they move out, and upon their return they need make only a few additions. Again, unreasoning nature helps where these Indians themselves are lacking in cleanliness. Even though the dwelling may be changed, certain circumstances may make it imperative to remain for a longer period in one place. When such circumstances are absent, every family unhesitatingly and at frequent intervals moves its campsite a great distance.

34½ Each individual family erects a dwelling exclusively for itself wherever it temporarily happens to be. Formerly, however, in the west an exception was made where a hut known as ayusukir was built to be occupied by several families. The reason for this [78] was either the prophetic warning of a few yekamur who predicted a severe winter or the stranding of a whale at the beginning of the cold season. Three to six families who were related or friends joined in the building of this community hut. They chose a suitable spot near the stranded whale or near the swamp where they [25] preserved large pieces of fat in the water, in any case on dry ground and particularly well protected from wind and weather by a high rock. The men taking part in the construction of the dwelling, the customary dome-shaped hut, but elongated in this case, fetched suitable poles and built a stable, unusually strong framework.

They devoted great care to this work, which therefore occupied them all for perhaps half a day, whereas the ordinary dome-shaped hut took only two to three hours and the conical hut even less time. The length and width of this communal dwelling depended on the number of occupants, and the height of the interior was increased somewhat to prevent any discomfort that might be caused from the smoke of the larger fire. An unusually thick cover was laid on the firm framework, consisting of several alternate layers of tree bark and grass, rushes and twigs, with large, thick pieces of leather occasionally inserted between them. Thongs were stretched over large areas in order to /387/ secure the outer cover firmly. An entrance was left on each of the two narrow ends, and this was covered with a leather hanging. Both entrances were

/416 cont./

281 durably. They cut the edges approximately straight and lay them
284 side by side. Near the edges of the two pieces they make a small hole by pricking the leather with an awl or a pointed bone. Into this hole they thread a tendon fiber, ŭ́wdini, holding it with thumb and index finger and licking it to make it pointed. Then another little hole is bored, and the thread is drawn from one hole to the other over the free edges in a spiral. Finally, they pound the two edges, which are not quite flat, with a round stone to make them flat and less hard so that they will not rub unpleasantly. Such work is very coarse and uneven, for they lack convenient tools. They fasten strands of leather and straps together or tie them to other things simply by knotting them.

283 The fibers of tendon which we have just mentioned, known
237 as ŭ́wdini or ŭ́nŭna, are often used in sewing and joining pieces of leather. Strands of guanaco tendon are separated into fibers, but a person who does not have these uses the tendon fibers of otter or
[illegible] beaver (Myocastor coypus) tails. The beaver is rare here, however. After they have skinned the animal, they cut off the tail at the root. It is dried for some time, and the individual vertebrae are broken off without tearing the tendons. The last two or three vertebrae are left together. The tendons which have been loosened by this process are separated with the fingernails until they become thin enough to be used for sewing. They then hang like a tuft on the smallest vertebrae of the tail and can be torn off with a sharp tug.

C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation

58 Every stranger is repulsed by the unclean, unkempt appear-
●35 ance of the Yamana (91). It is disgusting to see these human

91. Among the opinions of former travelers I shall cite only what Snow (a) f. 345 has written: "They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves" /cited in English/.

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/416 cont./
beings, glistening with fat as though blubber had been poured over them, in the midst of the jumbled disorder of their effects inside their smoke-blackened, vapor-filled huts or crouching anxiously in their usually unsun crammed with trash. Do they not have any feeling for the well-being that a cleansing bath gives a clean body, for the refreshment that follows a thorough wash, or for the natural necessity of a clean dwelling? Continuous privation dulls through habit!

Our Indians were obliged to adjust to the poverty and insufficiency of their /417/ environment where they lack material and equipment without which other peoples could not be comfortable. Their concern with the preservation of their lives so completely absorbs their attention, especially during canoe trips, that they dare not concentrate on sparing their body or their few possessions. In the huts, which are supposed to afford only slight shelter against the annoying influences of the weather for a single night or for a few days, it is not worth the effort to strive for a little coziness and comfort. Finally, the restlessness of a life of ceaseless wandering would not let them enjoy trying to keep clean. They are by no means completely lacking in any feeling for it, and it would be unjust to them to believe that they have become numb to dirt. As a matter of fact, they have developed a relatively rich amount of body decoration in the form of ornaments and simple body painting (93) that in no slight measure deceives

> 93. George Farmer (b) :324 recognized the obvious contradiction: "It is strange that where clothing is so completely lacking they should be so concerned with ornaments and decoration. The Fuegian smears his face with red ochre."

one about their lack of cleanliness or its inadequacy. Even helpful Mother Kamen advantageously compensates them for much that they doubtless have undone.

/424/ 1. Cleanliness in the Ifot

362 With few and rare exceptions, the hut serves chiefly as scanty protection for a night or for a few days against inclemencies of the weather. Often it is erected by people who have barely escaped a storm, who in all haste were obliged to collect their few possessions from the canoe and, wet and shivering with cold, seek shelter under an inadequate cover. The first concern of everyone is to light the fire and keep it going in order to warm himself thoroughly; later, in his weariness, he begins to think of satisfying his hunger and seeking rest.

• 356 Everything that the Indian family has taken along in their canoe is tossed under the hut covering in disorder. There it remains, wet, crumpled, and topsy-turvy. If anyone needs some item, the whole jumble is pulled out, which only increases the confusion. They do not know how to take care of their belongings. No one dreams of putting them in order, folding them, drying or cleaning them, hanging them up, or putting them in a neat pile. If they are looking for some particular thing, they rummage carelessly through the hodgepodge of trifles in the little bundles. Larger objects that are piled in a heap in the hut are dragged hither and yon with no regard for the damage that might be done to them. The European observer has the impression that these Indians place no value whatever on their utensils and that they have completely forgotten the effort it took to make them. Actually, no one clings to his few goods and chattels which, as it is, are often and easily lost, but just as easily replaced. The chief and practically the sole concern of everyone everywhere is to preserve his own life, to have a little protection against storms to the elements, and to appease his hunger. In the face of this, protective care of material possessions is pushed far into the background. The Indian does not even exercise care when he could very conveniently do so.

A European is likely to shake his head at the boundless indifference of these people who drag brand-new objects, precious clothing, fresh provisions, and valuable items through thick mud, or abandon them to their swift destruction by children and dogs. One will never succeed in lifting these Indians out of their own

/424 cont./

• 356 of indifference toward even their meager possessions and to teach them at least a modicum of care in regard to the things they need. At present some families have built themselves simple little houses in Puerto Mejillones and partly furnished them with European furniture (p. 357 /untranslated/), but they do not worry about leaving all this for months and are hardly aware of heavy losses. Expensive things that are given them are treasured for a few hours, out of curiosity; after that they thoughtlessly let everything deteriorate in the mud and wet. The less they own, the more /425/ comfortably they can travel, and what is ruined they occasionally replace. Hence they are completely indifferent to any material possession.

Nevertheless they do not neglect themselves to the extent of perishing in dirt and disorder. They are consciously concerned with necessary cleanliness. They never build their hom in places that are malodorous and swampy, or where a large animal carcass is decaying. They do not tolerate the smell of decaying animals. Hence they immediately throw into the fire all waste from their meals and the remnants of skins or leather pieces that they are working on. Small animals and pieces of meat [251] obtained by hunting are hung on branches outside the hut where they are protected from the dogs and from the uneven heat of the fire. They promptly remove meat that is decaying or that smells musty; they are extremely annoyed by its stench. On the other hand, the heavy, nauseous fumes of blubber and sea animals that fill their hut and deter every European do not seem to affect them, nor are they sensitive to the putrid odors issuing from the long piles of algae and seaweed, sea animals, and shells that the agitated ocean tosses ashore in tangled disorder and that are subsequently exposed to the hot rays of the sun. If a man has been successful on the hunt, he sometimes brings the slain animal to the hut intact, but he removes the entrails some distance away. The women, for their part, go down to the edge of the water where they pluck birds and eviscerate them, so that the waves can carry off the refuse. The litter for the bed is renewed after a few days, for the dampness of the earth promotes mold and rot. On sunny days they even pull down the large leather pieces from the hut framework, so that the interior will dry out and air. If they may in one place for any length of time, they

/425 cont./

356 move the hut to another spot after a certain time, for despite all care, a great deal of refuse accumulates, which has harmful effects (p. 59).

514 The Indians display extraordinary disgust for animal and human filth. Personally they are remarkably fastidious in their natural functions. Everyone goes a few steps away from the hut to urinate; they go farther away when they defecate (103).

> 103. Only once, in Decker (p. 53 /untranslated/), we find the remark: "If someone needs to urinate, he does so on the body of another who is nearby, if that person does not get out of the way." This statement is not reliable.

They do not talk about these things. Anyone who must leave the hut to take care of a natural urge rises silently from his place and betakes himself into the woods or behind a sand dune. Two persons would never go together; rather, everyone goes his own way and keeps at some distance from the other. One never finds
514 human filth near the hut. The children are taught from their
863 earliest childhood to take care of their needs far away from the hut. Even dogs are trained to do this. The filth of young animals and infants which sometimes /426/ cannot be avoided inside a hut is quickly covered with sand or earth and pushed far away with a stick. Every mother is careful to take her infant a good distance from the hut in time and to clean the child outside. Even at night a person who feels the need leaves the hut and goes at least a few steps away from it.

514 Hyades (q).363 confirms this conduct of the Tamans from his own observations: "The Fueginos have a rule about not soiling the hut with their evacuations. During the night, for example, urination always takes place outside the entrance opening, and defecation takes place, as in the daytime, quite far from the dwelling, if the night is clear; in case it is very dark, the natives satisfy their natural needs in the vicinity of the hut, but always outside" /translated from French/. No one would fail to clean himself well afterwards. Anyone returning to the hut with

/438 cont./

and down over their mouth, afterwards they draw their hand through grass or moss. No one is offended by belching and breaking wind, the smacking of lips during eating, and gurgling /[illegible]/ in drinking. Younger people, however, may not make flatulent noises in the presence of old people without noticeably offending them.

In the canoe, in contrast to a campsite on the beach, dirt and filth cannot accumulate, although the family uses it almost daily for their travels. Some water comes into the canoe on all sides, and it is open to rain and snow; hence the whole interior is often rinsed out. True, small remnants of leather and the remains of animals obtained by hunting, food scraps, and shells lie about and produce a noticeable stench, but the salt water prevents further decomposition. It never occurs to the Indian to clean his canoe thoroughly, but the forces of nature are more than willing to do it. During the trip, everyone takes care of his natural needs overboard if he cannot wait until the landing. For good reasons the people in the canoe seldom eat and drink only a little. They throw refuse into the fire, which is always kept going, or simply overboard.

3. Body Painting

We shall speak here only of those efforts of the Tenana which arise from their desire to adorn and beautify themselves. Their interest in rubbing their bodies with fish oil or a suitable kind of earth (p. 66) to protect themselves against the cold or against dirt serves another purpose. The most frequent and principal method of adornment is to paint the face and the whole body. Compared with this, objects for ornamentation are quite secondary (190). Moreover, all painting, whether it is

> 190. Lothrop (b).120 confirms this. "The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days" /cited in English/.

that of their own bodies or of an object, has a special meaning and a recognizable purpose.

/475 cont./

462 and offers him what he prefers. She roasts the larger pieces of meat in and beside the fire, bakes and cooks the fish and mussels, crabs, and birds' eggs in hot ashes. She also provides drinking water and fetches it herself if none of her daughters is free to do it. Everyone expects her to make the small pieces of jewelry, such as necklaces and anklets.

462 /476/ Her field of work is the hut. She takes part, together with her husband, even in its construction and repairs damaged places and sections that have been loosened by the wind. She devotes particular attention to the hut fire, guarding it day and night, regulating the radiation of heat and the mounting flames, and seeing to it that the draft comes from the right direction and the smoke quickly drawn off. It is hard to believe how much attention and what numerous manipulations the hut fire demands if it is to benefit every member of the family and not annoy anyone. She prepares the sleeping place for everyone just as he wants it, and from time to time she renews the pallet. A good deal of refuse accumulates in the small living quarters, and the woman sees to it that this is promptly removed. She performs her many manual labors in the hut and in front of it, and she devotes herself tirelessly to the care of her children.

462 Her second field of activity is the canoe. It is the man's task to build it, but thereafter the care of this important means of transportation is entirely in her hands. She demands that the man make the repairs needed in the course of time, but she alone manages the canoe on the water and guards it on the beach (p.134). Before the family embarks, she gets the canoe ready so that everyone can comfortably pile in his things and easily climb in. She alone takes care of the paddling, which combines rowing and steering, and that is why she regularly takes her place at the stern end. She has previously come to an agreement with her husband as to the destination and the course. He gives her specific directions when he is on the trail of game. She anxiously guards the fire so that there is no danger to the bottom of the canoe, and she trains her children to keep it gently burning. To avoid capsizing, she sees to it that the occupants distribute themselves properly and that heavy pieces of game do not disturb the balance. She is always very conscious of the fact that on the water the alone is responsible for the boat and for her entire family.

/S196 cont./

into the ʔíʔaxa but for a short time, because they must not have any occasion for suspicion.

An individual does not help himself; the distribution is made by the kitchen women who bring in the food already prepared. Usually an older woman appears, accompanied by a younger one. The latter carries the pieces of meat or the mussels. The former stands in front of each person squatting in his place, reaches into the basket of the woman accompanying her, grasps with both hands whatever is to be distributed, and first moves it up and down, meanwhile uttering a low hō hō. Then the person takes the piece of meat or the mussel in his hands, moves it up and down in the same way, and repeats the soft hō hō. The kitchen women move along both rows of participants, give something to each one, and return to their hut next door (336).

336. Recently the kitchen women have used European food and prepare the meal in large buckets or metal containers. They serve the food with ladles and give each person his portion on a plate or in a bowl. Nowadays everyone who enters the Great Hut is provided with these implements; he therefore makes use of them when the occasion arises.

They do not personally serve the uwʔala but give the sponsors somewhat more, and they, in turn, let their protégés have a little. Everyone immediately eats what he has received and forthwith cleans his plate of scraps. He is content with what was given him; to ask for a second helping would be a regrettable example of lack of self-control. Actually, the adults, too, must always forgo full satisfaction.

4. Cleanliness. It is certainly noteworthy that our Yamana who, in general, show a limited sense of cleanliness are not guilty of offenses against it in the ʔíʔaxa hut. Everyone is painfully exact about removing all the food remains after the meal. Immediately after he gets up in the morning, he straightens out his sleeping-place and folds the covers that he does not need during the day. At least once a day all the

/914 cont./

X881 .356 participants paint their bodies. Spots of color and everything indicating that such painting has been done are removed without delay. Anyone coming to the Great Hut finds no traces of painting nor any indication that eating is done here. The fire-area, too, is /915/ carefully kept in order and the ashes always scraped to the center again if a gust of wind or a strong movement has stirred them up (337).

> 337. Formerly the ashes were scraped together with a stick; today a broom is used and the floor swept, regardless of the thick clouds of dust stirred up. Often the ashes are simply heaped up with both hands.

These efforts at cleanliness are not applied to the body itself. Without doubt the participants become even dirtier in the Great Hut where they spend a long time. This offends no one.

X881 301 [178] 5. Body Ornamentation. Everyone, on the other hand, is conscientiously concerned with whatever is demanded in the way of body ornamentation. In the modern period, however, this strict obligation has also been somewhat relaxed. Originally everyone in the čiēxaus hut wore the feather crown, hapaxēl, even when no group singing or dancing was taking place. Although on these occasions adults nowadays tie this strip of skin with down-feathers around their foreheads, they take it off for comfort several hours of the day. This would never be permitted for the uswāla. The latter wear a hapaxēl of the same shape and size as the one worn by adults (p. 713).

X881 302 [178] According to the ancient rule, no one may sit in the Great Hut without some kind of facial painting. In this matter, too, the people nowadays have become negligent, for they paint themselves for the most part in the evening only, just before the dances. A single red line as wide as a finger from the nostrils across the cheek to the ear lobe suffices, and it is very quickly applied. Soon after getting up, instead of washing themselves as we do, every adult draws this line on his face. If it should be rubbed off, as is unavoidable, it is easily renewed. This is the simplest form of facial painting. A person who feels like it will decorate

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

342 quently used toward the east, was tipi-form, with a framework of stiff stout saplings or tree trunks.

The ground in the interior of the hut was often, but not always, scooped out, to a depth of 2, 3, or more feet (0.6 to 1 m.) beneath the outside ground level, and was usually covered with a little grass or [354] some branches. The fire was made in the center. The huts had one door, facing the sea; or else two doors, one facing the sea, the other being opposite.

172 342 Archeological stratification in the *Yahgan* area of Navarino Island shows an earlier culture with shelters like those still used by the *Alacaluf*, oval in ground plan, having two entrances, and without scooped-out pits; and a later one with circular shelters having one entrance, and with pits 12 to 18 feet (4 to 6 m.) in diameter, scooped out in some cases to a depth of more than 3 feet (1 m.) (Bird, 1938, p. 261). The two historic types of *Yahgan* wigwam, oval and circular, unpitted and pitted, may thus represent two chronologically distinct cultures.

342 Larger and more substantial huts were built for initiation rites (q. v., infra); sometimes very small ones, for the use of children. The *Yahgan* also at times used caves or made a very rude shelter of a few branches tied together or stuck in the ground.

177 342 At the time of Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, practically all the then surviving *Yahgan* were accustomed to pass the winter months at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra, on Navarino Island, in huts poorly constructed of ill-fitting boards (Lothrop, 1928, p. 168). Loth- [237] rop (1928, p. 131) considers the use of the wing of a large bird for sweeping out the shelter to have probably been the result of missionary [356] influence.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The chief garment, for men and women, was a small cape, of seal, sea-otter, or fox skin, sometimes of two or more skins sewn together—occasionally of bird skins—worn with the fur outside, covering the shoulder and breast or reaching to the waist, and held in place by a string across the chest. It was commonly shifted outdoors over the windward shoulder. Very frequently it was left off entirely. The women rarely if ever went without a small triangular pubic covering of bird skin or hide, held in place by a string attached to each upper corner and encircling the waist (pl. 33, *f*). No head covering was worn. Usually the *Yahgan* went barefoot, but sometimes when traveling or hunting on land they were rather crudely made moccasins (fig. 12), resembling closely the *Ona* ones in pattern, of sealskin, with the hair outside, and stuffed inside with grass (cf. Lothrop, 1928, p. 194, photo). The eastern *Yahgan*, when hunting guanaco in winter, sometimes wore guanaco skin leggings, like the *Ona*, from whom they

A. The Dwelling

/367 cont./

342 The dwelling arrangements form a considerable part of the material culture of the Yamana people and are in perfect accord with their roving, hunting life. The dwelling need offer only transitory shelter, for a single night or for a few days. If, for good reasons, it is advisable to remain longer at the same place, the ordinary light, loose construction is made a little more solid, but ordinarily a weak frame suffices. According to the site, there are two types of huts: the dome-shaped and the cone-shaped (1). Generally it is /368/

1. According to Despard (b) :680, the huts vary with the season. There are "two kinds -- the ashallee, or summer house; and the uccr, or winter house" /cited in English/. The former is supposed to be built with a few poles; "the uccr is more carefully prepared and much larger" /cited in English/. This assertion is inaccurate, for the huts have the same form in summer as in winter. Later Bridges (VP: III, 118; 1869) also distinguished "the winter wigwam" from a "summer wigwam" /cited in English/.

•[36] inhabited by a single family (2). A permanent assemblage of many

2. Lovisato (b) :132 distinguishes three forms of huts, according to use and purpose. Apparently he misinterpreted native words and took this division from a long description by Bridges (VP: III, 118; 1869).

families, such as a village settlement, would be totally unstable. All this likewise contributes to the unequivocal characterisation of the Yamana dwelling as extremely humble.

/368 cont./

362 571 The inmates do not bestow noticeable effort or care on their paltry hut, either in building it or while they are living in it, for it serves but a few hours or days for their most urgent requirements for protection against the inclemency of the weather. One must by no means believe that the Indian strives for coziness or agreeable comfort in his hut. No, it serves merely as a meager cover and at the same time to keep the indispensable fire going. Beyond that, the things that Europeans consider necessary in a dwelling would only mean needless expenditure of energy and an unnecessary burden to the Yamana, for he must constantly carry all his belongings along with him. Indeed, He dare not part with them.

1. The Lack of Permanent Settlements

361 Since there is no other way for the natives of Cape Horn to obtain food except by hunting and gathering, all members of the tribe are divided up into individual families, and as such they go forth to hunt for food. Only occasionally a few band together. This manner of obtaining food prohibits a village settlement with many people.

484 484 571 361 Obtaining food is the chief concern of the man. Distant and sometimes futile journeys are necessary before he approaches rocks on which seals are lying, or reaches cliffs in which cormorants nest, or finds mussel banks where gathering is worthwhile. He always sees himself at the mercy of the arbitrary, eternally restless waves and the constant shifting of winds. Despite the best intentions, despite the greatest exertion and extreme hardship, he cannot guarantee that he will attain his goal, keep on his course, and come back to the place from where his canoe trip started. The inescapable dependence on changing weather, which not infrequently hinders any kind of movement for several days, permits neither an ordered grouping of many people nor plans by the hunters to return to a permanent settlement. Anyone staying behind /369/ to wait for food that others were supposed to bring in would too often find himself exposed to starvation (3).

3. These decisive factors have been overlooked by those European critics who, misconstruing the facts, have judged our natives to be backward

/369 cont./

because they do not build fixed dwellings or permanent settlements.

Then, too, closer consideration of the game itself, upon which our Indian is after all dependent, would make the longer sojourn in compact settlements seem inadvisable. The animals change their location quite erratically. If they do favor certain places, they may there only as long as man does not disturb them. Once they have been frightened away, it may be days before they have regained a feeling of security and settle down there again. Assuming, then, that many families wanted to live together on the same spot, this region would surely be cleared of all game within a wide radius, no matter whether it were killed or frightened away. Accordingly, the hunter would be obliged to venture ever farther from his camp in order to find his prey. Quite apart from his previous exertions, his return would be more difficult and more uncertain; those anxiously awaiting him would look for his return with greater worry. Only a short time might pass before a new camp, considerably distant from the previous one, would have to be sought.

With these brief comments, the advantages of freedom of settlement for independent individual families, in contrast to a longer residence of many people in the same place, become convincing. It is true, however, and this should be mentioned at the outset, that many families gather around a stranded whale and thus form a fortuitous settlement of limited duration. This exists, however, only as long as the supply of meat and fat holds out, for even a sea monster of such giant proportions as these largest mammals does not by any means supply unlimited quantities of food. This isolated occasion, besides one or two others of the same nature, proves how unsuitable fixed settlements would be as a permanent arrangement for our natives. It is to the advantage of all that their extensive homeland has few people, so that each individual family has a wide area open to it in all directions where its members can devote themselves undisturbed to food-gathering.

Hence, the dwelling of the Yamana, in form as well as in construction and location, is a thing of chance. A person on a journey undoubtedly aims for a definite goal at which to land if the weather is good, but sometimes he does not attain it because good booty crosses his path along the way, because he is driven off his course in the pursuit of an animal, or because wind and waves are against him. After all,

361 /369 cont./
342 he wants to steer in the direction of a food supply; where /370/ and when something falls into his hands he will stop and land. Accordingly, the landing place determines whether the family will erect only a small protective roof or a cone-shaped hut or the somewhat more elaborate construction of a dome-shaped dwelling. For the latter many long flexible green saplings and thick foliage are needed; for the second type, several short poles suffice; for the first, the few hides which everyone carries along in his canoe are adequate. Whatever external circumstances present, whatever the landing place offers, what at the moment seems most suitable, that is what the Indian chooses and decides to do. Plans far in advance would prove not only impractical for him, but usually also impossible to carry out, and therefore he does not even consider them. As though by way of compensation, however, he has a ready mental agility for making sudden resolves, and this helps him in every situation to make an instantaneous decision.

The greatest contrast to permanent settlements is the very temporary shelter which a sudden impending need teaches him to erect very quickly. Whatever the Indian happens to find, he hurriedly collects and uses to help himself as best he can. One cannot call such provisional contrivances dwellings, since they are meant only to offer cover for brief hours, for example, during a storm or rain, during sunshine, or because of an unconquerable crosscurrent. They are erected in a few minutes and are always arranged according to the local condition (4).

> 4. It is only with reference to this that the following words are valid: "The Fuegians have several kinds of huts; they vary their constructions according to the nature of the country they are in and according to the length of time they must stay there" /translated from French/ (La Nature: 274).

342 Often they crawl under an overhanging rock, into a shallow de-
372 pression in a rock, or into a flat cave-shaped dip in the ground, using dense brush or coverings of pieces of leather to keep out pouring rain or a sweeping wind. Mostly they are content to use slight, effortless movements of the hands which suffice to keep the fire glowing steadily

/379 cont./

362 of the natives, however, this hardship does not by any means compare
511 with the unbearable misery that would result from a sojourn under the open sky. Thus, whenever external circumstances demand it, the natives build their hut, even during the severest /380/ storm, making it either more secure and durable as a dome-shaped dwelling or merely providing a light covering with the conical shape.

361 A family does not always have a choice of location. A sudden change in the weather or an accident will force them to make for shore without delay. In this case they must adjust themselves to the conditions provided by nature, perhaps even make do with a hasty shelter in a cliff. If they are not under pressure, they make a free selection according to the local weather conditions and the characteristics of the landscape (28). In general, however, everyone

28. When the Indian has a choice, he selects a sheltered spot for his hut. This is so generally true that Bove (MM:XVII, 234; 1883) believed he could go by it: "Generally the presence of wigwams indicates a locality sheltered from the coldest and the most frequent winds" /cited in English/.

stays on the dry gravel as close as possible to the highest water level. Their own comfort makes this strongly advisable, for all the utensils that a family carries along with them are dragged from the canoe to the hut. Packing and unpacking would be considerably more burdensome if the dwelling were far from the landing place. If they cannot build a hut for themselves, they seek cover and protection behind mounds of earth and low projecting rocks, at the foot of high rock walls, and at the edge of a forest. A hut is never placed deep in the forest because it is too damp there, but they like to stay under the broadest trees, which ward off rain and snowdrifts. If they are planning to remain only one night at a given location, they take a look at the weather to see if it will permit them to camp in a less protected spot. If not, or if they do not expect to travel on for a few days, a certain amount of caution is advisable. This explains why one finds just as many old campsites along the open, unprotected coast as in sheltered places farther back. An obvious preference is

/380 cont./

•361 given to quiet bays and a coastline made safe by islands lying in front of it. Here, too, however, no one escapes all the hardships of the fickle weather (29) because the huts themselves are only frail

> 29. In this connection Bove (e) :187 writes: "Their miserable huts are usually placed on the inner side of the little bays that cut deep into Tierra del Fuego. Even though these afford them some protection against the weather, it nevertheless happens that the poor occupants are half buried in snow the next morning or half drowned by rain."

structures. These statements will explain the phenomenon, surprising to some Europeans, that today throughout the entire Yamana region one finds traces of former campsites at every turn.

361 484 A family is no more independent in choosing the length of time they may stay in one place than it is in choosing a campsite. Journeys overland are not undertaken, if only because it is not easy to drag the canoe along. On journeys by water, wind and weather determine the direction or make progress impossible. Sometimes /361/ these people cannot leave their camp for days because of the unremitting disturbances of nature, and they are then powerless to undertake anything even if they are tormented by hunger. If, as a result of threatening danger, they have been obliged to land quickly at a random spot, their lot may be only boggy clods of earth or water-soaked ground (30) which they can escape only when the weather

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> 30. Hyades (f) :557 observed: "The earth is so wet that often water runs off if one merely exerts a little pressure on the ground, and the natives are sometimes forced to make a ditch across the middle of the hut for drainage" /translated from French/.

grows calm. Thus, the restlessness of their nomadic life is very often linked with danger and considerable renunciation or even the abandonment of the most modest demands of human well-being. The stable dwelling, however, erected for a sojourn of several days at a suitable place that has been freely chosen, does offer some minor conveniences.

/300 cont./

342 of the former dwellings, which was scarcely worth mentioning, since at present the Indians do not take the trouble to dry a few seal skins and stretch them over the framework. Instead they procure /300/ light sacking which lets in rain and snow and hardly keeps off some of the wind (47). Complete laziness and dilatory

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47. Lothrop (b) :123 gives a similar judgment: "Thus housed they have had immeasurably poorer protection from the weather than in the days when hunger drove them to secure many seals and consequently many seal-skins were available for housetops" /cited in English/.

indolence have so completely alienated the last survivors of the race from the industry of their fathers that even the most distressing inclemency of the weather no longer stirs them from their state of lazy immobility. A few families have built small, very simple wooden houses, European style, in Puerto Medianos (48).

[111]

48. They obtain the raw materials for these houses through their work as day laborers or as gifts (p. 307 /unpublished/). According to Lothrop (b) :123, "the material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach" /cited in English/.

but they spend only a small part of the year in them. They, too, travel about for weeks in their canoe looking for food, and meanwhile content themselves with a cover of sacking on the cone-shaped framework of their flimsy hut.

4. The Community Camp

361 The Yamana do not have permanent settlements in one place. There are a few occasions, however, when many families come together and remain in one place for a longer period of time. If a whale is stranded, people come from a great distance, and the

/390 cont./

*364 many huts beside a dead tree trunk create the illusion of a village. Since there is plenty of meat and fat, a number of families can settle down together without hindrance. If during this time someone must obtain some vital necessity, he departs for a few days, but leaves his hut standing and occupies it again upon his return. There is no food supply more abundant and convenient than a stranded whale. At the same time the gathering of many

[391] families satisfies the need for sociability, and the people can give themselves up to it all the more undisturbed the longer they are free from worry about the necessities of life. Naturally the large number of people and their freedom from the food quest suggest stimulating diversion, and this is offered principally by the *Kiskaus* and the accompanying *Alua*. In comparison with these protracted events, fewer families gather together for funeral rites, and they remain in one place a much shorter time, often only a day or two.

No matter what brings families together, they always preserve their independence. Groups of relatives and friends erect their huts closer together, but there is always a space of a few steps between them. In spite of intimacy with neighbors, everyone leaves far at least a small space between dwellings. The /391/ distribution of huts in such a camp is very irregular, because each individual makes his arrangement for his own greatest convenience. He first selects for his dwelling a dry spot and the protection of a rock or a group of trees. Drinking water must be not too far away. Whoever is first to appear on the scene has a greater freedom of selection, and the stragglers are content to take the places that have been left vacant. No one has a right and would not presume to exercise any kind of influence on the distribution of the huts. A person who wishes to leave the settlement can depart or return unhindered, just as he likes. On such an occasion two or at most three families may share a single hut if they are close to each other, such as brothers and sisters or true friends, but such exceptions are rare. In that case they build the ordinary dome-shaped family-hut in larger proportions, not the so-called winter hut (p. 33).

572 517 Everyone, of course, is completely free to dispose of his time as he sees fit. The greater part of the day is spent in talk and conversation. During the long evenings they like to recite the old legends and tell of their own experiences. One often sees the men

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G. The Shell Heaps

172 Throughout the region of the Yamana there are mound-shaped accumulations of mussel shells, varying in height and length. It is unimportant whether or not they are designated as actual kitchen middens. Whether they can raise any claims to being deposits of archaeological finds is uncertain (389). Of real factual value is

389. Cooper:218 prefers to avoid this conception, for "it may be a little inaccurate to use this heading archaeology in the case of the meager remains obtained from Fuegia graves and middens" /cited in English/. South American observers use the terms "Conchales" and "Kjökkenmöddinger" somewhat indiscriminately.

a detailed description of the site of these shell heaps and all the implements that are preserved in their various layers. This shows without any doubt that the former way of living, insofar as it can be recognized from these deposits, coincides in general and in detail with the present form and that the people of those times and of the present day belong to the same race.

1. Their Arrangement

In this description we shall include not only the few very large shell heaps that were built up in isolated places, but also the insignificant dwelling sites which were still used during the last decade. /597/ The fact that Indian families built their huts on them up to the present time points definitely and clearly to the similarity of living habits between then and now (Fig. 70).

172 361 It is very easy for any traveler to establish the fact that there are shell heaps to be found in all parts of the Cape Horn Archipelago. They reveal certain differences, however. In general they are not as large and extensive in the west as in the east, for obvious reasons. Except for inlets, large and small, the western

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shores are everywhere steep, although they are not always very high. /Fig. 70 appears here./ Hence the Indians could build their huts only in places with a very low, flat, and usually narrow shore-line. Whatever they left behind was washed away by temporary high tides. Afterwards the shingle revealed hardly any traces of the fact that shortly before one or more families had camped there. In inlets with sloping and wide shores, accumulations of food remains are not entirely lacking even in the west, as I myself have seen in different places. They are limited in extent, however, by the rock walls which are close together and rise steeply. Since these heaps are sometimes crowded against the rock walls, a thick layer of earth washed down by the rain covers them in the course of time. Some of them are entirely covered and can be seen only

Fig. 70. Oldest Representation of a Shell Heap.

by the careful observer. In contrast to this, the eastern half of the Cape Horn Archipelago has many wide beaches. Whatever piled up and accumulated here remained almost intact and the amount of it gives the present-day visitor food for thought. The fact that in the formation of the shell heaps in the east and west there was a slight difference in diet will soon be discussed.

To begin with, we cannot expect that those deposits extend uninterruptedly along the entire shore-line. We find them only /598/ here and there. Moreover, it is obvious that whole hills have been formed in sheltered places that offered greater security and quiet for a dwelling, whereas on the exposed beach the deposits were extensive but low. It was the desirability of the

/506 cont./

172 •361 site alone that was more or less attractive and invited more or fewer families to settle there, by no means the greatest supply of mounds in one place or another (200). The shells themselves were

200. Lothrop (b):170 confirms that the heaps of refuse "are found in sheltered places, where there is a beach for landing, help off-shore for mooring canoes, and where water and fire-wood are readily available" /cited in English/. Compare also the geographic distribution of shell heaps in Furlong (f):180. Vignati (c): 85 has indicated on a special map the "Conchales" at Ushuaia and on the eastern coast of Isla Grande.

gathered not only at the place where today large amounts of refuse are lying, but many were also brought along to the place where the hut was to be erected, and the people often went great distances from it looking for mounds if they wished to stay longer at the same spot. The bays and hidden inlets in favorable locations were regarded and are today still regarded as favorite spots by many families. They not only frequently returned to such places, but remained in them longer than elsewhere. One was safe there from the strength of the winds and also found a flat shore-line on which to pull up the canoe. Moreover, firewood and drinking water were easily available. The cup of benefits was filled if the outlying sea floor was shallow and considerably facilitated occasional fishing.

172 The shores of Bahía Harberton and their environs were an advantageous spot from every standpoint. A few huge mounds are to be found on Gable Island opposite it, and Tierra Mayor, and there are two more in Puerto Róbalo, which are far surpassed in size by those in Puerto Mejillones. Less extensive than the latter are those that I saw on Pictón Island and in Puerto Rosa, Puerto Piedra, Wulaia, at the mouth of the Rio Douglas, and in Ushuaia Bay.

All this explains the differences in length and height of the shell heaps, kusimé'ya, but in their formation they are completely uniform. All of them form a low, gently sloping, more

/510 cont./

582 for the moment, and if they are shipwrecked on a lonely rock and do not happen to be noticed by others, they are in danger of starving to death." Such rare accidents, however, do not in the least weaken the brilliant record of the seamanship of the Indian women.

3. On Land

961 961 We are justified in saying that the Fuegian's principal field of action is the sea, for on land he makes only a temporary brief halt here and there. He never settles anywhere for a long stay. /[illegible]/ Soon after landing, the man, aided by his wife and children, builds a simple, loosely constructed hut or only a meager protection against the weather and the rigors of the night. If adverse natural forces do not prevent it, the family usually travels on the next day or the day after. The sojourn on land is for rest and certain manual work. After the day's trip the woman, especially, needs adequate rest, but the man no less, for he is sometimes very agitated and active while hunting and does not feel his great exhaustion until later. Sometimes both husband and wife must exert all their skill for hours to combat headwinds and counter-currents until landing is possible. They expend all their strength doing this and need two or three days before they dare venture out to sea again. On shore, the man makes the tools he needs; however, in this occupation he is never tied down to a certain place. He works here and there on the same piece until it is finished, even though he has to load and unload it, unfinished, 20 times. Similarly, the woman performs all her manual work on land and combs the vicinity of the hut for mussels and snails, fungi and berries.

221 In its ceaseless criss-cross journeys, the family follows a certain plan dictated by the prospect of success in food-seeking. In general a family travels far more in summer than in winter, even though unfavorable weather is more predominant (p. 24 /untranslated/) (433). In summer they have a larger selection of animals

433. Without giving this as a reason, Bridges (VSA:XIII, 207;1866) simply says:

/920 cont./

It is easy to recognize the overseer who could not officially when he addresses the customary admonitions to the candidates committed about him. This is also his duty. He must at least see to it that these admonitions are given the candidates by other persons, whether men or women. The precepts become much more emphatic if they are given in this altogether formal manner. The admonitions that every adult repeatedly gives any one of the candidates is entirely an individual matter.

The Yamana always see to it that both offices, that of leader and that of overseer, are filled. External necessity makes it imperative, quite apart from the above-mentioned subjective reason. The leader more than the overseer might be prevented on a given day from fulfilling the duty incumbent upon him. It does not matter if one /920/ of them temporarily drops out, for the other one will replace him without much ado, and the ceremony continues uninterruptedly. The organization of these two offices rests on a great deal of experience; a man in his best years will first learn to take over the leadership under the supervision of a practiced, dedicated old man who is alert to the preservation of ancient tradition.

At my first initiation old Alfredo was the leader, and Whaits, who was still older, was the overseer; afterwards Santiago filled the former office and Pedro the latter. As a result of this sharing of offices, there is never a lack of men who are capable of filling one or the other.

d. The Place of Assembly

Frequently the external circumstance that causes many families to come together also determines the place where the initiation is held. If they are not otherwise influenced, the people of a local group will decide on the spot where they previously held their ceremony. In the two successive years 1921 and 1922 the Yamana went to Puerto Harjillones for the *Eshaya*, and they used the same Great Hut both times. Thus they are not absolutely dependent on a particular region, nor can they be, since the dialect groups at least prefer to celebrate this festival within their own

/830 cont./

X881 territory. Thus they isolate themselves from one another to a
• 361 certain extent, and slight differences and local peculiarities of this ceremony have arisen in one region or another.

X881 Although the geographical location does not matter, the
361 place must fulfill certain conditions. Today, and sometimes
346 formerly, the Great Hut is hidden from the eyes of the curious. Europeans especially are regarded as such, as well as the neighboring Halakwulup and Selk'nam. They like to choose an island or an inlet that is seldom visited. The Great Hut is built at the edge of the forest or near a wall or rock, so that it is incompicuous and, in addition, blends into the landscape. The ground on which it is placed must be as dry as possible, that is, it must be gravel or shingle, for clayey earth, with all the people walking on it, would become a morass beyond all description. Furthermore, the place must be well protected against the buffeting of heavy winds and rain. If rain leaked in at too many spots or smoke blew around inside as a result of repeated gusts of wind, many of the people would find it impossible to protect themselves. The Great Hut is always crowded, and disturbances of the strict proceedings must be avoided.

Moreover, the Yamana have a few other unavoidable requirements for the site of the Great Hut. Firewood must be available nearby, and there must be quantities of it, for during the long ceremony /831/ the numerous participants use a great deal. There must be a brook not too far off, for the Indians drink a great deal of water and it would be burdensome to go a long way for it. Finally, whatever else the place may offer the coasts of the vicinity must be provided with quantities of mussels because these are needed every day.

X881 There is a great deal of preliminary calculation and reconnoiter-
361 ing before the men in-charge decide on a particular place of assembly. Aside from the work required to build a new Great Hut, a move is always regarded as disturbing and uncomfortable and is avoided from the outset, if possible. If they have a completely free choice, they assemble in a place that has already proved suitable in former years. It is taken for granted that the availability of food is always a decisive factor; half a hundred persons

/831 cont./

or more need very considerable amounts for a period of several weeks. They are also looking for a certain amount of comfort, and the adults wish to relax a bit from all their exertions and restrictions.

The long-range preparation is, as we see, an important matter requiring long discussions and much prudence. Yet, faster than one would think possible, the Yamana come to agreement about their significant youth initiation. The younger people listen to the older ones submissively and with respect; the latter have had so much experience that, under the circumstances, their decision could hardly be better.

3. More Immediate Preparation

Assuming that many families have gathered in one place for a particular purpose and that the place is suitable for the *Ciéxaus* ceremony, it is not necessary for the entire camp to move. The situation is different if the families must gather at a suitable place. Then the leader determines the move, and he and his family are usually the first to go there so that the others will follow his example.

Almost always the leader also sends some messenger to his circle of kinsmen and the members of the local group to call attention to the beginning of the performance and also to extend a particularly cordial invitation to certain families. It is a matter of pride for the leader to have a "full house," hence his effort beforehand, and also later, to assemble as many people as possible.

Consideration is given also to the space that must be provided for the number of participants who have announced their coming or may be expected. After all, it must not be too crowded in the Great Hut because that would hinder certain games and dances. One cannot, of course, count on a prior acceptance by some families, and the overseer does not know definitely how many participants will come until all of them /832/ have actually set up their huts nearby. Frequently the individual families must come from different directions, and in spite of their best intentions, they are only too often and too long delayed by bad weather.

Everyone arrives in good humor and a suitable frame of mind. The *Ciéxaus* offers so much stimulation for every aspect of the inner

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Y575 has been obtained as the leader, he exercises his own power of attraction. Thus, many families wait for definite instructions, according to which they will remain where they are or travel to another place.

The leader, of course, has the decisive word; he uses his own judgment to determine when the proper moment has come for the move and when the more immediate preparations must begin. He perhaps delays the decision until the arrival of a good friend who is reliably informed about the whole procedure of the festival and who is often consulted. A few other experienced old men gather around this leader and influence and advise him without any kind of importunity. The kina tagkowa makes his arrangements with the good-natured agreement of the older men, and the younger men comply without opposition. This explains the unobtrusive beginning and the smooth course of the whole affair, and, above all, the genial, jolly mood of the participants during the whole period.

Y575 361 They do or do not move to a special place, depending on the external reasons that led to the decision to celebrate the Kina. It depends on the given locality in which the families have been camping. Certain conditions are demanded. The Kina hut must /1323/ stand on open land and on a slight rise so that the spirits appearing in front of the hut can easily be seen by the women and children who have remained behind in the dwellings. The open place itself must be as level as possible so that the men do not risk stumbling or falling while dancing. Of course, certain general conditions for a longer stay must also be fulfilled, namely, the availability of drinking water and firewood in the immediate vicinity, the convenience of getting food, and the complete lack of disturbance by strangers and curiosity-seekers. There are not many places on the Cape Horn Archipelago that meet these vital demands. A group of families prefers to meet at a place that has previously proved favorable for a Kina. The leader decides whether the people who happen to be settled at a certain place may stay there and simply move their huts a bit or whether a general move to a distant place is necessary. Everyone follows his instructions.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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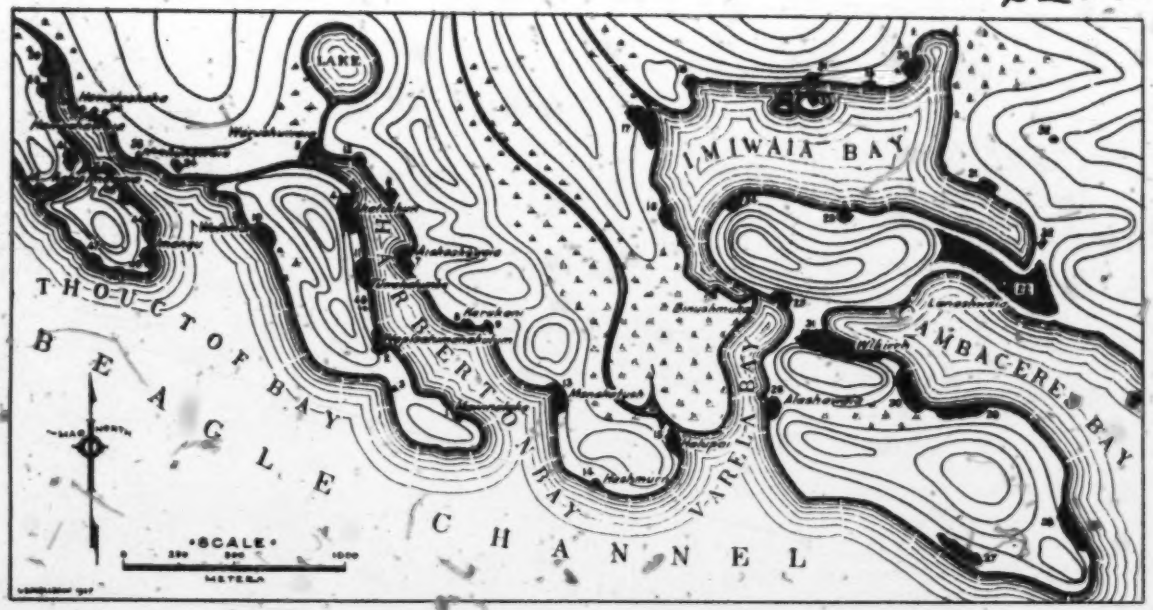

FIG. 98.—Camp-sites and place-names near Harberton, Tierra del Fuego.

/1323 cont./

X 575 361 Not only must the Kina hut be erected on a favorable spot and on a slight rise in the ground, but the dwellings of the individual families must also be moved together in a certain arrangement and be set up in such a way that they are not within range of the wide entrance to the Kina hut. The dwellings are at least 55 meters away so that the conversation and activities of the men cannot be overheard or observed by the women and children. The elevation of the Kina hut permits the men to watch and follow every movement in the camp proper without undue effort and unobtrusively. Above all no intruder may approach their secret gathering-place (272). The closer the

[171] 272. Basically, the local conditions here are the same as those required for the camp arrangement at the Kloketen celebration of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 831). The gathering-place of the men is like the stage of a theater, with the dwellings in front and at a certain distance, as though they were the auditorium for the women and children.

dwellings are to one another, the easier it is to survey them from the Kina hut. For that reason persons who are closely related are definitely urged to move into the so-called multiple-family huts (p. 31). Two to four families thus live in the same room. This is not disturbing or uncomfortable for them because the men are almost always in the Kina hut.

4. Building the Great Hut

X 575 345 Scarcely have the families settled in the place assigned to them when the building of the Great Hut commences, following the request and directions of the leader. Middle-aged men willingly offer their services. First of all the chosen site on a slight rise is cleared of stones, low bushes, and many a /1324/ tree stump. If necessary it is also leveled off somewhat. The women and children may watch this work from their dwellings; from now on they may come no closer.

THE YAHGAN

By John M. Cooper

INTRODUCTION

133 **Natural environment.**—The *Yahgan* habitat is archipelagic, the mountainous islands constituting the last outposts of the Andean chain before it dips beneath the sea at Cape Horn (map 1, *No. 1A;*
132 map 2).[1] Atmospheric temperatures at sea level differ somewhat from locality to locality, with a summer mean around 50° F., a winter mean close to the freezing point, and a winter minimum around 10° F. Snowfalls not infrequently occur even in the summer months (pl. 35). Relatively very cold or very warm spells are usually of short duration. Sudden changes in temperature, in wind velocity, and in sunshine, cloudiness, and precipitation are characteristic. Violent squalls and strong gales are common.

137 The islands up to about 1,500 feet altitude are heavily wooded, chiefly with beeches (*Nothofagus betuloides* and *N. pumilio*, evergreens; *N. antarctica*, deciduous), together with Winter's bark (*Drimys winteri*), "cypress" (*Libocedrus tetragona*), and leña dura (*Maytenus magellanica*). The forest floor is thickly covered with rotting and rotten fallen trunks, which with the thick spiny masses of barberry bushes (*Berberis ilicifolia* and *B. buxifolia*) and holly (*Pernettya mucronata*) make travel through the woods extremely
136 slow and difficult. Foxes and rats, the land mammals that could have helped in the *Yahgan* dietary, were eschewed. Marine mam-
[262] mals, fish, and other sea food were abundant in most localities. As a result of the foregoing conditions, the *Yahgan* lived mostly on the
[36] water and along the shore line, penetrating inland very little.

131 **Territory.**—In the last century and probably from much earlier times the *Yahgan* regularly occupied the southern coast of Tierra del Fuego Island from about the eastern end of Beagle Channel to Brecknock Peninsula, and the islands south of this line to Cape Horn. But they evidently wandered more widely; *Yahgan* house sites and implements have been found as far north as Elizabeth Island in the Strait of Magellan (Bird, 1938, p. 260). Between Good Success Bay and the eastern end of Beagle Channel, there was considerable

[illegible]—48——6

[1] [These maps have not been processed; see source 1: Gusinde, category 116, and maps, for similar information--analyst]

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

262 Lothrop (1928, p. 32) rated the relative importance in the *Yahgan* dietary of their foods as follows: (1) Easily of first importance, mussels; (2) next, seals, and fish of many kinds; (3) next, porpoises, gulls, and bird eggs; (4) then, whales, limpets, crabs, sea urchins, geese, penguins, cormorants; (5) last and least, otter (chiefly in the west), guanaco (only in the east), conchs, ducks, berries (especially wild black currants). The fungi eaten were those growing on trees; those growing on the ground were not eaten. Some wild celery and wild parsnips and two varieties of cress and young shoots of tussock grass were also eaten. Foxes were eaten only in famine as a last [263] resort. Salt was not used.

225 **Hunting.**—Seals were hunted with spear or harpoon from canoes or from land (pl. 36), or killed with clubs. Whales were occasionally hunted in the open sea with spear or harpoon; stranded or dead whales were eagerly exploited. Dogs helped in otter and fox hunting. 223 Cormorants were taken at night by torchlight with clubs; also with a pronged wooden gorge hook. Birds were taken with pole snares (fig. 11, *d*) and with single or multiple tether snares of sinew or whalebone. No lifting pole snares, deadfalls, or pitfalls are reported.

226 **Fishing and sea-food gathering.**—Mussels were gathered by hand; limpets, with a flat-ended stick; sea urchins, with a four-pronged wooden fork; crabs and other Crustacea, with a harpoon or a three-pronged stick. For taking sea food, the *Yahgan* also used a spear with two diverging shanks, or two to four spears lashed together. Women fished with a kelp-stem or braided whale-sinew line, that had a slipknot of whalebone or of quill at the end, instead of a hook, to hold the bait; slowly drawing the fish to the surface, they would grab it by hand. Fishhooks were probably lacking. Weirs of branches or stakes were used. True fish nets were absent. The nearest approach thereto was a small basket attached to the end of a pole and used as a sort of dip net for diminutive fish.

251 **Food storage.**—Limited quantities of dried tree fungi were stored; so too was oil, especially whale and seal oil.

415 **Food preparation and eating.**—Large mussel shells were used for [252] melting fat and holding grease. Water was heated and grease melted by throwing hot stones into them, but there is no record of stone boiling proper.

Shells of large mussels were sometimes used as plates; shells or bark buckets as cups; hollow bird bones or reeds as drinking tubes.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

361 There were no permanent villages. Certain groups of natives re-
621 lated apparently by blood and marriage frequented and occupied more or less fixed separate localities within the respective five sub-

2; Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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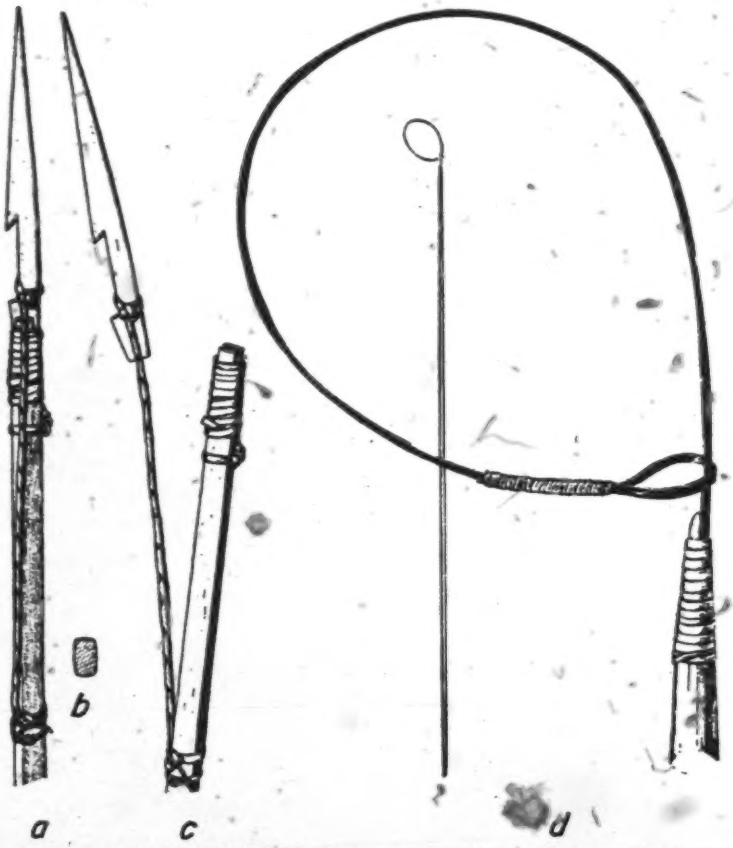

FIGURE 11.—*Yahgan* harpoon and pole snare. *a*, Harpoon assembled for casting; *b*, cross section of harpoon shaft; *c*, position when dragging through water (length of harpoon head 10 in., or 25.5 cm.); *d*, two views of bird snare (diameter of loop 6½ in., or 16.5 cm.). (After Lothrop, 1928, figs. 82, 87.)

361
621

divisional areas. Apart from initiation and other social or religious functions, which brought larger numbers together temporarily in a common camp, each biological family or small group of two or three families tended to camp apart, more frequently in the same shelter.

342

The two chief forms of family shelter were the beehive hut and the conical hut. The beehive or domed hut, the more common form, especially in the west, was circular or elliptical in ground plan, made of a framework of flexible sticks bent over dome-shape and fastened together, and covered with grass, ferns, branches, bark, skins, or anything at hand (pl. 33, *b*). The conical hut, more fre-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 approximately sixteen miles. Fresh water flows into all of these bays and is found in a pond on Cambaceres peninsula behind middens 29, 30, and 31; small springs are encountered in several places. Firewood is obtainable anywhere except on the marshes flanking the Varela river. Shellfish abound everywhere except in the upper part of Imiwaia bay. Excellent shelter in case of storms is amply provided, and, except in the roughest weather, it is possible to round the various peninsulas in a canoe owing to the heavy bands of kelp that encompass them off-shore. It is an ideal region for a people materially equipped to face life as were the Yahgan.

172 361 The number of house-pits counted—1215—indicates that the Yahgan fully appreciated the advantages of the district. The size of each individual camp-site is shown in the following table:

TABLE VI.—YAHGAN CAMP-SITES AND HUTS NEAR HARBERTON

Camp-site	Number of Huts	Camp-site	Number of Huts
1	12	27	16+
2	35+	28	22+
3	2	29	26
4	40+	30	75
5	50+	31	114+
6	12	32	5
7	31	33	8+
8	8	34	14
9	2	35	22+
10	43	36	6
11	50+	37	5
12	5	38	5
13	43	39	10+
14	7	40	11
15	25	41	25+
16	18	42	9
17	67	43	14
18	15	44	28
19	2	45	27
20	10	46	6
21	9	47	13
22	130+	48	13
23	13	49	4
24	15	50	25+
25	21	51	8
26	35+	52	4
		Total	1215+
		Average	23+

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 The densest population in this group centered on Cambaceres
361 bay, where 367 hut-pits were counted. The camp-sites on the south side, known to the Indians as Wíkirrh, display unusually deep house-pits, while Lanáshwaía (pl. XVII, *b*) on the opposite

[102
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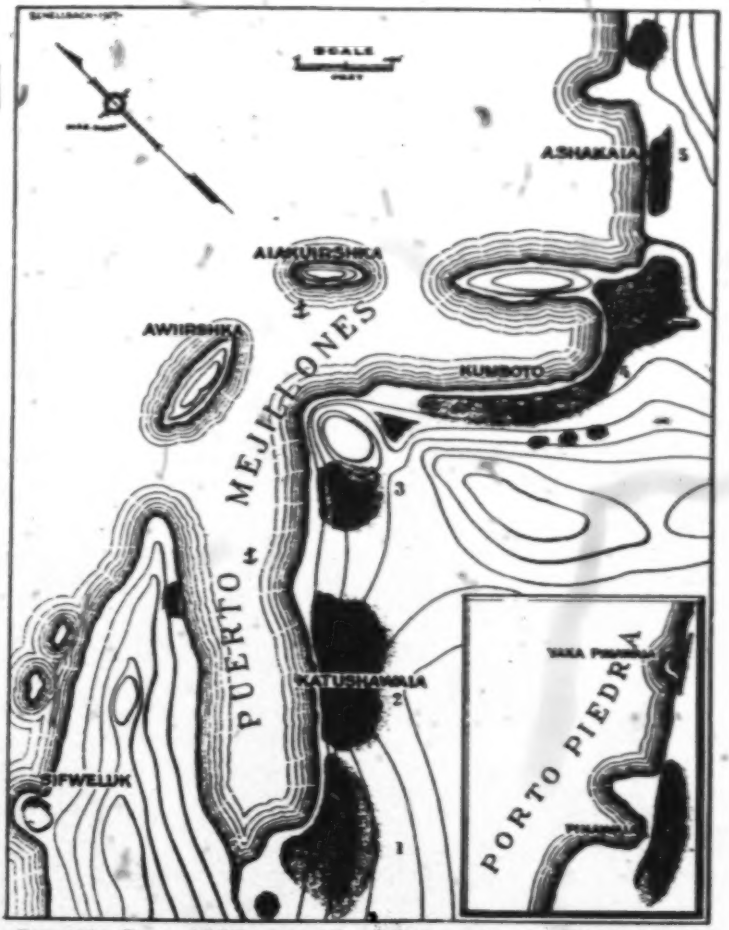

FIG. 101.—Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra shellheaps, Navarin island.

shore was evidently a later or less popular settlement, as the pits are relatively shallow.

731 About 1880 there occurred here one of those tragedies which must have been not uncommon among the Yahgan. A dead

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

whale floated ashore, and Oua and Haush came to join the local Yahgan in the ensuing feast. But all were poisoned by the meat and most of the company died—so many indeed that the survivors fled, leaving the bones of their relatives to whiten the beach for many years afterward.

Imiwaia bay (pl. III, lower) is completely landlocked and the tide runs strongly through the narrow entrance. Hence it is not readily accessible. The large heap No. 22 (Landshwala) backs on it, but the principal access to this camp must have been from the Cambaceres side. In the northwest corner, however, there is a large and very deep midden (No. 17), of which we give a section in fig. 99. This is conveniently situated beside a small stream, and its approach from the entrance channel is sheltered from the prevailing westerly winds. Heap 51, on the north shore, was evidently abandoned long ago, as large beech-trees had grown on top of the refuse—the only case of this kind observed by the writer. The upper end of Imiwaia bay is shallow and muddy, and not suited for camp-sites.

Harberton bay, the headquarters of the Bridges' sheep ranches on the south coast, is ideally suited for camp-sites, and no fewer than fifteen were inspected. Of these, No. 2, which has been described above (page 181), and Nos. 4, 5, 11, and 13, are large and important. No. 6 was occupied by Indians in the summer of 1923–24. This bay well illustrates the Yahgan tendency to give every few hundred yards of coast-line a separate name.

The Thouctof bay middens, although numerous, are for the greater part small, and offer no peculiarities.

The other groups of shellheaps examined differ in no material way from the Harberton cluster. In fig. 100 we show the settlements along the channel between Tierra Mayor and Gable island, a sheltered, well-watered, and well-wooded region, which affords a convenient resting place at the end of an exposed strip of coast to the westward. The size of some of the middens is as follows:

Camp-site	Number of Huts	Camp-site	Number of Huts
4	6	9	8
5	34	10	40
6	7	11	12
7	1	12	8
8	8	13	12

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 361 Of these, No. 4 was occupied by the Yahgan during the summer of 1923–24. No. 10, seen in pl. XVI (upper view), was an unusually deep midden conveniently situated beside a spring.

Another group of Yahgan camp-sites, at Puerto Mejillones and at Porto Piedra along the coast to the westward, is seen in pl. XI and mapped in fig. 101. Here practically all the Yahgan now come to pass the winter months, living on the proceeds of the skins they have sold during the preceding summer or on their wages earned on various sheep ranches. They dwell in poorly constructed houses built of ill-fitting boards. The size of the shellheaps is as follows:

Camp-site	Number of Huts	Camp-site	Number of Huts
1	55	5	20
2	50	—	6
3	25	Pinawala	75
4	10	Yaka Pinawala	12

[102]

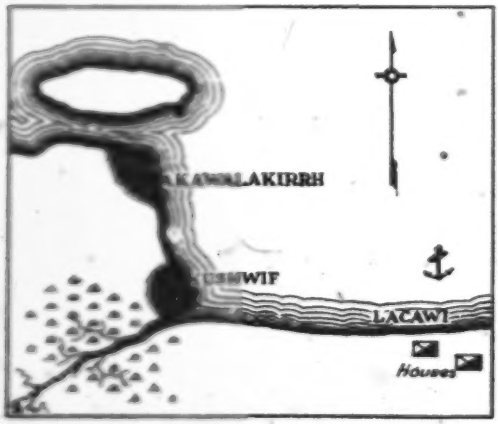

Fig. 102.—Róbalo bay, Navarin island, showing the location of shellheaps.

Puerto Mejillones really is one continuous site, and the original number of house-pits was much greater than that given above, but they have been trampled flat by cattle. The greatest depth of deposit was seen at site 2, where the débris appeared to be 12 or 15 feet thick (pls. XI, XVIII).

One of the Porto Piedra shellheaps is of unusual size. This site today is crowned by several modern houses and the house-pits have been trampled down by cattle.

172 At Róbalo bay of Navarin island are two large shellheaps containing 43 and 56 house-sites. The one called Akawalakirrh in

/387 cont./

372 openings in the top prevented it from escaping easily. The entire
342 structure was well insulated, for it was meant to offer special protection against the rigors of the climate. Since it was built in the damp western part where dry firewood was not available in large quantities, the Indians managed by constantly carrying green wood into the hut and piling it up. In a few days it was dry and only then was used for burning. Even a supply of tussock grass
[513] (Poa flabellata) was kept on hand, for this litter for the bed had to be renewed at least every two weeks.

251 The men supplied the necessary food for their families on communal hunting expeditions which were usually so successful that a good share of the booty could be stored away for a few days. This helped in periods when the hunt was seriously hindered by continuous stormy weather. They were anxiously concerned about having an abundant supply of meat always on hand, if not perhaps a whale /388/ lying on the shore. Otherwise the gathering of many people in the same place in a securely built hut would not only be pointless, but even dangerous. Inevitably the inhabitants frightened the game farther and farther away from the dwelling, which made hunting increasingly difficult. Then only ample stores kept off the threatening specter of hunger.

342 A hut for several families was occupied only in winter.
•362 Wanderlust was too strong to detain a family in one spot any
221 length of time for other reasons. The people who built a communal hut would perhaps come back to it for a second winter, but not after that, for the game supply had been exhausted over a wide area, and they themselves were kept away by the boredom of sitting still. The arrangement described here might be referred to as the "winter hut." Near it a sort of winter supply was piled up. The very safe shelter provided somewhat comfortable living
[577] conditions, and during the long periods of inactivity together, favorite myths and legends were repeated, or the people told each other stories of their own experiences and Hánnu stories. Communal huts were not built in the east, and the reason is simple: weather and hunting conditions were much more favorable there.

342 After a few families have settled in the so-called multiple-
593 family hut, they not infrequently erect another building directly beside it for the half-grown children, and this is appropriately known as the "children's hut." It resembles the first hut in shape

/391 cont./

572 517 bony making implements, such as the large, bone harpoon points which take a long time. Women and girls devote themselves to their trinkets or weave baskets. Primarily everyone passes the time in uninhibited, protracted inactivity, unless a major enterprise is under way, which requires a definite program for the day.

• 364 An aggregation of many people for weeks at a time is unavoidably accompanied by considerable uncleanliness around them. In general the Yamana do not have any particular feeling for cleanliness, and in this respect they are more backward than the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 223). The consequences are not very noticeable when a single family stops somewhere for a day and then travels on, but they are different in an encampment of many people. Walking back and forth makes the earth muddy and boggy. Refuse from meals decays and contaminates the surroundings. The air inside the hut becomes increasingly musty and oppressive. True, the cleansing and purifying rain often intercedes, but it does not improve matters much. Giving way before the heaped-up refuse, individual families temporarily depart and relinquish the dwelling and its environs to the purifying influence of natural forces.

We can now understand the brief descriptions by a few European travelers depicting an encampment of many Indians near a stranded whale, the total picture of which evoked unpleasant, even disgusting impressions (49). The way they eat and their

49. In earlier travel accounts there are, unfortunately, no detailed reports about the encampments of many families. This is because there were few occasions for them, and the same is true at the present time.

unkempt appearance are in themselves repulsive. /392/ Over all this hang the thick, heavy fumes of blubber. A person not accustomed to it from childhood is bound to become nauseated (50) if

50. One should recall the work centers of whale fishermen in several places along the Chilean and Argentine coast, which contaminate the air far and wide with unpleasant odors.

/362 cont./

364 he does not quickly get away. The vicinity of a stranded whale is like a large, boggy slough of blubber, and all around the dwellings pieces of meat and fat are decomposing; an abundant superfluity leads to carelessness in utilization. In order to be able to endure such conditions for any length of time, one has to be a Yamana. These conditions seldom occur, however, and when they do, they are welcomed by our Indians because of their obvious important advantages and the considerable relief they bring. Meanwhile the Indians gladly do without any kind of comfort and cleanliness.

5. The Fire

372 It is utterly superfluous to demonstrate in detail the vital importance of fire in the household, in economic activity, and in the very existence of the southernmost Fueglans. Without fire they could not exist in their damp, cold homeland, and what I observed among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 204) holds true for them also, namely, that fire is more indispensable than any kind of protective dwelling. Hyades (g) :345 writes about this necessity as follows: "Because of the rigors of the climate and the absence of clothing, the Fueglans have a passion for fire" /translated from French/. Hence it is nowhere absent. Fitz-Roy (a):187 has observed: "Fire is always kept alive by these savages wherever they go, either in their canoes, in their wigwams, or even in their hand, by a piece of burning wood; but they are at no loss to rekindle it, should any accident happen" /cited in English/.

They guard the fire, *puakt*, with special zeal, in the hut and in the canoe, to make sure that it never goes out. Even so, a family loses it when the craft collapses or a heavy downpour with a sudden wind devours the dwelling (51). Their method of

51. Hyades (f) :559 is entirely correct in his judgment: "The fire is never extinguished, except by accident" /translated from French/.

lighting the fire resembles that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 207), namely, by striking the flint, *tpwik*, against iron pyrites or, more recently, against a big nail. Wuddel (a) :185 has already observed:

361 /369 cont./
342 he wants to steer in the direction of a food supply; where /370/ and when something falls into his hands he will stop and land. Accordingly, the landing place determines whether the family will erect only a small protective roof or a cone-shaped hut or the somewhat more elaborate construction of a dome-shaped dwelling. For the latter many long flexible green saplings and thick foliage are needed; for the second type, several short poles suffice; for the first, the few hides which everyone carries along in his canoe are adequate. Whatever external circumstances present, whatever the landing place offers, what at the moment seems most suitable, that is what the Indian chooses and decides to do. Plans far in advance would prove not only impractical for him, but usually also impossible to carry out, and therefore he does not even consider them. As though by way of compensation, however, he has a ready mental agility for making sudden resolves, and this helps him in every situation to make an instantaneous decision.

The greatest contrast to permanent settlements is the very temporary shelter which a sudden impending need teaches him to erect very quickly. Whatever the Indian happens to find, he hurriedly collects and uses to help himself as best he can. One cannot call such provisional contrivances dwellings, since they are meant only to offer cover for brief hours, for example, during a storm or rain, during sunshine, or because of an unconquerable crosscurrent. They are erected in a few minutes and are always arranged according to the local condition (4).

> 4. It is only with reference to this that the following words are valid: "The Fuegians have several kinds of huts; they vary their constructions according to the nature of the country they are in and according to the length of time they must stay there" /translated from French/ (La Nature: 274).

342 Often they crawl under an overhanging rock, into a shallow de-
• 372 pression in a rock, or into a flat cave-shaped dip in the ground, using dense brush or coverings of pieces of leather to keep out pouring rain or a sweeping wind. Mostly they are content to use slight, effortless movements of the hands which suffice to keep the fire glowing steadily

/370 cont./

342 or to start a big flame. A Yamana family would scarcely ever
372 enter deeper rock declivities and actual caves, of which there are few, because they would not feel comfortable there and because the amount of smoke that would develop from the indispensable fire would drive them out again (5).

> 5. A few suitable rock formations and caves serve merely as cover which our Indians seek out in order to be barely sheltered for a few hours against sudden storms. In this sense Hyades (f): 558 is correct when he says: "They also settle under an overhanging rock in some easily accessible cave; for them the essential thing is to be able to build their fire" /Ed., translated from French/.

342 Actual wind screens, such as are indispensable to the northern Selk'nam (Vol. I, 197), are used as seldom as cave dwellings. /371/ It is true that for brief, forced encampments or for an urgent rest stop a simple protective roof is erected from rather large boughs covered with thick foliage, the free ends of which come together at the top, or they use a few poles and place pieces of leather on them to form a sheltering wall, or finally, they make a rude shelter of brushwood stuck in the ground as close together as possible. In all this, however, they do not follow a unified, invariable plan, but in each case choose what is possible and functional, depending on whether the sun is shining or whether they must mitigate the annoyance of bad weather, whether there is plenty of foliage at hand or nothing but a field of stone. Such a casual and transient shelter is called aiella. When the family travels on, they naturally abandon this construction without further thought to the destructive forces of nature and thus give up their right of ownership to it (6). I saw the three basic types

[423]

> 6. Rau (in Outes [g] :57) is the only one who holds the mistaken view that "the huts do not belong to the persons who built them, but rather are common property" /translated from

/387 cont./

372 used except when the wind was too strong, in which case only one or the other was temporarily left open.

Inside the dwelling each family chose its particular place which it retained without any special boundary lines (42).

> 42. There were such boundaries in very isolated cases, however. Hyades (f) :556 says: "Twice at Orange Bay we saw huts with two or three interior compartments, niches made by vertical tree trunks. . . These niches served as quarters for the night for three or four persons" /translated from French/.

Members of the same family preferred to gather together on one side of the fire. Usually a single continuous fire extending the [373] entire length of the hut was kept going. In exceptional cases, however, when members of an individual family chose their places on either side of the middle line, each family made its own fire, so that one could tell how many families there were from the number of separate fires. One could sometimes observe the same thing in the ordinary dome-shaped hut if, for some reason, two or three families were occupying it together for a few days (43).

> 43. Bridges (MS.XII, 11; 1918) once wrote: "There were three men, five women, and seven children in this wigwam, and three fires lit in different parts" /cited in English/.

373 The wide areas on either side of the center line where the fire was burning were the sleeping places, where the Indians squatted or lay stretched out during the day. Bunches of the long leaves of Poa flabellata grass with its narrow leaves were preferred for a pallet. This served very well and became musty only after considerable time. It was then removed and replaced by a fresh layer. The lower part of the outside covering of the hut was 372 made tight to keep off the wind and to make the fire burn evenly. 372 Otherwise the smoke would be blown about, since the few

/387 cont./

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342 structure was well insulated, for it was meant to offer special protection against the rigors of the climate. Since it was built in the damp western part where dry firewood was not available in large quantities, the Indians managed by constantly carrying green wood into the hut and piling it up. In a few days it was dry and only then was used for burning. Even a supply of tussock grass
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[517] conditions, and during the long periods of inactivity together, favorite myths and legends were repeated, or the people told each other stories of their own experiences and Hdamat stories. Communal huts were not built in the east, and the reason is simple: weather and hunting conditions were much more favorable there.

342 After a few families have settled in the so-called multiple-
513 family hut, they not infrequently erect another building directly beside it for the half-grown children, and this is appropriately known as the "children's hut." It resembles the first hut in shape

/392 cont./

364 he does not quickly get away. The vicinity of a stranded whale is like a large, boggy slough of blubber, and all around the dwellings pieces of meat and fat are decomposing; an abundant superfluity leads to carelessness in utilization. In order to be able to endure such conditions for any length of time, one has to be a Yamana. These conditions seldom occur, however, and when they do, they are welcomed by our Indians because of their obvious important advantages and the considerable relief they bring. Meanwhile the Indians gladly do without any kind of comfort and cleanliness.

5. The Fire

372 It is utterly superfluous to demonstrate in detail the vital importance of fire in the household, in economic activity, and in the very existence of the southernmost Fuegians. Without fire they could not exist in their damp, cold homeland, and what I observed among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 204) holds true for them also, namely, that fire is more indispensable than any kind of protective dwelling. Hyades (q) :345 writes about this necessity as follows: "Because of the rigors of the climate and the absence of clothing, the Fuegians have a passion for fire" /translated from French/. Hence it is nowhere absent. Fitz-Roy (a):187 has observed: "Fire is always kept alive by these savages wherever they go, either in their canoes, in their wigwams, or even in their hand, by a piece of burning wood; but they are at no loss to rekindle it, should any accident happen" /cited in English/.

They guard the fire, pusaki, with special zeal, in the hut and in the canoe, to make sure that it never goes out. Even so, a family loses it when the craft collapses or a heavy downpour with a sudden wind destroys the dwelling (51). Their method of

51. Hyades (f) :559 is entirely correct in his judgment: "The fire is never extinguished, except by accident" /translated from French/.

lighting the fire resembles that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 207), namely, by striking the flint, tewali, against iron pyrites or, more recently, against a big nail. Weddel (a) :105 has already observed:

/392 cont./

372 "They rub iron pyrites with flint and catch the sparks in a dry, moss-like substance." Usually the grain of pyrite is somewhat larger than the flint, and the two together are regarded as a loving couple, mátuku; hence, the former is the male, wa, while the latter is the female, kipa (52). The spark is caught in a loose

52. Speaking of the flint, Hyades (q) :304 and (d) :309 erroneously maintains that "the Fuegians usually obtain fire by striking two of these stones, unequal in size, against each other" /translated from French/. We read the same thing in Bridges (i):10 and in Spegazzini (a):163. Dabbene (b):194 writes: "Fire is obtained by striking two pieces of stone, which contain iron pyrites, against one another" /translated from Spanish/. This procedure would not bring results, as everyone knows. Compare Colini: 238.

bundle of down, tiítúku. They /393/ prefer to use a puffball as tinder, bákan, the dry spores of which very easily begin to smolder (53). They also use cílĕr, fine shavings of barberry stems.

53. "The tinder used is the inner down of birds, well dried; very fine dry moss; or a dry kind of fungus found on the under side of half-rotten trees," according to Fitz-Roy (a) :187 /cited in English/.

By gently blowing, they get the smoldering parts to flare up, immediately add feathers or fine lichen, and finally twigs and branches. Before that they place the puffball on a small piece of leather or on gravel so that it does not become damp. The man bends over very low and holds the stones very close. Usually he must work for some time, because the objects are damp, because of the humidity in the air, or because the sparks simply will not catch.

In former times the adults, usually man and wife, carried a small leather pouch, asánu, in which the tinder and the two

/393 cont./

•372 objects for striking fire were carried to keep them dry; thus they could manage anywhere. They protected the down and puff balls even more carefully by keeping them in the dry web of a large sea bird, although puffballs are protected against damp air as long as their outer skin does not burst. Every family always has a number of dry puffballs on hand, which are gathered in the fall and carefully stored throughout the year. Pyrite is found in several places in the extensive Yamana territory, but lumps of flint are rarer and are a popular object of trade. The flint most in demand, Iswali (BD: iswāli), was obtained in the Aniawala Valley which lies [316] between Ushuaia and Lapataia (54). Only small amounts were

54. Compare Lothrop (b) :130. Thomas Bridges also once looked for it, in April, 1884, accompanied by several Yamana. He reports: "We ascended the large valley called Aniwia, celebrated for its flints, as the source of supply of arrow and spear flint heads for all Yagha land. We searched in vain for the spot whence the large supplies in former times were obtained" (MM:XVIII, 182; 1884) /cited in English/. Earlier, in June, 1883, this missionary wrote, (MM: XVII, 139; 1883) that flint was to be found only on Clarence Island (cf. Hyades [q] :10 and Vol. I, 207). It has been proved, however, that the Yamana found and used it also in the central part of their territory. FitzRoy (a) :187 writes: "Where the pyrites is usually obtained, I do not know; but it cannot be plentiful in the Tekeenika country" /cited in English/. Certainly, these things were found there only sparingly.

found there, however. Hence the Yamana usually depend on [438] barter for their flint which was found in Cockburn Channel on the north shore of the Brecknock Peninsula, outside Beagle Channel. This flint was very hard and brownish-black. To guard against

/393 cont./

372 losing it, a man would sometimes cut a groove in it, into which was fastened one end of a string of tendon, the other end being tied to a small basket or some larger object.

Everyone is anxious to avoid the trouble of kindling a fresh fire. Before he does so himself, he looks around to see /394/ if he can obtain a glowing stick of wood from a near neighbor. This he fetches and uses to light his own fire.

This comforting and indispensable element finds its most
372 important use as the hut fire. It occupies the center of the round
354 or oval groundplan, but in certain constructions it extends lengthwise through the entire hut (pages 31 and 32). When there is no gravel or broken stone on the ground of the hut, the fire is built on a few flat stones or on a pile of several stones the size of a fist and many mussel shells (55). After some time a broad bed of ashes

55. As Lovisato (b) :133 points out, in the middle of the hut there is "the hearth, made with a few pieces of stone, but especially with many round, small pebbles upon a heap of cockle and limpet shells" /translated from Italian/.

protects this fire from any dampness of the earth. The fire place itself is called apin. Only beech wood is used. Logs of the pepper tree (Drimys winteri) cause a thick, stinging smoke and do not burn easily; hence, they are not used.

372 Throughout the day the Indians like to keep bright flames alive. They place the middle part of rather thick logs and long sticks into the fire. When that is burned through, they shove the two ends from the back gradually farther into the blaze. Since these pieces are arranged one above the other, there is enough draft; if it fails, someone helps it along by lying flat on the ground and, with puffed cheeks, blowing into the embers, or he fans it vigorously for a few minutes with a piece of leather or a bird's wing. Thick logs burn poorly if they are not laid on thin crossed sticks and if one does not constantly push glowing pieces against them.

For the night the fire is scraped closer together toward the center. This provides a deeper bed of embers and gives the

/394 cont./

372 occupants of the hut more room for their beds. At this time they do not want leaping flames, but a steady glow that gives out an even heat and does not endanger either the hut or the sleepers. Abundant ashes prevent it from going out before morning. The occupants lie down around the fire in no particular order, eager to enjoy its comfort. That is why there is restless movement in this tangle of sleeping human beings all night long, for each one turns and twists this way and that.

374 Despite their being accustomed to the unavoidable smoke, these Indians are not insensitive to it; indeed they regard it as an annoyance and bad for the eyes (56). Often they can find only

56. Hyades (f) :559, too, admits that despite all caution "their fire does not burn without giving off smoke, which is often quite thick and is very annoying to them, in spite of their being accustomed to it" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy is absolutely right when speaking of their "smallleyes, suffering from smoke," he says, "their eyelids are made red and watery by the wood smoke in their wigwams" (King:175) /cited in English/.

damp wood to burn which unavoidably causes a great deal of stinging smoke. Hence /395/ the woman carefully covers those parts of the dwelling that let in the wind to whirl the smoke around inside. Although the people much prefer to have the hut entrance open toward the beach to be able to watch their canoe and the flow of the water, they alter this plan as soon as the wind disturbs their quiet fire. In the long, dome-shaped huts they leave two entrances to begin with (p. 20), closing the one or the other alternately, as the protection of the fire dictates. In spite of the best possible covering of the framework, a great deal of cold air flows in at ground level, which annoys the occupants. Hence the entire floor surface of the interior is dropped as much as 50 centimeters (p. 23). This protects the occupants from the penetrating air, while the spreading warmth of the fire, which can

/395 cont./

371 burn quietly, is not lost. Similar advantages are afforded by a wall of mussel shells, which grows in rings in those places chosen year after year for the dwelling. Here it is superfluous to lower the ground level in the interior by excavating, because the outer wall rises above it in any case.

At times when a storm becomes particularly strong and the fire cannot be protected, the people are wrapped in a thick cloud of ashes and smoke within their hut. While this is going on, they lie flat on the ground and cover themselves with pieces of leather. Sometimes it is hours before they get up and shake off the layer of ashes from their bodies and belongings. Sometimes they must endure heavy showers of rain which make them tremble with cold. As soon as possible they again start a gaily blazing fire and move very close to it in order to get warm through and through after all their discomfort.

372 505 The Indians could not do without their fire in the canoe any more than in their hut, either by day or night, because on the water they are even more helplessly exposed to the hardships of the weather in their unfriendly homeland. They carry it with them everywhere and without exception. If heavy rain should extinguish it, they make straight for shore. The fire, narrowly confined, is laid in the middle section on a safe, partly wet layer of clumps of turf, gravel, and clods of earth (57), which prevents

57. On this subject Outes (g) :52 says only: "The fire, especially in the canoes, is maintained on stones and earth" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (q) :304 gives more detailed statements.

it from burning through. It is kept going with short, thin pieces of wood, and they do not let high flames develop. They are constantly aware of the danger threatening the bark vessel from this fire. If the boat should rock badly, they extinguish the embers for safety's sake by pouring water from the sea over them. Even when the journey is smooth, they permit only a weak glow, and when someone wishes to warm himself, he moves closer to it. The boys and girls in any case crouch in the middle of the boat.

/395 cont./

They have loaded up with firewood before their departure and piled it near the fire. Here it dries a bit and /396/ is conveniently at hand when needed (58). The children feed the fire according to

58. For a longer trip they provide themselves amply with firewood and stack it, as Hyades (q) :304 has observed, at one of the two ends of the boat.

their parents' instructions.

When possible, they take only very dry wood in their canoe, since the unpleasant smoke from wet wood could scarcely be avoided. When they leave their craft upon landing, the children carry the glowing sticks of wood to shore and place them on the spot which is to be the center of their new hut. Here they soon rekindle a larger fire. The Indians are scrupulously conscientious

Fig. 14. Fire Tongs.

about extinguishing all glowing embers of the canoe fire by dousing them with water. If they continue their journey the next day, the children once more carry the glowing sticks of wood to the canoe and light a new fire in it.

Whenever a family leaves their fire, either in the canoe or in the dwelling, they take care to put out even the last glimmering bit. The fire could easily come alive again, /Fig. 14 appears here/ spread, and cause serious destruction. The glowing embers are scattered, pounded and beaten with a cudgel, covered with gravel or sand, and finally doused liberally with snow or water. This removes all danger.

To arrange the fire and distribute the glowing pieces of wood, the Indians reach for any stick that happens to be handy. They like to use regular fire tongs which no family is without. Here they are known as láka (Fig. 14), also lókka according to BD: 278, and correspond exactly to the lákes of the Selk'nam

/396 cont./

3/2 4/2 (Vol. I, 205). They choose a straight stick, as thick as one's thumb, of Berberis ilicifolia, strip it of leaves, twigs, and cracked parts of bark, smooth the surface, and split it two-thirds of its entire length which is hardly more than 65 centimeters. Afterwards the lower, split end is cut off flat. Since the tension of the wood fibers keeps the two ends spread slightly apart, these fire tongs can be easily manipulated simply with pressure (59).

[177]

59. Hyades (q):304 and Lothrop (b):130 have also described this implement briefly. The similarity in terminology between the Selk'nam and Yamana causes Lothrop to speak of a "cultural borrowing," which should not be dismissed.

137 3/3 The natives have the advantage, which they truly appreciate, of some growth of trees throughout their homeland, even on the dreaded Cape Horn. It is lacking only on the low rocks and smooth stones that /397/ are exposed to waves and storms without any kind of protection. Wherever shallow crevices or protected ravines cut into the rocks, frail shrubs and thicker small trees cling, successfully resisting storms. The Indian finds his needed 3/3 fuel at every landing place, so to speak, although at some places he obtains it more easily. He prefers dry beechwood for his fire, for he dreads the damaging smoke of green logs (60). He finds it

60. Persistent watering of the eyes and slight inflammation of the eyelids are the consequences of the stinging smoke. See Hyades (q):346 and Lothrop (b):129, as well as footnote 56.

as driftwood that has been washed ashore by the waves. He also goes a few steps into the woods and breaks off dry branches with his hands. If they are higher up, he tosses the noose of his lasso around them, tugs vigorously, for beechwood is very tough, and pulls them down. He fells hollow tree trunks with the weight of his body and then splits them. As soon as a family lands, the [157] children disperse throughout the neighborhood and gather wood which they bring to the campsite.

/397 cont./

313 which they bring to the campsite. The women also take part if more wood is needed. Even the men help, but limit themselves to uprooting heavy trunks or breaking off thick branches and dragging them to the hut. Sometimes they climb a tree, which the women never do. The branches they toss down are carried to the hut by the other members of the family. Everyone works in one way or another for this vital fuel.

372 Now and then they even store wood, chiefly in order to have some dry quickly available. In the simple family hut they pile up as much of it as space permits near the fire or on either side of the entrance. Larger quantities are stored in the so-called winter hut (p. 33), as well as in the enlarged hut for the celebration of the ciexaus and the kina. It helps a great deal if the wet wood is kept under cover for some time and touched by the heat of the fire. In the canoe they carry only a small amount, which is all the more carefully handled (p. 43). Whatever has been gathered together by the industry of the family is loosely leaned upright against the outside of the hut. The air outside and the slight flow of warm air from within combine to cause the moisture to drip off and gradually disappear. They never leave the gathered wood behind in the forest because it would not dry there. They would rather arrange it in a bundle and place it in an open spot where the sun and wind can get at it, if they cannot stack it beside the dwelling. Such piles of wood are easily identified as the property of a family, and other people do not touch them.

In the west it is incomparably more difficult to light the fire and keep it going, for the air is saturated with moisture and the ground is a lake. Laboriously they dry a few sticks beside the canoe fire during the trip, and upon landing, these make it possible to start the /398/ fire on the beach. They immediately place other logs near it, which are preheated before the hut for covering the new fire is completed. The latter is now sure to continue burning, and at the same time a bad smoke condition has been prevented. The Yamana know very well that the wood for the hut fire is better after it has remained exposed to the hot fire for an hour or so, or after the wind has swept through it on an open, exposed spot. Hence their uninterrupted efforts to have dry firewood.

/398 cont./

372 374 The vital importance of fire as such is increased still more by its many uses. It is an unsurpassed protection chiefly against cold and dampness. What it means to these people who, day after day, almost stark naked, are exposed to rain and snow, fog and wind, salt water, and wet earth can be adequately appreciated only by someone who has personally experienced the comfort of the fire under those conditions. The fire, always available in the hut and in the canoe, thoroughly warms the parts of the body that are uncomfortable. In a few minutes the feeling of cold vanishes and the stiffness of the limbs disappears, delicate wisps of steam rise from the surface of the body which has been drenched with rain, and anyone lingering for a while at the fire is restored to life. A person who wishes to have its effect for a longer time makes a small fire beside his pallet or the place where he sits. He brings his arms or legs quite close to it or bends his head and the upper part of his body over it. Everyone who must stay too far away from the fire in the middle part of the hut provides for himself in this manner.

752 His inseparable association with fire also explains why there is scarcely a Yamana to be met who does not have scars from burns (61). Small children often injure themselves badly.

61. After direct observations Hyades (f):559 even stated: "There is not a Fuegian who does not show mottling on his body, especially on his legs, due to the effect on the skin of prolonged stays in the immediate vicinity of the fire" /translated from French/.
Bove writes (MM:XVII, 235; 1883): "Professor Spegazzini examined more than fifty Fuegians, and did not find one amongst them free from the mark of serious burns" /cited in English/.

I saw coarse scar tissue, indicating a serious injury, on the entire right leg of a grown girl, the daughter of Felipe (62).

62. In more recent times, on July 19, 1902, J. Williams (MM:XXXVI, 277; 1902) reported the death "of a woman from burns.

/398 cont./

752 The whole of the lower part of her body was badly burnt, in some places the bones were exposed" /cited in English/.

515 It is not surprising that the entire surface of the body of these Indians and also every larger object they use exudes a penetrating odor of smoke. Moreover, the uncovered parts of their body become deeply tanned. I observed that my own face and hands became colored after only a few days of frequent visits to the Indian huts. This change disappeared only after persistent, thorough scrubbing with soap and warm water for a few weeks at home.

/399/ Our Indians do not use special material for illumina-
373 tion. The weak light given off by the fire suffices. They do not work at night anyway. If a light is necessary to look for something or to examine something, they strip off a handful of the brush with which their hut is covered and place it on the fire which immediately flames up brightly. In order to light a path in the dark, they wave a dry, smoldering piece of bark back and forth until it flares up. Signal fires serve to convey messages over a long distance and have special meaning.

The Indian roasts and fries his food at the fire and also
372 melts his whale blubber there. He never eats animal food raw. Finally, he needs the fire for some of his handiwork. With fire, he makes rushes flexible for the braiding of baskets and ropes; he bends the large pieces of bark for his canoe; he dries raw materials and implements before or during their utilization; he fells hollow tree trunks by burning them out, and so forth (63).

63. For the manifold uses of fire by these Indians, see Hyades (q):345. In Volume I, page 207, I have described how the Selk'nam make use of it.

The Yamana could probably do without their clothing and their miserable hut on the frosty Cape Horn archipelago, but they could never give up their open fire in the hut and in the canoe (64).

64. "As life is impossible here without fire, the

372 /399 cont./
women are like the vestals of old, and never allow the fire to go out in the frail barques" (MM:X, 20; 1876) /cited in English/.

B. Clothing

291 511 Since the time the Yamana became known beyond the borders of their remote island world, an amazing fact concerning them continues to be discussed in European circles to this day, namely, that they enjoy excellent health in their damp, raw homeland without any clothing and body covering to speak of. Every European is convinced that a human being under the weather conditions existing there must be dependent on very ample protection if he is to survive. Nevertheless, the short scrap of leather that the Fuegians hang loosely around their necks does not even deserve to be called clothing or body covering. All observers agree, and in their accounts express their astonishment in no uncertain terms, that the natives "ordinarily go about completely naked." These are also the specific words of one of the first missionaries, Aspinall: 270. Further documentation will be found below.

147 At the same time, observers recognize the healthy physical development and the great resistance of the natives, although they never describe the full significance of that most vital resource which is constantly at their disposal, namely, their open fire.

372 /400/ This fire more than compensates for the complete lack of protective body covering. An easily accessible stand of trees furnishes the required fuel for everyone. With it he can maintain a warm fire in the hut, in the canoe, in any open place, and at every campsite. The fire alone makes life possible in that region.

291 A short back-cape of skin is the only article of clothing, alike in shape and brevity for all sexes and ages. It is functional chiefly because it gives the comforting fire unobstructed access to the whole surface of the body.

291 281 In their manufacture of articles, our Indians are dependent primarily on furs and skins as their raw material. This is also true of the little that one might call their "clothing." A complicated method of preparation is not possible because there are no tools for it. Also, it would not be worthwhile because the high humidity

/449 cont./

396 501 was diamond-shape in section, so there was a tent-like ridge centrally down each side" /cited in English/. The length is never uniformly determined, but depends on the accidental length of the plank, varying by 150 centimeters. The blade measures about ten centimeters at its widest point. The husband adjusts the thickness of the well-rounded blade to suit his wife's wishes (Fig. 29).

501 [462] If necessity or danger during a trip should force a man to take an oar, he handles it in the same manner as the women. He does not, however, have his own oar, as Colini: 237 erroneously maintains.

Fig. 29. Oar Forms.

The most common designation for these oars, so-called paddles, is ápi; they are also called tstatéga and tuswéna. Every family carries at least two oars in their vessel.

506 ● 372 501 During the long trips our natives cannot possibly do without the fire. They keep it burning constantly in the canoe (p. 44). In the center of the bottom there is a specially prepared hearth, and adequate care is taken so that the bark underneath does not burn through. On the bottom they place a few flat stones close together so that there are no gaps. /450/ Upon this layer they place a rather large clump of turf which is at least seven centimeters thick, and its tangle of roots and coarse pebbles is turned upward. An alternative is to form a layer out of crushed mussel shells mixed with pebbles and lumps of clay. There is constant and ample moisture from the water that oozes in from below; hence this thick layer cannot become hot, and there is still less possibility that the bark floor can burn through. Since air has free access from all sides, the fire cannot flare up

/450 cont./

506 to a high flame. This must be avoided at all costs, so that the
372 side walls will not be endangered. A moderate glow without a
501 leaping flame suffices.

The firewood is kept partly near the hearth, Tf, partly in
505 the stern. It has been stacked in orderly fashion to save space.
372 The people of the west must always take along large amounts of wood; a small supply is adequate for the people of the east, which they pile up near the hearth. Wherever the latter land, they easily find dry driftwood, whereas the former cannot count on this. Quite dry wood has been carefully chosen for the trip, since damp wood causes smoke which the occupants in the cramped canoe can hardly evade. As a matter of course they leave the wood of Drimys winteri, which gives off a thick, biting smoke, behind on the shore.

The girls squat near the fire and tend it according to instructions from their mother. It is their task before the departure to carry a glowing log from the hut-fire to the hearth in the canoe and to fan a new flame. When they land, another glowing stick of wood from the canoe serves to kindle the fire in the newly erected hut. With scrupulous care they extinguish every spark from the fire in the vessel so that there is no danger of its bursting into flames.

501 Even the most careful canoe construction does not prevent
415 some water from constantly oozing in between the seams (139).

> 139. In Wieghardt:31 and elsewhere we read: "So much water constantly comes in that the people continually have to bail it out" /translated from Spanish/.

It collects near the hearth at a place that has been purposely left open, that is, the space of a hand's breadth between the loosely laid bark pieces, Ilax. The girls bail it out with a special scoop made either of bark or seal leather. For both kinds one first cuts out a rectangular piece which is then bent, the bark piece in the direction of its longitudinal fibers. After the two straight edges are joined with a strip of whalebone or a few rushes, making a seam, a bottom is cut out to fit this cylinder, which is also sewed on. Not infrequently a small handle of rushes is added in the

/459 cont./

396 thus permanently widened the upper half. Once the tree trunk was hollowed out and closed off at the stern, no further additions were required and it could be put to use immediately. The na-
[372] tives had to be content with a small fire which they kept going throughout the trip in a square tin can.

Compared with the bark canoe, however, which had served
501 the Yamana for centuries as their sole means of transportation,
504 the modern dugout had many disadvantages. It capsized much more easily because it was not resilient and did not yield in any way, and because it was at least a quarter shallower than the bark canoe. Besides that, it could be moved on land only with great difficulty. True, the natives also made a sort of toboggan slide for it out of fresh algae, tuwēt̄ēka, over which it was hauled up and down. In spite of that, all the members of the family had to exert themselves to the utmost, otherwise they could not budge it. The wood of the /460/ Antarctic beech is heavy. Finally, the dugout could almost never be anchored in the open channel when the rocky coast did not permit its being hauled up. It was too heavy and too slippery to become entangled in a mass of floating Macrocystis. Ropes made of bundles of rushes (Fig. 31) are too weak to keep the boat tied up near the coast. If, in spite of this, it could be left out in the water, the natives could almost always expect it to overturn (154). Righting it again

154. Lothrop (b):146 says of the dugout which he took back to New York, "it was the most unstable vessel in which the writer has ever set foot" /cited in English/.

required great effort on the part of the woman, and bailing it out took considerable time.

501 In most recent times the natives have improved the dugout very much by elevating the gunwale slightly all the way around with a strip of wood nailed or sewed on. This afforded greater safety on the trip, but also added considerably to the weight of the whole thing.

Undeniably the dugout is more durable, but in contrast to this one advantage there are great drawbacks. Hence it is not surprising that after a few attempts the families of those days

/1160 cont./

113 connection the expression "first human beings" is again mentioned, it is merely to show that the Yo̱ło̱x were present before the age of actual human beings. These Yo̱ło̱x are not regarded as human beings in the strict sense of the word, but they are not associated with the personalities grouped around Lẽm. It seems almost as though the preceding age had come to a close, and the Yo̱ło̱x for their part inaugurate with their appearance a new type of existence as preparation for the actual, true human beings.

Then the story goes on. "The Yo̱ło̱x family took long journeys throughout the wide world before they finally came here where the Yamana live today. Here, then, they began all kinds of work. When soon the [actual] human beings appeared who were born here [on the spot], the Yo̱ło̱x taught them how they should arrange everything, what attitude they should have toward one another, and how they should associate with one another. The Yo̱ło̱x also showed people all kinds of implements, utensils, weapons, and tools and taught them to handle all these things successfully. They were, after all, very capable men; that is why they invented the various weapons and tools which we use nowadays in hunting and fishing, in gathering, and in killing animals. They also showed how animals are to be reached in the water and on land, the great whales and sea lions, the otters and foxes, the many birds, the shellfish and crustaceans, how to skin them and make the skin serviceable, how to use and prepare the meat. All this the Yo̱ło̱x invented and transmitted to human beings. Yo̱ło̱x-tírmuxipa was the cleverest, and the younger brother, in turn, far surpassed the older one. They prove that a younger brother is often more capable and cleverer than his older brother."

All the Yamana are in complete agreement about the description of the persons set forth here. The stories that follow are more or less well known to every adult Yamana.

β. The Invention of Fire

113 It is told: Once the older Yoalox collected many small
• 32 stones and amused himself by hitting them against one another. Among them there was also a good sewili (p. 59). When he hit

/1160 cont./

773 this against another stone, a small spark shot out. Surprised at this, he hit these stones together several times and each time

372 /1161/ sparks shot out. Hastily he seized a handful of down-feathers. He placed them on the ground. Once more he began striking a spark from the sewāli. He placed himself in such a way as to hit the stone from a certain direction so that the spark leaped into the down-feathers. They began to glow, caught fire, and soon a small flame leaped up. They Yoālox quickly brought brush and wood and put it all on top. Thus a big fire started. It gave a most comfortable warmth. It felt good to Yoālox to sit beside the fire during the day and to sleep beside it at night. The fire also proved useful for many other things; it helped roast the meat, dry the skins, and bend pieces of bark and sticks or straighten them out.

Highly pleased, the elder Yoālox cried out: "The fire is inestimably beneficial and does many things. Let us keep it burning constantly, so that it will never go out. Once lighted, may it go on burning by itself so that human beings will have no trouble using it. They should not have to make an effort to rekindle it every time [in every case of need] or keep on feeding it with wood!" The younger Yoālox heard these words, and they put him in a bad humor. He did not at all like what his brother was planning. He immediately replied: "I am not in favor of what you wish. It is much better if people have to exert themselves. Everyone should make an honest effort for the fire and should tend it carefully. May everyone have to rekindle the fire anew if he has let it go out. Human beings should work!" Immediately he reached for a long stick, poked around in the embers with it, and scattered the smoldering logs. Then the whole fire went out. Since then every fire without exception will go out if it is not constantly and carefully tended. Thus everyone is forced to work.

Yoālox taught human beings how they must light their fire with the sewāli, how they must fan it and keep it going. Since then a person whose fire goes out must relight it with a great deal of effort. Yoālox wanted to force all human beings to guard the fire with incessant vigilance. Failing this, a person will lose it and will find himself forced to rekindle a new fire with great effort and keep it going.

415 ferent from the man's. Among other more used containers were: pouches of seal or penguin skin for holding small objects; bladders or windpipes of seals or porpoises for holding ocher and firestones; crops of geese and stomachs of seals for holding oil. (Cf. others in Lothrop, 1928, p. 182.)

412 **Tools.**—These have mostly been dealt with incidentally in the preceding sections. The hafted mussel-shell scraper, mentioned above under "Skin dressing," was also the common knife. Stone-headed daggers or knives were used by the earlier *Yahgan* (Cooper, 1917, p. 207). The stone celt or ax was lacking. Wedges were of bone; arrow polishers, of a bit of pumice.

411 **Weapons.**—The characteristic weapons used by the *Yahgan* both in hunting and in fighting were the spear and harpoon (fig. 11, *a-c*), the club, and the sling. The bow and arrow, in contrast to *Ona* usage, occupied a very subordinate position.

The spear shaft was quadrangular, hexagonal, octagonal, or decagonal in section, from 8 feet (2.5 m.) or less to 12 feet (4 m.) long; the shank, ordinarily of bone, with unilateral or bilateral single or serrate barbs and with notched tang, lashed to the split or slotted end of the shaft. The atlatl was absent. The harpoon, without toggle, was merely a spear with a detachable shank tied by a thong to the shaft. The club was a plain straight heavy stick. The cradle of the sling was of hide, the lines of braided whale gut.

Yahgan bows, arrows, and quivers closely resembled those of the *Ona*—a curved self bow, ranging from about 3 to 4 feet long, with string of seal hide or of braided seal, whale, or guanaco sinew; the arrow, without foreshaft, and with triangular stemmed and barbed head of stone, bone, or, more recently, glass; the quiver, rectangular, of skin, or tubular, of bark. Arrow poisoning was absent. Both archeological and ethnological evidence suggests that the *Yahgan* [178] most likely acquired the bow and arrow after their arrival in their historic habitat, from the *Ona*. (Cf. Bird, 1938, pp. 261-263; Cooper, 1917, pp. 211-213.)

372 **Fire making and illumination.**—The only method of fire making was by percussion with flint and pyrites, bird down or dried fungus serving as tinder. Fire was carried around in the canoe on a hearth of earth, shell, or stones. Two-pronged tongs were in use. Bark torches provided illumination. Fire was employed not only for cooking, heating, and lighting, but also for signaling, straightening arrow and spear shafts, bending canoe ribs, felling trees, preparing bark for canoes and material for baskets, and other purposes.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

264 **Marriage and the family.**—The sexes were kept separate after about the age of 7 and were warned by their elders against sexual liberties.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S386 Yahgan S386

as much as five feet below the surface. Here the housetop could 342
scarcely have risen above the ground level, and the people within 354
must have been snugly lodged against winter gales. But the swirling smoke was a constant annoyance, and many accounts speak of the Yahgans' red and inflamed eyes.

Initiation or ceremonial houses differed from the living houses 34
chiefly in size. In the west they were domed and oval in outline, as shown in pl. XIV. In the east they took the form of a heavy solid tipi-shape dwelling of logs like the Ona initiation lodge (fig. 38).

Under mission influence the Yahgan in late years built small 177
plank houses of European type. A group of these was found at 342
Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra on Navarin island which were used as winter quarters (pl. XVIII). They were wind- and water-tight, and some had wooden floors, bunks, and stoves. The material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach.

Camp Equipment

Yahgan camp equipment, in spite of superior transportation 511
facilities, was just as primitive as that of the Foot Indians, among whom every article, and the infants as well, had to be carried on the back. Strong and simple as are the objects below listed, they

[372].

FIG. 32.—Yahgan fire-making apparatus. a, Flint; b, punch; c, tinder; d, pyrites. Width of bag, 3 in. (14/2332)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5306 Yahgan 5266

511 afforded a basis for little more than the mere act of existence and merely testify to the cultural poverty of their makers.

1. FIRE-MAKING APPARATUS.—By all accounts the Yahgan rarely made fire, because they carried it with them on the hearths in their canoes. In their semi-nude society to lack fire might mean death, and so wherever they went they tried to husband a wisp of flame. When it was necessary to kindle a new blaze they used flint and pyrites (*crystals*) with dried fungus or down for tinder, after the fashion of the Ona. Various places in Fuegian waters where pyrites can be secured are mentioned on page 61; one of these, Morton island, lies in Yahgan territory. However, Rev. Thomas Bridges states that they got this material by trade with the Alacaluf, who obtained it on Clarence island. Especially fine flints were found in a valley called Anlawala between Lapataia and Usheuia. To protect the fire-making apparatus from the weather it was kept in a small hide pouch called *ashew* (fig. 55, *b*).

FIG. 54.—*a*, Fuegian fire-stone; length, 6 in. (34/2370). *b*, Whalebone comb; length, 11 in. (34/2374). *c*, Seal-throat pouch; length, 6½ in. (34/2369)

2. FIRE-TONGS.—For tending the fire and for removing the objects from it the Yahgan used tongs. These are no more than a stick an inch or so in diameter and a couple of feet long, split for three-quarters of its length. Cultural borrowing is indicated by the name of this implement—*ikke* in Yahgan,

/398 cont./

752 The whole of the lower part of her body was badly burnt, in some places the bones were exposed" /cited in English/.

515 It is not surprising that the entire surface of the body of these Indians and also every larger object they use exudes a penetrating odor of smoke. Moreover, the uncovered parts of their body become deeply tanned. I observed that my own face and hands became colored after only a few days of frequent visits to the Indian huts. This change disappeared only after persistent, thorough scrubbing with soap and warm water for a few weeks at home.

/399/ Our Indians do not use special material for illumina-
373 tion. The weak light given off by the fire suffices. They do not work at night anyway. If a light is necessary to look for something or to examine something, they strip off a handful of the brush with which their hut is covered and place it on the fire which immediately flames up brightly. In order to light a path in the dark, they wave a dry, smoldering piece of bark back and forth until it flares up. Signal fires serve to convey messages over a [372] long distance and have special meaning.

The Indian roasts and fries his food at the fire and also
372 melts his whale blubber there. He never eats animal food raw. Finally, he needs the fire for some of his handiwork. With fire, he makes rushes flexible for the braiding of baskets and ropes; he bends the large pieces of bark for his canoe; he dries raw materials and implements before or during their utilization; he fells hollow tree trunks by burning them out, and so forth (63).

63. For the manifold uses of fire by these Indians, see Hyades (q):345. In Volume I, page 207, I have described how the Selk'nam make use of it.

The Yamana could probably do without their clothing and their miserable hut on the frosty Cape Horn archipelago, but they could never give up their open fire in the hut and in the canoe (64).

64. "As life is impossible here without fire, the

/394 cont./

372 occupants of the hut more room for their beds. At this time they do not want leaping flames, but a steady glow that gives out an even heat and does not endanger either the hut or the sleepers. Abundant ashes prevent it from going out before morning. The occupants lie down around the fire in no particular order, eager to enjoy its comfort. That is why there is restless movement in this tangle of sleeping human beings all night long, for each one turns and twists this way and that.

374 Despite their being accustomed to the unavoidable smoke, these Indians are not insensitive to it; indeed they regard it as an annoyance and bad for the eyes (56). Often they can find only

56. Hyades (f) :559, too, admits that despite all caution "their fire does not burn without giving off smoke, which is often quite thick and is very annoying to them, in spite of their being accustomed to it" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy is absolutely right when speaking of their "smallleyes, suffering from smoke," he says, "their eyelids are made red and watery by the wood smoke in their wigwams" (King:175) /cited in English/.

damp wood to burn which unavoidably causes a great deal of stinging smoke. Hence /395/ the woman carefully covers those parts of the dwelling that let in the wind to whirl the smoke around inside. Although the people much prefer to have the hut entrance open toward the beach to be able to watch their canoe and the flow of the water, they alter this plan as soon as the wind disturbs their quiet fire. In the long, dome-shaped huts they leave two entrances to begin with (p. 20), closing the one or the other alternately, as the protection of the fire dictates. In spite of the best possible covering of the framework, a great deal of cold air flows in at ground level, which annoys the occupants. Hence the entire floor surface of the interior is dropped as much as 50 centimeters (p. 23). This protects the occupants from the penetrating air, while the spreading warmth of the fire, which can

/395 cont./

•374 burn quietly, is not lost. Similar advantages are afforded by a wall of mussel shells, which grows in rings in those places chosen year after year for the dwelling. Here it is superfluous to lower the ground level in the interior by excavating, because the outer wall rises above it in any case.

At times when a storm becomes particularly strong and the fire cannot be protected, the people are wrapped in a thick cloud of ashes and smoke within their hut. While this is going on, they lie flat on the ground and cover themselves with pieces of leather. Sometimes it is hours before they get up and shake off the layer of ashes from their bodies and belongings. Sometimes they must endure heavy showers of rain which make them tremble with cold. As soon as possible they again start a gaily blazing fire and move very close to it in order to get warm through and through after all their discomfort.

372 The Indians could not do without their fire in the canoe
505 any more than in their hut, either by day or night, because on the water they are even more helplessly exposed to the hardships of the weather in their unfriendly homeland. They carry it with them everywhere and without exception. If heavy rain should extinguish it, they make straight for shore. The fire, narrowly confined, is laid in the middle section on a safe, partly wet layer of clumps of turf, gravel, and clods of earth (57), which prevents

57. On this subject Outes (g) :52 says only: "The fire, especially in the canoes, is maintained on stones and earth" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (q) :304 gives more detailed statements.

it from burning through. It is kept going with short, thin pieces of wood, and they do not let high flames develop. They are constantly aware of the danger threatening the bark vessel from this fire. If the boat should rock badly, they extinguish the embers for safety's sake by pouring water from the sea over them. Even when the journey is smooth, they permit only a weak glow, and when someone wishes to warm himself, he moves closer to it. The boys and girls in any case crouch in the middle of the boat.

/398 cont./

372 374 The vital importance of fire as such is increased still more by its many uses. It is an unsurpassed protection chiefly against cold and dampness. What it means to these people who, day after day, almost stark naked, are exposed to rain and snow, fog and wind, salt water, and wet earth can be adequately appreciated only by someone who has personally experienced the comfort of the fire under those conditions. The fire, always available in the hut and in the canoe, thoroughly warms the parts of the body that are uncomfortable. In a few minutes the feeling of cold vanishes and the stiffness of the limbs disappears, delicate wisps of steam rise from the surface of the body which has been drenched with rain, and anyone lingering for a while at the fire is restored to life. A person who wishes to have its effect for a longer time makes a small fire beside his pallet or the place where he sits. He brings his arms or legs quite close to it or bends his head and the upper part of his body over it. Everyone who must stay too far away from the fire in the middle part of the hut provides for himself in this manner.

752 His inseparable association with fire also explains why there is scarcely a Yamana to be met who does not have scars from burns (61). Small children often injure themselves badly.

61. After direct observations Hyades (f):559 even stated: "There is not a Fuegian who does not show mottling on his body, especially on his legs, due to the effect on the skin of prolonged stays in the immediate vicinity of the fire" /translated from French/.
Bove writes (MM:XVII, 235; 1883): "Professor Spegazzini examined more than fifty Fuegians, and did not find one amongst them free from the mark of serious burns" /cited in English/.

I saw coarse scar tissue, indicating a serious injury, on the entire right leg of a grown girl, the daughter of Felipe (62).

62. In more recent times, on July 19, 1902, J. Williams (MM:XXXVI, 277; 1902) reported the death "of a woman from burns.

302
386

/427 cont./

Like their neighbors in the northeast and northwest, the Selk'nam and the Halakwulup, the Yamana use only three pigments for their decorative painting, namely, black, white, and red (106), which they apply as a powder mixed with water or

106. The majority of European visitors noted these three colors and mentioned them. See Fitz-Roy (a):139, Darwin (a) :238, Hyades (q) :349, Weddel:152, and others.

fish oil. They can get black pigment, yapusáke (according to BD:654 also yapusóx), most easily, which is nothing more than ground charcoal. This dust is usually rubbed dry over the whole body, but for the face it is mixed with fish oil before it is applied. This mixture is also used to draw lines and dashes.

The white pigment, tumarápu, is chalk. They value chiefly the pure, fine calcareous earth found in Puerto Róbalo and Puerto Eugenia, both in the central part of the north shore of Navarino Island. They take it out, soften it and knead it with water, form it into a lump, and keep it, ready for use, in a pouch made of gut. They obtain smaller amounts for urgent /428/ use by heating a few Mytilus shells in the hut fire and afterwards crushing them to a powder between stones. This chalk powder is never prepared with fish oil or blubber because it would lose its shiny white color. Instead of water they use their own saliva, which makes the mixture more adhesive when dashes or dots are drawn on the face or the body. With the incisors a little powder is scraped off the hard lump and mixed with saliva (107),

107. According to Hyades (q):300, there is even a special verb for this, namely, "Jamba (or Jampa) toumarapou: to chew clay in order to dilute it with saliva" /translated from French/.

obtained by a vigorous chewing motion, to form a thick paste. A finger is then moistened with it in the mouth if one wishes to draw coarse lines. When more delicate drawings are made with a

/428 cont./

302 386 little stick, the mixture is spit into the left palm and the stick dipped into it. If the whole body is to be painted, the white powder is mixed with a little water, and the thick paste is smeared over the skin with the flat of the hand. After it has dried, of course, this layer of color gradually falls off.

They go to some trouble to obtain the red pigment, known as imi and more often sewua, which is used far more extensively. Their emotional preference for bright scarlet may play a decisive part here. Hyades (p):329 corroborates this (108): "they prefer

108. He also says: "Red is the favorite coloring matter of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. From the chemical analysis he gives we see that iron oxide is the chief ingredient of this earth mixture.

vivid colors, especially red" /translated from French/. In several places in the west, more frequently than elsewhere, one [317] comes across thin layers of a yellowish or reddish or rust-colored mineral deposit, which is all the more desirable the less greasy and drier it is. Hyades (q):350 writes that the Indians "collect this ocher from pebbles to which it adheres; it shows that these stones probably were for a time in ferruginous water" /translated from French/. A lump the size of a fist is stirred with fresh water on an outspread rag of leather or a flat stone, kneaded well, and kept damp in the piece of leather until there is a sunny day with no wind. Then the embers of the hut fire are stirred up with some dry, sound wood. They wait until the smoke has disappeared and no breeze blows up the ashes, whereupon the still damp lump of clay is carefully placed in the fire so that it is thoroughly heated. It is vermilion when it is taken out with a stick. Ashes and embers are scraped off the surface, and it is pounded to a fine powder between stones. This powder is col- [415] lected in a piece of sea lion gut. The Indians are almost superstitiously exact in the preparation of this red pigment, for they are extraordinarily appreciative of its glowing brightness which neither dirt nor ashes impairs. It is used often and in various ways, but they like it best for facial painting, and then almost always

/428 cont./

302 in the form of a thick paste mixed with seal oil. It is prepared
386 less often in the palm of the left hand, more frequently in a medium-sized Mytilus /429/ shell so that the mixture can be well stirred and evenly applied. The red coloring must be uniform.

302 As has already been mentioned, in using all three colors
413 they sometimes prefer to mix the powder with oil or blubber instead of using it dry. If they want to make even strokes and precise dots, they cut a suitable painting stick, known as talaxikamána in the dialect of the west, puscitákutasěna in the central dialect, derived from ikamána, "to paint," "to draw." The little stick is about ten centimeters long, sharp at one end and smoothly cut off and flattened like a spatula at the other end. It is used to draw lines. If they want to draw dots, they dip the other end into the color and place it on the skin like a stamp. Almost every woman carries this little stick around with her everywhere. The sponsor uses it daily to paint her candidate during the protracted initiation ceremonies, čiexaus. A person who is without one easily and quickly makes himself another (109).

109. Hyades (q):300 speaks of an "awl or spatula of wood" /translated from French/. Moreover, he gives linguistic expressions for the many patterns of drawing and painting, which are given in greater detail and probably complete in BD.

415 Since the white and, even more, the red pigments are
237 valued, they are carefully kept in a kind of color pouch, known as yāi or yāiyi. For this purpose they like to use the esophagus of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus), known as álakuš yāiyi, or the small intestine of seals (110). A piece 25 to 45

110. Hyades (q):350 mentions them as "bags made from the windpipes of seals or porpoises /translated from French/, and Lothrop (b):133, as "small sacks made from the throats of seal" /cited in English/.

X881 /835 cont./
346 comfortable seating for many people and can be extended in length at will, so that all are safely under shelter.

X881 The Yamana, however, are not satisfied with this plain construction, but decorate it to a considerable extent on the inside.
346 They are satisfied artistically with painting simple designs on wood.
352 Formerly when they did not have the European iron ax, they
531 scraped the bark off single small trunks with mussel shells and painted their designs directly on the exposed wood fibers. This is still done, but nowadays they more often make long, narrow little tablets with their ax, which are placed against the framework on the interior, are slightly curved at the bottom, and form an arch up to the highest center line. They are placed 40 to 60 centimeters apart and usually in such a way that two are opposite each other.

Finally, in the upper part of the framework they fasten short, small, painted tablets and sticks which hang down freely. The latter are 25 to 35 centimeters long, cylindrical, with a smooth surface and ends cut off straight. The thinner end points downward. The little tablets are always long and narrow, 20 to 45 centimeters long, seven to ten centimeters wide, and the corners are either rounded or sharp. In the latter case, the wider of the two narrow sides ends in a short, square little handle into which a small hole is bored or a flat notch is cut. The little tablets and sticks, yëxalapáteg ikamanáki, are fastened by a tendon or reed stalk in the center of the vaulted framework where they hang down freely and lightly swing in the draft or the vibration of the framework (cf. the reproductions on Plates 2 and 3).

If the Yamana wish to paint these ornamental plaques, as
• [386] well as the small trunks and long, small tablets, they use the customary colors, black, white, and red, which they mix with seal blubber. They apply this mixture with their fingers, arranging dots and lines in varied patterns. The person painting them follows his artistic inspiration of the moment and his feeling for beauty; hence all kinds of combinations of lines, dots, and circles appear in manifold variety.

The Yamana repeatedly assured me that these ornamental objects had no particular meaning and served exclusively to beautify /836/ their čiëxaus hut (256). They are left there after

256. Reproductions of these ornamental plaques

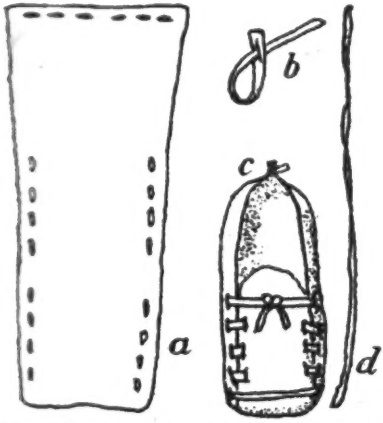

FIGURE 12.—Yahgan moccasin. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 46.)

291 probably borrowed them. The *Yahgan* occasionally used a rude fingerless working glove of hide. The clothing of the *Yahgan* seems to us utterly inadequate, given the climatic conditions—temperatures commonly around and well below freezing point in winter, high winds, frequent snow, hail, sleet, and cold rain—but in view of the seeming [177] role played in their decline by introduced European clothing and their relative good health prior thereto, perhaps their clothing was reasonably well adapted to the environment.

302 **Hairdressing and depilation.**—The hair was worn loose, not in braids, and was often banged. Sometimes a sort of tonsure was worn. A sharp-edged mussel shell was used to cut the hair. For [237] combing the hair, more commonly the jawbone of a porpoise or otter, or a toothed comb made of whalebone, was used; sometimes, a brush comb made of a bundle of roots (Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 138) or of quills (Gusinde, 1937, p. 423). Depilation, with two mussel shells as tweezers, of all face and body hair was practically universal, for both sexes.

304 **Scarification.**—Scarification was practiced as a mourning observance and tattooing as an initiation rite (Gusinde, 1937, p. 863), but neither for ordinary decorative purposes. There was no head deformation, no ear, lip, or septum piercing, no body mutilation of any other kind.

302 **Painting.**—Smearing the head and body with grease or oil was as much protective as decorative. Face and body painting was common, sometimes with use of a small spatula. Only three colors— [386] red, black, and white—were used. Red was derived from burnt earth, black from charcoal, and white from clay. Red symbolized peace;

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

301 a small hole near the lip of the shell. Through these holes a braided sinew cord was run, doubled back on itself, and lashed with spiral wrappings of sinew. This method of stringing is illustrated in fig. 50. The shells thus united are always graded according to size, sometimes with the biggest shell at one end and the smallest at the other, sometimes with the big shells in the middle and the small ones at either end.

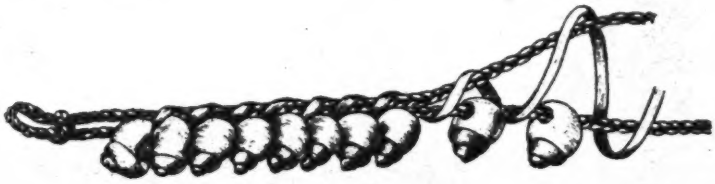

FIG. 50.—Detail of Yahgan shell necklace. Length of shells, one-half in. (14/2339)

USE OF PAINT

386 Like the Ona, the Yahgan made regular use of a red paint (*ímí*) obtained by burning earth, a black paint (*yapúshak*) made of
822 charcoal, and a white paint (*tum'rápo*) of clay. According to Fitzroy (p. 177) and Dabbene (1907, p. 58) these colors have symbolic significance. Thus, white was the sign of war or ceremonial display, black was the mark of grief and mourning, while red denoted peace and happiness. With their paints the Indians
531 adorned their persons, their dance masks, their ceremonial lodges, and some of their tools and utensils. The latter were often embellished with solid color, but body, dance masks, and ceremonial lodges were made the field for painted designs.

In pl. IX is shown a selection of patterns taken from the frame of a ceremonial lodge. No simpler motives of artistic significance can be achieved, for these designs are mere smudges of color applied with thumb or finger. The elements are a dot, a short line, and, in one instance, a circle. Two lines are combined to form a cross, a T, and a chevron. Design units repeat themselves in simple rhythm.

Dance masks are illustrated in figs. 92 and 93. Their designs, though of symbolic significance, are again abysmally primitive. Facial painting may be studied in the photographs published by Koppers (1924); they are similar to the patterns here described.

501 /440 cont./

and the great efficiency of the bark boat, but have described the details only very superficially. Cooper: 197 simply listed the bibliography of the best descriptions.

[171] We should like to mention briefly that this bark canoe, ánan (or, more completely, ajyúsu ánan), is actually very similar in its design and principal parts to the one that the neighboring Halakwulup make (Fig. 25).

a. The Bark Pieces

•396 The vessel characteristic of the Yamana since ancient times is a canoe made out of three large pieces of bark. This is the one we shall describe in what follows. Most of our natives have in most recent times turned to the canoe made out of a single trunk and to the flat boat, but this happened only since Europeans [177] brought them the iron ax.

The entire region is more or less densely supplied with Ant-
396 arctic beeches, but straight, thick trunks that furnish a smooth,
313 even sheet of bark of sufficient length are found only singly and usually deep in the interior of an island. To discover these is probably the only reason a man is obliged to venture deep into the forest. Usually two or three men join together in the search, if for no other reason than because it is difficult for a single man to loosen the thick bark, ajyúsu, from the trunk and because no one goes alone for great distances in the woods (123). This traveling

123. As Hyades (q):350 says: "the chief concern of the Fuegians is to select the best bark; it is often necessary for them to take a long journey to find it" /translated from French/. Despard (b):679 adds: "a man, having associated three others, proceeds into the forest for four or five miles" /cited in English/.

hither and yon is frequently laborious and requires great effort. They almost always decide on Nothofagus betuloides, sér'ci, which

/440 cont./

396 313 develops an even, smooth trunk and becomes thicker than the two other species of beech; moreover, its bark does not crack so easily (p. 28 /untranslated/) (124).

> 124. BD:661 emphasizes: "The bark especially of the hanis [Nothofagus pumilio] is consequently unfit for canoes" /cited in English/. Bridges (k):223 says: "The natives use the bark of the perennial beech [Nothofagus betuloides] for the construction of their canoes, since that of the other species is useless for this purpose" /translated from Spanish/.

When the men come across a trunk that can furnish a suitable piece of bark, they set to work. At least one of them is a capable canoe builder, and he estimates the proportions by eye. They distribute their forces to remove the bark, after they have carefully looked over the faultless piece, free of branches and scar protuberances. The smooth surface must measure at least five meters. The middle part of a long strap of seal skin, ŭkgĭa, [48] wusŭkgĭa, is tossed over one of the higher branches, so that the two halves hang down freely for the time being. There is a loop at one end, which one of the younger men puts around his hips and fastens. While his companion pulls the other end, the young man climbs up the trunk bracing himself with his feet and more or less embracing the trunk with his hands. At the top he begins the incision and /441/ draws it perpendicularly to the bottom. Since he is secured with a cord and slowly lowered by the other man, he has both hands free for this work. /Fig. 25 appears here./ Having arrived at the bottom, he must climb up again. Now he draws the horizontal incision all around the trunk. If the trunk is unusually thick and if one section of bark suffices, he must outline this in the required width by a second lengthwise cut. The second horizontal cut a little above the ground is easier to make.

396 313 412 For this work the man uses a bone wedge and a suitable flat stone as a hammer. The former, actually, is used only for the incision in the bark and, very seldom, also to split thicker trunks into firewood. It is made out of a wide rib bone of the whale and

[Text continues on page 113. -Analyst]

/441 cont./

396 is about 35 centimeters long. There is no actual handle. The
313 piece of bone is filed on a rough stone until the wedge shape ap-
412 pears, with a slightly rounded blade (Fig. 26). The Indians grasp the upper half of this wedge, ila, with the left hand, place it against the bark with light pressure, and, with a stone in the right hand, hammer it in until they hit the fibers of the wood. They handle it like a chisel. If they do not have a wedge of bone, they make the incisions in the bark with a filed mussel shell or with the true shell knife (125), but this takes longer and is far

125. Hyades (q):350 is speaking only of this when he maintains that the Fuegians "cut the bark on the tree by means of their mussel shells, sharpened and provided with a handle" /translated from French/.

more tiring.

396 After the piece of bark in the shape of a long rectangle has
313 been outlined with the bone wedge, the man again ascends to the upper /442/ horizontal cut. Here he loosens the upper edge with the same or with a finer bone wedge, being careful not to split the bark. The more rounded the bark is, the more it tends to do this.

396 Some men use a peeler of bone known as /Figs. 26 and 27
313 appear here/ sfna, according to BD:383 "a bone bark stripper"
412 /cited in English/. Lothrop (b):143 writes sfnaka. It is about 60 centimeters long, quite flat, seven millimeters thick, and has the shape of a curved paper knife. It is made from a whale rib. It is pushed under the bark, little by little, about 15 centimeters deep, and with light leverage the bark is loosened all the way around, all the more safely since the peeler is slightly springy (Fig. 27) (126).

126. Spencer:131 says in this connection: "The Yahgans make incisions with shells or with stone knives, and prise off the slabs with a long, slightly curved and flat bone tool" /cited in English/. Despard (b):679 probably also refers to this piece which he describes as "a whale's bone made into the fashion of a curved knife" /cited in English/.

[Text continues on page 115.-Analyst]

/442 cont./

396 After the man has separated the bark from the trunk at the
313 top and freed a space, he places first one and then the other foot into it. Now the weight of his body does the work. The more the sheet of bark is loosened, the farther he sinks down until finally he seems to be trapped between bark and trunk. He leans against the trunk and grasps the edges of the piece of bark with both hands, or he presses it away from his body with his hands flat. Stamping with his feet in this pinch, he finally peels it off entirely down to the bottom.

One can well imagine that this work is strenuous and uncomfortable, for the tough bark fibers cling fast and the strap does not give a firm hold. Sometimes the man makes it easier
[481] for himself by tying short wooden pegs, tstēskasána, one above the other, to the trunk at given intervals. These he uses like steps, but only until he can slip between the loosened bark and the stripped surface of the trunk where he can hold himself.

396 Everyone knows that the best time to strip the bark easily
313 /443/ is during the spring weeks, from the middle of September
824 to the end of October (127), during which time metabolism in

127. Lovisato (b):134 extends this period, namely, from October to February, but Bridges (MM:VIII, 156; 1874) only to January.

the bast zone is very active and the turgescence of the tissues is very high. Of course, it does not fail to happen that a family loses its boat at some other time of year and that a man must, of necessity, decide to make a new one. Without delay he must obtain bark pieces, no matter how great the effort. He knows that at any other time but spring the stripped bark is more brittle and splits more easily, hence is less useful.

313 As a precaution in the spring a man occasionally peels off
396 pieces of bark which he does not need at the moment, but which he may later use for some urgent repair (128). This does not

128. "Not being able to build his boat except in the spring, the Fuegian foresightedly

313
396

/443 cont./
sometimes makes two of them, but he always puts aside some pieces of bark with which to repair frequent damage" (La Nature: 275) /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):144 adds: "The extra piece was placed under water in a running stream to keep it flexible" /cited in English/.

help him, however, if he loses his vessel at some distant point and if there is no one nearby who will convey him to those pieces of bark. At the least everyone makes a mental note of the trees from which suitable sheets of bark can be removed; then when there is an emergency, he need not waste time looking. Sometimes there is nothing to be done but to wait until the next spring and only then start building anew.

Every piece of bark of the required size is protected from drying up and becoming distorted by being kept under water. It is laid in a pool with a marshy bottom, the buoyancy of which prevents warping. Moderately large stones are placed upon it to keep it from protruding above the surface of the water and expanding unevenly.

β. Its Construction

396

Every Indian knows that the dried sections of the sheet of bark can no longer be made flexible. That is why he generally removes the bark just before he needs it, or he scrupulously keeps it under water until he begins the work. Even when he is working on it and an interruption of several days is forced upon him because of very bad weather or a shortage of food, he at times must place the sheet of bark under water. The sooner he completes his work, the firmer the bark remains.

Three large pieces of bark are necessary (129) for the

129. There are two additional small triangular pieces for the tips on bow and stern. Altogether there are five pieces, never seven as Krickeberg:319 maintains.

/443 cont./

construction of the canoe, two wide pieces for the sides and a long, narrower, thick piece as the center section. /444/ The man drags them out of the woods and lays them on an open and even, grassy surface where he wants to do his work. The loose bark fibers on the inside are scraped off with a scraper or knife, or even with nothing but a sharpened mussel shell. Then the piece is turned around, and the outside smoothed by planing off the surface. When that has been done, the bark pieces, one after the other, are made flexible by being heated.

The sheet of bark is laid on a long fire with even charcoal heat. It is constantly turned and shifted so that all parts on both sides are evenly heated, but also protected from burning. This makes the entire sheet flexible, like thick leather, and in this state it can be bent into the desired shape.

They then make a choice by eye among the three pieces. As we have said, the side parts, *ɔuʌ* (*ɔujo*), must be wide, the center part, *ɔiʌ*, which is to become the bottom of the boat, long and thick. Again measuring with his eye, the man begins [344] by cutting each piece properly. He never uses a rule or any kind of similar tool, such as a string, a little stick, or the span of his own hand. The center piece is made in the shape of a cigar, that is, the right and left third of its total length tapers and the ends are approximately ten centimeters wide, or at least one end, in case the other tapers to a point. The latter is used for the bow, the former for the stern. The other two sheets of bark are cut in such a way that one edge is almost straight, the other curved; both ends of each piece terminate slantwise in narrow points. After the center piece has been cut, the side pieces are made to tally exactly by means of repeated fittings. They must be as flexible as possible, which is why they are again and again drawn through fresh water and afterwards through fire.

Two uniform thin poles are now needed for the upper edge or gunwale. In accordance with the proportions and the contour of the planned construction, about a dozen short sticks are pounded into the ground on either side. These are necessary as a scaffold and support for the parts not yet joined. As soon as the three pieces of bark have been accurately trimmed so that they fit together, they are placed in this framework. Sometimes the men also dig

/444 cont./

out the earth in the shape of the planned canoe. Then each of the two poles, [illegible], one after the other, is sewn to the straight edge of the side sheet of bark, as the board. Their front ends later form the extreme point of the bow which rarely extends two to three centimeters above the bark.

For the sewing, one needs strips about one millimeter thick and three millimeters wide from the most recent layer under the bark of young trunks of Nothofagus antarctica. They are extremely flexible and so tough that they neither peel off in strands nor break, even when they are dried out. If a person can get the more suitable strips of whalebone, he chooses them, but otherwise he must /445/ resort to using the former which he carefully prepares (130). Near the upper edge of the sheet of bark he bores

130. Hyades (p.261 describes how they are prepared: "One divides the fibers of whalebone or of the layer under the bark into strips of equal length and thickness, polished on the edges by being scraped with broken shells" /translated from French/. They are kept under water so as not to dry out or warp prematurely.

a small hole with a pointed bone awl and sticks the strip of wood fiber, [illegible], through it, draws it over the little pole, pulls it tight and continues in spirals about 13 centimeters apart until its entire length is fastened to the edge of the bark. The latter is safely protected by each of the two poles.

Below the long center piece of bark is fastened to the lower edges of the two side sections, approximately eight crossbars are fastened to the top. For these wedges, one chooses branches as thick as a thumb from the [illegible] (Maytenus magellanica), whose wood is very tough and hard. He scrapes off the bark and at either end carves a stub-like bottom. Around the somewhat thinner neck just in front of this bottom he winds the [illegible] thread, and with this he ties each end of the crossbar to the upper edge of the sheet of bark. The deep tapering of the crossbars just short of their ends serves as a collar for the [illegible] strip, preventing it from slipping in either direction. The center crossbar is, of course, the

/445 cont./

39 widest, and the others gradually become shorter toward the bow and stern. They hold the two walls of the canoe apart and in place. The shape of the two upper edges of the canoe is now fixed.

Up to this point the two side sections are held by the sticks hammered into the ground. They remain there when next the bottom, the narrower third sheet of bark, is put into place. At times the body of the boat is turned upside down or on its side for greater convenience in working. In order to make the center piece fit very snugly against the side sections, a step-shaped notching is carved along the entire length of its two side edges and fitted into a small protruding border on the curved edge of each side section. This very exact carving is done with sharp splinters of mussel shells and is easy to do on the thick bottom section. This section is then sewed to the two side pieces with the whalebone or the [illegible] strip. Before these side pieces are pulled taut, the seams are stuffed, section by section, with moss, bundles of hay, and fine red algae to make them as watertight as possible (131) and also to prevent the woody thread from break-

> 131. Moreover, as Hyades (q):351 writes: "they are calked with stalks of wild celery or other plants" /translated from French/. Bridges amplifies this, saying: "The seams are caulked with soaked and bleached stalks of wild celery, to which clay is sometimes added" (MM:III, 38; 1869) /cited in English/.

ing (132). The wife helps with the calking or she does it alone;

> 132. Despard (b):679 calls attention to this: "A rope of hay placed on the seam inside prevents the thread from cutting through" /cited in English/.

she is more skillful at it than the man.

/446/ The body of the canoe is now finished. After that the two triangular end pieces, known as ikuctinix, also tumagal apai,

/446 cont./

396 are put into place on bow and stern. Sometimes only the one on the bow is deemed sufficient, if the excellence of the large bark pieces permits the one on the stern to be omitted. I was told that the construction of the canoe is sounder if the three large pieces of bark do not all taper to fine points at either end, but are cut off straight. The short triangular end pieces that are sewed to the cut surface prevent any tearing or splitting of the keel strip because they fit loosely. These two lǎnčinix are also sewed on with [283 824] ū̂mi threads. Moreover, a thread made of braided mápi Marsippospermum grandiflorum) is wound tight around the extreme tip, its free end knotted on the last or the next-to-the-last small crossbar. *This prevents the fine tip from twisting outward which* it tends to do because it frequently gets damp and then dries again.

The middle third of the edges on both sides of the canoe is most subject to damage, for this is where one climbs in and out and also where most of the things are loaded. Hence, for greater safety, they make a separate gunwale of pieces of bark from a [824] trunk of Maytenus magellanica as thick as an arm. They peel off the bark and split it into equal halves; these are immediately placed on the edges of the canoe, each between two crossbars. Each half bends to form a half cylinder and is automatically clamped into place; it needs no other fastening. This bark facing, tétaka, has another advantage. It extends along the section in which the woman sits to row and thus protects her arms from injury. In rowing and steering she often rests them on the gunwale.

The outer construction of the canoe is now finished. It needs only a few additions to give it support and firmness. For this purpose, slender wooden ribs as thick as a finger are used, [834] namely, branches of Drimys winteri or of a Nothofagus, split down the middle. Both ends are cut to a short point, and the individual ribs bent into a half circle. They are arranged according to their length and pressed into the belly of the canoe so that they lie tight against the entire inner wall and are clamped under the gunwale on either side. These wooden ribs, tstekila, are close to each other; about 50 are used altogether. Before they are finally clamped into place, the small spaces and holes between them and the lower half of the canoe wall are stuffed with moss, algae, and grasses, for the thin-walled construction requires a great deal of calking. The vegetable matter used for this purpose is known

/446 cont./

396 by the collective term, hûsun. Short beech twigs are pushed under the bent-up ends of the ribs, which, as real packing, give them more support and a firm rest. One wants to make the most of the tension, for it, too, strengthens and protects the entire bark wall.

/447/ The central section of the canoe bottom gets the greatest load. Since there is danger of its breaking through, it is strengthened with a few flattened strips of bark placed loosely over the ribs without any fastening. They are arranged in two rows and are easily shoved apart sideways so that in the deepest section, in the center of the canoe, the water that has filtered in can be scooped out from time to time. These pieces of bark, ĭlax, are placed with the bark side against the canoe bottom; they fit against it very well. The weight of the passengers is thus distributed over a broad, springy base.

The canoe, however, is not yet satisfactory, because the strips of bark that have just been put into place are neither sufficiently comfortable for a person to sit upon, nor do they offer a secure footing. Hence a special lining, so to speak, is added in the middle of the canoe by placing several longer strips of bark a hand's breadth wide on top of the ĭlax. The bark side, which has been smoothed, is placed upward; this helps to keep the entire strip flat. The two narrow edges are first cut straight across, and then these lûka, bent into a semicircle, are pressed under the gunwale on each side. They were carefully measured beforehand, hence they rest tightly on the ribs for their entire length. They cover the shorter ĭlax on the floor of the canoe. One lûka strip is placed very carefully beside the other; between the two middle pieces a small slit is left free for bailing out the water that leaks. These lûka and the ribs described above were given the required semicircular shape by repeated elastic bending after they were saturated with water and heated in the fire, Their four edges must be cut very exactly, so that one strip of bark is joined very closely to the next, for only in this way do they serve their purpose (133), namely, to provide the occupants with a place to

133. The length of these bark pieces is determined by the size of the canoe. Hyades (q): 353 overlooked this fact.

396 /447 cont./
sit that is as dry as possible (134).

134. The word given above, according to BD: 283, means "those pieces of bark placed in canoes where the people sit to strengthen the canoe and to guard it from injury, as well as to give comfort to the occupants" /cited in English/.

The canoe is now finished. It takes an industrious man two to three weeks, if he can continue his work undisturbed and if he finds the necessary parts nearby. He always works in the shade, for the rays of the sun would heat the pieces of bark and distort
501 them. The proportions of this vessel depend on the number of members in the family, but the length never exceeds five meters in a straight line between the two extremities. The widest part from one gunwale to the other is under one meter; the depth in the center fluctuates around 70 centimeters (135). /448/ If we

135. Bove (e):157 and Colini: 162 write: "The length varies between four meters and six meters, the width between 70 centimeters and 90 centimeters."

compare the canoe of the Yamana, ʼÍnan, with that of the Halakwulup, we surely cannot overlook the differences in dimensions; the former is noticeably shorter and narrower, even somewhat flatter than the latter (136).

136. More or less detailed descriptions of the bark canoe can be found in Bridges (i):23, Bove (d):291 and (e):157, Cañas Pinochet: 356, Cojazzi: 108, Dabbene (b):180, Despard (b): 679, Fitz-Roy (a):140, Hyades (q):350, Lothrop (b):143, Martial:190, Spegazzini (a):161, Stirling in VSA:XI, 237, 1864, Webster: I, 184, Weddel (a):94, Wieghardt:30, and others. The individual parts used in it are listed in BD, and the kinds of handwork performed are named.

/448 cont./

396 The oars are regarded as part of the most essential equipment. The man makes them of beechwood for his wife. With a bone wedge (Fig. 26), he splits a trunk about 20 centimeters thick into a plank that he cuts and planes with sharpened pieces of mussel shells. In order to be able to grasp the shells better and
396 also to protect his hand against wood splinters, he uses a scrap
293 of leather which is like a mitten (Fig. 28). It is cut nearly trapezoidal in shape from the thick hide of a sea lion, and the two corners of one of the narrow ends are tied together with a little bundle of rushes. This makes a narrow opening through which one sticks the three last fingers of the right hand. The little piece of leather now covers the entire back of the hand and these three fingers, so that they are adequately protected.

/449/ Planing and smoothing the wood is an irksome task.
396 Particular difficulties are encountered at the place where the
501 shaft runs out from the blade because at that point the blade is usually left wide and has an edge. In most of the oars, all of which lack a special handle, one part gently and gradually leads over to the other; they are lancet-shaped, so to speak. The shaft is about a third of the entire length. It is noteworthy that the blade is never sharply differentiated from the shaft, but more or less gradually runs into it (138) and rounds off more narrowly

138. This very strikingly distinguishes it from the woman's oar of the Halakwulup, which has an absolutely rectangular blade, as I duly showed (Gusinde [o]: 547). The measurements for the oars of the Halakwulup are also larger as a whole. Pickering:19 had already observed: "The [Yamana-] Fuegians [are] making the blade [of the paddles] even narrower than do the North-western tribes" /cited in English/.

at the end. The center of the blade is always thicker than the edges and has a completely flat center rib. /Fig. 29 appears here./ Lothrop (b):147 says briefly: "The old-fashioned paddle had a long pointed blade and a short rounded handle. The blade

/449 cont./

396 501 was diamond-shape in section, so there was a tent-like ridge centrally down each side" /cited in English/. The length is never uniformly determined, but depends on the accidental length of the plank, varying by 150 centimeters. The blade measures about ten centimeters at its widest point. The husband adjusts the thickness of the well-rounded blade to suit his wife's wishes (Fig. 29).

501 [462] If necessity or danger during a trip should force a man to take an oar, he handles it in the same manner as the women. He does not, however, have his own oar, as Colini: 237 erroneously maintains.

Fig. 29. Oar Forms.

The most common designation for these oars, so-called paddles, is ǵppi; they are also called tstatēga and tuwēna. Every family carries at least two oars in their vessel.

506 372 501 During the long trips our natives cannot possibly do without the fire. They keep it burning constantly in the canoe (p. 44). In the center of the bottom there is a specially prepared hearth, and adequate care is taken so that the bark underneath does not burn through. On the bottom they place a few flat stones close together so that there are no gaps. /450/ Upon this layer they place a rather large clump of turf which is at least seven centimeters thick, and its tangle of roots and coarse pebbles is turned upward. An alternative is to form a layer out of crushed mussel shells mixed with pebbles and lumps of clay. There is constant and ample moisture from the water that oozes in from below; hence this thick layer cannot become hot, and there is still less possibility that the bark floor can burn through. Since air has free access from all sides, the fire cannot flare up

/455 cont./

501 It takes boundless audacity to risk journeys to distant regions in an extremely fragile, completely unprotected vessel on treacherous waves. The vessel's construction shows its limited, brief durability. No matter how anxiously the wife tries to protect it, sooner or later and unavoidably the bark splits and cracks, if only because of the unequal heating of individual parts by the sun, and even more by many unavoidable blows, by the rough handling on the beach when it is brought to safety, and finally by the shifting load when the natives board and leave the canoe. True, the bark is flexible and it bends, but in doing so the firm cohesion of the finest fibers is loosened, which leads to visible breaks.

If a canoe is spared an actual accident and unusual damage, it serves a family who takes good care of it a whole year or somewhat longer. My Indian friends and my European informants assured me of this. Earlier reports mention lower figures. Hyades (g):38 and (q):304 writes: "In general one assumes that a good canoe will remain serviceable for not more than half a year (146), despite all the care that man and woman together

146. Bridges, too, says: The canoes "are very fragile, and it is necessary to make a new one every six months" (MM:III, 115; 1869) /cited in English/.

employ to preserve it." Despard (b):680 even says that "these canoes last only about three months" /cited in English/(147).

147. If this is true, his next sentence is most certainly correct: "So a man has to make a good many [canoes] in a few years, and must become pretty expert by the time he is 40" /cited in English/.

Dabbene (b):180, however, agrees with me that its "duration can be reckoned approximately at one year" /translated from Spanish/.

•396 The uncertainty in this matter among European judges may have arisen from the fact that in the fall, as well as in the spring,

/455 cont./

396 one man or another will build a canoe. If he has observed that the vessel he built only the previous spring will hardly last out the winter, he sets about early enough, that is, in the fall, to make a new one. He does not take great pains with it, since the bark is not as good in the fall and in any case he will commence a new and better one in the spring. This is the only explanation for Bridges' assertion (i):23 that "the canoes are made twice a year in the spring and autumn. The former are called hǎkua, the latter Een-ǎnan [better kīsajǎnan] i.e. Winter Canoe. The natives are specially careful to make the latter well" /cited in English/. Spring is actually the time when the great majority of families make a new vessel (p. 115).

504 /456/ Through the years every man acquires some skill in this work, but this fact alone does not prevent him from treating his canoe most carefully and giving it his utmost attention. If he should lose it in the course of the year, he and his family would be in serious difficulty, sometimes in danger of starving. Heavy blows against rocks and tree trunks are particularly damaging because the bark sections break or tear. Rubbing against pebbles and sand soon causes the bottom and the threads of the seam to be scraped through. For this reason, the vessel is often kept in the open channel after the family has been brought to shore by the woman. Wherever the gently sloping beach permits, they make a sort of toboggan slide of damp Macrocystis algae over which they drag the canoe and upon which it rests. When boarding the canoe, everyone places his foot very carefully; in fact, everyone avoids any jolt and violent movement, for the seams easily burst and the seam threads become more brittle the older they are. In loading and unloading large objects are handled gently and cautiously.

422 Even though the man makes the canoe almost entirely by
462 himself, it is not regarded as his property; the woman uses it and takes care of it. The man gives it to her, and it actually belongs to her or to the entire family. All the duties during the trip, as well as before and after, are her responsibility. She
462 alone paddles. Squatting in the rear third of the vessel, close
502 against the right side, she grasps the oar shaft with both hands, the left above the right, and pushes the oar diagonally backwards

/457 cont./

396 462 [422] Man and wife have their special share in the vessel; he builds it, and she keeps it in repair. Circumstances are such that every family owns only a single canoe, which is why it must be guarded all the more carefully (149). One canoe is never

149. Hyades (q):352 confirms that "the Fuegians take the greatest care of their canoes" /translated from French/. Others are of the same opinion.

exactly like another in all details, although they are all built according to the same pattern. Differences in size are determined by the available raw material, and some men are far more skillful than their neighbors. The term wāalina is used for a man who would find it difficult to build a canoe. The men help each [476] other in building it, and one man repays the other for his services with weapons or other valuable objects. No Yamana would hire himself out as a carpenter, but he does work for a close relative who is sick and helpless. From what has been said, we realize that the canoe is a vital and absolutely indispensable object for these Fuegians (150).

[439] 150. In the middle of 1868 Bridges, who was then a young man, brought two bark canoes to England. It was said that one of these was meant for a boy, the other for a girl. Actually these were models which, as such, had been ordered from an Indian. After that our Fuegians many times offered such small models for sale to Europeans. The two boat models mentioned above were described in detail in the "Illustrated London News" of August 18, 1868 (MM:III, 38; 1869). Many museums have good pieces of this kind.

501 /458 cont./
177 log" /cited in English/.

For about 20 years the dugout actually did rule supreme, while the bark canoe became more and more scarce. Since then a flat skiff has made its appearance, and today every family owns one of them.

396 /459/ There is not much to say about the construction and form of the dugout. A sound trunk was needed for it, which Nothofagus betuloides usually offered. It had to be quite smooth, straight, and tall enough so that when it was finished it corresponded in length to the medium-sized bark canoe. It was about a third narrower than the latter, whatever the thickness of the selected trunk. The tree was felled with blows of an ax, and the upper part, along with the crown, was cut off. Then the stump was trimmed. After the bark was peeled off, a short section of the curvature of the trunk was cut away, the two edges of which later became the gunwale. Then the hollowing-out process began and continued until the walls were reduced to a thickness of three to five centimeters. The natural curvature of the outer surface was retained, and only the bow was made blunt at the end. The work was extraordinarily facilitated if the cross-cut at the end was not retained. Instead, a small, U-shaped board was nailed on, which had to be carefully calked.

Sometimes the men made it easier for themselves by burning out the trunk, still upright, from below, but they guarded the fire well to make sure that the body of the prospective boat would not have holes in it. This procedure was advisable when the inner tissues of the trunk were largely rotten while the thick layer of wood fibers under the bark was still intact. One often finds such phenomena in the Antarctic beech forest.

The long open sides of the thin-walled body of the boat were widened at the top in the following manner. They spread a thick, protective layer of sand lengthwise and about 20 centimeters wide, and smeared the sides thickly with blubber. Then they placed glowing wood embers, evenly distributed, upon the entire layer of sand. The intense heat was transferred to the walls and made them somewhat expansible. This explains why every dugout looks as though it had been charred and burned. Suitable short thwarts squeezed in between the two side walls forced the latter apart and

/459 cont./

396 thus permanently widened the upper half. Once the tree trunk was hollowed out and closed off at the stern, no further additions were required and it could be put to use immediately. The na-
[372] tives had to be content with a small fire which they kept going throughout the trip in a square tin can.

501 Compared with the bark canoe, however, which had served the Yamana for centuries as their sole means of transportation,
504 the modern dugout had many disadvantages. It capsized much more easily because it was not resilient and did not yield in any way, and because it was at least a quarter shallower than the bark canoe. Besides that, it could be moved on land only with great difficulty. True, the natives also made a sort of toboggan slide for it out of fresh algae, tuwētēka, over which it was hauled up and down. In spite of that, all the members of the family had to exert themselves to the utmost, otherwise they could not budge it. The wood of the /460/ Antarctic beech is heavy. Finally, the dugout could almost never be anchored in the open channel when the rocky coast did not permit its being hauled up. It was too heavy and too slippery to become entangled in a mass of floating Macrocystis. Ropes made of bundles of rushes (Fig. 31) are too weak to keep the boat tied up near the coast. If, in spite of this, it could be left out in the water, the natives could almost always expect it to overturn (154). Righting it again

154. Lothrop (b):146 says of the dugout which he took back to New York, "it was the most unstable vessel in which the writer has ever set foot" /cited in English/.

required great effort on the part of the woman, and bailing it out took considerable time.

501 In most recent times the natives have improved the dugout very much by elevating the gunwale slightly all the way around with a strip of wood nailed or sewed on. This afforded greater safety on the trip, but also added considerably to the weight of the whole thing.

Undeniably the dugout is more durable, but in contrast to this one advantage there are great drawbacks. Hence it is not surprising that after a few attempts the families of those days

/460 cont./

501 abandoned this new invention. Today we run across an occasional dugout used for short trips; a new one has not been made for three decades.

501 126 On my second trip I brought back to the museum in Santiago (Gusinde [b]:145) a dugout that had for years lain in the woods untouched near the mouth of the Rio Douglas. As Lothrop (b):146 says: "the last double-ended dugout afloat was purchased and is now in the Museum [of the American Indian in New York]. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy" /cited in English/. In short, anyone who owns a 501 dugout, like old Pedro, uses it as long as it is still serviceable; middle aged men have long since adopted the skiff. In a period of about 40 years the dugout came into use among the Yamana and disappeared again (155).

155. In this connection Spencer:88 says briefly: "Bark canoe precedes dug-out, which has now and for some years past entirely replaced bark" /cited in English/.

396 [439 177] 2. The Flat Skiff. Since the sawmills were started on Beagle Channel by Europeans, the natives can easily obtain good boards of different thicknesses. They are also given nails and iron strips. If they cannot buy their own tools, they borrow them everywhere. They do not lack the skill to make a low, short skiff. It must be wide because it is short and low. They curve the gunwale and produce a noticeably elevated bow with a sharp keel that slants backward. This makeshift (156) has /461/ no advan-

156. Lothrop (b):146 gives a short description and an illustration of it.

tages over a European construction, except for the tin can that is placed in the center for the fire. In the forward part they nail a narrow wooden crosspiece with a small hole in the middle. Into this is placed a short mast. If a light breeze comes up from the 502 rear, they hoist a piece of sacking, remnants of a woman's skirt,

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

Red symbolized Peace;
302 white, war and ritual; black, mourning. Designs were very simple,
[822] confined to lines, dots, and, less commonly, circles.

Ornaments.—Personal adornments were: necklaces, of sections of
301 bird leg bones strung on braided sinew, of strung punched shells
237 (*Photinula violacea*), or of frapped hanks of braided sinew, often colored red; bone or shell pendants, sometimes attached to the necklaces; and wristlets and anklets of sinew and hide. Feather diadems and bird-skin, feather, or down-ornamented fillets or forehead caps were also used.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Canoes.**—Travel by the *Yahgan* was almost entirely by water. Their earlier sole form of watercraft was the built-up bark canoe, of a crescent or gondola shape that characterizes other craft well up the west coast of South America to Perú; the plank boat, the *Araucanian* dugout, the seal-hide float, and the double-ended reed balsa were absent (Lothrop, 1932 a, pp. 253–54).

The *Yahgan* canoe (pls. 34, 35) was made of three strips of beech bark, one-half inch to more than an inch (1.2 to 2.5 cm.) thick, which ordinarily formed the bottom and two sides respectively. Average length was about 15 feet (5 m.), with a range from about 12 to 20 feet (4 to 7 m.); gunwale to gunwale width in center, about 3 feet (1 m.); depth in center, about 2 feet (0.6 m.). The bark, taken only
396 from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), was stripped off in the spring, when the sap was running. In removing the bark from the tree, the natives used a bone chisel or mussel-shell knife to cut it and a bone barking tool to strip it, and in ascending the tree held themselves thereto with a strong rawhide thong. After smoothing the bark on both sides with a small chisel, they cut it into three cigar-shaped pieces. These pieces were then sewn together with whalebone or with shreddings of warmed saplings, the seams being wadded with the stringy seams of wild celery grass or with moss mixed with mud. The gunwales were next lashed on. The ribs, of split Winter's bark, were then fitted in and locked in place under the gunwales. The thwarts, usually five or six, of hardwood, were inserted and lashed to the gunwale.

501 The fireplace was set amidships. The paddle was in one piece with a long lanceolate blade and short round-section handle without cross-piece or other grip. The *Yahgan* canoe leaked much; the cylindrical bailers (pl. 33, *e*) were usually of bark or sealskin. Sealskin thongs
[283] and braided grass ropes were used as mooring lines. The construction and repair of the canoe were the man's task; but its management, in-
[962] cluding paddling and mooring off shore in a kelp bed, were the woman's. In a sense, she was mistress of the canoe, with its hearth and ever-lighted fire. In a favorable wind a crude sail, made of a sealskin or

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

principal purpose for which such stones were used was opening shellfish. These stones never were hafted. 442

6. Sharpening Stones.—For sharpening knife and scraper blades the Yahgan employed a smooth stone (*chípi*) such as is shown in fig. 66, *b*. They can frequently be picked up on old camp-sites. The rounded hammerstones may also have been employed for sharpening.

Fig. 71.—Yahgan pumice polisher. Length, 2½ in. (14/2224)

7. Pumice.—For polishing, in place of our sandpaper or the Ona fox-skin and grit, the Yahgan used pumice (*hiól*). This material (fig. 71) is found on Picton island and on the coast of Tierra del Fuego to the north. It frequently floats down Beagle channel and may be picked up on the beach.

Boats and Boating

Bark Canoe

In the old days the Yahgan used a curved bark canoe which in outline is well described by Goicueta's phrase, "like a moon of four days, with raised tips." The last one ever afloat is shown in fig. 72. 501

Fig. 72.—The last Yahgan bark canoe ever used. (Courtesy of Rev. John Williams.)

The bark employed (*afirshun*) was taken from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), known to the Yahgan as *súschi*. It had to be stripped from the tree in the spring (October or November) when the sap was rising. For this purpose a tool made from the jaw-bone of a whale (*sánakaf*) was employed (fig. 67), and the 396

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

• 396 men ascended the tree by means of a thong of seal-skin (*wurrsh*). An industrious and forehanded man often removed two pieces of bark at the right season of the year in case his canoe might be wrecked. The extra piece was placed under water in a running stream to keep it flexible and was held there by means of stones. The piece intended for immediate use was scraped with a shell scraper (*tuʷwɛ̄na*) until the fat inner bark (*ushkaq*) had been removed. The bark was then cut to pattern, three cigar-shape pieces usually serving for the skin of the canoe.

The bark was next tightly sewn together with pieces of whalebone, or, if none were obtainable, with saplings warmed before the fire and shredded when very hot. Split saplings were then set close together for ribs (*ushkúlakin*), and the ends of these were held in place by tapering gunwales (*wurri*) lashed to the bark sides (fig. 73).

[501]

FIG. 73.—Model of Yahgan canoe. Length, 40½ in. (14/4331)

Across from gunwale to gunwale, thwarts, usually six in number, were lashed in order to keep the sides from collapsing. Finally the slender bow and stern were joined to the nearest thwart by a seal-hide thong or a braided grass rope in order to give additional strength to the extremity of the vessel.

To complete the canoe a fireplace (*af*) was installed amidships, for even in these days of matches and European clothes no Yahgan goes to sea without his fire. The fireplace consisted of a heavy piece of sod with much earth attached. Over this was a layer of pebbles, and the whole was soon covered with ash. In the bow a rest for harpoons was installed.

442 182 /438/ The more inflexible the raw material is from which our Indian manufactures his possessions, the more convincingly apparent are the creative and organizing power of his spirit, his keen gift of observation, and his dexterity. Repeated attempts must have preceded the shapes and the individual pieces chosen for the permanent store of possessions of this tribe and retained by many generations. If we examine each individual item, its extreme appropriateness in every respect becomes so clear that we realize hardly anything can be improved to any extent which would at the same time also increase the efficiency of the object. By itself the object looks poor and artless, but if you see how it is applied and used and with what little effort it functions very accurately, you cannot refrain from marveling at its merits.

178 If we compare the accounts since the middle of the nineteenth century with the reports from the first two centuries in ● 411 which Europeans and Yamana came together, it is apparent that 231 a change has taken place in the utilization of individual objects. By this I do not mean that European goods, such as knives and axes, have been taken over, but that bow and arrow were gradually superseded by the sling. The real reason for this -- to mention the point already -- seems to be the introduction and swift adoption everywhere of the dog. The dog serves the Indian in various ways in his hunt for otter. We know that it is not easy to aim accurately with bow and arrow from a canoe. I have frankly expressed the opinion that only after the Europeans discovered the Yamana did the dog become their inevitable companion, which is how travelers have designated this animal since the middle of the last century. Aside from this small change, all the things that are used daily have been preserved in their original form until the present time.

176 The implements and weapons of our Fuegians cannot be too thoroughly investigated and observed in their use. They reveal a gift of creative invention in these Indians, who have been wrongly underestimated and so often pitied as the "most miserable people." Yet they have created tools for themselves which make it very much easier for them to obtain food and to protect their bodies.

/461 cont./

2. Bow and Arrow

411 No one seriously doubts the fact that the Selk'nam are joined, so to speak, to their bow and arrow (Vol. I, 230). The significance of this weapon for the Yamana, however, is usually underestimated or completely misunderstood. I suspect that in former times these things played an important role, and historical accounts substantiate this. Anyone looking over the oldest travel accounts finds that the bow and arrow are mentioned at least as often as other weapons and implements, with the exception of the bark canoe.

/462/ In the first drawing of the Yamana for which we are indebted to L'Hermite (Fig. 10 /Ed., see foreign text, untranslated portion/), bow and arrow appear in the foreground, whereas spears are in the background. Decker mentions the former first and only later the "long javelins" (p. 52 /untranslated/). Among the material possessions of the inhabitants of Orange Bay, J. d'Arquistade saw, only "some bows and arrows and some mother-of-pearl necklaces" /translated from French/ (p. 56 /untranslated/). Later George Forster (a):382 even maintained of the Fuegians near Isla Waterman: "Bows and arrows were their only weapon." Fifty years later, in December, 1823, Weddel (a):110 bartered, among other "trifles," bows and arrows with the Indians in Seno Año Nuevo. "The bows were mostly three feet, eight inches long and made out of a smooth, firm, flexible wood. The bowstring is seal skin or plaited gut. The arrows are made of hard wood and are well polished, 25 inches long, and have a triangular pointed stone forced in at the tip. When the arrow penetrates something, the wood can be pulled out, but the stone sticks fast." In April, 1830, some seven years later, Murray reported to the English fleet commander, King:429, that the natives of Bahía Windhond had as weapons "fish spears, bows, arrows, and slings" /cited in English/. Shortly thereafter Fitz-Roy (a):184 submitted the following description: "These arrows are of hard wood, well polished, and quite straight. They are about two feet in length, and in a notch at the point have a sharp triangular piece of agate, obsidian, or broken glass. The bow is from three to four feet long, quite plain, with a string made of twisted sinews" /cited in English/. Almost at the same time Webster:I, 184 lay at

/462 cont./

441 anchor in Bahía San Francisco at Cape Horn, and there he met a few Fuegians. Their weapons were "slings, bows and arrows. The latter are neatly made, and pointed with obsidian. Their bows and arrows are employed for the destruction of birds" /cited in English/ (p. 111 /Ed., see foreign text, untranslated portion; the passage referred to is in English/). Wilkes:129 speaks of these weapons, though not in detail; actually he bartered for them among our Fuegians and to this day there is a bow stave in the Peabody Museum in Salem, U.S.A. Colvocoresses:40, however, who was a lieutenant serving under the commander mentioned above, says emphatically that "their arms consisted of bows, arrows, and spears" /cited in English/ (p. 119 /Ed., see foreign text, untranslated portion; the passage referred to is in English/) (159).

> 159. Cooper:208 admits that "some of the explorers who visited the Yahgans in the earlier part of the last century found them in possession of the bow and arrow" /cited in English/. His qualification, "but it was not common," does not seem correct to me.

441 178 [171] When, toward the middle of the last century, the Anglican missionaries made their first contacts with our Fuegians, bows and arrows had by no means disappeared, but were somewhat less prominent. For example, in March, 1864, Stirling traded for them with European articles (VSA:XI, 237; 1864) and Bridges (j):314 mentions them repeatedly (160). /463/ Later, however,

> 160. When he (k):239 speaks of the Kina ceremony, in which the men threaten the women with their various weapons, this does not mean that the bow at that time had become merely a plaything of the men.

they were used progressively less, and the members of the Mission Scientifique ran across them only very occasionally. As Hyades (q):360 and (h):34 frankly admits: "They are actually very rarely used" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, Martial: 192

/463 cont./

411 178 maintains that "the Yahgans who live in the region east of the Beagle Channel also use the bow and arrow to hunt guanaco" /translated from French/, whereas, according to Hyades (q):200, they were used in the central region to hunt birds (161). The

> 161. "These arrows are used very little at Orange Bay; the Fueguians say that they are sometimes useful to them in killing birds" (ibid.) /translated from French/.

Italian expedition under Bove that traveled through those regions in the following year saw neither bow nor arrow. Spegazzini's private complaint (o):162 prevailed also among his companions, namely, that among the Fueguians "the bow and arrows are well known to them, but I saw no one carrying such instruments" /translated from Spanish/. Luck was so little with Lovisato (a): 198 and (c):721 that he cried in despair: "The Yahgan... have neither bows nor arrows; on the contrary, I found no one among these people who knew how to make an arrow point for me" /translated from Italian/ (162). On my four trips I made a point

> 162. He (b):127 describes these weapons in detail as unique among the Selk'nam; he also mentions that they are used by the Halakwulup, but not by the Yamana. Compare Krickeberg: 218.

of asking about bows and arrows, but not a single specimen was in existence. Similarly, Lothrop (b):155 was unable to find out anything about them.

411 From these communications and reports, which could be amplified with numerical details, we may deduce the undeniable fact that this Indian tribe actually used bow and arrow. The conditions of our natives have been investigated much too little in the past centuries, and for a long time European ships anchored only a few days in individual places in the south and east. From the existing travel accounts one might conclude that these weapons were used more often in the east and less in the central region,

/463 cont./

[41] and, without thinking about it, that they were generally absent in the west (163). This could certainly not be justified, for the

> 163. For example, Debbene (b):185 maintains, without justification, "The bow and arrows were used solely by the Yahgan who inhabit the coasts of Beagle Channel, and it appears that they were never the preferred weapons" /translated from Spanish/.

adjoining southern Halakwulup always had bows and arrows. Without offering definite proof, therefore, no one can maintain that the western Yamana between the central Yamana and the Halakwulup did not know about these weapons. In former times a foreign fleet almost never visited the homeland of the western Yamana. It is true, however, that the people of the east carried these weapons more often than the rest of their countrymen, who usually bartered for them with the Selk'nam who were their only neighbors. Bows and arrows were also more suitable than other /465/ implements for hunting the guanaco which lives only in the western Beagle Channel and throughout Navarino Island.

[71] Finally, it can be proved that since the discovery of the Yamana the use of the bow and arrow constantly decreased, until finally, at the end of the nineteenth century, not a single remaining specimen was to be found in their possession (164).

> 164. Lothrop (b):185 also acknowledges this to be the actual fact of the matter.

α. The Bow

[41] [71] From the start, to prevent justifiable surprise, we should like to emphasize that all three Fuegian tribes make their bow and arrow in exactly the same way. There are slight differences only in minor details. These weapons are the most important and almost the only ones of the Selk'nam, which is why we have given a thorough description of them elsewhere (Vol. I, 130).

/464 cont./

The bow and arrow of the Yamana, however, merit a separate description.

To our regret, only four genuine specimens have been preserved from the older cultural heritage of the southernmost Fueguans. These will be dealt with primarily in the following description. For the bow stave, known as wijana, wijana, wijana, they use, without exception, the wood of an Antarctic beech, almost always Nothofagus betuloides (165). As a whole

165. Immoreuskiy Hyades (q)/29b maintains that the Yamana use the wood of Maytenus magellanica for the bow stave. Actually this is almost absolutely inflexible.

the bow is somewhat shorter and also somewhat thinner than that of the Selk'nam. This explains why it has a greater curvature which is said to increase the propelling power of the string. The bow is scraped until the diameter of the center piece is 22 millimeters at the most. From the center which shows a roundish, almond-shaped transverse section, the bow stave tapers in both directions and terminates in short blunt ends. The distance in a straight line between these two ends varies between 120 and 160 centimeters, according to the general terms used by Martial:193.

The ethnographic collection of the University of Göttingen is justifiably proud of owning two bow staves which reached Europe through James Cook's second expedition. One of these belonged for a time to the private collection of the naturalist Reinhold Forster who, with his son George, took part as a scientist in that circumnavigation of the earth (166). /465/ These rare

166. These accounts permit us to draw a conclusion as to the origin of the two bow staves. As is known, Cook's fleet spent about a week toward the end of December, 1774, at Isla Waterman in the Paso de Navidad, during which time they were twice visited by the native Fueguans (p. 87 /annotated/). When they sailed on, the fleet was becalmed in front of Bahía de

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Buen Suceso, and on December 29th the captain sent a boat to shore there. The lieutenant was "received by several inhabitants" when he disembarked among them. George Forster (a):II, 390, adds: "Our men stayed with them only two or three minutes, embarked again, and hurried back on board" (Vol. I, 36). Now it is hardly to be assumed that in this short space of time the sailors were presented with two bows by the native Haus or Selk'nam. It seems much more plausible that at least the bow stave in the private collection of Forster was taken by the latter himself from a Yamana on Isla Waterman, for he refers to this weapon in particular in his report. This probability is confirmed by the fact that the other objects in Göttingen that Cook brought back from his second expedition are characteristic specimens from the cultural heritage of the southernmost Fuegians. I refer to three bone spearheads, small necklaces of mussel shells, and a sling whose center section was made from a scrap of leather from the otter. The Selk'nam, as is well known, use only guanaco leather for their sling (Vol. I, 243).

specimens are 149 centimeters and 152 centimeters long. Lothrop (b):156 publishes a photograph (unfortunately too indistinct) of two bows which are also old and are in the Peabody Museum of Salem, "one the gift of Captain B. Morrell, Jr., who obtained it in 1825, the other collected by Lieutenant Wilkes, probably at Orange harbor or Wollaston island" /cited in English/. The straight-line distance between the two ends is three feet, nine and one-half inches in the case of one, and four feet, one inch in the case of the other.

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The details we have mentioned are characteristic of the bow stave of the Yamana as well as of the Selk'nam. The latter, in addition, shows a distinct fluting which, for handwork, is notably regular. It is lacking in the two old pieces in the Peabody Museum, as Lothrop (b):156 emphatically points out, nor do we

/465 cont./

411 171 find it on the specimens in the Göttingen Museum. This point may seem trivial, but actually the early Yamana were not as exact in making a bow stave as the Selk'nam. That is why they never applied the fine decorated edge upon which the Selk'nam laid great stress (Vol. I, 233). It has been proved that the inhabitants of Isla Grande gave many a bow to their neighboring canoeists. However, since the old bow staves described here lack the even and delicately ribbed surface, they are almost certainly recognizable as a genuine product of the Yamana. The latter have actually altered nothing in the form and shape of their bow staves for the past three centuries (167).

167. Hyades (q):361 confirms "that the bow and arrow of the present does not seem to have varied from that of the first European travelers in Fuegia" /translated from French/. In his works (h):31 and (q):Plate XXXI, he illustrates a bow that Bougainville picked up in Puerto Gallant on the Strait of Magellan in January, 1768. There is no question that this specimen comes from the Halakwulup. Since, as Hyades maintains, it "does not differ in any respect from the present bow" /translated from French/ of the Yamana, his words substantiate what I said in the beginning about the widespread uniformity of the bows of all Fuegian tribes.

411 283 For the bowstring, the people in the region of the Selk'nam and Haus without exception use the thick tendon cords from the legs of guanacos. The eastern Yamana do likewise; the other groups choose for this also thick bundles of tendons of the [177] pinniped; the westernmost Yamana, probably in imitation of the Halakwulup, even use the hide of the sea lion in a strip three millimeters wide (168). On the two bows which James Cook

168. Hyades (q):298 inaccurately says that "the string is a sealskin thong or a cord of a whale sinew" /translated from French/; the tendon fibers of large seals are used much more often.

283 /466/ brought back the bowstrings are now missing. Of the two
411 in the Peabody Museum Lothrop (b):156 says that their "bowstrings are of guanaco-sinew" /cited in English/ (169). The latter,

> 169. In a few older reports they are erroneously said to be "gut."

known as sáli, are attached exactly as they are on the bow of the Selk'nam, namely, at one end by means of a running knot and at the other by being wound around it several times (see Fig. 31 in Vol. I, 231). A strip of leather as a bowstring is obviously much less elastic.

β. The Arrow

411 The navigators of earlier times repeatedly saw the arrow in the hands of these Fuegians, but instead of describing it in detail, most of them were content to mention it briefly. Weddell noted few details. The arrow of the Yamana also resembles that
[171] of the Selk'nam in every respect; the latter is in general somewhat longer. Lothrop (b):155 calls it "short, clumsy, and untapered -- very crude indeed compared with Ona workmanship" /cited in English/. As far as I know, there is not an arrow preserved anywhere from olden times, and the available descriptions from the last decades are more or less inadequate. For whatever I have been able to discover about this at one time significant weapon, I am indebted chiefly to old Whaits, who, as a young man, made a few samples of them. Personally I did not succeed in seeing an arrow made by the hand of a Yamana.

Here, too, as on Isla Grande, they choose the small stems
[824] of Berberis ilicifolia, sometimes even the branches of Maytenus
411 magellanica for the arrow shaft. Hence it is also called ʼiyakuʼ,
322 a name for the latter tree. The stick, still green, is given its final shape by constant scraping with a sharp-edged mussel shell. The middle third bulges slightly in contrast to the two ends. The high polish and final smoothing of the surface of the shaft is obtained by a gentle rubbing with pumice. Before that the man repeatedly straightens it by holding it between his teeth and

/466 cont./

441 322 elastically bending the parts that stand out. Painstakingly and carefully he must now cut a notch at either end; the one for the arrowhead is deep and sharp-edged, the other shallow and rounded. This is accomplished by means of protracted rubbing and filing with a small splinter of sandstone or with the rough edge of a mussel shell.

441 324 Slate, as well as quartz, is found in various places on the Cape Horn Archipelago, and both kinds of stone are used for the arrowheads, known as ĕkēna, inix, yĕlkus. Slate is the easiest to work. The Indians choose a suitable small slab of stone, and, scraping it on a fine-grained piece of sandstone, they try first to obtain the desired triangular shape with the sharp edges on both sides which converge in a flat point. Afterwards they carefully fashion the perfectly rectangular tang. /467/ These points always turn out to be small. Their total length is about 30 millimeters, seven millimeters of which apply to the tang; the largest distance between the lateral corners is around 15 millimeters (Fig. 32).

Sometimes the arrowheads of quartz (170) are a little

170. Fitz-Roy (a):139 speaks in general of "arrows headed with obsidian, agate, or jasper" /cited in English/, which is more or less correct.

longer, and the base of the triangle is a slightly curved arch. In order to achieve this and to fashion the necessary tang, the Yamana (171) proceeds exactly as does the Selk'nam. He hangs

171. Wieghardt: 26 erroneously believes that "the Ona make these points, because the Yahgan do not know how to work either glass or obsidians" /translated from Spanish/.

a soft /Fig. 32 appears here/ scrap of leather over his left palm and with this he grasps the suitable stone splinter with thumb and index finger. While he works he rests his left fist against his thigh. His right fist grasps a small blunt stick of bone which he

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/467 cont./

places on the edge of the little piece of stone, and by exerting strong pressure with slight turning, he gouges out tiny shell-shaped splinters very close together. In other words, he presses off fine flakes, little by little, from the entire piece until the desired shape is achieved. The upper and lower surface are easier to work because larger splinters can be broken off; it is much harder to shape the tang exactly. For the last few decades broken glass has been used instead of quartz; it can be worked much more easily and even more quickly.

On my second expedition I gave old Alfredo a piece of thick bottle-glass and asked him to make a dagger point nine inches long, with the usual triangular shape and the adjoining tang. He was particularly pleased when, under the pressure of the little bone stick, the tiny particles of glass chipped off with a crunching sound. To my surprise he finished the beautiful point in 55 minutes, without having hurried unduly. He confessed: "To make a point of quartz of the same size for an arrow, a capable Yamana needs a whole /468/ day." Nowadays, [177] instead of the customary small bone stick, they use a thick iron nail or an iron awl (172),

Fig. 32. Arrowheads of Slate, Bone, and Flint. Natural size.

172. Hyades (h):34 and (q):360 mentions that "the Fuegian Jakaif simply cut the glass which was to form the point by scraping a piece of window glass with a knife. When he did not have glass he used a fragment of stone (flint)" /translated from French/.

411 /468 cont./
[177] introduced by Europeans.

Our Yamana have the lead over the Selk'nam in that they even use bone for arrowheads. The proportion of these to slate and quartz arrowheads can no longer be determined (173). They

173. In any case it is an unjustified generalization when Lothrop (b):156 maintains: "The arrowhead was of bone, cut to the Ona pattern with two barbs" /cited in English/.

also have the triangular shape, but the adjoining tang is wide at the top, between the two lateral corners, and tapers downward. The triangle itself is about 33 millimeters high, whereas the tang is 13 millimeters long. The little teeth on both sides are filed with the fine edges and individual splinters of sandstone. These sides are not sharp since they are slightly rounded; hence these bone points are effective because of the force of the thrust rather than because of their edges which are dull (Fig. 32).

The tang of the points mentioned above is set into the upper notch of the arrow shaft, without being cemented in. They are merely wound tight with a damp thread of sinew which, when dry, gives the desired rigidity. This thread of sinew would be too weak for a bone point. Hence the latter is held in the notch with a narrow strip of leather and by means of much tight lashing. The natives from the start know that now and then the shaft of the arrow will slide off while the bone point remains stuck in a wounded animal.

411 Finally, at the opposite end, feathers are added after the
237 model of the Selk'nam arrow. They prefer the hard wing-feathers of the cormorant. "On either side of this extremity they fasten a feather, the quill of which has been split and tied on by means of a fine lashing of bird gut (174) which passes at almost

174. Alfredo assured me that for this lashing the sinews of otter or sea lion are particularly suitable.

uniform intervals between three or four barbs of these small
411 feathers. The feathers are so well attached that one would think

/468 cont./

411 there is only a single one" (Hyades [h]:37) /translated from French/. Both wings of this feathering are exactly perpendicular to the shaft and opposite each other. The feathering extends almost down to the lowest notch and is altogether about 25 millimeters long, whereas the entire arrow is about 70 centimeters.

Today we are no longer able to find out in what quantities
411 our Yamana took over arrowheads directly from the Selk'nam;
177 it did actually happen. Not only did the old men assure me of this, but in the piles of shells on the eastern Beagle Channel we find such points made of obsidian which are rare in central areas and almost entirely absent in the west. Whether the stimulus for making this characteristic /469/ form of the arrowhead was transferred from the Yamana to the Selk'nam or vice versa remains a question which cannot be solved in this context alone, but which is not without some significance.

γ. The Quiver

281 Obviously the Fuegian arrows are delicate constructions,
411 and they are carefully stored. The most durable quiver is made of the leather of pinnipeds; the one of otter leather is more highly valued because it is more beautiful. Martial:192 mentions only the latter. The quiver is a longish, narrow bag, with a loop sewed to the upper part to serve as a handle. To achieve this shape, the natives cut a long rectangle out of leather, place the two longitudinal edges together and sew them up. For the bottom they set in a small oval piece of leather, which is also sewed on. The quiver is always slightly longer than the arrows so that they will not stick out and break off; it is about 15 centimeters wide. Each individual arrow is slid into the quiver with the point downward. When one is needed, the end of the shaft is grasped between the feathering with the tip of the thumb and index finger and immediately placed on the bowstring.

411 This brief description also fits perfectly the quiver of the
[171] Selk'nam (Vol. I, 240), which, however, is a little longer and wider. The eastern Yamana are familiar only with this one of leather, whereas the people of the central area and the west not infrequently make a quiver out of two moderately curved pieces of

/469 cont./

411 bark, into which they also set a narrow bottom piece of bark. They sew up the edges with strips of wood fiber or whalebone, like those of a water scoop made of bark (Fig. 30). Naturally, this quiver, which, like the one of leather, is called hilix, is less resistant and durable.

It need not surprise us that not a single one of the earlier navigators, nor a visitor from more recent times, with the exception of Martial:192, mentions the quiver, the latter being subsidiary to bow and arrow. Even the arrow is not mentioned by many. The illustrations of bow, arrow, and quiver given in Volume I, 231, 239, and 240, could, without objection, also be used for these implements of the Yamana. With the exception of minor details, they show in general what these objects were like among the southern Fuegians. Formerly there were plenty of men capable of making these things for their own use. [439] It is also undeniably certain that the eastern Yamana obtained them through barter from the neighboring Haus or Selk'nam.

They are very serviceable in hunting on land as a long-range weapon against guanaco. For this they are not excelled by any other weapon of the Yamana. On the other hand, it is not easy to manipulate them in a rocking canoe, /470/ and from this vantage point a practiced archer can use them effectively only against otter. A person on land has a better chance to catch birds with the sling and the snare, and sea lions with the club. Moreover, the Yamana do not like to go far from the coast. It is only in cases of particular necessity that they push deeper into the woods where none of their weapons would be easy to manage.

224 441 In view of local conditions, we realize that the bow and arrow cannot be recommended for general use and that it is really suitable only for hunting guanaco. The range of this animal, however, ends with the central Yamana. In view of this, the bow and arrow were used most of all in the east and less in the west where the guanaco is wholly absent. Here these weapons were largely used for hunting otter, and this explains why, with the progressive adoption of the dog, they lost importance. These changes in the economy of the Yamana cannot be discussed until later; they deserve attention for several reasons.

/470 cont./

3. The Small Harpoon

225 411 For nourishment the Yamana are almost as dependent on pinnipeds as they are on mussels. Fortunately these animals lie about on the rocks and islands in large herds and cross the individual channels in all directions (p. 38 /untranslated/). The hunter goes after them with his small seal harpoon (Fig. 33). I use this term to distinguish the weapon I wish to describe here from other similar specimens (175).

175. Lothrop (b):152 describes this weapon as consisting of "a heavy shaft and a detachable head joined to the shaft by a thong" /cited in English/.

411 313 [824] The small harpoon is a powerful missile, and for this reason the shaft must be long, heavy, and absolutely straight. For it, almost without exception, the wood of the evergreen beech (Nothofagus betuloides) is chosen, since its trunk usually has a very regular shape and the younger trees have sound wood for a long time. It takes a good eye to find a suitable trunk; it must be flawless if the weapon is to function dependably. It is troublesome to fell the tree. A ring of bark a hand's breadth wide is cut out just above the ground. Then, with a shell knife or a sharpened mussel shell, the layers of wood fibers are scraped off, one after the other, until the incision is deep enough. The running knot of a long strap, wuśukęsa, is thrown into the high branches and pulled tight. Then a man swings from it and, aided by his own body weight, tugs until the incised portion breaks through. He immediately cuts off the upper part with the crown in the manner described above, /471/ and he now has a trunk about four meters long lying on the ground. /Fig. 33 appears here./ To cut the suitable piece out of this is a no less protracted and arduous task. The man is aiming for the middle third between the pith and the bast zone. He splits off almost half of it with the bone wedge, tukalapēna (Fig. 26) and with a suitable stone as hammer; he has to split the remaining piece lengthwise a second and third time. Finally, by carefully peeling off in splinters the

/471 cont./

411 part that remains, he lifts out the core (Fig. 34). These
313 layers of wood are neither too flexible nor completely stiff, but are slightly springy and absolutely sound.

Through endless scraping with quartz splinters,
411 sharpened mussel shells, or the knife, enough of the
322 long pole is whittled off so that it is about 25 milli-
[342] meters in diameter and precisely octagonal. Attention is given to this because of a definite esthetic feeling, but also the edges make it possible to grasp the shaft more firmly and safely. The shaft tapers gradually toward the bottom and terminates in a blunt end. On top they carefully cut a notch 12 centimeters deep. For the final polishing of the shaft, it is rubbed with pumice, hiyal, very uniformly and with gentle pressure. To the end the shaft (176) is from 2.80 to 3.10 meters long.

176. Weddell (a):96 has furnished an exact description: "Their spears consist of firm bone, are seven feet long, sharply pointed, and have a barbed hook on one side, four inches from the point which... is fastened to a wooden shaft ten feet long and smooth and straight. A shorter or longer strip of skin is fastened to the bone." Snow (a):II, 15 supplements: "Their spears were about 12 feet long, made of hard wood, octangular, but about half an inch thick and one inch broad, tapering at one end to a point, and the other end to a butt" /cited in English/.

Fig. 33. Small Harpoon.

/471 cont./

441 313 In July, 1923, I asked old Walter to tell me exactly how the shafts for harpoons and spears were made in former times. He invited me to take a walk through the nearby forest at Punta Remolino. My faithful friend and dependable guide, the Selk'nam Indian Toin (Vol. I, 116) also joined us. Walter examined many beech trees with a sharp eye, and it took some time until he finally decided to cut down a suitable one. He used an iron ax, but showed both of us the former procedure which was incomparably more arduous. On our way home he emphasized several times that only the piece he had cut out had the required characteristics, and that the shaft must vibrate well when grasped in the middle. If one chooses other layers of wood, he has to worry about the shaft's bending or warping after repeatedly becoming wet.

441 321 /472/ The other part of this harpoon is the bone point with a single large tooth. For this one selects that portion of a whale rib that has the least curvature. The superfluous ends are taken off with sandstone by a long filing process (177). The piece of bone

177. Nowadays they use iron tools. Despard observed that with regard to the whalebone the Yamana "chop with axe, then cut with knife, then scrape with muscle /sic/ shell, then burnish with smooth stone" (VP:VI, 52; 1859) /cited in English/.

is shaped by pushing it back and forth with light pressure over a flat sandstone. When the curved edge of the back and the upper point are finished, a notch about ten centimeters long is cut into the lower third. This notch must then be finished off with a barb pointing downward. The whole process is nothing more than /Fig. 34 appears here/ endless grinding and filing with narrow pieces of sandstone and pumice. It requires a long time and much patience, for the bone tissue is extremely hard. The lower end, a rectangle about six centimeters long and three centimeters wide, is wedge-shaped. The sides of this tang are purposely left somewhat uneven so that it will fit more securely into the notch. A length of about 22 to 40 centimeters and a width of about 36 millimeters are the measurements most frequently observed for

/472 cont./

441 321 these large bone points of the small harpoon. Sometimes one of them will turn out somewhat unsymmetrical or bent to one side when the natural curvature of the whale rib could not be completely obliterated by grinding. The lower /473/ jawbone, iseska, of the whale is most highly prized. It can be made into a very hard and quite symmetrical point which also has a more accurate aim (178).

178. Bridges (k):14 mentions: "Points for lances are made from the jaw of the whale" /translated from Spanish/. On the subject

[322]

Fig. 34. Diagram Showing How a Shaft is Cut Out.

of making harpoon points, Hyades (q):355 makes the more general statement that "the Fuegians use a bone of the whale or sometimes a seal bone, but the bones of whale are preferred" /translated from French/. Earlier Snow (a):II, 361 reported: "Their principal spear-heads are entirely constructed of hard bone, and are about seven inches long, finely pointed, with a barb on one side four inches from the point" /cited in English/.

/473 cont./

411 284 This large bone point requires a two-fold fastening, if we may express it thus. Its tang is pressed into the open notch of the wooden shaft. Since it is wedge-shaped and the notch is narrow, it is jammed in tightly. In spite of that, a narrow strip of leather, tuwarárum, is wrapped around it about nine times. This strip has previously been well soaked and is tightly lashed, whereupon the free end is knotted. When it dries, this lashing is even more constricted and becomes all the more secure. There is by no means a special attempt to secure the spearhead in the notch; in fact, they expect it to slide out at the proper moment. Hence a second fastening is intended to keep the spearhead joined to the shaft and freely movable. Over the tang of the bone spearhead, that is, around the lower part of the notch, they place a leather strap of sealskin about 12 millimeters wide and knot it. The other end is knotted securely on the wooden shaft itself, not more than 70 centimeters from the notch. The strap is not taut, and they purposely let it hang loosely. Before the spearhead is pressed into the notch, the strap is twisted around its longitudinal axis until it is rolled up lengthwise and has a strong tendency to unwind. It is kept from doing so as soon as it is secured at the top. Sometimes this short piece of strap hangs flat and loose.

411 225 Only now is the weapon ready for the hunter to use. It is surprisingly functional. Since it is hurled, the heavy wooden shaft gives it ample force. When the bone point has penetrated the body of a seal or related animal, the latter immediately tries to shake off the burdensome foreign body. In one way or another the spearhead will detach itself from the shaft. Immediately the latter will twist somewhat slantwise and will keep on turning in the water until the rolled-up strap has uncoiled itself. The strap was purposely fastened, not in the middle part of the shaft, but on the upper third. After the shaft has detached itself from the spearhead, it does not stand exactly at right angles, but at a more or less acute angle from the direction in which the animal strains forward. This averts the danger of its snapping and yet acts as a considerable brake. Sometimes floating algae get tangled up in the shaft and the thong, which notably increases the resistance in the water. The wounded animal is seriously hindered in quick flight or deep diving, and the successful hunter can

& [For the harpoon.— Analyst.]

/473 cont./

411 225 easily overtake it. If it flees into a floating /474/ cluster of algae, the dragging shaft will inevitably get tangled up, and the exhausted animal will certainly fall into the hands of its pursuer.

Extraordinary ingenuity has invented this weapon and perfected it. It works with surprising certainty.

4. The Large Harpoon

What we have just discovered about the working principle of the small harpoon also controls the missile that I call the large harpoon (Fig. 35): the wounded animal must not escape the hunter who has just delivered a piercing blow. The two weapons differ only in a minor factor, which, however, furnishes brilliant testimony of the keen power of invention of the Indians. Earlier observers speak about the harpoons, but the way in which they safely and easily deliver the booty into the hands of the Indian is nowhere described. It is this which reveals the great efficiency of these weapons.

In most of its details the large harpoon is like the small one, and the latter can be transformed into the former with a few manipulations. Above all, the shaft, for which the hard wood of the evergreen beech is chosen, must be altogether even and about three meters long. If it were bent only the slightest bit or otherwise defective, there would not be sufficient certainty of hitting the target. In general our natives do not handle their implements very cautiously or carefully, but every man treats his missile weapons with care and a certain amount of attention. He places them as upright as possible beside his hut, and in the canoe he lays them safely in the bow section so that they do not warp. The wood for the shaft is taken out of the concentric layers [824] of a younger Nothofagus betuloides in the manner shown in Figure 34.

411 824 Earlier accounts of this are inaccurate and incomplete. Anyone who knows the various species of Fuegian wood will never agree with Hyades (h):24 and (q):352 that the trunk of Drimys winteri (p. 28 /untranslated/) is also suitable for the harpoon shaft. The situation is different with the young trunks of the Fuegian cypress (Libocedrus tetragona), Ilpaix, which always

/474 cont./

411 824 grow perfectly straight and have the great advantage of being heavy. They do not flourish on Beagle Channel, however, except in one or two places in the west (179), and for most of the Yamana they are

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179. On my fourth expedition I had definite proof of specimens of Libocedrus tetragona in Puerto Edwards on the southern shore of Brecknock Peninsula. This is the southern boundary for this species. Skottsberg (g):28 suspects that it extends somewhat farther south, namely, to Isla Chair in Darwin Sound.

simply inaccessible. Hence one sees all of them carrying merely a shaft made from the evergreen beech, Nothofagus betuloides, which is uniformly octagonal. Furthermore, one can /475/ observe as the average cross-section a rectangle of about 35 millimeters in width and 28 millimeters in height with the four /Fig. 35 appears here/ corners removed, producing the octagonal form. Shafts with six uniform sides are not as common as those mentioned above.

411 225 The narrow slit at the upper end of this large harpoon is, of course, also meant for a bone point which is jammed into it; a narrow leather strip is

[384]

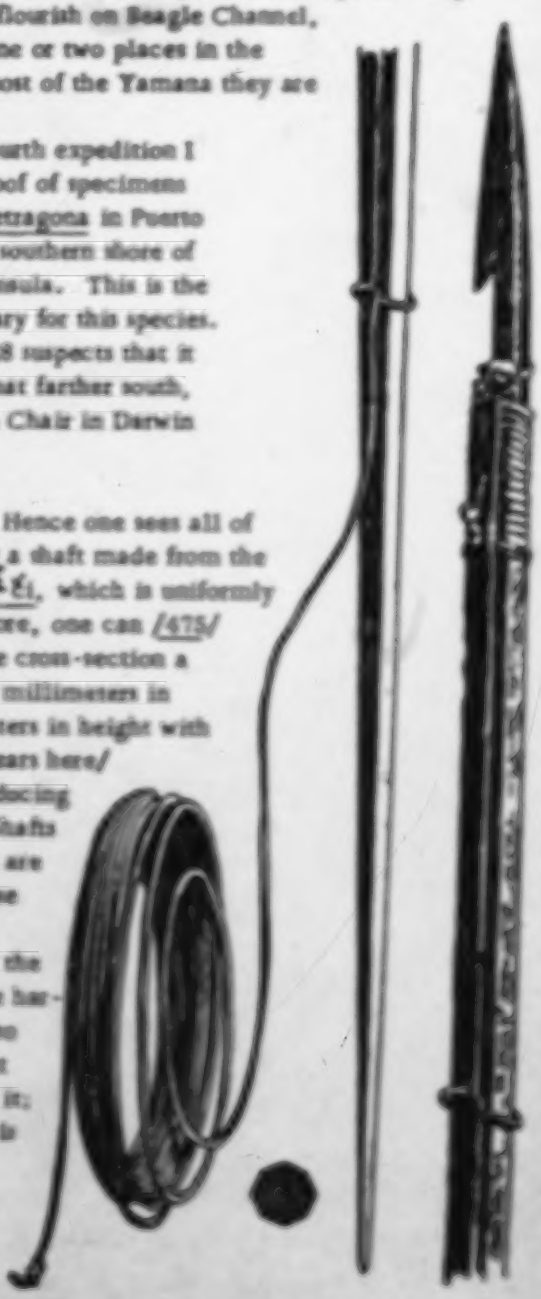

Fig. 35. The Large Harpoon.

/475 cont./

411 225 wound around it tightly in about ten close lashings. If one of the pinnipeds is to be harpooned, even if it is the mighty male of the sea elephant, hîkauwa (Macrorhinus leoninus) (Fig. 9 /Id., see foreign text, untranslated portion/), the hunter chooses a bone point of medium length with a single large tooth or the still shorter one with two large barbs (Fig. 36) (180). The latter

180. Hyades (a) 354 mistakenly maintains: "It is very rare to see harpoon points in bone, movable, with a notch on either side in the form of a spearhead" /translated from French/. This form is no less frequently made and used than the medium-sized, and very large bone point with a single tooth.

measures about 15 centimeters. Under their thick leather skin the above-mentioned animals carry a thinner layer of fat than whales do under their epidermis, but the bone point is supposed to penetrate as deep as possible into the muscular layer where the two lateral teeth function more precisely as barbed hooks. This is also the reason why a bone spearhead more than 40 centimeters long with a sharp tooth is preferred for harpooning whales. A shorter bone point would, for the most part, stick fast in the layer of fat and therefore be almost ineffectual.

225 411 284 The thing that conspicuously distinguishes this weapon from the so-called small seal-harpoon is a long leather rope of 20 or more meters. It is evenly cut from the freshly skinned hide of a pinniped and is always left rolled up. One end is securely fastened to the notch /476/ of the spearhead. From here it is drawn down along the shaft and held there with two or three loose cross-loops. In aiming and throwing, the man holds the shaft approximately in the center, and the wreath of coiled rope hangs on his left forearm (181). /Fig. 36 appears here./ When he has hit the animal,

181. Snow (a) II, 261 says: "To the bone is attached a string/hide of various lengths. In using the spear, they hold it nearly by the middle, and with the right eye cast along it, they cast it with great precision" /cited in

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English/. Bove's (e):158 description is more accurate.

the bone point and the shaft remain attached for a time, but it is much more disadvantageous for the wounded animal if it must drag along the loosened shaft which moves irregularly. With beating movements of the rope -- that is why it is attached to the shaft with cross-loops -- the man succeeds in detaching the shaft from the bone point that is stuck in the animal. Then he gives the animal as much rope as possible; after it has grown tired or lost a great deal of blood, he draws it toward him slowly and gently, at the same time easily rolling in the rope.

Fig. 36. Twin-barbed Harpoon Point. Two-thirds natural size.

It hardly seems possible that the man can to such an extent influence the direction taken by the escaping seal with the loose shaft which is directly beside the harpoon point sticking in the flesh. Even if one or the other of the cross-loops on the shaft should be loosened or shift, the shaft never stands at right angles, but at an acute angle to the direction of movement. This prevents it from breaking when the wounded animal violently strains forward.

The hunter usually throws off this weapon as soon as he

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is on firm ground. If he uses it while he is in the canoe the greatest caution is required, especially when a whale has been wounded with it. After the animal has been hit with a lucky thrust, some men succeed in leaping on shore or on a rock while holding onto the end of the long leather rope or wrapping it around their body. Now they have a firm foothold and the canoe is out of danger. Sometimes the canoe can get close to the wounded animal and another person gives it the fatal stab. With the long leather rope of this harpoon several men may even pull a floating dead whale to shore.

/476 cont./

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Despite the fact that they are very similar, the large harpoon and the small harpoon are somewhat different. The virtue of both lies in their /477/ movable bone point (182). The longest that is

182. That is why Hyades (q):263 and (h):24 describes them as "movable harpoons" /translated from French/, and Dabbene (b):184, concurring, calls them "harpoons with a movable point" /translated from Spanish/.

ever made is placed on the small harpoon and then again on the large harpoon when a whale is attacked. With this the men strive to inflict a deep wound.

5. Javelin and Spear

Besides the missile weapons with movable points, the Yamana also uses those with a fixed point. The former I call harpoons; among the latter I distinguish the javelin from the spears. The javelin also consists of the octagonal shaft described above, Kipe, about three meters long, which is usually surmounted by the long bone point with one tooth, Kowaja. Both are securely fastened. When the point is embedded in the animal's body, the shaft must not slide out, but must, by its weight, enlarge the wound and prevent the animal from escaping. The hunter uses this javelin primarily when attacking a seal that he has surprised on land or when he wishes to inflict severe wounds on an exhausted whale. This weapon is particularly suitable for that, since the shaft is heavy and the sharpened, long bone point penetrates deeply. Against smaller animals that carry a thinner layer of fat on their bodies, the two-barbed shorter bone point, whatil, is also reliable, or even the long-toothed bone point, Kowaja. Although neither of them pierces deeply into the body because they are blunter than the Kowaja, they cling sufficiently so that the dragging shaft tears open the wound and there is greater loss of blood. In other words, the javelin is most effective when the hunter is on firm ground and can put the entire strength of his arm into the thrust.

/477 cont./

411 Our Yamana use spears as lighter throwing weapons. We can distinguish between a spear used for birds and one for fish. The shaft of the former is likewise a pole that is uniformly cut and prepared, but this is usually a young trunk of Maytenus magellanica or of Nothofagus or Drimys winteri, from which the bark has been peeled off. It is usually not more than three meters long. The thick end is cut off straight across. Here the notch is cut from one side without letting it come through to the other side. About a quarter of the diameter remains, and this serves to support the bone point which is inserted here with the back against the remaining portion of the wood. The lower part of the point has several short upright teeth. A narrow strap is tightly wound around it in the spaces between the teeth. The same shaft with the partial notch just described is also used for the Mikowaia, securely and firmly held in it.

411 324 /478/ The serrated points made of bone or wood are characteristic for these spears. For the bone teeth, whale ribs are used exclusively. They are first treated with coarse sandstone, then with quartz splinters or mussel shells, and finally burnished with pumice. The two edges end in a point at the top, the back is rounded off (183).

183. It cannot be definitely determined whether the Yamana made a bone point with both edges serrated. However, BD:64 mentions: "'ensis,' the single or double notched spear head used for seals, porpoises" /cited in English/. Among the Halakwulup I found the double-edged, serrated spearhead of wood, as well as of bone, and sometimes even the two together.

[171]

and on the opposite side the natives laboriously cut or saw out one little tooth after another with sharp mussel shells or quartz splinters. These small teeth are narrow and more or less irregular; they are close together and point obliquely downward. The little piece at the lower end is irregularly serrated and tapers; it is set into the notch and locked.

411 This spear with the bone point is used for hunting birds. It is 23) most often hurled against penguins which have tough flesh into which a wooden point would not penetrate deeply enough.

/478 cont./

411 237 This bird spear, as we might call it (Fig. 37), is perceptibly lighter than a harpoon. The fish spear is even lighter. It is the same length and must therefore be as light as possible in order to be handled easily and quickly. For the shaft, a specially selected small trunk of the evergreen beech is used. a partial notch is likewise cut into the thicker end and a shorter bone or wood point with a serrated edge is set in it. For the latter the most suitable wood is that of Berberis thiebiliis which is very tough and flexible. Hence this wooden point, Mine Tuga, has the great advantage of durability. It is also incomparably quicker to make than the serrated bone point.

Since the fish offers only a narrow striking surface, the Tomana makes use of the double-pointed spear (184). He selects a shaft that

184. Spearing maintains that sometimes even three points were used for the fish spear, "and the barbs were all on the inside" /cited in English/. This is unknown to me and is reported by no other traveller. I saw such fish spears among the Halakewing, however.

forms a wide octagon in section. He usually cuts it out of Methodagon hemisiden. At the top he cuts out two long, flat notches, opposite each other and separated by a thin layer of wood. Into each one he places a serrated bone point, and both of them are lashed and held fast with the same leather strap. The two points stand slightly apart from each other because the back of each is curved. This considerably increases the possibility of hitting a fish (Fig. 37). /173/ /Fig. 37 appears here./ Even if the point does not penetrate very far, each tooth pointing downward acts as a barbed hook and the shaft as bailer, precluding escape (185).

185. Lothrop (b):153 also mentions a Guatuco-spear" of the eastern Tomana. I believe he bases this on doubtful reports. What he illustrates is obviously the fish spear of the Selk'nam. See Figure 40 in Volume I, Ibid.

/479 cont./

The Yamana has invented several missiles to overtake the various animals hunted, and each in its way is surprisingly efficient. He takes them along in his canoe wherever he goes and places them, ready for use, in the bow section where they stick out far above the bow. The first thing he does when game approaches is to choose the weapon suitable for it; afterwards he seizes whatever is nearest at hand, so as not to lose the booty. Aspinall:270 maintains "[the man in the canoe] three kinds of such spears with him." There are at least that many, and two or three of each kind. It is clear that the two-barbed javelin and the bird-spear with the serrated bone point have a variety of uses.

Every adult is capable of making and repairing these weapons; they are indispensable to him for his livelihood. Not everyone, however, succeeds in cutting out an oven shaft from the main trunk of the beech; individual men attain true mastery at this. That is why many a man will trade a good shaft for other things that he needs. Everyone always has a supply of loose points which he keeps in a longish leather pouch, yéhéku. Those few men who are able to make a perfectly shaped large harpoon point are universally praised (186). In conclusion it should be

186. Descriptions of these missiles are to be found in Bove (c):122, Cojazzi:109, Dabbene (b):184, Hyades (b):23 and (g):302, 353, Lothrop (b):148, Martial:191, Spegazzini (a):163, Spencer:133, Weddell (a):94, and others.

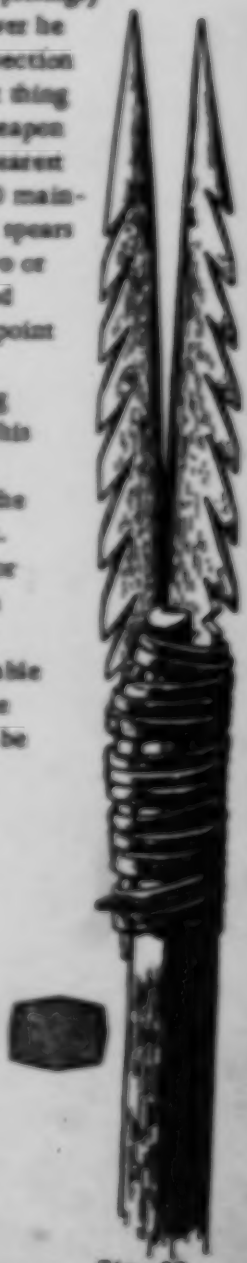

Fig. 37.
Fish Spear.

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#11 mentioned that the shafts of harpoons and spears are sometimes rubbed with imi. The purpose of this is to beautify them; moreover, experience has proved that they are then easier to grasp and hold with the fist.

6. Dagger and Lance

It is easy to understand that the reports from earlier times are not as accurate and comprehensive in many details as we would wish. Many observers have not discussed the difference between dagger and arrow and have identified one with the other, probably because of the great similarity between their points. /480/ Those seafarers were completely unfamiliar with the things that the shell mounds have brought to light in modern times. All the more should attention be given to the reference offered only by Weddell (a):110 in December, 1823, that the arrow should be distinguished from the dagger. After describing the arrow as "having a triangular pointed stone forced in at the front," he added: these natives "also had another weapon, namely, a similarly formed stone is fitted into the top of a handle nine inches long and probably serves as a dagger."

As a matter of fact, the Yamana use this short thrusting weapon, which can properly be designated as a dagger (Fig. 38) (187). It

[171]

187 Among the Halakwulup I often came across this weapon. From them came the four beautiful daggers with glass points which the Natural History Museum in Vienna acquired through Hagenbeck toward the end of the 1880's.

consists of a shaft as thick as one's thumb, about 30 centimeters [824] long, for which the tough wood of Berberis ilicifolia is preferred. A stone point is forced into the completely open, narrow notch on the thicker end of the shaft. The point is secured by means of several lashings /Fig. 38 appears here/ of a small strap or thick sinew. The stone point, always referred to as yékus, has a triangular

/480 cont./

411 shape and usually an almost rectangular tang (Fig. 39); the latter is inserted into the notch. Of decisive importance is the longitudinal measurement, for it is usually more than twice as much as a point on the arrow shaft. The former does not seem suitable for an arrowhead because of its size and weight. Since, moreover, it is fastened to a short stick, I regard the designation "dagger" as suitable for this weapon. It is also handled as such. A man grasps
[225] the back third of the shaft and stabs toward a sea lion that he meets on land. He attacks it from the front, never from the side, and can get close enough to it without being bitten to thrust the dagger into its neck.

For the dagger points the natives formerly chose flat lamina of
[177] black slate and greenish jasper; in modern times they prefer thick bottle-glass that is more easily worked. The edges of the glass

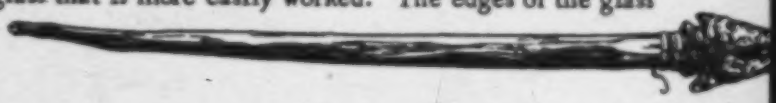

Fig. 38. The Dagger. One-third natural size.

dagger-points cut more sharply, but become dull more quickly. Continuous splintering under pressure with a short bone stick produces /481/ the form with the sharp edges and thick point. On my
[126] second expedition, old Alfredo made me a dagger with a long glass point and with a total length of 48 centimeters (188). This

188. This piece is today preserved in the Museo Histórica at Santiago de Chile. See the observations made by Hyades (q):360 with the Indian named Yakaif.

enabled me to see how it was made and at the same time to learn in detail how it is actually manipulated.

From the dagger to the lance is only a short step. Sometimes it, too, has a large, heavy point in the form of a triangle. It must
[172] come as a surprise that laurel-leaf forms of the /Fig. 39 appears here/ most frequent surface-finds on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 263) have to this day been found only very sporadically throughout the broad Cape Horn Archipelago. This lance is used in the same way and for the same

[Text continues on page 172.—Analyst]

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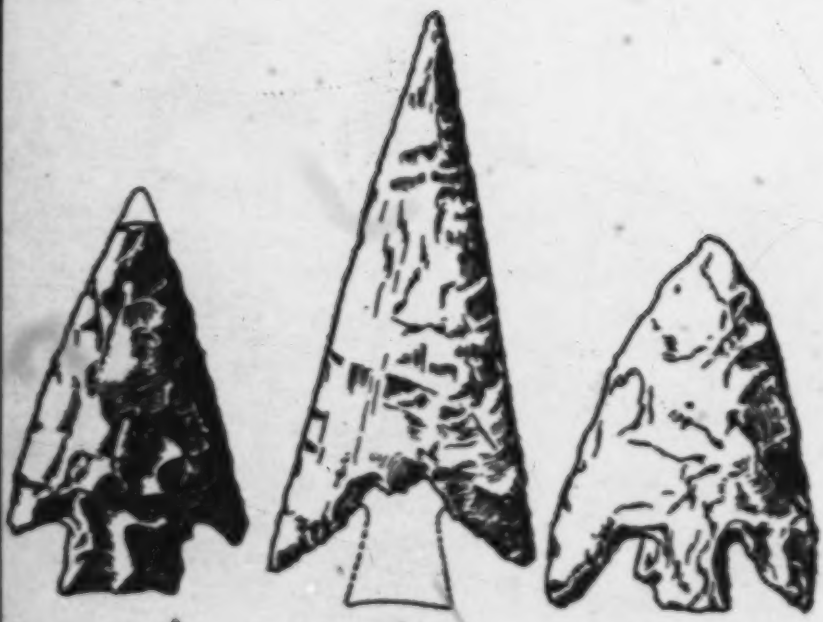

Fig. 39. Dagger Points or Lance Points.
Natural size.

/481 cont./

411 purpose as the javelin. The latter is distinguished by its bone point from the differently shaped stone point of the former, which, practically without exception, is fixed to a round, long shaft, yéyakĕr (189).

189. Krickeberg: 318 designates the javelin and the harpoon as "original weapons." The Yahgan and Alikuluf /Alacaluf/ probably first took over bows and arrows, slings and bolas from the Ona. Hence bows and arrows are rather rare among the Yahgan, poorly constructed among the Alikuluf, and only the Alikuluf have bolas and understand how to use the sling well. This cannot by any means be said of the Yahgan." My observations confirm the accuracy of these sundry details.

7. The Sling

Our Fuegians use the sling somewhat less than the harpoon and lance, but nevertheless very frequently. It has the special name of ŭfina, and the stone hurled with it is called watŭwa, wĕtŭwa. The last two names are sometimes given to the sling itself. /482/ /Fig. 40 appears here./ Historical evidence confirms without doubt that since our natives have been known they have used and still use the sling. In the first report written by *A. Decker, officer of the land forces in Nassau Gulf*, in February, 1624, he lists "slings" (p. 53 /untranslated/) among the weapons of the indigenous Indians. Subsequently slings were constantly referred to in the reports. Weddell (a):94 described them in detail, and Snow (a):II, 361 even more specifically: "The Sling is made of the skin of the seal or otter. It is generally about three feet long, and of the common form: the strings are sometimes made of small gut, handsomely plaited, and terminated by knots of ingenious workmanship /cited in English/. In 1839 Pickering:19 was among these Fuegians and maintained that their weapons "consist only of slings and spears" /cited in English/. Later the

[Text continued on page 174.-Analyst]

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/482/

Fig. 40. The Sling.

/482 cont./

411 missionaries and travelers of the last few decades still found this weapon (190). I saw the natives playing with it a great deal and

190. The following have furnished good descriptions: Bove (b):156, Cojazzi:109, Colini:161, Dabbene (b):185, Hyades (h):29 and (q):301, 357, Lothrop (b):156, Martial: 191, Spegazzini (a):162, Spencer:131, Wieghardt: 25, and others.

hunting smaller animals.

171 411 If one compares the sling of our natives (Fig. 40) with that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 243), he will scarcely find any marked difference; actually, the construction of both is, so to speak, completely identical. For the center section the Yamana choose a scrap of leather from the otter or the seal. Whereas the Selk'nam scrape off the fur, our Indians always leave it on, often using it on the inside, less frequently on the outside (191).

191. This is shown in the drawing found in Hyades (h):30 and (q):Plate XXX, 14. Figure 40 inserted here shows the less common usage, namely, the fur-side of the center piece turned outward.

In this repect the two specimens are different. This may seem like a minor detail, but it has real significance, which old Alfredo pointed out to me. The Yamana prefer a small piece of leather that is thickly furred, since all the stones that they pick up to throw have a smooth surface, /483/ either because they are actual shingle or because they are wet with sea water. They lie considerably more securely in a furred center section than in one from which the hair has been removed. The latter can be used successfully by the Selk'nam, for they use slingstones that have a rough surface and are at least covered with a fine layer of dust. Nevertheless, some men reverse their leather lappet to put the fur on the outside.

411 The center section is a longish oval in shape, about 22 centimeters long and eight centimeters wide. It becomes extraordinarily soft from frequent use. On the pointed ends the strings are

/483 cont./

411 both attached on the same side, namely, the side without hair. Each string ends in a small knot, having first been sewed on with sinews. The strings are tightly braided with three strands of sinew. On a specimen in my collection one string is 66 centimeters, the other, 62 centimeters. Each string terminates in a small knot which is sewn into a ball the size of a hazelnut, made of otter leather. The sling brought back by J. Cook and now in the ethnographic collection at Göttingen has a total length of 167 centimeters. This is the measurement of the so-called long sling. There is also a shorter one which is used by a man in a canoe. Here he would not have firm footing and the space is too small to swing the long sling with force and without injuring the occupants.

411 223 Earlier observers left no doubt as to the use of the sling. Actually, it is used a great deal, especially in hunting birds. Colini:161 does not exaggerate when he says that "the weapon most used by the Fuegians is the sling" /translated from Italian/. Martial:191 confirms: "They more commonly use the sling for birds" /translated from French/. They hurl stones which are somewhat smaller than a hen's egg and that lie around in masses. They lay in a supply for the canoe each time before they leave.

Some men prefer to use two or three stones at once, especially if they venture a throw at a thick flock of birds standing close together. Other men are in the habit of using only one larger stone. The man places the terminal knot of the longer string into the palm of his hand between the fourth and fifth fingers, so that the string runs tight across the back of his little finger up to the leather piece; he grasps the terminal knot of the shorter string with the first /484/ joint of thumb and index finger. Then the fingers of his left hand grasp the center section with the stone, and his right hand, with a slight push, begins to turn the taut sling horizontally above his head two or three times. At the right moment the shorter string is released, the sling opens, and the stones fly out straight in front of the slinger. The more forceful the previous turning motion was, the stronger will be the impact of the stones. Some men are content with a single half-turn of the taut sling.

If the stones are to have the desired effect, they are not hurled beyond a 12-meter limit, and everyone aims at the heads

/484 cont./

223 411 of the crowded flock of birds; this may hit one or another of them and stun them. Even the Fuegian cannot hit a definite target at the same distance or farther away, since the sling is not very accurate, but it does carry a stone in a high arc to a distance of 80 meters (192). Nevertheless, we must admit, to

192. On this subject Bove (e):158 and Colini:161, as well as Lovisato (a):198 and (b):136, have grossly exaggerated. Hyades (h):32 and (q):357 protested against their assertions which literally coincide.

[526] use Hyades' (g):35 words, that the Yamana "are very skillful in manipulating them," and in the course of the day they very often use the sling just for fun (193).

193. This can hardly be more clearly expressed than Bridges has done: "The amusement these natives are most fond of is slinging at birds; they often go along the shores here with their slings" (VSA:XII, 53:1865) /cited in English/.

411 482 Naturally, our Indians must have their slings handy. Their way of carrying them is surprisingly advantageous. Most of them hang the two strings of sinew around the neck and draw the last *third of it over the folded center section, without any kind of* knotting; the ends hang down freely. With a single movement of the left hand to grasp the center section, the sling is ready to be used. At the same moment the right hand puts the stones in position and grasps the ends, ready to throw (Fig. 41). Others draw the two sinew-strings around the head, one on each side, so that the center section is in the back, and then simply loop the free ends over each other. Finally, a few of them tie the sling around their hips (194). As we have said, they put the sling

194. Fitz-Roy (a):138 noticed that "a man always carries his sling around his neck or waist, wherever he goes" /cited in English/.

/484 cont./
411 482 around some part of their body to have it quickly accessible at any time, but it is not regarded as an ornament (195). The

195. Hyades (h):33 expressed the surprising view: "We must therefore admit that the sling of the Yahgan is as much an ornamental object for men as it is a weapon for hunting or war" /translated from French/.

[142 302]

Fig. 41. Man with a Sling.

Yamana use it not only to stun birds, but also in fighting against their own people.

411 /485/ All indications point to the fact that the sling was used in all parts of the Cape Horn Archipelago./Fig. 41 appears here./ Every man and boy owned and owns one. When the Mission Scientifique arrived in Orange Bay, according to Hyades (q):357, every man carried his sling. This was customary throughout the entire area occupied by this tribe. Lothrop (b):157 indulges in vain speculation about the [177] origin of the sling and says "that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yaghan" /cited in English/. I cannot agree with this view; I shall not go into his evidence and mine at this point. Instead, I take the view of Snow (b):264 that the Yamana "are remarkably expert with their slings" /cited in English/. Obviously, the fact that they own and use the sling also proves "their ingenuity" /cited in English/.

8. Snares and Fishing Implements

223 226 Our Yamana are fortunate in having a wide selection among the animals of their homeland to meet their food needs. They approach each species in a special way in order to catch them as easily and surely as possible. Besides the weapons mentioned

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Fig. 54. Long Bone Points.

/510 cont./

this fact: "It is rather curious that usually each of these natives is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear; another with the sling; another with a bow and arrows; but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others" /cited in English/. This is actually the case.

A person who lacks something that he is unable to make because of a shortage of raw material or as a result of his own incapacity acquires it through barter with someone who happens to be in a position to dispose of it. For example, only a few men are completely successful in cutting and filing the long bone harpoon points (Fig. 54), in putting an arrow together, or in removing a wide sheet of bark for canoe building. It is inevitable that the individual will sometimes become dependent on others to a certain extent when he must fill his need for certain implements. This considerably strengthens the awareness of the solidarity of all members of the tribe.

To begin with, however, scarcely anyone would think of using the object which he happens to have for purposes of barter, since in all his work and striving he is primarily and fundamentally concerned with his own needs. He uses his own measurements as a basis. That is to say, he decides on the length and

/510 cont./

437 breadth, the particular shape of the weapon or implement, in
463 accordance with his own personal convenience, according to his bent and taste, depending on how he has practiced making it or is in the habit of doing it differently. From this arise the differences between the utensils of one man and another, between such small things as baskets, sewing work, and so forth, which one Indian woman or another will make for herself alone.

411 Because each weapon and each tool fits its maker's own hand, so to speak, it follows that each person has great dexterity in handling his own articles. /511/ Time and again their suppleness and accuracy of aim, their sure grip and controlled fist, their ability to make estimates, and their sharp eye have been justly regarded with awe and wonder by Europeans (226). It is true

226. Many agree with Bove's (g):235 judgment concerning their weapons, that the Fuegians "know how to handle them with marvelous dexterity and precision" /translated from Italian/.

that with constant practice everyone can accomplish a great deal. Many a European who has tried to use the sling or the harpoon or some other native implement has gone about it very awkwardly and become the laughing stock of the Indians.

The fact that no one owns more than one extra utensil of those most frequently needed is an indication of self-confidence. The less a person must carry around with him on his constant travels, the more comfortable it is for him and the freer he feels. It is only when want and need force him to restore the loss of an implement that he instantly and decisively sets to work. Since not even the thought of his own needs forces our Indian to make this or that object in order to have it on hand, how much less can we expect him to make anything for barter.

182 Our Fuegians procure and make their implements with little effort. They manipulate them very adroitly and steadily. They can depend absolutely on their own ability and the effectiveness of their weapons (227). What, therefore, should press and drive

227. Every careful observer will agree

/524 cont./

223 a soft whistle, the hunter instructs his wife how to steer the canoe. He observes the movements of the bird and tries to meet it suddenly as it comes up out of the water two meters or less away. The alert hunter must take advantage of the moment when the penguin, reappearing out of the water, lifts its head above the surface, and then he must thrust the spear in its body. The proximity of the boat, which frightens the unsuspecting animal, would cause it to dive again immediately. Penguin hunting shows how dependent man and wife are upon each other and how their cooperation brings success which will benefit them and their family.

[411]

Fig. 57. Bird Spear. Natural size.

β. Cormorants

No less valuable than the penguins for the hungry Yamana are the cormorants which are almost as plentiful there. These Indians are primarily interested in four kinds, namely, the Vigua cormorant, touwīsiwa (Phalacrocorax olivaceus), the Magellanic cormorant, ʒ'ętex (Phalacrocorax magellanicus), the tufted cormorant, wāsęnim (Phalacrocorax gaimardi), and finally the black cormorant, yęsex, yęsaex (Phalacrocorax atriceps) (Fig. 58). Other species, such as Phalacrocorax verrucosus, only occasionally visit the inner channels. The meat of this type of bird is tougher and drier than that of the penguins, but the Indian welcomes it nevertheless. He also uses their bones and feathers.

One usually sees the cormorants in small groups on the water and on the beach. The hunter tries to get close enough to them so that he can use his sling successfully if several animals are standing close together. He selects

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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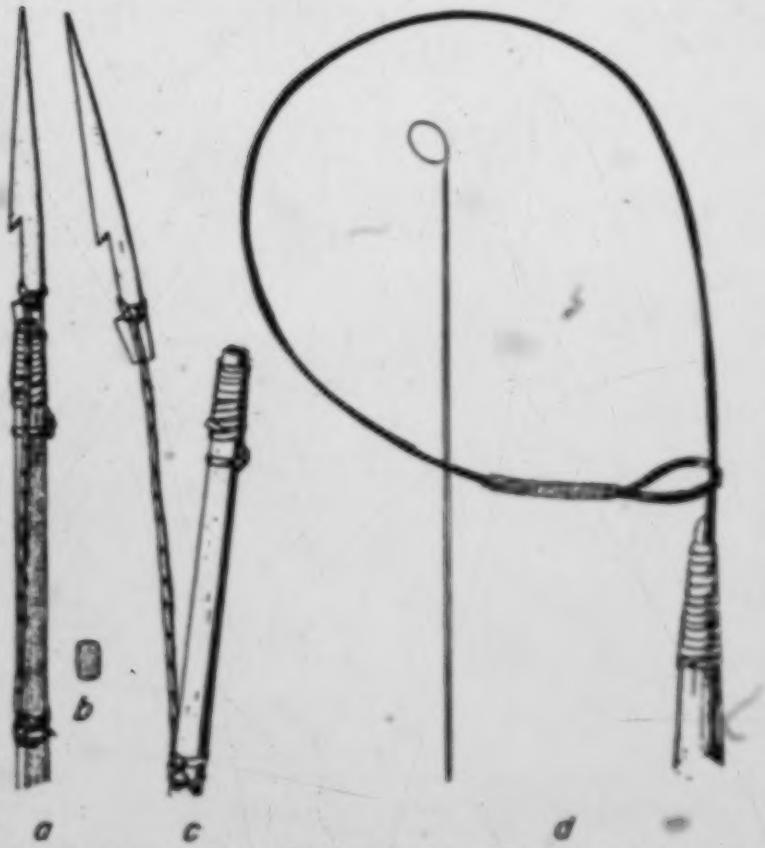

FIGURE 11.—Yahgan harpoon and pole snare. a, Harpoon assembled for casting; b, cross section of harpoon shaft; c, position when dragging through water (length of harpoon head 10 in., or 25.5 cm.); d, two views of bird snare (diameter of loop 6¼ in., or 16.0 cm.). (After Lothrop, 1928, figs. 93, 97.)

361 621 divisional areas. Apart from initiation and other social or religious functions, which brought larger numbers together temporarily in a common camp, each biological family or small group of two or three families tended to camp apart, more frequently in the same shelter.

342 The two chief forms of family shelter were the beehive hut and the conical hut. The beehive or domed hut, the more common form, especially in the west, was circular or elliptical in ground plan, made of a framework of flexible sticks bent over dome-shape and fastened together, and covered with grass, ferns, branches, bark, skins, or anything at hand (pl. 22, b). The conical hut, more fre-

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 S316 Yahgan S316

415 ferent from the man's. Among other more used containers were: pouches of seal or penguin skin for holding small objects; bladders or windpipes of seals or porpoises for holding ocher and firestones; crops of geese and stomachs of seals for holding oil. (Cf. others in Lothrop, 1928, p. 122.)

412 **Tools.**—These have mostly been dealt with incidentally in the preceding sections. The hafted mussel-shell scraper, mentioned above under "Skin dressing," was also the common knife. Stone-headed daggers or knives were used by the earlier *Yahgan* (Cooper, 1917, p. 207). The stone celt or ax was lacking. Wedges were of bone; arrow polishers, of a bit of pumice.

411 **Weapons.**—The characteristic weapons used by the *Yahgan* both in hunting and in fighting were the spear and harpoon (fig. 11, *a–c*), the club, and the sling. The bow and arrow, in contrast to *Ona* usage, occupied a very subordinate position.

The spear shaft was quadrangular, hexagonal, octagonal, or decagonal in section, from 8 feet (2.5 m.) or less to 12 feet (4 m.) long; the shank, ordinarily of bone, with unilateral or bilateral single or serrate barbs and with notched tang, lashed to the split or slotted end of the shaft. The atlatl was absent. The harpoon, without toggle, was merely a spear with a detachable shank tied by a thong to the shaft. The club was a plain straight heavy stick. The cradle of the sling was of hide, the lines of braided whale gut.

Yahgan bows, arrows, and quivers closely resembled those of the *Ona*—a curved self bow, ranging from about 3 to 4 feet long, with string of seal hide or of braided seal, whale, or guanaco sinew; the arrow, without foreshaft, and with triangular stemmed and barbed head of stone, bone, or, more recently, glass; the quiver, rectangular, of skin, or tubular, of bark. Arrow poisoning was absent. Both archeological and ethnological evidence suggests that the *Yahgan* most likely acquired the bow and arrow after their arrival in their historic habitat, from the *Ona*. (Cf. Bird, 1938, pp. 261–262; Cooper, 1917, pp. 211–212.)

372 **Fire making and illumination.**—The only method of fire making was by percussion with flint and pyrites, bird down or dried fungus serving as tinder. Fire was carried around in the canoe on a hearth of earth, shell, or stones. Two-pronged tongs were in use. Bark torches provided illumination. Fire was employed not only for cooking, heating, and lighting, but also for signaling, straightening arrow and spear shafts, bending canoe ribs, felling trees, preparing bark for canoes and material for baskets, and other purposes.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

364 **Marriage and the family.**—The sexes were kept separate after about the age of 7 and were warned by their elders against sexual liberties.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S316 Yahgan S316

291 Women wear rather more clothing, that is, they have nearly the whole skin of a guanaco, or seal, wrapped about them, and usually a diminutive apron. The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an infant. Neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes.

302 Both sexes oil themselves, or rub their bodies with grease; and daub their faces and bodies with red, black, or white. A fillet is often worn
301 around the head, which upon ordinary occasions is simply a string, made of sinews; but if going to war or dressed for show, the fillet is ornamented with white down, white feathers, or pieces of cloth, if they have obtained any from shipping. . . .

411 It is rather curious that each of these natives is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear; another with the sling; another with a bow and arrows; but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others.

266 Before entering on the details of Yahgan life we shall dwell briefly on the charges of savagery and cannibalism made by numerous writers. As early as 1600 the Alacalaf were thought to be cannibals, for in that year Van Noort marooned on Santa Maria island one of his officers charged with insubordination, in the belief that he would die of hunger or be eaten by the savages. A quarter of a century later Jaques L'Hermite charged the Yahgan with cannibalism. In more recent years Darwin and Fitzroy have repeated the accusation on hearsay evidence, and their dictum has been widely published. However, no white man has ever witnessed the act of anthropophagy among any of the Fuegian tribes, while in recent years those who have lived with the natives and come to know them well all agree that the idea of eating human flesh is as repugnant to a Fuegian as to a European. According to Martial (p. 193) the Yahgan ordinarily do not eat dog, fox, or rat, because these animals will eat human flesh.

688 The imputation of barbarity, on the other hand, rests on firmer ground, for there are well-authenticated instances of attack by the Yahgan on European crews. The earliest of these resulted in the death at Nassau bay in 1624 of seventeen men from L'Hermite's ship; the most widely published was the massacre at Wooloya in 1859 of the crew of the missionary schooner *Allen Gardiner*. What provoked these attacks is a secret intombed with their victims. Early voyagers habitually kidnapped natives to serve as pilots and thus secured medical assistance. Native women often have

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

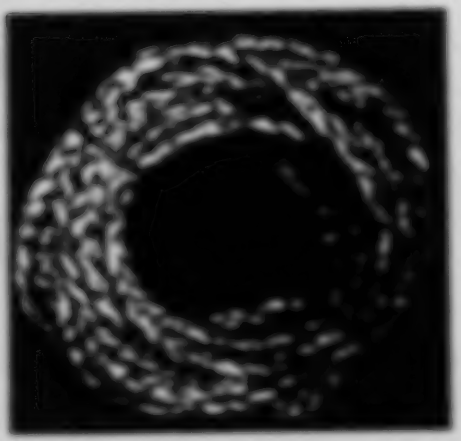

Fig. 77.—Yahgan grass rope. Diameter of coil, 24 in. (14,2349)

As a result of the exercise, the women were very strongly developed above the waist, but poorly developed in the legs.

When it was desired to make a landing the canoe was paddled in to the beach, bow-on, and the man of the family and the children stepped ashore. The wife then paddled the canoe out to a piece of kelp, mounted it, and swam ashore. As a result all the women were able to swim, while few of the men could do so.

The canoe was kept in the water habitually, because hauling it up on the beach was difficult owing to the fragility of the bark. When it was necessary to make repairs, the beach was carpeted with wet kelp to make a soft and slippery surface over which the canoe could be dragged with ease. The dugout canoes, however, were a different proposition, so far these runways were made by removing the stones (pl. xi). Stakes were driven at the head of the runways to which the canoes were tied. Campsites used habitually since the invasion of the dugout may be distinguished by the presence of such runways.

Fig. 78.—Yahgan bark bucket. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

Weapons and Methods of Hunting

Yahgan weapons were the spear, club, sling, and bow. In their fashion of living, spears were almost an imperi-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SM6 Yahgan SM6

FIG. 79.—Yahgan spears. a, Limpet-spear (14/2272); b, Seal-harpoon (14/2271 (2)); c, d, Fish-spears (14/2273, 2271 (1)); e, Crab-spear (14/2272). Length, ⅔ to 1/3 R.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
§305 Yahgan 5305

cast on the bow among the Ona. The use of this weapon was taught from childhood; practice in casting a bonefish spear, usually with an old basket as a target, was a frequently enacted sport. The basket was slung far ahead from the end of a spear; then all the young men present would cast at the target, walk up to recover their shafts, and tow the basket ahead again.

FIG. 80.—Yahgan fish-spears. Length of spear at *a*, 102 in. (34,2373, 2371)

In fig. 79, drawn to scale, are shown five types of Yahgan spears, each designed for a special purpose, differing in point, shaft, and lashing. These details and certain regional variations we shall discuss at length.

1. BIRD- AND FISH-SPEAR. — This spear (*shuskeiya*) is an all-purpose spear, but it was specifically intended for capturing fish and birds. It was commonly used in warfare. It may be briefly described as a beechwood shaft tipped with a serrated whale-bone head lashed in place with seal-hide or braided sinew (fig. 79, *c*, *d*).

The shaft of this spear (called *shuskeiya*) is eight-sided, as can be seen in fig. 80, having four wide and four narrow surfaces. In casting, the flat of the shaft was placed on the palm of the hand. The head of the shaft is about three-quarters of an inch in diameter; the conical diameter is nearly twice as much; at the butt it tapers to a point. Red or sometimes black paint covers the completed shaft. On one side of the head-end of the shaft a slot is cut, into which the tang of the spearhead is inserted and there lashed with a seal-hide thong. This is shown in fig. 80, *b*.

The head of the fish-spear is cut from the lower jaw-bone of a whale. In the old days whales were plentiful in Beagle channel and the waters to the south, but since the establishment of whaling

3: Lothrop E.-S (1924-1925) 1928
S386 Tahgan S36

Tp. 150-A

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

stations on South Georgia,[1] some years ago, they have become exceedingly rare. During the writer's visit to Beagle channel the supply of whalebone became completely exhausted, and it was said that four years had elapsed since a whale had come ashore.

Details of the spearhead hafting appear in fig. 80. The usual assemblage is that shown in *b* where a single point has been set in a deep notch and secured there by heavy spiral lashings. Sometimes, when the presence of certain kinds of fish made it desirable, a second point was set against the side of the shaft opposite the notch and there secured by lashings of the usual kind.

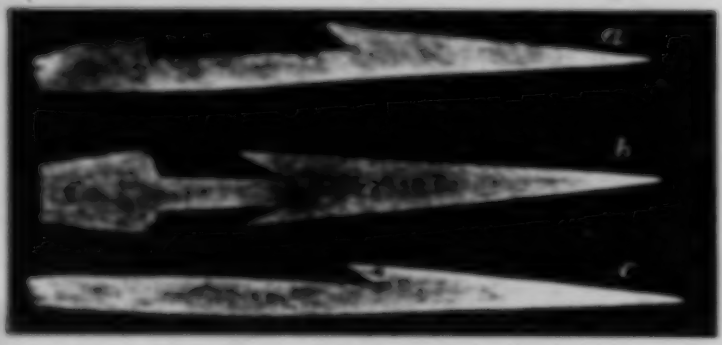

FIG. 80.—Yahgan spearheads. *a, b*, Seal spearheads (14/2377, 2378); *c*, Gonzaro spearpoint (14/2371). Length, 11½ to 12 in.

In size fish-spear heads range from six to eighteen inches, with anywhere up to twenty barbs. Eastern and central Yahgan points (pl. XII, *a–d*) have barbs along one side only. In the west this type, and also points with barbs along both sides, were used (pl. XII, *e*). Among the Alacaluf, I was informed, both single and double rows of barbs were employed. Pl. XII, *d*, shows a point made by an Alacaluf living with a Yahgan wife on Navarin island; it differs from Yahgan workmanship in the superior finish.

The tools employed in manufacturing the spearpoint were: (1) a stone hammer to secure a bone fragment of proper size, (2) a shell scraper or knife to shape the blade, and (3) a piece of pumice to polish it.

Yahgan fish-spear heads are strikingly like bone spearpoints

[1] A recent account of this industry will be found in Morley and Hodgson's Whaling North and South, New York, 1926.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

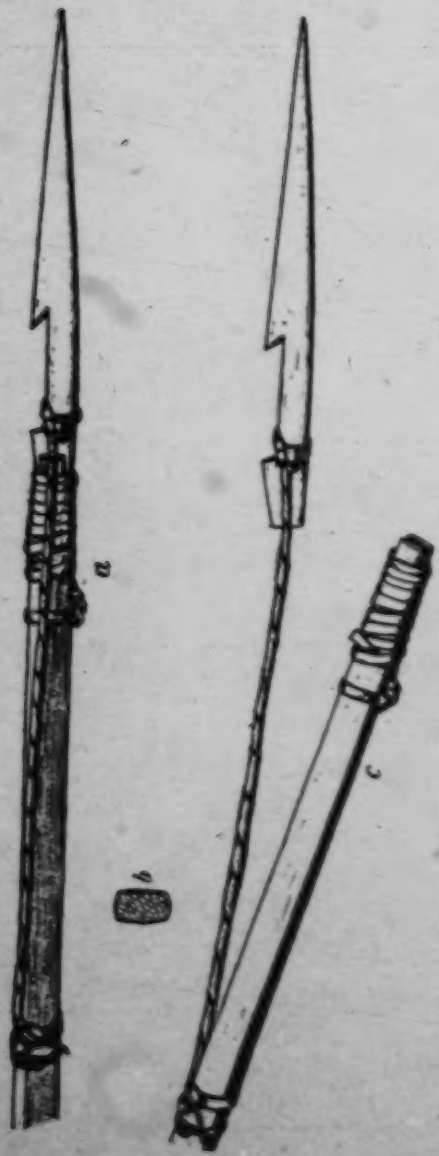

FIG. 82.—Yahgan harpoon. *a*, Assembled for casting; *b*, Section of shaft; *c*, Position when dragging through water. Length of head, 10 in. (14/2271)

discovered in late Paleolithic deposits in Europe, yet between the Yahgan and the Magdalenian peoples of Europe roll great oceans of time and space.

2. HARPOONS.—In the pursuit of seal, porpoise, and whale, the Yahgan employed a harpoon with a heavy shaft and a detachable head joined to the shaft by a thong (fig. 79, *b*).

The shaft differs from the fish-spear shaft in material and in weight: it is heavier than the fish-spear and consequently will deliver a harder blow; it is usually made not of beech but of cypress wood. Cypress grows only along the western channels of Tierra del Fuego, but in the old days the wood passed thence in trade to Beagle channel and the southern islands.

There are regional differences in the kind of point attached to the cypress shaft: in the east a single-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

barbed head (*ɑwɑfɑ*) was used (fig. 81, *a*); in the west a double-barbed form (fig. 81, *b*) was employed. In both regions, however, the head had a flat-base tang with an expanded foot. 441

In assembling the weapon, the tang of the spearhead was inserted in a slot which ran completely through the head of the shaft, where it was loosely lashed by an encircling seal-hide thong (*tɑwɑrɑ́rɑ*). It was held in place by a second thong (*tɑwɑtɑ́*) tied to the tang and attached to the shaft two or three feet from the head. As illustrated in fig. 82, *a*, this thong was twisted until its length was lessened and it acted as a spring to hold the butt of the tang firmly against the bottom of the slot in the spearhead. The tension of this thong was a matter of constant adjustment, for it varied according to the wetness or dryness of the thong and even with the state of the weather.

FIG. 83.—Yahgan spearpoint case. Height, 14 in. (14/2370)

When the seal-spear had been buried in the flesh of a porpoise, whale, or seal, the point promptly pulled out of the socket and the shaft then acted as a drag, as shown in fig. 82, *c*. But owing to the fact that the thong from the shaft to the head was tied near one end of the shaft, it dragged at an acute angle, so that sufficient pressure to break the thong or the shaft was not produced. The Yahgan apparently did not employ inflated skins or bladders for this purpose.

3. GUANACO-SPEAR.—In the eastern part of Beagle channel and on Lennox and New islands the Yahgan hunted the guanaco with a special kind of spearpoint (*ɑwɑsí*), shown in fig. 81, *c*. It resembles the seal-spear in having a single barb, but lacks the projection seen on the seal-spear's tang. It was lashed on the light hexagonal shaft of a fish-spear. This kind of weapon apparently was in use only among the eastern Yahgan, for it was unknown to Messrs. William Bridges and Fred. Lawrence. The example illustrated was obtained from a Lennox islander. To spear guanaco the animal was chased into a swamp or else the 224

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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PIG. 84.—Yahgan limpet-spear (a) and crab-spear (b). Length of heads, 16½ and 19½ in. (14/2271, 2272)

hunter climbed a tree over a guanaco runway in the woods and waited there until an animal passed beneath him.

The three spear types described all had bone points, specialized in type but of approximately the same length. To carry the extra points that might be needed were the one in use to become lost, the Yahgan employed a small case made of seal-hide with the hair side inward. Old-time containers were simply a rectangle of skin folded double and sewn up the side and bottom (fig. 83). In recent years the Yahgan have followed the pattern of the Ona quiver (fig. 33) and have inserted a small oval piece of hide at the bottom of the case.

4. CRAB AND SEA-URCHIN SPEAR.—As shown in fig. 79, *e*, this spear (*akwinindas*) was considerably longer than the other Yahgan spears, for it was designed to secure crabs and sea-urchins under water.

The shaft was not octagonal like the other spears considered, but was round. It was covered with minute flutes like the Ona bow, but they were not so carefully worked.

The head of the crab-spear (*sin*) was a piece of yellow barberry wood split at one

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

end to form four prongs which were sharpened and hardened in the fire (fig. 84, *b*). These prongs were wedged apart with small wooden toggles held in place by a lashing of either braided grass or whalebone. The head was lashed to the shaft with a seal-hide thong.

5. LIMPET-SPEAR.—The limpet-spear (*kuléwu*) had either the fish or the crab spearshaft. It is seen with the former in fig. 79, *a*. The head (fig. 84, *a*) had but two prongs with flat, chisel-like blades. They were forced slightly apart by a small toggle.

BOW AND ARROW

In the old days, according to all accounts, the Yahgan habitually used the bow and arrow, but during the last half of the nineteenth century this weapon rapidly fell into disuse, until by the end of the century the bow had become a toy for children.

FIG. 85.—Yahgan bone arrowpoint. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

According to Fitzroy (1839, pp. 184, 187) the Yahgan everywhere arrowed birds and, in the east, guanaco. Their bows he described as three or four feet long and "quite plain." The arrows were two feet in length, well polished, and with the points so loosely attached that they remained in the flesh when the shaft was withdrawn (fig. 85).

An example of Yahgan bow which the Rev. John Williams kindly allowed the writer to examine had been given to his children several years ago as a toy. In general type it resembled the Ona bow, like which it was fluted, a characteristic due, I suspect, to contact with the Ona at Harberton. However, it was much shorter than the Ona bow, and much more curved, especially at the ends. This latter feature may have been accidental, for guanaco-sinew has a tendency to shrink for many years, and the writer has noted in museums Ona bows unduly curved owing to the increasing tension of the cord.

The arrows were short, chimney, and untapered—very crude

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S86 Yahgan S86

411

indeed compared with Ona workmanship. The arrowhead was of bone, cut to the Ona pattern with two barbs; but it had a long tang and was loosely attached to the shaft with heavy lashings like the Yahgan spears. Notches in the blade of the specimen illustrated (fig. 85) suggest the lithomorphic prototype seen in fig. 105, b.

In the Peabody Museum at Salem are two old Yahgan bows, one the gift of Capt. B. Morrell, Jr., who obtained it in 1825, the other collected by Lieutenant Wilkes, probably at Orange harbor or Wollaston island. These bows, illustrated in pl. XIII through the kindness of Mr. L. W. Jenkins, are respectively 3 ft. 9½ in. and 4 ft. 1 in. from tip to tip. Though the general outline and cross-section recall the Ona bow, the fluting typical of the handiwork of that tribe is absent. Both specimens appear to be made of beechwood, but this has become dark through age, much handling, and the application of grease. Bowstrings are of guanaco-sinew; they are attached in Ona fashion with a slip-noose at the bottom (to the right in pl. XIII) and with several turns secured by a half-hitch at the top.

CLUBS

Yahgan clubs (*hóus*) are short stout sticks, painted red when new (fig. 85A). These weapons were intended for killing seal on

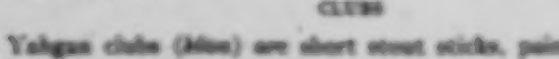

FIG. 85A.—Yahgan club. Length, 47½ in. (16/2271)

shore, or for killing birds at night with the aid of a torch of beech-bark (*ahirkua*). Also they were commonly used in fighting.

SLINGS

Slings (*uaiwa*) were an extremely effective weapon among the Yahgan, for some are said to have been so dextrous in their use that they often brought down flying birds. The usual sling (fig. 86) has a pouch of guanaco- or seal-hide suspended on braided whale-gut lines. The ends terminate in knots enlarged with a little guanaco wool. In discharging a stone, one knot is placed between the fourth and the little finger with the cord running across the palm of the hand; the other knot is held between the thumb and forefinger as the sling is whirled around the head.

411
117

The Alacaluf, as well as the Yahgan, were skilful users of slings, but of the Ona only those in the south had slings. At first glance

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S365 Yahgan S265

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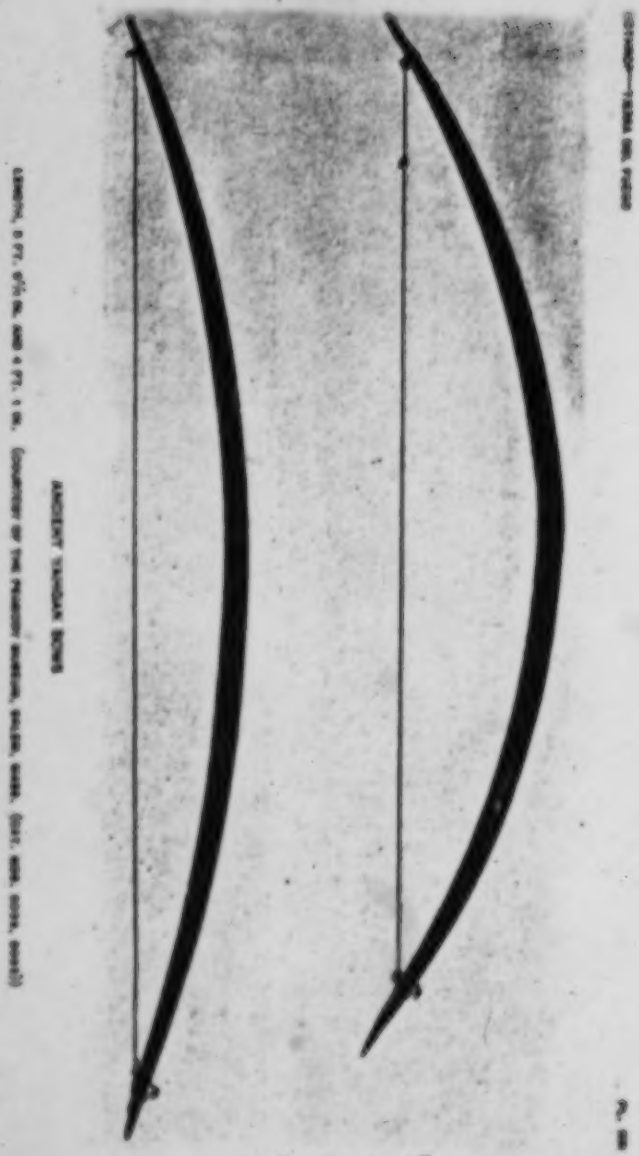

[p. 156-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

411 177 it would seem clear that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yahgan. However, the Ona word for sling (*shinkai*) is not taken from the Yahgan, while slings are mentioned in a supposedly ancient Ona legend. Possibly then the Ona might not have borrowed the sling from their Yahgan neighbors, but in all probability they did.

FIG. 86.—Yahgan sling. Length, 27 in. (14/2511)

BIRD-SNARES

411 Three different forms of snare were applied to the capture of birds by the Yahgan. In all of these, active prehensile function was performed by a noose of whalebone scraped thin to make it flexible. The simplest procedure was to set such a noose over a bird's nest during its absence. Also a series of nooses might be set on a cord, staked down in an open spot, and covered with suitable bait (fig. 36A). Finally, a whalebone noose was set on the end of a pole (*aórum*), as illustrated in fig. 87. With this implement it was possible to snare roosting birds during the night.

BIRD-CATCHING BY HAND

223 In addition to killing birds with arrows, slings, club and torch, and snares, the Yahgan sometimes took birds by a method which, if successful, often resulted in prodigally wasteful and unnecessary slaughter. At night a man would paddle silently to a rock where birds, preferably shags, as they are heavy sleepers, were roosting. He would steal silently ashore, and then seize the nearest bird with one hand around its wings and with the other hand pinch its windpipe so that it could neither flap its wings nor make an outcry. Then he bit off the head, placed the corpse on the ground, and went for the next bird. Thus with luck great numbers might be taken. But the steamboat duck (*Tachyeres cinereus*), a light sleeper, could seldom be captured by this method, and, if any were roosting on the rock selected, they usually gave the alarm. [231] Fitzroy (1839, p. 184) says that the Yahgan dogs were trained to catch birds by stealing upon them as they roosted during the night.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

411

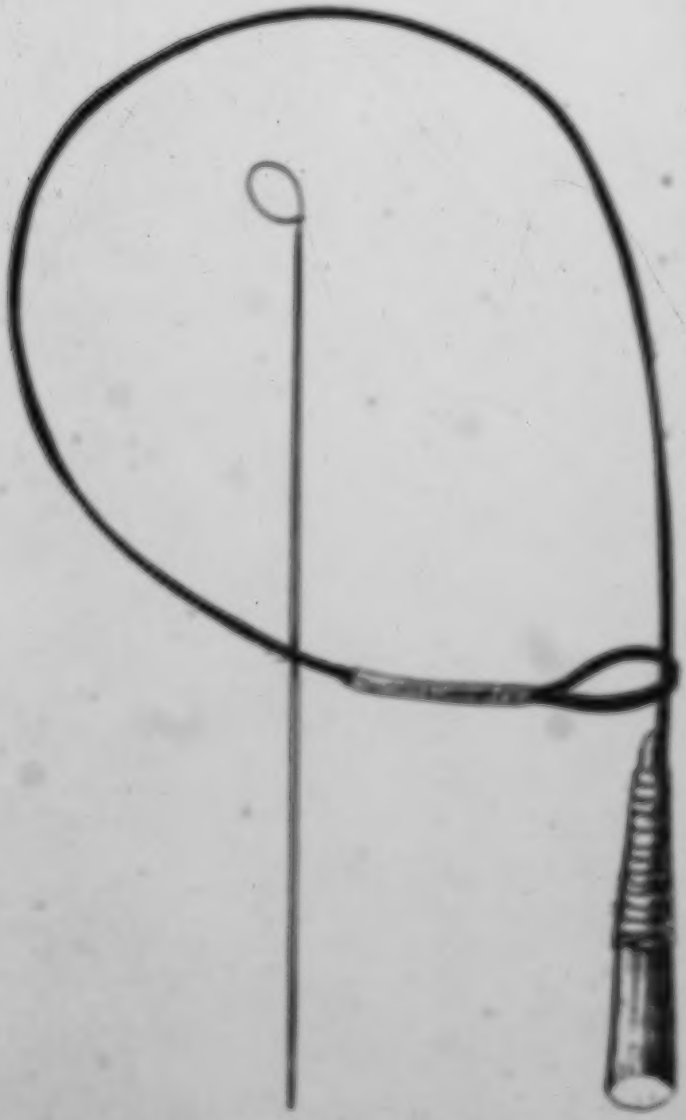

FIG. 87.—Yahgan bird-snare. Diameter of loop, 6½ in. (142276)

1: Cooper X-4 (no date) 1946 [illegible] Tchouichka
Yakyan SH6

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H2

[p. 160 D]

/374 cont./

342 Scientifique still found the dome-shaped huts in the neighborhood of Cape Horn, where conical ones were already appearing, whereas on the shores of the middle and eastern Beagle Channel there were only conical huts (Hyades [q] :343). Modern times have brought about a still more radical change with the introduction of the European iron ax, since with it and other iron tools thick trunks can be felled even in the west and south, and these are suitable for the construction of a solid conical hut (14). /375/ This explains why both types of huts

[177 412]

14. Lothrop (b):128 very emphatically points to this circumstance: "The introduction of the ax has increased the use of the pointed house form" /cited in English/. In Figure 52 he reproduces a "modern Yahgan house" of this type of construction.

were erected side by side in a few places of the middle zone, and why in a particular place one traveler spoke about this form, another about that form (15).

15. On the islands near Cape Horn in February, 1902, Dabbene (b) :178 saw the more stable, cone-shaped form of hut, which seemed strange to him. Twenty years earlier, among the Yamana of the south, the Mission Scientifique still found the dome-shaped hut.

[161] Since the west has become completely depopulated, the last Yamana are staying mostly in the central part and in the east where European travelers have found only cone-shaped huts with a framework of thick trunks (16). One is not mistaken if he considers this more stable

342 177

16. From the indefinite accounts of other travelers we cannot reach a safe judgment about the distribution of the two types of huts during their sojourn in that region. In Bove (c):157 (and in MM:XVIII, 189; 1884) we read: "Their huts have, in general, a cone-shaped form and two doors diametrically

/395 cont. /

372 505 They have loaded up with firewood before their departure and piled it near the fire. Here it dries a bit and /396/ is conveniently at hand when needed (58). The children feed the fire according to

[55]

> 58. For a longer trip they provide themselves amply with firewood and stack it, as Hyades (q) :304 has observed, at one of the two ends of the boat.

their parents' instructions.

When possible, they take only very dry wood in their canoe, since the unpleasant smoke from wet wood could scarcely be avoided. When they leave their craft upon landing, the children [57] carry the glowing sticks of wood to shore and place them on the spot which is to be the center of their new hut. Here they soon rekindle a larger fire. The Indians are scrupulously conscientious

[412]

Fig. 14. Fire Tongs.

about extinguishing all glowing embers of the canoe fire by dousing them with water. If they continue their journey the next day, the children once more carry the glowing sticks of wood to the canoe and light a new fire in it.

372 Whenever a family leaves their fire, either in the canoe or in the dwelling, they take care to put out even the last glimmering bit. The fire could easily come alive again, /Fig. 14 appears here/ spread, and cause serious destruction. The glowing embers are scattered, pounded and beaten with a cudgel, covered with gravel or sand, and finally doused liberally with snow or water. This removes all danger.

To arrange the fire and distribute the glowing pieces of 372 wood, the Indians reach for any stick that happens to be handy. 412 They like to use regular fire tongs which no family is without. Here they are known as Iéka (Fig. 14), also Iikka according to BD: 278; and correspond exactly to the Iikka of the Selk'nam

/200 cont./

3/2 4/2 (Vol. I, 200). They choose a straight stick, as thick as one's thumb, of Berberis ilicifolia, strip it of leaves, twigs, and cracked parts of bark, smooth the surface, and split it two-thirds of its entire length which is hardly more than 65 centimeters. Afterwards the lower, split end is cut off flat. Since the tension of the wood fibers keeps the two ends spread slightly apart, these fire tongs can be easily manipulated simply with pressure (10).

[177]

10. Hyades (Q):304 and Lothrop (b):130 have also described this implement briefly. The similarity in terminology between the Selk'nam and Tamana causes Lothrop to speak of a "cultural borrowing," which should not be dismissed.

137 3/3 The natives have the advantage, which they truly appreciate, of some growth of trees throughout their homeland, even on the dreaded Cape Horn. It is lacking only on the low rocks and smooth stones that /207/ are exposed to waves and storms without any kind of protection. Wherever shallow crevices or protected ravines cut into the rocks, frail shrubs and thicker small trees cling, successfully resisting storms. The Indian finds his needed 3/3 fuel at every landing place, so to speak, although at some places he obtains it more easily. He prefers dry beechwood for his fire, for he dreads the damaging smoke of green logs (11). He finds it

11. Persistent watering of the eyes and slight inflammation of the eyelids are the consequences of the stinging smoke. See Hyades (Q):348 and Lothrop (b):128, as well as footnote 16.

as driftwood that has been washed ashore by the waves. He also goes a few steps into the woods and breaks off dry branches with his hands. If they are higher up, he throws the ropes of his bows around them, tugs vigorously, for beechwood is very tough, and pulls them down. He falls hollow tree trunks with the weight of his body and then splits them. As soon as a family lands, the children disperse throughout the neighborhood and gather wood which they bring to the campsite.

[178]

/413 cont./
in the Wulaia region: "The greater part of the skins we saw on the natives, were Otter skins; there were very few Guanaco skins... Seal skins, both fur and hair, were numerous. Many of the skins were sufficiently large to cover the whole person" (VSA:XI, 388; 1864) /cited in English/.

not only to make their meager articles of clothing, but for all kinds of implements and utilitarian articles. The otter and the fox are hunted only for their fur. Following an old, sanctioned custom, man and wife share in the work of preparation; the heavier work falls to the man, and the lighter handwork to the woman. Fortunately, the skins are extremely greasy and oily. After they have been removed, they keep perfectly for several days despite complete neglect. The sometimes continuous inclemency of the weather very often hinders the man in accomplishing pressing tasks, during which time many objects are badly damaged from lack of immediate care and proper treatment.

When possible, the successful hunter makes every effort to skin the seal immediately at the place where he killed it or at the first best landing place. His main object is the delicious blubber and the fresh meat. First he must pull off the skin. He places the sea lion or colored species on its back lengthwise on the ground. His first and only long incision is made from the neck over the chest and belly to the end of the rump. A sharpened mussel shell serves as a knife. The second and deeper incision runs around the neck. He does not yet sever the head completely, /413/ but throws his knife in so deeply that the whole head can be grasped with both hands and, after the cervical vertebra has been broken, torn off with a sharp tug. He begins above at one edge of the skin on the other end, holding his knife in his right hand and grasping the skin with his left, he peels it away from its adhering layer of fat by means of short, contiguous, oblique cuts. The flippers are peeled out inward from the joints under the skin which has been removed all around, and then they remain hanging on the skin. He works his way along, piece by piece, first on one side, then on the other, always in the direction of the rump until the whole

/[illegible] cont./

hard that the sinew of the frame can be removed (88).

88. This backwork frame for stretching skins; quite as simple and made after the same pattern as that of the Sami tent (Vol. I, p. 158, and fig. 12). Some time ago Dempwolf spoke of a preparation of "skins by stretching /sic/ them in wooden frames, still quite dry, then scraping and rubbing with stones, still soft and smooth, and white in color" (VP'97, 88). [illegible] /[illegible] in English/. The procedure is serious and familiar also to the Dalaiwoolgs.

/[illegible]/ The procedure is the same for stretching underlying the skins of the fox and the otter, but the work is easier because these skins are lighter and smaller. Some care is required in skinning penguins and cormorants, as well as in stretching here skins, [illegible], which are thin and delicate. The hood skins of other animals are not dressed.

If the dried, stiff seal skins are used for the covering of the hut, they need no further preparation, but for their any other use it is necessary to clean them. The ordinary knife or sharp-edged round shell serves as a scraper. The woman scraps the inner side, piece by piece, with the entire broad side of it blade. The skin is spread out on the ground with the hair side down, and she kneels or squats on it, pushing herself along bit by bit. With uninterrupted movements of the arm, she draws the scraper toward her body with moderate pressure and in short strokes. Here the scraping marks appear in layers and point in the same direction. In any case, the scraped surface looks irregular because th sharpness of the scraper and the strength of her arm vary constantly. It is necessary to remove primarily the dried fatty tissue and the transparent horny layer of the surface because they rend very easily. The woman is equally guided by feeling, hence it cannot b definitely determined how deep she should go on the scrape. It depends on the thickness of the entire skin.

Often it is also necessary to remove the hair, so new pieces of leather are needed for the hair-scraps and for punches-scraps.

/414 cont./

[511] In the case of smaller pieces, the hair is sometimes scraped off with the scraper, but more often the natives encourage a process of decay. One method is to place the entire skin under the sleeping section from which a flat layer of earth has first been removed. It is then covered with damp earth, grass, or moss, and the bed is arranged upon it as before. They leave it there, and life in the hut goes on as usual. Dampness from below and a little warmth from above start a process of fermentation which loosens the layer of hair. Eventually this can easily be stripped off with the flat of the hand, as soon as the leather is covered with a slightly slimy, sticky layer (89). Another procedure, used by the woman, is more

89. In brief, general terms Hyades (q):347 also mentions this method of treating the skins to remove the hair.

[514] successful. She collects her own urine on the piece of leather which is spread out with the hairy side upward, letting it penetrate for some time. It does not matter whether the piece lies inside or outside the hut for several days, and it is at the same time exposed to the dampness of the earth. These people think that human urine is more effective when it is collected on the piece of leather and, still warm, is immediately /415/ rubbed in with the palm of the hand or with a small tuft of wood shavings. After this has been repeated several times, the skin is covered with a thin layer of damp earth and then frequently sat upon or slept on so that it is given a good deal of body warmth. After about two weeks the hair can be stripped off easily. The piece of leather is now extremely soft, and one can easily cut out long ropes or short straps.

An otter skin takes more work to prepare. When the woman has completely dried it on the framework of sticks mentioned above, she plucks out the long, coarse hairs individually with her fingers

[512] or with two shaped shells that fit one on top of the other. This is an irksome process, but in the end it gives the over, velvety soft fur that everyone regards with pleasure and enjoys stroking with the palm of the hand.

After they are dried, the hard, thick seal skins must be thoroughly beaten, even though the underside has been well scraped, to make them soft and flexible. This requires strong hands, which

/421 cont./

but want to be bothered with it, he ties a narrow strap, a tendon, or a few skins of rubber around his head to hold it. A man even uses his sling for this purpose. If women bend their heads, the hair falls forward and covers the whole face, but they never tire of pushing it aside. Bove (c):157 wrote: "Men and women wear very long hair that falls to their shoulders; only a few fasten it with a leather band. Most of them, however, let it grow so wild that both sexes look more like furies than human beings."

The men like to shorten their hair. That is the only difference in the so-called hair style of the two sexes. They use a flat mussel shell, spread a small tuft of hair on it, and draw a sharp-edged shell over it in a sewing motion until the ends fall off. Then they take the next tuft, until they have done the whole head in this fashion. It cannot be helped that the hair-cutter grows tired; the other must endure much plucking and pulling, and the whole job is very irregular.

Modern grooming of the hair is not entirely lacking, however, Dempsey /419/ learned from an Indian that "only women use oil to make fine hair; then comb very smooth with porpoise jaw" (VIII, 55; 1938) /cited in English/. Both sexes alike regard the secondary body hair as ugly and in bad taste. For this reason men pluck their sparse beard hair, and all adults their underarm and pubic hair, with their fingernails or with two shells that fit one on top of the other. Older people become careless about this. In most recent times the men let their beards grow, in order to be like Europeans. Now one can easily see that they do not produce more than isolated hairs on the lip and chin (98).

[96] Bove (c):156 says that "the men, besides being beardless, habitually pull out the little beard hair that they have, and the two sexes have no hair of any kind on the body" /translated from Spanish/. Levinson (b):139 agrees. Fitz-Roy (a):175 had mentioned: "They would have a straggling beard, but scrupulously pull out every hair with tweezers made of muscle-shells" /cited in English/. According to Dempsey (VII:IV, 186; 1937)

/423 cont./

142
342

"they were beardless. One or two of the older men had some hair on their faces, which, while talking, they were continually engaged in twitching out" /cited in English/. And Rowe (ibid.XVIII, 181, 1884) says: "The men have very little beard, and even that little they are accustomed to tear out or cut off with shells" /cited in English/.

In general, they have only very little and fair hair on their

•[143]

Fig. 18. Upper Jaw of Porpoise Used as Comb. Natural size.

bodies; in this respect they resemble the Selk'nam. /Fig. 18 appears here./

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Under the influence of Whites, younger and middle-aged Tenenes have learned not only to dress in modern fashion, but also to wash their faces with soap and to arrange their hair with a comb. Vain chaps shave with imported razors.

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To loosen the hair matted with dirt and lice, not so much because of a desire for cleanliness but because of the discomfort, they use a somewhat coarse comb. It comes in three styles. The most easily obtainable is the upper jaw of the porpoise which is about 12 centimeters long and has two rows of short teeth (Fig. 18). It is occasionally found on the beach where it is so excellently cleaned of all organic matter by wood lice and other lower animals that it can be used without any further preparation. At first this leaves it still greasy, which is beneficial for the hair. At any rate it is very easy to use and durable. This comb is called *ellaim*. Even an otter skull, cleaned of all meat /423/ and without the lower jaw, serves as a comb as long as the few and

/Kid case./

362 very irregular teeth are still firm in the dust, narrow upper jaw
• 992 (100).

100. Hyades (q) 363 confirms this very emphatically.

[301] The other comb must be specially made and that is why not everyone has it. It is a flat piece of whale bone, the size

Fig. 18. Comb Made of Whale Bone. Two-thirds natural size.

of a child's hand, into which five to eight teeth are cut. The teeth project across the entire piece, with not very large spaces between them (Fig. 19). This is in contrast to the comb of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 222). In the central Tehuelche region where porpoises are rare, this tomahiamek[1] is generally used (101). [Fig. 19 appears here.]

101. Ludewig (b) 132 mentions both types and says: "The Tehuelche sometimes comb their hair" /cited in English/. Hyades (q) 363 does not mention the last comb we

/423 cont./

describe, but does speak of "a piece of the upper jaw from a dolphin or porpoise, with teeth" /translated from French/.

As a makeshift when the two objects mentioned above are not available, they gather a bunch of bird feathers and tie them together at the bottom with a fiber of tendon. The bunch of feathers is grasped with the fist, and the quills are drawn through the hair, like the teeth of a comb (102). Girls like to

102. According to Fitz-Roy's terse words (x) :139, the hair grooming of the Indian women is confined to the following: "The hair of the women is longer, less coarse, and certainly cleaner than that of the men. It is combed with the jaw of a porpoise, but neither plaited nor tied; and none is cut away, excepting from over their eyes" /cited in English/.

make this [illegible] as playful dawdling, and conveniently lessen their hair with it.

Little though the Yamana heed a clean body, they nevertheless appreciate a clean person who washes often and keeps his hair combed. Many mothers care for their children; others appear disgustingly dirty and completely neglected. Such differences are not infrequently a topic of conversation among the old people who criticize in one case and praise in the other. At any rate it shows that a natural feeling for cleanliness is not entirely lacking. In spite of the many useful things that Europeans have brought them, they will never rise above a certain level of uncleanliness because they are inseparably bound to their conditions of life. The European clothing which everybody wears nowadays is likewise covered with dirt and fish oil. Because of it fresh air and beneficial rain can no longer act directly on the skin, hence their bodies are always covered with a thick, malodorous crust of dirt. Thus, the abandonment of their former spatial body covering is slowly but badly undermining the vitality and health of these Indians, who are themselves aware of it.

442 182 /438/ The more inflexible the raw material is from which our Indian manufactures his possessions, the more convincingly apparent are the creative and organizing power of his spirit, his keen gift of observation, and his dexterity. Repeated attempts must have preceded the shapes and the individual pieces chosen for the permanent store of possessions of this tribe and retained by many generations. If we examine each individual item, its extreme appropriateness in every respect becomes so clear that we realize hardly anything can be improved to any extent which would at the same time also increase the efficiency of the object. By itself the object looks poor and artless, but if you see how it is applied and used and with what little effort it functions very accurately, you cannot refrain from marveling at its merits.

178 411 231 If we compare the accounts since the middle of the nineteenth century with the reports from the first two centuries in which Europeans and Yamana came together, it is apparent that a change has taken place in the utilization of individual objects. By this I do not mean that European goods, such as knives and axes, have been taken over, but that bow and arrow were gradually superseded by the sling. The real reason for this -- to mention the point already -- seems to be the introduction and swift adoption everywhere of the dog. The dog serves the Indian in various ways in his hunt for otter. We know that it is not easy to aim accurately with bow and arrow from a canoe. I have frankly expressed the opinion that only after the Europeans discovered the Yamana did the dog become their inevitable companion, which is how travelers have designated this animal since the middle of the last century. Aside from this small change, all the things that are used daily have been preserved in their original form until the present time.

176 The implements and weapons of our Fuegians cannot be too thoroughly investigated and observed in their use. They reveal a gift of creative invention in these Indians, who have been wrongly underestimated and so often pitied as the "most miserable people." Yet they have created tools for themselves which make it very much easier for them to obtain food and to protect their bodies.

/440 cont./

396 313 develops an even, smooth trunk and becomes thicker than the two other species of beech; moreover, its bark does not crack so easily (p. 28 /untranslated/) (124).

> 124. BD:661 emphasizes: "The bark especially of the hanis [Nothofagus pumilio] is consequently unfit for canoes" /cited in English/. Bridges (k):223 says: "The natives use the bark of the perennial beech [Nothofagus betuloides] for the construction of their canoes, since that of the other species is useless for this purpose" /translated from Spanish/.

When the men come across a trunk that can furnish a suitable piece of bark, they set to work. At least one of them is a capable canoe builder, and he estimates the proportions by eye. They distribute their forces to remove the bark, after they have carefully looked over the faultless piece, free of branches and scar protuberances. The smooth surface must measure at least five meters. The middle part of a long strap of seal skin, tikgia, [48] wuttikgia, is tossed over one of the higher branches, so that the two halves hang down freely for the time being. There is a loop at one end, which one of the younger men puts around his hips and fastens. While his companion pulls the other end, the young man climbs up the trunk bracing himself with his feet and more or less embracing the trunk with his hands. At the top he begins the incision and /441/ draws it perpendicularly to the bottom. Since he is secured with a cord and slowly lowered by the other man, he has both hands free for this work. /Fig. 25 appears here./ Having arrived at the bottom, he must climb up again. Now he draws the horizontal incision all around the trunk. If the trunk is unusually thick and if one section of bark suffices, he must outline this in the required width by a second lengthwise cut. The second horizontal cut a little above the ground is easier to make.

396 313 For this work the man uses a bone wedge and a suitable flat stone as a hammer. The former, actually, is used only for the ●412 incision in the bark and, very seldom, also to split thicker trunks into firewood. It is made out of a wide rib bone of the whale and

[Text continues on page 113.-Analyst]

/441 cont./

396 is about 35 centimeters long. There is no actual handle. The
313 piece of bone is filed on a rough stone until the wedge shape ap-
412 pears, with a slightly rounded blade (Fig. 26). The Indians grasp the upper half of this wedge, ila, with the left hand, place it against the bark with light pressure, and, with a stone in the right hand, hammer it in until they hit the fibers of the wood. They handle it like a chisel. If they do not have a wedge of bone, they make the incisions in the bark with a filed mussel shell or with the true shell knife (125), but this takes longer and is far

125. Hyades (q):350 is speaking only of this when he maintains that the Fuegians "cut the bark on the tree by means of their mussel shells, sharpened and provided with a handle" /translated from French/.

more tiring.

396 After the piece of bark in the shape of a long rectangle has
313 been outlined with the bone wedge, the man again ascends to the upper /442/ horizontal cut. Here he loosens the upper edge with the same or with a finer bone wedge, being careful not to split the bark. The more rounded the bark is, the more it tends to do this.

396 Some men use a peeler of bone known as /Figs. 26 and 27
313 appear here/ sfna, according to SD:283 "a bone bark stripper"
412 /cited in English/. Lothrop (b):143 writes sfnaka. It is about 60 centimeters long, quite flat, seven millimeters thick, and has the shape of a curved paper knife. It is made from a whale rib. It is pushed under the bark, little by little, about 15 centimeters deep, and with light leverage the bark is loosened all the way around, all the more safely since the peeler is slightly springy (Fig. 27) (126).

126. Spencer:131 says in this connection: "The Yahgans make incisions with shells or with stone knives, and prise off the slabs with a long, slightly curved and flat bone tool" /cited in English/. Despard (b):679 probably also refers to this piece which he describes as "a whale's bone made into the fashion of a curved knife" /cited in English/.

[text continues on page 115.-Analyst]

1: Gustafe--114 E-S (1918-1924) 1937 5196 Yahgan 5196

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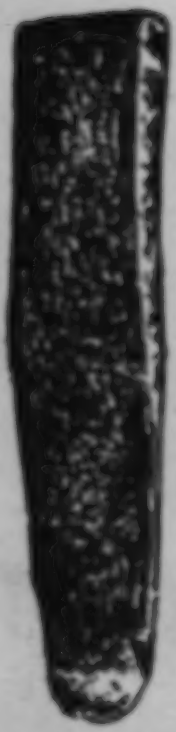

Fig. 26. Bone Wedge.
One-quarter natural size.

Fig. 27. Bark Peeler

/471 cont./

441 313 pare that remains, he lifts out the core (Fig. 34). These layers of wood are neither too flexible nor completely stiff, but are slightly springy and absolutely sound.

441 312 [312] Through endless scraping with quartz splinters, sharpened mussel shells, or the knife, enough of the long pole is whittled off so that it is about 25 millimeters in diameter and precisely octagonal. Attention is given to this because of a definite esthetic feeling, but also the edges make it possible to grasp the shaft more firmly and safely. The shaft tapers gradually toward the bottom and terminates in a blunt end. On top they carefully cut a notch 12 centimeters deep. For the final polishing of the shaft, it is rubbed with pumice, hiyal, very uniformly and with gentle pressure. At the end the shaft (176) is from 2.80 to 3.10 meters long.

176. Waddell (a):96 has furnished an exact description: "Their spears consist of firm bone, are seven feet long, sharply pointed, and have a barbed hook on one side, four inches from the point which... is fastened to a wooden shaft ten feet long and smooth and straight. A shorter or longer strip of skin is fastened to the bone." Snow (a):II, 15 supplement: "Their spears were about 12 feet long, made of hard wood, octangular, but about half an inch thick and one inch broad, tapering at one end to a point, and the other end to a butt" /cited in English/.

Fig. 33. Small Harpoon.

/480 cont./

226 line. When the fish has been brought near the surface, she reaches down and grasps it with a sure hand, pushing her second and third finger under each gill cover. After she has lifted it out of the water, she bites through its neck and kills it.

227 /481/ The snares and fishing implements used by our Yamana show extreme appropriateness. Each one of these things proves that it enables the Indian, with a small amount of effort, to get the wild animals he wants or is stalking.

9. Tools

412 304 The Fuegians have not yet advanced to a universal or even preponderant use of stone tools. To blame this on the sparse occurrence of quartzite and slate in those regions is not sufficient explanation. When iron and glass were introduced by Europeans, [117] the natives used these materials immediately, albeit in limited measure, without, however, changing the original form of their implements or replacing them by others. Actual working of the stone seems necessary only in the case of stone arrowheads and dagger points (p. 169). It cannot be definitely shown whether these Fuegians also shaped the round black stone with a groove, known as *tesi*. Hence the greater part of their tools consists of mussel shells, wood, and bone. This fact can be easily ascertained from the accounts of earlier navigators.

The following description pertains to those items as they were made before being influenced by Europeans. We must credit our Fuegians with considerable cultural progress by reason of the fact that they succeeded in making a number of implements of different construction and form, each with a very definite use.

412 461 We should like to mention briefly here a peculiar form of behavior of the Yamana which Lothrop (b):139 has also referred to. When they need anything for their implements, they do not take the trouble to make a thorough search for a good piece or await an opportunity to come across a better part. Rather, they take the first thing that comes along if it suffices for their momentary need and if it promises to fulfill the purpose for which it was intended. A better shaped mussel shell to be used as a knife, a more regular

/491 cont./

412 stone as a handle is perhaps lying only a few steps away from the
461 hut, but the Indian is not in the habit of getting up and looking around a bit if he can reach some halfway suitable item from wherever he happens to be sitting. He places little or no value upon a beautiful and durable tool; he is content if it serves him for a time. To a certain extent his negligence and carelessness is explained by the fact that he cannot adequately protect his things nor store them safely. An item is soon lost or becomes useless. Why, therefore, devote special effort to making it?

412 In this trend of thought we also find the explanation for the
177 fact that our Indians do not exert themselves too eagerly to obtain European iron tools. /492/ If they have one or another tool, they are content and use it as a universal instrument. When iron strips, blades, and nails were still a great rarity for them, that is to say, in the first three centuries after they were discovered by the "Nassau fleet," they assiduously stole these things. As soon as they were reasonably provided with them, their desire for them was, so to speak, completely extinguished.

α. The Scraper

412 The scraper, ufker, is an item that is used equally often by women and men. Cooper: 217 is right when he writes: "Among skin-using tribes like the Fuegian the scraper naturally takes an important place" /cited in English/ (Fig. 43). Every adult owns at least one of these as his personal property; for him it is more necessary than the pocketknife is for the European.

This object commonly has three parts, the most important being a large mussel shell which takes the place of a true blade. For this the natives choose a particularly strong, large specimen and give it the special designation of geluf (200). Vast quantities of

200. "A large, strong shelled mussel whose shell is used as a chipper," according to BD:245 /cited in English/. This is a large animal of Mytilus edulis, not another species, as Lothrop (b):139 erroneously says. Compare Hyades (q):299.

/492 cont./

492 mussels thrive at particularly suitable places where small, restless eddies of water supply them with abundant nourishment. The shell selected is at least ten centimeters long. They carefully break off the convex side edges to retain the almost flat center section, and they finally taper the end where the hinge is. This produces a wedge-shaped basic form, albeit with curved edges, and the pointed end is placed on the handle.

The handle is a stone about 12 centimeters long, either rounded or with edges, found on the beach. It would not occur to anyone to shape it a bit or to smooth it. The firm hand of the Fuegian knows how to grasp it securely in one way or another. The only thing to which they pay attention is to fit the shell exactly against the flat part of the stone handle. If there were any hollow space, it would inevitably break with the slightest pressure. In order to avoid this and also to make possible a slight springiness, the Indian shoves a thin, intervening layer of [illegible], whittled shavings of barberry, or of moss, under the upper part of the shaft which rests on the shell. This forms a springy bed, as it were, on which the shaft rests. A narrow leather strip or a braided cord of sinew wound around both pieces several times holds them together adequately (Fig. 44) (201).

201. Good descriptions are given by Colini: 161, Hyades (q):299, Loviato (a):196 and (b):136, Lothrop (b):139, and Spegazzini (a): 163. Certain similarities with the scraper of the Selk'nam are immediately apparent (Vol. I, 248).

[171]

Everyone grasps the scraper in such a way that the handle fills the entire right /493/ hand while the mussel shell, with its concave surface turned toward the body, is visible above the little finger. The Yamana moves it toward himself in a stroking motion. The scraper has many uses. It is employed above all in removing and cleaning skins, in cutting up animals and cutting the meat into pieces, in fashioning shafts and rods for lances, harpoons, spears, and trapping and fishing implements, in removing bark, and in the preparation of individual timbers required for the canoe, /Figs. 43 and 44 appear here/ for scoring branches

/493 cont./

412 and small trunks that they wish to cut off, for cutting an animal skin and various leather parts, and finally for many other types of work. Lothrop (b):140 confirms: "The scraper was the most important tool to the Yaigan and served a great variety of purposes" /cited in English/. This tool has one extremely favorable advantage

Fig. 43. Scraper.
Two-thirds natural size.

Fig. 44. Scraper.
Two-thirds natural size.

in the fact that its cutting edge, although it gets dull very quickly, can just as quickly be sharpened again. It is sufficient to give it a brief scraping on the rough stones that form the shore of the channels or a quick rubbing with a longish, flat stone splinter as a whetstone.

This scraper was probably the prototype of a chipper or a kind of chisel which the Yamana have made since iron has been introduced. They call it tupalapena. Hyades (q):299 describes it as "a modern chisel, made with a piece of iron" /translated from French/. Besides ufker, BD:573 also mentions tufkr, "a chisel-like piece of iron bound to a handle of wood and also to a suitable stone to add weight to it used as a kind of chipper" /cited in English/. Anyone who

/412 cont./

412 has obtained a little flat piece of iron from a barrel hoop or from somewhere else gives it a rectangular shape and places one narrow side against a flattened stone handle or squeezes it into a split, short piece of wood, lashing it with a narrow cord. The cutting edge is likewise sharpened on a rough, flat stone (202).

202. Lothrop (p.141, as well as Hyades (q): Plate XXXII, illustrated this chipper or chisel in different versions.

177 It is clear that this chipper, as well as the one that the Selk'nam use (Vol. I, 248), has come into existence only since the
412 Fuegians have received a few flat pieces of iron from the Europeans. How /434/ very much they pestered many ships' crews for these we shall merely touch on here. Soon they made this tool for themselves (203).

203. In King:417, Fitz-Roy several times mentions having observed among these Indians during his journeys after 1832 "cutting weapons made with pieces of iron hoop fastened on a stick" /cited in English/.

β. The Knife

412 The Fuegian can cut all kinds of things with his scraper; for certain types of work a kind of knife, wiła, wiłłki, is more advantageous for him. It would be a mistake to think of this as an object like our knife; their tool is nothing more than the symmetrical shell of the razor clam (Solen). /Figure 48 appears here./ The meat of this animal which is common in the sand of flat shores in that region is not eaten. It is dug out only in order to obtain the shell which is about 12 centimeters long and three centimeters wide and consists of identical halves.

It is used chiefly for fine work in bark, leather, and bone, less for actual cutting, or as Hyades (q) :200 expresses himself, "to carve the pieces of bark for the canoe or, more exactly, to

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/496 cont./

4/2 impress on them, as with a stamp, the curve according to which one ought to carve them" /translated from French/. The Indians reach for the shell of the razor clam if they wish to make very exact incisions. If regularity is not required, they take any bivalve shell or a suitable lamina of slate and whet it on a rough stone. They can make deeper incisions this way than with the shell of the razor clam (204).

204. Dorsey (b):679 speaks of a "curved knife of whalebone for cutting bark" /cited in English/. This is not a knife but the above-mentioned bark-peeler (Fig. 27).

Fig. 45. Stone Blade. Natural size.

Whereas these things are still used a great deal nowadays, genuine stone blades have been preserved from earlier times in the shell mounds (Fig. 46). These were probably now and then also used as knives. Lothrop (b):141, 190, in fact, calls them "knives" /cited in English/. They are usually longish-oval and have sharpened edges. In all probability they were primarily meant for lance- or spearheads. Even Lothrop (b):190 cannot but admit that the pieces he has reproduced "may well have served as knives or conceivably might have been barbless tips for spear or arrow" /cited in English/. A people that has only few implements will naturally use one and the same tool in many ways (208).

205. Moreover, the term "knife" is also used for various other items, and Cooper:217,

412

/494 cont./
for example, even mentions three kinds of knives.

/495/ Whatever it is they use in the way that we use our knife, it is never put together like the latter, but is nothing more than a bare mussel shell. Hyades (q):300 emphasizes: "The Fuegians do not have an indigenous tool similar to our knife; in its place they use a chisel of shell, or iron if they can get it" /translated from French/. In order to be able to grasp the mussel shell securely for cutting, they first place a thin scrap of leather in the palm of the hand, and by this means they can grasp the shell securely enough. /Fig. 46 appears here./

γ. The Punch

The punch or bone awl, ɨmi, or whatever one wishes to call this tool, is used a great deal. The natives prefer the humerus of a [237] cormorant from which all the meat is removed. The thinner end is broken off and filed to a sharp point. It is now about 13 centimeters long and is easy to handle. Occasionally, however, the bone of another bird is used.

In order to protect the point, the Indians take a bunch of rush stalks about as thick as one's thumb and lash it with another stalk of the same to hold it together. The point of the punch is stuck into this bundle, wīna, for which they allow a length of about eight centimeters. Because of the packing, the point does not slide out, but is protected as by a sheath (Fig. 46). Sometimes this punch is nothing more than a small whittled stick of the hard wood of a

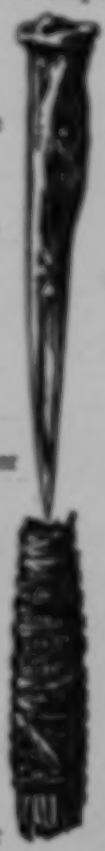

Fig. 46. Punch. Two thirds natural size.

/496 cont./

412 beech. It is about the length of a finger and is regularly used by all the women and girls for plaiting their small baskets (206).

[172] 206. Spencer:134 gives a detailed description of three bone awls that came from an old shell mound on Navarino Island. One of them is made from the bone of a young mammal.

With this punch small holes are pierced either into leather that is to be put together for cloaks and covers, bags, and pouches, into the bark pieces of a canoe, or in a scoop that is to be sewn together. In the most recent times the Yamana have
412 learned to make a genuine shoemaker's awl. They file off the
177 head of an iron nail the length of a finger and set this end into a short, cylindrical handle of wood; the other end is filed to a point. This punch, *wíjisi*, penetrates leather and bark much more quickly, of course, and the people like to work with it (207). It must be specifically mentioned that drills have been

207. Lothrop (b):142 illustrated two of these modern pieces.

unknown to the Fueguians from ancient times; they are therefore unable to make holes in a piece of wood. For this purpose they have in most recent times used an iron nail which they obtain from Europeans.

/496/ δ. Wedge and Hammer

412 It is not at all seldom that a man must use a wedge of bone. It becomes absolutely necessary when he cuts out the bark pieces from a beech trunk for his canoe. This simple and yet valuable piece has been described on page 111 (Fig. 26) (208). The bone

208. Other illustrations are found in Hyades (d):Plate XXXII, 9, and in Spencer: 139.

/496 cont./

412 wedge, the, performs even more important services in splitting thin and thick stems for the lower portion of a crab fork or a mussel fork. It is also used to split sound as well as rotten tree trunks which are desired for firewood and thicker trunks which are afterwards broken off by body weight.

412 237 Only the large bones of the whale are suitable for wedges. I did not learn whether or not the Indians ever tried to use bones of large seals. Such wedges have been used by the Fueguians since ancient times. Spencer:132 writes: "Many wedges of whale-bone were found in middens on Navarin Island. These are roughly made, more or less parallel-sided, cut and ground at one end to a curved cutting-edge. The other end is squared and most of the examples show signs of crushing by heavy blows at this end, caused, no doubt, when the wedges were driven in for splitting wood. The bone used appears to be cetacean rib, a very suitable material for making wedges...." /cited in English/.

412 The bone wedge is hammered with a stone into a small groove which must first be incised with a knife or scraper. This stone can justifiably be referred to as a hammer only insofar as it is hit against the bone wedge. It is not prepared in any way. For heavier work one looks for a larger and rounded stone with flat sides, which can be comfortably grasped with the fingers without having them meet over it. This keeps the middle surface of the stone free, and this hits the wedge. Inevitably, the portion hit shows definite traces. One often finds the hammer-stones lying around on the shell mounds. Just as the Indians pick up the first stone handy wherever they need it, they heedlessly throw it away at the place where they have finished working with it. Small hammer-stones, so-called hand-pieces, are used every day to open shellfish and to crush animal bones (209). It is

209. Lothrop (b):141 also speaks of the "Hammerstones. These stones never were hafted" /cited in English/. He illustrates one and mentions "five inches" as its length.

obvious that for these simple purposes the stone does not need hafting.

/[illegible] cont./

412 324

The wedge we have just described is carved out of the strong tissue of the large bones of the whale. The process is one of rubbing back and forth with pressure on a flat stone. As soon as the desired form roughly appears, the blade is carefully sharpened. The last thing is to grind and smooth the surface. For this a /[illegible]/ pumice stone the size of one's fist is suitable. The sea tosses them up in many places along the shore. We have repeatedly emphasized that our Indians must often resort to pumice, [illegible], for this very useful material is the only thing they employ to polish their bone points for harpoons and spears and their many wooden shafts. Lothrop (p.143 mentions: "For polishing, a piece of our sandpaper or the Oka fox-skin and grit, the Tsligon use pumice [illegible]" /cited in English/. [illegible] spells it [illegible]. The pumice, of course, soon wears down on the hard bone tissue, but it can be picked up anywhere on the shores (111). The bulk here

[111]

> 111. Lothrop (p.143 confirms: "It frequently floats down Beagle channel and may be picked up on the beach" /cited in English/. Lowisson (p.187 is wrong in saying that pumice is found only on Hoste Island and Lennox Island.

(Vol. I, 188), as we know, not infrequently use the same pumice.

E. Use of Iron

412 177

The Yamana of the first and oldest period were completely unfamiliar with the utilization of iron in any form. It is not found in their country nor could they obtain it through barter. As soon as they saw it on European ships and realized its usefulness, however, they learned how to obtain this raw material, as well as small plates of steel and copper, either legitimately or by stealing. Their impetuous desire for it sometimes led to dire consequences for themselves.

It is surprising how quickly they made iron serve them, taking it over in the form of nails, small plates for sheathing, and

/[illegible] copy./

[illegible] hand hoes. They did not make entirely new kind of tools and implements with it. The awl made from an iron nail (p. 191) is only a modification of their original awl made of a bird's bone (Fig. 40), and, in the case of the knife, a small template has since then been used as a blade in place of the mussel shell. It seems that after only brief experimentation our Fungom made the above improvements, insignificant to the eye, with the iron they obtained, and after that they never made any more changes.

As is well known, their efforts to obtain pieces of metal go back to the time of the first visits by European ships, and they did not abate even in later times. Waddell (p. 50) had already written what Colonnesses (1) repeated several years later in similar words: "Of all the things small pieces of iron were the most welcome to them, for the only instruments they had for cutting were mussel shells." At the beginning of mission activity Reverend Jacob Rau on August 1, 1866, reported on the few Tikuma who were brought to Bibe Koppeh: "The Fungkom have now learned to value everything which might be in future profitable to them. Pieces of iron which lie about they pick up, and grind them, and make knives out of them" /Aiwo in English/ (VSA 32, 190, 1866).

Naturally, some of them also became very quickly accustomed to /[illegible]/ finished iron implements which could, on occasion, be obtained from a European. Fitz-Roy in his time left Jimmy Button an iron axe, as well as many other things. On June 11, 1888, Despard made the following amusing comment about a few Indians whom he had visited in Wulain: "It was surprising to see the dexterity with which they handled their rude axes. One of them, Jimmy said, was given him by Captain Fitz-Roy; so it must have been in use for twenty years. It was a very big one originally, but it were down almost to nothing" /Aiwo in English/. At the mission station the boys and men were not only given the common iron implements, but were carefully taught how to use them properly. In later decades most of them acquired some tool as their property. Today one sees the iron knife and the shoemaker's awl in the hands of every adult; the men work with hammer and pliers, with plane and iron nails, while at the same time every woman owns a pair of scissors and several large steel needles.

/498 cont./

412 The things our Indians make with their iron tools differ from
177 what they made formerly only in execution; in each and every object they retain the basic form. An exception is the substitution of the flat skiff in place of the bark canoe. We can, therefore, by no means speak of an improvement or perfection of total Fuegian technical skill as a result of their adoption of iron implements.

10. Articles Made of Leather, Hide, Bark

323 None of the three Fuegian Indian tribes is acquainted with pottery. Clayey earths are present and, in small amounts, are heated and made into the above-mentioned red pigment used for decoration. It has not occurred to anyone to make pots out of them. The Indians are very poor in material possessions. Still,
415 they need many small things which they must keep in bags and pouches so as not to lose them in their restless moving about. None of these things are durable by any means, but are easily and quickly replaced by others. Most of the utilitarian objects of this kind have been mentioned in the foregoing parts of this book where in each case their use was discussed. Here they will be more or less completely classified according to the material out of which they are made.

251 The explanation for so many things being made of leather is the environment in which our Fuegians have been placed. Their body covering, which does not deserve the name clothing, consists of pieces of leather and of skins, as we have already mentioned on page 50. In that connection we also described the treatment and preparation of leather (p. 68). To repeat briefly, the hunter himself skins the slain animal -- otter, guanaco, seal. He removes the skin piece by piece, cutting it away from the layer of fat surrounding the body with a mussel shell. Immediately /499/ the woman scrapes the larger bunches of fat, muscle, and tissues from the skin which is still soft and wet, stretching it taut above the ground by means of short wooden pegs or a network of short sticks. As soon as the skin has become hard from drying, she scrapes the hairless layer with the ufker[1]. Sometimes she removes the /Fig. 47 appears here/ layer of fur by

/204 cont./

285 bundle straight, pulling the two ends and stripping the whole thing with her hands almost closed. The individual stalks are still hot, for the Indian woman does all these manipulations very quickly. One marvels at the flexibility of the rush stalks which just a moment before were quite stiff and hard. They remain flexible for several days during which time they must be woven. Before it is worked into the basket, the Indian woman pulls each individual stalk between her teeth lightly, in order to flatten it. She does not, however, bite hard enough to press out the juice. This treatment finally makes the stalk quite pliable. Rush stalks that were pulled up and allowed to lie around for more than a week without being used are worthless. Moreover, those that were unevenly warmed lying in the sun or beside the fire are thrown aside.

The Indian woman does not need any special implement for basketry. The only thing she constantly picks up is a small pointed stick the length of a finger, or a short bone awl. With this she makes a small hole in the weave, through which she draws the running stalk and pulls it tight. The basketry is carried out according to a unified method which, however, allows three variations for which there are separate designations.

1. Tapwēla: This is the most common and the best known basketwork of Tierra del Fuego (218). The Indian woman begins

218. Cooper:204, agreeing, says: "The common form of basketry found among the three Fuegian tribes is of the half-hitch coiled variety made of rush with or without foundation" /cited in English/.

by placing together four or five rush stalks and rolling the end of this little bundle around her left index finger. She immediately draws off the ring and winds a stalk around it by means of half-hitches. This ring will form the center and the lowest portion of the basket (Fig. 50). As soon as the ring is closed, the weave begins according to the knotting method known as tapwēla. For the small thin bundle or roll of four or five stalks which the Indian woman constantly uses, she purposely selects stalks of different

/581 cont./

252 These are emergency situations, however, which Fitz-Roy (a):184 has characterized as follows: "When there is time, the natives roast their shell-fish, and half-roast any other food that is of a solid nature; but when in haste, they eat fish, as well as meat, in a raw state" /cited in English/. As confirmation, we finally have the testimony of the catechist Lewis: "During the whole twenty years in which I have known them I have never seen or heard of a Fuegian eating even a piece of raw meat or uncooked mussel. The latter shellfish is the staff of life with them, but they always cook them, and never eat raw meat. Their food is grilled on the embers or baked in the ashes of the fire" /cited in English/ (MM: XII, 248;1878) (354). This alone proves the significance of the

354. Compared to the many definite assertions of conscientious observers, the vague words of Lovisato (b):151 and Outes (g):52, for example, lose all their reliability.

fire, which each family constantly maintains, even in the canoe, during their journeys which are usually long (p. 43).

/582/ They are content with merely the action of heat and fire on their food; it is impossible to do more with it because pots and vessels are lacking. There is no actual cooking (355).

[415]

355. If someone should happen to need something warm, he fills a large Voluta snail shell, places it in the ashes, and puts a few small stones which have been heated in the fire into the shell with fire tongs. In this process, of course, the water never evaporates, hence it would not be suitable for cooking meat or vegetables.

[412]

At the same time it is impossible to use spices and condiments. If they were added, they would disappear in the fire. I can only repeat with Hyades (p):328 that "intoxicating, narcotic, or stimulating substances are not known" /translated from French/.

/605 cont./

172

> but one belong to the type of arrowpoint with wings /Spanish, aletas/, with two distinct sizes. The winged /Spanish, aletiforme/ type is known in Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia" /translated from Spanish/.

with a very broad projection, which Vignati (c):124 calls "pedunculado" and which resembles many specimens from Patagonia (Fig. 74).

Apparently the Yamana in the distant past used stone scrapers little or not at all. They preferred a simple mussel shell without a haft because this was very easy to /606/ obtain and to sharpen at any time. We seldom find a stone scraper in the shell mounds. I never saw one, and Fred Lawrence could not remember having seen them either. The three specimens Lothrop (b):190 found in Bahía Harbertón seemed unknown to his informants, although Guillermo Bridges contradicted this (Fig. 75). It is possible that they originated among the Selk'nam or as a result of their influence on the Yamana. Until further finds are brought to light, any discussion about it is fruitless. /Fig. 74 appears here./ I cannot but suspect, however, that the persons who picked up stone arrowpoints on the shell mounds either did not recognize actual scrapers as tools or did not appraise them.

Another strange object is a stone borer ("perforador") 4.8 centimeters long from the shell mound at Ushuaia. On a trapezoid-shaped lower part rises the evenly fashioned needle (Fig. 74). This type is not rare in Patagonia; I also found it on the shore of Useless Bay (Vol. I, 261). Compare Vignati (c):124.

[412] Finally we must mention the numerous stone hammers which show no shaping but unmistakably indicate that they were used. These are oval rubble-stones which the sea itself has shaped and which the present-day Yamana still use very often, either to break open hollow cylindrical bones, to beat leather, or to make larger implements (406). It is strange that Vignati (c) does not

> 406. Lothrop (b):192 calls these pieces "Hammerstones, anvils, grease stones" and adds, "Every family carried an oval

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

501 of several skins sewn together, was sometimes set up—a practice whose origin, native or European, is uncertain. (For details on manufacture and use of canoe, cf.: Lothrop, 1928, pp. 143–145; 1932 a, pp. 251–253; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 438–457.)

501 177 After about 1880 the *Yahgan* began to give up their traditional bark canoes, and to adopt the dugout. Still later, prior to Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, the dugout had been entirely superseded by the dory, of European type and origin.

The *Yahgan* never adopted the plank boat from their *Alacaluf* neighbors and never used rafts or skin-covered watercraft, so far as our records reveal.

MANUFACTURES

172 Pottery, weaving, and metallurgy were entirely absent; no traces of pottery have been discovered archeologically in *Yahgan* territory.

283 **String-making and sewing.**—Plant fibers, plain, shredded, or braided, were used in basket making, canoe sewing, and for mooring lines, respectively; braided whale sinew, for necklaces, fishing lines, and tool and weapon lashings; braided guanaco sinew, for bowstrings; whalebone, in sewing canoes and for bird snares and fishline nooses; seal-hide thongs, for tool and weapon lashings, harpoon lines, basket handles, mooring lines, and bowstrings. Awls were made of bone and wood, unhafted. The drill was lacking. [412]

285 **Basketry.**—Four techniques in basket making were in use: (1) Simple half-hitch coiled, the commonest type (fig. 13, *top*); (2) twisted half-hitch coiled, rarer (fig. 13, *center*); (3) knotted half-hitch coiled, not common (fig. 13, *bottom*); (4) a sort of wrapped type. The first three were of excellent craftsmanship; the last, very crudely woven, and used only as a dip net for catching very small fish. The material for all four was a rush (*Juncus magellanicus*). The coiled baskets were more or less oblong-spheroid in shape, and had a carrying handle of thong or plaited rush (pl. 33, *c*).

281 **Skin dressing.**—No process of dressing proper is reported. Sealskins were stretched on the ground, covered with grass and moss, and left so for a while, to help dehair them. Drying frames were apparently used. The scraper consisted of a mussel shell lashed to a cylindrical stone haft. The *Yahgan* made thongs flexible by drawing them through their teeth or by chewing them. [412]

324 **Stoneworking.**—Little use of worked stone was made except for arrowheads and, rarely, scrapers. The workmanship was crude. Archeologically, there are some traces of stone pecking and polishing (Lothrop, 1928, p. 203; cf. Bird, 1938). [192]

415 **Containers.**—Cylindrical buckets (pl. 33, *e*), of *Nothofagus betuloides* bark, for carrying and holding drinking water and for bailing, were made by the woman, with the use of a barking tool dif-

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

415 ferent from the man's. Among other more used containers were: pouches of seal or penguin skin for holding small objects; bladders or windpipes of seals or porpoises for holding ocher and firestones; crops of geese and stomachs of seals for holding oil. (Cf. others in Lothrop, 1928, p. 133.)

412 **Tools.**—These have mostly been dealt with incidentally in the preceding sections. The hafted mussel-shell scraper, mentioned above under "Skin dressing," was also the common knife. Stone-headed daggers or knives were used by the earlier *Yahgan* (Cooper, 1917, p. 207). The stone celt or ax was lacking. Wedges were of bone; arrow polishers, of a bit of pumice.

411 **Weapons.**—The characteristic weapons used by the *Yahgan* both in hunting and in fighting were the spear and harpoon (fig. 11, *a–c*), the club, and the sling. The bow and arrow, in contrast to *Ona* usage, occupied a very subordinate position.

The spear shaft was quadrangular, hexagonal, octagonal, or decagonal in section, from 8 feet (2.5 m.) or less to 12 feet (4 m.) long; the shank, ordinarily of bone, with unilateral or bilateral single or serrate barbs and with notched tang, lashed to the split or slotted end of the shaft. The atlatl was absent. The harpoon, without toggle, was merely a spear with a detachable shank tied by a thong to the shaft. The club was a plain straight heavy stick. The cradle of the sling was of hide, the lines of braided whale gut.

Yahgan bows, arrows, and quivers closely resembled those of the *Ona*—a curved self bow, ranging from about 3 to 4 feet long, with string of seal hide or of braided seal, whale, or guanaco sinew; the arrow, without foreshaft, and with triangular stemmed and barbed head of stone, bone, or, more recently, glass; the quiver, rectangular, of skin, or tubular, of bark. Arrow poisoning was absent. Both archeological and ethnological evidence suggests that the *Yahgan* [179] most likely acquired the bow and arrow after their arrival in their historic habitat, from the *Ona*. (Cf. Bird, 1938, pp. 261–263; Cooper, 1917, pp. 211–213.)

372 **Fire making and illumination.**—The only method of fire making was by percussion with flint and pyrites, bird down or dried fungus serving as tinder. Fire was carried around in the canoe on a hearth of earth, shell, or stones. Two-pronged tongs were in use. Bark torches provided illumination. Fire was employed not only for cooking, heating, and lighting, but also for signaling, straightening arrow and spear shafts, bending canoe ribs, felling trees, preparing bark for canoes and material for baskets, and other purposes.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

864 **Marriage and the family.**—The sexes were kept separate after about the age of 7 and were warned by their elders against sexual liber-
Ties.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

afforded a basis for little more than the mere act of existence and mutely testify to the cultural poverty of their makers.

1. Fire-making Apparatus.—By all accounts the Yahgan rarely made fire, because they carried it with them on the hearths in their canoes. In their semi-nude society to lack fire might mean death, and so wherever they went they tried to husband a wisp of flame. When it was necessary to kindle a new blaze they used flint and pyrites (*s'wálli*) with dried fungus or down for tinder, after the fashion of the Ona. Various places in Fuegian waters where pyrites can be secured are mentioned on page 65; one of these, Merton island, lies in Yahgan territory. However, Rev. Thomas Bridges states that they got this material by trade with the Alacaluf, who obtained it on Clarence island. Especially fine flints were found in a valley called Aníawaía between Lapataía and Ushuaia. To protect the fire-making apparatus from the weather it was kept in a small hide pouch called *asánu* (fig. 53, *b*).

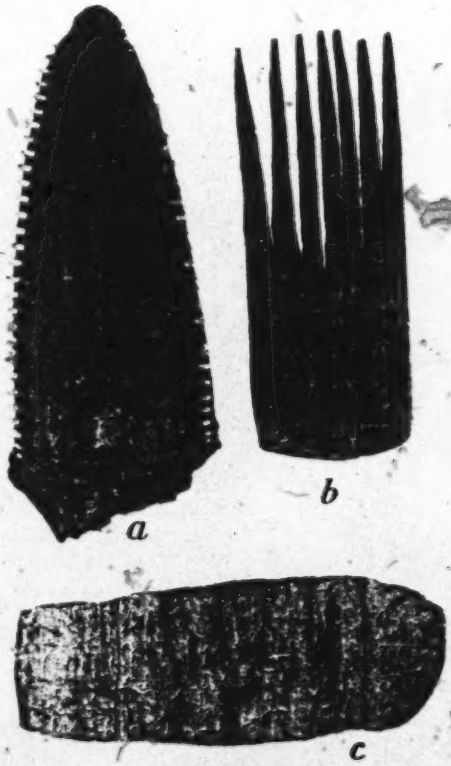

Fig. 54.—*a*, Porpoise-jaw comb; length, 6 in. (14/2370). *b*, Whalebone comb; length, 5¼ in. (14/2374). *c*, Seal-throat pouch; length, 8½ in. (14/2369)

2. Fire-tongs.—For tending the fire and for removing the objects from it the Yahgan used tongs. These are no more than a stick an inch or so in diameter and a couple of feet long, split for three-quarters of its length. Cultural borrowing is indicated by the name of this implement—*láka* in Yahgan,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

lákel in Ona,—but there is no means of determining which tribe was the inventor. 412

3. Hammer and Grease Stone.—On old camp-sites numerous smooth, water-worn stones can be picked up. They were used as hammers to break open various shellfish, and also they served as anvils for cracking hot marrow-bones to allow the grease to solidify on the cool surface, whence it could be scraped up and eaten.

4. Broom.—The Yahgan housewife today occasionally sweeps out her domicile, employing for that purpose the wing of some large bird such as a goose. This custom probably is not aboriginal, but is rather the result of missionary contact.

5. Comb.—The Yahgan sometimes comb their hair, and for this they make rude combs (*ushtánim*) of whalebone or employ the jaw of a porpoise. Combs of both types are illustrated in fig. 54, *a*, *b*. [302]

6. Spatula.—Another article for beautifying the person, found in the well-ordered Yahgan house, is a small spatula (*telákikamána*) used for painting the face and body. One of these appears in fig. 69, *d*.

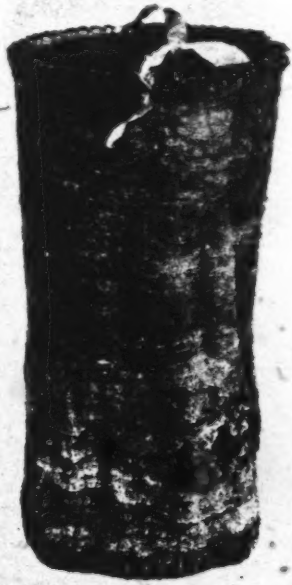

Fig. 55.—Yahgan bark bucket. Height, 12½ in. (14/2267) 415 322

7. Bucket.—Under the Ona manner of existence a bark bucket (fig. 55) would have been of little service, for it would soon be broken under the exigencies of their system of transport; but the Yahgan found the bucket (*atakála*) an extremely valuable object, and used it to bail their canoes and to store water in their camps. Like the canoe itself the bucket was made from the bark of the evergreen beech, but while the canoe was man's work, the bucket was woman's work. Hence the bark for the bucket was removed from the tree with the woman's barking tool (*téshupu*), which is a chisel-like device made from the leg-bone of the guanaco (fig. 68). The inner fat lining of the bark was then scraped off, and a rec- [412]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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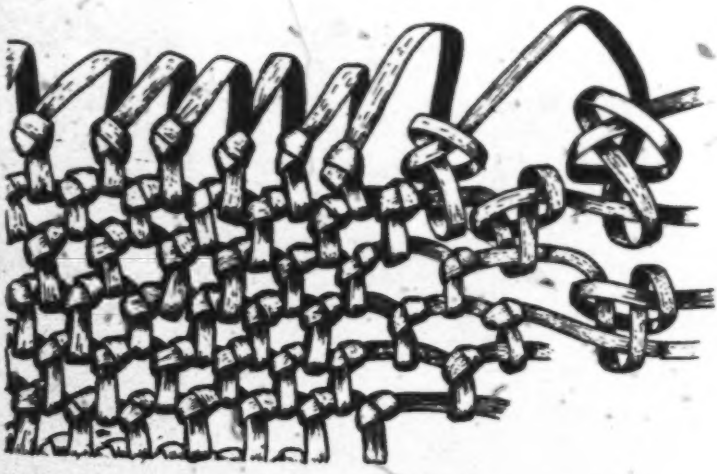

FIG. 65.—Detail of *gaíchim* basket. Height, 2 in. (14/2312)

TOOLS

Yahgan tools are just as primitive as the Ona tools, although adapted to different uses. The Yahgan have a constant tendency when making something to pick up the first object that comes to hand—a bit of shell, a fire-flaked stone—and employ it, rather than to take the trouble to get steel tools which would better serve their purpose. 412

1. SCRAPER.—The old-time Yahgan scraper (*tuᵊwĕ'na*) was a mussel-shell blade (*káluf*) set on a stone handle (*dwi*). The shell blade was not the ordinary mussel-shell, but a giant variety (*chiamúnka*), four or five inches in length, which now grows on the beaches of the outer islands toward the Antarctic. Formerly, however, it must have flourished on Beagle channel, as many examples were found in the interior of a shellheap at Harberton. To set this shell blade on the stone handle, the edges of the base of the shell were carefully broken away in order to reduce the curve and make the blade lie flat against the stone. However, the blade could not be attached directly to the stone, or it would have broken too easily, hence it was bedded on a small bunch of shredded barberry wood (*chĕlerr* [1]) or a wad of moss (*hánakóhl*). These two 412 284

[1] This word was obtained from a Lennox islander. I am not certain whether it means "shredded barberry" or whether it is a dialectic variant of the central

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

variant forms are seen in pl. x, *a*, *b*. For lashings on scrapers the Yahgan used either a seal-hide thong (*tamamáru*, pl. x, *a–c*) or else a braided whale-sinew line (*tápim*, pl. x, *d*) such as was employed for fishing.

Since the European settlement the natives have substituted a steel blade (*hárfkar*) for the shell whenever possible, and the resultant tool is called *wána*. It is illustrated in fig. 66, *a*. They

FIG. 66.—Yahgan scraper and whetstone. Length, 11 and 9½ in. (14/2367, 2385)

now also set the steel blade in a split wooden handle in the same fashion as the Ona, as can be seen in pl. x, *c*.

The scraper was the most important tool to the Yahgan and served a great variety of purposes.[1] Owing to the weight of the stone handle it could be used not only for scraping but also as a serviceable hand-ax. When the shell blade became chipped or dull it was sharpened on a stone (*chípi*) with a long flat surface (fig. 66, *b*). In type this scraper corresponds to the Ona wood scraper (fig. 25, *a*).

In the old days before steel was available, the Yahgan are said to have used a tool like the transverse Ona flesh-scraper (fig. 25, *b*). This was denied by Yahgans whom I questioned, but was affirmed by Mr. William Bridges, whose statement was supported by the discovery of ancient stone blades apparently designed for transverse hafting (fig. 104, *b*, *c*). The abandonment of the transverse scraper may be due partly to the use of steel, but also may be accounted

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Yahgan *chélia*, which means "barberry" in general (*Berberis ilicifolia*). Shredded barberry was also employed as a towel after bathing.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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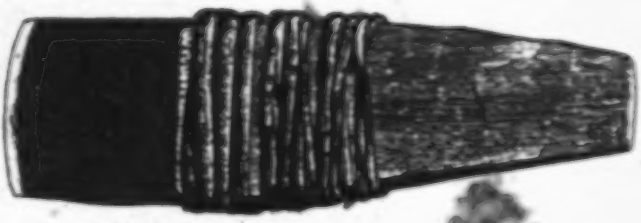
a

b



c

d

YAHGAN SCRAPERS

a, b, d, PRIMITIVE TYPE; LENGTH, 14, 10½, 9 IN. (14/2501, 2500, 2503). c, MODERN TYPE; LENGTH, 6 IN. (14/2502)

[p. 140-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

for on the ground that since the Yahgan have ceased to use skin houses and skin clothing they have much less need of such an implement.

2. Knife.—Ancient knife-blades from Beagle channel are described on page 190. In recent years the Yahgan, like the Ona, have made knives from any available scrap iron or steel.

Fig. 67.—Yahgan man's bark-working tool. Length, 31 in. (14/2332)

3. Barking Tools.—The Yahgan employ two kinds of tools for removing bark from trees. One of these (*sánakat*), used exclusively by the men (fig. 67), is made from a large piece of the jaw-bone of a whale and has a blade usually at each end. The woman's tool (*tétkupu*) is part of a guanaco leg-bone and consequently is much smaller (fig. 68); it has a single chisel-like blade, while the other end, the articular extremity of the bone, forms a convenient handle.

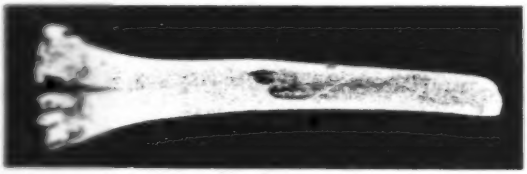


Fig. 68.—Yahgan woman's bark-working tool. Length, 9 in. (14/2331)

4. Awl.—The old-time awl (*ámi*) was a sharpened bit of wood or of bone (fig. 69, *c*, *e*), but in recent years the Yahgan have used a nail set in a wooden handle (fig. 69, *a*, *b*). Awls were employed for piercing skins to make clothes, housetops, and bags; to pierce bark in the manufacture of canoes, bailers, and buckets; and also for the weaving of baskets.

Like the Ona, the Yahgan had no drill, and so their material culture was limited by the fact that they were unable to make holes in such a relatively soft substance as wood.

5. Hammerstones.—Usually present on Yahgan camp-sites are a number of stones which show marks of abrasion (fig. 70). The

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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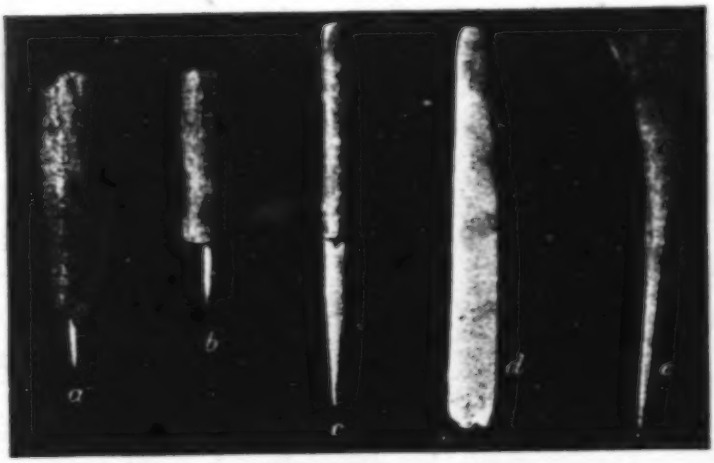

FIG. 69.—Yahgan awls and spatula. Length, 3¼ to 5¾ in. (14/2376, 2376, 2378, 2333, 2334)

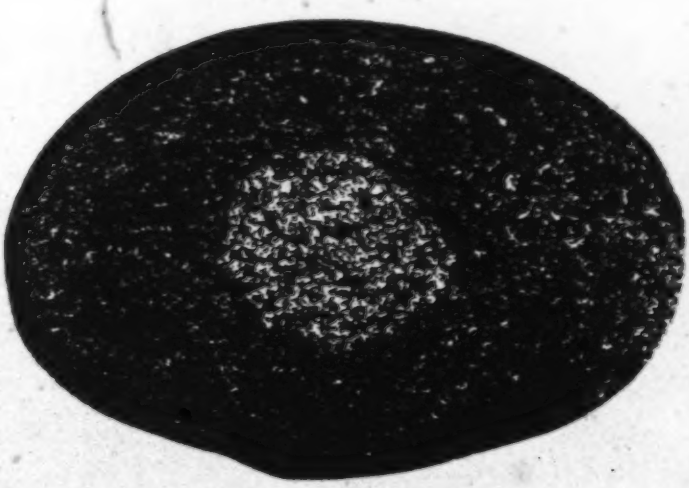

FIG. 70.—Yahgan hammerstone. Length, 5 in. (14/3984)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

principal purpose for which such stones were used was opening shellfish. These stones never were hafted. 412

6. Sharpening Stones.—For sharpening knife and scraper blades the Yahgan employed a smooth stone (*chípi*) such as is shown in fig. 66, *b*. They can frequently be picked up on old camp-sites. The rounded hammerstones may also have been employed for sharpening.

Fig. 71.—Yahgan pumice polisher. Length, 2½ in. (14/2224)

7. Pumice.—For polishing, in place of our sandpaper or the Ona fox-skin and grit, the Yahgan used pumice (*hiól*). This material (fig. 71) is found on Picton island and on the coast of Tierra del Fuego to the north. It frequently floats down Beagle channel and may be picked up on the beach.

Boats and Boating

Bark Canoe

In the old days the Yahgan used a curved bark canoe which in outline is well described by Goicueta's phrase, "like a moon of four days, with raised tips." The last one ever afloat is shown in fig. 72. 501

Fig. 72.—The last Yahgan bark canoe ever used. (Courtesy of Rev. John Williams.)

The bark employed (*afirshun*) was taken from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), known to the Yahgan as *súschi*. It had to be stripped from the tree in the spring (October or November) when the sap was rising. For this purpose a tool made from the jaw-bone of a whale (*sánakaí*) was employed (fig. 67), and the 396

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 fig. 102, pictured in fig. 103, is an exceptionally deep midden; it towers over the head, although situated on flat land. On the seaward side this heap has been undercut by the waves, which have exposed a large and solid layer of breccia near the bottom of the refuse.

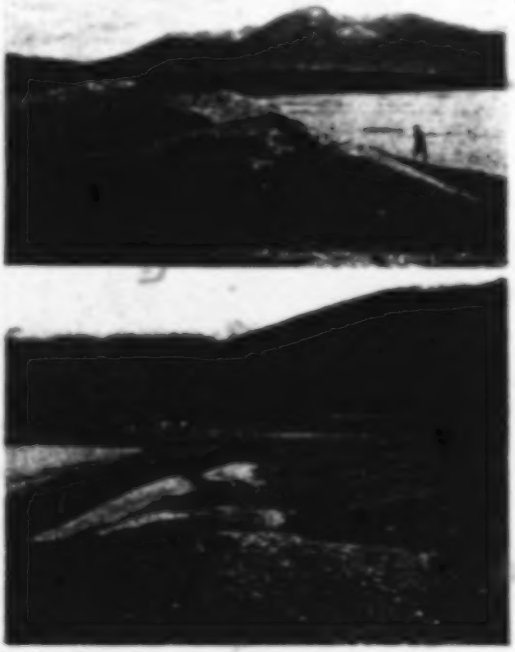

FIG. 103.—Akawalakirrh shellheap, Róbalo bay.

ARCHEOLOGICAL FINDS

We have discussed at some length the nature of the Yahgan camp-sites and now must take up the very primitive remains to be found in their débris.

172 412 First, however, we should remark that the Yahgan, even today when metal tools are readily available, show a marked tendency to use anything which comes to hand, be it a shell fragment or a flint chip. Consequently, in the old days they must have accomplished much of their handiwork with such eolithic implements, and probably used their more formal tools principally for the arduous or very delicate tasks. This tendency is brought out by the small number of really well-wrought implements which have come from the middens in comparison with the comparatively great number of crude or half-finished ones.

The specimens illustrated were picked up on the seaward slope of various middens where the undercutting of the waves had

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172
4/2

disturbed the surface. In consequence there is no evidence from what level they had come originally.

1. KNIVES.—Chipped blades apparently intended for use as knives normally are leaf-shape, from two to five inches long, and, unlike the Ona knives, are worked on both sides. In pl. XIX, *a*, *b*, are shown two examples of large knives, each with a small nock near one end to assist in the hafting. Smaller blades appear in *c*, *d*, and *e* of the same plate; these may well have served as knives or conceivably might have been barbless tips for spear or arrow.

2. SCRAPERS.—Although two kinds of scrapers come from the shellheaps, neither is very common, probably because the Yahgan did most of their scraping with shell. In fig. 104, *a*, we show a

FIG. 104.—Scrapers from Wipiustumázakulum, Harberton, Tierra del Fuego. Length of *a*, 2⅞ in. (14/3977)

disc scraper with a cutting edge completely encircling it. Fig. 104, *b* and *c*, both seem to be scraper-blades fashioned for hafting in the manner of the modern Ona flesher. One of them (*c*) has a recessed curve at one end of the blade; this may have been intended for cleaning bones, or possibly it served merely to give additional grip for the lashings.

The Yahgan with whom the writer came in contact denied that they had ever used this type of scraper. Mr. William Bridges however, stated that he had seen them employed, an assertion borne out by the discovery of these archeological specimens.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172
4/2

STONE BLADES, TIERRA DEL FUEGO

[p. 190-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172
412

3. SPEARPOINTS.—Four spear- or arrow-points are illustrated in fig. 105. Of these, *a* is a triangular blade with barbs but no tang,

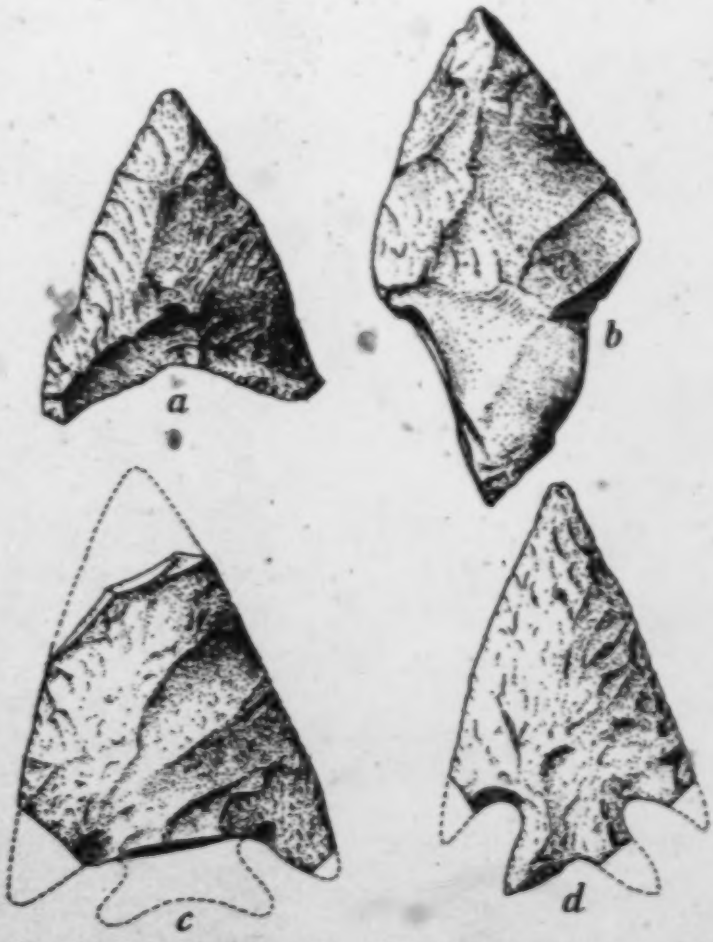

FIG. 105.—Stone blades. *a*, Near Gable island (5/8544); *b*, *c*, Wápisatumánakulum, Harberton (14/3977); *d*, Róbalo bay, Navarin island (14/4002). Length of *b*, 3 in.

while *b* has a tang but no barbs. However, *c* and *d* had both tang and barbs, and this seems to be the dominant Beagle Channel

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 type, because several other specimens have been published by
412 Bove (1883) and Hyades (1891). The general shape of these points is similar to that of modern Ona arrowpoints and ancient stone points from eastern Tierra del Fuego. Yahgan workmanship, on the whole, is cruder than Ona, and to the writer's knowledge no points have been found on the south coast equal to the delicate blade illustrated in fig. 40.

4. Hammerstones, Anvils, Grease Stones.—Every Yahgan family carried an oval water-worn stone which was used for a variety of purposes, such as hammering. These stones (fig. 70) may be picked up at every ancient camp-site.

5. Bone Tools.—Bone tools of modern type sometimes are found in shellheaps under conditions implying considerable antiquity.

Age of Archeological Remains

172 The age of the archeological remains on Beagle channel is a
174 problem that has intrigued the writer from the moment of his arrival there, and every effort was made to collect data for its solution. It should be frankly stated at the outset of this discussion that there is no exact answer, but it is nevertheless possible to deduce an approximate figure. There are several methods by which the problem may be attacked; thus we shall discuss (1) the variations in Yahgan speech, (2) known historical movements in other parts of South America, (3) the internal evidence of age in Fuegian shellheaps, and finally (4) their probable rate of accumulation.

1. Antiquity of the Yahgan Dialects

174 As explained above, the Yahgan spoke five distinct though
197 mutually intelligible dialects. This is rather surprising because (*a*) they were a roving people occupying only a small territory, (*b*) they were exogamous, and (*c*) the total population was only about 3000 individuals. Assuming, as seems probable, that the Yahgan reached Tierra del Fuego more or less as a unit speaking a single tongue, how long did it take them to modify their language in five distinct ways?

In the more civilized parts of the world linguistic change also has taken place, and, because language is not only spoken but written, the archaic forms are preserved and can be studied. For instance, the breaking up of Latin into the modern Romance

/428 cont./

382 in the form of a thick paste mixed with seal oil. It is prepared
386 less often in the palm of the left hand, more frequently in a medium-sized Mytilus /429/ shell so that the mixture can be well stirred and evenly applied. The red coloring must be uniform.

382 As has already been mentioned, in using all three colors
413 they sometimes prefer to mix the powder with oil or blubber instead of using it dry. If they want to make even strokes and precise dots, they cut a suitable painting stick, known as talagikamina in the dialect of the west, pucinutalina in the central dialect, derived from ikamina, "to paint," "to draw." The little stick is about ten centimeters long, sharp at one end and smoothly cut off and flattened like a spatula at the other end. It is used to draw lines. If they want to draw dots, they dip the other end into the color and place it on the skin like a stamp. Almost every woman carries this little stick around with her everywhere. The sponsor uses it daily to paint her candidate during the protracted initiation ceremonies, ciyaga. A person who is without one easily and quickly makes himself another (109).

109. Hyades (q):300 speaks of an "awl or spatula of wood" /translated from French/. Moreover, he gives linguistic expressions for the many patterns of drawing and painting, which are given in greater detail and probably complete in BD.

415 Since the white and, even more, the red pigments are
237 valued, they are carefully kept in a kind of color pouch, known as yii or yiiri. For this purpose they like to use the esophagus of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus), known as alakuf yiiri, or the small intestine of seals (110). A piece 25 to 45

110. Hyades (q):300 mentions them as "bags made from the windpipes of seals or porpoises /translated from French/, and Lothrop (b):133, as "small sacks made from the throats of seal" /cited in English/.

/428 cont./

302 386 little stick, the mixture is spit into the left palm and the stick dipped into it. If the whole body is to be painted, the white powder is mixed with a little water, and the thick paste is smeared over the skin with the flat of the hand. After it has dried, of course, this layer of color gradually falls off.

They go to some trouble to obtain the red pigment, known as imi and more often sewua, which is used far more extensively. Their emotional preference for bright scarlet may play a decisive part here. Hyades (p):329 corroborates this (108): "they prefer

108. He also says: "Red is the favorite coloring matter of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. From the chemical analysis he gives we see that iron oxide is the chief ingredient of this earth mixture.

vivid colors, especially red" /translated from French/. In several places in the west, more frequently than elsewhere, one [317] comes across thin layers of a yellowish or reddish or rust-colored mineral deposit, which is all the more desirable the less greasy and drier it is. Hyades (q):350 writes that the Indians "collect this ocher from pebbles to which it adheres; it shows that these stones probably were for a time in ferruginous water" /translated from French/. A lump the size of a fist is stirred with fresh water on an outspread rag of leather or a flat stone, kneaded well, and kept damp in the piece of leather until there is a sunny day with no wind. Then the embers of the hut fire are stirred up with some dry, sound wood. They wait until the smoke has disappeared and no breeze blows up the ashes, whereupon the still damp lump of clay is carefully placed in the fire so that it is thoroughly heated. It is vermilion when it is taken out with a stick. Ashes and embers are scraped off the surface, and it is pounded to a fine powder between stones. This powder is col- [415] lected in a piece of sea lion gut. The Indians are almost superstitiously exact in the preparation of this red pigment, for they are extraordinarily appreciative of its glowing brightness which neither dirt nor ashes impairs. It is used often and in various ways, but they like it best for facial painting, and then almost always

/428 cont./

302 in the form of a thick paste mixed with seal oil. It is prepared
386 less often in the palm of the left hand, more frequently in a medium-sized Mytilus /429/ shell so that the mixture can be well stirred and evenly applied. The red coloring must be uniform.

302 As has already been mentioned, in using all three colors
413 they sometimes prefer to mix the powder with oil or blubber instead of using it dry. If they want to make even strokes and precise dots, they cut a suitable painting stick, known as talaxikamána in the dialect of the west, puscitákutasěna in the central dialect, derived from ikamána, "to paint," "to draw." The little stick is about ten centimeters long, sharp at one end and smoothly cut off and flattened like a spatula at the other end. It is used to draw lines. If they want to draw dots, they dip the other end into the color and place it on the skin like a stamp. Almost every woman carries this little stick around with her everywhere. The sponsor uses it daily to paint her candidate during the protracted initiation ceremonies, čiexaus. A person who is without one easily and quickly makes himself another (109).

109. Hyades (q):300 speaks of an "awl or spatula of wood" /translated from French/. Moreover, he gives linguistic expressions for the many patterns of drawing and painting, which are given in greater detail and probably complete in BD.

445 Since the white and, even more, the red pigments are
237 valued, they are carefully kept in a kind of color pouch, known as yāi or yāiyi. For this purpose they like to use the esophagus of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus), known as álakus yāiyi, or the small intestine of seals (110). A piece 25 to 45

110. Hyades (q):350 mentions them as "bags made from the windpipes of seals or porpoises /translated from French/, and Lothrop (b):133, as "small sacks made from the throats of seal" /cited in English/.

/429 cont./

445 237 centimeters long is cut out, sewed up at one end with a straight edge, blown up taut, and immediately tied with tendon fibers at the other end. Sometimes they leave the circular cardiac muscles at the opening of the stomach attached to the lower part. These close automatically, which simplifies the work. This air bubble dries quickly, and the upper part of it is cut off straight. The elongated pouch is filled with pigment only to the middle. The free upper half is pressed flat and rolled down from the upper edge (Fig. 20). This not only makes a safe and convenient closing, but protects the contents against dampness and spilling. Sometimes they also tie a few tendon fibers lengthwise around the rolled packet to keep it closed. The white pigment, tumarapu, nevertheless hardens into a firm lump after a time, but this does not affect its use. Compared with this, the black pigment, yapuŝake, namely, pounded charcoal, is used far less. It does not pay to take special pains to keep it because it is available everywhere.

302 822 Much later we shall discuss the significance of the individual colors within the manifold patterns, but here we should like to correct the inaccurate opinion of certain observers who attribute to each color as /430/ such a definite meaning or a single and exclusive significance. Without qualification Dabbene (a):38 maintains that "the three colors, white, black, and red, which are used for painting, have their signification, since they are used respectively, as signs of war, mourning, or joy" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (e):332 is much closer to the truth. He writes: "The external sign of mourning was the face blackened with charcoal. White applied in dots and stripes was the color of revenge for murder, and red was the emblem of friendship and joy." /Fig. 20 appears here./ None of the three colors (111)

111. I herewith reject the inaccurate statements of Fitz-Roy (a):177, Dabbene (a):38 and (b):176, Lothrop (b):126, Spegazzini (a):170, and others. Hyades (d):349 repeats in detail the opinion of Bridges, upon whom Krickeberg: 331 also relies.

/430 cont./

302 has a single and exclusively unique meaning, but their signifi-
822 cance is rather in how they are used together or singly for certain types of painting and patterns according to consistent habit and conscious intent. The fact that various things are painted for no purpose but to beautify the object remains to be discussed, as does the particular form of body painting for certain occasions, such as a wedding or mourning, initiation ceremonies and ceremonies of men, important battles, and the rituals of medicine men. The everyday motives and general incentives will be mentioned here; the special occasions we refer to will be discussed at the proper place.

•[415]

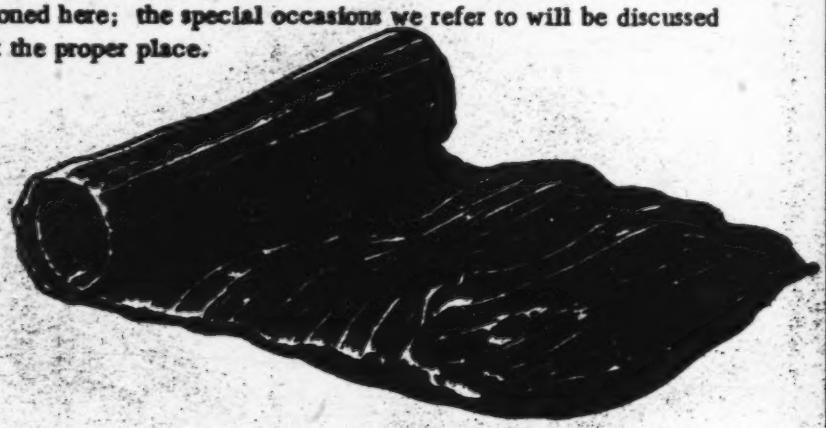

Fig. 20. Pouch for Pigments. Natural size.

302 Without doubt Asphall:270 is right when he emphasizes: "All painting among these Indians has a special significance." The everyday painting is only for decoration, in accordance with the requirements for beauty and the demands of courtesy. According to Hyades (g):33, women and girls are "by no means indifferent with regard to their appearance, and try to beautify their faces as much as possible with horizontal lines and dots of white clay." /431/ Both Bridges and Hyades (q):349 are inaccurate, however, when it is asserted "this painting is regarded as a pastime" /translated from French/.

Every native wants to be more beautiful and adorns himself by arranging different colors in the form of lines and dots, cross-hatching, and circles, according to his own choice (112). He

112. With little accuracy Bove (e):157 wrote: "They paint themselves in all kind of ways;

/450 cont./

506 to a high flame. This must be avoided at all costs, so that the
372 side walls will not be endangered. A moderate glow without a
501 leaping flame suffices.

The firewood is kept partly near the hearth, af, partly in
505 the stern. It has been stacked in orderly fashion to save space.
372 The people of the west must always take along large amounts of wood; a small supply is adequate for the people of the east, which they pile up near the hearth. Wherever the latter land, they easily find dry driftwood, whereas the former cannot count on this. Quite dry wood has been carefully chosen for the trip, since damp wood causes smoke which the occupants in the cramped canoe can hardly evade. As a matter of course they leave the wood of Drimys winteri, which gives off a thick, biting smoke, behind on the shore.

The girls squat near the fire and tend it according to instructions from their mother. It is their task before the departure to carry a glowing log from the hut-fire to the hearth in the canoe and to fan a new flame. When they land, another glowing stick of wood from the canoe serves to kindle the fire in the newly erected hut. With scrupulous care they extinguish every spark from the fire in the vessel so that there is no danger of its bursting into flames.

501 Even the most careful canoe construction does not prevent
415 some water from constantly oozing in between the seams (139).

139. In Wieghardt:31 and elsewhere we read: "So much water constantly comes in that the people continually have to bail it out" /translated from Spanish/.

It collects near the hearth at a place that has been purposely left open, that is, the space of a hand's breadth between the loosely laid bark pieces, ilax. The girls bail it out with a special scoop made either of bark or seal leather. For both kinds one first cuts out a rectangular piece which is then bent, the bark piece in the direction of its longitudinal fibers. After the two straight edges are joined with a strip of whalebone or a few rushes, making a seam, a bottom is cut out to fit this cylinder, which is also sewed on. Not infrequently a small handle of rushes is added in the

/450 cont./

501 center of the longitudinal seam. Such a tūku does not have to be
415 made watertight; small amounts can easily be scooped out if one uses it often and quickly. The girls /451/ even find this to be fun. The size and diameter of this scoop (Fig. 30) are a matter of chance. Some are 12 centimeters, others 22 centimeters high, and most of them fall between these two sizes. The leather ones are more durable than those commonly used made from the bark of Drimys winteri or Maytenus magellanica. The latter, however, are easier to hold (140). Several of

140. Hyades (q):307 gives several details about these scoops. To speak of "shovels made of tree-bark," as Bove (e):157 does, is not correct. See Lothrop (b):147.

these scoops lie about in every canoe. /Fig. 30 appears here./

501 The last item of the accessories
283 that we must mention, which, however, is sometimes lacking, is the rope of rush stalks that Hyades (q):414 calls "plait of rushes" /translated from French/. It is a simple braid of three

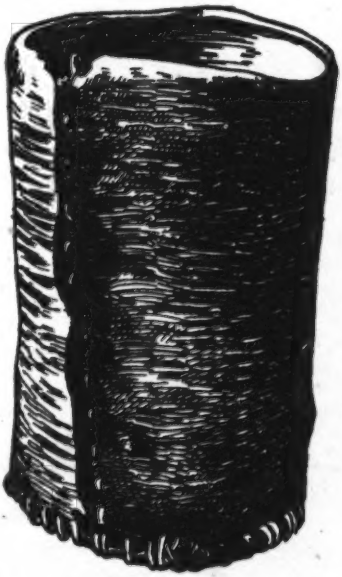

Fig. 30. Scoop Made of Drimys Bark. One-half natural size.

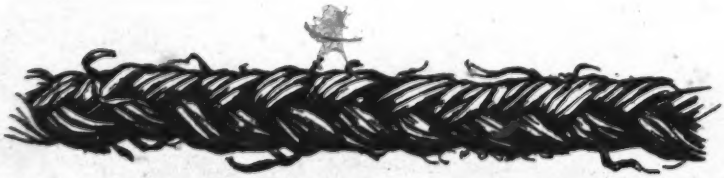

Fig. 31. Rope Made of Marsippospermum. One-half natural size.

strands and is at least 160 centimeters long (Fig. 31). There is a knot at either end to keep it from becoming unbraided. This rope

/498 cont./

412 The things our Indians make with their iron tools differ from
177 what they made formerly only in execution; in each and every object they retain the basic forms. An exception is the substitution of the flat skiff in place of the bark canoe. We can, therefore, by no means speak of an improvement or perfection of total Fuegian technical skill as a result of their adoption of iron implements.

10. Articles Made of Leather, Hide, Bark

323 None of the three Fuegian Indian tribes is acquainted with pottery. Clayey earths are present and, in small amounts, are heated and made into the above-mentioned red pigment used for decoration. It has not occurred to anyone to make pots out of them. The Indians are very poor in material possessions. Still,
415 they need many small things which they must keep in bags and pouches so as not to lose them in their restless moving about. None of these things are durable by any means, but are easily and quickly replaced by others. Most of the utilitarian objects of this kind have been mentioned in the foregoing parts of this book where in each case their use was discussed. Here they will be more or less completely classified according to the material out of which they are made.

281 The explanation for so many things being made of leather is the environment in which our Fuegians have been placed. Their body covering, which does not deserve the name clothing, consists of pieces of leather and of skins, as we have already mentioned on page 50. In that connection we also described the treatment and preparation of leather (p. 68). To repeat briefly, the hunter himself skins the slain animal -- otter, guanaco, seal. He removes the skin piece by piece, cutting it away from the layer of fat surrounding the body with a mussel shell. Immediately /499/ the woman scrapes the larger bunches of fat, muscle, and tissues from the skin which is still soft and wet, stretching it taut above the ground by means of short wooden pegs or a network of short sticks. As soon as the skin has become hard from drying, she scrapes the hairless layer with the ufker[1]. Sometimes she removes the /Fig. 47 appears here/ layer of fur by

/499 cont./

281 means of a rotting process. She makes the piece still softer and more pliable by manipulating and kneading it with both hands. Then follows the removal of irregular edges and finally cutting it to size, according to the object that is to be made.

281 415 We need not describe again the body covering and how it is made. The many bags, pouches, and sacks of all sizes have a uniform shape; they are commonly longish and deep. This follows naturally from the way they originate. Out of a large scrap of leather the Indian woman cuts a somewhat longish rectangle and folds it so that the two narrow edges come together. These are meant for the upper rim of the bag. Then, with a rather thick sinew, she makes a whipstitch seam on the right and left sides and the bag is closed. Two, three, or four holes are pierced along the upper edge, and a

Fig. 47. Leather Bag.

short handle is attached through them. This is usually a narrow strap, but it may be a braided cord made of sinews or rushes (Fig. 47). No matter how tightly the thread of the seams is pulled, the bag nevertheless leaks if it is filled with water. After long use, however, fine particles of dirt lodge in the seams, which act as calking.

These leather bags, łáša, are, of course, of different sizes, but they are not noticeably different in shape. We can say that

/499 cont./

281 for certain purposes approximately the same measurements are used,
415 sometimes even the same type of leather (211). For storing the /500/

211. Lothrop (b):133 also mentions the various uses of individual bags.

fire-making apparatus, the Indians prefer a small pouch, gēsánux, of guanaco leather, about ten centimeters wide and deep. It is either tied shut at the top like a sack, or a short flap is left on when it is cut out, and this is flipped over the opening, whereupon a sinew is wound crosswise around the whole thing. It is important, however, to leave the fur on; it prevents the leather from getting soaked and thus ruining the contents. A somewhat larger but similar pouch is commonly used to store pigments. The man keeps his long harpoon points made of whale bone in a deeper, narrow leather bag, his tools and odds and ends in a wider, shorter bag. The woman puts her ornaments and implements in a large, wide leather bag with a handle.

281 Straps and ropes are also cut out of leather. The long lasso, úkeǰa, for the large harpoon (Fig. 35) and for other purposes (212)

212. As is well known, it serves many purposes in the hunt for food, a fact which Fitz-Roy (a):186 observed. The Selk'nam also use it (Vol. I, 254). BD:79 describes it as "a long piece of hide freed of hair used for many purposes" /cited in English/.

requires a great deal of work. It is made from the thick skin of the adult male bear seal, tēpē·a, (Arctocephalus australis). The work is begun immediately after the woman has removed the layer of hair by the above-mentioned fermenting process (p. 71). The man spreads the very soft skin flat on the ground, punches a hole in the center, and, with sharpened shells of Solen, cuts a strip as wide as a finger in unbroken concentric circles from the center until he has used up the skin. Then he ties one end to a tree trunk and pulls the entire long strip of skin against other trunks, stretching it as much as possible. The tension is, of

/500 cont./

281 course, increased when the strip dries. Since the man has carefully avoided having the strap curl up lengthwise, it comes out smooth and even after it is thoroughly dry.

The women often use a strip of leather about five meters long
281 and one centimeter wide as a carrying strap, mun. They coil the
482 center section several times lengthwise, the width of the coil corresponding to the width of their backs. Then they loop the two end pieces, left and right, in the coil. The two end pieces are placed over the shoulders, while the middle piece is drawn around a bundle of wood or a piece of baggage which the woman has previously loaded on her back as she bent the upper part of her body far forward. By drawing the straps tight, she keeps the burden immovable.

281 Leather in one form or another is used for sewing and tying things, for the water scoop and the hand protector, and for many other little things. They always keep it handy and it can easily be obtained (213). All types of leather, however, suffer from the

[276] 213. In recent times the Yamana have shown a great fondness for a cigarette-tobacco pouch made of a piece of leather from an otter tail.

excessive dampness.

281 /501/ Whereas in the foregoing other kinds of containers or
415 bags of hide were mentioned, here I refer to the kinds made of bird skins, minus. The skins of cormorants and penguins are regarded as very suitable; they are more durable because of the coarseness of the feathers. The natives make a long incision on the underside of the animal and remove the entire skin. They sever the wings and legs from the inside and finally the neck at its uppermost vertebrae. The head is sometimes left on. Sometimes they cut off the whole neck, as well as legs and wings, from the outside and afterward sew up these openings and also the long incision over the belly, except for a slit a hand's breadth wide which is left as the opening. In such a bird skin one keeps lighter and more delicate things, such as necklaces and pigments, the feather diadems, and so forth (214). They very seldom turn

214. Hyades (q):306 grouped together

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/501 cont./
several of these small bags and described them in detail, as did Lothrop (b): 133. Compare Spegazzini (a): 162 and Colini:238.

the freshly removed bird skin inside out so that the feathered side is on the inside.

Dried pieces of gut and the dried stomach of smaller seals are also used as small bags. They are popular as containers for pigments and liquid blubber, for they are impermeable. These things are known as yáj (Fig. 20).

415 The above-mentioned articles of leather and skin are neither very strong nor particularly durable. Even more fragile and delicate are the buckets and smaller vessels made of bark. Such containers are not suitable for the type of life led by the Selk'nam; however, they are serviceable for the Yamana because they can be easily kept in the canoe and taken along. There is a larger type, kāla, xāla, and a smaller, tūku. BD:201, 469 also distinguishes between kāla, "a bark bucket," and tūkū, "a bark bailer" /cited in English/. The complete name for the large pail is ajyūšu xāla in the western dialect, and áta, xāla in the eastern dialect.

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When one wants to make a pail, he peels a ring out of the bark of an evergreen beech with the usual bone tools. The outer rind and the inner dry bark fibers are scraped off; then all the edges are cut very evenly. Before the piece of bark curls up by drying its longitudinal edges are sewed together, carefully well overlapped. A round bottom of the same bark is set in and secured by means of a seam that runs all the way around. To prevent the upper edge from tearing a flexible strip of the soft wood layer of [824] Drimys winteri is placed around it and sewed on. Whalebone strips [283] as well as thin bundles of bast-fiber are used to sew it. A short leather strap or a braided rush cord is knotted above the opening as a handle. This makes it easy to handle the bucket which is up to 30 centimeters high and has a diameter of 13 centimeters (Fig. 48). For /502/ smaller vessels they take the bark of Drimys winteri [824] and even of Maytenus magellanica, both of which have less tendency to curl because their bark is thicker than that of beeches. For these they do no more than make a longitudinal seam and set in a

/502 cont./

415 322 bottom. /Fig. 48 appears here./

In order to prevent irregular curling and deep splits in the damp bark of the newly finished kā́la, they stuff wet moss mixed with fresh grass into it, exerting considerable pressure, and filling the entire bucket with it. Moreover, they avoid having it heated unevenly by the hut fire or by the sun. Along with the wet filler, the bark dries very gradually, preserves its shape, and keeps perfectly for a long time. In the case of the large bark receptacles, they sometimes press a few extra small moss plants between the individual seams as filler (215).

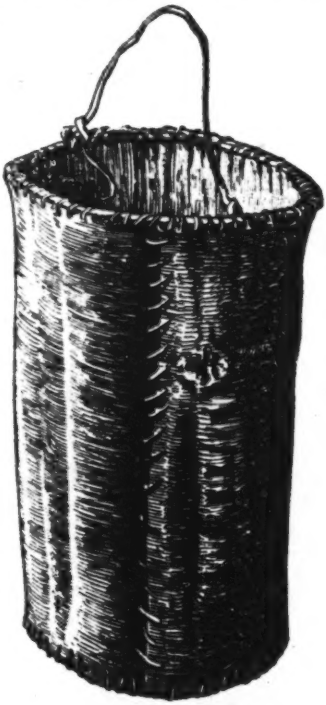

Fig. 48. Bark Pail.

215. Lothrop (b):132 mentions: "In general the Yahgan buckets are taller in proportion to their width than those of the Alacaluf" /cited in English/. I cannot confirm this statement from my own experience; there does not seem to be a difference.

415 The small bark receptacles are used as cups and water dippers; they have no other use. All kinds of implements are sometimes temporarily stuffed into the large buckets that hold at least five liters, but their real purpose is to serve as containers for water. This not so much for people who have settled down in a hut on the shore as for those who are setting out for a trip in their canoe. Although it may sound unbelievable, tight bark buckets actually hold a small amount of water for several hours. The older girls primarily take care of scooping out the water that oozes into the canoe with their little bark receptacles; they also fetch drinking

/502 cont./

415 water from nearby streams and lagoons in the large bark buckets (216).

216. These bark receptacles are mentioned and described in Cañas Pinochet:358, Dabbene (b):181, Hyades (q):307, Lothrop (b):131, Martial:192, Spegazzini (a):163, Wieghardt: 27, and others.

11. Baskets

The baskets are excellently adapted for collecting and storing the always wet shellfish. These baskets lie around in the huts and in the canoes /503/ of our Fuegians in larger numbers than /Fig. 49 appears here/ among the Selk'nam. [422 462] They are the property of the woman because they were made by her. Only women and girls, less often boys, reach for them when mussels and snails, berries, and fruits are to be gathered; a man never carries a basket in his hand.

285 Judged according to weaving technique, our Indians have three different kinds. I believe I must adhere to this grouping, although Lothrop (b):138 speaks of four kinds. Below, a net-like container, čaɯwénux, čaɯwénnuš, will be described, which he and others regard as a basket.

[824]

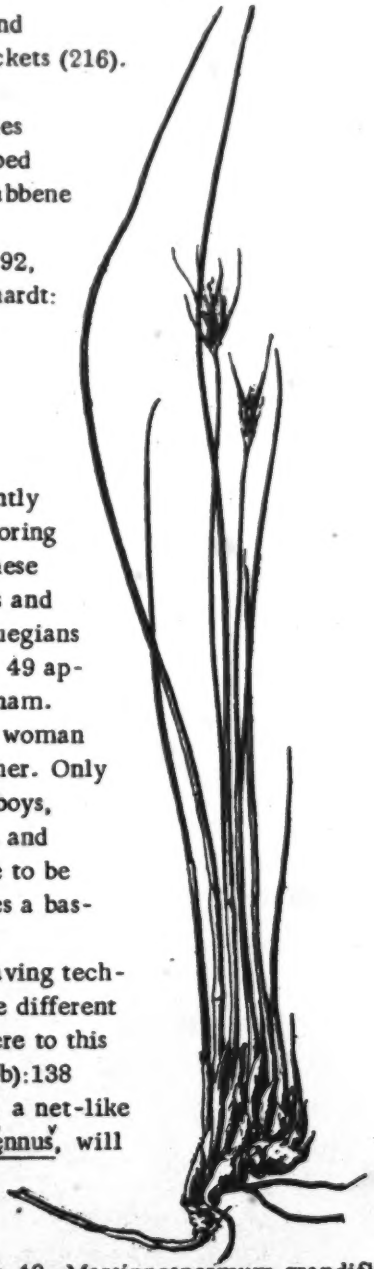

Fig. 49. Marsippospermum grandiflorum.

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252 Just as the choice of animals for food is very limited, so also is their preparation (330). From the start, the Fuegian relies

> 330. From among the opinions of many travelers we shall here quote only Barclay (a):64: "Living on mussels and fungus, this tribe marks the limit to which man may strip himself of all aid or comfort and yet survive and perpetuate his kind" /cited in English/.

solely on a meat diet. The isolated products of the vegetable kingdom are so insignificant and available at only certain times of the year, that he does not include them in his calculations. The preparation of food is limited to mere roasting in the fire /569/ or steaming in the ashes. Suitable utensils are lacking [445] for boiling, since the Fuegians have neither earthen nor metal vessels. In accordance with the total character of Fuegian culture, the type of diet and its preparation bear the stamp of extreme simplicity and the most abject poverty. Nevertheless, in this field also the Fuegian exercises and develops his mental powers, chiefly good judgment and a voluntary preference for the practical.

1. What They Must Do Without

147 Among the restrictions in diet that the Yamana must put up with and against which he is powerless, there are things that the European regards as indispensable. On the basis of conditions that actually exist in Tierra del Fuego and have been handed down unchanged for centuries from one generation to another, we could correct many inaccurate theories about what constitutes a healthy, beneficial, and necessary diet for man. In spite of much that these natives lack, they appear to be a healthy, vital people, who since time immemorial and in undiminished numbers have led a humanly dignified existence in their hostile environment. Their contentment has even reconciled them to all their troubles and has made them happy amid their pitiful living conditions. Their ugly physique is almost entirely the

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whereupon one of the men went to a tree and with a spear struck at the roots, and speedily procured some" /cited in English/.

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The people not only cannot do without drinking water for any length of time, but quite the contrary, they drink often and always a great deal. They do this so conspicuously that Fitz-Roy (a):185 noticed "the Fuegians drink only pure water, but often and in large quantities" /cited in English/ (339). The extraordinary quantities of fat which they eat arouse the /573/ desire for frequent drinking. Even "in the course of the meal they went to drink at a nearby spring, or carried the water when they had watertight utensils" /translated from French/ (Martial:194). They also drink when they are not thirsty.

339. What Despard (b):680 asserts, namely, "they drink great quantities of water" /cited in English/, Hyades (f):565 repeats in more detail: "They drink often and much; I have seen them take in considerable quantities of water at one draught" /translated from French/. Wieghardt:36, Martial:194, and others express themselves in a similar vein.

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This is chiefly the explanation for the fact that every family purposely erects its hut near a brook or rivulet, in order to avoid constant running to the spring. Usually each one goes by himself to the little body of water at which he quenches his thirst. Depending on local conditions, he lies down flat on the ground and puts his mouth to the water, sucking it in, or he crouches somewhat sideways close to the edge and scoops up the water in the cup of his hand or with /Fig. 69 appears here/ a large Mytilus shell, or finally, he squats quite close to the small stream, bends his head down low, and sucks the water into his mouth through a hollow bone, ém̄balim (Fig. 69). This tube is nothing more than a long bird bone, the two ends of which are filed against a rough stone until the spongy bone fibers disappear. What is left is still 20 to 35 centimeters long. Almost always the long leg bone of a

/573 cont./

271 516 445 [271] cormorant is chosen for it. Some people wear this small tube in front on a braided sinew cord tied around the neck, just as the sponsor puts it on the ulwala /candidate/ at the close of the initiation ceremonies. Most persons find it more convenient to suck water through this small tube because they squat comfortably in doing so and take in only a thin stream of the sometimes ice-cold water (340).

340. Hahn (c):337 illustrated a man in a squat position drinking through a tube at a brook. This drawing had the caption:

Fig. 69. The Use of the Sucking Tube.

"Choungoungounsis drinking at a stream with a pipe of bone" /translated from French/ (Fig. 69). Wieghardt:37 designates this article as "a kind of tube ready-made from a bone" /translated from Spanish/, and Martial: 194 as "a kind of small pipe made from the foot bone of a cormorant /translated from French/. In place of this bone tube they also, as Hyades (q):341 maintains, use "hollow rush stalks or those of other plants" /translated from French/, but that is only in exceptional cases.

271 445 /574/ I could not find out anything about special rules for the everyday use of this little tube, and there did not seem to be

/574 cont./

271 445 081 any. The candidates in the ciéxaus, however, must use the tube each time, and toward the end of their probation they are instructed to go on using it. The little tube probably did not originate solely as a precaution against the cold water. It is also used in the hut when someone has brought in water in the large Voluta shell or in a leather pouch. This pouch is exactly like the one used by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, Figs. 71 and 72) and here as well as there is made out of the stiff leather of an old male seal. Other water dippers or containers that hold the contents as safely as does the Voluta shell are not used by the Yamana.

261 731 The Yamana, especially those in the border regions, are never at any time of the year safe from the threatening specter of hunger. It would be entirely incorrect to interpret the references of a few travelers to mean that misery overtakes the entire tribe more or less constantly (341). Famine actually cannot

341. The assertion of Outes (g):56 that "during the winter when the coasts become inaccessible, many victims of hunger perish" /translated from Spanish/ is inaccurate.

appear there as a general phenomenon; lack of food overtakes individual families only temporarily, that is, for a few days. The most common cause is such stormy weather with an angry sea for several days that a family cannot leave the place where they are in order to look for food elsewhere. When their few provisions are used up -- and that happens very quickly, since there is never a thought of stocking up -- trouble begins if all the sources on the spot are exhausted and calamitous natural forces put a stop to further travel. This fate will overtake a family, for example, who has fled to an island or been detained on a small island where birds do not alight and where the coast falls off abruptly. In most places on the Cape Horn Archipelago they find at least medium-sized and small mussels which are temporarily laid bare by low tide, even in bad weather. In some places they can make shift with fungi. "When bad weather lasts a long time, fishing becomes impossible and resources, always very small, are quickly exhausted; then they eat fungi which are found abundantly on beech trees" /translated from French/ (Martial:193).

/581 cont./

252 These are emergency situations, however, which Fitz-Roy (a):184 has characterized as follows: "When there is time, the natives roast their shell-fish, and half-roast any other food that is of a solid nature; but when in haste, they eat fish, as well as meat, in a raw state" /cited in English/. As confirmation, we finally have the testimony of the catechist Lewis: "During the whole twenty years in which I have known them I have never seen or heard of a Fuegian eating even a piece of raw meat or uncooked mussel. The latter shellfish is the staff of life with them, but they always cook them, and never eat raw meat. Their food is grilled on the embers or baked in the ashes of the fire" /cited in English/ (MM: XII, 248;1878) (354). This alone proves the significance of the

354. Compared to the many definite assertions of conscientious observers, the vague words of Lovisato (b):151 and Outes (g):52, for example, lose all their reliability.

fire, which each family constantly maintains, even in the canoe, during their journeys which are usually long (p. 43).

/582/ They are content with merely the action of heat and fire on their food; it is impossible to do more with it because pots and vessels are lacking. There is no actual cooking (355).

•[415] 355. If someone should happen to need something warm, he fills a large Voluta snail shell, places it in the ashes, and puts a few small stones which have been heated in the fire into the shell with fire tongs. In this process, of course, the water never evaporates, hence it would not be suitable for cooking meat or vegetables.

[412]

At the same time it is impossible to use spices and condiments. If they were added, they would disappear in the fire. I can only repeat with Hyades (p):328 that "intoxicating, narcotic, or stimulating substances are not known" /translated from French/.

/911 cont./

Great Hut shout: "We have been very hungry for a long time, the spirits take all the food for themselves and quickly eat it up!"

In order to convince outsiders of the supposed hunger of the inmates, individual persons will go out and crowd around the secondary entrance without leaving. At the same time they act as though they could not wait until the kitchen women arrive and as though they wanted to make sure of getting a goodly quantity before the food is brought into the hut and the spirits pounce upon it. Finally the kitchen women approach. The vessel in which the food is brought was formerly a leather pouch, a little basket, or a bucket made of bark; today it is a bowl /912/ painted red and white. At the entrance the persons who were waiting outside crowd around them, apparently from hunger, but the kitchen women squeeze through, and as they step into the Great Hut they call out the hohohohoho in a moderately strong and high-pitched voice. All the inmates respond loudly and enthusiastically. The uwala have had their heads covered in plenty of time, and now one of the men roars and pounds against the earth to impersonate Yetija. At the secondary entrance where the kitchen women enter, the vessel is hastily drawn in, as though the evil spirit has been avidly waiting for it. Several women are standing ready here, and they immediately pour the food into another vessel and quickly toss the empty, painted bowl outside with a great racket. They do this very conspicuously for it is supposed to announce to the people standing outside that Yetija himself, with inimitable haste and greed, is devouring the whole meal. To the outsiders the inference is supposed to be that within the few minutes from the time the kitchen women enter until the bowl is tossed out the abundant amount of food could neither be distributed to the people present nor consumed by them and the vessel emptied. Almost at the same time a few men within loudly call out: "The kepif [spirits] alone have eaten all the food. Again there is nothing left for us!"

While the adults in the Great Hut eat merrily, albeit hastily, the uwala also consume the few bites that the sponsors hand them. Meanwhile, however, their faces remain covered. They are supposed to go on believing that Yetija is at least taking part in the meal, even though he does not devour it all alone. While they

/914 cont./

into the *ʔiʔsaga* but for a short time, because they must not have any occasion for suspicion.

An individual does not help himself; the distribution is made by the kitchen women who bring in the food already prepared. Usually an older woman appears, accompanied by a younger one. The latter carries the pieces of meat or the mussels. The former stands in front of each person squatting in his place, reaches into the basket of the woman accompanying her, grasps with both hands whatever is to be distributed, and first moves it up and down, meanwhile uttering a low hô hô. Then the person takes the piece of meat or the mussel in his hands, moves it up and down in the same way, and repeats the soft hô hô. The kitchen women move along both rows of participants, give something to each one, and return to their hut next door (336).

336. Recently the kitchen women have used European food and prepare the meal in large buckets or metal containers. They serve the food with ladles and give each person his portion on a plate or in a bowl. Nowadays everyone who enters the Great Hut is provided with these implements; he therefore makes use of them when the occasion arises.

They do not personally serve the *uwʔala* but give the spoons somewhat more, and they, in turn, let their porridge have a little. Everyone immediately eats what he has received and forthwith cleans his plate of scraps. He is content with what was given him; to ask for a second helping would be a regrettable example of lack of self-control. Actually, the adults, too, must always forgo full satisfaction.

6. Cleanliness. It is certainly noteworthy that our Yamana who, in general, show a limited sense of cleanliness are not guilty of offenses against it in the *ʔiʔsaga* hut. Everyone is painfully exact about removing all the food remains after the meal. Immediately after he gets up in the morning, he straightens out his sleeping-place and folds the covers that he does not need during the day. At least once a day all the

/962 cont./

the uwala, surrounded by their sponsors, also shuffle through the exit into the open. This is the informal but actual farewell to the ʔiʔaxsa hut.

Outside they all sit down beside the big fire, and soon small talk begins, quietly and in short sentences at first because they are no longer accustomed to a running conversation, then animatedly and joyfully excited. Everyone eagerly helps himself and enjoys the freshly roasted meat, although many a person who is excessively weakened endangers himself by overeating. As time goes on, the people mix more and more enthusiastically, for one seeks out another and wants to tell or ask about all kinds of things.

/963/ At this great dinner the candidates are required to serve older persons without pause. They offer first one and then another a freshly roasted piece of meat or a handful of mussels. They pass along the irregular rows of the company and distribute on all sides whatever they have in their hands. The adults are pleased with the industriousness of the uwala and exchange /Fig. 87 appears here/ opinions about the success and the prospects of one or another. All the inmates of the dwellings who have not spent the night in the ʔiʔaxsa hut have, of course, also arrived beside the big fire. They are particularly affected by the sight of the emaciated and weak candidates; they discuss the many deprivations and the long fasting that the candidates have, after all, survived. The candidates cannot assume themselves to fresh cheerfulness and unconstrained gaiety, for the trials which their weak bodies were obliged to endure for many long weeks were too difficult.

The so-called sponsors are overjoyed, for during the long period of the ʔiʔaxsa trial they have successfully led their hakuneglan to the goal. They talk a great deal with other adults about their protégé, and in detail with the parents. According to ancient custom, they give their protégé the tube-shaped bird bone tenhelim (ʔwlim), through which, day after day, he has sucked spare amounts of drinking water from a mussel shell. He also receives a rather short carved stick, about 12 centimeters long and pointed at the end, with a shallow groove carved around the top. A tendon is wound around the groove and likewise around the upper end of the sucking tube, and both articles are joined with a string of tendon which is placed around the neck of the candidate (Fig. 87).

/953 cont./

X881 He is always supposed to have on hand, above all, the little stick
608 of wood, tamiyáki, since he uses it to scratch the lice-bites on his
431 head. It is said that young people should regularly use this little
515 stick after their dismissal from the čiéxaus hut; if they used their fingernails, the latter would become brittle. If the tamiyaki is lost or wears out, the young fellow or girl can make one, if the sponsor does not happen to offer a new one. There is no definite limit as to the length of time the young people must use the little scratching stick; sooner or later, however, they simply ignore it.

X881 /954/ A third and final
608 gift of less significance than
431 the two just mentioned, which only
•415 the female sponsor presents to her hétakuxeolan, is a pretty, dainty little basket made of rushes and specially decorated along the upper edge with a wreath of feathers. It is filled with ripe berries of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12 /in untranslated portion/).

X881 The ward receives these three items
608 as mementos. They are first of all supposed
431 to remind him of the male and female sponsors, but even more, of the teachings and admonitions of the čiéxaus celebration. With a certain pride the uswála shows each

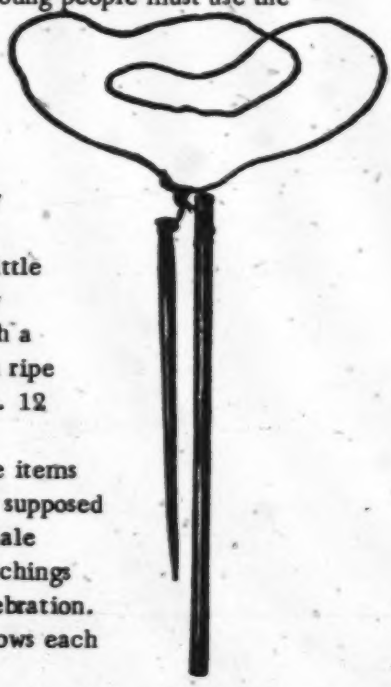

Fig. 87. Small Sucking Tube and Small Scratching Stick. One-half natural size.

of his acquaintances this certification of his successful initiation. Thus he publicly shows that he now lawfully belongs to the group of adults.

X881 For hours the people squat around the fire and enjoy the
524 abundant meal. Gradually they feel a desire for games. Once a beginning has been made, one game follows another. Real

/1462 cont./

832 that are regarded as beautiful among the Yamana; Spegazzini (a):165 refers to this specifically. The various types of ornaments are supposed to increase the allure of physical beauty. The impulse for this sort of thing /1463/ varies according to the person, his age and sex, but coincides almost exactly with what one observes in Europe under the same circumstances.

[285 415]

Fig. 101. A Well-made Little Basket.

517 In making implements and utensils, weapons and ornaments, everyone tries to achieve a certain degree of symmetry, solely because it is agreeable to his eye and feelings. There are even special designations for persons who make certain things perfectly and according to the rules of good workmanship. Some of these expressions are based merely on considerations of usefulness. They use the word wālāpūtas, "clever, expert, careful in cutting up a

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

262 Lothrop (1928, p. 32) rated the relative importance in the *Yahgan* dietary of their foods as follows: (1) Easily of first importance, mussels; (2) next, seals, and fish of many kinds; (3) next, porpoises, gulls, and bird eggs; (4) then, whales, limpets, crabs, sea urchins, geese, penguins, cormorants; (5) last and least, otter (chiefly in the west), guanaco (only in the east), conchs, ducks, berries (especially wild black currants). The fungi eaten were those growing on trees; those growing on the ground were not eaten. Some wild celery and wild parsnips and two varieties of cress and young shoots of tussock grass were also eaten. Foxes were eaten only in famine as a last [263] resort. Salt was not used.

225 **Hunting.**—Seals were hunted with spear or harpoon from canoes or from land (pl. 36), or killed with clubs. Whales were occasionally hunted in the open sea with spear or harpoon; stranded or dead whales were eagerly exploited. Dogs helped in otter and fox hunting. 223 Cormorants were taken at night by torchlight with clubs; also with a pronged wooden gorge hook. Birds were taken with pole snares (fig. 11, *d*) and with single or multiple tether snares of sinew or whalebone. No lifting pole snares, deadfalls, or pitfalls are reported.

226 **Fishing and sea-food gathering.**—Mussels were gathered by hand; limpets, with a flat-ended stick; sea urchins, with a four-pronged wooden fork; crabs and other Crustacea, with a harpoon or a three-pronged stick. For taking sea food, the *Yahgan* also used a spear with two diverging shanks, or two to four spears lashed together. Women fished with a kelp-stem or braided whale-sinew line, that had a slipknot of whalebone or of quill at the end, instead of a hook, to hold the bait; slowly drawing the fish to the surface, they would grab it by hand. Fishhooks were probably lacking. Weirs of branches or stakes were used. True fish nets were absent. The nearest approach thereto was a small basket attached to the end of a pole and used as a sort of dip net for diminutive fish.

251 **Food storage.**—Limited quantities of dried tree fungi were stored; so too was oil, especially whale and seal oil.

415 **Food preparation and eating.**—Large mussel shells were used for [252] melting fat and holding grease. Water was heated and grease melted by throwing hot stones into them, but there is no record of stone boiling proper.

Shells of large mussels were sometimes used as plates; shells or bark buckets as cups; hollow bird bones or reeds as drinking tubes.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

361 There were no permanent villages. Certain groups of natives re- 621 lated apparently by blood and marriage frequented and occupied more or less fixed separate localities within the respective five sub-

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

501 of several skins sewn together, was sometimes set up—a practice whose origin, native or European, is uncertain. (For details on manufacture and use of canoe, cf.: Lothrop, 1928, pp. 142–145; 1932 a, pp. 251–253; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 438–457.)

501 177 After about 1880 the *Yahgan* began to give up their traditional bark canoes, and to adopt the dugout. Still later, prior to Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, the dugout had been entirely superseded by the dory, of European type and origin.

The *Yahgan* never adopted the plank boat from their *Alacaluf* neighbors and never used rafts or skin-covered watercraft, so far as our records reveal.

MANUFACTURES

172 Pottery, weaving, and metallurgy were entirely absent; no traces of pottery have been discovered archeologically in *Yahgan* territory.

283 **String-making and sewing.**—Plant fibers, plain, shredded, or braided, were used in basket making, canoe sewing, and for mooring lines, respectively; braided whale sinew, for necklaces, fishing lines, and tool and weapon lashings; braided guanaco sinew, for bowstrings; whalebone, in sewing canoes and for bird snares and fishline nooses; seal-hide thongs, for tool and weapon lashings, harpoon lines, basket [412] handles, mooring lines, and bowstrings. Awls were made of bone and wood, unhafted. The drill was lacking.

285 **Basketry.**—Four techniques in basket making were in use: (1) Simple half-hitch coiled, the commonest type (fig. 13, *top*); (2) twisted half-hitch coiled, rarer (fig. 13, *center*); (3) knotted half-hitch coiled, not common (fig. 13, *bottom*); (4) a sort of wrapped type. The first three were of excellent craftsmanship; the last, very crudely woven, and used only as a dip net for catching very small fish. The material for all four was a rush (*Juncus magellanicus*). The coiled baskets were more or less oblong-spheroid in shape, and had a carrying handle of thong or plaited rush (pl. 33, *c*).

281 **Skin dressing.**—No process of dressing proper is reported. Seal-skins were stretched on the ground, covered with grass and moss, and left so for a while, to help dehair them. Drying frames were appar- [412] ently used. The scraper consisted of a mussel shell lashed to a cylindrical stone haft. The *Yahgan* made thongs flexible by drawing them through their teeth or by chewing them.

324 **Stoneworking.**—Little use of worked stone was made except for arrowheads and, rarely, scrapers. The workmanship was crude. [192] Archeologically, there are some traces of stone pecking and polishing (Lothrop, 1928, p. 203; cf. Bird, 1938).

415 **Containers.**—Cylindrical buckets (pl. 33, *e*), of *Nothofagus betuloides* bark, for carrying and holding drinking water and for bailing, were made by the woman, with the use of a barking tool dif-

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

415 ferent from the man's. Among other more used containers were: pouches of seal or penguin skin for holding small objects; bladders or windpipes of seals or porpoises for holding ocher and firestones; crops of geese and stomachs of seals for holding oil. (Cf. others in Lothrop, 1928, p. 133.)

412 **Tools.**—These have mostly been dealt with incidentally in the preceding sections. The hafted mussel-shell scraper, mentioned above under "Skin dressing," was also the common knife. Stone-headed daggers or knives were used by the earlier *Yahgan* (Cooper, 1917, p. 207). The stone celt or ax was lacking. Wedges were of bone; arrow polishers, of a bit of pumice.

411 **Weapons.**—The characteristic weapons used by the *Yahgan* both in hunting and in fighting were the spear and harpoon (fig. 11, *a–c*), the club, and the sling. The bow and arrow, in contrast to *Ona* usage, occupied a very subordinate position.

The spear shaft was quadrangular, hexagonal, octagonal, or decagonal in section, from 8 feet (2.5 m.) or less to 12 feet (4 m.) long; the shank, ordinarily of bone, with unilateral or bilateral single or serrate barbs and with notched tang, lashed to the split or slotted end of the shaft. The atlatl was absent. The harpoon, without toggle, was merely a spear with a detachable shank tied by a thong to the shaft. The club was a plain straight heavy stick. The cradle of the sling was of hide, the lines of braided whale gut.

Yahgan bows, arrows, and quivers closely resembled those of the *Ona*—a curved self bow, ranging from about 3 to 4 feet long, with string of seal hide or of braided seal, whale, or guanaco sinew; the arrow, without foreshaft, and with triangular stemmed and barbed head of stone, bone, or, more recently, glass; the quiver, rectangular, of skin, or tubular, of bark. Arrow poisoning was absent. Both archeological and ethnological evidence suggests that the *Yahgan* [179] most likely acquired the bow and arrow after their arrival in their historic habitat, from the *Ona*. (Cf. Bird, 1938, pp. 261–263; Cooper, 1917, pp. 211–213.)

372 **Fire making and illumination.**—The only method of fire making was by percussion with flint and pyrites, bird down or dried fungus serving as tinder. Fire was carried around in the canoe on a hearth of earth, shell, or stones. Two-pronged tongs were in use. Bark torches provided illumination. Fire was employed not only for cooking, heating, and lighting, but also for signaling, straightening arrow and spear shafts, bending canoe ribs, felling trees, preparing bark for canoes and material for baskets, and other purposes.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

864 **Marriage and the family.**—The sexes were kept separate after about the age of 7 and were warned by their elders against sexual liber-
Ties.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

511 afforded a basis for little more than the mere act of existence and mutely testify to the cultural poverty of their makers.

372 1. Fire-making Apparatus.—By all accounts the Yahgan rarely made fire, because they carried it with them on the hearths in their canoes. In their semi-nude society to lack fire might mean death, and so wherever they went they tried to husband a wisp of flame. When it was necessary to kindle a new blaze they used flint and pyrites (*s'wálli*) with dried fungus or down for tinder, after the fashion of the Ona. Various places in Fuegian waters where pyrites can be secured are mentioned on page 65; one of these, Merton island, lies in Yahgan territory. However, Rev. Thomas Bridges states that they got this material by trade with the Alacaluf, who obtained it on Clarence island. Especially fine flints were found in a valley called Aníawaía between Lapataía and Ushuaia. To protect the fire-making apparatus from the weather it was kept in a small hide pouch called *asánu* (fig. 53, *b*).

[412]

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[415]

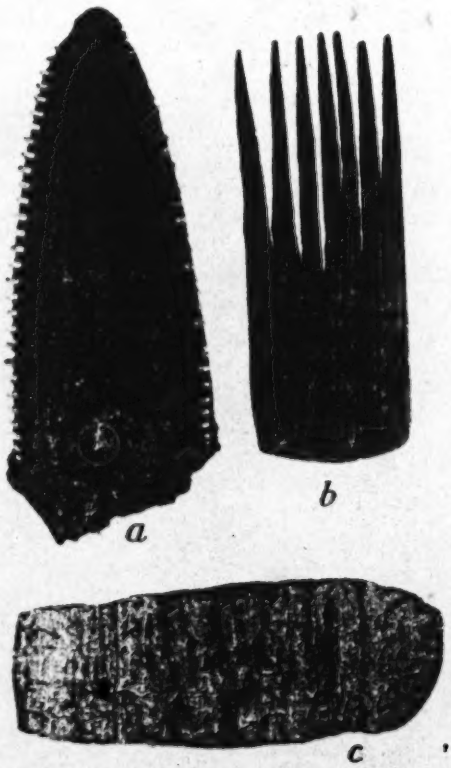

Fig. 54.—*a*, Porpoise-jaw comb; length, 6 in. (14/2370). *b*, Whalebone comb; length, 5¼ in. (14/2374). *c*, Seal-throat pouch; length, 8½ in. (14/2369)

412 2. Fire-tongs. — For tending the fire and for removing the objects from it the Yahgan used tongs. These are no more than a stick an inch or so in diameter and a couple of feet long, split for three-quarters of its length. Cultural borrowing is indicated by the name of this implement—*láka* in Yahgan,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

412

lákel in Ona,—but there is no means of determining which tribe was the inventor.

3. Hammer and Grease Stone.—On old camp-sites numerous smooth, water-worn stones can be picked up. They were used as hammers to break open various shellfish, and also they served as anvils for cracking hot marrow-bones to allow the grease to solidify on the cool surface, whence it could be scraped up and eaten.

4. Broom.—The Yahgan housewife today occasionally sweeps out her domicile, employing for that purpose the wing of some large bird such as a goose. This custom probably is not aboriginal, but is rather the result of missionary contact.

5. Comb.—The Yahgan sometimes comb their hair, and for this they make rude combs (*ushtánim*) of whalebone or employ the jaw of a porpoise. Combs of both types are illustrated in fig. 54, *a*, *b*.

[302]

6. Spatula.—Another article for beautifying the person, found in the well-ordered Yahgan house, is a small spatula (*telákikamána*) used for painting the face and body. One of these appears in fig. 69, *d*.

Fig. 55.—Yahgan bark bucket. Height, 12½ in. (14/2267)

415 322

7. Bucket.—Under the Ona manner of existence a bark bucket (fig. 55) would have been of little service, for it would soon be broken under the exigencies of their system of transport; but the Yahgan found the bucket (*atakála*) an extremely valuable object, and used it to bail their canoes and to store water in their camps. Like the canoe itself the bucket was made from the bark of the evergreen beech, but while the canoe was man's work, the bucket was woman's work. Hence the bark for the bucket was removed from the tree with the woman's barking tool (*téshupu*), which is a chisel-like device made from the leg-bone of the guanaco (fig. 68). The inner fat lining of the bark was then scraped off, and a rec-

[412]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

415 322 tangular piece was cut for the sides and a circular piece for the bottom of the bucket. Narrow strips of whalebone were then scraped thin and pliable, and the bottom and sides were sewn tightly together (fig. 56, *b*). Around the inside of the lip a strip

[283 516]

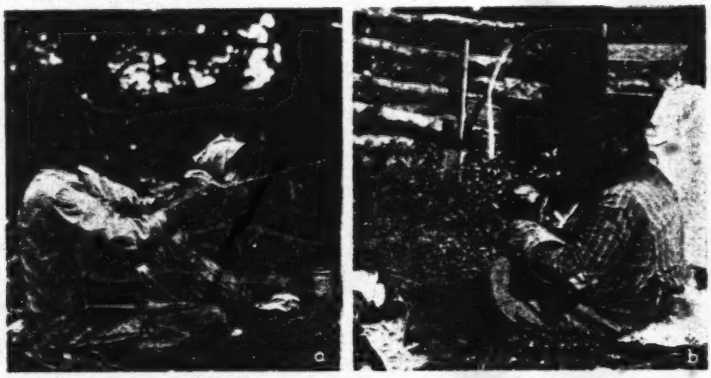

FIG. 56.—Yahgan women. *a*, Rope-making; *b*, Making a bark bucket.

of wood—*leña dura*, Winter's bark, or barberry—was introduced to give additional strength and to prevent the bark from splitting. Finally a hide thong was attached to serve as a handle, and the whole outside was painted red.

415 In general the Yahgan buckets are taller in proportion to their width than those of the Alacaluf. The Alacaluf seem to have been better craftsmen than the Yahgan, hence their buckets are usually more neatly finished.

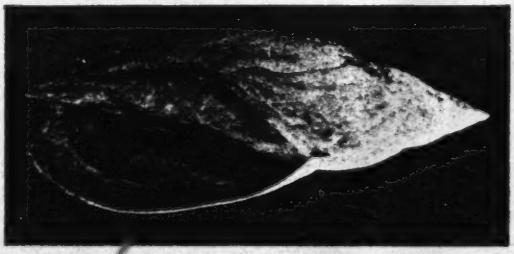

FIG. 57.—Yahgan shell cup. Length, 6¼ in. (14/2372)

8. CUP.—A Yahgan refinement over the Ona is the use of a shell cup (*auflán*). As seen in fig. 57, this is nothing more elaborate than a simple shell, its shape in no way modified. Such a receptacle could be used to dip water from a bark bucket, but would have been of little service in removing water from the Ona skin water-bag.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

9. Pouches and Bags.—For storage the Yahgan used various pouches, bags, and baskets. While there seems to have been a tendency to employ the most readily available material, at the same time certain definite types of bags were normally used for distinct purposes. For general storage, bags were made from the skins of the seal, penguin, and guanaco. For keeping the fire-making apparatus, a small guanaco-hide bag covered with red paint was used (fig. 53, *b*). A larger bag of guanaco-hide (*humulúf*) covered with white paint was employed by the shaman to store his ritualistic paraphernalia (fig. 94). For porpoise- or whale-oil, containers were made from water-proof substances, such as seal-gut (*kália*), seal-bladder (*athhlaháni*), or a species of giant kelp (*shówen*) which grows around the seaward islands. In fig. 58 we illustrate 415

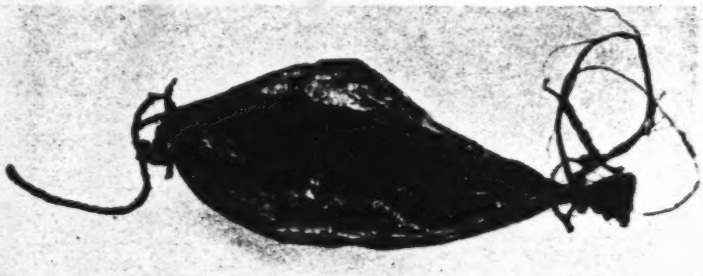

Fig. 58.—Yahgan seal-bladder oil container. Length, 7¼ in. (14/2338)

an oil container of seal-gut. Red paint they habitually stored in small sacks (*yái*) made from the throats of seal (fig. 54, *c*). A recent invention is the otter-tail pouch (*yeten*) employed at the present time for carrying tobacco.

10. Baskets.—All the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego and the west coast of Chile to the north make baskets. This art is probably the most intricate technological achievement of the Yahgan, Alacaluf, and Chono, so that we shall consider the making of baskets in some detail. Among the Yahgan, the writer found that four types were manufactured, of which only one has been adequately described. Two of these are based on half-hitches around a coiled foundation; one has half-hitches without foundation; while the fourth, employed as a dip-net, is a wrapped stitch. 285

The material used for all four kinds of baskets is a native grass

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

502 [147]

[283]

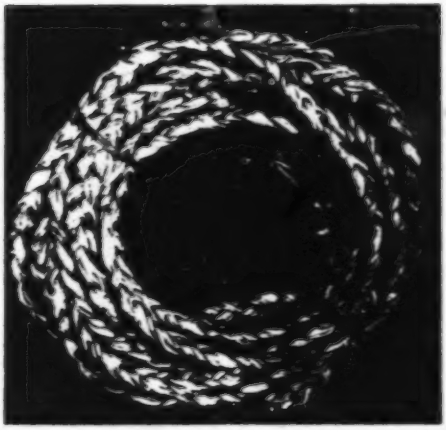

FIG. 77.—Yahgan grass rope. Diameter of coil, 5½ in. (14/2349)

As a result of the exercise, the women were very strongly developed above the waist, but poorly developed in the legs.

When it was desired to make a landing the canoe was paddled in to the beach, bow-on, and the man of the family and the children stepped ashore. The wife then paddled the canoe out to a piece of kelp, moored it, and swam ashore. As a result all the women were able to swim, while few of the men could do so.

[481]

504 The canoe was kept in the water habitually, because hauling it up on the beach was difficult owing to the fragility of the bark. When it was necessary to make repairs, the beach was carpeted with wet kelp to make a soft and slippery surface over which the canoe could be dragged with ease. The dugout canoes, however, were a different proposition, so for them runways were made by removing the stones (pl. XI). Stakes were driven at the head of the runways to which the canoes were tied. Campsites used habitually since the invention of the dugout may be distinguished by the presence of such runways.

[415]

FIG. 78.—Yahgan bark bailer. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

WEAPONS AND METHODS OF HUNTING

SPEARS

411 Yahgan weapons were the spear, club, sling, and bow. In their fashion of living, spears were almost as import-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

barbed head (*awáia*) was used (fig. 81, *a*); in the west a double-barbed form (fig. 81, *b*) was employed. In both regions, however, the head had a flat-base tang with an expanded foot. 441

In assembling the weapon, the tang of the spearhead was inserted in a slot which ran completely through the head of the shaft, where it was loosely lashed by an encircling seal-hide thong (*tuwawáru*). It was held in place by a second thong (*tamutú*) tied to the tang and attached to the shaft two or three feet from the head. As illustrated in fig. 82, *a*, this thong was twisted until its length was lessened and it acted as a spring to hold the butt of the tang firmly against the bottom of the slot in the spearhead. The tension of this thong was a matter of constant adjustment, for it varied according to the wetness or dryness of the thong and even with the state of the weather.

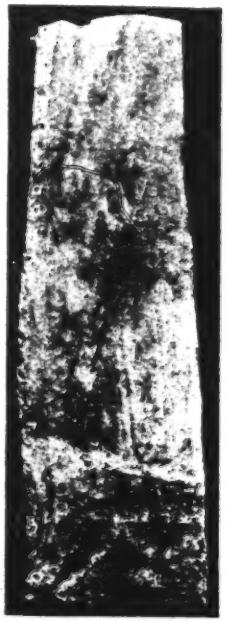

FIG. 83.—Yahgan spearpoint case. Height, 14 in. (14/2370)

[445]

When the seal-spear had been buried in the flesh of a porpoise, whale, or seal, the point promptly pulled out of the socket and the shaft then acted as a drag, as shown in fig. 82, *c*. But owing to the fact that the thong from the shaft to the head was tied near one end of the shaft, it dragged at an acute angle, so that sufficient pressure to break the thong or the shaft was not produced. The Yahgan apparently did not employ inflated skins or bladders for this purpose.

3. GUANACO-SPEAR.—In the eastern part of Beagle channel and on Lennox and New islands the Yahgan hunted the guanaco with a special kind of spearpoint (*wunaí*), shown in fig. 81, *c*. It resembles the seal-spear in having a single barb, but lacks the projection seen on the seal-spear's tang. It was lashed on the light hexagonal shaft of a fish-spear. This kind of weapon apparently was in use only among the eastern Yahgan, for it was unknown to Messrs. William Bridges and Fred. Lawrence. The example illustrated was obtained from a Lennox islander. To spear guanaco the animal was chased into a swamp or else the 224

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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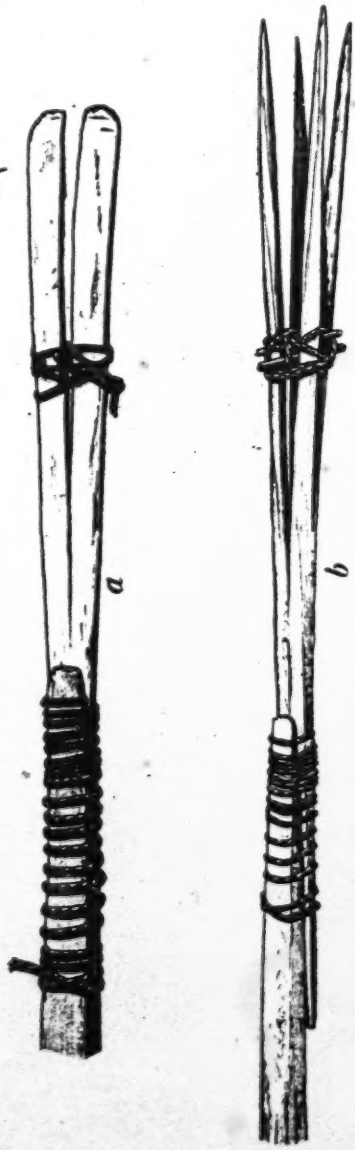

FIG. 84.—Yahgan limpet-spear (*a*) and crab-spear (*b*). Length of heads, 16½ and 19½ in. (14/2271, 2272)

hunter climbed a tree over a guanaco runway in the woods and waited there until an animal passed beneath him.

The three spear types described all had bone points, specialized in type but of approximately the same length. To carry the extra points that might be needed were the one in use to become lost, the Yahgan employed a small case made of seal-hide with the hair side inward. Old-time containers were simply a rectangle of skin folded double and sewn up the side and bottom (fig. 83). In recent years the Yahgan have followed the pattern of the Ona quiver (fig. 33) and have inserted a small oval piece of hide at the bottom of the case.

4. CRAB AND SEA-URCHIN SPEAR.—As shown in fig. 79, *e*, this spear (*akwisimána*) was considerably longer than the other Yahgan spears, for it was designed to secure crabs and sea-urchins under water.

The shaft was not octagonal like the other spears considered, but was round. It was covered with minute flutes like the Ona bow, but they were not so carefully worked.

The head of the crab-spear (*sita*) was a piece of yellow barberry wood split at one

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

756 coals witnessed by Rev. Thomas Bridges (1893, p. 238) may have been part of this training.

Graduation from the shaman school did not insure a successful 756 professional career, for only by repeated proofs of power could the 887 individual's reputation be established. It seems that there was much competition among the medicine-men, and several early observers note a tendency of almost all the older people to work cures, to prophesy, etc.

FIG. 94.—Yahgan shaman's bag. Diameter, 11 in. (14/2337)

756 In fig. 94 is illustrated the 415 guanaco-hide bag in which the shaman carried his impedimenta. The contents were diadems of heron-plumes and of kelp-goose down, and white paint. To these doubtless should be added a number of small hard objects to be shown to the sick as the cause of their pain.

DEATH

764 When death took place the corpse was wrapped in old seal-skins and buried outside of the house within twenty-four hours. If the ground were frozen, the corpse might be covered with stones and shrubs to keep off dogs and foxes, or it might be buried in a cave or on a small island. Hyades (1891, p. 379) says that when death occurred far from home the body was carried into the woods and cremated. This was done that the bones might not fall into the hands of enemies and be made into harpoon-points.

765 For mourning the family of the defunct covered themselves with

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche

Yahgan SH6

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PLATE 32.—Yahgan life and manufactures. a, Masked Kina spirit (after Gusinde, 1925 a, fig. 4); b, domed hut (after Hyades and Deniker, 1891, pl. 20); c, coiled basket (courtesy Museo Etnográfico, Buenos Aires); d, bark masks used in Kina rite, height of taller 27 in., or 68.5 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 92); e, bark bucket, height 12½ in., or 31.7 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 55); f, pubic covering, width 9 in., or 23 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 44).

[p. 160 A]

/782 cont./

593 along with Bove (g):244, that "every Fuegian family lives in the utmost independence" /translated from Italian/. This independence, however, is never so great, as is maintained in Outes (g):58, "that the father cannot threaten his child nor give him direct orders" /translated from Spanish/.

A second prominent feature of the Fuegian family is its patriarchal tendency. The latter is clearly recognizable, although by only a few indications; yet there is neither a law of inheritance nor clan formations with special demands and obligations. Nevertheless, the father is and remains the head of the whole family, even though, through the division of labor, his wife has an independent field of activity, and he therefore rarely asserts his slightly superior power. Martial:196 describes this lawful relationship as follows: "Authority in the family belongs to the father; wife and children obey him. His authority, however, is very weak and is exercised only in case of necessity" /translated from French/. Each of the two partners can freely [421] dispose of his or her special property. Nevertheless, the care and responsibility for common possessions or for family property fall on the man. He gives the ultimate decision on matters of some importance for the family members, and all of them yield to his words. If he dies, his older brother must take charge of the wife and children he leaves behind, and this is a universally lawful obligation. This patriarchal tendency in Fuegian family organization is not expressed in name-giving, but since here the name is taken from the place of birth (p. 536), there is no real connection.

2. The Circle of Relatives

612 In the tribal society of our Yamana every individual family is an independent, self-contained structure. In contrast to this, relatives are a loose aggregate of all those who are joined by the ties of consanguinity. According to Fuegian ideas, persons are related to each other only if they can trace their origins to some

/961 cont./

E. Property Relations

421 The orderly and peaceable coexistence of the Yamana is largely made possible by the fact that their property relationships are regulated according to ancient laws. No one questions how these arose or upon what they are based, since for each generation up to the present time traditional custom was the immutable guiding principle. Certain legal titles are based on fact; the prevailing laws of custom are primarily decisive. Actually our Yamana have an adequate number of legal concepts, which they followed in olden times as well as now (376). The economy and the social

376. With a view toward facilitating comparison as much as possible, this section was organized to some extent according to the pattern in Volume I, 423. Compare Krickeberg (a):331.

organization have played a part in the formation of certain relationships involving property. These relationships /962/ are particularly apparent in the social intercourse of persons or groups and in the relations between members of the most intimate family circle (377).

[171]

377. Since the economy and the social organization of our Yamana agree to a great extent with the Selk'nam forms, it is not surprising that the property relations of both are almost completely alike.

A careful observer can easily determine the prevailing legal conceptions of the Yamana insofar as they pertain to property, for they are simple and definite in themselves and are also translated into action. This is not to deny individual violations against the law, but the characteristics of the law may be recognized in these very transgressions. One need not be put off by the contradictory judgments of travelers and missionaries. Some facts and observations have simply not been correctly interpreted.

/962 cont./

•42| Sometimes it can even be shown that this or that person expressed himself first one way and then another. If one takes the trouble to evaluate the actions of the natives from their standpoint, it becomes clear that they are almost never in violation of the legal norms of Europeans. The repeatedly circulated opinion that our Yamana have no feeling for "thine" and "mine" and that therefore they practice uninhibited theft and robbery is wholly unproved slander. If we were to assume such behavior, how would peaceful coexistence with their own kind be possible? Every Indian knows the laws pertaining to common property as well as personal property, and there are all kinds of considerations that force him to observe them carefully; otherwise he could not live in the society of his fellow-tribesmen.

a. Kinds of Property

In view of the unique position of the Yamana within the totality of lower primitive peoples and also for an exact understanding of the individuality of their culture traits, it is advisable to point out definitely at the beginning what a well-developed conception of property our Fuegians possess. They have a clear conception of "thine" and "mine"; accordingly, they understand occasional violations of property rights and actually observe the titles of possession which are current there. They use possessive pronouns [192] (Pronomina possessiva) to distinguish a specific person as the owner of certain things. There is a large selection of words designating theft and damage to goods belonging to others, and there are plenty of opprobrius terms for persons who seize the property of others (378).

378. Strangely enough, Spegazzini (a):177 maintains that among all three Fuegian tribes "the verbs to take and to steal are equivalent" /translated from Spanish/. A glance into BD and at the word lists of the Selk'nam and Halakwulup would easily have shown him his mistake.

•42 /963/ They not only acknowledge that material goods have a definite owner who has sole right of disposal, but they also apply this acknowledgment to specific relationships between individuals. [BST 736] Accordingly, children belong to both of their own parents as their property, and one spouse has an actual right to the other. Step-parents have similar rights to children who have only one parent or are completely orphaned. We shall soon discuss the fact that certain groups have a definite title of possession for sections of land marked off with boundaries.

The social order of the Yamana recognizes two types of property, namely, common possession and personal property. The former is based on the absolute necessity of hunting and the roving mode of life. Since everyone, or rather the individual family, is thrown back on its own resources for a considerable time, it is also the sole, unrestricted master of everything it carries along, and it disposes of this quite freely. This distribution of possessions is natural; we come across it not only among all three Fuegians tribes, but quite generally among peoples with a low gathering economy.

It would be a mistake to regard the common property as a communistic form of possession, for the individual person only has the usufruct of it under certain conditions. In like manner it would [476] be incorrect to explain along these lines the obligation of mutual aid which is emphasized to a remarkable degree among the Yamana (379). Voluntary distribution of possessions in the form of

> 379. Hyades (q):243 opposed such an obviously false interpretation: "They like to share what they have with those around them, and one cannot say that this is because of the community of property. This community does not exist in Fuegia" /translated from French/.

booty and tools occurs as a result of social considerations, but leaves completely untouched the right of disposal itself.

1. Common Property

186 The consciousness of ethnic unity is very pronounced among 423 our Yamana, as among all primitive peoples. It is based on identity

/966 cont./

423 it is their intention to work for the benefit of these events; hence they forgo a property right which otherwise would accrue from their personal work. Later, after the end of the ceremonies when the Great Hut is abandoned by the group, the latter automatically relinquishes its right of disposal. Anyone who then establishes himself in it /967/ or who wants to use a few sticks from it is not prevented from doing so, since he is appropriating something that has been acknowledged as ownerless.

423 635 Although the Yamana emphasize their right to sole possession of their native area and strictly guard the respective boundaries of their dialect groups, they are just as lenient when distress or expedience make it advisable to waive special rights. They put the life and livelihood of each of their fellow-tribesmen far above these rights.

2. Private Property

424 Like their neighbors, the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 412) and the Halakwulup, our Yamana also make a sharp and clear distinction between common possessions and personal property. The former belongs to a larger group or to the whole tribe; private property belongs to only one person as his individual possession, or, as family property, to members of the same family, in the limited sense of the word, who comprise an economic unit. In everyday speech this distinction between individual possessions and family possessions is clearly expressed (381). For example, the man speaks

381. The data of other observers are not always clear and comprehensive. Thus Hyades (d):309 in one case writes: "Property is individual; there is no chief, social hierarchy, or slaves" /translated from French/. In another place (p):336 he admits that there is common property, besides personal property: "Property is individual and hereditary without a will, but this applies only to personal effects: canoe, hunting or fishing implements, skins of animals, each person having only what is necessary of these objects" /translated from French/.

/967 cont./

421 of his weapons, the woman of her little baskets, and the child of his ornaments, each one emphasizing his unlimited right of disposal, but each of them can only speak of "our hut," for it belongs jointly to the members of the same family. The designations for the right of ownership in the two cases are different.

a. Personal Possessions

422 At every turn the careful observer comes up against the unequivocal determination with which every Indian lays absolute claim to his personal possessions and defends them against misappropriation and damage. He regards himself as the exclusive master and owner of certain things to which other persons have no right. He alone disposes of them according to his own free will or he loans them for temporary use to a person who urgently requests them and pledges to return them. No one presumes to lay hands on the personal possessions of someone else, unless he is a thief.

It is easy to determine what belongs to the individual, because no one overloads himself with possessions and because /968/ clear, definite legal titles are behind them. Moreover, it follows from the nature of the simple economy of the Yamana that one person possesses no more, essentially, than another of his fellow-tribesmen. Finally, the little that one person carries with him is quite openly exposed to view and can easily be observed by his neighbors (382).

> 382. Bridges, in (I):22 and in MM:III, 115; 1869, listed the total number of objects that constitute "a Yahgan's property" /cited in English/. He does not mention which is the special property of the man, the woman, and the children.

Fully aware of having a general and actual right to the possession of his own things, everyone guards what he has with obvious jealousy. It takes forms that are incomprehensible to us, especially when someone owns things of European origin, for these

/972 cont./

b. The Right of Possession

421 The Yamana recognize actual possessions as personal property, aside from a few common possessions. Institutions and principles pointing to pure communism are completely absent. They are familiar with several titles for the right of possession, which we must now discuss, after having described the actual forms of property. In this respect, too, our Yamana agree almost completely with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 434). The recognized legal titles are as simple and clear as the forms of the possessions of this tribal society. [171]

1. Right of the Supreme Being as Creator

421 776 Later on we shall speak of the religious convictions of the Yamana, which culminate in the recognition of a Supreme Being. Common names applied to this being are Watauinéiwa, "the /973/ ancient one," and Hidábuan, "my father." He is lord over all visible things and their supreme owner. The compound term Watauinéiwa-sír, which is often used, evidently means: the sír, or thing in the sense of property, of Watauinéiwa (386). Practically

386. BD:379 interprets this word with: "tools, implements, vessels, toys, goods, property, things in general" /cited in English/.

everything visible and tangible, without reservation, is regarded by our Fuegians as Watauinéiwa-sír; therefore the Supreme Being is the owner of visible creation.

421 776 825 Among all that has been created, the necessary daily food is the most important for our Indians. Heading the list are the game animals hunted by the man and the many lower animals which the woman gathers. Although the individual exerts himself personally for these, it is nevertheless as though he first had to ask permission from Watauinéiwa for each piece, hence his repeated request in actual prayers to the Supreme Being for the things he needs for his subsistence. In this procedure there is a faint hint that Watauinéiwa will benevolently give each human being some of that which he

/973 cont./

421 825 776 alone has the right to distribute. The Yamana accepts the slain animal and every other thing as a gift voluntarily bestowed by the Supreme Being; consequently he does not fail to thank his deity expressly for this now and then.

The Yamana have the same idea in mind when they say that everyone should kill and gather only as many animals as are needed for the moment. Beyond that it is punishable to destroy wantonly and aimlessly a number of animals which are not used in the household and which finally putrify. With this restriction they first of all want to check senseless waste of useful animals, but they do not overlook the fact that in such action there is also a violation of the primary property right which belongs only to Watauinéiwa. It is said that he voluntarily lets each individual Yamana have exactly as much as he needs for subsistence, and he punishes a person who, over and above that, wantonly destroys something of his.

If there is a ceremony for the dead or if, on another occasion, someone gives expression to his grief, he sometimes, in self-justification, lets the Supreme Being know that all his life long he has never illicitly, that is, through misuse, laid violent hands on animals which were made available to him for his own subsistence. If anyone has really done wrong in fits of anger and has given vent to his rage by unjustifiable destruction of many animals, he is soon remorseful and begs sincerely for the forgiveness of Watauinéiwa because /974/ of the harm he inflicted upon him. Sometimes an excited person will threaten Watauinéiwa with specific words, thus wishing to avenge himself for some misfortune, saying that he is going to slay masses of his living animals in order to harm him greatly. In these condemnations the deity is clearly set forth as the owner of available material goods, among which animals are regarded as primary.

The Yamana do not give a definite reason why the Supreme Being has the legal title to all creation, primarily all animals. Nevertheless, this idea lives very clearly and definitely within them and serves as a guide for their actions. We shall speak of supplementary details in our description of their form of religion.

/977 cont./

425 particular type of necklace or other ornament will copy it again and again. A child time after time procures for himself the outstanding toy that is his favorite. Everyone puts his particular wishes into the fashioning of an object and it thereby becomes his property.

Many statements could be quoted which come from every Fuegian's conviction that by the mere production of an article he makes himself sole owner of it and that special confirmation of his right of disposal is not necessary. Other people keep their hands off it; otherwise the owner would defend his property by merely pointing out that he made it. Any object that has been fashioned has its particular owner, either the husband or the wife or the child belonging to the same family. No one would take liberties with the articles of another without making himself guilty of theft. These personal belongings should be kept distinct from those few things which, in the service of all the members of the family, are available to everyone equally as "family goods."

Obviously the lawful title to every article made arises from the work involved. The individual purchases with his own physical strength and skill the object that he makes out of the raw material. Everyone says: "I made this object, therefore it is mine!" Anyone who wishes to have an object that he sees in the hands of another and admires acquires it for himself most easily by making it. The above rules of common law are so very much taken for granted by the Yamana that in everyday life they are hardly ever mentioned by anyone, although old and young invariably conform to them in all their actions.

4. Barter, Loans, Gifts

•421 The different treatment of possessions and the use to which they are put derive from the right of ownership. For example, the owner can let his things go to ruin or purposely destroy them. No one will stop him, although his behavior may be characterized as unwise and senseless. The Fuegian does not possess an abundance of goods, and everyone must /978/ sooner or later obtain or make for himself, sometimes with great toil, whatever is indispensable to him and what he has destroyed without reason.

22 /366/ Natural conditions have an overwhelming effect in shaping and determining the form of the material culture of the Yamana. This is equally true of the neighboring Selk'nam /Ona/ (Vol. I, 192). Since the indispensable conditions for gardening and farming, as well as for animal husbandry, are lacking, they can only be simple gatherers or hunters with a nonsedentary way of life. They practice the nomadism of a people at home on the water and along the shores. Less than fishermen, more than hunters or gatherers, they are engaged in obtaining food and are, therefore, appropriately referred to as "water nomads." Almost all day long they travel in their canoes along the intricate water channels or hunt on the shore. When they are not doing that, they squat in the hut, which is always erected on the shore near the water line. Only occasionally and for special purposes do they leave the shore and push inland to the center of the island. The surface of the water and the narrow strip of coast are the field of action and the sphere of life for the Yamana. Whatever they encounter here in the form of plants and animals determines their economic activity and is indispensable for their standard of living. The large sea mammals, the indigenous species of seals and whales, play the most important role. Sea otters and sea birds are no less important. Finally, from among the lower animals, nothing could rival the mussels and large crabs. Hunting and gathering these things constitute the chief part of the economic activity of the Yamana. [262] The vegetable kingdom offers practically nothing, hence our natives rely exclusively on a meat diet.

•422 The vegetable kingdom and the products of the hunt furnish the raw materials for their property in goods. As a matter of principle, these possessions are of such a nature that they not only do not impede unrestricted wandering, but assure the acquisition of everything needed for subsistence and, above all, facilitate hunting and gathering. All their property is limited to what is absolutely essential. As such, this is so little that a demanding, civilized human being marvels at such perfected self-sufficiency. This is a result of the fact that every item beyond the limit of what is indispensable would be a burden that would become more grievously oppressive the longer one carried it around.

342 Preparedness for uninterrupted movement precludes fixed dwellings from the outset, either in the form of individual establishments or community settlements. A loose, carelessly constructed hut served as shelter for a night or for a few days.

/366 cont./

366 serves as shelter for a night or for a few days. Clothing, ornaments,
402 and household furnishings could scarcely be scantier or more modest. Weapons and implements in their very simplicity, which is surprising, give evidence of much inventive intelligence. Whatever a person needs, he knows how to make and to obtain. In the matter of pro-
181 viding for his subsistence, everyone is on his own and /367/ is master of his environment. Trades have not developed, and the fundamental equality of all persons has likewise prevented the rise of social stratification. One and the same justice applies to all. Everyone enjoys complete independence from others, which is why only the uniformity of customs and habits, language, and racial characteristics provides the outer and inner bond that unites all the Yamana into an ethnic entity.

142 The Yamana way of life as water nomads has without doubt contributed somewhat to the peculiar shape of their bodies. To what extent this is an advantage to them cannot be discussed here. Their small stature is all the more conspicuous since their neighbors, the Selk'nam, together with the Tehuelche on the mainland, have the tallest stature among all South American Indians. Our Yamana, however, are not only small, but in addition to this they are not very symmetrically developed (p. 214 /untranslated/). A broad, sturdy body with exceedingly strong musculature on the chest and arms rests on weak, thin legs. Excessive breadth is much more noticeable among the women than among the men, and among the former we come across plump figures much more often than among the latter. A total lack of simple grooming, generally coarse features, their perplexed facial expression, and unkempt hair complete the unprepossessing picture of the Yamana Indians. Almost all European travelers, not without ample reason, have expressed thoroughly unfavorable judgments about
147 the physique of our natives (p. 214 /untranslated/). Undeniably, however, they enjoy abundant health and have an unbelievable resistance which enables them to overcome all the hardships of their frosty home and has secured the undiminished continuance of their people for centuries. True, the Yamana will always be the loser in a contest with other racial groups for physical beauty, but the suitability of his body for the rigors of his way of life and the unfavorableness of his environment is unrivaled. In many respects he is well adapted to his home.

/455 cont./

396 one man or another will build a canoe. If he has observed that the vessel he built only the previous spring will hardly last out the winter, he sets about early enough, that is, in the fall, to make a new one. He does not take great pains with it, since the bark is not as good in the fall and in any case he will commence a new and better one in the spring. This is the only explanation for Bridges' assertion (i):23 that "the canoes are made twice a year in the spring and autumn. The former are called hákua, the latter Een-ánan [better kísajánan] i.e. Winter Canoe. The natives are specially careful to make the latter well" /cited in English/. Spring is actually the time when the great majority of families make a new vessel (p. 115).

504 /456/ Through the years every man acquires some skill in this work, but this fact alone does not prevent him from treating his canoe most carefully and giving it his utmost attention. If he should lose it in the course of the year, he and his family would be in serious difficulty, sometimes in danger of starving. Heavy blows against rocks and tree trunks are particularly damaging because the bark sections break or tear. Rubbing against pebbles and sand soon causes the bottom and the threads of the seam to be scraped through. For this reason, the vessel is often kept in the open channel after the family has been brought to shore by the woman. Wherever the gently sloping beach permits, they make a sort of toboggan slide of damp Macrocystis algae over which they drag the canoe and upon which it rests. When boarding the canoe, everyone places his foot very carefully; in fact, everyone avoids any jolt and violent movement, for the seams easily burst and the seam threads become more brittle the older they are. In loading and unloading large objects are handled gently and cautiously.

422 Even though the man makes the canoe almost entirely by
462 himself, it is not regarded as his property; the woman uses it and takes care of it. The man gives it to her, and it actually belongs to her or to the entire family. All the duties during the trip, as well as before and after, are her responsibility. She
462 alone paddles. Squatting in the rear third of the vessel, close
502 against the right side, she grasps the oar shaft with both hands, the left above the right, and pushes the oar diagonally backwards

/457 cont./

396 Man and wife have their special share in the vessel; he
462 builds it, and she keeps it in repair. Circumstances are such
[422] that every family owns only a single canoe, which is why it
must be guarded all the more carefully (149). One canoe is never

149. Hyades (q):352 confirms that "the Fuegians take the greatest care of their canoes" /translated from French/. Others are of the same opinion.

exactly like another in all details, although they are all built according to the same pattern. Differences in size are determined by the available raw material, and some men are far more skillful than their neighbors. The term wáalina is used for a man who would find it difficult to build a canoe. The men help each
[476] other in building it, and one man repays the other for his services with weapons or other valuable objects. No Yamana would hire himself out as a carpenter, but he does work for a close relative who is sick and helpless. From what has been said, we realize that the canoe is a vital and absolutely indispensable object for these Fuegians (150).

[439] 150. In the middle of 1868 Bridges, who was then a young man, brought two bark canoes to England. It was said that one of these was meant for a boy, the other for a girl. Actually these were models which, as such, had been ordered from an Indian. After that our Fuegians many times offered such small models for sale to Europeans. The two boat models mentioned above were described in detail in the "Illustrated London News" of August 18, 1868 (MM:III, 38; 1869). Many museums have good pieces of this kind.

/502 cont./

415 water from nearby streams and lagoons in the large bark buckets (216).

216. These bark receptacles are mentioned and described in Cañas Pinochet:358, Dabbene (b):181, Hyades (q):307, Lothrop (b):131, Martial:192, Spegazzini (a):163, Wieghardt: 27, and others.

11. Baskets

The baskets are excellently adapted for collecting and storing the always wet shellfish. These baskets lie around in the huts and in the canoes /503/ of our Fuegians in larger numbers than /Fig. 49 appears here/ among the Selk'nam. [422 462] They are the property of the woman because they were made by her. Only women and girls, less often boys, reach for them when mussels and snails, berries, and fruits are to be gathered; a man never carries a basket in his hand.

285 Judged according to weaving technique, our Indians have three different kinds. I believe I must adhere to this grouping, although Lothrop (b):138 speaks of four kinds. Below, a net-like container, čaɯwénux, čaɯwénnuš, will be described, which he and others regard as a basket.

[824]

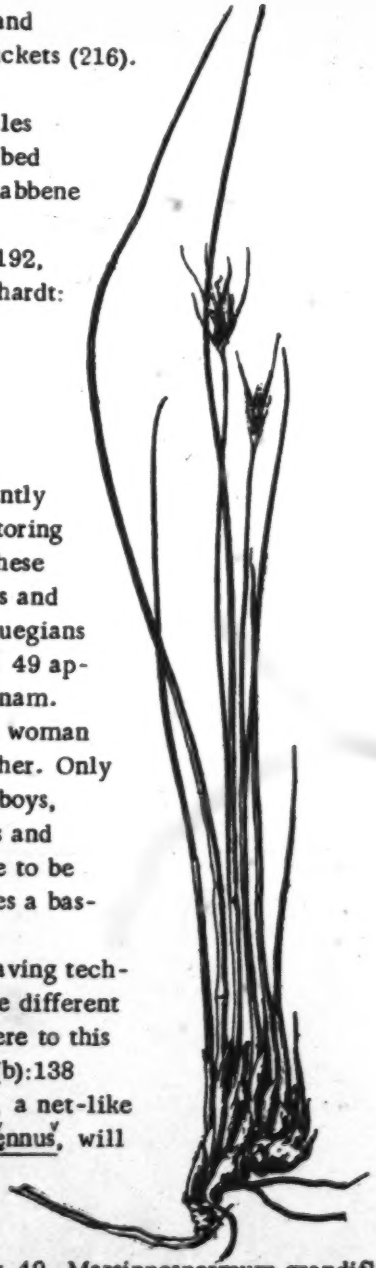

Fig. 49. Marsippospermum grandiflorum.

/564 cont./

231 large fox, which was only somewhat smaller. Fred Lawrence described him as similar to those dogs that Europeans had brought along for journeys through the south polar regions. Long before, Webster had declared of the Fuegian dog, "he is very ferocious, and not unlike an Esquimaux dog" /cited in English/ (p. 109 /untranslated, but the page is in English/).

At this point I do not as yet wish to express my own view of the origin of the /565/ Fuegian dog (323). Instead, let me add

323. In Volume I, 95, I had indicated that I would give a final opinion about the origin and development of the Fuegian dog only after I had described the domestic dog of the Halakwulup in Volume III. In Volume I, 276, I briefly described the dog of the Selk'nam according to its zoological characteristics.

that the Yamana do not seem to have any understanding at all of how to breed a special type; in any case they do not go in for it. Hence their animals reproduce erratically, as chance brings them together. According to Kuenckel:138, the Fuegians as a whole "do not have sufficient intelligence to practice methodical selection, they let nature take its course and assert its rights; actually, the dog which is their companion is savage like themselves" /translated from French/.

We have already briefly mentioned the place of the dog in the Indian family. Every family owns several dogs, from three to [422] eight, and each one is regarded as the property of either the man or the woman, or some other person. To have a dog as common property of all the members of the family would be an impossible idea to the Yamana. Many travelers agree in their opinion that the Fuegian has an unmistakable affection for his dogs. From a very early period comes the observation of Captain Snow (a):I, 349: "I also noticed that their dogs claimed a large share of affection" /cited in English/. They belong to the family as a matter of course (324). If one knows the Indian well, one realizes that he

324. Hyades (b):1343 says: "The dog is part

X881 /825 cont./
182 Even the Indians, however, always regard it as a disturbance if the thread is broken, and they only yield to the force of necessity or of greater benefits.

Although generally unpredictable external circumstances convened the festival, winter was preferred as the most suitable time of year for it. People were more settled then, which was brought about by economic conditions./826/ They were happy to interrupt this boring, monotonous way of life with the čiexaus and to enjoy it fully. In summer, on the other hand, only a few people would have been able to tolerate crouching in the Great Hut uninterruptedly for many weeks. In reality, these Fuegians do not have fixed rules for the occurrence of an initiation and its duration, any more than do their nearest neighbors to the northwest, the Halakwulup.

2. Long-range Preparation

X881 All persons who unite in the čiexaus must, of course, submit to the single purpose behind its regulations and organization. The general decrees are sacred traditions and are binding for everyone. The presiding overseer sees to it that every participant submits to the unwritten laws. Everyone regards this occasion much too seriously to dream of offending against a single obligation, but someone might accidentally transgress from carelessness or natural negligence, whereupon the vigilance of the overseer must be shown. There are no special privileges for individual adults, any more than there are exceptions for this or that candidate.

X881 Every participant retains his absolute property rights over the utensils or implements he brings along to the Great Hut.
422 Anyone who has a long strap with which to capture the candidates offers it for the entire period of the festival, but takes it back again afterwards. Only the small painted panels which are hung up in the Great Hut are regarded as belonging to it. The person who made them and hung them there loses his own right to them; after the festival no one would think of taking one of these small ornamental tablets for his own use.

X881 In view of the strictness with which the prevailing decrees are observed and honored, one can confidently assume that they

/967 cont./

421 of his weapons, the woman of her little baskets, and the child of his ornaments, each one emphasizing his unlimited right of disposal, but each of them can only speak of "our hut," for it belongs jointly to the members of the same family. The designations for the right of ownership in the two cases are different.

a. Personal Possessions

422 At every turn the careful observer comes up against the unequivocal determination with which every Indian lays absolute claim to his personal possessions and defends them against misappropriation and damage. He regards himself as the exclusive master and owner of certain things to which other persons have no right. He alone disposes of them according to his own free will or he loans them for temporary use to a person who urgently requests them and pledges to return them. No one presumes to lay hands on the personal possessions of someone else, unless he is a thief.

It is easy to determine what belongs to the individual, because no one overloads himself with possessions and because /968/ clear, definite legal titles are behind them. Moreover, it follows from the nature of the simple economy of the Yamana that one person possesses no more, essentially, than another of his fellow-tribesmen. Finally, the little that one person carries with him is quite openly exposed to view and can easily be observed by his neighbors (382).

382. Bridges, in (i):22 and in MM:III, 115; 1869, listed the total number of objects that constitute "a Yahgan's property" /cited in English/. He does not mention which is the special property of the man, the woman, and the children.

Fully aware of having a general and actual right to the possession of his own things, everyone guards what he has with obvious jealousy. It takes forms that are incomprehensible to us, especially when someone owns things of European origin, for these

/968 cont./

422 more strongly provoke people to theft. Bridges describes with striking accuracy the concern of the Yamana for their few possessions: "The begging and stealing propensities of the natives discourage laying up stores of fuel or food, and engender slyness. When they sell skins or other things to us, they aim to do so unknown to their fellows, in order to keep what they receive to themselves. Thus they secrete what they bring under their clothes, or hide it near by, till obnoxious observers and waylayers have departed. Again, if they have any supply, they cannot keep it in their own possession, and so they leave it with us. A great powerful fellow lately bought some biscuit; he wished me very much to keep it for him. Twice or thrice a day this man came to our door, and would take out three or four biscuits at a time, and always watched for opportunities to time his visits privately. Before leaving our door he invariably concealed the little he used to take. As the man with his biscuit above-mentioned, so with those who have swedes; daily, or several times a day, will they come for two or three. The people here cannot leave the canoe furniture in the canoes for fear of theft, and so have to be constantly taking backwards and forwards paddles, spears, and every trifle" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 218; 1875).

Each one claims for himself the sole use of everything that he possesses in the way of property. One can most clearly recognize what belongs to an individual on the basis of this attitude (383).

383. Cooper:179 cites the following from the direct experience of reliable observers: "The sense of ownership of personal property, such as the spoils of the chase, artifacts, and the movable windshield or hut, is clearly marked, and the right definitely recognized" /cited in English/.

It is easy to keep separate the personal belongings of each member of the family. The man owns only what he wears and carries in his hand, that is to say, his clothing and his even more unpretentious body ornaments, as well as his weapons and the tools with which he makes them. Raw materials that he obtained for

/968 cont./

•422 himself to use in making things also belong to him, such as sticks for shafts, tendons for cords, and the rib bones of whales for spear points. Finally /969/ his property consists of such objects as he has made for barter and which he saves for a suitable opportunity. His dogs and the live birds that he has caught and kept with him must not be forgotten. A Yamana man finds these few and very simple earthly goods sufficient for his way of life and his happiness.

The woman is not much richer. She does, however, own a greater number of smaller objects, whereas the man has a few substantial pieces which he calls his own. Her belongings consist of what she needs to cover and to ornament her body, furthermore a small basket or so in which she keeps small artifacts, such as fishhooks, fire implements, pouch for pigments, knife, scraper, strap, etc., and finally the mussel breaker and the long crab fork, although these two articles were made by her husband. Nowadays she also carries from one place to another the tin dishes, cloth garments, and all kinds of trifles that she obtains from the Whites.

[858] From its early years the child, like its father and mother, disposes of his own possessions, which include clothing and ornaments, playthings, and all the tame animals that were given to him for his amusement. There is no lack of examples from olden and modern times which clearly show that even the parents do not consider themselves entitled to dispose of some article belonging to the child without his consent (384).

384. Relying on several written sources, Cooper:179 comes to the conclusion that "women and children have well recognized property rights" /cited in English/. -- The same conditions hold no less strictly for children's right of ownership among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 432) and the Halakwulup.

[171]

It follows naturally from this segregation of goods that no one may arbitrarily dispose of something that belongs to another. Whenever Europeans wanted to trade for some object and approached the wrong person about it, they were always referred to the real owner. Fitz-Roy (a):76, 237 definitely became acquainted with

/969 cont./

422 this method of procedure by our Yamana on two occasions. Once he bartered tobacco with a man for a dog, but since the dog belonged to the man's wife, she forced Fitz-Roy to give the animal back to her. Snow (b):264 also confirms from his own experience: "I believe they have a sort of property right amongst them, and I have seen one of the oldest women exercising authority over the rest of her people. Wishing to buy a canoe, it was refused me on the ground that it belonged to her, and she would not part with it" /cited in English/.

Every Yamana is completely free to take good care of his property or to neglect it completely. No one even prevents him from wantonly destroying his things. If he lacks something he must personally look around for a replacement. Objects that are [425] found may not be appropriated by the finder, and if he nevertheless keeps them, he risks being labeled a thief. Whatever a person has owned in life /970/ remains his after his death. That is [768] why the belongings of a deceased person are burned and destroyed, inasmuch as no one could legally take them as his property. One does not even encroach upon a dead owner's right to his personal [428] property. The Yamana are unacquainted with the actual inheritance of anything whatever.

β. Family Property

Since every person owns his individual property, he also 422 brings it with him into his marriage, without, however, giving up 593 his exclusive right to it. He uses each article freely and without hindrance and replaces for himself anything and everything that has become unserviceable or is lost. As we have just said, one of the partners in marriage would not dare, at his own discretion, to dispose of an object belonging to the other partner.

When a marriage takes place, a new configuration of life is 423 always begun, for the family forms a very compact economic unit. 593 The word "family" is used here in its narrower sense, namely, as the social unit of father, mother, and unmarried children. The new configuration of life also demands its own right to certain implements common to the union as such. The solidarity of family

/970 cont./

423 593 members is visibly symbolized by the hut in which they all find shelter. The man and woman are simultaneously active in its construction, although he is obliged to do the heavier work and she the much easier light work. The children work, too, no matter how slight their participation is. In like manner, both spouses equally keep the hut in repair after it has been built. It is primarily the woman's duty to perform minor repairs. The skins needed to cover the hut framework are furnished by the man from hunting, while the woman dresses the skins. She stores and transports these pieces of leather in her canoe. No other articles are required as common property for the construction of the hut. Naturally, everyone, without discrimination, enjoys the benefit of the fire, since all the members of the family, in one way or another, see that it does not go out.

423 592 If, in an exceptional case, two or three families should erect a common dwelling (p. 32), they readily agree on the division of space, within which each one does as he pleases. If one family wanders off sooner than another, they take down their pieces of leather from the framework and load their own things into their canoe. The family that stays behind then closes off the space that they still want to occupy.

423 594 Only the husband or the wife has the right to permit this guest or that visitor to enter their hut. It is generally regarded as an encroachment to enter a hut without permission, although this is usually tacitly assumed. Once the family has given up their campsite /971/ and departed with their implements, the hut framework left behind is regarded as ownerless. Whoever first takes possession of it lawfully owns it and may settle in it undisturbed.

422 593 In a certain sense the various foods are also doubtless regarded as common property of the family, the idea being that the husband and the wife are obliged to seek food for themselves and the members of their family. The Fuegians' convictions concerning this obligation comes out most clearly when an indolent, lazy [626] man neglects his hunting and lets his family starve. The whole neighborhood expresses its displeasure, and the society even grants the wife the right to leave such a neglectful husband. The man collects meat for the whole family, and the woman gathers smaller animals for all her loved ones, indiscriminately, for

/971 cont./

422 everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and
593 sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing. Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

The little supplementary word "sē" clearly emphasizes the
422 urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather
593 simultaneously and without exception. BD:379 states: "sē [is] used
192 by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. sē čkāli manāax ājan, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. sē kipajuin ex-uf (a man to his wife)come, get us some mussels" /cited in English/.

Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in
422 the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother
593 puts the roast or the mussels on the fire in response to the wish of
264 the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a
576 special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid;
431 hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the things he
476 brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even
593 during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fuegians, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /972/ has lost his weapons, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family hut from his hunting or she herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

/972 cont./

431 Nevertheless this does not entirely deny a person a certain preroga-
476 tive over whatever he has brought in, and a completely equal right
593 to it in the communistic sense is never granted to the members of the family (385).

> 385. This opinion is clearly expressed in BD:319 in the explanation of the verb "mōtabaku: To take or make use of what is not one's own but yet is proper to take or use, as for instance a husband his wife's fish, or a brother, if hungry, fish belonging to a brother or sister during their absence, though when he saw them he would tell them what he had done" /cited in English/.

422 For the individual family, the vessel, whether it be a bark
593 canoe or a flat skiff, is no less important than dwelling and food. Although it is made by the man, it is the woman's duty to service it, guard it, and care for it (p. 134). During the trip through the channels she has authority in the canoe, because she alone usually rows or paddles. Also, after landing and before departure it is only her concern. Since, however, the canoe serves all the members of the family without exception and since neither the individual nor the family as a whole can do without it, all separate rights or privileges cease, although the husband built the canoe and the wife mans it.

Hence we must regard the few things that rightfully belong to the self-contained family and each member of this familial unit as actual "family property." As such, this includes only the dwelling, the canoe, and food, and toward these an individual person cannot claim any special rights and privileges. Obviously this legal situation strengthens family ties and increases the feeling of responsibility of one toward the other with whom he is intimately associated in the life of the individual family.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 Ethn Yahgan Ethn

628 clubs, fists, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but
B21 grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did not exist, and the *Yahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups appear to have been normally irenic, but violence and bloodshed were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually intervened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder
B48 was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast. Bridges found 22 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1884—an annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that
B32 of the United States. Mercy killings occurred for the purpose of putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human
B48 sacrifice was unknown; so too premeditated suicide.

244 The evidence that the *Yahgan* practiced no form of cannibalism—gastronomic, famine, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of devouring human flesh.

ECONOMIC LIFE

423 **Ownership.**—The *Yahgan* resented and avenged exploitative trespass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part
619 thereof by non-*Yahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gusinde, 1937, pp. 904-963) or, according to Koppers (1930 b, p. 176), of any one of the numerous local groups, by nonmembers. Since these local groups seemingly were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Yahgan* land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting-ground system. There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast on a stranded whale, and to gather flintstones and suitable canoe bark, which were found only in certain parts of the *Yahgan* territory.
422 Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adornments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things. The ownership of certain other things—food, hut, canoe—appears to have been vested in the biological family.

[illegible] Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

439 Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor, donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-

/370 cont./

342 or to start a big flame. A Yamana family would scarcely ever
372 enter deeper rock declivities and actual caves, of which there are few, because they would not feel comfortable there and because the amount of smoke that would develop from the indispensable fire would drive them out again (5).

5. A few suitable rock formations and caves serve merely as cover which our Indians seek out in order to be barely sheltered for a few hours against sudden storms. In this sense Hyades (f): 558 is correct when he says: "They also settle under an overhanging rock in some easily accessible cave; for them the essential thing is to be able to build their fire" /Ed., translated from French/.

342 Actual wind screens, such as are indispensable to the northern Selk'nam (Vol. I, 197), are used as seldom as cave dwellings. /371/ It is true that for brief, forced encampments or for an urgent rest stop a simple protective roof is erected from rather large boughs covered with thick foliage, the free ends of which come together at the top, or they use a few poles and place pieces of leather on them to form a sheltering wall, or finally, they make a rude shelter of brushwood stuck in the ground as close together as possible. In all this, however, they do not follow a unified, invariable plan, but in each case choose what is possible and functional, depending on whether the sun is shining or whether they must mitigate the annoyance of bad weather, whether there is plenty of foliage at hand or nothing but a field of stone. Such a casual and transient shelter is called *asela*. When the family travels on, they naturally abandon this construction without further thought to the destructive forces of nature and thus give up their right of ownership to it (8). I saw the three basic types

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8. Rau (in Outes [g]:57) is the only one who holds the mistaken view that "the huts do not belong to the persons who built them, but rather are common property" /translated from

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Spanish/. Anyone who abandons his hut relinquishes the framework and, consciously or unconsciously, places it at the disposal of anyone who wishes to use it later.

mentioned here in all kinds of variations (7).

7. Hyades (q) :342 calls them "a kind of arbor of foliage" /translated from French/. Despard (b) :680 also mentions them.

2. The Two Types of Huts

In the extensive Yamana territory, from the Brecknock Peninsula to Nueva Island and down to Cape Horn, two types of huts for dwellings have developed, namely, the cone-shaped and the dome-shaped. For the time being we shall leave it an open question as to which of the two is ethnologically older here in Tierra del Fuego.

For this question a not unimportant fact is that each of the two types has its definitely limited geographical distribution: in the damp, heavily timbered west the dome-shaped hut is indigenous; in the drier, open east, the cone-shaped one. For both types environmental factors have been at least contributory, perhaps even decisive.

342 133 137 The Indians gave me reasons which alone may suffice to explain the origin of both types. In the west humidity and dampness greatly predominate. The surface of the ground is much more irregular, and almost everywhere at sea level level ground with gravel or broken stones is absent. The northerly slopes of the rocks not only get the vital force of the sun, but are protected against storm and inclement weather. Thus, a thicker and more compact growth of trees develops here, and even in the smallest crevices the firm roots of the Antarctic beeches find sufficient anchorage. In the west there are few big trees, but there is a preponderance of thin, irregular, flexible trunks that shoot up quickly. They grow close to every shore /372/ and can be uprooted easily because their roots do not penetrate the rocky ground.

342 In low places the wind can not exert its full force, except in a few spots, and therefore the dome-shaped hut may be used. It has

421 /963/ They not only acknowledge that material goods have a definite owner who has sole right of disposal, but they also apply this acknowledgment to specific relationships between individuals. [858 736] Accordingly, children belong to both of their own parents as their property, and one spouse has an actual right to the other. Step-parents have similar rights to children who have only one parent or are completely orphaned. We shall soon discuss the fact that certain groups have a definite title of possession for sections of land marked off with boundaries.

The social order of the Yamana recognizes two types of property, namely, common possessions and personal property. The former is based on the absolute necessity of hunting and the roving mode of life. Since everyone, or rather the individual family, is thrown back on its own resources for a considerable time, it is also the sole, unrestricted master of everything it carries along, and it disposes of this quite freely. This distribution of possessions is natural; we come across it not only among all three Fuegians tribes, but quite generally among peoples with a low gathering economy.

It would be a mistake to regard the common property as a communistic form of possession, for the individual person only has the usufruct of it under certain conditions. In like manner it would [476] be incorrect to explain along these lines the obligation of mutual aid which is emphasized to a remarkable degree among the Yamana (379). Voluntary distribution of possessions in the form of

379. Hyades (q):243 opposed such an obviously false interpretation: "They like to share what they have with those around them, and one cannot say that this is because of the community of property. This community does not exist in Fuegia" /translated from French/.

booty and tools occurs as a result of social considerations, but leaves completely untouched the right of disposal itself.

1. Common Property

186 The consciousness of ethnic unity is very pronounced among ●423 our Yamana, as among all primitive peoples. It is based on identity

/963 cont./

186 of language and way of life no less than on sharing the same na-
tive region. They regard the fragmented maze of islands within
423 the triangle between the Cape Horn cliffs, Brecknock Peninsula,
and Punta Julieta at Bahía Aguirre as their country, within whose
boundaries they alone, from ancient times, have the exclusive
right to live and to hunt. Actually they make their property rights,
in the widest sense of the word, apply to this whole area.

423 They condemn the crossing of these borders by their Indian
648 neighbors in the northeast, as well as in the southwest, as trespass
on their land, simply because it belongs to them alone (380).

> 380. Spegazzini (a):168 has mentioned "that the boundaries of a tribe are well defined; no Alucăluf /Alacaluf/ canoe goes into Iajan /Yahgan/ territory unless it has a particular and important mission" /translated from Spanish/.

They do not drive off the intruders with weapons, but they regard their encroachment quite /964/ frankly as a legal offense. Only the families who reside in an area may grant their neighbors free entrance if personal reasons make it advisable.

423 They also regard it as robbery when Europeans settle on
their land and crowd out their countrymen. For the last few
648 decades they have become resigned to this condition of constraint
797 because they feel too weak to resist. Formerly they overwhelmed
many a European ship with hostility and made its landing difficult
in order to deprive the unpopular Whites of any possibility or de-
sire to settle here (p. 250 /untranslated/). For the same reason
even the missionaries were made to feel the resistance of the na-
tives. For example, it cost the former much toil and labor to
found the mission station in Ushuaia, but this did not make that
region the property of the missionaries, according to the Indians,
and they actually had to submit to all kinds of annoyances. It
was only after direct negotiations that Bridges (MM:IV, 133;1870)
could content himself with the following solution: "I got full
permission from the natives of Ushuaia to take possession of any
land for house and gardens. Next time I intend giving them some
thing as a small acknowledgment" /cited in English/. Although

/964 cont./
423 opposition for a long time has led to absolutely no result, the
648 Yamana have never given up their exclusive legal claim to their
797 native region.

They trace this claim back to their so-called revolutionary
423 myth, which tells that in ancient times the women who were play-
173 ing kina pushed into this region and continued their secret cere-
mony here. Since this time, they say, all the Yamana have remained in one and the same place, and inasmuch as they were the first to take possession of this land for themselves, it has become their property.

The nature of the landscape has divided the whole Yamana
423 territory into five large districts in which an equal number of dia-
635 lects have developed (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each dialect group regards its home as, in a special sense, the common property of all its members. It is the field in which each one may devote himself to the hunt for food without restraint. To begin with, the individual has no vested right to a specific animal and no priority in obtaining special products of the land. Without discrimination, everything within the boundaries of the dialect region is available to everyone living there. Thus, with regard to the natural products of their circumscribed homeland, there is no personal property right; this becomes valid only at the moment when a person appropriates something for himself.

It is no less important to point out that only the members
423 of the same dialect group may take what their circumscribed
635 area /965/ holds. Persons whose homes are in a neighboring
685 district generally do not have the right to cross the boundaries. A few exceptional cases are regarded as legally valid. If these exceptions are misused, however, disputes may be kindled and, to be sure, precisely because of violation of the sovereign rights which only the actual owners of this region enjoy. They alone may indiscriminately appropriate in it whatever they need in the way of animals and goods, even if some of it serves in barter with people of another group.

It is obvious that every individual will defend the common possessions of his dialect group, to which he belongs by birth or marriage and in which he himself has a share. Whenever and wherever he observes encroachment by a neighbor, he at least disapproves of it and speaks of it to others in his immediate

/965 cont./

423 635 685 neighborhood. Sometimes the malefactor must atone dearly for his offensive violation of land rights. The Fuegians are even capable of ruthless intolerance toward him. The treatment accorded a certain Okokko may serve as an example. The missionaries with whom he had lived for many months on Isla Keppel wanted him to start a sort of "model farm," like the European prototype, in the center of the region of his countrymen, namely, in Liwya. This, however, was not his home. A small frame house was built for him and a goodly store of provisions left behind so that he could get along for about seven months. His nearest neighbors, however, would not tolerate him there, for, according to them, he was an intruder. They avenged the violation of their land rights in that "Okokko's house, and goats, and property, had been destroyed by fire" /cited in English/. In this case, envy doubtless intensified the mania for destruction (p. 297 /untranslated/).

423 635 Despite due recognition of the land rights belonging to each dialect group, certain circumstances have nevertheless created legally valid exceptions to the exclusion of one group by another. The basic idea holds for an emergency situation when all doors must be open to every member of the tribe from every direction. This applies first of all to the procurement of raw materials for objects which no one can do without. Uniform, thick beech trunks which furnish suitable pieces of bark for the canoe flourish only in certain places, and there are only a few spots where flint is to be found (p. 41). For anyone seeking these two indispensable kinds of objects the boundaries of the dialect groups, which are drawn on other occasions, do not exist.

Furthermore, anyone who suffers serious hardship in his own region and is threatened by hunger may, without formality, cross the boundary and supply himself in the neighboring territory. It would be inconceivable for our Yamana to deny anyone access to a place where he can save himself from death by starvation. He is permitted to remain there undisturbed until he can demonstrably find subsistence in his own homeland. The most common causes of temporary calamities are: persistent bad weather /966/ regions where canoe trips are difficult in any case, namely, near the outlying islands; no less frequently, the loss of one's canoe; less often, the death of a wife who leaves a man with several small

423 /966 cont./
635 children while his relatives live far away.

Finally, there is a completely different kind of occasion
225 when all boundaries are ignored, namely, when a whale is stranded.
423 A certain priority is conceded to those in whose home district this
425 mighty animal is deposited on the shore, for sometimes they have
635 worked hard before the rich booty is spread out before them (p. 224). Nevertheless, their priority consists chiefly of the privilege to determine the so-called distributors of the fat and meat. It is not left to the discretion of the individual to go up to the animal and cut out a piece here or there for himself. Rather, it is the task of a few men to cut up the big animal properly and to give something to each one present if he wishes it (p. 310). This is the only way to prevent useless waste.

Anyone within the widest radius who learns of the stranding of a whale may head toward the spot unmolested and remain until all the suitable parts are consumed or distributed. The people native to the region arrive ahead of the visitors from a distance; nothing prevents them from taking the prized whalebone and from having the tastiest pieces cut out for themselves. Hence the people within the bounded area where the mighty animal was washed ashore do enjoy certain advantages. It is easy to see why other tribal members are also allowed to share this rich gift of Mother Nature, according to common law. A small number of people would be unable to consume the considerable amount of fat and meat quickly enough in the short time before it spoils. Therefore, nothing would be more natural than to apply, without restraint, the common principle of sharing with others, especially when there is abundance to be had without effort. Alerted by dense flocks of sea birds, the Indians come pouring in to the stranded whale, even from some distance, and they all enjoy the excellent taste of the blubber. No one would dare rebuff a visiting stranger nor hinder him; if one were to do so, he would be loudly decried as a selfish human being.

423 As for material goods that are common property, our Yamana have only the two Great Huts built for the čiéxaus and the kina, the men's ceremony. Both serve in the fulfillment of a task for which the group as such is obligated, and the adult participants busy themselves at it quite as a matter of course. From the start

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423 it is their intention to work for the benefit of these events; hence they forgo a property right which otherwise would accrue from their personal work. Later, after the end of the ceremonies when the Great Hut is abandoned by the group, the latter automatically relinquishes its right of disposal. Anyone who then establishes himself in it /967/ or who wants to use a few sticks from it is not prevented from doing so, since he is appropriating something that has been acknowledged as ownerless.

423 635 Although the Yamana emphasize their fight to sole possession of their native area and strictly guard the respective boundaries of their dialect groups, they are just as lenient when distress or expedience make it advisable to waive special rights. They put the life and livelihood of each of their fellow-tribesmen far above these rights.

2. Private Property

421 Like their neighbors, the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 413) and the Halakwulup, our Yamana also make a sharp and clear distinction between common possessions and personal property. The former belongs to a larger group or to the whole tribe; private property belongs to only one person as his individual possession, or, as family property, to members of the same family, in the limited sense of the word, who comprise an economic unit. In everyday speech this distinction between individual possessions and family possessions is clearly expressed (381). For example, the man speaks

381. The data of other observers are not always clear and comprehensive. Thus Hyades (d):309 in one case writes: "Property is individual; there is no chief, social hierarchy, or slaves" /translated from French/. In another place (p):335 he admits that there is common property, besides personal property: "Property is individual and hereditary without a will, but this applies only to personal effects: canoe, hunting or fishing implements, skins of animals, each person having only what is necessary of these objects" /translated from French/.

/969 cont./

422 this method of procedure by our Yamana on two occasions. Once he bartered tobacco with a man for a dog, but since the dog belonged to the man's wife, she forced Fitz-Roy to give the animal back to her. Snow (b):264 also confirms from his own experience: "I believe they have a sort of property right amongst them, and I have seen one of the oldest women exercising authority over the rest of her people. Wishing to buy a canoe, it was refused me on the ground that it belonged to her, and she would not part with it" /cited in English/.

Every Yamana is completely free to take good care of his property or to neglect it completely. No one even prevents him from wantonly destroying his things. If he lacks something he must personally look around for a replacement. Objects that are [425] found may not be appropriated by the finder, and if he nevertheless keeps them, he risks being labeled a thief. Whatever a person has owned in life /970/ remains his after his death. That is [768] why the belongings of a deceased person are burned and destroyed, inasmuch as no one could legally take them as his property. One does not even encroach upon a dead owner's right to his personal [428] property. The Yamana are unacquainted with the actual inheritance of anything whatever.

β. Family Property

Since every person owns his individual property, he also 422 brings it with him into his marriage, without, however, giving up 593 his exclusive right to it. He uses each article freely and without hindrance and replaces for himself anything and everything that has become unserviceable or is lost. As we have just said, one of the partners in marriage would not dare, at his own discretion, to dispose of an object belonging to the other partner.

423 When a marriage takes place, a new configuration of life is 593 always begun, for the family forms a very compact economic unit. The word "family" is used here in its narrower sense, namely, as the social unit of father, mother, and unmarried children. The new configuration of life also demands its own right to certain implements common to the union as such. The solidarity of family

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423 593 members is visibly symbolized by the hut in which they all find shelter. The man and woman are simultaneously active in its construction, although he is obliged to do the heavier work and she the much easier light work. The children work, too, no matter how slight their participation is. In like manner, both spouses equally keep the hut in repair after it has been built. It is primarily the woman's duty to perform minor repairs. The skins needed to cover the hut framework are furnished by the man from hunting, while the woman dresses the skins. She stores and transports these pieces of leather in her canoe. No other articles are required as common property for the construction of the hut. Naturally, everyone, without discrimination, enjoys the benefit of the fire, since all the members of the family, in one way or another, see that it does not go out.

423 592 If, in an exceptional case, two or three families should erect a common dwelling (p. 32), they readily agree on the division of space, within which each one does as he pleases. If one family wanders off sooner than another, they take down their pieces of leather from the framework and load their own things into their canoe. The family that stays behind then closes off the space that they still want to occupy.

423 594 Only the husband or the wife has the right to permit this guest or that visitor to enter their hut. It is generally regarded as an encroachment to enter a hut without permission, although this is usually tacitly assumed. Once the family has given up their campsite /971/ and departed with their implements, the hut framework left behind is regarded as ownerless. Whoever first takes possession of it lawfully owns it and may settle in it undisturbed.

422 593 In a certain sense the various foods are also doubtless regarded as common property of the family, the idea being that the husband and the wife are obliged to seek food for themselves and the members of their family. The Fuegians' convictions concerning this obligation comes out most clearly when an indolent, lazy [626] man neglects his hunting and lets his family starve. The whole neighborhood expresses its displeasure, and the society even grants the wife the right to leave such a neglectful husband. The man collects meat for the whole family, and the woman gathers smaller animals for all her loved ones, indiscriminately, for

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423 into five zones with boundaries (p. 199 /untranslated/) which also apply to the right of free food-seeking. Within one's home territory he has free access to everything that nature supplies, but if he goes into neighboring territory and there takes possession of something for his own use, he must be able to justify it. Obvious scarcity of the necessities of life in his more limited home territory or the stranding of a whale affords such justification. A friendly visit is also sufficient reason, for sometimes someone marries into another dialect group from which his nearest kin occasionally visit him. The stranger would not be able to stay too long in the neighboring territory without /976/ arousing displeasure among the local residents and even evoking grave hostility (388). Hence, there, too,

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everyone makes himself the owner of whatever he directly confiscates as ownerless property. The members of each dialect group, however, regard themselves as having priority over all natural stores and animals in their local area.

425 When the rightful owner of an object hands it over to another person, he relinquishes his right of ownership and it passes to the other person. The free decision of the owner himself is required in
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[768] kinship with him. Actually, when a person dies, everything he has owned is purposely destroyed by fire because no one has a right to it as such. Anyone who has received something from another person or is keeping it for him soon returns it (389), simply because the

389. Snow (a):I, 345 confirms this from his own observations: "Several times I peocured

628 clubs, flats, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but
[921] grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did not exist, and the *Yahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups appear to have been normally irenic, but violence and bloodshed were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually intervened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder
[68] was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast. Bridges found 22 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1884—an annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that
[934] of the United States. Mercy killings occurred for the purpose of putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human
[968] sacrifice was unknown; so too was premeditated suicide.

266 The evidence that the *Yahgan* practiced no form of cannibalism—gastronomic, famine, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of devouring human flesh.

ECONOMIC LIFE

423 **Ownership.**—The *Yahgan* resented and avenged exploitative tres-
619 pass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part thereof by non-*Yahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gusinde, 1937, pp. 964–965) or, according to Koppers (1928 b, p. 176), of any one of the numerous local groups, by nonmembers. Since these local groups seemingly were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Yahgan* land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting-ground system. There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast on a stranded whale, and to gather firestones and suitable canoe bark, which were found only in certain parts of the *Yahgan* territory.
422 Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adornments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things. The ownership of certain other things—food, hut, canoe—appears to have been vested in the biological family.

[916] Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

437 Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor, donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-

423 /966 cont./
635 children while his relatives live far away.

Finally, there is a completely different kind of occasion
225 when all boundaries are ignored, namely, when a whale is stranded.
423 A certain priority is conceded to those in whose home district this
•425 mighty animal is deposited on the shore, for sometimes they have worked hard before the rich booty is spread out before them (p.
635 224). Nevertheless, their priority consists chiefly of the privilege to determine the so-called distributors of the fat and meat. It is not left to the discretion of the individual to go up to the animal and cut out a piece here or there for himself. Rather, it is the task of a few men to cut up the big animal properly and to give something to each one present if he wishes it (p. 310). This is the only way to prevent useless waste.

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2. Taking Possession

425 The most common and the simplest way of making oneself the owner of an object is to take it and confiscate it. The assumption is that, as ownerless property, it really does not belong to anyone. This includes, first of all, the things that are indispensable for life, such as food, wood for the fire, and sticks for building the hut, as well as such things as bones and whalebone for tools, pieces of bark for the canoe, and rushes for basket-weaving, and finally snail shells and tendons for ornaments, mineral pigments for body painting, and pieces of leather for various uses. Obviously all these things come from the kingdom of nature over which Wataxinéjwa actually has the primary right of disposal. The Yamana have a more or less distinctly pronounced conviction that everything around them has been granted by Wataxinéjwa so that they may have the usufruct of it. They make use of this general dispensation, for in no other way would they come into possession of the things they need. They do not each time expressly remember this lawful condition, but now and then the commandment not to kill more animals than are directly required for the household flairs up in their memory.

Merely by his conduct a person shows that he intends to make himself the owner of an animal or a thing. Anyone who goes into the forest and gathers firewood, anyone gathering mussels and snails along the beach, anyone who kills a larger animal with his weapons or acquires something in a similar manner thereafter regards himself as sole owner of what he has acquired. At the same time his right is recognized by other people. If, after a certain [673] object has found its master, anyone should disturb the latter in his right of ownership, that person is unequivocally regarded as a thief. Thus it is sufficient for anyone simply to lay his hands on ownerless goods, for in this way he identifies himself as their owner. He remains such as long as he keeps these goods or until he has consumed them. Even married persons take this into account in their behavior 425 543 toward each other, as /975/ Bridges (I):21 has already assured us: "What the wife caught or obtained was her own, the husband only used of it what his wife gave him, and she did not ask his permission

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425 [543]

when she would make presents to her friends" /cited in English/ (387).

387. Hyades (q):243 writes in a similar vein: "Each properly possesses what he has produced by his labor, what he has harvested in fishing or hunting, what he has found washed up on the beach; even small children themselves have full ownership of what has been given them" /translated from French/.

Sometimes the new owner does not immediately use what has hitherto been ownerless property. In a given case he will make known his right to it by special signs, if it is not obvious from the surrounding circumstances. For example, if someone comes across large pieces of a recently killed sea lion stored in tree branches, he immediately concludes that the successful hunter did not want to or was unable to take along the whole booty and left part of it behind which he will pick up soon. It is not permissible for another person to take possession of those pieces of meat. We know that the Yamana collect branches and trunks for firewood, place them upright against each other in the woods, and let them dry out for a few days. A person passing this bundle of wood immediately recognizes the work performed by another and does not take any of it. If someone finds a sling fastened in the grass (Fig. 59) in which possibly a few wild geese are caught, it would never occur to him to appropriate either of them, and he leaves undisturbed the claim of the one who laid the snare. The surrounding circumstances alone, therefore, make it clear whether goods are ownerless or whether someone has already made himself master of them. The Yamana do not use special property marks since these are for the most part superfluous or would be difficult to apply.

In general the Yamana derive the legal title for the assumption of ownership from the work and effort involved. The ensuing right of possession is recompense for the previous work. Therefore, anyone who of his own accord and with his own labor has accomplished this work enjoys possession of the goods earned. Naturally, in each case only the amount affected by individual effort passes from the ownerless state into that of personal possession.

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425

wild fowl for them, and in so doing I always intimated that it was for the women and children; when, no matter to which of the men I gave the bird, it was invariably taken to those for whom it was intended" /cited in English/.

other person is the owner and is expecting it.

3. Procurement and Production

Often one must equate taking possession of goods as just described and so-called procurement, for in this form it is a matter of acquisition by bringing in something. It is not a matter of barter or gifts, but of seizure of ownerless goods which someone drags to his hut or his canoe. A particular effort is connected with their procurement, for example, in the case of the person who peels off pieces of bark from a beech trunk and trims them for canoe construction, or of the person who on a distant beach picks out the rib bones of whales, which he needs for his harpoon points, and finally of a person who undertakes a distant journey in order to dig out from a rock wall a piece of pyrite for striking fire. As we have pointed out, such procurement usually involves strenuous treks and long canoe trips.

Detailed argument is not needed to prove that all raw materials when purposefully worked become the property of the one who has produced the article. The primary and exclusive purpose of the worker is to produce an implement for his own use that will make his work easier or insure greater success. This /977/ has produced and still produces the manifold articles and the various weapons found in the possession of the Yamana. Whatever an individual has produced in this way for his personal needs belongs to him quite exclusively. From the start, in the fashioning of the raw materials, he proceeds according to his own wishes and the demands of his habits. Anyone who can more easily and surely handle a thick harpoon shaft or a longer sling or a markedly curved bow-staff will naturally fashion this characteristic form out of the raw material when he is making a new piece. A woman who likes to see herself in a

/877 cont./

425 particular type of necklace or other ornament will copy it again and again. A child time after time procures for himself the outstanding toy that is his favorite. Everyone puts his particular wishes into the fashioning of an object and it thereby becomes his property.

Many statements could be quoted which come from every Fuegian's conviction that by the mere production of an article he makes himself sole owner of it and that special confirmation of his right of disposal is not necessary. Other people keep their hands off it; otherwise the owner would defend his property by merely pointing out that he made it. Any object that has been fashioned has its particular owner, either the husband or the wife or the child belonging to the same family. No one would take liberties with the articles of another without making himself guilty of theft. These personal belongings should be kept distinct from those few things which, in the service of all the members of the family, are available to everyone equally as "family goods."

Obviously the lawful title to every article made arises from the work involved. The individual purchases with his own physical strength and skill the object that he makes out of the raw material. Everyone says: "I made this object, therefore it is mine!" Anyone who wishes to have an object that he sees in the hands of another and admires acquires it for himself most easily by making it. The above rules of common law are so very much taken for granted by the Yamana that in everyday life they are hardly ever mentioned by anyone, although old and young invariably conform to them in all their actions.

4. Barter, Loans, Gifts

421 The different treatment of possessions and the use to which they are put derive from the right of ownership. For example, the owner can let his things go to ruin or purposely destroy them. No one will stop him, although his behavior may be characterized as unwise and senseless. The Fuegian does not possess an abundance of goods, and everyone must /878/ sooner or later obtain or make for himself, sometimes with great toil, whatever is indispensable to him and what he has destroyed without reason.

/879 cont./

437 others shellfish, and oftentimes there is such a flow that we must
439 stop and refuse....Many come with baskets, spears, shafts, fish-lines, egg, shells, and curios of every imaginable kind, -- stones, seals' teeth, birds' claws, feather headbands, clays, fungi, seeds, etc. -- wanting every description of goods in return" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 217; 1875).

437 One is justified in assuming that the Yamana greatly enjoy exchanging their articles and, indeed, for the sheer pleasure of having something in return as soon as possible. Bridges (ibid.) is also of the opinion that "the natives are always buying and selling, exchanging canoes and everything" /cited in English/. He also adds: "Their manner of doing so is very unsatisfactory" /cited in English/. True, to a certain extent everyone concerned with barter evaluates the articles to be exchanged, but they lack unequivocal measures of value, such as money, and hasty arbitrariness is unavoidable (392). This serious unpleasantness sometimes results from

> 392. On April 21, 1875, Bridges mentioned an incident "that occurred a few days ago. Palahlian, a man about thirty-eight, has three wives and three little children, and had a good canoe. Another man, a visitor here, not living with Palahlian, intends to give his canoe to Palahlian. Palahlian does not wish it, and hears of it indirectly, and is troubled what to give in return. He told me all about it. Palahlian at length is told that such and such a canoe is his, not, however, by the giver. Palahlian then seeks him, and gives him a large axe, well handled. Thus there is no mutual agreement previously made, and most of their transactions are performed in this loose manner" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 216;1875).

an exchange.

• 426 Our Yamana practice lending less frequently, but sometimes they find themselves forced to resort to it because of need and unforeseen requirements. Almost always only articles that someone

/979 cont./

#26 urgently needs will be borrowed wherever they are to be found, no matter whether it is a canoe or an insignificant ornament for a dance. The original owner puts his property at the disposal of the person who asks him for it for only a certain time. The borrower must, therefore, return the borrowed article to its owner at the end of the period agreed upon. If, in an exceptional case, the owner /980/ cannot be asked for the desired object, the borrower trusts that he will consent; in other words, he tacitly assumes that he will agree and afterwards explains what he has done.

Nowadays the Yamana obtain some European goods which, to a great extent, they leave behind in their little houses in Puerto Mejillones while they are on trips that last several months. I repeatedly saw one or another of them temporarily use an article from a neighboring house and later put it back. When I questioned him, his answer usually was: "The owner agrees to lend it, but I must return what I have borrowed!" It is not customary among the Yamana to admonish a person to return something he has borrowed; the owner waits patiently until the person remembers his duty. If anyone who has borrowed something should lose or damage it, he himself provides for an adequate substitute. The Yamana also did not fail to return the things they borrowed from the missionaries (393).

393. Bridges (MM:IX, 217;1875) says briefly: "Many come begging; many to borrow this thing and that thing, then afterwards to return the article borrowed" /cited in English/.

Their language has terms for borrowing and lending, as well as for the return of what was lent. BD:346 gives mā́na, "to lend," manī́ku, "to borrow" /cited in English/. Making a fine distinction, BD:96 also mentions ūmētakā́nata, "to take without asking, to take during the absence of the owner" /cited in English/. Other expressions also show that lawful conditions for lending are clear and familiar to our Fuegians (394).

394. Here is an example of how punctilious they are about returning things that have been lent to them. Stirling gave an iron axe to a certain Tweenoi, with which he was to cut firewood for

/980 cont./

426 the mission ship. "When I lent him the axe, people on board the 'Allen Gardiner' thought and said, 'You will not see that axe again. As for the wood he promises to cut and carry, and get ready by the time the ship comes again, you may whistle for it'; but I made the experiment, and it answered well. The wood was ready, the axe was returned on our next visit some months after" /cited in English/ (MM:VI, 93;1872).

431 577 Great generosity and unselfishness are conspicuous basic features in the character of the Yamana. The duty toward mutual assistance demands that everyone distribute his booty among others without reservation. Beyond that, some people take particular pleasure in lavishly remembering neighbors with the yields from hunting and gathering (395). We shall not speak here of this habit.

395. Hyades (q):243 gained the impression "that the natives especially enjoy ownership in order to have the right to distribute what they have and for the pleasure of being generous" /translated from French/.

431 Understandably, the giving of presents takes on considerable proportions. The articles involved are primarily foodstuffs which everyone can easily and quickly obtain, ornaments, and, finally, articles for daily use. It is taken for granted, so to speak, that women who occupy the same camp for a few days surprise each other now and then with gifts of meat and fruit. A visitor from [574] far or near always brings something along /981/ which he offers the others, chiefly fresh meat or a beautiful skin. This makes it necessary for the recipient to show his appreciation as soon as possible. This is usually done by giving someone who is departing something special, above all tools and handwork. The man offers finished weapons or parts of weapons and raw materials, the woman primarily ornaments and small baskets. The gift is given and received without any formality, without a word, without meaningful gestures expressing one's feelings,

/969 cont./

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When a marriage takes place, a new configuration of life is 423 always begun, for the family forms a very compact economic unit. 593 The word "family" is used here in its narrower sense, namely, as the social unit of father, mother, and unmarried children. The new configuration of life also demands its own right to certain implements common to the union as such. The solidarity of family

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425 423 We know that the large territory of the Yamana is divided into five zones with boundaries (p. 199 /untranslated/) which also apply to the right of free food-seeking. Within one's home territory he has free access to everything that nature supplies, but if he goes into neighboring territory and there takes possession of something for his own use, he must be able to justify it. Obvious scarcity of the necessities of life in his more limited home territory or the stranding of a whale affords such justification. A friendly visit is also sufficient reason, for sometimes someone marries into another dialect group from which his nearest kin occasionally visit him. The stranger would not be able to stay too long in the neighboring territory without /976/ arousing displeasure among the local residents and even evoking grave hostility (388). Hence, there, too,

388. I believe that this is the meaning of the following words of Bridges in Hyades (j):180: "The natives dare not go to places where they do not have friends or where they are not known, for they would probably be killed" /translated from French/.

everyone makes himself the owner of whatever he directly confiscates as ownerless property. The members of each dialect group, however, regard themselves as having priority over all natural stores and animals in their local area.

425 When the rightful owner of an object hands it over to another person, he relinquishes his right of ownership and it passes to the other person. The free decision of the owner himself is required in [428] such cases. The Yamana are unacquainted with an actual hereditary right in the sense that certain descendants can legally take over the possessions of an owner after his death, simply because of their [168] kinship with him. Actually, when a person dies, everything he has owned is purposely destroyed by fire because no one has a right to it as such. Anyone who has received something from another person is keeping it for him soon returns it (389), simply because the

389. Snow (a):1, 345 confirms this from his own observations: "Several times I procured

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

437 rency of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
[434] on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
[304] with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
[436] gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

768 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
428 ceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Such burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the surviviors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

574 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality wasextended as a matter of course.

46 Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The men's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries.
[462] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[462] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to man and woman jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.

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225 a fire was soon made on the spot, some strips of blubber frizzled thereon, and eaten with a gusto. Canoes from all directions soon made their appearance, and a sorry time of it had our poor fellows, for whilst a bit of whale remained to be obtained by coaxing, importunity, or bullying, not a woman would stur /sic/ to get a mussel. The little wood adjacent became the midnight resort of wandering spirits, who turned up [in] all suspicious-looking places in the little stream, often alighting upon some cautiously concealed blubber, much to the loss and sorrow of the owners who had deposited it there for safety, and preservation from corruption" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34;1872). This shows the bustling general activity of the people gathered round the sea monster, for it furnishes the raw material for many useful things.

Until the most recent times a stranded whale was a great attraction for all the natives. On July 19, 1902, Williams (MM: XXVI, 277) wrote: "A little time ago a whale was found on the beach in Cunna-voosh, and as soon as the news reached Tekenika about thirty left for /580/ a feast. Most of them returned in seven or eight days" /cited in English/. Since then it has not become known that a dead or sick whale was stranded in the area inhabited by the Yamana. This has been a real loss which they bitterly lament.

225 Quite different from all this is the procedure of a man who
●431 occasionally dissects and distributes a large seal. Anyone who has been favored with success in the hunt takes the booty intact to his
577 hut. Here he immediately skins it (p. 68). If it is a particularly large animal, perhaps a bear seal, tēpēʔa (Arctocephalus australis), or an elephant seal, hálaxuwa (Macrorhinus leoninus), he usually summons two other men and says: "Here is the seal, divide it among us all!" With these words he hands over, as it were, to the community of all the families who happen to be there the fresh carcass of the animal and relinquishes his personal right of disposal. These men cut up the booty into several large pieces, according to the number of huts, and send them off. The hunter is scarcely favored, but nevertheless he shows himself satisfied with what he gets, just like any of the others. Social considerations for the group as a whole have created this habit which we shall discuss later in this book.

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Although it involves only a moral obligation, no one can actually avoid it in the long run. It also applies to less important things. For example, in the case of a small sea lion, either īma (Otaria jubata) or lēfkeīma (Otaria falklandica), the successful hunter drags it in front of his own hut and cuts it up himself into several pieces. Now it is the duty of the woman to share it with other families. She counts the women who live next to her and brings each one a good piece of meat, even if she should have no more left over for her own family than what she gave each of the others. Sometimes she goes empty-handed when there are many who expect a gift from her. To give away inferior parts or to keep conspicuous amounts for herself would arouse a harsh suspicion of selfishness. It seems that in former times every hunter would bring a guanaco whole back to his hut and only then dissect it. His wife took over the task of distributing the individual pieces (352).

352. Only Aspinall:270 reports: "Anyone fortunate enough to kill a guanaco must give certain parts to relatives and friends, and this is always done very willingly." It would be more accurate to say that the neighbors, whoever they happen to be, are, without discrimination, presented with a decent piece of meat.

This duty to let others share in one's own success also applies to the things that the women and girls have gathered. If they bring home fungi and berries, mussels and snails, crabs and fish in their little baskets, they immediately make gifts to all the women. A person who gets sea birds or birds' eggs divides them equally. Thus, no one keeps for himself everything he has hunted or gathered, and everyone strives to fulfill this universally applicable duty. The pieces to be distributed are given to the neighboring families according to certain rules which we shall discuss later.

/592 cont./

264 by no means only a few tidbits; it is almost always a considerable amount, so that the total during a single day is astonishingly large. Every observer will agree with the words of Spegazzini (a):171: "These people have no set time for eating; they eat all day, they eat whenever and whatever they please, and according to what I saw, they eat a great deal" /translated from Spanish/. As we have said, at any one time they take liquid blubber, kun, in only small quantities, but all the more frequently; /593/ a man or woman will sometimes empty a blubber sausage ten centimeters [431] long in one draught (378). Visitors like to bring it along as a present.

[262] 378. Hyades (f):564 mentions: "They are likewise fond of the oil of the liver of morne, but always small quantities at a time" /translated from French/.

With the exception of mornings and evenings, everyone begins to eat whenever he feels like it. This is the general custom. One is more likely to be stimulated if he sees someone else chewing and he will join him. There is never much preparation involved. A person will reach into a basket of mussels or will tear off a piece of meat from a sea lion or a bird hanging on a beech tree in front of the hut and place it on the fire. Everyone helps himself, and whatever supplies are in the hut are at everyone's disposal (379).

379. The words of Hyades (p):328 that "women and children eat with the men" /translated from French/ do not mean anything.

Everyone acts as though it were completely taken for granted and not a disturbance to his neighbor if he moves near the fire at night and satisfies his appetite undisturbed. The only rule generally [575] observed is that in the morning before the first bite is taken one rinses out his mouth with cold water and spits it out again. Most people are more particular about this than about daily morning ablutions. While the individual pieces are roasting in the fire, everyone watches them attentively, turns them often and meanwhile increases his appetite. He tests them with his fingers or

/641 cont./

584 on the alert. It is also simply inconceivable that a girl should be forced into a marital union with a boy who does not like her. She would be adequately protected against coercion by his relatives. Every adult knows very well that a woman who no longer cares for her husband -- she previously joined herself to him in the free choice of love -- leaves him and will not be chained to him by any means. It is true that sometimes female relatives direct the attention of the girl to a particular chap who, in their opinion, would be suitable for her, but they do not dare press her.

583 584 431 What incorrectly informed Europeans call "payments" are actually voluntary gifts which the bridegroom or son-in-law gives the father of his chosen one from a sense of courtesy and gratitude, joy and satisfaction. This custom belongs in the category of obligations of the son-in-law toward his father-in-law. It is natural that the former makes an effort to learn indirectly the special wishes of the latter and to consider them as far as possible. To speak of a definite price range and standard of value of these free gifts is altogether false. Prominent, wealthy, or mighty families who are able to make certain demands for the marriage of their child do not exist among the Yamana, nor is personal competence or the individual qualities of a marriageable young man weighed against material values. If a chap makes extraordinary efforts to win the girl and finally succeeds because she yields, it is quite in order for him to make lavish gifts to her parents.

As long as this custom exists, it is taken for granted that the father of the girl expects something from his future son-in-law (17).

17. To this extent Stirling's assertion of March, 1864, is justified: "The father of the future bride expects ramom-money. On this occasion, an axe, a blanket, a knife, some fishhooks, bradi, etc., form part of the price. Sometimes the future son-in-law serves for a period, I believe, the father of the betrothed, or presents a canoe, etc." /cited in English/ (VSA: XI, 239;1864). A commercial pact, such as Spegazzini (a):165 describes, is never made.

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583 584 431 This, according to Outes (g):54, includes either knives, harpoon points, and finished weapons, or skins and flint, sometimes even a new canoe. Neither the son-in-law nor the father-in-law regards such things as an actual purchase price for the delivery of the marriageable girl, for there is never any mention of this when the chap makes inquiries of the father of his beloved.

I was emphatically assured that sometimes special gifts were not given the parents of the girl, either during the courtship /642/ or at the marriage, and some men do not bring more than a large sea lion. After Alejandro finally won the long-wooed Elisa (p. 390), he did not give her parents the least little thing. Her mother, Adelheid, somewhat disappointed over this behavior of her present son-in-law, told me: "Alejandro is a fop; he acts as though he were a European and does not know what used to be customary among us Yamana." In the end, how could insignificant trifles compare with the fact that a girl is willing to give herself to a husband (18)!

> 18. The following assertion in Outes (g):55 definitely shows the impossibility of the conditions which he describes: "If the gift is not enough, the father returns in a few months and takes back the woman, selling her to someone else. If the husband is displeased with his wife, he can send her back to her father, who must return the purchase price" /translated from Spanish/. We come across similar discrepancies among other Europeans who never became properly acquainted with procedures in Tierra del Fuego.

It is equally incorrect to speak of "dowry" in connection with those insignificant possessions that the young woman takes when she goes to her husband. Certain things, such as clothing and ornaments, simply belong inseparably to her, whether she is married or not, and this private property is not in the least augmented when she leaves the parental hut and goes to her chosen bridegroom. Bove (e):158 writes: "A canoe and a harpoon are

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583 the bride's dowry." This interpretation is meaningless. The
584 canoe, without which a young married couple cannot exist, is
431 usually built by the husband himself, or by his own father or neighbors with the young man's help. Possibly the father of the bride also took part in its construction. The harpoon is part of the equipment of a man and is neither used by a woman nor given by her to a man.

583 In some of the literature, mention is made of abduction, but specific examples or cases that have been observed are not cited. Despard (b):698 maintained: "Sometimes wives are stolen, sometimes they run away. When recovered, after either case, they are beaten, the supposition being, it seems, that in the former case they themselves encouraged the theft" /cited in English/. The qualification mentioned is significant and is immediately put to account. Hyades (p):334 states briefly that "one sometimes observes a marriage by capture" /translated from French/ (19). The way of life and the position of a marriageable

19. It is not likely that the Mission Scientifique observed the procedure of an abduction. The same Hyades (b):1346 expresses himself in another place more vaguely, "sometimes there is marriage by capture" /translated from French/.

girl within her family absolutely contradicts all false assertions, for it is simply impossible to abduct a woman. It is true that
837 sometimes a married woman who wishes secretly to leave her husband accepts the help of a man whom she knows well in order to escape. If, however, she chooses this expedient, namely, flight under the protection of a man, it is her own decision. Moreover, it can happen that a married woman yields to persuasion and /643/ follows her seducer for a few days, after which she returns to her rightful husband. Neither case has anything to do with abduction. BD:227 gives kwiságuntíkll, "to take by force another man's wife and marry her as a wife" /cited in English/; also BD:303, manáguíll, "to escape as a wife from her husband by stealth" /cited in English/. The proper meaning here,

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836 parents who themselves often transgress against sexual morality
867 are careful to give irreproachable guidance to their children.

Despite all vigilance, a certain amount of improper con-
936 duct among young people cannot be avoided, and some girls lose their physical intactness (94). The Yamana do not know the

> 94. On this subject Hyades (q):188 expresses himself thus: "In fact, the young girls of ten to 12 years whom we examined had already lost it. But this does not imply a precocious pervention on their part nor a great ardor for sexual relations" /translated from French/.

meaning of this in the European sense, and only with this restriction may we interpret Hyades' (b):1346 and (q):188 words: "There is no value placed /687/ on a young girl's virginity" /translated from French/ (95). A reserved, virtuous girl enjoys

> 95. Hahn (a):805 uses the same words and unjustifiably concludes from this: "Modesty is completely unknown among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. The secret mistakes of a few children, despite the serious warnings and great vigilance of all adults, are no proof that modesty is lacking among all the people.

a good reputation; adults keep a particularly sharp eye on an impertinent young chap. Finally, a thoughtful boy will not
[581] readily offer his hand in marriage to a girl whose behavior is conspicuously bold; he lacks confidence in her fidelity later.

A few effective protective measures for special occasions
434 have been set up, apparently in order that neither of the two
834 sexes, despite their duty to render reciprocal aid, will run the risk of violating conjugal fidelity. These measures have to do with the exchange of gifts between a man and woman who are

/587 cont./

531 534 fond of each other and wish to strengthen their affection through such attentions. It is well known that a successful hunter will have his wife give neighboring families large pieces of his booty. She gives the pieces of meat directly to the other women who use it for their respective families.

A man resorts to the same indirect procedure if he wants to avoid any kind of suspicion and yet please some married woman who is devoted to him by giving her a gift. If he knows that she likes to eat some special kinds of fungi, he gladly takes the trouble on his wanderings to gather a few in a leather bag. He goes to the hut of his friend and empties the bag in front of her husband, letting him know by a look or sign: "These fungi are meant chiefly for your wife!" She, too, knows what her taciturn friend particularly likes, and she lets him know her feelings by means of a suitable gift. For example, in order to avoid malicious gossip, she makes blood sausage or blubber sausage, if he is fond of it, and brings it to the wife of her friend with the remark: "I give this sausage to your husband!" He, too, hears her brief words -- as intended -- which tell him everything that her feelings and sentiments have put into the remark. In order to be still less conspicuous, a man will send a small present to his friend through his own wife, and a woman will send hers through her husband. The recipient knows full well what it means. In this way the two friends publicly announce that their relations are harmless, and usually this is the case. A person having an intimate relationship does not wish to call attention to himself and the favored individual, even by means of such admirable demonstrations of love. He will wisely avoid doing so.

This "roundabout giving," as I should like to call it, is by no means regarded as especially strict and exclusive. In case a man meets a single woman somewhere, he may give her a sizable piece of his booty right on the spot, all the more if her dwelling /588/ is far distant from his. The measure just described shows every outsider that our Tarasco consider it necessary to fortify conjugal fidelity with external props, so that transgressions do not increase still more.

593 In most marriages of our Pueblans, the two partners have had and still have a pleasant, happy, and, after some years, balanced

/587 cont./

children should be particularly zealous about getting up early in the morning. To die young is generally regarded as a punishment for laziness or for some other misdeed that a person has been guilty of. Thus, one who wants to attain a great age carefully obeys everything that has been lawfully valid among the Yamana from time immemorial.

If the references to personal honor and to the worst of all punishments have the effect of actual threats, the following rules of conduct emphasize the strictness of duty for subjective reasons. Foremost is the reference to indiscriminate helpfulness. Everyone must, so to speak, render voluntary service to all others and must seize the first opportunity for performing services and favors of all kinds. This altruistic duty is not adequately fulfilled by gifts and presents, actions and work are also demanded. The candidates are definitely told that they should keep their eyes open and be on the lookout for every opportunity to be of service to others. These opportunities /588/ occur every day. They should seize them without being asked, that is to say, out of inner willingness. A person who needs something almost never asks for it.

To this category also belong the suppression of one's own desires in favor of others, the relinquishing of personal advantage, and the sacrifice of one's own comfort. The individual should be ready to perform voluntary services first of all out of consideration for himself, for in this way he makes others indebted to him, and they, out of a sense of justice, will repay him in like manner and will help him. Here the principle of self-love shines through again! It is extremely pleasant that every friendly service for others is supposed to be performed quite inconspicuously and quietly, as though taken for granted or as though this properly belonged to the daily round of duty. In my long association with the Yamana I had almost daily demonstrations of this.

The inner value of this attitude, which, in itself, is praiseworthy, is considerably increased by complete unselfishness. To give gifts to others without expecting anything for oneself, to invite others to a meal, to give others of one's booty, all this is part of the true Yamana. Anything that anyone needs and would like to borrow should be given to him without fuss. No one expects a reward for work he has performed for kinsfolk and neighbors.

/949 cont./

Y86 into the adult circle. The čičxam hut is thoroughly cleaned and decorated; the color on the ornamental plaques and sticks, as well as on the long leather strap, ūkeša, is touched up; everyone present arranges his own ornaments and paints himself carefully. In the rear of the Great Hut a curtain of sea-lion skins is hung, just as on the occasion of visits (p. 821), and the candidates immediately seat themselves behind it. Soon afterwards, notified by the winefkēwa, there is a gathering here of the people who had remained behind in the camp almost entirely throughout the čičxam celebration. They, too, appear with extraordinarily beautiful facial painting and are equipped with the hapaxēl and dance staff.

A particularly solemn moment is at hand. All the adults very gravely squat in their places, and the uninterrupted singing by some one person sounds noticeably moved. At the direction of the leader a middle-aged man goes behind the curtain and bids the ušwāla to follow him. They arrange themselves in single file, [535] headed by the man. With short, mincing steps, holding their dance staffs horizontally /950/ and lifting them up and down in a circular motion, they dance back and forth through the long hut several times. Meanwhile all the adults take part in the singing. Finally the row of youthful dancers stops in the middle of the room. Their leader now accompanies one ušwāla after another to his respective sponsor. The sponsor, without getting up, takes his hōtakuxēlan by the hand, moves slightly to one side, and invites him to sit down beside him. This act is regarded as a formal presentation of the ward to his sponsor and as an adoption of the young people into the adult group. The ušwāla is herewith declared a full-fledged member of the tribe. On this occasion everyone present is gripped with [152] strong emotion. They cannot hold back tears of sentiment at the happiness of the sponsors and their adopted children. They quite rightly see in this solemn act the climax of the entire youth initiation, for in the latter, as we know, maturing young people are to become full-fledged tribal associates. At the same time this also [608] publicly and forever seals the spiritual kinship between the sponsors and their wards, hōtakuxēlan. Occasionally at this time, but usually not until the great feast, the ward receives from his sponsor [431] a special gift consisting of three items.

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X881 the ulwala, surrounded by their sponsors, also shuffle through the exit into the open. This is the informal but actual farewell to the čiŋxaya hut.

Outside they all sit down beside the big fire, and soon small talk begins, quietly and in short sentences at first because they are no longer accustomed to a running conversation, then animatedly and joyfully excited. Everyone eagerly helps himself and enjoys the freshly roasted meat, although many a person who is excessively weakened endangers himself by overeating. As time goes on, the people mix more and more enthusiastically, for one seeks out another and wants to tell or ask about all kinds of things.

/953/ At this great dinner the candidates are required to serve older persons without pause. They offer first one and then another a freshly roasted piece of meat or a handful of mussels. They pass along the irregular rows of the company and distribute on all sides whatever they have in their hands. The adults are pleased with the industriousness of the ulwala and exchange /Fig. 87 appears here/ opinions about the success and the prospects of one or another. All the inmates of the dwellings who have not spent the night in the čiŋxaya hut have, of course, also arrived beside the big fire. They are particularly affected by the sight of the emaciated and weak candidates: they discuss the many deprivations and the long fasting that the candidates have, after all, survived. The candidates cannot arouse themselves to fresh cheerfulness and unconstrained gaiety, for the trials which their weak bodies were obliged to endure for many long weeks were too difficult.

X881 608 431 The so-called sponsors are overjoyed, for during the long period of the čiŋxaya trial they have successfully led their hakuxolan to the goal. They talk a great deal with other adults about their protégé, and in detail with the parents. According to ancient custom, they give their protégé the tube-shaped bird bone tenbalim (tbelim), through which, day after day, he has sucked sparse amounts of drinking water from a mussel shell. He also receives a rather short carved stick, about 12 centimeters long and pointed at the end, with a shallow groove carved around the top. A tendon is wound around the groove and likewise around the upper end of the sucking tube, and both articles are joined with a string of tendon which is placed around the neck of the candidate (Fig. 87).

X881 608 431 515

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He is always supposed to have on hand, above all, the little stick of wood, tamiyaki, since he uses it to scratch the lice-bites on his head. It is said that young people should regularly use this little stick after their dismissal from the Tulgen hut; if they used their fingernails, the latter would become brittle. If the tamiyaki is lost or worn out, the young fellow or girl can make one, if the sponsor does not happen to offer a new one. There is no definite limit as to the length of time the young people must use the little scratching stick; sooner or later, however, they simply ignore it.

/954/ A third and final gift of less significance than the two just mentioned, which only the female sponsor presents to her hikakuyeglen, is a pretty, dainty little basket made of rushes and specially decorated along the upper edge with a wreath of feathers. It is filled with ripe berries of Paxentrya muscosata (Fig. 12 /in unmeasured portion/).

The ward receives these three items as memento. They are first of all supposed to remind him of the male and female sponsor, but even more, of the teachings and admonitions of the Tulgen celebration. With a certain pride the ward is shown each

Fig. 87. Small Sucking Tube and Small Scratching Stick. One-half natural size.

of his acquaintances this certification of his successful initiation. Thus he publicly shows that he now lawfully belongs to the group of adults.

For hours the people squat around the fire and enjoy the abundant meal. Gradually they feel a desire for games. Once a beginning has been made, one game follows another. Real

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everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing. Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

The little supplementary word "ul" clearly emphasizes the urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather simultaneously and without exception. RD:379 states: "ul [is] used by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. ul Yahki mamiki kiwa, go and get us some food, for the common good. ul ulpajam kowf (a man to his wife)come, get us some mussels" /cited in English/.

Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother puts the roast or the mussels on the fire in response to the wish of the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid; hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the things he brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fueguian, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /970/ has lost his weapon, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family but from his hunting or the herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

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Nevertheless this does not entirely deny a person a certain prerogative over whatever he has brought in, and a completely equal right to it in the communistic sense is never granted to the member of the family (395).

> 395. This opinion is clearly expressed in ED:319 in the explanation of the verb *mikabaku: To take or make use of what is not one's own but yet is proper to take or use, as for instance a husband his wife's fish, or a brother, if hungry, fish belonging to a brother or sister during their absence, though when he saw them he would tell them what he had done" /cited in English/.

For the individual family, the vessel, whether it be a bark canoe or a flat skiff, is no less important than dwelling and food. Although it is made by the man, it is the woman's duty to service it, guard it, and care for it (p. 134). During the trip through the channels she has authority in the canoe, because she alone usually rows or paddles. Also, after landing and before departure it is only her concern. Since, however, the canoe serves all the members of the family without exception and since neither the individual nor the family as a whole can do without it, all separate rights or privileges cease, although the husband built the canoe and the wife made it.

Hence we must regard the few things that rightfully belong to the self-contained family and each member of this familial unit as actual "family property." As such, this includes only the dwelling, the canoe, and food, and toward these an individual person cannot claim any special rights and privileges. Obviously this legal situation strengthens family ties and increases the feeling of responsibility of one toward the other with whom he is intimately associated in the life of the individual family.

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426 the mission ship. "When I lent him the axe, people on board the 'Allen Gardiner' thought and said, 'You will not see that axe again. As for the wood he promises to cut and carry, and get ready by the time the ship comes again, you may whistle for it'; but I made the experiment, and it answered well. The wood was ready, the axe was returned on our next visit some months after" /cited in English/ (MM:VI, 93;1872).

431 577 Great generosity and unselfishness are conspicuous basic features in the character of the Yamana. The duty toward mutual assistance demands that everyone distribute his booty among others without reservation. Beyond that, some people take particular pleasure in lavishly remembering neighbors with the yields from hunting and gathering (395). We shall not speak here of this habit.

395. Hyades (q):243 gained the impression "that the natives especially enjoy ownership in order to have the right to distribute what they have and for the pleasure of being generous" /translated from French/.

431 Understandably, the giving of presents takes on considerable proportions. The articles involved are primarily foodstuffs which everyone can easily and quickly obtain, ornaments, and, finally, articles for daily use. It is taken for granted, so to speak, that women who occupy the same camp for a few days surprise each other now and then with gifts of meat and fruit. A visitor from far or near always brings something along /981/ which he offers the others, chiefly fresh meat or a beautiful skin. This makes it necessary for the recipient to show his appreciation as soon as possible. This is usually done by giving someone who is departing something special, above all tools and handwork. The man offers finished weapons or parts of weapons and raw materials, the woman primarily ornaments and small baskets. The gift is given and received without any formality, without a word, without meaningful gestures expressing one's feelings,

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431 576 It is one of the inescapable obligations of every Yamana to come now and then with a gift for someone. Anyone who neglected this beyond a certain time would inevitably acquire a bad reputation. It is just as much a matter of course for the recipient to respond to the attention paid him, not immediately, to be sure, but within a certain time, with a gift of equal value. No one would demand this, but one does not forget who owes him a return gift. This gift, no matter who has given it, is critically evaluated. [559] Woe to the one who has behaved shabbily, that is to say, who has given insignificant, useless things in return! He is soon known far and wide as selfish and stingy. Someone who gives a person a valuable or rare present usually puts him in an embarrassing situation, for then some equivalent is expected of him which he usually does not have on hand. Actually, everyone would prefer not to receive special gifts from the start.

431 It is very significant that, according to Koppers (d):194, the Yamana language "scarcely has an actual term meaning 'to ask for gifts,' but all the more terms for 'expecting gifts.'" BD:71 mentions ūāgūtāna, "to expect as a man does gifts when visiting his relations who have much blubber" /cited in English/. Still other words express "not to give" and "to give no more." The conduct of a selfish, stingy person is described with the verb tuǩagāna, "to not take, bring, eat, show any food or other things in the sight or presence of friends lest they ask one to give them a part; tuǩagangāmata, to be, act stingily by not letting others see one bring or use supplies of any kind and thus abstain from giving them a share" /cited in English/ (BD:572). The word atāgu, "a friendship formed between two persons, accompanied with exchange of gifts" /cited in English/ (BD:33), means to promote a favorable mutual relationship by means of gifts.

431 576 As a rule, the giver does not pay any attention to the needs or wishes of the one to whom he gives gifts; rather, he gives him what he himself can easily do without. This increases the embarrassment of the recipient still more. Nevertheless, he must accept the gift with a certain show of satisfaction and with a certain amount of hypocritical pleasure. To refuse it would be the equivalent of a bad insult and public humiliation (396). Also, it

396. In this connection Bridges (a):209 has

/981 cont./

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576

already said: "Gifts are most common, and it is considered a great affront to refuse a gift, which is also expected to be returned with something the giver wants" /cited in English/. Cf. Cooper:179.

is not customary among these Fuegians /982/ to wish for a particular present from someone. Such expressions would be rebuffed as bold presumptions. Anything a person needs he can and should obtain through barter. From all this we see that gift-giving, which, as such, is limited, has many unpleasant aspects.

5. Violation of the Right of Ownership

674 Our Fuegians anxiously guard their right to the various belongings which they call their own. Violations are judged very severely and are avenged by giving the person a bad reputation. Not a single reliable observer will deny that now and then there is a case of theft among these Indians. Many exaggerated judgments, however, must be rejected as false and unfounded assertions (397). For example, Admiral B.J. Sulivan gives no justification for representing them as among the most thievish of human beings (MM:XV,131; 1881). Hyades (g):39 approaches the real facts of the matter in the following words: In the settlement of the Mission Scientifique in Orange Bay, "Where they were permitted entrance and free movement throughout the day, there were nevertheless not the slightest thefts. In this respect, therefore, the Fuegians are decidedly better than their reputation." Despard, on his journeys through the territory of the Yamana, was occasionally accompanied by Jemmy Button and his family.

397. In Outes (g):53 we read the following obvious exaggeration: "The dogs, like their owners themselves, steal a good deal and, if not carefully watched, loot the stores of provisions" /translated from Spanish/.

/1016 cont./

522 576 friends discuss in detail, even scornfully and with much amusement, everything they noticed about them or fancifully attribute to them.

431 574 Unlike the habits of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 470) our Yamana regard it as a duty, so to speak, to give presents to a visitor or guest from distant regions when he leaves. This is altogether in harmony with their unmistakable tendency toward unselfishness and noble generosity. According to Hyades (q):243, their "generous disposition is a characteristic trait of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. I personally had much more opportunity than he did to observe this and to appreciate it. Sometimes, under the influence of great enthusiasm, a person will bountifully give away everything he can possibly do without. One would obviously be unjust to these Indians in supposing that they were generous only so that they would occasionally be praised and repaid with a return gift. Admittedly, they certainly expect it. To that extent Dabbene's (b):200 assertion is correct: "If the Yahgan shows generosity, he does not do it spontaneously, but in the hope that his generosity will be generously repaid" /translated from Spanish/ (435).

> 435. Earlier Bridges (a):213 had pointed out that "these people like to be thought liberal. They therefore are often very generous, and often give away everything they have, but they know they will soon be well rewarded by gifts in return. When fish, or blubber, or any other food is divided, the divider reserves none for himself, and those who come first are sure to be helped the best" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (q):243, Outes (g):57.

Without much ado and without saying a word the owner of the hut places the gift into the hands of his guest and gives him a friendly look. The guest's face lights up with sincere pleasure, and he accepts it silently, without carefully examining or evaluating it. A man, of course, gives his friend the tools that he /1017/ uses in his work and in hunting. A favorite present is some object that is abundant in one region but scarce elsewhere. To this

/1017 cont./

431 574 category belong bone points for the harpoon, made of a whale rib (Fig. 45), lumps of pyrite (p. 41), guanaco leather, and so forth. A woman, on the other hand, will please her female guest with one of the various ornaments and chooses a form that is not made elsewhere. Whatever a person hands his guest at parting, as a souvenir, as it were, should be particularly valuable, without blemish, and of the finest workmanship! This is the attitude behind the instruction regularly given the uwiala in the kipage. When the other person reaches home, he will have leisure to examine the gift and evaluate it. He will soon tell his neighbor what he thinks of it. They speak favorably and respectfully of the giver only if generosity and magnanimity are reflected in his gift.

572 574 Besides the need for the company of others, a highly developed feeling of friendship impels certain individual families and smaller family groups to gather together more frequently. Inasmuch as they understand each other better, usually because of their natural disposition, they appreciate each other more and this awakens the desire to meet often and be together for a longer time. One really finds genuine friendship among the Yamana, which is self-sacrificing and entirely unselfish. The persons linked by such friendship are, like loving brothers and sisters, closely allied for mutual assistance.

574 576 Families who have little or no contact with one another separate after a brief exchange without a formal farewell. When they do not want to stay longer, they silently and without fuss drag their things to the canoe, load their meager belongings in a few minutes, and, without a greeting, row off in the chosen direction. When relatives and good friends take leave of each other, however, there is a noisy and animated farewell. They discuss their decision beforehand. If one family should remain behind, they help the other in moving. If two or more families have decided to abandon their common campsite at the same time, they have a last, long talk, then they soundlessly gather their things together and do not let another word fall as they depart (436).

436. Bridges (MM:III, 11:1869) soundly confirms this: "When there is a new arrival, a greater or lesser public

/1023 cont./

harmless game. Naturally, only skillful talkers and quick-witted humorists take up this game. Each member of the two groups for a long time afterward discusses the retorts and opinions given by the friend and by the opponent. Here, too, obscenities or offensive remarks are not permitted.

There is another practice which seems strange. Out of sheer exuberance a man will silently leave his hut, hurry down to the beach, and smash the canoe of his guest. The latter watches the performance dumbfounded, and he says passively, half-jokingly, half-sighing: "What in the world is happening to my canoe there? If it lies shattered, how shall I get back home?" The other replies from the beach: "It shouldn't really matter to you if all your things are smashed!" Meanwhile he returns to the hut where a regular talk contest begins, which this man had intended all along. He finally justifies his action by giving his guest a new canoe which he had purposely made for him. His gift is supposed to become known everywhere as such, and that is why he destroyed the old canoe. It is only in exceptional cases that such a mad prank has dire consequences.

The same exuberant desire to smash and throw everything into disorder sometimes seizes a whole group as, noisily and obtrusively, they assault the visitors from another region. Before these people can offer concerted resistance, their canoes, huts, tools, and utensils have long been chopped to pieces. They declare themselves conquered and withdraw as though defenseless until the opponents cease their raging, or they pull themselves together courageously, fall on the belongings of the others, and hack them to bits likewise. No one knows how this /1024/ mad prank is going to turn out. Usually the opposing parties come to terms and laugh heartily over their destruction. They quickly rebuild what they have lightheartedly destroyed. All effort seems slight compared to the great exuberance involved in their devastation.

Anyone who seeks diversion from monotonous daily work in the company of happy fellow-tribesmen can find it. To this end there are a number of practices which cultivate a community feeling and promote good fellowship.

/1106 cont./

764 bound with cord, is dragged out of the hut by a few men from among the close relatives. They take it to the nearest thicket or into the nearby woods. Here they lay it on a low bushy shrub with spreading branches. Smoldering sticks are pushed into the shrub and dry logs leaned against it. They fan it rapidly with leafy twigs, and in a few minutes the flames leap up. Usually after a short time the burned bush collapses. Then the burning corpse is covered with greater quantities of wood. The men alone do this first part, while the girls and women are obliged to fetch firewood incessantly and to keep the fire burning brightly until all the bones have been destroyed beyond recognition. Coarse sand or earth from the forest floor is dragged to the place with sticks or oars and scattered over the remaining small heap of ashes of the extinguished pyre. Finally the spot is covered with brush and fallen branches. After a few months it no longer is discernible. While this is going on, other people from the neighboring huts stand around the fire, watch the procedure, weep loudly, and sing their tálaxwala. A cremation does not take place on the open beach because the traces of it could not be quickly and completely eradicated. The corpse was laid upon a strong, thick shrub because igniting it is much easier than kindling a fire on the ever-damp forest floor.

766 Even in regions where cremation was preferred over burial, the body of a child was customarily buried in the ground. I was told: One man alone took this corpse and carried it into the forest where he quickly made a shallow hole in the ground and covered the body with earth and brush. This work was easy and not troublesome; the grave only required scratching away a bit of loose forest earth with a stick. Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869) also emphasizes that, in contrast to the burning of adult bodies, "young children are frequently buried" /cited in English/.

764 At all such cremations it was an absolute rule that the mourners left the spot only after the large bones of the corpse /1107/ had crumbled to fine dust in the strong heat and the scene of the fire had been made unrecognizable. They continued their weeping in the huts until far into the night. It is noteworthy, and contrary to the general conception of the Yamana, that every man and woman who helped in any way at the cremation received a gift [431] from the relatives of the deceased. This was by no means something that had belonged to the deceased, as a memento, for

/1107 cont./

764 [431] example; rather, the relatives themselves gave something that must be regarded as recompense for work performed and as a token of the gratitude of the survivors for this service of love. The strong incentive that led our Fuegians to burn the corpse of every adult was the fear that animals, especially rats, otters, dogs, and foxes, would devour it or gnaw at it (46). The thought of the

> 46. There is no basis for the fear that "strangers to the tribe" might "make harpoon points out of the bones," as Krickeberg:322 maintains.

disgusting habits of those animals made them shudder, and they wanted to make sure that the bodies would not be desecrated. Other reasons mentioned by one traveler or another are not valid. Hyades (p):332, for example, writes: "Sometimes [the dead] are burned, especially when death has taken place far from the habitual residence of the family" /translated from French/.

764 114 The following reports must also be clarified. On March 9, 1864, Stirling (VSA:XI,198;1864) landed with his company on Isla Button. He sums up in the following words what he observed there: "Here is the funeral pyre on which the body of one of Macoonallan's brothers was recently burned. Here the wigwam, or framework of branches, where for a day the body lay in state. The body of James Button [who had died shortly before] has not yet been burned: it is merely interred. The return of his brother from Keppel Island has been waited for, and now the remains will be submitted to the flames. This information is given to us in a subdued voice by Ookokko [who took part in this round trip]" /cited in English/. Hyades (c):142 generalizes this assertion (47).

> 47. He says: "The Fuegians do not have a funeral rite; they inter the body near their dwelling at a shallow depth and later burn the bones" /translated from French/.

One might deduce from these words that after a temporary burial the body is taken out of the grave and burned. This surmise is completely erroneous and neither Stirling nor Hyades was reliably

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

The greater part of the *shiéldas* ceremony was filled with singing and dancing. By means of song they sought both to communicate with and to keep at a distance the *Yetaite*, a great evil spirit, who, the candidates were told, might seriously injure the occupants of the initiation lodge. Dancing served to neutralize the evil of his presence. To frighten him, the walls of the hut were beaten with sticks. Candidates were told to follow directions exactly or the *Yetaite* would seize them. Sometimes the *Yetaite* actually appeared —a man fantastically painted. Finally the candidates were told who it was and were warned that the real *Yetaite* was much worse than what they had seen.

The master of ceremonies usually was the leader in the singing, though sometimes this duty was assigned to another old man. The dances, which usually came late at night, were named for certain animals. Both the melody and the movements suggested characteristic peculiarities of this animal.

The moral instruction of the candidates they divided between the godparents and the official teacher, at whose feet the initiates had to sit from time to time. They were taught to be altruistic in thought and conduct, and to exhibit the virtues of hospitality and generosity. Respect for the aged was inculcated, for all must grow old in time. The boys they taught to be peaceful and not to make enemies, to treat women with respect, to help the young and the blind. The girls they told to rise early in the morning to get their water and wood, to care faithfully for their husbands and children, not to fuss about trifles, nor to repeat gossip. Behind these instructions stood a certain amount of religious sanction, for the evil *Yetaite* threatened them, while the supreme *Wéinaiserus* observed their every action. This moral code set a standard for the tribe to which in practice they did not adhere too rigidly.

After some days of instruction the ceremony came to a close. At a given hour the candidates assembled behind a curtain at one end of the hut. One by one they were called forth with the master of ceremonies dancing beside them and were ceremonially surrendered to their godparents and therewith accepted as members of the tribe. The godfather gave his child three gifts: a finely woven *guíchin* basket adorned with feathers, a bird-bone like the one used to drink with, and a scratching-stick.

In the final hours of the last evening the women took charge under the leadership of an old woman. She and the other women

/378 cont./

Although by and large every adult is able to make for himself the articles necessary for his way of life, nevertheless he obtains all kinds of things through barter. We mean by this the arrangement whereby, upon mutual agreement, one object is put up for another and the owners make an exchange. Our Indians lack real media of exchange, such as money, shells, and the like, but they put a lower or higher value on each object, to which they decisively refer during the exchange. The value of a thing increases if it is naturally beautiful, for example, in the case of an otter skin, or if it is carefully made and reliable in use, for instance, a long harpoon point, and finally in relation to the difficulty with which it was obtained, as in the case of soft pieces of guanaco leather. If a person wants an object, the owner evaluates it and compares it with the merit of the thing the other person offers in exchange. They try to make up for the lack of merit of one object as against another by increasing the quantity. The Indians are unfamiliar with weights as measures. If both parties have agreed on the equivalence of the objects to be bartered, they make the exchange.

There are several expressions in the Yamana language from which we may clearly recognize the customs involved in barter as described above. For example, BD:307 gives matĕxgămatapai, "to make mutually an exchange with each other" /cited in English/; likewise, matăxgăma, "a thing (things) given in exchange" /cited in English/. Earlier observers were convinced that there was lively barter among our Yamana (390). Darwin (d):261 wrote:

> 390. Cooper:179 is correct in his summary: "Barter between the Fuegians and the whites, between the three Fuegian tribes, and between members of the same tribe is a common feature of Fuegian life" /cited in English/.

"Several of the Fuegians definitely proved that they had a good idea of barter. I gave a man a large nail, without making any kind of sign that I expected a return gift. He immediately picked out two fish and handed them to me on the tip of his spear. Whenever there was a gift meant for a canoe and it was dropped

/1445 cont./

86 Without noticeable coercion, the young people improve
153 themselves, one more than another, according to their natural gifts and personal diligence. Someone who is particularly alert and mentally active makes more rapid progress; the adults are more willing to take trouble with him and they teach him many things earlier than they do his contemporaries. The fact that among the Yamana, also, some persons have a good deal more knowledge than the average can be traced back to inclination, industry, and a desire to learn. Some are extraordinarily limited and know only what is most necessary. A person who commands
[555] superior knowledge attracts those around him, influences them, and is highly regarded far and wide. The superior position of most yĕkamuŭ rests on the fact that they surpass their countrymen in their possession of things of the mind.

86 If one should gather together all the knowledge gained by experience and the numerous individual facts that every Yamana possesses, he would build up an astonishing fund of information. Borrowing from this source, every generation enriches itself anew and finds it adequate to meet the demands of existence, to satisfy the needs of the mind, to attain the economic goals, and to lead an ordered, harmonious tribal life beneficial to each individual. Relying on his knowledge and his powers, the Fuegian, as master of the animal kingdom and the strong forces of nature in his unfriendly country, strives toward his goals and is confident of victory.

/1446/ 1. Measuring and Counting

•435 The Yamana lack a universal standard of value, such as money or the various kinds of measures. They must resort to estimating actual value in one way or another. This is done according to certain considerations, not the least of which, and often decisive, are the beauty and perfection of the object. The scarcer a thing is, the higher its value. These and other considerations are naturally decisive in barter. They also determine whether the recipient of a gift rates it higher or lower. On page 173 there are examples showing a kind of scale of value. It is obvious that our Yamana are unable to evaluate the things given to them by

/1446 cont./

435 Europeans, and therefore no one should find it strange that the Indians neither protect nor take good care of costly or rare objects. It is quite generally true that they do not handle their tools carefully or protect them; they carelessly trust their own ability and manufacture what they need without much trouble. Any kind of wealth and an accumulation of objects would be nothing more than a burden to them.

802 Their material possessions are amazingly meager. Hence they can do without numbers even more easily than without a complicated scale of value. There are definite designations: one = yékili; two = kompéjue; and three = méten. In general the Yamana do not count beyond that. They designate anything beyond three as wíru = much. "Very much" is designated either as wíru wíru or čílla wíru. For an extraordinary amount the expression manjana wíru is used. A few compounds are also used to express numbers above three. They say yékili yés, "one hand," and kompéli yés "two hands," which mean "five" and "ten," respectively. BD:225 gives douačí, "a few as from five to twenty" /cited in English/. A few other forms are also given in BD. Constructions such as méten čílla méten probably first arose under the influence of Europeans. Compare Hyades (q):217. If the Yamana wish to express a figure beyond three, they prefer to use their fingers, and they indicate the number by shaking the specific finger, without forming or expressing a special word for the number. Our Fueguians are unacquainted with measures of length and height. To indicate an insignificant length they make a fist with both hands and, by holding them apart, show the specified length. At the same time they say kętémuka, from kętém = like this here, múka = long. The Yamana do not strive for any particular accuracy either in counting or measuring.

192 281 A few words that our Indians use as exclamations should be mentioned briefly. If they agree with a word or a request, they utter a faint ŋ, without opening the mouth; sometimes they also bow the head slightly. If they are very much interested, they utter a loud ŋ̄ = good, right, very well; or an excited tas = yes, yes; finally, /1447/ wíf = splendid, excellent. They lack what we imply with "no." If a person does not agree with the words of

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[37] Although by and large every adult is able to make for himself the articles necessary for his way of life, nevertheless he obtains all kinds of things through barter. We mean by this the arrangement whereby, upon mutual agreement, one object is put up for another and the owners make an exchange. Our Indians lack [38] real media of exchange, such as money, shells, and the like, but they put a lower or higher value on each object, to which they decisively refer during the exchange. The value of a thing increases [39] if it is naturally beautiful, for example, in the case of an otter skin, or if it is carefully made and reliable in use, for instance, a long harpoon point, and finally in relation to the difficulty with which it was obtained, as in the case of soft pieces of guanaco leather. If a person wants an object, the owner evaluates it and compares it with the merit of the thing the other person offers in exchange. They try to make up for the lack of merit of one object as against another by increasing the quantity. The [40] Indians are unfamiliar with weights as measures. If both parties have agreed on the equivalence of the objects to be bartered, they make the exchange.

There are several expressions in the Yamana language from [41] which we may clearly recognize the customs involved in barter as [42] described above. For example, RD:207 gives mutiyikmenepai, "to make mutually an exchange with each other" /cited in English/. Likewise, mutiyikmana, "a thing (things) given in exchange" /cited in English/. Earlier observers were convinced that there was lively barter among our Yamana (398). Darwin (I):251 wrote:

> 398. Cooper:179 is correct in his summary: "Barter between the Fueginos and the whites, between the three Fuegian tribes, and between members of the same tribe is a common feature of Fuegian life" /cited in English/.

"Several of the Fueginos definitely proved that they had a good idea of barter. I gave a man a large nail, without making any kind of sign that I expected a return gift. He immediately picked out two fish and handed them to me on the tip of his spear. Whenever there was a gift meant for a canoe and it was dropped

437 money of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
gift was made, superfluous often of the wishes of the recipient, who
could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was defi-
nitely expected to give something in return.

Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
ceased's property was buried with the body. The person's dog fell
to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the
more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to
distant persons. Such burning, burying, and giving away were in-
tended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by
reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors'
desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually
occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to
speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief,
who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment
under *Yahgan* living conditions.

574 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospi-
tality was extended as a matter of course.

Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little,
but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively inde-
pendent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively
a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their
living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and
birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do
the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for
the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut
generally, to publish and have general management of the canoe in
which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and
leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making
skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect
mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries.
Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as
provider was an extremely important one.

Probably hypothetical role as food provider had a good deal to do with
her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to man
and woman jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the
canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the
craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions,
although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's,
actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly
equitable one.

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411 The Yamana has invented several mimiles to overtake the various animals hunted, and each in its way is surprisingly efficient. He takes them along in his canoe wherever he goes and places them, ready for use, in the bow section where they stick out far above the bow. The first thing he does when game approaches is to choose the weapon suitable for it; afterwards he seizes whatever is nearest at hand, so as not to lose the booty. Aspinall:270 maintains "[the man in the canoe] three kinds of such spears with him." There are at least that many, and two or three of each kind. It is clear that the two-barbed javelin and the bird-spear with the serrated bone point have a variety of uses.

411 Every adult is capable of making and repairing
483 these weapons; they are indispensable to him for his livelihood. Not everyone, however, succeeds in
● 437 cutting out an even shaft from the main trunk of the
554 beech; individual men attain true mastery at this. That is why many a man will trade a good shaft for other things that he needs. Everyone always has a supply of loose points which he keeps in a longish leather pouch, yéuku. Those few men who are able to make a perfectly shaped large harpoon point are
411 universally praised (186). In conclusion it should be

186. Descriptions of these mimiles are to be found in Bove (c):122, Cojazzi:109, Dabbene (b):184, Hyades (b):23 and (c):302, 303, Lothrop (b):148, Martial:191, Spegazzini (a):163, Spencer:133, Waddell (a):94, and others.

Fig. 37.
Fish Spear.

/509 cont./

443 craftsmen who professionally produce a certain article for the rest of the population. No one need fear professional jealousy or unfair competition, because everyone works for his own needs. Obviously, the natural endowment and personal effort of individuals are very different, whereas the material used is generally always the same. Anyone who has a sense of beautiful form and who takes pleasure in a neatly made article sometimes attains great mastery in his work.

535 The Yamana have special expressions to characterize this ability in the various fields of daily activity. We have just mentioned the word yetenshipo for a capable basket-weaver; wéléguth (according to BO:615 "clever, expert, neat in work" /cited in English/) means one whose manual skill in general overshadows others; yéléshin has the same meaning.

Thus a certain stamp of individual personality, at least of an individual method of work, without conscious intent, however, marks each object as the product of the person who made it. Of course, everyone recognizes his own product, and this is made even easier by the fact that the possessions of an individual are very limited. For a practiced eye the difference between two objects of a similar type is sometimes very great. Everyone evaluates things that are excellently made or that have turned out particularly well no less accurately than he does inadequate and shabby articles. People who work skillfully and produce good things are appreciated far and wide (228): on the basis of their

> 228. Despard (b):717 wrote: "The dextrous spear, paddle, and canoe-maker, is held in honour, and called yemh-mas-ca, or handyman" /cited in English/.

products, a father often spurs his son on to more exact and industrious handwork.

● 431 Personal excellence, as a result of which some person or other
443 is able to produce a certain article, brings about the transfer of certain items to other hands by way of barter. There is no getting around the fact that one person has more dexterity and skill for one thing and another person for some other thing. /Ill/ /Fig. 54 appears here./ Fitz-Roy (a):186 was very definitely made aware of

1: Gustafs--222 8-6 (1918-1924) 1927 5008 Tahgan 5008

• 937
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[941
321]

Fig. 84. Long Bone Points.

/510 cont./

this fact: "It is rather curious that usually each of these natives is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear, another with the sling, another with a bow and arrows, but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others" /cited in English/. This is actually the case.

A person who lacks something that he is unable to make because of a shortage of raw material or as a result of his own incapacity acquires it through barter with someone who happens to be in a position to dispose of it. For example, only a few men are completely successful in cutting and filing the long bone harpoon points (Fig. 84), in putting an arrow together, or in removing a wide sheet of bark for canoe building. It is inevitable that the individual will sometimes become dependent on others to a certain extent when he must fill his need for certain implements. This considerably strengthens the awareness of the solidarity of all members of the tribe.

To begin with, however, scarcely anyone would think of using the object which he happens to have for purposes of barter, since in all his work and striving he is primarily and fundamentally concerned with his own needs. He uses his own measurements as a basis. That is to say, he decides on the length and

/310 cont./

437 443 breadth, the particular shape of the weapon or implement, in accordance with his own personal convenience, according to his best and taste, depending on how he has practiced making it or is in the habit of doing it differently. From this arise the differences between the utensils of one man and another, between such small things as baskets, sewing work, and so forth, which one Indian woman or another will make for herself alone.

411 Because each weapon and each tool fits its maker's own hand, so to speak, it follows that each person has great dexterity in handling his own articles. /311/ Time and again their suppleness and accuracy of aim, their sure grip and controlled fist, their ability to make estimates, and their sharp eye have been justly regarded with awe and wonder by Europeans (226). It is true

226. Many agree with Bove's (g):235 judgment concerning their weapons, that the Fuegians "know how to handle them with marvelous dexterity and precision" /translated from Italian/.

that with constant practice everyone can accomplish a great deal. Many a European who has tried to use the sling or the harpoon or some other native implement has gone about it very awkwardly and become the laughing stock of the Indians.

The fact that no one owns more than one extra utensil of those most frequently needed is an indication of self-confidence. The less a person must carry around with him on his constant travels, the more comfortable it is for him and the freer he feels. It is only when want and need force him to restore the loss of an implement that he instantly and decisively sets to work. Since not even the thought of his own needs forces our Indian to make this or that object in order to have it on hand, how much less can we expect him to make anything for barter.

182 Our Fuegians procure and make their implements with little effort. They manipulate them very adroitly and steadily. They can depend absolutely on their own ability and the effectiveness of their weapons (227). What, therefore, should press and drive

227. Every careful observer will agree

/978 cont./

●437 Although by and large every adult is able to make for himself the articles necessary for his way of life, nevertheless he obtains all kinds of things through barter. We mean by this the arrangement whereby, upon mutual agreement, one object is put up for another and the owners make an exchange. Our Indians lack [436] real media of exchange, such as money, shells, and the like, but they put a lower or higher value on each object, to which they decisively refer during the exchange. The value of a thing increases if it is naturally beautiful, for example, in the case of an [435] otter skin, or if it is carefully made and reliable in use, for instance, a long harpoon point, and finally in relation to the difficulty with which it was obtained, as in the case of soft pieces of guanaco leather. If a person wants an object, the owner evaluates it and compares it with the merit of the thing the other person offers in exchange. They try to make up for the lack of merit of one object as against another by increasing the quantity. The [804] Indians are unfamiliar with weights as measures. If both parties have agreed on the equivalence of the objects to be bartered, they make the exchange.

There are several expressions in the Yamana language from 437 which we may clearly recognize the customs involved in barter as 439 described above. For example, BD:307 gives matēxgāmatapai, "to make mutually an exchange with each other" /cited in English/; likewise, matēxgāmata, "a thing (things) given in exchange" /cited in English/. Earlier observers were convinced that there was lively barter among our Yamana (390). Darwin (d):261 wrote:

> 390. Cooper:179 is correct in his summary: "Barter between the Fuegians and the whites, between the three Fuegian tribes, and between members of the same tribe is a common feature of Fuegian life" /cited in English/.

"Several of the Fuegians definitely proved that they had a good idea of barter. I gave a man a large nail, without making any kind of sign that I expected a return gift. He immediately picked out two fish and handed them to me on the tip of his spear. Whenever there was a gift meant for a canoe and it was dropped

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437 439 near someone else, it was always given to the rightful owner." This last statement confirms what was mentioned above, namely, that no one keeps for himself something that belongs to another. "Strange to say," Snow (b):262 confessed, "I found all of the Fuegians I met very honest in barter" /cited in English/. In addition, we quote Lovisato's (b):140 testimony: "The Yahgan seemed to us to be quite familiar with barter...Upon receiving from us a piece of bread or any article whatsoever, they immediately offered some fish strung on a stick or some crabs" /translated from Italian/. The natives evaluated the merit of the object given them and in return gave something comparable (391).

> 391. Unfortunately some Europeans consciously or unconsciously disregarded this point of view of the natives. Hyades (q): 243 also complains about this: "It often resulted in misunderstandings with strangers who planned to buy weapons and skins for furs in exchange for an insignificant trifle, while the Fuegians thought they themselves had made a gift which was not repaid in subsequent meetings /translated from French/. Having grown wiser by many disappointments, the Indians use a well-known trick which Martial:204 clearly describes: "The seller never parted with the object that he wished to exchange until he had received the price, and when he had several objects he was very careful to show them successively, so as not to decrease the value of his goods" /translated from French/.

/979/ Since Europeans have dominated the Cape Horn Archipelago, our natives have also bartered with them, above all with the missionaries. How actively barter was sometimes carried on was described by Bridges on April 21, 1875, as follows: "There is no market in Fireland. The natives covet our food, clothing, and goods. Women, one after another, bring bundles of small fish for sale. One wants in exchange much biscuit, another a comb, another a handkerchief, another sugar, etc., others bring crabs and

/979 cont./

437 others shellfish, and oftentimes there is such a flow that we must
439 stop and refuse...Many come with baskets, spears, shafts, fish-lines, eggs, shells, and curios of every imaginable kind, -- stones, seals' teeth, birds' claws, feather headbands, clays, fungi, seeds, etc. -- wanting every description of goods in return" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 217; 1875).

437 One is justified in assuming that the Yamana greatly enjoy exchanging their articles and, indeed, for the sheer pleasure of having something in return as soon as possible. Bridges (ibid.) is also of the opinion that "the natives are always buying and selling, exchanging canoes and everything" /cited in English/. He also adds: "Their manner of doing so is very unsatisfactory" /cited in English/. True, to a certain extent everyone concerned with barter evaluates the articles to be exchanged, but they lack unequivocal measures of value, such as money, and hasty arbitrariness is unavoidable (392). Thus serious unpleasantness sometimes results from

392. On April 21, 1875, Bridges mentioned an incident "that occurred a few days ago. Palahlian, a man about thirty-eight, has three wives and three little children, and had a good canoe. Another man, a visitor here, not living with Palahlian, intends to give his canoe to Palahlian. Palahlian does not wish it, and hears of it indirectly, and is troubled what to give in return. He told me all about it. Palahlian at length is told that such and such a canoe is his, not, however, by the giver. Palahlian then seeks him, and gives him a large axe, well handled. Thus there is no mutual agreement previously made, and most of their transactions are performed in this loose manner" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 218;1875).

an exchange.

426 Our Yamana practice lending less frequently, but sometimes they find themselves forced to resort to it because of need and unforeseen requirements. Almost always only articles that someone

628 clubs, fists, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but
[621] grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did not exist, and the *Yahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups appear to have been normally irenic, but violence and bloodshed were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually intervened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder
[648] was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast. Bridges found 29 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1884—an annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that
[638] of the United States. Mercy killings occurred for the purpose of putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human
[648] sacrifice was unknown; so too was premeditated suicide.

266 The evidence that the *Yahgan* practised no form of cannibalism—gastronomic, famine, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of devouring human flesh.

BIOLOGICAL LIFE

423 **Ownership.**—The *Yahgan* resented and avenged exploitative tres-
619 pass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part thereof by non-*Yahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gusinde, 1937, pp. 964-965) or, according to Koppers (1930 b, p. 178), of any one of the numerous local groups, by nonmembers. Since these local groups seemingly were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Yahgan* land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting-ground system. There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast on a stranded whale, and to gather firestones and suitable canoe bark, which were found only in certain parts of the *Yahgan* territory.
422 Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adornments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things. The ownership of certain other things—food, hut, canoe—appears to have been vested in the biological family.

[642] Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

437 Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor, donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-

437 rency of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
434 on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
[illegible] with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
486 gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

468 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
482 ceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Both burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

594 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries.
[illegible] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[illegible] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to man and woman jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.

/389 cont./

372 objects for striking fire were carried to keep them dry; thus they could manage anywhere. They protected the down and puff balls even more carefully by keeping them in the dry web of a large sea bird, although puffballs are protected against damp air as long as their outer skin does not burst. Every family always has a number of dry puffballs on hand, which are gathered in the fall and carefully saved throughout the year. Pyrite is found in several places in the extensive Yamana territory, but lumps of flint are rarer and are a popular object of trade. The flint most in demand, [316] Iewili (BD: iwili), was obtained in the Aniawia Valley which lies between Ushuaia and Lapataia (54). Only small amounts were

54. Compare Lothrop (b) :130. Thomas Bridges also once looked for it, in April, 1884, accompanied by several Yamana. He reports: "We ascended the large valley called Aniwia, celebrated for its flints, as the source of supply of arrow and spear flint heads for all Yagha land. We searched in vain for the spot whence the large supplies in former times were obtained" (MM:XVIII, 182; 1884) /cited in English/. Earlier, in June, 1883, this missionary wrote, (MM: XVII, 139; 1883) that flint was to be found only on Clarence Island (cf. Hyades [q] :10 and Vol. I, 297). It has been proved, however, that the Yamana found and used it also in the central part of their territory. Fitz-Roy (a) :187 writes: "Where the pyrites is usually obtained, I do not know; but it cannot be plentiful in the Tekeenika country" /cited in English/. Certainly, these things were found there only sparingly.

found there, however. Hence the Yamana usually depend on [438] barter for their flint which was found in Cockburn Channel on the north shore of the Brecknock Peninsula, outside Beagle Channel. This flint was very hard and brownish-black. To guard against

/436 cont./

301 Finally, they create a popular oddity by alternating a small piece of black bone and a small piece of white. They also have ornamental chains consisting only of small black pieces. They blacken them by saturating them with fish oil and leaving them in hot ashes for some time. The latter varieties are all known as hirus (118).

118. Hyades (q):349 mentions only one of these types: "One type of necklace very commonly worn consists of small cylinders of bird bone, evenly cut and strung" /translated from French/. One does see this type very often, as a matter of fact.

301 The ornament for the neck that is considered the most
321 beautiful is ŭpika. To make it they gather pea-sized shells of Photinula violacea, known as un ŭpika. They scrape off the rough and dirty calcareous surface layer by rubbing the shells with wet sand between both hands or by placing them in the pebbles on the edge of a shallow brook that has a strong current, which produces the same scouring action. This gives the little snail shells a faint opalescent sheen on a sky-blue or light pink background. They make a small hole near the outer edge by rubbing the snail shell on a rough stone. First they place all the little shells next to each other according to size, beginning with the smallest up to the largest, but from the beginning they choose them so that the difference in size between the two extremes is very slight. To string them they need a cord, asina, braided
301 with three tendon fibers and laid double (Fig. 23). They thread
[294] the lower strand through the hole of each small shell and secure the upper one with a thread running spirally around the two and pressing each individual shell tight against the preceding one (Fig. 24). This ornament /436/ is arranged in two to five equal circles, depending on its length. At one point a short thread is wrapped around all the circles to keep them together. This is the way the ŭpika is worn at the neck. If they decide to make only a single strand of small shells, they put the largest one in the center and arrange the others very accurately according to size, so that the smallest ones finish off the two ends (119).

[339] 119. This characteristic ornament of the Yamana,

[text continues on p.105 Analyst]

/436 cont./

301 [453]

which occasionally reached the neighboring Haus /Haush/ and Halakwulup through barter, was repeatedly mentioned by early travelers. One often sees it in the ethnographic collections of European and American museums. See Bove (c):126, Colini:722, Dabbene (b):176, Hyades (q):300, 348, Lothrop (b):125, Wieghardt: 23, and others.

[237] Another necklace more highly prized than this is a braided cord of tendon on which short, small pieces of the dried windpipe of the /Fig. 23 appears here/ wild swan (Cygnus melanocorypha) are very loosely strung. J. L. Myres:97 is right when he says that this "type of necklace is rare and much prized /cited in English/, for the swan seldom appears there in the south, and it is extremely difficult to obtain.

301 237 243 Finally, another necklace is described by Hyades (q):299, which I did not see. "Plaited necklace, Ouaakh' ouana; this type of necklace is plaited with fibers of the intestines of young seals, Aouis ama; in the center, Itakoun, there is a fine braid, Açina, made of the sinew of a whale, which /Fig. 24 appears here/ also forms the double braid at the ends of the necklace; the fastening, Yamacéta, of the necklace is a braid made of whale tendon. It is worn only by women: Kipa tapan makau" /translated from French/.

301 The necklaces mentioned above, irrespective of type and construction, are procured by people of either sex and all ages. "The men wear these necklaces also, as well as the women and children" /translated from French/, Hyades (q):349 confirms. Older men do not decorate themselves as much with them, but /437/ older women do, and most of all the younger people. They are almost wholly a plaything for children. A woman will adorn her baby with a necklace chiefly out of a feeling of maternal happiness. The women and girls make all these types of ornament for themselves and for their male relatives, since this is work for women's hands. The personal need for adornment and the vanity of each individual determine how often and how long one decorates himself with this or that piece. Unimpeded

[462]

/437 cont./

396 Man and wife have their special share in the vessel; he
452 builds it, and she keeps it in repair. Circumstances are such
[405] that every family owns only a single canoe, which is why it
must be guarded all the more carefully (149). One canoe is never

149. Hyades (4):301 confirms that "the Fueguians take the greatest care of their canoes" /translated from French/. Others are of the same opinion.

exactly like another in all details, although they are all built according to the same pattern. Differences in size are determined by the available raw material, and some men are far more skillful than their neighbors. The term wálina is used for a man who would find it difficult to build a canoe. The men help each
[476] other in building it, and one man repays the other for his services with weapons or other valuable objects. No Yamana would hire himself out as a carpenter, but he does work for a close relative who is sick and helpless. From what has been said, we realize that the canoe is a vital and absolutely indispensable object for these Fueguians (150).

[439] 150. In the middle of 1868 Bridges, who was then a young man, brought two bark canoes to England. It was said that one of these was meant for a boy, the other for a girl. Actually these were models which, as such, had been ordered from an Indian. After that our Fueguians many times offered such small models for sale to Europeans. The two boat-models mentioned above were described in detail in the "Illustrated London News" of August 18, 1868 (MM:III, 30; 1869). Many museums have good pieces of this kind.

/460 cont./

501 abandoned this new invention. Today we run across an occasional dugout used for short trips; a new one has not been made for three decades.

501 126 On my second trip I brought back to the museum in Santiago (Gusinde [b]:145) a dugout that had for years lain in the woods untouched near the mouth of the Rio Douglas. As Lothrop (b):146 says: "the last double-ended dugout afloat was purchased and is now in the Museum [of the American Indian in New York]. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy" /cited in English/. In short, anyone who owns a 501 dugout, like old Pedro, uses it as long as it is still serviceable; middle aged men have long since adopted the skiff. In a period of about 40 years the dugout came into use among the Yamana and disappeared again (155).

155. In this connection Spencer:88 says briefly: "Bark canoe precedes dug-out, which has now and for some years past entirely replaced bark" /cited in English/.

396 2. The Flat Skiff. Since the sawmills were started on Beagle Channel by Europeans, the natives can easily obtain good [439 boards of different thicknesses. They are also given nails and 177] iron strips. If they cannot buy their own tools, they borrow them everywhere. They do not lack the skill to make a low, short skiff. It must be wide because it is short and low. They curve the gunwale and produce a noticeably elevated bow with a sharp keel that slants backward. This makeshift (156) has /461/ no advan-

156. Lothrop (b):146 gives a short description and an illustration of it.

tages over a European construction, except for the tin can that is placed in the center for the fire. In the forward part they nail a narrow wooden crosspiece with a small hole in the middle. Into this is placed a short mast. If a light breeze comes up from the 502 rear, they hoist a piece of sacking, remnants of a woman's skirt,

/469 cont./

441 bark, into which they also set a narrow bottom piece of bark. They sew up the edges with strips of wood fiber or whalebone, like those of a water scoop made of bark (Fig. 30). Naturally, this quiver, which, like the one of leather, is called hilis, is less resistant and durable.

It need not surprise us that not a single one of the earlier navigators, nor a visitor from more recent times, with the exception of Martial:192, mentions the quiver, the latter being subsidiary to bow and arrow. Even the arrow is not mentioned by many. The illustrations of bow, arrow, and quiver given in Volume I, 231, 239, and 240, could, without objection, also be used for these implements of the Yamana. With the exception of minor details, they show in general what these objects were like among the southern Fuegians. Formerly there were plenty of men capable of making these things for their own use. [439] It is also undeniably certain that the eastern Yamana obtained them through barter from the neighboring Haus or Selk'nam.

They are very serviceable in hunting on land as a long-range weapon against guanaco. For this they are not excelled by any other weapon of the Yamana. On the other hand, it is not easy to manipulate them in a rocking canoe, /470/ and from this vantage point a practiced archer can use them effectively only against otter. A person on land has a better chance to catch birds with the sling and the snare, and sea lions with the club. Moreover, the Yamana do not like to go far from the coast. It is only in cases of particular necessity that they push deeper into the woods where none of their weapons would be easy to manage.

224 441 In view of local conditions, we realize that the bow and arrow cannot be recommended for general use and that it is really suitable only for hunting guanaco. The range of this animal, however, ends with the central Yamana. In view of this, the bow and arrow were used most of all in the east and less in the west where the guanaco is wholly absent. Here these weapons were largely used for hunting otter, and this explains why, with the progressive adoption of the dog, they lost importance. These changes in the economy of the Yamana cannot be discussed until later; they deserve attention for several reasons.

/371 cont./

263 177 sea birds or seals are cooked in it. Along with European foods, the desire for salt was introduced there.

273 177 In the entire vegetable kingdom of the Cape Horn region there is not a sufficient amount of a single fruit that would be suitable for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The latter were unknown to the Yamana until they were offered to them by Europeans. The navigators of earlier times often noted that our natives could not develop a taste for spirits. They have come to it only through frequent use in the last few decades (336). Whiskey is almost never

336. Dabbene (b):187 from his own experience says: "Formerly they did not like alcoholic beverages, but now they have become accustomed to them through their contact with civilization and ardently desire them" /translated from Spanish/. Wieghard: 37 and others say the same.

[439] 733 available to them, instead they get the thick red wine from the Mendoza region, which they call sipa, "blood." When they have an opportunity, they put a great deal of this into their stomachs, and since their nerves react to it immediately, they drag their drunkenness with its attendant symptoms about with them for days. A small amount is very hard on these natural people who are not accustomed to it, and the damage to their health is inestimable (p. 351 /untranslated/) (337). A few /572/ persons, such as Nelly

337. Dane:93 writes that when in those distant regions "civilization obtruded and brought along its inevitable accompaniments [alcohol and tobacco], it became clear that these sons of the wilderness [the Selk'nam] did not place any value on them. The Yahgan, on the other hand, quickly fell victims to the new luxuries and were capable of giving up their last skin [of seal and otter] for a piece of tobacco or a drink of whiskey." Compare in this connection the more detailed account on page 348 /untranslated/.

/376 cont./
days of need are over, they recover /376/ surprisingly fast, serious after-effects or a weakening of their health scarcely ever appear. Habit has taught them how best to overcome the brief periods of hunger without harm.

Ever since the Tamoos have had easy access to the various farms, they have borrowed there for all kinds of European food and luxuries, such as sugar and wine, coffee and tea, onions, canned tomatoes, and other things. They also acquired cooking pots, in which they prepare our foods so that they are reasonably tasty. This strange diet, however, is not good for their health. Besides toothache, other physical ailments appear, which the people in olden times were fortunately spared despite all kinds of deprivations.

3. How They Divide the Booty

225 We must insert here a few data about the way in which larger pieces of game are used. On the one hand we shall mention obligations of a social nature, for which we shall later give more detailed reasons. On the other hand, the receipt of a gift cannot be compared with ordinary food-getting. Since, however, in the case of the most important animals hunted, namely, seals and whales, there is a definite obligation to let others share it, we shall most conveniently describe here the prevailing custom.

Every local group greets with indescribable rejoicing a whale that has been driven inland or deposited on the beach. Dense swarms of sea birds announce this extraordinary gift of nature. According to the general conception, any man who has first seen or touched the whale is the owner of it, but, however, in the sense that he alone may eat of this animal, the enormous masses of which he would, in any case, be incapable of coping with, but only insofar as it is up to him to arrange an orderly distribution (347).

347. From an earlier period when whales were still plentiful Bridges (a):200 reported: "Certain persons, those who first found the whale, have the right to distribute it" /cited in English/.

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self the articles necessary for his way of life, nevertheless he ob-
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/978 cont./

437 near someone else, it was always given to the rightful owner." This last statement confirms what was mentioned above, namely, 439 that no one keeps for himself something that belongs to another. "Strange to say," Snow (b):262 confessed, "I found all of the Fuegians I met very honest in barter" /cited in English/. In addition, we quote Lovisato's (b):140 testimony: "The Yahgan seemed to us to be quite familiar with barter...Upon receiving from us a piece of bread or any article whatsoever, they immediately offered some fish strung on a stick or some crabs" /translated from Italian/. The natives evaluated the merit of the object given them and in return gave something comparable (391).

391. Unfortunately some Europeans consciously or unconsciously disregarded this point of view of the natives. Hyades (q):243 also complains about this: "It often resulted in misunderstandings with strangers who planned to buy weapons and skins for furs in exchange for an insignificant trifle, while the Fuegians thought they themselves had made a gift which was not repaid in subsequent meetings /translated from French/. Having grown wiser by many disappointments, the Indians use a well-known trick which Martial:204 clearly describes: "The seller never parted with the object that he wished to exchange until he had received the price, and when he had several objects he was very careful to show them successively, so as not to decrease the value of his goods" /translated from French/.

/979/ Since Europeans have dominated the Cape Horn Archipelago, our natives have also bartered with them, above all with the missionaries. How actively barter was sometimes carried on was described by Bridges on April 21, 1875, as follows: "There is no market in Fireland. The natives covet our food, clothing, and goods. Women, one after another, bring bundles of small fish for sale. One wants in exchange much biscuit, another a comb, another a handkerchief, another sugar, etc., others bring crabs and

/279 cont./

437 others shellfish, and oftentimes there is such a flow that we must
439 stop and refuse...Many come with baskets, spears, shafts, fish-
lines, egg, shells, and curios of every imaginable kind, -- manes,
seals' teeth, birds' claws, feather headbands, clays, fungi, seeds,
etc. -- wanting every description of goods in return" /cited in Eng-
lish/ (MM:IX, 217; 1875).

One is justified in assuming that the Yamana greatly enjoy
437 exchanging their articles and, indeed, for the sheer pleasure of
having something in return as soon as possible. Bridges (ibid.) is
also of the opinion that "the natives are always buying and selling,
exchanging canoes and everything" /cited in English/. He also
adds: "Their manner of doing so is very unsatisfactory" /cited in
English/. True, to a certain extent everyone concerned with barter
evaluates the articles to be exchanged, but they lack unequivocal
measures of value, such as money, and hasty arbitrariness is un-
avoidable (392). This serious unpleasantness sometimes results from

392. On April 21, 1875, Bridges mentioned an incident "that occurred a few days ago. Palahlian, a man about thirty-eight, has three wives and three little children, and had a good canoe. Another man, a visitor here, not living with Palahlian, intends to give his canoe to Palahlian. Palahlian does not wish it, and hears of it indirectly, and is troubled what to give in return. He told me all about it. Palahlian at length is told that such and such a canoe is his, not, however, by the giver. Palahlian then seeks him, and gives him a large axe, well handled. Thus there is no mutual agreement previously made, and most of their transactions are performed in this loose manner" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 218;1875).

an exchange.

426 Our Yamana practice lending less frequently, but sometimes
they find themselves forced to resort to it because of need and un-
foreseen requirements. Almost always only articles that someone

437 money of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
[239] on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
[206] with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
[285] gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

448 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
428 ceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Such burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

594 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and ponchos, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries.
[262] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[262] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to man and woman jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

511 afforded a basis for little more than the mere act of existence and merely testify to the cultural poverty of their makers.

372 1. Fire-making Apparatus.—By all accounts the Yahgan rarely made fire, because they carried it with them on the hearths in their canoes. In their semi-nude society to lack fire might mean death, and so wherever they went they tried to husband a wisp of flame. When it was necessary to kindle a new blaze they used flint and pyrites (*ewélli*) with dried fungus or down for tinder, after the fashion of the Ona. Various places in Fuegian waters where pyrites can be secured are mentioned on page 65; one of these, Merton island, lies in Yahgan territory. However, Rev. Thomas Bridges states that they got this material by trade with the Alacaluf, who obtained it on Clarence island. Especially fine flints were found in a valley called Aníawaia between Lapatala and Ushuaia. To protect the fire-making apparatus from the weather it was kept in a small hide pouch called *asáua* (fig. 53, *b*).

[413]

[434]

[415]

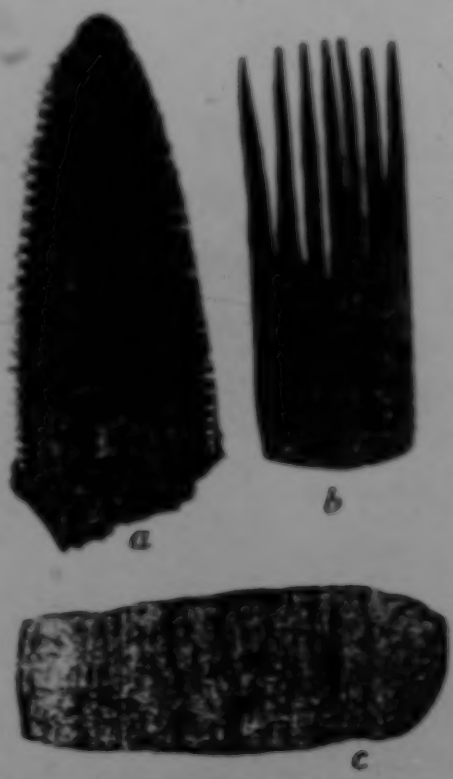

Fig. 54.—*a*, Porpoise-jaw comb; length, 6 in. (14/2370). *b*, Whalebone comb; length, 5½ in. (14/2374). *c*, Seal-throat pouch; length, 8½ in. (14/2369)

412 2. Fire-tongs. — For tending the fire and for removing the objects from it the Yahgan used tongs. These are no more than a stick an inch or so in diameter and a couple of feet long, split for three-quarters of its length. Cultural borrowing is indicated by the name of this implement—*láks* in Yahgan,

/469 cont./

411 bark, into which they also set a narrow bottom piece of bark. They sew up the edges with strips of wood fiber or whalebone, like those of a water scoop made of bark (Fig. 30). Naturally, this quiver, which, like the one of leather, is called hilix, is less resistant and durable.

It need not surprise us that not a single one of the earlier navigators, nor a visitor from more recent times, with the exception of Martial:192, mentions the quiver, the latter being subsidiary to bow and arrow. Even the arrow is not mentioned by many. The illustrations of bow, arrow, and quiver given in Volume I, 231, 239, and 240, could, without objection, also be used for these implements of the Yamana. With the exception of minor details, they show in general what these objects were like among the southern Fuegians. Formerly there were plenty of men capable of making these things for their own use. [439] It is also undeniably certain that the eastern Yamana obtained them through barter from the neighboring Haus or Selk'nam.

They are very serviceable in hunting on land as a long-range weapon against guanaco. For this they are not excelled by any other weapon of the Yamana. On the other hand, it is not easy to manipulate them in a rocking canoe, /470/ and from this vantage point a practiced archer can use them effectively only against otter. A person on land has a better chance to catch birds with the sling and the snare, and sea lions with the club. Moreover, the Yamana do not like to go far from the coast. It is only in cases of particular necessity that they push deeper into the woods where none of their weapons would be easy to manage.

224 In view of local conditions, we realize that the bow and
441 arrow cannot be recommended for general use and that it is really suitable only for hunting guanaco. The range of this animal, however, ends with the central Yamana. In view of this, the bow and arrow were used most of all in the east and less in the west where the guanaco is wholly absent. Here these weapons were largely used for hunting otter, and this explains why, with the progressive adoption of the dog, they lost importance. These changes in the economy of the Yamana cannot be discussed until later; they deserve attention for several reasons.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

437 rency of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
[439] on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
[804] with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
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/383 cont./
503 commotion there is all about him. When he wakes up, he feels
147 adequately rested. These Indians are not noticeably fatigued if they must go without sleep for a long time. To me it was inexplicable how lively and fresh they remain, in fact, even continue to work hard, until they have a chance to sleep for a longer time. No matter how tired he was before he rested, I never saw an Indian struggling to shake off sleep, even though he was awakened again immediately. No matter when he is approached, at any time of the day or night, one finds him in full possession of his mental powers. This is not the place to explain such a condition which, in the last analysis, is probably a particular condition of the nerves. In winter they sleep considerably more than in summer (34).

34. Hyades (q) :221 pointed this out: "In general, during the winter the Fuegians sleep more and exercise less, and during the summer they devote much less time to sleeping and work more" /translated from French/.

461 Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Yamana are not
147 capable of continuous, daily hard labor, much to the chagrin of European farmers and employers for whom they often work. Their work is more a matter of fits and starts, and in these occasional efforts they can develop considerable energy for a certain time. After that, however, they show a desire for an incalculably long rest period during which they lie about doing nothing, without showing great fatigue. If a man has worked on a farm for only a few days, /384/ he quits and says he cannot go on working. It is obvious that repeated irregularities of this kind make the European employer despair, but the Indian cannot help it. It is his natural disposition. He lacks the nervous energy, so to speak, for regular, prolonged activity, no matter whether this is a natural bent or whether it is a lack of cultivation in that direction. It is wrong to accuse him of lassitude and laziness. Any kind of pressure toward systematic, prolonged work seriously affects his health and weakens him because he is unaccustomed to it (35).

35. I observed the same thing among the Selk'nam and had an even better opportunity

461
147

/384 cont./

to learn about their unusual habits of sleep and work (Vol. I, 201).

513 What we have said about the unusual habits of sleep among the Yamana applies to both adults and children. No one rests on a comfortable bed or in a safe, quiet spot. If the ground is only more or less dry, a tired person will lie down for a nap anywhere and at any time. Our Indian, however, never sleeps sitting down or squatting (36). He must be lying down, even if he has so little

36. Spegazzini (a) :171 maintains the opposite, but he is mistaken.

space, for instance, in a canoe, that he can only curl up in a very cramped position. A person rarely sleeps with his head somewhat elevated, but if he does, he needs only a short tree stump or a stone, or even a large lump of meat that he will roast for himself the next morning. Since the sleepers generally do not stretch out -- because they would then lack adequate cover -- and since they crowd as closely together as though they were penned up, the small hut provides room at night for very many living beings (37). The

37. Hyades (f) :560 emphasizes this: "They are so accustomed to shrinking their bodies into as little space as possible that a small hide suffices to cover them completely when they are squatting" /translated from French/.

places in the hut are not all the same, however, since some persons are lying dry and protected, while others are more exposed to the wetness of the ground, the heat of the fire, or the disagreeable coolness of the night (38).

38. Hyades (q) :343 concludes: "As many as 20, and sometimes more, squat or lie there, veritably forming a heap of flesh around the central hearth" /translated from French/.

356 The Yamana by nature have little understanding and feeling for the most important requirements of general cleanliness. Their

/389 cont./

342 of the former dwellings, which was scarcely worth mentioning, since at present the Indians do not take the trouble to dry a few seal skins and stretch them over the framework. Instead they procure /390/ light sacking which lets in rain and snow and hardly keeps off some of the wind (47). Complete laxness and dilatory

342 461

47. Lothrop (b) :128 gives a similar judgment: "Thus housed they have had immeasurably poorer protection from the weather than in the days when hunger drove them to secure many seals and consequently many seal-skins were available for housetops" /cited in English/.

indolence have so completely alienated the last survivors of the race from the industry of their fathers that even the most distressing inclemency of the weather no longer stirs them from their state of lazy immobility. A few families have built small, [177] very simple wooden houses, European style, in Puerto Mejillones (48),

48. They obtain the raw materials for these houses through their work as day laborers or as gifts (p. 357 /untranslated/). According to Lothrop (b) :129, "the material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach" /cited in English/.

but they spend only a small part of the year in them. They, too, travel about for weeks in their canoe looking for food, and meanwhile content themselves with a cover of sacking on the co[illegible] shaped framework of their flimsy hut.

4. The Community Camp

361 The Yamana do not have permanent settlements in one place. There are a few occasions, however, when many families come together and remain in one place for a longer period of time. If a whale is stranded, people come from a great distance, and the

/490 cont./

226 line. When the fish has been brought near the surface, she reaches down and grasps it with a sure hand, pushing her second and third finger under each gill cover. After she has lifted it out of the water, she bites through its neck and kills it.

227 /491/ The snares and fishing implements used by our Yamana show extreme appropriateness. Each one of these things proves that it enables the Indian, with a small amount of effort, to get the wild animals he wants or is stalking.

9. Tools

412 The Fuegians have not yet advanced to a universal or even
324 preponderant use of stone tools. To blame this on the sparse occurrence of quartzite and slate in those regions is not sufficient explanation. When iron and glass were introduced by Europeans,
[171] the natives used these materials immediately, albeit in limited measure, without, however, changing the original form of their implements or replacing them by others. Actual working of the stone seems necessary only in the case of stone arrowheads and dagger points (p. 169). It cannot be definitely shown whether these Fuegians also shaped the round black stone with a groove, known as tesi. Hence the greater part of their tools consists of mussel shells, wood, and bone. This fact can be easily ascertained from the accounts of earlier navigators.

The following description pertains to those items as they were made before being influenced by Europeans. We must credit our Fuegians with considerable cultural progress by reason of the fact that they succeeded in making a number of implements of different construction and form, each with a very definite use.

412 We should like to mention briefly here a peculiar form of be-
461 havior of the Yamana which Lothrop (b):139 has also referred to. When they need anything for their implements, they do not take the trouble to make a thorough search for a good piece or await an opportunity to come across a better part. Rather, they take the first thing that comes along if it suffices for their momentary need and if it promises to fulfill the purpose for which it was intended. A better shaped mussel shell to be used as a knife, a more regular

/491 cont./

412 stone as a handle is perhaps lying only a few steps away from the
461 hut, but the Indian is not in the habit of getting up and looking around a bit if he can reach some halfway suitable item from wherever he happens to be sitting. He places little or no value upon a beautiful and durable tool; he is content if it serves him for a time. To a certain extent his negligence and carelessness is explained by the fact that he cannot adequately protect his things nor store them safely. An item is soon lost or becomes useless. Why, therefore, devote special effort to making it?

412 In this trend of thought we also find the explanation for the fact that our Indians do not exert themselves too eagerly to obtain
177 European iron tools. /492/ If they have one or another tool, they are content and use it as a universal instrument. When iron strips, blades, and nails were still a great rarity for them, that is to say, in the first three centuries after they were discovered by the "Nassau fleet," they assiduously stole these things. As soon as they were reasonably provided with them, their desire for them was, so to speak, completely extinguished.

α. The Scraper

412 The scraper, ufker, i, is an item that is used equally often by women and men. Cooper: 217 is right when he writes: "Among skin-using tribes like the Fuegian the scraper naturally takes an important place" /cited in English/ (Fig. 43). Every adult owns at least one of these as his personal property; for him it is more necessary than the pocketknife is for the European.

This object commonly has three parts, the most important being a large mussel shell which takes the place of a true blade. For this the natives choose a particularly strong, large specimen and give it the special designation of geluf (200). Vast quantities of

200. "A large, strong shelled mussel whose shell is used as a chipper," according to BD:245 /cited in English/. This is a large animal of Mytilus edulis, not another species, as Lothrop (b):139 erroneously says. Compare Hyades (c):299.

/507 cont./

285 it wide open, a narrow wooden hoop is drawn through the top row
[524] of coils which are looser here. This hoop is preferably cut from a stem of the pliable, tough Berberis ilicifolia. The entire loose weave is lightly and flexibly suspended from it. /Figure 52 appears here./ A handle made of three braided rush strings is fastened to the wooden hoop. These strings are knotted together at the highest point where they meet.

Since the baskets are not only used a great deal, but also

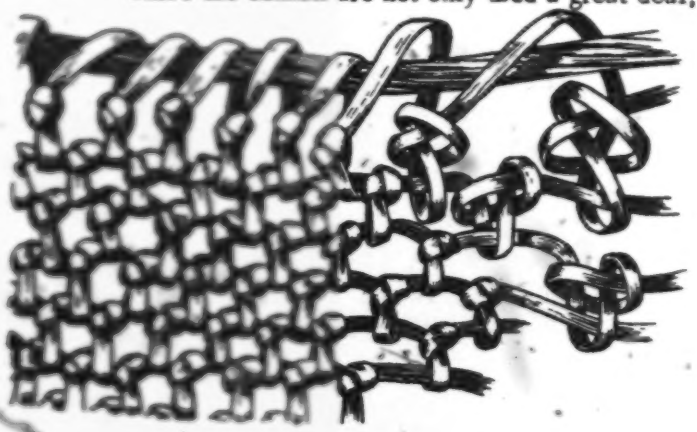

Fig. 52. Rim Section of the Open Basket Weave. Natural size.

easily damaged, every Indian woman always has several of them.
285 In her free moments she is constantly busy /Fig. 53 appears here/
461 with her basketry. Just as in Europe a housewife who sits down to rest for a bit or chats comfortably with another person will take out her knitting, so the Fuegian woman in a similar situation turns to her basketry. It is hard to judge how many hours she spends on a basket, for she fills many and different intervals of time with this occupation. Sometimes her already weary hands will move slowly;
285 some women are extraordinarily deft at it. A capable basket-weaver

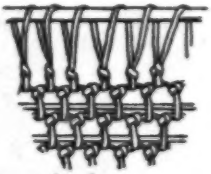

Fig. 53. The Open Basket-work.

226

/541 cont./
observes them and unconsciously compares them with the women of our coasts going fishing at low tide: the same grave silence, the same busyness, and from a distance the same silhouettes" /translated from French/.

At almost every ebb tide the women comb the wide surfaces laid bare by the receding sea. On a slightly sloping shore these are sometimes ten or more meters (267). Here there are only

267. Fortunately, the strip of earth along the shore which is laid bare at low tide is easily pervious and soon becomes hard. Hyades (f):553 specially refers to this.

medium-sized and small mussels, but they are easy to gather. They are sometimes loosened with a short, strong stick or with the above-mentioned mussel-breaker, wasínix. It is just as easy to break them off with one's bare hand, since the clinging filaments of the live animals are weak.

226 Assuming that low tide sets in during the day, one woman
461 will make a date with another, and immediately others will join
[854 them. Each of them brings along her baby clinging to her back,
857] and little girls run ahead, each with her own little basket. Sometimes a boy or two will run along out of curiosity and sheer pleasure, and they will watch for a while, but it would never occur to them to help because that is not their work. These women are only short /542/ distances apart. Walking slowly, they go from one spot to another, for the entire ocean floor is usually densely strewn with mussels. They seldom exchange a few words, and they keep their bent position unchanged. Sometimes they also squat down, without touching the damp earth, since the mussels can be easily grasped from any position. They stop working only when their little baskets are full. The women sometimes also set out late in the evening and in the early morning if the tide is particularly low. In winter they take along a glowing stick of wood and a few dry sticks in order to fan up a fire near the place where they are gathering. They return to it for a few minutes to warm their stiff

/542 cont./

226 hands and refresh themselves with a few roasted mussels. After
461 they have filled their baskets, if the harvest is ample, they even spread their back-capes on the ground and empty more mussels on them, with which they afterwards return heavily laden to the hut.

226 In this type of mussel-gathering, they collect some Patella, aywéra, known as pína when they are smaller and as flakuš aywéra when they are still smaller. They also collect Fissurella, ûngu (amúnku in the western dialect, énaku in the southern dialect), some Pecten, čápi, and some Chiton, yčkéř or yakáa. Patella and Chiton are often imbedded in deeper spots and preferably under a broad tangle of kelp. The Indian woman ties up her canoe on the kelp and plucks these shellfish out singly with her long mussel fork. Mytilus mussels, of course, constitute the greater part of her gathering. The Yamana speak of edible mollusks under the generic term of čipáala (268), and, as is well known, they

> 268. Hyades (r):294 maintained that of the many shellfish living in those frigid waters "all the large species are edible" /translated from French/.

are very abundant there.

Summarizing from this account, we may say that the Indian woman gathers mussels in three different ways (269): either she

> 269. Bridges (MM:X, 58; 1876) had already mentioned the "three ways of gathering mussels" /cited in English/ of the Yamana, but his scant reports do not compare with the detailed description given in these lines.

walks along the flat beach laid bare by ebb tide and with her hand plucks off mussels and incidentally a few other shellfish; or she wades through shallow water to the rocks where somewhat larger mussels cling, which she removes with her short mussel-breaker, wasínix, and which reward her for poking about in the water; and

/619 cont./

582 for the moment, and if they are shipwrecked on a lonely rock and do not happen to be noticed by others, they are in danger of starving to death." Such rare accidents, however, do not in the least weaken the brilliant record of the seamanship of the Indian women.

3. On Land

361 We are justified in saying that the Fuegian's principal field of action is the sea, for on land he makes only a temporary brief 461 halt here and there. He never settles anywhere for a long stay. /620/ Soon after landing, the man, aided by his wife and children, builds a simple, loosely constructed hut or only a meager protection against the weather and the rigors of the night. If adverse natural forces do not prevent it, the family usually travels on the next day or the day after. The sojourn on land is for rest and certain manual work. After the day's trip the woman, especially, needs adequate rest, but the man no less, for he is sometimes very agitated and active while hunting and does not feel his great exhaustion until later. Sometimes both husband and wife must exert all their skill for hours to combat headwinds and counter-currents until landing is possible. They expend all their strength doing this and need two or three days before they dare venture out to sea again. On shore, the man makes the tools he needs; however, in this occupation he is never tied down to a certain place. He works here and there on the same piece until it is finished, even though he has to load and unload it, unfinished, 20 times. Similarly, the woman performs all her manual work on land and combs the vicinity of the hut for mussels and snails, fungi and berries.

221 In its ceaseless crisscross journeys, the family follows a certain plan dictated by the prospect of success in food-seeking. In general a family travels far more in summer than in winter, even though unfavorable weather is more predominant (p. 24 /untranslated/) (433). In summer they have a larger selection of animals

433. Without giving this as a reason, Bridges (VSA:XIII, 207;1866) simply says:

461 /673/ Our natives are constantly occupied; for them there are never rest periods of weeks and months. Even though the man rests for two or three days after an exhausting hunt, he is never completely idle, nor can he be, for minor demands unavoidably force themselves upon him and bring him to his feet again. It is odd, however, that the Fuegians very often interrupt their activity with short rest periods (65). They never give their concentrated

> 65. Hyades (q):220 also observed this: "If the Fuegians love exercise, it is on the condition that it does not continue very long and that it is broken by frequent intervals of rest, whether on the journey or at work" /translated from French/.

attention to one thing for a long time, but provide an extensive diversion for themselves after 20 or 30 minutes. Either they squat down somewhere else and chat with neighbors or, if there is no one around to talk to, they roast a few mussels for themselves. At the very least they poke around absentmindedly in the fire or on the ground. To do any kind of work in a hurry is something unknown to our Indians.

a. Activity of the Man

462 In the management of the household, the man does all the work that requires great physical strength and that can be accomplished only with extra courage, sometimes with audacity. His actual sphere of activity is the free hunt. In this field he developes all his ability and tough endurance, the diversity of his mental powers and the flexibility of his limbs, the keenness of his senses and the utmost dexterity in the handling of weapons. Again and again his thoughts turn to the animals which he must hunt in the various seasons, the ones he has recently killed and those he soon hopes to encounter at the place to which he will have his wife steer the canoe. He is constantly thinking about the habits of the game animals, and he tells his associates in great detail how this one resisted his attack or how that one

/679 cont./

462 to the unhappy woman, truly a victim condemned to be bound forever in the heavy chains of slavery. The women... while the men devote themselves to repose in the hut, go naked into the sea to collect mollusks" /translated from Spanish/. Both travelers had probably chosen Darwin (d):247 as their teacher; according to his view, "for the woman the man is the brutal lord of a wretchedly toiling slave."

in many circles.

Each of the two spouses regards his daily work as his obvious 461 duty, which he performs with tireless patience in the service of his family. Let it be said in praise of these much misunderstood human beings that they devote themselves diligently and intrepidly to their work! Idlers and persons unmindful of their duty are rare and are despised by their neighbors. The majority are diligent and industrious; everyone pursues his occupation indefatigably, although his only outward compensation is the satisfaction of the members of his family and the fulfillment of his own sense of duty. Many an effort in rain and snowstorm is hard and unpleasant, but no one grumbles or complains. Time and again I have seen them exert themselves amid the greatest external vexations, but I never heard a word of discontent, anger, or impatience. Though the hunt was unsuccessful, though they were obliged to battle the waves in heavy rain and hail for hours, though they lost even their most indispensable tools, they did not complain or scold, but quietly and with customary haste built their hut and warmed themselves at their fire, just as happily as on the days of great success. They slept undisturbed and greeted the next morning with hope and joy, no matter whether it presaged sunshine or a snowstorm.

Thus, it is easy to sum up the /680/ work that is incumbent 462 on our Fuegians. They are constantly busy and, as a result, amply 461 tired; hence they are spared long periods of inactivity. Even on rare occasions when Mother Nature presents them with an abundance of food, they may not sit with their hands in their laps. Sometimes neither the woman nor the man is spared the utmost

/680 cont./

462 461 expenditure of energy, which is then followed by the required period of rest. From the start, neither of the two partners is given so much work that he finds it oppressive; rather, the type of activity and the number of tasks which constitute the day's work of each of them are fully in accord with the natural propensities which he as a grown man and she as a grown woman bring into their marriage (71). The co-operation of both of them in their

71. Cooper:169 reviewed the communications of many travelers on the subject of the division of labor among the Yamana and concluded from them that "the division seems, if we take into account Fuegian tribal conditions and necessities, to be a fairly equitable one" /cited in English/.

respective spheres of obligations, as well as in their joint undertakings provides the economic necessities for the family, binds the two spouses together in mutual dependence, and fills the life of each of them.

4. Relations between the Spouses

593 In order to supply their sustenance, that is to say, on the broad basis of household management, the two partners are so closely bound that one remains dependent on the other. This alone constitutes a tie that is extraordinarily binding on both members, but even beyond that they form a union of heart and soul.

Freedom in the choice of a mate and the important participation of the wife in economic management make it seem plausible that in the family both sexes have, so to speak, complete equality of rights and privileges. This fundamental idea is not invalidated by individual situations or occasional appearances of a different nature. Even Bridges (h):210 gives eloquent expression to it: "The wife is not wholly dependent on her husband and has all the freedom that she wants" /translated from Spanish/. The woman is well aware of her rights, and that is why she leaves a man who treats her badly; that is why, without specifically

/711 cont./

846 people have an idea that if the father sits not still for three days after the birth of his infant, it will not survive" /cited in English/. On August 16, 1865, Bridges wrote: "It is considered by them proper that a man whose wife has lately given birth to a child should abstain from throwing stones, either by hand, or by sling, at birds" /cited in English/ (VSA:XII, 273;1865). If he should do this, his child would become bald, as we learned. A man who has just become a father stays in his hut all day and abstains from the foods that are forbidden. He eats very moderately and abstains from his customary work. Although he does not pretend to be sick, nevertheless he is relieved of his daily duties and squats idly beside the fire. Neighbors and relatives provide food for him and his family since they require little during these days. The man truly acts as though his being away from the hut and the exertion of any kind of work would seriously endanger him and his family. He /712/ does not do anything directly for the newborn child; it is left entirely to the mother. He observes the accepted rules "because from olden times that is the way it must be, and otherwise the child would be unhappy or deformed!" As much as possible, of course, the family also avoids distant and taxing canoe trips, probably also in order to protect the newborn baby as much as possible. The father may use his hands, but not tools and weapons.

Since the men enjoy working, they resume their daily occupa-
846 tions soon after the birth of their second and each subsequent child,
● 461 but just to make sure, they have a yékamuł exorcise all evil. In
676 the case of the first child every man very closely observes the prescribed rules. An occasional idler takes the birth of a subsequent child as an excuse and considers only himself for an unduly long time, to the disadvantage of his family and the chagrin of the neighborhood. The neighbors, however, do not curtail their help, but continue to give it out of sympathy for the mother, since no one feels any responsibility to support a negligent man taking his ease. Although he pretends and consoles himself with the illusion that he is obeying the strict regulation, his neighbors have a different opinion. Calderon was a horrible example of this so-called obedience to the regulations. He concealed his laziness under the pretense of shielding the baby from harm. He was 28 years old and already had seven children; after the birth of each of them he continued his idle ways for several weeks to such an extent that the other families talked about it very disparagingly.

/412 cont./
in the Wulain region: "The greater part of the skins we saw on the natives, were Otter skins; there were very few Guanaco skins.... Seal skins, both fur and hair, were numerous. Many of the skins were sufficiently large to cover the whole person" (VSA:XI, 288; 1884) /cited in English/.

not only to make their meager articles of clothing, but for all kinds of implements and utilitarian articles. The otter and the fox are hunted only for their fur. Following an old, sanctioned custom, man and wife share in the work of preparation; the heavier work falls to the man, and the lighter handwork to the woman. Fortunately, the skins are extremely greasy and oily. After they have been removed, they keep perfectly for several days despite complete neglect. The sometimes continuous inclemency of the weather very often hinders the man in accomplishing pressing tasks, during which time many objects are badly damaged from lack of immediate care and proper treatment.

When possible, the successful hunter makes every effort to skin the seal immediately at the place where he killed it or at the first best landing place. His main object is the delicious blubber and the fresh meat. First he must pull off the skin. He places the sea lion or related species on its back lengthwise on the ground. His first and only long incision is made from the neck over the chest and belly to the end of the rump. A sharpened mussel shell serves as a knife. The second and deeper incision runs around the neck. He does not yet sever the head completely, /413/ but thrusts his knife in so deeply that the whole head can be grasped with both hands and, after the cervical vertebra has been broken, torn off with a sharp tug. He begins above at one edge of the skin or the other and, holding his knife in his right hand and grasping the skin with his left, he pares it away from its adhering layer of fat by means of short, contiguous, oblique cuts. The flippers are pared out intact from the joints under the skin which has been severed all around, and thus they remain hanging on the skin. He works his way along, piece by piece, first on one side, then on the other, always in the direction of the rump until the whole

/413 cont./

[n] hard that the sticks of the frame can be removed (58).

58. This basketwork frame for stretching skins is quite as simple and made after the same pattern as that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, p. 218, and Fig. 22). Some time ago Despard spoke of a preparation of "skins by stretching /sic/ them in wooden frames, till quite dry; then scraping and rubbing with stones, till soft and smooth, and white inside" (VP/VI, 86; 1918) /cited in English/. This procedure is ancient and familiar also to the Halakwulup.

/414/ The procedure is the same for stretching and drying the skins of the fox and the otter, but the work is easier because these skins are lighter and smaller. Some care is required in skinning penguins and cormorants, as well as in stretching these skins, from, which are thin and delicate. The fur and skins of other animals are not dressed.

If the dried, stiff seal skins are used for the covering of the hut, they need no further preparation, but for their many other uses it is necessary to clean them. The ordinary knife or a sharp-edged mussel shell serves as a scraper. The woman scrapes the inner side, piece by piece, with the entire broad side of the blade. The skin is spread out on the ground with the hair side down, and she kneels or squats on it, pushing herself along bit by bit. With uninterrupted movements of the arm, she draws the scraper toward her body with moderate pressure and in short strokes. Hence the scraping marks appear in layers and point in the same direction. In any case, the scraped surface looks irregular because the sharpness of the scraper and the strength of her arm vary constantly. It is necessary to remove primarily the dried fatty tissue and the transparent horny layer of the surface because they tend to rot easily. The woman is mainly guided by feeling, hence it cannot be definitely determined how deep she should go as she scrapes. It depends on the thickness of the entire skin.

Often it is also necessary to remove the hair, as when pieces of leather are needed for the back-caps and for ponchos or wraps.

/436 cont./

301 [439] which occasionally reached the neighboring Haus /Haush/ and Halakwulup through barter, was repeatedly mentioned by early travelers. One often sees it in the ethnographic collections of European and American museums. See Bove (c):126, Colini:722, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (q):300, 348, Lothrop (b):125, Wieghardt: 23, and others.

[237] Another necklace more highly prized than this is a braided cord of tendon on which short, small pieces of the dried windpipe of the /Fig. 23 appears here/ wild swan (Cygnus melanocoryphus) are very loosely strung. J. L. Myres:97 is right when he says that this "type of necklace is rare and much prized /cited in English/, for the swan seldom appears there in the south, and it is extremely difficult to obtain.

301 237 283 Finally, another necklace is described by Hyades (q):299, which I did not see. "Plaited necklace, Oupakh' ouana; this type of necklace is plaited with fibers of the intestines of young seals, Aouia ama; in the center, Itakoun, there is a fine braid, Açina, made of the sinew of a whale, which /Fig. 24 appears here/ also forms the double braid at the ends of the necklace; the fastening, Yamacéta, of the necklace is a braid made of whale tendon. It is worn only by women. Kipa tapan makou" /translated from French/.

301 The necklaces mentioned above, irrespective of type and construction, are procured by people of either sex and all ages. "The men wear these necklaces also, as well as the women and children" /translated from French/, Hyades (q):349 confirms. Older men do not decorate themselves as much with them, but /437/ older women do, and most of all the younger people. They are almost wholly a plaything for children. A woman will adorn her baby with a necklace chiefly out of a feeling of maternal happiness. The women and girls make all these types of ornament for themselves and for their male relatives, since this is work for women's hands. [462] The personal need for adornment and the vanity of each individual determine how often and how long one decorates himself with this or that piece. Unimpeded

/449 cont./

396 501 was diamond-shape in section, so there was a tent-like ridge centrally down each side" /cited in English/. The length is never uniformly determined, but depends on the accidental length of the plank, varying by 150 centimeters. The blade measures about ten centimeters at its widest point. The husband adjusts the thickness of the well-rounded blade to suit his wife's wishes (Fig. 29).

501 [462] If necessity or danger during a trip should force a man to take an oar, he handles it in the same manner as the women. He does not, however, have his own oar, as Colini: 237 erroneously maintains.

Fig. 29. Oar Forms.

The most common designation for these oars, so-called paddles, is ápi; they are also called tstatēga and tuswēna. Every family carries at least two oars in their vessel.

506 372 501 During the long trips our natives cannot possibly do without the fire. They keep it burning constantly in the canoe (p. 44). In the center of the bottom there is a specially prepared hearth, and adequate care is taken so that the bark underneath does not burn through. On the bottom they place a few flat stones close together so that there are no gaps. /450/ Upon this layer they place a rather large clump of turf which is at least seven centimeters thick, and its tangle of roots and coarse pebbles is turned upward. An alternative is to form a layer out of crushed mussel shells mixed with pebbles and lumps of clay. There is constant and ample moisture from the water that oozes in from below; hence this thick layer cannot become hot, and there is still less possibility that the bark floor can burn through. Since air has free access from all sides, the fire cannot flare up

/451 cont./

501 283 is always left in the canoe, either rolled up in a ball or wound into a few coils. It is used where steep banks make it impossible to draw the vessel onto land. One end is knotted to the first or second crossbar, witēga; the other is wound around a stone or a tree trunk. This rope, which is not very strong, is used to fasten the canoe only in very quiet waters to prevent the boat's being carried off by the ebb and flow of the tide. Because of its lightness, it is much more suitable for this purpose than a heavier leather thong would be (141).

141. In his time, Snow (a):II, 16 called attention to it: "The ropes they had to fasten their canoes were made of grass rudely platted" /cited in English/.

501 462 The few items listed here, oar, hearth, scoop, and rope are necessary adjuncts or accessories of the vessel. /Fig. 31 appears here./ The woman has charge of them also, and she sees to their replacements so that she will not at some time be seriously embarrassed or endangered.

/452/ δ. Its Efficiency

505 Their restless, wandering life forces the Yamana to carry with them wherever they go all their material possessions, without exception. These do not necessarily belong to the canoe, but no one can part with them. They are distributed in such a way that the man keeps his weapons in the bow, and the woman has all the other implements and little baskets, skins, and pieces of meat in the stern. The children occupy the center section; except for the insignificant trifles which they hang on their bodies, they do not possess anything. The canoe as such is extremely light and is, therefore, not suitable for transporting loads. Although it is hard to say definitely how much the articles necessary to the adults weigh, it is obvious that it cannot be much. At most, a large sea lion that a man has killed is loaded on.

The number of people that a given canoe can accommodate depends on their weight and the existing weather conditions. They

/455 cont./

396 one man or another will build a canoe. If he has observed that the vessel he built only the previous spring will hardly last out the winter, he sets about early enough, that is, in the fall, to make a new one. He does not take great pains with it, since the bark is not as good in the fall and in any case he will commence a new and better one in the spring. This is the only explanation for Bridges' assertion (i):23 that "the canoes are made twice a year in the spring and autumn. The former are called hǎkua, the latter Een-ǎnan [better kísaǎnan] i.e. Winter Canoe. The natives are specially careful to make the latter well" /cited in English/. Spring is actually the time when the great majority of families make a new vessel (p. 115).

504 /456/ Through the years every man acquires some skill in this work, but this fact alone does not prevent him from treating his canoe most carefully and giving it his utmost attention. If he should lose it in the course of the year, he and his family would be in serious difficulty, sometimes in danger of starving. Heavy blows against rocks and tree trunks are particularly damaging because the bark sections break or tear. Rubbing against pebbles and sand soon causes the bottom and the threads of the seam to be scraped through. For this reason, the vessel is often kept in the open channel after the family has been brought to shore by the woman. Wherever the gently sloping beach permits, they make a sort of toboggan slide of damp Macrocystis algae over which they drag the canoe and upon which it rests. When boarding the canoe, everyone places his foot very carefully; in fact, everyone avoids any jolt and violent movement, for the seams easily burst and the seam threads become more brittle the older they are. In loading and unloading large objects are handled gently and cautiously.

422 Even though the man makes the canoe almost entirely by
462 himself, it is not regarded as his property; the woman uses it and takes care of it. The man gives it to her, and it actually belongs to her or to the entire family. All the duties during the trip, as well as before and after, are her responsibility. She
462 alone paddles. Squatting in the rear third of the vessel, close
502 against the right side, she grasps the oar shaft with both hands, the left above the right, and pushes the oar diagonally backwards

/456 cont./

442 502 with a slight S-shaped movement in the water. This propels the canoe forward and gives it a definite direction at the same time. Paddling is made more difficult because the woman cannot brace her feet against anything and because she does not have a special seat. Also, she does not support her arms against the gunwale, but holds them entirely free. This is one explanation [147] for the unusually powerful development of the upper part of her body (p. 219 /untranslated/). As a rule she alone paddles (148).

> 148. Hence it is an exaggeration when Hyades (q):352 maintains that "the canoe is usually propelled with two paddles, each of which is manipulated by a woman in the large center section" /translated from French/.

If she needs help in a rough sea or when speed is required, she asks another woman or her grown daughter to take an oar. The other woman then paddles on the left side of the boat. Through daily practice, every woman learns to handle an oar skillfully. BD:32 uses the word atégaatas, "clever in paddling" /cited in English/. She also decides how the cargo is to be loaded or unloaded and distributed, what seat each child is to have, and who is to bail out the water and tend the fire.

If we consider everything that falls to her in the way of privileges and duties, she seems to be the sole ruler of the canoe. Her husband would not presume to compete for this privileged position of hers on the water nor tell her what to do. On shore the two agree on the course of the trip, /457/ and en route the husband expresses his particular wishes if game should approach, but the piloting and servicing of the vessel is entirely in her hands. If it should be necessary, she even requests him to leave his place at the bow and to sit near her and help her with the paddling. Every vessel has at least two paddles. She helps to make repairs, except in the case of larger tasks, such as putting in a side section, which are the responsibility of the man. Her constant duty is to renew the calking, for in the continual dampness, moss and grass, rushes, and algae rot quickly.

/457 cont./

396 Man and wife have their special share in the vessel; he
•462 builds it, and she keeps it in repair. Circumstances are such
[422] that every family owns only a single canoe, which is why it
must be guarded all the more carefully (149). One canoe is never

149. Hyades (q):352 confirms that "the Fuegians take the greatest care of their canoes" /translated from French/. Others are of the same opinion.

exactly like another in all details, although they are all built according to the same pattern. Differences in size are determined by the available raw material, and some men are far more skillful than their neighbors. The term wáalina is used for a man who would find it difficult to build a canoe. The men help each
[476] other in building it, and one man repays the other for his services with weapons or other valuable objects. No Yamana would hire himself out as a carpenter, but he does work for a close relative who is sick and helpless. From what has been said, we realize that the canoe is a vital and absolutely indispensable object for these Fuegians (150).

[439] 150. In the middle of 1868 Bridges, who was then a young man, brought two bark canoes to England. It was said that one of these was meant for a boy, the other for a girl. Actually these were models which, as such, had been ordered from an Indian. After that our Fuegians many times offered such small models for sale to Europeans. The two boat models mentioned above were described in detail in the "Illustrated London News" of August 18, 1868 (MM:III, 38; 1869). Many museums have good pieces of this kind.

/489 cont./

227 mussel fork. There is a complete description of it elsewhere, as well as a discussion of how it is used.

[824] The bark of a small, straight trunk of the evergreen beech is scraped off and the surface made octagonal. For the part that is added on, the natives choose a small, thick stem of the large barberry, huma, the particular suitability of which has been repeatedly described. They split it crosswise two-thirds of its total length, and the four prongs are pried apart with two small, short wooden plugs. These prongs are tapered to blunt ends. The other end, after it has been suitably cut off, is lashed tight to the shaft with a strap or with a small cord of braided rushes. Colini: 161 describes a specimen, the total length of which is 3.25 meters; most of them are not longer. The thinner it is, the more suitable.

226 The Indian woman slides this long fork perpendicularly into the depths from her canoe and pushes the prongs into the round, flat calcareous shell of the so-called cephalothorax of a crab. The pressure and construction which these prongs cause among the broken particles prevent the whole animal from sliding off when it is being drawn up, no matter how actively it wriggles with its long legs. In the canoe the Indian woman strips it off the prongs with her feet while she holds the crab fork perpendicularly in her hands, whereupon the animal falls to the bottom of the boat.

[462] It is, of course, again the duty of the husband to make this crab fork for his wife. While he is working on the shaft, he protects his hand with a special piece of leather (Fig. 28).

/490/ ♂. The Fishline

The tender, fresh meat of fish is a welcome change for the Yamana in their somewhat monotonous diet. Sometimes the man throws a spear toward a larger fish that is resting in a shallow cove or that elsewhere affords a sure target. Much more often the Indian woman is busy with her fishline which she merely slips into the water from her canoe, never from the beach and still less by means of any kind of long fishing rod.

/502 cont./

415 water from nearby streams and lagoons in the large bark buckets (216).

216. These bark receptacles are mentioned and described in Cañas Pinochet:358, Dabbene (b):181, Hyades (q):307, Lothrop (b):131, Martial:192, Spegazzini (a):163, Wieghardt: 27, and others.

11. Baskets

The baskets are excellently adapted for collecting and storing the always wet shellfish. These baskets lie around in the huts and in the canoes /503/ of our Fuegians in larger numbers than /Fig. 49 appears here/ among the Selk'nam. [422 462] They are the property of the woman because they were made by her. Only women and girls, less often boys, reach for them when mussels and snails, berries, and fruits are to be gathered; a man never carries a basket in his hand.

285 Judged according to weaving technique, our Indians have three different kinds. I believe I must adhere to this grouping, although Lothrop (b):138 speaks of four kinds. Below, a net-like container, čaɯwénux, čaɯwénnuš, will be described, which he and others regard as a basket.

[824]

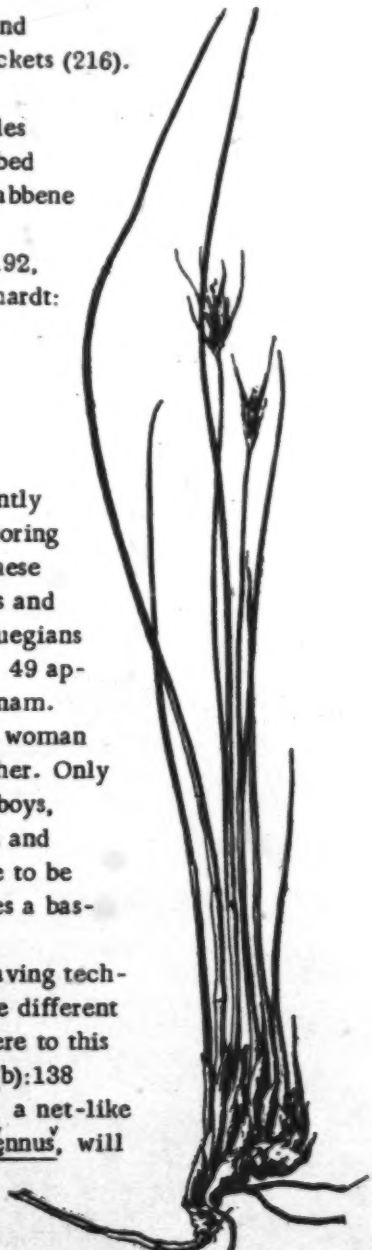

Fig. 49. Marsippospermum grandiflorum.

/512 cont./

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is of food, naturally; and their habits are formed with a view to supply it, and all their implements are to serve in procuring it...Hence are they constantly roaming" /cited in English/.

Food gathering in the widest sense of the term is, after all, the sole and true occupation of our natives. If this exertion were not always obligatory and without exception unavoidable for everyone, there would be great danger that their physical and spiritual well-being would languish. Their work never leads to weakness or to a lessening of their ability. Quite the contrary, despite weariness and exhaustion, despite strain and extreme exertion which are sometimes recurrent, the man's hunting and the woman's collecting are so attractive and stimulating, so satisfying and filled with success for the victor, that these things alone make every adult uncomplainingly accept the unavoidable hardships of making a living, and this decreases the pressure of their cares about their daily food. This strain is further reduced by the unfailing prospect of their always finding, here or there and relatively easily, what is absolutely necessary.

462 Both sexes contribute their share to the support of the family, which consists of father, mother, and children. Not everyone contributes to the same extent, however, but in the manner appropriate to his sex. The woman more than the man is tied down by unavoidable duties in her hut where she must take care of the welfare of her children. What the man accomplishes in one field, she does in another; both partners are, on the whole, provided equally with obligations, and their co-operation assures the well-being of the individual family.

Even at first glance it seems natural for the man to take over the exertions of the hunt requiring strength and for the woman to busy herself with the easier collecting of smaller things (229).

229. Hyades (h):23 has clearly pointed out this division of labor: "Everything connected with the hunt and even the cutting up of the dead animal is the exclusive occupation of the man, just as we have seen that fishing is

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/512 cont./

exclusively confined to the women" /translated from French/. The word "fishing" here means the gathering and catching of small sea animals.

This division of labor is an ancient law of custom. This is true no less of the planned way in which both sexes carry on their activities, which goes back to the very beginnings of this ethnic group.

22
178

It can be proved that the customary methods of hunting have been handed down unchanged from father to son; they guarantee sure success with little effort. The indigenous animals have also /513/ retained their habits and the hunter is dependent upon these if he wishes to attain his booty. With the exception of the guanaco which appears in only a small section of the Yamana country, the Indian stalks only the inhabitants of the sea, which is the reason why he cannot do without his canoe. Hence the latter is a vital method of transportation for him.

His wishes, however, are not directed toward anything and everything that the unfathomable sea contains. He consciously makes some selection among the animals, no matter how little freedom he has to begin with and how limited, after all, the number of useful animal species is. This applies even more to the gathering activity of the woman. Mother Nature is very stingy with the products of the vegetable kingdom, that man can use for food down there on the border of habitable territory. The lower animals are abundantly represented. They provide a considerable addition to subsistence, and gathering them is a constant, convenient occupation of the woman (230). How she goes about it and

230. Bridges (e):331 comments in general on their means of obtaining food. Bove (e):157 says: "The sea furnishes the staples of their diet in the form of fish, mussels, crabs, seals, and aquatic birds; furthermore, in the summer they find about 20 varieties of edible mushrooms in the woods and a few edible grasses." Compare Bove (g):234.

/519 cont./

225 If the many men succeed in actually killing the whale, they haul it ashore. They build their huts beside it and feast on the rich booty. Sometimes, however, the sick whale does not stay in the same place, but swims farther away. Most families try [462] to follow it. While the women steer the light vessel, the men thrust their large harpoons deep into its body and let out the long lassos, the ends of which they grasp securely with both hands. The whale then pulls the canoe after it. Now a very daring ride begins! If the whale dives down to considerable depths or accelerates his flight, every man must release the rope at the dangerous moment. He loses his weapon, but at least saves his own life and that of his family. Perhaps the hunted animal will reappear again within available distance; then the men /520/ attack it with renewed courage. As long as a chance of success beckons, they are after it, exposing themselves to utmost mortal danger, for to be deprived of this great booty means considerable loss to them, to say nothing of the many weapons they have sacrificed in vain.

Their hunting prospects are somewhat more favorable when they are pursuing a whale being chased by a grampus, ëpǎ́jǎčí (Orca magellanica). In this case their boldness is far more dangerous. It is well known that the above-mentioned animal makes a habit of attacking younger, smaller whales. With his powerful back fin, he strikes and jabs against the whale which can only seek refuge in flight. It makes for narrow channels and shallow bays. Its pursuer hastens after it and even wounds it badly. The whale tries to help himself by frequent leaps out of the water (p. 37 /untranslated/). The Indians are very familiar with this (242).

242. Dabbene (a):34 writes about this in detail.

The ëpǎ́jǎčí is accompanied not only by a few of its own species, but even more by smaller related animals; he is regarded as the "master" whom the others of his "people" hasten after. When the whale realizes he is being cornered, he approaches the coast in his despair. Now the many followers become plainly visible; before that they had often surfaced. The badly wounded whale

/537 cont./

224 to the superior number and the rage of his opponents. After the
231 Indian has skinned the fox, he tosses the entire body to his dogs; he very decidedly scorns this meat.

22 Among the few species of mammals on the Cape Horn Archipelago, seals occupy first place in the food quest of the Yamana. /538/ They are hunted not only because of their meat, but because their skins are urgently needed. The very desirable whale is primarily regarded as an occasional present that provides for many families over a long period. In comparison the guanaco is much less important because it is locally confined, and the otter actually furnishes only its skin. Tracking down a fox is a matter for the dogs. The many bird species that the Indian hunts could hardly be dispensed with in his household. Sometimes he is wholly dependent on them alone.

5. The Woman in the Food Quest

462 Among the Yamana, man and wife form an economic cooperative, and it is especially in the matter of obtaining food that they are dependent on one another. The woman, of course, does not take an active part in the hunt, which is regarded as a vital duty of the man, but she sometimes helps him indirectly by means of absolutely necessary knacks. She, as mistress of the canoe, takes him to those places where he wants to try his luck and go after game. She shares with him the difficulties of perilous crossings and long watches through the hours of the night when he devotes himself to catching birds. Finally, she brings him, along with his booty, to a safe place where both of them can enjoy a well-earned rest after all their trouble and exertions.

Far beyond the limited participation of the man in procuring food, she makes a considerable, altogether independent contribution to the support of her family by means of an activity that she alone can carry on. This is gathering, for which she is equipped by nature and to which she can devote herself without jeopardizing her more important duties as mother and wife. This activity is actually an important supplement to her husband's hunting activities. It is her duty to bring in lower animals and vegetable products.

/538 cont./

462 She could not avoid this obligation of ancient custom without serious disadvantage to her family. This brings her into definite contrast with the Selk'nam woman (Vol. I, 288). No matter how faithfully and abundantly the man provides his family with meat from the indigenous animals hunted, the woman, through her special gathering activities, must give her family all those products of nature to which her husband and children are entitled by rights of custom. Under no pretext could a woman consciously avoid this duty. If she were generally lazy in this pursuit or even [558] occasionally negligent, she could expect to be severely criticized by her own husband and held in serious contempt by the whole neighborhood.

462 593 Precisely because there must be a woman in the economic activity of the individual family, husband and children are absolutely dependent upon her. This relationship alone explains the favorable and influential position that she enjoys in her family circle. How much she actually accomplishes /539/ and to what extent she is able, by herself, to keep her family alive become evident when her husband is sick or when she is widowed. Then the entire responsibility of food-seeking rests on her shoulders alone, and she nevertheless provides so well that no one suffers deprivation.

462 Fortunately, in her activity as food-gatherer she has access not only to an abundant supply of one kind, but even to a not inconsiderable choice. She comes home with this and that, bringing a welcome variety into the monotonous meat diet. She can, of course, take from nature only what the latter voluntarily produces and as it is offered, for the harsh climate near the dreaded Cape Horn permits neither agriculture nor animal husbandry (263). The woman herself has invented or learned to make

263. An older account (VSA:XII, 81; 1866) says briefly that the natives "do not till the ground, and have no cattle, nor horses, nor sheep, nor goats in their country" /cited in English/. The experiences of the Mission Scientifique, which Hyades (g):6 describes (p. 32 /untranslated/), show that gardening does not pay there.

/539 cont./

462 the few and simple implements that make gathering easier for her. All of them are very functional and testify to a practical good sense. As a result, the procuring of food never becomes a burdensome task to the woman. She takes the great majority of her produce from the animal kingdom, but the vegetable kingdom, too, offers her some things which she finds welcome now and then.

a. Food From the Animal Kingdom

226 1. Mussels. On the rocky shore-line of the many islands are dense colonies of mussels. There are two kinds (Mytilus chilensis) ʍ̌uf and kečoin (Mytilus edulis) that cover broad areas along a slightly sloping, stony bottom (p. 44 /untranslated/) (264). They

> 264. Hyades (q):23 was astonished at the unfathomable riches of shellfish, especially mussles, in Orange Bay. George Forster (a):II, 378 writes that in Seno Año Nuevo "the rocks along the shore were covered with large mussels (Mytilus edulis), the meat of which seemed tastier to us than that of the best oysters." One finds the same abundance, more or less, throughout the entire Yamana region.

do not go beyond the highest water level, hence almost every low tide covers them. The deepest layers are not even uncovered at lowest ebb tide and consist of larger specimens. These mussels thrive best and attain unusual size in places where there are constant small eddies and restless waves or currents. The Yamana are acquainted with every little spot of their country and each tiny corner of their coasts. They often come back to the same spot, move about anew over the same course, and find their way again in local conditions without any trouble.

The most dense, cluster-like accumulations of large mussels can actually be reached only at low tide with the canoe. Their meat is not only fresh and tasty, but yields a rich morsel. /540/ /Fig. 61 appears here./ Hence the woman is willing to take the

/546 cont./

226 Although in general fish adds a welcome change to the monotonous diet of the Indian, it is by no means of real significance for his nourishment. Referring to this, Hyades (h):14 has very much exaggerated. For example, no one touches the representatives of the order Harpagifer, tăpun, tĕppun, although they would be very easy to catch. They are about as long as one's hand and have a broad head. They remain in the residual pools and cling to wet stones when the tide recedes.

[462] It is exclusively the woman's occupation and task to fish with a line for certain smaller salt-water species. A man would never do this. The women use two different kinds of lines (see Hyades
227 [q]:303). They fish with a line throughout the year, but only
283 when the sea is calm (279). The woman makes the very simple

> 279. To say that a woman fishes only "three months," that is, in summer with its long days, as Hyades does (q): 370, is unjustified.

[824] line (Fig. 63) herself. She chooses a long pencil thick stem of the easily obtainable large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera) and removes the few branches by snipping them off lightly with her fingernail. In this way she produces an almost smooth thread, tuĭna, tĕkĕpuwa. Since it is elastic, it can be easily wound into a loose coil. In the shade it dries only partially so that it remains
227 slightly damp. Any dull-colored, flattened, irregular stone about the size of a pocket watch will do as a sinker (280). The line is

> 280. In an emergency the woman will even use a longish, stone spear-point as a sinker. This may have led some less careful observers to conclude that the Yamana use actual fish hooks such as are employed elsewhere.

wound around it and knotted so that the free end hangs down a few centimeters /547/ below it. This end is finished off with a small knot, into which is fastened a fiber from the quill of a stout bird feather, about ten centimeters long and four millimeters wide. The quill tapers somewhat /Fig. 63 appears here/ at the bottom and ends in a running knot that holds the bait. The latter consists

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/550 cont./

Four kinds, -- or rather five -- of fish are found in company with the sprats, which are decidedly larger than those found around the coasts of England. These five kinds of larger fish are excellent in flavour and richness, and their livers supply the natives with abundance of oil during the season. . . The noise made by the approaching myriads of fish was like that of quickly rippling water; we could even hear it, though some 400 yards off" /cited in English/.

When this procession comes up the beach, the Indians first pick the larger animals out of the abundant masses, and not until later do they tackle the inexhaustible abundance of small fish. It is obvious that dense swarms of birds which also feed immoderately can now be easily caught. We can understand what extraordinary joy such a swarm of fish with its varied accompaniment evokes among the Yamana (290), for it gives them a superfluity

290. Bridges (j):25 says: "As regards fish, these are found at seasons in immense quantities" /cited in English/. Thus, the amount of fish varies slightly with the seasons.

to choose from for several days. Moreover, it is offered them in an easy way; indeed, it is scattered over a wide, flat beach. All hands, of course, help themselves to the gay profusion, although [462] here, too, the usual division of labor prevails whereby the men try to get the larger animals while the women alone, supported by the girls, scoop the small fish into their baskets with their cupped hands. Everyone is busily collecting, for the harvest lasts only a few days at this richly laid table. Soon considerable amounts of the fish strewn about the beach are washed away by the tide, and the sea birds contribute to the diminution by their

/551 cont./

226 now filled with fish, drop gently off with its contents. The basket is turned upside-down, the fish emptied, and without delay it is stuck onto the pole once more. Agility is now demanded, for the fish shoal quickly passes. No hands can be idle (292)!

292. Hyades (q):372 also briefly describes this mass catch with the loosely woven basket at the thick end of a short pole.

[462] Only the women are busy with all this, for the man meanwhile seeks to catch the larger accompanying animals with his weapon. Sometimes, however, he, too, takes the pole with the loosely woven basket if the woman has grown tired or is otherwise occupied. In less than an hour the occupants of a canoe, if they keep busy, can fill it so full of booty that they must head for shore. Quickly they take the many animals to their huts and set out again, for they know that the larger the shoal is, the /552/ more quickly it will be pushed out again into the open sea. They cannot draw uninterruptedly upon the abundance of the large swarm for more than one whole day. After the exertion of such great haste, they can feast for days on the varied booty and meanwhile rest up thoroughly.

226 462 We have just mentioned the fact that the man sometimes also takes part in fishing (293). Fishing with a line, as we have

293. The general rule set up by Bridges (a):201 long before is true, namely, "men very seldom help their wives to catch fish" /cited in English/. Fishing is woman's work.

said, is an exclusive task of the woman, but when the swarms of ílēčí approach, he sometimes also takes up the čauwénux. He alone, however, drives a spear or a small harpoon into the body of a larger fish. He is stimulated to this action when dense masses of ílēčí are escorted by large fish that are often lifted above the surface of the water and brought quite close to him. If the wood or bone point of the missile penetrates deeply into the fish, it is badly hampered in its movements and falls helplessly into the man's hands. Large robalos (Eleginus maclovinus)

/552 cont./

226 462 like to hover at the bottom of shallow inlets in the sunshine. These are also easy to spear from a rock or from the canoe and can afterwards be easily hauled in (294).

294. Hyades (h):20 refers to Fitz-Roy (a):184 and adds: The Yamana "Take large fish with the saw-toothed harpoon" /translated from French/.

In exceptional cases the men also build weirs. They decide to do this when there are several families assembled and it is impossible to travel on, but a shortage of food threatens. An ómmaku, wuépa is a hastily erected woven construction consisting of short sticks driven into the ground and longer interwoven rods, the whole filled in with dense brush. The weir is never more than a meter high. They are placed in narrow inlets or, preferably, in narrow brooks running into a broad channel (295). During an incoming

295. I noted the same construction, here and there, among the Halakwulup.

tide, depending on the water level, the entire brushwork is filled in only when the tide is highest, or only a small top strip is put along the whole width of the hurdle at high tide. In other circumstances the center is left open, being blocked off only at the beginning of ebb tide, depending on whether the whole weir is wide or narrow. At the lowest ebb the fish are held back and can be caught with the hands or killed with sticks. Weirs are used very little, because, as I was told, they can be erected only amid all kinds of inconveniences and because they do not promise sure success (296). Fishing with a line, however, is always most

296. Hyades (h):17 is the only European observer who mentions weirs. See also further pertinent data in Cooper:109 and Hyades (q):372.

successful and, by comparison, requires little effort. Indeed, it affords the woman a certain amount of rest in her /553/ active

/553 cont./

221 daily tasks. Hence every other type of fishing, with the exception of the occasional man-catch of [illegible], is avoided as much as possible (297).

297. According to Hyades (b):20: "...the ease with which they get fish among the large algae relieves them of all the work of making a fishing pen" /translated from French/, and the same is equally true of similar arrangements.

222 5. Birds. Birds' eggs are also counted among the foods from the animal kingdom by our Fuegian natives. Earlier travelers, for example, Fitz-Roy (a):184, often observed that "eggs are eagerly sought for by the natives" /cited in English/. Spring is the time for them. Wherever the family lands, the girls and women hunt for the nests of larger birds. They do not choose among them, nor does it bother them if the eggs have been sat on for some time. Their hunt is, without exception, rewarded by a rich harvest, for they are very familiar with the brooding places of all kinds of birds. Gathering is very easy where penguins brood, for they lay large eggs. The women bring their harvest to the canoe or the hut in their little baskets, and it is promptly consumed. They never risk any special dangers in order to obtain birds' eggs.

223 At the beginning of summer they also take young birds of large species still in the nest. They kill the tender animal by hitting it on the head with a stone or stick or by beating it hard against a rock. Above all, when they search out the breeding places of cormorants and penguins, they quickly fill their baskets with this game. Young cormorants cannot escape beyond the immediate vicinity of their nest because their wings cannot as yet carry them from the height of their nest into the sea, and penguins are likewise nest-bound because they do not yet know how to move in the water.

231 For entertainment and out of playfulness, the women also like to take an occasional young bird to their hut where they feed it until it is full-grown. If it proves tame enough, it is

/583 cont./

23/ kept alive, otherwise it is one day devoured. This explains why in early summer in the hum of the Indians we find at least half a dozen young birds, all very familiar with each other, although they usually belong to different species. They belong to the family (198), so to speak, and are a plaything for children.

> 198. Lothrop (b):118 "has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed" /cited in English/.

B. Food From the Vegetable Kingdom

262 The inclement weather of the Cape Horn Archipelago permits only a few types of plants to reach maturity, and the soil yields only a very few things that the Indian can use for food. A vegetable diet has no basic significance for them. It would be inaccurate to speak of actual subsistence on the vegetable kingdom. The Indian gets only a small taste from it now and then, which, as such, is unnoticeable and, in /584/ comparison with his meat consumption, quite unimportant (199). Mother Nature

> 199. Fitz-Roy (a):185 expressed himself very definitely on this point: "Of vegetable food they have very little: a few berries, cranberries, and those which grow on the arbutus, and a kind of fungus which is found on the birch-tree, being the only ones used" /cited in English/.

voluntarily offers him fungi and berries of various kinds, and these, as we realize, are mere condiments. They are gathered only by women and girls; men strip off a few fruits in passing and immediately pop them into their mouths without any kind of preparation.

[262] 222 262 1. Fungi. If we consider the conditions of vegetation in the Tierra region, we are not surprised to find a great abundance of mushrooms and fungi there. /Fig. 66 appears here./ There are no very poisonous kinds. Some are spongy; others have a woody

222 /564 cont./
[E4] texture. These do not tempt the Indian since the supply of tasty fungi is large enough as it is, and he does not care for them particularly. Everywhere one finds goodly quantities of a few Cytraria species, among which Cytraria darwinii Berk. is the most common. The latter is in general known as ñoñi, when it is ripe it is called ayéfis. It grows on the protuberances or excrescences (Fig. 66) of a particular spot on the beech branch, known as amáif or ñumáif. Each of these fungi reaches the size of a green, unripe walnut and is absolutely round and yellowish-white. One is right next to another, and they break off at the slightest touch. Women and girls break them off from the branches they can reach with their arms. After they have combed a particular area of the forest for them, the woman asks her grown son or even her husband to help her gather the ones on the higher branches. For decency's sake females are not permitted to climb trees or walk over branches; the men are called in to do this. The latter pick the fungi with their hands and toss them down, or they pick them off with their toes and drop them. Women gather them up and carry them in little baskets to the hut (300).

222 462

[881 934]

Fig. 66. Beech Branch with Growth. One-half natural size.

300. Bridges (MM:VII, 120;1873) once mentions that an adult male Yamana gathered these fungi and brought them to the camp. If he was alone in doing this, it is a rare and exceptional case.

222 With the exception of the brief period of mid-summer, the Cytraria darwinii are always found on trees and are edible in any

/554 cont./

222 phase of development during all the other months (301).

301. Outes (g):52 has collected descriptions of this type of fungus from the pens of several observers. In addition to this there are data by Spencer: 64, 100, 103.

/555/ A less widespread variety, and fully matured only in the autumn, is ašim, Cyttaria harioti F. BD:46 writes ōšuyim, "a small dark brown pear-shaped fungus which grow in clusters out of an excrescence which forms on the wood like a band" /cited in English/. This yellowish-brown, pear-shaped fungus, ranging in size from an orange seed to the seed of a small wild cherry, appears in rows on thin branches of the Antarctic beech. One can very easily strip off the whole row with one's half-closed hand and catch them in a small basket. The black uškēyon mēma (Cyttaria hookeri Berk.) is still smaller, the shape and size of a grape seed. It likewise forms on beech branches in rows.

[462] Although women and girls like to pick these two kinds, it is not their habit to gather them and bring them to the hut; they eat a few handfuls on the spot. The men do likewise, but less often. The ašim (Cyttaria haroti) is much preferred to the other.

Other types of fungi are of less importance to the Indian woman than ēsēf (Cyttaria darwinii). The latter is easy to obtain along the edge of the forest, whereas the other kinds are to be found chiefly or almost exclusively inside, in dark shade and in thickets. Women almost never go that far, or perhaps only to fetch wood, but they almost never go deep into the forest just to gather fungi. The large tree fungi, āman, are valued the most as long as they are still soft and meaty, and among these yēluš above all, which, according to BD:649, is "a soft, watery, and large flesh-colored fungus" /cited in English/.

262 The Fuegian eats about ten kinds of fungi (302), but I am

302. Bridges mentions "one very important item in the food of these people, which is fungus, of which there are about twenty varieties, some one or more of which are all

262 /557 cont./
himself. For instance, he says (MM:III, 116;1869): "Though celery abounds everywhere, they never use of it" /cited in English/; in BD the root of this plant is several times and very definitely referred to by him as an "edible root" /cited in English/.

[252] Some people like to roast the celery root at the fire and then chew on it.

It can be seen from these accounts that plant food is seldom 222 462 eaten by the Yamana, hence it is almost always a single individual who sets out to look for it if he feels a desire for it. It would be unjustified, therefore, to maintain that the gathering of such plants is a special activity of the woman.

A cursory review of the contribution of the Indian woman to the subsistence of her family makes us realize that she performs an important service, mainly through gathering shellfish. The things she collects not only bring necessary variety into the monotonous meat diet furnished by the man, but seem indispensable at certain times when hunting is impossible. With her diligent gathering the woman very often saves her family from suffering considerable hunger.

/558/ 6. The Food Quest throughout the Year

182 In their manner of living and above all in everything they must provide for their sustenance, our Yamana are and will remain inescapably dependent on their environment. They have adjusted to this inevitable pressure in all their economic adaptations, not the least in their implements and weapons. Darwin (d):248 confirms this in his own way: "Nature, which has made custom an irresistible force and its effects hereditary, has adapted the Fuegian to the climate and the products of his miserable fatherland." The causative factor in the two explanations is essentially different.

181 The mental attitude or disposition of this Indian group, however, also betrays an unmistakable conformity with their area of

/613 cont./

181 will regard his hunting effort as completely hopeless, but not infrequently that is just the time when his booty is more than abundant. Complete satisfaction grows out of the success of which the Indian is confident from the start, and this further increases his reliance on his own ability.

182 Naturally, the drive toward restless wandering coincides abstractly with his adopted form of economic management. In Tierra del Fuego agriculture and animal husbandry in a form which our natives would be obliged to choose would be simply impossible. They have no choice but to gather and hunt what nature offers them voluntarily. Now, game animals are driven away from the spot where one of them has been killed. Similarly, it is advisable for a woman to change the place of her gathering activity as soon as possible. Thus, as a matter of principle, a family remains in one place only as long as the meat from one of the larger /614/ animals lasts. If the family is dependent solely upon mussels, they set out even sooner. They do not stay more than an average of two or three days in the same place. Advantageously, the Yamana travel in very small groups, usually as individual families, sometimes with a second or third family. They separate again after a short distance, because personal safety, of which everyone is conscious, drives them toward complete independence and unrestricted freedom.

2. Underway in the Canoe

462 502 The only and indispensable means of transportation of our Indians is their bark canoe. Since it is lightly constructed, the woman is not excessively burdened by paddling. The canoe belongs to her. Although the man must build it, the care of it is left to her alone (415). She takes this very seriously, for the

415. Bridges (MM:III, 115;1869) writes: "Canoes are always under the charge of the women, who paddle them from place to place, and spend much of their time in them" /cited in English/, namely, on the unavoidable trips.

/614 cont./

462 loss of the canoe endangers the life of the whole family. She
502 repairs damage as soon as possible (416), or, if there is major

> 416. "It is chiefly the task of the woman to keep the canoe, this article which is absolutely indispensable for the existence of the Fuegian, in repair, and we always see her busy calking the cracks with half-rotten twigs and sewing together the individual pieces" (Hyades [g]:38).

work to be done, asks her husband to do it. Throughout the entire trip she alone attends the canoe; however, if there is a heavy sea, she requests her husband or other occupants to assist. She keeps the boys tending the fire and delegates to the girls the task of bailing out the water that seeps in. After landing, when the dogs have leaped out, when her husband and the children have disembarked, and all their belongings have been brought to shore, she must finally moor the vessel. Bridges (MM:III, 115; 1869) expresses very definitely what the bark canoe means for the Fuegian family: "The canoe is the most valuable property an Indian possesses, by it he travels from place to place, and with its assistance he obtains the chief part of his food...Canoes are used daily" /cited in English/.

502 On the trip itself every member of the family has his particular seat. The man squats in the bow; his spear and harpoon lie beside him and protrude far beyond the bow, easy to grasp and handy, with the bone point forward (p. 128). The children are distributed in the lower center part around the fire and between the low, small piles of wood. The woman occupies the entire stern by herself and paddles, first on one side, then on the other, usually on her right side. She grasps the single paddle with both hands and moves it in the water, not with a stroke, but with more of a stirring and short pushing motion. She lifts it diagonally out of the water and /615/ lowers it almost perpendicularly into the water when she prepares for the next stroke. This peculiar manipulation of the paddle is simultaneously rowing and steering (417).

> 417. Paddling has to be learned. Then it is,

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as Hyades (g):38 correctly judges, "work that is not too hard, since the canoes, made exclusively out of the bark of the birch-leaved beech, are marvelously light."

This work is a great strain on the entire upper part of the body, for the legs are neither braced nor do they offer support, and the arms do not rest on the rim of the canoe, yet bear the entire strain of free paddling (418). In the vessel all the occupants must squat

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418. Hence the slight development of the legs in contrast to the sturdy torso of the healthy, active women (p. 219 /untranslated/).

close together deep in the bottom, with their legs tucked under. Its center of gravity is very high, even when it is loaded to capacity, and it would easily tip over if the balance were disturbed. Children are told that they should bend their heads and the upper part of their bodies low; usually they lift themselves only high enough for their eyes to reach the level of the gunwale (419).

419. The words of Lovisato (b):134 are to a certain extent correct: "In this canoe the Fuegians remain in such a position that only their heads may be seen, a position identical with the one they maintain in the wigwam" /translated from Italian/.

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Before the family leaves the shore, man and wife have agreed on the goal of the journey or the course. She now steers toward this while he constantly is on the lookout for game. If an animal comes into view, he tells his wife and reaches for his spear or harpoon (420). As the vessel nears the animal, he slowly stands

420. The division of labor within the family is thus clearly expressed. Aspinall:270 refers to this: "Each canoe holds one family; the

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women row and the man is on the lookout with raised javelin."

up and, at the appropriate moment, throws his weapon. Only the perfectly synchronized co-operation of both of them assures the success of the hunt, and every married couple achieves absolute perfection in this in the course of the years. When they pursue a wounded animal, the woman must occasionally exercise extraordinary strength. She is equipped for it by the habit of almost daily paddling.

502 If the family has been rewarded with unexpected luck in the hunt or if they are very tired from the pursuit of an animal, they sometimes suddenly decide to land at the nearest good place. The most suitable site is a flat, gently sloping beach, covered with coarse pebbles, in a calm inlet. The woman does not let the canoe run aground, since all friction is to be avoided. She holds the bow steady at right angles to the shore while the inmates disembark one after the other (421) and /616/ toss all the implements

[758]

421. Only exceptionally, in case the man is ill and cannot walk, does Aspinall's:270 assertion hold: "In leaving the canoe, the woman must first carry the man ashore. He carefully holds the firebrand, protected between sticks of wood, above water, and begins first of all to erect a primitive hut." As a rule, however, the landing proceeds as described above and, for example, as is described in La Nature:274.

along with all the provisions onto the shore. One of the children carries a glowing stick of wood to the place that the father has pointed out to the child as the chosen campsite. The girls usually do this. The adults make sure that the last sparks of the fire in the canoe have been extinguished. Meanwhile the Indian woman remains seated in her canoe and keeps it on the same spot by paddling. When everything has been unloaded, she still has to moor it. If the landing place is suitable, a layer of Macrocystis

/618 cont./

502 causes it to rock, and this makes the uninitiated feel very insecure. Several times (p. 129) I rode in a true bark canoe and never dared to move. In it one is in a state of precarious balance, and the higher the center of gravity of the vessel and the less firmly one can brace himself, the more sensitive he is to every movement. Stirling described his experience in March, 1864: "A person accustomed to the firm seat of a boat is likely to feel a nervous sensation in these frail barks. The squatting position helps on the sensation a little" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 238; 1864).

502 Since the boat trips are unavoidably necessary for Yamana
462 economic life and since they occupy more or less half the year, we can appreciate the active participation of the woman. Despard (b):696 proves this emphatically: "Women do the paddling; they also have entire charge of the canoe, when once made; it is to the Fireland woman what the house is to her civilized sister, her chief place of employment" /cited in English/. The canoe is, so to speak, the center of her entire day's work, and no matter how much she likes to be in her hut temporarily, she nevertheless feels most comfortable in her boat. If
502 the journey is to continue in the morning, the entire family helps her drag it from the landing place into the water. If it was moored out in the channel, she must swim out, no matter how cold the tide. She climbs in, loosens the strong algae stems, and rows to shore. Here all the implements and possessions are loaded up again, and glowing wood embers are placed in the center for a low fire. After all the persons and dogs have boarded, /619/ the Indian woman steers her vessel toward the goal agreed upon. She is able to paddle for many hours without becoming overtired, for she takes advantage of the propelling force of the waves and air currents as much as possible. The bark canoe is extremely easy to move, and constant occupation with it becomes a sort of game (431).

431. Phillips (a):1011 is the only one who mentions the following general observation: "If one invited a fellow for a pleasure trip in a rowboat and gave him the oars, he

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3. Division of Labor between Spouses

462 562 581 In marriage the two spouses are not only united by a bond of love, but consciously in a working partnership as well. Among the Fuegians all work serves the purpose of immediate sustenance; no one thinks of the future or of an accumulation of riches. Household management is possible for an independent family only on the basis of a definitely circumscribed division of labor for the two spouses. Hence, it necessarily follows that one member remains inescapably dependent upon the other. This not only brings about the almost complete equality of both sexes, but makes plausible the fact that an /672/ adult cannot continuously or for a long period live alone and unmarried. Hence, all of them, without exception, marry when they are still young. Single, aged, and widowed persons who cannot marry again try to find refuge with a family of friends. In marriage both parties join forces, and their common goal is to have the family operate in an orderly fashion as an economic and social arrangement.

462 The spheres of work and the various individual tasks are divided up according to the natural ability of each sex (62).

> 62. In March, 1864, Stirling referred to his observation that "there are well marked divisions of labour amongst this people" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 228;1864). Bridges (h):210 much later supplemented this: "The division of labor [between husband and wife] is made in a manner that is considered just" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g):35 expressed himself more precisely: "Within the family, man and wife divide the work. The actual hard work falls to the men... The actual housework -- in this case, with the lack of houses, it is certainly figurative, so-called housework -- falls to the women."

All duties requiring greater muscular power, tough endurance, audacious courage, and decisive fearlessness are suitable for the

/672 cont./

462 man, for he is by nature more sturdily built and he likes exertion and danger which he triumphantly conquers. The woman, on the other hand, likes to take care of the children and busy herself in the hut; she also likes to combine with this the many light manipulations required in her household and in the canoe. Since the division of work is carried out uniformly on the basis of natural assumptions, the co-operation of the two partners proceeds without friction and harmoniously.

Finally, it is helpful that the amount of work apportioned to the man and the woman does not overtax either of them, hence never makes them lifelong slaves to their duties. They are, of course, by no means spared hardship and toil, effort and exhaustion, but Mother Nature does not force upon them a hard "struggle for existence," in the sense familiar to the European day laborer. A slight effort suffices to satisfy their natural demands in life and to let them lead a happy existence (63).

63. Darwin's (d):247 assertion is utterly false: "The man is for the woman the brutal lord of a wretchedly toiling slave."

European travelers have quite unjustly painted the lot of the Fuegians in very somber colors. For example, Bove (e):157 felt that "in this struggle for existence the chief role falls to the women who are regarded more as slaves than as partners." To such an untrue statement the missionary T. Bridges (e):332 retorts: "The division of labor was just and sensible, and the women were in no way oppressed, but led a more comfortable and happy life than the men and, as everywhere, reached a greater age" (64).

64. Spegazzini (a):171 even professes to know: "In general among the Canoe Indians the feminine sex is much healthier and stronger than the masculine sex; this natural debility of the man and his not knowing how to swim are probably the causes that contribute to such a great predominance of women" /translated from Spanish/.

461 /673/ Our natives are constantly occupied; for them there are never rest periods of weeks and months. Even though the man rests for two or three days after an exhausting hunt, he is never completely idle, nor can he be, for minor demands unavoidably force themselves upon him and bring him to his feet again. It is odd, however, that the Fuegians very often interrupt their activity with short rest periods (65). They never give their concentrated

65. Hyades (q):220 also observed this: "If the Fuegians love exercise, it is on the condition that it does not continue very long and that it is broken by frequent intervals of rest, whether on the journey or at work" /translated from French/.

attention to one thing for a long time, but provide an extensive diversion for themselves after 20 or 30 minutes. Either they squat down somewhere else and chat with neighbors or, if there is no one around to talk to, they roast a few mussels for themselves. At the very least they poke around absentmindedly in the fire or on the ground. To do any kind of work in a hurry is something unknown to our Indians.

a. Activity of the Man

462 In the management of the household, the man does all the work that requires great physical strength and that can be accomplished only with extra courage, sometimes with audacity. His actual sphere of activity is the free hunt. In this field he developes all his ability and tough endurance, the diversity of his mental powers and the flexibility of his limbs, the keenness of his senses and the utmost dexterity in the handling of weapons. Again and again his thoughts turn to the animals which he must hunt in the various seasons, the ones he has recently killed and those he soon hopes to encounter at the place to which he will have his wife steer the canoe. He is constantly thinking about the habits of the game animals, and he tells his associates in great detail how this one resisted his attack or how that one

/673 cont./

462 escaped despite the severe wounds inflicted by a well-directed harpoon thrust.

He hunts seals industriously, slaying them either with his club or with his javelins. To do this he must climb rocks, push into rock crevices and hollowed-out shores, or outwit the strong, very agile animal from the vantage point of his canoe. There is the greatest danger for the whole family in an attack on a whale swimming near the shore. In order to wound it severely and exhaust it fatally, each of the men hurrying toward it from all sides must ceaselessly thrust their harpoons into the mighty body of the animal, must enlarge the wound by tugging at the lasso, and immediately draw out the harpoons. The eastern Yamana creep up on guanacos. /674/ A small group of hunters will usually try to have their dogs encircle the herd and edge them toward the beach along the paths the guanacos have made. Men are concealed in the thicket along these paths and hurl their spears after the animals as they race by. The successful hunter will often disembowel the heavy booty at the place where it was slain and then drag it to his hut. Here he skins it and cuts it up into a few large pieces which are distributed among the neighboring families by his wife. The hunt for otters frequently demands patient waiting and afterwards often becomes very exciting. Finally, it is the duty of the man to stalk and kill the birds that are wanted in the household, namely, penguins which are killed with the spear, ducks and geese which are bagged with the sling or large snare, and cormorants which are caught by a dangerous search of their nesting holes in the bare rock walls. The man leaves the task of preparing the birds to his wife.

A no less vital task is canoe-building. He must attentively search for suitable pieces of bark in the forest, remove them carefully, handle them skillfully, and put them together masterfully into the finished vessel. Many tedious distances have been covered and sometimes very hard work performed before the new vessel can be pushed into the water for the first time (p. 116). It is his duty to undertake major repairs.

If possible, every man makes his own weapons and implements; it is seldom that he barters for a particular piece elsewhere. Whatever raw materials he needs, he usually gathers over a wide range.

/674 cont./

462 His work is interrupted by the constant canoe trips, and he must pick it up again and again before it is finally finished. He is expected to make the paddles and dance clubs for his wife, as well as the toys for his sons. From thick skins he cuts leather straps and suitable pieces for leather bags.

He does the heavy work in building the hut, especially gathering and erecting the necessary poles, and fetches large logs and whole bundles of smaller sticks for firewood. He lights the fire and keeps it going only if his wife is busy elsewhere. In the hut he lets her wait on him and keeps his hands free for his own work.

In the morning when the trip to another place starts, he alone takes care of his weapons and implements. He lays them out in the front part of the canoe and ready to be seized. On the way he is thinking only of his hunting and stands steadily on the lookout. He has his wife take him to the places where he expects to have success.

After consulting his wife, he procures whatever the family needs that can be obtained by barter. We refer to flint, raw hides, finished fur cloaks, ornaments, colored earth, whalebone, and smaller implements.

The above are the most important tasks of the man. He is primarily concerned with supplying sufficient amounts of meat for his family /675/ Everything that contributes to this end or that is required for it belongs in his sphere of duties. As a matter of principle he never touches the tasks that fall to his wife. If she should become sick or die, he immediately brings another woman into his hut to take her place. The clear separation of the two spheres of duties of man and wife can be seen in the fact that she would never remind him of a task or admonish him to greater industry, even if the family should become destitute and suffer hunger because of his negligence. All of which proves the almost complete independence of each of the two spouses in the management of the household, despite their co-operation (66).

66. The more important duties of the man have been enumerated by several travelers, for example, Bridges (h):210 and in MM:III,

462 /675 cont./

115;1869, Fitz-Roy (a):185, Furlong (b):132, Dabbene (b):188, Hyades (g):35 and (q):220, Lista (b):47, Outes (g):57, Webster:I, 182, Wieghardt:44, and others.

The following, which Stirling wrote in March, 1864, may serve as an example: "The men build the canoes, make the paddles, spears, etc. and sit in the canoes ever ready to use them. Bows and arrows, and snares for birds, they likewise make. The wigwam is the work of their hands, and every bit of wood, which feeds their perpetual fires, is gathered, and carried by the male section of the community" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (a):185 had made similar observations earlier.

β. Activity of the Woman

462 855 The actual duties of motherhood take up most of her time and are primary in the daily work of the Indian woman, in accordance with her physical and spiritual make-up. Every woman is blessed with several children who, almost without exception, remain in the parental hut until they are old enough to marry. She alone takes complete care of each of her children until it is three or four years old. After that the boys are chiefly entrusted to their father, while the mother continues to direct the girls. She gladly performs the great amount of manual work required by an infant, and she alone provides what is required for its care. In her happiness as a mother she is never separated from her youngest child, and she drags it about with her everywhere, although this makes her other work much more difficult.

462 Besides watching and tending the smallest children, she also performs special services for the family. She sews the pieces that are used for clothing for all the members of the family and for the most part also arranges their sleeping places. Although everyone helps himself when he is hungry to whatever is on hand, she nevertheless usually anticipates the wishes of the individual

/675 cont./

462 [252] and offers him what he prefers. She roasts the larger pieces of meat in and beside the fire, bakes and cooks the fish and mussels, crabs, and birds' eggs in hot ashes. She also provides drinking water and fetches it herself if none of her daughters is free to do it. Everyone expects her to make the small pieces of jewelry, such as necklaces and anklets.

462 356 /676/ Her field of work is the hut. She takes part, together with her husband, even in its construction and repairs damaged places and sections that have been loosened by the wind. She devotes particular attention to the hut fire, guarding it day and night, regulating the radiation of heat and the mounting flames, and seeing to it that the draft comes from the right direction and the smoke quickly drawn off. It is hard to believe how much attention and what numerous manipulations the hut fire demands if it is to benefit every member of the family and not annoy anyone. She prepares the sleeping place for everyone just as he wants it, and from time to time she renews the pallet. A good deal of refuse accumulates in the small living quarters, and the woman sees to it that this is promptly removed. She performs her many manual labors in the hut and in front of it, and she devotes herself tirelessly to the care of her children.

462 502 Her second field of activity is the canoe. It is the man's task to build it, but thereafter the care of this important means of transportation is entirely in her hands. She demands that the man make the repairs needed in the course of time, but she alone manages the canoe on the water and guards it on the beach (p.134). Before the family embarks, she gets the canoe ready so that everyone can comfortably pile in his things and easily climb in. She alone takes care of the paddling, which combines rowing and steering, and that is why she regularly takes her place at the stern end. She has previously come to an agreement with her husband as to the destination and the course. He gives her specific directions when he is on the trail of game. She anxiously guards the fire so that there is no danger to the bottom of the canoe, and she trains her children to keep it gently burning. To avoid capsizing, she sees to it that the occupants distribute themselves properly and that heavy pieces of game do not disturb the balance. She is always very conscious of the fact that on the water she alone is responsible for the boat and for her entire family.

/676 cont./

462 Our Indian woman contributes incomparably more to her family's sustenance than does her neighbor on Isla Grande. This is no exaggeration. One need only keep in mind that she alone gathers the mussels, which for the Yamana are as important as bread for a European. Her gathering activity, which lasts several hours on most days, also extends to snails and crabs, sea urchins and birds' eggs, berries and fungi. She catches many a fish with her fishline and many a young bird in its nest. All these articles of game benefit her whole family. She prepares for roasting the
462 large mammals and the birds which her husband brings to the hut.
252 Since no regular mealtimes are observed, she must serve first this one and then that one. She makes the popular blubber sausages (p. 320) and bakes the appetizing blood sausages in hot ashes. Finally, it is her task to dry Cyttaria fungi. Without this varied co-operation of the woman, the menu /677/ of the Yamana would be lamentably monotonous. She shows amazing skill and tireless endurance in obtaining food through the year (p. 281).

462 With all these manifold duties, there are all kinds of smaller manual tasks. Seal, otter, and guanaco pelts and the skins of
281 birds require a great deal of work. She must stretch, scrape, and, in part, dress them. She makes all the objects of leather and skins, especially bags and pouches, ornaments and toys, and naturally also the little that is used for body covering. For her personal use she needs small baskets and skin pouches. For the latter she chooses the alimentary canal of álakuš (Tachyeres brachypterus) and pieces of seal gut. She works on them during the brief intervals when she is free of other obligations. She looks for and prepares the colored earth for red and white body painting, prepares the fishing lines, and braids the rush hawsers for the canoe and the tendons for various uses (see particularly pp. 99, 196, 201).

462 If we add all this together, we are amazed and astonished at the extraordinarily extensive and versatile daily achievement of our Indian woman. Superficial travelers took this as a reason for describing her lot as oppressive and undignified, her burden of work as unbearable, and her existence as inhuman (67).

67. Bove (e):157 and (d):292 is one of those Europeans who exaggerate the most: "While

/677 cont./

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the lord and master is lying beside the fire, the wife stands in the water, exposed to snow, rain, and wind, to fish for her idle husband." And yet, several years before that, Bridges had definitely established that "the men and boys do not lead an idle life at all" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 116; 1869).

Nevertheless, the woman not only gets her day's work done effortlessly, but even enjoys doing it and takes it up anew each morning with fresh spirits. Neither she nor her husband has a comfortable and pleasant life. Stirling was quite right when he emphasized in March, 1864: "The division of labour is not unfair, although the women are doubtless exposed to some hardship in cold weather, when they have to wade in the water in search of mussels, or to moor a canoe to the kelp, or set it free" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 228; 1864). In April, 1871, Bridges (i):22 came to the same conclusion from his own observations, namely, that "the division of labour was very fair, the women were not imposed upon" /cited in English/ (68). These are opinions worthy of note.

68. Footnote 66 gave a number of sources, to which we must add Stirling (VSA:XI, 228; 1864), Bridges (MM:III, 115;1869), Hyades (c):142 and (p):332. What Fitz-Roy (a):185 wrote may serve as an example: "The woman nurse their children, attend the fire (feeding it with dead wood, rather than green, on account of the smoke), make baskets and water-buckets, fishing-lines and necklaces, go out to catch small fish in their canoes, gather shell-fish, dive for sea-eggs, take care of the canoes, upon ordinary occasions paddle their masters about while they sit idle; -- and do any other drudgery" /cited in English/.

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γ. Collaboration of the Spouses

462 The activities and spheres of work of the man and wife are distinctly separate from one another. In their daily work both spouses strive for the material welfare of their family. This single aim /678/ is the reason why the two supplement each other harmoniously and beneficially. The identical direction of their efforts is shown even more in certain joint activities in which each lends a hand. In such cases, one alone may lack the necessary strength or their common effort may accomplish the work more quickly. This is true of hut-building; the man brings [342] the thicker trunks while she ties the framework together, stretches pieces of leather over it, and finally calks the whole construction. Usually the hut is built after a strenuous canoe trip on which man and wife have overtaxed themselves more or less, or at any rate enough. Hence the sooner they can move into the modest structure, the more advantageous it will be for the whole family. That is why they both work at it from the very beginning to the final touch. In order to moor the boat on the shore both of them must join forces, and again when it is once more pushed into the water. Together they lift the large pieces of leather, which are to be distributed over the hut framework, out of the canoe and put them back in again shortly before departure. Not infrequently the success of the hunt depends upon the accurately timed cooperation of both partners in the canoe, for as soon as the man starts pursuing a game animal, he is fully occupied with his weapons and his prey. It is the woman's responsibility to guide her vessel according to her husband's directions, to take it on this or that course faster or slower until the animal they have been pursuing is theirs. This sometimes requires the utmost exertion on the part of the man as well as the woman. In moments of greatest emergency she may even shout to him to take the paddle, for if a sudden violent storm breaks, she is unable to make shore paddling alone.

It is true that man and wife have their definitely circumscribed fields of activity. Nevertheless, if danger and distress, sickness, or incapacity demand it on occasion, neither of them

/678 cont./

462 would hesitate to lend a hand in the other's sphere of duties (69).

> 69. Bridges (a):201 mentions: "Men very seldom help their wives to catch fish, which is their chief employment" /cited in English/. Not only in this respect, but quite generally it is the rule that one party may encroach on the sphere of activity of the other only to help on a serious occasion or if there is vital danger.

If we compare the day's work of the man with that of his wife, we realize at once that he is responsible for those labors and tasks which demand greater physical strength or perilous daring or bold /679/ recklessness. She, on the other hand, has the even, quieter, and less dangerous activities. While he, in single thrusts, as it were, and in isolated undertakings, must use all his capabilities, thereby growing very weary and sometimes actually exhausted, she has a diversity of light manual work (with the exception of the difficult paddling in bad weather) which permits her scarcely a moment to rest her hands idly in her lap. She stirs about the livelong day and often at night. The man, on the other hand, is entitled to rest periods of several hours at a stretch whenever he has exhausted himself in extraordinary physical efforts. An ignorant observer interprets the well-earned rest of the man as pure laziness and the tireless activity of the woman as the work of a slave in degrading dependence on her master. On the basis of this false judgment, descriptions have been given, such as Bove (d):292 (70) in particular indulged in, which found ready credibility

> 70. "How many times I have seen the men tranquilly sitting around a good fire, while the poor women stood exposed to the snow, wind, and rain, fishing for their idle and irate husbands" /translated from Italian/. Similarly, Lista (b):47 maintains: "A loafer, like all South American natives, the man leaves the whole burden of domestic tasks

/679 cont./

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> to the unhappy woman, truly a victim condemned to be bound forever in the heavy chains of slavery. The women... while the men devote themselves to repose in the hut, go naked into the sea to collect mollusks* /translated from Spanish/. Both travelers had probably chosen Darwin (d):267 as their teacher; according to his view, "for the woman the man is the brutal lord of a wretchedly-toiling slave."

in many circles.

461 Each of the two spouses regards his daily work as his obvious duty, which he performs with tireless patience in the service of his family. Let it be said in praise of these much misunderstood human beings that they devote themselves diligently and intrepidly to their work! Idlers and persons unmindful of their duty are rare and are despised by their neighbors. The majority are diligent and industrious; everyone pursues his occupation indefatigably, although his only outward compensation is the satisfaction of the members of his family and the fulfillment of his own sense of duty. Many an effort in rain and snowstorm is hard and unpleasant, but no one grumbles or complains. Time and again I have seen them exert themselves amid the greatest external vexations, but I never heard a word of discontent, anger, or impatience. Though the hunt was unsuccessful, though they were obliged to battle the waves in heavy rain and hail for hours, though they lost even their most indispensable tools, they did not complain or scold, but quietly and with customary haste built their hut and warmed themselves at their fire, just as happily as on the days of great success. They slept undisturbed and greeted the next morning with hope and joy, no matter whether it presaged sunshine or a snowstorm.

462 Thus, it is easy to sum up the /680/ work that is incumbent
461 on our Fueglans. They are constantly busy and, as a result, amply tired; hence they are spared long periods of inactivity. Even on rare occasions when Mother Nature presents them with an abundance of food, they may not sit with their hands in their laps. Sometimes neither the woman nor the man is spared the utmost

/580 cont./

expenditure of energy, which is then followed by the required period of rest. From the start, neither of the two partners is given so much work that he finds it oppressive; rather, the type of activity and the number of tasks which constitute the day's work of each of them are fully in accord with the natural propensities which he as a grown man and she as a grown woman bring into their marriage (71). The co-operation of both of them in their

71. Cooper:189 reviewed the communications of many travelers on the subject of the division of labor among the Tamana and concluded from them that "the division seems, if we take into account Fuegian tribal conditions and necessities, to be a fairly equitable one" /cited in English/.

respective spheres of obligations, as well as in their joint undertakings provides the economic necessities for the family, binds the two spouses together in mutual dependence, and fills the life of each of them.

4. Relations between the Spouses

593 In order to supply their sustenance, that is to say, on the broad basis of household management, the two partners are so closely bound that one remains dependent on the other. This alone constitutes a tie that is extraordinarily binding on both members, but even beyond that they form a union of heart and soul.

Freedom in the choice of a mate and the important participation of the wife in economic management make it seem plausible that in the family both sexes have, so to speak, complete equality of rights and privileges. This fundamental idea is not invalidated by individual situations or occasional appearances of a different nature. Even Bridges (b):210 gives eloquent expression to it: "The wife is not wholly dependent on her husband and has all the freedom that she wants" /translated from Spanish/. The woman is well aware of her rights, and that is why she leaves a man who treats her badly, that is why, without specifically

X756 /1385 cont./
756 disturbances. This is chiefly true of one who is accused of hav-
578 ing caused the death of a beloved person or /1386/ a widespread sickness. For many people a yékamuf may cause almost constant fear and anxiety. They cannot even flee for safety because the yékamuf extend their influence over wide areas. The missionaries often complained about this. Burleigh, for example, wrote on October 29, 1893: "Death has removed from us one poor woman who gave us much trouble at Wollaston with her sorceries, and by causing the death of those she hated, and who went so far as to try her evil designs upon us because I reproved her and some others for their sins" /cited in English/ (MM:XXVIII, 57,1893). The anxiety of a family group may continue for a considerable time if several yékamuf fight each other in their own peculiar way.

X756 In spite of all this, the people place their entire confidence in the yékamuf at times of personal distress and general need. He must help them in case of serious illness, protect them against the threat of malevolent natural forces, lead an expedition of revenge, and defend each individual against all kinds of dangers which are part of everyday life. In general his activity is actually more beneficial and advantageous than harmful and detrimental to the individual and his group. For this reason a capable, helpful yékamuf is loved by his people; they appreciate and respect him, obey him and confide in him. If one yékamuf is more capable than another, there is even serious jealousy among the individual family groups. In general each family follows its guiding yékamuf, entrusts itself to his care, and defends him against others. From all this one can see how closely a yékamuf is associated with his immediate neighborhood.

X756 Although the natives themselves speak of women who act
● 762 as yékamuf, and many Europeans confirm this, such accounts must be qualified. Usually a woman does no more than accompany her husband in singing now and then, or silently and patiently sits beside him when he gives himself up to deepest concentration. I was often a witness to this. Old Emilia, who was married to middle-aged Manuel, and Sara, the wife of Mäkemikam, were pointed out to me as yékamuf (319). Neither

319. Hyades (q):287 also writes: "Mr. Bridges

/1386 cont./

X756 462

> adds that he happened to meet an old woman who is yakamouch" /translated from French/.

in former times nor today has a woman operated quite independently in this field or appeared in public with the feather ornament reserved for all full-fledged yékamuš: Some people, however, really believe that a woman whose attitude arouses suspicion is capable and evil enough to cause harm and sickness to come to her opponents, like the medicine men. The people suspect such a woman and call her a yékamuš only if she exerts such influences. She does not go beyond that. Thus her ability is nowhere near as extensive as that of a /1387/ full-fledged medicine man. In general these are isolated cases of aged women who are not well liked and are avoided by their neighbors on account of their unpleasant dispositions and disagreeable character. In view of this it is not strange that they are the very ones who are considered capable of working with secret powers and of maliciously inflicting some kind of harm on other people.

X756 554

The Yamana without exception believe in the ability of their medicine men and are convinced of their power. This faith is most clearly demonstrated by everyone's attitude of awe and genuine fear toward the yékamuš, by the trust the individual shows when he approaches the yékamuš with his requests, and finally by the confidence with which the general public expects help from him for major and minor needs. In his extreme helplessness, many a Yamana has only the medicine man as a last resource. It is true that the people recognize greater or lesser ability in their yékamuš and they probably also deprecate the good reputation of one or another of them, making him out to be weak and incapable. Nevertheless everyone fears them, and a person must expect their revenge if they hear of his expressing disdainful opinions of them. Bridges repeatedly begged the Yamana: "Do not believe what your yékamuš say and do, for their deeds and their behavior are crafty deceptions! Do not believe the cunningly calculated nonsense that they use to trick you!" As a matter of fact, he expressed himself so scornfully

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

Red symbolized Peace;
302 white, war and ritual; black, mourning. Designs were very simple,
[822] confined to lines, dots, and, less commonly, circles.

Ornaments.—Personal adornments were: necklaces, of sections of
301 bird leg bones strung on braided sinew, of strung punched shells
237 (*Photinula violacea*), or of frapped hanks of braided sinew, often colored red; bone or shell pendants, sometimes attached to the necklaces; and wristlets and anklets of sinew and hide. Feather diadems and bird-skin, feather, or down-ornamented fillets or forehead caps were also used.

TRANSPORTATION

501 Canoes.—Travel by the *Yahgan* was almost entirely by water. Their earlier sole form of watercraft was the built-up bark canoe, of a crescent or gondola shape that characterizes other craft well up the west coast of South America to Perú; the plank boat, the *Araucanian* dugout, the seal-hide float, and the double-ended reed balsa were absent (Lothrop, 1932 a, pp. 253–54).

The *Yahgan* canoe (pls. 34, 35) was made of three strips of beech bark, one-half inch to more than an inch (1.2 to 2.5 cm.) thick, which ordinarily formed the bottom and two sides respectively. Average length was about 15 feet (5 m.), with a range from about 12 to 20 feet (4 to 7 m.); gunwale to gunwale width in center, about 3 feet (1 m.); depth in center, about 2 feet (0.6 m.). The bark, taken only
396 from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), was stripped off in the spring, when the sap was running. In removing the bark from the tree, the natives used a bone chisel or mussel-shell knife to cut it and a bone barking tool to strip it, and in ascending the tree held themselves thereto with a strong rawhide thong. After smoothing the bark on both sides with a small chisel, they cut it into three cigar-shaped pieces. These pieces were then sewn together with whalebone or with shreddings of warmed saplings, the seams being wadded with the stringy seams of wild celery grass or with moss mixed with mud. The gunwales were next lashed on. The ribs, of split Winter's bark, were then fitted in and locked in place under the gunwales. The thwarts, usually five or six, of hardwood, were inserted and lashed to the gunwale.

501 The fireplace was set amidships. The paddle was in one piece with a long lanceolate blade and short round-section handle without cross-piece or other grip. The *Yahgan* canoe leaked much; the cylindrical bailers (pl. 33, *e*) were usually of bark or sealskin. Sealskin thongs
[243] and braided grass ropes were used as mooring lines. The construction and repair of the canoe were the man's task; but its management, in-
[462] cluding paddling and mooring off shore in a kelp bed, were the woman's. In a sense, she was mistress of the canoe, with its hearth and ever-lighted fire. In a favorable wind a crude sail, made of a sealskin or

437 rency of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
[439] on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
[809] with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
[436] gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

768 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
428 ceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Such burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the surviviors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

574 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 **Labor.**—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries.
[262] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[562] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to man and woman jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.

/479 cont./

411 The Yamana has invented several missiles to overtake the various animals hunted, and each in its way is surprisingly efficient. He takes them along in his canoe whever he goes and places them, ready for use, in the bow section where they stick out far above the bow. The first thing he does when game approaches is to choose the weapon suitable for it; afterwards he seizes whatever is nearest at hand, so as not to lose the booty. Aspinall:270 maintains "[the man in the canoe] three kinds of such spears with him." There are at least that many, and two or three of each kind. It is clear that the two-barbed javelin and the bird-spear with the serrated bone point have a variety of uses.

411 Every adult is capable of making and repairing these weapons; they are indispensable to him for his 463 livelihood. Not everyone, however, succeeds in 437 cutting out an even shaft from the main trunk of the 554 beech; individual men attain true mastery at this. That is why many a man will trade a good shaft for other things that he needs. Everyone always has a supply of loose points which he keeps in a longish leather pouch, yānúku. Those few men who are able to make a perfectly shaped large harpoon point are 411 universally praised (186). In conclusion it should be

186. Descriptions of these missiles are to be found in Bove (c):132, Cojazzi:109, Dabbene (b):184, Hyades (h):23 and (q):302, 353, Lothrop (b):148, Martial:191, Spegazzini (a):163, Spencer:133, Weddell (a):94, and others.

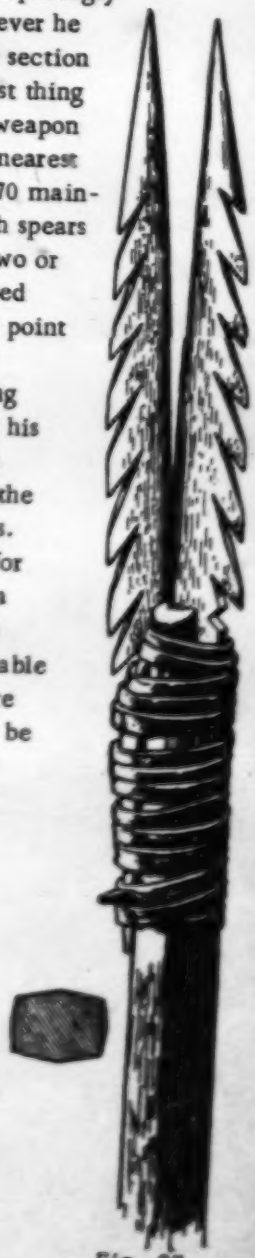

Fig. 37.
Fish Spear.

/508 cont./

12. Technical Skills

511 The material possessions of these southernmost Fuegians seem at first glance unusually frugal and poor. If we look more carefully, however, we are surprised at the considerable variety of implements and tools. Hence, our natives are not altogether destitute. In the variety of their utensils they without doubt considerably surpass the neighboring Selk'nam. The canoe alone is such an inestimably valuable means of transportation that it cannot be compared with travel on foot.

The environment into which our Yamana were placed was a 192 good teacher. With their own resourcefulness and keen gift of 176 observation, with the knowledge gained by experience through short, successive generations, they finally created weapons and tools of such high efficiency that it could hardly be noticeably increased within the possibilities of development originally afforded them. Anyone who will make an effort to gain an insight into the mechanics of each of the implements used by the Fuegians and the physical forces operating it will pay high tribute to their creative power.

Even Bridges (k):240 who was in a position to observe them for decades in closest proximity bowed to their ability, and offerred the following brilliant testimony, probably with not a little inner resistance: "The natives have evolved all the qualities most /509/ useful for the life they live; their canoes are perfect specimens of their kind and the same can be said of all their utensils and implements. With the material at their disposal I do not know how these could be improved. They are perfectly adapted to the soil and climate of the country in which they live" /translated from Spanish/. Behind the unprepossessing form and the pitiful simplicity of Fuegian implements is hidden an unsurpassed suitability.

463 In general each person makes what he needs in material possessions with his own hands and for himself alone. Exceptions are those things which, in the normal household life, are needed by the family or by the husband and wife equally, and which, accordingly, he provides for her and she for him. Manufacture is, therefore, an individual matter. There is no special class of

/509 cont./

463 craftsmen who professionally produce a certain article for the rest of the population. No one need fear professional jealousy or unfair competition, because everyone works for his own needs. Obviously, the natural endowment and personal effort of individuals are very different, whereas the material used is generally always the same. Anyone who has a sense of beautiful form and who takes pleasure in a neatly made article sometimes attains great mastery in his work.

535 The Yamana have special expressions to characterize this ability in the various fields of daily activity. We have just mentioned the word yetánakípa for a capable basket-weaver; wěštágutěs (according to BD:615 "clever, expert, neat in work" /cited in English/) means one whose manual skill in general overshadows others; yěšmánu has the same meaning.

Thus a certain stamp of individual personality, at least of an individual method of work, without conscious intent, however, marks each object as the product of the person who made it. Of course, everyone recognizes his own product, and this is made even easier by the fact that the possessions of an individual are very limited. For a practiced eye the difference between two objects of a similar type is sometimes very great. Everyone evaluates things that are excellently made or that have turned out particularly well no less accurately than he does inadequate and shabby articles. People who work skillfully and produce good things are appreciated far and wide (225); on the basis of their

225. Despard (b):717 wrote: "The dextrous spear, paddle, and canoe-maker, is held in honour, and called yersh-man-oa, or handyman" /cited in English/.

products, a father often spurs his son on to more exact and industrious handwork.

437 463 Personal excellence, as a result of which some person or other is able to produce a certain article, brings about the transfer of certain items to other hands by way of barter. There is no getting around the fact that one person has more dexterity and skill for one thing and another person for some other thing. /510/ /Fig. 54 appears here./ Fitz-Roy (a):186 was very definitely made aware of

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[411
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Fig. 54. Long Bone Points.

/510 cont./

this fact: "It is rather curious that usually each of these natives is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear; another with the sling; another with a bow and arrows; but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others" /cited in English/. This is actually the case.

A person who lacks something that he is unable to make because of a shortage of raw material or as a result of his own incapacity acquires it through barter with someone who happens to be in a position to dispose of it. For example, only a few men are completely successful in cutting and filing the long bone harpoon points (Fig. 54), in putting an arrow together, or in removing a wide sheet of bark for canoe building. It is inevitable that the individual will sometimes become dependent on others to a certain extent when he must fill his need for certain implements. This considerably strengthens the awareness of the solidarity of all members of the tribe.

To begin with, however, scarcely anyone would think of using the object which he happens to have for purposes of barter, since in all his work and striving he is primarily and fundamentally concerned with his own needs. He uses his own measurements as a basis. That is to say, he decides on the length and

/510 cont./

437 breadth, the particular shape of the weapon or implement, in
463 accordance with his own personal convenience, according to his bent and taste, depending on how he has practiced making it or is in the habit of doing it differently. From this arise the differences between the utensils of one man and another, between such small things as baskets, sewing work, and so forth, which one Indian woman or another will make for herself alone.

411 Because each weapon and each tool fits its maker's own hand, so to speak, it follows that each person has great dexterity in handling his own articles. /511/ Time and again their suppleness and accuracy of aim, their sure grip and controlled fist, their ability to make estimates, and their sharp eye have been justly regarded with awe and wonder by Europeans (226). It is true

226. Many agree with Bove's (g):235 judgment concerning their weapons, that the Fuegians "know how to handle them with marvelous dexterity and precision" /translated from Italian/.

that with constant practice everyone can accomplish a great deal. Many a European who has tried to use the sling or the harpoon or some other native implement has gone about it very awkwardly and become the laughing stock of the Indians.

The fact that no one owns more than one extra utensil of those most frequently needed is an indication of self-confidence. The less a person must carry around with him on his constant travels, the more comfortable it is for him and the freer he feels. It is only when want and need force him to restore the loss of an implement that he instantly and decisively sets to work. Since not even the thought of his own needs forces our Indian to make this or that object in order to have it on hand, how much less can we expect him to make anything for barter.

182 Our Fuegians procure and make their implements with little effort. They manipulate them very adroitly and steadily. They can depend absolutely on their own ability and the effectiveness of their weapons (227). What, therefore, should press and drive

227. Every careful observer will agree

/578 cont./

225 No one clamors for priority rights since, in view of the gigantic size of the animal, everyone can abundantly satisfy his wishes.
[887] In general, the old, influential men reach an agreement with the one who first sighted or touched the whale as to which of them should undertake the dissection. Not everyone has the experience and skill to do this, but these are demanded in order that the distribution can proceed without a hitch and as little as possible of the meat and fat is lost. A so-called wálaputēs, a man who is practiced in cutting up a whale (348), chooses four or five helpers with
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348. BD:630 describes him as "clever, expert, careful in cutting up a whale" /cited in English/.

whom he attacks the giant animal.

They make a quick estimate to determine the number of people present. Then they immediately step up to the whale or on top of it, and with /577/ sharp mussel shells they cut off one piece of fat after another, the size of a small table-top. Each distributor begins at a certain spot on the carcass and first of all scrapes off the parasites from the surface, especially the common Balanus psittacus. Then he strips off the thin skin and makes incisions from above deep enough to strike the muscle tissues. Finally he separates the square flap of fat from below and lets it go to the first applicant. One small area close to another is taken off the whale carcass by the distributor. Before he gives away an individual piece, he makes a long incision in the middle of this large flap of fat, through which the recipient sticks his head. It hangs around his neck like a shoulder-cape and he goes off with it happily in the direction of his hut. It could not be as conveniently carried either on his back or in his arms; it cannot slide off and, besides, he has his hands free. Without discrimination, one after another of the persons assembled gets his piece and returns when he has consumed it.

Naturally, one or another of them can state his preferences to the distributor, for certain areas are tastier than others. Even on the trip to the spot where the whale is branded people talk about the abundance that has now been offered them and express their preference for this or that morsel. One person, for instance,

/457 cont./

396 Man and wife have their special share in the vessel; he
462 builds it, and she keeps it in repair. Circumstances are such
[422] that every family owns only a single canoe, which is why it must be guarded all the more carefully (149). One canoe is never

149. Hyades (q):352 confirms that "the Fuegians take the greatest care of their canoes" /translated from French/. Others are of the same opinion.

exactly like another in all details, although they are all built according to the same pattern. Differences in size are determined by the available raw material, and some men are far more skillful than their neighbors. The term wáalina is used for a man who would find it difficult to build a canoe. The men help each
[476] other in building it, and one man repays the other for his services with weapons or other valuable objects. No Yamana would hire himself out as a carpenter, but he does work for a close relative who is sick and helpless. From what has been said, we realize that the canoe is a vital and absolutely indispensable object for these Fuegians (150).

[439] 150. In the middle of 1868 Bridges, who was then a young man, brought two bark canoes to England. It was said that one of these was meant for a boy, the other for a girl. Actually these were models which, as such, had been ordered from an Indian. After that our Fuegians many times offered such small models for sale to Europeans. The two boat models mentioned above were described in detail in the "Illustrated London News" of August 18, 1868 (MM:III, 38; 1869). Many museums have good pieces of this kind.

/518 cont./

225 The most common were Balaenoptera intermedia and Balaenoptera patagonica, the former exceeding all others in length and girth (p. 36 /untranslated/). The Yamana always had to expect to be disappointed when a ciyix (Ziphius) was stranded; its fat is not wholesome and has a laxative effect, which is something they well know from ancient experience.

225 476 We cannot speak of an actual chase when a dead whale is slowly washed to shore by the waves. If it is floating within reach, they try to pull it ashore. The dense flock of well-known sea birds announces this happy event to people far and wide, and they come rowing up from all sides. Unafraid, they venture forth far into the open sea and join forces to get the mammoth animal to the nearest beach. They take advantage of a favorable ocean current and line up in one direction. Every man plunges his large harpoon deep into the animal's body and lets the long rope uncoil (Fig. 35). As soon as it becomes taut, he must be very cautious in his canoe. Then every woman paddles her own canoe to the nearest coast while the men pull the whale after them with their rolled-up lassos. Loud shouts bring uniformity into their efforts. When about 20 canoes have assembled, and if the ocean current helps them along, this strange procession slowly approaches the nearest shore. Herewith success has actually been achieved, for neither a heavy sea nor storms can snatch this booty away from the lucky Indians. They keep the animal close to land on the long leather rope of their harpoons. They are even safer if they leap to shore and pull up the whale from there. They try to transfer the animal which is still floating in the water to a flat slope of this beach. They keep it parallel to the coast, and the long lassos of their large harpoons remain taut. If the bone point should become detached, it is once more thrust into the dead body of the animal, and this time deeper. Depending on the force of the current, many men must make sure that the mighty prize is brought quite near to the coast, and they must sometimes continue their vigil during the night, for the restless sea would surely drive it elsewhere or far out again. They wait for a breaker or high tide to deposit the whale with a powerful push onto the beach. Days can go by before this happens. Meanwhile a few people set about cutting large scraps of fat out of the carcass, which they /519/ bring to shore in their boats. Sooner or later the current will deposit it on firm ground. Now they can enjoy their rich booty.

421 /963/ They not only acknowledge that material goods have a definite owner who has sole right of disposal, but they also apply this acknowledgment to specific relationships between individuals. [858 736] Accordingly, children belong to both of their own parents as their property, and one spouse has an actual right to the other. Step-parents have similar rights to children who have only one parent or are completely orphaned. We shall soon discuss the fact that certain groups have a definite title of possession for sections of land marked off with boundaries.

The social order of the Yamana recognizes two types of property, namely, common possessions and personal property. The former is based on the absolute necessity of hunting and the roving mode of life. Since everyone, or rather the individual family, is thrown back on its own resources for a considerable time, it is also the sole, unrestricted master of everything it carries along, and it disposes of this quite freely. This distribution of possessions is natural; we come across it not only among all three Fuegians tribes, but quite generally among peoples with a low gathering economy.

It would be a mistake to regard the common property as a communistic form of possession, for the individual person only has the usufruct of it under certain conditions. In like manner it would [476] be incorrect to explain along these lines the obligation of mutual aid which is emphasized to a remarkable degree among the Yamana (379). Voluntary distribution of possessions in the form of

379. Hyades (q):243 opposed such an obviously false interpretation: "They like to share what they have with those around them, and one cannot say that this is because of the community of property. This community does not exist in Fuegia" /translated from French/.

booty and tools occurs as a result of social considerations, but leaves completely untouched the right of disposal itself.

1. Common Property

186 The consciousness of ethnic unity is very pronounced among 423 our Yamana, as among all primitive peoples. It is based on identity

/971 cont./

422 everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and
593 sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing. Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

The little supplementary word "sē" clearly emphasizes the
422 urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather
593 simultaneously and without exception. BD:379 states: "sē [is] used
192 by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. sē čkāli manāax ājan, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. sē kipajuin ex-uf (a man to his wife)come, get us some mussels" /cited in English/.

Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in
422 the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother
593 puts the roast or the mussels on the fire in response to the wish of
264 the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a
576 special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid;
431 hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the things he
● 476 brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family
593 saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fuegians, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /972/ has lost his weapons, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family hut from his hunting or she herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

/972 cont./

431 Nevertheless this does not entirely deny a person a certain preroga-
476 tive over whatever he has brought in, and a completely equal right
593 to it in the communistic sense is never granted to the members of the family (385).

385. This opinion is clearly expressed in BD:319 in the explanation of the verb "mōtabaku: To take or make use of what is not one's own but yet is proper to take or use, as for instance a husband his wife's fish, or a brother, if hungry, fish belonging to a brother or sister during their absence, though when he saw them he would tell them what he had done" /cited in English/.

422 For the individual family, the vessel, whether it be a bark
593 canoe or a flat skiff, is no less important than dwelling and food. Although it is made by the man, it is the woman's duty to service it, guard it, and care for it (p. 134). During the trip through the channels she has authority in the canoe, because she alone usually rows or paddles. Also, after landing and before departure it is only her concern. Since, however, the canoe serves all the members of the family without exception and since neither the individual nor the family as a whole can do without it, all separate rights or privileges cease, although the husband built the canoe and the wife mans it.

Hence we must regard the few things that rightfully belong to the self-contained family and each member of this familial unit as actual "family property." As such, this includes only the dwelling, the canoe, and food, and toward these an individual person cannot claim any special rights and privileges. Obviously this legal situation strengthens family ties and increases the feeling of responsibility of one toward the other with whom he is intimately associated in the life of the individual family.

/1006 cont./

156 malevolent humor of overwhelming natural forces, find himself
577 in an embarrassing situation in which he is dependent on the help of any fellow-tribesman who happens to come along. The
[476] nomadic way of life in a native region fraught with dangers insistently demands that one person willingly aid another whenever it is necessary (428). A distressing situation which repeatedly

> 428. Bridges (MM:IX, 216;1875) confirms this: "The wandering habits of the natives result in making them servile to each other. Not knowing whom he may meet in any place, yet having to seek shelter with any one he may find there, a native would find it very awkward thus to meet a man and his friends whose enmity he had incurred, causelessly or otherwise" /cited in English/.

assumes different forms has developed rules and obligations for social intercourse which the Yamana observe very punctiliously, keeping in mind their personal advantage and the public good. Everyone can be sure that fate will soon strike him, perhaps even harder than it is now hitting his neighbor. Sympathy for every fellow-tribesman is very highly developed among our Fuegians, even if the thought of one's self and of praise may have something to do with it.

1. Special Forms of Social Intercourse

576 Among the considerable number of customs and rules that apply to the social behavior of the Yamana, there is a conspicuous absence /1007/ of marked formalities. They meet one another neither noisily nor excitedly, but rather with a definite repression of their really animated feelings of joy and friendship. We Europeans might interpret this cool, impolite way of meeting one another as dullness or lack of feeling if we were not certain of the sincere feeling behind it. This is not to deny that sometimes two good friends reunited after a long separation hurry toward each other with loud shouts, embrace and shake each other as though

/1009 cont./

534 alone. In such cases the visitor is supposed to remain standing in front of the hut entrance and from here make known his or her wish, unless they prefer to wait for a more suitable occasion. As a rule, everyone first finds out whether the person to whom he wishes to speak is accompanied by others in the hut before he visits him. In order to prevent any embarrassment or, above all, gossip, women who value their reputations customarily take a child along whenever they enter a strange hut. Nelly Lawrence made it a rule to do this. Although she was the mistress of the house and on each of my four journeys I was a guest of long standing in her house, nevertheless she never visited the room assigned to me unless she was accompanied by at least one of her children. Gertie did the same. If a successful hunter lets his wife distribute some of his booty among the neighboring huts, she observes the prescribed rules (p. 474). It is well known that, in spite of this, a man now and then secretly meets a woman for illicit intercourse, and the persons who arouse justified suspicion are carefully watched. It has been mentioned several times that gifts are never directly given to a woman by a man or to a man by a woman.

574 What we have just said about prescriptions for social intercourse does not mean that it is basically undermined or seriously curtailed. As a matter of fact, frequent visits back and forth are not only a social requirement, but also a very human, psychological one. Under the pressure of the daily food quest the family must, in any case, again and again go their way alone while parents, as well as children, are fully occupied with the tasks assigned them. /1010/ It is only in the evening that they have a few hours of intimate social life, if indeed they are not too tired. In the long run, however, this is not enough: hence, they gladly welcome every visitor who comes to them. He will surely have something new to tell them, report all kinds of incidents, and answer a few questions and inquiries. Both parties are pleased and stimulated by the meeting. Occasionally a family must seek aid [476] among others, for example, when they have lost some implements in a storm, when they lack food or materials for implements, when they find themselves burdened with a helpless sick person, or have suffered loss by death. Since assistance in such cases can be obtained only from other families, they are urgently drawn to them,

2. More General Forms of Communication

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In the preceding we have described the everyday and more intimate intercourse between individuals and families. In what follows we shall speak of the regulations governing general communication and public order. The mutual relations of the Yamana are determined by a greater or lesser degree of unselfishness, according to personal disposition and the connection with the other person. I have repeatedly referred to this virtue of the Fueguians, for it is much practiced, and in order that it not be lost, it is more emphatically impressed upon the younger generation as a duty than are many other things. Most adults and children have an opportunity to practice it almost daily. A person who should fail in this would fall into hopeless ill-repute and open scorn. Everyone knows that he is closely watched, particularly when he distributes his spoils (p. 314), but it is not altogether out of fear of unfavorable talk that a person sometimes gives so much to others that he has nothing left for himself; he actually wants to show that he is unselfish. Whoever asks a favor of anyone can absolutely count on its being granted, no matter how much personal exertion and unpleasantness is connected with it. It is probably unnecessary to repeat the admonitions pertaining to this which are given the ukwála in the Lémeyu. Children, even in their earliest years, are taught to practice generosity willingly, and it is touching to see that even the smallest when they are eating give large pieces to their playmates. The Yamana feels uplifted and obviously happy to have served another unselfishly (438). It gives him

438. Dabbene (b):200 believes: "Among their defects....one can easily note a certain egoism which shows in some of their actions" /translated from Spanish/. It is true that they are not completely free of it. It is an obvious exaggeration, however, to maintain with Lovisato (b):148 or with Bove (e):159 and (g):334: "Selfishness is their dominant character trait." Even the parents, he says, are solely "governed by

/1018 cont./

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> love of their own ego. How often when I entered a hut did I see the father devouring the food, and women and children with intent eyes, their faces distorted with hunger, sat beside the husband and father, timidly gathering the crumbs that fell from his meal...." A horrible picture such as could arise only in the wild imagination of a Bovo! He must have been completely blind to the fact that Mother Nature did not scatter food so meagerly there, and everyone, large and small, can in most places conveniently gather it (p. 281). I also wish to refer to the detailed description, "How They Eat" (p. 302).

pleasure to give his guests beautiful presents and /1019/ his neighbors heavy pieces of game. Bridges (b):241 writes pertinently:

[Bro] "The natives are accustomed to go freely to persons who have game or other excess food, in order to obtain part of it, and they always go away satisfied. They never beg for anything, but the purpose of the visit is understood perfectly. They never offer thanks, but on every occasion they are prompt to repay such services" /translated from Spanish/.

We have just shown (p. 877) that gift-giving is actually a well-developed and well-regulated custom. These Indians also help one another by lending various tools and utensils (p. 870). A person is immediately given anything he asks to borrow, and no matter how long he keeps it, the owner never asks that it be returned, although he does not forget it. Also, I never heard the owner pass the other person or say, for example: "Take good care of this article!" Once I observed that someone had to interrupt his work for two days because he had lent his neighbor his iron chisel and did not want to ask for its return. No one, of course, would ask for food, no matter how hungry he is. The obligation to be frugal (pp. 887, 910) and personal pride would forbid it. A calm and optimistic feeling of great assurance gives everyone the happy conviction that he can everywhere count on the best possible help and assistance from the first person he happens to meet! Mutual aid is not limited to near relatives and

/1018 cont./
517 friendly neighbors, but is willingly offered to every fellow-tribes-
• 476 man.

486 Each of the many individual families is constantly traveling
181 about, not only under the pressure of the daily food quest, but also from a natural wanderlust (p. 363). They move slowly, but nevertheless cover long distances in the course of time. Definite boundaries separate the many local groups (p. 630) and the five dialect groups (p. 190 /untranslated/) from one another. These boundaries may be crossed under certain circumstances, and no visitor from another region can be lawfully prevented from doing so by the local residents. In general every family stays within its narrower home area, if only because they do not like to meet strange groups.
[429] It is a universal characteristic of the Yamana to stay away from strangers in the first place or at least to avoid them; they feel constrained in the presence of strangers, and suspicion makes them almost ill (439).

> 439. Bridges (a):210 gives a reason for this which is not quite correct: "These people dare not go where they have no friends, and where they are unknown, as they would most likely be soon killed"/cited in English/. We have repeatedly mentioned that certain circumstances make it permissible for anyone to travel in the territory of another dialect group.

203 /1020/ The ceaseless travel of individual families who thus meet one another and whose travel routes intersect partly explains the remarkably good propagation of news, which works invisibly. Everything that happens and any event that is in any way noteworthy are circulated far and wide and with a speed that sometimes seemed inexplicable to me. This much is certain, the Yamana lack such means of communication as loud calls or drumbeats. I cannot reliably state whether or not they give each other digital signs within a visible range, but I infer this from careful observations. Every adult learns what has happened within the confines of a wide area and usually without much delay. Most news, of course, is communicated from mouth to mouth. The facts are inevitably altered

/1021 cont./

202 it would remind one of a forest fire.

If the Yamana let a single cloud of smoke, ukǢali uškū, rise up, they are announcing a serious illness or an accident and want other people, above all the yékamuš, to bring help soon. In order to make two to four clouds of smoke, they previously prepare the corresponding number of fires which are placed about four meters apart. With two smoke clouds, kēmbēibe uškū, they announce a condition of serious distress that might be caused by all kinds of reasons, for example, loss of the canoe and the hunting implements or serious damage to them, the loss of the hut fire, or total lack of food. Three smoke clouds, méten uškū, announce a death. With four smoke clouds, wūru uškū, they announce that a whale is stranded. Finally it is customary to let one or more large smoke clouds ascend as a farewell to Europeans. They prepared this pleasure for me personally on two different occasions, when once a Chilean cutter, and the next time the "Garibaldi," picked me up in Punta Remolino and carried me westward. On the trip past Puerto Mejillones on the southern coast of Beagle Channel this sign of a final greeting arose with unmistakable distinctness. Long before, in March, 1834, Darwin (d):263 was honored in this strange fashion. On the last visit of the "Beagle," after the well-known Jemmy "had reached land, he lit a signal fire, the smoke rose up and gave us a final and long farewell as the ship was on its way out to the open sea." The Yamana do not, however, greet each other with smoke signals; they use them only for the above reasons.

•476 From the duty of mutual assistance there has arisen the rule that everyone must respond to an invitation for a common search for food, which applies particularly when a few men decide to search for cormorant nests. This enterprise is successful only if several of them join forces (p. 235). Anyone who is asked may not refuse to take part. Likewise they must join in an attack on a herd of seals (p. 38 /untranslated/) which is to be undertaken from a favorable shore. In the same way two or more canoes go out into a channel together where the women hunt for fish, crabs, and mussels for hours. They also invite each other to gather firewood in the forest. Such joining of forces is also necessary for personal safety in all kinds of dangerous undertakings.

571 Although many practices governing mutual association among the Yamana have arisen out of the necessity to help one another,

/440 cont./

396 develops an even, smooth trunk and becomes thicker than the two
313 other species of beech; moreover, its bark does not crack so easily (p. 28 /untranslated/) (124).

> 124. BD:661 emphasizes: "The bark especially of the hanis [Nothofagus pumilio] is consequently unfit for canoes" /cited in English/. Bridges (k):223 says: "The natives use the bark of the perennial beech [Nothofagus betuloides] for the construction of their canoes, since that of the other species is useless for this purpose" /translated from Spanish/.

When the men come across a trunk that can furnish a suitable piece of bark, they set to work. At least one of them is a capable canoe builder, and he estimates the proportions by eye. They distribute their forces to remove the bark, after they have carefully looked over the faultless piece, free of branches and scar protuberances. The smooth surface must measure at least five meters. The middle part of a long strap of seal skin, ūkgsa,
[481] wusūkgsa, is tossed over one of the higher branches, so that the two halves hang down freely for the time being. There is a loop at one end, which one of the younger men puts around his hips and fastens. While his companion pulls the other end, the young man climbs up the trunk bracing himself with his feet and more or less embracing the trunk with his hands. At the top he begins the incision and /441/ draws it perpendicularly to the bottom. Since he is secured with a cord and slowly lowered by the other man, he has both hands free for this work. /Fig. 25 appears here./ Having arrived at the bottom, he must climb up again. Now he draws the horizontal incision all around the trunk. If the trunk is unusually thick and if one section of bark suffices, he must outline this in the required width by a second lengthwise cut. The second horizontal cut a little above the ground is easier to make.

396 For this work the man uses a bone wedge and a suitable flat
313 stone as a hammer. The former, actually, is used only for the
412 incision in the bark and, very seldom, also to split thicker trunks into firewood. It is made out of a wide rib bone of the whale and

[Text continues on page 113. -Analyst]

/442 cont./

396 After the man has separated the bark from the trunk at the
313 top and freed a space, he places first one and then the other foot into it. Now the weight of his body does the work. The more the sheet of bark is loosened, the farther he sinks down until finally he seems to be trapped between bark and trunk. He leans against the trunk and grasps the edges of the piece of bark with both hands, or he presses it away from his body with his hands flat. Stamping with his feet in this pinch, he finally peels it off entirely down to the bottom.

One can well imagine that this work is strenuous and uncomfortable, for the tough bark fibers cling fast and the strap does not give a firm hold. Sometimes the man makes it easier
[481] for himself by tying short wooden pegs, tstĕskasána, one above the other, to the trunk at given intervals. These he uses like steps, but only until he can slip between the loosened bark and the stripped surface of the trunk where he can hold himself.

Everyone knows that the best time to strip the bark easily
396 /443/ is during the spring weeks, from the middle of September
313 to the end of October (127), during which time metabolism in
824

127. Lovisato (b):134 extends this period, namely, from October to February, but Bridges (MM:VIII, 156; 1874) only to January.

the bast zone is very active and the turgescence of the tissues is very high. Of course, it does not fail to happen that a family loses its boat at some other time of year and that a man must, of necessity, decide to make a new one. Without delay he must obtain bark pieces, no matter how great the effort. He knows that at any other time but spring the stripped bark is more brittle and splits more easily, hence is less useful.

313 As a precaution in the spring a man occasionally peels off
396 pieces of bark which he does not need at the moment, but which he may later use for some urgent repair (128). This does not

128. "Not being able to build his boat except in the spring, the Fuegian foresightedly

/526 cont./

223 In this method of catching birds the Yamana show an incredible dexterity in controlling their whole bodies and in deceiving the startled birds. One night I accompanied two men merely to observe them. I crept along behind them. Simply because I had no practice whatsoever, I almost deprived them of success in their hunt.

223 481 The cormorants prefer to nest on the smooth, steep rocks that jut out far into the open sea. From below it is impossible to climb up some of these walls, in which hundreds of the birds make their nests. Sometimes a forced ascent can be made from the other side, and for this the Yamana do not lack daring when their food has become scarce. Several men set out together on a dark, stormy night, after they have oriented themselves somewhat by daylight. They climb up to the top of the rock and get close to the edge of the steep wall within which the many nests have been built. One of the younger men ties a long, firm strap, ukeia, around his loins. He is carefully lowered by the other men who have secured a safe footing up above. Previously they have agreed 223 on certain knocks as signals which the man who is lowered is to communicate to those above by hitting his strap -- this to enable him to move successfully. He seizes the sleeping cormorant, which has hidden its head in its wing, by its bent neck and bites through it. The animal dies at once. Depending on the terrain, he either drops his booty or ties it to the strap around his hips or to a strap that has been lowered. Immediately he seizes another bird. He is favored by the blowing and howling of the dark night, and a good yield is assured him because of the great number of birds, even though some should wake up and escape. If he grows tired or finds himself already heavily laden with booty, he lets himself be hoisted up. Usually another man takes his place in this work, for they want /527/ to take full advantage of this favorable opportunity and be well repaid for their efforts. The people know very well that this undertaking is dangerous (249), but when an emergency

249. This is proved by experiences that Bridges (MM:XIII, 157; 1879) had: "Many accidents occur in following these risky pursuits. Sometimes sharp rocks cut the

/543 cont./

226 Lothrop (b):154 speaks of the "Sea-urchin spear" /cited in English/.

Carefully she lifts the long pole up again, precisely perpendicular. The Indian woman pierces the shell only when, in exceptional cases, she is not successful otherwise. She piles up her booty in the bottom of the canoe. If she is lucky, she gathers /544/ a whole dozen within an hour; if not, it takes her three to five hours to collect this amount. She sacrifices this time on account of the eagerly awaited enjoyment.

226 481 In exceptional cases the Indian woman jumps out of her canoe and dives down to get the sea urchin with her hands (273). She

273. Despard (b):697 had already observed that "women dive for sea-eggs and the finer kinds of mussels" /cited in English/.

does this when she sees several animals next to each other on the sea floor, which she cannot grasp with her crab fork because of the tangle of algae floating on top of it. She is not afraid of the cold [47] water. She is used to it, because at all times of the year she must fasten her canoe a considerable distance from the beach and must swim back and forth (274).

274. Quite unjustifiably Hyades (h):12 and (q):370 makes this habit of the Indian women to dive for sea urchins the point of departure for a long explanation. Only an erroneous interpretation can lead him to speak of a "wretched duty" of the women to dive for sea urchins.

226 Hyades' (q):369 emphasis on the significance of sea urchins does not correspond to the facts. He would have us believe that "this fish supplies almost exclusively the food needs of the people at certain times of the year when mollusks become rare" /translated from French/, but the inexhaustible mass of shellfish never diminishes, least of all that of mussels. We must agree with him,

222 /554 cont./
[262] texture. These do not tempt the Indian since the supply of tasty fungi is large enough as it is, and he does not care for them particularly. Everywhere one finds goodly quantities of a few Cyttaria species, among which Cyttaria darwinii Berk. is the most common. The latter is in general known as ēsēf; when it is ripe it is called aufcix. It grows on the protuberances or excrescences (Fig. 66) of a particular spot on the beech branch, known as amāif or ēsamāif. Each of these fungi reaches the size of a green, unripe walnut and is absolutely round and yellowish-white. One is right next to another, and they break off at the slightest touch. Women and girls break them off from the branches they can reach with their arms. After they have combed a particular area of the forest for them, the woman asks her grown son or even her husband to help her gather the ones on the higher branches. For decency's sake females are not permitted to climb trees or walk over branches; the men are called in to do this. The latter pick the fungi with their hands and toss them down, or they pick them off with their toes and drop them. Women gather them up and carry them in little baskets to the hut (300).

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Fig. 66. Beech Branch with Growth. One-half natural size.

300. Bridges (MM:VII, 120;1873) once mentions that an adult male Yamana gathered these fungi and brought them to the camp. If he was alone in doing this, it is a rare and exceptional case.

222 With the exception of the brief period of mid-summer, the Cyttaria darwinii are always found on trees and are edible in any

/616 cont./

502 the tough algae stalks and also pulls bundles of branches across it so that it is all entangled in the elastic bundle. She also fastens the paddle there. Then she dives out and swims to shore. Meanwhile her family has kindled a good fire, and she soon warms herself thoroughly (423). No matter how high the waves pile up

423. Bridges (MM:III, 115;1869) also discusses this method of mooring the canoe.

during the night, they do not hurt the light canoe. On the beach it could be dashed against rocks at high tide /617/ or tossed back and forth on the shore, which would scrape open the seams. Hence it is moored safely outside among the floating elastic algae which are in tangled masses (424).

424. Lucy:170 has erroneously maintained that the canoe is taken apart on landing. Anyone who is familiar with the construction of this vessel knows that taking it apart is impossible.

481 On this occasion, which happens frequently, the Indian woman is obliged to swim. It is a strange fact that generally only women and girls can swim. Many European observers have pointed this out (425) and praised their endurance in diving. Bridges (MM:III,

425. For example, Bridges (MM:XIII, 157; 1879), Despard (b):697, Hyades (h):12 and (q):213, Lovisato (b):130, Spegazzini (a): 171, and others.

115; 1869) briefly emphasizes: "Women invariably swim, and men never" /cited in English/. Only when they are forced by necessity, however, do they enter the water, namely, when servicing the canoe, when looking for sea urchins, and when they haul in a game animal. On the really warm days which are extremely rare a few persons bathe in order to cool off a bit (426).

426. Hyades (g):38 emphasizes: "Strangely

/617 cont./

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enough, women can swim, but not men. The women usually swim very well, but go into the water only when they have to. Only rarely, when it was relatively warm, did the Frenchmen have an opportunity to observe that the Fuegian women also jumped into the water for pleasure, and played about happily in it without any particular purpose."

A person who comes out of the water immediately hastens to the hut fire in order to warm himself thoroughly. In winter they also, as Fitz-Roy (a):186 observed, "rub their bodies all over with oil or grease and ochreous earth, to keep out the cold" /cited in English/ (427). Aspinall:270, however, is right when he says that

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427. Hyades (q):214 supplements this by saying: "We saw young women swimming, one of whom was five-months pregnant, another nursing, on a May day when the temperature of the water was not above six degrees" /translated from French/.

"men can seldom swim, women always" (428). When I asked

428. Hence Fitz-Roy (a):186 exaggerates with his assertion: "Men, women, and children are excellent swimmers" /cited in English/, because it is too general.

about this from one of the many who could not swim, I received the reply: "We don't have to learn it, for the woman takes us in the canoe to the beach and fetches us again from there (429)!"

429. To the same question Hyades (q):214 received the answer "given mockingly by a Fuegian: only the women can swim because their breasts keep them on top of the water" /translated from French/. Compare also

/617 cont./

481 Hyades (b):12. This answer does not need an explanation.

Everyone knows that in an accident some man or other could perhaps have been saved by swimming, as many women succeeded in doing; nevertheless, he does not make any effort to learn this art.

The manner in which the women move in the water resembles our so-called paddle-stroke, or, as Martial:193, agreeing 481 with Fitz-Roy (a):186, expresses himself, "is more like that of 369 the dog than ours" /translated from French/. The mother teaches her daughter when she is still young. In a shallow inlet she rows her away from the shore, squats in the middle of the canoe, extends her outstretched arms over the upper edge and requests /618/ the girl to lie down on top of them, face downward; suddenly she draws her arms back and calls briefly: "Now swim!" The girl must now help herself until she has learned this art. Except for a few words of explanation, she receives no instruction. Sometimes during these exercises the mother places a flat stone on the girl's back.

502 In their frail vessel the natives feel completely safe. And why not? Their accurate judgment of the weather situation makes it possible for them to know what they may risk, and they show great skill in handling their canoe. Formerly it was very seldom indeed that a boat capsized (430). If in most recent times such

430. In this connection Spears:55 says: "Both the Rev. Thomas Bridges and the Rev. John Lawrence told me that they never heard of a Yahgan being upset in his canoe until these later years" /cited in English/.

accidents have happened repeatedly -- I myself was once a witness to one -- it can be proved that the man or the woman, usually both, were intoxicated and yet ventured upon the water, even at night.

The European is seized with a strange feeling when he rides in the canoe because it is extraordinarily light and unsteady and stands high in the water. The slightest movement of an occupant

/620 cont./

221

"In winter they lead a comparatively settled life, and generally winter in their own proper country" /cited in English/. In other words, they avoid extensive trips which are less profitable in winter.

at their disposal, which they take from here and there, whereas in winter they depend on fewer kinds. Penguins, for example, nest on low, remote islands; cormorants, in rock walls against the open sea; fish prefer calm, shallow inlets, and berries thrive in sunny spots; crabs gather on a gently sloping sea floor, and seals congregate close to rock caves. The Indian knows all these spots, and, in accordance with the season, he tries his luck in one or another of them. He takes advantage of his most recent experiences, supported by his excellent knowledge of the locale, but he does not return to the same spot very soon, in order to give the frightened animals enough time to calm themselves and to reassemble; later on he can successfully surprise them there. Not infrequently the hunter lands at some spot without any success at all, for example, if some other family appeared there a day or two previously or if unfavorable weather has driven the animals away. He is constantly drawn back to the places that never disappoint him; they then become his favorite places, so to speak.

48 /621/ On land the Yamana display a less steady gait than the neighboring Selk'nam. This is by no means to deny that they are highly adroit in hunting and gathering, capturing birds, and overtaking seals. We simply refer to the way in which they stand and walk. In this they are without doubt somewhat awkward. It is hard for them to run and jump; if they walk slowly, they soon tire (434). Nevertheless, there are many steps they cannot spare

434. The Anglican missionaries repeatedly called attention to this. For example, Despard (b):697: "Firelanders travel very little on land; they can neither jump nor run well, and are soon tired with walking" /cited in English/.

To say that when they walk for a longer

/621 cont./

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> time they have severe nosebleeds, as travelers of the "Beagle" maintained, has not been proved and is completely unknown to me personally.

themselves. The men gather small tree trunks for hut-building and large sticks for firewood. Sometimes they go deep into the woods to hunt for suitable pieces of bark for a new canoe and poles for weapons. In case of an accident or if they lose their canoe, they must cover great distances. They can reach some birds, otters, and seals only on land. The woman, too, is not spared daily errands on foot. By and large, our Yamana are much on their feet throughout the day and are always going hither and yon, over and over again (435). We must admit that their gait

> 435. Hyades (q):213 correctly maintains: "Contrary to what has been said by some authors, the Fuegians walk a great deal, and on the slightest pretext they are continually coming and going in the vicinity of their huts" /translated from French/.

is always light and quick. Even when the ground is soft, they hardly sink in, and in general they leave only very faint footprints. "For example, even when they have lived for a long time in the same place, it is not possible to discover, unless one follows them, the pool where they get drinking water 20 times a day" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q]:213).

516 The Fuegians do not have stools in their huts or benches in their canoe. They do not like to sit down on an object, say, a stone or tree, with their legs hanging down. Their most comfortable sitting position is to squat on the flat ground. In this case they either rest their buttocks on the ground and have the soles of their feet flat on the ground with the heels touching the buttocks -- usually with one bent knee turned outward -- or the two legs are half-bent at the knees, closed and turned outward, extending immediately in front of the buttocks which rest on the ground, with one leg more or less on top of the other, or finally,

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 A great deal of *Yahgan* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play releasing tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

276 Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating
[273] beverages were made or used by the *Yahgan* before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 14). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Yahgan* and their neighbors, the *Alacaluf* and *Ona*.

526 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at
857 stone throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity. There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillocks, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tcenalóra, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tcenalóra" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward
[533] through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were common accompaniments of children's group play.

[481] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's-buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball
526 game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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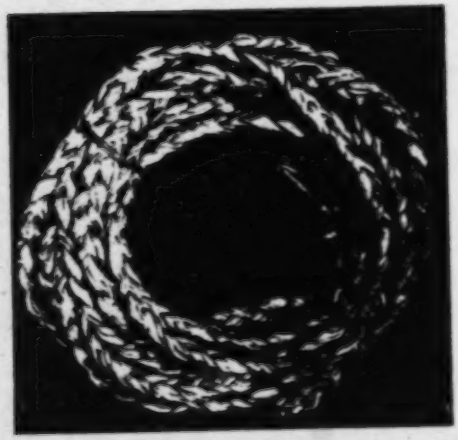
[147]



[283]

FIG. 77.—Yahgan grass rope. Diameter of coil, 5¼ in. (14/2349)

As a result of the exercise, the women were very strongly developed above the waist, but poorly developed in the legs.

When it was desired to make a landing the canoe was paddled in to the beach, bow-on, and the man of the family and the children stepped ashore. The wife then paddled the canoe out to a piece of kelp, moored it, and swam ashore. As a result all the women were able to swim, while few of the men could do so.

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The canoe was kept in the water habitually, because hauling it up on the beach was difficult owing to the fragility of the bark. When it was necessary to make repairs, the beach was carpeted with wet kelp to make a soft and slippery surface over which the canoe could be dragged with ease. The dugout canoes, however, were a different proposition, so for them runways were made by removing the stones (pl. XI). Stakes were driven at the head of the runways to which the canoes were tied. Campsites used habitually since the invention of the dugout may be distinguished by the presence of such runways.

[415]

FIG. 78.—Yahgan bark bailer. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

WEAPONS AND METHODS OF HUNTING

SPEARS

411 Yahgan weapons were the spear, club, sling, and bow. In their fashion of living, spears were almost as import-

/484 cont./

223 411 of the crowded flock of birds; this may hit one or another of them and stun them. Even the Fuegian cannot hit a definite target at the same distance or farther away, since the sling is not very accurate, but it does carry a stone in a high arc to a distance of 80 meters (192). Nevertheless, we must admit, to

192. On this subject Bove (e):158 and Colini:161, as well as Lovisato (a):198 and (b):136, have grossly exaggerated. Hyades (h):32 and (q):357 protested against their assertions which literally coincide.

[526] use Hyades' (g):35 words, that the Yamana "are very skillful in manipulating them," and in the course of the day they very often use the sling just for fun (193).

193. This can hardly be more clearly expressed than Bridges has done: "The amusement these natives are most fond of is slinging at birds; they often go along the shores here with their slings" (VSA:XII, 53:1865) /cited in English/.

411 482 Naturally, our Indians must have their slings handy. Their way of carrying them is surprisingly advantageous. Most of them hang the two strings of sinew around the neck and draw the last third of it over the folded center section, without any kind of knotting; the ends hang down freely. With a single movement of the left hand to grasp the center section, the sling is ready to be used. At the same moment the right hand puts the stones in position and grasps the ends, ready to throw (Fig. 41). Others draw the two sinew-strings around the head, one on each side, so that the center section is in the back, and then simply loop the free ends over each other. Finally, a few of them tie the sling around their hips (194). As we have said, they put the sling

194. Fitz-Roy (a):136 noticed that "a man always carries his sling around his neck or waist, wherever he goes" /cited in English/.

/484 cont./

411 around some part of their body to have it quickly accessible at
482 any time, but it is not regarded as an ornament (195). The

195. Hyades (h):33 expressed the surprising view: "We must therefore admit that the sling of the Yahgan is as much an ornamental object for men as it is a weapon for hunting or war" /translated from French/.

[142 302]

Fig. 41. Man with a Sling.

Yamana use it not only to stun birds, but also in fighting against their own people.

411 /485/ All indications point to the fact that the sling was used in all parts of the Cape Horn Archipelago./Fig. 41 appears here./ Every man and boy owned and owns one. When the Mission Scientifique arrived in Orange Bay, according to Hyades (q):357, every man carried his sling. This was customary throughout the entire area occupied by this tribe. Lothrop (b):157 indulges in vain speculation about the [177] origin of the sling and says "that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yaghan" /cited in English/. I cannot agree with this view; I shall not go into his evidence and mine at this point. Instead, I take the view of Snow (b):264 that the Yamana "are remarkably expert with their slings" /cited in English/. Obviously, the fact that they own and use the sling also proves "their ingenuity" /cited in English/.

8. Snares and Fishing Implements

223 Our Yamana are fortunate in having a wide selection
226 among the animals of their homeland to meet their food needs. They approach each species in a special way in order to catch them as easily and surely as possible. Besides the weapons mentioned

/500 cont./

281 course, increased when the strip dries. Since the man has carefully avoided having the strap curl up lengthwise, it comes out smooth and even after it is thoroughly dry.

The women often use a strip of leather about five meters long
281 and one centimeter wide as a carrying strap, mun. They coil the
482 center section several times lengthwise, the width of the coil corresponding to the width of their backs. Then they loop the two end pieces, left and right, in the coil. The two end pieces are placed over the shoulders, while the middle piece is drawn around a bundle of wood or a piece of baggage which the woman has previously loaded on her back as she bent the upper part of her body far forward. By drawing the straps tight, she keeps the burden immovable.

281 Leather in one form or another is used for sewing and tying things, for the water scoop and the hand protector, and for many other little things. They always keep it handy and it can easily be obtained (213). All types of leather, however, suffer from the

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213. In recent times the Yamana have shown a great fondness for a cigarette-tobacco pouch made of a piece of leather from an otter tail.

excessive dampness.

281 /501/ Whereas in the foregoing other kinds of containers or
415 bags of hide were mentioned, here I refer to the kinds made of bird skins, minuk. The skins of cormorants and penguins are regarded as very suitable; they are more durable because of the coarseness of the feathers. The natives make a long incision on the underside of the animal and remove the entire skin. They sever the wings and legs from the inside and finally the neck at its uppermost vertebrae. The head is sometimes left on. Sometimes they cut off the whole neck, as well as legs and wings, from the outside and afterward sew up these openings and also the long incision over the belly, except for a slit a hand's breadth wide which is left as the opening. In such a bird skin one keeps lighter and more delicate things, such as necklaces and pigments, the feather diadems, and so forth (214). They very seldom turn

214. Hyades (c) 306 grouped together

/534 cont./

223 men about this. They assured me that an arrow was much too precious to their ancestors to waste it on a bird, and that the other implements proved more effective for catching birds.

Naturally, there is a difference in the frequency with which the various methods are used in various regions. The decisive factor is the special type of bird and the Indian's desire for variety in his monotonous diet. Every man is more or less skillful in all the various stratagems and therefore probably always successful. In particular details the Yamana frequently proceed exactly like their neighbors on the Great Island (Vol. I, 292).

A prevailing habit among our Fueguans is that every man eviscerates on the spot the birds he has caught. He places the animal on its back, opens its belly with a knife or a sharp mussel shell, and pulls out all the internal organs with a single movement. He almost always finds water close by, which he scoops up with his hand, rinsing out the abdominal cavity of the bird. He pulls a leather strap through the beaks and either ties it around his hips so that the birds encircle his body or he places it over his shoulder so that the birds are evenly distributed front and back. In this way he always has his hands free, for it is possible that other prey will cross his path, which he does not want to escape and which he must pounce without losing a moment of time.

[942]

4. Hunting Guanacos, Otters, Foxes

224 Although the Yamana sometimes hunt the guanaco, the otter, and the large fox, they do it not so much for their meat, but chiefly, and in the case of the last two species, exclusively, for their skin. The way they capture these mammals remains to be described.

The guanaco (Lama huanachus) lives only in the eastern part of Yamana territory, on both shores of Beagle Channel, approximately from Puerto Brown or Puerto Harberth on eastward and throughout Navarino Island. The hunter attacks the animal on foot, for his dogs are only now and then trained for this and as a rule do not help him much. Hence several men always band together for a hunting expedition. /535/ They take advantage of

[943]

/360 cont./

360 511 The inmates do not bestow noticeable effort or care on their pitiry hut, either in building it or while they are living in it, for it serves but a few hours or days for their most urgent requirements for protection against the inclemency of the weather. One must by no means believe that the Indian strives for cozibess or agreeable comfort in his hut. No, it serves merely as a meager cover and at the same time to keep the indispensable fire going. Beyond that, the things that Europeans consider necessary in a dwelling would only mean needless expenditure of energy and an unnecessary burden to the Yamana, for he must constantly carry all his belongings along with him. Indeed, He dare not part with them.

1. The Lack of Permanent Settlements

361 Since there is no other way for the natives of Cape Horn to obtain food except by hunting and gathering, all members of the tribe are divided up into individual families, and as such they go forth to hunt for food. Only occasionally a few band together. This manner of obtaining food prohibits a village settlement with many people.

• 361 511 361 Obtaining food is the chief concern of the man. Distant and sometimes futile journeys are necessary before he approaches rocks on which seals are lying, or reaches cliffs in which cormorants nest, or finds mussel beds where gathering is worthwhile. He always sees himself at the mercy of the arbitrary, eternally restless waves and the constant shifting of winds. Despite the best intentions, despite the greatest exertion and extreme hardship, he cannot guarantee that he will attain his goal, keep on his course, and come back to the place from where his canoe trip started. The inescapable dependence on changing weather, which not infrequently hinders any kind of movement for several days, permits neither an ordered grouping of many people nor plans by the hunters to return to a permanent settlement. Anyone staying behind /362/ to wait for food that others were supposed to bring in would too often find himself exposed to starvation (3).

3. These decisive factors have been overlooked by those European critics who, misconstruing the facts, have judged our natives to be backward

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/389 cont./

because they do not build fixed dwellings or permanent settlements.

361 Then, too, closer consideration of the game itself, upon which our Indian is after all dependent, would make the longer sojourn in compact settlements seem inadvisable. The animals change their location quite erratically. If they do favor certain places, they stay there only as long as man does not disturb them. Once they have been frightened away, it may be days before they have regained a feeling of security and settle down there again. Assuming, then, that many families wanted to live together on the same spot, this region would surely be cleared of all game within a wide radius, no matter whether it were killed or frightened away. Accordingly, the hunter would be obliged to venture ever farther from his camp in order to find his prey. Quite apart from his previous exertions, his return would be more difficult and more uncertain; those anxiously awaiting him would look for his return with greater worry. Only a short time might pass before a new camp, considerably distant from the previous one, would have to be sought.

With these brief comments, the advantages of freedom of settlement for independent individual families, in contrast to a longer residence of many people in the same place, become convincing. It is true, however, and this should be mentioned at the outset, that many families gather around a stranded whale and thus form a fortuitous settlement of limited duration. This exists, however, only as long as the supply of meat and fat holds out, for even a sea monster of such giant proportions as these largest mammals does not by any means supply unlimited quantities of food. This isolated occasion, besides one or two others of the same nature, proves how unsuitable fixed settlements would be as a permanent arrangement for our natives. It is to the advantage of all that their extensive homeland has few people, so that each individual family has a wide area open to it in all directions where its members can devote themselves undisturbed to food-gathering.

342 361 Hence, the dwelling of the Yamana, in form as well as in construction and location, is a thing of chance. A person on a journey undoubtedly aims for a definite goal at which to land if the weather is good, but sometimes he does not attain it because good booty crosses his path along the way, because he is driven off his course in the pursuit of an animal, or because wind and waves are against him. After all,

/380 cont./

361 given to quiet bays and a coastline made safe by islands lying in front of it. Here, too, however, no one escapes all the hardships of the fickle weather (29) because the huts themselves are only frail

29. In this connection Bove (e) :157 writes: "Their miserable huts are usually placed on the inner side of the little bays that cut deep into Tierra del Fuego. Even though these afford them some protection against the weather, it nevertheless happens that the poor occupants are half buried in snow the next morning or half drowned by rain."

structures. These statements will explain the phenomenon, surprising to some Europeans, that today throughout the entire Yamana region one finds traces of former campsites at every turn.

361 A family is no more independent in choosing the length of time they may stay in one place than it is in choosing a campsite.
494 Journeys overland are not undertaken, if only because it is not easy to drag the canoe along. On journeys by water, wind and weather determine the direction or make progress impossible. Sometimes /381/ these people cannot leave their camp for days because of the unremitting disturbances of nature, and they are then powerless to undertake anything even if they are tormented by hunger. If, as a result of threatening danger, they have been obliged to land quickly at a random spot, their lot may be only boggy clods of earth or water-soaked ground (30) which they can escape only when the weather

[133]

30. Hyades (f) :557 observed: "The earth is so wet that often water runs off if one merely exerts a little pressure on the ground, and the natives are sometimes forced to make a ditch across the middle of the hut for drainage" /translated from French/.

grows calm. Thus, the restlessness of their nomadic life is very often linked with danger and considerable renunciation or even the abandonment of the most modest demands of human well-being. The stable dwelling, however, erected for a sojourn of several days at a suitable place that has been freely chosen, does offer some minor conveniences.

/438 cont./ 1. The Bark Canoe

484 505 On land our Yamana do not undertake long marches, but content themselves with the walking necessary to gather wood or shells and to get game. Their territory is not suitable for land journeys. Without exception, they travel from one island to another, from one shore to another, in their bark canoe. Even though they /439/ could go a long distance along the beach, they prefer to travel by water which is easier and more comfortable. The canoe is absolutely indispensable for them. In case an individual family or small group have lost this vessel, they find themselves in a state of emergency which they must remedy, the sooner the better and absolutely imperatively. As water nomads they could not, under any circumstances, forego this method of transportation for any length of time (120).

120. The indispensable importance of the canoe for our natives has been variously stressed. Spegazzini (a): 161 calls it "the object of greatest importance" /translated from Spanish/ and Dabbene (b):180 "an object of prime necessity for the Yahgan" /translated from Spanish/. Other opinions are of a similar nature.

501 The method of canoe construction is somewhat peculiar and differs at first glance from the boats of other peoples. The products of the country, which in themselves are meager, are chosen with intelligent circumspection and used, each in its way, to turn out a resistant and durable vessel. As a whole it looks graceful, its form is pleasing. In its details it shows taste, and its lines are agreeable.

Regardless of many minor details, it strikes everyone who judges it as a masterpiece of efficiency and a supreme achievement of the technical ability of these Indians (121). Everyone is not

121. Luschan:8 came to the following conviction: "In comparison with [the skiff-like

501

/448 cont./
Hyades (q):305 collected and wrote down many terms.

γ. Its Accessories

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The Fuegian family spends more than half the days of the year and most of the hours of a day in the canoe. Since they travel restlessly from one camping place to another, they always take all their /Fig. 28 appears here/ belongings, little though

[293]

Fig. 28. Leather Hand Protector.
Two-thirds natural size.

that is. For the man his weapons are indispensable, and the *woman must always have a few little things handy. We shall not* speak of all these things here, but rather, only those that are indispensable adjuncts to an ℓnan (137).

137. Lothrop (b):145 says: "When fully equipped, the Yahgan canoe carried the following articles: two or more paddles, three kinds of baskets, two fire-tongs, four spears (fish, seal, crab, and limpet), dip-net, club, grass mooring rope or thong, bark bucket, fish-line" /cited in English/.

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/454 cont./
only two persons were saved" /translated from French/.

to this day by the Yamana; the reports of missionaries and European travelers also refer to them. In Hyades (q):352 we read: "Shipwrecks of canoes are very frequent and annually cause a high mortality. Mr. Bridges in his unpublished work cites many accidents of this kind: shipwreck of five canoes, 33 persons drowned; shipwreck of two canoes, 13 drowned..." /translated from French/. The accident is usually caused by overconfidence. These people are extremely reckless, and, as Bridges (l):15 expresses it "venturesome in trusting themselves with comparative strangeness" /cited in English/, which every observer verifies. In most recent times, however, unprincipled thoughtlessness [473] destroys many a life when Indians in a highly intoxicated state venture out on the treacherous waves although they do not have control of themselves.

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Supremely confident of their own ability, these people may even decide to take long journeys in their fragile vessel. As a rule, however, they stay within the narrow confines of their native district; every dialect group has one (p. 199 /untranslated/). Certain occasions, however, almost always the chase after the large urtine seal, tEpE'a (Arctocephalus australis), and the pursuit of a sick, weary whale, make them forget, in their eagerness, how far behind they have left the coast. It has been proved that a few families visited Isla Ildefonso; others are supposed to have ventured as far as the Diego Ramírez Islands. They are [823] guided in their journeys by their exact knowledge of the locality and by an excellent gift of orientation.

[497] Soon after the opening of the mission station in Ushuaia individual canoes arrived from great distances, even some from the Halakwulup. For example, Bridges (l):15 mentions incidentally: "I know several natives of Cuchawulaf who come to Ushuaia in the East and in the opposite direction as far as Port Gallant and Mercury Sound; this distance is considerably over two /455/ hundred miles" /cited in English/. Our Fuegians can accomplish these astonishingly distant journeys because, wherever they land, they provide for their needs in life, namely, meat from the most diverse types of animals, wood for the indispensable fire, and pieces of fur to protect their bodies.

/1011 cont./
577 476 friendly neighbors, but is willingly offered to every fellow-tribesman.

484 Each of the many individual families is constantly traveling about not only under the pressure of the daily food quest, but also from a natural wanderlust (p. 363). They move slowly, but nevertheles cover long distances in the course of time. Definite boundaries separate the many local groups (p. 630) and the five dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) from one another. These boundaries may be crossed under certain circumstances, and no visitor from another region can be lawfully prevented from doing so by the local residents. In general every family stays within its narrower home area, if only because they do not like to meet strange groups. [439] It is a universal characteristic of the Yamana to stay away from strangers in the first place or at least to avoid them; they feel constrained in the presence of strangers, and suspicion makes them almost ill (439).

439. Bridges (a):210 gives a reason for this which is not quite correct: "These people dare not go where they have no friends, and where they are unknown, as they would most likely be soon killed"/cited in English/. We have repeatedly mentioned that certain circumstances make it permissible for anyone to travel in the territory of another dialect group.

203 /1020/ The ceaseless travel of individual families who thus meet one another and whose travel routes intersect partly explains the remarkably good propagation of news, which works invisibly. Everything that happens and any event that is in any way noteworthy are circulated far and wide and with a speed that sometimes seemed inexplicable to me. This much is certain, the Yamana lack such means of communication as loud calls or drumbeats. I cannot reliably state whether or not they give each other digital signs within a visible range, but I infer this from careful observations. Every adult learns what has happened within the confines of a wide area and usually without much delay. Most news, of course, is communicated from mouth to mouth. The facts are inevitably altered

/1308 cont./

262 and let the others share them, instead of selfishly enjoying them
824 alone. People from another region who land on strange territory
and find large quantities of amāim may neither pick them nor
[821] eat them. If they do, they must be prepared for threatening
weather when they continue their journey. Their taking the
berries would portend ánačiwa, ruin and destruction for them.

The "rain berry," palaxfačis, Rubus geoides (p.279), may
262 be eaten only in fair weather. If someone has discovered a spot
824 where there are great numbers of these berries and he wants to
821 gather them, he must first obtain permission from the tāuina who
has the right to distribute them to adults and children. A person
who picks the palaxfačix without such permission or in /1309/
rainy weather must be prepared for a sudden heavy storm with
rain on the open sea, which will endanger his life, as atonement,
hánečí, for his disobedience. On March 16, 1923, there was an
unusually heavy cloudburst with floods. Two days earlier a few
girls had stolen off to a place that was well known for its many
palaxfačix -- it is about an hour's distance from Punta Remolino --
and picked these berries. In all seriousness Nelly told me on the
evening of March 16th that the young Halakwulup, Julia, had
gone to this place with a few other girls. Julia was unfamiliar
with the taboo, and she had picked and eaten many of the berries.
The other girls followed her example. The heavy rain was a
punishment for this.

It is not at all seldom that sudden bad weather breaks out
262 over the wide inlets open to the south. In this region it is cus-
tomary not to eat certain game animals that have been caught
on the same day, but to keep them until the following day. A
person who does not conform to this must be prepared for a heavy
loss in the immediate future. This custom is probably meant to
teach people to provide for the next day, for all too often a fam-
ily is unable to travel because of unfavorable natural forces, and
they could suffer great hardship if they had not learned and were
not compelled to economize with their already meager supply.

The Yamana very seldom eat during a canoe trip and, if
264 they do, always very little. Anyone who eats may not throw food
821 remains and refuse overboard, but should destroy them in the fire
484 which is always kept burning. It is said that Yoflox decreed this.

/1309 cont./

264 When one fails to observe this rule, his child will scream just as
8241 incessantly as did the child of Yoflox (p. 1140). Moreover,
484 other people say that his canoe will run into bad weather.
Spencer:87 writes: "When crossing one of the Sounds, a man will paint broad transverse bands of black across the woman's face. This is supposed to ensure a fairweather crossing" /cited in English/. I did not learn anything about this from my informants, but I did hear that bad weather will set in immediately if someone pulls out tall reeds in a lagoon.

Moreover, the Yamana are still imprisoned in a realm of
823 superstitious notions about so-called baleful places. These are first of all the places that the Lakfma like to inhabit. No one should venture there in his canoe or gather mussels there. Besides the Lakfma and the malevolent Haučella, certain animals who are in contact with the yěkamuš make a place dangerous for human beings. Friendly, well-meaning yěkamuš warn people about these places, for they know from their dreams what the situation is and the danger a person can get into on that account. A person who unwittingly enters such a zone suddenly feels unwell; he becomes utterly weak and immediately falls asleep. /1310/ He is lost if a yěkamuš is not called in time to free him from the pernicious influence of this baleful place. On March 21, 1923, Whaits told the following story. "In Lapatija there is a fatal spot where even the fish are not spared. Once several men had set a net there. It was quickly filled with fish and the men began hauling it in. When they were near the shore with the heavy net, a strong force pulled out all the fish and the men stared astonished at the empty net." Earlier Bridges reported: "A certain Sisaniaujiz had made up his mind to settle out at a beautiful place some three miles from Ushuaia. Accordingly he went there with his wife and family, and one or two friends. These built a wigwam and had plenty of wood and water close at hand. But late in the afternoon they heard a strange voice or cry, whether from owl, hawk, bird, beast, or evil spirit they knew not and were too much frightened to go and ascertain, saying sapiccoosh, sapiccoosh, which means bloody arrow head. They forthwith packed up and hastened back to Ushuaia from the fatal spot" /cited in English/ (MM:XIII, 80; 1879).

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

FISH-NET

227 At certain seasons of the year Beagle channel is infested by small sardine-like fish which the Yahgan captured in dip-nets (*chiuwaisk*) woven of grass. A rather poorly-made example of these is shown in fig. 89. It will be noted that there is a light wooden frame enclosed by parallel stems of grass tied to the members of the frame. This was lashed to the end of a pole and with it the fish were dipped out. A model of this implement appears in the bow of the canoe in fig. 73.

FIG. 89.—Yahgan dip-net. Height, 12 in. (14/2321)

FISH-WEIRS

According to Hyades (1891, p. 372) the Yahgan sometimes erected in suitable places fish-weirs consisting of a row of stakes. Of these I saw no trace in Tierra del Fuego.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

594 484 Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit. However, related families usually paddled their canoes in couples, as the skin housetop was heavy for a single canoe, and they divided the common roof into two parts, of which each carried one. While the Yahgan were rovers, they usually stayed regularly in one district, where most of the people were their relatives.

622 554 All observers of the Yahgan comment on their lack of leadership. Medicine-men asserted a certain authority through the fear they inspired, but at times they were roughly handled, so their power was in no wise secure. As no communal enterprises were undertaken, there existed no need for chiefs.

/377 cont./

342 strong gust of wind makes it collapse immediately.

From the start the builder intends this hut to serve only as a transitory makeshift to shelter his family while they rest for a few hours or for a single night. Afterwards it is a matter of minutes to take down and fold the pieces of leather. The family is again ready to travel on.

The loose cone of smooth sticks is left standing. Soon a gust of wind scatters it, and a family landing at the same place later on can easily erect a protective dwelling (22). One frequently comes

> 22. Fitz-Roy (a):215 confirmed the fact that the sticks of a hut framework are never purposely destroyed: "The natives allow them to decay naturally, but never wilfully destroy them" /cited in English/.

across an abandoned encampment, and there are usually enough dry sticks lying around for the loose construction of a hut. Familiar places or favorable hunting areas are visited repeatedly by different families for varying periods of time.

Both of the cone-shaped huts we have just described have a single entrance which is regularly placed away from the wind (23).

> 23. "Branches or tree trunks often restrict the opening where one enters. This opening is, in general, on the side opposite the wind" /translated from French/ (Hyades [f] :556).

The more solid construction has a larger interior than the one which consists of loose sticks. In the latter, the surface of the ground inside is not scraped to form a depression, but instead a low ring-shaped wall, consisting of refuse from meals, is gradually formed on the outside, which makes it difficult for cold currents of air to enter. The peak of the conical framework is not covered, and the rising smoke escapes through it. The natives know how to place and distribute the pieces of skin on the outside so advantageously that a slight draft lets the smoke escape in a straight line. Rain and snow can very easily enter, but this apparently does not annoy the inmates. A trodden path leads from the entrance of the hut to the place where

/377 cont./

•487 water is obtained and to the canoe which has been drawn up on the beach where it remains until the journey is resumed.

/378/ β The Dome-shaped Hut

342 In the western and southwestern part of Yamana territory, including the Wollaston group, only the dome-shaped hut, mĕrana, mĕranĕkĕ, was known. In contrast to the cone-shaped hut, it shows adaptation to the nature of the region.

A somewhat flattened hemispherical form predominates. For a larger number of occupants it is stretched lengthwise, so that the groundplan is a drawn-out oval. The poles used for the framework determine this form of the hut. The slender and flexible, thin, [157] long trunks of young beeches are chosen. It is well known that these trees do not grow well in the shade of the forest and shoot up quickly, developing a short root system that lies entirely on the surface. They can be pulled up without effort, and with only the slightest exertion the sparse tangled roots and the scanty crown of leaves can be broken off. The result is an almost smooth pole that is as flexible as a twig and that hardly varies in thickness along its entire length.

The framework made from such poles, if it is to have the desired stability, necessarily is a kind of basketwork. First a few larger poles are driven into the ground at wide intervals on the line indicating the groundplan. These include the two poles that are to flank the entrance. The natives try to achieve the dome shape from the beginning by bending and intertwining the poles, without regard to the direction or position of the poles relative to each other or to the points where they will later be fastened together. This initial framework is gradually filled out and reinforced with additional, supplementary poles that are inserted between the first ones. Most of them are so long that they reach far beyond the height of the dome down to the opposite side (24). This gives the framework as a

24. According to an often repeated, but incorrect account, the individual poles are said to meet at the top. Hyades (q) :342 also speaks inaccurately of "branches stuck in the ground and coming

/622 cont./

516 forward a bit when they stand, the feet are not close together but bent inward, and the knees are slightly bent. The arms do not fall down straight along the sides of the body, but in such a way that the hands rest on the front part of their thighs. They do not remain in an upright position for more than a few minutes. If they have a choice, they soon squat on the ground again, because they can rest better that way.

487 Overland routes have been used since ancient times in order to avoid a dangerous coast or a long circuitous route. The best known are three in the territory of the southwestern group, that is, from the lowest point of Tekenika Bay straight south (438),

> 438. This overland route was much used because, if possible, the people avoid circumnavigating False Cape Horn with its strong sea-swell. Moreover, the mission station in Tekenika Bay temporarily afforded a certain attraction.

from the western shore of this inlet southwestward into Bahía Doce, and from the deep inlet of Canal Carfort to Estero Pomonby. When the mission station was located there, the first two routes were used a good deal. Sometimes people left their canoe at the landing place and covered the distance entirely on foot. This is also true of the isthmus of Caleta Awaiakir, due south to the northernmost edge in the western part of Estero Pomonby. I was also told that the two narrow places on the northern half of Peninsula Rous and the narrowest land connections in the middle of /623/ the large Londonderry Island were overland connecting routes. Every family was entitled to use these trails. They were [491] actually corduroy-roads over which one could rather quickly drag the canoe without much effort.

In a few places it is necessary to cross a brook on foot. There are no actual rivers south of Beagle Channel. As a ford, tuwéni, they choose a shallow place in the bed, surrounded by flat, low shores. They make no particular signs, but everyone keeps the place well in mind. They wade through the brook, of course (439).

439. Hyades (p):337, also, writes, "one

/623 cont./

487 crosses the streams by fording them" /translated from French/.

[491] If the water is high and there is a strong current, the shores are connected by means of two sticks or short trunks and thus bridged. BD:78 gives ukilʃaraxtéka, "to put logs or beams, etc., across a stream to form a bridge" /cited in English/. As I learned, however, this kind of unsteady construction is very seldom made.

4. Nomadic Life, the Result of Environmental Conditions

182 In the beginning we emphasized the fact that the Yamana are forced to lead a migratory life because of their environment, or because of conditions in their homeland. They did not respond to this necessity purely mechanically, but, applying their mental powers, they have organized a form of economy that seems to be the best possible adaptation to their environment (440).

440. On September 18, 1858, Despard wrote in his diary: "The Fuegians in themselves cannot be other than they are" /cited in English/ and explains this in detail on the basis of negative arguments *(VP:VI, 80;1859)*. Bridges (k):240 furnishes the following positive account: "The natives have developed all the more useful qualities for the life they lead: their canoes are perfect for their kind, and as much can be said for all their utensils and implements. With the materials at their disposal I do not see how they could be improved. They have adapted themselves perfectly to the land and climate in which they find themselves" /translated from Spanish/. The words of Crawshay:XXIII with regard to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 306) applies without qualification to our Yamana: "Judged from the point of view of the Land they inhabit, they are perfect" /cited in English/.

1: Gusinde
102, 103, 133, 491

SH6 Yahgan SH6

[End Map 1, pages 1458-1465, has been divided into sections as indicated below.]

A 1458	B 1459	C 1460	D 1461
E 1462	F 1463	G 1464	H 1465

/622 cont./

516 forward a bit when they stand, the feet are not close together but bent inward, and the knees are slightly bent. The arms do not fall down straight along the sides of the body, but in such a way that the hands rest on the front part of their thighs. They do not remain in an upright position for more than a few minutes. If they have a choice, they soon squat on the ground again, because they can rest better that way.

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439. Hyades (y)-257, also, writes, "one

/923 cont./

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/End Map L. Section A/

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1.Guatemala--1459 E-6 (1918-1924) 1937 SHG Tahgan SHG

/End Map I. Section B/

1;Gusinde--1460 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section C/

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133
491

1:Gusinde--1461 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I. Section D/

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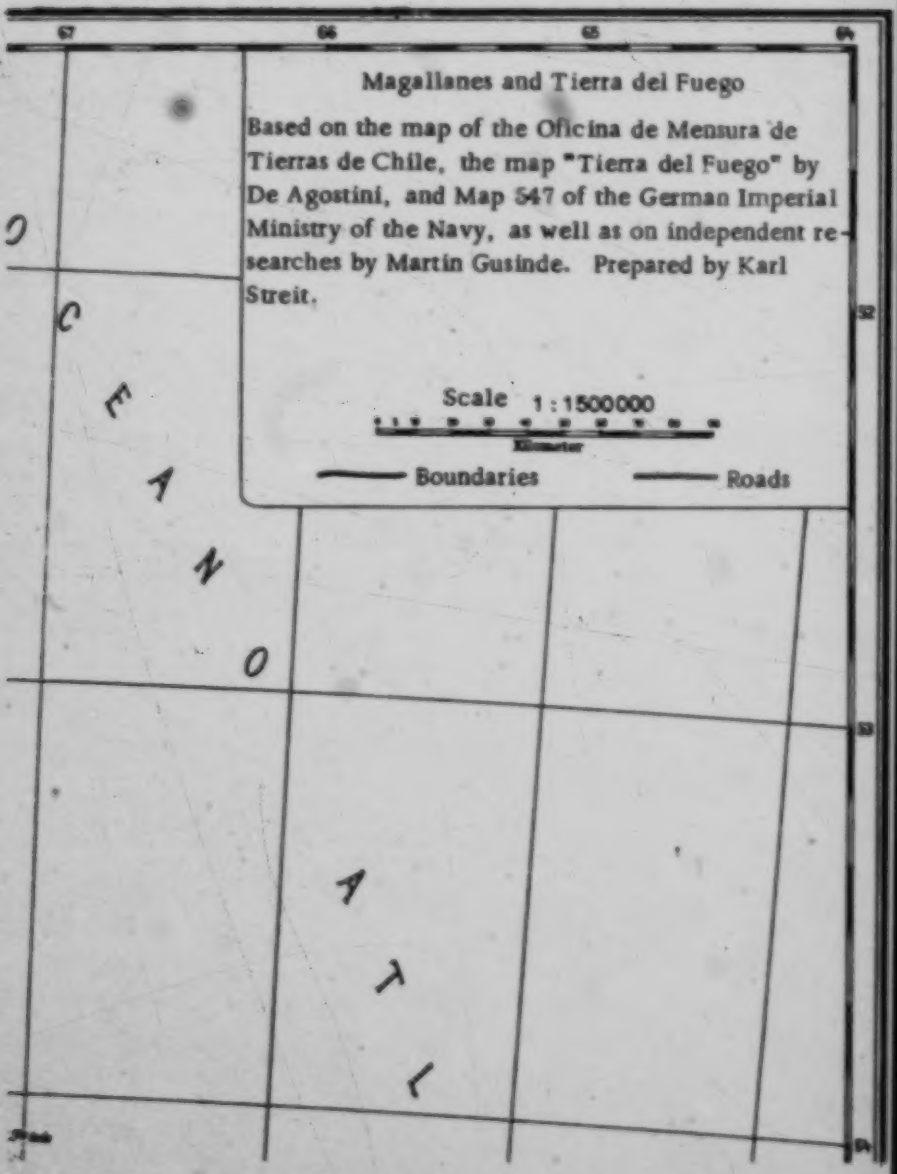

1:Gusinde--1462 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section E/

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1:Gusinde--1463 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section F/

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1:Guinde--1464 E-5 (1918-1934) 1937 SHE Yahgan 5216

/End Map I. Section G/

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1.Gusinde--1665 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section H/

/438 cont./ 1. The Bark Canoe

484 On land our Yamana do not undertake long marches, but
505 content themselves with the walking necessary to gather wood or shells and to get game. Their territory is not suitable for land journeys. Without exception, they travel from one island to another, from one shore to another, in their bark canoe. Even though they /439/ could go a long distance along the beach, they prefer to travel by water which is easier and more comfortable. The canoe is absolutely indispensable for them. In case an individual family or small group have lost this vessel, they find themselves in a state of emergency which they must remedy, the sooner the better and absolutely imperatively. As water nomads they could not, under any circumstances, forego this method of transportation for any length of time (120).

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Regardless of many minor details, it strikes everyone who judges it as a masterpiece of efficiency and a supreme achievement of the technical ability of these Indians (121). Everyone is not

121. Luschan:8 came to the following conviction: "In comparison with [the skiff-like

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/439 cont./

vessels of central Brazil], the boats of bark with which we are familiar in the extreme south of South America are veritable luxury barks, though they are still far behind those of the North American sea region with regard to beauty and careful workmanship." But the Indians of North America have incomparably more suitable raw material. In this description by Lunchan, Figures 12 and 13 show one of the well-known small models which are erroneously captioned or described as "Model of a Bark Boat of the Ona."

Other observers also are unstinting in their praise of the bark canoe. Spears: 56 says: "It had a sheer at once pleasing to the eye and well adapted to ride the most tempestuous seas in the world" /cited in English/. Lovisato (b):134 concludes his brief but detailed description thus: "These canoes, poor as they are, are certainly the most ingenious work of the inhabitants of Fuegia, but from Drake's time to ours, about 300 years, it has remained the same" /translated from Italian/. No improvement to speak of has been found necessary in any part and has, therefore, not been made.

equally skilled at canoe-making, but one who is able to achieve a faultless one is universally highly esteemed. What Despard (b): 679 has summed up in a few words is pertinent here: "The manufacture of a canoe is a most important work; on it chiefly depends their subsistence; to excel in it is a coveted distinction; to have effected it marks manhood; to accomplish it taxes strength, skill, and time" /cited in English/. This object, vitally important for our Indians, deserves to be described in detail. In doing so, we unintentionally grant them high praise for their skill (122). /440/

[564]

122. It is strange that earlier travelers have repeatedly emphasized the graceful construction

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/440 cont./

and the great efficiency of the bark boat, but have described the details only very superficially. Cooper: 197 simply listed the bibliography of the best descriptions.

[171] We should like to mention briefly that this bark canoe, *ʃuan* (or, more completely, *aiyéin ʃuan*), is actually very similar in its design and principal parts to the one that the neighboring Halakwulup make (Fig. 28).

a. The Bark Pieces

346 The vessel characteristic of the Yamana since ancient times is a canoe made out of three large pieces of bark. This is the one we shall describe in what follows. Most of our natives have in most recent times turned to the canoe made out of a single trunk and to the flat boat, but this happened only since Europeans [177] brought them the iron axe.

The entire region is more or less densely supplied with Ant-
346 arctic beeches, but straight, thick trunks that furnish a smooth,
313 even sheet of bark of sufficient length are found only singly and usually deep in the interior of an island. To discover these is probably the only reason a man is obliged to venture deep into the forest. Usually two or three men join together in the search, if for no other reason than because it is difficult for a single man to loosen the thick bark, *aiyéin*, from the trunk and because no one goes alone for great distances in the woods (133). This traveling

133. As Hyades (4):300 says: "the chief concern of the Fueguians is to select the best bark; it is often necessary for them to take a long journey to find it" /translated from French/. Despard (5):479 adds: "a man, having associated three others, proceeds into the forest for four or five miles" /tired in English/.

hither and yon is frequently laborious and requires great effort. They almost always decide on *Nothofagus betuloides*, *ʃa Ci*, which

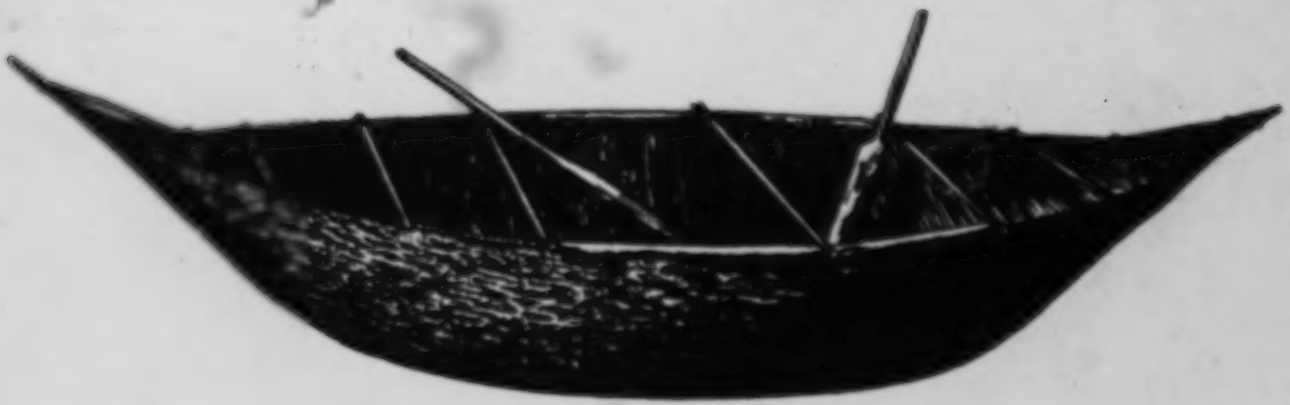

Fig. 25. Bark Canoe

/941/

1-Canada--113 E-9 (1916-1950) 1957 SNS Tribgen 5010

396 /447 cont./
sit that is as dry as possible (134).

134. The word given above, according to BD: 283, means "those pieces of bark placed in canoes where the people sit to strengthen the canoe and to guard it from injury, as well as to give comfort to the occupants" /cited in English/.

The canoe is now finished. It takes an industrious man two to three weeks, if he can continue his work undisturbed and if he finds the necessary parts nearby. He always works in the shade, for the rays of the sun would heat the pieces of bark and distort them. The proportions of this vessel depend on the number of members in the family, but the length never exceeds five meters in a straight line between the two extremities. The widest part from one gunwale to the other is under one meter; the depth in the center fluctuates around 70 centimeters (135). /448/ If we

501

135. Bove (e):157 and Colini: 162 write: "The length varies between four meters and six meters, the width between 70 centimeters and 90 centimeters."

compare the canoe of the Yamana, Éuan, with that of the Halakwulup, we surely cannot overlook the differences in dimensions; the former is noticeably shorter and narrower, even somewhat flatter than the latter (136).

136. More or less detailed descriptions of the bark canoe can be found in Bridges (i):23, Bove (d):291 and (e):157, Cañas Pinochet: 356, Cojazzi: 168, Dabbene (b):180, Despard (b): 679, Fitz-Roy (a):140, Hyades (g):350, Lothrop (b):143, Martial:190, Spegazzini (e):161, Stirling in VSA:XI, 237, 1864, Wehner: I, 194, Weddel (a):94, Winghardt:30, and others. The individual parts used in it are listed in BD, and the kinds of handwork performed are named.

• 501

/448 cont./
Hyades (q):305 collected and wrote down many terms.

γ. Its Accessories

501/484 The Fuegian family spends more than half the days of the year and most of the hours of a day in the canoe. Since they travel restlessly from one camping place to another, they always take all their /Fig. 28 appears here/ belongings, little though

[E-93]

Fig. 28. Leather Hand Protector.
Two-thirds natural size.

that is. For the man his weapons are indispensable, and the woman must always have a few little things handy. We shall not speak of all these things here, but rather, only those that are indispensable adjuncts to an ñuan (137).

137. Lothrop (b):143 says: "When fully equipped, the Yaigan canoe carried the following articles: two or more paddles, three kinds of baskets, two fire-tongs, four spears (fish, seal, crab, and limpet), dipnet, club, grass mooring rope or thong, bark bucket, fish-line" /cited in English/.

/448 cont./

396 The oars are regarded as part of the most essential equipment. The man makes them of beechwood for his wife. With a bone wedge (Fig. 26), he splits a trunk about 20 centimeters thick into a plank that he cuts and planes with sharpened pieces of mussel shells. In order to be able to grasp the shells better and also to protect his hand against wood splinters, he uses a scrap of leather which is like a mitten (Fig. 28). It is cut nearly trapezoidal in shape from the thick side of a sea lion, and the two corners of one of the narrow ends are tied together with a little bundle of rushes. This makes a narrow opening through which one sticks the three last fingers of the right hand. The little piece of leather now covers the entire back of the hand and these three fingers, so that they are adequately protected.

396 293

/449/ Planing and smoothing the wood is an irksome task. Particular difficulties are encountered at the place where the shaft runs out from the blade because at that point the blade is usually left wide and has an edge. In most of the oars, all of which lack a special handle, one part gently and gradually bends over to the other; they are lancet-shaped, so to speak. The shaft is about a third of the entire length. It is noteworthy that the blade is never sharply differentiated from the shaft, but more or less gradually runs into it (138) and rounds off more narrowly

396 301

138. This very strikingly distinguishes it from the woman's oar of the Halakwulup, which has an absolutely rectangular blade, as I duly showed (Gusinde [cf.: 147]). The measurements for the oars of the Halakwulup are also larger as a whole. Pickering 19 had already observed: "The [Yamana-] Fuegians [are] making the blade [of the paddles] even narrower than do the North-western tribes" /cited in English/.

at the end. The center of the blade is always thicker than the edges and has a completely flat center rib. /Fig. 33 appears here./ Lothrop (Pp.147 says briefly: "The old-fashioned paddle had a long pointed blade and a short rounded handle. The blade

/649 cont./

396 [0]

was diamond-shape in section, so there was a rent-like ridge centrally down each side" /cited in English/. The length is never uniformly determined, but depends on the accidental length of the plank, varying by 130 centimeters. The blade measures about ten centimeters at its widest point. The husband adjusts the thickness of the well-rounded blade to suit his wife's wishes (Fig. 28).

501 [963]

If necessity or danger during a trip should force a man to take an oar, he handles it in the same manner as the women. He does not, however, have his own oar, as Collins 237 erroneously maintains.

Fig. 28. Oar Forms.

The most common designation for these oars, as called paddles, is *kopi*; they are also called *vaudja* and *vilelna*. Every family carries at least two oars in their vessel.

546 372 [0]

During the long trips our natives cannot possibly do without the fire. They keep it burning constantly in the canoe (p. 64). In the center of the bottom there is a specially prepared hearth, and adequate care is taken so that the bark underneath does not burn through. On the bottom they place a few flat stones close together so that there are no gaps. /650/ Upon this layer they place a rather large clump of turf which is at least seven centimeters thick, and its weight of more and coarse pebbles is turned upward. An alternative is to form a layer out of crushed mussel shells mixed with pebbles and lumps of clay. There is constant and ample moisture from the water that oozes in from below; hence this thick layer cannot become hot, and there is still less possibility that the bark floor can burn through. Since air has free access from all sides, the fire cannot flare up

/450 cont./

506 to a high flame. This must be avoided at all costs, so that the
372 side walls will not be endangered. A moderate glow without a
501 leaping flame suffices.

The firewood is kept partly near the hearth, 6ii, partly in
505 the stern. It has been stacked in orderly fashion to save space.
372 The people of the west must always take along large amounts of wood; a small supply is adequate for the people of the east, which they pile up near the hearth. Wherever the latter land, they easily find dry driftwood, whereas the former cannot count on this. Quite dry wood has been carefully chosen for the trip, since damp wood causes smoke which the occupants in the cramped canoe can hardly evade. As a matter of course they leave the wood of Drimys winteri, which gives off a thick, biting smoke, behind on the shore.

The girls squat near the fire and tend it according to instructions from their mother. It is their task before the departure to carry a glowing log from the hut-fire to the hearth in the canoe and to fan a new flame. When they land, another glowing stick of wood from the canoe serves to kindle the fire in the newly erected hut. With scrupulous care they extinguish every spark from the fire in the vessel so that there is no danger of its bursting into flames.

501 Even the most careful canoe construction does not prevent
415 some water from constantly oozing in between the seams (128).

> 128. In Wieghardt:31 and elsewhere we read: "So much water constantly comes in that the people continually have to bail it out" /translated from Spanish/.

It collects near the hearth at a place that has been purposely left open, that is, the space of a hand's breadth between the loosely laid bark pieces, 5ee. The girls bail it out with a special scoop made either of bark or seal leather. For both kinds one first cuts out a rectangular piece which is then bent, the bark piece in the direction of its longitudinal fibers. After the two straight edges are joined with a strip of whalebone or a few rushes, making a seam, a bottom is cut out to fit this cylinder, which is also sewed on. Not infrequently a small handle of rushes is added in the

/450 cont./

•501 415 center of the longitudinal seam. Such a ~~thing~~ does not have to be made watertight; small amounts can easily be scooped out if one uses it often and quickly. The girls /451/ even find this to be fun. The size and diameter of this scoop (Fig. 30) are a matter of chance. Some are 12 centimeters, others 22 centimeters high, and most of them fall between these two sizes. The leather ones are more durable than those commonly used made from the bark of Drimys winteri or Maytenus magellanica. The latter, however, are easier to hold (140). Several of

140. Hyades (q):207 gives several details about these scoops. To speak of "shovels made of tree-bark," as Bove (c):187 does, is not correct. See Lothrop (b):147.

these scoops lie about in every canoe. /Fig. 30 appears here./

501 253 The last item of the accessories that we must mention, which, however, is sometimes lacking, is the rope of rush mats that Hyades (q):614 calls "plait of rushes" /translated from French/. It is a simple braid of three

Fig. 30. Scoop Made of Drimys Bark. One-half natural size.

Fig. 31. Rope Made of Marippopennum. One-half natural size.

strands and is at least 180 centimeters long (Fig. 31). There is a knot at either end to keep it from becoming unbraided. This rope

/451 cont./

is always left in the canoe, either rolled up in a ball or wound into a few coils. It is used where steep banks make it impossible to draw the vessel onto land. One end is knotted to the first or second crossbar, wi?ga; the other is wound around a stone or a tree trunk. This rope, which is not very strong, is used to fasten the canoe only in very quiet waters to prevent the boat's being carried off by the ebb and flow of the tide. Because of its lightness, it is much more suitable for this purpose than a heavier leather thong would be (141).

> 141. In his time, Snow (s):ll, 16 called attention to it: "The ropes they had to fasten their canoes were made of grass rudely plaited" /cited in English/.

The few items listed here, oar, hearth, scoop, and rope are necessary adjuncts or accessories of the vessel. /Fig. 31 appears here./ The woman has charge of them also, and she now to their replacements so that the will not at some time be seriously embarrassed or endangered.

/451/ δ - Its Efficiency

Their restless, wandering life forces the Tatsana to carry with them whenever they go all their material possessions, without exception. These do not necessarily belong to the canoe, but no one can part with them. They are distributed in such a way that the man keeps his weapons in the bow, and the woman has all the other implements and little baskets, skins, and pieces of meat in the stern. The children occupy the center section, except for the insignificant trifles which they hang on their bodies, they do not possess anything. The canoe as such is extremely light and is, therefore, not suitable for transporting loads. Although it is hard to say definitely how much the articles necessary to the adults weigh, it is obvious that it cannot be much. At most, a large sea lion that a man has killed is loaded on.

The number of people that a given canoe can accommodate depends on their weight and the existing weather conditions. They

/433 cont./

58[[56]

A strange feeling comes over a European when he rides in it. At my request, Fred Lawrence had a bark canoe built by old Pedro for the Museo de Etnología y Antropología in Santiago de Chile (143). It has a maximum length of 413 centimeters and a

143. See the more detailed accounts in Gusinde (b):155.

maximum width of 102 centimeters. He handed it over to me at the beginning of 1926. Until it was loaded, this valuable piece was kept in a sheltered bay near Punta Remolino, so that it would not dry out and crack. I, therefore, seized the opportunity and took several trips in it, accompanied by Indians. This canoe is actually the last of its kind that the practiced hands of a Fuegian have built (144). At first sight it surprises one not a little that

144. I attach importance to this fact. This canoe is kept in the Museo Histórico de Chile at Santiago, with which the previously independent collection of the Museo de Etnología y Antropología has been combined since 1929. Since it was not used by a Fuegian family, Lothrop (b):143, Figure 72 was correct, with this qualification, when he wrote under the reproduction of an earlier photograph, presumably from the year 1895: "The last Yaigan bark canoe ever used" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b): 181 refers to the same vessel: "At the Tekenika mission I saw what I believe to be the last Fuego-bark canoe still in existence. It is not being used there and is preserved by the missionaries solely as a specimen of this ancient industry" /translated from Spanish/.

only a short section of the keel is in the water. If one is the first to step in, he must put his foot on the center line, otherwise the vessel lies almost completely to one side. Inside, no matter how short a step one takes in front of the other foot, the center of gravity shifts, which causes considerable rocking lengthwise.

/453 cont./

501 Every additional person stepping in changes the unstable balance of the entire vessel considerably. If, meanwhile, a painful feeling of uncertainty comes over the occupant,he will find this repeatedly accentuated in alternately stronger and weaker fashion throughout the trip, either because of a slight change in the current, a larger or smaller succession of waves, or, finally, because of gusts of wind for which the projecting canoe offers an extensive target area.

502 Every woman is amazingly skilled at paddling. She succeeds in preventing the vessel from bouncing jerkily with every stroke of the paddle and in making the slight zigzag line of the course less noticeable. Nevertheless, a person in the boat soon feels this movement. The longer it continues, the more it affects the general feeling of a European; uneasiness overtakes him, and in this situation of increasing uncertainty he longs for the moment when he can set foot on terra firma once again. No matter how often I told myself that my Indian companions were utmost reliable, every trip in a bark canoe was for me anything but soothing. The longer it lasted, the more sensitive I became to the slightest /454/ fluctuation in the equilibrium, and in the end I was nervously irritated. Our Indians, however, have long since become accustomed to these feelings; it is not that they have become insensitive to them, but with it all, their consciousness of safety and their long-tested reckless courage triumphs.

502 731 Out of this sense of them develop a certain blind confidence, together with an overestimation of their ability and their judgment of existing weather conditions. Thus, many a canoe capsizes, chiefly, however, because of the incalculable tricks of the weather in that region. Not at all infrequently a family is seized by a whirlwind in the middle of a wide stretch of water or is threatened by breakers that no one could anticipate; since the canoe moves slowly, all human effort is overcome by the superiority of natural forces (148). Many a casualty is remembered

148. We repeat here a sad incident related by Hyades (q):353: "A large number of Fueglans wanted to cross a bay in two canoes in order to look for fungi on the opposite shore; the overloaded canoes foundered, the sea being bad, and

/455 cont./

501 It takes boundless audacity to risk journeys to distant regions in an extremely fragile, completely unprotected vessel on treacherous waves. The vessel's construction shows its limited, brief durability. No matter how anxiously the wife tries to protect it, sooner or later and unavoidably the bark splits and cracks, if only because of the unequal heating of individual parts by the sun, and even more by many unavoidable blows, by the rough handling on the beach when it is brought to safety, and finally by the shifting load when the natives board and leave the canoe. True, the bark is flexible and it bends, but in doing so the firm cohesion of the finest fibers is loosened, which leads to visible breaks.

If a canoe is spared an actual accident and unusual damage, it serves a family who takes good care of it a whole year or somewhat longer. My Indian friends and my European informants assured me of this. Earlier reports mention lower figures. Hyades (g):38 and (q):304 writes: "In general one assumes that a good canoe will remain serviceable for not more than half a year (146), despite all the care that man and woman together

146. Bridges, too, says: The canoes "are very fragile, and it is necessary to make a new one every six months" (MM:III, 115; 1869) /cited in English/.

employ to preserve it." Despard (b):680 even says that "these canoes last only about three months" /cited in English/(147).

147. If this is true, his next sentence is most certainly correct: "So a man has to make a good many [canoes] in a few years, and must become pretty expert by the time he is 40" /cited in English/.

Dabbene (b):180, however, agrees with me that its "duration can be reckoned approximately at one year" /translated from Spanish/.

396 The uncertainty in this matter among European judges may have arisen from the fact that in the fall, as well as in the spring,

/457 cont./

E. Dugout Canoe and Skiff

•501 177 With the tools that our Yamana had until they became more familiar with European iron implements, it was impossible for them to build any vessel other than the bark canoe which we have just described. It is only in the last fifty years that some men have built actual dugout canoes. Later they adopted the flat skiff.

1. The dugout. Without doubt our Yamana first saw this vessel in the possession of the neighboring Halakwulup. They had long before adopted it and occasionally appeared in the Yamana region. The Whites brought them the iron ax much earlier, and only with it were they able to hollow out a tree trunk properly. /458/ There is no difficulty in providing historical proof for this innovation among our southernmost Fuegians. In early July, 1876, Bridges (i):15 was on Isla Smoke in the Seno Ladrones, straight north of Stewart Island. Here he entered the following in his diary: "A native of these parts is on board, who by report is a maker of wooden canoes. It is very desirable for the sake of the Eastern natives to clear up the matter about these luputuj-ema, wooden canoes which have been for ages a source of continual fear to the Eastern" /cited in English/. The central and eastern Yamana groups actually do regard the extreme Westerners as murderers and cannibals, which is a subject we shall treat in detail below. On July 25, 1876, Bridges found such a specimen lying unused in the woods, "a hallowed /sic/ tree, 29 feet long, two feet through in widest part and three feet high. It is well hollowed out, but being so narrow is very crank and was left by its maker as of no use" /cited in English/. It was not until two years later, on February 2, 1878, that Bridges (i):16 saw the first fully occupied dugout in Yendegaia: "The wooden canoe of which we have heard so much came alongside this morning. It is a most ungainly object. It is very large and contains twenty persons easily. It was an immense piece of work" /cited in English/. Following this model (151), a few Yamana of the central areas also replaced

151. Lothrop (b):145, differing from my account, asserts: "The first dugout canoe used

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/458 cont./

by the Yahgan was made near Ushuaia about 1880 by an Indian known as John Furnes" /cited in English/. That "this innovation apparently was an independent invention" /cited in English/, I cannot accept; the above historical data are proof of this.

their ancient bark canoe (152). This is emphatically confirmed

152. The Yamana never adopted the actual raft, such as Bridges (I):16 saw for the first time on February 16, 1883, in the possession of the Halakwulup, which consisted of five long planks sewed together. They probably never adopted it because they soon learned how to build the skiff.

by a report in La Nature:275: "The Yahgan...more rarely hollow out the trunk of a tree and give it the shape of a canoe (during the entire year 'La Romanche' saw only one single vessel of this type)" /translated from French/.

In the following years this new form almost completely superseded the bark vessel in all sections of the Fuegian area (153).

153. On January 2, 1902, Mr. Pringle wrote: "The Yahgans now make very few bark-canoes; they mostly use dug-outs" (MM:XXXVI, 49; 1902) /cited in English/. Exactly two decades earlier Martial: 191 announced: "We have found in Beagle Channel one of these canoes hollowed out of the trunk of a tree" /translated from French/.

Dabbene (b):181 was impelled to confess: "Today this kind of vessel [of bark] is no longer made, and the one used at present by the Yahgan is hollowed out from the trunk of a tree" /translated from Spanish/. Furlong (b):126 also mentions without qualification that "the Yahgan constructs his canoe of a heavy beech

501 /458 cont./
177 log" /cited in English/.

For about 20 years the dugout actually did rule supreme, while the bark canoe became more and more scarce. Since then a flat skiff has made its appearance, and today every family owns one of them.

396 /459/ There is not much to say about the construction and form of the dugout. A sound trunk was needed for it, which Nothofagus betuloides usually offered. It had to be quite smooth, straight, and tall enough so that when it was finished it corresponded in length to the medium-sized bark canoe. It was about a third narrower than the latter, whatever the thickness of the selected trunk. The tree was felled with blows of an ax, and the upper part, along with the crown, was cut off. Then the stump was trimmed. After the bark was peeled off, a short section of the curvature of the trunk was cut away, the two edges of which later became the gunwale. Then the hollowing-out process began and continued until the walls were reduced to a thickness of three to five centimeters. The natural curvature of the outer surface was retained, and only the bow was made blunt at the end. The work was extraordinarily facilitated if the cross-cut at the end was not retained. Instead, a small, U-shaped board was nailed on, which had to be carefully calked.

Sometimes the men made it easier for themselves by burning out the trunk, still upright, from below, but they guarded the fire well to make sure that the body of the prospective boat would not have holes in it. This procedure was advisable when the inner tissues of the trunk were largely rotten while the thick layer of wood fibers under the bark was still intact. One often finds such phenomena in the Antarctic beech forest.

The long open sides of the thin-walled body of the boat were widened at the top in the following manner. They spread a thick, protective layer of sand lengthwise and about 20 centimeters wide, and smeared the sides thickly with blubber. Then they placed glowing wood embers, evenly distributed, upon the entire layer of sand. The intense heat was transferred to the walls and made them somewhat expansible. This explains why every dugout looks as though it had been charred and burned. Suitable short thwarts squeezed in between the two side walls forced the latter apart and

/459 cont./

316 thus permanently widened the upper half. Once the tree trunk was hollowed out and closed off at the stern, no further additions were required and it could be put to use immediately. The na-
[312] tives had to be content with a small fire which they kept going throughout the trip in a square tin can.

• 501 504 Compared with the bark canoe, however, which had served the Tamana for centuries as their sole means of transportation, the modern dugout had many disadvantages. It capsized much more easily because it was not resilient and did not yield in any way, and because it was at least a quarter shallower than the bark canoe. Besides that, it could be moved on land only with great difficulty. True, the natives also made a sort of toboggan slide for it out of fresh algae, *tawhina*, over which it was hauled up and down. In spite of that, all the members of the family had to exert themselves to the utmost, otherwise they could not budge it. The wood of the /460/ Antarctic beech is heavy. Finally, the dugout could almost never be anchored in the open channel when the rocky coast did not permit its being hauled up. It was too heavy and too slippery to become entangled in a mass of floating Macrocystis. Ropes made of bundles of rushes (Fig. 32) are too weak to keep the boat tied up near the coast. If, in spite of this, it could be left out in the water, the natives could almost always expect it to overturn (154). Righting it again

154. Lothrop (b):146 says of the dugout which he took back to New York, "it was the most unmanlike vessel in which the writer has ever set foot" /cited in English/.

required great effort on the part of the woman, and bailing it out took considerable time.

501 In most recent times the natives have improved the dugout very much by elevating the gunwale slightly all the way around with a strip of wood nailed or sewed on. This afforded greater safety on the trip, but also added considerably to the weight of the whole thing.

Undeniably the dugout is more durable, but in contrast to this one advantage there are great drawbacks. Hence it is not surprising that after a few attempts the families of those days

/460 cont./

abandoned this new invention. Today we run across an occasional dugout used for short trips; a new one has not been made for three decades.

On my second trip I brought back to the museum in Santiago (Gusinde [b]:145) a dugout that had for years lain in the woods untouched near the mouth of the Rio Douglas. As Lothrop (b):146 says: "the last double-ended dugout afloat was purchased and is now in the Museum [of the American Indian in New York]. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy" /cited in English/. In short, anyone who owns a dugout, like old Pedro, uses it as long as it is still serviceable; middle aged men have long since adopted the skiff. In a period of about 40 years the dugout came into use among the Yamana and disappeared again (155).

155. In this connection Spencer:88 says briefly: "Bark canoe precedes dug-out, which has now and for some years past entirely replaced bark" /cited in English/.

2. The Flat Skiff. Since the sawmills were started on Beagle Channel by Europeans, the natives can easily obtain good boards of different thicknesses. They are also given nails and iron strips. If they cannot buy their own tools, they borrow them everywhere. They do not lack the skill to make a low, short skiff. It must be wide because it is short and low. They curve the gunwale and produce a noticeably elevated bow with a sharp keel that slants backward. This makeshift (156) has /461/ no advantages over a European construction, except for the tin can that is placed in the center for the fire. In the forward part they nail a narrow wooden crosspiece with a small hole in the middle. Into this is placed a short mast. If a light breeze comes up from the rear, they hoist a piece of sacking, remnants of a woman's skirt,

156. Lothrop (b):146 gives a short description and an illustration of it.

/461 com./

502 or some other rag as a sail on the yard, the end of which is tied to the edge of the boat by means of two or three thin ropes. Sometimes they are satisfied to stretch the rag between two strips of wood and hold it up high until their arms become tired (157).

157. Wieghardt:31 writes: "Some kind of rag or a seal skin is hoisted as a sail, sewed with rush fibers to a small yard supported by a mast held in one of the crosspieces" /translated from Spanish/. Compare Martial:190. Formerly the Yamana did not know of this expedient, for, as Webster:I,184 maintains, "they never make use of a sail" /cited in English/.

501 177 This flat skiff no longer reveals anything of native art. It is only through Europeans that the last survivors of the Yamana people have been able to put together the skiff described here, which, compared to their original bark canoe, has many advantages. It permits them to use a sail, sétel, of some kind, which the light construction of the bark canoe would not permit. With this new vessel they also adopted the long oars which are not suitable for paddling because of their shape.

501 178 All the available historical sources, beginning with the first writings of the Dutch admiral L'Hermite, confirm, without exception, that the bark canoe was the only method of transportation of the Yamana until the last decades, and that it was always put together in exactly the same way (158). Its advantages and its

158. Cooper:197 likewise came to the conclusion that "throughout the whole territory, the bark canoes were constructed in the same way of three or more pieces sewed together, with thwarts and rips and with pointed ends" /cited in English/. Lovisato (a):199 regards the bark canoe as "the most ingenious work by these poor people of Fuegia, which, however, from Drake to us, for 300 years then, has remained the same" /translated from Italian/.

efficiency have been described in detail above. Every careful observer will admit that neither the dugout nor the flat skiff compare with the bark canoe in technical construction and suitable form.

/765 cont./

857 and the brown robber gull, wilapila (Megalestris skua chilensis);
231 cormorants and penguins, which are too dirty, are less desirable. After the girls have become fond of such a bird in the course of a few weeks, they do not have the heart to kill it even if it would make a succulent roast. If one day it flies off, they follow it enthusiastically with their eyes and send good wishes after it.

857 As is well known, the bark canoe belongs entirely to the
868 woman (p. 136). For very obvious reasons the father makes a
501 small model of it for his daughter. It is like a larger canoe in every detail and is large enough for a single girl to sit in and row about. On my second journey I noticed a seven-year-old girl in Puerto Robalo who was extraordinarily skillful in managing her vessel which was 145 centimeters long. Her father had previously given her a smaller canoe. It was a charming sight when one sunny day toward noon the mother set out in her boat and was accompanied by this daughter. Each of them steered her boat into a tangle of large brown algae /766/ and they began to fish. After three hours they returned to the landing place and the girl, too, had a few pieces of booty, to the delight of her father. More often a father will give his daughter a small paddle with which she strikes the water while standing on the shore.

857 If one sums up what a solitary girl has in the way of entertainment and play, diversion, and minor manipulations, it is clear that she is not condemned to boredom and that, on the contrary, many a day will be too short for her if she has become absorbed in her play. If several children are together in the same place, they choose other forms of entertainment.

7. Social Games

857 The designation "social games" does not precisely fit all the forms of diversion which are listed here; all I wish to express is that several children come together in them. Adults often take part in these games, but children are always in the majority.

857 By way of introduction it should be said that a tame, patient
231 dog is used by boys, as well as girls, for all kinds of jests and mad pranks. It sometimes seemed impossible to me that such an animal would take so much from foolhardy boys! They tug him around

J: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 Sub Yahgan Sub

Red Symbolized Peace

white, war and ritual; black, mourning. Designs were very simple, confined to lines, dots, and, less commonly, circles.

Ornaments.—Personal adornments were: necklaces, of sections of bird leg bones strung on braided sinew, of strung punched shells (*Fissurella violacea*), or of frapped hanks of braided sinew, often colored red; bone or shell pendants, sometimes attached to the necklaces; and wristlets and anklets of sinew and hide. Feather headdress and bird-skin, feather, or down-ornamented fillets or forehead caps were also used.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes.—Travel by the *Yahgan* was almost entirely by water. Their earlier sole form of watercraft was the built-up bark canoe, of a crescent or gondola shape that characterizes other craft well up the west coast of South America to Peru; the plank boat, the *Araucanian* dugout, the seal-hide float, and the double-ended reed balsa were absent (Lothrop, 1932 a, pp. 253–54).

The *Yahgan* canoe (pls. 34, 35) was made of three strips of beech bark, one-half inch to more than an inch (1.2 to 2.5 cm.) thick, which ordinarily formed the bottom and two sides respectively. Average length was about 15 feet (5 m.), with a range from about 12 to 20 feet (4 to 7 m.); gunwale to gunwale width in center, about 3 feet (1 m.); depth in center, about 2 feet (0.6 m.). The bark, taken only from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), was stripped off in the spring, when the sap was running. In removing the bark from the tree, the natives used a bone chisel or mussel-shell knife to cut it and a bone barking tool to strip it, and in ascending the tree held themselves thereto with a strong rawhide thong. After smoothing the bark on both sides with a small chisel, they cut it into three cigar-shaped pieces. These pieces were then sewn together with whalebone or with shreddings of warmed saplings, the seams being waddled with the stringy seams of wild celery grass or with moss mixed with mud. The gunwales were next lashed on. The ribs, of split Winter's bark, were then fitted in and locked in place under the gunwales. The thwarts, usually five or six, of hardwood, were inserted and lashed to the gunwals.

The fireplace was set amidships. The paddle was in one piece with a long lanceolate blade and short round-section handle without cross-piece or other grip. The *Yahgan* canoe leaked much; the cylindrical bailers (pl. 33, *c*) were usually of bark or sealskin. Sealskin thongs and braided grass ropes were used as mooring lines. The construction and repair of the canoe were the man's task; but its management, including paddling and mooring off shore in a kelp bed, were the woman's. In a sense, she was mistress of the canoe, with its hearth and ever-lighted fire. In a favorable wind a crude sail, made of a sealskin or

501 of several skins sewn together, was sometimes set up—a practice whose origin, native or European, is uncertain. (For details on manufacture and use of canoe, cf.: Lothrop, 1928, pp. 140-141; 1932 a, pp. 221-222; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 416-417.)

501 1947 After about 1880 the *Yahgan* began to give up their traditional bark canoes, and to adopt the dugout. Still later, prior to Lothrop's visit in 1924-25, the dugout had been entirely superseded by the dory, of European type and origin.

The *Yahgan* never adopted the plank boat from their *Alacaluf* neighbors and never used rafts or skin-covered watercraft, so far as our records reveal.

MANUFACTURE

172 **Pottery, weaving, and metallurgy** were entirely absent; no traces of pottery have been discovered archeologically in *Yahgan* territory.

283 **String-making and sewing.**—Plant fibers, plain, shredded, or braided, were used in basket making, canoe sewing, and for mooring lines, respectively; braided whale sinew, for necklaces, fishing lines, and tool and weapon lashings; braided guanaco sinew, for bowstrings; whalebone, in sewing canoes and for bird snares and fishline nooses; seal-hide thongs, for tool and weapon lashings, harpoon lines, basket handles, mooring lines, and bowstrings. Awls were made of bone and wood, unhafted. The drill was lacking.

812 285 **Basketry.**—Four techniques in basket making were in use: (1) Simple half-hitch coiled, the commonest type (fig. 13, *top*); (2) twisted half-hitch coiled, rarer (fig. 13, *center*); (3) knotted half-hitch coiled, not common (fig. 13, *bottom*); (4) a sort of wrapped type. The first three were of excellent craftsmanship; the last, very crudely woven, and used only as a dip net for catching very small fish. The material for all four was a rush (*Juncus megellanicus*). The coiled baskets were more or less oblong-spheroid in shape, and had a carrying handle of thong or plaited rush (pl. 23, *c*).

281 **Skin dressing.**—No process of dressing proper is reported. Sealskins were stretched on the ground, covered with grass and moss, and left so for a while, to help dehair them. Drying frames were apparently used. The scraper consisted of a mussel shell lashed to a cylindrical stone haft. The *Yahgan* made thongs flexible by drawing them through their teeth or by chewing them.

[412] 324 **Stoneworking.**—Little use of worked stone was made except for arrowheads and, rarely, scrapers. The workmanship was crude. Archeologically, there are some traces of stone pecking and polishing (Lothrop, 1928, p. 203; cf. Bird, 1938).

415 **Containers.**—Cylindrical buckets (pl. 23, *a*), of *Nothofagus betuloides* bark, for carrying and holding drinking water and for boiling, were made by the woman, with the use of a barking tool dif-

3: Lothrop E-9 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

principal purpose for which such stones were used was opening shellfish. These stones never were hafted. 442

4. Sandstone Stones.—For sharpening knife and scraper blades the Yahgan employed a smooth stone (*chifpi*) such as is shown in fig. 66, 5. They can frequently be picked up on old camp-sites. The rounded hammerstones may also have been employed for sharpening.

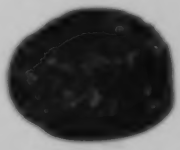

FIG. 71.—Yahgan pumice polisher. Length, 2¼ in. (14/2224)

5. Pumice.—For polishing, in place of our sandpaper or the Ona fox-skin and grit, the Yahgan used pumice (*kéll*). This material (fig. 71) is found on Picton island and on the coast of Tierra del Fuego to the north. It frequently floats down Beagle channel and may be picked up on the beach.

Boats and Boating

BARK CANOE

In the old days the Yahgan used a curved bark canoe which in outline is well described by Gusinde's phrase, "like a moon of four days, with raised tips." The last one ever afloat is shown in fig. 72. 501

FIG. 72.—The last Yahgan bark canoe ever used. (Courtesy of Rev. John Williams.)

The bark employed (*ukirakun*) was taken from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), known to the Yahgan as *súschi*. It had to be stripped from the tree in the spring (October or November) when the sap was rising. For this purpose a tool made from the jaw-bone of a whale (*ufunkol*) was employed (fig. 67), and the 396

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SHS Yahgan SHS

396 men ascended the tree by means of a thong of seal-skin (*uwwuk*). An industrious and forehanded man often removed two pieces of bark at the right season of the year in case his canoe might be wrecked. The extra piece was placed under water in a running stream to keep it flexible and was held there by means of stones. The piece intended for immediate use was scraped with a shell scraper (*uwuf'uu*) until the fat inner bark (*ushkuq*) had been removed. The bark was then cut to pattern, three cigar-shape pieces usually serving for the skin of the canoe.

The bark was next tightly sewn together with pieces of whalebone, or, if none were obtainable, with saplings warmed before the fire and shredded when very hot. Split saplings were then set close together for ribs (*ushkilakin*), and the ends of these were held in place by tapering gunwales (*uwwi*) lashed to the bark sides (fig. 73).

• [501]

FIG. 73.—Model of Yahgan canoe. Length, 40½ in. (14/4331)

Across from gunwale to gunwale, thwarts, usually six in number, were lashed in order to keep the sides from collapsing. Finally the slender bow and stern were joined to the nearest thwart by a seal-hide thong or a braided grass rope in order to give additional strength to the extremity of the vessel.

To complete the canoe a fireplace (*af*) was installed amidships, for even in these days of matches and European clothes no Yahgan goes to sea without his fire. The fireplace consisted of a heavy piece of sod with much earth attached. Over this was a layer of pebbles, and the whole was soon covered with ash. In the bow a rest for harpoons was installed.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5316 Yahgan 5316

When fully equipped, the Yahgan canoe carried the following articles: 501

two or more paddles	dip-net
three kinds of baskets	club
two fire-tongs	grass mooring rope or thong
four spears (fish, seal, crab, and limpet)	bark bucket
	fish-line.

Such was the bark canoe in which these Indians often ventured far from shore and even attacked whales. Its great virtue was that it could be made with few tools; indeed in an emergency it could be created with no more than fire and a knife. Furthermore, its high pointed ends made it seaworthy. On the other hand, the seams often leaked and the beech-bark is brittle—much more so than the birch-bark of the North American canoes. The canoes of bark found nearest to Tierra del Fuego are those of Brazil. Their construction is so different, however, that there seems no possibility of relationship between the two types.

DUGOUT CANOE

The first dugout canoe used by the Yahgan was made near Ushuaia about 1880 by an Indian known as "John Furness." 501 176 177 This innovation apparently was an independent invention, instigated through the introduction of metal tools during the previous decade. At any rate the idea rapidly became popular, for the advantage of the stronger construction over the bark canoe was patent, and indeed the Alacaluf soon seized upon this type and abandoned their plank canoes.

FIG. 71a.—Yahgan dugout canoe. (Courtesy of J. L. Weld, Esq.)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5301 Yahgan 5301

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In outline the dugout canoes resembled their bark prototypes, modified by the material of which they were wrought. Thus, through inaptitude or a fault in the wood, one end sometimes was not pointed but was cut off square. Into the opening a tail-board was then fitted. This usually leaked. The sides of the canoe often were raised by nailing on boards.

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FIG. 74.—Modern Yahgan boat. (Courtesy of J. L. Wold, Esq.)

With the coming of Europeans the Yahgan adopted the use of oars and sails. The latter were raised on temporary masts and could be employed only when running before the wind.

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The Yahgan bark canoe has gone entirely out of use today, and the writer was unable to discover an Indian competent to make one properly, although models can yet be obtained. The dugout canoe is still in use, but it is many years since a new one has been launched. The last double-ended dugout afloat (fig. 73a) was purchased and is now in the Museum. It is 16 feet 6 inches long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet 7 inches deep. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy. Also it was the most unstable vessel in which the writer has ever set foot.

DORY

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Today the few surviving Yahgan use a flat-bottom dory with square stern and high-pointed bow (fig. 74). This boat is of European manufacture and carries no mark of native identity except a fireplace. Today the fireplace is no picturesque affair of sod, but usually is an upright five-gallon gasoline tin, half-filled with stones, and with a hole cut in the side to facilitate the draft.

3: Lothrop K-5 (1924-1925) 1928
3386 Yahgan 3386

PADDLES

The old-fashioned paddle (ipi) had a long pointed blade and a short rounded handle (fig. 75). The blade was diamond-shape in

FIG. 75.—Yahgan paddle. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

section, so there was a keel-like ridge centrally down each side. Today most of the blades have rounded tips, a shape which the Yahgan may well have adopted from the Alacaluf.

The women, who were the paddlers, often joined their men folk in fighting, using their paddles with deadly effect.

MAKING ROPES

Canoes were moored either with a seal-skin thong (sawrsh) as shown in fig. 76, or more commonly with a braided grass rope (ukakowl) such as is seen in fig. 77. The process of braiding the rope is illustrated in fig. 56.

FIG. 76.—Yahgan seal-hide thong. Diameter of coil, 9 in. (14/2347)

CANOE BAILER

As all the Yahgan canoes leaked more or less, some kind of a bailer was imperative to keep them afloat. For this purpose a bark bucket like the water-bucket, but not so tall, normally was used (fig. 78). The writer has seen small seal-skin buckets said to have been used for this purpose.

CARE AND MANAGEMENT OF THE CANOE

The canoe was paddled by the women, who sat in the stern, while the men crouched in the bow to cast the spears. When paddling, owing to the short handle, one hand was under water.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche

Yahgan SH6

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[p. 160 B]

/452 cont./

505 will venture to cross a quiet bay with an overload that they would never take out into an open channel. The question as to how many persons can be accommodated in a canoe cannot be answered in a single word; at any rate, there is enough room for the parents and the unmarried children of a family, a total of about six or seven (142); Dabbene (b):180 speaks of "up to eight

142. According to Hyades (q):304 it includes "as an ordinary load, seven persons, three of whom are children, one of these being carried on the back or held at the breast of its mother" /translated from French/.

or ten persons" /translated from Spanish/. They step into the divisions formed by the crosspieces. Here, without exception, they squat in the bottom of the canoe and remain quiet in their crouched position, all but the woman who must paddle. Anyone who stands up risks upsetting the unsteady balance. The children sit deep down in the center section and sometimes their eyes do not reach even to the level of the gunwale. Thus, they add a great deal to the stability of the vessel. The man's place is at the bow, the rear third belongs to the woman. The weight of at least two adults is necessary when the sea is turbulent; actual ballast is unknown.

502 We have repeatedly mentioned that the bark canoe of our Yamana, because of its light construction and unsubstantial load, maintains an unstable equilibrium on the water. For this very reason each of the occupants avoids gross body movements, and actual rowing is out of place here. The Indians possess a large measure of self-control, even the children can remain for hours almost motionless in one spot, to prevent the vessel from rocking. L'Hermite was reminded of "Venetian gondolas" (p. 53 /untranslated/) when he saw the bark canoes in Nassau Gulf, and the beautiful comparison Goicueta used for the vessel of the Halakwulup also applies to /453/ that of our Fuegians. On the surface of the water it really does look "like a four-day moon, with the elevated points" /translated from Spanish/, gliding by motionlessly.

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501 Every additional person stepping in changes the unstable balance of the entire vessel considerably. If, meanwhile, a painful feeling of uncertainty comes over the occupant, he will find this repeatedly accentuated in alternately stronger and weaker fashion throughout the trip, either because of a slight change in the current, a larger or smaller succession of waves, or, finally, because of gusts of wind for which the projecting canoe offers an extensive target area.

502 Every woman is amazingly skilled at paddling. She succeeds in preventing the vessel from bouncing jerkily with every stroke of the paddle and in making the slight zigzag line of the course less noticeable. Nevertheless, a person in the boat soon feels this movement. The longer it continues, the more it affects the general feeling of a European; uneasiness overtakes him, and in this situation of increasing uncertainty he longs for the moment when he can set foot on terra firma once again. No matter how often I told myself that my Indian companions were utterly reliable, every trip in a bark canoe was for me anything but soothing. The longer it lasted, the more sensitive I became to the slightest /454/ fluctuation in the equilibrium, and in the end I was nervously irritated. Our Indians, however, have long since become accustomed to these feelings; it is not that they have become insensitive to them, but with it all, their consciousness of safety and their long-tested reckless courage triumphs.

503 731 Out of this some of them develop a certain blind confidence, together with an overestimation of their ability and their judgment of existing weather conditions. Thus, many a canoe capsizes, chiefly, however, because of the incalculable tricks of the weather in that region. Not at all infrequently a family is seized by a whirlwind in the middle of a wide stretch of water or is threatened by breakers that no one could anticipate; since the canoe moves slowly, all human effort is overcome by the superiority of natural forces (145). Many a casualty is remembered

145. We repeat here a sad incident related by Hyades (q):353: "A large number of Fuegians wanted to cross a bay in two canoes in order to look for fungi on the opposite shore; the overloaded canoes foundered, the sea being bad, and

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only two persons were saved" /translated from French/.

to this day by the Yamana; the reports of missionaries and European travelers also refer to them. In Hyades (q):352 we read: "Shipwrecks of canoes are very frequent and annually cause a high mortality. Mr. Bridges in his unpublished work cites many accidents of this kind: shipwreck of five canoes, 33 persons drowned; shipwreck of two canoes, 13 drowned..." /translated from French/. The accident is usually caused by overconfidence. These people are extremely reckless and, as Bridges (i):15 expresses it "venturesome in trusting themselves with comparative strangeness" /cited in English/, which every observer verifies. In most recent times, however, unprincipled thoughtlessness [273] destroys many a life when Indians in a highly intoxicated state venture out on the treacherous waves although they do not have control of themselves.

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Supremely confident of their own ability, these people may even decide to take long journeys in their fragile vessel. As a rule, however, they stay within the narrow confines of their native district; every dialect group has one (p. 199 /untranslated/). Certain occasions, however, almost always the chase after the large ursine seal, tēpēⁿa (Arctocephalus australis), and the pursuit of a sick, weary whale, make them forget, in their eagerness, how far behind they have left the coast. It has been proved that a few families visited Isla Ildefonso; others are supposed to have ventured as far as the Diego Ramírez Islands. They are [823] guided in their journeys by their exact knowledge of the locality and by an excellent gift of orientation.

[197] Soon after the opening of the mission station in Ushuaia individual canoes arrived from great distances, even some from the Halakwulup. For example, Bridges (i):15 mentions incidentally: "I know several natives of Cuchawulaf who come to Ushuaia in the East and in the opposite direction as far as Port Gallant and Mercury Sound; this distance is considerably over two /455/ hundred miles" /cited in English/. Our Fuegians can accomplish these astonishingly distant journeys because, wherever they land, they provide for their needs in life, namely, meat from the most diverse types of animals, wood for the indispensable fire, and pieces of fur to protect their bodies.

/455 cont./

396 one man or another will build a canoe. If he has observed that the vessel he built only the previous spring will hardly last out the winter, he sets about early enough, that is, in the fall, to make a new one. He does not take great pains with it, since the bark is not as good in the fall and in any case he will commence a new and better one in the spring. This is the only explanation for Bridges' assertion (i):23 that "the canoes are made twice a year in the spring and autumn. The former are called hákua, the latter Een-ánan [better kísajánan] i.e. Winter Canoe. The natives are specially careful to make the latter well" /cited in English/. Spring is actually the time when the great majority of families make a new vessel (p. 115).

504 /456/ Through the years every man acquires some skill in this work, but this fact alone does not prevent him from treating his canoe most carefully and giving it his utmost attention. If he should lose it in the course of the year, he and his family would be in serious difficulty, sometimes in danger of starving. Heavy blows against rocks and tree trunks are particularly damaging because the bark sections break or tear. Rubbing against pebbles and sand soon causes the bottom and the threads of the seam to be scraped through. For this reason, the vessel is often kept in the open channel after the family has been brought to shore by the woman. Wherever the gently sloping beach permits, they make a sort of toboggan slide of damp Macrocystis algae over which they drag the canoe and upon which it rests. When boarding the canoe, everyone places his foot very carefully; in fact, everyone avoids any jolt and violent movement, for the seams easily burst and the seam threads become more brittle the older they are. In loading and unloading large objects are handled gently and cautiously.

422 Even though the man makes the canoe almost entirely by
462 himself, it is not regarded as his property; the woman uses it and takes care of it. The man gives it to her, and it actually belongs to her or to the entire family. All the duties during the trip, as well as before and after, are her responsibility. She
462 alone paddles. Squatting in the rear third of the vessel, close
502 against the right side, she grasps the oar shaft with both hands, the left above the right, and pushes the oar diagonally backwards

/456 cont./

with a slight S-shaped movement in the water. This propels the canoe forward and gives it a definite direction at the same time. Paddling is made more difficult because the woman cannot brace her feet against anything and because she does not have a special seat. Also, she does not support her arms against the gunwale, but holds them entirely free. This is one explanation for the unusually powerful development of the upper part of her body (p. 219 /untranslated/). As a rule she alone paddles (148).

> 148. Hence it is an exaggeration when Hyades (q):352 maintains that "the canoe is usually propelled with two paddles, each of which is manipulated by a woman in the large center section" /translated from French/.

If she needs help in a rough sea or when speed is required, she asks another woman or her grown daughter to take an oar. The other woman then paddles on the left side of the boat. Through daily practice, every woman learns to handle an oar skillfully. BD:32 uses the word atēgaatas, "clever in paddling" /cited in English/. She also decides how the cargo is to be loaded or unloaded and distributed, what seat each child is to have, and who is to bail out the water and tend the fire.

If we consider everything that falls to her in the way of privileges and duties, she seems to be the sole ruler of the canoe. Her husband would not presume to compete for this privileged position of hers on the water nor tell her what to do. On shore the two agree on the course of the trip, /457/ and en route the husband expresses his particular wishes if game should approach, but the piloting and servicing of the vessel is entirely in her hands. If it should be necessary, she even requests him to leave his place at the bow and to sit near her and help her with the paddling. Every vessel has at least two paddles. She helps to make repairs, except in the case of larger tasks, such as putting in a side section, which are the responsibility of the man. Her constant duty is to renew the calking, for in the continual dampness, moss and grass, rushes, and algae rot quickly.

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501 abandoned this new invention. Today we run across an occasional dugout used for short trips; a new one has not been made for three decades.

501 126 On my second trip I brought back to the museum in Santiago (Gusinde [b]:145) a dugout that had for years lain in the woods untouched near the mouth of the Rio Douglas. As Lothrop (b):146 says: "the last double-ended dugout afloat was purchased and is now in the Museum [of the American Indian in New York]. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy" /cited in English/. 501 In short, anyone who owns a dugout, like old Pedro, uses it as long as it is still serviceable; middle aged men have long since adopted the skiff. In a period of about 40 years the dugout came into use among the Yamana and disappeared again (155).

155. In this connection Spencer:88 says briefly: "Bark canoe precedes dug-out, which has now and for some years past entirely replaced bark" /cited in English/.

396 [439 177] 2. The Flat Skiff. Since the sawmills were started on Beagle Channel by Europeans, the natives can easily obtain good boards of different thicknesses. They are also given nails and iron strips. If they cannot buy their own tools, they borrow them everywhere. They do not lack the skill to make a low, short skiff. It must be wide because it is short and low. They curve the gunwale and produce a noticeably elevated bow with a sharp keel that slants backward. This makeshift (156) has /461/ no advan-

156. Lothrop (b):146 gives a short description and an illustration of it.

tages over a European construction, except for the tin can that is placed in the center for the fire. In the forward part they nail a narrow wooden crosspiece with a small hole in the middle. Into this is placed a short mast. If a light breeze comes up from the 502 rear, they hoist a piece of sacking, remnants of a woman's skirt,

/461 cont./

502 or some other rag as a sail on the yard, the end of which is tied to the edge of the boat by means of two or three thin ropes. Sometimes they are satisfied to stretch the rag between two strips of wood and hold it up high until their arms become tired (157).

157. Wieghardt:31 writes: "Some kind of rag or a seal skin is hoisted as a sail, sewed with rush fibers to a small yard supported by a mast held in one of the crosspieces" /translated from Spanish/. Compare Martial:190. Formerly the Yamana did not know of this expedient, for, as Webster:I,184 maintains, "they never make use of a sail" /cited in English/.

501 This flat skiff no longer reveals anything of native art. It
177 is only through Europeans that the last survivors of the Yamana people have been able to put together the skiff described here, which, compared to their original bark canoe, has many advantages. It permits them to use a sail, sétel, of some kind, which the light construction of the bark canoe would not permit. With this new vessel they also adopted the long oars which are not suitable for paddling because of their shape.

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178 tion, that the bark canoe was the only method of transportation of the Yamana until the last decades, and that it was always put together in exactly the same way (158). Its advantages and its

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efficiency have been described in detail above. Every careful observer will admit that neither the dugout nor the flat skiff compare with the bark canoe in technical construction and suitable form.

/613 cont./

181 will regard his hunting effort as completely hopeless, but not infrequently that is just the time when his booty is more than abundant. Complete satisfaction grows out of the success of which the Indian is confident from the start, and this further increases his reliance on his own ability.

182 Naturally, the drive toward restless wandering coincides abstractly with his adopted form of economic management. In Tierra del Fuego agriculture and animal husbandry in a form which our natives would be obliged to choose would be simply impossible. They have no choice but to gather and hunt what nature offers them voluntarily. Now, game animals are driven away from the spot where one of them has been killed. Similarly, it is advisable for a woman to change the place of her gathering activity as soon as possible. Thus, as a matter of principle, a family remains in one place only as long as the meat from one of the larger /614/ animals lasts. If the family is dependent solely upon mussels, they set out even sooner. They do not stay more than an average of two or three days in the same place. Advantageously, the Yamana travel in very small groups, usually as individual families, sometimes with a second or third family. They separate again after a short distance, because personal safety, of which everyone is conscious, drives them toward complete independence and unrestricted freedom.

2. Underway in the Canoe

462 The only and indispensable means of transportation of our
● 502 Indians is their bark canoe. Since it is lightly constructed, the woman is not excessively burdened by paddling. The canoe belongs to her. Although the man must build it, the care of it is left to her alone (415). She takes this very seriously, for the

415. Bridges (MM:III, 115;1869) writes: "Canoes are always under the charge of the women, who paddle them from place to place, and spend much of their time in them" /cited in English/, namely, on the unavoidable trips.

/614 cont./

462 loss of the canoe endangers the life of the whole family. She
502 repairs damage as soon as possible (416), or, if there is major

416. "It is chiefly the task of the woman to keep the canoe, this article which is absolutely indispensable for the existence of the Fuegian, in repair, and we always see her busy calking the cracks with half-rotten twigs and sewing together the individual pieces" (Hyades [g]:38).

work to be done, asks her husband to do it. Throughout the entire trip she alone attends the canoe; however, if there is a heavy sea, she requests her husband or other occupants to assist. She keeps the boys tending the fire and delegates to the girls the task of bailing out the water that seeps in.[9] After landing, when the dogs have leaped out, when her husband and the children have disembarked, and all their belongings have been brought to shore, she must finally moor the vessel. Bridges (MM:III, 115; 1869) expresses very definitely what the bark canoe means for the Fuegian family: "The canoe is the most valuable property an Indian possesses, by it he travels from place to place, and with its assistance he obtains the chief part of his food...Canoes are used daily" /cited in English/.

502 On the trip itself every member of the family has his particular seat. The man squats in the bow; his [illegible]r and harpoon lie beside him and protrude far beyond the bow [illegible]y to grasp and handy, with the bone point forward (p. 128). The children are distributed in the lower center part around the fire and between the low, small piles of wood. The woman occupies the entire stern by herself and paddles, first on one side, then on the other, usually on her right side. She grasps the single paddle with both hands and moves it in the water, not with a stroke, but with more of a stirring and short pushing motion. She lifts it diagonally out of the water and /615/ lowers it almost perpendicularly into the water when she prepares for the next stroke. This peculiar manipulation of the paddle is simultaneously rowing and steering (417).

417. Paddling has to be learned. Then it is,

/615 cont./

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as Hyades (g):38 correctly judges, "work that is not too hard, since the canoes, made exclusively out of the bark of the birch-leaved beech, are marvelously light."

This work is a great strain on the entire upper part of the body, for the legs are neither braced nor do they offer support, and the arms do not rest on the rim of the canoe, yet bear the entire strain of free paddling (418). In the vessel all the occupants must squat

[142]

418. Hence the slight development of the legs in contrast to the sturdy torso of the healthy, active women (p. 219 /untranslated/).

close together deep in the bottom, with their legs tucked under. Its center of gravity is very high, even when it is loaded to capacity, and it would easily tip over if the balance were disturbed. Children are told that they should bend their heads and the upper part of their bodies low; usually they lift themselves only high enough for their eyes to reach the level of the gunwale (419).

419. The words of Lovisato (b):134 are to a certain extent correct: "In this canoe the Fuegians remain in such a position that only their heads may be seen, a position identical with the one they maintain in the wigwam" /translated from Italian/.

502 225 462

Before the family leaves the shore, man and wife have agreed on the goal of the journey or the course. She now steers toward this while he constantly is on the lookout for game. If an animal comes into view, he tells his wife and reaches for his spear or harpoon (420). As the vessel nears the animal, he slowly stands

420. The division of labor within the family is thus clearly expressed. Aspinall:270 refers to this: "Each canoe holds one family; the

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/615 cont./

women row and the man is on the lookout with raised javelin."

up and, at the appropriate moment, throws his weapon. Only the perfectly synchronized co-operation of both of them assures the success of the hunt, and every married couple achieves absolute perfection in this in the course of the years. When they pursue a wounded animal, the woman must occasionally exercise extraordinary strength. She is equipped for it by the habit of almost daily paddling.

502 If the family has been rewarded with unexpected luck in the hunt or if they are very tired from the pursuit of an animal, they sometimes suddenly decide to land at the nearest good place. The most suitable site is a flat, gently sloping beach, covered with coarse pebbles, in a calm inlet. The woman does not let the canoe run aground, since all friction is to be avoided. She holds the bow steady at right angles to the shore while the inmates disembark one after the other (421) and /616/ toss all the implements

[758]

421. Only exceptionally, in case the man is ill and cannot walk, does Aspinall's:270 assertion hold: "In leaving the canoe, the woman must first carry the man ashore. He carefully holds the firebrand, protected between sticks of wood, above water, and begins first of all to erect a primitive hut." As a rule, however, the landing proceeds as described above and, for example, as is described in La Nature:274.

along with all the provisions onto the shore. One of the children carries a glowing stick of wood to the place that the father has pointed out to the child as the chosen campsite. The girls usually do this. The adults make sure that the last sparks of the fire in the canoe have been extinguished. Meanwhile the Indian woman remains seated in her canoe and keeps it on the same spot by paddling. When everything has been unloaded, she still has to moor it. If the landing place is suitable, a layer of Macrocystis

/616 cont./

502 algae, a hand's breadth high, is brought together; it is about as long as the keel of the vessel and about 60 centimeters wide. It is strewn on the shingle high above the highest water-line at flood tide. From this point to the canoe in the water the larger stones are removed and short sticks or several bunches of algae are placed crosswise. Then the husband and wife, helped by the children, drag the canoe along this foundation up to the highest point (422). It slides easily because the sticks are damp and

> 422. Despard (b):697 says: "Much care is taken when a canoe is drawn up on the beach for a short time. A dray-way is made by first removing every stone, and then a deep layer of fresh and wet kelp is laid down, and the canoe carefully drawn up on this by a couple of hands" /cited in English/.

because the bunches of algae chosen are still fresh and covered with slime. The canoe remains tipped sideways until, at the next departure, it is pushed into the water over the same slide-way (p. 134).

While the woman, as we have just said, constantly keeps the canoe near the landing place by proper paddling, the man and the children disembark, and with combined efforts they place the individual implements and the booty from hunting on the shore. When everything has been unloaded, the woman steers toward the middle of the channel if she wants to moor the canoe there. Meanwhile, following a popular custom, she calls to the members of her family on the shore, repeating an ancient phrase:

ĕkerʟ	ilā̃na	hā̃in	kā̃ʟa
the hut	to build	now	quickly!

This is a request to them to set up the dwelling quickly.

If the landing place lacks sufficient room and a sheltered spot for the canoe, the Indian woman uses another expedient. After everything has been unpacked, she rows alone to the center of the channel where thick bunches of Macrocystis algae are floating. About 100 meters from this coast she ties her vessel to

/616 cont./

502 the tough algae stalks and also pulls bundles of branches across it so that it is all entangled in the elastic bundle. She also fastens the paddle there. Then she dives out and swims to shore. Meanwhile her family has kindled a good fire, and she soon warms herself thoroughly (423). No matter how high the waves pile up

423. Bridges (MM:III, 115;1869) also discusses this method of mooring the canoe.

during the night, they do not hurt the light canoe. On the beach it could be dashed against rocks at high tide /617/ or tossed back and forth on the shore, which would scrape open the seams. Hence it is moored safely outside among the floating elastic algae which are in tangled masses (424).

424. Lucy:170 has erroneously maintained that the canoe is taken apart on landing. Anyone who is familiar with the construction of this vessel knows that taking it apart is impossible.

481 On this occasion, which happens frequently, the Indian woman is obliged to swim. It is a strange fact that generally only women and girls can swim. Many European observers have pointed this out (425) and praised their endurance in diving. Bridges (MM:III,

425. For example, Bridges (MM:XIII, 157; 1879), Despard (b):697, Hyades (h):12 and (q):213, Lovisato (b):130, Spegazzini (a): 171, and others.

115; 1869) briefly emphasizes: "Women invariably swim, and men never" /cited in English/. Only when they are forced by necessity, however, do they enter the water, namely, when servicing the canoe, when looking for sea urchins, and when they haul in a game animal. On the really warm days which are extremely rare a few persons bathe in order to cool off a bit (426).

426. Hyades (g):38 emphasizes: "Strangely

/617 cont./

481 Hyades (h):12. This answer does not need an explanation.

Everyone knows that in an accident some man or other could perhaps have been saved by swimming, as many women succeeded in doing; nevertheless, he does not make any effort to learn this art.

481 The manner in which the women move in the water resembles our so-called paddle-stroke, or, as Martial:193, agreeing
868 with Fitz-Roy (a):186, expresses himself, "is more like that of the dog than ours" /translated from French/. The mother teaches her daughter when she is still young. In a shallow inlet she rows her away from the shore, squats in the middle of the canoe, extends her outstretched arms over the upper edge and requests /618/ the girl to lie down on top of them, face downward; suddenly she draws her arms back and calls briefly: "Now swim!" The girl must now help herself until she has learned this art. Except for a few words of explanation, she receives no instruction. Sometimes during these exercises the mother places a flat stone on the girl's back.

•502 In their frail vessel the natives feel completely safe. And why not! Their accurate judgment of the weather situation makes it possible for them to know what they may risk, and they show great skill in handling their canoe. Formerly it was very seldom indeed that a boat capsized (430). If in most recent times such

430. In this connection Spears:55 says: "Both the Rev. Thomas Bridges and the Rev. John Lawrence told me that they never heard of a Yahgan being upset in his canoe until these later years" /cited in English/.

accidents have happened repeatedly -- I myself was once a witness to one -- it can be proved that the man or the woman, usually both, were intoxicated and yet ventured upon the water, even at night.

The European is seized with a strange feeling when he rides in the canoe because it is extraordinarily light and unsteady and stands high in the water. The slightest movement of an occupant

/618 cont./

502 causes it to rock, and this makes the uninitiated feel very insecure. Several times (p. 129) I rode in a true bark canoe and never dared to move. In it one is in a state of precarious balance, and the higher the center of gravity of the vessel and the less firmly one can brace himself, the more sensitive he is to every movement. Stirling described his experience in March, 1864: "A person accustomed to the firm seat of a boat is likely to feel a nervous sensation in these frail barks. The squatting position helps on the sensation a little" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 238; 1864).

502 462 Since the boat trips are unavoidably necessary for Yamana economic life and since they occupy more or less half the year, we can appreciate the active participation of the woman. Despard (b):696 proves this emphatically: "Women do the paddling; they also have entire charge of the canoe, when once made; it is to the Fireland woman what the home is to her civilized sister, her chief place of employment" /cited in English/. The canoe is, so to speak, the center of her entire day's work, and no matter how much she likes to be in her hut temporarily, she nevertheless feels most comfortable in her boat. If 502 the journey is to continue in the morning, the entire family helps her drag it from the landing place into the water. If it was moored out in the channel, she must swim out, no matter how cold the tide. She climbs in, loosens the strong algae stems, and rows to shore. Here all the implements and possessions are loaded up again, and glowing wood embers are placed in the center for a low fire. After all the persons and dogs have boarded, /619/ the Indian woman steers her vessel toward the goal agreed upon. She is able to paddle for many hours without becoming overtired, for she takes advantage of the propelling force of the waves and air currents as much as possible. The bark canoe is extremely easy to move, and constant occupation with it becomes a sort of game (431).

431. Phillips (a):1011 is the only one who mentions the following general observation: "If one invited a fellow for a pleasure trip in a rowboat and gave him the oars, he

/619 cont./

502

kept at it for hours and would not be fatigued. In fact, in all kinds of sailor's work the Fuegians show an uncommon skill, and this occupation obviously affords them entertainment."

It would be unjust to dispute the fact that the Yamana are daring seafarers. It takes great courage and presence of mind to set out in the light, unsteady bark boat with the waves high and with the rapid weather changes of their country, feared even by European seamen (432). In spite of this, they have pushed forward

432. These daring canoeists were marveled at by many Europeans. Lovisato (b):135 wrote: "With these poor boats they do not fear the disastrous hazards on high seas" /translated from Italian/. Other opinions are even more laudatory of the Yamana.

as far as the Islas de Ildefonso, as Bridges (k):233 assures us. One can see these islands distinctly from Seno Año Nuevo in clear weather. We cannot accuse them of cowardice, with Pickering: 19, because they have not visited the Falkland Islands, for these lie far beyond their field of vision. On the open sea there are almost no game animals; why, then, venture out so far? It is only when a sick or dead whale is floating in the waves that many canoes go far from shore, if there is the slightest hope that they can reach it. Near the outlying islands and in the inner channels the Indian family finds all higher and lower animals needed for their subsistence. They are obliged to go after them almost every day. Hence we are fully justified in calling the Yamana genuine water nomads.

Despite all their skill and precaution, occasionally a family would lose their canoe when they looked for eggs or cormorants on a low island without being able to moor their vessel securely beforehand. Usually they had no choice but to summon strangers [202] with smoke signals. Hyades was right when he said (g):38: "The loss of their canoe renders a Fuegian family completely helpless

/619 cont./

• 582 for the moment, and if they are shipwrecked on a lonely rock and do not happen to be noticed by others, they are in danger of starving to death." Such rare accidents, however, do not in the least weaken the brilliant record of the seamanship of the Indian women.

3. On Land

361 We are justified in saying that the Fuegian's principal field
461 of action is the sea, for on land he makes only a temporary brief halt here and there. He never settles anywhere for a long stay. /620/ Soon after landing, the man, aided by his wife and children, builds a simple, loosely constructed hut or only a meager protection against the weather and the rigors of the night. If adverse natural forces do not prevent it, the family usually travels on the next day or the day after. The sojourn on land is for rest and certain manual work. After the day's trip the woman, especially, needs adequate rest, but the man no less, for he is sometimes very agitated and active while hunting and does not feel his great exhaustion until later. Sometimes both husband and wife must exert all their skill for hours to combat headwinds and counter-currents until landing is possible. They expend all their strength doing this and need two or three days before they dare venture out to sea again. On shore, the man makes the tools he needs; however, in this occupation he is never tied down to a certain place. He works here and there on the same piece until it is finished, even though he has to load and unload it, unfinished, 20 times. Similarly, the woman performs all her manual work on land and combs the vicinity of the hut for mussels and snails, fungi and berries.

221 In its ceaseless crisscross journeys, the family follows a certain plan dictated by the prospect of success in food-seeking. In general a family travels far more in summer than in winter, even though unfavorable weather is more predominant (p. 24 /untranslated/) (433). In summer they have a larger selection of animals

433. Without giving this as a reason, Bridges (VSA:XIII, 207;1866) simply says:

/675 cont./

462 [352] and offers him what he prefers. She roasts the larger pieces of meat in and beside the fire, bakes and cooks the fish and mussels, crabs, and birds' eggs in hot ashes. She also provides drinking water and fetches it herself if none of her daughters is free to do it. Everyone expects her to make the small pieces of jewelry, such as necklaces and anklets.

462 356 /676/ Her field of work is the hut. She takes part, together with her husband, even in its construction and repairs damaged places and sections that have been loosened by the wind. She devotes particular attention to the hut fire, guarding it day and night, regulating the radiation of heat and the mounting flames, and seeing to it that the draft comes from the right direction and the smoke quickly drawn off. It is hard to believe how much attention and what numerous manipulations the hut fire demands if it is to benefit every member of the family and not annoy anyone. She prepares the sleeping place for everyone just as he wants it, and from time to time she renews the pallet. A good deal of refuse accumulates in the small living quarters, and the woman sees to it that this is promptly removed. She performs her many manual labors in the hut and in front of it, and she devotes herself tirelessly to the care of her children.

462 502 Her second field of activity is the canoe. It is the man's task to build it, but thereafter the care of this important means of transportation is entirely in her hands. She demands that the man make the repairs needed in the course of time, but she alone manages the canoe on the water and guards it on the beach (p.134). Before the family embarks, she gets the canoe ready so that everyone can comfortably pile in his things and easily climb in. She alone takes care of the paddling, which combines rowing and steering, and that is why she regularly takes her place at the stern end. She has previously come to an agreement with her husband as to the destination and the course. He gives her specific directions when he is on the trail of game. She anxiously guards the fire so that there is no danger to the bottom of the canoe, and she trains her children to keep it gently burning. To avoid capsizing, she sees to it that the occupants distribute themselves properly and that heavy pieces of game do not disturb the balance. She is always very conscious of the fact that on the water she alone is responsible for the boat and for her entire family.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

PADDLES

The old-fashioned paddle (*ápi*) had a long pointed blade and a short rounded handle (fig. 75). The blade was diamond-shape in

FIG. 75.—Yahgan paddle. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

section, so there was a tent-like ridge centrally down each side. Today most of the blades have rounded tips, a shape which the Yahgan may well have adopted from the Alacaluf.

The women, who were the paddlers, often joined their men folk in fighting, using their paddles with deadly effect.

MOORING ROPES

Canoes were moored either with a seal-skin thong (*uwrsk*) as shown in fig. 76, or more commonly with a braided grass rope (*shakowi*) such as is seen in fig. 77. The process of braiding the rope is illustrated in fig. 56.

FIG. 76.—Yahgan seal-hide thong. Diameter of coil, 8 in. (14/2347)

CANOE BAILER

As all the Yahgan canoes leaked more or less, some kind of a bailer was imperative to keep them afloat. For this purpose a bark bucket like the water-bucket, but not so tall, normally was used (fig. 78). The writer has seen small seal-skin buckets said to have been used for this purpose.

CARE AND MANAGEMENT OF THE CANOE

The canoe was paddled by the women, who sat in the stern, while the men crouched in the bow to cast the spears. When paddling, owing to the short handle, one hand was under water.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SMb Yahgan SM6

FIG. 77.—Yahgan grass rope. Diameter of coil, 24 in. (16,2349)

As a result of the exercise, the women were very strongly developed above the waist, but poorly developed in the legs.

When it was desired to make a landing the canoe was paddled in to the beach, bow-on, and the men of the family and the children stepped ashore. The wife then paddled the canoe out to a piece of kelp, moored it, and swam ashore. As a result all the women were able to swim, while few of the men could do so.

The chow was kept in the water habitually, because hauling it up on the beach was difficult owing to the fragility of the bark. When it was necessary to make repairs, the beach was carpeted with wet kelp to make a soft and slippery surface over which the canoe could be dragged with ease. The dugout canoes, however, were a different proposition, so for them runways were made by removing the stones (pl. xi). Stakes were driven at the head of the runways to which the canoes were tied. Campsites used habitually since the invention of the dugout may be distinguished by the presence of such runways.

FIG. 78.—Yahgan bark bailer. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

Weapons and Methods of Hunting

Spears

Yahgan weapons were the spear, club, sling, and bow. In their fashion of living, spears were almost an import-

/455 cont./

396 one man or another will build a canoe. If he has observed that the vessel he built only the previous spring will hardly last out the winter, he sets about early enough, that is, in the fall, to make a new one. He does not take great pains with it, since the bark is not as good in the fall and in any case he will commence a new and better one in the spring. This is the only explanation for Bridges' assertion (i):23 that "the canoes are made twice a year in the spring and autumn. The former are called hákua, the latter Een-ánan [better kísajánan] i.e. Winter Canoe. The natives are specially careful to make the latter well" /cited in English/. Spring is actually the time when the great majority of families make a new vessel (p. 115).

/456/ Through the years every man acquires some skill in
•504 this work, but this fact alone does not prevent him from treating his canoe most carefully and giving it his utmost attention. If he should lose it in the course of the year, he and his family would be in serious difficulty, sometimes in danger of starving. Heavy blows against rocks and tree trunks are particularly damaging because the bark sections break or tear. Rubbing against pebbles and sand soon causes the bottom and the threads of the seam to be scraped through. For this reason, the vessel is often kept in the open channel after the family has been brought to shore by the woman. Wherever the gently sloping beach permits, they make a sort of toboggan slide of damp Macrocystis algae over which they drag the canoe and upon which it rests. When boarding the canoe, everyone places his foot very carefully; in fact, everyone avoids any jolt and violent movement, for the seams easily burst and the seam threads become more brittle the older they are. In loading and unloading large objects are handled gently and cautiously.

422 Even though the man makes the canoe almost entirely by
462 himself, it is not regarded as his property; the woman uses it and takes care of it. The man gives it to her, and it actually belongs to her or to the entire family. All the duties during the trip, as well as before and after, are her responsibility. She
462 alone paddles. Squatting in the rear third of the vessel, close
502 against the right side, she grasps the oar shaft with both hands, the left above the right, and pushes the oar diagonally backwards

/459 cont./

396 thus permanently widened the upper half. Once the tree trunk was hollowed out and closed off at the stern, no further additions were required and it could be put to use immediately. The na-
[372] tives had to be content with a small fire which they kept going throughout the trip in a square tin can.

Compared with the bark canoe, however, which had served
501 the Yamana for centuries as their sole means of transportation,
504 the modern dugout had many disadvantages. It capsized much more easily because it was not resilient and did not yield in any way, and because it was at least a quarter shallower than the bark canoe. Besides that, it could be moved on land only with great difficulty. True, the natives also made a sort of toboggan slide for it out of fresh algae, tuwĕtĕ̈ka, over which it was hauled up and down. In spite of that, all the members of the family had to exert themselves to the utmost, otherwise they could not budge it. The wood of the /460/ Antarctic beech is heavy. Finally, the dugout could almost never be anchored in the open channel when the rocky coast did not permit its being hauled up. It was too heavy and too slippery to become entangled in a mass of floating Macrocystis. Ropes made of bundles of rushes (Fig. 31) are too weak to keep the boat tied up near the coast. If, in spite of this, it could be left out in the water, the natives could almost always expect it to overturn (154). Righting it again

154. Lothrop (b):146 says of the dugout which he took back to New York, "it was the most unstable vessel in which the writer has ever set foot" /cited in English/.

required great effort on the part of the woman, and bailing it out took considerable time.

501 In most recent times the natives have improved the dugout very much by elevating the gunwale slightly all the way around with a strip of wood nailed or sewed on. This afforded greater safety on the trip, but also added considerably to the weight of the whole thing.

Undeniably the dugout is more durable, but in contrast to this one advantage there are great drawbacks. Hence it is not surprising that after a few attempts the families of those days

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

502
[147]

[283]

FIG. 77.—Yahgan grass rope. Diameter of coil, 5¼ in. (14/2349)

As a result of the exercise, the women were very strongly developed above the waist, but poorly developed in the legs.

When it was desired to make a landing the canoe was paddled in to the beach, bow-on, and the man of the family and the children stepped ashore. The wife then paddled the canoe out to a piece of kelp, moored it, and swam ashore. As a result all the women were able to swim, while few of the men could do so.

[481]

504 The canoe was kept in the water habitually, because hauling it up on the beach was difficult owing to the fragility of the bark. When it was necessary to make repairs, the beach was carpeted with wet kelp to make a soft and slippery surface over which the canoe could be dragged with ease. The dugout canoes, however, were a different proposition, so for them runways were made by removing the stones (pl. XI). Stakes were driven at the head of the runways to which the canoes were tied. Campsites used habitually since the invention of the dugout may be distinguished by the presence of such runways.

[415]

FIG. 78.—Yahgan bark bailer. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

WEAPONS AND METHODS OF HUNTING

SPEARS

411 Yahgan weapons were the spear, club, sling, and bow. In their fashion of living, spears were almost as import-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

504

PORTO PIEDRA

PUERTO MEJILLONES
CANOE RUNWAYS, NAVARIN ISLAND
[p. 148-A]

/395 cont./

burn quietly, is not lost. Similar advantages are afforded by a wall of mussel shells, which grows in rings in those places chosen year after year for the dwelling. Here it is superfluous to lower the ground level in the interior by excavating, because the outer wall rises above it in any case.

At times when a storm becomes particularly strong and the fire cannot be protected, the people are wrapped in a thick cloud of ashes and smoke within their hut. While this is going on, they lie flat on the ground and cover themselves with pieces of leather. Sometimes it is hours before they get up and shake off the layer of ashes from their bodies and belongings. Sometimes they must endure heavy showers of rain which make them tremble with cold. As soon as possible they again start a gaily blazing fire and move very close to it in order to get warm through and through after all their discomfort.

The Indians could not do without their fire in the canoe any more than in their hut, either by day or night, because on the water they are even more helplessly exposed to the hardships of the weather in their unfriendly homeland. They carry it with them everywhere and without exception. If heavy rain should extinguish it, they make straight for shore. The fire, narrowly confined, is laid in the middle section on a safe, partly wet layer of clumps of turf, gravel, and clods of earth (57), which prevents

57. On this subject Outes (g) :52 says only: "The fire, especially in the canoes, is maintained on stones and earth" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (q) :304 gives more detailed statements.

it from burning through. It is kept going with short, thin pieces of wood, and they do not let high flames develop. They are constantly aware of the danger threatening the bark vessel from this fire. If the boat should rock badly, they extinguish the embers for safety's sake by pouring water from the sea over them. Even when the journey is smooth, they permit only a weak glow, and when someone wishes to warm himself, he moves closer to it. The boys and girls in any case crouch in the middle of the boat.

/395 cont./

They have loaded up with firewood before their departure and piled it near the fire. Here it dries a bit and /396/ is conveniently at hand when needed (58). The children feed the fire according to

58. For a longer trip they provide themselves amply with firewood and stack it, as Hyades (q) :304 has observed, at one of the two ends of the boat.

their parents' instructions.

When possible, they take only very dry wood in their canoe, since the unpleasant smoke from wet wood could scarcely be avoided. When they leave their craft upon landing, the children carry the glowing sticks of wood to shore and place them on the spot which is to be the center of their new hut. Here they soon rekindle a larger fire. The Indians are scrupulously conscientious

Fig. 14. Fire Tongs.

about extinguishing all glowing embers of the canoe fire by dousing them with water. If they continue their journey the next day, the children once more carry the glowing sticks of wood to the canoe and light a new fire in it.

Whenever a family leaves their fire, either in the canoe or in the dwelling, they take care to put out even the last glimmering bit. The fire could easily come alive again, /Fig. 14 appears here/ spread, and cause serious destruction. The glowing embers are scattered, pounded and beaten with a cudgel, covered with gravel or sand, and finally doused liberally with snow or water. This removes all danger.

To arrange the fire and distribute the glowing pieces of wood, the Indians reach for any stick that happens to be handy. They like to use regular fire tongs which no family is without. Here they are known as láka (Fig. 14), also lókka according to BD: 278, and correspond exactly to the lákes of the Selk'nam

/438 cont./ 1. The Bark Canoe

484 505 On land our Yamana do not undertake long marches, but content themselves with the walking necessary to gather wood or shells and to get game. Their territory is not suitable for land journeys. Without exception, they travel from one island to another, from one shore to another, in their bark canoe. Even though they /439/ could go a long distance along the beach, they prefer to travel by water which is easier and more comfortable. The canoe is absolutely indispensable for them. In case an individual family or small group have lost this vessel, they find themselves in a state of emergency which they must remedy, the sooner the better and absolutely imperatively. As water nomads they could not, under any circumstances, forego this method of transportation for any length of time (120).

120. The indispensable importance of the canoe for our natives has been variously stressed. Spegazzini (a): 161 calls it "the object of greatest importance" /translated from Spanish/ and Dabbene (b):180 "an object of prime necessity for the Yahgan" /translated from Spanish/. Other opinions are of a similar nature.

501 The method of canoe construction is somewhat peculiar and differs at first glance from the boats of other peoples. The products of the country, which in themselves are meager, are chosen with intelligent circumspection and used, each in its way, to turn out a resistant and durable vessel. As a whole it looks graceful, its form is pleasing. In its details it shows taste, and its lines are agreeable.

Regardless of many minor details, it strikes everyone who judges it as a masterpiece of efficiency and a supreme achievement of the technical ability of these Indians (121). Everyone is not

121. Luschan:8 came to the following conviction: "In comparison with [the skiff-like

/450 cont./

506 to a high flame. This must be avoided at all costs, so that the
372 side walls will not be endangered. A moderate glow without a
501 leaping flame suffices.

The firewood is kept partly near the hearth, af, partly in
505 the stern. It has been stacked in orderly fashion to save space.
372 The people of the west must always take along large amounts of wood; a small supply is adequate for the people of the east, which they pile up near the hearth. Wherever the latter land, they easily find dry driftwood, whereas the former cannot count on this. Quite dry wood has been carefully chosen for the trip, since damp wood causes smoke which the occupants in the cramped canoe can hardly evade. As a matter of course they leave the wood of Drimys winteri, which gives off a thick, biting smoke, behind on the shore.

The girls squat near the fire and tend it according to instructions from their mother. It is their task before the departure to carry a glowing log from the hut-fire to the hearth in the canoe and to fan a new flame. When they land, another glowing stick of wood from the canoe serves to kindle the fire in the newly erected hut. With scrupulous care they extinguish every spark from the fire in the vessel so that there is no danger of its bursting into flames.

501 Even the most careful canoe construction does not prevent
415 some water from constantly oozing in between the seams (139).

> 139. In Wieghardt:31 and elsewhere we read: "So much water constantly comes in that the people continually have to bail it out" /translated from Spanish/.

It collects near the hearth at a place that has been purposely left open, that is, the space of a hand's breadth between the loosely laid bark pieces, ilax. The girls bail it out with a special scoop made either of bark or seal leather. For both kinds one first cuts out a rectangular piece which is then bent, the bark piece in the direction of its longitudinal fibers. After the two straight edges are joined with a strip of whalebone or a few rushes, making a seam, a bottom is cut out to fit this cylinder, which is also sewed on. Not infrequently a small handle of rushes is added in the

/451 cont./

501 283 is always left in the canoe, either rolled up in a ball or wound into a few coils. It is used where steep banks make it impossible to draw the vessel onto land. One end is knotted to the first or second crossbar, witéga; the other is wound around a stone or a tree trunk. This rope, which is not very strong, is used to fasten the canoe only in very quiet waters to prevent the boat's being carried off by the ebb and flow of the tide. Because of its lightness, it is much more suitable for this purpose than a heavier leather thong would be (141).

> 141. In his time, Snow (a):II, 16 called attention to it: "The ropes they had to fasten their canoes were made of grass rudely platted" /cited in English/.

501 462 The few items listed here, oar, hearth, scoop, and rope are necessary adjuncts or accessories of the vessel. /Fig. 31 appears here./ The woman has charge of them also, and she sees to their replacements so that she will not at some time be seriously embarrassed or endangered.

/452/ δ. Its Efficiency

505 Their restless, wandering life forces the Yamana to carry with them wherever they go all their material possessions, without exception. These do not necessarily belong to the canoe, but no one can part with them. They are distributed in such a way that the man keeps his weapons in the bow, and the woman has all the other implements and little baskets, skins, and pieces of meat in the stern. The children occupy the center section; except for the insignificant trifles which they hang on their bodies, they do not possess anything. The canoe as such is extremely light and is, therefore, not suitable for transporting loads. Although it is hard to say definitely how much the articles necessary to the adults weigh, it is obvious that it cannot be much. At most, a large sea lion that a man has killed is loaded on.

The number of people that a given canoe can accommodate depends on their weight and the existing weather conditions. They

/452 cont./

505 will venture to cross a quiet bay with an overload that they would never take out into an open channel. The question as to how many persons can be accommodated in a canoe cannot be answered in a single word; at any rate, there is enough room for the parents and the unmarried children of a family, a total of about six or seven (142); Dabbene (b):180 speaks of "up to eight

142. According to Hyades (q):304 includes "as an ordinary load, seven persons, three of whom are children, one of these being carried on the back or held at the breast of its mother" /translated from French/.

or ten persons" /translated from Spanish/. They step into the divisions formed by the crosspieces. Here, without exception, they squat in the bottom of the canoe and remain quiet in their crouched position, all but the woman who must paddle. Anyone who stands up risks upsetting the unsteady balance. The children sit deep down in the center section and sometimes their eyes do not reach even to the level of the gunwale. Thus, they add a great deal to the stability of the vessel. The man's place is at the bow, the rear third belongs to the woman. The weight of at least two adults is necessary when the sea is turbulent; actual ballast is unknown.

502 We have repeatedly mentioned that the bark canoe of our Yamana, because of its light construction and unsubstantial load, maintains an unstable equilibrium on the water. For this very reason each of the occupants avoids gross body movements, and actual rowing is out of place here. The Indians possess a large measure of self-control, even the children can remain for hours almost motionless in one spot, to prevent the vessel from rocking. L'Hermite was reminded of "Venetian gondolas" (p. 53 /untranslated/) when he saw the bark canoes in Nassau Gulf, and the beautiful comparison Goicueta used for the vessel of the Halakwulup also applies to /453/ that of our Fuegians. On the surface of the water it really does look "like a four-day moon, with the elevated points" /translated from Spanish/, gliding by motionlessly.

/449 cont./

396 501 was diamond-shape in section, so there was a tent-like ridge centrally down each side" /cited in English/. The length is never uniformly determined, but depends on the accidental length of the plank, varying by 150 centimeters. The blade measures about ten centimeters at its widest point. The husband adjusts the thickness of the well-rounded blade to suit his wife's wishes (Fig. 29).

501 [462] If necessity or danger during a trip should force a man to take an oar, he handles it in the same manner as the women. He does not, however, have his own oar, as Colini: 237 erroneously maintains.

Fig. 29. Oar Forms.

The most common designation for these oars, so-called paddles, is ǵppi; they are also called tstatēga and tuswēna. Every family carries at least two oars in their vessel.

• 566 372 501 During the long trips our natives cannot possibly do without the fire. They keep it burning constantly in the canoe (p. 44). In the center of the bottom there is a specially prepared hearth, and adequate care is taken so that the bark underneath does not burn through. On the bottom they place a few flat stones close together so that there are no gaps. /450/ Upon this layer they place a rather large clump of turf which is at least seven centimeters thick, and its tangle of roots and coarse pebbles is turned upward. An alternative is to form a layer out of crushed mussel shells mixed with pebbles and lumps of clay. There is constant and ample moisture from the water that oozes in from below; hence this thick layer cannot become hot, and there is still less possibility that the bark floor can burn through. Since air has free access from all sides, the fire cannot flare up

/450 cont./

506 to a high flame. This must be avoided at all costs, so that the
372 side walls will not be endangered. A moderate glow without a
501 leaping flame suffices.

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372 The people of the west must always take along large amounts of wood; a small supply is adequate for the people of the east, which they pile up near the hearth. Wherever the latter land, they easily find dry driftwood, whereas the former cannot count on this. Quite dry wood has been carefully chosen for the trip, since damp wood causes smoke which the occupants in the cramped canoe can hardly evade. As a matter of course they leave the wood of Drimys winteri, which gives off a thick, biting smoke, behind on the shore.

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/368 cont./

342 The inmates do not bestow noticeable effort or care on their
511 paltry hut, either in building it or while they are living in it, for it serves but a few hours or days for their most urgent requirements for protection against the inclemency of the weather. One must by no means believe that the Indian strives for coziness or agreeable comfort in his hut. No, it serves merely as a meager cover and at the same time to keep the indispensable fire going. Beyond that, the things that Europeans consider necessary in a dwelling would only mean needless expenditure of energy and an unnecessary burden to the Yamana, for he must constantly carry all his belongings along with him. Indeed, he dare not part with them.

1. The Lack of Permanent Settlements

361 Since there is no other way for the natives of Cape Horn to obtain food except by hunting and gathering, all members of the tribe are divided up into individual families, and as such they go forth to hunt for food. Only occasionally a few band together. This manner of obtaining food prohibits a village settlement with many people.

484 Obtaining food is the chief concern of the man. Distant and
511 sometimes futile journeys are necessary before he approaches rocks
361 on which seals are lying, or reaches cliffs in which cormorants nest, or finds mussel banks where gathering is worthwhile. He always sees himself at the mercy of the arbitrary, eternally restless waves and the constant shifting of winds. Despite the best intentions, despite the greatest exertion and extreme hardship, he cannot guarantee that he will attain his goal, keep on his course, and come back to the place from where his canoe trip started. The inescapable dependence on changing weather, which not infrequently hinders any kind of movement for several days, permits neither an ordered grouping of many people nor plans by the hunters to return to a permanent settlement. Anyone staying behind /369/ to wait for food that others were supposed to bring in would too often find himself exposed to starvation (3).

3. These decisive factors have been overlooked by those European critics who, misconstruing the facts, have judged our natives to be backward

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because they do not build fixed dwellings or permanent settlements.

361 Then, too, closer consideration of the game itself, upon which our Indian is after all dependent, would make the longer sojourn in compact settlements seem inadvisable. The animals change their location quite erratically. If they do favor certain places, they stay there only as long as man does not disturb them. Once they have been frightened away, it may be days before they have regained a feeling of security and settle down there again. Assuming, then, that many families wanted to live together on the same spot, this region would surely be cleared of all game within a wide radius, no matter whether it were killed or frightened away. Accordingly, the hunter would be obliged to venture ever farther from his camp in order to find his prey. Quite apart from his previous exertions, his return would be more difficult and more uncertain; those anxiously awaiting him would look for his return with greater worry. Only a short time might pass before a new camp, considerably distant from the previous one, would have to be sought.

With these brief comments, the advantages of freedom of settlement for independent individual families, in contrast to a longer residence of many people in the same place, become convincing. It is true, however, and this should be mentioned at the outset, that many families gather around a stranded whale and thus form a fortuitous settlement of limited duration. This exists, however, only as long as the supply of meat and fat holds out, for even a sea monster of such giant proportions as these largest mammals does not by any means supply unlimited quantities of food. This isolated occasion, besides one or two others of the same nature, proves how unsuitable fixed settlements would be as a permanent arrangement for our natives. It is to the advantage of all that their extensive homeland has few people, so that each individual family has a wide area open to it in all directions where its members can devote themselves undisturbed to food-gathering.

342 Hence, the dwelling of the Yamana, in form as well as in con-
361 struction and location, is a thing of chance. A person on a journey undoubtedly aims for a definite goal at which to land if the weather is good, but sometimes he does not attain it because good booty crosses his path along the way, because he is driven off his course in the pursuit of an animal, or because wind and waves are against him. After all,

/378 cont./

342 if many persons erect the cieuxe hut. Likewise, the covering and layers of earth, brushwood, or pieces of leather can be increased to obtain greater protection against strong winds, increasing cold, and heavy rain. Whatever the length of such a hut, the peak of the dome is never higher than 1.80 meters. In general the height of a single-family hut is around 1.75 meters; the width fluctuates between 2.60 meters and 3.30 meters. The low entrance permits only one person at a time to slide through sideways. When the hut is unusually elongated, an entrance is made on each of the two narrow sides; for a one-family hut, of course, the single entrance suffices (26).

26. The form and characteristics of Yamana dwellings have been more or less extensively described by Bove (c) :127 and (e) :157, Dabbene (b) :178, Despard (b) :680, Hyades (q) :363, L'Hermite:42, Lothrop (b) :127, Spegazzini (a) :178, and others. Cooper:193 has brought together the more important accounts.

3. The Hut as a Dwelling

342 571 Neither the conical nor the dome-shaped hut affords the Fuegian occupants complete comfort and convenience. It is far more a protection against the worst hardships of the weather and against the terrors of the night. A European acting as unprejudiced observer can best feel what discomfort and annoyance are connected with living in these cramped, poor dwellings (27). In the opinion

27. We must agree fully with the opinion of Lovisato (b) :133: "How very little protection this pretense of a dwelling offers the people, who in general are completely nude, resistant to all kinds of privation, and engaged in a continuous struggle to procure the necessities for their daily sustenance" /translated from Italian/.

/379 cont./

362 of the natives, however, this hardship does not by any means compare
571 with the unbearable misery that would result from a sojourn under the open sky. Thus, whenever external circumstances demand it, the natives build their hut, even during the severest /380/ storm, making it either more secure and durable as a dome-shaped dwelling or merely providing a light covering with the conical shape.

361 A family does not always have a choice of location. A sudden change in the weather or an accident will force them to make for shore without delay. In this case they must adjust themselves to the conditions provided by nature, perhaps even make do with a hasty shelter in a cliff. If they are not under pressure, they make a free selection according to the local weather conditions and the characteristics of the landscape (28). In general, however, everyone

> 28. When the Indian has a choice, he selects a sheltered spot for his hut. This is so generally true that Bove (Mém.XVII, 234, 1883) believed he could go by it: "Generally the presence of wigwams indicates a locality sheltered from the coldest and the most frequent winds" /cited in English/.

stays on the dry gravel as close as possible to the highest water level. Their own comfort makes this strongly advisable, for all the utensils that a family carries along with them are dragged from the canoe to the hut. Packing and unpacking would be considerably more burdensome if the dwelling were far from the landing place. If they cannot build a hut for themselves, they seek cover and protection behind mounds of earth and low projecting rocks, at the foot of high rock walls, and at the edge of a forest. A hut is never placed deep in the forest because it is too damp there, but they like to stay under the broadest trees, which warded rain and snowdrifts. If they are planning to remain only one night at a given location, they take a look at the weather to see if it will permit them to camp in a less protected spot. If not, or if they do not expect to travel on for a few days, a certain amount of caution is inviable. This explains why one finds just as many old campsites along the open, unprotected coast as in sheltered places further back. An obvious preference is

/388 cont./

and finish, but is smaller. This separate hut for the children is usually built because of lack of space in the large hut, and it is always regarded as a necessary expedient, for parents do not like to be separated from their children unless it is absolutely necessary. Although the children stay by themselves several hours of the day and all night, they nevertheless like to be with their family a great deal, and they always have access to the large hut. An older woman takes charge of the small company and sometimes brings them a little food, but more often the children get their food from their own parents.

In exceptional cases, for instance, the illness of an older person, imminent confinement of the mother, and so forth, even the single family builds a separate hut for the children beside the one for the adults, much as they dislike to do so. This children's hut is an expedient, and the parents by no means decide on it because they do not wish to be disturbed by crying and noise, for Indian children as such are gentle and quiet.

Finally, if several families camp a few days in the same spot, the children as a game build a little hut with their own hands beside the dwellings of their parents. After all, they must occasionally give vent to their energies. The understanding parents willingly support them in this, sometimes bringing the children meat and approvingly watching the happy gathering. This children's hut is called tkalit. /389/ It is obvious and understandable that it cannot be an actual dwelling, but serves merely for the enjoyment and playful occupation of the little band (44).

44. This unequivocal appraisal of the so-called children's hut is absent in what Hyades (q):342 and Bridges (s) :183 write about it. The latter is more ambiguous than the former.

If one stands in front of an Indian hut as a European judge, no matter which type of hut it is, one involuntarily asks himself: What protection does this poor makeshift afford? By nature our natives are extremely undemanding. If one would like definite proof of this, he need only observe them in their dwelling. If they have a little protection from the heaviest rainfall and the densest snowstorm, against the bitterest cold and the most

/389 cont./

342 511 devastating storm, they are content and uncomplaining, provided they are squatting beside their fire, to which they give all their attention. That is why they put something in front of the first entrance and open another one if the wind changes direction. To prevent the wind from coming through the walls, they pull larger pieces of leather over them, now here, now there, stuff up open places, and secure loose parts. If a big blast of wind tears down the whole hut, the people patiently await the end of the storm without any kind of cover, protected only a little by their meager clothing, provided their fire goes on after a fashion. The European has the impression, especially after having seen the living arrangements of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 198) that the Yamana regards his hut more as a protection for his fire than for his own body.

The dwelling itself is neither cozy nor comfortable. As regards the desire of the members of the family to be peacefully together, they are, in any case, with each other on the trips in the open canoe. That is why they do not miss the hut during the day if the weather is reasonably quiet, and for the night they are content with the meagerness of their simple little hut (45). Their

45. The discomfort of the meager living arrangements was clearly described by Spegazzini (a) :171 from his own experience.

restless, wandering life forces them to renounce the amenities of more stable, secure housing (46).

46. Bove (c) :127 expresses himself in a similar fashion: "The poverty of their huts must be attributed to the nomadic life they are forced to lead" /translated from Spanish/.

342 Today throughout Yamana territory we find only one form of hut, namely, the loose cone-shaped type. It is only for the secret initiation ceremony that the elongated dome-shaped hut is built. Their contemporary hut does not even afford the protection

372 /399 cont./
women are like the vestals of old, and never allow the fire to go out in the frail barques" (MM:X, 20; 1876) /cited in English/.

B. Clothing

291 511 Since the time the Yamana became known beyond the borders of their remote island world, an amazing fact concerning them continues to be discussed in European circles to this day, namely, that they enjoy excellent health in their damp, raw homeland without any clothing and body covering to speak of. Every European is convinced that a human being under the weather conditions existing there must be dependent on very ample protection if he is to survive. Nevertheless, the short scrap of leather that the Fuegians hang loosely around their necks does not even deserve to be called clothing or body covering. All observers agree, and in their accounts express their astonishment in no uncertain terms, that the natives "ordinarily go about completely naked." These are also the specific words of one of the first missionaries, Aspinall: 270. Further documentation will be found below.

147 At the same time, observers recognize the healthy physical development and the great resistance of the natives, although they never describe the full significance of that most vital resource which is constantly at their disposal, namely, their open fire.
372 /400/ This fire more than compensates for the complete lack of protective body covering. An easily accessible stand of trees furnishes the required fuel for everyone. With it he can maintain a warm fire in the hut, in the canoe, in any open place, and at every campsite. The fire alone makes life possible in that region.

291 A short back-cape of skin is the only article of clothing, alike in shape and brevity for all sexes and ages. It is functional chiefly because it gives the comforting fire unobstructed access to the whole surface of the body.

291 881 In their manufacture of articles, our Indians are dependent primarily on furs and skins as their raw material. This is also true of the little that one might call their "clothing." A complicated method of preparation is not possible because there are no tools for it. Also, it would not be worthwhile because the high humidity

/508 cont./

12. Technical Skills

511 The material possessions of these southernmost Fuegians seem at first glance unusually frugal and poor. If we look more carefully, however, we are surprised at the considerable variety of implements and tools. Hence, our natives are not altogether destitute. In the variety of their utensils they without doubt considerably surpass the neighboring Selk'nam. The canoe alone is such an inestimably valuable means of transportation that it cannot be compared with travel on foot.

182 The environment into which our Yamana were placed was a
176 good teacher. With their own resourcefulness and keen gift of observation, with the knowledge gained by experience through short, successive generations, they finally created weapons and tools of such high efficiency that it could hardly be noticeably increased within the possibilities of development originally afforded them. Anyone who will make an effort to gain an insight into the mechanics of each of the implements used by the Fuegians and the physical forces operating it will pay high tribute to their creative power.

Even Bridges (k):240 who was in a position to observe them for decades in closest proximity bowed to their ability, and offerred the following brilliant testimony, probably with not a little inner resistance: "The natives have evolved all the qualities most /509/ useful for the life they live; their canoes are perfect specimens of their kind and the same can be said of all their utensils and implements. With the material at their disposal I do not know how these could be improved. They are perfectly adapted to the soil and climate of the country in which they live" /translated from Spanish/. Behind the unprepossessing form and the pitiful simplicity of Fuegian implements is hidden an unsurpassed suitability.

463 In general each person makes what he needs in material possessions with his own hands and for himself alone. Exceptions are those things which, in the normal household life, are needed by the family or by the husband and wife equally, and which, accordingly, he provides for her and she for him. Manufacture is, therefore, an individual matter. There is no special class of

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

as much as five feet below the surface. Here the housetop need scarcely have risen above the ground level, and the people within must have been snugly lodged against winter gales. But the swirling smoke was a constant annoyance, and many accounts speak of the Yahgans' red and inflamed eyes. 342 354

Initiation or ceremonial houses differed from the living houses chiefly in size. In the west they were domed and oval in outline, as shown in pl. XIV. In the east they took the form of a heavy solid tipi-shape dwelling of logs like the Ona initiation lodge (fig. 38). 346

Under mission influence the Yahgan in late years built small plank houses of European type. A group of these was found at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra on Navarin island which were used as winter quarters (pl. XVIII). They were wind- and water-tight, and some had wooden floors, bunks, and stoves. The material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach. 177 342

Camp Equipment

Yahgan camp equipment, in spite of superior transportation facilities, was just as primitive as that of the Foot Indians, among whom every article, and the infants as well, had to be carried on the back. Strong and simple as are the objects below listed, they 511

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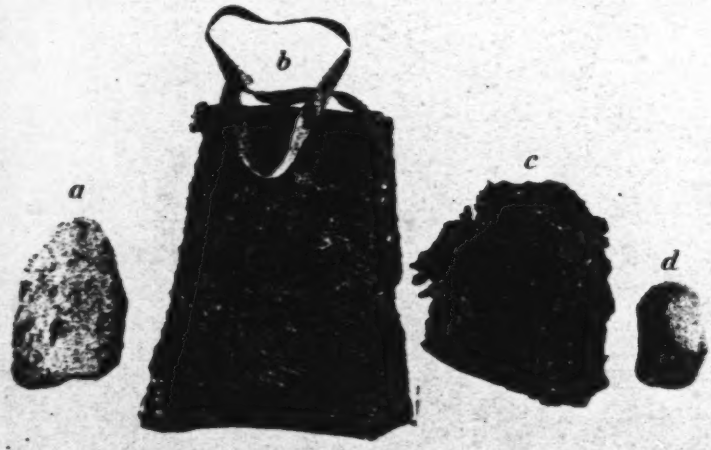

Fig. 53.—Yahgan fire-making apparatus. *a*, Flint; *b*, pouch; *c*, tinder; *d*, pyrites. Width of bag, 5 in. (14/2352)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

511 afforded a basis for little more than the mere act of existence and mutely testify to the cultural poverty of their makers.

372 1. Fire-making Apparatus.—By all accounts the Yahgan rarely made fire, because they carried it with them on the hearths in their canoes. In their semi-nude society to lack fire might mean death, and so wherever they went they tried to husband a wisp of flame. When it was necessary to kindle a new blaze they used flint and pyrites (*s'wálli*) with dried fungus or down for tinder, after the fashion of the Ona. Various places in Fuegian waters where pyrites can be secured are mentioned on page 65; one of these, Merton island, lies in Yahgan territory. However, Rev. Thomas Bridges states that they got this material by trade with the Alacaluf, who obtained it on Clarence island. Especially fine flints were found in a valley called Aníawaía between Lapataía and Ushuaia. To protect the fire-making apparatus from the weather it was kept in a small hide pouch called *asánu* (fig. 53, *b*).

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[439]

[415]

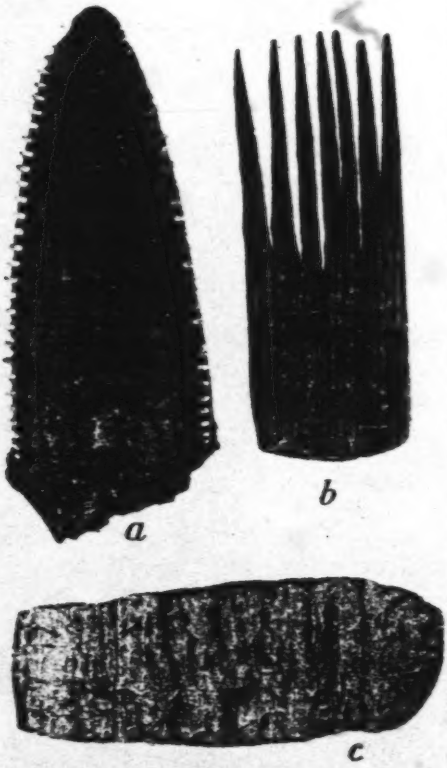

Fig. 54.—*a*, Porpoise-jaw comb; length, 6 in. (14/2370). *b*, Whalebone comb; length, 5¼ in. (14/2374). *c*, Seal-throat pouch; length, 8½ in. (14/2369)

412 2. Fire-tongs. — For tending the fire and for removing the objects from it the Yahgan used tongs. These are no more than a stick an inch or so in diameter and a couple of feet long, split for three-quarters of its length. Cultural borrowing is indicated by the name of this implement—*láka* in Yahgan,

/390 cont./

361 many huts beside a dead sea monster create the illusion of a village. Since there is plenty of meat and fat, a number of families can settle down together without hindrance. If during this time someone must obtain some vital necessity, he departs for a few days, but leaves his hut standing and occupies it again upon his return. There is no food supply more abundant and convenient than a stranded whale. At the same time the gathering of many [571] families satisfies the need for sociability, and the people can give themselves up to it all the more undisturbed the longer they are free from worry about the necessities of life. Naturally the large number of people and their freedom from the food quest suggest stimulating diversion, and this is offered principally by the ciexaus and the accompanying kina. In comparison with these protracted events, fewer families gather together for funeral rites, and they remain in one place a much shorter time, often only a day or two.

No matter what brings families together, they always preserve their independence. Groups of relatives and friends erect their huts closer together, but there is always a space of a few steps between them. In spite of intimacy with neighbors, everyone strives for at least a small space between dwellings. The /391/ distribution of huts in such a camp is very irregular, because each individual makes his arrangements for his own greatest convenience. He first selects for his dwelling a dry spot and the protection of a rock or a group of trees. Drinking water must be not too far away. Whoever is first to appear on the scene has a greater freedom of selection, and the stragglers are content to take the places that have been left vacant. No one has a right and would not presume to exercise any kind of influence on the distribution of the huts. A person who wishes to leave the settlement can depart or return unhindered, just as he likes. On such an occasion two or at most three families may share a single hut if they are close to each other, such as brothers and sisters or true friends, but such exceptions are rare. In that case they build the ordinary dome-shaped family-hut in larger proportions, not the so-called winter hut (p. 33).

512 517 Everyone, of course, is completely free to dispose of his time as he sees fit. The greater part of the day is spent in talk and conversation. During the long evenings they like to recite the old legends and tell of their own experiences. One often sees the men

/391 cont./

572 517 busy making implements, such as the large, bone harpoon points which take a long time. Women and girls devote themselves to their trinkets or weave baskets. Primarily everyone passes the time in uninhibited, protracted inactivity, unless a major enterprise is under way, which requires a definite program for the day.

364 An aggregation of many people for weeks at a time is unavoidably accompanied by considerable uncleanliness around them. In general the Yamana do not have any particular feeling for cleanliness, and in this respect they are more backward than the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 223). The consequences are not very noticeable when a single family stops somewhere for a day and then travels on, but they are different in an encampment of many people. Walking back and forth makes the earth muddy and boggy. Refuse from meals decays and contaminates the surroundings. The air inside the huts becomes increasingly musty and oppressive. True, the cleansing and purifying rain often intercedes, but it does not improve matters much. Giving way before the heaped-up refuse, individual families temporarily depart and relinquish the dwelling and its environs to the purifying influence of natural forces.

We can now understand the brief descriptions by a few European travelers depicting an encampment of many Indians near a stranded whale, the total picture of which evoked unpleasant, even disgusting impressions (49). The way they eat and their

49. In earlier travel accounts there are, unfortunately, no detailed reports about the encampments of many families. This is because there were few occasions for them, and the same is true at the present time.

unkempt appearance are in themselves repulsive. /392/ Over all this hang the thick, heavy fumes of blubber. A person not accustomed to it from childhood is bound to become nauseated (50) if

50. One should recall the work centers of whale fishermen in several places along the Chilean and Argentine coast, which contaminate the air far and wide with unpleasant odors.

/382 cont./

354 Since the interior does not offer reliable protection, the occupants are constantly moving in and out, but in the end they must yield to all misfortune and be content with the little warmth given off by the fire.

• 513 They arrange their sleeping places directly on the ground and all around the inside wall. First they spread out twigs, with or without leaves, and flat pieces of bark. Over this they place finer twigs or a great deal of lichen (Usnea barbata) and, finally, a long piece of guanaco hide or seal skin. The latter is sometimes omitted. Formerly they also preferred to use bunches of the [37] long stalks of Poa flabellata, but more recently this type of grass has become very rare here (32). A person lying down to sleep

32. Fred Lawrence called my attention to the fact that Poa flabellata, the so-called tussock grass, formerly flourished abundantly throughout the entire area, but since the introduction of sheep this type of grass is now found only in very remote places. After searching for a long time he brought me some plants which could be identified as this species.

curls up tightly and covers himself with his short back cape or somewhat larger coat. Sometimes they even use a type of bedcover made of several skins pieced together, and this is drawn over several children or two or three adults at once. During sleep they move as close as possible to one another, to give each other the benefit of their body warmth. That is why a single medium-sized skin suffices to cover two to four persons. Not every family by any means owns such a cover (33). The fire itself throws out

33. Hyades (f) :560 also corroborates: "In order to protect themselves from the cold at night, they use a skin of the sea lion or several otter skins sewed together, which they spread over the upper part of the body, leaving the lower limbs outside. They are huddled together so closely that a single skin

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/382 cont./
of a sea lion suffices to cover five or six persons" /translated from French/.

sufficient warmth so that everyone gets enough. If a person is cold, he moves nearer to the embers and pays no attention to whether or not he is disturbing his neighbors' sleep. Moreover, during the night everyone turns over a certain number of times, for cold air pours through the loose wall of the hut, or sometimes the fire becomes unbearable. Hence, everyone tries to get a little more comfortable in one or another position.

513 592 There is no definite, obligatory assignment of places. Unlike the custom of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 200), the man prefers to sit on one side of the entrance and the woman on the other, because both of them constantly like to look out. This leaves the back of the hut free for the children. If it is advisable to change places because of bad weather, greater comfort, or some other reason, it is no trouble for anyone to do so. If a man has two wives, /383/ the place between himself and the entrance to the hut belongs to the first wife. We shall speak of this rule below.

513 147 The Indians' sleep is not only extremely restless as such, but is in general neither deep nor sound. We might more accurately call it a light slumber from which everyone awakens effortlessly and so quickly that his mind is fresh and he is completely aware of every local condition. Moreover, even during sleep itself, everyone, so to speak, heeds what is going on in his environment with a very faint attentiveness. He is actually sleeping, but upon awakening he knows a good deal of what has been going on. Even if a person wakes up repeatedly during the night, he does not seem to be tired in the morning, for just as easily as he comes awake, he falls back into sleep. He does not find it annoying to be wakened frequently by the restless movements of another person in the same hut, by the barking of dogs or the screech of an owl, by the creaking of a broken limb or the irregular pounding of the agitated sea. On such occasions I myself would give vent to my ill-humor by impatient remarks, but the Indians around me invariably remained calm.

The same aptitude makes it possible for everyone, at any time of day, to lie down and go to sleep, no matter how much

513 /383 cont./
147 commotion there is all about him. When he wakes up, he feels adequately rested. These Indians are not noticeably fatigued if they must go without sleep for a long time. To me it was inexplicable how lively and fresh they remain, in fact, even continue to work hard, until they have a chance to sleep for a longer time. No matter how tired he was before he rested, I never saw an Indian struggling to shake off sleep, even though he was awakened again immediately. No matter when he is approached, at any time of the day or night, one finds him in full possession of his mental powers. This is not the place to explain such a condition which, in the last analysis, is probably a particular condition of the nerves. In winter they sleep considerably more than in summer (34).

34. Hyades (q) :221 pointed this out: "In general, during the winter the Fuegians sleep more and exercise less, and during the summer they devote much less time to sleeping and work more" /translated from French/.

461 Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Yamana are not
147 capable of continuous, daily hard labor, much to the chagrin of European farmers and employers for whom they often work. Their work is more a matter of fits and starts, and in these occasional efforts they can develop considerable energy for a certain time. After that, however, they show a desire for an incalculably long rest period during which they lie about doing nothing, without showing great fatigue. If a man has worked on a farm for only a few days, /384/ he quits and says he cannot go on working. It is obvious that repeated irregularities of this kind make the European employer despair, but the Indian cannot help it. It is his natural disposition. He lacks the nervous energy, so to speak, for regular, prolonged activity, no matter whether this is a natural bent or whether it is a lack of cultivation in that direction. It is wrong to accuse him of lassitude and laziness. Any kind of pressure toward systematic, prolonged work seriously affects his health and weakens him because he is unaccustomed to it (35).

35. I observed the same thing among the Selk'nam and had an even better opportunity

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/384 cont./

to learn about their unusual habits of sleep and work (Vol. I, 201).

513 What we have said about the unusual habits of sleep among the Yamana applies to both adults and children. No one rests on a comfortable bed or in a safe, quiet spot. If the ground is only more or less dry, a tired person will lie down for a nap anywhere and at any time. Our Indian, however, never sleeps sitting down or squatting (36). He must be lying down, even if he has so little

36. Spegazzini (a) :171 maintains the opposite, but he is mistaken.

space, for instance, in a canoe, that he can only curl up in a very cramped position. A person rarely sleeps with his head somewhat elevated, but if he does, he needs only a short tree stump or a stone, or even a large lump of meat that he will roast for himself the next morning. Since the sleepers generally do not stretch out -- because they would then lack adequate cover -- and since they crowd as closely together as though they were penned up, the small hut provides room at night for very many living beings (37). The

37. Hyades (f) :560 emphasizes this: "They are so accustomed to shrinking their bodies into as little space as possible that a small hide suffices to cover them completely when they are squatting" /translated from French/.

places in the hut are not all the same, however, since some persons are lying dry and protected, while others are more exposed to the wetness of the ground, the heat of the fire, or the disagreeable coolness of the night (38).

38. Hyades (q) :343 concludes: "As many as 20, and sometimes more, squat or lie there, veritably forming a heap of flesh around the central hearth" /translated from French/.

356 The Yamana by nature have little understanding and feeling for the most important requirements of general cleanliness. Their

/387 cont./

342 used except when the wind was too strong, in which case only one or the other was temporarily left open.

Inside the dwelling each family chose its particular place which it retained without any special boundary lines (42).

> 42. There were such boundaries in very isolated cases, however. Hyades (f) :556 says: "Twice at Orange Bay we saw huts with two or three interior compartments, niches made by vertical tree trunks. These niches served as quarters for the night for three or four persons" /translated from French/.

Members of the same family preferred to gather together on one side of the fire. Usually a single continuous fire extending the [372] entire length of the hut was kept going. In exceptional cases however, when members of an individual family chose their places on either side of the middle line, each family made its own fire, so that one could tell how many families there were from the number of separate fires. One could sometimes observe the same thing in the ordinary dome-shaped hut if, for some reason, two or three families were occupying it together for a few days (43).

> 43. Bridges (MM:XII, 11; 1878) once wrote: "There were three men, five women, and seven children in this wigwam, and three fires lit in different parts" /cited in English/.

573 The wide areas on either side of the center line where the fire was burning were the sleeping places, where the Indians squatted or lay stretched out during the day. Bunches of the long [Poa] stems of Poa flabellata grass with its narrow leaves were preferred for a pallet. This served very well and became musty only after considerable time. It was then removed and replaced by a fresh layer. The lower part of the outside covering of the hut was 372 made tight to keep off the wind and to make the fire burn evenly. 342 Otherwise the smoke would be blown about, since the few

/387 cont./

372 openings in the top prevented it from escaping easily. The entire
342 structure was well insulated, for it was meant to offer special protection against the rigors of the climate. Since it was built in the damp western part where dry firewood was not available in large quantities, the Indians managed by constantly carrying green wood into the hut and piling it up. In a few days it was dry and only then was used for burning. Even a supply of tussock grass
•[513] (Poa flabellata) was kept on hand, for this litter for the bed had to be renewed at least every two weeks.

The men supplied the necessary food for their families
251 on communal hunting expeditions which were usually so successful that a good share of the booty could be stored away for a few days. This helped in periods when the hunt was seriously hindered by continuous stormy weather. They were anxiously concerned about having an abundant supply of meat always on hand, if not perhaps a whale /388/ lying on the shore. Otherwise the gathering of many people in the same place in a securely built hut would not only be pointless, but even dangerous. Inevitably the inhabitants frightened the game farther and farther away from the dwelling, which made hunting increasingly difficult. Then only ample stores kept off the threatening specter of hunger.

A hut for several families was occupied only in winter.
342 Wanderlust was too strong to detain a family in one spot any
362 length of time for other reasons. The people who built a com-
221 munal hut would perhaps come back to it for a second winter, but not after that, for the game supply had been exhausted over a wide area, and they themselves were kept away by the boredom of sitting still. The arrangement described here might be referred to as the "winter hut." Near it a sort of winter supply was piled up. The very safe shelter provided somewhat comfortable living
[517] conditions, and during the long periods of inactivity together, favorite myths and legends were repeated, or the people told each other stories of their own experiences and Himmus stories. Communal huts were not built in the east, and the reason is simple: weather and hunting conditions were much more favorable there.

After a few families have settled in the so-called multiple-
342 family hut, they not infrequently erect another building directly
593 beside it for the half-grown children, and this is appropriately known as the "children's hut." It resembles the first hut in shape

/612 cont./

181 his farm. It is generally said of them that they are unreliable and unpredictable. As a matter of fact, one never knows if tomorrow they will keep the promise they definitely gave today. Their feelings and plans change quite /613/ suddenly and aimlessly, like the weather of their homeland. They resemble fidgety birds of passage who feel happy and inwardly calm only when they are moving again in their swaying bark.

The ultimate reasons for their unrest and their urge for movement are easily uncovered. The care about their daily food requirement commands their entire attention, and in order to obtain it they are dependent on the opportunities offered and the propitiousness of the moment. This means not missing an opportunity and, if suddenly confronted with a choice, making the right one. The individual usually does not have much time to consider; if he wants to maintain his advantage, he must act quickly and decisively. Hence he remains, as it were, in a state of tense inner expectation of circumstances that may change at any time of day, in order that he may instantaneously be master [513] of the situation. He does not even sleep soundly, and when he wakes up, even during the night, he is quite fresh again (p. 26). Just as he sees himself in the midst of an incalculable stream of natural forces, so his luck in the hunt will unexpectedly appear in this or that unforeseen form, and if he is subjectively ready for quick action, he will successfully seize his opportunity.

Perhaps the Indian is not consciously aware of this subjective state as we have described it, but he always acts from and with a feeling of great certainty that he will surely attain his goal. Long experience helps him to size up the given situation correctly at a glance, or to calculate the impending dangers, or to comprehend the limits of what is possible. He is almost never wrong in his decision. In part his inner restlessness may be explained by the fact that he is constantly observing the play of natural forces and the habits of the animals hunted, adjusting to both at the same time. Thus he succeeds with the superiority that is confident of victory to master the first and evaluate the second to his advantage. Sometimes one thinks he faces great danger when storms gather or the waves run high, but he is too intimately acquainted with inanimate nature to be mistaken in his judgment. Sometimes a European

/716 cont./

854 515 when the child is dipped into the water all at once, she never forgets to rub it off with her hand flat (144).

144. A few Europeans at least mention the fact that the newborn baby is repeatedly dipped in the water. First of all Bridges (i):21: "Within a few days after birth the child was dipped in the sea, with the idea of strengthening it" /cited in English/. Not only Lovisato (b):150, but also Hahn (a):806 evidently rely on him, for the latter writes: "Soon after birth, the child is dipped in sea water or in fresh water. This washing by immersion is repeated up to twice a day for one or two months" /translated from French/.

Summer and winter the child must submit to the ablutions, often even out in the open. Afterward it is always safely /717/ wrapped in a soft skin in which it is warmed for at least half an hour. For about ten weeks the young mother carries out the ablutions very conscientiously, after that she allows some interruptions, and finally the six-months-old child is only rarely rubbed off.

854 The Yamana mother makes a sleeping place for her infant in almost exactly the same way her neighbor on Isla Grand does (Vol. ● 513 I, 372). If she cannot hold the baby in her arms, she spreads a soft otter or guanaco pelt on the ground with the leather side on top. Over this she spreads a layer of down from wild geese and lays the child on its back. She lifts up the edges of the piece of leather and folds them over each other, so that the bundle is loose; there is no strapping of any kind. The infant stays this way hardly more than an hour, for with its movements it gradually loosens the sheath and is again exposed. Meanwhile it has become thoroughly warm, for it is almost always only after it has been washed that it is bundled up. Usually it sits quite naked on brush or on a piece of leather. The infant is not given clothes or diapers.

854 If the mother's hands are not busy with other work, she naturally has her darling on her lap. She squats on the ground with her legs bent, and he sits or lies between them. She usually

/739 cont./

573 self-sufficiency. Actually, each one goes his own way, completely unconcerned about the others. It makes no difference to him how his brothers and sisters get along and what they do.

[855] Older girls, however, at their mother's request, must tend the youngest of their brothers and sisters occasionally. They do so, but more because they are forced to than because of a natural urge, and they are relieved when this minor duty is over. Beyond that one almost never sees brothers and sisters of their own accord helping or supporting each other. They are, so to speak, indifferent toward one another; in fact, they even go out of their way in order to be quite undisturbed. Hence it follows that they almost never quarrel or fight with one another. A child would never voluntarily help a brother or small sister at work or join them in some chore imposed by the parents. If two children are given the same job, they do not, for example, agree to do it together, but each one strikes out for himself toward the same goal. Thus two girls going to hunt berries and two boys out to gather dry sticks go off separately and in different directions. On their return they do not meet on the same path until shortly before they reach the hut.

One never hears parents reminding children that they must love their brothers and sisters. If occasionally adult brothers and sisters stand up for each other and defend one another it is out of a feeling of family solidarity. The mother carefully ar-
[513] ranges the sleeping place of her boys separately from that of the girls in the small family hut (179). In the canoe they are

179. Hyades (f):573 says emphatically: "During the night the boys and the girls form separate groups according to sex" /translated from French/. A separate allotment of space in the hut for each child is unknown to the Yamana (p. 26).

separated on either side of the fire. Altogether, brothers and sisters are separated more than many Europeans realize, but even so they forgo any co-operation in work or play.

/909 cont./

X881 S77 S16 posture. Everyone stays in the seat he chose for himself at the beginning, where he remains quietly and stiffly, avoids all unnecessary movement, and almost continuously stares into space in front of him. He does not turn his head in all directions nor does he move his whole body back and forth. Even at night when the dances are going on, no matter whether a single person is moving about or several at a time, some persons continue to concentrate in their squatting position and do not even lift their eyes. A person who is doing some urgent manual work avoids making any kind of noise or noticeable movement. If someone would disturb his neighbors by making something, he must leave the *Ciexan* hut to do it. The individual has every right to expect that his reflections will not be disturbed in any way by other participants. Everyone is concerned about this even before the start of the affair.

X881 S77 281 With the same purpose in mind, the leader gives his instructions to individual adults only in brief, unobtrusive words or solely by means of signs. All of them are very good at this and there is no misunderstanding. The spotters communicate with their protégés in the same way; even outside the *Great Hut*, in the chores and exercises, they limit themselves to only the most necessary words. A /910/ stranger can hardly believe how many thoughts, wishes, and directions these children of nature reliably communicate to one another by means of inconspicuous signs.

X881 S77 513 2. Sleeping. In other respects, too, the adults quite noticeably restrain themselves by giving in very little or not at all to comfort. In his own dwelling, as we know, everyone stretches out on his bed as he pleases, rolls from one side to another, and exuberantly extends his limbs in all directions. Here in the *Ciexan* hut, however, a person does not dare behave in even a slightly relaxed fashion. If an old person now and then becomes very tired, he lies down, curls up, and remains motionless. He is gladly permitted a brief rest. Younger people must remain upright during the day.

Our Yamana are unfamiliar with the pressure of a schedule because they are dominated primarily by the mood of the moment. The entire group of participants does not get to sleep until

/910 cont./

the individuals have calmed their inner excitement at the dances each evening. These are the occasions when everyone is free to get up and, to the accompaniment of the dance movements, loudly pour out his feelings and impulses. Sometimes this is done with profound, trembling emotion. Accordingly, it is late before those present can lie down to sleep, but they can do so earlier in case they have spent the day in tiring work and hunting. When quiet has been restored after the final lively dance movements and everyone has resumed his place, the leader, with a vigorous, drawn-out hō̄ ho ho ho hō̄, gives the sign for the night's rest. They all join in the same call and, in a somewhat softer voice, repeat this hō̄ ho ho ho hō̄. Immediately most of them wrap themselves in their covers and lie down to sleep. One or another of them will remain seated if he feels so inclined and continue the customary song in a low, soft voice.

Their sleep is not entirely quiet, however, for the song may never cease entirely and the many people lie close together. Our Yamana are used to this. In the early morning the candidates are awakened by their sponsors and immediately sit up again. After another one and a half to three hours, about six o'clock, the adults get up. The leader himself gets up when he thinks it is time and again gives the long, hasty call hō̄ ho ho ho hō̄ which he made the night before as the signal for going to sleep. At this summons the others also end their rest (333). The general move-

333. This happened at my first initiation in accordance with the old custom. Two years later, lively Santiago awakened the candidates, including myself, at about five o'clock with a thundering voice. The adults were allowed to sleep for another good hour, while a few women arranged the feeble fire.

ment in the Great Hut rouses the last sleepers. Everyone immediately gets up, straightens his sleeping-place, and squats down again. /911/ He rubs the sleep out of his eyes with his finger and then combs his hair. This is the whole of the morning toilette. Formerly most of the people went outside to a brook and washed, the uwgala being accompanied by their sponsors. Nowadays all

/911 cont./

the younger people wash with soap in the morning (334), usually

334. They have adopted this habit from Europeans, and they cling to it even in the Great Hut.

in front of the Great Hut. A few women busy themselves with the long fire and make bright flames leap up, while the men join in the continuous singing and give themselves up to their thoughts. The night's sleep lasts only six to seven hours.

3. Meals. Formerly during the ciexaus celebration the adults were also obliged to observe some restrictions in eating, as they personally saw fit. To this day the Yamana uphold at least the rule that all food must be prepared exclusively in the secondary hut. In former times the kitchen women brought a meal from there to the people gathered in the Great Hut only twice a day, namely, a bite a few hours after arising and abundant portions toward four o'clock in the afternoon. The sponsors arranged it so that their protégés were usually not led outside before the first meal and that they were again present during the second. In case an adult missed the meals, he was permitted to go to the cookhut and receive something to eat there. It was not customary for extra food to be distributed in the Great Hut for latecomers after these two periods.

In general the Yamana eat rapidly and even more so during the Eiwaus celebration. Food is brought in from the cookhut as secretly as possible. Since the preparation of the food cannot be hidden, the adults and, above all, the children outside in the camp who do not take part in the celebration are led to believe that it is devoured by Yeğja or by other spirits (p. 761), but not by the inmates (335). In order to carry out this deception, at a

335. At the end of the celebration the candidates actually do appear very weary and weak when they come back to the actual camp and they are quite generally pitied (p. 829).

certain time before the meal a few men and women inside the

/941 cont./

X881 he is not prevented from doing so. Often the pressure of too great
524 a throng makes this imperative; if everyone crowds together, there is almost no freedom of movement.

After a while the enthusiasm for this game subsides. Suddenly, in a loud voice, someone will spontaneously mention another game or will start its rhythm. Most of the participants become silent rather quickly and, without hesitating, switch over to the new game. /942/ A third and even a fourth game will follow in the same way, entirely according to the inclination and whim of the company. They will enjoy themselves for an hour or two, until they are thoroughly satisfied. If, after that, a good many of the people seem listless and bored, the leader will inconspicuously indicate that everyone should now seek his sleeping-place.

X881 The action and physical exertion have made most of them very weary, and without delay they begin to prepare for bed. One
● 513 person or another will meanwhile lead into the customary low sing-
533 ing and continue it until he, too, gives himself up to sleep. Finally only the uš̌wā̆ala and a few sponsors are squatting upright in their places. When they, too, finally lie down, only a single voice will carry the song through the early hours of the night, until it is taken up by another. As we know, the singing may never entirely cease, for malevolent spirits must be kept at bay and outsiders must be convinced that all the inmates are constantly alert (p. 781).

X881 When the last game is over it is the duty of the uš̌wā̆ala to kindle the fire from the remaining faint embers, so that it will extend from one exit to the other and radiate abundant heat. All the services for the assembly and all the chores within the čiéxaus hut are, as we know, incumbent upon the candidates.

X881 The above description presupposes that the social games are held in the interior of the Great Hut. On a warm, quiet summer
524 evening they may, for the sake of variety, be transferred to a level place outside, directly in front of the Great Hut. A few en-women will first start a fire, chiefly in order to illuminate the entire group. At a signal from the leader, the adults with the uš̌wā̆ala in their ranks, go outside and huddle together beside the fire. Gradually the singing begins, the dance movements following its rhythm. The games change in exactly the same way as

TB 539

/1056 cont./

(4) Annu sikája, kēmētawāguan, Hitapūan.
Now then, thou, be merciful [to me], my father.

This petition seems to be a general one, but it is used especially by a mother whose child is ill, so that Watauinéiwa will not let it die, but make it well again.

(5) Hitapūan, ujāina hāia wetutēld.
My father, let me go, I am making it known to you.

A person who petitions in this way is really asking for good weather. Hence he announces to the Supreme Being that he will soon start on his trip. /1057/ -- BD:66 gives ūiaina, "to let walk about, to let wander" /cited in English/, and BD:560 adds tūteki, "to show, cause to see" /cited in English/. -- The Yamana also often address the Supreme Being in spontaneous utterances. If a family has planned a long trip, the father will get up early from his bed, move to the hut entrance, and look appraisingly at the clouds or the direction of the wind. If good weather is in the offing, he says to the-one-up-there: "I thank thee, Hidābuan, that thou hast sent us favorable weather!" If the prospects are not so favorable, he fervently requests: "Hidābuan, thou knowest that we wish to travel on, be kind to us and send us good weather!"

(6) Annu, hipikāja kēmētawēx maalālan,
Now then, to us all be kind every day,

Hitapūan.
my father.

[513] Before a family lies down to sleep in the hut, one of the older members repeats this saying. It sounds like a short evening prayer containing gratitude for the present day and a request for success on the following day. According to the people who explained it, the emphasis is on the request that Watauinéiwa let all the members of the family be well and happy during the coming day.

X756 /1405 cont./
785 time with his legs crossed under him, at the same time holding
516 his arms crossed over his chest. The impression that the circle of motionless, painted white figures made upon me was indescribably strange.

X756 It has been mentioned several times that very little sleep
785 is permitted for the participants, and it comes during the four or five /1406/ hours before daybreak. As ancient custom recom-
●513 mends, the qualified yékamuš sleep in the sitting position described above. Some of them draw their legs up slightly and slide back a little so that the bent back touches the hut wall while the neck still holds up the piece of wood. A person who can no longer do this may lie on one side and stretch his legs a bit, but he absolutely must have the piece of wood under his neck. The yefáčel live in the old trees from which this šalalakína wood is taken; thus, the person who keeps the piece of wood behind his neck retains his yefáčel-xéǫla even during sleep. The posture indicated induces many lively dreams during sleep. The sensitivity and irritability of the nerves are increased to the limit by the fact that, after the strain of the uncomfortable sitting position, even sleep at night is considerably curtailed; this is the goal sought by this means and by the limited diet and prolonged silence.

X756 According to Yamana belief, a full-fledged yékamuš mere-
827 ly seems to have the same type of body as the ordinary human being (p. 1308). The transformation of the body begins here in the lóima-yékamuš for those ušwáaléxamuš who have experienced a real call. First the entire face is affected. After the medicine-man school has continued for a few days each apprentice, according to instructions given by experienced yékamuš, begins the following process which he may not interrupt. He takes a ball of fine wood shavings from the lemon-yellow wood of Berberis ilicifolia (it is known as čílěr), dips it into the white tumarápu powder and rubs his cheeks with it. For about half an hour his hand moves slowly with scarcely perceptible pressure; then he stops for the same length of time and begins anew. Each apprentice carries on these motions by himself; he does it for a shorter or longer time, but he must continue the process all day long. Its purpose is to make a new, softer, more delicate skin appear in place of his actual skin. When, after continuous

/384 cont./

356 huts present a picture of utter confusion. They own but few objects, and these they are always dragging about with them. They have no idea of how to take care of them. Often these insignificant possessions are left out in the rain and snow, lie in dirt and mud, are lost by the dogs, or damaged by fire and smoke. Inside the hut small baskets and pieces of skin, tools and implements, weapons and ornamental objects are shoved about hither and yon; there is no thought of handling them gently or taking care of them. /385/ True, the single small hut serves many purposes. Not only the members of the family, but the dogs and all the possessions are housed in the same crowded space. Under such conditions how can order and cleanliness thrive and be maintained!

• [514] Small children are almost never absent, and in their lack of judgment they cause a lot of confusion and take care of their natural requirements inside the hut. Dogs rummage around the sleeping places and among the things that have been carelessly tossed about. Everyone usually eats squatting beside the fire.
244 Many of the scraps are immediately tossed into the fire, but not everything can be cleared away. Here and there are bits of meat and fat, crushed, raw mussels and crabs, remnants of sea birds and fish.

The considerable amount of blubber clinging to these things is transferred to the people themselves, who after their meals wipe their dripping hands either on the sides of their own
356 bodies or on the sleeping place. There is a persistent heavy smell of blubber throughout the interior of the hut, on all the objects and people, to which a European rarely grows accustomed. The moisture which penetrates everything quickly rots the vegetable matter used in the sleeping place, as well as the pieces of leather and skins which sometimes still need to be dressed. All this is mixed with the odor of the skin secretions of people and dogs. There is a disagreeable mixture of all kinds of fumes constantly rising in the small space. It increases from day to day, the longer the hut is used, and it is not affected by the ease with which fresh air blows through the loose structure. One cannot say that a really foul odor develops, but stuffy, musty, heavy fumes fill the whole interior (39). On a sunny day the Indians sometimes loosen the hut

39. Only with reservations can we accept Hayades's (f) :557 statement of his experience

/414 cont./

281 In the case of smaller pieces, the hair is sometimes scraped off with the scraper, but more often the natives encourage a process of decay. One method is to place the entire skin under the sleeping section from which a flat layer of earth has first been removed. It is then covered with damp earth, grass, or moss, and the bed is arranged upon it as before. They leave it there, and life in the hut goes on as usual. Dampness from below and a little warmth from above start a process of fermentation which loosens the layer of hair. Eventually this can easily be stripped off with the flat of the hand, as soon as the leather is covered with a slightly slimy, sticky layer (89). Another procedure, used by the woman, is more

89. In brief, general terms Hyades (q):347 also mentions this method of treating the skins to remove the hair.

[514] successful. She collects her own urine on the piece of leather which is spread out with the hairy side upward, letting it penetrate for some time. It does not matter whether the piece lies inside or outside the hut for several days, and it is at the same time exposed to the dampness of the earth. These people think that human urine is more effective when it is collected on the piece of leather and, still warm, is immediately /415/ rubbed in with the palm of the hand or with a small tuft of wood shavings. After this has been repeated several times, the skin is covered with a thin layer of damp earth and then frequently sat upon or slept on so that it is given a good deal of body warmth. After about two weeks the hair can be stripped off easily. The piece of leather is now extremely soft, and one can easily cut out long ropes or short straps.

An otter skin takes more work to prepare. When the woman has completely dried it on the framework of sticks mentioned above, she plucks out the long, coarse hairs individually with her fingers [412] or with two mussel shells that fit one on top of the other. This is an irksome process, but in the end it gives the even, velvety soft fur that everyone regards with pleasure and enjoys stroking with the palm of the hand.

After they are dried, the hard, thick seal skins must be thoroughly beaten, even though the underside has been well scraped, to make them soft and flexible. This requires strong hands, which

/425 cont./

356 move the hut to another spot after a certain time, for despite all care, a great deal of refuse accumulates, which has harmful effects (p. 29).

514 The Indians display extraordinary disgust for animal and human filth. Personally they are remarkably fastidious in their natural functions. Everyone goes a few steps away from the hut to urinate; they go farther away when they defecate (103).

> 103. Only once, in Decker (p. 53 /untranslated/), we find the remark: "If someone needs to urinate, he does so on the body of another who is nearby, if that person does not get out of the way." This statement is not reliable.

They do not talk about these things. Anyone who must leave the hut to take care of a natural urge rises silently from his place and betakes himself into the woods or behind a sand dune. Two persons would never go together; rather, everyone goes his own way and keeps at some distance from the other. One never finds
514 human filth near the hut. The children are taught from their earliest childhood to take care of their needs far away from the
863 hut. Even dogs are trained to do this. The filth of young animals and infants which sometimes /426/ cannot be avoided inside a hut is quickly covered with sand or earth and pushed far away with a stick. Every mother is careful to take her infant a good distance from the hut in time and to clean the child outside. Even at night a person who feels the need leaves the hut and goes at least a few steps away from it.

514 Hyades (q):343 confirms this conduct of the Yamana from his own observations: "The Fuegians have a rule about not soiling the hut with their evacuations. During the night, for example, urination always takes place outside the entrance opening, and defecation takes place, as in the daytime, quite far from the dwelling, if the night is clear; in case it is very dark, the natives satisfy their natural needs in the vicinity of the hut, but always outside" /translated from French/. No one would fail to clean himself well afterwards. Anyone returning to the hut with

/426 cont./

514 a bad smell would be put out. They use a shell and a handful of sand, but they prefer a bunch of grass and a ball of moss. It [854] is with the latter objects or with a tuft of feathers that the mother cleans her infant (104). In their scrupulous efforts toward

104. Hyades (f):558 supplements this with the following statement: "If, upon re-entering, they find that they are soiled, as soon as they perceive it, either by seeing or smelling it, they are careful to rub themselves with a pad of chaff and to throw all this outside. The children do the same as soon as they can manage it; as for younger children, the mother is careful to keep them clean" /translated from French/.

this kind of cleanliness our Indians compete with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 224).

515 Like the Selk'nam, our Yamana have the habit of spitting all day long and whenever they wake up at night. Anyone who joins their circle around the fire for the first time is confused by the uninterrupted wheezing, throat clearing, and spitting in which they take turns. Adults do this quite unconsciously, and no one minds. When they spit, they have an amazing aim; even a person stretched out on his bed expectorates straight into the fire in a wide arc without lifting himself up. An older person is more awkward at this and bespatters his neighbors who, however, do not grow impatient but clean themselves off indifferently, without a feeling of disgust. They squirt the liquid saliva with a hissing noise through their incisors which they press lightly together.

These Indians, quite openly and without any idea of embarrassment, do the things we are taught to politely cover up. With their thick fingers and dirty fingernails, and grimacing, they poke around for a long time in their distended nostrils. Afterwards they clean their fingernails between their teeth. They blow their noses by snorting hard, which shoots the mucus to the ground. Often it runs out by itself, and they wipe it off with their index finger. Children use the flat of their hand and move it up

/426 cont./

515 and down over their nostrils; afterwards they draw their hand through grass or moss. No one is offended by belching and
516 breaking wind, the smacking of lips during eating, and gurgling /427/ in drinking. Younger people, however, may not make flatulent noises in the presence of old people without noticeably offending them.

356 In the canoe, in contrast to a campsite on the beach, dirt and filth cannot accumulate, although the family uses it almost daily for their travels. Some water comes into the canoe on all sides, and it is open to rain and snow; hence the whole interior is often rinsed out. True, small remnants of leather and the remains of animals obtained by hunting, food scraps, and shells lie about and produce a noticeable stench, but the salt water prevents fouler decomposition. It never occurs to the Indian to clean his canoe thoroughly, but the forces of nature are more than willing to do it. During the trip, everyone takes care of
514 his natural needs overboard if he cannot wait until the landing.
264 For good reasons the people in the canoe seldom eat and then only a little. They throw refuse into the fire, which is always kept going, or simply overboard.

3. Body Painting

302 We shall speak here only of those efforts of the Yamana which arise from their desire to adorn and beautify themselves. Their interest in rubbing their bodies with fish oil or a suitable kind of earth (p. 66) to protect themselves against the cold or against dirt serves another purpose. The most frequent and principal method of adornment is to paint the face and the whole body. Compared with this, objects for ornamentation are quite secondary (105). Moreover, all painting, whether it is

105. Lothrop (b):125 confirms this: "The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days" /cited in English/.

that of their own bodies or of an object, has a special meaning and a recognizable purpose.

/1013 cont./

514 great care. This type of decoration, which is more or less com-
302 plicated, is used when a child appears before its parents, a bride-
groom before his bride, a woman before her intimate female friend. Young people who have already gone through the čiéxaus would not be permitted to present themselves before their sponsor or their adoptive mother, adakutáruwaxípa, without this decoration. Such negligence would be tantamount to an insult or contempt. A person who hears that he will soon have the pleasure of a visit quickly paints himself to show how pleased he is. If he has not had time to do it, he paints himself in the presence of the visitor. The sponsor loves to visit her protégé of the čiéxaus and paint
[608] on his cheeks the lines customary for that occasion. All the neighbors praise this evidence of the pair's great intimacy and joyfully tell everyone: "She [the sponsor] painted him!" /1014/ He must appear before her now and then with this design, just as adults, according to the universal rule, are expected to appear with painted decorations when repaying a visit.

514 Linked with this requirement to decorate oneself for visits
515 is the related one of physical cleanliness. Everyone at least removes the worst dirt from his face and from hands and feet, arranges his hair, and puts on his cleanest back-cape. No one makes great demands in this respect, but every visitor must at least show that he has done a little something to appear clean. Naturally he puts on his most precious ornaments. All this is to show that the visitor esteems the one whom he visits.

● 514 Although the Yamana are unpretentious about physical
516 cleanliness (p. 28), they are remarkably strict with regard to their natural functions. No one speaks of them. A person who wants to relieve himself quietly leaves the circle of people and goes some distance away. Two people would never do it close together; boys who venture to do so and are observed must expect to have stones thrown at them and be beaten. A person who has to go out at night must not show annoyance at having to go far away from the hut or he would be severely reproached. Children and young people may not loudly break wind in the circle of older people; the latter, however, are free to do so and reap smirks of approval.
516 Very loud and vigorous belching does not disturb anyone, nor do
515 the rasping clearing of the throat and the constant spitting. They are always scratching their heads and all over the body to relieve

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

576 Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, 574 especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the čiéxaus initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting [264] was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expectorating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs [514] were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead. [195] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

000 These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked. 847 In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took 844 place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

752 /398 cont./

The whole of the lower part of her body was badly burnt, in some places the bones were exposed" /cited in English/.

515 It is not surprising that the entire surface of the body of these Indians and also every larger object they use exudes a penetrating odor of smoke. Moreover, the uncovered parts of their body become deeply tanned. I observed that my own face and hands became colored after only a few days of frequent visits to the Indian huts. This change disappeared only after persistent, thorough scrubbing with soap and warm water for a few weeks at home.

/399/ Our Indians do not use special material for illumina-
373 tion. The weak light given off by the fire suffices. They do not work at night anyway. If a light is necessary to look for something or to examine something, they strip off a handful of the brush with which their hut is covered and place it on the fire which immediately flames up brightly. In order to light a path in the dark, they wave a dry, smoldering piece of bark back and forth until it flares up. Signal fires serve to convey messages over a
[202] long distance and have special meaning.

The Indian roasts and fries his food at the fire and also
372 melts his whale blubber there. He never eats animal food raw. Finally, he needs the fire for some of his handiwork. With fire, he makes rushes flexible for the braiding of baskets and ropes; he bends the large pieces of bark for his canoe; he dries raw materials and implements before or during their utilization; he fells hollow tree trunks by burning them out, and so forth (63).

63. For the manifold uses of fire by these Indians, see Hyades (q):345. In Volume I, page 207, I have described how the Selk'nam make use of it.

The Yamana could probably do without their clothing and their miserable hut on the frosty Cape Horn archipelago, but they could never give up their open fire in the hut and in the canoe (64).

64. "As life is impossible here without fire, the

/416 cont./

281 durably. They cut the edges approximately straight and lay them
294 side by side. Near the edges of the two pieces they make a small hole by pricking the leather with an awl or a pointed bone. Into this hole they thread a tendon fiber, uśwúmi, holding it with thumb and index finger and licking it to make it pointed. Then another little hole is bored, and the thread is drawn from one hole to the other over the free edges in a spiral. Finally, they pound the two edges, which are not quite flat, with a round stone to make them flat and less hard so that they will not rub unpleasantly. Such work is very coarse and uneven, for they lack convenient tools. They fasten strands of leather and straps together or tie them to other things simply by knotting them.

283 The fibers of tendon which we have just mentioned, known
237 as uśwúmi or ūnána, are often used in sewing and joining pieces of leather. Strands of guanaco tendon are separated into fibers, but a person who does not have these uses the tendon fibers of otter or
[136] beaver (Myocastor coipus) tails. The beaver is rare here, however. After they have skinned the animal, they cut off the tail at the root. It is dried for some time, and the individual vertebrae are broken off without tearing the tendons. The last two or three vertebrae are left together. The tendons which have been loosened by this process are separated with the fingernails until they become thin enough to be used for sewing. They then hang like a tuft on the smallest vertebrae of the tail and can be torn off with a sharp tug.

C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation

•515 Every stranger is repulsed by the unclean, unkempt appear-
356 ance of the Yamana (91). It is disgusting to see these human

91. Among the opinions of former travelers I shall cite only what Snow (a) :I, 345 has written: "They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves" /cited in English/.

356 /418 cont./
•515 beings, glistening with fat as though blubber had been poured over them, in the midst of the jumbled disorder of their effects inside their smoke-blackened, vapor-filled huts or crouching anxiously in their smelly canoes crammed with trash. Do they not have any feeling for the well-being that a cleansing bath gives a clean body, for the refreshment that follows a thorough wash, or for the natural necessity of a clean dwelling? Continuous privation dulls through habit!

Our Indians were obliged to adjust to the poverty and insufficiency of their /417/ environment where they lack material and equipment without which other peoples could not be comfortable. Their concern with the preservation of their lives so completely absorbs their attention, especially during canoe trips, that they dare not concentrate on sparing their body or their few possessions. In the huts, which are supposed to afford only slight shelter against the annoying influences of the weather for a single night or for a few days, it is not worth the effort to strive for a little coziness and comfort. Finally, the restlessness of a life of ceaseless wandering would not let them enjoy trying to keep clean. They are by no means completely lacking in any feeling for it, and it would be unjust to them to believe that they have become numb to dirt. As a matter of fact, they have developed a relatively rich amount of body decoration in the form of ornaments and simple body painting (92) that in no slight measure deceives

92. George Forster (b) :324 recognized the obvious contradiction: "It is strange that where clothing is so completely lacking they should be so concerned with ornaments and decoration. The Fuegian smears his face with red ocher."

one about their lack of cleanliness or its inadequacy. Ever helpful Mother Nature advantageously compensates them for much that they themselves leave undone.

/417 cont./ 1. Body Care

•515 The Indian knows nothing about taking care of himself merely from a sense of cleanliness. His cares about the daily necessities of life take greater precedence. He is used to thick crusts of dirt and a loathsome smell of blubber on his skin and is not aware of them at all. He does not wash with any kind of regularity. Everyone gets up from his pitiful bed early in the morning and simply wipes his sleepy, sticky eyes dry with his index finger. Some like to stroke their cheeks gently with the palms of both hands. It is seldom that anyone goes down to the nearby brook and dashes cold water into his face. At times, however, if a person finds himself covered with the dust of ashes or with dirt from the ground picked up while hunting and working, he will feel the necessity of stepping into the nearest pool and rinsing off his whole body. He rubs himself with the palms of his hands and with a tuft of beard moss or scraped wood shavings, čnăr[1], or even with a wet ball of moss. Afterwards he dries himself near the radiant heat of the hut fire (cf. Hyades [q]:348).

Men do not like to dive into the water and bathe. Women go into the water more often to gather the lower marine fauna or to swim to the canoe. On very rare hot summer days a few men sometimes splash on the beach, without venturing more than two or three steps into the water. This is done primarily, however, /418/ to refresh oneself in an effort to withstand the unusual heat (93).

93. According to Hyades (q):348: "during the summer when the weather is fine, they sometimes bathe in the sea, but simply as recreation" /translated from French/. Furthermore he also reports (g):38: "Only on rare occasions, when the temperature was relatively warm, did the French [of the Mission Scientifique] have an opportunity to observe the Fuegian women jump into the water for fun and play about in it gaily without any particular purpose. They never seemed to dive, however, as has often been said."

/418 cont./

•515 The water of the sea and of brooks is always cold. Only rarely does it warm up somewhat in shallow bays.

These people often have to work in the water and are frequently drenched in heavy showers. That is probably why they have no inclination to make further use of the wet element. Hyades confirms this (q) :348: "Primarily it is rain or accidental immersions in the water of the sea that makes the Fuegians clean" /translated from French/. It is always dangerous to venture far out into the ocean. The many little torrents and streams are not deep enough to invite bathing. According to European opinion, it takes the insensibility of an Indian to go about for days with all that dirt and dust and smoke (94). However, the fresh air which

94. What Snow (b):263 says is not in the least exaggerated: "The Fuegians are excessively dirty, and contact with them might well cause a man to shudder" /cited in English/.

constantly brushes the naked body stimulates the skin beneficially and covers up other discomfort.

Everyone much prefers a dry rub. This involves the entire body. If a person's dirty skin itches, he takes the gray, greasy clay that is found in some places, or the pale yellow kind that is more scarce, or even a rusty-brown clay, and mixes it with water and saliva in the cup of his hand to make a thick paste which he smears on his whole body. This gradually dries near the hut fire and, with the hand flat, is rubbed off in the form of a fine powder. This procedure cleanses like soap. Above all, it removes from the skin the greasy sheen from all the blubber, as well as the surface tan caused by the suffocating smoke. If the natives cannot find the gray clay nearby, they use a calcareous, almost powder-like sand, which, however, does not cleanse as thoroughly.

These people lack suitable material for drying themselves. If they are wet, they move close to the fire, and the radiating heat soon removes all the dampness from their bodies, or they hold their faces and hands over the fire. Sometimes they reach for
515 a dry ball of moss if it is available. They prefer chlor, a ball of
534 fine, loose, yellow shavings from the large-leafed barberry

515 /418 cont./
524 (Berberis ilicifolia, Fig. 17), buma, celia, which is obtained in the following way. They peel the bark off a twig as thick as one's thumb, scrape off the soft layer of fibers on the surface, and then, with a sharp-edged mussel shell and gentle pressure back and forth, they peel off /419/ the finest shavings. These are collected on a scrap of leather and must dry near the fire. By repeatedly squeezing the loose ball, a coarse powder is produced, which quickly absorbs any dampness. These shavings are kept in a piece of gut, and if anyone needs them he takes out a handful. He uses this substance exactly like a sponge. It is used mostly by a mother in [854] washing and drying her infant, but almost all the people use it often to wipe under the arms -- custom demands this -- in order to prevent a bad odor, as they say.

515 These fine shavings are almost never used for a wet massage of face and body. For this they more often use a ball of moss saturated with water. Apparently Hyades (q):348 also makes this distinction: "When the natives see dirt on their bodies that demands attention, especially in the morning, ...they wipe themselves off with fine wood shavings that make a kind of tow, or they clean up by simply rubbing themselves with moss gathered around the hut, which is very wet and acts as a sponge" /translated from French/.

A person who has soiled his hands, whether it is with blood and dirt while working or with blubber and fat while eating or eviscerating an animal, rubs them off in the sand on the ground, on skins lying about, or on the hut covering. The fat dripping 515 from the fingers after a delicious roast is preferably rubbed on the 340 face and body to keep the skin soft and to protect it against the weather, hence the greasy shine of these people which gives them a strange appearance (p. 67). This is, of course, not provided naturally and is not sought for beautification, but rather it serves as protection for the body. On very cold days one or another of them will even pour a large quantity of liquid blubber over himself. The skin is never completely free of a visible layer of grease which is increased by continual contact with meat, fat, and greasy objects. The epidermis of these Indians is somewhat thicker [147] than that of Europeans as a result of their complete lack of protection against the cold air. That is also the reason why the skin is less sensitive.

/419 cont./

147 In this connection we may also mention the fact that these
382 people do not have a definite characteristic skin odor. If they
515 had, it would be hardly or not at all noticeable because of all the blubber they smear on themselves and the thick, smothering smoke that constantly affects the skin. We realize the effect this smoke has when we see the dark brown coloring it produces, which apparently goes deep. Also, the skin is slightly moist from fog or damp air, it exudes a strong, almost biting odor which is most disagreeable in a closed room. It is, of course, transferred to the dogs and to all the implements they use which are lying about in the hut. Thus the European visitor is assailed with an indefinable mixture of /420/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ the odors of smoke and blubber coming from the Indian himself, from his hut (95), and

95. Spegazzini (a):163 says maliciously: "The smoke, the odor, not very much like roses, and the other dangerous inconveniences of these salons force the curious visitor to go out very quickly" /translated from Spanish/.

from everything he owns, which cannot be withstood by everyone.

515 Along with all this and the general lack of cleanliness,
13 there are their particularly repulsive heads of hair, caked with dirt and crawling with vermin (96). The head louse (Pediculus capitis),

96. The effect this has on a European is made clear by Snow (a):I, 346: "It may be mentioned, that vermin swarmed about them and in everything they had. Whatever we purchased or obtained from them, had to be several times subjected to a purifying process" /cited in English/.

worn, thrives through this total lack of body care, and young and old are constantly scratching, especially at night in their sleep. It is impossible for the Yamana to defend themselves against this pest. The old people recall that in former times they were plagued with a smaller, Mackith louse, and that since the advent of the

[Red Cross notes on page 81.—Analyst]

/420 cont./

136 European it has been replaced by a larger, gray one. Despite
.55 their unmistakably lower degree of sensitivity, the Indians find this vermin a torture. A mother will sympathetically pick lice from her child, crushing them between her fingernails or teeth (97).

97. Hyades (op.348 briefly mentions "the hunt for parasites (Pediculi capitis) to which they devote themselves in their moments of leisure" /translated from French/.

No one minds having his neighbor centinely scratch his head. In the long, quiet intervals beside the evening fire in the hut these sounds, produced by first one and then another of those present, are a frequent /421/ interruption. The individual gets no relief, however, in spite of all his scratching, and they hardly ever lose patience throughout this torture.

In the last decades the clothes louse (Pediculus vestimentorum)
[177] has also spread throughout the region, introduced by Europeans. The older people do not recall this pest; the general conditions for its development were poor in any case. When a person removes his clothing -- nowadays everyone wears only European clothing -- the well-known traces of lice are revealed all over his body. These people are constantly scratching their bodies. I cannot say whether Pediculus pubis is present, but this species also is probably not entirely absent.

The head hair of the Tamaan is naturally black, stiff,
[192] and thick. Although it is liberally greased with blubber, dirt and
363. lice prevent it from ever being soft and attractively shiny. It grows moderately long, and among women it reaches about to their shoulders, which is why it does not lend itself to a particular type of coiffure. Everyone wears his hair open and loose; it lies on their head in thick strands. Some women cut the hair on their forehead at their eyebrows (98). Occasionally, if a person does

98. Hyades (op.330 speaks of "hair cut in front 'dog fashion'" /translated from French/. Lehtonp (op.124 expresses himself in more general terms.

/422 cont./

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302

"they were beardless. One or two of the older men had some hair on their faces, which, while talking, they were continually engaged in twitching out" /cited in English/. And Bove (1:04:XVIII, 188; 1884) says: "The men have very little beard, and even that little they are accustomed to tear out or cut off with shells" /cited in English/.

In general, they have only very little and faint hair on their

[42]

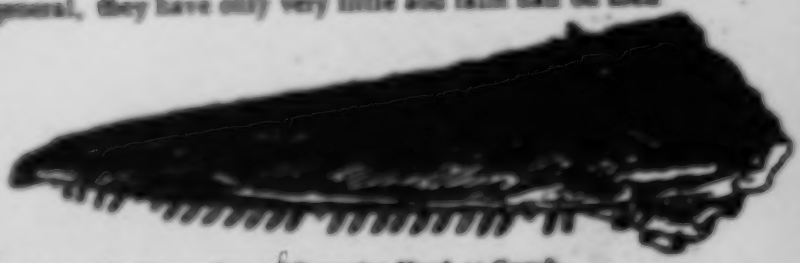

Fig. 18. Upper Jaw of Porpoise Used as Comb.
Natural size.

bodies; in this respect they resemble the Selk'nam. /Fig. 18 appears here./

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Under the influence of Whites, younger and middle-aged Tamata have learned not only to dress in modern fashion, but also to wash their faces with soap and to arrange their hair with a comb. Vain chaps shave with imported razors.

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To loosen the hair matted with dirt and lice, not so much because of a desire for cleanliness but because of the discomfort, they use a somewhat coarse comb. It comes in three styles. The most easily obtainable is the upper jaw of the porpoise which is about 13 centimeters long and has two rows of short teeth (Fig. 18). It is occasionally found on the beach where it is so excellently cleaned of all organic matter by wood lice and other lower animals that it can be used without any further preparation. At first this bone is still greasy, which is beneficial for the hair. At any rate it is very easy to use and durable. This comb is called *ákuten*. Even an otter skull, cleaned of all meat /422/ and without the lower jaw, serves as a comb as long as the Tew and

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describe, but does speak of "a piece of the upper jaw from a dolphin or porpoise, with teeth" /translated from French/.

As a makeshift when the two objects mentioned above are [237] not available, they gather a bunch of bird feathers and tie them together at the bottom with a fiber of tendon. The bunch of feathers is grasped with the fist, and the quills are drawn through the hair, like the teeth of a comb (102). Girls like to [57]

102. According to Fitz-Roy's terse words (a) :139, the hair grooming of the Indian women is confined to the following: "The hair of the women is longer, less coarse, and certainly cleaner than that of the men. It is combed with the jaw of a porpoise, but neither plaited nor tied; and none is cut away, excepting from over their eyes" /cited in English/.

make this ütüku ukunim as playful dawdling, and conveniently loosen their hair with it.

•515 Little though the Yamana heed a clean body, they nevertheless appreciate a clean person who washes often and keeps his hair combed. Many mothers care for their children; others appear disgustingly dirty and completely neglected. Such differences are not infrequently a topic of conversation among the old people who criticize in one case and praise in the other. At any rate it shows that a natural feeling for cleanliness is not entirely lacking. In spite of the many useful things that Europeans have brought them, they will never rise above a certain level of uncleanliness because they are inseparably bound to their conditions of life. The European clothing which everybody wears [177] nowadays is likewise covered with dirt and fish oil. Because of it fresh air and beneficial rain can no longer act directly on the skin, hence their bodies are always covered with a thick, malodorous crust of dirt. Thus, the abandonment of their former sparse body covering is slowly but badly undermining the vitality and health of these Indians, who are themselves aware of it.

/426 cont./

514 a bad smell would be put out. They use a shell and a handful of sand, but they prefer a bunch of grass and a ball of moss. It [854] is with the latter objects or with a tuft of feathers that the mother cleans her infant (104). In their scrupulous efforts toward

104. Hyades (f):558 supplements this with the following statement: "If, upon re-entering, they find that they are soiled, as soon as they perceive it, either by seeing or smelling it, they are careful to rub themselves with a pad of chaff and to throw all this outside. The children do the same as soon as they can manage it; as for younger children, the mother is careful to keep them clean" /translated from French/.

this kind of cleanliness our Indians compete with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 224).

• 515 Like the Selk'nam, our Yamana have the habit of spitting all day long and whenever they wake up at night. Anyone who joins their circle around the fire for the first time is confused by the uninterrupted wheezing, throat clearing, and spitting in which they take turns. Adults do this quite unconsciously, and no one minds. When they spit, they have an amazing aim; even a person stretched out on his bed expectorates straight into the fire in a wide arc without lifting himself up. An older person is more awkward at this and bespatters his neighbors who, however, do not grow impatient but clean themselves off indifferently, without a feeling of disgust. They squirt the liquid saliva with a hissing noise through their incisors which they press lightly together.

These Indians, quite openly and without any idea of embarrassment, do the things we are taught to politely cover up. With their thick fingers and dirty fingernails, and grimacing, they poke around for a long time in their distended nostrils. Afterwards they clean their fingernails between their teeth. They blow their noses by snorting hard, which shoots the mucus to the ground. Often it runs out by itself, and they wipe it off with their index finger. Children use the flat of their hand and move it up

/426 cont./

515 and down over their nostrils; afterwards they draw their hand through grass or moss. No one is offended by belching and
516 breaking wind, the smacking of lips during eating, and gurgling /427/ in drinking. Younger people, however, may not make flatulent noises in the presence of old people without noticeably offending them.

516 In the canoe, in contrast to a campsite on the beach, dirt and filth cannot accumulate, although the family uses it almost daily for their travels. Some water comes into the canoe on all sides, and it is open to rain and snow; hence the whole interior is often rinsed out. True, small remnants of leather and the remains of animals obtained by hunting, food scraps, and shells lie about and produce a noticeable stench, but the salt water prevents fouler decomposition. It never occurs to the Indian to clean his canoe thoroughly, but the forces of nature are more than willing to do it. During the trip, everyone takes care of
514 his natural needs overboard if he cannot wait until the landing.
264 For good reasons the people in the canoe seldom eat and then only a little. They throw refuse into the fire, which is always kept going, or simply overboard.

3. Body Painting

302 We shall speak here only of those efforts of the Yamana which arise from their desire to adorn and beautify themselves. Their interest in rubbing their bodies with fish oil or a suitable kind of earth (p. 66) to protect themselves against the cold or against dirt serves another purpose. The most frequent and principal method of adornment is to paint the face and the whole body. Compared with this, objects for ornamentation are quite secondary (105). Moreover, all painting, whether it is

105. Lothrop (b):125 confirms this: "The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days" /cited in English/.

that of their own bodies or of an object, has a special meaning and a recognizable purpose.

/592 cont./

264 by no means only a few tidbits; it is almost always a considerable amount, so that the total during a single day is astonishingly large. Every observer will agree with the words of Spegazzini (a):171: "These people have no set time for eating; they eat all day, they eat whenever and whatever they please, and according to what I saw, they eat a great deal" /translated from Spanish/. As we have said, at any one time they take liquid blubber, kun, in only small quantities, but all the more frequently; /593/ a man or woman will sometimes empty a blubber sausage ten centimeters [431] long in one draught (378). Visitors like to bring it along as a present.

[262] 378. Hyades (f):564 mentions: "They are likewise fond of the oil of the liver of morne, but always small quantities at a time" /translated from French/.

With the exception of mornings and evenings, everyone begins to eat whenever he feels like it. This is the general custom. One is more likely to be stimulated if he sees someone else chewing and he will join him. There is never much preparation involved. A person will reach into a basket of mussels or will tear off a piece of meat from a sea lion or a bird hanging on a beech tree in front of the hut and place it on the fire. Everyone helps himself, and whatever supplies are in the hut are at everyone's disposal (379).

379. The words of Hyades (p):328 that "women and children eat with the men" /translated from French/ do not mean anything.

Everyone acts as though it were completely taken for granted and not a disturbance to his neighbor if he moves near the fire at night and satisfies his appetite undisturbed. The only rule generally [515] observed is that in the morning before the first bite is taken one rinses out his mouth with cold water and spits it out again. Most people are more particular about this than about daily morning ablutions. While the individual pieces are roasting in the fire, everyone watches them attentively, turns them often and meanwhile increases his appetite. He tests them with his fingers or

/718 cont./

773 I myself saw this mother (142), so I give you this advice: if at

142. This expression is, of course, not to be taken literally; it means, in the Yamana way of speaking, that this man had a very lively image of the chief character in the story.

birth a child comes out of the mother's womb very quickly and immediately begins to walk, you must kill it without delay. Otherwise it will hurry back into its mother's belly which will swell to such a size that the mother will die."

857 Frequent ablutions are considered absolutely necessary for the infant; sometimes a dip in sea water is substituted for them. Soon
515 after birth they are performed with brown swamp water which the mother usually has fetched by some other person. She places the baby upright in front of her, fills her mouth again and again with this water, warming it a little, and gradually sprays the baby's entire body. She gently dries off her little darling with a soft, surfy mass or with a ball of moss, both of which are taken out of a bog and squeezed to remove the large amounts of water they contain. The purpose of this treatment with the bundle of moss is not to dry the skin, but to stimulate it with rubbing. After the first two weeks the use of bog water is no longer necessary; sea water will suffice from now on.

We must appreciate the fact that our Indian women, who apparently do not have an eye for the physical cleanliness of their larger children, take so much conscientious care of their infants that they repeat the ablutions at least once a day. They always warm the water in the mouth and squirt it on the body of the little ones. With the palm of the hand they gently rub the separate parts, and this is justifiably regarded as a beneficial massage. Several times in succession the woman will hold her open hand over the fire to warm it, and she continues the rub until her hand becomes cool. If she undertakes the bath on the shore where she does not want to start a fire for those few minutes, she breathes into her loosely clenched fist, warming the inside of her hand somewhat (143). Even

143. Hyades (f):571 observed the same procedure.

/716 cont./

854 when the child is dipped into the water all at once, she never for-
515 gets to rub it off with her hand flat (144).

144. A few Europeans at least mention the fact that the newborn baby is repeatedly dipped in the water. First of all Bridges (i):21: "Within a few days after birth the child was dipped in the sea, with the idea of strengthening it" /cited in English/. Not only Lovisato (b):150, but also Hahn (a):806 evidently rely on him, for the latter writes: "Soon after birth, the child is dipped in sea water or in fresh water. This washing by immersion is repeated up to twice a day for one or two months" /translated from French/.

Summer and winter the child must submit to the ablutions, often even out in the open. Afterward it is always safely /717/ wrapped in a soft skin in which it is warmed for at least half an hour. For about ten weeks the young mother carries out the ablutions very conscientiously, after that she allows some interruptions, and finally the six-months-old child is only rarely rubbed off.

854 The Yamana mother makes a sleeping place for her infant in
513 almost exactly the same way her neighbor on Isla Grand does (Vol. I, 372). If she cannot hold the baby in her arms, she spreads a soft otter or guanaco pelt on the ground with the leather side on top. Over this she spreads a layer of down from wild geese and lays the child on its back. She lifts up the edges of the piece of leather and folds them over each other, so that the bundle is loose; there is no strapping of any kind. The infant stays this way hardly more than an hour, or with its movements it gradually loosens the sheath and is again exposed. Meanwhile it has become thoroughly warm, for it is almost always only after it has been washed that it is bundled up. Usually it sits quite naked on brush or on a piece of leather. The infant is not given clothes or diapers.

854 If the mother's hands are not busy with other work, she na-
turally has her darling on her lap. She squats on the ground with her legs bent, and he sits or lies between them. She usually

X 881 /858 cont./
785 of going on with the rest of the čiéxaus celebration.
866 In front of the candidates, adults do not express themselves explicitly about the purpose of this harsh hunger trial. Occasionally the leader or the sponsor will make a remark, as though parenthetically: "Everyone must have learned to get along with little food! For it happens sometimes that a whole family will get into a situation of great distress." Previously I had learned another version from Alfredo: "When the uswala are worn down with hunger, they are more receptive to the teachings, and the admonitions will go deeper!" There is always someone who accompanies the candidates when they go outside the Great Hut, so that they will not, on their own, make up for their many deprivations and perhaps eat a great deal.

X 881 3. Little Sleep. Although we are justified in speaking of a
866 program for the čiéxaus celebration, this does not mean a definite division into hours. The length of time for this or that exercise is much too dependent on the prevailing mood at the moment, and no obligatory hour strikes for those fortunate Fuegians, either in their daily life or in this secret celebration.

If there is no fixed time for the adult participants to go to bed, even less is there such for the uswala. There is, of course, considerable restriction, but it is the task of the sponsor to carry this out in detail. He watches the physical condition of his protégé, just as in the matter of food, and lets /859/ this guide his decision. Even so, the night's sleep at the beginning of the čiéxaus lasts only five hours at most, which is obviously too little for young people. Of course the conscious intent is to weaken them.

In the evening, as soon as all the games and dances have ceased, the adults get ready to go to sleep. Not until two or three hours later will each sponsor independently grant his protégé permission to lie down also. By that time it is usually midnight. Between five and six o'clock in the morning the sponsor shakes the weary sleeper vigorously and merely says: "Sit up!" He has no choice but to obey. Half asleep he now squats in his place until it is light and the general cleaning in the Great Hut begins (279).

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279. In more recent times the Yamana in the Great Hut also adhere to their practice of washing

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themselves in the morning. Most of them use soap, which they also permit the candidates to use. Almost every day all the occupants of the hut arrange it so that after the dawn they all wash themselves at the same time. This is usually done in conjunction with making everyone's sleeping place orderly throughout.

I also learned from old Pedro that formerly very often in the middle of the night, sometimes as an interruption of the already very short sleep, the male uǐwīala were led to the beach, where they were obliged to take a bath, move about in the water for some time, and, following the example of the men accompanying them, carry on the monotonous singing of the čiēxaus hut in an audible voice. This repeated diving into the water served to harden them physically. The singing, however, was supposed to prove to Yetāita and all the malevolent spirits who approach the Great Hut that the candidates were constantly vigilant. During my first initiation we three uǐwīala were driven down to the water twice in the dead of night. The other two had to take off their clothes and dive into the cold water several times. I was spared this torture, but at any rate I was supposed to become acquainted with it.

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Not content merely to curtail the time for sleeping, they also prescribe the position of the body during sleep. The position assumed by the uǐwīala for sitting is retained as he lies down on his side, that is to say, arms interlocked and legs drawn up. There is nothing placed under the head to raise it. Everyone falls asleep immediately from utter exhaustion. Inadvertently the weary one stretches himself, unfolds his interlocked arms, and extends his legs. He cannot avoid touching his neighbor in doing so, for the space is very crowded. In any case, one of the sponsors beside him is always awake and gives the uǐwīala a push so that he wakes up. Immediately he must pull in his limbs again.

In this less than friendly manner the candidate's already scantily apportioned sleep is sometimes painfully interrupted time and again, but it is done intentionally. During my first initiation this torture almost /860/ brought me to the point of despair. One

/910 cont./

X881 the individuals have calmed their inner excitement at the dances
577 each evening. These are the occasions when everyone is free
513 to get up and, to the accompaniment of the dance movements,
[152] loudly pour out his feelings and impulses. Sometimes this is done with profound, trembling emotion. Accordingly, it is late before those present can lie down to sleep, but they can do so earlier in case they have spent the day in tiring work and hunting. When quiet has been restored after the final lively dance movements and everyone has resumed his place, the leader, with a
[198] vigorous, drawn-out hó ho ho ho hō, gives the sign for the night's rest. They all join in the same call and, in a somewhat softer voice, repeat this hó ho ho ho hō. Immediately most of them wrap themselves in their covers and lie down to sleep. One or another of them will remain seated if he feels so inclined and continue the customary song in a low, soft voice.

X881 Their sleep is not entirely quiet, however, for the song may
513 never cease entirely and the many people lie close together. Our Yamana are used to this. In the early morning the candidates are awakened by their sponsors and immediately sit up again. After another one and a half to three hours, about six o'clock, the adults get up. The leader himself gets up when he thinks it is time and again gives the long, lusty call hó ho ho ho hō which he made the night before as the signal for going to sleep. At this summons the others also end their rest (333). The general move-

333. This happened at my first initiation in accordance with the old custom. Two years later, lively Santiago awakened the candidates, including myself, at about five o'clock with a thundering voice. The adults were allowed to sleep for another good hour, while a few women arranged the feeble fire.

ment in the Great Hut rouses the last sleepers. Everyone immediately gets up, straightens his sleeping-place, and squats down
X881 again. /911/ He rubs the sleep out of his eyes with his finger
515 and then combs his hair. This is the whole of the morning toilette. Formerly most of the people went outside to a brook and washed, the uiwala being accompanied by their sponsors. Nowadays all

X881 /911 cont./
the younger people wash with soap in the morning (334), usually
•[515 177]

334. They have adopted this habit from Europeans, and they cling to it even in the Great Hut.

in front of the Great Hut. A few women busy themselves with the long fire and make bright flames leap up, while the men join in the continuous singing and give themselves up to their thoughts.
[513] The night's sleep lasts only six to seven hours.

X881 3. Meals. Formerly during the ciexaus celebration the adults
264 were also obliged to observe some restrictions in eating, as they personally saw fit. To this day the Yamana uphold at least the rule that all food must be prepared exclusively in the secondary hut. In former times the kitchen women brought a meal from there to the people gathered in the Great Hut only twice a day, namely, a bite a few hours after arising and abundant portions toward four o'clock in the afternoon. The sponsors arranged it so that their protégés were usually not led outside before the first meal and that they were again present during the second. In case an adult missed the meals, he was permitted to go to the cookhut and receive something to eat there. It was not customary for extra food to be distributed in the Great Hut for latecomers after these two periods.

X881 In general the Yamana eat rapidly and even more so during
264 the ciexaus celebration. Food is brought in from the cookhut as secretly as possible. Since the preparation of the food cannot be
869 hidden, the adults and, above all, the children outside in the camp who do not take part in the celebration are led to believe that it is devoured by Yetája or by other spirits (p. 761), but not by the inmates (335). In order to carry out this deception, at a

335. At the end of the celebration the candidates actually do appear very weary and weak when they come back to the actual camp and they are quite generally pitied (p. 829).

certain time before the meal a few men and women inside the

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X881 the uswala, surrounded by their sponsors, also shuffle through the exit into the open. This is the informal but actual farewell to the čiexaus hut.

Outside they all sit down beside the big fire, and soon small talk begins, quietly and in short sentences at first because they are no longer accustomed to a running conversation, then animatedly and joyfully excited. Everyone eagerly helps himself and enjoys the freshly roasted meat, although many a person who is excessively weakened endangers himself by overeating. As time goes on, the people mix more and more enthusiastically, for one seeks out another and wants to tell or ask about all kinds of things.

/953/ At this great dinner the candidates are required to serve older persons without pause. They offer first one and then another a freshly roasted piece of meat or a handful of mussels. They pass along the irregular rows of the company and distribute on all sides whatever they have in their hands. The adults are pleased with the industriousness of the uswala and exchange /Fig. 87 appears here/ opinions about the success and the prospects of one or another. All the inmates of the dwellings who have not spent the night in the čiexaus hut have, of course, also arrived beside the big fire. They are particularly affected by the sight of the emaciated and weak candidates; they discuss the many deprivations and the long fasting that the candidates have, after all, survived. The candidates cannot arouse themselves to fresh cheerfulness and unconstrained gaiety, for the trials which their weak bodies were obliged to endure for many long weeks were too difficult.

X881 The so-called sponsors are overjoyed, for during the long
608 period of the čiexaus trial they have successfully led their
431 hetakuxeolan to the goal. They talk a great deal with other adults
about their protégé, and in detail with the parents. According to
[445] ancient custom, they give their protégé the tube-shaped bird bone
imbalim (ibelim), through which, day after day, he has sucked
X881 sparse amounts of drinking water from a mussel shell. He also re-
608 ceives a rather short carved stick, about 12 centimeters long and
431 pointed at the end, with a shallow groove carved around the top.
A tendon is wound around the groove and likewise around the upper
•515 end of the sucking tube, and both articles are joined with a string
of tendon which is placed around the neck of the candidate (Fig. 87).

/953 cont./

X881 He is always supposed to have on hand, above all, the little stick
608 of wood, tamiyáki, since he uses it to scratch the lice-bites on his
431 head. It is said that young people should regularly use this little
515 stick after their dismissal from the čiéxaus hut; if they used their fingernails, the latter would become brittle. If the tamiyaki is lost or wears out, the young fellow or girl can make one, if the sponsor does not happen to offer a new one. There is no definite limit as to the length of time the young people must use the little scratching stick; sooner or later, however, they simply ignore it.

X881 /954/ A third and final
608 gift of less significance than
431 the two just mentioned, which only
415 the female sponsor presents to her hętakuxęlan, is a pretty, dainty little basket made of rushes and specially decorated along the upper edge with a wreath of feathers. It is filled with ripe berries of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12 /in untranslated portion/).

X881 The ward receives these three items
608 as mementos. They are first of all supposed
431 to remind him of the male and female sponsors, but even more, of the teachings and admonitions of the čiéxaus celebration. With a certain pride the uswąla shows each

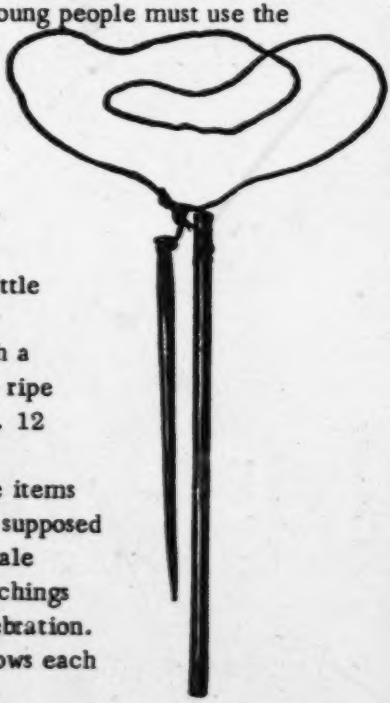

Fig. 87. Small Sucking Tube and Small Scratching Stick. One-half natural size.

of his acquaintances this certification of his successful initiation. Thus he publicly shows that he now lawfully belongs to the group of adults.

X881 For hours the people squat around the fire and enjoy the
524 abundant meal. Gradually they feel a desire for games. Once a beginning has been made, one game follows another. Real

/1013 cont./

514 great care. This type of decoration, which is more or less com-
302 plicated, is used when a child appears before its parents, a bride-
groom before his bride, a woman before her intimate female friend. Young people who have already gone through the čiéxaus would not be permitted to present themselves before their sponsor or their adoptive mother, adakutáruwaxípa, without this decoration. Such negligence would be tantamount to an insult or contempt. A person who hears that he will soon have the pleasure of a visit quickly paints himself to show how pleased he is. If he has not had time to do it, he paints himself in the presence of the visitor. The sponsor loves to visit her protégé of the čiéxaus and paint
[608] on his cheeks the lines customary for that occasion. All the neighbors praise this evidence of the pair's great intimacy and joyfully tell everyone: "She [the sponsor] painted him!" /1014/ He must appear before her now and then with this design, just as adults, according to the universal rule, are expected to appear with painted decorations when repaying a visit.

514 Linked with this requirement to decorate oneself for visits
is the related one of physical cleanliness. Everyone at least re-
515 moves the worst dirt from his face and from hands and feet, arranges his hair, and puts on his cleanest back-cape. No one makes great demands in this respect, but every visitor must at least show that he has done a little something to appear clean. Naturally he puts on his most precious ornaments. All this is to show that the visitor esteems the one whom he visits.

514 Although the Yamana are unpretentious about physical
cleanliness (p. 28), they are remarkably strict with regard to their
516 natural functions. No one speaks of them. A person who wants to relieve himself quietly leaves the circle of people and goes some distance away. Two people would never do it close together; boys who venture to do so and are observed must expect to have stones thrown at them and be beaten. A person who has to go out at night must not show annoyance at having to go far away from the hut or he would be severely reproached. Children and young people may not loudly break wind in the circle of older people; the latter, however, are free to do so and reap smirks of approval.
516 Very loud and vigorous belching does not disturb anyone, nor do
515 the rasping clearing of the throat and the constant spitting. They are always scratching their heads and all over the body to relieve

/1014 cont./

576 the burdensome itch caused by lice. When they are not doing
575 that, they habitually pick their noses with their thick fingers, and with the flat of the hand they wipe off the phlegm from their noses and smear it on the ground or on the wall of the hut. In all these things our Yamana resemble the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 465), but the latter are in general cleaner than the Yamana. Every European is considerably repulsed by their offensive behavior which is so far removed from our rules of decency.

We must also briefly describe how conversation generally
574 takes place during ordinary visits. A person who has entered a
574 hut as a guest crouches silently by the fire for a while. He does not look about inquisitively nor make conspicuous movements (p. 914). Finally he manages to say a few words in a low voice and leads into unimportant matters. Presently he describes his canoe trip and his experiences with the weather during the last few days. If he happens to have had an exciting hunt, he takes particular pleasure in describing it in minute detail. Meanwhile he works himself into quite a lively state. After that he goes on excitedly and from /1015/ one experience to another, to the satisfaction of those present, and he stops only after many hours. No one dares interrupt him; no one would show boredom, no matter how much he felt it. No matter how great the suspense of those present about a certain incident experienced by the guest, no one would ask specific questions if the guest himself did not get around to telling about it. They do not want to annoy him in any way or to show inquisitiveness by a direct inquiry. The guest ends his tale when he feels like it; no one may presume to ask him to stop because of the late hour. Sometimes a long report is given by a talkative old man, which the company in the circle has heard more than once, but since memories concerning unwritten laws and ancient custom are always interwoven with it, such a story does not fail to have educational value for young people and does a great deal of good.

Frequently an account first given by a man alone develops into a real discussion, but there is never a loud confusion of voices or a disorderly hubbub because the younger people hold back their remarks in favor of their elders and by no means interrupt them. If women are present and something is discussed that concerns them, too, they may of course express their opinions within limits.

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P34

/409 cont./
"that individuals of both sexes and all ages often went entirely naked" /cited in English/ must this be qualified.

the general practice of putting this pubic covering on girls when they are still children, without any kind of accompanying festivity or ceremony, is most significant. When women change these coverings or remove them for any reason, they avoid doing so in the presence of other persons (84). Girls learn to conduct them-

[567]

84. See page 59 as to the conduct of young Kamanakarkipa who was caught by surprise without her modesty-apron by a French officer.

selves properly while standing and sitting, not only by the example of the adults, but through special instruction.

This scrap of leather, to be sure, is only the size of one's hand and is suspended from a mere string around the hips, but, as Hyades (g) :33 has observed, "they never appear without this Mashakana, which is quite sufficient for them, although one can by no means say that they lack a sense of modesty." When sitting, they usually keep their thighs together and place one foot in such a position that the heel presses the pubic covering against the /410/ body. Only an old man sometimes squats on the ground without a covering and with his legs wide apart.

[516]

Hyades (p) :338 aptly says of this small piece of skin: "it is an emblem of modesty" /translated from French/. Women even regard it as improper merely to speak of it. For this reason I tactfully had to persuade an old woman to make this piece for me, which I wanted to add to my collection. She made it in secret and gave it to me with the remark that I should not mention it to other people. Sometimes younger women cover their breasts with the short back-cape, at any rate if men should annoy them with meaningful glances.

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The little cloak can only provide meager and incomplete protection against wind and bad weather. A continuous cold current of air from one direction against a part of the body is intolerable for anyone. Even so, a person sitting in a canoe and obliged to reach a certain goal cannot protect himself against it in any other

/572 cont./

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whereupon one of the men went to a tree and with a spear struck at the roots, and speedily procured some" /cited in English/.

271 The people not only cannot do without drinking water for any length of time, but quite the contrary, they drink often and always a great deal. They do this so conspicuously that Fitz-Roy (a):185 noticed "the Fuegians drink only pure water, but often and in large quantities" /cited in English/ (339). The extraordi-

339. What Despard (b):680 asserts, namely, "they drink great quantities of water" /cited in English/, Hyades (f):565 repeats in more detail: "They drink often and much; I have seen them take in considerable quantities of water at one draught" /translated from French/. Wieghardt:36, Martial:194, and others express themselves in a similar vein.

nary quantities of fat which they eat arouse the /573/ desire for frequent drinking. Even "in the course of the meal they went to drink at a nearby spring, or carried the water when they had watertight utensils" /translated from French/ (Martial:194). They also drink when they are not thirsty.

271 This is chiefly the explanation for the fact that every family purposely erects its hut near a brook or rivulet, in order to avoid
• 516 constant running to the spring. Usually each one goes by himself
415 to the little body of water at which he quenches his thirst. Depending on local conditions, he lies down flat on the ground and puts his mouth to the water, sucking it in, or he crouches somewhat sideways close to the edge and scoops up the water in the cup of his hand or with /Fig. 69 appears here/ a large Mytilus shell, or finally, he squats quite close to the small stream, bends his head down low, and sucks the water into his mouth through a hollow bone, ɛ́mbalim (Fig. 69). This tube is nothing more than a long bird bone, the two ends of which are filled against a rough stone until the spongy bone fibers disappear. What is left is still 20 to 35 centimeters long. Almost always the long leg bone of a

/573 cont./

271 cormorant is chosen for it. Some people wear this small tube in
516 front on a braided sinew cord tied around the neck, just as the
445 sponsor puts it on the ulwala /candidate/ at the close of the
[491] initiation ceremonies. Most persons find it more convenient to suck water through this small tube because they squat comfortably in doing so and take in only a thin stream of the sometimes ice-cold water (340).

340. Hahn (c):337 illustrated a man in a squat position drinking through a tube at a brook. This drawing had the caption:

Fig. 69. The Use of the Sucking Tube.

"Choungouggounnis drinking at a stream with a pipe of bone" /translated from French/ (Fig. 69). Wieghardt:37 designates this article as "a kind of tube ready-made from a bone" /translated from Spanish/, and Martial: 194 as "a kind of small pipe made from the foot bone of a cormorant /translated from French/. In place of this bone tube they also, as Hyades (q):341 maintains, use "hollow rush stalks or those of other plants" /translated from French/, but that is only in exceptional cases.

271 /574/ I could not find out anything about special rules for
445 the everyday use of this little tube, and there did not seem to be

/421 cont./

491

> time they have severe nosebleeds, as travelers of the "Beagle" maintained, has not been proved and is completely unknown to me personally.

themselves. The men gather small tree trunks for hut-building and large sticks for firewood. Sometimes they go deep into the woods to hunt for suitable pieces of bark for a new canoe and poles for weapons. In case of an accident or if they lose their canoe, they must cover great distances. They can reach some birds, otters, and seals only on land. The woman, too, is not spared daily errands on foot. By and large, our Yamana are much on their feet throughout the day and are always going hither and yon, over and over again (436). We must admit that their gait

> 436. Hyades (q):213 correctly maintains: "Contrary to what has been said by some authors, the Fueglans walk a great deal, and on the slightest pretext they are continually coming and going in the vicinity of their huts" /translated from French/.

is always light and quick. Even when the ground is soft, they hardly sink in, and in general they leave only very faint footprints. "For example, even when they have lived for a long time in the same place, it is not possible to discover, unless one follows them, the pool where they get drinking water 20 times a day" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q] :213).

•516 The Fueglans do not have stools in their huts or benches in their canoe. They do not like to sit down on an object, say, a stone or tree, with their legs hanging down. Their most comfortable sitting position is to squat on the flat ground. In this case they either rest their buttocks on the ground and have the soles of their feet flat on the ground with the heels touching the buttocks -- usually with one bent knee turned outward -- or the two legs are half-bent at the knees, closed and turned outward, extending immediately in front of the buttocks which rest on the ground, with one leg more or less on top of the other, or finally,

/921 cont./

516 they crouch in such a way that only the two soles are flat on the ground and the buttocks rest on the heels without touching the ground (436). In each of these positions the individual requires

> 436. Hyades (q) on Plates 16, 17, and 18 illustrates the very characteristic way our Fuegians sit and squat on the flat ground.

very little room, which is all the more advantageous since even a large family can be accommodated in a small canoe. Deopend (b):697 has expressed himself somewhat vaguely: "In their hut, as well as canoes, the natives sit upon the heel, with the thigh pressing /922/ close up against the stomach and chest. Thus each individual, packed up in smallest compass, needs little space for his accommodation" /cited in English/. Hyades (q):212 says the same thing in the following words: "Habitually the Fuegians sit in a squatting position which is imposed upon them by their way of life" /translated from French/. They also sleep in this manner, with their legs drawn up. They do not do this, as Hyades (q):212 maintains, merely to take up little room, but, in my opinion, chiefly to protect themselves from getting too cold, for they cover their bodies only lightly so as to get all the radiating heat of the hut fire. When the people squat directly on the ground, they incline the upper part of their bodies forward more or less; women bend far down when they fish from the canoe. No one feels uncomfortable this way, and I never saw anyone, upon arising afterwards, stretch themselves. They do not show a desire to get out of this bent position.

They are somewhat unready when they stand: either their bodies are continually swaying back and forth slightly, or they very inconspicuously move from one leg to the other. It seems as though they cannot hold still long. They can never voluntarily stay in one spot for more than a few minutes. If they are obliged to, they seek to occupy themselves in some way: either they play with stones or poke about among their implements or light a fire, in front of which they can sit for hours without being bored (437). On the whole, the upper part of the body inclines

> 437. Deopend (b):697 confirms this very definitely.

/922 cont./

516 forward a bit when they stand, the feet are not close together but bent inward, and the knees are slightly bent. The arms do not fall down straight along the sides of the body, but in such a way that the hands rest on the front part of their thighs. They do not remain in an upright position for more than a few minutes. If they have a choice, they soon squat on the ground again, because they can rest better that way.

487 Overland routes have been used since ancient times in order to avoid a dangerous coast or a long circuitous route. The best known are three in the territory of the southwestern group, that is, from the lowest point of Tekenika Bay straight south (438),

> 438. This overland route was much used because, if possible, the people avoid circumnavigating False Cape Horn with its strong sea-swell. Moreover, the mission station in Tekenika Bay temporarily afforded a certain attraction.

from the western shore of this inlet southwestward into Bahía Duce, and from the deep inlet of Canal Carfort to Estero Pomonby. When the mission station was located there, the first two routes were used a good deal. Sometimes people left their canoe at the landing place and covered the distance entirely on foot. This is also true of the inlnnus of Caleta Awalakir, due south to the northernmost edge in the western part of Estero Pomonby. I was also told that the two narrow places on the northern half of Peninsula Ross and the narrowest land connections in the middle of /923/ the large Londonderry Island were overland connecting routes. Every family was entitled to use these trails. They were [491] actually corduroy-roads over which one could rather quickly drag the canoe without much effort.

In a few places it is necessary to cross a brook on foot. There are no actual rivers south of Beagle Channel. As a ford, tuwéni, they choose a shallow place in the bed, surrounded by flat, low shores. They make no particular signs, but everyone keeps the place well in mind. They wade through the brook, of course (439).

439. Hyades (p):397, also, writes, "one

/856 cont./

X881 is regarded as the most important law and as a rule of life that is taken for granted. The candidates are given ample opportunity to practice this.

X881 1. Physical Bearing. In the external forms of constraint the
866 Yamana make no distinction between boys and girls; both are affected in the same way. It is well known that each uš̌wā́ala has his place beside his sponsor. In other words, the principal sponsor has the secondary sponsor on one side of him and his protégé on the other (cf. Fig. 83). One of the two sponsors, who alternate, constantly watches over the hḗtakuxḗolan.

X881 Immediately after his reception in the Great Hut, each candi-
● 516 date must assume the customary position (p. 703), squatting on his crossed legs which are bent at the knees at right angles. The
866 upper part of the body leans slightly forward, the head is still more bent, and the eyes look at the ground directly in front of the knees. The arms are crossed over the chest (278). In this

[171] 278. The posture required by the Selk'nam of their candidates in the Great Hut (Vol. I, 1016) is different from the one described here, but they, as well as the Yamana, demand this external constraint with exaggerated strictness.

position everyone shows strained effort. Even if all the other marks of distinction were lacking, a new visitor could immediately differentiate the uš̌wā́ala from the rest of the participants by this compulsory position.

This position, which is uncomfortable enough in itself, is made extraordinarily difficult because one must sit still. The candidate must do so for three hours or more, before he is permitted to move for some specific reason. He may not lean against anything, slump, bend sideways, slide around, unfold his arms, stretch, or lift his eyes and look around inquisitively; he may neither rub nor scratch any part of his body.

X881 The adults intentionally provide each uš̌wā́ala with repeated
866 opportunities to test himself. For instance, they secretly put a small weevil on his naked back, and while the insect is crawling around they observe him closely. Woe to him if he so much as

/908 cont./

is why almost all the adults can recall without a gap the exhortations that they received when they were candidates. Compare the examples given above on page 724.

Their own desire is directed toward undisturbed self-reflection which is possible only through an enduring silence. Long conversations in the čiéxaus hut are not permitted. One may say whatever is necessary, but always briefly and in a low voice. This is done in such a way that it hardly seems as though a person is requesting something of another or asking his neighbor for something. Persons who are sitting farther /909/ apart resort to unobtrusive signs. The čiéxaus hut is not the place to have a heart-to-heart talk or to chat. Nevertheless, since olden times it has been regarded as proper for related persons or friends to visit with each other, and during the first few days most of those present take advantage of this freedom. One person will leave his place and sit beside the person with whom he wishes to talk. He chats inconspicuously and in a very low voice, afterwards creeping back to his place. The hours just before and after the noon hour are chosen for these visits, but the conversation is usually terminated after a brief hour.

A person addressed by an outsider sometimes lets him know how annoyed he is to have been torn from meditation. He will answer briefly without relaxing his attitude of concentration. To begin with everyone is careful never to approach a person unless it is absolutely necessary. The late afternoon hours until shortly before the nocturnal dances and games are a period of especially serious concentration. This is also the time for the instruction of the candidates, during which the adults, without exception, are very quiet. During the forenoon when the uswala are sometimes practicing outside the Great Hut or are busy getting food, one or another of the old people will devote himself to some minor manual occupation, and some of the women will occasionally look after things in their dwellings. Inside, however, the same calm prevails as during the afternoon, and anyone meditatively pursuing his own thoughts will not be disturbed.

As for the candidates, they are expected not to move at all (p. 707). Even the adults, however, maintain an almost motionless

/909 cont./

X881 posture. Everyone stays in the seat he chose for himself at the
S77 beginning, where he remains quietly and stiffly, avoids all un-
516 necessary movement, and almost continuously stares into space in front of him. He does not turn his head in all directions nor does he move his whole body back and forth. Even at night when the dances are going on, no matter whether a single person is moving about or several at a time, some persons continue to concentrate in their squatting position and do not even lift their eyes. A person who is doing some urgent manual work avoids making any kind of noise or noticeable movement. If someone would disturb his neighbors by making something, he must leave the čiēxaus hut to do it. The individual has every right to expect that his reflections will not be disturbed in any way by other participants. Everyone is concerned about this even before the start of the affair.

X881 With the same purpose in mind, the leader gives his in-
S77 structions to individual adults only in brief, unobtrusive words or
201 solely by means of signs. All of them are very good at this and there is no misunderstanding. The sponsors communicate with their protégés in the same way; even outside the Great Hut, in the chores and exercises, they limit themselves to only the most necessary words. A /910/ stranger can hardly believe how many thoughts, wishes, and directions these children of nature reliably communicate to one another by means of inconspicuous signs.

X881 2. Sleeping. In other respects, too, the adults quite no-
S77 ticeably restrain themselves by giving in very little or not at all
513 to comfort. In his own dwelling, as we know, everyone stretches out on his bed as he pleases, rolls from one side to another, and exuberantly extends his limbs in all directions. Here in the čiēxaus hut, however, a person does not dare behave in even a slightly relaxed fashion. If an old person now and then becomes very tired, he lies down, curls up, and remains motionless. He is gladly permitted a brief rest. Younger people must remain upright during the day.

Our Yamana are unfamiliar with the pressure of a schedule because they are dominated primarily by the mood of the moment. The entire group of participants does not get to sleep until

X 595 293

/1352 cont./

one of these little sticks in each hand. He grasps it in his closed fist which rests on the ground. Afterwards he inserts the sticks into the hut wall where they are kept until used again. The sponsor often rubs them with dry imi powder (Fig. 97) (300).

Fig. 97. Kina Sticks.

300. These two short little sticks have their counterpart in the longer dance staff which each participant of the youth initiation holds in his hand (p. 713).

X 595 516 785

If it has not been possible to fetch the selected candidates to the Great Hut on the first day, they are all brought there the second day after the start of the celebration. Here they immediately meet a "spirit," followed by the first important explanations (p. 1235). The candidates are usually given seats opposite the wide entrance. When they have recovered from their terrible fright and calmed down somewhat after the first spirit appearance, each of the sponsors shows his protégé the unnatural position of the body which he is more or less strictly obliged to maintain throughout the entire affair. A piece of leather is spread out over the litter of grass and the ufwala crouches on it with his legs under him, the upper part of his body bent slightly forward, his arms folded on his chest, and his eyes fixed on the ground. He is supposed to remain this way as motionless as possible /1353/ and, of course, absolutely silent, paying no attention to the others. He may neither laugh out loud nor manifest his satisfaction over the jolly doings of the men, neither lean against the hut wall nor relax in a slouch, neither scratch any part of his body nor repulse annoying insects. He must also endure,

/1353 cont./

X 575 516 785

without moving, the discomfort of a strong draft or smoke from the hut fire. It is only when the fire temporarily gives off too much heat that the sponsor builds a low protective screen of twigs and brush between the candidate and the fire. During the first few days the ułwfala observe these requirements with painstaking exactness, but after that neither the sponsor nor the leader prevents them from raising their eyes and looking directly at the various spirit appearances or even smiling when the men laugh about some successful deception. The initial strictness is considerably relaxed, and finally the individual makes himself quite comfortable. He is never given the complete freedom of movement which the other participants enjoy, however. After a few days an ułwfala may slip into a negligent posture and let his eyes roam about practically unrestrained, but in any case he must constantly remain crouched in his place.

X 575 785

While some of the men stretch out comfortably in their sleeping places during the day, the candidate must remain upright. The program itself curtails his sleep at night, for when the spirit appearances have ended and the men have ceased their subsequent conversation, midnight is usually already past. It is only after the rest of the men have wrapped themselves in their blankets and deep silence has descended on the Great Hut -- which is supposed to announce to the women outside that all the spirits have departed -- that each sponsor gives his protégé permission in so many words to go to sleep. The ułwfala may stretch out and make himself comfortable insofar as the limited space in the Great Hut permits. But as soon as the gray dawn appears in the eastern sky, he is again awakened by a call or an unmerciful nudge from his sponsor. Immediately the candidate sits up and takes the required position. He rubs his sleepy eyes with his hand and hastily arranges his hair. This completes his morning toilet. The constant curtailment of sleep makes the candidate weary and weak.

The short daily rations also contribute to this weakness. The ułwfala is never permitted free access to the meat which on some days is brought into the Great Hut in excess. The sponsor himself always gives it to him as he sees fit. As a rule he gives him /1354/ a larger piece of meat in the morning or about 20

/1405 cont./

X756 during the entire time that they remain in the hut. To paint
302 themselves, each one scrapes fine powder from a lump of lime or clay with his incisors and mixes it with saliva by chewing it. He spits this on the palm of his hand and rubs it over his whole body. Before the mixture dries another man helps him complete the design. This man puts his fingertips close together and with his nails scratches vertical grooves into the pigment from the forehead to the ankles, that is, down the whole length of the body. These grooves later give the impression of dark lines that have been drawn in the pigment. Some men do not bother to use more than one finger to scratch in several grooves. On some days the leader also reaches for ímí powder, a signal that all the participants are likewise to paint themselves red and to put the many lines on his background. Some of the men merely rub the white or red powder into the hair; most of them smear a good deal of the sticky tumarápu on their heads. Everyone ties the apawéna around his forehead, the feather ornament reserved exclusively for the yékamuš, not the strip of skin with down feathers known as lapaxél (p. 719). Everyone renews this body painting every day usually in the afternoon when they all do it at once. The persons who are in the hut as helpers or spectators and all the women yékamuš must paint their faces and the upper part of their bodies white. They must also draw a finger-thick red line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. No one may remain in the lóima house without being painted.

X756 Each actual participant is assigned a definite seat at the
785 very beginning of the celebration. The seats are divided off
185 on either side by a short stick. Everyone stretches his legs out
●516 in front of him; his upright torso is pressed so close to the hut framework that the back of his head touches it. Behind their necks they place a short, thick piece of soft, fungus-like wood known as lalalakíma, as though it were a pillow. The neck presses it against the hut wall and thus it remains in position. Everyone must remain seated, stiff and motionless. His arms fall loosely on either side of his body. In the long run this position is a great strain and becomes indescribable agony. A person is permitted, however, to draw his feet up to his rump in a squatting position; in exceptional cases he may also sit for a

X756 /1405 cont./
785 time with his legs crossed under him, at the same time holding
516 his arms crossed over his chest. The impression that the circle of motionless, painted white figures made upon me was indescribably strange.

X756 It has been mentioned several times that very little sleep
785 is permitted for the participants, and it comes during the four or
513 five /1406/ hours before daybreak. As ancient custom recommends, the qualified yĕkamuš sleep in the sitting position described above. Some of them draw their legs up slightly and slide back a little so that the bent back touches the hut wall while the neck still holds up the piece of wood. A person who can no longer do this may lie on one side and stretch his legs a bit, but he absolutely must have the piece of wood under his neck. The yefačel live in the old trees from which this šalalakina wood is taken; thus, the person who keeps the piece of wood behind his neck retains his yefačel-xĕola even during sleep. The posture indicated induces many lively dreams during sleep. The sensitivity and irritability of the nerves are increased to the limit by the fact that, after the strain of the uncomfortable sitting position, even sleep at night is considerably curtailed; this is the goal sought by this means and by the limited diet and prolonged silence.

X756 According to Yamana belief, a full-fledged yĕkamuš merely seems to have the same type of body as the ordinary human
827 being (p. 1308). The transformation of the body begins here in the lōima-yĕkamuš for those uśwałéxamuš who have experienced a real call. First the entire face is affected. After the medicine-man school has continued for a few days each apprentice, according to instructions given by experienced yĕkamuš, begins the following process which he may not interrupt. He takes a ball of fine wood shavings from the lemon-yellow wood of Berberis ilicifolia (it is known as čílĕr), dips it into the white tumarapu powder and rubs his cheeks with it. For about half an hour his hand moves slowly with scarcely perceptible pressure; then he stops for the same length of time and begins anew. Each apprentice carries on these motions by himself; he does it for a shorter or longer time, but he must continue the process all day long. Its purpose is to make a new, softer, more delicate skin appear in place of his actual skin. When, after continuous

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

415 322 tangular piece was cut for the sides and a circular piece for the bottom of the bucket. Narrow strips of whalebone were then scraped thin and pliable, and the bottom and sides were sewn tightly together (fig. 56, *b*). Around the inside of the lip a strip

[283 516]

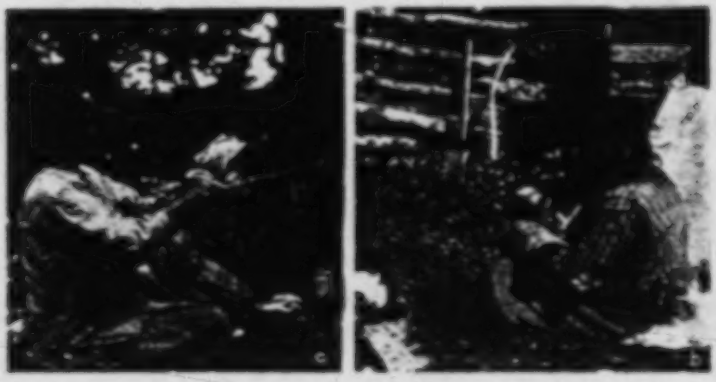


FIG. 56.—Yahgan women. *a*, Rope-making; *b*, Making a bark bucket.

of wood—*leña dura*, Winter's bark, or barberry—was introduced to give additional strength and to prevent the bark from splitting. Finally a hide thong was attached to serve as a handle, and the whole outside was painted red.

415 In general the Yahgan buckets are taller in proportion to their width than those of the Alacaluf. The Alacaluf seem to have been better craftsmen than the Yahgan, hence their buckets are usually more neatly finished.

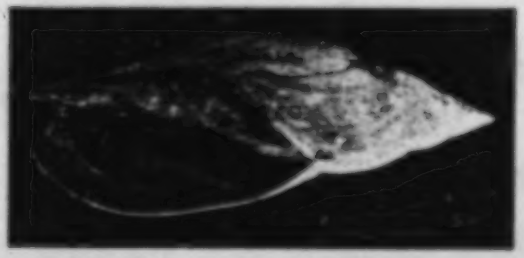


FIG. 57.—Yahgan shell cup. Length, 6¼ in. (14/2372)

8. CUP.—A Yahgan refinement over the Ona is the use of a shell cup (*aufión*). As seen in fig. 57, this is nothing more elaborate than a simple shell, its shape in no way modified. Such a receptacle could be used to dip water from a bark bucket, but would have been of little service in removing water from the Ona skin water-bag.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche
Yahgan SH6

291
411
516
H2

Plate 3b.—Yahgan [illegible]. Tehuelche [illegible]. [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible], pl. 1.)

[p. 160 D]

/387 cont./

372 openings in the top prevented it from escaping easily. The entire
342 structure was well insulated, for it was meant to offer special protection against the rigors of the climate. Since it was built in the damp western part where dry firewood was not available in large quantities, the Indians managed by constantly carrying green wood into the hut and piling it up. In a few days it was dry and only then was used for burning. Even a supply of tussock grass
[513] (Poa flabellata) was kept on hand, for this litter for the bed had to be renewed at least every two weeks.

251 The men supplied the necessary food for their families on communal hunting expeditions which were usually so successful that a good share of the booty could be stored away for a few days. This helped in periods when the hunt was seriously hindered by continuous stormy weather. They were anxiously concerned about having an abundant supply of meat always on hand, if not perhaps a whale /388/ lying on the shore. Otherwise the gathering of many people in the same place in a securely built hut would not only be pointless, but even dangerous. Inevitably the inhabitants frightened the game farther and farther away from the dwelling, which made hunting increasingly difficult. Then only ample stores kept off the threatening specter of hunger.

342 A hut for several families was occupied only in winter.
362 Wanderlust was too strong to detain a family in one spot any length of time for other reasons. The people who built a com-
221 munal hut would perhaps come back to it for a second winter, but not after that, for the game supply had been exhausted over a wide area, and they themselves were kept away by the boredom of sitting still. The arrangement described here might be referred to as the "winter hut." Near it a vast of winter supply was piled up. The very safe shelter provided somewhat comfortable living
[517] conditions, and during the long periods of inactivity together, favorite myths and legends were repeated, or the people told each other stories of their own experiences and Hámma stories. Communal huts were not built in the east, and the reason is simple: weather and hunting conditions were much more favorable there.

After a few families have settled in the so-called multiple-
342 family hut, they not infrequently erect another building directly
513 beside it for the half-grown children, and this is appropriately known as the "children's hut." It resembles the first hut in shape

/390 cont./

361 many huts beside a dead sea monster create the illusion of a village. Since there is plenty of meat and fat, a number of families can settle down together without hindrance. If during this time someone must obtain some vital necessity, he departs for a few days, but leaves his hut standing and occupies it again upon his return. There is no food supply more abundant and convenient than a stranded whale. At the same time the gathering of many [571] families satisfies the need for sociability, and the people can give themselves up to it all the more undisturbed the longer they are free from worry about the necessities of life. Naturally the large number of people and their freedom from the food quest suggest stimulating diversion, and this is offered principally by the ciexaus and the accompanying kina. In comparison with these protracted events, fewer families gather together for funeral rites, and they remain in one place a much shorter time, often only a day or two.

No matter what brings families together, they always preserve their independence. Groups of relatives and friends erect their huts closer together, but there is always a space of a few steps between them. In spite of intimacy with neighbors, everyone strives for at least a small space between dwellings. The /391/ distribution of huts in such a camp is very irregular, because each individual makes his arrangements for his own greatest convenience. He first selects for his dwelling a dry spot and the protection of a rock or a group of trees. Drinking water must be not too far away. Whoever is first to appear on the scene has a greater freedom of selection, and the stragglers are content to take the places that have been left vacant. No one has a right and would not presume to exercise any kind of influence on the distribution of the huts. A person who wishes to leave the settlement can depart or return unhindered, just as he likes. On such an occasion two or at most three families may share a single hut if they are close to each other, such as brothers and sisters or true friends, but such exceptions are rare. In that case they build the ordinary dome-shaped family-hut in larger proportions, not the so-called winter hut (p. 33).

572 Everyone, of course, is completely free to dispose of his
517 time as he sees fit. The greater part of the day is spent in talk and conversation. During the long evenings they like to recite the old legends and tell of their own experiences. One often sees the men

/391 cont./

572 517 busy making implements, such as the large, bone harpoon points which take a long time. Women and girls devote themselves to their trinkets or weave baskets. Primarily everyone passes the time in uninhibited, protracted inactivity, unless a major enterprise is under way, which requires a definite program for the day.

364 An aggregation of many people for weeks at a time is unavoidably accompanied by considerable uncleanliness around them. In general the Yamana do not have any particular feeling for cleanliness, and in this respect they are more backward than the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 223). The consequences are not very noticeable when a single family stops somewhere for a day and then travels on, but they are different in an encampment of many people. Walking back and forth makes the earth muddy and boggy. Refuse from meals decays and contaminates the surroundings. The air inside the huts becomes increasingly musty and oppressive. True, the cleansing and purifying rain often intercedes, but it does not improve matters much. Giving way before the heaped-up refuse, individual families temporarily depart and relinquish the dwelling and its environs to the purifying influence of natural forces.

We can now understand the brief descriptions by a few European travelers depicting an encampment of many Indians near a stranded whale, the total picture of which evoked unpleasant, even disgusting impressions (49). The way they eat and their

49. In earlier travel accounts there are, unfortunately, no detailed reports about the encampments of many families. This is because there were few occasions for them, and the same is true at the present time.

unkempt appearance are in themselves repulsive. /392/ Over all this hang the thick, heavy fumes of blubber. A person not accustomed to it from childhood is bound to become nauseated (50) if

50. One should recall the work centers of whale fishermen in several places along the Chilean and Argentine coast, which contaminate the air far and wide with unpleasant odors.

X881 /842 cont./
867

Naturally, the person who does this only knows them well, but can also tell them in a lively way.

a well-meaning instructor earnestly recommended to each of them at the time of their candidacy, and finally once again to search their consciences thoroughly on the subject of what constitutes a "good and useful Yamana." Our Fuegians have a natural tendency X881 toward speculative and searching meditation about their own egos. 517 /843/ In this respect they far surpass the neighboring Selk'nam. This tendency is greatly fostered by the long silences in the Great Hut, during which everyone is left to himself. Even if the many games and stories, which make allowance for every social need, were omitted, our Indians would gladly come to this affair solely for the satisfaction they find in deep meditation during the Xálexam.

X881 The following account of the adult program should be evaluated in the light of these particular considerations. It also clearly shows the springs tapped by every Yamana so that he will not become spiritually impoverished and lose his strong inner support. The Yamana do not, of course, put all of these things into words. It is only from close and prolonged observation of their conduct that I have recognized the various details and the basic characteristics of their nature.

At the present time the procedure of the initiation varies and changes from day to day, just as it did formerly. Nevertheless it does not seem superfluous to present exactly, on the basis of at least one such affair, the events and occurrences of each day. A brief reference to the procedure of the Xálexam celebration in March, 1922, will follow this long discussion.

I. The Adult Assembly

Following the example of the man who has been chosen as leader of the initiation, the individual families also move to the site agreed upon. Each family builds its own hut or two families will agree on a common hut. Meanwhile many hands toil at building and furnishing the Great Hut. Each adult readies his forehead decoration and his dance staff, both of which must always

/1460 cont./

193 The suffix added to the genitive, however, also occurs as objective case. The adjective changes in value by its mere position: if it precedes, it is /1461/ attributive; if it follows, it is predicative. The pronoun has a uniform root, but in form it differentiates verbal and personal, possessive and subjective. The diversity of all pronouns is surprisingly great, especially because designations of place are expressed in horizontal and vertical relationships and because the qualification "toward" as a prefix and "away from" as a suffix are joined with a single word (363).

> 363. It would lead too far afield to give examples of this; a good selection of them may be found in Hestermann (b), Bridges (k):235, and even more in Hyades (q):280.

The verb can be constructed from a nominal basis by numerous suffixes. Verbs can also be compounded and stand as coordinates. There are four conjugations according to the four different final vowels. The place variation of the noun as described above also extends in every respect to the entire verb. There are at least six different forms of verbal negation. As Hestermann declares, "the inflections briefly alluded to here, along with those affecting the noun, form a veritably inexhaustible phenomenon distinguished by consummate brevity of form as well as sensitive elegance. Yamana is a melodious type of Indian language, terse, rich, precise, and full of meaning." If, in this study, I
197 have several times mentioned dialect differences (p. 200 /untranslated/), I certainly did not mean substantial deviations between one group and another, but merely slight differences in words and appellations for the same thing, as well as in some sounds. These insignificant local peculiarities obviously do not constitute dialects in the strict sense of the word.

c. Artistic Sense

•517 All the thoughts and endeavors of our water nomads on Cape Horn are directed toward the inescapable food quest; it almost completely absorbs the individual. Whatever remains of leisure

/1461 cont./

517 time and unspent energy is devoted to rest or modest social demands. The Yamana do have a feeling for beauty and an understanding of proportion, but the conditions of life are not conducive to a rich development of these tendencies. The Yamana does not receive much stimulation for aesthetic enjoyment or artistic activity from his environment, which is clothed in dull colors and presents wildly chaotic forms. A desire for them emerges now and then from his innermost nature, however, and actually expresses itself within modest limits in one way or another.

1. Sense of Beauty

832 On some occasions our Fueguians indisputably demonstrate their well-developed sense for physical beauty. They prefer a slim, mobile, well proportioned, moderately tall figure, /1462/ full of healthy energy. Such a figure is particularly impressive to youthful representatives of the opposite sex, who quite openly speak about it in company. Marriageable boys and girls are sometimes considerably influenced and affected by the physical form of the person of their choice (p.399). /Fig. 101 appears here./

[856] Parents and close relatives are anxious that a baby develop a beautiful figure from its earliest years. This is the chief purpose of a kind of light massage (p.525), although this alone does not always guarantee success. It is said that a particularly attractive and graceful baby usually changes to the opposite and horrible ugly, whereas often a less beautiful child becomes very well formed after a few years. In the eyes of our Fueguians body hair

302 is unpleasant; hence they pluck out underarm and pubic hair, as well as beard hair (p. 82). For this purpose they like to use two mussel shells that fit together like a pair of pincers. Some people take great pains with the hair, oiling it with blubber and combing it several times a day (p. 85). Most of them have it shortened in due time, so that it hangs about shoulder-level (p.91); it is not gathered into braids. When, in exceptional cases, some men have their head hair cut off before a fight, it is because they wish to prevent their opponents from grabbing their hair and pulling them

832 by it. A European also finds the same satisfaction in the figures

/1462 cont./

832 that are regarded as beautiful among the Yamana; Spegazzini (a):165 refers to this specifically. The various types of ornaments are supposed to increase the allure of physical beauty. The impulse for this sort of thing /1463/ varies according to the person, his age and sex, but coincides almost exactly with what one observes in Europe under the same circumstances.

[285 415]

Fig. 101. A Well-made Little Basket.

• 517 In making implements and utensils, weapons and ornaments, everyone tries to achieve a certain degree of symmetry, solely because it is agreeable to his eye and feelings. There are even special designations for persons who make certain things perfectly and according to the rules of good workmanship. Some of these expressions are based merely on considerations of usefulness. They use the word wÉlÉpÉtas, "clever, expert, careful in cutting up a

/1463 cont./

•517 whale," /cited in English/, according to BD:630, or wálina for a man who makes a good canoe. People who make a small basket or an ornament with particular care are known far and wide, and the accurate construction of such things is talked about by others because it gives them satisfaction and true enjoyment. One often hears expressions like the following: "What a pretty thing! -- How good-looking that is! -- The workmanship is very accurate and shapely!..." Everyone praises the effort made by an artisan. When they see a perfect specimen, old people encourage the young ones to imitate it. Any kind of praise is gratifying to the Yamana, and he makes an effort to obtain it. Beyond that, however, he also finds particular pleasure in the qualities of the beautiful object. A European, if he wants to be fair in his judgment, must take into consideration the difficulties that hamper the Yamana in the making and fashioning of his implements. For example, he does not have the use of metal tools and measuring instruments, but is dependent solely on his hardened, not very limber fingers and upon the measurements of his eye. For this reason, obviously, the various rows in a little basket (Fig. 101) or an ornament and the lines in a painting are never absolutely perfect. The indolence and the carelessness of persons who do not want to take pains and trouble are, of course, also reasons for many an inadequate piece of work.

The Yamana enhance the beauty of certain objects and their
531 own bodies by means of painting. They use the well-known ma-
302 terials (p. 90) for the three colors that are the only ones applied:
302 lúi = red, scarlet; yégu = light, luminous, white; finally, lémbi = black. The pigments are either rubbed to a dry powder or first mixed with water or blubber in a large Mytilus shell (Fig. 102) to form a thick paste and then applied with the finger or with a painting stick (pp. 95 , 112 , 190). Designations for other tones of color are not altogether lacking, but are seldom used. For instance, one says lakíma, "gray," only for human hair and for fur, whereas the word pówaigu is used for the gray, faded, and pale color of any other object. Light red or a reddish yellow is designated by píami. There is no particular significance attached to any of these colors (p. 94) (364), although one or

364. Martin: 188 and Spegazzini (a):170

/1474/ 2. Amusements

•517 524 The way the children play when several families camp in the same spot for a few days has been described (p.576). The way they tease each other in true childish fashion is shown, for example, by the use of Adenocystis alga (Fig. 80, p.598) with which wily boys surprise unsuspecting girls. Smaller as well as larger children have a great deal of fun with the swing (p.585); concerning even middle-aged persons, Bridges maintains that "the swing also they are very fond of" /cited in English/ (VSA: XII, 55,1863). The adults, too, take advantage of being together for mutual diversion and general entertainment (372).

372. Bridges (k):240 says in a very general way: "Their principal amusements are wrestling, playing with a ball, and practicing with spears, arrows, slings, and sunset" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (s):209, Outes (g):53, Spegazzini (a):170, Whaits in MM:X, 12,1876, and others speak of dances. These reports and the few expressions in SD are, unfortunately, incomplete. Bridges (s):209 maintained that "most of their amusements are very childish" /cited in English/; these words alone show plainly how little he understood the characteristics of these Indians.

526 The popular ball-game does not require special preparation. Anyone may call the people out of the huts to a smooth, grassy area where they form a large circle. The ball, kilaka, the size of a fist, is made of the web of the albatross, first blown up to dry, stuffed with down feathers, and finally sewn up. It is tossed up perpendicularly with the flat palm of the hand; when it returns, another player must again toss it into the air and make sure that it ascends as vertically as possible. Otherwise, it usually falls to the ground outside the circle of players, which is supposed to be avoided. Lawrence, along with Bridges (l):16, declares: "The Indians are very fond of playing at ball" /cited in English/ (MM: VI,138,1872), which they call kilaka ‿ yako. This is almost the

[illegible] AND [illegible]

519 A great deal of Yahgan recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play relieving tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

296 Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating
[illegible] beverages were made or used by the Yahgan before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of bodies and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 14). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the Yahgan and their neighbors, the Alacaluf and Ona.

526 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at
[illegible] stone throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity.

Those were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillsides, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tonsilive, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tonsilive" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were common accompaniments of children's group play.

[illegible] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or
526 grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Among the Yahgan, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Ona. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will soon abandoned the undesired husband. In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 206) a man might have from one to four wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by custom.

Infidelity resulted in no fixed form of punishment, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yahgan man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his amours, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him.

Children

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted orphans set down in the mission records, the Yahgan did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon put an end to them or drove them under cover.

Soon after birth had taken place the Yahgan mother bathed in the sea and the new-born child was also immersed in order to toughen it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° to 50° Fahrenheit, while the air at best could be described as no warmer than temperate. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that soon after birth all but the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly eliminated.

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see incipient couvade.

Games and Amusements

The Yahgan to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much care and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling, and stones; but while these exercises often assumed the form of

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

517 sport, the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive. 526 Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport, 857 so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kahleka*, another between two groups known as *ungiana*.

524 Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball-game 851 like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

533 Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (op. cit., p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *loima*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *telania*, are songs of mourning; the *arua* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jucos* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the 535 dances are called *uona*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

526 The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

578 In general the Yahgan were not an amicable people, according to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble 628 usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to aid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General mêlées, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges sponsors the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

628 The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1884, p. 224.

/659 cont./

606 In spite of these prohibitions, and precisely because of the prevailing obligations, the two parties must associate in an indirect and roundabout way. For about a year after her marriage, the daughter-in-law may exchange a few necessary words with her mother-in-law; the son-in-law for the rest of his life refrains from any direct conversation with his father-in-law. We have just spoken of this. It is the daughter who intercedes for her husband with her father, or the son who does so with his parents for his wife. The corresponding brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law also serve as mediators.

In a concrete situation, social intercourse runs as follows. /660/ When the son-in-law becomes aware that his father-in-law is approaching him and his family, he sends his wife out to meet him and has her say: "My husband sends me, he invites you into our hut!" Pleased over this, her own father replies: "Thank you very much, but I was about to build my own hut!" He decides to do this in order not to embarrass his son-in-law, for the latter would have to remain silent, sit apart at meals, and humble himself constantly, which would spoil the visit for him. Hence, in order to save him any embarrassment and unpleasantness, the father-in-law builds his own hut nearby, and he is assisted by his daughter. When the building is nearly finished, she returns to her own hut and addresses her husband in a voice that all can hear: "I invited your father-in-law to stay with us, but he prefers to live in a hut of his own. He thanks you!" Then her husband speaks in a loud voice so that the father-in-law can hear it: "I am very sorry that my father-in-law is not coming to my hut!" In this delicate way he expresses the fact that he is glad to be at the disposal of his father-in-law. While the latter is in the vicinity, his own daughter visits him repeatedly; the son-in-law himself appears in the father-in-law's hut only once or twice and inquires about the possible needs of his father-in-law from his own wife.

521 203 606 As a substitute for direct conversation, which is not permitted, they manage in their own way. As soon as it is quiet outside, the son-in-law, in a loud voice and without addressing anyone, tells what he has recently experienced, observed, and learned, especially things which are worth knowing for his parents-in-law. The latter hear each word and are kept up-to-date.

/660 cont./

521 606 On the other hand, the father-in-law, squatting before his hut fire, talks as though to himself, but so that it can be heard all around, saying what he wants his son-in-law to know. He also gives actual instructions to him in this manner or in similar roundabout ways. For example, if his son-in-law enters his hut, he neither greets him, looks up, nor says a word, but silently stays in some dark corner. If they are both alone and no one can mediate between them, the old man expresses his wishes, not by direct address, but as though he were talking to himself: "I left my knife lying on the beach!" Or he says: "Outside on the tree branch there hangs a penguin that I should like to roast, I'm hungry!" Or he might say: "I killed a sea lion this morning. It is a large animal. I am an old man, and I could not drag it to the canoe; I left it lying out there on the rock." Or, finally: "The wood for my hut fire is almost used up; if only someone would provide me with fresh firewood!" The son-in-law understands such statements; they are requests of his father-in-law, which he carries out without objection.

606 /661/ Such strange reserve on the part of the son-in-law and daughter-in-law and their association with their parents-in-law in the oddly indirect way through their respective children or through a brother-in-law or sister-in-law are expressions of veneration and respect for the old people. They say: "The parents-in-law are worthy of veneration, therefore children-in-law may not conduct themselves conspicuously in their presence nor exchange a word with them (42)!" The parents-in-law are held in the same

42. "Sons-in-law and daughters-in-law treat with considerable deference their fathers and mothers-in-law" /cited in English/, according to Bridges (a):202.

esteem as own parents; the fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law of a married couple regard each other as brothers and sisters. Hence the children-in-law fulfill all the duties that they owe their own parents. They give them presents very often and do all kinds of work for them: they bring wood for the hut fire, grass for the sleeping place, drinking water and food, rushes for braiding baskets,

/908 cont./

X881 577 is why almost all the adults can recall without a gap the exhortations that they received when they were candidates. Compare the examples given above on page 724.

X881 577 524 Their own desire is directed toward undisturbed self-reflection which is possible only through an enduring silence. Long conversations in the ~~[illegible]~~ hut are not permitted. One may say whatever is necessary, but always briefly and in a low voice. This is done in such a way that it hardly seems as though a person is requesting something of another or asking his neighbor for something. Persons who are sitting farther /909/ apart resort to [341] unobtrusive signs. The ~~[illegible]~~ hut is not the place to have a heart-to-heart talk or to chat. Nevertheless, since olden times it has been regarded as proper for related persons or friends to visit with each other, and during the first few days most of those present take advantage of this freedom. One person will leave his place and sit beside the person with whom he wishes to talk. He chats inconspicuously and in a very low voice, afterwards creeping back to his place. The hours just before and after the noon hour are chosen for these visits, but the conversation is usually terminated after a brief hour.

A person addressed by an outsider sometimes lets him know how annoyed he is to have been torn from meditation. He will answer briefly without relaxing his attitude of concentration. To begin with everyone is careful never to approach a person unless it is absolutely necessary. The late afternoon hours until shortly X881 before the nocturnal dances and games are a period of especially 577 serious concentration. This is also the time for the instruction of the candidates, during which the adults, without exception, are very quiet. During the forenoon when the ~~[illegible]~~ are sometimes practicing outside the Great Hut or are busy getting food, one or another of the old people will devote himself to some minor manual occupation, and some of the women will occasionally look after things in their dwellings. Inside, however, the same calm prevails as during the afternoon, and anyone meditatively pursuing his own thoughts will not be disturbed.

X881 As for the candidates, they are expected not to move at all 577 (p. 707). Even the adults, however, maintain an almost motionless 516

/1014 cont./

576 the burdensome itch caused by lice. When they are not doing
575 that, they habitually pick their noses with their thick fingers, and with the flat of the hand they wipe off the phlegm from their noses and smear it on the ground or on the wall of the hut. In all these things our Yamana resemble the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 465), but the latter are in general cleaner than the Yamana. Every European is considerably repulsed by their offensive behavior which is so far removed from our rules of decency.

We must also briefly describe how conversation generally
574 takes place during ordinary visits. A person who has entered a
573 hut as a guest crouches silently by the fire for a while. He does not look about inquisitively nor make conspicuous movements (p. 914). Finally he manages to say a few words in a low voice and leads into unimportant matters. Presently he describes his canoe trip and his experiences with the weather during the last few days. If he happens to have had an exciting hunt, he takes particular pleasure in describing it in minute detail. Meanwhile he works himself into quite a lively state. After that he goes on excitedly and from /1015/ one experience to another, to the satisfaction of those present, and he stops only after many hours. No one dares interrupt him; no one would show boredom, no matter how much he felt it. No matter how great the suspense of those present about a certain incident experienced by the guest, no one would ask specific questions if the guest himself did not get around to telling about it. They do not want to annoy him in any way or to show inquisitiveness by a direct inquiry. The guest ends his tale when he feels like it; no one may presume to ask him to stop because of the late hour. Sometimes a long report is given by a talkative old man, which the company in the circle has heard more than once, but since memories concerning unwritten laws and ancient custom are always interwoven with it, such a story does not fail to have educational value for young people and does a great deal of good.

Frequently an account first given by a man alone develops
572 into a real discussion, but there is never a loud confusion of voices or a disorderly hubbub because the younger people hold back their remarks in favor of their elders and by no means interrupt them. If women are present and something is discussed that concerns them, too, they may of course express their opinions within limits.

/1021 cont./

57/ a few go back to the clearly recognizable tendency toward gregariousness. It not only draws individual families together often, but keeps them together until urgent duties once more separate them. If two canoes meet, one can /1022/ almost always rely on their 57/ steering toward the nearest landing place and building their huts 52/ next to each other there. Then they sit huddled together hour after hour and talk to their heart's content. "They are extraordinarily fond of long talks and stories; a good part of the day is filled in this way" (Aspinall:270). Some hut will have a special attraction for all who are camping in the same place, without any particular reason. Even before darkness has fallen, one person after another will inconspicuously steal toward it and squat down beside the fire. Everyone feels content in such a circle of intimate friends, and the conversation fills long hours. Bridges (VSA:XII, 7; 1865) says: "They are certainly much given to talk, and when seated before a good fire, engaged in conversation, they seem most happy. When they are cheerfully inclined, they are much given to immoderate laughter, but when sulkily inclined, it is difficult to restore them to cheerfulness" /cited in English/(441).

441. Of the 12 Yamana who at that time were staying on Isla Keppel, Bridges (VSA:XII, 9; 1865) reported on September 16, 1864: "The natives are certainly of a social turn; of evenings they generally meet in one house or another, and spend their time in conversation and merriment" /cited in English/. Reports of other missionaries confirm that in the mission, also, families of all areas lived together amicably.

52/ Minor happenings and the sometimes wholly insignificant details of a day are the subject for conversation; they are by no means as completely insignificant and meaningless for the Fuegians as for a European passing through. J. Rau (VSA:XI, 291;1864) referred to this in his remarks on August 1, 1864: "Often I wondered myself about their long conversations which they keep up when they are by themselves; several times I thought what they were talking about. Once I listened, and I found they were talking about a subject of which others take not the slightest notice. For

/1022 cont./

•52 instance, one told to the others in an evening, how he had seen, during the daytime a fanirook, a black bird, passing down a sloping hill, step by step; the bird looked round about, then at once it commenced to shake its feathers and flew off, about which they burst out into a loud laugh. Another began to tell what he had seen strange, when he was out on horseback, and the third what he had seen when he drove the cattle home" /cited in English/.

52 203 Meanwhile everyone rests comfortably, and anyone who feels like eating is immediately served by the mistress of the hut. None of those present knows when there will be another opportunity for a comfortable time together. On its trips each family usually spends only one or two nights in the same place. If entertaining fellow-tribesmen offer them company on an evening, they take advantage of it until long after midnight, and yet early the following morning they are ready to travel on. The ample, unconstrained exchange offers the incalculable advantage of keeping the individual members of the tribe from far and near in close touch and of laying bare everyone's actions. In this way all their /1023/, traditions are kept alive and transmitted, and any deviation from ancient custom can be prevented if it should become noticeable in any way.

52a [171] Finally we must mention a custom that is practiced by the Yamana exactly as it is among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 471), a diverting, half-serious, half-humorous talk contest between two people from different regions who have met in a hut. One of them will intentionally challenge his opponent with jokes and banter by praising the virtues of his own home and the capability of his own local group. Soon the other interrupts him with laudatory remarks about his region, his relatives and friends, the habits and qualifications of his group. The verbal exchange goes back and forth and is attentively listened to by all present. Finally when the two opponents have exhausted their repartee and their wittiness, they resort to mild insults and definite accusations. Now one tries to outdo the other in this without letting it become obvious that he feels hurt. At the dangerous moment, however, the bystanders, who unerringly recognize it, break off the talk contest between the two with very loud applause, thus preventing an unfortunate outcome of the initially

/1471 cont./

1. Gatherings

571 From previous accounts the Yamana is known to be a person
573 who has himself under perfect control and who usually behaves in
521 a very /1472/ reserved manner in the company of others (p. 914).
This attitude is not determined solely by mistrust of others and the traditional rules for social intercourse (p. 913); it is far more a natural characteristic of our Indians, to which their training, of course, contributes its share. Within the family circle every member is very reserved and taciturn. For hours at a time individuals will sit beside each other in the canoe or in the hut without exchanging a word. If they chat with one another now and then, their talk almost always centers around what the present day has brought. Loud gaiety and spontaneous outbursts of joy are more or less rare within the individual family. Nevertheless, many a father will amuse himself with his young sons and many an active mother will do the same with her daughters in every conceivable way. Parents really enjoy playing with their young children and fondle them very lovingly from the day they are born (p.573).
573 As soon as children have some understanding, the parents confide
961 in them about their own experiences and the knowledge derived
521 from it, as well as much of their religious and mythological belief. In this way the children obtain a rich heritage of ideas and learn to think about it when they are alone. In the evening after the long day's journey, the parents, squatting around the hut fire or stretched out on their hard beds, repeat in detail just about everything that the day has brought. They make comparisons and recall other things, confirm this thing and warn about that, discuss their plans for the morrow, and toy with hopes for the future. This is the particular kind of social life, maintained within narrow (in fact, the narrowest) limits, that the Fuegian family can offer them.

571 On a land or canoe trip individual persons usually pass each
521 other without stopping; both parties are content with a brief greeting, a modest question and an equally brief answer (p.921). If, however, several families of friends or relatives brought together by chance after a long separation are camping together, there is great liveliness in the group. The greeting of two friends is sometimes loud and impulsive, and on such an occasion the discussion

/1472 cont./

571 521 between individuals may last far into the night (370). There is

> 370. If, as Bridges (b):205 reports, several families had joined around the fire, "they were very animated, spending most of their time in jovial conversation and in the most exuberant demonstrations of happiness. Their laughter, natural and cordial, was excessive in the extreme" /translated from Spanish/.

an exchange of personal adventures and experiences, they report and discuss what has happened in their own families, and they cover in detail their lives and activities as these unfold day by day in a smaller or larger group. This kind of exchange keeps everyone informed about the actions of his relatives and friends.

571 Of far greater significance are those gatherings that come about in connection with a universal obligation, such as /1473/ to instruct young people in the tjiaxaxa (p.795) and kina (p.2195), to express sympathy to mourners in the yamalafemiua (p.1079), or to demand atonement for a crime against life, as happens in the case of revenge for bloodshed (p.598). All these gatherings are occasions for renewed acknowledgment of prevailing custom and lawful tradition, occasions when adults are reminded anew of their valuable heritage and it is passed on to young people. I am thinking here primarily of religious belief and the social and moral precepts, but also of the historical and mythological tradition (371). It has been mentioned a number of times that a gift

> 371. The assertions of Bridges (b):230 and Hyades (g):338, namely, "The natives neither preserve any tradition about their past history nor know where they came from" /translated from Spanish/ and "there are two or three legends of fantastic exploits, each telling of some ancient actual deed..." /translated from French/, do not need special refutation in view of what is contained in Part 4 of the present volume.

/566 cont./

23/ to his master who is attached to him but never pets him and often strikes him" /translated from French/.

bring himself to kill a few animals out of a large litter, even when he already has half a dozen dogs and does not in the least need any more. He seldom leaves an island without expecting all of his animals to be in the canoe. He would never have the heart to let one or another of them shift for itself. In a fit of rage, however, he will beat his animal so mercilessly that it succumbs (327).

327. "The natives do not like to kill puppies, and children take a fancy to this one or that, and they are kept in a half-starved state. Unless in a passion the natives very seldom kill a dog... The natives themselves are not infrequently attacked and badly bitten by these savage dogs" /cited in English/ (Bridges, in MM:XV, 250; 1881).

From this alone we can see how mistaken Lovisato (b):150 is when he maintains that to their masters the dogs were "the dearest of their creatures, dearer than their women" /translated from Italian/. In another place (b):102, he repeats: "To the Fuegians the dogs are dearer than their women, because they catch the otter, the fox, and the birds" /translated from Italian/. In this opinion he evidently relies on the members of the "Beagle" [52a] expedition, for a young Fuegian had succeeded "in persuading Fitz-Roy, as a macabre jest, that in periods of famine they began to eat old women suffocated by being held in thick smoke, whereas they saved the dogs who helped to get otters" /translated from French/. Hyades (h):39 is referring to these words when he says: "The Fuegians are evidently less attached to their dogs than to women, young or old, whom they never dreamed of eating" /translated from French/. Despite utter neglect, the dog is faithfully attached to his master, but this does not prevent him from occasionally attacking his master.

/731 cont./

551 Although the nickname is merely an adjunct to the proper name, it unequivocally indicates the physical appearances and character of in bearer. It is chosen out of consideration for a physical peculiarity, a striking appearance, a strange habit, an odd nature, or an unusual character trait. Men are given nicknames much more often than women. The Yamana sometimes even surpass our own schoolboys in their aptness for appropriate choices in such names. Here are a few examples that I copied down in August, 1923. I shall preferably choose those nicknames
551 that were applied to Europeans to show that the roguish nature of
609 our Yamana showed itself in front of them, too.

wengul (wengulu, "to bore out"), "Twisted Leg." Name of Fred Lawrence whose left leg is somewhat bent.

tellapila (téila, "eye"), "Eyebrows." This was applied to Guillermo Bridges because of his bushy eyebrows.

ukeilé (ukéi "forehead"; lu, "red"), "Red Forehead." This was the name for Missionary Pringle and for Martin Lawrence, whose faces were always conspicuously red.

ukeiyagu (ukéi, "forehead"; yagu, "white"), "White Forehead." They were quite right to apply this to Santiago on account of his pale face.

ufcitowa (BD:118 ufcitauwa, "deaf"), "The Deaf One." Missionary Aspinall, who was very deaf, gave them ample reason for this nickname. /732/

yakaci (yakéci, "thin patches of beard around the chin"), "Sparse Goatee." The Yamana hit upon this designation because Thomas Bridges had an unevenly filled-out beard.

551 The Yamana are not always considerate in selecting nicknames;
●522 some names border on the improper and people repeat them with glee, in derision of the bearer.

halimwa (halimwa, "negligent, dirty in appearance"), "Slovenly Human Being." A person who pays no attention to his appearance is given this name. A woman may also be called this, halimwakipa.

pécesikian (pécea, "behind"; aikian, "bent upward"), "Bent Upward Behind." Name for a man whose buttocks was unusually prominent because of crippled spinal column.

wixipidanja (wixipi, "vulva mulieris"; [d]anja, masculine ending). I was unable to find out the real meaning of this abusive designation.

/T32 cont./

551 Fred Lawrence told me that the various missionaries, as well
522 as he himself, had only too often and in utter innocence tied very sarcastic names for individual persons, the meaning of which was at first unknown to them, and that they had not understood why the natives seemed quietly amused and sometimes laughed out loud. Their sure knowledge of the language acquired later taught them to know better.

551 --- At this point I shall give a few samples from Bridges (a):182, without, however, repeating the Yamana words for them: "Red forehead, Bare forehead, Thin forehead, Narrow nose, Long face, Red face, Weak knee, Shrivelled foot, etc." /cited in English/ (174).

> 174. According to Bridges (1):36, "three clases of names were current among the Yahgans. First those derived from the place of birth...By these people were generally called, and oftentimes they had no other name. But if you asked a person his name and he happened to have only of the place of his birth, he would tell you, that he had no name, because to the native mind the family name was preeminently the name of the individual. These family names that to a great extent had in process of time lost their meaning, being largely of very remote origin.
>
> "Children seldom received their parents name, but usually those of their uncles and aunts and of grand parents. Of these family names the following are samples. Lesape, Alaminaes, Palahlaian, Maacol, Cudchin...
>
> "The third class of names were epithets descriptive of some person or peculiarity of manner, feature or accident. These latter were often handed down as family names, when of course they became no longer suitable" /cited in English/.
>
> Actual family names, which Bridges mentions in the second instance are unknown to the Yamana.

/787 cont./

857 The child who pushes the swing gives it enough force and speaks
S24 quickly enough so that the word ends at the moment the swing comes back to him. Sometimes parents fasten this simple swing inside their dwelling if the framework is strong enough.

The actual social games are played only when several families are assembled. No less important is a suitable combination of people, among whom there must be at least one who livens up the others and who makes the children enthusiastic. Nowadays the Tamana constitute only a very small group which scarcely ever comes together in one place; the number of children is extraordinarily small. Hence it is no wonder that they almost never play the games which were formerly very popular. The following probably represents a complete list of their group games.

Tilayémafe: The game known by this name in the western dialect and known as talayémafe in the central dialect is exactly like the popular European "blindman's buff." Many people stand in a circle, both children and adults. Someone must let himself be blindfolded and placed inside the circle. The others stay more or less in a circle, but change places very quietly and repeatedly. Meanwhile the former goes around, touches a person, feels him all over, and says his name. If he has guessed right, the slight tension is relaxed, and amid lively talk all around, these two exchange places. Usually the "blind man" is mistaken, and the more often he blunders, because one person or another eludes his groping search, the livelier are the participation and jolly laughter of the others.

There are often amusing surprises. On the evening of January
857 16, 1922, about 20 persons were lined up to play tilayémafe. Even
S24 the oldest women, such as Faine, Emilia, and Mary, took part
S22 with animated gaiety. When it was the latter's turn to be the "blind man," she gropingly ran into her own husband and touched him all over without recognizing him. He dexterously slipped out of his coat and left her holding it as he leaped away. Then there was such tremendous laughter that the game was interrupted for many minutes. A "blind man" must keep on searching until he guesses the name of the persons circled.

857 Tumafile: Boys chiefly play this game, girls less often, and
S24 adults still less. They use a wide, gently sloping grassy area or lie

/1015 cont./

551 If matters pertaining to a specific person come up in the conversation, his name is not mentioned but is indicated by circumlocutions. The Yamana are particularly adept at this. Two men or women are all the more likely to do it when, in low tones, they discuss someone present. A person is never addressed or called by his first name; this also applies to children. People
192 who are fond of each other avoid flirtatious and endearing expres-
201 sions in front of others. Also, no one shows his dislike for another person. The Yamana do not have expletives and swear words. They roar with laughter, double up and roll convulsively on the floor. When they answer in the affirmative, they utter a deep sound between closed lips and slowly raise their heads; they express a negative with a long drawn-out "ná."

516 It is not only impolite but very serious to poke fun at anyone
519 present in such a way that he himself becomes aware of it. People who have a guest from distant parts are extraordinarily careful not to arouse the least suspicion that they are disparaging or disdainful about his countrymen or his country. They are governed primarily by the fear that out of revenge for bad treatment the strange visitors might cause them much harm through their relatives at home and might refuse to help anyone from this group who later came to them. They do not have this fear toward children.
● 522 Since the Yamana /1016/ have a tendency toward ridicule and
519 sarcasm, however, they do not hold back critical and jeering opinions in front of those who cannot properly defend themselves. In March, 1923, I had sent a boat from Beagle Channel to the Wollaston Islands with a special message. After a few days it brought back a lad about ten years old, whom Gerrie took in temporarily. On the very first evening I saw how all the people present openly made fun of the boy's idiomatic accent. He spoke the pure southern dialect (p. 200 /unnumbered/) of the Tekenika /southern group/. When I expressed my astonishment that they were deviating from their customary behavior, they justified themselves: "That boy speaks a different language than we do. Some words we don't understand. Everything he says sounds so strange that it makes us laugh! After all, he is still young and small, so he can't hurt us if we openly show our amusement!" No one would dare behave this way toward adults from distant regions. When the guests have departed, however, intimate

/1016 cont./

G2 S76 friends discuss in detail, even scornfully and with much amusement, everything they noticed about them or fancifully attribute to them.

431 S74 Unlike the habits of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 470) our Yamana regard it as a duty, so to speak, to give presents to a visitor or guest from distant regions when he leaves. This is altogether in harmony with their unmistakable tendency toward unselfishness and noble generosity. According to Hyades (q):243, their "generous disposition is a characteristic trait of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. I personally had much more opportunity than he did to observe this and to appreciate it. Sometimes, under the influence of great enthusiasm, a person will bountifully give away everything he can possibly do without. One would obviously be unjust to these Indians in supposing that they were generous only so that they would occasionally be praised and repaid with a return gift. Admittedly, they certainly expect it. To that extent Dabbene's (b):200 assertion is correct: "If the Yahgan shows generosity, he does not do it spontaneously, but in the hope that his generosity will be generously repaid" /translated from Spanish/ (435).

> 435. Earlier Bridges (a):213 had pointed out that "these people like to be thought liberal. They therefore are often very generous, and often give away everything they have, but they know they will soon be well rewarded by gifts in return. When fish, or blubber, or any other food is divided, the divider reserves none for himself, and those who come first are sure to be helped the best" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (q):243, Outes (g):57.

Without much ado and without saying a word the owner of the hut places the gift into the hands of his guest and gives him a friendly look. The guest's face lights up with sincere pleasure, and he accepts it silently, without carefully examining or evaluating it. A man, of course, gives his friend the tools that he /1017/ uses in his work and in hunting. A favorite present is some object that is abundant in one region but scarce elsewhere. To this

/1022 cont./

52 instance, one told to the others in an evening, how he had seen, during the daytime a fantrook, a black bird, pawing down a sloping hill, step by step; the bird looked round about, then at once it commenced to shake its feathers and flew off, about which they burst out into a loud laugh. Another began to tell what he had seen strange, when he was out on horseback, and the third what he had seen when he drove the cattle home" /cited in English/.

52 203 Meanwhile everyone rests comfortably, and anyone who feels like eating is immediately served by the mistress of the hut. None of those present knows when there will be another opportunity for a comfortable time together. On in trips each family usually spends only one or two nights in the same place. If entertaining fellow-tribesmen offer them company on an evening, they take advantage of it until long after midnight, and yet early the following morning they are ready to travel on. The ample, unconstrained exchange offers the incalculable advantage of keeping the individual members of the tribe from far and near in close touch and of laying bare everyone's actions. In this way all their /1023/. traditions are kept alive and transmitted, and any deviation from ancient custom can be prevented if it should become noticeable in any way.

52 [71] Finally we must mention a custom that is practiced by the Yamana exactly as it is among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 471), a diverting, half-serious, half-humorous talk contest between two people from different regions who have met in a hut. One of them will intentionally challenge his opponent with jokes and banter by praising the virtues of his own home and the capability of his own local group. Soon the other interrupts him with laudatory remarks about his region, his relatives and friends, the habits and qualifications of his group. The verbal exchange goes back and forth and is attentively listened to by all present. Finally when the two opponents have exhausted their repartee and their witticisms, they resort to mild insults and definite accusations. Now one tries to outdo the other in this without letting it become obvious that he feels hurt. At the dangerous moment, however, the bystanders, who unerringly recognize it, break off the talk contest between the two with very loud applause, thus preventing an unfortunate outcome of the initially

/1023 cont./

harmless game. Naturally, only skillful talkers and quick-witted humorists take up this game. Each member of the two groups for a long time afterward discusses the remarks and opinions given by the friend and by the opponent. Here, too, obscenities or offensive remarks are not permitted.

There is another practice which seems strange. Out of sheer exuberance a man will silently leave his hut, hurry down to the beach, and smash the canoe of his guest. The latter watches the performance dumbfounded, and he says passively, half-jokingly, half-sighing: "What in the world is happening to my canoe there? If it lies shattered, how shall I get back home?" The other replies from the beach: "It shouldn't really matter to you if all your things are smashed!" Meanwhile he returns to the hut where a regular talk contest begins, which this man had intended all along. He finally justifies his action by giving his guest a new canoe which he had purposely made for him. His gift is supposed to become known everywhere as such, and that is why he destroyed the old canoe. It is only in exceptional cases that such a mad prank has dire consequences.

The same exuberant desire to smash and throw everything into disorder sometimes seizes a whole group as, noisily and obtrusively, they assault the visitors from another region. Before these people can offer concerted resistance, their canoes, huts, tools, and utensils have long been chopped to pieces. They declare themselves conquered and withdraw as though defenseless until the opponents cease their raging, or they pull themselves together courageously, fall on the belongings of the others, and hack them to bits likewise. No one knows how this /1024/ mad prank is going to turn out. Usually the opposing parties come to terms and laugh heartily over their destruction. They quickly rebuild what they have lightheartedly destroyed. All effort seems slight compared to the great exuberance involved in their devastation.

Anyone who seeks diversion from monotonous daily work in the company of happy fellow-villagers can find it. To this end there are a number of practices which cultivate a community feeling and promote good fellowship.

/1360 cont./

X 575 spirit will sometimes stand motionless for a few minutes at the end of the dance course. As a rule every spirit reappears after an interval of a few minutes, and this may be repeated from two to five times as he chooses or according to his effect on the audience if they are enjoying it.

X 575 If the women and children are to be shown one of the many spirits, the performer must, of course, appear with a particular painting. The men are content to use the customary colors, black, white, and red. It is not necessary to be painfully exact in the drawing because the spectators stand far away. Most often red or black lines and stripes, small circles and semicircles, dots and dashes are painted on a white background in a certain arrangement. Using his incisors a man will scrape off a layer from a lump of chalk the size of a fist, mix the fine powder with saliva by making chewing motions, and apply this mixture by rubbing it on with his hand or fingers. A person who has been smeared with it stands beside the fire so that the color will quickly dry. Red and white pigments are sometimes mixed with blubber, sometimes applied dry. The mask is painted with just as little care, and the drawings on it coincide roughly with those on the body of the performer. The latter does not do the painting himself. This is done by other men, and the leader likes to take part because he is usually the one who decides on the decoration. It is applied only to the front of the body, for only this is visible to the eyes of the women and children. After each appearance the men carefully wash off the colors. While the painting is being done, the men constantly amuse themselves with all kinds of jokes. Once when they were preparing for the Hamatsa performance and the large amount of white pigment applied to their bodies was dry, many of them could hardly be recognized. /1361/ Makemikems, with a smile, surveyed the group of men and asked jokingly: "Where in the world is the man who calls himself Thomas? I don't see him any more! He was here just a minute ago." Thomas understood the jest and replied: "I am big enough so that everybody ought to see me (304)!" The whole company laughed.

304. He was about a head taller than Makemikems himself.

/1470 cont./

126 volume of the present work. For the time being, I wish to call attention to his shorter account, "Fuegian Songs," in the American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 357-367, July-September, 1936. -- At this point I need not discuss the erroneous view of someone like Spegazzini (a):169 and others. Bridges (i):18 briefly mentions a few songs of the Yamana. Cf. in Cooper:90 the report on the songs that Furlong recorded on the phonograph.

533 868 522 It is amusing to learn that occasionally an older man who enjoys singing will call young people into his hut -- a few adults will join them -- in order to practice songs with them. Alikanlis is known as such a person. They stay together for a few hours, learn or repeat one song after another, and conclude their jolly gathering with the so-called ínawlr, a merry performance. A clownish man will step outside and wrap himself in skins so that only his face is uncovered, upon which he draws many red and white dots. Between each corner of his mouth and a nostril, as well as between each pair of eyelids, he stretches short sticks which disturt the face. This joke, a favorite among boys (p.580), is called hanaywéteg, and the little sticks are flexible twigs of the parasitic plant Myrodendron punctatum, appropriately called hánis tawélia, "basket of the beech," because of its shape. In this disguise the man suddenly steps into the gathering of youthful singers, acts very officiously toward each one, and joins in the general laughter. Sometimes several immature /1471/ youths will drew up in the manner described, and they all end the singing lesson with lively leaps outside the hut of their "teacher." This gay conclusion is called hanaywéremega (cf. Fig. 4 of the photogravure plates /at the end of the work/).

534 The Yamana do not have actual musical instruments. It is true that children take the short hollow bones of a bird or the hollow lower part of a thick quill, hold the object vertically, and place it against the lower lip, producing soft whistling tones with short puffs of air. These simple objects, called umíku, certainly 533 cannot be regarded as musical instruments. Nevertheless, the

/722 cont./

856 properly, to become well-proportioned, and to develop a beautiful figure.

That this treatment of the infant is not without a tinge of
856 magic may be seen from the way it is concluded. As soon as a
789 woman ceases the prolonged stroking, she clenches her hands and puts her fists to her mouth so that the bent thumbs touch her lips. With a sharp thrust she extends her arms out in front of her and opens her fists, palms forward and fingers outstretched. At the same time she expels her breath in a sharp "pš," as though the "unbeautiful, ugly, /723/ deformed" had been gathered together with the hands and were now being blown away. One sees this motion being practiced a great deal by the yčkamuš.

856 In this wiša process every woman is, of course, extremely gentle and sensitive; she is careful not to press on the fontanel, ayyatša, which she knows to be a very sensitive spot. For about three weeks the new infant must submit to this forming, stroking, and arranging of his little body. It causes him not the slightest discomfort.

The following belongs in the category of superstition. When
855 the sea duck, dēška (Tachyeres patachonicus), flies over the hut,
854 all the occupants are startled, for they are afraid that it will take
714 away the "spirit," that is, the vitality of the children. The adults hasten to cover all the children with pieces of leather and, with outstretched arms, they grope through the air, as though they were trying to hold back "the spirit" of the children. As though they had gathered it up in the air, they draw their arms in again and make a proffering and throwing motion toward the children, at the same time uttering a long-drawn-out "š." It is well known that immediately after birth the parents may not eat the meat of dēška, otherwise the life of the child is endangered (p. 503).

854 Most of the day the babies move freely or lie in the mother's lap. With their little hands they touch and grasp everything they can reach. They are given individual small stones and sticks, mussel shells, and little twigs that happen to lie nearby, but the Yamana do
● [524] not make actual toys. Perhaps it is too much trouble for them always to take along and carefully store toys, no matter how simple. It seems to me that Yamana babies, compared to those on Isla Grande, are much quieter and much less inclined to play. True, the mother puts all kinds of small necklaces around her darling, in order to adorn

/760 cont./

857 In true boy-fashion they inquisitively stick their noses into everything; every unusual phenomenon arouses their attention. They swarm from one spot to another and never tire of testing themselves in all kinds of feats of strength. They like best to go away from /761/ the huts, to be safe from any interruption by calls and threats of elders. Then they hunt for birds' nests and tease the fledglings, to the chagrin of the pair of feathered parents. They knock over rotted tree trunks and shout with glee if they expose and scatter a whole swarm of capricorn beetles or fat larvae. If particularly good Cyttaria fungi should entice them, they will also climb trees, otherwise not. At low tide they tumble about on the wet beach and stamp their feet down hard in puddles so that the water squirts up high on both sides. They try to catch with their hands the little fish left in shallow puddles and with short sticks dig in the sand for the razor-shell clams (Solen) when the latter squirt out a few drops of water. Tirelessly they scour the coasts and rocks; everywhere something rivets their attention and they come across novelties that provide fun for them.

I often roved about in the company of these lively youngsters. With their extraordinarily keen eyes they discovered all kinds of insignificant things and devoted themselves to them with bustling liveliness. I realized how thoroughly these children learn from their earliest youth to train their senses, especially their eyes, and to use them well.

857 Furthermore, it is surprising to note that these boys are never
147 squeamish and whining, but courageous and reckless. Stark naked they trample about in the snow or in cold sea water, roll around on gravelly soil, run barefoot over rough stones on the beach, and march through thickets of thorny bushes. Afterwards they examine their many scratches and rub spittle on larger wounds, but they pay no attention to their aches and pains. When they wrestle, they hit hard and audaciously, scratch each other mercilessly, and fight until the opponent is exhausted to the point of offering no further resistance. I never saw a weaker one avoid a stronger one; sometimes a weakling even attacked a strong one and defended himself bravely.

524 There are no special playthings for boys. An adult, usually
868 the father, gives them imitations of the weapons and tools that the

/761 cont./

567 868 men use on their hunts. In order to be able to handle them well, the children are taught from early childhood and must constantly practice. These articles are, of course, easily damaged or they are lost, but the adults never tire of making replacements, and the more the boy grows, the larger his implements become. One most often sees the Fuegian boy hurling the sling. It seems to be 857 868 a part of him, and, following the example of the men, he wears it like a necklace around his throat where it is always and immediately handy. He likes best to aim at birds, but teasingly he will also send a stone to the ground close beside some other child. In childish innocence he will hurl /762/ stones in all directions and is sometimes so naïve about it that he must be chased away again and again from the vicinity of the huts.

Practice with short spears which adults demand of the boys seems to be less convenient and also more difficult. One of the men will call them to follow him. The target will be an old basket or, more often, the root, tanuwilay, of the large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera), hálum. The boys are lined up not far from the target and must demonstrate their aim. They are praised or scolded according to their accomplishments. No less frequent are the archery contests with bow and arrow. It is part of the father's duty in training his sons to acquaint them early with the use of weapons. It is a vital necessity that they know how to handle them, and therefore this kind of practice is demanded of them when they are still boys (198), repeated in the youth initiation,

> 198. As Bridges (a):183 has reliably observed: "little boys early become skilful in throwing spears and stones, slinging, and making spears, etc." /cited in English/.

and continued even after that. The Yamana do not give their children a finished weapon with the bone point, which is too valuable. Straight poles pointed at one end or useless harpoon shafts serve just as well. They entrust larger boys with snares and praise their success.

Such imitations of weapons can hardly be regarded as playthings. The Fuegians do not primarily intend them to be, but

/764 cont./

524 857 On most days, if the girl is not needed by her mother, she is left to her own resources. She spends these hours among her playthings. Chiefly she takes up her doll, which is extraordinarily simple and hardly deserves the name, quite in contrast to the not unattractive article that makes the Selk'nam girls happy (Vol. I, 396). A cylindrical-shaped stone the size of one's fist or a short rounded piece of wood without any finish or ornament suffices for this yékanóla. The girl treasures, cherishes, carries, and treats her little doll exactly the way a European girl does, sometimes she even talks to it.

The child is not supposed to play with this yékanóla too long, and the adults soon warn her out of superstitious fear. For example, the father will say /765/ to his daughter: "If you fondle and care for this stone much longer it might turn into a Sinuluwatayindjwa!" The latter is a person of stone in a myth told by our Yamana. Intimidated and frightened, the girl will throw the stone away and choose another as her yékanóla, or the stuffed skin of a small bird or of a young otter. They remove the skin of these animals in one piece by turning it inside out after making a short incision in the belly. Then they stuff it tightly with dried grass or rush stalks and sew it up. With touching tenderness the girl ceaselessly runs her hand up and down it, caressing the soft otter pelt.

The child also obtains a doll in another way. She takes the carcass of an adult bird, usually a wild goose or a cormorant, cuts the skin all the way round at about the center of the bird, strips it off, dries it, fills it with dry grass, and sews up the large openings. In this way the head, neck, and breast take on their natural shapes.

857 231 In imitation of some of the women, many girls constantly go after young animals, usually a newly hatched bird. They care for it and feed it with the most loving concern, play with it, and sometimes caress it rather wildly so that the tight grip or constant tugging causes the animal pain. They take it along with them on their almost daily trips and care for it until it is ready to fly. It is not customary to clip its wings in order to keep it from flying away. If only for the sake of variety, they let the animal fly as soon as it can. For this purpose they most often choose a wild goose, a wild duck, the laughing gull, kiwáqu (Larus dominicanus),

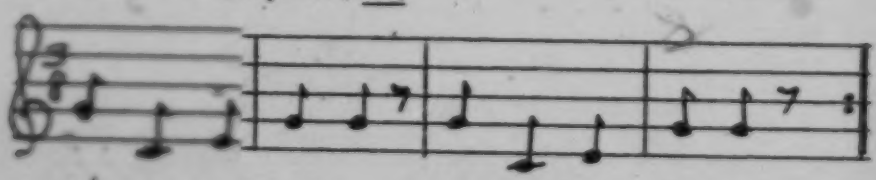
/766 cont./

87 and push him, tease and provoke him, tie his legs together, load
234 him down with all kinds of things, duck him in the water, imprison him in a hollow tree trunk stuff indigestible things into his mouth, and daub him with paint; in short, they try out the craziest notions on him. The rude handling and the sudden bursts of laughter of the children frighten the dog, but although he growls and barks, he does not have the heart to bite. This is perhaps the same animal from whose furious attacks a European can sometimes scarcely defend himself (p. 296). No matter how wildly children treat a dog, their parents do not scold them for it. Occasionally, however, a child will play very affably and affectionately with one. They all treat young animals with particular tenderness.

87 Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 395), Yamana children of both
524 sexes amuse themselves with a regular swing. A strong rope suffices, of the kind, for example, used in the large harpoon. Its ends are tied to a high branch, so that the middle part hangs down about half a meter above the ground. A child sits down on it, without using a special seat, and hangs on with both hands; another child starts it swinging by giving it a push. The little ones swing for hours until bad weather drives them into the hut (199).

199. Fitz-Roy (a):186 mentioned the swing: "Swinging between branches of trees, as our children do, is also a favourite pastime, the ropes being made of strips of sealskin" /cited in English/.

[30] Usually they endlessly repeat the five-syllable word kaiyennamála in the following rhythm: /767/



kái - yen - na má - la kái - yen - na má - la

/767 cont./

857 524 The child who pushes the swing gives it enough force and speaks quickly enough so that the word ends at the moment the swing comes back to him. Sometimes parents fasten this simple swing inside their dwelling if the framework is strong enough.

The actual social games are played only when several families are assembled. No less important is a suitable combination of people, among whom there must be at least one who livens up the others and who makes the children enthusiastic. Nowadays the Yamana constitute only a very small group which scarcely ever comes together in one place; the number of children is extraordinarily small. Hence it is no wonder that they almost never play the games which were formerly very popular. The following probably represents a complete list of their group games.

Tēlayémače: The game known by this name in the western dialect and known as talaiímaša in the central dialect is exactly like the popular European "blindman's buff." Many people stand in a circle, both children and adults. Someone must let himself be blindfolded and placed inside the circle. The others stay more or less in a circle, but change places very quietly and repeatedly. Meanwhile the former goes around, touches a person, feels him all over, and says his name. If he has guessed right, the slight tension is relaxed, and amid lively talk all around, these two exchange places. Usually the "blind man" is mistaken, and the more often he blunders, because one person or another eludes his groping search, the livelier are the participation and jolly laughter of the others.

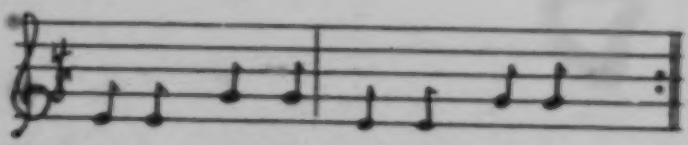
857 524 522 There are often amusing surprises. On the evening of January 16, 1922, about 20 persons were lined up to play tēlayémače. Even the oldest women, such as Paine, Emilia, and Mary, took part with animated gaiety. When it was the latter's turn to be the "blind man," she gropingly ran into her own husband and touched him all over without recognizing him. He dexterously slipped out of his coat and left her holding it as he leaped away. Then there was such tremendous laughter that the game was interrupted for many minutes. A "blind man" must keep on searching until he guesses the name of the person he catches.

857 524 Tumutella: Boys chiefly play this game, girls less often, and adults still less. They use a wide, gently sloping grassy area or lie

/767 cont./

[57 54] down at the top of an incline, their bodies stretched out lengthwise and their arms pressed tight to their sides. They lie on the same plane, that is, in a row, not above or below one another. At a signal everyone gives himself a little push and they all roll down. They try to keep the axis of their bodies exactly crosswise to the direction of movement, but inevitably /768/ this orientation cannot be maintained, and then several of them collide or roll over each other. The participants enjoy this entertainment all by themselves, whether or not there are other people watching. It is all the more fun, of course, if there are a lot of children, if they let themselves roll down fast and if they are very animated. BD:229 mentions dala, dula, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank" /cited in English/.

Čenalóra: Girls and women like this game, but they also let young men and boys play; the latter sometimes play it by themselves. They stand in a row. A particularly fat person forms the beginning and the others line up behind him, the bulkier ones nearer the front, the medium-sized ones farther back, and the thin ones at the end. They all squat down, but without touching the ground with their buttocks. Everyone puts his arms around the chest of the person in front of him, and they all push up close against each other. The leader supports himself with both fists on the ground. Then the closed rank slowly begins to move straight forward, all of them simultaneously dragging first the right and then the left foot forward, at the same time rocking from left to right. The column is sometimes several meters long and even crosses puddles, for it is imitating the movement of the canoe on the waves. For this reason the game is called ananlóra, "a boat rocks on the water" (ánan, the canoe; lóra from lur-telli, "to wabble, roll as a crank canoe from side to side," /cited in English/ according to BD:285). They all sing in time to the movements of [533] their bodies:



Čé - na ló - ra Čé - na ló - ra

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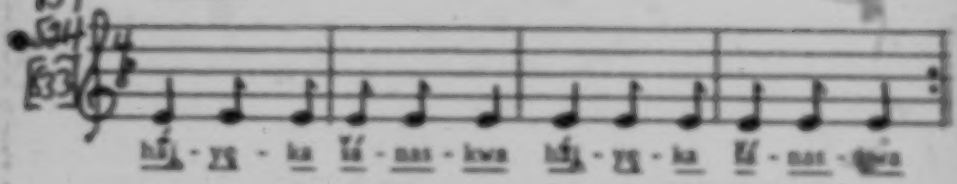
857 534 533



The free foot touches the ground on the first, third, and fifth syllable. It is too tiring for the dancers to keep up the song to the end. Hence the onlookers continue it and after a time accelerate it to such an extent that the dancers can no longer follow. The column disintegrates in utter confusion. Sometimes the column is allowed to extend a considerable distance from the spectators while the latter sing softer and softer as though the column were losing itself in the far distance. This game is very popular during the Xixam festival because it is quiet.

Halexkuku: This game is restricted almost entirely to males. The boys and men who play it form a rather long column with a short space between each person. All of them uniformly lift either their right or left leg, stretch it out horizontally, and grasp the knee with both hands. They hop in a straight line toward a certain goal, turn here in an arc, and hop back to the starting point. This movement is strenuous, and occasionally a chap will drop the outstretched leg if his other one will no longer carry him. The participants and spectators constantly repeat the word

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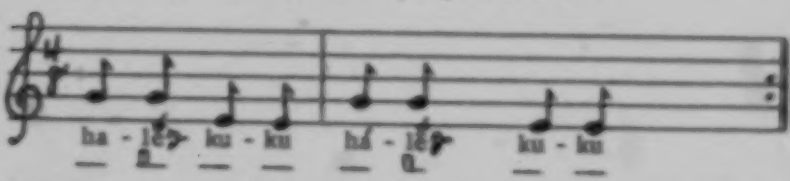


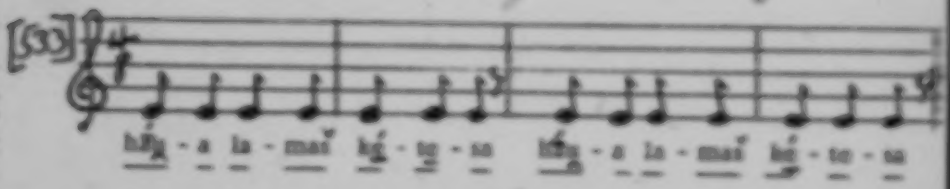
in such a way that with each second syllable the foot touches the ground.

576 857 Kakixana: This is a sort of hopping race that children are encouraged to do. Sometimes adults take part. Everyone lifts one leg from the ground in unison, /770/ either the right or left. They let their arms hang down freely. They either form a column and move very far from the starting point, most of them dropping out from exhaustion before they reach the goal, or a few form a diagonal row and hasten toward a goal from which they must immediately

/770 cont./

526 857 return to the starting point. The one who gets back first without having fallen on his other foot is the winner. The candidates in the cinnam were most often allowed to refresh themselves somewhat with this game.

859 864 hīgalamalīgīgīsa: This is a ring game played by girls and women, to which boys are sometimes admitted. They form a circle and hold hands. A man or woman, less often a child, places himself in the center. Then the circle moves, first in one direction, then in another, with growing speed. It finally becomes a fast whirl. The person inside becomes almost dizzy. After several rotations top speed has been reached, and the players themselves lose their balance. Suddenly their circle disintegrates when they all drop hands, and everyone makes a complete turn wherever he happens to be standing and thereupon falls to the ground. During the first few rotations the entire circle squats down at brief intervals and gets up again as fast as lightning, but after the rotation become faster this is omitted. Meanwhile they uninterruptedly and with increasing speed repeat:



The word hīgalamalīgīgīsa (201) comes from the western dialect.

201. In BD:272 we find: " 'hoallīmāhōta,' a senseless childish play in which this word was intoned" /cited in English/.

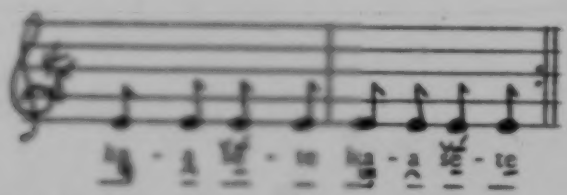
The same game is called tuhusetewīnasa (202) in the southern

202. BD:474 gives: " 'tuhusatuwāna,' a game and to play this game in which the players go rapidly round in circles more or fewer forming the circle till they get giddy and fall" /cited in English/.

/770 cont./

857 dialect; both have the same number of syllables.

534 Kaqlle: This game shows many similarities to hāualamaskétesa. Women and girls form a circle, put their arms around the necks of their neighbors on either side, and draw their bodies close together. A man or boy, sometimes a woman, stands in the center. As the circle slowly moves, the person in the center, holding his arms tight to his sides, tries to push between two women. As he makes an effort to do so, the women or girls draw still closer together, and despite great dexterity he usually does not succeed in breaking the circle. Only after he has made several attempts at different places do the victorious players voluntarily open up an escape for the helpless one. In case a chap succeeds /771/ in breaking through, one of the two girls between whom he escaped must usually step inside the circle. Some other chap, however, may be called upon to enter it. As the circle slowly moves, they repeat the following in a perfectly uniform and moderately fast rhythm:



This is frequently interrupted because certain parts of the circle, amid much laughter, push close together against the imprisoned man's attempts at escape. At variance with this, BD:203 gives "'haáfata,' a certain kind of game when those who play join in a long line by putting their arms over each other's shoulders and sweep forward and veer about singing" /cited in English/.

Mélaénéjasa: Girls primarily arrange this game. They line up side by side in a row, and each one places her hands behind the necks and on the shoulders of her neighbors. Hence they are close together. Facing forward, they advance a few short steps, meanwhile swaying in unison to the right and left. After they have gone a certain distance on level ground, the whole row turns and goes back to the starting point. Slowly moving back and forth, they ceaselessly repeat the word:

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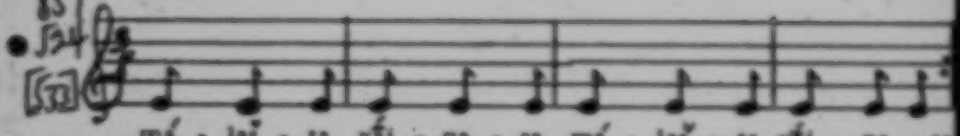
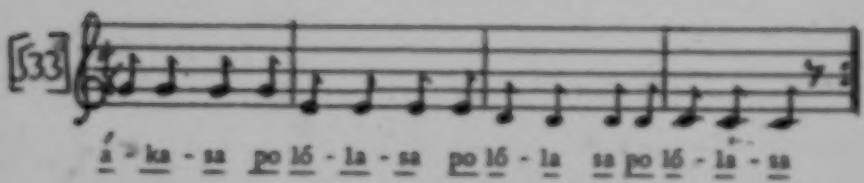


While they sing the first half of this word, that is, the first three syllables, they bend toward the right, whereas with the last three syllables they bend toward the left; at the same time they also change the step.

Akasapolólasa: This game is very similar to the preceding one and is played mostly by girls. Just as in málaštaxínasa, they form a row side by side and face forward. The row does not move forward, however, but first to one side and then to the other. Thus, their feet step sideways. While all the participants uninterruptedly and in moderate tempo repeat the long word



they bend the upper part of their bodies in unison and in rhythm with their steps from the one side to the other.

/772/ As we have said, social games are played only when several families are together and in a good mood. Once they have started, however, one game usually follows another until every one is tired or until the dark night and the rain drives them into their huts. They thoroughly refresh themselves spiritually in this way and thereafter disperse in all directions until a lucky star once more brings them together. The Yamana have a few other games, of which kálaka, a game with a ball, is the most popular. These games are played only by adults; hence a description of them is postponed for a later section on general entertainment. /Fig. 80 appears here./

857 We should refer here to a few minor pranks for which boys are always in the mood when they meet girls who are strangers or whom they might meet again. To have a little fun at their expense is, after all, a boy's nature, and the little Yamana do not

/939 cont./

X881 really make a great effort to instruct our candidates carefully,
182 for our old laws and customs are good. Every Tamana, old and young, must adapt himself to them. I am very sad, for I see some of our younger people who neither know nor follow our habits of former times!"

After a few minutes the winefkła called one last time: X881 "Control your eyes and do not look at the Great Hut. I shall soon
625 go away from here." At this moment the uźwała returned.

In conclusion the particular duty of the guard should be remembered. He must keep intruders away from the ξiξxaus hut and see to it that inquisitive glances do not discover anything that goes on there. In order to demonstrate his watchfulness to outsiders, he repeatedly steps in front of the main entrance and a few paces away from it. He also climbs up on the hut framework where he can be seen still more plainly. Finally, he makes himself noticeable by repeated calls. Everyone is afraid of the winefkła and no one dares to desecrate the sanctity of the ξiξxaus hut.

X881 6. Social Games. In the course of time the daily program
524 in the ξiξxaus hut leads to weariness, not only for the candidates, but also for the adults. Quite generally the participants are very punctilious about their duties, and individuals among them are even over-zealous, which is not surprising among good-humored children of nature. Even experienced nerves would be unable to stand too great a strain for any length of time if there were absolutely no relaxation at certain intervals. That is precisely the deeper significance of the custom of occasionally having social games interspersed through the serious ξiξxaus celebration. To a superficial observer this custom seems strange and irreconcilable with the strictness of the prevailing order of the day, but the decisive factor is the psychological need of the participants for /940/ occasional refreshment by means of a game, which never deteriorates into boisterousness or licentiousness since it is restrained by certain guide lines.

Inasmuch as everyone present at the initiation is pledged more or less equally to silence and quiet behavior and to all kinds of exertions and discomforts, participation in the social games is, without exception, open to all, and of course also to the uźwała.

/940 cont./

The latter in particular are involved in almost every game, whereas the adults are free to take part as they choose. There is another consideration in the case of the candidates, namely, that they get a certain amount of practice in the individual games. The social games repeated during the youth initiation are, throughout the year, played largely by adults; children may watch them, but only now and then take part in them. Although the children immediately begin to imitate the movements by themselves, they hardly attain any proficiency worth mentioning in this or that game. It is different here in the ʒ́ʒ́ʒ́ʒ́ hut where the many movements are explained to the individual ʒ́ʒ́ʒ́ʒ́

/941 cont./

person or another by specific words." Usually an indefinable expectation on the part of the participants is in the air, as it were, and it needs only a bit of assistance to be realized. Special formalities are not needed.

One cannot be precise about the various kinds of games and their order of succession, for there are neither specific rules nor unalterable regulations. One group of participants has a greater preference for certain games, another group for others. The group that gains a certain predominance will incomprehensibly carry out its particular wishes. Usually they rely on the inspiration of the moment, for they do not beforehand make a definite plan of procedure, nor would they stick to it. After all, they want to be relaxed and refreshed by playing a game; hence they give themselves up to it with complete abandon.

In the end it is the leader who brings the people together for the game that he happened to think of or that he personally likes very much. For example, to the thoughtful, silent group he will softly give the gentle summons: "Let us play *Smagoll!*" Immediately a few people turn their attention to this game; they assume a different attitude and prepare themselves for it. After several minutes two or three women get up and clear the space where the fire is. If there are still a good many embers, they scrape most of them out-of-doors through the two exits, where they are extinguished, or they will make a small pile of glowing sticks of wood near the rear exit where it will be kept going. They sprinkle water over the ashes. The entire interior, except for the sleeping-places on either side, is now at their disposal.

A few persons gather without further urging, and soon others join them. Meanwhile an expert singer will begin the melody suitable for the game they intend to play, and soon all the people present take up the rhythm. Everyone throws himself into the game and goes through all the movements with complete devotion. The enthusiasm of one group will spur the others, so that at times they are all taking part in the game and are squeezed together in one spot. At the very beginning the sponsors lead their *pontgfs* into the center, for they are almost never excluded and must even participate longer and without interruption. If one or another of the adults wants to stop for a while and goes to his place to rest,

/781 cont./

he is not prevented from doing so. Often the pressure of too great a throng makes this impossible. If everyone crowds together, there is almost no freedom of movement.

After a while the inclination for this game subsides. Suddenly, in a loud voice, someone will spontaneously mention another game or will start its rhythm. Most of the participants become silent rather quickly and, without hesitating, switch over to the new game. /782/ A third and even a fourth game will follow in the same way, entirely according to the inclination and whim of the company. They will enjoy themselves for an hour or two, until they are thoroughly satisfied. If, after that, a good many of the people seem listless and bored, the leader will inconspicuously indicate that everyone should now seek his sleeping-place.

The action and physical exertion have made most of them very weary, and without delay they begin to prepare for bed. One person or another will meanwhile lead into the customary low singing and continue it until he, too, gives himself up to sleep. Finally only the ulwĕala and a few spouses are squatting upright in their places. When they, too, finally lie down, only a single voice will carry the song through the early hours of the night, until it is taken up by another. As we know, the singing may never entirely cease, for malevolent spirits must be kept at bay and outsiders must be convinced that all the inmates are constantly alert (p. 781).

When the last game is over it is the duty of the ulwĕala to kindle the fire from the remaining faint embers, so that it will extend from one exit to the other and radiate abundant heat. All the services for the assembly and all the chores within the tukaus but are, as we know, incumbent upon the candidates.

The above description presupposes that the social games are held in the interior of the Great Hut. On a warm, quiet summer evening they may, for the sake of variety, be transferred to a level place outside, directly in front of the Great Hut. A few men-women will first start a fire, chiefly in order to illuminate the entire group. At a signal from the leader, the adults with the ulwĕala in their ranks, go outside and huddle together beside the fire. Gradually the singing begins, the dance movements following its rhythm. The games change in exactly the same way as

/942 cont./

inside. After they have amused themselves sufficiently, they all, in closed ranks, slip back again into the Great Hut. While the games are going on outside, the children and adults of the camp can, of course, freely approach and watch them.

At least one person has stayed behind in the Great Hut to carry on the singing and keep watch over everything. The movements of the lively games in the fresh air are a boon to every participant, and immediately thereafter he will be blessed with sound sleep.

As we have said, there is no particular order in which the social games are chosen and repeated. They prefer those which are most familiar to a certain group or which are favorites. From my own observation I can report that the games most often played are ǎmaxel, the game of the sea-lion ǎma (Otaria jubata), and then kētēlaxel, the game of the great gerfalcon kētēla (Polyborus tharus), then gērǎpuxel, the game of the common albatross gērǎpu (Diomedea exulans), and finally, outside the Great /943/ Hut, the very popular ulpēr'ǎčixel, the game of the oyster-catcher ulpēr'ǎči (Haematopus ater). All of them, however, are eclipsed by the very popular hǎjyekalǎnaskwa. If they want to please the candidates particularly and thoroughly arouse them, they introduce the game called kakleǎxana (360).

360. The last two games mentioned were described on pages 588 and 589; the others will be described below.

Most of the people take a very active part in these social games. Merely the desire to limber up the body thoroughly is a strong incentive. A person who is unable to join in the dance movements for a long period is all the more fervent in his singing. One evening when the games had already begun, Adelheid, coming from the cookhut, dashed into the čiǎxaus hut with excessive eagerness, placed herself beside Richard who was singing lustily, and said loudly to him: "sǎskin skǎja ki-wǎla kǎpa hawǎla mǎtu nanǎa." "The heart of you [it] strong from above here may exist henceforth (May 'the-one-up-there' strengthen your heart here for vigorous singing!)." This one example proves that they even

/943 cont./
invoke the power from above in order to be able to take part wholeheartedly in the social games.

Every social game, just like every dance, finishes off with a loud hõ, hõ... or hẽ, hẽ..., which anyone utters and which is repeated by others. As we know, the constant singing is supposed to keep the evil Yetáita (361) and other dangerous spirits away

361. The following allusion does not seem to me superfluous: although soon after the start of the youth initiation the candidates are taught that "Yetaita" as such does not exist, nevertheless this supposed evil spirit is mentioned again and again, as though he were the essence of all evil powers and anxious fears which could bring great harm to the participants.

from the čiẽxaus hut. The social games also have this secondary purpose. This is clearly shown during a game or during the transition from one to another when many a dancer, out of inner agitation, pulls vigorously on the hut framework and causes the whole structure to shake violently. As though alarmed, he utters the brief word "čiẽxaus," shouting it loudly, as though it were an incantation or a means of warding off malevolent spirits. Finally another person will drum on the ground loudly and frantically with both fists, likewise to ward off all evil. The dancers are most stirred up to such outbursts of fear when they are already exhausted from singing and playing and are bathed in perspiration. Then their shouts and their desperate behavior have all the more threatening effects. Thus we see how these people, despite all their joy in the games, never depart altogether from the serious keynote of the čiẽxaus celebration.

There is another custom which has the same purpose. Occasionally two, three, or four women run along the interior of the hut wall and beat the back of their hands or their fists against the framework. They do so to scare away the evil spirits that might annoy the people present. They also want to drive off the spirits that cause illness, /944/ so that they will forever stay away from

/944 cont./

X881 789 751 this čiéxaus. In olden times it was the task of the yékamuš to "cleanse" the Great Hut from such evil influences, above all to ward off sickness and push it far away so that the nerves and muscles of the people present, which sometimes become tired and slack, remain vigorous. At the present time all this is the aim of the women who hasten through the interior and beat against the wall of the hut with their fists, with branches, or with a stick. The malevolent spirits are driven away, and all the participants retain their strength undiminished.

X881 524 Finally, something Nelly once told me belongs here. Among her western group, which was to a certain extent influenced by the Halakwulup, masks were worn in former times, and these also served to entertain and encourage all the inmates of the čiéxaus hut. Out-of-doors a man or woman would put on a disguise unobserved, for which they chose exclusively the long stems of a species of grass which is scarcely to be found today (362). The person would cover his head far below the neck

362. Presumably it was Dactylis (Poa) flabellata which was also used as litter for the sleeping-place (p. 25). The stems are sometimes longer than the height of the adult Yamana and therefore very suitable for this masquerade. Today one hardly ever sees such tall stems.

with a closely woven hood of this grass in the shape of a truncated cone. Two small holes were opened for the eyes. From the neck to the ankles another woven piece covered the whole body like a tight shift. Both arms could be drawn through two sufficiently large openings, and the arms, too, including the hands, were covered with this woven material and pressed close to either side of the body. At the proper moment, this masked person would shuffle into the Great Hut and for a considerable time would stand upright, motionless and stiff, in the center aisle. Sometimes the person very slowly moved a little farther inside so that the other people could look at him more closely. On rare occasions the masker would also sit down. The group would examine

/944 cont./

X881 him carefully and try to guess who he was, exchanging observa-
524 tions with glances or in a very low voice. The masker would leave after a while, without having identified himself. At any rate, this strange visit offered the gathering a refreshing change.

7. Visits. It is convenient to add to our description of songs
X881 and dances a brief discussion of the ceremonious visits of a sepa-
574 rate group of people to the čiēxaus hut on any day. It is easy to guess the reason for this custom. Of necessity a few older persons remain behind in the camp while the čiēxaus celebration is going on in the Great Hut, either on account of illness or to care for the small children. They are, of course, free to come at any time, but the entire assembly also wants to thank formally those who /945/ devote themselves to the supervision of the camp. The solemn welcome is supposed to be a substitute to the outsiders for all the lovely things they must forgo. On their part, the inmates of the Great Hut feel honored by the interest of those persons who come on one occasion or another to the čiēxaus gathering. Naturally, only adults who have gone through an initiation may enter.

The visit would not take place under any circumstances unless there had been an announcement from one side or the other. Usually the outsiders who feel a compulsion to spend an evening once again among their fellow-tribesmen announce themselves. They inform the leader of their intention, either through the kitchen women or directly. Some preparation must be undertaken within the Great Hut; it would be quite impossible for the group of visitors to come there abruptly.

X881 A good, accurate facial decoration, such as is customary for visits, is the only special preparation the visitors must make. It
574 is unnecessary for them to paint the body. This is not the case for
302 the people in the čiēxaus hut, who, besides their facial painting, also decorate the whole body. A background of white pigment is first applied on the face and body. Over this a red line the width of a finger runs from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. Over the whole body, as well as on arms and legs, finger-thick red rings are drawn and spaced a hand's breadth apart. Everyone,
[301] of course, wears his hapaxēl. The uswāala are decorated with particular care on this occasion to prove to the visitors how attentively the candidates are cared for.

/953 cont./

X881 He is always supposed to have on hand, above all, the little stick
608 of wood, tamiyáki, since he uses it to scratch the lice-bites on his
431 head. It is said that young people should regularly use this little
515 stick after their dismissal from the čiẽxaus hut; if they used their fingernails, the latter would become brittle. If the tamiyaki is lost or wears out, the young fellow or girl can make one, if the sponsor does not happen to offer a new one. There is no definite limit as to the length of time the young people must use the little scratching stick; sooner or later, however, they simply ignore it.

X881 /954/ A third and final
608 gift of less significance than
431 the two just mentioned, which only
415 the female sponsor presents to her hẽtakuxeglan, is a pretty, dainty little basket made of rushes and specially decorated along the upper edge with a wreath of feathers. It is filled with ripe berries of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12 /in untranslated portion/).

X881 The ward receives these three items
608 as mementos. They are first of all supposed
431 to remind him of the male and female sponsors, but even more, of the teachings and admonitions of the čiẽxaus celebration. With a certain pride the uswtala shows each

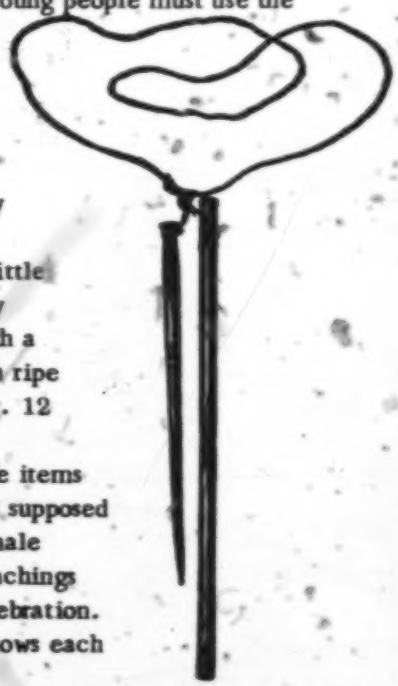


Fig. 87. Small Sucking Tube and Small Scratching Stick. One-half natural size.

of his acquaintances this certification of his successful initiation. Thus he publicly shows that he now lawfully belongs to the group of adults.

X881 For hours the people squat around the fire and enjoy the
● 524 abundant meal. Gradually they feel a desire for games. Once a beginning has been made, one game follows another. Real

/954 cont./

X881 enthusiasm develops and they all divert themselves for several hours until they begin to feel exhausted. At times their eager-
S24 ness borders on abandon. This is understandable, since now, no longer bound by the strict čiẽxaus program, the people are free to burst out without restraint. The young people are called upon particularly often. Here in the open, in front of everyone, they are supposed to show also the skills they have acquired in the social games which they were often called upon to join in the čiẽxaus hut (p. 813).

X881 The conversations and games after the big feast finally come to an end. At the proper moment the overseer or some older per-
S33 son intones the tẽxer song, and all the participants promptly join in. They immediately try to assume a respectful pose and to make their voices solemn. This tẽxer song is the actual farewell song, during which all "spirits" arrange themselves and with which they are given an accompaniment back to their particular abode by the people here, just as this was done on almost every evening (p. 787). The people present, however, sing this song for themselves, too, before they take leave of each other, for today or tomorrow they will leave this place and probably not see each other again for a long time. This is why they put into the final tẽxer song all their feelings of joy and gratitude for their renewed vigor during this enjoyable, inspiring čiẽxaus celebration. The song dies away full of melancholy, and silently and for a long time thereafter everyone gives himself up to his thoughts.

X881 Gradually one person and then another get up and go back once more to the Great Hut. Here he collects his utensils, tools, and ornaments, and takes final leave of this place. Everyone takes care of his own things and moves them over to his own dwelling where, after a long time, he again settles himself for the night. If the weather is good, a family may board their canoe that same day and depart. /955/ Most of the people definitely leave the following morning and enthusiastically welcome the longed-for freedom to rove far and wide without restraint. The place where many people were still gathered together for the common celebration just a short time ago becomes depopulated surprisingly quickly.

X881 After that no one pays any attention to the Great Hut.
346

/1474/ 2. Amusements

517 524 The way the children play when several families camp in the same spot for a few days has been described (p.576). The way they tease each other in true childish fashion is shown, for example, by the use of Adenocystis alga (Fig. 80, p.593) with which wily boys surprise unsuspecting girls. Smaller as well as larger children have a great deal of fun with the swing (p.585); concerning even middle-aged persons, Bridges maintains that "the swing also they are very fond of" /cited in English/ (VSA: XII, 53;1865). The adults, too, take advantage of being together for mutual diversion and general entertainment (373).

373. Bridges (k):240 says in a very general way: "Their principal amusements are wrestling, playing with a ball, and practicing with spears, arrows, slings, and stones" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (a):209, Outes (g):53, Spegazzini (a):170, [illegible]its in MM:X, 12;1876, and others speak of dances. These reports and the few expressions in BD are, unfortunately, incomplete. Bridges (a):209 maintained that "most of their amusements are very childish" /cited in English/; these words alone show plainly how little he understood the characteristics of those Indians.

526 The popular ball-game does not require special preparation. Anyone may call the people out of the huts to a smooth, grassy area where they form a large circle. The ball, kálaka, the size of a fist, is made of the web of the albatross, first blown up to dry, stuffed with down feathers, and finally sewn up. It is tossed up perpendicularly with the flat palm of the hand; when it returns, another player must again toss it into the air and make sure that it ascends as vertically as possible. Otherwise, it usually falls to the ground outside the circle of players, which is supposed to be avoided. Lawrence, along with Bridges (i):16, declares: "The Indians are very fond of playing at ball" /cited in English/ (MM: VI, 128;1872), which they call kálaka ǵraku. This is almost the

/1475 cont./

526 Soon a second, fourth, and sixth pair have come together, and finally all the men of one group are wrestling with those of the other. Then the women also pitch in and push the wrestling pairs to the ground. Finally, in the general melee, no one knows who can boast of having won. Thus, the ones who began the wrestling believe that their reputation has been restored and both groups separate peacefully. The women do not care for this general wrestling, for it ends in a nasty brawl.

524 The so-called imitative games are more enjoyable and much more agreeable to the Yamana because they are in such perfect accord with their nature. They reproduce the movements and the calls of certain kinds of animals with amazing accuracy. Mimicry is only a supplementary aspect, for often they repeat the melody without the body movements. These games are permitted only during the čiéxaus celebration, either in the Great Hut or in front of it (p.822); it is the duty of the winefkēʔa to keep curious persons away. At the general concluding ceremony, however, old and young may look on (p.811). Sometimes only men or only women take part, but usually both together. Each of these games has its own melody.

The ámaxēl, the game of the sea lion (Otaria jubata). Both men and women, clumsily and ponderously, lie down close to one another in an irregular group. Some of them stretch slowly, others look around in a bored way, some prop themselves up with their hands flat, while others, half upright, drag themselves along the ground. One person will scratch his back as though his hand were a flipper; another wallows exuberantly in the sand. One person will snore loudly until his neighbor lies down on top of him, whereupon he shoots up angrily and bares his teeth to the one who disturbed him. Two other persons fondle each other, imitating male and female. This or that one will repeatedly snap shut /1476/ his wide-open mouth, as though he had caught fish in the water, make loud chewing motions, and smack his lips with delight. In the midst of all this a few persons will roar in a deep, threatening voice. While this confused tangle moves and stirs about, the spectators nearby repeat the melody and often clap their hands. The players themselves intermittently call out hoʔ-hoʔ... or rūkrúk... After some time a woman gets up and gently taps one player after

/1476 cont./

524

another with a short piece of leather. Immediately each one collapses and is "dead." Lying in jumbled confusion, they remain motionless until the same woman puts a mussel shell, filled with water, to the mouth of each one; he takes a small swallow and is "alive" again. When all the players have resumed their places, the whole company concludes this extraordinarily charming game with loud, high-pitched cries of hō hō.

The hašuwāpisa-xēl, game of the blue whale (Balaenoptera intermedia). This is a game for men only. At least 12 of them sit down on the ground; each one spreads his outstretched legs apart and leans with his back close against the chest of the man behind him. The latter puts both arms under the armpits of the man in front of him and holds him tightly. The man sitting at the head of the row rests both fists on the ground and braces himself firmly against the man behind him. Swaying from one side to the other, the whole row clumsily slides slowly from the spot, naturally in the direction opposite the one they are facing. At short intervals all the men howl while the women present uninterruptedly carry on the slow, rhythmic song. Finally a woman hastens along the entire row and gently slaps each man with a piece of skin, whereupon the men in the row lie down on their sides and "the whale is now dead." This game is supposed to show the final clumsy movements of a whale that has been tossed up on the beach.

The ašōula-xēl, game of the small whale (Pseudorca crassidens /the "false killer" whale/). First of all the men form a long row in the manner described above, and the row leans against an identical, shorter one. The former represents hašuwāpisa, and the latter, ašōula. The accompanying song is similar to the previous one, but the howling of the long row is fainter and more doleful. Both rows slide along simultaneously, but very clumsily. After a while the men in the shorter row brace themselves with all their strength against the men in the longer one. The latter groan most pitifully, the cry gradually subsides, and the row collapses: the ašōula has "fatally wounded" the hašuwāpisa and the latter "dies."

The ilawāia-xēl, game of the kite (Catharista atratus). The men and women crowd close together and assume a squatting position. Their half-open hands rest loosely on the ground and scratch in the sand. They very accurately imitate the rustling beat of the hard, stiff wing feathers of the vulture. A few persons hop about happily,

/1476 cont./

534 turning in one place or moving forward stiffly. They often interrupt their constant singing with screeches of joy. They grasp a /1477/ a piece of skin with both hands and slap it against the ground or pull it through the sand. This vulture ploughs up the ground in exactly the same way with its wings. Other persons move forward in long steps, spasmodically, as it were. Still others hop with their arms partly raised. In all this one recognizes the movements of ilawāja. Compare Figure 10 of the photogravure plates /at the end/.

The yo'ōkalia-xēl, game of the hawk (Milvago chimango). This is almost the same as the preceding one in its movements, but the melody is different. Besides, the gestures are much more amusing and livlier; the striding motions are slightly springy and graceful. The short, shrill cry repeated by individual persons cannot be distinguished from that of this predatory bird.

The kētēla-xēl, game of the great gerfalcon (Polyborus tharus). When the special song is in full swing, a few men and women step out of the circle of participants to the open fire. Here they squat down, resting their open hands lightly on the ground. They repeatedly shake their outstretched arms, just as the falcon shakes its half-open wings. They also make brief rolling motions, exactly like the falcon when it lifts itself up to fly. At the same time their hands are three-quarters open and their fingers spread apart. With the upper part of their bodies bent forward, they scratch busily in the sand with their hands, an activity that the gerfalcon very much enjoys. A gay, shrill cackle is often heard. The people present toss a piece of meat into the circle of players. One or another will grasp the piece with his teeth. Immediately another player jumps up, bites at the piece of meat, and tugs at it impatiently until someone else comes up. Anyone who has torn off a piece cackles loudly and hides it from another person who might snatch it away from him. All the movements are very lively, the leaps gaily excited, and the shrill cries of kē kē... or xī xī...or ye ye...are loud. Toward the end, all the players utter several croaking kā kā sounds and the spectators answer with loud cries of ho ho as the conclusion.

The gērāpu-xēl, game of the great albatross (Diomedea exulans, Fig. 88). After the people present have introduced the

/1477 cont./

524 proper melody, a few men and women step inside the small circle. Some of them remain standing; others kneel down and lift their outstretched arms to shoulder height. They keep their arms in this position. The people standing then step slowly forward, gliding past one another and bending the upper part of the body calmly and sedately to one side and then the other. At the same time they move their outstretched arms in wide arcs through the air, but without hitting one another. The moderately loud hoū hoū cries of the gĕrāpu are uttered sporadically and very realistically, sounding like a long drawn-out cooing of doves. The players do not actually make striding motions, but glide along the ground. All their movements are extremely elegant, for only /1478/ slim persons play this game which is supposed to show the majestic flight of the albatross over a raging sea. After some time all the players form a circle, take each other's hands, their arms only slightly held out from their bodies, and slowly walk around the fire. They huddle down several times for a few seconds and then get up again, for the albatrosses, too, sometimes alight on the water close together. While this circle is slowly moving, a woman approaches it; in passing, each one takes a swallow of water from the mussel shell which she holds up to his mouth, for the albatross, too, occasionally comes to the shore for water. When the loud, high-pitched cries of ho ho resound from the group of spectators, the players cease their graceful body movements. Compare Figure 11 of the photogravure plates /at the end/.

The tákaša-xēl, game of the loud gull (Larus belcheri). The participants are mainly girls and young [illegible], who crowd close together and remain for some time in a [illegible] position. They get up, hold hands, and move about in a circle several times. After they have crouched down, one of them will try to induce another to get up by uttering shrill xa xa cries. Indeed, one or another of them jumps up, bends the upper part of her body partly forward, and keeps her arms bent at the elbow at right angles. This is a favorite position of this gull when it sights its prey. Later when the players again squat on the ground in a closed circle, a woman hastens past them and lets each one take some water out of a mussel shell, for tákaša, too, drinks fresh water. Amid loud cries of xa xa the players all get up and go back to their places.

/1478 cont./

The šēkuš-xēl, game of the Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/). The men and women who step inside the open circle bend their bodies slightly forward from the waist, bend their knees considerably, hold their upper arms horizontally at shoulder height, and let the lower arms fall down loosely from the elbow at right angles. They remain in a squatting position until the song of the people present is loud enough. All get up and again assume the position just described, while the men utter lively xi xi calls and the women joyous xa xa calls. Then they hop every which way in a crowded heap, and amid loud ps ps calls, every man seeks either his own wife or a woman friend. This pair hops happily up and down on the same spot; the two gaze at each other lovingly and beat or stroke each other with their "wings." The man repeats his ps ps calls and the woman her xa xa calls very animatedly; he taps her on the shoulders and she taps him on the hips. This pair hops and giggles until another man moves up to the woman and shoves the first man aside. The happily excited song of the spectators encourages the pair in their charming love-play, until it is ended with loud cries of ho ho. It is well known that šēkuš is strictly monogamous.

The kímoa-xēl, game of the Magellan goose (Chloephaga picta). In this game, too, the people leave a central circular area free. The players /1479/ assume the position they take in the šēkuš-xēl. First a few of them remain in the squatting position for a short time; then a man rises, moves to a woman he is fond of, taps her on the shoulders, and thus invites her to the love-play. She rises at the same time. These two persons, facing each other, take turns in loudly twittering xa xa... and xi xi... and hop hither and yon. Then they separate again and form couples with other persons. The short striding motions are stiff, like those of kímoa. As in the šēkuš-xēl, the love-play of this species is also portrayed very realistically indeed. The two games are clearly distinguished by their melodies.

The ušpēčí-xēl, game of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater, Fig. 76). Several persons, huddled together, hop into the circle. Again and again they bow their heads almost to the ground, support themselves on their arms, and constantly repeat short pit pit calls. Three or four hop simultaneously to the same place, bow their heads several times, and repeat the pit pit calls. This is

/1479 cont./

524

exactly the way the oyster catcher behaves on the beach. Amid shrill sounds of š š, all the players rise up at once, as though a flock of these birds were flying off. They disperse to loud ho ho cries of the spectators.

The touwíšiwa-xēl, game of the Vigua cormorant (Phalacrocorax olivaceus). Several women squat beside the fire or in the open space amidst the group of people who have begun singing the melody. They use their fists for support in such a way that thumb and forefinger are pressed against the earth. Hopping gently, they move in this crouched position and give a good imitation of the waddling walk of the cormorant (Fig. 105). Now and then they twitter xī xī... as they push past one another. Finally they form a circle, hold hands, rise, and go around the circle a few times. A woman stands beside this circle, holding a mussel shell filled with water in her left hand and a little twig in her right hand, with which she bespatters everyone who glides past her, "for when touwíšiwa build their nests, they come to the shore, drink water, and spatter it in all directions." At a sign from the leader, this game is ended with loud cries of ho ho.

Sometimes the calls of the winefkēr a are heard during the course of the individual games. The games are put on in the čiéxaus hut and not in full view of the public because "the animals imitated were formerly human beings and much of what happened to them is known." I did not have an opportunity to see some of these games, for example, the lakúma-xēl; the people were not sure enough of the melody. Instead, Nelly Lawrence and elderly women told me about the following custom. Formerly the Yamana made these games even more realistic by actually masking the participants. Each one wrapped himself up completely in a sea-lion skin from which the head had not yet been cut off, or he placed /1480/ a piece of skin over his head so that only part of his face was uncovered and put a few large teeth of the sea lion into his mouth so that they protruded very prominently. All the people thus masked very carefully imitated the movements and the behavior of the sea lions while they moved from the čiéxaus hut to the shallow water at the beach. Clumsily they slid into the sea and squirted themselves with water out of sheer exuberance. If while this was going on several women succeeded in surrounding a man, they kept

/1480 cont./

him encircled and led him back to the čiexaus hut. It was only here that the victorious women released him amid loud hoots. The Yamana of earlier times also had appropriate masks for the other imitative games. In any case, however, the games gave all the participants great enjoyment. Naturally, the men to this day also entertain themselves now and then with games for practice, some of which are popular among young people (p.579); during these games they try, at the same time, to become more proficient in handling their weapons. They never have races, however, which Bridges (a):209 mentioned. Their many other amusements, which never bore them, are amply sufficient for them and relax them.

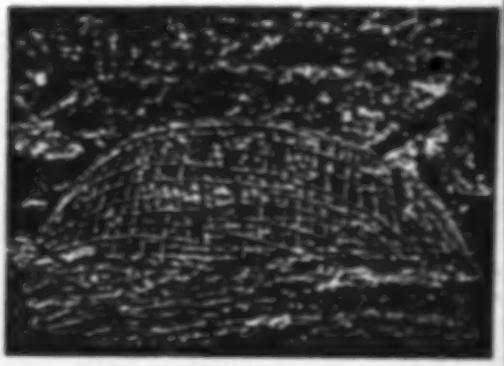
H. Characteristics of Yamana Culture

The numerous details presented in this book characterize the economy of the Yamana as one at the gathering stage. Everything that these natives need and use is simply taken by them in the form offered voluntarily by nature. They themselves make no effort to produce the materials they need or to raise plants and animals. Thus, these people are wholly dependent on their environment.

Such a relationship, however, is not one of total inactivity or indifference on the part of man. His entire attention and untiring efforts were always directed toward utilizing the conditions imposed by the given environment and controlling natural forces as much as possible. By doing so he finally achieved an adaptation to his environment which could scarcely be improved upon under existing conditions. In my opinion, his economy, as a whole and in its details, represents optimum adaptation. I have often referred to the high degree of efficiency of most of the arrangements of the Yamana and the amazing effectiveness of their weapons which require a minimum of human effort. The reason that the Fuegian did not achieve more in his economy is by no means because he lacks the necessary physical equipment or mental powers. It is the environment itself which has set insurmountable barriers to his efforts toward progress. He has truly pushed ahead to these barriers by creating his unique, very

342

Single Hut



Community Hut

524

Waiyandella Game

Haiyekasanaskwa Game

[291]

Former Clothing

Vulture Game

Albatross Game

DEFINITE AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 A great deal of *Yahgan* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play releasing tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

376 Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating
[293] beverages were made or used by the *Yahgan* before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 14). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Yahgan* and their neighbors, the *Alacaluf* and *Ona*.

526 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at
857 stone throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity.

There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillocks, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tcenalára, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tcenalára" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward
[533] through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were common accompaniments of children's group play.

[481] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's-buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball
526 game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S316 Yahgan S316

end to form four prongs which were sharpened and hardened in the fire (fig. 84, *b*). These prongs were wedged apart with small wooden toggles held in place by a lashing of either braided grass or whalebone. The head was lashed to the shaft with a seal-hide thong. 411

5. LIMPET-SPEAR.—The limpet-spear (*kuldéwa*) had either the fish or the crab spearshaft. It is seen with the former in fig. 79, *a*. The head (fig. 84, *a*) had but two prongs with flat, chisel-like blades. They were forced slightly apart by a small toggle.

BOW AND ARROW

In the old days, according to all accounts, the Yahgan habitually used the bow and arrow, but during the last half of the nineteenth century this weapon rapidly fell into disuse, until by the end of the century the bow had become a toy for children. [524]

FIG. 85.—Yahgan bone arrowpoint. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

According to Fitzroy (1839, pp. 184, 187) the Yahgan everywhere arrowed birds and, in the east, guanaco. Their bows he described as three or four feet long and "quite plain." The arrows were two feet in length, well polished, and with the points so loosely attached that they remained in the flesh when the shaft was withdrawn (fig. 85).

An example of Yahgan bow which the Rev. John Williams kindly allowed the writer to examine had been given to his children several years ago as a toy. In general type it resembled the Ona bow, like which it was fluted, a characteristic due, I suspect, to contact with the Ona at Harberton. However, it was much shorter than the Ona bow, and much more curved, especially at the ends. This latter feature may have been accidental, for guanaco-sinew has a tendency to shrink for many years, and the writer has noted in museums Ona bows unduly curved owing to the increasing tension of the cord.

The arrows were short, clumsy, and untapered—very crude

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

517 sport, the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive.
526 Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport,
857 so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kahleka*, another between two groups known as *ungiana*.

524 Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-
851 my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball-game like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

533 Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (op. cit., p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *loima*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *telania*, are songs of mourning; the *arua* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jacos* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the
535 dances are called *uona*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

526 The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

578 In general the Yahgan were not an amicable people, according
628 to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to aid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General mêlées, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges sponsors the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

628 The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1884, p. 224.

/484 cont./

223 411 of the crowded flock of birds; this may hit one or another of them and stun them. Even the Fuegian cannot hit a definite target at the same distance or farther away, since the sling is not very accurate, but it does carry a stone in a high arc to a distance of 80 meters (192). Nevertheless, we must admit, to

192. On this subject Bove (e):158 and Colini:161, as well as Lovisato (a):198 and (b):136, have grossly exaggerated. Hyades (h):32 and (q):357 protested against their assertions which literally coincide.

[526] use Hyades' (g):35 words, that the Yamana "are very skillful in manipulating them," and in the course of the day they very often use the sling just for fun (193).

193. This can hardly be more clearly expressed than Bridges has done: "The amusement these natives are most fond of is slinging at birds; they often go along the shores here with their slings" (VSA:XII, 55:1965) /cited in English/.

411 482 Naturally, our Indians must have their slings handy. Their way of carrying them is surprisingly advantageous. Most of them hang the two strings of sinew around the neck and draw the last third of it over the folded center section, without any kind of knotting; the ends hang down freely. With a single movement of the left hand to grasp the center section, the sling is ready to be used. At the same moment the right hand puts the stones in position and grasps the ends, ready to throw (Fig. 41). Others draw the two sinew-strings around the head, one on each side, so that the center section is in the back, and then simply loop the free ends over each other. Finally, a few of them tie the sling around their hips (194). As we have said, they put the sling,

194. Fitz-Roy (a):138 noticed that "a man always carries his sling around his neck or waist, wherever he goes" /cited in English/.

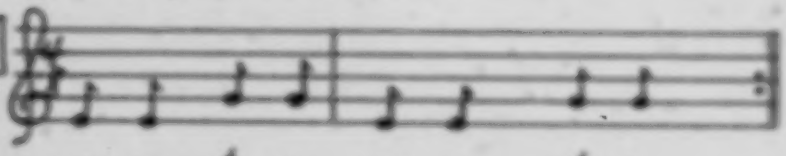
/768 cont./

After two syllables the whole column quickly bends to the other side. Gradually the movement is accelerated up to top speed, which arouses great merriment. When the column breaks up at the end, they all roll around happily in the grass (200).

200. BD:265 mentions hannaluana, "a game in which this word is intoned and regulates the rate of swaying the body" /cited in English/. This undoubtedly refers to the game described above.

Wajyandilla: This game is almost like ℓguallua. Here, too, the players form a long row, but they do not embrace each other; instead, each person places his hands on the shoulders of the one squatting in front of him. This means that the column is by no means as closely locked as in ℓguallua and hence does not sway as far to one side. The word wajyandilla is repeated along with the rhythmic body movements as follows:

[33]

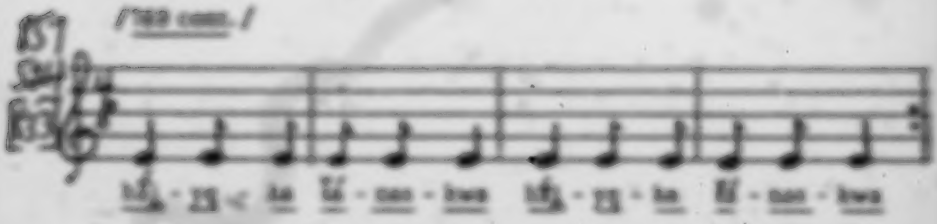


wa - yan dil - la wa - yan dil - la

/769/ Just as this word formation can be broken down into wajyana, the bow, and dila, dila, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a hill" /cited in English/, according to BD:229, so the game is intended to imitate the swaying of a bowstave whose two ends are grasped with the hands. Toward the end of this game the swaying back and forth of the body is accelerated.

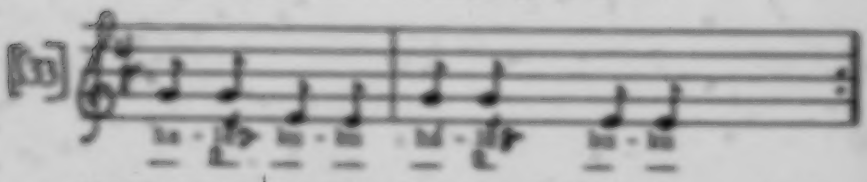
Hijyakali: This is entertainment chiefly for boys and men. They form a column, standing one behind the other, headed by the largest one. Each of them bends his knee and lifts his leg up and back, holding it at the ankle with the hand on the corresponding side of the body. It is hard to keep one's balance in this position. The whole column then hops backwards, without turning around, to the following rhythm:

/789 cont./



The free foot touches the ground on the first, third, and fifth syllable. It is too tiring for the dancers to keep up the song to the end. Hence the onlookers continue it and after a time accelerate it to such an extent that the dancers can no longer follow. The column disintegrates in utter confusion. Sometimes the column is allowed to extend a considerable distance from the spectators while the latter sing softer and softer as though the column were losing itself in the far distance. This game is very popular during the Kakapo festival because it is quiet.

Ha-ka-kuku: This game is restricted almost entirely to males. The boys and men who play it form a rather long column with a short space between each person. All of them uniformly lift either (their right or left leg) stretch it out horizontally, and grasp the knee with both hands. They hop in a straight line toward a certain goal, turn here in an arc, and hop back to the starting point. This movement is strenuous, and occasionally a chap will drop the outstretched leg if his other one will no longer carry him. The participants and spectators constantly repeat the word



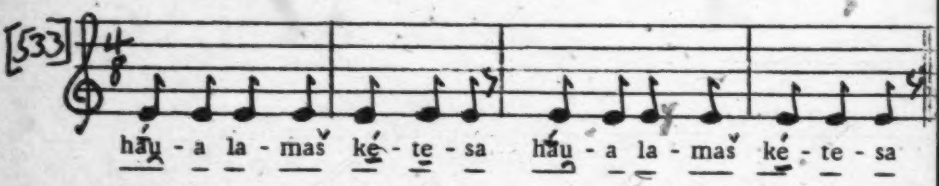
in such a way that with each second syllable the foot touches the ground.

Kakapo: This is a sort of hopping race that children are encouraged to do. Sometimes adults take part. Everyone lifts one leg from the ground in unison, /790/ either the right or left. They let their arms hang down freely. They either form a column and move very far from the starting point, most of them dropping out from exhaustion before they reach the goal, or a few form a diagonal row and hasten toward a goal from which they must immediately

/770 cont./

526 return to the starting point. The one who gets back first without
857 having fallen on his other foot is the winner. The candidates in the ciexaus were most often allowed to refresh themselves somewhat with this game.

857 Hąualamaškétesa: This is a ring game played by girls and
534 women, to which boys are sometimes admitted. They form a circle and hold hands. A man or woman, less often a child, places himself in the center. Then the circle moves, first in one direction, then in another, with growing speed; it finally becomes a fast whirl. The person inside becomes almost dizzy. After several rotations top speed has been reached, and the players themselves lose their balance. Suddenly their circle disintegrates when they all drop hands, and everyone makes a complete turn wherever he happens to be standing and thereupon falls to the ground. During the first few rotations the entire circle squats down at brief intervals and gets up again as fast as lightning, but after the rotation become faster this is omitted. Meanwhile they uninterruptedly and with increasing speed repeat:



The word hąualamaškétesa (201) comes from the western dialect.

201. In BD:272 we find: " 'hoalömösköta,' a senseless childish play in which this word was intoned" /cited in English/.

The same game is called tukusetewánasa (202) in the southern

202. BD:474 gives: " 'tukusatuwána,' a game and to play this game in which the players go rapidly round in circles more or fewer forming the circle till they get giddy and fall" /cited in English/.

/1474/ 2. Amusements

517 524 The way the children play when several families camp in the same spot for a few days has been described (p.576). The way they tease each other in true childish fashion is shown, for example, by the use of Adenocystis alga (Fig. 80, p.593) with which wily boys surprise unsuspecting girls. Smaller as well as larger children have a great deal of fun with the swing (p.585); concerning even middle-aged persons, Bridges maintains that "the swing also they are very fond of" /cited in English/ (VSA: XII, 53;1865). The adults, too, take advantage of being together for mutual diversion and general entertainment (373).

373. Bridges (k):240 says in a very general way: "Their principal amusements are wrestling, playing with a ball, and practicing with spears, arrows, slings, and stones" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (a):209, Outes (g):53, Spegazzini (a):170, Whaits in MM:X, 12;1876, and others speak of dances. These reports and the few expressions in BD are, unfortunately, incomplete. Bridges (a):209 maintained that "most of their amusements are very childish" /cited in English/; these words alone show plainly how little he understood the characteristics of those Indians.

526 The popular ball-game does not require special preparation. Anyone may call the people out of the huts to a smooth, grassy area where they form a large circle. The ball, kā́laka, the size of a fist, is made of the web of the albatross, first blown up to dry, stuffed with down feathers, and finally sewn up. It is tossed up perpendicularly with the flat palm of the hand; when it returns, another player must again toss it into the air and make sure that it ascends as vertically as possible. Otherwise, it usually falls to the ground outside the circle of players, which is supposed to be avoided. Lawrence, along with Bridges (i):16, declares: "The Indians are very fond of playing at ball" /cited in English/ (MM: VI, 128;1872), which they call kā́laka ā́raku. This is almost the

/1474 cont./

526

same as the other game of ball, known as kā́lęa. BD:201 mentions only kā́laka, "a ball of any kind" /cited in English/. For kā́lęa one needs the stomach of a seal, which is dried and blown up. With the hand flat it is tossed vertically into the air, but since the shape of the ball is irregular, its flight is uncertain and it often falls to the ground outside the circle of players.

Whereas men and women join in ball-playing, only two men take part in wrestling, which is less popular. It is called kā́laka mūlā́ka. The name is easily explained: Before the match begins, a person chooses his opponent from the audience and challenges him by placing a little ball, kā́laka, at his feet. This man must accept if he does not want to be called a coward, and with the other man he immediately steps inside the large circle of spectators. At once they seize each other and wrestle until one of them is held down by the other in such a way that his entire back is on the ground. The spectators follow the match with loud cries and enthusiastically acclaim the victor. Tripping a person is not permitted, but one man can use his knee to kick the shank of the other so hard /1475/ that he sways and is more easily knocked over. The one who is defeated suffers a considerable affront to his own honor and that of his best friends. One of the latter immediately steps inside the circle of spectators, grasps the ball, and places it at the feet of the winner who has no choice but to prove his skill with the new opponent, and the two grapple. As Bridges (i):16 asserts: "they never tried more than twice when those matches proved equal" /cited in English/. Before the fight a yę́kamuš gives strength and stability to the knees of the wrestlers by his magic massage. The one who is defeated is called ūiya or takupę̄na. The winner, ā́šaša kā́laka, who is unmarried is very much desired by girls for marriage (cf. the wrestling match of the Selk'nam in Vol. I, 1134). A general struggle, known as hąkajyā́wa, takes place if a man has been successively victorious over several men of another group. In order to vindicate their wounded honor, the latter appear before this man, and one of them places the little ball at his feet. The two start wrestling within the large circle of spectators which has quickly formed. If the previous victor keeps the upper hand, a friend of the defeated one will immediately challenge him, and a new struggle begins. A third and a fourth man follow.

/1475 cont./

●526 Soon a second, fourth, and sixth pair have come together, and finally all the men of one group are wrestling with those of the other. Then the women also pitch in and push the wrestling pairs to the ground. Finally, in the general melee, no one knows who can boast of having won. Thus, the ones who began the wrestling believe that their reputation has been restored and both groups separate peacefully. The women do not care for this general wrestling, for it ends in a nasty brawl.

The so-called imitative games are more enjoyable and
524 much more agreeable to the Yamana because they are in such perfect accord with their nature. They reproduce the movements and the calls of certain kinds of animals with amazing accuracy. Mimicry is only a supplementary aspect, for often they repeat the melody without the body movements. These games are permitted only during the čiéxaus celebration, either in the Great Hut or in front of it (p. 822); it is the duty of the winefkēʔa to keep curious persons away. At the general concluding ceremony, however, old and young may look on (p. 811). Sometimes only men or only women take part, but usually both together. Each of these games has its own melody.

The ʔamaxēl, the game of the sea lion (Otaria jubata). Both men and women, clumsily and ponderously, lie down close to one another in an irregular group. Some of them stretch slowly, others look around in a bored way, some prop themselves up with their hands flat, while others, half upright, drag themselves along the ground. One person will scratch his back as though his hand were a flipper; another wallows exuberantly in the sand. One person will snore loudly until his neighbor lies down on top of him, whereupon he shoots up angrily and bares his teeth to the one who disturbed him. Two other persons fondle each other, imitating male and female. This or that one will repeatedly snap shut /1476/ his wide-open mouth, as though he had caught fish in the water, make loud chewing motions, and smack his lips with delight. In the midst of all this a few persons will roar in a deep, threatening voice. While this confused tangle moves and stirs about, the spectators nearby repeat the melody and often clap their hands. The players themselves intermittently call out hoʔ-hoʔ... or rūkrúk... After some time a woman gets up and gently taps one player after

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 A great deal of *Yahgan* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play releasing tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

276 Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating [273] beverages were made or used by the *Yahgan* before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 **Art.**—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 14). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Yahgan* and their neighbors, the *Alacaluf* and *Ona*.

526 **Games and sports.**—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at 857 stone throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity.

There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillocks, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tcenalóra, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tcenalóra" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward [533] through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were common accompaniments of children's group play.

[481] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's-buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball 526 game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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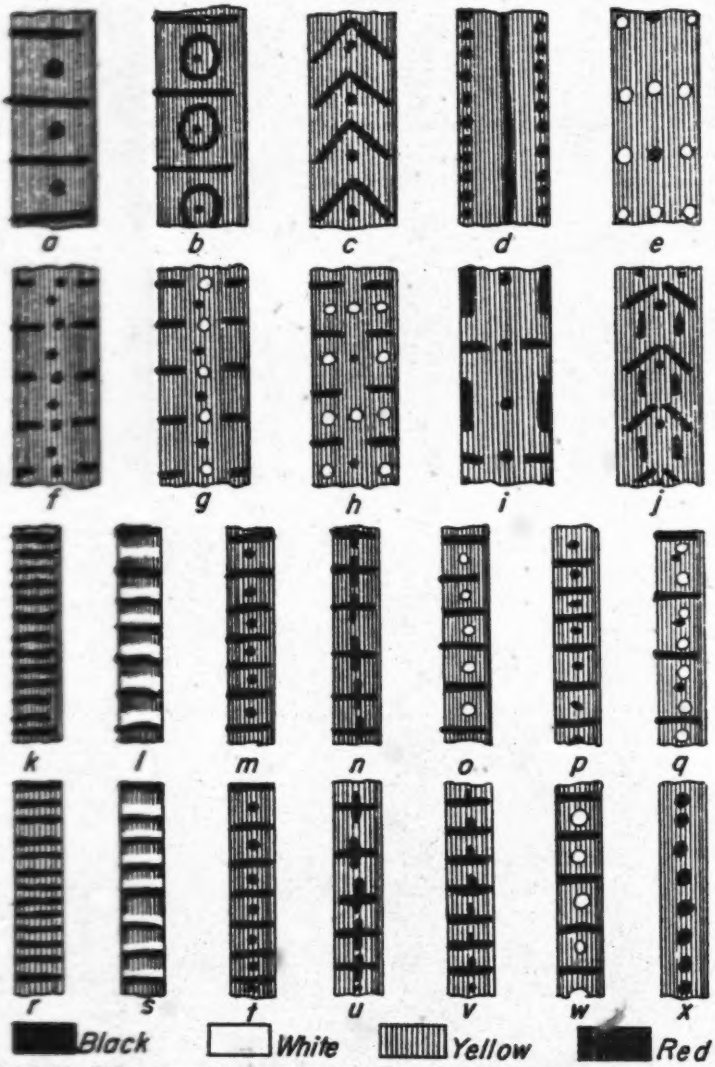

FIGURE 14.—Yahgan decorative patterns. From the painted frame of a ceremonial lodge. (Redrawn from Lothrop, 1928, pl. 9.)

526 Wrestling was indulged in a good deal, mostly by the men, although the women would sometimes intervene in the group wrestling. In pair wrestling, a man challenged an opponent by putting a small ball at his feet. The onlookers formed a circle around the contestants and applauded vigorously. The aim was to put the opponent on his back.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

526 The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically massaged by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

538 Music.—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely 533 simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the čiéxaus and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to [534] von Hornbostel (1936). There were no musical instruments at all. Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

535 Dances.—Apart from the dances carried out during the chiéxaus and kina rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

771 Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men. [769] But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and focal in shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each [787] *Yahgan* had a yefáčel, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The kina rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

776 Theism.—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Watauinéwa or Watauinéiwa, who was also called by other

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Among the Yahgan, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Ona. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will soon abandoned the undesired husband. In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 206) a man might have from one to four wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by custom. 583 586 595

Infidelity resulted in no fixed form of punishment, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yahgan man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his amours, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him. 684

Children

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted orphans set down in the mission records, the Yahgan did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon put an end to them or drove them under cover. 858 847 [797]

Soon after birth had taken place the Yahgan mother bathed in the sea and the new-born child was also immersed in order to toughen it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° to 50° Fahrenheit, while the air at best could be described as no warmer than temperate. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that soon after birth all but the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly eliminated. 846

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see incipient couvade.

Games and Amusements

The Yahgan to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much care and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling, and stones; but while these exercises often assumed the form of 517 526 857

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

517 sport, the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive. 526 Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport, 857 so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kahleka*, another between two groups known as *ungiana*.

524 Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball-game 857 like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

533 Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (op. cit., p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *loima*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *telania*, are songs of mourning; the *arua* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jucos* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the 535 dances are called *uona*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

526 The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

578 In general the Yahgan were not an amicable people, according 628 to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to aid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General mêlées, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges sponsors the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

628 The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1884, p. 224.

1: Gusinde--656 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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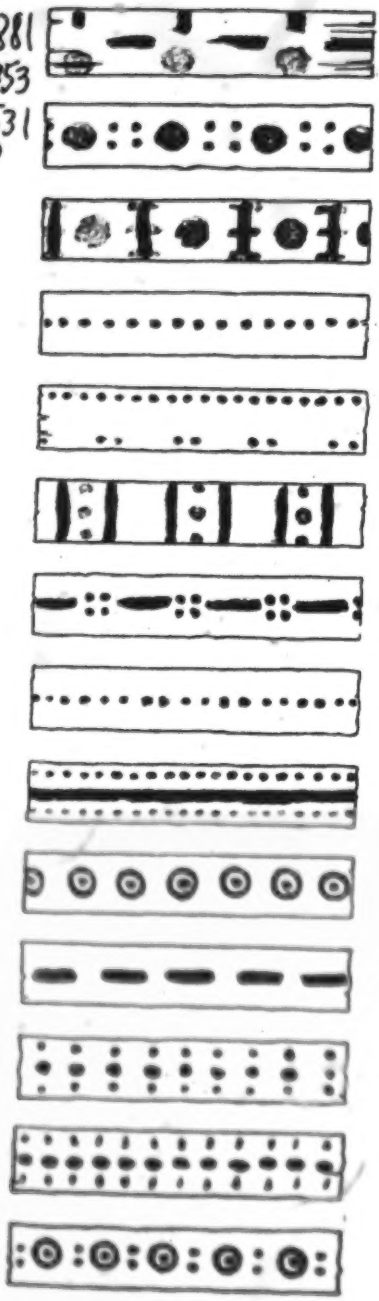
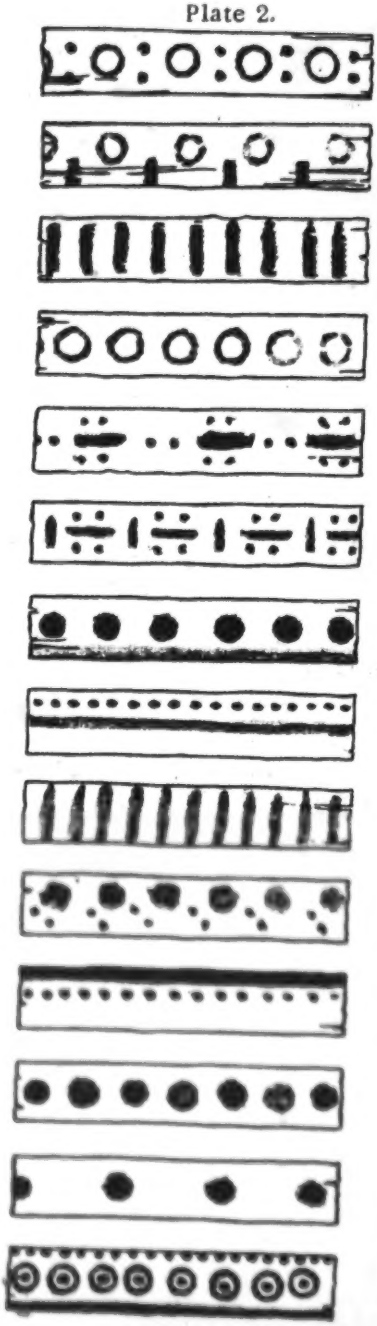
Plate 2.



Ornamental Designs Painted on the Framework of the Initiation Hut.



/835 cont./
X881 comfortable seating for many people and can be extended in
346 length at will, so that all are safely under shelter.

The Yamana, however, are not satisfied with this plain con-
X881 struction, but decorate it to a considerable extent on the inside.
346 They are satisfied artistically with painting simple designs on wood.
352 Formerly when they did not have the European iron ax, they
531 scraped the bark off single small trunks with mussel shells and painted their designs directly on the exposed wood fibers. This is still done, but nowadays they more often make long, narrow little tablets with their ax, which are placed against the framework on the interior, are slightly curved at the bottom, and form an arch up to the highest center line. They are placed 40 to 60 centimeters apart and usually in such a way that two are opposite each other.

Finally, in the upper part of the framework they fasten short, small, painted tablets and sticks which hang down freely. The latter are 25 to 35 centimeters long, cylindrical, with a smooth surface and ends cut off straight. The thinner end points downward. The little tablets are always long and narrow, 20 to 45 centimeters long, seven to ten centimeters wide, and the corners are either rounded or sharp. In the latter case, the wider of the two narrow sides ends in a short, square little handle into which a small hole is bored or a flat notch is cut. The little tablets and sticks, yĕxalapáteg ikamanáki, are fastened by a tendon or reed stalk in the center of the vaulted framework where they hang down freely and lightly swing in the draft or the vibration of the framework (cf. the reproductions on Plates 2 and 3).

If the Yamana wish to paint these ornamental plaques, as
[386] well as the small trunks and long, small tablets, they use the customary colors, black, white, and red, which they mix with seal blubber. They apply this mixture with their fingers, arranging dots and lines in varied patterns. The person painting them follows his artistic inspiration of the moment and his feeling for beauty; hence all kinds of combinations of lines, dots, and circles appear in manifold variety.

The Yamana repeatedly assured me that these ornamental objects had no particular meaning and served exclusively to beautify /836/ their čiĕxaus hut (256). They are left there after

256. Reproductions of these ornamental plaques

X881 346 352 531

/836 cont./

and sticks with different patterns may be found in black and white in Koppers (a):48, and in color in Lothrop (b):126. In the latter reproductions, the background is too bright a yellow. It is not painted, but left in the natural color of the beech wood.

the ceremony is over (257), for such articles are not used in any

257. After my first initiation and later after my second, when I expressed the wish to take along a few of these ornamental objects, the Indians took down not only the long painted plaques and hanging sticks, but also removed the long thin pieces of wood and trunks out of the ground and gave them all to me without hesitation, further proof that they do not regard these things as having any value other than as decorations for the Great Hut during the initiation.

other way.

X881 346

There is no partition anywhere inside the hut, and one can survey the whole without obstruction from one end to the other. Also, there is no particular allotment of areas and places to sit. The candidates with their sponsors squat between the other participants in an informal, relaxed arrangement. The adults, however, use the wider entrance, tumēči, almost exclusively, whereas the úšwāla have contact with the outside world only by way of the narrower entrance, úšatumēči (258). The two entrances are so

258. BD:113 gives " 'ussa,' position in or up..., up at the inner end of the room" /cited in Englist/.

arranged that the wider one for the adults faces the camp while the other one is nearer the woods so that the candidates, unobserved by children and adults in the camp, can disappear into it. Each of the entrances is closed off with a large piece of leather (259)

[177]

259. Nowadays they often use sacking and

1; Gusinde--B07 E-8 (1918-1924) 1937 SHS Yahgan SH6

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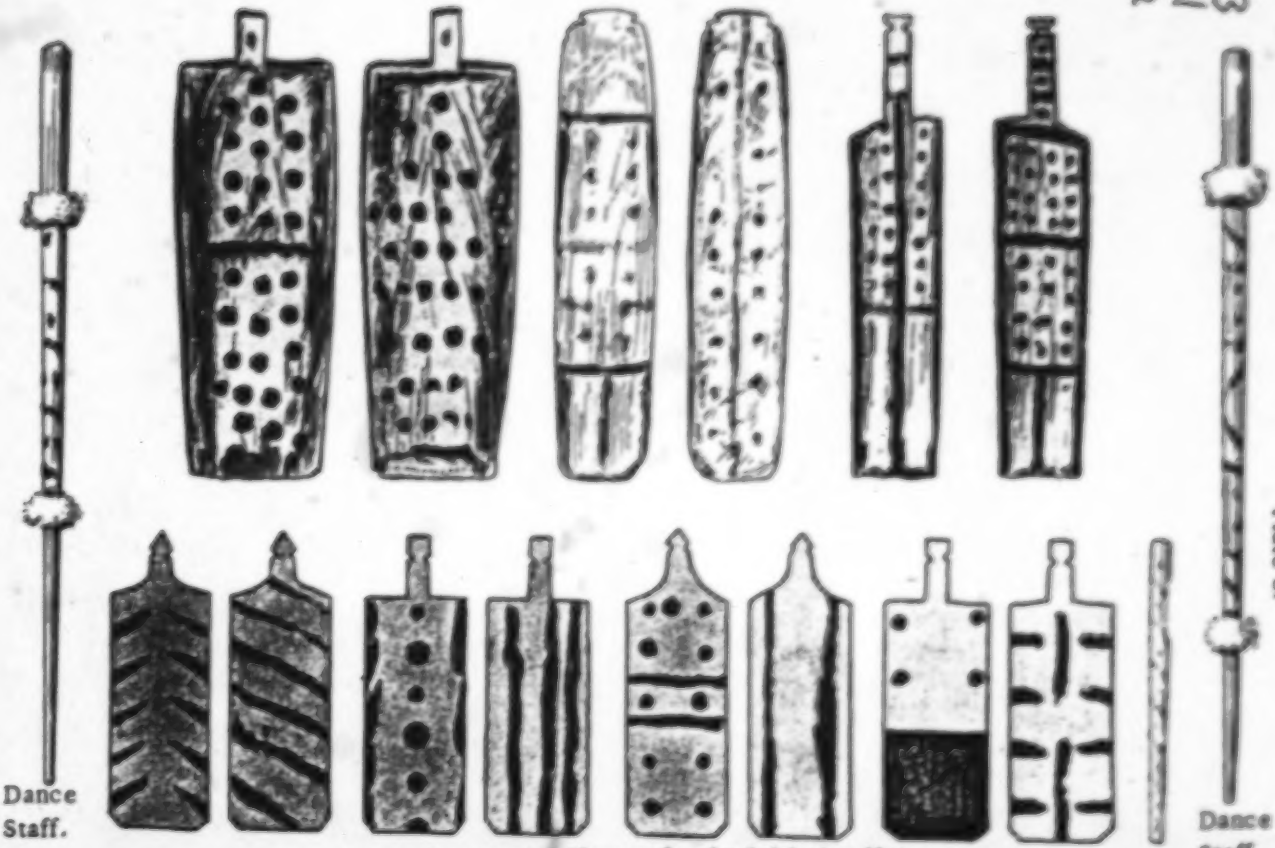
Plate 3.



Dance Staff.

Ornamental Plaques for the Initiation Hut.

Dance Staff.

/1463 cont./

517 whale," /cited in English/, according to BD:630, or wálina for a man who makes a good canoe. People who make a small basket or an ornament with particular care are known far and wide, and the accurate construction of such things is talked about by others because it gives them satisfaction and true enjoyment. One often hears expressions like the following: "What a pretty thing! -- How good-looking that is! -- The workmanship is very accurate and shapely!..." Everyone praises the effort made by an artisan. When they see a perfect specimen, old people encourage the young ones to imitate it. Any kind of praise is gratifying to the Yamana, and he makes an effort to obtain it. Beyond that, however, he also finds particular pleasure in the qualities of the beautiful object. A European, if he wants to be fair in his judgment, must take into consideration the difficulties that hamper the Yamana in the making and fashioning of his implements. For example, he does not have the use of metal tools and measuring instruments, but is dependent solely on his hardened, not very limber fingers and upon the measurements of his eye. For this reason, obviously, the various rows in a little basket (Fig. 101) or an ornament and the lines in a painting are never absolutely perfect. The indolence and the carelessness of persons who do not want to take pains and trouble are, of course, also reasons for many an inadequate piece of work.

531 The Yamana enhance the beauty of certain objects and their
302 own bodies by means of painting. They use the well-known ma-
822 terials (p. 90) for the three colors that are the only ones applied: lūš = red, scarlet; yāgu = light, luminous, white; finally, lēmbi = black. The pigments are either rubbed to a dry powder or first mixed with water or blubber in a large Mytilus shell (Fig. 102) to form a thick paste and then applied with the finger or with a painting stick (pp. 93 , 712 , 790). Designations for other tones of color are not altogether lacking, but are seldom used. For instance, one says lakíma, "gray," only for human hair and for fur, whereas the word pēwajāgu is used for the gray, faded, and pale color of any other object. Light red or a reddish yellow is designated by pājamī. There is no particular significance attached to any of these colors (p. 94) (364), although one or

364. Martius: 188 and Spegazzini (a):170

/1463 cont./

531 have maintained the contrary,
302 without justification.

820 another is preferred on certain occasions, for example, in the case of /1464/ mourning (p.1044). Scarlet gives the Yamana intense pleasure (365); the color of the máku blossom serves as a

365. This has been confirmed a number of times. Hyades (b):1345 and (d):306 says: "The favorite color is red; the other colors are often confused" /translated from French/. I also agree with the last part of his statement. The designations that he (q):205 lists for all kinds of colors are worthless.

standard of comparison for them (p.494). The Yamana use the
531 well-known pigments to paint their faces or their entire bodies
302 on various occasions. The gay and rich variety of their designs very clearly expresses their by no means limited sense of beauty. This is even more definitely shown in their ornaments and in the patterns of color with which they cover various objects, such as the Kina masks and the ornamental staffs used in the ciéxam hut (Plates 2, 3, 4). /Fig. 102 appears here./ The Yamana have a considerable number of special designations for the various types of painting. The word wíguteka means "to paint horizontal lines upon the face with ímí as a mark of friendship" /cited in English/, according to ED:610; the word íjasina means "to paint the face with up and down bands or lines of either red or black" /cited in English/. The painting is sometimes supplemented with a feather decoration. I observed neither a special gift nor an inclination to
532 draw among the Yamana (366); I never saw children scratch simple

366. Differing on this point, Phillips (a):1011 reported: "It was strange that the Fuegians showed a great inclination to draw. Without being told, they collected strips of paper and drew caricatures on them with charcoal, which were supposed to represent their comrades. They were then given pencils, and they eagerly

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 5315 Yahgan 5315

DRUNKENNESS AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 A great deal of *Yahgan* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play relieving tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

396 Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating
[393] beverages were made or used by the *Yahgan* before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of badges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 14). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Yahgan* and their neighbors, the *Alacaluf* and *Ona*.

526 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at
854 some throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity.

There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillsides, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tonalóre, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tonalóre" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward
[533] through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were common accompaniments of children's group play.

[481] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's-buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball
526 game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SDS Tahgan SDS

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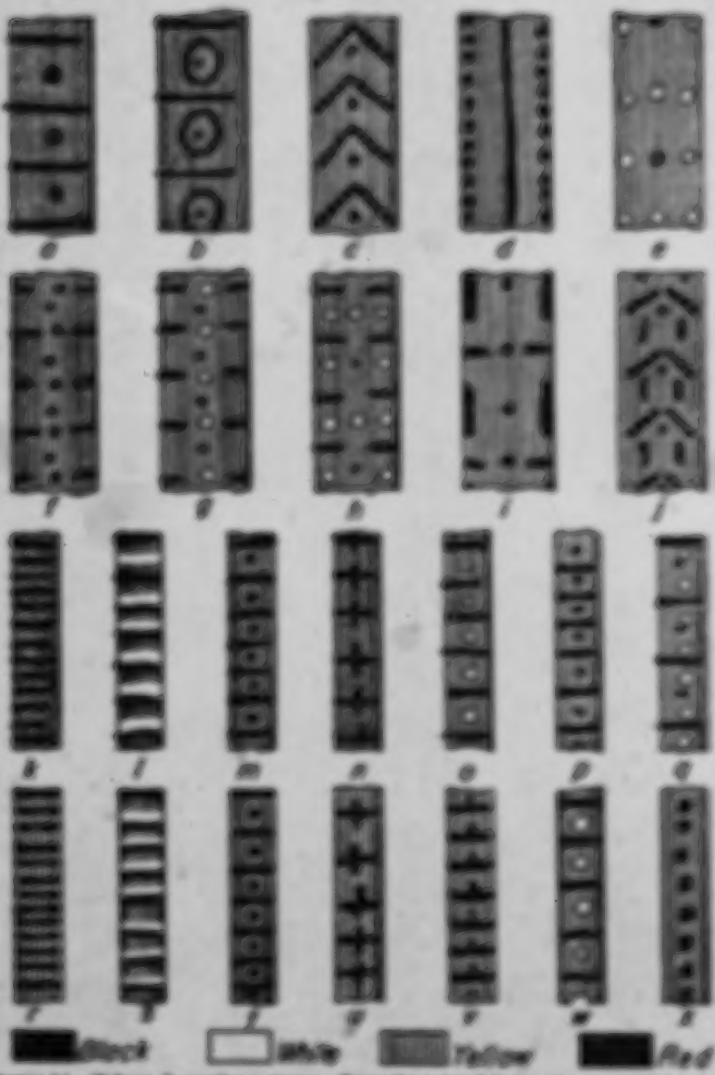

FIGURE 11.—Cahgan decorative patterns. From the painted frame of a ceremonial tahgan. (Reduced from Lothrop, 1946, p. 5.)

Wrestling was indulged in a good deal, mostly by the men, although the women would sometimes intervene in the group wrestling. In pair wrestling, a man challenged an opponent by putting a small ball at his feet. The onlookers formed a circle around the contestants and applauded vigorously. The aim was to put the opponent on his back.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5305 Yahgan 5305

381 a small hole near the lip of the shell. Through these holes a braided sinew cord was run, doubled back on itself, and lashed with spiral wrappings of sinew. This method of stringing is illustrated in fig. 30. The shells thus united are always graded according to size, sometimes with the biggest shell at one end and the smallest at the other, sometimes with the big shells in the middle and the small ones at either end.

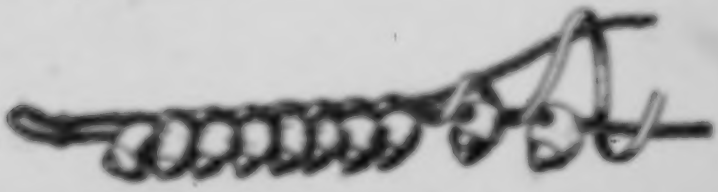

FIG. 30.—Detail of Yahgan shell necklace. Length of shells, one-half in. (34/2109)

USE OF PAINT

382 Like the Ona, the Yahgan made regular use of a red paint (lwi) obtained by burning earth, a black paint (ucpinkak) made of charcoal, and a white paint (ucw'ulpe) of clay. According to Fitzroy (p. 177) and Dabbene (1907, p. 38) these colors have symbolic significance. Thus, white was the sign of war or ceremonial display, black was the mark of grief and mourning, while red denoted peace and happiness. With their paints the Indians 531 adorned their persons, their dance masks, their ceremonial lodges, and some of their tools and utensils. The latter were often embellished with solid color, but body, dance masks, and ceremonial lodges were made the field for painted designs.

In pl. 12 is shown a selection of patterns taken from the frame of a ceremonial lodge. No simpler motives of artistic significance can be achieved, for these designs are mere smudges of color applied with thumb or finger. The elements are a dot, a short line, and, in one instance, a circle. Two lines are combined to form a cross, a T, and a chevron. Design units repeat themselves in simple rhythm.

Dance masks are illustrated in figs. 92 and 93. Their designs, though of symbolic significance, are again abysmally primitive. Facial painting may be studied in the photographs published by Klippen (1924); they are similar to the patterns here described.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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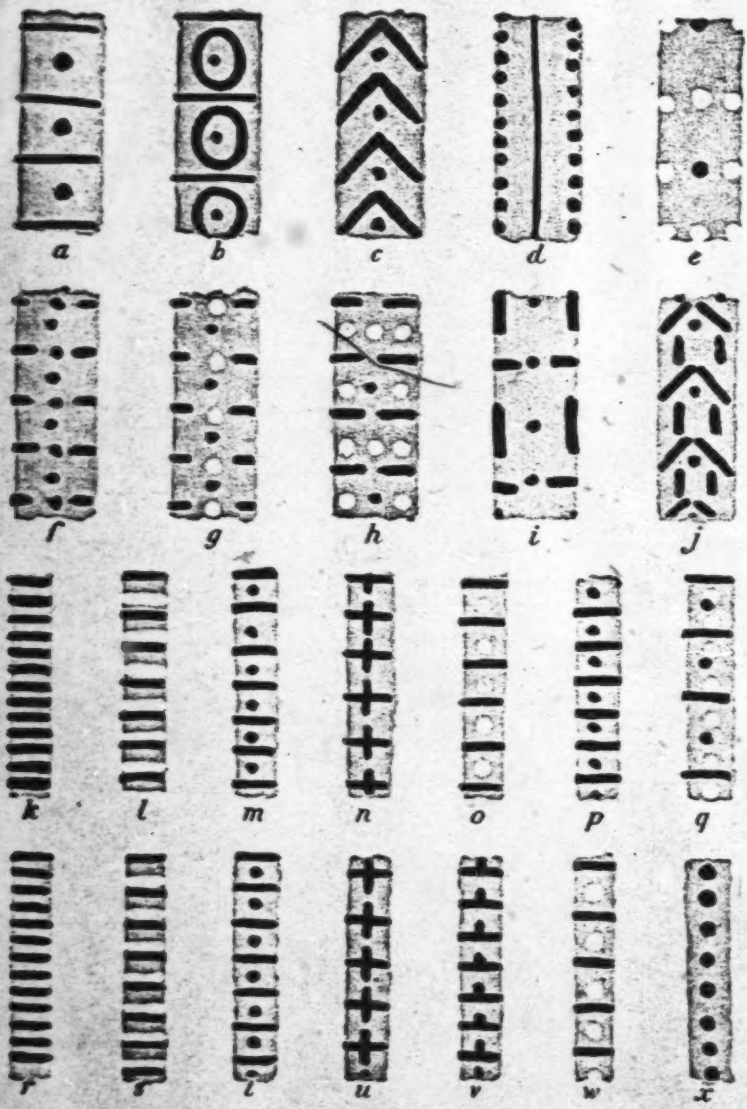

YAHGAN PAINTED DECORATION

[p 126-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

346 To beautify the initiation lodge, the flat inner surface of the
352 split saplings constituting the framework was painted with red,
531 white, and black paint. Broad boards, inserted at regular intervals in the frame, as may be seen in the upper view in pl. XIV, received similar decoration. The nature of the embellishment is shown in pl. IX, a series of designs copied from the lodge we have described. When a ceremony was in progress the hut was further adorned with small painted tablets hung from the roof, while an additional touch of color came from painted wands (fig. 91) which often were wedged in the frame of the house when not in use.

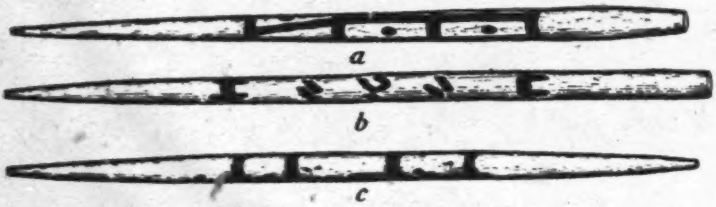

FIG. 91.—Yahgan painted ceremonial wands. Length of *b*, 24 in. (14/2227½)

343 Two hundred feet or so from the initiation lodge a second and smaller hut was erected to serve as a cook-house where meals for the candidates and officials were prepared.

292 The paraphernalia used during the ceremony we illustrate in
293 pl. XV and figs. 90 and 91. It consists of heron-plume headbands (*hapawára*) worn by the officials, kelp-goose down headbands (*pagal*) worn by the others present, a narrow hide headband painted white (*hehel*) worn by the initiate during part of the ceremony, a small stick also painted white (*w'matámia*) used for scratching, and variously painted wands (*tumoistáka*). The scratching-stick is assigned to all the Yahgan by Koppers (1925), but I was told that it was used only by the easterners. The wands were held in the hand during the singing and dancing, and were swung in time with the music. When not in use they were thrust upright in the ground or stuck in the frame of the lodge. If one fell on the ground it was considered an evil omen. I was told that these wands were not in use among the easterners. The men in charge of the ceremony kept at hand a seal-hide thong like that pictured in fig. 76, but adorned with closely spaced red dots; it was used to tie up any candidate who became unruly.

/1463 cont./

531 have maintained the contrary,
302 without justification.
822 another is preferred on certain occasions, for example, in the case of /1464/ mourning (p.1064). Scarlet gives the Yamana intense pleasure (365); the color of the mā́ku blossom serves as a

365. This has been confirmed a number of times. Hyades (b):1345 and (d):306 says: "The favorite color is red; the other colors are often confused" /translated from French/. I also agree with the last part of his statement. The designations that he (q):205 lists for all kinds of colors are worthless.

standard of comparison for them (p.494). The Yamana use the
531 well-known pigments to paint their faces or their entire bodies
302 on various occasions. The gay and rich variety of their designs very clearly expresses their by no means limited sense of beauty. This is even more definitely shown in their ornaments and in the patterns of color with which they cover various objects, such as the Kina masks and the ornamental staffs used in the čiẽxaus hut (Plates 2, 3, 4). /Fig. 102 appears here./ The Yamana have a considerable number of special designations for the various types of painting. The word wī̃esteka means "to paint horizontal lines upon the face with ímí as a mark of friendship" /cited in English/, according to BD:610; the word ā́jasina means "to paint the face with up and down bands or lines of either red or black" /cited in English/. The painting is sometimes supplemented with a feather decoration. I observed neither a special gift nor an inclination to
532 draw among the Yamana (366); I never saw children scratch simple

366. Differing on this point, Phillips (a):1011 reported: "It was strange that the Fuegians showed a great inclination to draw. Without being told, they collected strips of paper and drew caricatures on them with charcoal, which were supposed to represent their comrades. They were then given pencils, and they eagerly

/1464 cont./

532

continued to practice their skill, copying this and that, chiefly portraits, albeit with very moderate success." Aspinall:271 does not prove his statement that "they have a great talent for drawing."

lines or drawings in the sand with their fingers or with small sticks or scribble on the hut framework or the canoe with pieces of charcoal. Although I very often /1465/ wrote and drew in my diary, this did not even stimulate the adults, much less the youngsters, to imitate

[237]

Fig. 102. Shell of a Large Mytilus Mussel. Three-fourths natural size.

me (367).

367. What Snow (a):1, 339 has to say proves the curiosity of the Fuegians in Banner Cove: "They were all greatly astonished at my writing in pencil on blank paper;...and they eagerly begged of me some magic wood. Of course I gave them some, and they soon set to work trying to write as I did" /cited in English/.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 sang, seated in the central part of the lodge. Finally a mock battle between the sexes was staged.

Such then was the *shiehâus* ceremony. On it the Yahgan believed their well-being depended, and without it no one could have any standing in the community. In fact each individual repeated the performance two or more times, but received preferential treatment after the first course.

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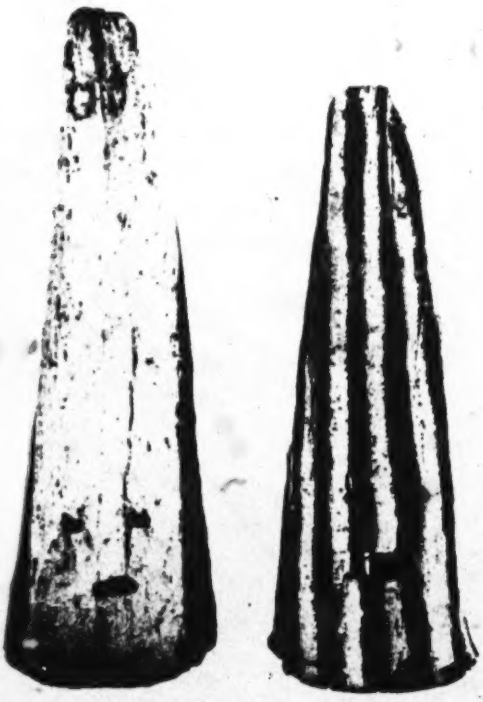


a b

FIG. 92.—Yahgan dance masks. Height of *a*, 27 in. (14/2259, 2258)

[535]
[532]

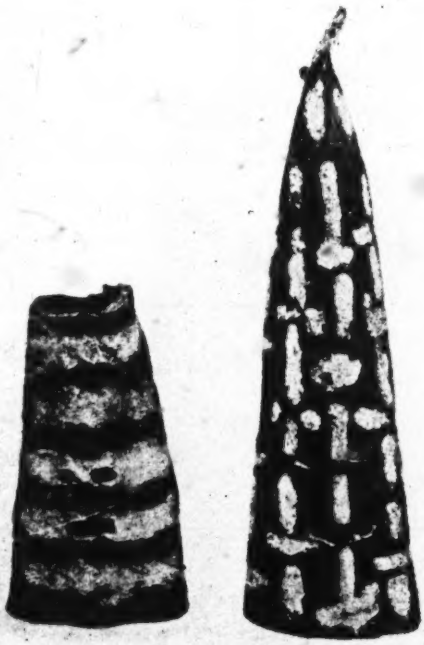
After having experienced the *shiehâus*, Yahgan men were allowed to enter the *kina* ceremony. This rite resembled the Ona *klókten*. Gusinde and Koppers believe that it originated among the Ona, pointing out that inequality of the sexes was foreign to Yahgan precept and that it was not taken so seriously by the Yahgan as the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges speaks of the ribald laughter among the Yahgan women when a mask fell off a supposed spirit, thus revealing his human character.

This ceremony fell into disuse among the Yahgan as early as the eighties of the last century; but it was revived in 1922 for the benefit of Gusinde and Koppers, to whose accounts of it the reader is referred. While differing in details, it was essentially like the Ona rite except that the treatment of the candidates neither lasted so long nor was so severe as among the Foot Indians.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

In figs. 92 and 93 are illustrated some of the masks used by the Yahgan. The material is either bark (fig. 92) or seal-hide (fig. 93), cut to pattern and sewed together with whalebone and gut respectively. There is usually a small opening at the top for ventilation. As Yahgan paints were not waterproof, a single mask could be adorned to represent many characters by the simple expedient of washing and repainting it. 535

As to the characters represented by the Yahgan, in fig. 92, *a*, is the rainbow, distinguished by broad red, white, and black bands; *b* has alternate red and white stripes, and it represents a smelt-like fish. In fig. 93, *a*, is a model of the *kalätpasha* ghost mask, while *b* represents the sea-hen. The wearers of these masks painted their bodies and limbs with similar decorative patterns.



a *b*

FIG. 93.—Model Yahgan dance masks. Height of *b*, 10 in. (14/2362)

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[302]

RELIGION

Although it has been repeatedly stated on excellent authority that the Yahgan had no real religion, I think it definitely established that they had religious beliefs and practices. 771

The Yahgan world was peopled by innumerable unseen beings: ghosts (*kushpig*) of departed shamans, spirits of the sea, the rocks, and the trees. These people, for the greater part, were malicious by nature, resentful of intrusion on their privacy, and, when seen by man, terrifying in aspect. Solitary travelers might suddenly find themselves facing a fierce spirit across the light of his camp-fire, 776

/723 cont./

854 him, and she also paints him just for fun. All this, however, has nothing to do with playthings. She dandles him and plays with him, devotes all her free time to him, and protects him carefully at night when he is lying beside her. She also addresses him and converses with him, but far less and more softly than a European mother does. There are no actual cradle songs, but a woman who [533] loves to sing sometimes begins a simple folksong, pasána.

With the definite love for children characteristic of our Yamana it is not surprising that every neighbor woman inquires explicitly about all the little ones in her vicinity. She gladly lends a hand wherever her services are desired or needed. Hence every young mother as long as she is taking care of an infant has several women helpers who are gladly at her disposal. She can count on them if she or her darling is sick, if she is temporarily incapable of working, or if her time is completely taken up by a special activity, for example, in the čiěxaus. It is very seldom that /724/ a mother will let a neighbor take her baby outside the hut, for she would almost expire with longing. Among themselves, the women discuss in detail how they can best serve the growth and well-being of their children. A woman is happy to take the child out of its mother's arms to fondle and pet it. She leads it up and down with both hands and tries to entertain it with all kinds of innocent surprises. She also rocks it gently in her arms, rhythmically repeating the words "hušˇ, hušˇ..." in a monotone.

The Fuegian women are good mothers who gladly make sacrifices for their children. They far outdo many European women in sincere love (157) and reliable care for their babies. I am

157. Bridges (i):21 confirms this: "Mothers of young children tend them most carefully, and give themselves up to their maternal duties much more entirely than is the case with most civilized people." Even someone like Spegazzini (a):166 gives them the following honorable recommendation: "Maternal love is, deeply rooted, and although... there are no manifestations of love, neither kisses nor caresses, nevertheless it is very apparent from

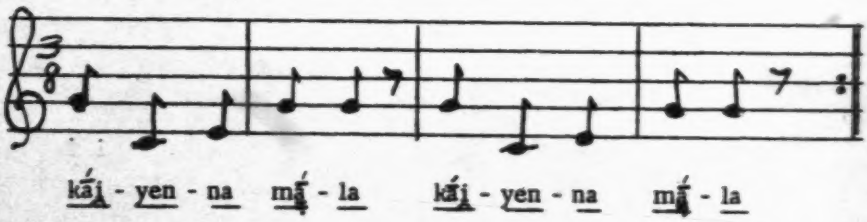
/766 cont./

857 and push him, tease and provoke him, tie his legs together, load
231 him down with all kinds of things, duck him in the water, imprison him in a hollow tree trunk stuff indigestible things into his mouth, and daub him with paint; in short, they try out the craziest notions on him. The rude handling and the sudden bursts of laughter of the children frighten the dog, but although he growls and barks, he does not have the heart to bite. This is perhaps the same animal from whose furious attacks a European can sometimes scarcely defend himself (p. 296). No matter how wildly children treat a dog, their parents do not scold them for it. Occasionally, however, a child will play very affably and affectionately with one. They all treat young animals with particular tenderness.

857 Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 395), Yamana children of both
524 sexes amuse themselves with a regular swing. A strong rope suffices, of the kind, for example, used in the large harpoon. Its ends are tied to a high branch, so that the middle part hangs down about half a meter above the ground. A child sits down on it, without using a special seat, and hangs on with both hands; another child starts it swinging by giving it a push. The little ones swing for hours until bad weather drives them into the hut (199).

199. Fitz-Roy (a):186 mentioned the swing: "Swinging between branches of trees, as our children do, is also a favourite pastime, the ropes being made of strips of sealskin" /cited in English/.

[33] Usually they endlessly repeat the five-syllable word kaiyennamāla in the following rhythm: /767/



/767 cont./

857 534 down at the top of an incline, their bodies stretched out lengthwise and their arms pressed tight to their sides. They lie on the same plane, that is, in a row, not above or below one another. At a signal everyone gives himself a little push and they all roll down. They try to keep the axis of their bodies exactly crosswise to the direction of movement, but inevitably /768/ this orientation cannot be maintained, and then several of them collide or roll over each other. The participants enjoy this entertainment all by themselves, whether or not there are other people watching. It is all the more fun, of course, if there are a lot of children, if they let themselves roll down fast and if they are very animated. BD:229 mentions dala, dula, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank" /cited in English/.

Čenalóra: Girls and women like this game, but they also let young men and boys play; the latter sometimes play it by themselves. They stand in a row. A particularly fat person forms the beginning and the others line up behind him, the bulkier ones nearer the front, the medium-sized ones farther back, and the thin ones at the end. They all squat down, but without touching the ground with their buttocks. Everyone puts his arms around the chest of the person in front of him, and they all push up close against each other. The leader supports himself with both fists on the ground. Then the closed rank slowly begins to move straight forward, all of them simultaneously dragging first the right and then the left foot forward, at the same time rocking from left to right. The column is sometimes several meters long and even crosses puddles, for it is imitating the movement of the canoe on the waves. For this reason the game is called ananlúra, "a boat rocks on the water" (ánan, the canoe; lúra from lurčtelli, "to wabble, roll as a crank canoe from side to side," /cited in English/ according to BD:285). They all sing in time to the movements of [533] their bodies:

čé - na ló - ra čé - na ló - ra

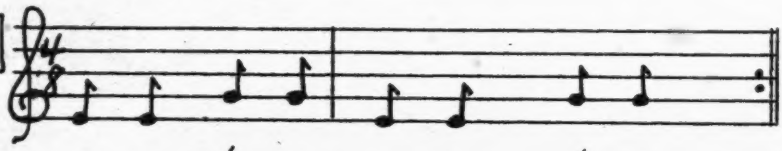
/768 cont./

85 526 After two syllables the whole column quickly bends to the other side. Gradually the movement is accelerated up to top speed, which arouses great merriment. When the column breaks up at the end, they all roll around happily in the grass (200).

200. BD:265 mentions hannaluara, "a game in which this word is intoned and regulates the rate of swaying the body" /cited in English/. This undoubtedly refers to the game described above.

Wajyandēlla: This game is almost like čenalōra. Here, too, the players form a long row, but they do not embrace each other; instead, each person places his hands on the shoulders of the one squatting in front of him. This means that the column is by no means as closely locked as in čenalōra and hence does not sway as far to one side. The word wajyandēlla is repeated along with the rhythmic body movements as follows:

[533]



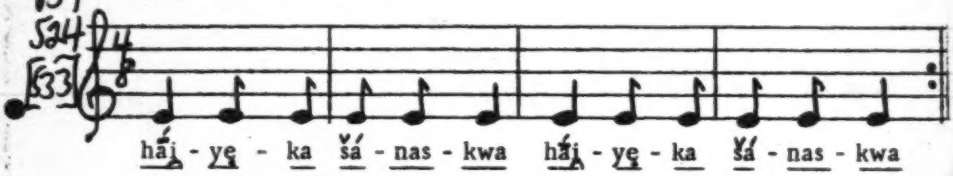
waj - yan dēl - la waj - yan dēl - la

/769/ Just as this word formation can be broken down into wājyana, the bow, and dāla, dūla, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank" /cited in English/, according to BD:229, so the game is intended to imitate the swaying of a bowstave whose two ends are grasped with the hands. Toward the end of this game the swaying back and forth of the body is accelerated.

Hājyekašá: This is entertainment chiefly for boys and men. They form a column, standing one behind the other, headed by the largest one. Each of them bends his knee and lifts his leg up and back, holding it at the ankle with the hand on the corresponding side of the body. It is hard to keep one's balance in this position. The whole column then hops backwards, without turning around, to the following rhythm:

857 /769 cont./

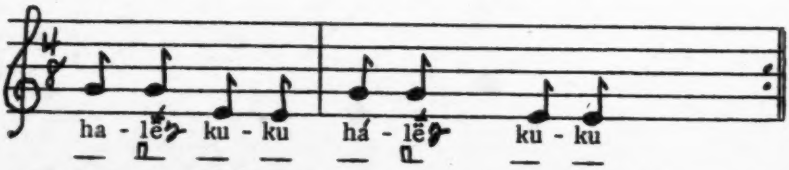
524 [533]



The free foot touches the ground on the first, third, and fifth syllable. It is too tiring for the dancers to keep up the song to the end. Hence the onlookers continue it and after a time accelerate it to such an extent that the dancers can no longer follow. The column disintegrates in utter confusion. Sometimes the column is allowed to extend a considerable distance from the spectators while the latter sing softer and softer as though the column were losing itself in the far distance. This game is very popular during the čiēxaus festival because it is quiet.

Halēŋ-kuku: This game is restricted almost entirely to males. The boys and men who play it form a rather long column with a short space between each person. All of them uniformly lift either their right or left leg, stretch it out horizontally, and grasp the knee with both hands. They hop in a straight line toward a certain goal, turn here in an arc, and hop back to the starting point. This movement is strenuous, and occasionally a chap will drop the outstretched leg if his other one will no longer carry him. The participants and spectators constantly repeat the word

[533]



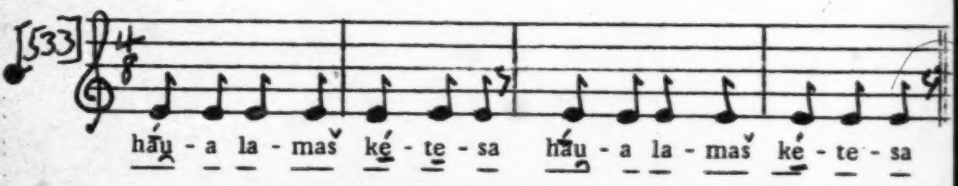
in such a way that with each second syllable the foot touches the ground.

526 Kaklēxana: This is a sort of hopping race that children are encouraged to do. Sometimes adults take part. Everyone lifts one
857 leg from the ground in unison, /770/ either the right or left. They let their arms hang down freely. They either form a column and move very far from the starting point, most of them dropping out from exhaustion before they reach the goal, or a few form a diagonal row and hasten toward a goal from which they must immediately

/770 cont./

526 return to the starting point. The one who gets back first without
857 having fallen on his other foot is the winner. The candidates in the ciexaus were most often allowed to refresh themselves somewhat with this game.

857 Háualamaškétesa: This is a ring game played by girls and
534 women, to which boys are sometimes admitted. They form a circle and hold hands. A man or woman, less often a child, places himself in the center. Then the circle moves, first in one direction, then in another, with growing speed; it finally becomes a fast whirl. The person inside becomes almost dizzy. After several rotations top speed has been reached, and the players themselves lose their balance. Suddenly their circle disintegrates when they all drop hands, and everyone makes a complete turn wherever he happens to be standing and thereupon falls to the ground. During the first few rotations the entire circle squats down at brief intervals and gets up again as fast as lightning, but after the rotation become faster this is omitted. Meanwhile they uninterruptedly and with increasing speed repeat:



The word háualamaškétesa (201) comes from the western dialect.

201. In BD:272 we find: " 'hoalõmösköta,' a senseless childish play in which this word was intoned" /cited in English/.

The same game is called tukusetewánasa (202) in the southern

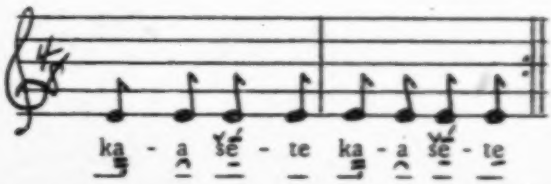
202. BD:474 gives: " 'tukusatuwána,' a game and to play this game in which the players go rapidly round in circles more or fewer forming the circle till they get giddy and fall" /cited in English/.

/770 cont./

857 dialect; both have the same number of syllables.

534 Kaašete: This game shows many similarities to háualamaškétesa. Women and girls form a circle, put their arms around the necks of their neighbors on either side, and draw their bodies close together. A man or boy, sometimes a woman, stands in the center. As the circle slowly moves, the person in the center, holding his arms tight to his sides, tries to push between two women. As he makes an effort to do so, the women or girls draw still closer together, and despite great dexterity he usually does not succeed in breaking the circle. Only after he has made several attempts at different places do the victorious players voluntarily open up an escape for the helpless one. In case a chap succeeds /771/ in breaking through, one of the two girls between whom he escaped must usually step inside the circle. Some other chap, however, may be called upon to enter it. As the circle slowly moves, they repeat the following in a perfectly uniform and moderately fast rhythm:

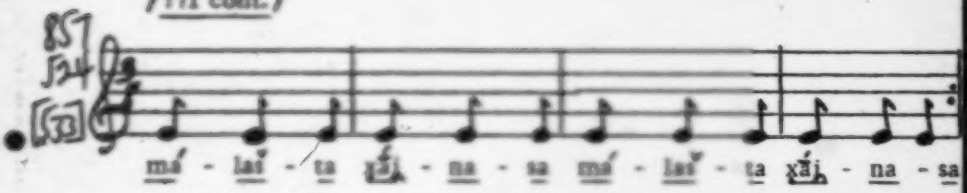
[533]



This is frequently interrupted because certain parts of the circle, amid much laughter, push close together against the imprisoned man's attempts at escape. At variance with this, BD:203 gives " 'kaašēata, ' a certain kind of game when those who play join in a long line by putting their arms over each other's shoulders and sweep forward and veer about singing" /cited in English/.

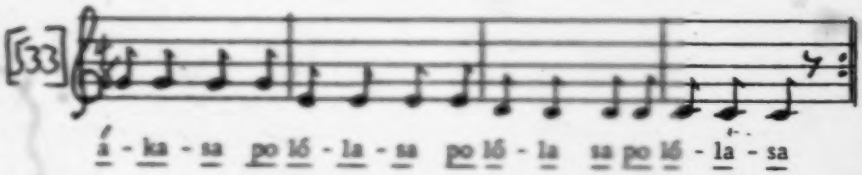
Málaštaxáinasa: Girls primarily arrange this game. They line up side by side in a row, and each one places her hands behind the necks and on the shoulders of her neighbors. Hence they are close together. Facing forward, they advance a few short steps, meanwhile swaying in unison to the right and left. After they have gone a certain distance on level ground, the whole row turns and goes back to the starting point. Slowly moving back and forth, they ceaselessly repeat the word:

/771 cont./



While they sing the first half of this word, that is, the first three syllables, they bend toward the right, whereas with the last three syllables they bend toward the left; at the same time they also change the step.

Akasapolólasa: This game is very similar to the preceding one and is played mostly by girls. Just as in málaitaxájnasa, they form a row side by side and face forward. The row does not move forward, however, but first to one side and then to the other. Thus, their feet step sideways. While all the participants uninterruptedly and in moderate tempo repeat the long word



they bend the upper part of their bodies in unison and in rhythm with their steps from the one side to the other.

/772/ As we have said, social games are played only when several families are together and in a good mood. Once they have started, however, one game usually follows another until every one is tired or until the dark night and the rain drives them into their huts. They thoroughly refresh themselves spiritually in this way and thereafter disperse in all directions until a lucky star once more brings them together. The Yamana have a few other games, of which kflaka, a game with a ball, is the most popular. These games are played only by adults; hence a description of them is postponed for a later section on general entertainment. /Fig. 80 appears here./

857 We should refer here to a few minor pranks for which boys are always in the mood when they meet girls who are strangers or whom they might meet again. To have a little fun at their expense is, after all, a boy's nature, and the little Yamana do not

/847 cont./

X881 293 It is, naturally, the duty of the one who owns it to guard it carefully. When it is not needed, the Yamana push it into the ground beside them with considerable pressure, since it has a sharply pointed end. Some of them stick it behind them into the weave of the hut framework. For many hours every day each adult places his hand on the staff standing beside him. This fits in very well with the rigid position which everyone must maintain, even in sitting. It is regarded as irreverent to let the staff lie on the ground. A person who lets it fall out of negligence must be prepared to suffer misfortune or physical harm. Neighbors threaten him, saying that he or his children will soon die. Hence everyone treats his dance staff carefully and often renews the painting on it.

X881 533 After several hours of squatting quietly and gravely composing their thoughts, first one and then another of the participants will feel an urge to start a soft, rhythmic humming which during the next 20 to 30 minutes becomes a low singing. It is an uninterrupted repetition of a hō sound, the pronunciation of which varies a little, being more open or closed, drawn out or short, higher or lower, but continued on the same pitch, according to the voice quality and the momentary enthusiasm of the singer. Everyone sings to himself, rhythm, tempo, and pitch being half-subconscious, according to his inspiration at the moment and without regard for the other /848/ inmates of the Great Hut. It is only now and then, if one of them listens a little to another, that several people sing somewhat in unison, but these great variations in singing little disturb or annoy even sensitive ears because everyone sings his tune in a low, soft voice.

The fact that the greater number of those present has lapsed into singing shows that they are to a certain extent spiritually moved, and this state finds an outlet in rhythmic singing. Soon their frame of mind and inner feelings are such that the celebration will be successful and effective. As soon as it has reached the point of general singing, the čjéxaus celebration seems to have begun. From now until the end of the affair, the singing must not cease. At least one voice must carry it on, and one adult relieves another day and night. The singing is an indication at any given moment of the degree of enthusiasm and mood of the extent of participation and lively attention of all those present.

X881 /848 cont./
533 It is stronger and more universal during the evening dancing, very faint and soft during the forenoon hours.

With all the simplicity of the melody, there are nevertheless slight variations, which, one beside the other, produce some diversity. Many a person is pleased when he hears a certain variant from the mouth of another, which sometimes arouses precious memories within him. The čiéxaus truly keeps alive ancient melodies. Since most of them are sung only at the youth initiation, their sound awakens the spiritual mood which alone enables one to enjoy this solemn gathering profitably. The uninterrupted singing is also supposed to show that there is vigilance in the Great Hut and that nothing harmful can approach unnoticed.

X881 When darkness falls, the čiéxaus hut shelters all the adults who are regular participants. All the more immediate preparations, including the division of labor, were inconspicuously attended to, very gradually the beginning of the celebration was introduced, and the ceremony now runs its course quietly each day without any particular division of time.

2. Reception of the Candidates

X881 177 264 The weak superficiality of our Indians of today has unfortunately also interrupted the good custom of abstaining from all food on the first evening of the assembly in the Great Hut. After the general singing has lasted about two hours, the kitchen women appear and place a tall metal container of thick soup in front of the leader, who, ladling it out with a large spoon, fills the plates while the women pass them around to all present. The meal is soon over, and the dishes are gathered up by the women who /849/ without delay disappear with them. Everyone carefully gathers the food remains and burns them; afterwards the central passage is cleaned and swept (267).

267. At the present time the Yamana keep to the routine that they have taken over from the Europeans, even in the Great Hut, but as of old they are very strict about burning all the remains

/859 cont./

themselves in the morning. Most of them use soap, which they also permit the candidates to use. Almost every day all the occupants of the hut arrange it so that after the dawn they all wash themselves at the same time. This is usually done in conjunction with making everyone's sleeping place orderly throughout.

I also learned from old Pedro that formerly very often in the middle of the night, sometimes as an interruption of the already very short sleep, the male ulwala were led to the beach, where they were obliged to take a bath, move about in the water for some time, and, following the example of the men accompanying them, carry on the monotonous singing of the [illegible] hut in an [533] audible voice. This repeated diving into the water served to harden them physically. The singing, however, was supposed to prove to Yetiga and all the malevolent spirits who approach the Great Hut that the candidates were constantly vigilant. During my first initiation we three ulwala were driven down to the water twice in the depth of night. The other two had to take off their clothes and dive into the cold water several times. I was spared this torture, but at any rate I was supposed to become acquainted with it.

Not content merely to curtail the time for sleeping, they also prescribe the position of the body during sleep. The position assumed by the ulwala for sitting is retained as he lies down on his side, that is to say, arms interlocked and legs drawn up. There is nothing placed under the head to raise it. Everyone falls asleep immediately from utter exhaustion. Inadvertently the weary one stretches himself, unfolds his interlocked arms, and extends his legs. He cannot avoid touching his neighbor in doing so, for the space is very crowded. In any case, one of the sponsors beside him is always awake and gives the ulwala a push so that he wakes up. Immediately he must pull in his limbs again.

In this less than friendly manner the candidate's already scantily apportioned sleep is sometimes painfully interrupted time and again, but it is done intentionally. During my first initiation this torture almost /860/ brought me to the point of despair. One

/860 cont./

X VI 166 morning when old Alfredo noticed my troubled state, he merely said indifferently but decisively: "One must have learned to get along with little room even for sleeping at night!" Later I again heard this explanation: "Sometimes bad weather overtakes several families, all of whom must find room in a single small hut. In the canoe, also, in dangerous seas, all the occupants must squat motionless crowded together for a long period. Our young people learn such [skills] here in the Tahgan!" If one of them should fall asleep from fatigue during the day, he is immediately shaken so hard that he soon gets over his sleepiness. With regard to these restrictions imposed on his pendgi every spouse is almost unfeeling.

• 869 The uninterrupted singing throughout the whole night is intended not only to ward off evil spirits, but is also supposed to make the people in the dwellings believe that no one in the Great Hut is sleeping and that all of them are always awake.

X VI 38 4. Body Decoration. The Tamans quite generally like to decorate their bodies on certain occasions. Chief among these decorations is body painting, which is quickly and easily done. The ulwala commonly wear certain facial designs which make them recognizable as such. At least twice a day these are touched up for them, because they unavoidably become blurred. The spouse himself regularly paints these designs on his pendgi. As is customary generally, he mixes the red or black powdered pigment with blubber, water, or saliva in a round shell or in the palm of his left hand and applies the mixture in lines or dots on the face with a short little painting stick. Often he first smears the entire face with white paint, since on this background the drawings stand out better.

It is not customary to paint the candidate's entire body. He is characterized by one, two, or three thin lines extending from the nostrils or corners of the mouth to the ear lobes on either side. These are red and only very exceptionally black. Furthermore, a favored design for the ulwala consists of fine red lines extending from the lower eyelid over the cheek, perhaps three in number or even up to 15.

These two basic patterns are the ones most often used for the candidates, but there is nothing to stop the adults from copying

/917 cont./

figur in two rows was lighted by the glow of the fire. These white figures seemed like creatures from another world. The dull, dirty rags of culture into which the Yamana today wrap themselves have regrettably put an end to this strange and very effective costume.

Y. Song and Dance

A person who enters the Tjiuaga but wishes above all to give himself up to self-reflection and undisturbed concentration. The disposition of human beings, however, calls for change within a certain time span, in order to refresh the spirit and give strength for new efforts. Hence almost every day is concluded with dances in the late evening.

The Yamana reveal no particular talent for either song or dance. Nevertheless, they have created a few very simple melodies in which either the same tune is repeated rhythmically or simple combinations, mostly thirds, alternate. They are not familiar with round dances or complicated dance figures, but instead, with amazing mimicry, they imitate the particular type of animal which they wish to portray. This ability of our Fuegians will be described in more detail below. Here we simply point out that particularly in the Tjiuaga but they enjoy dancing and singing to the point of satiety.

1. The Common Singing. There must never be complete silence in the Great Hut, either day or night. At least one person must sing in an audible voice. The reason given is that this is to prove to the spirits, especially Yetjiya, that the people assembled here are awake. At the very beginning of the celebration, after the participants have assembled and have given themselves up for two or three hours to thoughtful meditation, the leader or overseer starts the low singing, other persons gradually join him, and after that it does not cease until the end of the long event. /918/ When most of the people present have gone to sleep in the late evening, some persons will remain in the squatting position and continue singing. If later on the latter, too, should abandon themselves to sleep, one of the sponsors will keep up the singing, for there is always one person awake to watch over each ufwala.

/918 cont./

X881 533

A special order on the part of the leader or a request to particular persons would be unnecessary, for all the people present are never asleep at one time. One or another of the old people prefers to spend the greater part of the night awake in order to abandon himself quite undisturbed to his thoughts, while humming to himself for hours. Thus the singing is never interrupted; as though it were passed mechanically, one person takes it up naturally from another and carries it on until he, too, is replaced without hesitation.

This type of singing is extremely simple, for it consists merely of the constant repetition of a single word with a slight deviation in pitch. Without exception, they utter a low awáj which they repeat quickly four to eight times, heavily emphasizing the first awáj and letting the subsequent ones diminish gradually until the final awáj dies away completely. Each person chooses the pitch most agreeable to him, which becomes higher in his enthusiastic excitement. In the forenoon and in the dead of night the singing sounds weaker and softer, and it is loudest in late afternoon, leading into the group singing in the evening.

One must not imagine this vocal rendering as anything like an organized choir; quite the contrary, the individual suits himself in every respect as he sees fit and according to his personal inspiration. Everyone starts and stops and sings louder or softer when and however it suits him; no one pays any attention to the tempo and pitch of anyone else. In this respect the singing is a great hubbub. Nevertheless, the ear is not particularly offended because the individual rendering as such is low and sounds deep and hollow. Since everyone sings in an undertone and for himself alone, as it were, one does not, in any case, expect unison. Sometimes it seemed to me as though these people had no ear at all, since no one accommodated himself to his neighbor. This singing, however, as an expression of spiritual excitement, is strictly personal and hence cannot be in exact accord with that of another. As we have said, each individual changes his voice and the tempo and volume of his singing several times throughout the day, all depending on his inner state.

If one inquires as to the meaning and value of this constant singing, I should like to emphasize above all its psychological necessity. It seems to me to be a means for each individual to

/918 cont./

X881 533 hold fast to his thoughts about his own ego without any particular effort. The singing is so monotonous that it does not require the slightest attention, but the rhythm that carries it along is hammered into each one so strongly that, by means of it, he remains forcefully bound to the thoughts about his own ego, and would immediately be brought back to them should he become distracted. /919/ This evaluation explains a statement given by old Pedro: "I can reflect best when I am singing softly!" Persons who take up the singing are following their own personal urge. Now we realize why it may never entirely cease in the Great Hut.

2. Group Singing and Dancing. In contrast to the uniform singing described above, general participation in song develops in the late afternoon, accompanied by a sort of dance. This is the time when their inner agitation reaches its climax and seeks expression in voice and body movements. The singing is intensified, so to speak, to actual song. There is more modulation in the awai, the accent changes, and an actual melodic line comes in. Although it is brief, it is repeated with changing expression. Many of these melodies, which are full of moods, sound like Gregorian chants. In the final analysis they are an improved continuation of the constant, monotonous singing.

Almost without exception everyone present joins in this more accomplished way of singing; they do not all repeat the same melody together, but everyone now sings louder, with greater expression, and with lively participation. This evening song is a group affair and duty, whereas each individual loses himself in the monotonous singing throughout the day. The jumble of voices is even more confused than at other times, but still it is not annoying, since the ear involuntarily fastens upon one pleasant melody or another which takes its fancy. The impression of vocal confusion is in part reduced by the movement of the bodies of everyone present in time with the singing.

X881 535 Spiritual emotion makes the whole body tremble. The individual is no longer able to remain in his squatting position. He gets up, holds his dance staff horizontally between the outstretched fingers of both hands, and glides from one end of the Great Hut to the other through the central area where the fire is. Soon a second and third person follows. It becomes difficult to

X 881 535 /920 cont./
they drag their feet, now in this direction, now in that, across the floor from one exit of the Great Hut to the other. At the same time they move the dance staff and sing continuously. This performance is a sort of competition to see who will continue the longest.

A sponsor who accompanies his protégé in the dancing stands beside him, grasps his dance staff with both hands, holds it vertically, and moves it straight up and down. This indicates that the uǰwāala shall grow erect and straight and become strong and powerful. The uǰwāala, therefore, joins in the same movements. Sometimes the candidate places himself behind his sponsor. The latter draws his dance staff horizontally across his back, and the uǰwāala, as he dances, holds onto it with both hands, tripping along behind.

X 881 533 If the persons present are overcome with sleepiness from exhaustion, the leader must encourage them and stimulate them to renewed lively singing. One evening the singing threatened to die out. For several minutes Santiago remained very quiet and motionless. Then he suddenly came alive and with loud waiting began to shed tears. Aroused, he groaned in a mournful voice: "Now at last the spirit [enthusiasm] has come over me! Everyone has a part in it. Let us all go on singing vigorously!" In point of fact, this stimulation had a positive effect on everyone.

/921/ Then Gertie stood up and resorted to the device sometimes employed to spur the indolent group to fervent singing. She picked up a burning stick, the length of an arm, and held it upright. Stepping along in time to the singing, she glided from one person to another as they squatted in their places and held the glowing end of the piece of wood very close to their faces. A shudder of fright passed through each person and thoroughly awakened him. No one would dare draw back his head, which would arouse the disapproval of his neighbors.

Another method is not quite so irritating. The few who are making an effort to sing and are being ignored by the majority grasp the upper end of their dance staffs, and with the lower tip they vigorously poke around in the fire so that the embers flare up and sparks fly in all directions. No one can misunderstand this sign, and immediately the singing becomes more animated.

/921 cont./

X881 533 The leader sometimes shouts encouraging words. At that time Santiago spoke as follows: "My spirit [enthusiasm] is still alive and strong. Thus I shall go on singing!" Black interrupted him: "Attention, everyone. We must sing with much more vigor!" Santiago continued: "So let us go on singing!" He himself made a great effort to stir up those present and make them take part enthusiastically. The vigorous singing lasted for 20 minutes. Suddenly Santiago cried: "Someone has painfully stepped on me. I feel very weak!" As a matter of fact, he was not feeling well at all that day. In order to make himself feel better, he jumped up and danced through the Great Hut. As he did so, he cried: "There in the land of my mother where I experienced the čiexaus for the first time, I was never stepped on. But here someone stepped on my foot very painfully, awāj. But let us sing on!" He soon tired and slowed down, and the general singing again became weak.

X881 533 535 It is solely the mental state of the participants and the prevailing mood that determine the length of these group performances. Anyone who has become somewhat tired, usually through being too active, sits down for a few minutes and lets the compact mass of dancers pass by. Afterward he again joins the great cluster and acts as enthusiastically as before. Individual leaders inspire most of the others solely by their own attitude, and then the group singing and dancing sometimes lasts for more than two hours. Thick clouds of dust fill the whole interior of the čiexaus hut, but in their eager animation everyone disregards it.

X881 535 786 While the singing proceeds with more or less uniform intensity, an individual is now and then seized with particular excitement. He will get to his feet as though he is furious and will move with trembling restlessness through the Great Hut from one exit to the other. In the process, a few people standing in the center are sometimes strongly shoved aside. They will say: /922/ "That person has been seized by kespiš [spirit, enthusiasm]!" The aroused person will dance back and forth in the čiexaus hut until he is exhausted.

One evening clumsy Mary suddenly jumped up and stepped into the center. She breathed heavily as though she were raving mad and her whole body trembled. Furiously she grasped a piece

/922 cont./

X881 of meat in both fists and tore off great hunks with her teeth,
535 hastily swallowing them. The other pieces that she tore off were
786 thrown into the fire. She made a slight motion with her head and Gertie and Emilia stepped in front of her. Holding the larger piece of meat between her teeth, she let both of them tear off a scrap with their own teeth. Very much stirred, all three danced through the čiéxaus hut, showing the pieces of meat held between their teeth. With a fixed gaze they stared in the direction in which they moved. Their frantic behavior continued until, tired out, they sought their places. The Yamana explain such an exhibition by saying that a great enthusiasm has suddenly filled the person, that "his kēšpiš seizes him!"

X881 It is not a fixed rule but it is customary to conclude the
535 evening singing and dancing almost always with the tāxer song,
533 the so-called song of the yékamuš. It is begun by some person who gets up and strides through the entire room dancing. At the same time he holds his dance staff horizontally in front of him, a sign that he is asking for something. He is given pieces of meat, berries, or fungi, which he joyfully accepts, dances contentedly through the hut, and gives some of these things to other persons. He keeps a small portion for himself and eats it, as do the others, with visible satisfaction. All the people present accompany the song with a forward, rolling motion of the right arm alone, or they hold the dance staff horizontally with both hands and roll it forward and upward. The singing and body movements increase until they become lively, for with this the entire performance is supposed to end for this time. Thus the tāxer song is a farewell to the day, a genuine evening song. It is also intended as an accompaniment for the "spirits" on their way home, for they, too, withdraw after their long stay here on this day. The arm movements, with or without the staff, are supposed to indicate the work of rowing as one glides over the waves. Since the tāxer song is also intoned at the end of the entire čiéxaus celebration, these arm movements are meant to indicate the departure by boat of the many participants who now scatter in all directions.

X881 The particular purpose of the tāxer song is "to attend to
533 the spirits who have come from afar to the čiéxaus gathering,
781 to calm them down after their lively participation and make them

/922 cont./

X881 return, or rather, find their way back to where they belong." In
533 referring to these "spirits" our Yamana mean in particular the
781 memory-pictures and fantasies which take tangible form in their vivid imagination, with whom they associate in their thoughts and also converse in audible words. In the čiéxaus they feel they are in /923/ another state of mind and believe themselves to be in another world in which their imaginings appear to them as real persons. From this other imaginary world they first of all dismiss the "spirits" who have appeared and who are now returning to their own abode. After that they themselves turn back to their own everyday world by shaking off the extraordinary čiéxaus state of mind. That is why, at the conclusion of the táxer song, everyone present summons back "his own spirit" by making a wide sweeping movement with his arm and pulling it back again quickly, at the same time closing his outstretched hand in a tight fist. This means, in other words, that everyone now returns from the enthusiasm or ecstasy brought on by the singing to an everyday, calm frame of mind. In reality, therefore, the words of the Yamana about the various késpix assembled in the čiéxaus hut do not refer to personified spirits but to a simple change of mood or a transfer from a world of very lively imagery to the passionless, prosaic activity of the mind.

X881 After the almost motionless squatting during the greater part
533 of the day everyone regards the physical exertion of dancing and
535 group singing as a boon. There must be such variety and it is regularly granted the uswáala also. It is appropriately put at the end of the day, and directly after that the leader gives the signal for the night's rest (p. 782). Everyone sticks his dance staff upright into the ground, hangs his hapaxél on the wall of the hut, and settles down to sleep. Now it is quiet again in the Great Hut and only one or two low voices continue the uninterrupted singing.

X881 3. Memories of the Deceased. Let it be briefly repeated
302 that everyone present paints himself expressly for these evening dances (p. 788). Formerly the women more than the men drew a great many patterns of red, white, and black lines in dots and circles all over their bodies; nowadays they are content to paint their faces, arms, and legs. Only a few women still paint the upper part of the body (p. 789). The facial painting of the uswáala is, of course, renewed in the evening.

/925 cont./

X881 535 769 152

time, my uncle and aunt are long since gone. Who wouldn't be sad to be all alone here in this world as I am!"

Meanwhile Gertie was rubbing a lot of charcoal powder on her face. Then she excitedly rose from her place and began in a wild tone: "How sad is our lot! Last winter another of my kinsfolk died. Only a very small remnant of us Yamana has remained behind!" Then, as though mad, she glided back and forth through the Great Hut. Her sister Adelheid had drawn a single black line across her right and left cheek (Fig. 86, a) and remained squatting in her place. Both of them wept for an aunt who had recently passed away.

X881 769 152

Once old Whaits also cried out into the general singing the following words of grief: "Alas, poor me! I am completely orphaned, for last winter my very last kinsman died. Now I am alone in this world!" His wife who sat next to him sobbed loudly and wept bitterly: "Yes, it is true, you are all alone in the world! Your family had its home in the west and was once large. It is true, you are now the last of your large family. But these two Whites who have come to us (338) raise our spirits. They have

338. Very conspicuously, by glance and gesture, she points to Gusinde and Koppers.

become Yamana and are therefore related to you. So cheer up!"

Almost every evening some participant will show his grief. Occasionally several people or the greater part of them will follow this example, so that a general lamenting, weeping, whimpering, and moaning commences. After the group as a whole has calmed down, one person or another continues his sobbing until far into the night; no one stops him.

X881 533

4. Free Interjections. Proof of the complete freedom with which each participant in the Great Hut may express his innermost feelings is given by the impromptu words which he scatters through his singing. He is permitted to do this any time of day. Usually he contents himself with a few short sentences. The words of one will sometimes stimulate his neighbor to /926/ carry on the same thought or to supplement it. When almost all the people take part in the common singing in the evening, the various interjections not only follow one another directly, but also are given

X881 /926 cont./
533 simultaneously. They enliven the already excited movement still more. The spirit and content of these utterances will be shown in a few sentences which I shall give here.

X881 The people had already been loudly singing for about two
533 hours. The kitchen women enter with the meal and are greeted
264 with loud calls of hóhohohohō. Santiago, the leader, suddenly stops and simply calls out: "I am going to break off my song, for I am very tired and hungry!" Most of the people carry on the song; the rest eat hastily in order to take up the song soon after.

X881 One evening coffee is brought in very late. Everyone is
533 extremely happy about it. Every adult reaches for his cup, and
535 with outstretched arms bent only slightly at the elbow, he holds
264 it out. A few persons get up, skip back and forth, and lead the singing in a lively voice. Their gestures are lively because they are happy to be able to partake of something. They skip toward the kitchen woman with her large can, dance around her, and hold out their cups to her. As she fills each cup and also distributes bread, the others continue to hop all around her. Soon they draw away again, dancing with their filled cups, and sit down in their places. Their gay hopping is an expression of great satisfaction over the tasty drink. One of them says loudly: "How glad I am that I have been given something to eat and drink!" In a singing tone one woman cries: "Now there is something to eat and drink again; that is wonderful!" The kitchen woman who distributed food and drink brought joy and lively activity to the whole gathering.

X881 On the first evening when a short pause occurred in the group
537 singing, Santiago, the leader at that time, cried in a loud voice:
152 "Once again we have gathered here to celebrate čiěxaus. We want to do it well! This game came to us from the west; it came
609 here from the Halakwulup. Today we have a Halakwulup (339)

339. He meant the youthful Julia who, several weeks before, had fled to the Yamana and who was invited to this initiation in Puerto Mejillones (p. 692).

among us. She will observe us carefully and afterwards tell her

X881 537 152 609

/929 cont./

the whole island [Navarino] away from here and drag it along with them wherever they wish!"

Each speaker and singer concludes his words with a loud and vigorous call, "čiéxaus." This is correctly interpreted as giving force to their utterances and emphasizing their assertions, as well as a cry of confidence in the fulfillment of wishes expressed, and finally as a curse upon whatever they complain of and condemn. Sometimes this concluding cry of "čiéxaus" sounds like a cry of despair.

X881 537 152

Just as the singing in general is meant to drive away Yetāita (p. 781), particularly interjections have the same purpose. If any leading person sees this evil spirit approaching, he loudly calls upon all those present to drive him away. One evening (345) the

X881 533 535 152

345. See Koppers (a):81 concerning this evening performance during the fourth day of the celebration.

women were very vigorously dancing, and Santiago felt an urge to incite them to a state of extreme excitement. He shouted to them from his seat: "Dance on! Yetāita is still very near and refuses to go away!" Soon he added: "Dance harder! Yetāita still shows no sign of withdrawing." After a few minutes he cried out, as though slightly relieved: "Just go on bravely! Already Yetāita is starting to retreat, he is sinking head-down into the earth!"

Our interpreters explained to us why Santiago and Pedro made such urgent demands for loud singing and vigorous dancing. As strangers and unbidden ones in this čiéxaus hut, they say, we attracted the special attention of Yetāita; the people present were afraid he could do us particular harm. Hence the greatest effort was required /930/ to push this Yetāita, who is very dangerous for everyone, deep into the interior of the earth so that he could not harm us in any way.

Again Santiago cried loudly: "Dance on! I still see Yetāita's feet sticking out of the ground." After a few minutes, as though relieved, he says: "I see only one foot [sticking out of the ground]. But go on dancing (346)!" Then: "Now I see only one toe of

346. Chris had meanwhile carefully observed Santiago, the leader. At these words, an

/930 cont./

X881
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535
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> amused grin flitted over his face, and stealthily pointing with his finger, he whispered: "He [Santiago], too, has a foot sticking out of his blanket!"

Yetáita. Just go on dancing!" Fixedly Santiago stares at one spot on the ground. After about ten minutes he sighs with relief: "At last Yetáita has completely disappeared. But I still see the hole through which he descended. I must close that, too. So dance on!" After a few minutes he cries joyfully: "Even that deep hole is closed now. All I hear is a faint rumbling in the far distance. Yetáita has finally left us altogether! So stop dancing and rest yourselves!"... Scarcely an evening goes by during which Yetáita is not driven away with at least one or two loud utterances.

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5. Interjections by the Guard. It is well known that the so-called guard, winefkéxa, has a special position in the čiéxaus celebration. He is not only characterized by a particular facial painting (p. 684), but he may even wear a feather decoration reserved for the yékamuš. No one was able to explain why he has this privilege; they said: "It has always been like that!" Moreover, he has a definite song, more exactly, two melodies which are noticeably different from the group singing and which he alone intones. He does so when the group singing has died out. His rendition is very melodious and sonorous. Not even his assistants may accompany him.

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Outside the Great Hut the guard demonstrates that he is an alert guardian of this sanctuary who will terrify and drive away outsiders (p. 684). Inside the čiéxaus hut he repeatedly assumes the role of the furious winefkéxa whose name he bears (347). In

> 347. This word means Leucophaeus scoresbii, the fierce predatory bird of the high seas (Fig. 82).

March, 1922, Richard held this position. In the late afternoon of March 11, after the participants had again taken their seats in the Great Hut, he placed himself next to the main entrance and acted as though he had just entered. His face was white; his mouth and

/935 cont./
X881 that hurts me. I arrived quite stuffed, that is why I could not
625 move fast enough!" Response: "awā́j!" He: "Now I shall wait until I feel a little more relieved, for my stomach is still quite full. -- There is nothing to eat here. In the place where I live there are many birds that serve as food for me."

X881 Then he started a song. While he continued the melody, he said: "I am a good bird, I don't hurt anyone. -- I am very
625 happy to see my mother here. -- Up to now I have only let my-
533 self be looked at here. -- Those two I should like to take along to the high seas and devour them in peace!" The brief pauses were filled with "awā́j." The winefkḗʍa: "I prefer to stay here for the present. /936/ My hearing is good; I want to communicate to you [out there] everything that goes on here. I have been sent here, therefore I shall be just as attentive as in that place where I usually am." Continuing to sing, he interrupted himself: "I am very satisfied with these people here, wḗa!" Soon after that: "You wish to be in my place! You would like to see everything that I am observing, wouldn't you. -- Now I shall rest a little. Meanwhile I shall pluck out my feathers in order to relieve myself somewhat. -- Since I have plucked out a few of my feathers, I feel better. Really, I have become lighter!"

Old Pedro began to sing loudly. While doing so, he said: "Yetā́ita gave me a kick and stimulated me to sing!" During Pedro's song Thomas cried: "A high mountain of waves is arising. I am frightened by these mighty waves!" Soon after the general singing ended with a loud hōhohohohō, and the winefkḗʍa croaked a loud "hḗx." Pedro began to sob and weep. Thomas continued: "I feel very calm, hence I shall get ready to go to sleep. I shall stick my head under one wing and then go to sleep!" Response: "awā́j!" He: "The people here are moving, that excites me. I was always a good winefkḗʍa."

Three old women with beautifully painted torsos stood up; they danced back and forth through the Great Hut. Thomas: "Again high waves are piling up. -- I am listening to what is being said here." Response: "awā́j." Greatly stimulated, many people danced and poked around in the fire to make the sparks fly. Their loud singing subsided, and Thomas continued: "Do you, too, wish to lie down to sleep?" Response: "Yes, we should

/936 cont./

like to do that!" He: "Certainly, it pleases you that I tell you everything!" Enthusiastic "awā́j." He: "Good, I shall stay here for some time yet, until my stomach is empty. Afterward I shall fly back to the high seas." After a loud awā́j and general singing again, Thomas interjected: "Now I feel relieved, cheerful, and fresh!"

The people in the one row held their heads up and their hands up to their eyebrows, as though they were looking into the distance over the heads of the people seated in the opposite row. This was a challenge to a singing competition, in order to stimulate the other row. The winefkē²ʷa cried: "Again high waves are rising!" After the awā́j from outside, Walter said: "We began this čiēxaus so that those two Whites could see it. For ourselves we usually celebrate it at another time of year." He continued, very perturbed: "I am the Yetā́ita of this Great Hut (356).

356. He wants to say that rage is seething within him just as in that malevolent earth spirit.

-- Of all my kinsfolk and of all of us who once lived in the east (357), I am the only one still alive. Although I still have my

357. Walter comes from Lennox Island, northeast[1] of Navarino Island.

home district [as native country], nevertheless it no longer belongs to me and has now become /937/ another region (358). Of my

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358. This island which politically now belongs to Chile has for a long time been leased to farmers for sheep-raising. Therefore Chile arbitrarily keeps the natives away from the Europeans settled there.

kinsfolk and my [prior] native country only the waves are left to me. When I die, the waves will cover me, too; then there will be no one left of the people of the east!" Several persons, moved by sorrow, interrupted him. Walter continued: "I am very much

[1] [Actually, southeast. — Analyst.]

/937 cont./

X881 relieved that I can accompany these two strangers here in the
625 čiexaus!" Animated talk by the others.

533 Finally Thomas announced: "My stomach will soon be empty now. I shall probably be off again in a short time." Julia and Rosa, following the example of the others, exchange a few words in Halakwulup, their own language. The usual dance-competition begins between Mary and her husband. Then she says: "These two [Halakwulup] women speak the language of the west. When I was a little child I came to this region [in the central part], so I forgot the words of the westeners [the Halakwulup]." The winefkeźwa cried: "Are you still awake?" Response: "awáj!" He: "That is good of you to be still awake, as I am, too." Again: "awáj!" He: "My stomach is getting lighter. Soon it will be quite empty!"

For about 20 minutes Pedro repeated a sonorous melody. It sounded so pleasant that everyone listened silently. Thomas continued: "I almost fell asleep, it is so warm here by the fire. Are all you women over there already asleep?" Response: "No." He: "Good, then tell me when you want to lie down to sleep!" They reply only with "awáj." He: "Well, then I won't tell you when I am going away from here." Response: "awáj."

X881 Suddenly all the uśwźala stood up, arousing all the adults.
[753] The general belief is that the candidates may not squat too long in one place. If they did so, they would become victims of an illness, they would be weak and sleepy, remain glued to the ground, as it were, and the illness would soon cause death.

Pedro talked to himself: "Those Whites have stayed a long time among us Yamana. Nelly Lawrence will be surprised that the two strangers have not returned to her [in Punta Remolino]. Well, they are safe with us and will stay some time longer!" The singing stopped because the people had become tired. Only Thomas took it up again and interjected in rhythm: "I am glad that soon I shall be able to end my song, for I, too, am tired!" Emilia joined him: "Fog from the west is covering my eyes, I can no longer see anything!"

X881 Several adults stood up. They arranged themselves in two
535 short rows. From the center of the hut one row extended to one exit, the other to the other exit; the men at the head of each row

/941 cont./

X881 he is not prevented from doing so. Often the pressure of too great
524 a throng makes this imperative; if everyone crowds together, there is almost no freedom of movement.

After a while the enthusiasm for this game subsides. Suddenly, in a loud voice, someone will spontaneously mention another game or will start its rhythm. Most of the participants become silent rather quickly and, without hesitating, switch over to the new game. /942/ A third and even a fourth game will follow in the same way, entirely according to the inclination and whim of the company. They will enjoy themselves for an hour or two, until they are thoroughly satisfied. If, after that, a good many of the people seem listless and bored, the leader will inconspicuously indicate that everyone should now seek his sleeping-place.

X881 The action and physical exertion have made most of them very weary, and without delay they begin to prepare for bed. One
513 person or another will meanwhile lead into the customary low sing-
533 ing and continue it until he, too, gives himself up to sleep. Finally only the uš̌wā̄ala and a few sponsors are squatting upright in their places. When they, too, finally lie down, only a single voice will carry the song through the early hours of the night, until it is taken up by another. As we know, the singing may never entirely cease, for malevolent spirits must be kept at bay and outsiders must be convinced that all the inmates are constantly alert (p. 781).

X881 When the last game is over it is the duty of the uš̌wā̄ala to kindle the fire from the remaining faint embers, so that it will extend from one exit to the other and radiate abundant heat. All the services for the assembly and all the chores within the čiéxaus hut are, as we know, incumbent upon the candidates.

X881 The above description presupposes that the social games are held in the interior of the Great Hut. On a warm, quiet summer
524 evening they may, for the sake of variety, be transferred to a level place outside, directly in front of the Great Hut. A few en-women will first start a fire, chiefly in order to illuminate the entire group. At a signal from the leader, the adults with the uš̌wā̄ala in their ranks, go outside and huddle together beside the fire. Gradually the singing begins, the dance movements following its rhythm. The games change in exactly the same way as

/942 cont./

X 881 524

inside. After they have amused themselves sufficiently, they all, in closed ranks, slip back again into the Great Hut. While the games are going on outside, the children and adults of the camp can, of course, freely approach and watch them.

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At least one person has stayed behind in the Great Hut to carry on the singing and keep watch over everything. The movements of the lively games in the fresh air are a boon to every participant, and immediately thereafter he will be blessed with sound sleep.

As we have said, there is no particular order in which the social games are chosen and repeated. They prefer those which are most familiar to a certain group or which are favorites. From my own observation I can report that the games most often played are ā́maxel, the game of the sea-lion ā́ma (Otaria jubata), and then kētēlaxel, the game of the great gerfalcon kētēla (Polyborus tharus), then gērā́puxel, the game of the common albatross gērā́pu (Diomedea exulans), and finally, outside the Great /943/ Hut, the very popular ušpēr'čixel, the game of the oyster-catcher ušpēr'čí (Haematopus ater). All of them, however, are eclipsed by the very popular hājyekaš́naskwa. If they want to please the candidates particularly and thoroughly arouse them, they introduce the game called kaklēxana (360).

360. The last two games mentioned were described on pages 588 and 589; the others will be described below.

Most of the people take a very active part in these social games. Merely the desire to limber up the body thoroughly is a strong incentive. A person who is unable to join in the dance movements for a long period is all the more fervent in his singing. One evening when the games had already begun, Adelheid, coming from the cookhut, dashed into the čjēxaus hut with excessive eagerness, placed herself beside Richard who was singing lustily, and said loudly to him: "sēskin skā́ja ki-wēla kūpa hawēla mūtu nanā́a." "The heart of you [it] strong from above here may exist henceforth (May 'the-one-up-there' strengthen your heart here for vigorous singing!)." This one example proves that they even

/950 cont./

X 881 The general feeling of emotion is again dispelled, and the singing is carried on softly by individual persons. They are preparing for a change of mood. The people who came in a while ago as visitors remain seated if it is already evening. The solemn ceremony seldom occurs in the forenoon; if it does, the visitors assemble here in the evening.

X 881 553 During these solemn hours the occasionally necessary change of name of an uiwala also takes place. Not every candidate is given another name at the end of his initiation, only the so-called usipin, usiapisin, that is, "the one without a birthplace," or the child who for some reason does not bear the name of his birthplace (p. 536). As a rule the Yamana avoid giving the same name to two persons. One of two people born in the same place must, for the time being, be content with a nickname or with the general designation of ŭipisĕnjis or ŭipinkipa. At the end of the initiation it then becomes proper for him to bear the name of the place where he passed his first čiexaus. Now that their hĕakuxĕolan is handed over to them with special formality, the sponsors pronounce this new name for the first time and it then comes into common usage. For example, until my first initiation in Sámakuŭwáia (Punta Remolino), I was an ŭipisĕnjis for the Yamana; thereafter I was called ŭámakuŭĕnjis. Koppers was named kumbudĕnjis after Kumbŭtu (Puerto Mejillones) where the initiation took place in 1922.

X 881 562 For the other formality which must still be observed, /951/ they regularly choose the last evening in the čiexaus hut. It culminates in handing over the rule to the women for a few hours. At the proper moment, places are exchanged and the women crowd around the main entrance while the men move toward the center and the rear, beside the secondary entrance. During my first initiation [533] the new song was introduced by Alfredo's wife and in March, 1922, by Pedro's wife; in each case the husbands were serving as overseers. The rest of the women were subordinate to this woman as their leader. All the women joined in the song she introduced and took part in it with unusual animation. Among the men, the actual leader was still very prominent. Santiago constantly made interjections to encourage the women to sing louder and to make a vigorous effort to drive away Yetāna who was nearby.

After the women led the song for almost an hour, they stopped, and Santiago, along with a few men, resumed the soft singing.

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X881 enthusiasm develops and they all divert themselves for several
524 hours until they begin to feel exhausted. At times their eagerness borders on abandon. This is understandable, since now, no longer bound by the strict čiéxaus program, the people are free to burst out without restraint. The young people are called upon particularly often. Here in the open, in front of everyone, they are supposed to show also the skills they have acquired in the social games which they were often called upon to join in the čiéxaus hut (p. 813).

X881 The conversations and games after the big feast finally come to an end. At the proper moment the overseer or some older per-
533 son intones the tíxer song, and all the participants promptly join in. They immediately try to assume a respectful pose and to make their voices solemn. This tíxer song is the actual farewell song, during which all "spirits" arrange themselves and with which they are given an accompaniment back to their particular abode by the people here, just as this was done on almost every evening (p. 787). The people present, however, sing this song for themselves, too, before they take leave of each other, for today or tomorrow they will leave this place and probably not see each other again for a long time. This is why they put into the final tíxer song all their feelings of joy and gratitude for their renewed vigor during this enjoyable, inspiring čiéxaus celebration. The song dies away full of melancholy, and silently and for a long time thereafter everyone gives himself up to his thoughts.

X881 Gradually one person and then another get up and go back once more to the Great Hut. Here he collects his utensils, tools, and ornaments, and takes final leave of this place. Everyone takes care of his own things and moves them over to his own dwelling where, after a long time, he again settles himself for the night. If the weather is good, a family may board their canoe that same day and depart. /955/ Most of the people definitely leave the following morning and enthusiastically welcome the longed-for freedom to rove far and wide without restraint. The place where many people were still gathered together for the common celebration just a short time ago becomes depopulated surprisingly quickly.

X881 After that no one pays any attention to the Great Hut.
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/1122 cont./

767 monotonous melodies, and if they are tired they content themselves with humming a barely audible, continuous hii̇̃ hii̇̃... on the same pitch. It is these weeping women in particular who again and again refer to Wataginĕiwa and who ceaselessly repeat one or another of the ancient formulas of mourning. BD:653 gives yinŭŭa and yinŭkipa with the meaning "mourner" /cited in English/; arnĕmutu tālagwaja has the special meaning "weeping women."

765 533 An attentive observer will note that the Yamana vividly and often recall their dead and that, as Bridges (e):332 tersely expressed himself, "mourning was strictly observed." Individual persons often gather together to sing songs of mourning, even when there has been no immediate death. The most common term for this is tālagwaja, or tāllagwaja, which emphasizes the private, everyday, inconspicuous nature of the performance. Only a few persons join in a tālagwaja, namely, the relatives and their intimate friends. There are no special invitations, and no involved preparations are necessary. The simple painting of mourning and participation in the singing suffice for all. Thus a person who is seized with grief for his beloved dead initiates /1122/ a tālagwaja, and he can count on an immediate response from those close to him. BD:398 gives tellaaja, "being mourner or in mourning for the dead" /cited in English/. If tālagwaja also means a person who is mourning, it is clear that, like a deep groan, it is meant to point to the grieving person when it is repeated in the cries of lamentation addressed to Wataginĕiwa. Usually it stands at the end of a prayer and a request, and it could be translated as: woe is me, I am in mourning, how sad I am, this is the reason for my sorrow, and so forth (p. 989). Now and then lōima takes the place of tālagwaja. Strictly speaking, the former is a song by means of which one gets in touch with any kind of spirit. A person who mourns the dead recalls their souls to his own memory, as it were; he feels that they are near, devotes all his attention to them, and once more is with them. An association with them such as people enjoy in everyday life, however, cannot take place. Hence the pain of separation from these soul-spirits gains the upper hand again, and that is what the grieving person, full of despair, puts into his lōima cry.

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Fitz-Roy, as well as the missionaries, praise them for. One of the men accompanying Bove even sold the skeleton of his own father to which he addressed the following speech: 'Farewell, precious father! You who in life saw only our snow and our storms, now that you are dead are going for every. Farewell! May your journey be happy!'"

Today we shake our heads at the boldness with which such fantastic descriptions could be set forth a few decades ago. The Lawrence brothers to whom I showed the account absolutely declared it to be a bold invention. Finally one must keep in mind that Bove would never have accumulated his considerable collection of skeletons and skulls if it had not been furnished him from the mission cemetery. He does not maintain that the scattered, scarcely recognizable individual graves outside were ever pointed out and opened for him.

It is well known that they wipe out every trace indicating the site of a grave (p. 1058).

765 A touching example of the sincerity of their grief for a de-
152 ceased person exists from olden times. On November 27, 1858, Deppard met a one-eyed man in Beagle Channel and inquired about the cause of his misfortune. The man answered that because of a deceased person dear to him he had wept so much that one of his eyes ran out. "Man die, have admiration, be very sorry, cry very much, eye ran away in water all over cheek; yes, sir!" /cited in English./ Our Fuegians never forget the loved ones whom death has taken from them.

765 It is well known that the chingwaia give the Yamana a very
533 welcome opportunity to unburden their souls of all that oppresses them. While the main body of those present carries the customary melody in its monotonous uniformity, this or that person interrupts with a more or less long discourse, speaking of things which at the moment happen to affect his feeling and his mood. He is usually quite excited by it, as is shown by his lively, agitated

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expression. As a rule he speaks of sad memories and threatening fears. The words of one encourage another, and thus such interruptions follow one another at short intervals. In the following we shall give the valuable texts of two *Shingwaia* discourses, which were obtained in a somewhat unusual way. I had already recorded with the phonograph about 30 songs which are repeated on various occasions, but my effort to get a *Shingwaia* song had always failed. The people had coolly rejected my request with the remark: "How could we sing *Shingwaia* now, since no one has died?" When Fred Lawrence heard that I still lacked this piece, he asked his wife Nelly to help me to get it soon. She declared herself willing to do so. After a few days, on March 20, 1922, she mentioned the names of two Indian women, Gerrie and Peine, who wanted to perform the *Shingwaia* song that day. /1125/ They would expect a considerable reward, however. Making a quick decision, I agreed; moreover, Fred Lawrence held out the prospect of a lovely present for them. The two women arrived about 11 o'clock in the large laundryroom of the work house on the farm in Punta Dorotiloo where there was nothing to disturb us. I got the phonograph ready for the recording, but the women put me off: "Not yet, we are still not at all in the mood!" A considerable time passed in patient waiting. The two Fuegian women squatted on the ground, motionless and quiet, in deepest concentration and lost in their own thoughts. Finally around three o'clock they said: "Now *Shingwaia* can begin!" From their attitude and their remarks it was clear that they were very agitated and completely dominated by their thoughts of mourning. Calderon was attentively ready to transcribe the individual sentences which broke out with strong feeling and violent emotion.

At first both of them began with a monotonous melody. After about ten minutes Gerrie continued in alone, and Peine interjected with much emotion: "Ah, how painful is our state, to sing *Shingwaia* because these two [Gusinde and Koppers] are leaving us. They come from a people that is very numerous, but there are only a few of us. The few that are left of our people resemble a few little birds who by chance escaped the hawks. *Wanamiwa* has taken away the good men; he has left

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only the ugly and unattractive ones for the last days of the Yamana people. We, the good-for-nothing, the sick, have remained here to this day. We are kept alive by him, we who are weak, who are few in number. He deprived me of my children, indeed of my whole family. And the two sons I have left will probably also soon have to tread the same path (65) that the others trod

65. The means Sarmiento and Balfour, both of whom are in poor health; the latter had already been given up once during a serious illness.

earlier. My [distant] cousin [Nelly Lawrence] has also lost several relatives, but at least she still has a brother [Calderon] who is blessed with a large troop of children. But I am all alone and only that one distant relative [Nelly Lawrence] is still with me. This relationship is through another man and is very distant. Ah, woe is me, Hiddhgen, you make me suffer a great deal, you have punished me severely! How numerous the people in the west [where Peine's home is] once were; just two or three of us remain. He has kept alive only a single one of my relatives from there, and in the end he will take her away, too."

After a brief pause Peine joined Gertie in the singing. Then Gertie spoke with great emotion: "These two [Guninde and Koppers] have come here and they urge us to sing tilagwaja. Although we have not repeated this song for a long time, nevertheless the two desire to hear it. Hitherto Wataginéwa has /1126/ forced us to sing tilagwaja on account of a death, now these two urge us. The Whites have generally assumed that tilagwaja is a pleasure for us. No, for us it is a sad song. If I were a man, I would suffer under the hard work which our men have to do in the forest, on the sea, and everywhere. But as a woman I am usually busy in the hut. If all my relatives should die, I would summon the courage to suffer like a man. I would also work and suffer as they do in the forest, on the sea, and everywhere. I would over-exert myself so that I, too, would eventually have to succumb. There are only a few women left among my relatives, the men of my kingroup have been taken away by 'the one-up-there.' I cannot measure up to the women of former times among

/1126 cont./

765 533

our people. They sang and spoke very well and beautifully, much better and more beautifully than we can today. All those lovely words [from ancient tradition] have been lost to us; why, nowadays we are often forced to speak English and Spanish. At the same time we are forgetting our own beautiful old Yamana words. Our tongue is no longer as sure as was that of our ancestors. Ah, how pitiful is our state! And what must we not bear! How few of us are left! In the other regions where the Whites live, people are numerous. If someone dies there, it does not matter; there are still many left. But with us things are very different. If a single one of us dies, it means more than if a thousand die among the Europeans who are very numerous. What a sad state my old blind father and my mother are in. On the day they die I shall run into the forest and lose myself there [purposely], I shall neither eat nor drink and shall die of sorrow. If I were a man, then I would storm out [anywhere] and kill all the animals out there, but bring nothing home. I would hack everything to pieces. I would carry on just like 'that-one-up-there' who also destroys and shatters everything, as though he needed it for food (66). Then, for once, he, too, would be

66. Gertie here uses a figure of speech which recurs in some of the cries of lamentation to the Supreme Being and which was explained in detail on p. 999.

made to feel what it is like for one [defenseless people] in such a situation. Then, however, he would have a legitimate reason for punishing me." For a long time after this the two women maintained a thoughtful silence.

The tálauwaia utterances expose the very depths of the soul and reveal the secret recesses of the heart; they reflect all the humanity of the Yamana. They show their nature and all their innate characteristics most clearly and transparently in the way they mourn their dead.

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765 of skin with white down-feathers taken from
301 the male Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida
[825] /Kelp goose/). The people obtain this fore-
head decoration when these geese are nesting;
during this time /1131/ they are lean and the
thin skin does not have the abundant fat that
is present at other times. /Fig. 90 appears
here./ A hapakēl is like the kōčel of the
Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215) in size and shape.
In recent times not all the adults make an
effort to obtain this ornament which is
actually seldom used. Instead, at a general
funeral ceremony, they use the narrow band
of skin with down, also called hapaxēl, which
they always have available and frequently use.

765 The club is part of the equipment of
those who take part in the so-called fight of
293 the yamalašemōina. It is justifiably regarded
as an ornamental club. No one would be
permitted to come with a plain stick that he
has just picked up or one used to kill a sea
lion. This club is used for no other purpose.
It is carefully carved out of a flawless small
trunk, is about 160 to 190 centimeters long,
has an angular or rounded surface and gently
tapers from one end to the other (Fig. 90).
It is regularly painted white, or red if one is
commemorating a murder. Actually the
women should also provide themselves with
a club, but sometimes they do not have it
and make do with an ordinary paddle which
they paint. At the dances in the hut every-
one uses the short dance-staff carried during
the čiēxaus ceremony, for it obviously helps
to emphasize the rhythmic movements of
the body.

765 The long-continued singing and
533 lamenting, sighing, and groaning are
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Fig. 90. Ornamental Club.

/1131 cont./

765 essential to the yamalašemōjna in connection with the lōima.
533 The actual mourners spend their time this way in any case.
152 Whenever neighbors and friends enter the hut with their freshly applied painting, they sit down near these mourners and follow their song. The polyphonic group sings in a medley of voices; each one chooses pitch and rhythm, melody, and tone color as he sees fit; he stops and begins anew as it pleases him. Each person's performance, however, is serious and sad, his facial expression shows great mental anguish, and his whole conduct indicates how much he is suffering. Throughout, everyone in a howling voice constantly repeats the same sounds in a monotonous melody, exactly as at the tālauwaja. The whole company devotes several hours to this collective demonstration of grief; they do not allow even brief general pauses.

765 Each person present occasionally interrupts his groaning and
781 fills in an interval or two with exclamations. These are chiefly
152 words addressed to the Supreme Being. One must remember that on these occasions everyone does not think merely of the recently deceased person -- who perhaps is even of secondary importance to him -- but of those loved ones whom he himself /1132/ lost through a recent death or an earlier one. The memory of them once more stirs him to the depths and makes him sharply feel anew his great loss. His own sorrow tortures him. That is why once again, as on earlier occasions, he confronts Watauinējwa to argue and remonstrate with him, to accuse him and cast aspersion upon him. He angrily hurls heavenward one after another of the ancient cries of lament, although he is well aware of his helplessness against Abājla up there behind the clouds. His immeasurable pain, so he believes, gives him the right to the ruthless, coarse invectives against that brutal Wēlapatux who can be approached in no other way. These excited conversations with Watauinējwa, as I was emphatically assured, form an important part of the yamalašemōjna. "Again and again each person must address 'the One-up-there' and must constantly repeat the old sayings!" I was told this several times with emphatic conviction. Thus I had the impression that the individual words were nothing more than a normal outcry and a quarrelsome discussion with the Supreme Being. Through all kinds of adaptations

/1136 cont./

765 152 578 come to his aid with your canoe when he was drowning?" The opponent replies: "I was much farther away from him than you, I was on the Wollasten Islands. It was far easier for you to help him because you were near him." Alluding to the murder, one man says: "How could you be so carefree! You should have known that this murderer had murderous intentions!" The answer: "You are guiltier. For if you had an inkling of it it was up to you to inform everybody and that one [the murdered one] would have been spared!" The verbal exchange continues for a long time. It often leads to attacks on personal conduct, to reminders of former quarrels and differences of opinion. Many become excited, and the combatants seriously attack each other. For some of them this opportunity is very welcome because a long-suppressed desire for revenge can be gratified without punishment. There is great confusion during the battle and sometimes a certain amount of brutality, depending on how much tempers are aroused, for the opponents facing each other change about several times, or three or four persons will pounce upon a single one who is then in a serious predicament. After about an hour the combat is declared over when a few influential old people return to the assembly hut. The rest of the people follow.

765 533 535 Inside, the customary song of mourning is resumed and continues for a time, its duration depending on the hour of the day and the state of mind of those present. One person or another will get up and dance through the hut, following the simple rhythm of the song with his body movements and the gentle swing of the short dance-staff. Finally the yamalaŝemōina is concluded, following the clear, definite signal by one of the leading old people that all the participants should lay down their clubs, paddles, and dance staffs with an audible tap on the ground. While the singing was going on, /1137/ all the people were holding these things in their hands. After that each one spends long minutes in thoughtful concentration, and only then does he silently creep out. He goes to his dwelling and quietly resumes his ordinary tasks.

765 This affair regularly lasts eight hours and longer. Only the adults take part. In order to prevent any disturbance or distraction by their own or by strange children, none of the children

/1330 cont./

X 575 dwellings. They are to sit in a tight group approximately midway between the camp and the Kina hut. Then he goes back in. Immediately a fearful, threatening howl begins in the Great Hut; all the men howl and groan at the top of their lungs to indicate that the mighty Tǎnuwa spirit has arrived in the Kina hut with intention of enslaving, torturing, maltreating, and assaulting everybody. The spirit does this personally as well as through various spirits which will soon appear before the eyes of all. Fear and terror are stamped on the faces of the women and children. The men howl and yell at intervals of several minutes, and each time the women tremble anew. Meanwhile it has grown dark.

Scarcely has the yelling of the men subsided when Masemikens places himself in front of the Great Hut and rapidly waves his outstretched arm in the air horizontally, describing a half-circle. He makes a loud, drawn-out hissing sound which is to invoke the first spirit, known as Kínamjǎma. This spirit dances with mincing steps back and forth along the path on which the dances are performed. His arms are bent at right angles, and using both hands he carries a staff at eye level; his body has many red and black horizontal lines upon a white background. He glides along, dancing up and down the path several times, until the leader calls him back with a sign made with his arm. Instantly loud yelling and howling begin inside. Scarcely has it ceased when Masemikens again places himself beside the Great Hut and loudly calls a warning to the women that they must all stay in their places and await the appearance of other spirits. At brief intervals the yelling of the men inside is repeated.

Again the leader steps outside and announces to the women in an anxious voice: "The feared Kalampǎla has just come down and will present himself immediately!" Meanwhile the men have [302] painted themselves with a few white diagonal stripes on their upper bodies and in the center a similar longitudinal stripe. Soon the • [533] entire assembly of men inside begins to sing hǎj húlu, hǎj húlu in a monotone and with a hammering rhythm. At first it is scarcely audible; then it grows louder and is slowly accelerated. Mean-X 575 while six men arrange themselves close together in a row, each 535 placing his arms over the shoulders and around the neck of each of his neighbors. Moving sideways in short steps this intertwined row

/1407 cont./

756 It is well known that the yékamuš carry out their works in
787 a dream, as it is commonly said, which means a vivid imagina-
828 tion or auto-suggestion, a lively weaving of fantasies. It is maintained that the yékamuš loses his own personality and that it is replaced by his spirit, namely, the kēšpix or yefáčel-xéola that belongs to him. The latter carries out what the yékamuš is trying to do or wishes. The yékamuš is most closely united with his yefáčel "in the dream." Therefore, it is of decisive importance for him to be able to put himself quickly and effortlessly into the dream state. Every apprentice is supposed to acquire this art above all in the lóima-yékamuš. He observes the experienced masters present, who, after singing briefly, succeed in being completely absent mentally while sitting there; they have lost their own personalities. Either they slump over and remain motionless, as though sleeping, or they move the upper part of the body gently back and forth, singing softly, their heavy and half-closed eyes glazed and fixed on one point. The ušwāáléxamuš imitates all this; the old people watch him, but give no definite instructions. He himself does not say whether his power of imagination has increased and his fantasies are more vivid. It is not until later that ordinary people discover his skill, after the ušwāáléxamuš has begun to practice independently.

756 Every yékamuš has the power of invoking his own guardian
787 spirit and any other spirit with his singing. During the asikáku the
533 yefáčel-xéola gives the man his /1408/ song. When the chosen one has adopted this song and made it his own, he has the key which gives him admission to the realm of the spirits, for the personal guardian spirit, above all, listens to this song and sooner or later puts himself at the disposal of his protégé. The Yamana now maintain that it is not really the yékamuš who sings, but his yefáčel. In other words, the yékamuš starts the song given him by the yefáčel, but in a short time the yefáčel takes it over and carries it on for a long time. Finally the yefáčel withdraws from the dream image of his yékamuš and the latter wakes up. These songs are very simple melodies on a single tone or melodies with an added interval of a third or fourth at the beginning or the end. The syllables hájyang hájyang hó hóh yō yō, or finally hainán wagán harán and similar variations.

/1408 cont./

X756 A uśwałéxamuš has been familiar with these melodies from his
787 youth. Here in the lōima-yékamuš he takes up a definite melody
533 and continues it while his imagination is vividly at work. He is animated by the belief that he received this melody from his yefáčel-xēola. This explains its suggestive power over the ego whenever a yékamuš repeats it. Here in the lōima-yékamuš the candidate must learn how to put himself into the dream state after briefly singing, for it is in the realm of dreams that the spirits are at his disposal. Singing is not permitted outside the lōima hut, for this would lure the yefáčel out. Nevertheless, if a yefáčel should follow an apprentice who has gone into the forest and is gathering wood, and should move him to sing, then the apprentice must take up the song and his companions must accompany him softly. The practiced yékamuš are regularly stimulated to sing in their dream, and after they wake up they naturally continue singing as long as the stimulation lasts, that is, as long as their yefáčel is with them, in exceptional cases even beyond the noon hour.

X756 In the medicine-man school the apprentices are almost com-
787 pletely dependent upon their own observations and practice; they observe every little thing the old masters do, copy it as best they can, and make it their own. There is no detailed instruction in the lōima-yékamuš. Auto-suggestion makes every candidate aware of the extent to which his wishes have become reality. The old masters, for their part, know through their visions what the apprentice has attained and what may still be expected of him. They do not discuss this in so many words, but communicate among themselves in that dream realm in which they carry on all their activity.

In the above description only the apprentices in the lōima house have been considered. Many details about the conduct of the old masters could be given, but it may suffice to give a few basic characteristics. Although I have just said that everything the yékamuš see and do takes place in their visions, it is nevertheless true /1409/ that in the late evening hours they tell many things about their hallucinations in plain words and with very lively performances. Above all they describe the appearance of their own yefáčel, his behavior in the lōima house, and his leave-taking.

/1415 cont./

X756 designation aõna-xéola which is the equivalent of yefáčel-xéola.
773 The lõima-yékamuš is not linked up in any way with Watauinčiwa. I asked point-blank: "What is the attitude of Watauinčiwa when the yékamuš gather in the lõima house?" My informants replied unanimously and without hesitation: "He simply looks on and lets them do as they please!" A lõima-yékamuš gives the experienced masters great satisfaction, especially if they win over a few young men to their calling.

c. Activities of the Medicine Man

X756 Whenever a yékamuš wishes to act as such, he must put
787 himself into a state of auto-suggestion. The people say he acts
533 "in a dream." Now it may be that in his sleep an ordinary dream image excites him very much and awakens him. He continues to occupy himself, in a semi-conscious state, with the image thus received. In order not to lose it, he sings his monotonous melody while holding the upper part of his body bent forward and gently rocking back and forth. Briefly, what has happened is that his own yefáčel or another spirit has made contact with the yékamuš; this contact continues for as long as he goes on singing, during which time there is an exchange of messages. More often the desire for contact with his yefáčel comes from the yékamuš himself. In order to bring forth the yefáčel, the yékamuš sits down on his pallet, fights off all distraction, fixes his thoughts upon his guardian spirit, and sings his own melody uninterruptedly while gently rocking the upper part of his body (329). After a

329. Bridges (e):332 and (k):237 reported: They "began singing many and long magic songs, if the senseless and monotonous noise and constant rocking back and forth of the body can be called such..."; "Through spells, fasting, and rocking the body, they were able to induce a state of overexcitement and, when in this condition, claimed to possess extraordinary powers" /translated from Spanish/.

/1415 cont./

X756 time the singing suddenly becomes more lively. That is the
787 moment at which the yefáčel itself takes over the melody and
●533 carries it on. At this point the medicine man's personal effectiveness is eliminated, and thereafter the yefáčel takes over. It recognizes the aims and intentions that the yékamuš is striving for and, for its part, makes an effort to /1416/ realize them. The yékamuš is aware of everything that the yefáčel does; he assesses the attitude and actions of the yefáčel and consults with it. When it leaves him, the singing stops and the yékamuš awakens from the absorption of his dream state.

With these brief words I have described the basic features of the co-operation between the yékamuš and his yefáčel or other spirits. No matter what the yekamuš plans and strives for, the force that carries it out is his yefáčel or another spirit. The people express this co-operation by saying: "The késpiš of the yékamuš gives way to the yefáčel; the latter acts by itself as long as the singing lasts." Thus the yekamuš who is trying to accomplish something starts on his own initiative to attract his yefáčel by singing. Sometimes it does not come although the yekamuš has been exerting himself for more than an hour by singing. Confronted with this lack of success, he stops singing and frankly tells the people around him: "Today my yefáčel has forsaken me!" Sometimes he makes a second attempt.

1. His Efforts for Fellow-Tribesmen

X756 Even if he starts singing in the middle of the night, the
302 medicine man never omits his simple outer trappings. They consist of the apáwera which he ties around his forehead (p.1307) and a simple facial painting. For the latter he rubs his face and head with dry white powder or he draws a single finger-thick white or red line from one ear lobe to the other. He always carries these things within reach and his wife sees to it that he has pigments.

X756 From earlier communications and reports one can clearly infer that the activities incumbent on the yékamuš are varied. Despard (b):717 declared: "His business is to allay the storm;

/1467 cont./

301 same thing must be said about the feather ornaments, which can be seen on various ceremonial occasions in the čiẽxaus (pp. 713, 790) and at the ceremonies of mourning (p. 1083) as hapaxẽl, a larger triangular piece of skin, or kwaxwẽxeni, a band of skin two fingers wide and covered with down. The apawẽxa is only worn by the yẽkamuš, who regularly puts it on when he is practicing his calling (p. 1307).

304 It has been proved that the Yamana do not practice any kind of intentional body mutilation (p. 106), and Hyades (b):1345 agrees with various observers that "there are no deformations or ethnic mutilations" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy (a):138 is also correct when he maintains: "No ornaments are worn in the nose, ears, or lips, nor on the fingers" /cited in English/. Bridges (h):206, Bove (e):157 and (g):234, and Hyades (d):306 and (p):329, as well as other travelers, emphatically deny that the Yamana are acquainted with tattooing. Nevertheless, I was able to prove that, to a modest extent, it was formerly practiced on the candidates in the čiẽxaus (p. 715), not, however, for beauty. In the

302 most recent times it has been replaced by a special body painting, either that described on page 717, or the entire upper part of the body is painted uniformly white and two finger-thick, red parallel lines are drawn close together from the farthest lateral projection /1468/ of one shoulder to the other in an arc that extends over the chest and back (cf. Fig. 21 of the photogravure plates /at the end of this work/). This painting is used only for the čiẽxaus.

[538] Our Yamana are acquainted with neither poetry nor proverbs,

533 but in the syllables constantly repeated in their songs, there is an agreeable rhythm and a rich sound; they do not have a definite meaning, however. The melodies are always merely short movements with simple motifs. The syllables, made up of the same or a few different sounds, are either repeated on a single pitch or in a variant in which the third predominates. Gay melodies are clearly distinguishable from sad ones (368). The Yamana like to sing:

368. Bridges (a):207 established that "The singing of these Indians is of different kinds" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (p):330, "the song is usually gay; it is made

/1468 cont./

533

> up of a single word or even a single syllable, repeated indefinitely" /translated from French/. In Spencer:111 it is said: "The words, they say [in their songs], have no meaning to them, and have been handed down in parrot form from their ancestors, and all their songs originally came from the Alakaluf tribe" /cited in English/.

how else would the considerable variety of their songs have come about. One may find it strange that, without exception, they are sung by a smaller or larger group. A person going his solitary way or quietly gliding over the water in the canoe with his family would never feel the urge to sing a little song. A mother does not [854] sing any kind of cradle song to her darling whom she cradles in her arms or watches over in his bed. She is content to hold the child in her outstretched arms and gently rock it back and forth. She performs these movements rhythmically, and each time she sways back and forth she repeats the sounds hūš hūš. The rhythms of a few of the social games are accompanied by children and adults with simple melodies set to long words (p.585).

The songs in the čiéxaus, which fall into two groups, are unique. An uninterrupted repetition of a few sounds on the same pitch, carried on at night sometimes by only one person and during the day simultaneously by most of the people, is part of the daily program (p. 791); more elaborate melodies accompany the special dances and social games on most evenings (p.822). In songs of mourning, especially in the yamalašemōjna, the same word, consisting of three to six syllables, is repeated on the same pitch; the melody is constantly interrupted by interjections and loud laments (p.1070).

I would broadly characterize the tāxer as a mood-song. It concludes a mourning assembly, a festive gathering, or a čiéxaus (p. 841). The brown meadow bird, āxer, invented this song and first sang it when, as a capable yēkamuš, it once stranded a whale and invited everybody to an abundant feast. A person who now introduces this song wants to please his countrymen with a surprise and create a happy mood, after the example set by that bird.

/1468 cont./

533 While the singing is going on, a person moves around the circle /1469/ and distributes a bit of meat or a roasted mussel to everyone present. The kēšpiš of each person present abandons, so to speak, the body, which is bound to that place, and goes to the festival of the tāxer bird. Far out on the high seas these kēšpiš meet other kēšpiš and those of their deceased relatives. The latter are hosts to the arriving kēšpiš and they all enjoy themselves for some time. Toward the end of the gathering, the hosts motion with both hands as though they were grasping things and showering gifts on their guests. Thereupon these kēšpiš take leave of one another and return to the hut from which they departed; the other kēšpiš remain far out over the ocean. During the tāxer song the kēšpiš of a human being leaves its body, exactly as it does when the person is dreaming. The song is always sung seriously and calmly; sometimes it is reminiscent of a true song of mourning. What the Yamana express with the word kēšpiš in this explanation clearly corresponds to what we Europeans call "state of mind" or "mood"; the tāxer song is supposed to bring everyone back to calm mental balance after great mental agitation. Every yēkamuš has a particular song that was given to him by his yefāčel (p.1318). The čōwánni song, with which the spirits of the sea animals, especially those of schools of herring and those of whales, are enticed, has a set melody, the introduction of which is reserved for the yēkamuš (p.1349); in the east the čōwánni song is called uwāwen-yēkmuš, in the west, atufle-yēkamuš. It is well known that a medicine man practices his calling only in the "dream state" into which he puts himself by his singing. This singing is also called lōjma-yēkamuš because during it every medicine man makes contact with his spirits.

The pasánna may be regarded as a kind of jolly folksong; the designation tapalisánna is less common. Everyone may sing them wherever and whenever he chooses, following his own inclination without pressure from the outside. There are few people, however, who enjoy them and occasionally entertain their neighbors with them. My informants assured me that all the pasánna were first given to the western Yamana group long ago by the Halakwulup, and that later the former transmitted these songs to the central group. This also explains the fact that the word

533 177

/1469 cont./

533 177 underlying the melody is a clearly recognizable Halakwulup word, not otherwise current among the Yamana. The word ariwa, as well as ačagwārafka -- each of which is repeated to a separate melody -- are designated as genuine Halakwulup words. The song based on the latter word is called the "pasánna of the drunken ones"; it is sung with great merriment and accompanied by clumsy swaying of the entire upper part of the body. In Halakwulup the word ēk'soxwar means "water, drinking water, alcoholic beverage" (Gusinde [s]:1013). In another pasánna the expression guanāko seftihōx is repeated. The word guanāko possibly /1470/ found its way into Yamana only in recent times through this pasánna, for otherwise they use only amēxa. This pasánna, like the previous one, clearly shows that in the not too distant past the Halakwulup have transmitted one or another of their songs to our Yamana. Gertie and other informants assured me that in their youth, on trips through the west, they learned a song or two which was unknown in the central Yamana region. Just as today a jolly group will occasionally burst into a pasánna, so, in earlier times, this was done on the rare occasion when a European ship passed by as a sign of joy and surprise. The Yamana mother is certainly not fond of singing, but it is true that one of them will occasionally amuse her baby with a pasánna.

533 302 It is customary among the Yamana to pass around some pigment while singing is going on. Everyone present takes a little of it and paints his face, a sign that he is taking part in the singing. A single woman will sometimes sing the so-called akājnix song in jolly company. In the middle of it she will stretch both arms in front of her with the palms of the hands turned upward. Suddenly a little piece of charcoal will be lying on each hand, and with it the singer draws lines on the face of everyone present. No one could tell me the meaning of all this (369).

126

369. On my last two trips through Tierra del Fuego I made phonograph recordings for each of the three tribes living there. E. M. von Hornbostel has arranged this material, but his comparative study, which I received in manuscript, can only appear in the third

/1471 cont./

533 various songs, the diversity of body painting, and the delight in ornaments show the not inconsiderable aesthetic feeling of the Yamana. For an evaluation from the viewpoint of culture history, a distinction that was often pointed out to me is significant. The Yamana say: The čōwánni song and every yēkamuš song are peculiar to the five ethnic groups alike, but the tixer song, the [177] čiēxaus song, and the pasánna songs belonged to the Halakwulup and were first transmitted to the western Yamana, who gradually transmitted them to the central Yamana groups so that they, too, have had them since then.

d. Sociability

571 As a result of the type of economy imposed on our Fuegians by their environment, the individual throughout most of his life is dependent upon himself alone or his immediate family. By nature he is capable of getting along by himself and of being self-sufficient. He is constantly stimulated anew by everything around him, and the pressure of food-seeking incessantly arouses his desire for action. Hence he can never be inactive for any length of time and become bored; his temperament is far too lively and active. He knows how to keep himself busy even if he has to be alone. There are many middle-aged and older persons who prefer continuous solitude far more than one visit after another by a related family or a family of friends. The Yamana has many inner resources and likes to give himself up to his own thoughts. He finds great satisfaction in sitting by himself and occupying himself in one way or another. Nevertheless, the great enjoyment that lively social intercourse can offer often drives one or another of them into the company of his fellows, where he can enrich his knowledge and his spirit and where mind and soul derive new stimulation. His happy nature comes into its own in group games; he is a very agreeable companion.

/1470 cont./

126 volume of the present work. For the time being, I wish to call attention to his shorter account, "Fuegian Songs," in the American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 357-367, July-September, 1936. -- At this point I need not discuss the erroneous view of someone like Spegazzini (a):169 and others. Bridges (i):18 briefly mentions a few songs of the Yamana. Cf. in Cooper:90 the report on the songs that Furlong recorded on the phonograph.

533 868 522 It is amusing to learn that occasionally an older man who enjoys singing will call young people into his hut -- a few adults will join them -- in order to practice songs with them. Alikanlis is known as such a person. They stay together for a few hours, learn or repeat one song after another, and conclude their jolly gathering with the so-called ínawēx, a merry performance. A clownish man will step outside and wrap himself in skins so that only his face is uncovered, upon which he draws many red and white dots. Between each corner of his mouth and a nostril, as well as between each pair of eyelids, he stretches short sticks which distort the face. This joke, a favorite among boys (p.520), is called hanaxwénteg, and the little sticks are flexible twigs of the parasitic plant Myzodendron punctatum, appropriately called hánis tauwēla, "basket of the beech," because of its shape. In this disguise the man suddenly steps into the gathering of youthful singers, acts very officiously toward each one, and joins in the general laughter. Sometimes several immature /1471/ youths will dress up in the manner described, and they all end the singing lesson with lively leaps outside the hut of their "teacher." This gay conclusion is called hanaxwéremega (cf. Fig. 4 of the photogravure plates /at the end of the work/).

534 The Yamana do not have actual musical instruments. It is true that children take the short hollow bones of a bird or the hollow lower part of a thick quill, hold the object vertically, and place it against the lower lip, producing soft whistling tones with short puffs of air. These simple objects, called umíku, certainly 533 cannot be regarded as musical instruments. Nevertheless, the

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 5216 Yahgan 5216

517 A great deal of *Yahgan* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play releasing tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

296 Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating
[293] beverages were made or used by the *Yahgan* before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 16). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Yahgan* and their neighbors, the *Alacaluf* and *Ona*.

526 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at
857 stone throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity.

There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillocks, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tonalóra, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tonalóra" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward
[533] through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were common accompaniments of children's group play.

[481] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's-buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball
526 game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

526 The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically massaged by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

538 Music.—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely
533 simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the *chéxsus* and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to
[534] von Hornbostel (1936). There were no musical instruments at all. Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

535 Dances.—Apart from the dances carried out during the *chéxsus* and *kina* rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

771 Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine man.
[769] But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and focal in shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each
[788] *Yahgan* had a *yefáčel*, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The *kina* rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

776 Theism.—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Wataninéwa or Wataninśiwa, who was also called by other

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

sport. the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive. Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport, so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kakleka*, another between two groups known as *uagiana*.

Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball-game like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (op. cit., p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *leima*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *tolowia*, are songs of mourning; the *orua* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jorus* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the dances are called *uewa*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

In general the Yahgan were not an amicable people, according to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to aid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General milities, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges sponsors the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1884, p. 234.

/1470 cont./

D6 volume of the present work. For the time being, I wish to call attention to his shorter account, "Yuagian Songs," in the American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 357-367, July-September, 1936. -- At this point I need not discuss the erroneous view of someone like Spegazzini (x):169 and others. Bridges (1):19 briefly mentions a few songs of the Tamana. Cf. in Cooper:90 the report on the songs that Furlong recorded on the phonograph.

§33 It is amusing to learn that occasionally an older man who enjoys singing will call young people into his hut -- a few adults will join them -- in order to practice songs with them. Alhaadlo is known as such a person. They stay together for a few hours, learn or repeat one song after another, and conclude their jolly gathering with the so-called Sawlgo, a merry performance. A clowning man will step outside and wrap himself in skins so that only his face is uncovered, upon which he draws many red and white dots. Between each corner of his mouth and a nostril, as well as between each pair of eyelids, he stretches short sticks which dissect the face. This joke, a favorite among boys (p.[illegible]), is called hanaywhong, and the little sticks are flexible twigs of the parasitic plant Myrsodendron punctatum, appropriately called hhoin tsowlla, "basket of the beach," because of its shape. In this disguise the man suddenly steps into the gathering of youthful singers, acts very officiously toward each one, and joins in the general laughter. Sometimes several immature /1471/ youths will dress up in the manner described, and they all end the singing lesson with lively leaps outside the hut of their "teacher." This gay conclusion is called hanaywhonga (cf. Fig. 4 of the photogravure plates /at the end of the work/).

§34 The Tamana do not have actual musical instruments. It is true that children take the short hollow bones of a bird or the hollow lower part of a thick quill, hold the object vertically, and place it against the lower lip, producing soft whistling tones with short puffs of air. These simple objects, called sonlha, certainly §33 cannot be regarded as musical instruments. Nevertheless, the

J: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 5916 Yahgan 5916

526 The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically managed by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

538 Music.—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely
533 simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the *kina* and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to von Hornbostel (1936). There were no musical instruments at all.
534 Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

536 Dances.—Apart from the dances carried out during the *chiéxus* and *kina* rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

541 Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men.
543 But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and foval in shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each
544 *Yahgan* had a *yelkíbi*, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The *kina* rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

546 Theism.—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Watasinéwa or Watasinéwa, who was also called by other

/913 cont./

X881 were received with a loud hóhohohohō. Immediately the coffee
264 was poured into another vessel and the painted pot was promptly and noisily tossed out of the hut. Although it could not be seen from the camp, one could at least hear it come banging out. The other man danced through the hut several times with the stick bearing the large loaf of bread before it was cut into pieces. Such an extra meal refreshes the people and stimulates them to more lively singing.

X881 Aside from these rare occasions, a delegation is appointed
264 and sent out by the leader on some days at the time of the regu-
535 lar evening meal, while the inmates are dancing. As we know, they hold their dance staffs crosswise while they are dancing. Thus, when the two or three men leave the čiéxaus hut at the proper moment, they dance over to the cookhut maintaining the same tempo, one behind the other, and swinging their dance staffs with rolling movements of their hands and arms. They do not enter, but the women there hand the food out to them, hanging the little basket of mussels, a large piece of meat, or a filled leather pouch on their dance staffs. As they return to the čiéxaus hut, the dancing men constantly swing their dance staffs up and down, in spite of the burden. Whatever they bring is hastily received at the Great Hut, usually through the entrance before they step inside. The loud yelling and furious knocking on the ground are supposed to announce that Yetáita is taking all the food for himself and disappearing with it into the earth. Without delay the little basket or the small leather pouch is again shoved on the proffered dance staff of the men, but instead of food it now contains ashes or a glowing stick of wood which they bear to the cookhut in dance step. They may /914/ not appear there without a return gift; indeed, they come purposely to bring it in recompense for the food, as it were. They conspicuously pour out what they have brought at the entrance. This proves to the people in the camp that the food brought over from the cookhut was quickly removed from the container and pulled into the čiéxaus hut, but that the bearers themselves did not get any of it.

X881 All the food remains to the last trace are destroyed in the
264 fire immediately after the meal, partly out of cleanliness, partly in order to further the belief that Yetáita alone consumes all the food that reaches the Great Hut. Outside visitors are admitted

/917 cont./

X881 302 floor in two rows was lighted by the glow of the fire. These white figures seemed like creatures from another world. The dull, dirty rags of culture into which the Yamana today wrap themselves have regrettably put an end to this strange and very effective costume.

γ. Song and Dance

X881 533 535 A person who enters the čiẽxaus hut wishes above all to give himself up to self-reflection and undisturbed concentration. The disposition of human beings, however, calls for change within a certain time span, in order to refresh the spirit and give strength for new efforts. Hence almost every day is concluded with dances in the late evening.

The Yamana reveal no particular talent for either song or dance. Nevertheless, they have created a few very simple melodies in which either the same tone is repeated rhythmically or simple combinations, mostly thirds, alternate. They are not familiar with round dances or complicated dance figures, but instead, with amazing mimicry, they imitate the particular type of animal which they wish to portray. This ability of our Fuegians will be described in more detail below. Here we simply point out that particularly in the čiẽxaus hut they enjoy dancing and singing to the point of satiety.

X881 533 1. The Constant Singing. There must never be complete silence in the Great Hut, either day or night. At least one person must sing in an audible voice. The reason given is that this is to prove to the spirits, especially Yetáita, that the people assembled here are awake. At the very beginning of the celebration, after the participants have assembled and have given themselves up for two or three hours to thoughtful meditation, the leader or overseer starts the low singing, other persons gradually join him, and after that it does not cease until the end of the long event. /918/ When most of the people present have gone to sleep in the late evening, some persons will remain in the squatting position and continue singing. If later on the latter, too, should abandon themselves to sleep, one of the sponsors will keep up the singing, for there is always one person awake to watch over each uřwíala.

/918 cont./

X881 533 hold fast to his thoughts about his own ego without any particular effort. The singing is so monotonous that it does not require the slightest attention, but the rhythm that carries it along is hammered into each one so strongly that, by means of it, he remains forcefully bound to the thoughts about his own ego, and would immediately be brought back to them should he become distracted. /919/ This evaluation explains a statement given by old Pedro: "I can reflect best when I am singing softly!" Persons who take up the singing are following their own personal urge. Now we realize why it may never entirely cease in the Great Hut.

2. Group Singing and Dancing. In contrast to the uniform singing described above, general participation in song develops in the late afternoon, accompanied by a sort of dance. This is the time when their inner agitation reaches its climax and seeks expression in voice and body movements. The singing is intensified, so to speak, to actual song. There is more modulation in the awái, the accent changes, and an actual melodic line comes in. Although it is brief, it is repeated with changing expression. Many of these melodies, which are full of moods, sound like Gregorian chants. In the final analysis they are an improved continuation of the constant, monotonous singing.

Almost without exception everyone present joins in this more accomplished way of singing; they do not all repeat the same melody together, but everyone now sings louder, with greater expression, and with lively participation. This evening song is a group affair and duty, whereas each individual loses himself in the monotonous singing throughout the day. The jumble of voices is even more confused than at other times, but still it is not annoying, since the ear involuntarily fastens upon one pleasant melody or another which takes its fancy. The impression of vocal confusion is in part reduced by the movement of the bodies of everyone present in time with the singing.

X881 535 Spiritual emotion makes the whole body tremble. The individual is no longer able to remain in his squatting position. He gets up, holds his dance staff horizontally between the outstretched fingers of both hands, and glides from one end of the Great Hut to the other through the central area where the fire is. Soon a second and third person follows. It becomes difficult to

/919 cont./

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535

keep the fire going with a few glowing embers, because the center section has had to be cleared, and at times almost the entire group of participants is dancing simultaneously. The dance consists of a quiet, solemn, and yet graceful gliding motion. The body is held upright and is not stretched or distorted; it sways only slightly forward and to either side. The movement and placing of the feet in taking steps and the graceful litheness of the erect body are very important. Some women show an unsuspected grace; other figures are clumsy.

The entire mass of crowded dancers moves more or less uniformly in this direction and that through the Great Hut. Here and there a person moves faster and glides past his neighbors, or one is slower and lets himself be pushed back. Often the sponsor will /920/ lift up his protégé so that he will take part in it. A few aged persons remain seated, but happily take an interest in the lively movement of so many persons. Usually the limited space inside does not permit everyone present to take part in the dancing at the same time. A few of them remain seated and wait until someone leaves the crowded cluster. Even those who remain crouched in their places move their bodies rhythmically in time with the song and with a corresponding rolling motion of their dance staffs up and down.

If there are only a few persons making the short, dance-like steps in the area of the fire, they arrange themselves in single file. The leader goes straight toward one of the exits; when he reaches it, he turns about-face and goes toward the other exit. The short row follows at his heels.

Sometimes the dancers arrange themselves in a compact knot so that each one can hardly take a step a few centimeters long. The space in which he can move is very limited, sometimes only one and a half meters. The entire cluster moves as far as possible from the spot, which inevitably presses it even closer together, and under this increased pressure each person makes a half turn, always in time with the song, followed by a movement in the opposite direction. A person can hardly hold his dance staff horizontally.

Now and then a single woman will place herself opposite a man or a single man opposite two women. Facing each other,

X /920 cont./
881 they drag their feet, now in this direction, now in that, across
535 the floor from one exit of the Great Hut to the other. At the same time they move the dance staff and sing continuously. This performance is a sort of competition to see who will continue the longest.

A sponsor who accompanies his protégé in the dancing stands beside him, grasps his dance staff with both hands, holds it vertically, and moves it straight up and down. This indicates that the uǰwā́ala shall grow erect and straight and become strong and powerful. The uǰwā́ala, therefore, joins in the same movements. Sometimes the candidate places himself behind his sponsor. The latter draws his dance staff horizontally across his back, and the uǰwā́ala, as he dances, holds onto it with both hands, tripping along behind.

X 881 If the persons present are overcome with sleepiness from exhaustion, the leader must encourage them and stimulate them to
533 renewed lively singing. One evening the singing threatened to die out. For several minutes Santiago remained very quiet and motionless. Then he suddenly came alive and with loud waiting began to shed tears. Aroused, he groaned in a mournful voice: "Now at last the spirit [enthusiasm] has come over me! Everyone has a part in it. Let us all go on singing vigorously!" In point of fact, this stimulation had a positive effect on everyone.

/921/ Then Gertie stood up and resorted to the device sometimes employed to spur the indolent group to fervent singing. She picked up a burning stick, the length of an arm, and held it upright. Stepping along in time to the singing, she glided from one person to another as they squatted in their places and held the glowing end of the piece of wood very close to their faces. A shudder of fright passed through each person and thoroughly awakened him. No one would dare draw back his head, which would arouse the disapproval of his neighbors.

Another method is not quite so irritating. The few who are making an effort to sing and are being ignored by the majority grasp the upper end of their dance staffs, and with the lower tip they vigorously poke around in the fire so that the embers flare up and sparks fly in all directions. No one can misunderstand this sign, and immediately the singing becomes more animated.

/921 cont./

X881 533 The leader sometimes shouts encouraging words. At that time Santiago spoke as follows: "My spirit [enthusiasm] is still alive and strong. Thus I shall go on singing!" Black interrupted him: "Attention, everyone. We must sing with much more vigor!" Santiago continued: "So let us go on singing!" He himself made a great effort to stir up those present and make them take part enthusiastically. The vigorous singing lasted for 20 minutes. Suddenly Santiago cried: "Someone has painfully stepped on me. I feel very weak!" As a matter of fact, he was not feeling well at all that day. In order to make himself feel better, he jumped up and danced through the Great Hut. As he did so, he cried: "There in the land of my mother where I experienced the čǰéxaus for the first time, I was never stepped on. But here someone stepped on my foot very painfully, awāj. But let us sing on!" He soon tired and slowed down, and the general singing again became weak.

X881 533 535 It is solely the mental state of the participants and the prevailing mood that determine the length of these group performances. Anyone who has become somewhat tired, usually through being too active, sits down for a few minutes and lets the compact mass of dancers pass by. Afterward he again joins the great cluster and acts as enthusiastically as before. Individual leaders inspire most of the others solely by their own attitude, and then the group singing and dancing sometimes lasts for more than two hours. Thick clouds of dust fill the whole interior of the čǰéxaus hut, but in their eager animation everyone disregards it.

X881 535 786 While the singing proceeds with more or less uniform intensity, an individual is now and then seized with particular excitement. He will get to his feet as though he is furious and will move with trembling restlessness through the Great Hut from one exit to the other. In the process, a few people standing in the center are sometimes strongly shoved aside. They will say: /922/ "That person has been seized by kěǰpiš [spirit, enthusiasm]!" The aroused person will dance back and forth in the čǰéxaus hut until he is exhausted.

One evening clumsy Mary suddenly jumped up and stepped into the center. She breathed heavily as though she were raving mad and her whole body trembled. Furiously she grasped a piece

/922 cont./

X881 of meat in both fists and tore off great hunks with her teeth,
535 hastily swallowing them. The other pieces that she tore off were
786 thrown into the fire. She made a slight motion with her head and Gertie and Emilia stepped in front of her. Holding the larger piece of meat between her teeth, she let both of them tear off a scrap with their own teeth. Very much stirred, all three danced through the čiēxaus hut, showing the pieces of meat held between their teeth. With a fixed gaze they stared in the direction in which they moved. Their frantic behavior continued until, tired out, they sought their places. The Yamana explain such an exhibition by saying that a great enthusiasm has suddenly filled the person, that "his kēšpiš seizes him!"

X881 It is not a fixed rule but it is customary to conclude the evening singing and dancing almost always with the tāxer song,
535 the so-called song of the yēkamuš. It is begun by some person
533 who gets up and strides through the entire room dancing. At the same time he holds his dance staff horizontally in front of him, a sign that he is asking for something. He is given pieces of meat, berries, or fungi, which he joyfully accepts, dances contentedly through the hut, and gives some of these things to other persons. He keeps a small portion for himself and eats it, as do the others, with visible satisfaction. All the people present accompany the song with a forward, rolling motion of the right arm alone, or they hold the dance staff horizontally with both hands and roll it forward and upward. The singing and body movements increase until they become lively, for with this the entire performance is supposed to end for this time. Thus the tāxer song is a farewell to the day, a genuine evening song. It is also intended as an accompaniment for the "spirits" on their way home, for they, too, withdraw after their long stay here on this day. The arm movements, with or without the staff, are supposed to indicate the work of rowing as one glides over the waves. Since the tāxer song is also intoned at the end of the entire čiēxaus celebration, these arm movements are meant to indicate the departure by boat of the many participants who now scatter in all directions.

X881 The particular purpose of the tāxer song is "to attend to
533 the spirits who have come from afar to the čiēxaus gathering,
781 to calm them down after their lively participation and make them

/922 cont./

X881 533 781 return, or rather, find their way back to where they belong." In referring to these "spirits" our Yamana mean in particular the memory-pictures and fantasies which take tangible form in their vivid imagination, with whom they associate in their thoughts and also converse in audible words. In the čiěxaus they feel they are in /923/ another state of mind and believe themselves to be in another world in which their imaginings appear to them as real persons. From this other imaginary world they first of all dismiss the "spirits" who have appeared and who are now returning to their own abode. After that they themselves turn back to their own everyday world by shaking off the extraordinary čiěxaus state of mind. That is why, at the conclusion of the tixer song, everyone present summons back "his own spirit" by making a wide sweeping movement with his arm and pulling it back again quickly, at the same time closing his outstretched hand in a tight fist. This means, in other words, that everyone now returns from the enthusiasm or ecstasy brought on by the singing to an everyday, calm frame of mind. In reality, therefore, the words of the Yamana about the various kěipif assembled in the čiěxaus hut do not refer to personified spirits but to a simple change of mood or a transfer from a world of very lively imagery to the passionless, prosaic activity of the mind.

X881 533 535 After the almost motionless squatting during the greater part of the day everyone regards the physical exertion of dancing and group singing as a boon. There must be such variety and it is regularly granted the uwěala also. It is appropriately put at the end of the day, and directly after that the leader gives the signal for the night's rest (p. 782). Everyone sticks his dance staff upright into the ground, hangs his hapaxěl on the wall of the hut, and settles down to sleep. Now it is quiet again in the Great Hut and only one or two low voices continue the uninterrupted singing.

X881 312 3. Memories of the Deceased. Let it be briefly repeated that everyone present paints himself expressly for these evening dances (p. 788). Formerly the women more than the men drew a great many patterns of red, white, and black lines in dots and circles all over their bodies; nowadays they are content to paint their faces, arms, and legs. Only a few women still paint the upper part of the body (p. 789). The facial painting of the uwěala is, of course, renewed in the evening.

X881 /924 cont./
drawings and patterns are carried out, depending on the artistic
302 fancy that creates them. Each person present, of course, wears
769 the hapaxél and carries his short, decorated dance staff.

With this painted ornamentation and in memory of the de-
X881 ceased, the individual dances back and forth for a while, gliding
535 through the entire room. As is the case with these dance move-
769 ments in general, the body is held almost straight, the legs are bent somewhat at the knees, and the feet are placed one behind the other, close together. The left foot hops a few centimeters forward and the right foot is pulled after it. The fingers of both hands hold the dance staff horizontally or slightly diagonally and lift it slowly up and down with rolling motions toward the body. Sometimes both hands grasp the short staff held sideways and downward and move it forward and backward as though rowing. It is even grasped at the center with the right hand alone and held horizontally at shoulder height, as though it were a harpoon. In this position the dancing person will quickly glide along the area of the fire, and another person will do the same in a path close to him, but in such a manner that the two move past each other in opposite directions from one exit to the other.

X881 Meanwhile the mourner will utter short laments. After a
535 few minutes he will sit down and repeat his show of grief in long
769 sentences. For example, on the second evening old Mary sadly
152 cried out while the dancing was going on: "At that time when my parents, my uncle, and my aunt were still living and performed in the kíkaus hut, a great many people were gathered together. All of them knew the game well and all were enjoying it. Today we are but a very /925/ few. We hardly know how to perform the kíkaus beautifully. That makes me very sad!" On the next evening I heard the following words from the same Mary: "Ah, how poor we Yamana are today! Only a few of our people are still living. That makes me indescribably sad. In my memory I see the many who were with me in the kíkaus for the first time; today I am the only one left of all of them!" She was immediately joined by her husband Richard: "At the time when my mother gave birth to me it was very nice among us Yamana; there were still many people living and we were a large family. But today I am in a very poor state, for I am alone in the world! My brothers and sisters are dead, my parents have not been living for a long

/925 cont./

X881 535 769 152

time, my uncle and aunt are long since gone. Who wouldn't be sad to be all alone here in this world as I am!"

Meanwhile Gertie was rubbing a lot of charcoal powder on her face. Then she excitedly rose from her place and began in a wild tone: "How sad is our lot! Last winter another of my kinsfolk died. Only a very small remnant of us Yamana has remained behind!" Then, as though mad, she glided back and forth through the Great Hut. Her sister Adelheid had drawn a single black line across her right and left cheek (Fig. 86, a) and remained squatting in her place. Both of them wept for an aunt who had recently passed away.

X881 769 152

Once old Whaits also cried out into the general singing the following words of grief: "Alas, poor me! I am completely orphaned, for last winter my very last kinsman died. Now I am alone in this world!" His wife who sat next to him sobbed loudly and wept bitterly: "Yes, it is true, you are all alone in the world! Your family had its home in the west and was once large. It is true, you are now the last of your large family. But these two whites who have come to us (338) raise our spirits. They have

338. Very conspicuously, by glance and gesture, she points to Gusinde and Koppers.

become Yamana and are therefore related to you. So cheer up!"

Almost every evening some participant will show his grief. Occasionally several people or the greater part of them will follow this example, so that a general lamenting, weeping, whimpering, and moaning commences. After the group as a whole has calmed down, one person or another continues his sobbing until far into the night; no one stops him.

X881 533

4. Free Interjections. Proof of the complete freedom with which each participant in the Great Hut may express his innermost feelings is given by the impromptu words which he scatters through his singing. He is permitted to do this any time of day. Usually he contents himself with a few short sentences. The words of one will sometimes stimulate his neighbor to /926/ carry on the same thought or to supplement it. When almost all the people take part in the common singing in the evening, the various interjections not only follow one another directly, but also are given

X881 /926 cont./
533 simultaneously. They enliven the already excited movement still more. The spirit and content of these utterances will be shown in a few sentences which I shall give here.

X881 The people had already been loudly singing for about two
533 hours. The kitchen women enter with the meal and are greeted
264 with loud calls of hóhohohohõ. Santiago, the leader, suddenly stops and simply calls out: "I am going to break off my song, for I am very tired and hungry!" Most of the people carry on the song; the rest eat hastily in order to take up the song soon after.

X881 One evening coffee is brought in very late. Everyone is
533 extremely happy about it. Every adult reaches for his cup, and
535 with outstretched arms bent only slightly at the elbow, he holds
264 it out. A few persons get up, skip back and forth, and lead the singing in a lively voice. Their gestures are lively because they are happy to be able to partake of something. They skip toward the kitchen woman with her large can, dance around her, and hold out their cups to her. As she fills each cup and also distributes bread, the others continue to hop all around her. Soon they draw away again, dancing with their filled cups, and sit down in their places. Their gay hopping is an expression of great satisfaction over the tasty drink. One of them says loudly: "How glad I am that I have been given something to eat and drink!" In a singing tone one woman cries: "Now there is something to eat and drink again; that is wonderful!" The kitchen woman who distributed food and drink brought joy and lively activity to the whole gathering.

X881 On the first evening when a short pause occurred in the group
537 singing, Santiago, the leader at that time, cried in a loud voice:
152 "Once again we have gathered here to celebrate čiéxaus. We
609 want to do it well! This game came to us from the west; it came here from the Halakwulup. Today we have a Halakwulup (339)

339. He meant the youthful Julia who, several weeks before, had fled to the Yamana and who was invited to this initiation in Puerto Mejillones (p. 692).

among us. She will observe us carefully and afterwards tell her

X881 537 152 609

/929 cont./

the whole island [Navarino] away from here and drag it along with them wherever they wish!"

Each speaker and singer concludes his words with a loud and vigorous call, "čiéxaus." This is correctly interpreted as giving force to their utterances and emphasizing their assertions, as well as a cry of confidence in the fulfillment of wishes expressed, and finally as a curse upon whatever they complain of and condemn. Sometimes this concluding cry of "čiéxaus" sounds like a cry of despair.

X881 537 152

Just as the singing in general is meant to drive away Yetāita (p. 781), particularly interjections have the same purpose. If any leading person sees this evil spirit approaching, he loudly calls upon all those present to drive him away. One evening (345) the

X881 533 535 152

345. See Koppers (a):81 concerning this evening performance during the fourth day of the celebration.

women were very vigorously dancing, and Santiago felt an urge to incite them to a state of extreme excitement. He shouted to them from his seat: "Dance on! Yetāita is still very near and refuses to go away!" Soon he added: "Dance harder! Yetāita still shows no sign of withdrawing." After a few minutes he cried out, as though slightly relieved: "Just go on bravely! Already Yetāita is starting to retreat, he is sinking head-down into the earth!"

Our interpreters explained to us why Santiago and Pedro made such urgent demands for loud singing and vigorous dancing. As strangers and unbidden ones in this čiéxaus hut, they say, we attracted the special attention of Yetāita; the people present were afraid he could do us particular harm. Hence the greatest effort was required /930/ to push this Yetāita, who is very dangerous for everyone, deep into the interior of the earth so that he could not harm us in any way.

Again Santiago cried loudly: "Dance on! I still see Yetāita's feet sticking out of the ground." After a few minutes, as though relieved, he says: "I see only one foot [sticking out of the ground]. But go on dancing (346)!" Then: "Now I see only one toe of

346. Chris had meanwhile carefully observed Santiago, the leader. At these words, an

/930 cont./

X881 533 535 152

amused grin flitted over his face, and stealthily pointing with his finger, he whispered: "He [Santiago], too, has a foot sticking out of his blanket!"

Yetáita. Just go on dancing!" Fixedly Santiago stares at one spot on the ground. After about ten minutes he sighs with relief: "At last Yetáita has completely disappeared. But I still see the hole through which he descended. I must close that, too. So dance on!" After a few minutes he cries joyfully: "Even that deep hole is closed now. All I hear is a faint rumbling in the far distance. Yetáita has finally left us altogether! So stop dancing and rest yourselves!"... Scarcely an evening goes by during which Yetáita is not driven away with at least one or two loud utterances.

X881 625 533

5. Interjections by the Guard. It is well known that the so-called guard, winefkéra, has a special position in the čiéxaus celebration. He is not only characterized by a particular facial painting (p. 684), but he may even wear a feather decoration reserved for the yékamuš. No one was able to explain why he has this privilege; they said: "It has always been like that!" Moreover, he has a definite song, more exactly, two melodies which are noticeably different from the group singing and which he alone intones. He does so when the group singing has died out. His rendition is very melodious and sonorous. Not even his assistants may accompany him.

X881 625

Outside the Great Hut the guard demonstrates that he is an alert guardian of this sanctuary who will terrify and drive away outsiders (p. 684). Inside the čiéxaus but he repeatedly assumes the role of the furious winefkéra whose name he bears (347). In

347. This word means Leucophaeus scoresbii, the fierce predatory bird of the high seas (Fig. 82).

March, 1922, Richard held this position. In the late afternoon of March 11, after the participants had again taken their seats in the Great Hut, he placed himself next to the main entrance and acted as though he had just entered. His face was white; his mouth and

/932 cont./

X 88 625

the people inside what the others out there are doing. In the midst of the low singing of the others Chris said: "Alas, poor me! I do not know much [to say], but I feel the urge to sing. So I shall begin and sing with the melody of the others to give them courage and stimulate them to sing!" Interrupting him, Richard cried out loudly: "I almost flew upward!"

After a few minutes he slipped toward the main exit and outside crawled up the hut framework; he wanted to frighten everybody. He boomed out a command: "Start dancing with [535] hambá, hambá, hambá (351)!" After a pause: "I am still up

351. This word is constantly repeated during the rhythmic dance movement.

here [on the hut framework]!" Inside, the singing stopped. "The one that's crying over there [namely, a small child in the cook-hut] I shall fetch over here, so that it won't die!" After a while the singing started up anew. "I almost caught this boy! -- This time he got away with a single wound. -- You can only see the feathers of another one (352). -- You over there [in the cookhut]

352. This furious predatory bird pursues one bird after another and is so rough with them that all their feathers fly (cf. footnote 347).

must bestir yourself and always have something on hand to eat. Be careful and pay attention to everything I say!" Repeatedly the answer was "awší." Then Richard climbed down from the hut framework and crawled back into the Great Hut.

After a while he began again: "I am inside here up on the ceiling [like a bird that has lifted itself in flight]!" Immediately Chris stopped singing and excused himself: "Unfortunately my voice is giving out and I cannot very well continue. So I shall stop singing."

Richard began again: "I am not going to hurry to leave here. Nevertheless I should like to set out soon." Voices from outside: "No, do not be in a hurry!" He: "It seems you do not like to see

/937 cont./

X 111 relieved that I can accompany these two strangers here in the
635 Yahgan!" Animated talk by the others.
533 Finally Thomas announced: "My stomach will soon be empty now. I shall probably be off again in a short time." Julia and Rosa, following the example of the others, exchange a few words in Halakwulup, their own language. The usual dance-competition begins between Mary and her husband. Then she says: "These two [Halakwulup] women speak the language of the west. When I was a little child I came to this region [in the central part], so I forgot the words of the westmen [the Halakwulup]." The winefhowa cried: "Are you still awake?" Response: "awéi!" He: "That is good of you to be still awake, as I am, too." Again: "awéi!" He: "My stomach is getting lighter. Soon it will be quite empty!"

For about 20 minutes Pedro repeated a sonorous melody. It sounded so pleasant that everyone listened silently. Thomas continued: "I almost fell asleep, it is so warm here by the fire. Are all you women over there already asleep?" Response: "No." He: "Good, then tell me when you want to lie down to sleep!" They reply only with "awéi." He: "Well, then I won't tell you when I am going away from here." Response: "awéi."

X 111 Suddenly all the ufegala stood up, crowing all the adults.
[153] The general belief is that the candidates may not squat too long in one place. If they did so, they would become victims of an illness, they would be weak and sleepy, remain glued to the ground, as it were, and the illness would soon cause death.

Pedro talked to himself: "These Whites have stayed a long time among us Yamana. Molly Lawrence will be surprised that the two strangers have not returned to her [in Puna Romolino]. Well, they are safe with us and will stay some time longer!" The singing stopped because the people had become tired. Only Thomas took it up again and interjected in rhythm: "I am glad that soon I shall be able to end my song, for I, too, am tired!" Emilia joined him: "Fog from the west is covering my eyes, I can no longer see anything!"

X 111 Several adults stood up. They arranged themselves in two
533 short rows. From the center of the hut one row extended to one exit, the other to the other exit; the men at the head of each row

/937 cont./

X881 faced each other. Their followers held their heads in the same direction. /938/ The two rows first moved away from each other without turning; they stepped backward until the last one in the row came up against the entrance. Then they again came toward each other, always with very short steps, swinging the dance staffs with a rolling motion up and down. While these two rows were moving back and forth, Emilia seized a glowing stick of wood and, swinging it up and down, danced past the two rows.

535

X881 Again the winefkerra called over to the kitchen women: "Are you already asleep?" They replied briskly: "No, we are not yet asleep!" He: "If I should leave here, I'll let you know." Response: "Good." He: "Be attentive now." Response: "awi." 625

The singing went on for a long time without interruption. Meanwhile Mary took a bit of charcoal, rubbed it in the palms of her hands and smeared the powder first on William's face and then on her own, as a sign of mourning. She cried out: "We are all in mourning!" It was only after a long pause that Thomas spoke again: "It is not time to sleep yet." Response: "We are awake." He: "I am watching things here. In case I should notice anything, I shall let you know." Response: "awi." He: "Pay attention, you out there!" Then the games began, with which this evening was concluded. The winefkerra was not heard from again.

X881 On March 12, 1922, the brief breakfast was over around eight o'clock. All the inmates of the [illegible] hut immediately started their painting. Everyone was eagerly concerned about the uiwala, for they were to go to the woods immediately to gather a lot of firewood. Meanwhile several persons, one after the other, joined the solo singer, and soon the rest of the group chimed in. Scarcely was the facial painting of the uiwala finished when they were summoned to the dance. They and a few adults stood pressed close together. With very short, mincing steps they glided over the ground and moved very slowly beside the fire from one exit to the other. [535]

Thomas had painted himself to resemble a winefkerra and stationed himself beside the main entrance. He cried loudly: "I delayed a little on my way here, that is why I arrived late!" The response came from the cookhut: "awi, we heard it!" He meant

/949 cont./

Y86 into the adult circle. The ʼʼʼ

/1136 cont./

765 153 571 came to his aid with your canoe when he was drowning?" The opponent replies: "I was much farther away from him than you, I was on the Wollawen Islands. It was far easier for you to help him because you were near him." Alluding to the murder, one man says: "How could you be so careless! You should have known that this murderer had murderous intentions!" The answer: "You are guilty. For if you had an inkling of it it was up to you to inform everybody and that one [the murdered one] would have been spared!" The verbal exchange continues for a long time. It often leads to attacks on personal conduct, to reminders of former quarrels and differences of opinion. Many become excited, and the combatants seriously attack each other. For some of them this opportunity is very welcome because a long-suppressed desire for revenge can be gratified without punishment. There is great confusion during the battle and sometimes a certain amount of brutality, depending on how much tempers are aroused, for the opponents facing each other charge about several times, or three or four persons will pounce upon a single one who is then in a serious predicament. After about an hour the combat is declared over when a few influential old people return to the assembly hut. The rest of the people follow.

765 533 •535 Inside, the commemorative song of mourning is resumed and continues for a time, its duration depending on the hour of the day and the state of mind of those present. One person or another will get up and dance through the hut, following the simple rhythm of the song with his body movements and the gentle swing of the short dance-staff. Finally the yanaiéwendjen is concluded, following the clear, definite signal by one of the leading old people that all the participants should lay down their clubs, paddles, and dance staffs with an audible tap on the ground. While the singing was going on, /1137/ all the people were holding these things to their hands. After that each one spends long minutes in thoughtful concentration, and only then does he silently creep out. He goes to his dwelling and quietly resumes his ordinary tasks.

765 This affair regularly lasts eight hours and longer. Only the adults take part. In order to prevent any disturbance or distraction by their own or by strange children, none of the children

/1938 cont./

dwellings. They are to sit in a tight group approximately midway between the camp and the Kina hut. Then he goes back in. Immediately a fearful, threatening howl begins in the Great Hut; all the men howl and groan at the top of their lungs to indicate that the mighty Thawa spirit has arrived in the Kina hut with intention of snaking, torturing, malingering, and swaddling everybody. The spirit does this personally as well as through various spirits which will soon appear before the eyes of all. Fear and terror are stamped on the faces of the women and children. The men howl and yell at intervals of several minutes, and each time the women tremble anew. Meanwhile it has grown dark.

Scarcely has the yelling of the men subsided when Mawmikawa places himself in front of the Great Hut and rapidly waves his outstretched arm in the air horizontally, describing a half-circle. He makes a loud, drawn-out hissing sound which is to invoke the fire spirit, known as Kinangkma. This spirit dances with mincing steps back and forth along the path on which the dances are performed. His arms are bent at right angles, and swing both hands he carries a staff at eye level. His body has many red and black horizontal lines upon a white background. He glides along, dancing up and down the path several times, until the leader calls him back with a sign made with his arm. Immediately loud yelling and howling begin inside. Scarcely has it ceased when Mawmikawa again places himself beside the Great Hut and loudly calls a warning to the women that they must all stay in their places and await the appearance of other spirits. At brief intervals the yelling of the men inside is repeated.

Again the leader steps outside and announces to the women in an anxious voice: "The feared Kalangkla has just come down and will possess himself immediately!" Meanwhile the men have painted themselves with a few white diagonal stripes on their upper bodies and in the center a similar longitudinal stripe. Soon the entire assembly of men inside begins to sing bij bilk, bij bilk in a monotone and with a hammering rhythm. At first it is scarcely audible; then it grows louder and is slowly accelerated. Meanwhile the men arrange themselves close together in a row, each placing his arm over the shoulders and around the neck of each of his neighbors. Moving sideways in short steps this interwoven row

/1330 cont./

goes straight out to the dance place. Here it halts for about two minutes, merely repeating hāj hoño...constantly. At a sign from the leader this Kalampāla troupe withdraws, singing, and its rhythmic call slowly dies away. A few minutes later it reappears in /1331/ exactly the same way. While it is still outside repeating its uninterrupted hāj hoño, a very loud yelling begins inside the Gree: that with a clearly distinguishable rhythmic pus, pus, which soon drowns out the call of the Kalampāla group. The latter now marches slowly back into the Kina hut. By way of explanation it must be added here that this row does not represent the Kalampāla spirit himself, but that the men are putting on this dance at his direction.

Scarcely has this group disappeared when all the men begin howling in an unusually alarming way. Since I am sitting among them, I can observe how Santiago rolls up a thick, dry one lion skin and vigorously beats it against the smooth ground. Each beat is followed by a sudden outcry of the men, which is repeated several times. The whole procedure is supposed to fool the women and say to them: The Tēnowa spirit present in this Kina hut in its malicious rage intend to strike down all the men. But they are defending themselves, so that with their united superior strength they will succeed this time in freeing themselves from this mighty spirit and in suppressing it. But every man is wounded in the heroic struggle. Two old women who are permitted to be in the Kina hut dash out, filled with terror. Previously they have poked their nostrils with a small pointed stick, and thick drops of blood are falling for all to see. They run toward the women and children still assembled in front of the Kina hut. The group clearly recognizes the situation and is alarmed by it. Indeed, they all get up and hasten to their dwellings where they shut themselves in and remain quiet. Someone summons the courage to ask the two old women compassionately: "Whatever has happened to you?" The two answer with feigned terror: "We had to struggle with Tēnowa over there; it beat us until we bled, we had great difficulty in saving ourselves!" These words fill everybody with terror.

For half an hour the women and children are given a little respite in their dwellings. Now and then a few howling cries are

/1331 cont./

X 375 repeated in the Kina hut. The leader of the festival again steps out and shouts over to the camp: "The women must again assemble and come closer, soon the son of Kalampǎšǎ will come down from above and present himself before the eyes of all!" All the inmates of the camp immediately follow this summons and again squat down in the spot they quitted just about thirty minutes before. Meanwhile Santiago is being prepared for the proposed spirit-appearance. He already has wide horizontal and vertical [302] stripes all over his body. Now four white rings are painted on his arms and the spaces between filled with red. His legs are covered from top to bottom with white. The mask that is slipped over his head has several narrow horizontal red lines on a uniformly white background.

Again the men in the Great Hut utter their howling calls. The women and children anxiously await the event that has been announced. /1332/ Inside, meanwhile, Santiago has been practicing the dance peculiar to this spirit. Again Mašemikens steps out beside the Kina hut; this time he keeps his face covered with a piece of dark material. He utters a strong hō in a high-pitched voice several times in the direction of the group of attentive women. Then he turns about-face, with his back to the group, turns his head toward the hut entrance, stretches out his right arm, and makes a semicircle in the air with a vigorous jerk, at the same time hissing a loud and long drawn-out s sound. Santiago obeys this signal and comes dancing out, portraying the son of the Kalampǎšǎ spirit. With his legs far apart, he steps side- [535] wise along the dance course, tripping lightly, extending one foot and drawing the other after it. He moves back and forth several times; Mašemikens follows him with his glance and finally summons him back into the hut with the same arm movement. Here he is received with a loud, howling, long drawn-out hō hō... by all the people present. This soon changes to a rapid la la... and gradually dies away as a sustained, low gā gā... The women interpret the complete quiet that now prevails in the Kina hut as a sign that the "spirits" have withdrawn. Hence they, too, leave their places and silently hasten back to their dwellings. The men, for their part, wash off the painting and get dressed. Now they can take a rest, knowing that they have struck terror in the hearts of the women and children.

/1359 cont./

a. Preparation and Presentation

X575 The men assembled in the Kina hut see to it that a few spirits are presented to the women every day. They choose the evening hours as a suitable time for this, when people stay at home anyway. The obscurity of the night is also supposed to contribute its share in covering the performer so well that he cannot be recognized by the audience in the camp. If the men are in a good mood, the spirit appearances go on until long after midnight. Rain and snow often interrupt and hinder the men's performance, but they will not let their gay mood be spoiled, and on another occasion they fully make up for what was impossible earlier. In any case they can prolong the entire affair at will.

Even though women may be admitted to the Great Hut, it is a matter of principle that only men may assume the role of spirit. It gives each of them great satisfaction to be able to appear before the others. Older men, however, are not so bent on doing it, and no one is permitted to step outside who has not learned the remarkable dance of the spirit to be portrayed. Again and again the younger men /1360/ rehearse, also merely for their own entertainment; the men present instruct and criticize them. Each one has a favorite role in which he feels most comfortable. This means that some spirits are presented to the women much oftener than others for which it is not easy to find a performer.

X575 It is strange that the Yamana content themselves with a single type of movement for the great majority of spirits to be portrayed. The performer draws the bark mask over his head and supports it on either side with the palms of his hands pressed against the region of the ears. He holds his bent arms at shoulder level. The movement itself is a sidewise stride. One leg is placed far to one side, the body is inclined in the same direction, and the other leg is slowly drawn in. It is a light, springy dance and at the same time a gentle skip and a lively stride up and down the long dance course. At the end of the course the performer, without stopping, merely changes direction and once more disappears into the Great Hut. In exceptional cases a

/1360 cont./

X 575 535 spirit will sometimes stand motionless for a few minutes at the end of the dance course. As a rule every spirit reappears after an interval of a few minutes, and this may be repeated from two to five times as he chooses or according to his effect on the audience if they are enjoying it.

X 575 302 If the women and children are to be shown one of the many spirits, the performer must, of course, appear with a particular painting. The men are content to use the customary colors, black, white, and red. It is not necessary to be painfully exact in the drawing because the spectators stand far away. Most often red or black lines and stripes, small circles and semicircles, dots and dashes are painted on a white background in a certain arrangement. Using his incisors a man will scrape off a layer from a lump of chalk the size of a fist, mix the fine powder with saliva by making chewing motions, and apply this mixture by rubbing it on with his hand or fingers. A person who has been smeared with it stands beside the fire so that the color will quickly dry. Red and white pigments are sometimes mixed with blubber, sometimes applied dry. The mask is painted with just as little care, and the drawings on it coincide roughly with those on the body of the performer. The latter does not do the painting himself. This is done by other men, and the leader likes to take part because he is usually the one who decides on the decoration. It is applied only to the front of the body, for only this is visible to the eyes of the women and children. After each appearance the men carefully wash off the colors. While the painting is being done, the men constantly amuse themselves with all kinds of X 575 522 jokes. Once when they were preparing for the Histuku performance and the large amount of white pigment applied to their bodies was dry, many of them could hardly be recognized. /1361/ Maŝemikens, with a smirk, surveyed the group of men and asked jokingly: "Where in the world is the man who calls himself Thomas? I don't see him any more! He was here just a minute ago." Thomas understood the jest and replied: "I am big enough so that everybody ought to see me (304)!" The whole company laughed.

304. He was about a head taller than Maŝemikens himself.

/1367 cont./

Y 575 to now have been standing in front of their huts watching, hasten back in, overjoyed. Each one draws a white line, a handbreadth wide, from her neck to her navel and a red line, the width of a finger, from the corners of her mouth to her ear lobes. Inside the Great Hut the yĕkamuĭ paints his whole body red, and over this he paints a few large white dots and a white line the width of a hand from his neck to his navel. Again he steps out of the Great Hut and all the men he has brought back to life follow him. The women hasten toward them from the dwellings. In accordance with instructions from the yĕkamuĭ, the men crowd together and the women form a ring around them. Immediately this ring around the men begins to move in a rhythm which the men accompany by stamping and rapidly and continuously repeating ĭikuĭĭli in a monotone. The women enjoy themselves in this way for some time; they want to announce their happiness over the fact that their men have been given back to them. At a signal from the yĕkamuĭ the two groups disperse and separate (307).

[535]

[171]

307. This performance shows a great deal of similarity to the appearance of Kataix in the Kloketen; he, too, takes great pleasure in torturing and murdering the men (Vol. I, 960).

BD:135 gives činĭgĭ, "painted all over with spots and bands of white, danced about naked and in frantic manner, and was supposed to come up through the earth and pretended to kill the man in the Ceena" /cited in English/.

The performance of Yamĭalakemana is disquieting and exciting for the women. This spirit was and is a dangerous murderer. He is not visible to the women in the camp; instead he rages about among the men and the women can plainly hear it. There are no special preparations necessary for this performance. The leader simply stands beside the hut entrance once, and in a voice filled with fear, he calls over to the camp: "We are faced with something terrible; a dangerous spirit has just announced himself! Woe to us defenseless men!" The latter immediately commence a pitiful howling. The women show outward signs of pity and

/1373 cont./

The Histuku performance has historical value, so to speak. While the men are preparing for it, the leader gives a signal and there begins an unvarying, constantly repeated hóitu, hóitu... on the same pitch and with sharp emphasis. The force and tempo of this call slowly increases in order to attract the attention of the women in the camp. Meanwhile the participants paint their bodies white. A red arc as wide as a finger is drawn across the forehead, with its ends pointing downward. Then, shouting loudly, the men arrange themselves one behind the other. They squat down so far that they support themselves with both fists and their buttocks almost touch the ground. They can move forward only in short steps. When the first men in this column are just visible, a few older /1374/ women hasten to the field and await the men. The latter keep their squatting position, but form a closed circle. The women approach and walk along the outside of the circle. They gently slap each man with a piece of leather or with the hand, and the man immediately falls over as though he had been killed. The women hastily depart. Not until after about ten minutes, during which no one in the camp stirs, the men cautiously get up and, deeply bent over and one behind the other, go back to the Great Hut without a sound. They quietly wash off their painting and in an undertone converse very gaily, for, after all, they have not been killed and have not been murdered by the women. Histuku is the spirit of the fur seal, tëpëpa (Arctocephalus australis). At the time of the great struggle in Yëaalëga he moved in the same clumsy way he does today, and many women fell upon him in order to kill him. That is exactly what happens now in this performance (311).

311. This scene is almost exactly like the Hoitan scene in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 997). BD:282 also speaks of this performance "before the women and children as spectators" /cited in English/.

All the plays listed here, which I experienced personally, do not exhaust the long list. BD mentions many additional ones. For example, BD:170, kiëëpwïaka, the performance of the sea

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

526 The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically massaged by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

538 Music.—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely 533 simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the čiéxaus and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to [534] von Hornbostel (1936). There were no musical instruments at all. Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

535 Dances.—Apart from the dances carried out during the chiéxaus and kina rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

971 Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men. [569] But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and focal in shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each [589] *Yahgan* had a yefáčel, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The kina rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

976 Theism.—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Wataníwa or Wataníwa, who was also called by other

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

517 sport, the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to
526 imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive.
857 Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport, so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kahleka*, another between two groups known as *angiana*.

524 Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-
857 my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball-game like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

533 Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (op. cit., p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *loima*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *telania*, are songs of mourning; the *arua* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jucos* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the
535 dances are called *nona*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

526 The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

578 In general the Yahgan were not an amicable people, according
628 to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to aid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General mêlées, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges sponsors the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

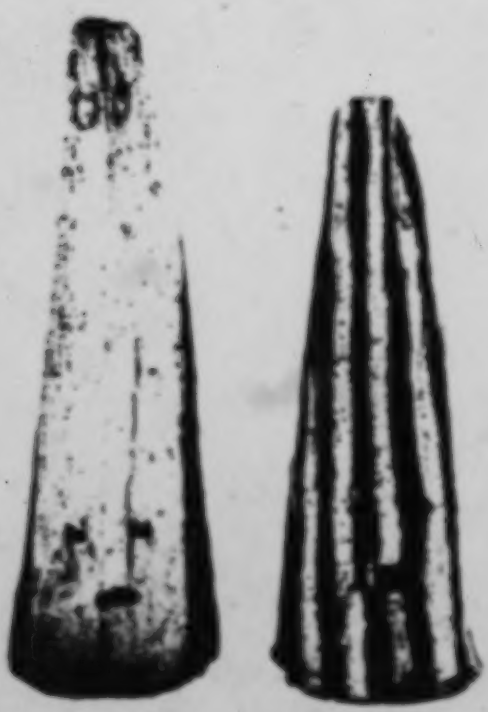
628 The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1884, p. 234.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

sang, seated in the central part of the lodge. Finally a mock battle between the sexes was staged.

Such then was the *shiéhdas* ceremony. On it the Yahgan believed their well-being depended, and without it no one could have any standing in the community. In fact each individual repeated the performance two or more times, but received preferential treatment after the first course.



a b

FIG. 92.—Yahgan dance masks. Height of a, 27 in. (14/2259, 2258)

After having experienced the *shiéhdas*, Yahgan men were allowed to enter the *kina* ceremony. This rite resembled the Ona *klóksen*. Gusinde and Koppers believe that it originated among the Ona, pointing out that inequality of the sexes was foreign to Yahgan precept and that it was not taken so seriously by the Yahgan as the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges speaks of the ribald laughter among the Yahgan women when a mask fell off a supposed spirit, thus revealing his human character.

This ceremony fell into disuse among the Yahgan as early as the eighties of the last century; but it was revived in 1922 for the benefit of Gusinde and Koppers, to whose accounts of it the reader is referred. While differing in details, it was essentially like the Ona rite except that the treatment of the candidates neither lasted so long nor was so severe as among the Foot Indians.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

In figs. 92 and 93 are illustrated some of the masks used by the Yahgan. The material is either bark (fig. 92) or seal-hide (fig. 93), cut to pattern and sewed together with whalebone and gut respectively. There is usually a small opening at the top for ventilation. As Yahgan paints were not waterproof, a single mask could be adorned to represent many characters by the simple expedient of washing and repainting it. 535

As to the characters represented by the Yahgan, in fig. 92, *a*, is the rainbow, distinguished by broad red, white, and black bands; *b* has alternate red and white stripes, and it represents a smelt-like fish. In fig. 93, *a*, is a model of the *kuli'pasku* ghost mask, while *b* represents the sea-lion. The wearers of these masks painted their bodies and limbs with similar decorative patterns.

535
B2

a *b*

FIG. 92.—Model Yahgan dance masks. Height of *b*, 10 in. (34/2862)

[302]

RELIGION

Although it has been repeatedly stated on excellent authority that the Yahgan had no real religion, I think it definitely established that they had religious beliefs and practices. 771

The Yahgan world was peopled by innumerable unseen beings: ghosts (*kuskpig*) of departed shamans, spirits of the sea, the rocks, and the trees. These people, for the greater part, were malicious by nature, resentful of intrusion on their privacy, and, when seen by man, terrifying in aspect. Solitary travelers might suddenly find themselves facing a fierce spirit across the light of his camp-fire, 776

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

765 [835] black paint and indulged in formal ululation. They summoned their friends and relatives to the death-dance known as yewulabemoiwe, which might be repeated at intervals for several months. For it the men and women donned the white kelp-goose headband; the men supplied themselves with clubs of unusual length (fig. 95),

FIG. 95.—Yahgan ceremonial club. Length, 3 ft. (16,2206)

[764] and the women carried paddles. As with many primitive tribes, the Yahgan believed death due to some positive and active force, visible or invisible. Hence the mourning ceremony carried the threat of revenge and assumed the character of a sham battle.

775 It has been both asserted and denied that the Yahgan believed in the immortality of the soul. Testimony on this point secured in recent years from mission-reared Indians might not be considered conclusive, but mythological tales clearly indicate belief in survival. As among the Ona, only unusually powerful and bold spirits, such as those of shamans, were able to maintain contact with the visible world.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The Yahgan possessed the usual collection of myths found among primitive peoples, but these are exceedingly simple in character and lacking in humor or subtlety. The most extensive study of the mythology of this tribe was conducted by Gusinde and Koppers, and has been published only in outline. Bierley, Thomas Bridges, Cojazzi, and Martial also have contributed mythological material of importance, while a few scattered tales occur in the works of other writers. It has seemed worth while to summarize these published sources because they often are difficult to obtain and have appeared in five different languages. We have followed the classification of Koppers (1924).

EXPLANATORY MYTHS

There are a large number of tales which explain the various phenomena of nature such as the slow approach of dawn, the shape of the rainbow, the spots on the moon, the bare tops of the mountains, etc. Such tales often form incidents in the more complex myth cycles we shall discuss.

/865 cont./

X881 unified order, if he functions in close alliance with his country-
867 men and does not disturb community life through personal errors. A far-reaching, uniform molding of young people therefore is one of the requirements of education. The common instruction serves this purpose. Actually, all young people, without exception and irrespective of sex, are sooner or later obliged to undergo this protracted event. It gives each of them a uniform stamp, the heritage of previous generations, and pledges them to the rules of conduct and the manners which have hitherto upheld tribal life and guaranteed peaceful community living. As we have said, every uĩwʃala is trained primarily to become a useful, valuable member of the tribe.

X881 Instruction is not given individually, but to the whole group
867 of candidates simultaneously. The teacher is a man of years, usually a venerable old man who acts in this capacity either from
888 choice or at the invitation of the leader and the overseer. Sometimes one of these two men occupies this post, if circumstances
534 demand it. In any case the teacher, known as uĩwʃala kinína, is always an estimable personality demanding respect, of irreproachable character and perfect moral conduct, of mental superiority and acknowledged uprightness, well versed in the law of the tribe and exemplary in valiant manly deeds. Only a person who can honestly boast of many good characteristics will venture to face the young people as their teacher. He need not fear that he himself will give the lie to the admonitions that he offers them. They have an effect on the uĩwʃala that is all the more lasting because such a teacher stands before them as the embodiment of the accepted requirements.

X881 His words flow with the deepest seriousness and out of inner-
867 most conviction. He prepares himself for his speech with a long period of self-communion, and in thoughtful deliberation on one
888 afternoon or another he prepares in his mind the precepts that he
537 feels impelled to present. When the manual work is finished and the participants are also inwardly at rest as they silently squat in their places, when night has spread her black veil over nature and there is deathly stillness round about, the teacher gives a sign. The candidates rise from their places and squat in a semicircle in front of him. They listen to his words with a serious mien and rapt attention. He speaks with the gentle sincerity and the perceptible

/865 cont. /

warmth of a well-meaning adviser, with paternal anxiety for the future well-being of the individual and for the future of the whole tribe. During his /866/ simple discourse, all those present listen in complete silence to his soft voice, which deeply moves them, each word searching the conscience of the adults also. His warnings and exhortations to young and old sound like the last will and testament of a man who is standing at the end of life and looking back upon a career devoted to duty.

Such addresses were the most consecrated hours that I spent each evening during my first initiation. They are truly an experience for every youthful uŕwĕ́ala also, and they do not forget them even in old age. For the rest of their lives, they preserve as their most precious treasure whatever has flowed into their souls during such a solemn hour as the greatest spiritual gift from the heart and soul of the teacher. Individual adults were able to repeat perfectly and with undiminished freshness the teachings which had been presented to them when they were uŕwĕ́ala. Again these Fuegians prove to be excellent students of the psychology of youth and first-rate educators.

Formerly the teacher addressed his words to the uŕwĕ́ala two or three times a week and never longer than an hour, although he speaks slowly and often repeats. "Too much talking tires the candidates!" old Alfredo told me in this connection. At my first initiation he took turns with the venerable Whaim, so that every evening we were given instruction by one or the other. Afterwards he told me: "This time the ĕ́ĕ́kaan was short, and that is why we were obliged to assemble you uŕwĕ́ala every evening for the teaching, so that we could tell you everything (284). In

284. He wished to apologize because he and Whaim took up our time each evening. This was contrary to the earlier custom which left time for contemplation.

former times a day was left in between (285). The uŕwĕ́ala are

285. This means that the two or three addresses by the teacher were, with interruptions, spread over a period of about a week.

/906 cont./

supposed to meditate deeply on what has been presented to them [by the teacher]!" When the latter has ended his address, the candidates return to their places and there they crouch thoughtfully for many hours before they may lie down to sleep. The adults, too, give themselves up to serious mental concentration, for there are no dances or games afterward.

In the common instruction the candidates are, of course, offered all the rules of conduct which are universally binding. The people are not content with this in the Kiyaga, however, since many participants have for some time observed faults, bad behavior, weaknesses, and shortcomings in one or another candidate and have been obliged to tolerate them angrily. Hence strictly personal training of the individual begins. The nearest kinsmen undertake this task, which is certainly not easy. First one and then another of them will squat beside the candidate, as they feel inspired or on the basis of observations which they themselves have made during the day. Each of them /NET/ begins with a searching talk. He adds warnings and is not sparing with threats. He points out clearly and comprehensibly to the ulwegala the weaknesses which have been observed in him in connection with some other circumstance. Everything is clearly mentioned by name and seriously censured: laziness and dullness, an aversion to work and a distraught manner, irritability and quarrelsomeness, a tendency to pilfer and untruthfulness, a greedy manner of eating and bumptiousness, impertinent interruption of adults and mocking words about aged people. Those of the adults who have previously objected to one thing or another without seeing results now intensify their threats. One adult will also join with another in order to reach their goal, and together they influence the ulwegala.

Wherever possible they apply appropriate measures. They will often withhold food from a glutton and will say: "You must learn to forgo all excess!" Someone who is clumsy is often called upon to do small chores; they try to combat laziness with particularly difficult assignments. The adults make an effort to wipe out faults and vices with these and other effective measures. They will thoroughly take to task an ulwegala who is regarded as headstrong and obstinate.

/[illegible] cont./

simultaneously. They enliven the already excited movement still more. The spirit and content of these utterances will be shown in a few sentences which I shall give here.

The people had already been loudly singing for about two hours. The kitchen women come with the meal and are greeted with loud calls of [illegible]. Santiago, the leader, suddenly stops and simply calls out: "I am going to break off my song, for I am very tired and hungry!" Most of the people carry on the song, the rest eat hastily in order to take up the song soon after.

One evening coffee is brought in very late. Everyone is extremely happy about it. Every adult reaches for his cup, and with outstretched arms bent only slightly at the elbow, he holds it out. A few persons get up, skip back and forth, and lead the singing in a lively voice. Their gestures are lively because they are happy to be able to partake of something. They skip toward the kitchen woman with her large can, dance around her, and hold out their cups to her. As she fills each cup and also distributes bread, the others continue to hop all around her. Soon they draw away again, dancing with their filled cups, and sit down in their places. Their gay hopping is an expression of great satisfaction over the tasty drink. One of them says loudly: "How glad I am that I have been given something to eat and drink!" In a singing tone one woman cries: "Now there is something to eat and drink again; that is wonderful!" The kitchen woman who distributed food and drink brought joy and lively activity to the whole gathering.

On the first evening when a short pause occurred in the group singing, Santiago, the leader at that time, cried in a loud voice: "Once again we have gathered here to celebrate [illegible]. We want to do it well! This game came to us from the west; it came here from the Halakwulup. Today we have a Halakwulup (508)

508: He means the youthful Julio who, several weeks before, had fled to the Tamara and who was invited to this initiation in Puerto Moylinna (p. 69).

among us. She will observe us carefully and afterwards tell her

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/936 cont./
people how we conduct the *Sakage*. So we must do it particularly well this time!"

Shortly afterwards he interjected a personal remark into the song of the others: "Today two *pelele* [second of *pelelele*, p. 333 /unmodified/] are sitting among us. We are putting on the *Sakage* for their benefit (340). We want to celebrate it well!"

> 340. He means by this that Gostade and Kuppere are being granted the distinction never before given a European of experiencing this secret performance from beginning to end.

On the same evening Clara also spoke up: "I have a Holabowlup [Julia] as my pendyl. She is doing everything that is required of her here in the *Sakage*. /937/ She faithfully observes all the regulations and is enjoying our celebration. She came here to us because she no longer has any close relatives; she is an orphan. We are gladly taking her in, she may live among us peacefully and undisturbed, for there are only a few of us Tonsana left. My family was once also very large; now not one of my relatives is still living. I alone am left, that is why I am so sad. *Sakage*."

Afterwards Peiko interrupted the singing: "I am very happy about these two Whites [Gostade and Kuppere]. They are influential men, and they respect our customs. They are proving themselves *ohelele ne* [genuine -conditioned]. They are sticking to the *Sakage* program. That is why I am sincerely sorry that they will leave us soon. They are genuinely good human beings!" She was immediately followed by Mary: "I, too, am happy that these two Whites have become well acquainted with our *Sakage* and have carefully adapted themselves to all [the rules]. They are splendid men!" Old Peiko again came forward: "How sorry I am that these two men will leave us! They are heeding the order of this but better than many of our own people!"

Once, late in the afternoon, Peiko sang a very long time. His soft lagoon voice sounded like a chorale. Interrupting himself, he said: "I am an old man and have lost little vitality left. But now I am happy, for I have heard that this White [Gostade] wants to

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[648]

to help us because he appreciates us Yamana! If only he can bring to pass what he has promised us, namely, to intercede for us [with the Chilean government] so that we may continue to live peacefully in this place (341). I am happy about this

341. He has the following in mind. For a number of years the Lawrence brothers had leased the region around Puerto Mejillones on the north shore of Navarino Island from the Chilean government who permitted the Yamana to settle in this small harbor. The lease would run out the following year, and there was danger that this piece of land would fall into other hands. This would make the future very uncertain for the Yamana, and they had reason to be afraid that they would be driven out of this place which they had learned to love. In view of this, I had promised them to present their wishes to the Ministerio de Colonización in Santiago. Later I kept my promise. Now the few surviving Yamana are spending their last days in this small harbor. Compare Gusinde (d):60 and page 364 /untranslated/.

[pleasant prospect]. That is why I took up the song and carried it on for so long!" Immediately afterward he continued his singing. The other people listened attentively and fell into a solemn mood, for his high voice was extraordinarily pleasant. Soon he paused again: "Truly, I am an old man. For a long time I have not taken part in a *Cihage*. I am one of the last of the old people [of former times]. In my younger years I was always on hand wherever *Cihage* took place. I was always among the first who took up the singing. For a long time I have not taken part in it for I am old. When I was young we went down to the beach at night to bathe; we sang as we did so, and I was never absent. And yet, to this day I have some /928/ strength and joy left. Truly, it is not right that I have been inactive until now. I shall summon the last of my strength and all the younger people will see that I as an old man am not holding back. So I shall go on singing!" He sang even more vigorously than before; he even stood up to dance

/928 cont./

X881 and jumped with sheer joy. His behavior encouraged everyone
537 present.

152 This time blind Whaim also took an extremely active part
609 in the singing. He constantly interrupted it and interjected: "I am a man well along in years and the singing is a strain on me. If I were still a young chap, as formerly when I took part in the ʔyihwa with other young men, I would have more strength and fire, then I would sing better. You cannot expect more from an old, blind man than what I am actually offering." After a short pause he continued sadly: "I am well aware that this affair is not conducted as solemnly and seriously as formerly. I regret that very much. In olden times ʔyihwa was unsurpassably beautiful!" As he said this, he was seized with anger; he knew that we two were present: "I am shocked that this time we have even [European] strangers among us. Off with you two! It is a disgrace that our ʔyihwa is no longer as beautiful as it used to be, that everyone present no longer takes such an active and conscientious part in the dances as was formerly the rule. Off with you two, what is our ʔyihwa to you! Even less should you see it now when it is done so badly. Leave this Great Hot immediately (362)!"

> 362. It was a momentary surge of high indignation that provoked this old man to such insulting words. He soon calmed down, was later thoroughly enlightened by his two daughters, both of whom were our sponsors, and finally proved to be our sincere friend. Through the sponsorship of his daughters, we even became related to him. See Kuppers (n) 98.

X881 While dinner was being distributed and eaten, great silence
537 prevailed. After that quite loud group singing started up again.
152 While it was going on, Whaim said: "The song [the melody] that I am singing originated with my uncle. He taught it to me when I was ʔawʔale; since then I have repeated it often. How lovely it was in those days when I was still a young chap. At that time there were many people living!"
Somewhat later he added: "All the beautiful ʔawʔit [items] come from the west. The long ʔhqle [leather straps to capture the

X M 537 152

/926 cont./
candidates], too, were best there. They covered the framework of the Great Hut there with the most excellent skin. Truly, everything [that is used for the *Kina* ceremony] was incomparably more beautiful in the west than in the central part and in the east" (363).

> 363. In these words there is again a reference to the common view of the origin of this initiation in the extreme west and its infiltration into the central Yamana regions.

X M 537 152 49

After a while, the same Whaits again interrupted the general singing: "Tomorrow we shall leave the Great Hut. This *Kina* went off nicely and yet it put me in a sad mood. I am an old /Plate 3 appears here/ /926/ man who does not expect many more years of life. Among us there is a good White. I know him from former times (364). He will help us to keep this

> 364. On my first visit in February, 1919, I had met this old man in Punta Remolino, talked to him for a long time, and at that time received important data about Fuegian mythology. See Gusinde (x) 38.

piece of land here [at Puerto Mejillones]; he promised us that. So, take advantage of his presence, young people! I personally will hardly benefit from it, for I am very old, I feel weak and tired of life. You young people may take advantage of his offer. I wish you success!"

Tormented by anxiety, blind Whaits again came back to this topic. Sadly he said: "Alas, poor me! I have been living in this place for many years. I have grown old. I always had enough to eat and my dwelling always stood here. But the Whites are betraying us Yamana. Now they will take this little spot away from us, then they will drive me and my wife from this island [Navarino]. Woe to us who are so helpless [against the Whites]! Where shall we taste? The Whites are already everywhere. If they should actually drive us away, then let them take

[Text continues on page 926]

/929 cont./
the whole island [Navarino] away from here and drag it along with them wherever they wish!"

Each speaker and singer concludes his words with a loud and vigorous call, "*Yahgan*." This is correctly interpreted as giving force to their intention and emphasizing their emotions, as well as a cry of confidence in the fulfillment of wishes expressed, and finally as a curse upon whatever they complain of and condemn. Sometimes this concluding cry of "*Yahgan*" sounds like a cry of despair.

Just as the singing in general is meant to drive away Yeshjin (p. 781), particularly interjections have the same purpose. If any leading person sees this evil spirit approaching, he loudly calls upon all those present to drive him away. One evening (365) the

365. See Koppers (x):81 concerning this evening performance during the fourth day of the celebration.

women were very vigorously dancing, and Santiago felt an urge to incite them to a state of extreme excitement. He shouted to them from his seat: "Dance on! Yeshjin is still very near and refuses to go away!" Soon he added: "Dance harder! Yeshjin still shows no sign of withdrawing." After a few minutes he cried out, as though slightly relieved: "Just go on heavily! Already Yeshjin is starting to retreat, he is sinking head-down into the earth!"

Our interpreters explained to us why Santiago and Pedro made such urgent demands for loud singing and vigorous dancing. As strangers and unbidden ones in this *Yahgan* hut, they say, we attracted the special attention of Yeshjin, the people present were afraid he could do us particular harm. Hence the greatest effort was required /930/ to push this Yeshjin, who is very dangerous for everyone, deep into the interior of the earth so that he could not harm us in any way.

Again Santiago cried loudly: "Dance on! I still see Yeshjin's feet sticking out of the ground." After a few minutes, as though relieved, he says: "I see only one foot [sticking out of the ground]. But go on dancing (366)!" Then: "Now I see only one toe of

366. Chris had meanwhile carefully observed [illegible], the leader. At that [illegible]

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837 himself corrected it soon after, saying that "generally a great deal of unfaithfulness" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869) is customary. Six years later he (i):19 learned of the splendid [538] Yamana simile, "an adulterous person was likened to a rotten tree which has only to be touched to fall" /cited in English/. If a people seeks such a means of defense, it confirms its alarm over the serious danger which threatens it from marital infidelity.

A surprisingly large number of words signifying adulterous action have been collected in BD. Hyades and Spegazzini several times mention the fact that adultery is committed by the husband as well as the wife. The reliable Fred Lawrence assured me with all certainty that, according to his ten years' experience, a considerable number of women had lovers. Each of them knew that she was bound to fidelity toward her husband (85), but

> 85. Hyades (q):378 also emphasizes that the Indian women "are bound in fidelity to their husbands" /translated from French/. It is an exaggeration, however, when Martial:199 says: "Fidelity is very rare in the Fuegian marriages, and morals are very loose" /translated from French/.

nevertheless yielded to the urge in greatest secrecy. It is difficult to decide who is chiefly to blame, but each of the guilty parties has his share. "The seducer was probably generally to blame" (Gusinde [ℓ]:168); we might deduce this from the admonitions given young girls in the čiěxaus ceremony. "The women of today," 837 Fred Lawrence continued, "are scarcely ashamed of their 177 transgressions and force themselves preferably on Europeans because they are paid by them. Where else did one or another of the women get her new dress, since neither she nor her husband earned anything to pay for it! In former times the illicit affair was kept secret, but nowadays many an older Indian woman is not at all embarrassed if one accuses her openly. Her husband is silent, for he knows that she /685/ is supplying herself with the things she wants." Some Indians were even offended at the behavior of old Marocha, so much so that they repeatedly spoke

/898 cont./

X881 In order to give strong emphasis to the admonitions, Yetā́ja is
869 mentioned again and again.

776 "Of course, besides that, there is also Hidā́buan; he is the strong one who actually punishes. Everyone must be particularly careful of him. But all that is taken for granted and that is why Hidā́buan is less frequently mentioned in the čiéxaus (329).

329. "Hidabuan," like "Watauineiwa," is a name for the same Supreme Being.

Here we want to make our teachings and admonitions to the candidates effective; that is why we threaten them with Yetā́ja. Our men give all the calls that the uíwāala attribute to him. The young chap takes this into consideration after he enters the Great Hut for the third time, but previous to that, out of fear of Yetā́ja, he has been set upon the right course [of fulfilling his duty]. Later he is told that only men produce these calls. Then he says to himself: /899/ 'Hitherto I thought Yetā́ja called out from the earth!' Nevertheless, he remains on the good path, to which he has by now become accustomed."

[885] After the candidates have been dismissed from the second youth initiation they are legally adults. In general, except on special occasions, they do not receive further instructions or exhortations. Hence Yetā́ja is not mentioned outside the čiéxaus hut.

X881 In the mythology of the Yamana the tales concerning the actual bearers of culture, named Yōálox, and their family have
869 a special place (330). In olden times this name was scarcely ever
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330. Here we should say in anticipation that among these Fuegians he embodies what the hero "Kwanyip" does for the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581). Both have created important institutions and prescribed the norm of life, so to speak.

mentioned to immature youths before their initiation (p. 178 /untranslated/); the girls heard it for the first time on the occasion of

/899 cont./

X881 their menarche (p. 575). In the čiéxaus, one or another deed of
879 the Yoflox siblings was told in more detail as a sort of first intro-
773 duction. Only the young men who were permitted entrance to the
538 kína learned the complete cycle of tales. When, at my repeated
request, old Alfredo revealed the Yoflox cycle of legends to me as
he sat in a circle of men, he emphasized: "Actually we tell
these things only at the kína celebration." It is also regarded as
a rare exception if men among themselves speak at length about
this hero. Women avoid it in any case. In front of uŭwáala adults
now and then will say: "The manner in which we Yamana should
conduct ourselves [= the entire body of moral law] has been ar-
ranged by Yoflox!" Thus he is regarded more or less as the bearer
of the decrees of Watauinéiwa to the Yamana.

On the other hand, the legends of more general content are
treated differently. They are in large part repeated in the čiéxaus
hut. It does not matter whether there is an obligation to tell them
to the candidates; most of them actually are told, some even
repeatedly. The decisive factor in this connection is the presence
of persons who are able to tell a story well. They are urged by
the rest of the participants to offer this or that story. If some-
one present knows the same story with some variations, he feels
impelled to speak up also. If the čiéxaus celebration lasts a long
time, many an older person will call for a repetition of the
stories that were told at the beginning or that were particularly
well liked. No matter what the procedure, the uŭwáala actually
hear almost all the myths current in their tribe. They may have
become familiar with some of them earlier through conversation
in the dwellings.

At least one or two stories are told by the leader or over-
seer personally at each initiation, and he does it in a strong, clear
voice so that everyone can understand him. Now and then he
must offer this kind of variety to those present, /900/ either per-
sonally or through a suitable storyteller. They listen in suspense.
Meanwhile the customary singing of several persons ceases; only
very softly one person, perhaps supported by another, will audibly
hum the melody apart from the storyteller. The adult participants
in particular do not want to miss the enjoyment of hearing their
old legends well told some evening in the čiéxaus hut. At the

X 881 /900 cont./
869 same time the uŕwʃala are introduced to this treasure. It cannot
773 be denied that significant rules of conduct or customs, as well as
538 good or evil deeds, are elucidated on the basis of many an exam-
ple from a legend. Therefore the stories to some extent also serve the chief aim of the čiŕxaus, to train the young people.

γ. Work Drills

X 881 A surprisingly rich store of teachings and precepts, princi-
867 ples and rules of conduct, and excerpts from individual experience and from old legends are offered the candidates at the initiation. We see, therefore, how the long period during which they are together is filled. The experienced educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with theoretical instruction alone, however. They insist on practice and drill under their supervision. They are constantly affording the uŕwʃala an opportunity to transform into action the teachings and principles put before them, inasmuch as the best rules are of no avail if they are not practiced. When I openly thanked Alfredo for what I had learned in my first initiation, he said to me in a friendly tone: "Certainly, everything that goes on in the čiŕxaus hut is very good. But we Yamana are happiest if the uŕwʃala conduct themselves throughout their lives as we have taught them in the čiŕxaus!"

X 881 The young people entering there as candidates are at the
862 age of maturity, that is to say, shortly before their marriage. Soon they will have the care of a family and the duties connected with those occupations which, according to the prevailing division of labor, fall to each sex. The community of fellow-tribesmen wishes to guarantee that the family soon to be established will really be prepared for life, that each of the two young spouses is equal to the problems of family life. The old people express it specifically: "In the čiŕxaus we ascertain the degree of manual skill possessed by each uŕwʃala. Whatever he lacks in the way of capability, he must acquire here!" For example, in some families the boys are given too little opportunity for independent hunting because the father personally does the main work. This deficiency is corrected in the initiation. Without discrimination,

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the former general acquaintance with the rich mythological material has been lost and that the younger generation devotes more attention to all the things that came with European culture. There are only a few old people who have still preserved most of it to the present day. Why they cannot transmit this precious heritage, as was so easily possible in earlier times when the European newcomers were not yet disturbingly active, need not be specifically pointed out. Many a young person frankly regrets that the old people hold back their lovely stories even when they find willing ears in a sizable gathering of fellow-tribesmen. At present, however, all is in the process of disintegration, and the old people suffer very much under the collapse of all the institutions and customs; for that very reason they are no longer available for things which already, so to speak, belong far in the past.

On rare occasions one or another of them will once more offer to tell a story as in former times. /1140/ He himself takes the initiative; it would be a breach of respect if a younger person openly or with slightly veiled hints were to ask for an old myth. It is almost always an accidental circumstance that awakens remembrance of a mythological subject, and it usually happens that while someone is speaking of his experiences, his words, as though a self-contained unit, drift over into the other realm of thought. This adequately suggests the peculiar way in which the Yamana recite an old myth. Actually, the storyteller never tells the entire myth from beginning to end in the progressive continuity of a meaningful construction. Rather, the general habit is to select some part of it and add to it a personal event, an independent achievement, a unique experience. To begin with the storyteller does not care whether his own report ties up meaningfully, if one may use this word, with some part of the myth. The Yamana has a lively fancy which will not let itself be forced into rules of ordered logic. If one judges the recitation of an old Indian from this standpoint, he will be surprised to find, for example, that the thread is broken at an inappropriate point and that a short section of an entirely different nature is inserted without any justification whatever, perhaps even absurdly. An account built up this way, with a combination of elements which obviously disturb the sense, does not bother the

/1140 cont./

538 audience in the least. It is enough to be entertained in lively fashion, and they direct their whole attention only to what is being offered at the moment.

Inasmuch as everyone present is all attention -- common decency demands this of our Fuegians -- a particular statement will sometimes move another old person to such an extent that he will interject his own thoughts into a brief pause by the storyteller. Occasionally his account then goes on at such length that no one is concerned any longer with the first man's story. Thus it may happen that even large sections of a particular myth which was started remain incomplete.

One must not overlook the fact that personal experiences and actual occurrences, if they are described by someone in lively discourse, are far more joyously received and animatedly discussed than the material of a myth which is, after all, familiar. Deep in his heart the Yamana wants to shine in front of others; he wants to count for a great deal among his kind. Hence he makes an effort to offer his own account as effectively as possible to his audience, to give it brilliant form by his choice of expressions, to spice it with surprising additions. Sometimes one has the impression that someone is beginning some small part of a legend with the conscious intent of using it as a pretext for recounting a personal experience, which takes incomparably more time, /1141/ in order to avoid the suspicion among his listeners that he is obtrusive or greedy for recognition and fame. If one put together the individual pieces of an evening of storytelling in any of the Yamana huts, he would come up with a strange conglomeration.

One must realize that the content and form of the material presented take their particular slant, that is, their actual individual coloring, from the personal qualifications of the storyteller. This is clearly shown in the undisguised preference of the people for one storyteller over another. If they see that he is in a good frame of mind, the happily excited neighbors are drawn to him and their eyes light up expectantly. They listen to his words for hours with untold enjoyment. Afterward individual persons will exchange their impressions and their opinions about a whole evening's recital and about the ability of the storytellers. They were quite frank about naming for me the men whom they like to hear

/1141 cont./

538 much more than others. The differences between one storyteller and another lies in the manner of portrayal, the choice of words, the heartfelt participation in the content of the story. It is, of
538 course, inevitable that now and then some good old soul will re-
888 late a long chapter out of his life or repeat an experience to the assembled neighbors although he has almost no gift for story-telling and is more boring than entertaining. We Europeans call it a sign of senility when some old man tells something for the hundredth time that everyone knows by heart or exaggerates the importance of minor details for which others cannot work up any interest. Just such things happen among our Fuegians and are no less correctly judged by younger persons than they are among us, but their extreme veneration of old people obliges them to listen attentively and to bear it steadfastly, no matter how much self-control they are obliged to exert. There are specific admonitions to the young along these lines, and everyone observes this obligation.

538 The general remarks that I have set down here are for the most part applicable almost literally to the practices and conditions prevailing among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 568).

I personally recall with great pleasure and satisfaction many a gay gathering on one evening or another when I joined the Fuegians in a smoke-filled hut. The faintly flickering fire would blaze up now and then and show the attentiveness written on the faces of all present. Enthusiastically we listened to the animated words of the storyteller, completely lost in the kingdom of myth, unmindful of the storm that was vigorously shaking the loose posts of the little hut, heedless of /1142/ the hour far beyond midnight. When finally the company broke up, everyone crept out of the storyteller's hut refreshed and enriched with new thoughts and was swallowed up by the night. If stars happened to
[821] be shining down from heaven, a knowing old man would insist on pointing his finger at this or that star, repeating its name, and characterizing its personality. Their brilliance illuminated the short distance to each Yamana's hut, and in his dreams the figures from the world of legend would stand before his paltry bed. Now and then a day ends in this way, which makes every Fuegian happy.

/1293 cont./

776 stranger. After a time old Hánnuł accompanied his son back to
773 place in the woods from where he had taken him. But the little boy was very ill at ease. Afterward he told the Yamana in minute detail what he had experienced with the Hánnuł folk. He continued to work industriously for the blind old man.

776 These two myths alone show clearly enough that the Hánnuł
§38 spirits are not even remotely the objects of a cult or of religious veneration (257). The Yamana say that /1294/ a generation ago

257. Bridges (k):237 confirms this: "The natives never worshipped or revered cushpik, hannush, or any other being whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/.

the Hánnuł were seen for the last time here in their forests. Since then no one has seen a trace of them. On long winter evenings, if two or three families are living in the same hut or if a number of families are camping at the same place for some time, they love to tell stories of the Hánnuł and to repeat their own experiences with these creatures (p. 35). The stories are appropriate to the winter season, so to speak. In summertime the requisite mood is lacking. One evening, on my third expedition, the people spoke in great detail about everything they knew in connection with the Hánnuł. Blind Whaits was present. In the midst of the conversation he asked innocently: "Is winter so near at hand that you begin telling stories about the Hánnuł?"

The old men did not hide from me their regret that the young and middle-aged people no longer believe the stories and reports about Hánnuł and laugh at them as products of self-deception or imagination. They prove it by saying: "Sometimes we have worked for weeks deep in the forest (258) and never saw

258. This was work in sawmills for Europeans or on roads commissioned by the government.

the least sign of a Hánnuł; much less were we molested by Hánnuł!" This is the opinion of the modern, enlightened generation of Yamana. The old people nevertheless cling steadfastly to their

/1294 cont./

TA .538 belief and are ready now and then to recount with firm conviction their favorite stories. Much of what the imagination of the Yamana attributes to the Hámuš is to be found among the Selk'nam in their Yóši (Vol. I, 697).

4. The Guardian Spirits

TA6 Yamana ideas about the Yefáčel are nowhere near as extensive and definite as those about the Hámuš. The reason is probably that the yékamuš to a great extent claim these spirits for themselves. That is why the rest of the people are not aware that they, too, actually have such a guardian spirit assigned to them.

The older Yamana, who are somewhat more thoughtfully concerned with this belief, are agreed about the personality of these Yefáčel. Richard, as well as a few Indian women, described them to me as follows. The Yefáčel are very small figures "only the size of a thumb." They are conspicuous because they are bald; each of them has only three or four long hairs which stand upright in the region of the crown of its head. There is about an equal number of male and female Yefáčel. They wear no clothes, but go about stark naked. /1295/ Maŝemikens was alone in the opinion that the Yefáčel are exclusively male, and everyone very definitely denied it. There is a considerable number of Yefáčel, but only a yékamuš is able to see them in dreams.

As for the relationship of the Yefáčel to human beings and in particular their power, our Indians believe that each person has his own Yefáčel. It is the task of the yékamuš, as soon as possible after a child is born to "settle" a Yefáčel on him, that is, to assign him one. "Everyone must have his Yefáčel!" is repeatedly and emphatically declared. The yékamuš gives every person a Yefáčel of the corresponding sex; thus a boy gets a male Yefáčel. If, by mistake, a newborn child has not been given this guardian spirit, the omission must be remedied at the next opportunity, at any rate at the next lójma yékamuš, the gathering of medicine men. The first and most important task of the

/1467 cont./

301 same thing must be said about the feather ornaments, which can be seen on various ceremonial occasions in the [illegible] (pp. 717, 790) and at the ceremonies of mourning (p. 1065) as [illegible], a large triangular piece of skin, or [illegible], a band of skin two fingers wide and covered with down. The [illegible] is only worn by the [illegible], who regularly puts it on when he is practicing his calling (p. 1507).

304 It has been proved that the Yamana do not practice any kind of intentional body mutilation (p. 106), and Hyades (h):1345 agrees with various observers that "there are no deformations or ethnic mutilations" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy (a):138 is also correct when he maintains: "No ornaments are worn in the nose, ears, or lips, nor on the fingers" /cited in English/. Bridges (b):206, Bove (e):157 and (g):234, and Hyades (d):306 and (p):320, as well as other travelers, emphatically deny that the Yamana are acquainted with tattooing. Nevertheless, I was able to prove that, to a modest extent, it was formerly practiced on the candidates in the [illegible] (p. 715), not, however, for beauty. In the

302 most recent times it has been replaced by a special body painting, either that described on page 717, or the entire upper part of the body is painted uniformly white and two finger-thick, red parallel lines are drawn close together from the farthest lateral projection /1468/ of one shoulder to the other in an arc that extends over the chest and back (cf. Fig. 21 of the photogravure plates /at the end of this work/). This painting is used only for the [illegible].

[illegible] Our Yamana are acquainted with neither poetry nor proverbs,

533 but in the syllables constantly repeated in their songs, there is an agreeable rhythm and a rich sound; they do not have a definite meaning, however. The melodies are always merely short movements with simple motifs. The syllables, made up of the same or a few different sounds, are either repeated on a single pitch or in a variant in which the third predominates. Gay melodies are clearly distinguishable from sad ones (368). The Yamana like to sing:

368. Bridges (a):207 established that "The singing of these Indians is of different kinds" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (p):330, "the song is usually gay; it is made

J. Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

526 The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically managed by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

• 533 Music.—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely
533 simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the *ché'xaus* and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to
[534] von Hornbostel (1928). There were no musical instruments at all. Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

535 Dances.—Apart from the dances carried out during the *ché'xaus* and *kina* rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

[537] Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men.
[538] But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and focal in shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each
[539] *Yahgan* had a yelâlal, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The *kina* rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

536 Theism.—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Wataninéwa or Wataninéwa, who was also called by other

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It is understandable that laments and formulas of mourning are most numerous, inasmuch as every death agitates our Indian to an extraordinary degree and stirs him to the depths. By comparison, the prayers of supplication are plain and simple. The latter will be given first, with brief explanations of the meaning, and afterwards the other prayers and related invocations. I may properly omit a grammatical analysis because we have Bridges' dictionary and because Hestermann has undertaken special investigations on the grammar of the Yamana, to which we refer.

(1) Hitapéan hájá kémétawé.
My father, to me be merciful.

These words are a general supplication which the Supreme Being is asked to fulfill, for example, to grant success in the hunt or good weather during the canoe trip. -- BD:321 gives métawgé, "to act kindly, to do good, show pity or mercy" /cited in English/.

(2) Hitapéan, ámu hájá kémétawágyan
My father, now then, to me be kind

háyančimíalan.
today.

Obviously this request is similar to the preceding one. It is uttered immediately before a trip, a hunt, and similar occasions.

(3) Hájangnikája kémétawágyan háyančimíalan,
To us be merciful today,

Hitapéan.
my father.

This request is again like the others. It is sent heavenward in the early forenoon shortly before they set out on a major undertaking or a long canoe trip.

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(4) Anno, ukíje, hímdawéqun, Hitaqíqo.
Now then, thou, be merciful [to me], my father.

This petition seems to be a general one, but it is used especially by a mother whose child is ill, so that Wataqinéqwa will not let it die, but make it well again.

(5) Hitaqíqo, ugíqua híja wennéki.
My father, let me go, I am making it known to you.

A person who petitions in this way is really asking for good weather. Hence he announces to the Supreme Being that he will soon start on his trip. /1937/ -- BD:66 gives líaina, "to let walk about, to let wander" /cited in English/, and BD:560 adds ríheki, "to show, cause to see" /cited in English/. -- The Tamens also often address the Supreme Being in spontaneous utterances. If a family has planned a long trip, the father will get up early from his bed, move to the hut entrance, and look appraisingly at the clouds or the direction of the wind. If good weather is in the offing, he says to the-one-up-there: "I thank thee, Hidíhqan, that thou hast sent us favorable weather!" If the prospects are not so favorable, he fervently requests: "Hidíhqan, thou knowest that we wish to travel on, be kind to us and send us good weather!"

(6) Anno, hipíhíje hímdawéx maqíqlan,
Now then, to us all be kind every day,

Hitaqíqo.
my father.

[513] Before a family lies down to sleep in the hut, one of the older members repeats this saying. It sounds like a short evening prayer containing gratitude for the present day and a request for success on the following day. According to the people who explained it, the emphasis is on the request that Wataqinéqwa let all the members of the family be well and happy during the coming day.

/1007 cont./

(7) Ama, hiqaldźa, nihowlgaxa, Hixapźqa,
Now then, or receive mercifully, my father,

dźagwaja-
xlas.

With this request a person turns back to Hiałźqa after he was punished by the deity through a death, he had quarreled with him, so to speak. -- BD:301 gives nihowlgaxa, "to take a person under one's care, to be kind and merciful to a person" /cited in English/.

(8) Hałgwaxlźa, hłłakumułźa, Hixapźqa.
Us he will [surely] push forward, my father.

A person who is rowing on the water and is aiming for a shore or an island where there is game repeats this request, confident that Hiałźqa will let the canoe glide there quickly as though he personally were pushing it with a strong hand. -- BD:177 mentions hłkamłłł, "to shove, push, press, bear against with the hands" /cited in English/.

(9) Uxźa nihułłmłłx, Wasagźqa.
To me give a good course, the old one above.

A person makes this entreaty during the canoe trip if bad weather threatens, so that he will reach his goal or the nearest safe shore.

(10) Uxźa hłmłławźqa. Hixapźqa. łłkamłłx łłnam.
To me be merciful, my father, save the boat.

In bad weather they ask that the good father-up-there lift the canoe over all dangers. -- BD:401 explains łłkamłłł, "to uprise in one's arms, to raise or lift up" /cited in English/. /1050/

(11) Hixapźqa, hźja akźła hłmłławagźna,
My father, to me with akźła be merciful,

čjźxaqa.
čjźxaqa.

/[illegible] cont./

This means: Send me help through an ellipse (the groups). Pendence (resident) against the [illegible] /[illegible] spirit/ that come near my career and threatened me. The word [illegible] serves to strengthen the request and replaces the word [illegible]. Although direct address is avoided, the old-one-up-there knows that these words are addressed to him.

(13) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
The heart to you [illegible] from above strong

[illegible].
[illegible] strong here.

This request means: May the-one-up-there help you who are sitting here so that you will freely develop your strength and be able to go on singing for a long time. A-[illegible] spoke these words during the youth initiation, as she looked at old Richard who had been starting himself for some time as the leader of the singing. -- The word [illegible], "heart," also has a further meaning, as in German, and BD:363 acknowledges this: "the heart, the affections, the soul" /[illegible] in English/. According to BD:14 [illegible] means: "strong, firm, powerful" /[illegible] in English/. The word [illegible] here, according to BD:364, means "to sit, to be sitting" /[illegible] in English/.

X. Prayers of Thanksgiving

The preceding prayers of supplication follow a recognizably uniform pattern. The prayers of thanksgiving for all kinds of gifts, which as such are multifarious and are bestowed by the Supreme Being, have more variety. It is actually amazing that our Fuegians often feel a special urge to give thanks for the benefits that [illegible] bestows upon them. Such a practice points to the stable, close relationship that the Yamana believe they have with their deity. Because it is easy for them to express gratitude, this relationship must be favorable and satisfy them very much. It makes them feel truly happy.

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(1) Aǐár^{I} Hitapū́an. Aǐár^{I} Kalaǐxēn.
Thanks my father. Thanks, little old father.

With these short formulas the Yamana pays his debt of gratitude on various occasions. They are often used and are familiar to everyone. — In BD:48 we find ōōs, "I am so glad! Well done!..." /cited in English/. This is undoubtedly the same as aǐár^{I}.

(2) Aǐár^{I}, Hitapū́an, katū́ytus
Thanks, my father, favorable weather

uíjna.
accompanied me.

Thanks is given in this manner by a person who has again reached a safe shore after a canoe trip: while he is comfortably resting, he thinks about his trip.

(3) Aǐár^{I}, hipikū́ja kēmētaywḗikete Hitapū́an.
Thanks, to both of us was merciful my father.

/1059/ This sentence is likewise an expression of thanks for the favorable course or the successful outcome of some undertaking in which two persons were engaged.

(4) Aǐár^{I}, Hitapū́an, hū́ja kēmētaywū́gude
Thanks, my father, to me was good

hauančimū́alan.
today.

A person who is luxuriating in the enjoyment of some success, especially one who is enjoying rich hunting spoils, does not forget afterwards to make known in this manner his grateful acknowledgment to the kind giver and benefactor.

(5) Hajananikū́ja kēmauttuxmḗnax Hitapū́an.
Us has protected my father.

/1059 cont./

With this formula one wants to express thanks for success, for some advantage which he achieved, or for particular protection granted him. One family greets another with this formula after they have returned home or when they meet on the water. -- BD:181 writes "kômaqateka, to go or come up in order to take care of; kômaqtuxmôni, to get up, or come up and stand guardian over" /cited in English/.

(6) Sátagana Wačinéjwa Hitapûnčikaja.
Satisfied I with the old one, my father.

Filled with gratitude, a mother who was worried about her sick child and is now happy that it is well again expresses herself in these words. According to BD:152, sabegûta is "to be happily, or at peace" /cited in English/.

(7) Annu, hûja kûgurat alagumutûkilîkan
Now then, me it pleased to look upon

Watanéjwa-sîl, hagančimûalan.
Watanejwa in heaven, today.

One who was sick but has become well again gives thanks in this manner. Watanéjwa had already "looked upon" him, that is, aimed at him with the intention of letting him die, but once more he desisted. -- BD:20 gives alagumûtû, "to gaze, look, watch sitting" /cited in English/.

(8) Annu hûja kétumûala tupûan Hitapûan.
Now then, from me bad time took away my father.

A person who was sick for a long time but who has completely recovered rejoices in this fashion; the torture of disease is over, and he experiences a new summer, so to speak.

(9) Annu, hûja kakûpa talagênatupûan Hitapûan.
Now then, me from above looked upon my father.

/1059 cont./

782 539 These are the words of a man who felt he was near death because Watauinēiwa cast his eye upon him. Because this man recovered, /1060/ he joyfully gives thanks for having escaped the threatening misfortune. -- BD:392 gives talagōnatapōna, "to look fixedly, gaze, be gazing intently" /cited in English/.

(10)	Annu,	hipāi	mērnārna,	ašárǰ;	hipāi
	Now then,	we	new summer,	thank;	for us

kutakētumāala	tupāan.
is winter	past.

782 539 825 As soon as the first signs of approaching spring appear, after the long months of winter with its abundant snow, everyone breathes more freely and joyfully expresses his feelings of renewed zest for life with these words. -- Compare tupāana in BD:556.

(11)	Hītēpan	hītēki	hakuālus.
	I myself	saw	sea anemones.

More precisely this means: I was the first to see with my own eyes the sea anemone. -- According to BD:260, hītōpan is "I only, I by myself" /cited in English/; according to BD:270, hākūālus, "the red sea anemones" /cited in English/. The small scarlet sea anemones, also called sea roses (Actiniaria), can be found all the year round; nevertheless it is always an occasion for great rejoicing when, in waning winter, one discovers the unusually bright-colored colonies of these small animals. They are greeted as harbingers of spring which everyone hopes to live through. The Yamana thank Watauinēiwa with the above prayer formula for this favorable prospect. In sheer exuberance the people dance and hop about, even in the fragile canoe, regardless of the great danger of treading a hole in it and smashing it. The person who first sees a bright-colored sea anemone behaves very boisterously.

782 539 (12)	Annūēčia,	hipāi	mērnārna,	ašárǰ;
	Now then,	us	new summer,	thank;

annūēčia,	hipāi	mērnārna.
now then,	us	new summer.

/1060 cont./

782 539 With this longer phrase the people thank the Supreme Being for providing them with a new summer and with it another new bit of life. -- BD:25 writes annūōčia.

(13) Ašárx, hipāi tumiāana,
Thanks, us we paint with egg yolk,

hākukísin.
summer is here.

In detail this phrase means: Thanks be to thee, Watauinéiwa, that [through thy grace] we may experience this new summer; as an expression of our joy, we are painting ourselves with egg yolk. -- BD:262 writes hākukísin, "the other, another summer" /cited in English/. BD:493 gives tūmīaana, "to beautify or adorn oneself in any way" /cited in English/. -- With this exclamation they invite each other to make a special facial painting as soon as the first birds' eggs are available in spring. With the yolk of a fresh egg they smear /1061/ a line the width of a finger, which begins at the edge of the hair, goes across the forehead and the bridge of the nose, and down to the upper lip. While this is going on there is lively and sometimes boisterous merriment. Filled with gratitude, they do not always address Hidābuan directly with this prayer formula, but it is done indirectly whenever they recite it.

[302]

(14) Annu, hāia, kēmaustuximaxuiāina yárum,
Now then, for me troubled himself for favorable weather

hipikāia kēmaustuximāgua Watauinéiwa.
for us troubled himself Watauinéiwa.

With these words, too, they thank the Supreme Being for the favorable weather which he provided for the canoes. An individual is speaking for himself personally and for his companions. -- Compare ūīaina in BD:66, as well as its use in Formula 5 (p. 983) and Formula 2 (p. 983).

782
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/1061 cont./

(15) Annu, hipikā́ja kēmaustḗkude Hitapū́an,
Now then, us has protected my father,

wḗlitēs hipā́i tauwarā́gude ā́nen,
merciful us he rescued the boat,

hipā́i šabā́gudagu Hitapū́ančikā́ja.
we congratulate [ourselves] on our father.

These longer words of thanksgiving are repeated by those who have found safe refuge after a dangerous sea voyage. One should visualize the sudden change of weather which sometimes overtakes a canoe in the middle of a wide channel. -- BD:428 gives tauwāgū, "to keep near to in order to support or aid by one's presence, . . . to defend, aid by being present" /cited in English/. Compare also, in BD:152, šabugūdāgū, "to congratulate oneself on a happy success" /cited in English/. -- The above words, therefore, express how glad the Yamana are to have a benevolent father-up-there who cares for them and rescues them; they are congratulating themselves on having him.

(16) Sḗnnakite Hāučélla hā́ian hajanḗate čiḗxaus,
Free from Hāučélla we united in the čiḗxaus,

makainixā́ala ū́ska takā́ja hā́jan
with the strangers here with us we

šabagudiā́te.
peacefully united.

Annu, hipikā́ja kekajtauwanjā́te, čiḗxaus. Annu,
Now then, us to help promised, čiḗxaus. Certainly,

kēmētawēgā́na kēndḗj, hajananikā́ja lḗšja
well wishing both, to us [remains] piece of land,

hā́jančí tīnamū́tupe hajandḗpan,
where we spend the winter we alone,

Wḗlapatux-sḗf kēguraiminā́ana
[in case] murderer in heaven does not intend to take away

/1061 cont./

782
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hajananikīja.	ketēgede/1062/	Watauinēiwa.	Hajananikīja
us.	Thanks,	the old one.	Us
mēstumulānude,	ałár,	Watauinēiwa	hūlu
here let awaken,	thank [him]	Watauinēiwa	all
hēanikipan	kēmaustekāana		
these days	was protectively concerned,		
hauančispedāulum.	Makājnix	kēndēj	kāja kūkan
so also in future.	Strangers	two	likewise furthermore
kēlumaustekuāna	hajanānin	Imun;	ketēgede Hidābuan,
will protect	our	father;	thanks my father,
ketēgede Hidābuan!			
thanks my father!			

This long prayer was freely invented by Calderon at the conclusion of the youth initiation in March, 1922. An approximate translation would be: Without being molested by Hāučella (14) we have

> 14. This Kina spirit is mentioned only occasionally during the initiation (p. 746).

celebrated the čjēxaus here in peaceful communion with the two strangers [Gusinde and Koppers]. They promised to help us (15).

> 15. I had assured the families settled in Puerto Mejillones that I would intercede on their behalf with the Chilean government to have this area ceded to them exclusively as their property. Compare Gusinde (c):434.

Because they are people of good will, they will fulfill their promise. Then this area around Puerto Mejillones will belong to us alone and be our property, and we shall be able to spend each winter here undisturbed. If only that "murderer-in-heaven" will not seize us and take us away! Thanks be to Watauinēiwa who still gives us life. Watauinēiwa will continue to protect us and care

/1062 cont./

782 539 for us, as he has these days. Our father will also protect these two Whites. For this, thanks be to thee, my father!

Just a reference to a few words which are also given in BD. BD:154 gives sōnakĭta, "solitary, lonely, secluded" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives: sabagūdĭa, "to lie down happily, to lie down in peace, to be or live happily" /cited in English/. BD:281 explains laĭa, instead of lēa given above, as, among other things: "shelving rocks with large spaces between them" /cited in English/, which is true of the coast at Puerto Mejillones. BD:177 mentions kōgurĭiūa, "to be impatient to get" /cited in English/. BD:181 gives kōmausteka, "to go, or come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. The word ketēgede is the same as kategata in BD:170.

It is surprising, to mention this again, that our Fuegians have created definite formulas of sincere thanksgiving for various occasions and that they often address these to their Supreme Being to pay their debt of gratitude to him.

δ. Laments

765 152 The formulas with which bereaved persons filled with grief pour out their hearts and with which /1063/ people also unburden their souls of other forms of sorrow are more numerous and varied. In such situations they show their very human and altogether sensitive natures which they never before revealed to a European as ~~openly as they never before revealed to a European as~~ openly as they did to me on the occasion of a large funeral ceremony or on a few other occasions. Besides the laments given here, the people of former times had a larger number which must be regarded as hopelessly lost. I was assured of this several times. 765 539 The prayers follow here in a rather free order, beginning with those that are actual expressions of mourning.

(1)	Hitapūan,	kēmudēkun	hāia	ka-kūpa
	My father,	why indeed	me	from above

tutumeyuwakēte.
punished.

/1063 cont./

765 539 With loud cries and heart-rending sobs these words are repeated by women whose children have been allowed to die by Watauinéiwa. Each of them regards the loss of a child as a personal punishment. -- Anita who lost all her children without exception often speaks these words, according to her intimate friends, Nelly and Adelheid. The word kēmudékun is the same as kōmūdūa in BD:172: "what's the matter? what do you want?" /cited in English./ BD:564 gives tūtūmēiūa, "to punish, illtreat, correct by punishing" /cited in English/.

(2) Annūēčía hāja ūla kūpa
Quare /why/ me sponte /freely/ desuper /from above/

tutumeyuwandēa Hitapūan,
castigavisti /punished/ mi pater /my father/,

tālauwāja.
tālauwāja /translated from Latin; see p. 993 /.

Again a woman laments: Why did you punish me by letting my child die? -- BD:25 writes annūōčia. The word tālauwāja, frequently also talauwāja, serves here as an exclamation of emphasis, somewhat in the sense of: Great is my sorrow, I am completely crushed, thus I cry, full of sorrow. BD:389 also gives the word tellaaja, "being mourners or in mourning for the dead" /cited in English/. In this position and combination it corresponds to our "Woe!" Compare also the data on p.1073.

(3) Kēnjūičía hāja kūpa matauuwēxmutākude;
Therefore me from above helped;

kitu kūpa tstumīnatupuwičía
he himself from above again take away

Watauinéiwa-sef ūpaj
the old-one-in-heaven therewith.

A grieving mother realizes her plight and says: The-one-up-there seemed to be particularly benevolent to me; in reality, however,

/1063 cont./

765
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he helped me to have a child with the intention of letting it die - and causing me great sorrow therewith. -- BD:307 gives matauuwōx or matauuwōštāgū, "to work with one another as companions" /cited in English/. From the use of this word one sees the Indians' idea that both the Supreme Being and the mother together help to produce a child. BD:494 gives tumína, "to pick up with or in the hands" /cited in English/. /1064/

(4) Kēnjūjčia hāia hixupa kičēxmutákude,
Therefore me the one-from-above afflicted,

tálauwāia.
alas.

Again the lament of a mother and father who have been punished by Watauinēiwa with the loss of their child. -- The word kičēxmūt-aku-dē is derived from ōx-dātū in BD:50.

(5) Kēnjūjčia hāia ūla kūpa
Therefore me sponte /freely/ from above

kūrat, alakēxmutakilēra, Hitapūan.
gave, to take away again, my father.

Like the preceding formula, this also means: The Supreme Being gave the child to the parents with the intention of taking it away again soon and thus punish them.

(6) Kēnjūjčia hāia ūla kūpa
Therefore me sponte /freely/ from above

winānude, Hitapūan.
has dishonorably taken away, my father.

Here the Supreme Being is accused of a deceitful, false intent which the parents now in mourning did not realize earlier. -- BD:611 gives wīnana, "to betray, act treacherously, to trick" /cited in English/.

/1064 cont./

765
539

(7) Ka-kūpa (hu)winānude hāja,
From above has deceptively taken away me,

tālauwāja, Watauinēiwa.
alas, Watauinēiwa.

This formula differs from the preceding one only in appearance. The meaning is the same in both inasmuch as Watauinēiwa is accused of consciously intending to deceive the parents to whom he gave a child.

(8) Kētakēn! ka-kūpa makaitūšude
Truly! the one-from-above let die

kalaiēxēden čiēxaus.
the old ones of the čiēxaus.

Alfredo, who was the leader of the first initiation that I experienced (p. 179 /untranslated/), was constantly depressed by the knowledge that only a very small number of his countrymen were still living. He often lamented that the old friends whom he had formerly always joined in the čiēxaus had long since been summoned by Watauinēiwa. -- My informants assured me that makaitūšude has not been current for some time.

(9) Ašā hitēpāala ha-kūtatumaiāala tupāana,
Indeed, I alone must find my way in summer,

tālauwāja, Hitapūan.
alas, my father.

/1065/ The meaning is: Again I begin a summer and that alone, how shall I make out! A widow speaks these words in remembrance of her husband whom she has recently lost. -- BD:260 translates hitōpan as "I only, I alone" /cited in English/. Compare in BD: 496 tūmaiaana, "to be unable or find difficulty in doing anything" /cited in English/. I was told that tupāana is a word no longer current.

/1065 cont./

765
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(10) Kagufwēmuḷítude, Hitapúan, hā́ka,
Me he discouraged, my father, on my account,

tā́lauwāja.
alas!

One says this when he has lost a close relative and has been so deeply affected by the death that he sees himself facing his own demise. -- The above verb may be related to kāgufkilinata, in BD:200, "to get weat /sic/" /cited in English/.

(11) Watauinéiwa-sēf hā́ja kaguramínude,
The old-one-in-heaven me took away,

tā́lauwāja, ǩatambāančinéiwa Hitā́puančikā́ja,
alas, I am angry with my father,

tā́lauwāja.
alas.

A person declares quite openly that his anger is directed at Watauinéiwa because he let his relatives die. -- BD:153 gives ǩatambaa, "dissatisfied, displeased, discontented" /cited in English/. Nelly and Adelheid asserted positively that this pure form of lament is difficult to translate.

(12) Annu, hā́ja, k-ū́la
Indeed, for my sake, ipse spoke /freely/

kū́pa, tarawēna hauakipajémalim.
desuper /from above/ weep my relatives.

These words mean: Disaster has befallen me on account of the arbitrariness of the-one-up-there, namely, the loss of a member of the family. My nearest kin share this with me and weep with me. -- BD:422 mentions the commonly used tā́ra and taratapōna, "to cry very much, to keep on crying as a young child in pain" /cited in English/. The word ū́la has been repeated several times.

765
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/1065 cont./
Its actual meaning is: sponte /Latin/, freely, from one's own impulse, according to a personal decision, or, as BD:87 says: "without being bidden, i.e., on one's own responsibility, without being asked" /cited in English/. That is why I have translated k-ūla kūpa as "ipse sponte desuper." This describes the completely free, indeed arbitrary, behavior of Wataginēiwa, against which every human being defenseless.

(13) Ammu, māte k-ūla kūpa yāiix tēpanāna
Truly, ipse sponte desuper tears he makes flow,

kičimundēn, tālauwāja, yāiix yāmala, yāiix dāra,
of the relatives alas, tears big tears all,

kandēn.
from them.

/1066/ The meaning of this is obviously similar to that of the preceding lament. The last half of this lament is impressive. -- The word tēpanāna is probably the same as tōpanana in BD:409.

(14) Kičikāj kipajēmalim kakūpa makāj
Him from the old women the-one-from-above

tuāmude, Hitapūan, tālauwāja.
has taken away, my father, alas.

While a few older women are grieving over a particular deceased person, someone present puts the situation into words: Indeed, the one whom you mourn was allowed to die by the one-up-there; that is truly a reason for mourning.

(15) Kičin ajnēx kīpa kakūpan,
His strong wife from above [afflicted],

tālauwāja; ālār skin āalasina
alas; luckily heart strengthened

/1066 cont./

765
539

aizéx	kípa	kakūpan,	tálaɣwāja.
strong	wife	from above,	alas.

Referring to her brother-in-law, the weaker, grieving sister says: His brave wife [= my sister] was afflicted by the one-up-there, but fortunately that-one-up-there also gave her a stout heart and so she will overcome this sorrow. -- BD:63 also gives ʒalasina, "strong, energetic, not easily subdued" /cited in English/. The word aizéx is related to aizáku, or aizōka, in BD:10.

(16) Kītépan	hāja	ka-kūpa	šituxmūtuten,
He himself	me	the one-above	shall marry,

Hitapūan,	tálaɣwāja.
my father,	alas.

Here we have the very perturbed burst of anger of a despairing widow who, after the loss of her husband, sees herself helpless and abandoned. She wants to say: Since I am alone and do not know what to do, the one-up-there shall marry me and assume the cares of a husband. -- BD:573 mentions tuxmūtū and tuxmūtūtas, "living happily with one's wife" /cited in English/.

(17) Apitēpan	kečimūta	ke-kūpa
Without anything	[I] here	[through] from above,

mamuāpi tēpána,	tálaɣwāja,	mičí.
we in poverty,	alas,	place.

A widow describes to the Supreme Being the desperate situation of herself and her children, somewhat as follows: Bereaved of everything through the one-up-there, I am sitting here at my campsite with my children. Who will feed my children now that I am completely impoverished since the one-up-there has let my husband die. -- Compare, in BD:409, tōpōna and tōpanana, which is also related to apitōpan. Possibly mamuāpi given above and mamūāpai in BD:299 are the same. Compare kečimūta with the compounds made with kičí and particles expressing direction in BD:171.

/1067/
765
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(18) Ełatakáki ka-kūpa uwēxanāana,
Widower [I] [through] from above snatched away,

tālauwāja; ánnu, sikāła
alas; now then, You-up-there

mauštexmāalawána Hidābuan, Ajzākun,
care for them, my father, [you] hard one,

tālauwāja.
alas.

This means: I have now become a widower through that-one-up-there who has snatched away my wife. Woe is me! Now then, you-up-there, my father, provide sustenance for my children, you hard-hearted one!

(19) Kuí tumutekiyāgua Watauinéiwa-sēfinčikāja,
Where is to be found the old one in heaven,

tālauwāja?
alas.

This is the threat of a person who in his grief is at his wit's end, and he rages: Where could I meet Watauinéiwa, for I should like to have it out with him! -- BD:395 gives tekiiāgū, "to find what is one's own, to find and appropriate" /cited in English/.

(20) Akājakeyuwa hāja tekiyāgu Watauinéiwa-sēfinčikāja.
I desire fervently me to meet with old-one-in-heaven.

Just like the preceding formula this expression is used by a person who is very perturbed and who burns with the desire to settle ruthlessly with the one-up-there for his sad plight.

(21) Kuí hiletekiyāgua Watauinéiwa-sēfinčikāja,
Where could I meet Watauinéiwa-in-heaven,

tālauwāja.
alas.

/1067 cont./

765
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This is similar to the preceding formula. Since this fervent desire, too, cannot be realized, everyone resigns himself to the tight fetters of those who are helpless and have no power.

(22) Kāja hāja killakupančauin, tālauwāja,
Also me shall he carry away, alas,

Hitapūan.
my father.

A person in mourning longs to have his life's companion by his side, and since he does not want to be alone any longer, he cries emphatically: May the one-up-there likewise take me away from here and grant me death. -- Compare the compounds with killa in BD:171.

(23) Šapūru-āčin-hāiuwa Hitāpuančikāia,
How terrible on account of my father,

tālauwāja, ukāali hja-kūpa mēaličin,
alas, only [child] from above in danger,

tālauwāja, šapūru-āčin-hāiuwa, talāuwāja.
alas, I am afraid, alas.

/1068/ This is the lament of a mother who has already lost several children. She says: I have every reason to be afraid, for, since Hidāpuan has let my other children die, the only one left to me is in danger of soon falling a victim to death. -- BD:286 gives mēala, "to expose oneself to danger" /cited in English/. BD:158 also gives sapurū-ačin-haiiūa, "how dreadful, how horrible" /cited in English/.

(24) Hitēpāančix hičī łapagurǎ yēkēkērǎ
Solitary I to feel happy in my hut,

mētalapēnēkērǎ hāuančjakēli, tālauwāja.
quiet the hut and the hut of my children, alas.

Now that I am all alone in my hut, how could I be happy; for it is quiet in my hut and in the children's hut because it is empty, woe

/1068 cont./

765 539 is me! This is the lament of a mother who looks around in her hut and seeks in vain for her children, for death took them all. -- BD:260 gives hĭtopalpan, "I by myself, without anybody else whatever" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives ĭabagŭrĭ, "to do happily, to be happily or at peace" /cited in English/. The children's hut, ĕkĕli, was described on page 34. Compare mötalapöna, "to become quite calm" /cited in English/, in BD:320.

765 152 In a frenzy of emotion a grieving woman sometimes breaks the hut to pieces immediately after the funeral of her child. Whenever she looks around in the dwelling, she is aware of the gap which death made in the circle of her children. Therefore, she wants to destroy completely this picture which awakens the pain anew. At the same time she destroys the utensils used by the deceased child. John Lawrence and his sons assured me that they often witnessed this kind of wild behavior on the part of grieving parents.

765 539 (25) Hapakĭlumĕi akĭluwajakĭpan kagičĕkude
I am from the sea the woman he took away

hĭja, lŏjma.
me, oh grief.

A widow mourns because the Supreme Being allowed her husband to drown in the sea. -- BD:16 gives akĭlŭaia, "a lake, pond, pool, puddle" /cited in English/. The above combination, a form familiar to the Yamana, says roughly: the woman who has something to do with the sea down there. BD:194 mentions kĭgičekŭ, "to rise up and get fast, so as not to be able to pull down!" /cited in English./ The exclamation lŏjma here is synonymous with tĭlauwĭja. Compare laema in BD:282.

(26) Hĭla kĭpa-mĭyén mutĭjana, tĭlauwĭja.
Yet from above observe cease, alas,

Hitĭjančikĭja.
my father.

Specifically this formula says: My father, I wish very much that you cease looking at me so sharply; otherwise I shall avenge myself soon enough and inflict a hurt on you, too. -- Compare mĭjaku,

/1068 cont./

765 "to observe, watch with a view to find out anything" /cited in
539 English/, in BD:291; mutaqwana, "to cease, desist" /cited in English/, in BD:366; hala and la in BD:277, 263. I heard this prayer several times at the great funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

/1069/

765 (27) Anmumutá, hála kípa tímukinananána
539 Desire, yet up there take to task

713 Yíjaalíga-tímulum kípa ufíku
770 in Yíjaalíga up there be pleased

ámakipaclíkíja, tíiagwíja.
women from the north, alas.

In order to understand this sentence one must realize that, according to the Yamana conception, all the animals were made by Watayinéjwa in Yíjaalíga where there was a great revolution when the women from the north who performed the kina settled there. Thus, all the animals belong to him as his property. Anyone who wants to give full vent to his grief expresses in the above sentence his desire to cause Watayinéjwa serious harm by destroying his animals. If he should succeed in doing so, he would feel adequately compensated. -- The individual words can be found in BD:26, for example, annumutu, "to be longing for" /cited in English/. The word tímukinana in BD:321 refers to the strict treatment of the candidates and to the serious order of the day in the kina school. BD:400 gives úóka, "to laugh, twitter" /cited in English/.

765 Old Malemikens, who repeated this fixed formula at the
539 large funeral ceremony in March, 1923, added a few personal thoughts and spoke freely as follows: "All animals went out from Yíjaalíga. Watayinéjwa brought that about. Therefore, since I cannot touch his person, I shall kill all his animals which he made. This will calm me and make me content, this will satisfy my lust for revenge!" After a long pause he went on with this thought, as follows: "Unfortunately I cannot now harm 'the-one-up-there' seriously, for I am too old [frail] and do not have enough weapons, I cannot undertake anything any more, for strength fails me, an old man. Formerly I used to carry out this plan: then I wantonly killed many animals, burned down the forest, chopped everything

/1069 cont./

765
539

to pieces, just to hurt 'the-one-up-there.' Today I am no longer able to do it, I have grown too old. In those days I had fun striking about wildly and destroying everything to hurt Watauinēiwa. That was the only reason I killed many animals, it was not because I wanted to use them for food."

(28) Kwī kun Yāiaašāga
All animals in Yāiaašāga

hapatēsku hāku mimuamēkuta
to enjoy stretch out the hands, others go hungry

hapatēskēnčikāja tēpan, Watauinēiwa.
enjoy also Watauinēiwa.

As in the preceding, this utterance also assumes that Watauinēiwa in Yāiaašāga made the animals; hence they belong /1070/ to him. A person who mourns a deceased person who was dear to him knows that he is being punished by the one-up-there, as though he had misused the right of ownership to the animals that is held by Watauinēiwa. That is why he explains to Watauinēiwa, using the words above: I killed and consumed your animals only with the intention of protecting myself from hunger and staying alive; other members of my family, that is, my wife, did the same. We had no other purpose in acting as we did. You punished me nevertheless and now I'm in trouble. -- Only hapatōska, "having a savoury smell" /cited in English/, in BD:266, and mīāmūkana in BD:289 are to be specially noted.

(29) Apa čilla kapalagēmude, tālauwāja,
Why again be on the look-out, alas,

Abālla sa? hāindagēnčix hapatēš
strong one, you? the like of me enjoy

kēnjukāja hīta aalasinīāna, hipāja hipikāja
I fat unable; us all

kūpa ťatambaāmude, Hidābuan, tālauwāja;
up there very angry, my father alas;

765
539

/1070 cont./

kūka — at the same time
mērakāgu — to act
hipāj — we
kūkan — further

ǐatambǐanapana — discontent
kičikāja, — with him,
Hidābuančikāja, — our father,

tālauwāja; — alas;
akēmuǐ — son, ah,
tēpāja, — the one-from-above
hǐxupa

mēšanāgun, — bequeath,
tālauwāja, — alas,
maǐakána — the girl

hǐxupa — the one-from-above
māgājatuǐatākude, — leave in peace,
tālauwāja? — alas?

The meaning is roughly as follows: Why do you "strong-one-up-there" again look at me malevolently? Are you perhaps afraid that I will consume all your animals? One who is built as I am cannot even consume the fat and the meat of a stranded whale. So why are you angry with us all? We, too, are behaving so that you can see, i.e., we, too, are showing you now that we are likewise displeased with you. Will "the one-up-there" leave me my son after he has taken away my daughter? -- Almost all the words used here are listed in BD.

(30) Hitāpuančitēpakāmu — My father alone
hāja — with me
kūpa-ǐatampǐanmutākudej, — up there is angry,

lōjma; — alas;
annēčja — truly,
wēlapatēxulēra — murderer-mountain,

kūpa-ǐatampǐanmutākudej, — up there is angry,
lōjma. — alas.

This means: I thought only Hidābuan alone up there is angry with me; but no, a human being has also become the murderer of my child, just as when that-one-there is angry. Instead of the word for "man" or "tribal member," the word for "mountain" is used here.

/1071/

765
539

(31) Ilamutſka Watauinčiwa xipčinčikāja,
Strangely deals the old one with us,

wīačja hamaččnnus mālanudčkude, tčlauwāja.
alone stand here every day alas.

A mother laments: Most strangely does Watauinčiwa deal with us! He took away my daughter and now I stand alone. -- The word ilamutſka is probably related to ilōpitaki in BD:39.

(32) Kemutua Hitapūan kupčči
Why my father from above

talagēnakuččmčkude, tčlauwāja.
inconsiderately look upon, alas.

This laments says: Why does my father have no consideration for me, and why does he let my child die! -- This cry was repeated by several persons at the general funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

(33) Watauinčiwa hipikāja kautččnaēr ammuxtčgata,
The old one us both whale strand,

hauančimčala hamaččnna hipčj waalapčana.
every day in the morning we to cut meat.

A person expresses his grief in the following strange manner: The old-one-up-there has again let one of us die. It would have been better if he had stranded a whale. Then we would have gone there and for many days we could have cut pieces of meat for ourselves every morning, he as well as I, too.

(34) Yamalčri čima kūpa maččkula mutčkude
Much water from above to weep

yatuwčimkīpa kiččmun, tčlauwčja;
eldest sister her father, alas;

kičči wčlapamx-wčja tčhaja kūpa
murderer-bay likewise from above

mačkulčjna kičči kiččmun; čhupen čila
many tears her father; child

/1071 cont./

765
539

kʼípa	mayamunuʼína,	tʼílagwʼíja;
from above	teeth show,	alas;

kʼénastigaja	wʼí	elinʼíana	ʼína	yʼájx	dʼérupe,
who may follow		cause	your	tears	to flow,

tʼílagwʼíja.
alas.

Old Emilia from the south, who never had any contact with missions, repeated these words. My informants emphatically assured me that they were unfamiliar with many of the expressions because the latter are old and belong to another dialect. The entire sentence has approximately the following meaning: On account of that-one-up-there an old man shed many tears for his daughter whom death carried away. He shed as many tears as flowed in Ushuaia where the-one-up-there /1072/ caused many people to die! The-one-up-there poured out his wrath [showed his teeth] on the daughter of this man. If only it were in our power to wrest from him the same great flood of tears.

[131] It is well known that after serious epidemics took the lives of many in the mission station of Ushuaia the Yamana referred to this region as wʼílapatux-wʼíja, "the bay of the great murderer," i.e., of many deaths. See pages 298 and 340 /in untranslated portion/ for details.

(36)	hʼíi	latambʼíja	hʼíi	HixʼíganʼíkʼíJa.
	I	discontent	with	my father.

Anyone who is in mourning can use this general expression, for the behavior of the Supreme Being is wholly inconsiderate.

765
116
539

All these sayings more or less clearly express the helplessness of the grieving human being before Watayinʼíwa, the strong one. The Yamana regard his action as arbitrary torture, for, regardless of their sorrow and contrary to their pleas, he continues to treat them cruelly. They permit themselves such sharp threats only in case of death, and they think they are justified in ridding their oppressed hearts of their grief through bitter accusations and violent rage. They cannot defend themselves in any other way.

/1072 cont./

E. Various Other Expressions

Finally there are a few more formulas with which the Yamana turn to their Supreme Being pleadingly or gratefully, as the situations of everyday life demand. All of them are brief and the meaning clear. Some of them are amusing, and it is surprising that our Fuegians, in child-like openheartedness, tell their Hiléwan even the most ordinary things.

(1) Hitapéan hája mókawégómeí, ánna,
My father me project, now then,

hái mókéan.
I return.

When he bids farewell, the person leaving says: If my-father-up-there keeps his hand spread over me protectively, I shall come back to this place hale and hearty. -- BD:321 gives mókawógata, "to take a person under one's care" /cited in English/. BD:21 gives amaka, "place, position" /cited in English/. BD:311 has mókí, "to come home" /cited in English/.

(2) Ttíla hája Hitapéan talagínakóu,
Should me my father want to take away,

tóoken hája.
seek me.

With these words a person is thinking of the possibility that death might overtake him during his voyage. He takes leave and says to the others: If this apprehension should come true, you will have to look for me a long time and still you won't find me. /1073/

(3) Ótia yélla hája dépan, Wataginéwa
You farewell really, the old one

katalagína kuyána hipikíja.
take away warm from one another.

The meaning of this formula is exactly like the preceding one.

/1073 cont./

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It is used when a person sets out on a major journey and says farewell for a long time. It says: Our separation is truly forever if it pleases Watauinéjwa to take one of us away in death. -- BD: 262 gives hain tōpan, "now is the time, in real earnest" /cited in English/.

(4) Tūla Hitapūan hajakāja kēmētauwagumūtu,
In case my father to me merciful,

ánnu hipāj čila matauughājnan.
now then, us again unite.

This formula, too, contains the familiar idea: Should it please my father to preserve me from danger and death, we shall meet again, safe and sound, at the end of my long journey.

(5) Watauinéjwa hāja kumēkalēni.
The old one me westerly weather.

A person complains because Watauinéjwa surprised him on his voyage with westerly weather which is always unfavorable. -- BD:210 gives kūmōči, kumōka, "to go or come Westward" /cited in English/.

(6) Uxāja, lēmata wājauina, Hitapūan, uiāina
Ah, confused go about, my father weather

kēmūtua sa-t-arugatāra Hitapūan? kēmūtua
why you burden my father? why eyes

samunkēmbūnata, Hitapūan, ikamāna.
closed, my father, with snow?

Angry old Peine suddenly spoke these words when she was obliged to wade through the snow in bare feet. Nelly had sent for her; it was on March 21, 1922. She meant the following: Hitapūan listen, I am so indignant that my head is swimming because I must stamp through the snow. Why do you annoy me with bad weather? Do you keep your eyes closed and not see how much snow there is here on the ground?

/1073 cont./

782 539

(7) Hīia čílla akigamāni Tānuwa asūnan
Me again hit the old one in the woods

lēkēskēta; kēndam hitaualašinānude?
my head; how I bear it?

[153] /1074/ In wandering through the woods a man was in danger of being killed by a falling tree trunk; again he once was lightly struck. This gave him such a shock that he developed a headache. He mentions the old-one-up-there as the cause of it. That is why his situation is particularly serious and he does not know how he will regain his mental balance. -- Most of the words used here are repeated in the following exclamation.

(8) Tānuwa hāja cílla akigamanīta lēkēskēta
The old one me again hit my head

asūnan kēndam hitaualašinānude?
in the woods, how I bear it?

In content this saying does not differ from the preceding one and says the same thing, but it expresses more definitely and emphatically the intention of Watauinéiwa to let the man be killed. -- Compare the verb akigāmata, "to hit unintentionally, or by mistake" /cited in English/, in BD:15. BD:183 translates kōndām as: "such, so, in such a manner, in that way" /cited in English/. The word asūnan is evidently synonymous with ōsunna, "forest, wood, jungle, thicket" /cited in English/, in BD:46.

(9) Watauinéiwa čikāja kēlakanāa sa-kumāsu.
The old one you will take away [if] you lazy.

[167] This formula is one example of the precepts which are given the candidates in the youth initiation. It warns the ušwāala that the old-one-up-there does not tolerate a lazy person, but will let him die prematurely. -- The word kēlakanāa is related to kōlenkōna, "to drive, shove, push away" /cited in English/, in BD:178, and to related forms.

782 197 Besides the formulas listed here the Yamana of former days used many others containing the same ideas, which now must be

/762 cont./

857 regard them as a means of helping boys to prepare properly for
868 their later duties in connection with food-getting (196).

196. Bridges (i):22 and (h):208 also emphasizes this purpose: "They early, for pastime, prepared themselves for their future life; spending their time, if boys, in practising throwing or slinging stones, in spearing or shooting arrows at a mark, or in attempting to make the various articles of native property" /cited in English/.

541 There is a kind of very modest fireworks, šēlakina (šēla, simple, plain," kina, "flame up, burn": "little fire, play of sparks"),
857 which is not so much play as simply entertainment. Not only the boys who put it on, but all the occupants of the camp enjoy it. They take the very soft, light interior wood of a beech trunk that has been altered by fungus formations and use it in small pieces about as long as a finger. It begins to glow surprisingly quickly, and when it is hurled into the air it glows even stronger. Each little piece of wood describes an arc as it ascends and falls to the ground. If it has not been entirely burned up, they pick it up and throw it again. Several boys together repeatedly do the throwing, and they must be very nimble. It is a delight to see the little glowing pieces rise and fall in large numbers, like bright points in the dark night. It is only when several families are together and in a happy mood, that is, for a wedding, for the tūwikipa /763/ tāru, for the conclusion of the čiexaus, or beside a stranded whale, that a larger group will sometimes on a quiet night enjoy themselves for some time with this šēlakina (197).

197. Without doubt Despard was referring to this on July 29, 1859: "When confined to the 'ucer' [hut] by bad weather, they amuse themselves by throwing burning sticks at each other" /cited in English/ (VP:VII, 10:1860).

857 Another way of amusing themselves seems strange at first, but is explained by the fact that boys are not permitted to wear real

/686 cont./

837 558 expressing himself, adultery is accompanied by "a certain public disrespect" /translated from French/. It is this general condemnation that guilty parties find particularly painful and degrading.

•548 Our Indians hold female virtue in high esteem. In this connection we must not fail to mention that Hyades (q):239, 378 takes a very firm stand against the false reports by a few travelers about the prostitution of Indian women. "We have never seen a Fuegian man yield his wife or the one he loves to his best friends or even to the lure of large rewards. Many travelers believe that they have seen the opposite, but in the instances they have observed, the women and young girls were not by any means necessarily joined by love or even marriage to the savages who proposed to give them away. We will cite below a number of examples to prove our assertions" /translated from French/ (93). Not even the present relaxation of morals is approved by the true Yamana, and they accept many misdeeds silently only because they are powerless to do anything about it.

93. In Outes (g):59, also, it is clearly stated: "No individual sells his wife to another" /translated from Spanish/.

836 867 Sexual morality is quite generally esteemed, and this, naturally, also includes premarital chastity (p. 411). Children would not be permitted any kind of license nor would they attempt it; there is, generally speaking, no sexual freedom for the girl. Quite the contrary, many Europeans, to their unexpected surprise, came up against a strong, emphatic morality and modest reserve among the Fuegian women, whose body covering could hardly be imagined as scantier. In order to prevent lapses in this sphere, the adults see to it that boys and girls are separated from early youth until puberty, and they warn them ceaselessly with informative advice. It is entirely wrong to maintain, as Hyades (q):378 does, that "the young girls are free to conduct themselves as they please" /translated from French/. Even

591 after which they would usually go for good to the groom's kin. Thus, localized groups of kin tended to be paternal.

604 After marriage the husband's paternal uncle and the wife's maternal aunt took particular interest in them, superseding in large measure their respective parents. Children-in-law were expected to 606 look after their parents-in-law in sickness or other needs. Children-in-law observed a number of avoidances regarding their parents-in-law: greeting their parents-in-law, speaking to them or breaking in on their conversation with remarks, looking at them, and sitting down beside them were all taboo. When in the same hut with their parents-in-law, they turned their sides or backs on them. A year or so after marriage, the restrictions between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law were partly, but never wholly, relaxed; those between son-in-law and father-in-law lasted through life. On visits of the father-in-law to his daughter, he and his son-in-law communicated wishes and news through the daughter and wife or by indirect discourse.

562 The man was, in theory, considered the head of the family, with 593 authority to rule. Actually, his authority was very far from absolute, and the woman was largely her own mistress, particularly in such provinces of her own as child rearing, food gathering, and canoe managing. Some men domineered over their wives, but not a few husbands were under the thumbs of their spouses. Some husbands were cruel, but if so they ran afoul of the wife's kin. More generally, woman's position both in the family and in the community seemed a respected one, not that of a drudge, slave, or inferior being, and she enjoyed a fairly high degree of freedom and independence.

684 Adultery was disapproved by the *Yahgan* code, but apparently 837 the code suffered appreciable infringement in practice. Adultery on the wife's part was, if discovered, punished by the husband with sound beatings, very rarely with death. Public opinion disapproved of her behavior. Adultery on the husband's part also gave rise to domestic battles in which the husband sometimes suffered severe treatment at his offended wife's hands. Jealousy on the part of both husband and wife was common. Wife lending was absent. There [548] was no professional prostitution; a woman, married or unmarried, of markedly loose character was looked down upon.

586 Separation and divorce were fairly frequent, but were not lightly resorted to. The most common cause appears to have been cruel treatment of the wife by the husband, though there were other causes such as marked laziness, negligence, or crabbedness on the part of the [595] wife. In case the wife became incapacitated through illness or age, the man could, and, it seems, more commonly did, take to himself a second wife.

/704 cont./

844 occupied only under the pressure of circumstances.

Sometimes the child announces itself while the family is
844 traveling in the canoe. As has been reported in Outes (g):55, she
551 tries to get to shore in time. If that is impossible, the child is simply born on the water. Bridges (a):182 also mentions that "children are sometimes born in canoes, they are then called, whether boy or girl, anookwilis" /cited in English/. This word is not given in BD, and I never heard it, but I did hear ūšipin, ūšipisin, ūšiāpisin, to which were sometimes added the masculine or feminine endings. For example, Santiago's name was ūšipisinčis kiltašáka, "one who was born away from the land, near the coast of kiltašáka." BD:105 gives ūsipisin, "a man who has no proper place of abode" /cited in English/. Only women who have already had children and know what to do would risk giving birth in the canoe. A woman giving birth for the first time is always kept in the hut by the other women for the period just before her delivery.

844 It is true that among the Yamana there are no professional midwives, the so-called wenamaastekaxípa, but some women do have the reputation of being good at this (122). They get this

122. Hyades (q):190 also mentions that occasionally individual women help the woman in labor, but not professionally: "There are no midwives" /translated from French/.

reputation because of their frequent assistance and personal skill; /705/ moreover, it is said that each of them has her own method, as well as many individual tricks, that distinguish one from another. In recent times Gertie has been regarded as especially reliable, and Nelly used the help of old Anita when each of her children was born. In general a woman will always be attended by the same midwife, because the latter has learned her physical characteristics from experience. Every Indian woman knows enough to give the young mother adequate help (123).

123. Hyades (q):375 confirms this absolutely: "All the women, even young girls, are adept at lending assistance at the confinement" /translated from French/.

/729 cont./

145 in life. They are familiar with this phenomenon, and they are quietly resigned to what is in store for them. A few older Indian women said that the change of life caused them and other women scarcely any difficulties worth mentioning. It is not strange that 144 female diseases were completely unknown to the Yamana of olden times. For a while Nelly Lawrence suffered from a very painful prolapse of the womb (prolapsus uteri). When the attack was over, she emphatically expressed to me her absolute conviction that this condition had hitherto not troubled any woman and that she was the first to suffer from it.

7. Naming

•551 For reasons we shall soon mention any festivity or ceremony on the occasion of giving a child a name is superfluous. Every Yamana, without exception, has a proper name, and in addition, most of them also have a personal nickname. Very definite mention of this double naming customary among the Yamana is found in Hyades (q):376 and in Outes (g):55: "A child is given the name of his birthplace or of the peculiarities that distinguish him" /translated from Spanish/ (169). The most important, of course,

> 169. Bridges (a):182 mentions a third kind, namely, "family names, handed down from generation to generation, from father to the eldest son. These kinds of names, generally have no meaning" /cited in English/. See footnote 174 below and Bridges (h):207.

is the actual proper name (170).

> 170. This should be especially emphasized as opposed to Despard (b):698, who reverses the order when he says: "Besides a proper name, a man will have one in memory of his birth-place" /cited in English/.

/730/ It is not hard to choose a proper name, for it is taken from the place where the child was born, and it is given the proper

/730 cont./

•551 ending according to the child's sex. The ending for boys is ẽnčis or ẽnjis or injis; for girls it is kipa (171) or, more rarely, wilis.

171. Hyades (q):376, with some inaccuracies, also describes this word-formation. He (g):39 correctly says: "Usually [the children] are given the name of the place where they were born." Lovisato (b):151 also gives examples of male and female proper names.

The giving of a proper name is, as Fred Lawrence expressed it to me in August, 1923 "a purely automatic process." A girl and a boy born in Uŭuwāja are called uŭuwājakipa and uŭuwāiinjis, respectively. Bridges (h):207 also mentions an example of a man "who was named mamashtagadagangez, from Mamashtagadaga, his birthplace" /translated from Spanish/. Despard (b):698 gives another example, namely, that "the woman's toponymic, or place-name, ends in keepa or willis, e.g., Lashawiawillis [better lašawājawilis], a woman of Lashawia, Camileunakeepa, woman of Camileuna" /cited in English/. It is not worthwhile to cite other word formations which will henceforth be intelligible. Naming follows this pattern up to the present day (172).

172. It is a mistake for Bridges to maintain, in Hyades (q):272, that a few words formerly used are no longer current, among them "the word Entsis or Indjis, ... like Kipa" /translated from French/.

A child born in a canoe is temporarily named ŭŭipin or ŭŭipisin or ŭŭipisin, with the corresponding final syllable. Thus Santiago is called ŭŭipisẽnjis, meaning roughly, "man without a birthplace."

It is unavoidable that a child will receive a name that another already has. Then the personal nickname makes the necessary distinction, or else the child temporarily remains a ŭŭipisẽnjis until the time of the youth initiation. Then he gets his final name from the name of the place where he is first introduced to this ceremony. I myself may serve as an example. On my first visit I was an

/730 cont./

•551 ūšipisēnjis according to Yamana ideas, because I was not born at a place in their home country. The first time I experienced their čiēxaus was in Šāmakuswāja near Punta Remolino, and after that I was called šamakušēnjis.

As we have just said, the same name should not be used for two persons, according to the general rule. If there are two ūšipisēnjis, they are distinguished from one another by nicknames, and this is certainly done at once when one of the two dies. The Yamana do not like to repeat the name of a deceased person, which they would be forced to do if the survivor continued /731/ to bear the name. For this reason the above-mentioned Santiago was called ūškēšyāgu, "White Forehead," and no longer ušipisēnjis. If two persons have the same name and one of them dies, the survivor afterwards is called ūsiluswēnjis for the time being. Fred Lawrence, for example, was called this after an Indian named Fred had died, and he told me that it means roughly, "the one from the same birthplace as another," and everyone knows that the other one is dead (173). The name ūsiluswākipa is used for a

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173. BD:104 also gives this word as "a name given a boy instead of his natal name in respect to the recent dead, when both bore the same name" /cited in English/.

female; naturally this name is applied to the surviving person only temporarily and a nickname soon becomes current.

The same consideration applies to the use of the word īkāškan for a son and very close relative (father, brother, sister) of a man and a woman who died by drowning. The name of that son or that relative is never repeated thereafter in order to avoid the memory of the death of a father or relative.

Finally, the Yamana also have a special designation for someone who is the last survivor in a region, namely, ūsidēpa, meaning "the one whose country will be forsaken after he dies." BD:104 gives ūsitōpa, "a person whose near relatives have died, as tho he had only his country left him" /cited in English/. Old Walter is regarded as an ūsidēpa, for he is the last of the eastern people.

/731 cont./

•551 Although the nickname is merely an adjunct to the proper name, it unequivocally indicates the physical appearances and character of its bearer. It is chosen out of consideration for a physical peculiarity, a striking appearance, a strange habit, an odd nature, or an unusual character trait. Men are given nicknames much more often than women. The Yamana sometimes even surpass our own schoolboys in their aptness for appropriate choices in such names. Here are a few examples that I copied down in August, 1923. I shall preferably choose those nicknames that were applied to Europeans to show that the roguish nature of our Yamana showed itself in front of them, too.

551 609

wẽngul (wẽngulu, "to bore out"), "Twisted Leg." Name of Fred Lawrence whose left leg is somewhat bent.

tellapāla (téllа, "eye"), "Eyebrows." This was applied to Guillermo Bridges because of his bushy eyebrows.

ūškēšlūš (uškēš "forehead"; lus, "red"), "Red Forehead." This was the name for Missionary Pringle and for Martin Lawrence, whose faces were always conspicuously red.

ūškēšyāgu (uškēš, "forehead"; yāgu, "white"), "White Forehead." They were quite right to apply this to Santiago on account of his pale face.

ufkitowa (BD:118 ufkitāuwa, "deaf"), "The Deaf One." Missionary Aspinall, who was very deaf, gave them ample reason for this nickname. /732/

yakāšči (yakāšči, "thin patches of beard around the chin"), "Sparse Goatee." The Yamana hit upon this designation because Thomas Bridges had an unevenly filled-out beard.

551 522

The Yamana are not always considerate in selecting nicknames; some names border on the improper and people repeat them with glee, in derision of the bearer.

hašānuwa (hašānuwa, "negligent, dirty in appearance"), "Slovenly Human Being." A person who pays no attention to his appearance is given this name. A woman may also be called this, hašānuwakipa.

pāčeaškālan (pāčea, "behind"; aškālan, "bent upward"), "Bent Upward Behind." Name for a man whose buttocks was unusually prominent because of crippled spinal column.

wāxēⁿidēnjis (wāxēⁿi, "vulva mulieris"; [d]ēnjis, masculine ending). I was unable to find out the real meaning of this abusive designation.

/732 cont./

551 522 Fred Lawrence told me that the various missionaries, as well as he himself, had only too often and in utter innocence used very sarcastic names for individual persons, the meaning of which was at first unknown to them, and that they had not understood why the natives seemed quietly amused and sometimes laughed out loud. Their sure knowledge of the language acquired later taught them to know better.

551 At this point I shall give a few samples from Bridges (a):182, without, however, repeating the Yamana words for them: "Red forehead, Bare forehead, Thin forehead, Narrow nose, Long face, Red face, Weak knee, Shrivelled foot, etc." /cited in English/ (174).

174. According to Bridges (i):26, "three classes of names were current among the Yahgans. First those derived from the place of birth...By these people were generally called, and oftentimes they had no other name. But if you asked a person his name and he happened to have only of the place of his birth, he would tell you, that he had no name, because to the native mind the family name was preeminently the name of the individual. These family names that to a great extent had in process of time lost their meaning, being largely of very remote origin.

"Children seldom received their parents name, but usually those of their uncles and aunts and of grand parents. Of these family names the following are samples. Lasapa, Aiaminaez, Palahlaian, Meacol, Cushchin...

"The third class of names were epithets descriptive of some person or peculiarity of manner, feature or accident. These latter were often handed down as family names, when of course they became no longer suitable" /cited in English/.

Actual family names, which Bridges mentions in the second instance are unknown to the Yamana.

/732 cont./

551 As the longest male proper name known, I learned of an almost monstrous construction which can probably be regarded as the longest Yamana word, namely, hūmaxkamērnaγgāiyatakwēlakirīenjis (i.e., hūmax, "tree trunk tossed ashore by the waves"; kamērnaγgāiyata, "to be set up, to place upright"; wēlakirī, "rocky or coastal promontory"). This means "man from the place on the shore where a tree trunk washed up by the waves stands upright." This construction corresponds to the rule regarding proper names.

553 Finally a superstitious custom should be noted, /733/ to which Bridges (a):176 long ago referred. "The natives have an idea that naming children early stops their growth, and since children so frequently die in early infancy" /cited in English/. Later Hyades (g):39 referred to this: "They first give their children names when they are about two years old and begin to walk. They say they do this so that, in case a child dies younger than that, they will not accidentally hear his name and be reminded of their loss." As I was able to confirm, however, this custom was adopted less out of superstitious fear than because of the utter uselessness of emphasizing the name of the child during the first 20 months. The child's name is automatically determined by his place of birth. Moreover, it is not customary among our Yamana to address a person present by name or to speak of him by name. This explains why quite generally they do not attach much importance to the proper name.

8. The Baby's Development

123 Not all the families with whom I was in contact on Cape Horn Archipelago had the pleasure of having small children for company. A few aged persons, who had long since abandoned the hope of offspring, had married only to avoid being alone. Hence I was dependent on a small number of children in my observations and can, therefore, furnish only incomplete data on the development of young lives.

554 The solicitude of the young mother for her darling during the first few weeks of his existence gradually disappears. Not that her love diminishes -- in fact, it increases -- but anxiously vigilant care

61 /792 cont./
192 ūsiluswōnji(x?), a name given a boy in place of the name he was
[551] given at birth, out of respect for the late deceased who had the same name as his. Thus, if two persons have the same name, the survivor is called ūsiluswōnji(x?); if the person is a woman, ūsiluswōnji(x?)-kīpa. ūsitōpa, "a person whose close relatives are dead, an orphan (because of negligence or through the fault of the father)." hau-ūsūf, "my deceased relatives." māmeiākindeian, "the dead" (20, 37). [Some of these terms will be repeated in the section on mourning customs.]

ausakōsa kīpaiamalim, "women who are not related." hau'usi-kīpaiamalim, "my country-women," sa-kaiamākūtasākīpan, "a woman from your grandmother's region." winni-ūalan, all the female relatives of someone, such as nieces, cousins, second cousins, etc. (fam.). manōkus-kīpa, three or more who are sisters or sisters and brothers or first cousins. mamōkus-kīpāpai, "those who are sisters or sisters and brothers." mamōkus-kīpaiamalim, "three or more who are sisters or brothers and sisters." mamākīpa, mamākīpāpai, "mother and daughter, father and daughter," mamākīpaiamalim, "a mother and her daughters, a father and his daughters." kwīnan, "a woman, recently widowed, taken as a wife by another man." mōxyella, "to die and leave a child as orphan" (said only of a mother). mōxyellāki, "a child whose mother died, a motherless child." kōūpix-kīpa, "a woman who recently lost a brother, a sister, or a male or female cousin. ūāruxyellādātū, a family of children surviving the death, for example, of a mother. ūātōlliyellādātū, "to leave orphans," as a mother her family. gaiiūasana, "female descendant," girls in general, and, if little protected by men, "weak women."

tūmāgūdārūwa(n), stepfather
tūmāgūdārūa, do.
tūmāgūdāruōn, do.
kī tumāgūdārūwan, 3. do.
tūmāgun, stepson
tūmāgu (kaiūāla), do.
kī tumāgun, 3. do.
tūmāgun, do.

tūmāgūdārakīpan, stepmother
tūmāgūdārakīpa, do.
tūmayakīpa, do.
kī tumāgūdārakīpan, 3. do.
tūmākīpan, stepdaughter
tūmāgū'in(n)i, do.
kī tumākīpan, 3. do.

/793/
tūmākīpana, "to adopt or to become a stepparent of daughters
[597] by marrying their father or mother."

/1015 cont./

551 If matters pertaining to a specific person come up in the conversation, his name is not mentioned but is indicated by circumlocutions. The Yamana are particularly adept at this. Two men or women are all the more likely to do it when, in low tones, they discuss someone present. A person is never addressed or called by his first name; this also applies to children. People
192 who are fond of each other avoid flirtatious and endearing expres-
201 sions in front of others. Also, no one shows his dislike for another person. The Yamana do not have expletives and swear words. They roar with laughter, double up and roll convulsively on the floor. When they answer in the affirmative, they utter a deep n sound between closed lips and slowly raise their heads; they express a negative with a long drawn-out "bǎf."

It is not only improper but very serious to poke fun at anyone
576 present in such a way that he himself becomes aware of it. Peo-
514 ple who have a guest from distant parts are extraordinarily careful not to arouse the least suspicion that they are disparaging or disdainful about his countrymen or his country. They are governed primarily by the fear that out of revenge for bad treatment the strange visitors might cause them much harm through their yékamuš at home and might refuse to help anyone from this group who later came to them. They do not have this fear toward children.
522 Since the Yamana /1016/ have a tendency toward ridicule and
576 sarcasm, however, they do not hold back critical and joking opinions in front of those who cannot properly defend themselves. In March, 1923, I had sent a boat from Beagle Channel to the Wollaston Islands with a special message. After a few days it brought back a lad about ten years old, whom Gertie took in temporarily. On the very first evening I saw how all the people present openly made fun of the boy's unfamiliar accent. He spoke the pure southern dialect (p. 200 /untranslated/) of the Yěškusin̯ala /southern group/. When I expressed my astonishment that they were deviating from their customary behavior, they justified themselves: "That boy speaks a different language than we do. Some words we don't understand. Everything he says sounds so strange that it makes us laugh! After all, he is still young and small, so he can't hurt us if we openly show our amusement!" No one would dare behave this way toward adults from distant regions. When the guests have departed, however, intimate

/1098 cont./

775 to us! There is some tragicomedy in the fact that the daughter-
797 in-law of the missionary John Lawrence should have so expressed herself! With such tendencies on the part of our Fuegians it would be a psychological monstrosity to maintain that the figure of Watayinéiwa was taken entirely from the Europeans. This one example shows how strictly they keep their own religious heritage separate from the teachings of their missionaries. They have their own explanation, derived from their characteristic habits of thought, for the divergent attitude of Christians. "The Christians," I was told by the Yamana, "do not show nearly as much pain and [551] grief for a dead person as we do! They do not even change their name" (36). It grieves our Indians to repeat the name of a dead

36. The conditions under which someone changes his name if it is identical with that of a deceased person will be given on p. 1060.

person, but this does not affect the less sensitive Christians.
775 Gertie said: "We are immeasurably sad when one of our people dies because we do not know what comes after death. We do not know whether we shall be able to see and speak to the késpif or how they are and whether they are happy. All that we do not know, that is why we are so sad and why we weep a great deal!"

They do admit the possibility of seeing one of their de-
775 ceased relatives again, although they are not strictly logical about
781 it. Many a /1099/ Yamana said: "When I am very sad and long to see them, when I keep thinking about them, they finally come to me. I see them in my dream. They are not just dream images, they are the real késpif!" In my opinion these words point to particularly vivid dreams or actual visions which cause the delusion. It is all the more striking that in the Hasamáif wítuwa it is said that the késpif of four deceased brothers and their malevolent brother-in-law returned as actual human beings after their violent deaths and temporarily were in contact with their unsuspecting nephew, like real people, but their behavior is described as that of mentally inferior persons. It is only in this story, not anywhere else, that the souls of deceased persons appear.

/1113 cont./

765 stricken by death and is sometimes in a difficult position. The
202 duty to give unselfish aid which burns ardently in everyone's soul, especially at the sight of the universally recognized smoke signal, compulsively drives them to the scene of misfortune. The mourners themselves appreciate it very much if many tribal members soon answer their summons.

After the initial, very lively outbursts have somewhat abated,
765 the painful event drives all present away from the scene of the
768 misfortune with uncanny force. Within four days at the outside, after the hut of the deceased has been burned, the campsite is changed. Usually each of the families /1114/ which have experienced the death departs in a separate direction, for each family wishes to be by itself if possible so that the others will not constantly remind them of the event. The missionaries in particular mentioned this conduct which is common to both the Yamana and
[171] the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 566) (52). Hyades (q):379 also confirms

52. Here is one example only, which Bridges (VSA:XII, 53;1865) furnished on November 10, 1864. In Wulaia the youngest child of the well-known Ukikku died, and he immediately left this region. "For it is an ascertained fact that the Fuegians will not, sometimes for a long time, return to the place where their relatives have died" /cited in English/.

this: "In general the hut in which a native died is burned, and the place where it stood is abandoned for a long time by the friends of the deceased" /translated from French/. They, of course, stay away from this place for a certain time, and meanwhile it is altered by the blind forces of nature. If the grave or the burial place has become unrecognizable as a result of plant growth or other circumstances, no one feels any aversion to settling down there.

The strict rule of never mentioning the name of the deceased
765 is in accord with the effort they make not to be reminded in any
551 way of the deceased. There are several witnesses for this. The first is Fitz-Roy (a):181 who can refer directly to Jemmy Button: "He would not talk of a dead person, saying, with a grave shake

/1114 cont./

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of the head, "no good, no good talk; my country never sneeze: "The Fuegians do not even like to mention their deceased friends"; likewise Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869): the name of those who have died "is not mentioned for years, and they seek to utterly forget them" /cited in English/. That is not all; according to Bridges (VSA:XI, 289;1864), "the name of the dead is sacred for a long time after, and it is a great provocation to mention the name of the dead" /cited in English/ (53). In case a survivor has a name

53. Elsewhere he (a):206 repeats: "The name of the dead is not mentioned to the mourners, as it is considered very offensive, and would endanger a person's life" /cited in English/. When, in March, 1864, Stirling (VSA:XI, 193;1864) spent some time in the Wulaia region, he was asked "not to allude to the deceased by name; for the Fuegians, like the Patagonians and other Indians, bury in silence the names of the departed" /cited in English/. Further confirmation is found in Hyades (g):39 and (q):379, Loviano (b):148, Spencer:102, and others.

which is identical with that of the deceased, he must give it up (54). For example, he will exchange the name taken from

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54. Not only the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 563), but also other tribes of North and South America follow this custom. We give here an example from the most recent times. H. Baldus, "Erbfolge der Häuptlinge bei den Terena" /Hereditary Succession of Chiefs among the Terena/ (Ethnologischer Anzeiger, Vol. IV, pp. 38-42, Stuttgart, 1936), reports of these Indians in the southern Matto Grosso: "If one of the parents dies, all the children of the family are given other names, so that the surviving parent is not reminded of the past by their former names and thereby saddened."

/1114 cont./

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his birthplace, according to the common custom, for the name of the place where he experienced his first youth initiation, or, in changing the name, they may take into consideration a striking physical peculiarity.

The nearest relatives of a deceased person are designated by a special term for some /1115/ time after his death, which is to let people know that they are in mourning. BD:104 gives ŭnlŭ́wŭnji, "a name given a boy instead of his natal name in respect to the recent dead, when both bore the same name" /cited in English/; also, ŭnlŭ́wŭkĭpa, "a name given the surviving female who bore the same natal name as a person lately dead" /cited in English/; and, finally, ŭ̄nlŭ́wa, "a term given to a place instead of its proper name in respect to the dead who was named after it" /cited in English/. These terms are still in use today and were explained to me with these same meanings. I was also given the word ikaikán. It refers to one who bears the same name as one who has drowned; it is not given in BD. After some time, when the changed name (55) has become current,

> 55. Spencer:99, 105 cites particular details: "'Kush' is a berry now called 'Aman.' Burry /berry?/ used to be called 'kush,' but man of this name died, so changed name of burry... 'Lappa,' mussel, was name of man who died; now called 'Cachuing.' 'Tawella' is name of man who died, so changed to 'Stab'" /cited in English/.

this temporary designation is also dropped because it is no longer necessary (56).

> 56. The curious trait of not giving children proper names until late in life must be mentioned. With the prevailing high infant mortality, frequent mention of the name would constantly remind the parents of their loss. Since, as Bridges (a):176 realized, "it is considered evil to name the dead, if the

/1115 cont./

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child had no name the parents are not vexed by hearing it named" /cited in English/.

Now and then, of course, mention is made of a dead person, and the Yamana resort to circumlocutions which they easily invent and comprehend. For instance, if parents use an expression such as "my first child" or "my youngest daughter," the people present, who are well aware of the number of children these parents have, clearly understand. Spegazzini (a):168 also speaks of this custom (57). Fred Lawrence assured me that

57. In view of all this it is very strange that Cooper:162 could maintain: "The Yahgan prayer /prayed?/ to the deceased" /cited in English/. The Yamana do, of course, often remember their dead and mention them on the occasion of a general funeral ceremony, but without mentioning their names.

within a period of a few years he was twice given another name by the natives; first one and then another person who died had the same name he did. It must be pointed out here how difficult research becomes as a result of the Yamana custom of not speaking of deceased persons. I was told that a certain Pilaŝaixana from the Wollaston Islands murdered five men who had lived there in the manner of the Selk'nam. He alone knew about their way of life and briefly reported it to his countrymen. The latter, however, refused to repeat this information and excused themselves by saying: "We do not speak about the deceased; respect for them demands this (58)!"

58. Hyades (g):39 also realized this great disadvantage: "They avoid speaking of their dead ancestors as much as possible and it is particularly difficult to get them to mention their names, which, of course, makes historical accounts almost impossible."

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

576 Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, 574 especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the čiéxaus initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting [264] was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expectorating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs [514] were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead. [195] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

000 These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked. 847 In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took 844 place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

844 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first [846] child, the father remaining quiet in the tent and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the navel cord, dried and kept.

Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after [862] delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 15 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly [55] named after its birthplace.

861 **Education.**—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions stressed in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

841 **Girls' puberty observances.**—At her first menses, the girl fasted, 881 eating little or nothing, for 3 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red radiating streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 8th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

881 **The čiéxaus initiation rite.**—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 45–95; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805–961), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic stay of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the čiéxaus, under the auspices, it seems, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole *Yahgan* tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

The chosen officers in charge of the rite were a leader, a mentor, and guards. A special large hut, of oval beehive or conical construc- [346] tion, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special diademlike feather

/732 cont./

551 As the longest male proper name known, I learned of an almost monstrous construction which can probably be regarded as the longest Yamana word, namely, hūmaxkamērnaŋgājyatakwēlakirīēnjis (i.e., hūmax, "tree trunk tossed ashore by the waves"; kamērnaŋgājyata, "to be set up, to place upright"; wēlakirī, "rocky or coastal promontory"). This means "man from the place on the shore where a tree trunk washed up by the waves stands upright." This construction corresponds to the rule regarding proper names.

553 Finally a superstitious custom should be noted, /733/ to which Bridges (a):176 long ago referred. "The natives have an idea that naming children early stops their growth, and since children so frequently die in early infancy" /cited in English/. Later Hyades (g):39 referred to this: "They first give their children names when they are about two years old and begin to walk. They say they do this so that, in case a child dies younger than that, they will not accidentally hear his name and be reminded of their loss." As I was able to confirm, however, this custom was adopted less out of superstitious fear than because of the utter uselessness of emphasizing the name of the child during the first 20 months. The child's name is automatically determined by his place of birth. Moreover, it is not customary among our Yamana to address a person present by name or to speak of him by name. This explains why quite generally they do not attach much importance to the proper name.

8. The Baby's Development

123 Not all the families with whom I was in contact on Cape Horn Archipelago had the pleasure of having small children for company. A few aged persons, who had long since abandoned the hope of offspring, had married only to avoid being alone. Hence I was dependent on a small number of children in my observations and can, therefore, furnish only incomplete data on the development of young lives.

854 The solicitude of the young mother for her darling during the first few weeks of his existence gradually disappears. Not that her love diminishes -- in fact, it increases -- but anxiously vigilant care

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X881 The general feeling of emotion is again dispelled, and the singing is carried on softly by individual persons. They are preparing for a change of mood. The people who came in a while ago as visitors remain seated if it is already evening. The solemn ceremony seldom occurs in the forenoon; if it does, the visitors assemble here in the evening.

X881 During these solemn hours the occasionally necessary change of name of an uswala also takes place. Not every candidate is ●553 given another name at the end of his initiation, only the so-called usipin, usiapisin, that is, "the one without a birthplace," or the child who for some reason does not bear the name of his birthplace (p. 536). As a rule the Yamana avoid giving the same name to two persons. One of two people born in the same place must, for the time being, be content with a nickname or with the general designation of ūsipisēnjis or ūsipinkīpa. At the end of the initiation it then becomes proper for him to bear the name of the place where he passed his first čiéxaus. Now that their hētakuxēolan is handed over to them with special formality, the sponsors pronounce this new name for the first time and it then comes into common usage. For example, until my first initiation in Šámakušwāia (Punta Remolino), I was an ūsipišēnjis for the Yamana; thereafter I was called šámakušēnjis. Koppers was named kumbudēnjis after Kumbútu (Puerto Mejillones) where the initiation took place in 1922.

X881 For the other formality which must still be observed, /951/ they regularly choose the last evening in the čiéxaus hut. It culmi- 562 nates in handing over the rule to the women for a few hours. At the proper moment, places are exchanged and the women crowd around the main entrance while the men move toward the center and the rear, beside the secondary entrance. During my first initiation [533] the new song was introduced by Alfredo's wife and in March, 1922, by Pedro's wife; in each case the husbands were serving as overseers. The rest of the women were subordinate to this woman as their leader. All the women joined in the song she introduced and took part in it with unusual animation. Among the men, the actual leader was still very prominent. Santiago constantly made interjections to encourage the women to sing louder and to make a vigorous effort to drive away Yetāita who was nearby.

After the women led the song for almost an hour, they stopped, and Santiago, along with a few men, resumed the soft singing.

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vessels of central Brazil], the boats of bark with which we are familiar in the extreme south of South America are veritable luxury barks, though they are still far behind those of the North American sea region with regard to beauty and careful workmanship." But the Indians of North America have incomparably more suitable raw material. In this description by Luschan, Figures 12 and 13 show one of the well-known small models which are erroneously captioned or described as "Model of a Bark Boat of the Ona."

Other observers also are unstinting in their praise of the bark canoe. Spears: 56 says: "It had a sheer at once pleasing to the eye and well adapted to ride the most tempestuous seas in the world" /cited in English/. Lovisato (b):134 concludes his brief but detailed description thus: "These canoes, poor as they are, are certainly the most ingenious work of the inhabitants of Fuegia, but from Drake's time to ours, about 300 years, it has remained the same" /translated from Italian/. No improvement to speak of has been found necessary in any part and has, therefore, not been made.

equally skilled at canoe-making, but one who is able to achieve a faultless one is universally highly esteemed. What Despard (b): 679 has summed up in a few words is pertinent here: "The manufacture of a canoe is a most important work; on it chiefly depends [554] their subsistence; to excel in it is a coveted distinction; to have effected it marks manhood; to accomplish it taxes strength, skill, and time" /cited in English/. This object, vitally important for our Indians, deserves to be described in detail. In doing so, we unintentionally grant them high praise for their skill (122). /440/

122. It is strange that earlier travelers have repeatedly emphasized the graceful construction

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411 The Yamana has invented several missiles to overtake the various animals hunted, and each in its way is surprisingly efficient. He takes them along in his canoe whever he goes and places them, ready for use, in the bow section where they stick out far above the bow. The first thing he does when game approaches is to choose the weapon suitable for it; afterwards he seizes whatever is nearest at hand, so as not to lose the booty. Aspinall:270 maintains "[the man in the canoe] three kinds of such spears with him." There are at least that many, and two or three of each kind. It is clear that the two-barbed javelin and the bird-spear with the serrated bone point have a variety of uses.

411 Every adult is capable of making and repairing
463 these weapons; they are indispensable to him for his
437 livelihood. Not everyone, however, succeeds in
554 cutting out an even shaft from the main trunk of the beech; individual men attain true mastery at this. That is why many a man will trade a good shaft for other things that he needs. Everyone always has a supply of loose points which he keeps in a longish leather pouch, yānúku. Those few men who are able to make a perfectly shaped large harpoon point are
411 universally praised (186). In conclusion it should be

186. Descriptions of these missiles are to be found in Bove (c):132, Cojazzi:109, Dabbene (b):184, Hyades (h):23 and (q):302, 353, Lothrop (b):148, Martial:191, Spegazzini (a):163, Spencer:133, Weddell (a):94, and others.

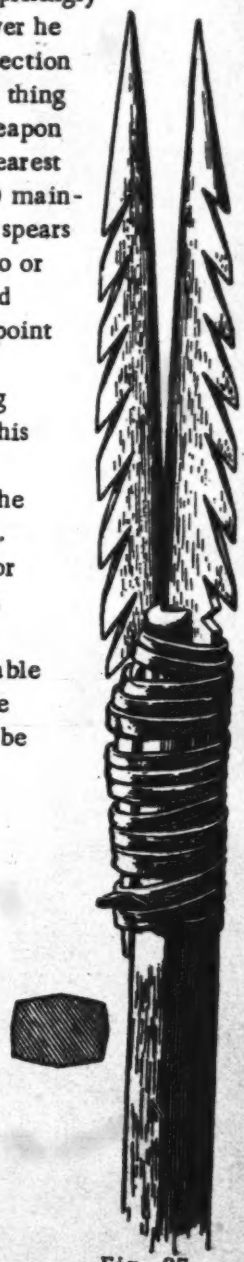

Fig. 37.
Fish Spear.

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619 554 Basically one tribal member is equal to every other socially and enjoys complete independence. All of them have about the same number of objects, little though this is, and there are no differences in property and economic pursuits which elsewhere sometimes cause very disparate social levels (211). In general,

211. This means, as Hyades (p):335 expresses himself: "There is no king, chieftain, aristocracy, castes, social hierarchy, or slaves; it is a regime of equality in the purest sense" /translated from French/.

therefore, every adult has the same rights within his tribe, and along with this they all have some duties. No one is specifically raised above the legal equality of the multitude by special privileges; they recognize neither one nor several headmen. One person or another may acquire a certain morally superior position within the narrow circle of relatives and acquaintances /779/ through richer experience after a long life and moral rectitude. His superiority, however, is solely a matter of personality and is neither precisely defined nor founded on objective legal norms.

[197] A division of the whole tribe into so-called dialect groups has occurred under the pressure of local conditions. It is purely external. The slight differences resulting from it are in line with the unavoidable pursuit of a livelihood by each independent group. The social order in which degrees of rank are unknown is just as simple as the economic structure (212).

212. The basic ideas of this section have already been published by Koppers (c):155.

a. Kinship

594 602 Yamana social organization rests on individual families (213).

213. Spegazzini (a):165 gives this fact in another form: "The family constitutes all their society" /translated from Spanish/.

/784 cont./

612 according to his own free choice or the distressing situation he
571 happens to be in.

Sociability is also a factor here, affecting one person more
612 than another among a circle of intimates. No one has a privi-
571 leged position established by law. For logical reasons young peo-
554 ple naturally bow to the moral superiority of experienced old men or capable younger men, but if something does not suit a person, he leaves inconspicuously and goes his own way until further developments.

Everyone likes to obtain the counsel and decisions of an older relative. A person who has cultivated his connections with his kinsfolk and has honored them can always count on help and support. If one's kinsfolk are numerous and include men who are held in esteem, his own self-importance is thereby considerably increased and his confidence reinforced. He likes to boast of his far-flung, mighty kinsfolk on whose protection he can count. One's own relatives are, of course, more privileged and more highly honored than other guests, and everyone knows it is his duty to hasten to the aid of a relative who is in distress and threatened by enemies, to avenge the wrong done to him, and actively to intercede for him everywhere. Family honor demands all this, and everyone esteems it highly. Thus, the individual always finds protection and justice among his kinsfolk in any affliction.

3. Kinship Terms

601 Although the individual family is lawfully completely independent, nevertheless it sometimes finds itself dependent on relatives. Consequently everyone is surprisingly familiar with his family connection with anyone else. This probably was not a causal factor in the origin of the many kinship terms, but it is certain that an adult Indian has a mastery of these designations and uses them surprisingly accurately. Immediately upon /785/ the birth of a child and during its first few months of life, the family discusses its relationship to all the closer and more distant kinsmen who make up the family's circle (221).

221. Despard (b):698 refers to this as follows:

/802 cont./

622 single person with legal authority at the head of the whole tribe or the individual groups. Here we do not even have the institution of the kemal of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 423).

Similarly there is no authoritative judge over all the people; 692 everyone must seek his own justice. He finds aid and support 627 among his circle of kinsmen in cases of legal disputes. The settlement of a dispute is determined more or less by club law. Everyone is dependent upon himself and his nearest kinsfolk for his defense, for, as Despard (b):716 assures us, "in Fireland is no king or magistrate. All men have equal rights and equal wrongs" /cited in English/. Decisions are, of course, not always just, and the absence of a non-partisan public authority based on legal principles damages character and weakens the sense of justice. Many inequalities with serious consequences develop on this foundation. Stirling has mentioned some of them: "This absence of chieftainship gives the violent spirits a better social position than they deserve, and a more dangerous sphere. It is left to individuals to avenge wrongs, at least for the most part; the strength and composure of a defined public opinion, vindicating right and proceeding to punish the wrong-doer are only exceptionally known. The law of the strongest prevails" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34; 1870).

It is to their own advantage that this Fuegian population is peacefully inclined. Outbreaks of violence in cases of legal disputes always affect /803/ only small circles and even this is infrequent. Among most of them an honest effort to be righteous and to observe tribal customs largely prevails. Infractions of the general feeling of justice and violations of the freedom of others seldom occur.

554 Among the Yamana there is no superior authority appointed 888 by law, either for the entire tribal community or for smaller groups. There are always certain men, however, who, as a result of their advanced age and blameless character, their long experience and mental superiority, have a moral influence of such importance that it amounts to positive control (235). Thus

235. Fitz-Roy (a):178 realized: "There is no superiority of one over another, except that

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acquired gradually by age, sagacity, and daring conduct" /cited in English/. Hyades (j):184 later supplemented this: "They definitely recognize superiority in morality and intelligence, but this superiority is admitted only within a small circle of friends and does not give rise to domination, which would be neither coveted nor supported by anyone" /translated from French/.

a tiámuna, as he is called, does not occupy a position like that of the kemál of the Selk'nam who is the man of authority for all who belong to the same, definitely circumscribed local group. Nevertheless, the members of a wider circle of kinsfolk listen to the word of their tiámuna, submit to his instructions, bow to his judgment, and even accept his warnings. Like a sincere friend of his immediate family and like a venerable patriarch in a larger circle, he guides and leads by means of good words all those who willingly yield to his influence or could not easily avoid it. He is a conscientious promoter of the old order and a steadfast champion of the good customs of former times. The mere example he sets is stronger than his words. He makes his opinion known with careful consideration and with the best intentions for the welfare of the individual as well as the harmony of the group as a whole, without assuming sovereign rights nor curtailing anyone's personal freedom.

The veneration universally shown to aged, model persons does not make it difficult for anyone to yield to the judgment or the instruction of the tiámuna in an individual case (236). Actually

236. Agreeing with several other observers, Hyades (g):35 assures us that "the old men enjoy great influence and a kind of veneration.

no one strives for this privileged position, nor is it hereditary. It is their trust in him that makes several younger people or an entire circle of kinsfolk submit to a particular elder as though he were their uncrowned headman.

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554 Thus our Fuegians lack appointed persons of authority and
571 written laws. Nevertheless, there is a sovereign power, even though it is invisible. As we know, the whole tribe is divided into five definitely demarcated dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each of them is divided into several local groups who in turn occupy smaller regions. Finally, each of these is made up of a few family groups. The /804/ individual family, finally, relies upon itself and enjoys complete independence. It is a family decision to associate more often with some families or more closely with others. Sometimes they travel and spend several days together as a result of a chance meeting. This purely external tie is just as quickly dissolved if another family arrives with whom they choose to associate. The above-mentioned tiámuna sometimes makes arrangements with the tiámuna of another group of families to bring together a larger number for a definite purpose. These are always free decisions, however, and there is no outside pressure. Fluent speech and a faculty for quick persuasion are usually the only decisive factors.

571 Such an arrangement is made for the initiation ceremony,
881 the men's ceremony, or common burial rites. Everyone knows the universal obligation of young people to take part in the initiation ceremony. It is the duty of the adults to create the opportunity for it, and certain influential people are moved to hold it, all depending on the circumstances. The fact that the general public safeguards that important institution and does not let any young person suffer the loss of its advantages must be unequivocally interpreted as an effect of the invisible but mighty compulsion of the power of the state (p. 640).

183 If anyone is repeatedly guilty of serious violations against
626 the prevailing customs and causes apparent harm to a number of persons by doing so, nothing happens for a while, but then a close relative of the transgressor will arouse himself and, referring to the opinion of others, will appeal to his conscience. They do not even stop at a fight and care nothing about protecting their own lives, since they put greater value on respect for the existing order. Thus again an invisible power of the state sees to it that laws are kept pure and respected. When famine breaks out in a local group and a whale is driven ashore somewhere, an unwritten law goes into effect which does away with the narrower boundaries of intercourse

183 /804 cont. /
626 and opens free passage to the spot where everyone can generously help himself.

To be sure, these are all modest beginnings of an active state power, but the latter is in effect, even in that completely unorganized community of people, and makes itself felt, although always to the advantage of the individual and in the service of the family, thereby guaranteeing the undiminished continuance of the group as a whole. This still invisible power does not even remotely pursue an end in itself.

183 In complete contrast to the veiled existence of the state in this society, the freedom of the individual shines forth brightly.
554 A person who has attained physical maturity, married, and left the parental hut stands on his own feet, is responsible to no one, and has no master. Within the wide margins set by the law of usage and ancient custom, he conducts himself /805/ as he sees fit, divides up his time as he pleases, provides himself with food and tools as he feels inclined, and uses and disposes of them according to his own free judgment. A person is warned only if he is flagrantly guilty of repeatedly or constantly harming other fellow-tribesmen, as we have shown above.

Ordinarily no one dares issue definite orders or make demands
577 on other people, whether or not he is justified or obliged to do so.
156 Thus, a wife will not admonish her husband to go forth to hunt, even though she and her children may have to suffer hunger for a long time. Even to this extent these Indians would not allow themselves to make demands or issue orders to a specific person. This was often observed. If I ordered a man to demand some service of another in my name he listened to my words and departed, but he returned shortly thereafter without having spoken to the other man and gave me to understand that I should personally give my instructions to the one concerned. In this way each person guards the other's freedom, and he also would not allow his own freedom to be curtailed (237).

237. The missionaries have had many experiences in this connection, for instance, when they provided a sort of supervisor for community work. "To be placed as overseer

/885 cont./

X881 unified order, if he functions in close alliance with his country-
867 men and does not disturb community life through personal errors. A far-reaching, uniform molding of young people therefore is one of the requirements of education. The common instruction serves this purpose. Actually, all young people, without exception and irrespective of sex, are sooner or later obliged to undergo this protracted event. It gives each of them a uniform stamp, the heritage of previous generations, and pledges them to the rules of conduct and the manners which have hitherto upheld tribal life and guaranteed peaceful community living. As we have said, every uǐwʃala is trained primarily to become a useful, valuable member of the tribe.

X881 Instruction is not given individually, but to the whole group
867 of candidates simultaneously. The teacher is a man of years,
888 usually a venerable old man who acts in this capacity either from
537 choice or at the invitation of the leader and the overseer. Sometimes one of these two men occupies this post, if circumstances demand it. In any case the teacher, known as uǐwʃala kinána, is always an estimable personality demanding respect, of irreproachable character and perfect moral conduct, of mental superiority and acknowledged uprightness, well versed in the law of the tribe and exemplary in valiant manly deeds. Only a person who can honestly boast of many good characteristics will venture to face the young people as their teacher. He need not fear that he himself will give the lie to the admonitions that he offers them. They have an effect on the uǐwʃala that is all the more lasting because such a teacher stands before them as the embodiment of the accepted requirements.

X881 His words flow with the deepest seriousness and out of inner-
867 most conviction. He prepares himself for his speech with a long
888 period of self-communion, and in thoughtful deliberation on one
537 afternoon or another he prepares in his mind the precepts that he feels impelled to present. When the manual work is finished and the participants are also inwardly at rest as they silently squat in their places, when night has spread her black veil over nature and there is deathly stillness round about, the teacher gives a sign. The candidates rise from their places and squat in a semicircle in front of him. They listen to his words with a serious mien and rapt attention. He speaks with the gentle sincerity and the perceptible

/886 cont./

X881 one that the adults aim to achieve in the čiexaus hut with the
867 uswala are identical. The rules of conduct that are set up in the two situations likewise coincide. The immature child is told briefly and definitely what he must do and must not do; he is won over by well-meaning persuasion to do his duty. It is different with the candidates in the /887/ initiation who are offered rational arguments and are made to realize the consequences of their actions, for they are supposed to act out of conviction. Of the principles frequently mentioned we shall here mention only the more important ones; furthermore, certain standards for judging the conduct of the individual will be set forth.

X881 Remarkably often the exhortations, whether they come from
867 the teacher or from another person, point to personal honor. The
156 following allusion is repeated again and again, almost word for
554 word: "People will commend you and say you are a good human being!" Indeed, the sense of honor is highly developed among our Yamana. Anyone who touches them here strikes their most sensitive point. Hence everyone makes a serious effort to acquire a good reputation and undoubtedly performs some good deed only in order to be thought of as honorable and blameless. Many a person will make a considerable sacrifice, remain silent during a verbal battle between others, forgo eating in spite of hunger, give away a valuable object, perform work for an aged man whom he dislikes very much, and do many other things merely so that he will be generally regarded as a paragon. To be the object of sad reproaches would humiliate any one of them to such an extent that he would avoid contact with those who knew about it perhaps for a period of years and even live alone in obscure retreats. There is a danger here that the conduct of the individual may turn to duplicity and hypocrisy. The way of life, however, counteracts this effectively, for neither falsehood nor deceit can permanently hide behind its simplicity and transparency.

X881 Closely allied to this is the explicit reference to the con-
867 siderable and evident punishment that, according to the belief of these Indians, the Supreme Being inflicts upon a guilty person.
626 Specifically they mention a long illness and, even more fre-
761 quently, premature death. A person who wants to avoid the latter or who does not want to be punished by the loss of his

/1386 cont./

Y756
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adds that he happened to meet an old woman who is yakamouch" /translated from French/.

in former times nor today has a woman operated quite independently in this field or appeared in public with the feather ornament reserved for all full-fledged yékamuŕ. Some people, however, really believe that a woman whose attitude arouses suspicion is capable and evil enough to cause harm and sickness to come to her opponents, like the medicine men. The people suspect such a woman and call her a yékamuŕ only if she exerts such influences. She does not go beyond that. Thus her ability is nowhere near as extensive as that of a /1387/ full-fledged medicine man. In general these are isolated cases of aged women who are not well liked and are avoided by their neighbors on account of their unpleasant dispositions and disagreeable character. In view of this it is not strange that they are the very ones who are considered capable of working with secret powers and of maliciously inflicting some kind of harm on other people.

Y756
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The Yamana without exception believe in the ability of their medicine men and are convinced of their power. This faith is most clearly demonstrated by everyone's attitude of awe and genuine fear toward the yékamuŕ, by the trust the individual shows when he approaches the yékamuŕ with his requests, and finally by the confidence with which the general public expects help from him for major and minor needs. In his extreme helplessness, many a Yamana has only the medicine man as a last resource. It is true that the people recognize greater or lesser ability in their yékamuŕ and they probably also deprecate the good reputation of one or another of them, making him out to be weak and incapable. Nevertheless everyone fears them, and a person must expect their revenge if they hear of his expressing disdainful opinions of them. Bridges repeatedly begged the Yamana: "Do not believe what your yékamuŕ say and do, for their deeds and their behavior are crafty deceptions! Do not believe the cunningly calculated nonsense that they use to trick you!" As a matter of fact, he expressed himself so scornfully

/1387 cont./

X-756
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about their effectiveness that it was bound to shock everyone, especially the medicine men. After biding their time, two of the insulted yŕkamuŕ decided to avenge the slander cast upon their calling, and said: "We shall have our revenge! Perhaps we shall succeed in inflicting real harm on that European (320)!"

320. They are here expressing doubt as to whether their ability can reach beyond their own countrymen and affect a European stranger.

Then each of them hurled a yŕkuŕ which supposedly hit Bridges and penetrated deep into his abdomen. From that time on Bridges was ill, and to the end of his life he complained of a severe abdominal ailment. All the Yamana are convinced that his illness was inflicted by those two yŕkamuŕ, named Kalasakum and Kalakein; they had met in Lapataia and from there they hurled their yŕkuŕ against Bridges who was living in Ushuaia. The people also told me: "The moment the two yŕkuŕ entered his belly he felt violent pain; he immediately realized the actual cause and cried: 'Ah, woe is me! I made fun of the yŕkamuŕ, that is why they have avenged themselves on me. Now I know that they have great power!' Although Bridges twice traveled far away [to Buenos Aires], he never got rid of that complaint. Those two yŕkamuŕ really wanted to make him feel their revenge for the rest of his life." This incident was repeated to me several times, /1388/ in order that I, too, should be convinced of the superior accomplishments and the successful operations of the yŕkamuŕ (321).

321. In February, 1878, Bridges (I):18 declared: "The natives, strange as it may seem, had great faith in these doctors' alleged powers and entertained some fear of them" /cited in English/. He himself is convincing counterevidence for the incorrectness of the following assertion: "But this state of things has long

/1388 cont./

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since passed away, there are no more doctors" /cited in English/. Bove (e): 158 depends altogether on Bridges' words when he declares: "In the Ushuaia Mission the Jakumuch are already so ashamed of their trade that they go out only at night and practice their trade without fanfare, without song and without any kind of noise." The medicine men of the Yamana are as extensively active today as formerly. I need say no more about this.

¥156 My informants quite frankly expressed their conviction that the yékamuf, broadly speaking, were formerly cleverer and more skilled in their arts. Present-day medicine men do not deny such assertions; they admit their inferiority in comparison with their predecessors without getting excited about it and excuse themselves by saying that they personally did not have the services of the really great masters. When I asked the men why they lacked capable yékamuf at the present time, I received a characteristic answer: "It is because of the abundant and good [nourishing] food that the Europeans eat and that we, too, have now learned to prefer. It makes body and spirit heavy, our dreams are no longer so vivid. In former times the yékamuf did not take any nourishment until noon and were satisfied with two or three mussels a day when they wanted to heal a sick person or drive out an evil spirit or question their guardian spirits in a dream. They did not know about wine or tea or coffee, whereas now we often drink these things. Those capable yékamuf of former days were content with a few drops of water; at night they permitted themselves only a short period of rest and took this in a squatting position. The yékamuf of the present time have abandoned all that."

In order to illustrate the competence of the earlier yékamuf, Nelly Lawrence told me the following story which she had heard from her aunt Flora. Among Flora's relatives were two yékamuf who must be regarded as the most capable of all time. Once the people in the west were in great distress, for they were unable to hunt sea lions or gather mussels for a long time because of bad

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

FISH-NET

227 At certain seasons of the year Beagle channel is infested by small sardine-like fish which the Yahgan captured in dip-nets (*chinnsák*) woven of grass. A rather poorly-made example of these is shown in fig. 89. It will be noted that there is a light wooden frame enclosed by parallel stems of grass tied to the members of the frame. This was lashed to the end of a pole and with it the fish were dipped out. A model of this implement appears in the bow of the canoe in fig. 73.

FIG. 89.—Yahgan dip-net. Height, 12 in. (14/2321)

FISH-WEIRS

According to Hyades (1891, p. 372) the Yahgan sometimes erected in suitable places fish-weirs consisting of a row of stakes. Of these I saw no trace in Tierra del Fuego.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

594 Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit. However, related families usually paddled their canoes in couples, as the skin housetop was heavy for a single canoe, and they divided the common roof into two parts, of which each carried one. While the Yahgan were rovers, they usually stayed regularly in one district, where most of the people were their relatives.

622 All observers of the Yahgan comment on their lack of leadership. Medicine-men asserted a certain authority through the fear they inspired, but at times they were roughly handled, so their power was in no wise secure. As no communal enterprises were undertaken, there existed no need for chiefs.

/509 cont./

463 craftsmen who professionally produce a certain article for the rest of the population. No one need fear professional jealousy or unfair competition, because everyone works for his own needs. Obviously, the natural endowment and personal effort of individuals are very different, whereas the material used is generally always the same. Anyone who has a sense of beautiful form and who takes pleasure in a neatly made article sometimes attains great mastery in his work.

555 The Yamana have special expressions to characterize this ability in the various fields of daily activity. We have just mentioned the word yetánakípa for a capable basket-weaver; wěstáguděs (according to BD:615 "clever, expert, neat in work" /cited in English/) means one whose manual skill in general overshadows others; yěsmánu has the same meaning.

Thus a certain stamp of individual personality, at least of an individual method of work, without conscious intent, however, marks each object as the product of the person who made it. Of course, everyone recognizes his own product, and this is made even easier by the fact that the possessions of an individual are very limited. For a practiced eye the difference between two objects of a similar type is sometimes very great. Everyone evaluates things that are excellently made or that have turned out particularly well no less accurately than he does inadequate and shabby articles. People who work skillfully and produce good things are appreciated far and wide (225); on the basis of their

225. Despard (b):717 wrote: "The dextrous spear, paddle, and canoe-maker, is held in honour, and called yersh-man-oa, or handyman" /cited in English/.

products, a father often spurs his son on to more exact and industrious handwork.

437 Personal excellence, as a result of which some person or other
463 is able to produce a certain article, brings about the transfer of certain items to other hands by way of barter. There is no getting around the fact that one person has more dexterity and skill for one thing and another person for some other thing. /510/ /Fig. 54 appears here./ Fitz-Roy (a):186 was very definitely made aware of

/527 cont./

223 soon die because of the abundant guano deposits. When in a short time they are bare of leaves, the cormorants like them even better and roost on their branches in large numbers. The Indian stealthily approaches these, too, cautiously climbs up one of these trees, and kills one sleeping animal after another by biting through its neck and dropping it to the ground. In order to be well covered, he [302] paints his body completely black. This undertaking also demands a masterful dexterity on the part of the hunter. Bridges (MM:XIII, 158; 1879) confirms this: "All are not able to signalize themselves [555] in the difficult art of shag catching, but such as do become valued members of society" /cited in English/, and the rest of the men trust in their leadership.

Finally, cormorants are caught in another, but simple /528/ and not dangerous manner, namely, with bait in a sort of trap known as čewur ł. This procedure is recommended for level ground and for places that do not have high rocks with breeding holes. The Indians ram a sturdy post into the ground and on it fasten several long, thin sinews, each of which ends in a short, small bone pointed at both ends and with a dead fish drawn over it. The bait is partially covered with a very loose, thin layer of dried algae, and a few pieces of fat are placed on top, which are, first of all, supposed to attract gulls. Along with them cormorants will also gather around this bait and will swallow the anchored dead fish mentioned above. The small pointed bone concealed in the bait settles obliquely in the stomach, and they try to get rid of the discomfort, but the longer they tug and choke, the more surely will they bleed to death (251). The trapper can

251. Bridges (h):210 is referring to this bait when he writes: "Or else, for the cormorants, they avail themselves of wooden lures" /translated from Spanish/.

easily get at them.

Hyades (q):359, relying on Bridges, describes a similar bait arrangement: This "consists of three slivers of hard wood, well sharpened, fastened together at the bottom of a curved stick. Their points, facing in opposite directions, are stuck into and

/1320 cont./

X575 granted that every man is sufficiently familiar with the wealth of information that is reserved for the male population. The desire for fellowship and the fun they have at this strange performance are, in themselves, strong enough to make everyone hasten to the spot where a men's ceremony is being held, provided that the distance is not too great or that a man is not prevented from attending by illness. Even if it is only curiosity that impels this or that man to join a particular group that is holding this affair, he is inevitably drawn to the gathering-place. The length of time that each individual stays depends on his personal inclination. For this reason one cannot generalize about the number of participants or give a minimum number for any particular day. /1321/ Even at the place where a Kina celebration is held, individual families constantly come and go in an indefinite, unpredictable succession, which is naturally more active when the influx to this celebration as such is stronger. Personal wishes and tendencies also play a part in that one man will almost never be absent and will stay from beginning to end while another will find little pleasure in it and, having had enough after a few days, will again seek the open spaces.

X575 555 Every group that has finally decided to hold a men's ceremony must find an experienced old man who is willing to assume the office of leader, which demands skill and thorough familiarity with the many details. In addition, considerable moral superiority over all the men taking part stands the leader in good stead. Finally, he must be very alert mentally in order to direct the motley assortment of many spirits and their appearances. Certainly not every older Yamana makes a useful kína tagáguwa, as the leader is called. He also is responsible for providing the candidates with everything in the way of training and admonitions that ancient custom demands. It is the leader alone who determines the order of events and the program for each day. He does not have a proxy. If he were unable to act for any length of time or if, for any reason, he had to quit altogether, the assembly looks for another kína tagáguwa or disbands. There is no definite rule about it, but actually, without exception, a yékamuš takes over the office of Kina leader. The basic ideas in the Kina are compatible with the conceptual world of the medicine man. The very fact that the leader is a yékamuš gives him a decided advantage.

/1425 cont./

X756 754 leaves his body and meets his Haučéllakīpa somewhere. The two now undertake a serious attack against the kēspix of the person they wish to destroy. They choke him, wrestle with him, and stamp on him. No matter how bravely the kēspix defends itself, Haucélla is stronger and finally hurla a yēkuš at him so that he falls down dead. The poor man wakes up in a state of utter exhaustion; blood flows from his nose and mouth, and vomiting and other serious difficulties occur. He is so weak that his kēspix does not even remember having fought so hard the night before. /1426/ His physical strength wanes perceptibly and within a few days he is dead. I was told that if a Haucélla fatally injures a kēspix with the yēkuš of her medicine man, there is no hope for the wounded person, but only a few yékamuš succeed in obtaining such capable co-operation from their Haucélla. No one explained to me whether and how the procedure just described can be reconciled with the unlimited right of Watauinēiwa over human life and death. This much, however, is obvious, namely, that the yékamuš are the cause of constant uncertainty and disturbance for their fellow-tribesmen and that everyone must seriously fear and avoid a malicious, hostile yékamuš.

δ. Feats of Strength

X756 787 [555] There are all kinds of occasions when a yékamuš wants to prove his ability to his own family group or his superiority to his colleagues, for the more one of them achieves, the greater will be the people's faith in him and the more he will be esteemed by all. Younger men, especially, are obliged to demonstrate such feats of strength, for they must gain acceptance among their countrymen. It should be noted, however, that all achievements of this kind are performed by the yékamuš in their mental visions, and they clearly describe all the details. For example, one of them will be sitting in front of his hut fire, and during his singing he will become extraordinarily excited. Suddenly he cries: "Now I am seizing hot coals and filling my belly with them!" In the awake vision he stretches out his arms to the fire, as though he were tossing burning pieces into his mouth; after a time he makes

/1445 cont./

86 Without noticeable coercion, the young people improve
153 themselves, one more than another, according to their natural gifts and personal diligence. Someone who is particularly alert and mentally active makes more rapid progress; the adults are more willing to take trouble with him and they teach him many things earlier than they do his contemporaries. The fact that among the Yamana, also, some persons have a good deal more knowledge than the average can be traced back to inclination, industry, and a desire to learn. Some are extraordinarily limited and know only what is most necessary. A person who commands
[555] superior knowledge attracts those around him, influences them, and is highly regarded far and wide. The superior position of most yēkamuš rests on the fact that they surpass their countrymen in their possession of things of the mind.

86 If one should gather together all the knowledge gained by experience and the numerous individual facts that every Yamana possesses, he would build up an astonishing fund of information. Borrowing from this source, every generation enriches itself anew and finds it adequate to meet the demands of existence, to satisfy the needs of the mind, to attain the economic goals, and to lead an ordered, harmonious tribal life beneficial to each individual. Relying on his knowledge and his powers, the Fuegian, as master of the animal kingdom and the strong forces of nature in his unfriendly country, strives toward his goals and is confident of victory.

/1446/ 1. Measuring and Counting

435 The Yamana lack a universal standard of value, such as money or the various kinds of measures. They must resort to estimating actual value in one way or another. This is done according to certain considerations, not the least of which, and often decisive, are the beauty and perfection of the object. The scarcer a thing is, the higher its value. These and other considerations are naturally decisive in barter. They also determine whether the recipient of a gift rates it higher or lower. On page 873 there are examples showing a kind of scale of value. It is obvious that our Yamana are unable to evaluate the things given to them by

586 second wife. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

888 The aged were, according to all dependable evidence, usually respected, well treated, and well cared for. Neither abandonment or killing of the aged was ordinarily practiced but may have occurred in exceptional cases.

621 Political life.—Over and above the biological family there was no closely organized larger group or constituted authority. There were no sibs, secret or other societies, or social classes, and no chiefs or ruling group or caste of any kind. Each biological family was for most practical purposes a sovereign political unit. The sense of individual independence was deep. No man took or brooked orders
555 or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

612 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

619 The five regional divisions of the *Yahgan*, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

621 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been composed, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1926 b, p. 5). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Ushuaia, for instance, occupied 20 miles (32 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups,
[622] these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function was that of holding the čiéxaus initiation rite. The leader chosen
[881] therefor had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the čiéxaus rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social conformity and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

628 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case
[682] of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which slings,

/664 cont./

595 are not a criterion, although all families are monogamous. A decade ago, Manuel (p. 444) from sheer necessity, was the sole exception. Along with his first wife, he took the youthful Julia, a Halakwulup.

The oldest men and women, questioned independently of one another, were and are unanimous in the opinion that monogamy by far outweighed polygamy, and that the latter was tolerated as an exception. The two brothers Martin and Fred Lawrence repeated this verbatim and gave as the reason a few obvious circumstances. /665/ The number of adults of both sexes was more or less even. If the majority of the people had lived in polygamy, a considerable number of men would have remained unmarried, and every stranger would necessarily have noticed this. According to his natural inclination, the Fuegian man gives himself to only a single woman, and he feels that it disturbs his emotional life if he is supposed to give his love to two women at the same time. For this reason one of the wives of a polygamist will stand very low in his estimation. To say that he is economically better off [556] with a second wife, as long as his wife is still well and able to work, is a misunderstood exaggeration, for no one gathers riches and certain tasks imposed upon a man by ancient tribal customs are largely doubled if he has two wives whom he must support along with the children.

My attention was duly called to a popular erroneous manner of speaking among Indians and Whites, according to which a man is called a polygamist when he has sent his first wife away and has taken another woman in her place. Actually, these two women did not live in his hut simultaneously, but the first was superseded by the second. It happened relatively often among our natives that a husband dissolved his tie with the first wife and in her place took another as his wife (48). Monogamous

48. It is only in this sense that Lothrop (b):163 accepts the term "polygamy," for he writes: "In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term 'progressive polygamy'" /cited in English/.

/665 cont./

595 single marriage is, after all, the general rule among the Yamana. It has often been proved that the rare cases of polygamy are necessarily tolerated only as exceptions.

2. Polygamy

Polygamy among our Fuegians has justifiably been put down as a fact by several travelers and missionaries. This confirms my personal investigations. Some accounts apparently take pleasure in increasing the number of joint wives of a man. Thus Outes (g):55, for example, says: "The poor have two or three wives, but there are some with four, five, and even six" /translated from Spanish/ (49). To this I wish only to say that everyone knows

•[556]

49. Even this view is topped by Spegazzini (a):166, namely, that it is not rare "to find some youth who has four and up to five wives" /translated from Spanish/.

there are neither poor people nor rich people among the Yamana.

More reliable accounts limit themselves to the bare statement that polygamy is permitted. In Hyades (b):1346 we read simply: "Polygamy, which custom permits, seemed nevertheless to be the exception" /translated from French/ (50). In February,

50. In another place he says (p):334: "Polygamy is permitted."

1920, Alfredo told me clearly and definitely: "While it is true that a Yamana may take a second woman along with his actual wife, the great majority of our men have always been satisfied with a single one!" Neither /666/ he nor his wife remembered a single native who had lived with three women at the same time. Relative figures are never cited, and the following communication by Bridges, dated February 14, 1871 (MM:V,138;1871), about the 21 men and youths present in Ushuaia does not fill me with confidence. He says that of these, four were bachelors, seven had one

/538 cont./

462 She could not avoid this obligation of ancient custom without serious disadvantage to her family. This brings her into definite contrast with the Selk'nam woman (Vol. I, 288). No matter how faithfully and abundantly the man provides his family with meat from the indigenous animals hunted, the woman, through her special gathering activities, must give her family all those products of nature to which her husband and children are entitled by rights of custom. Under no pretext could a woman consciously avoid this duty. If she were generally lazy in this pursuit or even [558] occasionally negligent, she could expect to be severely criticized by her own husband and held in serious contempt by the whole neighborhood.

462 593 Precisely because there must be a woman in the economic activity of the individual family, husband and children are absolutely dependent upon her. This relationship alone explains the favorable and influential position that she enjoys in her family circle. How much she actually accomplishes /539/ and to what extent she is able, by herself, to keep her family alive become evident when her husband is sick or when she is widowed. Then the entire responsibility of food-seeking rests on her shoulders alone, and she nevertheless provides so well that no one suffers deprivation.

462 Fortunately, in her activity as food-gatherer she has access not only to an abundant supply of one kind, but even to a not inconsiderable choice. She comes home with this and that, bringing a welcome variety into the monotonous meat diet. She can, of course, take from nature only what the latter voluntarily produces and as it is offered, for the harsh climate near the dreaded Cape Horn permits neither agriculture nor animal husbandry (263). The woman herself has invented or learned to make

263. An older account (VSA:XII, 81; 1866) says briefly that the natives "do not till the ground, and have no cattle, nor horses, nor sheep, nor goats in their country" /cited in English/. The experiences of the Mission Scientifique, which Hyades (g):6 describes (p. 32 /untranslated/), show that gardening does not pay there.

/685 cont./

593 837 586

> found her way back to her husband after an absence of three months and was taken in again by him.

pregnant by her lover -- this occurred in the extremely rare case where she was still young and her lawful husband was old -- the husband sent the adulteress irrevocably back to her lover and definitely separated from her.

593 837 If a wife catches her husband philandering, she usually has no alternative, but to overcome the humiliation silently. A spirited woman will make a noisy scene, scold the sinner, and expose his shameful deed to others, which wounds him more than a beating (90). The relatives of the wife would not dare beat the

> 90. "The adultery of the husband is not punished, except by the jealous scenes of his wife" /translated from French/.

faithless one; they do no more than to advise her to leave him. Sometimes a very hurt wife has come to blows with her errant husband, if she and another wife in the same hut were both betrayed by their common husband (01).

> 91. Spegazzini (a):166 reports having seen an Indian "completely paralyzed as a result of a beating which his wives gave him because of this kind of misdeed" /translated from Spanish/.

837 558 We lack evidence to determine definitely the number of cases of marital infidelity, since every Yamana makes a serious effort /686/ to keep his lapses strictly secret. The fact is, however, according to Gusinde (l):168, that "among the Yamana this shortcoming was more frequent than among the other two Fuegian tribes." There is no doubt, however, that everyone who is known to have erred in this respect experiences perceptible injury to his honor (92).

> 92. According to Hyades' (q):378 way of

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expressing himself, adultery is accompanied by "a certain public disrespect" /translated from French/. It is this general condemnation that guilty parties find particularly painful and degrading.

548 Our Indians hold female virtue in high esteem. In this connection we must not fail to mention that Hyades (q):239, 378 takes a very firm stand against the false reports by a few travelers about the prostitution of Indian women. "We have never seen a Fuegian man yield his wife or the one he loves to his best friends or even to the lure of large rewards. Many travelers believe that they have seen the opposite, but in the instances they have observed, the women and young girls were not by any means necessarily joined by love or even marriage to the savages who proposed to give them away. We will cite below a number of examples to prove our assertions" /translated from French/ (93). Not even the present relaxation of morals is approved by the true Yamana, and they accept many misdeeds silently only because they are powerless to do anything about it.

93. In Outes (g):59, also, it is clearly stated: "No individual sells his wife to another" /translated from Spanish/.

836 Sexual morality is quite generally esteemed, and this, naturally, also includes premarital chastity (p. 411). Children
867 would not be permitted any kind of license nor would they attempt it; there is, generally speaking, no sexual freedom for the girl. Quite the contrary, many Europeans, to their unexpected surprise, came up against a strong, emphatic morality and modest reserve among the Fuegian women, whose body covering could hardly be imagined as scantier. In order to prevent lapses in this sphere, the adults see to it that boys and girls are separated from early youth until puberty, and they warn them ceaselessly with informative advice. It is entirely wrong to maintain, as Hyades (q):378 does, that "the young girls are free to conduct themselves as they please" /translated from French/. Even

/691 cont./

586 or that mistreatment of the woman begins immediately among young married couples? The circle of relatives of every married 586 person sees to it that a marriage continues, for they feel responsi- 602 ble for his assured sustenance which is practically impossible or unsuitable outside of marriage, except in the case of elderly people. The woman who has been divorced through her own fault is, to begin with, a burden to her relatives, less because of her maintenance than because of the damaged reputation of the entire circle of relatives and because of the worry about her children. This explains why the relatives almost always try to settle a threatened relationship or to mend a broken marriage, even when the wife has been mistreated. The children are divided up according to the wish and intention of the spouses; either they remain with the mother if the man runs away, and vice versa, or some relatives take pity on the youngsters until the parents have returned to an ordered life. [558] A person who through his own fault has dissolved a marriage never enjoys a good reputation.

586 These considerations have always tended to prevent light-hearted attempts at divorce. We do not have definite figures, but a man has more often run away from his wife than a woman from her husband; consideration for the children was a factor in this situation.

6. Celibacy

581 We have repeatedly pointed out that the economy of the Yamana basically prohibits a lifelong unmarried state, and that public opinion does not grant an individual full social standing unless he is married (104). Each of the two sexes has duties which can be

> 104. The Yamana find it incomprehensible, solely on the basis of the conduct of life, how Europeans can live unmarried for a lifetime and maintain themselves. They are regarded "as enigmas," as Hyades (q):377 expresses it.

fulfilled only through marriage. At marriageable age the young people are told in plain words that they may no longer put off a

861 /752/ Even the best human arrangements sometimes fail,
558 not, however, because they themselves are faulty. If there have actually been a few failures in training, the system itself is not immediately responsible, but rather the unfortunate nature of the child or the detrimental influence of outside forces. Calderon, who, on account of his unfortunate nature, disregards the tried and true principles, is probably the best example of how far a person can deviate from the ideal of the forefathers. He thinks he is better than other men and enjoys many advantages because he is Fred Lawrence's brother-in-law. He therefore disregards the warnings and advice of well-meaning fellow-tribesmen. The consequence is his offensive laziness, which often causes his wife and children to suffer hunger; if he is irritated and in a bad humor, as he often is, he beats them without sufficient reason; usually he lacks the most essential implements, and the ones he has are not in order. We must really regard his two boys as spoiled children. They lounge about among other people, are impudent and rude, very unkempt in appearance, and never available to help anyone. How often have upright elders expressed their regret over this negligent family and said again and again: "In former times no man would have been allowed to become so negligent; at least his wife and children would have been taken away from him and put in better circumstances!"

177 The demoralizing influence of degenerate Europeans has
558 brought several women into disgrace (p. 353 /untranslated/).
861 To understand this we must realize that these unfortunate persons are no longer steadied and warned by the tribe as a whole, which must be regarded as already disintegrated. Today they have no possibility of marrying again, and the constant enticing temptation finally breaks down the last resistance of their honest sentiments. It would be wrong to blame the child-rearing principles themselves, for in contrast to these very few delinquencies, one can point to the virtuousness and soundness of by far the greater majority of the people as a whole. Missionaries, as well as many
861 travelers, speak of the most pleasant surprises and gratifying observations. I myself have learned to appreciate many of them as quite superior human beings and as sterling, reliable persons; I even sincerely love a few of them as true, valuable friends. This is the result of the influence of others in training them and of

/981 cont./

431 It is one of the inescapable obligations of every Yamana to
576 come now and then with a gift for someone. Anyone who neglected this beyond a certain time would inevitably acquire a bad reputation. It is just as much a matter of course for the recipient to respond to the attention paid him, not immediately, to be sure, but within a certain time, with a gift of equal value. No one would demand this, but one does not forget who owes him a return gift. This gift, no matter who has given it, is critically evaluated. Woe to the one who has behaved shabbily, that is to say, who has [559] given insignificant, useless things in return! He is soon known far and wide as selfish and stingy. Someone who gives a person a valuable or rare present usually puts him in an embarrassing situation, for then some equivalent is expected of him which he usually does not have on hand. Actually, everyone would prefer not to receive special gifts from the start.

431 It is very significant that, according to Koppers (d):194, the Yamana language "scarcely has an actual term meaning 'to ask for gifts,' but all the more terms for 'expecting gifts.'" BD:71 mentions ūăgūtăna, "to expect as a man does gifts when visiting his relations who have much blubber" /cited in English/. Still other words express "not to give" and "to give no more." The conduct of a selfish, stingy person is described with the verb tuŭagăna, "to not take, bring, eat, show any food or other things in the sight or presence of friends lest they ask one to give them a part; tuŭagangămata, to be, act stingily by not letting others see one bring or use supplies of any kind and thus abstain from giving them a share" /cited in English/ (BD:572). The word atăgu, "a friendship formed between two persons, accompanied with exchange of gifts" /cited in English/ (BD:33), means to promote a favorable mutual relationship by means of gifts.

431 As a rule, the giver does not pay any attention to the needs
576 or wishes of the one to whom he gives gifts; rather, he gives him what he himself can easily do without. This increases the embarrassment of the recipient still more. Nevertheless, he must accept the gift with a certain show of satisfaction and with a certain amount of hypocritical pleasure. To refuse it would be the equivalent of a bad insult and public humiliation (396). Also, it

396. In this connection Bridges (a):209 has

/983 cont./

674 the circumstances under which the Indian mentioned had filched the little knife unnoticed and probably immediately swallowed it in order to remain undetected.

The high degree of sensitivity of the Yamana is sufficient to
685 explain why they seriously punish a thief. Thievish actions by one
558 of their people affects them very painfully and unpleasantly, even
626 if they themselves are not harmed by it. The thief is generally despised, and even after many years of irreproachable conduct, he rarely succeeds in improving his reputation. Only in exceptional cases is the thief given a few blows by the injured owner (402).

402. Only Dabbene (b):198 mentions that "the thief is castigated when he is discovered" /tranlated from Spanish/.

In case of aggravating circumstances, a theft may even lead to a dispute involving several families. In general the Yamana avoid associating with a thief or they turn away from him with unmistakable /984/ aversion, so that, excluded from the society of his nearest fellow-tribesmen, he stands alone (403). This punishment

403. Darwin (d):243 evidently met such an ostracized individual in Goeree Road near Lennox Island. "The man evidently lived by himself and York Minster said he was a bad man who had probably stolen something."

of being ignored and ostracized is more effective than scoldings and whippings.

The extent to which the Yamana abhor a tendency to steal
673 can be surmized from their urgent warnings to young people, as
577 well as from their many expressions and linguistic subtleties in the designations for stealing. Koppen (d):189 took most of the expressions from BD. "There are words for thief, stealing, robbing. Furthermore for: to cause theft, to accuse of theft, to punish it. Also, however: to return stolen goods, to steal no

/627 cont./

must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important position of the woman in the economy assures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the strict social duty of every individual family, apart from any purely natural compulsion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, as a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /628/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Yamana does the primitive state manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

Several families are naturally associated through blood ties, but only loosely, and the reciprocal obligations growing out of this are the kind universally found among human beings. Five dialect groups have been established as associations of larger proportions, but these cannot be regarded as a division based on social principles (p. 199 /untranslated/). Moreover, there is no hierarchy based on birth and station, nor are there class differences which elsewhere rest on accomplishments or property. Finally, unification of the entire tribal community under a single head, such as a chief or magistrate, priest or sorcerer, did not take place among our Indians.

There are ancient tribal customs with the force of legal obligations, as well as definite principles about possessions and property, and the public sees to it that they are faithfully followed. It also observes and practices the cultivation of the universally familiar tribal virtues. Crimes against the assured duration of the family or against related groups are settled in smaller or larger combats. Although there is no special social division and no appointment of an authoritative person to rule the community, there is a distinct and binding power embracing all members of the tribe -- namely, the state, no matter how weak and undefined it still appears in its earliest beginnings.

/671 cont./

3. Division of Labor between Spouses

In marriage the two spouses are not only united by a bond of love, but consciously in a working partnership as well. Among the Fuegians all work serves the purpose of immediate sustenance; no one thinks of the future or of an accumulation of riches. Household management is possible for an independent family only on the basis of a definitely circumscribed division of labor for the two spouses. Hence, it necessarily follows that one member remains inescapably dependent upon the other. This not only brings about the almost complete equality of both sexes, but makes plausible the fact that an /672/ adult cannot continuously or for a long period live alone and unmarried. Hence, all of them, without exception, marry when they are still young. Single, aged, and widowed persons who cannot marry again try to find refuge with a family of friends. In marriage both parties join forces, and their common goal is to have the family operate in an orderly fashion as an economic and social arrangement.

The spheres of work and the various individual tasks are divided up according to the natural ability of each sex (62).

62. In March, 1864, Stirling referred to his observation that "there are well marked divisions of labour amongst this people" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI,228;1864). Bridges (b):210 much later supplemented this: "The division of labor [between husband and wife] is made in a manner that is considered just" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g):35 expressed himself more precisely: "Within the family, man and wife divide the work. The actual hard work falls to the men... The actual housework -- in this case, with the lack of houses, it is certainly figurative, so-called housework -- falls to the women."

All duties requiring greater muscular power, tough endurance, audacious courage, and decisive fearlessness are suitable for the

/680 cont./

593 admonishing him, she expects him to provide for all the needs of the family and why she maintains complete independence in all the labors that are hers by ancient custom, without letting her husband interfere. She gathers mussels or goes fishing, arranges the pelts, and sews clothing whenever the whim strikes her and she is in the mood. If her husband expresses special wishes, he knows as well as she that she is by no means bound to fulfill them and that she does so only out of love and affection.

562 593 This does not alter the fact, however, that Yamana women are ordinarily submissive and yielding. Almost never in words, but certainly in his /681/ attitude, the man, without offending, embodies a considerable preponderance of authority and power. For their part the Indian women, without losing themselves in slavish lack of will power, seem to be more willing to surrender their equality than is customary elsewhere among their sex. It is hard to say whether they are dominated by a sense of weakness or a feeling of inferiority. Outwardly, at any rate, the woman shows a subjection and subordination to her own husband which gives many European observers the impression that she is without rights and merely a weak plaything of her husband's tyranny. This impression is doubtless strengthened by the natural shyness and extraordinarily silent reserve of all Yamana women in the presence of a man (72). Hence in cases of incompatibility and

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72. This observation may have inspired Hyades (d):308 to say: "The woman submits to her husband, but provided she is faithful, he does not mistreat her" /translated from French/.

quarrels between the two there is never noise or shouting. If he should burst out with a few abusive words, she says nothing.

562 593 152 The excessive submissiveness of most of the women fosters among the men a consciousness of superior power not established by common law. If this is coupled with a nature given to violence and outbursts of rage among one or another of the men, the woman must occasionally expect maltreatment. In his anger, usually caused by minor incidents, he beats her with any stick or scrap of leather he happens to have at hand. She ducks or bends sideways without crying out or weeping. It is all over in a few

/681 cont./

562 minutes, but for the woman it is accompanied by several hours
593 or an entire night of suppressed pain. The deeply felt mortification
152 pains her incomparably more than the blow or beating.

An irascible and violent husband never has a good reputation,
562 even though at times he might have grounds for dissatisfaction
593 with his wife. None of my informants could remember that a
woman had ever suffered serious physical harm from maltreat-
626 ment. Her relatives would not have let matters go so far, but
would have helped her to escape before it happened. Basically,
public opinion condemns any physical attack on a woman, and
whenever it occurs people take a definite stand against the man
or against his wife, depending on the case, in order to prevent a
repetition of such quarrels.

562 In contrast, there is a considerable number of henpecked hus-
bands among the Yamana, according to the statements of the
593 three Lawrence brothers. There is no exaggeration in Bridges'
(i):21 words that "not a few men are domineered over by their
wives" /cited in English/ (73). Walter is one of these men,

73. Fifteen years later, Bridges (h):210
repeated this sentence without changing it.

helpless in the hands of his wife. Even more, Julia is really a
mannish woman, and the not very energetic Alfredo, sometimes
at his wits' end, lets her have her way. In contrast to these two
couples, /682/ Carmen suffers so much from the brutality and
violent outbursts of Calderon that all her fellow-tribesmen pity
her and sympathize with her. At present, just as in former times,
an individual incident may occur in which the wife bursts out
and takes violent measures against the man, without however,
actually establishing petticoat domination. Lovisato (b):146
gives an example: "We have seen a wife justifiably strike her
husband, without the other wives present taking her part or they
themselves understanding the grave deed" /translated from
Italian/. This, too, shows the occasional considerable inde-
pendence and arbitrariness on the part of the wife toward her
husband.

593 Aside from the above-mentioned disturbances in marital life,

/950 cont./

X881 The general feeling of emotion is again dispelled, and the singing is carried on softly by individual persons. They are preparing for a change of mood. The people who came in a while ago as visitors remain seated if it is already evening. The solemn ceremony seldom occurs in the forenoon; if it does, the visitors assemble here in the evening.

X881 553 During these solemn hours the occasionally necessary change of name of an uŭwala also takes place. Not every candidate is given another name at the end of his initiation, only the so-called usipin, usiapisin, that is, "the one without a birthplace," or the child who for some reason does not bear the name of his birthplace (p. 536). As a rule the Yamana avoid giving the same name to two persons. One of two people born in the same place must, for the time being, be content with a nickname or with the general designation of ŭsipisĕnjis or ŭsipinkipa. At the end of the initiation it then becomes proper for him to bear the name of the place where he passed his first čiexaus. Now that their hĕtakuxĕolan is handed over to them with special formality, the sponsors pronounce this new name for the first time and it then comes into common usage. For example, until my first initiation in Šámakuŭwāla (Punta Remolino), I was an ŭsipisĕnjis for the Yamana; thereafter I was called Šámakuŭĕnjis. Koppers was named kumbudĕnjis after Kumbŭtu (Puerto Mejillones) where the initiation took place in 1922.

X881 For the other formality which must still be observed, /951/ they regularly choose the last evening in the čiexaus hut. It culmi- 562 nates in handing over the rule to the women for a few hours. At the proper moment, places are exchanged and the women crowd around the main entrance while the men move toward the center and the rear, beside the secondary entrance. During my first initiation [533] the new song was introduced by Alfredo's wife and in March, 1922, by Pedro's wife; in each case the husbands were serving as overseers. The rest of the women were subordinate to this woman as their leader. All the women joined in the song she introduced and took part in it with unusual animation. Among the men, the actual leader was still very prominent. Santiago constantly made interjections to encourage the women to sing louder and to make a vigorous effort to drive away Yetāita who was nearby.

After the women led the song for almost an hour, they stopped, and Santiago, along with a few men, resumed the soft singing.

/951 cont./

X881 562

Meanwhile the women rested. After about 20 minutes he loudly and repeatedly called out: hóhohohohó. The women rose and the men followed their example. They respectively crowded into a cluster and assumed a threatening attitude. One cluster shuffled toward the other and they came so close to each other that they collided. Then they began strongly shoving one another; first one group retreated slightly in the face of the other's superiority; then the first group gained the upper hand. The triumph of victory constantly veered from one group to the other. One formed a strong wall against the other, and the two pressed against each other, body against body. Sometimes an individual woman would also oppose an individual man; each of them held a dance staff at shoulder-height, and in this manner she opposed him, and he, her, with the greatest possible effort. Each of the two groups struggled hard and intensely. The pressing and pushing lasted about 20 minutes. The men, who are stronger, kept the struggle undecided in order finally to help the women to victory by allowing themselves to be pushed back against the rear of the Great Hut and even partly out into the open through the secondary entrance. The women welcomed their victory with a loud howl of joy and vigorously expressed in gestures their satisfaction at their victory over the men. Triumphantly they went back to their seats at the main entrance; the men sat down in the center of the Great Hut, showing by their behavior that they were defeated.

The meaning of this sham battle is easily discernible. For one evening, at least, the women are to have sole sovereignty in the čiexaus hut (364). In their consciousness of victory they

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364. This exhibition definitely reminds one of the "Hostan" scene in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam. Here, too, the feminine world is given an opportunity "to shake off completely, at least for a few hours, the depressing feeling of utter defenselessness against the powerful tormenting spirits of the Great Hut [and these are the men themselves] and to win back their own spiritual equilibrium" (Vol. I, 997).

actually /952/ do feel elated and are visibly refreshed by it (365).

365. Schmidt (d):953 regards this struggle

/952 cont./

X881
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of the two sexes and the victorious superiority of the women "as the first penetration of matriarchy in ancient primitive times, a concession to this new era through the adoption of a matriarchal scene in the otherwise complete parity of the youth initiation of primitive times."

With this single demonstration the final evening of the extended cíexaus celebration definitively ends.

2. The Final Celebration

X881 The leader's speech pertaining to the planned conclusion of the youth initiation does not by any means invalidate the prevailing order of the day, and all the previous rules and regulations remain in force now as then. The speech is a request chiefly to the middle-aged men to bring in larger quantities of meat without delay. Hence they set out on the hunt, accompanied by the uíwála; the younger element must now take a more active part since abundant quantities of food will increase the general gaiety. For their part, the women and girls engage in gathering food more eagerly than is usual. In two or three days a great deal of meat is brought in, depending on weather conditions and luck in the hunt. Meanwhile the uíwála bid farewell to the trees in the woods (p. 757).

Up to this point there has been no change in the daily program of the Great Hut. The people sit in their places practically motionless, silent and lost in thought. The monotonous singing never ceases. As soon as considerable quantities of food have been accumulated outside the Great Hut, either in the cookhut or in the branches of nearby trees, the leader waits for clear weather and then orders the kitchen women to prepare the general festive meal. These women, assisted by several helpers, start a large fire where they broil many pieces of meat and cook vast quantities of mussels and crabs in the ashes. When the aroma of roasting meat begins to spread, the leader, along with the overseer, gets up from his place and leaves the Great Hut. He is followed by the winefkéŕ'a and his helpers, as well as the rest of the men and women. Finally

/1089 cont./

577 and a departure from monogamous marriage is not looked upon with favor. Within the family the woman's position is almost exactly on a par with that of the man. Since, according to ancient custom, the necessary tasks are tactfully and purposefully distributed among each of them with a view to their physical and psychological characteristics (p. 450), household management is orderly and marital duties, as well as all daily work, are more a pleasant occupation than an oppressive burden. The parents carefully fulfill their duty of rearing their children, and the latter love their parents sincerely. Respect for parents-in-law and the constant willingness of relatives to help one another encourage close bonds uniting a local group (p. 606). The modest reserve of young people in the presence of older persons and caution in front of visitors from other regions prevent hostilities (p. 912). According to the prevailing custom, the people in general care for the sick and infirm (p. 942), orphans (pp. 574 , 943), and widows (p. 412), independently of what the nearest relatives do for them. The concept of private property is definitely developed, and the property of the individual is safeguarded by specific laws (p. 858). Infractions against them are rare, since no one could conceal stolen goods for very long (28). The individual groups

28. The following opinion contains strange contradictions. Phillips:183 repeatedly caught the natives stealing in Isla Keppel. "They were called to account, and the men became so angry at the accusation that they made threatening gestures to kill the missionary, Phillips. From these and subsequent instances one should have learned the lesson that the Fuegans, although incorrigible thieves, nevertheless regard being accused of dishonesty as the worst disgrace, as though among them it is not the stealing but being caught that is shameful." Cf. Phillips (a):1011.

have at their disposal extensive areas /1090/ as hunting territory (p. 829), and these are used by neighbors only under certain

/1311 cont./

There is a mountain massif in the west, whose highest peaks 823 suggest the figure of a hunter carrying two wild geese on his back and accompanied on either side by a dog. This man turned to stone there, it is no longer known why, but anyone traveling near there is supposed to remain quiet. Spencer:82 writes: "Ken told me story of boiling lake high up on Hoste Island behind the tall snow peak on Dumas Peninsula seen from Rio Douglas. Too hot to hold hand in and very dangerous to go near" /cited in English/. It is not generally known that there are warm springs here and [133] there in the Cape Horn Archipelago. Not far from Punta Remolino, at a considerable altitude, I myself visited a mineral spring. The following statement by Spencer:82 is vague: "There is a special cove on Tekenika Bay with a cave in which lives a dangerous spirit. No Yahgan dare stay there at night. George told Ken, who had done so, that he was lucky to have got out alive. Strange noises are always to be heard there at night time" /cited in English/. In the Yamana language there are several expressions 777 which correspond exactly to our terms "lucky devil" and "unlucky fellow." According to Bridges (k):240, BD:42 gives, for example, istauwālux, "successful in hunting" /cited in English/, and the combinations that can be formed with it. The superstitious beliefs of the Yamana show their tendency to be afraid and their active imaginations. /Fig. 95 appears here./

/1312/ E. The Kina Celebration

The great significance of the youth initiation for the perma- 891 nence of the social order of our Fuegians is outwardly expressed x 575 by the fact that the young people of both sexes are, without ex- ● 562 ception, obliged to take part in it on two occasions. By and large, the čiēxaus is obviously a continuance of parental rearing beyond the narrow confines of the family hut, and it has the special goal of making young people useful members of society. The definiteness of this goal is convincingly proved by the fact that, upon the conclusion of their initiation, the individual candi- dates enter adulthood and have the right to marry and found a 575 family (p.842). Later on, the knowledge that they have obtained 562

/1312 cont./

X575 562

about the entire heritage of ideas and conceptions of the tribe is supplemented and amplified for the young men exclusively in the secret ceremony of kīna, which on principle is reserved for the male population. Here the primary aim is not a clearly-defined goal to be achieved through training -- although training is not altogether ignored -- but rather an introduction to a unique sphere of mythological ideas which the men regard as their exclusive property. They guard it anxiously from the inquisitiveness of their wives, and sometimes, in their consciousness of this possession, they make the female population as a whole keenly aware of their superior position and their arrogance. The explanation for all this is that the kīna, based on prejudiced ideas, shows a more or less marked misogyny. This one-sidedness makes the kīna fundamentally different from the čiēxaus. The latter is available to both sexes at puberty, the former only to mature men (266 /sic/).

[171]

266. I discovered the same conditions among the Halakwulup. These Fuegians have a separate men's ceremony besides the actual youth initiation. For the time being compare Gusinde (o):541 and (q):287.

[136]

Fig. 95. Sea Lions, Otaria jubata.

/1319 cont./

X575 small groups of men sometimes stayed as long as four months in the Great Hut, but ordinarily these performances lasted only a few weeks.

One must not attach too little importance to the following circumstances. The Yamana offer almost no resistance to their restless instinct for moving hither and yon; it is impossible for them by nature, so to speak, to remain settled anywhere for any length of time. When they have stayed in one place for a few weeks, certain sources of food in the vicinity become depleted to such an extent that they must exert themselves beyond their strength in hunting and gathering. Since they cannot endure this state of affairs, and indeed are not obliged to, they soon change their abode. Finally, the presence of many people and the large amounts of refuse from meals make a place so dirty after a certain time that everyone is driven away from the place, although the Yamana generally are almost entirely indifferent to such things. Moreover, one must remember that the Kina does not have a definite goal that must be achieved in one way or another. Every young man who is privileged to be there for the first time becomes sufficiently familiar with its basic ideas and its dominant aim after a few days. None of the organizers, therefore, would be able to predict or definitely to determine how many weeks or months the assembly will be together. At best, he will assume -- and probably rightly so -- that winter will keep it together longer than a fair summer.

2. The Participants

X575 ● 562 The Kina of the Yamana, as an actual men's ceremony, is, on principle, reserved for men, but for some time now exceptions have been made and a trustworthy woman may also be admitted. The original, consistent rejection of any woman may be explained with reference to the so-called myth of origin. The men should and must prevent the female population from ever again gaining possession of this secret ceremony. It can no longer be determined just when a milder attitude /1320/ in favor of a few women gained ground and some of them were given the secrets, but the fact as such is clear proof that the basic misogynic idea of the Kina of the

575 /1320 cont./
[562] Yamana is not nearly as strict as that with which the Selk'nam exclude their women from the Kloketen (Vol. I, 827).

The sole condition imposed on a young man who is accepted as a candidate into the Kina hut has frequently been mentioned: he is obliged to have proved himself twice as an uŝwāla in the youth initiation. This legally valid principle has been applied without exception from ancient times, but the change in the living conditions of the Yamana, caused by European settlers, has obliged them to relax the strict demands in some cases so that for several decades now lads have been admitted to the Kina who attended the čiexaus only once as uŝwāla (271). Despite

271. I was thoroughly aware of this condition. Hence I presented myself for the initiation a second time, because I wanted to experience it once more to become more familiar with the facts -- I was greatly hampered the first time (p. 179 /untranslated/) -- and wanted, so to speak, to force the friendly Indian group to conduct the men's ceremonies as they had promised (p. 184 /untranslated/).

their yielding on many points, even in most recent times our Fuegians have not deviated from this minimum demand. It will not come as a surprise when I say that the old, influential men knew very accurately which boys had become acquainted with the Kina and which had not. Those who are permitted to enter the Great Hut of the Kina for the first time are called uŝwāla, just like the candidates in the čiexaus. In BD:419 one finds tāmōm "a lad who has not yet been subjected to the ceena discipline" /cited in English/.

Every young man who has once patiently taken part in the kīna as an actual uŝwāla is now regarded as an adept. As such he has the right to be admitted to any subsequent men's celebration wherever it is held. In reality, every adult male Yamana has previously become familiar with it, although there is no obligation and no pressure was exercised. It is taken for

/1321 cont./

X575 It has just been pointed out that in exceptional cases a woman may be admitted to the men's secret celebration. The ●562 group of older men grants this privilege only to a woman who has proved herself worthy of such confidence. The assumption is that the men need not fear that their Kina secret will be misused by the woman or that their superiority is endangered if they are betrayed. These privileged women are treated exactly like the male uǐwáala in the Great Hut; outside it they are all similarly pledged to strict silence. Long discussions among influential men precede the permission to introduce a woman into the Kina hut. Anyone who is given this great measure of confidence by the men feels honored. A woman is not permitted to ask for this distinction; it is always her own husband or a close relative who proposes it to the men assembled. If he obtains an affirmative answer, he tells the woman in strict confidence, /1322/ and she immediately makes preparations to enter the secret hut of the men. In the Kina of March, 1922, only Gertie was singled out and introduced. I was told that she was the only woman in her age group who was trustworthy.

X575 The larger the number of participants, the more stimulating and varied the festival is. The rather long list of spirits can be more or less completely portrayed only if there are many men, each of whom throws himself into a definite role. Many a man is sufficiently ambitious to demonstrate his ability and to display his agility. He enjoys appearing first as one spirit and then as another. There are also some performances which can be put on only if several men participate. Thus, the more participants there are in a Kina festival, the easier is the choice among the players, and the more complex the individual pantomimes are.

3. The Campsite

If a good-sized group of families have decided to put on the Kina celebration, they soon notify their nearest neighbors by definite invitation. A man will almost never miss an opportunity to amuse himself in the company of his own sex by clownishly intimidating the women, and thus in a short time even a few families from a distant local group are assembled. Moreover, if a famous yekamuǐ

/1326 cont./

X575 It has previously been mentioned that the immediate area
345 around the Great Hut must be smooth and even. To the left of this hut, or rather to the left of the wide entrance, kina ɛ́fya -- as seen by the spectators -- a passage two meters wide and ten meters long is cleared of grass and stones and made absolutely level. This is where the dancers who again and again appear from the Great Hut before the eyes of the camp inmates present themselves. The hut entrance is always away from the camp and is usually near the edge of the forest, whereas the dwellings are usually between the Kina hut and the beach. While the work of building the hut and arranging the interior is going on, a few men must drag up a quantity of thick logs and tree stumps until a considerable pile of firewood is stacked beside the Great Hut. The women cannot be entrusted with this because they would come too close to the secret gathering-place of the men. It takes a great deal of firewood to maintain a broad hut fire day and night.

X575 The length of time spent in preparation depends in each case upon several circumstances. Decisive factors at any time are the number of male participants and the convenience of the chosen locality. Once the men have been seized with a desire for the Kina performance and joyfully anticipate it, they fall to with a will and, even without a specific request from their leader, make every effort so that the actual affair may begin as soon as possible. Inclement weather, however, now and then causes considerable delays in the most essential preparations.

c. Procedure of the Festival

X575 The chief goal of the group of men at their Kina is to re-
562 mind the female population anew of their superiority and to make all the women definitely feel their greater power. Consequently they surround their activities with all kinds of mystery and make very sure that the purposes behind their deceptive performances are not discovered by the women. They particularly avoid any situation that might arouse a suspicion of intentional deception. This secret gathering and illusory performance of the men is based

/1326 cont./

X575 on an old myth and is supposed to renew and strengthen the
562 women's erroneous belief that their men are intimately associated with certain spirits who are helping them keep the women in subjection. For centuries the men have strictly guarded their secret.

Throughout the whole course of this festival, all the women and children /1327/ are watched with relentless severity. While it is convenient for the men gathered in the Great Hut to adhere to their daily program, the persons left behind in the camp are strictly curtailed in their freedom so that they will under no circumstances discover the Kina secret. During this time the men are ruthlessly strict with all the women and children, but they do offer them enough stimulation and variety so that these days and weeks are not in any way a period of uninterrupted agony. Every woman knows that forward behavior and impertinent curiosity would be severely punished.

X575 The program of the Kina festival is carried out according to definite rules that have developed from a long past. The many kinds of scenes and spirit appearances in themselves make any one ceremony different from the others through greater diversity in the production or more animated participation by the performers; likewise, the personal talents of the leader and the number of male participants provide reasons for many differences. The basic features, however, are always the same. No regional differences have developed in the various parts of the Yamana homeland, but in individual areas sometimes one and sometimes another spirit-appearance has been given preference.

In the course of the following description many points of agreement between the kína of our Yamana and the klóketen of the Selk'nam will come to light. A brief reference to this similarity should be made now; it would lead too far afield, however, to point out each individual detail. There is also considerable resemblance between the two versions of the so-called origin myth.

After repeated urging, old Malemikens finally, in March, 1922, declared himself willing to undertake the leadership of the Kina festival. He was really the only trustworthy man who could reliably carry out the many duties and requirements connected with this post. A few of the older Yamana still remembered that the men's secret ceremony was once held here in Puerto Mejillones,

591 after which they would usually go for good to the groom's kin. Thus, localized groups of kin tended to be paternal.

604 After marriage the husband's paternal uncle and the wife's maternal aunt took particular interest in them, superseding in large measure their respective parents. Children-in-law were expected to
606 look after their parents-in-law in sickness or other needs. Children-in-law observed a number of avoidances regarding their parents-in-law: greeting their parents-in-law, speaking to them or breaking in on their conversation with remarks, looking at them, and sitting down beside them were all taboo. When in the same hut with their parents-in-law, they turned their sides or backs on them. A year or so after marriage, the restrictions between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law were partly, but never wholly, relaxed; those between son-in-law and father-in-law lasted through life. On visits of the father-in-law to his daughter, he and his son-in-law communicated wishes and news through the daughter and wife or by indirect discourse.

562 The man was, in theory, considered the head of the family, with
593 authority to rule. Actually, his authority was very far from absolute, and the woman was largely her own mistress, particularly in such provinces of her own as child rearing, food gathering, and canoe managing. Some men domineered over their wives, but not a few husbands were under the thumbs of their spouses. Some husbands were cruel, but if so they ran afoul of the wife's kin. More generally, woman's position both in the family and in the community seemed a respected one, not that of a drudge, slave, or inferior being, and she enjoyed a fairly high degree of freedom and independence.

684 Adultery was disapproved by the *Yahgan* code, but apparently
837 the code suffered appreciable infringement in practice. Adultery on the wife's part was, if discovered, punished by the husband with sound beatings, very rarely with death. Public opinion disapproved of her behavior. Adultery on the husband's part also gave rise to domestic battles in which the husband sometimes suffered severe treatment at his offended wife's hands. Jealousy on the part of both husband and wife was common. Wife lending was absent. There
[548] was no professional prostitution; a woman, married or unmarried, of markedly loose character was looked down upon.

586 Separation and divorce were fairly frequent, but were not lightly resorted to. The most common cause appears to have been cruel treatment of the wife by the husband, though there were other causes such as marked laziness, negligence, or crabbedness on the part of the
[595] wife. In case the wife became incapacitated through illness or age, the man could, and, it seems, more commonly did, take to himself a
Second Wife.

437 money of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
[439] on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
[304] with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
[436] gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

768 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
428 ceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Such burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

574 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries.
[462] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[572] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to man and woman jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.

/627 cont./

must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important position of the woman in the economy assures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the strict social duty of every individual family, apart from any purely natural compulsion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, as a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /628/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Yamana does the primitive state manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

Several families are naturally associated through blood ties, but only loosely, and the reciprocal obligations growing out of this are the kind universally found among human beings. Five dialect groups have been established as associations of larger proportions, but these cannot be regarded as a division based on social principles (p. 199 /untranslated/). Moreover, there is no hierarchy based on birth and station, nor are there class differences which elsewhere rest on accomplishments or property. Finally, unification of the entire tribal community under a single head, such as a chief or magistrate, priest or sorcerer, did not take place among our Indians.

There are ancient tribal customs with the force of legal obligations, as well as definite principles about possessions and property, and the public sees to it that they are faithfully followed. It also observes and practices the cultivation of the universally familiar tribal virtues. Crimes against the assured duration of the family or against related groups are settled in smaller or larger combats. Although there is no special social division and no appointment of an authoritative person to rule the community, there is a distinct and binding power embracing all members of the tribe -- namely, the state, no matter how weak and undefined it still appears in its earliest beginnings.

/300 cont./

36 many huts beside a dead sea monster create the illusion of a village. Since there is plenty of meat and fat, a number of families can settle down together without hindrance. If during this time someone must obtain some vital necessity, he departs for a few days, but leaves his hut standing and occupies it again upon his return. There is no food supply more abundant and convenient than a stranded whale. At the same time the gathering of many [57] families satisfies the need for sociability, and the people can give themselves up to it all the more undisturbed the longer they are free from worry about the necessities of life. Naturally the large number of people and their freedom from the food quest suggest stimulating diversion, and this is offered principally by the [illegible] and the accompanying kina. In comparison with these protracted events, fewer families gather together for funeral rites, and they remain in one place a much shorter time, often only a day or two.

No matter what brings families together, they always preserve their independence. Groups of relatives and friends erect their huts closer together, but there is always a space of a few steps between them. In spite of intimacy with neighbors, everyone strives for at least a small space between dwellings. The /301/ distribution of huts in such a camp is very irregular, because each individual makes his arrangements for his own greatest convenience. He first selects for his dwelling a dry spot and the protection of a rock or a group of trees. Drinking water must be not too far away. Whoever is first to appear on the scene has a greater freedom of selection, and the stragglers are content to take the places that have been left vacant. No one has a right and would not presume to exercise any kind of influence on the distribution of the huts. A person who wishes to leave the settlement can depart or return unhindered, just as he likes. On such an occasion two or at most three families may share a single hut if they are close to each other, such as brothers and sisters or true friends, but such exceptions are rare. In that case they build the ordinary dome-shaped family-hut in larger proportions, not the so-called winter hut (p. 33).

572 Everyone, of course, is completely free to dispose of his
577 time as he sees fit. The greater part of the day is spent in talk and conversation. During the long evenings they like to recite the old legends and tell of their own experiences. One often sees the men

/627 cont./

must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important position of the woman in the economy assures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the strict social duty of every individual family, apart from any purely natural compulsion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, as a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /628/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Yamana does the primitive state manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

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C. Kinship and Tribal Society

182 Among peoples on the low cultural level of our Yamana it is easy to observe the close reciprocal relationship between the nature of the economy and the social order. No one will regard the one as caused solely by the other, nor may one summarily deny a certain inner connection between the two.

The total number of this Fuegian tribe is low, and there is nothing to indicate that it has been noticeably higher at any time during its long presence in the Cape Horn region (p. 227 /untranslated/). This fact alone permits only one interpretation, that a complex social order, according to the various points of view from which one judges and evaluates social structures, is not to be expected here, particularly since a compact social life in one place involving all the members of the tribe is completely lacking. What our natives acquire in the way of subsistence is certainly sufficient; they do not die of hunger, and can even eat their fill. An excess of any part of their limited assets, however, is impossible. They are dependent on an imperfect form of production; hence, they can neither become numerous nor unite in a compact social life. The population is limited, so to speak, by the available food supply, and since this is sparsely distributed over a wide area, a permanent association of all tribal members in one place or in a few specific places is impossible.

594 621 The entire tribe seems torn asunder into very small individual groups, each of whom lives widely separated from any of the others and enjoys complete independence. These groups cannot be subdivided into still lower units. They are the individual families. Each family, as such, forms an independent economic unit which is isolated as a distinct community and pursues its own goal in life. Lothrop (b):160 says briefly and definitely: "Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit" /cited in English/.

620 571 Closer and more remote degrees of kinship spread out around the individual family as around a point of crystallization, and the consciousness of belonging together is more pronounced the closer the blood tie is. The more distant the individual families are as kinsmen, the more tenuous their mutual relations. This /778/ is the basis for the limited association and wide dispersion of all

/778 cont./

602 571 [578] families within the same ethnic unit. Groups living far apart sometimes do not even know one another; their mutual estrangement is favorable soil for the growth of suspicion, mistrust, and animosity. Insecure and harsh economic conditions react on the social level in a centrifugal sense, if we may so express it (209).

209. Stirling, who has let some inaccuracies creep in, says: "Family life in Fuegia is exclusive. Get outside the family, and relationships are doubtful, if not hostile. The bond of a common language is no security for friendly offices. To be of the same tribe is no guarantee of safety in travelling. Fear and distrust are stronger than tribal affinities" /cited in English/ (MM:IV,11; 1870).

619 Nevertheless, there is a true tribal society on a modest scale. It is based on a common origin and language; it is expressed in the fact that everyone acts in exactly the same way and that all are subject to a definite, unwritten, universally binding law. Every individual feels that he is a member of the whole, he knows that he is united with one who can make himself intelligible to him in the same language, and he traces his origin to the same source as all others who are just as lawfully rooted in his native soil as he is. This consciousness becomes so strong that, as individuals and as a community, they are convinced that they form a special group; they believe themselves to be "the people," the ethnic unit having exclusive right of existence in their homeland. The boundaries of their homeland are regarded as something given in ancient times (210), whose legal validity is thus inviolably secure for all

210. Bridges (k):233 first learned of the homeland boundaries from the Yamana themselves.

cure for all time, no matter what the explanation for the original bounds of native territory and its first occupation by their forefathers.

582 /783 cont./
612 Though he may then spend the rest of his life there, he remains bound as a blood relative to the family from which he sprang.

601 In order to be sure about mutual connections, the Yamana language furnishes very exact designations even for distant degrees of kinship. These are, of course, just as familiar to everyone as are words for articles of daily use. Hyades (p):334 writes: "Kinship is recognized even to the fourth or fifth degree" /translated from French/. Although our Indian is not painfully exact in counting, nevertheless he knows how to determine a relationship that sometimes goes back to remote degrees and that finally can be established only by the fact that the families have been together locally for a long time.

612 Kinship, however, does not operate merely in a negative sense
571 by making marriage impossible; far beyond that it commands mutual aid and assistance. Lawfully the individual family depends upon itself, but there is no arrangement to guarantee it legal protection. It would be at the mercy of a stronger one if it did not find protection and support through its blood relatives (219).

219. Bove (c):130 and (g):234 writes: "Only the necessity for common defense forces some families to unite into a single tribe /tribu/, but no one has the right to put himself at the head and to meddle in another's affairs" /translated from Spanish/. The expression "tribu" here can mean only a community of kinsmen.

A family that was merely friendly would not be close enough /784/ to be a safe refuge in every case of need. Blood ties, on the other hand, are never dissolved and retain their strength. Hence every one notes very carefully all the persons who are related to him, both closely and more distantly. He assures himself of their help by frequent visits and by repeatedly asking other people about them. He especially seeks them out and calls upon them urgently if he is threatened by the hostility of others or if he expects a sudden attack. These are the social connections that everyone cultivates (220)

220. These connections were described much too briefly by Spegazzini (a):165.

/784 cont./

612 according to his own free choice or the distressing situation he
571 happens to be in.

Sociability is also a factor here, affecting one person more
612 than another among a circle of intimates. No one has a privi-
571 leged position established by law. For logical reasons young peo-
554 ple naturally bow to the moral superiority of experienced old men or capable younger men, but if something does not suit a person, he leaves inconspicuously and goes his own way until further developments.

Everyone likes to obtain the counsel and decisions of an older relative. A person who has cultivated his connections with his kinsfolk and has honored them can always count on help and support. If one's kinsfolk are numerous and include men who are held in esteem, his own self-importance is thereby considerably increased and his confidence reinforced. He likes to boast of his far-flung, mighty kinsfolk on whose protection he can count. One's own relatives are, of course, more privileged and more highly honored than other guests, and everyone knows it is his duty to hasten to the aid of a relative who is in distress and threatened by enemies, to avenge the wrong done to him, and actively to intercede for him everywhere. Family honor demands all this, and everyone esteems it highly. Thus, the individual always finds protection and justice among his kinsfolk in any affliction.

3. Kinship Terms

601 Although the individual family is lawfully completely independent, nevertheless it sometimes finds itself dependent on relatives. Consequently everyone is surprisingly familiar with his family connection with anyone else. This probably was not a causal factor in the origin of the many kinship terms, but it is certain that an adult Indian has a mastery of these designations and uses them surprisingly accurately. Immediately upon /785/ the birth of a child and during its first few months of life, the family discusses its relationship to all the closer and more distant kinsmen who make up the family's circle (221).

221. Despard (b):698 refers to this as follows:

/798 cont./

1. Its Structure

197 634 571 It is an inborn tendency of the Yamana to emphasize contrasts. These are certainly present in his homeland, and each person knows the characteristics of his local area, in fact, he must take them into account. We have mentioned in detail (p. 199 /untranslated/) that the entire Cape Horn Archipelago is geographically divided into five separate regions. As a result, there are an equal number of dialect groups living here (228).

228. Even the members of the Mission Scientifique did not agree uniformly about the individual ethnic groups. Hyades (j):148 is definitely at variance with the opinion of Hahn (b):1533, the ship's doctor. Compare the more specific boundaries in Gusinde (a): 1018.

Since time immemorial boundaries erected by Nature herself have been determined for each of these groups, and they have formed a dividing wall up to the last few decades. It is only recently that unfavorable forces have succeeded in breaking them down. Nevertheless, even today each of the few surviving Yamana boasts of his competence in this or that dialect district. No one knows who first marked this region /799/ and assigned the tribesmen to it. No myth says anything about it. They all readily accept given reality. It is well known that within his dialect district everyone enjoys complete independence and unrestricted freedom of movement. He has the same right to subsistence as his countryman.

609 634 Journeys into neighboring districts are undertaken for the special purposes of obtaining food or bartering for essential tools. No one remains away longer than is necessary. The people living in another district will permit a strange family to come in and provide themselves with whatever they need, but they do not tolerate anyone roaming about their territory an unnecessarily long time. If he should do so, it would cause hostility which could become serious, but as long as a stranded whale has not been completely consumed or as long as it is impossible to obtain

/799 cont./

609 634 food in their own native district, neighbors are not only unmolested in a strange district, but must be tolerated, as ancient custom prescribes.

621 634 571 Even the more circumscribed region of each individual dialect group is usually cut up by many waterways. Hence in each one, again under the pressure of geographic conditions, smaller groups are formed which, as a result of greater mobility in local areas, more frequently meet and have intercourse with one another. These are the so-called local groups within the dialect groups. Each of the former is made up of people born in the same region. They regard themselves as closer to one another, and this small region as their immediate home. They take their common name from the region, namely, from a bay, a water channel, or a small group of islands.

Hyades (j):150 also observed this custom: "They like to say: 'the people of Packsaddle Bay,' Pouthroaya yamana, 'of Pomeroy Sound,' Kanakouche yamana, but somewhat as we would in a city in speaking of some quarter or some street" /translated from French/ (229). Obviously such designations should not be inter-

229. Relying on a communication from Reverend Bridges, dated June, 1884, Hyades (b):718 repeated: "All these natives are known by the name of the localities in which they live and are very exactly divided up into small clans" /translated from French/.

preted or evaluated in the sense of an organization or a local tribal division.

For his part Bridges used the designation "clan or tribe" /cited in English/ for local groups. For example, in the year 1883/84 he took a census of the entire Yamana population and put the individual groups together "under their several clan names" /cited in English/. His reasoning was: "All these natives are known by the names of their several locations and are very minutely divided into small clans. The term Ucur (ikâ), which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used /800/ to denote clans or tribe" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 294; 1884). He states that

/800 cont. /

621 the Ushuaia local group extends over about 20 English miles
634 (MM:XIII, 151:1879), but this is only a third of the area that the
591 middle dialect groupactually occupies.

Corresponding to the word formations given above, BD:259 also lists some in which the native district of the grandmother of some person is definitely taken into account: "hīkaiamakūtasa, the connection a person has with the land of his father's mother, or of his mother's mother; hīkaiamakūtasūsi, the country of my mother's mother's, my father's mother's country" /cited in English/. With this rootword the terms for the male and female relatives of that region ae formed by means of suffixes.

Such designation for the native district of the grandmother were probably created because each of the two grandmothers of the same grandson has home territories elsewhere; on the other hand, the paternal ancestors of the grandson remain almost without exception in the same locality. This comes out even more clearly in the explanation given in BD:168 for the word kaiamākūtasa which occurs in hīkaiamakūtasa above, for it is "a term applied of the connection one has with a place or people from which one's grandmother came" /cited in English/. From this comes the furtherformation haiamākūtas'ūsi, "the country of my grandmother, or the country of one's grandchildren" /cited in English/, and, finaly, hīkaiamākūtasāpai, "two persons belonging to one's grandmother's country" /cited in English/. It does not seem to me permissible to attempt to read into these designations a matriachal type of social structure.

191 Our Indians are more conversant with expressions that contain the idea of belonging to a specific country, of indigenousness and the rights of residence. The root word hánnan is given in BD:265 in the sense of "my country, in opposition to palalísin, civilized country" /cited in English/. From this come the derivations hannajámalim "(used by natives specially of themselves) my country men, my country people," hannakipajámalim, "my country women," hannaala, "my countryman," and finally hannakipa, "my countrywoman" /citations in English/.

178 The changes wrought by recent influences have pushed the
634 dialect groups and circles of families, which hitherto were separated in their circumscribed local districts, closer and closer

/800 cont./

178/634 together. Since 1880 a particularly strong movement in this direction set in. According to Hyades ( ):718, Bridges noted the effect of this in June, 1884: "The Yahgan are now so much more coalesced that they form only a single colony" /translated from French/. Obviously Bridges would like his readers to believe that a change for the better had been brought about among these natives under the influence of the Anglican mission. He was mistaken. Furthermore, Hyades (ℓ):721 raised the justifiable objection against Bridges' assertion by pointing out that the Yamana "were formerly divided into tribes that were hostile or antipathetic toward one another" /translated from French/. This is not to deny that occasionally disputes and hostilities were carried on between individual families of the same local group (230).

230. From his most recent experience Bove (e):158 reported: "The inhabitants of the east (Picton Island) and those from Adduvia (New Year Sound) still [since the founding of the mission station in Ushuwaia] fought with each other frequently, and often enough the sad news of deeds of violence, murder and insults reaches the Mission."

571/612 /801/ The association of the five dialect groups is very tenuous (231), that of the local groups within each dialect group

231. This is probably what Aspinall:270 means when he says: "Despite the lack of closer ties of tribal society, one notices among them many expressions of true affection and deeper concern."

is somewhat less so, and that of the families of each circle of relatives who in their totality form the local group is truly strong. There is, of course, overlapping, insofar as a person has blood relatives in more than one local group. It is well known (p. 607) that in itself the circle of relatives is neither a definitely ordered structure nor a specifically organized system. For some the blood

/801 cont./

571 612 ties are stronger, for others weaker, although the bond is as strong as Nature herself can make it. In analyzing the kinship group, we see revealed the one and only complete social structure which rests firmly upon itself, namely, the individual family. It forms a small state by itself (232).

> 232. Hyades (g):35 has attempted the following explanation: "Their uncontrollable urge for independence does not let the Fuegians achieve an organization beyond that of the family in the narrowest sense. Everyone is thrown back upon himself alone." Barclay (a):64 maintains of the Yamana that "he owns no faith, religion, or tribal tie other than that of the family which huddles together for food and sustenance" /cited in English/.

571 It is altogether compatible with the character of our Fuegians that the five dialect groups among themselves cultivate peaceful relations throughout. This is even more true of the local groups and most of all of the families making up the circle of kinsfolk (233).

> 233. It is incomprehensible to me how Bridges (h):205 could express the following monstrous opinion: "Their continual offenses against their friends and neighbors keep the community in a chronic state of uneasiness and violence. There are few who do not show scars, and deaths often occur as a result of quarrels" /translated from Spanish/. This assertion is in clear contrast with many other judgments which Bridges himself set forth.

Each day is more or less filled with the hunt for food. Not much time remains for intrigues and quarreling. The members of the family group, more than the members of the local group and much more than those of the dialect group, are on occasion dependent upon one another in various matters, and they would not willfully or carelessly spoil their relationship with those whose

/801 cont./

571 help might be indispensable to them.

Formerly, when whales often showed up in the channels of the Cape Horn realm, the natives from all regions flocked together more often, camped together on the same spot, and became better acquainted. Intermarriage followed and with it repeated visits of parents when a young married woman followed her new husband into his home district. It is true that existing boundaries were universally respected, especially those of the dialect groups. Moreover, people assumed the right /802/ to cross them undisturbed, but they did not misuse this right by roaming about aimlessly for any length of time in the strange region.

Local conditions themselves explain why the three northern dialect groups can associate more frequently with one another than with the two dialect groups farther south (p. 199 /untranslated/).

2. Its Leadership

622 What can be read between the lines in the above section must finally be clothed in definite words, namely, that our Yamana do not recognize any person as having the authority to rule either the whole society or the larger groups within it, no matter what names are applied to such persons in higher social organizations. This by no means strange phenomenon is confirmed not only by the independent position of the individual family and its freedom to settle anywhere, but also by the definite testimony of many observers. Despard (h):746 asserts: "They have no king, chief, or other person, distinguished from his fellows by hereditary or committed right of rule. They have no council of state" /cited in English/. Hyades (j):184 repeats the same thing: "The Fuegians do not have chiefs, and they are opposed to any idea of superiority and authority" /translated from French/ (234). Thus there is no

234. Only in this sense is Bove's (e):158 assertion valid: "The expression 'authority' is a dead word." Compare Alvarez:145, Bove (g):234, Cooper:177, Fitz-Roy (a):178, Lothrop (b):180, Levinato (b):150, and others.

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554 Thus our Fuegians lack appointed persons of authority and
571 written laws. Nevertheless, there is a sovereign power, even though it is invisible. As we know, the whole tribe is divided into five definitely demarcated dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each of them is divided into several local groups who in turn occupy smaller regions. Finally, each of these is made up of a few family groups. The /804/ individual family, finally, relies upon itself and enjoys complete independence. It is a family decision to associate more often with some families or more closely with others. Sometimes they travel and spend several days together as a result of a chance meeting. This purely external tie is just as quickly dissolved if another family arrives with whom they choose to associate. The above-mentioned tiámuna sometimes makes arrangements with the tiímuna of another group of families to bring together a larger number for a definite purpose. These are always free decisions, however, and there is no outside pressure. Fluent speech and a faculty for quick persuasion are usually the only decisive factors.

571 Such an arrangement is made for the initiation ceremony,
881 the men's ceremony, or common burial rites. Everyone knows the universal obligation of young people to take part in the initiation ceremony. It is the duty of the adults to create the opportunity for it, and certain influential people are moved to hold it, all depending on the circumstances. The fact that the general public safeguards that important institution and does not let any young person suffer the loss of its advantages must be unequivocally interpreted as an effect of the invisible but mighty compulsion of the power of the state (p. 640).

183 If anyone is repeatedly guilty of serious violations against
626 the prevailing customs and causes apparent harm to a number of persons by doing so, nothing happens for a while, but then a close relative of the wrongdoer will arouse himself and, referring to the opinion of others, will appeal to his conscience. They do not even stop at a fight and care nothing about protecting their own lives, since they put greater value on respect for the existing order. Thus again an invisible power of the state see to it that laws are kept pure and respected. When famine breaks out in a local group and a whale is driven ashore somewhere, an unwritten law goes into effect which does away with the narrower boundaries of intercourse

/823 cont./

1. Occasion and Duration

The European often greatly underestimates primitive man's dependence on food-getting. Concern about the daily necessities arbitrarily and uncontrollably pushes aside every wish and plan, every claim and calculation that might stand in its way. Speiser's 855 observation about the Australians also applies to our Fuegians, namely, that "food is the central feature of their material and mental pursuits," that their attention is primarily and most strongly directed toward subsistence. Seemingly primitive people know nothing about exact divisions of time or about constancy in their decisions. They do not keep their word or fulfill their promises. In reality this is not the case, and it is an injustice if they are depicted as fickle, irresolute, and disloyal. Their decisions are changed or abandoned at the last minute according to the advantages for food-getting and for the safety of their lives. It seems much more important to them to banish hunger or to escape danger to their lives than to do what they have said, to keep their promise, to appear a a rendezvous, or to make a promised visit. This controlling and decisive principle is no less effective when it applies to the success and duration of the cirkas. Hence we should not expect immutable laws in this respect.

Sooner or later the families will come together again so that their maturing children may have an opportunity to take part in the initiation. It is only within the local group that the desire for this is made known, but as a rule the impetus for the decision comes from the outside. The strongest reason seems to be /824/ the stranding of a whale somewhere. Then the families crowd in not only from nearby, but sometimes even from a distance, and settle around the mighty animal. Now they are all free from concern about food for many days and even have a surplus for the immediate future (p. 330). If this spot offers the additional advantage that the men can easily hunt game animals and the women are richly rewarded in their gathering, most of the families, perhaps even all of them, remain in this productive area. There is nothing forcing them to look for another region where, to begin with, they could not be sure of such favorable conditions. Thus,

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the stranded whale with the enormous amount of meat it offers the people for many days is not the incentive for the initiation, but rather the gathering of numerous families who have met here for this reason and who wish to remain longer in this favorable little spot because of its many advantages for obtaining food. This occasionally but by no means regularly brings about the desire to celebrate the čiexaus.

The same thing happens if many families come together in one place for some other reason, such as a bad accident in which several persons have been the victims or a large funeral for an esteemed old man or a capable medicine man. The suitability of the campsite determines the final decision, although the mood and inclination of the people, as well as the influence of individual aged persons, have a great deal to do with it.

It is only when many families are assured of effortless provisioning in a given place that they look about for young people who would be suitable for the čiexaus. No one knows much about it until the families have come together, for even within the local group one family may not be in touch with another. In olden times this festival would never have been omitted for want of suitable children, if the campsite were favorable, because formerly there were plenty of them.

Now and then there is a strong urge for a more prolonged gathering, such as is required for the čiexaus, because of the desire for society and a thorough exchange of ideas. We must never forget how much heavier the burden of loneliness rests upon the few members of the individual family the longer it must be endured. Above all the men like to be among themselves once more, and even the women have all kinds of things to tell one another. The men are eager to talk about their hunting experiences and successes in their work. The women have all kinds of little things to tell about their children and are even more anxious to chat with their relatives. How stimulating it is to listen to the stories of an experienced old man, and how one likes to gather around a lively wag who is stimulated to new sallies by the applause of the multitude! If only to enjoy once more this refreshing, vitalizing fellowship, many a person will visit the campsite where the initiation /825/ takes place. A number of

X981 /825 cont. /
182 families will remain together for a longer time, especially if
591 favorable local conditions are particularly inviting.

X981 From this account we can easily see how the many circum-
182 stances and details of unpredictable daily life influence the dura-
tion of a čičexaus ceremony and even determine it. One of these factors is the availability of wood and food, the protection of the campsite against strong winds and flood, the prevailing mood of intimate sociability among the families, and finally the variety offered by the festival and its lively leadership under a talented overseer. According to my elderly informants, most families in earlier times remained together long enough so that the candidates were detained in the Great Hut for at least six weeks. At any rate, those families who had a child or close relative who was an uǐwǐala remained for the entire period, as did the families of the overseer and the leader because these two had to carry through to the end the offices they had assumed. The rest of the families, of course, had unimpeded freedom of movement. Often the festival would last over three months, since the leader made himself responsible for the success and effectiveness of this training with one or another of the candidates whom he treated with special consideration. A certain goal was to be attained with all the uǐwǐala, and if forcefulness did not achieve it, it had to be attained by an extension of time.

Since for the past few decades the tribe as a whole has been in the process of complete disintegration, the important čičexaus has become an occasional affair under the pressure of outside circumstances, but not for the older Yamana. They are now satisfied if the festival lasts one or two weeks. At my first initiation we sat in the Great Hut for ten days. In 1921 the people celebrated it by themselves in Puerto Mejillones where it lasted 12 days. In the following year, they ended it after six days.

What we experienced in March, 1922, had sometimes also happened earlier, namely, that some external event forced them to discontinue it. The most common reason for this was a death or unfavorable conditions of the land, less often because of lack of food. They would move the camp to another place where a new čičexaus hut was built. In Puerto Mejillones it was the great desire of the younger men for the kina celebration, which they had never experienced, that caused them to interrupt the initiation.

/1021 cont./

202 it would remind one of a forest fire.

If the Yamana let a single cloud of smoke, ukŕali ukŕ, rise up, they are announcing a serious illness or an accident and want other people, above all the yékamuł, to bring help soon. In order to make two to four clouds of smoke, they previously prepare the corresponding number of fires which are placed about four meters apart. With two smoke clouds, kémbé be ukŕ, they announce a condition of serious distress that might be caused by all kinds of reasons, for example, loss of the canoe and the hunting implements or serious damage to them, the loss of the hut fire, or total lack of food. Three smoke clouds, mŕten ukŕ, announce a death. With four smoke clouds, wŕru ukŕ, they announce that a whale is stranded. Finally it is customary to let one or more large smoke clouds ascend as a farewell to Europeans. They prepared this pleasure for me personally on two different occasions, when once a Chilean cutter, and the next time the "Garibaldi," picked me up in Punta Remolino and carried me westward. On the trip past Puerto Mejillones on the southern coast of Beagle Channel this sign of a final greeting arose with unmistakable distinctness. Long before, in March, 1834, Darwin (d):263 was honored in this strange fashion. On the last visit of the "Beagle," after the well-known Jemmy "had reached land, he lit a signal fire, the smoke rose up and gave us a final and long farewell as the ship was on its way out to the open sea." The Yamana do not, however, greet each other with smoke signals; they use them only for the above reasons.

476 From the duty of mutual assistance there has arisen the rule that everyone must respond to an invitation for a common search for food, which applies particularly when a few men decide to search for cormorant nests. This enterprise is successful only if several of them join forces (p. 235). Anyone who is asked may not refuse to take part. Likewise they must join in an attack on a herd of seals (p. 38 /untranslated/) which is to be undertaken from a favorable shore. In the same way two or more canoes go out into a channel together where the women hunt for fish, crabs, and mussels for hours. They also invite each other to gather firewood in the forest. Such joining of forces is also necessary for personal safety in all kinds of dangerous undertakings.

• 571 Although many practices governing mutual association among the Yamana have arisen out of the necessity to help one another,

/1021 cont./

571 a few go back to the clearly recognizable tendency toward gregariousness. It not only draws individual families together often, but keeps them together until urgent duties once more separate them. If two canoes meet, one can /1022/ almost always rely on their 571 steering toward the nearest landing place and building their huts 521 next to each other there. Then they sit huddled together hour after hour and talk to their heart's content. "They are extraordinarily fond of long talks and stories; a good part of the day is filled in this way" (Aspinall:270). Some hut will have a special attraction for all who are camping in the same place, without any particular reason. Even before darkness has fallen, one person after another will inconspicuously steal toward it and squat down beside the fire. Everyone feels content in such a circle of intimate friends, and the conversation fills long hours. Bridges (VSA:XII, 7; 1865) says: "They are certainly much given to talk, and when seated before a good fire, engaged in conversation, they seem most happy. When they are cheerfully inclined, they are much given to immoderate laughter, but when sullily inclined, it is difficult to restore them to cheerfulness" /cited in English/(441).

441. Of the 12 Yamana who at that time were staying on Isla Keppel, Bridges (VSA:XII, 9; 1865) reported on September 16, 1864: "The natives are certainly of a social turn; of evenings they generally meet in one house or another, and spend their time in conversation and merriment" /cited in English/. Reports of other missionaries confirm that in the mission, also, families of all areas lived together amicably.

521 Minor happenings and the sometimes wholly insignificant details of a day are the subject for conversation; they are by no means as completely insignificant and meaningless for the Fueglans as for a European passing through. J. Rae (VSA:XI, 191;1864) referred to this in his remarks on August 1, 1864: "Often I wondered myself about their long conversations which they keep up when they are by themselves; several times I thought what they were talking about. Once I listened, and I found they were talking about a subject of which others take not the slightest notice. For

/1471 cont./

§33 various songs, the diversity of body painting, and the delight in ornaments show the not inconsiderable aesthetic feeling of the Yamana. For an evaluation from the viewpoint of culture history, a distinction that was often pointed out to me is significant. The Yamana say: The Ellwáani song and every yéhaanuf song are peculiar to the five ethnic groups alike, but the ŷ̄ner song, the

[177] Ináwa song, and the paúnna songs belonged to the Halakwulup and were first transmitted to the western Yamana, who gradually transmitted them to the central Yamana groups so that they, too, have had them since then.

d. Sociability

§71 As a result of the type of economy imposed on our Foegians by their environment, the individual throughout most of his life is dependent upon himself alone or his immediate family. By nature he is capable of getting along by himself and of being self-sufficient. He is constantly stimulated anew by everything around him, and the pressure of food-seeking incessantly arouses his desire for action. Hence he can never be inactive for any length of time and become bored; his temperament is far too lively and active. He knows how to keep himself busy even if he has to be alone. There are many middle-aged and older persons who prefer continuous solitude far more than one visit after another by a related family or a family of friends. The Yamana has many inner resources and likes to give himself up to his own thoughts. He finds great satisfaction in sitting by himself and occupying himself in one way or another. Nevertheless, the great enjoyment that lively social intercourse can offer often drives one or another of them into the company of his fellows, where he can enrich his knowledge and his spirit and where mind and soul derive new stimulation. His happy nature comes into its own in group games; he is a very agreeable companion.

/1471 cont./

1. Gatherings

571 From previous accounts the Yamana is known to be a person who has himself under perfect control and who usually behaves in
573 a very /1472/ reserved manner in the company of others (p. 914).
521 This attitude is not determined solely by mistrust of others and the traditional rules for social intercourse (p. 913); it is far more a natural characteristic of our Indians, to which their training, of course, contributes its share. Within the family circle every member is very reserved and taciturn. For hours at a time individuals will sit beside each other in the canoe or in the hut without exchanging a word. If they chat with one another now and then, their talk almost always centers around what the present day has brought. Loud gaiety and spontaneous outbursts of joy are more or less rare within the individual family. Nevertheless, many a father will amuse himself with his young sons and many an active mother will do the same with her daughters in every conceivable way. Parents really enjoy playing with their young children and fondle them very lovingly from the day they are born (p.573).
573 As soon as children have some understanding, the parents confide
961 in them about their own experiences and the knowledge derived
521 from it, as well as much of their religious and mythological belief. In this way the children obtain a rich heritage of ideas and learn to think about it when they are alone. In the evening after the long day's journey, the parents, squatting around the hut fire or stretched out on their hard beds, repeat in detail just about everything that the day has brought. They make comparisons and recall other things, confirm this thing and warn about that, discuss their plans for the morrow, and toy with hopes for the future. This is the particular kind of social life, maintained within narrow (in fact, the narrowest) limits, that the Fuegian family can offer them.

571 On a land or canoe trip individual persons usually pass each
521 other without stopping; both parties are content with a brief greeting, a modest question and an equally brief answer (p.921). If, however, several families of friends or relatives brought together by chance after a long separation are camping together, there is great liveliness in the group. The greeting of two friends is sometimes loud and impulsive, and on such an occasion the discussion

/1472 cont./

571 521 between individuals may last far into the night (370). There is

> 370. If, as Bridges (h):305 reports, several families had joined around the fire, "they were very animated, spending most of their time in jovial conversation and in the most exuberant demonstrations of happiness. Their laughter, natural and cordial, was excessive in the extreme" /translated from Spanish/.

an exchange of personal adventures and experiences, they report and discuss what has happened in their own families, and they cover in detail their lives and activities as these unfold day by day in a smaller or larger group. This kind of exchange keeps everyone informed about the actions of his relatives and friends.

571 Of far greater significance are those gatherings that come about in connection with a universal obligation, such as /1473/ to instruct young people in the ciksan (p.305) and kina (p.295), to express sympathy to mourners in the yamalaferrina (p.107), or to demand atonement for a crime against life, as happens in the case of revenge for bloodshed (p.197). All these gatherings are occasions for renewed acknowledgment of prevailing custom and lawful tradition, occasions when adults are reminded anew of their valuable heritage and it is passed on to young people. I am thinking here primarily of religious belief and the social and moral precepts, but also of the historical and mythological tradition (371). It has been mentioned a number of times that a gift

> 371. The assertions of Bridges (h):236 and Hyades (j):338, namely, "The natives neither preserve any tradition about their past history nor know where they came from" /translated from Spanish/ and "there are two or three legends of fantastic exploits, each telling of some ancient actual deed. . ." /translated from French/, do not need special refutation in view of what is contained in Part 4 of the present volume.

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for story-telling is greatly appreciated (pp. 934 .1096) (372).

> 372. Bove (e):159 declares: "The Fueglans have an amazing gift of speech [i.e., talent for story-telling!]; very often an old man in the huts will start talking and tell about battles, violent storms, meetings with the evil spirit, and hunting adventures for hours without stopping."

These gatherings are indispensable for the secured and orderly continuance of the entire tribe; they enrich the individual and promote the general welfare. When a gathering breaks up, the participants scatter to the four winds, fully satisfied by the experience and with renewed strength within themselves, willing to conform faithfully to the prevailing obligations and laws.

Thus the larger as well as the smaller gatherings of families are extraordinarily valuable; the individual derives the most benefit from them, and the group as a whole gains many advantages. In this connection there is also the half-serious, half-humorous verbal contest known as wiła?ka (p. 958) which is sometimes followed by a regular fist fight between two groups who finally smash all the implements at hand belonging to each other. It starts out of sheer exuberance, and although the participants become very excited during the mad encounter, they end it with their tempers calmed. Finally, the hólnéłpi, a social celebration on a more modest scale, must be mentioned. It takes place when a few people gather for some happy occasion, for example, if the hunt was very successful or if a girl's parents give their daughter to a young man as his wife. The persons arranging it gather a great amount of meat and invite everyone available to a common meal. The almost commanding influence of a yékamna has already been described (p. 685). He is never at the same time a yékamał. He is very conspicuous at a mourning; he speaks comforting words to those who are most affected, pointing out to them that Wanginłgwa has let their relative die out of righteous indignation and as a punishment. In kindly words, he constantly points out tribal customs to the younger people. Thus, each yékamna exerts his influence through precept and example.

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60| There are several words to express the relationship of friends, which occasionally can also be used in the sense of being related.

[P74]

ufgakiīf, friend (14, 10. 12; 11, 8)

kurūgala, friends (15, 8)

dkīnaka, female friend (cognates 1, 36)

kurūkindeian, female friends (15, 9)

ĪgĪgakīpeiamalim, bad women (prostitutes 15, 30).

/787/ The word "related" or "relative" cannot be translated as such (see "female friend"), since it is usually more specific. mūkīr, "connected together like relatives," in the dual mūkīrpai, in the plural mūkīryamalim. magĪta, "blood relatives," dual magĪtĪpai. sōnnakita, "without male relatives, without friends who could offer help in combat, without brothers, without uncle, without cousin." -- For the rest we must come back to this in the individual items.

tāī (an), tāīta, grandfather	gūīana, grandmother
hau tāīan, hau tāī(ō)n, 1. do.	haua gūīanan, 1. do.
ūn tāīta, 2. do.	ūn gūīanan, 2. do.
kīr tāīan, 3. do.	īna gūīanan, 2. do.
kīr tāīan, 3. do.	kīr in gūīanan, 3. do.
kīr tāīta, 3. do.	kōnjimin gūīanan, 3. do.

If the reader is struck by the fact that two different roots are used in the compound expression, this will be immediately explained in what follows; "great uncle" is called gūīaiakōn, whereas a word for "great aunt" is nowhere to be found.

60| 103 Regions are also linked with kinship terms, for example, kī-kaiamakīkaus, "the land of my grandmothers, ." more accurately with īni which means "land"; thus, kī-kaiamākīkas-īni, and

kī-kaiamākīku-īa, male, kī-kaiamākus-a-kīpa, female relative from there. In the opposite direction, the expression can also refer to the grandchildren: "the land of someone's grandchild." kī-kaiamākus-īpai means that two persons have connections with the grandmother's or the grandchildren's country.

hannaiamalim, my countrymen	hanna-kīpaiamalim, do., f., sing.
hannaia, do. m.	hanna-kīpa, do. f.

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431 category belong bone points for the harpoon, made of a whale rib
574 (Fig. 45), lumps of pyrite (p. 41), guanaco leather, and so forth. A woman, on the other hand, will please her female guest with one of the various ornaments and chooses a form that is not made elsewhere. Whatever a person hands his guest at parting, as a souvenir, as it were, should be particularly valuable, without blemish, and of the finest workmanship! This is the attitude behind the instruction regularly given the uswáala in the čiéxaus. When the other person reaches home, he will have leisure to examine the gift and evaluate it. He will soon tell his neighbor what he thinks of it. They speak favorably and respectfully of the giver only if generosity and magnanimity are reflected in his gift.

572 Besides the need for the company of others, a highly de-
574 veloped feeling of friendship impels certain individual families and smaller family groups to gather together more frequently. Inasmuch as they understand each other better, usually because of their natural disposition, they appreciate each other more and this awakens the desire to meet often and be together for a longer time. One really finds genuine friendship among the Yamana, which is self-sacrificing and entirely unselfish. The persons linked by such friendship are, like loving brothers and sisters, closely allied for mutual assistance.

574 Families who have little or no contact with one another
576 separate after a brief exchange without a formal farewell. When they do not want to stay longer, they silently and without fuss drag their things to the canoe, load their meager belongings in a few minutes, and, without a greeting, row off in the chosen direction. When relatives and good friends take leave of each other, however, there is a noisy and animated farewell. They discuss their decision beforehand. If one family should remain behind, they help the other in moving. If two or more families have decided to abandon their common campsite at the same time, they have a last, long talk, then they soundlessly gather their things together and do not let another word fall as they depart (436).

436. Bridges (MM:III, 11;1869) soundly confirms this: "When there is a new arrival, a greater or lesser public

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demonstration in loud speaking and vociferation, according to the feelings of the person speaking. So also, when a canoe or canoes depart, a public notice in the same way is given" /cited in English/.

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There is an atmosphere of intimate friendship among families who travel together for a certain time and camp beside each other. They are constantly finding occasions for neighborly visits on the beach. In any case the hunting successes of one family will attract the other, or one brings home things that the other could not find, and these are now /1018/ exchanged. Moreover, implements must be mended or new weapons made. For all this they like to ask the help or at least the opinion of their neighbor, if only out of the need to chat once more. These people are so intimate that they are as much at home in each other's huts as in their own. Whenever a family comes home with rich spoils, these in themselves have sufficient power of attraction to draw the neighbors without an invitation. Sometimes they are specially called together (437). If the gathering is somewhat large, it is known as

437. Bridges (VP:XIII, 213;1866) refers to this: "Sometimes a man and his wife give a feast; they then make a great fire, and cook what food they have, and when all is ready, they call the people together to partake. The host serves out the feast, and behaves very generously, and they are then very chatty" /cited in English/.

čkinaspi and has a certain formality. No matter what the arrangement, however, the atmosphere is intimate and unconstrained.

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usually they draw parallel lines of different colors across the face, crooked lines on the cheeks and nose, the most peculiar drawings on chest and arms. But most of them are satisfied with very thick applications of several colors on hair, face, and body." Like Bove, travelers of earlier times did not recognize the meaning and significance of the body painting of our Tamana.

feels impelled to do this whenever many people are assembled, brought to the same place by chance. Every person, no matter what sex or age, paints at least his face and is careful to give his drawing a symmetrical arrangement. The arrangement and choice of symbols is completely arbitrary; the same person will change the pattern from one day to another. Some take more pains than others, depending on their disposition. Some are good at putting together all three colors; most of them are partial to white. Younger people use the little painting stick with scrupulous care, whereas older people handle it very carelessly. The torso and arms are decorated with perpendicular and horizontal lines and rows of dots; the legs are more rarely decorated. In general, however, less attention is given to the painting of the body than to facial painting.

Since everyone has absolute freedom in this ornamentation, it would be useless to try to discover a certain system or a basic meaning. Even the same person likes to see himself in one pattern today, another tomorrow. No actual contest develops between persons, although petty jealousies and envy because of physical advantages are never lacking.

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Visitors are obliged to adhere to a certain ornamentation, and this is a matter of good breeding. In this case it is true that one can recognize meaning and purpose in the drawing itself. Any color pattern on the face, no matter how simple, suffices; it is almost always white. A person decorates himself with it, as time and fancy dictate, and goes to the neighboring hut. The visitor honors the hut owner with his facial painting, and the host is appreciative of what the visitor has unanimously striven to attain.

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If someone expects a visitor, he also decorates himself beforehand. If a visitor comes unexpectedly, however, the master of the hut does not reach for his painting material to decorate himself in the presence of his guest. He does this later on, returns the visit in the hut of the other, and in this way thanks him for the honor previously bestowed on him. Despite the closest kinship between individuals, it is a matter of principle never to omit such a declaration of love or honor, and they do not avoid the slight effort involved in facial /432/ painting, for example, just because of the cordial understanding that exists between close relatives. Everyone adheres very punctiliously to this duty.

In general it is regarded as reprehensible negligence, and almost contemptuous disrespect, for children to visit their parents in their hut, for Tagalog candidates to visit their sponsors in later years, and for young people to visit their older relatives and friends without having decorated themselves with a facial painting. This painting is meant to express the fact that the visitor bestows on the other the pleasure of his coming and that he is happy to be there. That is why the master of the hut sooner or later responds likewise with a facial painting to express his pleasure over the visit and his gratitude toward the guest.

We must call this decoration an actual duty which applies to all young and middle-aged persons without exception. Old women also conform to it, whereas old men become negligent. Although for visits any pattern of colors on the face is permissible and sufficient, the natives nevertheless prefer two thin, parallel red lines beginning on either side of the nostrils and extending horizontally across the cheek to the ear. Among adults this facial painting has the same meaning everywhere.

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Young people who visit their elderly relatives, children who visit their relatives, Tagalog candidates who visit their sponsors, and finally a lover who visits his betrothed wife, all these persons paint a few thin, straight red lines in the form of rays across the middle part of their cheeks. This decoration expresses heightened love and attachment. In accordance with this thoughtful custom, Tagalog candidates regularly appear in

/[illegible]/

342 the hut of their sponsors with this decoration. They are especially close to their sponsors because the latter painted them with this decoration every day in the Great Hut of the initiation. Without exception it is the sponsor, in the role of a second mother, who, overjoyed by the visit of the child she sponsored, immediately wipes off his decoration and in its place draws the decoration of visitors mentioned above. Other people see this and are also happy, and in their satisfaction over the cordial understanding between the two, say: "That boy [that girl] was painted by his sponsor!" Not infrequently this woman goes to see the sponsored child in his hut. In order to announce to him and everyone in the vicinity how happy she is, she goes to him and paints the red perpendicular stripes on his cheek, as she did so often during the festival of the *Kiskaus*. Her action never fails to have a favorable effect on the neighbors.

342 The fact that our Yamana commonly used decorative painting when they paid visits is an adequate explanation of the many accounts from the period of the first European travelers, who constantly emphasize that the natives approached the foreign ships with an unusual and peculiar facial painting. Precisely because /[illegible]/ this was a duty familiar to them in their relations with their own people, they applied it to the white strangers also (113).

113. The experience of Reverend Despard (b):679 on his first journey in April, 1857, in Cisne-Bay Harbor will suffice as an example from more recent times: The natives "had painted their cheeks, some with red ocre, some with charcoal; one had white lines horizontally drawn across the nose and eyes; another had white dots, in three rows, on each cheek, and a single row down his nose; some were tattooed" /cited in English/. — Compare Lovisato (b):147.

342 The Indians adhere still more strictly to their habit of decorating themselves for occasions other than visits, but these

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264 regard him as moderate and slow. Modest and contented reserve
574 is very much praised (366). When several people are together,

366. Earlier Despard (b):680 mentioned that the Yamana "hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'smalleater' " /cited in English/.

they watch each other; the one who acts as though he would rather not eat a thing makes the best impression. Within the narrower family circle people are emphatically warned of mistakes of this nature in the presence of a stranded whale, for now there is great danger that someone will let himself go too far, given this favorable opportunity. In all this there is probably also an unconscious warning against damaging one's own health. It has been proved that the human stomach does not tolerate the great amounts of fat that are suddenly offered it. It is necessary to become somewhat accustomed to it (367). There is another

367. Bridges (MM:IX, 13;1878), on April 20, 1874, observed the ravenous appetite of several families: "The natives have suffered much temporary pain from eating the whale, and I hear that this is usual at first, but passes off with the continued use of whale-meat" /cited in English/. Thus a certain habituation is necessary for a normal digestion when large amounts of fat are eaten.

danger. Whale fat is considered tastier the longer the animal has lain dead in the water; it then melts by itself and is known as *ɛ́galɛ́x* in this state. Not infrequently there is serious poisoning when such putrified fat and meat are eaten, as missionaries have
164 262 repeatedly reported.

For example, we have the following description by Lawrence, dated March 25, 1887 (MM:XXI, 173;1887): "A canoe brought

/662 cont./

591 his abilities. The young bride feels differently. Although she
593 has long been accustomed to all the work that now falls upon her, she at first neither feels nor understands the actual meaning and lifework of her marital state. Sometimes she is overcome by an irresistible feeling of loneliness which depresses her and makes her silent and sad. A young woman may tearfully long for her mother and her sisters. No wonder, then, that the newly married couple
[514] will visit the family of the young wife at brief intervals, where she will be comforted and encouraged by her own mother. Each time, the old woman paints her daughter's face with delicate lines, so that her husband will love her more day by day. When finally the greatly desired first child arrives, this situation at once changes very much for the better, for now the young woman is occupied day and night, her activity is the happiest one for a woman, and in her arms she finally holds the symbolic expression of her husband's love.

It is sometimes a considerable sacrifice for the parents to have to part with their daughter, especially if they are old and are completely alone when their last child is taken from them. Their only hope is the prospect that the young couple will remain with them for a time or visit them often and that the son-in-law will perform all kinds of services for them. It is very different with the parents of the boy, who are happy that he is finally going to establish his own household with the girl of his choice (44).

44. Hyades (q):378 exaggerates the duration of this living together: "Usually the young husbands...live for a long time with the parents of their wives, to whom they render many services" /translated from French/.

They wish him all kinds of happiness and follow with interest the development of the new family, without interfering. The parents of both parties are well aware that henceforth it is no longer proper for them to bother their child too often and on
604 account of trifles. Oddly enough, the paternal uncle, indirowa, and the maternal aunt, yéxadibi (BD:645 writes yekadibi), have the privilege of instructing and admonishing the husband or the wife to an extent far exceeding the few concessions that ancient

/786 cont./

881 "Gossiping at the home of other people and chattering a lot
867 in the hut create /787/ agitation and even start quarrels. Be quiet and reticent in speech. Too many words only cause mischief as a rule."

"You will now experience the wéix [the appearance of menstruation] with every moon. Be particularly active and industrious at that time, eat little and always only the good things. Think always of what we have taught you and of how you conducted yourself when you were rímkipa!"

Every woman who feels it is necessary repeats this advice to the girl, always along similar lines. The mother herself tells her how she must dab the blood with small bundles of éiiki /Berberis shavings/ which she must immediately burn, so that the men and children will never see them. /Fig. 79 appears here./

881 During these days the rímkipa is
302 also obliged to wear a special facial painting, consisting of fine red lines placed close together, drawn from below the eyes down over both cheeks (Fig. 79). For this purpose ími /red pigment/ is used, mixed with fish oil and applied with a thin stick.

Fig. 79. Facial Painting during the Menarche.

881 The conclusion of all the ob-
574 servances and requirements on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation is the so-called "big meal" for all those present. It is called rímkipa tatu (193), "the big meal of the girl who has

193. BD:423 also gives "tatu: to distribute a lot of mussels to all people around" /cited in English/.

reached maturity." It is like a public banquet, to which the girl personally invites all tribal members. It is her duty to gather many mussels and crabs, berries, and birds' eggs; the other people contribute the most of sea lions and birds, as well as a great many fish. Then in a gay mood they all sit around the quantities of food and enjoy themselves. They remain together a whole day, and the rímkipa must serve each of them again and again or encourage

/757 cont./

921 them to eat. Then all the participants disperse and tell every-
574 one: "That girl gave us good things to eat, fish, mussels, and other things!" They are referring to the ŋ'kipa tam, and everyone who hears about it interprets the words in this way. Now everyone knows that the girl has reached physical maturity.

β. Women during the Menses

841 An account of how a woman conducts herself during her monthly bleeding, ŋ'pana, is inserted here. The ŋ'kipa has already been told that "this occurence will be repeated with each moon." It scarcely causes a woman /758/ any noticeable discomfort. Just as during the first menstruation, every woman blots up the blood with a small bunch of ŋ'ŋ'ki and burns it inconspicuously in the bar fire.

Abstention from certain foods is not exactly demanded, but the woman is supposed to choose better pieces for herself, "for only these are good for her!" She must practice composure and withdrawal, be silent and yet very active. All this is not so strictly demanded of her as of a ŋ'kipa, but a woman cannot take it too lightly, because this would have a bad effect on her children. Everyone knows exactly what is demanded by tribal custom, hence the individual more or less conscientiously and faithfully fulfills this obligation (194).

> 194. Hahn's (x):804 opinion is not very accurate: "Subsequent menstrual periods do not give rise to any particular practices and do not prevent sexual relations" /translated from French/.

γ. Interpretation of Menstruation

The fact that Lola's menstruation began during my second sojourn in Beagle Channel (p. 568) made it not only possible for me to get most of the above details, but also put me on the trail of the mythological interpretation of the menses as the Yaghans tell it.

/775 cont./

> practice was not customary among the Tamana according to my inquiries.

easily imagine how the poor creatures who are orphaned suffer for years. Some relative, to be sure, takes charge of them and tries his best to care for them, but he cannot replace their real parents.

Even after children have long since established their own households, they often visit their old parents (208) out of a childish

> 208. In the following words, which are incomprehensible to me, Lovisato (b):145 proves that he lacks a gift for observation: "Among the Fuegians...maternal love does not exist. The love of a mother for her child lasts only as long as he is nursing; when he leaves the breast, it diminishes, and by the time he is seven or eight years old it ceases completely... Also, the children have little love for their parents" /translated from Italian/.

desire for love; they are happy when they can see them and inquire about their circumstances. /776/ When they meet other people, they try to learn something about their own parents. The latter, too, follow their child no less with their thoughts and hopes when, as sometimes happens, they do not see him for months. They are happy when they hear good and pleasant news; unfavorable and derogatory reports make them sad. It is well known that during the first several weeks, the new bride often goes back to her mother, and the mother, overjoyed, says to her: "I want to paint you!" She does this with particular tenderness and in the hope that the young husband will learn to love her daughter very much (p.408). Afterwards the daughter presents herself to her husband and says: "My mother painted me!" This is intended to remind him of the wedding and to arouse his initial love. The frequent visits, however, are always all an expression of the firm attachment of the child to the parents, which even marriage does not lessen.

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/944 cont./

X881 him carefully and try to guess who he was, exchanging observa-
524 tions with glances or in a very low voice. The masker would leave after a while, without having identified himself. At any rate, this strange visit offered the gathering a refreshing change.

X881 7. Visits. It is convenient to add to our description of songs and dances a brief discussion of the ceremonious visits of a sepa-
574 rate group of people to the ǯʒexaus hut on any day. It is easy to guess the reason for this custom. Of necessity a few older persons remain behind in the camp while the ǯʒexaus celebration is going on in the Great Hut, either on account of illness or to care for the small children. They are, of course, free to come at any time, but the entire assembly also wants to thank formally those who /945/ devote themselves to the supervision of the camp. The solemn welcome is supposed to be a substitute to the outsiders for all the lovely things they must forgo. On their part, the inmates of the Great Hut feel honored by the interest of those persons who come on one occasion or another to the ǯʒexaus gathering. Naturally, only adults who have gone through an initiation may enter.

The visit would not take place under any circumstances unless there had been an announcement from one side or the other. Usually the outsiders who feel a compulsion to spend an evening once again among their fellow-tribesmen announce themselves. They inform the leader of their intention, either through the kitchen women or directly. Some preparation must be undertaken within the Great Hut; it would be quite impossible for the group of visitors to come there abruptly.

X881 A good, accurate facial decoration, such as is customary for visits, is the only special preparation the visitors must make. It
574 is unnecessary for them to paint the body. This is not the case for
302 the people in the ǯʒexaus hut, who, besides their facial painting, also decorate the whole body. A background of white pigment is first applied on the face and body. Over this a red line the width of a finger runs from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. Over the whole body, as well as on arms and legs, finger-thick red rings are drawn and spaced a hand's breadth apart. Everyone,
[381] of course, wears his hapaxfi. The ufwʒala are decorated with particular care on this occasion to prove to the visitors how attentively the candidates are cared for.

1: Guinde--830 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 S186 Yahgan S186

X389
S74

/945 cont./

It is much more important, however, to put the Great Hut in order for the visitors. There is already a certain amount of order, and wherever some detail needs attention, everyone will lend a hand from the vantage point of his particular seat, but they are painfully exact about seeing to it that the remains of food and all signs of meals are removed. Nothing is to arouse the suspicion that eating goes on here. Hence everybody is very busy just before the visitors enter: the ground is swept, the fire and ashes tended to, dirt and refuse destroyed in the flames, and at his own place everyone puts his few possessions in order. A visit is always the occasion for an extraordinarily thorough cleaning of the whole interior of the hut. They wish to honor the arrivals with a room that is beyond reproach.

Visitors are not permitted to enter until impeccable cleanliness has been achieved. If someone should actually arrive too soon, that is, at a time when the occupants are still busy tidying up, they head him off in an effective, if impolite, manner. The person who sees the visitor lets out a loud roar and, with a stick, showers ashes and glowing embers through the entrance in his direction, so that he involuntarily /946/ steps back. This gives the occupants enough time to finish cleaning the Great Hut undisturbed.

At the proper moment a man inside will lift the piece of hide from the main entrance, and by doing so he clearly invites in all the visitors who have assembled in front of it. More often the winefiwe steps out in front of the Great Hut through the main opening and invites them in. They follow his bidding and crowd through the entrance. They are received by extraordinarily loud cries of hŏ, hŏ... from all the inmates. For their part, they return these cries, and with short, dragging steps they meanwhile move through the interior of the hut in a compact line up to the opposite secondary exit. Here they turn around and go back again to the main entrance. Often the visitors are joined by a few of the regular inmates of the Great Hut, and in time to the everyday singing, the entire group dances over the fire area, lifting their dance staffs with rolling motions of their hands.

After this dance the visitors take their place near the main entrance which has meanwhile been cleared. The formalities are

X881
S74

/946 cont./

limited to a stay of about two hours during which time the visitors remain seated, observe the procedure of the Zikwage hut, and take part in group dances and games. At the very beginning the ukwala are all specially introduced to the visitors. The ukwala were assembled beforehand near the secondary entrance and were then painted with special care. For the time being they were hidden from the eyes of the visitors behind a narrow curtain of animal skins which was hung up for this purpose, or they were obliged to crouch behind adults who sit crowded together. At a signal from the leader, every sponsor leads his hlakanyana to the visitors. They look at each ukwala for some time, but do not say anything. Thereupon the sponsors accompany their wards back to their regular places. The purpose of this presentation of the ukwala is to give the visitors a chance to see for themselves the candidates' healthy condition and well-being.

It is a particular honor for the inmates of the hut to have the visitors take part in the social games, which are, therefore, always introduced and go on for some time. In spite of all the gaiety and joy that predominate at this time, too, everyone present nevertheless maintains a recognizable well-bred reserve out of respect for the visitors. The latter finally leave without a farewell greeting and without any fuss, after they have had a satisfactory look at the activity in the Zikwage hut. Those left behind now think about the participation of the visitors in their performances, while the visitors who have returned to the dwellings talk about their impressions for a long time. After a visit there is always deep silence in the Zikwage hut; even the monotonous, uninterrupted /947/ singing sounds very soft and weak. There are no definite rules for the frequency of such visits.

X881

With this account we have probably exhausted everything in the way of formalities and duties that are incumbent on the adults during the Zikwage celebration. They have been arranged in this presentation according to unified points of view. They show unequivocally how much the freedom of the adults also is curtailed. They love this restraint, however, and willingly accept it, for in it and by means of it every participant becomes "a genuine, true Temana again," according to old Albedo's convincing words.

/970 cont./

623 593 members is visibly symbolized by the hut in which they all find shelter. The man and woman are simultaneously active in its construction, although he is obliged to do the heavier work and she the much easier light work. The children work, too, no matter how slight their participation is. In like manner, both spouses equally keep the hut in repair after it has been built. It is primarily the woman's duty to perform minor repairs. The skins needed to cover the hut framework are furnished by the man from hunting, while the woman dresses the skin. She sews and transports these pieces of leather in her canoe. No other articles are required as common property for the construction of the hut. Naturally, everyone, without discrimination, enjoys the benefit of the fire, since all the members of the family, in one way or another, see that it does not go out.

623 592 If, in an exceptional case, two or three families should erect a common dwelling (p. 38), they readily agree on the division of space, within which each one does as he pleases. If one family wanders off sooner than another, they take down their pieces of leather from the framework and load their own things into their canoe. The family that stays behind then closes off the space that they still want to occupy.

623 594 594 Only the husband or the wife has the right to permit this guest or that visitor to enter their hut. It is generally regarded as an encroachment to enter a hut without permission, although this is usually tacitly assumed. Once the family has given up their campsite /971/ and departed with their implements, the hut framework left behind is regarded as ownerless. Whoever first takes possession of it lawfully owns it and may settle in it undisturbed.

622 593 In a certain sense the various foods are also doubtless regarded as common property of the family, the idea being that the husband and the wife are obliged to seek food for themselves and the members of their family. The Fuegians' convictions concerning this obligation comes out most clearly when an indolent, lazy man neglects his hunting and lets his family starve. The whole neighborhood expresses its displeasure, and the society even grants the wife the right to leave such a neglectful husband. The man collects meat for the whole family, and the woman gathers smaller animals for all her loved ones, indiscriminately, for

/[illegible] cont./

426 the mission ship. "When I lent him the axe, people on board the 'Allen Gardiner' thought and said, 'You will not see that axe again. As for the wood he promises to cut and carry, and get ready by the time the ship comes again, you may whistle for it'; but I made the experiment, and it answered well. The wood was ready, the axe was returned on our next visit some months after" /cited in English/ (Mbé VI, [illegible]).

43 Great generosity and unselfishness are conspicuous basic features in the character of the Yanomo. The duty toward mutual assistance demands that everyone distribute his booty among others without reservation. Beyond that, some people take particular pleasure in lavishly remembering neighbors with the yields from hunting and gathering (388). We shall not speak here of this habit.

388. Hyades (p.243 gained the impression "that the natives especially enjoy ownership in order to have the right to distribute what they have and for the pleasure of being generous" /translated from French/.

431 Understandably, the giving of presents takes on considerable proportions. The articles involved are primarily foodstuffs which everyone can easily and quickly obtain, ornaments, and, finally, articles for daily use. It is taken for granted, so to speak, that women who occupy the same camp for a few days surprise each other now and then with gifts of meat and fruit. A visitor from far or near always brings something along /[illegible]/ which he offers the others, chiefly fresh meat or a beautiful skin. This makes it necessary for the recipient to show his appreciation as soon as possible. This is quickly done by giving someone who is departing something special, above all tools and handwork. The men often finished weapons or parts of weapons and raw materials, the women primarily ornaments and small baskets. The gift is given and received without any formality, without a word, without meaningful gestures expressing one's feelings.

/1009 cont./

§34 alone. In such cases the visitor is supposed to remain standing in front of the hut entrance and from here make known his or her wish, unless they prefer to wait for a more suitable occasion. As a rule, everyone first finds out whether the person to whom he wishes to speak is accompanied by others in the hut before he visits him. In order to prevent any embarrassment or, above all, gossip, women who value their reputations customarily take a child along whenever they enter a strange hut. Nelly Lawrence made it a rule to do this. Although she was the mistress of the house and on each of my four journeys I was a guest of long standing in her house, nevertheless she never visited the room assigned to me unless she was accompanied by at least one of her children. Gertie did the same. If a successful hunter lets his wife distribute some of his booty among the neighboring huts, she observes the prescribed rules (p.474). It is well known that, in spite of this, a man now and then secretly meets a woman for illicit intercourse, and the persons who arouse justified suspicion are carefully watched. It has been mentioned several times that gifts are never directly given to a woman by a man or to a man by a woman.

• 534 What we have just said about prescriptions for social intercourse does not mean that it is basically undermined or seriously curtailed. As a matter of fact, frequent visits back and forth are not only a social requirement, but also a very human, psychological one. Under the pressure of the daily food quest the family must, in any case, again and again go their way alone while parents, as well as children, are fully occupied with the tasks assigned them. /1010/ It is only in the evening that they have a few hours of intimate social life, if indeed they are not too tired. In the long run, however, this is not enough; hence, they gladly welcome every visitor who comes to them. He will surely have something new to tell them, report all kinds of incidents, and answer a few questions and inquiries. Both parties are pleased and stimulated by the meeting. Occasionally a family must seek aid [476] among others, for example, when they have lost some implements in a storm, when they lack food or materials for implements, when they find themselves burdened with a helpless sick person, or have suffered loss by death. Since assistance in such cases can be obtained only from other families, they are urgently drawn to them,

/1810 cont./

•574 and they cleave to these families wherever they meet them.

Aside from that, each family must now and then appear among their nearest relatives; otherwise the latter might suspect dislike or even animosity, and the former could not count on aid in an emergency. Anyone who has a crime on his conscience, however, remains hidden and for many months avoids being seen by others. Even if a hostile person should arrive on a visit -- this would happen only if the person were impelled by urgent necessity or were in the company of others -- he would never be refused admission by a Tamana. The visitor may stay as long as he likes; the owner of the hut would not by the faintest sign give the impression that he is tired of him.

No matter who arrives, he is received with warm hospitality, and this is especially true of relatives and good friends. If a family in a canoe sees another family on the water, they hasten toward each other and usually agree to head for shore where they will erect huts next to each other. A man on shore who sees a canoe coming toward him will hasten down to the water and say to the one who is disembarking: "Come quickly into my hut. I have a good fire, rest yourself there!" He will call to the man's wife: "Tie up your canoe quickly. You, too, come immediately to my hut, it is wet and cold out here!" The two men immediately go to the hut and the wife of the visitor will soon follow. They warm themselves at the fire and eat what the mistress of the hut offers them. They may near the entrance so that they can easily keep an eye on their implements and belongings. When they have refreshed themselves, are thoroughly warmed, and have rested sufficiently and talked a little, they get up and hasten out. The owners of the hut follow them, and all join forces to build a hut for the new arrivals. No matter who requests admittance into the hut of our Tamana, even if many people have to crowd together in the small space, they are always welcome and no one is sent away, least of all when the weather is threatening.

Just as every visitor is readily received, so that one scarcely /1811/ notices a difference in the treatment of friend or stranger, so is he generously provided with food. The owners of the hut spontaneously and regularly offer the best they have. They

/1011 cont./

514 hold nothing back, for they aim to please and satisfy their guests, and they are not sorry if their entire supply is consumed. Even a person who has come for the express purpose of eating his fill for once -- perhaps he saw his host returning home with rich spoils -- is not turned away, but can freely indulge his appetite. It is not customary for the visitor to ask for anything. The owner of the hut already knows the other's intention and serves him everything he has on hand. He is glad to do this also because, at the next opportunity, he will visit the one who is now his guest. Thus a person may eat first in one hut and then in another, but eventually he also must show that he is a generous host. No one expresses thanks for what he has eaten, even if choice tidbits have been offered him (430). Since everyone wishes to avoid being called

> 430. Bridges (k):240 was acquainted with this custom which is strange to Europeans: "The natives...never express thanks, but on every occasion are prompt to repay [the] services" /translated from Spanish/.

stingy or mean, he offers his guest everything he has with unmistakable generosity (431).

> 431. According to Dobbens (b):200 the Tamana are "hospitable, and however scanty the provisions may be, a new arrival will always find a place near the fire and some food. But they accept it coolly in silence, and if one has provisions, he must divide them with the rest" /translated from Spanish/.

574 514 In view of this, it might seem surprising that our Tamana also regard moderation as one of their social virtues. Everyone must act as though he did not care anything at all about eating. Not even in front of his own family, let alone as a visitor in front of others, would a person say that he is hungry. Quite the contrary, if something is offered, he acts almost as though he were offended and waits quite some time before he actually helps himself. At the same time his stomach often grumbles so loudly from hunger

/1011 cont./

576 that everybody in the vicinity knows about it. A person who be-
264 haves too greedily and hastily at meals, who audibly drinks and
smacks, is unquestionably regarded as a glutton and sacrifices a
great deal of standing. When one is hungry, he cleverly feigns
otherwise and fills his stomach without making his hosts conscious-
ly aware of it. Very early Despard (b):680 observed this attrac-
tive trait: "They hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their lan-
guage the word for gentleman is 'small-eater'" /cited in English/.
In this respect they are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. 1, 474).

264 When the Fuegians are by themselves, however, or in the
small circle of most intimate friends, their great voracity oc-
casionally breaks all bounds, and the sight is sometimes repulsive
even to their own countrymen (p. 331). As is well known, they
grasp the usually very hot piece of meat /1012/ with their hands,
put it to their mouths, and tugging hard, they tear off thick pieces
with their teeth. The abundant blubber and meat juice ooze out
of both corners of their mouths, and thick drops of it fall on their
knees and thighs. They rub it on their faces and bodies and lick
their sticky fingers with their tongues. The scene around a stranded
whale is almost disgusting, for everyone discards the customary
cautious self-control and stuffs himself with such large amounts
that his taut belly stands out prominently. In drinking, which
271 was formerly limited to water, no one need restrain himself. The
Yamana drink large quantities daily.

574 Ordinary visits are quiet and without ceremony. The visitor
576 enters the hut, looks around, and sits down near the fire. Con-
siderable time goes by before the owner of the hut addresses him,
and then there is another interval before the visitor consents to
converse or to make known his reason for coming. He leaves
again just as woodlessly. Certain forms of greeting, however, are
576 customary among them (432): when they are separating to go long
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432. Therefore I reject what Spegazzini (a):166 says, for example, and what Despard (b):696 maintained in the following words: "There are no gestures of affection amongst them; they neither kiss, rub noses, nor shake hands. Nevertheless, the affection exists, and is strong" /cited in English/. The former,

/1013 cont./

576 This greeting is usually not answered. If someone wants to reply, he says: "ña yélla, you may go": "leave me, or You may leave me" /cited in English/.

If a person meets another in friendly fashion, he throws out an "ʃpa ʃí, how are you?" If the other has nothing special to report, he smilingly repeats this ʃpa ʃí. Often, however, he comes out, rather unconsciously, with: "bíf hʃíma, I'm not too well!" No one takes this seriously, however. Others who are not so close to each other walk past utterly mute and are content with a few mutual glances in which, however, they visibly express all kinds of feelings (434).

434. Spegazzini (a):167 who denies that our Yamana have any kind of social etiquette nevertheless confesses: "They exchange looks that are as eloquent as any speech..." /translated from Spanish/. Compare also the brief footnote 433.

• 577 From an earlier period Despard (b):716 describes a form of welcome which I cannot confirm from my own experience. "The mode of receiving strangers is strange. Comers are seen approaching -- wigwam people hear the news -- and consult as to who they may be, look about inside, and make as many spaces round the fire as there are guests to occupy them. Newcomers enter and occupy. Then the in-party turn their back to the fire and make a simultaneous talking. The newly-arrived make a general response. Then both parties assume the face-to-fire position and the ceremony of reception is concluded" /cited in English/.

577 302 An actual visit is quite generally referred to as tʃppi, not just under the circumstances mentioned by BD:409. The visitor is not supposed to appear without any kind of body painting. At least a few white or red lines are drawn on the face, following the pattern customary for the ufwʃala in the ʃíʃxaus. Women and children are much more punctilious about this duty than are older men. For simple visits one or two horizontal lines, say from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes, suffice. A person who wishes to honor the other particularly not only paints his face more elaborately, but also very precisely. Besides their faces, older women in particular also decorate the entire upper part of their bodies with

/1013 cont./

514 great care. This type of decoration, which is more or less com-
302 plicated, is used when a child appears before its parents, a bride-
groom before his bride, a woman before her intimate female
friend. Young people who have already gone through the čiexaus
would not be permitted to present themselves before their sponsor
or their adoptive mother, adakutáruwaxípa, without this decora-
tion. Such negligence would be tantamount to an insult or con-
tempt. A person who hears that he will soon have the pleasure of
a visit quickly paints himself to show how pleased he is. If he has
not had time to do it, he paints himself in the presence of the
[608] visitor. The sponsor loves to visit her protégé of the čiexaus and paint
on his cheeks the lines customary for that occasion. All the neigh-
bors praise this evidence of the pair's great intimacy and joyfully
tell everyone: "She [the sponsor] painted him!" /1014/ He
must appear before her now and then with this design, just as
adults, according to the universal rule, are expected to appear
with painted decorations when repaying a visit.

514 Linked with this requirement to decorate oneself for visits
is the related one of physical cleanliness. Everyone at least re-
515 moves the worst dirt from his face and from hands and feet, ar-
ranges his hair, and puts on his cleanest back-cape. No one makes
great demands in this respect, but every visitor must at least show
that he has done a little something to appear clean. Naturally he
puts on his most precious ornaments. All this is to show that the
visitor esteems the one whom he visits.

514 Although the Yamana are unpretentious about physical
cleanliness (p. 28), they are remarkably strict with regard to their
516 natural functions. No one speaks of them. A person who wants
to relieve himself quietly leaves the circle of people and goes some
distance away. Two people would never do it close together; boys
who venture to do so and are observed must expect to have stones
thrown at them and be beaten. A person who has to go out at
night must not show annoyance at having to go far away from the
hut or he would be severely reproached. Children and young people
may not loudly break wind in the circle of older people; the
latter, however, are free to do so and reap smirks of approval.
516 Very loud and vigorous belching does not disturb anyone, nor do
515 the rasping clearing of the throat and the constant spitting. They
are always scratching their heads and all over the body to relieve

/1014 cont./

574 the burdensome itch caused by lice. When they are not doing
575 that, they habitually pick their noses with their thick fingers, and with the flat of the hand they wipe off the phlegm from their noses and smear it on the ground or on the wall of the hut. In all these things our Yamana resemble the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 465), but the latter are in general cleaner than the Yamana. Every European is considerably repulsed by their offensive behavior which is so far removed from our rules of decency.

574 We must also briefly describe how conversation generally
571 takes place during ordinary visits. A person who has entered a hut as a guest crouches silently by the fire for a while. He does not look about inquisitively nor make conspicuous movements (p. 914). Finally he manages to say a few words in a low voice and leads into unimportant matters. Presently he describes his canoe trip and his experiences with the weather during the last few days. If he happens to have had an exciting hunt, he takes particular pleasure in describing it in minute detail. Meanwhile he works himself into quite a lively state. After that he goes on excitedly and from /1015/ one experience to another, to the satisfaction of those present, and he stops only after many hours. No one dares interrupt him; no one would show boredom, no matter how much he felt it. No matter how great the suspense of those present about a certain incident experienced by the guest, no one would ask specific questions if the guest himself did not get around to telling about it. They do not want to annoy him in any way or to show inquisitiveness by a direct inquiry. The guest ends his tale when he feels like it; no one may presume to ask him to stop because of the late hour. Sometimes a long report is given by a talkative old man, which the company in the circle has heard more than once, but since memories concerning unwritten laws and ancient custom are always interwoven with it, such a story does not fail to have educational value for young people and does a great deal of good.

Frequently an account first given by a man alone develops into a real discussion, but there is never a loud confusion of voices or a disorderly hubbub because the younger people hold back their remarks in favor of their elders and by no means interrupt them. If women are present and something is discussed that concerns them, too, they may of course express their opinions within limits.

/1015 cont./

551 If matters pertaining to a specific person come up in the conversation, his name is not mentioned but is indicated by circumlocutions. The Yamana are particularly adept at this. Two men or women are all the more likely to do it when, in low tones, they discuss someone present. A person is never addressed or called by his first name; this also applies to children. People 192 who are fond of each other avoid flirtatious and endearing expres- 201 sions in front of others. Also, no one shows his dislike for another person. The Yamana do not have expletives and swear words. They roar with laughter, double up and roll convulsively on the floor. When they answer in the affirmative, they utter a deep n sound between closed lips and slowly raise their heads; they express a negative with a long drawn-out "bēf."

It is not only improper but very serious to poke fun at anyone 576 present in such a way that he himself becomes aware of it. Peo- 574 ple who have a guest from distant parts are extraordinarily careful not to arouse the least suspicion that they are disparaging or disdainful about his countrymen or his country. They are governed primarily by the fear that out of revenge for bad treatment the strange visitors might cause them much harm through their yēkamuī at home and might refuse to help anyone from this group who later came to them. They do not have this fear toward children. 522 Since the Yamana /1016/ have a tendency toward ridicule and 576 sarcasm, however, they do not hold back critical and joking opinions in front of those who cannot properly defend themselves. In March, 1923, I had sent a boat from Beagle Channel to the Wollaston Islands with a special message. After a few days it brought back a lad about ten years old, whom Gertie took in temporarily. On the very first evening I saw how all the people present openly made fun of the boy's unfamiliar accent. He spoke the pure southern dialect (p. 200 /untranslated/) of the Yēkusinālā /southern group/. When I expressed my astonishment that they were deviating from their customary behavior, they justified themselves: "That boy speaks a different language than we do. Some words we don't understand. Everything he says sounds so strange that it makes us laugh! After all, he is still young and small, so he can't hurt us if we openly show our amusement!" No one would dare behave this way toward adults from distant regions. When the guests have departed, however, intimate

/1016 cont./

S22 S76 friends discuss in detail, even scornfully and with much amusement, everything they noticed about them or fancifully attribute to them.

431 S74 Unlike the habits of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 470) our Yamana regard it as a duty, so to speak, to give presents to a visitor or guest from distant regions when he leaves. This is altogether in harmony with their unmistakable tendency toward unselfishness and noble generosity. According to Hyades (q):243, their "generous disposition is a characteristic trait of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. I personally had much more opportunity than he did to observe this and to appreciate it. Sometimes, under the influence of great enthusiasm, a person will bountifully give away everything he can possibly do without. One would obviously be unjust to these Indians in supposing that they were generous only so that they would occasionally be praised and repaid with a return gift. Admittedly, they certainly expect it. To that extent Dabbene's (b):200 assertion is correct: "If the Yahgan shows generosity, he does not do it spontaneously, but in the hope that his generosity will be generously repaid" /translated from Spanish/ (435).

> 435. Earlier Bridges (a):213 had pointed out that "these people like to be thought liberal. They therefore are often very generous, and often give away everything they have, but they know they will soon be well rewarded by gifts in return. When fish, or blubber, or any other food is divided, the divider reserves none for himself, and those who come first are sure to be helped the best" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (q):243, Outes (g):57.

Without much ado and without saying a word the owner of the hut places the gift into the hands of his guest and gives him a friendly look. The guest's face lights up with sincere pleasure, and he accepts it silently, without carefully examining or evaluating it. A man, of course, gives his friend the tools that he /1017/ uses in his work and in hunting. A favorite present is some object that is abundant in one region but scarce elsewhere. To this

/1817 cont./

431 category belong bone points for the harpoon, made of a whale rib
574 (Fig. 48), lumps of pyrite (p. 41), guanaco leather, and so forth. A woman, on the other hand, will please her female guest with one of the various ornaments and chooses a form that is not made elsewhere. Whatever a person hands his guest at parting, as a souvenir, as it were, should be particularly valuable, without blemish, and of the finest workmanship. This is the attitude behind the instruction regularly given the uwiala in the Kipuge. When the other person reaches home, he will have leisure to examine the gift and evaluate it. He will soon tell his neighbor what he thinks of it. They speak favorably and respectfully of the giver only if generosity and magnanimity are reflected in his gift.

572 Besides the need for the company of others, a highly de-
574 veloped feeling of friendship impels certain individual families and smaller family groups to gather together more frequently. Inasmuch as they understand each other better, usually because of their natural disposition, they appreciate each other more and this awakens the desire to meet often and be together for a longer time. One really finds genuine friendship among the Yamana, which is self-sacrificing and entirely unselfish. The persons linked by such friendship are, like loving brothers and sisters, closely allied for mutual assistance.

574 Families who have little or no contact with one another
576 separate after a brief exchange without a formal farewell. When they do not want to stay longer, they silently and without fuss drag their things to the canoe, load their meager belongings in a few minutes, and, without a greeting, row off in the chosen direction. When relatives and good friends take leave of each other, however, there is a noisy and animated farewell. They discuss their decision beforehand. If one family should remain behind, they help the other in moving. If two or more families have decided to abandon their common campsite at the same time, they have a last, long talk, then they soundlessly gather their things together and do not let another word fall as they depart (436).

436. Bridges (MS/:III, 11:1869) soundly confirms this: "When there is a new arrival, a greater or lesser public

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demonstration in loud speaking and vociferation, according to the feelings of the person speaking. So also, when a canoe or canoes depart, a public notice in the same way is given" /cited in English/.

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There is an atmosphere of intimate friendship among families who travel together for a certain time and camp beside each other. They are constantly finding occasions for neighborly visits on the beach. In any case the hunting successes of one family will attract the other, or one brings home things that the other could not find, and these are now /1018/ exchanged. Moreover, implements must be mended or new weapons made. For all this they like to ask the help or at least the opinion of their neighbor, if only out of the need to chat once more. These people are so intimate that they are as much at home in each other's huts as in their own. Whenever a family comes home with rich spoils, these in themselves have sufficient power of attraction to draw the neighbors without an invitation. Sometimes they are specially called together (437). If the gathering is somewhat large, it is known as

437. Bridges (VP:XIII, 213;1866) refers to this. "Sometimes a man and his wife give a feast; they then make a great fire, and cook what food they have, and when all is ready, they call the people together to partake. The host serves out the feast, and behaves very generously, and they are then very charity" /cited in English/.

Yámagi and has a certain formality. No matter what the arrangement, however, the atmosphere is intimate and unconstrained.

/1018 cont./

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love of their own ego. How often when I entered a hut did I see the father devouring the food, and women and children with intent eyes, their faces distorted with hunger, sat beside the husband and father, timidly gathering the crumbs that fell from his meal..." A horrible picture such as could arise only in the wild imagination of a Bove! He must have been completely blind to the fact that Mother Nature did not scatter food so meagerly there, and everyone, large and small, can in most places conveniently gather it (p. 281). I also wish to refer to the detailed description, "How They Eat" (p. 322).

pleasure to give his guests beautiful presents and /1019/ his neighbors heavy pieces of game. Bridges (k):241 writes pertinently: [574] "The natives are accustomed to go freely to persons who have game or other excess food, in order to obtain part of it, and they always go away satisfied. They never beg for anything, but the purpose of the visit is understood perfectly. They never offer thanks, but on every occasion they are prompt to repay such services" /translated from Spanish/.

We have just shown (p. 877) that gift-giving is actually a well-developed and well-regulated custom. These Indians also help one another by lending various tools and utensils (p. 875). A person is immediately given anything he asks to borrow, and no matter how long he keeps it, the owner never asks that it be returned, although he does not forget it. Also, I never heard the owner press the other person or say, for example: "Take good care of this article!" Once I observed that someone had to interrupt his work for two days because he had lent his neighbor his iron chisel and did not want to ask for its return. No one, of course, would ask for food, no matter how hungry he is. The obligation to be frugal (pp. 327, 919) and personal pride would forbid it. A calm and optimistic feeling of great assurance gives everyone the happy conviction that he can everywhere count on the best possible help and assistance from the first person he happens to meet! Mutual aid is not limited to near relatives and

437 rency of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
[438] on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
[808] with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
[485] gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

968 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
428 ceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Such burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

574 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries.
[262] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[562] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to man and woman jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.

Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the *ŭdzaus* initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expectorating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

When several families came together to camp, the respective areas kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead. The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked. In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

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575 SOCIALITIES--prevalence of clubs, fraternities, and comparable voluntary associations; types (e.g., lodges, secret societies, men's clubs, women's clubs); organization, characteristics, and activities of each type (e.g., intersodality relationships; origin accounts, paraphernalia, etc.); selection of members; initiation; meetings; special rituals; etc. See also:

Medicine societies 78
Children 340
Mental health societies 426
Cult guilds and lodge unions 447
Athletic clubs 520
Age-grades 601
Military societies 701
Veterans' organizations 702
Cult groups 704
Initiation at puberty 801

1: Gusinde
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SH6 Yahgan SH6

[Information on the Kina or men's society initiation ceremony will be found in category 116, pages 1202-1297.]

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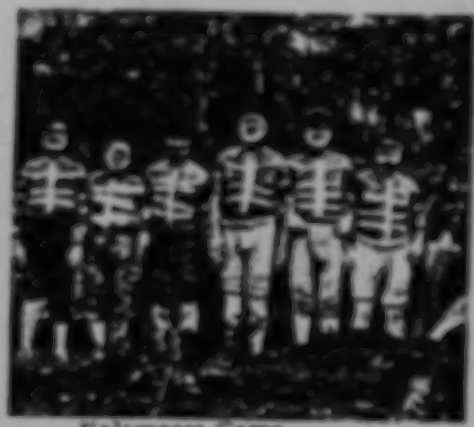
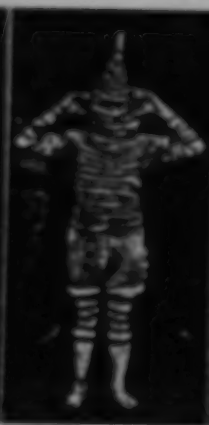
Kina Hut



Kalampana Game

[347]

Kina Spirit



Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

133

Ushuwaia at the Foot of Mount Olivia

1: Gunnde--1455 E-5 (1919-1924) 1937 [illegible] Yahgan [illegible]

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Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Kina-tolaswála

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Kes
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Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

J: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 Sitka Tlingit Sitka

956 He was trained in his professional duties by an older shaman. There was also held a shamans' institute and feast, which could last several months, to condition and school young candidates. During it, the candidates were secluded, and were required to fast, to sing much, to maintain a certain posture, to go with little sleep, and to drink water only through a hollow bird bone; and were taught healing techniques, tricks of the trade, and so forth. Women were barred from this shamans' school. Shamans were not banded into an organized society.

A full-fledged shaman, besides getting help from his special guardian spirit, was also in close touch with the spirit of a deceased shaman. The shaman's relations were with the world of lesser spirits, not with the Supreme Being, Wetasiwéwe; and the latter did not figure in the shamans' school.

The shaman's chief function was that of curing the sick, but he also influenced weather, helped in hunting, prognosticated, and so forth. The familiar procedures of massage, friction, and sucking, with the extraction of some object supposed to be the immediate cause of the disease, were used in curing. Such objects were often believed to have been sent by malevolent shamans from whose power the good shaman endeavored to deliver the victim. An evil shaman could steal and keep in his possession the soul of a victim, and the victim would die unless his soul were freed by another shaman. It was also the function of the shaman to assign to each infant as soon after birth as possible its own yetkiel, a male one to the male infant and a female one to the female. It was the primary and most important duty of the yetkiel to protect its charge against sickness and bodily harm and against dangers of all kind.

Kina rite.—This *Yakpen* institution, with its numerous analogies to the yinthlhana of the *Alaska* (p. 76) and with the klikatat of the *Oregon* (p. 130), could have been properly discussed under Social Culture because it had primarily a social function. But it is treated here because it also had important religious or pseudo-religious features and was largely under the direction of the shamans. In fact only a shaman could be the leader of the kina rite. Back of the kina rite was a long myth of an earlier time when the women held mastery of the tribe and lorded it over the men. To maintain their supremacy the women used masks to impersonate spirits and to hoodwink the men. Finally, one man discovered the deception, told the other men, and overthrew the women, killing all females except one very young child. In the kina rite only men who had passed twice through the *Sénaxu* rite could take part. Women were kept away from the large conical tent. The men secretly painted themselves and wore conical or conoidal masks (pl. 28, *d*) of bark or sealskin to impersonate a very great number

of spirits (pl. III, c). So frightened out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire penalties if they did not remain subjective to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the *Yahgan* have been presented by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1139-1277), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1937, pp. 1279-1294). Perhaps the most important single piece of the mythology is the Yoálox cycle. The elder of the two Yoálox brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the earthquake, the otter, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the medicine men. The long story of the earlier matriarchate was briefly commemorated supra under Kina rite with which it was associated, just as the Yoálox cycle was more or less associated with the fitnum. The chief folklore beings believed in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, the Lokitna water spirits, and the Hánemah giants.

TOOLS AND TECHNOLOGY

In general, *Yahgan* technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and coiled basketry, gives little indication of inventive strivings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple *Yahgan* harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect *Yahgan* culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern *Athabaskan* and northern *Algonquian* of sub-Arctic America.

There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no means of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or, so far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the inclined stick to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Nothofagus betuloides* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 10 feet (3 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a balloonlike cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our own, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 sang, seated in the central part of the lodge. Finally a mock battle between the sexes was staged.

Such then was the *shiehdas* ceremony. On it the Yahgan believed their well-being depended, and without it no one could have any standing in the community. In fact each individual repeated the performance two or more times, but received preferential treatment after the first course.

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[535] [532]

a b

FIG. 92.—Yahgan dance masks. Height of *a*, 27 in. (14/2259, 2258)

After having experienced the *shiehdas*, Yahgan men were allowed to enter the *hiso* ceremony. This rite resembled the Ona *hókten*. Gusinde and Koppers believe that it originated among the Ona, pointing out that inequality of the sexes was foreign to Yahgan precept and that it was not taken so seriously by the Yahgan as the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges speaks of the ribald laughter among the Yahgan women when a mask fell off a supposed spirit, thus revealing his human character.

This ceremony fell into disuse among the Yahgan as early as the eighties of the last century; but it was revived in 1922 for the benefit of Gusinde and Koppers, to whose accounts of it the reader is referred. While differing in details, it was essentially like the Ona rite except that the treatment of the candidates neither lasted so long nor was so severe as among the Foot Indians.

/428 cont./

515 and down over their nostrils; afterwards they draw their hand through grass or moss. No one is offended by belching and
576 breaking wind, the smacking of lips during eating, and gurgling /427/ in drinking. Younger people, however, may not make flatulent noises in the presence of old people without noticeably offending them.

356 In the canoe, in contrast to a campsite on the beach, dirt and filth cannot accumulate, although the family uses it almost daily for their travels. Some water comes into the canoe on all sides, and it is open to rain and snow; hence the whole interior is often rinsed out. True, small remnants of leather and the remains of animals obtained by hunting, food scraps, and shells lie about and produce a noticeable stench, but the salt water prevents fouler decomposition. It never occurs to the Indian to clean his canoe thoroughly, but the forces of nature are more than willing to do it. During the trip, everyone takes care of
514 his natural needs overboard if he cannot wait until the landing.
264 For good reasons the people in the canoe seldom eat and then only a little. They throw refuse into the fire, which is always kept going, or simply overboard.

3. Body Painting

302 We shall speak here only of those efforts of the Yamana which arise from their desire to adorn and beautify themselves. Their interest in rubbing their bodies with fish oil or a suitable kind of earth (p. 66) to protect themselves against the cold or against dirt serves another purpose. The most frequent and principal method of adornment is to paint the face and the whole body. Compared with this, objects for ornamentation are quite secondary (105). Moreover, all painting, whether it is

105. Lothrop (b):125 confirms this: "The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days" /cited in English/.

that of their own bodies or of an object, has a special meaning and a recognizable purpose.

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assured us: "Their common way of cooking is to put everything into the ashes until sufficiently done for their taste, or until their hunger could allow them to wait no longer" /cited in English/. All later observers, for example, Hyades (p):328, vouch for this general rule.

262 Although the Fuegian literally lives from hand to mouth and sometimes finds himself in dire distress, he still shows an astonishing amount of self-control in eating, and this is sometimes forced on him by certain rules. We refer to his duty to cut up the booty he has brought home and let the neighbors share it (p. 314). Moreover, not every individual has free access to a stranded whale, but is content with the pieces that are given him by the chosen distributors (p. 309). Finally there are a few definite food taboos on certain occasions, which everyone observes. A law given by Yoálox says that berries -- actually, only those of Pernettya mucronata -- may not be gathered prematurely, and that they must be left on the bushes until old men declare that they are ripe. If some people should discover favorable spots where there are many berries, they warn their friends and neighbors: "There are many amáim there, but wait until they are ripe!" If, nevertheless, some women and children should look for that place and pick the berries, subsequent visitors will find the bushes empty and will say: "amáin agúlu, the berries have gone away!" This means that the berries removed themselves in revenge and expiation for that forbidden act. Since the culprits are not known, but the bushes are actually stripped of fruit, the entire occurrence is given a superstitious interpretation. /589/ This is supposed to prevent the berries from being picked before they are ripe. At certain times determined by ancient custom, only a little food or only certain things are permitted, as, for instance, during the initiation, during the first menstrual period, after confinement, and so forth. In general everyone adheres to this conscientiously.

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Only occasionally is a person carried away to real immoderation in eating. Anyone who eats hastily and greedily is called šúmja which is anything but respectable. Everyone is supposed to control himself sufficiently in eating so that others always

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X881 /888 cont./
867 They are content to have helped a neighbor and thus to have en-
577 hanced their good reputation. Incidentally, however, they provide for themselves a guarantee of being helped in like manner by their fellow-tribesmen.

The above virtues are practiced not only by kinsfolk and friends among themselves; the uswala are also emphatically taught to show them toward strangers. They give specific reasons for this, not the least of which is that strangers will express themselves in laudatory fashion among their own people about those persons who have been helpful and friendly toward them. They also consider the fact that new arrivals in unfamiliar territory find it incomparably more difficult to help themselves or find their way around than in their home region.

X881 This is naturally linked with the general and surprisingly
867 strict demand for courtesy. We Europeans with our self-exaltation
576 would scarcely suspect this virtue among such much maligned savages! Nevertheless the attention of the uswala is specifically drawn to the proper way to sit. One should be particularly polite to visitors; least of all is one permitted to start a quarrel with them. With a gentle gesture they are invited to sit down in a favorable place and to take whatever happens to be roasting in the fire.

Courtesy extends to respect for everything that is old. Esteem for the customs of the tribe and the entire body of tradition must come from the heart of every Yamana. Accordingly, he is very punctilious about this and avoids any adverse criticism. Even when no one notices him, he lives according to the custom of his ancestors. He hands /889/ it on to his children and emphatically defends it among his fellow-tribesmen. In recent times, if Europeans presume to disparage mockingly this or that convention, the Yamana usually has no defense against the insult but to get away from the audacious offender in obvious haste.

X881 It is not enough to hold the traditional institutions, principles,
867 ideas, and conceptions in high esteem; a very special form of
888 respect is no less due aged people of both sexes. Young people
576 must be quiet and reserved in their presence, yield to their decisions without contradiction, and show greater willingness to serve them immediately. It would be very insulting to ridicule

/889 cont./

them, to laugh at their helplessness, and to express oneself impatiently about their strange behavior. The words and advice of the elders merit extra consideration on the part of young people.

Only a person who through constant training has achieved a certain amount of self-control is capable of practicing all these rules of conduct. This favored virtue is recommended in its most diverse aspects. The Yamana demand that everyone control his appetite and his garrulousness, that he suppress fits of rage and impulses toward hostility, that he conduct himself modestly in front of visitors and in a friendly manner toward strangers, that he patiently bear the boring behavior of an aged story-teller and occasional disturbances by strange children or strange dogs. Women and girls should be retiring in their behavior and above all keep their eyes in check. They should be faithful to their lawful husband even if he has long since deviated from the right course.

Only a few of the principles of conduct from the rich spiritual treasure of the Yamana have been assembled here; many others can be taken directly from the wording of the instructions to the uswáala. The ones given will suffice, however, to show the superior level of Fuegian wisdom in education (313).

> 313. The teachings and educational principles that have been set forth in these pages agree very well with the unfortunately brief account from the pen of Reverend T. Bridges in 1866 (p. 645).

4. Application of a Few Principles. Everything in the way of directions and admonitions that the teacher and many other persons offer the candidates surprisingly sound very fine. Our Fuegians are not content with that, however, and as capable educators of youth, they demand that as much of this as possible be forthwith put into action and practiced. They begin doing this even in the čiéxaus hut.

The amazingly severe exercises of self-discipline which are binding on the uswáala consist of unbroken silence, a motionless sitting posture, constant reflection, the forbearance to overcome hunger and weariness, and willingness to listen to oft-repeated

/958 cont./

X881 blended into one, called "Kloketen," among the Selk'nam. Compare Gusinde (bb):370 and (dd):1083.

X881 182 177 Since the intrusion of European culture in the Cape Horn Archipelago, the strict procedure of the youth initiation has been relaxed, gradually and imperceptibly, but ultimately to the detriment of our Yamana. The initial indulgences obviously led to a regrettable deterioration of the original serious spirit of the čiéxaus celebration. It is the old people, who were brought up in the strictness of former times, who complain most of all about present-day laxity, inasmuch as they see in it a serious disadvantage to youth and a threat to the people as a whole.

X881 182 On March 5, 1922, Gertie told me in detail about a considerable length of time she had spent, as a girl, at the Tekenika Mission. No religious influence from that period was apparent in her and I became convinced that the teachings of the missionaries had left absolutely no impression. She said: "At that time there were still many Yamana living. But since then most of our people have died, precisely because they are very careless about observing the former strict customs and have become very indifferent about many things. When I first entered the čiéxaus as an ušwǎala, I trembled with fear and terror. Full of awe, I showed my sponsors that I was willing and obedient. I carefully and faithfully fulfilled what was demanded by the daily program, which at that time was still very strict. At present even boys and small girls are admitted as ušwǎala. They are not bound by strict discipline because they are still too young. /959/ Because of all this, the good ancient customs are given up. Even important arrangements are no longer taken seriously enough [she means, besides the initiation, the general conduct of the tribal members]. This is probably why our people are now dying in such numbers. The rules of conduct and precepts of our ancestors were excellent, although strict and serious, but people lived well by them and were a great people!" Gertie is a person who appreciates the value of strict tradition and clings to it tenaciously.

X881 182 •596 Without doubt, even in the last few decades, the initiation was conducted, by and large, along the lines of ancient tradition. A minor incident in March, 1922, shows that, despite some laxity,

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881 182 516 the former strict regard for the prevailing regulations of the daily program is still demanded. One evening, shortly before the general dancing began, Adelheid inconspicuously handed Koppers and myself a few swallows of red wine from a small tin container beside her. Soon afterward she stepped into the ranks of dancers. While she was moving with them back and forth in the hut, her sister Gertie, who had been quiet up to now, seized the vessel of wine and ran out with it. After a few minutes she unexpectedly dashed back into the Great Hut, behaved very excitedly, and loudly cried: "A while ago my sister [Adelheid] handed those two [Europeans] there some wine, and only them. Such [partiality] is not customary in this hut; here all [present] must be invited if there is anything to be distributed! That is why I took away the wine that stood in a container beside her. I filled a bottle with it and have brought it back. All the other people should have some of it too!" Then Gertie placed herself approximately in the center of the čiéxaus hut and let the whole row of dancers pass by her. She handed the bottle to each one as he stood in front of her, so that he could take a swallow of wine. The dancer did not stop, but moved forward with short, mincing steps, swinging his dance staff. He merely bent his head to one side and opened his mouth. Walter stood at the main entrance as the winefkēna, but since no one may be overlooked if there is something to be distributed, Walter likewise came dancing up to Gertie and let her put the wine bottle to his mouth, from which he took a swallow.

It is a general rule that everyone may help himself in case only individual persons have been remembered when edibles are being distributed. Anyone who has been passed by and wishes to retaliate will pull out a few branches from the covering of the hut or pick them out of his sleeping-place, light them, and excitedly rush up to the person who overlooked him. He terrorizes him by threatening him with the burning or smoldering branches; in fact, he sometimes burns him. No one is offended at this rough, violent treatment; rather, it is regarded as mild punishment for the monstrous selfishness displayed by the person in his partiality toward a few. Everyone present /960/ appreciates the indignation of the person seeking revenge, for their innermost feeling peremptorily demands that everyone conscientiously follow the most important rules of conduct, at least on the solemn occasion of the initiation.

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X881 182 576 Gertie's interference shows how well she is acquainted with the prevailing custom, and how conscientiously she respects all the details. Just the day before she had assured me: "What I was taught, as uswáala I faithfully kept and ineradicably preserved in my memory. This [faithful fulfillment of duty] brings everyone happiness and benefit!" The whole conduct of this woman, who was my sponsor, showed conviction and loyalty to principles.

X881 182 177 If one wishes to be fair in judging the modern Yamana, one must consider a few reasons that justify their relaxation of the procedure during the last few decades. In modern times they cannot count on being free of annoying hindrances, nor are the families independent in choosing the locale and season for the initiation. Always and everywhere they must reckon with interference by the Europeans settled there or they are obliged to work on the farms. As a result, all or most of the tribal members can no longer join in this celebration for a long period.

X881 182 In view of these considerations, it happens that now and then immature boys and girls are admitted as uswáala when their judgment is not yet sufficiently developed. No one knows when or whether the next čiéxaus celebration will take place, and they do not want these young people to be deprived altogether of this group training. Their lack of physical development forbids their being subjected to the original rigors of fasting and curtailed sleep. Nowadays strong measures are even less appropriate, since the middle-aged adults themselves are unable to summon enough willpower to endure the rigorous regulations of their fathers. They lack the determination to make personal sacrifices. They realize this with shame, and they by no means conceal this situation from the young people. They say frankly: "In former times the uswáala came back to the camp from the Great Hut completely emaciated, weak, and exhausted at the end of the čiéxaus; nowadays they are hardly bound by a few insignificant restrictions!"

X881 182 147 We cannot deny the obvious fact that in modern times the physical resistance of the Yamana has considerably diminished. The old people say: "In former times toothache was unknown, nor did one see gray heads among the aged. The Yamana of today are not as hardy as their ancestors. The decisive factor lies in their changed diet, in their consumption of sugar and alcohol, coffee

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422 everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and
593 sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing. Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

The little supplementary word "sē" clearly emphasizes the
422 urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather
593 simultaneously and without exception. BD:379 states: "sē [is] used
192 by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. sē čkāli manāax ājan, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. sē kipajuin ex-uf (a man to his wife)come, get us some mussels" /cited in English/.

Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in
422 the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother
593 puts the roast or the mussels on the fire in response to the wish of
264 the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a
576 special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid;
431 hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the things he
476 brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family
593 saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fuegians, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /972/ has lost his weapons, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family hut from his hunting or she herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

/981 cont./

431 It is one of the inescapable obligations of every Yamana to come now and then with a gift for someone. Anyone who neglected
576 this beyond a certain time would inevitably acquire a bad reputation. It is just as much a matter of course for the recipient to respond to the attention paid him, not immediately, to be sure, but within a certain time, with a gift of equal value. No one would demand this, but one does not forget who owes him a return gift. This gift, no matter who has given it, is critically evaluated.
[559] Woe to the one who has behaved shabbily, that is to say, who has given insignificant, useless things in return! He is soon known far and wide as selfish and stingy. Someone who gives a person a valuable or rare present usually puts him in an embarrassing situation, for then some equivalent is expected of him which he usually does not have on hand. Actually, everyone would prefer not to receive special gifts from the start.

431 It is very significant that, according to Koppers (d):194, the Yamana language "scarcely has an actual term meaning 'to ask for gifts,' but all the more terms for 'expecting gifts.'" BD:71 mentions ūāgūtāna, "to expect as a man does gifts when visiting his relations who have much blubber" /cited in English/. Still other words express "not to give" and "to give no more." The conduct of a selfish, stingy person is described with the verb tuǎgāna, "to not take, bring, eat, show any food or other things in the sight or presence of friends lest they ask one to give them a part; tuǎgangāmata, to be, act stingily by not letting others see one bring or use supplies of any [illegible]nd thus abstain from giving them a share" /cited in Engl[illegible]572). The word atāgu, "a friendship formed between two persons, accompanied with exchange of gifts" /cited in English/ (BD:33), means to promote a favorable mutual relationship by means of gifts.

431 As a rule, the giver does not pay any attention to the needs or wishes of the one to whom he gives gifts; rather, he gives him
576 what he himself can easily do without. This increases the embarrassment of the recipient still more. Nevertheless, he must accept the gift with a certain show of satisfaction and with a certain amount of hypocritical pleasure. To refuse it would be the equivalent of a bad insult and public humiliation (396). Also, it

396. In this connection Bridges (a):209 has

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431 SR

already said: "Gifts are most common, and it is considered a great affront to refuse a gift, which is also expected to be returned with something the giver wants" /cited in English/. Cf. Cooper:179.

is not customary among these Fuegians /982/ to wish for a particular present from someone. Such expressions would be rebuffed as bold presumptions. Anything a person needs he can and should obtain through barter. From all this we see that gift-giving, which, as such, is limited, has many unpleasant aspects.

5. Violation of the Right of Ownership

674 Our Fuegians anxiously guard their right to the various belongings which they call their own. Violations are judged very severely and are avenged by giving the person a bad reputation. Not a single reliable observer will deny that now and then there is a case of theft among these Indians. Many exaggerated judgments, however, must be rejected as false and unfounded assertions (397). For example, Admiral B.J. Sulivan gives no justification for representing them as among the most thievish of human beings (MM:XV,131; 1881). Hyades (g):39 approaches the real facts of the matter in the following words: In the settlement of the Mission Scientifique in Orange Bay, "Where they were permitted entrance and free movement throughout the day, there were nevertheless not the slightest thefts. In this respect, therefore, the Fuegians are decidedly better than their reputation." Despard, on his journeys through the territory of the Yamana, was occasionally accompanied by Jemmy Button and his family.

397. In Outes (g):53 we read the following obvious exaggeration: "The dogs, like their owners themselves, steal a good deal and, if not carefully watched, loot the stores of provisions" /translated from Spanish/.

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156 malevolent humor of overwhelming natural forces, find himself
577 in an embarrassing situation in which he is dependent on the help of any fellow-tribesman who happens to come along. The
[476] nomadic way of life in a native region fraught with dangers insistently demands that one person willingly aid another whenever it is necessary (428). A distressing situation which repeatedly

> 428. Bridges (MM:IX, 216;1875) confirms this: "The wandering habits of the natives result in making them servile to each other. Not knowing whom he may meet in any place, yet having to seek shelter with any one he may find there, a native would find it very awkward thus to meet a man and his friends whose enmity he had incurred, causelessly or otherwise" /cited in English/.

assumes different forms has developed rules and obligations for social intercourse which the Yamana observe very punctiliously, keeping in mind their personal advantage and the public good. Everyone can be sure that fate will soon strike him, perhaps even harder than it is now hitting his neighbor. Sympathy for every fellow-tribesman is very highly developed among our Fuegians, even if the thought of one's self and of praise may have something to do with it.

1. Special Forms of Social Intercourse

576 Among the considerable number of customs and rules that apply to the social behavior of the Yamana, there is a conspicuous absence /1007/ of marked formalities. They meet one another neither noisily nor excitedly, but rather with a definite repression of their really animated feelings of joy and friendship. We Europeans might interpret this cool, impolite way of meeting one another as dullness or lack of feeling if we were not certain of the sincere feeling behind it. This is not to deny that sometimes two good friends reunited after a long separation hurry toward each other with loud shouts, embrace and shake each other as though

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576 they were mad. Some women also behave with exaggerated impetuosity when they part after having had a good time together, for example, on the occasion of the čiexaus. These are not everyday forms of behavior, however.

On the other hand, there is a definite, conscious calculation in the movements and the talk of people who visit each other. Quietly and inconspicuously the visitor enters the hut and squats down near the fire. It is not customary to offer a seat. The visitor keeps his eyes on the ground in front of him and never looks around freely and openly. When he speaks, even at length, he raises them only now and then and does not look fixedly at anyone present. His words are measured and fall as though each one were carefully weighed beforehand. At the same time his bearing, even when he sits, is noticeably rigid. In the presence of others one may not lean back negligently, lounge around comfortably, or boorishly stretch oneself. Even very old people avoid behaving in an unmannerly way or otherwise acting without restraint. If a person is all alone, however, he rolls about in utter exuberance and stretches himself until he distorts his whole body, for now he knows no inhibitions. All the more credit must be given him for the self-control which he imposes upon himself even in front of his own children, to say nothing of visitors.

156 As a matter of principle the Yamana behaves as quietly as possible and without conspicuous vivacity wherever he is, whether he is eating or working and whether or not he is being observed. To a European the movement of a Fuegian is like that of a thief creeping up and stealing off again. The Fuegian has himself firmly under control, and he does not lose his poise even when strange objects fascinate him or foreign visitors face him with their outlandishness. Artlessly he shows a silent, motionless reserve (429), /1008/ which most of the seamen of earlier times

429. Spegazzini (a):167 gives a pertinent opinion: "The Fuegian is very quiet and restrained, especially with a stranger, covering all his feelings, all his passions, with a cloak of indifference" /translated from Spanish/. He gives an example of

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156 fright. The presence of a feared yékamuł of ill repute has an even more deadening and paralyzing effect on any exchange of ideas within a group. In free gatherings, however, above all in games and after a successful hunt, the atmosphere is gaily noisy and merry without restraint.

156 The taciturn, quiet behavior of the Yamana is also an ex-
576 pression of their natural modesty. This characteristic is clearly apparent when one compares them with the proud, self-confident Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1143). It is not the nature of our Fuegians to be noisily conspicuous or to push themselves forward, to boast in front of their own people or to act important among their neighbors, to irritate others with their own feats of strength or to brag about real achievements. Careful European observers are struck by the shy reserve and timid anxiety of the women and girls. This disposition naturally determines social behavior. On their errands and in their wanderings the women generally keep their eyes on the ground in front of them; one scarcely ever meets a woman who animatedly and inquisitively glances all about her. In a circle of women squatting around the hut fire one is very much aware of how they have control of their eyes; they will sit for a long time as though they did not dare raise them and give them free play. As a matter of fact, /1009/ even in old age they retain the retiring, inconspicuous behavior that is imposed upon every girl on the occasion of her menarche (p. 569). Nelly Lawrence was particularly careful about it, which seems all the more strange since a free, self-confident bearing would have been justified by her higher social position. In spite of this, however, she was proud to follow exactly the ways of her ancestors.

834 Moreover, etiquette insistently demands, even for adults, a degree of the separation of the sexes required of young people (p. 549). If several families gather together, the men and women immediately separate, and each group stays by itself if there is a long conversation or entertainment. It is true that they often join in group games because they take place in the open and in front of many people. If they assemble in a dwelling, the women squat either in a closed group near the entrance or in a circle behind the men who sit down around the fire. It is not permissible and at the very least arouses suspicion if a man enters a hut in which a woman is sitting alone, nor would a woman enter a hut where a man is

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514 hold nothing back, for they aim to please and satisfy their guests, and they are not sorry if their entire supply is consumed. Even a person who has come for the express purpose of eating his fill for once -- perhaps he saw his host returning home with rich spoils -- is not turned away, but can freely indulge his appetite. It is not customary for the visitor to ask for anything. The owner of the hut already knows the other's intention and serves him everything he has on hand. He is glad to do this also because, at the next opportunity, he will visit the one who is now his guest. Thus a person may eat first in one hut and then in another, but eventually he also must show that he is a generous host. No one expresses thanks for what he has eaten, even if choicest tidbits have been offered him (430). Since everyone wishes to avoid being called

> 430. Bridges (k):240 was acquainted with this custom which is strange to Europeans: "The natives...never express thanks, but on every occasion are prompt to repay [the] services" /translated from Spanish/.

stingy or mean, he offers his guest everything he has with unmistakable generosity (431).

> 431. According to Dabbene (b):200 the Yamana are "hospitable, and however scanty the provisions may be, a new arrival will always find a place near the fire and some food. But they accept it coolly in silence, and if one has provisions, he must divide them with the rest" /translated from Spanish/.

576 564 In view of this, it might seem surprising that our Yamana also regard moderation as one of their social virtues. Everyone must act as though he did not care anything at all about eating. Not even in front of his own family, let alone as a visitor in front of others, would a person say that he is hungry. Quite the contrary, if something is offered, he acts almost as though he were offended and waits quite some time before he actually helps himself. At the same time his stomach often grumbles so loudly from hunger

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that everybody in the vicinity knows about it. A person who behaves too greedily and hastily at meals, who audibly drinks and smacks, is unquestionably regarded as a glutton and sacrifices a great deal of standing. When one is hungry, he cleverly feigns otherwise and fills his stomach without making his hosts consciously aware of it. Very early Despard (b):680 observed this attractive trait: "They hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'small-eater'" /cited in English/. In this respect they are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. 1, 474).

When the Fuegians are by themselves, however, or in the small circle of most intimate friends, their great voracity occasionally breaks all bounds, and the sight is sometimes repulsive even to their own countrymen (p. 331). As is well known, they grasp the usually very hot piece of meat /1012/ with their hands, put it to their mouths, and tugging hard, they tear off thick pieces with their teeth. The abundant blubber and meat juice ooze out of both corners of their mouths, and thick drops of it fall on their torsos and thighs. They rub it on their faces and bodies and lick their sticky fingers with their tongues. The scene around a stranded whale is almost disgusting, for everyone discards the customary cautious self-control and stuffs himself with such large amounts that his taut belly stands out prominently. In drinking, which was formerly limited to water, no one need restrain himself. The Yamana drink large quantities daily.

Ordinary visits are quiet and without ceremony. The visitor enters the hut, looks around, and sits down near the fire. Considerable time goes by before the owner of the hut addresses him, and then there is another interval before the visitor consents to converse or to make known his reason for coming. He leaves again just as wordlessly. Certain forms of greeting, however, are customary among them (432): when they are separating to go long

432. Therefore I reject what Spegazzini (a):166 says, for example, and what Despard (b):698 maintained in the following words: "There are no gestures of affection amongst them; they neither kiss, rub noses, nor shake hands. Nevertheless, the affection exists, and is strong" /cited in English/. The former

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> however, admits: "Although there are no manifestations of love, neither kisses nor caresses, it nevertheless is much in evidence" /translated from Spanish/.

distances, when they have not seen each other for a long time, when they pass each other in their canoes without stopping, and when they have spent some time together happily. Intimate friends, whether men or women, rush impetuously toward each other after a long separation, embrace enthusiastically, and shake each other with impulsive hugs. They utter only sounds of joy, not definite words of greeting, until they let each other go. Snow: I, 346, for example, experienced the heartiness of their embrace: "It was in their friendly hugs that I felt most of their power, and the unpleasantness of too close a contact. The strength displayed in these hugs was greater than I could have supposed. It was, indeed, no joke to have this manifestation of their good-will. It was like being pressed in a wedge" /cited in English/. Adults do not kiss, but even today, just as formerly, women and, occasionally, men press their mouths hard against the cheek of a baby among their relatives. This type of kiss, ūpāšu (433),

> 433. Hence the assertion of Spegazzini (a): 166, for example, or of Hyades (p):334 that "the kiss is quite unknown" /translated from French/ is incorrect BD:101 translates the above expression as follows: "to make any smacking noise with the lips or mouth, or fingers; to kiss" /cited in English/.

means affectionate intimacy between parents and their darlings (p. 514).

576 Anyone who takes formal leave says loudly, "hā́la, yḗlla, I am going away"; according to BD:263, "I'm off, I'm going away" /cited in English/. According to BD:263, hā́la kātakā́la, meaning "I will go, i.e., I will wait no longer, I think I had better go" /cited in English/, is more explicit, as is hā́la yellā́la skā́la. As Bridges (MM:VII, 118;1873) reliably maintains, /1013/ this is "the only form of farewell known here" /cited in English/.

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•516 This greeting is usually not answered. If someone wants to reply, he says: "ma yella, you may go"; "leave me, or You may leave me" /cited in English/.

If a person meets another in friendly fashion, he throws out an "ʃpa sʃ, how are you?" If the other has nothing special to report, he smilingly repeats this ʃpa sʃ. Often, however, he comes out, rather unconsciously, with: "bʃf hʃma, I'm not too well!" No one takes this seriously, however. Others who are not so close to each other walk past utterly mute and are content with a few mutual glances in which, however, they visibly express all kinds of feelings (434).

434. Spegazzini (a):167 who denies that our Yamana have any kind of social etiquette nevertheless confesses: "They exchange looks that are as eloquent as any speech..." /translated from Spanish/. Compare also the brief footnote 433.

514 From an earlier period Despard (b):716 describes a form of welcome which I cannot confirm from my own experience. "The mode of receiving strangers is strange. Comers are seen approaching -- wigwam people hear the news -- and consult as to who they may be, look about inside, and make as many spaces round the fire as there are guests to occupy them. Newcomers enter and occupy. Then the in-party turn their back to the fire and make a simultaneous talking. The newly-arrived make a general response. Then both parties assume the face-to-fire position and the ceremony of reception is concluded" /cited in English/.

514 302 An actual visit is quite generally referred to as tʃppi, not just under the circumstances mentioned by BD:409. The visitor is not supposed to appear without any kind of body painting. At least a few white or red lines are drawn on the face, following the pattern customary for the ufwʃala in the čʃexaus. Women and children are much more punctilious about this duty than are older men. For simple visits one or two horizontal lines, say from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes, suffice. A person who wishes to honor the other particularly not only paints his face more elaborately, but also very precisely. Besides their faces, older women in particular also decorate the entire upper part of their bodies with

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514 great care. This type of decoration, which is more or less com-
302 plicated, is used when a child appears before its parents, a bride-
groom before his bride, a woman before her intimate female friend. Young people who have already gone through the čičaan would not be permitted to present themselves before their sponsor or their adoptive mother, adakuthuwaxipa, without this decoration. Such negligence would be tantamount to an insult or contempt. A person who hears that he will soon have the pleasure of a visit quickly paints himself to show how pleased he is. If he has not had time to do it, he paints himself in the presence of the visitor. The sponsor loves to visit her protégé of the čičaan and paint
[649] on his cheeks the lines customary for that occasion. All the neighbors praise this evidence of the pair's great intimacy and joyfully tell everyone: "She [the sponsor] painted him!" /1014/ He must appear before her now and then with this design, just as adults, according to the universal rule, are expected to appear with painted decorations when repaying a visit.

514 Linked with this requirement to decorate oneself for visits
515 is the related one of physical cleanliness. Everyone at least removes the worst dirt from his face and from hands and feet, arranges his hair, and puts on his cleanest back-cape. No one makes great demands in this respect, but every visitor must at least show that he has done a little something to appear clean. Naturally he puts on his most precious ornaments. All this is to show that the visitor esteems the one whom he visits.

514 Although the Yamana are unpretentious about physical
516 cleanliness (p. 28), they are remarkably strict with regard to their natural functions. No one speaks of them. A person who wants to relieve himself quietly leaves the circle of people and goes some distance away. Two people would never do it close together; boys who venture to do so and are observed must expect to have stones thrown at them and be beaten. A person who has to go out at night must not show annoyance at having to go far away from the hut or he would be severely reproached. Children and young people may not loudly break wind in the circle of older people; the latter, however, are free to do so and reap smiles of approval.
516 Very loud and vigorous belching does not disturb anyone, nor do
525 the rasping clearing of the throat and the constant spitting. They are always scratching their heads and all over the body to relieve

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574 575 the burdensome itch caused by lice. When they are not doing that, they habitually pick their noses with their thick fingers, and with the flat of the hand they wipe off the phlegm from their noses and smear it on the ground or on the wall of the hut. In all these things our Yamana resemble the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 463), but the latter are in general cleaner than the Yamana. Every European is considerably repulsed by their offensive behavior which is so far removed from our rules of decency.

574 574 We must also briefly describe how conversation generally takes place during ordinary visit. A person who has entered a hut as a guest crouches silently by the fire for a while. He does not look about inquisitively nor make conspicuous movements (p. 914). Finally he manages to say a few words in a low voice and leads into unimportant matters. Presently he describes his canoe trip and his experiences with the weather during the last few days. If he happens to have had an exciting hunt, he takes particular pleasure in describing it in minute detail. Meanwhile he works himself into quite a lively state. After that he goes on excitedly and from /1015/ one experience to another, to the satisfaction of those present, and he stops only after many hours. No one dares interrupt him; no one would show boredom, no matter how much he felt it. No matter how great the suspense of those present about a certain incident experienced by the guest, no one would ask specific questions if the guest himself did not get around to telling about it. They do not want to annoy him in any way or to show inquisitiveness by a direct inquiry. The guest ends his tale when he feels like it; no one may presume to ask him to stop because of the late hour. Sometimes a long report is given by a talkative old man, which the company in the circle has heard more than once, but since memories concerning unwritten laws and ancient customs are always interwoven with it, such a story does not fail to have educational value for young people and does a great deal of good.

Frequently an account first given by a man alone develops into a real discussion, but there is never a loud confusion of voices or a disorderly hubbub because the younger people hold back their remarks in favor of their elders and by no means interrupt them. If women are present and something is discussed that concerns them, too, they may of course express their opinions within limits.

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551 If matters pertaining to a specific person come up in the conversation, his name is not mentioned but is indicated by circumlocutions. The Yamana are particularly adept at this. Two men or women are all the more likely to do it when, in low tones, they discuss someone present. A person is never addressed or called by his first name; this also applies to children. People
192 who are fond of each other avoid flirtatious and endearing expres-
201 sions in front of others. Also, no one shows his dislike for another person. The Yamana do not have expletives and swear words. They roar with laughter, double up and roll convulsively on the floor. When they answer in the affirmative, they utter a deep n sound between closed lips and slowly raise their heads; they express a negative with a long drawn-out "hif."

•576 It is not only improper but very serious to poke fun at anyone
574 present in such a way that he himself becomes aware of it. People who have a guest from distant parts are extraordinarily careful not to arouse the least suspicion that they are disparaging or disdainful about his countrymen or his country. They are governed primarily by the fear that out of revenge for bad treatment the strange visitors might cause them much harm through their yékamuí at home and might refuse to help anyone from this group who later came to them. They do not have this fear toward children.
522 Since the Yamana /1016/ have a tendency toward ridicule and
576 sarcasm, however, they do not hold back critical and joking opinions in front of those who cannot properly defend themselves. In March, 1923, I had sent a boat from Beagle Channel to the Wollaston Islands with a special message. After a few days it brought back a lad about ten years old, whom Gertie took in temporarily. On the very first evening I saw how all the people present openly made fun of the boy's unfamiliar accent. He spoke the pure southern dialect (p. 200 /untranslated/) of the Yihuinjala /southern group/. When I expressed my astonishment that they were deviating from their customary behavior, they justified themselves: "That boy speaks a different language than we do. Some words we don't understand. Everything he says sounds so strange that it makes us laugh! After all, he is still young and small, so he can't hurt us if we openly show our amusement!" No one would dare behave this way toward adults from distant regions. When the guests have departed, however, intimate

/1016 cont./

522 576 friends discuss in detail, even scornfully and with much amusement, everything they noticed about them or fancifully attribute to them.

Unlike the habits of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 470) our Yamana 431 regard it as a duty, so to speak, to give presents to a visitor or 574 guest from distant regions when he leaves. This is altogether in harmony with their unmistakable tendency toward unselfishness and noble generosity. According to Hyades (q):243, their "generous disposition is a characteristic trait of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. I personally had much more opportunity than he did to observe this and to appreciate it. Sometimes, under the influence of great enthusiasm, a person will bountifully give away everything he can possibly do without. One would obviously be unjust to these Indians in supposing that they were generous only so that they would occasionally be praised and repaid with a return gift. Admittedly, they certainly expect it. To that extent Dabbene's (b):200 assertion is correct: "If the Yahgan shows generosity, he does not do it spontaneously, but in the hope that his generosity will be generously repaid" /translated from Spanish/ (435).

435. Earlier Bridges (a):213 had pointed out that "these people like to be thought liberal. They therefore are often very generous, and often give away everything they have, but they know they will soon be well rewarded by gifts in return. When fish, or blubber, or any other food is divided, the divider reserves none for himself, and those who come first are sure to be helped the best" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (q):243, Outes (g):57.

Without much ado and without saying a word the owner of the hut places the gift into the hands of his guest and gives him a friendly look. The guest's face lights up with sincere pleasure, and he accepts it silently, without carefully examining or evaluating it. A man, of course, gives his friend the tools that he /1017/ uses in his work and in hunting. A favorite present is some object that is abundant in one region but scarce elsewhere. To this

/1017 cont./

431 category belong bone points for the harpoon, made of a whale rib
574 (Fig. 45), lumps of pyrite (p. 41), guanaco leather, and so forth. A woman, on the other hand, will please her female guest with one of the various ornaments and chooses a form that is not made elsewhere. Whatever a person hands his guest at parting, as a souvenir, as it were, should be particularly valuable, without blemish, and of the finest workmanship! This is the attitude behind the instruction regularly given the uswáala in the čiéxaus. When the other person reaches home, he will have leisure to examine the gift and evaluate it. He will soon tell his neighbor what he thinks of it. They speak favorably and respectfully of the giver only if generosity and magnanimity are reflected in his gift.

572 Besides the need for the company of others, a highly de-
574 veloped feeling of friendship impels certain individual families and smaller family groups to gather together more frequently. Inasmuch as they understand each other better, usually because of their natural disposition, they appreciate each other more and this awakens the desire to meet often and be together for a longer time. One really finds genuine friendship among the Yamana, which is self-sacrificing and entirely unselfish. The persons linked by such friendship are, like loving brothers and sisters, closely allied for mutual assistance.

574 Families who have little or no contact with one another separate after a brief exchange without a formal farewell. When
●576 they do not want to stay longer, they silently and without fuss drag their things to the canoe, load their meager belongings in a few minutes, and, without a greeting, row off in the chosen direction. When relatives and good friends take leave of each other, however, there is a noisy and animated farewell. They discuss their decision beforehand. If one family should remain behind, they help the other in moving. If two or more families have decided to abandon their common campsite at the same time, they have a last, long talk, then they soundlessly gather their things together and do not let another word fall as they depart (436).

436. Bridges (MM:III, 11;1869) soundly confirms this: "When there is a new arrival, a greater or lesser public

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demonstration in loud speaking and vociferation, according to the feelings of the person speaking. So also, when a canoe or canoes depart, a public notice in the same way is given" /cited in English/.

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There is an atmosphere of intimate friendship among families who travel together for a certain time and camp beside each other. They are constantly finding occasions for neighborly visits on the beach. In any case the hunting successes of one family will attract the other, or one brings home things that the other could not find, and these are now /1018/ exchanged. Moreover, implements must be mended or new weapons made. For all this they like to ask the help or at least the opinion of their neighbor, if only out of the need to chat once more. These people are so intimate that they are as much at home in each other's huts as in their own. Whenever a family comes home with rich spoils, these in themselves have sufficient power of attraction to draw the neighbors without an invitation. Sometimes they are specially called together (437). If the gathering is somewhat large, it is known as

437. Bridges (VP:XIII, 213;1866) refers to this: "Sometimes a man and his wife give a feast; they then make a great fire, and cook what food they have, and when all is ready, they call the people together to partake. The host serves out the feast, and behaves very generously, and they are then very chatty" /cited in English/.

čkinaspi and has a certain formality. No matter what the arrangement, however, the atmosphere is intimate and unconstrained.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

576 Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, 574 especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the čiéxaus initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting [264] was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expec- [514] torating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead. [195] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

000 These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked. 847 In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took 844 place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

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225 a fire was soon made on the spot, some strips of blubber frizzled thereon, and eaten with a gusto. Canoes from all directions soon made their appearance, and a sorry time of it had our poor fellows, for whilst a bit of whale remained to be obtained by coaxing, importunity, or bullying, not a woman would stur /sic/ to get a mussel. The little wood adjacent became the midnight resort of wandering spirits, who turned up [in] all suspicious-looking places in the little stream, often alighting upon some cautiously concealed blubber, much to the loss and sorrow of the owners who had deposited it there for safety, and preservation from corruption" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34;1872). This shows the bustling general activity of the people gathered round the sea monster, for it furnishes the raw material for many useful things.

Until the most recent times a stranded whale was a great attraction for all the natives. On July 19, 1902, Williams (MM: XXVI, 277) wrote: "A little time ago a whale was found on the beach in Cunna-voosh, and as soon as the news reached Tekenika about thirty left for /580/ a feast. Most of them returned in seven or eight days" /cited in English/. Since then it has not become known that a dead or sick whale was stranded in the area inhabited by the Yamana. This has been a real loss which they bitterly lament.

225 431 577 Quite different from all this is the procedure of a man who occasionally dissects and distributes a large seal. Anyone who has been favored with success in the hunt takes the booty intact to his hut. Here he immediately skins it (p. 68). If it is a particularly large animal, perhaps a bear seal, tēpēʍa (Arctocephalus australis), or an elephant seal, hásaxuwa (Macrorhinus leoninus), he usually summons two other men and says: "Here is the seal, divide it among us all!" With these words he hands over, as it were, to the community of all the families who happen to be there the fresh carcass of the animal and relinquishes his personal right of disposal. These men cut up the booty into several large pieces, according to the number of huts, and send them off. The hunter is scarcely favored, but nevertheless he shows himself satisfied with what he gets, just like any of the others. Social considerations for the group as a whole have created this habit which we shall discuss later in this book.

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Although it involves only a moral obligation, no one can actually avoid it in the long run. It also applies to less important things. For example, in the case of a small sea lion, either ǎma (Otaria jubata) or lēfkǢma (Otaria falklandica), the successful hunter drags it in front of his own hut and cuts it up himself into several pieces. Now it is the duty of the woman to share it with other families. She counts the women who live next to her and brings each one a good piece of meat, even if she should have no more left over for her own family than what she gave each of the others. Sometimes she goes empty-handed when there are many who expect a gift from her. To give away inferior parts or to keep conspicuous amounts for herself would arouse a harsh suspicion of selfishness. It seems that in former times every hunter would bring a guanaco whole back to his hut and only then dissect it. His wife took over the task of distributing the individual pieces (352).

352. Only Aspinall:270 reports: "Anyone fortunate enough to kill a guanaco must give certain parts to relatives and friends, and this is always done very willingly." It would be more accurate to say that the neighbors, whoever they happen to be, are, without discrimination, presented with a decent piece of meat.

This duty to let others share in one's own success also applies to the things that the women and girls have gathered. If they bring home fungi and berries, mussels and snails, crabs and fish in their little baskets, they immediately make gifts to all the women. A person who gets sea birds or birds' eggs divides them equally. Thus, no one keeps for himself everything he has hunted or gathered, and everyone strives to fulfill this universally applicable duty. The pieces to be distributed are given to the neighboring families according to certain rules which we shall discuss later.

183 /804 cont./
626 and opens free passage to the spot where everyone can generously help himself.

To be sure, these are all modest beginnings of an active state power, but the latter is in effect, even in that completely unorganized community of people, and makes itself felt, although always to the advantage of the individual and in the service of the family, thereby guaranteeing the undiminished continuance of the group as a whole. This still invisible power does not even remotely pursue an end in itself.

183 In complete contrast to the veiled existence of the state in this society, the freedom of the individual shines forth brightly.
554 A person who has attained physical maturity, married, and left the parental hut stands on his own feet, is responsible to no one, and has no master. Within the wide margins set by the law of usage and ancient custom, he conducts himself /805/ as he sees fit, divides up his time as he pleases, provides himself with food and tools as he feels inclined, and uses and disposes of them according to his own free judgment. A person is warned only if he is flagrantly guilty of repeatedly or constantly harming other fellow-tribesmen, as we have shown above.

Ordinarily no one dares issue definite orders or make demands
●577 on other people, whether or not he is justified or obliged to do so.
156 Thus, a wife will not admonish her husband to go forth to hunt, even though she and her children may have to suffer hunger for a long time. Even to this extent these Indians would not allow themselves to make demands or issue orders to a specific person. This was often observed. If I ordered a man to demand some service of another in my name he listened to my words and departed, but he returned shortly thereafter without having spoken to the other man and gave me to understand that I should personally give my instructions to the one concerned. In this way each person guards the other's freedom, and he also would not allow his own freedom to be curtailed (237).

237. The missionaries have had many experiences in this connection, for instance, when they provided a sort of supervisor for community work. "To be placed as overseer

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brought on at once a native jealousy and dislike. The office, therefore, was not popular, and generally destitute of authority, and fulfilled with laxity of purpose" /cited in English/. The natural inclination of these Indians is such that "they cannot bear to be dictated to" /cited in English/, as Bridges (VP:XIII, 209; 1866 tersely and definitely expresses himself.

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In spite of the far-reaching independence and freedom that each individual enjoys, the conduct of affairs in this Fuegian group is orderly and peaceful, although there are neither lawfully appointed persons of authority nor written statutes. The community life of all fellow-tribesmen is so secure that they can pursue their food-gathering unmolested and devote themselves undisturbed to their family life, to their own happiness, and to the welfare of all. Every true Yamana carries in his heart the one important law which was indelibly impressed upon him during the youth initiation and which constitutes the unwavering rule of conduct throughout life: to be a good and useful member of the tribe!

D. Youth Initiation

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The Yamana are fully aware of their natural duty to educate the growing generation. Parents above all make an effort for their own children and do this with a seriousness not shown by many other peoples. The offspring is taken care of from its earliest childhood (p. 484). While it is growing up, the father's influence on the boy and the mother's on the girl gradually take on more specific forms and more definite goals. The adults /806/ make it possible for young people to achieve practical competence and a certain measure of skills, but also, beyond that, spiritual enrichment and a mental attitude toward the ideal of a perfect Yamana who can serve as a model (p. 552). The parental task is to rear their own children to a certain level of moral and practical development at maturity.

X881

As though the society were not satisfied with these achievements in training, which without doubt are attained in all families,

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X 881 867 626 761 children should be particularly zealous about getting up early in the morning. To die young is generally regarded as a punishment for laziness or for some other misdeed that a person has been guilty of. Thus, one who wants to attain a great age carefully obeys everything that has been lawfully valid among the Yamana from time immemorial.

If the references to personal honor and to the worst of all

X 881 867 577 punishments have the effect of actual threats, the following rules of conduct emphasize the strictness of duty for subjective reasons. Foremost is the reference to indiscriminate helpfulness. Everyone must, so to speak, render voluntary service to all others and must seize the first opportunity for performing services and favors of all kinds. This altruistic duty is not adequately fulfilled by gifts and presents; actions and work are also demanded. The candidates are definitely told that they should keep their eyes open and be on the lookout for every opportunity to be of service to others. These opportunities /888/ occur every day. They should seize them without being asked, that is to say, out of inner willingness. A person who needs something almost never asks for it.

To this category also belong the suppression of one's own desires in favor of others, the relinquishing of personal advantage, and the sacrifice of one's own comfort. The individual should be ready to perform voluntary services first of all out of consideration for himself, for in this way he makes others indebted to him, and they, out of a sense of justice, will repay him in like manner and will help him. Here the principle of self-love shines through again! It is extremely pleasant that every friendly service for others is supposed to be performed quite inconspicuously and quietly, as though taken for granted or as though this properly belonged to the daily round of duty. In my long association with the Yamana I had almost daily demonstrations of this.

The inner value of this attitude, which, in itself, is praiseworthy, is considerably increased by complete unselfishness. To

[431] give gifts to others without expecting anything for oneself, to invite others to a meal, to give others of one's booty, all this is part of the true Yamana. Anything that anyone needs and would like to borrow should be given to him without fuss. No one expects a reward for work he has performed for kinsfolk and neighbors.

X881 /888 cont./
867 They are content to have helped a neighbor and thus to have en-
577 hanced their good reputation. Incidentally, however, they provide for themselves a guarantee of being helped in like manner by their fellow-tribesmen.

The above virtues are practiced not only by kinsfolk and friends among themselves; the uswala are also emphatically taught to show them toward strangers. They give specific reasons for this, not the least of which is that strangers will express themselves in laudatory fashion among their own people about those persons who have been helpful and friendly toward them. They also consider the fact that new arrivals in unfamiliar territory find it incomparably more difficult to help themselves or find their way around than in their home region.

X881 This is naturally linked with the general and surprisingly
867 strict demand for courtesy. We Europeans with our self-exaltation
576 would scarcely suspect this virtue among such much maligned savages! Nevertheless the attention of the uswala is specifically drawn to the proper way to sit. One should be particularly polite to visitors; least of all is one permitted to start a quarrel with them. With a gentle gesture they are invited to sit down in a favorable place and to take whatever happens to be roasting in the fire.

Courtesy extends to respect for everything that is old. Esteem for the customs of the tribe and the entire body of tradition must come from the heart of every Yamana. Accordingly, he is very punctilious about this and avoids any adverse criticism. Even when no one notices him, he lives according to the custom of his ancestors. He hands /889/ it on to his children and emphatically defends it among his fellow-tribesmen. In recent times, if Europeans presume to disparage mockingly this or that convention, the Yamana usually has no defense against the insult but to get away from the audacious offender in obvious haste.

X881 It is not enough to hold the traditional institutions, principles,
867 ideas, and conceptions in high esteem; a very special form of
888 respect is no less due aged people of both sexes. Young people
576 must be quiet and reserved in their presence, yield to their decisions without contradiction, and show greater willingness to serve them immediately. It would be very insulting to ridicule

X881 /908/ strict judgment of others. Even if he lacks the urge toward
626 devotion to duty for its own sake, he at any rate practices it for the sake of his good reputation, which means a great deal to everyone.

X881 Despite the almost complete lack of a daily schedule and the small amount of authority exercised by the leader, there are a number of circumstances that naturally combine to make all the participants work together in perfect harmony and strive toward the twofold goal of this institution.

β Special Formalities

X881 The adults retain their personal freedom of movement only to a certain degree. No one permits himself to make mistakes,
577 although generally one cannot say what is and what is not permitted. It is a matter of general observation that the older and the very old persons are much more serious and concentrated in their conduct than middle-aged persons. This indication of decline goes back to
[177] the relaxation of the original strictness, for the most part a result of European influence.

An unwritten law regulates the behavior of the adult participants in this affair. Each person learns it from the example of the old people, without any special instructions. The leader keeps an eye on each one. He does not need to warn or admonish, but he does occasionally call upon one person or another for the required services. Each one is dominated by his determination to help in order that the traditional formalities be observed, even though it costs him personal sacrifices and the surrender of his own comfort. For the sake of order, everyone conducts himself irreproachably in the Great Hut and takes part in the common tasks, in song and dance.

1. Outward Calm. The adult participants regard their stay in the čiexaus hut as a period for collecting one's thoughts and deep meditation. They also absorb the admonitions and teachings imparted to the uswala. They recall their own period of probation and in their memory they renew the solemn pledge that they gave the overseer at that time (332).

332. Probably this oft-repeated self-reflection

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X881 577

is why almost all the adults can recall without a gap the exhortations that they received when they were candidates. Compare the examples given above on page 724.

X881 577 521

Their own desire is directed toward undisturbed self-reflection which is possible only through an enduring silence. Long conversations in the čiéxaus hut are not permitted. One may say whatever is necessary, but always briefly and in a low voice. This is done in such a way that it hardly seems as though a person is requesting something of another or asking his neighbor for something. Persons who are sitting farther /909/ apart resort to [201] unobtrusive signs. The čiéxaus hut is not the place to have a heart-to-heart talk or to chat. Nevertheless, since olden times it has been regarded as proper for related persons or friends to visit with each other, and during the first few days most of those present take advantage of this freedom. One person will leave his place and sit beside the person with whom he wishes to talk. He chats inconspicuously and in a very low voice, afterwards creeping back to his place. The hours just before and after the noon hour are chosen for these visits, but the conversation is usually terminated after a brief hour.

A person addressed by an outsider sometimes lets him know how annoyed he is to have been torn from meditation. He will answer briefly without relaxing his attitude of concentration. To begin with everyone is careful never to approach a person unless it is absolutely necessary. The late afternoon hours until shortly X881 before the nocturnal dances and games are a period of especially 577 serious concentration. This is also the time for the instruction of the candidates, during which the adults, without exception, are very quiet. During the forenoon when the uswala are sometimes practicing outside the Great Hut or are busy getting food, one or another of the old people will devote himself to some minor manual occupation, and some of the women will occasionally look after things in their dwellings. Inside, however, the same calm prevails as during the afternoon, and anyone meditatively pursuing his own thoughts will not be disturbed.

X881 577 516

As for the candidates, they are expected not to move at all (p. 707). Even the adults, however, maintain an almost motionless

/909 cont./

X881 posture. Everyone stays in the seat he chose for himself at the
577 beginning, where he remains quietly and stiffly, avoids all un-
516 necessary movement, and almost continuously stares into space in front of him. He does not turn his head in all directions nor does he move his whole body back and forth. Even at night when the dances are going on, no matter whether a single person is moving about or several at a time, some persons continue to concentrate in their squatting position and do not even lift their eyes. A person who is doing some urgent manual work avoids making any kind of noise or noticeable movement. If someone would disturb his neighbors by making something, he must leave the čiēxaus hut to do it. The individual has every right to expect that his reflections will not be disturbed in any way by other participants. Everyone is concerned about this even before the start of the affair.

X881 With the same purpose in mind, the leader gives his in-
577 structions to individual adults only in brief, unobtrusive words or
201 solely by means of signs. All of them are very good at this and there is no misunderstanding. The sponsors communicate with their protégés in the same way; even outside the Great Hut, in the chores and exercises, they limit themselves to only the most necessary words. A /910/ stranger can hardly believe how many thoughts, wishes, and directions these children of nature reliably communicate to one another by means of inconspicuous signs.

X881 2. Sleeping. In other respects, too, the adults quite no-
577 ticeably restrain themselves by giving in very little or not at all
513 to comfort. In his own dwelling, as we know, everyone stretches out on his bed as he pleases, rolls from one side to another, and exuberantly extends his limbs in all directions. Here in the čiēxaus hut, however, a person does not dare behave in even a slightly relaxed fashion. If an old person now and then becomes very tired, he lies down, curls up, and remains motionless. He is gladly permitted a brief rest. Younger people must remain upright during the day.

Our Yamana are unfamiliar with the pressure of a schedule because they are dominated primarily by the mood of the moment. The entire group of participants does not get to sleep until

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X881 the individuals have calmed their inner excitement at the dances
577 each evening. These are the occasions when everyone is free
513 to get up and, to the accompaniment of the dance movements,
[152] loudly pour out his feelings and impulses. Sometimes this is done with profound, trembling emotion. Accordingly, it is late before those present can lie down to sleep, but they can do so earlier in case they have spent the day in tiring work and hunting. When quiet has been restored after the final lively dance movements and everyone has resumed his place, the leader, with a
[198] vigorous, drawn-out hṓ ho ho ho hō, gives the sign for the night's rest. They all join in the same call and, in a somewhat softer voice, repeat this hṓ ho ho ho hō. Immediately most of them wrap themselves in their covers and lie down to sleep. One or another of them will remain seated if he feels so inclined and continue the customary song in a low, soft voice.

X881 Their sleep is not entirely quiet, however, for the song may never cease entirely and the many people lie close together. Our
513 Yamana are used to this. In the early morning the candidates are awakened by their sponsors and immediately sit up again. After another one and a half to three hours, about six o'clock, the adults get up. The leader himself gets up when he thinks it is time and again gives the long, lusty call hṓ ho ho ho hō which he made the night before as the signal for going to sleep. At this summons the others also end their rest (333). The general move-

333. This happened at my first initiation in accordance with the old custom. Two years later, lively Santiago awakened the candidates, including myself, at about five o'clock with a thundering voice. The adults were allowed to sleep for another good hour, while a few women arranged the feeble fire.

ment in the Great Hut rouses the last sleepers. Everyone immediately gets up, straightens his sleeping-place, and squats down
X881 again. /911/ He rubs the sleep out of his eyes with his finger
515 and then combs his hair. This is the whole of the morning toilette. Formerly most of the people went outside to a brook and washed, the uswāala being accompanied by their sponsors. Nowadays all

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the mission ship. "When I lent him the axe, people on board the 'Allen Gardiner' thought and said, 'You will not see that axe again. As for the wood he promises to cut and carry, and get ready by the time the ship comes again, you may whistle for it'; but I made the experiment, and it answered well. The wood was ready, the axe was returned on our next visit some months after" /cited in English/ (MM:VI, 93;1872).

431 Great generosity and unselfishness are conspicuous basic features in the character of the Yamana. The duty toward mutual
•577 assistance demands that everyone distribute his booty among others without reservation. Beyond that, some people take particular pleasure in lavishly remembering neighbors with the yields from hunting and gathering (395). We shall not speak here of this habit.

395. Hyades (q):243 gained the impression "that the natives especially enjoy ownership in order to have the right to distribute what they have and for the pleasure of being generous" /translated from French/.

431 Understandably, the giving of presents takes on considerable proportions. The articles involved are primarily foodstuffs which everyone can easily and quickly obtain, ornaments, and, finally, articles for daily use. It is taken for granted, so to speak, that women who occupy the same camp for a few days surprise each other now and then with gifts of meat and fruit. A visitor from
[574] far or near always brings something along /981/ which he offers the others, chiefly fresh meat or a beautiful skin. This makes it necessary for the recipient to show his appreciation as soon as possible. This is usually done by giving someone who is departing something special, above all tools and handwork. The man offers finished weapons or parts of weapons and raw materials, the woman primarily ornaments and small baskets. The gift is given and received without any formality, without a word, without meaningful gestures expressing one's feelings,

/983 cont./

674 the circumstances under which the Indian mentioned had filched the little knife unnoticed and probably immediately swallowed it in order to remain undetected.

685 558 626 The high degree of sensitivity of the Yamana is sufficient to explain why they seriously punish a thief. Thievish actions by one of their people affects them very painfully and unpleasantly, even if they themselves are not harmed by it. The thief is generally despised, and even after many years of irreproachable conduct, he rarely succeeds in improving his reputation. Only in exceptional cases is the thief given a few blows by the injured owner (402).

402. Only Dabbene (b):198 mentions that "the thief is castigated when he is discovered" /translated from Spanish/.

In case of aggravating circumstances, a theft may even lead to a dispute involving several families. In general the Yamana avoid associating with a thief or they turn away from him with unmistakable /984/ aversion, so that, excluded from the society of his nearest fellow-tribesmen, he stands alone (403). This punishment

403. Darwin (d):243 evidently met such an ostracized individual in Goeree Road near Lennox Island. "The man evidently lived by himself and York Minster said he was a bad man who had probably stolen something."

of being ignored and ostracized is more effective than scoldings and whippings.

673 •577 The extent to which the Yamana abhor a tendency to steal can be surmized from their urgent warnings to young people, as well as from their many expressions and linguistic subtleties in the designations for stealing. Koppers (d):189 took most of the expressions from BD. "There are words for thief, stealing, robbing. Furthermore for: to cause theft, to accuse of theft, to punish it. Also, however: to return stolen goods, to steal no

/984 cont./

673 more. Finally: to guard against being robbed, and, with this in
•577 mind, to entrust someone with the duty of watchman." The Indians are quite right in being concerned about their goods and chattels which, as such, are meager, for what they own is usually of vital necessity to them, and they could hardly relinquish them without seriously endangering themselves.

674 Since stealing does occur, however, in spite of being severely condemned, an explanation must be sought. One must never forget that the Yamana consider themselves to be at a disadvantage with Europeans and that they have been dispossessed by all those who have settled there as farmers or traders. They rob the Whites in order to get their rights and particularly to be repaid for losses. A person who is only trying to recover damages cannot be labeled a thief in the strict sense of the word (404). Moreover, the natives

> 404. Spears:67 makes the distinction that among the natives themselves "crimes against property were rare. As to the property of white men they were called thieves and robbers. Fitz-Roy is particularly severe on them in describing their lax notions about property" /cited in English/.

have been cheated in barter by many a European who did not know their principles and ideas of value. When this happened, they sought, by confiscating useful things, only what belonged to them according to their own ideas of justice. They saw an abundance of objects, whose value was unknown to them, in the possession of Europeans who visited them in the past century. According to their tribal custom, everyone shares his abundance with others; hence they thought they were justified in stretching out their hands toward the supposed abundance of the Whites.

Weddell's:152 supplies of iron were stolen twice, whereupon, by means of light punishment, he called the attention of the thief to his wrongdoing. A different attitude then developed among the natives and "they were ever after afraid even to lift a piece of iron without permission" /cited in English/. After that nothing was stolen from Weddell. He, as well as many another seafarer,

/1005 cont./

183 is too profound, the infamy too humiliating for anyone to bear any
626 length of time if he finds himself shunned and rejected by many persons as disloyal to ancient custom! Ambition, self-love, and the desire to be esteemed among his fellow-tribesmen soon force every delinquent back on the path of universally observed proper habits. For the Yamana this is the strongest motive forcing them to a way of life which is as blameless as possible, according to the example of their fathers. Not even the prospect of punishment by Watainewa is as directly effective as a person's ambition to be regarded as a true Yamana by his fellow-tribesmen.

Everyone knows only too well how carefully he is being watched by all the people of his immediate /1006/ and more distant surroundings, how very much in detail his conduct, even in minor, unimportant matters, is discussed and judged by others. Sooner or later everyone learns clearly and definitely how everyone else feels about him and how they evaluate his conduct. The individual succeeds in swaying public opinion in his favor only by absolute, continuous rectitude, in accordance with prevailing customs. Thus a person's concern about his own good reputation (427)

427. In this respect our Yamana are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 463). Compare Gusinde (1):160.

is much more effective in forcing him to observe the customs of the ancestors than, for example, the threat of police or written laws. Anyone who habitually deviates from the good ways of old loses all esteem and value in the eyes of the people.

b. Social Intercourse

156 Since every Yamana consciously desires to count for some-
• 577 thing among his fellow-tribesmen and to be spoken of in terms of praise, he tries to accomplish these ends by his mere appearance and manners. He quite obviously makes an effort to be tactful toward everyone and to offend no one; he is anxiously concerned about his whole outward appearance. He is particularly careful to avoid open hostility with anyone, for he might suddenly, by the

/1006 cont./

156 malevolent humor of overwhelming natural forces, find himself
• 577 in an embarrassing situation in which he is dependent on the help of any fellow-tribesman who happens to come along. The
[577] nomadic way of life in a native region fraught with dangers inherently demands that one person willingly aid another whenever it is necessary (428). A distressing situation which repeatedly

> 428. Bridges (MM.IX, 116,1872) confirms this: "The wandering habits of the natives result in making them servile to each other. Not knowing whom he may meet in any place, yet having to seek shelter with any one he may find there, a native would find it very awkward then to meet a man and his friends whose enmity he had incurred, causelessly or otherwise" /cited in English/.

assumes different forms has developed rules and obligations for social intercourse which the Yamana observe very punctiliously, keeping in mind their personal advantage and the public good. Everyone can be sure that fate will soon strike him, perhaps even harder than it is now hitting his neighbor. Sympathy for every fellow-tribesman is very highly developed among our Fueglans, even if the thought of one's self and of praise may have something to do with it.

1. Special Forms of Social Intercourse

576 Among the considerable number of customs and rules that apply to the social behavior of the Yamana, there is a conspicuous absence /1007/ of marked formalities. They meet one another neither noisily nor excitedly, but rather with a definite repression of their really animated feelings of joy and friendship. We Europeans might interpret this cool, impolite way of meeting one another as dullness or lack of feeling if we were not certain of the sincere feeling behind it. This is not to deny that sometimes two good friends reunited after a long separation hurry toward each other with loud shouts, embrace and shake each other as though

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2. More General Forms of Communication

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In the preceding we have described the everyday and more intimate intercourse between individuals and families. In what follows we shall speak of the regulations governing general communication and public order. The mutual relations of the Yamana are determined by a greater or lesser degree of unselfishness, according to personal disposition and the connection with the other person. I have repeatedly referred to this virtue of the Fueguians, for it is much practiced, and in order that it not be lost, it is more emphatically impressed upon the younger generation as a duty than are many other things. Most adults and children have an opportunity to practice it almost daily. A person who should fail in this would fall into hopeless ill-repute and open scorn. Everyone knows that he is closely watched, particularly when he distributes his spoils (p.314), but it is not altogether out of fear of unfavorable talk that a person sometimes gives so much to others that he has nothing left for himself; he actually wants to show that he is unselfish. Whoever asks a favor of anyone can absolutely count on its being granted, no matter how much personal exertion and unpleasantness is connected with it. It is probably unnecessary to repeat the admonitions pertaining to this which are given the ~~ówíala~~ in the ~~Lúkuage~~. Children, even in their earliest years, are taught to practice generosity willingly, and it is touching to see that even the smallest when they are eating give large pieces to their playmates. The Yamana feels uplifted and obviously happy to have served another unselfishly (438); it gives him

438. Dabbene (b):200 believes: "Among their defects....one can easily note a certain egoism which shows in most of their actions" /translated from Spanish/. It is true that they are not completely free of it. It is an obvious exaggeration, however, to maintain with Lovisato (b):148 or with Bove (s):159 and (g):234: "Selfishness is their dominant character trait." Even the parents, he says, are solely "governed by

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> love of their own ego. How often when I entered a hut did I see the father devouring the food, and women and children with intent eyes, their faces distorted with hunger, sat beside the husband and father, timidly gathering the crumbs that fell from his meal..." A horrible picture such as could arise only in the wild imagination of a Bove! He must have been completely blind to the fact that Mother Nature did not scatter food so meagerly there, and everyone, large and small, can in most places conveniently gather it (p. 281). I also wish to refer to the detailed description, "How They Eat" (p. 322).

pleasure to give his guests beautiful presents and /1019/ his neighbors heavy pieces of game. Bridges (k):241 writes pertinently: [574] "The natives are accustomed to go freely to persons who have game or other excess food, in order to obtain part of it, and they always go away satisfied. They never beg for anything, but the purpose of the visit is understood perfectly. They never offer thanks, but on every occasion they are prompt to repay such services" /translated from Spanish/.

We have just shown (p. 877) that gift-giving is actually a well-developed and well-regulated custom. These Indians also help one another by lending various tools and utensils (p. 875). A person is immediately given anything he asks to borrow, and no matter how long he keeps it, the owner never asks that it be returned, although he does not forget it. Also, I never heard the owner press the other person or say, for example: "Take good care of this article!" Once I observed that someone had to interrupt his work for two days because he had lent his neighbor his iron chisel and did not want to ask for its return. No one, of course, would ask for food, no matter how hungry he is. The obligation to be frugal (pp. 327, 919) and personal pride would forbid it. A calm and optimistic feeling of great assurance gives everyone the happy conviction that he can everywhere count on the best possible help and assistance from the first person he happens to meet! Mutual aid is not limited to near relatives and

/1019 cont./
577 friendly neighbors, but is willingly offered to every fellow-tribes-
476 man.

484 Each of the many individual families is constantly traveling about, not only under the pressure of the daily food quest, but also from a natural wanderlust (p. 363). They move slowly, but nevertheless cover long distances in the course of time. Definite boundaries separate the many local groups (p. 630) and the five dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) from one another. These boundaries may be crossed under certain circumstances, and no visitor from another region can be lawfully prevented from doing so by the local residents. In general every family stays within its narrower home area, if only because they do not like to meet strange groups. [609] It is a universal characteristic of the Yamana to stay away from strangers in the first place or at least to avoid them; they feel constrained in the presence of strangers, and suspicion makes them almost ill (439).

439. Bridges (a):210 gives a reason for this which is not quite correct: "These people dare not go where they have no friends, and where they are unknown, as they would most likely be soon killed"/cited in English/. We have repeatedly mentioned that certain circumstances make it permissible for anyone to travel in the territory of another dialect group.

203 /1020/ The ceaseless travel of individual families who thus meet one another and whose travel routes intersect partly explains the remarkably good propagation of news, which works invisibly. Everything that happens and any event that is in any way noteworthy are circulated far and wide and with a speed that sometimes seemed inexplicable to me. This much is certain, the Yamana lack such means of communication as loud calls or drumbeats. I cannot reliably state whether or not they give each other digital signs within a visible range, but I infer this from careful observations. Every adult learns what has happened within the confines of a wide area and usually without much delay. Most news, of course, is communicated from mouth to mouth. The facts are inevitably altered

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627 fact, his specific rights are recognized and defended. Sometimes it is definitely up to him to seek his own justice. This is particularly true in case of a murder, and similarly if someone suffers damage to his vital possessions or if his reputation or that of his close relatives and friends is belittled. A person whose own life is threatened or whose close relative falls into the hands of a murderer has a right to exercise club law (442). This is most

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442. Compare Gusinde (ℓ):169. Among the Yamana there is absolutely no trace of an actual death penalty applied in various ways and according to a particular type of crime, as is reported in Outes (g):58.

obviously revealed in the obligation for blood vengeance, which affects a wide circle of people (p. 901). /1026/ Public opinion is the indisputable, sole power that preserves all their arrangements and their traditional customs. It also is the means for providing the individual and the community adequate satisfaction for any injustice which they have suffered. All kinds of proof of this are offered by each of the different age groups and in everyday life with its changing events.

577 626 Inasmuch as the individual is a member of the whole -- no matter whether this is thought of as a small or large circle -- his honor is also its honor, and from this our Fuegians derive the duty to protect and defend, not only the reputation, but the rights of the other person generally. Everyone must intercede in favor of his relatives and close friends; he must defend their good reputations and their possessions. For example, this implies that in the presence of guests one must not speak disparagingly of their habits or their home districts; should one do so, the guests would immediately have to defend themselves. Following this line one also finds an explanation for the fact that disputes between two or three persons are supposed to be adjusted as soon as possible by those who are close to them. It is even more imperative for everyone to see to it that he is on the best of terms with his relatives, that he does not treat them even in an unfriendly fashion, much less harm them or wrong them. The Yamana use a very meaningful word, according to BD:428, tauwárū, "to rebuke with much to-do the relatives

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577 or clansmen of a murdered or dead person for neglect or illtreat-
626 ment of him when living" /cited in English/. Bridges (MM:XIII, 153;1879) furnished an account of a noteworthy occurrence: "There was a man named Muriyan. This man has to wife the two sisters of Detamahgan, and as a consequence the two men were much together. But Muriyan was often weary of his dull and unattractive brother-in-law, and was often unkind to him. All very well so long as the man lives, but no sooner is he killed than his connections count up his grievances, and visit with punishment, more or less severe, those who in past times have been specially unkind. Muriyan was in this way called to account, and in hopes of escaping, lived away apart from the places or resort of these he had occasion to fear" /cited in English/. Moreover, this one example shows how the conduct and speech of the individual are closely watched and long remembered. The Yamana never forgets an injustice that he has suffered directly or indirectly.

888 The persons of more advanced age, men and women, are consciously or unconsciously regarded as the representatives and supporters of universal justice and traditional customs. They are shown respect and veneration on all sides. Even Fitz-Roy (a):186 learned that "much respect is said to be paid to age" /cited in English/. The more distinguished and conscientious an old man is, the more he is esteemed, the more willingly /1027/ does one defer to him. This is also true of older women whose words and advice even young men in a larger gathering take seriously. No one would have the audacity to interrupt an old person or to contradict him (443). Quite the contrary, everywhere the old people

443. Fitz-Roy (a):179 writes: "In each family the word of an old man is accepted as law by the young people; they never dispute his authority" /cited in English/. This applies also to every casual group made up of several families.

have the prerogative; when the food is passed around they are served first, the most agreeable place in the hut is left free for them, in their presence the younger people behave inconspicuously

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888 and speak only in a low voice. All this is proof of the respect which is shown them. A very experienced and upright old man fairly embodies the law of custom and tradition; he is, therefore, a living example and a constant admonisher for the younger tribal members.

2. General Welfare

•577 A death or an accident on the one hand, sickness or physical disability on the other, can cause a person who is alone serious difficulty in case there is no definite person to come to his aid. The public knows that it is now duty-bound to come to his rescue, and in doing so it follows a certain course of action which has been accepted since ancient times.

888 Every human society counts among its members, temporarily or permanently, old persons with the infirmities of age. They are
737 no longer capable of acquiring their subsistence singlehanded. They must be cared for, according to the strict custom of the Yamana, by their own children, as well as by their nearest relatives and the neighbors who happen to be present. When it comes to fulfilling this duty, there are no degrees of responsibility; in fact everyone is required to look after an aged person who is staying near his hut. The old person is probably never left completely alone, except perhaps temporarily because of urgent work. Usually one of the grown children constantly takes the widowed parent along on his own trips. If both parents are still living, they always stay together; they are often visited by their children who cheerfully fulfill their needs for food and clothing, firewood and tools. Hyades (d):308 assures us: "Adults have due respect for their parents and old people are never badly treated" /translated from French/. It is also said, "They are cared for and fed until their death" /translated from French/ (La Nature:311), and Despard (b):698 asserts that "children care for parents and grand-parents with kind consideration" /cited in English/. As long as a person has the strength, he helps himself; otherwise he must accept the help of his children and friends. As Bridges (a):205 reports, "grown-up children are expected to support their parents when they become aged; the son generally makes his father, if he is past work, a canoe every /1028/ season, and if the aged man is a

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111 Inasmuch as we have a considerable number of well documented details, the result of painstaking research and of a method which is beyond criticism and can always /1086/ be examined, it will not be difficult for anyone to recognize the facts and abandon the long-held and widespread, but erroneous opinion that the Yamana are absolutely irreligious.

d. General Moral Precepts

511 The social life of our Fuegians and the behavior of individuals, regardless of age and sex, are regulated by definite, unchanging principles that obligate all tribal members without exception. They alone assure the tranquil continuance of the tribal society and guarantee peaceful coexistence for all its parts. These principles constitute the morals or the general moral precepts, and they, of course, reach beyond actual sexual morals and mere rules for external social intercourse.

This presupposes that our natives actually do have a moral consciousness. Obviously they do not lack the capacity for moral judgments and actions; they bring it into the world as a normal endowment of Mother Nature. With it goes an urge to exercise their spiritual power in the direction of what is good and just and to avoid what is unjust and impermissible. Conscience, which our Fuegians by no means lack, guides their unerring judgment in these matters. It teaches everyone the objective and subjective value of moral goodness and dictates the behavior of the will. To be sure these words describe a general human tendency, but one must state them specifically for the Yamana also (cf. Gusinde [e]: 159), for there is no lack of assertions to the contrary. Disregarding older statements, I shall here give space only to the amazing words of someone like Spegazzini (a):176, who spent insufficient time in Tierra del Fuego: "The Fuegians do not know this social convention that we call morals. They perform the natural functions of life, of any kind, in public, and what we call virtue exists only in rudimentary form among the women and, before marriage, consists of a reserve in granting their favors and of fidelity on the part of married women" /translated from Spanish/.

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517 This opinion diverges considerably from reality and is invalidated, for example, by the following words of Bridges (k):238: "The ideas of this tribe with respect to good and bad are similar to those that prevail everywhere. Anything morally bad is also physically bad and, consequently, is condemned, not by the one who commits the act but by the one who suffers the consequences. In the same way, that which is just, right, and good is nearly always recommended because of its utility. But nowhere does the utilitarian system lead to virtue, and thus we see that bad is committed by those who in principle condemn it, and virtue, recommended by all, is practiced by few. It follows, then, /1087/ that in condemning others for what one does himself, a man always likewise condemns himself as a sinner. Virtue is praised by those who do not practice it" /translated from Spanish/. Although much of this seems inaccurate, he at least credits the Fuegians with a capacity for moral judgment (25). Hyades (q):

> 25. Bridges (k):234 supplements his statement as follows: "It was said that they were anthropophagi and it was believed that they lived without any notion of social order. But when they became better known, it was discovered that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists, and that, in general, they respected the rights that come from family life" /translated from Spanish/.

242 in his concise way judges more pertinently: "It is certain that the Fuegians have the feeling for good and bad and that they do not lack a moral sense" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):197 seems a little reserved in his opinion: "As to the moral qualities of the Yahgan, it can be said that, while they do not have much virtue, neither do they have great faults, and they do not wholly lack a moral sense" /translated from Spanish/. Thus he, too, sees in these Indians the universal human tendency toward morality.

The many facts which have been recounted in the preceding pages speak decisively for themselves; it is superfluous to give

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517 further theories and explanations based on casual expressions of opinion by an occasional traveler.

1. Their Content

In the final analysis all the precepts and obligatory customs which our Yamana feel are binding upon them belong to general morality in its wider sense. It would be unnecessarily repetitious to list them and arrange them here in their entirety; a brief survey will surely be adequate. They are most concisely arranged in the teachings given the uswala in the ciexaus (p.724) and in the instructions to the girls at the menarche (p.570), in the statements about child rearing (p. 555), property relationships (p. 851), and social relations (p.912). In sharp contrast to my assertions, other observers have described the Yamana as very poor in moral laws. A reference to the pages above is the best refutation. At least the view of the well-meaning Despard (b): 678 and 746 should be repeated here: "His code of morals is very brief. To kill, to lie, to steal, to commit adultery, are crimes; but the sole reason they see is in the punishment commission entails upon the offender from the offended. A murderer must expect sooner or later, to be killed...Their only laws seem: 'Thou shalt not steal'; 'Thou shalt not murder'; 'Thou shalt not lie'; 'Thou shalt not commit adultery.' Property, life, truth, and marriage are protected by the letter of traditionary statute, but violated perpetually through inherent wickedness. Murder is punished by blood avenger. Theft and adultery are punished by beating, and sometimes so severely as to break bones" /cited in English/. Later on it will be shown that the sanctions are of an entirely different nature /1088/ than mere threats of punishment and crude club law. The paragraphs above can also be appropriately cited as counter-evidence.

511 716 The laws that our Yamana observe are clear and easy to understand, simple and definite. They are headed by duties toward the Supreme Being. After all, these duties in their entirety are derived from him as originator, and he carefully sees to it that they are carried out. A person who wants to stand in favor with him need only follow his precepts. It is not proper to

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577 776 grumble about them or to resist them, and no one would presume to do so. Similarly, no one expects that his blameless conduct will be rewarded by an especially advantageous destiny here on earth. In their naïve innocence the Fuegians are so reverential that they do not make such demands on their Hidābuan; moreover, no one regards himself as absolutely without fault. Besides, everyone has an adequate living; hence he neither needs nor expects more. If they make requests, they are driven to it by their own helplessness in the face of the invincible forces of nature and the threatening arbitrariness of the Supreme Being himself. The veneration due him demands that his name not be spoken thoughtlessly. Since all animals are his property, every human being becomes culpable who misuses them and who, with evil intent, willfully kills more than he needs for his subsistence, for everyone is permitted only this much by their lord and owner. On suitable occasions the adults do not fail to acquaint growing children with these ideas.

577 The duties of self-love are also clearly defined to a surprising degree. They are most clearly expressed in the descriptions of the ideal that should be striven for by a true Yamana. The motto, "May everyone be a good and useful human being!" summarizes the personal virtues which everyone strives for primarily because of ambition. Conspicuous rivalry impels many a person to outdo his other fellow-tribesmen in faithful fulfillment of duty and blameless conduct. Diligence and industry, a sense of order and cleanliness, compatability and a quiet nature, unselfishness and constant willingness to help, moderation in eating, and respect for tribal custom in its many details are qualities which the society as a whole expects from each of its members. Their sense 577 834 of modesty is well developed (26). In front of women /1089/ and

26. Hyades (b):1346 asserts: "The sense of modesty exists among both sexes, but it is more developed among the women and is given a special name" /translated from French/. Cf. also Hyades (q):239. In addition he (f):573 also mentions: "Masturbation is very exceptional among the Fuegians.

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Probably because of the continual cohabitation, sexual relations begin early among small boys and girls, but do not then become habitual" /translated from French/. The following testimony of Bridges (i):19, who usually speaks of the Yamana in a consciously derogatory fashion, is creditable: "In their personal habits whilst there was much room for increased decency and cleanliness, yet there were many good points that did them honour as men. Incest is a crime unknown
[835] and utterly abhorrent to the native mind. Although too often in other respects most immoral, as regards this hateful offence the native is quite pure. With the women there is a great sense of decorum, and man, unless he seek it, will seldom see anything to shock his moralities in their conduct" /cited in English/.

children men avoid offensive jokes or obscene talk. In the camp and in the huts all the adults are clothed at least with a modesty-apron; only very old men are sometimes without it (p. 55). It is a fact that the true Yamana fulfills these duties more eagerly because he cares about his good reputation than because of his consideration for the lawgiver beyond the clouds.

517 It is almost impossible to select from the wealth of precepts and decrees the ones which are the most important props of the social order. Personal unselfishness and constant helpfulness, which are regarded as the chief virtues, must be mentioned again. The mutual relations of a married couple are happy for both partners, and from the first this favorable relationship is made secure to an important extent by the free choice of partners. Marriage between related persons is not allowed (p. 421) (27).

27. In this connection Bridges (i):19 asserts that "incest is a crime unknown and utterly abhorrent to the native mind" /cited in English/.

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577 [562] and a departure from monogamous marriage is not looked upon with favor. Within the family the woman's position is almost exactly on a par with that of the man. Since, according to ancient custom, the necessary tasks are tactfully and purposefully distributed among each of them with a view to their physical and psychological characteristics (p. 450), household management is orderly and marital duties, as well as all daily work, are more a pleasant occupation than an oppressive burden. The parents carefully fulfill their duty of rearing their children, and the latter love their parents sincerely. Respect for parents-in-law and the constant willingness of relatives to help one another encourage close bonds uniting a local group (p. 606). The modest reserve of young people in the presence of older persons and caution in front of visitors from other regions prevent hostilities (p. 912). According to the prevailing custom, the people in general care for the sick and infirm (p. 942), orphans (pp. 574 , 943), and widows (p. 412), independently of what the nearest relatives do for them. The concept of private property is definitely developed, and the property of the individual is safeguarded by specific laws (p. 858). Infractions against them are rare, since no one could conceal stolen goods for very long (28). The individual groups

28. The following opinion contains strange contradictions. Phillips:183 repeatedly caught the natives stealing in Isla Keppel. "They were called to account, and the men became so angry at the accusation that they made threatening gestures to kill the missionary, Phillips. From these and subsequent instances one should have learned the lesson that the Fuegians, although incorrigible thieves, nevertheless regard being accused of dishonesty as the worst disgrace, as though among them it is not the stealing but being caught that is shameful." Cf. Phillips (a):1011.

have at their disposal extensive areas /1090/ as hunting territory (p. 629), and these are used by neighbors only under certain

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577 conditions. Actual barter and the distribution of hunting spoils, reciprocal visits and groups affairs, such as the čiēxaus and kina, take place according to definite, unchanging rules. Although tribal members are not united under a common chief (p. 601), they nevertheless feel and act homogeneously, guided and obligated by one and the same tradition which, though unwritten, is like a book of laws. No one would venture to neglect it and go his own way or even less to oppose it with scornful comments. There is actually an unseen power of state (p. 635), even though it is limited.

As is convincingly proved in real life, this long list of rules and regulations is perfectly familiar to every Fuegian; he conforms to it with more or less punctilious faithfulness.

2. Their Originality

577 One would be doing the Yamana a grave injustice to dis-
626 parage or to be suspicious of their honest attitude toward the individual demands of their moral law. The experiences of reliable Europeans contradict the very general accusation of Bridges (h): 205 that they are "immoral and lewd in their behavior and conversation" /translated from Spanish/ (29). Every Fuegian regards

> 29. Interpretations of their conceptions of morality and their conduct from the obviously prejudiced point of view of someone like Spegazzini (a):177, for example, do not deserve to be specifically mentioned.

conformity to the demands of the moral precepts as a compulsory obligation. In his youth he is given ample instruction within and outside the family, as well as compulsory training as uswāala in the čiēxaus. In later life he is supported and spurred on, even against his own will and personal indolence, by the example of the people generally. Anyone who habitually dared to ignore important rules, especially those pertaining to social intercourse, would be putting himself in an impossible situation. Actually many a person, out of pure human weakness, becomes negligent in his

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577 626 private duties or drifts into deviations in the field of sexual morality, but he knows it and is made to feel that by doing so he loses the respectful opinion of his neighbors and is avoided by them, as though in punishment. After a time his sense of honor or a threat from the Supreme Being forces him back on the path of duty. There is every indication that these demands of justice, /1091/ and hence the entire situation pertaining to justice, have been preserved unchanged among the Fuegians throughout generations up to the present time (30).

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30. In this respect our Yamana are almost exactly like the Selk'nam. The moral law of the latter has been characterized and explained with an abundance of detail in Volume I, 519. A person who would take the trouble to compare the two would find surprisingly many likenesses and similarities.

577 776 626 An adequate explanation for the gravity of the demands of justice and the power of universal duty is offered by the references to the ultimate originator of all this, namely, the Supreme Being himself. Our natives derive the existing custom regarding obligatory rules and laws from Watauineiwa in definite terms. It is he who demands that the individual Yamana "adapt himself [in his conduct through life] as has always been customary," that is to say, according to the principles that he himself issued from the very beginning. The mental make-up of our Fuegians is not the kind that would split hairs over individual conceptions and arrange the result in a complex chain of ideas. A general reference to traditional forms of conduct of their ancestors satisfies their intellect. What has been shown to agree with them is legally valid, and only for this reason. Thus the entire body of moral law rests on the firmest foundation and the compulsion toward duty is given the strongest impetus. This is not changed even by the following minor factor. Now and then I was told, but without noticeable emphasis: "Yoálox let us know how we Yamana should conduct ourselves!" People like to say this to the uswāala in the čiéxaus when they acquaint them with the myths that surround this figure.

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577 776 626 Thus he is recognized as the deliverer of the regulations that Watauinēiwa wants the Yamana to observe. No one would ever dream of asking what justification Watauinēiwa had for putting him and his fellow-tribesmen under the restriction of his laws nor of examining their meaning and goal in any way. It is clearly a matter of course for everyone to accept and take into consideration without the slightest objection all the moral regulations in the traditional form handed down from earlier generations as the expression of the will of the Supreme Being.

577 626 This way of thinking implies the close connection between religion and morals (31). Moral duties with their compulsory de-

31. This connection could not be closer or firmer, and this alone corrects the opinions collected by Cooper:152 that the two are of different origin.

mands are not suspended in mid-air, but, as has just been said, rest on a firm foundation, from which the sanctions for either a dutiful or a faulty act derive their effectiveness. The Yamana definitely express their conviction that Watauinēiwa sees to it that his rules /1092/ are observed and that he punishes serious transgressions (32). The fear of this punishment has beneficial

32. According to the Yamana conception only the guilty one is punished; his crime does not implicate other tribal members. In this sense Bridges (k):239 is right when he maintains: "A wrong that is committed concerns only the agent and the victim" /translated from Spanish/.

effects, although occasionally someone will purposely avoid a mistake so as not to forfeit his good reputation among his people. This is especially true of old people who are always aware of their duty to set a good example to youth. Granting all this, nevertheless the decisive factor in a person's behavior is the judgment of the Supreme Being. Everyone is afraid of his punishments, all the more so since one is helpless and defenseless against him. The

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•577 fear of punishment is heightened by the idea that the individual
624 human being has no chance to rectify or be absolved of his transgression in any way, either by prayer or sacrifice. He must yield to whatever fate "that-one-up-there" inflicts upon him. He is Abaila, the truly strong one towering over all, with whom no one can compete. A person who does his duty, however, feels safe under the benevolence and special protection of Hidabuan; hence he must fare well. An evil-doer, on the other hand, in view of the punishment which is almost sure to follow, will never again feel quite safe. In his evident lack of success in hunting and in all his work he can see clear threats calling for the severest atonement, namely, untimely death. There is also the attitude of fellow-tribesmen against the evil-doer who forgets his duty. They ignore him and obviously avoid associating with him; they cast aspersions on him and warn him about his delinquency. They give him no rest and even pursue him if he is a murderer or adulterer. In such a way the society itself takes part in the prosecution of punishment for a crime. No one, however, speaks of punishment which the culprit is to expect in the other world because in general the Yamana maintain that they do not know what form of existence the soul has there. Thus, since everyone knows that adverse and baleful consequences follow wrong-doing, this knowledge gives a person sufficient strength to stay on the path of universally binding duty.

511 Actually, conditions in the simple social organization of our Fuegians are more orderly, principled, and peaceful than many Europeans might believe, although they neither have a police force and courts of justice nor are under the leadership of chiefs. Their bleak homeland and their meager way of life have made them undemanding and content. Licentiousness and cruelty could not become doctrine among them. There are all kinds of circumstances that lift their personal and general morality above that of other primitive peoples.

000 /1093/ On the preceding pages the position and the relationship of our Fuegians to the deity they recognize have been characterized, as is required by the concept religion in its narrower sense. Their relations with other spirits and mythological personalities, which shall be discussed later, are very different.

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157 the Selk'nam. To the brief portrayal of character given here I add the following testimony from Hyades (q):244: "When one has been among them for a long time and become familiar to them, so to speak, one realizes, as we did, that the general traits of their character are good rather than bad" /translated from French/(351). In their character traits the Yamana appear wholly

351. Along with these words Hyades (q):244 also offers a special section entitled "Expression des émotions."

human. This is corroborated by the opinions assembled here and the many accounts on the preceding pages. Even Darwin (f):I, 234 confesses: "When I lived with the Fuegians on board the 'Beagle,' I was constantly surprised by many minor character traits which showed how similar their mental characteristics were to our own."

156 The character formation just described is fostered by the many principles that are followed in training the young in the 577 parental hut (p.704). No less beneficial for adults is the pressure for many kinds of social duties (p.905). Morality in the widest sense of the term is held in universal esteem (p.1022); the majority of tribal members try to fulfill their duty faithfully. Even Bridges (e):333 did not suppress the following acknowledgment: "Among the Yahgan, vices of all kinds were condemned on account of their evil consequences, while virtue, because of its good results, was recommended." Once again it is to be admitted that many a Fuegian stays on the proper path, especially in the realm of sexual morality, primarily because he wishes to retain his good reputation among his neighbors. The feeling for proper modesty, more among women than men (352), and for justice in general is

352. Snow (a):I, 336, 349 expressed his astonishment at this a number of times. He (b):262 says of the women, happily surprised: "The modesty of their conduct was very remarkable, and nothing would induce them to come on deck" /cited in English/. Hyades (d):368, too, declares:

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"Modesty exists in both sexes, but it is more developed among the women" /translated from French/. Compare the same opinion in Bridges (h):208. Hyades (p):335 and (q):239 goes even further in the following words: "One will perhaps be astonished to read here that the feeling of modesty is very highly developed among the Fuegians, who are in the habit of going naked" /translated from French/.

well developed; the form and content of Fuegian rules of etiquette are surprising. Bridges later corrected many of his false assertions when he confessed: "The native mind is much more settled in approval of what is good and against evil than ever I have known before, and they are consequently better behaved, and exercise more self-control" /cited in English/ (MM: XVIII, 31, 1884). The licentiousness imported by Europeans has very considerably undermined the former strictness of moral obligations and duties, to the great detriment of the natives (p. 353 /untranslated/).

/1442/ 3. Development of the Senses

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What has been said about the mental powers of our Fuegians also implies that they have an adequately developed imagination. It is lively, though not very creative. Nevertheless, its achievements are not slight, considering the many spirit figures in the Kina and the numerous personalities in their mythical world, as well as the considerable variety of games and decorations, ornaments and body paintings. The gift of invention which has created all this and many other things cannot be regarded as limited. The fact that it is still alive is proved by the curiosity of these children of nature toward strange objects. Not infrequently their behavior is even importunate in this respect. Agreeing with many travelers, Despard confirmed: "The Fuegians are very curious, and naturally watch all you do; they like to touch, and feel everything they see" /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 167:1859).

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/431 cont./

usually they draw parallel lines of different colors across the face, crooked lines on the cheeks and nose, the most peculiar drawings on chest and arms. But most of them are satisfied with very thick applications of several colors on hair, face, and body." Like Bove, travelers of earlier times did not recognize the meaning and significance of the body painting of our Yamana.

feels impelled to do this whenever many people are assembled, brought to the same place by chance. Every person, no matter what sex or age, paints at least his face and is careful to give his drawing a symmetrical arrangement. The arrangement and choice of symbols is completely arbitrary; the same person will change the pattern from one day to another. Some take more pains than others, depending on their disposition. Some are good at putting together all three colors; most of them are partial to white. Younger people use the little painting stick with scrupulous care, whereas older people handle it very carelessly. The torso and arms are decorated with perpendicular and horizontal lines and rows of dots; the legs are more rarely decorated. In general, however, less attention is given to the painting of the body than to facial painting.

Since everyone has absolute freedom in this ornamentation, it would be useless to try to discover a certain system or a basic meaning. Even the same person likes to see himself in one pattern today, another tomorrow. No actual contest develops between persons, although petty jealousies and envy because of physical advantages are never lacking.

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Visitors are obliged to adhere to a certain ornamentation, and this is a matter of good breeding. In this case it is true that one can recognize meaning and purpose in the drawing itself. Any color pattern on the face, no matter how simple, suffices; it is almost always white. A person decorates himself with it, as thus and fancy dictate, and goes to the neighboring hut. The visitor honors the hut owner with his facial painting, and the host is appreciative of what the visitor has unconsciously striven to attain.

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225 parts on the upper jaw extending far back are called yuqqel;
825 the tongue, ilqit; and the entrails, hilowa. For the meat close
192 between and on the bones, they use the special designation hita (349).

> 349. BD:260 gives a different meaning: "Old and much wanted blubber as found on shores after being long in the sea" /cited in English/.

and for the fatty tissue in the body cavities, apita. The great importance of a stranded whale for an entire group of people explains why there are special designations for the individual areas and parts of the body. Even the place where the whale has been tossed up has the special name ulkitteka. The word tuulkitteklna, which BD:451 translates "to send (as God does) supplies of whale meat" /cited in English/, comes from the same root.

225 It is easy to see the reason for the distribution by different men. It is nothing more nor less than the best possible utilization of the entire huge animal. They do not want any part to be lost or soiled and trampled. Such devastation would be unavoidable if everybody could step up to the whale unhindered and ruthlessly cut out certain parts for himself. In an orderly distribution the special wishes of those present are considered as much as possible, everyone receives an abundance, and the entire supply is utilized. Hence everybody adheres strictly to the established customs and lets the respective distributors attend to their duty. In spite of
225 this, selfishness sometimes prevails, and a group will try to con-
578 ceal the stranding of a whale from others or, if the latter should come near, deny them access to the dead sea monster. Immediately a fight begins and the weaker side must give up the booty to the others (350). Such events /579/ are rare because a floating

> 350. Bridges (a):208 leaves no doubt about serious encounters over a stranded whale: "As long as a party can safely keep a whale to themselves they take care not to spread the news...But great fights sometimes happen through the selfishness of a party. For

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> the news must spread abroad, and then a rush of people happens, they are disappointed by coming too late, and should those who hoarded up the blubber not part it out, there is a fight, canoes are broken, and this brings on a general engagement" /cited in English/. As we have said, however, these are rare occurrences.

dead whale is announced over a wide area, and many people hasten there, even from afar. In comparison with these, the ones that first take possession of it are always in the minority.

225 It hardly seems possible, but in the end even a whale is not an inexhaustible source of fat and meat. If 20 families -- usually, however, the number is doubled and quadrupled -- descend on this sea monster, eating excessively and storing large masses of [351] fat in the swamp, the supply diminishes perceptibly. Sometimes many people will leave after about a week, tired of the monotonous diet, and will make room for others. The new arrivals pounce on the rest ravenously, and it diminishes all the more quickly the more numerous they are. A whale has probably never lasted for more than a month, even if it was one of the largest species, such as hakwipina (Balaenoptera intermedia), and was an extraordinarily large specimen, kupatmerana. Sooner or later the skeleton lay there pretty much cleaned of meat and fat, left to the further cleaning of rain and waves.

Lewis, from his own experience, reported on October 9, 1871, about a seemingly mortally weary small whale (351) which was

> 351. "It was a whale, very young, about 17 feet in length" /cited in English/.

effortlessly killed near the coast on September 13th. "The process of dissection was carried on with such zest, that by eleven A.M. the same day not a vestige of flesh or bone remained on the spot, save the liver, not eaten as a rule by the natives. Our poor fellows jumped into the almost freezing water nearly up to their armpits, and applied themselves as I had never previously seen them do;

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867 whom you really like. At first every chap will be so agreeable; later when he has married you, it turns out that he is crude or lazy or unbearable. Then you will have to suffer. So, consider before you decide!" Nelly added: "One must warn young girls and make them alert, otherwise they will thoughtlessly and prematurely say 'yes' to the first chap who comes along. Later when the young couple find they are unsuited to eath other, the elders among their relatives will suffer for it just as much as they themselves!" Likewise /644/ the young man is given a definite hint by his uncle to take as his bride only the girl with whom "he will live peaceably for the rest of his life."

584 That there is freedom in the first choice can also be deduced from the right every woman has to run away from the husband
586 who treats her badly or does not provide enough food for her. How could she be taken in again by her parents, which is generally done, if she had previously been actually sold? Her male relatives warn the husband and threaten to take back the mistreated wife. They would not dare do this if he had bought her for a price.

584 It very seldom happens that two young people become united if there is a strained relationship or open hostility between
● 578 their parents. If such a match should be developing, the parents of the boy and those of the girl make insulting, even threatening remarks against the other party within their own family hut in order to thwart their children's intentions. It may be that a preliminary inclination toward a marital union will sooner or later disappear under this influence. Out of respect for her own parents the girl will forego her heart's desire, and since she makes no fuss about this, her closest relatives will not interfere on her behalf.

584 Still more awkward is the exceptional case of a girl who is an orphan and very much dependent on her uncle and aunt. The
736 latter, driven by stubbornness or ambition, insistently urge her to
604 choose the chap they recommend. If the solitary girl is unable to resist adequately, she will finally accede to their urging. My informers emphasized that such a case was rare, and that the previous history of the case would become publicly known only if this forced marriage, so to speak, should, in an exceptional instance, be dissolved.

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595 [264]

maintains. According to the common custom, everyone in a hut may eat what is there and whenever he pleases (p. 334).

from a feeling of common humanity, while the other is nursing an infant. Both of them freely take part in the daily activities. A great deal is automatically regulated by the fact that the younger woman must take care of her small children. In most polygamous marriages the first wife is unable to work or is weak, but in any case the second wife /670/ has more or less all the work in the hut or the canoe. If, as often happens, they are sisters, the daily work runs harmoniously and smoothly.

In some cases, however, the relationship between two wives can be very much disturbed by envy and jealousy, if the two are not related, if the man shows more love and affection for the younger of the two, if he obviously treats her with more friendliness and tenderness. The first wife, who now is clearly aware of her [578] lawful pre-eminence, controls her silent envy for a long time. Later, in regular scenes of jealousy, she seriously reproaches her husband. Finally, if all her efforts to win his love are in vain, she definitely leaves him. Such conditions are the exception in polygamous marriages and probably occur only when the husband wants to get rid of his first wife. The two rivals almost always live together harmoniously, particularly if the older one is dependent on the younger because of physical ailments and even more often if both are sisters. Then neither one is jealous of the demonstrations of affection which the other receives from their common husband, no matter how irritatingly the favoritism is displayed. The first wife never relinquishes her own rights (58).

58. The meaning of kōtuana which BD:188 gives, "to cause the first wife to take the place in the wigwam of the second or third" /cited in English/, has no legal significance.

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Here is an example of how unreliably two Europeans who visited our Fuegians simultaneously reported on one and the same arrangement. According to Spegazzini (a):166, "the peace of

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593 admonishing him, she expects him to provide for all the needs of the family and why she maintains complete independence in all the labors that are hers by ancient custom, without letting her husband interfere. She gathers mussels or goes fishing, arranges the pelts, and sews clothing whenever the whim strikes her and she is in the mood. If her husband expresses special wishes, he knows as well as she that she is by no means bound to fulfill them and that she does so only out of love and affection.

562 This does not alter the fact, however, that Yamana women
593 are ordinarily submissive and yielding. Almost never in words, but certainly in his /681/ attitude, the man, without offending, embodies a considerable preponderance of authority and power. For their part the Indian women, without losing themselves in slavish lack of will power, seem to be more willing to surrender their equality than is customary elsewhere among their sex. It is hard to say whether they are dominated by a sense of weakness or a feeling of inferiority. Outwardly, at any rate, the woman shows a subjection and subordination to her own husband which gives many European observers the impression that she is without rights and merely a weak plaything of her husband's tyranny. This impression is doubtless strengthened by the natural shyness and extraordinarily silent reserve of all Yamana women in the presence of a man (72). Hence in cases of incompatibility and

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72. This observation may have inspired Hyades (d):308 to say: "The woman submits to her husband, but provided she is faithful, he does not mistreat her" /translated from French/.

quarrels between the two there is never noise or shouting. If he should burst out with a few abusive words, she says nothing.

562 The excessive submissiveness of most of the women fosters
593 among the men a consciousness of superior power not established
152 by common law. If this is coupled with a nature given to violence and outbursts of rage among one or another of the men, the woman must occasionally expect maltreatment. In his anger, usually caused by minor incidents, he beats her with any stick or scrap of leather he happens to have at hand. She ducks or bends sideways without crying out or weeping. It is all over in a few

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586 drives away a young wife from her husband, even though she has children, which sometimes are taken by the father if he loves them, and otherwise by the mother" /cited in English/. Not even the children of the couple prevent a divorce if the woman is repeatedly in danger of being mistreated. She herself does not complain to her own husband, but suffers silently. One of her male [604] relatives, however, above all her uncle, goes to him and reminds him of his duty. If repeated admonitions are fruitless, he threatens to remove the wife. She finally runs away with the help and under the protection of her relatives.

586 She often urgently needs this protection because the disap-
• 578 pointed husband will not willingly give her up, but pursues her or
627 constantly threatens her. On December 20, 1875, Bridges wrote: "Hidugalahgoon came here with a wife, that had been the wife of a man who had been very violent to her. Her mother was her fellow wife. She has two children by her former husband. The young fellow seemed very fond of her, and she of him; he had many friends here whom he was diligent to move in his favour by descanting upon the cruelties of the man, he feared, to his wife... The Easterns soon came up, and clustered around Philip's dwelling, where Hidugalahgoon and his wife lived. They began speaking quietly, and becoming more excited, gradually became vociferous and beat the woman, and compelled her to return to her former husband. But she would not stay, and then took shelter with Stephen. Thence again she was forced to come, but she was determined to kill her child; several evenings there was turmoil over this matter, and once considerable fighting. I took up the matter, and stated God's holy will on the subject, but the woman was very obstinate and would not return. Her late husband then gave her up, but required some compensation, for he felt, in losing his young wife, he had lost much. Being consulted by Hidugalahgoon, I advised that he should, under the circumstances, give what he could to restore peace" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 80;1875) (100).

100. A few months previously, on July 30, 1875, he experienced another incident: "A young man, commonly called Tom Post, is son-in-law to a native of this place. Last autumn several disturbances took place here,

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caused principally by him. He ill-treated his wife, who was so offended that she refused to live with him, and took up her abode with her parents, who warmly took up her cause. He had also grieved his wife by other gross misconduct. There was accordingly a great disturbance, in which very many were concerned, and Tom Post had his head badly wounded. He came to me to get it bound up, when I took the opportunity to reason with him. In his great rage against his wife (who is also a bad character) and her relatives he was blind to his own faults; he promised amendment. He said he would remain single" /cited in English/ (MM: IX, 191;1875).

The position of the run-away wife can become unpleasant if the relatives of her lawful husband are numerous and bold, for they naturally take his part.

586 /690/ The woman, also, though less frequently, may be the cause of dissolution of the marriage. If she is so uncommonly lazy and careless that the whole family suffers badly, the man is forced to look for another partner. To his chagrin, the wife nevertheless does not leave, and he can do nothing but drag her along whether he likes it or not. An incapacity to work because of illness or old age never leads to divorce, for the man is at liberty to take a young, healthy woman besides his first wife. An unbearable disposition which the woman may develop in the course of the years can torture a man to such an extent that he has no other recourse but to flee into the arms of another person. No one stops him. A general rule
586 forbids a person to interfere in the marital affairs of relatives. It
602 is only when a woman is mistreated that an uncle or some other relative will definitely take her part (101); the situation is different if she runs away.

101. Bridges (a):202 emphatically expressed this principle: "A father-in-law or brother-in-law does not take his daughter's or sister's part against her husband, unless he severely injures

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602 571 [578] families within the same ethnic unit. Groups living far apart sometimes do not even know one another; their mutual estrangement is favorable soil for the growth of suspicion, mistrust, and animosity. Insecure and harsh economic conditions react on the social level in a centrifugal sense, if we may so express it (209).

209. Stirling, who has let some inaccuracies creep in, says: "Family life in Fuegia is exclusive. Get outside the family, and relationships are doubtful, if not hostile. The bond of a common language is no security for friendly offices. To be of the same tribe is no guarantee of safety in travelling. Fear and distrust are stronger than tribal affinities" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 11; 1870).

619 Nevertheless, there is a true tribal society on a modest scale. It is based on a common origin and language; it is expressed in the fact that everyone acts in exactly the same way and that all are subject to a definite, unwritten, universally binding law. Every individual feels that he is a member of the whole, he knows that he is united with one who can make himself intelligible to him in the same language, and he traces his origin to the same source as all others who are just as lawfully rooted in his native soil as he is. This consciousness becomes so strong that, as individuals and as a community, they are convinced that they form a special group; they believe themselves to be "the people," the ethnic unit having exclusive right of existence in their homeland. The boundaries of their homeland are regarded as something given in ancient times (210), whose legal validity is thus inviolably se-

210. Bridges (k):233 first learned of the homeland boundaries from the Yamana themselves.

cure for all time, no matter what the explanation for the original bounds of native territory and its first occupation by their forefathers.

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178 634 together. Since 1880 a particularly strong movement in this direction set in. According to Hyades ( ):718, Bridges noted the effect of this in June, 1884: "The Yahgan are now so much more coalesced that they form only a single colony" /translated from French/. Obviously Bridges would like his readers to believe that a change for the better had been brought about among these natives under the influence of the Anglican mission. He was mistaken. Furthermore, Hyades (ℓ):721 raised the justifiable objection against Bridges' assertion by pointing out that the Yamana "were formerly divided into tribes that were hostile or antipathetic toward one another" /translated from French/. This is not to deny that occasionally disputes and hostilities were carried on between individual families of the same local group (230).

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230. From his most recent experience Bove (e):158 reported: "The inhabitants of the east (Picton Island) and those from Adduvia (New Year Sound) still [since the founding of the mission station in Ushuwaia] fought with each other frequently, and often enough the sad news of deeds of violence, murder and insults reaches the Mission."

571 612 /801/ The association of the five dialect groups is very tenuous (231), that of the local groups within each dialect group

231. This is probably what Aspinall:270 means when he says: "Despite the lack of closer ties of tribal society, one notices among them many expressions of true affection and deeper concern."

is somewhat less so, and that of the families of each circle of relatives who in their totality form the local group is truly strong. There is, of course, overlapping, insofar as a person has blood relatives in more than one local group. It is well known (p. 607) that in itself the circle of relatives is neither a definitely ordered structure nor a specifically organized system. For some the blood

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674 expressly points out that the rich selection of the oddest things and the strangest implements fairly challenged these natives to reach out for them and /985/ entertain themselves with them, without actually intending to steal. They have pilfered all kinds of things just for amusement or in roguish high spirits.

How punctiliously our Yamana respect the property rights of Europeans is shown in recent times, since they have formed a clear opinion about their relations to the Whites. The belongings of the latter are just as safe in Tierra del Fuego as in other parts of the world, but anything that they leave lying around in the open is thoughtlessly abandoned to confiscation by the first person who comes along. No European in the Cape Horn region need fear major burglaries and premeditated banditry on the part of the Yamana. Although I lived with them for months, I never lost the most insignificant thing. On my third journey, as I was leaving Puerto Mejillones after the Kina celebration, I threw away a pair of worn-out stockings beside the wooden house of Santiago. I was already sitting in the canoe when Santiago came running and, waving them high in the air, called loudly: "Martin, you left your stockings here!" It was not until I told him, "I do not need them anymore, keep them for yourself!" that the faithful old man calmed down and went back into his house.

The relatively clear and definite regulation of property relations among the Yamana contributes very considerably to the orderly, peaceful existence of the tribal society. Each of them is very exact about the prevailing rules and customs, and violations of the rights of ownership and property of tribal members are actually rare.

F. Feuds and Blood Vengeance

156 578 Compared to the Selk'nam, the Yamana impress the superficial observer as peaceable people. We must also admit that protracted brawls do not occur as often among them as among the Selk'nam. All this, however, does not alter the scarcely surprising fact that our Yamana, too, are very excitable and easily offended out of an exaggerated feeling of honor. In many things pertaining to their person, things that we Europeans regard as utterly unimportant, they show a sensitiveness which is quite

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156 incomprehensible to us. They lose their equanimity particularly
578 in cases of intentional insults and humiliations. This is even more true in instances of a serious offense against their own rights and especially of murder, each case of which is sooner or later avenged if the culprit does not atone for it in time. Almost no one quietly endures insults, no matter how small; instead, he uses the first good opportunity to obtain satisfaction. One must realize, however, that a person is able to wait years for this, and he may take his revenge at a time when the other party has almost completely forgotten the incident. Since the Yamana have such /986/ character traits, less serious brawls between individuals and between small groups are by no means rare. Bridges (i):13 has correctly characterized them as "very quarrelsome and touchy and the weaker were very careful not to offend the stronger and were very courteous in their manners and language, often dissembling with smiles and words of peace their hatred and disapproval" /cited in English/.

627 Since the entire tribe is broken up into very small family communities or hordes (p. 632), it is impossible from the start for considerable masses of people to band together for battles or wars. Inasmuch as actual revenge for murder is obligatory for the nearest kin of the murdered person, the matter is settled only between them and the opposite party. In any case, however, such occurrence rare in comparison with the above-mentioned quarrels. It would be entirely mistaken to assume that this ethnic group composed of several large divisions is constantly at war with its own kind. By nature they are anything but pugnacious, no matter how vengeful they are and how jealously sensitive of their personal honor. Anxious concern about their daily food requirements leaves them little time for the troublesome effort of constantly or almost constantly lying in wait for a hostile division.

648 We need not repeat here anything about the relations of our Yamana with the Selk'nam (p. 234 /untranslated/), whom they generally met with apprehension, and with their western neighbors (p. 241 /untranslated/) whom they feared as cannibals (405). Their

405. Hyades (q):240 speaks without sufficient proof of an alleged hatred which "shows itself especially with regard to the neighboring peoples, Alakalouf /Alacaluf/ that is often bloody"

/986 cont./

648 and Ona; in this case it results in strife /translated from French/. Cooper:174 sums up the situation correctly, namely, that "as a rule on border territories the relations have been fairly peaceful" /cited in English/.

relations with Europeans (p. 246 /untranslated/), especially to missionaries (p. 288 /untranslated/), has also been treated in detail and has long been known. Cooper:174 characterizes it correctly and briefly as follows: "More commonly, however, the white man has, deliberately or unwittingly, been the first to give offence" /cited in English/. After the Whites spread out in the Cape Horn Archipelago and confiscated the useful land for themselves, there was nothing for the former sole owners of this region to do but to give in without resistance and with quiet resignation.

a. Causes

152 The Yamana know no more than other primitive peoples how to control their hurt feelings, especially their feeling of in-
578 jured honor, nor how to settle insults or humiliations in the amicable way of quiet, matter-of-fact explanation or through a sort of arbiter. /987/ Everyone personally and with his own fist sees to it that justice is done him and that he obtains what he believes to be adequate satisfaction. The individual is first of all sole judge and avenger; in certain instances his nearest relatives help him in protecting his rights.

The desire and passion for revenge are extraordinarily empha-
152 sized among the Yamana (406). Sometimes they are so carried

406. It is misleading when Hyades (q):240 maintains: "The desire for vengeance does not occupy the Fuegians much..." /translated from French/. The small number of words for the feeling of revenge is no measure of its strength. In this connection see other opinions in Waitz:III, 507.

/987 cont./

152 away that they are completely incapable of anything like a sensible judgment of an incident. A person will literally foam with rage, in fact storm around as though he had taken leave of his senses, and will even vent his wrath on persons who are intimately connected with the offender who is not within his reach (407). Nevertheless,

> 407. In agreement with Dabbene (b):198, Bridges and Furlong assert: "The Yahgan are very vengeful, and in the event of serious offenses or of homicide they are not so concerned about pursuing the criminal when he has successfully escaped, but in their fury they inflict vengeance on any member of the guilty person's family" /translated from Spanish/.

he can muster astonishing self-control when he realizes that he is too weak to stand against his opponent. He is even capable of hiding his feelings until he is sure of superior strength. This conduct obviously betrays genuine cowardice, and it was no different toward Europeans, for, as Cooper:174 definitely says, they have "often shown themselves hostile, aggressive, and treacherous, when they felt they were numerically superior" /cited in English/. According to the Indian, every satisfaction for an insult or an injustice is an actual act of revenge. This becomes clear from what Hyades (q):240 says, and even more so from the words of Bove (e):159: The family and friends of the injured person exact revenge. It is surely not love for the injured that causes a tribe [a family group] to take up arms, however; the spirit of revenge rules supreme in their hearts."

152 Closely connected with their exaggerated sensitivity and the desire for revenge which is constantly alive in them is a high degree
• 598 of suspicion. "There is, or was, a good deal of bad feeling for one another between the members of the three Fuegian tribes" /cited in English/ (Cooper:174). As a matter of fact, no one quite honestly trusts another, among men as well as among women, and everyone lies in wait, so to speak, as though at one time or another he expected a sign of hostile feeling or malevolent intent. Being conscious of this, the individual is more or less painfully exact and very cautious

/987 cont./

152 in associating with others. In spite of this, the suspicious eye of a
●578 neighbor is always discovering something, even though he does not look for it in a decidedly malicious way, and so he interprets this word or that attitude as an offense or a slight, as a threat or a challenge. This kind of character promotes vehement /988/ arguments and wild brawls. The supposed opponent who is attacked is, in most cases, not only innocent, but even completely without presentiment.

578 Linked with this tendency toward constant active suspicion is a never-resting implacability. This is understandable to us and taken for granted by the Yamana. It is why people who have once had more or less serious altercations almost never find their way back to complete mutual trust, no matter how well they seem to get along outwardly. They simply can never forget the incident. No one can conceal his suspicious or hostile attitude toward another person to the point of complete deception. That is why everyone is on his guard if he meets another person or has dealings with him. From all this we now see that the urge of the individual family to be alone, completely cut off from other people, is perfectly understandable, for grave suspicion, together with cowardice and the feeling of the inadequacy of one's own powers, forces them far away from those who could do harm or exact vengeance. Even though the joy of social intercourse now and then brings individual families into contact, they are, as a rule, content with a short period of being together and feel relieved when, soon after, they are once more on their own, free from the glances of suspicious critics. Social intercourse with others is never sincerely friendly without a shadow of mistrust. They are, according to Lothrop (b):164, not an "amicable people, according to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence" /cited in English/. Hyades (q):375 emphasizes their implacability: "The offense which occasions the quarrel is sometimes very old, which proves that the Fuegians are vindictive" /translated from French/.

578 Inasmuch as the Yamana are incapable of completely hiding
152 their inner feelings and emotions indefinitely from a sharp observer, anyone who believes that he has been offended soon adopts a

/988 cont./

578 152 discernible counter-position. With such an attitude, insulting words soon follow. For example, several men will be sitting in a circle; someone will be talking with his neighbor and affecting a mysterious air, meanwhile casting a fleeting glance toward a person who is not fond of him. This alone may cause the latter to become falsely suspicious and to assume that the other is talking disparagingly about him. He watches them more sharply, confirms his preconceived idea, and becomes angry. When the circle breaks up or when he feels more confident among another group of people, he will go up to the other man and say to him excitedly: "You have evil designs on me!" The other, being unsuspecting, is dumbfounded for a few minutes and then replies vehemently: "You want to be hostile to me!" The eyes of both men blaze, and immediately, with growing /989/ excitement and more and more loudly, they hurl serious words of suspicion at each other. If they feel they are a match in strength or cowardice, they part sulkily after some blustering. Anyone who feels that a person has spoken disparagingly about his troublesome dog, his naughty child, a personal fault, his laziness in hunting, his neglect of his family, or his illicit relations with a woman, even if he has no further proof than his own suspicious assumption, will usually confront his supposed opponent on the spot and demand an explanation. Without exception, the latter will flare up and resort to invectives or threats which finally lead to blows. A person will be especially annoyed when insulting words and wounding opinions that were actually spoken are brought by a tale-bearer. This is especially the case among women. They are not only quicker to have it out with words, but are also ready with fists.

Such occasions for feuds are frequent and hence an everyday matter, so to speak, because they arise out of the association of a number of people. The situation becomes much more serious in case of adultery. It makes no difference how this becomes known. The mere suspicion creates a dangerous situation for both parties, even though one or the other is innocent. Actually, all the Yamana, without exception, are severe in their condemnation of this error, whether it is convincingly proved or merely probable, simply because they are decidedly jealous. This does not alter the fact that some of them in their own personal behavior may err even more

578 /989 cont./
152 seriously and habitually. The same serious situation arises when a woman leaves her husband, for she usually tries to steal away because of a love affair with another man.

627 The thirst for revenge is, of course, most deeply aroused by
674 an actual, premeditated murder, and nothing sets families against each other so violently as this act. For the Yamana every human life, even that of a child, is most precious and sacred (Bridges [h]:205); hence murder is an utterly abhorrent deed (408). There

408. In this connection compare our account of infanticide (p. 528) and abortion (pp. 491, 535).

are exceptions, however, Most murders come about through adultery.
[837] For example, if a married man is looking for a new tie and leaves his wife without cause, her relatives take her part, and they demand that the faithless husband give an account of himself or they simply take the law into their own hands and murder him. They say: "This woman joined herself to this man and they should live together to the end of their lives; since he failed in his duty, he must be punished!" Divorce without adequate cause is an offense against a generally recognized law. Each murder of this kind unleashes a serious /990/ danger for another human life because of the obligation for blood vengeance, and the danger is even greater in the case of a murder for an insignificant reason (409). In view

409. Bridges (VSA:XI, 260;1864) mentions: "If a man kills another causelessly, his relations are greatly displeased, since it brings each one of them into danger. This is a great preventive to blood-shedding" /cited in English/.

of the dangerous position one puts himself into by an act of murder, the individual holds himself in check, even on occasions of greatest excitement and the almost unconquerable passion for revenge.

674 It must be said that murder is rare among the Yamana, although we cannot give exact figures (Cooper:174). On June 20, 1884, Bridges (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884) attempted some statistics on murder:

/990 cont./

266 though, as we know, they set great store by a dog. Whenever I
/991/ wanted to discuss anthropophagy with them, they persistently refused because of aversion and disgust, and they shook their heads as a sign that they regard such a thing as impossible even among other peoples.

627 Every murder, no matter how the murderer justifies or ex-
578 cuses himself, brings revenge in its wake and usually involves a number of persons. Details will be given below. The yĕkamuš with his machinations is a by no means surprising cause of serious quarrels. It would be premature to go into that at this point; his behavior must first be described in detail, which will be done later. Hostilities and acts of murder arising from his interference are, as usual, settled by the parties involved and with the help of friendly yĕkamuš. Thus, the causes of discord and disputes among the Yamana are the same as among other peoples; in view of their character traits, the causes are primarily "insult, theft, adultery, and the death of a relative" /cited in English/, according to Lothrop (b):164 and Hyades (q):374. Mistreatment of the wife should be added. In general, quarrels and discord are not prolonged and sooner or later they are settled again. As has already been reported in Outes (g):59, "small differences are settled among themselves without much difficulty" /translated from Spanish/.

b. Ordinary Quarrels

578 The Yamana certainly are extraordinarily irascible and vengeful; sometimes they simply cannot control themselves and are little amenable to appeasing words. They are neither warlike nor combative by nature, however. This characterizes their natural inclination, but it by no means denies that they easily become involved in quarrels and brawls. "They are," as Hyades (q):374 confirms, "very susceptible and, as a result, inclined to quarrels and strife" /translated from French/. Their predominant tendency is to live in peace with others as much as possible and not to become involved in disputes. This is the sole reason why a family will sometimes remain hidden for years and have no contact, or almost none, with any of their countrymen. Despard

/991 cont./

578 (b):717 has already pointed out "that warfare is not fashionable among them, since they have no chieftains, no military weapons of offence and defence, no fortified places, no war canoes" /cited in English/ (411). Gatherings of many people for warfare would

411. Bove (e):159 too obviously exaggerates: "until a few years ago only very few [Yamana] died a natural death, and the terrible scars which cover the bodies of the oldest ones prove how warlike the Fuegians were and still are. The jus talionis is still in full force among them." He probably relies on Bridges (i):13 who, however, exaggerates when he says: "Their many offences against the dearest rights of their friends and neighbours kept the community in a chronic state of unrest and fighting" /cited in English/.

therefore have been impossible. /992/ There are no reports anywhere concerning them. Finally, one must also take into account the undeniable fact that these Fuegians are very cowardly toward each other.

On the other hand, quarrels between two persons are a frequent occurrence. Martial:207 is right when he says that "quarrels between neighbors are frequent" /translated from French/. It would be hard to decide which of the two sexes outdoes the other in this respect. Usually false suspicion or unfounded vindictiveness starts a loud exchange of words, which becomes more intense. Excitement grows on both sides; the two who are quarreling come closer, seize each other or strike each other with the first stick they can lay their hands on, choke each other, and tussle until much blood flows or until sharp pain paralyzes them and their weakened strength fails. Only then do they silently let go of each other. The whole thing is a regular brawl (412) which is violent or more moderate, brutal

412. Spegazzini (s):168 says briefly: "Warfare, properly speaking, does not exist between these communities; usually it is a matter of quarrels over particular questions" /translated from Spanish/.

/992 cont./

578 or less furious, according to the nature of the combatants. Women, after a brief battle of words, flare up more quickly, seize each other more brutally, bite some part of the body, strike with their fists against mouth and nose and scuffle while pulling very painfully and convulsively on a thick bunch of hair. They do not say anything, but merely hiss and groan. Usually men or other women must pull the raging pair apart. From the start, men try to keep hostile women away from each other. Therefore, the women take advantage of a lonely meeting in the woods or on the beach, where they can really show each other their mutual dislike. Not every man is sufficiently confident of his strength and courage to fight with his opponent (413), and therefore he consciously avoids

> 413. Nevertheless, Bove (e):159 has correctly observed: "Quarrels and fights are common, even in Uschuwaia itself, so that, after one has spent a few days there, their occurrence is no longer surprising."

the other's presence and finally forgets unimportant annoyances, but he always avoids coming in contact with someone who might involve him in a brawl.

627 We insert here an incident that Bridges (i):13 noted in his diary: "Ushuaia, March 24th, 1872. Hatuswaianges very ill from the effect of injuries received from Couiluj who was jealous of him (414). March 28th. This morning Hatuswaianges died.

> 414. He suspected him of adulterous relations with his wife, according to Bridges (MM:VI, 125; 1872). On May 20, 1872, he (loc. cit.) described this quarrel in more detail.

He has been in a very dull state...I fear that the violence of Couiluj has caused his death. March 31st. There have been some few demonstrations of anger by one and another for the death of Hatuswaianges and Couiluj has had to give away his blubber and other things, and in other ways to suffer. 8th [April]. Today a party of 16 canoes arrived with intent to avenge the death of Hatuswaianges, /993/ Couiluj made his escape...The occupants

/993 cont./

627 of the 16 canoes, having landed, lost no time in meeting the people here. All on both sides, men and women, were armed with sticks, spears or paddles and all who were connected with Hatuswaianges or Couiluj indicated the same by the paint on their faces. They hastened on and Meacol presented himself as the chief object of their revenge, being the nephew on his mother's side of the manslayer...There was much shouting and rushing about, great noise and confusion, much threatening and fierceness of manner, but very few blows. Meacol, after the affair was over, was obliged to lay down the principal of his possessions to further appease the angry feelings of the dead boy's relatives...July 11th. Went to seek Couiluj who has been hurt by a cousin of the boy Hatuswaianges of whose death he was the cause. His head is much hurt and he received several blows about the body" /cited in English/.

578 The fight between two men sometimes starts in a flash and is usually over after a few minutes. In the case of particularly angry opponents who are a match in strength it sometimes lasts longer, and now and then others are also embroiled, for anyone who sees his relative or friend fighting an opponent immediately comes to his aid. Thus, from a single fight a disorderly scuffle of two groups developes, and in the end even the women join in. A fight between individuals is the most common, however. The two seize each other by the throat, wrestle, scratch each other's faces, use their fists indiscriminately, grasp the head of their opponent in an effort to break his neck, and spend their strength. The individuals on the periphery of the entanglement attach themselves to the convulsively locked pair or seize stones and sticks which they hurl with great force. Even the wildest brawls of this kind die down after a few minutes. Panting and groaning, the excited opponents withdraw and creep into their huts where they sink down exhausted and thereafter do not even mention the fight again. This is precisely the course of most of the fights. Of course if people notice that the two

579 opponents are becoming excited and show signs of preparing for a scuffle, they try to calm them with amicable words, hide their weapons, and forcibly keep them apart, but such mediation is not always possible. The situation is actually just as Bridges (VSA:XI, 269; 1864) has described it: "A single combat often ends in two whole families fighting together, when they try not to kill, but

/995 cont./

273 578 We should also mention that the present-day Yamana almost without exception partake avidly of alcohol whenever they can get it. When intoxicated, they quickly lose control over themselves, become pugnacious, and get into noisy, brutal quarrels, in which many a man has been badly wounded, made a cripple, or forfeited his life. Even the gentle, quiet Richard killed his first wife in a state of complete drunkenness, so Fred Lawrence declared. Such derangement with serious consequences was unknown in the better olden times.

c. Blood Vengeance

628 Premeditated, serious brawls between two large groups are always the result of a murder. Inasmuch as a person's life is regarded as precious and not to be harmed (p.880), murder is considered a most execrable deed which, for lack of an existing judicial power, must be avenged by the nearest relatives of the unfortunate victim. Blood vengeance in this case, therefore, is the equivalent of a demand for expiation of the crime which caused the death of a member of the tribe. It does not matter in the least whether death occurred immediately or some time after an attack. This idea of blood vengeance is complemented by the duty of the nearest relative of a victim to carry it out personally or to take part in carrying it out. All adults are in complete agreement on this point.

Without doubt, the fear of strict and inescapable expiation for every murderous deed contributes to everyone being carefully on guard to avoid it. Bridges (MM:IX, 215;1870) confirms this: "Fear is the powerful agent, fear of man, fear of death; without the latter there would not be the former to any profitable degree. A man is restrained from taking life by fear, fear of his friends, as well as dread of those whose vengeance he has incurred by taking the life of one of their kin. For according to native usage, and necessarily springing from it, all the kindred /996/ of a murderer are held as sharers of his offence, and frequently suffer in his stead. For though they (selfishly) may be ever so angry with their relatives, the murderer, for thus making them liable, yea, not only liable, but certain to be partners of his punishment, yet they will not give him up to death, but will avenge his death if he is killed" /cited in English/.

/1136 cont./

TS 152 for the muck combat. The participants get up, reach for their club or paddles, and leave the hut. Sobbing and weeping loudly, they arrange themselves in two groups in an open place outside in no particular order. If the yamalafemique commemorates a recent murder, however, a more definite division is made, and the party of the victim and that of the murderer face each other. Each of the adults is equipped with a club; women who lack a club use their paddles (p. 1004). These objects have previously been painted.

While the two groups are slowly approaching each other, they sob loudly and speak of the deceased for whom the ceremony is being held. They mention his good characteristics and qualities in words of warm appreciation and sincere grief. These utterances cease as soon as the two groups meet. The muck battle immediately begins, with an individual from one side rushing at anyone in the other group and attacking him. The two large groups thus split up into many fighting pairs. Each pair continues to duel for some time. They do not intend to injure one another; hence a blow is checked before it falls. Nevertheless one person or another may receive quite a blow if a pair becomes excited or if two opponents who have many a former account to settle should happen to meet.

TS 152 /1136/ A more important feature of this sham battle is the utterance of mutual reproaches, making the other person responsible for the death, as though he were to blame for the grief which depresses all the people. A person who is met with reproaches of this kind from his opponent defends himself just as vehemently and heaps the accusations back on the other. If one says, "You caused that one to die, it is your fault that we are all sad now!" then the other replies, "Quite the contrary, you are to blame for everything!" Or one will maintain, "Why didn't you pay more attention to that one [who has just died] and help him?" Whereupon his opponent will defend himself, "You're the one who should have helped him, then he would not have been taken from us!" Another will shout, "You did not give that one any of your booty and that is why he starved!" The retort is: "I always gave him plenty of our booty. If you had done the same he would have been spared us!" Elsewhere one hears: "Why did you not

/1136 cont./

765 come to his aid with your canoe when he was drowning?" The
453 opponent replies: "I was much farther away from him than you,
579 I was on the Wollaston Islands. It was far easier for you to help him because you were near him." Alluding to the murder, one man says: "How could you be so carefree! You should have known that this murderer had murderous intentions!" The answer: "You are guiltier. For if you had an inkling of it it was up to you to inform everybody and that one [the murdered one] would have been spared!" The verbal exchange continues for a long time. It often leads to attacks on personal conduct, to reminders of former quarrels and differences of opinion. Many become excited, and the combatants seriously attack each other. For some of them this opportunity is very welcome because a long-suppressed desire for revenge can be gratified without punishment. There is great confusion during the battle and sometimes a certain amount of brutality, depending on how much tempers are aroused, for the opponents facing each other change about several times, or three or four persons will pounce upon a single one who is then in a serious predicament. After about an hour the combat is declared over when a few influential old people return to the assembly hut. The rest of the people follow.

765 Inside, the customary song of mourning is resumed and
533 continues for a time, its duration depending on the hour of the
535 day and the state of mind of those present. One person or another will get up and dance through the hut, following the simple rhythm of the song with his body movements and the gentle swing of the short dance-staff. Finally the yamalalemdina is concluded, following the clear, definite signal by one of the leading old people that all the participants should lay down their clubs, paddles, and dance staffs with an audible tap on the ground. While the singing was going on, /1137/ all the people were holding these things in their hands. After that each one spends long minutes in thoughtful concentration, and only then does he silently creep out. He goes to his dwelling and quietly resumes his ordinary tasks.

765 This affair regularly lasts eight hours and longer. Only the adults take part. In order to prevent any disturbance or distraction by their own or by strange children, none of the children

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"To call a person Cushpij was a great insult" /cited in English/. In (e):332 and (k):237 it is said: "'Cashpik' is a name which they also gave people who were ridiculous or who had a bad character, and this was a great insult." Likewise Hyades (q):255.

Therefore, késpix is a general concept, not the proper name of a definite individual person (239).

239. Despard (b):717 made this mistake: "Firelanders have a dread of a being called 'Cushpeec,' and are loth to hear his name mentioned. He seems to be a very lean man. When met with, he makes doleful cries..." /cited in English/. In this connection see the detailed description of this generic term above, p. 1033.

776 778 If the Yamana extends the meaning of the word késpix he includes those strange spirit-beings which arise from his imagination and fantasy, his belief and his dreams, and which do not truly live, as do Watauinéiwa and the human souls separated from the body. Each of the various groups forms its own peculiar society. In this connection the Yamana also extends the designation késpix to include a rare individual case which deviates from the human norm. BD:466 refers to this with the word tūkōspigōna, "to say a person is cushpik [késpix] or like one, to accuse a person of acting the part of a cushpik, i.e., of speaking or acting without any regard to truth or propriety" /cited in English/. Actual consciousness, presence of mind, personal alertness are also called késpix, that is, the definite késpix which lives in the human being, and there is then no sharp distinction between this condition and the human soul. An unusual notion or impulse or even coincidence also belongs in this category. Earlier, on page 488, I related an unimportant incident. The daughter of old Pedro Malemikens, who was about seven years old, following a

/1385 cont./

X756 yecamoosh" /cited in English/.

The yékamuš are not united in a group or society; rather, each one is independent and operates by himself. It is a general rule that each family group, that is, the combination of a few related families, has its own yékamuš. In this group, of course, he has a certain superiority. Such a distinction has no legal basis, but exists in fact. In this sense blood ties bind the yékamuš to his group for the time being. He profits by his greater age no less than by his rich experience and the many superior achievements which he has to his credit. His sphere of duty is extensive, and the family group with which he is connected expects all kinds of help from him. If he grants this willingly and successfully, his reputation steadily grows. Finally they all become so generally dependent upon him that he seems like a legally appointed person of authority (318), but it

318. Fitz-Roy (a):211 accurately judged this state of affairs: "I never could distinctly ascertain whether the eldest man, or the doctor of a tribe had the most influence; but from what little I could learn, it appeared to me that the elder of a family or tribe had a sort of executive authority, while the doctor gave advice, not only in domestic affairs, but with respect to most transactions" /cited in English/.

would be false to assume that the individual is to any extent hindered in his freedom of movement or in his independent way of life by the yékamuš. It is only occasionally that the medicine man acts in such a way that the tribal member who displeases him must give in or is forced in a direction contrary to his desires. In the main the yékamuš extends a great deal of help to his group and relatives in the exigencies and sorrows of everyday life. He, as well as those around him, sees this as the primary duty of his calling.

X756 754 578 The benevolent influence of the yékamuš is cheerfully admitted, but beyond that he is definitely a cause of great

X756 /1385 cont./
754 disturbances. This is chiefly true of one who is accused of hav-
578 ing caused the death of a beloved person or /1386/ a widespread sickness. For many people a yékamuš may cause almost constant fear and anxiety. They cannot even flee for safety because the yékamuš extend their influence over wide areas. The missionaries often complained about this. Burleigh, for example, wrote on October 29, 1893: "Death has removed from us one poor woman who gave us much trouble at Wollaston with her sorceries, and by causing the death of those she hated, and who went so far as to try her evil designs upon us because I reproved her and some others for their sins" /cited in English/ (MM:XXVIII, 57;1893). The anxiety of a family group may continue for a considerable time if several yékamuš fight each other in their own peculiar way.

X756 In spite of all this, the people place their entire confidence in the yékamuš at times of personal distress and general need. He must help them in case of serious illness, protect them against the threat of malevolent natural forces, lead an expedition of revenge, and defend each individual against all kinds of dangers which are part of everyday life. In general his activity is actually more beneficial and advantageous than harmful and detrimental to the individual and his group. For this reason a capable, helpful yékamuš is loved by his people; they appreciate and respect him, obey him and confide in him. If one yékamuš is more capable than another, there is even serious jealousy among the individual family groups. In general each family follows its guiding yékamuš, entrusts itself to his care, and defends him against others. From all this one can see how closely a yékamuš is associated with his immediate neighborhood.

X756 Although the natives themselves speak of women who act
462 as yékamuš, and many Europeans confirm this, such accounts must be qualified. Usually a woman does no more than accompany her husband in singing now and then, or silently and patiently sits beside him when he gives himself up to deepest concentration. I was often a witness to this. Old Emilia, who was married to middle-aged Manuel, and Sara, the wife of Mačemikens, were pointed out to me as yékamuš (319). Neither

319. Hyades (q):257 also writes: "Mr. Bridges

/1391 cont./

X756 Let it be stated with all firmness that every yékamuš is an altogether normal, mentally healthy human being. Persons who are mentally inferior and in an advanced state of senility are not taken seriously even in everyday life; how, therefore, could they attain that pre-eminence which every capable medicine man enjoys? Rather, it can be taken as a general rule that the yékamuš is talented above the average, that he is more active and more capable than the men around him. His greater ability and richer mental gifts alone place him above his neighbors; his extensive and more profound knowledge gained from experience give him standing. These natural advantages give a medicine man's activity considerable importance.

X756 Naturally, there is a difference in their ability, depending on the talent and knowledge of the individual. The people
●518 /1392/ know and name those few yékamuš who have performed
764 impossible things, and they are satisfied with the majority who have not gone beyond mediocrity. In view of the disposition of our Yamana, it is not surprising that the greater ability of one yékamuš has caused petty jealousies on the part of another group whose yékamuš is not as highly regarded. The one who feels insulted challenges his rival to one of the customary feats of strength. Basically they take place as follows. A yékamuš throws an object, for example, a yékuš, at his adversary. In case the yékamuš who is attacked does not recognize the approaching foreign body or cannot nullify its effect, he is wounded, weakens, and dies. If from the start the attacker does not succeed in hurling the yékuš far enough, so that it falls before reaching its goal or is caught by the medicine man who is attacked, then the attacker is regarded as the weaker one and loses the competition. All this takes place in the mental field of vision of the medicine men, which remains inaccessible to the ordinary Yamana. The latter learn only as much as the competing yékamuš themselves tell them and only as much as they choose to reveal.

X756 On March 19, 1923, the Yamana told me the following
173 ancient tale. Once upon a time there were two brothers who were capable yékamuš. For a long time they lived together peaceably, but one day they had a serious quarrel. All the

/1418 cont./

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> other. This Yecoosh, which can only be seen by a doctor, and can only be held by him, the doctors pretend to suck out of the body of the sick person, who afterwards is supposed to recover his health quickly" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 258;1864).

how /1419/ his effort has turned out, he notifies the person of his condition and also identifies the yékamuš who wounded him. Moreover, he soon thereafter turns to that yékamuš, "in the dream" naturally, reproaches him for his destructive act, and rebukes him thoroughly: "Know that I am stronger than you! Beware of harming any of my relatives or friends! Look at this yékuš which you hurled against X [he gives the name] and of which I relieved him!" The other yékamuš realizes that he is exposed and does not contradict him. Sometimes the successful yékamuš shows the people around him the yékuš that he took out of the wounded person. Everyone who sees it -- naturally, only in their imaginations, as presented by the yékamuš -- is amazed at its size and the ability of the medicine man. The people's admiration increases if the yékamuš has brought relief to a friend who was in great danger from a hostile yékamuš without being aware of his condition. Many medicine men spend considerable [578] time in the broad realm of imagination and fantasy, and they are obviously the cause of all kinds of provocations by individuals or whole groups against one another.

Usually the yékamuš applies his cure directly to the sick person. He has rubbed his own body with white pigment and tied his apawé-a around his forehead. He sometimes also puts two or three of them around his torso. This external trapping lends special solemnity to his activity. The sick person is lying on his pallet, and the yékamuš squats beside him. Usually members of the sick person's family are present. The medicine man begins his song, and in his awake vision he points with his finger to the part of the body where the yékuš is lodged. First he presses and massages the spot with his hands; then he puts his mouth to it and sucks as though he were drawing the yékuš up to the surface. Finally, at the moment of greatest agitation, while his whole body

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

sport, the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive. Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport, so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kahleka*, another between two groups known as *ungiana*.

Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball-game like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (op. cit., p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *loima*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *telania*, are songs of mourning; the *arua* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jucas* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the dances are called *uona*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

In general the Yahgan were not an amicable people, according to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to aid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General mêlées, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges sponsors the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1884, p. 224.

/993 cont./

627 of the 16 canoes, having landed, lost no time in meeting the people here. All on both sides, men and women, were armed with sticks, spears or paddles and all who were connected with Hatuswaianges or Couiluj indicated the same by the paint on their faces. They hastened on and Meacol presented himself as the chief object of their revenge, being the nephew on his mother's side of the manslayer...There was much shouting and rushing about, great noise and confusion, much threatening and fierceness of manner, but very few blows. Meacol, after the affair was over, was obliged to lay down the principal of his possessions to further appease the angry feelings of the dead boy's relatives...July 11th. Went to seek Couiluj who has been hurt by a cousin of the boy Hatuswaianges of whose death he was the cause. His head is much hurt and he received several blows about the body" /cited in English/.

578 The fight between two men sometimes starts in a flash and is usually over after a few minutes. In the case of particularly angry opponents who are a match in strength it sometimes lasts longer, and now and then others are also embroiled, for anyone who sees his relative or friend fighting an opponent immediately comes to his aid. Thus, from a single fight a disorderly scuffle of two groups developes, and in the end even the women join in. A fight between individuals is the most common, however. The two seize each other by the throat, wrestle, scratch each other's faces, use their fists indiscriminately, grasp the head of their opponent in an effort to break his neck, and spend their strength. The individuals on the periphery of the entanglement attach themselves to the convulsively locked pair or seize stones and sticks which they hurl with great force. Even the wildest brawls of this kind die down after a few minutes. Panting and groaning, the excited opponents withdraw and creep into their huts where they sink down exhausted and thereafter do not even mention the fight again. This is precisely the course of most of the fights. Of course if people notice that the two 579 opponents are becoming excited and show signs of preparing for a scuffle, they try to calm them with amicable words, hide their weapons, and forcibly keep them apart, but such mediation is not always possible. The situation is actually just as Bridges (VSA:XI, 260; 1864) has described it: "A single combat often ends in two whole families fighting together, when they try not to kill, but

/993 cont./

579 to merely subdue" /cited in English/. In the same vein Hyades (q):374 adds: "All weapons are then good for the fight: fists, stones, sticks, slings, harpoons, arrows" /translated from French/.

As an example here is an account of a fight reported by Bridges (MM:XIII, 153; 1879) on March 7, 1879, which arose from unhappy marital conditions: "One day, a certain man named Richard Ahmooshmeenan, who has taken Joe's sister to wife, and through her and his own evil passions brought himself /994/ into much turmoil, went down to Jeminaze wigwam to fetch his eloped wife. He went in a very threatening manner, with spear in hand, into a hornet's nest. The ill-will of her relatives had often been stirred up by his violence to her, and now seeing him come among them in this threatening manner, their evil passions overflowed all bounds and a savage assault was made. Richard's friends came to his aid, and a scene of universal broil and violence was the result. It occurred during the dinner hour. As usual I rang the bell for work, but no workmen appearing, I rang a second time; still none came. At last Samuel came up to tell me all the people were in a great uproar, and had hurt each other very much" /cited in English/.

Such brawls -- there is no other name for these quarrels -- are neither premeditated nor carried out according to a specific pattern (415). It would be inaccurate to speak of actual battles;

> 415. "When they fight, it is generally an affray of words, stones, spears, and clubs, with many on both sides" /cited in English/, according to Bridges (a):207. This missionary has a number of times expressed himself in these words, and he is quite right.

"among the Yahgans there are never expeditions of war" /translated from French/, according to Hyades (q):374.

627 These public brawls and noisy scuffles are clearly distinct from the particular hostilities which I should like to characterize as consciously premeditated acts of revenge, with which someone will settle an injustice from far in the past. It is either despondency and cowardice or the knowledge of his opponent's superior strength

/628 cont./

181 The entire social order, as the aggregate of conjugal or familial arrangements and vital functions of the tribe or community, proves to be naturally humane and, therefore, appears in an altogether friendly, pleasant light.

A. Courtship and Marriage

594 The individual family, the supporting pillar of the entire social order, is regulated in its origin and its continuation according to fixed, unchangeable fundamental principles. These principles are kept alive as customs in the consciousness and conscience of the people. They are made known to each member of the tribe and are more or less familiar to him. Since custom and practice are the primary law in the performance of duty, the centuries have not eaten away any of this, and whatever has remained down to the present time is to be justly and lawfully regarded as ancient tribal heritage.

581 The individual family consisting of parents and children is
/629/ basically independent and a compact union. It is founded
594 on mutual affection between the two lovers and the desire for lifelong union. It is held together by the increasing spiritual relationship of the two partners. Its vitality is assured by the fellowship of work and possessions, food gathering and consumption. It grows beyond itself by the self-evident duty of parents to beget several children and through them to insure the permanence of the tribe.

581 Although these vital customs pertaining to the institution of
177 the family have endured in century-long uniformity, foreign influences have exerted such pressure on it for several decades that this firm structure has finally become undermined. Conditions have arisen in recent times which cannot be regarded as natural, and their effects on marital conditions have created a sad caricature of the original pattern of marriage. These regrettable changes and the false and inadequate observations of most travelers since the middle of the previous century do not give a picture of the basic organization of the institution of the family among the Yamana (1).

583 1. What has been recorded from still older
114.

/631 cont./

582 of girls in the čiéxaus ceremony.

881 Naturally, the girls who are pledged to the youth initiation have shortly before shown signs of physical maturity. Hence the latter is always present when the question of marriage becomes serious (4). Mental maturity of both sexes is emphatically

> 4. Hyades (f):573 observed that "a young girl of 12 or 13 years, not yet menstruating, was abducted by a Fuegian who wished to marry her, although he already had one wife" /translated from French/. This single case proves nothing against the generally valid principle, nor does it reveal under what conditions this man took the girl; perhaps it was the sister or niece of his wife. From a casual wish to an actual marriage is a long way, even among the Yamana.

required; this may be deduced from the fact that instruction at the čiéxaus must unquestionably have preceded the marriage. It includes instruction in the mutual obligations of both partners. Alfredo once told me: "First each one must know what work he must do and how he must behave, before he can get married!" He was thinking, as he said, of the customary division of labor and of the almost equal position of each marriage partner in the family union.

864 By that time the marriageable young people are sufficiently enlightened about sex life to know that it is one of the chief pur-
[581] poses of marriage to beget children. Adults in Tierra del Fuego would never provide the so-called sexual enlightenment of youth before the /632/ proper stage of physical development is reached. The nearer one is to maturity, the more definitely and clearly parents and close relatives point out that the union of the two sexes produces the child. Nothing is definitely said, as I learned, about intercourse itself. Instead, the girl, in connection with her first menstruation, is instructed in detail on the care and handling of an infant. For their part, the young boys in the čiéxaus are admonished to give the future wife all the proper consideration shortly

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3. The Ideal Marriage Partner

•581 Not a single essay by European travelers suggests that the young Fuegians who are in love have a mental picture of an ideal partner, created by their wishes and transfigured by their romantic fancy. The young person eager to marry does not throw himself into the arms of any partner; freedom in the selection of a mate definitely shows that everyone is calculating and deliberate in choosing this or that person. This shows that all amorous desire moves in certain directions, the goal of which is the lovely vision of the ideal marriage partner. This picture is clearly drawn by certain suggestions in the teachings of the youth initiation. Here all the personal merits and social virtues that each boy and girl must exhibit in married life are emphatically named and recommended. Anyone who will make a list of the individual words that apply to this will get a complete picture of the ideal husband and the ideal wife, according to Yamana conceptions. We need only add to this the wishes for certain physical qualities which the other partner cherishes. In the case of most lovers, these are in the foreground, rather than good character traits.

581 826 [132] First, the question of how the girl imagines the boy of her dreams. He must be strong and healthy, well built and nicely proportioned. Deformities that disfigure him, such as scars of burns or other scars and injuries, for example, broken limbs which impede free movement, make a young man less or not at all desirable (10). In former times, apparently, there were no

10. Bove (e):158 agrees: "A cripple, one who is rachitic, can cheerfully take the vow of celibacy, and women regard such a person as an unclean creature, a pariah." In Wieghardt:41 we read the same words.

obese and heavy figures among young people. On the other hand, a well-built, upright, lithe, and supple figure has the best prospects.

581 Moreover, a young man's whole appearance must definitely

/637 cont./

•581 express courage and awareness of strength, adventuresome spirit and joyous vitality. Everyone esteems a young person who attacks a piece of work with zest and finishes it with playful ease, who cheerfully sets out to hunt and regularly returns with game, who always knows how to occupy himself in and around his hut, who briskly and nimbly lends a hand everywhere. All this expresses a brisk, lively temperament, and this is far preferable to a phlegmatic sluggishness, for the more infrequently social intercourse with other people is possible, the more oppressive the latter becomes within the intimate family circle. They avoid a violent and quarrelsome, peevish and moody chap, /638/ but they enthusiastically take to one who is unreserved and gets along well with everyone, who cheers people up and adjusts to them easily, and who is obliging.

In all this, the girl is less concerned with the definite traits of character which her beloved is supposed to have, but she unconsciously takes for granted his faithfulness and his complete devotion to her. Moreover, she expects him to be a good human being, free of crudeness in his behavior, free of uncontrolled outbursts of rage and tendencies toward violence, without, however, lacking courage, manly pride, and daring. Each quality that the girl in love observes in her chosen one she greets with quiet satisfaction or with a smile; sometimes she commends him modestly, just enough to attract gently the attention of her female friends.

581 826 In a similar intensification of personal wishes and expectations, the young chap has an ideal image of his mate. The girl of his choice must also be beautifully built and have a pleasing shape (11). A small, smooth face, quiet, clear eyes, a dainty

11. According to Spegazzini's (a):165 conception, a "natural selection" /cited in English/ applies to the decision of each of the two lovers, "because a young man rarely chooses a wife who is ugly or has defects, just as a woman never binds herself to a youth who is deformed or imperfect" /translated from Spanish/.

mouth with thin lips, and a soft, gentle voice captivate his heart.

/638 cont./

•581 Her body should be neither thin nor heavy. He is most pleased
826 with a slender but rounded figure. With all her vivacity, her movements must not lack grace -- one would almost like to say distinction -- and a certain quiet dignity.

581 A quiet, silent creature who is not lacking in sympathy and lively fellow-feeling is extraordinarily esteemed. Loud quarreling, moody ill-humor, and irritable touchiness have a repulsive effect. Cleanliness of body and all material possessions, love of order in the hut and in personal belongings, an inexhaustible urge to be constantly busy, inconspicuous quietness in all daily work, affection for parents, and a happy disposition in dealing with small children -- these are virtues which even older women praise and which they constantly recommend to marriageable girls.

Lively, wholesome girls have good prospects of being courted; they are the ones who like to be teased, who consciously make a circle of young boys notice them, and who expect an understanding reply to their loud giggles. They bring life into a group of young people and, adroitly and quite spontaneously, provoke fun and flirtation in any circle.

Thus, our Yamana, too, have what we call an ideal of a beautiful and perfect mate, although in the tempestuous wishes and desires of youthful lovers it is made up chiefly of purely external characteristics. /639/ Blind love and extravagant fancy usually disregard inner qualities and character traits (12). Even

12. At this point I should like to refute the thoroughly false assertion of Spegazzini (a):165 that among these Fuegians "love as understood in the lofty sense of our society does not exist!" /Tranlated from Spanish./

someone like Spegazzini (a):165 admits "that the strongest and handsomest men are the ones who have more women and the most beautiful women. During my observations to see if the type regarded as beautiful were the same as among us, I noted that the men and women who appeared attractive to me not only attracted the glances of the opposite sex, but many times someone with a gleam in his eyes would point out a person to me and say: Uá-gamna (what a man)! Uá-qulpa (what a woman)!"

/639 cont./

581 /Translated from Spanish./ Some visitors describe the beautiful, pleasing figure, even for the European eye, of individual young Fueglans; there were even some splendid specimens of human beings among them. That these persons, further idealized in the imaginations of young people anxious to marry, are the most sought after for a life-long union in marriage is too natural to have to be specifically substantiated. Anyone who is only moderately endowed physically is content to find a partner who is his equal. Nevertheless, luck and chance sometimes casts an unusually charming girl, and a lovable creature, into the arms of a less attractive boy for immediate marriage (13).

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13. In long conversations with Fred and Nelly Lawrence I obtained the details, difficult to come by elsewhere, from which this account was written; later I also talked with other informants about it.

4. Freedom in the Selection of a Mate

584 Even those travelers and missionaries who are generally reliable give unclear accounts about the freedom of choice of girls before marriage, and these sometimes seem to be clearly contradictory. The uninfluenced private decision of young people who wish to marry is the rule and custom, but in exceptional cases a few old people, namely, the parents of the girl, violate this by their selfish and ruthless conduct. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that the various assertions of travelers are sometimes mere fabrications and almost without exception are based on insufficient observation. Even in Bridges we can trace a change in his own opinion about marital conditions, since in later writings he undeniably contradicts what he said in the first years of his sojourn with the Fueglans. Obviously, any kind of courtship among marriageable young people would be futile if they were obliged to submit unconditionally to the arbitrary decision of other persons. Before we set forth the true state of affairs in this important arrangement, I shall repeat the divergent opinions of several Europeans of the last few decades. The shallow

/662 cont./

604 custom grants the real parents. If the young woman should have the misfortune of having to seek help against infractions or cruel treatment by her husband, she first turns to her blood brother and then to her uncle.

581 In principle, the couple are united in marriage for life.
593 Their marriage is not only a union of hearts, but also a union of work for the welfare of themselves and their children. Each of the two partners is assigned particular duties by ancient custom; it alone decides if and when the dissolution of a marriage is permissible. Unfortunately, the modern age has also changed the
[77] original /663/ form of marriage in families of today, so that it is only partly recognizable in its outward appearance; hence the information given by all the old people was particularly valuable to me.

1. Monogamy

114 In describing the marital arrangements and family customs
585 of the Yamana, the critic is faced with a difficult problem. The reports of earlier observers are often quite inadequate and in part clearly colored. In particular, the statements Bridges made about our Indians are consistently unfavorable to them, and his conscious or unconscious intention to show them in an unfriendly light can probably not be denied. The older reports from his pen are in a disparaging and disdainful vein. Later he had enough feeling for justice to correct some of his grossest errors. Other travelers, however, in describing things which they did not directly understand, leaned on Bridges, and this was especially true in the case of arrangements dealing with marriage and the family. This is why there is so much agreement and similarity of opinion among the writers. I personally no longer found the genuine form of married life among the Yamana of earlier times to be a common condition and was obliged to rely on the reports of trustworthy people, such as old Alfredo, during my second visit to Tierra del Fuego. Since their opinions were well founded, they at any rate counteract many false, unsubstantiated contentions.

Many of the earlier travelers maintain that the Yamana condone polygamy, but one cannot clearly tell from their words whether

/671 cont./

3. Division of Labor between Spouses

462 In marriage the two spouses are not only united by a bond of
562 love, but consciously in a working partnership as well. Among
581 the Fuegians all work serves the purpose of immediate sustenance;
no one thinks of the future or of an accumulation of riches. House-
hold management is possible for an independent family only on
the basis of a definitely circumscribed division of labor for the
two spouses. Hence, it necessarily follows that one member re-
mains inescapably dependent upon the other. This not only brings
about the almost complete equality of both sexes, but makes
plausible the fact that an /672/ adult cannot continuously or for
a long period live alone and unmarried. Hence, all of them,
without exception, marry when they are still young. Single,
aged, and widowed persons who cannot marry again try to find
refuge with a family of friends. In marriage both parties join
forces, and their common goal is to have the family operate in
an orderly fashion as an economic and social arrangement.

462 The spheres of work and the various individual tasks are
divided up according to the natural ability of each sex (62).

62. In March, 1864, Stirling referred to his observation that "there are well marked divisions of labour amongst this people" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI,228;1864). Bridges (h):210 much later supplemented this: "The division of labor (between husband and wife) is made in a manner that is considered just" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g):35 expressed himself more precisely: "Within the family, man and wife divide the work. The actual hard work falls to the men... The actual housework -- in this case, with the lack of houses, it is certainly figurative, so-called housework -- falls to the women."

All duties requiring greater muscular power, tough endurance, audacious courage, and decisive fearlessness are suitable for the

/598 cont./

836 parents who themselves often transgress against sexual morality
867 are careful to give irreproachable guidance to their children.

Despite all vigilance, a certain amount of improper con-
836 duct among young people cannot be avoided, and some girls lose their physical intactness (94). The Yamana do not know the

> 94. On this subject Hyades (q):188 expresses himself thus: "In fact, the young girls of ten to 12 years whom we examined had already lost it. But this does not imply a precocious perversion on their part nor a great ardor for sexual relations" /translated from French/.

meaning of this in the European sense, and only with this restriction may we interpret Hyades' (b):1346 and (q):188 words: "There is no value placed /687/ on a young girl's virginity" /translated from French/ (95). A reserved, virtuous girl enjoys

> 95. Hahn (a):805 uses the same words and unjustifiably concludes from this: "Modesty is completely unknown among the Fueglans" /translated from French/. The secret mistakes of a few children, despite the serious warnings and great vigilance of all adults, are no proof that modesty is lacking among all the people.

a good reputation; adults keep a particularly sharp eye on an
*[589] impertinent young chap. Finally, a thoughtful boy will not readily offer his hand in marriage to a girl whose behavior is conspicuously bold; he lacks confidence in her fidelity later.

A few effective protective measures for special occasions
834 have been set up, apparently in order that neither of the two
834 sexes, despite their duty to render reciprocal aid, will run the risk of violating conjugal fidelity. These measures have to do with the exchange of gifts between a man and woman who are

/931 cont./

or that mistreatment of the woman begins immediately among young married couples? The circle of relatives of every married person see to it that a marriage continues, for they feel responsible for his assured sustenance which is practically impossible or unsuitable outside of marriage, except in the case of elderly people. The woman who has been divorced through her own fault is, to begin with, a burden to her relatives, less because of her maintenance than because of the damaged reputation of the entire circle of relatives and because of the worry about her children. This explains why the relatives almost always try to settle a threatened relationship or to mend a broken marriage, even when the wife has been mistreated. The children are divided up according to the wish and intention of the spouses; either they remain with the mother if the man runs away, and vice versa, or some relatives take pity on the youngsters until the parents have returned to an ordered life. A person who through his own fault has dissolved a marriage never enjoys a good reputation.

These considerations have always tended to prevent light-hearted attempts at divorce. We do not have definite figures, but a man has more often run away from his wife than a woman from her husband; consideration for the children was a factor in this situation.

6. Celibacy

We have repeatedly pointed out that the economy of the Tarasca basically prohibits a lifelong unmarried state, and that public opinion does not grant an individual full social standing unless he is married (104). Each of the two sexes has duties which can be

> 104. The Tarasca find it incomprehensible, solely on the basis of the conduct of life, how Europeans can live unmarried for a lifetime and maintain themselves. They are regarded "as enigmas," as Hyades (op.377 expresses it.

fulfilled only through marriage. At marriageable age the young people are told in plain words that they may no longer put off a

/481 cont./

marital union with a suitable lifelong companion. If a child hesitates for an unduly long time, the Yamana regard it as an impropriety on the part of the parents.

The reasons for an early marriage of young people are also of paramount importance for widowed persons. The duty of a widow to marry has arisen chiefly out of solicitude for her children. Hence "as soon as a man dies, his wives are married to others" /cited in English/ (Bridges /481/ in MM:III,117;1869). As a result, "There are very few single women, not one among a hundred" /cited in English/ (ibid.) (105). Extraordinary reasons prevent a new marriage.

> 105. With this statement Bridges (a):203 to a certain extent corrects an earlier assertion: "Owing to the almost general practice of polygamy, many men are without wives, and live so all their days. And owing to the general practice of giving young women to oldish men, the young men frequently can get no wives but relicts" /cited in English/.

Modern times have changed a great deal of this, for they have, in part, considerably altered even the conditions of life. On February 2, 1878, Bridges (I):17 reported from Yendegaia: "Widows did not long continue so; in fact, a single adult man or woman was a rarity. But with the march of civilized life marriage becomes less necessary and more difficult, and the number of single men and women increases" /cited in English/. At present, there are so few Yamana living that everyone is married; sometimes there is even a young man with an aged wife, because he has no other choice. Only old Fiura has been alone for a long time; she is regarded as hard to get along with.

A factually insignificant supplementary statement from Bridges (I):21 is added here: "Though deaf or dumb men never married, unless it were an old woman, a deaf woman would be a wife and have children -- the men remained single because usually no woman would marry such" /cited in English/.

What has been said about young persons and those of middle age does not apply to old people. Since they no longer have their

/630 cont./

584 are also established customs which apply to the actual marriage proposal and which set up certain limits as genuine barriers to marriage. A marriage among the Yamana never takes place without form and without rules, although in principle there is unlimited freedom in the choice of partners.

124 Our natives would like Europeans to know how much they value the responsible decision to enter the marriage union as an event, because it is significant for the tribal community. For this reason it is made known at least to the nearest fellow-tribesmen. On my third journey, the people wanted to show us the procedure of a wedding ceremony, but unfortunately the marriage plans of two young natives who had been fond of each other for a time finally fell through. I do not know of any European, missionaries possibly excepted, who personally witnessed the modest ceremony of a proposal /631/ and a wedding. Nevertheless, many presumptuous travelers gave their opinion of it. It is not worthwhile here to mention individual unreliable opinions. It is more important and, for several reasons, of special significance to describe here in detail existing customs of courtship and marriage.

1. The Marriageable Age

•582 It never occurs to a Fuegian to count a person's age in years.
881 Hence, they never set a definite age after which young people may marry. They presuppose, as an absolute condition, participation in the youth initiation, less because a certain age is thereby assumed, but rather because in that lengthy preparation the young man is trained in obtaining food and instructed in his behavior toward others, that is to say, he is educated to become a good and useful human being. First he must prove, as it were, his ability to lead an ordered, independent life and to work successfully economically before society agrees to his marriage. Most chaps were probably not spared attendance even a second time as actual candidates at the youth initiation, for only in this way did they obtain the right to take part in the men's ceremony. There was no similar condition connected with a second entrance

/631 cont./
582 of girls in the čiẽxaus ceremony.
881 Naturally, the girls who are pledged to the youth initiation have shortly before shown signs of physical maturity. Hence the latter is always present when the question of marriage becomes serious (4). Mental maturity of both sexes is emphatically

4. Hyades (f):573 observed that "a young girl of 12 or 13 years, not yet menstruating, was abducted by a Fuegian who wished to marry her, although he already had one wife" /translated from French/. This single case proves nothing against the generally valid principle, nor does it reveal under what conditions this man took the girl; perhaps it was the sister or niece of his wife. From a casual wish to an actual marriage is a long way, even among the Yamana.

required; this may be deduced from the fact that instruction at the čiẽxaus must unquestionably have preceded the marriage. It includes instruction in the mutual obligations of both partners. Alfredo once told me: "First each one must know what work he must do and how he must behave, before he can get married!" He was thinking, as he said, of the customary division of labor and of the almost equal position of each marriage partner in the family union.

864 By that time the marriageable young people are sufficiently
[581] enlightened about sex life to know that it is one of the chief purposes of marriage to beget children. Adults in Tierra del Fuego would never provide the so-called sexual enlightenment of youth before the /632/ proper stage of physical development is reached. The nearer one is to maturity, the more definitely and clearly parents and close relatives point out that the union of the two sexes produces the child. Nothing is definitely said, as I learned, about intercourse itself. Instead, the girl, in connection with her first menstruation, is instructed in detail on the care and handling of an infant. For their part, the young boys in the čiẽxaus are admonished to give the future wife all the proper consideration shortly

/633 cont./

584 Mary told me this as she remembered one of her friends who had been dead for a long time (5). This urge of the sexes toward

5. Bove (e):157 is probably referring to this when he says: "The desire for a man is felt early among [the women], and the interference of the mission in these circumstances is regarded as the greatest tyranny of civilization."

each other is natural.

162 For the last three decades an unnatural disturbance of the equilibrium has predominated among the Indian population because there are not enough girls for the number of boys of marriageable age. When, on my second journey, I took leave of the Yamana in Punta Remolino, Homestead joined me on my ride to Rio Carmen in the northeastern part of Isla Grande. His mother was a Selk'nam. He hoped to find a partner among this tribe, and on the way he repeatedly and longingly confessed this to me. I very clearly recognized his ardent desire. He stayed behind in the camp at Rio del Fuego where he had his eye on two girls who apparently understood and responded to his intentions. I did not wish to spoil his favorable prospects, and so I rode on alone (6).

6. See further details in Gusinde (b):154.

On various occasions I was told by several thoughtful older people: "How difficult the present situation is for many boys, because there are no suitable girls for marriage!" These words expressed a deep sympathy for a natural but unfulfilled desire. Truly, there is great tumult and agitation in the heart of a marriageable Fuegian until he completely possesses his beloved!

● 582 If we wish to establish a definite age in numbers, we need not resort to mere guesses. According to the missionaries and a few well-informed Indians, the average young man marries between the ages of 17 and 19, a weakling somewhat later. It is required -- and the boy's nearest relatives talk to him in this

/633 cont./

582 vein -- that he show, aside from the maturity of judgment demanded, sufficient physical stamina to act the man fully and completely in making a living. In the case of girls, even
582 though actual maturity has long since taken place, the Fuegians
826 wait until considerable physical fullness and a certain shapeliness have been attained, this being regarded as the necessary condition for motherhood. The shape of the breasts is not a decisive as the broadening of the hips, which sets in quite suddenly after the start of puberty. Once I heard: "As long as a girl is too slim and delicate, she must not give herself to a man; her child would be born too weak and small!" It is the mother herself who keeps her daughter in the family hut until, according to her judgment and that of her female neighbors, the girl has the physical strength to become a mother successfully for the first time. This is usually at the age of 15 or 16; a few strong girls marry a year earlier (7).

7. Bove (c):128 and (e):157, on the other hand, sets the marriageable age lower. "The marriage of Fuegians generally takes place early; already at 12 or 13 years of age the girls run after men, but they do not become mothers until they are 17 or 18. The men marry between the ages of 14 and 16." Wieghardt:40 repeats this word for word. Lovisato (b):150 gives even lower figures. Hyades (q):377 mentions the 13th year for girls. According to Bridges (l):21, "girls were given in marriage from 14 years onward" /cited in English/. Hyades (f):573 is demonstrably inconsistent, for in another place he says: "Marriage takes place very late, about 18 or 20 years for girls, 25 for boys, on the average". /translated from French/.

584 /634/ As this account proves, boys and girls do not marry until they have fulfilled the requirements for a trouble-free economic life, on the one hand, and for healthy motherhood, on the other. This does not mean that occasionally a flirtation between

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584 604 quickly, he himself openly approaches his uncle with the request that he tell the father of his heart's urgent desire. The uncle fulfills his mission without delay and without expressing any doubts or advising against it. If the boy has no indáruwa, his maternal uncle, íman, helps him. The girl takes the same steps with her maternal aunt as soon as she has learned from her lover that his minion /649/ is already on the way to his father. The aunt also does not remonstrate with her; in fact, if the girl has given her consent to a boy whom she also likes, she is even happy about the decision. She brings the news to the mother.

The parents are never directly informed by their own children of the latter's wish and plan to marry. It is partly veneration and partly modesty that seal their lips. The only legally justified decision or judgment that the parents can exercise is for them to [582] prove and vouch for the fact that the two lovers are not related by blood. If this were actually the case, the marriage could not take place. With this point settled, the parents of the boy and of the girl discuss the plan of the couple with their respective relatives. Not infrequently the child is present and at the same time is given some advice. Finally, the uncle, as well as the aunt, insists that the parents give their final consent which they personally make known to the boy or the girl. The two lovers tell each other of the desired result.

584 604 626 The arrangement we have just described is generally made within a few days. Naturally, the intention of the young people is the topic of conversation in the whole neighborhood. After all, the planned marriage is to become known everywhere, and it is chiefly the uncle and aunt who consciously work toward this. Nelly told me that public opinion and the help of the community are to be won for the lovers, particularly if one of the pair of parents is opposed to their child's intention. Obviously this arrangement serves to assure freedom in the choice of a mate. In spite of all this, but very rarely, the stubbornness of one of the pair of parents or the selfishness of an uncle or aunt does not permit the desired union of the young people. In the first instance, neither the boy nor the girl dares confide in the uncle or aunt; in the other instance, the uncle and aunt misuse their authority, against which the lovers cannot summon the courage to seek help

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584 604 626 elsewhere. In the opinion of the majority, such abuses are regarded as unjust; hence the guilty ones -- they are aware of being such -- make a secret of the fact that they have interfered without permission. The relatives and the larger community are steadfastly and as a matter of course on the side of the lovers, provided always that blood relationship is excluded. To the extent that the general public knows of the marriage plans of the couple, it prepares steadfastly for the forthcoming marriage. Meanwhile the aunts and female neighbors approach the girl in friendly good-will and wish her all kinds of happiness for the future, making this dependent on the recently imparted advice and the earlier instructions on the occasion of the menarche. The boy is merely given additional earnest warnings in case his conduct requires it.

587 When a couple enters a second marriage, the /650/ formalities that apply to the first marriage are omitted. "They are simply no longer necessary," as Calderon emphasized. "The couple know very well that they need not let themselves be influenced by anyone in their decision!" In one way or another, however, the newly wedded couple tells those nearest them of their union, so that the public in general will soon learn of it.

584 182 Marriageable young people in olden times were in an incomparably more favorable position; each one, following the dictates of his heart, selected from many persons the one desired. For the last few decades marital conditions have been affected by a complete disintegration of the natural order. They do not offer even a slight guarantee that the Yamana will continue as a people. In fact, the fate of the Yamana is already sealed.

7. Obstacles to Marriage

•582 The basic freedom in the selection of a mate does not eliminate the fact that there are some things taken for granted which prohibit marital union. All adults are well informed about them. In particular it is the duty of the parents under no circumstances to permit the marital union of their child with a related person (p. 416). A few introductory remarks will be given before we list the actual obstacles to marriage.

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> and he 20. We cannot maintain that such a strange marriage was necessitated by the advance of European civilization, for it was not rare even in earlier times. We need only recall the duty of a bachelor to marry his widowed sister-in-law (p. 412).

need not surprise us, for middle-aged men are generally married, and so it happens that they find happiness only with inexperienced bachelors. An old widow is usually charitably taken in by another married couple as a second wife, even though her new husband and she are far apart in age. This happens when she cannot make any connections with her relatives or when they have already died. No one expects her to have children, and this is, of course, not decisive. The main thing is that she is taken care of, and in return she can render the couple valuable service.

582 In contrast to those provisions which permit and even advise a marital union, there are definite prohibitions. The sharpest warning is given against a marriage between relatives, such as stepbrothers and stepsisters, uncles and nieces, aunts and nephews, as well as cousins (30). The general feeling is against marriage

> 30. According to Bridges (MM:III, 117;1869), "cousins never marry, the doing so is held in abomination, and is never thought of, much less done; they speak of cousins as brothers and sisters" /cited in English/. Hahn (a):805 also maintains that "first cousins never marry" /translated from French/.

between any kind of relatives; "they never married any blood relation, however distant, to do so was utterly abominable to them" /cited in English/ (Bridges [i]:12). Nevertheless, very distant relatives sometimes are joined in marriage, even though mild disapproval may develop among their neighbors. The action of such a couple is not forbidden, however. The severe censure that several travelers have noted is directed against the marriage of close relatives, although an ultimate limit of the degree of relationship based on blood ties is not drawn. An explanation given

•582 /653/ by Bridges (a):213 is significant: "Generally speaking marriages with near kin are held in high abhorrence" /cited in English/; also another by him (in [k]:234): "Marriage is never contracted within the degrees of consanguinity prohibited by natural law. For example, first cousins to the second degree would not marry each other" /tramlated from Spanish/ (31). Thus many

31. In another place Bridges (h):205 repeats: "They never marry a consanguineous relative, however distant. The idea of marrying a first or second cousin would be absolutely abominable to them" /translated from Spanish/.

versions indicate that, according to the general opinion, all degrees of relationship, even beyond that of cousins, absolutely exclude marriage.

582 621 If we consider the conditions of life of our Yamana, we realize that with this custom there exists a sort of local exogamy, for it is the near relatives who scour a certain area for food and regard it as their true home. To marry within this circumscribed family group is forbidden by the bonds of kinship which link them all together, near or far. Since the only obligation is to marry outside this degree of kinship which coincides with district boundaries, local exogamy thus follows as a matter of course. It takes definite form when a whale is stranded and families gather from far and wide to enjoy for several days the bountiful gift of Mother Nature. The marriageable young people, who perhaps have never seen each other before, become acquainted and draw closer together until sooner or later marriage unites them. It is the rule that every eligible young man looks for a partner outside his own family group. ED:305 gives masĕa-pŏn-apai, "two persons within the limits which forbid marriage who marry, to be thus married; to marry together as cousins to each other" /cited in English/. It is difficult for young people who live far apart to marry because of their natural affection for their parents (32).

32. Bridges (i):21 has already given the reason for this reluctance: "Marriage with very distant clans was infrequent

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from the natural unwillingness of women to separate themselves so entirely from their own people" /cited in English/.

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Furthermore, it is not permitted for a man simultaneously to take a widowed mother and her daughter as wives. Toward the latter his relationship is that of stepfather, and she is obliged to obey him as his own child. This prohibition naturally remains in effect for the man in case the mother of this daughter dies, even if she has lived with him only a short time as his wife. Kinship by adoption has thus been introduced, and they are stepfather and stepdaughter toward each other. An infraction against this, however, is not considered as serious as marriage between blood relatives, although it is still very improper. Nothing is changed if first the mother and then the daughter, or first the daughter and then, in addition, the mother are betrothed.

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Fred Lawrence could not remember a single case of /654/ such a marriage from former times and explained that it would not have been tolerated. Nevertheless, Bridges (a):213 maintained that "a few cases of a man having as wives a mother and her daughter are known" /cited in English/ (33). The unnatural mixture of

33. On August 16, 1865 (VSA:XII, 272;1869), he wrote as follows on this subject: "There are two men who have as wives mother and *daughter at the same time, but this is not* liked generally" /cited in English/. Nevertheless, he later went so far as to make the following erroneous assertion: "Some of the Beagle Channel tribes have a practice of marrying a woman and her daughter" /cited in English/ (Idem:III, 117;1869).

people in modern times has also weakened the effectiveness of this prohibition (34).

34. I herewith state my own observations in Spencer's: 72 words, "that Domingo married

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the young wife, her mother was the wife of a man then alive. She had two or three children who died. When the mother's husband died, Domingo took her as his wife, but this was after he had married her daughter" /cited in English/.

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A final obstacle to marriage is based on a sort of sponsorship namely, on the relationship of all adults to the candidates who have been entrusted to their special care in the ciexaus, the youth initiation. Their relationship is regarded as that of parents to their children, accompanied by certain rights or duties which never cease as long as one of the two parties is living.

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The community as a whole, especially the relatives, are vigilant regarding the valid obstacles to marriage; it is their duty to interfere if anyone dares to violate them. Infringements by individual persons in exceptional cases and more recently as a result of the unusual composition of the population cannot be avoided, since the public does not have effective measures of control and since the guilty party avoids the loud mockery and scornful gossip of his neighbors by keeping to himself. The erection of certain barriers in the form of real obstacles to marriage proves with unmistakable clarity how highly the Yamana regard the institution of marriage and the sound judgment they show in evaluating the meaning of their only social alliance. My questions about the possibility of a marital union between relatives and adopted persons obviously horrified them, and they found it unpleasant that such prohibitions, which are sacred and venerable to them, should be even casually mentioned.

8. The Marriage Ceremony

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In the foregoing pages we have described the development from the first slight amorous inclinations of two young hearts to their definite decision to marry, as well as the attitude of the relatives of the couple. The lovers never link themselves together in a definite, solemn declaration of their willingness to marry, as in the manner of our engagement. Nor do the Yamana know anything

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612 common ancestors, no matter whether this is through the paternal or maternal line (218). Through marriage, /783/ adoption, and

218. Bridges (i):21 also points to the equality of both lines: "Whilst children belonged to the clan of their father yet their mother's relations were equally dear to them, as their father's and they were equally bound to befriend and defend them and to avenge their wrongs" /cited in English/. Elsewhere (k):235 he emphasizes that "relatives on the maternal side were regarded as highly as those on the paternal side" /translated from Spanish/.

so forth, a close connection is established between the persons concerned, but not kinship. The prohibition against a conjugal union of persons in whose veins flows blood of the same ancestry is quite universal.

582 612 What Bridges (h):205 has maintained on this subject stands without qualification: "They [the Yamana] never marry anyone related by blood, however distant it may be" /translated from Spanish/. They show a definite aversion toward the conjugal union of persons who may be regarded in any way as relatives by blood (p. 421). A brother-in-law and sister-in-law are not regarded as blood relatives; hence the precept for levirate marriage does not encounter any difficulty from this quarter (p. 413). On the same grounds it is permissible for a man to marry two sisters and take both into his hut simultaneously (p. 418). It is not permissible, however, to marry a widow and her daughter at the same time, because if the man marries the former, he must fulfill the proper paternal obligations toward the latter (p. 423).

It would obviously lead to misunderstanding to speak of a spatial limitation of consanguinity. Actually, most families who belong together stay within the same area, and a goodly number of the persons forming a local group are related to one another. For that very reason, the young man or the girl chooses a marriage partner in the neighboring region, so that with marriage many a person leaves his circle of relatives and joins another local group.

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612 Though he may then spend the rest of his life there, he remains bound as a blood relative to the family from which he sprang.

601 In order to be sure about mutual connections, the Yamana language furnishes very exact designations even for distant degrees of kinship. These are, of course, just as familiar to everyone as are words for articles of daily use. Hyades (p):334 writes: "Kinship is recognized even to the fourth or fifth degree" /translated from French/. Although our Indian is not painfully exact in counting, nevertheless he knows how to determine a relationship that sometimes goes back to remote degrees and that finally can be established only by the fact that the families have been together locally for a long time.

612 Kinship, however, does not operate merely in a negative sense
571 by making marriage impossible; far beyond that it commands mutual aid and assistance. Lawfully the individual family depends upon itself, but there is no arrangement to guarantee it legal protection. It would be at the mercy of a stronger one if it did not find protection and support through its blood relatives (219).

219. Bove (c):130 and (g):234 writes: "Only the necessity for common defense forces some families to unite into a single tribe /tribu/, but no one has the right to put himself at the head and to meddle in another's affairs" /translated from Spanish/. The expression "tribu" here can mean only a community of kinsmen.

A family that was merely friendly would not be close enough /784/ to be a safe refuge in every case of need. Blood ties, on the other hand, are never dissolved and retain their strength. Hence every one notes very carefully all the persons who are related to him, both closely and more distantly. He assures himself of their help by frequent visits and by repeatedly asking other people about them. He especially seeks them out and calls upon them urgently if he is threatened by the hostility of others or if he expects a sudden attack. These are the social connections that everyone cultivates (220)

220. These connections were described much too briefly by Spegazzini (a):165.

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X881 According to the ideas of our Yamana, this intimate contact between sponsor and candidate during the long weeks in the Great Hut brings about a kind of kinship connection between the two. It is /854/ most clearly expressed in the fact that the two may not marry. Let us imagine that a male uwala occasionally has a female sponsor (275). For many years after the youth initiation

275. Besides a male sponsor, Koppers had a female sponsor and so did I, even twice, his was Adelheid, mine Gertie. That was by no means regarded as an exception.

every sponsor, male or female, not only has the right but also the duty to supervise closely the further conduct of his hetakuxolan and, if necessary, remind him of the principles of that probationary period. Even the natural parents do not dare attempt such interference in the personal freedom of an adult, much less other people. The sponsor has a right to do it. The two are therefore intimately united throughout their lifetimes in a spiritual kinship they are attentive to each other, visit each other, and give each other gifts.

Above all, a female sponsor concerns herself with maternal care for her protégé and attentively follows his later career. When I met my sponsor Gertie in Punta Remolino two years after my first initiation, she embraced me, beaming happily, and gave me a loud kiss on my forehead in the presence of the Indians and Whites who were standing around. To be concerned about one's aged and needy sponsors is a duty, just as much as it is for children toward their own parents.

The reception of the candidates and their assignment to their sponsors could also come under the heading of the more immediate preparations. In any case, everything is now taken care of so that the regular program of this long ceremony can begin.

3. Daily Program for the Candidates

X881 The long Cikesar celebration proceeds according to unwritten laws. The old people faithfully preserve them in memory and each

836 tion. Intercourse between the unmarried was disapproved, but breaches of the code were not infrequent. Marriage between blood
582 relatives, however distant, was in theory taboo; in practice, the prohibition included half-siblings, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, first cousins, both parallel and cross, and seemingly extended somewhat beyond these limits. Since near relatives commonly lived near one another, marriages tended to be locally exogamous. Marriages with mates from far distant localities, especially outside one's own of the five dialectic groups, were disliked and infrequent. Marriage with a mother and her daughter was disapproved, but not so strongly as marriage with near blood-kin. Sponsors were barred from marrying their respective candidates of the *ŝánaus*[1] initiation rite.

584 Choice of mate was ordinarily free on the part both of the boy and of
583 the girl, and appears to have been based largely on mutual affection and regard. Gifts from the groom to the bride's father were given and expected, as were also certain services before and after marriage. But a bride-price as stipulated by or haggled for by the father was absent. Bride capture or stealing, if it occurred, must have been very rare.

582 Boys and girls did not marry until they had passed through the required *ŝánaus* initiation. Guinde (1937, p. 533) estimates the more common chronological ages of first marriages as about 17 to 19 years for boys, and 15 to 16 for girls.

Monogamy was by far the most prevalent form of marriage. Poly-
585 andry did not occur. Polygyny was permitted, but was uncommon. A few men had two wives, more commonly sisters; cases of three wives,
589 if they occurred, must have been very rare. On the death of a man's wife, he had a certain marriage claim to her unmarried sister. On the death of a woman's husband, she frequently became, and under certain circumstances was expected or obliged to become, the wife of his oldest surviving brother, especially his unmarried brother, unless she married another man. This custom (the levirate) was, from the native point of view, primarily an obligation of the father's brother to be responsible for his nephews and nieces, a responsibility that lay on the uncle even though his brother's widow married another man. A surviving married brother was not entirely free to marry the widow, as his own wife might object.

585 The chief wedding rite consisted in painting the cheeks of the couple with three red parallel horizontal lines. These were worn and renewed for a week, during which time there were feasting and dancing, and at the end of which the couple went off together in their own canoe.
591 Customarily, they remained with the bride's people for a few months,

[1] See the sound of Sloghlab ch, f of Sloghlab ch.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Sisters

my sister	[illegible]
my older sister	[illegible]
my younger sister	[illegible]
my sister sent to the elders	[illegible]
my sister sent to the youngest	[illegible]

Uncle

my father's older brother	[illegible]
my father's younger brother	[illegible]
my mother's older brother	[illegible]
my mother's younger brother	[illegible]
my paternal uncle	[illegible]

Aunt

my mother's older sister	[illegible]
my mother's younger sister	[illegible]
my maternal aunt	[illegible]
my paternal aunt	[illegible]

Grandmother

my mother's father	[illegible]

Wife

my wife	[illegible]

Son

my son	[illegible]

Daughter

my daughter	[illegible]

Grandson

my grandson	[illegible]

Cousin

my father's sister's son	[illegible]
my father's sister's daughter	[illegible]
my brothers and cousins (in general)	[illegible]
my sisters and cousins (in general)	[illegible]

Family

my family	[illegible]

MARRIAGE

[illegible] The Yahgan acknowledged cousins of the first and second degree as "brother" or "sister," and were not allowed to marry within that range of consanguinity. A man spoke of his female relatives with whom marriage was forbidden as *Ichuwalhuchipaydrualin*; a woman's prohibited relatives she named collectively *Ichuwalhuchipaydrualin*. The restriction was absolute.

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581 The entire social order, as the aggregate of conjugal or familial arrangements and vital functions of the tribe or community, proves to be naturally humane and, therefore, appears in an altogether friendly, pleasant light.

A. Courtship and Marriage

594 The individual family, the supporting pillar of the entire social order, is regulated in its origin and its continuation according to fixed, unchangeable fundamental principles. These principles are kept alive as customs in the consciousness and conscience of the people. They are made known to each member of the tribe and are more or less familiar to him. Since custom and practice are the primary law in the performance of duty, the centuries have not eaten away any of this, and whatever has remained down to the present time is to be justly and lawfully regarded as ancient tribal heritage.

581 The individual family consisting of parents and children is
/629/ basically independent and a compact union. It is founded
594 on mutual affection between the two lovers and the desire for life-long union. It is held together by the increasing spiritual relationship of the two partners. Its vitality is assured by the fellowship of work and possessions, food gathering and consumption. It grows beyond itself by the self-evident duty of parents to beget several children and through them to insure the permanence of the tribe.

581 Although these vital customs pertaining to the institution of
177 the family have endured in century-long uniformity, foreign influences have exerted such pressure on it for several decades that this firm structure has finally become undermined. Conditions have arisen in recent times which cannot be regarded as natural, and their effects on marital conditions have created a sad caricature of the original pattern of marriage. These regrettable changes and the false and inadequate observations of most travelers since the middle of the previous century do not give a picture of the basic organization of the institution of the family among the Yamana (1).

583 1. What has been recorded from still older
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SB3 114

periods lacks the proper completeness and accuracy. As an example, which we could replace by even more inadequate ones, Fitz-Roy (a):182 will suffice. He writes about how a bride is obtained: "As soon as a youth is able to maintain a wife, by his exertion in fishing or bird-catching, he obtains the consent of her relations, and does some piece of work for her parents. Having built or stolen a canoe for himself, he watches for an opportunity, and carries off his bride. If she is unwilling, she hides herself in the woods until her admirer is heartily tired of looking for her, and gives up the pursuit; but this seldom happens" /cited in English/. Now one should compare this with the following lines on how a marriage actually takes place.

114 I, too, began my observations at a time when original conditions were already showing changes here and there as a result of the devastating influence of European civilization. Hence my research could not rest solely on direct observation, but was largely dependent on questions and inquiries. Fortunately, at that time I met several older men and women who still vividly recalled all the laws and customs upon which marriage and family life were built in former times. They themselves had strictly resisted almost all the activity of the missionaries and the influence of European civilization. Even though these conditions of research were less favorable, they at least helped me to grasp clearly those principles of the marriage institution and the course of family life that in former times were exclusively valid.

114 If we contrast with this the judgments and assertions of travelers of former times, we see with frightening clarity how little truth they often contain and how boldly and unscrupulously they were circulated. They not only burdened my research work, but it sometimes also became a highly ungrateful task. /630/ It is a satisfaction to me, however, that the final result, as it is contained in the following pages, has been set forth in detail and without error.

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594 sometimes of earlier navigators do not, for obvious reasons, deserve attention.

/640/ Not at all infrequently regular bride purchase is mentioned, as Hyades (q):204, for example, does: "The woman is not, as a rule, consulted; she is usually purchased from her parents" /translated from French/ (14). Bove (r):137 expresses

> 14. Hyades (q):278 does not mention actual sale of the girl elsewhere: "The young girl is not consulted in the choice of a husband; the parents give her to the one who suits them and who is always the strongest and the most respected among the candidates" /translated from French/.

himself more in detail on the subject: "The relationship between the spouses can be regarded more as a commercial agreement. Among the various suitors for the daughter, the father chooses the strongest, the most skillful, the one who is the most compliant with regard to his wishes, and with this one he bargains about the number of skins which the son-in-law must give him and the number of days he must work for him. Only after the contract has been settled is the bride informed of it, and, no matter what her private feelings are, she takes care not to betray them, and, whether or not she is willing, she is led into the hut of the bridegroom." To this we merely wish to add briefly that in most cases the two young hearts have found each other long before their parents are aware of it, and that they can hardly ever be made to abandon their decision by outside influences. Even Bridges (e):333 at one time maintains that the bride is bartered: "The women were given in marriage, in many cases even sold, according to a certain rule. The payment was made in work or gifts of skins, etc. The required performance was in proportion to the importance of the parties. If the son-in-law was strong and the relatives of the woman weak, there was little or nothing, and there was much if the situation was reversed. The only rule was convenience or common interest" (15). Anyone who knows the social system of

15. Earlier Bridges (e):301 wrote about this

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in a different vein: "Sometimes the father of the girl is in great difficulty through several men expecting him to give him /sic/ his daughter. He, of course, gives her to him of whom he is most afraid: this, of course, makes the others his enemies" /cited in English/. This does not exactly agree with what he maintained shortly before (ibid., p. 184). And three years later he gives still another version: "Sons-in-law are expected, either by gifts or work, to purchase their wives" /cited in English/ (MM:III,117,1869). Thus, one contradiction after another.

the Yamana will find it impossible to reconcile it with this last description of conditions. In Outes (g):54 also we read: "They buy the women with gifts... If the gift is not enough, the father returns in a few months and takes back the woman, selling her to someone else. If the husband is displeased with his wife, he can send her back to her father, who must return the purchase price. In this case, while the father lives, she belongs to him anew, and he can again sell her" /translated from Spanish/. If such conditions really existed, a quiet, secure family life would be found only in an infinitesimally small number of huts (16).

16. Similar statements exist, in Wieghardt:40, for example. From all this Spears:69, who in other respects is not very reliable, not too incorrectly concludes: "Marriage was a matter of purchase and sale; wives were sold, sometimes, by husbands, and daughters were invariably sold by fathers" /cited in English/. Thus one inaccurate report is linked to another.

This is obvious and needs no substantiation.

584 /841/ In reality, marriageable boys and girls commonly have unimpeded freedom of choice, except for the few obstacles to marriage about which the uncle or the aunt in particular must be

/641 cont./

584 on the alert. It is also simply inconceivable that a girl should be forced into a marital union with a boy who does not like her. She would be adequately protected against coercion by his relatives. Every adult knows very well that a woman who no longer cares for her husband -- she previously joined herself to him in the free choice of love -- leaves him and will not be chained to him by any means. It is true that sometimes female relatives direct the attention of the girl to a particular chap who, in their opinion, would be suitable for her, but they do not dare press her.

583 584 431 What incorrectly informed Europeans call "payments" are actually voluntary gifts which the bridegroom or son-in-law gives the father of his chosen one from a sense of courtesy and gratitude, joy and satisfaction. This custom belongs in the category of obligations of the son-in-law toward his father-in-law. It is natural that the former makes an effort to learn indirectly the special wishes of the latter and to consider them as far as possible. To speak of a definite price range and standard of value of these free gifts is altogether false. Prominent, wealthy, or mighty families who are able to make certain demands for the marriage of their child do not exist among the Yamana, nor is personal competence or the individual qualities of a marriageable young man weighed against material values. If a chap makes extraordinary efforts to win the girl and finally succeeds because she yields, it is quite in order for him to make lavish gifts to her parents.

As long as this custom exists, it is taken for granted that the father of the girl expects something from his future son-in-law (17).

17. To this extent Stirling's assertion of March, 1864, is justified: "The father of the future bride expects ransom-money. On this occasion, an axe, a blanket, a knife, some fishhooks, brads, etc., form part of the price. Sometimes the future son-in-law serves for a period, I believe, the father of the betrothed, or presents a canoe, etc." /cited in English/ (VSA: XI, 239;1864). A commercial pact, such as Spegazzini (a):165 describes, is never made.

/641 cont./

583 584 431 This, according to Outes (g):54, includes either knives, harpoon points, and finished weapons, or skins and flint, sometimes even a new canoe. Neither the son-in-law nor the father-in-law regards such things as an actual purchase price for the delivery of the marriageable girl, for there is never any mention of this when the chap makes inquiries of the father of his beloved.

I was emphatically assured that sometimes special gifts were not given the parents of the girl, either during the courtship /642/ or at the marriage, and some men do not bring more than a large sea lion. After Alejandro finally won the long-wooed Elisa (p. 390), he did not give her parents the least little thing. Her mother, Adelheid, somewhat disappointed over this behavior of her present son-in-law, told me: "Alejandro is a fop; he acts as though he were a European and does not know what used to be customary among us Yamana." In the end, how could insignificant trifles compare with the fact that a girl is willing to give herself to a husband (18)!

18. The following assertion in Outes (g):55 definitely shows the impossibility of the conditions which he describes: "If the gift is not enough, the father returns in a few months and takes back the woman, selling her to someone else. If the husband is displeased with his wife, he can send her back to her father, who must return the purchase price" /translated from Spanish/. We come across similar discrepancies among other Europeans who never became properly acquainted with procedures in Tierra del Fuego.

It is equally incorrect to speak of "dowry" in connection with those insignificant possessions that the young woman takes when she goes to her husband. Certain things, such as clothing and ornaments, simply belong inseparably to her, whether she is married or not, and this private property is not in the least augmented when she leaves the parental hut and goes to her chosen bridegroom. Bove (e):158 writes: "A canoe and a harpoon are

/642 cont./

583 the bride's dowry." This interpretation is meaningless. The
584 canoe, without which a young married couple cannot exist, is
431 usually built by the husband himself, or by his own father or neighbors with the young man's help. Possibly the father of the bride also took part in its construction. The harpoon is part of the equipment of a man and is neither used by a woman nor given by her to a man.

583 In some of the literature, mention is made of abduction, but specific examples or cases that have been observed are not cited. Despard (b):698 maintained: "Sometimes wives are stolen, sometimes they run away. When recovered, after either case, they are beaten, the supposition being, it seems, that in the former case they themselves encouraged the theft" /cited in English/. The qualification mentioned is significant and is immediately put to account. Hyades (p):334 states briefly that "one sometimes observes a marriage by capture" /translated from French/ (19). The way of life and the position of a marriageable

19. It is not likely that the Mission Scientifique observed the procedure of an abduction. The same Hyades (b):1346 expresses himself in another place more vaguely, "sometimes there is marriage by capture" /tranlated from French/.

girl within her family absolutely contradicts all false assertions, for it is simply impossible to abduct a woman. It is true that
837 sometimes a married woman who wishes secretly to leave her husband accepts the help of a man whom she knows well in order to escape. If, however, she chooses this expedient, namely, flight under the protection of a man, it is her own decision. Moreover, it can happen that a married woman yields to persuasion and /643/ follows her seducer for a few days, after which she returns to her rightful husband. Neither case has anything to do with abduction. BD:227 gives kwissāguntīkū, "to take by force another man's wife and marry her as a wife" /cited in English/; also BD:303, manāgulū, "to escape as a wife from her husband by stealth" /cited in English/. The proper meaning here,

/644 cont./

584 It has also happened, as Sara recalled, that the two lovers
593 decided to elope, that they renounced any kind of marriage celebration, and that they remained away from their parents until they no longer feared reproach. Even if a child should be subjected to threats, he would find sufficient support from close relatives against the inadmissible interference of parents, if only he
[604] does not become intimidated and stands his ground. It is the special duty of the uncle to help so that every young person who wishes to marry is permitted to make an absolutely free decision. In
[624] case the uncle's influence on the parents does not bring results, he can even influence public opinion against them if they restrict their child's freedom of choice. All opposition dissolves
•[583] automatically when the young couple has a child to be cared for. Thus, a person who must fear the disapproval or resistance of parents toward a marriage elopes with his partner; once the couple is blessed with one or two children, no one can interfere or separate them.

587 /645/ A woman who becomes a man's second wife also has unrestricted freedom of choice. If she is a widow, she must sometimes be glad if a man will take her, whether she likes him or not, and she suppresses her own wishes without a murmur. Her position is more favorable if an older man, whose wife has perhaps become incapable of working, woos her. From the start she can then secure for herself certain rights and a favorable position in the
585 family. In the great majority of polygamous marriages the two women are sisters (21); the second one to be taken by the man is

21. This custom may be verified in Bridges' (i):21 words: "When a man married more wives than one they were generally sisters, which fact tendered greatly to strengthen the family party" /cited in English/. Relationship by marriage as such does not constitute blood relationship, hence does not hinder marriage (p. 417).

thus frequently better situated in many respects than in a monogamous marriage.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

836 tion. Intercourse between the unmarried was disapproved, but breaches of the code were not infrequent. Marriage between blood
582 relatives, however distant, was in theory taboo; in practice, the prohibition included half-siblings, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, first cousins, both parallel and cross, and seemingly extended somewhat beyond these limits. Since near relatives commonly lived near one another, marriages tended to be locally exogamous. Marriages with mates from far distant localities, especially outside one's own of the five dialectic groups, were disliked and infrequent. Marriage with a mother and her daughter was disapproved, but not so strongly as marriage with near blood-kin. Sponsors were barred from marrying their respective candidates of the *ŝéxaus*[1] initiation rite.

584 583 Choice of mate was ordinarily free on the part both of the boy and of the girl, and appears to have been based largely on mutual affection and regard. Gifts from the groom to the bride's father were given and expected, as were also certain services before and after marriage. But a bride-price as stipulated by or haggled for by the father was absent. Bride capture or stealing, if it occurred, must have been very rare.

582 Boys and girls did not marry until they had passed through the required *ŝéxaus* initiation. Gusinde (1937, p. 633) estimates the more common chronological ages of first marriages as about 17 to 19 years for boys, and 15 to 16 for girls.

Monogamy was by far the most prevalent form of marriage. Polyandry did not occur. Polygyny was permitted, but was uncommon.
[585] A few men had two wives, more commonly sisters; cases of three wives, if they occurred, must have been very rare. On the death of a man's
589 wife, he had a certain marriage claim to her unmarried sister. On the death of a woman's husband, she frequently became, and under certain circumstances was expected or obliged to become, the wife of his oldest surviving brother, especially his unmarried brother, unless she married another man. This custom (the levirate) was, from the native point of view, primarily an obligation of the father's brother to be responsible for his nephews and nieces, a responsibility that lay on the uncle even though his brother's widow married another man. A surviving married brother was not entirely free to marry the widow, as his own wife might object.

585 The chief wedding rite consisted in painting the cheeks of the couple with three red parallel horizontal lines. These were worn and renewed for a week, during which time there were feasting and dancing, and at the end of which the couple went off together in their own canoe.
591 Customarily, they remained with the bride's people for a few months,

[1] *S* here the sound of English *sh*, *ŝ* of English *ch*.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Among the Yahgan, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Ona. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will soon abandoned the undesired husband. In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 206) a man might have from one to four wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by custom. 583 586 595

Infidelity resulted in no fixed form of punishment, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yahgan man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his amours, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him. 684

Children

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted orphans set down in the mission records, the Yahgan did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon put an end to them or drove them under cover. 858 847 [797]

Soon after birth had taken place the Yahgan mother bathed in the sea and the new-born child was also immersed in order to toughen it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° to 50° Fahrenheit, while the air at best could be described as no warmer than temperate. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that soon after birth all but the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly eliminated. 846

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see incipient couvade.

Games and Amusements

The Yahgan to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much care and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling, and stones; but while these exercises often assumed the form of 517 526 857

/630 cont./

114 Since the year 1923, when I bade farewell to the Yamana forever, the majority of the older persons who served me as reliable informants in my investigations have gone to a better world. Today it is impossible to determine accurately and completely the unaffected institutions of former times on the basis of questions (2), because very few survivors of the tribe either know

> 2. About a year after me Lothrop (b):161 tried to determine the customary terms of relationship of these natives. He confesses: "It is difficult to gather these words, because much time has passed since many of them were used" /cited in English/.

enough about them or grew up in them. Without doubt it was also the eleventh hour for me to undertake the research if it was to be successful and consolidate the total of previous factual data.

a. Proposal and Marriage

584 Among a people like the Yamana, who are divided into individual families, each devoting itself to food-seeking independently of others, the approach of two loving hearts and their union in marriage escapes the notice of an observer who spends but a short time there (3), for neither the courtship nor the

> 3. On the basis of reports hitherto available about courtship and the selection of partners, Cooper:164 came to the mistaken conclusion that "there are no fixed forms" /cited in English/.

wedding are surrounded by conspicuous festivities. Certain customs, however, are observed on these occasions. They are so pronounced that on the basis of them alone, excluding all verbal communication, the marital union of two young tribal members is recognized by the immediate neighborhood. Just as these two events take place according to definite, simple rules, so there

/630 cont./

584 are also established customs which apply to the actual marriage proposal and which set up certain limits as genuine barriers to marriage. A marriage among the Yamana never takes place without form and without rules, although in principle there is unlimited freedom in the choice of partners.

124 Our natives would like Europeans to know how much they value the responsible decision to enter the marriage union as an event, because it is significant for the tribal community. For this reason it is made known at least to the nearest fellow-tribesmen. On my third journey, the people wanted to show us the procedure of a wedding ceremony, but unfortunately the marriage plans of two young natives who had been fond of each other for a time finally fell through. I do not know of any European, missionaries possibly excepted, who personally witnessed the modest ceremony of a proposal /631/ and a wedding. Nevertheless, many presumptuous travelers gave their opinion of it. It is not worthwhile here to mention individual unreliable opinions. It is more important and, for several reasons, of special significance to describe here in detail existing customs of courtship and marriage.

1. The Marriageable Age

582 It never occurs to a Fuegian to count a person's age in years.
881 Hence, they never set a definite age after which young people may marry. They presuppose, as an absolute condition, participation in the youth initiation, less because a certain age is thereby assumed, but rather because in that lengthy preparation the young man is trained in obtaining food and instructed in his behavior toward others, that is to say, he is educated to become a good and useful human being. First he must prove, as it were, his ability to lead an ordered, independent life and to work successfully economically before society agrees to his marriage. Most chaps were probably not spared attendance even a second time as actual candidates at the youth initiation, for only in this way did they obtain the right to take part in the men's ceremony. There was no similar condition connected with a second entrance

/632 cont./

864 before and after her confinement. I could not discover the specific words that were used. Every young Fuegian learns the meaning of the sexual act for himself, not by direct instruction, but by observing animals and by comparing his body with that of the opposite sex. He is aided in this by the very meager body covering and by the intimacy of Fuegian life. At first they do [833] not seek actual enjoyment in the sexual act; "that comes later, after it has been tasted a number of times," old Julia confessed. A further reason is that in the years before physical maturity until marriage, the two sexes, even brothers and sisters, must remain apart, which restrains desire.

867 It cannot be denied, however, that girls after puberty and boys after the youth initiation are purposefully, albeit inconspicuously, prepared for all the events and obligations of marital life. First they are given many suggestions and repeated admonitions. They are told: "When you are married you must no longer dawdle about in such a carefree manner! -- Later you must always have a supply of meat for your wife and your children. -- Always be kind to your wife, for she gives you children. -- Do not quarrel with your husband, otherwise he will go to another hut and you will have to sleep alone in your hut; in the end he will be unfaithful to you, after he has slept several nights in the hut of another family!" I am indebted to Gertie for these words. Such statements unconsciously change the entire mental attitude of the young person toward the forthcoming start of his new life in marriage; he thinks about it more often and finally himself finds the more or less correct, but adequate explanation for many physiological facts which he observes from his own body.

584 Meanwhile, inevitably, the awareness of a still unattained fulfillment of physical and spiritual being increases to a passionate desire for a partner in marriage. "When the young people have been released from the [illegible], they cannot bear to live unmarried much longer. Some seem all the more excited and perturbed the longer they must wait for a marriage partner," Alfredo emphasized. "Now and then there is a girl who is quite uncontrolled in her behavior and who will suddenly throw herself into the arms of any boy because she does not want to live alone any longer; she longs for a husband and /633/ for children!"

/633 cont./

584 Mary told me this as she remembered one of her friends who had been dead for a long time (5). This urge of the sexes toward

5. Bove (e):157 is probably referring to this when he says: "The desire for a man is felt early among [the women], and the interference of the mission in these circumstances is regarded as the greatest tyranny of civilization."

each other is natural.

162 For the last three decades an unnatural disturbance of the equilibrium has predominated among the Indian population because there are not enough girls for the number of boys of marriageable age. When, on my second journey, I took leave of the Tamana in Punta Remolino, Homestead joined me on my ride to Rio Carmen in the northeastern part of Isla Grande. His mother was a Selk'nam. He hoped to find a partner among this tribe, and on the way he repeatedly and longingly confessed this to me. I very clearly recognized his ardent desire. He stayed behind in the camp at Rio del Fuego where he had his eye on two girls who apparently understood and responded to his intentions. I did not wish to spoil his favorable prospects, and so I rode on alone (6).

6. See further details in Gusinde (b):154.

On various occasions I was told by several thoughtful older people: "How difficult the present situation is for many boys, because there are no suitable girls for marriage!" These words expressed a deep sympathy for a natural but unfulfilled desire. Truly, there is great tumult and agitation in the heart of a marriageable Fuegian until he completely possesses his beloved!

583 If we wish to establish a definite age in numbers, we need not resort to mere guesses. According to the missionaries and a few well-informed Indians, the average young man marries between the ages of 17 and 18, a weakling somewhat later. It is required -- and the boy's nearest relatives talk to him in this

/633 cont./

582 vein -- that he show, aside from the maturity of judgment demanded, sufficient physical stamina to act the man fully and completely in making a living. In the case of girls, even
582 though actual maturity has long since taken place, the Fuegians
826 wait until considerable physical fullness and a certain shapeliness have been attained, this being regarded as the necessary condition for motherhood. The shape of the breasts is not a decisive as the broadening of the hips, which sets in quite suddenly after the start of puberty. Once I heard: "As long as a girl is too slim and delicate, she must not give herself to a man; her child would be born too weak and small!" It is the mother herself who keeps her daughter in the family hut until, according to her judgment and that of her female neighbors, the girl has the physical strength to become a mother successfully for the first time. This is usually at the age of 15 or 16; a few strong girls marry a year earlier (7).

7. Bove (c):128 and (e):157, on the other hand, sets the marriageable age lower. "The marriage of Fuegians generally takes place early; already at 12 or 13 years of age the girls run after men, but they do not become mothers until they are 17 or 18. The men marry between the ages of 14 and 16." Wieghardt:40 repeats this word for word. Lovisato (b):150 gives even lower figures. Hyades (q):377 mentions the 13th year for girls. According to Bridges (i):21, "girls were given in marriage from 14 years onward" /cited in English/. Hyades (f):573 is demonstrably inconsistent, for in another place he says: "Marriage takes place very late, about 18 or 20 years for girls, 25 for boys, on the average" /translated from French/.

584 /634/ As this account proves, boys and girls do not marry until they have fulfilled the requirements for a trouble-free economic life, on the one hand, and for healthy motherhood, on the other. This does not mean that occasionally a flirtation between

/634 cont./

584 two young people is not initiated much earlier and that they do not amuse themselves together as often as they have an opportunity, until finally none of the adults has any valid objections to their marriage.

2. Courtship of Marriageable Persons

584 162 Contrary to the inaccurate and false reports from the pens of several Europeans, we should like to emphasize strongly the freedom of choice in the selection of a mate. As has just been said, it is only in most recent times that there has been an imbalance in the numerical proportion of the two sexes. According to the general statements of several Fuegians whom I questioned, there were formerly exactly as many young men as girls of marriageable age (8). Assuming this, all the conditions for an

8. Bridges (k):240 definitely emphasizes that "the number of men and women is nearly equal" /translated from Spanish/. Nowadays it is probably impossible to determine whether the number of men or of women somewhat predominated; the few indications that I found point in favor of the latter. In June, 1884, when Bridges took an accurate census and the Mission Scientifique likewise determined the number of persons in the southern group, devastating diseases had already disturbed the equilibrium. We must take this into account in comparing those numbers. Compare Martial:215.

unhindered, free courtship of youthful lovers during the previous centuries seem fulfilled.

584 The natural shyness and reserve characteristic of the female population in Tierra del Fuego, more pronounced than elsewhere, explain why the young man makes the first advances in courtship. The girl probably never begins it. Usually the two know each other from earliest youth or late childhood. Individual families of the same dialect group meet occasionally, stay together a few

/636 cont./

584 days, like each other, and welcome every new chance meeting. Not infrequently they travel together for days. These are the opportunities for children from this or that family to become acquainted, despite the separation of the sexes strictly supervised by the adults. On such occasions they fall in love, and as they get older the separation until their next meeting, which often lasts a long time, /636/ becomes increasingly difficult to bear. In the play of innocent children, the wish to be together longer and more often becomes more and more intense, until finally the boy and girl unconsciously take it for granted that they belong together forever and that they are quite apart from the others. Mary said: "When children are still small, one boy will like to play with one girl, two others will do the same, and yet two more. It is remarkable, the longer the time, the stronger they are attached to one another. But that is how it happens that when they are mature they long for the day when they can run to meet each other once more. Finally they marry, for they have already loved each other for a long time!"

Of course, each family also has social intercourse with one from another dialect group, though rarely. An attachment between the children of the one family and the other hardly can grow from this. It is fairly thrust upon them, however, by the repeated meetings of two families from the same circumscribed locality.

At puberty the desire to be together a great deal quickens the pulses of the two who have felt drawn to each other since childhood. "This is the time when they always want to be together; if they are separated, neither of them is happy. This is the time when they really love each other without expressing it. But each of them feels, nevertheless, that he is loved by the other; that is why he is drawn so much to the other person. They are satisfied just to be together; all they want is to be alone. They scarcely exchange a word, although they gaze at each other often. But being together makes them perfectly content. They lean closely against each other when they sit or lie on the ground. Sometimes they embrace for a time, often one will draw the palm of his hand over the head and body of the other. They spend hours this way, until they must part once more." Hally, to whom I am indebted

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• 534 for these words, told me frankly that almost never would one of the two permit himself unseemly contact on such occasions.

The frequent meeting of such a couple does not escape the attention of adult relatives of the boy and girl. If in their opinion a marital union is soon to be expected, they do not oppose it with warnings or prohibitions. "The more frequently the two meet and the longer they are together, the happier they will be when they live together, when they live in their own hut [as a married couple]!" This was one of Nelly's maximum. The length of time that the flirtation is permitted depends in any specific instance on various circumstances. The adult observers are not guided by a definite rule, but during this time one or another of the neighbors will make a remark from which the boy and girl are supposed to understand that their secret doings have not remained entirely hidden. For example, a close relative will say to the boy: "You like X [he mentions the name of the girl] very much, because you meet her so often in the forest!" To the girl they say: "That is an industrious and strong boy whom you have chosen; now /536/ he will probably marry you soon!" Neither the boy nor girl will talk with adults specifically about their love affair and their clandestine meetings.

I must infer from reliable indications that the two lovers scarcely ever make a formal declaration of love to each other. The conduct of one toward the other is clear in itself and expresses quite enough: the impulses wish to be together all the time carries with it the decision to marry. The latter is freshly announced by the boy within the circle of his contemporaries, where he also points out the excellent qualities of his chosen one. By means of such conversations his own relatives and those of his bride are still more aware of his intentions. An uncontrolled general discussion develops, and not infrequently the boy is abruptly asked when his marriage is to take place. The girl who is in love is conspicuously reticent with her own mother and her relatives, as well as among her female friends, about the matter that so deeply touches her heart. The former, however, sometimes succeed in loosening her tongue and making her speak, no matter how reluctant she is to struggle against her own shyness.

When the gossip about the love affair of this couple has continued for a while, the nearer relatives begin to prepare for the

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marriage as though by instinct. There has been no actual demand from any side. The decision to marry is hardly ever definitely communicated to the parents. The attachment begun and reciprocated at some earlier time has so unobtrusively pressed toward marriage that the persons of the immediate neighborhood unintentionally contribute the few external accessories that the ancient law of custom demands. This is desired in every case by the couple in love.

As we have said, it is not possible to determine exactly how long a love affair or courtship lasts, for the first attachment often begins in early childhood. I was also told that young people who suddenly meet and in whose hearts the spark of love was immediately kindled frequently decided to marry within a few days. Alejandro, who was young when his wife died, courted Elisa after four months. She had been released only a few days before from the [illegible] and previously had looked with favor on another boy. In the case of Alejandro and his chosen one, I could easily observe how the young people among the Tamana prepare the way for marriage. In his conduct, however, some of the pristine element was lacking, for he was a widower and through his contact with Europeans had become a decided fop. One might say, to set up an approximate formula: as soon as a certain, individually more or less high degree of mutual love and devotion has been achieved (9), the preparations for the marriage ceremony begin,

> 9. Hyades (8):309 is concerned with the following terse wording: "The marriage is generally founded on reciprocal affection" /translated from French/. With these words he at any rate admits the freedom of choice on both sides in the selection of a mate.

although no actual conversations regarding it have come from any side. /SIV/ Hereby the goal of the courtship has been achieved, although from the beginning of the attachment this has been neither specifically recognized nor pursued. SD:630 gives the word [illegible], "to woo, to court."

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581 /Translated from Spanish./ Some visitors describe the beautiful, pleasing figure, even for the European eye, of individual young Fuegians; there were even some splendid specimens of human beings among them. That these persons, further idealized in the imaginations of young people anxious to marry, are the most sought after for a life-long union in marriage is too natural to have to be specifically substantiated. Anyone who is only moderately endowed physically is content to find a partner who is his equal. Nevertheless, luck and chance sometimes casts an unusually charming girl, and a lovable creature, into the arms of a less attractive boy for immediate marriage (13).

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13. In long conversations with Fred and Nelly Lawrence I obtained the details, difficult to come by elsewhere, from which this account was written; later I also talked with other informants about it.

4. Freedom in the Selection of a Mate

584 Even those travelers and missionaries who are generally reliable give unclear accounts about the freedom of choice of girls before marriage, and these sometimes seem to be clearly contradictory. The uninfluenced private decision of young people who wish to marry is the rule and custom, but in exceptional cases a few old people, namely, the parents of the girl, violate this by their selfish and ruthless conduct. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that the various assertions of travelers are sometimes mere fabrications and almost without exception are based on insufficient observation. Even in Bridges we can trace a change in his own opinion about marital conditions, since in later writings he undeniably contradicts what he said in the first years of his sojourn with the Fuegians. Obviously, any kind of courtship among marriageable young people would be futile if they were obliged to submit unconditionally to the arbitrary decision of other persons. Before we set forth the true state of affairs in this important arrangement, I shall repeat the divergent opinions of several Europeans of the last few decades. The shallow

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584 assertions of earlier navigators do not, for obvious reasons, deserve attention.

583 584 /640/ Not at all infrequently regular bride purchase is mentioned, as Hyades (q):394, for example, does: "The woman is not, as a rule, consulted, she is usually purchased from her parents" /translated from French/ (14). Rove (c):157 expresses

> 14. Hyades (q):378 does not mention actual sale of the girl elsewhere: "The young girl is not consulted in the choice of a husband; the parents give her to the one who suits them and who is always the strongest and the most respected among the candidates" /translated from French/.

himself more in detail on the subject: "The relationship between the spouses can be regarded more as a commercial agreement. Among the various suitors for the daughter, the father chooses the strongest, the most skillful, the one who is the most compliant with regard to his wishes, and with this one he bargains about the number of skins which the son-in-law must give him and the number of days he must work for him. Only after the contract has been settled is the bride informed of it, and, no matter what her private feelings are, she takes care not to betray them, and, whether or not she is willing, she is led into the hut of the bridegroom." To this we merely wish to add briefly that in most cases the two young hearts have found each other long before their parents are aware of it, and that they can hardly ever be made to abandon their decision by outside influences. Even Bridges (e):333 at one time maintains that the bride is bartered: "The women were given in marriage, in many cases even sold, according to a certain rule. The payment was made in work or gifts of skins, etc. The required performance was in proportion to the importance of the parties. If the son-in-law was strong and the relatives of the woman weak, there was little or nothing, and there was much if the situation was reversed. The only rule was convenience or common interest" (15). Anyone who knows the social system of

> 15. Earlier Bridges (e):201 wrote about this

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in a different vein: "Sometimes the father of the girl is in great difficulty through several men expecting him to give him /sic/ his daughter. He, of course, gives her to him of whom he is most afraid; this, of course, makes the others his enemies" /cited in English/. This does not exactly agree with what he maintained shortly before (ibid., p. 184). And three years later he gives still another version: "Sons-in-law are expected, either by gifts or work, to purchase their wives" /cited in English/ (Mbi III, 117,1949). Thus, one contradiction after another.

the Tamano will find it impossible to reconcile it with this last description of conditions. In Oates (g):54 also we read: "They buy the women with gifts... If the gift is not enough, the father returns in a few months and takes back the woman, selling her to someone else. If the husband is displeased with his wife, he can send her back to her father, who must return the purchase price. In this case, while the father lives, she belongs to him anew, and he can again sell her" /translated from Spanish/. If such conditions really existed, a quiet, secure family life would be found only in an infinitesimally small number of bots (16).

16. Similar statements exist, in Wieghardt:40, for example. From all this Spears:69, who in other respects is not very reliable, not too incorrectly concludes: "Marriage was a matter of purchase and sale; wives were sold, sometimes, by husbands, and daughters were invariably sold by fathers" /cited in English/. Thus one inaccurate report is linked to another.

This is obvious and needs no substantiation.

584 /641/ In reality, marriageable boys and girls commonly have unimpeded freedom of choice, except for the few obstacles to marriage about which the uncle or the aunt in particular must be

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on the alert. It is also simply inconceivable that a girl should be forced into a marital union with a boy who does not like her. She would be adequately protected against coercion by his relatives. Every adult knows very well that a woman who no longer cares for her husband -- she previously joined herself to him in the free choice of love -- leaves him and will not be chained to him by any means. It is true that sometimes female relatives direct the attention of the girl to a particular chap who, in their opinion, would be suitable for her, but they do not dare press her.

What incorrectly informed Europeans call "payments" are actually voluntary gifts which the bridegroom or son-in-law gives the father of his chosen one from a sense of courtesy and gratitude, joy and satisfaction. This custom belongs in the category of obligations of the son-in-law toward his father-in-law. It is natural that the former makes an effort to learn indirectly the special wishes of the latter and to consider them as far as possible. To speak of a definite price range and standard of value of these free gifts is altogether false. Prominent, wealthy, or mighty families who are able to make certain demands for the marriage of their child do not exist among the Tamana, nor is personal competence or the individual qualities of a marriageable young man weighed against material values. If a chap makes extraordinary efforts to win the girl and finally succeeds because she yields, it is quite in order for him to make lavish gifts to her parents.

As long as this custom exists, it is taken for granted that the father of the girl expects something from his future son-in-law (17).

17. To this extent Stirling's assertion of March, 1884, is justified: "The father of the future bride expects ransom-money. On this occasion, an axe, a blanket, a knife, some fishhooks, beads, etc., form part of the price. Sometimes the future son-in-law serves for a period, I believe, the father of the betrothed, or presents a canoe, etc." /cited in English/ (VSA: XI, 339,1884). A commercial pact, such as Spegazzini (a):185 describes, is never made.

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This, according to Outes (g):54, includes either knives, harpoon points, and finished weapons, or skins and flint, sometimes even a new canoe. Neither the son-in-law nor the father-in-law regards such things as an actual purchase price for the delivery of the marriageable girl, for there is never any mention of this when the chap makes inquiries of the father of his beloved.

I was emphatically assured that sometimes special gifts were not given the parents of the girl, either during the courtship /642/ or at the marriage, and some men do not bring more than a large sea lion. After Alejandro finally won the long-wooed Elisa (p. 390), he did not give her parents the least little thing. Her mother, Adelheid, somewhat disappointed over this behavior of her present son-in-law, told me: "Alejandro is a fop; he acts as though he were a European and does not know what used to be customary among us Yamana." In the end, how could insignificant trifles compare with the fact that a girl is willing to give herself to a husband (18)!

> 18. The following assertion in Outes (g):55 definitely shows the impossibility of the conditions which he describes: "If the gift is not enough, the father returns in a few months and takes back the woman, selling her to someone else. If the husband is displeased with his wife, he can send her back to her father, who must return the purchase price" /translated from Spanish/. We come across similar discrepancies among other Europeans who never became properly acquainted with procedures in Tierra del Fuego.

It is equally incorrect to speak of "dowry" in connection with those insignificant possessions that the young woman takes when she goes to her husband. Certain things, such as clothing and ornaments, simply belong inseparably to her, whether she is married or not, and this private property is not in the least augmented when she leaves the parental hut and goes to her chosen bridegroom. Bove (s):158 writes: "A canoe and a harpoon are

/642 cont./

583 the bride's dowry." This interpretation is meaningless. The
●584 canoe, without which a young married couple cannot exist, is
431 usually built by the husband himself, or by his own father or neighbors with the young man's help. Possibly the father of the bride also took part in its construction. The harpoon is part of the equipment of a man and is neither used by a woman nor given by her to a man.

583 In some of the literature, mention is made of abduction, but specific examples or cases that have been observed are not cited. Despard (b):698 maintained: "Sometimes wives are stolen, sometimes they run away. When recovered, after either case, they are beaten, the supposition being, it seems, that in the former case they themselves encouraged the theft" /cited in English/. The qualification mentioned is significant and is immediately put to account. Hyades (p):334 states briefly that "one sometimes observes a marriage by capture" /translated from French/ (19). The way of life and the position of a marriageable

19. It is not likely that the Mission Scientifique observed the procedure of an abduction. The same Hyades (b):1346 expresses himself in another place more vaguely, "sometimes there is marriage by capture" /translated from French/.

girl within her family absolutely contradicts all false assertions, for it is simply impossible to abduct a woman. It is true that
837 sometimes a married woman who wishes secretly to leave her husband accepts the help of a man whom she knows well in order to escape. If, however, she chooses this expedient, namely, flight under the protection of a man, it is her own decision. Moreover, it can happen that a married woman yields to persuasion and /643/ follows her seducer for a few days, after which she returns to her rightful husband. Neither case has anything to do with abduction. BD:227 gives kwissāguntūkū, "to take by force another man's wife and marry her as a wife" /cited in English/; also BD:303, manīgulū, "to escape as a wife from her husband by stealth" /cited in English/. The proper meaning here,

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837 too, is that a lawful husband is abused when his wife puts herself in the hands of a devoted rival who carries her off and keeps her in his hut as his wife.

584 In one place Hyades (q) 378 speaks as though the girl is given away by her father. "The young girl is not consulted in the choice of a husband; the parents give her to the one who suits them and who is always the strongest and the most respected among the candidates" /translated from French/. This empty assertion utterly fails to recognize the fact that the parents are very much concerned about the future welfare of their child and that they inquire about the conduct of the husband, quite apart from the fact that they naturally find it painful to lose their daughter to the chosen man. Finally, arbitrarily disposing of her without consulting her wishes is not consistent with her right -- sometimes exercised -- of running away from her unbearable, rude husband and again seeking protection in the hut of her parents.

The true facts of the matter become very clear from what we have briefly said by way of correcting erroneous reports (20).

20. The two forms mentioned by Bove (c):128 are mutually exclusive, for he says: "Marriage can be considered as a purchase of the woman by the man and a union of love and reciprocal congeniality" /translated from Spanish/.

The marriageable girl is neither given away nor sold nor abducted. She is completely free to choose the chap who appeals to her fancy. Courtship rests on this fundamental freedom. That is why in the case of young people of marriageable age the elders sometimes waive the otherwise prevalent separation of the sexes, for "that is the time when a boy and girl become acquainted, when they feel whether they will get along together for the rest of their lives [in marriage]." This is what Mary said.

867 In instructing girls on the occasion of their first menstruation and in occasional conversations, older women repeat the following admonition in various words: "Do not give yourself to the first chap who comes along, who flatters you, but choose the one

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867 whom you really like. At first every chap will be so agreeable; later when he has married you, it turns out that he is crude or lazy or unbearable. Then you will have to suffer. So, consider before you decide!" Nelly added: "One must warn young girls and make them alert, otherwise they will thoughtlessly and prematurely say 'yes' to the first chap who comes along. Later when the young couple find they are unsuited to eath other, the elders among their relatives will suffer for it just as much as they themselves!" Likewise /644/ the young man is given a definite hint by his uncle to take as his bride only the girl with whom "he will live peaceably for the rest of his life."

584 That there is freedom in the first choice can also be deduced
586 from the right every woman has to run away from the husband who treats her badly or does not provide enough food for her. How could she be taken in again by her parents, which is generally done, if she had previously been actually sold? Her male relatives warn the husband and threaten to take back the mistreated wife. They would not dare do this if he bought her for a price.

584 It very seldom happens that two young people become
578 united if there is a strained relationship or open hostility between their parents. If such a match should be developing, the parents of the boy and those of the girl make insulting, even threatening remarks against the other party within their own family but in order to thwart their children's intentions. It may be that a preliminary inclination toward a marital union will sooner or later disappear under this influence. Out of respect for her own parents the girl will forego her heart's desire, and since she makes no fuss about this, her closest relatives will not interfere on her behalf.

584 Still more awkward is the exceptional case of a girl who is
736 an orphan and very much dependent on her uncle and aunt. The
604 latter, driven by stubbornness or ambition, insistently urge her to choose the chap they recommend. If the solitary girl is unable to resist adequately, she will finally accede to their urging. My informers emphasized that such a case was rare, and that the previous history of the case would become publicly known only if this forced marriage, so to speak, should, in an exceptional instance, be dissolved.

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responsible for the fact that many husbands have a second wife, and that many younger men are married to an older widow who has brought him the children of her deceased husband.

6. Participation of the Relatives

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The paternal uncle, indíruwa, unmistakably occupies a privileged position regarding his nephews and nieces. This is clearly evident at the time of the death of his married brother, as well as during his nephew's courtship and marriage. In the above lines we have already given a few data on the position of other adults relative to the marital plans of young people.

Following the dictates of his own heart, the young lad goes courting and tries to win the girl who promises to fulfill all his desires. The young lovers meet as often as possible, and their mutual affection grows as time goes on. If there is no pressure of outside circumstances, they amuse themselves in their amorous play without thinking of marrying soon. In their innermost conviction they have long since decided that they wish to belong together for life, without, however, expressing this openly to each other. And why should they! For the time being, neither of them reveals his feelings and intentions to his own parents; "they are somewhat ashamed!" I was told. A male neighbor and a female friend finally get the boy and girl to speak by making intimate allusions.

After the clandestine meetings and the love affair that can no longer be concealed have lasted long enough for the adults, the paternal uncle, indíruwa, one day decides to approach the boy very directly: "You have been meeting this girl for some time now. I finally ought to talk to your father about it!" Or he says: "We cannot go on seeing you daily with your beloved much longer. I shall soon inform your father in case you want to marry her!" This and similar expressions state the wish of the older relative to help the boy attain his goal. The latter realizes it. He takes this opportunity and has his uncle put the proposition before his father. Sometimes, if a boy wishes to reach his goal

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584 604 quickly, he himself openly approaches his uncle with the request that he tell the father of his heart's urgent desire. The uncle fulfills his mission without delay and without expressing any doubts or advising against it. If the boy has no indaruwa, his maternal uncle, inman, helps him. The girl takes the same steps with her maternal aunt as soon as she has learned from her lover that his mission /649/ is already on the way to his father. The aunt also does not remonstrate with her; in fact, if the girl has given her consent to a boy whom she also likes, she is even happy about the decision. She brings the news to the mother.

The parents are never directly informed by their own children of the latter's wish and plan to marry. It is partly veneration and partly modesty that seal their lips. The only legally justified decision or judgment that the parents can exercise is for them to [592] prove and vouch for the fact that the two lovers are not related by blood. If this were actually the case, the marriage could not take place. With this point settled, the parents of the boy and of the girl discuss the plan of the couple with their respective relatives. Not infrequently the child is present and at the same time is given some advice. Finally, the uncle, as well as the aunt, insists that the parents give their final consent which they personally make known to the boy or the girl. The two lovers tell each other of the desired result.

584 604 626 The arrangement we have just described is generally made within a few days. Naturally, the intention of the young people is the topic of conversation in the whole neighborhood. After all, the planned marriage is to become known everywhere, and it is chiefly the uncle and aunt who consciously work toward this. Nelly told me that public opinion and the help of the community are to be won for the lovers, particularly if one of the pair of parents is opposed to their child's intention. Obviously this arrangement serves to assure freedom in the choice of a mate. In spite of all this, but very rarely, the stubbornness of one of the pair of parents or the selfishness of an uncle or aunt does not permit the desired union of the young people. In the first instance, neither the boy nor the girl dares confide in the uncle or aunt; in the other instance, the uncle and aunt misuse their authority, against which the lovers cannot summon the courage to seek help

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584 It has also happened, as Sara recalled, that the two lovers
543 decided to elope, that they renounced any kind of marriage celebration, and that they remained away from their parents until they no longer feared reproach. Even if a child should be subjected to threats, he would find sufficient support from close relatives against the inadmissible interference of parents, if only he does not become intimidated and stands his ground. It is the spe-
[644] cial duty of the uncle to help so that every young person who wishes to marry is permitted to make an absolutely free decision. In case the uncle's influence on the parents does not bring results,
[624] he can even influence public opinion against them if they restrict their child's freedom of choice. All opposition dissolves
[583] automatically when the young couple has a child to be cared for. Thus, a person who must fear the disapproval or resistance of parents toward a marriage elopes with his partner; once the couple is blessed with one or two children, no one can interfere or separate them.

587 /645/ A woman who becomes a man's second wife also has unrestricted freedom of choice. If she is a widow, she must sometimes be glad if a man will take her, whether she likes him or not, and she suppresses her own wishes without a murmur. Her position is more favorable if an older man, whose wife has perhaps become incapable of working, woos her. From the start she can then secure for herself certain rights and a favorable position in the
585 family. In the great majority of polygamous marriages the two women are sisters (21); the second one to be taken by the man is

> 21. This custom may be verified in Bridges' (i):21 words: "When a man married more wives than one they were generally sisters, which fact tendered greatly to strengthen the family party" /cited in English/. Relationship by marriage as such does not constitute blood relationship, hence does not hinder marriage (p. 417).

thus frequently better situated in many respects than in a monogamous marriage.

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584 604 626 elsewhere. In the opinion of the majority, such abuses are regarded as unjust; hence the guilty ones -- they are aware of being such -- make a secret of the fact that they have interfered without permission. The relatives and the larger community are steadfastly and as a matter of course on the side of the lovers, provided always that blood relationship is excluded. To the extent that the general public knows of the marriage plans of the couple, it prepares steadfastly for the forthcoming marriage. Meanwhile the aunts and female neighbors approach the girl in friendly good-will and wish her all kinds of happiness for the future, making this dependent on the recently imparted advice and the earlier instructions on the occasion of the menarche. The boy is merely given additional earnest warnings in case his conduct requires it.

587 When a couple enters a second marriage, the /650/ formalities that apply to the first marriage are omitted. "They are simply no longer necessary," as Calderon emphasized. "The couple know very well that they need not let themselves be influenced by anyone in their decision!" In one way or another, however, the newly wedded couple tells those nearest them of their union, so that the public in general will soon learn of it.

584 182 Marriageable young people in olden times were in an incomparably more favorable position; each one, following the dictates of his heart, selected from many persons the one desired. For the last few decades marital conditions have been affected by a complete disintegration of the natural order. They do not offer even a slight guarantee that the Yamana will continue as a people. In fact, the fate of the Yamana is already sealed.

7. Obstacles to Marriage

582 The basic freedom in the selection of a mate does not eliminate the fact that there are some things taken for granted which prohibit marital union. All adults are well informed about them. In particular it is the duty of the parents under no circumstances to permit the marital union of their child with a related person (p. 416). A few introductory remarks will be given before we list the actual obstacles to marriage.

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"Marriage was recognized just as much as all other degrees of relationship, for all of which they [the Yamana] have their specific terms."

about by the dominance of European civilization has strangled this judicious tribal custom, along with much that was original. The Indians of today regret that some of their countrymen enter a marriage without the ceremony of former times. Mary, who was indignant over the widespread lack of form, very much lamented these conditions: "A woman, after all, is not an object, not a piece of wood or something, that one takes without ceremony. A girl who gives herself to a man without the formalities customary among us is not a real woman. It was so nice in former times when the painted bride was given to the bridegroom, who was also painted. Everybody was very happy on those occasions!" Again it is European influence that has killed the feeling for their native tribal customs among the younger generation. I learned the bulk of what is contained in the preceding pages from reliable old Alfredo on my second journey.

/658/ 9. Parents-In-Law and Children-In-Law

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In the days before and after the wedding, the bridegroom is very obliging and anxious to serve his parents-in-law. There is no legal obligation for service in the form of work or for gifts, but it is a matter of concern to him to obtain the favor of the girl's parents in order that they will surely and without reservation give their consent to the planned marriage. It is well known that a certain shyness prevents the lovers from revealing their turbulent desires. One day shortly before the wedding, when the love of the two young people has already become known, the bridegroom, in order to gain admittance into the hut of the girl's parents, places a rather large bundle of wood in front of the hut and waits until he is called in (40). If this happens, he interprets it as the surest

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40. It is well known that among the Selk'nam, also, the young chap who is anxious to marry resorts to silent, patient waiting in front of the

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> but of his beloved, until her father admits him and thereby announces his approval of the marriage (Vol. I, 327).

guarantee of the old people's approval of his marriage plan. He conceals his innermost joy and henceforth conducts himself as ancient tribal custom demands of a son-in-law. Free, open intercourse is not permitted him nor the daughter-in-law with their parents-in-law. On the other hand, they are obliged to render service to the latter. What the son-in-law does for them immediately before and after the wedding should probably more accurately be called appreciation and a show of gratitude for the willingness of these parents to hand over their daughter to him. In order to demonstrate clearly his readiness to please his father-in-law, the lover finds out what he lacks or expects or particularly desires, and that is what he procures, whether it be a canoe, a harpoon, or a beautiful fur cloak. Beyond that, he brings many other trifles to his father-in-law's hut until the marriage celebration begins. At the same time the bride, if possible, renders small services to her future mother-in-law, but these are not expected or taken for granted as in the case of the bridegroom. That she, too, favors her parents-in-law with gifts clearly indicates, however, that the presents delivered by the bridegroom cannot be regarded as bride purchase (p. 404).

606 The limitations on intercourse between children-in-law and their parents-in-law constitute a definite custom of avoidance. It is regarded as inadmissible and improper to address the parents-in-law or to interrupt their conversation with incidental remarks. When one meets them or enters their hut, one may not greet them; if one happens to run into them, one should, with downcast eyes, give them a wide berth. It is the general custom that one does not sit down opposite them, never looks them in the eye, and never sits next to them. If it happens that a son-in-law or daughter-in-law is in the same hut with the parents-in-law, the former must move far away and /659/ turn from them, that is to say, turn to one side or turn their backs. If several men gather together, the son-in-law chooses his place in this circle so that it is farthest removed from his father-in-law. He remains silent

536 tion. Intercourse between the unmarried was disapproved, but
582 breaches of the code were not infrequent. Marriage between blood relatives, however distant, was in theory taboo; in practice, the prohibition included half-siblings, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, first cousins, both parallel and cross, and seemingly extended somewhat beyond these limits. Since near relatives commonly lived near one another, marriages tended to be locally exogamous. Marriages with mates from far distant localities, especially outside one's own of the five dialectic groups, were disliked and infrequent. Marriage with a mother and her daughter was disapproved, but not so strongly as marriage with near blood-kin. Sponsors were barred from marrying their respective candidates of the *Ititaxus*[1] initiation rite.

584 Choice of mate was ordinarily free on the part both of the boy and of
583 the girl, and appears to have been based largely on mutual affection and regard. Gifts from the groom to the bride's father were given and expected, as were also certain services before and after marriage. But a bride-price as stipulated by or haggled for by the father was absent. Bride capture or stealing, if it occurred, must have been very rare.

582 Boys and girls did not marry until they had passed through the required *Ititaxus* initiation. Gusinde (1937, p. 633) estimates the more common chronological ages of first marriages as about 17 to 19 years for boys, and 15 to 18 for girls.

Monogamy was by far the most prevalent form of marriage. Poly-
588 andry did not occur. Polygyny was permitted, but was uncommon. A few men had two wives, more commonly sisters; cases of three wives,
589 if they occurred, must have been very rare. On the death of a man's wife, he had a certain marriage claim to her unmarried sister. On the death of a woman's husband, she frequently became, and under certain circumstances was expected or obliged to become, the wife of his oldest surviving brother, especially his unmarried brother, unless she married another man. This custom (the levirate) was, from the native point of view, primarily an obligation of the father's brother to be responsible for his nephews and nieces, a responsibility that lay on the uncle even though his brother's widow married another man. A surviving married brother was not entirely free to marry the widow, as his own wife might object.

585 The chief wedding rite consisted in painting the cheeks of the couple with three red parallel horizontal lines. These were worn and renewed for a week, during which time there were feasting and dancing, and at the end of which the couple went off together in their own canoe.
591 Customarily, they remained with the bride's people for a few months,

[1] See the word of English ch, f of English ch.

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the young wife, her mother was the wife of a man then alive. She had two or three children who died. When the mother's husband died, Domingo took her as his wife, but this was after he had married her daughter" /cited in English/.

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A final obstacle to marriage is based on a sort of sponsorship namely, on the relationship of all adults to the candidates who have been entrusted to their special care in the Kiexam, the youth initiation. Their relationship is regarded as that of parents to their children, accompanied by certain rights or duties which never cease as long as one of the two parties is living.

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The community as a whole, especially the relatives, are vigilant regarding the valid obstacles to marriage; it is their duty to interfere if anyone dares to violate them. Infringements by individual persons in exceptional cases and more recently as a result of the unusual composition of the population cannot be avoided, since the public does not have effective measures of control and since the guilty party avoids the loud mockery and scornful gossip of his neighbors by keeping to himself. The erection of certain barriers in the form of real obstacles to marriage proves with unmistakable clarity how highly the Yamana regard the institution of marriage and the sound judgment they show in evaluating the meaning of their only social alliance. My questions about the possibility of a marital union between relatives and adopted persons obviously horrified them, and they found it unpleasant that such prohibitions, which are sacred and venerable to them, should be even casually mentioned.

8. The Marriage Ceremony

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In the foregoing pages we have described the development from the first slight amorous inclinations of two young hearts to their definite decision to marry, as well as the attitude of the relatives of the couple. The lovers never link themselves together in a definite, solemn declaration of their willingness to marry, as in the manner of our engagement. Nor do the Yamana know anything

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515 about an actual marriage proposal following definite formalities, such as are /655/ practiced by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 358). They do, however, have an actual marriage celebration with certain conspicuous accompaniments, which they regard as legalizing the conclusion of a marriage.

It is easy to explain why earlier travelers did not understand this custom in its deeper significance, if, indeed, they had a chance to observe it, and that they saw in it only one of the universally common facial decorations. They should at least have avoided an abrupt denial of any kind of marriage ceremony, such as Bove (e):156, for example, did when he definitely maintained: "No festivity, no ceremony accompanies the wedding, which simply consists of the bride's going to the hut of the bridegroom or of the latter's settling down with his father-in-law" (35).

35. Hyades (b):1346 and (p):334 is as inaccurate as he is insistent when he tries to make out that "the marriage is accomplished without any ceremony" /translated from French/. According to Spegazzini (a):164 the marriage is concluded "very simply among them" /translated from Spanish/.

Bridges (e):333 made a slight concession, without grasping its real meaning: "The marriage ceremony was quite unimportant; there was no contract, no gathering of friends, no festivity, but they simply painted the face of the bride and sent her to her future husband in the best attire that they were able to afford." In contrast to this, we must emphasize that our informants positively established the socially valid significance of their ceremonies for the first marriage of a couple. These ceremonies were also regularly conducted, for without this public announcement the union of the two young people would not have been recognized as a valid marriage, but would have been regarded as a free, impermissible love affair.

585 302 Among all the things that surround and accompany a wedding of those who are united for the first time, the facial painting of the bride and groom is the most significant feature. Like a public

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declaration, it announces to the neighborhood and therewith to the entire tribe the free decision of both parties. It is this visible sign that proclaims the marriage as legally concluded (36). It

36. Since Hyades (op.370 did not understand the significance of this facial painting, he contradicts himself in the following assertion: "The marriage does not give rise to any special ceremony; the young girl adorns herself more on this day, at least with facial paintings and with necklaces which she receives as gifts, and the hair on her forehead is cut" /translated from French/. In view of the little sense of form that our Yamana have developed, all these details certainly mean display enough!

binds the bridegroom as well as the bride, and the painting in this special form is used exclusively for the wedding. It consists of three parallel, horizontal red stripes of medium width which begin at the edge of the nostril and are drawn across the cheeks almost up to the ear lobes (Fig. 77). For about a week the newlyweds appear with this painting, which is carefully renewed every day. The Ximi is mixed with seal blubber and applied with a little stick to achieve even, fine lines, a neat application being particularly prized (37).

37. Spears: 69 was the only one who learned of this custom: "The marriage ceremony consisted in painting the girl in a certain fashion for several days before she was delivered to her husband" /cited in English/. Among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 331) a "wedding decoration" is prescribed, which in style corresponds exactly with that of the Yamana.

/656/ The young people whose parents have cleared the way for their marriage begin this facial painting as soon as one of their

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585 relatives, usually the uncles, notifies them that the big feast
382 is soon to take place. A few related families are informed or specially fetched, and the men go hunting to collect a great deal of meat which the women prepare for roasting. Although no particular day is set, the general mood or the momentary decision of the relatives, or even the unpredictable weather, brings about the ceremonious delivery of the bride or the bridegroom to the hut occupied by the other party. /Fig. 77 appears here./ In this manner they are influenced by given circumstances; usually the bride moves into the hut of her new parents-in-law. A few hours earlier the news spontaneously spreads that this formality is about to take place, and everyone present prepares for it in happy excitement. The bride and bridegroom are once more carefully painted and somewhat dressed up with a new fur cloak. The other people also paint their faces, usually with the fine vertical red lines from below the eyelid, over the cheeks, to the level of the corner of the mouth. Finally, at a large fire outside the dwelling where the bridal couple is to meet, a few women roast the large amounts of meat. Messengers go from one hut to another to see how the preparations are progressing. At the appropriate moment a few women, followed by children and neighbors, accompany the bride to the hut occupied by the bridegroom. This procession is regarded as the core of the ceremony. Sometimes there is more formality, for example, when the bridegroom himself, surrounded by a few relatives, approaches the hut of his bride and invites her to follow him to the hut of his father. She joins him in the procession. There the happy celebration begins.

Fig. 77. Facial Painting of the Bride.

585 Young and old enjoy themselves at the abundant meal; there is lively conversation, and finally the wedding guests give eloquent expression to their joy in dance and play. They remain together many hours, and it is only general fatigue that puts an end to the celebration. The bridal couple do not yet have a hut of their own

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585 and spend the night at the place where the celebration /657/ took place (38). Here the people of the neighborhood again assemble

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38. Bowl (e):128, and Wieghard:41 as well, maintain: "If the bridegroom does not wish to forgo forever the enjoyment of eating guanaco and veal meat, he must cleanse himself on the morning after the wedding by bathing in the water of the sea.... These baths are without doubt the cause of many sicknesses to which the young people of Tierra del Fuego are subjected, but they are regarded as necessary to replace the lost strength." When I asked my informants whether a bridegroom was obliged to take a bath, they could not keep from laughing, they found it so preposterous. It is almost childish to attribute "many sicknesses" to this alleged custom. Whenever someone has washed himself in the sea, he immediately hastens to the fire.

in the days that follow, until the supply of meat is gone, the joyful mood has abated, and the long sojourn at the same place becomes boring. Meanwhile the bride often hastens to the hut of her mother where the two cuddle each other in expressions of mutual affection, for soon the hour of parting will come. Each time

[702] the mother carefully paints her daughter with the three horizontal lines, in order that she will be pleasing to her young husband and he will learn to love her. Many of the male guests give the bridegroom their good wishes and occasionally drop a warning word. The principals themselves are silent and are quite content in their own happiness. When all the wedding guests have dispersed and gone their separate ways, the newlywed, who have meanwhile acquired their own canoe, also leave the place. They begin their independent life, free of their parents, and this is encouraged by very special rules applicable to parents-in-law and children-in-law.

585 A new family has now been established. The public regards
111 this event as so significant that they feel the necessity of surrounding it with legal formality (39). The modern confusion brought

39. Once Bridges (e):332, too, apparently lets his understanding of this come through:

585 177 /657 cont./

"Marriage was recognized just as much as all other degrees of relationship, for all of which they [the Yamana] have their specific term."

about by the dominance of European civilization has strangled this judicious tribal custom, along with much that was original. The Indians of today regret that some of their countrymen enter a marriage without the ceremony of former times. Mary, who was indignant over the widespread lack of form, very much lamented these conditions: "A woman, after all, is not an object, not a piece of wood or something, that one takes without ceremony. A girl who gives herself to a man without the formalities customary among us is not a real woman. It was so nice in former times when the painted bride was given to the bridegroom, who was also painted. Everybody was very happy on those occasions!" Again it is European influence that has killed the feeling for their native tribal customs among the younger generation. I learned the bulk of what is contained in the preceding pages from reliable old Alfredo on my second journey.

/658/ 9. Parents-In-Law and Children-In-Law

584 606 In the days before and after the wedding, the bridegroom is very obliging and anxious to serve his parents-in-law. There is no legal obligation for service in the form of work or for gifts, but it is a matter of concern to him to obtain the favor of the girl's parents in order that they will surely and without reservation give their consent to the planned marriage. It is well known that a certain shyness prevents the lovers from revealing their turbulent desires. One day shortly before the wedding, when the love of the two young people has already become known, the bridegroom, in order to gain admittance into the hut of the girl's parents, places a rather large bundle of wood in front of the hut and waits until he is called in (40). If this happens, he interprets it as the surest

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40. It is well known that among the Selk'nam, also, the young chap who is anxious to marry resorts to silent, patient waiting in front of the

536 tion. Intercourse between the unmarried was disapproved, but
breaches of the code were not infrequent. Marriage between blood
582 relatives, however distant, was in theory taboo; in practice, the pro-
hibition included half-siblings, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, first
cousins, both parallel and cross, and seemingly extended somewhat
beyond these limits. Since near relatives commonly lived near one
another, marriages tended to be locally endogamous. Marriages with
mates from far distant localities, especially outside one's own of the
five dialectic groups, were disliked and infrequent. Marriage with a
mother and her daughter was disapproved, but not so strongly as mar-
riage with near blood-kin. Sponsors were barred from marrying
their respective candidates of the *čikzaus*[1] initiation rite.

584 Choice of mate was ordinarily free on the part both of the boy and of
583 the girl, and appears to have been based largely on mutual affection and
regard. Gifts from the groom to the bride's father were given and
expected, as were also certain services before and after marriage. But
a bride-price as stipulated by or haggled for by the father was absent.
Bride capture or stealing, if it occurred, must have been very rare.

582 Boys and girls did not marry until they had passed through the
required *čikzaus* initiation. Gusinde (1937, p. 653) estimates the
more common chronological ages of first marriages as about 17 to 19
years for boys, and 15 to 16 for girls.

Monogamy was by far the most prevalent form of marriage. Poly-
585 andry did not occur. Polygyny was permitted, but was uncommon.
A few men had two wives, more commonly sisters; cases of three wives,
589 if they occurred, must have been very rare. On the death of a man's
wife, he had a certain marriage claim to her unmarried sister. On the
death of a woman's husband, she frequently became, and under certain
circumstances was expected or obliged to become, the wife of his oldest
surviving brother, especially his unmarried brother, unless she married
another man. This custom (the levirate) was, from the native point
of view, primarily an obligation of the father's brother to be responsi-
ble for his nephews and nieces, a responsibility that lay on the uncle
even though his brother's widow married another man. A surviving
married brother was not entirely free to marry the widow, as his own
wife might object.

585 The chief wedding rite consisted in painting the cheeks of the couple
with three red parallel horizontal lines. These were worn and re-
newed for a week, during which time there were feasting and dancing,
and at the end of which the couple went off together in their own canoe.
591 Customarily, they remained with the bride's people for a few months,

[1] *č* has the sound of English *ch*, *ž* of English *sh*.

/643 cont./

867 whom you really like. At first every chap will be so agreeable; later when he has married you, it turns out that he is crude or lazy or unbearable. Then you will have to suffer. So, consider before you decide!" Nelly added: "One must warn young girls and make them alert, otherwise they will thoughtlessly and prematurely say 'yes' to the first chap who comes along. Later when the young couple find they are unsuited to eath other, the elders among their relatives will suffer for it just as much as they themselves!" Likewise /644/ the young man is given a definite hint by his uncle to take as his bride only the girl with whom "he will live peaceably for the rest of his life."

584 That there is freedom in the first choice can also be deduced from the fact every woman has to run away from the husband
586 who treats her badly or does not provide enough food for her. How could she be taken in again by her parents, which is generally done, if she had previously been actually sold? Her male relatives warn the husband and threaten to take back the mistreated wife. They would not dare do this if he had bought her for a price.

584 It very seldom happens that two young people become united if there is a strained relationship or open hostility between
578 their parents. If such a match should be developing, the parents of the boy and those of the girl make insulting, even threatening remarks against the other party within their own family hut in order to thwart their children's intentions. It may be that a preliminary inclination toward a marital union will sooner or later disappear under this influence. Out of respect for her own parents the girl will forego her heart's desire, and since she makes no fuss about this, her closest relatives will not interfere on her behalf.

584 Still more awkward is the exceptional case of a girl who is an orphan and very much dependent on her uncle and aunt. The
736 latter, driven by stubbornness or ambition, insistently urge her to
604 choose the chap they recommend. If the solitary girl is unable to resist adequately, she will finally accede to their urging. My informers emphasized that such a case was rare, and that the previous history of the case would become publicly known only if this forced marriage, so to speak, should, in an exceptional instance, be dissolved.

/646 cont./

587 604 736 to social life. Naturally, adult nephews and nieces who are married are not under the guardianship of their uncle. If the deceased has several brothers, these obligations fall upon the oldest, but not infrequently a younger brother comes forward, especially if he has his eye on his widowed sister-in-law. At any rate, the brothers come to an agreement, and usually the one who wants to take advantage of the opportunity promptly and boldly takes charge without interference by the others.

The eldest brother, as such, has a priority to his widowed sister-in-law. It is well known that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are not prevented from marrying. The duty of an unmarried brother-in-law to take the widow almost borders on coercion. Differences in age have nothing to do with it. The widow has a perfectly free choice, but she can hardly resist the pressure put upon her by her brother-in-law if some outsider does not court her. If the widow actually exercises her right and marries another man instead of her brother-in-law, the latter is not relieved of his care for the children. He has to take the nephews and nieces if the new stepfather does not care to rear them. He is then content to know that his sister-in-law is taken care of economically. His nephews and nieces, however, will always have strong support from their paternal uncle, since his obligation toward them never ceases.

587 /647/ A married brother-in-law adequately fulfills his duty toward his widowed sister-in-law if he helps her toward economic security. Marrying her depends partly on the consent of his own wife. If the widow wishes to marry another man or to remain unmarried with one of her children or with relatives of her deceased husband, he does not prevent her from doing so. Sometimes the 587 brother-in-law takes advantage of the favorable opportunity to 586 enter into a new marriage if he is not satisfied with his first wife. Whether or not the latter agrees, he brings the widowed sister-in-law into his hut, and the only thing usually achieved by it is that the other withdraws, which is what he intended. It is even regarded as legal that a married man leave his first wife and, in her stead, take his widowed sister-in-law into his hut. If their married life was not very happy, she, too, is usually very glad of the solution, and her relatives take her in with open arms. This duty of marrying a widow is practiced even in modern times.

/666 cont./

595 in place of the one who ran away, was dismissed, or died. Such
587 a man cannot be called a polygamist in the strict sense of the word. Besides, a Yamana really has enough with two wives!" The explanation deserves to be carefully noted.

A Fuegian should not have more than one wife from free
595 choice, as can be seen from the fact that the feeling of the gen-
586 eral public demands a definite and fundamental reason for taking a second spouse. If incompatability or serious alienation develops between married people, they ultimately separate. If after that some man takes a second woman as his wife, he does so for purely external reasons.

595 Almost always it is a question of incapacity to work on her part or a physical ailment of long duration. Modern times have brought about the latter condition. In view of the prevailing division of labor among the married Yamana, the man is absolutely dependent upon the unimpaired energy of his marital partner. If she must stop working for even a short time, she herself provides a substitute for him by summoning her sister, aunt, or niece. This state of affairs could not go on permanently. For example, if a wife has broken an arm or /667/ leg, she needs extra help, besides being unable to perform her customary work. As soon as she is aware of her hopeless condition, she voluntarily advises her husband to marry another woman. The man now has a true right to a second wife (53). Her still unmarried sister may

53. Dabbene (b):189 also grants it to him: "The man has a right to take another wife if the one he has is already old or if some misfortune leaves her with a serious physical defect" /translated from Spanish/. Spegazzini (a): 166 expressed himself in the same vein.

have taken over her duties, adjusted well to the brother-in-law, and be on the best of terms with his children. What could be more natural than that this brother-in-law say to her: "Stay with me as my second wife!". She probably always accepts the offer, if only out of pity for her sick sister and for the latter's children. Sometimes if an elderly couple are anxious for a fresh worker, he

/667 cont./

595 will take a healthy girl. This decision is very welcome to many a contentious old woman, because she now has a young creature completely under her domination. Thus she compensates for the fact that he shows more fondness toward the other than toward her. In both instances, the reason for polygamy is evident (54).

54. Different interpretations and descriptions should be corrected on the basis of these principles. According to Bove (e):157, "the necessity for having paddlers for the canoe, as well as a great predilection for the female sex, is the reason for such widespread polygamy. This is doubtless the most effective cause for the impoverishment of that race." The remark by Bridges (e):332 that "bigamy was very prevalent because of the great advantages connected with it" means nothing.

595 837 ●586 At various times Fred Lawrence repeated to me: "A Yamana never keeps a second woman as his wife, in addition to his first wife, for purely sensual reasons. If his lust is so great, he seeks relief in forbidden ways. If he has become absolutely infatuated with another woman who responds to his intentions, he gets rid of his first wife without further ado in order to be able to live with her alone, undisturbed."

595 In February, 1920, reliable Alfredo explained to me emphatically in the presence of his own wife and old Julia, neither of whom contradicted him: "If a Yamana wants to take another person into his hut as a second wife, he does not need to ask his wife about it. But he almost always does so, for he loves his wife!" In other words, a man who has grown tired of his wife prefers to dismiss her before he brings a second wife into his hut without her knowledge. If he nevertheless does so, "his first wife must patiently yield. Perhaps she does not like this living together and she herself finally leaves. But she continues to be tractable and submissive toward the man; she does not call him to account if he foists a rival upon her without her knowledge and against her will." This explanation by Alfredo was later confirmed by other persons.

/685 cont./

837 to me about her in very unfavorable terms (in this connection see
177 the account on p. 353 /untranslated/).

Formerly, as we have said, adulterous acts had to be anxious-
593 ly concealed from the eyes of the injured partner. If a man caught
837 his wife, he thrashed her soundly and watched her more closely
627 after that. If, moreover, he learned the identity of the other guilty party, he beat him if he was a match for him, or he summoned his own relatives to help (86). In any case he left the

86. Martial:199 describes the punishment of an adulterer which he himself observed in Orange Bay.

vicinity with his undependable wife. Many a man only gradually recovered from his wife's misstep and only after he had repeatedly thrashed her (87). It never went so far as conscious killing;

87. According to Hyades (p):335 and (d):309, "Adultery of the wife is punished by beatings which the husband or her parents inflict on the guilty party and her accomplice" /translated from French/.

there is the possibility, however, that a woman may have succumbed as a result of heavy blows (88). It very seldom happened

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88. Martial:199 and also Dabbene (b):189 express themselves in the same vein. It is not correct to speak of actual murder on the part of the husband. The assertion by Outes (g):58 is as false as it is emphatic.

that a man dismissed his faithless wife forever solely because of this offense, even though she may have stayed with her lover for a time and later returned to the hut of her lawful husband (89). If, however, it could be proved that she became

89. Martial:199 tells of an adulteress who

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593 837 586

> found her way back to her husband after an absence of three months and was taken in again by him.

pregnant by her lover -- this occurred in the extremely rare case where she was still young and her lawful husband was old -- the husband sent the adulteress irrevocably back to her lover and definitely separated from her.

593 837 If a wife catches her husband philandering, she usually has no alternative, but to overcome the humiliation silently. A spirited woman will make a noisy scene, scold the sinner, and expose his shameful deed to others, which wounds him more than a beating (90). The relatives of the wife would not dare beat the

> 90. "The adultery of the husband is not punished, except by the jealous scenes of his wife" /translated from French/.

faithless one; they do no more than to advise her to leave him. Sometimes a very hurt wife has come to blows with her errant husband, if she and another wife in the same hut were both betrayed by their common husband (01).

> 91. Spegazzini (a):166 reports having seen an Indian "completely paralyzed as a result of a beating which his wives gave him because of this kind of misdeed" /translated from Spanish/.

837 558 We lack evidence to determine definitely the number of cases of marital infidelity, since every Yamana makes a serious effort /686/ to keep his lapses strictly secret. The fact is, however, according to Gusinde (l):168, that "among the Yamana this shortcoming was more frequent than among the other two Fuegian tribes." There is no doubt, however, that everyone who is known to have erred in this respect experiences perceptible injury to his honor (92).

> 92. According to Hyades' (q):378 way of

/688 cont./

593 relationship with one another (96). The far-reaching independence

96. Bridges (e):333 maintains, "in general the conjugal tie was lacking in happiness as well as stability." In saying this he obviously contradicts the facts which are verified by many other details.

of the woman corresponds to her importance in family and household management (97), and her importance in the tribal com-

97. For "a wife was by no means wholly in her husband's power and she had quite as much liberty as was good for her" /cited in English/ (Bridges [I]:21). The far-reaching independence of the woman rests on her important contribution to the support of the family (p. 454).

munity as a whole is very nearly equal to that of the man. Although the various social units (in this case the monogamous marriages) have a very natural basis, there is never an absence of transgressions against their foundations on the part of a few individual persons. Even nowadays on the frosty Cape Horn Archipelago one can meet young married persons who love each other sincerely and aged persons who are harmoniously united.

5. Divorce

586 When young people come together in marriage, they almost never have the definite intention of forming a lifelong union. Calderon told me: "The young people think only of their love. Whether they are suited to each other will be seen only when they live together. If one of them is not suited to the other, they separate and each of them looks for another partner!" This is no proof against the basic lifelong continuance of marriage, but the fact of divorce is not only recognized, but, under certain

/688 cont./

586 circumstances, even regarded as justified. A few travelers have described divorce as such an indifferent step that their numerous errors are obvious (98) and generally the result of utter ignorance

98. A more contemptuous tone than that of Martial:199 is scarcely possible: "The total absence of any guarantee in these [conjugal] unions, moreover, frequently results in their rupture, through the fault of the man more often than that of the woman. They take each other and leave each other, following the whim or interest of the moment" /translated from French/.

of the solemnity of marriage. True family life, such as is reported by many reliable observers, would not come about even in Tierra del Fuego if every person could replace his life's companion with another at will, according to the principle of a supposed "continual promiscuity" /translated from French/ (Martial:200). True, each additional child draws the marital tie tighter between the two partners, but no less strong is the love between young married couples, which continues almost undiminished up to the appearance of /689/ the first child (99).

99. In this respect Bridges' (e):333 assertion that "the conjugal bond was weak until it was strengthened by children" /cited in English/ does not mean much.

586 626 It is lawfully permissible, however, for married people to separate if they have a reason for it. The people generally have a sensitive feeling about this and are not deluded by extenuation or false appearance, and although they cannot usually avoid injustice, their sharp weapon, namely, the discussion of conditions which cannot be condoned, remains effective for years.

586 The chief reason for dissolving a marriage is maltreatment by a brutal husband, yanúna, under which the wife must suffer. Very early Bridges (a):184 reported: "Cruel treatment often

/689 cont./

586 drives away a young wife from her husband, even though she has children, which sometimes are taken by the father if he loves them, and otherwise by the mother" /cited in English/. Not even the children of the couple prevent a divorce if the woman is repeatedly in danger of being mistreated. She herself does not complain to her own husband, but suffers silently. One of her male [604] relatives, however, above all her uncle, goes to him and reminds him of his duty. If repeated admonitions are fruitless, he threatens to remove the wife. She finally runs away with the help and under the protection of her relatives.

She often urgently needs this protection because the disappointed husband will not willingly give her up, but pursues her or 586 578 constantly threatens her. On December 20, 1875, Bridges wrote: 627 "Hidugalahgoon came here with a wife, that had been the wife of a man who had been very violent to her. Her mother was her fellow wife. She has two children by her former husband. The young fellow seemed very fond of her, and she of him; he had many friends here whom he was diligent to move in his favour by descanting upon the cruelties of the man, he feared, to his wife... The Easterns soon came up, and clustered around Philip's dwelling, where Hidugalahgooh and his wife lived. They began speaking quietly, and becoming more excited, gradually became vociferous and beat the woman, and compelled her to return to her former husband. But she would not stay, and then took shelter with Stephen. Thence again she was forced to come, but she was determined to kill her child; several evenings there was turmoil over this matter, and once considerable fighting. [illegible]ok up the matter, and stated God's holy will on the subject. [illegible]e woman was very obstinate and would not return. Her late husband then gave her up, but required some compensation, for he felt, in losing his young wife, he had lost much. Being consulted by Hidugalahgoon, I advised that he should, under the circumstances, give what he could to restore peace" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 80:1875) (100).

100. A few months previously, on July 30, 1875, he experienced another incident: "A young man, commonly called Tom Post, is son-in-law to a native of this place. Last autumn several disturbances took place here,

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586 578 627

caused principally by him. He ill-treated his wife, who was so offended that she refused to live with him, and took up her abode with her parents, who warmly took up her cause. He had also grieved his wife by other gross misconduct. There was accordingly a great disturbance, in which very many were concerned, and Tom Post had his head badly wounded. He came to me to get it bound up, when I took the opportunity to reason with him. In his great rage against his wife (who is also a bad character) and her relatives he was blind to his own faults; he promised amendment. He said he would remain single" /cited in English/ (MM: IX, 191;1875).

The position of the run-away wife can become unpleasant if the relatives of her lawful husband are numerous and bold, for they naturally take his part.

586 /690/ The woman, also, though less frequently, may be the cause of dissolution of the marriage. If she is so uncommonly lazy and careless that the whole family suffers badly, the man is forced to look for another partner. To his chagrin, the wife nevertheless does not leave, and he can do nothing but drag her along whether he likes it or not. An incapacity to work because of illness or old age never leads to divorce, for the man is at liberty to take a young, healthy woman besides his first wife. An unbearable disposition which the woman may develop in the course of the years can torture a man to such an extent that he has no other recourse but to flee into the arms of another person. No one stops him. A general rule 586 forbids a person to interfere in the marital affairs of relatives. It 602 is only when a woman is mistreated that an uncle or some other relative will definitely take her part (101); the situation is different if she runs away.

101. Bridges (a):202 emphatically expressed this principle: "A father-in-law or brother-in-law does not take his daughter's or sister's part against her husband, unless he severely injures

586 [602] /690 cont./

her, when she is sometimes taken away from him and given to another" /cited in English/.

Young married couples sometimes separate after they have become better acquainted with each other and a definite antipathy has developed. This situation, of course, also may come about in the case of a couple who have shared the same hut for decades (102).

102. Bridges (a):184 mentions: "It frequently happens that there is inseparable aversion on the girl's part to her husband, and she leaves him, and if she persists in hating him she is then given to one she likes" /cited in English/.

586 837 Usually the real cause is an outside one, namely, a love affair with another person, which now presses toward a rupture of the existing marriage bond by any means available. Finally, in very exceptional cases, a man will get rid of a wife who has manifestly committed adultery (p. 468). In cases of adultery everyone is very lenient, for men, too, are by no means paragons of virtue in this respect.

586 It should be recognized that, although divorce among our Yamana is, to be sure, accomplished fairly easily, it is accompanied by significant secondary effects. It sounds ridiculous to maintain with Hyades (q):378: "Before the women become mothers, it is not rare to see them change husbands several times, either because of feminine inconstancy or because of bad treatment on the part of their spouses" /translated from French/ (103). Does anyone really believe

103. Apparently he simply repeats what Bridges (i):20 entered in his diary on April 22, 1871: "Not infrequently before they became settled in life, they have had many husbands, for the marriage relationship was not secure unless children were born to unite the parents in a common care for them" /cited in English/. I have already replied to this threadbare contention (pp. 408, 411).

that the appearance of the /691/ first child takes such a long time

/691 cont./

586 or that mistreatment of the woman begins immediately among young married couples? The circle of relatives of every married
586 602 person sees to it that a marriage continues, for they feel responsible for his assured sustenance which is practically impossible or unsuitable outside of marriage, except in the case of elderly people. The woman who has been divorced through her own fault is, to begin with, a burden to her relatives, less because of her maintenance than because of the damaged reputation of the entire circle of relatives and because of the worry about her children. This explains why the relatives almost always try to settle a threatened relationship or to mend a broken marriage, even when the wife has been mistreated. The children are divided up according to the wish and intention of the spouses; either they remain with the mother if the man runs away, and vice versa, or some relatives take pity on the youngsters until the parents have returned to an ordered life.
[558] A person who through his own fault has dissolved a marriage never enjoys a good reputation.

586 These considerations have always tended to prevent light-hearted attempts at divorce. We do not have definite figures, but a man has more often run away from his wife than a woman from her husband; consideration for the children was a factor in this situation.

6. Celibacy

581 We have repeatedly pointed out that the economy of the Yamana basically prohibits a lifelong unmarried state, and that public opinion does not grant an individual full social standing unless he is married (104). Each of the two sexes has duties which can be

> 104. The Yamana find it incomprehensible, solely on the basis of the conduct of life, how Europeans can live unmarried for a lifetime and maintain themselves. They are regarded "as enigmas," as Hyades (q):377 expresses it.

fulfilled only through marriage. At marriageable age the young people are told in plain words that they may no longer put off a

591 after which they would usually go for good to the groom's kin. Thus, localized groups of kin tended to be paternal.

604 After marriage the husband's paternal uncle and the wife's maternal aunt took particular interest in them, superseding in large measure their respective parents. Children-in-law were expected to
606 look after their parents-in-law in sickness or other needs. Children-in-law observed a number of avoidances regarding their parents-in-law: greeting their parents-in-law, speaking to them or breaking in on their conversation with remarks, looking at them, and sitting down beside them were all taboo. When in the same hut with their parents-in-law, they turned their sides or backs on them. A year or so after marriage, the restrictions between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law were partly, but never wholly, relaxed; those between son-in-law and father-in-law lasted through life. On visits of the father-in-law to his daughter, he and his son-in-law communicated wishes and news through the daughter and wife or by indirect discourse.

562 The man was, in theory, considered the head of the family, with
593 authority to rule. Actually, his authority was very far from absolute, and the woman was largely her own mistress, particularly in such provinces of her own as child rearing, food gathering, and canoe managing. Some men domineered over their wives, but not a few husbands were under the thumbs of their spouses. Some husbands were cruel, but if so they ran afoul of the wife's kin. More generally, woman's position both in the family and in the community seemed a respected one, not that of a drudge, slave, or inferior being, and she enjoyed a fairly high degree of freedom and independence.

684 Adultery was disapproved by the *Yahgan* code, but apparently
837 the code suffered appreciable infringement in practice. Adultery on the wife's part was, if discovered, punished by the husband with sound beatings, very rarely with death. Public opinion disapproved of her behavior. Adultery on the husband's part also gave rise to domestic battles in which the husband sometimes suffered severe treatment at his offended wife's hands. Jealousy on the part of both husband and wife was common. Wife lending was absent. There
[548] was no professional prostitution; a woman, married or unmarried, of markedly loose character was looked down upon.

586 Separation and divorce were fairly frequent, but were not lightly resorted to. The most common cause appears to have been cruel treatment of the wife by the husband, though there were other causes such as marked laziness, negligence, or crabbedness on the part of the
[595] wife. In case the wife became incapacitated through illness or age, the man could, and, it seems, more commonly did, take to himself a second wife.

586 second wife. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

888 The aged were, according to all dependable evidence, usually respected, well treated, and well cared for. Neither abandonment or killing of the aged was ordinarily practiced but may have occurred in exceptional cases.

621 Political life.—Over and above the biological family there was no closely organized larger group or constituted authority. There were no sibs, secret or other societies, or social classes, and no chiefs or ruling group or caste of any kind. Each biological family was for most practical purposes a sovereign political unit. The sense of individual independence was deep. No man took or brooked orders
555 or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

612 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

619 The five regional divisions of the Yahgan, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

621 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been composed, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1926 b, p. 5). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Ushuaia, for instance, occupied 20 miles (32 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups,
[622] these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function was that of holding the *ŝiŝraus* initiation rite. The leader chosen
[881] therefor had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the *ŝiŝraus* rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social conformity and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

628 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case
[882] of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which slings,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Among the Yahgan, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Ona. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will soon abandoned the undesired husband. In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 206) a man might have from one to four wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by custom.

Infidelity resulted in no fixed form of punishment, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yahgan man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his amours, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him.

Children

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted orphans set down in the mission records, the Yahgan did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon put an end to them or drove them under cover.

Soon after birth had taken place the Yahgan mother bathed in the sea and the new-born child was also immersed in order to toughen it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° to 50° Fahrenheit, while the air at best could be described as no warmer than temperate. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that soon after birth all but the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly eliminated.

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see incipient couvade.

Games and Amusements

The Yahgan to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much care and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling, and stones; but while these exercises often assumed the form of

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584 It has also happened, as Sara recalled, that the two lovers
593 decided to elope, that they renounced any kind of marriage celebration, and that they remained away from their parents until they no longer feared reproach. Even if a child should be subjected to threats, he would find sufficient support from close relatives against the inadmissible interference of parents, if only he
[604] does not become intimidated and stands his ground. It is the special duty of the uncle to help so that every young person who wishes to marry is permitted to make an absolutely free decision. In
[624] case the uncle's influence on the parents does not bring results, he can even influence public opinion against them if they restrict their child's freedom of choice. All opposition dissolves
[583] automatically when the young couple has a child to be cared for. Thus, a person who must fear the disapproval or resistance of parents toward a marriage elopes with his partner; once the couple is blessed with one or two children, no one can interfere or separate them.

●587 /645/ A woman who becomes a man's second wife also has unrestricted freedom of choice. If she is a widow, she must sometimes be glad if a man will take her, whether she likes him or not, and she suppresses her own wishes without a murmur. Her position is more favorable if an older man, whose wife has perhaps become incapable of working, woos her. From the start she can then secure for herself certain rights and a favorable position in the
585 family. In the great majority of polygamous marriages the two women are sisters (21); the second one to be taken by the man is

21. This custom may be verified in Bridges' (i):21 words: "When a man married more wives than one they were generally sisters, which fact tendered greatly to strengthen the family party" /cited in English/. Relationship by marriage as such does not constitute blood relationship, hence does not hinder marriage (p. 417).

thus frequently better situated in many respects than in a monogamous marriage.

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834 in the selection of a mate (23).

23. If we consider the prevalent ideas in the free selection of a mate, we realize the absolute similarity and unanimity between our Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 321).

/646/ 5. The Duty of Marrying a Widow

• 587 Apparently the levirate which is in effect among the Yamana deprives the widow of her freedom. I have the distinct impression that the rules pertaining to this are at least as specific and as definitely observed as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 347). I learned the following details from Fred Lawrence and Calderon.

587 604 736 Every Indian is familiar with the obligation of taking his widowed sister-in-law, along with her children, into his hut (24).

24. Only Hahn (a):805 mentioned the levirate among the Yamana. We might also deduce it from the following words of Bridges: "Brothers often take their deceased brothers' wives" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869); we cannot deduce from these words, however, a real obligation, which actually exists. See footnote on page 418.

but it is emphasized much more definitely that he must care for his nephews and nieces; there is less insistence that he devote himself to the widow, whether or not she wishes to marry. If these half-orphaned children have no grandparents and their mother does not decide to marry another man, the uncle must take them into his own hut where he must care for them as though they were his own. Above all, their sustenance is to be guaranteed. The group as a whole takes care of their participation in the youth initiation which sooner or later becomes necessary. From now on the paternal uncle takes the place of his deceased brother for the still immature orphans in all matters pertaining

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to social life. Naturally, adult nephews and nieces who are married are not under the guardianship of their uncle. If the deceased has several brothers, these obligations fall upon the oldest, but not infrequently a younger brother comes forward, especially if he has his eye on his widowed sister-in-law. At any rate, the brothers come to an agreement, and usually the one who wants to take advantage of the opportunity promptly and boldly takes charge without interference by the others.

The eldest brother, as such, has a priority to his widowed sister-in-law. It is well known that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are not prevented from marrying. The duty of an unmarried brother-in-law to take the widow almost borders on coercion. Differences in age have nothing to do with it. The widow has a perfectly free choice, but she can hardly resist the pressure put upon her by her brother-in-law if some outsider does not court her. If the widow actually exercises her right and marries another man instead of her brother-in-law, the latter is not relieved of his care for the children. He has to take the nephews and nieces if the new stepfather does not care to rear them. He is then content to know that his sister-in-law is taken care of economically. His nephews and nieces, however, will always have strong support from their paternal uncle, since his obligation toward them never ceases.

587 /547/ A married brother-in-law adequately fulfills his duty toward his widowed sister-in-law if he helps her toward economic security. Marrying her depends partly on the consent of his own wife. If the widow wishes to marry another man or to remain unmarried with one of her children or with relatives of her deceased husband, he does not prevent her from doing so. Sometimes the brother-in-law takes advantage of the favorable opportunity to enter into a new marriage if he is not satisfied with his first wife. Whether or not the latter agrees, he brings the widowed sister-in-law into his hut, and the only thing usually achieved by it is that the other withdraws, which is what he intended. It is even regarded as legal that a married man leave his first wife and, in her stead, take his widowed sister-in-law into his hut. If their married life was not very happy, she, too, is usually very glad of the solution, and her relatives take her in with open arms. This duty of marrying a widow is practiced even in modern times.

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Gertie lost her first husband, who was killed on an otter hunt. Immediately her brother-in-law sent away his wife and took Gertie. When he died, she joined Chris with whom she is still living. The latter had lost his first wife to a Tlatk in Uduaia. If a widow runs after her brother-in-law; it is impossible for him to get rid of her, even if he is married.

In Yamana economy it is almost impossible for a widow to maintain herself alone. Hence she cannot long remain unmarried, and she herself is compelled to try to remarry. This is obvious in the complete meaning of the word lewinah, and BO:205 states it fully: "A woman lately a widow, taken as a wife by another" /cited in English/. Usually a man seek proposes to her, for a young, able widow accomplishes more and is more valuable to him than a girl who is still inexperienced. I was assured that a widower had an even greater right to his recently widowed sister-in-law, namely, that he may force her to marry him, and that he can even take the recalcitrant one by the hair and drag her into his hut. Although this right is granted, a man has scarcely ever made use of it, for he must consider the fact that such a refractory sister-in-law will run away from him at the first opportunity. A widow, however, cannot actually coerce her brother-in-law into marrying her, and even less when he is already married.[1] To be sure he can never evade the duty of taking care of his half-orphaned nephews and nieces in one way or another, if they are not provided for elsewhere.

In general, persons related by marriage show a certain deference and mutual respect for each other. On this account the brother-in-law and widowed sister-in-law who have married are consciously respectful toward each other during the first few months. They talk remarkably little and always very softly.

Thus, since a married man has the right and a certain obligation to care for his widowed sister-in-law, no one disapproves if he lets her come into his hut as his second wife. She must be /648/ economically secure and have no interference in making a free choice. This is the more comprehensive and final meaning of the obligation toward widow-marriage. It is even more important that the half-orphans be well cared for and properly reared under all circumstances (12).

16. The obligation of the levirate is partly

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responsible for the fact that many husbands have a second wife, and that many younger men are married to an older widow who has brought him the children of her deceased husband.

6. Participation of the Relatives

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The paternal uncle, indáruwa, unmistakably occupies a privileged position regarding his nephews and nieces. This is clearly evident at the time of the death of his married brother, as well as during his nephew's courtship and marriage. In the above lines we have already given a few data on the position of other adults relative to the marital plans of young people.

Following the dictates of his own heart, the young lad goes courting and tries to win the girl who promises to fulfill all his desires. The young lovers meet as often as possible, and their mutual affection grows as time goes on. If there is no pressure of outside circumstances, they amuse themselves in their amorous play without thinking of marrying soon. In their innermost conviction they have long since decided that they wish to belong together for life, without, however, expressing this openly to each other. And why should they! For the time being, neither of them reveals his feelings and intentions to his own parents; "they are somewhat ashamed!" I was told. A male neighbor and a female friend finally get the boy and girl to speak by making intimate allusions.

After the clandestine meetings and the love affair that can no longer be concealed have lasted long enough for the adults, the paternal uncle, indáruwa, one day decides to approach the boy very directly: "You have been meeting this girl for some time now. I finally ought to talk to your father about it!" Or he says: "We cannot go on seeing you dally with your beloved much longer. I shall soon inform your father in case you want to marry her!" This and similar expressions state the wish of the older relative to help the boy attain his goal. The latter realizes it. He takes this opportunity and has his uncle put the proposition before his father. Sometimes, if a boy wishes to reach his goal

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584 elsewhere. In the opinion of the majority, such abuses are re-
604 garded as unjust; hence the guilty ones -- they are aware of be-
ing such -- make a secret of the fact that they have interfered
626 without permission. The relatives and the larger community are steadfastly and as a matter of course on the side of the lovers, provided always that blood relationship is excluded. To the extent that the general public knows of the marriage plans of the couple, it prepares steadfastly for the forthcoming marriage. Meanwhile the aunts and female neighbors approach the girl in friendly good-will and wish her all kinds of happiness for the future, making this dependent on the recently imparted advice and the earlier instructions on the occasion of the menarche. The boy is merely given additional earnest warnings in case his conduct requires it.

587 When a couple enters a second marriage, the /650/ formalities that apply to the first marriage are omitted. "They are simply no longer necessary," as Calderon emphasized. "The couple know very well that they need not let themselves be influenced by anyone in their decision!" In one way or another, however, the newly wedded couple tells those nearest them of their union, so that the public in general will soon learn of it.

584 Marriageable young people in olden times were in an in-
comparably more favorable position; each one, following the
182 dictates of his heart, selected from many persons the one desired. For the last few decades marital conditions have been affected by a complete disintegration of the natural order. They do not offer even a slight guarantee that the Yamana will continue as a people. In fact, the fate of the Yamana is already sealed.

7. Obstacles to Marriage

582 The basic freedom in the selection of a mate does not eliminate the fact that there are some things taken for granted which prohibit marital union. All adults are well informed about them. In particular it is the duty of the parents under no circumstances to permit the marital union of their child with a related person (p. 416). A few introductory remarks will be given before we list the actual obstacles to marriage.

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587 As we implied earlier, relationship by marriage is not regarded as blood relationship among our Yamana. It is no obstacle to marriage and, under certain conditions, is even an obligation for a levirate marriage. If the sister-in-law becomes a widow, the oldest brother, in terms of years, of her deceased husband must care for her and her children, provided a younger brother does not obtrude. The wife of the brother-in-law in question may not legally oppose this marriage, nor would either of these two be permitted to reject the widow because of the many children she brings with her (p. 412).

595 837 Aside from the obligation to take the widowed sister-in-law in marriage, the principle mentioned above is also clearly seen in an occasional marriage of two sisters simultaneously to one and the same man (26). A direct development usually leads to this

26. Hahn (a):805 summarizes both instances in the single sentence: "A man may marry two sisters and the wife of his brother" /translated from French/. Cooper:165, drawing on various sources, concludes: "It is a common practice among both the Onas and Yahgans for a man to marry two sisters" /cited in English/. Bridges (h):210 gives the following reason for this: "When a man marries more than one woman, the wives are usually sisters, which tends to strengthen the bonds of the family" /translated from Spanish/. This way of expressing it sounds credible and is close to what actually happens; this is less true of the statement he made 17 years earlier: "Polygamy is very general, and men generally have sisters of their wives, one sister after another as they become marriageable being given to the same husband" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869).

situation. When the married sister takes in her unmarried sister to help with the work or to be her companion, /651/ the brother-in-law not infrequently also falls in love with her. Sooner or later he will become intimate with her and will finally have sexual intercourse with her. Hence, he must ultimately acknowledge her as

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595 837 his wife. Their marriage takes place without any formality, and the sexual relations between them become known to the neighborhood at the latest when pregnancy is well advanced, if not long before. If the man has no valid reason for this step and is guided [626] merely by sensuality, he must be prepared for the bitter reproach and biting irony of his neighbors, intended to censure severely his weakness of character. Marriage with two sisters is not forbidden, but public opinion demands a reason for it, such as that the first wife cannot do her work because she is ill or that she has been blessed with a great many children. She perhaps had invited her sister into the hut as a helper, and since the latter adjusted well, the lawful wife will finally, on her own initiative, propose to her husband that he likewise regard her sister, who is probably always younger, as his wife. This is one way in which polygamy arises. Sometimes, also, consideration for the still unmarried sister-in-law will lead to it, for if she has become accustomed to her brother-in-law over a period of time, she will not look for another man, but will wait for her brother-in-law's proposal, or she will force herself upon him so insistently that he will yield to her wish. Her sister may not even be in favor of it.

• 587 Closely related to this is the view that, upon the death of his wife, a man has a certain right to his unmarried sister-in-law. If he proposes to her, she probably always accepts. If she refuses, however, and he nevertheless wants her, he may bring her into his hut by force. This is known as kuśatuku. This happens very rarely, however, for everyone knows that a woman who follows a man only because she is forced to do so cannot be held permanently.

Economic conditions in Tierra del Fuego make it imperative for every adult to marry, hence widowed persons (pp. 413, 480) do not remain alone very long. This sometimes leads to a considerable difference in age between the two partners, which does not constitute an obstacle to marriage and is apparently not even regarded as improper. An active young woman is more useful to an older widower than a woman as old as he is. For her part, the young creature expects to be treated with understanding by a quiet old man. From both sides, therefore, gentle pressure is exerted for the marriage of an old widower with a young woman (27).

27. It is an exaggeration, however, when

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Outes (g):55 says that "in general the old men take young girls, because the women must work hard" /translated from Spanish/, because a union in marriage of persons who are very different in age is not the rule.

Conversely, a young chap occasionally is content with a /652/ middle-aged widow if she knows how to ensnare him. In general, however, every bachelor first tries his luck with a girl (28).

28. Bridges (i):17 writes: "One piece of worldly advice given to the younger men was to take as a first wife an old woman because such would give them little trouble and much help" /cited in English/. Actually, this hint was dropped in the first youth initiation that I experienced. Bridges exaggerates considerably, for he adds: "This was often followed, though never I am sure from inclination but only from necessity, because marriageable girls were scarce, and always bespoken by men already married" /cited in English/. Fred Lawrence assured me that several of the marriageable girls were indeed captured by married men, but that the great majority of them tried their luck with young lads.

Widows are less desirable, which is why they must thrust themselves upon men who are about their own age (29). Their conduct

29. Bove (e):159 correctly observed: "The eagerness that mature women [who as such are, of course, widowed] display to marry youths must really be termed surpirising, and the fact is that they almost always attain their goal." He saw five or six marriages there. In the first three the woman was ten to 12 years older than the man; in one case she was 60

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> and he 20. We cannot maintain that such a strange marriage was necessitated by the advance of European civilization, for it was not rare even in earlier times. We need only recall the duty of a bachelor to marry his widowed sister-in-law (p. 412).

need not surprise us, for middle-aged men are generally married, and so it happens that they find happiness only with inexperienced bachelors. An old widow is usually charitably taken in by another married couple as a second wife, even though her new husband and she are far apart in age. This happens when she cannot make any connections with her relatives or when they have already died. No one expects her to have children, and this is, of course, not decisive. The main thing is that she is taken care of, and in return she can render the couple valuable service.

582 In contrast to those provisions which permit and even advise a marital union, there are definite prohibitions. The sharpest warning is given against a marriage between relatives, such as stepbrothers and stepsisters, uncles and nieces, aunts and nephews, as well as cousins (30). The general feeling is against marriage

> 30. According to Bridges (MM:III, 117;1869), "cousins never marry, the doing so is held in abomination, and is never thought of, much less done; they speak of cousins as brothers and sisters" /cited in English/. Hahn (a):805 also maintains that "first cousins never marry" /translated from French/.

between any kind of relatives; "they never married any blood relation, however distant, to do so was utterly abominable to them" /cited in English/ (Bridges [i]:12). Nevertheless, very distant relatives sometimes are joined in marriage, even though mild disapproval may develop among their neighbors. The action of such a couple is not forbidden, however. The severe censure that several travelers have noted is directed against the marriage of close relatives, although an ultimate limit of the degree of relationship based on blood ties is not drawn. An explanation given

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582 621 from the natural unwillingness of women to separate themselves so entirely from their own people" /cited in English/.

582 587 597 Furthermore, it is not permitted for a man simultaneously to take a widowed mother and her daughter as wives. Toward the latter his relationship is that of stepfather, and she is obliged to obey him as his own child. This prohibition naturally remains in effect for the man in case the mother of this daughter dies, even if she has lived with him only a short time as his wife. Kinship by adoption has thus been introduced, and they are stepfather and stepdaughter toward each other. An infraction against this, however, is not considered as serious as marriage between blood relatives, although it is still very improper. Nothing is changed if first the mother and then the daughter, or first the daughter and then, in addition, the mother are betrothed. 582 587 Fred Lawrence could not remember a single case of /654/ such a marriage from former times and explained that it would not have been tolerated. Nevertheless, Bridges (a):213 maintained that "a few cases of a man having as wives a mother and her daughter are known" /cited in English/ (33). The unnatural mixture of

33. On August 16, 1865 (VSA:XII, 272;1865), he wrote as follows on this subject: "There are two men who have as wives mother and daughter at the same time, but this is not liked generally" /cited in English/. Nevertheless, he later went so far as to make the following erroneous assertion: "Some of the Beagle Channel tribes have a practice of marrying a woman and her daughter" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869).

people in modern times has also weakened the effectiveness of this prohibition (34).

34. I herewith state my own observations in Spencer's: 72 words, "that Domingo married

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the young wife, her mother was the wife of a man then alive. She had two or three children who died. When the mother's husband died, Domingo took her as his wife, but this was after he had married her daughter" /cited in English/.

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A final obstacle to marriage is based on a sort of sponsorship namely, on the relationship of all adults to the candidates who have been entrusted to their special care in the čiexaus, the youth initiation. Their relationship is regarded as that of parents to their children, accompanied by certain rights or duties which never cease as long as one of the two parties is living.

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The community as a whole, especially the relatives, are vigilant regarding the valid obstacles to marriage; it is their duty to interfere if anyone dares to violate them. Infringements by individual persons in exceptional cases and more recently as a result of the unusual composition of the population cannot be avoided, since the public does not have effective measures of control and since the guilty party avoids the loud mockery and scornful gossip of his neighbors by keeping to himself. The erection of certain barriers in the form of real obstacles to marriage proves with unmistakable clarity how highly the Yamana regard the institution of marriage and the sound judgment they show in evaluating the meaning of their only social alliance. My questions about the possibility of a marital union between relatives and adopted persons obviously horrified them, and they found it unpleasant that such prohibitions, which are sacred and venerable to them, should be even casually mentioned.

8. The Marriage Ceremony

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In the foregoing pages we have described the development from the first slight amorous inclinations of two young hearts to their definite decision to marry, as well as the attitude of the relatives of the couple. The lovers never link themselves together in a definite, solemn declaration of their willingness to marry, as in the manner of our engagement. Nor do the Yamana know anything

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595 wife each, five had two each, three had three each, and one even had four wives (51). A case of more than two wives, if it actually

51. In contrast to this assertion, I refer again to the decisive correction which Bridges (k):243 made in his own judgments of earlier years, when he says: "But when one came to know them [los Yahganes] well, it was discovered that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists" /translated from Spanish/. With these words he curtly denies any kind of polygamy; in doing so, however, he obviously slightly oversteps the bounds of reality.

happened, must at least be regarded as a rare exception (52). It

52. This automatically settles the preposterous assertion of Bove (e):157 and (g):234: "Although... a man takes as many wives as he pleases, one nevertheless seldom sees men with more than four wives." His traveling companion, Lovisato, of course repeats with him that "a man takes from one to five wives and without any ceremony" /translated from Italian/.

would be more accurate to reject many of these accounts as false observations, for, as we have already emphasized (p. 437), not every woman in the company of a man was therefore his wife. Nevertheless, it seems that one must grant this fact, at least for modern times. BD:573 mentions tuxlõssa, "to marry more wives than two" /cited in English/. The two Lawrence brothers definitely dismissed the idea that in earlier, ordered conditions a Yamana might have been married to three or more wives simultaneously.
595 On another occasion, in February, 1923, Fred told me: "Anyone
● 587 who is familiar with the Yamana manner of speaking knows that they also speak of two or three wives of a man who has taken two or three women successively, in other words, another one

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595 in place of the one who ran away, was dismissed, or died. Such
587 a man cannot be called a polygamist in the strict sense of the word. Besides, a Yamana really has enough with two wives!" The explanation deserves to be carefully noted.

A Fuegian should not have more than one wife from free
595 choice, as can be seen from the fact that the feeling of the gen-
586 eral public demands a definite and fundamental reason for taking a second spouse. If incompatability or serious alienation develops between married people, they ultimately separate. If after that some man takes a second woman as his wife, he does so for purely external reasons.

595 Almost always it is a question of incapacity to work on her part or a physical ailment of long duration. Modern times have brought about the latter condition. In view of the prevailing division of labor among the married Yamana, the man is absolutely dependent upon the unimpaired energy of his marital partner. If she must stop working for even a short time, she herself provides a substitute for him by summoning her sister, aunt, or niece. This state of affairs could not go on permanently. For example, if a wife has broken an arm or /667/ leg, she needs extra help, besides being unable to perform her customary work. As soon as she is aware of her hopeless condition, she voluntarily advises her husband to marry another woman. The man now has a true right to a second wife (53). Her still unmarried sister may

53. Dabbene (b):189 also grants it to him: "The man has a right to take another wife if the one he has is already old or if some misfortune leaves her with a serious physical defect" /translated from Spanish/. Spegazzini (a): 166 expressed himself in the same vein.

have taken over her duties, adjusted well to the brother-in-law, and be on the best of terms with his children. What could be more natural than that this brother-in-law say to her: "Stay with me as my second wife!" She probably always accepts the offer, if only out of pity for her sick sister and for the latter's children. Sometimes if an elderly couple are anxious for a fresh worker, he

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595 The intention of having more children is not a reason for polygamy among the Yamana, for the Indian women are very
• 581 /668/ fertile, and no one could remember a childless woman in
842 earlier times. Most cases of polygamy arose from the fact that a man who was already living with one or two women also took in a solitary widow, ēlátakakīpa. The latter perhaps did not find an opportunity for a new marriage with a bachelor or did not wish to return to her family group, and the man took her chiefly because he felt sorry for her. Whether or not he sometimes had intercourse with her, both knew from the start that they could not expect children from their union. Hence, it was actually the right of sanctuary which the husband granted this widow. In the strict sense of the word one cannot call such a life together a marriage.

595 In 1920 Walter explained to me how our Yamana must also
177 make allowances for the changes forced on them by European civilization. His father had three women in his hut simultaneously, with whom he had marital relations. At that time there was already a shortage of men on Lennox Island and environs, that is to say, in the eastern group of the Yamana. Hence the women forced themselves on the few men in order to find sanctuary somewhere. From among his many brothers and sisters, Walter had for several years been the only one living. Here is another case. The young Halakwulup, Julia, had fled from a brutal European and found refuge on the farm near Punta Remolino. She could scarcely come to any understanding with the Yamana and lived very much to herself. She was treated in a friendly fashion and was supported by the Indian women there, but as a solitary woman with a son a year old she could no longer make out by herself. There was no suitable Yamana youth who could be her husband. Finally Manuel, who was about 35 years old and was married to fifteen-year-old Emilia, took pity on her and took her into his hut as his second wife (p. 439).

The quiet acceptance of polygamy brings with it the surprising phenomenon that married people are separated by a considerable age difference (55), which is not regarded as an obstacle

55. "An elderly man will be found often to possess two young wives in addition to one his

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581 marital union with a suitable lifelong companion. If a child hesitates for an unduly long time, the Yamana regard it as an impropriety on the part of the parents.

587 The reasons for an early marriage of young people are also of
589 paramount importance for widowed persons. The duty of a widow to marry has arisen chiefly out of solicitude for her children. Hence "as soon as a man dies, his wives are married to others" /cited in English/ (Bridges /692/ in MM:III, 117;1869). As a result, "There are very few single women, not one among a hundred" /cited in English/ (ibid.) (105). Extraordinary reasons prevent a new marriage.

> 105. With this statement Bridges (a):203 to a certain extent corrects an earlier assertion: "Owing to the almost general practice of polygamy, many men are without wives, and live so all their days. And owing to the general practice of giving young women to oldish men, the young men frequently can get no wives but relicts" /cited in English/.

589 Modern times have changed a great deal of this, for they have,
178 in part, considerably altered even the conditions of life. On February 2, 1878, Bridges (i):17 reported from Yendegaia: "Widows did not long continue so; in fact, a single adult man or woman was a rarity. But with the march of civilized life marriage becomes less necessary and more difficult, and the number of single men and women increases" /cited in English/. At present, there are so few Yamana living that everyone is married; sometimes there is even a young man with an aged wife, because he has no other choice. Only old Flora has been alone for a long time; she is regarded as hard to get along with.

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2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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582 relatives, however distant, was in theory taboo; in practice, the prohibition included half-siblings, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, first cousins, both parallel and cross, and seemingly extended somewhat beyond these limits. Since near relatives commonly lived near one another, marriages tended to be locally exogamous. Marriages with mates from far distant localities, especially outside one's own of the five dialectic groups, were disliked and infrequent. Marriage with a mother and her daughter was disapproved, but not so strongly as marriage with near blood-kin. Sponsors were barred from marrying their respective candidates of the čiéxaus[1] initiation rite.

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Monogamy was by far the most prevalent form of marriage. Poly-
595 andry did not occur. Polygyny was permitted, but was uncommon. A few men had two wives, more commonly sisters; cases of three wives,
587 if they occurred, must have been very rare. On the death of a man's wife, he had a certain marriage claim to her unmarried sister. On the death of a woman's husband, she frequently became, and under certain circumstances was expected or obliged to become, the wife of his oldest surviving brother, especially his unmarried brother, unless she married another man. This custom (the levirate) was, from the native point of view, primarily an obligation of the father's brother to be responsible for his nephews and nieces, a responsibility that lay on the uncle even though his brother's widow married another man. A surviving married brother was not entirely free to marry the widow, as his own wife might object.

585 The chief wedding rite consisted in painting the cheeks of the couple with three red parallel horizontal lines. These were worn and renewed for a week, during which time there were feasting and dancing, and at the end of which the couple went off together in their own canoe.
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[1] č has the sound of English ch, é of English eh.

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587 Gertie lost her first husband, who was killed on an otter hunt. Immediately her brother-in-law sent away his wife and took Gertie. When he died, she joined Chris with whom she is still living. The latter had lost his first wife to a Turk in Ushuaia. If a widow runs after her brother-in-law, it is impossible for him to get rid of her, even if he is married.

[589] In Yamana economy it is almost impossible for a widow to maintain herself alone. Hence she cannot long remain unmarried, and she herself is compelled to try to remarry. This is obvious in the complete meaning of the word kwinan, and BD:225 states it fully: "A woman lately a widow, taken as a wife by another" /cited in English/. Usually a man soon proposes to her, for a young, able widow accomplishes more and is more valuable to him than a girl who is still inexperienced. I was assured that a widower had an even greater right to his recently widowed sister-in-law, namely, that he may force her to marry him, and that he can even take the recalcitrant one by the hair and drag her into his hut. Although this right is granted, a man has scarcely ever made use of it, for he must consider the fact that such a refractory sister-in-law will run away from him at the first opportunity. A widow, however, cannot actually coerce her brother-in-law into marrying her, and even less when he is already married. To be sure he can never evade the duty of taking care of his half-orphaned nephews and nieces in one way or another, if they are not provided for elsewhere.

587 In general, persons related by marriage show a certain
607 deference and mutual respect for each other. On this account the brother-in-law and widowed sister-in-law who have married are consciously respectful toward each other during the first few months. They talk remarkably little and always very softly.

587 Thus, since a married man has the right and a certain obli-
736 gation to care for his widowed sister-in-law, no one disapproves if he lets her come into his hut as his second wife. She must
595 be /648/ economically secure and have no interference in making a free choice. This is the more comprehensive and final meaning of the obligation toward widow-marriage. It is even more important that the half-orphans be well cared for and properly reared under all circumstances (25).

25. The obligation of the levirate is partly

/691 cont./

581 marital union with a suitable lifelong companion. If a child hesitates for an unduly long time, the Yamana regard it as an impropriety on the part of the parents.

581 The reasons for an early marriage of young people are also of
589 paramount importance for widowed persons. The duty of a widow to marry has arisen chiefly out of solicitude for her children. Hence "as soon as a man dies, his wives are married to others" /cited in English/ (Bridges /692/ in MM:III, 117;1869). As a result, "There are very few single women, not one among a hundred" /cited in English/ (ibid.) (105). Extraordinary reasons prevent a new marriage.

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/692 cont./

589 888 strength, they could not do full justice to the tasks incumbent on them by the division of labor and would thus be more of a burden than a help in life with a marriage partner. Hence they forgo another marriage and try to find refuge in the hut of one of their relatives where they can be included in the daily routine without trouble. Sometimes they continue to run their own households. "Older women whose husbands have died exercise quite firmly all the rights of the head of the family. Even when they live alone, they always have with them a few children or grandchildren who are absolutely obedient to them" (Hyades [g]:35) (106). Aside

106. Bridges' (i):14 diary entry of July 2, 1872, sounds almost the same: "The lives of the old women who have been reported as the usual victims of cannibalism, were as sacred as those of any other persons, because they had sons and daughters, nephews and nieces, younger brothers and sisters, who felt as such towards them, and none dared to suggest their deaths" /cited in English/.

from the good influence they have, they are still at times helpful in economic life. "The old women, by the way, are by no means as useless as is assumed in the tale [of their being done away with during a famine]; their experience makes them definitely appreciated in obtaining food, as well as in other household tasks, and not at all infrequently young people would rather marry an experienced older woman than a young girl even though she is prettier" (ibid). The woman herself finally decides, according to her situation and character, whether she will go on living as a widow or marry again at an advanced age.

182 /693/ The arbitrary assertions of certain Europeans have given a distorted picture of marital conditions among the Yamana. Neither Darwin nor Bove fulfilled the requirements which would entitle them to judge an arrangement as difficult to investigate as marriage is. They did not even admit to themselves that the conditions they describe are unnatural; had such conditions really developed, the people would have been driven in mad haste to complete destruction.

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606 and lances for lance-shafts. In short, they help their parents-in-law in every way and outwardly show them far more veneration than their own parents. A son-in-law would neither demand anything of them nor borrow anything. More than that, the son-in-law and daughter-in-law must also display a certain reserve toward the brothers and sisters of their parents-in-law, although it is not inadmissible to exchange brief words with them occasionally. Every man, however, can associate freely with the grandparents of his wife (43).

43. In the relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law there are remarkable similarities between the Yamana and the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 332) and the Halakwulup (Vol. III).

177 European civilization, disrupting everything, has done away
182 with many regulations formerly respected by the Yamana as sacred laws. For this reason, disgraceful discedens have met no opposition among the remaining survivors of the tribe. Older Indians whose principles are the same as those of their ancestors and who are helpless to stop this confusion complain bitterly and deeply regret the uncontrollable decline of their entire nation.

b. Married Life

591 With the marriage ceremony, independent life begins for the
593 newly wedded couple. They are no longer dependent upon their own parents, and as a newly established conjugal union, they find themselves standing on their own feet. There is no definite rule about the time when the newlyweds break away from their parents. It depends on the position of the family of the bridegroom or of the bride. In exceptional cases, the young people remain with their elders until they have their first child.

The young man does not find it difficult to turn his back on the parental hut; he has long felt the urge for personal /662/ independence and the desire for the unimpeded development of

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591 his abilities. The young bride feels differently. Although she
593 has long been accustomed to all the work that now falls upon her, she at first neither feels nor understands the actual meaning and lifework of her marital state. Sometimes she is overcome by an irresistible feeling of loneliness which depresses her and makes her silent and sad. A young woman may tearfully long for her mother and her sisters. No wonder, then, that the newly married couple
[594] will visit the family of the young wife at brief intervals, where she will be comforted and encouraged by her own mother. Each time, the old woman paints her daughter's face with delicate lines, so that her husband will love her more day by day. When finally the greatly desired first child arrives, this situation at once changes very much for the better, for now the young woman is occupied day and night, her activity is the happiest one for a woman, and in her arms she finally holds the symbolic expression of her husband's love.

It is sometimes a considerable sacrifice for the parents to have to part with their daughter, especially if they are old and are completely alone when their law child is taken from them. Their only hope is the prospect that the young couple will remain with them for a time or visit them often and that the son-in-law will perform all kinds of services for them. It is very different with the parents of the boy, who are happy that he is finally going to establish his own household with the girl of his choice (44).

44. Hyades (q) 378 exaggerates the duration of this living together: "Usually the young husbands...live for a long time with the parents of their wives, to whom they render many services" /translated from French/.

They wish him all kinds of happiness and follow with interest the development of the new family, without interfering. The parents of both parties are well aware that henceforth it is no longer proper for them to bother their child too often and on
(604) account of wives. Oddly enough, the paternal uncle, ineirowa, and the maternal aunt, yhaadhi (BD 645 writes yohadhi), have the privilege of instructing and admonishing the husband or the wife to an extent far exceeding the few concessions that ancient

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1. Delight in the Child

942 We must say without qualification that the Tamona of all ages and of both sexes are extremely fond of children. The child is so necessarily a part of marriage that a newly wedded couple awaits the first fruit of their mutual love with longing. As long as a child has not been granted them, they feel as though they have nothing to do and do not know how to fill out the day properly. The young woman, far more than the man, feels an oppressive emptiness and a great gap which must be filled, the sooner the better. This mental state was described by Walter in the following brief words: /506/ "Soon after the wedding the couple become bored, for they lack children of their own to keep them busy. That is why the young woman, in order to ease her loneliness, visits her parents longer and oftener than her husband likes. He therefore waits patiently until the first child arrives. After that his wife stays with him in their own hut (187)."

• [641] 187. This is the chief reason why some young married couples after their wedding live with the parents of one of them before they establish their own household (p. 424).

Gertie, who had no offspring herself, confessed to me: "Until their first child appears, time is often unbearably long for the young couple. You can imagine what I suffer who have lost all hope for a child of my own!" In former times it was extremely rare that a marriage was barren. Such a married couple is very much pitied by the neighborhood. They try to cover their loss by temporarily taking into their hut and caring for a few children from among their relatives or acquaintances. Old people seem to be particularly dependent on the company of the little ones. Actually they are the most enjoyable entertainment and the jolliest diversion for all the adults. They tease each other and play freely and without restraint, as though the children were accommodating and ardently desired playthings. The natural open-heartedness with which old women tenderly fondled and affectionately caressed any child, especially

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867 jokes and obscenities from adults. The latter may reveal weaknesses during moments when they lose control of themselves, but in general they try to appear exemplary and without faults in [833] front of youngsters. Parents are extremely careful in their conjugal relations, since the little ones sleep in the same hut.

Because parents honestly strive not to show their weaknesses 593 before young people and to be truly at their best for their own child, the children see them in a pure light. This brings about the tender and deeply felt attachment of children toward those to whom they owe so much. Fortunately, this is also promoted by daily contact, which convincingly demonstrates how very much the members of an individual family are dependent upon one another. The consciousness of belonging together becomes so intense that individuals do not like to be separated even temporarily. Hence, it is impossible for some families to get a child from among their circle of relatives to stay with them in their hut for a few days, which is greatly desired by a family that for some reason or other does not have a little child.

591 At present there are a few families without children, and 152 they are making an effort to take some child in with them for a short time (206). In spite of all the love and care that they offer,

206. Bridges (a):183 hints at this custom: "Children do not always live with their parents, sometimes a friend takes them away and they are away from their parents for weeks" /cited in English/.

the little ones scarcely ever feel quite at home with them and soon beg to be taken back to the parental hut. Children simply cannot stand to be with other people permanently (207). We can

207. Bridges (a):184 once maintained: "A girl before she is finally given away to her destined husband is now and again sent to live with him for a short time, when she again returns to her parents; but no sooner is she of marriageable age than she is finally disposed of" /cited in English/. Such a

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practice was not customary among the Yamana according to my inquiries.

easily imagine how the poor creatures who are orphaned suffer for years. Some relative, to be sure, takes charge of them and tries his best to care for them, but he cannot replace their real parents.

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Even after children have long since established their own households, they often visit their old parents (208) out of a childish

208. In the following words, which are incomprehensible to me, Lovisato (b):145 proves that he lacks a gift for observation: "Among the Fuegians... maternal love does not exist. The love of a mother for her child lasts only as long as he is nursing; when he leaves the breast, it diminishes, and by the time he is seven or eight years old it ceases completely... Also, the children have little love for their parents" /translated from Italian/.

desire for love; they are happy when they can see them and inquire about their circumstances. /776/ When they meet other people, they try to learn something about their own parents. The latter, too, follow their child no less with their thoughts and hopes when, as sometimes happens, they do not see him for months. They are happy when they hear good and pleasant news; unfavorable and derogatory reports make them sad. It is well known that during the first several weeks, the new bride often goes back to her mother, and the mother, overjoyed, says to her: "I want to paint you!" She does this with particular tenderness and in the hope that the young husband will learn to love her daughter very much (p.428). Afterwards the daughter presents herself to her husband and says: "My mother painted me!" This is intended to remind him of the wedding and to arouse his initial love. The frequent visits, however, are above all an expression of the firm attachment of the child to the parents, which even marriage does not loosen.

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591 orphan, on the other hand, remains joined to the surviving parent until it establishes its own household through marriage; but until then, besides his own parent, the new stepfather or stepmother must take charge of him /781/ as though he were his own child. All this shows the individual family to be a small state by itself, whose boundaries literally coincide with the narrow plot of the family hut, ēkērʲ (214).

214. Bridges refers to this with a somewhat unfortunate way of expressing himself: "The term 'Ucurr', which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used to denote clans or tribe" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884). Hyades ( ):718 repeats this sentence.

593 The proximity of the members of an individual family unavoidably forces upon them a consciousness of their mutual obligations. Nature herself imposes them on parents, and the attitude of the children toward those who gave them life is thus also imposed. Hence they must be ready to help obediently and submissively, if they are old enough, and to contribute to the stability and growth of the family as a whole. All members derive their particular benefits from the family community, but the latter can exist and live up to what everyone expects of it only if the individual serves it according to his ability and the prevailing division of labor. On such soil a strong, loyal family feeling flourishes. Each of the two parents lives and works for the family; their own wishes, which they might sometimes like to express, recede far behind its demands; their personalities unfold in the service of the other members of the family.

Hyades (f):586 observed this pronounced family feeling: "The feeling for the family is highly developed among these savages; it has been rightly said that it was the strongest tie that kept them united" /translated from French/. Elsewhere Hyades (g):35 emphasizes that despite separation "a certain connection always remains and the offspring of a family always feel that they belong together in case of danger and strife." Finally, Bridges

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

836 ties. Intercourse between the unmarried was disapproved, but breaches of the code were not infrequent. Marriage between blood
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591 Customarily, they remained with the bride's people for a few months,

[1] č has the sound of English ch, š of English sh.

591 after which they would usually go for good to the groom's kin. Thus, localized groups of kin tended to be paternal.

604 After marriage the husband's paternal uncle and the wife's maternal aunt took particular interest in them, superseding in large measure their respective parents. Children-in-law were expected to
606 look after their parents-in-law in sickness or other needs. Children-in-law observed a number of avoidances regarding their parents-in-law: greeting their parents-in-law, speaking to them or breaking in on their conversation with remarks, looking at them, and sitting down beside them were all taboo. When in the same hut with their parents-in-law, they turned their sides or backs on them. A year or so after marriage, the restrictions between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law were partly, but never wholly, relaxed; those between son-in-law and father-in-law lasted through life. On visits of the father-in-law to his daughter, he and his son-in-law communicated wishes and news through the daughter and wife or by indirect discourse.

562 The man was, in theory, considered the head of the family, with
593 authority to rule. Actually, his authority was very far from absolute, and the woman was largely her own mistress, particularly in such provinces of her own as child rearing, food gathering, and canoe managing. Some men domineered over their wives, but not a few husbands were under the thumbs of their spouses. Some husbands were cruel, but if so they ran afoul of the wife's kin. More generally, woman's position both in the family and in the community seemed a respected one, not that of a drudge, slave, or inferior being, and she enjoyed a fairly high degree of freedom and independence.

684 Adultery was disapproved by the *Yahgan* code, but apparently
835 the code suffered appreciable infringement in practice. Adultery on the wife's part was, if discovered, punished by the husband with sound beatings, very rarely with death. Public opinion disapproved of her behavior. Adultery on the husband's part also gave rise to domestic battles in which the husband sometimes suffered severe treatment at his offended wife's hands. Jealousy on the part of both
[548] husband and wife was common. Wife lending was absent. There was no professional prostitution; a woman, married or unmarried, of markedly loose character was looked down upon.

586 Separation and divorce were fairly frequent, but were not lightly resorted to. The most common cause appears to have been cruel treatment of the wife by the husband, though there were other causes such as marked laziness, negligence, or crabbedness on the part of the
[595] wife. In case the wife became incapacitated through illness or age, the man could, and, it seems, more commonly did, take to himself a second wife.

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of a sea lion suffices to cover five or six persons" /translated from French/.

sufficient warmth so that everyone gets enough. If a person is cold, he moves nearer to the embers and pays no attention to whether or not he is disturbing his neighbors' sleep. Moreover, during the night everyone turns over a certain number of times, for cold air pours through the loose wall of the hut, or sometimes the fire becomes unbearable. Hence, everyone tries to get a little more comfortable in one or another position.

513 592 There is no definite, obligatory assignment of places. Unlike the custom of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 200), the man prefers to sit on one side of the entrance and the woman on the other, because both of them constantly like to look out. This leaves the back of the hut free for the children. If it is advisable to change places because of bad weather, greater comfort, or some other reason, it is no trouble for anyone to do so. If a man has two wives, /383/ the place between himself and the entrance to the hut belongs to the first wife. We shall speak of this rule below.

513 147 The Indians' sleep is not only extremely restless as such, but is in general neither deep nor sound. We might more accurately call it a light slumber from which everyone awakens effortlessly and so quickly that his mind is fresh and he is completely aware of every local condition. Moreover, even during sleep itself, everyone, so to speak, heeds what is going on in his environment with a very faint attentiveness. He is actually sleeping, but upon awakening he knows a good deal of what has been going on. Even if a person wakes up repeatedly during the night, he does not seem to be tired in the morning, for just as easily as he comes awake, he falls back into sleep. He does not find it annoying to be wakened frequently by the restless movements of another person in the same hut, by the barking of dogs or the screech of an owl, by the creaking of a broken limb or the irregular pounding of the agitated sea. On such occasions I myself would give vent to my ill-humor by impatient remarks, but the Indians around me invariably remained calm.

The same aptitude makes it possible for everyone, at any time of day, to lie down and go to sleep, no matter how much

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114 Previously Bridges had doubtless made the error, into which
595 other Europeans before and after him had fallen, of regarding
every adult woman in a hut or in a canoe as the wife of the man
592 who happened to be present. The sister-in-law who, with her
sister, was staying with her brother-in-law was not always his
wife, nor was this the case with an older woman who, because she
was alone, had been taken into the family by him. The same
applies to relatives who happened to be living together for a time.
A few years before this, in March, 1864, Stirling had reported:
"The custom of the people here [in Packsaddle Bay] is to have but
one wife; at Woolya a man often has three wives" /cited in Eng-
lish/ (VSA:XI, 239;1864). Is it not possible that a false observa-
tion dictated these last words?

114 Hyades (q):378, however, very definitely represented the
595 view that monogamy predominates: "Although there is quite a
number of men who have two, three, and even four wives, the
custom is nevertheless to have only one" /translated from French/
(47).

47. He is consistent in this opinion and says in another place that "polygamy... is permitted but not the rule" /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):163 did not form an opinion and repeats, following Bridges, "the number [of wives] was not fixed by custom" /cited in English/.

Martial:198 agrees with him, saying: "The Fuegians sometimes practice polygamy; they rarely have three and even four wives; sometimes two, more often one" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):188 emphasizes: "It is the custom to have only one [wife]" /translated from Spanish/. On the basis of the opinions of a few travelers of the last decades, Cooper:166 came to the following conclusion: "As Mr. Bridges and the members of the French Cape Horn expedition had much more experience among the Yahgans than had the members of the Italo-Argentinian expedition, it is more probable that the former authorities' estimate is the truer one, namely, dominant monogamy with, however,
595 considerable polygamy" /cited in English/. Present conditions

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423 593 members is visibly symbolized by the hut in which they all find shelter. The man and woman are simultaneously active in its construction, although he is obliged to do the heavier work and she the much easier light work. The children work, too, no matter how slight their participation is. In like manner, both spouses equally keep the hut in repair after it has been built. It is primarily the woman's duty to perform minor repairs. The skins needed to cover the hut framework are furnished by the man from hunting, while the woman dresses the skins. She stores and transports these pieces of leather in her canoe. No other articles are required as common property for the construction of the hut. Naturally, everyone, without discrimination, enjoys the benefit of the fire, since all the members of the family, in one way or another, see that it does not go out.

423 592 If, in an exceptional case, two or three families should erect a common dwelling (p. 32), they readily agree on the division of space, within which each one does as he pleases. If one family wanders off sooner than another, they take down their pieces of leather from the framework and load their own things into their canoe. The family that stays behind then closes off the space that they still want to occupy.

423 594 Only the husband or the wife has the right to permit this guest or that visitor to enter their hut. It is generally regarded as an encroachment to enter a hut without permission, although this is usually tacitly assumed. Once the family has given up their campsite /971/ and departed with their implements, the hut framework left behind is regarded as ownerless. Whoever first takes possession of it lawfully owns it and may settle in it undisturbed.

422 593 In a certain sense the various foods are also doubtless regarded as common property of the family, the idea being that the husband and the wife are obliged to seek food for themselves and the members of their family. The Fuegians' convictions concerning this obligation comes out most clearly when an indolent, lazy [626] man neglects his hunting and lets his family starve. The whole neighborhood expresses its displeasure, and the society even grants the wife the right to leave such a neglectful husband. The man collects meat for the whole family, and the woman gathers smaller animals for all her loved ones, indiscriminately, for

/387 cont./

372 openings in the top prevented it from escaping easily. The entire
342 structure was well insulated, for it was meant to offer special protection against the rigors of the climate. Since it was built in the damp western part where dry firewood was not available in large quantities, the Indians managed by constantly carrying green wood into the hut and piling it up. In a few days it was dry and only then was used for burning. Even a supply of tussock grass
[513] (Poa flabellata) was kept on hand, for this litter for the bed had to be renewed at least every two weeks.

251 The men supplied the necessary food for their families on communal hunting expeditions which were usually so successful that a good share of the booty could be stored away for a few days. This helped in periods when the hunt was seriously hindered by continuous stormy weather. They were anxiously concerned about having an abundant supply of meat always on hand, if not perhaps a whale /388/ lying on the shore. Otherwise the gathering of many people in the same place in a securely built hut would not only be pointless, but even dangerous. Inevitably the inhabitants frightened the game farther and farther away from the dwelling, which made hunting increasingly difficult. Then only ample stores kept off the threatening specter of hunger.

342 A hut for several families was occupied only in winter.
362 Wanderlust was too strong to detain a family in one spot any
221 length of time for other reasons. The people who built a communal hut would perhaps come back to it for a second winter, but not after that, for the game supply had been exhausted over a wide area, and they themselves were kept away by the boredom of sitting still. The arrangement described here might be referred to as the "winter hut." Near it a sort of winter supply was piled up. The very safe shelter provided somewhat comfortable living
[517] conditions, and during the long periods of inactivity together, favorite myths and legends were repeated, or the people told each other stories of their own experiences and Hánnuš stories. Communal huts were not built in the east, and the reason is simple: weather and hunting conditions were much more favorable there.

342 After a few families have settled in the so-called multiple-
● 593 family hut, they not infrequently erect another building directly beside it for the half-grown children, and this is appropriately known as the "children's hut." It resembles the first hut in shape

/388 cont./

342 and finish, but is smaller. This separate hut for the children is
593 usually built because of lack of space in the large hut, and it is
855 always regarded as a necessary expedient, for parents do not like to be separated from their children unless it is absolutely necessary. Although the children stay by themselves several hours of the day and all night, they nevertheless like to be with their family a great deal, and they always have access to the large hut. An older woman takes charge of the small company and sometimes brings them a little food, but more often the children get their food from their own parents.

In exceptional cases, for instance, the illness of an older person, imminent confinement of the mother, and so forth, even the single family builds a separate hut for the children beside the one for the adults, much as they dislike to do so. This children's hut is an expedient, and the parents by no means decide on it because they do not wish to be disturbed by crying and noise, for Indian children as such are gentle and quiet.

342 Finally, if several families camp a few days in the same
857 spot, the children as a game build a little hut with their own hands beside the dwellings of their parents. After all, they must occasionally give vent to their energies. The understanding parents willingly support them in this, sometimes bringing the children meat and approvingly watching the happy gathering. This children's hut is called ëkëli. /389/ It is obvious and understandable that it cannot be an actual dwelling, but serves merely for the enjoyment and playful occupation of the little band (44).

44. This unequivocal appraisal of the so-called children's hut is absent in what Hyades (q):342 and Bridges (a) :183 write about it. The latter is more ambiguous than the former.

342 If one stands in front of an Indian hut as a European judge,
511 no matter which type of hut it is, one involuntarily asks himself: What protection does this poor makeshift afford? By nature our natives are extremely undemanding. If one would like definite proof of this, he need only observe them in their dwelling. If they have a little protection from the heaviest rainfall and the densest snowstorm, against the bitterest cold and the most

/538 cont./

462 She could not avoid this obligation of ancient custom without serious disadvantage to her family. This brings her into definite contrast with the Selk'nam woman (Vol. I, 288). No matter how faithfully and abundantly the man provides his family with meat from the indigenous animals hunted, the woman, through her special gathering activities, must give her family all those products of nature to which her husband and children are entitled by rights of custom. Under no pretext could a woman consciously avoid this duty. If she were generally lazy in this pursuit or even [558] occasionally negligent, she could expect to be severely criticized by her own husband and held in serious contempt by the whole neighborhood.

462 593 Precisely because there must be a woman in the economic activity of the individual family, husband and children are absolutely dependent upon her. This relationship alone explains the favorable and influential position that she enjoys in her family circle. How much she actually accomplishes /539/ and to what extent she is able, by herself, to keep her family alive become evident when her husband is sick or when she is widowed. Then the entire responsibility of food-seeking rests on her shoulders alone, and she nevertheless provides so well that no one suffers deprivation.

462 Fortunately, in her activity as food-gatherer she has access not only to an abundant supply of one kind, but even to a not inconsiderable choice. She comes home with this and that, bringing a welcome variety into the monotonous meat diet. She can, of course, take from nature only what the latter voluntarily produces and as it is offered, for the harsh climate near the dreaded Cape Horn permits neither agriculture nor animal husbandry (263). The woman herself has invented or learned to make

263. An older account (VSA:XII, 81; 1866) says briefly that the natives "do not till the ground, and have no cattle, nor horses, nor sheep, nor goats in their country" /cited in English/. The experiences of the Mission Scientifique, which Hyades (g):6 describes (p. 32 /untranslated/), show that gardening does not pay there.

/644 cont./

584 It has also happened, as Sara recalled, that the two lovers decided to elope, that they renounced any kind of marriage celebration, and that they remained away from their parents until they no longer feared reproach. Even if a child should be subjected to threats, he would find sufficient support from close relatives against the inadmissible interference of parents, if only he does not become intimidated and stands his ground. It is the special duty of the uncle to help so that every young person who wishes to marry is permitted to make an absolutely free decision. In case the uncle's influence on the parents does not bring results, he can even influence public opinion against them if they restrict their child's freedom of choice. All opposition dissolves automatically when the young couple has a child to be cared for. Thus, a person who must fear the disapproval or resistance of parents toward a marriage elopes with his partner; once the couple is blessed with one or two children, no one can interfere or separate them.

/645/ A woman who becomes a man's second wife also has unrestricted freedom of choice. If she is a widow, she must sometimes be glad if a man will take her, whether she likes him or not, and she suppresses her own wishes without a murmur. Her position is more favorable if an older man, whose wife has perhaps become incapable of working, woos her. From the start she can then secure for herself certain rights and a favorable position in the family. In the great majority of polygamous marriages the two women are sisters (21); the second one to be taken by the man is

21. This custom may be verified in Bridges' (i):21 words: "When a man married more wives than one they were generally sisters, which fact tendered greatly to strengthen the family party" /cited in English/. Relationship by marriage as such does not constitute blood relationship, hence does not hinder marriage (p. 417).

thus frequently better situated in many respects than in a monogamous marriage.

/661 cont./

606 and lances for lance-shafts. In short, they help their parents-in-law in every way and outwardly show them far more veneration than their own parents. A son-in-law would neither demand anything of them nor borrow anything. More than that, the son-in-law and daughter-in-law must also display a certain reserve toward the brothers and sisters of their parents-in-law, although it is not inadmissible to exchange brief words with them occasionally. Every man, however, can associate freely with the grandparents of his wife (43).

43. In the relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law there are remarkable similarities between the Yamana and the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 332) and the Halakwulup (Vol. III).

177 182 European civilization, disrupting everything, has done away with many regulations formerly respected by the Yamana as sacred laws. For this reason, disgraceful disorders have met no opposition among the remaining survivors of the tribe. Older Indians whose principles are the same as those of their ancestors and who are helpless to stop this confusion complain bitterly and deeply regret the uncontrollable decline of their entire nation.

b. Married Life

591 593 With the marriage ceremony, independent life begins for the newly wedded couple. They are no longer dependent upon their own parents, and as a newly established conjugal union, they find themselves standing on their own feet. There is no definite rule about the time when the newlyweds break away from their parents. It depends on the position of the family of the bridegroom or of the bride. In exceptional cases, the young people remain with their elders until they have their first child.

The young man does not find it difficult to turn his back on the parental hut; he has long felt the urge for personal /662/ independence and the desire for the unimpeded development of

/662 cont./

591 his abilities. The young bride feels differently. Although she
•593 has long been accustomed to all the work that now falls upon her, she at first neither feels nor understands the actual meaning and lifework of her marital state. Sometimes she is overcome by an irresistible feeling of loneliness which depresses her and makes her silent and sad. A young woman may tearfully long for her mother and her sisters. No wonder, then, that the newly married couple
[594] will visit the family of the young wife at brief intervals, where she will be comforted and encouraged by her own mother. Each time, the old woman paints her daughter's face with delicate lines, so that her husband will love her more day by day. When finally the greatly desired first child arrives, this situation at once changes very much for the better, for now the young woman is occupied day and night, her activity is the happiest one for a woman, and in her arms she finally holds the symbolic expression of her husband's love.

It is sometimes a considerable sacrifice for the parents to have to part with their daughter, especially if they are old and are completely alone when their last child is taken from them. Their only hope is the prospect that the young couple will remain with them for a time or visit them often and that the son-in-law will perform all kinds of services for them. It is very different with the parents of the boy, who are happy that he is finally going to establish his own household with the girl of his choice (44).

44. Hyades (q):378 exaggerates the duration of this living together: "Usually the young husbands...live for a long time with the parents of their wives, to whom they render many services" /translated from French/.

They wish him all kinds of happiness and follow with interest the development of the new family, without interfering. The parents of both parties are well aware that henceforth it is no longer proper for them to bother their child too often and on
604 account of trifles. Oddly enough, the paternal uncle, indíruwa, and the maternal aunt, yěxadíbi (BD:645 writes yekadíbi), have the privilege of instructing and admonishing the husband or the wife to an extent far exceeding the few concessions that ancient

/662 cont./

604 custom grants the real parents. If the young woman should have the misfortune of having to seek help against infractions or cruel treatment by her husband, she first turns to her blood brother and then to her uncle.

581 In principle, the couple are united in marriage for life.
593 Their marriage is not only a union of hearts, but also a union of work for the welfare of themselves and their children. Each of the two partners is assigned particular duties by ancient custom; it alone decides if and when the dissolution of a marriage is permissible. Unfortunately, the modern age has also changed the
[177] original /663/ form of marriage in families of today, so that it is only partly recognizable in its outward appearance; hence the information given by all the old people was particularly valuable to me.

1. Monogamy

114 In describing the marital arrangements and family customs
595 of the Yamana, the critic is faced with a difficult problem. The reports of earlier observers are often quite inadequate and in part clearly colored. In particular, the statements Bridges made about our Indians are consistently unfavorable to them, and his conscious or unconscious intention to show them in an unfriendly light can probably not be denied. The older reports from his pen are in a disparaging and disdainful vein. Later he had enough feeling for justice to correct some of his grossest errors. Other travelers, however, in describing things which they did not directly understand, leaned on Bridges, and this was especially true in the case of arrangements dealing with marriage and the family. This is why there is so much agreement and similarity of opinion among the writers. I personally no longer found the genuine form of married life among the Yamana of earlier times to be a common condition and was obliged to rely on the reports of trustworthy people, such as old Alfredo, during my second visit to Tierra del Fuego. Since their opinions were well founded, they at any rate counteract many false, unsubstantiated contentions.

Many of the earlier travelers maintain that the Yamana condone polygamy, but one cannot clearly tell from their words whether

/680 cont./

462 expenditure of energy, which is then followed by the required
461 period of rest. From the start, neither of the two partners is given so much work that he finds it oppressive; rather, the type of activity and the number of tasks which constitute the day's work of each of them are fully in accord with the natural propensities which he as a grown man and she as a grown woman bring into their marriage (71). The co-operation of both of them in their

71. Cooper:169 reviewed the communications of many travelers on the subject of the division of labor among the Yamana and concluded from them that "the division seems, if we take into account Fuegian tribal conditions and necessities, to be a fairly equitable one" /cited in English/.

respective spheres of obligations, as well as in their joint undertakings provides the economic necessities for the family, binds the two spouses together in mutual dependence, and fills the life of each of them.

4. Relations between the Spouses

593 In order to supply their sustenance, that is to say, on the broad basis of household management, the two partners are so closely bound that one remains dependent on the other. This alone constitutes a tie that is extraordinarily binding on both members, but even beyond that they form a union of heart and soul.

Freedom in the choice of a mate and the important participation of the wife in economic management make it seem plausible that in the family both sexes have, so to speak, complete equality of rights and privileges. This fundamental idea is not invalidated by individual situations or occasional appearances of a different nature. Even Bridges (n):210 gives eloquent expression to it: "The wife is not wholly dependent on her husband and has all the freedom that she wants" /translated from Spanish/. The woman is well aware of her rights, and that is why she leaves a man who treats her badly; that is why, without specifically

/680 cont./

593 admonishing him, she expects him to provide for all the needs of the family and why she maintains complete independence in all the labors that are hers by ancient custom, without letting her husband interfere. She gathers mussels or goes fishing, arranges the pelts, and sews clothing whenever the whim strikes her and she is in the mood. If her husband expresses special wishes, he knows as well as she that she is by no means bound to fulfill them and that she does so only out of love and affection.

562 593 This does not alter the fact, however, that Yamana women are ordinarily submissive and yielding. Almost never in words, but certainly in his /681/ attitude, the man, without offending, embodies a considerable preponderance of authority and power. For their part the Indian women, without losing themselves in slavish lack of will power, seem to be more willing to surrender their equality than is customary elsewhere among their sex. It is hard to say whether they are dominated by a sense of weakness or a feeling of inferiority. Outwardly, at any rate, the woman shows a subjection and subordination to her own husband which gives many European observers the impression that she is without rights and merely a weak plaything of her husband's tyranny. This impression is doubtless strengthened by the natural shyness and extraordinarily silent reserve of all Yamana women in the presence of a man (72). Hence in cases of incompatibility and

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72. This observation may have inspired Hyades (d):308 to say: "The woman submits to her husband, but provided she is faithful, he does not mistreat her" /translated from French/.

quarrels between the two there is never noise or shouting. If he should burst out with a few abusive words, she says nothing.

562 593 152 The excessive submissiveness of most of the women fosters among the men a consciousness of superior power not established by common law. If this is coupled with a nature given to violence and outbursts of rage among one or another of the men, the woman must occasionally expect maltreatment. In his anger, usually caused by minor incidents, he beats her with any stick or scrap of leather he happens to have at hand. She ducks or bends sideways without crying out or weeping. It is all over in a few

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562 minutes, but for the woman it is accompanied by several hours
593 or an entire night of suppressed pain. The deeply felt mortification
152 pains her incomparably more than the blow or beating.

An irascible and violent husband never has a good reputation,
562 even though at times he might have grounds for dissatisfaction
593 with his wife. None of my informants could remember that a
626 woman had ever suffered serious physical harm from maltreatment. Her relatives would not have let matters go so far, but would have helped her to escape before it happened. Basically, public opinion condemns any physical attack on a woman, and whenever it occurs people take a definite stand against the man or against his wife, depending on the case, in order to prevent a repetition of such quarrels.

562 In contrast, there is a considerable number of henpecked hus-
593 bands among the Tamata, according to the statements of the three Lawrence brothers. There is no exaggeration in Bridges' (1):21 words that "not a few men are dominoered over by their wives" /cited in English/ (72). Walter is one of these men,

72. Fifteen years later, Bridges (8):210 repeated this sentence without changing it.

helpless in the hands of his wife. Even more, Julia is really a mannish woman, and the not very energetic Alfredo, sometimes at his wits' end, lets her have her way. In contrast to these two couples, /682/ Carmen suffers so much from the brutality and violent outbursts of Calderon that all her fellow-villagers pity her and sympathize with her. At present, just as in former times, an individual incident may occur in which the wife bursts out and takes violent measures against the man, without however, actually establishing petticoat domination. Lowinsky (9):146 gives an example: "We have seen a wife justifiably strike her husband, without the other wives present taking her part or they themselves understanding the grave deed" /translated from Italian/. This, too, shows the occasional considerable independence and arbitrariness on the part of the wife toward her husband.

593 Aside from the above-mentioned disturbances in marital life,

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593 Bridges' (b):210 words, "...in general family life is happy and correct" /translated from Spanish/, apply to the relations between the two spouses. They are attached to each other by genuine love. Affection and the desire for love brought them together in marriage, and the things they have done for each other have constantly increased their mutual esteem, so that after a few years they consciously or unconsciously live for one another's happiness (74). They exchange their thoughts and plans; they

74. According to Lovisato's (b):146 unauthoritative opinion, the wife of a Fuegian means no more to him than "a means for having children; we cannot say that she is the equal of the man, not even his slave, although she is given the most painful work" /translated from Italian/. Hyades (g):232, on the other hand, says: "The woman whose conduct is good is independent and respected" /translated from French/. This is the truth!

discuss their own experiences and their observations of their children; they avoid being separated for long and are filled with bitter sorrow if one of them falls sick or dies. From time to time
593 one of them will make the other happy with some surprise or will
201 express the customary, very modest but always effective tenderness. This is limited to a gentle stroking of the cheeks or individual parts of the body, or they lean their head together and move close to each other (75). Everyone is very receptive toward

75. From this account one should correct what Spegazzini (a):166 maintained: "... caresses and kissing are completely unknown among these people" /translated from Spanish/. Parents are certainly not sparing with kisses for their infant (p. 514).

/682 cont./

593 demonstrations of love on the part of his spouse (76), the one

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76. Hyades (d):308 confirms that "the Fuegians are very capable of feeling love and jealousy" /translated from French/.

more, the other less, according to personal inclination. In this respect Mary seemed to me most conspicuously tender and solicitous of her Robert, whereas not the least reason why old Pedro curtailed all social intercourse with other families was because he wanted to belong only to his very jealous wife (77).

77. Our Fuegians avoid passionate outpourings of emotion. If Lovisato (b):146 had been aware of this, he would never have come to the false conclusion that "conjugal love does not exist" /translated from Italian/.

833 According to the reliable intimations that I received, the Yamana practice moderation in their sex life and perform the sexual act in /683/ the normal position (78). To maintain that

78. Hyades (q):187 confirms that "among adult Fuegians sexual functions are performed with moderation...The women are as moderate as the men in their demand for sexual pleasure" /translated from French/.

this is the influence of their diet is probably inadequate; there is a greater effect from the constant cool and damp atmosphere than many people suspect. Also it should be noted that the man and wife tire themselves physically almost every day. If they are very weary, they abstain from sexual pleasure and make up for it when they rest for a few days at one place (79).

79. A false statement by Bove (e):158, quoted in footnote 38, is further exaggerated by Lovisato (b):150 in the following

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nonsense: "A man must wash himself after leaving the wigwam of his loves, because otherwise he cannot eat guanaco meat; if he does not wash himself, the dogs die" /translated from Italian/.

593 152 Among our Fuegians, far more than elsewhere, conjugal love assumes the form of genuine jealousy. The sharp vigilance with which a husband protected his wife at the approach of a stranger has made many a traveler of earlier times very uncomfortable, and the natives often shunned (80) his bold obtrusiveness by quick

80. This was the most frequent cause for the friction and quarrels accompanying the visit of European ships among our Indians, hence their shy reserve (p. 248 /untranslated/, p. 2).

flight. P. Snow (a):I, 149 clearly speaks of their "jealous disposition" /cited in English/, which they have retained up to the present time, some more, others less (81). It is striking that

81. Several similar opinions have been assembled by Cooper:168.

jealousy generally torments only the men, and that women, with a few exceptions, are spared it. These exceptions apply to wives of the same man. Hyades (q):239 also observed that "the woman, and above all the young woman, is so little aware of this feeling (82) that she seems very happy to see the same favors granted

82. Hyades (q):378 concedes rare exceptions, however, and realizes that "jealous women make life very disagreeable for their husbands" /translated from French/.

her friends by the man she loves" /translated from French/ (83).

83. He also emphatically denies the

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•593 152

false assertion of a few navigators that our Fuegians had handed over their women and girls without resistance.

When there is greater inclination toward jealousy, it is without doubt "the reason for brutalities inflicted by the husband on his wife" /translated from French/. Many men are so susceptible that one cannot be careful enough in his attitude toward their wives, if he wishes to save himself unpleasantness. Outes (g): 55 reports: The men "are very jealous and an inopportune look at his wives is enough to arouse his distrust and to cause the murder of the suspect" /translated from Spanish/. It is true that the jealous husband will occasionally give vent to his rage in serious beatings, but it has never gone as far as murder, according to Fred Lawrence who corrected this report for me. The lot of a woman with a husband so unfortunately predisposed is unpleasant. She must always fear his outbursts of rage, although she herself is blameless and very careful in her conduct.

/684/ Is this pronounced jealousy among men caused by their 837 concern over marital fidelity among their wives? This may be true to a certain extent. Certainly, as a rule, the two spouses are faithful, and people without exception esteem this virtue highly. BD:267 gives híngun: "a sober, sensible and faithful wife or woman" /cited in English/. We must agree with Spegazzini (a):166, who emphasizes: "Fidelity is a carefully guarded virtue, whether out of fear of the husband who will repudiate or kill her on account of mere suspicion or because of natural habit /translated from Spanish/ (84). Although fidelity is esteemed in public

84. On July 27, 1872, Bridges (i):18 entered the following in his diary: "Adultery was condemned as a crime and faithfullness extolled as a virtue" /cited in English/.

and everyone tries to avoid accusations of violating it, nevertheless individual violations occasionally did and do occur, and many a married person has secretly transgressed. Bridges' assertion, "there is no fidelity between man and wife" /cited in English/ (VSA:XIII, 203;1866), is false in its generality, and he

/685 cont./

837 to me about her in very unfavorable terms (in this connection see
177 the account on p. 353 /untranslated/).

Formerly, as we have said, adulterous acts had to be anxious-
593 ly concealed from the eyes of the injured partner. If a man caught
837 his wife, he thrashed her soundly and watched her more closely
627 after that. If, moreover, he learned the identity of the other guilty party, he beat him if he was a match for him, or he summoned his own relatives to help (86). In any case he left the

86. Martial:199 describes the punishment of an adulterer which he himself observed in Orange Bay.

vicinity with his undependable wife. Many a man only gradually recovered from his wife's misstep and only after he had repeatedly thrashed her (87). It never went so far as conscious killing;

87. According to Hyades (p):335 and (d):309, "Adultery of the wife is punished by beatings which the husband or her parents inflict on the guilty party and her accomplice" /translated from French/.

there is the possibility, however, that a woman may have succumbed as a result of heavy blows (88). It very seldom happened

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88. Martial:199 and also Dabbene (b):189 express themselves in the same vein. It is not correct to speak of actual murder on the part of the husband. The assertion by Outes (g):58 is as false as it is emphatic.

that a man dismissed his faithless wife forever solely because of this offense, even though she may have stayed with her lover for a time and later returned to the hut of her lawful husband (89). If, however, it could be proved that she became

89. Martial:199 tells of an adulteress who

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593 837 586

found her way back to her husband after an absence of three months and was taken in again by him.

pregnant by her lover -- this occurred in the extremely rare case where she was still young and her lawful husband was old -- the husband sent the adulteress irrevocably back to her lover and definitely separated from her.

593 837 If a wife catches her husband philandering, she usually has no alternative, but to overcome the humiliation silently. A spirited woman will make a noisy scene, scold the sinner, and expose his shameful deed to others, which wounds him more than a beating (90). The relatives of the wife would not dare beat the

90. "The adultery of the husband is not punished, except by the jealous scenes of his wife" /translated from French/.

faithless one; they do no more than to advise her to leave him. Sometimes a very hurt wife has come to blows with her errant husband, if she and another wife in the same hut were both betrayed by their common husband (01).

91. Spegazzini (a):166 reports having seen an Indian "completely paralyzed as a result of a beating which his wives gave him because of this kind of misdeed" /translated from Spanish/.

837 558 We lack evidence to determine definitely the number of cases of marital infidelity, since every Yamana makes a serious effort /686/ to keep his lapses strictly secret. The fact is, however, according to Gusinde (l):168, that "among the Yamana this shortcoming was more frequent than among the other two Fuegian tribes." There is no doubt, however, that everyone who is known to have erred in this respect experiences perceptible injury to his honor (92).

92. According to Hyades' (q):378 way of

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431 834 fond of each other and wish to strengthen their affection through such attentions. It is well known that a successful hunter will have his wife give neighboring families large pieces of his booty. She gives the pieces of meat directly to the other women who use it for their respective families.

A man resorts to the same indirect procedure if he wants to avoid any kind of suspicion and yet please some married woman who is devoted to him by giving her a gift. If he knows that she likes to eat some special kinds of fungi, he gladly takes the trouble on his wanderings to gather a few in a leather bag. He goes to the hut of his friend and empties the bag in front of her husband, letting him know by a look or sign: "These fungi are meant chiefly for your wife!" She, too, knows what her taciturn friend particularly likes, and she lets him know her feelings by means of a suitable gift. For example, in order to avoid malicious gossip, she makes blood sausage or blubber sausage, if he is fond of it, and brings it to the wife of her friend with the remark: "I give this sausage to your husband!" He, too, hears her brief words -- as intended -- which tell him everything that her feelings and sentiments have put into the remark. In order to be still less conspicuous, a man will send a small present to his friend through his own wife, and a woman will send hers through her husband. The recipient knows full well what it means. In this way the two friends publicly announce that their relations are harmless, and usually this is the case. A person having an intimate relationship does not wish to call attention to himself and the favored individual, even by means of such admissible demonstrations of love. He will wisely avoid doing so.

This "roundabout giving," as I should like to call it, is by no means regarded as especially strict and exclusive. In case a man meets a single woman somewhere, he may give her a sizable piece of his booty right on the spot, all the more if her dwelling /688/ is far distant from his. The measure just described shows every outsider that our Yamana consider it necessary to fortify conjugal fidelity with external props, so that transgressions do not increase still more.

• 593 In most marriages of our Fuegians, the two partners have had and still have a pleasant, happy, and, after some years, balanced

/688 cont./

593 relationship with one another (96). The far-reaching independence

96. Bridges (e):333 maintains, "in general the conjugal tie was lacking in happiness as well as stability." In saying this he obviously contradicts the facts which are verified by many other details.

of the woman corresponds to her importance in family and household management (97), and her importance in the tribal com-

97. For "a wife was by no means wholly in her husband's power and she had quite as much liberty as was good for her" /cited in English/ (Bridges [I]:21). The far-reaching independence of the woman rests on her important contribution to the support of the family (p. 454).

munity as a whole is very nearly equal to that of the man. Although the various social units (in this case the monogamous marriages) have a very natural basis, there is never an absence of transgressions against their foundations on the part of a few individual persons. Even nowadays on the frosty Cape Horn Archipelago one can meet young married persons who love each other sincerely and aged persons who are harmoniously united.

5. Divorce

586 When young people come together in marriage, they almost never have the definite intention of forming a lifelong union. Calderon told me: "The young people think only of their love. Whether they are suited to each other will be seen only when they live together. If one of them is not suited to the other, they separate and each of them looks for another partner!" This is no proof against the basic lifelong continuance of marriage, but the fact of divorce is not only recognized, but, under certain

/738 cont./

864 been pushed out of place, but never add any particular warning. Unobtrusively the mother draws her small daughter closer in the hut and takes her darling silently by the hand when she goes to gather mussels or wood; the boys then automatically remain apart and stay behind. Thus the children unconsciously take it for granted that boys and girls are separated, and in neither of the two groups is the wish to be together and to play together awakened unnecessarily and prematurely.

It does not long remain hidden from either of them how distinctly different they are externally, for the so-called clothing is scant enough. It is not until their seventh year that the children must expect short and definite warnings if boys conspicuously approach girls. Even forward boys seem to avoid any comments among themselves on sexual differences. Alfredo confessed to me: "Every boy at some time or other realizes that he is [built] different [sexually] from the girl. Now he watches very sharply, but does not talk about it with anyone, although he sometimes feels lustful pleasure [in his discovery]." These words indicate the awakening of knowledge about the body.

•593 Since during most of the year the individual family is dependent on its own resources, the brothers and sisters have only each other and no other company. Thus it is strange that a brotherly and sisterly love in our sense of the word does not appear among the Fuegians, any more than it does among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 393). Since the children of the same parents associate only with one another for long stretches, one would expect a particularly strong and intensified mutual love; instead he finds just the opposite. A very strong tendency toward self-reliance and independence characterizes the child from its earliest years. This one must admit. This alone, however, does not explain why a strong feeling of solidarity among the children of the same family does not seem to arise at all. They rarely play together, nor do they confer about carrying out some prank together or making mischief. Each of the brothers and sisters actually feels best when he is by himself and can entertain himself just as he pleases. One can plainly see how each one of them entertains himself animatedly and how happily he gets along by himself. /739/ Should one of his brothers or sisters approach him, it would disturb his quiet

/739 cont./

•593 self-sufficiency. Actually, each one goes his own way, completely unconcerned about the others. It makes no difference to him how his brothers and sisters get along and what they do.

[855] Older girls, however, at their mother's request, must tend the youngest of their brothers and sisters occasionally. They do so, but more because they are forced to than because of a natural urge, and they are relieved when this minor duty is over. Beyond that one almost never sees brothers and sisters of their own accord helping or supporting each other. They are, so to speak, indifferent toward one another; in fact, they even go out of their way in order to be quite undisturbed. Hence it follows that they almost never quarrel or fight with one another. A child would never voluntarily help a brother or small sister at work or join them in some chore imposed by the parents. If two children are given the same job, they do not, for example, agree to do it together, but each one strikes out for himself toward the same goal. Thus two girls going to hunt berries and two boys out to gather dry sticks go off separately and in different directions. On their return they do not meet on the same path until shortly before they reach the hut.

One never hears parents reminding children that they must love their brothers and sisters. If occasionally adult brothers and sisters stand up for each other and defend one another it is out of a feeling of family solidarity. The mother carefully ar-
[513] ranges the sleeping place of her boys separately from that of the girls in the small family hut (179). In the canoe they are

179. Hyades (f):573 says emphatically: "During the night the boys and the girls form separate groups according to sex" /translated from French/. A separate allotment of space in the hut for each child is unknown to the Yamana (p. 26).

separated on either side of the fire. Altogether, brothers and sisters are separated more than many Europeans realize, but even so they forgo any co-operation in work or play.

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857 games spontaneously and need not be told to do so by the adults. If the latter take part in them, they have a stimulating effect on the young people.

5. Mutual Relationship of Parents and Children

593 Anyone who only superficially observes the Yamana will probably be aware of the loving affection and solicitous care that every pair of parents bestows on their infant, whereas mature children seem to be a little aloof from their parents. This is an illusion. There is something in it, however, since young people show great respect for all adults, especially their own parents. We can probably say that the little Fuegians are born with this charming virtue, and if it should be deficient or lacking, it is taught and fostered by the child's teachers. The latter, as we know (p. 514), keep their expressions of love within narrow limits and in everyday life never smother a grown child with affection. Not that the Yamana have no feeling for him -- they outdo themselves in loving service for a sick child -- but because they are much too reasonable and sensible to expend themselves in too many externals, for this would gradually make the child indifferent. A love that is genuine and willing to make sacrifices does live in the hearts of the parents, however, and expresses itself in their efforts for the child's spiritual and physical welfare. This is for them a matter of duty, to which they devote themselves in all seriousness. The child knows this and experiences it often. Hence he cannot be otherwise than respectful toward his parents who are far superior to him in maturity of judgment, general experience, and knowledge of tribal customs.

Due to this conviction and his inner restraint, the child is submissive and docile; he gives unqualified obedience and shows that he is very willing. Those children know nothing about grumbling at orders and pulling a long face at disagreeable errands. Defiant stubbornness and loud contradictions are unheard-of in Tierra del Fuego. Every child knows that he must submit to the orders of adults, and children do this even after they are married (203).

203. Hyades (p):332 said several times that

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•593 "as a general rule, adults always respect their parents, the father a little more than the mother" /translated from French/.

The respectful attitude of Fuegian children toward their parents does not in the least affect the loving fellowship of parents and children together. They are naturally dependent on one another, and the more they are in harmony, the more surely will the /774/ family, as a self-contained social entity, fulfill its duty toward the tribe and the more easily it will attain its goal as an economic unit. The children complement their parents spiritually, and vice versa. They cling to each other and instinctively as well as consciously avoid anything that might separate them. They live for each other's happiness.

[52] Although embracing and kissing are not customary among them, they show their affection toward one another with friendly looks and heartfelt words, by caressing and leaning against one another, with affectionate play and all kinds of attentions. Parents are concerned day and night about their little ones; they provide food and shelter, maintenance and security; indeed, they risk their own lives and defy all kinds of danger to promote the health and welfare of their child (204). How dear and precious a child is

204. Like Lovisato (b):145 (see footnote 208), Bove (e):158 and (g):234 also makes the absurd assertion: "Mother love lasts about as long as the child nurses at the breast; by the age of seven or eight the parents' influence soon ceases altogether, for as soon as the son is able to get along without his parents, he leaves them. The only feeling that governs them is self-love." Hyades (p):331 describes the true situation, although much too tersely: "In general the parents care for their children until the day the latter marry" /translated from French/.

to its parents is unequivocally expressed when the child is severely ill or lost through death.

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593 861 Since they are sincere, they take pains as teachers so that the child's happiness in life is assured. They can even be severe and relentless, not because they enjoy tormenting him, but because weaknesses of character that appear in early years must be removed as soon as possible (205). Parental training is oriented

205. Hyades (g):38 specifically mentions: "Girls and boys, by the way, are very well treated, even though their parents do not act as tenderly with them as parents do in Europe."

by the traditions of the tribe as to what is good and necessary. Accordingly, the Fuegian principles of child training are altogether moral.

Our natives know very well that with youth the example is more effective than the word and, conversely, that the former can cause much greater harm than can be remedied by the latter. Hence adults consciously conduct themselves as irreproachably as possible in the presence of children. The older people, especially, in contrast to men and women of younger years, are sometimes painfully exact about this. They rigidly control themselves and display astonishing self-discipline in order that their conduct will not weaken the warning and instructive words that they addressed to the young people in their day; successful training presupposes self-training.

867 I often observed that children were sent from the hut under a harmless pretext whenever the men were getting ready to tell risqué stories. On such an occasion, after the last boy had disappeared from the hut, old Alfredo whispered in my ear: /775/ "The children must not know that we enjoy smutty stories, otherwise they would like hearing them just as much as we do!" One evening red wine, sápa, was freely dispensed and had such a powerful effect on an older woman that in her tipsiness she began to behave improperly. Immediately the adults removed all the children, and while this was going on Mary said to me: "If the children saw how that woman behaves, they would become bad. That is why we send them away!" Children probably never hear crude

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867 jokes and obscenities from adults. The latter may reveal weaknesses during moments when they lose control of themselves, but in general they try to appear exemplary and without faults in [833] front of youngsters. Parents are extremely careful in their conjugal relations, since the little ones sleep in the same hut.

Because parents honestly strive not to show their weaknesses 593 before young people and to be truly at their best for their own child, the children see them in a pure light. This brings about the tender and deeply felt attachment of children toward those to whom they owe so much. Fortunately, this is also promoted by daily contact, which convincingly demonstrates how very much the members of an individual family are dependent upon one another. The consciousness of belonging together becomes so intense that individuals do not like to be separated even temporarily. Hence, it is impossible for some families to get a child from among their circle of relatives to stay with them in their hut for a few days, which is greatly desired by a family that for some reason or other does not have a little child.

591 At present there are a few families without children, and they are making an effort to take some child in with them for a 152 short time (206). In spite of all the love and care that they offer,

206. Bridges (a):183 hints at this custom: "Children do not always live with their parents, sometimes a friend takes them away and they are away from their parents for weeks" /cited in English/.

the little ones scarcely ever feel quite at home with them and soon beg to be taken back to the parental hut. Children simply cannot stand to be with other people permanently (207). We can

207. Bridges (a):184 once maintained: "A girl before she is finally given away to her destined husband is now and again sent to live with him for a short time, when she again returns to her parents; but no sooner is she of marriageable age than she is finally disposed of" /cited in English/. Such a

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practice was not customary among the Yamana according to my inquiries.

easily imagine how the poor creatures who are orphaned suffer for years. Some relative, to be sure, takes charge of them and tries his best to care for them, but he cannot replace their real parents.

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Even after children have long since established their own households, they often visit their old parents (208) out of a childish

208. In the following words, which are incomprehensible to me, Lovisato (b):145 proves that he lacks a gift for observation: "Among the Fuegians... maternal love does not exist. The love of a mother for her child lasts only as long as he is nursing; when he leaves the breast, it diminishes, and by the time he is seven or eight years old it ceases completely... Also, the children have little love for their parents" /translated from Italian/.

desire for love; they are happy when they can see them and inquire about their circumstances. /776/ When they meet other people, they try to learn something about their own parents. The latter, too, follow their child no less with their thoughts and hopes when, as sometimes happens, they do not see him for months. They are happy when they hear good and pleasant news; unfavorable and derogatory reports make them sad. It is well known that during the first several weeks, the new bride often goes back to her mother, and the mother, overjoyed, says to her: "I want to paint you!" She does this with particular tenderness and in the hope that the young husband will learn to love her daughter very much (p. 428). Afterwards the daughter presents herself to her husband and says: "My mother painted me!" This is intended to remind him of the wedding and to arouse his initial love. The frequent visits, however, are above all an expression of the firm attachment of the child to the parents, which even marriage does not loosen.

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861 The characteristic quality of the relationship between parents and children in Tierra del Fuego is sincere love and warm affection. The children display respect and confidence. In their training procedures nothing diverts the parents from what they regard as duty and necessity. I often and carefully observed them in this respect. I was most struck by how well they are able to control themselves and how much patience they have with their children, along with all the firmness. Fuegian teachers have an almost inexhaustible forbearance, and they never tire of pointing out mistakes to their small offspring or often repeating urgent advice. Santiago, who was inclined to be somewhat irascible, quietly and emphatically talked to a regular rascal for about ten minutes and dismissed him with the words: "I have often warned you, and I shall not stop doing so until you stop being naughty!" Then he added confidentially to me: "Children will be children; it takes a long time to get anywhere with them by talking, but one succeeds if he does not give up and is always well-meaning." Adults instantly react to obvious faults and occasional infractions; they even give whippings, but this seldom happens.

593 Parents and children, naturally bound together most closely and almost exclusively dependent on one another because of the nature of their economy, are held together by the bonds of sincere love and warm affection. Their happiness in life is in being together and caring for one another. Outside, the storm may be howling and shaking the frail hut, living conditions may be as poor as can be, and for long weeks there may be no other companions, but if the parents and children are all together, they are happy. In the bosom of his own family everyone feels protected and safe; the family guarantees the well-being of the individual. If one sees parents and children together, he can see shining from their /777/ eyes the trust that flourishes in the soil of a family arrangement destined by nature. Parental happiness and childhood paradise in the Indian family thrown back on its own resources: these are the brightest spots in the threatening climatic turbulence and the frosty unfriendliness of Tierra del Fuego.

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591 orphan, on the other hand, remains joined to the surviving parent until it establishes its own household through marriage, but until then, besides his own parent, the new stepfather or stepmother must take charge of him /781/ as though he were his own child. All this shows the individual family to be a small state by itself, whose boundaries literally coincide with the narrow plot of the family hut, Ekir (214).

> 214. Bridges refers to this with a somewhat unfortunate way of expressing himself. "The term 'Ucum', which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinfolk, is the term used to denote clans or tribe" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884). Hyades ( ):718 repeats this sentence.

593 The proximity of the members of an individual family unavoidably forces upon them a consciousness of their mutual obligations. Nature herself imposes them on parents, and the attitude of the children toward those who gave them life is thus also imposed. Hence they must be ready to help obediently and submissively, if they are old enough, and to contribute to the stability and growth of the family as a whole. All members derive their particular benefits from the family community, but the latter can exist and live up to what everyone expects of it only if the individual serves it according to his ability and the prevailing division of labor. On such soil a strong, loyal family feeling flourishes. Each of the two parents lives and works for the family; their own wishes, which they might sometimes like to express, recede far behind its demands; their personalities unfold in the service of the other members of the family.

Hyades (f):586 observed this pronounced family feeling: "The feeling for the family is highly developed among these savages; it has been rightly said that it was the strongest tie that kept them united" /translated from French/. Elsewhere Hyades (g):35 emphasizes that despite separation "a certain connection always remains and the offspring of a family always feel that they belong together in case of danger and strife." Finally, Bridges

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573 (a):204, from another point of view, also elucidates that relationship: "Family influence is the one great tie which binds these natives together, and the one great preventive of violence" /cited in English/.

The son or daughter or the older brother or older sister who marries may not renounce his duties toward his own parents and his still small brothers and sisters. It is true that he severs his close connection with the parental hut, but not his intimate relationship with the persons it shelters. For the rest of their lives the children remain in touch with their parents and their brothers and sisters (215). For each one his own family, as well as every

215. Spegazzini (a):166 emphasizes "family affection," but this love, far from "not manifesting itself much in familial relationships, in which a barbaric egoism seems to prevail" /translated from Spanish/, enfolds its most beautiful blossoms on this very soil. In the face of all this, Bove (g):234 makes the monstrous assertion that "there are no family ties" /translated from Italian/.

member of it, is incomparably dear and esteemed; everyone gives the family the highest praise and remembers the truly good things it stands for with utmost appreciation. Anyone speaking of the accomplishments /782/ or personal advantages of the members of his family praises them in terms which can hardly be surpassed. Universally binding regulations prevent the dangers of one-sided exaggeration, rude selfishness, or voluntary withdrawal from the group. The individual family per se is and remains firmly fixed (216); other individual families and its considerable

216. Hyades Op):333 confirms this with the following words: "The family is well established, but the tribe does not exist, properly speaking" /translated from French/.

independence even of the society as a whole (217).

217. Now and then an observer realized,

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along with Bove (g):244, that "every Fuegian family lives in the utmost independence" /translated from Italian/. This independence, however, is never so great, as is maintained in Outes (g):58, "that the father cannot threaten his child nor give him direct orders" /translated from Spanish/.

A second prominent feature of the Fuegian family is its patriarchal tendency. The latter is clearly recognizable, although by only a few indications; yet there is neither a law of inheritance nor clan formations with special demands and obligations. Nevertheless, the father is and remains the head of the whole family, even though, through the division of labor, his wife has an independent field of activity, and he therefore rarely asserts his slightly superior power. Martial:196 describes this lawful relationship as follows: "Authority in the family belongs to the father; wife and children obey him. His authority, however, is very weak and is exercised only in case of necessity" /translated from French/. Each of the two partners can freely [421] dispose of his or her special property. Nevertheless, the care and responsibility for common possessions or for family property fall on the man. He gives the ultimate decision on matters of some importance for the family members, and all of them yield to his words. If he dies, his older brother must take charge of the wife and children he leaves behind, and this is a universally lawful obligation. This patriarchal tendency in Fuegian family organization is not expressed in name-giving, but since here the name is taken from the place of birth (p. 536), there is no real connection.

2. The Circle of Relatives

612 In the tribal society of our Yamana every individual family is an independent, self-contained structure. In contrast to this, relatives are a loose aggregate of all those who are joined by the ties of consanguinity. According to Fuegian ideas, persons are related to each other only if they can trace their origins to some

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422 this method of procedure by our Yamana on two occasions. Once he bartered tobacco with a man for a dog, but since the dog belonged to the man's wife, she forced Fitz-Roy to give the animal back to her. Snow (b) 264 also confirms from his own experience: "I believe they have a sort of property right amongst them, and I have seen one of the oldest women exercising authority over the rest of her people. Wishing to buy a canoe, it was refused me on the ground that it belonged to her, and she would not part with it" /cited in English/.

Every Yamana is completely free to take good care of his property or to neglect it completely. No one even prevents him from wantonly destroying his things. If he lacks something he must personally look around for a replacement. Objects that are [425] found may not be appropriated by the finder, and if he nevertheless keeps them, he risks being labeled a thief. Whatever a person has owned in life /970/ remains his after his death. That is [761] why the belongings of a deceased person are burned and destroyed, inasmuch as no one could legally take them as his property. One does not even encroach upon a dead owner's right to his personal [422] property. The Yamana are unacquainted with the actual inheritance of anything whatever.

β. Family Property

422 Since every person owns his individual property, he also brings it with him into his marriage, without, however, giving up 593 his exclusive right to it. He uses each article freely and without hindrance and replaces for himself anything and everything that has become unserviceable or is lost. As we have just said, one of the partners in marriage would not dare, at his own discretion, to dispose of an object belonging to the other partner.

423 When a marriage takes place, a new configuration of life is always begun, for the family forms a very compact economic unit. 593 The word "family" is used here in its narrower sense, namely, as the social unit of father, mother, and unmarried children. The new configuration of life also demands its own right to certain implements common to the union as such. The solidarity of family

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423 573 members is visibly symbolized by the hut in which they all find shelter. The man and woman are simultaneously active in its construction, although he is obliged to do the heavier work and she the much easier light work. The children work, too, no matter how slight their participation is. In like manner, both spouses equally keep the hut in repair after it has been built. It is primarily the woman's duty to perform minor repairs. The skins needed to cover the hut framework are furnished by the man from hunting, while the woman dresses the skins. She moves and transports these pieces of leather in her canoe. No other articles are required as common property for the construction of the hut. Naturally, everyone, without discrimination, enjoys the benefit of the fire, since all the members of the family, in one way or another, see that it does not go out.

423 572 If, in an exceptional case, two or three families should erect a common dwelling (p. 32), they readily agree on the division of space, within which each one does as he pleases. If one family wanders off sooner than another, they take down their pieces of leather from the framework and load their own things into their canoe. The family that stays behind then closes off the space that they still want to occupy.

423 574 Only the husband or the wife has the right to permit this guest or that visitor to enter their hut. It is generally regarded as an encroachment to enter a hut without permission, although this is usually tacitly assumed. Once the family has given up their campsite /971/ and departed with their implements, the hut framework left behind is regarded as ownerless. Whoever first takes possession of it lawfully owns it and may settle in it undisturbed.

423 573 In a certain sense the various foods are also doubtless regarded as common property of the family, the idea being that the husband and the wife are obliged to seek food for themselves and the members of their family. The Fueglans' convictions concerning this obligation comes out most clearly when an indolent, lazy man neglects his hunting and lets his family starve. The whole neighborhood expresses its displeasure, and the society even grants the wife the right to leave such a neglectful husband. The man collects meat for the whole family, and the woman gathers smaller animals for all her loved ones, indiscriminately, for

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422 everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and
573 sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing. Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

422 The little supplementary word "sē" clearly emphasizes the
573 urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather
172 simultaneously and without exception. BD-379 states: "sē [is] used by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. sē ŭ̄ŭ̄ŭ̄ mamāŭ̄ ŭ̄ŭ̄n, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. sē ŭ̄ŭ̄ŭ̄n ŭ̄ŭ̄f (a man to his wife)come, get us some mussels" /cited in English/.

422 Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in
573 the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother
264 puts the roast or the mussels on the fire in response to the wish of
576 the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

431 Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid;
478 hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the things he
573 brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fueguians, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /970/ has lost his weapons, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family but from his hunting or she herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

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431 Nevertheless this does not entirely deny a person a certain preroga-
476 tive over whatever he has brought in, and a completely equal right
593 to it in the communistic sense is never granted to the members of the family (385).

385. This opinion is clearly expressed in BD:319 in the explanation of the verb "mōtabaku: To take or make use of what is not one's own but yet is proper to take or use, as for instance a husband his wife's fish, or a brother, if hungry, fish belonging to a brother or sister during their absence, though when he saw them he would tell them what he had done" /cited in English/.

422 For the individual family, the vessel, whether it be a bark
593 canoe or a flat skiff, is no less important than dwelling and food. Although it is made by the man, it is the woman's duty to service it, guard it, and care for it (p. 134). During the trip through the channels she has authority in the canoe, because she alone usually rows or paddles. Also, after landing and before departure it is only her concern. Since, however, the canoe serves all the members of the family without exception and since neither the individual nor the family as a whole can do without it, all separate rights or privileges cease, although the husband built the canoe and the wife mans it.

Hence we must regard the few things that rightfully belong to the self-contained family and each member of this familial unit as actual "family property." As such, this includes only the dwelling, the canoe, and food, and toward these an individual person cannot claim any special rights and privileges. Obviously this legal situation strengthens family ties and increases the feeling of responsibility of one toward the other with whom he is intimately associated in the life of the individual family.

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2. Taking Possession

425 The most common and the simplest way of making oneself the owner of an object is to take it and confiscate it. The assumption is that, as ownerless property, it really does not belong to anyone. This includes, first of all, the things that are indispensable for life, such as food, wood for the fire, and sticks for building the hut, as well as such things as bones and whalebone for tools, pieces of bark for the canoe, and rushes for basket-weaving, and finally snail shells and tendons for ornaments, mineral pigments for body painting, and pieces of leather for various uses. Obviously all these things come from the kingdom of nature over which Wataŭinĕiwa actually has the primary right of disposal. The Yamana have a more or less distinctly pronounced conviction that everything around them has been granted by Wataŭinĕiwa so that they may have the usufruct of it. They make use of this general dispensation, for in no other way would they come into possession of the things they need. They do not each time expressly remember this lawful condition, but now and then the commandment not to kill more animals than are directly required for the household flairs up in their memory.

Merely by his conduct a person shows that he intends to make himself the owner of an animal or a thing. Anyone who goes into the forest and gathers firewood, anyone gathering mussels and snails along the beach, anyone who kills a larger animal with his weapons or acquires something in a similar manner thereafter regards himself as sole owner of what he has acquired. At the same time his right is recognized by other people. If, after a certain [673] object has found its master, anyone should disturb the latter in his right of ownership, that person is unequivocally regarded as a thief. Thus it is sufficient for anyone simply to lay his hands on ownerless goods, for in this way he identifies himself as their owner. He remains such as long as he keeps these goods or until he has consumed them. Even married persons take this into account in their behavior 425 toward each other, as /975/ Bridges (i):21 has already assured us: 543 "What the wife caught or obtained was her own, the husband only used of it what his wife gave him, and she did not ask his permission

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when she would make presents to her friends" /cited in English/ (387).

387. Hyades (q):243 writes in a similar vein: "Each properly possesses what he has produced by his labor, what he has harvested in fishing or hunting, what he has found washed up on the beach; even small children themselves have full ownership of what has been given them" /translated from French/.

Sometimes the new owner does not immediately use what has hitherto been ownerless property. In a given case he will make known his right to it by special signs, if it is not obvious from the surrounding circumstances. For example, if someone comes across large pieces of a recently killed sea lion stored in tree branches, he immediately concludes that the successful hunter did not want to or was unable to take along the whole booty and left part of it behind which he will pick up soon. It is not permissible for another person to take possession of those pieces of meat. We know that the Yamana collect branches and trunks for firewood, place them upright against each other in the woods, and let them dry out for a few days. A person passing this bundle of wood immediately recognizes the work performed by another and does not take any of it. If someone finds a sling fastened in the grass (Fig. 59) in which possibly a few wild geese are caught, it would never occur to him to appropriate either of them, and he leaves undisturbed the claim of the one who laid the snare. The surrounding circumstances alone, therefore, make it clear whether goods are ownerless or whether someone has already made himself master of them. The Yamana do not use special property marks since these are for the most part superfluous or would be difficult to apply.

In general the Yamana derive the legal title for the assumption of ownership from the work and effort involved. The ensuing right of possession is recompense for the previous work. Therefore, anyone who of his own accord and with his own labor has accomplished this work enjoys possession of the goods earned. Naturally, in each case only the amount affected by individual effort passes from the ownerless state into that of personal possession.

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1. Gatherings

571 From previous accounts the Yamana is known to be a person
who has himself under perfect control and who usually behaves in
593 a very /1472/ reserved manner in the company of others (p. 914).
521 This attitude is not determined solely by mistrust of others and the
traditional rules for social intercourse (p. 913); it is far more a
natural characteristic of our Indians, to which their training, of
course, contributes its share. Within the family circle every
member is very reserved and taciturn. For hours at a time individuals
will sit beside each other in the canoe or in the hut without ex-
changing a word. If they chat with one another now and then,
their talk almost always centers around what the present day has
brought. Loud gaiety and spontaneous outbursts of joy are more or
less rare within the individual family. Nevertheless, many a
father will amuse himself with his young sons and many an active
mother will do the same with her daughters in every conceivable
way. Parents really enjoy playing with their young children and
fondle them very lovingly from the day they are born (p.513).
593 As soon as children have some understanding, the parents confide
961 in them about their own experiences and the knowledge derived
521 from it, as well as much of their religious and mythological be-
lief. In this way the children obtain a rich heritage of ideas and
learn to think about it when they are alone. In the evening after
the long day's journey, the parents, squatting around the hut fire
or stretched out on their hard beds, repeat in detail just about
everything that the day has brought. They make comparisons and
recall other things, confirm this thing and warn about that, discuss
their plans for the morrow, and toy with hopes for the future. This
is the particular kind of social life, maintained within narrow (in
fact, the narrowest) limits, that the Fuegian family can offer them.

571 On a land or canoe trip individual persons usually pass each
521 other without stopping; both parties are content with a brief greet-
ing, a modest question and an equally brief answer (p.921). If,
however, several families of friends or relatives brought together
by chance after a long separation are camping together, there is
great liveliness in the group. The greeting of two friends is some-
times loud and impulsive, and on such an occasion the discussion

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

591 after which they would usually go for good to the groom's kin. Thus, localized groups of kin tended to be paternal.

604 After marriage the husband's paternal uncle and the wife's maternal aunt took particular interest in them, superseding in large measure their respective parents. Children-in-law were expected to
606 look after their parents-in-law in sickness or other needs. Children-in-law observed a number of avoidances regarding their parents-in-law: greeting their parents-in-law, speaking to them or breaking in on their conversation with remarks, looking at them, and sitting down beside them were all taboo. When in the same hut with their parents-in-law, they turned their sides or backs on them. A year or so after marriage, the restrictions between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law were partly, but never wholly, relaxed; those between son-in-law and father-in-law lasted through life. On visits of the father-in-law to his daughter, he and his son-in-law communicated wishes and news through the daughter and wife or by indirect discourse.

562 The man was, in theory, considered the head of the family, with
593 authority to rule. Actually, his authority was very far from absolute, and the woman was largely her own mistress, particularly in such provinces of her own as child rearing, food gathering, and canoe managing. Some men domineered over their wives, but not a few husbands were under the thumbs of their spouses. Some husbands were cruel, but if so they ran afoul of the wife's kin. More generally, woman's position both in the family and in the community seemed a respected one, not that of a drudge, slave, or inferior being, and she enjoyed a fairly high degree of freedom and independence.

684 Adultery was disapproved by the *Yahgan* code, but apparently
837 the code suffered appreciable infringement in practice. Adultery on the wife's part was, if discovered, punished by the husband with sound beatings, very rarely with death. Public opinion disapproved of her behavior. Adultery on the husband's part also gave rise to domestic battles in which the husband sometimes suffered severe treatment at his offended wife's hands. Jealousy on the part of both husband and wife was common. Wife lending was absent. There
[548] was no professional prostitution; a woman, married or unmarried, of markedly loose character was looked down upon.

586 Separation and divorce were fairly frequent, but were not lightly resorted to. The most common cause appears to have been cruel treatment of the wife by the husband, though there were other causes such as marked laziness, negligence, or crabbedness on the part of the
[449] wife. In case the wife became incapacitated through illness or age, the man could, and, it seems, more commonly did, take to himself a second wife.

/626 cont./

182 means to deny the historically demonstrated connection of the basic factors of certain types of economy, for the latter do actually exist and around them are entwined the locally conditioned separate structures. In the total picture of general cultural events within human society, the external conduct of life of our Yamana deserves a particular, even a favored place, inasmuch as it has maintained itself from its earliest beginnings up to the time of European intervention cut off from outside influences by practically impenetrable natural barriers. /Fig. 76 appears here./

/627/ Part 3

Social Organization and Tribal Custom

The external form of life of the Yamana is that of an acquisitive gathering-economy closely dependent on given natural conditions. Just as the environment decisively influences the total economy, determining its form, so does this form of economy very definitely determine the specific social organization. The latter, in turn, rests on the independence of each individual family, with its special capacities and social performances. "The kind of subsistence which predominates in a social group, the form of their production which is not arbitrarily chosen but determined by certain conditions of life, directly or indirectly shapes all other ideas and actions of that society. If we know what a people eats, we also know what it is" (Grosse:25). This dependence of the social organization upon the form of economy, which has been proved among other primitive peoples, is also very definitely true of the Fuegians, especially of our Yamana.

• 594 The invariable obligation of a nomadic people to gather food without pause excludes a stratified organization of the whole society. Its sole supporting pillar is the individual family. In the form of a monogamous single marriage, the family appears as the universal, narrowly circumscribed, definitely determined social structure. Not only is it bounded by strong safeguards, but even from the start, as soon as a marriage is planned, certain conditions which guarantee its permanence and its natural function

[Text continues on page 386.-Analyst]

/627 cont./

594 must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important posi-
[562] tion of the woman in the economy assures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the strict social duty of
861 every individual family, apart from any purely natural compul-
881 sion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, as a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /628/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Yamana does the primitive state manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

571 Several families are naturally associated through blood ties, but only loosely, and the reciprocal obligations growing out of this are the kind universally found among human beings. Five dialect groups have been established as associations of larger proportions, but these cannot be regarded as a division based on social principles (p. 199 /untranslated/). Moreover, there is no
[565] hierarchy based on birth and station, nor are there class differences which elsewhere rest on accomplishments or property. Finally, unification of the entire tribal community under a single
[622] head, such as a chief or magistrate, priest or sorcerer, did not take place among our Indians.

671 There are ancient tribal customs with the force of legal obligations, as well as definite principles about possessions and property, and the public sees to it that they are faithfully followed. It also observes and practices the cultivation of the universally familiar tribal virtues. Crimes against the assured duration of the family or against related groups are settled in smaller or larger combats. Although there is no special social
621 division and no appointment of an authoritative person to rule the community, there is a distinct and binding power embracing all members of the tribe -- namely, the state, no matter how weak and undefined it still appears in its earliest beginnings.

/628 cont./

181 The entire social order, as the aggregate of conjugal or familial arrangements and vital functions of the tribe or community, proves to be naturally humane and, therefore, appears in an altogether friendly, pleasant light.

A. Courtship and Marriage

●594 The individual family, the supporting pillar of the entire social order, is regulated in its origin and its continuation according to fixed, unchangeable fundamental principles. These principles are kept alive as customs in the consciousness and conscience of the people. They are made known to each member of the tribe and are more or less familiar to him. Since custom and practice are the primary law in the performance of duty, the centuries have not eaten away any of this, and whatever has remained down to the present time is to be justly and lawfully regarded as ancient tribal heritage.

581 The individual family consisting of parents and children is
/629/ basically independent and a compact union. It is founded
594 on mutual affection between the two lovers and the desire for lifelong union. It is held together by the increasing spiritual relationship of the two partners. Its vitality is assured by the fellowship of work and possessions, food gathering and consumption. It grows beyond itself by the self-evident duty of parents to beget several children and through them to insure the permanence of the tribe.

581 Although these vital customs pertaining to the institution of
177 the family have endured in century-long uniformity, foreign influences have exerted such pressure on it for several decades that this firm structure has finally become undermined. Conditions have arisen in recent times which cannot be regarded as natural, and their effects on marital conditions have created a sad caricature of the original pattern of marriage. These regrettable changes and the false and inadequate observations of most travelers since the middle of the previous century do not give a picture of the basic organization of the institution of the family among the Yamana (1).

583 1. What has been recorded from still older
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/693 cont./

182 Primitive people in such an unfavorable environment as that around Cape Horn cannot deviate very much from the norms of life imposed by nature if they are to survive as a people. Actually the marital arrangements of our Fuegians, including polygamy which is occasionally permitted and the obligation to marry widows, strike one as quite self-explanatory and natural, hence also as homely and appealing. Bridges' opinion after decades of experience as a missionary carries greater weight than other judgments, and he (i):21 summarized it in the following very terse, but truly comprehensive words: "On the whole, the family life was happy and correct" /cited in English/.

B. Parents and Child

•594 The nature of the economy, which is the only kind possible in the Cape Horn region, forces our Fuegians to split up into individual families, each one devoting itself independently to the quest for food. Hence, day after day, the parents and their children are dependent on their own resources. Although the daily work of the Yamana family is more diversified than that of the neighboring Selk'nam, a great deal of unavoidable monotony is connected with it. It is of inestimable spiritual value, as well as almost an indispensable necessity, for every family to have several children, who not only form a tie that unites the two parents, but also contribute a great deal to their mental enrichment and spiritual stimulation. No wonder that the longing for a child is so strong that a couple cannot live, so to speak, without it, and that the care and treatment of the child reveal a love that cannot be intensified. Even in their parental happiness, however, adults do not let themselves be blinded or diverted from the strict duty of a firm upbringing that one must describe not only as good, but even as stern. All parents, with the exception of a few who have defective personal tendencies, devote themselves conscientiously to this upbringing to the best of their abilities and with a view to the child's welfare.

861 Profound observation and careful research have brought to light principles and techniques which put their efforts at child

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C. Kinship and Tribal Society

182 Among peoples on the low cultural level of our Yamana it is easy to observe the close reciprocal relationship between the nature of the economy and the social order. No one will regard the one as caused solely by the other, nor may one summarily deny a certain inner connection between the two.

The total number of this Fuegian tribe is low, and there is nothing to indicate that it has been noticeably higher at any time during its long presence in the Cape Horn region (p. 227 /untranslated/). This fact alone permits only one interpretation, that a complex social order, according to the various points of view from which one judges and evaluates social structures, is not to be expected here, particularly since a compact social life in one place involving all the members of the tribe is completely lacking. What our natives acquire in the way of subsistence is certainly sufficient; they do not die of hunger, and can even eat their fill. An excess of any part of their limited assets, however, is impossible. They are dependent on an imperfect form of production; hence, they can neither become numerous nor unite in a compact social life. The population is limited, so to speak, by the available food supply, and since this is sparsely distributed over a wide area, a permanent association of all tribal members in one place or in a few specific places is impossible.

594 621 The entire tribe seems torn asunder into very small individual groups, each of whom lives widely separated from any of the others and enjoys complete independence. These groups cannot be subdivided into still lower units. They are the individual families. Each family, as such, forms an independent economic unit which is isolated as a distinct community and pursues its own goal in life. Lothrop (9):160 says briefly and definitely: "Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit" /cited in English/.

600 571 Closer and more remote degrees of kinship spread out around the individual family as around a point of crystallization, and the consciousness of belonging together is more pronounced the closer the blood tie is. The more distant the individual families are as kinsmen, the more tenuous their mutual relations. This /778/ is the basis for the limited association and wide dispersion of all

/778 cont./

619 Basically one tribal member is equal to every other socially
554 and enjoys complete independence. All of them have about the same number of objects, little though this is, and there are no differences in property and economic pursuits which elsewhere sometimes cause very disparate social levels (211). In general,

211. This means, as Hyades (p):335 expresses himself: "There is no king, chieftain, aristocracy, castes, social hierarchy, or slaves; it is a regime of equality in the purest sense" /translated from French/.

therefore, every adult has the same rights within his tribe, and along with this they all have some duties. No one is specifically raised above the legal equality of the multitude by special privileges; they recognize neither one nor several headmen. One person or another may acquire a certain morally superior position within the narrow circle of relatives and acquaintances /779/ through richer experience after a long life and moral rectitude. His superiority, however, is solely a matter of personality and is neither precisely defined nor founded on objective legal norms.

[197] A division of the whole tribe into so-called dialect groups has occurred under the pressure of local conditions. It is purely external. The slight differences resulting from it are in line with the unavoidable pursuit of a livelihood by each independent group. The social order in which degrees of rank are unknown is just as simple as the economic structure (212).

212. The basic ideas of this section have already been published by Koppers (c):155.

a. Kinship

● 594 Yamana social organization rests on individual families (213).
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213. Spegazzini (a):165 gives this fact in another form: "The family constitutes all their society" /translated from Spanish/.

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> The interpretation which he adds is very mistaken: "And the man lives without pleasure, but also without great sorrow, among his wives and his children" /translated from Spanish/.

These families associate with each other more or less closely according to the closeness of their kinship ties. Consanguinity is the basis of kin-group unity, even though it spreads out in far-flung ramifications. Persons with the same blood form neither a strictly defined group nor a definite social stratum in a unique position with their own rights.

602 Among the closest relatives, however, certain obligations accrue out of their solidarity. These obligations are also part of the larger sphere of general social obligations, but they are more strongly emphasized for kinsmen. Conversely, the latter may count on special mutual aid as a sort of compensation. Kinsmen in the stricter sense of the word do not as such dispose of any kind of common property shared equally by all, nor are they guided by any unusual special regulations.

1. The Individual Family

594 In this context, as in other parts of the present book, the designation "individual family" always means only the small group made up of parents and children. Thus understood, the individual family is the kin group in the strictest sense of the word. Earlier travelers either failed to call attention to the family's natural and lawfully upheld position among the Yamana people as a whole or they only mentioned it. The navigators of earlier times recognized the occupants of one and the same canoe as a tightly knit group, but they were often mistaken in their judgment about individual persons, regarding as a man's wives two /780/ or more women who usually only by chance were in the same canoe with him. Subsequently it was chiefly the missionaries who opened their eyes to the actual independence and economic position of the individual family. Nevertheless, most travelers of the last few

/780 cont./

594 centuries did not grasp the significance of all this for a basic interpretation of Fuegian social organization, and only a few, for example, Lothrop (b):160, recognized the uniqueness of the individual family as it actually exists.

The individual family is the sole source of the vitality and the economic accomplishment of the entire people. This characterization expresses the fact that its significance could not be greater. The family's primary and basic obligation, which nature herself has imposed upon it, is fulfilled through all that the family is to the child and offers to him. This is by no means all; beyond that it also works specifically for society as a whole. For our natives, "the family constitutes all their society" /translated from Spanish/, as Spegazzini (a):165 expresses himself. It constitutes a living and working community of all its tightly knit members; the individual does not live for himself, but for his family.

This legal standing is evident in the fact that everything that serves the family and keeps it alive is available as the common possession of all members of the family. The hut and the canoe, in which everyone has his place, belong to all of them together. The one hut and the one canoe, with the single hearth fire, are symbolic of the lawful unity of all those who form this small group. It is isolated and depends upon itself alone. Its own law governs it, and no outsider may presume to tamper with this law. Stirling clearly understood its independence and self-government: "Each family -- each canoe, it might be almost said -- represents an independent authority, and carries in it, not the rudiments merely, and not the symbols, but the most complete form of government known among the fisher Indians of Tierra del Fuego" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34;1870).

Other persons, whether they are related closely or more distantly, do not belong to this compact unit representing the individual family. In every hut only the parents and their own children have their rightful places; all other persons are regarded as occasional guests. The latter have no right to make any kind of demand on their hosts; they are remarkably modest in their requests for help and support, even when they are in urgent need. When a grown child marries, he voluntarily relinquishes his direct connection with his hitherto close family unit and forms a new one which thereafter likewise exists in complete independence. An

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brought on at once a native jealousy and dislike. The office, therefore, was not popular, and generally destitute of authority, and fulfilled with laxity of purpose" /cited in English/. The natural inclination of these Indians is such that "they cannot bear to be dictated to" /cited in English/, as Bridges (VP:XIII, 209; 1866 tersely and definitely expresses himself.

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In spite of the far-reaching independence and freedom that each individual enjoys, the conduct of affairs in this Fuegian group is orderly and peaceful, although there are neither lawfully appointed persons of authority nor written statutes. The community life of all fellow-tribesmen is so secure that they can pursue their food-gathering unmolested and devote themselves undisturbed to their family life, to their own happiness, and to the welfare of all. Every true Yamana carries in his heart the one important law which was indelibly impressed upon him during the youth initiation and which constitutes the unwavering rule of conduct throughout life: to be a good and useful member of the tribe!

D. Youth Initiation

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The Yamana are fully aware of their natural duty to educate the growing generation. Parents above all make an effort for their own children and do this with a seriousness not shown by many other peoples. The offspring is taken care of from its earliest childhood (p. 484). While it is growing up, the father's influence on the boy and the mother's on the girl gradually take on more specific forms and more definite goals. The adults /806/ make it possible for young people to achieve practical competence and a certain measure of skills, but also, beyond that, spiritual enrichment and a mental attitude toward the ideal of a perfect Yamana who can serve as a model (p. 552). The parental task is to rear their own children to a certain level of moral and practical development at maturity.

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As though the society were not satisfied with these achievements in training, which without doubt are attained in all families,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S86 Yahgan S86

FISH-NET

227 At certain seasons of the year Beagle channel is infested by small sardine-like fish which the Yahgan captured in dip-nets (*chinowish*) woven of grass. A rather poorly-made example of these is shown in fig. 89. It will be noted that there is a light wooden frame enclosed by parallel strands of grass tied to the members of the frame. This was lashed to the end of a pole and with it the fish were dipped out. A model of this implement appears in the bow of the canoe in fig. 73.

FIG. 89.—Yahgan dip-net. Height, 12 in. (14/2321)

FISH-WEIRS

According to Hyades (1891, p. 372) the Yahgan sometimes erected in suitable places fish-weirs consisting of a row of stakes. Of these I saw no trace in Tierra del Fuego.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

594 484 Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit. However, related families usually paddled their canoes in couples, as the skin housetop was heavy for a single canoe, and they divided the common roof into two parts, of which each carried one. While the Yahgan were rovers, they usually stayed regularly in one district, where most of the people were their relatives.

622 554 All observers of the Yahgan comment on their lack of leadership. Medicine-men asserted a certain authority through the fear they inspired, but at times they were roughly handled, so their power was in no wise secure. As no communal undertakings were undertaken, there existed no need for chiefs.

/644 cont./

584 It has also happened, as Sara recalled, that the two lovers
593 decided to elope, that they renounced any kind of marriage celebration, and that they remained away from their parents until they no longer feared reproach. Even if a child should be subjected to threats, he would find sufficient support from close relatives against the inadmissible interference of parents, if only he does not become intimidated and stands his ground. It is the special duty of the uncle to help so that every young person who wishes [604] to marry is permitted to make an absolutely free decision. In case the uncle's influence on the parents does not bring results, [624] he can even influence public opinion against them if they restrict their child's freedom of choice. All opposition dissolves automatically when the young couple has a child to be cared for. [583] Thus, a person who must fear the disapproval or resistance of parents toward a marriage elopes with his partner; once the couple is blessed with one or two children, no one can interfere or separate them.

587 /645/ A woman who becomes a man's second wife also has unrestricted freedom of choice. If she is a widow, she must sometimes be glad if a man will take her, whether she likes him or not, and she suppresses her own wishes without a murmur. Her position is more favorable if an older man, whose wife has perhaps become incapable of working, woos her. From the start she can then secure for herself certain rights and a favorable position in the family. In the great majority of polygamous marriages the two 588 women are sisters (21); the second one to be taken by the man is

21. This custom may be verified in Bridges' (i):21 words: "When a man married more wives than one they were generally sisters, which fact tendered greatly to strengthen the family party" /cited in English/. Relationship by marriage as such does not constitute blood relationship, hence does not hinder marriage (p. 417).

thus frequently better situated in many respects than in a monogamous marriage.

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587 Gertie lost her first husband, who was killed on an otter hunt. Immediately her brother-in-law sent away his wife and took Gertie. When he died, she joined Chris with whom she is still living. The latter had lost his first wife to a Tsah in Udnuala. If a widow runs after her brother-in-law, it is impossible for him to get rid of her, even if he is married.

[594] In Yamana economy it is almost impossible for a widow to maintain herself alone. Hence she cannot long remain unmarried, and she herself is compelled to try to remarry. This is obvious in the complete meaning of the word kwimen, and BD:226 states it fully: "A woman lately a widow, taken as a wife by another" /cited in English/. Usually a man soon proposes to her, for a young, able widow accomplishes more and is more valuable to him than a girl who is still inexperienced. I was assured that a widower had an even greater right to his recently widowed sister-in-law, namely, that he may force her to marry him, and that he can even take the recalcitrant one by the hair and drag her into his hut. Although this right is granted, a man has scarcely ever made use of it, for he must consider the fact that such a refractory sister-in-law will run away from him at the first opportunity. A widow, however, cannot actually coerce her brother-in-law into marrying her, and even less when he is already married. To be sure he can never evade the duty of taking care of his half-orphaned nephews and nieces in one way or another, if they are not provided for elsewhere.

587 In general, persons related by marriage show a certain
601 deference and mutual respect for each other. On this account the brother-in-law and widowed sister-in-law who have married are consciously respectful toward each other during the first few months. They talk remarkably little and always very softly.

587 Thus, since a married man has the right and a certain obli-
736 gation to care for his widowed sister-in-law, no one disapproves
•585 if he lets her come into his hut as his second wife. She must be /848/ economically secure and have no interference in making a free choice. This is the more comprehensive and final meaning of the obligation toward widow-marriage. It is even more important that the half-orphans be well cared for and properly reared under all circumstances (25).

25. The obligation of the levirate is partly

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responsible for the fact that many husbands have a second wife, and that many younger men are married to an older widow who has brought him the children of her deceased husband.

6. Participation of the Relatives

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The paternal uncle, inkrowa, unmistakably occupies a privileged position regarding his nephews and nieces. This is clearly evident at the time of the death of his married brother, as well as during his nephew's courtship and marriage. In the above lines we have already given a few data on the position of other adults relative to the marital plans of young people.

Following the dictates of his own heart, the young lad goes courting and tries to win the girl who promises to fulfill all his desires. The young lovers meet as often as possible, and their mutual affection grows as time goes on. If there is no pressure of outside circumstances, they amuse themselves in their amorous play without thinking of marrying soon. In their innermost conviction they have long since decided that they wish to belong together for life, without, however, expressing this openly to each other. And why should they? For the time being, neither of them reveals his feelings and intentions to his own parents; "they are somewhat ashamed!" I was told. A male neighbor and a female friend finally get the boy and girl to speak by making intimate allusions.

After the clandestine meetings and the love affair that can no longer be concealed have lasted long enough for the adults, the paternal uncle, inkrowa, one day decides to approach the boy very directly: "You have been meeting this girl for some time now. I finally ought to talk to your father about it!" Or he says: "We cannot go on seeing you daily with your beloved much longer. I shall soon inform your father in case you want to marry her!" This and similar expressions state the wish of the older relative to help the boy attain his goal. The latter realizes it. He takes this opportunity and has his uncle put the proposition before his father. Sometimes, if a boy wishes to reach his goal

/550 cont./

587 As we implied earlier, relationship by marriage is not regarded as blood relationship among our Yamana. It is no obstacle to marriage and, under certain conditions, is even an obligation for a levirate marriage. If the sister-in-law becomes a widow, the oldest brother, in terms of years, of her deceased husband must care for her and her children, provided a younger brother does not obtrude. The wife of the brother-in-law in question may not legally oppose this marriage, nor would either of these two be permitted to reject the widow because of the many children she brings with her (p. 412).

585 837 Aside from the obligation to take the widowed sister-in-law in marriage, the principle mentioned above is also clearly seen in an occasional marriage of two sisters simultaneously to one and the same man (26). A direct development usually leads to this

26. Hahn (a):805 summarizes both instances in the single sentence: "A man may marry two sisters and the wife of his brother" /translated from French/. Cooper:165, drawing on various sources, concludes: "It is a common practice among both the Ona and Yahgan for a man to marry two sisters" /cited in English/. Bridges (b):230 gives the following reason for this: "When a man marries more than one woman, the wives are usually sisters, which tends to strengthen the bonds of the family" /translated from Spanish/. This way of expressing it sounds credible and is close to what actually happens; this is less true of the statement he made 17 years earlier: "Polygamy is very general, and men generally have sisters of their wives, one sister after another as they become marriageable being given to the same husband" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869).

situation. When the married sister takes in her unmarried sister to help with the work or to be her companion, /551/ the brother-in-law not infrequently also falls in love with her. Sooner or later he will become intimate with her and will finally have sexual intercourse with her. Hence, he must ultimately acknowledge her as

/651 cont./

595 his wife. Their marriage takes place without any formality, and
837 the sexual relations between them become known to the neighborhood at the latest when pregnancy is well advanced, if not long
[626] before. If the man has no valid reason for this step and is guided merely by sensuality, he must be prepared for the bitter reproach and biting irony of his neighbors, intended to censure severely his weakness of character. Marriage with two sisters is not forbidden, but public opinion demands a reason for it, such as that the first wife cannot do her work because she is ill or that she has been blessed with a great many children. She perhaps had invited her sister into the hut as a helper, and since the latter adjusted well, the lawful wife will finally, on her own initiative, propose to her husband that he likewise regard her sister, who is probably always younger, as his wife. This is one way in which polygamy arises. Sometimes, also, consideration for the still unmarried sister-in-law will lead to it, for if she has become accustomed to her brother-in-law over a period of time, she will not look for another man, but will wait for her brother-in-law's proposal, or she will force herself upon him so insistently that he will yield to her wish. Her sister may not even be in favor of it.

587 Closely related to this is the view that, upon the death of his wife, a man has a certain right to his unmarried sister-in-law. If he proposes to her, she probably always accepts. If she refuses, however, and he nevertheless wants her, he may bring her into his hut by force. This is known as kuśatuku. This happens very rarely, however, for everyone knows that a woman who follows a man only because she is forced to do so cannot be held permanently.

Economic conditions in Tierra del Fuego make it imperative for every adult to marry, hence widowed persons (pp. 413, 480) do not remain alone very long. This sometimes leads to a considerable difference in age between the two partners, which does not constitute an obstacle to marriage and is apparently not even regarded as improper. An active young woman is more useful to an older widower than a woman as old as he is. For her part, the young creature expects to be treated with understanding by a quiet old man. From both sides, therefore, gentle pressure is exerted for the marriage of an old widower with a young woman(27).

27. It is an exaggeration, however, when

/662 cont./

604 custom grants the real parents. If the young woman should have the misfortune of having to seek help against infractions or cruel treatment by her husband, she first turns to her blood brother and then to her uncle.

581 In principle, the couple are united in marriage for life.
593 Their marriage is not only a union of hearts, but also a union of work for the welfare of themselves and their children. Each of the two partners is assigned particular duties by ancient custom; it alone decides if and when the dissolution of a marriage is permissible. Unfortunately, the modern age has also changed the
[177] original /663/ form of marriage in families of today, so that it is only partly recognizable in its outward appearance; hence the information given by all the old people was particularly valuable to me.

1. Monogamy

114 In describing the marital arrangements and family customs
585 of the Yamana, the critic is faced with a difficult problem. The reports of earlier observers are often quite inadequate and in part clearly colored. In particular, the statements Bridges made about our Indians are consistently unfavorable to them, and his conscious or unconscious intention to show them in an unfriendly light can probably not be denied. The older reports from his pen are in a disparaging and disdainful vein. Later he had enough feeling for justice to correct some of his grossest errors. Other travelers, however, in describing things which they did not directly understand, leaned on Bridges, and this was especially true in the case of arrangements dealing with marriage and the family. This is why there is so much agreement and similarity of opinion among the writers. I personally no longer found the genuine form of married life among the Yamana of earlier times to be a common condition and was obliged to rely on the reports of trustworthy people, such as old Alfredo, during my second visit to Tierra del Fuego. Since their opinions were well founded, they at any rate counteract many false, unsubstantiated contentions.

Many of the earlier travelers maintain that the Yamana condone polygamy, but one cannot clearly tell from their words whether

/663 cont./

114 595

this arrangement was prevalent, generally approved, or only tolerated under certain conditions (45). Bridges obviously contra-

45. Cooper:166 has assembled a few more recent opinions. We might also add Furlong (b):131, Dabbene (b):179, Lothrop (b):163, Outes (g):55, and others.

dicts himself. After he had spent the first decade on Isla Keppel, he wrote: "Polygamy is very general. Thus Jemmy Button has three sisters for his wives..., in fact, the marriage of two or three sisters by the same man is not the exception but the rule" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869). For the time being, let us disregard the last-mentioned inaccuracy (46). Seventeen years

46. Eleven years previously, on December 10, 1858, Despard had long since corrected this false accusation: "Jemmy Button declared that the report of his having three wives was all stories. 'No, I got only two -- other woman my sister'" /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 129;1859). Only after he let his first wife go did he take the second one.

later he (h):206, consciously or unconsciously, makes a considerable qualification: "In some places the rule is to have one wife; in others many have two, some three, and up to four" /translated from Spanish/. At that time Bridges did not know a large part of the Yamana, and for this reason alone his assertion has little credibility. Finally, after another seven years /664/ he (k):234 makes an almost frank revelation which seems like a refutation of his earlier opinions. He confesses: "But when one came to know them [los Yaganes] well, it was discovered that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists, and that, in general, they respected the rights that arise from family life" /translated from Spanish/. It took long years of observation on his part until he properly understood the obvious and significant arrangement of a Fuegian marriage in its actual form.

/664 cont./

114 Previously Bridges had doubtless made the error, into which
●595 other Europeans before and after him had fallen, of regarding
592 every adult woman in a hut or in a canoe as the wife of the man who happened to be present. The sister-in-law who, with her sister, was staying with her brother-in-law was not always his wife, nor was this the case with an older woman who, because she was alone, had been taken into the family by him. The same applies to relatives who happened to be living together for a time. A few years before this, in March, 1864, Stirling had reported: "The custom of the people here [in Packsaddle Bay] is to have but one wife; at Woolya a man often has three wives" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI,239;1864). Is it not possible that a false observation dictated these last words?

114 Hyades (q):378, however, very definitely represented the
595 view that monogamy predominates: "Although there is quite a number of men who have two, three, and even four wives, the custom is nevertheless to have only one" /translated from French/ (47).

> 47. He is consistent in this opinion and says in another place that "polygamy...is permitted but not the rule" /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):163 did not form an opinion and repeats, following Bridges, "the number [of wives] was not fixed by custom" /cited in English/.

Martial:198 agrees with him, saying: "The Fuegians sometimes practice polygamy; they rarely have three and even four wives; sometimes two, more often one" /translated from French/. Dabbene (b):188 emphasizes: "It is the custom to have only one [wife]" /translated from Spanish/. On the basis of the opinions of a few travelers of the last decades, Cooper:166 came to the following conclusion: "As Mr. Bridges and the members of the French Cape Horn expedition had much more experience among the Yahgans than had the members of the Italo-Argentinian expedition, it is more probable that the former authorities' estimate is the truer one, namely, dominant monogamy with, however,
595 considerable polygamy" /cited in English/. Present conditions

/664 cont./

•595 are not a criterion, although all families are monogamous. A decade ago, Manuel (p.444) from sheer necessity, was the sole exception. Along with his first wife, he took the youthful Julia, a Halakwulup.

The oldest men and women, questioned independently of one another, were and are unanimous in the opinion that monogamy by far outweighed polygamy, and that the latter was tolerated as an exception. The two brothers Martin and Fred Lawrence repeated this verbatim and gave as the reason a few obvious circumstances. /665/ The number of adults of both sexes was more often even. If the majority of the people had lived in polygamy, a considerable number of men would have remained unmarried, and every stranger would necessarily have noticed this. According to his natural inclination, the Fuegian man gives himself to only a single woman, and he feels that it disturbs his emotional life if he is supposed to give his love to two women at the same time. For this reason one of the wives of a polygamist will stand very low in his estimation. To say that he is economically better off [556] with a second wife, as long as his wife is still well and able to work, is a misunderstood exaggeration, for no one gathers riches and certain tasks imposed upon a man by ancient tribal customs are largely doubled if he has two wives whom he must support along with the children.

My attention was duly called to a popular erroneous manner of speaking among Indians and Whites, according to which a man is called a polygamist when he has sent his first wife away and has taken another woman in her place. Actually, these two women did not live in his hut simultaneously, but the first was superseded by the second. It happened relatively often among our natives that a husband dissolved his tie with the first wife and in her place took another as his wife (48). Monogamous

48. It is only in this sense that Lothrop (b):163 accepts the term "polygamy," for he writes: "In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term 'progressive polygamy'" /cited in English/.

/665 cont./

•595 single marriage is, after all, the general rule among the Yamana. It has often been proved that the rare cases of polygamy are necessarily tolerated only as exceptions.

2. Polygamy

Polygamy among our Fuegians has justifiably been put down as a fact by several travelers and missionaries. This confirms my personal investigations. Some accounts apparently take pleasure in increasing the number of joint wives of a man. Thus Outes (g):55, for example, says: "The poor have two or three wives, but there are some with four, five, and even six" /translated from Spanish/ (49). To this I wish only to say that everyone knows [556]

49. Even this view is topped by Spegazzini (a):166, namely, that it is not rare "to find some youth who has four and up to five wives" /translated from Spanish/.

there are neither poor people nor rich people among the Yamana.

More reliable accounts limit themselves to the bare statement that polygamy is permitted. In Hyades (b):1346 we read simply: "Polygamy, which custom permits, seemed nevertheless to be the exception" /translated from French/ (50). In February,

50. In another place he says (p):334: "Polygamy is permitted."

1930, Alfredo told me clearly and definitely: "While it is true that a Yamana may take a second woman along with his actual wife, the great majority of our men have always been satisfied with a single one!" Neither /666/ he nor his wife remembered a single native who had lived with three women at the same time. Relative figures are never cited, and the following communication by Bridges, dated February 14, 1871 (MM:V,138;1871), about the 21 men and youths present in Ushuaia does not fill me with confidence. He says that of these, four were bachelors, seven had one

/666 cont./

595 wife each, five had two each, three had three each, and one even had four wives (51). A case of more than two wives, if it actually

51. In contrast to this assertion, I refer again to the decisive correction which Bridges (k):243 made in his own judgments of earlier years, when he says: "But when one came to know them [los Yahganes] well, it was discovered that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists" /translated from Spanish/. With these words he curtly denies any kind of polygamy; in doing so, however, he obviously slightly oversteps the bounds of reality.

happened, must at least be regarded as a rare exception (52). It

52. This automatically settles the preposterous assertion of Bove (e):157 and (g):234: "Although... a man takes as many wives as he pleases, one nevertheless seldom sees men with more than four wives." His traveling companion, Lovisato, of course repeats with him that "a man takes from one to five wives and without any ceremony" /translated from Italian/.

would be more accurate to reject many of these accounts as false observations, for, as we have already emphasized (p. 437), not every woman in the company of a man was therefore his wife. Nevertheless, it seems that one must grant this fact, at least for modern times. BD:573 mentions tuxlóisa, "to marry more wives than two" /cited in English/. The two Lawrence brothers definitely dismissed the idea that in earlier, ordered conditions a Yamana might have been married to three or more wives simultaneously.
595 On another occasion, in February, 1923, Fred told me: "Anyone
587 who is familiar with the Yamana manner of speaking knows that they also speak of two or three wives of a man who has taken two or three women successively, in other words, another one

/666 cont./

595 in place of the one who ran away, was dismissed, or died. Such
587 a man cannot be called a polygamist in the strict sense of the word. Besides, a Yamana really has enough with two wives!" The explanation deserves to be carefully noted.

595 A Fuegian should not have more than one wife from free
586 choice, as can be seen from the fact that the feeling of the general public demands a definite and fundamental reason for taking a second spouse. If incompatability or serious alienation develops between married people, they ultimately separate. If after that some man takes a second woman as his wife, he does so for purely external reasons.

595 Almost always it is a question of incapacity to work on her part or a physical ailment of long duration. Modern times have brought about the latter condition. In view of the prevailing division of labor among the married Yamana, the man is absolutely dependent upon the unimpaired energy of his marital partner. If she must stop working for even a short time, she herself provides a substitute for him by summoning her sister, aunt, or niece. This state of affairs could not go on permanently. For example, if a wife has broken an arm or /667/ leg, she needs extra help, besides being unable to perform her customary work. As soon as she is aware of her hopeless condition, she voluntarily advises her husband to marry another woman. The man now has a true right to a second wife (53). Her still unmarried sister may

53. Dabbene (b):189 also grants it to him: "The man has a right to take another wife if the one he has is already old or if some misfortune leaves her with a serious physical defect" /translated from Spanish/. Spegazzini (a): 166 expressed himself in the same vein.

have taken over her duties, adjusted well to the brother-in-law, and be on the best of terms with his children. What could be more natural than that this brother-in-law say to her: "Stay with me as my second wife!" She probably always accepts the offer, if only out of pity for her sick sister and for the latter's children. Sometimes if an elderly couple are anxious for a fresh worker, he

/667 cont./

595 will take a healthy girl. This decision is very welcome to many a contentious old woman, because she now has a young creature completely under her domination. Thus she compensates for the fact that he shows more fondness toward the other than toward her. In both instances, the reason for polygamy is evident (54).

54. Different interpretations and descriptions should be corrected on the basis of these principles. According to Bove (e):157, "the necessity for having paddlers for the canoe, as well as a great predilection for the female sex, is the reason for such widespread polygamy. This is doubtless the most effective cause for the impoverishment of that race." The remark by Bridges (e):332 that "bigamy was very prevalent because of the great advantages connected with it" means nothing.

595 At various times Fred Lawrence repeated to me: "A Yamana
937 never keeps a second woman as his wife, in addition to his first
586 wife, for purely sensual reasons. If his lust is so great, he seeks relief in forbidden ways. If he has become absolutely infatuated with another woman who responds to his intentions, he gets rid of his first wife without further ado in order to be able to live with her alone, undisturbed."

595 In February, 1920, reliable Alfredo explained to me em-*phatically in the presence of his own wife and old Julia, neither* of whom contradicted him: "If a Yamana wants to take another person into his hut as a second wife, he does not need to ask his wife about it. But he almost always does so, for he loves his wife!" In other words, a man who has grown tired of his wife prefers to dismiss her before he brings a second wife into his hut without her knowledge. If he nevertheless does so, "his first wife must patiently yield. Perhaps she does not like this living together and she herself finally leaves. But she continues to be tractable and submissive toward the man; she does not call him to account if he foists a rival upon her without her knowledge and against her will." This explanation by Alfredo was later confirmed by other persons.

/667 cont./

595 The intention of having more children is not a reason for polygamy among the Yamana, for the Indian women are very
587 /668/ fertile, and no one could remember a childless woman in
842 earlier times. Most cases of polygamy arose from the fact that a man who was already living with one or two women also took in a solitary widow, Elétakalipa. The latter perhaps did not find an opportunity for a new marriage with a bachelor or did not wish to return to her family group, and the man took her chiefly because he felt sorry for her. Whether or not he sometimes had intercourse with her, both knew from the start that they could not expect children from their union. Hence, it was actually the right of sanctuary which the husband granted this widow. In the strict sense of the word one cannot call such a life together a marriage.

595 In 1920 Walter explained to me how our Yamana must also
177 make allowances for the changes forced on them by European civilization. His father had three women in his hut simultaneously, with whom he had marital relations. At that time there was already a shortage of men on Lennox Island and environs, that is to say, in the eastern group of the Yamana. Hence the women forced themselves on the few men in order to find sanctuary somewhere. From among his many brothers and sisters, Walter had for several years been the only one living. Here is another case. The young Halakwulup, Julia, had fled from a brutal European and found refuge on the farm near Punta Remolino. She could scarcely come to any understanding with the Yamana and lived very much to herself. She was treated in a friendly fashion and was supported by the Indian women there, but as a solitary woman with a son a year old she could no longer make out by herself. There was no suitable Yamana youth who could be her husband. Finally Manuel, who was about 35 years old and was married to fifteen-year-old Emilia, took pity on her and took her into his hut as his second wife (p. 430).

The quiet acceptance of polygamy brings with it the surprising phenomenon that married people are separated by a considerable age difference (55), which is not regarded as an obstacle

55. "An elderly man will be found often to possess two young wives in addition to one his

/668 cont./

•595

> equal in age; while a young man will often be allied to a woman his senior by forty years; for among some of the tribes at least it is inculcated as a duty that the young men should marry -- or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say, should adopt into their family, and undertake to provide for -- the aged women" /cited in English/ (VSA:XIII, 81:1866). Aspinall:270 writes: "strangely enough, the man usually has two wives, an old one and a young one."

to marriage (p. 419). In fact, there are minor advantages if an elderly couple takes a young girl into the hut (p. 442) and if a young bachelor brings home a widow who is middle-aged or older (p. 420). This observation apparently disturbed Stirling on his trip through the Wulaia region in March, 1864: "The elder men have frequently three wives, and two of them are generally of extreme youth....I long for plenary powers to set matrimonial affairs right down here, for the young men are too often glad to pick up derelicts, while their sires adorn their wigwams, and propel /669/ their canoes with the fairest faces, and choicest arms in the community" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 204:1864). He said this in the unconsciously erroneous assumption that every woman associated with a man is his wife.

If a married Yamana takes a second woman as an actual wife, along with his first wife, the formalities which are the general requirement for a young bridal couple (p. 424) are not repeated, nor are they when a widower, Ilitakowa, marries again. The situation is taken for granted by the neighborhood when they see these persons living together uninterruptedly in the same hut, if, indeed, the newly married couple have not already announced it in so many words.

The first wife, unmistakably, has a privileged position. Outwardly this is shown by the fact that she is permitted the place directly beside the hut entrance. Alfredo called her wafia; BD: 828 writes wihyfkin, "the first wife whose place is the door side of her husband" /cited in English/. Thus she appears as the

/669 cont./

595 doorkeeper (56), so to speak, for here she also arranges her

56. Martial:198 called her "the door-woman" /translated from French/. Bridges (i):25 wrote in exaggerated detail: "Each grown person had his or her place in the wigwam and the several wives of a man had each her appointed place as respected the seat of her husband, from which she derived her title. Thus the first, or rather principle /sic/ wife, for sometimes the first in respect of time became second or third in respect of rank, was spoken of as Wahyusin, i.e., the one on the doorside, because her place was invariably on that side of her husband. The second was called Ushushpai, because she sat next her husband on the inner side, and third Cuchiellahco, i.e., next beyond on the inner side of. Thus each knew her place when they went into any fresh dwelling, but usually a man had not more than one or two wives at a time" /cited in English/.

sleeping place and the husband has his place beside her. Next to him, on the inner side of the hut, the second wife takes her place; hence she is called ussógupaiaki, who is, according to BD:114, "the second wife, when there are two, because her place was on the upper or inner side of her husband in the wigwam" /cited in English/. Moreover, the first wife is entitled to give the other one certain tasks and other orders. The latter submits, more because she is younger than in acknowledgment of a special greater power of her superior. It never occurs to the first wife to misuse her power, much less to leave her rival in want or to harm her. Just as in general the first wife distributes to the neighboring huts the meat that her husband brings home, so she lets the second wife have a special piece (57). She is particularly attentive,

595 264

57. Hence she is not dependent on the whims of the first wife at every meal, as Martial:198

/669 cont./

595 [264]

maintains. According to the common custom, everyone in a hut may eat what is there and whenever he pleases (p. 334).

from a feeling of common humanity, while the other is nursing an infant. Both of them freely take part in the daily activities. A great deal is automatically regulated by the fact that the younger woman must take care of her small children. In most polygamous marriages the first wife is unable to work or is weak, but in any case the second wife /670/ has more or less all the work in the hut or the canoe. If, as often happens, they are sisters, the daily work runs harmoniously and smoothly.

In some cases, however, the relationship between two wives can be very much disturbed by envy and jealousy, if the two are not related, if the man shows more love and affection for the younger of the two, if he obviously treats her with more friendliness and tenderness. The first wife, who now is clearly aware of her lawful pre-eminence, controls her silent envy for a long time. [578] Later, in regular scenes of jealousy, she seriously reproaches her husband. Finally, if all her efforts to win his love are in vain, she definitely leaves him. Such conditions are the exception in polygamous marriages and probably occur only when the husband wants to get rid of his first wife. The two rivals almost always live together harmoniously, particularly if the older one is dependent on the younger because of physical ailments and even more often if both are sisters. Then neither one is jealous of the demonstrations of affection which the other receives from their common husband, no matter how irritatingly the favoritism is displayed. The first wife never relinquishes her own rights (58).

58. The meaning of kōtuana which BD:188 gives, "to cause the first wife to take the place in the wigwam of the second or third" /cited in English/, has no legal significance.

595 114

Here is an example of how unreliably two Europeans who visited our Fuegians simultaneously reported on one and the same arrangement. According to Spegazzini (a):106, "the peace of

/670 cont./

595 114 the family is never disturbed" through polygamy, "no altercations among [the wives], neither jealousy nor favoritism" /translated from Spanish/. Bove (e):157, on the other hand, maintains: "Although...a man takes as many women (59) as he pleases, one

59. Apparently leaning on Bove, Wieghardt:38 repeats verbatim that "with so many women around [namely, with four wives], domestic felicity disappears entirely" /translated from Spanish/.

nevertheless seldom sees men with more than four wives. It seems that with such a number of wives domestic happiness is no longer secure and the hut or canoe is daily turned into a battlefield, so that a young and beautiful wife probably sometimes pays with her life for the favoritism which the man shows her. It is worse for the man when the women settle their own quarrels and combine against the head of the house, in which case it probably becomes clear to him that even a single woman can at times be very uncomfortable." Faced with the inventive spirit of one who can produce such battle scenes, I for my part remain silent.

595 In spite of everything, it is true that individual men lived simultaneously with two women, for the most part two sisters, but the great majority of marriages were monogamous. A few authorities surmised that, as an extremely rare exception, a man also had three wives, /671/ who were almost always sisters. There is no reliable evidence for this number or for a larger number of wives. There was probably always some reason for polygamous marriages, most of them arising from the existing division of labor and the obligation of the brother-in-law to marry a widow. Most of the European observers erroneously regarded every woman accompanying a man as his wife and hence very much exaggerated the extent of polygamy. Again we should like to remind the reader of the considerable modification that the experienced Bridges (k):243 made in his earlier, hasty assertions, for after living with these Indians for almost 40 years, he frankly confessed: "When one came to know the Yamana well, it appeared that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists!"

/671 cont./

• 58 Nothing indicates that the Yamana would permit actual polyandry (60). So-called sexual promiscuity was already

> 60. On April 22, 1871, Bridges (i):21 clearly stated: "In no case has a woman been known to have more than one husband at a time, but succesively some have had two or even more" /cited in English/, and later he (h):210 repeated: "A woman has never been known to have more than one husband at a time" /translated from Spanish/. Many a married woman, however, secretly had an illicit affair.

[837]

definitely disavowed by Fitz-Roy (a):182: "Jemmy Button often talked of his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, also of uncles and aunts, after he knew enough of our language to understand distinctly the relationship. Now this could not have been the case had not his father and mother lived together permanently as man and wife, according to the clear account which he himself always gave of their custom in this respect" /cited in English/.

[847] The Anglican missionaries, beginning with Stirling, endeavored to put an end to polygamy; Bridges even obtained an injunction from the government (61). Unfortunately, the missionaries did

> *61. On May 26, 1887, he reported:* "Again, cases of natives taking a second wife are punished by imprisonment, and thus happily prevented" /cited in English/ (MM:XXI, 176, 1887).

not take into account the fact that in some families a second wife was demanded by economic necessity. As such, however, polygamy is contrary to the general feeling of justice among the Yamana, and reasonable exceptions are merely tolerated (p. 440).

836 tion. Intercourse between the unmarried was disapproved, but breaches of the code were not infrequent. Marriage between blood
582 relatives, however distant, was in theory taboo; in practice, the prohibition included half-siblings, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, first cousins, both parallel and cross, and seemingly extended somewhat beyond these limits. Since near relatives commonly lived near one another, marriages tended to be locally exogamous. Marriages with mates from far distant localities, especially outside one's own of the five dialectic groups, were disliked and infrequent. Marriage with a mother and her daughter was disapproved, but not so strongly as marriage with near blood-kin. Sponsors were barred from marrying their respective candidates of the *tóksaxe*[1] initiation rite.

584 Choice of mate was ordinarily free on the part both of the boy and of
583 the girl, and appears to have been based largely on mutual affection and regard. Gifts from the groom to the bride's father were given and expected, as were also certain services before and after marriage. But a bride-price as stipulated by or haggled for by the father was absent. Bride capture or stealing, if it occurred, must have been very rare.

582 Boys and girls did not marry until they had passed through the required *tóksaxe* initiation. Gusinde (1937, p. 622) estimates the more common chronological ages of first marriages as about 17 to 19 years for boys, and 15 to 18 for girls.

Monogamy was by far the most prevalent form of marriage. Polyandry did not occur. Polygyny was permitted, but was uncommon.
•583 A few men had two wives, more commonly sisters; cases of three wives,
589 if they occurred, must have been very rare. On the death of a man's wife, he had a certain marriage claim to her unmarried sister. On the death of a woman's husband, she frequently became, and under certain circumstances was expected or obliged to become, the wife of his oldest surviving brother, especially his unmarried brother, unless she married another man. This custom (the *levirate*) was, from the native point of view, primarily an obligation of the father's brother to be responsible for his nephews and nieces, a responsibility that lay on the uncle even though his brother's widow married another man. A surviving married brother was not entirely free to marry the widow, as his own wife might object.

585 The chief wedding rite consisted in painting the cheeks of the couple with three red parallel horizontal lines. These were worn and renewed for a week, during which time there were feasting and dancing, and at the end of which the couple went off together in their own canoe.
591 Customarily, they remained with the bride's people for a few months,

[1] See the account of Haughton (1), 1 of Haughton (2).

591 after which they would usually go for good to the groom's kin. Thus, localized groups of kin tended to be paternal.

604 After marriage the husband's paternal uncle and the wife's maternal aunt took particular interest in them, superseding in large measure their respective parents. Children-in-law were expected to
606 look after their parents-in-law in sickness or other needs. Children-in-law observed a number of avoidances regarding their parents-in-law: greeting their parents-in-law, speaking to them or breaking in on their conversation with remarks, looking at them, and sitting down beside them were all taboo. When in the same hut with their parents-in-law, they turned their sides or backs on them. A year or so after marriage, the restrictions between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law were partly, but never wholly, relaxed; those between son-in-law and father-in-law lasted through life. On visits of the father-in-law to his daughter, he and his son-in-law communicated wishes and news through the daughter and wife or by indirect discourse.

562 The man was, in theory, considered the head of the family, with
593 authority to rule. Actually, his authority was very far from absolute, and the woman was largely her own mistress, particularly in such provinces of her own as child rearing, food gathering, and canoe managing. Some men domineered over their wives, but not a few husbands were under the thumbs of their spouses. Some husbands were cruel, but if so they ran afoul of the wife's kin. More generally, woman's position both in the family and in the community seemed a respected one, not that of a drudge, slave, or inferior being, and she enjoyed a fairly high degree of freedom and independence.

684 Adultery was disapproved by the Yahgan code, but apparently
837 the code suffered appreciable infringement in practice. Adultery on the wife's part was, if discovered, punished by the husband with sound beatings, very rarely with death. Public opinion disapproved of her behavior. Adultery on the husband's part also gave rise to domestic battles in which the husband sometimes suffered severe treatment at his offended wife's hands. Jealousy on the part of both
[548] husband and wife was common. Wife lending was absent. There was no professional prostitution; a woman, married or unmarried, of markedly loose character was looked down upon.

586 Separation and divorce were fairly frequent, but were not lightly resorted to. The most common cause appears to have been cruel treatment of the wife by the husband, though there were other causes such as marked laziness, negligence, or crabbedness on the part of the
[593] wife. In case the wife became incapacitated through illness or age, the man could, and, it seems, more commonly did, take to himself a Second Wife.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Among the Yahgan, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Ona. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will soon abandoned the undesired husband. In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 206) a man might have from one to four wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by custom.

Infidelity resulted in no fixed form of punishment, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yahgan man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his amours, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him.

Children

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted orphans set down in the mission records, the Yahgan did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon put an end to them or drove them under cover.

Soon after birth had taken place the Yahgan mother bathed in the sea and the new-born child was also immersed in order to toughen it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° to 50° Fahrenheit, while the air at best could be described as no warmer than temperate. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that soon after birth all but the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly eliminated.

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see incipient couvade.

Games and Amusements

The Yahgan to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much care and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling, and stones; but while these exercises often assumed the form of

/423 cont./

from the natural unwillingness of women to separate themselves so entirely from their own people" /cited in English/.

Furthermore, it is not permitted for a man simultaneously to take a widowed mother and her daughter as wives. Toward the latter his relationship is that of stepfather, and she is obliged to obey him as his own child. This prohibition naturally remains in effect for the man in case the mother of this daughter dies, even if she has lived with him only a short time as his wife. Kinship by adoption has thus been introduced, and they are stepfather and stepdaughter toward each other. An infraction against this, however, is not considered as serious as marriage between blood relatives, although it is still very improper. Nothing is changed if first the mother and then the daughter, or first the daughter and then, in addition, the mother are betrothed. Fred Lawrence could not remember a single case of /424/ such a marriage from former times and explained that it would not have been tolerated. Nevertheless, Bridges (c):213 maintained that "a few cases of a man having as wives a mother and her daughter are known" /cited in English/ (33). The unnatural mixture of

33. On August 16, 1963 (VSA.XII, 272.1963), he wrote as follows on this subject: "There are two men who have as wives mother and daughter at the same time, but this is not liked generally" /cited in English/. Nevertheless, he later went so far as to make the following erroneous assertion: "Some of the Beagle Channel tribes have a practice of marrying a woman and her daughter" /cited in English/ (Mbd.III, 117.1963).

people in modern times has also weakened the effectiveness of this prohibition (34).

34. I herewith state my own observations in Spencer's 72 words, "that Demings married

/798 cont./

[51] [91] [91] [91

601 [597]

/793 cont./

tūmāgū (kaiiūala), tūnāgun, "to adopt or become a father to children by taking their mother as a wife, or to become a mother by marrying their father."

mākusin, brother (15, 27; 6, 41; 20, 28)	mākus-kīpa, sister (10, 39)
haua makus, 1. do.	
haua mōkus, 1. do.	haua makuskīpan, 1. do.
ki mākusin, 3. do.	kī makuskipaalanči, 3. pl. acc. (14, 26)
makusyamalim, brothers (16, 28)	makuskīpaala, sisters (14, 26)
makusaala, do. (8, 19. 20, 21)	
haua makusaala, my brothers (8, 2)	
sin makusaalun, 2. do. (8, 20)	
kī makusaalan, 3. (do. (8, 19)	
mamakusualim, brothers (20, 29)	
magaiiamalim, brothers to one another	magaiambaa-kīpaiamalim, sisters to one another
sin ōšūuōnči, "of your brother" (6, 42)	
kī-t-ōšūuōn, his brother /acc./ (6, 14)	
waimua, eldest son, brother, cousin	wai-kīpa (2), older sister, first cousin
haua waim, 1. do.	
waiamun, do., do.	haua wai-kīpan, 1. do., do.
eiamun, do., do	sin uai-kīpan, 2. do., do.
k'ūaiamun, 3. do., do.	sin uai-kīpa, 2. do., do.
k-aiūaiamun, 3. do., do.	kai-ūai-kīpan, 3. do., do.
k-aiūaiamōlan, 3. do., do.	kai-ūaikīpalan, 3. do., do.
k-aiuamundaian, 3. do., do.	kai-ūaikipandaian, 3. do., do.
kūk-aaim siūan, the eldest brother	winni, my daughter, my older sister, my wife, my niece, my cousin, first, second, and third degree
maaempai, two older brothers together	maaekipapai, two women, older sisters of a family together

/1028 cont./

732 was really superfluous to teach us uǐwǭala in the čičexaus how we were to take care of him.

Elsewhere (p. 514) the concern of the public for orphans has 736 been described in detail. The orphaned boy, wēšakiya, as well 597 as the orphaned girl, wēšakiyakipa, remains with the surviving parent until the latter marries again. Bridges (a):202, 183 correctly asserts: "If the father of a woman is dead, the mother has the right of disposal...If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/. The nearest relatives, too, in particular the so-called adoptive mother, adakutāruwaxipa, keep an eye on the orphans. If a nursing infant loses its mother, it is reared by another woman who gladly undertakes this service (445). Thus there is not the

> 445. The Yamana women, as Hahn (a):806 reports, "often rear foster children who do not belong to them, but the child is then regarded as their own and owes them the obedience and respect of an actual child" /translated from French/.

slightest doubt about the rearing of every orphan, which is assured.

/1029/ It is probably unnecessary to refute once more, as 881 a figment of the imagination, the opinion circulated by Darwin in his day about the fate of old women. Bridges (k):235 undertook to do this decades ago: "The tales that have been spread about their killing old women who were unable to work are pure fables. These old women had as much security as other individuals as the tribe, for they had children and grandchildren who certainly would have defended them against any assault" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g):35 has made clear how valuable they can still be to the entire tribe: "The old women are by no means as useless as [Darwin's] story presupposes; their experience makes them decidedly valuable in securing food, as well as in the other household tasks, and it is not at all rare that young people prefer to marry an experienced older woman rather than a young girl, even though she is prettier. Older women whose husbands are dead very definitely exercise all the rights of a family head; even when they

582 /783 cont./
612 Though he may then spend the rest of his life there, he remains bound as a blood relative to the family from which he sprang.

601 In order to be sure about mutual connections, the Yamana language furnishes very exact designations even for distant degrees of kinship. These are, of course, just as familiar to everyone as are words for articles of daily use. Hyades (p):334 writes: "Kinship is recognized even to the fourth or fifth degree" /translated from French/. Although our Indian is not painfully exact in counting, nevertheless he knows how to determine a relationship that sometimes goes back to remote degrees and that finally can be established only by the fact that the families have been together locally for a long time.

612 Kinship, however, does not operate merely in a negative sense
571 by making marriage impossible; far beyond that it commands mutual aid and assistance. Lawfully the individual family depends upon itself, but there is no arrangement to guarantee it legal protection. It would be at the mercy of a stronger one if it did not find protection and support through its blood relatives (219).

> 219. Bove (c):130 and (g):234 writes: "Only the necessity for common defense forces some families to unite into a single tribe /tribu/, but no one has the right to put himself at the head and to meddle in another's affairs" /translated from Spanish/. The expression "tribu" here can mean only a community of kinsmen.

A family that was merely friendly would not be close enough /784/ to be a safe refuge in every case of need. Blood ties, on the other hand, are never dissolved and retain their strength. Hence every one notes very carefully all the persons who are related to him, both closely and more distantly. He assures himself of their help by frequent visits and by repeatedly asking other people about them. He especially seeks them out and calls upon them urgently if he is threatened by the hostility of others or if he expects a sudden attack. These are the social connections that everyone cultivates (220)

> 220. These connections were described much too briefly by Spegazzini (a):165.

/784 cont./

612 according to his own free choice or the distressing situation he
571 happens to be in.

Sociability is also a factor here, affecting one person more
612 than another among a circle of intimates. No one has a privi-
571 leged position established by law. For logical reasons young peo-
554 ple naturally bow to the moral superiority of experienced old men or capable younger men, but if something does not suit a person, he leaves inconspicuously and goes his own way until further developments.

Everyone likes to obtain the counsel and decisions of an older relative. A person who has cultivated his connections with his kinsfolk and has honored them can always count on help and support. If one's kinsfolk are numerous and include men who are held in esteem, his own self-importance is thereby considerably increased and his confidence reinforced. He likes to boast of his far-flung, mighty kinsfolk on whose protection he can count. One's own relatives are, of course, more privileged and more highly honored than other guests, and everyone knows it is his duty to hasten to the aid of a relative who is in distress and threatened by enemies, to avenge the wrong done to him, and actively to intercede for him everywhere. Family honor demands all this, and everyone esteems it highly. Thus, the individual always finds protection and justice among his kinsfolk in any affliction.

3. Kinship Terms

• 601 Although the individual family is lawfully completely independent, nevertheless it sometimes finds itself dependent on relatives. Consequently everyone is surprisingly familiar with his family connection with anyone else. This probably was not a causal factor in the origin of the many kinship terms, but it is certain that an adult Indian has a mastery of these designations and uses them surprisingly accurately. Immediately upon /785/ the birth of a child and during its first few months of life, the family discusses its relationship to all the closer and more distant kinsmen who make up the family's circle (221).

221. Despard (b):608 refers to this as follows:

/785 cont./

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"They are very exact in preserving the remembrance of the precise relationship born by members of a family each to other" /cited in English/.

From the start we are surprised not only by the large number, but also by the logical formation of the kinship terms (222).

222. The long lists gathered by a few earlier observers are still incomplete; above all Hyades (p):333 and (q):297, Lothrop (b):161, and Spencer: 61, 65 are referred to here.

Referring to Bridges, Hyades (q):261 says: "There are specific terms for all the degrees of kinship" /translated from French/, in fact, considerably more than most Europeans are able to apply (223).

223. Bridges frankly admits this in Hyades (q):261, and no one will contradict him when he says that our natives "in this respect have more distinctions and more terms than we ourselves" /translated from French/.

Today, however, some of them are no longer current among the younger Indians because their tribal life has been disintegrating for a long time. Formerly there was more opportunity to use such terms (224).

224. We are confronted here with a universal phenomenon in the world of primitives. "This alone [the confined situations] explains the complicated kinship terms of some tribes and the accurate mastery of these by the native who can accurately fit every single member into this system. Anyone who from childhood has been taught to place the greatest importance on these things finds it easy with the years to learn to distinguish them clearly with a limited

/785 cont./

601

number of people." From Vierkandt, Das genossenschaftliche Gemeinwesen der Naturvölker /The Cooperative Communal Life of Primitive Peoples/, Stuttgart, 1922.

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127

The following list of Yamana kinship terms comes from the pen of the university lecturer Dr. Ferdinand Hestermann who at my request furnished it specially for this book. He writes:

Just as the language of the Yamana is extremely rich in forms, so also are there many designations for kinship. Reverend Bridges seems also to have felt this very strongly, for in his works we find several summaries of these designations.

The following list is first of all an excerpt from the Yamana-English Dictionary of Reverend Thomas Bridges (225). This

225. In the present book we refer to this work as BD.

furnishes the basis. As a supplement and a check, however, we have also used other accounts by Reverend Bridges, such as the one in his grammar published in London, as well as the manuscript of the above-mentioned dictionary, which was never published. From this manuscript edition, however, we obtained only clues since we had only the galleys which were not proof read and the handwritten copy was not available. Furthermore, the Gospel according to St. Luke was also used, namely, in the form of a vocabulary made from it by Platzmann (226). The grammar /786/ of

226. This refers to Platzmann (a). See the list of sources at the end of this book.

Lucien Adam has been used only sparingly, since it does not contain anything original; the same is true of the reports by Boggiani and Bove. We have, however, made abundant use of the lists of vocalizations made by the Mission Scientifique. In spite of all this, the summary is not entirely clear on all points; the matter is much too complicated for this.

I should like to permit myself two brief remarks. I go further than others in giving the scope of the designations, since this is

/786 cont./

• 601 clearly demanded by the language. I am also adding several verbs
127 which can only increase the clarity of this list of kinship terms for linguists as well as ethnologists, and above all for sociologists. Anyone who wishes to engage in more profound work is referred to the Dictionary.

601 Male relatives are given on the left, female on the right of the page. Occasionally we give the possessive and forms of address. Here and there we also give number, such as plural or dual, as well as the singular. Whatever appears in parentheses ( ) can be omitted or retained. The first numbers, which are not in parentheses and are followed by a period, indicate the person. The following number in parentheses indicates chapter and verse from the translation of the Gospel according to Luke.

601 The Indians call themselves yámana.
192

yamana-ūwa, man	yamana-ā-kīpa, woman
yamali(m), people in the plural	yamanaiamalim, human beings
ū-aiamalim, men (11, 44; 9, 14)	kīp-aiamalim, women (23, 49. 55; 24, 22)

[609] Strangers are clearly separated: agōpatūa, aua, mēamūa, the first being meant as European, the last as native strangers.
ūa, human being, man, also uōn (23, 2. 4. 14. 19); ūa in Luke (1, 31) used as "son" since here it can be the equivalent of the word "human being."

ūa, uōn, human being, man	kīpa, woman, wife, also kīpāki pa, the same in the eastern part of Beagle Channel

For the latter word kīpa-dūra, "all women, every woman," is striking. See "child" in this connection.

"Master" is gālīgūa (12, 43), "sovereign, aristocracy," tauīnala (21, 12), in the singular tauīna, "lord, master" (9, 54; 12, 13) or tauīnūa, "the highest" (18, 18), whereas ōkōr[i] mūkīgūna means "head of the house" (12, 39; 14, 26).
uātala, "the elders, old one," appears in Luke (7, 3).
ma-gālig-ūa is used for "manservant" or "maidservant" (1, 38; 12, 36).

uōnōxyīgūuōn, male servants (7, 2);	uōtāgūkīpeiamalim, female servants (12, 43. 45).

/786 cont./

601 [572] There are several words to express the relationship of friends, which occasionally can also be used in the sense of being related.

tōgakūlū, friend (14, 10-12, 11, 6)

kurūgala, friends (15, 6)

dōōnaka, female friend (cognates 1, 36)

kurūkindeian, female friends (15, 9)

ī̄gōgakīpeiamalim, bad women (prostitutes 15, 30).

/787/ The word "related" or "relative" cannot be translated as such (see "female friend"), since it is usually more specific. mōkōr̄ī, "connected together like relatives," in the dual mōkōr̄ī pai, in the plural mōkōr̄ī yamalim. magīta, "blood relatives," dual magītīpai. sōnnakita, "without male relatives, without friends who could offer help in combat, without brothers, without uncle, without cousins." -- For the rest we must come back to this in the individual items.

ūūū (an), ūūta, grandfather	gūūana, grandmother
hau ūūan, hau ūūu(ō)n, 1. do.	haua gūūanan, 1. do.
ūin ūūōn, 2. do.	uin gūūanan, 2. do.
kīt ūūun, 3. do.	ūina gūūanan, 2. do.
kīt ūūnun, 3. do.	kīīn gūūanan, 3. do.
kīt ūūōn, 3. do.	kōōjimin gūūanan, 3. do.

If the reader is struck by the fact that two different roots are used for the compound expression, this will be immediately explained in what follows; "great uncle" is called gūlatakōn, whereas a word for "great aunt" is nowhere to be found.

601 103 Regions are also linked with kinship terms, for example, hī-kaiamakūtaua, "the land of my grandmothers, ." more accurately with ūni which means "land"; thus, kī-kaiamākūtas-ūni, and

kī-kaiamīkūs-ūa, male, kī-kaiamīkus-a-kīpa, female relative from there. In the opposite direction, the expression can also refer to the grandchildren: "the land of someone's grandchild." hī-kaiamīkus-īpai means that two persons have connections with the grandmother's or the grandchildren's country.

hannaiamalim, my countrymen	hanna-kīpaiamalim, do., f., sing.
hannala, do. m.	hanna-kīpa, do. f.

/787 cont./

601 Contemptuously one speaks of hamilwa, "my countryman." We shall occasionally mention such analogies.

Just as a term may be restricted with reference to a locality, so also may one be restricted with reference to sex: wimi-ñalen, all the female relatives of someone, such as nieces, cousins, second cousins, etc. The expression is familiar, however, and this must be taken into consideration each time.

There are two expressions for "parents": ñimakiamalim and ñiñiñi. The designation for a pair also applies to a single spouse, like tuku, ñiñiñu, ñiñum (8, 3; 18, 19), or ñiñi'ha, "my husband, my wife." ki-ñiñu-n, "his wife, her husband." kiñi-pai tuku kinjin, "this is the wife of that man, this is the husband of that woman." There are also designations exclusively for one, but only with reference to the woman. Thus: pana-tuku-ñi, if simply a wife is meant, whereas the next wife or the second wife is called uñiñgñi, called this because her place is at the upper or inner side in the wigwam of her husband. ñiñi-kip-a means simply "old woman." Bride and bridegroom are tuku, like "husband, wife" above. On the other hand, matuku is used only for "husband, wife."

601 192 /788/ The latter word means only "to marry," or more exactly, to go or come north and marry or be married or in order to marry. "A married pair" or "to marry one another" is matikipai. "One man and his wives, two men and their wives" is matikwiamalim. There are a great many expressions in this category, for example, ñimikiñuñgñi, to detain or take in someone's wife or husband. gikiñiñ, to marry a woman whom one has no right to her. gñigi, to send or to give in marriage, namely, a man his daughter (but not his son). gñigñuñiñ, to come to go and sit down in the wigwam, as a father his daughter with regard to her future husband. wikyñin, the first wife whose place is at the door-side of her husband. Tamalñwña (ñapina, ñipina) means to treat female relatives with such familiarity as is proper only toward those with whom a marriage is to be contracted, or to marry relatives, such as female cousins, aunts, etc., to permit oneself unusual liberties with someone's relatives or family, to desecrate something sacred, or to be crude. ñhua-gñmaca, to give someone in marriage to

/788 cont./

61 | 92 place of someone else. tuxlina, to marry on the boat. tuxlōfa, to be married to or to marry more than two women. tunnana, to love, to treat with love and kindness, such as a man his wife (said only about women). tuxyellīki, a woman who was abandoned or sent away by a former husband. twīnamīwana, twīnamīwanīgīl, to give a man as his wife a woman who is related to him. [illegible], to be promised to a man in marriage (1, 27). [illegible], of the wedding in the house of his wife (12, 36). [illegible] kīpa, they courted (17, 27). [illegible] kīpa, women given in marriage (17, 27). [illegible] fa, one who has lived with her husband (2, 36). makurfa, the beloved women, the chosen one (9, 35; 23, 25). mamuse-ānīgīla, a woman above all others favored by her husband.

61 | Concerning the word for "father," it is noteworthy that Bridges uses only a single one with the possessive 3; he expressly points to the fact that only the possessives given for a word by him can be used. And as a matter of fact, the connection mentioned is given in all his entries.

ūmī, umī, īmīn, father (11, 2, 12; 12, 36)
īmundeian, fathers (21, 16)
īmīgian, fathers (23, 36)

kuu īmun, 1. do.
nin īmun, 2. do.
nīnīmin īmun, 3. do.
kū' īmun, 2. do. (15, 20)
kū' īmun, 3. do.
kīnsellai, do., old man, elderly man
kīnsa (fem.) kīnsaīm, do.
/789/
dīthula, elder, old man, do.

dīrufīm, dīrufīkīm, do. (12, 53; 15, 22)

dīnum, mother (1, 43; 4, 36)
kīgīnum, mother of sons only
dīnundeian, mothers (21, 16)
kī-dīn(a)n, 1. mother (8, 21)
kī-dīnin, 1. do.
dīnuia, 2. do. (8, 20)
nin(a) dīnin, 2. do.
kīnīmin dīnin, 3. do.
ni dīnin 3. do. (8, 19)

kīnsa-nīp-īki, mother, old woman
kīnsa-kīpa, do.

dīthīpa, elder, old woman, do. (1, 18; 12, 53; 2, 36)
dīrufīpa, dīrāpa, an elder, large and strong woman, mother

/789 cont./

601 dābua, your father (15, 27)
dābūa(n), 2. do.
hĭ dābua(n), 1. do.
hĭ dābūan, 1. do. (15, 12)
(u)ōkūma(n), older man
tānūwa, my father, my old husband (fam.)
taninua, 2. do.
(haua) tūmagaiwa, 1. do., do. (fam. and friendly on the part of younger people)
yauaua, my father (local in the east)

dara-winni, dāra-inni, do., do.
tānūwa-kīpa, my mother, my old wife (fam.)
pasanīpa, mother
haua pasanīpa, 1. do.

601 192 A few further supplementary items. dapŏĭ, dāpŏĭ (11, 27; 23, 29) tōmmuĭa (in the south), "mother's breast"; dapŏla "to suck"; gaiaĭi, "to grow to maturity" (said of a mother's breast). gōnnux, "a mother who bears only female offspring." mēamasa, maiamasa, "pregnant." yembōna, "to have a small child." yembōnīkipa, "mother of a small child." yellāmīgū, "to be confined before another woman." tūmūtulōĭa, "to have children or descendants." tūsilana, "embryo, to be with child in the first few months." ąalatia, "embryo," amagōna, "belly, embryo, egg, pregnant," mīgŏĭ, "to adopt as a son, to bring forth a child, to have a boy." mūātsikōri, "to come forth, to come into the world." tūčikīpinana, "to have a child or other dependents whose life is endangered by others." tūmāgōnnaka, "not to have brought forth offspring, childless, sterile." jākul, "sterile, not having offspring." mīgōnnaka, "not to have (borne) a child." mātūmāgūpai, "to have two children." wēna, "fruit of the womb," kīčin uēnan, 3. do.; hau ąalatia, 1. do. wēnanąa, "you will conceive (in the womb)" (1, 31), kōukanudĭ, "she became pregnant" (1, 24). mīgasin, "having borne" (after pregnancy; 11, 27). sa tūmāgūaūa "you will bear a son (man) (1, 31). ŏmuĭyāgū, "embryo," ŏmuĭyāgū-dābū, hasauasa kīpa, "a pregnant woman." jōkāluĭ, "afterbirth, navel cord." gupā, "navel," gūpul, "navel cord."

Pertaining to the man: lag-ąala, alox-ąala, bōllōx, "testicles," bōllōxkai-ĭlādĭtĭ, "kidneys." This is associated with bōllōąąaina,

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192

/789 cont./
a favorite game in which this word is repeated. hallŏ̄ı, "penis." matūmāgōnakūwa, "a man who has no children, childless man." matūmāgū, "to have or conceive a child (said only of the man), to be born in a designated place or at a designated time." matūlōā, "to have (conceived) more than two children." ha-matūmāgūpikin-dē kaiūala ūmōlategan-apai, "I conceived twins." yembōnūwa, "a man who has a small child." tūkatega (said of a man), "to take a woman into his canoe as his wife." ana, /790/ sisman(ī)a, "to have sexual intercourse." lōūatella, "to cease conceiving or to cease bringing forth offspring."

ūgūge, "adulterous, lascivious, lewd." ūun, "adulterous, tending toward importunity or violence," kīpata, "to commit adultery, to rape a woman, adulterous, rake." kīpātaki, "the adulterer." kīpatīkin'a "Oh, you adulterous human being!" kīpōūlōmki, "adulterous, incestuous, fornicator." gūr ᵗgaia, "to pester a man shamelessly and provocatively by trying to flirt with his wife against her will."

haua matūmāgū maala, "my birthday."

ūīpūn-ūa, widower, bachelor	ūīpūn kīpa, widow
ōīftakāki, do.	ōīftakīkika, do. (2, 37; 21, 2)
ōīftaka, "deprived of husband or of wife, absent (living alone) from husband or wife"; magaikupumanūkīpa, "a woman whose husband has been murdered." gūīt ūpūna, "to die in childbed."	
makū, mākun, mākūn, son	māk-kīpa, mā-kīpa, daughter
mākū, do. (9, 58; 12, 8)	mā-kīpa-n, do. (2, 36; 8, 49)
kōmbei mākū, two do. (15, 11)	makipeiamalim, daughters (23, 28)
haua mākun, 1. do. (15, 31; 9, 38)	haua mākīpan, 1. do.
ta mākun, 2. do. (15, 30)	
kī mākun, 3. do. (20, 44)	kī mākīpan, 3. do.
uōīkua, ualewa, do. (1, 13. 57)	imai, imia, do.
	uimia, my daughter! (8, 48)
	haua uei-kipa-n, 1. daughter
ūmūgū kai-uala, son (illeg.)	ūmūgū imi, daughter (illeg.)
kaiūala, child (especially male)	kīpa kaiūala, child (f.)
kai-yūala, do. (2, 40; 43)	
kaigūala, do.	

• 681 192

/790 cont./

yīrīmatīa, small baby (m.) — yīrī-kīpa, young woman, wife, daughter

yīrumīa, do., youth (12, 53; 7, 14; 15, 21)

yīrumīfki, the son

jakauīya, ījakauīya, baby (m.) — ōjakauīyīkīpa, baby (f.)

ketukumara, child (m.), do. — ketukumarakīpa, child (f.)

Now just a few more additions to this already large selection, which, as in all cases, will be merely a sampling.

mōtakayin, "descendant, offspring." pikin-ini, "infant." keīīīalaiamalim, "children" (8, 35; 11, 7; 20, 34). ōuīuīkin, "youngest" (m., f., 15, 12). kīpuīīaka(n), kagupa, kagupahi, kōčīyella, "the last-born." ciatmaiamamāgīla, kīnīamunyaiamamagyīwa, "first-born." keiyaiamana mūgudī wōlīwa, "she bore her first-born" (2, 7). ōīla (usually īela), "young." īīi-īīki, "little innocent child." ōīladīta, "the world of childhood." amapīta, "a child that cannot yet speak." yahīkin, "small child" (2, 12, 16). yakaīīwa, "a small boy." yakauīyanda, "a little (huge) fellow." mapalīwa, "boys together, /791/ no girls among them." mākonakaun, "little one /male/" (7, 28). uīdīga, "a youth, male, male sex" [human beings and animals].

yīnīamana, "to be the oldest or first-born of the family."

yīnīamīīīwa, first-born — yīnīamanīīīpa, oldest daughter

yīčīkaīīki, oldest, first-born — yīčīkaīīkīpa, first-born (sing., f.)

yatuwaiim oldest, first-born son or brother — yīīīwaīīkīpa, do., sister

Iamaraīin lamana, "what a brother!" yatuwaiimpai, "the two eldest brothers." yaana, "a man who is not yet a yēkamun, a non-initiate." ulmīm, "a boy who has not yet been subjected to the kina discipline, who has not yet been initiated in the kina rites." yīnamagīla, "first-born." yarumaala, "young people." ōīnaīīwa, "an old heavy boy, an old fellow, a heavy youth, a man and no longer a youth." ōīnaala, ōīnīwa, "old people, an old man." ōīnīwīki, "the old man." mallīpunīpai, "two persons together, both of whom are unmarried." mōčīīuta, "to grow to full manhood."

kagunīīpa, "girl (1, 27; 8, 54), maiden, young woman." umbaī(ī)ua, "a girl, a baby (f.), a young daughter." yeka-kagunīīpa, "a little girl." ōīwaīīpa, "the oldest or first-born

/191 cont./

• 61 192 daughter, the one before all others." dipo, "blood" (11, 50, 51, 22, 44), dipo, do., dipoogiio, "to menstruate," nuri, "the first menstruation, "wiiio, "mother." kimiikiiio, "a woman who is convalescing after a severe illness" (fem.).

ewikiiondowiumiio idaiiin, "he is a man who does not belong to my family or to my place." ewikiiion hai ewii, "I am a man who is not closely related to him." mamiiwiamaiiin, "a man and his children, the whole family." mamiiwiamaiiin, "a man and his wives who are related to one another. ennii mamiiion kiindaian, "those who are brothers and sisters to one another, they are brothers," mamiiion-pai, "two who are brothers," mamiiion-yamaiiin, "brothers, companions." mamiiipai, "a father and his sons, a mother and her sons." hosiyama' ini-edoiuni ia, "a man from my region."

mamiinpai, mamiinyamaiiin, "two and more who are brothers." mamiiipiipai, mamiiipaimaiiin, "two and more who are sisters."

ewiiii, "a person who has little influence or is unprotected against injustice because most of his male relatives are dead." ewiiio, "orphan," kiiiiiii, kiiiiiyi, "one who has neither father nor mother, a double orphan."

wiiiiiiio, orphan boy
yiiiio, an orphaned child
yiiiii sons and daughters of someone murdered (m.)
tawiiiiwa, a man in mourning for child, parent, brother, or sister

wiiiiiiiiiio, orphan girl
yiiiiiiiio, a double orphan
yiiiiiiiyi, daughters of someone murdered (m.)
tawiiiiwiiiio, a woman in mourning for child, parent, brother, or sister

/192/

ilipiiiiwio, father or brother of someone murdered

ilipiiiiio, a mother of someone murdered, her son or sister /sic: daughter/, her brother or sister

ilipiin, "relatives, such as mother or father and brothers and sisters, of someone murdered." ilipiiiin, "the obligation to exact vengeance on the murderers of someone's child or brother or sister." [193]
eiiiiiiipai, "two persons, boys, who are orphans."
hiiaiiiii' hiiiiiio, "a boy whose father or mother drowned."
hiiiiiiio, an expression applied to a place instead of its real name, out of respect for the dead person who was named after it. [193]

[51]

/78 cont./

[illegible], a name given a boy in place of the name he was given at birth, out of respect for the late deceased who had the same name as his. Thus, if two persons have the same name, the survivor is called [illegible]. If the person is a woman, [illegible]-kiga. [illegible], "a person whose close relatives are dead, an orphan (because of negligence or through the fault of the father)." hau-[illegible], "my deceased relatives." [illegible], "the dead" (20, 27). [Some of these terms will be repeated in the section on mourning customs.]

[illegible]. "women who are not related." hau'ai-kiganamalim, "my country-women." ai-kaiamilidulikiga, "a woman from your grandmother's region." wini-[illegible], all the female relatives of someone, such as sisters, cousins, second cousins, etc. (fem.). [illegible]-kiga, three or more who are sisters or sisters and brothers or first cousins. [illegible], "those who are sisters or sisters and brothers." [illegible], "three or more who are sisters or brothers and sisters." [illegible], [illegible], "mother and daughter, father and daughter." [illegible], "a mother and her daughters, a father and his daughters." [illegible], "a woman, recently widowed, taken as a wife by another man." [illegible], "to die and leave a child or orphan" (said only of a mother). [illegible], "a child whose mother died, a motherless child." [illegible]-kiga, "a woman who recently lost a brother, a sister, or a male or female cousin. [illegible], a family of children surviving the death, for example, of a mother. [illegible], "to leave orphans," as a mother her family. [illegible], "female deceased," girls in general, and, if little protected by men, "weak women."

[illegible], orphaned	[illegible], orphaned
[illegible], do.	[illegible], do.
[illegible], do.	[illegible], do.
[illegible], 2. do.	[illegible], 2. do.
[illegible], orphan	[illegible], orphaned
[illegible], do.	[illegible], do.
[illegible], 2. do.	[illegible], 2. do.

[91]

/79/

[illegible]. "to adopt or to become a stepparent of daughters by marrying their father or mother."

•601 [547]

/793 cont./

nīmīgū (kaiñala), nīnīgun, "to adopt or become a father to children by taking their mother as a wife, or to become a mother by marrying their father."

mīkusin, brother (15, 27; 6, 41; 20, 28)	mīkus-kīpa, sister (10, 39)
haua makus, 1. do.	
haua mōkus, 1. do.	haua makuskīpan, 1. do.
ki mōkusin, 3. do.	kī makuskipalanči, 3. pl. acc. (14, 20)
makusyamalim, brothers (16, 28)	makuskipala, sisters (14, 20)
makusala, do. (8, 19. 20, 23)	
haua makusala, my brothers (8, 2)	
sin makusalun, 2. do. (8, 20)	
kī makusalan, 3. (do. (8, 18)	
mamakusualim, brothers (20, 29)	
magaiiamalim, brothers to one another	magaiambaa-kīpaiamalim, sisters to one another
sin ōfūočī, "of your brother" (6, 42)	
kī-t-ōfūon, his brother /acc./ (6, 14)	
waimua, eldest son, brother, cousin	wai-kīpa (2), older sister, first cousin
haua waim, 1. do.	
waiamun, do., do.	haua wai-kīpan, 1. do., do.
eiamun, do., do	sin uai-kīpan, 2. do., do.
k-ōfaiamun, 3. do., do.	kin uai-kīpa, 2. do., do.
k-aiñaiamun, 2. do., do.	kai-ñai-kīpan, 3. do., do.
k-aiñaiamōlan, 3. do., do.	kai-ñaikipalan, 3. do., do.
k-aiuamundaian, 3. do., do.	kai-ñaikipandaian, 3. do., do.
kūk-aaim sīñan, the eldest brother	winni, my daughter, my older sister, my wife, my niece, my cousin, first, second, and third degree
maaempai, two older brothers together	maaekipapai, two women, older sisters of a family together

.601 /793 cont./

ǫalan, my oldest brother (fam.)
ǫale, my oldest son
ǫalandalan, my oldest brother (respectful friendly expression of younger ones toward strangers)

ǫ̃ówa, ǫ̃ówa, younger brother	ǫ̃kipa, younger sister
ǫ̃ówa(ri)n, ǫ̃kiǫ̃ki, do.	ǫ̃kipari, your do.

/794/

ǫ̃ówkris, 2. dative, do.	ǫ̃kipǫ̃ki, the younger of two or more sisters
ǫ̃ówǫ̃ki, the younger, youngest brother	
hau ǫ̃ówan, 1. do., do.	hais ǫ̃kipara, 1. do.
	hau ǫ̃kipan, 1. do.
ki-t-ǫ̃ówan, 2. do., do.	sin ǫ̃kipan, 2. do.
ki-t-ǫ̃ówǫ̃n, 2. do., do., dative	kir ǫ̃kipan, 2. do.
mǫ̃kun, do., male cousin, female cousin (through an uncle who is younger than one's father or mother	mǫ̃kunkipa, do.
makǫ̃kin, younger brother	
haus mǫ̃kun, 1. do.	haus mǫ̃kunkipa, 1. do.
haus makun, 1. do.	haus makunkipan, 1. do.
aus makunin, 1. do.	
sin makunin, 2. do.	sin makunkipan, 2. do.
ǫ̃in makǫ̃kin, 2. do.	ǫ̃in makǫ̃kipan, 2. do.
ki mǫ̃kunin, 2. do.	ki mǫ̃kunkipan, 2. do.
ki makunin, 2. do.	ki makunkipan, 2. do.
kir'in makǫ̃kin, 2. do.	kir'in makǫ̃kipan, 2. do.
haus mǫ̃kunpai, 1. do., dual	mǫ̃kurwini, do.
haus mǫ̃kuryamalim, 1. do.,pl.	haus mǫ̃kurwini, 1. do.
ǫ̃mbga, do.	(hau) ǫ̃mbaakipa, (1). next do.
kufana, my younger brother, my male cousin, my child, my nephew (fam.) (from kuf, "nest")	kufana-kipa, my younger sister my female cousin (first degree), my daughter, my niece (fam.)

(6) /?94 cont./

mkhihwa, grandson	mkhihwá-kipan, granddaughter
mkhihwan, do.	mkhihwá-kipan, do.
	hwa mkhihwá(y)-kipan, 1. do.
bi mkhihwan, 3. do.	bi mkhihwa-kipan, 3. do.
indkrîwa, father's brother	dimdipu, father's sister
hwa indkrîwan, 1. do.	dimdipá, do.
dkrîqwjan, do.	dimdipda, (2.) do.
hwa indkrî an, 1. do.	bi dimdipan, 1. do.
hwa dkrîwan, 1. do.	bi dimapdin, 1. do.
hwa endorqpan, 1. do.	hwa dimdipan, 1. do.
ña dkrîda, 2. do.	
ena dkrîqwjan, 2. do.	
ena dkrîwan, 2. do.	
q(u) indkrîwan, 2. do.	
bi'ña dkrîwan 3. do.	bi dimdipan, 3. do.
bi'ña dkrîhan, 3. do.	bi dimdpdin, 3. do.
bi'ña dkrîda, 3. do.	
immaq(an), (2.) mother's brother	ioka-dîhwia, mother's sister

/?95/

	yoka-dîhwia, 2. do.
	yoka-dobi, do.
hwa' immanan, 1. do.	yoka-dobidda, do.
	hwa yoka-dobin, 1. do.
ña immanan, 1. do.	hwa yoka-dîhin, 1. do.
ena immanan, 1. do.	bi eka-dîhin, 1. do.
bi' imanan, 3. do.	bi eka-dîhin, 3. do.
bîhq imin imanan, 3. do.	
dîpdîn (better dapdi, "mother's breast"), do. (fam.)	
wîhwî, nephew, sister's son	bîqqwî, niece
ewwî, sister's son	
hwa ewwan, 1. do.	bi bîqqwwan, 1. do.
h- ewwân, 1. do.	bi bîqwwan, 1. do.
bi- ewwan, 1. do.	bi bîqwwa, 1. do.
ena ewwî, 2. do.	ea bîqwwan, 2. do.
ena wîhwan, 2. do.	ea bîqqwwan, 2. do.
ena wîhwî, 2. do.	

/795 comm./

bi- [illegible], 3. do.	bi bigenen, 3. do.
bi- [illegible], 3. do.	bi bigetenen, 3. do.
bi- [illegible], 3. do.	
bi- pátení, 3. do.	
amagne, do. (fem.)	amagnikige, do. (fem.)
dimimuka, great-nephew	dimikige, great-niece
dhemuka, male cousin	dhemikige, female cousin
darumuka, do.	darumukige, do.
dimuka, do.	dimukikigen, do.
bese dimuka, 1. do.	dimukikigen, do.
ce dimuken, 2. do.	
ten dimuken, 2. do.	
bi dimiken, 3. do.	
bi dimika, 3. do.	

dimuka is put down as a "special expression," and indeed it is used for other relations, as above under "women friend" and "parents."

yamamuki, nephew, brother's son	yamamukige, niece, brother's daughter
bese ismamimiken, do., do.	bes (yamamikigen, 1. brother's daughter
ces ismamimiken, 2. do., do.	bese ismamimikigen, 1. do.
ce ismamimiken, 2. do.	
bi ismamimiken, 3. do.	bi amamimikigen, 3. do.
bi amamimiken, 3. do.	bi amamamikigen, 3. do.
bi amamiken, 3. do.	
mengen, father-in-law	mengigen, mother-in-law

/796/

mengin, do.	minikige, do.
mengi, do.	minikigen, do. (12, 13)
bese mengen, 1. do.	mengige, do.
	bese mengigen, 1. do.
ce mengen, 2. do.	ce mengigen, 2. do.
bi mengen, 3. do.	bi mengigen, 3. do.
ammiwa, do. (not common)	ammikige, do. (not common)
bes ammiwa, 1. do.	
nilikipeta, do. (fem.)	nilikipetikige, do. (fem.)
dimigidirikin, do.	dimigidirikigen (-pen?), do.
	dimmi dikin, do. (4, 38)

/196 cont./

If the last word reminds one strongly of a European translation, perhaps because of its occurence in the Bible, the penultimate pair of words is linked with [illegible], "to give birth." It would, of course, also be easy to proceed etymologically in other instances and explain words with respect to their origin and construction, but we must leave the rest to linguists for special research.

[illegible], son-in-law

[illegible]-inni, daughter-in-law
[illegible]-inni, do.
[illegible]-inni, do.
[illegible]-inni, do.

alum, brother-in-law
[illegible], do.
hous alamun, 1. do.
hou [illegible], 1. do.
ein alamun, 2. do.
ein [illegible]amun, 2. do.
ein [illegible], 2. do.
ki-t-alamun, 3. do.
ki-t-alamin, 3. do.
ki-t-[illegible]amun, 3. do.
ki-t-alamaum, 3. do.
[illegible], do.

[illegible]lum, sister-in-law
haus [illegible]lumun, 1. do.
haus [illegible]lamun, 1. do.
hi [illegible]lamun, 1. do.
sins [illegible]lamun, 2. do. (female cousins-in-law are also included)
ki [illegible]lamun, 3. do.

The last word again stands by itself, that is to say, without a corresponding feminine form, and this is also true of [illegible] matiku, "husband or sister of the wife" or "husband of the husband's sister." The same is true of alamasa, "relatives-in-law," if the man or woman representing the connection is deceased. Thus:

hou' alamasa, my father-in-law or my brother-in-law in the above

alamasa-[illegible], a female relative-in-law under the same circumstances.

[illegible], "to be or become son-in-law or father-in-law of someone through marriage." [illegible], "to acquire a son-in-law or daughter-in-law or to become one." mamasi[illegible]pai, /197/ "two who are mother-in-law and son-in-law or daughter-in-law to each other."

mamasi[illegible]pai, "two who are father-in-law and son-in-law or daughter-in-law to one another." [illegible], "to cause someone

/797 cont./

601 to become related to any person as son-in-law or father-in-law through marriage." mötãkinaka, "to receive or bring from the west any gift, or to come and do any kind of service for a father-in-law for his daughter." kĩsẽ, a term of respect used by persons related through marriage to direct questions or requests to one another, for example, son-in-law and daughter-in-law to each other or fathers and mothers to their sons-in-law and daughters-in-law and vice versa. It has no other special meaning. kiũẽ, kiũẽla, verbal prefix used between persons related through marriage to about the same extent as kise above and in the same situation (227). This concludes the present summary.

227. In BD Yamana words lack an accent mark for stress. Hence it was not added to the above-mentioned words. See Gusinde (hh):181.

b. Tribal Society

619 Fuegian tribal society does not represent a closely knit, internally linked social structure. Actually it is only a loose juxtaposition of individual families. Each of the latter, however, is definite and well articulated.

All fellow tribesmen who can make themselves intelligible to one another by means of a common language are, for this reason, aware of being united to a certain extent and conscious of their homogeneity. All together they constitute a single people and are differentiated from other peoples in many external respects, as well as through spiritual assets and their own propensities. Not only do the individuals describe themselves in terms of these positive realities, but far beyond that, they value and praise what they regard as their uniqueness. Indeed, with justifiable national pride, they regard themselves as superior to neighboring peoples and to other human societies. They make no effort to determine or even to question whether they are not perhaps surpassed in many respects by other peoples. Their strongly developed self-awareness and self-satisfaction reject from the start all such comparisons.

/1046 cont./

776 is also applied to the ancestors of antiquity, the first arrivals, the places which they settled in those times and which today are already fossilized. In this case its meaning is, of course, limited, for there is only one, namely, the Supreme Being, who is properly and truly the very ancient one. BD:632 also gives the word wātauīnaiwa, "the ancient one who changes not. A suitable term for God indicative of his eternity and unchangeableness" /cited in English/. Bridges here gives the basic meaning. The accompanying explanation confirms the occasional use to which this word is put in referring to ancestors: "This term was used specially of [82] the Rainbow which coming ever and anon was regarded as ever living and the author of death [?]. Used also of Heroes of old time" /cited in English/. In connection with this the Yamana form the word Watauinējwa-sēf, "the very ancient one in heaven." BD:379 gives sēif instead of sēf, "the (blue) sky" /cited in English/; also Watauinējwa-aizāku, "the very ancient one and the one of boundless strength." In BD:10 one finds aizōka, "immense, huge, very large" /cited in English/ . Tānuwa has the same meaning, according to BD:421, "(My) father, my old man (fam.)" /cited in English/, which is something like /in German/ "mein lieber, guter Alter."

The Yamana no less frequently use Hidābuan or Hitapūan [61] as "my father" and Hāu īmun, "my father" or, by shifting the possessive prefix hi, also hajanānin īmun, "our father." Occasionally Hāua ūiu, "my grandfather" and Kalajēxēn, "dear little old father," are also used.

The following names are also to be interpreted in such a way that their unique meaning, applied to the deity, is raised to the highest degree of intensity. Abajlākin, "the strong, the mighty." BD:14 gives abājla, "strong, physically strong, firm, powerful" /cited in English/. The combination hājm hūlu Abajlākin stands for a particularly great intensification. The first two words can also be repeated, which gives the greatest possible emphasis. This construction, however, is used exclusively for Watauinējwa. According to BD:261 hājm means "in a great degree, very exceedingly" /cited in English/. The Yamana also use the construction Abājla-Watauinējwa and Abājla-sēf.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Kinship

The Yahgan kinship terms, like the Ona, were compounded with the possessive adjectives "my," "your," "his," or "her" (*kówu*, *sínu*, *kichin*). These whole expressions may or may not be contracted. Additional complications were introduced by the fact that different terms in some cases were used when speaking of a person nearby or far away, and again when two people or several people took part in the conversation. 601 192

The kinship terms listed below were obtained in part from Mr. Fred. Lawrence and in part from Yahgan at Puerto Mejillones, and have been checked by Mr. William Bridges. It is difficult to gather these words, because much time has passed since many of them were used.[1] We have given many terms only in the first person when the second and third persons are regularly formed. 601

Table V.—YAHGAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Father	
my father	*kówuhímun, kówimun*
your father	*sínuhímun, sínimun*
his (her) father (when nearby)	*kichinhímun, kichímun*
his (her) father (when afar)	*kúnchimínhímun*
Mother	
my mother (when two speak)	*kówuddíhe*
my mother (when several speak)	*kidubíyun*
your mother	*sínuddíhe*
his (her) mother (when nearby)	*kichinddíhe*
his (her) mother (when afar)	*kidubíun*
Brother	
my elder brother	*kówuwúmun*
your elder brother (when nearby)	*sínuwúmun*
your elder brother (when afar)	*wúimhahi*
his elder brother	*kichinwúmun*
my middle (of 3) brother	*kówuyínutípuwúmu*
your middle (of 3) brother	*sínuyínutípuwúmu*
his middle (of 3) brother	*kichinyínutípuwúmu*
my younger brother	*kówuashwud, kówuashuwúhi*
your younger brother	*sínuashwud, sínuashuwúhi*
his younger brother	*kichinashwud, kichinashuwúhi*
my brother next to my eldest	*kówuwúmahinchigúhigúhi*
my brother next to my youngest	*kówuashuwúhinchigúhi kówuishpúhi*
my brother next to my second	*kówuyínutuwúmahinchigúhigúhi*

[1] Both Fitzroy and Darwin comment on the extraordinary rapidity with which the Yahgan and Alacaluf taken to England in the *Beagle* forgot how to speak their native tongues.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Sister

my sister	*hówomahéhipen*
my elder sister	*hówomahipen*
my younger sister	*hówomahipen*
my sister next to the oldest	*hówomahipéachipelahipelahi*
my sister next to the youngest	*hówoyémapowahipen*

Uncle

my father's elder brother	*hówahimónchiwalowen*
my father's younger brother	*hówahimónchiashand*
my mother's elder brother	*hówadahrinchiwalowen*
my mother's younger brother	*hówadahrinchiashand*
my paternal uncle	*hówal'wen*

Aunt

my mother's elder sister	*hówadahinchiwalahipen*
my mother's younger sister	*hówadahinchiahéhipen*
my maternal aunt	*hówayéhaddér*
my paternal aunt	*hówówmapéo*

Grandfather

my mother's father	*hówahéno*

Wife

my wife	*hówahénéno*

Son

my son	*hówomdhen*

Daughter

my daughter	*hówomahipen*

Grandson

my grandson	*hówomigatu*

Cousin

my father's sister's son	*hówomdiwa*
my father's sister's daughter	*hówahipomdiwa*
my brothers and cousins (in general)	*hówomdhuyérmalin*
my sisters and cousins (in general)	*hówomdhahipuyérmalin*

Family

my family	*hówomamahémalin*

Marriage

The Yahgan addressed cousins of the first and second degree as "brother" or "sister," and were not allowed to marry within that range of consanguinity. A man spoke of his female relatives with whom marriage was forbidden as *hówomdhahipuyérmalin;* a woman's prohibited relatives she named collectively *hówomdhuyérmalin.* The restriction was absolute.

/889 cont./

586
578
627

caused principally by him. He ill-treated his wife, who was so offended that she refused to live with him, and took up her abode with her parents, who warmly took up her cause. He had also grieved his wife by other gross misconduct. There was accordingly a great disturbance, in which very many were concerned, and Tom Pust had his head badly wounded. He came to me to get it bound up, when I took the opportunity to reason with him. In his great rage against his wife (who is also a bad character) and her relatives he was blind to his own faults; he promised amendment. He said he would remain single" /cited in English/ (MM: IX, 191, 1879).

The position of the run-away wife can become unpleasant if the relatives of her lawful husband are numerous and bold, for they naturally take his part.

586 /890/ The woman, also, though less frequently, may be the cause of dissolution of the marriage. If she is so uncommonly lazy and careless that the whole family suffers badly, the man is forced to look for another partner. To his chagrin, the wife nevertheless does not leave, and he can do nothing but drag her along whether he likes it or not. An incapacity to work because of illness or old age never leads to divorce, for the man is at liberty to take a young, healthy woman besides his first wife. An unbearable disposition which the woman may develop in the course of the years can torture a man to such an extent that he has no other recourse but to flee into the arms of another person. No one stops him. A general rule 586 forbids a person to interfere in the marital affairs of relatives. It 627 is only when a woman is mistreated that an uncle or some other relative will definitely take her part (101); the situation is different if she runs away.

101. Bridges ((a):202 emphatically expressed this principle: "A father-in-law or brother-in-law does not take his daughter's or sister's part against her husband, unless he severely injures

586 /690 cont./ -
[602] her, when she is sometimes taken away from him and given to another" /cited in English/.

Young married couples sometimes separate after they have become better acquainted with each other and a definite antipathy has developed. This situation, of course, also may come about in the case of a couple who have shared the same hut for decades (102).

102. Bridges (a):184 mentions: "It frequently happens that there is inseparable aversion on the girl's part to her husband, and she leaves him, and if she persists in hating him she is then given to one she likes" /cited in English/.

586 Usually the real cause is an outside one, namely, a love affair with
837 another person, which now presses toward a rupture of the existing marriage bond by any means available. Finally, in very exceptional cases, a man will get rid of a wife who has manifestly committed adultery (p. 468). In cases of adultery everyone is very lenient, for men, too, are by no means paragons of virtue in this respect.

586 It should be recognized that, although divorce among our Yamana is, to be sure, accomplished fairly easily, it is accompanied by significant secondary effects. It sounds ridiculous to maintain with Hyades (q):378: "Before the women become mothers, it is not rare to see them change husbands several times, either because of feminine inconstancy or because of bad treatment on the part of their spouses" /translated from French/ (103). Does anyone really believe

103. Apparently he simply repeats what Bridges (i):20 entered in his diary on April 22, 1871: "Not infrequently before they became settled in life, they have had many husbands, for the marriage relationship was not secure unless children were born to unite the parents in a common care for them" /cited in English/. I have already replied to this threadbare contention (pp. 408, 411).

that the appearance of the /691/ first child takes such a long time

/691 cont./

586 or that mistreatment of the woman begins immediately among young married couples? The circle of relatives of every married
586 person sees to it that a marriage continues, for they feel responsi-
602 ble for his assured sustenance which is practically impossible or unsuitable outside of marriage, except in the case of elderly people. The woman who has been divorced through her own fault is, to begin with, a burden to her relatives, less because of her maintenance than because of the damaged reputation of the entire circle of relatives and because of the worry about her children. This explains why the relatives almost always try to settle a threatened relationship or to mend a broken marriage, even when the wife has been mistreated. The children are divided up according to the wish and intention of the spouses; either they remain with the mother if the man runs away, and vice versa, or some relatives take pity on the youngsters until the parents have returned to an ordered life.
[558] A person who through his own fault has dissolved a marriage never enjoys a good reputation.

586 These considerations have always tended to prevent light-hearted attempts at divorce. We do not have definite figures, but a man has more often run away from his wife than a woman from her husband; consideration for the children was a factor in this situation.

6. Celibacy

581 We have repeatedly pointed out that the economy of the Yamana basically prohibits a lifelong unmarried state, and that public opinion does not grant an individual full social standing unless he is married (104). Each of the two sexes has duties which can be

> 104. The Yamana find it incomprehensible, solely on the basis of the conduct of life, how Europeans can live unmarried for a lifetime and maintain themselves. They are regarded "as enigmas," as Hyades (q):377 expresses it.

fulfilled only through marriage. At marriageable age the young people are told in plain words that they may no longer put off a

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C. Kinship and Tribal Society

182 Among peoples on the low cultural level of our Yamana it is easy to observe the close reciprocal relationship between the nature of the economy and the social order. No one will regard the one as caused solely by the other, nor may one summarily deny a certain inner connection between the two.

The total number of this Fuegian tribe is low, and there is nothing to indicate that it has been noticeably higher at any time during its long presence in the Cape Horn region (p. 227 /untranslated/). This fact alone permits only one interpretation, that a complex social order, according to the various points of view from which one judges and evaluates social structures, is not to be expected here, particularly since a compact social life in one place involving all the members of the tribe is completely lacking. What our natives acquire in the way of subsistence is certainly sufficient; they do not die of hunger, and can even eat their fill. An excess of any part of their limited assets, however, is impossible. They are dependent on an imperfect form of production; hence, they can neither become numerous nor unite in a compact social life. The population is limited, so to speak, by the available food supply, and since this is sparsely distributed over a wide area, a permanent association of all tribal members in one place or in a few specific places is impossible.

594 621 The entire tribe seems torn asunder into very small individual groups, each of whom lives widely separated from any of the others and enjoys complete independence. These groups cannot be subdivided into still lower units. They are the individual families. Each family, as such, forms an independent economic unit which is isolated as a distinct community and pursues its own goal in life. Lothrop (b):160 says briefly and definitely: "Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit" /cited in English/.

• 602 571 Closer and more remote degrees of kinship spread out around the individual family as around a point of crystallization, and the consciousness of belonging together is more pronounced the closer the blood tie is. The more distant the individual families are as kinsmen, the more tenuous their mutual relations. This /778/ is the basis for the limited association and wide dispersion of all

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(62 571 [578] families within the same ethnic unit. Groups living far apart sometimes do not even know one another; their mutual estrangement is favorable soil for the growth of suspicion, mistrust, and animosity. Insecure and harsh economic conditions react on the social level in a centrifugal sense, if we may so express it (209).

> 209. Stirling, who has let some inaccuracies creep in, says: "Family life in Fuegia is exclusive. Get outside the family, and relationships are doubtful, if not hostile. The bond of a common language is no security for friendly offices. To be of the same tribe is no guarantee of safety in travelling. Fear and distrust are stronger than tribal affinities" /cited in English/ (MM:IV,11; 1870).

619 Nevertheless, there is a true tribal society on a modest scale. It is based on a common origin and language; it is expressed in the fact that everyone acts in exactly the same way and that all are subject to a definite, unwritten, universally binding law. Every individual feels that he is a member of the whole, he knows that he is united with one who can make himself intelligible to him in the same language, and he traces his origin to the same source as all others who are just as lawfully rooted in his native soil as he is. This consciousness becomes so strong that, as individuals and as a community, they are convinced that they form a special group; they believe themselves to be "the people," the ethnic unit having exclusive right of existence in their homeland. The boundaries of their homeland are regarded as something given in ancient times (210), whose legal validity is thus inviolably se-

> 210. Bridges (k):233 first learned of the homeland boundaries from the Yamana themselves.

cure for all time, no matter what the explanation for the original bounds of native territory and its first occupation by their forefathers.

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619 Basically one tribal member is equal to every other socially
554 and enjoys complete independence. All of them have about the same number of objects, little though this is, and there are no differences in property and economic pursuits which elsewhere sometimes cause very disparate social levels (211). In general,

> 211. This means, as Hyades (p):335 expresses himself: "There is no king, chieftain, aristocracy, caste, social hierarchy, or slaves; it is a regime of equality in the purest sense" /translated from French/.

therefore, every adult has the same rights within his tribe, and along with this they all have same duties. No one is specifically raised above the legal equality of the multitude by special privileges; they recognize neither one nor several headmen. One person or another may acquire a certain morally superior position within the narrow circle of relatives and acquaintances /779/ through richer experience after a long life and moral rectitude. His superiority, however, is solely a matter of personality and is neither precisely defined nor founded on objective legal norms.

[97] A division of the whole tribe into so-called dialect groups has occurred under the pressure of local conditions. It is purely external. The slight differences resulting from it are in line with the unavoidable pursuit of a livelihood by each independent group. The social order in which degrees of rank are unknown is just as simple as the economic structure (212).

> 212. The basic ideas of this section have already been published by Koppers (c):155.

a. Kinship

594 Yamana social organization rests on individual families (213).
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> 213. Spegazzini (a):165 gives this fact in another form: "The family constitutes all their society" /translated from Spanish/.

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> The interpretation which he adds is very mistaken: "And the man lives without pleasure, but also without great sorrow, among his wives and his children" /translated from Spanish/.

These families associate with each other more or less closely according to the closeness of their kinship ties. Consanguinity is the basis of kin-group unity, even though it spreads out in far-flung ramifications. Persons with the same blood form neither a strictly defined group nor a definite social stratum in a unique position with their own rights.

602 Among the closest relatives, however, certain obligations accrue out of their solidarity. These obligations are also part of the larger sphere of general social obligations, but they are more strongly emphasized for kinsmen. Conversely, the latter may count on special mutual aid as a sort of compensation. Kinsmen in the stricter sense of the word do not as such dispose of any kind of common property shared equally by all, nor are they guided by any unusual special regulations.

1. The Individual Family

594 In this context, as in other parts of the present book, the designation "individual family" always means only the small group made up of parents and children. Thus understood, the individual family is the kin group in the strictest sense of the word. Earlier travelers either failed to call attention to the family's natural and lawfully upheld position among the Yamana people as a whole or they only mentioned it. The navigators of earlier times recognized the occupants of one and the same canoe as a tightly knit group, but they were often mistaken in their judgment about individual persons, regarding as a man's wives two /780/ or more women who usually only by chance were in the same canoe with him. Subsequently it was chiefly the missionaries who opened their eyes to the actual independence and economic position of the individual family. Nevertheless, most travelers of the last few

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867 whom you really like. At first every chap will be so agreeable; later when he has married you, it turns out that he is crude or lazy or unbearable. Then you will have to suffer. So, consider before you decide!" Nelly added: "One must warn young girls and make them alert, otherwise they will thoughtlessly and prematurely say 'yes' to the first chap who comes along. Later when the young couple find they are unsuited to eath other, the elders among their relatives will suffer for it just as much as they themselves!" Likewise /644/ the young man is given a definite hint by his uncle to take as his bride only the girl with whom "he will live peaceably for the rest of his life."

584 That there is freedom in the first choice can also be deduced
586 from the right every woman has to run away from the husband who treats her badly or does not provide enough food for her. How could she be taken in again by her parents, which is generally done, if she had previously been actually sold? Her male relatives warn the husband and threaten to take back the mistreated wife. They would not dare do this if he had bought her for a price.

584 It very seldom happens that two young people become
578 united if there is a strained relationship or open hostility between their parents. If such a match should be developing, the parents of the boy and those of the girl make insulting, even threatening remarks against the other party within their own family hut in order to thwart their children's intentions. It may be that a preliminary inclination toward a marital union will sooner or later disappear under this influence. Out of respect for her own parents the girl will forego her heart's desire, and since she makes no fuss about this, her closest relatives will not interfere on her behalf.

584 Still more awkward is the exceptional case of a girl who is
736 an orphan and very much dependent on her uncle and aunt. The
604 latter, driven by stubbornness or ambition, insistently urge her to choose the chap they recommend. If the solitary girl is unable to resist adequately, she will finally accede to their urging. My informers emphasized that such a case was rare, and that the previous history of the case would become publicly known only if this forced marriage, so to speak, should, in an exceptional instance, be dissolved.

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584 It has also happened, as Sara recalled, that the two lovers
593 decided to elope, that they renounced any kind of marriage celebration, and that they remained away from their parents until they no longer feared reproach. Even if a child should be subjected to threats, he would find sufficient support from close relatives against the inadmissible interference of parents, if only he does not become intimidated and stands his ground. It is the spe-
[604] cial duty of the uncle to help so that every young person who wishes to marry is permitted to make an absolutely free decision. In
[626] case the uncle's influence on the parents does not bring results, he can even influence public opinion against them if they restrict their child's freedom of choice. All opposition dissolves
[583] automatically when the young couple has a child to be cared for. Thus, a person who must fear the disapproval or resistance of parents toward a marriage elopes with his partner; once the couple is blessed with one or two children, no one can interfere or separate them.

587 /645/ A woman who becomes a man's second wife also has unrestricted freedom of choice. If she is a widow, she must sometimes be glad if a man will take her, whether she likes him or not, and she suppresses her own wishes without a murmur. Her position is more favorable if an older man, whose wife has perhaps become incapable of working, woos her. From the start she can then secure for herself certain rights and a favorable position in the
595 family. In the great majority of polygamous marriages the two women are sisters (21); the second one to be taken by the man is

21. This custom may be verified in Bridges' (i):21 words: "When a man married more wives than one they were generally sisters, which fact tendered greatly to strengthen the family party" /cited in English/. Relationship by marriage as such does not constitute blood relationship, hence does not hinder marriage (p. 417).

thus frequently better situated in many respects than in a monogamous marriage.

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834 in the selection of a mate (23).

23. If we consider the prevalent ideas in the free selection of a mate, we realize the absolute similarity and unanimity between our Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 321).

/646/ 5. The Duty of Marrying a Widow

587 Apparently the levirate which is in effect among the Yamana deprives the widow of her freedom. I have the distinct impression that the rules pertaining to this are at least as specific and as definitely observed as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 347). I learned the following details from Fred Lawrence and Calderon.

587 Every Indian is familiar with the obligation of taking his
●604 widowed sister-in-law, along with her children, into his hut (24).
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24. Only Hahn (a):805 mentioned the levirate among the Yamana. We might also deduce it from the following words of Bridges: "Brothers often take their deceased brothers' wives" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869); we cannot deduce from these words, however, a real obligation, which actually exists. See footnote on page 418.

but it is emphasized much more definitely that he must care for his nephews and nieces; there is less insistence that he devote himself to the widow, whether or not she wishes to marry. If these half-orphaned children have no grandparents and their mother does not decide to marry another man, the uncle must take them into his own hut where he must care for them as though they were his own. Above all, their sustenance is to be guaranteed. The group as a whole takes care of their participation in the youth initiation which sooner or later becomes necessary. From now on the paternal uncle takes the place of his deceased brother for the still immature orphans in all matters pertaining

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587 to social life. Naturally, adult nephews and nieces who are
604 married are not under the guardianship of their uncle. If the de-
736 ceased has several brothers, these obligations fall upon the old-
est, but not infrequently a younger brother comes forward, espe-
cially if he has his eye on his widowed sister-in-law. At any
rate, the brothers come to an agreement, and usually the one
who wants to take advantage of the opportunity promptly and
boldly takes charge without interference by the others.

The eldest brother, as such, has a priority to his widowed sister-in-law. It is well known that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are not prevented from marrying. The duty of an unmarried brother-in-law to take the widow almost borders on coercion. Differences in age have nothing to do with it. The widow has a perfectly free choice, but she can hardly resist the pressure put upon her by her brother-in-law if some outsider does not court her. If the widow actually exercises her right and marries another man instead of her brother-in-law, the latter is not relieved of his care for the children. He has to take the nephews and nieces if the new stepfather does not care to rear them. He is then content to know that his sister-in-law is taken care of economically. His nephews and nieces, however, will always have strong support from their paternal uncle, since his obligation toward them never ceases.

587 A married brother-in-law adequately fulfills his duty toward
/647/ his widowed sister-in-law if he helps her toward economic
security. Marrying her depends partly on the consent of his own
wife. If the widow wishes to marry another man or to remain un-
married with one of her children or with relatives of her deceased
husband, he does not prevent her from doing so. Sometimes the
587 brother-in-law takes advantage of the favorable opportunity to
586 enter into a new marriage if he is not satisfied with his first wife.
Whether or not the latter agrees, he brings the widowed sister-in-
law into his hut, and the only thing usually achieved by it is that
the other withdraws, which is what he intended. It is even re-
garded as legal that a married man leave his first wife and, in
her stead, take his widowed sister-in-law into his hut. If their
married life was not very happy, she, too, is usually very glad
of the solution, and her relatives take her in with open arms.
This duty of marrying a widow is practiced even in modern times.

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responsible for the fact that many husbands have a second wife, and that many younger men are married to an older widow who has brought him the children of her deceased husband.

6. Participation of the Relatives

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The paternal uncle, indáruwa, unmistakably occupies a privileged position regarding his nephews and nieces. This is clearly evident at the time of the death of his married brother, as well as during his nephew's courtship and marriage. In the above lines we have already given a few data on the position of other adults relative to the marital plans of young people.

Following the dictates of his own heart, the young lad goes courting and tries to win the girl who promises to fulfill all his desires. The young lovers meet as often as possible, and their mutual affection grows as time goes on. If there is no pressure of outside circumstances, they amuse themselves in their amorous play without thinking of marrying soon. In their innermost conviction they have long since decided that they wish to belong together for life, without, however, expressing this openly to each other. And why should they! For the time being, neither of them reveals his feelings and intentions to his own parents; "they are somewhat ashamed!" I was told. A male neighbor and a female friend finally get the boy and girl to speak by making intimate allusions.

After the clandestine meetings and the love affair that can no longer be concealed have lasted long enough for the adults, the paternal uncle, indáruwa, one day decides to approach the boy very directly: "You have been meeting this girl for some time now. I finally ought to talk to your father about it!" Or he says: "We cannot go on seeing you dally with your beloved much longer. I shall soon inform your father in case you want to marry her!" This and similar expressions state the wish of the older relative to help the boy attain his goal. The latter realizes it. He takes this opportunity and has his uncle put the proposition before his father. Sometimes, if a boy wishes to reach his goal

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584 quickly, he himself openly approaches his uncle with the request
664 that he tell the father of his heart's urgent desire. The uncle fulfills his mission without delay and without expressing any doubts or advising against it. If the boy has no indáruwa, his maternal uncle, íman, helps him. The girl takes the same steps with her maternal aunt as soon as she has learned from her lover that his mission /649/ is already on the way to his father. The aunt also does not remonstrate with her; in fact, if the girl has given her consent to a boy whom she also likes, she is even happy about the decision. She brings the news to the mother.

The parents are never directly informed by their own children of the latter's wish and plan to marry. It is partly veneration and partly modesty that seal their lips. The only legally justified
[582] decision or judgment that the parents can exercise is for them to prove and vouch for the fact that the two lovers are not related by blood. If this were actually the case, the marriage could not take place. With this point settled, the parents of the boy and of the girl discuss the plan of the couple with their respective relatives. Not infrequently the child is present and at the same time is given some advice. Finally, the uncle, as well as the aunt, insists that the parents give their final consent which they personally make known to the boy or the girl. The two lovers tell each other of the desired result.

The arrangement we have just described is generally made
584 within a few days. Naturally, the intention of the young people
604 is the topic of conversation in the whole neighborhood. After all,
626 the planned marriage is to become known everywhere, and it is chiefly the uncle and aunt who consciously work toward this. Nelly told me that public opinion and the help of the community are to be won for the lovers, particularly if one of the pair of parents is opposed to their child's intention. Obviously this arrangement serves to assure freedom in the choice of a mate. In spite of all this, but very rarely, the stubbornness of one of the pair of parents or the selfishness of an uncle or aunt does not permit the desired union of the young people. In the first instance, neither the boy nor the girl dares confide in the uncle or aunt; in the other instance, the uncle and aunt misuse their authority, against which the lovers cannot summon the courage to seek help

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584 elsewhere. In the opinion of the majority, such abuses are re-
604 garded as unjust; hence the guilty ones -- they are aware of be-
626 ing such -- make a secret of the fact that they have interfered without permission. The relatives and the larger community are steadfastly and as a matter of course on the side of the lovers, provided always that blood relationship is excluded. To the extent that the general public knows of the marriage plans of the couple, it prepares steadfastly for the forthcoming marriage. Meanwhile the aunts and female neighbors approach the girl in friendly good-will and wish her all kinds of happiness for the future, making this dependent on the recently imparted advice and the earlier instructions on the occasion of the menarche. The boy is merely given additional earnest warnings in case his conduct requires it.

587 When a couple enters a second marriage, the /650/ formalities that apply to the first marriage are omitted. "They are simply no longer necessary," as Calderon emphasized. "The couple know very well that they need not let themselves be influenced by anyone in their decision!" In one way or another, however, the newly wedded couple tells those nearest them of their union, so that the public in general will soon learn of it.

584 Marriageable young people in olden times were in an in-
182 comparably more favorable position; each one, following the dictates of his heart, selected from many persons the one desired. For the last few decades marital conditions have been affected by a complete disintegration of the natural order. They do not offer even a slight guarantee that the Yamana will continue as a people. In fact, the fate of the Yamana is already sealed.

7. Obstacles to Marriage

582 The basic freedom in the selection of a mate does not eliminate the fact that there are some things taken for granted which prohibit marital union. All adults are well informed about them. In particular it is the duty of the parents under no circumstances to permit the marital union of their child with a related person (p. 416). A few introductory remarks will be given before we list the actual obstacles to marriage.

/662 cont./

591 his abilities. The young bride feels differently. Although she
593 has long been accustomed to all the work that now falls upon her, she at first neither feels nor understands the actual meaning and lifework of her marital state. Sometimes she is overcome by an irresistible feeling of loneliness which depresses her and makes her silent and sad. A young woman may tearfully long for her mother and her sisters. No wonder, then, that the newly married couple
[594] will visit the family of the young wife at brief intervals, where she will be comforted and encouraged by her own mother. Each time, the old woman paints her daughter's face with delicate lines, so that her husband will love her more day by day. When finally the greatly desired first child arrives, this situation at once changes very much for the better, for now the young woman is occupied day and night, her activity is the happiest one for a woman, and in her arms she finally holds the symbolic expression of her husband's love.

It is sometimes a considerable sacrifice for the parents to have to part with their daughter, especially if they are old and are completely alone when their last child is taken from them. Their only hope is the prospect that the young couple will remain with them for a time or visit them often and that the son-in-law will perform all kinds of services for them. It is very different with the parents of the boy, who are happy that he is finally going to establish his own household with the girl of his choice (44).

44. Hyades (q):378 exaggerates the duration of this living together: "Usually the young husbands...live for a long time with the parents of their wives, to whom they render many services" /translated from French/.

They wish him all kinds of happiness and follow with interest the development of the new family, without interfering. The parents of both parties are well aware that henceforth it is no longer proper for them to bother their child too often and on
604 account of trifles. Oddly enough, the paternal uncle, indáruwa, and the maternal aunt, yēxadábi (BD:645 writes yekadábi), have the privilege of instructing and admonishing the husband or the wife to an extent far exceeding the few concessions that ancient

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604 custom grants the real parents. If the young woman should have the misfortune of having to seek help against infractions or cruel treatment by her husband, she first turns to her blood brother and then to her uncle.

In principle, the couple are united in marriage for life. Their marriage is not only a union of hearts, but also a union of work for the welfare of themselves and their children. Each of the two partners is assigned particular duties by ancient custom; it alone decides if and when the dissolution of a marriage is permissible. Unfortunately, the modern age has also changed the original /663/ form of marriage in families of today, so that it is only partly recognizable in its outward appearance; hence the information given by all the old people was particularly valuable to me.

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1. Monogamy

114 595 In describing the marital arrangements and family customs of the Yamana, the critic is faced with a difficult problem. The reports of earlier observers are often quite inadequate and in part clearly colored. In particular, the statements Bridges made about our Indians are consistently unfavorable to them, and his conscious or unconscious intention to show them in an unfriendly light can probably not be denied. The older reports from his pen are in a disparaging and disdainful vein. Later he [illegible] enough feeling for justice to correct some of his grossest er[illegible] Other travelers, however, in describing things which they did not directly understand, leaned on Bridges, and this was especially true in the case of arrangements dealing with marriage and the family. This is why there is so much agreement and similarity of opinion among the writers. I personally no longer found the genuine form of married life among the Yamana of earlier times to be a common condition and was obliged to rely on the reports of trustworthy people, such as old Alfredo, during my second visit to Tierra del Fuego. Since their opinions were well founded, they at any rate counteract many false, unsubstantiated contentions.

Many of the earlier travelers maintain that the Yamana condone polygamy, but one cannot clearly tell from their words whether

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586 drives away a young wife from her husband, even though she has children, which sometimes are taken by the father if he loves them, and otherwise by the mother" /cited in English/. Not even the children of the couple prevent a divorce if the woman is repeatedly in danger of being mistreated. She herself does not complain to her own husband, but suffers silently. One of her male [64] relatives, however, above all her uncle, goes to him and reminds him of his duty. If repeated admonitions are fruitless, he threatens to remove the wife. She finally runs away with the help and under the protection of her relatives.

She often urgently needs this protection because the disappointed husband will not willingly give her up, but pursues her or 586 578 627 constantly threatens her. On December 20, 1875, Bridges wrote: "Hidugalahgoon came here with a wife, that had been the wife of a man who had been very violent to her. Her mother was her fellow wife. She has two children by her former husband. The young fellow seemed very fond of her, and she of him; he had many friends here whom he was diligent to move in his favour by descanting upon the cruelties of the man, he feared, to his wife... The Easterns soon came up, and clustered around Philip's dwelling, where Hidugalahgoon and his wife lived. They began speaking quietly, and becoming more excited, gradually became vociferous and beat the woman, and compelled her to return to her former husband. But she would not stay, and then took shelter with Stephen. Thence again she was forced to come, but she was determined to kill her child; several evenings there was turmoil over this matter, and once considerable fighting. I took up the matter, and stated God's holy will on the subject, but the woman was very obstinate and would not return. Her late husband then gave her up, but required some compensation, for he felt, in losing his young wife, he had lost much. Being consulted by Hidugalahgoon, I advised that he should, under the circumstances, give what he could to restore peace" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 80;1875) (100).

100. A few months previously, on July 30, 1875, he experienced another incident: "A young man, commonly called Tom Post, is son-in-law to a native of this place. Last autumn several disturbances took place here,

591 after which they would usually go for good to the groom's kin. Thus, localized groups of kin tended to be paternal.

604 After marriage the husband's paternal uncle and the wife's maternal aunt took particular interest in them, superseding in large measure their respective parents. Children-in-law were expected to 606 look after their parents-in-law in sickness or other needs. Children-in-law observed a number of avoidances regarding their parents-in-law: greeting their parents-in-law, speaking to them or breaking in on their conversation with remarks, looking at them, and sitting down beside them were all taboo. When in the same hut with their parents-in-law, they turned their sides or backs on them. A year or so after marriage, the restrictions between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law were partly, but never wholly, relaxed; those between son-in-law and father-in-law lasted through life. On visits of the father-in-law to his daughter, he and his son-in-law communicated wishes and news through the daughter and wife or by indirect discourse.

562 The man was, in theory, considered the head of the family, with 593 authority to rule. Actually, his authority was very far from absolute, and the woman was largely her own mistress, particularly in such provinces of her own as child rearing, food gathering, and canoe managing. Some men domineered over their wives, but not a few husbands were under the thumbs of their spouses. Some husbands were cruel, but if so they ran afoul of the wife's kin. More generally, woman's position both in the family and in the community seemed a respected one, not that of a drudge, slave, or inferior being, and she enjoyed a fairly high degree of freedom and independence.

684 Adultery was disapproved by the *Yahgan* code, but apparently 837 the code suffered appreciable infringement in practice. Adultery on the wife's part was, if discovered, punished by the husband with sound beatings, very rarely with death. Public opinion disapproved of her behavior. Adultery on the husband's part also gave rise to domestic battles in which the husband sometimes suffered severe treatment at his offended wife's hands. Jealousy on the part of both husband and wife was common. Wife lending was absent. There [548] was no professional prostitution; a woman, married or unmarried, of markedly loose character was looked down upon.

586 Separation and divorce were fairly frequent, but were not lightly resorted to. The most common cause appears to have been cruel treatment of the wife by the husband, though there were other causes such as marked laziness, negligence, or crabbedness on the part of the [595] wife. In case the wife became incapacitated through illness or age, the man could, and, it seems, more commonly did, take to himself a second wife.

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"Marriage was recognized just as much as all other degrees of relationship, for all of which they [the Yamana] have their specific terms."

about by the dominance of European civilization has strangled this judicious tribal custom, along with much that was original. The Indians of today regret that some of their countrymen enter a marriage without the ceremony of former times. Mary, who was indignant over the widespread lack of form, very much lamented these conditions: "A woman, after all, is not an object, not a piece of wood or something, that one takes without ceremony. A girl who gives herself to a man without the formalities customary among us is not a real woman. It was so nice in former times when the painted bride was given to the bridegroom, who was also painted. Everybody was very happy on those occasions!" Again it is European influence that has killed the feeling for their native tribal customs among the younger generation. I learned the bulk of what is contained in the preceding pages from reliable old Alfredo on my second journey.

/658/ 9. Parents-In-Law and Children-In-Law

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In the days before and after the wedding, the bridegroom is very obliging and anxious to serve his parents-in-law. There is no legal obligation for service in the form of work or for gifts, but it is a matter of concern to him to obtain the favor of the girl's parents in order that they will surely and without reservation give their consent to the planned marriage. It is well known that a certain shyness prevents the lovers from revealing their turbulent desires. One day shortly before the wedding, when the love of the two young people has already become known, the bridegroom, in order to gain admittance into the hut of the girl's parents, places a rather large bundle of wood in front of the hut and waits until he is called in (40). If this happens, he interprets it as the surest

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40. It is well known that among the Selk'nam, also, the young chap who is anxious to marry resorts to silent, patient waiting in front of the

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hut of his beloved, until her father admits him and thereby announces his approval of the marriage (Vol. I, 327).

guarantee of the old people's approval of his marriage plan. He conceals his innermost joy and henceforth conducts himself as ancient tribal custom demands of a son-in-law. Free, open intercourse is not permitted him nor the daughter-in-law with their parents-in-law. On the other hand, they are obliged to render service to the latter. What the son-in-law does for them immediately before and after the wedding should probably more accurately be called appreciation and a show of gratitude for the willingness of these parents to hand over their daughter to him. In order to demonstrate clearly his readiness to please his father-in-law, the lover finds out what he lacks or expects or particularly desires, and that is what he procures, whether it be a canoe, a harpoon, or a beautiful fur cloak. Beyond that, he brings many other trifles to his father-in-law's hut until the marriage celebration begins. At the same time the bride, if possible, renders small services to her future mother-in-law, but these are not expected or taken for granted as in the case of the bridegroom. That she, too, favors her parents-in-law with gifts clearly indicates, however, that the presents delivered by the bridegroom cannot be regarded as bride purchase (p. 404).

606 The limitations of intercourse between children-in-law and their parents-in-law constitute a definite custom of avoidance. It is regarded as inadmissible and improper to address the parents-in-law or to interrupt their conversation with incidental remarks. When one meets them or enters their hut, one may not greet them; if one happens to run into them, one should, with downcast eyes, give them a wide berth. It is the general custom that one does not sit down opposite them, never looks them in the eye, and never sits next to them. If it happens that a son-in-law or daughter-in-law is in the same hut with the parents-in-law, the former must move far away and /659/ turn from them, that is to say, turn to one side or turn their backs. If several men gather together, the son-in-law chooses his place in this circle so that it is farthest removed from his father-in-law. He remains silent

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.66 and crouches low when his father-in-law speaks. These precepts are observed to this day. One day when we were talking to a few old men about the men's celebration, kina, Calderon, who was otherwise very forward and loquacious, acted so silent and reserved that his conduct could not fail to be conspicuous. When he was questioned about it, he explained that his father-in-law, William, was present and was talking, and that under these circumstances it was proper for him, as the son-in-law, to maintain a respectful silence.

The daughter-in-law is obliged to maintain the same shy reserve toward her mother-in-law. This restriction, however, is somewhat relaxed after the first year of marriage. In any case a free exchange or frank discussion never comes about.

Nevertheless, the son-in-law and daughter-in-law have several unavoidable obligations toward their parents-in-law (41). In

41. Bridges (a):201 referred to this with imprecise data: "Men work for their wives' parents both before and after marriage, until the bears her firstborn, when the husband is exempted from further duty, save occational gifts of fish, blubber, canoe, spear, etc., and a willingness to help his father-in-law in difficulties" /cited in English/. What Krickeberg: 321 has to say about this should be corrected on the basis of the above explanations.

sickness, especially, or if the parents-in-law are incapacitated, they must be helpful and show concern about the former's sustenance. The children are not required to take them into their hut, because this would awkwardly constrain them. Nevertheless, an old woman sometimes lives temporarily with her married daughter and takes part in the daily canoe trips. In any case, the son-in-law or daughter-in-law must at certain intervals see how their parents-in-law are doing, must provide them with fresh food or good tools, and perhaps find other persons to care for them, all depending on the requirements of the individual case. The parents-in-law must not be denied specific wishes or refused particular requests.

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•606 In spite of these prohibitions, and precisely because of the prevailing obligations, the two parties must associate in an indirect and roundabout way. For about a year after her marriage, the daughter-in-law may exchange a few necessary words with her mother-in-law; the son-in-law for the rest of his life refrains from any direct conversation with his father-in-law. We have just spoken of this. It is the daughter who intercedes for her husband with her father, or the son who does so with his parents for his wife. The corresponding brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law also serve as mediators.

In a concrete situation, social intercourse runs as follows. /660/ When the son-in-law becomes aware that his father-in-law is approaching him and his family, he sends his wife out to meet him and has her say: "My husband sends me, he invites you into our hut!" Pleased over this, her own father replies: "Thank you very much, but I was about to build my own hut!" He decides to do this in order not to embarrass his son-in-law, for the latter would have to remain silent, sit apart at meals, and humble himself constantly, which would spoil the visit for him. Hence, in order to save him any embarrassment and unpleasantness, the father-in-law builds his own hut nearby, and he is assisted by his daughter. When the building is nearly finished, she returns to her own hut and addresses her husband in a voice that all can hear: "I invited your father-in-law to stay with us, but he prefers to live in a hut of his own. He thanks you!" Then her husband speaks in a loud voice so that the father-in-law can hear it: "I am very sorry that my father-in-law is not coming to my hut!" In this delicate way he expresses the fact that he is glad to be at the disposal of his father-in-law. While the latter is in the vicinity, his own daughter visits him repeatedly; the son-in-law himself appears in the father-in-law's hut only once or twice and inquires about the possible needs of his father-in-law from his own wife.

521 203 606 As a substitute for direct conversation, which is not permitted, they manage in their own way. As soon as it is quiet outside, the son-in-law, in a loud voice and without addressing anyone, tells what he has recently experienced, observed, and learned, especially things which are worth knowing for his parents-in-law. The latter hear each word and are kept up-to-date.

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521 606 On the other hand, the father-in-law, squatting before his hut fire, talks as though to himself, but so that it can be heard all around, saying what he wants his son-in-law to know. He also gives actual instructions to him in this manner or in similar roundabout ways. For example, if his son-in-law enters his hut, he neither greets him, looks up, nor says a word, but silently stays in some dark corner. If they are both alone and no one can mediate between them, the old man expresses his wishes, not by direct address, but as though he were talking to himself: "I left my knife lying on the beach!" Or he says: "Outside on the tree branch there hangs a penguin that I should like to roast, I'm hungry!" Or he might say: "I killed a sea lion this morning. It is a large animal. I am an old man, and I could not drag it to the canoe; I left it lying out there on the rock.". Or, finally: "The wood for my hut fire is almost used up; if only someone would provide me with fresh firewood!" The son-in-law understands such statements; they are requests of his father-in-law, which he carries out without objection.

606 /661/ Such strange reserve on the part of the son-in-law and daughter-in-law and their association with their parents-in-law in the oddly indirect way through their respective children or through a brother-in-law or sister-in-law are expressions of veneration and respect for the old people. They say: "The parents-in-law are worthy of veneration, therefore children-in-law may not conduct themselves conspicuously in their presence nor exchange a word with them (42)!" The parents-in-law are held in the same

42. "Sons-in-law and daughters-in-law treat with considerable deference their fathers and mothers-in-law" /cited in English/, according to Bridges (a):202.

esteem as own parents; the fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law of a married couple regard each other as brothers and sisters. Hence the children-in-law fulfill all the duties that they owe their own parents. They give them presents very often and do all kinds of work for them: they bring wood for the hut fire, grass for the sleeping place, drinking water and food, rushes for braiding baskets,

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606 and lances for lance-shafts. In short, they help their parents-in-law in every way and outwardly show them far more veneration than their own parents. A son-in-law would neither demand anything of them nor borrow anything. More than that, the son-in-law and daughter-in-law must also display a certain reserve toward the brothers and sisters of their parents-in-law, although it is not inadmissible to exchange brief words with them occasionally. Every man, however, can associate freely with the grandparents of his wife (43).

43. In the relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law there are remarkable similarities between the Yamana and the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 332) and the Halakwulup (Vol. III).

177 182 European civilization, disrupting everything, has done away with many regulations formerly respected by the Yamana as sacred laws. For this reason, disgraceful disorders have met no opposition among the remaining survivors of the tribe. Older Indians whose principles are the same as those of their ancestors and who are helpless to stop this confusion complain bitterly and deeply regret the uncontrollable decline of their entire nation.

b. Married Life

591 593 With the marriage ceremony, independent life begins for the newly wedded couple. They are no longer dependent upon their own parents, and as a newly established conjugal union, they find themselves standing on their own feet. There is no definite rule about the time when the newlyweds break away from their parents. It depends on the position of the family of the bridegroom or of the bride. In exceptional cases, the young people remain with their elders until they have their first child.

The young man does not find it difficult to turn his back on the parental hut; he has long felt the urge for personal /682/ independence and the desire for the unimpeded development of

591 after which they would usually go for good to the groom's kin. Thus, localized groups of kin tended to be paternal.

609 After marriage the husband's paternal uncle and the wife's maternal aunt took particular interest in them, superseding in large measure their respective parents. Children-in-law were expected to
606 look after their parents-in-law in sickness or other needs. Children-in-law observed a number of avoidances regarding their parents-in-law: greeting their parents-in-law, speaking to them or breaking in on their conversation with remarks, looking at them, and sitting down beside them were all taboo. When in the same hut with their parents-in-law, they turned their sides or backs on them. A year or so after marriage, the restrictions between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law were partly, but never wholly, relaxed; those between son-in-law and father-in-law lasted through life. On visits of the father-in-law to his daughter, he and his son-in-law communicated wishes and news through the daughter and wife or by indirect discourse.

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593 authority to rule. Actually, his authority was very far from absolute, and the woman was largely her own mistress, particularly in such provinces of her own as child rearing, food gathering, and canoe managing. Some men domineered over their wives, but not a few husbands were under the thumbs of their spouses. Some husbands were cruel, but if so they ran afoul of the wife's kin. More generally, woman's position both in the family and in the community seemed a respected one, not that of a drudge, slave, or inferior being, and she enjoyed a fairly high degree of freedom and independence.

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837 the code suffered appreciable infringement in practice. Adultery on the wife's part was, if discovered, punished by the husband with sound beatings, very rarely with death. Public opinion disapproved of her behavior. Adultery on the husband's part also gave rise to domestic battles in which the husband sometimes suffered severe treatment at his offended wife's hands. Jealousy on the part of both
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[848] wife. In case the wife became incapacitated through illness or age, the man could, and, it seems, more commonly did, take to himself a Second Wife.

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587 Gertie lost her first husband, who was killed on an otter hunt. Immediately her brother-in-law sent away his wife and took Gertie. When he died, she joined Chris with whom she is still living. The latter had lost his first wife to a Turk in Ushuaia. If a widow runs after her brother-in-law, it is impossible for him to get rid of her, even if he is married.

[589] In Yamana economy it is almost impossible for a widow to maintain herself alone. Hence she cannot long remain unmarried, and she herself is compelled to try to remarry. This is obvious in the complete meaning of the word kwínan, and BD:225 states it fully: "A woman lately a widow, taken as a wife by another" /cited in English/. Usually a man soon proposes to her, for a young, able widow accomplishes more and is more valuable to him than a girl who is still inexperienced. I was assured that a widower had an even greater right to his recently widowed sister-in-law, namely, that he may force her to marry him, and that he can even take the recalcitrant one by the hair and drag her into his hut. Although this right is granted, a man has scarcely ever made use of it, for he must consider the fact that such a refractory sister-in-law will run away from him at the first opportunity. A widow, however, cannot actually coerce her brother-in-law into marrying her, and even less when he is already married. To be sure he can never evade the duty of taking care of his half-orphaned nephews and nieces in one way or another, if they are not provided for elsewhere.

587 In general, persons related by marriage show a certain
•607 deference and mutual respect for each other. On this account the brother-in-law and widowed sister-in-law who have married are consciously respectful toward each other during the first few months. They talk remarkably little and always very softly.

587 Thus, since a married man has the right and a certain obli-
736 gation to care for his widowed sister-in-law, no one disapproves
585 if he lets her come into his hut as his second wife. She must be /648/ economically secure and have no interference in making a free choice. This is the more comprehensive and final meaning of the obligation toward widow-marriage. It is even more important that the half-orphans be well cared for and properly reared under all circumstances (25).

25. The obligation of the levirate is partly

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the young wife, her mother was the wife of a man then alive. She had two or three children who died. When the mother's husband died, Domingo took her as his wife, but this was after he had married her daughter" /cited in English/.

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A final obstacle to marriage is based on a sort of sponsorship namely, on the relationship of all adults to the candidates who have been entrusted to their special care in the čiexaus, the youth initiation. Their relationship is regarded as that of parents to their children, accompanied by certain rights or duties which never cease as long as one of the two parties is living.

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The community as a whole, especially the relatives, are vigilant regarding the valid obstacles to marriage; it is their duty to interfere if anyone dares to violate them. Infringements by individual persons in exceptional cases and more recently as a result of the unusual composition of the population cannot be avoided, since the public does not have effective measures of control and since the guilty party avoids the loud mockery and scornful gossip of his neighbors by keeping to himself. The erection of certain barriers in the form of real obstacles to marriage proves with unmistakable clarity how highly the Yamana regard the institution of marriage and the sound judgment they show in evaluating the meaning of their only social alliance. My questions about the possibility of a marital union between relatives and adopted persons obviously horrified them, and they found it unpleasant that such prohibitions, which are sacred and venerable to them, should be even casually mentioned.

8. The Marriage Ceremony

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In the foregoing pages we have described the development from the first slight amorous inclinations of two young hearts to their definite decision to marry, as well as the attitude of the relatives of the couple. The lovers never link themselves together in a definite, solemn declaration of their willingness to marry, as in the manner of our engagement. Nor do the Yamana know anything

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846 In contrast to the dutiful inactivity of the father immediately after the birth of the child is the industry that every young mother must pursue. The woman who is giving birth for the first time may permit herself some rest for a few hours, but after that she, too, must do what mothers of several children do automatically, namely, busy herself briskly and assiduously in her household. It is said: "That is good for mother and child!" For a few days she must be very reserved; she must act withdrawn and thoughtful, speak little, keep her eyes fixed to the ground when she walks, as though in mental concentration, and avoid visits to other huts. Older women anxiously watch over and care for a woman who has just had her first child so that she does not thoughtlessly offend against the ancient regulations and thus make her child unhappy. Other mothers, after a confinement late in life, are assisted in their daily work by their daughters. Even today, parents are very punctilious about observing the regulations pertaining to the first few days after confinement (138). During this time they are referred

138. Hahn (a):806 reports a few special details: "The Indians say that a throat ailment will kill the babies whose parents have not obeyed the laws of the 'gimbana.' If they eat crabs, the children will have a mouth inflammation (or something similar)" /translated from French/.

to by the designation given above (p. 508), yembéna, according to BD:649, "the state of having a young child or offspring /713/ (used specially of women and men, but also of animals), referring to the time when the child is weak and requires constant attention" /cited in English/. The Fuegians live in the firm conviction that all warnings and threats are sooner or later realized if the parents are guilty of transgressions against the existing rules of conduct.

•608 We have earlier (p. 500) emphasized clearly enough the difference between the actual midwife and what I call the adopted or foster mother. In August, 1923, Nelly and Mary told me in detail about this arrangement. Among the Yamana it is the custom that a woman who is a friend of the expectant mother takes charge

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608 of the little creature as though it were her child. The friend usually comes to the mother voluntarily and announces her wish; the pregnant woman sees to it that at her confinement an adopted mother has actually been agreed upon for the child. She need not be personally present at the birth, but she is almost never absent. Every newborn child, whether boy or girl, is without exception placed under the protection of a foster mother, adakutáruwaxípa. Her husband, known as adakutáruwa, likewise enters into a certain relationship to that child, but does not play a noteworthy part. We might best characterize the position and significance of the adakutáruwaxípa if we speak of her as the second mother of the child. She concerns herself with it and cares for it from the first day of its life, sometimes given the mother advice even before confinement, is helpful to her and the child, and attends both during and after the confinement. She follows the growth of the child with attentive devotion, visits it often, and sends it presents. As soon as it is old enough to understand, the child is taught to be obedient and devoted to its foster mother, just as to its own mother. The former even has, so to speak, more rights and influence than the latter. Her voice has much weight in important decisions. When the time approaches for the obligatory youth initiation, she makes the final decision; when her foster child is considering marriage, she, sometimes without the parents' knowledge, turns the scales. The relation of the foster mother to her ward is always intimate, and every woman is very much concerned with the duties she has voluntarily chosen.

608 736 By giving the child an adakutáruwaxípa, they doubtless wish to make his progress, training, and protection secure against any emergency. In Tierra del Fuego it occasionally happens that the dangerous way of life of the parents results in an accident, and they are killed before their children reach maturity. It is true that relatives must take care of orphans, no matter how many there are, and most families are large, but the institution we speak of, in which each child has its foster mother, offers ample security when a child is orphaned, no matter what happens (139). They do not

139. Martial:198 is without doubt referring to this when he says: "Sometimes the child is adopted at the moment of its birth by some

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friend who acts as a sort of godmother, fulfilling this function very well" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):375 expresses himself more explicitly, saying that certain women "will later also be called 'mother' by the small children whom she helped bring into the world" /translated from French/.

let the same woman adopt several children of one mother.

608 The relationship between the two /714/ is never dissolved throughout their lifetimes. When the child is married, the foster mother continues to champion and help him. If the child has lost his parents, the foster mother lives nearby or even in the same hut. Not infrequently the adakutáruwaxípa assumes the sponsorship in the čiéxaus for her foster child, which still more closely links the two together.

4. Treatment of the Infant

854 [851] Neighbors tell each other about the birth of a child as a joyous event. Some women hasten to the place out of curiosity and discuss the process in great detail with the mother; they like to give advice and are willing to perform any service. Above all, the parents themselves outdo each other in demonstrations of love for their child. All observers agree with Bridges (h):208 that "children are the object of tender concern" /translated from Spanish/. The father also loves to play with his little darling, and although he does not know how to be nearly as tender as his wife, he is not surpassed by her when it comes to sincerity and paternal happiness. Anxious about the welfare of the child, the father sometimes gives her advice about care and nourishment; occasionally both parents discuss the present condition of their child and its future. They circumspectly avoid everything that might harm it, and they guard it solicitously day and night. In general, the husband does not criticize the way his wife handles the baby, for he can rely on her; after all, she is well advised by neighbor women, and he follows

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X881 when the curtain once more hides the figure of Yetáita, each pupil is asked: "Whom did you see?" Timidly he replies: "Yetáita!" Then they say: "That was not Yetáita himself; he is much more dangerous!"

In most recent times this apparition is often omitted for the sake of convenience; the old people view this as a sad indication of laxity in the čiéxaus program, which formerly was seriously carried out. At my first initiation the Yamana let the so-called Yetáita appear out of consideration for me, and that is when I observed this performance. I did not see it again later.

γ. The Sponsors

X881 608 In quick succession all the candidates are brought to the Great Hut on the same evening. After their reception each of them carries the fear of Yetáita deep in his very bones. He is constantly reminded of it, for the person who first appeared to him in this form now sits next to him as his "sponsor." How else is one to designate the position and task of the man or woman to whom each ušwáala is entrusted? /853/ Their task is to watch him continuously and never move from his side, day or night. In order that they may also pursue their other duties and participate in special performances in the Great Hut, they are regularly assigned in pairs to one ušwáala. Thus it is possible for them to take turns in this service. A boy is given either two men or a man and a woman, a girl, on the other hand, almost always two women as sponsors (272). At my first and second initiation Chris

272. Lothrop (b):168 reports inaccurately about this arrangement when he writes: "Each candidate had three godparents, two of his own and one of the opposite sex." I never heard of three godparents for a candidate. Usually they are satisfied with a single sponsor for each candidate. Compare the list of participants on p. 692.

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and Gertie performed this service for me; Koppers had Santiago and his wife Adelheid as sponsors.

The uŝwāala does not sit between his two sponsors (273), but

> 273. This principle can be very clearly seen in Fig. 83. I also observed this practice during my first initiation.

next to the one who is his chief sponsor. We have already mentioned that their task is to take particular care of their protégé. In this respect they replace, as it were, his or her parents (274)

> 274. We must point out that upon entry into the Great Hut parental influence on the children is interrupted (p. 640), and training by the community now takes its place.

with whom they are either related or well acquainted. They call their protégé an adopted or foster child, hētakuxēolan, also hētakumākuxēolan. Soon after the struggle with the so-called Yetāita, the sponsor begins his duties. He says to his protégé: "Sit right!" Immediately the latter assumes the sitting position prescribed for uŝwāala. Then he says: "Always sit still, do not look around, do not talk, never laugh, remain composed," and so forth.

As soon as his word has achieved the external posture and bearing, he begins teaching him the goals of this celebration and threatens stern measures should he offend against the prevailing form. Finally he talks to him severely about vices, character faults, bad behavior, and negligence, which were recently observed in him or in some way attracted attention.

The sponsor also carefully supervises the handwork and exercises the uŝwāala must do. Two or three times a day he paints the face of the latter and also concerns himself with his physical well-being, daily serving him small amounts of food and drink. For each sponsor it is a serious duty, and more than that, a matter of deep feeling, to observe his protégé so carefully and to influence him so decidedly that this initiation will be as fruitful as possible for him.

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X881 According to the ideas of our Yamana, this intimate contact between sponsor and candidate during the long weeks in the Great Hut brings about a kind of kinship connection between the two. It is /854/ most clearly expressed in the fact that the two may not marry. Let us imagine that a male uswāala occasionally has a female sponsor (275). For many years after the youth initiation

275. Besides a male sponsor, Koppers had a female sponsor and so did I, even twice, his was Adelheid, mine Gertie. That was by no means regarded as an exception.

every sponsor, male or female, not only has the right but also the duty to supervise closely the further conduct of his hētakuxēolan and, if necessary, remind him of the principles of that probationary period. Even the natural parents do not dare attempt such interference in the personal freedom of an adult, much less other people. The sponsor has a right to do it. The two are therefore intimately united throughout their lifetimes in a spiritual kinship; they are attentive to each other, visit each other, and give each other gifts.

Above all, a female sponsor concerns herself with maternal care for her protégé and attentively follows his later career. When I met my sponsor Gertie in Punta Remolino two years after my first initiation, she embraced me, beaming happily, and gave me a loud kiss on my forehead in the presence of the Indians and Whites who were standing around. To be concerned about one's aged and needy sponsors is a duty, just as much as it is for children toward their own parents.

The reception of the candidates and their assignment to their sponsors could also come under the heading of the more immediate preparations. In any case, everything is now taken care of so that the regular program of this long ceremony can begin.

3. Daily Program for the Candidates

X881 The long čiēxaus celebration proceeds according to unwritten laws. The old people faithfully preserve them in memory and each

/949 cont./

X881 into the adult circle. The čiēxaus hut is thoroughly cleaned and decorated; the color on the ornamental plaques and sticks, as well as on the long leather strap, ūkeša, is touched up; everyone present arranges his own ornaments and paints himself carefully. In the rear of the Great Hut a curtain of sea-lion skins is hung, just as on the occasion of visits (p. 821), and the candidates immediately seat themselves behind it. Soon afterwards, notified by the winefkēpa, there is a gathering here of the people who had remained behind in the camp almost entirely throughout the čiēxaus celebration. They, too, appear with extraordinarily beautiful facial painting and are equipped with the hapaxēl and dance staff.

A particularly solemn moment is at hand. All the adults very gravely squat in their places, and the uninterrupted singing by some one person sounds noticeably moved. At the direction of the leader a middle-aged man goes behind the curtain and bids the uŭwāala to follow him. They arrange themselves in single file,
[535] headed by the man. With short, mincing steps, holding their dance staffs horizontally /950/ and lifting them up and down in a circular motion, they dance back and forth through the long hut several times. Meanwhile all the adults take part in the singing. Finally the row of youthful dancers stops in the middle of the rom. Their leader now accompanies one uŭwāala after another to his respective sponsor. The sponsor, without getting up, takes his hētakuxēolan by the hand, moves slightly to one side, and invites him to sit down beside him. This act is regarded as a formal presentation of the ward to his sponsor and as an adoption of the young people into the adult group. The uŭwāala is herewith declared a full-fledged mem-
[152] ber of the tribe. On this occasion everyone present is gripped with strong emotion. They cannot hold back tears of sentiment at the happiness of the sponsors and their adopted children. They quite rightly see in this solemn act the climax of the entire youth initiation, for in the latter, as we know, maturing young people are to
• [608] become full-fledged tribal associates. At the same time this also publicly and forever seals the spiritual kinship between the sponsors and their wards, hētakuxēolan. Occasionally at this time, but
[431] usually not until the great feast, the ward receives from his sponsor a special gift consisting of three items.

/952 cont./

X881 the uswala, surrounded by their sponsors, also shuffle through the exit into the open. This is the informal but actual farewell to the čiexaus hut.

Outside they all sit down beside the big fire, and soon small talk begins, quietly and in short sentences at first because they are no longer accustomed to a running conversation, then animatedly and joyfully excited. Everyone eagerly helps himself and enjoys the freshly roasted meat, although many a person who is excessively weakened endangers himself by overeating. As time goes on, the people mix more and more enthusiastically, for one seeks out another and wants to tell or ask about all kinds of things.

/953/ At this great dinner the candidates are required to serve older persons without pause. They offer first one and then another a freshly roasted piece of meat or a handful of mussels. They pass along the irregular rows of the company and distribute on all sides whatever they have in their hands. The adults are pleased with the industriousness of the uswala and exchange /Fig. 87 appears here/ opinions about the success and the prospects of one or another. All the inmates of the dwellings who have not spent the night in the čiexaus hut have, of course, also arrived beside the big fire. They are particularly affected by the sight of the emaciated and weak candidates; they discuss the many deprivations and the long fasting that the candidates have, after all, survived. The candidates cannot arouse themselves to fresh cheerfulness and unconstrained gaiety, for the trials which their weak bodies were obliged to endure for many long weeks were too difficult.

X881 The so-called sponsors are overjoyed, for during the long
•608 period of the čiexaus trial they have successfully led their
431 hetakuxeolan to the goal. They talk a great deal with other adults about their protégé, and in detail with the parents. According to
[415] ancient custom, they give their protégé the tube-shaped bird bone
X881 embalim (ebelim), through which, day after day, he has sucked sparse amounts of drinking water from a mussel shell. He also re-
608 ceives a rather short carved stick, about 12 centimeters long and
431 pointed at the end, with a shallow groove carved around the top.
515 A tendon is wound around the groove and likewise around the upper end of the sucking tube, and both articles are joined with a string of tendon which is placed around the neck of the candidate (Fig. 87).

/953 cont./

X881 He is always supposed to have on hand, above all, the little stick
of wood, tamiyáki, since he uses it to scratch the lice-bites on his
●608 head. It is said that young people should regularly use this little
431 stick after their dismissal from the čiẽxaus hut; if they used their
515 fingernails, the latter would become brittle. If the tamiyaki is
lost or wears out, the young fellow or girl can make one, if the
sponsor does not happen to offer a new one. There is no definite
limit as to the length of time the young people must use the
little scratching stick; sooner
or later, however, they simply
ignore it.

X881 /954/ A third and final
gift of less significance than
608 the two just mentioned, which only
431 the female sponsor presents to her
415 hẽtakuxeglan, is a pretty, dainty little
basket made of rushes and specially
decorated along the upper edge with a
wreath of feathers. It is filled with ripe
berries of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12
/in untranslated portion/).

X881 The ward receives these three items
as mementos. They are first of all supposed
608 to remind him of the male and female
431 sponsors, but even more, of the teachings
and admonitions of the čiẽxaus celebration.
With a certain pride the uswtala shows each

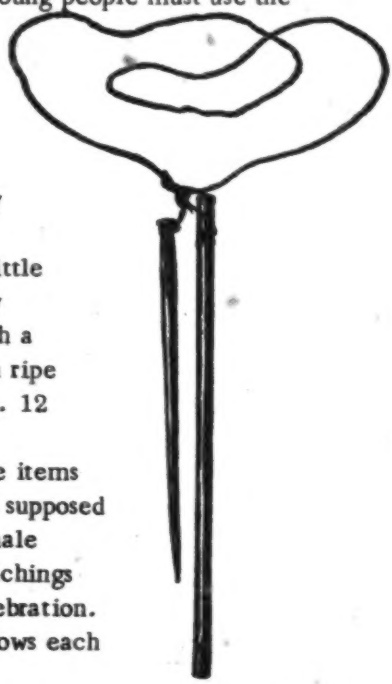

Fig. 87. Small Sucking Tube and Small Scratching Stick. One-half natural size.

of his acquaintances this certification of his successful initiation. Thus he publicly shows that he now lawfully belongs to the group of adults.

X881 For hours the people squat around the fire and enjoy the
abundant meal. Gradually they feel a desire for games. Once a
524 beginning has been made, one game follows another. Real

/1013 cont./

514 great care. This type of decoration, which is more or less com-
302 plicated, is used when a child appears before its parents, a bride-
groom before his bride, a woman before her intimate female
friend. Young people who have already gone through the čiéxaus
would not be permitted to present themselves before their sponsor
or their adoptive mother, adakutáruwaxípa, without this decora-
tion. Such negligence would be tantamount to an insult or con-
tempt. A person who hears that he will soon have the pleasure of
a visit quickly paints himself to show how pleased he is. If he has
not had time to do it, he paints himself in the presence of the
visitor. The sponsor loves to visit her protégé of the čiéxaus and paint
•[608] on his cheeks the lines customary for that occasion. All the neigh-
bors praise this evidence of the pair's great intimacy and joyfully
tell everyone: "She [the sponsor] painted him!" /1014/ He
must appear before her now and then with this design, just as
adults, according to the universal rule, are expected to appear
with painted decorations when repaying a visit.

514 Linked with this requirement to decorate oneself for visits
is the related one of physical cleanliness. Everyone at least re-
515 moves the worst dirt from his face and from hands and feet, ar-
ranges his hair, and puts on his cleanest back-cape. No one makes
great demands in this respect, but every visitor must at least show
that he has done a little something to appear clean. Naturally he
puts on his most precious ornaments. All this is to show that the
visitor esteems the one whom he visits.

514 Although the Yamana are unpretentious about physical
cleanliness (p. 28), they are remarkably strict with regard to their
516 natural functions. No one speaks of them. A person who wants
to relieve himself quietly leaves the circle of people and goes some
distance away. Two people would never do it close together; boys
who venture to do so and are observed must expect to have stones
thrown at them and be beaten. A person who has to go out at
night must not show annoyance at having to go far away from the
hut or he would be severely reproached. Children and young people
may not loudly break wind in the circle of older people; the
latter, however, are free to do so and reap smirks of approval.
516 Very loud and vigorous belching does not disturb anyone, nor do
515 the rasping clearing of the throat and the constant spitting. They
are always scratching their heads and all over the body to relieve

/432 cont./

302 the hut of their sponsors with this decoration. They are espe-
574 cially close to their sponsors because the latter painted them
881 with this decoration every day in the Great Hut of the initiation. Without exception it is the sponsor, in the role of a second mother, who, overjoyed by the visit of the child she sponsored, immediately wipes off his decoration and in its place draws the decoration of visitors mentioned above. Other people see this and are also happy, and in their satisfaction over the cordial understanding between the two, say: "That boy [that girl] was painted by his sponsor!" Not infrequently this woman goes to see the sponsored child in his hut. In order to announce to him and everyone in the vicinity how happy she is, she goes to him and paints the red perpendicular stripes on his cheek, as she did so often during the festival of the Kina. Her action never fails to have a favorable effect on the neighbors.

302 The fact that our Yamana commonly used decorative
574 painting when they paid visits is an adequate explanation of the
609 many accounts from the period of the first European travelers, who constantly emphasize that the natives approached the foreign ships with an unusual and peculiar facial painting. Precisely because /433/ this was a duty familiar to them in their relations with their own people, they applied it to the white strangers also (113).

113. The experience of Reverend Despard (b):679 on his first journey in April, 1857, in Cinco-May Harbor will suffice as an example from more recent times: The natives "had painted their cheeks, some with red ocre, some with charcoal; one had white lines horizontally drawn across the nose and eyes; another had white dots, in three rows, on each cheek, and a single row down his nose; none were tattooed" /cited in English/. Compare Lovisato (b):147.

302 The Indians adhere still more strictly to their habit of decorating themselves for occasions other than visits, but these

/645 cont./

836 849 The question of a possible illegitimate birth is related to this discussion. Children who have reached puberty are sufficiently enlightened on the subject of sex life (p. 390). After an instance of adultery, neither of the guilty parties, who probably always return to their lawful partners, thinks of the possible consequences of their meeting. As a rule, however, unmarried couples avoid intercourse before marriage, for the girls maintain a remarkably strict reserve, even toward bold youths. This union, however, may have occurred among young people who had already tacitly agreed to marry. In such a case they have been legitimately married long before the fruit of their mutual love appears. Hence there is actually no recognizable illegitimate birth among the Yamana (22).

•609 22. This is not to deny sexual intercourse by strategy or force between European sailors or farmers and Indian women; the consequences are known far and wide. What the natives themselves thought and still think about this is only occasionally, but clearly enough expressed in the jealousy with which they guard their women and girls in the presence of strangers. See pages 336 and 353 /in untranslated portion of this work/.

834 The separation of children by sex at the time of puberty is intended chiefly to preserve their premarital chastity, as is expressed in clear instructions and warnings. Young people know very well that they are being watched, and although it is difficult for them to avoid the sharp eyes of adults, they sometimes succeed in doing so. On such occasions a bold lad will permit himself unseemly conduct with a girl. Such secrecy is seldom possible and is censured by every adult, in fact, seriously punished by the parents of the little culprit. There can be no question of sexual freedom for the Indian women. The Yamana are not familiar with any kind of ordeals of chastity. They demand decency of young people before marriage, just as they wish to insure freedom

/695 cont./

their own favorite, seemed to me much more direct and spontaneous among these Fuegians, and hence more impressive, than among mothers in Europe.

As a result of their own love for the child, we can understand why our Indians quickly gain confidence in all Europeans who show themselves kindly disposed toward their children. How quickly Snow (a):I, 349 realized this and took advantage of it for the safety of his own person! He writes: "They were very fond of their children, and any notice we took of the little ones always gave them pleasure. This I observed on my first visit; and it was, in addition to firearms in my breast coat-pocket, one of the means I was prepared to use, had there been occasion when I went alone amongst them. A child in my arms was, I considered, a guard against any sudden attack upon me, if they loved their offspring as most savage tribes do" /cited in English/ (108). Anyone wishing to win

108. Phillips:58, on his very first encounter with these natives on October 22, 1855, on Lennox Island, made the same observation: "The women were greatly pleased with the notice I took of their children, and kept appealing for something for the 'piccanini'" /cited in English/.

the favor of the adults need only show himself tender and loving toward their children. How often have they themselves held up their youngest toward the white strangers to beg for presents. They valued whatever was done for the child more highly than if it had been done for themselves. Snow (a):I, 326 may again serve as a witness. In Banner Cove he saw /696/ the first natives coming toward him in a canoe. A younger woman was among them. "She had a baby at the breast; and frequently, with a winning smile and plaintive voice, asked, by the oft repeated words, Yamana Scoona! for something for the pauca ninne. Mrs. Snow gave her many little presents, for which she returned grateful smiles and Cuttacutta (apparently: many thanks) over and over again. Her attachment to the child was evident; and what was given to the child she showed she understood was for that purpose by putting it

/696 cont./

855 609 152

immediately around its neck, or about its person" /cited in English/ (109). Later, after they had become sufficiently convinced

109. Snow (b):262 was so impressed by the love of children shown by these Fuegian mothers that he again speaks of his experiences and calls it unjust toward the parents that the missionaries wanted to take a few children for training to Isla Keppel. "One of the women had a baby with her, and there was something most winning in her manner when she asked us to give her child some present. She was much attached to her babe, even as I found all of the Fuegian mothers were, and I feel certain that to attempt taking those younger children away on any pretence whatever is wrong in the extreme... They are very fond of their children" /cited in English/.

of the kindliness of the missionaries for their children, a few families finally decided to entrust them with their darlings for a short time (p. 310 /untranslated/). Today Yamana children are much more suspicious of even the most well-intentioned Whites than I observed the children of the Selk'nam (110) to be, because they have had

110. On my first journey I effortlessly gained the confidence of the Selk'nam by way of the hearts of their children. See Gusinde (t):164 and (dd):78.

many sad experiences.

842 Now it will no longer be surprising to learn -- corresponding exactly to the ideas above -- that a married couple is envied because of their large flock of children. As each individual child provides great joy for the married couple, their happiness and satisfaction increase with the number of their offspring. "The more children, the more entertainment and variety in the hut on the long evenings," Walter confessed to me in a moment of deep sorrow when his youngest girl, who, with her slightly older brother, was what remained of eleven children, fell seriously ill. I often heard

/731 cont./

551 Although the nickname is merely an adjunct to the proper name, it unequivocally indicates the physical appearances and character of in bearer. It is chosen out of consideration for a physical peculiarity, a striking appearance, a strange habit, an odd nature, or an unusual character trait. Men are given nicknames much more often than women. The Yamana sometimes even surpass our own schoolboys in their aptness for appropriate choices in such names. Here are a few examples that I noted down in August, 1923. I shall preferably choose those nicknames that were applied to Europeans to show that the roguish nature of our Yamana showed itself in front of them, too.

551 609

wengul (wengulu, "to bore out"), "Twisted Leg." Name of Fred Lawrence whose left leg is somewhat bent.

tellapĕla (tĕlla, "eye"), "Eyebrows." This was applied to Guillermo Bridges because of his bushy eyebrows.

ŭkĕŭldĕ (ŭkĕŭ "forehead"; lu, "red"), "Red Forehead." This was the name for Missionary Pringle and for Martin Lawrence, whose faces were always conspicuously red.

ŭkĕŭyĕgu (ŭkĕŭ, "forehead"; yĕgu, "white"), "White Forehead." They were quite right to apply this to Santiago on account of his pale face.

ufkitówa (BD:118 ufkitówa, "deaf"), "The Deaf One." Missionary Aspinall, who was very deaf, gave them ample reason for this nickname. /732/

yakĕŭĕl (yakĕŭĕl, "thin patches of beard around the chin"), "Sparse Goatee." The Yamana hit upon this designation because Thomas Bridges had an unevenly filled-out beard.

551 522 The Yamana are not always considerate in selecting nicknames; some names border on the improper and people repeat them with glee, in derision of the bearer.

hallmuwa (hallmuwa, "negligent, dirty in appearance"), "Slovenly Human Being." A person who pays no attention to his appearance is given this name. A woman may also be called this, hallmuwakipa.

pĕcĕŭkĕlan (pĕcĕa, "behind"; alkĕlan, "bent upward"), "Bent Upward Behind." Name for a man whose buttocks was unusually prominent because of crippled spinal column.

wĕxĕgĕŭĕnjis (wĕxĕgĕ, "vulva mulieris"; [d]ĕnjis, masculine ending). I was unable to find out the real meaning of this elusive designation.

/786 cont./

[61] clearly demanded by the language. I am also adding several verbs
[127] which can only increase the clarity of this list of kinship terms for linguists as well as ethnologists, and above all for sociologists. Anyone who wishes to engage in more profound work is referred to the Dictionary.

[60] Male relatives are given on the left, female on the right of the page. Occasionally we give the possessive and forms of address. Here and there we also give number, such as plural or dual, as well as the singular. Whatever appears in parentheses ( ) can be omitted or retained. The first numbers, which are not in parentheses and are followed by a period, indicate the person. The following number in parentheses indicates chapter and verse from the translation of the Gospel according to Luke.

The Indians call themselves yémana.

[61] 192

yamana-ówa, man	yamana-ó-kipa, woman
yamali(m), people in the plural	yamanalamalim, human beings
ó-alamalim, men (11, 44; 9, 14)	kip-alamalim, women (23, 49. 55; 24, 22)

[C04] Strangers are clearly separated: aglpatúa, ana, méamúa, the first being meant as European, the last as native strangers.

ta, human being, man, also uka (23, 2. 4. 14. 19); ta in Luke (1, 31) used as "son" since here it can be the equivalent of the word "human being."

ta, uka, human being, man	kipa, woman, wife, also kipáhi pa, the same in the eastern part of Beagle Channel

For the latter word kipa-ólpa, "all women, every woman," is striking. See "child" in this connection.

"Master" is gílipa (12, 42), "sovereign, aristocracy," taulíyala (21, 12), in the singular taulíya, "lord, master" (9, 54; 12, 13) or tauiúla, "the highest" (18, 18), whereas ólair[1] mikíyha means "head of the house" (12, 39; 14, 26).

ulíyala, "the elders, old one," appears in Luke (7, 3).

ma-gílip-ta is used for "manservant" or "maidservant" (1, 38.12, 36).

ulúlayíyhula, male servants (7, 3); ulúlagilipelamalim, female servants (12, 42. 45).

/798 cont./

1. Its Structure

197 634 591 It is an inborn tendency of the Yamana to emphasize contrasts. These are certainly present in his homeland, and each person knows the characteristics of his local area, in fact, he must take them into account. We have mentioned in detail (p. 199 /untranslated/) that the entire Cape Horn Archipelago is geographically divided into five separate regions. As a result, there are an equal number of dialect groups living here (228).

228. Even the members of the Mission Scientifique did not agree uniformly about the individual ethnic groups. Hyades (j):148 is definitely at variance with the opinion of Hahn (b):1533, the ship's doctor. Compare the more specific boundaries in Gusinde (a): 1018.

Since time immemorial boundaries erected by Nature herself have been determined for each of these groups, and they have formed a dividing wall up to the last few decades. It is only recently that unfavorable forces have succeeded in breaking them down. Nevertheless, even today each of the few surviving Yamana boasts of his competence in this or that dialect district. No one knows who first marked this region /799/ and assigned the tribesmen to it. No myth says anything about it. They all readily accept given reality. It is well known that within his dialect district everyone enjoys complete independence and unrestricted freedom of movement. He has the same right to subsistence as his countryman.

629 634 Journeys into neighboring districts are undertaken for the special purposes of obtaining food or bartering for essential tools. No one remains away longer than is necessary. The people living in another district will permit a strange family to come in and provide themselves with whatever they need, but they do not tolerate anyone roaming about their territory an unnecessarily long time. If he should do so, it would cause hostility which could become serious, but as long as a stranded whale has not been completely consumed or as long as it is impossible to obtain

609 /799 cont./
634 food in their own native district, neighbors are not only unmolested in a strange district, but must be tolerated, as ancient custom prescribes.

621 Even the more circumscribed region of each individual dia-
634 lect group is usually cut up by many waterways. Hence in each
571 one, again under the pressure of geographic conditions, smaller groups are formed which, as a result of greater mobility in local areas, more frequently meet and have intercourse with one another. These are the so-called local groups within the dialect groups. Each of the former is made up of people born in the same region. They regard themselves as closer to one another, and this small region as their immediate home. They take their common name from the region, namely, from a bay, a water channel, or a small group of islands.

Hyades (j):150 also observed this custom: "They like to say: 'the people of Packsaddle Bay,' Pouthroaya yamana, 'of Ponsonby Sound,' Kanakouche yamana, but somewhat as we would in a city in speaking of some quarter or some street" /translated from French/ (229). Obviously such designations should not be inter-

229. Relying on a communication from Reverend Bridges, dated June, 1884, Hyades (ℓ):718 repeated: "All these natives are known by the name of the localities in which they live and are very exactly divided up into small clans" /translated from French/.

preted or evaluated in the sense of an organization or a local tribal division.

For his part Bridges used the designation "clan or tribe" /cited in English/ for local groups. For example, in the year 1883/84 he took a census of the entire Yamana population and put the individual groups together "under their several clan names" /cited in English/. His reasoning was: "All these natives are known by the names of their several locations and are very minutely divided into small clans. The term Ucur [ēkē̄ˀ], which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used /800/ to denote clans or tribe" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884). He states that

/854 cont./

X881 leader adheres to them. What is prevalent today was also the rule among previous generations who kept much more closely to the prevailing customs than the last survivors of this tribe under the inevitable influence of disruptive European culture. We can be

X881 all the more certain that even in modern times this youth initiation is repeated according to the manner and custom of the an-

609 cestors because it is the one thing that is anxiously withheld from the cognizance of all strangers and is open only to fellow-tribesmen as something particularly sacred. We must remember that not even the missionaries, despite decades of association with the natives, obtained a tangible notion of this institution or, even less, direct insight into it (p. 644).

X881 This section on the daily program of the candidates has been put together on the basis of what we ourselves experienced, sup-

128 plemented with explanations by our Yamana. The description has been built up according to certain points of view, which is why it seems formalistic, but it guarantees that all the details are really brought out /855/ and properly set forth (276). In

> 276. This treatment also facilitates a detailed comparison with the order of the day to which the candidates of the men's celebration among the Selk'nam must submit (Vol. I, 1008).

particular the educational principles upon which the initiation is built come out most clearly. The initiation is, first of all, a continuation of the child's early training which, up to then, it received from its parents in the family circle.

X881 A valuable bit of educational wisdom has been preserved down to our own day in this čiẽxaus celebration, for it has been

177 proved that European culture has exerted no decisive influence on the shaping of the external procedure or the form of the dominant principles. This fact should once again be strongly emphasized. In particular, the religious basis underlying the instruction of the candidates and the causal derivation of the whole performance help us to judge effectively the religious belief of these Fuegians.

X881 Although fully preserving the traditional, the Yamana do not by any means treat the daily program as a rigid, inflexible

X 881 533 /926 cont./
simultaneously. They enliven the already excited movement still more. The spirit and content of these utterances will be shown in a few sentences which I shall give here.

X 881 533 264 The people had already been loudly singing for about two hours. The kitchen women enter with the meal and are greeted with loud calls of hóhohohohō. Santiago, the leader, suddenly stops and simply calls out: "I am going to break off my song, for I am very tired and hungry!" Most of the people carry on the song; the rest eat hastily in order to take up the song soon after.

X 881 533 535 264 One evening coffee is brought in very late. Everyone is extremely happy about it. Every adult reaches for his cup, and with outstretched arms bent only slightly at the elbow, he holds it out. A few persons get up, skip back and forth, and lead the singing in a lively voice. Their gestures are lively because they are happy to be able to partake of something. They skip toward the kitchen woman with her large can, dance around her, and hold out their cups to her. As she fills each cup and also distributes bread, the others continue to hop all around her. Soon they draw away again, dancing with their filled cups, and sit down in their places. Their gay hopping is an expression of great satisfaction over the tasty drink. One of them says loudly: "How glad I am that I have been given something to eat and drink!" In a singing tone one woman cries: "Now there is something to eat and drink again; that is wonderful!" The kitchen woman who distributed food and drink brought joy and lively activity to the whole gathering.

X 881 537 152 609 On the first evening when a short pause occurred in the group singing, Santiago, the leader at that time, cried in a loud voice: "Once again we have gathered here to celebrate čiĕxaus. We want to do it well! This game came to us from the west; it came here from the Halakwulup. Today we have a Halakwulup (339)

339. He meant the youthful Julia who, several weeks before, had fled to the Yamana and who was invited to this initiation in Puerto Mejillones (p. 692).

among us. She will observe us carefully and afterwards tell her

X 881 537 152 609

/926 cont./
people how we conduct the čiéxaus. So we must do it particularly well this time!"

Shortly afterwards he interjected a personal remark into the song of the others: "Today two puāala [instead of palalāala, p. 333 /untranslated/] are sitting among us. We are putting on the čiéxaus for their benefit (340). We want to celebrate it well!"

340. He means by this that Gusinde and Koppers are being granted the distinction never before given a European of experiencing this secret performance from beginning to end.

On the same evening Clara also spoke up: "I have a Halakwulup [Julia] as my protégé. She is doing everything that is required of her here in the čiéxaus; /927/ she faithfully observes all the regulations and is enjoying our celebration. She came here to us because she no longer has any close relatives; she is an orphan. We are gladly taking her in; she may live among us peacefully and undisturbed, for there are only a few of us Yamana left. My family was once also very large; now not one of my relatives is still living. I alone am left, that is why I am so sad; čiéxaus!"

Afterwards Peine interrupted the singing: "I am very happy about those two Whites [Gusinde and Koppers]. They are influential men, and they respect our customs. They are proving themselves uswāala tes [genuine candidates]. They are sticking to the čiéxaus program. That is why I am sincerely sorry that they will leave us soon. They are genuinely good human beings!" She was immediately followed by Mary: "I, too, am happy that these two Whites have become well acquainted with our čiéxaus and have carefully adapted themselves to all [the rules]. They are splendid men!" Old Peine again came forward: "How sorry I am that these two men will leave us! They are heeding the order of this hut better than many of our own people!"

Once, late in the afternoon, Pedro sang a very long time. His soft legato voice sounded like a chorale. Interrupting himself, he said: "I am an old man and have but little vitality left. But now I am happy, for I have heard that this White [Gusinde] wants to

/927 cont./

881 537 152 609 [648]

to help us because he appreciates us Yamana! If only he can bring to pass what he has promised us, namely, to intercede for us [with the Chilean government] so that we may continue to live peacefully in this place (341). I am happy about this

341. He has the following in mind. For a number of years the Lawrence brothers had leased the region around Puerto Mejillones on the north shore of Navarino Island from the Chilean government who permitted the Yamana to settle in this small harbor. The lease would run out the following year, and there was danger that this piece of land would fall into other hands. This would make the future very uncertain for the Yamana, and they had reason to be afraid that they would be driven out of this place which they had learned to love. In view of this, I had promised them to present their wishes to the Ministerio de Colonisación in Santiago. Later I kept my promise. Now the few surviving Yamana are spending their last days in this small harbor. Compare Gusinde (d):60 and page 364 /untranslated/.

[pleasant prospect]. That is why I took up the song and carried it on for so long!" Immediately afterward he continued his singing. The other people listened attentively and fell into a solemn mood, for his high voice was extraordinarily pleasant. Soon he paused again: "Truly, I am an old man. For a long time I have not taken part in a čiexaus. I am one of the last of the old people [of former times]. In my younger years I was always on hand wherever čiexaus took place. I was always among the first who took up the singing. For a long time I have not taken part in it for I am old. When I was young we went down to the beach at night to bathe; we sang as we did so, and I was never absent. And yet, to this day I have some /928/ strength and joy left. Truly, it is not right that I have been inactive until now. I shall summon the last of my strength and all the younger people will see that I as an old man am not holding back. So I shall go on singing!" He sang even more vigorously than before; he even stood up to dance

/928 cont./

X881 537 152 609 and jumped with sheer joy. His behavior encouraged everyone present.

This time blind Whaits also took an extremely active part in the singing. He constantly interrupted it and interjected: "I am a man well along in years and the singing is a strain on me. If I were still a young chap, as formerly when I took part in the čiéxaus with other young men, I would have more strength and fire, then I would sing better. You cannot expect more from an old, blind man than what I am actually offering." After a short pause he continued sadly: "I am well aware that this affair is not conducted as solemnly and seriously as formerly. I regret that very much. In olden times čiéxaus was unsurpassably beautiful!" As he said this, he was seized with anger; he knew that we two were present: "I am shocked that this time we have even [European] strangers among us. Off with you two! It is a disgrace that our čiéxaus is no longer as beautiful as it used to be, that everyone present no longer takes such an active and conscientious part in the dances as was formerly the rule. Off with you two; what is our čiéxaus to you! Even less should you see it now when it is done so badly. Leave this Great Hut immediately (342)!"

342. It was a momentary surge of high dudgeon that provoked this old man to such insulting words. He soon calmed down, was later thoroughly enlightened by his two daughters, both of whom were our sponsors, and finally proved to be our sincere friend. Through the sponsorship of his daughters, we even became related to him. See Koppers (a): 70.

X881 537 152 While dinner was being distributed and eaten, great stillness prevailed. After that quite loud group singing started up again. While it was going on, Whaits said: "The song [the melody] that I am singing originated with my uncle. He taught it to me when I was uswāla; since then I have repeated it often. How lovely it was in those days when I was still a young chap. At that time there were many people living!"
Somewhat later he added: "All the beautiful šewāli [flints] come from the west. The long ūkeša [leather straps to capture the

X881 537 152

/928 cont./

candidates], too, were best there. They covered the framework of the Great Hut there with the most excellent skins. Truly, everything [that is used for the čiéxaus ceremony] was incomparably more beautiful in the west than in the central part and in the east" (343).

343. In these words there is again a reference to the common view of the origin of this initiation in the extreme west and its infiltration into the central Yamana regions.

X881 537 152 609

After a while, the same Whaits again interrupted the general singing: "Tomorrow we shall leave the Great Hut. This čiéxaus went off nicely and yet it put me in a sad mood. I am an old /Plate 3 appears here/ /929/ man who does not expect many more years of life. Among us there is a good White, I know him from former times (344). He will help us to keep this

344. On my first visit in February, 1919, I had met this old man in Punta Remolino, talked to him for a long time, and at that time received important data about Fuegian mythology. See Gusinde (a):39.

piece of land here [at Puerto Mejillones]; he promised us that. So, take advantage of his presence, young people! I personally will hardly benefit from it, for I am very old, I feel weak and tired of life. You young people may take advantage of his offer. I wish you success!"

Tormented by anxiety, blind Whaits again came back to this topic. Sadly he said: "Alas, poor me! I have been living in this place for many years. I have grown old. I always had enough to eat and my dwelling always stood here. But the Whites are betraying us Yamana. Now they will take this little spot away from us, then they will drive me and my wife from this island [Navarino]. Woe to us who are so helpless [against the Whites]! Where shall we turn? The Whites are already everywhere. If they should actually drive us away, then let them take

[Text continues on page 808]

X881 537 152 609

/929 cont./

the whole island [Navarino] away from here and drag it along with them wherever they wish!"

Each speaker and singer concludes his words with a loud and vigorous call, "čiéxaus." This is correctly interpreted as giving force to their utterances and emphasizing their assertions, as well as a cry of confidence in the fulfillment of wishes expressed, and finally as a curse upon whatever they complain of and condemn. Sometimes this concluding cry of "čiéxaus" sounds like a cry of despair.

X881 533 535 152

Just as the singing in general is meant to drive away Yetāita (p. 781), particularly interjections have the same purpose. If any leading person sees this evil spirit approaching, he loudly calls upon all those present to drive him away. One evening (345) the

345. See Koppers (a):81 concerning this evening performance during the fourth day of the celebration.

women were very vigorously dancing, and Santiago felt an urge to incite them to a state of extreme excitement. He shouted to them from his seat: "Dance on! Yetāita is still very near and refuses to go away!" Soon he added: "Dance harder! Yetāita still shows no sign of withdrawing." After a few minutes he cried out, as though slightly relieved: "Just go on bravely! Already Yetāita is starting to retreat, he is sinking head-down into the earth!"

Our interpreters explained to us why Santiago and Pedro made such urgent demands for loud singing and vigorous dancing. As strangers and unbidden ones in this čiéxaus hut, they say, we attracted the special attention of Yetāita; the people present were afraid he could do us particular harm. Hence the greatest effort was required /930/ to push this Yetāita, who is very dangerous for everyone, deep into the interior of the earth so that he could not harm us in any way.

Again Santiago cried loudly: "Dance on! I still see Yetāita's feet sticking out of the ground." After a few minutes, as though relieved, he says: "I see only one foot [sticking out of the ground]. But go on dancing (346)!" Then: "Now I see only one toe of

346. Chris had meanwhile carefully observed Santiago, the leader. At these words, an

/1019 cont./
577 friendly neighbors, but is willingly offered to every fellow-tribes-
476 man.

484 Each of the many individual families is constantly traveling about, not only under the pressure of the daily food quest, but also from a natural wanderlust (p. 363). They move slowly, but nevertheless cover long distances in the course of time. Definite boundaries separate the many local groups (p. 630) and the five dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) from one another. These boundaries may be crossed under certain circumstances, and no visitor from another region can be lawfully prevented from doing so by the local residents. In general every family stays within its narrower home area, if only because they do not like to meet strange groups. [609] It is a universal characteristic of the Yamana to stay away from strangers in the first place or at least to avoid them; they feel constrained in the presence of strangers, and suspicion makes them almost ill (439).

> 439. Bridges (a):210 gives a reason for this which is not quite correct: "These people dare not go where they have no friends, and where they are unknown, as they would most likely be soon killed"/cited in English/. We have repeatedly mentioned that certain circumstances make it permissible for anyone to travel in the territory of another dialect group.

203 /1020/ The ceaseless travel of individual families who thus meet one another and whose travel routes intersect partly explains the remarkably good propagation of news, which works invisibly. Everything that happens and any event that is in any way noteworthy are circulated far and wide and with a speed that sometimes seemed inexplicable to me. This much is certain, the Yamana lack such means of communication as loud calls or drumbeats. I cannot reliably state whether or not they give each other digital signs within a visible range, but I infer this from careful observations. Every adult learns what has happened within the confines of a wide area and usually without much delay. Most news, of course, is communicated from mouth to mouth. The facts are inevitably altered

/782 cont./

593

along with Bove (g):244, that "every Fuegian family lives in the utmost independence" /translated from Italian/. This independence, however, is never so great, as is maintained in Outes (g):58, "that the father cannot threaten his child nor give him direct orders" /translated from Spanish/.

A second prominent feature of the Fuegian family is its patriarchal tendency. The latter is clearly recognizable, although by only a few indications; yet there is neither a law of inheritance nor clan formations with special demands and obligations. Nevertheless, the father is and remains the head of the whole family, even though, through the division of labor, his wife has an independent field of activity, and he therefore rarely asserts his slightly superior power. Martial:196 describes this lawful relationship as follows: "Authority in the family belongs to the father; wife and children obey him. His authority, however, is very weak and is exercised only in case of necessity" /translated from French/. Each of the two partners can freely [421] dispose of his or her special property. Nevertheless, the care and responsibility for common possessions or for family property fall on the man. He gives the ultimate decision on matters of some importance for the family members, and all of them yield to his words. If he dies, his older brother must take charge of the wife and children he leaves behind, and this is a universally lawful obligation. This patriarchal tendency in Fuegian family organization is not expressed in name-giving, but since here the name is taken from the place of birth (p. 536), there is no real connection.

2. The Circle of Relatives

612

In the tribal society of our Yamana every individual family is an independent, self-contained structure. In contrast to this, relatives are a loose aggregate of all those who are joined by the ties of consanguinity. According to Fuegian ideas, persons are related to each other only if they can trace their origins to some

/782 cont./

612 common ancestors, no matter whether this is through the paternal or maternal line (218). Through marriage, /783/ adoption, and

> 218. Bridges (i):21 also points to the equality of both lines: "Whilst children belonged to the clan of their father yet their mother's relations were equally dear to them, as their father's and they were equally bound to befriend and defend them and to avenge their wrongs" /cited in English/. Elsewhere (k):235 he emphasizes that "relatives on the maternal side were regarded as highly as those on the paternal side" /translated from Spanish/.

so forth, a close connection is established between the persons concerned, but not kinship. The prohibition against a conjugal union of persons in whose veins flows blood of the same ancestry is quite universal.

What Bridges (h):205 has maintained on this subject stands
582 without qualification: "They [the Yamana] never marry anyone
612 related by blood, however distant it may be" /translated from Spanish/. They show a definite aversion toward the conjugal union of persons who may be regarded in any way as relatives by blood (p. 421). A brother-in-law and sister-in-law are not regarded as blood relatives; hence the precept for levirate marriage does not encounter any difficulty from this quarter (p. 413). On the same grounds it is permissible for a man to marry two sisters and take both into his hut simultaneously (p. 418). It is not permissible, however, to marry a widow and her daughter at the same time, because if the man marries the former, he must fulfill the proper paternal obligations toward the latter (p. 423).

It would obviously lead to misunderstanding to speak of a spatial limitation of consanguinity. Actually, most families who belong together stay within the same area, and a goodly number of the persons forming a local group are related to one another. For that very reason, the young man or the girl chooses a marriage partner in the neighboring region, so that with marriage many a person leaves his circle of relatives and joins another local group.

582 /783 cont./
612 Though he may then spend the rest of his life there, he remains bound as a blood relative to the family from which he sprang.

601 In order to be sure about mutual connections, the Yamana language furnishes very exact designations even for distant degrees of kinship. These are, of course, just as familiar to everyone as are words for articles of daily use. Hyades (p):334 writes: "Kinship is recognized even to the fourth or fifth degree" /translated from French/. Although our Indian is not painfully exact in counting, nevertheless he knows how to determine a relationship that sometimes goes back to remote degrees and that finally can be established only by the fact that the families have been together locally for a long time.

612 Kinship, however, does not operate merely in a negative sense
571 by making marriage impossible; far beyond that it commands mutual aid and assistance. Lawfully the individual family depends upon itself, but there is no arrangement to guarantee it legal protection. It would be at the mercy of a stronger one if it did not find protection and support through its blood relatives (219).

219. Bove (c):130 and (g):234 writes: "Only the necessity for common defense forces some families to unite into a single tribe /tribu/, but no one has the right to put himself at the head and to meddle in another's affairs" /translated from Spanish/. The expression "tribu" here can mean only a community of kinsmen.

A family that was merely friendly would not be close enough /784/ to be a safe refuge in every case of need. Blood ties, on the other hand, are never dissolved and retain their strength. Hence every one notes very carefully all the persons who are related to him, both closely and more distantly. He assures himself of their help by frequent visits and by repeatedly asking other people about them. He especially seeks them out and calls upon them urgently if he is threatened by the hostility of others or if he expects a sudden attack. These are the social connections that everyone cultivates (220)

220. These connections were described much too briefly by Spegazzini (a):165.

/784 cont./

612 according to his own free choice or the distressing situation he
571 happens to be in.

Sociability is also a factor here, affecting one person more
612 than another among a circle of intimates. No one has a privi-
571 leged position established by law. For logical reasons young peo-
554 ple naturally bow to the moral superiority of experienced old men or capable younger men, but if something does not suit a person, he leaves inconspicuously and goes his own way until further developments.

Everyone likes to obtain the counsel and decisions of an older relative. A person who has cultivated his connections with his kinsfolk and has honored them can always count on help and support. If one's kinsfolk are numerous and include men who are held in esteem, his own self-importance is thereby considerably increased and his confidence reinforced. He likes to boast of his far-flung, mighty kinsfolk on whose protection he can count. One's own relatives are, of course, more privileged and more highly honored than other guests, and everyone knows it is his duty to hasten to the aid of a relative who is in distress and threatened by enemies, to avenge the wrong done to him, and actively to intercede for him everywhere. Family honor demands all this, and everyone esteems it highly. Thus, the individual always finds protection and justice among his kinsfolk in any affliction.

3. Kinship Terms

601 Although the individual family is lawfully completely independent, nevertheless it sometimes finds itself dependent on relatives. Consequently everyone is surprisingly familiar with his family connection with anyone else. This probably was not a causal factor in the origin of the many kinship terms, but it is certain that an adult Indian has a mastery of these designations and uses them surprisingly accurately. Immediately upon /785/ the birth of a child and during its first few months of life, the family discusses its relationship to all the closer and more distant kinsmen who make up the family's circle (221).

221. Despard (b):698 refers to this as follows:

/800 cont./

178 634 together. Since 1880 a particularly strong movement in this direction set in. According to Hyades ( ):718, Bridges noted the effect of this in June, 1884: "The Yahgan are now so much more coalesced that they form only a single colony" /translated from French/. Obviously Bridges would like his readers to believe that a change for the better had been brought about among these natives under the influence of the Anglican mission. He was mistaken. Furthermore, Hyades (ℓ):721 raised the justifiable objection against Bridges' assertion by pointing out that the Yamana "were formerly divided into tribes that were hostile or antipathetic toward one another" /translated from French/. This is not to deny that occasionally disputes and hostilities were carried on between [578] individual families of the same local group (230).

> 230. From his most recent experience Bove (e):158 reported: "The inhabitants of the east (Picton Island) and those from Adduvia (New Year Sound) still [since the founding of the mission station in Ushuwaia] fought with each other frequently, and often enough the sad news of deeds of violence, murder and insults reaches the Mission."

571 612 /801/ The association of the five dialect groups is very tenuous (231), that of the local groups within each dialect group

> 231. This is probably what Aspinall:270 means when he says: "Despite the lack of closer ties of tribal society, one notices among them many expressions of true affection and deeper concern."

is somewhat less so, and that of the families of each circle of relatives who in their totality form the local group is truly strong. There is, of course, overlapping, insofar as a person has blood relatives in more than one local group. It is well known (p. 607) that in itself the circle of relatives is neither a definitely ordered structure nor a specifically organized system. For some the blood

/801 cont./

571 ties are stronger, for others weaker, although the bond is as strong
612 as Nature herself can make it. In analyzing the kinship group, we see revealed the one and only complete social structure which rests firmly upon itself, namely, the individual family. It forms a small state by itself (232).

> 232. Hyades (g):35 has attempted the following explanation: "Their uncontrollable urge for independence does not let the Fuegians achieve an organization beyond that of the family in the narrowest sense. Everyone is thrown back upon himself alone." Barclay (a):64 maintains of the Yamana that "he owns no faith, religion, or tribal tie other than that of the family which huddles together for food and sustenance" /cited in English/.

571 It is altogether compatible with the character of our Fuegians that the five dialect groups among themselves cultivate peaceful relations throughout. This is even more true of the local groups and most of all of the families making up the circle of kinsfolk (233).

> 233. It is incomprehensible to me how Bridges (h):205 could express the following monstrous opinion: "Their continual offenses against their friends and neighbors keep the community in a chronic state of uneasiness and violence. There are few who do not show scars, and deaths often occur as a result of quarrels" /translated from Spanish/. This assertion is in clear contrast with many other judgments which Bridges himself set forth.

Each day is more or less filled with the hunt for food. Not much time remains for intrigues and quarreling. The members of the family group, more than the members of the local group and much more than those of the dialect group, are on occasion dependent upon one another in various matters, and they would not willfully or carelessly spoil their relationship with those whose

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

586 second wife. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

888 The aged were, according to all dependable evidence, usually respected, well treated, and well cared for. Neither abandonment or killing of the aged was ordinarily practiced but may have occurred in exceptional cases.

621 Political life.—Over and above the biological family there was no closely organized larger group or constituted authority. There were no sibs, secret or other societies, or social classes, and no chiefs or ruling group or caste of any kind. Each biological family was for most practical purposes a sovereign political unit. The sense of individual independence was deep. No man took or brooked orders
555 or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

612 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

619 The five regional divisions of the *Yahgan*, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

621 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been composed, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1926 b, p. 5). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Ushuaia, for instance, occupied 20 miles (32 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups,
[622] these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function was that of holding the čiéxaus initiation rite. The leader chosen
[881] therefor had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the čiéxaus rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social conformity and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

628 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case
[682] of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which slings,

/778 cont./

602 571 578 families within the same ethnic unit. Groups living far apart sometimes do not even know one another; their mutual estrangement is favorable soil for the growth of suspicion, mistrust, and animosity. Insecure and harsh economic conditions react on the social level in a centrifugal sense, if we may so express it (209).

> 209. Stirling, who has let some inaccuracies creep in, says: "Family life in Fuegia is exclusive. Get outside the family, and relationships are doubtful, if not hostile. The bond of a common language is no security for friendly offices. To be of the same tribe is no guarantee of safety in travelling. Fear and distrust are stronger than tribal affinities" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 11; 1870).

619 Nevertheless, there is a true tribal society on a modest scale. It is based on a common origin and language; it is expressed in the fact that everyone acts in exactly the same way and that all are subject to a definite, unwritten, universally binding law. Every individual feels that he is a member of the whole, he knows that he is united with one who can make himself intelligible to him in the same language, and he traces his origin to the same source as all others who are just as lawfully rooted in his native soil as he is. This consciousness becomes so strong that, as individuals and as a community, they are convinced that they form a special group; they believe themselves to be "the people," the ethnic unit having exclusive right of existence in their homeland. The boundaries of their homeland are regarded as something given in ancient times (210), whose legal validity is thus inviolably se-

> 210. Bridges (k):233 first learned of the homeland boundaries from the Yamana themselves.

cure for all time, no matter what the explanation for the original bounds of native territory and its first occupation by their forefathers.

/778 cont./

619 554 Basically one tribal member is equal to every other socially and enjoys complete independence. All of them have about the same number of objects, little though this is, and there are no differences in property and economic pursuits which elsewhere sometimes cause very disparate social levels (211). In general,

> 211. This means, as Hyades (y):338 expresses himself: "There is no king, chieftain, aristocracy, caste, social hierarchy, or slaves; it is a regime of equality in the purest sense" /translated from French/.

therefore, every adult has the same rights within his tribe, and along with this they all have some duties. No one is specifically raised above the legal equality of the multitude by special privi-- leges; they recognize neither one nor several headmen. One person or another may acquire a certain morally superior position within the narrow circle of relatives and acquaintances /778/ through richer experience after a long life and moral rectitude. His superiority, however, is solely a matter of personality and is neither precisely defined nor founded on objective legal norms.

[197] A division of the whole tribe into so-called dialect groups has occurred under the pressure of local conditions. It is purely external. The slight differences resulting from it are in line with the unavoidable pursuit of a livelihood by each independent group. The social order in which degrees of rank are unknown is just as simple as the economic structure (212).

> 212. The basic ideas of this section have already been published by Koppers (c):155.

a. Kinship

597 602 Yamana social organization rests on individual families (213).

> 213. Spegazzini (a):165 gives this fact in another form: "The family constitutes all their society" /translated from Spanish/.

/197 cont./

60 to become related to any person as son-in-law or father-in-law through marriage." mötkinaka, "to receive or bring from the west any gift, or to come and do any kind of service for a father-in-law for his daughter." kise, a term of respect used by persons related through marriage to direct questions or requests to one another, for example, son-in-law and daughter-in-law to each other or fathers and mothers to their sons-in-law and daughters-in-law and vice versa. It has no other special meaning. kise, kisela, verbal prefix used between persons related through marriage to about the same extent as kise above and in the same situation (227). This concludes the present summary.

227. In SD Yamana words lack an accent mark for stress. Hence it was not added to the above-mentioned words. See Gusinde (hh):181.

h. Tribal Society

69 Fuegian tribal society does not represent a closely knit, internally linked social structure. Actually it is only a loose juxtaposition of individual families. Each of the latter, however, is definite and well articulated.

All fellow tribesmen who can make themselves intelligible to one another by means of a common language are, for this reason, aware of being united to a certain extent and conscious of their homogeneity. All together they constitute a single people and are differentiated from other peoples in many external respects, as well as through spiritual assets and their own peculiarities. Not only do the individuals describe themselves in terms of these positive realities, but far beyond that, they value and praise what they regard as their uniqueness. Indeed, with justifiable national pride, they regard themselves as superior to neighboring peoples and to other human societies. They make no effort to determine or even to question whether they are not perhaps surpassed in many respects by other peoples. Their strongly developed self-awareness and self-satisfaction reject from the start all such comparisons.

/797 cont./

619 An attribute of this mental attitude and trend of thought of the Yamana is their pronounced consciousness of homeland. They know the exact boundaries that separate their territory from their neighbors, and they regard this territory as exclusively theirs; every stranger in it is an intruder. They are intimately attached to their homeland and particularly deeply rooted in their narrower local region. /798/ They praise its beauty and advantages, without, however, indulging in extravagant enthusiasm; they are thinking only of the material goods that it furnishes them. They feel a strong impulse to come back to it after they have been far away to trade or hunt or to attend festivals. In their opinion, complete happiness flourishes only on one's native soil. A Yamana who must live outside his local homeland, that is to say, outside his so-called local group, feels like someone living in a bleak, alien land. He misses the many things it offered him, or at any rate he imagines he does, and he yearns to go back.

186 In the case of Nelly Lawrence her love for her home often came out very strongly. An important contributory factor was her very different form of life by the side of her European husband on the farm in Punta Remolino. When she began telling about her beloved West from where she came, this quiet, taciturn woman who was almost too timid to speak became unbelievably lively and talkative. Then she would praise the beauty of the landscape with its many glaciers and meandering waterways, the steep peaks with their eternal snow, and the sheltered safety of the many calm bays. She would extol the fresh green of the dense beech forests of that rainy zone and the quiet ways of its animal kingdom. Finally, she would put her own countrymen above all praise. She presented everything as a special advantage, chiefly in contrast to the feared neighbors of the western Yamana, the Halakwulup. She never let an opportunity go by to emphasize strongly in front of others that the lovely pasána song is native to her region, that a story from there spread to the east, that at the large secret gatherings this or that special form is customary there, and so forth. Truly, the Fuegian, too, loves his home with a whole and warm heart. This one example is convincing proof.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

628 clubs, fists, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but [921] grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did not exist, and the *Yahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups appear to have been normally irenic, but violence and bloodshed were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually intervened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder [68] was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast. Bridges found 22 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1884—an annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that [734] of the United States. Mercy killings occurred for the purpose of putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human [962] sacrifice was unknown; so too was premeditated suicide.

266 The evidence that the *Yahgan* practiced no form of cannibalism—gastronomic, famine, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of devouring human flesh.

ECONOMIC LIFE

423 **Ownership.**—The *Yahgan* resented and avenged exploitative tres-619 pass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part thereof by non-*Yahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gusinde, 1937, pp. 964–965) or, according to Koppers (1928 b, p. 176), of any one of the numerous local groups, by nonmembers. Since these local groups seemingly were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Yahgan* land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting-ground system. There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast on a stranded whale, and to gather firestones and suitable canoe bark, which were found only in certain parts of the *Yahgan* territory. 422 Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adornments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things. The ownership of certain other things—food, hut, canoe—appears to have been vested in the biological family.

[996] Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

437 Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor, donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-

/627 cont./

594 must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important posi-
[562] tion of the woman in the economy assures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the strict social duty of
861 every individual family, apart from any purely natural compul-
881 sion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, as a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /628/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Yamana does the primitive state manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

571 Several families are naturally associated through blood ties, but only loosely, and the reciprocal obligations growing out of this are the kind universally found among human beings. Five dialect groups have been established as associations of larger proportions, but these cannot be regarded as a division based on social principles (p. 199 /untranslated/). Moreover, there is no
[565] hierarchy based on birth and station, nor are there class differences which elsewhere rest on accomplishments or property. Finally, unification of the entire tribal community under a single
[622] head, such as a chief or magistrate, priest or sorcerer, did not take place among our Indians.

671 There are ancient tribal customs with the force of legal obligations, as well as definite principles about possessions and property, and the public sees to it that they are faithfully followed. It also observes and practices the cultivation of the universally familiar tribal virtues. Crimes against the assured duration of the family or against related groups are settled in smaller or larger combats. Although there is no special social
● 621 division and no appointment of an authoritative person to rule the community, there is a distinct and binding power embracing all members of the tribe -- namely, the state, no matter how weak and undefined it still appears in its earliest beginnings.

582 /653/ by Bridges (a):213 is significant: "Generally speaking marriages with near kin are held in high abhorrence" /cited in English/; also another by him (in [k]:234): "Marriage is never contracted within the degrees of consanguinity prohibited by natural law. For example, first cousins to the second degree would not marry each other" /translated from Spanish/ (31). Thus many

31. In another place Bridges (h):205 repeats: "They never marry a consanguineous relative, however distant. The idea of marrying a first or second cousin would be absolutely abominable to them" /translated from Spanish/.

versions indicate that, according to the general opinion, all degrees of relationship, even beyond that of cousins, absolutely exclude marriage.

582 If we consider the conditions of life of our Yamana, we realize that with this custom there exists a sort of local exogamy, •621 for it is the near relatives who scour a certain area for food and regard it as their true home. To marry within this circumscribed family group is forbidden by the bonds of kinship which link them all together, near or far. Since the only obligation is to marry outside this degree of kinship which coincides with district boundaries, local exogamy thus follows as a matter of course. It takes definite form when a whale is stranded and families gather from far and wide to enjoy for several days the bountiful gift of Mother Nature. The marriageable young people, who perhaps have never seen each other before, become acquainted and draw closer together until sooner or later marriage unites them. It is the rule that every eligible young man looks for a partner outside his own family group. BD:305 gives masēa-pōn-apai, "two persons within the limits which forbid marriage who marry, to be thus married; to marry together as cousins to each other" /cited in English/. It is difficult for young people who live far apart to marry because of their natural affection for their parents (32).

32. Bridges (i):21 has already given the reason for this reluctance: "Marriage with very distant clans was infrequent

/653 cont./

582 ●621 from the natural unwillingness of women to separate themselves so entirely from their own people" /cited in English/.

582 587 597 Furthermore, it is not permitted for a man simultaneously to take a widowed mother and her daughter as wives. Toward the latter his relationship is that of stepfather, and she is obliged to obey him as his own child. This prohibition naturally remains in effect for the man in case the mother of this daughter dies, even if she has lived with him only a short time as his wife. Kinship by adoption has thus been introduced, and they are stepfather and stepdaughter toward each other. An infraction against this, however, is not considered as serious as marriage between blood relatives, although it is still very improper. Nothing is changed if first the mother and then the daughter, or first the daughter and then, in addition, the mother are betrothed. 582 587 Fred Lawrence could not remember a single case of /654/ such a marriage from former times and explained that it would not have been tolerated. Nevertheless, Bridges (a):213 maintained that "a few cases of a man having as wives a mother and her daughter are known" /cited in English/ (33). The unnatural mixture of

33. On August 16, 1865 (VSA:XII, 272;1865), he wrote as follows on this subject: "There are two men who have as wives mother and daughter at the same time, but this is not liked generally" /cited in English/. Nevertheless, he later went so far as to make the following erroneous assertion: "Some of the Beagle Channel tribes have a practice of marrying a woman and her daughter" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869).

people in modern times has also weakened the effectiveness of this prohibition (34).

34. I herewith state my own observations in Spencer's: 72 words, "that Domingo married

/777 cont./

C. Kinship and Tribal Society

182 Among peoples on the low cultural level of our Yamana it is easy to observe the close reciprocal relationship between the nature of the economy and the social order. No one will regard the one as caused solely by the other, nor may one summarily deny a certain inner connection between the two.

The total number of this Fuegian tribe is low, and there is nothing to indicate that it has been noticeably higher at any time during its long presence in the Cape Horn region (p. 227 /untranslated/). This fact alone permits only one interpretation, that a complex social order, according to the various points of view from which one judges and evaluates social structures, is not to be expected here, particularly since a compact social life in one place involving all the members of the tribe is completely lacking. What our natives acquire in the way of subsistence is certainly sufficient; they do not die of hunger, and can even eat their fill. An excess of any part of their limited assets, however, is impossible. They are dependent on an imperfect form of production; hence, they can neither become numerous nor unite in a compact social life. The population is limited, so to speak, by the available food supply, and since this is sparsely distributed over a wide area, a permanent association of all tribal members in one place or in a few specific places is impossible.

594 621 The entire tribe seems torn asunder into very small individual groups, each of whom lives widely separated from any of the others and enjoys complete independence. These groups cannot be subdivided into still lower units. They are the individual families. Each family, as such, forms an independent economic unit which is isolated as a distinct community and pursues its own goal in life. Lothrop (b):160 says briefly and definitely: "Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit" /cited in English/.

602 571 Closer and more remote degrees of kinship spread out around the individual family as around a point of crystallization, and the consciousness of belonging together is more pronounced the closer the blood tie is. The more distant the individual families are as kinsmen, the more tenuous their mutual relations. This /778/ is the basis for the limited association and wide dispersion of all

609 /799 cont./
634 food in their own native district, neighbors are not only unmolested in a strange district, but must be tolerated, as ancient custom prescribes.

621 Even the more circumscribed region of each individual dia-
634 lect group is usually cut up by many waterways. Hence in each
571 one, again under the pressure of geographic conditions, smaller groups are formed which, as a result of greater mobility in local areas, more frequently meet and have intercourse with one another. These are the so-called local groups within the dialect groups. Each of the former is made up of people born in the same region. They regard themselves as closer to one another, and this small region as their immediate home. They take their common name from the region, namely, from a bay, a water channel, or a small group of islands.

Hyades (j):150 also observed this custom: "They like to say: 'the people of Packsaddle Bay,' Pouthroaya yamana, 'of Ponsonby Sound,' Kanakouche yamana, but somewhat as we would in a city in speaking of some quarter or some street" /translated from French/ (229). Obviously such designations should not be inter-

229. Relying on a communication from Reverend Bridges, dated June, 1884, Hyades (ℓ):718 repeated: "All these natives are known by the name of the localities in which they live and are very exactly divided up into small clans" /translated from French/.

preted or evaluated in the sense of an organization or a local tribal division.

For his part Bridges used the designation "clan or tribe" /cited in English/ for local groups. For example, in the year 1883/84 he took a census of the entire Yamana population and put the individual groups together "under their several clan names" /cited in English/. His reasoning was: "All these natives are known by the names of their several locations and are very minutely divided into small clans. The term Ucur [ëkë$^{\chi}$], which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used /800/ to denote clans or tribe" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884). He states that

/800 cont. /

621 the Ushuaia local group extends over about 20 English miles
634 (MM:XIII, 151;1879), but this is only a third of the area that the
571 middle dialect group actually occupies.

Corresponding to the word formations given above, BD:259 also lists some in which the native district of the grandmother of some person is definitely taken into account: "hīkaiamakūtasa, the connection a person has with the land of his father's mother, or of his mother's mother; hīkaiamakūtasūsi, the country of my mother's mother's, my father's mother's country" /cited in English/. With this root word the terms for the male and female relatives of that region are formed by means of suffixes.

Such designations for the native district of the grandmother were probably created because each of the two grandmothers of the same grandson had home territories elsewhere; on the other hand, the paternal ancestors of the grandson remain almost without exception in the same locality. This comes out even more clearly in the explanation given in BD:168 for the word kaiamākūtasa which recurs in hīkaiamakūtasa above, for it is "a term applied of the connection one has with a place or people from which one's grandmother came" /cited in English/. From this comes the further formation haiamākūtasūsi, "the country of my grandmother, or the country of one's grandchildren" /cited in English/, and, finally, hīkaiamākūtasāpai, "two persons belonging to one's grandmother's country" /cited in English/. It does not seem to me permissible to attempt to read into these designations a matriarchal type of social structure.

186 Our Indians are more conversant with expressions that contain the idea of belonging to a specific country, of indigenousness and the rights of residence. The root word hánman is given in BD:265 in the sense of "my country, in opposition to palalísin, civilised country" /cited in English/. From this come the derivations hannajámalim "(used by natives specially of themselves) my country men, my country people," hannakīpajámalim, "my country women," hannaala, "my countryman," and finally hannakīpa, "my countrywoman" /citations in English/.

178 The changes wrought by recent influences have pushed the
634 dialect groups and circles of families, which hitherto were separated in their circumscribed local districts, closer and closer

/905 cont./

X881 arrangements deviate from the traditional order, even at single points, their very essence is endangered and sooner or later they 182 break up completely. This is also a sign of the simultaneous decay of the social order and the whole spiritual wealth of such primitive peoples.

At the eleventh hour I was privileged to experience the original strictness and the serious spirit of the čiēxaus celebration on the occasion of my first initiation in 1920. Even at that time, however, allowance was made for the physical weakness of the candidates and for many comforts which had become second nature to the adults. Two years later Santiago, as the leader, held the reins of the daily program very much looser. The older people not only deplored the excessive leniency, but were quite openly ashamed of it, for they realized only too clearly that they themselves, with their lax comforts, were digging an early grave for their traditional tribal heritage. Nevertheless, my two participations in the čiēxaus gave me fair insight into what this affair means to the group of adults also.

/906/ a. General Regulations

X881 It is well known that every Yamana who has twice gone 885 through the čiēxaus ceremony as uwīala may thereafter again take part in it with all the privileges accorded the adults. He is, of course, bound to the regulations as long as he is in or near the Great Hut. Everyone knows the meaning of this arrangement. To begin with there is no danger that anyone will risk obvious infractions against some regulation. The participants watch each other carefully and one is an example to the other in the gravity of his outward appearance of composure.

X881 Inasmuch as the čiēxaus is a common undertaking, every-621 one must on occasion put his energy at its disposal. Younger persons help with the building and initial furnishing of the Great Hut and later on with obtaining food and supervising the candidates. These and other services are performed by each one under the jurisdiction of the leader, for even the adults are subordinate to him so that order is maintained and the ceremony will proceed

/906 cont./

X881 without interruption. Although he does not exert any noticeable
621 pressure and does not in any way state his requests to individuals as though he were commanding them, nevertheless no one would ignore a wish that he expressed. If a participant should not like something, he is always free to withdraw from the čiéxaus.

In the Great Hut one can sometimes see amazing examples of powerful self-control. Occasionally one person will subordinate himself to another or this one will get together with that one, although formerly both were bitter enemies. Everyone puts aside all personal considerations if service for the community or the launching of a common enterprise demands it. For example, shortly before the beginning of the čiéxaus in March, 1922, Calderon had a serious disagreement with Santiago who was much older, but Santiago had scarcely initiated the preparations as the leader before Calderon, too, was following his slightest suggestion. When he was asked about the sudden change in his behavior, Calderon frankly admitted: "The rule is that among us Yamana everyone in the čiéxaus must obey absolutely!"

X881 Dependence on the leader is all the more necessary since
805 there are no definitely determined, specific divisions of the day. There are, of course, general regulations, but the Yamana do not decide beforehand what is going to take place at one hour and what at another, what is to come up now or later, how each one is to conduct himself. In this celebration, too, our Yamana are true creatures of the moment, entirely dependent upon their moods. It would be unthinkable and a hopeless undertaking to try to put our freedom-loving Indians on a kind of schedule. The leader is, so to speak, constantly present in a supervisory capacity; he superintends the running /907/ of the whole, directs one person here, another there, and demands this or that service. It is due to the unconditional obedience with which every participant submits that the initiation proceeds without friction.

X881 Throughout the weeks of the čiéxaus a varied ceremonial
788 runs its course, which has probably taken shape as a result of the natural disposition of the Yamana. Above all they demand the facial painting (p.788) without which no one formerly was allowed to sit in the Great Hut. A person who offers something or who has accepted something must observe a fixed formula. For example, the uŠwéla who bring the fruits of their hunting or gathering into

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

262 Lothrop (1928, p. 32) rated the relative importance in the *Yahgan* dietary of their foods as follows: (1) Easily of first importance, mussels; (2) next, seals, and fish of many kinds; (3) next, porpoises, gulls, and bird eggs; (4) then, whales, limpets, crabs, sea urchins, geese, penguins, cormorants; (5) last and least, otter (chiefly in the west), guanaco (only in the east), conchs, ducks, berries (especially wild black currants). The fungi eaten were those growing on trees; those growing on the ground were not eaten. Some wild celery and wild parsnips and two varieties of cress and young shoots of tussock grass were also eaten. Foxes were eaten only in famine as a last [263] resort. Salt was not used.

225 **Hunting.**—Seals were hunted with spear or harpoon from canoes or from land (pl. 36), or killed with clubs. Whales were occasionally hunted in the open sea with spear or harpoon; stranded or dead whales were eagerly exploited. Dogs helped in otter and fox hunting. 223 Cormorants were taken at night by torchlight with clubs; also with a pronged wooden gorge hook. Birds were taken with pole snares (fig. 11, *d*) and with single or multiple tether snares of sinew or whalebone. No lifting pole snares, deadfalls, or pitfalls are reported.

226 **Fishing and sea-food gathering.**—Mussels were gathered by hand; limpets, with a flat-ended stick; sea urchins, with a four-pronged wooden fork; crabs and other Crustacea, with a harpoon or a three-pronged stick. For taking sea food, the *Yahgan* also used a spear with two diverging shanks, or two to four spears lashed together. Women fished with a kelp-stem or braided whale-sinew line, that had a slipknot of whalebone or of quill at the end, instead of a hook, to hold the bait; slowly drawing the fish to the surface, they would grab it by hand. Fishhooks were probably lacking. Weirs of branches or stakes were used. True fish nets were absent. The nearest approach thereto was a small basket attached to the end of a pole and used as a sort of dip net for diminutive fish.

251 **Food storage.**—Limited quantities of dried tree fungi were stored; so too was oil, especially whale and seal oil.

415 **Food preparation and eating.**—Large mussel shells were used for melting fat and holding grease. Water was heated and grease melted [252] by throwing hot stones into them, but there is no record of stone boiling proper.

Shells of large mussels were sometimes used as plates; shells or bark buckets as cups; hollow bird bones or reeds as drinking tubes.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

361 There were no permanent villages. Certain groups of natives re-621 lated apparently by blood and marriage frequented and occupied more or less fixed separate localities within the respective five sub-

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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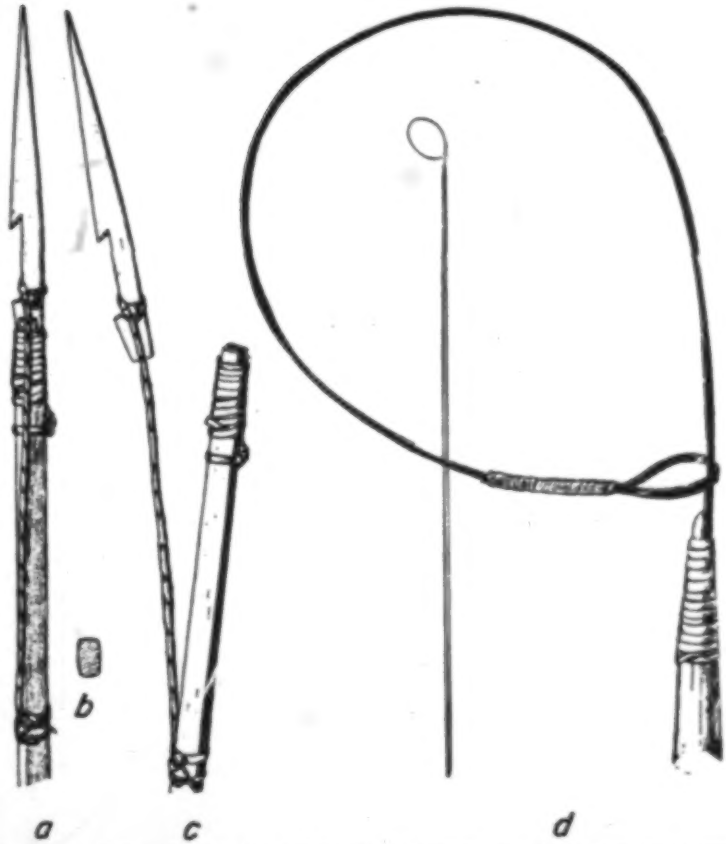

FIGURE 11.—Yahgan harpoon and pole snare. *a*, Harpoon assembled for casting; *b*, cross section of harpoon shaft; *c*, position when dragging through water (length of harpoon head 10 in., or 25.5 cm.); *d*, two views of bird snare (diameter of loop 6½ in., or 16.5 cm.). (After Lothrop, 1928, figs. 82, 87.)

361
621

divisional areas. Apart from initiation and other social or religious functions, which brought larger numbers together temporarily in a common camp, each biological family or small group of two or three families tended to camp apart, more frequently in the same shelter.

342

The two chief forms of family shelter were the beehive hut and the conical hut. The beehive or domed hut, the more common form, especially in the west, was circular or elliptical in ground plan, made of a framework of flexible sticks bent over dome-shape and fastened together, and covered with grass, ferns, branches, bark, skins, or anything at hand (pl. 33, *b*). The conical hut, more fre-

586 second wife. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

888 The aged were, according to all dependable evidence, usually respected, well treated, and well cared for. Neither abandonment or killing of the aged was ordinarily practiced but may have occurred in exceptional cases.

621 Political life.—Over and above the biological family there was no closely organized larger group or constituted authority. There were no sibs, secret or other societies, or social classes, and no chiefs or ruling group or caste of any kind. Each biological family was for most practical purposes a sovereign political unit. The sense of individual independence was deep. No man took or brooked orders
555 or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

612 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

619 The five regional divisions of the *Yahgan*, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

621 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been composed, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1926 b, p. 5). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Ushuaia, for instance, occupied 20 miles (32 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups,
[622] these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function was that of holding the čiéxaus initiation rite. The leader chosen
[881] therefor had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the čiéxaus rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social conformity and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

628 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case
[882] of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which slings,

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan SH6

622, 754, 755, 776, 787, 789, 791, 793, 874

[Information on various aspects of Yahgan culture which are closely related to the characteristics and activities of the yékamuš or medicine-man, including his training, role as a community leader, curer, sorcerer, and custodian of religious lore, have been marked for category 756 and will be found under that classification.]

/627 cont./

must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important position of the woman in the economy assures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the strict social duty of every individual family, apart from any purely natural compulsion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, as a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /628/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Yamana does the primitive state manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

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/901 cont./

571 help might be indispensable to them.

Formerly, when whales often showed up in the channels of the Cape Horn realm, the natives from all regions flocked together more often, camped together on the same spot, and became better acquainted. Intermarriage followed and with it repeated visits of parents when a young married woman followed her new husband into his home district. It is true that existing boundaries were universally respected, especially those of the dialect groups. Moreover, people assumed the right /902/ to cross them undisturbed, but they did not misuse this right by roaming about aimlessly for any length of time in the strange region.

Local conditions themselves explain why the three northern dialect groups can associate more frequently with one another than with the two dialect groups farther south (p. 199 /unannotated/).

2. Its Leadership

623 What can be read between the lines in the above section must finally be clothed in definite words, namely, that our Yamana do not recognize any person as having the authority to rule either the whole society or the larger groups within it, no matter what names are applied to such persons in higher social organizations. This by no means strange phenomenon is confirmed not only by the independent position of the individual family and its freedom to settle anywhere, but also by the definite testimony of many observers. Despard (b):766 avers: "They have no king, chief, or other person, distinguished from his fellows by hereditary or commined right of rule. They have no council of state" /cited in English/. Hyades (j):184 repeats the same thing: "The Fueguans do not have chiefs, and they are opposed to any idea of superiority and authority" /translated from French/ (134). Thus there is no

134. Only in this sense is Bove's (e):138 assertion valid: "The expression 'authority' is a dead word." Compare Alvarez:145, Bove (g):134, Cooper:177, Fitz-Roy (a):178, Lothrop (b):160, Lovisato (b):150, and others.

/802 cont./

622 single person with legal authority at the head of the whole tribe or the individual group. Here we do not even have the institution of the kemsh of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 423).

Similarly there is no authoritative judge over all the people; 692 everyone must seek his own justice. He finds aid and support 627 among his circle of kinsmen in cases of legal disputes. The settlement of a dispute is determined more or less by club law. Everyone is dependent upon himself and his nearest kinsfolk for his defense, for, as Despard (b):716 assures us, "in Fireland is no king or magistrate. All men have equal rights and equal wrongs" /cited in English/. Decisions are, of course, not always just, and the absence of a non-partisan public authority based on legal principles damages character and weakens the sense of justice. Many inequalities with serious consequences develop on this foundation. Stirling has mentioned some of them: "This absence of chieftainship gives the violent spirits a better social position than they deserve, and a more dangerous sphere. It is left to individuals to avenge wrongs, at least for the most part; the strength and composure of a defined public opinion, vindicating right and proceeding to punish the wrong-doer are only exceptionally known. The law of the strongest prevails" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34; 1878).

It is to their own advantage that this Fuegian population is peacefully inclined. Outbreaks of violence in cases of legal disputes always affect /803/ only small circles and even this is infrequent. Among most of them an honest effort to be righteous and to observe tribal customs largely prevails. Infractions of the general feeling of justice and violations of the freedom of others seldom occur.

557 Among the Yamana there is no superior authority appointed 111 by law, either for the entire tribal community or for smaller groups. There are always certain men, however, who, as a result of their advanced age and blameless character, their long experience and mental superiority, have a moral influence of such importance that it amounts to positive control (235). Thus

235. Fitz-Roy (a):178 realized: "There is no superiority of one over another, except that

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

586 second wife. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

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555 or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

612 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

619 The five regional divisions of the *Yahgan*, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

621 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been composed, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1926 b, p. 5). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Ushuaia, for instance, occupied 20 miles (32 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups,
[622] these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function was that of holding the čiéxaus initiation rite. The leader chosen
[881] therefor had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the čiéxaus rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social conformity and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

628 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case
[682] of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which slings,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

FISH-NET

227 At certain seasons of the year Beagle channel is infested by small sardine-like fish which the Yahgan captured in dip-nets (*chiwanúsh*) woven of grass. A rather poorly-made example of these is shown in fig. 89. It will be noted that there is a light wooden frame enclosed by parallel stems of grass tied to the members of the frame. This was lashed to the end of a pole and with it the fish were dipped out. A model of this implement appears in the bow of the canoe in fig. 73.

FIG. 89.—Yahgan dip-net. Height, 12 in. (14/2321)

FISH-WEIRS

According to Hyades (1891, p. 372) the Yahgan sometimes erected in suitable places fish-weirs consisting of a row of stakes. Of these I saw no trace in Tierra del Fuego.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

594 484 Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit. However, related families usually paddled their canoes in couples, as the skin housetop was heavy for a single canoe, and they divided the common roof into two parts, of which each carried one. While the Yahgan were rovers, they usually stayed regularly in one district, where most of the people were their relatives.

622 554 All observers of the Yahgan comment on their lack of leadership. Medicine-men asserted a certain authority through the fear they inspired, but at times they were roughly handled, so their power was in no wise secure. As no communal enterprises were undertaken, there existed no need for chiefs.

/837 cont./

X881 252 At work here are three to five women who have declared themselves willing to undertake the busy position of a so-called cook. They voluntarily put themselves at the leader's disposal. Although their work is not hard, it demands many sacrifices of them, the most difficult being to relinquish uninterrupted participation in the events in the Great Hut. /838/ These women spend most of their time in their kitchen quarters and meanwhile forgo the entertaining fellowship with the others. Formerly they prepared mussels, crabs, meat, and blubber; today they cook a thick soup of legumes, with mutton if they have it, in a bucket or large metal tub. When these Indians promised to let me take part in my first and second initiations (p. 652, 658), they requested European food and all kinds of extras. The Yamana do not have a special name for the cooks; they are simply makalīku kīpa, that is, "capable, handy women." The cookhut is simply kīpa ēkērĕ, "hut for the women." In March, 1922, the chief women in the hut were the wife of Pedro and the wife of Calderon, and they were assisted by the two sisters, Gertie and Adelheid. Actually, throughout the whole ceremony, they missed the proceedings in the Great Hut for several hours each day.

X881 252 244 If there should be no volunteers for this kitchen duty, the leader must specifically appoint several persons. He also reminds them of the three meals, which, according to ancient custom, occur in the early morning, at noon, and at twilight. The women are already well aware of this. In modern times these hours are kept automatically since the Indians have become accustomed to them by their routine on the farms. During the initiation, however, they are not too exact; when the women have the food ready, they bring it to the Great Hut where every other activity is immediately cut short. When the cooks have finished their day's work, they take their places in the Great Hut and, along with the rest of the adults, take part in the performances, preferring especially the dances and games in the evening.

γ. Guard Duty

X881 ● 625 Just as inconspicuously as the leader divides the work of building the Great Hut among certain men and the kitchen

/838 cont./

activities among suitable women, he also chooses a reliable man to serve as guard, called winefkē̄ʍa. This is the name for Leucophaeus scoresbii, a feared predatory bird of the high seas, who pounces with bloodthirsty rage on other birds and fastens on to them. As a result its whole beak is often covered with blood (Fig. 82).

In imitation of the bird, the guard paints a wide red stripe over the entire lower half of his nose, continuing it two fingers in width on either side down to the edge of the chin. This decoration, which is sometimes also applied in white

Fig. 82. Leucophaeus scoresbii. Natural size.

to make it visible in the dark, is meant to show how seriously and strictly he performs his office and how threateningly he pursues everyone who disturbs the peace /839/ or is guilty of an offense. As a headdress the winefkē̄ʍa properly wears the plaited wreath of white albatross feathers, just as the yékamuš /medicine men/ do. Sometimes he changes to the hapaxél /headband/. Formerly when the Yamana did not have European clothing, the guard painted his entire body white with horizontal red stripes two fingers wide and a hand's breadth apart all around it. The Indians have retained a small remnant of this to this day, for the actual guard and his helpers paint /Fig. 82 appears here/ at least the lower part of the leg and the forearm in this fashion. They no longer paint the other parts of the body, which are covered with European clothing.

The particular duty of the winefkē̄ʍa is quite obvious. He must guard the hut so that no unbidden person, especially no child, creeps up too close and sees what is going on. The camp with the dwellings is, of course, not far from the Great Hut, and in their play the children are careless enough to come too close to

/839 cont./

X881 625 the Great Hut unwittingly. They probably have no conscious purpose in doing so, but the adults wish to protect themselves against all eventualities. In order to intimidate the unbidden and to keep them within bounds, the guard sometimes climbs up the framework to the uppermost part of the Great Hut. From this vantage point he sends forth his customary call in a loud voice. Its effect is not lost, for with lightning speed the startled children creep into the nearest dwelling and do not appear again for a long time. During my first initiation the guard was obliged to resort to this practice repeatedly, for at that time the dwellings were dangerously near the čiexaus hut. Moreover, the winefkēxa has to keep a special eye on the candidates as long as they are outside the Great Hut and within his field or vision. He emphatically inculcates on each of them the habit of giving an audible call at brief intervals so he can /840/ locate any one of them in a moment. Unseemly conduct on the part of the candidates is hardly to be feared, however. Finally, in former times he had to watch for the approach [721] of enemies who could have taken advantage of the opportunity to rob and set fire to the deserted dwellings while the owners were in the čiexaus hut. In recent times this precaution is unnecessary.

In former times an energetic, lively, and prudent younger man was always chosen to the office of winefkēxa. Nowadays he need not take his task too seriously. What, for example, could have been accomplished by old Tomas who offered his services for the post at the initiation in March, 1922? On the first evening he was not even present in the Great Hut. He would not have had anything to do anyway, for there was no disturbance outside.

X881 625 302 When several uswaala are sitting in the čiexaus, the professional duty of the guard is increased. In order to relieve him, the leader, after a discussion with him, chooses a few younger men as his assistants. In March, 1922, none were selected because they were not needed; at my first initiation, however, they had enough to do. They do not occupy a particular place in the Great Hut, any more than does the winefkēxa. Formerly they were painted just as he was, whereas today the body painting is limited to the forearm, lower leg, and face. On these parts of the body they too, put a white background upon which they draw

/840 cont./

X881 a red stripe the width of a finger from each nostril to the opening
625 of the ear. They are never without the proper hapaxél, but they
302 are not entitled to the headdress of white feathers which distinguishes the winefkéʌa. Neither he nor his assistants are constantly painted this way, but they renew the painting frequently.

X881 These assistants do not have a special name. Their activity
625 depends entirely on the guard, and they take their instructions from him. This describes their service. Above all they help to capture the candidates at the beginning of the ceremony, and they also assist if an outsider has caused a disturbance or has come up too close and must be apprehended. One or another of these assistants accompanies the uŠwáala to work outside the Great Hut because the winefkéʌa himself should never be too far away from it.

X881 When the guard and his assistants fetch one candidate after
625 the other to the Great Hut, as we have just indicated, they use a long strip of leather which is about three centimeters wide and
283 12 to 15 meters long. This úkeša is painted white and has red horizontal strips 20 to 30 centimeters apart. It is knotted at the end and made into a noose. This leather strap is fastened loosely lengthwise, not rolled up, to the framework inside the Great Hut so that it can be taken down ready for use at any moment. It is always in the same place; hence it is convenient and /841/ certain to be at hand for the men, who can instantly form up in such a way that the first in the row, noose in hand, can run out of the Great Hut first and strike out in the direction agreed upon. Extreme haste is sometimes necessary, certainly always when someone disturbing the peace is to be caught.

X881 They run one behind the other about two to three meters apart
625 in a row and grasp the long strap with the right hand while they carry the dancing sticks in the left hand. As soon as they are close enough to the candidate or the mischief-maker, the first in the row throws the noose over his head while the other helpers surround him until he is bound. Now they drag him to the Great Hut, whether or not he is willing. They also use this úkeša to implant some wholesome fear in a stubborn, disobedient uŠwáʌala. If the first and second warnings do not suffice and even a threat has no effect, the guard's assistants grab the rebel, wrap the

/841 cont./

X881 leather strap so tightly around him that he cannot move his limbs,
625 and leave him lying a half day or longer at the smaller exit, the so-called alāin. At the same time, of course, he gets nothing to eat or drink. This effective measure never fails. Finally, the guard's assistants have the habit of suddenly emerging singly in front of the Great Hut with the leather strap in hand simply to intimidate the people in the dwellings by their threatening attitude. Their appearance is not without effect on the children.

They, as well as the winefkēxa, have a definite call,
[198] familiar to everyone. It is a short ho ho ho..., repeated several times on the same high tone. At night the guard gives this a particularly threatening inflection to warn old and young against approaching in the dark.

X881 The two huts, as well as the guard duty, have now been prepared. Meanwhile the individual families have arrived at the site of the festivities and have built their dwellings. There is nothing more to hinder the opening of the planned ceremony following the traditional arrangements.

c. Procedure of the Ceremony

All previous reports have made it sufficiently clear that the initiation of Yamana youth is by no means merely training for the actual candidates. Far beyond that it is also an affair for adults, offering all kinds of special features. This latter subordinate goal does not overshadow the main goal, nor does it hinder its attainment. Rather, both, at first glance, seem necessarily bound together, although basically they are far apart. It takes little effort for each participant to separate the arrangements and activities that serve either the one goal or the other, but in order to /842/ obtain an over-all picture of the variety making up the čiéxaus celebration and to take account of all the details, I have arranged them in the following report according to general points of view and describe them as individual aspects of the whole. Thus they can be definitely judged and fairly evaluated according to their individual worth.

X881 In this connection, of course, the treatment of the candidates
861 takes up the most space. It deserves this for its own sake. For

/930 cont./

X881 533 535 152

amused grin flitted over his face, and stealthily pointing with his finger, he whispered: "He [Santiago], too, has a foot sticking out of his blanket!"

Yetáita. Just go on dancing!" Fixedly Santiago stares at one spot on the ground. After about ten minutes he sighs with relief: "At last Yetáita has completely disappeared. But I still see the hole through which he descended. I must close that, too. So dance on!" After a few minutes he cries joyfully: "Even that deep hole is closed now. All I hear is a faint rumbling in the far distance. Yetáita has finally left us altogether! So stop dancing and rest yourselves!"... Scarcely an evening goes by during which Yetáita is not driven away with at least one or two loud utterances.

X881 625 533

5. Interjections by the Guard. It is well known that the so-called guard, winefkéra, has a special position in the čiéxaus celebration. He is not only characterized by a particular facial painting (p. 684), but he may even wear a feather decoration reserved for the yékamuš. No one was able to explain why he has this privilege; they said: "It has always been like that!" Moreover, he has a definite song, more exactly, two melodies which are noticeably different from the group singing and which he alone intones. He does so when the group singing has died out. His rendition is very melodious and sonorous. Not even his assistants may accompany him.

X881 625

Outside the Great Hut the guard demonstrates that he is an alert guardian of this sanctuary who will terrify and drive away outsiders (p. 684). Inside the čiéxaus hut he repeatedly assumes the role of the furious winefkéra whose name he bears (347). In

347. This word means Leucophaeus scoresbii, the fierce predatory bird of the high seas (Fig. 82).

March, 1922, Richard held this position. In the late afternoon of March 11, after the participants had again taken their seats in the Great Hut, he placed himself next to the main entrance and acted as though he had just entered. His face was white; his mouth and

/930 cont./

the lower part of the nose were painted red; the wreath of feathers was placed on his head in such a way that the feathers pointed downward. He cried in a loud voice so that the women in the cookhut especially could hear it: "I come here from the high seas! I expect to stay only a short time!" A reply came from the cookhut: "awaj (348)!"

348. This word means assent, such as: "Good!"; "So be it!"; "We heard it!"

/931/ Thoughtfully and with measured step the winefhá-a walked back and forth in the Great Hut. Suddenly his voice was heard: "Attention, now!" The answer from across the way was again: "awá!" Immediately he continued: "To me the people in this hut seem dreadful! I don't know any of these people here, for I have just come from the high seas. That is why I am overcome with great fear, because I am alone here among the people [unfamiliar to me]. However, this hut is very beautiful!" After a brief pause the customary "awá!" followed.

Robert continued: "I come from a place where there is a great deal of snow and ice (349). It is a bad [unpleasant] place

349. He is referring to the extreme south where there are mighty icebergs floating around.

from whence I come. What kind of folk may this be among whom I have landed? I see two strangers here [Gusinde and Koppers]. I shall devour them! But at the moment I am full and satisfied; a little later I shall devour these two. If I should leave something, you out there [the women in the cookhut] will have some of it, too. -- The people here are very bad and evil; I don't know them, but I am very much afraid of them."

A pre-arranged interruption followed. Two women brought a can of coffee from the cookhut and immediately began pouring it out. The first three or four persons at the secondary exit let their cups be filled and realized with the first swallow that by mistake sea water instead of fresh water had been used for this coffee. They spit out this swallow, amid facial contortions,

/931 cont./

which many of the others observed. Richard noticed it, too, and cried loudly: "As far as food and drink are concerned, we here are not satisfied with it!" This time there was no answer from the cookhut.

After a brief pause he continued: "It seems to me that something bad will soon happen to these people here! My intention was to seize them all, but I caught only their feathers (350). --

> 350. We must imagine the situation. He believes himself to be a bird who, as such, attacks other birds and in the fight pulls out their feathers; he regards the people in the Great Hut as birds.

I shall prove to them that I am a crafty bird; I'll duck and crouch against the ground, I'll play stupid. Thus [in this position] I shall come on one, grab him, and take him away with me!" Immediately he pounced on old Pedro who was squatting nearest him on the ground. He seized him with both hands and pulled him upright. At the same time he yelled: "I've already caught one, this one I shall devour! One is enough for me. -- But no, I shall not devour him yet, because I am still full and satisfied. I shall save him for later! Those two strangers who are sitting there I shall also save for the end!" The women plaintively responded from outside: "Alas!"

Resolutely Richard seized an uǐwā̄ala and cried: "Here I have grabbed a fledgling [a young bird, an allusion to the youthful age of the /932/ candidate]. I shall also lay him aside for myself, and shall soon eat him. Now I am still full and satisfied. But after a while it will be his turn!" Frightened, the women cried: "swī!"

After a brief pause: "Poor folk here, I am truly compassionate! -- I am not in a hurry to leave, I should like to stay in this place for a short time. -- I almost seized them all [these people] and lifted them into the air with me!" From the cookhut the "swī" was repeatedly heard between his utterances.

Through the main entrance Richard called to the outsiders, telling them what is now going on in the čiēxaus hut; he told

/932 cont./

X881 the people inside what the others out there are doing. In the midst of the low singing of the others Chris said: "Alas, poor me! I do not know much [to say], but I feel the urge to sing. So I shall begin and sing with the melody of the others to give them courage and stimulate them to sing!" Interrupting him, Richard cried out loudly: "I almost flew upward!"

●625

After a few minutes he slipped toward the main exit and outside crawled up the hut framework; he wanted to frighten everybody. He boomed out a command: "Start dancing with [535] hambá, hambá, hambá (351)!" After a pause: "I am still up

351. This word is constantly repeated during the rhythmic dance movement.

here [on the hut framework]!" Inside, the singing stopped. "The one that's crying over there [namely, a small child in the cook-hut] I shall fetch over here, so that it won't die!" After a while the singing started up anew. "I almost caught this boy! -- This time he got away with a single wound. -- You can only see the feathers of another one (352). -- You over there [in the cookhut]

352. This furious predatory bird pursues one bird after another and is so rough with them that all their feathers fly (cf. footnote 347).

must bestir yourself and always have something on hand to eat. Be careful and pay attention to everything I say!" Repeatedly the answer was "awái." Then Richard climbed down from the hut framework and crawled back into the Great Hut.

After a while he began again: "I am inside here up on the ceiling [like a bird that has lifted itself in flight]!" Immediately Chris stopped singing and excused himself: "Unfortunately my voice is giving out and I cannot very well continue. So I shall stop singing."

Richard began again: "I am not going to hurry to leave here. Nevertheless I should like to set out soon." Voices from outside: "No, do not be in a hurry!" He: "It seems you do not like to see

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/932 cont./
me here!" Response: "Yes, we like you!" He: "Good, if that is true, I shall stay here longer and tell you about everything that goes on here." From outside: "We shall enjoy that." The winefkéła: "I feel like eating something." Response: "That is good." He: "Well, now these two here (353) are very gentle

353. He is referring quite generally to two persons in the Great Hut.

and quiet, just right to eat!" Meanwhile one of the kitchen women came in and passed around something to drink. Very softly /933/ the general singing continued; most of the people present were resting. All squatted motionlessly in their places, with downcast eyes.

After 20 minutes Chris took up the singing again. The guard walked hastily through the Great Hut and repeatedly cried: "hui, hui!" The group remained in their places in deep concentration and did not even glance up. Loudly the winefkéła cried: "The singing is beginning anew!" Response: "awji, awji!" He: "The people like me very much. -- I do feel like eating those two, but I'll wait and devour them later." The kitchen women repeated their cry.

The leader sent the uǰwíła out to fetch firewood, and soon they returned. The group singing continued. Richard cried out: "What goes on here is very solemn!" Response: "awji!" After a time the candidates were summoned and arranged themselves in a row, while an experienced woman immediately began to lead them in the dance. The uǰwíła moved awkwardly and clumsily because they lacked practice. After moving back and forth repeatedly, the line broke up. Again they were sent out for wood. The guard cried out: "Now, you women, be very careful because the uǰwíła have gone out [of this čiéxaus hut]. Restrain yourselves and do not look at them!" Meanwhile the candidates left the room.

Again the winefkéła began speaking: "Now I am going to change my feathers. I am plucking out the old ones so that the new ones will grow better." Response: "awji!" Anyone now leaving the čiéxaus hut is carefully observed to make sure that the

/933 cont./

kitchen women do not go up to the candidates or speak to them. "It seems to me that the people here are very courageous at the moment! -- There is foul air here in this hut; that is not good for the inmates. I wouldn't care to sleep here, just because of the bad air. I am used to the fresh, pure air of the high seas. -- The air in this hut is very foul." The "awái" followed at intervals. "Take care, you out there!" Then the candidates came in with the wood they had gathered. "I am keeping my eyes open and closely watching all the people here. -- Presently I shall stand on top of the hut. From there I can survey everything!" Meanwhile, with the wood they have gathered and led by the man who accompanied them, the ufwála danced through the Great Hut several times; then they put the wood down beside the secondary entrance and went to their places. The group singing concluded with a loud hóhohohohó to which the guard added a strong wéa.

After a few minutes the winefkéa spoke again: "I notice that you [women] are looking at the ufwála there!" He said this only to intimidate the women, hence the answer: "No, that is not true." He: "Lively action is beginning again here!" Two girls had been chopping wood outside and brought it in. They went dancing through the Great Hut with a little bundle. Old Clara joined them and said: "I become very sad when I see these ufwála. They, too, are in a bad state of mind, because they have had to work a lot today." Meanwhile the dance /934/continued. Peine spoke very animatedly: "Those two [Halakwulup] women came from a region where they even devour people. Why don't they demonstrate for us? We Yamana are not acquainted with such evil customs, but we'd like to have a look at something like that!" She became furious: "Why don't my countrymen get up and join my dancing? This Halakwulup woman is the only one dancing with me (354), and my own countrymen watch me dancing alone!"

354. The older Halakwulup woman, named Rosa, had meanwhile resumed her seat, so that only Julia, the other Halakwulup, continued dancing.

After some time their hóhohohohó was heard, and both women

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/934 cont./
squatted down in their places.

Then the guard spoke: "They [these people] almost caught me, but I escaped by climbing up on the hut outside!" Response: "awáj!" After a long pause: "I am still staying in this hut. -- Everyone assembled here feels happy. -- I am looking at all of them. It is to be hoped that they will all, without exception, continue to be happy!" Low singing continued until the winéhkēwa cried: "I am still here. I hear everything that is said here. -- Pay attention to everything that is about to happen!"

Old Peine stood up and danced very animatedly. Meanwhile her hapaxél slipped down a bit and covered her eyes. She said: "The fog almost covered me so that I would have been unable to see my country any longer!" Then came the loud hóhohohohō of all those present.

Again the guard began: "Soon I am going off, for it is the hour of dawn. Perhaps another will come here who looks at everything and watches over it." The singing continued. "Yes, it is time for me to go. Soon now I shall leave this hut." The sound of awáj rang out loudly.

Suddenly cries of loud hōnóx were heard amidst the general singing. They announced to the kitchen women that in a short time a delegation would come to them to get food. Two men hurried over; they returned immediately with coffee and a large loaf of bread. While those present were being served, the winéhkēwa acted conspicuously uneasy. Then he took the long leather strap, ókpla, which hung on the framework. Most of the adults stood up and likewise grasped this strap.

In a long row, they moved briskly back and forth through the interior of the hut. The guard shouted: "All you outside there, take care!" Response: "awáj, awáj!" This dance soon ended, and the long leather strap was again fastened to the hut framework (358). The guard cried: "I am afraid of these people here,

358. It is well known that the guards take the long leather strap down from the wall of the hut when danger threatens from those outside or when a candidate has escaped.

/934 cont./

I have been frightened by them!" Response: "awā!" Until now Chris in particular had led the general singing. He finished with the words: "Now I should like to stop because I am tired." /935/ The singing went on, and after about 20 minutes he, too, joined in again. Meanwhile some of the people had quickly eaten, and afterward Chris also took a few bites. Richard in the meantime had gone back to his place and was no longer impersonating winefkēpa.

After an hour and a half old Thomas assumed this role. He painted himself and placed the feather crown around his temples, stationed himself inside the main entrance, and cried loudly: "What are you up to here? I am here now. The other one [winefkēpa] sent me and told me I must carefully watch over you! -- I am quite full and satisfied. The little bones of the many birds and fish that I consumed on the high seas are heavy in my stomach. -- Be on your guard now!" Response: "awā!" The singing became more animated.

Thomas: "I came here very quickly. I did not even have time on the way to devour the bird that I had just caught. My beak is completely covered with fresh blood. That is how fast I flew here." Response: "awā!" Then he rubbed a thick layer of ūmi on his hands. "My feet and claws are dripping with blood. I had no time on the way to devour my booty, for I came here without delay. The other winefkēpa sent me to you posthaste!" Response: "awā!"

Meanwhile preparations began to receive the visiting outsiders into the Great Hut. The winefkēpa continued: "I came here to have a look at these people. What I observe I shall call over to you [over there in the cookhut], so that you will know what goes on here. -- I discovered two strangers [Gusinde and Koppen] here whom I have never seen in my life. The other winefkēpa told me nothing about them. I am beginning to feel an urge to thrust my claws into them as swiftly as before when I seized that other bird. I have a desire to seize them at once!" A repeated "awā!" followed. After a short pause filled with singing, he continued: "For the moment I am holding back. I shall not yet devour those two, for my stomach is quite full!"

The visitors came to the Great hut and left again. Immediately Thomas began: "The people here stepped on my toes,

/935 cont./

X881 that hurts me. I arrived quite stuffed, that is why I could not
● 625 move fast enough!" Response: "awáj!" He: "Now I shall wait until I feel a little more relieved, for my stomach is still quite full. -- There is nothing to eat here. In the place where I live there are many birds that serve as food for me."

X881 Then he started a song. While he continued the melody,
he said: "I am a good bird, I don't hurt anyone. -- I am very
625 happy to see my mother here. -- Up to now I have only let my-
533 self be looked at here. -- Those two I should like to take along to the high seas and devour them in peace!" The brief pauses were filled with "awáj." The winefkéʷa: "I prefer to stay here for the present. /936/ My hearing is good; I want to communicate to you [out there] everything that goes on here. I have been sent here, therefore I shall be just as attentive as in that place where I usually am." Continuing to sing, he interrupted himself: "I am very satisfied with these people here, wéa!" Soon after that: "You wish to be in my place! You would like to see everything that I am observing, wouldn't you. -- Now I shall rest a little. Meanwhile I shall pluck out my feathers in order to relieve myself somewhat. -- Since I have plucked out a few of my feathers, I feel better. Really, I have become lighter!"

Old Pedro began to sing loudly. While doing so, he said: "Yetãita gave me a kick and stimulated me to sing!" During Pedro's song Thomas cried: "A high mountain of waves is arising. I am frightened by these mighty waves!" Soon after the general singing ended with a loud hõhohohohõ, and the winefkéʷa croaked a loud "hex." Pedro began to sob and weep. Thomas continued: "I feel very calm, hence I shall get ready to go to sleep. I shall stick my head under one wing and then go to sleep!" Response: "awáj!" He: "The people here are moving, that excites me. I was always a good winefkéʷa."

Three old women with beautifully painted torsos stood up; they danced back and forth through the Great Hut. Thomas: "Again high waves are piling up. -- I am listening to what is being said here." Response: "awáj." Greatly stimulated, many people danced and poked around in the fire to make the sparks fly. Their loud singing subsided, and Thomas continued: "Do you, too, wish to lie down to sleep?" Response: "Yes, we should

/936 cont./

like to do that!" He: "Certainly, it pleases you that I tell you everything!" Enthusiastic "awši." He: "Good, I shall stay here for some time yet, until my stomach is empty. Afterward I shall fly back to the high seas." After a loud awši and general singing again, Thomas interjected: "Now I feel relieved, cheerful, and fresh!"

The people in the one row held their heads up and their hands up to their eyebrows, as though they were looking into the distance over the heads of the people seated in the opposite row. This was a challenge to a singing competition, in order to stimulate the other row. The winefiši cried: "Again high waves are rising!" After the awši from outside, Walter said: "We began this chanse so that those two Whites could see it. For ourselves we usually celebrate it at another time of year." He continued, very perturbed: "I am the Yetiša of this Great Hut (356).

356. He wants to say that rage is seething within him just as in that malevolent earth spirit.

-- Of all my kinsfolk and of all of us who once lived in the east (357), I am the only one still alive. Although I still have my

357. Walter comes from Lennox Island, northeast of Navarino Island.

home district [as native country], nevertheless it no longer belongs to me and has now become /937/ another region (358). Of my

358. This island which politically now belongs to Chile has for a long time been leased to farmers for sheep-raising. Therefore Chile arbitrarily keeps the natives away from the Europeans settled there.

kinsfolk and my [prior] native country only the waves are left to me. When I die, the waves will cover me, too; then there will be no one left of the people of the east!" Several persons, moved by sorrow, interrupted him. Walter continued: "I am very much

[Actually, southeast. — Analyst]

/937 cont./

X 111 relieved that I can accompany these two strangers here in the
• 625 Tahgan!" Animated talk by the others.
533

Finally Thomas announced: "My stomach will soon be empty now. I shall probably be off again in a short time." Julia and Rosa, following the example of the others, exchange a few words in Halakwulup, their own language. The usual dance-competition begins between Mary and her husband. Then she says: "These two [Halakwulup] women speak the language of the west. When I was a little child I came to this region [in the central part], so I forgot the words of the westerners [the Halakwulup]." The winefkwa cried: "Are you still awake?" Response: "awéj!" He: "That is good of you to be still awake, as I am, too." Again: "awéj!" He: "My stomach is getting lighter. Soon it will be quite empty!"

For about 20 minutes Pedro repeated a unknown melody. It sounded so pleasant that everyone listened silently. Thomas continued: "I almost fell asleep, it is so warm here by the fire. Are all you women over there already asleep?" Response: "Ep." He: "Good, then tell me when you want to lie down to sleep!" They reply only with "awéj." He: "Well, then I won't tell you when I am going away from here." Response: "awéj."

X 111 Suddenly all the ufwéla stood up, around all the adults.
[553] The general belief is that the candidates may not squat too long in one place. If they did so, they would become victims of an illness, they would be weak and sleepy, remain glued to the ground, as it were, and the illness would soon cause death.

Pedro talked to himself: "Those Whites have stayed a long time among us Tamana. Nelly Lawrence will be surprised that the two strangers have not returned to her [in Punta Remolino]. Well, they are safe with us and will stay some time longer!" The singing stopped because the people had become tired. Only Thomas took it up again and interjected in rhythm: "I am glad that soon I shall be able to end my song, for I, too, am tired!" Emilia joined him: "Fog from the west is covering my eyes, I can no longer see anything!"

X 111 Several adults stood up. They arranged themselves in two
525 short rows. From the center of the hut one row extended to one exit, the other to the other exit; the men at the head of each row

/937 cont./

faced each other. Their followers held their heads in the same direction. /938/ The two rows first moved away from each other without turning; they stepped backward until the last one in the row came up against the entrance. Then they again came toward each other, always with very short steps, swinging the dance staffs with a rolling motion up and down. While these two rows were moving back and forth, Emilia seized a glowing stick of wood and, swinging it up and down, danced past the two rows.

Again the winefiers called over to the kitchen women: "Are you already asleep?" They replied briskly: "No, we are not yet asleep!" He: "If I should leave here, I'll let you know." Response: "Good." He: "Be attentive now." Response: "ewi." The singing went on for a long time without interruption. Meanwhile Mary took a bit of charcoal, rubbed it in the palms of her hands and smeared the powder first on William's face and then on her own, as a sign of mourning. She cried out: "We are all in mourning!" It was only after a long pause that Thomas spoke again: "It is not time to sleep yet." Response: "We are awake." He: "I am watching things here. In case I should notice anything, I shall let you know." Response: "ewi." He: "Pay attention, you out there!" Then the games began, with which this evening was concluded. The winefiers was not heard from again.

On March 12, 1922, the brief breakfast was over around eight o'clock. All the inmates of the house but immediately started their painting. Everyone was eagerly concerned about the ulwala, for they were to go to the woods immediately to gather a lot of firewood. Meanwhile several persons, one after the other, joined the solo singer, and soon the rest of the group chimed in. Scarcely was the facial painting of the ulwala finished when they were summoned to the dance. They and a few adults stood pressed close together. With very short, mincing steps they glided over the ground and moved very slowly beside the fire from one exit to the other.

Thomas had painted himself to resemble a winefiers and stationed himself beside the main entrance. He cried loudly: "I delayed a little on my way here, that is why I arrived late!" The response came from the cookhut: "ewi, we heard it!" He means

/939 cont./

really make a great effort to instruct our candidates carefully, for our old laws and customs are good. Every Yamana, old and young, must adapt himself to them. I am very sad, for I see some of our younger people who neither know nor follow our habits of former times!"

After a few minutes the winefkwa called one last time: "Control your eyes and do not look at the Great Hut. I shall soon go away from here." At this moment the ufwala returned.

In conclusion the particular duty of the guard should be remembered. He must keep intruders away from the ʒifxaya hut and see to it that inquisitive glances do not discover anything that goes on there. In order to demonstrate his watchfulness to outsiders, he repeatedly steps in front of the main entrance and a few paces away from it. He also climbs up on the hut framework where he can be seen still more plainly. Finally, he makes himself noticeable by repeated calls. Everyone is afraid of the winefkwa and no one dares to desecrate the sanctity of the ʒifxaya hut.

6. Social Games. In the course of time the daily program in the ʒifxaya hut leads to weariness, not only for the candidates, but also for the adults. Quite generally the participants are very punctilious about their duties, and individuals among them are even over-zealous, which is not surprising among good-humored children of nature. Even experienced nerves would be unable to stand too great a strain for any length of time if there were absolutely no relaxation at certain intervals. That is precisely the deeper significance of the custom of occasionally having social games interspersed through the serious ʒifxaya celebration. To a superficial observer this custom seems strange and irreconcilable with the strictness of the prevailing order of the day, but the decisive factor is the psychological need of the participants for /940/ occasional refreshment by means of a game, which never deteriorates into boisterousness or licentiousness since it is restrained by certain guide lines.

Inasmuch as everyone present at the initiation is pledged more or less equally to silence and quiet behavior and to all kinds of exertions and discomforts, participation in the social games is, without exception, open to all, and of course also to the ufwala.

/644 cont./

584 It has also happened, as Sara recalled, that the two lovers
593 decided to elope, that they renounced any kind of marriage celebration, and that they remained away from their parents until they no longer feared reproach. Even if a child should be subjected to threats, he would find sufficient support from close relatives against the inadmissible interference of parents, if only he does not become intimidated and stands his ground. It is the spe-
[604] cial duty of the uncle to help so that every young person who wishes to marry is permitted to make an absolutely free decision. In case the uncle's influence on the parents does not bring results,
[626] he can even influence public opinion against them if they restrict their child's freedom of choice. All opposition dissolves
[583] automatically when the young couple has a child to be cared for. Thus, a person who must fear the disapproval or resistance of parents toward a marriage elopes with his partner; once the couple is blessed with one or two children, no one can interfere or separate them.

587 /645/ A woman who becomes a man's second wife also has unrestricted freedom of choice. If she is a widow, she must sometimes be glad if a man will take her, whether she likes him or not, and she suppresses her own wishes without a murmur. Her position is more favorable if an older man, whose wife has perhaps become incapable of working, woos her. From the start she can then secure for herself certain rights and a favorable position in the
595 family. In the great majority of polygamous marriages the two women are sisters (21); the second one to be taken by the man is

21. This custom may be verified in Bridges' (i):21 words: "When a man married more wives than one they were generally sisters, which fact tendered greatly to strengthen the family party" /cited in English/. Relationship by marriage as such does not constitute blood relationship, hence does not hinder marriage (p. 417).

thus frequently better situated in many respects than in a monogamous marriage.

/648 cont./

584 604 quickly, he himself openly approaches his uncle with the request that he tell the father of his heart's urgent desire. The uncle fulfills his mission without delay and without expressing any doubts or advising against it. If the boy has no indáruwa, his maternal uncle, íman, helps him. The girl takes the same steps with her maternal aunt as soon as she has learned from her lover that his mission /649/ is already on the way to his father. The aunt also does not remonstrate with her; in fact, if the girl has given her consent to a boy whom she also likes, she is even happy about the decision. She brings the news to the mother.

The parents are never directly informed by their own children of the latter's wish and plan to marry. It is partly veneration and partly modesty that seal their lips. The only legally justified [582] decision or judgment that the parents can exercise is for them to prove and vouch for the fact that the two lovers are not related by blood. If this were actually the case, the marriage could not take place. With this point settled, the parents of the boy and of the girl discuss the plan of the couple with their respective relatives. Not infrequently the child is present and at the same time is given some advice. Finally, the uncle, as well as the aunt, insists that the parents give their final consent which they personally make known to the boy or the girl. The two lovers tell each other of the desired result.

584 604 626 The arrangement we have just described is generally made within a few days. Naturally, the intention of the young people is the topic of conversation in the whole neighborhood. After all, the planned marriage is to become known everywhere, and it is chiefly the uncle and aunt who consciously work toward this. Nelly told me that public opinion and the help of the community are to be won for the lovers, particularly if one of the pair of parents is opposed to their child's intention. Obviously this arrangement serves to assure freedom in the choice of a mate. In spite of all this, but very rarely, the stubbornness of one of the pair of parents or the selfishness of an uncle or aunt does not permit the desired union of the young people. In the first instance, neither the boy nor the girl dares confide in the uncle or aunt; in the other instance, the uncle and aunt misuse their authority, against which the lovers cannot summon the courage to seek help

/649 cont./

584 elsewhere. In the opinion of the majority, such abuses are re-
604 garded as unjust; hence the guilty ones -- they are aware of be-
626 ing such -- make a secret of the fact that they have interfered without permission. The relatives and the larger community are steadfastly and as a matter of course on the side of the lovers, provided always that blood relationship is excluded. To the extent that the general public knows of the marriage plans of the couple, it prepares steadfastly for the forthcoming marriage. Meanwhile the aunts and female neighbors approach the girl in friendly good-will and wish her all kinds of happiness for the future, making this dependent on the recently imparted advice and the earlier instructions on the occasion of the menarche. The boy is merely given additional earnest warnings in case his conduct requires it.

587 When a couple enters a second marriage, the /650/ formalities that apply to the first marriage are omitted. "They are simply no longer necessary," as Calderon emphasized. "The couple know very well that they need not let themselves be influenced by anyone in their decision!" In one way or another, however, the newly wedded couple tells those nearest them of their union, so that the public in general will soon learn of it.

584 Marriageable young people in olden times were in an in-
182 comparably more favorable position; each one, following the dictates of his heart, selected from many persons the one desired. For the last few decades marital conditions have been affected by a complete disintegration of the natural order. They *do not offer even a slight guarantee that the Yamana will continue* as a people. In fact, the fate of the Yamana is already sealed.

7. Obstacles to Marriage

582 The basic freedom in the selection of a mate does not eliminate the fact that there are some things taken for granted which prohibit marital union. All adults are well informed about them. In particular it is the duty of the parents under no circumstances to permit the marital union of their child with a related person (p. 416). A few introductory remarks will be given before we list the actual obstacles to marriage.

/651 cont./

595 his wife. Their marriage takes place without any formality, and
837 the sexual relations between them become known to the neighborhood at the latest when pregnancy is well advanced, if not long before. If the man has no valid reason for this step and is guided
• [626] merely by sensuality, he must be prepared for the bitter reproach and biting irony of his neighbors, intended to censure severely his weakness of character. Marriage with two sisters is not forbidden, but public opinion demands a reason for it, such as that the first wife cannot do her work because she is ill or that she has been blessed with a great many children. She perhaps had invited her sister into the hut as a helper, and since the latter adjusted well, the lawful wife will finally, on her own initiative, propose to her husband that he likewise regard her sister, who is probably always younger, as his wife. This is one way in which polygamy arises. Sometimes, also, consideration for the still unmarried sister-in-law will lead to it, for if she has become accustomed to her brother-in-law over a period of time, she will not look for another man, but will wait for her brother-in-law's proposal, or she will force herself upon him so insistently that he will yield to her wish. Her sister may not even be in favor of it.

587 Closely related to this is the view that, upon the death of his wife, a man has a certain right to his unmarried sister-in-law. If he proposes to her, she probably always accepts. If she refuses, however, and he nevertheless wants her, he may bring her into his hut by force. This is known as kulatuku. This happens very rarely, however, for everyone knows that a woman who follows a man only because she is forced to do so cannot be held permanently.

Economic conditions in Tierra del Fuego make it imperative for every adult to marry, hence widowed persons (pp. 413, 480) do not remain alone very long. This sometimes leads to a considerable difference in age between the two partners, which does not constitute an obstacle to marriage and is apparently not even regarded as improper. An active young woman is more useful to an older widower than a woman as old as he is. For her part, the young creature expects to be treated with understanding by a quiet old man. From both sides, therefore, gentle pressure is exerted for the marriage of an old widower with a young woman(27).

27. It is an exaggeration, however, when

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the young wife, her mother was the wife of a man then alive. She had two or three children who died. When the mother's husband died, Domingo took her as his wife, but this was after he had married her daughter" /cited in English/.

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A final obstacle to marriage is based on a sort of sponsorship namely, on the relationship of all adults to the candidates who have been entrusted to their special care in the čiexaus, the youth initiation. Their relationship is regarded as that of parents to their children, accompanied by certain rights or duties which never cease as long as one of the two parties is living.

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626

The community as a whole, especially the relatives, are vigilant regarding the valid obstacles to marriage; it is their duty to interfere if anyone dares to violate them. Infringements by individual persons in exceptional cases and more recently as a result of the unusual composition of the population cannot be avoided, since the public does not have effective measures of control and since the guilty party avoids the loud mockery and scornful gossip of his neighbors by keeping to himself. The erection of certain barriers in the form of real obstacles to marriage proves with unmistakable clarity how highly the Yamana regard the institution of marriage and the sound judgment they show in evaluating the meaning of their only social alliance. My questions about the possibility of a marital union between relatives and adopted persons obviously horrified them, and they found it unpleasant that such prohibitions, which are sacred and venerable to them, should be even casually mentioned.

8. The Marriage Ceremony

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In the foregoing pages we have described the development from the first slight amorous inclinations of two young hearts to their definite decision to marry, as well as the attitude of the relatives of the couple. The lovers never link themselves together in a definite, solemn declaration of their willingness to marry, as in the manner of our engagement. Nor do the Yamana know anything

/681 cont./

562 minutes, but for the woman it is accompanied by several hours
593 or an entire night of suppressed pain. The deeply felt mortification
152 pains her incomparably more than the blow or beating.

An irascible and violent husband never has a good reputation,
562 even though at times he might have grounds for dissatisfaction
593 with his wife. None of my informants could remember that a
woman had ever suffered serious physical harm from maltreat-
● 626 ment. Her relatives would not have let matters go so far, but
would have helped her to escape before it happened. Basically,
public opinion condemns any physical attack on a woman, and
whenever it occurs people take a definite stand against the man
or against his wife, depending on the case, in order to prevent a
repetition of such quarrels.

562 In contrast, there is a considerable number of henpecked hus-
bands among the Yamana, according to the statements of the
593 three Lawrence brothers. There is no exaggeration in Bridges'
(i):21 words that "not a few men are domineered over by their
wives" /cited in English/ (73). Walter is one of these men,

73. Fifteen years later, Bridges (h):210
repeated this sentence without changing it.

helpless in the hands of his wife. Even more, Julia is really a
mannish woman, and the not very energetic Alfredo, sometimes
at his wits' end, lets her have her way. In contrast to these two
couples, /682/ Carmen suffers so much from the brutality and
violent outbursts of Calderon that all her fellow-tribesmen pity
her and sympathize with her. At present, just as in former times,
an individual incident may occur in which the wife bursts out
and takes violent measures against the man, without however,
actually establishing petticoat domination. Lovisato (b):146
gives an example: "We have seen a wife justifiably strike her
husband, without the other wives present taking her part or they
themselves understanding the grave deed" /translated from
Italian/. This, too, shows the occasional considerable inde-
pendence and arbitrariness on the part of the wife toward her
husband.

593 Aside from the above-mentioned disturbances in marital life,

/688 cont./

586 circumstances, even regarded as justified. A few travelers have described divorce as such an indifferent step that their numerous errors are obvious (98) and generally the result of utter ignorance

> 98. A more contemptuous tone than that of Martial:199 is scarcely possible: "The total absence of any guarantee in these [conjugal] unions, moreover, frequently results in their rupture, through the fault of the man more often than that of the woman. They take each other and leave each other, following the whim or interest of the moment" /translated from French/.

of the solemnity of marriage. True family life, such as is reported by many reliable observers, would not come about even in Tierra del Fuego if every person could replace his life's companion with another at will, according to the principle of a supposed "continual promiscuity" /translated from French/ (Martial:200). True, each additional child draws the marital tie tighter between the two partners, but no less strong is the love between young married couples, which continues almost undiminished up to the appearance of /689/ the first child (99).

> 99. In this respect Bridges' (e):333 assertion that "the conjugal bond was weak until it was strengthened by children" /cited in English/ does not mean much.

586 It is lawfully permissible, however, for married people to separate if they have a reason for it. The people generally have a sensitive feeling about this and are not deluded by extenuation or false appearance, and although they cannot usually avoid injustice, their sharp weapon, namely, the discussion of conditions which cannot be condoned, remains effective for years.

586 The chief reason for dissolving a marriage is maltreatment by a brutal husband, yantina, under which the wife must suffer. Very early Bridges (a):184 reported: "Cruel treatment often

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846 people have an idea that if the father sits not still for three days after the birth of his infant, it will not survive" /cited in English/. On August 16, 1865, Bridges wrote: "It is considered by them proper that a man whose wife has lately given birth to a child should abstain from throwing stones, either by hand, or by sling, at birds" /cited in English/ (VSA:XII, 273;1865). If he should do this, his child would become bald, as we learned. A man who has just become a father stays in his hut all day and abstains from the foods that are forbidden. He eats very moderately and abstains from his customary work. Although he does not pretend to be sick, nevertheless he is relieved of his daily duties and squats idly beside the fire. Neighbors and relatives provide food for him and his family since they require little during these days. The man truly acts as though his being away from the hut and the exertion of any kind of work would seriously endanger him and his family. He /712/ does not do anything directly for the newborn child; it is left entirely to the mother. He observes the accepted rules "because from olden times that is the way it must be, and otherwise the child would be unhappy or deformed!" As much as possible, of course, the family also avoids distant and taxing canoe trips, probably also in order to protect the newborn baby as much as possible. The father may use his hands, but not tools and weapons.

Since the men enjoy working, they resume their daily occupa-
846 tions soon after the birth of their second and each subsequent child,
461 but just to make sure, they have a yékamuł exorcise all evil. In
626 the case of the first child every man very closely observes the prescribed rules. An occasional idler takes the birth of a subsequent child as an excuse and considers only himself for an unduly long time, to the disadvantage of his family and the chagrin of the neighborhood. The neighbors, however, do not curtail their help, but continue to give it out of sympathy for the mother, since no one feels any responsibility to support a negligent man taking his ease. Although he pretends and consoles himself with the illusion that he is obeying the strict regulation, his neighbors have a different opinion. Calderon was a horrible example of this so-called obedience to the regulations. He concealed his laziness under the pretense of shielding the baby from harm. He was 28 years old and already had seven children; after the birth of each of them he continued his idle ways for several weeks to such an extent that the other families talked about it very disparagingly.

/724 cont./

847 woman bear all daughters, the youngest is /725/ sometimes killed" /cited in English/. These reports originated at a time when Bridges did not yet have sufficient insight into the social conditions of the Yamana. Although he later repeats certain details (150),

> 150. For instance, he (h):208 and (i):21 merely says: "Deformed babies are destroyed at birth, but only if the deformity is great...." /translated from Spanish/. "Infanticide was rare, and when it occurred was generally the mother's act, on account of being deserted by her husband, or annoyance at the complaint of her neighbors over the child's crying" /cited in English/.

in his last publication (k):240, 1893, he limits himself to the following: "Infanticide was very rare among the natives, although not completely unknown; in such cases the victims were almost never male children" /translated from Spanish/. On occasion Bridges (e):333 calls infanticide one of the many evils which is supposed to have disappeared since the Anglican missionaries have been active in the Cape Horn region.

847 In view of these vacillating reports, we would be justified in omitting any comment, but in order to prevent any doubt, we •624 shall add a brief correction here. Infanticide has never been a widespread habit among the Yamana. Fred Lawrence and Calderon denied any intentional killing of a child, because of the spiritual disposition of our natives. They did admit what I had discovered from other sources, namely, that a deformed baby was consciously neglected by some mothers so that it would soon die (p. 507), but these mothers never talked about it with other people. In August, 1923, I discussed with Fred the four reasons for infanticide summarized by Cooper:171 from Bridges. He gives "the following cases: Desertion on the part of the husband and father, great deformity in the child, too much annoyance to the clan from the child's crying, too many girl babies" /cited in English/. I shall here reply very briefly to each one of these. If in the case of "desertion on the part of the husband" a woman were to murder her child as well, she would make herself utterly

/726 cont./

847 626 desolate. Under normal circumstances this cannot possibly be accepted. If an overwrought woman let herself be carried away to such an extent that she would do this, her relatives would immediately call her to account and make her atone for the crime. Secondly: a misshapen monster ("deformity") was immediately and silently destroyed by the midwife or the mother; other people were not told of it, and only the father, perhaps, was given a slight hint. It is almost ridiculous to mention the discomfort of the neighbors caused by the child's crying as the third reason for its murder. Such gross stupidity has never been reported from any other region. Foegian children cry very little in any case (p. 530). If their crying bothered anyone, he could always build his hut elsewhere. Fourth and finally, neither a father nor a mother who expected a boy would have killed a girl following many sisters, for each child is of untold value to them. This murder would by no means have remained secret and would always have been severely condemned. /726/ Fred Lawrence very emphatically dismissed these four motives for infanticide maintained by Bridges (160), with the exception of a deformed prema-

> 160. It would be most uncritical to rely on Fenton to prove infanticide, because, as John Lawrence assured me, he passed through that region once in two days without contacting the natives.

ture birth.

847 845 626 It is not to be denied that a deformed or premature child, unfit for life, is done away with, but a rumor that I heard proves how carefully a woman must go about it. Walter's wife had a child in 1906, half of which was a normal human being, but the other half of the body was supposed to have been covered with feathers. When she saw it after delivery, she became frightened, as did the two women who attended her. She decided to kill it immediately and did indeed hit it on the head with a hard object, but the creature went on living. Then she threw it on the ground with great force. Even then, however, it was not dead, so she buried it in the ground and covered it with a layer of stones; it continued to

/726 cont./

887 cry from under the ground for some time, but finally it stopped.
845 Although Walter's wife herself did not divulge any details about the incident, her attendants on that occasion apparently gossiped
• 626 about it. Since then she has not been safe from silent, but clearly noticeable reproaches from other women who severely condemned her action. Only a few of her friends sympathize with her about her misfortune. Everything points to the fact that the Yamana never approve of infanticide and severely condemn the malefactor.

6. Child Statistics

163 Through a regrettable error Martial:198 made the statement that "one rarely sees families with a large number of children" /translated from French/. Other members of the Mission Scientifique convincingly contradict him. In reality, Fuegian families commonly have many children. Usually the Indian girl becomes a mother as early as her sixteenth year. Accurate counts are impossible because of the resistance of adults who refuse to speak about deceased children (161). Bridges (MM:XVIII, 223;1884)

161. Hyades (q):189 also encountered this difficulty.

repeatedly tried to determine accurately the population of the Yamana, for example, in June, 1884, but he could not find out the total number of children in each family.

We have a certain gauge in the observations of Hyades (q):189 in the region around Orange Bay in 1882, that is to say, at a time when the population had already been noticeably influenced by the Anglican missionaries. Among eight women from 35 to 60 years old he counted a total of 18 living children, namely, eleven girls and seven boys; among eight women from 25 to 30 years old there were again 18 living /727/ children, ten boys and eight girls. The sources of error in these data are so obvious that any comment is superfluous. Hyades was well aware of them and did not fail to point out a 50-year-old Fuegian woman who had given birth to 14 children; a 45-year-old woman was the mother of nine, and

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861 Finally, and no less earnestly, it is the concern of the larger group or the whole tribe that the training by the family produces good results. Hence, in the form of public opinion, it supervises the efforts that the father and mother expend on their own children; it admonishes and criticizes the parents, usually through their relatives, if they neglect the training of their offspring; it continues their efforts through the youth initiation and concludes the work of family training by means of community training in the /744/ Kéxaus. The whole tribe likewise strives for that much emphasized child-rearing ideal which our simple and yet so understanding Fuegians proclaim as the watchword of their earnest efforts, namely, that they want to make each of their children "a good and useful human being."

β. Training Practices

867 Not every adult has a particular aptitude for rearing his child. Some people, however, are so effective at this work that their influence is felt far beyond the narrow family circle and produces good results there as well. What one adult lacks in this talent is compensated for by another, and it must be appreciated as an extraordinarily fortunate virtue of the Yamana that almost every person, especially the older ones, influences children. Precepts and admonitions are, of course, the most important aspect. In content and form they are adapted to the awakening reason and the developing judgment of young people. For smaller children the Yamana are content to use a brief command or prohibition; it is only for the older ones that they add a reason.

"Your behavior is not nice."

"If you lie, no one will like you."

"Tackle every job, decisively and with enthusiasm, then you will quickly finish it."

"Always get up promptly in the morning; for if you lie abed until the sun is high, you will not finish your day's work."

"If you are called to do a piece of work, get up immediately and do it quickly, then you will grow fast" (181).

181. It is only out of great ignorance that

/803 cont./

554 Thus our Fuegians lack appointed persons of authority and
571 written laws. Nevertheless, there is a sovereign power, even though it is invisible. As we know, the whole tribe is divided into five definitely demarcated dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each of them is divided into several local groups who in turn occupy smaller regions. Finally, each of these is made up of a few family groups. The /804/ individual family, finally, relies upon itself and enjoys complete independence. It is a family decision to associate more often with some families or more closely with others. Sometimes they travel and spend several days together as a result of a chance meeting. This purely external tie is just as quickly dissolved if another family arrives with whom they choose to associate. The above-mentioned tiamuna sometimes makes arrangements with the tiamuna of another group of families to bring together a larger number for a definite purpose. These are always free decisions, however, and there is no outside pressure. Fluent speech and a faculty for quick persuasion are usually the only decisive factors.

571 Such an arrangement is made for the initiation ceremony,
881 the men's ceremony, or common burial rites. Everyone knows the universal obligation of young people to take part in the initiation ceremony. It is the duty of the adults to create the opportunity for it, and certain influential people are moved to hold it, all depending on the circumstances. The fact that the general public safeguards that important institution and does not let any young person suffer the loss of its advantages must be unequivocally interpreted as an effect of the invisible but mighty compulsion of the power of the state (p. 640).

183 If anyone is repeatedly guilty of serious violations against
626 the prevailing customs and causes apparent harm to a number of persons by doing so, nothing happens for a while, but then a close relative of the transgressor will arouse himself and, referring to the opinion of others, will appeal to his conscience. They do not even stop at a fight and care nothing about protecting their own lives, since they put greater value on respect for the existing order. Thus again an invisible power of the state sees to it that laws are kept pure and respected. When famine breaks out in a local group and a whale is driven ashore somewhere, an unwritten law goes into effect which does away with the narrower boundaries of intercourse

/904 cont./

183 and open free passage to the spot where everyone can generously help himself.

To be sure, these are all modest beginnings of an active state power, but the latter is in effect, even in that completely unorganized community of people, and makes itself felt, although always to the advantage of the individual and in the service of the family, thereby guaranteeing the undiminished continuance of the group as a whole. This still invisible power does not even remotely pursue an end in itself.

183 In complete contrast to the veiled existence of the state in this society, the freedom of the individual shines forth brightly.
554 A person who has attained physical maturity, married, and left the parental hut stands on his own feet, is responsible to no one, and has no master. Within the wide margins set by the law of usage and ancient custom, he conducts himself /905/ as he sees fit, divides up his time as he pleases, provides himself with food and tools as he feels inclined, and uses and disposes of them according to his own free judgment. A person is warned only if he is flagrantly guilty of repeatedly or constantly harming other fellow-tribesmen, as we have shown above.

511 Ordinarily no one dares issue definite orders or make demands
156 on other people, whether or not he is justified or obliged to do so. Thus, a wife will not admonish her husband to go forth to hunt, even though she and her children may have to suffer hunger for a long time. Even to this extent these Indians would not allow themselves to make demands or issue orders to a specific person. This was often observed. If I ordered a man to demand some service of another in my name he listened to my words and departed, but he returned shortly thereafter without having spoken to the other man and gave me to understand that I should personally give my instructions to the one concerned. In this way each person guards the other's freedom, and he also would not allow his own freedom to be curtailed (237).

237. The missionaries have had many experiences in this connection, for instance, when they provided a sort of supervisor for community work. "To be placed as overseer

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one that the adults aim to achieve in the [illegible] but with the [illegible] are identical. The rules of conduct that are set up in the two situations likewise coincide. The immature child is told briefly and definitely what he must do and must not do; he is won over by well-meaning persuasion to do his duty. It is different with the candidates in the /987/ initiation who are offered rational arguments and are made to realize the consequences of their actions, for they are supposed to act out of conviction. Of the principles frequently mentioned we shall here mention only the more important ones; furthermore, certain standards for judging the conduct of the individual will be set forth.

Remarkably often the exhortations, whether they come from the teacher or from another person, point to personal honor. The following allusion is repeated again and again, almost word for word: "People will commend you and say you are a good human being!" Indeed, the sense of honor is highly developed among our Yamana. Anyone who touches them here strikes their most sensitive point. Hence everyone makes a serious effort to acquire a good reputation and undoubtedly performs some good deed only in order to be thought of as honorable and blameless. Many a person will make a considerable sacrifice, remain silent during a verbal battle between others, forgo eating in spite of hunger, give away a valuable object, perform work for an aged man whom he dislikes very much, and do many other things merely so that he will be generally regarded as a paragon. To be the object of sad reproaches would humiliate any one of them to such an extent that he would avoid contact with those who know about it perhaps for a period of years and even live alone in obscure retreats. There is a danger here that the conduct of the individual may turn to duplicity and hypocrisy. The way of life, however, counteracts this effectively, for neither falsehood nor deceit can permanently hide behind its simplicity and transparency.

Closely allied to this is the explicit reference to the considerable and evident punishment that, according to the belief of these Indians, the Supreme Being inflicts upon a guilty person. Specifically they mention a long illness and, even more frequently, premature death. A person who wants to avoid the latter or who does not want to be punished by the loss of his

/887 cont./
X 881 children should be particularly zealous about getting up early in
867 the morning. To die young is generally regarded as a punishment
626 for laziness or for some other misdeed that a person has been
761 guilty of. Thus, one who wants to attain a great age carefully obeys everything that has been lawfully valid among the Yamana from time immemorial.

If the references to personal honor and to the worst of all
X 881 punishments have the effect of actual threats, the following rules
867 of conduct emphasize the strictness of duty for subjective reasons.
577 Foremost is the reference to indiscriminate helpfulness. Everyone must, so to speak, render voluntary service to all others and must seize the first opportunity for performing services and favors of all kinds. This altruistic duty is not adequately fulfilled by gifts and presents; actions and work are also demanded. The candidates are definitely told that they should keep their eyes open and be on the lookout for every opportunity to be of service to others. These opportunities /888/ occur every day. They should seize them without being asked, that is to say, out of inner willingness. A person who needs something almost never asks for it.

To this category also belong the suppression of one's own desires in favor of others, the relinquishing of personal advantage, and the sacrifice of one's own comfort. The individual should be ready to perform voluntary services first of all out of consideration for himself, for in this way he makes others indebted to him, and they, out of a sense of justice, will repay him in like manner and will help him. Here the principle of self-love shines through again! It is extremely pleasant that every friendly service for others is supposed to be performed quite inconspicuously and quietly, as though taken for granted or as though this properly belonged to the daily round of duty. In my long association with the Yamana I had almost daily demonstrations of this.

The inner value of this attitude, which, in itself, is praiseworthy, is considerably increased by complete unselfishness. To
[431] give gifts to others without expecting anything for oneself, to invite others to a meal, to give others of one's booty, all this is part of the true Yamana. Anything that anyone needs and would like to borrow should be given to him without fuss. No one expects a reward for work he has performed for kinsfolk and neighbors.

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X 881 788 the Kinaxu hut immediately begin distributing them. Each one places himself in front of an adult, moves whatever he holds in his hand up and down while uttering a soft hóhohohóh, and hands it to him. He receives it and in doing so repeats the same motions and utterance. Women and men who give something to another person observe a similar formality, as do the kitchen women in distributing the meal. A person coming in with something which is not passed on to others holds the object at shoulder-height in his upraised hands and capers around the room with it two or three times. For example, this is the behavior of women with a bundle of rushes which they have gathered outside and need here for plaiting baskets. Before a person takes the first bite of a piece of meat, he raises this, too, up and down a few times with a soft hóhohohóh. If someone steps into the Great Hut or leaves it, several people sitting near the entrance repeat this hóhohohóh. The singing must never cease completely, not even during meals and during the night's sleep. During the singing everyone must put on his hapaxél and hold his dance staff in his hand; if he goes outside he leaves both articles behind. Before the arrival of one of the customary groups of visitors, all the inmates renew their facial painting. If a few of the men go to the cookhut to visit the women there, they take along something for them, usually a little basket of ashes or glowing charcoal, even a burning stick of wood, for anyone who pays a visit must always bring a present. We shall mention below a few other ritualistic customs.

X 881 626 The deeper reason for the unconditional submissiveness of all participants and for their zeal in faithful service is their great respect for the traditional Kinaxu arrangement and their insight into its universal social significance. They also regard their participation as a real duty, not only as enjoyment or as a good opportunity for a thorough exchange of ideas. There are no punishments for adults, for the simple reason that they are not necessary. Everyone knows, in any case, how carefully his way of life and his conduct are everywhere observed and discussed by the people at large. They minutely inspect important and unimportant details in connection with each person. In the Kinaxu hut particularly the individual is subjected to open observation and to the

/308/ strict judgment of others. Even if he lacks the urge toward devotion to duty for its own sake, he at any rate practices it for the sake of his good reputation, which means a great deal to everyone.

Despite the almost complete lack of a daily schedule and the small amount of authority exercised by the leader, there are a number of circumstances that naturally combine to make all the participants work together in perfect harmony and strive toward the twofold goal of this institution.

Special Formalities

The adults retain their personal freedom of movement only to a certain degree. No one permits himself to make mistakes, although generally one cannot say what is and what is not permitted. It is a matter of general observation that the older and the very old persons are much more serious and concentrated in their conduct than middle-aged persons. This indication of decline goes back to the relaxation of the original strictness, for the most part a result of European influence.

An unwritten law regulates the behavior of the adult participants in this affair. Each person learns it from the example of the old people, without any special instructions. The leader keeps an eye on each one. He does not need to warn or admonish, but he does occasionally call upon one person or another for the required services. Each one is dominated by his determination to help in order that the traditional formalities be observed, even though it costs him personal sacrifices and the surrender of his own comfort. For the sake of order, everyone conducts himself irreproachably in the Great Hut and takes part in the common tasks, in song and dance.

1. Outward Calm. The adult participants regard their stay in the Kamaya hut as a period for collecting one's thoughts and deep meditation. They also absorb the admonitions and teachings imparted to the novices. They recall their own period of probation and in their memory they renew the solemn pledge that they gave the overseer at that time (332).

332. Probably this oft-repeated self-reflection

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423 593 members is visibly symbolized by the hut to which they all find shelter. The man and woman are simultaneously active in its construction, although he is obliged to do the heavier work and she the much easier light work. The children work, too, no matter how slight their participation is. In like manner, both spouses equally keep the hut in repair after it has been built. It is primarily the woman's duty to perform minor repairs. The skins needed to cover the hut framework are furnished by the man from hunting, while the woman dresses the skin. She stores and transports these pieces of leather in her canoe. No other articles are required as common property for the construction of the hut. Naturally, everyone, without discrimination, enjoys the benefit of the fire, since all the members of the family, in one way or another, see that it does not go out.

423 592 If, in an exceptional case, two or three families should erect a common dwelling (p. 78), they readily agree on the division of space, within which each one does as he pleases. If one family wanders off sooner than another, they take down their pieces of leather from the framework and load their own things into their canoe. The family that stays behind then closes off the space that they still want to occupy.

423 594 Only the husband or the wife has the right to permit this guest or that visitor to enter their hut. It is generally regarded as an encroachment to enter a hut without permission, although this is usually tacitly assumed. Once the family has given up their campsite /871/ and departed with their implements, the hut framework left behind is regarded as ownerless. Whoever first takes possession of it lawfully owns it and may settle in it undisturbed.

422 593 In a certain sense the various foods are also doubtless regarded as common property of the family, the idea being that the husband and the wife are obliged to seek food for themselves and the members of their family. The Fuegians' convictions concerning this obligation comes out most clearly when an indolent, lazy man neglects his hunting and lets his family starve. The whole neighborhood expresses its displeasure, and the society even grants the wife the right to leave such a neglectful husband. The man collects meat for the whole family, and the woman gathers smaller animals for all her loved ones, indiscriminately, for

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the circumstances under which the Indian mentioned had filched the little knife unnoticed and probably immediately swallowed it in order to remain undetected.

The high degree of sensitivity of the Yamana is sufficient to explain why they seriously punish a thief. Thievish actions by one of their people affects them very painfully and unpleasantly, even if they themselves are not harmed by it. The thief is generally despised, and even after many years of irreproachable conduct, he rarely succeeds in improving his reputation. Only in exceptional cases is the thief given a few blows by the injured owner (402).

685 557 626

402. Only Dabbene (b):198 mentions that "the thief is castigated when he is discovered" /translated from Spanish/.

In case of aggravating circumstances, a theft may even lead to a dispute involving several families. In general the Yamana avoid associating with a thief or they turn away from him with unmistakable /984/ aversion, so that, excluded from the society of his nearest fellow-tribesmen, he stands alone (403). This punishment

403. Darwin (d):243 evidently met such an ostracized individual in Goosee Road near Lennox Island. "The man evidently lived by himself and York Minster said he was a bad man who had probably stolen something."

of being ignored and ostracized is more effective than scoldings and whippings.

The extent to which the Yamana abhor a tendency to steal can be surmised from their urgent warnings to young people, as well as from their many expressions and linguistic subtleties in the designations for stealing. Koppen (d):189 took most of the expressions from BD. "There are words for thief, stealing, robbing. Furthermore for: to cause theft, to accuse of theft, to punish it. Also, however: to return stolen goods, to steal no

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628 possible or, hidden by his relatives, remains under cover. Hence the avengers attack the first person they meet who has connections with the killer. They are to a certain extent justified, for, although the relatives of a criminal do not in the least condone his murderous act, nevertheless the mutual /997/ ties of family solidarity are so close and strong that they not only refuse to hand him over to the opponents, but even protect and defend him against them (416). This does not prevent them from being extremely

416. Bridges (MM:IX, 215;1875) confirms this: "Society, as here is constituted, supports, aids, protects, not the innocent or injured, but each clan its member, guilty or not guilty" /cited in English/.

angry with him, precisely because, by his fateful deed, he has put them all in a very embarrassing and disquieting situation, indeed, even in serious danger (417). Truly, a murderer can no longer enjoy

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417. "A murderer imperils all his friends and connections more or less, and consequently estranges them from himself" /cited in English/ (Bridges, MM:XIII, 154;1879).

life, for not only the associates of his victim give him no peace, but even his own relatives never cease their reproaches. The whole group to which he belongs scorns him, pushes him aside, and positively casts him out (418). Everyone will agree with Bridges (MM:

418. "In general," as Dabbene (b):196 asserts, "one who kills is deserted by everyone in the tribe and he must take refuge in the woods in order to live" /translated from Spanish/.

XIII, 154;1879) who characterizes this state of affairs, in its importance for the general safety of life, as "the greatest safeguard to human life we can conceive. I have witnessed the anxiety of men's minds after a quarrel, when any have been seriously injured, to

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628 know how the injured party is doing when fears are felt for his death,
626 and I have heard them express the horrible sensations which creep over them when the sense of blood-guiltiness is likely to be charged against them" /cited in English/. The attention of the people in general and of every individual group is earnestly directed toward preventing any murderous deed.

628 Whenever such an act occurs, the nearest relatives of the vic-
302 tim adopt a special facial painting. Despard (VP:VII, 9:1860) (419)

> 419. Earlier Fitz-Roy (a):177 noted: "White feathers, or white down, on the fillet, is a sign of hostility, or of being prepared for war. Their white paint is added to the red when preparing for war; but the marks made are mere daubs, of the rudest, if of any design. Black is the mourning colour" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):198 and Hyades (q):375 write in a similar vein.

has already mentioned "white stripes dotted with black, in regular rows on the face" /cited in English/. Sometimes the whole body is uniformly smeared with black. All other persons who are close to the deceased also paint themselves in some way, but usually are satisfied with a few red, white, and black lines on their faces, in an arbitrary pattern. Around their foreheads they tie a narrow strip of skin with down, apawéwa. In doing this they are following a custom that is general when death occurs. The actual decoration signifying a murder consists of several vertical red lines on the face, spreading out in rays from the level of the eyes.

628 The persons concerned set about spreading the news of the murderous deed without delay and, along with reliable friends, form a fighting group, for the duty of blood vengeance hammers insistently on everyone's conscience. It applies to every friend and relative, as is shown by the specific /998/ term matája-magúwa, "a man against whom persons have a grudge and purpose to fight with and punish because he did not take up his and their murdered friend's cause as he ought" /cited in English/ (BD:306). When a considerable horde of avengers has banded together, the opponents,

/1004 cont./

183 custom is based on the tested experience of generations. They interpret every deviation from it, no matter how small, almost /1005/ instinctively as disadvantageous and harmful for their society. This judgment may rest to a considerable extent on the balanced harmony between their needs and their environment. It has been shown that they have adjusted in the best possible way to the vital demands of their homeland and have identified themselves so well with it that other wishes and needs do not arise, so to speak.

177 This rigid, inflexible attitude of self-contained ethnic unity
183 at first excluded all the innovations that reached the Yamana from contact with European culture. Gradually a few raw materials and
182 objects that seemed advantageous to them, iron, for example, came into their possession, but even the strong and continuous influence of the Anglican mission has been unable to change anything in their social order and their spirit world (p. 324 /untranslated/). It is only in the last few decades that Indian culture has been torn asunder and more than once harshly oppressed by foreign settlers. After that it was impossible to continue to live according to ancient custom, and the doom of our tribe was sealed. Many old men and women who had had the good fortune to grow up amid the unadulterated customs of their people were obliged, with tears in their eyes, to see the acceleration of this fateful grievous devastation. Their bitterest laments were unable to exorcise the evil. They frankly stated that, with the initial relaxation of the strict custom of former times, the disintegration of the people as a whole began.

183 Among the more general fundamental considerations pertaining to the value of traditional customs, the personal sense of honor
• 626 is, in practice, still strong in its effect. No one wants to be regarded as an inferior member of the tribe, as disloyal to the customs of his fathers, as indolent and negligent, as quarrelsome and selfish. On various occasions the ideal image of the "genuine, proper Yamana" is very clearly unfurled, everyone sees it spread out before him in all its details and in bright colors. A person who deviates consciously or habitually from this ideal displays a considerable degree of wickedness and inner corruption of which he himself is aware, as well as his entire neighborhood. The disgrace

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183 is too profound, the infamy too humiliating for anyone to bear any
626 length of time if he finds himself shunned and rejected by many persons as disloyal to ancient custom! Ambition, self-love, and the desire to be esteemed among his fellow-tribesmen soon force every delinquent back on the path of universally observed proper habits. For the Yamana this is the strongest motive forcing them to a way of life which is as blameless as possible, according to the example of their fathers. Not even the prospect of punishment by Watanin'wa is as directly effective as a person's ambition to be regarded as a true Yamana by his fellow-tribesmen.

Everyone knows only too well how carefully he is being watched by all the people of his immediate /1006/ and more distant surroundings, how very much in detail his conduct, even in minor, unimportant matters, is discussed and judged by others. Sooner or later everyone learns clearly and definitely how everyone else feels about him and how they evaluate his conduct. The individual succeeds in swaying public opinion in his favor only by absolute, continuous rectitude, in accordance with prevailing customs. That a person's concern about his own good reputation (427)

427. In this respect our Yamana are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 463). Compare Gusinde (1):160.

is much more effective in forcing him to observe the customs of the ancestors than, for example, the threat of police or written laws. Anyone who habitually deviates from the good ways of old loses all esteem and value in the eyes of the people.

b. Social Intercourse

156 Since every Yamana consciously desires to count for some-
577 thing among his fellow-tribesmen and to be spoken of in terms of praise, he tries to accomplish these ends by his mere appearance and manners. He quite obviously makes an effort to be tactful toward everyone and to offend no one; he is anxiously concerned about his whole outward appearance. He is particularly careful to avoid open hostility with anyone, for he might suddenly, by the

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> this attitude. Dabbene (b):197 is still more explicit: "The Yahgans are somewhat meditative, melancholy, and taciturn, especially in the presence of a stranger. No object, even though new to them, is capable of arouning their interest or curiosity. They have a dismal look, like the land that they inhabit, and their physiognomy on all occasions shows complete indifference. For this reason it is very difficult to understand the emotions and feelings that dominate them" /translated from Spanish/.

interpreted as dullness and stupidity. Consciously or unconsciously, this was a false judgment.

The extent to which the Fuegian has cultivated self-control may be seen in his amazing ability to maintain silence. True, this is more calculation than virtue, but it is extraordinarily effective in his contacts with suspicious fellow-tribesmen. Except in cases of obvious and continual offenses against important laws of custom, everyone is cautiously reticent about his judgment of another in the presence of visitors and friends. Even less does he publicly make known his dislike or even hostility, and, cleverly calculating, he lets a large circle of people persist in their erroneous opinion about his relationship to a person. Although such behavior is neither distinguished nor courageous, it avoids unrest and excitement, altercation and quarrels in the group. Everyone is inclined to weigh carefully everything he says, but he is even more strongly impelled to do this by the suspicious alertness with which his every word is examined by others. He is just as careful not to expose anything that might cause other people to judge him negatively. The atmosphere of suspicious fault finding and the [626] tormenting fear of being exposed before one's own kind apparently are deadening pressures on many a circle of men and women and prevent a free exchange of opinion; most of them sit around as though they were utterly unable to speak. To a foreign visitor it seems at first glance as though they were intimidated or frightened and did not dare say anything because of anxious fear or justified

626 /1025/ Nevertheless, properly understood, public opinion
209 could be regarded as the guardian and executor of the individual obligations which universal justice has created. The judgment of the public is reliable and decisive, not that of the individual person who speaks for his own advantage. Public opinion evaluates every concrete detail of traditional custom which is regarded as a reliable and immutable standard. No one concerns himself about purely theoretical considerations. Hence the judgment of public opinion is instantly effective. Anyone whom it concerns must yield to it absolutely and immediately if he wants to save himself from being universally ostracized. This strikes every guilty person harder than severe blows. Our Yamana are unfamiliar with any kind of formal judiciary. Instead, to put it briefly, just action is approved without reservation and every unjust act is definitely condemned by the public. In both cases the public expresses itself loudly and fearlessly, for it has the advantage in any case over the private individual. The great pressure it puts upon a person can be clearly seen from the fear which everyone, not only the average Indian, has of a bad reputation and even more of public ostracism. If he sees himself ensnared by it, he promptly hastens back to the path of virtue and constantly tries with exaggerated zeal to change the bad opinion about him into a good one. None of this matters, however, to a dishonorable person who has lost all sense of shame. In former times such persons were scarcely to be found; only recently, under the influence of some Europeans have they sunk to low that they must avoid the company of their fellow-citizens. An attentive observer does not fail to note this state of affairs since it is so significant. Hyades (q):243 writes: "When they steal among themselves, they seek as much as possible to conceal their thefts; when the culprit is discovered and chastised, public opinion is satisfied. The murderer is ostracized by his compatriots. Isolated from everyone, he is fatally condemned to perish of hunger or someday to fall under the blows of a group of exasperated judges. Mr. Bridges in his conversations with us has put a great deal of emphasis on the importance of public opinion among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. One could speak of public opinion as the guardian of laws and as the avenger of serious transgressions. It acts no less successfully than a police force or a court of justice.

627 In all this the individual is by no means without rights; in

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627 fact, his specific rights are recognized and defended. Sometimes it is definitely up to him to seek his own justice. This is particularly true in case of a murder, and similarly if someone suffers damage to his vital possessions or if his reputation or that of his close relatives and friends is belittled. A person whose own life is threatened or whose close relative falls into the hands of a murderer has a right to exercise club law (442). This is most

[681] 442. Compare Gusinde (ℓ):169. Among the Yamana there is absolutely no trace of an actual death penalty applied in various ways and according to a particular type of crime, as is reported in Outes (g):58.

obviously revealed in the obligation for blood vengeance, which affects a wide circle of people (p. 901). /1026/ Public opinion is the indisputable, sole power that preserves all their arrangements and their traditional customs. It also is the means for providing the individual and the community adequate satisfaction for any injustice which they have suffered. All kinds of proof of this are offered by each of the different age groups and in everyday life with its changing events.

577 Inasmuch as the individual is a member of the whole -- no matter whether this is thought of as a small or large circle -- his •626 honor is also its honor, and from this our Fuegians derive the duty to protect and defend, not only the reputation, but the rights of the other person generally. Everyone must intercede in favor of his relatives and close friends; he must defend their good reputations and their possessions. For example, this implies that in the presence of guests one must not speak disparagingly of their habits or their home districts; should one do so, the guests would immediately have to defend themselves. Following this line one also finds an explanation for the fact that disputes between two or three persons are supposed to be adjusted as soon as possible by those who are close to them. It is even more imperative for everyone to see to it that he is on the best of terms with his relatives, that he does not treat them even in an unfriendly fashion, much less harm them or wrong them. The Yamana use a very meaningful word, according to BD:428, tawirĩ, "to rebuke with much to-do the relatives

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577 or clansmen of a murdered or dead person for neglect or illtreat-
626 ment of him when living" /cited in English/. Bridges (MM:XIII, 153;1879) furnished an account of a noteworthy occurrence: "There was a man named Muriyan. This man has to wife the two sisters of Detamahgan, and as a consequence the two men were much together. But Muriyan was often weary of his dull and unattractive brother-in-law, and was often unkind to him. All very well so long as the man lives, but no sooner is he killed than his connections count up his grievances, and visit with punishment, more or less severe, those who in past times have been specially unkind. Muriyan was in this way called to account, and in hopes of escaping, lived away apart from the places or resort of these he had occasion to fear" /cited in English/. Moreover, this one example shows how the conduct and speech of the individual are closely watched and long remembered. The Yamana never forgets an injustice that he has suffered directly or indirectly.

889 The persons of more advanced age, men and women, are consciously or unconsciously regarded as the representatives and supporters of universal justice and traditional customs. They are shown respect and veneration on all sides. Even Fitz-Roy (a):186 learned that "much respect is said to be paid to age" /cited in English/. The more distinguished and conscientious an old man is, the more he is esteemed, the more willingly /1027/ does one defer to him. This is also true of older women whose words and advice even young men in a larger gathering take seriously. No one would have the audacity to interrupt an old person or to contradict him (442). Quite the contrary, everywhere the old people

442. Fitz-Roy (a):179 writes: "In each family the word of an old man is accepted as law by the young people; they never dispute his authority" /cited in English/. This applies also to every casual group made up of several families.

have the prerogative; when the food is passed around they are served first, the most agreeable place in the hut is left free for them, in their presence the younger people behave inconspicuously

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776 of us will when his hépix leaves his body." There are no pictorial or material representations of his person.

His abode is always far away from the earth and, in the invariable phrase, "high up there" in space. "From this great distance and because of the air space intervening no Yamana can see him. No one knows what he looks like, for he is hépix!" That is all they say about how and where he lives "up there," nor do they picture details in their own imagination.

776 Nevertheless, Wataxinéjwa is close to every human being through a sort of omnipresence attributed to him. This characteristic is expressed more tangibly when he is described as omniscient, so to speak. "He sees everything. -- He knows what everyone is doing. -- He also observes how a person behaves in secret [unobserved by his countrymen]!" I often heard this and similar expressions. In the Xéxaus Chris told me: "He looks down from up there and he punishes here on earth. So he is also on earth! He reaches and punishes every lazy and good-for-nothing human being" (p. 766). When this same Chris was an ufwála in the Xéxaus, his sponsor reminded him: "Heed all this advice faithfully. Wataxinéjwa wishes it; he watches carefully to see whether you will act accordingly" (p. 736). Every candidate is emphatically warned: "Watch out for Wataxinéjwa, never forget him!" The awareness that they are always being watched by him is not without effect on the personal conduct of our Indians.

In the last analysis, this conduct is likewise determined by him through the prevailing customs and traditional habits, in short, through the whole body of moral law, the authorship of which is attributed to him. The Fuegians say very simply and plainly: "Wataxinéjwa wants everyone to behave as has always been customary among us Yamana!" They link with this the conviction that in the beginning these laws were drawn up by him to serve as guides for subsequent generations. With his omniscience

776 he sees to it that they are rigorously observed and he avenges

626 serious transgressions. This type of activity on his part is /1049/

761 most often mentioned because of its perceptible effects. He is maligned as the "murderer up there in heaven," Wilapatsu-ó!, for he causes the untimely death of adults and immature children. He causes everyone to die; hence the persons themselves and their nearest relatives, even the entire group, are punished and hurt.

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776 761 626

He proceeds ruthlessly. He does not desist even in the face of the tenderest age or the bitterest grief and greatest sorrow of a mother. He is truly a Tumu'ikánalu, and the more helpless the poor human being feels, the more passionately he moves against him.

In his weakness the Fuegian is at the mercy of that Ahúshin, that hím hítu Ahúshin, the unlimited mighty one who punishes when and however it pleases him, heedless of the pain and woe of human beings. He alone is lord over the life and death of all. He grants life and therewith the child enters independent existence. He lets everyone have life as long as it pleases him. He takes it away and man dies. By way of punishment he sends a serious illness; he liberates a person from it, but only occasionally. He causes dying "of his own free will, and no influence by natural forces or magic power is capable of prevailing upon him. The dying one resigns himself to the progress of a serious illness without much complaining about his fate. The relatives and friends also yield submissively; they say: "Watsaindwa is much mightier than we, no one can stand up against him. He will carry this one off, we must let it happen, we can only weep!" (Gusinde [4] :161.)

[753]

[12] 776 626

In the same manner he bestows good and bad weather. If he wants to chastise someone, he has him tormented by storm and rain; if he favors someone, he will let him be accompanied by sunshine. He brings success in hunting to the men and success in gathering to the women, but sometimes he also arranges that they both come back empty-handed. In the final analysis, he is the author of every bad and fatal accident. A person who is dealt a severe blow regards it as a personal punishment; whether he is uncomplainingly silent or noisily abusive, he must accept it as one who is utterly defenseless. The threats with which our Indians try to ease their oppressed hearts do not touch that Ahúshin in the least. He does not use physical force, but operates merely by willing something. The Yamana express themselves as follows. For example, a girl was admonished in the fashion: "Begin your day's work early in the morning. Watsaindwa sees every lazybones. Watsaindwa will [as punishment] make you die soon [i.e., prematurely] if you are a lazy lie-abed!" They also say: "He will look at you, then it will soon be all over with you!" Sometimes they also warn: "The one up there is looking at you!" This means: He has designs on you, he has long intended to punish

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TK 66 you. That, as everyone knows /1050/ and must yield to without defense: this Wataqinejwa-sirkin, the very ancient one and the one of boundless strength, "has at his disposal a power which all the Y'amana together are unable to resist, especially not if he arbitrarily takes away our children." They are all convinced: "We must fear him and be on our guard against him!"

The visible world lies in the palm of his hand, "all things belong to him"; he is the lord and the owner of all creation. A Fuegian judges everything around him as Wataqinejwa-sirk, a very common expression. RD:379 translates sirk as: "tolls, goods, property, things in general" /cited in English/. There is a friendly feeling connected with this word formation; according to it every "thing" is a piece of property belonging to the deity (p. 866). Evidently this means living creatures, chiefly the large mammals and the birds. He granted the Yamana all of these for their use and benefit, hence they are a true gift of God to human beings. Everyone may use them, but only to the extent that he needs them for subsistence. To misuse them arbitrarily or to destroy them willfully would be to turn against the intentions of their owner and would evoke his vengeance. "He watches carefully to see that animals are not needlessly killed and that meat does not spoil," but is utilized! The Indians often and in all earnestness impressed these words upon me. Without exception they are punctilious about this rule; I never saw them heedlessly leaving a slain animal lying about.

TK Furthermore, the Fuegians, with unequivocal explanations, make it clear that their Wataqinejwa also holds the fate of men in his hands. It is well known that malevolent spirits and, above all, the yékamuf practice their baleful influence on individuals. The yékamuf have enough power to cause someone to become ill. They may bread mischief, however, only to the extent and as long as Wataqinejwa permits it. Neither a spirit nor a yékamuf can harm a person against the will of the deity. If harm befalls one, he is really personally in favor of it, and he himself is ultimately responsible. If a yékamuf realizes that a serious illness has developed, against which his knowledge is of no avail, on his own initiative he delivers the sick person to Wataqinejwa as the only one left who can help, but since he is, after all, Manaqanikin, everything

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occasion of a death cannot be regarded as a religious ceremony - since this is held primarily because of grief over the loss of a dear relative. The religious heritage of our Indians is never seen by a European visitor, and that alone explains the agreement of all the travelers and missionaries who depicted them as absolutely irreligious (13).

> 13. I often spoke freely with the older men and women about the services and the religious functions to which in earlier days, as children and young people, they were invited with a certain regularity by the missionaries in and outside of the mission stations. Each time I had the impression that it was completely incomprehensible to them how one could please the deity by a public appearance and in an assemblage of many persons. It is much more in keeping with their own frame of mind for an individual to face the Supreme Being by himself and to settle with him alone whatever he has on his mind.

One could probably describe as religious activity in its wider sense the firmly established, equable mental attitude of deep veneration toward /1055/ Watayinéjwa that the individual maintains. Not everyone is always conscious of it, but in some way it has a decisive influence on him to move along certain paths and to be led by universally valid principles. In its effect within the religious sphere this veneration is comparable to what a conscience is in the field of moral obligations, namely, a sort of leitmotiv by which the individual person is led. This mental attitude is the reason for the unchanging acquiescence of the Fuegian to the demands of the moral law. He submits to it without contradiction, although he cannot explain it in any other way than by repeating the well-known saying: "Watayinéjwa sees everything. -- He wants everyone to conduct himself in the way that has always been customary among us Yamana!" For him the rule of conduct lies in this and similar words, and that is why it has not changed through successive generations. It is true that the fear of punishment

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TT often protects this or that person from lapses, but it is really be-
776 cause of the ancient tradition itself that they adhere to its de-
626 mands. No one would ever complain of the tight bonds imposed on free action. On the contrary, the customs of the old people are everywhere highly respected, because ultimately Watayinéwa appears as the guardian of public order.

781 Inasmuch as he must be approached with piety, no one dares
776 repeat his name without a special reason, much less hold it in
195 contempt. If the Supreme Being is mentioned, the Yamana shows decided piety and a certain solemnity in his whole outward bearing when he speaks his name, thus giving the spoken word a marked note of consecration. The various names applied to the deity are never thoughtlessly uttered. Another sign of pious respect is the use of circumlocutions. These are used most often when in the course of a ceremony of mourning an excited person struggles with Manunkin, "the sole mighty one." It is as though he wanted to dampen his improper conduct, as though he would not turn immediately and directly to the familiar deity. The habitual respectful attitude of the Yamana toward the person of the Supreme Being himself forces them, so to speak, to the greatest possible fidelity to tribal custom, particularly the moral obligations, and does not let the thought of contradiction or renunciation arise.

β - Prayers of Supplication

782 The Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 509) are exactly
[TT] alike concerning the form and distinctive character of their religious veneration, but they are /1056/ conspicuously different in the use of prayers and invocations to their deity. Whereas the Selk'nam dedicate to their Temáshel a few more or less freely chosen words only on rare occasions (Vol. I, 510), our Foegiam have at their disposal a long list of established prayer formulas which everyone uses according to the given circumstances. They have adhered to them so strictly that they still repeat them even today, although individual words and expressions are no longer used in daily life and have even become incomprehensible; only the general sense of the whole formula has been preserved.

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517 conditions. Actual barter and the distribution of hunting spoils, reciprocal visits and groups affairs, such as the *lukuage* and *kina*, take place according to definite, unchanging rules. Although tribal members are not united under a common chief (p. 601), they nevertheless feel and act homogeneously, guided and obligated by one and the same tradition which, though unwritten, is like a book of laws. No one would venture to neglect it and go his own way or even less to oppose it with scornful comments. There is actually an unseen power of state (p. 635), even though it is limited.

As is convincingly proved in real life, this long list of rules and regulations is perfectly familiar to every Fuegian; he conforms to it with more or less punctilious faithfulness.

2. Their Originality

517 626 One would be doing the Tamans a grave injustice to disparage or to be suspicious of their honest attitude toward the individual demands of their moral law. The experiences of reliable Europeans contradict the very general accusation of Bridges (b): 206 that they are "immoral and lewd in their behavior and conversation" /translated from Spanish/ (28). Every Fuegian regards

28. Interpretations of their conceptions of morality and their conduct from the obstinately prejudiced point of view of someone like Spegazzini (a):177, for example, do not deserve to be specifically mentioned.

conformity to the demands of the moral precepts as a compulsory obligation. In his youth he is given ample instruction within and outside the family, as well as compulsory training as *ukwale* in the *lukuage*. In later life he is supported and spurred on, even against his own will and personal indolence, by the example of the people generally. Anyone who habitually dared to ignore important rules, especially those pertaining to social intercourse, would be putting himself in an impossible situation. Actually many a person, out of pure human weakness, becomes negligent in his

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S77 626

private duties or drifts into deviations in the field of sexual morality, but he knows it and is made to feel that by doing so he loses the respectful opinion of his neighbors and is avoided by them, as though in punishment. After a time his sense of honor or a threat from the Supreme Being forces him back on the path of duty. There is every indication that these demands of justice, /1091/ and hence the entire situation pertaining to justice, have been preserved unchanged among the Fueguians throughout generations up to the present time (36).

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36. In this respect our Yamana are almost exactly like the Selk'nam. The moral law of the latter has been characterized and explained with an abundance of detail in Volume I, 518. A person who would take the trouble to compare the two would find surprisingly many likenesses and similarities.

S77 776 626

An adequate explanation for the gravity of the demands of justice and the power of universal duty is offered by the reference to the ultimate originator of all this, namely, the Supreme Being himself. Our natives derive the existing custom regarding obligatory rules and laws from Watauineiwa in definite terms. It is he who demands that the individual Yamana "adapt himself [in his conduct through life] as has always been customary," that is to say, according to the principles that he himself issued from the very beginning. The mental make-up of our Fueguians is not the kind that would split hairs over individual conceptions and arrange the result in a complex chain of ideas. A general reference to traditional forms of conduct of their ancestors satisfies their intellect. What has been shown to agree with them is legally valid, and only for this reason. Thus the entire body of moral law rests on the firmest foundation and the compulsion toward duty is given the strongest impetus. This is not changed even by the following minor factor. Now and then I was told, but without noticeable emphasis, "Yahgan let us know how we Yamana should conduct ourselves!" People like to say this to the whites in the Yahgan when they acquaint them with the myths that surround this figure.

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577 TR 61 Thus he is recognized as the deliverer of the regulations that Wenginkwa wants the Tonsna to observe. No one would ever dream of asking what justification Wenginkwa had for putting him and his fellow-citizenses under the restriction of his laws nor of examining their meaning and goal in any way. It is clearly a matter of course for everyone to accept and take into consideration without the slightest objection all the moral regulations in the traditional form handed down from earlier generations or the expression of the will of the Supreme Being.

577 64 This way of thinking implies the close connection between religion and morals (30). Moral duties with their compulsory de-

> 30. This connection could not be closer or firmer, and this alone corrects the opinions collected by Cooper:132 that the two are of different origin.

mands are not suspended in mid-air, but, as has just been said, rest on a firm foundation, from which the exercises for either a dutiful or a faulty act derive their effectiveness. The Tonsna definitely express their conviction that Wenginkwa sees to it that his rules /1082/ are observed and that he punishes serious transgressions (31). The fear of this punishment has beneficial

> 31. According to the Tonsna conception only the guilty one is punished; his crime does not implicate other tribal members. In this sense Bridges (b):330 is right when he maintains: "a wrong that is considered concerns only the agent and the victim" /translated from Spanish/.

effects, although occasionally someone will purposely avoid a mistake so as not to forfeit his good reputation among his people. This is especially true of old people who are always aware of their duty to set a good example to youth. Growing old this, nevertheless the decisive factor in a person's behavior is the judgment of the Supreme Being. Everyone is afraid of his punishment, all the more so there are no helpless and defenseless against him. The

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517 fear of punishment is heightened by the idea that the individual
624 human being has no chance to rectify or be absolved of his transgression in any way, either by prayer or sacrifice. He must yield to whatever fate "that-one-up-there" inflicts upon him. He is Ahaila, the truly strong one towering over all, with whom no one can compete. A person who does his duty, however, feels safe under the benevolence and special protection of Hidhyan; hence he must fare well. An evil-doer, on the other hand, in view of the punishment which is almost sure to follow, will never again feel quite safe. In his evident lack of success in hunting and in all his work he can see clear threats calling for the severest atonement, namely, untimely death. There is also the attitude of fellow-tribesmen against the evil-doer who forgets his duty. They ignore him and obviously avoid associating with him; they cast aspersions on him and warn him about his delinquency. They give him no rest and even pursue him if he is a murderer or adulterer. In such a way the society itself takes part in the prosecution of punishment for a crime. No one, however, speaks of punishment which the culprit is to expect in the other world because in general the Yamana maintain that they do not know what form of existence the soul has there. Thus, since everyone knows that adverse and baleful consequences follow wrong-doing, this knowledge gives a person sufficient strength to stay on the path of universally binding duty.

517 Actually, conditions in the simple social organization of our Fuegians are more orderly, principled, and peaceful than many Europeans might believe, although they neither have a police force and courts of justice nor are under the leadership of chiefs. Their bleak homeland and their meager way of life have made them undemanding and content. Licentiousness and cruelty could not become doctrine among them. There are all kinds of circumstances that lift their personal and general morality above that of other primitive peoples.

060 /1093/ On the preceding pages the position and the relationship of our Fuegians to the deity they recognize have been characterized, as is required by the concept religion in its narrower sense. Their relations with other spirits and mythological personalities, which shall be discussed later, are very different.

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765 may leave the dwellings, make a noise, or play.

If a yamalaŝemûna is to be held anywhere or if it has already been held, the news about it spreads over a wide area. Everyone wants to participate in it. Occasionally a few families are late in joining the mourners. The latter, of course, are always in the mood for this ceremony and, stimulated by them, the new arrivals actually initiate it without delay. If a universally beloved and influential person is being mourned, one yamalaŝemûna follows another at short intervals, perhaps throughout the whole year. There is probably never a cûkapa celebration that does not have a regular yamalaŝemûna on a particular day; the same is true of a lengthy kina festival. The participants, however, then remain in the large assembly but and the customary sham battle is kept within limits.

765 628 The law of blood vengeance (p.898) is in force among our Fuegians and imposes an obligation upon the relatives and friends of the murdered person. They band together and attack the murderer along with his followers. The combat between these two groups is called yamalaŝemûna yûkuna mûja and is obligatory after a murder. It is not impossible, although there is no definite proof, that the customary sham battle which has long been held after every ordinary death or in memory of all the dead at the public yamalaŝemûna is derived from that first struggle after a murder, and that, in the course of time, this has become part of every general ceremony of mourning. The characteristics of the sham battle, especially the reproaches and accusations of the opposing pair, lead one to this assumption.

765 628 The general mourning ceremony always unites several families, and since it occurs often, an individual family takes part in it at least three times a year. Its extraordinary subjective value is obvious. Each yamalaŝemûna inventibly forces the individual to deep inner self-reflection and gravely reminds him of death. All those persons who have already concluded their life on earth come alive once more in his memory; their virtues and shortcomings are discussed and the transgression to which an untimely death is attributed is quite frankly noted. All this causes the individual conscience to be stirred to the depths with self-accusations. Furthermore, it is no less effective that the conduct of the individual is loudly censured during the combat by one or

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another opponent who is permitted this opportunity for /1138/ ruthlessly venting forth his accusations. No one may take offense at being publicly accused. All kinds of things are disclosed in this way and reach the ears of the public: events long past; the quarrels and misdeeds of a murderer and all the members of his family are lengthily and inconsiderately dragged out into the open; the cruel behavior of a husband toward his deceased wife is loudly held up to him and his relatives for the hundredth time; the proved or suspected extra-marital relations of a dissolute woman are thrown in her face without the least remain. Everyone who feels dislike for another or who has quarreled with him singles him out during the sham battle and gives him a piece of his mind. Disagreements between whole groups of families are also revealed and characterized in detail. As one can see, the loud reproaches of the sham battle are acts of undisguised and public conscience-searching of the other party by one who is far from offering palliation! The vivid warning which comes from the near and impending death also shakes up every participant and impels him anew to lead a blameless, orderly life, to make an effort to get along with others and to be on the best of terms with the members of his family, to be helpful to everyone, and in general to cultivate the virtues of a true, proper Tamata. Thus personal conduct and public order are inestimably improved by each yamalahanyne. It is probably with the help of this institution that the general morality of the Tamata has been kept on a surprisingly consistent high level. Even though the motive which impels many a person to censure his opponent publicly may be neither noble nor fine, at any rate the outspoken accusation is not without effect.

The Tamata will not and cannot give up their general ceremonies of mourning as long as they persist in their ancient vague conception of the life of the human soul after death. The separation from each person who is snatched away by death is for them an everlasting farewell. Nelly Lawrence often and definitely assured me in so many words: "The missionaries constantly urged us to give up the long and disturbing gatherings after the death of one of our people. They advised us: 'Don't weep so much, for we shall all see one another again after death!' But

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837 to me about her in very unfavorable terms (in this connection see
177 the account on p. 353 /unvamlated/).

Formerly, as we have said, adulterous acts had to be anxious-
583 ly concealed from the eyes of the injured partner. If a man caught
837 his wife, he thrashed her soundly and watched her more closely
627 after that. If, moreover, he learned the identity of the other guilty party, he beat him if he was a match for him, or he summoned his own relatives to help (86). In any case he left the

86. Martial:199 describes the punishment of an adulterer which he himself observed in Orange Bay.

vicinity with his undependable wife. Many a man only gradually recovered from his wife's misstep and only after he had repeatedly thrashed her (87). It never went so far as conscious killing:

87. According to Hyades (p):326 and (d):309, "Adultery of the wife is punished by beatings which the husband or her parents inflict on the guilty party and her accomplice" /translated from French/.

there is the possibility, however, that a woman may have succumbed as a result of heavy blows (88). It very seldom happened

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88. Martial:199 and also Dabbene (b):189 express themselves in the same vein. It is not correct to speak of actual murder on the part of the husband. The assertion by Outes (g):58 is as false as it is emphatic.

that a man dismissed his faithless wife forever solely because of this offense, even though she may have stayed with her lover for a time and later returned to the hut of her lawful husband (89). If, however, it could be proved that she became

89. Martial:199 tells of an adulteress who

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586 drives away a young wife from her husband, even though she has children, which sometimes are taken by the father if he loves them, and otherwise by the mother" /cited in English/. Not even the children of the couple prevent a divorce if the woman is repeatedly in danger of being mistreated. She herself does not complain to her own husband, but suffers silently. One of her male [604] relatives, however, above all her uncle, goes to him and reminds him of his duty. If repeated admonitions are fruitless, he threatens to remove the wife. She finally runs away with the help and under the protection of her relatives.

She often urgently needs this protection because the disappointed husband will not willingly give her up, but pursues her or 586 578 constantly threatens her. On December 20, 1875, Bridges wrote: 627 "Hidugalahgoon came here with a wife, that had been the wife of a man who had been very violent to her. Her mother was her fellow wife. She has two children by her former husband. The young fellow seemed very fond of her, and she of him; he had many friends here whom he was diligent to move in his favour by descanting upon the cruelties of the man, he feared, to his wife... The Easterns soon came up, and clustered around Philip's dwelling, where Hidugalahgoon and his wife lived. They began speaking quietly, and becoming more excited, gradually became vociferous and beat the woman, and compelled her to return to her former husband. But she would not stay, and then took shelter with Stephen. Thence again she was forced to come, but she was determined to kill her child; several evenings there was turmoil over this matter, and once considerable fighting. I took up the matter, and stated God's holy will on the subject, but the woman was very obstinate and would not return. Her late husband then gave her up, but required some compensation, for he felt, in losing his young wife, he had lost much. Being consulted by Hidugalahgoon, I advised that he should, under the circumstances, give what he could to restore peace" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 80;1875) (100).

100. A few months previously, on July 30, 1875, he experienced another incident: "A young man, commonly called Tom Post, is son-in-law to a native of this place. Last autumn several disturbances took place here,

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caused principally by him. He ill-treated his wife, who was so offended that she refused to live with him, and took up her abode with her parents, who warmly took up her cause. He had also grieved his wife by other gross misconduct. There was accordingly a great disturbance, in which very many were concerned, and Tom Pott had his head badly wounded. He came to me to get it bound up, when I took the opportunity to reason with him. In his great rage against his wife (who is also a bad character) and her relatives he was blind to his own faults; he promised amendment. He said he would remain single" /cited in English/ (MM: IX, 191;1875).

The position of the run-away wife can become unpleasant if the relatives of her lawful husband are numerous and bold, for they naturally take his part.

586 /690/ The woman, also, though less frequently, may be the cause of dissolution of the marriage. If she is so uncommonly lazy and careless that the whole family suffers badly, the man is forced to look for another partner. To his chagrin, the wife nevertheless does not leave, and he can do nothing but drag her along whether he likes it or not. An incapacity to work because of illness or old age never leads to divorce, for the man is at liberty to take a young, healthy woman besides his first wife. An unbearable disposition which the woman may develop in the course of the years can torture a man to such an extent that he has no other recourse but to flee into the arms of another person. No one stops him. A general rule
586 forbids a person to interfere in the marital affairs of relatives. It
602 is only when a woman is mistreated that an uncle or some other relative will definitely take her part (101); the situation is different if she runs away.

101. Bridges (a):202 emphatically expressed this principle: "A father-in-law or brother-in-law does not take his daughter's or sister's part against her husband, unless he severely injures

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601 192 daughter, the one before all others." sāpa, "blood" (11, 50. 51; 22, 44), sāpa, do., sāpan(ī)a, "to menstruate," tiri, "the first menstruation, "wēlix, "menses." kīmūakīpa, "a woman who is convalescing after a severe illness" (fam.).

auakōšandaulumūa kōnjin, "he is a man who does not belong to my family or to my place." auakōšan hai annū, "I am a man who is not closely related to him." mamāgwīamalim, "a man and his children, the whole family." matūkwīamalim, "a man and his wives who are related to one another. annū mamōkus šōndaian, "those who are brothers and sisters to one another, they are brothers," mamōkus-pai, "two who are brothers," mamōkus-yamalim, "brothers, companions." mamāgū(pai), "a father and his sons, a mother and her sons." hauiyama' ūsi-ndaulum ūa, "a man from my region."

maaimpai, maaimyamalim, "two and more who are brothers." maaikīpāpai, maaikīpaimalim, "two and more who are sisters."

anīfali, "a person who has little influence or is unprotected against injustice because most of his male relatives are dead." arūgo, "orphan," ārūkūfki, ārūkū(a), "one who has neither father nor mother, a double orphan."

wōšakīya, orphan boy
yōšōla, an orphaned child
pillus sons and daughters of someone murdered (m.)
tauwōlūwa, a man in mourning for child, parents, brother, or sister

wōsakīyakīpa, orphan girl
yōšōlakīpa, a double orphan
pillušīpan, daughters of someone murdered (m.)
tauwōlūwīkīpa, a woman in mourning for child, parents, brother, or sister

/792/

tōpōr(ūw)a, father or brother of someone murdered

tōpōrakīpa, a mother of someone murdered, her son or sister /sic; daughter/, her brother or sister

tōpōra, "relatives, such as mother or father and brothers and sisters, of someone murdered." tōpōrana, "the obligation to exact vengeance on the murderers of someone's child or brother or sister." mēalōlāpai, "two persons, boys, who are orphans."

[627] hikapillus, hikōška, "a boy whose father or mother drowned."

[603] ūsiluīwa, an expression applied to a place instead of its real name, out of respect for the dead person who was named after it.

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622 single person with legal authority at the head of the whole tribe or the individual groups. Here we do not even have the institution of the kemil of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 423).

Similarly there is no authoritative judge over all the people; 692 everyone must seek his own justice. He finds aid and support 627 among his circle of kinsmen in cases of legal disputes. The settlement of a dispute is determined more or less by club law. Everyone is dependent upon himself and his nearest kinsfolk for his defense; for, as Despard (b):716 assures us, "in Fireland is no king or magistrate. All men have equal rights and equal wrongs" /cited in English/. Decisions are, of course, not always just, and the absence of a non-partisan public authority based on legal principles damages character and weakens the sense of justice. Many inequalities with serious consequences develop on this foundation. Stirling has mentioned some of them: "This absence of chieftainship gives the violent spirits a better social position than they deserve, and a more dangerous sphere. It is left to individuals to avenge wrongs, at least for the most part; the strength and composure of a defined public opinion, vindicating right and proceeding to punish the wrong-doer are only exceptionally known. The law of the strongest prevails" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34; 1870).

It is to their own advantage that this Fuegian population is peacefully inclined. Outbreaks of violence in cases of legal disputes always affect /803/ only small circles and even this is infrequent. Among most of them an honest effort to be righteous and to observe tribal customs largely prevail. Infractions of the general feeling of justice and violations of the freedom of others seldom occur.

557 Among the Yamana there is no superior authority appointed 899 by law, either for the entire tribal community or for smaller 888 groups. There are always certain men, however, who, as a result of their advanced age and blameless character, their long experience and mental superiority, have a moral influence of such importance that it amounts to positive control (235). Thus

235. Fitz-Roy (a):178 realized: "There is no superiority of one over another, except that

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156 598 incomprehensible to us. They lose their equanimity particularly in cases of intentional insults and humiliations. This is even more true in instances of a serious offense against their own rights and especially of murder, each case of which is sooner or later avenged if the culprit does not atone for it in time. Almost no one quietly endures insults, no matter how small; instead, he uses the first good opportunity to obtain satisfaction. One must realize, however, that a person is able to wait years for this, and he may take his revenge at a time when the other party has almost completely forgotten the incident. Since the Yamana have such /966/ character traits, less serious brawls between individuals and between small groups are by no means rare. Bridges (i):13 has correctly characterized them as "very quarrelsome and touchy and the weaker were very careful not to offend the stronger and were very courteous in their manners and language, often dissembling with smiles and words of peace their hatred and disapproval" /cited in English/.

627 Since the entire tribe is broken up into very small family communities or hordes (p. 630), it is impossible from the start for considerable masses of people to band together for battles or wars. Inasmuch as actual revenge for murder is obligatory for the nearest kin of the murdered person, the matter is settled only between them and the opposite party. In any case, however, such occurrence rare in comparison with the above-mentioned quarrels. It would be entirely mistaken to assume that this ethnic group composed of several large divisions is constantly at war with its own kind. By nature they are anything but pugnacious, no matter how vengeful they are and how jealously sensitive of their personal honor. Anxious concern about their daily food requirements leaves them little time for the troublesome effort of constantly or almost constantly lying in wait for a hostile division.

648 We need not repeat here anything about the relations of our Yamana with the Selk'nam (p. 234 /untranslated/), whom they generally met with apprehension, and with their western neighbors (p. 241 /untranslated/) whom they feared as cannibals (405). Their

405. Hyades (q):240 speaks without sufficient proof of an alleged hatred which "shows itself especially with regard to the neighboring peoples, Alakaloof /Alacaluf/ that is often bloody"

/989 cont./

seriously and habitually. The same serious situation arises when a woman leaves her husband, for she usually tries to steal away because of a love affair with another man.

The thirst for revenge is, of course, most deeply aroused by an actual, premeditated murder, and nothing sets families against each other so violently as this act. For the Yamana every human life, even that of a child, is most precious and sacred (Bridges [b]:200), hence murder is an utterly abhorrent deed (408). There

408. In this connection compare our account of infanticide (p. 528) and abortion (pp. 491, 535).

are exceptions, however. Most murders come about through adultery. For example, if a married man is looking for a new tie and leaves his wife without cause, her relatives take her part, and they demand that the faithless husband give an account of himself or they simply take the law into their own hands and murder him. They say: "This woman joined herself to this man and they should live together to the end of their lives; since he failed in his duty, he must be punished!" Divorce without adequate cause is an offense against a generally recognized law. Each murder of this kind unleashes a serious /990/ danger for another human life because of the obligation for blood vengeance, and the danger is even greater in the case of a murder for an insignificant reason (409). In view

409. Bridges (VSA:XI, 260;1864) mentions: "If a man kills another causelessly, his relations are greatly displeased, since it brings each one of them into danger. This is a great preventive to blood-shedding" /cited in English/.

of the dangerous position one puts himself into by an act of murder, the individual holds himself in check, even on occasions of greatest excitement and the almost unconquerable passion for revenge.

It must be said that murder is rare among the Yamana, although we cannot give exact figures (Cooper:174). On June 20, 1884, Bridges (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884) attempted some statistics on murder:

/990 cont./

266 though, as we know, they set great store by a dog. Whenever I
/991/ wanted to discuss anthropophagy with them, they persistently refused because of aversion and disgust, and they shook their heads as a sign that they regard such a thing as impossible even among other peoples.

627 578 Every murder, no matter how the murderer justifies or excuses himself, brings revenge in its wake and usually involves a number of persons. Details will be given below. The yĕkamuŭ with his machinations is a by no means surprising cause of serious quarrels. It would be premature to go into that at this point; his behavior must first be described in detail, which will be done later. Hostilities and acts of murder arising from his interference are, as usual, settled by the parties involved and with the help of friendly yĕkamuŭ. Thus, the causes of discord and disputes among the Yamana are the same as among other peoples; in view of their character traits, the causes are primarily "insult, theft, adultery, and the death of a relative" /cited in English/ according to Lothrop (b):164 and Hyades (q):374. Mistreatment of the wife should be added. In general, quarrels and discord are not prolonged and sooner or later they are settled again. As has already been reported in Outes (g):59, "small differences are settled among themselves without much difficulty" /translated from Spanish/.

b. Ordinary Quarrels

578 The Yamana certainly are extraordinarily irascible and vengeful; sometimes they simply cannot control themselves and are little amenable to appeasing words. They are neither warlike nor combative by nature, however. This characterizes their natural inclination, but it by no means denies that they easily become involved in quarrels and brawls. "They are," as Hyades (q):374 confirms, "very susceptible and, as a result, inclined to quarrels and strife" /translated from French/. Their predominant tendency is to live in peace with others as much as possible and not to become involved in disputes. This is the sole reason why a family will sometimes remain hidden for years and have no contact, or almost none, with any of their countrymen. Despard

/992 cont./

578 or less furious, according to the nature of the combatants. Women, after a brief battle of words, flare up more quickly, seize each other more brutally, bite some part of the body, strike with their fists against mouth and nose and scuffle while pulling very painfully and convulsively on a thick bunch of hair. They do not say anything, but merely hiss and groan. Usually men or other women must pull the raging pair apart. From the start, men try to keep hostile women away from each other. Therefore, the women take advantage of a lonely meeting in the woods or on the beach, where they can really show each other their mutual dislike. Not every man is sufficiently confident of his strength and courage to fight with his opponent (413), and therefore he consciously avoids

> 413. Nevertheless, Bove (c):159 has correctly observed: "Quarrels and fights are common, even in Uschuwaia itself, so that, after one has spent a few days there, their occurrence is no longer surprising."

the other's presence and finally forgets unimportant annoyances, but he always avoids coming in contact with someone who might involve him in a brawl.

627 We insert here an incident that Bridges (i):13 noted in his diary: "Ushuaia, March 24th, 1872. Hatuswaianges very ill from the effect of injuries received from Couiluj who was jealous of him (414). March 28th. This morning Hatuswaianges died.

> 414. He suspected him of adulterous relations with his wife, according to Bridges (MM:VI, 125; 1872). On May 20, 1872, he (loc. cit.) described this quarrel in more detail.

He has been in a very dull state...I fear that the violence of Couiluj has caused his death. March 31st. There have been some few demonstrations of anger by one and another for the death of Hatuswaianges and Couiluj has had to give away his blubber and other things, and in other ways to suffer. 8th [April]. Today a party of 16 canoes arrived with intent to avenge the death of Hatuswaianges, /993/ Couiluj made his escape...The occupants

/993 cont./

627 of the 16 canoes, having landed, lost no time in meeting the people here. All on both sides, men and women, were armed with sticks, spears or paddles and all who were connected with Hatuwaianges or Couiluj indicated the same by the paint on their faces. They hastened on and Meacol presented himself as the chief object of their revenge, being the nephew on his mother's side of the manslayer...There was much shouting and rushing about, great noise and confusion, much threatening and fierceness of manner, but very few blows. Meacol, after the affair was over, was obliged to lay down the principal of his possessions to further appease the angry feelings of the dead boy's relatives...July 11th. Went to seek Couiluj who has been hurt by a cousin of the boy Hatuwaianges of whose death he was the cause. His head is much hurt and he received several blows about the body" /cited in English/.

518 The fight between two men sometimes starts in a flash and is usually over after a few minutes. In the case of particularly angry opponents who are a match in strength it sometimes lasts longer, and now and then others are also embroiled, for anyone who sees his relative or friend fighting an opponent immediately comes to his aid. Thus, from a single fight a disorderly scuffle of two groups developes, and in the end even the women join in. A fight between individuals is the most common, however. The two seize each other by the throat, wrestle, scratch each other's faces, use their fists indiscriminately, grasp the head of their opponent in an effort to break his neck, and spend their strength. The individuals on the periphery of the entanglement attach themselves to the convulsively locked pair or seize stones and sticks which they hurl with great force. Even the wildest brawls of this kind die down after a few minutes. Panting and groaning, the excited opponents withdraw and creep into their huts where they sink down exhausted and thereafter do not even mention the fight again. This is precisely the course of most of the fights. Of course if people notice that the two
519 opponents are becoming excited and show signs of preparing for a scuffle, they try to calm them with amicable words, hide their weapons, and forcibly keep them apart, but such mediation is not always possible. The situation is actually just as Bridges (VSA:XI, 260; 1864) has described it: "A single combat often ends in two whole families fighting together, when they try not to kill, but

/993 cont./

579 to merely subdue" /cited in English/. In the same vein Hyades (q):374 adds: "All weapons are then good for the fight: fists, stones, sticks, slings, harpoons, arrows" /translated from French/.

As an example here is an account of a fight reported by Bridges (AM.XIII, 153; 1879) on March 7, 1879, which arose from unhappy marital conditions: "One day, a certain man named Richard Ahmoodumoonan, who has taken Joe's sister to wife, and through her and his own evil passions brought himself /994/ into much turmoil, went down to Jominaze wigwam to fetch his eloped wife. He went in a very threatening manner, with spear in hand, into a hornet's nest. The ill-will of her relatives had often been stirred up by his violence to her, and now seeing him come among them in this threatening manner, their evil passions overflowed all bounds and a savage assault was made. Richard's friends came to his aid, and a scene of universal broil and violence was the result. It occurred during the dinner hour. As usual I rang the bell for work, but no workmen appearing, I rang a second time; still none came. At last Samuel came up to tell me all the people were in a great uproar, and had hurt each other very much" /cited in English/.

Such brawls -- there is no other name for these quarrels -- are neither premeditated nor carried out according to a specific pattern (415). It would be inaccurate to speak of actual battles;

> 415. "When they fight, it is generally an affray of wough, stones, spears, and clubs, with many on both sides" /cited in English/, according to Bridges (a):207. This missionary has a number of times expressed himself in these words, and he is quite right.

"among the Yahgans there are never expeditions of war" /translated from French/, according to Hyades (q):374.

• 627 These public brawls and noisy scuffles are clearly distinct from the particular hostilities which I should like to characterize as consciously premeditated acts of revenge, with which someone will settle an injustice from far in the past. It is either despondency and cowardice or the knowledge of his opponent's superior strength

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that makes a healthy act seem advisable to a person. This is a favorite procedure of the yékamuš. The following method has proved successful. A person who wishes to do away with his opponent incomprehensibly will discuss his plan with two or three trusted friends. One day they invite the opponent in the most unobtrusive way possible to accompany them on a hunt for young or full-grown cormorants. The other may not and will not refuse the invitation because of the compulsory rules of social intercourse. Unsuspecting, he has himself be tied to a rope at the top of the steep rock wall and slides down (p. 238). At the proper moment and without any kind of signal, his adversaries cut the rope at the top, and he plunges down and breaks his neck. These malefactors afterwards tell other people that the man, due to his own carelessness, was killed on the cormorant hunt. Spears: 68 mentions this stealthy procedure, as Outes (p. 58 did earlier, and is right in calling it "a favorite way of killing an enemy" /cited in English/; this method, however, is rarely used.

The plant kingdom offers not a single efficacious poison, but the blubber of the grampus špíačí (Orca magellanica), a pilot fish of the large cetaceans (p. 37 /untranslated/), is regarded as poisonous. I was assured, confidentially, that this blubber had been given now and then, its efficaciousness having been discovered long ago. Masemikens told me the following story which is widespread. Once in the west several people found a dead špíačí lying on the beach. /295/ Its meat and fat were still fresh, so some of them ate some of it. Soon afterward these people died. Once Hiwaten also came to this place. He was a crafty man. Before he ate, he wanted to find out whether this fat caused death. Unobtrusively he gave a man a small piece of it. The man immediately died. Thereupon he said to himself: "Good, that serves my purpose!" He took a large piece of fat from the špíačí, cut it into small pieces, and filled a pouch made of the stomach of a ášuf (Chloéphaga hybrida). Then he returned to the east. If he wanted to kill someone, he stealthily stuck a small piece of the fat from the špíačí into the person's food. He did this several times and a number of men died. Hiawaten was quite generally hated and avoided because of his malevolent disposition. -- Thus it was through him that the actual or alleged strength of this poison became known.

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c. The Commonweal

627 The Yamana are linked together in a definitely circumscribed area by a common language and a uniform way of life, but as a whole they are not under the administration of an authoritative person (p. 906), nor are the various groups, large or small, led by a chief (p. 602). In reality there are a number of strong but invisible forces which command with coercive force and which without doubt must be deemed a supreme power. This imposes order upon relationships which lie outside the organization of the sole social structure, the family, and for which the public, so to speak, is responsible. In this category belong the administration of justice and many obligations or customs which have already been discussed. The public itself is responsible for the enforcement of individual regulations and vigilantly backs them.

1. Rules of Justice

183 627 The coherence of our Fuegian society is possible only on the basis of a conception of justice which protects each person and at the same time obligates him, both in an effective manner. Everyone retains his personal freedom and a far-reaching independence, but, along with these, there are also many obligations anchored in universal justice. One must not underestimate their number; moreover, like a net, they encompass all relationships. For example, these obligations determine the everyday life of the man and woman, the mutual relations of husband and wife, parents and children, closest relatives, local groups, and dialect groups, the public education of young people outside the family in the čiyaus, and the further education of boys in the kina; they secure material possessions and personal safety from any kind of danger. This system of justice is not written, and no one can boast of being permitted to administer it. It simply exists and is supported by the public, which sustains justice and guards against its being altered. Expressed in a few general formulas, it is traced back to Watauineiwa as its source, which determines its immutability and its binding force.

626 208 /1018/ Nevertheless, properly understood, public opinion could be regarded as the guardian and executor of the individual obligations which universal justice has created. The judgment of the public is reliable and decisive, not that of the individual person who speaks for his own advantage. Public opinion evaluates every concrete detail of traditional custom which is regarded as a reliable and immutable standard. No one concerns himself about purely theoretical considerations. Hence the judgment of public opinion is instantly effective. Anyone whom it concerns must yield to it absolutely and immediately if he wants to save himself from being universally ostracized. This strikes every guilty person harder than severe blows. Our Yamana are unfamiliar with any kind of formal judiciary. Instead, to put it briefly, just action is approved without reservation and every unjust act is definitely condemned by the public. In both cases the public expresses itself loudly and fearlessly, for it has the advantage in any case over the private individual. The great pressure it puts upon a person can be clearly seen from the fear which everyone, not only the average Indian, has of a bad reputation and even more of public ostracism. If he sees himself ensnared by it, he promptly hastens back to the path of virtue and constantly tries with exaggerated zeal to change the bad opinion about him into a good one. None of this matters, however, to a dishonorable person who has lost all sense of shame. In former times such persons were scarcely to be found; only recently, under the influence of some Europeans have they sunk so low that they must avoid the company of their fellow-tribesmen. An attentive observer does not fail to note this state of affairs since it is so significant. Hyades (op:243 writes: "When they steal among themselves, they seek as much as possible to conceal their thefts; when the culprit is discovered and chastised, public opinion is satisfied. The murderer is ostracized by his compatriots; isolated from everyone, he is fatally condemned to perish of hunger or someday to fall under the blows of a group of extemporaneous judges. Mr. Bridges in his conversations with us has put a great deal of emphasis on the importance of public opinion among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. One could speak of public opinion as the guardian of laws and as the avenger of serious transgressions. It acts no less successfully than a police force or a court of justice.

627 In all this the individual is by no means without rights; in

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627 fact, his specific rights are recognized and defended. Sometimes it is definitely up to him to seek his own justice. This is particularly true in case of a murder, and similarly if someone suffers damage to his vital possessions or if his reputation or that of his close relatives and friends is belittled. A person whose own life is threatened or whose close relative falls into the hands of a murderer has a right to exercise club law (442). This is most

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442. Compare Guinde (f.):169. Among the Yamana there is absolutely no trace of an actual death penalty applied in various ways and according to a particular type of crime, as is reported in Outes (g):58.

obviously revealed in the obligation for blood vengeance, which affects a wide circle of people (p. 901). /1926/ Public opinion is the indisputable, sole power that preserves all their arrangements and their traditional customs. It also is the means for providing the individual and the community adequate satisfaction for any injustice which they have suffered. All kinds of proof of this are offered by each of the different age groups and in everyday life with its changing events.

577 626 Inasmuch as the individual is a member of the whole -- no matter whether this is thought of as a small or large circle -- his honor is also its honor, and from this our Fueglans derive the duty to protect and defend, not only the reputation, but the rights of the other person generally. Everyone must intercede in favor of his relatives and close friends; he must defend their good reputations and their possessions. For example, this implies that in the presence of guests one must not speak disparagingly of their habits or their home districts; should one do so, the guests would immediately have to defend themselves. Following this line one also finds an explanation for the fact that disputes between two or three persons are supposed to be adjusted as soon as possible by those who are close to them. It is even more imperative for everyone to see to it that he is on the best of terms with his relatives, that he does not treat them even in an unfriendly fashion, much less harm them or wrong them. The Yamana use a very meaningful word, according to BD:428, tawirĕ, "to rebuke with much to-do the relatives

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273 578 We should also mention that the present-day Yamana almost without exception partake avidly of alcohol whenever they can get it. When intoxicated, they quickly lose control over themselves, become pugnacious, and get into noisy, brutal quarrels, in which many a man has been badly wounded, made a cripple, or forfeited his life. Even the gentle, quiet Richard killed his first wife in a state of complete drunkenness, so Fred Lawrence declared. Such derangement with serious consequences was unknown in the better olden times.

c. Blood Vengeance

628 Premeditated, serious brawls between two large groups are always the result of a murder. Inasmuch as a person's life is regarded as precious and not to be harmed (p. 880), murder is considered a most execrable deed which, for lack of an existing judicial power, must be avenged by the nearest relatives of the unfortunate victim. Blood vengeance in this case, therefore, is the equivalent of a demand for expiation of the crime which caused the death of a member of the tribe. It does not matter in the least whether death occurred immediately or some time after an attack. This idea of blood vengeance is complemented by the duty of the nearest relative of a victim to carry it out personally or to take part in carrying it out. All adults are in complete agreement on this point.

Without doubt, the fear of strict and inescapable expiation for every murderous deed contributes to everyone being carefully on guard to avoid it. Bridges (MM:IX, 215;1875) confirms this: "Fear is the powerful agent, fear of man, fear of death; without the latter there would not be the former to any profitable degree. A man is restrained from taking life by fear, fear of his friends, as well as dread of those whose vengeance he has incurred by taking the life of one of their kin. For according to native usage, and necessarily springing from it, all the kindred /996/ of a murderer are held as sharers of his offence, and frequently suffer in his stead. For though they (selfishly) may be ever so angry with their relatives, the murderer, for thus making them liable, yea, not only liable, but certain to be partners of his punishment, yet they will not give him up to death, but will avenge his death if he is killed" /cited in English/.

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628 As we have said, there is among the Yamana a clear and definite duty for blood vengeance, which quite generally falls upon the nearest kin of the victim. On July 29, 1859, Despard (VP:VII, 9;1860) noted: "My lads told me that the law of retaliation for murder exists in their country, and is executed by the nearest of kin" /cited in English/. Soon after this he (b):698 adds: "A murderer must expect, sooner or later, to be killed by the blood-avenger, and next of kin to the victim" /cited in English/. This way of expressing himself is rather vague. Actually, the murderous deed incenses everyone who for one reason or another was close to the victim, and together they more or less furiously strike out in revenge. Moreover, the Yamana feel that there are no limits to the measure of punishment, in case the guilty one remains alive. Bridges, on March 7, 1879, summarized these ideas, which the missionaries saw exemplified a number of times, as follows: "Fuegian etiquette and custom require that all the relatives of a murdered person should be hot and frantic in their angry demonstrations, and that they should visit their displeasure upon every connexion of the manslayers, each personally. Thus a man may be much hurt by a party of enraged and demon-like avengers, and though the poor fellow may have suffered ten times more than he deserved, yet another party of avengers who had not punished him themselves would not let him escape in virtue of what he had already suffered, but would, moved by their own lust of vengeance, and prescribed custom, wreak upon him further punishment. Or suppose a man has many things, and the avengers are willing to except /sic/ gifts in lieu of their right to the infliction of suffering, then every avenger expects some gift from every person liable by family connection quite as much as by participation in guilt. Thus such a season is quite a harvest time to the aggrieved party if they have power to press their claim" /cited in English/. This means, in short, that for the rest of his life a murderer cannot escape from the importunities and demands of each of the relatives and acquaintances of his victim. In short, Bridges (e):332 emphasizes: "The duties of vengeance were strictly carried out."

The murderer's deed has grave consequences not only for him, but also for all his kin and his intimate circle of friends. The avengers, however, pounce directly on the one actually guilty. The latter, realizing what is in store for him, always flees as quickly as

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628 possible or, hidden by his relatives, remains under cover. Hence the avengers attack the first person they meet who has connections with the killer. They are to a certain extent justified, for, although the relatives of a criminal do not in the least condone his murderous act, nevertheless the mutual /997/ ties of family solidarity are so close and strong that they not only refuse to hand him over to the opponents, but even protect and defend him against them (416). This does not prevent them from being extremely

416. Bridges (MM:IX, 215;1875) confirms this: "Society, as here is constituted, supports, aids, protects, not the innocent or injured, but each clan its member, guilty or not guilty" /cited in English/.

angry with him, precisely because, by his fateful deed, he has put them all in a very embarrassing and disquieting situation, indeed, even in serious danger (417). Truly, a murderer can no longer enjoy

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417. "A murderer imperils all his friends and connections more or less, and consequently estranges them from himself" /cited in English/ (Bridges, MM:XIII, 154;1879).

life, for not only the associates of his victim give him no peace, but even his own relatives never cease their reproaches. The whole group to which he belongs scorns him, pushes him aside, and positively casts him out (418). Everyone will agree with Bridges (MM:

418. "In general," as Dabbene (b):198 asserts, "one who kills is deserted by everyone in the tribe and he must take refuge in the woods in order to live" /translated from Spanish/.

XIII, 154;1879) who characterizes this state of affairs, in its importance for the general safety of life, as "the greatest safeguard to human life we can conceive. I have witnessed the anxiety of men's minds after a quarrel, when any have been seriously injured, to

/997 cont./

628 know how the injured party is doing when fears are felt for his death,
626 and I have heard them express the horrible sensations which creep over them when the sense of blood-guiltiness is likely to be charged against them" /cited in English/. The attention of the people in general and of every individual group is earnestly directed toward preventing any murderous deed.

628 Whenever such an act occurs, the nearest relatives of the victim adopt a special facial painting. Despard (VP:VII, 9:1860) (419)
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419. Earlier Fitz-Roy (a):177 noted: "White feathers, or white down, on the fillet, is a sign of hostility, or of being prepared for war. Their white paint is added to the red when preparing for war; but the marks made are mere daubs, of the rudest, if of any design. Black is the mourning colour" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):198 and Hyades (q):375 write in a similar vein.

has already mentioned "white stripes dotted with black, in regular rows on the face" /cited in English/. Sometimes the whole body is uniformly smeared with black. All other persons who are close to the deceased also paint themselves in some way, but usually are satisfied with a few red, white, and black lines on their faces, in an arbitrary pattern. Around their foreheads they tie a narrow strip of skin with down, apawē-a. In doing this they are following a custom that is general when death occurs. The actual decoration signifying a murder consists of several vertical red lines on the face, spreading out in rays from the level of the eyes.

628 The persons concerned set about spreading the news of the murderous deed without delay and, along with reliable friends, form a fighting group, for the duty of blood vengeance hammers insistently on everyone's conscience. It applies to every friend and relative, as is shown by the specific /998/ term matāja-magūwa, "a man against whom persons have a grudge and purpose to fight with and punish because he did not take up his and their murdered friend's cause as he ought" /cited in English/ (BD:306). When a considerable horde of avengers has banded together, the opponents,

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who anxiously watch every development, know it, and they, too, assemble in as great a number as possible. When both parties feel equal to each other, they prepare a regular attack. The able-bodied men and women get into their canoes, after they have provided themselves with ample supplies of stones and weapons (420).

> 420. I have nowhere found confirmed what Fitz-Roy (a):196 maintains: "When the Fuegians are inclined to attack an enemy with stones, they generally try to raise a breastwork of boughs or logs" /cited in English/. Another fact which he (a):186 mentions, however, is correct: "Hostilities are usually carried on with slings and stones rather than by close encounters" /cited in English/. Compare Bove (e):158 and Lothrop (b):164.

Persons who are old and feeble and children must remain behind in the camp. Usually it quite naturally happens that a capable yékamuš or a clever, reckless fellow commands and leads the whole group. As a rule, the persons who were associated with the dead person paint their whole bodies black, and the opposing group, red.

The canoes then push off from shore and arrange themselves in an exact row so that their keels form a straight line, each about two meters apart. The so-called commander is very much on the alert to make sure that no canoe gets out of line. If it does, he hurls a stone from his sling into the water in front of the canoe as a warning. Thus lined up, the two fighting groups approach each other. During the slow journey, they stir up their excitement and fighting lust by means of loud talk, agitated gestures, and insulting calls directed at the opponents. When they are only about 20 meters apart, both sides begin hurling stones from their slings. When the two groups are close enough, they begin a furious scuffle, for as soon as the canoes touch lengthwise, the men face to face beat each other with clubs and poles, spears and harpoons. Meanwhile the women, paddling and maneuvering on either side, keep the boats of the fighting men close together. Soon the men shift over to actual wrestling; they seize each other and tug hard, opposing one

/998 cont./

another until both fall down or one falls overboard or the canoe slips away. In all this the women have a difficult task and are especially concerned with keeping their vessel from capsizing, since the men's movements are violent and completely unpredictable. The previous exact arrangement of the canoes is soon broken up, because, from the start, the group of attackers aims to get at the actual murderer among the opponents. When they see him, they noisily turn their entire attention to him and push toward him. The others take note of their movements and try to cover the murderer as much as possible. If the attackers succeed in getting hold of him, /999/ they beat him furiously and mercilessly. If he does not actually succumb, mortally wounded, he will at least be crippled (421). This is enough to satisfy the attackers, and they

421. Hyades (q):375 maintains that "the bodies of the slain enemies are often mutilated" /translated from French/. Among the Yamana it is not customary to mutilate the corpse of an enemy deliberately.

soon withdraw from the fight and return to their camp on the shore. The others, if they are not superior in strength, breathe a sigh of relief that some other person close to the murderer did not lose his life.

As the two groups separate, they continue to scold and sneer loudly, to hurl mockery and abuse, and to reproach each other for a long time. One person or another has suffered serious wounds, perhaps a canoe was shattered, or a fighter even drowned. In any case, each group was so hard hit that the injuries they have suffered are quite enough and they long for rest.

The lust for revenge, however, quickly flares up again if, for some reason, the murderer was not subdued. His relatives and adherents hide him or guard him in a hideout (422), but the others

422. In connection with this Bridges (VSA:XI, 260; 1864) says: "A murderer is generally disliked, but they very often escape their merited end" /cited in English/.

/999 cont./

628 will not rest until one of them succeeds, perhaps only after many years, in ultimately killing the murderer. Some time after the fight, or particularly if it did not take place, the relatives will content themselves with a payment in compensation for the murder. BD:66 gives ťua, "gifts in atonement for murder" /cited in English/. This consists of many gifts which gradually must be paid to the individual relatives for an indefinite period, since the latter feel justified in making demands over and over again (423). This is

> 423. Bridges (a):207 asserts: "Sometimes the murderer is suffered to live, but he is much beaten and hurt, and has to make many presents to the relatives of the dead" /cited in English/.

further confirmation that, for the rest of his life, a murderer finds no rest from his pursuers.

The story of the fight and its outcome is told far and wide, which serves somehow to interdict any act of murder. In the language of the Yamana amaiiuāina is "a murderer" /cited in English/ (BD:21). The considerable number of words referring to an act of murder strongly suggests that it was not too rare an occurrence. Otherwise there would not be specific rules of procedure, such as Bridges (VSA:XI, 259;1864), for example, recognized: "If a man kills another, the friends of the dead man combine together, and hunt the murderer till they find him. If they are the stronger party, they demand the murderer to be given to them by his nearest male relative, which, if it is in his power to grant, and he refuses to comply, the avengers will take, if they can, his life, and let the murderer go free, and no more molest him. /1000/ But if the murderer is given into their power, they kill him, and it may be cut him up in pieces afterwards" /cited in English/. (Cf. Hyades [q]:375). They call the struggle of two hostile groups yamalaŝemōina yākuna māja, whereas they refer to the small fights and brawls simply as yākuna māja (424).

> 424. Among these hot-blooded Yamana, a serious attack can take place merely on the basis of a false rumor; Hyades (q):375 mentions one of this nature.

/1000 cont./

628 721 Although isolated quarrels and fights between two persons may have occurred often, a battle between two groups provoked by a murder was rare, for a murder is now and then secretly avenged by a single relative of the slain person. The Yamana are not familiar with actual marauding attacks by one group upon another, such as are customary elsewhere. Influential men sometimes try to mediate disputes with friendly words. Fitz-Roy (a): 179 reliably reported: "Warfare is so desultory, and on so small a scale among them, that the restraint and direction of their elders advised as they are by the doctors, is sufficient" /cited in English/. Despard (b):717 expressed himself just as definitely: "Warfare is not fashionable among them" /cited in English/. The basic way of life among the Yamana is not such as to permit them prolonged fights and constant quarrels (425). Every murder agitates them

425. Dabbene (b):194 is right when he says: "Wars, in the true sense of the word, whether between themselves or with neighboring tribes, have always been very rare" /translated from Spanish/.

terribly, and its effect is long-lasting. Persons who have more or less settled serious quarrels between them avoid meeting each other as much as possible.

G. General Social Obligations

101 The Yamana as an ethnic unit are separated from all their neighbors by natural boundaries alone. Everyone recognizes his membership in this ethnic unit by a common language and mode of life. Just as definitely as they differentiate themselves from other peoples by the name Yámana (p. 197 /untranslated/), they also simultaneously emphasize the solidarity of all fellow-tribesmen in the same area. This entails many personal rights, but also obligations of all for one and of one for the society. The rights to obtain food belong among the former; property relations are based upon the latter.

/1137 cont./

765 may leave the dwellings, make a noise, or play.

If a yamalašemōina is to be held anywhere or if it has already been held, the news about it spreads over a wide area. Everyone wants to participate in it. Occasionally a few families are late in joining the mourners. The latter, of course, are always in the mood for this ceremony and, stimulated by them, the new arrivals actually initiate it without delay. If a universally beloved and influential person is being mourned, one yamalašemōina follows another at short intervals, perhaps throughout the whole year. There is probably never a čičxaus celebration that does not have a regular yamalašemōina on a particular day; the same is true of a lengthy kina festival. The participants, however, then remain in the large assembly hut and the customary sham battle is kept within limits.

765 628 The law of blood vengeance (p.898) is in force among our Fuegians and imposes an obligation upon the relatives and friends of the murdered person. They band together and attack the murderer along with his followers. The combat between these two groups is called yamalašemōina yākuna mālja and is obligatory after a murder. It is not impossible, although there is no definite proof, that the customary sham battle which has long been held after every ordinary death or in memory of all the dead at the public yamalašemōina is derived from that first struggle after a murder, and that, in the course of time, this has become part of every general ceremony of mourning. The characteristics of the sham battle, especially the reproaches and accusations of the opposing pair, lead one to this assumption.

765 626 The general mourning ceremony always unites several families, and since it occurs often, an individual family takes part in it at least three times a year. Its extraordinary subjective value is obvious. Each yamalašemōina irresistibly forces the individual to deep inner self-reflection and gravely reminds him of death. All those persons who have already concluded their life on earth come alive once more in his memory; their virtues and shortcomings are discussed and the transgression to which an untimely death is attributed is quite frankly noted. All this causes the individual conscience to be stirred to the depths with self-accusations. Furthermore, it is no less effective that the conduct of the individual is loudly censured during the combat by one or

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

586 second wife. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

888 The aged were, according to all dependable evidence, usually respected, well treated, and well cared for. Neither abandonment or killing of the aged was ordinarily practiced but may have occurred in exceptional cases.

621 Political life.—Over and above the biological family there was no closely organized larger group or constituted authority. There were no sibs, secret or other societies, or social classes, and no chiefs or ruling group or caste of any kind. Each biological family was for most practical purposes a sovereign political unit. The sense of individual independence was deep. No man took or brooked orders
555 or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

612 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

619 The five regional divisions of the *Yahgan*, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

621 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been composed, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1926 b, p. 5). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Ushuaia, for instance, occupied 20 miles (32 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups,
[622] these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function was that of holding the čiéxaus initiation rite. The leader chosen
[881] therefor had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the čiéxaus rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social conformity and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

628 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case
[682] of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which slings,

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

628 clubs, fists, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but [721] grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did not exist, and the *Yahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups appear to have been normally irenic, but violence and bloodshed were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually intervened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder [682] was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast. Bridges found 22 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1884—an annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that [734] of the United States. Mercy killings occurred for the purpose of putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human [762] sacrifice was unknown; so too was premeditated suicide.

266 The evidence that the *Yahgan* practiced no form of cannibalism—gastronomic, famine, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of devouring human flesh.

ECONOMIC LIFE

423 **Ownership.**—The *Yahgan* resented and avenged exploitative tres-619 pass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part thereof by non-*Yahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gusinde, 1937, pp. 964–965) or, according to Koppers (1928 b, p. 176), of any one of the numerous local groups, by nonmembers. Since these local groups seemingly were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Yahgan* land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting-ground system. There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast on a stranded whale, and to gather firestones and suitable canoe bark, which were found only in certain parts of the *Yahgan* territory. 422 Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adornments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things. The ownership of certain other things—food, hut, canoe—appears to have been vested in the biological family.

[776] Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

437 Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor, donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

517 sport, the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive.
526 Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport,
857 so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kahleka*, another between two groups known as *ungiana*.

524 Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-
my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball-game
851 like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

533 Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (op. cit., p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *loima*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *telania*, are songs of mourning; the *arua* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jacos* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the
535 dances are called *uona*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

526 The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

578 In general the Yahgan were not an amicable people, according
to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble
628 usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to aid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General mêlées, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges sponsors the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

628 The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1884, p. 224.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

death of a relative. All these called for vengeance, but the Yahgan seem to have felt antipathy rather than hatred, so vengeance might be deferred for several years, during which time mutual friends might compose the quarrel.

Blood loyalty was recognized among the Yahgan, but apparently was not fiercely cherished as among the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges states that when a murder occurred the friends and relatives of the victim would take revenge, but the family of the murderer abandoned him and made no effort to defend him. This certainly is not customary among primitive people with a highly developed consciousness of consanguinity like the Yahgan, and perhaps Mr. Bridges' statement represents the result of missionary contact rather than the original state of affairs.

Organized warfare, during which any member of one group would kill at sight any member of another group, as among the Ona, was unknown to the Yahgan, but blood revenge was sometimes executed on a relative of a murderer.

Initiation

Thanks to the studies of Gusinde and Koppers full and complete information about the Yahgan initiation rites is available, and the reader desirous of fuller information than is given here is referred to their various publications on this subject listed in the bibliography. Two ceremonies were in use among the Yahgan, known as *shiehâus* and *kina*. The first of these, celebrated by both sexes, apparently is the ancient Yahgan rite, while the other corresponds closely to the Ona *klókten* ceremony and represents culture borrowing from that tribe. Both may be described as a systematic educational course for the youth of the tribe—"going to school," the Yahgan called them.

For the *shiehâus* ceremony a large domed hut (*mánaga*), elliptical in outline, was erected near the encampment. The framework was of split saplings an inch or two in diameter, bent and set up to form arch-like ribs, and secured in place by a few horizontal beams (pl. XIV). These timbers were held together by lashings of gut. At either end of the hut were doors, one large to admit spectators, one small for the use of the candidates. On the roof they piled branches of the evergreen antarctic beech to afford shelter to those within, but the sides were left open to the weather. Rows of logs staked in place on the floor divided it into a central gangway

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643 On the basis of population, the Yamana were and are a small nation. In spite of everything, they lack a common head, whether we mean by this a person who through heredity or election is provided with special sovereign power, or one who has earned a dominant position as a result of sacerdotal or sorcerous activity, or one who is superior to his nearest kin, such as the first-born of a patriarchal extended family. /1001/ The influence which a tāmuna occasionally achieves is a certain moral prerogative resulting from personal virtues.

631 Again, it was the given geographical facts which divided the country of the Yamana into five districts and, on the basis of this, the people as a whole into five tribal groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Since these groups live more or less strictly apart from one another, certain peculiarities of speech and living habits have developed in the course of time. These are the factors which easily and naturally distinguish each group. Obviously this tribal division is purely external because it is spatially conditioned. Within each of the five large dialect groups geographical conditions have brought about further division into local groups (p. 629) which, in turn, are made up of a few kinship groups. The relations of the individual families in each of the latter are very close and firm; these families regularly and frequently have social intercourse with one another.

183 The above-mentioned organization of the Yamana people as a whole is a loose one and largely external, since unification under a common head is lacking. Nevertheless, fixed rules, with unavoidable obligations for everyone, determine the social intercourse of the divisions mentioned and of individual persons. They ensure coexistence without friction and a well-ordered social life. In an extremely simple society like that of our Yamana one might find it astonishing that there are certain arrangements to regulate intercourse with others, and, even more surprising, that they have subjective value and are successful and dependable. They guarantee, above all, the stability of the individual family and the harmonious coexistence of its members. Their vital significance stems from the fact that the unity of the whole ethnic group rests on the individual family as the single definitely determined social structure. They therefore protect and support many thoroughly effective general rules.

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1. Its Structure

197 634 571 It is an inborn tendency of the Yamana to emphasize contrasts. These are certainly present in his homeland, and each person knows the characteristics of his local area, in fact, he must take them into account. We have mentioned in detail (p. 199 /untranslated/) that the entire Cape Horn Archipelago is geographically divided into five separate regions. As a result, there are an equal number of dialect groups living here (228).

> 228. Even the members of the Mission Scientifique did not agree uniformly about the individual ethnic groups. Hyades (j):148 is definitely at variance with the opinion of Hahn (b):1533, the ship's doctor. Compare the more specific boundaries in Gusinde (a): 1018.

Since time immemorial boundaries erected by Nature herself have been determined for each of these groups, and they have formed a dividing wall up to the last few decades. It is only recently that unfavorable forces have succeeded in breaking them down. Nevertheless, even today each of the few surviving Yamana boasts of his competence in this or that dialect district. No one knows who first marked this region /799/ and assigned the tribesmen to it. No myth says anything about it. They all readily accept given reality. It is well known that within his dialect district everyone enjoys complete independence and unrestricted freedom of movement. He has the same right to subsistence as his countryman.

609 634 Journeys into neighboring districts are undertaken for the special purposes of obtaining food or bartering for essential tools. No one remains away longer than is necessary. The people living in another district will permit a strange family to come in and provide themselves with whatever they need, but they do not tolerate anyone roaming about their territory an unnecessarily long time. If he should do so, it would cause hostility which could become serious, but as long as a stranded whale has not been completely consumed or as long as it is impossible to obtain

609 /799 cont./
634 food in their own native district, neighbors are not only unmolested in a strange district, but must be tolerated, as ancient custom prescribes.

621 Even the more circumscribed region of each individual dia-
634 lect group is usually cut up by many waterways. Hence in each
571 one, again under the pressure of geographic conditions, smaller groups are formed which, as a result of greater mobility in local areas, more frequently meet and have intercourse with one another. These are the so-called local groups within the dialect groups. Each of the former is made up of people born in the same region. They regard themselves as closer to one another, and this small region as their immediate home. They take their common name from the region, namely, from a bay, a water channel, or a small group of islands.

Hyades (j):150 also observed this custom: "They like to say: 'the people of Packsaddle Bay,' Pouthroaya yamana, 'of Pomonby Sound,' Kanakouche yamana, but somewhat as we would in a city in speaking of some quarter or some street" /translated from French/ (229). Obviously such designations should not be inter-

229. Relying on a communication from Reverend Bridges, dated June, 1884, Hyades (ℓ):718 repeated: "All these natives are known by the name of the localities in which they live and are very exactly divided up into small clans" /translated from French/.

preted or evaluated in the sense of an organization or a local tribal division.

For his part Bridges used the designation "clan or tribe" /cited in English/ for local groups. For example, in the year 1883/84 he took a census of the entire Yamana population and put the individual groups together "under their several clan names" /cited in English/. His reasoning was: "All these natives are known by the names of their several locations and are very minutely divided into small clans. The term Ucur [ʊkʊ̃], which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used /800/ to denote clans or tribe" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884). He states that

/800 cont./

621 the Ushuaia local group extends over about 20 English miles
•634 (MM:XIII, 151;1879), but this is only a third of the area that the
571 middle dialect group actually occupies.

Corresponding to the word formations given above, BD:259 also lists some in which the native district of the grandmother of some person is definitely taken into account: "hikaiamakŭtasa, the connection a person has with the land of his father's mother, or of his mother's mother; hikaiamakŭtasŭni, the country of my mother's mother's, my father's mother's country" /cited in English/. With this root word the terms for the male and female relatives of that region are formed by means of suffixes.

Such designations for the native district of the grandmother were probably created because each of the two grandmothers of the same grandson had home territories elsewhere; on the other hand, the paternal ancestors of the grandson remain almost without exception in the same locality. This comes out even more clearly in the explanation given in BD:168 for the word kaiamŭkŭtasa which recurs in hikaiamakŭtasa above, for it is "a term applied of the connection one has with a place or people from which one's grandmother came" /cited in English/. From this comes the further formation kaiamŭkŭtasŭni, "the country of my grandmother, or the country of one's grandchildren" /cited in English/, and, finally, hikaiamakŭtasŭpai, "two persons belonging to one's grandmother's country" /cited in English/. It does not seem to me permissible to attempt to read into these designations a matriarchal type of social structure.

186 Our Indians are more conversant with expressions that contain the idea of belonging to a specific country, of indigenousness and the rights of residence. The root word hŭmaa is given in BD:265 in the sense of "my country, in opposition to palalŭin, civilized country" /cited in English/. From this come the derivations hamaiŭmalim "(used by natives specially of themselves) my country men, my country people," hamakipaiŭmalim, "my country women," hamaala, "my countryman," and finally hamakipa, "my countrywoman" /citations in English/.

178 The changes wrought by recent influences have pushed the
634 dialect groups and circles of families, which hitherto were separated in their circumscribed local districts, closer and closer

/900 cont./

178 634 gether. Since 1850 a particularly strong movement in this direction set in. According to Hyades ( ):718, Bridges noted the effect of this in June, 1884: "The Yahgan are now so much more coalesced that they form only a single colony" /translated from French/. Obviously Bridges would like his readers to believe that a change for the better had been brought about among these natives under the influence of the Anglican mission. He was mistaken. Furthermore, Hyades (f):721 raised the justifiable objection against Bridges' assertion by pointing out that the Yamana "were formerly divided into tribes that were hostile or antipathetic toward one another" /translated from French/. This is not to deny that occasionally disputes and hostilities were carried on between [58] individual families of the same local group (230).

> 230. From his most recent experience Bove (e):150 reported: "The inhabitants of the east (Picton Island) and those from Addevia (New York Sound) still [since the founding of the mission station in Ushuwaia] fought with each other frequently, and often enough the sad news of deeds of violence, murder and insults reaches the Mission."

571 612 /901/ The association of the five dialect groups is very tenuous (231), that of the local groups within each dialect group

> 231. This is probably what Aspinall:270 means when he says: "Despite the lack of closer ties of tribal society, one notices among them many expressions of true affection and deeper concern."

is somewhat less so, and that of the families of each circle of relatives who in their totality form the local group is truly strong. There is, of course, overlapping, insofar as a person has blood relatives in more than one local group. It is well known (p. 607) that in itself the circle of relatives is neither a definitely ordered structure nor a specifically organized system. For some the blood

/964 cont./
423 opposition for a long time has led to absolutely no result, the
648 Yamana have never given up their exclusive legal claim to their
797 native region.

They trace this claim back to their so-called revolutionary
423 myth, which tells that in ancient times the women who were play-
173 ing kina pushed into this region and continued their secret cere-
mony here. Since this time, they say, all the Yamana have re-
mained in one and the same place, and inasmuch as they were
the first to take possession of this land for themselves, it has be-
come their property.

423 The nature of the landscape has divided the whole Yamana
territory into five large districts in which an equal number of dia-
635 lects have developed (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each dialect group
regards its home as, in a special sense, the common property of
all its members. It is the field in which each one may devote him-
self to the hunt for food without restraint. To begin with, the
individual has no vested right to a specific animal and no priority
in obtaining special products of the land. Without discrimination,
everything within the boundaries of the dialect region is available
to everyone living there. Thus, with regard to the natural prod-
ucts of their circumscribed homeland, there is no personal prop-
erty right; this becomes valid only at the moment when a person
appropriates something for himself.

423 It is no less important to point out that only the members
of the same dialect group may take what their circumscribed
635 area /965/ holds. Persons whose homes are in a neighboring
685 district generally do not have the right to cross the boundaries. A
few exceptional cases are regarded as legally valid. If these ex-
ceptions are misused, however, disputes may be kindled and, to
be sure, precisely because of violation of the sovereign rights
which only the actual owners of this region enjoy. They alone
may indiscriminately appropriate in it whatever they need in the
way of animals and goods, even if some of it serves in barter with
people of another group.

It is obvious that every individual will defend the common
possessions of his dialect group, to which he belongs by birth or
marriage and in which he himself has a share. Whenever and
wherever he observes encroachment by a neighbor, he at least
disapproves of it and speaks of it to others in his immediate

/965 cont./

423 neighborhood. Sometimes the malefactor must atone dearly for
635 his offensive violation of land rights. The Fuegians are even
685 capable of ruthless intolerance toward him. The treatment accorded a certain Okokko may serve as an example. The missionaries with whom he had lived for many months on Isla Keppel wanted him to start a sort of "model farm," like the European prototype, in the center of the region of his countrymen, namely, in Liwya. This, however, was not his home. A small frame house was built for him and a goodly store of provisions left behind so that he could get along for about seven months. His nearest neighbors, however, would not tolerate him there, for, according to them, he was an intruder. They avenged the violation of their land rights in that "Okokko's house, and goats, and property, had been destroyed by fire" /cited in English/. In this case, envy doubtless intensified the mania for destruction (p. 297 /untranslated/).

423 Despite due recognition of the land rights belonging to each
635 dialect group, certain circumstances have nevertheless created legally valid exceptions to the exclusion of one group by another. The basic idea holds for an emergency situation when all doors must be open to every member of the tribe from every direction. This applies first of all to the procurement of raw materials for objects which no one can do without. Uniform, thick beech trunks which furnish suitable pieces of bark for the canoe flourish only in certain places, and there are only a few spots where flint is to be found (p. 41). For anyone seeking these two indispensable kinds of objects the boundaries of the dialect groups, which are drawn on other occasions, do not exist.

Furthermore, anyone who suffers serious hardship in his own region and is threatened by hunger may, without formality, cross the boundary and supply himself in the neighboring territory. It would be inconceivable for our Yamana to deny anyone access to a place where he can save himself from death by starvation. He is permitted to remain there undisturbed until he can demonstrably find subsistence in his own homeland. The most common causes of temporary calamities are: persistent bad weather /966/ regions where canoe trips are difficult in any case, namely, near the outlying islands; no less frequently, the loss of one's canoe; less often, the death of a wife who leaves a man with several small

/966 cont./

423 children while his relatives live far away.

635 Finally, there is a completely different kind of occasion

225 when all boundaries are ignored, namely, when a whale is stranded.

423 A certain priority is conceded to those in whose home district this

425 mighty animal is deposited on the shore, for sometimes they have worked hard before the rich booty is spread out before them (p.

635 224). Nevertheless, their priority consists chiefly of the privilege to determine the so-called distributors of the fat and meat. It is not left to the discretion of the individual to go up to the animal and cut out a piece here or there for himself. Rather, it is the task of a few men to cut up the big animal properly and to give something to each one present if he wishes it (p. 310). This is the only way to prevent useless waste.

Anyone within the widest radius who learns of the stranding of a whale may head toward the spot unmolested and remain until all the suitable parts are consumed or distributed. The people native to the region arrive ahead of the visitors from a distance; nothing prevents them from taking the prized whalebone and from having the tastiest pieces cut out for themselves. Hence the people within the bounded area where the mighty animal was washed ashore do enjoy certain advantages. It is easy to see why other tribal members are also allowed to share this rich gift of Mother Nature, according to common law. A small number of people would be unable to consume the considerable amount of fat and meat quickly enough in the short time before it spoils. Therefore, nothing would be more natural than to apply, without restraint, the common principle of sharing with others, especially when there is abundance to be had without effort. Alerted by dense flocks of sea birds, the Indians come pouring in to the stranded whale, even from some distance, and they all enjoy the excellent taste of the blubber. No one would dare rebuff a visiting stranger nor hinder him; if one were to do so, he would be loudly decried as a selfish human being.

423 As for material goods that are common property, our Yamana have only the two Great Huts built for the čiexaus and the kina, the men's ceremony. Both serve in the fulfillment of a task for which the group as such is obligated, and the adult participants busy themselves at it quite as a matter of course. From the start

/966 cont./

423 it is their intention to work for the benefit of these events; hence they forgo a property right which otherwise would accrue from their personal work. Later, after the end of the ceremonies when the Great Hut is abandoned by the group, the latter automatically relinquishes its right of disposal. Anyone who then establishes himself in it /967/ or who wants to use a few sticks from it is not prevented from doing so, since he is appropriating something that has been acknowledged as ownerless.

423 635 Although the Yamana emphasize their fight to sole possession of their native area and strictly guard the respective boundaries of their dialect groups, they are just as lenient when distress or expedience make it advisable to waive special rights. They put the life and livelihood of each of their fellow-tribesmen far above these rights.

2. Private Property

424 Like their neighbors, the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 413) and the Halakwulup, our Yamana also make a sharp and clear distinction between common possessions and personal property. The former belongs to a larger group or to the whole tribe; private property belongs to only one person as his individual possession, or, as family property, to members of the same family, in the limited sense of the word, who comprise an economic unit. In everyday speech this distinction between individual possessions and family possessions is clearly expressed (381). For example, the man speaks

381. The data of other observers are not always clear and comprehensive. Thus Hyades (d):309 in one case writes: "Property is individual; there is no chief, social hierarchy, or slaves" /translated from French/. In another place (p):335 he admits that there is common property, besides personal property: "Property is individual and hereditary without a will, but this applies only to personal effects: canoe, hunting or fishing implements, skins of animals, each person having only what is necessary of these objects" /translated from French/.

/1000 cont./

643 On the basis of population, the Yamana were and are a small nation. In spite of everything, they lack a common head, whether we mean by this a person who through heredity or election is provided with special sovereign power, or one who has earned a dominant position as a result of sacerdotal or sorcerous activity, or one who is superior to his nearest kin, such as the first-born of a patriarchal extended family. /1001/ The influence which a tiámuna occasionally achieves is a certain moral prerogative resulting from personal virtues.

631 Again, it was the given geographical facts which divided the country of the Yamana into five districts and, on the basis of this, the people as a whole into five tribal groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Since these groups live more or less strictly apart from one another, certain peculiarities of speech and living habits have developed in the course of time. These are the factors which easily and naturally distinguish each group. Obviously this tribal division is purely external because it is spatially conditioned. Within each of the five large dialect groups geographical conditions have brought about further division into local groups (p. 629) which, in turn, are made up of a few kinship groups. The relations of the individual families in each of the latter are very close and firm; these families regularly and frequently have social intercourse with one another.

183 The above-mentioned organization of the Yamana people as a whole is a loose one and largely external, since unification under a common head is lacking. Nevertheless, fixed rules, with unavoidable obligations for everyone, determine the social intercourse of the divisions mentioned and of individual persons. They ensure coexistence without friction and a well-ordered social life. In an extremely simple society like that of our Yamana one might find it astonishing that there are certain arrangements to regulate intercourse with others, and, even more surprising, that they have subjective value and are successful and dependable. They guarantee, above all, the stability of the individual family and the harmonious coexistence of its members. Their vital significance stems from the fact that the unity of the whole ethnic group rests on the individual family as the single definitely determined social structure. They therefore protect and support many thoroughly effective general rules.

/927 cont./

X881 537 152 609

to help us because he appreciates us Yamana! If only he can bring to pass what he has promised us, namely, to intercede for us [with the Chilean government] so that we may continue to live peacefully in this place (341). I am happy about this

[648]

341. He has the following in mind. For a number of years the Lawrence brothers had leased the region around Puerto Mejillones on the north shore of Navarino Island from the Chilean government who permitted the Yamana to settle in this small harbor. The lease would run out the following year, and there was danger that this piece of land would fall into other hands. This would make the future very uncertain for the Yamana, and they had reason to be afraid that they would be driven out of this place which they had learned to love. In view of this, I had promised them to present their wishes to the Ministerio de Colonisación in Santiago. Later I kept my promise. Now the few surviving Yamana are spending their last days in this small harbor. Compare Gusinde (d):60 and page 364 /untranslated/.

[pleasant prospect]. That is why I took up the song and carried it on for so long!" Immediately afterward he continued his singing. The other people listened attentively and fell into a solemn mood, for his high voice was extraordinarily pleasant. Soon he paused again: "Truly, I am an old man. For a long time I have not taken part in a čiéxaus. I am one of the last of the old people [of former times]. In my younger years I was always on hand wherever čiéxaus took place. I was always among the first who took up the singing. For a long time I have not taken part in it for I am old. When I was young we went down to the beach at night to bathe; we sang as we did so, and I was never absent. And yet, to this day I have some /928/ strength and joy left. Truly, it is not right that I have been inactive until now. I shall summon the last of my strength and all the younger people will see that I as an old man am not holding back. So I shall go on singing!" He sang even more vigorously than before; he even stood up to dance

/936 cont./

like to do that!" He: "Certainly, it pleases you that I tell you everything!" Enthusiastic "awāj." He: "Good, I shall stay here for some time yet, until my stomach is empty. Afterward I shall fly back to the high seas." After a loud awāj and general singing again, Thomas interjected: "Now I feel relieved, cheerful, and fresh!"

The people in the one row held their heads up and their hands up to their eyebrows, as though they were looking into the distance over the heads of the people seated in the opposite row. This was a challenge to a singing competition, in order to stimulate the other row. The winefkeʔa cried: "Again high waves are rising!" After the awāj from outside, Walter said: "We began this cíexaus so that those two Whites could see it. For ourselves we usually celebrate it at another time of year." He continued, very perturbed: "I am the Yetāita of this Great Hut (356).

356. He wants to say that rage is seething within him just as in that malevolent earth spirit.

-- Of all my kinsfolk and of all of us who once lived in the east (357), I am the only one still alive. Although I still have my

357. Walter comes from Lennox Island, northeast[1] of Navarino Island.

home district [as native country], nevertheless it no longer belongs to me and has now become /937/ another region (358). Of my

[648]

358. This island which politically now belongs to Chile has for a long time been leased to farmers for sheep-raising. Therefore Chile arbitrarily keeps the natives away from the Europeans settled there.

kinsfolk and my [prior] native country only the waves are left to me. When I die, the waves will cover me, too; then there will be no one left of the people of the east!" Several persons, moved by sorrow, interrupted him. Walter continued: "I am very much

[1] [Actually, southeast. — Analyst.]

/963 cont./

186 of language and way of life no less than on sharing the same na-
423 tive region. They regard the fragmented maze of islands within the triangle between the Cape Horn cliffs, Brecknock Peninsula, and Punta Julieta at Bahía Aguirre as their country, within whose boundaries they alone, from ancient times, have the exclusive right to live and to hunt. Actually they make their property rights, in the widest sense of the word, apply to this whole area.

423 They condemn the crossing of these borders by their Indian
648 neighbors in the northeast, as well as in the southwest, as trespass on their land, simply because it belongs to them alone (380).

> 380. Spegazzini (a):168 has mentioned "that the boundaries of a tribe are well defined; no Alucʔluf /Alacaluf/ canoe goes into Iajan /Yahgan/ territory unless it has a particular and important mission" /translated from Spanish/.

They do not drive off the intruders with weapons, but they regard their encroachment quite /964/ frankly as a legal offense. Only the families who reside in an area may grant their neighbors free entrance if personal reasons make it advisable.

423 They also regard it as robbery when Europeans settle on
648 their land and crowd out their countrymen. For the last few decades they have become resigned to this condition of constraint
797 because they feel too weak to resist. Formerly they overwhelmed many a European ship with hostility and made its landing difficult in order to deprive the unpopular Whites of any possibility or desire to settle here (p. 250 /untranslated/). For the same reason even the missionaries were made to feel the resistance of the natives. For example, it cost the former much toil and labor to found the mission station in Ushuaia, but this did not make that region the property of the missionaries, according to the Indians, and they actually had to submit to all kinds of annoyances. It was only after direct negotiations that Bridges (MM:IV, 133;1870) could content himself with the following solution: "I got full permission from the natives of Ushuaia to take possession of any land for house and gardens. Next time I intend giving them some thing as a small acknowledgment" /cited in English/. Although

/964 cont./
423 opposition for a long time has led to absolutely no result, the
648 Yamana have never given up their exclusive legal claim to their
797 native region.

They trace this claim back to their so-called revolutionary
423 myth, which tells that in ancient times the women who were play-
173 ing kina pushed into this region and continued their secret cere-
mony here. Since this time, they say, all the Yamana have re-
mained in one and the same place, and inasmuch as they were
the first to take possession of this land for themselves, it has be-
come their property.

423 The nature of the landscape has divided the whole Yamana
territory into five large districts in which an equal number of dia-
635 lects have developed (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each dialect group
regards its home as, in a special sense, the common property of
all its members. It is the field in which each one may devote him-
self to the hunt for food without restraint. To begin with, the
individual has no vested right to a specific animal and no priority
in obtaining special products of the land. Without discrimination,
everything within the boundaries of the dialect region is available
to everyone living there. Thus, with regard to the natural prod-
ucts of their circumscribed homeland, there is no personal prop-
erty right; this becomes valid only at the moment when a person
appropriates something for himself.

423 It is no less important to point out that only the members
of the same dialect group may take what their circumscribed
635 area /965/ holds. Persons whose homes are in a neighboring
685 district generally do not have the right to cross the boundaries. A
few exceptional cases are regarded as legally valid. If these ex-
ceptions are misused, however, disputes may be kindled and, to
be sure, precisely because of violation of the sovereign rights
which only the actual owners of this region enjoy. They alone
may indiscriminately appropriate in it whatever they need in the
way of animals and goods, even if some of it serves in barter with
people of another group.

It is obvious that every individual will defend the common
possessions of his dialect group, to which he belongs by birth or
marriage and in which he himself has a share. Whenever and
wherever he observes encroachment by a neighbor, he at least
disapproves of it and speaks of it to others in his immediate

/985 cont./

156 incomprehensible to us. They lose their equanimity particularly
578 in cases of intentional insults and humiliations. This is even more true in instances of a serious offense against their own rights and especially of murder, each case of which is sooner or later avenged if the culprit does not atone for it in time. Almost no one quietly endures insults, no matter how small; instead, he uses the first good opportunity to obtain satisfaction. One must realize, however, that a person is able to wait years for this, and he may take his revenge at a time when the other party has almost completely forgotten the incident. Since the Yamana have such /986/ character traits, less serious brawls between individuals and between small groups are by no means rare. Bridges (i):13 has correctly characterized them as "very quarrelsome and touchy and the weaker were very careful not to offend the stronger and were very courteous in their manners and language, often dissembling with smiles and words of peace their hatred and disapproval" /cited in English/.

627 Since the entire tribe is broken up into very small family communities or hordes (p. 632), it is impossible from the start for considerable masses of people to band together for battles or wars. Inasmuch as actual revenge for murder is obligatory for the nearest kin of the murdered person, the matter is settled only between them and the opposite party. In any case, however, such occurrence rare in comparison with the above-mentioned quarrels. It would be entirely mistaken to assume that this ethnic group composed of several large divisions is constantly at war with its own kind. By nature they are anything but pugnacious, no matter how vengeful they are and how jealously sensitive of their personal honor. Anxious concern about their daily food requirements leaves them little time for the troublesome effort of constantly or almost constantly lying in wait for a hostile division.

•648 We need not repeat here anything about the relations of our Yamana with the Selk'nam (p. 234 /untranslated/), whom they generally met with apprehension, and with their western neighbors (p. 241 /untranslated/) whom they feared as cannibals (405). Their

405. Hyades (q):240 speaks without sufficient proof of an alleged hatred which "shows itself especially with regard to the neighboring peoples, Alakalouf /Alacaluf/ that is often bloody"

/986 cont./

648

and Ona; in this case it results in strife /translated from French/. Cooper:174 sums up the situation correctly, namely, that "as a rule on border territories the relations have been fairly peaceful" /cited in English/.

relations with Europeans (p. 246 /untranslated/), especially to missionaries (p. 288 /untranslated/), has also been treated in detail and has long been known. Cooper:174 characterizes it correctly and briefly as follows: "More commonly, however, the white man has, deliberately or unwittingly, been the first to give offence" /cited in English/. After the Whites spread out in the Cape Horn Archipelago and confiscated the useful land for themselves, there was nothing for the former sole owners of this region to do but to give in without resistance and with quiet resignation.

a. Causes

152 578 The Yamana know no more than other primitive peoples how to control their hurt feelings, especially their feeling of injured honor, nor how to settle insults or humiliations in the amicable way of quiet, matter-of-fact explanation or through a sort of arbiter. /987/ Everyone personally and with his own fist sees to it that justice is done him and that he obtains what he believes to be adequate satisfaction. The individual is first of all sole judge and avenger; in certain instances his nearest relatives help him in protecting his rights.

152 The desire and passion for revenge are extraordinarily emphasized among the Yamana (406). Sometimes they are so carried

406. It is misleading when Hyades (q):240 maintains: "The desire for vengeance does not occupy the Fuegians much..." /translated from French/. The small number of words for the feeling of revenge is no measure of its strength. In this connection see other opinions in Waitz:III, 507.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 Viamonte. Their peregrinations through the heart of the island brought them in close contact with the Ona tribe. Indeed, they were the first white men to establish friendly relations with the Ona, and two of the brothers, Messrs. Lucas and William Bridges, have been formally initiated as members of the tribe by the *klóktes* ceremony herein described.

We have related this story at some length because so much literature of ethnological interest depends on it. The elder Mr. Bridges has left among his reports to the missionary society a mine of ethnological information, while Mr. Lawrence's observations are also valuable. In addition Mr. Bridges has written several articles dealing directly with native life, published in various scientific journals, and he has left a monument to himself in what is probably the most intensive study of primitive linguistics ever carried out. Of this we shall have more to say.

Beside the contributions from the pen of Mr. Bridges, he aided greatly the success of the scientific studies made by the Argentine, French, and Italian governments in Tierra del Fuego during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The important works of Hyades and Bove gain authority from this association. In recent years the Bridges' children, especially Messrs. Lucas and William Bridges, have sponsored practically all the information about the Ona tribe which has found its way into print. Indeed (without detracting from the merits of any writer) it may be said that the importance of most published data on the Ona varies according to whether or not the information was obtained from this generous and hospitable family.

640 After the Argentine government had established itself at Ushuaía a gold rush to Tierra del Fuego took place, which caused the coming of many undesirables. The result of this sudden contact with Europeans was disastrous to the native tribes.

The history of white settlement of the island emanating from the missionary post in the south is one of kindly dealing with the native races. Unfortunately the same cannot be said for the north. Sheep were introduced into the northern part of Tierra del Fuego in 1878, and trouble with the natives immediately ensued, for while the Indians had no objection to somebody stocking their game tracts, at the same time they maintained their right to hunt the "white guanaco" on lands which they regarded as their own. Naturally the hard-pressed pioneers of what has now become a

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

great industry objected to having their sheep killed, and they retaliated by killing the Indians. 648

Thus there soon sprang into being a class of professional head-hunters, recruited from the shepherds and miners, who received one pound sterling from the ranchers for each Indian head—man, woman, or child. The Indians, on foot and armed with bows and arrows, had little chance in the open plains against horsemen with rifles. Some of the atrocities committed in the '80's are recounted by Fuentes Rabe;[1] the writer heard from discrete and trustworthy sources many similar tales of brutality.

In 1891 a Salesian mission was established on Dawson island, and in 1893 a second station was set up at Cape Peñas and later transferred to Rio Grande. Although dedicated for three-quarters of a century to the eradication of troublesome Indians, the Government decided to stop the scandals arising from head-hunting by turning the Indians over to the missions. To this end troops scoured the country, rounded up the natives, and drove them like cattle to the mission stations. Families were mercilessly broken up. Strange foods caused sickness and implanted the belief that they were being poisoned. Unaccustomed European clothes and indoor quarters—as in so many well-intended missionary efforts—brought pneumonia and tuberculosis, and augmented the effect of their vitamin-deficient diet. Liquor and venereal diseases, against which Indians have surprisingly little resistance, both took their toll. Few indeed survived the "civilizing" process. Today the Dawson Island mission has been abandoned. The east-coast mission still existed in 1924, ostensibly to support two aged native women in idleness, in reality as a prosperous sheep ranch. 648 797

The record of the white settlers in Tierra del Fuego, with of course certain splendid exceptions, is not one to be reviewed with pride; not the Indians but Europeans have proved the greater savages. Missionary efforts, however well intended, have hastened the course of their neophytes to the grave. No more striking example can be adduced of the importance of anthropological and medical training for those who would change the religion and alter the habits of heathen peoples.

One of the chief ethnological results of the northern missions has been the establishment of the Museo Rejional "Mayorino Borgatello" at Punta Arenas. Unfortunately the ethnological 114

[1] 1923, II, 177–181.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

291 Women wear rather more clothing, that is, they have nearly the whole skin of a guanaco, or seal, wrapped about them, and usually a diminutive apron. The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an infant. Neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes.

302 Both sexes oil themselves, or rub their bodies with grease; and daub their faces and bodies with red, black, or white. A fillet is often worn
301 around the head, which upon ordinary occasions is simply a string, made of sinews; but if going to war or dressed for show, the fillet is ornamented with white down, white feathers, or pieces of cloth, if they have obtained any from shipping. . . .

411 It is rather curious that each of these natives is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear; another with the sling; another with a bow and arrows; but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others.

266 Before entering on the details of Yahgan life we shall dwell briefly on the charges of savagery and cannibalism made by numerous writers. As early as 1600 the Alacaluf were thought to be cannibals, for in that year Van Noort marooned on Santa Maria island one of his officers charged with insubordination, in the belief that he would die of hunger or be eaten by the savages. A quarter of a century later Jaques L'Hermite charged the Yahgan with cannibalism. In more recent years Darwin and Fitzroy have repeated the accusation on hearsay evidence, and their dictum has been widely published. However, no white man has ever witnessed the act of anthropophagy among any of the Fuegian tribes, while in recent years those who have lived with the natives and come to know them well all agree that the idea of eating human flesh is as repugnant to a Fuegian as to a European. According to Martial (p. 193) the Yahgan ordinarily do not eat dog, fox, or rat, because these animals will eat human flesh.

648 The imputation of barbarity, on the other hand, rests on firmer ground, for there are well-authenticated instances of attack by the Yahgan on European crews. The earliest of these resulted in the death at Nassau bay in 1624 of seventeen men from L'Hermite's ships; the most widely published was the massacre at Woolyia in 1859 of the crew of the missionary schooner *Allen Gardiner*. What provoked these attacks is a secret intombed with their victims. Early voyagers habitually kidnapped natives to serve as pilots and thus aroused merited resentment. Native women often have

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

been a source of contention. Intelligent and amicably intended travelers through ignorance of native customs may easily wound native feelings to the point of rousing open hostility. Of the looting of ships and robbing of their crews, it is but just to remark that the Yahgan, although recognizing personal property, habitually shared their provisions with one another. Also, among primitive people in general the robbing or tricking of strangers often is considered entirely ethical or even especially deserving of praise, though the same performance at the expense of a relative or a friend might be condemned. The Yahgan have suffered in public esteem because their morality has been judged on the basis of Christian ethics.

Language

The Yahgan tongue, although it has been studied since the visit of Darwin, as yet is thought to be related to no other New World language. Through missionary labors, chiefly those of the Rev. Thomas Bridges, three large vocabularies have been compiled. Of these one containing about 4000 words on 137 pages in Mr. Bridges' handwriting is still in possession of the Bridges family in Tierra del Fuego. It covers only eleven initial letters. Inside the front cover is written: "Begun this June 19th, 1879." A second vocabulary compiled by Mr. Bridges, aided by several lay members of the English mission, contains about 12,000 words. It is now in possession of the Rev. John Williams in Punta Arenas. Finally, there exists in Belgium a Yahgan vocabulary in two volumes of about 32,430 words written on 1081 pages. It is the result of Mr. Bridges' life-long contact with the Yahgan extending from 1856 until his death in 1898. During his later years, according to his sons, he was continually working over this manuscript. After his death it was lent to Dr. Frederick A. Cook, who had been to Tierra del Fuego with the Belgian Antarctic expedition in 1897 and 1899. Cook removed the manuscript to Belgium, where it has since remained. Plans for its publication were interrupted by the World War.

For printed source-material in Yahgan, students are further indebted to Mr. Bridges for translations of the gospels of St. Luke and St. John, and the Acts of the Apostles. All these, as well as his manuscript dictionaries, are written in the Ellis alphabet. The Rev. John Williams of Punta Arenas has translated the collects and morning and evening prayers into Yahgan, and also has

/627 cont./

must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important position of the woman in the economy assures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the strict social duty of every individual family, apart from any purely natural compulsion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, as a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /628/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Tamana does the primitive state manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

Several families are naturally associated through blood ties, but only loosely, and the reciprocal obligations growing out of this are the kind universally found among human beings. Five dialect groups have been established as associations of larger proportions, but these cannot be regarded as a division based on social principles (p. 199 /untranslated/). Moreover, there is no hierarchy based on birth and station, nor are there class differences which elsewhere rest on accomplishments or property. Finally, unification of the entire tribal community under a single head, such as a chief or magistrate, priest or sorcerer, did not take place among our Indians.

There are ancient tribal customs with the force of legal obligations, as well as definite principles about possessions and property, and the public sees to it that they are faithfully followed. It also observes and practices the cultivation of the universally familiar tribal virtues. Crimes against the assured duration of the family or against related groups are settled in smaller or larger combats. Although there is no special social division and no appointment of an authoritative person to rule the community, there is a distinct and binding power embracing all members of the tribe -- namely, the state, no matter how weak and undefined it still appears in its earliest beginnings.

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2. Taking Possession

425 The most common and the simplest way of making oneself the owner of an object is to take it and confiscate it. The assumption is that, as ownerless property, it really does not belong to anyone. This includes, first of all, the things that are indispensable for life, such as food, wood for the fire, and sticks for building the hut, as well as such things as bones and whalebone for tools, pieces of bark for the canoe, and rushes for basket-weaving, and finally snail shells and tendons for ornaments, mineral pigments for body painting, and pieces of leather for various uses. Obviously all these things come from the kingdom of nature over which Watauinéiwa actually has the primary right of disposal. The Yamana have a more or less distinctly pronounced conviction that everything around them has been granted by Watauinéiwa so that they may have the usufruct of it. They make use of this general dispensation, for in no other way would they come into possession of the things they need. They do not each time expressly remember this lawful condition, but now and then the commandment not to kill more animals than are directly required for the household flairs up in their memory.

Merely by his conduct a person shows that he intends to make himself the owner of an animal or a thing. Anyone who goes into the forest and gathers firewood, anyone gathering mussels and snails along the beach, anyone who kills a larger animal with his weapons or acquires something in a similar manner thereafter regards himself as sole owner of what he has acquired. At the same time his right is recognized by other people. If, after a certain [673] object has found its master, anyone should disturb the latter in his right of ownership, that person is unequivocally regarded as a thief. Thus it is sufficient for anyone simply to lay his hands on ownerless goods, for in this way he identifies himself as their owner. He remains such as long as he keeps these goods or until he has consumed them. Even married persons take this into account in their behavior 425 toward each other, as /975/ Bridges (i):21 has already assured us: 543 "What the wife caught or obtained was her own, the husband only used of it what his wife gave him, and she did not ask his permission

/983 cont./

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> the circumstances under which the Indian mentioned had filched the little knife unnoticed and probably immediately swallowed it in order to remain undetected.

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The high degree of sensitivity of the Yamana is sufficient to explain why they seriously punish a thief. Thievish actions by one of their people affects them very painfully and unpleasantly, even if they themselves are not harmed by it. The thief is generally despised, and even after many years of irreproachable conduct, he rarely succeeds in improving his reputation. Only in exceptional cases is the thief given a few blows by the injured owner (402).

> 402. Only Dabbene (b):198 mentions that "the thief is castigated when he is discovered" /translated from Spanish/.

In case of aggravating circumstances, a theft may even lead to a dispute involving several families. In general the Yamana avoid associating with a thief or they turn away from him with unmistakable /984/ aversion, so that, excluded from the society of his nearest fellow-tribesmen, he stands alone (403). This punishment

> 403. Darwin (d):243 evidently met such an ostracized individual in Goeree Road near Lennox Island. "The man evidently lived by himself and York Minster said he was a bad man who had probably stolen something."

of being ignored and ostracized is more effective than scoldings and whippings.

673 577

The extent to which the Yamana abhor a tendency to steal can be surmized from their urgent warnings to young people, as well as from their many expressions and linguistic subtleties in the designations for stealing. Koppers (d):189 took most of the expressions from BD. "There are words for thief, stealing, robbing. Furthermore for: to cause theft, to accuse of theft, to punish it. Also, however: to return stolen goods, to steal no

/984 cont./

673 more. Finally: to guard against being robbed, and, with this in
577 mind, to entrust someone with the duty of watchman." The Indians are quite right in being concerned about their goods and chattels which, as such, are meager, for what they own is usually of vital necessity to them, and they could hardly relinquish them without seriously endangering themselves.

674 Since stealing does occur, however, in spite of being severely condemned, an explanation must be sought. One must never forget that the Yamana consider themselves to be at a disadvantage with Europeans and that they have been dispossessed by all those who have settled there as farmers or traders. They rob the Whites in order to get their rights and particularly to be repaid for losses. A person who is only trying to recover damages cannot be labeled a thief in the strict sense of the word (404). Moreover, the natives

404. Spears:67 makes the distinction that among the natives themselves "crimes against property were rare. As to the property of white men they were called thieves and robbers. Fitz-Roy is particularly severe on them in describing their lax notions about property" /cited in English/.

have been cheated in barter by many a European who did not know their principles and ideas of value. When this happened, they sought, by confiscating useful things, only what belonged to them according to their own ideas of justice. They saw an abundance of objects, whose value was unknown to them, in the possession of Europeans who visited them in the past century. According to their tribal custom, everyone shares his abundance with others; hence they thought they were justified in stretching out their hands toward the supposed abundance of the Whites.

Weddell's:152 supplies of iron were stolen twice, whereupon, by means of light punishment, he called the attention of the thief to his wrongdoing. A different attitude then developed among the natives and "they were ever after afraid even to lift a piece of iron without permission" /cited in English/. After that nothing was stolen from Weddell. He, as well as many another seafarer,

/575 cont./

261 almost no food value, they stuff their rumbling stomachs with them. Fortunately, snow storms (344) such that make any outside

> 344. A much greater impediment than snowstorms is the agitated sea when meter-high waves roll up from the south and churn up the water even in remote channels.

activity impossible seldom last more than three or four days, and that, after all, can be endured. In such periods of fasting the people quickly become emaciated, but as soon as they have enough food they recover almost as quickly, and then they can eat quite surprising quantities of meat." Sometimes the emergency can reach such a point that the people begin to chew pieces of leather. Darwin (d):245 ventured the false assertion [266] that "if in winter they are plagued with hunger, they would sooner kill and eat their old women than slaughter their dogs." The reliable Bridges (h):206 (345) and later Hyades (q):339

> 345. He specified: "There have been occasions of extreme hunger, when bad weather kept them from obtaining provisions from the forest, shore, or sea, during which they ate their leather shoes and thongs, but no one thought of proposing the eating of human flesh" /translated from Spanish/.

both very definitely disagreed with this. The Indians, however, [674] do steal from any European settled there if they are unable to obtain the most necessary food in any other way (346). When the

> 346. Bridges (e):333, for example, concedes this: "The natives killed some cattle and goats, and they steal crops from the fields; still, one is surprised at the limited extent of their thefts, if one considers the half-starved state in which they live."

/981 cont./

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already said: "Gifts are most common, and it is considered a great affront to refuse a gift, which is also expected to be returned with something the giver wants" /cited in English/. Cf. Cooper:179.

is not customary among these Fuegians /982/ to wish for a particular present from someone. Such expressions would be rebuffed as bold presumptions. Anything a person needs he can and should obtain through barter. From all this we see that gift-giving, which, as such, is limited, has many unpleasant aspects.

5. Violation of the Right of Ownership

•674 Our Fuegians anxiously guard their right to the various belongings which they call their own. Violations are judged very severely and are avenged by giving the person a bad reputation. Not a single reliable observer will deny that now and then there is a case of theft among these Indians. Many exaggerated judgments, however, must be rejected as false and unfounded assertions (397). For example, Admiral B.J. Sulivan gives no justification for representing them as among the most thievish of human beings (MM:XV,131; 1881). Hyades (g):39 approaches the real facts of the matter in the following words: In the settlement of the Mission Scientifique in Orange Bay, "Where they were permitted entrance and free movement throughout the day, there were nevertheless not the slightest thefts. In this respect, therefore, the Fuegians are decidedly better than their reputation." Despard, on his journeys through the territory of the Yamana, was occasionally accompanied by Jemmy Button and his family.

397. In Outes (g):53 we read the following obvious exaggeration: "The dogs, like their owners themselves, steal a good deal and, if not carefully watched, loot the stores of provisions" /translated from Spanish/.

/982 cont./

674 On Pictón Island and in Wulaia, Jemmy had to defend himself energetically against the thievish behavior of his countrymen. Nevertheless Despard (b):734 comments upon this: "As on our former visits, not the slightest contention marred our harmony; we found no thieving attempted on our property on shore, though some small articles were stolen by a visitor or visitors on board" /cited in English/. Bridges wavers in his judgment and once mentions that the Indians steal from each other when one pulls out the other's swedes where they are planted. Hence no one leaves his swedes in the ground until they are fully matured; "they are not half grown, but he cannot venture to leave them longer on account of the stealing" /cited in English/. The same missionary adds: "The natives respect our things much more than their own people's, and we oftentimes wonder that with so little power to repress or punish, we are so little troubled by the audacity, stealing, or vice of the people" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 12;1875) (398).

398. On August 15, 1875, Bridges corroborates his opinion with the following observation: "As usual, gave a contribution of cooked rice in school-room, and am truly thankful that on no occasion have we missed any of the spoons and vessels used promiscuously by the natives. There are twenty-four canoes here at present; about 120 persons living in twelve different houses" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 193; 1875).

In April, 1884, he writes: "They cannot cease stealing, and parties on the eve of departure come /983/ into the gardens by night, and fill their sacks and depart, committing lesser thefts meanwhile. The temptation is great, and as they can do so, and suffer little, they hesitate not" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 185; 1884). A person who judges fairly must admit that theft occurs sporadically and is always branded as a crime (399).

399. In this respect Cooper:179 correctly says, "stealing is considered decidedly reprehensible" /cited in English/.

/983 cont./

●674 Without wishing to detract from the true uprightness of the Yamana, it must be pointed out that a number of circumstances make stealing difficult. The total possessions of every person consist of only a few pieces. He can therefore easily keep an eye on all that belongs to him and would immediately notice something missing. As soon as it is missed, the one person who could be the thief is easily identified, for there are no crowds in which the guilty one could disappear. Everyone notes very carefully who has come near his hut on this or that day. A further difficulty is hiding a stolen article and keeping it safely concealed. The owner would immediately recognize his own work, and he watches attentively for what he has lost. The filched article would invariably stand out among the few items that anyone owns. Stealing would be just as unprofitable among our Yamana as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 439). Even an insignificant article that has been stolen never makes the thief very happy (400); sooner or later he will get

400. In this connection Dabbene (b):198 says: "They know perfectly well that when they steal they commit a punishable act, for they hasten to hide the object taken" /translated from Spanish/.

rid of it again (401).

401. On April 26, 1871, Bridges (i):20 had a surprising experience. "This evening, Oosiahgoo came to the door saying he had a dreadful pain in his stomach. I let him in and immediately he began to retch most dreadfully. Before I could pass him to get a light he gave me my knife which he stole last Friday evening. He pretended to have vomited it up, which of course I would not credit. However when he came into the kitchen I saw that the violent retching had brought great abundance of tears to his eyes, which had run profusely down his cheeks" /cited in English/. Then Bridges remembered

/983 cont./

674 the circumstances under which the Indian mentioned had filched the little knife unnoticed and probably immediately swallowed it in order to remain undetected.

685 558 626 The high degree of sensitivity of the Yamana is sufficient to explain why they seriously punish a thief. Thievish actions by one of their people affects them very painfully and unpleasantly, even if they themselves are not harmed by it. The thief is generally despised, and even after many years of irreproachable conduct, he rarely succeeds in improving his reputation. Only in exceptional cases is the thief given a few blows by the injured owner (402).

402. Only Dabbene (b):198 mentions that "the thief is castigated when he is discovered" /translated from Spanish/.

In case of aggravating circumstances, a theft may even lead to a dispute involving several families. In general the Yamana avoid associating with a thief or they turn away from him with unmistakable /984/ aversion, so that, excluded from the society of his nearest fellow-tribesmen, he stands alone (403). This punishment

403. Darwin (d):243 evidently met such an ostracized individual in Goeree Road near Lennox Island. "The man evidently lived by himself and York Minster said he was a bad man who had probably stolen something."

of being ignored and ostracized is more effective than scoldings and whippings.

673 577 The extent to which the Yamana abhor a tendency to steal can be surmized from their urgent warnings to young people, as well as from their many expressions and linguistic subtleties in the designations for stealing. Koppers (d):189 took most of the expressions from BD. "There are words for thief, stealing, robbing. Furthermore for: to cause theft, to accuse of theft, to punish it. Also, however: to return stolen goods, to steal no

/984 cont./

673 577 more. Finally: to guard against being robbed, and, with this in mind, to entrust someone with the duty of watchman." The Indians are quite right in being concerned about their goods and chattels which, as such, are meager, for what they own is usually of vital necessity to them, and they could hardly relinquish them without seriously endangering themselves.

674 Since stealing does occur, however, in spite of being severely condemned, an explanation must be sought. One must never forget that the Yamana consider themselves to be at a disadvantage with Europeans and that they have been dispossessed by all those who have settled there as farmers or traders. They rob the Whites in order to get their rights and particularly to be repaid for losses. A person who is only trying to recover damages cannot be labeled a thief in the strict sense of the word (404). Moreover, the natives

> 404. Spears:67 makes the distinction that among the natives themselves "crimes against property were rare. As to the property of white men they were called thieves and robbers. Fitz-Roy is particularly severe on them in describing their lax notions about property" /cited in English/.

have been cheated in barter by many a European who did not know their principles and ideas of value. When this happened, they sought, by confiscating useful things, only what belonged to them according to their own ideas of justice. They saw an abundance of objects, whose value was unknown to them, in the possession of Europeans who visited them in the past century. According to their tribal custom, everyone shares his abundance with others; hence they thought they were justified in stretching out their hands toward the supposed abundance of the Whites.

Weddell's:152 supplies of iron were stolen twice, whereupon, by means of light punishment, he called the attention of the thief to his wrongdoing. A different attitude then developed among the natives and "they were ever after afraid even to lift a piece of iron without permission" /cited in English/. After that nothing was stolen from Weddell. He, as well as many another seafarer,

/984 cont./

674 expressly points out that the rich selection of the oddest things and the strangest implements fairly challenged these natives to reach out for them and /985/ entertain themselves with them, without actually intending to steal. They have pilfered all kinds of things just for amusement or in roguish high spirits.

How punctiliously our Yamana respect the property rights of Europeans is shown in recent times, since they have formed a clear opinion about their relations to the Whites. The belongings of the latter are just as safe in Tierra del Fuego as in other parts of the world, but anything that they leave lying around in the open is thoughtlessly abandoned to confiscation by the first person who comes along. No European in the Cape Horn region need fear major burglaries and premeditated banditry on the part of the Yamana. Although I lived with them for months, I never lost the most insignificant thing. On my third journey, as I was leaving Puerto Mejillones after the Kina celebration, I threw away a pair of worn-out stockings beside the wooden house of Santiago. I was already sitting in the canoe when Santiago came running and, waving them high in the air, called loudly: "Martin, you left your stockings here!" It was not until I told him, "I do not need them anymore, keep them for yourself!" that the faithful old man calmed down and went back into his house.

The relatively clear and definite regulation of property relations among the Yamana contributes very considerably to the orderly, peaceful existence of the tribal society. Each of them is very exact about the prevailing rules and customs, and violations of the rights of ownership and property of tribal members are actually rare.

F. Feuds and Blood Vengeance

156 578 Compared to the Selk'nam, the Yamana impress the superficial observer as peaceable people. We must also admit that protracted brawls do not occur as often among them as among the Selk'nam. All this, however, does not alter the scarcely surprising fact that our Yamana, too, are very excitable and easily offended out of an exaggerated feeling of honor. In many things pertaining to their person, things that we Europeans regard as utterly unimportant, they show a sensitiveness which is quite

/989 cont./
578 seriously and habitually. The same serious situation arises when a
152 woman leaves her husband, for she usually tries to steal away because of a love affair with another man.

627 The thirst for revenge is, of course, most deeply aroused by
674 an actual, premeditated murder, and nothing sets families against each other so violently as this act. For the Yamana every human life, even that of a child, is most precious and sacred (Bridges [h]:205); hence murder is an utterly abhorrent deed (408). There

408. In this connection compare our account of infanticide (p. 528) and abortion (pp. 491, 535).

are exceptions, however, Most murders come about through adultery.
[837] For example, if a married man is looking for a new tie and leaves his wife without cause, her relatives take her part, and they demand that the faithless husband give an account of himself or they simply take the law into their own hands and murder him. They say: "This woman joined herself to this man and they should live together to the end of their lives; since he failed in his duty, he must be punished!" Divorce without adequate cause is an offense against a generally recognized law. Each murder of this kind unleashes a serious /990/ danger for another human life because of the obligation for blood vengeance, and the danger is even greater in the case of a murder for an insignificant reason (409). In view

409. Bridges (VSA:XI, 260;1864) mentions: "If a man kills another causelessly, his relations are greatly displeased, since it brings each one of them into danger. This is a great preventive to blood-shedding" /cited in English/.

of the dangerous position one puts himself into by an act of murder, the individual holds himself in check, even on occasions of greatest excitement and the almost unconquerable passion for revenge.

674 It must be said that murder is rare among the Yamana, although we cannot give exact figures (Cooper:174). On June 20, 1884, Bridges (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884) attempted some statistics on murder:

/990 cont./

674 "Since our coming here in 1871, we enumerated with the natives twenty-two murders, or deaths from violence amongst the Yahgans" /cited in English/. Hyades (e):721 regards this figure as low: "it means an average of less than two violent deaths per year, and this in a country where each one redresses wrongs and exacts justice for himself" /translated from French/. He (q:375) believes that one reason for this low figure is a deeply rooted conviction of the Indians "in regarding human life as sacred" /translated from French/. Bridges later only very rarely mentioned a murder (410). All this,

> 410. Without further explanation he (MM:XVIII, 184; 1884) writes, for example: "Here [near Ushuaia] I found the native John Willis, who killed his wife some two years ago" /cited in English/.

however, does not make me change my own opinion that murder occurred at least twice as often as Bridges and Hyades say. I am relying on the dependable reports of the Lawrence brothers and aged Indians. We must keep in mind the irascible nature of our Yamana and the many occasions for this deed, as a result of which they had to take the law into their own hands.

266 It would be unthinkable to imagine that they would murder a person out of cannibalistic intentions. There is no convincing proof of anthropophagy; reliable informants emphatically deny this custom, and the Lawrence brothers never heard of it, to say nothing of never having observed it. Instances of it, beginning with the L'Hermite fleet (p. 51 /untranslated/) which is referred to for affirmation, have never been absolutely settled. Bridges (i):14 decidedly opposes this false accusation, since for all of them "is human life a very sacred thing and for this reason all the relations of the murdered person were in honour bound to avenge his death" [825] /cited in English/. The Yamana even detest animals that gnaw at human corpses, such as foxes, rats, and vultures. They do not even take water from brooks where there are many rats, and they give as their reason: "Animals that devour human flesh drink of this water!" If they see a dog come up to a corpse and start devouring it, or even try to dig out a body, they beat it on the spot, even

/994 cont./

627 that makes a stealthy act seem advisable to a person. This is a favorite procedure of the yékamuš. The following method has proved successful. A person who wishes to do away with his opponent inconspicuously will discuss his plan with two or three trusted friends. One day they invite the opponent in the most unobtrusive way possible to accompany them on a hunt for young or full-grown cormorants. The other may not and will not refuse the invitation because of the compulsory rules of social intercourse. Unsuspecting, he lets himself be tied to a rope at the top of the steep rock wall and slides down (p. 235). At the proper moment and without any kind of signal, his adversaries cut the rope at the top, and he plunges down and breaks his neck. These malefactors afterwards tell other people that the man, due to his own carelessness, was killed on the cormorant hunt. Spears: 68 mentions this stealthy procedure, as Outes (g):58 did earlier, and is right in calling it "a favorite way of killing an enemy" /cited in English/; this method, however, is rarely used.

278 The plant kingdom offers not a single efficacious poison,
825 but the blubber of the grampus ēpā̆jačī (Orca magellanica), a
674 pilot fish of the large cetaceans (p. 37 /untranslated/), is regarded as poisonous. I was assured, confidentially, that this blubber had been given now and then, its efficaciousness having been discovered long ago. Masemikens told me the following story which is widespread. Once in the west several people found a dead ēpā̆jačī lying on the beach. /995/ Its meat and fat were still fresh, so some of them ate some of it. Soon afterward these people died. Once Hawaten also came to this place. He was a crafty man. Before he ate, he wanted to find out whether this fat caused death. Unobtrusively he gave a man a small piece of it. The man immediately died. Thereupon he said to himself: "Good, that serves my purpose!" He took a large piece of fat from the ēpā̆jačī, cut it into small pieces, and filled a pouch made of the stomach of a šěkuš (Chloēphaga hybrida). Then he returned to the east. If he wanted to kill someone, he stealthily stuck a small piece of the fat from the ēpā̆jačī into the person's food. He did this several times and a number of men died. Hawaten was quite generally hated and avoided because of his malevolent disposition. -- Thus it was through him that the actual or alleged strength of this poison became known.

/1025 cont./

627 fact, his specific rights are recognized and defended. Sometimes it is definitely up to him to seek his own justice. This is particularly true in case of a murder, and similarly if someone suffers damage to his vital possessions or if his reputation or that of his close relatives and friends is belittled. A person whose own life is threatened or whose close relative falls into the hands of a murderer has a right to exercise club law (442). This is most

•[681]

442. Compare Gusinde (ℓ):169. Among the Yamana there is absolutely no trace of an actual death penalty applied in various ways and according to a particular type of crime, as is reported in Outes (g):58.

obviously revealed in the obligation for blood vengeance, which affects a wide circle of people (p. 901). /1026/ Public opinion is the indisputable, sole power that preserves all their arrangements and their traditional customs. It also is the means for providing the individual and the community adequate satisfaction for any injustice which they have suffered. All kinds of proof of this are offered by each of the different age groups and in everyday life with its changing events.

577 626 Inasmuch as the individual is a member of the whole -- no matter whether this is thought of as a small or large circle -- his honor is also its honor, and from this our Fuegians derive the duty to protect and defend, not only the reputation, but the rights of the other person generally. Everyone must intercede in favor of his relatives and close friends; he must defend their good reputations and their possessions. For example, this implies that in the presence of guests one must not speak disparagingly of their habits or their home districts; should one do so, the guests would immediately have to defend themselves. Following this line one also finds an explanation for the fact that disputes between two or three persons are supposed to be adjusted as soon as possible by those who are close to them. It is even more imperative for everyone to see to it that he is on the best of terms with his relatives, that he does not treat them even in an unfriendly fashion, much less harm them or wrong them. The Yamana use a very meaningful word, according to BD:428, tauwárū, "to rebuke with much to-do the relatives

586 second wife. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

888 The aged were, according to all dependable evidence, usually respected, well treated, and well cared for. Neither abandonment or killing of the aged was ordinarily practiced but may have occurred in exceptional cases.

621 Political life.—Over and above the biological family there was no closely organized larger group or constituted authority. There were no sibs, secret or other societies, or social classes, and no chiefs or ruling group or caste of any kind. Each biological family was for most practical purposes a sovereign political unit. The sense of individual independence was deep. No man took or brooked orders
555 or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

612 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

619 The five regional divisions of the *Yahgan*, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

621 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been composed, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1926 b, p. 5). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Ushuaia, for instance, occupied 20 miles (32 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups,
[622] these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function was that of holding the *čiéxaus* initiation rite. The leader chosen
[881] therefor had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the *čiéxaus* rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social conformity and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

628 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case
[882] of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which slings,

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Yahgan SHS

clubs, fists, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did not exist, and the *Yahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups appear to have been normally irenic, but violence and bloodshed were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually intervened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast. Bridges found 22 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1884—an annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that of the United States. Mercy killings occurred for the purpose of putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human sacrifice was unknown; so too was premeditated suicide.

The evidence that the *Yahgan* practiced no form of cannibalism—gastronomic, famine, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of devouring human flesh.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—The *Yahgan* resented and avenged exploitative trespass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part thereof by non-*Yahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gusinde, 1937, pp. 964-965) or, according to Koppers (1938 b, p. 176), of any one of the numerous local groups, by nonmembers. Since these local groups seemingly were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Yahgan* land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting-ground system. There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast on a stranded whale, and to gather firestones and suitable canoe bark, which were found only in certain parts of the *Yahgan* territory. Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adornments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things. The ownership of certain other things—food, hut, canoe—appears to have been vested in the biological family.

Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor, donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-

591 after which they would usually go for good to the groom's kin. Thus, localized groups of kin tended to be paternal.

604 After marriage the husband's paternal uncle and the wife's maternal aunt took particular interest in them, superseding in large measure their respective parents. Children-in-law were expected to 606 look after their parents-in-law in sickness or other needs. Children-in-law observed a number of avoidances regarding their parents-in-law: greeting their parents-in-law, speaking to them or breaking in on their conversation with remarks, looking at them, and sitting down beside them were all taboo. When in the same hut with their parents-in-law, they turned their sides or backs on them. A year or so after marriage, the restrictions between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law were partly, but never wholly, relaxed; those between son-in-law and father-in-law lasted through life. On visits of the father-in-law to his daughter, he and his son-in-law communicated wishes and news through the daughter and wife or by indirect discourse.

562 The man was, in theory, considered the head of the family, with 593 authority to rule. Actually, his authority was very far from absolute, and the woman was largely her own mistress, particularly in such provinces of her own as child rearing, food gathering, and canoe managing. Some men domineered over their wives, but not a few husbands were under the thumbs of their spouses. Some husbands were cruel, but if so they ran afoul of the wife's kin. More generally, woman's position both in the family and in the community seemed a respected one, not that of a drudge, slave, or inferior being, and she enjoyed a fairly high degree of freedom and independence.

684 Adultery was disapproved by the *Yahgan* code, but apparently 839 the code suffered appreciable infringement in practice. Adultery on the wife's part was, if discovered, punished by the husband with sound beatings, very rarely with death. Public opinion disapproved of her behavior. Adultery on the husband's part also gave rise to domestic battles in which the husband sometimes suffered severe treatment at his offended wife's hands. Jealousy on the part of both husband and wife was common. Wife lending was absent. There [648] was no professional prostitution; a woman, married or unmarried, of markedly loose character was looked down upon.

586 Separation and divorce were fairly frequent, but were not lightly resorted to. The most common cause appears to have been cruel treatment of the wife by the husband, though there were other causes such as marked laziness, negligence, or crabbedness on the part of the wife. In case the wife became incapacitated through illness or age, [E-5] the man could, and, it seems, more commonly did, take to himself a SECOND WIFE.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Among the Yahgan, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Ona. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will soon abandoned the undesired husband. In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 206) a man might have from one to four wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by custom. 583 586 595

Infidelity resulted in no fixed *form of punishment*, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yahgan man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his amours, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him. 684

Children

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted orphans set down in the mission records, the Yahgan did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon put an end to them or drove them under cover. 858 847 [797]

Soon after birth had taken place the Yahgan mother bathed in the sea and the new-born child was also immersed in order to toughen it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° to 50° Fahrenheit, while the air at best could be described as no warmer than temperate. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that soon after birth all but the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly eliminated. 846

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see incipient couvade.

Games and Amusements

The Yahgan to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much care and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling, and stones; but while these exercises often assumed the form of 517 526 857

423 /964 cont./
648 opposition for a long time has led to absolutely no result, the
797 Yamana have never given up their exclusive legal claim to their native region.

423 They trace this claim back to their so-called revolutionary
173 myth, which tells that in ancient times the women who were playing kina pushed into this region and continued their secret ceremony here. Since this time, they say, all the Yamana have remained in one and the same place, and inasmuch as they were the first to take possession of this land for themselves, it has become their property.

423 The nature of the landscape has divided the whole Yamana
635 territory into five large districts in which an equal number of dialects have developed (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each dialect group regards its home as, in a special sense, the common property of all its members. It is the field in which each one may devote himself to the hunt for food without restraint. To begin with, the individual has no vested right to a specific animal and no priority in obtaining special products of the land. Without discrimination, everything within the boundaries of the dialect region is available to everyone living there. Thus, with regard to the natural products of their circumscribed homeland, there is no personal property right; this becomes valid only at the moment when a person appropriates something for himself.

423 It is no less important to point out that only the members
635 of the same dialect group may take what their circumscribed area /965/ holds. Persons whose homes are in a neighboring
685 district generally do not have the right to cross the boundaries. A few exceptional cases are regarded as legally valid. If these exceptions are misused, however, disputes may be kindled and, to be sure, precisely because of violation of the sovereign rights which only the actual owners of this region enjoy. They alone may indiscriminately appropriate in it whatever they need in the way of animals and goods, even if some of it serves in barter with people of another group.

It is obvious that every individual will defend the common possessions of his dialect group, to which he belongs by birth or marriage and in which he himself has a share. Whenever and wherever he observes encroachment by a neighbor, he at least disapproves of it and speaks of it to others in his immediate

/965 cont./

423 neighborhood. Sometimes the malefactor must atone dearly for
635 his offensive violation of land rights. The Fuegians are even
685 capable of ruthless intolerance toward him. The treatment accorded a certain Okokko may serve as an example. The missionaries with whom he had lived for many months on Isla Keppel wanted him to start a sort of "model farm," like the European prototype, in the center of the region of his countrymen, namely, in Liwya. This, however, was not his home. A small frame house was built for him and a goodly store of provisions left behind so that he could get along for about seven months. His nearest neighbors, however, would not tolerate him there, for, according to them, he was an intruder. They avenged the violation of their land rights in that "Okokko's house, and goats, and property, had been destroyed by fire" /cited in English/. In this case, envy doubtless intensified the mania for destruction (p. 297 /untranslated/).

423 Despite due recognition of the land rights belonging to each
635 dialect group, certain circumstances have nevertheless created legally valid exceptions to the exclusion of one group by another. The basic idea holds for an emergency situation when all doors must be open to every member of the tribe from every direction. This applies first of all to the procurement of raw materials for objects which no one can do without. Uniform, thick beech trunks which furnish suitable pieces of bark for the canoe flourish only in certain places, and there are only a few spots where flint is to be found (p. 41). For anyone seeking these two indispensable kinds of objects the boundaries of the dialect groups, which are drawn on other occasions, do not exist.

Furthermore, anyone who suffers serious hardship in his own region and is threatened by hunger may, without formality, cross the boundary and supply himself in the neighboring territory. It would be inconceivable for our Yamana to deny anyone access to a place where he can save himself from death by starvation. He is permitted to remain there undisturbed until he can demonstrably find subsistence in his own homeland. The most common causes of temporary calamities are: persistent bad weather /966/ regions where canoe trips are difficult in any case, namely, near the outlying islands; no less frequently, the loss of one's canoe; less often, the death of a wife who leaves a man with several small

/983 cont./

674 the circumstances under which the Indian mentioned had filched the little knife unnoticed and probably immediately swallowed it in order to remain undetected.

685 558 626 The high degree of sensitivity of the Yamana is sufficient to explain why they seriously punish a thief. Thievish actions by one of their people affects them very painfully and unpleasantly, even if they themselves are not harmed by it. The thief is generally despised, and even after many years of irreproachable conduct, he rarely succeeds in improving his reputation. Only in exceptional cases is the thief given a few blows by the injured owner (402).

402. Only Dabbene (b):198 mentions that "the thief is castigated when he is discovered" /translated from Spanish/.

In case of aggravating circumstances, a theft may even lead to a dispute involving several families. In general the Yamana avoid associating with a thief or they turn away from him with unmistakable /984/ aversion, so that, excluded from the society of his nearest fellow-tribesmen, he stands alone (403). This punishment

403. Darwin (d):243 evidently met such an ostracized individual in Goeree Road near Lennox Island. "The man evidently lived by himself and York Minster said he was a bad man who had probably stolen something."

of being ignored and ostracized is more effective than scoldings and whippings.

673 577 The extent to which the Yamana abhor a tendency to steal can be surmized from their urgent warnings to young people, as well as from their many expressions and linguistic subtleties in the designations for stealing. Koppers (d):189 took most of the expressions from BD. "There are words for thief, stealing, robbing. Furthermore for: to cause theft, to accuse of theft, to punish it. Also, however: to return stolen goods, to steal no

437 rency of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
[439] on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
[804] with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
[436] gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

768 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
428 ceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Such burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the surviviors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

574 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 **Labor.**—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries.
[262] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[562] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to man and woman jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.

/802 cont. /

622 single person with legal authority at the head of the whole tribe or the individual groups. Here we do not even have the institution of the kemál of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 423).

692 627 Similarly there is no authoritative judge over all the people; everyone must seek his own justice. He finds aid and support among his circle of kinsmen in cases of legal disputes. The settlement of a dispute is determined more or less by club law. Everyone is dependent upon himself and his nearest kinsfolk for his defense, for, as Despard (b):716 assures us, "in Fireland is no king or magistrate. All men have equal rights and equal wrongs" /cited in English/. Decisions are, of course, not always just, and the absence of a non-partisan public authority based on legal principles damages character and weakens the sense of justice. Many inequalities with serious consequences develop on this foundation. Stirling has mentioned some of them: "This absence of chieftainship gives the violent spirits a better social position than they deserve, and a more dangerous sphere. It is left to individuals to avenge wrongs, at least for the most part; the strength and composure of a defined public opinion, vindicating right and proceeding to punish the wrong-doer are only exceptionally known. The law of the strongest prevails" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34; 1870).

It is to their own advantage that this Fuegian population is peacefully inclined. Outbreaks of violence in cases of legal disputes always affect /803/ only small circles and even this is infrequent. Among most of them an honest effort to be righteous and to observe tribal customs largely prevails. Infractions of the general feeling of justice and violations of the freedom of others seldom occur.

554 888 Among the Yamana there is no superior authority appointed by law, either for the entire tribal community or for smaller groups. There are always certain men, however, who, as a result of their advanced age and blameless character, their long experience and mental superiority, have a moral influence of such importance that it amounts to positive control (235). Thus

235. Fitz-Roy (a):178 realized: "There is no superiority of one over another, except that

/839 cont./

X881 625 the Great Hut unwittingly. They probably have no conscious purpose in doing so, but the adults wish to protect themselves against all eventualities. In order to intimidate the unbidden and to keep them within bounds, the guard sometimes climbs up the framework to the uppermost part of the Great Hut. From this vantage point he sends forth his customary call in a loud voice. Its effect is not lost, for with lightning speed the startled children creep into the nearest dwelling and do not appear again for a long time. During my first initiation the guard was obliged to resort to this practice repeatedly, for at that time the dwellings were dangerously near the čiexaus hut. Moreover, the winefkēʔa has to keep a special eye on the candidates as long as they are outside the Great Hut and within his field or vision. He emphatically inculcates on each of them the habit of giving an audible call at brief intervals so he can /840/ locate any one of them in a moment. Unseemly conduct on the part of the candidates is hardly to be feared, however. Finally, in former times he had to watch for the approach [721] of enemies who could have taken advantage of the opportunity to rob and set fire to the deserted dwellings while the owners were in the čiexaus hut. In recent times this precaution is unnecessary.

In former times an energetic, lively, and prudent younger man was always chosen to the office of winefkēʔa. Nowadays he need not take his task too seriously. What, for example, could have been accomplished by old Tomas who offered his services for the post at the initiation in March, 1922? On the first evening he was not even present in the Great Hut. He would not have had anything to do anyway, for there was no disturbance outside.

X881 625 302 When several uswaala are sitting in the čiexaus, the professional duty of the guard is increased. In order to relieve him, the leader, after a discussion with him, chooses a few younger men as his assistants. In March, 1922, none were selected because they were not needed; at my first initiation, however, they had enough to do. They do not occupy a particular place in the Great Hut, any more than does the winefkēʔa. Formerly they were painted just as he was, whereas today the body painting is limited to the forearm, lower leg, and face. On these parts of the body they too, put a white background upon which they draw

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628 721 Although isolated quarrels and fights between two persons may have occurred often, a battle between two groups provoked by a murder was rare, for a murder is now and then secretly avenged by a single relative of the slain person. The Yamana are not familiar with actual marauding attacks by one group upon another, such as are customary elsewhere. Influential men sometimes try to mediate disputes with friendly words. Fitz-Roy (a): 179 reliably reported: "Warfare is so desultory, and on so small a scale among them, that the restraint and direction of their elders advised as they are by the doctors, is sufficient" /cited in English/. Despard (b):717 expressed himself just as definitely: "Warfare is not fashionable among them" /cited in English/. The basic way of life among the Yamana is not such as to permit them prolonged fights and constant quarrels (425). Every murder agitates them

425. Dabbene (b):194 is right when he says: "Wars, in the true sense of the word, whether between themselves or with neighboring tribes, have always been very rare" /translated from Spanish/.

terribly, and its effect is long-lasting. Persons who have more or less settled serious quarrels between them avoid meeting each other as much as possible.

G. General Social Obligations

101 The Yamana as an ethnic unit are separated from all their neighbors by natural boundaries alone. Everyone recognizes his membership in this ethnic unit by a common language and mode of life. Just as definitely as they differentiate themselves from other peoples by the name Yámana (p. 197 /untranslated/), they also simultaneously emphasize the solidarity of all fellow-tribesmen in the same area. This entails many personal rights, but also obligations of all for one and of one for the society. The rights to obtain food belong among the former; property relations are based upon the latter.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

628 clubs, fists, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but
[721] grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did not exist, and the *Yahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups appear to have been normally irenic, but violence and bloodshed were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually intervened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder
[628] was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast. Bridges found 22 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1884—an annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that
[734] of the United States. Mercy killings occurred for the purpose of putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human
[768] sacrifice was unknown; so too was premeditated suicide.

266 The evidence that the *Yahgan* practiced no form of cannibalism—gastronomic, famine, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of devouring human flesh.

ECONOMIC LIFE

423 **Ownership.**—The *Yahgan* resented and avenged exploitative tres-
619 pass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part thereof by non-*Yahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gusinde, 1937, pp. 964–965) or, according to Koppers (1928 b, p. 176), of any one of the numerous local groups, by nonmembers. Since these local groups seemingly were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Yahgan* land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting-ground system. There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast on a stranded whale, and to gather firestones and suitable canoe bark, which were found only in certain parts of the *Yahgan* territory.
422 Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adornments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things. The ownership of certain other things—food, hut, canoe—appears to have been vested in the biological family.

[776] Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

437 Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor, donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

death of a relative. All these called for vengeance, but the Yahgan seem to have felt antipathy rather than hatred, so vengeance might be deferred for several years, during which time mutual friends might compose the quarrel. 628

Blood loyalty was recognized among the Yahgan, but apparently was not fiercely cherished as among the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges states that when a murder occurred the friends and relatives of the victim would take revenge, but the family of the murderer abandoned him and made no effort to defend him. This certainly is not customary among primitive people with a highly developed consciousness of consanguinity like the Yahgan, and perhaps Mr. Bridges' statement represents the result of missionary contact rather than the original state of affairs.

Organized warfare, during which any member of one group would kill at sight any member of another group, as among the Ona, was unknown to the Yahgan, but blood revenge was sometimes executed on a relative of a murderer. [721]

Initiation

Thanks to the studies of Gusinde and Koppers full and complete information about the Yahgan initiation rites is available, and the reader desirous of fuller information than is given here is referred to their various publications on this subject listed in the bibliography. Two ceremonies were in use among the Yahgan, known as *shiehâus* and *kina*. The first of these, celebrated by both sexes, apparently is the ancient Yahgan rite, while the other corresponds closely to the Ona *klókten* ceremony and represents culture borrowing from that tribe. Both may be described as a systematic educational course for the youth of the tribe—"going to school," the Yahgan called them. 881

For the *shiehâus* ceremony a large domed hut (*mânaga*), elliptical in outline, was erected near the encampment. The framework was of split saplings an inch or two in diameter, bent and set up to form arch-like ribs, and secured in place by a few horizontal beams (pl. XIV). These timbers were held together by lashings of gut. At either end of the hut were doors, one large to admit spectators, one small for the use of the candidates. On the roof they piled branches of the evergreen antarctic beech to afford shelter to those within, but the sides were left open to the weather. Rows of logs staked in place on the floor divided it into a central gangway 346

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501 Every additional person stepping in changes the unstable balance of the entire vessel considerably. If, meanwhile, a painful feeling of uncertainty comes over the occupant, he will find this repeatedly accentuated in alternately stronger and weaker fashion throughout the trip, either because of a slight change in the current, a larger or smaller succession of waves, or, finally, because of gusts of wind for which the projecting canoe offers an extensive target area.

502 Every woman is amazingly skilled at paddling. She succeeds in preventing the vessel from bouncing jerkily with every stroke of the paddle and in making the slight zigzag line of the course less noticeable. Nevertheless, a person in the boat soon feels this movement. The longer it continues, the more it affects the general feeling of a European; uneasiness overtakes him, and in this situation of increasing uncertainty he longs for the moment when he can set foot on terra firma once again. No matter how often I told myself that my Indian companions were utterly reliable, every trip in a bark canoe was for me anything but soothing. The longer it lasted, the more sensitive I became to the slightest /454/ fluctuation in the equilibrium, and in the end I was nervously irritated. Our Indians, however, have long since become accustomed to these feelings; it is not that they have become insensitive to them, but with it all, their consciousness of safety and their long-tested reckless courage triumphs.

512 731 Out of this some of them develop a certain blind confidence, together with an overestimation of their ability and their judgment of existing weather conditions. Thus, many a canoe capsizes, chiefly, however, because of the incalculable tricks of the weather in that region. Not at all infrequently a family is seized by a whirlwind in the middle of a wide stretch of water or is threatened by breakers that no one could anticipate; since the canoe moves slowly, all human effort is overcome by the superiority of natural forces (145). Many a casualty is remembered

145. We repeat here a sad incident related by Hyades (q):353: "A large number of Fuegians wanted to cross a bay in two canoes in order to look for fungi on the opposite shore; the overloaded canoes foundered, the sea being bad, and

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only two persons were saved" /translated from French/.

to this day by the Yamana; the reports of missionaries and European travelers also refer to them. In Hyades (q):352 we read: "Shipwrecks of canoes are very frequent and annually cause a high mortality. Mr. Bridges in his unpublished work cites many accidents of this kind: shipwreck of five canoes, 33 persons drowned; shipwreck of two canoes, 13 drowned..." /translated from French/. The accident is usually caused by overconfidence. These people are extremely reckless, and, as Bridges (i):15 expresses it "venturesome in trusting themselves with comparative strangeness" /cited in English/, which every observer verifies. In most recent times, however, unprincipled thoughtlessness [273] destroys many a life when Indians in a highly intoxicated state venture out on the treacherous waves although they do not have control of themselves.

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Supremely confident of their own ability, these people may even decide to take long journeys in their fragile vessel. As a rule, however, they stay within the narrow confines of their native district; every dialect group has one (p. 199 /untranslated/). Certain occasions, however, almost always the chase after the large ursine seal, tēpēʔa (Arctocephalus australis), and the pursuit of a sick, weary whale, make them forget, in their eagerness, how far behind they have left the coast. It has been proved that a few families visited Isla Ildefonso; others are supposed to have ventured as far as the Diego Ramírez Islands. They are [823] guided in their journeys by their exact knowledge of the locality and by an excellent gift of orientation.

[197] Soon after the opening of the mission station in Ushuaia individual canoes arrived from great distances, even some from the Halakwulup. For example, Bridges (i):15 mentions incidentally: "I know several natives of Cuchawulaf who come to Ushuaia in the East and in the opposite direction as far as Port Gallant and Mercury Sound; this distance is considerably over two /455/ hundred miles" /cited in English/. Our Fuegians can accomplish these astonishingly distant journeys because, wherever they land, they provide for their needs in life, namely, meat from the most diverse types of animals, wood for the indispensable fire, and pieces of fur to protect their bodies.

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271 any. The candidates in the ciexaus, however, must use the tube
445 each time, and toward the end of their probation they are in-
[881] structed to go on using it. The little tube probably did not originate solely as a precaution against the cold water. It is also used in the hut when someone has brought in water in the large Voluta shell or in a leather pouch. This pouch is exactly like the one used by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, Figs. 71 and 72) and here as well as there is made out of the stiff leather of an old male seal. Other water dippers or containers that hold the contents as safely as does the Voluta shell are not used by the Yamana.

261 The Yamana, especially those in the border regions, are
731 never at any time of the year safe from the threatening specter of hunger. It would be entirely incorrect to interpret the references of a few travelers to mean that misery overtakes the entire tribe more or less constantly (341). Famine actually cannot

> 341. The assertion of Outes (g):56 that "during the winter when the coasts become inaccessible, many victims of hunger perish" /translated from Spanish/ is inaccurate.

appear there as a general phenomenon; lack of food overtakes individual families only temporarily, that is, for a few days. The most common cause is such stormy weather with an angry sea for several days that a family cannot leave the place where they are in order to look for food elsewhere. When their few provisions are used up -- and that happens very quickly, since there is never a thought of stocking up -- trouble begins if all the sources on the spot are exhausted and calamitous natural forces put a stop to further travel. This fate will overtake a family, for example, who has fled to an island or been detained on a small island where birds do not alight and where the coast falls off abruptly. In most places on the Cape Horn Archipelago they find at least medium-sized and small mussels which are temporarily laid bare by low tide, even in bad weather. In some places they can make shift with fungi. "When bad weather lasts a long time, fishing becomes impossible and resources, always very small, are quickly exhausted; then they eat fungi which are found abundantly on beech trees" /translated from French/ (Martial:193).

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261 This shows that individual families may be in danger of
731 having to suffer hunger at any time during the year, but only in certain places (342). A family may suffer dire distress for

342. Despard (b):680 says very definitely: "Occasionally, through stress of weather in winter, they suffer hunger, but from their fat lookes /sic/, one would judge these painful occasions are rare" /cited in English/.

another, but far less frequent reason, when they lose their canoe, and do not make immediate contact with their own people. There are places where the available food /575/ animals are quickly exhausted, and whoever cannot leave such a place in time must be prepared to suffer hunger. Formerly, when this Indian tribe was more numerous, canoes were everywhere actively moving about; an abandoned family immediately summoned help by means of the customary smoke signals and was soon relieved. Finally, in most recent times, the food supplies of a family could become scarce when the family was struck by an epidemic. Children especially were in a serious situation when their parents or adult relatives were prevented from hunting for food because of illness. Neighbors, of course, were glad to help out, but even so, the days of bitter want sometimes continued for a while. It was probably very seldom, if at all, that a Yamana died of hunger alone.

261 Hyades (g):34 has described how the Indians behave in such difficulties. In times of food scarcity "if chance does not let them find a dead seal or a stranded whale on the shore, it means, of course, fasting. Then they lie motionless in their huts around the smoldering fire and get up only if fresh firewood is needed. If their hunger grows too intense, they gather the roots of Armeria magellanica (343) on the beach, and although these contain

343. Sometimes also dandelion leaves (Taraxacum). They want this, above all, to suppress the feeling of hunger. Compare Outes (g):53 and Hyades (f):564.

/948 cont./

X 881 182 even become impossible to obtain much firewood conveniently in a particular place. Yielding to natural forces, the group will retreat to a more favorable spot.

[731] It is only in most recent times that an epidemic in the common camp around the *kina* hut has forced the termination of the celebration. In olden times the people did not have to cope with this obstacle. Occasionally, however, the demise of a particularly beloved person during an initiation has been such a shock to the people present that they /949/ were unable to continue it and dispersed. Usually they met elsewhere for *yamalaemona*, the great ceremony of mourning.

X 881 In all this one must not overlook the fact that after a considerable length of time, especially when the affair has continued for several months, an oppressive boredom affects all the participants. In spite of its diversity, the daily program does not offer enough variety to keep the restless temperaments of these Fuegians interested beyond a certain period. Their wanderlust often strikes so forcefully that during the *kina* celebration they now and then depart for a few days and seek the desired relaxation in another environment. Once the paralyzing leadenness has settled on a considerable number of the participants, hardly anything can restore their initial fresh enthusiasm. In such an instance, release comes only with the conclusion of the celebration.

The leader and the overseer watch the predominating mood. If some indication makes them uneasy, they first exchange opinions between themselves and afterward with older men. After a certain amount of consideration, the leader finally requests those present to prepare for the concluding ceremony. He need expect no contradiction from individuals or from a group, and everyone complies with his order. His word alone suffices, and with the announcement of his decision, which, of course, always is made with the consent of several influential men, the *kina* celebration is actually over. The last act is a brief, but meaningful and stimulating formality.

On the evening of the same day on which the leader has announced the impending conclusion of the celebration, rarely on the following evening, a special ceremony must be held, based on two important ideas. First comes the formal adoption of the *ukwala*

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kípa	mayamonumha,	tílagwÑa:
from above	teeth show,	alas,

kímmasigaja	wéj	qíníkua	sina	yéjx	ólupe,
who may follow	cause		your	tears	to flow,

tílagwÑa.
alas.

Old Emilia from the south, who never had any contact with missions, repeated these words. My informants emphatically assured me that they were unfamiliar with many of the expressions because the latter are old and belong to another dialect. The entire sentence has approximately the following meaning. On account of that-one-up-there an old man shed many tears for his daughter whom death carried away. He shed as many tears as flowed in Ushuaia where the-one-up-there /1072/ caused many people to die! The-one-up-there poured out his wrath [showed his teeth] on the daughter of this man. If only it were in our power to wrest from him the same great flood of tears.

539 It is well known that after serious epidemics took the lives of many in the mission station of Ushuaia the Yamana referred to this region as whapana-wéja, "the bay of the great murderer," i.e., of many deaths. See pages 298 and 300 /in unannotated portion/ for details.

(20)	téi	kacumhéja	hái	ninkyanéíkéja.
	I	discontent	with	my father.

Anyone who is in mourning can use this general expression, for the behavior of the Supreme Being is wholly inconsiderate.

765 All these sayings more or less clearly express the helplessness of the grieving human being before Watayinéwa, the strong one. The Yamana regard his action as arbitrary torture, for, regardless of their sorrow and contrary to their pleas, he continues to treat them cruelly. They permit themselves such sharp threats only in case of death, and they think they are justified in ridding their oppressed hearts of their grief through bitter accusations and violent rage. They cannot defend themselves in any other way.

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1. Death

761 The Fuegian faces all uncertainty with astonishing equanimity and quiet self-control. He is able /1102/ to await death with open eyes, without fear and alarm. Wyndes (p):328 expresses himself conservatively and merely says: "They have little fear of death" /translated from French/, but this is admitting too much. Bridges (1):14 expresses himself more accurately: "They feared death because of the suffering and misery attending it and because it was the end of life" /cited in English/. Certainly, everyone clings to life and loves it very much; for that reason also the threats of Watasinéwa of an untimely death have a sure effect on the individual's conduct. As soon as he sees there is no escape, however, he submits at once without complaint. One never hears a person regretting that he must depart from this life, although he knows nothing about the new form of existence which he is entering.

165 761 [731] In earlier centuries, as in most recent times, almost all Yamana died a natural death. Fatal accidents were exceptions and murder even more so. It has been shown that epidemics have wrought havoc in the Indian population only since their closer association with Europeans. Except for children's deaths, the greater majority of Yamana succumb to old age. "Old people die because they are old!" Although in this case the Indians place more emphasis on the natural process as something they take for granted, nevertheless they do not completely forget that Watasinéwa causes death.

763 The indications of approaching death usually appear suddenly. If a person feels his strength leaving him, he stretches out on his miserable pallet and informs those present of his condition. They immediately take it into account, and from then on the nearest relatives stay close to him in order to observe the course of events. In such a situation death usually follows within a few hours. Strangely enough they make no effort to relieve the dying person by attending him, but squat around the fire, apparently quite indifferent. The person himself does not want or demand anything, for he rapidly becomes weaker. Actually the people present are waiting for a quick end and do not watch the dying one closely because they know they cannot help him. When the

/1104 cont./

763 that he might strangle the dying one in order to release him from
734 the death agony (p. 944). Loud, shrill cries announce the end to the neighborhood, and people arrive without delay. I myself witnessed the two cases just described.

Fatal accidents are not uncommon. A whole family may
• 731 be taken if a canoe capsizes. A few men drag the body of a per-
766 son who has drowned or fallen from a rock into his hut if it is not too far away. Otherwise, if the men are far from their families on a cormorant hunt, they bury the victim then and there and hasten to bring the news quickly to the family.

The demonstrations of mourning begin while a person is
763 dying and immediately afterwards. All the neighbors assemble in
152 front of the hut of the deceased or inside and start a loud, irregular moaning. Copious tears flow from grief and sincere sympathy. Everyone is again vividly reminded of Watauineiwa who has taken this person away. As was learned earlier from Bridges (a):206: "When a person is very ill and likely to die, great grief is shown, and the near relatives keep near, so as to act as mourners at the decease of the sick. They show much grief, and when the sick actually dies great lamentation is made, and the mourners weep profusely" /cited in English/.

2. The Burial

764 There is a remarkable number of reports, most of them brief,
114 however, about the way our Fuegians treat the corpse. The dying one has scarcely ceased breathing when the persons present busy themselves over him. As Bove (e):159 says, this time accurately: "They wrap the body of the deceased, which is still almost warm in a few rags." They use large pieces of leather and nowadays also scraps of sacking. Usually they leave the body in the position it assumed at death. "The entire sheath is fastened and tied with strips of leather which are tightly wrapped around it in various directions (43). This happens in any case; "the dead are always

43. Hyades (q):379 says briefly that "the body is wrapped in some old skins of otter or seal; it is then buried"; Lovisato

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 361 The densest population in this group centered on Cambaceres bay, where 367 hut-pits were counted. The camp-sites on the south side, known to the Indians as Wíkirrh, display unusually deep house-pits, while Lanáshwafa (pl. XVII, *b*) on the opposite

[102 103]

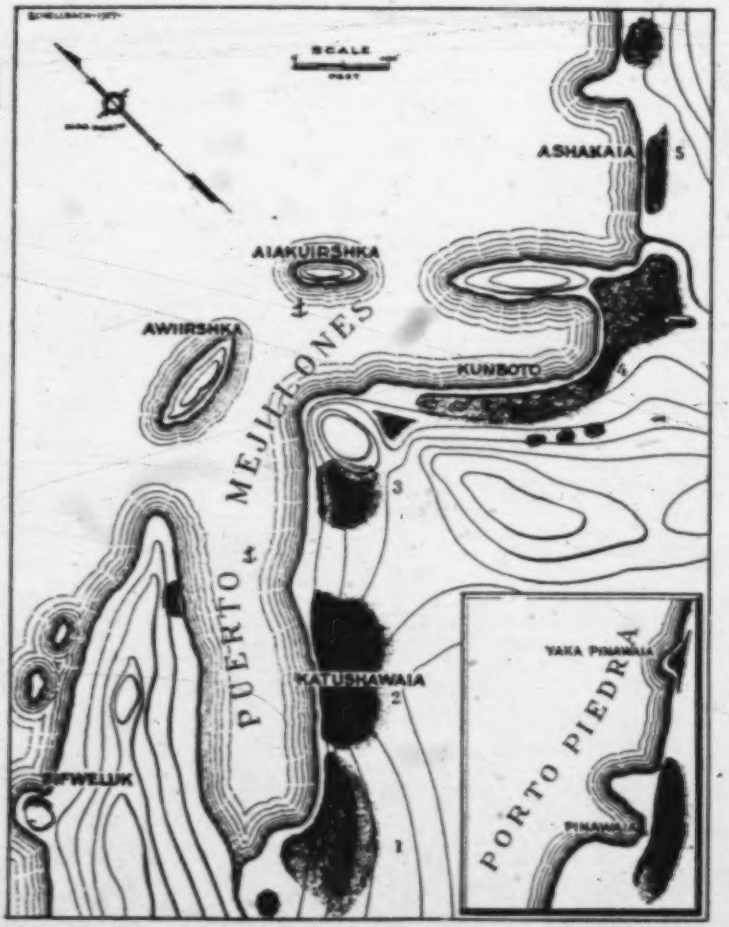

FIG. 101.—Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra shellheaps, Navarin island.

shore was evidently a later or less popular settlement, as the pits are relatively shallow.

●731 About 1880 there occurred here one of those tragedies which must have been not uncommon among the Yahgan. A dead

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

whale floated ashore, and Ona and Haush came to join the local Yahgan in the ensuing feast. But all were poisoned by the meat and most of the company died—so many indeed that the survivors fled, leaving the bones of their relatives to whiten the beach for many years afterward. 73/

Imiwaia bay (pl. III, lower) is completely landlocked and the tide runs strongly through the narrow entrance. Hence it is not readily accessible. The large heap No. 22 (Lanáshwaía) backs on it, but the principal access to this camp must have been from the Cambaceres side. In the northwest corner, however, there is a large and very deep midden (No. 17), of which we give a section in fig. 99. This is conveniently situated beside a small stream, and its approach from the entrance channel is sheltered from the prevailing westerly winds. Heap 51, on the north shore, was evidently abandoned long ago, as large beech-trees had grown on top of the refuse—the only case of this kind observed by the writer. The upper end of Imiwaia bay is shallow and muddy, and not suited for camp-sites. 172 361

Harberton bay, the headquarters of the Bridges' sheep ranches on the south coast, is ideally suited for camp-sites, and no fewer than fifteen were inspected. Of these, No. 2, which has been described above (page 181), and Nos. 4, 5, 11, and 13, are large and important. No. 6 was occupied by Indians in the summer of 1923–24. This bay well illustrates the Yahgan tendency to give every few hundred yards of coast-line a separate name.

The Thouctof bay middens, although numerous, are for the greater part small, and offer no peculiarities.

The other groups of shellheaps examined differ in no material way from the Harberton cluster. In fig. 100 we show the settlements along the channel between Tierra Mayor and Gable island, a sheltered, well-watered, and well-wooded region, which affords a convenient resting place at the end of an exposed strip of coast to the westward. The size of some of the middens is as follows:

Camp-site	Number of Huts	Camp-site	Number of Huts
4	6	9	8
5	34	10	40
6	7	11	12
7	1	12	8
8	8	13	12

/637 cont./

3. The Ideal Marriage Partner

581 Not a single essay by European travelers suggests that the young Fuegians who are in love have a mental picture of an ideal partner, created by their wishes and transfigured by their romantic fancy. The young person eager to marry does not throw himself into the arms of any partner; freedom in the selection of a mate definitely shows that everyone is calculating and deliberate in choosing this or that person. This shows that all amorous desire moves in certain directions, the goal of which is the lovely vision of the ideal marriage partner. This picture is clearly drawn by certain suggestions in the teachings of the youth initiation. Here all the personal merits and social virtues that each boy and girl must exhibit in married life are emphatically named and recommended. Anyone who will make a list of the individual words that apply to this will get a complete picture of the ideal husband and the ideal wife, according to Yamana conceptions. We need only add to this the wishes for certain physical qualities which the other partner cherishes. In the case of most lovers, these are in the foreground, rather than good character traits.

581 836 [132] First, the question of how the girl imagines the boy of her dreams. He must be strong and healthy, well built and nicely proportioned. Deformities that disfigure him, such as scars of burns or other scars and injuries, for example, broken limbs which impede free movement, make a young man less or not at all desirable (10). In former times, apparently, there were no

10. Bove (e):158 agrees: "A cripple, one who is rachitic, can cheerfully take the vow of celibacy, and women regard such a person as an unclean creature, a pariah." In Wieghardt:41 we read the same words.

obese and heavy figures among young people. On the other hand, a well-built, upright, lithe, and supple figure has the best prospects.

581 Moreover, a young man's whole appearance must definitely

/691 cont./

581 marital union with a suitable lifelong companion. If a child hesitates for an unduly long time, the Yamana regard it as an impropriety on the part of the parents.

587 The reasons for an early marriage of young people are also of
589 paramount importance for widowed persons. The duty of a widow to marry has arisen chiefly out of solicitude for her children. Hence "as soon as a man dies, his wives are married to others" /cited in English/ (Bridges /692/ in MM:III, 117;1869). As a result, "There are very few single women, not one among a hundred" /cited in English/ (ibid.) (105). Extraordinary reasons prevent a new marriage.

> 105. With this statement Bridges (a):203 to a certain extent corrects an earlier assertion: "Owing to the almost general practice of polygamy, many men are without wives, and live so all their days. And owing to the general practice of giving young women to oldish men, the young men frequently can get no wives but relicts" /cited in English/.

589 Modern times have changed a great deal of this, for they have,
178 in part, considerably altered even the conditions of life. On February 2, 1878, Bridges (i):17 reported from Yendegaia: "Widows did not long continue so; in fact, a single adult man or woman was a rarity. But with the march of civilized life marriage becomes less necessary and more difficult, and the number of single men and women increases" /cited in English/. At present, there are so few Yamana living that everyone is married; sometimes there is even a young man with an aged wife, because he has no other choice. Only old Flora has been alone for a long time; she is regarded as hard to get along with.

732 A factually insignificant supplementary statement from Bridges
589 (i):21 is added here: "Though deaf or dumb men never married, unless it were an old woman, a deaf woman would be a wife and have children -- the men remained single because usually no woman would marry such" /cited in English/.

589 What has been said about young persons and those of middle age
888 does not apply to old people. Since they no longer have their

/709 cont./

845 The Yamana say that the reason for the rare cases of premature births is great carelessness on the part of the pregnant woman in running and working or a heavy blow and shock /710/ in falling. We have already mentioned on page 491 when and how voluntary abortion is
847 practiced. A defective baby is immediately destroyed by the mother (133). A crippled child, unfit for life, who is born alive is
732

133. The following description by Bridges (i):21 fits here: "Unnatural births were always destroyed and wisely so. For unimportant defects, or such as proved themselves afterwards as for instance deafness, no one was destroyed but only for enormities" /cited in English/.

not killed, but they consciously devote less attention to caring for him, hoping that he will soon die. Such an unfortunate creature is not directly exposed to danger or hunger, but inconspicuously and purposely neglected.

Without exception the Fuegian women who have been con-
846 fined permit themselves only a short rest, one day at the most (134).

134. Hahn (a):807 confirms that the young mother "resumes her work the same day" /translated from French/. It is well known that the Selk'nam women are also capable of this (Vol. I, 366).

They feel no need for it, and furthermore they are told that they should move about and be active as soon as possible. Since giving
844 birth does not cause Indian women any difficulties, it occasionally happens that a woman in an advanced state of pregnancy has her child while at work. For example, she might go into a nearby thicket to gather wood and reappear in her hut after about three hours displaying her newborn baby. Only a few years ago in Puerto Harberton an Indian woman went into the large woodshed of the farm there. After a good two hours she returned to her family, holding a bundle of wood in one arm and, in the other, the child

/1028 cont./

888 widower he lives entirely under the charge of his eldest son"
737 /cited in English/ (444). Naturally some children are more tender

> 444. This hardly agrees, however, with what he (a):206 adds soon after: "The aged are often much neglected, yea, cruelly treated, and I have heard of cases where by their own children they have been killed, to get rid of the trouble of keeping them" /cited in English/. A person who is displeased with the treatment he receives from his own children easily finds refuge with relatives and friends.

and loving toward their aged parents than others. A person who no longer has any children of his own joins a related family or friends. This much is certain, no one is abandoned because of his infirmities. I personally repeatedly witnessed the willing care given even those persons whose lot in old age was a long, burdensome invalidism.

758 The nearest relatives and all the neighbors no less attentively care for a sick person. There are no medicines in Tierra del Fuego. They keep the sick person company and never leave him in some place all by himself. Hyades (d):307 and (p):331 repeatedly asserts: "The sick are not abandoned, and the feeble are helped" /translated from French/. Bridges (h):209 agrees: "The infirm are well cared for, especially by the women" /translated from Spanish/, and elsewhere (i):14 he says even more explicitly: "Great consideration was shown to the sick, they were well attended and as far as possible their wishes were fulfilled. The nursing chiefly fell to the lot of the women" /cited in English/. BD:427 even gives the special expression, tauxdítu, "to often visit as a man his sick friend" /cited in English/. If their own child is seriously ill, the helpless parents are in actual despair; adults, too, are deeply affected by the physical suffering of one of their loved ones.
•732 For decades old Whaits has been totally blind. It is touching to see the help and attention which his own daughters bestow on him, as do old and young in the neighborhood. Everyone is concerned about him, and one competes with another in loving service for him. It

/1028 cont./

732 was really superfluous to teach us uśwťala in the čiťxaus how we were to take care of him.

Elsewhere (p. 514) the concern of the public for orphans has 736 been described in detail. The orphaned boy, wťśakiya, as well 597 as the orphaned girl, wťśakiyakipa, remains with the surviving parent until the latter marries again. Bridges (a):202, 183 correctly asserts: "If the father of a woman is dead, the mother has the right of disposal...If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/. The nearest relatives, too, in particular the so-called adoptive mother, adakutáruwaxipa, keep an eye on the orphans. If a nursing infant loses its mother, it is reared by another woman who gladly undertakes this service (445). Thus there is not the

445. The Yamana women, as Hahn (a):806 reports, "often rear foster children who do not belong to them, but the child is then regarded as their own and owes them the obedience and respect of an actual child" /translated from French/.

slightest doubt about the rearing of every orphan, which is assured.

/1029/ It is probably unnecessary to refute once more, as 881 a figment of the imagination, the opinion circulated by Darwin in his day about the fate of old women. Bridges (k):235 undertook to do this decades ago: "The tales that have been spread about their killing old women who were unable to work are pure fables. These old women had as much security as other individuals as the tribe, for they had children and grandchildren who certainly would have defended them against any assault" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g):35 has made clear how valuable they can still be to the entire tribe: "The old women are by no means as useless as [Darwin's] story presupposes; their experience makes them decidedly valuable in securing food, as well as in the other household tasks, and it is not at all rare that young people prefer to marry an experienced older woman rather than a young girl, even though she is prettier. Older women whose husbands are dead very definitely exercise all the rights of a family head; even when they

/571 cont./

263 177 sea birds or seals are cooked in it. Along with European foods, the desire for salt was introduced here.

In the entire vegetable kingdom of the Cape Horn region there 273 177 is not a sufficient amount of a single fruit that would be suitable for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The latter were unknown to the Yamana until they were offered to them by Europeans. The navigators of earlier times often noted that our natives could not develop a taste for spirits. They have come to it only through frequent use in the last few decades (336). Whiskey is almost never

336. Dabbene (b):187 from his own experience says: "Formerly they did not like alcoholic beverages, but now they have become accustomed to them through their contact with civilization and ardently desire them" /translated from Spanish/. Wieghardt: 37 and others say the same.

[439] available to them; instead they get the thick red wine from the Mendoza region, which they call sipa, "blood." When they have 733 an opportunity, they put a great deal of this into their stomachs, and since their nerves react to it immediately, they drag their drunkenness with its attendant symptoms about with them for days. A small amount is very hard on these natural people who are not accustomed to it, and the damage to their health is inestimable (p. 351 /untranslated/) (337). A few /572/ persons, such as Nelly

337. Duse:93 writes that when in those distant regions "civilization obtruded and brought along its inevitable accompaniments [alcohol and tobacco] it became clear that these sons of the wilderness [the Selk'nam] did not place any value on them. The Yahgan, on the other hand, quickly fell victims to the new luxuries and were capable of giving up their last skin [of seal and otter] for a piece of tobacco or a drink of whiskey." Compare in this connection the more detailed account on page 348 /untranslated/.

/572 cont./

733 Lawrence and Adelheid, refuse all alcoholic beverages on principle. The former has often and emphatically lamented the devastation that alcohol still inflicts on her compatriots. She has repeatedly said that so much alcohol, which formerly was entirely unknown, has very much weakened the memory of the members of her tribe for their old traditions and beautiful legends. She is scarcely wrong in this.

276 Most men have, of course, become accustomed to tobacco.
177 They do not care so much for cigarettes, but prefer pressed tobacco which they smoke in pipes. They think this is more pleasurable, and it also lasts longer. The pipe is particularly convenient on the canoe trip. They are not capable of really enjoying the taste of tobacco; it is only the playful occupation with the pipe that amuses them. Not unimportant in this connection is their desire to be like Europeans. Self-respect and the need for recognition would make it impossible for a Yamana to refuse a cigarette offered by a European. Smoking never develops into a passion among our Indians; if they do not have tobacco, there is nothing in their behavior to indicate that they are missing something. Among primitive peoples tobacco does not have anywhere near the harmful effects on their health that alcohol has.

271 Since not a single alcoholic beverage is available to the
312 Fuegians, they are dependent solely on natural water. It comes to them from many rivulets, springs, and brooks. No matter how cold it is, it does not harm them; some people prefer it, the colder, the better. They lay stress on pure water. If they have no other choice but to get water from swampy, boggy places, they put a layer of beard moss (Usnea barbata) or small-leaved shrubs (Nothofagus antarctica) on top and press it down slightly. This causes the filtered water to seep slowly through to the surface, the roiled mud soon settles, and the water is potable. In other swampy spots they pull up a small shrub or the thick fleshy stalk of a swamp plant, and the water quickly gathers in this hole; in a few minutes it becomes clear (338).

338. Snow (a):I, 344 observed: "On one occasion, being thirsty, and seeing no fresh water near, I indicated my desire;

/1029 cont./

888 live alone, they always have a few children or grandchildren with them who are absolutely obedient to them." In common with reliable observers, I, too, have denied the false accusation of cannibalism among the Yamana (p. 252 /untranslated/).

134 It is often said that it is customary among them to strangle
163 certain people who are dying (446). Early in 1863 young Bridges

446. It is known that the same assertion was made against the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 480), but they themselves energetically denied it.

(VSA:X,171;1863) first wrote about this: "Ookokko gives me a sad account of some of the Fuegian tribes. It is a practice with some when a man is very ill, and likely to die, to cut his time short in a violent manner, and kill his young children by suffocating them. But some of the tribes, he says, are very good to the sick, and show much commiseration for their pain" /cited in English/. Later he (e):332 relayed his opinion about this to a number of Europeans and said very emphatically: "Old and hopelessly sick persons were seldom done away with before their natural end; when the faculties of speech, sight, and movement were lost and if the case was of long duration, then the dying person was strangled, and thus the end was hastened for him and his family in a merciful manner." Later he (h):209 and (i):14 repeats the same thing: "The Yahgans occasionally hastened the end of their relatives by strangulation. This was kindly meant and there were good reasons for it. It was only resorted to in cases of long continued unconciousness and utter weakness, preceding death, when the dying person neither ate nor drank, spoke nor moved. The act was done openly and with the consent of all except that of the victim, who was too inanimate to do anything. This act was called tabacana and it was done to any class of person in the above hopeless condition, either man or woman" /cited in English/. This spelling, tabacana, is probably a mistake; in BD:394 it is given /1030/ correctly as tatabíku, "to kill any person or animal which is sick and in pain in order to put him out of his misery" /cited in English/. Martial: 206, as well as Hyades (p):333, (g):39, and (q):235 have accepted this opinion from Bridges. The latter does not in any form mention

/1030 cont./

T34 a definite instance which he might have observed, and Hyades
T63 (q):242, referring to alleged infanticide and the strangulation of individuals on the point of death, relies on statements of the missionaries and is careful to say that "personally we have not been able to verify these last two assertions" /translated from French/. As late as 1929, Spencer:88, leaned toward this view, without any kind of proof.

A way out of this uncertainty is provided by an opinion for
T63 which I am indebted to the brothers, Martin and Fred Lawrence, with whom I had long discussions. They said that it is possible and most likely that some one, at the sight of a relative caught in the death struggle, lost control of himself after several hours. In his agitation, driven by his own pain at the imminent separation from the dying one and impotent in the face of the hopelessness of recovery, he may have seized his throat and strangled him so that instantly the death rattle and any movement stopped. This happened, however, only when the dying person was completely unconscious and there was absolutely no hope of recovery. The desire was simply to terminate his agony.

Only once did I come across the following remark, "taken from conversations with Mrs. Burleigh" /cited in English/ (Mbd: XXVIII, 126;1894): "In some cases when the wife was near death the husband would put her into a canoe, take her miles away and leave her, hoping that exposure and starvation would hasten death" /cited in English/. Such behavior so obviously contradicts everything that has been definitely proved about the value of Yamana put on human life that any comment is superfluous. They have
[T62] never been cannibals (p. 254 /untranslated/), nor does suicide occur among them, according to definite assertions by Dabbene (b):203 and Bridges (a):211.

18 The entire social order of our Fuegians impresses one as kind and worthy of human beings, for it rests on natural marital relations and favorable mutual relations between parents and children, between the members of a kinship group, and among all the local groups. The small population and the lack of serious disturbances from without facilitate the cohesion of the people as a whole. This social order is conditioned by the nature of the economy of our Yamana. The charming picture of the harmoniously balanced

/1103 cont./

763 152 one's blood curdles. Some of them behave uncontrollably, like lunatics, and tear the skin all over their bodies, rumple their hair, thrash about wildly, cramp themselves up and roll over the body, shake the hut framework, and scatter the fire with their hands, completely beside themselves. It is only when they are exhausted that they completely collapse, trembling all over. It is shattering to watch such individuals. The others present also behave in a very excited and wild fashion. Weeping and groaning, they bend their bodies, repeatedly clutch their hair, and pull it angrily while a stream of tears flows unhindered down their cheeks to the ground. The shrill cry has told the waiting neighbors of the dying person's release; weeping and lamenting, they hasten there (42).

42. Bove (e):159 is the only one who reports on this and only briefly: "The last moments of a dying person are announced by a dreadful wailing; all who are present take part in the grief of the family. Women and men paint their faces and hands black and the nearest relatives even pull out their hair and cut their bodies with shells and knives."

763 134 There is little difference in the procedure when a person is released from a long illness by death. His relatives have carefully observed his condition and discussed it with neighbors and visitors. The sick person was obliged to remain in one place almost continuously with one or another of his nearest relatives; friends occasionally came to inquire about his condition and to bring him food or things he could use. Meanwhile /1104/ his strength deserts him. Those who have taken care of him are exhausted after watching him suffer for a long time. The nearer death comes, the more irritable and impatient they become, so that when the death struggle actually begins they behave as though they were completely mad. The suffering and agony that they have had to see their beloved relative endure have lasted too long. If the death struggle is considerably prolonged and if a person finally loses control of himself, it does not seem at all impossible

/1104 cont./

763 that he might strangle the dying one in order to release him from
734 the death agony (p. 944). Loud, shrill cries announce the end to the neighborhood, and people arrive without delay. I myself witnessed the two cases just described.

Fatal accidents are not uncommon. A whole family may
731 be taken if a canoe capsizes. A few men drag the body of a per-
766 son who has drowned or fallen from a rock into his hut if it is not too far away. Otherwise, if the men are far from their families on a cormorant hunt, they bury the victim then and there and hasten to bring the news quickly to the family.

The demonstrations of mourning begin while a person is
763 dying and immediately afterwards. All the neighbors assemble in
152 front of the hut of the deceased or inside and start a loud, irregular moaning. Copious tears flow from grief and sincere sympathy. Everyone is again vividly reminded of Watauineiwa who has taken this person away. As was learned earlier from Bridges (a):206: "When a person is very ill and likely to die, great grief is shown, and the near relatives keep near, so as to act as mourners at the decease of the sick. They show much grief, and when the sick actually dies great lamentation is made, and the mourners weep profusely" /cited in English/.

2. The Burial

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114 however, about the way our Fuegians treat the corpse. The dying one has scarcely ceased breathing when the persons present busy themselves over him. As Bove (e):159 says, this time accurately: "They wrap the body of the deceased, which is still almost warm in a few rags." They use large pieces of leather and nowadays also scraps of sacking. Usually they leave the body in the position it assumed at death. The entire sheath is fastened and tied with strips of leather which are tightly wrapped around it in various directions (43). This happens in any case; "the dead are always

43. Hyades (q):379 says briefly that "the body is wrapped in some old skins of otter or seal; it is then buried"; Lovisato

628 clubs, fists, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but
[621] grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did not exist, and the *Yahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups appear to have been normally irenic, but violence and bloodshed were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually intervened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder
[628] was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast. Bridges found 22 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1884—an annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that
[634] of the United States. Mercy killings occurred for the purpose of
[636] putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human sacrifice was unknown; so too was premeditated suicide.

266 The evidence that the *Yahgan* practiced no form of cannibalism—gastronomic, famine, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of devouring human flesh.

ECONOMIC LIFE

483 **Ownership.**—The *Yahgan* resented and avenged exploitative tres-
619 pass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part thereof by non-*Yahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gusinde, 1937, pp. 904-905) or, according to Koppers (1938 b, p. 176), of any one of the numerous local groups, by nonmembers. Since these local groups seemingly were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Yahgan* land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting-ground system. There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast on a stranded whale, and to gather firestones and suitable canoe bark, which were found only in certain parts of the *Yahgan* territory.
422 Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adornments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things. The ownership of certain other things—food, hut, canoe—appears to have been vested in the biological family.

[442] Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

437 Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor, donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-

/643 cont./

867 whom you really like. At first every chap will be so agreeable; later when he has married you, it turns out that he is crude or lazy or unbearable. Then you will have to suffer. So, consider before you decide!" Nelly added: "One must warn young girls and make them alert, otherwise they will thoughtlessly and prematurely say 'yes' to the first chap who comes along. Later when the young couple find they are unsuited to each other, the elders among their relatives will suffer for it just as much as they themselves!" Likewise /644/ the young man is given a definite hint by his uncle to take as his bride only the girl with whom "he will live peaceably for the rest of his life."

584 586 That there is freedom in the first choice can also be deduced from the right every woman has to run away from the husband who treats her badly or does not provide enough food for her. How could she be taken in again by her parents, which is generally done, if she had previously been actually sold? Her male relatives warn the husband and threaten to take back the mistreated wife. They would not dare do this if he had bought her for a price.

584 588 It very seldom happens that two young people become united if there is a strained relationship or open hostility between their parents. If such a match should be developing, the parents of the boy and those of the girl make insulting, even threatening remarks against the other party within their own family but in order to thwart their children's intentions. It may be that a preliminary inclination toward a marital union will sooner or later disappear under this influence. Out of respect for her own parents the girl will forego her heart's desire, and since she makes no fuss about this, her clowns relatives will die interfere on her behalf.

588 596 604 Still more awkward is the exceptional case of a girl who is an orphan and very much dependent on her uncle and aunt. The latter, driven by stubbornness or ambition, insistently urge her to choose the chap they recommend. If the solitary girl is unable to resist adequately, she will finally accede to their urging. My informers emphasized that such a case was rare, and that the previous history of the case would become publicly known only if this forced marriage, so to speak, should, in an exceptional instance, be dissolved.

/643 cont./
834 in the selection of a mate (22).

22. If we consider the prevalent ideas in the free selection of a mate, we realize the absolute similarity and unanimity between our Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 321).

/646/ 5. The Duty of Marrying a Widow

587 Apparently the levirate which is in effect among the Yamana deprives the widow of her freedom. I have the distinct impression that the rules pertaining to this are at least as specific and as definitely observed as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 347). I learned the following details from Fred Lawrence and Calderon.

587 604 736 Every Indian is familiar with the obligation of taking his widowed sister-in-law, along with her children, into his hut (24).

24. Only Hahn (a):805 mentioned the levirate among the Yamana. We might also deduce it from the following words of Bridges: "Brothers often take their deceased brothers' wives" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869); we cannot deduce from these words, however, a real obligation, which actually exists. See footnote on page 418.

but it is emphasized much more definitely that he must care for his nephews and nieces; there is less insistence that he devote himself to the widow, whether or not she wishes to marry. If these half-orphaned children have no grandparents and their mother does not decide to marry another man, the uncle must take them into his own hut where he must care for them as though they were his own. Above all, their sustenance is to be guaranteed. The group as a whole takes care of their participation in the youth initiation which sooner or later becomes necessary. From now on the paternal uncle takes the place of his deceased brother for the still immature orphans in all matters pertaining

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587 604 736 to social life. Naturally, adult nephews and nieces who are married are not under the guardianship of their uncle. If the deceased has several brothers, these obligations fall upon the oldest, but not infrequently a younger brother comes forward, especially if he has his eye on his widowed sister-in-law. At any rate, the brothers come to an agreement, and usually the one who wants to take advantage of the opportunity promptly and boldly takes charge without interference by the others.

The eldest brother, as such, has a priority to his widowed sister-in-law. It is well known that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are not prevented from marrying. The duty of an unmarried brother-in-law to take the widow almost borders on coercion. Differences in age have nothing to do with it. The widow has a perfectly free choice, but she can hardly resist the pressure put upon her by her brother-in-law if some outsider does not court her. If the widow actually exercises her right and marries another man instead of her brother-in-law, the latter is not relieved of his care for the children. He has to take the nephews and nieces if the new stepfather does not care to rear them. He is then content to know that his sister-in-law is taken care of economically. His nephews and nieces, however, will always have strong support from their paternal uncle, since his obligation toward them never ceases.

587 /647/ A married brother-in-law adequately fulfills his duty toward his widowed sister-in-law if he helps her toward economic security. Marrying her depends partly on the consent of his own wife. If the widow wishes to marry another man or to remain unmarried with one of her children or with relatives of her deceased husband, he does not prevent her from doing so. Sometimes the 587 brother-in-law takes advantage of the favorable opportunity to 586 enter into a new marriage if he is not satisfied with his first wife. Whether or not the latter agrees, he brings the widowed sister-in-law into his hut, and the only thing usually achieved by it is that the other withdraws, which is what he intended. It is even regarded as legal that a married man leave his first wife and, in her stead, take his widowed sister-in-law into his hut. If their married life was not very happy, she, too, is usually very glad of the solution, and her relatives take her in with open arms. This duty of marrying a widow is practiced even in modern times.

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587 Gertie lost her first husband, who was killed on an otter hunt. Immediately her brother-in-law sent away his wife and took Gertie. When he died, she joined Chris with whom she is still living. The latter had lost his first wife to a Turk in Ushuaia. If a widow runs after her brother-in-law, it is impossible for him to get rid of her, even if he is married.

[589] In Yamana economy it is almost impossible for a widow to maintain herself alone. Hence she cannot long remain unmarried, and she herself is compelled to try to remarry. This is obvious in the complete meaning of the word kwinan, and BD:225 states it fully: "A woman lately a widow, taken as a wife by another" /cited in English/. Usually a man soon proposes to her, for a young, able widow accomplishes more and is more valuable to him than a girl who is still inexperienced. I was assured that a widower had an even greater right to his recently widowed sister-in-law, namely, that he may force her to marry him, and that he can even take the recalcitrant one by the hair and drag her into his hut. Although this right is granted, a man has scarcely ever made use of it, for he must consider the fact that such a refractory sister-in-law will run away from him at the first opportunity. A widow, however, cannot actually coerce her brother-in-law into marrying her, and even less when he is already married. To be sure he can never evade the duty of taking care of his half-orphaned nephews and nieces in one way or another, if they are not provided for elsewhere.

587 607 In general, persons related by marriage show a certain deference and mutual respect for each other. On this account the brother-in-law and widowed sister-in-law who have married are consciously respectful toward each other during the first few months. They talk remarkably little and always very softly.

587 •736 595 Thus, since a married man has the right and a certain obligation to care for his widowed sister-in-law, no one disapproves if he lets her come into his hut as his second wife. She must be /648/ economically secure and have no interference in making a free choice. This is the more comprehensive and final meaning of the obligation toward widow-marriage. It is even more important that the half-orphans be well cared for and properly reared under all circumstances (25).

25. The obligation of the levirate is partly

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responsible for the fact that many husbands have a second wife, and that many younger men are married to an older widow who has brought him the children of her deceased husband.

6. Participation of the Relatives

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The paternal uncle, indíruwa, unmistakably occupies a privileged position regarding his nephews and nieces. This is clearly evident at the time of the death of his married brother, as well as during his nephew's courtship and marriage. In the above lines we have already given a few data on the position of other adults relative to the marital plans of young people.

Following the dictates of his own heart, the young lad goes courting and tries to win the girl who promises to fulfill all his desires. The young lovers meet as often as possible, and their mutual affection grows as time goes on. If there is no pressure of outside circumstances, they amuse themselves in their amorous play without thinking of marrying soon. In their innermost conviction they have long since decided that they wish to belong together for life, without, however, expressing this openly to each other. And why should they! For the time being, neither of them reveals his feelings and intentions to his own parents; "they are somewhat ashamed!" I was told. A male neighbor and a female friend finally get the boy and girl to speak by making intimate allusions.

After the clandestine meetings and the love affair that can no longer be concealed have lasted long enough for the adults, the paternal uncle, indíruwa, one day decides to approach the boy very directly: "You have been meeting this girl for some time now. I finally ought to talk to your father about it!" Or he says: "We cannot go on seeing you daily with your beloved much longer. I shall soon inform your father in case you want to marry her!" This and similar expressions state the wish of the older relative to help the boy attain his goal. The latter realizes it. He takes this opportunity and has his uncle put the proposition before his father. Sometimes, if a boy wishes to reach his goal

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608 of the little creature as though it were her child. The friend usually comes to the mother voluntarily and announces her wish; the pregnant woman sees to it that at her confinement an adopted mother has actually been agreed upon for the child. She need not be personally present at the birth, but she is almost never absent. Every newborn child, whether boy or girl, is without exception placed under the protection of a foster mother, adakutáruwaxípa. Her husband, known as adakutáruwa, likewise enters into a certain relationship to that child, but does not play a noteworthy part. We might best characterize the position and significance of the adakutáruwaxípa if we speak of her as the second mother of the child. She concerns herself with it and cares for it from the first day of its life, sometimes given the mother advice even before confinement, is helpful to her and the child, and attends both during and after the confinement. She follows the growth of the child with attentive devotion, visits it often, and sends it presents. As soon as it is old enough to understand, the child is taught to be obedient and devoted to its foster mother, just as to its own mother. The former even has, so to speak, more rights and influence than the latter. Her voice has much weight in important decisions. When the time approaches for the obligatory youth initiation, she makes the final decision; when her foster child is considering marriage, she, sometimes without the parents' knowledge, turns the scales. The relation of the foster mother to her ward is always intimate, and every woman is very much concerned with the duties she has voluntarily chosen.

608 By giving the child an adakutáruwaxípa, they doubtless wish
•736 to make his progress, training, and protection secure against any emergency. In Tierra del Fuego it occasionally happens that the dangerous way of life of the parents results in an accident, and they are killed before their children reach maturity. It is true that relatives must take care of orphans, no matter how many there are, and most families are large, but the institution we speak of, in which each child has its foster mother, offers ample security when a child is orphaned, no matter what happens (139). They do not

139. Martial:198 is without doubt referring to this when he says: "Sometimes the child is adopted at the moment of its birth by some

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friend who acts as a sort of godmother, fulfilling this function very well" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):375 expresses himself more explicitly, saying that certain women "will later also be called 'mother' by the small children whom she helped bring into the world" /translated from French/.

let the same woman adopt several children of one mother.

608 The relationship between the two /714/ is never dissolved throughout their lifetimes. When the child is married, the foster mother continues to champion and help him. If the child has lost his parents, the foster mother lives nearby or even in the same hut. Not infrequently the adakutfruwaxípa assumes the sponsorship in the Xíkaus for her foster child which still more closely links the two together.

4. Treatment of the Infant

854 [851] Neighbors tell each other about the birth of a child as a joyous event. Some women hasten to the place out of curiosity and discuss the process in great detail with the mother; they like to give advice and are willing to perform any service. Above all, the parents themselves outdo each other in demonstrations of love for their child. All observers agree with Bridges (h):208 that "children are the object of tender concern" /translated from Spanish/. The father also loves to play with his little darling, and although he does not know how to be nearly as tender as his wife, he is not surpassed by her when it comes to sincerity and paternal happiness. Anxious about the welfare of the child, the father sometimes gives her advice about care and nourishment; occasionally both parents discuss the present condition of their child and its future. They circumspectly avoid everything that might harm it, and they guard it solicitously day and night. In general, the husband does not criticize the way his wife handles the baby, for he can rely on her; after all, she is well advised by neighbor women, and he follows

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her suggestion if it is required for the child's welfare. His wife becomes even dearer to him because of her efforts and care for the child, and from one confinement to the next he appreciates her more. This increases the regard for her among the whole family.

Once more we should like to emphasize that children are the joy of their parents' life. This is what Hyades (p):331 means when he says: "Parents love their children very much" /translated from French/. His assertion, "They caress them very rarely, practically never /translated from French/, is, however, false. True, in another place Hyades (f):586 is right when he says, "they do not know how to kiss" /translated from French/, but parents frequently do press their mouths or their entire faces against the head and face of the infant, pick it up with both hands under its shoulders and lift it high, pass their fingers playfully over its entire body when it lies on its back, and finally provide it with all kinds of happy visual impressions by means of pantomime. They also give their darling a real kiss, Ipišu, on the /715/ cheeks, which has been customary since ancient times between parents and their newborn child -- not, however, between adults. By and large, they dandle and play with their small child exactly the way European parents do. With them, however, all this goes on soundlessly, and they are less tempestuous in their caresses. For the sake of the baby, the parents carefully observe all the restrictions imposed on them before and after confinement (140). The death of a child is viewed as an irreplace-

140. Bridges (a):183 reports: "Should a sucking child fall sick, its sickness is sure to be attributed to something the mother has eaten, who, under these circumstances, does not eat whale blubber" /cited in English/.

able loss.

If a mother dies soon after her delivery, another woman will be most willing to take charge of the orphaned baby immediately. Almost always this is done by one of the closest relatives, usually an aunt. The father actually does not have to bother about finding a nurse himself. Purely out of sympathy for the orphan, many women vie for it. No matter who takes it, it is just as safe and well

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•736 854 protected in her hands as in those of its mother (141).

141. Lovisato (b):150 simply repeats what Bridges (a):183 observed long before: "If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/.

142 Occasionally it has been maintained that the children are conspicuously small at birth, and Bridges (i):21 writes: "The children are decidedly small at birth and to this fact may be chiefly attributed the mother's immunity from danger" /cited in English/. Bove (e):158 repeats this. Nothing justifies this assumption, and it is a fact that Bridges was by no means in a position to prove it. The color of the skin of the newborn child is considerably lighter than that of adults and later becomes somewhat darker. Fitz-Roy (a):176 says about the Yamana and Halakwulup in general: "Little children are nearly of the same hue as their parents' skin is when cleaned; but infants are, for a few days, rather lighter coloured" [143] /cited in English/. The slight differences in the skin color of newborn children are hereditary.

143 There is a story dealing with the external appearance of the little ones, which old Čenesin, father of Chris, sometimes told young women: "A long time ago a woman became pregnant. She was delivered extraordinarily quickly, and the child left the mother's womb without the slightest hindrance. Immediately it stretched its limbs, stood up by itself, and walked around a bit, for it was strong and sturdy enough to do this. Immediately after that it hastened back into its mother's womb. Thus the belly of that woman grew big. But soon the child again left its mother's womb, stood up, and walked about freely for a little while; then it hastened back in again. Motionlessly the mother lay there and grew big; she did not know what was happening to her. Since the child came out again and once more returned, she grew ever /716/ weaker. Meanwhile the child had grown and become larger, so she, too, swelled constantly. Finally she died as she once more lay on her sleeping place near the fire. At once she dissolved into nothingness, as though she had never consisted of flesh and bones. --

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862 gradually /720/grow accustomed to another diet. Such a pacifier, uĭlĕmĕĭki, is nothing more than a piece of fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, ĭlakuŭ (Tachyeres brachypterus), as long as a finger and thick enough so that the child cannot swallow it. The fatty tissue of this duck is chosen because it is particularly tasty and full of liquid. Before it is given to the child, it is roasted at the fire to a light brown. It is replaced at least once a day. The babies do not present a very clean appearance with this pacifier, because the liquid fat smears the entire face, chest, and both little hands, but there is nothing better to be had in Tierra del Fuego. In later months the baby is given a juicy little piece of meat of this same duck, the size of a finger and slightly roasted. This is the only baby food, for it is scarcely possible to obtain milk from a guanaco, and there are no other milk-giving animals. Like their neighbors on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 378), the Yamana women of today cannot decide to give their darlings the milk of cows or goats or the condensed milk introduced by the Whites.

853 The Yamana take it for granted that only the mother nurses
•736 her own child. It would never occur to her to place the child at the breast of another woman. Of course, if she is constantly sick and incapable of nursing, or if she dies, the child is taken by another woman and she alone feeds it. Nelly told me: "It is not good for the child to drink alternately from this or that woman." Every Indian woman, however, is glad to help out in an emergency, especially if the baby suddenly becomes an orphan (152), and, as

> 152. This alone is the meaning of Bridges' (i):21 and (h):208 words: "In the absence of the mother any other woman would feed the child rather than let it suffer" /cited in English/.

Dabbene (b):190 quite rightly says: "If the mother dies, some woman friend of hers assumes responsibility for the orphan" /translated from Spanish/.

862 Long before the final weaning takes place, the child sucks only occasionally and is nourished chiefly with the meat-pacifiers mentioned above. Then, as Nelly confessed to me, the mother smears her breast thickly with whale blubber, the taste of which is very

421 /963/ They not only acknowledge that material goods have a definite owner who has sole right of disposal, but they also apply this acknowledgment to specific relationships between individuals. [857 •736] Accordingly, children belong to both of their own parents as their property, and one spouse has an actual right to the other. Step-parents have similar rights to children who have only one parent or are completely orphaned. We shall soon discuss the fact that certain groups have a definite title of possession for sections of land marked off with boundaries.

The social order of the Yamana recognizes two types of property, namely, common possessions and personal property. The former is based on the absolute necessity of hunting and the roving mode of life. Since everyone, or rather the individual family, is thrown back on its own resources for a considerable time, it is also the sole, unrestricted master of everything it carries along, and it disposes of this quite freely. This distribution of possessions is natural; we come across it not only among all three Fuegians tribes, but quite generally among peoples with a low gathering economy.

It would be a mistake to regard the common property as a communistic form of possession, for the individual person only has the usufruct of it under certain conditions. In like manner it would [476] be incorrect to explain along these lines the obligation of mutual aid which is emphasized to a remarkable degree among the Yamana (379). Voluntary distribution of possessions in the form of

379. Hyades (q):243 opposed such an obviously false interpretation: "They like to share what they have with those around them, and one cannot say that this is because of the community of property. This community does not exist in Fuegia" /translated from French/.

booty and tools occurs as a result of social considerations, but leaves completely untouched the right of disposal itself.

1. Common Property

186 The consciousness of ethnic unity is very pronounced among 423 our Yamana, as among all primitive peoples. It is based on identity

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732 was really superfluous to teach us uwfala in the cifuxa how we were to take care of him.

Elsewhere (p. 514) the concern of the public for orphans has
• 736 been described in detail. The orphaned boy, wčiakiya, as well
597 as the orphaned girl, wčiakiyakipa, remains with the surviving parent until the latter marries again. Bridges (a):202, 183 correctly asserts: "If the father of a woman is dead, the mother has the right of disposal...If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/. The nearest relatives, too, in particular the so-called adoptive mother, adakutčuwaxipa, keep an eye on the orphans. If a nursing infant loses its mother, it is reared by another woman who gladly undertakes this service (445). Thus there is not the

> 445. The Yamana women, as Hahn (a):806 reports, "often rear foster children who do not belong to them, but the child is then regarded as their own and owes them the obedience and respect of an actual child" /translated from French/.

slightest doubt about the rearing of every orphan, which is assured.

/1029/ It is probably unnecessary to refute once more, as
81 a figment of the imagination, the opinion circulated by Darwin in his day about the fate of old women. Bridges (k):235 undertook to do this decades ago: "The tales that have been spread about their killing old women who were unable to work are pure fables. These old women had as much security as other individuals as the tribe, for they had children and grandchildren who certainly would have defended them against any assault" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g):35 has made clear how valuable they can still be to the entire tribe: "The old women are by no means as useless as [Darwin's] story presupposes; their experience makes them decidedly valuable in securing food, as well as in the other household tasks, and it is not at all rare that young people prefer to marry an experienced older woman rather than a young girl, even though she is prettier. Older women whose husbands are dead very definitely exercise all the rights of a family head; even when they

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888 and speak only in a low voice. All this is proof of the respect which is shown them. A very experienced and upright old man fairly embodies the law of custom and tradition; he is, therefore, a living example and a constant admonisher for the younger tribal members.

2. General Welfare

577 A death or an accident on the one hand, sickness or physical disability on the other, can cause a person who is alone serious difficulty in case there is no definite person to come to his aid. The public knows that it is now duty-bound to come to his rescue, and in doing so it follows a certain course of action which has been accepted since ancient times.

888 Every human society counts among its members, temporarily or permanently, old persons with the infirmities of age. They are
• 737 no longer capable of acquiring their subsistence singlehanded. They must be cared for, according to the strict custom of the Yamana, by their own children, as well as by their nearest relatives and the neighbors who happen to be present. When it comes to fulfilling this duty, there are no degrees of responsibility; in fact everyone is required to look after an aged person who is staying near his hut. The old person is probably never left completely alone, except perhaps temporarily because of urgent work. Usually one of the grown children constantly takes the widowed parent along on his own trips. If both parents are still living, they always stay together; they are often visited by their children who cheerfully fulfill their needs for food and clothing, firewood and tools. Hyades (d):308 assures us: "Adults have due respect for their parents and old people are never badly treated" /translated from French/. It is also said, "They are cared for and fed until their death" /translated from French/ (La Nature:311), and Despard (b):698 asserts that "children care for parents and grand-parents with kind consideration" /cited in English/. As long as a person has the strength, he helps himself; otherwise he must accept the help of his children and friends. As Bridges (a):205 reports, "grown-up children are expected to support their parents when they become aged; the son generally makes his father, if he is past work, a canoe every /1028/ season, and if the aged man is a

/1028 cont./

888 widower he lives entirely under the charge of his eldest son"
• 737 /cited in English/ (444). Naturally some children are more tender

> 444. This hardly agrees, however, with what he (a):206 adds soon after: "The aged are often much neglected, yea, cruelly treated, and I have heard of cases where by their own children they have been killed, to get rid of the trouble of keeping them" /cited in English/. A person who is displeased with the treatment he receives from his own children easily finds refuge with relatives and friends.

and loving toward their aged parents than others. A person who no longer has any children of his own joins a related family or friends. This much is certain, no one is abandoned because of his infirmities. I personally repeatedly witnessed the willing care given even those persons whose lot in old age was a long, burdensome invalidism.

758 The nearest relatives and all the neighbors no less attentively care for a sick person. There are no medicines in Tierra del Fuego. They keep the sick person company and never leave him in some place all by himself. Hyades (d):307 and (p):331 repeatedly asserts: "The sick are not abandoned, and the feeble are helped" /translated from French/. Bridges (h):209 agrees: "The infirm are well cared for, especially by the women" /translated from Spanish/, and elsewhere (i):14 he says even more explicitly: "Great consideration was shown to the sick, they were well attended and as far as possible their wishes were fulfilled. The nursing chiefly fell to the lot of the women" /cited in English/. BD:427 even gives the special expression, tanuxdátu, "to often visit as a man his sick friend" /cited in English/. If their own child is seriously ill, the helpless parents are in actual despair; adults, too, are deeply affected by the physical suffering of one of their loved ones.
732 For decades old Whain has been totally blind. It is touching to see the help and attention which his own daughters bestow on him, as do old and young in the neighborhood. Everyone is concerned about him, and one competes with another in loving service for him. It

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natives use the following plants for food: the roots and leaves of the uyata, and the roots of the ouwunin and yeshama" /translated from Spanish/. These are not food in the true sense of the word.

Harist:402 correctly explains, "that the natives eat only in case of absolute necessity" /translated from French/. Among these are, first of all, Ewfinim (Osmorhiza chilensis), the roots of which are gathered by women and girls during times when food is scarce, as well as yéyama (Armeria chilensis), and finally wíyata (Taraxacum magellanicum). With the roots of the first two (304)

304. These two plants are meant when Bridges says: "The roots of sea anemonies, and of a plant resembling parsnip, are much used for food and are generally baked" /cited in English/ (VP:XIII, 214, 1866).

[353]

and the leaves of the last mentioned the Indians appease their hunger (305). Of the two species first mentioned Bridges main-

305. Deppard mentioned incidentally: "Today the natives gathered and ate large quantities, unwaded and raw, of a species of dandelion [Taraxacum]; they relish it very much /cited in English/ (VP:VI, 129, 1859). Compare Harist:402 and Hyades (q):358.

tains, with not a little exaggeration, that the Indians "extensively use the roots of sea pinks and of Ouwfinim" /cited in English/ (Mbd:III, 116,1869). Celery, hóffer (Apium australe), is by no means a nourishing plant; nevertheless a person will occasionally put a stalk in his mouth and chew on it. He does this in order to give himself a change of taste and also to prevent vomiting (306).

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306. In this connection Bridges contradicts

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invoke the power from above in order to be able to take part wholeheartedly in the social games.

Every social game, just like every dance, finishes off with a loud hé, hé... or hé, hé..., which anyone utters and which is repeated by others. As we know, the constant singing is supposed to keep the evil Yetáxa (361) and other dangerous spirits away

361. The following allusion does not seem to me superfluous: although soon after the start of the youth initiation the candidates are taught that "Yetáxa" as such does not exist, nevertheless this supposed evil spirit is mentioned again and again, as though he were the essence of all evil powers and anxious fears which could bring great harm to the participants.

from the Ináxoa hut. The social games also have this secondary purpose. This is clearly shown during a game or during the transition from one to another when many a dancer, out of inner agitation, pulls vigorously on the hut framework and causes the whole structure to shake violently. As though alarmed, he utters the brief word "Ináxoa," shouting it loudly, as though it were an incantation or a means of warding off malevolent spirits. Finally another person will drum on the ground loudly and frantically with both fists, likewise to ward off all evil. The dancers are most wound up to such outbursts of fear when they are already exhausted from singing and playing and are bathed in perspiration. Then their shouts and their desperate behavior have all the more threatening effects. Thus we see how these people, despite all their joy in the games, never depart altogether from the serious keynote of the Ináxoa celebration.

There is another custom which has the same purpose. Occasionally two, three, or four women run along the interior of the hut wall and beat the back of their hands or their fists against the framework. They do so to scare away the evil spirits that might annoy the people present. They also want to drive off the spirits that cause illness, /944/ so that they will forever stay away from

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this čiéxaus. In olden times it was the task of the yěkamuď to "cleanse" the Great Hut from such evil influences, above all to ward off sickness and push it far away so that the nerves and muscles of the people present, which sometimes become tired and slack, remain vigorous. At the present time all this is the aim of the women who hasten through the interior and beat against the wall of the hut with their fists, with branches, or with a stick. The malevolent spirits are driven away, and all the participants retain their strength undiminished.

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Finally, something Nelly once told me belongs here. Among her western group, which was to a certain extent influenced by the Halakwulup, masks were worn in former times, and these also served to entertain and encourage all the inmates of the čiéxaus hut. Out-of-doors a man or woman would put on a disguise unobserved, for which they chose exclusively the long stems of a species of grass which is scarcely to be found today (362). The person would cover his head far below the neck

362. Presumably it was Dactylis (Poa) flabellata which was also used as litter for the sleeping-place (p. 25). The stems are sometimes longer than the height of the adult Yamana and therefore very suitable for this masquerade. Today one hardly ever sees such tall stems.

with a closely woven hood of this grass in the shape of a truncated cone. Two small holes were opened for the eyes. From the neck to the ankles another woven piece covered the whole body like a tight shift. Both arms could be drawn through two sufficiently large openings, and the arms, too, including the hands, were covered with this woven material and pressed close to either side of the body. At the proper moment, this masked person would shuffle into the Great Hut and for a considerable time would stand upright, motionless and stiff, in the center aisle. Sometimes the person very slowly moved a little farther inside so that the other people could look at him more closely. On rare occasions the masker would also sit down. The group would examine

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372 The vital importance of fire as such is increased still more
374 by its many uses. It is an unsurpassed protection chiefly against cold and dampness. What it means to these people who, day after day, almost stark naked, are exposed to rain and snow, fog and wind, salt water, and wet earth can be adequately appreciated only by someone who has personally experienced the comfort of the fire under those conditions. The fire, always available in the hut and in the canoe, thoroughly warms the parts of the body that are uncomfortable. In a few minutes the feeling of cold vanishes and the stiffness of the limbs disappears, delicate wisps of steam rise from the surface of the body which has been drenched with rain, and anyone lingering for a while at the fire is restored to life. A person who wishes to have its effect for a longer time makes a small fire beside his pallet or the place where he sits. He brings his arm or legs quite close to it or bends his head and the upper part of his body over it. Everyone who must stay too far away from the fire in the middle part of the hut provides for himself in this manner.

752 His inseparable association with fire also explains why there is scarcely a Yamana to be met who does not have scars from burns (61). Small children often injure themselves badly.

61. After direct observation Hyades (f) 559 even stated: "There is not a Fuegian who does not show mottling on his body, especially on his legs, due to the effect on the skin of prolonged stays in the immediate vicinity of the fire" /translated from French/.
Bove writes (Mbl.XVII, 235; 1883): "Professor Spegazzini examined more than fifty Fuegians, and did not find one amongst them free from the mark of serious burns" /cited in English/.

I saw coarse scar tissue, indicating a serious injury, on the entire right leg of a grown girl, the daughter of Felipe (62).

62. In more recent times, on July 18, 1902, J. Williams (Mbl.XXXVI, 277; 1902) reported the death "of a woman from burns.

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The whole of the lower part of her body was badly burnt, in some places the bones were exposed" /cited in English/.

It is not surprising that the entire surface of the body of these Indians and also every larger object they use exudes a penetrating odor of smoke. Moreover, the uncovered parts of their body become deeply tanned. I observed that my own face and hands became colored after only a few days of frequent visits to the Indian huts. This change disappeared only after prominent, thorough scrubbing with soap and warm water for a few weeks at home.

/367/ Our Indians do not use special material for illumination. The weak light given off by the fire suffices. They do not work at night anyway. If a light is necessary to look for something or to examine something, they strip off a handful of the bark with which their hut is covered and place it on the fire which immediately flames up brightly. In order to light a path in the dark, they wave a dry, smoldering piece of bark back and forth until it flares up. Signal fires serve to convey messages over a long distance and have special meaning.

The Indian roasts and fries his food at the fire and also melts his whale blubber there. He never eats animal food raw. Finally, he needs the fire for some of his handiwork. With fire, he makes rushes flexible for the braiding of baskets and ropes; he bends the large pieces of bark for his canoe; he dries raw materials and implements before or during their utilization; he fells hollow tree trunks by burning them out, and so forth (63).

63. For the manifold uses of fire by these Indians, see Hyades (q):345. In Volume I, page 107, I have described how the Selk'nam make use of it.

The Yamana could probably do without their clothing and their miserable hut on the foggy Cape Horn archipelago, but they could never give up their open fire in the hut and in the canoe (64).

64. "As life is impossible here without fire, the

/1459 cont./

spread over it; the latter is a reliable remedy for growths resembling carbuncles. Pustules are daubed and rubbed gently with saliva. Fresh small twigs and leaves of Macrocystis are put on swellings; they develop a slimy substance which is allowed to take effect. Fresh barberry shavings are put on an aching tooth. Loose teeth are broken and pulled out with the fingers. Hyades (p):339 says something that I cannot confirm from my own observations: "Insanity, if it exists, is very rare. The mad are treated with cold baths" /translated from French/. A broken arm is treated by first placing thin sticks and a few pieces of leather around it; then this is bound with stout strips of leather. The bandage is kept in place until the pain and swelling have subsided. These are the procedures that the Fuegians know for helping themselves in case of accidents and physical ailments.

7. The Language

It is well known that the language of the Yamana has often been described in general accounts and there is an astonishing amount of material. Many a writer has let himself be carried away, in repeated references to an unusually rich vocabulary. Bridges himself started this trend. I tried to explain in (gg):162 why he said that his dictionary contained 32,430 words. I have also emphatically pointed out that the Yamana language does not have that number of words and that a rich vocabulary by no means indicates a high level of development for this language. "Quite the contrary," I (hh):183 said earlier, "one will recognize the considerable poverty of a language from the fact that it requires many words." Long before, Garbe:336 pointed to this decisive condition. No one is to be blamed for the fact that a critical study of Yamana grammar as a whole has not yet been carried out -- F. Hestermann worked on a number of parts -- /1460/ for texts are lacking. The comprehensive dictionary of the Reverend T. Bridges was only published in 1933 by Hestermann and Gusinde, and the well-known translations of the New Testament that Bridges made six decades ago are not suitable for this purpose. I, too, should not be reproached and told that I failed to collect original texts. To exonerate myself, I may point out that on my journeys I was

/586 cont./

262 /untranslated/). If, in a period of great hunger, they would have to eat a fox or an otter (362), they are unreservedly emphatic

> 362. Fitz-Roy (a):184 says that "the otter is valued, excepting the body part, which they seldom eat unless hard pressed by hunger" /cited in English/.

about the sharp, bad taste of the meat. With the exception of the fat and meat of the whale, the Yamana do not touch putrid or moldy meat (363). Of the latter species, the southern whale,

> 363. Fitz-Roy (a):184 maintains, and Lovisato (b):142 uses almost the same words, that "they eat any thing and every thing that is eatable, without being particular as to its state of freshness, or as to its having been near the fire" /cited in English/. This general statement, however, is misleading.

lĕmuka (Balaena australis), is most prized because of its tasty meat. On the other hand, the finback, čiyix (Ziphius spec.?), is not touched because its fat has a laxative effect. Fitz-Roy (a):185 asserted that "the fins of a dead whale are esteemed" /cited in English/, but the liver of the whale is rejected. The fat of the large grampus, ĕpăjači (Orcinus orca), is thought to be poisonous, and for this reason alone no one touches it.

Our natives are dependent all the year round on mussels and snails, čipăla, and they know very well that these animals are not uniformly tasty at every season. From each small pile that they have gathered, they conscientiously reject the pieces that are not as good as others or even bad. They say that the [753] meat of the large Voluta snail, hĕflĕn, in certain areas is harmful for the brain; it makes people dizzy, and they lose their balance in walking. Anyone /587/ who observes these symptoms after eating this snail leaves the unfavorable place and warns others. [252] This type of snail, as well as a few other, smaller ones are always put into the fire first, after which the fleshy foot is torn out.

/720 cont./

862 disgusting to the baby, and after that it stays away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /sic/, fish, and berries" /cited in English/ (153), but for a long time the chief food

> 153. Hyades (q):195 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women soon commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked mussels, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the roasted fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, *ŝlakuŝ*. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

271 The young mother does not give the newborn child water from
853 a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds. The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Punta Remolino. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from
• [153] a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such matters than my countrymen!"

231 In Hahn (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs" /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

827 I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with
833 the physiological connection between conception and nursing in the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

/937 cont./

X881 relieved that I can accompany these two strangers here in the
625 X[illegible]!" Animated talk by the others.
533 Finally Thomas announced: "My stomach will soon be empty now. I shall probably be off again in a short time." Julia and Rosa, following the example of the others, exchange a few words in Halakwulup, their own language. The usual dance-competition begins between Mary and her husband. Then she says: "These two [Halakwulup] women speak the language of the west. When I was a little child I came to this region [in the central part], so I forgot the words of the westerners [the Halakwulup]." The winefkowa cried: "Are you still awake?" Response: "awáj!" He: "That is good of you to be still awake, as I am, too." Again: "awáj!" He: "My stomach is getting lighter. Soon it will be quite empty!"

For about 20 minutes Pedro repeated a sonorous melody. It sounded so pleasant that everyone listened silently. Thomas continued: "I almost fell asleep, it is so warm here by the fire. Are all you women over there already asleep?" Response: "No." He: "Good, then tell me when you want to lie down to sleep!" They reply only with "awáj." He: "Well, then I won't tell you when I am going away from here." Response: "awáj."

X881 Suddenly all the ufwala stood up, arousing all the adults.
[153] The general belief is that the candidates may not squat too long in one place. If they did so, they would become victims of an illness, they would be weak and sleepy, remain glued to the ground, as it were, and the illness would soon cause death.

Pedro talked to himself: "Those Whites have stayed a long time among us Yamana. Nelly Lawrence will be surprised that the two strangers have not returned to her [in Punta Remolino]. Well, they are safe with us and will stay some time longer!" The singing stopped because the people had become tired. Only Thomas took it up again and interjected in rhythm: "I am glad that soon I shall be able to end my song, for I, too, am tired!" Emilia joined him: "Fog from the west is covering my eyes, I can no longer see anything!"

X881 Several adults stood up. They arranged themselves in two
535 short rows. From the center of the hut one row extended to one exit, the other to the other exit; the men at the head of each row

/1949 cont./

776 He proceeds ruthlessly; he does not desist even in the face of the
761 tenderest age or the bitterest grief and greatest sorrow of a mother.
626 He is truly a Tumélikánaku, and the more helpless the poor human being feels, the more passionately he moves against him.

In his weakness the Fuegian is at the mercy of that Ahélikin, that hím hilu Ahélikin, the unlimited mighty one who punishes when and however it pleases him, heedless of the pain and woe of human beings. He alone is lord over the life and death of all. He grants life and therewith the child enters independent existence. He lets everyone have life as long as it pleases him. He takes it away and man dies. By way of punishment he sends a serious ill-
[753] ness; he liberates a person from it, but only occasionally. He causes dying "of his own free will, and no influence by natural forces or magic power is capable of prevailing upon him. The dying one resigns himself to the progress of a serious illness without much complaining about his fate. The relatives and friends also yield submissively; they say: 'Wataxinéwa is much mightier than we, no one can stand up against him. He will carry this one off, we must let it happen, we can only weep!'" (Gusinde [L]:161.)

[82] In the same manner he bestows good and bad weather. If
776 he wants to chastise someone, he has him tormented by storm and
626 rain; if he favors someone, he will let him be accompanied by sunshine. He brings success in hunting to the men and success in gathering to the women, but sometimes he also arranges that they both come back empty-handed. In the final analysis, he is the author of every bad and fatal accident. A person who is dealt a severe blow regards it as a personal punishment; whether he is uncomplainingly silent or noisily abusive, he must accept it as one who is utterly defenseless. The threats with which our Indians try to ease their oppressed hearts do not touch that Ahélikin in the least. He does not use physical force, but operates merely by willing something. The Yamana express themselves as follows. For example, a girl was admonished in the Kéyaxa: "Begin your day's work early in the morning. Wataxinéwa sees every lazybones. Wataxinéwa will [as punishment] make you die soon [i.e., prematurely] if you are a lazy lie-abed!" They also say: "He will look at you, then it will soon be all over with you!" Sometimes they also warn: "The one up there is looking at you!" This means: He has designs on you, he has long intended to punish

/1073 cont./

(7) hájia čilla akigamāni Tānuwa asūnan
Me again hit the old one in the woods

lēkēskēta; kēndam hitaualalīnānude?
my head; how I bear it?

/1074/ In wandering through the woods a man was in danger of being killed by a falling tree trunk; again he once was lightly struck. This gave him such a shock that he developed a headache. He mentions the old-one-up-there as the cause of it. That is why his situation is particularly serious and he does not know how he will regain his mental balance. -- Most of the words used here are repeated in the following exclamation.

(8) Tānuwa hája cílla akigamanita lēkēskēta
The old one me again hit my head

asūnan kēndam hitaualalīnānude?
in the woods, how I bear it?

In content this saying does not differ from the preceding one and says the same thing, but it expresses more definitely and emphatically the intention of Wataiinēiwa to let the man be killed. -- Compare the verb akigāmata, "to hit unintentionally, or by mistake" /cited in English/, in BD:15. BD:183 translates kōndām as: "such, so, in such a manner, in that way" /cited in English/. The word asūnan is evidently synonymous with ōsunna, "forest, wood, jungle, thicket" /cited in English/, in BD:46.

(9) Wataiinēiwa čikāja kēlakanīa sa-kumāsu.
The old one you will take away [if] you lazy.

This formula is one example of the precepts which are given the candidates in the youth initiation. It warns the uiwīala that the old-one-up-there does not tolerate a lazy person, but will let him die prematurely. -- The word kēlakanīa is related to kōlenkōna, "to drive, shove, push away" /cited in English/, in BD:178, and to related forms.

Besides the formulas listed here the Yamana of former days used many others containing the same ideas, which now must be

/1295 cont./

776 Yefáčel is to protect the person entrusted to him from sickness and physical harm. Beyond that, he also protects the person from all kinds of danger. In view of this, one may regard the Yefáčel as "guardian spirits" of human beings. If a child falls [153] ill, the parents believe the chief reason is that it has not yet been assigned a Yefáčel. Immediately a yékamuł is requested to do this. A person who has a Yefáčel enjoys good health throughout his life, and that is why "everyone must have his Yefáčel!" When a human being dies, his Yefáčel leaves him and thereafter wanders about alone as an orphan, independent of the others. The Yamana have nothing to say about the above and way of life of these Yefáčel. The yékamuł, however, add that the orphaned Yefáčel prefer the so-called "dangerous places." From there they continue to be on good terms with the yékamuł and are forever helpful to them.

The relationship of every human being to his Yefáčel, my informants unanimously agreed, is like that of father and son or mother and daughter, in other words, extremely favorable and very intimate. The yékamuł has an even closer association with his Yefacel. Although the yékamuł assigns a Yefáčel to each person, he need not direct him thereafter. I was assured with great earnestness, however, that all Yefáčel must obey Watauinéjwa and his decrees just as willingly and subserviently as must human beings, for "the Yefáčel are dependent upon him, just like all yámana [human beings]!" On this occasion someone ventured the statement: "Watauinéjwa also has his Yefáčel." The other people present very definitely showed by their expressions that they did not agree with this assumption, nor was anyone able to explain who might have assigned such a Yefáčel to Watauinéjwa. From certain previous statements it is easy to conclude why the complete name of these guardian spirits is Yefáčel xéola, "little spirit." Many Indians use the word Yapáčel instead.

Bridges mentioned these little guardian spirits several times 776 and /1296/ always only in connection with the yékamuł. It is 756 true that the Yefáčel means much more to a medicine man than to an ordinary human being, for the spirit performs special services for him in the activities of his calling. In Bridges (a):212 it is said: The Yefáčel "is a doctor's son and appears to doctors

/1417 cont./

Y 756 787 human beings and animals, yefǎčel, and Haǵčella as though everything were absolute reality. The people around him to whom he gives more or less explicit reports believe them and regard them as true. For example, if he cries, "I have caught this yǵkuš, hurled by a hostile yǵkamuš, with my right hand and and I am placing it on the ground in front of me," this means that the yǵkamuš performed this act in his vision, whether or not he moved his arms. All the people who hear his words accept them with the same credulity as that shown by a European who listens to his neighbor's report about his dream images. Our Yamana, however, regard everything that happens "in the dream" of their yǵkamuš as an actual event and believe in its direct effect or in the success proclaimed.

α. Healing the Sick

Y 756 ● 753 755 The field in which the medicine men are most active and in which their help is demanded by their countrymen is that of healing the sick. In order to evaluate this correctly it must be kept in mind that the yǵkamuš does not combat actual physical suffering. If an ailment has appeared, it is quite possible that a hostile yǵkamus, an enemy of the person afflicted, has sent it, and the medicine man recognizes this situation "in the dream" or through a message of his yefǎčel. /1418/ If this is truly the case -- the origin of such an ailment might be identified as magical -- then a stronger yǵkamus must release the afflicted person from it by neutralizing the sorcery of the hostile yǵkamuš. For example, if a person has stumbled and fallen or has an upset stomach, he applies a tested remedy which he himself knows or which a member of his family advises. Beyond that, however, in order to be on the safe side, he does not fail to go to a friendly yǵkamuš to be treated by him in his magical way. /Fig. 98 appears here./ An ordinary human being cannot tell whether his ailment derives solely from natural causes or whether a malevolent medicine man has a hand in it. Most ailments, especially those unfavorably affecting mental activity, are intentionally caused by a vengeful yǵkamuš in order to make the person ill or even to make him die.

/1420 cont./

X756 755 whom he is on familiar terms. He immediately treats the petitioner with what I may call his "magical manage." Thereupon the latter departs in a state of relief. The yékamuł gently rubs the painful spot with the palms of both hands, or he manages the joints, or, in the case of an eye disease, he passes his open hands in circular motions in front of the face several times. After that he rubs both hands together, holds the palms upward, and with a vigorous puff that sounds like a shrill ft, he blows the "evil" far away. He makes the same movements over a person who has inadvertently stepped on a "harmful spot" (p. 1200) or over certain foods in order to render them harmless to eat (p.505).

X756 753 755 The common people, as well as the medicine men, make a very definite and clear distinction between an evil and disease caused by a yékamuł and one that is caused by Watayinéwa. Every yékamuł can make certain of this "in his dream" or by asking his yefkel, and he notifies the people around him. If a sufferer wretchedly groans ł, ł, it is obvious that Hayčélla has caused the evil and is crying out from the sick person. If, however, an illness is very violent from the start and develops so rapidly that the victim is soon at death's door, the people recognize this as the work of Watayinéwa. In each case, in order to reassure the people and above all, the sick person, the yékamuł will try his method of healing. He knows just as well as those around him that the malady has been inflicted on the person by Watayinéwa himself as a punishment and that it is areal illness which only he can take away, that the cause is neither a buried yéxuł nor a Hayčéllakípa. Well aware that only Watayinéwa

X756 755 can help, the yékamuł tries his best and at the same time begs in the name of the sick person: "May the-one-up-there give you back your health!" If the medicine man realizes his helplessness in the case of /1421/ a certain disease, he, too, turns directly to that higher power which has caused the serious illness. Indeed, even more. Before the yékamuł begins his treatment in the case of a particularly serious illness, he prays to Watayinéwa and says: "Heal this man! But if you will not let him get well because you are justifiably angry with him, take the illness away from him for my sake! At least be kind to me, for it is very important to me to make this man well. Be good to me and give me enough strength

/1433 cont./

456 the sick person is then relieved. It may happen that a malevo-
776 lent medicine man is accompanied by his Hagʼélakipa as he
787 walks through the camp. If the two pass an unsuspecting child,
755 she will take its kéipif away. Quickly an alert yéhamuf must
march the kidnapped kéipif from the Hagʼélakipa and give it
back to the child. He calls the child to him, rubs his open hands
in a gently stroking motion up and down along the child's body
several times, makes retching motions and coughs violently. Fi-
nally he kneads the child's body and announces: "Now you have
your kéipif back!"

456 I see a certain consistency in the fact that the Yamana as-
776 sociate the fire illness with those spirits. They say: "Before
753 the general upheaval in Yíjonikipa, there was not a single sick
person, but afterward one man suddenly felt pertinent violent
pains. He was ill and could not get up. Excitedly many men as-
sembled and considered how this illness could have come about.
After searching for a long time they discovered that the disease
came from that malevolent woman who at that time escaped and
fled to the south where she entered the earth (340). The men

340. In one instance it was said that "a woman tried to see whether she could transform herself and become a Haucella" (p. 1120); another time it was said that "a few women on the Wollaston Islands turned into Haucella and entered the earth" (p. 1360). The difference in the number of persons is unimportant; the significant thing is the agreement concerning the act described.

called this dangerous woman Hagʼélakipa. Then they con-
sidered how they could protect themselves against being ill, and
they requested the yéhamuf to offer their help to all Yamana."
This account is a good explanation of the fire activity of the
medicine men.

1: Gusinde, SH6 Yahgan SH6
622, 754, 755, 776, 787, 789, 791, 793, 874

[Information on various aspects of Yahgan culture which are closely related to the characteristics and activities of the yékamuš or medicine-man, including his training, role as a community leader, curer, sorcerer, and custodian of religious lore, have been marked for category 756 and will be found under that classification.]

/1310 com./

781 Finally there are a few superstitious ideas of a different nature. Nelly assured me: "If half-grown children run away from their parental hut, if someone wounds himself badly with his ax or if he falls or stumbles and hurts himself seriously, it means that some person in his vicinity is going to die. The persons who have hurt themselves are not to blame, nor are those children who have run away. Their hésoi prompts them, and they can do nothing about it. The parents of a small child will not explain this to him if he has run away; instead they await with terror the death that has been thus announced." Nelly gave me this explanation when I told her that one day, late in the afternoon, the small daughter of Malémikem had run away with some other girls (p.988). She pointed out to me that the wife of Thomas died that very night.

[783] BD:274 gives hunlí as a bad omen for the hunt, "a supposed evil influence arising from unclean and unwashed persons after sexual uncleanness eating animals, as guanaco or otter caught by dogs which caused them (the dogs) to cease to be successful in further hunting" /cited in English/. I did not come across this view; it does not agree with many ideas that have been definitely proved.

782 Young Darwin (f):II, 327 reports: "When York Minster was brought back to his own country the natives told him that he should pluck out the few short hairs on his face. They also threatened a young missionary who had been left among them for a time that they would strip him naked and pluck out the hairs on his face and body, although he was by no means very hirsute." Hyades (q):255 refers to this and asserts: "The Fueglans throw into the fire /1311/ hairs that have been plucked out or that have fallen out. They certainly do not destroy them as a hygienic precaution" /translated from French/. Actually, everyone is

•[784] anxiously concerned about destroying every hair by fire with his own hands. Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 712), the Yamana do this purposely for fear a yékamuf might pick up a single hair and, by means of it, more easily cause a person some harm. Anyone who is certain that he has nothing to fear does not resist having a sample of his hair cut off; I succeeded in doing this.

/1385 cont./

X756 yecamoosh" /cited in English/.

The yikamuf are not united in a group or society; rather, each one is independent and operates by himself. It is a general rule that each family group, that is, the combination of a few related families, has its own yikamuf. In this group, of course, he has a certain superiority. Such a distinction has no legal basis, but exists in fact. In this sense blood ties bind the yikamuf to his group for the time being. He profits by his greater age no less than by his rich experience and the many superior achievements which he has to his credit. His sphere of duty is extensive, and the family group with which he is connected expects all kinds of help from him. If he grants this willingly and successfully, his reputation steadily grows. Finally they all become so generally dependent upon him that he seems like a legally appointed person of authority (318), but it

> 318. Fitz-Roy (n):211 accurately judged this state of affairs: "I never could distinctly ascertain whether the elder man, or the doctor of a tribe had the most influence; but from what little I could learn, it appeared to me that the elder of a family or tribe had a sort of executive authority, while the doctor gave advice, not only in domestic affairs, but with respect to most transactions" /cited in English/.

would be false to assume that the individual is to any extent hindered in his freedom of movement or in his independent way of life by the yikamuf. It is only occasionally that the medicine man acts in such a way that the tribal member who displeases him must give in or is forced in a direction contrary to his desires. In the main the yikamuf extends a great deal of help to his group and relatives in the exigencies and sorrows of everyday life. He, as well as those around him, sees this as the primary duty of his calling.

X756 The benevolent influence of the yikamuf is cheerfully admitted, but beyond that he is definitely a cause of great

/1305 cont./

disturbances. This is chiefly true of one who is accused of having caused the death of a beloved person or /1306/ a widespread sickness. For many people a *ndhamadi* may cause almost constant fear and anxiety. They cannot even flee for safety because the *ndhamadi* extend their influence over wide areas. The missionaries often complained about this. Burleigh, for example, wrote on October 23, 1890: "Death has removed from us one poor woman who gave us much trouble at Wollamon with her sorceries, and by causing the death of those she hated, andwho went so far as to try her evil designs upon us because I reproved her and some others for their sin" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 37,1890). The anxiety of a family group may continue for a considerable time if several *ndhamadi* fight each other in their own peculiar way.

In spite of all this, the people place their entire confidence in the *ndhamadi* at times of personal distress and general need. He must help them in case of serious illness, protect them against the threat of malevolent natural forces, lead an expedition of revenge, and defend each individual against all kinds of dangers which are part of everyday life. In general his activity is actually more beneficial and advantageous than harmful and detrimental to the individual and his group. For this reason a capable, helpful *ndhamadi* is loved by his people, they appreciate and respect him, obey him and confide in him. If one *ndhamadi* is more capable than another, there is even serious jealousy among the individual family groups. In general each family follows its guiding *ndhamadi*, remains loyal to his care, and defends him against others. From all this one can see how closely a *ndhamadi* is associated with his immediate neighborhood.

Although the natives themselves speak of women who act as *ndhamadi*, and many Europeans confirm this, such accounts must be qualified. Usually a woman does no more than accompany her husband in singing now and then, or silently and patiently sits beside him when he gives himself up to deepest concentration. I was often a witness to this. Chief Emilia, who was married to middle-aged Manuel, and Sara, the wife of Mathombona, were pointed out to me as *ndhamadi* (N.B). Neither

N.B. Hyodee (pp.197 also writes: "Mr. Bridges

/1391 cont./

X756 Let it be stated with all firmness that every yĕkamuĭ is an altogether normal, mentally healthy human being. Persons who are mentally inferior and in an advanced state of senility are not taken seriously even in everyday life; how, therefore, could they attain that pre-eminence which every capable medicine man enjoys? Rather, it can be taken as a general rule that the yĕkamuĭ is talented above the average, that he is more active and more capable than the men around him. His greater ability and richer mental gifts alone place him above his neighbors; his extensive and more profound knowledge gained from experience give him standing. These natural advantages give a medicine man's activity considerable importance.

X756 Naturally, there is a difference in their ability, depending on the talent and knowledge of the individual. The people 578 /1392/ know and name those few yĕkamuĭ who have performed •767 impossible things, and they are satisfied with the majority who have not gone beyond mediocrity. In view of the disposition of our Yamana, it is not surprising that the greater ability of one yĕkamuĭ has caused petty jealousies on the part of another group whose yĕkamuĭ is not as highly regarded. The one who feels insulted challenges his rival to one of the customary feats of strength. Basically they take place as follows. A yĕkamuĭ throws an object, for example, a yĕkuĭ, at his adversary. In case the yĕkamuĭ who is attacked does not recognize the approaching foreign body or cannot nullify its effect, he is wounded, weakens, and dies. If from the start the attacker does not succeed in hurling the yĕkuĭ far enough, so that it falls before reaching its goal or is caught by the medicine man who is attacked, then the attacker is regarded as the weaker one and loses the competition. All this takes place in the mental field of vision of the medicine men, which remains inaccessible to the ordinary Yamana. The latter learn only as much as the competing yĕkamuĭ themselves tell them and only as much as they choose to reveal.

X756 On March 19, 1923, the Yamana told me the following 173 ancient tale. Once upon a time there were two brothers who were capable yĕkamuĭ. For a long time they lived together peacefully, but one day they had a serious quarrel. All the

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L756 T73 also lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore that a ilima would soon be sung here. From each of the two shores a canoe carrying messengers set out without delay to bring the news to the opposite shore. The two canoes met in the middle of the channel, and the people of one told the people of the other: "Our yékamuf has just died, his brother killed him!" Soon all the people knew what had happened and that those two yékamuf were equally capable.

X756 J54 The power of the medicine man also reaches out beyond the boundaries of his own home; it overpowers Europeans, as was shown in the case of Bridges (p. 1304), and the neighboring Selk'nam according to Clara who told the following story in March, 1923. Once several Tamana were camping near Puerto Hberstón. Not far from them a member of Selk'nam had erected their hut. When they saw the Tamana there, they stepped out and began making fun of them. The Tamana felt insulted, but did not dare attack the others. Finally a yékamuf said: "I shall inflict harm upon them!" Without being observed he buried a yéuf against the last one of those Selk'nam who were retreating into the hut. The next morning when this man awoke he was blind in one eye. Later, when he started to walk a short distance, he fell over dead. That is how quickly the yéuf of that medicine man took effect. -- All the people present confirmed this incident and were convinced that it was the plain truth.

X756 [121] Sufficient proof that the yékamuf themselves believe in their ability has now been cited. They are convinced that their dreams and the things they undertake in the dream state have reality, that their influence on natural forces brings about the desired result. Whenever someone requests help from a friendly yékamuf, the latter usually begins working at it without delay. If he should not attain the desired goal immediately, he will repeat his efforts a second and a third time. The whole neighborhood gratefully acknowledges each success and the fulfillment of each wish, above all the person who obtained the greatest benefit. Thus it would be utterly unjust and false to call the medicine man a deceiver and swindler (326). After all, he has

326. Bove (g):255 pronounces this unfair judgment without any qualifications. He

/1423 cont./

156 air. They believe that Wataqinŋwa-ŋof sent the affliction
155 (p. 910); therefore, the wrath of all of them is directed against him. After that they repeatedly strike at the fire with their hands with fingers outstretched, as though they were pushing the "sickness-evil" into the flames. After this agitated performance the yŋkamuŋ promise the people that they will soon be freed of their suffering.

156 At this point it should be recalled that the medicine man is sometimes a sort of leader. This is apparent in the kina-yŋkamuŋ and in the kina (p. 1211). When a murder is to be avenged, he usually leads his people (p. 901), and two hostile groups attack one another under the direction of their yŋkamuŋ. In everyday life, too, everyone likes to get advice from the medicine man with whom he is friendly and acts accordingly, especially if any kind of danger threatens the entire group appeals to him. The following will show that the yŋkamuŋ feel obligated toward their groups. If a depressed mood, a psychic malady, or a general feeling of fear has seized the people, for example, during widespread illness, the yŋkamuŋ arrange the makŋkina, which is also the concluding ceremony of the Kina festival (p. 1209). This remedy dispels the particular spirits that have brought about melancholy and general dependency. If the yŋkamuŋ wish to calm the people after a day of excitement and prepare them for undisturbed slumber, they start the ŋ̄ŋer song. This is a real evening song, a soothing farewell to the waning day (pp. 797 . 841).

/1424/ 7. Harmful Practices

156 If the yŋkamuŋ himself has quarreled with a person and
●154 wants to cause him grave harm, or if he intends to avenge a personal insult, or if he is carrying out the secret order of a friend who wishes to do away with an opponent, then he must first of all capture the kŋŋif of the person and lock it up in a little bag, no matter how far away this kŋŋif is. He needs a tiny bit of something that is closely connected or in close contact with that person, either a hair from his cloak of skin, a bit of wood from his hut, or a tendon from his bag. It may even be a

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hair from his head, a bit of fingernail, or any insignificant thing. He takes it in his hands, stares fixedly at it for some time, kneads it and presses it, pulls it and shapes it, until it has taken on the shape of the person who is to be harmed. He can observe this transformation in his awake vision. Then he hides this little piece in an insignificant little bag called wéhur[k] (334). Now the hêpif

334. I cannot decide whether it is this that BD:275 designates as "humuhf, a skin bag in which yekamuf kept their odds and ends" /cited in English/. Hyades (q):307 gives this word as "bag of the healer" /translated from French/.

of that person is locked up as in a prison, and he cannot get out by himself. For his wéhur[k] the yéhamuf prefers to use the conical cocoon, about three centimeters long, of the Thanatopsyche chilensis (Bombycidae), an insignificant-looking Fuegian butterfly whose caterpillar usually hangs its cocoon on Berberis bushes. From time to time the yéhamuf takes the little piece out of his wéhur[k], squeezes it and kneads it, crushes it and presses it, pulls and yanks it, drops it on the ground and stamps on it with his feet, tosses it high into the air and catches it again convulsively in his hands, and worries it in every conceivable fashion with emphatic and limitless malevolence. Finally the person from whom this little article was taken feels somewhat weak and unwell. As time goes on his feeling of sickness increases more and more, for he lacks his hêpif which the yéhamuf retains in his wéhur[k] and constantly torments. Since the body of the person must do without his hêpif for such a long time, he uses up his vitality and grows progressively weaker. If a stronger yéhamuf does not see the situation in his dream and, aware of the threatened position of that person, order a halt, the person is doomed. If he is stronger than the other yéhamuf, he must immediately free the person's hêpif from the wéhur[k] and lead it back to its body. As a rule the sufferer does not realize soon enough that a yéhamuf has robbed him of his hêpif. It is only after much blood has flowed from his nose and mouth and he is very weak that a capable yéhamuf will reveal the situation and offer to make the urgently necessary rescue. He does

/1424 cont./

this by freeing the person's kéŋpix from the power /1425/ of the malicious medicine man, catching it with his own hands, and restoring it to the suffering person. Usually this rescuer calls the other yékamuŋ to account for his base behavior.

Almost all yékamuŋ practice the above method of harming another person and torturing him to death. Each kéŋpix caught is put in a separate wékur. When he is not being observed, a yékamuŋ will take out the little pieces representing the individual persons and their kéŋpix, one after another, mention each person by name, torture each one in a special way, and once again lock each one in his own wékur. He frequently fills the bag with blubber, so that the kéŋpix will remain motionless, and sews it shut with tendons. He puts the separate wékur safely away in a secret place. He continues his torture of each individual kéŋpix until the person in question collapses from weakness and dies. In the mental visions of the medicine man the kéŋpix has the same form and shape peculiar to the living human being to whom it belongs, but the yékamuŋ sees it only in diminutive size.

If a medicine man wants to create a lasting impression among his people, he will call them together and, after singing briefly, put himself into an awake visionary state. Then he shows the people a real wékur, takes from it an infinitesimally small object, and stares fixedly at a particular person. He says to the person: "Herewith I give you back your kéŋpix, it was in the power of X (335)!" The same thing is repeated with other

335. He specifically names a medicine man, usually one who he knows is hostile to himself or to the person addressed.

persons. They are surprised and believe that they remember having felt more or less exhausted. Now they are released from serious danger and loudly thank the yékamuŋ for their rescue. They have still more respect for him.

A capable medicine man sometimes succeeds in murdering another person within a few days. He either attacks a personal enemy or he acts on the special request of a fellow-tribesman. As he sings he puts himself into the dream state; his own kéŋpix

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X757p ●754 leaves his body and meets his Haučéllakīpa somewhere. The two now undertake a serious attack against the kěspix of the person they wish to destroy. They choke him, wrestle with him, and stamp on him. No matter how bravely the kěspix defends itself, Haucélla is stronger and finally hurls a yěkuš at him so that he falls down dead. The poor man wakes up in a state of utter exhaustion; blood flows from his nose and mouth, and vomiting and other serious difficulties occur. He is so weak that his kěspix does not even remember having fought so hard the night before. /1426/ His physical strength wanes perceptibly and within a few days he is dead. I was told that if a Haucélla fatally injures a kěspix with the yěkuš of her medicine man, there is no hope for the wounded person, but only a few yékamuš succeed in obtaining such capable co-operation from their Haucélla. No one explained to me whether and how the procedure just described can be reconciled with the unlimited right of Watauinějwa over human life and death. This much, however, is obvious, namely, that the yékamuš are the cause of constant uncertainty and disturbance for their fellow-tribesmen and that everyone must seriously fear and avoid a malicious, hostile yékamuš.

δ. Feats of Strength

X756 787 [555] There are all kinds of occasions when a yékamuš wants to prove his ability to his own family group or his superiority to his colleagues, for the more one of them achieves, the greater will be the people's faith in him and the more he will be esteemed by all. Younger men, especially, are obliged to demonstrate such feats of strength, for they must gain acceptance among their countrymen. It should be noted, however, that all achievements of this kind are performed by the yékamuš in their mental visions, and they clearly describe all the details. For example, one of them will be sitting in front of his hut fire, and during his singing he will become extraordinarily excited. Suddenly he cries: "Now I am seizing hot coals and filling my belly with them!" In the awake vision he stretches out his arms to the fire, as though he were tossing burning pieces into his mouth; after a time he makes

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan SH6
622, 754, 755, 776, 787, 789, 791, 793, 874

[Information on various aspects of Yahgan culture which are closely related to the characteristics and activities of the yékamuś or medicine-man, including his training, role as a community leader, curer, sorcerer, and custodian of religious lore, have been marked for category 756 and will be found under that classification.]

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X756 787

human beings and animals, yefkčol, and Hapčolla as though everything were absolute reality. The people around him to whom he gives more or less explicit reports believe them and regard them as true. For example, if he cries, "I have caught this yéfuč, hurled by a hostile yéfamuč, with my right hand and and I am placing it on the ground in front of me," this means that the yéfamuč performed this act in his vision, whether or not he moved his arms. All the people who hear his words accept them with the same credulity as that shown by a European who listens to his neighbor's report about his dream images. Our Yamana, however, regard everything that happens "in the dream" of their yéfamuč as an actual event and believe in its direct effect or in the success proclaimed.

G. Healing the Sick

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The field in which the medicine men are most active and in which their help is demanded by their countrymen is that of healing the sick. In order to evaluate this correctly it must be kept in mind that the yéfamuč does not combat actual physical suffering. If an ailment has appeared, it is quite possible that a hostile yéfamus, an enemy of the person afflicted, has sent it, and the medicine man recognizes this situation "in the dream" or through a message of his yefkčol. /1418/ If this is truly the case -- the origin of such an ailment might be identified as magical -- then a stronger yéfamus must release the afflicted person from it by neutralizing the sorcery of the hostile yéfamuč. For example, if a person has stumbled and fallen or has an upset stomach, he applies a tested remedy which he himself knows or which a member of his family advises. Beyond that, however, in order to be on the safe side, he does not fail to go to a friendly yéfamuč to be treated by him in his magical way. /Fig. 98 appears here./ An ordinary human being cannot tell whether his ailment derives solely from natural causes or whether a malevolent medicine man has a hand in it. Most ailments, especially those unfavorably affecting mental activity, are intentionally caused by a vengeful yéfamuč in order to make the person ill or even to make him die.

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The medicine man proceeds as follows. By means of his singing he puts himself "in the dream." Now he sees the kĕspiſ of the other person; he seizes a yĕkuſ and hurls it against the person, who is wounded in a more or less dangerous spot, just as the yĕkamuſ intended. He immediately recognizes the effect of his yĕkuſ, although the person who was hit becomes aware of what has happened to him only after some time. The malevolent yĕkamuſ is pleased over his success, especially if he has performed this act at the special request of a fellow-tribesman. Sooner or later the other person feels sharp pains; perhaps he will have feelings of fear or, without any reason, will be filled with alarm. Since he cannot find any external reason and cannot explain his condition as due to obvious causes, he will reveal it to a friendly yĕkamuſ. The latter puts himself in the dream state, discovers and observes how the kĕspiſ of the person was treated, finds the impaled yĕkuſ, pulls it out, examines it carefully, and recognizes in it the person who hurled it. Simply because he is strong enough, that is, stronger than the first yĕkamuſ, he succeeds in freeing the wounded person of the yĕkuſ and making him well. Otherwise, he is powerless to help and the person must die if the yĕkuſ has not been removed in time in one way or another (330). Soon after he has awakened, no matter

Fig. 98. Yekuſ. Two-thirds natural size.

330. This interpretation was indicated earlier, but in each case inaccurately, by Alvarez:147, Bridges (i):18, Cojazzi:106, Dabbene (b):192, and others. In one instance Bridges says more definitely: "Yecoosh, they suppose, is driven into their bodies by some ill-disposed doctor or

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other. This Yecoosh, which can only be seen by a doctor, and can only be held by him, the doctors pretend to suck out of the body of the sick person, who afterwards is supposed to recover his health quickly" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 258;1864).

how /1419/ his effort has turned out, he notifies the person of his condition and also identifies the yékamuš who wounded him. Moreover, he soon thereafter turns to that yékamuš, "in the dream" naturally, reproaches him for his destructive act, and rebukes him thoroughly: "Know that I am stronger than you! Beware of harming any of my relatives or friends! Look at this yékuš which you hurled against X [he gives the name] and of which I relieved him!" The other yékamuš realizes that he is exposed and does not contradict him. Sometimes the successful yékamuš shows the people around him the yékuš that he took out of the wounded person. Everyone who sees it -- naturally, only in their imaginations, as presented by the yékamuš -- is amazed at its size and the ability of the medicine man. The people's admiration increases if the yékamuš has brought relief to a friend who was in great danger from a hostile yékamuš without being aware of his condition. Many medicine men spend considerable [578] time in the broad realm of imagination and fantasy, and they are obviously the cause of all kinds of provocations by individuals or whole groups against one another.

Usually the yékamuš applies his cure directly to the sick person. He has rubbed his own body with white pigment and tied his apawéra around his forehead. He sometimes also puts two or three of them around his torso. This external trapping lends special solemnity to his activity. The sick person is lying on his pallet, and the yékamuš squats beside him. Usually members of the sick person's family are present. The medicine man begins his song, and in his awake vision he points with his finger to the part of the body where the yékuš is lodged. First he presses and massages the spot with his hands; then he puts his mouth to it and sucks as though he were drawing the yékuš up to the surface. Finally, at the moment of greatest agitation, while his whole body

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is trembling in a frightening manner, he gives a tremendous jerk and lifts up the extracted yĕkuĭ in his convulsively clenched fists. In another instance he will bend the upper part of his body far forward, press hard against his belly, and make strenuous vomiting motions, meaning that he is trying to get rid of the yĕkuĭ which he has sucked into his own body from the sick person (331). When

331. Bridges (i):18 describes the activity of the medicine men as follows: "They oftentimes handle the sick very roughly when in this wrought-up state, excited through much chanting and violent controtions they exercised the pain and its cause from the body of the sufferer, pretending to do this by the hands and suction and to swallow the malady and its cause, which was supposed to be an arrow or spear pointed flint called yecoosh, of which the doctors always profesed to have a supply in their stomachs" /cited in English/.

the yĕkuĭ or the stone or harpoon point /1420/ has been extracted in one way or another, the yĕkamuĭ shows it to the people present, as it lies on the palm of his hand. Then he brings his outstretched hand with the palm upward toward his mouth and with a short, vigorous puff blows the yĕkuĭ far away so that it is lost. After singing briefly the yĕkamuĭ gradually awakes and regains full consciousness. Everyone thanks him for his efforts. The person who has been treated also gets up and feels some kind of relief (332). We would interpret this sort of phenomenon as the

332. The writings on the treatment of the sick, for example by Bridges (k):237, Bove (e):158, and others, must be corrected on the basis of the above description.

effect of auto-suggestion.

In the case of superficial injuries or if someone has merely lost his footing, in the case of a slight mental indisposition or after unpleasant dreams, the Yamana goes to the yĕkamuĭ with

/1420 cont./

X756 whom he is on familiar terms. He immediately treats the pe-
755 titioner with what I may call his "magical massage." Thereupon the latter departs in a state of relief. The yékamuł gently rubs the painful spot with the palms of both hands, or he massages the joints, or, in the case of an eye disease, he passes his open hands in circular motions in front of the face several times. After that he rubs both hands together, holds the palms upward, and with a vigorous puff that sounds like a shrill ft, he blows the "evil" far away. He makes the same movements over a person who has inadvertently stepped on a "harmful spot" (p. 1200) or over certain foods in order to render them harmless to eat (p.505).

X756 The common people, as well as the medicine men, make
753 a very definite and clear distinction between an evil and disease
755 caused by a yékamuł and one that is caused by Watayinéjwa. Every yékamuł can make certain of this "in his dream" or by asking his yełłel, and he notifies the people around him. If a sufferer wretchedly groans ę, ę, it is obvious that Haučélla has caused the evil and is crying out from the sick person. If, however, an illness is very violent from the start and develops so rapidly that the victim is soon at death's door, the people recognize this as the work of Watayinéjwa. In each case, in order to reassure the people and above all, the sick person, the yékamuł will try his method of healing. He knows just as well as those around him that the malady has been inflicted on the person by Watayinéjwa himself as a punishment and that it is areal illness which only he can take away, that the cause is neither a hurled yékuł nor a Haučéllakípa. Well aware that only Watayinéjwa
X756 can help, the yékamuł tries his best and at the same time begs in
755 the name of the sick person: "May the-one-up-there give you back your health!" If the medicine man realizes his helplessness in the case of /1421/ a certain disease, he, too, turns directly to that higher power which has caused the serious illness. Indeed, even more. Before the yékamuł begins his treatment in the case of a particularly serious illness, he prays to Watayinéjwa and says: "Heal this man! But if you will not let him get well because you are justifiably angry with him, take the illness away from him for my sake! At least be kind to me, for it is very important to me to make this man well. Be good to me and give me enough strength

/1421 cont./

Y-756 to make him well! Give the sick man courage and give him back
•755 his health, for my sake!" Obviously the yékamuf is sincere when he addresses these words and other ancient prayer formulas to Watayinéwa so that the sick person will be quickly cured. The yékamuf, however, is also impelled by ambition, since he wants to prove his ability to the people by any means, he even calls on Watayinéwa for help and relies on his favorable relations with him. If a few members of the same family have died in quick succession, it may happen that a friendly yékamuf will say to the survivors: "That yékamuf [he designates him by name] has caused these deaths!" It is a universal belief that only Watayinéwa can cause a person to die. In the case just mentioned the people will complain to Watayinéwa; they will accuse him of being in collusion with that yékamuf and of acting with him. They will say, for instance: "Hitaxéan, why did you join that yékamuf and, with him, kill our relatives?" This is a cry from a heart tormented by grief and is similar to the well-known cries of mourning (p. 989).

B. General Assistance

Y-756 The individual Yamana, as well as the independent family
789 groups, will turn to a friendly yékamuf in all kinds of daily dis-
821 tress. Although I often heard, "Hiáfuan causes bad weather, Hiáfuan sends the heavy snow and the bad storms!" nevertheless the Yamana also attribute to their yékamuf a definite influence on the weather (333). Who would not like to have calm, clear,

> 333. Bridges (1):18 and (4):237 asserted in his day that the medicine men "had power to procure good weather and drive away bad" /cited in English/.

and warm weather down there in the Cape Horn Archipelago? In winter the families like to crowd their dwellings together so that a few yékamuf are together for a longer period. If on occasion heavy snowstorms continue and the people become sad, the yékamuf will promise them: "Be quiet and remain brave, tomorrow [or the

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X156 hunters scream. While they sing, they stare into the distance,
789 stretch out both arms, open their hands and clutch the air, draw
825 their closed hands back to their bodies, open them, press them against the chest and, with gentle pressure, down to their knees. As they do so they repeat a shrill ɨ several times. With these movements they wish to invoke the kēpif of the game animals, attract them, and gain power over them. The next day the men set out full of confidence.

X156 The Yamana believe that their medicine men can see into
787 the future and that they have infallible prescience. The yēkamuł themselves are especially convinced of this and give advance warnings to individuals. They also may admonish their whole group to be careful or may announce the prospect of a favorable event. On March 22, 1922, I was standing with several people when Malemibem said very distinctly: "Outside I see a long /1422/ canoe approaching with mawisiwa [Phalacrocorax olivaceus]!" Sure enough, the following day the people sighted unusually dense flocks of these birds which seldom cross a channel in such numbers. On another occasion Emilia stared out at the ocean like a seeress and cried: "The sea is getting white, mountains of waves are forming and a great deal of foam is gathering!" Her words sounded strange to us, since the surface of the water was entirely smooth. The next morning, however, bad weather came up from the east, causing high waves, and we remembered that Emilia had announced this change at noon on the preceding day. A few people said in wonder: "How remarkable it is that our yēkamuł knew so many things in advance!"

X156 If the population in general is struck by illness, either be-
●755 cause they have eaten spoiled meat or, more recently, because of an epidemic brought by Europeans -- something that the yēkamuł occasionally foresee in a dream -- the medicine men feel obliged to help immediately. They are told in a dream at what place all the people must assemble. They announce the place and without delay call the people together to a makāinkīna. First, a big fire is kindled. All the adults and children stand around it. As soon as this circle begins to move, everybody raises his fists, wails in hollow sounds, and interjects frequent loud cries of tę tę. Finally they seize glowing sticks of wood and toss them high in the

/1423 cont./

756 755 air. They believe that Watainčiwa-sef sent the affliction (p. 970); therefore, the wrath of all of them is directed against him. After that they repeatedly strike at the fire with their hands with fingers outstretched, as though they were pushing the "sickness-evil" into the flames. After this agitated performance the yčkamuš promise the people that they will soon be freed of their suffering.

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/1424/ γ. Harmful Practices

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/1432 cont./

756 he wants to help. He realizes that many other Yamana are under
776 the spell of the Haučélla, but he does not bother about them."
787 As an exception, a yékamuř will have a female yeřčel as his guardian spirit. It is like his daughter, and he may not be guilty of improper behavior toward her. If a yékamuř should force his [female] yeřčel to make love, his Haučéllakípa will grow jealous, come to him in a dream, give herself to him, and make him believe he is embracing the yeřčel. The yékamuř will be overjoyed, for he does not know that he is being deceived by his Haučéllakípa. Slowly he grows weaker, his condition grows constantly worse, and finally, when he is dying, he comes altogether under the power of Haučéllakípa. Such a yékamuř must, from the start, be on his guard toward his female yeřčel. Again it becomes evident that all the Haučélla spirits are unfriendly and spiteful, indeed, hostile toward ordinary people as well as toward the yékamuř.

Children may result from the union of a Yamana with a Haučélla spirit. "They are always full-fledged Haučélla; they remain with the Haučélla in the earth, and now and then let a person feel their dislike for him. The Haučélla spirits are very numerous. A yékamuř is well acquainted with each of them."

756 Although even the yékamuř must be on his guard against a
776 Haučéllakípa, she is a reliable helper for a particularly difficult
787 act. If he wants to do away with an enemy quickly, he sends his
755 Haučéllakípa against him. She enters his body, which swells up enormously, and the end soon comes. For some people it is a pleasure to follow the enticements /1433/ of Haučéllakípa into the earth and to remain with her (p.1041). I was given the following explanation of this. "If someone dies at the instigation of a Haučélla spirit, his kélpiř goes on living among the Haučélla, but he himself does not turn into a Haučélla and does not harm anyone. The yékamuř must see to it that no Yamana lets himself be ensnared by the Haučélla or destroyed by them." If a person is under the spell of a Haučélla spirit, the yékamuř will invite several men and have them form a closed circle around the sick person. He himself holds the evil spirit back for a time within this circle, so that the spirit grows weak. After that the yékamuř angrily bites the ground and wounds the Haučélla spirit fatally;

/1433 cont./

456 the sick person is then relieved. It may happen that a malevo-
776 lent medicine man is accompanied by his Hauc'éllakîpa as he
787 walks through the camp. If the two pass an unsuspecting child,
the will take its kîlpif away. Quickly an alert yékamuf must
● 755 march the kidnapped kîlpîs from the Hauc'éllakîpa and give it
back to the child. He calls the child to him, rubs his open hands
in a gently stroking motion up and down along the child's body
several times, makes retching motions and coughs violently. Fi-
nally he kneads the child's body and announces: "Now you have
your kîlpif back!"

456 I see a certain consistency in the fact that the Tamana as-
776 sociate the first illness with these spirits. They say: "Before
753 the general upheaval in Tîjaatîpa, there was not a single sick
person, but afterward one man suddenly felt persistent violent
pains. He was ill and could not get up. Excitedly many men as-
sembled and considered how this illness could have come about.
After searching for a long time they discovered that the disease
came from that malevolent woman who at that time escaped and
fled to the south where she entered the earth (340). The men

340. In one instance it was said that "a woman tried to see whether she could transform herself and become a Haucella" (p. 1120); another time it was said that "a few women on the Wollaston Islands turned into Haucella and entered the earth" (p. 1360). The difference in the number of persons is unimportant; the significant thing is the agreement concerning the act described.

called this dangerous woman Hauc'éllakîpa. Then they con-
sidered how they could protect themselves against being ill, and
they requested the yékamuf to offer their help to all Tamana."
This account is a good explanation of the first activity of the
medicine men.

J: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 Sitk Tahgan Sitk

956 He was trained in his professional duties by an older shaman. There was also held a shamans' institute and feast, which could last several months, to condition and school young candidates. During it, the candidates were secluded, and were required to fast, to sing much, to maintain a certain posture, to go with little sleep, and to drink water only through a hollow bird bone; and were taught healing techniques, tricks of the trade, and so forth. Women were barred from this shamans' school. Shamans were not banded into an organized society.

A full-fledged shaman, besides getting help from his special guardian spirit, was also in close touch with the spirit of a deceased shaman. The shaman's relations were with the world of lesser spirits, not with the Supreme Being, Wetzinówu; and the latter did not figure in the shamans' school.

The shaman's chief function was that of curing the sick, but he also influenced weather, helped in hunting, prognosticated, and so forth. The familiar procedures of massage, friction, and anointing, with the extraction of some object supposed to be the immediate cause of the disease, were used in curing. Such objects were often believed to have been sent by malevolent shamans from whose power the good shaman endeavored to deliver the victim. An evil shaman could steal and keep in his possession the soul of a victim, and the victim would die unless his soul were freed by another shaman. It was also the function of the shaman to assign to each infant as soon after birth as possible its own yetikiel, a male one to the male infant and a female one to the female. It was the primary and most important duty of the yetikiel to protect its charge against sickness and bodily harm and against dangers of all kind.

595 Kina rite.—This Pákpen institution, with its numerous analogies to the yinchihsem of the *Alacaluf* (p. 78) and with the kilkoten of the *Ona* (p. 120), could have been properly discussed under Social Culture because it had primarily a social function. But it is treated here because it also had important religious or pseudo-religious features and was largely under the direction of the shamans. In fact only a shaman could be the leader of the kina rite. Back of the kina rite was a long myth of an earlier time when the women held mastery of the tribe and lorded it over the men. To maintain their supremacy the women used masks to impersonate spirits and to hoodwink the men. Finally, one man discovered the deception, told the other men, and overthrew the women, killing all females except one very young child. In the kina rite only men who had passed twice through the ôdzana rite could take part. Women were kept away from the large conical tent. The men secretly painted themselves and wore conical or conoidal masks (pl. 32, *d*) of bark or sealskin to impersonate a very great number

1: Lothrop E-9 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

and might be seized and done to death. However, the shaman usually had power over demons of this type and could give protection.

Apart from and above these lesser spirits was the great *Wakuisewu*, described by Koppers (1925). This supreme being, though not concerned with creation, was the master of all. He sent the great flood in days long past, he causes death, he controls the game and fish supply, he is perfect and almighty. To him prayers were offered in sickness, grief, and thanksgiving, for this was not an *aloof* god normally forgetful of the affairs of mankind. Rather he was a supreme dispenser of justice, and he always punished the wicked.

The Shaman

Among the Yahgan both medicine-men and medicine-women existed and played an important part in the community. Supernatural powers were attained by certain individuals thought to have command over a natural spirit and the ghosts of departed witch-doctors. Thus dowered they could either kill or cure the individual and could affect the well-being of the community by controlling the weather or the food supply.

Disease, as among many primitive folk, they accredited to causes no less concrete than wounds. Hence the shaman must work his cure by removing some foreign object lodged in the body of the patient through accident or malice. Usually the doctor, after much massage, manipulation, and incantation, would triumphantly produce a stone or some other object, which he claimed to have extracted from the sufferer. The cures actually wrought can be attributed to the often beneficial results of the massage and to the healing power of suggestion.

According to Koppers (1925), the shaman assumed his function as the result of a "call" coming to either a man or a woman. This inner vocation took the form of a dream in which friendly relations were established with natural spirits and with the ghosts of dead shamans. After several such dreams a personal guardian spirit would be established. To the men a sort of shaman's school was open, but women were barred from this because they had not passed the men's final initiation. During the period of this school dreams were encouraged by rigorous training, much practice was given in the necessary sleight-of-hand tricks, and the proper chants were memorized. The curious spectacle of a man walking on hot

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan SH6
●756

[For information on the Yahgan yékamuš or medicine-man, see category 116, pages 1297-1367.]

/1100 cont./

775 the ašóula through our region here [as though they were on a journey], as the yékamuš who can see both [groups] tell us!" Exceptions to this general rule are the késpiš of the yékamuš and of persons who have drowned. Of the latter it is said: "While a person is drowning he threshes about excitedly. That is his késpiš which is leaving him. After that the késpiš stays in that place on water. Sometimes one hears his call: it sounds like the barking of a sea lion, but it is the call of the késpiš of the drowned person." As for the yékamuš, "all persons surrounding a dying yékamuš must continually utter a wailing hu hu hu; at the same time they let their arms hang down and move their hands forward as though they were pushing sand or water. These movements quickly drive far away the Haučélla spirit (37) that is leaving the dying yékamuš.

775 756 763

37. This spirit was characterized and described in detail on p. 746.

If this were not done, this bloodthirsty villain would remain at the place of death and harass all the people." Naturally, everyone present is painted with the white horizontal line from the nostrils to the ear-lobes. The késpiš of certain persons, including those of the yékamuš, are strongly attracted by Haučélla. If they follow this woman, they actually go down into the earth with her and remain with her. Finally the Yamana also concede that sometimes a késpiš appears near the hut and in the neighborhood of their own families. It whimpers and groans, although so softly that the people can scarcely hear it, but that is how they recognize it (38).

[304] 775

38. Bove (d):297 and (e):159 assert: "In general the Fuegians are not very superstitious; if someone dies, they believe that the spirit leaves the body and roams about through the forests and beyond the mountains, restlessly suffering if he was evil in life, happily and quietly if he was good." His traveling companions Lovisato (b):149 and Spegazzini (a):172 repeat the same assertion. I did not encounter this

/1279 cont./

776 whim, went walking along the shore with some other girls from
778 Puerto Mejillones and traveled far from the parental hut. Darkness overtook them at Puerto Piedra and they stayed there. Full of anxiety, the parents set out to look for the children, found them, and brought them back to camp early in the morning. No one scolded the children; not even their own parents reproached them. That same night the wife of old Thomas, who had been ill for a long time, died. Everyone explained the behavior of the children by saying: "The kēspix of that woman prompted the children to go so far away before nightfall. They are not to be blamed." That is why no one thought of /1280/ punishing the children. As has been described, the adults who take part in the singing in the čiéxaus hut (p.796) regard it as natural to consider heightened emotion and inner agitation as expressions of the kēspix, in short, as kēspix.

[156] This fact is important in understanding the influence of the yékamuš. Even the power by means of which a yékamuš operates, either on the spot or at a great distance, is called his kēspix.

Finally, the action of the wild forces of nature is sometimes pointed out as the expression of malevolent kēspix. This has given rise to expressions such as are used, for example, by Krickeberg:322: "The Fuegian animates the majestic natural surroundings of his homeland with demons." In this connection Fitz-Roy's (a):179 partially correct conjecture is also pertinent: "The fact of their believing that the evil spirit torments them in this world, if they do wrong, by storms, hail, snow, etc., is one reason why I am inclined to think that they have no thought of a future retribution" /cited in English/ (240).

240. This alone is enough to refute what Darwin (f):I, 123 reported: "With justifiable pride Jemmy Button stoutly maintained that in his country there is no devil." Roskoff:51 is more accurate in his judgment: "Ideas of the sun as a mighty creature endowed with will power, upon which man feels dependent, are

/1295 cont./

776 Yefáčel is to protect the person entrusted to him from sickness and physical harm. Beyond that, he also protects the person from all kinds of danger. In view of this, one may regard the Yefáčel as "guardian spirits" of human beings. If a child falls [153] ill, the parents believe the chief reason is that it has not yet been assigned a Yefáčel. Immediately a yékamuš is requested to do this. A person who has a Yefáčel enjoys good health throughout his life, and that is why "everyone must have his Yefáčel!" When a human being dies, his Yefáčel leaves him and thereafter wanders about alone as an orphan, independent of the others. The Yamana have nothing to say about the above and way of life of these Yefáčel. The yékamuš, however, add that the orphaned Yefáčel prefer the so-called "dangerous places." From there they continue to be on good terms with the yékamuš and are forever helpful to them.

The relationship of every human being to his Yefáčel, my informants unanimously agreed, is like that of father and son or mother and daughter, in other words, extremely favorable and very intimate. The yékamuš has an even closer association with his Yefacel. Although the yékamuš assigns a Yefáčel to each person, he need not direct him thereafter. I was assured with great earnestness, however, that all Yefáčel must obey Watauinéiwa and his decrees just as willingly and subserviently as must human beings, for "the Yefáčel are dependent upon him, just like all yámana [human beings]!" On this occasion someone ventured the statement: "Watauinéiwa also has his Yefáčel." The other people present very definitely showed by their expressions that they did not agree with this assumption, nor was anyone able to explain who might have assigned such a Yefáčel to Watauinéiwa. From certain previous statements it is easy to conclude why the complete name of these guardian spirits is Yefáčel xéola, "little spirit." Many Indians use the word Yapáčel instead.

776 Bridges mentioned these little guardian spirits several times and /1296/ always only in connection with the yékamuš. It is •756 true that the Yefáčel means much more to a medicine man than to an ordinary human being, for the spirit performs special services for him in the activities of his calling. In Bridges (a):212 it is said: The Yefáčel "is a doctor's son and appears to doctors

/1296 cont./

776 in their dreams, tells them many things" /cited in English/ (259).

•756

> 259. And again at (k):238: "The yecamush claims to have dealings with beings called yapahchel, and they are the ones who give him the power to see and do fabulous things, especially to cure and to kill" /translated from Spanish/.

In BD:661 one reads: "Yapačal, a being of more than human power and sagacity whom the yěkamuš claimed as their inspiring power and instructor" /cited in English/. If, referring to this, Bridges believes that this designation also means "spirits of men, especially such as have been killed by violence" /cited in English/, I must reject this as inaccurate. A special relationship between a yěkamuš and his Yefačel is universally recognized, and it will be discussed below. Here it should merely be pointed out that there is a belief in thumb-sized guardian spirits, from whose large number every person is assigned his Yefačel for the rest of his life.

b. Forms of Superstition

787 Several groups of definite spirits have just been named and described. These are not independent beings which actually exist, but are present only in Yamana belief. To this extent they must be regarded as objects of superstition. For various reasons they were treated separately, first of all, because each group is an individual, definite phenomenon. This is not true of the figures which appear in dreams and the many superstitious views which are linked with some definite circumstance.

1. Dreams

787 154 The fact that the Yamana dream a great deal must be traced back to their alertness in everyday life and to their very vivid imaginations. Almost every morning one of the adults in a family

/1361 cont./

X575 course and soon disappears again. The leader follows him into the hut immediately, without any words or any kind of sign to the spectators. If this spirit or another one is supposed to appear again, the leader calls him out in the manner just described. A spirit never steps out of the Great Hut suddenly before the eyes of the women.

X575 /1362/ In exceptional cases a yĕkamuš will accompany
757 some spirit along the dance course. Shortly before the end of the Kina celebration in 1922, Asikansis unexpectedly stepped into the Great Hut and announced that he had been requested in a dream to let Calderon portray the spirit of a particular fish. No one dared to contradict this old man who was already somewhat feeble mentally or to point out to him that the night was far advanced. So Calderon painted his whole body and the mask white, and over
[302] this he drew several vertical red lines two fingers wide. Asikansis, who is a yĕkamuš, wore his feather diadem; his face and the upper part of his body were painted white, with a red horizontal line extending from below the nose to either ear lobe. The two men stood facing each other. Calderon, as is customary, supported his mask, while Asikansis stretched his two arms out sidewise at shoulder height. Then Asikansis indicated the rhythm with low sustained cries of hŏhŏng. First they danced inside the hut as though they were practicing; then they performed their short, leaps sideways along the dance course. They stepped out five times and moved back and forth, each time after a pause of a few minutes. Asikansis always turned his back to the camp and unavoidably hid Calderon a little. After both had ended their dance, Asikansis sat down by the fire and softly sang on for a long time, completely absorbed. Calderon washed off his painting.

X575 Just as the leader calls together the women and children at the beginning of the spirit appearances, so he also announces the end of the performance with a brief word. He says: "Now the last spirit has left this hut, not a single one is now sitting among the group of men. You, too, go back to your huts!" The men regularly announced the entrance of a spirit into the Kina hut with a warbling lalala..., which warned the women to be on their guard; now all is silent there, a sign that the spirits have all withdrawn.

/1380 cont./

X575 festival. The woman was very crafty, however; she soon noticed that this time the men were plotting against her. She did not hesitate to defend herself. In the dead of night she painted her whole body exactly the way she assumed that the men inside the Great Hut would be painted, and, unnoticed, she crept up on them. The men were sitting crowded around the fire, their heads bent very low in serious meditation. Very softly she slipped in on one side of the entrance, quickly crept along behind all the men and in passing drew a line on the back of each of them, and disappeared again on the other side of the exit. In the camp she told all the women that she had put an identical mark on the back of each man by means of which the women could see that only their husbands were sitting in the Kina hut, not spirits. Sure enough, when the men stepped out, each bore the line drawn on his back. Since then all the women have known the true state of affairs.

It must be admitted that probably all the women actually recognize their own husbands in their roles as individual spirits, but nevertheless their faith in these spirits is unshakable. A European observer can hardly explain how their knowledge and their faith can be reconciled. Since all the women and children are convinced that the men are in communication with the Kina spirits, they naturally acknowledge and obey all the instructions of the men as commands of the spirits. They are decisively guided in this judgment and attitude by the example of former generations, for the living generation regards every general view and custom handed down from the preceding one as immutable law. It is precisely for this reason that no woman would dare alter her conduct in any way during a Kina celebration (313).

> 313. The faith of the Selk'nam women in the Kloketen spirits is deeper and more certain (Vol. I, 901), but for them, too, the duty to conform to traditional rules of behavior is of decisive importance.

X575 ●756 In judging the basic ideas upon which this men's secret ceremony rests, it is important to keep in mind the active participation of the yékamuš. One of them, as a rule, takes over not only

/1380 cont./

X575 the leadership of the entire Kina, but also, nearly always, the
●756 duty of calling each of the spirits out of the Great Hut with the customary arm movement. /1381/ In all the deliberations and decisions of the men the yékamuš have the decisive voice (314).

[171]

314. It is exactly the same in the Kolketen. -- A detailed comparison of the men's festivals among the Selk'nam and the Yamana may be omitted here, since this has already been done by Gusinde (q):291, with the secret ceremony of the Halakwulup also included. At first glance it is striking that among the Selk'nam the actual youth initiation and the characteristic celebration of the men are united in a single affair (Vol. I, 1083).

They are regarded as closely associated with the spirits. It is only one of them, one who feels an urge to do so, who is permitted to perform the customary dance with one of the spirits outside the Great Hut. Again and again this or that yékamuš will approach a dancer or performer and give him renewed strength and firmness of limbs by means of his peculiar kind of magic massage. Among the Yamana there is no other sizeable group affair whose program, so to speak, is so entirely in the hands of the yékamuš as it is in the Kina.

X575 With all the curious peculiarities of the Kina, it must not be overlooked that candidates are almost always introduced and are subject to strict treatment. The chief purpose is to familiarize them with the origin myth; actual training is only secondary. Only those chaps who have shown serious defects of character or whose behavior leads one to fear bad consequences are subject to strict discipline and personal influence. Out of consideration for the general welfare, the older members of the tribe may not miss any opportunity to protect the individual and the group as a whole from harm and injury. The Kina festival is not required to fulfill the task of educating all the uǰwála.

Finally, if one regards the Kina in connection with the entire social order, it clearly seems to be a foreign body. Even if one is not inclined to attribute historical value to the origin myth, nevertheless the suggestion that the Kina is supposed to

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

names meaning "The Powerful One," "The Highest One," and especially by the name of "My Father." He was not the maker or creator, but rather the master and ruler. He was the owner and giver of animals and plant food. It was he who gave life to human beings, and who took it away. He was fundamentally good and benevolent. He lived above in the heavens. He had no body nor had he wife or children. He was distinctly and eminently set off against and above all other spirits, good and bad, and in this sense stood as it were alone. He did not enter into the tribal folklore and mythology. He saw what human beings did, and upon those who broke the precepts of the *Yahgan* socio-moral code, which represented his will, he inflicted punishment in the way of early death, and often the death of their children.

The central role of Watauinéwa in the initiation rites has previously been mentioned. Apart, however, from these rites, Watauinéwa was prayed to a great deal by the individual *Yahgan*. These prayers were mostly petitions to him for food (as the owner of the food animals and plants), for cure and health, and for protection from the elements, as well as expressions of thankfulness. A good many of them were more or less traditionally crystallized formulae, of a few words each, but prayer was likewise expressed in free wording. A quite distinctive feature of *Yahgan* communication with the Supreme Being was the frequency of complaint expressions and charges directed toward him on the occasion of sickness, bad weather, or other evil fortune, and particularly on the occasion of deaths. Gusinde and Koppers collected over 60 of these various kinds of prayer formulae. Some of them are in somewhat archaic language.

In view of these archaisms in the complex, of the many distinctly native features (e. g., master, owner, not creator or maker), of the absence of all characteristically European or Christian conceptions, and of the express and emphatic statements by the natives whose memories or whose knowledge from their elders reached back to premissionary days, there can be no reasonable question but that *Yahgan* theism is aboriginal, and not the result of missionary influence. It seems equally clear that it was central in the religious outlook of the *Yahgan* and that it entered deeply and dynamically in their thoughts, emotional life, and personal behavior.

Shamanism.—A person became a medicine man (yékamush) through an inner call manifested to him in dreams and visions. The héshteka-yékamush, dwarfish spirits, appeared to him; a female spirit, a Haučéllakīpa, also played an important part in shamanism, as the shaman's helper. Through the dreams and visions the future medicine man learned which of the small spirits was to be his yefáčel, or particular guardian spirit. From this spirit he also received a song.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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SH6 Yahgan SH6

156 coals witnessed by Rev. Thomas Bridges (1893, p. 238) may have been part of this training.

Graduation from the shaman school did not insure a successful 156 professional career, for only by repeated proofs of power could the 887 individual's reputation be established. It seems that there was much competition among the medicine-men, and several early observers note a tendency of almost all the older people to work cures, to prophesy, etc.

FIG. 94.—Yahgan shaman's bag. Diameter, 11 in. (14/2337)

156 In fig. 94 is illustrated the 415 guanaco-hide bag in which the shaman carried his impedimenta. The contents were diadems of heron-plumes and of kelp-goose down, and white paint. To these doubtless should be added a number of small hard objects to be shown to the sick as the cause of their pain.

DEATH

764 When death took place the corpse was wrapped in old seal-skins and buried outside of the house within twenty-four hours. If the ground were frozen, the corpse might be covered with stones and shrubs to keep off dogs and foxes, or it might be buried in a cave or on a small island. Hyades (1891, p. 379) says that when death occurred far from home the body was carried into the woods and cremated. This was done that the bones might not fall into the hands of enemies and be made into harpoon-points.

765 For mourning the family of the defunct covered themselves with

/1457 cont./

164 because they are constantly exposed to smoke from the hut fire. Mental disorders occur very rarely, but "idiocy is unknown" /translated from French/, as Hyades (g):329 asserts. Many an aged person suffers from impaired hearing, ufkir-tawa. Infectious general diseases, actual epidemics, lēhāja, lēmāja, did not occur before there was contact with Europeans.

759 Thus our Yamana suffered very little from disease. This was especially advantageous because effective remedies are totally lacking in their country (362). They try to alleviate the

362. This has been confirmed a number of times. Fitz-Roy (a):186 writes: "When ill, however seriously, they know of no remedies but rubbing the body with oil, drinking cold water, and causing perspiration by lying near the fire, wrapped up in skins" /cited in English/. Despard (b):698 asserts: "Remedies are simple indeed; they burn the part where pain is felt, or produce counter-irritation by whipping with stinging nettles" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (f):585, "the Fueglans do not know any medicines" /translated from French/. Finally, Aspinall:270 says briefly: "The art of medicine is limited to rubbing and the infusion of a few roots."

pain or ailment with procedures recommended by general health care. For some reason they expect great results when they are unwell by totally abstaining from food for a whole day. As Bridges (i):19 also declares, everyone expects that this will even bring "good health and efficiency in hunting" /cited in English/. For this reason a hunter considers it beneath his dignity to take refreshment with him when he goes hunting. A sick person sits huddled up in his hut, remains motionless, and lets the warmth of the hut fire have its effect on him. When he requests something, a member of the family hands him what he wants. The Yamana often recommend perspiring: the sick person is placed beside the fire and covered with many skins. Rubber is often used: for rheumatism, the affected part of the body is rubbed with it; for

/1457 cont./

757 an ear ailment the blubber is warmed in a mussel shell and drops are put into the ear canal. As an alternative, especially to clean the ears of small children, a bit of milk is squeezed from a woman's breast, warmed in a mussel shell, and trickled into the ear passage. The same remedy is used to cleanse the eyes of newborn babies and generally for eye diseases in small children. If a person has a cramp, kečéki, in some limb, it is rubbed with fresh leaves of Drimys. In case of lumbago, a man is treated in the following manner. He lies down on his belly. His wife warms her right foot at the fire and places /1458/ it gently on his back. Then she lifts her left foot so that the entire weight of her body rests on her right foot. After some time, when the warmth has gone out of her right foot, she climbs down and again warms it. She treats the entire back, section by section, in this way, beginning at the buttocks and proceeding up to the neck.

As a laxative the Yamana recommend chewing the leaves, 278 liuř, of ufkútta (Drimys winteri); this is also effective for heart and stomach ailments. Still more effective are large quantities of blubber which must be drunk at brief intervals. Finally, the sap of young beech trees is used in the following manner. The small trunk is broken off or chopped off, the end held over a fire, and the dripping sap caught in a mussel shell. They swallow the sap, as is, and await its laxative effect. This remedy also heals inflamed eyes. In the case of inflamed eyes, téllа sēx, an actual eye bath is recommended; that is, dipping the face in salt water and opening and closing the eyelids several times while doing so. For cases of violent vomiting, amāja, one drinks a great deal of 278 salt water. The large beard moss, tūxalapajīla (Usnea barbata), is effective against the type of diarrhea, ufpalaxīna or yīkena, that is common there. One chews small amounts of it, swallows the juice, and spits out the wood fibers. Nowadays an extract is prepared in a suitable pot. Celery, hušun, is recommended for dis- 278 eases of the respiratory organs; stalks of this plant are chewed and the juice swallowed. For coughs the Yamana rub the outside of the throat with spittle, perform a brief, actually magical massage, and finally blow away the coughs, hāža, with lively motions of the hands. A person who coughs up blood drinks salt water; better still, he stands in the water, ducks under a few times, swallows

/1458 cont./

•757 the water a number of times, and then dries himself and lies down beside the hut fire. For strong palpitations and shooting pains in the heart the patient must remain motionless on his bed. A person who feels feverish, a rare phenomenon, lies down on the beach in such a way that the waves cover him; sometimes he stays under water for 20 minutes or longer. He does not eat blubber, fat, or the meat of whales, seals, or birds.

As a remedy for the very common headache, fresh nettles are put around the forehead and secured with leather bands. The entire head is also gently whipped with a bunch of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12, p. 121 /in untranslated portion/), whose small leaves, as is known, end in sharp, hard points. The yékamus also helps in his way by grasping a bunch of the sufferer's hair and suddenly pulling upward, which causes a faint crackling sound. As an alternative, according to Despard (b):698, "they roast their heads, and take repeated draughts of stagnant sea-water to produce nausea" /cited in English/. Bridges (i):19 maintains, as I, too, observed: "Headache was relieved by making the nose to bleed by cutting it within the nostrils" /cited in English/. Painful areas are relieved by short superficial cuts, causing a slight flow of blood. For sharp pains in the chest and labored breathing, flat /1459/ stones the size of a hand are placed on the chest after being heated in the fire; when they cool off, they are reheated. A magical effect is obtained if someone hits the painful part with a piece of skin and with each blow loudly and with great exertion exhales a stream of air.

757 278 The Yamana heal suppurating wounds and abcesses, alax, in various ways. The bark of young branches or long twigs from any kind of tree are held with one end over the fire. The sap dripping off the other end is allowed to fall on the affected part. In the winter finger-thick stalks of Macrocystis are used. Certain growths on beech trunks, about the size of a cherry, contain a sticky substance that is dripped into the wound after crushing the growth. Then down feathers are spread over the wound, which stick to it and dry it up. For skin eruptions, eczema, and similar conditions, chalk powder is rubbed over the entire body or the resinous, gum-like discharge of the cushion plant (Azorella) is

/1459 cont./

•757 spread over it; the latter is a reliable remedy for growths resem-
278 bling carbuncles. Pustules are daubed and rubbed gently with saliva. Fresh small twigs and leaves of Macrocystis are put on swellings; they develop a slimy substance which is allowed to take effect. Fresh barberry shavings are put on an aching tooth. Loose teeth are broken and pulled out with the fingers. Hyades
[158] (p):339 says something that I cannot confirm from my own obser-
vations: "Insanity, if it exists, is very rare. The mad are treated with cold baths" /translated from French/. A broken arm is treated
752 by first placing thin sticks and a few pieces of leather around it; then this is bound with stout strips of leather. The bandage is kept in place until the pain and swelling have subsided. These are the procedures that the Fuegians know for helping themselves in case of accidents and physical ailments.

7. The Language

192 It is well known that the language of the Yamana has often
114 been described in general accounts and there is an astonishing amount of material. Many a writer has let himself be carried away in repeated references to an unusually rich vocabulary. Bridges himself started this trend. I tried to explain in (gg):162 why he said that his dictionary contained 32,430 words. I have also emphatically pointed out that the Yamana language does not have that number of words and that a rich vocabulary by no means indicates a high level of development for this language. "Quite the contrary," I (hh):183 said earlier, "one will recognize the considerable poverty of a language from the fact that it requires many words." Long before, Garbe:336 pointed to this decisive condition. No one is to be blamed for the fact that a critical study of Yamana grammar as a whole has not yet been carried out -- F. Hestermann worked on a number of parts -- /1460/ for texts are lacking. The comprehensive dictionary of the Reverend T. Bridges was only published in 1933 by Hestermann and Gusinde, and the well-known translations of the New Testament that Bridges made six decades ago are not suitable for this purpose. I, too, should not be reproached and told that I failed to collect original texts. To exonerate myself, I may point out that on my journeys I was

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278 There was almost nothing in the way of herbal curatives, unless
157 the chewing of the leaves of *Drimys winteri* as a purgative and for cardiac and stomach pains could be considered such. Sap from the broken end of a beech branch was swallowed for certain ailments. Other simple remedial measures employed were drinking oil, rubbing the body with it, massaging with *Drimys winteri* leaves, drinking sea water, covering with robes and sweating near the fire. Chalk dust was smeared on for skin eruptions. To cure headache, the nasal passages were scratched to bring about nosebleed.

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113 For bibliographic references, see pages 55-56.

502 225 462 /615 cont./

women row and the man is on the lookout with raised javelin."

up and, at the appropriate moment, throws his weapon. Only the perfectly synchronized co-operation of both of them assures the success of the hunt, and every married couple achieves absolute perfection in this in the course of the years. When they pursue a wounded animal, the woman must occasionally exercise extraordinary strength. She is equipped for it by the habit of almost daily paddling.

502 If the family has been rewarded with unexpected luck in the hunt or if they are very tired from the pursuit of an animal, they sometimes suddenly decide to land at the nearest good place. The most suitable site is a flat, gently sloping beach, covered with coarse pebbles, in a calm inlet. The woman does not let the canoe run aground, since all friction is to be avoided. She holds the bow steady at right angles to the shore while the inmates disembark one after the other (421) and /616/ toss all the implements

[158]

421. Only exceptionally, in case the man is ill and cannot walk, does Aspinall's:270 assertion hold: "In leaving the canoe, the woman must first carry the man ashore. He carefully holds the firebrand, protected between sticks of wood, above water, and begins first of all to erect a primitive hut." As a rule, however, the landing proceeds as described above and, for example, as is described in La Nature:274.

along with all the provisions onto the shore. One of the children carries a glowing stick of wood to the place that the father has pointed out to the child as the chosen campsite. The girls usually do this. The adults make sure that the last sparks of the fire in the canoe have been extinguished. Meanwhile the Indian woman remains seated in her canoe and keeps it on the same spot by paddling. When everything has been unloaded, she still has to moor it. If the landing place is suitable, a layer of Macrocystis

/1028 cont./

888 widower he lives entirely under the charge of his eldest son"
737 /cited in English/ (444). Naturally some children are more tender

> 444. This hardly agrees, however, with what he (a):206 adds soon after: "The aged are often much neglected, yea, cruelly treated, and I have heard of cases where by their own children they have been killed, to get rid of the trouble of keeping them" /cited in English/. A person who is displeased with the treatment he receives from his own children easily finds refuge with relatives and friends.

and loving toward their aged parents than others. A person who no longer has any children of his own joins a related family or friends. This much is certain, no one is abandoned because of his infirmities. I personally repeatedly witnessed the willing care given even those persons whose lot in old age was a long, burdensome invalidism.

758 The nearest relatives and all the neighbors no less attentively care for a sick person. There are no medicines in Tierra del Fuego. They keep the sick person company and never leave him in some place all by himself. Hyades (d):307 and (p):331 repeatedly asserts: "The sick are not abandoned, and the feeble are helped" /translated from French/. Bridges (h):209 agrees: "The infirm are well cared for, especially by the women" /translated from Spanish/, and elsewhere (i):14 he says even more explicitly: "Great consideration was shown to the sick, they were well attended and as far as possible their wishes were fulfilled. The nursing chiefly fell to the lot of the women" /cited in English/. BD:427 even gives the special expression, taumxdátu, "to often visit as a man his sick friend" /cited in English/. If their own child is seriously ill, the helpless parents are in actual despair; adults, too, are deeply affected by the physical suffering of one of their loved ones.
732 For decades old Whaits has been totally blind. It is touching to see the help and attention which his own daughters bestow on him, as do old and young in the neighborhood. Everyone is concerned about him, and one competes with another in loving service for him. It

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 head band and had a special painted staff. To each candidate were assigned sponsors, one or two men and a woman to the boy, one or two women and a man to the girl.

The candidates were subjected to certain endurance restrictions: little sleep, food, and drink, hard work, a daily bath in cold sea water, cross-legged posture during much of the time. They had to drink through a hollow bird bone. The boys were given a sort of temporary tattoo. Much vocational instruction was given, and particularly an elaborate moral instruction in the native code, with very concrete counsels on the obligations of altruistic behavior, respect for the aged, peaceableness, industry, not spreading scandals or carrying tales, and so forth. This moral instruction was given by the mentor, sponsors, [876] and other elders, as the will of Watauinéwa, the Supreme Being, who saw everything and who would punish delinquents with shortened life and with the death of their children. Yetāita also, the chief evil spirit, would harm them if they did wrong.

The ritual consisted otherwise mostly of dances and of songs peculiar to it. Toward the end, the sponsors gave each candidate a basket, a bird-bone drinking tube, and a scratching-stick. The rite ended with a mock battle between the men and women, and with a feast.

[884] Only those who had gone through the čiéxaus rite were considered full-fledged members of the tribe, and were told the whole mythological complex of the Yoálox brothers and their sister. And only twice-initiated boys could take part in the kina rite (cf. infra under Religion), whith was often held just after the čiéxaus.

76 **Death and burial.**—Mourning was expressed by fasting, body painting, gashing of the breast with sharp stones, and a special mourning dirge accompanied by a mourning speech. Angry complaints were directed to Watauinéwa for letting the person die. A general mourning rite in which the men and women painted themselves, wept, hurled complaints at Watauinéwa, and engaged in a mock battle, the men with clubs and the women with paddles, was also held.

The more common form of disposal of the body, up until recent times, was cremation—lest foxes, rats, or dogs should eat the body, so the natives said. The dead person's personal property, or some of it, was burned with the body. In some cases, especially of children, the body was buried in a kitchen-midden. The burial spot was avoided as a camping place, for several years where the deceased was an adult. The name of the dead was never spoken.

775 **Future life.**—The koshpik (késpix), or soul, flew east, but exactly whither was not known. Nor was it known what its fate was, happy or unhappy, nor whether such fate was at all dependent on moral behavior on earth.

/886 cont./

X881 one that the adults aim to achieve in the čiexaus hut with the
867 uswala are identical. The rules of conduct that are set up in the two situations likewise coincide. The immature child is told briefly and definitely what he must do and must not do; he is won over by well-meaning persuasion to do his duty. It is different with the candidates in the /887/ initiation who are offered rational arguments and are made to realize the consequences of their actions, for they are supposed to act out of conviction. Of the principles frequently mentioned we shall here mention only the more important ones; furthermore, certain standards for judging the conduct of the individual will be set forth.

X881 Remarkably often the exhortations, whether they come from
867 the teacher or from another person, point to personal honor. The
156 following allusion is repeated again and again, almost word for
554 word: "People will commend you and say you are a good human being!" Indeed, the sense of honor is highly developed among our Yamana. Anyone who touches them here strikes their most sensitive point. Hence everyone makes a serious effort to acquire a good reputation and undoubtedly performs some good deed only in order to be thought of as honorable and blameless. Many a person will make a considerable sacrifice, remain silent during a verbal battle between others, forgo eating in spite of hunger, give away a valuable object, perform work for an aged man whom he dislikes very much, and do many other things merely so that he will be generally regarded as a paragon. To be the object of sad reproaches would humiliate any one of them to such an extent that he would avoid contact with those who knew about it perhaps for a period of years and even live alone in obscure retreats. There is a danger here that the conduct of the individual may turn to duplicity and hypocrisy. The way of life, however, counteracts this effectively, for neither falsehood nor deceit can permanently hide behind its simplicity and transparency.

X881 Closely allied to this is the explicit reference to the con-
867 siderable and evident punishment that, according to the belief
626 of these Indians, the Supreme Being inflicts upon a guilty person.
761 Specifically they mention a long illness and, even more frequently, premature death. A person who wants to avoid the latter or who does not want to be punished by the loss of his

/887 cont./

X 881 children should be particularly zealous about getting up early in
867 the morning. To die young is generally regarded as a punishment
626 for laziness or for some other misdeed that a person has been
761 guilty of. Thus, one who wants to attain a great age carefully obeys everything that has been lawfully valid among the Yamana from time immemorial.

If the references to personal honor and to the worst of all
X 881 punishments have the effect of actual threats, the following rules
867 of conduct emphasize the strictness of duty for subjective reasons.
577 Foremost is the reference to indiscriminate helpfulness. Everyone must, so to speak, render voluntary service to all others and must seize the first opportunity for performing services and favors of all kinds. This altruistic duty is not adequately fulfilled by gifts and presents; actions and work are also demanded. The candidates are definitely told that they should keep their eyes open and be on the lookout for every opportunity to be of service to others. These opportunities /888/ occur every day. They should seize them without being asked, that is to say, out of inner willingness. A person who needs something almost never asks for it.

To this category also belong the suppression of one's own desires in favor of others, the relinquishing of personal advantage, and the sacrifice of one's own comfort. The individual should be ready to perform voluntary services first of all out of consideration for himself, for in this way he makes others indebted to him, and they, out of a sense of justice, will repay him in like manner and will help him. Here the principle of self-love shines through again! It is extremely pleasant that every friendly service for others is supposed to be performed quite inconspicuously and quietly, as though taken for granted or as though this properly belonged to the daily round of duty. In my long association with the Yamana I had almost daily demonstrations of this.

The inner value of this attitude, which, in itself, is praiseworthy, is considerably increased by complete unselfishness. To
[431] give gifts to others without expecting anything for oneself, to invite others to a meal, to give others of one's booty, all this is part of the true Yamana. Anything that anyone needs and would like to borrow should be given to him without fuss. No one expects a reward for work he has performed for kinsfolk and neighbors.

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124 776 Again one day old traditions were discussed, and the name Watauinéjwa was directly mentioned. Full of suspense we pressed for a further explanation. This caused great embarrassment among the women and there was deep silence; not even the otherwise brave Nelly ventured a word. Finally, in order to ease the constraint, old Mary summoned up her courage and said briefly: "Watauinéjwa is like God, like Christian God /cited in English/!" I was nonplused and again faced the same barrier that I had experienced two years before, apparently on the threshold of a new world of ideas to which the Indians refused admittance. Importunate questions on that afternoon would have been futile and would surely have evoked ill humor. Mary only disclosed that upon the death of an own child or a near relative, the neighbors point to [761] the mourner with the expression: "Watauinéjwa is punishing him!" This means that the deceased and his family have been punished by Watauinéjwa through this death.

After a long pause the Indian women attempted a digression. I could not accept this and ventured cautiously to come back to that anxiously guarded name. My efforts remained unsuccessful. The whole conversation flagged and our discussion simply could not get started again. In order to satisfy us and put us off once and for all, the women finally started to tell about ëkëtémakalo-watauinéjwa. How craftily they had chosen this way out of their embarrassment! We surrendered our hope of finally finding out more about the real Watauinéjwa. Actually they only offered us the [773] story of the small band of people who, in olden times, had set out for ëkëtémaka, where there was stranded whale, and afterwards they remained in that region west of Ushuaia. In this combination the designation watauinéjwa has nothing to do with the name for the Fuegian deity. The crafty Indian women in this way slipped out of the trap and very smartly duped us without betraying their secret. In any case it was now clear that all kinds of things worth knowing were concealed behind that name, and to discover them would probably justify serious effort.

Several times Nelly Lawrence had willingly helped me obtain information I sought in my research on the institutions and customs of her countrymen, and this time, too, she did not fail me. As I definitely learned later, she valued the native heritage of religious ideas extraordinarily highly, and inasmuch as she

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776 Manunākin is popular, as is Manauanākin, in the sense of "the sole mighty one." BD:285 gives these words in the combination manūnāki hauan, "this is valued" /cited in English/; it has the same root as auwēn, according to BD:65 auwōn, "true, sincere, in earnest, in truth" /cited in English/, and auwōnāki, "the good one" /cited in English/.

Only once was Tumūučikánaku used, "he who makes others angry and infuriates them." These words are also used by the Yamana in ordinary speech. Compare in BD:519 the expression tūmūučikāna, "cause, permit any person to učikana (BD:112), to annoy, trouble, vex by demands, requests, entreaties, etc." /cited in English/.

[761] On the occasion of a death and at a public funeral, Wēlapatux-sēf, "the murderer up in heaven," is often used and always with strong emotion. BD:619 clearly states "wölāpatux, cruel, murderous; acting in a manner braving danger in a reckless manner as though one could not be hurt or as one was like hard stone and invulnerable" /cited in English/.

/1047/ Finally one also finds in BD:629 "wāgunāki, the upper or higher one, the one above, the highest one; a term for God as 'the Highest'" /cited in English/. I did not come across this word and Bridges does not give an explanation for it anywhere. A definite contradiction should be pointed out, however. In his dictionary he lists an expression for "God" and yet for decades he denied that the Yamana had any kind of religious conception.

The above terms for the Supreme Being are variously used, depending on the given situation, but never thoughtlessly and always with conscious reference to this deity. The expressions always show more or less veneration for the deity, except for the names which the poor human being angrily uses to relieve his soul concerning his own impotence in relation to him.

195 776 Often, though not to the same extent as the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 497), our Indians use circumlocutions in place of the designations just listed. On the basis of the position occupied by Watauinéiwa in visible creation, according to their belief, they more or less consciously connect striking events and important happenings with him as the true creator and ultimate cause. They say briefly: "This comes from above!" and use the particle kūp

/1048 cont./

776 of us will when his kēšpix́ leaves his body." There are no pictorial or material representations of his person.

His abode is always far away from the earth and, in the invariable phrase, "high up there" in space. "From this great distance and because of the air space intervening no Yamana can see him. No one knows what he looks like, for he is kēšpix́!" That is all they say about how and where he lives "up there," nor do they picture details in their own imaginations.

Nevertheless, Watauinēiwa is close to every human being
776 through a sort of omnipresence attributed to him. This character-
626 istic is expressed more tangibly when he is described as omniscient, so to speak. "He sees everything. -- He knows what everyone is doing. -- He also observes how a person behaves in secret [unobserved by his countrymen]!" I often heard this and similar expressions. In the čiēxaus Chris told me: "He looks down from up there and he punishes here on earth. So he is also on earth! He reaches and punishes every lazy and good-for-nothing human being" (p. 766). When this same Chris was an ušwāala in the čiēxaus, his sponsor reminded him: "Heed all this advice faithfully. Watauinēiwa wishes it; he watches carefully to see whether you will act accordingly" (p. 736). Every candidate is emphatically warned: "Watch out for Watauinēiwa, never forget him!" The awareness that they are always being watched by him is not without effect on the personal conduct of our Indians.

In the last analysis, this conduct is likewise determined by him through the prevailing customs and traditional habits, in short, through the whole body of moral law, the authorship of which is attributed to him. The Fuegians say very simply and plainly: "Watauinēiwa wants everyone to behave as has always been customary among us Yamana!" They link with this the conviction that in the beginning these laws were drawn up by him to serve as guides for subsequent generations. With his omniscience
776 he sees to it that they are rigorously observed and he avenges
626 serious transgressions. This type of activity on his part is /1049/ most often mentioned because of its perceptible effects. He is
•761 maligned as the "murderer up there in heaven," Wēlapatux-sēf, for he causes the untimely death of adults and immature children. He causes everyone to die; hence the persons themselves and their nearest relatives, even the entire group, are punished and hurt.

/1049 cont./

776 He proceeds ruthlessly; he does not desist even in the face of the
761 tenderest age or the bitterest grief and greatest sorrow of a mother.
626 He is truly a Tumūučikánaku, and the more helpless the poor human being feels, the more passionately he moves against him.

In his weakness the Fuegian is at the mercy of that Abāilākin, that hāim hūlu Abāilākin, the unlimited mighty one who punishes when and however it pleases him, heedless of the pain and woe of human beings. He alone is lord over the life and death of all. He grants life and therewith the child enters independent existence. He lets everyone have life as long as it pleases him. He takes it away and man dies. By way of punishment he sends a serious ill-
[753] ness; he liberates a person from it, but only occasionally. He causes dying "of his own free will, and no influence by natural forces or magic power is capable of prevailing upon him. The dying one resigns himself to the progress of a serious illness without much complaining about his fate. The relatives and friends also yield submissively; they say: 'Watauinéiwa is much mightier than we, no one can stand up against him. He will carry this one off, we must let it happen, we can only weep!'" (Gusinde [2]:161.)

[82] In the same manner he bestows good and bad weather. If he wants to chastise someone, he has him tormented by storm and
776 rain; if he favors someone, he will let him be accompanied by
626 sunshine. He brings success in hunting to the men and success in gathering to the women, but sometimes he also arranges that they both come back empty-handed. In the final analysis, he is the author of every bad and fatal accident. A person who is dealt a severe blow regards it as a personal punishment; whether he is uncomplainingly silent or noisily abusive, he must accept it as one who is utterly defenseless. The threats with which our Indians try to ease their oppressed hearts do not touch that Abāilākin in the least. He does not use physical force, but operates merely by willing something. The Yamana express themselves as follows. For example, a girl was admonished in the čičxaus: "Begin your day's work early in the morning. Watauinéiwa sees every lazybones. Watauinéiwa will [as punishment] make you die soon [i.e., prematurely] if you are a lazy lie-abed!" They also say: "He will look at you, then it will soon be all over with you!" Sometimes they also warn: "The one up there is looking at you!" This means: He has designs on you, he has long intended to punish

775 /1095 cont./

of a future good or bad existence or of the presence of a spirit in man, which survives the body." In the first part he is right; in the second he contradicts himself.

reported: "They believe in the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. This is actually the case, and it is not worthwhile to consider contrary opinions.

774 Furthermore, the Yamana believe that the spirit-beings have unlimited freedom of movement, so to speak. During sleep, above all in dreams, the kēspiš leaves the body temporarily and goes elsewhere. Spencer:101 also mentions: "When dreaming, the spirit goes out of him" /cited in English/. In this connection it is worth noting that the kēspiš, after such a leave-taking, must be anchored to the body anew, as it were, by means of a ceremonial act, usually by a yēkamuš. This will be explained later. Several times my attention was called to an important distinc-
[828] tion: "While someone is dreaming, his kēspiš merely goes for a walk, and of course soon returns, but if a person dies, Watauinēiwa takes the kēspiš away and will not permit it to reunite with the body." When the Yamana say, "One cannot see a spirit-being, simply because it is kēspiš," they mean: it is not corporeal, for only something corporeal is visible to the eye. Nevertheless they admit that such a spirit-being can occasionally make itself visible, but they do not explain this in detail. Once I asked: "If my
775 brother has been dead for a long time and then I, too, die, will my kēspiš meet that of my brother, will it see him and be able to communicate with him?" In reply I was told: "We do not know that. We are completely /1096/ ignorant about how the kēspiš behave over there." If the Yamana wish to explain their own vague idea about the existence of a kēspiš, all they can say is: "It is something like the breath or the air that comes out of one's mouth."

774 It seems to me that their view of the derivation and origin of the human soul is not entirely clear. In a vague way they
•761 admit that the Supreme Being plays a decisive role, namely, that the soul of the newborn child comes from him, whereas the body of the child owes its origin to its parents (34). Common

34. Spencer:102 says: "New born child gets

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spirit 'from nature'" /cited in English/. The Yamana does not express himself that way. Spencer adds, correctly: "Some imagine they see the spirits. Informant knows nothing of spirits' life except that they always remain" /cited in English/.

expressions also reveal this conception. For example, grieving parents say: "Watauinéiwa let my child die, the one he gave me," but they do not express themselves in more detail about the whole process.

774 825 Once I wanted to know whether animals also had their késpiř. Apparently this thought had never occurred to them, for they shook their heads in denial. Then I said to them: "Animals are certainly clever, especially the dog. He understands the calls and gestures of his master, he helps in hunting and is faithful. How can that be?" They replied: "We care for the dog as for a child. He helps us a great deal. We never leave him behind all by himself in a deserted place, for if he were cut off from us we would always and everywhere be aware of the barking and howling of such an abandoned dog. Perhaps the dog does have a késpiř of his own, but he is the only one, other animals do not have it." Thus, the Yamana do not in so many words attribute a késpiř like that of the human soul to animals.

[171] 774 Their views are essentially like those of the neighboring Selk'nam about their kaspi (Vol. I, 537); even the names that the two tribes give to the human soul and to the spirit-being are almost the same.

b. Belief in a Future Life

775 Despite the contrary assertion of a few travelers who need not be taken seriously (35), the Yamana are, without exception,

35. Darwin (d):247 writes: "Captain Fitz Roy could never find out whether the Fuegians have any definite belief in a future life. They bury their dead sometimes in caves and

/1101 cont./

1. Death

761 The Fuegian faces all uncertainty with astonishing equanimity and quiet self-control. He is able /1102/ to await death with open eyes, without fear and alarm. Hyades (p):328 expresses himself conservatively and merely says: "They have little fear of death" /translated from French/, but this is admitting too much. Bridges (i):14 expresses himself more accurately: "They feared death because of the suffering and misery attending it and because it was the end of life" /cited in English/. Certainly, everyone clings to life and loves it very much; for that reason also the threats of Watauinčiwa of an untimely death have a sure effect on the individual's conduct. As soon as he sees there is no escape, however, he submits at once without complaint. One never hears a person regretting that he must depart from this life, although he knows nothing about the new form of existence which he is entering.

165 In earlier centuries, as in most recent times, almost all
761 Yamana died a natural death. Fatal accidents were exceptions
[731] and murder even more so. It has been shown that epidemics have wrought havoc in the Indian population only since their closer association with Europeans. Except for children's deaths, the greater majority of Yamana succumb to old age. "Old people die because they are old!" Although in this case the Indians place more emphasis on the natural process as something they take for granted, nevertheless they do not completely forget that Watauinčiwa causes death.

763 The indications of approaching death usually appear suddenly. If a person feels his strength leaving him, he stretches out on his miserable pallet and informs those present of his condition. They immediately take it into account, and from then on the nearest relatives stay close to him in order to observe the course of events. In such a situation death usually follows within a few hours. Strangely enough they make no effort to relieve the dying person by attending him, but squat around the fire, apparently quite indifferent. The person himself does not want or demand anything, for he rapidly becomes weaker. Actually the people present are waiting for a quick end and do not watch the dying one closely because they know they cannot help him. When the

/1182 cont./

A long time passed. Every day this woman saw how good
T13 the fresh roast of the sea lion tasted to her brothers and Mikuxípa. Finally she, too, timidly reached for a little piece and tasted it. The meat tasted very good to her. Soon she helped herself to larger pieces. Gradually she grew calmer over her loss and little by little forgot her husband, the great sea lion. As time went on she ate the meat and fat of the sea lion with as much relish as her two brothers did.

V. Dying Is Introduced

T13
•T61 It is told: The mother of the two Yo'llox finally grew old and feeble; from day to day her strength failed. Weak and tired, she remained in bed; finally she was unable to move. Since she had lost all her strength, the two Yo'llox carried her outside the hut and laid her in a favorable place in the grass where the warm sun could shine on her.

The elder Yo'llox sat beside his mother and looked at her steadily. Although he did not take his eyes off her, she did not utter a sound. It made him unspeakably sad to see his mother lying there completely motionless, but he did not disturb her profound sleep and confidently hoped that she would soon get up again.

Since the elder Yo'llox did not take his fixed gaze from his sleeping mother for a long time, but kept looking at her intently, she finally began slowly to move again. Then she opened her eyes and moved slightly, and sleep departed from her. At first she moved scarcely at all, for she seemed to be recovering only very gradually and hardly perceptibly from the utter exhaustion of her infirmity. This was enough, however, for the elder Yo'llox, and he became wild with joy. Quickly he ran into the hut; he wanted to tell his younger brother and said to him: "Listen and rejoice, our mother has awakened from her deep sleep. She began to move very slowly. I confidently hope that she will soon get up again!" These words annoyed the younger Yo'llox very much and he opposed his brother, instantly replying: "This must not be! Our mother is now sleeping, for she is old

/1182 cont./

TB •761

and quite feeble. Let her now sleep forever!" Whereupon this actually happened. Soon the mother hardly stirred and she did not get up again. When the elder Yoalox /1183/ again left the hut and reached the place where his mother was, he looked at her carefully. She lay there completely motionless. Again he fixed his gaze upon her for a long time, just as he had before, but this time she did not move. She lay there without stirring and without moving. Now she was truly dead.

This was the first death. Since then all human beings must die (105), for that is the way the younger Yoalox wanted it (106).

105. It is noteworthy that there are many points of agreement in this matter between the Selk'nam and our Yamana. Among the former it is the elder brother who was prevented by his younger brother from arising from his sleep of old age. This introduced dying in general (Vol. I, 588).

In Vol. I, 589, footnote 28, I pointed out that the Selk'nam like to use the expression "elder Kwanyip," instead of the real name. The Yamana have no real name for the "elder Yoalox."

106. As this story came to an end, there was much bitterness and grief written on the faces of the many people present at the thought that everyone sooner or later will die and will be unable to escape death. Without a word, they all left and silently crept back to their own huts. Every Yamana is at times very much depressed at the thought of dying.

On August 12, 1883, old Malemikens and his wife, both of whom came from the west, gave me a somewhat different version of this myth. He told the following story.

The two Yoalox were men of superior intelligence. When their mother had reached a great age, she finally lost all her strength. So she stayed in bed and was overcome by a very deep

/1183 cont./

773 sleep. After that she no longer moved. The two Yoálox wept
761 bitterly, for they had lost their mother and were now left alone. They carried their mother out and buried her. The younger Yoálox, however, had little love for his mother; he did not weep nearly as much or as loudly as his elder brother. Their mother had been buried for some time when one day they heard her voice outside near the hut. Suddenly the elder Yoálox ceased his weeping and said: "I shall not weep any longer, for I hear the voice of my mother!" He hastened out of the hut and hoped to see his mother there. The younger Yoálox remained in the hut and furiously yelled at his mother: "How can you come back here? Go away at once and disappear from here forever!" Then the mother slowly withdrew and has never returned. The younger Yoálox simply said, as though he were displeased with himself: "Why did we not immediately (107) tell our mother that she must

107. These words mean: why did we not at the proper moment beforehand prevent our mother from rising up out of her death-sleep.

not come back!" Truly, from then on she remained away forever.

ξ. The Yoalox Go Away

The Yamana say: "The two Yoálox brothers gave proper names to all objects and places, all plants and animals. They remained here on earth for a long time. When they grew old, they ascended to the canopy of heaven with Yoálox-tírnuxípa and their other sisters. They are still there as stars."

/1184/ This concludes the stories about the Yoálox family which is associated with the Yamana. All the men and women are, on the whole, proud of the Yoálox brothers and sisters, for they are regarded as the best and the most capable members of the tribe. The men, above all, appreciate the two Yoálox brothers as the most skillful huntsmen, the best craftsmen, the most gifted persons. These heroes are not worshipped in any way

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

765 [535] black paint and indulged in formal ululation. They summoned their friends and relatives to the death-dance known as *yamalasher-meima*, which might be repeated at intervals for several months. For it the men and women donned the white kelp-goose headband; the men supplied themselves with clubs of unusual length (fig. 95),

FIG. 95.—Yahgan ceremonial club. Length, 5 ft. (14/2261)

[761] and the women carried paddles. As with many primitive tribes, the Yahgan believed death due to some positive and active force, visible or invisible. Hence the mourning ceremony carried the threat of revenge and assumed the character of a sham battle.

715 It has been both asserted and denied that the Yahgan believed in the immortality of the soul. Testimony on this point secured in recent years from mission-reared Indians might not be considered conclusive, but mythological tales clearly indicate belief in survival. As among the Ona, only unusually powerful and bold spirits, such as those of shamans, were able to maintain contact with the visible world.

MYTHOLOGY

713 The Yahgan possessed the usual collection of myths found among primitive peoples, but these are exceedingly simple in character and lacking in humor or sublety. The most extensive study of the mythology of this tribe was conducted by Gusinde and Koppers, and has been published only in outline. Barclay, Thomas Bridges, Cojazzi, and Martial also have contributed mythological material of importance, while a few scattered tales occur in the works of other writers. It has seemed worth while to summarize these published sources because they often are difficult to obtain and have appeared in five different languages. We have followed the classification of Koppers (1924).

EXPLANATORY MYTHS

There are a large number of tales which explain the various phenomena of nature such as the slow approach of dawn, the shape of the rainbow, the spots on the moon, the bare tops of the mountains, etc. Such tales often form incidents in the more complex myth cycles we shall discuss.

/1030 cont./

a definite instance which he might have observed, and Hyades (d):242, referring to alleged infanticide and the strangulation of individuals on the point of death, relies on statements of the missionaries and is careful to say that "personally we have not been able to verify these last two assertions" /translated from French/. As late as 1929, Spencer:88, leaned toward this view, without any kind of proof.

A way out of this uncertainty is provided by an opinion for which I am indebted to the brothers, Martin and Fred Lawrence, with whom I had long discussions. They said that it is possible and most likely that some one, at the sight of a relative caught in the death struggle, lost control of himself after several hours. In his agitation, driven by his own pain at the imminent separation from the dying one and impotent in the face of the hopelessness of recovery, he may have seized his throat and strangled him so that instantly the death rattle and any movement stopped. This happened, however, only when the dying person was completely unconscious and there was absolutely no hope of recovery. The desire was simply to terminate his agony.

Only once did I come across the following remark, "taken from conversations with Mrs. Burleigh" /cited in English/ (MM: XXVIII,126;1894): "In some cases when the wife was near death the husband would put her into a canoe, take her miles away and leave her, hoping that exposure and starvation would hasten death" /cited in English/. Such behavior so obviously contradicts everything that has been definitely proved about the value of Yamana put on human life that any comment is superfluous. They have never been cannibals (p. 254 /untranslated/), nor does suicide occur among them, according to definite assertions by Dabbene (b):203 and Bridges (a):211.

The entire social order of our Foegians impresses one as kind and worthy of human beings, for it rests on natural marital relations and favorable mutual relations between parents and children, between the members of a kinship group, and among all the local groups. The small population and the lack of serious disturbances from without facilitate the cohesion of the people as a whole. This social order is conditioned by the nature of the economy of our Yamana. The charming picture of the harmoniously balanced

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 5316 Yahgan 5316

clubs, fists, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did not exist, and the *Yahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups appear to have been normally irenic, but violence and bloodshed were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually intervened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast. Bridges found 22 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1884—an annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that of the United States. Mercy killings occurred for the purpose of putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human sacrifice was unknown; so too was premeditated suicide.

The evidence that the *Yahgan* practiced no form of cannibalism—gastronomic, famine, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of devouring human flesh.

SUSTAINED LIFE

Ownership.—The *Yahgan* resented and avenged exploitative trespass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part thereof by non-*Yahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gusinde, 1937, pp. 964-965) or, according to Koppers (1929 b, p. 178), of any one of the numerous local groups, by nonmembers. Since these local groups seemingly were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Yahgan* land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting-ground system. There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast on a stranded whale, and to gather firestones and suitable canoe bark, which were found only in certain parts of the *Yahgan* territory. Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adornments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things. The ownership of certain other things—food, hut, canoe—appears to have been vested in the biological family.

Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor, donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-

/1029 cont./

880 live alone, they always have a few children or grandchildren with them who are absolutely obedient to them." In common with reliable observers, I, too, have denied the false accusation of cannibalism among the Yamana (p. 252 /untranslated/).

734 763 It is often said that it is customary among them to strangle certain people who are dying (446). Early in 1863 young Bridges

446. It is known that the same assertion was made against the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 480), but they themselves energetically denied it.

(VSA:X,171;1863) first wrote about this: "Ookokko gives me a sad account of some of the Fuegian tribes. It is a practice with some when a man is very ill, and likely to die, to cut his time short in a violent manner, and kill his young children by suffocating them. But some of the tribes, he says, are very good to the sick, and show much commiseration for their pain" /cited in English/. Later he (e):332 relayed his opinion about this to a number of Europeans and said very emphatically: "Old and hopelessly sick persons were seldom done away with before their natural end; when the faculties of speech, sight, and movement were lost and if the case was of long duration, then the dying person was strangled, and thus the end was hastened for him and his family in a merciful manner." Later he (h):209 and (i):14 repeats the same thing: "The Yahgans occasionally hastened the end of their relatives by strangulation. This was kindly meant and there were good reasons for it. It was only resorted to in cases of long continued unconsciousness and utter weakness, preceding death, when the dying person neither ate nor drank, spoke nor moved. The act was done openly and with the consent of all except that of the victim, who was too inanimate to do anything. This act was called tabacana and it was done to any class of person in the above hopeless condition, either man or woman" /cited in English/. This spelling, tabacana, is probably a mistake; in BD:394 it is given /1030/ correctly as tatabáku, "to kill any person or animal which is sick and in pain in order to put him out of his misery" /cited in English/. Martial: 205, as well as Hyades (p):333, (g):39, and (q):235 have accepted this opinion from Bridges. The latter does not in any form mention

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775 the aš̆ula through our region here [as though they were on a journey], as the yékamuš who can see both [groups] tell us!" Exceptions to this general rule are the kēšpiš of the yékamuš and of persons who have drowned. Of the latter it is said: "While a person is drowning he threshes about excitedly. That is his kēšpiš which is leaving him. After that the kēšpiš stays in that place on water. Sometimes one hears his call; it sounds like the barking of a sea lion, but it is the call of the kēšpiš of the drowned person." As for the yékamuš, "all persons surrounding a dying yékamuš must continually utter a wailing hu hu hu; at the same time they let their arms hang down and move their hands forward as though they were pushing sand or water. These movements quickly drive far away the Haučélla spirit (37) that is leaving the dying yékamuš.

775 756 763

37. This spirit was characterized and described in detail on p. 746.

If this were not done, this bloodthirsty villain would remain at the place of death and harass all the people." Naturally, everyone [304] present is painted with the white horizontal line from the nostrils to the ear-lobes. The kēšpiš of certain persons, including those of the yékamuš, are strongly attracted by Haučélla. If they follow this woman, they actually go down into the earth with her and remain with her. Finally the Yamana also concede that sometimes a kēšpiš appears near the hut and in the neighborhood of their own families. It whimpers and groans, although so softly that the people can scarcely hear it, but that is how they recognize it (38).

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38. Bove (d):297 and (e):159 assert: "In general the Fuegians are not very superstitious; if someone dies, they believe that the spirit leaves the body and roams about through the forests and beyond the mountains, restlessly suffering if he was evil in life, happily and quietly if he was good." His traveling companions Lovisato (b):149 and Spegazzini (a):172 repeat the same assertion. I did not encounter this

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763 death rattle begins, they audibly start to moan and weep. This development almost always ends quickly.

The news has of course immediately spread to the nearest 763 huts. The neighbors remain quiet. They talk in subdued voices 152 among themselves and cease any work that might be disturbing. The longer this continues, the more silent, thoughtful, and sad they become. The reminder of death in the immediate neighborhood makes every Yamana serious. The neighbors, through messengers, keep other people in a wide area informed about the course of events. They are prepared /1103/ to appear at the place of mourning at the proper moment. It is not customary among the Yamana for many people to gather around the dying person. Distant relatives and neighbors arrive only after death has occurred. Every dying person, however, wants his intimate family to be with him during his last hours (41).

> 41. As Bridges (i):14 expresses it: "at the last closing scene all friends and relations were expected to be present and to make the occasion important by their united lamentations. It was a great gratification to the sick to have their friends around them and so much honour showing them" /cited in English/.

The nearest relatives of the dying person, however, observe him closely enough so that they can estimate when the actual death struggle will commence. The poor soul is by then already unconscious or at least insensible. Now the people standing around begin their loud weeping and pitiful moaning. They scream and lament as though in despair over the departure of this relative. They do not utter definite words, but constantly repeat their long drawn-out weeping and moaning cries, varying them in intensity and pitch and shedding copious tears at the same time. They get up and crouch down, or they throw themselves on top of the dying one and roll on the ground with dreadful contortions of their entire bodies. They can usually tell quickly and accurately when death is setting in, whereupon they cry out so shrilly and shriekingly that

/1103 cont./

763 152 one's blood curdles. Some of them behave uncontrollably, like lunatics, and tear the skin all over their bodies, rumple their hair, thrash about wildly, cramp themselves up and roll over the body, shake the hut framework, and scatter the fire with their hands, completely beside themselves. It is only when they are exhausted that they completely collapse, trembling all over. It is shattering to watch such individuals. The others present also behave in a very excited and wild fashion. Weeping and groaning, they bend their bodies, repeatedly clutch their hair, and pull it angrily while a stream of tears flows unhindered down their cheeks to the ground. The shrill cry has told the waiting neighbors of the dying person's release; weeping and lamenting, they hasten there (42).

> 42. Bove (e):159 is the only one who reports on this and only briefly: "The last moments of a dying person are announced by a dreadful wailing; all who are present take part in the grief of the family. Women and men paint their faces and hands black and the nearest relatives even pull out their hair and cut their bodies with shells and knives."

763 134 There is little difference in the procedure when a person is released from a long illness by death. His relatives have carefully observed his condition and discussed it with neighbors and visitors. The sick person was obliged to remain in one place almost continuously with one or another of his nearest relatives; friends occasionally came to inquire about his condition and to bring him food or things he could use. Meanwhile /1104/ his strength deserts him. Those who have taken care of him are exhausted after watching him suffer for a long time. The nearer death comes, the more irritable and impatient they become, so that when the death struggle actually begins they behave as though they were completely mad. The suffering and agony that they have had to see their beloved relative endure have lasted too long. If the death struggle is considerably prolonged and if a person finally loses control of himself, it does not seem at all impossible

/1104 cont./

763 that he might strangle the dying one in order to release him from
734 the death agony (p. 944). Loud, shrill cries announce the end to the neighborhood, and people arrive without delay. I myself witnessed the two cases just described.

Fatal accidents are not uncommon. A whole family may
731 be taken if a canoe capsizes. A few men drag the body of a per-
766 son who has drowned or fallen from a rock into his hut if it is not too far away. Otherwise, if the men are far from their families on a cormorant hunt, they bury the victim then and there and hasten to bring the news quickly to the family.

The demonstrations of mourning begin while a person is
763 dying and immediately afterwards. All the neighbors assemble in
152 front of the hut of the deceased or inside and start a loud, irregular moaning. Copious tears flow from grief and sincere sympathy. Everyone is again vividly reminded of Watauineiwa who has taken this person away. As was learned earlier from Bridges (a):206: "When a person is very ill and likely to die, great grief is shown, and the near relatives keep near, so as to act as mourners at the decease of the sick. They show much grief, and when the sick actually dies great lamentation is made, and the mourners weep profusely" /cited in English/.

2. The Burial

764 There is a remarkable number of reports, most of them brief,
114 however, about the way our Fuegians treat the corpse. The dying one has scarcely ceased breathing when the persons present busy themselves over him. As Bove (e):159 says, this time accurately: "They wrap the body of the deceased, which is still almost warm in a few rags." They use large pieces of leather and nowadays also scraps of sacking. Usually they leave the body in the position it assumed at death. The entire sheath is fastened and tied with strips of leather which are tightly wrapped around it in various directions (43). This happens in any case; "the dead are always

43. Hyades (q):379 says briefly that "the body is wrapped in some old skins of otter or seal; it is then buried"; Lovisato

/602 cont./

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frost scarcely leaves the ground" /cited in English/, and that therefore the bone remnants would be better preserved. The greater or lesser presence of air is a much more important factor in preservation.

of freezing and thawing to which these organic structures are exposed more than are other things. All the finds mentioned above unfold the picture of an animal world that still inhabits this region today.

The remains of human skeletons are less often found in these shell strata; occasionally they are uncovered by natural forces themselves. It is well known that the Yamana formerly burned [764] their corpses in their own huts and afterwards buried the bone parts on the spot. It cannot be proved, but it is almost certain that they also buried the entire corpse in a shell mound without first cremating it. Unfortunately only an extremely small number of remains of human skeletons from the shell mounds have been gathered and accurately described scientifically. I know of only two skulls uncovered in the "Conchales de Ushuaia" and described by Vignati (c):131. /603/ He did not examine the corresponding skeletons. Exact measurements were not made of the skulls either, but the descriptions and illustrations leave no doubt that these specimens can definitely be assigned to two members of the Yamana tribe (398).

398. Vignati's (c):138 own opinion is that the characteristics found, "in summary, authorize one to suppose that both craniums are from Yahgans, such as are familiar to us through the descriptions by Flower, Garson, Hultkrantz, etc." /translated from Spanish/.

Judging such remains is more difficult because one can probably never determine definitely whether the find goes back many centuries or only a few decades. The uniform construction of the shell mounds warrants only to a certain extent the inference that the remains more deeply buried are older. Hence the fact that skeletal remains are found somewhere in the lowest strata of a

/1104 cont./

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2. The Burial

764 There is a remarkable number of reports, most of them brief,
114 however, about the way our Fuegians treat the corpse. The dying one has scarcely ceased breathing when the persons present busy themselves over him. As Bove (e):159 says, this time accurately: "They wrap the body of the deceased, which is still almost warm in a few rags." They use large pieces of leather and nowadays also scraps of sacking. Usually they leave the body in the position it assumed at death. The entire sheath is fastened and tied with strips of leather which are tightly wrapped around it in various directions (43). This happens in any case; "the dead are always

43. Hyades (q):379 says briefly that "the body is wrapped in some old skins of otter or seal; it is then buried"; Lovisato

/1104 cont./

764

(b):147 and Dabbene (b):193 say the same.

184 wrapt up in skins either when buried or burned" /cited in English/, as Bridges (a):206 confirms. Nowadays the /1105/ body is straightened out and the arms are placed at the sides, because burial in the ground is now the exclusive custom. The eyelids are not closed nor is the lower jaw lifted to close the mouth. The face is quickly covered with the shroud used for the entire body which is neither decorated nor ornamented. The corpse of a yékamus, however, is specially treated; at least the face is painted and the customary feather ornament is wound around the forehead.

A few allusions and specific statements by old people leave no doubt that formerly cremation was more common and perhaps even the exclusive custom. This is confirmed by several travelers and missionaries (44). Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869), for example, states in so many words and without any qualification: "The dead are generally burnt to ashes" /cited in English/. It may be that this custom predominated chiefly in individual districts, for quite early Bridges (VP:XI, 259;1864) asserts that in the Wulaia region cremation was "the usual way of disposing of their dead" /cited in English/. It is not correct, however, to say that cremation is restricted to the yékamus (45). Nevertheless a few

44. Only the following will be mentioned: Bove (e):159, Bridges (a):206, (c):332, and (h):209, Despard (b):698, Hyades (f):585, (p):332, and (q):378, Outes (g):56, Spegazzini (a):168, and Spencer:74. Not a single one of these men definitely asserts that he personally witnessed a cremation.

45. Despard (b):698 was the only one to surmise this and gives the following reason: "Possibly to make sure that they may never return to trouble survivors, since in their life-time these practioners have been ever

/1105 cont./

764 114

active in mischief" /cited in English/. In this instance he (VP:VI, 129;1859) relied altogether on the uncertain accounts of J. Button.

older reports admit that both types of interment were simultaneously known and used, for example, Stirling (VSA:XI, 198;1864) and Despard (b):698. At first Bridges (a):206 says: "Adult persons both male and female when they die are burned shortly after by the nearest male relatives, but sometimes (especially the females) are buried. Little children are generally buried when they die" /cited in English/. Later he writes: "Usually they bury their dead, but often they are burned." I know of no other place where it is said that they differentiated between adults on the basis of sex for cremation; in fact, local conditions were decisive for both sexes alike. Outes (g):56 made a certain qualification which in this general form is surely unjustified. He says: "If the death came about as the result of a fight or murder, the corpse is generally not burned, but is abandoned" /translated from Spanish/. Finally Hyades (f):585 tried to find out "in what situation they preferred cremation. They often told me that their practice was always to burn the bones of interred natives after they had been buried a certain time, but surely cremation is sometimes swifter..." /translated from French/. These words even indicate interment twice, for which there is absolutely no certain proof. Most of my aged /1106/ informants had experienced actual cremations. Under the influence of missionaries and [177] European settlers this custom quickly had to give way to burial, which has been done exclusively for the last few decades. During the years when Bove (e):159 was transversing the south the following was still applicable: "Formerly the dead were burned, but nowadays this rarely occurs." According to my investigations, cremation was not the exclusive custom in olden times, but it was universal and predominant.

764 Not one of the authors mentioned above has described the procedure of burning a corpse. I, too, must rely on the accounts of my Indians who gave me the following description. The corpse, which is wrapped in a large piece of leather and tightly

/1106 cont./

764 bound with cord, is dragged out of the hut by a few men from among the close relatives. They take it to the nearest thicket or into the nearby woods. Here they lay it on a low bushy shrub with spreading branches. Smoldering sticks are pushed into the shrub and dry logs leaned against it. They fan it rapidly with leafy twigs, and in a few minutes the flames leap up. Usually after a short time the burned bush collapses. Then the burning corpse is covered with greater quantities of wood. The men alone do this first part, while the girls and women are obliged to fetch firewood incessantly and to keep the fire burning brightly until all the bones have been destroyed beyond recognition. Coarse sand or earth from the forest floor is dragged to the place with sticks or oars and scattered over the remaining small heap of ashes of the extinguished pyre. Finally the spot is covered with brush and fallen branches. After a few months it no longer is discernible. While this is going on, other people from the neighboring huts stand around the fire, watch the procedure, weep loudly, and sing their tálaɣwaia. A cremation does not take place on the open beach because the traces of it could not be quickly and completely eradicated. The corpse was laid upon a strong, thick shrub because igniting it is much easier than kindling a fire on the ever-damp forest floor.

766 Even in regions where cremation was preferred over burial, the body of a child was customarily buried in the ground. I was told: One man alone took this corpse and carried it into the forest where he quickly made a shallow hole in the ground and covered the body with earth and brush. This work was easy and not troublesome; the grave only required scratching away a bit of loose forest earth with a stick. Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869) also emphasizes that, in contrast to the burning of adult bodies, "young children are frequently buried" /cited in English/.

764 At all such cremations it was an absolute rule that the mourners left the spot only after the large bones of the corpse /1107/ had crumbled to fine dust in the strong heat and the scene of the fire had been made unrecognizable. They continued their weeping in the huts until far into the night. It is noteworthy, and contrary to the general conception of the Yamana, that every man [431] and woman who helped in any way at the cremation received a gift from the relatives of the deceased. This was by no means something that had belonged to the deceased, as a memento, for

/1107 cont./

764 [431]

example; rather, the relatives themselves gave something that must be regarded as recompense for work performed and as a token of the gratitude of the survivors for this service of love. The strong incentive that led our Fuegians to burn the corpse of every adult was the fear that animals, especially rats, otters, dogs, and foxes, would devour it or gnaw at it (46). The thought of the

46. There is no basis for the fear that "strangers to the tribe" might "make harpoon points out of the bones," as Krickeberg:322 maintains.

disgusting habits of those animals made them shudder, and they wanted to make sure that the bodies would not be desecrated. Other reasons mentioned by one traveler or another are not valid. Hyades (p):332, for example, writes: "Sometimes [the dead] are burned, especially when death has taken place far from the habitual residence of the family" /translated from French/.

764 114

The following reports must also be clarified. On March 9, 1864, Stirling (VSA:XI, 198;1864) landed with his company on Isla Button. He sums up in the following words what he observed there: "Here is the funeral pyre on which the body of one of Macooallan's brothers was recently burned. Here the wigwam, or framework of branches, where for a day the body lay in state. The body of James Button [who had died shortly before] has not yet been burned: it is merely interred. The return of his brother from Keppel Island has been waited for, and now the remains will be submitted to the flames. This information is given to us in a subdued voice by Ookokko [who took part in this round trip]" /cited in English/. Hyades (c):142 generalizes this assertion (47).

47. He says: "The Fuegians do not have a funeral rite; they inter the body near their dwelling at a shallow depth and later burn the bones" /translated from French/.

One might deduce from these words that after a temporary burial the body is taken out of the grave and burned. This surmise is completely erroneous and neither Stirling nor Hyades was reliably

/1107 cont./

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114

informed. The simple fact is that any human bones which have in any way become exposed after burial are consigned to the fire for complete decomposition. Spencer:74 may well appear as a witness for the cremation of bodies, but he is mistaken in his reasoning: "Old woman says that in olden times bodies were burned, which agrees with remnants of large fires met with in deeper parts of old middens, three and four and five feet down, where also are no shells, or very few, and only calcined light-coloured earth" /cited in English/. The ashes in the lowest layers of the shell mounds are known to be remnants of but fires which, of course, only later were /1108/ built on a layer of mussel shells (p.356). This does not contradict the fact that some corpses were buried in shell mounds.

Besides the burning of the bodies of adults in ancient times, burial in the ground was also customary, at least for children and possibly also now and then for adults. Fitz-Roy (a):181 credits all the water nomads of the Fireland Archipelago with it (48) and

> 48. He asserts: "When a person dies, his family wrap the body in skins, and carry it a long way into the woods; there they place it upon broken boughs, or pieces of solid wood, and then pile a great quantity of branches over the corpse" /cited in English/.

there is also no lack of witnesses for it from more recent times. Lovisato (b):148 certainly deserves assent when he says that "the burial of corpses in that tribe dates from the time of the Ushuaia Mission" /translated from Italian/, in contrast to cremation as a "custom also practiced today by some, but very rarely, and doggedly combatted by the missionaries" /translated from Italian/. Actually, with the coming of Europeans, cremation, which formerly was almost universal, gave way to burial in the ground exclusively. It is inaccurate to maintain that the Indians traveled to certain places solely for this purpose. According to Bridges (a):206, to whom Lovisato (b):147 refers, "small islands are preferred for burying-places, as there are no foxes to disturb the dead...Sometimes also the dead are buried at the foot of cliffs among the rocks,

/1108 cont./

764 in places safe from foxes" /cited in English/. The Yamana would
114 not take so much trouble; they customarily bury a corpse not far from the hut.

764 Soon after death the body is wrapped in pieces of leather or in strong scraps of leather and bound with long leather strips. Only occasionally is it placed on short poles which are also enclosed in the wrapping, the body being stretched out in this case. Several men who offer their services are occupied with all this for about an hour, while the rest of the people present sigh and weep. Then they lift up the body, each one putting his arm over it and pressing it against his hip, and carry it to the place agreed upon. According to my personal observation, four men arrange themselves around the corpse, two on either side. A few decades ago they chose a large shell mound. It is easy to dig a rather large hole in it with poles and oars, and the hole can be quickly and easily covered again. In recent times our Indians prefer to bury the corpse in a sandbank lying off the shore or in a low hill of coarse gravel. It is regularly laid in position on its back (49), which is

49. Only Spencer:62 maintains that the corpse is "always buried lying on back with head towards west" /cited in English/. There is no proof for this.

easy to arrange and maintain, and then covered with earth and gravel or with the mixture of sand and mussel shells. Now and then they insert a few short branches. They put a great many large stones over it to prevent dogs or predatory animals from getting at the body. If an animal should nevertheless succeed in doing so, /1109/ it is immediately killed, for the Yamana have a great aversion to seeing a corpse uncovered. Finally the spot is made to look exactly like the surroundings so as to be unrecognizable (50). Anyone

50. Hyades (g):33 has described the procedure of a burial somewhat more elaborately (cf. also Anuario Hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile, Vol. XI, p. 506; Santiago, 1888). It is briefly mentioned by Lovisato (b):147, Despard (b):698, Bridges (a):206, (h):209, and Spegazzini (a):168.

/1109 cont./

764 who knows about it avoids it out of anxious fear. Other people, not the nearest relatives, accompany or assist the men who bury the corpse. When they have finished their work, they quietly and unobtrusively rejoin those who have gathered in a hut and are loudly mourning.

766 As has been said, as soon as death occurs, immediate preparations for burial are made unless one must await the coming dawn because of the darkness of the night. In exceptional cases the body is interred in a small cave nearby or in the cavity of a rock if there is earth or gravel available to cover it. Even in our day the corpse has been destroyed in the hut fire. If, for instance, a married couple were all alone in some spot and the husband died, and other people, although notified by the customary triple smoke signal, could not get there quickly because of high waves, the surviving wife would be obliged to make the best of it. Without any special preparation of the corpse, she would drag it into the hut fire and pile brush and firewood on top of it. Soon the flames would leap so high that the hut itself would catch fire. The woman would keep the fire going until the corpse was completely destroyed. The same thing was done if the path into the forest was blocked or the customary burial in the ground was in any way prevented. The concern of the survivors is always to do away with the corpse without delay, and even a person by himself is able to do that.

764 768 Among the Yamana, just as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 552), it has been customary from ancient times to destroy all the possessions of the deceased, by consigning them to the flames, throwing them into the sea, or placing the individual pieces in the grave with the corpse. Bridges (a):206 confirms that the deceased's "property is either cast into the sea or burned" /cited in English/, and Bove (e):159 adds: "In the grave of a man, they bury pieces of harpoons, spears, slings, etc., and with a woman, nets and fishing gear." These things are in no way meant as actual burial accessories; the survivors are guided solely by the desire to destroy in one way or another everything that belonged to the deceased. That is why it is a matter of course for them "to burn the hut of the deceased, which was his last abode, and to leave the area for some time," to repeat Bove's (e):159 words.

/1111 cont./

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was ended by a low growling noise. By this, as well as by pulling their hair, and beating their breasts, while tears streamed down their faces, they evinced their sorrow for the fate of some friends who had perished, some days before the 'Beagle'\'s arrival, by the upsetting of a loaded canoe" /cited in English/.

152 Parents in particular /1112/ lose control of themselves and make loud and bitter accusations against Watauineiwa, insult him, and swear revenge against him (p. 988). Sorrow breaks through unrestrained among these unspoiled children of nature. The first utterance always exceeds all bounds, but the grief continues to be deeply felt for months and years and sometimes flares up in its initial violence. "The mourning lasts long, sometimes for two years, but it gradually becomes less, till the memory of the dead passes from the mind" /cited in English/ (Bridges [a] :206).

While the dying person is still struggling with death, his
144 nearest relatives are already weeping and howling. The strongest
152 outburst of their grief begins after life has departed. Loud, shrill cries are uttered at short intervals, and it seems as though each one is intended to surpass the other. Mixed in with them are unrestrained howling and groaning by other persons. A loud and indescribable confusion of voices fills the little hut. The longer it lasts, the more neighbors hasten there, and none stays away. Everyone squats on the ground, and sometimes they sit pressed so closely together that they can scarcely move. Once I even saw them remove the hut fire because of lack of room. Everyone present wants to be as close to the body as possible, at least to be inside the hut. Long hours are filled with whimpering and sighing, howling and lamenting. While this is going on, a few men begin wrapping the corpse in pieces of leather. While it is being dragged out of the hut, the howling reaches its loudest and wildest pitch. The behavior of the persons present clearly shows their feeling that the deceased is now departing forever. They writhe with pain, throw themselves on the ground and get up again, wave their arms about wildly and full of despair, and clutch one another as though they would tear each other apart. This continues

/1112 cont./

764 for hours with tireless persistence, although the loud lamentations
152 increase and diminish. Meanwhile the corpse has been buried. If it is burned, the howling and crying does not by any means cease while this is going on.

No matter how the corpse has been removed, it is only under /1113/ the compulsion of complete exhaustion that the neighbors who are not close to the deceased inconspicuously leave. After the hut of the dead person has been destroyed by fire, his nearest relatives crowd in elsewhere. Here they continue their lamentation for many more hours, heedless of the night which has perhaps long since fallen. This stimulates the neighbors to resume their cries of lament. For at least 20 hours after the soul's departure there is never an interval of complete quiet; the greater or lesser tumult of voices continues without pause. Even on the second and third day those who are nearest to the deceased barely interrupt their howling now and then for brief pauses, and the other people often fall in with them for two or three hours. All this depends on the disposition of the individual and on a number of incalculable motives. Almost all the adults become quite perceptibly exhausted. As though crushed, as though overwhelmed by grief, everyone remains in his hut almost without interruption. Now and then a person goes to those who have been directly affected by the misfortune, remains near them at least two hours, and weeps with them, as is demanded by sympathetic concern, according to the ideas of our Fuegians. Out of the same consideration everyone must remain still and quiet, even at a considerable distance from the mourning family. Even children may not talk loudly or laugh.

765 For the first few days after a death has occurred all is very
152 quiet in the entire camp. It was simply impossible for me to get people in front of the phonograph and the camera during this brief period. They rejected all my urging, which they interpreted as a violation of their innermost feelings, with the decisive words: "We are now in mourning!" Thus they told me, curtly and clearly, that they were simply unavailable for other matters.

765 The custom of announcing a death without delay by means of
222 signal fires has been discussed (p.333). Three thick clouds of smoke are sent up close together, which are chiefly meant to call other families to come quickly and help the family that has been

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

756 cials witnessed by Rev. Thomas Bridges (1893, p. 238) may have been part of this training.

Graduation from the shaman school did not insure a successful 756 professional career, for only by repeated proofs of power could the 887 individual's reputation be established. It seems that there was much competition among the medicine-men, and several early observers note a tendency of almost all the older people to work cures, to prophesy, etc.

FIG. 94.—Yahgan shaman's bag. Diameter, 11 in. (14/2337)

756 In fig. 94 is 445 illustrated the guanaco-hide bag in which the shaman carried his impedimenta. The contents were diadems of heron-plumes and of kelp-goose down, and white paint. To these doubtless should be added a number of small hard objects to be shown to the sick as the cause of their pain.

DEATH

764 When death took place the corpse was wrapped in old seal-skins and buried outside of the house within twenty-four hours. If the ground were frozen, the corpse might be covered with stones and shrubs to keep off dogs and foxes, or it might be buried in a cave or on a small island. Hyades (1891, p. 379) says that when death occurred far from home the body was carried into the woods and cremated. This was done that the bones might not fall into the hands of enemies and be made into harpoon-points.

765 For mourning the family of the defunct covered themselves with

/1047 cont./

195 or kūpa. Compare BD:210, 211. This replaces the name, but
776 is clear to everyone who hears it. Calderon and other men regard this substitution as "palabra política," as a wisely calculated way of speaking, outwardly mild but actually perfectly clear and full of meaning, somewhat like a key symbol in cryptography. Out of respect they avoid addressing the Supreme Being with the customary names as much as possible. Moreover, they do not wish to
[765] hurt openly a person who is in mourning and who, if one of the customary designations were used, would be publicly shamed or reminded of the fact that the death just mentioned was sent as a punishment by Watauinéiwa. The nature of the conversation and the particular circumstances of an utterance safely prevent a misunderstanding of the circumlocution on the part of the persons present.

β. His Characteristics

776 The above names and the prayer formulas familiar to the Yamana both contribute their share to form a complete picture of the Supreme Being's uniqueness as it lives in the soul of these Fuegians. At first glance we recognize Watauinéiwa as an independent personality who is clearly distinguished from other beings of all kinds and, far removed from them, is completely independent. Watauinéiwa is a being apart; his whole nature is different from that of the other spirit-beings and even more from that of all human beings.

/1048/ We have already referred to his spirituality. For the concept "spirit" the Yamana use késpix. To them Watauinéiwa is the very great késpix who is properly, and more than other spirit-beings, a spirit in the real sense of the word. As such he is invisible and thus cannot be seen by human eyes. Repeatedly someone flies into a rage because Watauinéiwa has caused the death of a near relative, and he would like to confront him directly, but as késpix that one is inaccessible to any human being. Since he is incorporeal, no one has a perceptual idea of his person. I was emphatically told: "He does not have the body which every Yamana has down here [on earth]; he also does not die, as each

/1062 cont./

782 539 for us, as he has these days. Our father will also protect these two Whites. For this, thanks be to thee, my father!

Just a reference to a few words which are also given in BD. BD:154 gives sönnakĭta, "solitary, lonely, secluded" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives: sabagūdĭa, "to lie down happily, to lie down in peace, to be or live happily" /cited in English/. BD:281 explains laša, instead of lĕša given above, as, among other things: "shelving rocks with large spaces between them" /cited in English/, which is true of the coast at Puerto Mejillones. BD:177 mentions kögurāiūa, "to be impatient to get" /cited in English/. BD:181 gives kömausteka, "to go, or come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. The word ketēgede is the same as kategata in BD:170.

It is surprising, to mention this again, that our Fuegians have created definite formulas of sincere thanksgiving for various occasions and that they often address these to their Supreme Being to pay their debt of gratitude to him.

δ. Laments

765 152 The formulas with which bereaved persons filled with grief pour out their hearts and with which /1063/ people also unburden their souls of other forms of sorrow are more numerous and varied. In such situations they show their very human and altogether sensitive natures which they never before revealed to a European as ~~openly as they never before revealed to a European as~~ openly as they did to me on the occasion of a large funeral ceremony or on a few other occasions. Besides the laments given here, the people of former times had a larger number which must be regarded as hopelessly lost. I was assured of this several times. 765 539 The prayers follow here in a rather free order, beginning with those that are actual expressions of mourning.

(1) Hitapūan, kēmudĕkun hāja ka-kūpa
My father, why indeed me from above

tutumeyuwakĕte.
punished.

/1063 cont./

765 539 With loud cries and heart-rending sobs these words are repeated by women whose children have been allowed to die by Watauinéiwa. Each of them regards the loss of a child as a personal punishment. -- Anita who lost all her children without exception often speaks these words, according to her intimate friends, Nelly and Adelheid. The word kēmudékun is the same as kōmūdūa in BD:172: "what's the matter? what do you want?" /cited in English./ BD:564 gives tūtūmēiūa, "to punish, illtreat, correct by punishing" /cited in English/.

(2) Annūéčía — Quare /why/
hāja ūla — me sponte /freely/
kūpa — desuper /from above/

tutumeyuwandēa — castigavisti /punished/
Hitapūan, — mi pater /my father/,

tālauwāja.
tālauwāja /translated from Latin; see p. 993 /.

Again a woman laments: Why did you punish me by letting my child die? -- BD:25 writes annūočía. The word tālauwāja, frequently also talauwāja, serves here as an exclamation of emphasis, somewhat in the sense of: Great is my sorrow, I am completely crushed, thus I cry, full of sorrow. BD:389 also gives the word tellaaja, "being mourners or in mourning for the dead" /cited in English/. In this position and combination it corresponds to our "Woe!" Compare also the data on p.1079.

(3) Kēnjūičía — Therefore
hāja — me
kūpa — from above
matauuwēxmutākude; — helped;

kítu — he himself
kūpa — from above
tstumínatupuwičía — again take away

Watauinéiwa-sef — the old-one-in-heaven
ūpaj. — therewith.

A grieving mother realizes her plight and says: The-one-up-there seemed to be particularly benevolent to me; in reality, however,

/1063 cont./

765 539 he helped me to have a child with the intention of letting it die and causing me great sorrow therewith. -- BD:307 gives matauuwōx or matauuwōštāgū, "to work with one another as companions" /cited in English/. From the use of this word one sees the Indians' idea that both the Supreme Being and the mother together help to produce a child. BD:494 gives tumīna, "to pick up with or in the hands" /cited in English/. /1064/

(4) Kēnjūjčia hāia hixupa kičēxmutākude,
Therefore me the one-from-above afflicted,

tālauwāia.
alas.

Again the lament of a mother and father who have been punished by Watauinēiwa with the loss of their child. -- The word kičēxmūt-aku-dē is derived from ōx-dātū in BD:50.

(5) Kēnjūjčia hāia ūla kūpa
Therefore me sponte /freely/ from above

kūrat, alakēxmutakilēra, Hitapūan.
gave, to take away again, my father.

Like the preceding formula, this also means: The Supreme Being gave the child to the parents with the intention of taking it away again soon and thus punish them.

(6) Kēnjūjčia hāia ūla kūpa
Therefore me sponte /freely/ from above

winānude, Hitapūan.
has dishonorably taken away, my father.

Here the Supreme Being is accused of a deceitful, false intent which the parents now in mourning did not realize earlier. -- BD:611 gives wīnana, "to betray, act treacherously, to trick" /cited in English/.

/1064 cont./

• 765
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(7) Ka-kū́pa (hu)winā́nude hā́ia,
From above has deceptively taken away me,

tā́lauwāia, Watauinḗiwa.
alas, Watauinḗiwa.

This formula differs from the preceding one only in appearance. The meaning is the same in both inasmuch as Watauinḗiwa is accused of consciously intending to deceive the parents to whom he gave a child.

(8) Kḗtakēn! ka-kū́pa makaitū́šude
Truly! the one-from-above let die

kalaiḗxēden čiḗxaus.
the old ones of the čiḗxaus.

Alfredo, who was the leader of the first initiation that I experienced (p. 179 /untranslated/), was constantly depressed by the knowledge that only a very small number of his countrymen were still living. He often lamented that the old friends whom he had formerly always joined in the čiḗxaus had long since been summoned by Watauinḗiwa. -- My informants assured me that makaitū́šude has not been current for some time.

(9) Aš́a hitēpā́ala ha-kū́tatumaiā́ala tupā́ana,
Indeed, I alone must find my way in summer,

tā́lauwāia, Hitapū́an.
alas, my father.

/1065/ The meaning is: Again I begin a summer and that alone, how shall I make out! A widow speaks these words in remembrance of her husband whom she has recently lost. -- BD:260 translates hitōpan as "I only, I alone" /cited in English/. Compare in BD: 496 ūmaiāana, "to be unable or find difficulty in doing anything" /cited in English/. I was told that tupā́ana is a word no longer current.

/1065 cont./

• 765
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(10) Kagufwēmuš̌ātude, Hitapū́an, hā́ka,
Me he discouraged, my father, on my account,

tā́lauwāia.
alas!

One says this when he has lost a close relative and has been so deeply affected by the death that he sees himself facing his own demise. -- The above verb may be related to kāgufkilinata, in BD:200, "to get weat /sic/" /cited in English/.

(11) Watauinḗiwa-sēf hā́ia kaguramī́nude,
The old-one-in-heaven me took away,

tā́lauwāia, ǰatambāanč̌inēiwa Hitāpuanč̌ikāia,
alas, I am angry with my father,

tā́lauwāia.
alas.

A person declares quite openly that his anger is directed at Watauinḗiwa because he let his relatives die. -- BD:153 gives ǰatambaa, "dissatisfied, displeased, discontented" /cited in English/. Nelly and Adelheid asserted positively that this pure form of lament is difficult to translate.

(12) Annu, hā́ia, k-ū́la
Indeed, for my sake, ipse sponte /he freely/

kū́pa, tarawē̄na hauakipajḗmalim.
desuper /from above/ weep my relatives.

These words mean: Disaster has befallen me on account of the arbitrariness of the-one-up-there, namely, the loss of a member of the family. My nearest kin share this with me and weep with me. -- BD:422 mentions the commonly used tā́ra and taratapōna, "to cry very much, to keep on crying as a young child in pain" /cited in English/. The word ū́la has been repeated several times.

/1065 cont./

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Its actual meaning is: sponte /Latin/, freely, from one's own impulse, according to a personal decision, or, as BD:87 says: "without being bidden, i.e., on one's own responsibility, without being asked" /cited in English/. That is why I have translated k-ūla kūpa as "ipse sponte desuper." This describes the completely free, indeed arbitrary, behavior of Watauinēiwa, against which every human being defenseless.

(13) Annu, māte k-ūla kūpa yāiix tēpanāna
Truly, ipse sponte desuper tears he makes flow,

kičimundēn, tālauwāja, yāiix yāmala, yāiix dāra,
of the relatives alas, tears big tears all,

kandēn.
from them.

/1066/ The meaning of this is obviously similar to that of the preceding lament. The last half of this lament is impressive. -- The word tēpanāna is probably the same as tōpanana in BD:409.

(14) Kičikāj kipaiēmalim kakūpa makāj
Him from the old women the-one-from-above

tušākude, Hitapūan, tālauwāja.
has taken away, my father, alas.

While a few older women are grieving over a particular deceased person, someone present puts the situation into words: Indeed, the one whom you mourn was allowed to die by the one-up-there; that is truly a reason for mourning.

(15) Kičin aizēx kīpa kakūpan,
His strong wife from above [afflicted],

tālauwāja; ašārx sēskin āalasina
alas; luckily heart strengthened

/1066 cont./

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aizéx	kípa	kakúpan,	tálauwája.
strong	wife	from above,	alas.

Referring to her brother-in-law, the weaker, grieving sister says: His brave wife [= my sister] was afflicted by the one-up-there, but fortunately that-one-up-there also gave her a stout heart and so she will overcome this sorrow. -- BD:63 also gives ʒalasina, "strong, energetic, not easily subdued" /cited in English/. The word aizéx is related to aizáku, or aizóka, in BD:10.

(16) Kítepan	hája	ka-kúpa	šituxmútuten,
He himself	me	the one-above	shall marry,

Hitapúan,	tálauwája.
my father,	alas.

Here we have the very perturbed burst of anger of a despairing widow who, after the loss of her husband, sees herself helpless and abandoned. She wants to say: Since I am alone and do not know what to do, the one-up-there shall marry me and assume the cares of a husband. -- BD:573 mentions tuxmútú and tuxmútútas, "living happily with one's wife" /cited in English/.

(17) Apitépan	kečimúta	ke-kúpa
Without anything	[I] here	[through] from above,

mamuápi tépána,	tálauwája,	míči.
we in poverty,	alas,	place.

A widow describes to the Supreme Being the desperate situation of herself and her children, somewhat as follows: Bereaved of everything through the one-up-there, I am sitting here at my campsite with my children. Who will feed my children now that I am completely impoverished since the one-up-there has let my husband die. -- Compare, in BD:409, tōpōna and tōpanana, which is also related to apitōpan. Possibly mamuápi given above and mamúápai in BD:299 are the same. Compare kečimúta with the compounds made with kiči and particles expressing direction in BD:171.

/1067/
•765
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(18) Ełatakáki ka-kūpa uwēxanāana,
Widower [I] [through] from above snatched away,

tālauwāja; ánnu, sikāła
alas; now then, You-up-there

mauštexmāalawána Hidābuan, Ajzākun,
care for them, my father, [you] hard one,

tālauwāja.
alas.

This means: I have now become a widower through that-one-up-there who has snatched away my wife. Woe is me! Now then, you-up-there, my father, provide sustenance for my children, you hard-hearted one!

(19) Kuī tumutekiyāgua Watauinēiwa-sēfinčikāja,
Where is to be found the old one in heaven,

tālauwāja?
alas.

This is the threat of a person who in his grief is at his wit's end, and he rages: Where could I meet Watauinēiwa, for I should like to have it out with him! -- BD:395 gives tekiiāgū, "to find what is one's own, to find and appropriate" /cited in English/.

(20) Akājakeyūwa hāja tekiyāgu Watauinēiwa-sēfinčikāja.
I desire fervently me to meet with old-one-in-heaven.

Just like the preceding formula this expression is used by a person who is very perturbed and who burns with the desire to settle ruthlessly with the one-up-there for his sad plight.

(21) Kuī hiletekiyāgua Watauinēiwa-sēfinčikāja,
Where could I meet Watauinēiwa-in-heaven,

tālauwāja.
alas.

/1067 cont./

• 765 539

This is similar to the preceding formula. Since this fervent desire, too, cannot be realized, everyone resigns himself to the tight fetters of those who are helpless and have no power.

(22) Kā́ia hā́ia killakupanšauin, tālauwāia,
Also me shall he carry away, alas,

Hitapū́an.
my father.

A person in mourning longs to have his life's companion by his side, and since he does not want to be alone any longer, he cries emphatically: May the one-up-there likewise take me away from here and grant me death. -- Compare the compounds with killa in BD:171.

(23) Šapū́ru-ā́čin-hā́iuwa Hitāpuančikā́ia,
How terrible on account of my father,

tā́lauwāia, ukā́ali hia-kū́pa mḗaličin,
alas, only [child] from above in danger,

tā́lauwāia, šapū́ru-ā́čin-hā́iuwa, talā́uwāia.
alas, I am afraid, alas.

/1068/ This is the lament of a mother who has already lost several children. She says: I have every reason to be afraid, for, since Hidā́buan has let my other children die, the only one left to me is in danger of soon falling a victim to death. -- BD:286 gives mēala, "to expose oneself to danger" /cited in English/. BD:158 also gives sapurū-ačin-haiiūa, "how dreadful, how horrible" /cited in English/.

(24) Hitēpā́ančix hičí lā́pagurǰ yēkḗkērǰ
Solitary I to feel happy in my hut,

mētalapēnḗkērǰ hā́uančiakḗli, tā́lauwāia.
quiet the hut and the hut of my children, alas.

Now that I am all alone in my hut, how could I be happy; for it is quiet in my hut and in the children's hut because it is empty, woe

/1068 cont./

765 539 is me! This is the lament of a mother who looks around in her hut and seeks in vain for her children, for death took them all. -- BD:260 gives hĭtopaāpan, "I by myself, without anybody else whatever" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives šabagūr̄, "to do happily, to be happily or at peace" /cited in English/. The children's hut, ēkēli, was described on page 34. Compare mötalapōna, "to become quite calm" /cited in English/, in BD:320.

765 152 In a frenzy of emotion a grieving woman sometimes breaks the hut to pieces immediately after the funeral of her child. Whenever she looks around in the dwelling, she is aware of the gap which death made in the circle of her children. Therefore, she wants to destroy completely this picture which awakens the pain anew. At the same time she destroys the utensils used by the deceased child. John Lawrence and his sons assured me that they often witnessed this kind of wild behavior on the part of grieving parents.

765 539 (25) Haɥakílunči akāluwaɟakīpan kagičékude
I am from the sea the woman he took away

hāɟa, lōɟma.
me, oh grief.

A widow mourns because the Supreme Being allowed her husband to drown in the sea. -- BD:16 gives akālūaia, "a lake, pond, pool, puddle" /cited in English/. The above combination, a form familiar to the Yamana, says roughly: the woman who has something to do with the sea down there. BD:194 mentions kāgičekū, "to rise up and get fast, so as not to be able to pull down!" /cited in English./ The exclamation lōɟma here is synonymous with tālaɥwāɟa. Compare laema in BD:282.

(26) Hála kūpa-māyén mutāɥana, tālaɥwāɟa,
Yet from above observe cease, alas,

Hitāɥuančikāɟa.
my father.

Specifically this formula says: My father, I wish very much that you cease looking at me so sharply; otherwise I shall avenge myself soon enough and inflict a hurt on you, too. -- Compare māɟaku,

/1068 cont./

765 "to observe, watch with a view to find out anything" /cited in
539 English/, in BD:291; mutauwana, "to cease, desist" /cited in English/, in BD:366; hala and la in BD:277, 263. I heard this prayer several times at the great funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

/1069/

765 (27) Annumutá, hála kūpa tūmukinananāna
539 Desire, yet up there take to task

713 Yāiaašāga-dāunlum kūpán téšku
776 in Yāiaašāga up there be pleased

aónakipačikāia, tālauwāia.
women from the north, alas.

In order to understand this sentence one must realize that, according to the Yamana conception, all the animals were made by Watauinéiwa in Yāiaašāga where there was a great revolution when the women from the north who performed the kína settled there. Thus, all the animals belong to him as his property. Anyone who wants to give full vent to his grief expresses in the above sentence his desire to cause Watauinéiwa serious harm by destroying his animals. If he should succeed in doing so, he would feel adequately compensated. -- The individual words can be found in BD:26, for example, annumutu, "to be longing for" /cited in English/. The word tūmūkīnana in BD:521 refers to the strict treatment of the candidates and to the serious order of the day in the kína school. BD:400 gives tōška, "to laugh, twitter" /cited in English/.

765 Old Mašemikens, who repeated this fixed formula at the
539 large funeral ceremony in March, 1923, added a few personal thoughts and spoke freely as follows: "All animals went out from Yāiaašāga. Watauinéiwa brought that about. Therefore, since I cannot touch his person, I shall kill all his animals which he made. This will calm me and make me content, this will satisfy my lust for revenge!" After a long pause he went on with this thought, as follows: "Unfortunately I cannot now harm 'the-one-up-there' seriously, for I am too old [frail] and do not have enough weapons, I cannot undertake anything any more, for strength fails me, an old man. Formerly I used to carry out this plan; then I wantonly killed many animals, burned down the forest, chopped everything

/1069 cont./

765 539

to pieces, just to hurt 'the-one-up-there.' Today I am no longer able to do it, I have grown too old. In those days I had fun striking about wildly and destroying everything to hurt Watauinēiwa. That was the only reason I killed many animals, it was not because I wanted to use them for food."

(28) Kwī kun Yāiaašāga
All animals in Yāiaašāga

hapatēsku hāku mimuamēkuta
to enjoy stretch out the hands, others go hungry

hapatēskēnčikāja tēpan, Watauinēiwa.
enjoy also Watauinēiwa.

As in the preceding, this utterance also assumes that Watauinēiwa in Yāiaašāga made the animals; hence they belong /1070/ to him. A person who mourns a deceased person who was dear to him knows that he is being punished by the one-up-there, as though he had misused the right of ownership to the animals that is held by Watauinēiwa. That is why he explains to Watauinēiwa, using the words above: I killed and consumed your animals only with the intention of protecting myself from hunger and staying alive; other members of my family, that is, my wife, did the same. We had no other purpose in acting as we did. You punished me nevertheless and now I'm in trouble. -- Only hapatöska, "having a savoury smell" /cited in English/, in BD:266, and miāmūkana in BD:289 are to be specially noted.

(29) Apa čīlla kapalagēnude, tālauwāja,
Why again be on the look-out, alas,

Abāila sa? hāindagēnčix hapatēš
strong one, you? the like of me enjoy

kēnjikāja hīta aalasināana, hipāja hipikāja
I fat unable; us all

kūpa šatambaānude, Hidābuan, tālauwāja;
up there very angry, my father alas;

765
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/1070 cont./

kūka — at the same time
mērakā́gu — to act
hipā́j — we
kūkan — further

ǐatambā́anapana — discontent
kičikā́ja, — with him,
Hidā́buančikā́ja, — our father,

tā́lauwāja; — alas;
akḗmuš — son, ah,
tēpā́ja, — ah,
hī́xupa — the one-from-above

mēšanā́gun, — bequeath,
tā́lauwāja, — alas,
mašakána — the girl

hī́xupa — the one-from-above
mūgā́jatušatā́kude, — leave in peace,
tā́lauwāja? — alas?

The meaning is roughly as follows: Why do you "strong-one-up-there" again look at me malevolently? Are you perhaps afraid that I will consume all your animals? One who is built as I am cannot even consume the fat and the meat of a stranded whale. So why are you angry with us all? We, too, are behaving so that you can see, i.e., we, too, are showing you now that we are likewise displeased with you. Will "the one-up-there" leave me my son after he has taken away my daughter? -- Almost all the words used here are listed in BD.

(30) Hitā́puančitēpakā́nu — My father alone
hā́ja — with me
kū́pa-šatampā́anmutā́kudej — up there is angry,

lōjma; — alas;
annūēčīa — truly,
wēlapatḗxulēra — murderer-mountain,

kū́pa-šatampā́anmutā́kudej, — up there is angry,
lōjma. — alas.

This means: I thought only Hidā́buan alone up there is angry with me; but no, a human being has also become the murderer of my child, just as when that-one-there is angry. Instead of the word for "man" or "tribal member," the word for "mountain" is used here.

/1071/

• 165
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(31) Ilamutŭka Wataginŭ̄wa nipŭ̄nŭ̄kāja,
Strangely deals the old one with us,

wŭ̄ŭ̄ja hamaŭ̄nnun mŭ̄lamutŭ̄kude, tŭ̄lauwāja.
alone stand here every day alas.

A mother laments: Most strangely does Wataginŭ̄wa deal with us! He took away my daughter and now I stand alone. -- The word ilamutŭ̄ka is probably related to ilŭ̄pitaki in BD:39.

(32) Kemuxua Hitapŭ̄an kupŭ̄ŭ̄i
Why my father from above

talagānakuŭ̄mŭ̄kude, tŭ̄lauwāja.
inconsiderately look upon, alas.

This laments says: Why does my father have no consideration for me, and why does he let my child die! -- This cry was repeated by several persons at the general funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

(33) Wataginŭ̄wa hipikāja kauŭ̄ŭ̄naēr ammuxtŭ̄gata,
The old one us both whale strand,

hauanŭ̄imŭ̄ala hamaŭ̄nna hipŭ̄i waalapāana.
every day in the morning we to cut meat.

A person expresses his grief in the following strange manner: The old-one-up-there has again let one of us die. It would have been better if he had stranded a whale. Then we would have gone there and for many days we could have cut pieces of meat for ourselves every morning, he as well as I, too.

(34) Yamaŭ̄ŭ̄ri ŭ̄ima kŭ̄pa maŭ̄ŭ̄kula mŭ̄ŭ̄kude
Much water from above to weep

yatuwŭ̄mkīpa kŭ̄ŭ̄mun, tŭ̄lauwŭ̄ja;
eldest sister her father, alas;

kŭ̄ŭ̄i wŭ̄lapamx-wŭ̄a tŭ̄aja kŭ̄pa
murderer-bay likewise from above

maŭ̄kulŭ̄ina kŭ̄ŭ̄i kŭ̄ŭ̄mun; kŭ̄ŭ̄pen ŭ̄ŭ̄a
many tears her father; child

/1071 cont./

• 765 539

kūpa mayamutunma, tālauwāja;
from above teeth show, alas;

kennasigaja wēj elinjana sina yājx derupe,
who may follow cause your tears to flow,

tālauwāja.
alas.

Old Emilia from the south, who never had any contact with missions, repeated these words. My informants emphatically assured me that they were unfamiliar with many of the expressions because the latter are old and belong to another dialect. The entire sentence has approximately the following meaning: On account of that-one-up-there an old man shed many tears for his daughter whom death carried away. He shed as many tears as flowed in Ushuaia where the-one-up-there /1072/ caused many people to die! The-one-up-there poured out his wrath [showed his teeth] on the daughter of this man. If only it were in our power to wrest from him the same great flood of tears.

[131] It is well known that after serious epidemics took the lives of many in the mission station of Ushuaia the Yamana referred to this region as wēlapatux-wāja, "the bay of the great murderer," i.e., of many deaths. See pages 298 and 340 /in untranslated portion/ for details.

(35) Hāi ʼatambāja hāi Hitāpuanēikāja.
I discontent with my father.

Anyone who is in mourning can use this general expression, for the behavior of the Supreme Being is wholly inconsiderate.

765 116 539 All these sayings more or less clearly express the helplessness of the grieving human being before Watauinēiwa, the strong one. The Yamana regard his action as arbitrary torture, for, regardless of their sorrow and contrary to their pleas, he continues to treat them cruelly. They permit themselves such sharp threats only in case of death, and they think they are justified in ridding their oppressed hearts of their grief through bitter accusations and violent rage. They cannot defend themselves in any other way.

1: Gusinde--1043 E-S (1918-1924) 1937 S146 Yahgan S146

/1101 cont./

775 about the fate of the spirits in the other world nor do they fear them.

c. Mourning and Death Rites

765 The grief of our Fuegians over the loss of a tribal member in death has been described several times as unusually deep and lasting. It is caused chiefly by the uncertainty over the fate of the departed soul, for separation from it lasts forever. For obvious reasons the Yamana do not speak of events which agitate them and stir them to the depths. They hold back expressions of their grief especially in front of strangers. The travelers of earlier decades and the missionaries were able to furnish only brief and incomplete accounts. Favored by fortune, I had the opportunity to take part in the mourning of a small group of survivors, as well as in the general ceremony of mourning. Hence the following account describes my own experience. At the very beginning it should be pointed out that, generally speaking, expressions of mourning among these Indians are not mere formalities without content, but come from the deepest feelings. From the start certain unreliable opinions from other pens are rejected (40). Anyone

40. For example, Lovisato (b):146 uses almost insulting words: "True grief for the deceased does not exist; the facial painting, the shrieks, the blows, the wounds that the Fuegians make at the death of a relative, the destruction of the wigwam where the individual died, and so on... are more mere practices, rules of custom, than sincere expressions of grief" /translated from Italian/.

[171] who compares the description of the mourning customs of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 542) with those of our Yamana will find considerable agreement. One must accept this fact as it stands, and although historical connections must be mentioned as the only correct explanation for it, they can no longer be clarified in detail or even thoroughly investigated.

/1110/ Directly after the burial, as soon as their own things have been brought to safety, the widower or the widow usually sets fire to the hut, "setting fire to the grass and bushes of the neighbourhood" /cited in English/ (Bridges [i]:1). The meaning of this is that the survivors want to "do all they can to blot out all remembrance of the departed" /cited in English/, according to Bridges (VSA:XI, 200,1924). There should be nothing to remind them of the great loss they suffered when that beloved person was taken away from them. This is especially true of parents and children, as well as of spouses. Many a person behaves like one demented and, in his excitement, does not even shy from sacrificing indispensable objects of his own. The individual articles need not be named, since everything is indiscriminately destroyed. The surviving spouse even destroys the canoe if there is a prospect of fleeing from this place of death in another vessel. The canoe is regarded as the personal field of activity of the wife, and it would constantly remind the surviving husband of her. A mother is particularly ruthless with all the little things used by her deceased child. She furiously tosses articles of clothing, toys, little baskets, and other things into the fire. She, too, feels as though she must leave the hut when she sees the empty places where her child ate, slept, and played. For a long time the parents are haunted by the bitterest sorrow. If a father whose daughter has been snatched away by death is lucky in hunting, he carefully examines his spoils; he abandons female birds and sea lions because they remind him of his daughter. A hunter who mourns a dead son acts similarly; he takes only the female animals of those he has killed and throws the males into the sea. Our Yamana have a specific term for the animals that a grieving man puts aside in memory of his deceased child: *čiyellgra*, which is perhaps related to *čiyde* *čella* in BD:129. The dog is the sole exception. Out of pity, and also because he is particularly valuable, they do not want to kill him; hence he is given to the older son, daughter, or a relative of the deceased.

Anyone who has helped at a burial and in the destruction of the possessions of the deceased is rewarded with gifts from the nearest relatives who dispense them voluntarily (p. 1050). Bridges (x):206 has already pointed out that "liberal presents are made to those who assist at the burning or the burial" /cited in English/.

/1112 cont./

764 for hours with tireless persistence, although the loud lamentations
150 increase and diminish. Meanwhile the corpse has been buried. If it is burned, the howling and crying does not by any means cease while this is going on.

No matter how the corpse has been removed, it is only under /1113/ the compulsion of complete exhaustion that the neighbors who are not close to the deceased inconspicuously leave. After the hut of the dead person has been destroyed by fire, his nearest relatives crowd in elsewhere. Here they continue their lamentation for many more hours, heedless of the night which has perhaps long since fallen. This stimulates the neighbors to resume their cries of lament. For at least 20 hours after the soul's departure there is never an interval of complete quiet; the greater or lesser tumult of voices continues without pause. Even on the second and third day those who are nearest to the deceased barely interrupt their howling now and then for brief pauses, and the other people often fall in with them for two or three hours. All this depends on the disposition of the individual and on a number of incalculable motives. Almost all the adults become quite perceptibly exhausted. As though crushed, as though overwhelmed by grief, everyone remains in his hut almost without interruption. Now and then a person goes to those who have been directly affected by the misfortune, remains near them at least two hours, and weeps with them, as is demanded by sympathetic concern, according to the ideas of our Fueglans. Out of the same consideration everyone must remain still and quiet, even at a considerable distance from the mourning family. Even children may not talk loudly or laugh.

• 765 For the first few days after a death has occurred all is very
150 quiet in the entire camp. It was simply impossible for me to get people in front of the phonograph and the camera during this brief period. They rejected all my urging, which they interpreted as a violation of their innermost feelings, with the decisive words: "We are now in mourning!" Then they told me, curtly and clearly, that they were simply unavailable for other matters.

765 The custom of announcing a death without delay by means of
200 signal fires has been discussed (p.333). Three thick clouds of smoke are sent up close together, which are chiefly meant to call other families to come quickly and help the family that has been

/1113 cont./

765 stricken by death and is sometimes in a difficult position. The
242 duty to give unselfish aid which burns ardently in everyone's soul, especially at the sight of the universally recognized smoke signal, compulsively drives them to the scene of misfortune. The mourners themselves appreciate it very much if many tribal members soon answer their summons.

After the initial, very lively outbursts have somewhat abated,
765 the painful event drives all present away from the scene of the
768 misfortune with uncanny force. Within four days at the outside, after the hut of the deceased has been burned, the campsite is changed. Usually each of the families /1114/ which have experienced the death departs in a separate direction, for each family wishes to be by itself if possible so that the others will not constantly remind them of the event. The missionaries in particular
[171] mentioned this conduct which is common to both the Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 566) (52). Hyades (q):379 also confirms

52. Here is one example only, which Bridges (VSA:XII, 53;1869) furnished on November 10, 1864. In Wulaia the youngest child of the well-known Ukokku died, and he immediately left this region. "For it is an ascertained fact that the Fuegians will not, sometimes for a long time, return to the place where their relatives have died" /cited in English/.

this: "In general the hut in which a native died is burned, and the place where it stood is abandoned for a long time by the friends of the deceased" /translated from French/. They, of course, stay away from this place for a certain time, and meanwhile it is altered by the blind forces of nature. If the grave or the burial place has become unrecognizable as a result of plant growth or other circumstances, no-one feels any aversion to settling down there.

The strict rule of never mentioning the name of the deceased
765 is in accord with the effort they make not to be reminded in any
551 way of the deceased. There are several witnesses for this. The first is Fitz-Roy (a):181 who can refer directly to Jemmy Button: "He would not talk of a dead person, saying, with a grave shake

/1114 cont./

•765 551

of the head, 'no good, no good talk; my country never asserts: "The Fuegians do not even like to mention their deceased friends"; likewise Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869): the name of those who have died "is not mentioned for years, and they seek to utterly forget them" /cited in English/. That is not all; according to Bridges (VSA:XI, 259;1864), "the name of the dead is sacred for a long time after, and it is a great provocation to mention the name of the dead" /cited in English/ (53). In case a survivor has a name

53. Elsewhere he (a):206 repeats: "The name of the dead is not mentioned to the mourners, as it is considered very offensive, and would endanger a person's life" /cited in English/. When, in March, 1864, Stirling (VSA:XI, 193;1864) spent some time in the Wulaia region, he was asked "not to allude to the deceased by name; for the Fuegians, like the Patagonians and other Indians, bury in silence the names of the departed" /cited in English/. Further confirmation is found in Hyades (g):39 and (q):379, Lovisato (b):149, Spencer:102, and others.

which is identical with that of the deceased, he must give it up (54). For example, he will exchange the name taken from

[171]

54. Not only the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 565), but also other tribes of North and South America follow this custom. We give here an example from the most recent times. H. Baldus, "Erbfolge der Häuptlinge bei den Tereno" /Hereditary Succession of Chiefs among the Tereno/ (Ethnologischer Anzeiger, Vol. IV, pp. 38-42, Stuttgart, 1935), reports of these Indians in the southern Matto Grosso: "If one of the parents dies, all the children of the family are given other names, so that the surviving parent is not reminded of the past by their former names and thereby saddened."

/1114 cont./

765 551 his birthplace, according to the common custom, for the name of the place where he experienced his first youth initiation, or, in changing the name, they may take into consideration a striking physical peculiarity.

The nearest relatives of a deceased person are designated by a special term for some /1115/ time after his death, which is to let people know that they are in mourning. BD:104 gives ūsiluš̌wōnǰi, "a name given a boy instead of his natal name in respect to the recent dead, when both bore the same name" /cited in English/; also, ūsiluš̌wakīpa, "a name given the surviving female who bore the same natal name as a person lately dead" /cited in English/; and, finally, ūsiluš̌wa, "a term given to a place instead of its proper name in respect to the dead who was named after it" /cited in English/. These terms are still in use today and were explained to me with these same meanings. I was also given the word ikaš̌kān. It refers to one who bears the same name as one who has drowned; it is not given in BD. After some time, when the changed name (55) has become current,

> 55. Spencer:99, 105 cites particular details: "'Kush' is a berry now called 'Aman.' Burry /berry?/ used to be called 'kush,' but man of this name died, so changed name of burry... 'Lappa,' mussel, was name of man who died; now called 'Cachuing.' 'Tawella' is name of man who died, so changed to 'Stab'" /cited in English/.

this temporary designation is also dropped because it is no longer necessary (56).

> 56. The curious trait of not giving children proper names until late in life must be mentioned. With the prevailing high infant mortality, frequent mention of the name would constantly remind the parents of their loss. Since, as Bridges (a):176 realized, "it is considered evil to name the dead, if the

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child had no name the parents are not vexed by hearing it named" /cited in English/.

Now and then, of course, mention is made of a dead person, and the Yamana resort to circumlocutions which they easily invent and comprehend. For instance, if parents use an expression such as "my first child" or "my youngest daughter," the people present, who are well aware of the number of children these parents have, clearly understand. Spegazzini (a):168 also speaks of this custom (57). Fred Lawrence assured me that

57. In view of all this it is very strange that Cooper:162 could maintain: "The Yahgan prayer /prayed?/ to the deceased" /cited in English/. The Yamana do, of course, often remember their dead and mention them on the occasion of a general funeral ceremony, but without mentioning their names.

within a period of a few years he was twice given another name by the natives; first one and then another person who died had the same name he did. It must be pointed out here how difficult research becomes as a result of the Yamana custom of not speaking of deceased persons. I was told that a certain Pilaŝaixana from the Wollaston Islands murdered five men who had lived there in the manner of the Selk'nam. He alone knew about their way of life and briefly reported it to his countrymen. The latter, however, refused to repeat this information and excused themselves by saying: "We do not speak about the deceased; respect for them demands this (58)!"

58. Hyades (g):39 also realized this great disadvantage: "They avoid speaking of their dead ancestors as much as possible and it is particularly difficult to get them to mention their names, which, of course, makes historical accounts almost impossible."

/1115 cont./

•765 302 Since our Fuegians are very dependent on everything visual, actual outward signs of mourning are no less important for them. /1116/ Body painting is of primary importance. It is absolutely demanded -- and no one would be guilty of negligence in this respect -- that anyone who learns of the death must paint himself in some way. A person chooses the particular pattern he wants, but he must paint himself. This is the way one shows his participation in the event and his sympathy with those chiefly affected, and it is universally regarded as of primary importance. Even before death has set in, everyone present reaches for a small piece of charcoal, crushes it between his hands, and rubs the powder over his whole body. As soon as the shrill outcry from the hut of the dying person announces that he has expired, everyone in the neighboring huts immediately rubs his face with charcoal dust in the same manner. If a canoe approaches the coast and its occupants wear the decoration of mourning, the people on shore do not await its arrival and the message, but paint themselves without delay and, thus prepared, hasten toward the new arrivals from whom they hear the news. Everyone who receives news of a death from whatever source must immediately paint himself in some way.

The nearest relatives of the deceased always apply only the dry charcoal powder all over their bodies. They rub it into their faces several times a day, usually at times when their sorrow wells up more acutely. In their excitement they are not particular about distributing the color evenly. Irregular stripes and large spots cover their faces and bodies, and they look frightfully ugly. This appeals to them. For many days they must paint themselves anew each morning, soon after they awaken and before they eat anything. They also immediately commence their song of mourning, which they accompany with loud weeping. This occupies the period roughly between four and six o'clock. Some people regularly begin their day in this manner for many months after the death of their relative, and this incessant manifestation of mourning has a shattering effect on all the people in the neighboring huts. During the day, of course, they also maintain the customary body painting for the deceased.

There are, however, some mourners who after about three weeks begin to take some pains with their facial painting and do it

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more carefully. Their favorite pattern is nonsymmetrical. They rub half the face with red pigment, the other half with black, the color having first been mixed with blubber. With the nails of the four fingers they scratch thin lines into this even layer from the eyelids across the cheeks to the edge of the jaw bone. These lines are supposed to indicate the paths of the many tears, as though they had washed the color away.

It is the general practice, then, for the nearest relatives of the deceased, as well as all the friends and neighbors, to rub dry charcoal dust all over the body /1117/ during the days immediately following death. A few women are satisfied to paint only their heads and the upper part of their bodies. Some of the men go further, however, and draw a white, arched line a hand's breadth wide from one shoulder to the other; others add to this pattern by drawing a similar vertical line from the throat to the navel. All this applies to the nearest relatives, who regularly follow the above style, whereas other people are free to choose any kind of pattern. On their faces they usually apply white or red dots, crosshatching, and lines in all kinds of arrangements on the black background (59). This type of body painting is used

59. This practice can be illustrated by a small group of mourners whom Aspinall (MM:XXII, 192;1885) observed on May 31, 1885. "When we arrived they were all painted, and, on asking the cause, we found that on the morning of our arrival a canoe had upset and two children were drowned. The nearest relatives had their faces quite black, the chief friends had streaks of red radiating from the eyes over the cheeks, while one woman, to tell the cause of death, had two lines of white drawn from ear to ear across the bridge of the nose, with white spots between of graduated sizes from the nose to the ears" /cited in English/.

when the death was caused by illness or old age; in itself it means a natural death (60).

60. This is probably the reason that other

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observers quite generally call black the color of mourning. Hyades (g):39, for example, writes: "They also wear outward signs of mourning, black body painting."

In addition, particular drawings are used to indicate any kind of violent death. If a person has fallen from a cliff or from a tree, one first of all rubs his face with fine powdered charcoal and over that paints three vertical white lines, namely, from the bridge of the nose to the tip and on down from the mouth to the chin, and on both sides of the face from the outer corners of the eyes over the cheek bones and down to the edges of the jaw. These marks are separated by a white cross-stripe over the eyes and nose to complete the pattern. There is another somewhat more complicated design. First, a black background is put over the whole face. Over it, on one side of the face beginning at the eye, three white vertical lines are drawn to the edge of the jaw and a fourth stripe from the bridge of the nose to the tip of the chin. The other half of the face remains uniformly black or has three white cross-stripes from the corner of the mouth, the nostril, and the outer edge of the eye. The white lines, which symbolize the cliff or the tree, are sometimes also applied on a black background. Now and then the three cross-stripes are made with a mixture of white lime and black powdered charcoal stirred up with blubber. This last procedure is almost regularly used by the messengers who spread the news of the accident. Others recognize from afar the substance of their report.

/1118/ A considerable number of Yamana die by drowning. In order to announce this type of death the people mix white and black pigments and rub the mixture over the lower part of the face down to the mouth. This gray mixture resembles the slimy sediment on the sea floor with which the mouth of a drowned person is filled. In addition, they put a strip of skin with white down [P1] feathers around their foreheads, which indicates the foam-crested waves in which the unfortunate one was drowned. The painted area which extends down to the mouth and not beyond is meant to show that a great deal of water entered the mouth (61). Sometimes

61. Bridges (MM:X, 80;1875) mentions that

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this type of accident is characterized by a special painting, but he does not describe it in detail: "By and by a company of Eastern arrived, they brought sad news; a canoe had been lost, with a large number of persons on board, among whom was the uncle and brother of this young fellow. He was very much troubled, yet mourned and grieved quietly. All those who came, and were in any way related to any of the lost party, had their faces painted in imitation of the waves of the sea, and all here, similarly circumstanced, did the same. This is their way of mourning and noted events" /cited in English/.

As "a sign of mourning for a drowned child," Aspinall:270 saw among the people of Wollaston "red lines on the faces of the men, as well as a dark cross-band with light dots on the faces of the women." This was merely common painting, not typical of this accident. Lovisato (b): 147 referred to specific kinds of painting for the various causes of death and probably based his statement on Bridges (i): 14, who clearly says: "There were regular systems of painting by which the nature of the death of the departed was indicated. Thus, for death by drowning the pattern was black bands with white edges, if by violence it was black or red with white spots, if natural a plain black" /cited in English/.

they also paint the upper half of the face a uniform black and add white cross-stripes close together or rows of dots. These horizontal lines are meant to indicate that the victim sank deeper and deeper which caused the rising water level to make

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successive marks above the mouth.

Now and then a murder is committed. The friends and relatives of the unfortunate one call attention to it by means of several vertical red lines on the face, which radiate out from the level of the eyes. They set out to find the culprit and gather helpers to expiate the crime. They want to make it visible from afar that this is their intention. The straight red lines indicate the paths marked by the flowing blood. If this occasions combat (p. 901), the relatives and friends uniformly paint their entire bodies black, while the opponents paint themselves red. Each of these two groups paints the same color on their weapons and clubs.

Our Yamana do not by any means strictly adhere to these particular decorations. They often give in to momentary whims. One afternoon at a common funeral rite I saw that all the people present had followed the request of an old man /1119/ and painted half the face a uniform black while the other half was covered with fine vertical red lines, the former indicating an ordinary death a few weeks before, the latter as a reminder of a murder long ago. Actually, it is incumbent on the nearest relatives to apply the painting that indicates the specific cause of death, but just as they may disregard this and choose another type, so also may the friends and people less close to them adopt the latter. I was also told of the rule that the nearest relatives of the deceased must rub their faces and the upper part of their bodies to the navel with a uniform layer of dry charcoal dust, and that the neighbors and friends cover their entire bodies with vertical black lines set close together, with rows of white dots running over them and beside them. Actually, however, this ancient pattern is found only occasionally nowadays, and people limit it to the face alone. In more recent times, however, almost everyone as a rule wraps the strip of skin with down feathers around his forehead. A corpse is never painted, as has already been mentioned; only the corpse of a yékamuk is thus distinguished, as will be explained later.

Whereas the paintings described above have been preserved to this day, the tonsure of mourning, which was a general custom in former times has been abolished. Long ago Bridges (h):209 mentioned that "they were obliged to cut the hair on the crown of their

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765 heads as a sign of mourning"/translated from Spanish/. On the
302 day when a death occurred, the women and children, not so often the men, had the hair on the top of their heads shaved with a mussel shell. Only a wide wreath of hair was left around the head. Thus, "for some time the hair on the crown of their head was shorn like a tonsure," as Hyades (g):39 and (p):330 expresses himself. The head was shaved only once; after that the hair was allowed to grown in freely. A man who wore this tonsure was called kēšpīkun, a woman, kēšpíkkipa. BD:175 also gives this last word exactly as it is given here, but the first one somewhat differently. The Selk'nam (Vol. I, 558) have followed this custom more faithfully. Since Europeans have permanently settled in those regions, our Indians do not want to be conspicuous with a large tonsure and content themselves with cutting the hair all around their heads at the level of the ear lobes. They have recently given up even this symbol of mourning. The Yamana repeatedly assured me that formerly everyone took pains with the proper large tonsure of mourning. In recent times they all tie the strip of skin with down-feathers, apawēra, around their heads instead.

765 Finally, a person who has been particularly affected by a death inflicts superficial wounds upon himself as a special expression of his sorrow. He takes sharp splinters of a mussel shell or a piece of slate and scratches first his arms and legs and then his chest until blood flows. /1120/ Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869), along with Hyades (q):379, Lovisato (b):147, and Spencer:104, asserts: "It is a common practice for near kindred to wound and cut themselves" /cited in English/. Nowadays among our Fuegians it is usually only the mother who inflicts such wounds upon herself when her child dies. Among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 556) many more people do this.

The hours immediately following the death of a relative or friend, during which the corpse is burned or buried, are filled with the shrill crying and pitiful howling of those present. After their feelings have been somewhat assuaged, more moderate songs of mourning replace the outcries. Other observers have made only fleeting references to them, for example, Hyades (q):379: "When the Fuegians learn of the death of a relative or friend, they immediately show their sorrow with great vehemence through tears

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765 and lamentations" /translated from French/. Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869) speaks of "long-continued mourning and incantation for the dead" /cited in English/. Earlier, Despard (VP:VIII, 179; 1861) reported: "Afternoon, Ookokko enlarged upon the many deaths that happen in 'my uncle country,' and then described some of the concomitants. Men come, many come, sing much. Hah yang how yi ya say. Hawa hya gya owaticca loopen wota weneewan...Cut face with finger nail, make blood rub over face, cut hair head top, put on red, make body here red, here black, white round legs, all same tie stocking. Cry much, water run down face, make lines in black, red. Our men cry very much" /cited in English/ (62).

62. Shortly before, in Beagle Channel, Despard (VP:VI, 111;1859) observed something similar: "We noticed one lady, with a face deepened to a fine black by charcoal, and were informed she was in mourning. Afterwards a wailing and a monotonous dirge proceeded from her uccr [hut], being her funeral wail for two men and a boy belonging to her family, who have recently died, somewhere along the Beagle Channel" /cited in English/.

765 152 As I know from my own experience, the nearest relatives of the deceased avoid all distracting occupations during the first three or four days, and they remain almost constantly in the dwelling. This is the period of strictest mourning, which they spend in incessant lamentation and scarcely take any nourishment. Crouched by the fire, they weep and howl incessantly. With sad faces and mournful voices they repeat in a very simple rhythm a most monotonous melody with meaningless words, such as awáj awáj or óyoioj and others. When their agitation is great, their singing is louder and stronger; when they are exhausted, it subsides and becomes a monotonous murmur. Usually they move the upper part of the body gently back and forth or sideways with the rhythm. They roll their eyes, distort their faces, tear their hair, scratch slight wounds on their faces with their finger nails, and even throw

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765 152 themselves flat on the ground and for a time behave as though they were mad. This need not surprise one, for after their continuous exertion they finally lose all self-control and mental power. It is possible that /1121/ this strange behavior has caused a person in strict mourning to be called hannúšm, or hannuškīpa. BD:265 explains this as: "A man, woman like a hánnuš, i.e., insane, senseless" /cited in English/.

The people from the neighboring huts join the strict mourners several times a day, not all at once, but irregularly and freely in individual groups. The latter are still vigorous, and they fall in with the singing of those present and stimulate them anew; hence the singing does not stop day or night. Even if all the families have left the scene of death after two to four days, the mourners soon begin their weeping again at the place where they erect their hut. They stimulate the new neighbors here to take part in their lamentation. At first they devote a great many hours to it, and fewer later on, but they continue it even after two and three years, although then only at longer intervals (63).

> 63. Hyades (q):379 agrees: "This great sorrow soon subsides; nevertheless the women nurse their grief for several months, repeating the scenes of tears and lamentations almost every day" /translated from French/.

It is customary to interject the well-known, ancient formulas of lament and the reproaches against Watauinéjwa into the singing (p.789). This is done not only by the nearest relatives, but also by friends and neighbors who happen to take part in this song of mourning. Everyone, of course, appears with one of the customary body paintings of mourning. It is the absolute duty of every adult Yamana to accompany for a few hours every day those mourners who are relieving their souls of grief through loud whimpering and groaning. This goes on day and night and arouses the sympathy of everyone in the neighboring huts.

If someone dies during a čiéxus or kína and the participants hear of it, they, too, devote several days and many hours to the customary song of mourning. As Nelly Lawrence asserted, the western Yamana customarily inserted a ceremony of mourning

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769 resembling a yamalašemōina into each čiēxaus celebration, even if no one had died meanwhile. During this ceremony they vividly remembered in particular those persons who in former years had taken a very active part in the affair. The other groups now and then imitated this custom. While it was going on, the participants, each to himself, thought about the deceased person whose loss was most painful to them, and they painted themselves to indicate the manner of his death. A true Yamana can never quite forget his dead, even though their names are no longer mentioned.

• 765 It has already been mentioned that for a few days the nearest relatives of a deceased person take almost no nourishment. 262 Their neighbors and friends generally follow their example, especially if a murder is being mourned. Formerly even children were made to fast, and everywhere there was strict quiet. In order to carry out all this undisturbed, /1122/ the mourners sometimes retired into the nearby woods and stayed there for a few days and nights, weeping and moaning beside an open fire. After that they returned to their dwellings. The women who told me this were unstinting in their admiration for the hardiness of their countrymen of former times and frankly confessed that they themselves lacked the strength and perseverance for such feats.

767 Although everyone willingly participates in a song of mourning, there is a type of wailing woman who may on occasion assist someone. A person will invite these women if he himself has no near relatives, for with the loss that death has inflicted upon him he feels his isolation all the more painfully. Shame also plays a certain role in the case of a person who clearly feels that the death he mourns is a punishment for wrongdoing and who is made conscious of it by others. During the first few days nature quite impetuously demands her rights and the mourner expresses his grief without restraint; later he is sometimes overcome by consciousness of his guilt. According to ancient custom, the lamenting, groaning, weeping, and singing must continue for several weeks. Sometimes distant relatives or friends chosen at random are given this duty. On occasion, as so-called arnēmutu tālauwaja, they render an outstanding performance. Men also may do this, and they act on special invitation; indeed they are enlisted, so to speak, and receive some reward for their efforts. These so-called weeping women simply repeat the customary

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767 monotonous melodies, and if they are tired they content themselves with humming a barely audible, continuous hā̄ hā̄... on the same pitch. It is these weeping women in particular who again and again refer to Watauinēʌwa and who ceaselessly repeat one or another of the ancient formulas of mourning. BD:653 gives yinūūa and yinūkípa with the meaning "mourner" /cited in English/; arnēmutu tālauwaʌa has the special meaning "weeping women."

765 533 An attentive observer will note that the Yamana vividly and often recall their dead and that, as Bridges (e):332 tersely expressed himself, "mourning was strictly observed." Individual persons often gather together to sing songs of mourning, even when there has been no immediate death. The most common term for this is tālauwaʌa, or tállauwaʌa, which emphasizes the private, everyday, inconspicuous nature of the performance. Only a few persons join in a tālauwaʌa, namely, the relatives and their intimate friends. There are no special invitations, and no involved preparations are necessary. The simple painting of mourning and participation in the singing suffice for all. Thus a person who is seized with grief for his beloved dead initiates /1123/ a tālauwaʌa, and he can count on an immediate response from those close to him. BD:398 gives tellaaia, "being mourners or in mourning for the dead" /cited in English/. If tālauwaʌa also means a person who is mourning, it is clear that, like a deep groan, it is meant to point to the grieving person when it is repeated in the cries of lamentation addressed to Watauinēʌwa. Usually it stands at the end of a prayer and a request, and it could be translated as: woe is me, I am in mourning, how sad I am, this is the reason for my sorrow, and so forth (p. 989). Now and then lōʌma takes the place of tālauwaʌa. Strictly speaking, the former is a song by means of which one gets in touch with any kind of spirit. A person who mourns the dead recalls their souls to his own memory, as it were; he feels that they are near, devotes all his attention to them, and once more is with them. An association with them such as people enjoy in everyday life, however, cannot take place. Hence the pain of separation from these soul-spirits gains the upper hand again, and that is what the grieving person, full of despair, puts into his lōʌma cry.

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Fitz-Roy, as well as the missionaries, praise them for. One of the men accompanying Bove even sold the skeleton of his own father to which he addressed the following speech: 'Farewell, precious father! You who in life saw only our snow and our storms, now that you are dead are going far away. Farewell! May your journey be happy!'"

Today we shake our heads at the boldness with which such fantastic descriptions could be set forth a few decades ago. The Lawrence brothers to whom I showed the account absolutely declared it to be a bold invention. Finally one must keep in mind that Bove would never have accumulated his considerable collection of skeletons and skulls if it had not been furnished him from the mission cemetery. He does not maintain that the scattered, scarcely recognizable individual graves outside were ever pointed out and opened for him.

It is well known that they wipe out every trace indicating the site of a grave (p. 1053).

765 152 A touching example of the sincerity of their grief for a deceased person exists from olden times. On November 27, 1958, Despard met a one-eyed man in Beagle Channel and inquired about the cause of his misfortune. The man answered that because of a deceased person dear to him he had wept so much that one of his eyes ran out. "Man die, here ashore, be very sorry, cry very much, eye ran away in water all over cheek; yes, sir!" /cited in English./ Our Fuegians never forget the loved ones whom death has taken from them.

765 533 It is well known that the tálauwaja gives the Yamana a very welcome opportunity to unburden their souls of all that oppresses them. While the main body of those present carries the customary melody in its monotonous uniformity, this or that person interrupts with a more or less long discourse, speaking of things which at the moment happen to affect his feeling and his mood. He is usually quite excited by it, as is shown by his lively, agitated

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expression. As a rule he speaks of sad memories and threatening fears. The words of one encourage another, and thus such interruptions follow one another at short intervals. In the following we shall give the valuable texts of two tálaɣwaja discourses, which were obtained in a somewhat unusual way. I had already recorded with the phonograph about 30 songs which are repeated on various occasions, but my effort to get a tálaɣwaja song had always failed. The people had coolly rejected my request with the remark: "How could we sing tálaɣwaja now, since no one has died!" When Fred Lawrence heard that I still lacked this piece, he asked his wife Nelly to help me to get it soon. She declared herself willing to do so. After a few days, on March 20, 1922, she mentioned the names of two Indian women, Gertie and Peine, who wanted to perform the tálaɣwaja song that day. /1125/ They would expect a considerable reward, however. Making a quick decision, I agreed; moreover, Fred Lawrence held out the prospect of a lovely present for them. The two women arrived about 11 o'clock in the large laundryroom of the work house on the farm in Punta Remolino where there was nothing to disturb us. I got the phonograph ready for the recording, but the women put me off: "Not yet, we are still not at all in the mood!" A considerable time passed in patient waiting. The two Fuegian women squatted on the ground, motionless and quiet, in deepest concentration and lost in their own thoughts. Finally around three o'clock they said: "Now tálaɣwaja can begin!" From their attitude and their remarks it was clear that they were very agitated and completely dominated by their thoughts of mourning. Calderon was attentively ready to translate the individual sentences which broke out with strong feeling and violent emotion.

At first both of them began with a monotonous melody. After about ten minutes Gertie continued it alone, and Peine interjected with much emotion: "Ah, how pitiful is our state, to sing tálaɣwaja because these two [Gusinde and Koppers] are leaving us. They come from a people that is very numerous, but there are only a few of us. The few that are left of our people resemble a few little birds who by chance escaped the hunter. Wataɣinéɣwa has taken away the good ones; he has left

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only the ugly and unattractive ones for the last days of the Yamana people. We, the good-for-nothing, the sick, have remained here to this day. We are kept alive by him, we who are weak, who are few in number. He deprived me of my children, indeed of my whole family. And the two sons I have left will probably also soon have to tread the same path (65) that the others trod

65. She means Sarmienno and Balfour, both of whom are in poor health; the latter had already been given up once during a serious illness.

earlier. My [distant] cousin [Nelly Lawrence] has also lost several relatives, but at least she still has a brother [Calderon] who is blessed with a large troop of children. But I am all alone and only that one distant relative [Nelly Lawrence] is still with me. This relationship is through another man and is very distant. Ah, woe is me, Hidábuan, you make me suffer a great deal, you have punished me severely! How numerous the people in the west [where Peine's home is] once were; just two or three of us remain. He has kept alive only a single one of my relatives from there, and in the end he will take her away, too."

After a brief pause Peine joined Gertie in the singing. Then Gertie spoke with great emotion: "These two [Gusinde and Koppers] have come here and they urge us to sing tálaqwaja. Although we have not repeated this song for a long time, nevertheless the two desire to hear it. Hitherto Wataqinéjwa has /1126/ forced us to sing tálaqwaja on account of a death, now these two urge us. The Whites have generally assumed that tálaqwaja is a pleasure for us. No, for us it is a sad song. If I were a man, I would suffer under the hard work which our men have to do in the forest, on the sea, and everywhere. But as a woman I am usually busy in the hut. If all my relatives should die, I would summon the courage to suffer like a man. I would also work and suffer as they do in the forest, on the sea, and everywhere. I would over-exert myself so that I, too, would eventually have to succumb. There are only a few women left among my relatives, the men of my kingroup have been taken away by 'the one-up-there.' I cannot measure up to the women of former times among

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our people. They sang and spoke very well and beautifully, much better and more beautifully than we can today. All those lovely words [from ancient tradition] have been lost to us; why, nowadays we are often forced to speak English and Spanish. At the same time we are forgetting our own beautiful old Yamana words. Our tongue is no longer as sure as was that of our ancestors. Ah, how pitiful is our state! And what must we not bear! How few of us are left! In the other regions where the Whites live, people are numerous. If someone dies there, it does not matter; there are still many left. But with us things are very different. If a single one of us dies, it means more than if a thousand die among the Europeans who are very numerous. What a sad state my old blind father and my mother are in. On the day they die I shall run into the forest and lose myself there [purposely], I shall neither eat nor drink and shall die of sorrow. If I were a man, then I would storm out [anywhere] and kill all the animals out there, but bring nothing home. I would hack everything to pieces. I would carry on just like 'that-one-up-there' who also destroys and shatters everything, as though he needed it for food (66). Then, for once, he, too, would be

66. Gertie here uses a figure of speech which recurs in some of the cries of lamentation to the Supreme Being and which was explained in detail on p. 999.

made to feel what it is like for one [defenseless people] in such a situation. Then, however, he would have a legitimate reason for punishing me." For a long time after this the two women maintained a thoughtful silence.

The tílauwaja utterances expose the very depths of the soul and reveal the secret recesses of the heart; they reflect all the humanity of the Yamana. They show their nature and all their innate characteristics most clearly and transparently in the way they mourn their dead.

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4. The General Mourning Ceremony

765 Considering that the whole Yamana tribe is spread out over a wide area and that, moreover, it is split up into many tiny family groups, one is justified in wondering how a general /1127/ ceremony with many people participating can take place (67). It

67. Unreliable observers have too hastily and erroneously maintained with Spegazzini (a): 167: "When a Fuegian dies, the survivors hold no great ceremonies" /translated from Spanish/.

is not only the consciousness of their homogeneity and the conviction that the departure of an adult results in a noticeable weakening of the group as a whole that draw them together, but also want to relieve their oppressed hearts of their personal sorrow and woe, as well as their grief for their loved ones. The so-called yamalaśemōjna serves this purpose very well. In contrast to the tilauwaja which is intended for a small, more private circle, so to speak, it signifies a large public ceremony, in which many families participate when they have the opportunity to do so. They speak of tilauwaja when only a single person in his hut or in the solitude of the forest repeats a song of mourning, but the yamalaśemōjna presupposes a certain amount of preparation and numerous participants.

This term appears early and first of all in the work of the missionary Despard (b):746, who writes: "Murder is punished by the yamma-shoo-moyna, or blood avenger" /cited in English/. In BD:640 this yamala ēmsulna occurs again. In both places the meaning is restricted to "blood revenge," but actually it is more comprehensive. To go back to its original meaning, yēmala, according to BD:640, signifies "immense, terrible, tremendous, awful" /cited in English/. The word śemōjna, or śumōjna, was translated for me as: "Painful stabbing, deep pains in the chest." The meaning "to stab" must actually be contained in the root of the word, which is shown, for example, in ēmsulna śir̄, which according to BD:160, refers only to arrow and lance, to spear and dagger.

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Any death can be the occasion for a yamalaĕmŭna which unites many people, but a murder always induces it within the shortest possible time. In individual cases, however, the Yamana do not follow a definite rule, but make it contingent on whether enough members of the tribe assemble. An example may explain this. In March, 1923, several men had conducted the medicine-man school on Navarino Island. The following night, on March 24, 1923, the wife of old Thomas finally died of a long illness. I was startled out of my sleep by loud moans and lamentation from all the huts. It was not until dawn that I went to the place where the dead woman lay, surrounded by many people who were weeping and groaning in genuine sorrow. I purposely presented myself as a sympathetic, but altogether silent onlooker, and they were all appreciative that I was not in the least disturbing. A deeply felt mood of sorrow lay oppressively on the small Indian settlement. I was reverently silent and very reserved so that the people should not be influenced in any way and could express their feelings without restraint, /1128/ for I was, of course, the only White among these Fueguans. I carefully observed each one and the group as a whole. I gained the impression that the mood and the emotions of everyone grew more animated from hour to hour. Toward eleven o'clock Santiago happened to pass me. Heedlessly and with a tearful voice he said to me: "We are all terribly sad, so we shall soon begin the yamalaĕmŭna!" And that is what happened. The fact that a considerable number of families were already gathered together proved favorable and probably decisive. On another occasion they would have had to wait and call together the individual families. Conditions are right for the yamalaĕmŭna if enough people are assembled and the requisite mood has developed either through the discussions of the old people or in view of an impending death.

It was incalculably valuable for me to have personally experienced the large funeral ceremony at the time on Navarino Island (p. 190 /untranslated/). The woman was buried around noon in exactly the way our Fueguans had learned from Europeans. After that they gathered in a spacious little house while I retired by myself to the house of Santiago. In the other hut the singing and wailing which had long been familiar to me soon began, and many people were taking part, as I could

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765 123 gather from the tumult of voices which reached me. This activity had been going on for about an hour when a man came to me and asked me in a pleading tone whether I would go over to them. Plaintively he made it clear to me that everything I should see and hear there could not please me personally because all the people were in an extremely sad mood, but that they would nevertheless appreciate it greatly if I condoled with them and showed that I shared their sorrow. The good old man had no idea how eagerly I had been waiting for an invitation, for how could I have afforded to miss an opportunity of seeing these Foreigners open up completely and reveal their innermost feelings in front of everyone. I followed him without delay to the assembly of mourners. Truly, what I experienced far exceeded my expectations, and here I became fully acquainted with the innermost attitudes of these Indians. Without fear of men and without the slightest shame they loudly expressed their thoughts and feelings; they spoke of their Supreme Being with a matter-of-fact-ness that seemed to come from daily habit and that surprised me, treating him as though he were one of them. At the same time, without any effort on my part and like a gift of grace, a goodly number of the ancient laments and prayer formulas dropped into my lap. I was already familiar with some of them, but here I saw how the Indians use them in a state of utmost anguish and spiritual agitation. I was astonished at the easy naturalness with which men as well as women abusively reproached the Supreme Being. Some of them seemed to me like naughty people who have been punished /1110/ and who, aware of their own helplessness, sullkily discuss it with their teacher. All seemed to have freed themselves of any restraint.

765 As may be seen from what has been said, there are no definite regulations for the participants in the yanalelendiga. For obvious reasons, the nearest and more distant relatives, friends, and neighbors gather with the family who is mourning a recently deceased person. Everyone wants to comfort the mourners and to accompany them in their daily diagwaja. Word of the death soon spreads, and no one hesitates to seek out the survivors. Everyone says to himself: "Anyone who is in mourning expects others to condole with him. Some day, I, too, shall be in mourning and then I shall want to have many comfort

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765 me with their support!" If many people happen to be together, a tilagwaja turns into a yamalaleméjna as a matter of course. As has been said, a special request goes out from the relatives of a murdered person because they are obliged to exact blood revenge and must solicit helpers. The final impetus for a general funeral rite is given by a few old people when they say that the situation and the mood of the people are appropriate for a general ceremony. Whoever happens to be on the spot takes part; no one would be excluded even if he came from a distant region. Sometimes families who are in the vicinity are notified, and they hasten there without delay.

765 312 If the people have quickly reached a decision in this simple and non-obligatory manner, they immediately begin the preparations. Actually, these involve nothing more than body painting which must be richer and more beautiful than for the inconspicuous tilagwaja. Everyone chooses a pattern according to his own taste and draws the stripes and dashes, rows of dots and lines in different colors and in various patterns of distribution on face, torso, and arms. Usually they develop the basic forms familiar to them from the tilagwaja, transforming them into richer and more elaborate combinations.

The desire for colorful variety and a rich diversity of forms cannot be curbed even in the painting for mourning. At each yamalaleméjna I saw patterns that ranged from very simple to complex; a few are reproduced in Figure 89. The man (a) displays only three vertical black lines. The woman (b) has her whole face uniformly smeared with red and has put vertical black lines over it. The man (c) also has black lines on a red background. The woman (d) has wide black lines drawn upon the red background, the former being outlined by broken white lines. The man (e) also displays a red background; on each half of the face he has five vertical lines and one such line on the bridge of his nose as well as between the inner corners of the eyes. Finally the woman (f) has five thin red lines radiating out from the lower eyelid; the rest of the painting, that is, the entire lower part of the face, is black. Other /1130/ no less elaborate patterns are shown in Figure 86 on page 799. All the patterns, however, are derived from a few basic forms.

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765 302 Almost all participants prefer the design which indicates the cause of death of the one who is especially mourned. Actually the visitors exert a good deal of effort and care to show how honestly and sincerely they are participating in the event. /Fig. 89 appears here./ Definite pressure is put upon those present when a murder has been committed; they express this in their facial painting, for everything serves the

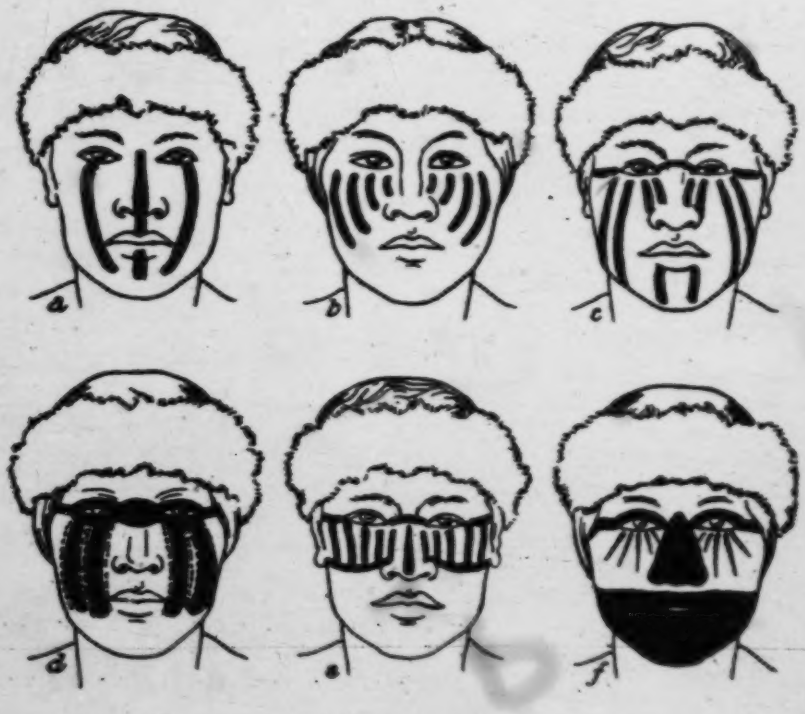

Fig. 89. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

purpose of intimidating the culprit and his circle of kinsmen. In this case they prefer the following design: one side of the face is uniformly black; on the other side are alternating vertical rows of red and white dots placed close together.

765 301 825 The people are busy for some time in preparing their facial painting; they also wind the hapakēl around their foreheads. This decoration, also called hapaxēl, is a rather large triangular piece

/1130 cont./

765 of skin with white down-feathers taken from
301 the male Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida
[825] /Kelp goose/). The people obtain this fore-
head decoration when these geese are nesting;
during this time /1131/ they are lean and the
thin skin does not have the abundant fat that
is present at other times. /Fig. 90 appears
here./ A hapakēl is like the kōčel of the
Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215) in size and shape.
In recent times not all the adults make an
effort to obtain this ornament which is
actually seldom used. Instead, at a general
funeral ceremony, they use the narrow band
of skin with down, also called hapaxēl, which
they always have available and frequently use.

765 The club is part of the equipment of
those who take part in the so-called fight of
293 the yamalašemōina. It is justifiably regarded
as an ornamental club. No one would be
permitted to come with a plain stick that he
has just picked up or one used to kill a sea
lion. This club is used for no other purpose.
It is carefully carved out of a flawless small
trunk, is about 160 to 190 centimeters long,
has an angular or rounded surface and gently
tapers from one end to the other (Fig. 90).
It is regularly painted white, or red if one is
commemorating a murder. Actually the
women should also provide themselves with
a club, but sometimes they do not have it
and make do with an ordinary paddle which
they paint. At the dances in the hut every-
one uses the short dance-staff carried during
the čiēxaus ceremony, for it obviously helps
to emphasize the rhythmic movements of
the body.

765 The long-continued singing and
533 lamenting, sighing, and groaning are
152

Fig. 90. Ornamental Club.

/1131 cont./

765 essential to the yamalaŝemōjna in connection with the Iōima.
533 The actual mourners spend their time this way in any case.
152 Whenever neighbors and friends enter the hut with their freshly applied painting, they sit down near these mourners and follow their song. The polyphonic group sings in a medley of voices; each one chooses pitch and rhythm, melody, and tone color as he sees fit; he stops and begins anew as it pleases him. Each person's performance, however, is serious and sad, his facial expression shows great mental anguish, and his whole conduct indicates how much he is suffering. Throughout, everyone in a howling voice constantly repeats the same sounds in a monotonous melody, exactly as at the tālauwaja. The whole company devotes several hours to this collective demonstration of grief; they do not allow even brief general pauses.

765 Each person present occasionally interrupts his groaning and
781 fills in an interval or two with exclamations. These are chiefly
152 words addressed to the Supreme Being. One must remember that on these occasions everyone does not think merely of the recently deceased person -- who perhaps is even of secondary importance to him -- but of those loved ones whom he himself /1132/ lost through a recent death or an earlier one. The memory of them once more stirs him to the depths and makes him sharply feel anew his great loss. His own sorrow tortures him. That is why once again, as on earlier occasions, he confronts Watauinējwa to argue and remonstrate with him, to accuse him and cast aspersion upon him. He angrily hurls heavenward one after another of the ancient cries of lament, although he is well aware of his helplessness against Abājla up there behind the clouds. His immeasurable pain, so he believes, gives him the right to the ruthless, coarse invectives against that brutal Wēlapatux who can be approached in no other way. These excited conversations with Watauinējwa, as I was emphatically assured, form an important part of the yamalaŝemōjna. "Again and again each person must address 'the One-up-there' and must constantly repeat the old sayings!" I was told this several times with emphatic conviction. Thus I had the impression that the individual words were nothing more than a normal outcry and a quarrelsome discussion with the Supreme Being. Through all kinds of adaptations

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765 781 152 the expression may be used with reference to the recently deceased person, to the speaker himself, to his own deceased relatives and friends, to the Yamana people as a whole. With angry vehemence Gertie repeatedly impressed upon me: "Each one of us must incessantly and emphatically come to terms with Watauinéjwa on this occasion!" Thus reproaches and words of abuse continually alternated with the old cries of lament. Everyone present regarded this as justifiable for every speaker and approvingly confirmed his words.

Until that time I had never had on opportunity to observe how vehemently the expression of their deeply rooted faith in their god breaks out from the depths of their soul, and with what unrestrained force it seeks expression. Truly their religious faith is firmly anchored in their convictions and in their hearts! Here it became plain that all the adults are dominated by it. I shall now mention a touching feature of their childlike religious sense. In their greatest agitation they feel justified in freely hurling the bitterest reproaches against Watauinéjwa. After the yamalaŝemójna is over, however, and everyone has again sought the quiet of his own hut and by late evening has regained his mental balance, he feels deep within himself something like qualms of conscience. He is overcome with the feeling that he has offended the Supreme Being with his raging and scolding and that he has erred greatly with respect to the veneration due the deity. Ruefully he humbles himself, silently he thinks about the events of the day and his momentary position. A repentant and yet confident prayer of atonement softly slips from his trembling lips: "Hidábuan, you know it, today I was extremely angry with you! But the sorrow for my beloved dead was so violent that I lost control of myself. Don't be angry with me any longer, /1133/ Hidábuan!" Solaced and with his soul fully at ease, the Fuegian lies down to sleep; the supreme emotion which for hours shook his innermost being is past.

765 152 I shall add here a few words which I noted during the yamalaŝemójna. Often several persons were saying different things at the same time and I could not follow them.

Santiago: "This morning that woman died. Each of us is in a wretched state, no one feels well. I once suffered the same fate as that widower who now has no wife. I personally felt what

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it is like to lose one's relatives. One loses all desire to live!"

Halupem: "It is certainly just as you [Santiago] say; everyone who loses the person dearest to him feels [the sorrow] most acutely. The others feel it less, they are only accompanying that person! -- We must strive to understand each other well so that we shall not wrong one another. For one day Wataginéiwa will take us too [from the earth]. If we have lived in discord with someone and he dies, we will be sorry [for the way we behaved]. So let us live on the best terms with one another! After a quarrel everyone must quickly become reconciled with the other and make his peace with him."

Walter: "I, too, am thinking of the many whom I have lost. Today I feel somewhat relieved [at the thought] that it is not I who have lost his relative. But at the time when I lost my own children I was unutterably sad. Others probably thought it is not such a painful thing, but I spent whole days and nights in the forest and suffered terribly. -- How often Wataginéiwa has punished me! I wonder why he did it? Now we [I and my wife] have only two children left. It is possible that he will soon take another child from me. Why will that happen? I wonder if he will again punish me soon? I do not know. -- At that time I was really unutterably sad, more than other people can believe. Again and again that happened to me (68). Here on this occasion

68. He is referring to his sad fate that nine of his eleven children have died.

all who belong to the family of the deceased will properly understand how much I suffered at that time. In the same way I now understand what those relatives of the deceased woman are suffering and why they so loudly lament."

Mary: "I have little peace now, for during the time when we must again bury one of our people we come straight out with everything that our heart dictates."

Clara: "When I was still a girl, we did not conduct ourselves the way girls do nowadays. We did not leave our parents, but faithfully remained with them in the hut. But today girls often look to [the behavior of] the Whites; they have discovered

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many things among them which they imitate. That is why they even run /1134/ away from their own parents; they do not give other countrymen any peace [because of their offensive behavior] and cause their own parents the greatest embarrassment. It is shameful for us, it is a disgrace for us (69)!"

69. She recalls that recently three girls left the camp alone in the late afternoon without their parents' knowledge. Cf. p.488 .

Santiago: "I did you [Halupens] no harm."

Halupens: "That is correct, and I did not want to reproach you for anything."

Santiago: "Good, then we agree."

Halupens: "If it weren't for the Whites [who prevent us], we would have declared war on those people and killed them. But this way [the way things are today] we do not dare."

Santiago: "Truly, that is the real reason. At present our hands are tied [as far as free action is concerned]" (70).

70. Santiago is referring to a murder which Halupens' brother committed in his day.

Luisa: "Whenever we were in mourning in the old days, we caught many animals and killed them, tore them all to pieces or crushed them, and then strewed all the pieces on the ground or threw them in the water. We did that because we were angry with Watagineiwa, for we wanted to cause him great harm. My parents-in-law were very prominent in that."

Halupens: "I had no idea that today I would be in deep mourning. Watagineiwa has caused it. I, personally, have, after all, done no one any harm; I did not kill anyone. I did, of course, kill a few birds and sea lions to keep me from hunger and to stay alive. But I never killed a human being. Therefore Watagineiwa has no reason whatever to hurt me so badly that today I am in mourning because he let that woman die. I did nothing except hunt a few of his animals which he made in Yolastiga; I consumed them because I was hungry!"

765 152 /1134 cont./

Santiago: "Today Wataŭinéĵwa has brought great harm to us all. We are all without exception in deep mourning. It would have been better if today Wataŭinéĵwa had allowed a whale to be stranded. Then we would have gone there tomorrow and would have cut off large pieces for ourselves. Instead he has let that woman die and the widower is now mourning bitterly!"

Evidently all the participants at this yamalaĉemõĵna often repeated the prayer formulas and lamentations listed above (p. 989), although most of them understand only the general drift and the basic meaning. I was present while the corpse was being wrapped, and old Asikamis happened to pass the hut. He stopped for a few moments and, pointing to the dead woman, murmured to himself: "Wataŭinéĵwa has caused that, yes 'the one-up-there' has done this!" Then he continued on his way. Similar expressions were repeated by all those present.

765 769 152 It must be pointed out that although this general funeral rite is stimulated by a recent death and occasioned chiefly by it, /1135/ nevertheless every participant remembers all the dead whom he personally mourns. He speaks of them loudly and openly, always without mentioning their names, distinguishing them as "my father," "my daughter," and so forth. He mentions details of their lives, certain traits of character, and the cause of death. In this way he thoroughly relieves his tortured soul of the misery of oppressive thoughts about his dead.

765 152 *The gathering of many mourners, which lasts for hours, is* regularly terminated with a sort of mock battle. All during the yamalaĉemõĵna one or another of the old men informally and yet decisively exerts his influence, like a kind of tiŭmuna. They are above all anxious to direct the attention of the participants to Wataŭinéĵwa, and they characterize him as the one who remains responsible for the death of this and every other person. They are familiar with the traditional prayer formulas and laments and often repeat them. In this way they also impress them upon the memory of the younger people who learn their meaning. The old people, however, never explain the meaning of the words in detail; the formulas simply issue from a grief-filled soul and are neither mentioned nor discussed in everyday life. As soon as the old people feel that the favorable moment has arrived, they call

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765 152 for the mock combat. The participants get up, reach for their clubs or paddles, and leave the hut. Sobbing and weeping loudly, they arrange themselves in two groups in an open place outside in no particular order. If the yamalaŕemōjna commemorates a recent murder, however, a more definite division is made, and the party of the victim and that of the murderer face each other. Each of the adults is equipped with a club; women who lack a club use their paddles (p. 1084). These objects have previously been painted.

While the two groups are slowly approaching each other, they sob loudly and speak of the deceased for whom the ceremony is being held. They mention his good characteristics and qualities in words of warm appreciation and sincere grief. These utterances cease as soon as the two groups meet. The mock battle immediately begins, with an individual from one side rushing at anyone in the other group and attacking him. The two large groups thus split up into many fighting pairs. Each pair continues to duel for some time. They do not intend to injure one another; hence a blow is checked before it falls. Nevertheless one person or another may receive quite a blow if a pair becomes excited or if two opponents who have many a former account to settle should happen to meet.

765 152 578 /1136/ A more important feature of this sham battle is the utterance of mutual reproaches, making the other person responsible for the death, as though he were to blame for the grief which depresses all the people. A person who is met with reproaches of this kind from his opponent defends himself just as vehemently and heaps the accusations back on the other. If one says, "You caused that one to die, it is your fault that we are all sad now!" then the other replies, "Quite the contrary, you are to blame for everything!" Or one will maintain, "Why didn't you pay more attention to that one [who has just died] and help him?" Whereupon his opponent will defend himself, "You're the one who should have helped him, then he would not have been taken from us!" Another will shout, "You did not give that one any of your booty and that is why he starved!" The retort is: "I always gave him plenty of our booty. If you had done the same he would have been spared us!" Elsewhere one hears: "Why did you not

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765 152 578 come to his aid with your canoe when he was drowning?" The opponent replies: "I was much farther away from him than you, I was on the Wollasten Islands. It was far easier for you to help him because you were near him." Alluding to the murder, one man says: "How could you be so carefree! You should have known that this murderer had murderous intentions!" The answer: "You are guiltier. For if you had an inkling of it it was up to you to inform everybody and that one [the murdered one] would have been spared!" The verbal exchange continues for a long time. It often leads to attacks on personal conduct, to reminders of former quarrels and differences of opinion. Many become excited, and the combatants seriously attack each other. For some of them this opportunity is very welcome because a long-suppressed desire for revenge can be gratified without punishment. There is great confusion during the battle and sometimes a certain amount of brutality, depending on how much tempers are aroused, for the opponents facing each other change about several times, or three or four persons will pounce upon a single one who is then in a serious predicament. After about an hour the combat is declared over when a few influential old people return to the assembly hut. The rest of the people follow.

765 533 535 Inside, the customary song of mourning is resumed and continues for a time, its duration depending on the hour of the day and the state of mind of those present. One person or another will get up and dance through the hut, following the simple rhythm of the song with his body movements and the gentle swing of the short dance-staff. Finally the yamalalemdina is concluded, following the clear, definite signal by one of the leading old people that all the participants should lay down their clubs, paddles, and dance staffs with an audible tap on the ground. While the singing was going on, /1137/ all the people were holding these things in their hands. After that each one spends long minutes in thoughtful concentration, and only then does he silently creep out. He goes to his dwelling and quietly resumes his ordinary tasks.

765 This affair regularly lasts eight hours and longer. Only the adults take part. In order to prevent any disturbance or distraction by their own or by strange children, none of the children

/1137 cont./

765 may leave the dwellings, make a noise, or play.

If a yamalaŝemōna is to be held anywhere or if it has already been held, the news about it spreads over a wide area. Everyone wants to participate in it. Occasionally a few families are late in joining the mourners. The latter, of course, are always in the mood for this ceremony and, stimulated by them, the new arrivals actually initiate it without delay. If a universally beloved and influential person is being mourned, one yamalaŝemōna follows another at short intervals, perhaps throughout the whole year. There is probably never a cīkuan celebration that does not have a regular yamalaŝemōna on a particular day; the same is true of a lengthy kina festival. The participants, however, then remain in the large assembly but and the customary sham battle is kept within limits.

765 628 The law of blood vengeance (p.898) is in force among our Fuegians and imposes an obligation upon the relatives and friends of the murdered person. They band together and attack the murderer along with his followers. The combat between these two groups is called yamalaŝemōna yīkuna mīja and is obligatory after a murder. It is not impossible, although there is no definite proof, that the customary sham battle which has long been held after every ordinary death or in memory of all the dead at the public yamalaŝemōna is derived from that first struggle after a murder, and that, in the course of time, this has become part of every general ceremony of mourning. The characteristics of the sham battle, especially the reproaches and accusations of the opposing pair, lead one to this assumption.

765 628 The general mourning ceremony always unites several families, and since it occurs often, an individual family takes part in it at least three times a year. Its extraordinary subjective value is obvious. Each yamalaŝemōna irresistibly forces the individual to deep inner self-reflection and gravely reminds him of death. All those persons who have already concluded their life on earth come alive once more in his memory; their virtues and shortcomings are discussed and the transgression to which an untimely death is attributed is quite frankly noted. All this causes the individual conscience to be stirred to the depths with self-accusations. Furthermore, it is no less effective that the conduct of the individual is loudly censured during the combat by one or

/1137 cont./

another opponent who is permitted the opportunity for /1138/ ruthlessly setting forth his accusations. No one may take offense at being publicly accused. All kinds of things are disclosed in this way and reach the ears of the pubic: events long past; the quarrels and misdeeds of a murderer and all the members of his family are lengthily and inconsiderately dragged out into the open; the cruel behavior of a husband toward his deceased wife is loudly held up to him and his relatives for the hundredth time; the proved or suspected extra-marital relations of a dissolute woman are thrown in her face without the least restraint. Everyone who feels dislike for another or who has quarreled with him singles him out during the sham battle and gives him a piece of his mind. Disagreements between whole groups of families are also revealed and characterized in detail. As one can see, the loud reproaches of the sham battle are acts of undisguised and public conscience-searching of the other party by one who is far from offering palliation! The vivid warning which comes from the near and impending death also shakes up every participant and impels him anew to lead a blameless, orderly life, to make an effort to get along with others and to be on the best of terms with the members of his family, to be helpful to everyone, and in general to cultivate the virtues of a true, proper Yamana. Thus personal conduct and public order are inestimably improved by each yamalalemina. It is probably with the help of this institution that the general morality of the Yamana has been kept on a surprisingly consistent high level. Even though the motive which impels many a person to censure his opponent publicly may be neither noble nor fine, at any rate the outspoken accusation is not without effect.

The Yamana will not and cannot give up their general ceremonies of mourning as long as they persist in their ancient vague conception of the life of the human soul after death. The separation from each person who is matched away by death is for them an everlasting farewell. Molly Lawrence often and definitely assured me in so many words: "The missionaries constantly urged us to give up the long and disturbing gatherings after the death of one of our people. They advised us: 'Don't weep so much, for we shall all see one another again after death!' But

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825 [788] uttering a loud, hissing ʃ sound. The purpose of the latter is to weaken the baleful effect of the sea duck and hold in the kespiʃ of the children. Immediately after confinement the mother and her husband may not eat the meat of the deʃka (p. 503). The [262] parents are advised to abstain from it until their child enters the second year of life. From then on it is completely out of danger, whereas before that it might possibly die if its parents should often eat the meat of the sea duck.

When the rust-colored spectacled ibis, lexuwa (Theristicus melanopis), flies over the heads of mature girls, they cross their arms and press them against their breasts to hide them. If they [826] did not do this, lexuwa would pull their breasts far down; this is a beauty flaw of which they complain a great deal. This lexuwa is also known as a sensitive woman who anxiously guards her honor.

I did not learn that the Yamana are superstitiously afraid of any kind of insects, but Bridges (a):212 writes: "Many insects are also much dreaded, from a belief that they enter the ear, and work their way into the body, and thus kill those they enter" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):204 says the same thing. Unfortunately, these references are too general.

Sometimes an unusually large cap-shaped shell (Fissurella) clings to a rock along the coast, below the lowest water level. It is regarded as the mistress of that region. All the women who are gathering marine animals in its vicinity must remain silent and respectful. If they do not do this, the pʃiakakīpa, as it is [823] called, causes strong eddies. The word pʃiaka is not a proper name, but a general term (compare BD:370); here it has its special meaning. The little hole in the flat shell is "the eye with which pʃiakakīpa sees everything that happens around it."

825 If a father has lost a son in death, he abandons the male animals that he kills or he throws them into the water. If a 765 daughter has died, he does not touch the female animals that he catches. He does this for several weeks after the death of his child to express his grief over the loss and to avenge himself, as it were, on Watauinčiwa.

/1374 cont./

X575 776 825 gull kiwǎgu (Larus dominicanus); BD:413, tākaǎaiaka, the performance of the loud tákaǎa (Larus belcheri /a gull/); BD:112, ušōylaiaka, the performance of the whale ašōyla (Pseudorca crassidens); finally, BD:262, haiyaiga, BD:277, lamūkaiaka, the performance of the whale, BD:276; laiakākīpa, and BD:247, gōtanna, or "tānūwa's son, one of opening scenes and characters in the keena drama" /cited in English/. BD also mentions a few more performances. In any case, see the explanations of kūpi in BD:212.

X575 ●765 In conclusion the so-called kīna-tālaywāia, the death rite, should be specifically mentioned. Now and then it happens that in the course of this men's festival one of the participants or one of their relatives dies. Then one evening the participants assembled in the Great Hut put on an actual tālaywāia for only themselves. The men adorn themselves with the body painting customary for this occasion (p. 1081), depending on the degree of their relationship to the deceased. This is not enough, however. An influential yēkamuǎ appoints a man, preferably the leader, to paint himself in a special way. In March, 1922, Maǎemikens, who was then the leader of the Kina, volunteered to do this himself. The entire body is painted white and over this are painted four black stripes the width of a hand, beginning in the center of each collar bone and in each armpit and extending to the knee. These stripes, but narrower, are continued on the white mask up to its point. The performer dances out of the Great Hut just like any one of the many other "spirits" and moves back and forth several times on the dance course. The people in the camp immediately recognize him /1375/ by his painting. On the evening of a tālaywāia the men remain very quiet and appear to be sad out of sincere sympathy. The Yamana have no proper name for the spirit portrayed in this manner. It would not be correct to call him the kēpix of the deceased person who is being mourned; the whole performance is meant to be reminiscent of his departure and of the sorrowful participation of the survivors.

[302]

X575 776 825 302 The Yamana emphatically assured me that there is no portrayal in the Kina of the spirits of those animals that were already living here as actual animals at the time of the great upheaval.

1: Gusinde--1455 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

525
302
292

Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Kina-talauwáta

142
302
765
301

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

1: Gustode--1456 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHS Yahgan SHS

142
362
165
301

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

1: Gostede--1457 E-S (1918-1994) 1937 SI06 Yahgan SH6

137

Antarctic Beaches

Mourning Painting

Men Painting Themselves

Mourning Painting

133

Northeast of Beagle Channel

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

756 coals witnessed by Rev. Thomas Bridges (1893, p. 238) may have been part of this training.

Graduation from the shaman school did not insure a successful 756 professional career, for only by repeated proofs of power could the 887 individual's reputation be established. It seems that there was much competition among the medicine-men, and several early observers note a tendency of almost all the older people to work cures, to prophesy, etc.

FIG. 94.—Yahgan shaman's bag. Diameter, 11 in. (16/2537)

In fig. 94 is 756 illustrated the 445 guanaco-hide bag in which the shaman carried his impedimenta. The contents were diadems of heron-plumes and of kelp-goose down, and white paint. To these doubtless should be added a number of small hard objects to be shown to the sick as the cause of their pain.

DEATH

764 When death took place the corpse was wrapped in old seal-skins and buried outside of the house within twenty-four hours. If the ground were frozen, the corpse might be covered with stones and shrubs to keep off dogs and foxes, or it might be buried in a cave or on a small island. Hyades (1891, p. 379) says that when death occurred far from home the body was carried into the woods and cremated. This was done that the bones might not fall into the hands of enemies and be made into harpoon-points.

765 For mourning the family of the defunct covered themselves with

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

765 [535] black paint and indulged in formal ululation. They summoned their friends and relatives to the death-dance known as *yamalashemina*, which might be repeated at intervals for several months. Forth the men and women donned the white kelp-goose headband; the men supplied themselves with clubs of unusual length (fig. 95),

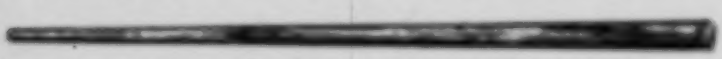

FIG. 95.—Yahgan ceremonial club. Length, 5 ft. (14/2204)

[764] and the women carried paddles. As with many primitive tribes, the Yahgan believed death due to some positive and active force, visible or invisible. Hence the mourning ceremony carried the threat of revenge and assumed the character of a sham battle.

775 It has been both asserted and denied that the Yahgan believed in the immortality of the soul. Testimony on this point secured in recent years from mission-reared Indians might not be considered conclusive, but mythological tales clearly indicate belief in survival. As among the Ona, only unusually powerful and bold spirits, such as those of shamans, were able to maintain contact with the visible world.

MYTHOLOGY

TB The Yahgan possessed the usual collection of myths found among primitive peoples, but these are exceedingly simple in character and lacking in humor or subtlety. The most extensive study of the mythology of this tribe was conducted by Gusinde and Koppers, and has been published only in outline. Barclay, Thomas Bridges, Cojazzi, and Martial also have contributed mythological material of importance, while a few scattered tales occur in the works of other writers. It has seemed worth while to summarize these published sources because they often are difficult to obtain and have appeared in five different languages. We have followed the classification of Koppers (1924).

EXPLANATORY MYTHS

There are a large number of tales which explain the various phenomena of nature such as the slow approach of dawn, the shape of the rainbow, the spots on the moon, the bare tops of the mountains, etc. Such tales often form incidents in the more complex myth cycles we shall discuss.

/1104 cont./

763 that he might strangle the dying one in order to release him from
739 the death agony (p. 944). Loud, shrill cries announce the end to the neighborhood, and people arrive without delay. I myself witnessed the two cases just described.

Fatal accidents are not uncommon. A whole family may
731 be taken if a canoe capsizes. A few men drag the body of a per-
766 son who has drowned or fallen from a rock into his hut if it is not too far away. Otherwise, if the men are far from their families on a communal hunt, they bury the victim then and there and hasten to bring the news quickly to the family.

The demonstrations of mourning begin while a person is
763 dying and immediately afterwards. All the neighbors assemble in
152 front of the hut of the deceased or inside and start a loud, irregular moaning. Copious tears flow from grief and sincere sympathy. Everyone is again vividly reminded of Watauineiwa who has taken this person away. As was learned earlier from Bridges (a):206: "When a person is very ill and likely to die, great grief is shown, and the near relatives keep near, so as to act as mourners at the decease of the sick. They show much grief, and when the sick actually dies great lamentation is made, and the mourners weep profusely" /cited in English/.

2. The Burial

764 There is a remarkable number of reports, most of them brief,
114 however, about the way our Fuegians treat the corpse. The dying one has scarcely ceased breathing when the persons present bury themselves over him. As Bove (e):110 says, this time accurately: "They wrap the body of the deceased, which is still almost warm in a few rags." They use large pieces of leather and nowadays also wraps of cacking. Usually they leave the body in the position it assumed at death. The entire sheath is fastened and tied with strips of leather which are tightly wrapped around it in various directions (65). This happens in any case: "the dead are always

65. Hyades (g):279 says briefly that "the body is wrapped in some old skins of otter or seal; it is then buried". Lovisato

/1196 cont./

764 bound with cord, is dragged out of the hut by a few men from among the close relatives. They take it to the nearest thicket or into the nearby woods. Here they lay it on a low bushy shrub with spreading branches. Smoldering sticks are pushed into the shrub and dry logs leaned against it. They fan it rapidly with leafy twigs, and in a few minutes the flames leap up. Usually after a short time the burned bush collapses. Then the burning corpse is covered with greater quantities of wood. The men alone do this first part, while the girls and women are obliged to fetch firewood incessantly and to keep the fire burning brightly until all the bones have been destroyed beyond recognition. Coarse sand or earth from the forest floor is dragged to the place with sticks or oars and scattered over the remaining small heap of ashes of the extinguished pyre. Finally the spot is covered with brush and fallen branches. After a few months it no longer is discernible. While this is going on, other people from the neighboring huts stand around the fire, watch the procedure, weep loudly, and sing their tálauwaia. A cremation does not take place on the open beach because the traces of it could not be quickly and completely eradicated. The corpse was laid upon a strong, thick shrub because igniting it is much easier than kindling a fire on the ever-damp forest floor.

•766 Even in regions where cremation was preferred over burial, the body of a child was customarily buried in the ground. I was told: One man alone took this corpse and carried it into the forest where he quickly made a shallow hole in the ground and covered the body with earth and brush. This work was easy and not troublesome; the grave only required scratching away a bit of loose forest earth with a stick. Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869) also emphasizes that, in contrast to the burning of adult bodies, "young children are frequently buried" /cited in English/.

At all such cremations it was an absolute rule that the mourners left the spot only after the large bones of the corpse

764 /1197/ had crumbled to fine dust in the strong heat and the scene of the fire had been made unrecognizable. They continued their weeping in the huts until far into the night. It is noteworthy, and contrary to the general conception of the Yamana, that every man and woman who helped in any way at the cremation received a gift

[731] from the relatives of the deceased. This was by no means something that had belonged to the deceased, as a memento, for

/1109 cont./

764 who knows about it avoids it out of anxious fear. Other people, not the nearest relatives, accompany or assist the men who bury the corpse. When they have finished their work, they quietly and unobtrusively rejoin those who have gathered in a hut and are loudly mourning.

As has been said, as soon as death occurs, immediate prep-
766 arations for burial are made unless one must await the coming dawn because of the darkness of the night. In exceptional cases the body is interred in a small cave nearby or in the cavity of a rock if there is earth or gravel available to cover it. Even in our day the corpse has been destroyed in the hut fire. If, for instance, a married couple were all alone in some spot and the husband died, and other people, although notified by the customary triple smoke signal, could not get there quickly because of high waves, the surviving wife would be obliged to make the best of it. Without any special preparation of the corpse, she would drag it into the hut fire and pile brush and firewood on top of it. Soon the flames would leap so high that the hut itself would catch fire. The woman would keep the fire going until the corpse was completely destroyed. The same thing was done if the path into the forest was blocked or the customary burial in the ground was in any way prevented. The concern of the survivors is always to do away with the corpse without delay, and even a person by himself is able to do that.

Among the Yamana, just as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I,
764 552), it has been customary from ancient times to destroy all the
768 possessions of the deceased, by consigning them to the flames, throwing them into the sea, or placing the individual pieces in the grave with the corpse. Bridges (a):206 confirms that the deceased's "property is either cast into the sea or burned" /cited in English/, and Bove (e):159 adds: "In the grave of a man, they bury pieces of harpoons, spears, slings, etc., and with a woman, nets and fishing gear." These things are in no way meant as actual burial accessories; the survivors are guided solely by the desire to destroy in one way or another everything that belonged to the deceased. That is why it is a matter of course for them "to burn the hut of the deceased, which was his last abode, and to leave the area for some time," to repeat Bove's (e):159 words.

/1110 cont./

768 Hyades (p):335 and (q):379 interprets this custom erroneously: "The heir divides among the friends of the deceased what belonged to the latter, as though the nearest relatives did not wish to draw any kind of profit from the death of one of them" /translated from French/. The idea of bequeathing the possessions of a deceased person to others is unfamiliar to our Fuegians. Rather, they emphasize that only the owner personally has a right to them, and therefore the belongings of anyone who has departed this life must be destroyed. BD:127 gives čiyellāra, /1111/ "to give away things specially those left by the dead, as a sign of sorrow for the dead, as near relatives were expected to do to those who were not connected by kin with the dead" /cited in English/. This statement, which in part is inaccurate, is valid only to the extent I have just indicated; I refer to the meaning of čiyellāra, which I obtained from present-day Yamana.

•766 All the Indians are especially brisk in dealing with the corpse of a yěkamuš; almost without exception it is burned. His tools and utensils are placed upon the fire from the start, and while the flames are consuming everything, the people present also toss in all kinds of things that they happen to have at hand, such as small baskets, ornaments, tools, and so forth. They want to show their esteem for the yěkamuš and also that they are ruthlessly depriving themselves of even their own indispensable utensils and implements.

3. Minor Manifestations of Sorrow

152 Since our Fuegians do not know anything about the fate of souls after death and regard the separation from them as a state that will last forever, each death causes them untold sorrow. This is so sincere and so deeply felt that in this respect they surpass many Europeans. Not everyone who has traveled through those regions has had an opportunity to convince himself of this, since our Indians conceal their grief from strangers. I was a witness to it several times and can also rely on corresponding reports of missionaries. Bove (e):159, who does not even mention that he personally observed a funeral, nevertheless, and perhaps for that very reason, speaks of their "indifference toward the dead. The cries they utter, the way

/1111 cont./

152 they beat themselves, the destruction of the huts in which the deceased breathed his last are reflections of custom more than true expressions of grief." Nevertheless, he admits that "there really are persons who feel the loss very deeply." All doubt is removed by the conduct of parents whose child has been torn from them by death. Now and then they actually behave as though they had taken leave of their senses. According to Hyades (g):39 the "loss of children is in general deeply felt and often the French [of the Mission Scientifique] saw the features of the savages cloud over and the women even burst into weeping and lamentation if there happened to be a reference to such a death." Spegazzini's (a): 168 observation alone shows what every Fuegian mother goes through when she must part from the lifeless body of her child (51).

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51. He writes: "I have seen a young woman whose child had died take the corpse and go to the woods where the little body, cleaned and curiously painted, after having been pressed to her bosom several times, was wrapped in fox skins and enclosed in a framework of twigs, which she immediately buried under the leaves of a tree. Upon leaving she cast a look at the place where her little one was, one of those looks that would require a whole book to be explained and whose meaning could be appreciated only by a mother similarly stricken" /translated from Spanish/. Before that Fitz-Roy (a):179 had learned: "Matthews sometimes heard a great howling, or lamentation, about sun-rise in the morning; and upon asking Jemmy Button what occasioned this outcry, he could obtain no satisfactory answer; the boy only saying, 'people very sad, cry very much.' Upon one occasion when some canoes were alongside the 'Beagle,' a sudden howl from one of the Fuegians aroused several others who were near, and at the opposite side of the vessel, when a general howl of lamentation took place, which

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was ended by a low growling noise. By this, as well as by pulling their hair, and beating their breasts, while tears streamed down their faces, they evinced their sorrow for the fate of some friends who had perished, some days before the 'Beagle' 's arrival, by the upsetting of a loaded canoe" /cited in English/.

152 Parents in particular /1112/ lose control of themselves and make loud and bitter accusations against Watauineiwa, insult him, and swear revenge against him (p. 988). Sorrow breaks through unrestrained among these unspoiled children of nature. The first utterance always exceeds all bounds, but the grief continues to be deeply felt for months and years and sometimes flares up in its initial violence. "The mourning lasts long, sometimes for two years, but it gradually becomes less, till the memory of the dead passes from the mind" /cited in English/ (Bridges [a] :206).

While the dying person is still struggling with death, his
764 nearest relatives are already weeping and howling. The strongest
152 outburst of their grief begins after life has departed. Loud, shrill cries are uttered at short intervals, and it seems as though each one is intended to surpass the other. Mixed in with them are unrestrained howling and groaning by other persons. A loud and indescribable confusion of voices fills the little hut. The longer it lasts, the more neighbors hasten there, and none stays away. Everyone squats on the ground, and sometimes they sit pressed so closely together that they can scarcely move. Once I even saw them remove the hut fire because of lack of room. Everyone present wants to be as close to the body as possible, at least to be inside the hut. Long hours are filled with whimpering and sighing, howling and lamenting. While this is going on, a few men begin wrapping the corpse in pieces of leather. While it is being dragged out of the hut, the howling reaches its loudest and wildest pitch. The behavior of the persons present clearly shows their feeling that the deceased is now departing forever. They writhe with pain, throw themselves on the ground and get up again, wave their arms about wildly and full of despair, and clutch one another as though they would tear each other apart. This continues

/1433 cont./

d. Characteristics of the Medicine-Man System

X756 The preceding description definitely shows that the yékamuf occupies a unique position among the Yamana. The medicine man is more or less feared, no matter how much help he gives his family group. Since he does, after all, attempt at times to bring considerable harm and death to other fellow-tribesmen, whether on his own initiative or at the request of a friend, /1434/ he is remote from the frequently recommended virtue of universal helpfulness. The privileged position which is granted him on some occasions is at variance with the equality that is generally conceded the members of the tribe. As a result, every yékamuf is exaggeratedly anxious about his personal honor, as is shown in the stories about the medicine man (p. 1366 /untranslated/). Linked with this is selfishness which is strictly prohibited in the everyday life of our Yamana. If a yékamuf has cast his eye on a beautiful, capable woman, she will marry him even though she has little desire to do so. She is governed by the consideration that he could do her serious harm if she refused. The special feather decoration, apawéra, a unique body painting, and the íkima-yékamuf, are reserved exclusively for the yékamuf. If several medicine men are sitting together in a group, other people, especially children, must be particularly respectful and quiet, so that the medicine men are not disturbed. Often a yékamuf will seize the spirit of the person who comes near him. It is advisable, therefore, to pass in front of him, not behind him, so that one can observe his attitude. If someone is obliged to pass him when his back is turned, he should do this very slowly and cautiously. The medicine men do not trust one another. A person who takes a piece of meat or a swallow of water should first remove the "harm" which an enemy has possibly put into it, or he will become ill. Hence he makes certain movements, as though he were scooping out the "evil"; he places it on his open palm and blows it far away.

X756 The corpse of a medicine man is given careful treatment. Soon after his demise he is painted in the manner peculiar to him and decorated with the apawéra (p. 1040); he is also painted red all over (p. 1110). His material possessions are placed beside him

/1434 cont./
and the hut is set on fire (341). The many people who have

341. Despard (b):717 maintains: "When yaccomosh dies, his body is burned to ashes, and those ashes thrown to the winds he rules so mightily, for them to make sport withal" /cited in English/. The last part of this statement is incorrect.

assembled throw all kinds of objects into the fire, whatever they can lay their hands on. They do this in honor of the deceased (p. 1066). Since in recent times even medicine men are buried, the people see to it that his face is turned upward. The community of souls of all deceased yékamuš and of people who have drowned is regarded as the actual ülulufala. This term, which also has a general meaning (p. 1042), is related to ülüuf in BD:91. These souls move toward the east where they dwell (342). At

342. Bridges (i):19 writes that "shooting stars were spoken of as the dead wizards of their people" /cited in English/. I did not encounter this belief. It is well known that the Selk'nam regard shooting stars as the "play of the medicine men" (Vol. I, 680).

night they sometimes return to their homes and every living medicine man can see them. Nelly Lawrence said in all seriousness: "Since our késpiš like to travel to the east when we dream at night or are dreamily brooding during the day, the yékamuš must sing /1435/ and soon bring back the késpiš, or they would be lost in that distant region where the késpiš of dead yékamuš actually dwell." All this shows the unique position of the medicine men, even though they cannot be noticeably distinguished from their countrymen in everyday life, but conform to tribal tradition as true Yamana.

If one examines the meaning and nature of the medicine-man system, its uniqueness becomes apparent. It does not correspond either to the natural disposition of our Yamana or to the

/1121 cont./

769 resembling a yamalaĕemóins into each ĕíĕxu celebration, even if no one had died meanwhile. During this ceremony they vividly remembered in particular those persons who in former years had taken a very active part in the affair. The other groups now and then imitated this custom. While it was going on, the participants, each to himself, thought about the deceased person whose loss was most painful to them, and they painted themselves to indicate the manner of his death. A true Yamana can never quite forget his dead, even though their names are no longer mentioned.

765 It has already been mentioned that for a few days the nearest relatives of a deceased person take almost no nourishment. 262 Their neighbors and friends generally follow their example, especially if a murder is being mourned. Formerly even children were made to fast, and everywhere there was strict quiet. In order to carry out all this undisturbed, /1122/ the mourners sometimes retired into the nearby woods and stayed there for a few days and nights, weeping and moaning beside an open fire. After that they returned to their dwellings. The women who told me this were unstinting in their admiration for the hardiness of their countrymen of former times and frankly confessed that they themselves lacked the strength and perseverance for such feats.

•767 Although everyone willingly participates in a song of mourning, there is a type of wailing woman who may on occasion assist someone. A person will invite these women if he himself has no near relatives, for with the loss that death has inflicted upon him he feels his isolation all the more painfully. Shame also plays a certain role in the case of a person who clearly feels that the death he mourns is a punishment for wrongdoing and who is made conscious of it by others. During the first few days nature quite impetuously demands her rights and the mourner expresses his grief without restraint; later he is sometimes overcome by consciousness of his guilt. According to ancient custom, the lamenting, groaning, weeping, and singing must continue for several weeks. Sometimes distant relatives or friends chosen at random are given this duty. On occasion, as so-called amĕmuru tĕlaqwaja, they render an outstanding performance. Men also may do this, and they act on special invitation; indeed they are enlisted, so to speak, and receive some reward for their efforts. These so-called weeping women simply repeat the customary

/1122 cont./

767 monotonous melodies, and if they are tired they content themselves with humming a barely audible, continuous hãã hãã... on the same pitch. It is these weeping women in particular who again and again refer to Watagiñiwa and who ceaselessly repeat one or another of the ancient formulas of mourning. BD:653 gives yiñũa and yiñũipa with the meaning "mourner" /cited in English/; arũmutu tãlagwaja has the special meaning "weeping women."

765 533 An attentive observer will note that the Yamana vividly and often recall their dead and that, as Bridges (c):332 tersely expressed himself, "mourning was strictly observed." Individual persons often gather together to sing songs of mourning, even when there has been no immediate death. The most common term for this is tãlagwaja, or tãllagwaja, which emphasizes the private, everyday, inconspicuous nature of the performance. Only a few persons join in a tãlagwaja, namely, the relatives and their intimate friends. There are no special invitations, and no involved preparations are necessary. The simple painting of mourning and participation in the singing suffice for all. Thus a person who is seized with grief for his beloved dead initiates /1123/ a tãlagwaja, and he can count on an immediate response from those close to him. BD:398 gives tellaaja, "being mourners or in mourning for the dead" /cited in English/. If tãlagwaja also means a person who is mourning, it is clear that, like a deep groan, it is meant to point to the grieving person when it is repeated in the cries of lamentation addressed to Watagiñiwa. Usually it stands at the end of a prayer and a request, and it could be translated as: woe is me, I am in mourning, how sad I am, this is the reason for my sorrow, and so forth (p. 989). Now and then lõma takes the place of tãlagwaja. Strictly speaking, the former is a song by means of which one gets in touch with any kind of spirit. A person who mourns the dead recalls their souls to his own memory, as it were; he feels that they are near, devotes all his attention to them, and once more is with them. An association with them such as people enjoy in everyday life, however, cannot take place. Hence the pain of separation from these soul-spirits gains the upper hand again, and that is what the grieving person, full of despair, puts into his lõma cry.

/969 cont./

422 this method of procedure by our Yamana on two occasions. Once he borrowed tobacco with a man for a dog, but since the dog belonged to the man's wife, she forced Fitz-Roy to give the animal back to her. Snow (p.264 also confirms from his own experience: "I believe they have a sort of property right amongst them, and I have seen one of the oldest women exercising authority over the rest of her people. Wishing to buy a canoe, it was refused me on the ground that it belonged to her, and she would not part with it" /cited in English/.

Every Yamana is completely free to take good care of his property or to neglect it completely. No one even prevents him from wantonly destroying his things. If he lacks something he must personally look around for a replacement. Objects that are [425] found may not be appropriated by the finder, and if he nevertheless keeps them, he risks being labeled a thief. Whatever a person has owned in life /970/ remains his after his death. That is • [426] why the belongings of a deceased person are burned and destroyed, inasmuch as no one could legally take them as his property. One does not even encroach upon a dead owner's right to his personal [427] property. The Yamana are unacquainted with the actual inheritance of anything whatever.

β. Family Property

Since every person owns his individual property, he also 422 brings it with him into his marriage, without, however, giving up 593 his exclusive right to it. He uses each article freely and without hindrance and replaces for himself anything and everything that has become unserviceable or is lost. As we have just said, one of the partners in marriage would not dare, at his own discretion, to dispose of an object belonging to the other partner.

When a marriage takes place, a new configuration of life is 423 always begun, for the family forms a very compact economic unit. 593 The word "family" is used here in its narrower sense, namely, as the social unit of father, mother, and unmarried children. The new configuration of life also demands its own right to certain implements common to the union as such. The solidarity of family

/975 cont./

425 We know that the large territory of the Yamana is divided
423 into five zones with boundaries (p. 199 /untranslated/) which also apply to the right of free food-seeking. Within one's home territory he has free access to everything that nature supplies, but if he goes into neighboring territory and there takes possession of something for his own use, he must be able to justify it. Obvious scarcity of the necessities of life in his more limited home territory or the stranding of a whale affords such justification. A friendly visit is also sufficient reason, for sometimes someone marries into another dialect group from which his nearest kin occasionally visit him. The stranger would not be able to stay too long in the neighboring territory without /976/ arousing displeasure among the local residents and even evoking grave hostility (388). Hence, there, too,

388. I believe that this is the meaning of the following words of Bridges in Hyades (j):180: "The natives dare not go to places where they do not have friends or where they are not known, for they would probably be killed" /translated from French/.

everyone makes himself the owner of whatever he directly confiscates as ownerless property. The members of each dialect group, however, regard themselves as having priority over all natural stores and animals in their local area.

425 When the rightful owner of an object hands it over to another person, he relinquishes his right of ownership and it passes to the other person. The free decision of the owner himself is required in
[428] such cases. The Yamana are unacquainted with an actual hereditary right in the sense that certain descendants can legally take over the possessions of an owner after his death, simply because of their
[168] kinship with him. Actually, when a person dies, everything he has owned is purposely destroyed by fire because no one has a right to it as such. Anyone who has received something from another person or is keeping it for him soon returns it (389), simply because the

389. Snow (s):I, 345 confirms this from his own observations: "Several times I procured

/1109 cont./

764 who knows about it avoids it out of anxious fear. Other people, not the nearest relatives, accompany or assist the men who bury the corpse. When they have finished their work, they quietly and unobtrusively rejoin those who have gathered in a hut and are loudly mourning.

As has been said, as soon as death occurs, immediate prep-
766 arations for burial are made unless one must await the coming dawn because of the darkness of the night. In exceptional cases the body is interred in a small cave nearby or in the cavity of a rock if there is earth or gravel available to cover it. Even in our day the corpse has been destroyed in the hut fire. If, for instance, a married couple were all alone in some spot and the husband died, and other people, although notified by the customary triple smoke signal, could not get there quickly because of high waves, the surviving wife would be obliged to make the best of it. Without any special preparation of the corpse, she would drag it into the hut fire and pile brush and firewood on top of it. Soon the flames would leap so high that the hut itself would catch fire. The woman would keep the fire going until the corpse was completely destroyed. The same thing was done if the path into the forest was blocked or the customary burial in the ground was in any way prevented. The concern of the survivors is always to do away with the corpse without delay, and even a person by himself is able to do that.

Among the Yamana, just as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I,
764 552), it has been customary from ancient times to destroy all the
•768 possessions of the deceased, by consigning them to the flames, throwing them into the sea, or placing the individual pieces in the grave with the corpse. Bridges (a):206 confirms that the deceased's "property is either cast into the sea or burned" /cited in English/, and Bove (c):159 adds: "In the grave of a man, they bury pieces of harpoons, spears, slings, etc., and with a woman, oars and fishing gear." These things are in no way meant as actual burial accessories; the survivors are guided solely by the desire to destroy in one way or another everything that belonged to the deceased. That is why it is a matter of course for them "to burn the hut of the deceased, which was his last abode, and to leave the area for some time," to repeat Bove's (c):159 words.

/1110/ Directly after the burial, as soon as their own things have been brought to safety, the widower or the widow usually sets fire to the hut, "setting fire to the grass and bushes of the neighbourhood" /cited in English/ (Bridges [i]:1). The meaning of this is that the survivors want to "do all they can to blot out all remembrance of the departed" /cited in English/, according to Bridges (VSA:XI, 259;1864). There should be nothing to remind them of the great loss they suffered when that beloved person was taken away from them. This is especially true of parents and children, as well as of spouses. Many a person behaves like one demented and, in his excitement, does not even shy from sacrificing indispensable objects of his own. The individual articles need not be named, since everything is indiscriminately destroyed. The surviving spouse even destroys the canoe if there is a prospect of fleeing from this place of death in another vessel. The canoe is regarded as the personal field of activity of the wife, and it would constantly remind the surviving husband of her. A mother is particularly ruthless with all the little things used by her deceased child. She furiously tosses articles of clothing, toys, little baskets, and other things into the fire. She, too, feels as though she must leave the hut when she sees the empty places where her child ate, slept, and played. For a long time the parents are haunted by the bitterest sorrow. If a father whose daughter has been snatched away by death is lucky in hunting, he carefully examines his spoils; he abandons female birds and sea lions because they remind him of his daughter. A hunter who mourns a dead son acts similarly: he takes only the female animals of those he has killed and throws the males into the sea. Our Yamana have a specific term for the animals that a grieving man puts aside in memory of his deceased child: *ciyellgra*, which is perhaps related to *ciyla* *ciella* in BD:120. The dog is the sole exception. Out of pity, and also because he is particularly valuable, they do not want to kill him; hence he is given to the older son, daughter, or a relative of the deceased.

Anyone who has helped at a burial and in the destruction of the possessions of the deceased is rewarded with gifts from the nearest relatives who dispense them voluntarily (p. 1060). Bridges (x):306 has already pointed out that "liberal presents are made to those who assist at the burning or the burial" /cited in English/.

/1110 cont./

Hyades (p):335 and (q):379 interpret this custom commonly: "The heir divides among the friends of the deceased what belonged to the latter, as though the nearest relatives did not wish to draw any kind of profit from the death of one of them" /translated from French/. The idea of bequeathing the possessions of a deceased person to others is unfamiliar to our Fueguans. Rather, they emphasize that only the owner personally has a right to them, and therefore the belongings of anyone who has departed this life must be destroyed. BD:127 gives tipellgen, /1111/ "to give away things specially those left by the dead, as a sign of sorrow for the dead, as near relatives were expected to do to those who were not connected by kin with the dead" /cited in English/. This statement, which in part is inaccurate, is valid only to the extent I have just indicated; I refer to the meaning of tipellgen, which I obtained from present-day Yamana.

All the Indians are especially brisk in dealing with the corpse of a yéhamuá; almost without exception it is burned. His tools and utensils are placed upon the fire from the start, and while the flames are consuming everything, the people present also toss in all kinds of things that they happen to have at hand, such as small baskets, ornaments, tools, and so forth. They want to show their esteem for the yéhamuá and also that they are ruthlessly depriving themselves of even their own indispensable utensils and implements.

3. Minor Manifestations of Sorrow

Since our Fueguans do not know anything about the fate of souls after death and regard the separation from them as a state that will last forever, each death causes them untold sorrow. This is so sincere and so deeply felt that in this respect they surpass many Europeans. But everyone who has traveled through these regions has had an opportunity to convince himself of this, since our Indians conceal their grief from strangers. I was a witness to it several times and can also rely on corresponding reports of missionaries. Bove (r):158, who does not even mention that he personally observed a funeral, nevertheless, and perhaps for that very reason, speaks of their "indifference toward the dead. The cries they utter, the way

/1119 cont./

765 stricken by death and is sometimes in a difficult position. The
262 duty to give unselfish aid which burns ardently in everyone's soul, especially at the sight of the universally recognized smoke signal, compulsively drives them to the scene of misfortune. The mourners themselves appreciate it very much if many tribal members can answer their summons.

After the initial, very lively outburst have somewhat abated, 765 the painful event drives all present away from the scene of the 768 misfortune with uneasy force. Within four days at the outside, after the bier of the deceased has been burned, the campsite is changed. Usually each of the families /1116/ which have experienced the death departs in a separate direction, for each family wishes to be by itself if possible so that the others will not constantly remind them of the event. The missionaries in particular mentioned this conduct which is common to both the Tonsana and [171] the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 860) (52). Hyades (p.379 also confirms

> 52. There is one example only, which Bridges (YSA.XII, 53,1962) furnished on November 10, 1884. In Waisin the younger child of the well-known Ukuhin died, and he immediately left this region. "For it is an ascertained fact that the Yaghans will not, sometimes for a long time, return to the place where their relatives have died" /cited in English/.

this: "In general the hut in which a native died is burned, and the place where it stood is abandoned for a long time by the friends of the deceased" /translated from French/. They, of course, stay away from this place for a certain time, and meanwhile it is abandoned by the blind forces of nature. If the grave or the burial place has become unrecognizable as a result of plant growth or other circumstances, no one feels any aversion to settling down there.

The strict rule of never mentioning the name of the deceased 765 is in accord with the effort they make not to be reminded in any 551 way of the deceased. There are several witnesses for this. The first is Fitz-Roy (p.128) who can refer directly to Jemmy Button: "He would not talk of a dead person, saying, with a grave duke

437 [439] [806] [486] rency of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

768 488 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the deceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Such burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

594 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries. [542] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[542] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to man and woman jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of woman's tasks is longer than that of the man's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.

/903 cont./

Since every adult in the Tahgan but thoroughly reviews in his mind the events and experiences of recent years, the memory of his dead relatives is very vivid. He gives repeated and open expression to it, first of all by means of a painting executed in such a way that everyone immediately interprets it as a sign of mourning. Occasionally a person will, in his grief, very excitedly pick up a small piece of charcoal, crush it with furious haste between the palms of his hands, and in a frenzy rub the powder all over his face. This is a sign of deepest mourning over

Fig. 96. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

the recent loss of a very close relative. In memory of loved ones who /904/ have been dead for some time, the face is covered with symbolic patterns inspired by an unpredictable fancy of the moment.

Figure 96 shows a few of these patterns. In a, a single black line is drawn straight across each cheek. Noticeably in contrast to this, the whole face in b is rubbed with limi powder, on top of which two medium-thick black lines are drawn. In c the unusual outlining of the eyes in black pigment and the short line below the under lip is likewise applied on a red background. /Fig. 96 appears here./ In d again the whole face is first painted red and afterward a complicated pattern is applied with black pigment. Still other

/924 cont./
drawings and persons are carried out, depending on the artistic fancy that creates them. Each person present, of course, wears the hapayili and carries his short, decorated dance staff.

With this painted ornamentation and in memory of the deceased, the individual dances back and forth for a while, gliding through the entire room. As is the case with these dance movements in general, the body is held almost straight, the legs are bent somewhat at the knees, and the feet are placed one behind the other, close together. The left foot hops a few centimeters forward and the right foot is pulled after it. The fingers of both hands hold the dance staff horizontally or slightly diagonally and lift it slowly up and down with rolling motions toward the body. Sometimes both hands grasp the short staff held sideways and downward and move it forward and backward as though rowing. It is even grasped at the center with the right hand alone and held horizontally at shoulder height, as though it were a harpoon. In this position the dancing person will quickly glide along the area of the fire, and another person will do the same in a path close to him, but in such a manner that the two move past each other in opposite directions from one exit to the other.

Meanwhile the mourner will utter short laments. After a few minutes he will sit down and repeat his show of grief in long sentences. For example, on the second evening old Mary sadly cried out while the dancing was going on: "At that time when my parents, my uncle, and my aunt were still living and performed in the fikaya hut, a great many people were gathered together. All of them knew the game well and all were enjoying it. Today we are but a very /very/ few. We hardly know how to perform the fikaya beautifully. That makes me very sad!" On the next evening I heard the following words from the same Mary: "Ah, how poor we Yamana are today! Only a few of our people are still living. That makes me inconsolably sad. In my memory I see the many who were with me in the fikaya for the first time; today I am the only one left of all of them!" She was immediately joined by her husband Richard: "At the time when my mother gave birth to me it was very nice among us Yamana; there were still many people living and we were a large family. But today I am in a very poor state, for I am alone in the world! My brothers and sisters are dead, my parents have not been living for a long

/925 cont./

X881 535 769 152

time, my uncle and aunt are long since gone. Who wouldn't be sad to be all alone here in this world as I am!"

Meanwhile Gertie was rubbing a lot of charcoal powder on her face. Then she excitedly rose from her place and began in a wild tune: "How sad is our lot! Last winter another of my kinfolk died. Only a very small remnant of us Yamana has remained behind!" Then, as though mad, she glided back and forth through the Great Hut. Her sister Adelheid had drawn a single black line across her right and left cheek (Fig. 86, a) and remained squatting in her place. Both of them wept for an aunt who had recently passed away.

X881 769 152

Once old Whaits also cried out into the general singing the following words of grief: "Alas, poor me! I am completely orphaned, for last winter my very last kinsman died. Now I am alone in this world!" His wife who sat next to him sobbed loudly and wept bitterly: "Yes, it is true, you are all alone in the world! Your family had its home in the west and was once large. It is true, you are now the last of your large family. But these two whites who have come to us (338) raise our spirits. They have

338. Very conspicuously, by glance and gesture, the points to Gusinde and Koppers.

become Yamana and are therefore related to you. So cheer up!"

Almost every evening some participant will show his grief. Occasionally several people or the greater part of them will follow this example, so that a general lamenting, weeping, whimpering, and moaning commences. After the group as a whole has calmed down, one person or another continues his sobbing until far into the night, no one stops him.

X881 533

6. Free Interjections. Proof of the complete freedom with which each participant in the Great Hut may express his innermost feelings is given by the impromptu words which he scatters through his singing. He is permitted to do this any time of day. Usually he contents himself with a few short sentences. The words of one will sometimes stimulate his neighbor to /926/ carry on the same thought or to supplement it. When almost all the people take part in the common singing in the evening, the various interjections not only follow one another directly, but also are given

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765 152 themselves flat on the ground and for a time behave as though they were mad. This need not surprise one, for after their continuous exertion they finally lose all self-control and mental power. It is possible that /1121/ this strange behavior has caused a person in strict mourning to be called hannúšun, or hannuškípa. BD:265 explains this as: "A man, woman like a hánnuš, i.e., insane, senseless" /cited in English/.

The people from the neighboring huts join the strict mourners several times a day, not all at once, but irregularly and freely in individual groups. The latter are still vigorous, and they fall in with the singing of those present and stimulate them anew; hence the singing does not stop day or night. Even if all the families have left the scene of death after two to four days, the mourners soon begin their weeping again at the place where they erect their hut. They stimulate the new neighbors here to take part in their lamentation. At first they devote a great many hours to it, and fewer later on, but they continue it even after two and three years, although then only at longer intervals (63).

63. Hyades (q):379 agrees: "This great sorrow soon subsides; nevertheless the women nurse their grief for several months, repeating the scenes of tears and lamentations almost every day" /translated from French/.

It is customary to interject the well-known, ancient formulas of lament and the reproaches against Watayinéjwa into the singing (p.989). This is done not only by the nearest relatives, but also by friends and neighbors who happen to take part in this song of mourning. Everyone, of course, appears with one of the customary body paintings of mourning. It is the absolute duty of every adult Yamana to accompany for a few hours every day those mourners who are relieving their souls of grief through loud whimpering and groaning. This goes on day and night and arouses the sympathy of everyone in the neighboring huts.

If someone dies during a čiéxaus or kína and the participants hear of it, they, too, devote several days and many hours to the customary song of mourning. As Nelly Lawrence asserted, the western Yamana customarily inserted a ceremony of mourning

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769 resembling a yamalaŕemóina into each čiéxaus celebration, even if no one had died meanwhile. During this ceremony they vividly remembered in particular those persons who in former years had taken a very active part in the affair. The other groups now and then imitated this custom. While it was going on, the participants, each to himself, thought about the deceased person whose loss was most painful to them, and they painted themselves to indicate the manner of his death. A true Yamana can never quite forget his dead, even though their names are no longer mentioned.

765 It has already been mentioned that for a few days the nearest relatives of a deceased person take almost no nourishment.
262 Their neighbors and friends generally follow their example, especially if a murder is being mourned. Formerly even children were made to fast, and everywhere there was strict quiet. In order to carry out all this undisturbed, /1122/ the mourners sometimes retired into the nearby woods and stayed there for a few days and nights, weeping and moaning beside an open fire. After that they returned to their dwellings. The women who told me this were unstinting in their admiration for the hardiness of their countrymen of former times and frankly confessed that they themselves lacked the strength and perseverance for such feats.

767 Although everyone willingly participates in a song of mourning, there is a type of wailing woman who may on occasion assist someone. A person will invite these women if he himself has no near relatives, for with the loss that death has inflicted upon him he feels his isolation all the more painfully. Shame also plays a certain role in the case of a person who clearly feels that the death he mourns is a punishment for wrongdoing and who is made conscious of it by others. During the first few days nature quite impetuously demands her rights and the mourner expresses his grief without restraint; later he is sometimes overcome by consciousness of his guilt. According to ancient custom, the lamenting, groaning, weeping, and singing must continue for several weeks. Sometimes distant relatives or friends chosen at random are given this duty. On occasion, as so-called arnēmutu tālauwaia, they render an outstanding performance. Men also may do this, and they act on special invitation; indeed they are enlisted, so to speak, and receive some reward for their efforts. These so-called weeping women simply repeat the customary

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•769 A certain group of travelers has notoriously emphasized that our Fuegians are not afraid of corpses. Hyades (g):39 maintains: "They seem not to have the slightest fear of death and of corpses"; he refers to a man who "opened the grave of his recently deceased wife for the French." He may be speaking here of the same matter that he (i):618 mentions elsewhere: "I still have only one skeleton. It is that of a woman about thirty years old, which I bought from her husband seven or eight days after her death" /translated from French/. One should not generalize from the behavior of an individual Indian. Shortly thereafter another Yamana with his two wives came to the mission in Ushuaia where Hyades happened to be staying and where he had established a small hospital. The Fuegian, despite a severe illness, refused to let himself be cared for there; "the reason for his refusal, not concealed, was the fear that he would suffer the same fate as the exhumed woman" /translated from French/. Lovisato (b):149, too, expresses his surprise that a certain "Fred did not show any aversion to selling the skeleton of his father" /translated from Italian/. Nevertheless, there was no lack of resistance, as Bove honestly admits in (b):107 and in (MM:XVII, 262;1883): "At first my request for human skeletons met with some remonstrance from the Fuegians, but Oococco, understanding what my object was in making a collection, successfully arranged this matter. Some of them sold me offhand the bones of their fathers" /cited in English/. According to my inquiries, Bove exhumed the skeletons only from the cemetery of the mission station at Ushuaia. Since, as is known, all the Indians who had lost a relative in death purposely avoided this station, it is probably understandable that, under pressure or for ample remuneration, this or that Fuegian who had no interest in the graves there helped Bove. The isolated behavior of a few, /1124/ however, does not disprove the fact that the Yamana show a decided timidity with regard to human remains and that those which are accidentally exposed by nature's blind forces are immediately destroyed by fire (64).

64. In Bove (e):159 one can read: "The ease with which Bove obtained skeletons is incompatible with the veneration for the dead which

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Fitz-Roy, as well as the missionaries, praise them for. One of the men accompanying Bove even sold the skeleton of his own father to which he addressed the following speech: 'Farewell, precious father! You who in life saw only our snow and our storms, now that you are dead are going far away. Farewell! May your journey be happy!'"

Today we shake our heads at the boldness with which such fantastic descriptions could be set forth a few decades ago. The Lawrence brothers to whom I showed the account absolutely declared it to be a bold invention. Finally one must keep in mind that Bove would never have accumulated his considerable collection of skeletons and skulls if it had not been furnished him from the mission cemetery. He does not maintain that the scattered, scarcely recognizable individual graves outside were ever pointed out and opened for him.

It is well known that they wipe out every trace indicating the site of a grave (p. 1053).

765 152 A touching example of the sincerity of their grief for a deceased person exists from olden times. On November 27, 1958, Despard met a one-eyed man in Beagle Channel and inquired about the cause of his misfortune. The man answered that because of a deceased person dear to him he had wept so much that one of his eyes ran out. "Man die, here ashore, be very sorry, cry very much, eye ran away in water all over cheek; yes, sir!" /cited in English./ Our Fuegians never forget the loved ones whom death has taken from them.

765 533 It is well known that the tilauwaia gives the Yamana a very welcome opportunity to unburden their souls of all that oppresses them. While the main body of those present carries the customary melody in its monotonous uniformity, this or that person interrupts with a more or less long discourse, speaking of things which at the moment happen to affect his feeling and his mood. He is usually quite excited by it, as is shown by his lively, agitated

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Santiago: "Today Wataginéjwa has brought great harm to us all. We are all without exception in deep mourning. It would have been better if today Wataginéjwa had allowed a whale to be stranded. Then we would have gone there tomorrow and would have cut off large pieces for ourselves. Instead he has let that woman die and the widower is now mourning bitterly!"

Evidently all the participants at this yamalaferníjna often repeated the prayer formulas and lamentations listed above (p. 989), although most of them understand only the general drift and the basic meaning. I was present while the corpse was being wrapped, and old Atikamis happened to pass the hut. He stopped for a few moments and, pointing to the dead woman, murmured to himself: "Wataginéjwa has caused that, yes 'the one-up-there' has done this!" Then he continued on his way. Similar expressions were repeated by all those present.

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It must be pointed out that although this general funeral rite is stimulated by a recent death and occasioned chiefly by it, /1136/ nevertheless every participant remembers all the dead whom he personally mourns. He speaks of them loudly and openly, always without mentioning their names, distinguishing them as "my father," "my daughter," and so forth. He mentions details of their lives, certain traits of character, and the cause of death. In this way he thoroughly relieves his tortured soul of the misery of oppressive thoughts about his dead.

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The gathering of many mourners, which lasts for hours, is regularly terminated with a sort of mock battle. All during the yamalaferníjna one or another of the old men informally and yet decisively exerts his influence, like a kind of tímuna. They are above all anxious to direct the attention of the participants to Wataginéjwa, and they characterize him as the one who remains responsible for the death of this and every other person. They are familiar with the traditional prayer formulas and laments and often repeat them. In this way they also impress them upon the memory of the younger people who learn their meaning. The old people, however, never explain the meaning of the words in detail; the formulas simply issue from a grief-filled soul and are neither mentioned nor discussed in everyday life. As soon as the old people feel that the favorable moment has arrived, they call

J: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

526 The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically massaged by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

538 Music.—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely
533 simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the čiéxaus and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to
[534] von Hornbostel (1936). There were no musical instruments at all. Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

535 Dances.—Apart from the dances carried out during the chiéxaus and kina rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

991 Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead
[536] shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men. But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and focal in shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each
[537] *Yahgan* had a yefčel, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The kina rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

996 Theism.—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Wetanináwa or Wetaninčiwa, who was also called by other

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

756 He was trained in his professional duties by an older shaman. There was also held a shamans' institute and feast, which could last several months, to condition and school young candidates. During it, the candidates were secluded, and were required to fast, to sing much, to maintain a certain posture, to go with little sleep, and to drink water only through a hollow bird bone; and were taught healing techniques, tricks of the trade, and so forth. Women were barred from this shamans' school. Shamans were not banded into an organized society.

A full-fledged shaman, besides getting help from his special guard-
[769] ian spirit, was also in close touch with the spirit of a deceased shaman. The shaman's relations were with the world of lesser spirits, not with the Supreme Being, Wataunéwa; and the latter did not figure in the shamans' school.

The shaman's chief function was that of curing the sick, but he also influenced weather, helped in hunting, prognosticated, and so forth.
755 The familiar procedures of massage, friction, and anointing, with the extraction of some object supposed to be the immediate cause of the disease, were used in curing. Such objects were often believed to have been sent by malevolent shamans from whose power the good shaman endeavored to deliver the victim. An evil shaman could steal and keep in his possession the soul of a victim, and the victim would die unless his soul were freed by another shaman. It was also the function of
[770] the shaman to assign to each infant as soon after birth as possible its own yefáčel, a male one to the male infant and a female one to the female. It was the primary and most important duty of the yefáčel to protect its charge against sickness and bodily harm and against dangers of all kind.

575 Kina rite.—This *Yahgan* institution, with its numerous analogies to the yinchihaus of the *Alacaluf* (p. 76) and with the klóksten of the *Ona* (p. 120), could have been properly discussed under Social Culture because it had primarily a social function. But it is treated here because it also had important religious or pseudo-religious features and was largely under the direction of the shamans. In fact only a shaman could be the leader of the kina rite. Back of the kina rite was a long myth of an earlier time when the women held mastery of the tribe and lorded it over the men. To maintain their supremacy the women used masks to impersonate spirits and to hoodwink the men. Finally, one man discovered the deception, told the other men, and overthrew the women, killing all females except one very young child. In the kina rite only men who had passed twice through the čéxaus rite could take part. Women were kept away from the large conical tent. The men secretly painted themselves and wore conical or conoidal masks (pl. 33, *d*) of bark or sealskin to impersonate a very great number

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Examination of the surfaces of the middens reveals on top a series of pits which represent house-sites (fig. 103). These pits are from ten to fifteen feet in diameter, anywhere up to six feet deep (two feet being an average figure), and are circular in outline. Within the pits are traces of inhabitation—hammers, grease stones, etc.—usually today half engulfed by grass. Sometimes house-sites can be determined by small circular patches of unusually luxuriant grass fertilized by refuse, where various utensils can be found. 172

Like the Ona, the Yahgan did not speak of the dead or camp on a spot where death was known to have occurred. So certain house-pits on any given site must at times have remained unoccupied during many decades until the memory of one who died there had passed. The other pits were occupied but intermittently by the ever-roving Yahgan. Rarely did they pass even a few weeks at any given spot. This factor makes difficult any attempt to estimate the age of these great shellheaps by calculating their cubic contents in relation to the probable number of inhabitants. 769 172

The seaward slopes of the middens are fronting the beach and stand so close to the waters that they are occasionally dashed with spray, and many are undercut by the waves for a foot or two at the base (pl. XVI). From this, slight submergence of the land since the heaps were commenced may be argued. As the shellheaps are really great terraces built out from rising ground toward the beach, the seaward slopes are steep. This steepness is increased by the undercutting of the waves, which often cause small landslides. Thus the vegetation is removed and large sections of refuse are exposed for examination as well as if trenches had been dug. At the same time the shells, bone, and ash brought down to the beach by erosion are carried away by the sea, but the heavier stone implements are left at the base of the exposed face where they may be readily gathered. 172

An interior feature frequently exposed by erosion is that the shells have in places solidified into a breccia, which forms a floor a foot or so in thickness. These spots occur sporadically and at no uniform depth, and it was impossible to determine the special conditions which had given rise to them.

It must be remembered that, as the Yahgan had no cooking-vessels, many of the shells in the refuse have been exposed to the action of fire and hence are calcined. From this it follows that they are very brittle and have been crushed by passing feet when

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114 expeditions. My repeated return, on the other hand, properly
123 strengthened the Indians in their belief that I esteemed them and their various institutions highly. That is why they proved more accommodating and more trusting from one year to the next and were more willing to let me take part in one thing or another from which they had previously excluded me. The more I tried to rid myself of the European way of thinking and acquired values and to exchange them for those of the Fuegians, the more advance I made in learning their subjective qualities. The hoary connoisseurs of tribal tradition felt this approach very definitely and with great satisfaction, regarded me more and more as one of themselves, and finally let me penetrate into the immeasurable depths of the inner spirit of their tribe. After arduous research and by means of constant observation and thorough discussion, those treasures from the spiritual heritage of the much misunderstood Yamana which fill the following pages were brought to light. They are all the more valuable because they reach back into the early age of mankind from which they have been preserved down to our own day because of the complete isolation of the feared Cape Horn Archipelago at the southern tip of America.

/1033/ A. Religion and Morality

•771 Because of their nomadic way of life the Yamana do not present the compact unity enjoyed, for example, by an agricultural society. It is probably for this reason that they have cultivated a high level of mental flexibility and that they show alertness in all spheres of their human endeavors. Hence it was possible for definite, universally binding forms to develop only to a limited extent, since, on the one hand, the numerically scant population lives scattered in many, small fragmentary groups and, on the other hand, each of these groups, as well as the single individual, strives to preserve for itself the greatest possible freedom and independence.

Even more striking is the scarcity of definite forms expressing their religious conceptions. As such, these are very limited, and people like our Fuegians do not parade them. Quite the contrary, everything supernatural is regarded by them with such seriousness and piety that they do not make it the subject of long, penetrating

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discussions even among themselves. Even less would they expose it in front of Europeans who, from the start, prove unworthy of it. This circumstance alone sufficiently explains why many travelers have learned absolutely nothing about the religious conceptions of our Indians. Moreover, they carry on their religious practices not only irregularly, but quite inconspicuously; hence, an outside student does not clearly understand and correctly evaluate the things that he might see or hear. I myself was obliged to take a roundabout course and to wait a long time for the favorable circumstances provided by chance or luck before entrance into the world of the religious conceptions of our Fuegians was opened to me.

Although their store of religious ideas and all of their moral precepts are very simple and straightforward, their import is surprisingly rich and deep. Their more important details seem humanly natural and impress one favorably. Distorted images and perversions which are found in the religious heritage and rites of many other primitive peoples, as well as among some civilized peoples, are totally lacking among our Yamana.

a. Investigations of the Yamana Religion

The imaginative world of our Fuegians is animated by many spirits which are differently rated and whose relationship to human beings is by no means uniform. Just as the Indian himself keeps them clearly separate, so must they be regarded in a careful description. The religious element in the strict sense of the word occupies an area by itself and it is difficult to define in relation to other conceptual areas. In this book the religious concept or the religion of the Yamana /1034/ includes everything concerned with the appreciation and veneration of their particular deity, a Supreme Being, who has several names and who is definitely contrasted with them as a supra mundane, spiritual personality. Everything that is involved with their knowledge of this Supreme Being must be regarded as a religious activity and worship, whether it be ceremonial services, prayer formulas, or spontaneous words. The sum total constitutes their true religious heritage. Most

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•771 closely associated with it is the entire store of rules and regulations which can be described, in a word, as their universal moral law, which really involves moral responsibility. In this abstract limitation of religion there is no place in the religious sphere for the belief in other spirits, in souls living after death, in ancestors and culture-bearers; hence these beliefs will be discussed in separate sections. This sharp distinction, which is based on the different ideas and conceptions of the Yamana, is primary in giving an outsider clear insight and reliable judgment.

771 It must be surprising to learn that until the most recent
114 times travelers and missionaries have categorically denied that our Fuegians have any religious ideas and practices. Some Europeans did not even credit them with the necessary mental capacity. Hence the Yamana were universally regarded as irreligious. Occasionally there were references to a belief in spirits and certain supernatural beings, but, besides being extremely inadequate and inaccurate, they do not even pertain to the realm of the strictly religious. It was not until my journeys that this ideological heritage, which deserves consideration because of its richness and its characteristic value, was uncovered.

No other aspect of the cultural heritage of a people poses so many and such serious difficulties for European investigators as the religious. A definite method for its general evaluation can hardly be devised, but one who strives for any kind of success may not deviate from certain guide lines. Those navigators who had only fleeting contact for brief hours with individual Fuegians were obviously incapable of grasping anything tangible about the natives' religious heritage, for, as has been said, the Yamana certainly do not parade their faith.

It surprises everyone who reviews the situation, and justifiably so, that this field was not opened up even to the missionaries, in spite of decades of association with the Indians (1). Although the

1. Even Tylor, Anfänge der Cultur /Beginnings of Culture/, Vol. I, p. 411, acknowledged: "There is no people without a language and without religion, for even if individual peoples maintain that they have no religious concepts, it is to be suspected that they conceal

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their thoughts, especially since the missionaries are not always able to gain the confidence of savages or to understand their views."

missionaries tried to approach them, they did not take the right /1035/ course (2). It is a well known fact that, since the estab-

2. Despard (b):746 very early speaks of his efforts: "We used our increasing knowledge of the language, to ascertain their ideas on religious subjects, and we discovered that they have no knowledge whatever of God, or of a First Cause in creation, no idol or other object of worship, no custom of prayer or incantation" /cited in English/.

lishment of the Protestant mission, travelers in the Beagle Channel region have not only relied on the opinions of the missionaries living there for their judgment of the Yamana, but have almost imperceptibly adopted this opinion as their own, the foremost example being the members of the Mission Scientifique, whose publications have served others, in turn, as their only source. Individual efforts to grasp the religious ideology of the Yamana were only occasionally made by this or that traveler. If one examines their procedures more closely, he will realize why their efforts remained fruitless. For example, Spegazzini (a):191 declares: "I have asked the oldest people if they know where they came from and who their ancestors were; they looked at me in wonder, and answered that the grandfather had died in a neighboring bay, like their father, and that they had never said anything on the subject. Religious ideas, too, are completely lacking, and the sole belief is one about the spirits of the dead, but it is neither very nighly developed nor very definite" /translated from Spanish/. Even Hyades (f):587 realized that the goal would not be reached by direct questioning (3). Although he personally did

3. He clearly confesses: "I need not say that direct questions addressed to the Fuegian savages are useless for any light on the question

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of a special cult among their people. Similarly, they will never spontaneously make any disclosures on this matter" /translated from French/.

not notice any kind of religious activity, he had the right idea when he warned that on the strength of this alone one should not conclude that they were entirely without religion (4). His well

4. He (b):13[illegible] says: "We have never seen evidence of any kind of cult; we have no clear proof of a belief in a future life. It might be beneficial to remark that these negative signs do not constitute positive proof of the absence of all religious feeling" /translated from French/.

considered words were completely ignored by [illegible]ers, which is precisely why there was a constant repetition of thoughtless statements about the lack of anything religious among the Fuegians. Adding up these voices does not in itself increase their credibility, for they all more or less go back to a single source, namely, the view of the English missionary Thomas Bridges (p. 144 /untranslated/) which has proved to be erroneous.

1. Opinions of Travelers

As may be expected, the navigators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in other words, of the older period, dismissed the religious views of the Yamana with a few superficial words. They were /1036/ unable to communicate with them even by means of elementary signs, let alone by speech. There are no visible portrayals of religious faith, any more than there are conspicuous rites. How, therefore, could these Europeans who had almost no preparatory training for such difficult observations learn anything about the strictly guarded treasure of spiritual possessions!

Weddel made a first attempt, which was seriously meant, but very inappropriate, when he "read them a chapter out of the

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111 Bible." He himself was not surprised that the Fuegians "did not seem
114 to understand" him (p. 70 /untranslated/). Captain Fitz-Roy (a):
179 was not able to determine definitely whether they believe in any kind of divine being: "Ideas of a spiritual existence, of beneficent and evil powers, they certainly have; but I never witnessed or heard of any act of a decidedly religious nature, neither could I satisfy myself of their having any idea of the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. Wisely, he abstained from further opinions. The reports that Darwin sent out into the wide world about their spiritual life were very nearly disastrous for our Indians. We shall repeat here only a few sentences from (f):I;123: "The belief in spiritual forces will easily lead to the belief in the existence of a god or of several gods, for savages will naturally attribute to spirits the same passions, the same lust for revenge or the simplest form of justice, and the same affection which they have experienced within themselves. In this respect the Fuegians seem to be in a middle state...And yet we could never find that the Fuegians believed in what we would call a god or that they carried out any kind of religious practices. Jemmy Button stoutly maintained, with justifiable pride, that there is no devil in his country, and this assertion is all the more strange since, among savages, the belief in evil spirits is more common by far than the belief in good ones..." Briefly and precisely he also assures us: "We have no reason to assume that they practice any kind of religious service" (p. 102 /untranslated/). He and Fitz-Roy refer to the same informants, namely, the three young Fuegians who were brought back to England in 1830 on the "Beagle" (p. 88 /untranslated/). They cannot be regarded as reliable because of the contradictions and inaccuracies contained in their statements (5).

5. For example, Darwin (d):245 relies on Jemmy Button in his assertion "that in winter when they are tormented by hunger they would rather kill and devour their old women than slaughter their dogs" (pp. 102, 235 /both in untranslated portion/). As for Button's companions, Darwin (d):246 also asserts: "The nearest approach to a religious

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feeling that became known to me was shown by York Minster, who, when Mr. Bynoe shot a few very young ducks as specimens, declared in the most solemn manner: 'oh! Mr. Bynoe, much rain, much snow, much blowing.' This was evidently meant as punishment in retaliation for devastation by human beings."

While these three young Fuegians were in London in 1830 they were carefully examined. In the "Phrenological Remarks" given in Fitz-Roy (b):148, "strong feelings for a Supreme Being" /cited in English/ are set forth. These few words are to me no proof for the definite and clear form of belief in a deity which our Yamana actually have. Compare Koppers, in Anthropos, Vol. 22, p. 286; 1927.

Nevertheless, from all sides Darwin's assertions have /1037/ received full credence and the opinions of subsequent decades continued to refer to him, although toward the end of his life he changed his opinion in favor of the Fuegians (p. 106 /untranslated/). On the other hand, Roskoff:49 did not take a stand until rather late when he briefly corrected Darwin as follows: "But this does not deny the Fuegians any trace of religion, even though it cannot be surprising that the Englishman does not find among them his own belief in a God."

A few decades after the second trip of the "Beagle," that is to say, in more recent times, English missionaries began their activity on the Cape Horn Archipelago, and after that the number of European visitors to that region increased. They all, practically without exception, sought help from the missionaries, or at least had temporary contact with them. This is true first of Bove and his companions who crossed Tierra del Fuego in 1882 and 1884 and stayed for a while in Ushuaia with the missionaries there (p. 146 /untranslated/). Relying on their reports, he (g):236 first of all judges: "The Fuegians are not very superstitious and they have only very rudimentary religious beliefs" /translated from Italian/. He also (d):297 and (e):159 asserts: "They have a good and an evil

[197]

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•771 114 deity, but the one is neither more nor less esteemed than the other. Curspi, the devil, sometimes avenges himself, however, with storm, snow, and rain. The rainbow is a sign of his anger; the women and children are afraid of its appearance, but the men scold and spit at it" (6). There is some value in repeating a num-

6. In Cojazzi:105, under the heading, "Religione in genere /Religion in General/," one finds this statement just as it stands, and not another word.

ber of false statements; they clearly show how cautious one must be about accepting other reports by this same authority. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find his companion Lovisato (b):149 maintaining in similar tones: "They do not have any notion of God, hence no religion and no amulets of any kind" /translated from Italian/. Spegazzini (a):171 also traveled there at the same time (p.147 /untranslated/). Of the Yamana he says only: "Religious ideas are completely lacking, and the sole belief is one about the spirits of the dead, but it is neither very highly developed nor very definite" /translated from Spanish/.

The members of the Mission Scientifique who, in their own opinions, were almost completely independent of the English missionaries, touched but lightly on the subject of religion for that very reason. They did not succeed in making successful observations of their own. Hyades (g):38 declares: "The French were unable to discover a trace of religious ideas among the Fuegians; as we know, the missionaries did not fare any better." Nevertheless, a number of indications made him (f):587 cautious in his judgment: /1038/ "All we can say about the religious feeling of the Fuegian savages is that it is limited, externally at least, to a hint of attention and feigned contemplation in the presence of a strange religious ceremony. Let us add that the Reverend T. Bridges positively told me that before his apostolate in Tierra del Fuego the Fuegians had no idea whatever of religion" /translated from French/. In his principal work he (q):253 repeats this view: "We have not verified any sign of religious feeling among the Fuegians..." /translated from French/. He is well aware of the grave import of his words, yet he persists in his

/1038 cont./

111 114 conviction: "We do not believe that we can modify our opinion about the absence of religious feeling among the Fuegians. We observed them very attentively from this point of view during the year that we spent among them. we were never able to perceive the slightest hint of any kind of cult or religious idea" /translated from French/.

One has the impression that, in view of such definite statements, there could be absolutely no contradiction (7). Even later,

> 7. Martial:212 takes into account the serious difficulties of the investigation being discussed, as a result of which, he says, it would not be easy "to obtain readily a clear idea of their beliefs about the deity and a future life" /translated from French/.

Dabbene (b):202, for example,[8] maintains: "There is no knowledge that a religion exists among the Yahgan, since they practice no rite that reveals any cult whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/. According to Spears:70, "they knew nothing of God, and had no word expressive of such an idea" /cited in English/. Furlong (b): 137 agrees. The Fuegian "has no religion in the general acceptance of the term...No word for God, Creator, or pray has ever appeared in his language, nor from any action, ceremony, or custom can a belief in these things be inferred" /cited in English/. Lothrop (b):171, however, already had access to some of my conclusions which he took into account. Thus, my recent research also comes to the opinion that the Yamana are without any kind of religion. Compare the data that Cooper:148 assembled.

2. Opinions of Missionaries

111 114 197 Although the men who put themselves at the service of the Fuegians through their mission work are only now being heard, this does not change the well-proved fact that they were the ones who told ignorant navigators and travelers of their own experiences and observations. They were obliged, for professional reasons, to to speak, to investigate the religious ideas of their wards.

/1038 cont./

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191

At the beginning of their activity they occasionally mention -- as did one or another navigator, for example, Parker Snow:i, 337 -- that during a brief religious service the Fuegians who happened to be present were silent and reverent. To me this is no proof of their own religious feeling, for such an attitude is not unusual among them. Despard wrote on October 4, /1039/ 1859 (VP:VII, 51:1860), as follows: "No word has appeared for God, or Creator, or pray. They have a word for Spirit Cashpeak, and they are very uneasy at hearing it, for they say they shall see it if named" /cited in English/. He (b):698 contradicts himself, however, in the sentence: "The Firelander has no religion at all. He knows neither God, nor idol, nor spirit, and has accordingly no word for either of these" /cited in English/. Stirling, on the other hand, nowhere expresses himself definitely about the religious ideas of the Yamana.

The position of the much-quoted Bridges on this question deserves all the more consideration inasmuch as most of the travelers in Tierra del Fuego during the last decades have adopted his opinion. In 1866 he (a):181 first published a general survey of the living conditions, institutions, and customs of the Yamana. He also devoted a few lines to their conceptions of supernatural things and so-called spirits. He disposes of the religious in the true sense with a single sentence and merely says: "They have no knowledge of God, no thoughts of a future state, either of reward or punishment" /cited in English/. Strangely enough, Bridges did not deviate from this first opinion even after decades of association with the Yamana and often repeated it, word for word. For example, he (h):207 says: "They do not acknowledge a creator and neither have any idea of the future nor expect anything after death" /translated from Spanish/. Moreover, he (k):237 says again: "They lacked any idea of a Supreme Being, although they believed in the existence of spirits or souls... They offer no sacrifices nor have any idea of atonement for sin" /translated from Spanish/. Finally the unequivocal opinion (e):332 follows: "As for religion, we can say that they had none." If occasionally an Indian showed signs of religious feeling, Bridges put it down solely to the success of missionary influence (8).

8. Once a lame man said to him "that God struck him. It is pleasant to realize that the

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knowledge of God is taking root in the minds of the people, and that they themselves attribute to Him the acts of his providence" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 10;1876).

His co-workers in particular echoed him in this assumption, especially the younger ones. The last two of them, John Lawrence and John Williams, emphatically assured me, independently of each other, that they had never come across religious expressions among the Indians which were their own. Each of these missionaries took the view of the other without examining it and blithely adhered to this conviction. Aspinall:270 stated it once more: The Yamana "devoid of all religious ideas and duties, know nothing except the vague concept of spirits of the dead which go about in the forests and which they fear."

Thus, like the Europeans who visited the Cape Horn region, all the missionaries labored under the false impression that the Yamana are completely irreligious. Every unprejudiced critic will realize that they did not come closer to the facts because of their negative attitude toward the /1040/ Indians. Elsewhere (p. 322 /untranslated/) it was proved in detail that Bridges especially had no desire whatever for a calm and just evaluation of the store of ideas of the Indians; in fact, faced with his ill-humor, they carefully and purposely concealed what was dear to them and what he would have defamed with his disdainful, disparaging remarks. After I personally had learned many of the prayer formulas with which they address themselves to their deity, I freely expressed my pleasure. More than once on such occasions Nelly Lawrence would add: We never told Thomas Bridges these beautiful things, for he would have been scornful and ridiculed us!" At the end of my fourth journey I again presented to the worthy Reverend John Lawrence a short summary of what I had learned about the religious heritage of the Yamana. This time, too, as on my third visit, he was sincerely pleased, for it meant that shortly before the end of his life he was permitted to see corrected a false opinion of the Yamana, to which the missionaries had also contributed.

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3. My Own Conclusions

111 114 It was anything but encouraging at the start of my journeys to be faced with the strange fact that all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego, as well as all the missionaries without exception, denied with emphatic, unequivocal words that our Indians had any kind of religious view and practice. Everyone regarded the Yamana as irreligious. On my first and second visit, therefore, I consciously avoided touching upon this subject in my conversation with the members of the Lawrence family and in my contact with the Indians. Besides, there were other, more immediate problems which first had to be solved.

124 113 116 The traveling investigator must be favored by fortune; otherwise his efforts are in vain. I obtained the first indications of the religious ideas of the Yamana quite incidentally and without my doing anything. One evening on my second journey I was again sitting with a group of several men who were explaining to me the ancient traditions of their tribe. It was then that I learned for the first time about their myth of a great flood which, in hoary antiquity, had inundated their present homeland. All of us who had listened with obvious seriousness to the old storyteller were silent for some time and thought about the catastrophe of that flood. Afterward one or two men made some short explanatory remarks. I now bravely ventured to ask:"Whoever sent that big flood?" Everyone present instantly became quiet and a painful silence followed. Embarrassed, they lowered their eyes and avoided my gaze so that they would not be forced to answer me. I repeated my question and in a friendly way asked for the desired explanation. Old Alfredo who had done the talking that evening replied /1041/ emphatically: "Lexuwakipa sent that tremendous flood!" When he did not add anything more, I asked: "Is Lexuwakipa really so mighty?" Alfredo replied: "As a matter of fact it was strong Watauinejwa who sent the general flood. Lexuwakipa prevailed upon him to do it; it was her intention to demolish the whole world. With Watauinejwa she succeeded in having the great flood come!" Naturally I asked again: "Who is this Watauinejwa?" This very obviously increased the general embarrassment and everyone present maintained strict silence. I felt as though I had been guilty of an impropriety or had ventured on dangerous ground.

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114 religious ideas and practices from every stranger since their contact with European culture and why they entrusted me alone with this precious heritage, albeit under very special considerations. I must say that the same is true of my participation on two occasions in their secret youth initiation, ćićaxa, as well as my direct experience of the men's ceremony, kina, and the school for medicine men, łóma-yékamuł. In their opinion I proved myself worthy of this extraordinary favor.

b. Content of the Yamana Religion

• 771 128 It is not a serious injustice to the Fuegians if, from the start, one expects no systematic organization of their religious ideas, which do not form a complete, compact, interlocked chain of thought; in fact, wide gaps are sometimes apparent. Individual ideas are juxtaposed loosely and without connection. Although the Fuegian has these ideas, he does not bother to understand them completely, and also he does not seem to feel the need of having them arranged into a coherent whole. A summary and arrangement of what is presented here as the religious heritage of the Yamana would be entirely foreign to him. I have personally undertaken it in order to present a survey and to make possible a scientific evaluation.

776 On the preceding pages Watauineiwa, the /1045/ sole deity of the Yamana in the more limited sense of the word "religion" (p. 949), has been designated as a "Supreme Being" (10). Although

10. For the same reasons I previously likewise referred to the deity worshipped by the Selk'nam as a "Supreme Being" (Vol. I, 496).

the Fuegian does not have this conception, he in fact knows no other spirit superior to Watauineiwa. The latter is also the only one accorded a unique power and a superior position, whereby he stands far apart from every other being. Finally, his relationships to human beings are those of an absolute master and sole lawgiver; one renders religious homage to him alone. It is only in this sense that Watauineiwa is called a deity, as is customary in theology generally.

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which the individual human being has with him and, above all, in the prayer formulas.

/1054/ 2. Religious Activity

All accounts clearly indicate that the Supreme Being of our Yamana does not, like the chief personages in their myths, dwell far beyond the clouds, unconcerned with the events on earth. Quite the contrary, Watayinéwa truly and amorously follows the activities of the individual, often directing fate against the person's hopes and desires; indeed he is more active than is agreeable to many. Everyone knows him as an active, [illegible] bégni. Thus, no one loses sight of him entirely; much less would anyone purposely and heedlessly ignore him altogether. It is true that some Indians are more eagerly concerned about him, more actively engrossed with his characteristics, and therefore think about him more often than do other fellow-tribesmen, but there is not a single Fuegian who is completely "godless." Without any effort on his part, everyone is often enough reminded of Watayinéwa by his relatives and neighbors and is included in their religious activity. For that very reason no one loses the religious customs as practiced and handed down by earlier generations. To what extent and how often each individual practices religion by himself cannot be determined precisely, nor can it be shown that women do more in this respect than men. As elsewhere, personal disposition and the influence of training in youth are decisive, as well as a person's immediate environment from early childhood.

a. General Practices

The amazing simplicity revealed in the Yamana way of life is, naturally, also apparent in the religious realm. Except for specific prayer formulas, their outward religious activity is remarkably limited. They have no actual portrayal of their Supreme Being or particular places reserved for his worship, nor do they have any kind of sacrifice. A priesthood and religious ceremonies are also lacking. The gathering of many families on the

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occasion of a death cannot be regarded as a religious ceremony since this is held primarily because of grief over the loss of a dear relative. The religious heritage of our Indians is never seen by a European visitor, and that alone explains the agreement of all the travelers and missionaries who depicted them as absolutely irreligious (13).

> 13. I often spoke freely with the older men and women about the services and the religious functions to which in earlier days, as children and young people, they were invited with a certain regularity by the missionaries in and outside of the mission stations. Each time I had the impression that it was completely incomprehensible to them how one could please the deity by a public appearance and in an assemblage of many persons. It is much more in keeping with their own frame of mind for an individual to face the Supreme Being by himself and to settle with him alone whatever he has on his mind.

One could probably describe as religious activity in its wider sense the firmly established, equable mental attitude of deep veneration toward /1926/ Watagindwa that the individual maintains. Not everyone is always conscious of it, but in some way it has a decisive influence on him to move along certain paths and to be led by universally valid principles. In its effect within the religious sphere this veneration is comparable to what a conscience is in the field of moral obligations, namely, a sort of leitmotiv by which the individual person is led. This mental attitude is the reason for the unchanging acquiescence of the Fuegian to the demands of the moral law. He submits to it without contradiction, although he cannot explain it in any other way than by repeating the well-known saying: "Watagindwa sees everything. -- He wants everyone to conduct himself in the way that has always been customary among us Yamana!" For him the rule of conduct lies in this and similar words, and that is why it has not changed through successive generations. It is true that the fear of punishment

/1074 cont./

TR 197

regarded as lost. The few that were saved have unusual words and archaic sentence formations, showing their origin in the distant past. Even older persons were no longer able to give me an exact and detailed explanation of each formula, and they excused themselves by saying that such obsolete words and idioms were no longer used in everyday speech. It is therefore not surprising that old John Lawrence, as well as his sons who were versed in the language, was sometimes baffled by these sayings. The colloquial language of the present day is the result of considerable change since the time when the representatives of the individual dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) were more crowded together and intermingled. Thus, although almost always only the basic idea of any given formula can be determined, all of them together furnish a sufficiently complete picture of the Supreme Being whose image our Yamana carry in their hearts and whose characteristics are familiar to them.

/1076/ c. Originality of the Yamana Religion

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The above details taken from the religious heritage of the Yamana are not inconsiderable in number. All of them were brought to light only through my travels. These facts contradict the unanimous agreement of earlier travelers and of the missionaries, active for many years, who, so to speak, flatly deny that our Fuegians have any religious conception and religious activity. This sharp contradiction demands a reliable explanation, all the more so since the religious heritage of the Yamana not only proves rich, but also has a determining, guiding influence on the whole moral attitude of these Indians. It has been repeatedly pointed out, and must still be treated in detail, that all the moral obligations and the traditional customs are, after all, bound up with the Supreme Being.

By way of negative proof it can be convincingly shown that neither the navigators who lay at anchor for only hours or days in the Cape Horn region nor those Europeans who took individual Yamana to Europe with them offered actual religious instruction (16).

16. One may certainly assume that if Fitz-Roy,

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• 771 177

> during the journey to England and back had influenced his charges in a religious way, he, and Darwin as well, would in some way have expressed themselves about the results. Their accounts do not contain a single word on the subject. Matthews (p. 94 /untranslated/) probably also did not do anything along this line.

Those three or four men who occasionally referred to the Christian idea of God or who read aloud a chapter from the Bible, Waddell (p. 69 /untranslated/), for example, were personally certain that their references had not the slightest influence. Incidentally, it is not like rough sailors when they land and happen to be with a few natives for a short time to fill those hours with preaching their own Christianity and Christian moral precepts (17). Even if one

> 17. On page 333 /untranslated/ it was described how many of the navigators in the Cape Horn region behaved toward the natives; they surely did not inspire respect for the white race among those primitive children of nature.

were to assume this improbability, no serious critic could concede that so brief an influence, which would necessarily have taken place without sufficient knowledge of the language on both sides, would provide a lasting effect and an inner transformation on the part of the Fuegians.

771 177 177

The definite determination to educate these people according to the Christian religion -- which, as has just been said, could not have been true of the sailors on their voyages through southern waters -- was, however, by contrast, the driving force among the missionaries who settled in that archipelago. Despite years of contact with the Yamana, they were the very ones, above all Bridges himself, who not only deny that the Indians had their own religious ideas and practices, /1076/ but who are constantly lamenting the poor success of their efforts which, in any case, reached only a few. None of these missionaries gives definite data about which Christian

/1976 cont./

traits and ideas the natives adopted, much less about whether they adapted their everyday lives to them. The missionaries did not achieve a genuine, inner transformation of their pupils and charges (p. 288 /untranslated/). In any case, no specific Christian idea is to be found in the religious heritage of the Yamana described above. What one Fuegian or another may have absorbed from the teaching of the missionaries remained, as can be shown, a mere bit of new information, for example, the English word "God." This slight increase of knowledge had no effect whatever; the Fuegian definitely separates it from his ancient heritage and even regards it as, for him, superfluous.

In particular one should note the small number of natives who, with few exceptions, always stayed at the mission stations for only a short time (p. 312 /untranslated/), as well as the vast areas never reached by missionary influence, and, finally, the great fear the people had of coming near the mission stations after the ravages of epidemics. During the first decades mutual exchanges were greatly handicapped by insufficient knowledge of the language. The mere fact that small groups of natives listened attentively to English does not prove that they understood everything, much less that they would sooner or later have translated it into action from inner conviction (18).

> 18. On the subject of the natives sent to Isla Keppel, J. Lawrence (MM VI, 37; 1872) writes, characteristically, on October 17, 1871: "Whenever I give them religious instruction..., they are most attentive, and while I endeavour, though very imperfectly, to explain to them some portion of Holy Scripture, they listen always with deep interest. If I question them as to their knowledge of Scriptural things, they confess they know very little, at the same time express their desire to know much more" /cited in English/.

They believed as the missionaries wanted them to, and they also took part in the religious service and in the Bible reading as often

/1976 cont./

as they were urged to do so (18). Did this make them faithful

> 18. The prayer meetings of the Indians are always described by the missionaries as good or successful. But what is to indicate that these "savages" took part from inner conviction? In his account Lewis (Mbl.VI, 30.1972), for example, mentions that the Tarasco "Gwenge Despard informed me he himself had been to some of the other people's wigwams talking to them of all he knew concerning the future world, and remarked that some listened attentively to what he said, while others would not listen" /cited in English/.

Christian? Spegazzini (p.108), for example, emphatically denies it: "The catechized Indian generally does not believe, and when I asked some servants of the English missionaries if they believed, they replied: 'And you have seen the spirits of the woods /monte/ and of the water?'... Those who believe do so solely in order to make use of the missionaries /1977/... The children of the emancipados [of the mission] leave and find themselves without tools, without social backing, without anything, they have to live, and they go back to living as their parents did" /translated from Spanish/. In this environment they quickly lose everything that teaching offered them. From the most Spegazzini (ibid.) regards any attempt to influence older children as useless. "An Indian older than ten is not responsive to civilization; he already has his principles of freedom and lessons too deeply rooted in his soul" /translated from Spanish/. The number of baptisms and marriages witnessed at the mission station is remarkably small (p.108 /intercalated/). Bridges,however, translated individual sections of the New Testament and recently Wilkinson published a few prayers in Tarasco (19), but I do not know of a single Fueguian

> 19. Compare 73 and 130 collected the bibliographic details. Compare also my data on page 148 /intercalated/ and some supplementary material in Gamble (1976).

/1917 cont./

who could have read these writings with understanding and profit. It has likewise not been shown that those who received special instruction communicated their knowledge to their compatriots (21).

> 21. Deopard (Op.72) praises Batoen's good memory and says that the latter told on Isle Keppel "whatever he had learnt of religion and morality -- not much of these last, to be sure. ...When questioned as to the efforts he had made to impart his acquired notions of religion to his countrymen, he replied, 'Yes: one tell God very good, make everything. Jesus Christ God's Son, very good -- die. My people stupid -- no ability [no value]. Ever will cease'" /Acted in English/.

If one carefully surveys the entire religious heritage of the Tamana, its individuality is clearly apparent and nowhere can an amalgamation with Christian ideas be demonstrated. The belief in Wanaqiqua is not the result of missionary influence.

Without any doubt is proven to be the special heritage of the Tamana, which they held and cherished long before their first contact with Europeans. My own research, and particularly the wholly unusual, accidental way in which I personally contributed upon their religious heritage (p. 100), in itself explains why it was withheld from other visitors and even from the missionaries. It is not necessary to repeat the details. they have been fully presented.

2. Its Intrinsic Value

Many unexplained circumstances definitely and clearly verify that the Tamana have preserved their heritage of religious ideas and practices and have transmitted it from ancient times to the present. Quite generally, these ideas and practices are to them a logical paradoxe of their thinking. This is not to credit them with a particular gift for philosophical speculation, but their

/1077 cont./

771
776

minds also demand a satisfactory answer to certain questions that arise. A person like Maŝemikens, for example, tried to fathom how people actually came into existence and how /1078/ animals began to appear after the universal flood (p. 972). Although certain situations continue to lack full and specific explanations, everyone rests content in the knowledge that although he lacks insight into the handiwork of Wataŭinéĵwa, the latter, the true and actual Abáila, accomplishes everything that the human being is unable to grasp in detail. The pressure that traditional custom exerts on every Yamana without exception is, in the final analysis, regarded as an emanation of the will, as a command of Wataŭinéĵwa. Everyone adapts to it as a matter of course, as though it could not be otherwise. It was always like this, ever since the Yamana existed, simply because "that-one-up-there" always existed and he himself does not change, any more than do his regulations. In the play of blind natural forces our Fuegians recognize the movement of their Supreme Being who guides them and holds them in his hands. Do they have any other choice, then, but to turn to benevolent Hidábuan with the request that he command those uncanny forces to desist when they might harm and endanger their own lives? New human lives arise from his sphere of power. The loss of a close relative through death, however, leaves a more enduring impression and is more keenly felt as an injury. This intervention is solely the work of the supramundane skill of brutal, heartless Wélapatux. Toward human beings he can permit himself evident high-handedness with the worst consequences, for he is safe far behind the clouds and inaccessible to all the lamenting and raging of helpless earthly pilgrims. From the closely linked chain of ideas concerning the personality and activity of the Supreme Being, only the most important have been mentioned here. On account of their simplicity they can be easily arranged into a well-ordered system.

Although no Yamana has undertaken a similar experiment for himself, the totality of his religious heritage is adequate for him because he is aware of its more important details in his everyday life on any given occasion. Actually, he accepts the various happenings, whether they be more agreeable or very bad, solely because he relates them to his Wataŭinéĵwa. If the latter is the

/1078 cont./

• 771 driving power and active cause behind any occurrence whatever,
776 especially behind events of decisive import, then discussions, no matter how long, would change nothing, and the person affected has no recourse but to realize his own helplessness and to yield weakly to the situation imposed upon him. As may be expected, this decision restores his mental balance and calms even the greatest surges of fury against the severest losses and the bitterest disappointments. One must see these Fuegians on the occasion of a general funeral rite, yamalaŝemóina. Everyone in the company of others acts as though he were mad with grief, and a few hours later, at any rate by evening of the same day, ruefully and full of confidence, he again turns to /1079/ his Hidābuan with sincere requests for forgiveness and pardon for his excited, irreverent behavior which, he says, was, after all, not entirely unjustified.

771 The complete contentment which their religious heritage
791 gives the Yamana has prevented any desire for more. That is why
777 they regarded the Christian teachings presented to them by the English missionaries as utterly superfluous. It can scarcely be proved that a single one of them was drawn to these missionaries from a pure desire for Christian truths. In fact, the missionaries had great trouble getting a few children to stay in their stations for any length of time and occasionally gathering together a few adults for a religious service and instruction. The following statements illuminate the whole situation like a strong light. Mary told me that as a girl she was taken into the house of the Lawrence family in Ushuaia for a few months to do all kinds of work. She once described to me her usual occupations and also pointed out that every day ended with a short reading from the Bible, to which the missionary added a few explanations about his God. I asked her to tell me whether she welcomed this, whereupon she replied with surprising candor: "Oh well, I listened to everything. Mister Lawrence kept speaking about his God. He said: 'Our Lord' /cited in English throughout this passage/ demands that everyone be a good human being, that everyone work hard, that no one steal from another, and that no man have anything to do with another's wife, that we should all get along with each other. And he repeated all kinds of other things. But what he told us about his 'Our Lord,' all this Watauinéiwa revealed to the Yamana long

/1079 cont./

711 before, all this was always known to our own ancestors. So we
197 don't need his 'Our Lord'! Our Watauinéiwa is enough for us, and
177 what he has told us suffices. I always realized that, each time Lawrence spoke of his 'Our Lord.'" As was proved by my questions, Mary actually adopted nothing from Christianity. The attitude of Nelly Lawrence is even more convincing. As the daughter-in-law of this missionary, she lived in the same house with him for several years and was in daily contact with this deeply religious man. After I became acquainted with Watauinéiwa through her efforts, she no longer hesitated to refer to him. She plainly showed me how pleased she was that I, too, sincerely enjoyed her religious views. Not for that reason alone, however, but out of innermost conviction she confessed to me that the traditional Watauinéiwa faith was perfectly adequate for her and that she felt no desire for the thing John Lawrence so often mentioned about his "Lord" /cited in English/. "Everything that the Yamana tell about our Watauinéiwa is incomparably more beautiful!" She repeated this conviction to me several times with proud self-confidence. In the general register of baptisms there is no mention that she was baptized /1080/ (p. 331 /untranslated/), and I never discovered any traces of Christian faith in her, but in her ideas about Hidábuan she felt happy and content; hers was really a deeply religious nature.

For the Yamana their Supreme Being is certainly no super-
776 natural figure passively hidden beyond the stars, but rather some-
781 one they feel close to. They connect many of the minor details of everyday life with him, and by no means only the startling events. On August 9, 1923, I was in Punta Remolino, sitting at supper with the Lawrence family. Fred had a hired man in his service who came from Chiloé and who was old and quite stupid. Once again he had proved extremely awkward in his work, and Fred's description of it was so vivid that we all had to laugh heartily. Only Nelly remained serious and warned her husband with the following words: "Don't talk disparagingly about that old man. Watauinéiwa doesn't like it at all and will punish you for it. One must not make fun of old people!" Her reprimand to the whole group was so natural and serious that we were dumbfounded and, without demur, stopped laughing.

/1080 cont./

776 781 A few days later the Chilean captain of the little cutter "Garibaldi" which belonged to this farm indulged in loud outbursts of rage because of the unfavorable weather situation. Nelly happened to be in my room and I paid no attention to the man outside the house. Before she left she said with grave emphasis: "In the early days we knew nothing of the habit which Europeans introduced of always being discontented with the weather. The Europeans complain: now there is too much wind and now too much rain, now too much snow and now too little sun! We must take the weather as it comes. If a person flies into a rage, it just makes it worse, for Watauinéjwa will become angry and then it will be really bad!" This sounded like warning for me as well.

An old Yamana spent the forenoon looking out in vain for bright sunshine, but he did not lose patience. In reply to my teasing which was meant to irritate him slightly, he said: "It is Hidábuan who sends the weather, the heavy snow and wind and frost. We can't do anything about it, we must take it as it comes! There is no use scolding loudly about bad weather. That doesn't help a bit; it can only make matters worse simply because Hidábuan will grow even more angry. It is better not to say anything and not to think anything bad about Hidábuan who in each case can send us still worse things."

•771 The religious heritage of the Yamana is adequate for the conditions of life allotted to them and for the slight demands which they make upon it. It is in complete harmony with them. They make use of the individual ideas in their world of religious belief quite as a matter of course in their everyday life and at their ceremonious youth initiation, at a general funeral rite, and for hushed individual sorrow, and they apply these conceptions /1081/ naturally and unaffectedly, as is possible only with an indigenous body of ideas. They appreciate their value consciously and unconsciously, and lacking nothing, they feel no necessity to ask for more or to take what the missionaries have offered them. I never heard a word of regret or discontent over the fact that all missionary activity has been suspended.

/1085 cont./

791 Nelly, frankly said: "I have long known that the Yamana worship Watauinéiwa, that, according to them, he causes death, and that they have many other ideas, but I never asked the people more specifically about these things!" When we asked why he had not disclosed all this to us on his own initiative, he replied simply and truthfully: "How was I to know that people in Europe are interested in finding out about the religious ideas of the Fuegians!" He, too, was unable to comprehend that his own father and, above all, Bridges were completely ignorant about what he had repeatedly experienced for a long time. Nevertheless this strange situation can be easily explained. The natives unanimously said: "The missionaries never asked us about these things. How could we, without having been asked, tell them about Watauinéiwa?" The following thought was even more decisive: "Too often Bridges and many another [missionary] reproached us, saying that what we had [in the way of customs and institutions] is bad and worthless and that we would have to abandon it! Such words, accompanied by scornful laughter, hurt us. Besides, whenever they told us about their 'Our Lord' /cited in English/, we realized that for the Whites he was the same as Watauinéiwa is for us Yamana." This explanation agrees with the repeated references to the conscious reserve of the Yamana in front of the missionaries.

• 711 The Yamana, far from regretting the undisguised frankness with which they exposed their most precious spiritual possessions to us, are proud that we too venerate their Watauinéiwa. For decades they were obliged to accept disdainful treatment because of the lack of knowledge of Europeans and to be discredited by the missionaries because they clung to their Watauinéiwa. Now at last we show a genuine and frank appreciation for their "Old-one-up-there" whom they call "father." This gives them great satisfaction. Now at last they see fulfilled a wish they have long cherished, namely, appreciation for their Watauinéiwa. Their eyes shine when we tell them frankly: "Your Watauinéiwa is for you what our God is for us Christians!" They regard this comparison as a sign of the sincere esteem of the Whites for the spirit-being whom they regard as most sacred and who stands majestically above everything visible.

The facts which must be summarized and evaluated as the religious possessions of our Fuegians are rich and many-sided.

/1085 cont./

Inasmuch as we have a considerable number of well documented details, the result of painstaking research and of a method which is beyond criticism and can always /1086/ be examined, it will not be difficult for anyone to recognize the facts and abandon the long-held and widespread, but erroneous opinion that the Yamana are absolutely irreligious.

d. General Moral Precepts

The social life of our Fuegians and the behavior of individuals, regardless of age and sex, are regulated by definite, unchanging principles that obligate all tribal members without exception. They alone assure the tranquil continuance of the tribal society and guarantee peaceful coexistence for all its parts. These principles constitute the morals or the general moral precepts, and they, of course, reach beyond actual sexual morals and mere rules for external social intercourse.

This presupposes that our natives actually do have a moral consciousness. Obviously they do not lack the capacity for moral judgments and actions; they bring it into the world as a normal endowment of Mother Nature. With it goes an urge to exercise their spiritual power in the direction of what is good and just and to avoid what is unjust and impermissible. Conscience, which our Fuegians by no means lack, guides their unerring judgment in these matters. It teaches everyone the objective and subjective value of moral goodness and dictates the behavior of the will. To be sure these words describe a general human tendency, but one must state them specifically for the Yamana also (cf. Gusinde [e]: 159), for there is no lack of assertions to the contrary. Disregarding older statements, I shall here give space only to the amazing words of someone like Spegazzini (a):176, who spent insufficient time in Tierra del Fuego: "The Fuegians do not know this social convention that we call morals. They perform the natural functions of life, of any kind, in public, and what we call virtue exists only in rudimentary form among the women and, before marriage, consists of a reserve in granting their favors and of fidelity on the part of married women" /translated from Spanish/.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

526 The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically massaged by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

538 **Music.**—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely 533 simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the čiéxaus and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to [534] von Hornbostel (1936). There were no musical instruments at all. Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

535 **Dances.**—Apart from the dances carried out during the chiéxaus and kina rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

771 Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men. [769] But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and focal in shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each [787] *Yahgan* had a yefáčel, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The kina rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

776 **Theism.**—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Watauinéwa or Watauinéiwa, who was also called by other

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

776 names meaning "The Powerful One," "The Highest One," and especially by the name of "My Father." He was not the maker or creator, but rather the master and ruler. He was the owner and giver of animals and plant food. It was he who gave life to human beings, and who took it away. He was fundamentally good and benevolent. He lived above in the heavens. He had no body nor had he wife or children. He was distinctly and eminently set off against and above all other spirits, good and bad, and in this sense stood as it were alone. He did not enter into the tribal folklore and mythology. He saw what human beings did, and upon those who broke the precepts of the *Yahgan* socio-moral code, which represented his will, he inflicted punishment in the way of early death, and often the death of their children.

788 The central role of Watauinéwa in the initiation rites has previously been mentioned. Apart, however, from these rites, Watauinéwa was prayed to a great deal by the individual *Yahgan*. These prayers were mostly petitions to him for food (as the owner of the food animals and plants), for cure and health, and for protection from the elements, as well as expressions of thankfulness. A good many of them were more or less traditionally crystallized formulae, of a few words each, but prayer was likewise expressed in free wording. A quite distinctive feature of *Yahgan* communication with the Supreme Being was the frequency of complaint expressions and charges directed toward him on the occasion of sickness, bad weather, or other evil fortune, and particularly on the occasion of deaths. Gusinde and Koppers collected over 60 of these various kinds of prayer formulae. Some of them are in somewhat archaic language.

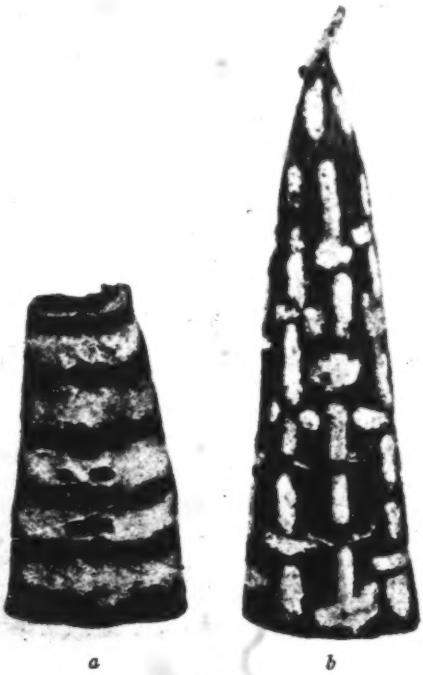
771 In view of these archaisms in the complex, of the many distinctly 770 native features (e. g., master, owner, not creator or maker), of the absence of all characteristically European or Christian conceptions, and of the express and emphatic statements by the natives whose memories or whose knowledge from their elders reached back to premissionary days, there can be no reasonable question but that *Yahgan* theism is aboriginal, and not the result of missionary influence. It seems equally clear that it was central in the religious outlook of the *Yahgan* and that it entered deeply and dynamically in their thoughts, emotional life, and personal behavior.

756 **Shamanism.**—A person became a medicine man (yékamush) 787 through an inner call manifested to him in dreams and visions. The héshteka-yékamush, dwarfish spirits, appeared to him; a female spirit, a Haučéllakīpa, also played an important part in shamanism, as the shaman's helper. Through the dreams and visions the future medicine man learned which of the small spirits was to be his yefáčel, or particular guardian spirit. From this spirit he also received a song.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

In figs. 92 and 93 are illustrated some of the masks used by the Yahgan. The material is either bark (fig. 92) or seal-hide (fig. 93), cut to pattern and sewed together with whalebone and gut respectively. There is usually a small opening at the top for ventilation. As Yahgan paints were not waterproof, a single mask could be adorned to represent many characters by the simple expedient of washing and repainting it. 535

As to the characters represented by the Yahgan, in fig. 92, *a*, is the rainbow, distinguished by broad red, white, and black bands; *b* has alternate red and white stripes, and it represents a smelt-like fish. In fig. 93, *a*, is a model of the *kalăpasha* ghost mask, while *b* represents the sea-hen. The wearers of these masks painted their bodies and limbs with similar decorative patterns.



a *b*

FIG. 93.—Model Yahgan dance masks. Height of *b*, 10 in. (14/2362)

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RELIGION

Although it has been repeatedly stated on excellent authority that the Yahgan had no real religion, I think it definitely established that they had religious beliefs and practices. 771

The Yahgan world was peopled by innumerable unseen beings: ghosts (*kushpig*) of departed shamans, spirits of the sea, the rocks, and the trees. These people, for the greater part, were malicious by nature, resentful of intrusion on their privacy, and, when seen by man, terrifying in aspect. Solitary travelers might suddenly find themselves facing a fierce spirit across the light of his camp-fire, 776

/521 cont./

225 whale, be it large or small, will provide for many families, often entirely free.

3. Bird Hunting

223 825 The home of the Yamana swarms with land birds and sea birds. A gaily colored, feathered throng of many shapes animates the islands and rocks, inhabits the inlets and lagoons, and crosses the network of channels and the broad open spaces in flocks, in stormy and sunny weather. Their habits and characteristics are all well known to the Indian, but he pays them special heed only insofar as they have something to offer him or to tell him. Some of them furnish him with tasty meat and others with fresh eggs in spring; some yield him coveted feathers for body decoration, others their bones for necklaces; certain ones announce a change of weather or of seasons, and a few are heralds of interesting events in the distance, even in the future. All of them live in his belief [773] as the descendants of that stratum of population which inhabited this region long before the actual human beings of today.

As is to be expected, however, those species mean most to him which serve him as food. Not just any animal that comes within the Indian's range tempts his palate and his appetite. He has good judgment in distinguishing among them, and he consciously chooses what is good for him. He avails himself of only a few species for his own use from the plentiful feathered world of his homeland. What does not serve him and does not suit his wishes, he lightheartedly passes by. Everywhere he is selective and wisely calculating, not least in evaluating the types of birds available to him.

223 From the start he pays no attention to small animals; the meat they could give him would not be worth his efforts. Herons and owls mean nothing to him either, for they are all skin and bones. Sea birds and the easily available gull chasers, especially the diurnal predatory birds, such as condor and falcon, vulture and hawk, repulse him because they feed on carrion. There are other birds, however, that he would not want to be without in his selection of food; they are a welcome change in the dull taste of his monotonous meat diet. Primarily he has his eye on penguins and

/547 cont./

227 of bits of meat, the size of a cherry, from a small mussel, or a tiny bit of seal meat, or whatever else the woman happens to have. As soon as the long thread of alga is dipped into the water it is quickly impregnated with moisture. In spite of its extreme flexibility, it is strong enough. As a substitute they also choose a fishline, apŭr tuarăna, made out of several meters of braided, tough sinews, tăfim [283 (tăbim) (Fig. 64). The sinews, 237] ŭswŭmi, of the guanaco are well adapted to this because they are long, fine, and durable; if they are not available, sinews of whale, seal, or otter are used. Even heavy fish cannot tear this line. Sometimes the woman flattens the sides of the sinker (čeči, also tŏšisŏši according to BD:399, "a sink [round stone or lead] for fish lines" /cited in English/, rounds the edge, and cuts a shallow notch into it for the thread (281). She goes to the trouble of specially shaping the stone only when the fishline is of braided sinews, which is stronger than a line made of an alga stem. In the central part of Beagle Channel the people even use a spherical black stone about four centimeters in diameter, which is provided with a shallow groove for the fishline. According to the old myth about [773] Sinulu-watauineiwa, this tesi, tesi, was said to have been introduced by a woman in ancient times.

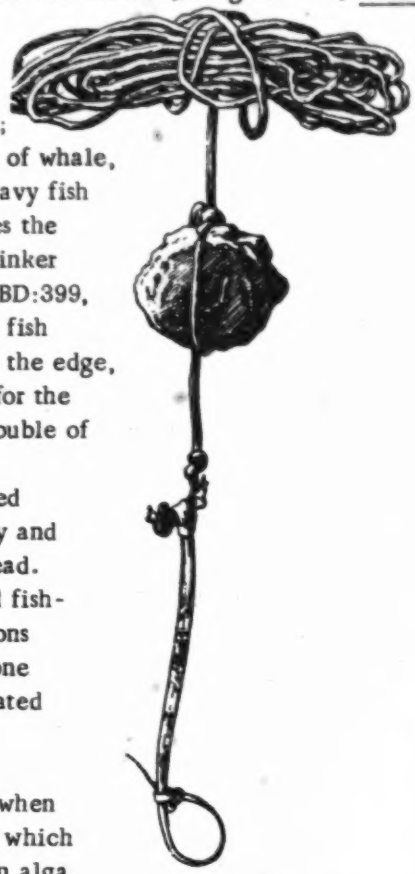

Fig. 63. Fishline Made from an Alga Stem. Three-quarters natural size.

281. Hyades (h):19 illustrated a stone fashioned in this way and comparable to a sounding lead. Next to it he shows a second fishline "of braided whale tendons with a polished, grooved stone serving as a weight" /translated from French/.

/715 cont./

736 protected in her hands as in those of its mother (141).

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141. Lovisato (b):150 simply repeats what Bridges (a):183 observed long before: "If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/.

142 Occasionally it has been maintained that the children are conspicuously small at birth, and Bridges (i):21 writes: "The children are decidedly small at birth and to this fact may be chiefly attributed the mother's immunity from danger" /cited in English/. Bove (e):158 repeats this. Nothing justifies this assumption, and it is a fact that Bridges was by no means in a position to prove it. The color of the skin of the newborn child is considerably lighter than that of adults and later becomes somewhat darker. Fitz-Roy (a):176 says about the Yamana and Halakwulup in general: "Little children are nearly of the same hue as their parents' skin is when cleaned; but infants are, for a few days, rather lighter coloured" [143] /cited in English/. The slight differences in the skin color of newborn children are hereditary.

•773 There is a story dealing with the external appearance of the little ones, which old Čenesin, father of Chris, sometimes told young women; "A long time ago a woman became pregnant. She was delivered extraordinarily quickly, and the child left the mother's womb without the slightest hindrance. Immediately it stretched its limbs, stood up by itself, and walked around a bit, for it was strong and sturdy enough to do this. Immediately after that it hastened back into its mother's womb. Thus the belly of that woman grew big. But soon the child again left its mother's womb, stood up, and walked about freely for a little while; then it hastened back in again. Motionlessly the mother lay there and grew big; she did not know what was happening to her. Since the child came out again and once more returned, she grew ever /716/ weaker. Meanwhile the child had grown and become larger, so she, too, swelled constantly. Finally she died as she once more lay on her sleeping place near the fire. At once she dissolved into nothingness, as though she had never consisted of flesh and bones. --

/716 cont./

•113 I myself saw this mother (142), so I give you this advice: if at

142. This expression is, of course, not to be taken literally; it means, in the Yamana way of speaking, that this man had a very lively image of the chief character in the story.

birth a child comes out of the mother's womb very quickly and immediately begins to walk, you must kill it without delay. Otherwise it will hurry back into its mother's belly which will swell to such a size that the mother will die."

854 Frequent ablutions are considered absolutely necessary for the
515 infant; sometimes a dip in sea water is substituted for them. Soon after birth they are performed with brown swamp water which the mother usually has fetched by some other person. She places the baby upright in front of her, fills her mouth again and again with this water, warming it a little, and gradually sprays the baby's entire body. She gently dries off her little darling with a soft, turfy mass or with a ball of moss, both of which are taken out of a bog and squeezed to remove the large amounts of water they contain. The purpose of this treatment with the bundle of moss is not to dry the skin, but to stimulate it with rubbing. After the first two weeks the use of bog water is no longer necessary; sea water will suffice from now on.

We must appreciate the fact that our Indian women, who apparently do not have an eye for the physical cleanliness of their larger children, take so much conscientious care of their infants that they repeat the ablutions at least once a day. They always warm the water in the mouth and squirt it on the body of the little ones. With the palm of the hand they gently rub the separate parts, and this is justifiably regarded as a beneficial massage. Several times in succession the woman will hold her open hand over the fire to warm it, and she continues the rub until her hand becomes cool. If she undertakes the bath on the shore where she does not want to start a fire for those few minutes, she breathes into her loosely clenched fist, warming the inside of her hand somewhat (143). Even

143. Hyades (f):571 observed the same procedure.

/758 cont./
for her (191).

191. In Hahn (a):804 we read: "The first menstruation takes place between 14 and 15 years of age. The first appearance of the menses is celebrated by the parents and their friends. Nevertheless she is considered impure, and for four days the young girl is obliged to abstain from certain foods" /translated from French/.

In order to emphasize effectively the rule to eat little or nothing, the women tell the following story: "Once a tú·ʷikipa sat alone in a canoe. She knew about the restriction yet she secretly ate a few berries. Soon a strong lakúma /water spirit/ came along, seized this tú·ʷikipa, lifted her out of the canoe, and devoured her. He left only her intestines, which other people afterwards found on the beach. Now they knew what had happened. That is how this disobedient girl was punished." Every girl is given this warning on the occasion of her first menstruation.

The women regard the urgent admonitions they give the tú·ʷikipa as more significant than the above-mentioned restrictions. In connection with this I learned from Nelly and Mary that the tú·ʷikipa is above all given instruction in the duties of a married woman and mother, as well as in her conduct /756/ from now until marriage. They recommend to her as the foremost virtues willingness to help and to please others, industry, and unselfishness. She is gravely warned against secretly yielding to an importunate chap because the result would be an illegitimate child (p. 411). By this time the girl is sufficiently enlightened about sexual life and knows where children come from. Many observations from earliest childhood have helped her obtain this information (p. 392). Every tú·ʷikipa has ample opportunity immediately to practice the virtues listed here; we have just spoken of this above.

Besides these things I also learned the following definite admonitions from Nelly, which I repeat here verbatim and without change.

/758 cont./

841 On that particular day old Alfredo had been given a nip of wine by a European and was in excellent spirits. I accompanied him to a small garden near Punta Remolino, the property of the Lawrence family, where he was supposed to hoe the turnip beds. In an unmistakably personal tone he asked me: "Do you know why Lola is acting so gravely and does not look about her at all?" I told him that I had not noticed it. Satisfied to hear this, he assured me: "It is all because she is now *ayil*!" I immediately asked him to explain this further to me. "I'll tell you everything tonight!" he assured me.

When night had long since fallen, there were many people crouching around the fire in Alfredo's hut. He remembered his promise and gave me a sign that he now wanted to fulfill it. Gruffly he sent the children away and was loudly emphatic that it was time they went to bed. With a somewhat milder remark he indicated to the women that he would like them to leave him alone with the men. When the men were by themselves, he told the familiar story of how the first menstruation was introduced by the elder Yoálox.

841 713

The entire myth will be given below. Here it will suffice to indicate that since the introduction of this bleeding Yoálox has been regarded as the husband of every woman and as causing the flow of blood through a sexual act. Because he always unites anew with each woman, it is necessary for her to get up soon after bleeding begins to free herself each time from Yoálox. /759/ How consistently the Yamana regard the relationship of every woman to Yoálax as a conjugal one may be seen from the fact that they say his elder sister, Yoálax tamuyipa, is the sister-in-law of all women.

841 713 881

The girl does not learn about this myth in connection with her menarche. It is saved until the youth initiation, so that the child will not prematurely become familiar with delicate matters. It is not until the *Xiéyaga* that the candidates are told everything that tradition recounts about Yoálox. As a rule the overseer of the initiation does this, but the female candidate almost always learns the story of the very first menstruation from the woman who sponsors her. Nelly added the following to these details: "When I was first permitted to attend the *Xiéyaga*, we candidates had to

/759 cont./

844 get up one by one at midnight. The old instructor led us out of the Great Hut, pointed to certain stars, and mentioned their
773 names. He also showed us the Yoálox family, saying: 'The
881 elder Yoálox is the husband of every girl who has become ámal; he causes the bleeding after every moon [-cycle]!' He also impressed upon us: 'Keep all this to yourselves, for this is a secret for girls and they should not speak about it with boys!'"

The women actually do avoid speaking about their monthly
844 bleeding, wélix. It finally becomes so taken for granted that they probably seldom think of Yoálox in connection with it. I did not find out whether they specify a particular reason for the cessation of the menses in the change of life; they are indifferent toward it.

4. Children's Play

857 The happy disposition of our Fuegians is shown in entertaining games. Whenever there are many people gathered together and the weather is favorable, they greatly enjoy playing together for hours. Children soon show a great love of play, and when several get together, they, too, immediately begin to entertain themselves in their modest way.

Both boys and girls amuse themselves, each in their own way, and the demands on the sexes are already in force here. In play no less than in other things the separation of the sexes is supposed to be observed; this is gladly overlooked, however, when so-called social games are played, in which adults, too, often take part. There are no special playthings for older children; instead, for their childish entertainment they very often imitate grownups at work. Although the social games mentioned above are not confined to children alone, they are the ones who most frequently play them; hence we shall describe them here.

152 Despite the unrestricted merriment and wholesome liveliness that all children show in their play, this flock of little ones is relatively silent and quiet. True, they are not /760/ mute, but there is no wild noise and ceaseless yelling, and no one would dare shout at the top of his lungs or cry just to show off. This behavior fits very well with the quiet and hushed manner of babies (p. 520) and adults.

/764 cont./

524 857 On most days, if the girl is not needed by her mother, she is left to her own resources. She spends these hours among her playthings. Chiefly she takes up her doll, which is extraordinarily simple and hardly deserves the name, quite in contrast to the not unattractive article that makes the folk'tam girls happy (Vol. I, 290). A cylindrical-shaped stone the size of one's fist or a short rounded piece of wood without any finish or ornament suffices for this yékanégla. The girl treasures, cherishes, carries, and treats her little doll exactly the way a European girl does, sometimes she even talks to it.

The child is not supposed to play with this yékanégla too long, and the adults soon warn her out of superstitious fear. For example, the father will say /765/ to his daughter: "If you fondle and care for this stone much longer it might turn into a Sinuluwetaqinéjwa!" The latter is a person of stone in a myth told by our Tamato. Intimidated and frightened, the girl will throw the stone away and choose another as her yékanégla, or the stuffed skin of a small bird or of a young otter. They remove the skin of these animals in one piece by turning it inside out after making a short incision in the belly. Then they stuff it tightly with dried grass or rush stalks and sew it up. With touching tenderness the girl ceaselessly runs her hand up and down it, caressing the soft otter pelt.

The child also obtains a doll in another way. She takes the carcass of an adult bird, usually a wild goose or a cormorant, cuts the skin all the way round at about the center of the bird, strips it off, dries it, fills it with dry grass, and sews up the large openings. In this way the head, neck, and breast take on their natural shapes.

857 231 In imitation of some of the women, many girls constantly go after young animals, usually a newly hatched bird. They care for it and feed it with the most loving concern, play with it, and sometimes caress it rather wildly so that the tight grip or constant tugging causes the animal pain. They take it along with them on their almost daily trips and care for it until it is ready to fly. It is not customary to clip its wings in order to keep it from flying away. If only for the sake of variety, they let the animal fly as soon as it can. For this purpose they most often choose a wild goose, a wild duck, the laughing gull, kiwáqa (Larus dominicanus),

/363 cont./

[167] about and make a great fuss about it, sometime he will realize his mistake.

"Do not cease really loving your husband and willingly doing all kinds of work for him: then he will like you, too, and also take good care of you.

"If the family [from which you come] is large and your brothers /[illegible]/ and uncles are very much esteemed by people because they are capable, do not praise yourself about it and do not unduly boast about it, for others would misconstrue this.

"If you want to live peacefully and happily with your husband, do not constantly quarrel with him. Be quiet if he has an opinion that differs from yours; later he will probably realize his mistake.

[168] "Watch out for Wenaqindjwa /the supreme being/, never forget about him. If you are dull and slow and lazily neglect your work, if you do not get up between in the morning, he will look at you; then it will soon be over with you (290). And do not

290. A favorite saying which we shall mention below expresses the same thing: "The Supreme Being will punishingly cast his eye on you and destine you to a premature death." In a later section such sayings will be more specifically explained.

forget what the ukwigala often said to the morning hour to the [illegible] but when they get up early and mapped out: 'ndia yikum ukwigala (ukiya) ndi, wih (291)!' That is when ukwiria (292) did also.

291. This means: "Come on, we are new candidates, come on!"

[175] 292. Tendu magilimiru, the Magellanic thrush. The reference to the thrush has the following meaning. Once upon a time this bird was also a candidate in the youth initiation where it learned to get up early every morning. It has practiced this good habit so faithfully that on all subsequent occasions up to the

/97b cont./

gesture is too been a good example for the candidates. Since then, when the drush sees a sleepy-head or a sluggard, it calls him with its "wee, wee," as though it wanted to say: "Soon you will die!" Thus every candidate must beat the drush in getting up and, when he sees it in the morning, must quickly call to it, "wee, wee," in order to put the onus of the words "Soon you will die!" on it. At the same time the candidate is supposed to break a twig or a stick lently and meekly to convince the drush that he is active and industrious.

"Do you see that bird there, all by itself, separated from all the others? That is what will happen to you if you do not observe all these teachings. You will gradually detach yourself from the others and will finally stand alone; then you will no longer be happy, you will become weak and ill and die prematurely. Before the sun rises blithely rise from your bed.

"The teacher told us repeatedly: 'If you do not pay attention to these teachings and neglect them, you will have few children later on and even these will soon die. Never forget my advice and my teachings!'"

Dolly Lawrence carefully noted the following sayings from her days as a novice and willingly repeated them.

"You will perfectly soon get married and build your own hut. If occasionally someone comes to you [on a visit] and helps himself to the mamoth or crabs or fish that happen to be roasting on your fire, do not be angry. Rather, be glad, for it is an honor for you that a stranger comes to your hut and eats with you.

"When you are married carefully avoid arguing and quarreling with your husband.

/97c/ "Be faithful to him. If he should forget himself and associate with another woman, bear [your sorrow] patiently. But do not suppose that you, also, may now secretly go to another man, for you are a woman. Your husband will realize that you are being faithful to him. He will be pleased with you and will soon break off with that other woman.

/TT1 cont./

accompanied by his spouse. Mine said to me: "We are now in the woods. You must not think that these trees here are wood! No, these are other people who in the great upheaval long ago rented into trees; since then they have been standing here (198).

198. He is alluding to the myth of the great upheaval, which tells of the founding of the men's ceremony. Compare Gamido (Mt).207 and the rest of this myth below in the section, "The Kina Celebration."

They can all see how you behave. Now tell them: "I am an *ebegale*." This I did. I stood before one tree and another and said to it: "I am an *ebegale*!" The other boys did the same thing. Thereupon my spouse said to me: "When the overseer sends you into the woods to fetch wood, work diligently. If you should lastly sit down or gather berries and mushrooms in order to eat them, be assured that these people here [the trees] are watching you closely! If you do not properly arrange the little trees that you have gathered, the pile (199) will collapse. If

199. He is referring to the Tatanua practice of leaning the sticks and small trees that have been gathered in the woods against a large tree. The obvious purpose is to keep the wood off the soaked ground and to dry it somewhat by exposing it to currents of air (p. 47).

these pieces fall over, you will never have any luck in life, for these people have see everything (200)!"

200. This means: "They will revenge themselves for the disrespect and lack of consideration with which you have treated them in the guise of tree trunks!" This reference, too, thus serves as a warning to the candidates never to behave as though they were unobserved, but to observe carefully all the precepts.

/898 cont./

X881 In order to give strong emphasis to the admonitions, Yetãjta is
869 mentioned again and again.

776 "Of course, besides that, there is also Hidãbuan; he is the strong one who actually punishes. Everyone must be particularly careful of him. But all that is taken for granted and that is why Hidãbuan is less frequently mentioned in the čiexaus (329).

329. "Hidabuan," like "Watauineiwa," is a name for the same Supreme Being.

Here we want to make our teachings and admonitions to the candidates effective; that is why we threaten them with Yetãjta. Our men give all the calls that the uswãala attribute to him. The young chap takes this into consideration after he enters the Great Hut for the third time, but previous to that, out of fear of Yetãjta, he has been set upon the right course [of fulfilling his duty]. Later he is told that only men produce these calls. Then he says to himself: /899/ 'Hitherto I thought Yetãjta called out from the earth!' Nevertheless, he remains on the good path, to which he has by now become accustomed."

[885] After the candidates have been dismissed from the second youth initiation they are legally adults. In general, except on special occasions, they do not receive further instructions or exhortations. Hence Yetãjta is not mentioned outside the čiexaus hut.

X881 In the mythology of the Yamana the tales concerning the
869 actual bearers of culture, named Yoãlox, and their family have
• 713 a special place (330). In olden times this name was scarcely ever
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330. Here we should say in anticipation that among these Fuegians he embodies what the hero "Kwanyip" does for the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581). Both have created important institutions and prescribed the norm of life, so to speak.

mentioned to immature youths before their initiation (p. 178 /untranslated/); the girls heard it for the first time on the occasion of

/899 cont./

X881 their menarche (p. 575). In the čiéxaus, one or another deed of
869 the Yoálox siblings was told in more detail as a sort of first intro-
•773 duction. Only the young men who were permitted entrance to the
538 kína learned the complete cycle of tales. When, at my repeated request, old Alfredo revealed the Yoálox cycle of legends to me as he sat in a circle of men, he emphasized: "Actually we tell these things only at the kína celebration." It is also regarded as a rare exception if men among themselves speak at length about this hero. Women avoid it in any case. In front of uswáala adults now and then will say: "The manner in which we Yamana should conduct ourselves [= the entire body of moral law] has been arranged by Yoálox!" Thus he is regarded more or less as the bearer of the decrees of Watauinéiwa to the Yamana.

On the other hand, the legends of more general content are treated differently. They are in large part repeated in the čiéxaus hut. It does not matter whether there is an obligation to tell them to the candidates; most of them actually are told, some even repeatedly. The decisive factor in this connection is the presence of persons who are able to tell a story well. They are urged by the rest of the participants to offer this or that story. If someone present knows the same story with some variations, he feels impelled to speak up also. If the čiéxaus celebration lasts a long time, many an older person will call for a repetition of the stories that were told at the beginning or that were particularly well liked. No matter what the procedure, the uswáala actually hear almost all the myths current in their tribe. They may have become familiar with some of them earlier through conversation in the dwellings.

At least one or two stories are told by the leader or overseer personally at each initiation, and he does it in a strong, clear voice so that everyone can understand him. Now and then he must offer this kind of variety to those present, /900/ either personally or through a suitable storyteller. They listen in suspense. Meanwhile the customary singing of several persons ceases; only very softly one person, perhaps supported by another, will audibly hum the melody apart from the storyteller. The adult participants in particular do not want to miss the enjoyment of hearing their old legends well told some evening in the čiéxaus hut. At the

X881 /900 cont./
same time the uš̌wāala are introduced to this treasure. It cannot
869 be denied that significant rules of conduct or customs, as well as
●773 good or evil deeds, are elucidated on the basis of many an exam-
538 ple from a legend. Therefore the stories to some extent also serve the chief aim of the čiēxaus, to train the young people.

γ. Work Drills

X881 A surprisingly rich store of teachings and precepts, princi-
867 ples and rules of conduct, and excerpts from individual experience and from old legends are offered the candidates at the initiation. We see, therefore, how the long period during which they are together is filled. The experienced educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with theoretical instruction alone, however. They insist on practice and drill under their supervision. They are constantly affording the uš̌wāala an opportunity to transform into action the teachings and principles put before them, inasmuch as the best rules are of no avail if they are not practiced. When I openly thanked Alfredo for what I had learned in my first initiation, he said to me in a friendly tone: "Certainly, everything that goes on in the čiēxaus hut is very good. But we Yamana are happiest if the uš̌wāala conduct themselves throughout their lives as we have taught them in the čiēxaus!"

X881 The young people entering there as candidates are at the
age of maturity, that is to say, shortly before their marriage.
868 Soon they will have the care of a family and the duties connected with those occupations which, according to the prevailing division of labor, fall to each sex. The community of fellow-tribesmen wishes to guarantee that the family soon to be established will really be prepared for life, that each of the two young spouses is equal to the problems of family life. The old people express it specifically: "In the čiēxaus we ascertain the degree of manual skill possessed by each uš̌wāala. Whatever he lacks in the way of capability, he must acquire here!" For example, in some families the boys are given too little opportunity for independent hunting because the father personally does the main work. This deficiency is corrected in the initiation. Without discrimination,

/955 cont./

X881 persons who live according to these principles all their lives and who are an honor to their people, in other words, a shining example for youth. Proper tribal members have little or no regard for adults who have not experienced the initiation because, through unusual circumstances, there was no room for them in previous times. /956/ As a single example we need mention only the two brothers Sarmiento and Balfour, sons of old Peine, each of whom had different Europeans as fathers. They constantly lived on farms and year after year they avoided participation in the youth initiation. The older men are very mistrustful of these two and obviously exclude them from their intimate circle.

Moreover, this long description clearly and unequivocally shows the moral value of the čiéxaus institution. One need only consider the individual instructions, and he will be unable to conceal his astonishment at their superior content. This opinion will be heightened by considering the original derivation of the youth initiation, for the Supreme Being himself is regarded as its founder. The uǰwáala are frankly told: "All that goes on here [the daily program with its details] is not our invention; Hidábuan himself wants everything to be done in this way!" They are admonished: "What we tell you here [in the way of precepts and instructions] originates with 'the-One-up-there'! He wants everyone [Yamana] to adapt himself faithfully to it. Fulfilling all this is your [personal] affair, we cannot force you. But Watauinéiwa always sees you, he will also see it if you secretly evade something that we recommend to you here in the čiéxaus. He himself will punish you for your faulty behavior by an untimely death, or he will let one of your children die. Therefore, observe what we tell you here, for that is the way Watauinéiwa wants it!" During the initiation the candidates are repeatedly told that the teachings and precepts presented come from the Supreme Being who watches over their exact fulfillment and punishes their neglect. If one considers the important place of the čiéxaus in all the educational work of the Yamana, he sees surprisingly clearly how deeply their educational principles are anchored in religion.

X881 ●113 Although the ideas inherent in the youth initiation are derived from religious conceptions, there is also a particular historical derivation. It does not disturb the Fuegian temperament

/956 cont./

881 that the two trends of thought are incompatible. During the
773 course of the celebration the story of "hamanǎulum wǎtuwa" is
told to the uswǎala, and it was on this occasion that I, too,
learned it.

In the eastern corner of the Bay of Ushuaia there were, once upon a time, several families camping. They heard that in the west there was a stranded whale. Three men got into a canoe. Two of them were yěkamuš, the other was not. The former two were Hěspul (366) and Yo'okalǐa (367). The three men rowed off

[825]

366. Taenioptera pyrope, a small sparrow of the Tyrannidae family. As a mythological personality it also plays an important role in other stories.

367. Milvago chimango, the hawk.

in a westerly direction. Their canoe was extraordinarily swift. Quickly it glided past Puerto Olla (368). Their canoe kept going

368. This small harbor is exactly opposite Punta Divide on the north shore, hence on the boundary line between the central and western Yamana groups.

farther and farther /957/ and came to Hapananúši (369). The

369. The reference is to the channels west of the Darwin Sound as far as the ultimate projection of Brecknock Peninsula. The central and eastern Yamana speak of the inhabitants of this outlying district roughly as Halakwulup.

Halakwulup, a dangerous, bad people, live here. The three Yamana saw the huts of this people here, left their canoe, and climbed ashore. The two yěkamuš were invited into the same hut, the third man was called to another hut (370). When the two

370. It was the deliberate intention of these

X881
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/957 cont./

wicked people to separate the three visitors from one another, so that it would be easier to overcome them individually.

yékamuš entered the hut the many children inside shouted with joy. They cried loudly: "yárum káiya, but quickly now!" This means [in their language]: "We want to devour these two immediately!" The adults, however, replied: "hamašúnna, not until tomorrow!"

The two yékamuš soon understood [the meaning of these words]. One of them also saw a woman inconspicuously cut off a piece of her breast and put it on the glowing charcoal as a roast, for she wanted to invite the two of them to a meal. Héspul was shocked. He snatched the piece of meat from the fire and threw it out of the hut in a wide arc. Thereupon he said furiously: "I did not come here to eat human flesh!" He reached for his yékuš /arrowhead/ and cut off a piece of whale meat which he laid on the glowing coals. A thick smoke formed, which lulled the people in the hut to sleep, for he was a yékamuš (371). All

371. With his supernatural ability as a medicine man he intentionally rendered his opponents harmless through this method.

the people, even the vicious dogs, were overcome by deep sleep.

Then Héspul said to his companion, who sat next to him: "Let's quickly see which fatty parts are best. We'll put them aside for ourselves!" They looked around, cut out the best fatty parts and the nicest pieces of meat, and dragged them to their canoe. Soon the canoe was filled to the brim and hastily they went off. They rowed busily and worked all night until they came to Asúsiwaia early in the morning.

When they slipped past this little harbor, they heard the Halakwulup throwing large stones after them with their slings, for the Halakwulup had decamped and rowed after them. Every stone that fell made a loud bang. Without hesitating, the three Yamana threw many pieces of fat into the water, in order to lighten the canoe so that they could get away quickly. They rowed with the greatest effort and soon reached Úšuwáia. Here they noticed that

/957 cont./

881 the Halakwulup had, after all, been unable to overtake them and
•173 had turned back. After that Hěspul remained in Ušuwáia.

Those Halakwulup got together. They decided: "The three men of the Yamana came here and wanted to murder us; they took away our meat and escaped into their territory. Now we want to /958/ build a very large hut and equip ourselves. Afterwards we shall build a long canoe, and we alone, without the women, shall row to the Yamana, seize them, and kill them. That is how the čiéxaus began there. From the Halakwulup it later came to the Yamana (372).

372. There in the west, Halakwulup and Yamana were in contact with each other. Thus the latter learned the youth initiation from the former, and gradually it was also adopted by the central and eastern Yamana.-- A variation of this myth is given below.

In order to imitate what the Halakwulup had planned, the Yamana capture live birds and bring them into the Great Hut where they remain (373). These birds remind them of the Yamana

373. This custom is not followed very strictly. It is more a kind of amusement for one of the participants to catch a bird and in doing so to meet the requirements of this custom.

whom the Halakwulup had intended to catch. -- So goes the story.

I was also told that some men and women of earlier generations gave certain directions and commands during the čiéxaus celebration in the Halakwulup language. The Yamana like to cite this as proof of the origin of the secret celebration in the west.

[171] We cannot judge here the historical value of this myth, and it will suffice to point out that among the Halakwulup, exactly as among our Yamana, the youth initiation is an independent institution, separate from the men's ceremony (374).

374. These two affairs are known to be

/1040 cont./

3. My Own Conclusions

111 114 It was anything but encouraging at the start of my journeys to be faced with the strange fact that all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego, as well as all the missionaries without exception, denied with emphatic, unequivocal words that our Indians had any kind of religious view and practice. Everyone regarded the Yamana as irreligious. On my first and second visit, therefore, I consciously avoided touching upon this subject in my conversation with the members of the Lawrence family and in my contact with the Indians. Besides, there were other, more immediate problems which first had to be solved.

124 ●113 116 The traveling investigator must be favored by fortune; otherwise his efforts are in vain. I obtained the first indications of the religious ideas of the Yamana quite incidentally and without my doing anything. One evening on my second journey I was again sitting with a group of several men who were explaining to me the ancient traditions of their tribe. It was then that I learned for the first time about their myth of a great flood which, in hoary antiquity, had inundated their present homeland. All of us who had listened with obvious seriousness to the old storyteller were silent for some time and thought about the catastrophe of that flood. Afterward one or two men made some short explanatory remarks. I now bravely ventured to ask:"Whoever sent that big flood?" Everyone present instantly became quiet and a painful silence followed. Embarrassed, they lowered their eyes and avoided my gaze so that they would not be forced to answer me. I repeated my question and in a friendly way asked for the desired explanation. Old Alfredo who had done the talking that evening replied /1041/ emphatically: "Lẽxuwakípa sent that tremendous flood." When he did not add anything more, I asked: "Is Lẽxuwakípa really so mighty?" Alfredo replied: "As a matter of fact it was strong Watauinẽíwa who sent the general flood. Lẽxuwakípa prevailed upon him to do it; it was her intention to demolish the whole world. With Watauinẽíwa she succeeded in having the great flood come!" Naturally I asked again: "Who is this Watauinẽíwa?" This very obviously increased the general embarrassment and everyone present maintained strict silence. I felt as though I had been guilty of an impropriety or had ventured on dangerous ground.

/1041 cont./

124 After a good long time and probably also in order to break the general silence, Chris boldly said: "Watauinéiwa is [similar to] what God is to Christians [Europeans]." His brief words were spoken in a tone which made it clear to me that further questions would not be in order. The attitude of all the men was clearly aloof. Some of them had an expression suggesting that in this discussion some information had heedlessly slipped out which should have remained secret. After that the men timidly exchanged a few words and the gathering soon broke up.

On the next evening I dared not ask about Watauinéiwa again; I suspected that the people would misunderstand. It was partly caution and partly disappointment that made me think the missionaries had told these Indians the Biblical account of the flood, but that they had not completely understood it. Hence I entered the following remark in my diary: "Probably Christian influence by the missionaries" and marked the whole paragraph with a question mark.

123 A week later the secret gathering of the čiéxaus began, in which I was able to participate in March, 1920 (p. 176 /untrans-
776 lated/). At that time I was treated as strictly as the Indian uswāala and was not allowed to ask questions or to take notes. I remember clearly that at this initiation the names Watauinéiwa and Hidábuan were repeatedly used, but I was fully aware of what they meant only two years later when those names were again recalled to my memory. Although I did not grasp the fact on that occasion, I had actually discovered the Supreme Being whom the Yamana worship. I had finally come close to their religious faith.

123 On my third visit at the end of January, 1922, the men were not yet free for the planned čiéxaus celebration (p. 184 /untranslated/). In order to spend the time profitably, W. Koppers, who accompanied me at that time (p. 181 /untranslated/), and I did a good deal of research during the day with the Indian women. Nelly Lawrence was regularly and gladly present and thanks to her personal stimulation the women willingly answered our questions. We all wanted to be undisturbed, and so we assembled daily in the shed, a spacious corrugated tin house in which the /1042/ Lawrence family had major housework performed, laundry, for example. This house stood apart from the small dwellings of the Yamana families.

/1042 cont./

124 776 Again one day old traditions were discussed, and the name Watauinéjwa was directly mentioned. Full of suspense we pressed for a further explanation. This caused great embarrassment among the women and there was deep silence; not even the otherwise brave Nelly ventured a word. Finally, in order to ease the constraint, old Mary summoned up her courage and said briefly: "Watauinéjwa is like God, like Christian God /cited in English/!" I was nonplused and again faced the same barrier that I had experienced two years before, apparently on the threshold of a new world of ideas to which the Indians refused admittance. Importunate questions on that afternoon would have been futile and would surely have evoked ill humor. Mary only disclosed that upon the death of an own child or a near relative, the neighbors point to [761] the mourner with the expression: "Watauinéjwa is punishing him!" This means that the deceased and his family have been punished by Watauinéjwa through this death.

After a long pause the Indian women attempted a digression. I could not accept this and ventured cautiously to come back to that anxiously guarded name. My efforts remained unsuccessful. The whole conversation flagged and our discussion simply could not get started again. In order to satisfy us and put us off once and for all, the women finally started to tell about ēkētémakalo-watauinéjwa. How craftily they had chosen this way out of their embarrassment! We surrendered our hope of finally finding out more about the real Watauinéjwa. Actually they only offered us the [773] story of the small band of people who, in olden times, had set out for ēkētémaka, where there was stranded whale, and afterwards they remained in that region west of Ushuaia. In this combination the designation watauinéjwa has nothing to do with the name for the Fuegian deity. The crafty Indian women in this way slipped out of the trap and very smartly duped us without betraying their secret. In any case it was now clear that all kinds of things worth knowing were concealed behind that name, and to discover them would probably justify serious effort.

Several times Nelly Lawrence had willingly helped me obtain information I sought in my research on the institutions and customs of her countrymen, and this time, too, she did not fail me. As I definitely learned later, she valued the native heritage of religious ideas extraordinarily highly, and inasmuch as she

/1050 cont./

116 significant that happens goes back to him, at least as something he has permitted. He also directs the forces of nature with his own hand; the Yamana definitely express this in various ways. In this connection compare Gusinde (ℓ):161.

116 Is this ancient one to whom, as sole owner, everything visible belongs also regarded as its ultimate cause, as its creator?
113 It seems to me that the Fuegians do not have a clear conception of creation (12). /1051/ They never discuss in so many words the

> 12. I shall let Bridges (i):19 speak on this question although he cannot be regarded as authoritative: "They have no tradition of their origin; for them the world was always what it is, and ever will be the same. For them it had no maker or master and they had not the least idea of pleasing or displeasing anyone beyond themselves" /cited in English/.

work of creation out of absolute nothingness, nor do they definitely emphasize that Watauinéiwa existed before the actual creations did. Nevertheless, that actually is their view, and they also see in him the origin of all that was created. They do not clearly express these truths, but tacitly they recognize them, for example, when they say: "Watauinéiwa existed alone at first! Then he made all the animals, and it was there in Yáiaašága. All animals [therefore] belong to him." Apparently no one speculates about the exact origin of human beings and all the rest; they are content to describe Watauinéiwa as the unlimited master and true owner. In this way they recognize him more or less as the sole and ultimate cause of the existence of the visible world. Compare Gusinde (ℓ): 160.

In March, 1923, I discussed this and similar ideas with old Mašemikens, and I asked him how human beings had originated. This time, too, he replied clearly and emphatically: "It is not the first time that I have been faced with this question. When I was a young man I learned the story of the many animals who were transformed back there in the great revolution at Yáiaašága. I

/1051 cont./

776 asked myself and also other men, above all, the capable yĕkamuš
773 and the most experienced old men, how that took place. No one knew the answer as to how human beings actually originated and where they came from. So to this day I do not know. I have often and persistently searched and tried to answer this question. At that time Tā́ruwalēm burned up the whole world and all the animals. And this I can't understand either, how afterwards everything was put in order again, how the huge fire was put out, and how he again restored plants and animals to this land. All this we do not know. In former years I often asked the experienced old people about this." A few days later, I sat in a circle of several old men, as was my custom, and quite spontaneously the conversation again drifted to these things. Richard repeated: "We really don't know exactly how everything came about at that time. Of course Watauinḗiwa already existed in the very old days, for heaven was already here above the earth, there where the clouds are and where Watauinḗiwa also stays. Before Lëm [sun] and Hā́nuxa [moon] and Akā́inix [rainbow] wandered here on earth like human beings, Watauinḗiwa was already here, for heaven existed before all of them. At that time women ruled. We do not know how and from where children came at that time, for none of the women who then ruled the men slept with their husbands and cohabited with them in order to conceive children. None of us can say where children came from in those days. It is only since the great /1052/ revolution that women are subordinate to the will of men. It was back in the time when the great fur seal
[825 tëpē̆ʍa (Arctocephalus australis) discovered how man and woman
842 should unite, she underneath and he on top of her; that gives them
83] pleasure. Since then they have done it that way to this day. When husband and wife unite in this way, then children follow. So we know where our children come from now. Where they came from before that, no one can explain. We know equally as little about where Lëm and Hanuxa and the stars come from, which at that time lived on earth just like human beings. When they [the ones mentioned] and sëf [heaven], too, were here, Watauinḗiwa was also here, and he was here even long before that." Thus, no Yamana can explain definitely and clearly how the visible world originated. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that a deeply thoughtful and meditative man like Mašemikens felt this gap and tried to fill it.

/1068 cont./

765 "to observe, watch with a view to find out anything" /cited in
539 English/, in BD:291; mutauwana, "to cease, desist" /cited in English/, in BD:366; hala and la in BD:277, 263. I heard this prayer several times at the great funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

/1069/

765 (27) Annumutá, hála kūpa tūmukinananāna
539 Desire, yet up there take to task

Yājaašāga-dāunlum kūpán téšku
•773 in Yājaašāga up there be pleased
776

aónakipačikāja, tālauwāja.
women from the north, alas.

In order to understand this sentence one must realize that, according to the Yamana conception, all the animals were made by Watauinéiwa in Yājaašāga where there was a great revolution when the women from the north who performed the kīna settled there. Thus, all the animals belong to him as his property. Anyone who wants to give full vent to his grief expresses in the above sentence his desire to cause Watauinéiwa serious harm by destroying his animals. If he should succeed in doing so, he would feel adequately compensated. -- The individual words can be found in BD:26, for example, annumutu, "to be longing for" /cited in English/. The word tūmūkīnana in BD:521 refers to the strict treatment of the candidates and to the serious order of the day in the kīna school. BD:400 gives tōška, "to laugh, twitter" /cited in English/.

765 Old Mašemikens, who repeated this fixed formula at the
539 large funeral ceremony in March, 1923, added a few personal thoughts and spoke freely as follows: "All animals went out from Yājaašāga. Watauinéiwa brought that about. Therefore, since I cannot touch his person, I shall kill all his animals which he made. This will calm me and make me content, this will satisfy my lust for revenge!" After a long pause he went on with this thought, as follows: "Unfortunately I cannot now harm 'the-one-up-there' seriously, for I am too old [frail] and do not have enough weapons, I cannot undertake anything any more, for strength fails me, an old man. Formerly I used to carry out this plan; then I wantonly killed many animals, burned down the forest, chopped everything

/1138 cont./

715 no one believed them. How could it be true that we shall all meet again later? After all, the body disintegrates. So there will never be a reunion!" Each time she told me something about her people's doctrine of the soul, this noble woman spoke with a passion which sounded like hopelessness. The monotonous, lugubrious melody of mourning of the tálauwaja and the yamalaŝemóina will not be silenced until the earth covers the last Yamana on the distant Cape Horn Archipelago.

/1139/ C. Cosmogony and Mythology

713 The world of religious ideas with which the doctrine of the soul is subjectively connected proves to be rich and comprehensive among our Yamana, but their world of mythological personalities is more vast and alive. These two broad spheres of ideas are sharply differentiated and distinctly separate from each other; each exists by itself, so to speak. Just as the figures in the myths and legends have not been closely connected with the figure of the Supreme Being at any point in our description above, so, too, the latter appears to be entirely separate from the former; moreover, Watauinéiwa is just as far removed from the actual spirits and medicine men. Every attentive observer can easily separate the ideas of these two disparate spheres of imaginative conception, just as the Yamana do.

713 182 In former times every figure described in their myths and legends was very familiar to our Fuegians; the individual representatives of the animal world and the celestial bodies, as well as of the objects of everyday use, often awakened the familiar combinations of ideas which were associated with those figures. Formerly favorite stories were told over and over again during the long hours of comfortable fellowship in the evening around the hut fire. Unfortunately, for the last few decades the former close ethnic unity has been disrupted and the remnants of the once large group are scattered over the broad areas of their homeland in detached fragments. The surviving families, no longer very numerous, are rarely in touch with one another, and when they do meet their exchange of opinions is limited to certain details of daily life. In view of this, it is not strange that

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173 182 the former general acquaintance with the rich mythological material has been lost and that the younger generation devotes more attention to all the things that came with European culture. There are only a few old people who have still preserved most of it to the present day. Why they cannot transmit this precious heritage, as was so easily possible in earlier times when the European newcomers were not yet disturbingly active, need not be specifically pointed out. Many a young person frankly regrets that the old people hold back their lovely stories even when they find willing ears in a sizable gathering of fellow-tribesmen. At present, however, all is in the process of disintegration, and the old people suffer very much under the collapse of all the institutions and customs; for that very reason they are no longer available for things which already, so to speak, belong far in the past.

538 On rare occasions one or another of them will once more offer to tell a story as in former times. /1140/ He himself takes the initiative; it would be a breach of respect if a younger person openly or with slightly veiled hints were to ask for an old myth. It is almost always an accidental circumstance that awakens remembrance of a mythological subject, and it usually happens that while someone is speaking of his experiences, his words, as though a self-contained unit, drift over into the other realm of thought. This adequately suggests the peculiar way in which the Yamana recite an old myth. Actually, the storyteller never tells the entire myth from beginning to end in the progressive continuity of a meaningful construction. Rather, the general habit is to select some part of it and add to it a personal event, an independent achievement, a unique experience. To begin with the storyteller does not care whether his own report ties up meaningfully, if one may use this word, with some part of the myth. The Yamana has a lively fancy which will not let itself be forced into rules of ordered logic. If one judges the recitation of an old Indian from this standpoint, he will be surprised to find, for example, that the thread is broken at an inappropriate point and that a short section of an entirely different nature is inserted without any justification whatever, perhaps even absurdly. An account built up this way, with a combination of elements which obviously disturb the sense, does not bother the

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124 113 The material in the following pages probably constitutes the entire treasure of myths that has been at the disposal of our Fuegians since ancient times. In gathering it, I was remarkably favored by fortune on my second journey (p. 178 /untranslated/). Although it is not customary among our Fuegians for a woman in a mixed gathering to relate long episodes from her own experiences or from a myth, nevertheless some Fuegian women faithfully preserve much legendary material in their memories, and very willingly offer it at an occasional gathering of female friends and neighbors. It seems to me that vainglory and the desire to shine in front of others by relating one's own deeds and remarkable experiences is far less developed in women than in men and that it is therefore easier for a woman storyteller, without much digression, to adhere logically to the main point of the myth. For most of the stories current among the Yamana I am indebted to the mentally alert Julia, the wife of old Alfredo, who is unanimously regarded by her countrymen as the one best informed about them. I learned from her for days (p. 178 /untranslated/). Further material that I gathered on my third and fourth journey was made up of supplementary explanations and unimportant details. Many a myth was also repeated to me by other persons. Thus I believe that I have gathered all the mythological material that the Yamana have preserved from hoary antiquity down to the present day.

a. The Origin of the World

113 153 The mentality and the way of thinking of our Fuegians have been only cursorily described above. Nevertheless, from what has been said, no European will expect much from them in the way of a clear conception of the origin of the world or a well-ordered picture of the universe. Actually they have only individual short trains of thought which can be neither consistently combined nor linked together without gaps. What may have happened at the beginning of everything visible is much too distant to merit special attention by our Fuegians, who are creatures of the moment, so to speak, for whom the given

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113 153 reality of each day is of decisive importance. /1143/ Moreover, those remote events are completed episodes and accomplished facts. The Yamana clearly and definitely separate them from everything that Yoālox introduced and from what the principal persons of the individual legends undertook. The Fuegian is reminded of their achievements almost daily without any effort on his part. Important inventions and significant regulations are attributed to the younger Yoālox and some of his brothers and sisters, but they were not predominantly active in the formation of the universe. The Yamana also say that the earth was destroyed; after that orderly conditions again developed.

113 As was just mentioned, the individual short narratives do not form a continuous, well-ordered whole. It is quite likely that in recent times small connective pieces have been lost. I personally, however, consider it probable that the quite large gaps have existed since ancient times. I base my conclusion chiefly on statements to this effect by a few old people. I am also guided by my experience among the Selk'nam who up to the present time have preserved an imaginative conception of the origin of the universe in its final form, which is more or less complete, as well as rich in content. If the Selk'nam succeeded in preserving their ancient tales as complete, coherent units, why should the Yamana, who did not allow themselves to be robbed of many another heritage, have lost important connective portions? The fragmentary pieces that the Yamana do possess, however, will be valuable for a comparative study of myths if they can be related to some extent to the legends of other peoples.

1. Heaven and Earth

The Selk'nam are superior to the Yamana insofar as they recognize in the person of Kenós the creator of the visible world, who functions under the direction of the Supreme Being (Vol. I, 570) and who is therefore on a par with the redeemer as he appears in other mythologies. Our Fuegians regard their homeland as an accomplished, given phenomenon; they do not ask and do not

/1143 cont./

173 say how it originated. To this extent Bridges (b) 236 is right: "The natives preserve no tradition about their past history, nor do they know where they came from" /translated from Spanish/. I repeatedly noted, however, that the lack of clarity and the ignorance about the early beginnings of their forefathers were by no means accepted indifferently by a few men who seemed to be more meditative. They more or less perceptibly feel the lack of this knowledge, and they actually concern themselves with such problems in their reflections. They are impelled solely by the general logical demand for an adequate explanation of the tangible reality that presents itself to them. They do not, however, express their own conclusions. They are prevented from doing so by their respect for the /1144/ ancient body of thought handed down to them; they would regard analyzing it or supplementing it on the basis of their own meditations as extremely improper. Hence, amplification or reconstruction of the mythological conceptions could not be achieved, and they have been full of gaps from ancient times, even though they were the object of reflection by many persons.

In the following I am offering the few individual conceptions still held by one or another old Tamana. They tell each other these bits which are limited but significant in content. Bridges (b) 206 seems to deny this, unjustifiably, when he maintains: "They have no tradition about their origin. For them the world has always been what it is and will continue to be the same" /translated from Spanish/. Unfortunately, these details do not supplement each other to form a complete picture. They are only fragments which I was able to gather on various occasions. I arranged them in the order presented here according to their content.

a. The First Section

The events in the so-called myth of the upheaval are sometimes vividly contemplated in the minds of our Tamana. It must seem surprising that they associate the first appearance of actual people with that strange legendary material. The myth describes a great migration from the northern part of Isla Grande

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173 southward to the north shore of Beagle Channel and thence westward to the region of Tyuuiga where these wanderers settled down forever (Gumide [1981:32]). Quite apart from this long story, I was told:

"In very remote times many families came from the east and wandered to this region where we Tenenta have since lived. They settled down right here. Immediately they began building their canoes, making weapons and all kinds of implements to hunt otter, sea lions, and birds, to gather mussels and crabs. Since then the Tenenta have remained here."

It should be noted that these people were said to have come on foot and that they did not begin building their bark canoes until they were here in the present-day Tenenta territory. My informants naturally assumed that the Tyuiga family also arrived in this region in connection with that large group. the Tyuiga brothers themselves showed the other men how to make the various implements and how to handle the weapons. At the same time the sun-man, Lâm, arrived with his family which includes his brother Aâlguis, the rainbow, whose wife is Nêmuga, the moon-woman. In January, 1918, I was assured by my aged informants that in this group of migrating families Tyuiga-chenuiga /1165/ made her superior influence felt and that she played a decisive role. She enjoyed a very privileged position and commanded the other women who, in turn, dominated their own husbands. Two years later when the long myth of the origin of the Alîna observance was told, this Tyuiga-chenuiga was no longer mentioned. The real significance of this woman lies in her close relationship to her two brothers, the above-mentioned Tyuiga. The latter also were not mentioned in the myth of the origin of Alîna.

These groups of roving families who settled in the present home of the Tenenta are not regarded as actual human beings, but are thought of as personifiers of a unique nature and being. They are regarded as the inhabitants who were the first to establish all kinds of things in this place, but who afterwards either climbed up to the canopy of heaven or changed themselves into animals. They form a separate small circle of significant or superior personalities who exist completely apart from those figures prominent in all the actual myths. These first men are given sole credit not

/1101 cont./
113 only for being the first to write to this region, but also for many a special achievement which has become significant and decisive for the actual human beings who followed. The Ielh'tsen (Vol. I, 208) make a similar distinction and definite separation of the two very different groups.

B. The Older Sun-Man

113 B1 Our Pongiane make a very definite distinction between the once mighty and violent Tlewwilko, the old sun-man, and his son Lhin, the war-of the day. Both, as the story goes, came to this country long ago together with that large company of first settlers. These two personalities differ from one another in many respects. The following story is told about the old sun-man, Tlewwilko or Tlewwilko.

"At that time among the families who first arrived here, there lived a man who had a very bad character. He was not only unfriendly toward everyone, but quite openly hostile, and his one thought was always to hurt everybody else. Everyone despised him. As a result, he became even more furious and tried even harder to inflict harm on everybody. He was exceedingly powerful and had great power at his disposal. Once in high dudgeon he had everything burned up that lay within his domain. At that time he was much closer to the earth than he is today. At the same time he caused all the water of the sea to boil, for he permitted a great heat wave to descend and all the forests burned up. After that the mountain tops were empty and here and here remained so to this very day. All this happened because in his supreme anger he sent the great heat.

"From the man Tlewwilko was very repulsive to everybody, but after that /1102/ they obviously hated him. They not only hated and shunned him, but all his nearest relatives as well. The whole family was avoided and despised by all the people, for every member of that family behaved unkindly and was bent on hurting other people. Only Lhin, son of old Tlewwilko, was a a conspicuous exception. He proved to be extremely benevolent toward all the rest of the people. He was an excellent hunter and

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B1

was skilled in many things. He was kind toward everyone and always ready to help.

"The women (T1) then deliberated a long time in secret.

> T1. One must realize that at that time the women were said to rule the men and that everywhere they alone laid down the law. That is why they alone gathered for consultations and reached decisions which were binding for everyone, especially for the men. For the powers compare Gwinde (July) 1937.

Finally they decided to murder malevolent old Tirowalém. One day they made a surprise attack on him and tried to strangle him. Since he was very strong, however, he succeeded in extricating himself. He immediately hastened up to the canopy of heaven where he stands to this day as a bright star, but he forfeited his former power. Today one no longer sees him. It was not until after the great upheaval at the time of the women that Lém also climbed up to the canopy of heaven to join his father Tirowalém.

The Tamana repeatedly assured me that he has lost his former power, that he is probably standing somewhere in the heavens but that he is invisible. He is also mentioned in another connection. The Tamana tell the following. "A long time ago all the bélpit of the [at that time so-called] human beings who died here went far away to Samaskai (T2). There these bélpit

> T2. The Tamana use this designation for a far distant region which they are unable to describe more specifically.

formed a people of their own. All of them, young and old, enjoyed the game of ball, bélaka. Once mighty Tirowalém quite suddenly appeared in the east and set fire to the whole region. After a time he tried to take away the great heat, but he did not succeed. That is why the bélpit left that region. Afterward, when Tirowalém himself also left that region, it did cool off.

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•773 821 At that same time the whole world burned up, and afterward everything cooled off again."

I find it impossible to link this brief story meaningfully with the other events of that first period, chiefly because it mentions the souls which were supposed to have assembled after death. Aside from that, however, old Tăruwalēm is clearly depicted as having once been an extremely mighty sun whose strength surpassed by far that of the actual day star. The Yamana point out that Lēm could not set fire to the whole earth in the way that his father did. They do not mention any other connections between these two personalities.

/1147/ γ. The Younger Sun-Man

The relationship between old Tăruwalēm and Lēm is that of father and son. In contrast to the father, the son is described as very benevolent and friendly toward human beings. This is tangibly expressed in the beneficial warmth that the day star provides. The Yamana have more to say about Lēm (73).

73. A first modest reference is found in Despard (b):698: "The Firelander supposes the sun and moon, male and female, to be very old indeed, and that some old man, who knew their maker, had died without leaving information upon this subject. Hence the ignorance of the present generation" /cited in English/.

"Lēm was an excellent man and had great influence upon all men. They willingly yielded to him, for he was friendly and benevolent toward everyone. He was so handsome and had such a fine figure that all the women wanted to stare at him constantly. But they all guarded against revealing this desire or even looking at him with open eyes, so that they would not be ridiculed by others. Lēm was quite charming. All the women were in love with him, and all the men regarded him highly.

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773 "His wife was also very beautiful. No one knows her name. Lēm had several beautiful daughters, namely, tákaša (Larus
825 belcheri), wémar-kīpa (Larus glaucodes), the sea duck wīyen
821 (Anas cristata), the gull kiwágu (Larus dominicanus), the Magellanic goose kimoa (Chloephaga picta /upland goose/), the duck wīpatux (Querquedula cyanoptera), as well as the she-fox čilawāiakīpa (Canis magellanicus) and the rat wēsána. The last two secretly dragged off the meat that their father brought home from the hunt; they stole it from him regularly. They are doing it [stealing] to this day. Lēm also had other daughters, as well as several sons. One of them is Yēxalēm who constantly follows his father.

773 "Lēm was diligent and hard-working, good and always merry,
821 friendly toward everyone. He was on the best of terms with all the men. He set a fine example of an active, good-natured human being for everyone. In this respect [that is, in his whole character] nothing has changed to this day. Back in the time of the great upheaval in Yāiaašága he helped the men considerably in gaining control of the kīna of the women. After that upheaval was over, he went up to the canopy of heaven. From there he is still proving himself benevolent and willing to help human beings; he bestows ample warmth and light upon everyone. All men are obviously proud of him, for he uncovered the kīna secret of the women and thus freed the men from their dependence upon the women.

"Actually there is still another world. That is why Lēm leaves the region of the Yamana every evening and betakes himself there. In that other world he also shines and bestows abundant warmth. The next morning he comes back to us once more. In this way he helps the people both here and there."

The portrayal as such shows clearly enough how gratefully /1148/ the Yamana regard the day star. Obviously this favorable attitude goes back to the feeling of well-being which sunshine induces in the Yamana, who are often shaken by frosty winds and severe weather. The planet Venus was pointed out to me as Yēxalēm, son of Lēm, for "this son invariably follows close behind his father, but is not as strong as the latter." This refers to the considerably weaker luminosity of Venus as compared to the

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773 821 day star. Concerning "that other world" for which Lēm also kindly shines, the Yamana are referring quite generally to the territory of those peoples whom they assume live beyond their own territory. In more recent times they are thinking especially of the Whites whose home, as they are constantly assured, is far away from the Fuegian archipelago (74).

[171] 74. There are a number of points of similarity between this description and the Selk'nam story of the old sun-man and his son, the day star. The only special point to be noted is that the latter was also decisively active in revealing the Kloketen secret of the women (Vol. I, 600).

δ. The Rainbow

821 With weather conditions as they are in the Cape Horn region, the rainbow is anything but a rare phenomenon. Nevertheless, it always delights our Yamana. One can clearly see that they love to look at it and that it gives them a great deal of satisfaction. They are refreshed and gratified by its radiant colors. On many occasions I observed how adults and children, even in pouring rain, crawled out of their hut, stood outside, and, wide-eyed, enjoyed the intense glow of the rainbow (75).

75. Cojazzi:105 writes: "The rainbow is regarded as the harbinger of the wrath above [of the malignant god], and the women and girls shudder at the sight of it, but the men curse it and spit at it" /translated from Italian/. This report is altogether erroneous and contrary to my own observations.

773 821 At the same time I was told in a wholly matter-of-fact tone: "This Akáinix is the brother of Lēm and likewise an imposing, very handsome man. How could it be otherwise, since both belong to the same family. Of all men Akáinix knew how to paint himself best; even today he shows himself in unattainably

/1148 cont./

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821

brilliant colors. Beautiful Hānuxa is his wife."

The combination Akājnix wātuwa is her complete name, little used in everyday speech. BD:265 writes hannūka, but also gives hannūkaiāgū, "moonlight" /cited in English/. This is the story of the rainbow.

"Old Akājnix was a magnificent figure. He knew how to paint himself much more beautifully than all the other men, for he belonged to a privileged family. The imposing Lēm is his brother; Hānuxēakuxīpa is his wife. She is also extraordinarily beautiful, for she is a woman. /1149/ Akājnix also has a number of sisters, all of whom are very grand, clever, and cunning. He himself also proved to all the people that he was a capable yēkamuš.

"Once the sisters were again playing kīna in Yājaaššga. Old Akājnix was permitted to enter the large kīna hut, for he knew all about that secret ceremony of the women. That is why he was admitted. One day his sisters amused themselves by trying to play dead. They decided to hold their breath and not to move for a long time, in imitation of a dead person. They wanted to fool their relatives and frighten them for fun.

"For some time they had been busy with these attempts and exerted themselves to the utmost, but no matter how hard they tried, they could not succeed. One day the girls were again trying these experiments when old Akājnix approached the kīna hut. He was the oldest among all his brothers and sisters. When his youngest sister saw him coming, she immediately told the others and said: 'It will be wise to stop our attempts and experiments immediately; our brother is close by and might see what we are doing.' But Akājnix was already standing inside the kīna hut. He asked his sisters: 'What are you doing here?' They all replied: 'Nothing special! As usual, we are devoting ourselves to our tasks and our songs in this hut.' Akājnix replied: 'What you are saying is not true at all. I know very well what you have just been up to: each of you tried to appear completely motionless, as though dead, without breathing for a long time. But you did not succeed as I know very well. Now then, I myself shall show you how to do this properly!' These girls, of course, wanted to dupe all their relatives living in the south and purposely frighten them in order to

/1149 cont./

773 amuse themselves. They were the only ones who had come here from the south and they were taking part in the kīna in order to 821 hide their real purpose. Akā́jnix saw through all that and that is why he offered to help his sisters.

"So Akā́jnix lay down on the ground and stretched out full length; he became completely still, soon stopped breathing, and remained motionless, just like a dead person. His sisters watched all this and conceded: 'Truly, our brother can do that very well, he is lying there just like a dead man'' Akā́jnix was, after all, a capable yēkamuš.

"The kīna celebration was over and all the people left the *great hut. Each family again turned homeward.* Akā́jnix and his sisters also climbed into their canoe. They set out in a southerly direction where their relatives lived. They had to travel several days, for the distance was great. Just before they approached the huts where their relatives were living, they stopped briefly. Akā́jnix stayed behind here; he lay down on the ground, stretched out full length, and pretended he was dead. His wife, Hānuxēakuxīpa, and all his daughters painted /1150/ their entire bodies black, as is done in deep mourning. Thus [prepared] they entered the hut of their relatives. Dismayed, the latter asked immediately: 'Where is Akā́jnix? Why do you come with the painting of mourning?' The girls replied very sadly: 'Our brother just died, not far from here. We left him lying out there, quite near this hut. That is why we put on the painting of mourning!' After these words by the sad girls, a few men immediately got up and went to the place where Akā́jnix lay. They soon brought him back and laid him in their hut. Akā́jnix himself continued to pretend that he was dead. In view of this, the other people prepared for a yamalašemōina. All the relatives gathered, wept loudly, and sang for several days.

"Meanwhile a few amorous men approached the wife of Akā́jnix and his sisters. They began flirting, since these women were exceedingly beautiful. The men fondled them and slept with them. Akā́jnix lay there completely motionless, but he observed very closely what happened. While all this was going on, several days passed. Finally the men became obtrusive and wanted the girls as their wives. They had flirted with them long

[Errata indicates this should read: sisters. —Analyst]

/1150 cont./

773 821 enough. The wife and sisters of Akā́inix had yielded to everything, for they knew that Akā́inix was not dead and would take full revenge. Those men behaved more and more as though the women already belonged to them as wives.

"Now one day those amorous men set out on the hunt; there was no more meat in the huts. They planned to hunt for cormorants on the nearby cliffs. Their [female] relatives, kímoa and lúrux, šíkuš and wípatux, stayed behind with the wife and sisters of Akā́inix.

"When the men were far enough from the hut, Akā́inix got up without being seen and hastened after them. He set out in another direction, however. He reached the cliffs before the men arrived to hunt cormorants. Akā́inix created a commotion among the many birds and frightened them. They flew up in swarms, circled around for some time, and then flew far out over the sea. He hid himself nearby. From afar the men saw how all the birds flew up from the cliffs. They said: 'Doubtless there is a man running around there somewhere, for all the cormorants are rising up, circling in the air, flying up and down, and finally drifting far out to sea. Who could that man be?' Meanwhile they came to the place, but the cormorants were hovering far out over the waves.

"Quite unexpectedly Akā́inix stepped out of his hiding-place and stood before the men. They were terribly startled when they suddenly found themselves face to face with Akā́inix. Immediately they realized what would now happen to them. Akā́inix spoke to them: 'You came here /1151/ to hunt cormorants? All the animals flew away. Only down there not far from the shore are there still a great many standing close together. Don't be afraid to step into the water, it is shallow!' The men obeyed at once, as though they had lost all capacity to think; they were so frightened that they had no idea what they were doing. So they pushed ahead far into the water in order to get quite close to the cormorants. As soon as they were in so far that they could move only with some effort, Akā́inix skillfully used his powerful sling and killed all the men. Thus he avenged himself, his wife, and his sisters.

"Without delay he hastened back to the hut. He did not reveal that he had killed all those men. After a while their

/1151 cont./

773 824 relatives asked: 'Why are our men gone such a long time? Did you perhaps see them out there near that cliff?' Akā́inix answered: 'Certainly I saw them. They stepped into the sea in order to reach the cormorants who were swimming far out. Have patience, they will probably soon return!' The women again waited a long time, but the men did not return. After a while they became convinced that Akā́inix himself had murdered all the men. They were overcome with anger and seized with rage. They began to suspect Akā́inix openly and attacked him angrily. This aroused him and he began defending himself violently. Soon there was a terrific struggle between Akā́inix and the men who were present. He was hard pressed because his opponents were numerous. They held him fast, but did not succeed in killing him. For some time they choked him and tried to break his neck, but they did not succeed despite the greatest effort, for he was a mighty yékamuš. They only managed to bend his neck and his long back so far that since then he cannot quite raise himself up straight. Yā́i, the son of Akā́inix, also took part in this struggle and defended his father. The men, therefore, choked him just as they did his father and they also bent his spine. Since then Akā́inix and his son Yā́i (76) have remained deeply bowed and

76. This is the second, pale rainbow which sometimes accompanies the bright one.

curved to this day (77). The relatives of those amorous men whom

[171] 77. This clear mythical motif is also familiar to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 609).

Akā́inix murdered, however, also carried off something from that struggle. They soiled themselves with ímí while they were choking Akā́inix, for he was a yékamuš and therefore painted red all over, as is customary for a yékamuš who has died. To this day these birds (78) carry the stain of red color on their feathers."

78. They were not mentioned by name or described in any other way. -- The story assumes conditions after the great upheaval.

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773 /1152/ This story was told me by Alfredo while I was sitting all alone with him and there were no women around. In one place in the story the kīna secret is mentioned, and they strictly keep this from the women. Later the same story, somewhat shortened, was repeated to me by old Mary. She omitted the brief reference to the kīna celebration. The Yamana designation Akā́inix obviously corresponds to Akā́inix of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 609), but the latter do not have a separate story about the rainbow. BD:15 gives akainix, "the rainbow" /cited in English/.

E. The Moon-Woman

773 821 The Yamana usually use the name Hā́nuxa for this mythological person, less often the longer and more specific form Hānuxēakuxīpa. She is regarded as the wife of Akā́inix and as outstandingly beautiful and shapely. Neither women nor men speak of her in friendly terms, least of all the men. Once upon a time the moon-woman had a great influence on all women, and through them on all men as well. Everyone was obliged to yield to her commands and instructions. Her position of power was felt especially with regard to the kīna secrets of the women. Although at that time Yoā́lox-tā́rnuxīpa had precedence, Hā́nuxa always had an influential part in the kīna. She was a malevolent, vicious woman and obviously hostile to all men. To this very day her hatred toward men has not diminished.

My informants did not agree about her children. Old Whaits told me briefly in 1919: "Hā́nuxa had three sons altogether, who soon died, one after the other (79). Today they stand up there

> 79. He was referring not to actual death but to a departure from the previous form of existence on this earth and subsequent life on the visible canopy of heaven.

near the lunar orb. None of the present-day Yamana knows her name." Since old Whaits was blind he could not show me the stars he spoke of. The next year I learned from Maŝemikens: "Hā́nuxa had only one son who, like his mother, was outstandingly

/1152 cont./

773 821 handsome and shapely. He died very young. In her grief over this great loss Hánuxa made numerous small cuts on her face so that much blood flowed. That is why to this day one sometimes sees her colored red all over, a sign of her sorrow (80). That son

80. Two well-known expressions of mourning are mentioned here, namely, surface cuts in the skin and body painting. The former meant more to the earlier generations than to the Yamana of today.

of hers became a star, no one knows his name."

To my surprise and contrary to the majority of old people, Whaits was of the opinion that Hánuxa caused the great flood. He said: "When Hánuxa is colored red all over, /1153/ she makes it plain that she is once again very angry with human beings (81)

81. This is the exact view of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 601).

and again threatens a great flood. That is why all the Yamana become terribly frightened when they see this sign." Others gave the reason previously mentioned for this phenomenon and emphatically declared that the old man was mistaken. They did say, however, that the great flood had actually come in connection with the general upheaval in Yájaašága and that the moon-woman played a decisive part in it.

Men and women agree that the phases of the moon are the course of her pregnancy: "At first, when Hánuxa is very lean and thin [beginning moon] she conceives a daughter. This child slowly develops in her belly and finally becomes quite big [full moon]. Then the child is born. After that the moon-woman's girth decreases, she becomes constantly leaner, sickly, and weak [waning moon]. Finally she dies and is no longer visible, but then the newborn daughter slowly grows. She, too, conceives, and everything is repeated again, just as in the case of her mother."

Two women explained the phases of the moon somewhat differently to me: "Slowly, like any child, Hánuxa grows very

/1153 cont./

773 slowly. She is still young and therefore small and thin. Gradu-
821 ally she becomes a full-bodied, adult woman. Then she conceives a daughter whom she carries under her heart [full moon]. After that her strength constantly decreases, and she becomes weaker and weaker [waning moon], in fact so weak finally that she nears the end of her life. Then she gives life to her daughter. Since she is giving birth, she makes herself inaccessible and avoids the glances of human beings. Soon she herself dies, but her daughter begins to live and to grow; she develops exactly like her mother. Sometimes this moon-child Hánuxa-xéolan comes down to earth. No one sees it except the yékamus. They can also hear it when it cries and weeps in its own peculiar way." According to this interpretation the appearance of the new moon is a progressive succession of generations and each moon's change is the development of a mother (82).

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82. The Selk'nam (Vol. I, 601) have more to say about the moon-woman. Some of their views deviate, others coincide in significant details with what I learned from the Yamana.

The Yamana do not have anything further to say about the children of the parental pair, Akánix, the rainbow, and Hánuxéakuxípa, the moon-woman, or about their forefathers. They simply say that this couple came here along with the other families during the first immigration from the east.

5. The Deluge

773 Several times reference has been made to a general flood, about which every adult is well informed. This is probably the reason that the reports of several missionaries /1154/ contain casual references to this belief. In Outes (g):54 one reads: "They believe in a period of great tides, and when the waters covered a good part of the country, a box happened to come floating by and stopped on the summit of a high mountain. This box

/1154 cont./

113 contained a pair of Fuegians, small ones, completely like those of today, who procreated very large men, and later, these giants procreated little people, like the present-day Fuegians. Then a dispute broke out between the big people and the little people, the latter killing and destroying the former and thus remaining the single race that we know today. It is seen, then, that these tribes...have a conception of a deluge" /translated from Spanish/. Aside from the mere mention of a universal deluge, I can only be strongly suspicious of this whole account, for I did not come across similar ideas there. Bridges (a):211 expresses himself more reliably: "They have a tradition of the flood...Their tradition of the deluge is very whimsical and indistinct. The sun was submerged in the sea, the waters rose tumultuously, and all lands were submerged, save a lofty mountain where a few individuals had taken shelter" /cited in English/. According to Martial:213, the Yamana explain that universal flood: "by the fall of the sun into the sea; there it has remained and has left, as a sign of its passage on earth, only a small lake which one can still see near Ushuaia. This is sufficiently verified in their eyes by the presence of whalebones found in this lake which is actually about ten meters above sea level. The preservation of the human species was assured by the escape of one man and one woman who with their canoe found refuge on a high mountain" /translated from French/. The important thing in this description is that the deluge is linked with the general upheaval, even though this connection is not very clear. Even Spears:76 has this to report: "They had a tradition that in by-gone years a great flood raised the waters to the level of certain lines on the mountains, to which they point the traveller" /cited in English/. It is true, certain marks on a few mountain peaks, which our Yamana regard as traces of that universal flood, constantly remind them of the old myth, and they mention it to everyone to whom they point out these mountains. I myself experienced this several times and was thus made familiar with the basic ideas of that story.

Old Whaits, in 1919, was the first who told me: "The moon-woman Hanuxa caused the great flood. This was at the time of the general upheaval in Yájaafága. Hánuxa was filled with

/1154 cont./

•113 hatred toward human beings, most of all toward the men who had gained control of the kīna of the women. At that time everybody drowned with the exception of those few who were able to escape to the five mountain peaks to which the water did not rise. Scarcely had the great flood subsided when those few people came down from the mountain peaks to the /1155/ shores of our channels, and our country became populated anew." Concerning this description more reliable informants would not concede that the great flood was caused by the moon-woman.

Nevertheless, another version noted by Cojazzi:105 clearly speaks in favor of it: "A Yahgan tribe near Ushuaia narrated that the moon once fell into the sea, causing the water to rise so high that only the top of a mountain stood out, on which the swifter men and animals saved themselves. When the moon later returned to the sky, the water receded and then the men and animals, descending from the mountain, found in the lagoon below a dead whale which they ate" /translated from Italian/. Still another version is related to this one: "This legend is told somewhat differently by the other Yahgan west of Harbertón. Some men and animals did not save themselves on top of a mountain, but on Cable Island which, detached from the bottom of the sea, floated like a big boat (83) until, when

83. Here a motif is repeated which was mentioned earlier in Outes (g):54 (see p. 1113.

the moon returned to the sky, it became rooted again to the bottom of the sea" /translated from Italian/.

In January, 1920, I heard the following version from Alfredo, Charlin, and Richard in the presence of a few young men: "The very touchy Lexuwakīpa (84) was offended by human

84. This refers to the strong, rust-colored spectacled ibis, Theristicus melanopis.

beings. In revenge she caused a great deal of snow to fall. A huge mass of ice finally covered the whole earth. When this

/1155 cont./

•773 began to melt, there was so much water that the earth became completely flooded. That woman planned to destroy the whole world and all the people. The ice came just at the time of the universal upheaval in Yāiaašāga, when the men were carrying on their battle with the women and gained control of the kīna. -- In this connection see Lēxuwakīpa wātuwa on page 1232 /untranslated/.

"After the ice period the whole earth became flooded. The tremendous amount of water rose constantly and quickly. Everybody hastened to the canoes and sat down in them; they all wanted to save themselves. The water rose higher and higher; it even reached the mountain tops and covered one after the other. Finally there were only five peaks that rose above the great flood. The tremendous inundation came extraordinarily quickly and there were high waves so that the people could not provide themselves with food. Many of them did not even reach their canoes and almost all the human beings drowned in the huge flood. The distress everywhere was indescribable. There was no hope for the ones who could not flee in their canoes in time and hold out in some protected spot.

773 823 "The fortunate people were those who in their canoes reached one of the five mountain tops which rose up out of the water. There they found safety. Those mountain peaks are [1] Ušlāka in what is now Packsaddle Bay on the Hardy Peninsula. High up one can still see broad bands which indicate how high the great flood reached. [2] Wēmarᵏwaja opposite O'Brien Island, where one sees a /1156/ cut reaching all around the rock. It was made when many canoes were tied up there, but almost all nevertheless perished. [3] Auwāratulēra in a hidden corner of Estero Ponsonby. At this place there is still a thick pole to which several canoes were fastened at that time. This pole has turned to stone, for it has been there a very long time. [4] Wēlalānux on Gable Island. There the high peak formerly rose still higher. It has become considerably lower because strong waves are constantly pounding it. [5] Pjatulēra, two steep eminences on either side of the mouth of the Rio Douglas. Today they are no longer as high as at the time when the great flood covered all the land.

/1156 cont./

•773 "After the mighty flood had reached its highest level so that the above-mentioned five peaks were barely visible, the water remained at this level for two whole days. After that it quickly receded and drained off. Only a few families had succeeded in saving themselves; almost all the Yamana were drowned. After the great flood had drained off, those few people began building their huts again on the shore. From that time on the men dictate to the women."

773 After I had heard this story, I happened to talk to Alfredo the next day about the same subject, and I asked him pointedly:
776 "Who sent those huge amounts of water? Does Lēxuwakīpa really have so much power?" The old man answered definitely and with conviction: "Actually it was mighty Watauinēiwa who permitted the mighty flood to come; Lēxuwakīpa persuaded him to do this. She wanted to destroy the whole world. At any rate she succeeded with Watauinēiwa so that the great flood descended."

It should be noted that on this occasion I was unable to find out anything more about the figure of Watauinēiwa. There was noticeable timidity in the mention of this name, as though my informant had let it slip out unconsciously and against his will. He refused to disclose anything further despite repeated requests. Later I was able to account perfectly for this strange behavior, but at that time, under the influence of the startled faces when the name Watauinēiwa was mentioned, I lost my head to a certain extent. I could not understand why Alfredo refused to give me further explanations. Finally I began to think that the story of the deluge had been given to the Yamana by the missionaries and that their uncertainty in Biblical matters in my presence had caused the embarrassment that I read in all their faces. I carefully noted this explanation in my diary. Later my doubts on this subject disappeared. A specific argument for the authenticity of the myth of the deluge is that neither Alfredo nor Maŝemikens had any contact worth mentioning with any mission station. Two years later, in 1922, Maŝemikens confirmed the entire content of this legend of the flood as I have just given it. /1157/ He did not, however, specifically speak of the direct influence of Watauinēiwa in the general deluge, although he conceded it indirectly.

/1157 cont./

173 The Yamana have not preserved a consistent text of the myth of the deluge, although nothing has been changed in the basic idea. Fred Lawrence also realized that there was some uncertainty, and he once told me that since childhood he had observed that this myth was never told consistently and with the same words by the various individuals. There were always small deviations. He himself, therefore, has never been clear about whether the general conflagration when the old sun-man was nearer the earth and let everything burn up and the great flood coincided approximately in point of time. Refer to the Selk'nam for comparison (Vol. 1, 625). They, too, have a myth of a deluge which has a corresponding basic idea, but which is not clear in some parts.

η. Origin of These Personalities

The myths state quite clearly that the first settlers of the present-day Yamana region immigrated as adults. They do not say anything, however, about their origin, that is, their point of departure and how they came into being. The actual process of giving birth was first introduced by Yoñlox and since then there have been real human beings, but the Yamana have no clear idea how those first heroes or pre-humans originated. This makes the distinction between the two groups all the more definite.

One day when I asked knowledgeable Malemikens how those personalities of former times had happened to come into the world, he paused to think seriously for some time and then replied: "This is not the first time that I have been faced with that question. As a young man I was admitted to the kina; there I was told [in the myth of the upheaval] how all the animals originated. Since then I have now and then asked myself, as well as others, especially the famous yékamuf and experienced old men, about how those people originated [who afterwards transformed themselves into animals] and why they came here, but no one knew the answer. So I am not clear about it to this day, although I have thought about it for a long time and have often sought an answer to this question. At that time Yáruwalkm

/1157 cont./

113 burned up the whole world and all the animals. But how everything became orderly again after that, how the country came alive again with plants and animals, who it was that finally extinguished the great fire -- all this we do not know. In former years I often asked the most experienced Yamana about it, but no one was able to help me."

On another occasion, in March, 1923, among a group of old /1158/ men, I again touched on the subject of how, in their opinion, the heaven and the first animals originated. I actually challenged them by saying: "You tell the story that Wataqinéwa made all the animals (bif) in Yáxalége. Very well, but how did human beings come into being at that time?" The answer was: "We don't know that exactly. Wataqinéwa, of course, existed a very long time ago, for heaven was already there above the earth where the clouds are. That is where Wataqinéwa always stayed. Back in the days when Lém and Hánuya and Akxinix were still wandering down here on earth, they were exactly like us today. But Wataqinéwa existed before them, because heaven was already there as we see it now. At that time the sky was much closer to the earth than it is nowadays.

113 133 "At that time the women ruled, they gave orders to the men. But we do not know how children came into being in those days; since women played the leading role, they would not lie under the men [ad copulam perficiendam /to facilitate coitus/]. So we do not know how children originated. Since the great upheaval, the women are dominated by the men. At that time the great seal sípéwa (Arctocephalus australis) discovered the place [on the body] where the libido sexualis is, and this he made known to the men. He said: "Vir incubus immittat membrum suum muliери succubae /man, lying on top, puts his member in woman lying underneath/!" Since that time the men dictate to the women, they lie on top of them; this gives them great pleasure and in this way children come into existence. Even today the Yamana do the same thing. We do not know how Lém and Hánuya and all the rest who now appear up there as stars originated. Long before that Wataqinéwa, as well as the canopy of heaven, was there.

113 "During that great upheaval in which the men rose up against the women who had brought the kina game down here from

/1158 cont./

•773 the north, Lēm with all the rest of his family rose up to heaven where they are still standing. At that time a woman tried to see if she could transform herself and turn into Hax̌ēlla. She tried for a long time and finally succeeded. Since then she stays under the earth. We cannot explain how she managed to do this. After that this woman produced many other Hax̌ēlla, and always when she slept with a man. She herself chose the man with whom she wanted to sleep, aroused him [libidine sexuali], and then a child came into being."

This story clearly emphasizes a difference between those personalities who appeared as the first settlers of the Cape Horn region and the actual Yamana who followed them. The Fuegians do not know how the former originated. After the seat of libido sexualis and the union of the sexes per copulam was discovered, conception and birth take place, children originate, and they are the actual human beings who are separate from the earlier heroic personalities and who represent a later people of this region.

/1159/ 2. The Culture-Bearers

The picture of the world that the above-mentioned myths describe is limited. The Yamana are far more concerned with the details of how their own way of life and their material possessions came about. The extraordinarily significant inventions and important rules for community life which form the basis of the uniqueness of these Fuegians are traced back to the Yōlox family, the members of which must be recognized as culture-bearers in the fullest sense of the word. The youngest member of this family is outstanding and more influential than his brothers and sisters.

In general the Yamana are proud of the Yōlox family because it achieved great things and brought so much. The younger Yōlox is not a popular personality; he is purposely mentioned only rarely among adults. The young people become acquainted with him only when they mature. The ulwāla in the Xēlaxa are told about this family in detail. For example, the adults will say: "Yōlox told us how we Yamana should conduct ourselves!" They are referring to the traditional habits of life and the moral precepts.

/1119 cont./

113 With these words they wish to show how influential he is himself and how significant everything is that he introduced. He is clearly identified as the bearer of the decrees that Wanaqindjee himself issued to the Tamana. This intermediary position, however, has no effect in practical life. Girls learn about him on the occasion of their menarche (p.575). The complete set of Yalgin stories is repeated in the kine.

In view of this it is not strange that earlier travelers did not hear a word about these mythological personalities. Spencer.101 was the only one to whom very brief hints were given: "Yullah, a Yalgan, was a woman who invented arrow-heads. Two brothers and a sister. Brothers used to kill seal with pointed stick. Sister thought and invented arrow-head. Sister one day put arrow-head at end of spear. When she died, Yullah went up to heaven, and is now a star" /cited in English/. During long conversations with the oldest men, I learned the following which I have arranged freely in my own fashion. Women avoid speaking of him out of marked aversion.

G. The Yualoo Family

The Tamana all agree that the two Yalloo brothers are quite superior personalities, extraordinarily intelligent and skillful in every respect, endowed with rich gifts of invention and full of the urge to do things. This is far more true of the younger Yalloo who excels his older brother in every respect. "Their older sister, Yalloo-dinoulin, was actually the cleverest person of all. She had great influence on her two brothers and mind by them in everything, for she was highly gifted and very skillful, extraordinarily capable in all things. There are two more sisters (p.1144), but no /1181/ one remembers their names or what they did." The mother of them all (p.#51) is likewise mentioned, but not the father.

On a number of occasions I was emphatically assured that the members of the Yalloo family "are the first human beings." A first settlement has been mentioned above (p.1180). It consisted of creatures which became men and animals. If in this

/1160 cont./

•773 connection the expression "ten human beings" is again mentioned, it is merely to show that the Tuhiva were present before the age of actual human beings. These Tuhiva are not regarded as human beings in the strict sense of the word, but they are not associated with the personalities grouped around Lihu. It seems almost as though the preceding age had come to a close, and the Tuhiva for their part inaugurate with their appearance a new type of existence in preparation for the actual, true human beings.

Then the story goes on. "The Tuhiva family took long journeys throughout the wide world before they finally came here where the Tuvaka live today. Here, then, they began all kinds of work. When soon the [actual] human beings appeared who were born here [on the spot], the Tuhiva taught them how they should arrange everything, what attitude they should have toward one another, and how they should associate with one another. The Tuhiva also showed people all kinds of implements, utensils, weapons, and tools and taught them to handle all these things successfully. They were, after all, very capable men; that is why they invented the various weapons and tools which we use nowadays in hunting and fishing, in gathering, and in killing animals. They also showed how animals are to be cached in the water and on land, the green whales and sea lions, the otters and bears, the rainy birds, the shellfish and crustaceans, how to skin them and make the skin serviceable, how to use and prepare the meat. All this the Tuhiva invented and transmitted to human beings. Tuhiva-Hemoiga was the cleverer, and the younger brother, in turn, far surpassed the older one. They prove that a younger brother is often more capable and cleverer than his older brother."

All the Tuvaka are in complete agreement about the description of the persons set forth here. The stories that follow are more or less well known to every adult Tuvaka.

β. The Invention of Fire

773 73 It is said: Once the older Tuhiva collected many small stones and amused himself by kicking them against one another. Among them there was also a good [illegible] (p. 99). When he hit

/1180 cont./

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the spider another stone, a small spark shot out. Surprised at this, he hit these stones together several times and each time /1181/ sparks shot out. Hastily he seized a handful of down-feathers. He placed them on the ground. Once more he began striking a spark from the Spirit. He placed himself in such a way as to hit the stone from a certain direction so that the spark leaped into the down-feathers. They began to glow, caught fire, and soon a small flame leaped up. They Talking quickly brought brush and wood and put it all on top. Then a big fire started. It gave a most comfortable warmth. It felt good to Talking to sit beside the fire during the day and to sleep beside it at night. The fire also proved useful for many other things. It helped roast the meat, dry the skins, and bend pieces of bark and sticks or weighten them out.

Highly pleased, the elder Talking cried out: "The fire is immeasurably beneficial and does many things. Let us keep it burning constantly, so that it will never go out. Once lighted, may it go on burning by itself so that human beings will have no trouble using it. They should not have to make an effort to re-kindle it every time [in every case of need] or keep on feeding it with wood!" The younger Talking heard these words, and they put him in a bad humor. He did not at all like what his brother was planning. He immediately replied: "I am not in favor of what you wish. It is much better if people have to exert themselves. Everyone should make an honest effort for the fire and should tend it carefully. May everyone have to rekindle the fire anew if he has let it go out. Human beings should work!" Immediately he reached for a long stick, poked around in the embers with it, and scattered the smoldering logs. Then the whole fire went out. Since then every fire without exception will go out if it is not constantly and carefully tended. Thus everyone is forced to work.

Talking taught human beings how they must light their fire with the Spirit, how they must fan it and keep it going. Since then a person whose fire goes out must relight it with a great deal of effort. Talking wanted to force all human beings to guard the fire with increased vigilance. Failing this, a person will lose it and will find himself forced to rekindle a new fire with great effort and keep it going.

/1161 com./

7. Hunting Birds

713 The Tamana tell: The two Tsiling went hunting whenever they lacked meat for food. They always killed birds with their slings. The older Tsiling found all this too much trouble and he always felt that it was a great chore. One day he said to his brother: "I would like it better if we killed birds merely with a glance. a bird that is given a penetrating look shall immediately fall dead. Let it be thus: anyone who needs the meat of a bird shall cast a sharp eye on it and therewith kill it! In this way everyone can /1162/ effortlessly obtain his luxury and carry it home!" The older Tsiling immediately tried it. A few birds happened to be flying overhead. He fixed them with his eye and at the same time willed them to fall to the ground dead. Sure enough, that is what happened; all these birds immediately dropped dead in front of him. The older Tsiling was pleased beyond measure and said: "From now on it shall always be thus and we shall also teach human beings how to do this: anyone who stares at a bird in order to make it fall dead shall always be successful! In this way we shall save ourselves a lot of bother and trouble, the monotonous journeys, and many dangers." The younger Tsiling heard these words. He very much disliked his elder brother's plan and opposed it angrily. He replied: "It is much more beneficial for people to make weapons and implements and set out to hunt with them. They should exert themselves and use cunning when they creep up on birds and surprise them in order to kill them and seize them. It shall be that all must work and make an effort!"

The older Tsiling was very much put out by his younger brother's words; he did not reply. On the following day he tried again to kill a few birds with a mere glance. A whole flock just happened to be flying above him. Immediately he stared hard at the animals and willed them to fall dead, but they kept on flying, unharmed. Disappointed and displeased the older Tsiling looked after them. From that time on every human being must use cunning and effort if he wants to catch birds. Very often the prey escapes the awkward hunter.

/1162 cont./

δ. Hunting the Sea Lion

•773 It is told: Once the elder Yoālox received a beautifully made harpoon from his elder sister. It proved very serviceable. This weapon never missed its mark. He always obtained booty with it and each time he carried it back in his hand.

One day he again returned home from the hunt, loaded down with a huge sea lion. Although he had killed it with the first blow, he broke his harpoon in doing so and lost it. So the elder Yoālox said to his younger brother: "How convenient it would be if I had a harpoon that I would never lose and that would never break! This is the way it ought to be: at the first thrust the sea lion ought to fall over dead and the weapon immediately return to the hand of the hunter. In this way we should save ourselves and human beings a great deal of trouble and bother. Then we would not have to exert any particular effort to make the harpoon carefully. Everyone would safely and easily obtain fat and meat from the sea lion; otherwise it requires a great deal of effort and cunning to kill a sea lion." The younger Yoālox had heard all this. He very decidedly opposed the proposition /1163/ of his elder brother and angrily replied: "It must never be as you say! It is good for human beings to work and exert themselves. It is very useful that everyone makes his own weapons; he would lose this [this benefit] if we let every man have a harpoon of the kind you propose. There is also some gain when a clumsy, careless hunter breaks his harpoon and forfeits it. May his prey escape if an awkward, bungling man hurls his harpoon badly. Everyone should, after all, make an effort and exert himself!"

The elder Yoālox could not object to these words. This explains why, to this day, the harpoon of a clumsy hunter breaks and is lost if he has not learned to hurl it properly and aim it well, or it remains superficially attached to the back of the sea lion and the animal swims away with it if the hunter has not hurled it powerfully enough. A person who has forfeited his harpoon in this way must simply take the trouble to make a new one.

Later Yoālox-tārnuxīpa gave the elder of the two Yoālox other weapons and implements: the firm leather thong made from sea-lion hide, ūkeła; the sharp knife made from the shell

/1163 cont./

113 of an edible mussel; the strong bone wedge, ĭla, with a stone as a hammer (p.111); the strong sling, ĭăfina (p. 172); the long snare-rod, akăŕnuš (p. 179); and the joined lengths of the snare-line, ŭfka, for catching birds (p. 178), as well as the rest of the implements. He was greatly pleased with all these things, for whenever he used them, success was his. Hence he longed for nothing more than that all these tools should neither break nor wear out, that they should neither slip out of their owner's hand nor become lost in any other way. His purpose was to save people the trouble of having to make all their implements anew.

These fine plans of the elder Yoăĺox were very definitely opposed by his brother. The younger Yoăĺox aimed to make people work. The weapons of every stiff and awkward hunter should break and he should lose them so that he would learn to become skillful. All tools should wear out so that everyone would be forced to make new ones. In this way everyone would be busy. The younger Yoăĺox followed this plan. Thus to this day no one is spared the trouble of putting effort and attention into all his implements, of always making new ones, and of handling them carefully. He will always be dependent on his tools in his daily occupations; he can under no circumstances do without them.

E. The Invention of the Arrowhead

It is told: Both Yoăĺox were very adroit craftsmen. They had, after all, taken long journeys throughout the world and thus had become acquainted with many things. /1164/ They were also the first to come here to the territory of the Yamana. Hence they were obliged to make and design the first weapons and tools in such a way that the true Yamana could use them successfully. Their sister, however, the capable Yoăĺox-tăŕnuxĭpa, surpassed her two able brothers in many respects by her clever judgment and far-sighted attitude. She had considerable influence on everyone. She gave instructions to all the other women who willingly yielded to her. The women, in turn, ordered their husbands about in such a way that they complied with their wishes in every respect. The sister of the two Yoăĺox was really extraordinarily intelligent; she

/1164 cont./

113 surpassed everyone in wise insight, cunning, and talent. Whenever it seemed proper, she would help her two brothers and all the women in their work. At such times they were always very successful and their enterprises brought rich gains.

One day the two Yoālox brothers were working on a yĕkuš. Although they were skillful craftsmen and had worked hard all day, the arrowhead did not seem to come out right. They had given it sharp edges that would cut well, but they were unable to fasten the point securely to the shaft. Securing the point to the shaft was obviously most important, for only then would the arrowhead be at all useful. The two Yoālox had rounded the lower edge of the arrowhead; therefore, the cords fastening it could not be secured properly and the arrowhead did not sit firmly in the narrow notch at the upper end of the shaft. Such an arrowhead was useless. They worked hard and tried over and over again, this way and that, to see how the arrowhead could be securely inserted in the shaft. They had already made quite a number of points and tried them out, but they were not satisfied with any of them, for each one fell out very easily because it was rounded. Dissatisfied, they gathered together the many arrowheads in a small basket and hung it up in their hut.

One day the two Yoālox had again gone hunting to get meat for food. When they were far from their hut, Yoālox-tārnuxīpa took down the little basket with the many arrowheads. It had not escaped her notice that her two brothers had toiled without any success whatever. She emptied the basket on the ground in front of her and picked up one arrowhead after another, working them over and perfecting them so that they could be used. At the bottom she fashioned a piece shaped like a stopper by making shallow notches on either side so that the lashing could not slide off. She corrected each of the arrowheads in this way, put them all back in the little basket, and hung it up again in the same place. In the evening her two brothers returned home, but she did not tell them that she had perfected the many arrowheads.

/1165/ Depressed and ill-humored the two Yoālox wanted to resume their work on the arrowheads the next day and see whether they could be securely lashed to the shaft and used. They

/1165 cont./

•113 took down the little basket and emptied the many arrowheads on the ground in front of them. Completely surprised, they realized that the arrowheads had been worked over, for each one had a clearly defined stopper-shaped base. With amazement they looked at this change. Immediately they experimented with them; they placed an arrowhead in the notch on the upper end of the shaft and lashed the base with fine tendons. The point now actually fitted securely on the shaft and did not fall out. Now the arrow was serviceable. Then the elder Yoálox cried: "Who do you suppose worked over these arrowheads and made them serviceable?" The younger Yoálox replied: "Only our sister could have done that; after all, she is much more capable and skillful than we are. She succeeds in everything. She is the only one who could have improved these arrowheads and made them useful!" The elder Yoálox agreed with his brother: "Certainly, it is as you say, our sister surpasses us in cleverness and skill. From now on we shall give her all our tools so that she will help us [in making and perfecting them] !" For a long time the two Yoálox were very pleased over these effective arrowheads.

5. The Invention of the Harpoon Point

It is told: A short time after that the two Yaólox began long harpoon points from the bones of the whale. The bones of the whale are longer and harder than those of other marine animals, and so they penetrate deeper and more effectively into their prey. They put such a point on a long shaft and lashed it with a narrow leather band. They immediately went hunting in order to try out the weapon.

When a sea lion came near, they hurled this harpoon at it, but the animal was not killed, only superficially wounded. It quickly escaped by diving under the water, then soon came up again and disappeared far from shore. The superficial wound had not hurt it in the least. The two Yoálox did not succeed in killing a single sea lion with their harpoon. Several times they went out to hunt, but every animal hit by their harpoon was only slightly wounded and escaped without any trouble. Each time the two Yoálox returned home disappointed and without booty. They had

/1165 cont./

113 already lost ever so many harpoons, for if a sea lion was hit the harpoon remained loosely lodged near the surface of its body and it would swim away with it. On such hunts all their efforts remained unsuccessful; the harpoons proved unsuitable.

Annoyed at their many unsuccessful efforts, /1166/ the two Yo̯ílox one day decided to question their elder sister. They said to her: "Why do you suppose it is that our harpoon hits the sea lion and the point enters its body, but it wounds the animal only slightly? We cannot succeed in killing it and so we can never lay hands on it. For many days now we have returned home without booty!" The intelligent, understanding Yo̯ílox-tárnuxípa replied: "Bring me one of your harpoon points, I should like to examine it carefully." They immediately fetched a bone point and showed it to her. She took it and examined it carefully. This piece tapered to a fine point and had a suitable base at the other end for the lashing, just like the arrowhead that Yo̯ílox-tárnuxípa had improved. Hence the harpoon point was securely held in the notch at the end of the upper shaft and firmly lashed. The two sides of the long bone point, however, were smooth from top to bottom. Then Yo̯ílox-tárnuxípa cut a large, pointed tooth in one side. When she succeeded in doing that, she looked at the bone point with the utmost satisfaction. Immediately she untied her modesty-apron, malakína (p. 60), and cut off a long strip of leather. She knotted one end of this around the base of the point, then ran the leather strip along the side of the shaft, and tied it securely below, rolling up the long, free part (Fig. 35). Then she showed her brothers how to handle this harpoon: the right hand grasps the harpoon in approximately the center of the shaft and the left hand holds the long, free part of the leather strip loosely. Yo̯ílox-tárnuxípa demonstrated to her brothers how to grasp this harpoon. Then she said to them: "Now try it!"

The two Yo̯ílox thanked their sister because she had improved their harpoon and showed them how to use it. They left the hut immediately; they wanted to experiment with the harpoon and hunt sea lions. Scarcely had they reached the shore when a mighty animal swam by. The younger Yo̯ílox grasped the harpoon exactly as his sister had shown him; when he hurled it, he held the free end of the thong securely in his left hand. Sure enough, the bone

/1166 cont./

113 harpoon point penetrated deeply into the back of the sea lion. Instantly it escaped under the surface of the water. It did not go far, however, for the long strap soon became taut and the tooth in the harpoon point tore the wound deeper the harder the sea lion tugged. The shaft had already become detached from the point, but the lower end of it was still held by the leather thong and floated on the surface of the water. The shaft showed Yoálox where the sea lion was. The animal was no longer tugging so hard on the long line, for the deep wound hurt very much and each tug was painful. Slowly the younger Yoálox now drew in line; as it became shorter, the sea lion was drawn nearer to the shore (85). When it was finally lying on land, /1167/ the

85. This gives a detailed account of how this large harpoon works and assures success (p. 161). It shows the amazing skill and cleverness of these Fuegian inventors.

elder Yoálox killed it with a club. With this harpoon they had thus safely and easily caught the first sea lion, which gave them a great deal of fat.

The two Yoálox were almost beside themselves with satisfaction at this success. They spent the whole day hunting sea lions. They collected an undreamed-of amount of booty. It was not until evening that they decided to return to their hut. This time they puffed and panted under the weight of the great amount of meat. Overjoyed, they told their sister about their great success and explained how they had quickly caught each animal and why none had escaped this time.

After that the two Yoálox abandoned all their crafts, for it gave them untold joy to hunt the sea lion with this harpoon. Later they taught all the men how to use the great harpoon. Since then the Yamana use this harpoon with the long leather thong whenever they go to hunt sea lions.

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η. How Blubber Was Obtained

• 113 The Yamana tell: The elder Yoálox loved the fat of sea lion and the blubber of whale; they tasted very good to him and he was mad about them. He was anxiously concerned about always having an ample supply of blubber on hand. One day he considered a plan whereby all the water in all the channels, brooks, and lagoons should be transformed into whale blubber and seal fat. This huge mass was to keep uniformly fresh, never spoil or lose its good flavor, and never be used up. He said to himself: "If this could be arranged, people would always have fresh blubber on hand, they could save themselves dangerous journeys and laborious hunts, they would never have to do without this tasty morsel, and life would be much more pleasant!"

He then proposed these plans to his younger brother and tried to win him over, but the latter would not hear of it and refused his brother, saying: "It must never be as you plan. People must constantly be forced to work. Therefore men should go out to hunt. When they have killed whales and seals, the women will prepare the fat; then everybody will partake abundantly of the tasty blubber which will be particularly good after their tiring work. Human beings should not enjoy things without preliminary effort!"

Thus once again the elder Yoálox was obliged to abandon his plan and yield to the decision of his younger brother. Soon afterward the elder Yoálox took a long journey on foot; he grew very hungry and tired. He sat down on a stone and wanted to rest, /1168/ but the earth was swampy and water soon oozed up around his feet. Since he was hungry, the thought occurred to him: "How agreeable it would be if all the water that rises up wherever I or some other person sets foot should immediately turn to blubber. Then everyone would have plenty with which to appease his hunger!" This wish, too, he soon proposed to his younger brother. The latter, however, was annoyed and replied: "It must never be that way! May people suffer hunger if they do not work!" This again made the elder Yoálox sad, and he never realized his wish. This is the reason why, from that time on, hunting for the men and concern by all people about sustenance have been

/1168 cont./

713 inescapable laws. The attitude of the younger Yoālox on numerous occasions clearly shows that younger children are often wiser and more understanding, but also more obstinate, than their older brothers and sisters.

θ. The Beginning of Libido sexualis

The men tell among themselves: One day the younger Yoālox felt great lust, and he tried all kinds of ways of satisfying it. For this purpose he fashioned a human body. In it he put eye sockets and immisit membrum suum magnum /inserted his large member/, but he was not satisfied. Then he made two openings below the nose, but here, too, he felt no pleasure. Then he opened the ear cavities on either side, but he did not find satisfaction in these places. Thereupon he opened a wide mouth, but here, too, he found no satisfaction. He tried to satisfy his lust in other places, namely, the armpits, the breasts, the navel, but he could not find pleasure anywhere. Finally he made an opening between the legs, and here at last he obtained full satisfaction.

Later he taught this to the men. Since then they, too, have known how to satisfy their lust.

ι. The Beginning of Body Painting

It is told: In the beginning the two Yoālox lived only with their sister; neither of them had a wife. After a time they no longer liked being alone all day and sleeping alone at night. Finally they confessed to Yoālox-tārnuxīpa: "As you can see, we are all alone here. We do not like living this way any longer. Help us to get a wife soon!" Yoālox-tārnuxīpa agreed and promised to help her two brothers.

Then these three considered what they could do. The two brothers had excellent weapons and were very skilled. Hence they always brought home ample booty from hunting /1169/ and lived on the fat of the land. They had large supplies of meat in

/1169 cont./

• 713 their hut. By contrast, Hulušénuwa (86) was always hard pressed;

86. This is the smaller species of the two Fuegian wrens, Troglodytes hornensis.

he always lacked meat because he had a great many wives. His wives had a great desire to visit the two Yoálox and to gaze at them. Once when Hulušénuwa was again out of meat, he himself decked out each of his wives in extraordinarily fine fashion. He ordered each of them to decorate themselves still more and paint themselves with colors. Then he sent them one after another to the two Yoálox to obtain meat from them. Each of his wives had decorated herself with colors and designs according to her own taste. They were all different and all very beautiful.

This introduced the custom of painting one's face and entire body; people make themselves beautiful in this way and take pleasure in doing so. Since the time when the small Hulušénuwa requested his many wives to decorate themselves with colored designs, the Yamana realize that they are obliged to paint themselves on certain occasions (87). Thus it has become

87. In the discussion which ensued, the following special occasions were mentioned: visits, the menarche, mourning and funeral rites, the youth initiation, and the Kina festival.

an unavoidable custom. The wives of Hulušénuwa have to this day retained the beautiful body painting that they applied at that time. Whenever the men perform the kīna, they imitate the colors and designs in the fur and feathers of many animals by painting their own bodies in various ways (88).

88. One must realize, and this was specifically called to my attention in this connection, that all those wives, as well as the two Yoalox, are not considered true human beings. The former changed themselves into birds; the latter, along

/1169 cont./

•773 with their sister, rose up to heaven where one can see them to this day as stars.

K . The Onset of the First Menstruation

773 841 Without delay (89) little Hulušéuwa first sent his wife

89. For clearer organization, I have made a special story of this on my own initiative. My informants told the whole story without this break.

Tákaišakīpa (90) to the Yoálox. She entered the hut of the two

90. This is the loud seagull, Larus belcheri.

Yoálox and introduced herself. The two brothers looked closely at this woman for a long time. Then they said to their sister: "Give this woman lots of meat!" Yoálox-tárnuxīpa gave Tákaišakīpa much meat and she was dismissed. The two brothers had arranged with their sister that they would look over every woman carefully to see whether she was beautiful and whether they liked her. Every woman that did not please them was to be given much meat by their sister and dismissed.

After a while Laíixkīpa arrived. The two Yoálox looked at her, but she did not please them. Yoálox-tárnuxīpa gave her much /1170/ meat and she was dismissed. Then little Hulušéuwa sent all the rest of his wives, one after the other: ïékuš, kímoa, ífirux, wášénim, ïékakuta, wípatux, malépa, ífnes, wémarïkipa, kiwígu, dětěhírux, čokda (91), and many others, for he had

91. Only a few names are mentioned here in abbreviated form, without the "kipa" designating gender and without the more specific zoological designation, thus avoiding superfluous repetition.

many wives. No matter how beautiful they all were, one as

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841

much as the other, the two Yoālox did not care particularly for any of them. Their sister gave each of these women much meat and they hurried back to their hut. In this way the many wives of little Hulušēmuwa presented themselves to the two Yoālox, one after the other. The brothers carefully looked at each woman, but they did not like any of them. There were constantly more women coming. Each one entered the hut of the Yoālox alone, but each of them soon was given a large portion of meat and was in this way dismissed.

Finally Mākuxīpa arrived as the last and the most beautiful wife of little Hulušēmuwa. When she entered the hut of the two Yoālox she pleased them beyond measure and they could not take their eyes off her. They whispered to their sister: "Do not give this woman any meat! We want to keep her here in our hut and not let her go back to her husband. We like this beautiful woman very much indeed!" Yoālox-tārnuxīpa said to Mākuxīpa: "Just sit down here beside my brothers, they both like you very much!" So Mākuxīpa sat down without embarrassment, as Yoālox-tārnuxīpa had told her to, on the pallet of the two Yoālox. The latter soon began to fondle the beautiful woman. Later they persuaded Mākuxīpa to stay with them in the hut. The two Yoālox both frankly confessed to her how much they were in love with her. She liked that very much and said: "Very well, I shall stay with you!" Then the two Yoālox were extremely pleased that this beautiful woman wanted to stay with them. They immediately began satisfying their lust. They thanked their sister especially, because she had helped keep this beautiful woman here.

In his hut little Hulušēmuwa waited for his Mākuxīpa, but she did not return home. After a long time he finally learned that the two Yoālox were keeping his wife with them in order to amuse themselves with her. This made him sad beyond measure and he said sorrowfully: "Woe is me! They have persuaded the most beautiful of my wives and stolen her from me. They sent home all the rest who are less beautiful, after giving them much meat. How I miss my beautiful Mākuxīpa!" Little Hulušēmuwa constantly lamented in this fashion.

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841

The two Yoǎlox continued to amuse themselves with Mǎkuxīpa. She, too, liked it very much in the hut of the two brothers. They took turns sleeping with her and were very glad that they no longer had to do without that (92).

92. This means frequent and free sexual intercourse for which they hitherto had had no opportunity. Thus their relationship to the woman is not to be interpreted as polyandry.

/1171/ One day, early in the morning, the elder Yoǎlox went to the forest to hunt animals and gather wood. His brother stayed behind, stretched out on his pallet, with beautiful Mǎkuxīpa lying at his side. Because the elder Yoǎlox was absent, they gave themselves up to their boundless lust. They spent all day on their bed and it did not occur to them to get up. The day passed all too quickly for them, and it was after dark when the elder Yoǎlox returned. He approached the hut cautiously and unobserved. Then he realized that those two were still caressing each other and rolling around on their bed. This aroused his curiosity. Then he listened closely; he wanted to hear what they were saying to each other. He heard Mǎkuxīpa whisper to the younger Yoǎlox: "Membrum tuum mihi summopere placet. Tantum est quantum repleat vaginam meam. Rubrum est sicut mǎku (93). Frater tuus membrum minutum habet, quod

93. The reference /mǎku/ is to the scarlet blossom of Embothrium coccineum (Fig. 78 on p. 495).

me non ita irritat. Ecce, multo magis membrum magnum tuum mihi placet quam fratris tui. Tecum tempus diuturnum concumbere malo." /"Your member is very pleasing to me. How much it fills my vagina. It is as red as mǎku. Your brother has a small member which thus does not arouse me. Indeed, your large member pleases me much more than that of your brother. I would rather have intercourse for a long time with you."/ These words

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delighted the younger Yo̯álox. His older brother who was standing outside the hut listened attentively and understood perfectly what those two were whispering to each other.

After a while he finally entered the hut. He threw down the heavy logs he had brought and immediately sat down beside the fire, for the heavy rain had made him soaking wet. Now the younger Yo̯álox inconspicuously moved away a bit from Mákuxīpa, but both of them were still lying on the pallet. The elder Yo̯álox had been warming himself by the fire for some time when he finally addressed the woman in a very ill-humored tone: "How can you lie here with my brother from early morning until now!" She answered carelessly: "Well, I liked being with him!" This explanation made him still more ill-humored, and irritated, he said harshly: "I know very well why you liked being with him so much that you lay together the whole day. What was it you just whispered to him?" Embarrassed, Mákuxīpa replied: "What could I have whispered to him? We talked about unimportant things." Whereupon the elder Yo̯álox replied: "In any case you enjoyed yourself immensely with my brother. And I distinctly heard you say to him: 'Membrum tuum mihi summopere placet. Tantum est quantum repleat vaginam meam. Rubrum est sicut máku. Frater tuus membrum minutum habet, quod me non ita irritat. Ecce, multo magis membrum magnum tuum mihi placet quam fratris tui. Tecum tempus diuturnum concumbere malo!' Aren't these the words you just whispered to him! Very well, I'll show you, tamen membrum meum magnum atque tumidum esse /my member may nevertheless be large and tumid/!" He approached the pallet on which she lay and his brother moved far away. He began /1172/ to caress and embrace Mákuxīpa. Postea mulieri incubuit et immisit membrum suum in vaginam ejus. Membrum suum ita intumuit, ut laceraret mulieris vaginam. Statim copia sanguinis sat magna effluxit. Yo̯álox eam interrogavit: "Desideramne utrum membrum meum adhuc succrescat, necne? Satisfacta es?" /"After that, he lay on the woman and inserted his member in her vagina. His member swelled so that it lacerated the woman's vagina. Immediately a great amount of blood flowed out. Yo̯álox asked her: "Do you still wish that my member would grow? Is it satisfactory?"/ Mákuxīpa did not say a word.

/1172 cont./

773 841 So the elder Yoálox got up from the bed and said to her: "Now you are tú-i! Therefore you may now take my younger brother as your husband! Before that I want to give you a few instructions so that not too much blood will flow and you do not become too weak!" Then he gave her all kinds of advice which from then on applied to her and to all women. He emphasized: "You must remain quiet and silent and avoid all chatter. If possible stay in your hut the whole time. Stay away from men, and if you should meet them, give them a wide berth. Refrain from all food and eat only what I permit. Be content with a very small amount of water. Work particularly diligently during this time [your first menstruation], help the other women, fetch a lot of drinking water and firewood for everyone. Faithfully observe each of these admonitions!" The elder Yoálox imposed many other things on Mákuxípa. She adhered to them all strictly. That is why her condition improved; she soon felt relieved, and the flow of blood finally stopped. After a few days she also did not have to renew the facial painting that Yoálox had made for her (94). Meanwhile Yoálox-tárnuxípa sat beside Mákuxípa,

94. These words refer to the special facial painting required during the menarche, which is shown in Fig. 79.

cared for her and instructed her diligently, and was constantly helpful. She gave her other bits of advice which Mákuxípa faithfully followed. Finally Yoálox-tárnuxípa proposed to her brothers: "Let's give a big feast, for this woman is now tú-i!" Her brothers agreed; they provided large quantities of meat and consumed them happily. This was the first tú-kipa tátu (95).

95. The details of this festive occasion were given on p. 573.

841 This is how the first menstruation, which the elder Yoálox brought about for Mákuxípa, took place. Since then it happens to every woman and is repeated at the end of a moon (96). All

96. This expression is merely a designation

/1173 cont./

844 that all these rules and recommendations come from the two Yo̱ílox and from Yo̱ílox-tímuxípa. One who conscientiously adheres to them will not have any serious trouble during the monthly bleeding and in childbirth.

So the story goes. I learned that there was another view 773 about the personality of Mákuxípa. A few people said: She is actually the wife of Kétéla (Polyborus tharus). He lost his wife, according to the account given in a separate story. The many women who presented themselves to the two Yo̱ílox actually did not belong to any particular man as his wives; they were unmarried and free. The reason they all came to see the two Yo̱ílox was because the latter's sister advised them to; her influence upon all women was great and that is why they all complied with her wish. Her purpose was to help her brothers find a wife. Because they liked Mákuxípa, they kept this beautiful woman for themselves. Kétéla was not considered because his wife had already run away from him earlier and returned to her father's hut. Later when all those women turned themselves into birds, Mákuxípa did the same thing and since then she is called Hulusímuwakípa.

/1174/ To explain the name Mákuxípa it should be remembered that the Yamana designate the body color of a child or adult that is most pleasing and beautiful to them by refering to the scarlet mímu blossom (Fig. 78).

A. The First Birth

773 844 The Yamana tell: After that the younger Yo̱ílox lived alone with Mákuxípa, for she had become his wife. He slept with her and she became pregnant. Finally she gave birth to a son (98). Yo̱ílox was exceedingly pleased. He immediately

98. The particular aim of this story is to show that Yoalox first introduced conception and childbirth in the way that both events have taken place since then. Hence, before that children were not actually "born."

/1174 cont./

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and there is no explanation anywhere of how they came into being. All persons of that first period are simply presented as adults. From then on, however, successive generations originate in the manner peculiar to human beings.

instructed his wife as to how she must conduct herself during the birth and shortly thereafter. To this day all Yamana women follow these directions.

773 That first child was a boy. He cried constantly and loudest of all at night. In fact, he never stopped crying. His father and mother had tried everything to make him stop, but in vain. Yoálox was extremely displeased; it was impossible for the mother to sit beside the child all the time because she had her work to do.

Finally, losing his temper, Yoálox ran out of the hut and left the boy alone. He built another hut for himself some distance away. Just as regularly as before, he went hunting and continued working on his weapons, but when he came from the woods or from the shore and approached the hut, he could hear his son screaming from far off. Then when he entered his hut next door, the boy would yell even louder. He continued to yell even when Yoálox made a lot of noise just to make him stop.

Thoroughly annoyed he one day again entered the hut in which his little son lay. With both hands he grasped the child under its armpits, lifted it up, stared sternly into its face, and shouted at it in a loud voice: "Listen now and stop screaming!" At that instant the little boy split in two. Thus Yoálox had two sons, and they did not cry. They were the first human beings (99).

99. These words mean, those two children are the first who came into the world through actual childbirth. In the strict sense, of course, this applies only to the one.

After a while Ishkaqlox died. Since the younger Yoálox was constantly busy, he sometimes could not watch his two sons. So he looked around for a woman to take charge of his two boys. He

/1174 cont./

•113 wou Čilawčjakīpa (she-fox). /1175/ She immediately moved into the hut of Yoālox and devoted herself to his two sons. Free of anxiety, Yoālox could now undertake even long journeys.

The she-fox named the two boys Šamanšxye. She was very crafty and clever. So she considered a plan to roast the two boys and consume them. At that time Yoālox was far away; before he returned she could run away and hide in the forest. So she decided to carry out her plan. She told the two boys: "Go into the forest and gather a lot of dry wood; bring it to the hut, we shall kindle a big fire!" The two boys immediately hastened into the woods. But from the very beginning Čilawčjakīpa had treated the two boys very badly and had made them work a great deal, so both of them were very indignant. They wanted to avenge themselves at last. Instead of gathering dry wood, they picked up green, wet wood and carried this to the hut. The she-fox then tried to light a huge fire with it, but she did not succeed. Angrily she scolded the two boys: "You have brought me green and wet wood; you can't kindle a big fire with that!" The next day she again sent the two boys into the woods to gather dry wood, but again they gathered only green, wet wood and dragged it to the hut. They had noticed that the she-fox was planning something bad, but in their distress they did not know what they could do, for their father was far away on the other side of the channel. They had long since grown tired of having to be with the cranky and ill-tempered Čilawčjakīpa who pestered them every day with lots of work and besides that sent them into the forest for wood. Purposely they gathered only wet wood. This angered the she-fox each time, and she gave vent to her ill-humor in every conceivable way. The boys had to endure much hardship.

One day Čilawčjakīpa lay on her pallet and slept very soundly. As quietly as they could, the two boys started a big fire (100),

100. A signal fire like the one actually used by the Tamana (p.972.) is meant here.

with which they wanted to summon a canoe. Sure enough, a man soon arrived on the beach. Hurriedly the two boys boarded his canoe and asked him to take them to the other shore. He did

/1173 cont./

•173 so and the two boys got out on the opposite shore. They went on in the direction where they thought their father would be. Suddenly and unexpectedly they came to a wide river; they did not know how to cross it for it was very wide. Then they were seized with great fear that the she-fox would come after them. Their father, Tsiing, however, had already seen them hurrying along from afar. He knew that they were now standing perplexed beside the wide river. He quickly made all the water in the river run off and his two sons reached the other shore without effort. They soon came to the spot where he was sitting. He asked them: "Why /1176/ are you following me, what has driven you here?" Amid tears the two sons then told their father how badly they were treated by Ciawkatlin, how hard they had to work, how they were sent into the forest every day to gather dry wood, and that they had but little to eat. Then they added: "Scarcely had we climbed into the canoe of that man and had just reached the middle of the channel when we looked back. There we saw Ciawkatlin pounce on the corpse of Mimuqlin and start devouring it! Without doubt she was planning to devour us, too. That is why she sent us into the forest every day where we were supposed to gather much dry wood for a fire in which she wanted to roast us!"

All this made the younger Tsiing very angry. Full of rage, he quickly made a yihak. He hurled it at Ciawkatlin and she instantly fell dead. From then on the two boys stayed with their father; meanwhile they had grown up (101).

> 101. In this story there are several details which are repeated in the story the Sela'tsam tell about the two nephews of Kwanyip (Vol. I, 88).

Since that time, however, one sometimes sees a fox dig up human corpses and gnaw at them (102). It is a disgusting animal.

> 102. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the Tsimsian have a definite abhorrence of the fox's habit of gnawing at human corpses. It is also clearly expressed in this story.

/1176 cont./

A- The Sisters of the Tusion Falls in Love

•TB The story goes. The two Tusion brothers had two young sisters, but no one remembers their names. These girls took particular pleasure in bathing and playing in the waves. They spent almost every day happily in the waves.

One day these girls approached a large sea lion. They were not in the least frightened by it. In fact, from the start it acted noticeably amorous and allowed to play with them. The two sisters were very willing. they amused themselves for a long time, and finally the older one became completely enamored of the sea lion. Inconspicuously the two edged away so that the younger sister should not observe their play. Then they caressed each other and played together for a long time under the surface of the water.

The two sisters bathed regularly at the same place. Each time they entered the water the big sea lion also arrived. Swimming under the surface it came close to the older sister. This greatly pleased her because she had fallen very angrily in love with the sea lion. The two inconspicuously edged away from the other girl. they did not want her to notice how they gave themselves up to their pleasure.

They had been meeting for a long time for their love-making, when one day the younger sister asked her older sister. "What in the world is that big black thing that you are so anxiously covering with your body? /1177/ I saw it between your legs. What is it?" The older sister replied evasively. "What ideas you have! Whatever it is you mean can only be the shadow of my body. There is nothing else!" The younger sister was not content with this reply and probed further. "It doesn't make sense to me that that black thing is supposed to be your shadow. A shadow is never so black. It has to be something else!" Forceful, the older sister replied. "I can't understand what you are imagining. If I assure you that it is my shadow, why won't you believe me!" But the younger sister would not be dissuaded and replied. "It is impossible that that black thing is your shadow! It would be very strange indeed if your shadow always appeared in the water and only under your body." Then the older sister repeated emphatically. "Trust my words. There is nothing here but my shadow."

/5177 cont./

#13 The younger sister realized that further discussion would not lead anywhere, so she simply added: "I cannot believe that that black thing is the shadow of your body, no matter how often you tell me it is!" In spite of all this the two girls continued to go bathing almost every day and each time the elder sister met the little sea-lion man.

The elder sister had now been pregnant for a long time. When her condition was far advanced, she finally discussed with the sea lion how she should manage. The sea lion forthwith put the pregnant woman on his back and swam to his cave. There he made her a soft bed and brought a great deal of food. Soon she gave birth to a little boy.

The sea lion was greatly pleased with his son, but after a few days he was seized with great fear. He said to the girl: "If your brothers, the Tulgan, find out about our little innocence, when they learn that you have given birth to a boy and are staying in my cave, they will become extremely angry and will blame the sister! Then they will lie in wait for me and murder me. It seems to me that it would be best for you to return to your brothers. Tell them how much we like each other, tell them how well we get along and how lively our little son is. Ask them if I may live with them." The girl replied: "Very well, I shall go back to the hut of my brothers and tell them everything. I shall ask them if you may live with them." She immediately prepared to depart. The sea lion again took her on his back and they made good progress.

The two Tulgan had long since had a strong premonition of what had happened and what their sister was doing. When the sea lion was near enough to the hut of the Tulgan, he sent his wife on alone. He himself remained behind with the little boy. The woman quickly reached the hut of her two brothers and they happened to be at home. She entered and said without ceremony: "Now see you, my brothers! My husband, the great sea lion, wants me to inquire whether he /5178/ may come here and live with you. He would like to be near you and I, too, would like it very much. But he would only come if you promise not to kill him! He is willing to help you in hunting and in all your work, and he will be a good brother-in-law to you!" Agreeing, the two Tulgan replied: "You say the sea lion is your husband.

/1178 cont./

773 Well then, he may come, we shall take him into our hut. We promise not to do him any harm; if he behaves well, we shall not kill him."

The woman was pleased that they gave their consent. She immediately hurried back to the place where she had left her husband with the little boy. When she reached the sea lion, she joyfully told him: "I talked to my brothers. They want me to tell you that since you are now my husband you may come and live with them. They will not do you any harm or kill you as long as you behave well." These words reassured the sea lion, and with his wife and child he immediately set out for the hut of the Tsilkoq. The woman, carrying the child on her back, entered first. The sea lion also tried to enter, but he was too enormous and bulky to pass through the narrow entrance. The two Tsilkoq first had to take a few poles out of the hut framework at the entrance, and then at last the sea lion squeezed inside. He was extraordinarily large. The two Tsilkoq assigned to him and his wife the place opposite the entrance as their sleeping place. These two then made themselves at home there as though they were in their own hut.

Early the next day the sea lion got up and hurried out to sea to fish. Sure enough, he soon brought back large fish, mussels, and crabs in great quantities. This was plenty for his wife and for his two brothers-in-law. Now they never had a shortage of anything, for on his own initiative the sea lion willingly set out to sea again and again and dragged back great quantities of meat.

One day the Tsilkoq brothers sent the two women who were living in their hut, the wife of the sea lion and tskwaqiqa, far away (103). Only the two Tsilkoq and the sea lion stayed behind.

103. Chronologically, this incident would have to come before the story told on p. 1144.

Before the two women left the hut, the wife of the sea lion took particularly fond farewell. As she did so, the sea lion whispered to her: "In case you should hear me roaring loudly and painfully, come back quickly. It could be that your brothers intend to kill me. Then I would need your help. So come back quickly if I

/1178 cont./

113 roar loudly!" She assured her husband: "I shall pay careful attention! However, I am sure my brothers will not do you any harm."

For their part the two Yo'lox had secretly told Mákuxīpa: /1179/ "When you have gone far away from here with our sister and you then hear the sea lion roaring loudly and painfully, reassure her and say to her: 'It seems that the three men in our hut are amusing themselves very much with games and pranks; they must be extremely merry and happy, that is why the sea lion is roaring so loud out of sheer exuberance!' In any case you must keep our sister there by all means and not let her come running back here to the hut. We are planning to murder the sea lion as soon as possible. That is why we are sending you two far away." Mákuxīpa understood all this very well. So the two women left the hut and set out for the distant point where they were to accomplish their errand.

Soon afterward, the two Yo'lox resumed their daily work. They sat down in front of the hut and readied their big harpoons. The sea lion, too, left the hut to go fishing. He hurried down to the beach. It was a beautiful day and the sun was very hot. Soon the sea lion became tired and sleepy. He stretched out on a big stone on the shore and fell into a deep sleep. At once he began to snore and gradually his snoring became so loud that the two Yo'lox heard it, for they were sitting in front of their hut. Immediately one of the brothers encouraged the other: "Now is the time to kill the sea lion. He is surely sound asleep for he is snoring mightily. Let's attack him now without delay! Besides, we are out of blubber for greasing the big harpoon. We have always used the fat of snails, but seal blubber is much better. That sea lion is unusually fat, he will give considerable blubber and meat. It will certainly pay to attack him!" The other brother was very much in favor of this plan. Quickly they went back into the hut; they wanted to consult their mother as to whether they should kill the sea lion. They said to her: "Mother, we are tired of oiling our harpoons with the fat of snails. It seems to us much better to kill that fat sea lion and remove the abundant blubber he has; we could oil our harpoons with it from now on!" This proposal did not suit the mother at all, and she complained loudly:

/1179 cont./

•113 "Alas, what you plan to do does not please me. The sea lion always brought me many fish, and big ones of the kind I like best. If you murder him, there will be no one to supply me with many tasty fish. Besides, this sea lion is really good and willing to help!" The two Yo'ilox became angry at their mother's words and replied: "Certainly, what you say is true, this sea lion is really good and willing to help, but after all he is only an animal and not a human being like us. If we murder him, we shall have his abundant meat and fat. What a huge amount it would be! You, too, shall eat a great deal of it, for his meat is tastier and more succulent than that of fish and mussels. You will surely like the taste of it. We shall /1180/ let you have plenty so that for a long time you will be well provided for." The mother finally gave in and said: "Very well! Do as you like; murder the sea lion, I shall not prevent it any longer."

Then the two Yo'ilox quickly fixed their harpoon shafts and fastened the sharp bone points to them with the long line (Fig. 35). Cautiously and silently they crept up to the sea lion who was still sleeping soundly and snoring mightily. Then they lifted their harpoons high and took aim, hurling them with all their might. They did this so skillfully that the weapons penetrated far into the huge body of the sea lion and wounded him almost to the heart. The sea lion woke up in pain and knew he was badly wounded and near death. Then, with all his remaining strength, he gave a loud roar, full of pain, just as he roars today when he collapses, mortally wounded. He roared so loudly and so long that the two women far away could hear him distinctly. "Alas," the wife of the sea lion lamented to Mākuxīpa, "do you hear how loudly and pitifully my husband is roaring? He is surely calling me to help him, for the two Yo'ilox are now murdering him. I shall quickly run to the hut and see if he needs me!" Mākuxīpa tried to hold her back and to reason with her: "How can you think such things? The two Yo'ilox are surely playing with the sea lion; all three of them are surely happy and in high spirits, that is why the sea lion is laughing so loudly. Don't worry and just stay here with me, later we'll go back to the hut together." But the wife of the sea lion would not go a step farther; instead she kept urging that they go home and the other one realized that she could not hold her back.

/1180 cont./

•773 So the two women changed their course and turned toward the hut. On the way Mákuxípa kept trying to hold back the other woman.

While the two women were covering the long distance home, the sea lion died there on the stone where the two Yoílox had mortally wounded him with their large harpoon. They immediately began cutting up the huge animal and laid a few pieces on a fire out there in order to roast them. Later they sat down and consumed these pieces and found them superb. They dragged other large pieces to the hut and put them on the fire there in order to roast them. They wanted to eat again soon, for this roasted meat tasted very good to them.

When they set out to kill the mighty animal, the two Yoílox had left its little son alone in the hut. As soon as the boy realized that he was alone in the hut he crept out; he sat down on the sand beside the hut and began to play. The two Yoílox now saw him. One of them immediately brought the boy some meat and he ate it with great relish, for this roast was perfectly fresh meat. Scarcely had he consumed the big piece when he demanded a second. Then the Yoílox gave him a piece of roasted fat and that, too, tasted very good to him.

/1181/ At that moment the two women returned. They first came across the boy who was sitting on the sand near the hut and comfortably eating a piece of perfectly fresh meat. When his mother saw the fresh meat in his hands, a dreadful foreboding made her tremble; she suddenly realized that the boy was eating *the meat of his own father! She collapsed, grief-stricken.* Soon she was seized with a terrible rage. She took a large sea urchin out of the little basket she was carrying and threw it at the head of the boy with all her might. The boy immediately turned into a fish, but the barbs of the sea urchin cling to his head. That is [825] the sína (104).

104. A porcupine fish common in those waters. The Yamaná do not eat it "because it was formerly a boy."

Full of sorrow and distress the wife of the sea lion entered the hut. She became terribly alarmed when she saw the many

/1181 cont./

773 pieces of meat hanging on short sticks to roast near the fire. All around the fire on the ground lay other parts of the dismembered sea lion, all cut up for roasting: the head, the flippers, the abdominal parts, the sides, the back. She gazed in horror on the dismembered body of her husband. She was overcome with boundless sorrow; in her despair she sat down and wept bitterly. No one spoke a word to her. Her two brothers, the Yo'llox, remained outwardly quite calm and unobtrusive; they gave no sign that anything unusual had happened. They kept on cutting up the meat and watched the roast near the fire. Mákuxīpa also remained very quiet.

Finally after some time the two Yo'llox asked their sister: "Where is your little son? He was sitting outside in front of the door. Why doesn't he come in?" Excited and sad at the same time the woman replied: "When I came back I saw the little one sitting outside in front of the hut. To my horror I realized that he was eating the meat of his own father. Then I was seized with anger and lost control of myself. I took a sea urchin out of my little basket and hurled it at the boy's head; then he went into the water."

When the two Yo'llox learned what had happened to the boy, they were very angry at their sister. Infuriated, they seized the pieces of meat of the sea lion which were lying all around the fire on the hearth. First they took the front part of the head with the snout and threw it at their sister's feet; mockingly they cried: "Here you have the mouth which spoke to you of love and covered you with kisses!" Then they seized the flippers, tossed them at their sister, and said insolently: "Take these flippers which embraced you and touched you lustfully." Then they threw the back at her feet and cried angrily: "Here you have the back, too, on which you sat and on which the sea lion carried you to his cave." /1182/ Finally the two Yo'llox seized the large abdominal part of the sea lion, hurled it on the ground in front of their sister, and cried scornfully: "Now you shall also have the part with which the sea lion aroused and satisfied your lust!" The woman was speechless and beside herself with horror. She did not even dare look at the pieces of meat, much less touch them.

/1182 cont./

TB A long time passed. Every day this woman saw how good the fresh roast of the sea lion tasted to her brothers and Mikuxipa. Finally she, too, timidly reached for a little piece and tasted it. The meat tasted very good to her. Soon she helped herself to larger pieces. Gradually she grew calmer over her loss and little by little forgot her husband, the great sea lion. As time went on she ate the meat and fat of the sea lion with as much relish as her two brothers did.

V. Dying Is Introduced

TB
N1 It is told: The mother of the two Yoḗlox finally grew old and feeble; from day to day her strength failed. Weak and tired, she remained in bed; finally she was unable to move. Since she had lost all her strength, the two Yoḗlox carried her outside the hut and laid her in a favorable place in the grass where the warm sun could shine on her.

The elder Yoḗlox sat beside his mother and looked at her steadily. Although he did not take his eyes off her, she did not utter a sound. It made him unspeakably sad to see his mother lying there completely motionless, but he did not disturb her profound sleep and confidently hoped that she would soon get up again.

Since the elder Yoḗlox did not take his fixed gaze from his sleeping mother for a long time, but kept looking at her intently, she finally began slowly to move again. Then she opened her eyes and moved slightly, and sleep departed from her. At first she moved scarcely at all; for she seemed to be recovering only very gradually and hardly perceptibly from the utter exhaustion of her infirmity. This was enough, however, for the elder Yoḗlox, and he became wild with joy. Quickly he ran into the hut; he wanted to tell his younger brother and said to him: "Listen and rejoice, our mother has awakened from her deep sleep. She began to move very slowly. I confidently hope that she will soon get up again!" These words annoyed the younger Yoḗlox very much and he opposed his brother, instantly replying: "This must not be! Our mother is now sleeping, for she is old

/1182 cont./

TD 761

and quite feeble. Let her now sleep forever!" Whereupon this actually happened. Soon the mother hardly stirred and she did not get up again. When the elder Yoálox /1183/ again left the hut and reached the place where his mother was, he looked at her carefully. She lay there completely motionless. Again he fixed his gaze upon her for a long time, just as he had before, but this time she did not move. She lay there without stirring and without moving. Now she was truly dead.

This was the first death. Since then all human beings must die (105), for that is the way the younger Yoálox wanted it (106).

105. It is noteworthy that there are many points of agreement in this matter between the Selk'nam and our Yamana. Among the former it is the elder brother who was prevented by his younger brother from arising from his sleep of old age. This introduced dying in general (Vol. I, 588).

In Vol. I, 589, footnote 28, I pointed out that the Selk'nam like to use the expression "elder Kwanyip," instead of the real name. The Yamana have no real name for the "elder Yoalox."

106. As this story came to an end, there was much bitterness and grief written on the faces of the many people present at the thought that everyone sooner or later will die and will be unable to escape death. Without a word, they all left and silently crept back to their own huts. Every Yamana is at times very much depressed at the thought of dying.

On August 12, 1923, old Maŝemikens and his wife, both of whom came from the west, gave me a somewhat different version of this myth. He told the following story.

The two Yoálox were men of superior intelligence. When their mother had reached a great age, she finally lost all her strength. So she stayed in bed and was overcome by a very deep

/1183 cont./

773 761 sleep. After that she no longer moved. The two Yoālox wept bitterly, for they had lost their mother and were now left alone. They carried their mother out and buried her. The younger Yoālox, however, had little love for his mother; he did not weep nearly as much or as loudly as his elder brother. Their mother had been buried for some time when one day they heard her voice outside near the hut. Suddenly the elder Yoālox ceased his weeping and said: "I shall not weep any longer, for I hear the voice of my mother!" He hastened out of the hut and hoped to see his mother there. The younger Yoālox remained in the hut and furiously yelled at his mother: "How can you come back here? Go away at once and disappear from here forever!" Then the mother slowly withdrew and has never returned. The younger Yoālox simply said, as though he were displeased with himself: "Why did we not immediately (107) tell our mother that she must

107. These words mean: why did we not at the proper moment beforehand prevent our mother from rising up out of her death-sleep.

not come back!" Truly, from then on she remained away forever.

ξ. The Yoalox Go Away

The Yamana say: "The two Yoālox brothers gave proper names to all objects and places, all plants and animals. They remained here on earth for a long time. When they grew old, they ascended to the canopy of heaven with Yoālox-tīrmuxīpa and their other sisters. They are still there as stars."

/1184/ This concludes the stories about the Yoālox family which is associated with the Yamana. All the men and women are, on the whole, proud of the Yoālox brothers and sisters, for they are regarded as the best and the most capable members of the tribe. The men, above all, appreciate the two Yoālox brothers as the most skillful huntsmen, the best craftsmen, the most gifted persons. These heroes are not worshipped in any way

/1184 cont./

113 among the Yamana, despite all the admiration with which men and women speak of the two brothers and their elder sister.

113 Two stars of the first magnitude are pointed out as the
821 Yoñlox brothers, namely, Sirius in the Greater Dog and Procyon in the Lesser Dog. The stars of secondary magnitude close to Sirius are the other members of the Yoñlox family, all of whom ascended to the canopy of heaven back in those days. BD:12 gives only iūālux, "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/, and iūālux-dīranakakīpa [our tārnuxīpa], "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/.

From the stories themselves one cannot infer any connec-
113 tion between the Yoñlox family and Watayinēiwa; in fact, the
116 two seem to represent quite clearly and sharply distinct spheres of ideas. Several times I asked the Yamana point-blank whether the Yoñlox brothers had perhaps been charged by Watayinēiwa to provide for the many well-known arrangements, as well as to instruct human beings in the prevailing rules and customs. They all heard this question with obvious astonishment, and from that I concluded that such a connection between the two lines of thought was not exactly familiar. It is true that from an earlier time I knew that the Yoñlox are introduced to the ūwīala in the Kīxaus (p.767) and to girls on the occasion of their menarche (p.575) as the intermediaries of the prevailing laws and habits of life sent to them by the Supreme Being. They are never mentioned at a funeral rite. In everyday life a person will only now and then speak of them. For example, it is said that Yoñlox decreed that berries may not be picked prematurely, but must remain on the stalk until they are ripe (p.327). Accordingly, the intermediary role of the Yoñlox is not to be interpreted as a special, definite, formal mission for Watayinēiwa, such as, for example, Temāukel gave the bringer of blessings, Kenōs (Vol. I, 572). The situation among the Yamana is somewhat different. Their way of life was actually decisively influenced by the Yoñlox, but since, in the final analysis, every law and every custom is derived from Watayinēiwa, the activity of the Yoñlox must also be regarded as his command in the broadest sense of the term. To a certain extent this is directly applicable to the regulations pertaining to girls at the menarche and /1185/ women at childbirth.

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113 This circumstance, however, does not justify the view that there
116 is any close relationship between the Yo̜ñlox family and Watayinĕjwa.

I also inquired very definitely as to whether the Yo̜ñlox took part in the great upheaval in the kīna at Yājaatāga. The most experienced old people replied: "By that time the Yo̜ñlox had surely already left the earth. The Yamana of earlier times never told us that the Yo̜ñlox participated in that great upheaval." In the myth about the origin of the kīna, also, they are not mentioned; hence there is no justification for connecting the Yo̜ñlox with the men's secret ceremony. However, as I was assured on one occasion in 1920, Yo̜ñlox-tīmuxīpa in her day had a great influence on all the women who came from the north to Beagle Channel (p. 1111). The Yo̜ñlox also are not associated with Lēm and his family. The only connection between the personalities mentioned is that they consecutively occupy a period that is separate from that of human beings (p. 1118), a period that can be justifiably designated as that of the heroes. Before the close of this period the younger Yo̜ñlox introduced actual childbirth (p. 1140), through which he was granted a son. This boy and his brother begin the succession of true human beings, the yīmana. The transition from the age of pre-human beings to that of human beings takes place without any disruption.

A survey of the status and activity of the two Yo̜ñlox brothers shows that apparently they are endowed with superior power and are the founders of the way of life of the Yamana people. They designed the way of life, arranged it, and guaranteed it for all time by means of rules and regulations of binding legal power. They are responsible for valuable inventions which make life bearable and work easier. Thus they are shown to be culture heroes in that strict sense which Ehrenreich (a):236 applied specifically to conditions among primitive peoples. Very
113 briefly it should be mentioned that there are a surprising number
116 of points of agreement between the Yo̜ñlox brothers and the
171 Kwāyip brothers and sisters of whom the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581) tell. Among the latter, most of the details are much clearer and more definite, and there is more accuracy and completeness in the succession of ideas. There is a striking basic connection

/1186 cont./

113 between the unique and definite ideas that surround the figure of
116 the younger Yolíox among the Yamana and the figure of Kwányip
171 with her brothers and sisters among the Selk'nam. Unfortunately, space does not permit detailed comparisons (108).

108. Instead, see the separate essay by Guinde (ii):687, as well as the general remarks in Ehrenreich (b):44 and Schmidt (d):1216.

In any case, it is noteworthy that in this so-called age of heroes the individual personalities, except for contemporaries, succeed one another at definitely distinguishable intervals and carry on the development. It has already been shown that the same is true among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 606). /Ed., Section b, "Myths and Legends," pp. 1186-1277, is omitted./

/1278/ D. Belief in Spirits and Superstitions

116 A special group of spirits, distinctly separate from the body of ideas surrounding Wataxinéwa and from the heroes and mythological figures, lives in the imaginations of our Fuegians. Far from having originated anything important or advantageous for the Yamana, they represent something like apparitions and demons to them. If an individual on his daily wanderings or canoe trips chances to meet these creatures, it usually does not fail to happen that he is at least threatened or endangered, sometimes even badly harmed and murdered. They are generally malevolent spirits, with the single exception of the good-natured Yelífel. To the following description of this group of spirits a section on how the Yamana regard their dreams and on certain superstitious conceptions will be added.

a. The Groups of Spirits

In the preceding sections it has often been shown that the Yamana have the same accurate and comprehensive idea of an

186 /1281 cont./

(h):204, Hyades (f):588 and (q):259, and so forth.

BD:30 gives the meaning of aāsiū, "persons who go about in the dark of night to kill persons" /cited in English/. To this Hyades (g):39 adds: "Anyone who sees the Ualapatu is lost; one often hears their voice, which resembles that of the seal, but which the Fuegians can immediately distinguish. If they think they hear it, they are frightened out of their wits; they carefully barricade every opening of the hut and, weapon in hand and trembling, they await the morning. Then they immediately leave the campsite and flee to another island. Often the specter follows them even there and harasses them for several nights."

From direct observation Bridges (i):15 tells how the fear of these cannibals affects the Yamana: "The Asasyu, or Apunanusiaula, people of the West, were much feared. During the afternoon (January 1st, 1872) Sinelange's wife was sleeping and awoke hearing a strange noise in the next room, she got up, but could see nothing. She was in a great fright and spread a report that an Asasyu had come into the house" /cited in English/. /1282/ Hyades (f):588 and (q):204 also repeats in detail the view disclosed to him by three Yamana men in Orange Bay on April 3, 1883. According to them, the murderers penetrate Yamana territory with large boats. "If the men are asleep, the inhabitants of the west immediately enter the huts, cut off the heads of everyone, men and children (except perhaps the women), and then eat them, cooking them over the fire" /translated from French/.

186 773 Moreover, the Yamana tell a separate story about the cannibals, Hamanfulum wówwe, as follows. Once a few people from the central group were camping in Hamanfulum (243). They had

243. A short beach about three kilometers west of present-day Ushuaia.

noted that many other families had traveled westward. A rumor was going around: "There in wiyman (244) a whale is lying on

244. This is the designation for the entire

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/1282 cont./

western part of Yamana territory, particularly the north shore of Beagle Channel (p. 205 /untranslated/).

the beach." So these people said to themselves: "We shall go there too, in order to get a lot of meat and fat. Only tonight we shall stay here and get a good rest!" The next morning they boarded their canoes. They traveled all day and went farther and farther, even during the night, for they wanted to reach the whale as soon as possible. There were ten families and a yékamuł. Because they traveled all night -- and these nights were very dark -- they could not see the coastline very clearly. Actually, they rowed past that whale! But they kept right on rowing farther and farther. They had reached Hapananúł (245) long before,

245. The designation for the bordering territory of the Halakwulup.

and they finally entered a harbor; they were all very tired. They disembarked in order to find out the actual location of the whale that they had been seeking for so long.

Many people had made a big camp here, but these people were cannibals. It was their custom to devour everyone who came here from the east. To make it easier to murder everyone, they always let only one stranger enter a hut to spend the night, for a family could easily cope with one stranger and quickly murder him.

Now when the ten families disembarked here, they were divided up among ten different huts, and the yékamuł was sent into another hut. He entered this hut; an old woman was sitting near the fire making a little basket. When the yékamuł entered, the old woman's husband said to him: "Sit down here near the fire! You are probably very hungry?" Whereupon the yékamuł replied: "Yes, I am very hungry, for we traveled a long time and looked for the stranded whale without finding it. Where do you suppose the whale is?" Then the husband took a knife and reached for his wife's left breast. It was long and heavy and he cut it off. He immediately hung this piece over the fire to roast it. The /1282/ yékamuł saw this. Horrified, he said: "Are you

/1283 cont./

186 by any chance roasting this piece for me?" The other man re-
•713 plied: "Yes, that is for you because you are very hungry!" Thereupon the yĕkamuł said, quite indignantly: "I shall never eat human flesh! What do you take us for? We came to hunt the whale that we were told was stranded here in the west. We do not eat human flesh!" Saying this, he left the hut and looked around outside until he found a piece of meat. He came back to the hut with it, placed it on the fire, and roasted it. Then he ate it.

There was a basket hanging in this hut, and ten small children were sitting in it. When they saw the yĕkamuł, they jumped up happily in their basket and sang: "yĕrum hapĕnana, yĕrum hapĕnana." This meant: "Today we should like to eat this man." But the two adults replied, also very happily: "hamałúnna hapĕnana, hamałúnna hapĕnana" (246).

246. I was told that the word "hapanana" used here by the Halakwulup has no meaning. The children wanted to say to the old people that they wanted to devour that man this very day, whereas the old people wanted to postpone the feast until the morrow. In order that the stranger should not recognize what they had in mind, they merely emphasized the adverbs "today" and "tomorrow," in combination with a word without any meaning whatever. This was sufficient for the adult as well as the children, and they understood one another. Whether it is related to "hapĕna" in BD:266 I cannot determine. -- The same nonsense word was also the reason they were called "Hapanana-Tamana" and their territory, "Hapanamuł" (p.844).

Then the yĕkamuł had an inkling of what this was supposed to mean; he recognized the grave danger hanging over himself and his people! Because he was a great yĕkamuł, he tossed a piece of fat into the fire, unnoticed. While it was burning, he

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caused a very deep sleep to come over all the people of this camp. Instantly all these people fell asleep and slept so soundly that no one stirred. The yékamuf now ran quickly to his own people and told them that they all were in grave danger. They all immediately seized their things and stole whatever they could that belonged to these cannibals, loaded everything into their canoes, and rowed off as fast as possible. They hastened toward the east to their homeland.

When they were already far away, a dog began barking loudly. He barked so vigorously that those people woke up again and immediately noticed that they had been robbed of all their things. They could just see the fleeing thieves in the far distance. They quickly made ready to pursue them. When the latter saw that the cannibals were coming after them, they were seized with great fear. They hid in Aníiwaja (247). But the

247. This little inlet lies west of La Romanche Bay, in the northwest branch.

Hapananíi people noticed this and now hurled a large ipeéli [flint] with the sling. It landed quite near the hiding-place of the fugitives; it burst and gave off a loud report, like thunder. One can hear it to this day in that region (248). /1284/ The

248. This refers to the thunder-like noise or shocks, caused by a collision of icebergs or the breaking off of large ice floes from the glaciers.

fugitives then tossed a large part of the stolen goods out of their canoes to make them lighter and speedier for their escape. They rowed on again, always toward the east, past Lepeníja and Hamanéjum, until they reached Ufowíja once more, where they had previously had their camp. But the Hapananíi people continued to hurl large stones after them.

To this day, therefore, one can see large stones lying about in this entire region, especially in Aníiwaja, Lepeníja, and Hamanéjum; the Hapananíi people hurled all of them at the

/1284 cont./

thieves, using their slings. All the things that they had stolen also turned into stones and to this day lie scattered about where the fugitives towed them out of their canoes.

A variant of this story is always told to the [illegible]la at the end of their initiation. At that time it serves the special purpose of confirming the historical derivation of the Yahgan institution from the west and its transmission to the central region of the Tamana (p.[illegible]).

The entire portrayal shows clearly enough that the feared cannibals are merely phantoms created by the Tamana's terror of their western neighbors. Even Bridges (1):15 reached this view: "This Apunaulli people are reputed to be cannibals, but I do not believe the report, which is so like others we have proved to be false" /cited in English/. This much is certain, that the Halakwulup possess actual plank-boats which they have had for several decades (340). It is obvious that these carry a larger

> 340. Besides the plank-boat, the Halakwulup much more often make and use the dugout. Guainde (c):347 has already pointed out that they had these two articles. Our Tamana first became acquainted with the dugout among the Halakwulup and took it over from them (p.[illegible]). The Tamana did not adopt the plank-boat because their region lacks suitable timber.

number of oars than the fragile bark canoes. Bridges (1):16 frankly admits that he finally saw the first vessel of this kind on February 16, 1883, near Stuart Island. It was manned by Halakwulup and is generally called [illegible]-[illegible] (cf. in SD:[illegible], [illegible], "a pole, log, trunk of a tree /cited in English/). He adds the following remark to this personal observation: "It is very desirable for the sake of the Tamana natives to clear up the matter about these [illegible] wooden canoes which have been for ages a source of continual fear to the Tamana. These [illegible] were supposed to be manned by murderers who moved about in them by night in order to kill any natives they

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> Tamana believe in whirlwinds "produced by evil spirits, and to appease them, they throw some limbs and pieces of wood in the water" /translated from Spanish/. This statement probably rests on inaccurate observation, the Indians told me that such a custom was unknown to them.

Lakíma, but this is neither a general rule nor a sign of veneration of Lakíma or a cult. The mere fact that in their accounts the Tamana do not even agree about the size and shape of the Lakíma clearly shows that the latter are only figments of the imagination, which are more vivid in one person than in another. However, it is said that every shaman has favorable relations with the Lakíma, and whenever he starts singing they let him pass unharmed.

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The Tamana tell the following Lakíma whirlwind. In ancient times some people traveled to Kalawalíwanga. There there are many Lakíma, but these people did not know it. Soon the Lakíma approached and all the people lost their canoes. They barely escaped with their lives to a beach where there was no wood whatever. For a long time they were without fire, and finally they had nothing left to eat. On the other side there was a nice spot with plenty of wood. Then one day a man saw something lying on the surface of the water. It was quite broad and flat. Soon additional objects of this kind gathered. He looked closely and saw that these were only Lakíma lying there, one beside the other. Finally there were so many that they extended from one shore to the other. They were lying completely motionless. One of the men said, "If we quickly step over all of them, we shall reach the other shore!" He did this, ran quickly, and reached the opposite beach. Immediately the other two men tried it, as well as the women and children. The latter went too slowly, however, /1287/ and all the Lakíma submerged, disappearing into the water, and took all these people with them (280/ 281/). The

280. The same message itself is repeated in another manner (p. /177/).

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Laléma seriously harm everyone who happens to come within their reach.

The one man was saved, however, and he was a great yékamuf. He then went to the other people, called them together, and told them everything. He said: "We must now make many yéku and kill these Laléma down there!" Immediately the men undertook this work. Then they attacked the Laléma and killed many of them. They were lying on the bottom. If one comes to this place today, he will see many flat stones on the bottom. They are the Laléma who, holding themselves flat, slowly sank with all those people and still lie in the water at that place.

Moreover, there is the following story about the disobedient girl, tlʼkipa wówa, for which I am likewise indebted to old Whain (251). A girl who is tlʼi may not eat berries. Now

251. A shorter version was told to me earlier by a few women and given on page 571.

there was once a tlʼikipa who felt a great desire to taste some berries. The girl ran away secretly, sat down in the woods, and ate many amlim. Actually the girl did not eat the berries and swallow them; she merely pressed them against her teeth and squeezed the juice out, throwing the solid parts away (252).

252. In this way the girl believed she could get around the literal meaning of the clear and distinct prohibition.

None of her family knew about it.

Soon afterward the family of the tlʼikipa was traveling across a wide inlet when a large Laléma appeared on the surface and threatened them all. In their terror they immediately threw a lot of mussels, birds, and pieces of meat into the water, but the Laléma did not release the canoe. The girl stayed hidden in the bottom of the canoe and did not look up at all. Then the people seized their dog and threw him overboard, but the Laléma

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773 was not satisfied with that either. In their despair the people
774 now took hold of a little girl and tossed her into the water. The
girl sank very quickly. Nevertheless, the Lotdiwa still did not
release the canoe. Finally the people seized the big girl, the
ngwilipa, and thrown her overboard. Lotdiwa seized her avidly
and, quick as lightning, sank down into the depths with her.
Soon the entrails [of that girl] rose up and floated on the surface.
This made the people very sad. After a time the Lotdiwa re-
appeared on the surface and stretched out, making himself very
flat. Then the people discovered on his back a great many mus-
sels of such uncommon size that they had never before seen any
like them (153). The men reached for them and /1958/ took a

153. It is well known that there are numerous parasites on the back of an old whale, especially Balanus and Coronula types. This sentence refers to them.

few off his back. Their shells were particularly sharp. In their
rage the men quickly cut up the whale Lotdiwa with them, saw
cut his entrails, and dismembered him completely. The Lotdiwa
was dead immediately and sank to the bottom of the sea. At the
same instant the canoe began to move, although no one was using
the oars, and in no time at all it reached the shore. The people
breathed a sigh of relief. But the girl was lost, for she had turned
the barrier as a ngwilipa.

This story, which obviously has a pedagogic aim, is defi-
nitely regarded as a myth, whereas, not as an actual experience
of a known family. I suspect that Bridges (1)-211 heard some-
thing about it and transposed the genuinely mythical material as
an actual occurrence. In any case, it is certain that the Lotdiwa
should be regarded as creations of the imagination and the fear
of our exceedingly superstitious Fanglans.

5. The Fawn Clans

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773 Inasmuch as the figure of the giant and man-eater Ketsch
774 exists among the Seli tam (Vol. I, 188), it is not strange that

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171 173 176 one Tutuna tell about many giant-like spirits which make the Cape Horn Archipelago unsafe. If one compares the mythological material of the two tribes, it becomes clear that among the Selk'bam it is well organized and richer, but that there are also considerable differences. In any case, a comparison with the Yāl is recommended.

176 The giants are called Hāmsuf. People say that there are a considerable number scattered through the country. Each one lives only in the forest, and he hides behind thick two-trunk whenever a human being approaches. Each one also rules over a certain area where he lives all by himself. He regularly moves about in all directions through it and only very rarely do several Hāmsuf gather somewhere. Each one is at least twice as tall as an adult Tutuna. He goes about nude naked, for his body hair is almost as thick as the wool of the guanaco.

If a Tutuna wanders through a lonely forest all by himself or lies down to sleep in it, the Hāmsuf approaches him. Out of fear of meeting the giant, people therefore avoid penetrating far into the forest and usually stay close to the edge. Even from there they can hear the crashing of trees and the breaking of twigs wherever he sets foot. They also often hear a moan-like howling of the wind, which announces his approach. Then warned, everyone who can hastens to safety. It is best for the person to get into his canoe and row out to the open channel where the Hāmsuf cannot follow him. This giant prefers to surprise men and women who have fallen asleep. /1189/ he rids them and slays them. At night he also comes near the huts that have been erected at the edge of the forest, especially if they shelter only a few people, whom he crushes. He watches particularly for lazy women who have come into the forest to gather wood or berries and instead have lain down and gone to sleep. Cautiously and subtly he creeps up to them and makes them fall into a deep sleep. Then he lives with them and satisfies his desire. As for young women, he likes best to drag them to his quarters where they are at his mercy. Every Hāmsuf is considered a hellsome fellow. He likes to give men a hard blow with his mighty club and leave them lying in the woods. He likes best of all to chase half-grown children, especially girls. When he

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to attention to this warning, but ran farther and farther away and played, all unsuspecting, with his little harpoon. At twilight a Ikhand surprised this boy and dragged him away with him."

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There are even two actual myths which are devoted to Ikhand. The first one goes as follows. Once a Ikhand fell in love with Magarowa-Kinilya. She was an extraordinarily beautiful woman, besides being sly and crafty. She herself would have nothing to do with Ikhand and always repulsed him whenever he approached her and wanted to caress her. At first he was disappointed. Later it vexed him very much to have come so close to rain to the hut of Magarowa-Kinilya. Finally he determined to kill her if she did not give herself to him.

This woman lived all on island. It happened to be winter. When the Ikhand determined to return with many other Ikhand to bring about her ruin, she began thinking seriously of defending herself. Quickly she erected a solid hut and covered it with strong pieces of bark. She left the entrance especially narrow and low. Opposite this entrance she left a little hole. She put bark in front of it and no one would have noticed it. She knew how to make fine, strong crab-farks, *dhu* (Fig. 63), and she always had a supply of them.

One evening the Ikhand again came to see this woman and brought with him a few companions. She was well prepared, however. When she saw the Ikhand approaching her hut, which was covered with large pieces of bark, she quickly crawled through the narrow rear opening out into the open, and when Ikhand entered, he did not find her. He turned to the entrance and looked out. While he was bending over and trying to squeeze through, the woman raised up slightly in her hiding place and forcefully drove a crab fark into his ear. The Ikhand cried out in pain and quickly squeezed out through the /1195/ narrow entrance. Another Ikhand pushed into the hut. He wanted to see what had happened. But he did not find Magarowa-Kinilya either. When he, too, had gone over to crawl out, the woman, with a vigorous rock, drove a *dhu* into his ear, also. He had to cry out, and instantly he forced himself out through the narrow opening. He dragged the *dhu* with him, sticking in his ear. The other Ikhand were astonished at this. Still a third ventured into the

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but, looked about for the woman, and, like the others, could not find her. He stood at the entrance and from within called to the other Hlamuł: "I don't find the woman here!" As he bent over to slide out, Maxunowłłelakīpa from her hiding place thrust a crab fork into his rear side. He was hardly able to move because of the pain, for the fork had penetrated very deeply. He squeezed out and dragged the fork in his rear with him until another Hlamuł pulled it out. He yelled terribly. Then the other Hlamuł began to feel uneasy. They talked it over and decided: "It will be best if we all leave as quickly as possible!" They got up and hastened back into the depths of the forest.

The crafty Maxunowłłelakīpa over there on the island had long beforehand dragged all her things to another place on the beach. When the Hlamuł were far enough away, she crept out of her hiding place and hurried down to the shore. It was deep winter and the channel was frozen over. She walked on the thick covering of ice which did not break through. As she moved forward she broke off small pieces of ice behind her. Scarcely had she reached the center of the channel when the Hlamuł arrived at the top of the nearby hill. From there they saw Maxunowłłelakīpa. They were seized with rage and hurried down the hill to the shore; they wanted to murder that miserable woman who had hoodwinked them all. But Maxunowłłelakīpa called mockingly to the Hlamuł: "Come right along, I'll wait for you here!" Then the men who were first ran out on the ice. They thought it was still that large, continuous piece of hard, immovable ice across which the woman had walked. But because she had cut up the solid sheet of ice into small floes, the first few Hlamuł sank immediately, for the small ice floes would not hold those large, heavy creatures. When the other Hlamuł on the shore saw the first men drown, they stayed behind. They hurled threats at Maxunowłłelakīpa and turned back.

The actual purpose of this myth is to characterize the entire Hlamuł tribe as foolish and stupid. That is why they can be easily outwitted and fooled by a Tamana. Moreover, the Hlamuł are inferior creatures, as is shown in the following myth.

There was once a blind man who lived with his wife. Each of them slept /1120/ on a separate bed, with the fire between them.

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776 One night a Hánnuš crept into this hut; he approached the woman
773 and forced her to sleep with him. When the Hánnuš left, the old man heard faint noises and asked his wife: "What is it that is rustling so strangely?" She replied: "Nothing is stirring here; don't become unnecessarily excited!" But after a while the old man realized that his wife was pregnant, and, indeed, she soon gave birth to a son. The blind man did not love this son at all; after all, he knew that it was not his child. And, indeed, this son was an unusual creature. After only a few days he was quite a bit larger, he could walk and climb, and he immediately worked diligently for his parents. He particularly helped the blind man because he thought he was his real father.

When this son went into the forest, he sometimes came across strange signs on the trees. He asked himself: "Where could these signs come from? My blind father surely did not put them there." One day when he again spoke these words, a Hánnuš looked out from behind a tree and said pleasantly: "I am the one who made these signs!" The little boy was silent because he was afraid of the Hánnuš. The latter continued: "So my own son is frightened of me?" The little boy wondered about this and ran back to the hut. The words of the Hannuš had offended him, so he asked his mother: "It can't be that I have two fathers, can it?" The blind father also heard his question. Full of anger, he now explained to the little one that his mother one night slept with a Hánnuš. The mother denied it and said: "That is not true. It was only in a dream that a Hánnuš once came to my bed!" In spite of that, the little one kept on working industriously for the blind old man, but he did not love the Hánnuš who was his real father.

One day the little boy was again busy in the woods. His father, the Hánnuš, approached him, took him in his arms, and carried him to the place where his large Hánnuš family dwelt in a spacious cave. Many Hánnuš were assembled here, but they were all very strange creatures. Some of them had four eyes, others only one; a few had no heads, others had their faces on their chests; some had but one leg, others but one arm, and still others were deformed in some other way. All of them without exception now came dashing up and gaped inquisitively at the

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776 stranger. After a time old Hánnuĭ accompanied his son back to
•773 place in the woods from where he had taken him. But the little boy was very ill at ease. Afterward he told the Yamana in minute detail what he had experienced with the Hánnuĭ folk. He continued to work industriously for the blind old man.

776 These two myths alone show clearly enough that the Hánnuĭ
538 spirits are not even remotely the objects of a cult or of religious veneration (257). The Yamana say that /1294/ a generation ago

257. Bridges (k):237 confirms this: "The natives never worshipped or revered cushpik, hannush, or any other being whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/.

the Hánnuĭ were seen for the last time here in their forests. Since then no one has seen a trace of them. On long winter evenings, if two or three families are living in the same hut or if a number of families are camping at the same place for some time, they love to tell stories of the Hánnuĭ and to repeat their own experiences with these creatures (p. 33). The stories are appropriate to the winter season, so to speak. In summertime the requisite mood is lacking. One evening, on my third expedition, the people spoke in great detail about everything they knew in connection with the Hánnuĭ. Blind Whaits was present. In the midst of the conversation he asked innocently: "Is winter so near at hand that you begin telling stories about the Hánnuĭ?"

The old men did not hide from me their regret that the young and middle-aged people no longer believe the stories and reports about Hánnuĭ and laugh at them as products of self-deception or imagination. They prove it by saying: "Sometimes we have worked for weeks deep in the forest (258) and never saw

258. This was work in sawmills for Europeans or on roads commissioned by the government.

the least sign of a Hánnuĭ; much less were we molested by Hánnuĭ!" This is the opinion of the modern, enlightened generation of Yamana. The old people nevertheless cling steadfastly to their

/1337 cont./

3. The Origin Myth

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The entire conceptual world of the Kina rests on an old legend which also establishes the misogynic trend of this secret ceremony. On that first evening, after the group of men has introduced the festival with a few spirit-appearances and has taken roguish delight in the initial successes, the leader in the ensuing conversation quite freely and naturally starts talking about the origin of the Kina. As I personally learned, back there in March, 1922, there are only a few principal ideas which he offers in condensed form. This suffices for the men who have long been familiar with the material. It is as though this were a justification of the secret gathering and the hostile attitude of the men toward the women, the former justifying their strange behavior before themselves, as it were.

Once the performance has begun, the introduction of the young lads chosen as uwíala does not take long. Thus one evening, at the very beginning of the celebration, they are told the origin myth in its entirety and in its traditional form. This is the first time that these chaps hear it, and some formality is required. The leader, of course, is not always capable or talented enough to tell the story accurately and impressively. In any case, it is his duty to see to it that it is presented to the uwíala properly. If he himself does not feel able to do this, he asks one of the elderly participants who has perhaps done it before on a previous occasion. It is largely due to this that the wording of the myth has remained the same throughout the centuries. It was not until my fourth journey that I heard it from Masemikens exactly as I have set it down here in the following pages (281). He repeated it to me in the presence of several

281. This version has already been published by Gusinde (q):278 and (bb):337.

men in connection with the medicine-man school. It has a lasting effect on every young man who hears it for the first time. I give it here in the most literal translation possible.

Up in the northern part of Isla Grande (282) and then beyond

282. This definite statement clearly

X 515 713 /1237 cont./

designates the northern part of the native country of the Selk'nam.

on the beautiful wide pampas of Tajyiyan (283) the women were

283. This is the name of the flat country around Bahía Thetis.

the first to perform Kina. At that time /1238/ the women had sole power; they gave orders to the men who were obedient, just as today the women obey the men. The men also sat in back at the stern, the women in front at the bow of the canoe. All the work in the hut was performed by the men, with the women giving orders. They took care of the children, tended the fire, and cleaned the skins. That is the way it was always to be. For this reason the women invented this Great Hut and everything that goes on in it. They said to the men: "We seek Tánuwa! We are trying to see whether she will let herself be found, whether she will come out of the earth and enter the Great Hut!" The men regarded this as the truth. They had to follow whenever the women broke up camp somewhere.

But they did not find Tánuwa in that region. So they traveled to another place, first along the north shore of Isla Grande up to the northeast tip. Wherever they stopped they built the Kina hut and performed once more. From there they wandered along the eastern shore of Isla Grande to the south. Wherever they performed, they made a wide, flat pampas. Everywhere they looked for the mighty, evil Tánuwa. They continued southward until they came to the vicinity of Cabo San Pablo. From here on they no longer traveled along the coast; that is the reason why even today one sees only woodland and mountainous country south of this cape. Then the women set out in a southwesterly direction, crossed the mountains, and reached Beagle Channel on the southern coast of this Isla Grande, in the region of Puerto Harberton. From here they traveled westward. Wherever they erected their Kina Hut and performed Kina, as at Puerto Brown, the surface of the ground changed and the country became level and open. They went along the [northern] coast

X /1338 cont./
575 of Beagle Channel, always westward, until they finally came to
773 Yájaálga (284). Here they performed their Kina for a very long

284. Today commonly called "Boca del Infierno," undoubtedly under the influence of that myth. This place is on the peninsula jutting out toward the south in Ushuaia Bay.

time. They stepped out of the Great Hut, only one woman or several, painted all over, with a hilte [mask] on their heads. Each time, a yéhamuf would call to the men: "That is Ilmeyéha!"; or again "That is Wasfnim-yéha!" And many other spirip came out. The men believed this. But actually the women had painted themselves, and since they covered their faces with the masks, none of the men recognized them.

Despite their performances and their noise, which continued for a long time, they could not find Téneuwa and bring her out of the earth. So they decided not to travel farther, but to remain here in Yájaálga. This place has a lovely pampas plain; they liked it very much and said: "We want to stay here! We shall now fool the men and call to them: "We found Téneuwa; she just now came out of the earth and is with us in the Great Hut!" Immediately they rolled up a few dried skins, beat the earth with them so that it shook, and yelled, roared, and howled as though they were terribly frightened. The men heard this, /1339/ hastened into their hut, and hid, full of fear. They only whispered to each other quite softly: "Sure enough, our wives have now discovered Téneuwa! Before this they never yelled so loudly and persistently when the spirits appeared." When this terrible howling commenced and the earth shook, the men said to themselves, fully convinced: "That is surely Téneuwa coming out of the earth. So the women found her after all!" The women then continued their performances in Yájaálga. The men were held in fear and submission and continued to do all the work as the women ordered.

Lim, the sun-man, was an excellent hunter. Again and again he was sent to hunt. He brought home abundant game. The many women in the Kina hut needed a great deal of meat. One day he had again killed a large guanaco while hunting (285)

285. It should be pointed out that in the

/1939 cont./

central part of the Yamana territory our Fuegians almost never hunt guanacos which are seen there very rarely (p.246).

and hoisted it on his back. As he was approaching the camp he passed a lagoon and heard the voices of two girls. Lĕm grew curious and said to himself: "I wonder what those two are going here." He crept up softly, hidden by bushes. Then he saw that the girls were washing off painting that was characteristic of the "spirits" when they appeared. At the same time they were practicing imitations of the voice and manner of his two daughters [the daughters of Lĕm] (286), for she played a prominent role in

286. At this point in the story old Whaits mentioned only "one daughter of the sun-man."

the Kina house. The girls said: "We want to practice hard so that we can perfectly imitate the daughter of Lĕm. Then we shall help her sing and help her fool the men." They went on rehearsing and talking about the doings of the women in the Kina hut.

Suddenly Lĕm leaped out of his hiding-place. He placed himself so close to the girls that they could not escape. He rebuked them and was extremely serious: "What are you doing here?" Frightened, they were silent. Then he commanded them: "You must tell me everything you are doing here, what you have talked about and what goes on in the Kina hut! I know quite a bit, because I have been eavesdropping." Then the girls blushed with shame and a cold sweat broke out on their foreheads. Finally they told Lĕm everything and confessed: "It is the women themselves who paint themselves and put on masks; then they step out of the hut and show themselves to the men. There are no other spirits there. It is the women themselves who yell and howl; in this way they frighten the men. But Tĕnuwa does not do such things." The girls told him many other things. Then Lĕm said: "Out of gratitude I shall give you a bit of advice. Stay here at the lagoon and do not go back to the camp or to the

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/1339 cont./
Kina hut; something bad is now going to happen!" So the girls stayed behind; later they turned into small fresh-water ducks /1340/ (287).

287. Back in January, 1920, old Whaim told me this part of the myth in somewhat different form. The sun-man was an excellent hunter. Although he always brought abundant game back from the hunt, there was soon a shortage of meat again. So he had to go hunting constantly. You see, the meat was stolen by the women. One day when he turned toward the camp, laden with a heavy guanaco, he passed a lagoon in which two girls were bathing. Undetected he crept up and listened to their conversation. Then he heard them say: "Lēm always brings much meat back from the hunt. Today he is out again and will surely not come home empty-handed. But the crafty women steal all his meat and take it to the Kina hut where they all consume it. Lēm knows nothing about this." Now when the sun-man suddenly stepped out of his hiding-place, the girls saw him. Frightened, they ducked down under water. But he called to them: "I've already seen you and recognized you, so come here!" Frightened, they approached. Lēm said to them: "What are you saying? I overheard you!" They stammered: "We only said: Lēm always brings home a lot of meat, here it is stolen and that is why he must hunt every day." Then Lēm demanded: "Since you know who steals my meat you must tell me who these [persons] are!" The girls, with fear and trembling, told him: "All the women gathered in the Kina hut steal the meat that you bring and consume it. That is why they stay in the Kina hut such a long time, whey they go on performing and frightening the men!"

/1340 cont./

The two girls who betrayed the secret remained behind in the lagoon on the advice of Lêm. They turned into ducks and are very timid.

Then Lêm angrily hoisted his guanaco on his shoulders once more and turned toward the camp. On the way he considered how he should avenge himself on the women. When he arrived in front of his hut, he threw down the guanaco and said angrily: "So that is why I provide plenty of game every day, so that my daughters can make fun of me and deceive all us men! "They take our meat away from us as though it were for Tûnuwa, but they themselves consume it in the Kina hut!" All the women who were standing near his hut listened astonished and asked themselves: "What has happened? What is Lêm talking about? Why is he so angry?"

Tâlur-ʍipa (288) happened to be sitting nearby and was

288. A type of sparrow with yellow feathers, which is now rare in that region.

working on a harpoon point. She heard the excited words of Lêm and said to herself: "Somebody must have told him about the women! Perhaps he overheard the girls who went to the lagoon to bathe." She blushed with shame, for she suspected that the deception by the women had been revealed. Then she considered: "How could I manage to make Lêm be quiet about it and say nothing so that the other men will not discover anything. This woman was sitting in the front of a hut where many men were lying covered up, but still awake. She alone was sitting up; she after all, did not have to crawl under the covers (289). So when

289. During the Kalampasa performance the people in the camp are supposed to assemble in one dwelling if possible and here await the visit of this spirit. This performance has already been described on p. 1227.

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/1340 cont./

Lâm entered the hut, the woman in a roundabout way tried to hush up everything and keep him from talking. She said to him: "We women have just given the men here a /1341/ terrible scare! We all came into the hut here and the men immediately crept under the covers, because they believed that we were Kalemqâlâ." She said this to confuse Lâm and divert him, so that he would not talk and the men would not find out anything.

She then ran back to the Kina hut and told the women: "Lâm knows everything that is going on here!" All the women were very much upset by these words. They got up, yelled very loudly, painted themselves, put on their masks, and went back to the hut where all the men were assembled. They wanted to terrify them more than ever now. This time, however, a few of the men secretly peeked out from under the skins with which they were covered. They said to themselves: "This time we shall not let ourselves be frightened, but shall look closely to see whether these are really our wives who are coming here!" They kept their hands over their eyes, but stealthily peeked between their fingers. While the women were dancing and yelling with their mouths close to the ears of the men, the men watched closely but remained motionless. When the weary women departed after the long dance, the men uncovered themselves and said to one another: "That [person] was my daughter. -- That was your wife. -- That was my wife, I recognized her. So that was not Kalemqâlâ, but our wives!"

Thus the fraud was exposed. Lâm told the men in detail what he had seen and heard at the lagoon. Now the men wanted to make sure by means of further information. They considered what was to be done. They immediately sent off the swiftest one among them to run after the women. He ran behind them and slipped into the Great Hut. The women were sitting around the fire, and each woman had her mask leaning against the hut wall behind her. The little man clearly recognized the face of each woman. His name was Ḱalalakîna; today he is a small bird (290).

290. This timid, swift bird is found in swampy places. Its feathers are chocolate-brown, and it has a sweet voice. BD:152 also mentions it.

/1541 cont./

He slipped into the Great Hut and went around the circle behind the squatting women, tipping over all the masks. He escaped on the side opposite the wide entrance. The women suspected that a swift-footed man must have run through the hut, for how else could all their masks have fallen over! They gnashed their teeth and yelled loudly in shame and anger. Meanwhile little Tsisiskiu told the men: "I crept into the hut, quickly ran from one side to the other and tipped over all the masks. But I did not see Tlinnes. Only women are sitting there in the Great Hut!" The men listened to him.

Nevertheless, they thought that they should be even more certain. They wanted to know whether the women were really only deceiving them with all that they had mentioned about Tlinnes. /1542/ So they sent out first one and then another of the men who could run quickly, first the smaller ones, then the bigger ones. Each of them crept after one side, whisked through quickly, and escaped on the other side. The women were moved this and reached for their bows and arrows. They sent an arrow after every man who ran through the hut and knocked over their masks. The arrow stuck fast and became a tail. The clumsy animals [which at that time were men] in particular were easy to hit with an arrow; that is why to this day they have a tail. The women threw a harpoon after the otter; that is why to this day it has a broad tail. They hit the fox with the Tlinkit death (XII)

XII.- This is Winter's back. Dentrye winter
(p. 38 /[illegible]/).

which was lying there with all its leaves and little twigs. It stuck fast and so the fox's tail is bushy. Every man who ran through the Great Hut was driven off in this manner by the women.

Finally when there were no more swift-footed runners among the men, they stopped. Then they armed themselves with clubs and slings, harpoons and spears, bows and arrows, and ran out against the Great Hut. The women were seized with terrible fear, but the men stormed ahead and there was a great battle. The men attacked the women furiously. Only two of them escaped unharmed, all the others were severely beaten and were changed into animals.

/1343 cont./

One can tell that all of them at that time suffered heavy blows. While this struggle was going on, Lēm poured great quantities of water on the Kina hut in order to extinguish the fire, for the hut had started burning. He poured out a great deal of water. It became a huge wave. This wave surged far out to sea and took along the big marine animals, for there is no place for them [to move about] on the earth. To this day one can see this wave: there are the heavy breakers that dash against the high outlying rocks. Into this conflagration Lēm tossed a bucket, tīku, filled to the brim with water. It made a great hissing noise. This hissing also went out to sea and to this day one can hear it even through the mighty booming of the waves.

All the women were killed or transformed, a few escaped, and only the small children remained unharmed. Soon after this great struggle, Lēm, the sun-man, ascended to the firmament along with his brother Ā'ēlqin, the rainbow, and the latter's wife Ōlmuqa, the moon-woman. From that time on the men perform in the Kina hut; they do this in the same manner as the women before them.

By way of supplement I shall now give the short version of the myth of the upheaval, which Malemilem told on the evening of March 8, 1932, when the secret celebration had just begun. He explained: "We men long ago took the kina away from the women. High up in the northern part of /1343/ Isla Grande, in the region of Tūnūhum the women performed their first kina. Who can tell whether or not these were Selk'nam women? Perhaps at that time the Selk'nam were not yet as different from us Tewesna here in this country as they quite obviously are today. On their journey down here from the north the women looked everywhere for Tēnuwa, but could not find her. In vain they cried at the various places where they erected their Great Hut. Finally they came to Tūnūhum. They liked it here and decided to stay. Immediately they hoisted all the men and pretended they had finally found Tēnuwa here. All of them made a lot of noise, yelled, leaped, and danced very excitedly. The men were supposed to believe that Tēnuwa was causing all this, but she did not do it. The things that Tēnuwa really brought about are the considerable degree of moan, gravel, and rubble which one

/1943 cont./

will seek west of Uthuaia. It was Tānuwa who lifted all this mass, shook it up, and moved it. If she herself had raged as wildly and struck out as excitedly as those women in the Kina hut, the whole region would have been demolished and destroyed. All the noise and fury were carried on by the women themselves; they made the men believe that Tānuwa was giving vent to her fury in this dreadful way.

"One day when Lēm returned from the hunt he eavesdropped on two girls beside a lagoon. While he kept himself hidden in the tall reeds, the girls chanted: 'Let's practice some more.' At the same time they kept trilling their lo lo lo... Finally they said: 'Now we can do it just as well as the women in the Kina hut!' When they were ready to end their vocal practice, Lēm rose from his hiding-place and stepped up to them. In his anger he addressed them gruffly and reproachfully: 'So it is our own women who deceive us men with their singing! The ulomins (292)

292. A particular kind of Kina spirit. Concerning this designation BD:113 says: "Certain men or beings supposed to be the sons of a certain kilapdua, who acted parts in the ceema drama" /cited in English/. Thus here, too, there is again a reference to the Kalumpan-appearance (p. 1228 and p. 1242), as in the other version of this myth.

also do not come down from above into the Kina hut! I shall inform all the men of this without delay!' The girls trembled with fear and dismay. But Lēm commanded them: 'Now tell me everything!' In their helplessness they revealed to him: 'Only our women are staying there in the Kina hut; they alone are the ones who put on everything. But the men are deceived and their false belief maintained.' Lēm was satisfied with this and assured the girls: 'All right, I shall save you two. Stay here at this lagoon and hide, then you will escape with your lives!' When Lēm reached the camp, he angrily tossed the guanaco on the ground and said distinctly: 'As far as the meat is concerned,

/1343 cont./

the women are fooling me and all the men!' These words startled Téłúrkîpe. Filled with fear /1344/ she hastened to the Kina hut and told the women: 'Lôm must have learned something [about our deception]!' The women were seized with dread and noisily prepared a spirit performance [the Kalanyôôn mûnu]. But the men looked out from under their covers and distinctly recognized their women who were painted and masked.

"Soon the great struggle began there in Yîjaalîga. The men counted the women from the Kina hut and in the process the women all turned into animals. The men threw a harpoon or a spear after each one. Thus one can still see that each animal has a tail (283). The man who was trying to hit Ziawîjakîpe no

283. In the first version of this myth (p. 1344) the same Makemkem said that the women had thrown various weapons after the fleeing men, and that these weapons are still recognizable today as tails.

longer had a spear handy, so he threw the next best thing after her, Winter's bark with its twigs and leaves, hence the bushy tail [of the fox]. The yôkhîlîf ran away without throwing off her mask and fled into the water; she is still wearing her mask (284).

284. This is the name for the squid (Loligo subulata). BO-646 probably also means this species, "a species of cuttle fish with a hard bill or beak" /cited in English/. The cephalopod referred to has a pair of wide, triangular fins on the pointed end of its elongated, cigar-shaped body. This formation is interpreted as a "mask" which it was supposed to have worn at that time.

The hatîjîn behaved in exactly the same way; to this day one can recognize the mask that she had over her head at that time (285). Likewise the tîyîlîgakîpe (286). The wûnarkîpe

285. This is a sunfish, about as long as a hand, with short spines all over its body.

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196. The formation of the moon of this far
oval, Arrowcephalus annexis (p. 41 /un-
translated/, is interpreted as a mask that
was formerly worn by the animal.

(Lazur glaucoides) was hit by many arrows, this is shown by the many dark stripes and dots on the wing covers. The small white egrets (Pseudorex considens) happened to be absent when the general fighting began. Later when he returned to this spot, he noticed that there were only a few people. He said: "Something must have happened here. How I should have liked to help in this fight!" He seized a smoldering club -- it was still smoldering from the general conflagration -- and burned himself under his armpits and on other places of his body. These are the light spots that one can still see on him.

X
SB
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"The mighty spears and harpoons that our men hurled at that time still lie near that lagoon in Tlaxalla; they are covered by tall grass. They attract the attention of everyone who comes there. Scattered among them are mammoth bones; these, too, our men hurled at the women at that time. In the general fray all the women who had performed the Kina were turned into animals, into land animals, birds, and marine animals. At the same time Lhu left this earth. He took part in the Kina as a sort of servant to the women, for he had to provide them all with meat. Along with him his brother Aiklpin and the latter's wife Ninuqa, as well as many others, ascended to the canopy of heaven. There they all became /1944/ stars. Since then the men rule in the Kina but no women may approach unauthorized, much less enter the meeting."

These two versions of the old legend clearly set forth two main ideas. First, the Kina celebration was originally in the hands of the women. Second, the disclosure of the deception by the men-men resulted in a general upheaval, as a result of which the rites came into possession of the secret performance and all the persons who had taken part were transformed into animals, trees (pp.79 / . 797), or stars. The legend explains that since then a new world order prevails and that at that time the world became populated with many kinds of animals. The story emphasizes the

§ 773 /1941 cont./
celebration of the people taking part, for it was a struggle between men and women for existence or nonexistence (37).

[71] 37. There is justification for a brief reference here to the surprisingly complete agreement between the basic ideas of the origin myth and those underlying the secret men's ceremonies of the Sulu Sea (Vol. I, 654), Tawana, and Halakwalup. All three are juxtaposed in Gustafson (p) 301. Cf. the summary in Schmidt (d) 496.

[72] Another familiar idea should be repeated here. Under the leadership of the women who performed the Kina, the families immigrated from the north to Beagle Channel, which at that time was unpopulated. They were the first settlers here. The Tawana refer to this as the basis for their legal claim to the region, and they have occupied it since then as the sole owners (p [illegible]). The rest of the two versions given above differ in details and in minor incidents. Generally, all mature men who have personally experienced the Kina are acquainted with the basic ideas of this origin myth, and it is also familiar to a number of women, as will be further explained and shown below.

6. The Daily Program

§ 775 To this day the Tawana men feel justified in assembling in the Great Hut and celebrating the Kina, while excluding the women as a matter of principle. They definitely maintain that in former times the women, for their part, kept all the men in subjection by means of the same celebration. Hence, they say, their action is an absolutely fitting retaliation for all that was once carried on in exactly the same way by the group of women. The men regard the content of the origin myth in all seriousness as true and reliable; they base their celebration upon it. While the answer that the men have for the women in everyday life is not basically altered and the social position of every woman is a

/[illegible] cont./

Let it be stated with all firmness that every *ofhamal* is an altogether normal, mentally healthy human being. Persons who are mentally inferior and to an advanced score of senility are not taken seriously even in everyday life; how, therefore, could they attain that pre-eminence which every capable medicine man enjoys? Rather, it can be taken as a general rule that the *ofhamal* is talented above the average, that he is more active and more capable than the men around him. His greater ability and richer mental gifts alone place him above his neighbors; his extensive and more profound knowledge gained from experience give him standing. These natural advantages give a medicine man's activity considerable importance.

Naturally, there is a difference in their ability, depending on the talent and knowledge of the individual. The people /[illegible]/ know and name those few *ofhamal* who have performed impossible things, and they are satisfied with the majority who have not gone beyond mediocrity. In view of the disposition of our Tonans, it is not surprising that the greater ability of one *ofhamal* has caused petty jealousies on the part of another group whose *ofhamal* is not so highly regarded. The one who feels resulted challenges his rival to one of the customary feats of strength. Basically they take place as follows. A *ofhamal* throws an object, for example, a *ofhaf*, or his adversary. In case the *ofhamal* who is attacked does not recognize the approaching foreign body or cannot nullify its effect, he is wounded, weakens, and dies. If from the start the attacker does not succeed in hurling the *ofhaf* far enough, so that it falls before reaching its goal or is caught by the medicine man who is attacked, then the attacker is regarded as the weaker one and loses the competition. All this takes place in the central field of vision of the medicine men, which remains inaccessible to the ordinary Tonans. The latter have only an spark in the competing *ofhamal* themselves will then and only as much as they choose to speak.

On March 10, 1933, the Tonans told me the following ancient tale. Once upon a time there were two brothers who were capable *ofhamal*. For a long time they lived together peacefully, but one day they had a serious quarrel. All the

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people who were together with these brothers in Agbo-ehie [a coastal strip in Sene Pommeby]. Hiewine split into two groups, each joining the yêkamuê they preferred. Each of these two groups left that place. They both selected a long channel in the west. One group settled on the south shore, the other on the north shore. The hostility between the two brothers and the opposition of the two groups continued; each of the two yêkamuê regarded himself as more capable than the other and each group praised the one whom they had joined. Finally the one said (/2000)

> 2000. All this took place in a vision or in a dream state, and each of the two opponents was so well informed about it as though it were happening in everyday life. That is the peculiar way in which the medicine men operate.

to the other there in that long channel: "I shall now prove to you that I am stronger and can do more than you!" Immediately they both prepared themselves [for the test of strength]. One of them left his hut [in his dream], boarded his canoe, and rowed to the middle of the channel. There he met his brother who had come from the opposite shore. Instantly he began the struggle with him and hurled a poisoned yêkuê into his heart. Then he returned to shore and proceeded to enter his hut. The other brother had also dreamed that he left his hut, boarded his canoe, and rowed to the middle of the channel. There he met his brother who had come from the opposite shore. Instantly he began the struggle /2010/ with him and hurled a poisoned yêkuê into his heart. Then he returned to shore and proceeded to enter his hut. The next morning both of the yêkamuê woke up. Each of them felt very weak and weary, each of them said to those around him: "I shall soon die, much blood is flowing from my mouth and my nose. Last night my brother mortally wounded me!" Sure enough, the yêkamuê died even before the sun reached the zenith. Immediately his people lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore that a Hiyoo would soon be sung here. At exactly the same time the people on the other shore also lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore

/1000 cont./

also lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore that a dance would soon be sung here. From each of the two dances a canoe carrying messengers set out without delay to bring the news to the opposite shore. The two canoes met in the middle of the channel, and the people of one told the people of the other: "Our yikanuf has just died, his brother killed him!" Soon all the people knew what had happened and that those two yikanuf were equally capable.

The power of the medicine man also reaches out beyond the boundaries of his own home. It overpowers Europeans, as was shown in the case of Bridges (p. 1004), and the neighboring Bella Bella according to Clara who told the following story in March, 1955. Once several Tsimsem were camping near Puerto Roberts. Not far from them a number of Bella Bella had erected their hut. When they saw the Tsimsem there, they stepped out and began making fun of them. The Tsimsem felt insulted, but did not dare attack the others. Finally a yikanuf said, "I shall soften them upon them!" Without being observed he buried a yikanuf against the last one of those Bella Bella who were entering into the hut. The next morning when this man awoke he was blind in one eye. Later, when he started to walk a short distance, he fell over dead. That is how quickly the yikanuf of that medicine man took effect. -- All the people present confirmed this incident and were convinced that it was the plain truth.

Sufficient proof that the yikanuf themselves believe in their ability has now been cited. They are convinced that their dreams and the things they undertake in the dream state have reality, that their influence on natural forces brings about the desired result. Whenever someone requests help from a friendly yikanuf, the latter usually begins working at it without delay. If he should not attain the desired goal immediately, he will repeat his efforts a second and a third time. The whole neighborhood gratefully acknowledges each success and the fulfillment of each wish, above all the person who obtained the greatest benefit. Thus it would be utterly unjust and false to call the medicine man a deceiver and swindler (XX). After all, he has

XX. Boas (p. 1)[illegible] pronounces the same judgment without any qualifications. He

[illegible]

part with full force. It is always the commencement entirely on the same pitch, without octave. It is only after some time that the voices grow weaker, and Emilia says loudly: "Now I shall send all the women back again!" While the lute singing goes on, all the people present get up and keep throwing their arms forward parallel to each other, their hands stretched out and upright. These movements are accompanied by loud cries of *[illegible]*, which are supposed to push the *Ilwanai* spirits out of the *Hyna* house and far away. Then they vigorously stamp the ground with both feet in order to make the *Ilwanai* spirits climb far down into the interior of the earth. Finally the song dies down. One person or another is still looking into the distance with tired eyes, as though he were following the departure of the *Ilwanai* spirits.

With the agreed *Ilwanai* song, which lasts about an hour, the people present have taken final leave of the spirits which appeared to the *Hyna* hut. Each one gathers up his things and leaves the hut without any formality. The daily monotony in the family hut now starts again for everyone. The large *Hyna* hut is abandoned to its fate. Soon the textiles are scattered to all directions.

Not only the *Hyna-ulhanai*, but the entire medicine-man system has been in the possession of the Tonsea for a long time. They do not know anything definite about its origin. There is no myth that talks about it. Old Thomas gave me the opinion of authoritative persons: "The *ulhanai* arrangement is very old. A long time ago the people who were the first to migrate into our region with the *Hina* also brought along the *ulhanai* arrangement. They invented it, just as they invented the *Hina*. Then when the general upheaval occurred in *Tiwoulidge* /*Tili*/ and the *Hina* was taken away from the women by the men, the great *ulhanai* of that time changed themselves into men and animals, *Lim* and *Lalipin*, *Ulhanai Pandiwo* (*Pandiwo* medicine), *Ta'ulaka Ratinage* (*Ratinage*), and many another capable *ulhanai*. The low men (*ulhanai*) and women who did not perish in that upheaval became the teachers of all the subsequent *ulhanai*. There were some of them at all times." This reference to the origin of the *ulhanai* system in the earth points also to its connection with the *Hina*; this has been stressed in Gwenda pp.475. This explains the

/[illegible] man/

Yc(1 [illegible] designation *ñoe-ñoje* which is the equivalent of *yelfol-ñoje*. The *ñoe-yelmuf* is not linked up in any way with *Wenuyñoe*. I asked *pelo-Mach*: "What is the attitude of *Wenuyñoe* when the *yelmuf* gather in the *ñoe house*?" My informants replied unanimously and without hesitation: "He simply looks on and lets them do as they please!" A *ñoe-yelmuf* gives the experienced masters great satisfaction, especially if they win over a few young men to their calling.

c. Activities of the Medicine Man

Yc(1 [illegible] Whenever a *yelmuf* wishes to act as such, he must put himself into a state of auto-suggestion. The people say he acts "in a dream." How is it may be that in his sleep an ordinary dream image excites him very much and awakens him. He continues to occupy himself, in a semi-conscious state, with the image thus received. In order not to lose it, he sings his monotonous melody while holding the upper part of his body bent forward and gently rocking back and forth. Briefly, what has happened is that his own *yelfol* or another spirit has made contact with the *yelmuf*. This contact continues for as long as he goes on singing, during which time there is an exchange of messages. Where often the desire for contact with his *yelfol* comes from the *yelmuf* himself. In order to bring forth the *yelfol*, the *yelmuf* sits down on his pellet, fights off all distraction, fixes his thoughts upon his guardian spirit, and sings his own melody uninterruptedly while gently rocking the upper part of his body (310). After a

310. Bridges (c) 302 and (b) 337 reported. They "began singing many and long magic songs. If the monotonous voice and monotonous rocking back and forth of the body can be called such...". "Through spells, fasting, and rocking the body, they were able to induce a state of overexcitement and, when in this condition, claimed to possess extraordinary power" /translated from Spanish/.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

915 of spirits (pl. 28, c). So decked out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire penalties if they did not remain submissive to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

913 Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the *Yahgan* have been presented by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1139–1277), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1937, pp. 1278–1294). Perhaps the most important single phase of the mythology is the Yoálox cycle. The older of the two Yoálox brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the cormorant, the otter, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the medicine man. The long story of the earlier matriarchate was briefly summarized supra under Kina cite with which it was associated, just as the Yoálox cycle was more or less associated with the *Téxana*. The chief folklore beings believed in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, 914 the Lokóma water spirits, and the Hánemah giants.

USE AND LEARNING

911 In general, *Yahgan* technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and skilled hunting, gives little indication of inventive strivings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple *Yahgan* harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect *Yahgan* culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern *Athabaskan* and northern *Algonquians* of sub-Arctic America.

There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no 910 911 means of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or, so far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the inclined stick to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Nothofagus betuloides* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 16 feet (5 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a bellowslike cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

905 The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our own, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

765 black paint and indulged in formal ululation. They summoned their friends and relatives to the death-dance known as *yamalashemoina*, which might be repeated at intervals for several months. For it the men and women donned the white kelp-goose headband; the men supplied themselves with clubs of unusual length (fig. 95),

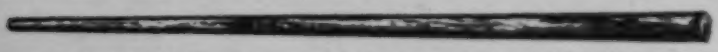

FIG. 95.—Yahgan ceremonial club. Length, 5 ft. (14/2261)

and the women carried paddles. As with many primitive tribes, the Yahgan believed death due to some positive and active force, visible or invisible. Hence the mourning ceremony carried the threat of revenge and assumed the character of a sham battle.

775 It has been both asserted and denied that the Yahgan believed in the immortality of the soul. Testimony on this point secured in recent years from mission-reared Indians might not be considered conclusive, but mythological tales clearly indicate belief in survival. As among the Ona, only unusually powerful and bold spirits, such as those of shamans, were able to maintain contact with the visible world.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The Yahgan possessed the usual collection of myths found among primitive peoples, but these are exceedingly simple in character and lacking in humor or sublety. The most extensive study of the mythology of this tribe was conducted by Gusinde and Koppers, and has been published only in outline. Barclay, Thomas Bridges, Cojazzi, and Martial also have contributed mythological material of importance, while a few scattered tales occur in the works of other writers. It has seemed worth while to summarize these published sources because they often are difficult to obtain and have appeared in five different languages. We have followed the classification of Koppers (1924).

EXPLANATORY MYTHS

There are a large number of tales which explain the various phenomena of nature such as the slow approach of dawn, the shape of the rainbow, the spots on the moon, the bare tops of the mountains, etc. Such tales often form incidents in the more complex myth cycles we shall discuss.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

ETHICAL MYTHS

In this class are various stories dealing with adultery and incest. The wrongdoer is invariably punished and usually dies in disgrace. These stories are told the young during the initiation ceremonies as part of their education.

GHOST STORIES

Ghosts (*kushpig*), especially of dead shamans, were greatly feared among the Yahgan, as they were thought at times to intervene maliciously in human affairs. Hence tales exist of close escapes or death at their hands. We should also mention tales of men who had gone mad from some cause. Living in savage solitude, they sometimes terrified the Yahgan by appearing before them or attacking with desperate fury.

"ONCE-UPON-A-TIME" STORIES

There are many stories of varied character dealing with the escapades of unnamed individuals. Quite often these tales merge in classification with transformation myths. As an example we quote the following story recorded by Cojazzi (1914, p. 32):

"A young girl was playing on the beach, following the retreating waves. A seal saw her and swam in on a big wave which caught and spilled her. He swam off with her on his back to an island where they lived two years. The seal learned Yahgan. They had a son like a man in shape but covered with seal-hide. One day the woman said she would like to visit her family, and the seal agreed; so he loaded the mother and son on his back and swam to the beach, where he waited while the girl visited her parents, who failed to recognize her. But finally they received her with joy and commenced to prepare a feast. And the men, seeing a seal on the beach, ran down and killed it, and they cooked it for the feast and gave it to the mother and son to eat. Then the son said to his mother, 'Isn't seal meat good?' The mother had a horrid presentiment and ran to the beach where she had left her husband and encountered the traces of blood. Furiously she beat her child over the head, and he fell in the sea and became the fish called *acimo*."

GIANT STORIES

To the Yahgan the giants (*kanush*) were large and fearsome creatures with hairy skin, flowing locks, and ferocious natures.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

773 Their appearance could not be foretold, with the exception of a few who in ancient times set up as highwaymen on traveled thoroughfares. In general, however, they confined their attention to solitary travelers or to women and children who strayed from the encampment. Martial (p. 213) and Dabbene (p. 66) record the story of a giant shaped like a huge sea-lion, who lived in a cave on Gable island and killed and ate the crews of passing canoes. A young man named Oumoara, small in stature but dextrous with his weapons and courageous in conflict, decided to kill this giant. So he said good bye to his wives and set off alone in a canoe. As he drew near shore he put out the giant's eyes with two successive sling shots; then he poured all his arrows into the giant's body and finished him off with the harpoon.

Once, as the result of the amours of a woman and a block of stone, there was born a giant, who, like Achilles, was vulnerable only in the heel. He lived on the coast of Hoste island where he killed the men and carried off the women. One day he hurt himself in the heel by accident. Oumoara heard of this, and, knowing his weakness, decided to attack him. Thus the giant was slain.

CULTURE-BEARER MYTHS

Koppers (1924) outlines a complex story dealing with two brothers called Yoā'lox and their sister Ypā'loxtōnikipa. According to Yahgan tradition these three were culture-bearers who introduced the use of fire, the art of killing birds, hunting sea-lion, getting fish-oil, making spears with barbs. They were said to have come from the east by land. Taken in conjunction with the Ona legend of bearded white men, I think it is clear that in Tierra del Fuego we have an outlying trace of the Quetzalcoatl-Viracocha myth complex, most highly developed in Mexico, Colombia, and Peru. In the art of more developed cultures than the Fuegian, this hero is associated with the plumed serpent or dragon complex which is the most basic and wide-spread of compound symbolic patterns found among the American Indians, for it can be traced from southern Canada to northern Argentina.

The Yahgan version is that the older Yoā'lox was stupid and lazy, and he wished that the fire would never go out, that the spear would return of itself to the hand after the cast, that sea-water should be fish-oil, that man should not die. The younger brother, active and intelligent, said that the unguarded fire should

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

go out, that the carefully cast spear hits the mark and need not return to the hand, that fish-oil tastes better if one works for it, that it is better to die as one lives again elsewhere. In this the sister, the cleverest of the three, sided with the younger brother.

On arrival in the Yahgan country, the various arts and industries were introduced. There followed a general giving of names, the beginning of sexual intercourse, rules governing menstruation, etc. The two brothers and their sister are now stars in the sky.

DEBACLE MYTHS

In this myth cycle belong the story of the origin of the initiation ceremonies, and a flood myth. According to Koppers, it is told as follows:

Long ago the women ruled the men, who then performed all the duties today allotted to the women. The weaker sex had gained their power by the *hina* ceremony. Painted fantastically and disguised by masks, they terrified into subjection their men folk, who believed they were looking at supernatural spirits controlled by their wives. At that time Hanuxa, the moon, was the leader of the women and chief oppressor of the men.

Lôm, the sun, was the oldest hunter and bravest of the men. One day, as he was returning from a successful hunt, he hid behind some bushes and listened to the talk of two girls who were bathing, and from them he learned the whole *hina* secret: there were no ghosts or spirits, only the women themselves. Then a great rage seized Lôm, and with other men whom he quickly aroused he rushed into the *hina* hut and killed all the grown women, so that only young and ignorant girls remained living. Since that day the *hina* ceremony has been celebrated by and for the benefit of the men, who thus keep the women in subjection. According to Martial (p. 213), this event transpired near Ushuaia at a time when the Ona were encamped there, so that the two tribes uprooted their social systems together.

Hanuxa, the leader of the women, escaped the general massacre, but she was badly beaten and immediately went to the sky where she became the moon, and today the result of her beating shows in the spots on her face. Discomfited and angry at what had transpired she planned revenge, and so she sent a great flood which covered all the earth except a few mountain-peaks where some people managed to survive.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

773 Later Lôm took to the heavens and became the sun; his father, Tarewa Lôm, became a star (Venus?); his brother, Akainin, became the rainbow.

Several variants of the flood myth have been recorded in Yahgan-land. Koppers himself speaks of another version in which Lowwakipa, the ibex, in rage once sent a great cold spell so that vast quantities of snow fell. Later this all melted and a destructive flood followed. Cojazzi (1914, p. 31) records that among the central and eastern Yahgan they say the moon once fell in the sea. Hence the waters rose above everything but the loftiest mountain-peaks, where a few men and women took refuge with the animals. When the moon climbed back into the sky, the survivors descended and feasted on a dead whale that they found. Another version given by Cojazzi (loc. cit.) is that at the time of the flood Gable island became loose at the bottom and floated like a great ship, on which many were saved. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 18) it was not the moon but the sun who fell in the sea and caused the flood.

THE ALACALUF

000 Of the Alacaluf, the second tribe of Canoe Indians found on Fuegian shores, only two members were seen by the writer. We therefore have no contribution to make on the Alacaluf. In general Alacaluf material culture was almost identical with that of the western Yahgan. They were, however, slightly better workmen than the Yahgan, so that at times their manufactures can be distinguished from those of their neighbors by the superior finish. For a useful summary of Alacaluf literature the reader is referred to Dr. Cooper's Bibliography.

ARCHEOLOGY OF SOUTHERN TIERRA DEL FUEGO

Camp-sites

172 The shores of Beagle channel are dotted with the refuse of former Yahgan camp-sites. Composed of ash, bone, stone, and shell, and partly denuded of vegetation, these middens can be recognized from afar by their peculiar pearl-gray color, which differs from the green-gray rock and the brown-gray soil. They are found in sheltered places, where there is a beach for landing, kelp off-shore for mooring canoes, and where water and firewood are readily available.

/700 cont./

847 who died after the third miscarriage, and likewise of Felipe's wife, who complained to me that she had had two premature births. Malicious women unjustifiably reproach these two, saying that they had consciously transgressed. Hence it is certain that willful abortion, which is undertaken secretly by a woman, is extremely rare. Abortive medicines from the animal and vegetable kingdom are unknown.

855 Love for their own child guides the parents in everything they regard as good and advantageous for it. Many customs and individual child-rearing methods have developed from long experience; they are a safe rule of conduct for the parents in the care and treatment of their darlings. To deviate from them is prohibited by the respect they steadfastly cherish for the ancient tribal heritage handed down by their ancestors.

2. Birth

842 Our Yamana regard giving birth as a natural function, but in their conversation they treat this matter with genteel reserve. The connection between sexual intercourse and conception is sufficiently clear to them. They could not refrain from laughing when we mentioned to them that there were some groups of human beings to whom these facts were apparently not known. If one asks them specifically about the origin of the child, they refer solely to the union of the two /701/ spouses and say that with their sexual union the child begins to form in the mother's belly, that it continues to grow until it has attained the customary size, and that then it becomes an independent being. They limit this explanation to the development of the body. When I asked Calderon about the soul of the child, he 842 did not give me a clear answer, for in general these Fuegians are 714 rather vague about the conception of the human soul. He said: "When the child is born, it has its kexpix, for, after all, it is alive. But who knows where this comes from!" With Nelly I talked about this repeatedly in Fred Lawrence's presence; I came to the conclusion that the Yamana lack clear ideas about the origin of the soul in the developing child.

843 The Yamana women do not understand the direct connection between the cessation of menstruation and the beginning of pregnancy.

/722 cont./

856 properly, to become well-proportioned, and to develop a beautiful figure.

856 That this treatment of the infant is not without a tinge of
789 magic may be seen from the way it is concluded. As soon as a woman ceases the prolonged stroking, she clenches her hands and puts her fists to her mouth so that the best thumbs touch her lips. With a sharp thrust she extends her arms out in front of her and opens her fists, palms forward and fingers outstretched. At the same time she expels her breath in a sharp "pf." as though the "unbeautiful, ugly, /723/ deformed" had been gathered together with the hands and were now being blown away. One sees this motion being practiced a great deal by the yéhamuł.

857 In this wiła process every woman is, of course, extremely gentle and sensitive; she is careful not to press on the fontanel, ayatała, which she knows to be a very sensitive spot. For about three weeks the new infant must submit to this forming, stroking, and arranging of his little body. It causes him not the slightest discomfort.

The following belongs in the category of superstition. When
855 the sea duck, déska (Tachyeres patachonicus), flies over the hut,
854 all the occupants are startled, for they are afraid that it will take
774 away the "spirit," that is, the vitality of the children. The adults hasten to cover all the children with pieces of leather and, with outstretched arms, they grope through the air, as though they were trying to hold back "the spirit" of the children. As though they had gathered it up in the air, they draw their arms in again and make a proffering and throwing motion toward the children, at the same time uttering a long-drawn-out "ǐ." It is well known that immediately after birth the parents may not eat the meat of déska, otherwise the life of the child is endangered (p. 503).

854 Most of the day the babies move freely or lie in the mother's lap. With their little hands they touch and grasp everything they can reach. They are given individual small stones and sticks, mussel shells, and little twigs that happen to lie nearby, but the Yamana do
[524] not make actual toys. Perhaps it is too much trouble for them always to take along and carefully store toys, no matter how simple. It seems to me that Yamana babies, compared to those on Isla Grande, are much quieter and much less inclined to play. True, the mother puts all kinds of small necklaces around her darling, in order to adorn

/1093 cont./

Supplementary data on their religious activity will be given in the description of their great funeral rite, which follows in the next section.

B. Belief in the Soul and Mourning

Conceptions of the human soul and of its continued life after death are closely interwoven, and the customs of mourning, for which our Yamana have created definite forms, are connected with them. The latter are probably based principally on the fact that the loss of each tribal member affects all the natives very painfully. In the following description one must keep in mind that European ideas and expressions do not absolutely coincide in every detail with the thoughts and words of the natives because the latter are much more unpretentious and poorer in ideas. Much of their thinking shows gaps and is not carried to its conclusion. In general it is not the habit of the Fuegian to complete what is lacking or to provide a suitable substitute. In view of this the investigator runs the risk of consciously or unconsciously substituting his own interpretation for the deficient forms of expression of the children of nature, which would give a distorted picture. My informants were sometimes at a loss to give satisfactory explanations in response to my questions and inquiries. This is the typical primitive mentality which does not concern itself with precise descriptions of every image and complete interpretions of every idea according to the rules of logic. It must be frankly admitted that there are gaps in the following account. I would be guilty of distorting the material offered if I were to fill them out according to my own taste and provide them with meanings from my personal opinion. Unadulterated single facts, even though they are deficient and fragmentary, can be used in making comparisons and will safely lead to the desired goal, whereas unreliable and arbitrary additions imperil the course of research.

/1093 cont.

a. The Human Soul

•114 From the start the Yaghan differentiates between animate and inanimate objects. For him, human beings and animals, his Watanishwa, and the many different spirits are actually living creatures, whereas /1094/ he does not attribute life in the actual sense to plants and stones, the forces of nature, and his own implements. His idea of life and of being alive coincides with the possession of a soul. The soul is the true principle of life and, as such, it may exist by itself or be united with the human body. Hence, according to the clear conception of the Yamana, it is a being in itself, and thus something entirely different from a body. This interpretation more or less corresponds to what we Europeans mean by the words "soul" or "spirit."

115 The independence and individuality of a spirit-being is definitely emphasized by a distinct designation which, although a generic term, is used only for the human soul and actual independent spirits. It is "ukipai," a word that has been repeated often enough by missionaries and travelers. The forms pikipai and ikipin are also heard. ED:175 gives ikipin, "a spirit, a ghost, an apparition, a man who has lost a brother or cousin" /cited in English/; the latter meaning was not mentioned to me. They use this expression exclusively with the basic meaning of "spirit-being." It was sometimes given unjustifiable limitations or inadmissible explanations. Bridges (1):18, for example, limits the meaning of the word ukipai, as it sometimes permissible, as follows: "The Cushpis were spirits which at night could make themselves visible but not tangible. They were malign, and the yahgans associated them with sickness and death" /cited in English/. Nevertheless this description shows that pure spirit-beings have an independent form of existence. Hyades (4):255 has repeated this interpretation in an expanded form; he calls Kachpikh an "untranslatable term referring to fantastic beings" /translated from French/. Spencer:101 is more definite and uses the term only with reference to the human soul: "Cush-pik is the spirit part of man" /cited in English/.

Besides incorporeality, which seems to be an essential characteristic, at least externally, still other traits are attributed

TIS /[illegible] cont./

> of a future good or bad existence or of the presence of a spirit in man, which survives the body." In the first part he is right; in the second he contradicts himself.

repeated. "They believe in the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. This is actually the case, and it is not worthwhile to consider contrary opinions.

TIY Furthermore, the Yamana believe that the spirit-beings have unlimited freedom of movement, so to speak. During sleep, where all is dreams, the kespif leaves the body temporarily and goes elsewhere. Spencer:101 also mentions: "When dreaming, the spirit goes out of him" /cited in English/. In this connection it is worth noting that the kespif, after such a leave-taking, must be anchored to the body anew, as it were, by means of a ceremonial act, usually by a yéhamul. This will be explained later. Several times my attention was called to an important distinction: "While someone is dreaming, his kespif merely goes for a walk, and of course soon returns., but if a person dies, Watanéiwa takes the kespif away and will not permit it to reunite with the body." When the Yamana say, "One cannot see a spirit-being, simply because it is kespif," they mean: it is not corporeal, for only something corporeal is visible to the eye. Nevertheless they admit that such a spirit-being can occasionally make itself visible, but they do not explain this in detail. Once I asked: "If my brother has been dead for a long; time and then I, too, die, will my kespif meet that of my brother, will it see him and be able to communicate with him?" In reply I was told: "We do not know that. We are completely /[illegible]/ ignorant about how the kespif behave over there." If the Yamana wish to explain their own vague idea about the existence of a kespif, all they can say is: "It is something like the breath or the air that comes out of one's mouth."

TIY TOI It seems to me that their view of the derivation and origin of the human soul is not entirelyy clear. In a vague way they admit that the Supreme Being plays a decisive role, namely, that the soul of the newborn child comes from him, whereas the body of the child owes its origin to its parents (34). Common

34. Spencer:102 says: "New born child gets

/1936 cont./

• 114 761

spirit "from nature" /cited in English/. The Yamana does not express himself that way. Spencer adds, correctly: "Some imagine they see the spirits. Informant knows nothing of spirits' life except that they always remain" /cited in English/.

expressions also reveal this conception. For example, grieving parents say: "Watayinfiwa let my child die, the one he gave me," but they do not express themselves in more detail about the whole process.

114 Once I wanted to know whether animals also had their
B5 kilepif. Apparently this thought had never occurred to them, for they shook their heads in denial. Then I said to them: "Animals are certainly clever, especially the dog. He understands the calls and gestures of his master, he helps in hunting and is faithful. How can that be?" They replied: "We care for the dog as for a child. He helps us a great deal. We never leave him behind all by himself in a deserted place, for if he were cut off from us we would always and everywhere be aware of the barking and howling of such an abandoned dog. Perhaps the dog does have a kilepif of his own, but he is the only one, other animals do not have it." Thus, the Yamana do not in so many words attribute a kilepif like that of the human soul to animals.

[171] Their views are essentially like those of the neighboring
114 Selk'nam about their kálpi (Vol. I, 537); even the names that the two tribes give to the human soul and to the spirit-being are almost the same.

b. Belief in a Future Life

115 Despite the contrary assertion of a few travelers who need not be taken seriously (35), the Yamana are, without exception,

35. Darwin (d):247 writes: "Captain Fitz Roy could never find out whether the Fueglans have any definite belief in a future life. They bury their dead sometimes in caves and

/1507 cont./

them hurled a few yéksil at the whale. They hit their mark and is drifted to shore. When the people learned of this act of their yékamuł, they marveled at their ability." Again this is an incident that occurred in the mental vision of the yékamuł and afterward was told to the people.

Moreover, two yékamuł will also have an actual contest in which one will try to undo the other. An example of this has already been given on p. 1316. Usually the procedure is for each one to aim his yéksil at a particular goal. The one whose yéksil reaches this goal or even flies beyond it is the winner. In another type of contest one yékamuł will catch in flight the yéksil hurled by his opponent and send it back. The one who cannot muster up the strength to do so loses. The other yékamuł can observe such proceedings in their mental vision, and they inform ordinary people of them. The superiority of one yékamuł over his opponent is also shown when he forces him to cease his harmful acts. Examples of this have been mentioned on pages 1365 and 1368. They also show how easily a yékamuł can disturb the peace and conjure up ill-feeling (p. 1301).

Every yékamuł, without any undue effort, can make the kłépiś of an ordinary human being subservient to him, and the younger the person is, the easier this can be done. The yékamuł keeps the "spirit" in his power as long as he chooses, unless a stronger yékamuł frees him. If this does not happen and the kłépiś is not released, the "soulless" body will gradually waste away and the person will die. For example, if a medicine man commences the łłíme song in his hut and is disturbed by a child, he will seize the child's kłépiś. During the brief period of the song this has no perceptible effect on the child, but the people present are anxiously concerned that the yékamuł soon restore the kłépiś to the child. Therefore after the singing is over, he will make violent retching motions, recover the kłépiś, and hand it back to the child by drawing his open hands up and down several times along the child's body. If the kłépiś were not returned in this fashion, the child would die after a time. Every yékamuł is closely watched by those around him, which is necessary and advisable since this determines the favorable or unfavorable opinions that his fellow-tribesmen have of him.

/[illegible] man./
saying distinctly: "[illegible] (10) [illegible] the

> 10. [illegible] mentions this word. "to come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. In the ancient prayer formulae it is often repeated with the same meaning.

old-one-up-there is concerned about us?" the meaning was: just as your [illegible] takes care of you, the Wiktos, so /[illegible]/ our [illegible] is concerned about us! She said this quite naturally and without emotion while I was busy tying up the package from which I had taken the present. I did not influence her in any way. Among the Yamana the thought of their Supreme Being is actually ever present and not by any means concealed behind many other impressions and images from their everyday life. In judging this statement one must note the valuable fact that Sara's home is on the Wollaston Islands which were never influenced by English missionaries; she, therefore, had no definite conception of Christianity. Nevertheless she draws a definite dividing line between her own [illegible] and a similar person who watches over the fate of Wiktos.

If our Fueguians are confronted with contrary or deviant European ideas, they usually refrain from asserting their own conception and defending it as the only correct one and as though the others were wrong. Nevertheless they once rebelled against their fellow-villagers Qoiskin whom the missionaries had sent to them as their teacher. Bridges (VSA XII, 378, 1863) reports: "Lucca told me that Oskokkow (he not being powder) had often spoken to his people of God, or heaven and hell, and what sort of people should live in them; his people being very proud and bad would not listen, and were sometimes very angry, and said that Oskokkow told lies; that as he had never seen nor heard God they would not believe, and that man and all things had ever been as they are, without beginning and therefore without a Maker. One man, they said, pretended to be Jesus Christ; some were afraid to be in hell, and wished to become quiet as a requisite preparation for heaven; some threatened to kill Oskokkow, but were afraid to" /cited in English/. The Yamana were particularly excited by the missionaries' references to the resurrection of the dead and a life of the

/[illegible] /

TS 197 197 Human soul after death under the same disposure conditions imaginable, in deep contrast to their own faith. I myself experienced this. During a burial, while the corpse in the grave was being covered with earth, the old man, in the helplessness of his grief, turned to me with the following words which sounded very scornful: "There he lies, my cousin. And yet you Europeans say: 'Every corpse will leave its grave and become that which it was in life.' No, there is no such thing!" This man, like all his countrymen, was simply not to be converted to the new teachings of the missionaries. He clung to the traditions handed down by his forefathers. They always knew how to make a sharp division between their own indigenous body of ideas and newly introduced, foreign conceptions or views.

TS Furthermore, a characteristic feature of the religious ideas of our Fueguians is their pronounced simplicity. The Supreme Being even lacks a proper name. Every Tenenet is named after his /[illegible]/ birthplace (p. 336). Is it not logical, therefore, that "the-one-up-there" has no such name because he was not born in the homeland of our Indians? Instead they use circumlocutions as ordinary social conventions. The names for the Supreme Being emphasize particular characteristics which are, however, personified to the utmost. In both directions, therefore, tribal customs with regard to name-giving are transferred to him. If here below an aged person is shown general respect, all the more is this due the foremost and true "old man," Watuinéque. Similarly, the few remaining characteristics applied to him are part of the everyday events and social customs of the Tenenet people. The fact remains, however, that he is a spirit and therefore exhibits forms of being that differ from people here on earth. Nothing specific is known about these forms. Truly, the Fueguian is consistent in his simple thinking, even concerning his deity.

TS 197 197 Finally the considerable number and the diversity of their prayer formulas must be noted. The archaic wording speaks for itself. The Indians themselves vouch for the great age of these short sayings because they contain many words and word combinations that have long since disappeared from ordinary speech. In addition there is the opinion of the aged John Lawrence and his sons who were well versed in the language and several times expressed

/1093 cont.

a. The Human Soul

714 From the start the Fuegian differentiates between animate and inanimate objects. For him, human beings and animals, his Watajiwa, and the many different spirits are actually living creatures, whereas /1094/ he does not attribute life in the actual sense to plants and stones, the forces of nature, and his own implements. His idea of life and of being alive coincides with the possession of a soul. The soul is the true principle of life and, as such, it may exist by itself or be united with the human body. Hence, according to the clear conceptions of the Yamana, it is a being in itself, and thus something entirely different from a body. This interpretation more or less corresponds to what we Europeans mean by the words "soul" or "spirit."

715 The independence and individuality of a spirit-being is definitely emphasized by a distinct designation which, although a generic term, is used only for the human soul and actual independent spirits. It is "késpix," a word that has been repeated often enough by missionaries and travelers. The forms kéhix and késpix are also heard. SD:175 gives késpix, "a spirit, a ghost, an apparition, a man who has lost a brother or cousin" /cited in English/; the latter meaning was not mentioned to me. They use this expression exclusively with the basic meaning of "spirit-being." It was sometimes given unjustifiable limitations or inadmissible explanations. Bridges (l):15, for example, limits the meaning of the word késpif, as is sometimes permissible, as follows: "The Cushpij were spirits which at night could make themselves visible but not tangible. They were malign, and the yahgans associated them with sickness and death" /cited in English/. Nevertheless this description shows that pure spirit-beings have an independent form of existence. Hyades (q):255 has repeated this interpretation in an expanded form; he calls Kachpikh an "untranslatable term referring to fantastic beings" /translated from French/. Spencer:101 is more definite and uses the term only with reference to the human soul: "Cush-pik is the spirit part of man" /cited in English/.

Besides incorporeality, which seems to be an essential characteristic, at least externally, still other traits are attributed

/1036 cont./

115 to the ulgno. Above all, the human body is animated by it and it alone. Those ulgnif who, to begin with, are not joined to a body have their own independent life, for example, the yelkfel, who, as finest spirit, can perhaps be compared to our fairies. The human soul, after its separation from the body, continues the same independent existence. As long as the ulgnif remains in the body assigned to it, the human being remains alive. Dying begins, the Yamana say, when "the ulgnif leaves the body; it is Wainujifwa who takes it away." Thus the soul outlives the body. Since, according to their conception, dying is a dissolution of the connection between body and soul, the isolated spirits, including the human soul, do not die after death; in other words, they continue to exist. Strangely enough, the Fuegians are unwavering in this train of thought. /1038/ They listened to my questions about a possible cessation of the spirit-beings with amazement, as though this imputation were in itself a contradiction.

It is also surprising that they do not admit any aging of the ulgnif, for example, in the sense of the accumulating years of a man's life. They recognize, if one may so express it, differences in age and sex among the yelkfel, adults and children of both sexes, just as among human souls after death. Once established, this condition continues without change, despite the passing of years, and "a child ulgnif does not mature and become an adult spirit," as Malemikem emphatically assured me. The fact that the human soul does not cease to exist and does not change, even after ever so long a time, positively means that it is immortal. Several observers have pointed out this belief of the Yamana, while others have denied it (33). As early as 1866 Bridges (a):211

33. Cooper:150 has collected the individual opinions. An examination shows that some of the observers contradict themselves on this point. In view of this, one is probably justified in seriously doubting the credibility of the testimonies, and all the more so since even Bridges wavers in his opinions and maintains elsewhere (e):332: "They had no conception

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of a future good or bad existence or of the presence of a spirit in man, which survives the body." In the first part he is right; in the second he contradicts himself.

reported: "They believe in the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. This is actually the case, and it is not worthwhile to consider contrary opinions.

774 Furthermore, the Yamana believe that the spirit-beings have unlimited freedom of movement, so to speak. During sleep, above all in dreams, the kēšpiǵ leaves the body temporarily and goes elsewhere. Spencer:101 also mentions: "When dreaming, the spirit goes out of him" /cited in English/. In this connection it is worth noting that the kēšpiǵ, after such a leave-taking, must be anchored to the body anew, as it were, by means of a ceremonial act, usually by a yékamuš. This will be explained later. Several times my attention was called to an important distinction: "While someone is dreaming, his kēšpiǵ merely goes for a walk, and of course soon returns, but if a person dies, Watauinéiwa takes the kēšpiǵ away and will not permit it to reunite with the body." When the Yamana say, "One cannot see a spirit-being, simply because it is kēšpiǵ," they mean: it is not corporeal, for only something corporeal is visible to the eye. Nevertheless they admit that such a spirit-being can occasionally make itself visible, but they do not explain this in detail. Once I asked: "If my brother has been dead for a long time and then I, too, die, will my kēšpiǵ meet that of my brother, will it see him and be able to communicate with him?" In reply I was told: "We do not know that. We are completely /1096/ ignorant about how the kēšpiǵ behave over there." If the Yamana wish to explain their own vague idea about the existence of a kēšpiǵ, all they can say is: "It is something like the breath or the air that comes out of one's mouth."

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774 It seems to me that their view of the derivation and origin of the human soul is not entirely clear. In a vague way they admit that the Supreme Being plays a decisive role, namely, that the soul of the newborn child comes from him, whereas the body of the child owes its origin to its parents (34). Common

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34. Spencer:102 says: "New born child gets

/1096 cont./

114 761 spirit 'from nature'" /cited in English/. The Yamana does not express himself that way. Spencer adds, correctly: "Some imagine they see the spirits. Informant knows nothing of spirits' life except that they always remain" /cited in English/.

expressions also reveal this conception. For example, grieving parents say: "Watauinéiwa let my child die, the one he gave me," but they do not express themselves in more detail about the whole process.

114 825 Once I wanted to know whether animals also had their kĕspiɨ. Apparently this thought had never occurred to them, for they shook their heads in denial. Then I said to them: "Animals are certainly clever, especially the dog. He understands the calls and gestures of his master, he helps in hunting and is faithful. How can that be?" They replied: "We care for the dog as for a child. He helps us a great deal. We never leave him behind all by himself in a deserted place, for if he were cut off from us we would always and everywhere be aware of the barking and howling of such an abandoned dog. Perhaps the dog does have a kĕspiɨ of his own, but he is the only one, other animals do not have it." Thus, the Yamana do not in so many words attribute a kĕspiɨ like that of the human soul to animals.

[171] 114 Their views are essentially like those of the neighboring Selk'nam about their kăspi (Vol. I, 537), even the names that the two tribes give to the human soul and to the spirit-being are almost the same.

b. Belief in a Future Life

115 Despite the contrary assertion of a few travelers who need not be taken seriously (35), the Yamana are, without exception,

35. Darwin (d):247 writes: "Captain Fitz Roy could never find out whether the Fuegians have any definite belief in a future life. They bury their dead sometimes in caves and

/1096 cont./

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sometimes in the mountain forests; we do not know what kind of ceremonies they have." Even Hyades (p):332 commits a serious error: "The idea of a future life does not exist" /translated from French/. Further references to incorrect views would not lead anywhere; hence they need not be specifically mentioned here.

convinced that the human soul lives on. They speak of this clearly enough in various ways. /1097/ It must be admitted, however, that they do not conceive of the other world as a secure situation or a definite place. This circumstance has led to the erroneous assertions of many observers who simply wanted to maintain that the Yamana, although adhering to the idea of the survival of the human soul, nevertheless are incapable of expressing themselves in detail about how the soul goes on living. The Fuegians do not waver in the one assertion that at death the kespix leaves the body and continues a life of its own. Once soul and body have been separated by death, that is, as was said on page 1034, by the intervention of Watauineiwa, any subsequent union is forever excluded. After that the soul stands alone, whereas the corpse decays.

Just as this belief must be regarded as reliably certain, so also it cannot be denied that our natives lack a fairly clear and substantial idea of the life of the soul after its separation from the body. They have only one answer to all questions pertaining to this: "We know nothing about those kespix after death!" This answer occurs repeatedly in the accounts of earlier observers. Despard (b):698 wrote: "The Firelander thinks, when a man dies, his breath goes up to heaven; but for what, he has no notion, and is ignorant of a return to the flesh. He denies the upward ascent of breath to other animals" /cited in English/. In any case, it is certain that the Yamana have never maintained a transformation of the human soul or its transfer to another being. Bridges spoke of this several times. Very early he (a):211 said: "They believe in the immortality of the soul, their word Cahgahgooloo, signifying to fly up, evidences this fact" /cited in English/. Elsewhere, (i): 19, (k):238, (h):207, he asserts: "They had no future, and expected

/1097 cont./

715 nothing after death. Anyway this was true for the most part; they had a word expressive of death Cagagulu, the meaning of which seems to convey an idea of an after spiritual state" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):202, Spegazzini (a):172, and others repeat the same view. This word, with which, at times, a kind of idolatry was set forth in many a treatise (Cooper:151), is an ordinary intransitive verb and means, according to BD:195, given as kāgāgulū, "to die, to cease to be, get used up; be all gone or spent" /cited in English/. Often this verb has its original meaning and is not used exclusively in the sense of "to die." One could use kābōpana with the same meaning.

The complete uncertainty of the Yamana about the fate and condition of a departed soul evokes that unusually high degree of grief among the ones left behind which strikes every outside observer. Their demonstrations of mourning are likewise very pathetic and deeply moving because they are born out of despair, as it were, because after death a reunion is impossible. /1098/ I was repeatedly told: "With death everything [every connection] between us and the kēspiξ ceases. We do not know how the kēspiξ comes when a child starts to live; nor do we know where his kēspiξ goes afterwards. It goes far away, far beyond the sea!" Nelly Lawrence once showed me an old photograph. It showed several persons who were together at one of the mission stations, only four of whom are still alive. Emphatically and seriously, but quite ironically she assured me: "The old Yamana, even my own father and I myself, have never been able to believe that we would all see each other again after death. The missionaries maintain this, but none of us can believe it. Why, everyone can see how the corpse is laid into the earth and decays there; after a few years nothing is left of it. The talk of the missionaries is trickery; they want to deceive us. We never believed them and we don't believe it to this day!" After a short time she repeated, with a mocking smile: "There simply cannot be a reunion because the corpse completely disintegrates!" Her words were not in any way provoked by me, but they brought her visible relief. She often discussed this topic in detail with her people, and it seemed to me that this time she also wanted to confess openly to me: We Yamana will not let ourselves be deceived by anyone, not even the missionaries; we shall inviolably cling to our own truths which seem plausible

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775 797 to us! There is some tragicomedy in the fact that the daughter-in-law of the missionary John Lawrence should have so expressed herself! With such tendencies on the part of our Fuegians it would be a psychological monstrosity to maintain that the figure of Watauinēiwa was taken entirely from the Europeans. This one example shows how strictly they keep their own religious heritage separate from the teachings of their missionaries. They have their own explanation, derived from their characteristic habits of thought, for the divergent attitude of Christians. "The Christians," [551] I was told by the Yamana, "do not show nearly as much pain and grief for a dead person as we do! They do not even change their name" (36). It grieves our Indians to repeat the name of a dead

36. The conditions under which someone changes his name if it is identical with that of a deceased person will be given on p. 1060.

person, but this does not affect the less sensitive Christians. 775 Gertie said: "We are immeasurably sad when one of our people dies because we do not know what comes after death. We do not know whether we shall be able to see and speak to the kēspix or how they are and whether they are happy. All that we do not know, that is why we are so sad and why we weep a great deal!"

775 781 They do admit the possibility of seeing one of their deceased relatives again, although they are not strictly logical about it. Many a /1099/ Yamana said: "When I am very sad and long to see them, when I keep thinking about them, they finally come to me. I see them in my dream. They are not just dream images, they are the real kēspix!" In my opinion these words point to particularly vivid dreams or actual visions which cause the delusion. It is all the more striking that in the Hašamáif wátuwa it is said that the kēspix of four deceased brothers and their malevolent brother-in-law returned as actual human beings after their violent deaths and temporarily were in contact with their unsuspecting nephew, like real people, but their behavior is described as that of mentally inferior persons. It is only in this story, not anywhere else, that the souls of deceased persons appear.

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715 828 The Yamana say nothing about future retribution, which is logical in view of the general uncertainty about the fate of the human soul after death. They do, however, definitely separate their countrymen into good and bad. I said to them: "Many people are hard-working and diligent, honest and good. They are always that way, whereas some are indolent and lazy." Their answer was: "The Yamana learn in the čiéxaus how they should conduct their lives, what is proper for a decent human being. Each person, when he was an uswāala, promised faithfully to carry out what the old people recommended. That is why these people work for themselves and their family; they care for their relatives, they give part of their booty to neighbors, they are good people and easy to get along with. But besides that there are also bad people. They are lazy and burdensome gossips; they no longer remember what was taught them in the čiéxaus and what they promised there; they no longer pay any attention to what the Yamana practice. That is why we despise them. Everyone lets them go their own way and holds himself aloof from them. Their fate soon overtakes those sloths and gossips. Watauinēiwa lets them die prematurely! There are good and bad human beings. A bad human being behaves badly simply because he is bad; a good human being behaves well because it is his nature to be good. Whether the kēspix of these people will be the same afterwards [after death]? That we do not know!" It is clear from all this that the Yamana do not know the condition of the soul after death. They view an untimely death as a punishment which serves more or less as adequate atonement for serious errors, so that probably the necessary penance has been made.

715 Our Fuegians, finally, are just as vague about a definite place of abode of the kēspix. The two statements of Bridges (a): 211 and (k):238 are justified: "They have no thoughts of a future state, either of reward or punishment /cited in English/...They do not fear a future life or cherish hopes beyond the grave" /translated from Spanish/. The general opinion is that "they go far away beyond the sea." This particular expression is repeated again and again. Richard asserted what other /1100/ people confirmed: "The kēspix go far out to sea, there where the many asōula /killer whale/ are. The kēspix stay near them and sometimes come with

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775 the ašǒula through our region here [as though they were on a journey], as the yékamuš who can see both [groups] tell us!" Exceptions to this general rule are the késpiš of the yékamuš and of persons who have drowned. Of the latter it is said: "While a person is drowning he threshes about excitedly. That is his késpiš which is leaving him. After that the késpiš stays in that place on water. Sometimes one hears his call; it sounds like the barking of a sea lion, but it is the call of the késpiš of the drowned person." As for the yékamuš, "all persons surrounding a dying yékamuš must continually utter a wailing hu hu hu; at the same time they let their arms hang down and move their hands forward as though they were pushing sand or water. These movements quickly drive far away the Haučélla spirit (37) that is leaving the dying yékamuš.

775 756 763

37. This spirit was characterized and described in detail on p. 746.

If this were not done, this bloodthirsty villain would remain at the place of death and harass all the people." Naturally, everyone [304] present is painted with the white horizontal line from the nostrils to the ear-lobes. The késpiš of certain persons, including those of the yékamuš, are strongly attracted by Haučélla. If they follow this woman, they actually go down into the earth with her and remain with her. Finally the Yamana also concede that sometimes a késpiš appears near the hut and in the neighborhood of their own families. It whimpers and groans, although so softly that the people can scarcely hear it, but that is how they recognize it (38).

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38. Bove (d):297 and (e):159 assert: "In general the Fuegians are not very superstitious; if someone dies, they believe that the spirit leaves the body and roams about through the forests and beyond the mountains, restlessly suffering if he was evil in life, happily and quietly if he was good." His traveling companions Lovisato (b):149 and Spegazzini (a):172 repeat the same assertion. I did not encounter this

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115 view. Spencer:101 generalizes an idea which, as such, is correct: "When he dies, the spirit remains alive and roams around place where he dies" /cited in English/.

115 The Yamana assume that the souls far out above the sea
191 move about freely and are not limited to a definite place or crowded together. Several times they clearly and definitely asserted: "It was the missionaries who first told us that the kěspix of good human beings are assembled in a place apart from those of bad people. Everyone will be reunited there! The Yamana never said anything like this, and we still do not believe it. A person who has died remains invisible and inaccessible to all others. We do not know whether later on the kěspix recognize each other and whether they still remember this country here [their home]. The missionaries tried to comfort us in our great sorrow with words like these. They did not succeed, for we know better what happens to the kěspix!" Without doubt the explanations of the missionaries /1101/ provoked determined opposition among the Fuegians. This sample also shows how they consciously separate their own religious heritage from the new teachings. They are actually proud of themselves and regard themselves as victors over the missionaries who tried in vain to substitute their so-called false views for the truth contained in the old Indian tradition (39).

39. Spears:71 says the same thing in different words: "When the missionaries would have spoken to the Yahgan of his dead relatives they could not without offending him seriously" /cited in English/. This kind of statement shows the great weight of actual facts.

115 For the souls of their dead collectively the Yamana use the general expression ūlulufāala, that is, the people of the ūluluf. BD:91 treats ūlūuf as synonymous with kōspix. They know nothing

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•T15 about the fate of the spirits in the other world nor do they fear them.

c. Mourning and Death Rites

T65 The grief of our Fuegians over the loss of a tribal member in death has been described several times as unusually deep and lasting. It is caused chiefly by the uncertainty over the fate of the departed soul, for separation from it lasts forever. For obvious reasons the Yamana do not speak of events which agitate them and stir them to the depths. They hold back expressions of their grief especially in front of strangers. The travelers of earlier decades and the missionaries were able to furnish only brief and incomplete accounts. Favored by fortune, I had the opportunity to take part in the mourning of a small group of survivors, as well as in the general ceremony of mourning. Hence the following account describes my own experience. At the very beginning it should be pointed out that, generally speaking, expressions of mourning among these Indians are not mere formalities without content, but come from the deepest feelings. From the start certain unreliable opinions from other pens are rejected (40). Anyone

40. For example, Lovisato (b):146 uses almost insulting words: "True grief for the deceased does not exist; the facial painting, the shrieks, the blows, the wounds that the Fuegians make at the death of a relative, the destruction of the wigwam where the individual died, and so on... are more mere practices, rules of custom, than sincere expressions of grief" /translated from Italian/.

[171] who compares the description of the mourning customs of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 542) with those of our Yamana will find considerable agreement. One must accept this fact as it stands, and although historical connections must be mentioned as the only correct explanation for it, they can no longer be clarified in detail or even thoroughly investigated.

/1137 cont./

765 another opponent who is permitted this opportunity for /1138/
626 ruthlessly setting forth his accusations. No one may take offense at being publicly accused. All kinds of things are disclosed in this way and reach the ears of the public: events long past; the quarrels and misdeeds of a murderer and all the members of his family are lengthily and inconsiderately dragged out into the open; the cruel behavior of a husband toward his deceased wife is loudly held up to him and his relatives for the hundredth time; the proved or suspected extra-marital relations of a dissolute woman are thrown in her face without the least restraint. Everyone who feels dislike for another or who has quarreled with him singles him out during the sham battle and gives him a piece of his mind. Disagreements between whole groups of families are also revealed and characterized in detail. As one can see, the loud reproaches of the sham battle are acts of undisguised and public conscience-searching of the other party by one who is far from offering palliation! The vivid warning which comes from the near and impending death also shakes up every participant and impels him anew to lead a blameless, orderly life, to make an effort to get along with others and to be on the best of terms with the members of his family, to be helpful to everyone, and in general to cultivate the virtues of a true, proper Yamana. Thus personal conduct and public order are inestimably improved by each yamalaiemóina. It is probably with the help of this institution that the general morality of the Yamana has been kept on a surprisingly consistent high level. Even though the motive which impels many a person to censure his opponent publicly may be neither noble nor fine, at any rate the outspoken accusation is not without effect.

• 715 The Yamana will not and cannot give up their general ceremonies of mourning as long as they persist in their ancient vague conception of the life of the human soul after death. The separation from each person who is snatched away by death is for them an everlasting farewell. Nelly Lawrence often and definitely assured me in so many words: "The missionaries constantly urged us to give up the long and disturbing gatherings after the death of one of our people. They advised us: 'Don't weep so much, for we shall all see one another again after death!' But

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715 no one believed them. How could it be true that we shall all meet again later? After all, the body disintegrates. So there will never be a reunion!" Each time she told me something about her people's doctrine of the soul, this noble woman spoke with a passion which sounded like hopelessness. The monotonous, lugubrious melody of mourning of the tálauwaja and the yamalaśemóina will not be silenced until the earth covers the last Yamana on the distant Cape Horn Archipelago.

/1139/ C. Cosmogony and Mythology

713 The world of religious ideas with which the doctrine of the soul is subjectively connected proves to be rich and comprehensive among our Yamana, but their world of mythological personalities is more vast and alive. These two broad spheres of ideas are sharply differentiated and distinctly separate from each other; each exists by itself, so to speak. Just as the figures in the myths and legends have not been closely connected with the figure of the Supreme Being at any point in our description above, so, too, the latter appears to be entirely separate from the former; moreover, Watauinéiwa is just as far removed from the actual spirits and medicine men. Every attentive observer can easily separate the ideas of these two disparate spheres of imaginative conception, just as the Yamana do.

713 182 In former times every figure described in their myths and legends was very familiar to our Fuegians; the individual representatives of the animal world and the celestial bodies, as well as of the objects of everyday use, often awakened the familiar combinations of ideas which were associated with those figures. Formerly favorite stories were told over and over again during the long hours of comfortable fellowship in the evening around the hut fire. Unfortunately, for the last few decades the former close ethnic unity has been disrupted and the remnants of the once large group are scattered over the broad areas of their homeland in detached fragments. The surviving families, no longer very numerous, are rarely in touch with one another, and when they do meet their exchange of opinions is limited to certain details of daily life. In view of this, it is not strange that

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 head band and had a special painted staff. To each candidate were assigned sponsors, one or two men and a woman to the boy, one or two women and a man to the girl.

The candidates were subjected to certain endurance restrictions: little sleep, food, and drink, hard work, a daily bath in cold sea water, cross-legged posture during much of the time. They had to drink through a hollow bird bone. The boys were given a sort of temporary tattoo. Much vocational instruction was given, and particularly an elaborate moral instruction in the native code, with very concrete counsels on the obligations of altruistic behavior, respect for the aged, peaceableness, industry, not spreading scandals or carrying tales, and so forth. This moral instruction was given by the mentor, sponsors, [876] and other elders, as the will of Watauinéwa, the Supreme Being, who saw everything and who would punish delinquents with shortened life and with the death of their children. Yetäita also, the chief evil spirit, would harm them if they did wrong.

The ritual consisted otherwise mostly of dances and of songs peculiar to it. Toward the end, the sponsors gave each candidate a basket, a bird-bone drinking tube, and a scratching-stick. The rite ended with a mock battle between the men and women, and with a feast.

[884] Only those who had gone through the čiéxaus rite were considered full-fledged members of the tribe, and were told the whole mythological complex of the Yoálox brothers and their sister. And only twice-initiated boys could take part in the kina rite (cf. infra under Religion), whith was often held just after the čiéxaus.

76 **Death and burial.**—Mourning was expressed by fasting, body painting, gashing of the breast with sharp stones, and a special mourning dirge accompanied by a mourning speech. Angry complaints were directed to Watauinéwa for letting the person die. A general mourning rite in which the men and women painted themselves, wept, hurled complaints at Watauinéwa, and engaged in a mock battle, the men with clubs and the women with paddles, was also held.

The more common form of disposal of the body, up until recent times, was cremation—lest foxes, rats, or dogs should eat the body, so the natives said. The dead person's personal property, or some of it, was burned with the body. In some cases, especially of children, the body was buried in a kitchen-midden. The burial spot was avoided as a camping place, for several years where the deceased was an adult. The name of the dead was never spoken.

775 **Future life.**—The koshpik (késpix), or soul, flew east, but exactly whither was not known. Nor was it known what its fate was, happy or unhappy, nor whether such fate was at all dependent on moral behavior on earth.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

765 [535] black paint and indulged in formal ululation. They summoned their friends and relatives to the death-dance known as *yamalashemoina*, which might be repeated at intervals for several months. For it the men and women donned the white kelp-goose headband; the men supplied themselves with clubs of unusual length (fig. 95),

FIG. 95.—Yahgan ceremonial club. Length, 5 ft. (14/2261)

[761] and the women carried paddles. As with many primitive tribes, the Yahgan believed death due to some positive and active force, visible or invisible. Hence the mourning ceremony carried the threat of revenge and assumed the character of a sham battle.

775 It has been both asserted and denied that the Yahgan believed in the immortality of the soul. Testimony on this point secured in recent years from mission-reared Indians might not be considered conclusive, but mythological tales clearly indicate belief in survival. As among the Ona, only unusually powerful and bold spirits, such as those of shamans, were able to maintain contact with the visible world.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The Yahgan possessed the usual collection of myths found among primitive peoples, but these are exceedingly simple in character and lacking in humor or sublety. The most extensive study of the mythology of this tribe was conducted by Gusinde and Koppers, and has been published only in outline. Barclay, Thomas Bridges, Cojazzi, and Martial also have contributed mythological material of importance, while a few scattered tales occur in the works of other writers. It has seemed worth while to summarize these published sources because they often are difficult to obtain and have appeared in five different languages. We have followed the classification of Koppers (1924).

EXPLANATORY MYTHS

There are a large number of tales which explain the various phenomena of nature such as the slow approach of dawn, the shape of the rainbow, the spots on the moon, the bare tops of the mountains, etc. Such tales often form incidents in the more complex myth cycles we shall discuss.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

ETHICAL MYTHS

In this class are various stories dealing with adultery and incest. The wrongdoer is invariably punished and usually dies in disgrace. These stories are told the young during the initiation ceremonies as part of their education.

GHOST STORIES

Ghosts (*kuakpig*), especially of dead shamans, were greatly feared among the Yahgan, as they were thought at times to intervene maliciously in human affairs. Hence tales exist of close escapes or death at their hands. We should also mention tales of men who had gone mad from some cause. Living in savage solitude, they sometimes terrified the Yahgan by appearing before them or attacking with desperate fury.

"ONCE-UPON-A-TIME" STORIES

There are many stories of varied character dealing with the escapades of unnamed individuals. Quite often these tales merge in classification with transformation myths. As an example we quote the following story recorded by Cojazzi (1914, p. 32):

"A young girl was playing on the beach, following the retreating waves. A seal saw her and swam in on a big wave which caught and spilled her. He swam off with her on his back to an island where they lived two years. The seal learned Yahgan. They had a son like a man in shape but covered with seal-hide. One day the woman said she would like to visit her family, and the seal agreed; so he loaded the mother and son on his back and swam to the beach, where he waited while the girl visited her parents, who failed to recognize her. But finally they received her with joy and commenced to prepare a feast. And the men, seeing a seal on the beach, ran down and killed it, and they cooked it for the feast and gave it to the mother and son to eat. Then the son said to his mother, 'Isn't seal meat good?' The mother had a horrid presentiment and ran to the beach where she had left her husband and encountered the traces of blood. Furiously she beat her child over the head, and he fell in the sea and became the fish called *sciano*."

GIANT STORIES

To the Yahgan the giants (*kosash*) were large and fearsome creatures with hairy skin, flowing locks, and ferocious natures.

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan SH6
622, 754, 755, 776, 787, 789, 791, 793, 874

[Information on various aspects of Yahgan culture which are closely related to the characteristics and activities of the yékamuš or medicine-man, including his training, role as a community leader, curer, sorcerer, and custodian of religious lore, have been marked for category 756 and will be found under that classification.]

/707 cont./

immediate surroundings are quiet; small children are either sent far away or held in check; finally, all the dogs are forcibly kept silent.

From the day of delivery both parents (p. 495) must very conscientiously observe the regulations familiar to everyone. The mother refrains from taking any kind of nourishment for the entire day. This assures her of a good delivery and the future well-being of her child. For his part, the man may neither fell heavy wooden beams in the forest nor kill large game animals. He may neither break open the bones of birds to get out the marrow nor crush the shell of the sea urchin. In case he should fell decayed trees or split wood, his child would have an open wound on its breast. If he should break apart the wing bones of birds, the arms of his child would also break; if he should pluck out the feathers of a bird, his child would soon lose its hair. On the day of the birth he is just as restricted in his choice of foods as his wife is on this and the following days. She is permitted to eat again on the day after her confinement, but at first by no means everything. She limits herself to fish, as well as ʍauf (Mytilus chilensis), kecʃin (Mytilus edulis), and amiʃlu (Fissurella). She is not permitted the many other lower sea animals. These mussels must come from "good" places [in the magical sense], in other words, not from places where one suspects the lakima /water spirit/ might be nor from places where there are many cormorants and sea lions. It seems to me that the magical fear comes from the fact that these animals do not play a favorable role in mythology. A single species of duck, namely, Mareca sibilatrix, also belongs to the "good" things. On the other hand, the meat of the sea duck, dɔʃka (Tachyeres patachonicus), is forbidden. When things to be eaten are unavailable or not present in sufficient quantities, the yɛkamuš /shaman/ must help out. Stretching out both hands, he gathers up the "bad and harmful," /708/ holds it for a moment on his open palms and, with a strong puff of air from his mouth and a softly uttered "ft," blows it away. Now the food has been freed of everything "dangerous" and is no longer harmful.

Directly after the child has been separated from its mother, the woman who has been the midwife goes out of the hut and sends a message to the father by anyone who is available that a boy or a

/742 cont./

8.1 183 adult status. That is why all older people regard /743/ the training of youth as an obligation, and no one shies away from it out of laziness. The adults influence the young people by means of instruction and admonition, at least by setting a good example, and they are solicitous about their physical well-being and the perfection of their character and morals. No one -- with the exception of a few who are remiss in their duties -- tires of always exerting his best efforts to make the child a valuable member of the tribe, one who will benefit the group as a whole. Since this was always customary among their ancestors, responsible adults now make no exceptions with regard to this duty, for ancient custom is to this day their law.

8.1 Since Nature herself has established the parents as the first qualified teachers, they devote themselves to their task with all their love and ability. They are guided by their concern for the welfare of their child. Anyone who is skilled in all kinds of manual work can easily make a living, and a person who knows how to behave and adopts a way of life that will make him liked by all his neighbors is in a pleasant position. Parental pride also spurs them on a bit, for it is a great satisfaction to everyone to have his children praised as industrious and good. Less clearly than for the celebration of the youth initiation, but definitely [716] enough, conscientious parents are charged by Hidahgan, their only deity, with the duty of rearing their children. For primitive people like our Yamana, there is no stronger pressure for efforts at guidance than religious sanction.

Besides the parents, adults in general are required to promote the training of all children, with less urgency, however. If the former neglect their duty or have died, the nearest relatives are obliged to offer the poor child what he needs without any formalities. In fact, every person, whoever he may be, is obliged to give a child help whenever it is needed and to deal with a bad deed wherever he may observe it. No Yamana would say, "This or that child is no concern of mine." He feels an urgent need to help if he sees that a child is suffering physical injury or that its training is being neglected. The individual adult acts on behalf of the child from a feeling of tribal solidarity and in the service of the general welfare. More often than a European realizes, he openly expresses these considerations upon which he acts.

/746 cont./

direction soon scatters them. Anyone who does not get up in the morning after a vigorous shake has his leather cover pulled off so that he lies naked and soon gets up because of the cold. If a few rascals disturb the conversation of adults by their chatter or if they even presume to interrupt, they are sent out of the hut with a few sharp words. A child with the habit of being obtrusive at meals is dismissed with an inferior piece while the other people enjoy delectable titbits. No occasion irritates adults as much as when they happen to come upon a boy hidden with a girl. Then rude blows rain down /747/ on the little sinner, either with the flat of the hand or a stick of wood, wherever and however they happen to fall, until he seeks refuge in hasty flight (183).

183. The Fuegian punishes the child to make it pay for its mistake. Bridges' interpretation of April 21, 1870, is wrong: "The native never punishes his child because he has done wrong, but because he has troubled him, or to please those who may be angry with him, or he expresses his vexation towards any who have displeased him by wreaking it upon his innocent child" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 314;1872).

After that the adults keep a sharp eye on him.

The severest punishment for the child is to have its parents send it away or make it leave the hut. Hot tears flow amid loud sobbing, until finally, after the prolonged torture of loneliness, the little culprit is called into another woman's hut where he is left to himself without the least encouragement. On the following day or even earlier he slips back to the parental hut, ashamed and fearful, and crouches quietly by himself to avoid provocation for renewed banishment. If the punishment is combined with loud scolding on the part of the parents, as happens on rare occasions, the little rogue seems weak with shame which he is unable to conceal for days.

The adults now and then weave references to Hidfuan into their teachings. I was definitely assured of this, but unfortunately I did not write down the exact words.

X 881 /869 cont./
867 shout and make a great fuss about it; sometime he will realize his mistake.

"Do not cease really loving your husband and willingly doing all kinds of work for him: then he will like you, too, and also take good care of you.

"If the family [from which you come] is large and your brothers /870/ and uncles are very much esteemed by people because they are capable, do not preen yourself about it and do not unduly boast about it, for others would misconstrue this.

"If you want to live peaceably and happily with your husband, do not constantly quarrel with him. Be quiet if he has an opinion that differs from yours; later he will probably realize his mistake.

[176] "Watch out for Watauinēiwa /the supreme being/, never forget about him. If you are dull and slow and lazily neglect your work, if you do not get up betimes in the morning, he will look at you; then it will soon be over with you (290). And do not

290. A favorite saying which we shall mention below expresses the same thing: "The Supreme Being will punishingly cast his eye on you and destine you to a premature death." In a later section such sayings will be more specifically explained.

forget what the uswāala often said in the morning here in the čiēxaus hut when they got up early and stepped out: 'hāia yārum uswāala [kīpa] hāi, wās (291)!' That is what akāčix (292) did also.

291. This means: "Come on, we are now candidates, come on!"

825 773 292. Turdus magellanicus, the Magellanic thrush. The reference to the thrush has the following meaning. Once upon a time this bird was also a candidate in the youth initiation where it learned to get up early every morning. It has practiced this good habit so faithfully that on all subsequent occasions up to the

/883 cont./

X881 867 Toward the end of my first initiation, old Alfredo repeated to me the words which he had just stressed to one of the uswāala alone:

"If later on you do not follow the precepts which we have given you here in the čiēxaus, we shall not stand in your way, for now you are big [have come of age] and independent. It is up to you, personally and privately, to keep our precepts and teachings or not [when you are by yourself]. But do not imagine that you will always get off without punishment. The one-up-there [Watauinēiwa] [776] still sees you and will punish you with an untimely death. If he does not punish you personally right away, he will let your children die and then you will be all alone" (306).

306. Later on I shall discuss in detail how through the instructions to the candidates in the Great Hut I became acquainted for the first time with the religious ideas of the Yamana, especially with their Supreme Being, without completely understanding all this immediately. At that time any kind of discussion was impossible for me.

X881 869 In conclusion I give here the first part of an address by blind Whaits in the late evening of March 12, 1922. He addressed the uswāala, including myself, in an impressive, soft voice as we sat in a semicircle on the ground in front of him, attentive and thoughtful:

"In olden times a man left the čiēxaus hut and went a short distance away. Outside he died. Later another man found him dead /884/ and told about it in the Great Hut. Then the people said to him: 'Why did you not bring this dead man in?' He replied: 'That one is dead forever. He must remain under the earth. It is Yetāita!'

"Now I want to tell you uswāala everything that I was taught and I shall tell you all the secrets that I know. Carefully guard these confidential words and do not say anything about it to those who do not yet know the čiēxaus. Everything that goes on here is an important matter, and no one may divulge any of it. Just as we [adults] and all the old people of former times have

/893 cont./

X881 wean him from the habit of comfort and softness.

867 Punishment is meted out either by the leader or the sponsor. The parents of the one who is being punished, who are present, would never take sides with their child against the rigors or against false condemnation, for as uswāala in the čiexaus hut, their child is beyond their particular jurisdiction.

X881 Whatever a candidate must endure through the tortures mentioned above is felt directly and very painfully, but reference 869 to the Supreme Being, to Watauinéiwa, is of higher moral value as a foundation for the prevailing order and respect for the whole 776 čiexaus institution. Watauinéiwa is regarded as the originator of the youth initiation and hence the stern guardian of everything that takes place there. The leader specifically spoke of this several times to the candidates at the very beginning: "Everything that goes on here in the čiexaus is not a Yamana affair (317);

> 317. This means that the initiation was neither invented nor arbitrarily shaped by the Yamana, but that its actual originator is the Supreme Being mentioned.

it comes from /894/ Watauinéiwa! He made known to our ancestors how we should celebrate the čiexaus! We conform to that very precisely, because he watches closely!" In the last analysis, anyone who is guilty of negligence acts in opposition to the institution created by Watauinéiwa himself. Therefore his name is constantly interwoven with the admonitions and is even mentioned in connection with the most serious punishment, namely, untimely death. Here in the initiation the uswāala sincere piety. Usually here for the first time Watauinéiwa presented to them as the great law-giver and the avenger of all evil. The training in the čiexaus rests on this religious idea. Every candidate is supposed to become familiar with this idea here, so that in his later life and action it can be a support and a warning, a guide and orientation. "Watauinéiwa čikája kalakanāa sakumāsu (the 'old-one-up-there' watches you, you sluggard [and will let you die])!" The veneration that is due the Supreme Being keeps the Yamana here, too, from repeating his name more

/894 cont./

X 881 869 776

often than is absolutely necessary (318). No matter from what

318. Again one should remember that it is not here in the initiation that the candidates first become acquainted with the Supreme Being. They have often heard his name before in their family circle, and on other occasions, too, they have had their attention called to his personality. Belief in Watauineiwa is a general concern of the whole tribe, from which even immature children are not excluded. For example, everyone, even every young person, is freely admitted to the great ceremonies of mourning at which everyone's attention is temporarily directed to the Supreme Being.

point of view one regards the training procedures of our Yamana, he must judge them as surprisingly purposeful and intelligent. They have a thorough understanding of human nature, and they make use of it in their treatment of young people.

5. Myths and Tales. The above statements unequivocally bring out the close connection between religious faith and moral obligation in the youth initiation. Watauineiwa, a personality who has been familiar to the candidates from childhood, is presented to them here as the one from whom not only many obligations originate, but also the institution of the ciexaus.

In contrast to this are the oft-repeated, conspicuous references to the so-called evil spirit, known as Yetajta. Heretofore the boys and girls have learned nothing about him, for he is as a threatening apparition. As we know, a younger man appears in the role of Yetajta, amid the yelling and howling of those present, directly after the candidate has been led into the Great Hut, and the candidate is dreadfully frightened at the very beginning of the affair. This apparition struggles with the chap and torments him until he is completely exhausted. When he is trembling in every limb and is unable to offer any resistance, he is induced to look more closely, whereupon he recognizes a person familiar to him, one of his /895/ kinsmen who will henceforth remain at his side

/895 cont./

X881 869 176

as his sponsor (p. 701). This candidate and the other uśwā̄ala now hear in so many words: "The one who appeared here in the shape and outward guise of Yetā̄ita is not really this evil spirit. Yetā̄ita is far worse and more dangerous. Beware of him: he takes everyone who is insubordinate and disobedient!"

In the course of the admonitions given to each candidate, the teacher at first repeatedly threatens them with this apparition. The favored wording is: "Be obedient, comply carefully with everything we charge you to do here in the Great Hut, otherwise Yetā̄ita will cause your untimely death!" A no less frequent warning is: "Beware of Yetā̄ita who is always watchful. If he sees that you are lazy and indolent, he will make you completely exhausted and you will die!" Punishment by this evil spirit is also predicted in case a candidate talks about the things that go on in the čiexaus hut and betrays them to minors.

In collusion with a sponsor, a man will inconspicuously knock on the ground. Immediately the sponsor will ask his protégé: "Did you hear Yetā̄ita down there in the earth?" Full of terror, the candidate says he did. Sometimes his face is meanwhile covered with a scrap of leather and then the knocking becomes even more mysterious. He is made to believe that Yetā̄ita is bumping his head from below against the layer of earth directly under the place where the candidate is sitting or under the Great Hut in general, and that is his knocking.

The people outside the Great Hut, like the candidates, are also kept in check by the threat: "Yetā̄ita will devour anyone who approaches our Great Hut or who acts disrespectfully!" They are likewise taught that whatever anyone carries into the hut in the way of food is immediately devoured by Yetā̄ita. Outsiders therefore believe that this evil spirit exercises unlimited power in the Great Hut and is very much to be feared (319).

[171]

319. In view of this, "Yetaita" is very much like an omnipotent female spirit known as "Xalpen," who in the Kloketen ceremony of the Selk'nam men rules everything and every individual with ruthless great power (Vol. I, 916). Among the Yamana, however, these threats are directed only toward children, for

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the few adults who remain behind in the camp to supervise them know all about Yetaĵita and the food in the Great Hut.

Whoever enters the čiéxaus hut is hailed with a loud call of hó ho ho. This tells the people outside in the camp: "This person disappears into the Great Hut and falls completely under the power of Yetãĵita!" These shouts are repeated in the same manner when wood or food is brought into the Great Hut; they say: "All these things are for Yetãĵita who confiscates them for himself."

The following custom is also intended for the candidates. At long intervals, usually after an excited dance by all the participants, /896/ the leader violently hurls himself flat on the ground, props up his face with his hands flat and turned up, and with unusual force yells a howling sound against the ground. This is supposed to signify that Yetãĵita has been driven so far away from this place that it is as though he were dead. Nevertheless, the ušwãala must continue to fear this evil spirit, for he will return. Occasionally during the dance when the adults move upright back and forth, they will also ward off Yetãĵita by means of circular motions with their hands flat and arms outstretched. At the same time their heads are bent toward the ground and their eyes stare fixedly at the ground. Afterwards they act freer, as though relieved, as though they had rendered this evil earth-spirit harmless and pushed him off far into the distance.

It is difficult to determine the exact significance of Yetãĵita in the general world of ideas of the Yamana, for his personality is variously conceived by this person or that one. I talked in detail about it with Chris, but I could not find out whether his conception is shared by the majority. He explained: "Our ancestors demanded with extraordinary strictness that the ušwãala observe all the rules of the čiéxaus. They were emphatically warned against talking about their experiences in this Great Hut and threatened with serious punishment by Yetãĵita who lives in the earth. The very fact that we tread on the same earth brings each of us very close to him. We shall never be able to lift ourselves up into the air and live up there. We are glued to the earth, as

X881 /896 cont./
it were. A person who disregards what we tell him, who becomes
869 lazy and bad, will have something like earth sticking to him.
•776 This something will make him weak, dull, tired, and he will die in a very short time. Everyone who reveals the happenings in the čiéxaus hut can expect the same [fate]. Our ancestors used the following example: 'Behold the cormorants! There they sit pressed close together on high rocks along the shore. They are also conducting their čiéxaus. They discuss their way of life and their duties, each one adjusts to them. Thus they live together (320)

> 320. This means that their life together is possible and their living assured on the basis of dutiful, definite conduct. -- It is extraordinary for the Yamana that reference is made here to an example from the animal kingdom.

and find their food. When their young leave the nest as fledglings, they at first follow their parents for a while. Later they enter their čiéxaus, where they are taught and are attentive. If a young one stays behind and does not join its parents, it does not find anything to eat by itself. It does not learn properly how to obtain food; it becomes weak, cannot follow the others [the adult birds], and soon perishes. After all, they must be obedient and follow everything faithfully, then their life is secure and they have enough to eat, they are gay and happy. In the same way the uswāala must let themselves be taught by the old people and must adjust to everything [to all regulations].'

X881 "But a person who pays no attention to this is, as we have
said, punished by Yetāita /897/ and taken away by him [through
869 an untimely death]. It is good to implant the fear of him in the
776 candidates! For now they will more faithfully follow all the
198 teachings and will live as good, industrious human beings. That is why they are often threatened with this villain! Finally the uswāala believe that he is really present. The old people strengthen this belief of the candidates by all kinds of delusions. For example, they pretend that Yetāita makes his voice heard (321). This

> 321. This is done in the following way. A man places himself flat on the ground and leans his face

X881 869 776 198

/897 cont./

against his hands which rest on his little fingers and encircle his mouth. This creates a small hollow space into which he yells a long drawn-out, howling sound. At a slight distance this sound seems to come from the interior of the earth.

Sometimes this howling is interrupted by a quick drumming on the ground with both fists. While this hocus-pocus is going on, all those present remain motionless. Beforehand the heads of the candidates have been covered with a scrap of leather.

helps to increase their fear and terror. Later, if they take part in an initiation, they plainly see (322) that such calls only come

322. Now, as adults, they are fully qualified participants who may carefully examine everything that takes place.

from the men, who in this way conjure up Yetáʌta for the uǰwáʌala. This realization does not destroy anything for them now, for they are already on the right path, which they will follow in the future also" (323).

323. This is supposed to mean that the fear and terror implanted earlier in the candidate through the appearance of this evil spirit were not without effect, but put him so firmly on the right path that he will not deviate from it even when he recognizes the true nature of this scary device.

X881 869 776

I should like to insert here a remark for which I am indebted to old Whaits. He pointed out that one must respectfully esteem all the decrees of the čiʌéxaus. "A person who does not hold this opinion is devoured by Yetáʌita who sits in the earth. We teach outsiders this wholesome fear so that they will not approach the Great Hut; we threaten that they will be seized by this spirit.

/897 cont./

X881 It is necessary to create fear, for a person who is made to be
869 afraid will carefully observe the prevailing rules. That is why
776 we often refer to Yetā̄ita!"

After Chris expressed his view, I set forth my misgivings: "Why do the old people emphasize a fear of Yetā̄ita, when in reality it is Wataunēiwa who really punishes?" He replied: "In olden times much more than now the fear of Wataunēiwa was inculcated, for he is always the mightiest one, that is, much stronger than Yetā̄ita. The latter appears in the kīna. The participants of the kīna celebration maintain that he lives in the earth and devours human beings (324). That is why [in modern

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324. In the men's secret ceremony the Selk'nam maintain the same thing about Xalpen, the female, omnipotent spirit (see footnote 319).

times] we implant fear of Yetā̄ita in the candidates of the čiēxaus. In olden times here in the čiēxaus, fear of Wataunēiwa was impressed on the uswāala, for he /898/ is the mightiest. Yetā̄ita is also called tānuwa (325); that is the name for Wataunēiwa.

325. The meaning is "my dear old man"; according to BD:421, also "(My) father, my old man" /cited in English/ (in the familiar sense). BD adds by way of supplement: "A being personified in the ceena [kina] drama, was supposed to come up out of the earth, he was an old man and did not come forth and leap about but lay still in the ceena and beat the earth and brayed" /cited in English/.

They are one and the same, only now we say they are different persons" (326). I inquired further: "How can you reconcile that,

326. Unfortunately I could not find out whether Chris was expressing a general opinion. If so, we can see in his words the confusion that a later body of ideas brought into the previously

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pure conception of the Supreme Being. Some misgiving about this explanation arises from the fact that Chris saw the men's secret ceremony for the first time along with me in the year 1922.

since Watauinéiwa is after all in heaven? He is called 'the one up there,' 'the old one in heaven,' and so forth" Chris was not at a loss for the answer: "Certainly Watauinéiwa is up there. He looks down from up there, however, and he punishes here on earth. So he is also on the earth! He reaches and punishes every lazy and good-for-nothing human being. In recent times the Whites have told us that there is a devil (327). Now we say

327. Later Chris said, by way of supplement: "This devil is also harmful to human beings and punishes them, so the Whites say, although there is, after all, a God."

Yetáita, as though he were different from Watauinéiwa; in olden times, you see, both were the same."

I am indebted to Calderon for the following clear summary. Without being asked, he explained: "Here in the Great Hut we constantly repeat to the uswáala: 'Down there in the earth lives Yetáita with his wife. Beware of him!' He is not fully made known to the young people until they are [mentally] mature, that is, when they have come to the čiéxaus for the third time (328).

328. The first and second time they take part as candidates and are encouraged in a false belief. It is only afterwards, as full-fledged members, that they may follow each action with open eyes.

To threaten the candidates with Yetáita has its advantages! We do not tolerate a ne'er-do-well among us, one who gets up late [in the morning], who does not work, who is a burden to others. We say: 'Yetáita will soon take away such good-for-nothings!'

/898 cont./

X 881 869 776

In order to give strong emphasis to the admonitions, Yetā̃ita is mentioned again and again.

"Of course, besides that, there is also Hidā̃buan; he is the strong one who actually punishes. Everyone must be particularly careful of him. But all that is taken for granted and that is why Hidā̃buan is less frequently mentioned in the čiéxaus (329).

329. "Hidabuan," like "Watauineiwa," is a name for the same Supreme Being.

Here we want to make our teachings and admonitions to the candidates effective; that is why we threaten them with Yetā̃ita. Our men give all the calls that the uswā̃ala attribute to him. The young chap takes this into consideration after he enters the Great Hut for the third time, but previous to that, out of fear of Yetā̃ita, he has been set upon the right course [of fulfilling his duty]. Later he is told that only men produce these calls. Then he says to himself: /899/ 'Hitherto I thought Yetā̃ita called out from the earth!' Nevertheless, he remains on the good path, to which he has by now become accustomed."

[885] After the candidates have been dismissed from the second youth initiation they are legally adults. In general, except on special occasions, they do not receive further instructions or exhortations. Hence Yetā̃ita is not mentioned outside the čiéxaus hut.

X 881 869 773 538

In the mythology of the Yamana the tales concerning the actual bearers of culture, named Yōālox, and their family have a special place (330). In olden times this name was scarcely ever

330. Here we should say in anticipation that among these Fuegians he embodies what the hero "Kwanyip" does for the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581). Both have created important institutions and prescribed the norm of life, so to speak.

mentioned to immature youths before their initiation (p. 178 /untranslated/); the girls heard it for the first time on the occasion of

/972 cont./

b. The Right of Possession

421 The Yamana recognize actual possessions as personal property, aside from a few common possessions. Institutions and principles pointing to pure communism are completely absent. They are familiar with several titles for the right of possession, which we must now discuss, after having described the actual forms of property. In this respect, too, our Yamana agree almost completely with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 434). The recog-
[171] nized legal titles are as simple and clear as the forms of the possessions of this tribal society.

1. Right of the Supreme Being as Creator

421 Later on we shall speak of the religious convictions of the Yamana, which culminate in the recognition of a Supreme Being.
•776 Common names applied to this being are Watauinéiwa, "the /973/ ancient one," and Hidábuan, "my father." He is lord over all visible things and their supreme owner. The compound term Watauinéiwa-sír, which is often used, evidently means: the sír, or thing in the sense of property, of Watauinéiwa (386). Practically

386. BD:379 interprets this word with: "tools, implements, vessels, toys, goods, property, things in general" /cited in English/.

everything visible and tangible, without reservation, is regarded by our Fuegians as Watauinéiwa-sír; therefore the Supreme Being is the owner of visible creation.

421 Among all that has been created, the necessary daily food is
776 the most important for our Indians. Heading the list are the game
825 animals hunted by the man and the many lower animals which the woman gathers. Although the individual exerts himself personally for these, it is nevertheless as though he first had to ask permission from Watauinéiwa for each piece, hence his repeated request in actual prayers to the Supreme Being for the things he needs for his subsistence. In this procedure there is a faint hint that Watauinéiwa will benevolently give each human being some of that which he

/973 cont./

421 alone has the right to distribute. The Yamana accepts the slain
825 animal and every other thing as a gift voluntarily bestowed by the
776 Supreme Being; consequently he does not fail to thank his deity expressly for this now and then.

The Yamana have the same idea in mind when they say that everyone should kill and gather only as many animals as are needed for the moment. Beyond that it is punishable to destroy wantonly and aimlessly a number of animals which are not used in the household and which finally putrify. With this restriction they first of all want to check senseless waste of useful animals, but they do not overlook the fact that in such action there is also a violation of the primary property right which belongs only to Watauinéiwa. It is said that he voluntarily lets each individual Yamana have exactly as much as he needs for subsistence, and he punishes a person who, over and above that, wantonly destroys something of his.

If there is a ceremony for the dead or if, on another occasion, someone gives expression to his grief, he sometimes, in self-justification, lets the Supreme Being know that all his life long he has never illicitly, that is, through misuse, laid violent hands on animals which were made available to him for his own subsistence. If anyone has really done wrong in fits of anger and has given vent to his rage by unjustifiable destruction of many animals, he is soon remorseful and begs sincerely for the forgiveness of Watauinéiwa because /974/ of the harm he inflicted upon him. Sometimes an excited person will threaten Watauinéiwa with specific words, thus wishing to avenge himself for some misfortune, saying that he is going to slay masses of his living animals in order to harm him greatly. In these condemnations the deity is clearly set forth as the owner of available material goods, among which animals are regarded as primary.

The Yamana do not give a definite reason why the Supreme Being has the legal title to all creation, primarily all animals. Nevertheless, this idea lives very clearly and definitely within them and serves as a guide for their actions. We shall speak of supplementary details in our description of their form of religion.

/1003 cont./

183 within a common society. As a matter of principle, no one claims an exemption for himself. If in some situation he occasionally lets himself be led astray from the path of recognized duty by passion or by the weakness of his nature, he himself clearly feels that he has made a mistake and is doing wrong. The disapproval of his wrong-doing by the members of the tribe who learn about it also has a definite effect on him. Naturally, certain regulations apply to every age and sex, without exception, others only to children or adults, man or woman. No one, no matter what the situation, would, by word or action, presume to intimate to others that some custom which everyone in his position observes has no meaning for him and does not obligate him. Such behavior would make it impossible for him to live in Yamana society. Quite the contrary, as we shall soon show, everyone is anxious to avoid any suspicion that he, on occasion or as a matter of principle, disdains any law of custom whatever.

183 The Yamana can justify this inescapable pressure on everyone by referring to Watauinéiwa, their only deity. Their whole
•776 body of custom, so to speak, embraces the true moral law in the narrower sense of the term, as well as all obligations for social coexistence and for the individual toward himself, in the widest sense of the term. The Fuegian has a general formula with which he derives this, his body of custom, that is to say, all the principles and guides practiced, from his deity as the ultimate source; he says: "Watauinéiwa wants everyone to be a good human being! -- Watauinéiwa wants it that way [as custom has hitherto decreed]; he watches carefully to see whether everyone is acting accordingly!" He does not remember his lawgiver on the occasion of every single act, which would be superhuman, but this general formula remains in his subconscious and at times he is very definitely openly conscious of it. Just as this deity remains the same and has in no way and at no time changed the obligations once set forth, so these obligations endure in unmitigated strictness and retain their unchanging character through all generations. For the Yamana the terse, definite wording above gives /1004/ the ultimate source and universal duty, embracing all times and persons, toward every kind of valid obligation. Further details will be given in the section on the actual moral law.

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3. My Own Conclusions

111 It was anything but encouraging at the start of my journeys
114 to be faced with the strange fact that all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego, as well as all the missionaries without exception, denied with emphatic, unequivocal words that our Indians had any kind of religious view and practice. Everyone regarded the Yamana as irreligious. On my first and second visit, therefore, I consciously avoided touching upon this subject in my conversation with the members of the Lawrence family and in my contact with the Indians. Besides, there were other, more immediate problems which first had to be solved.

124 The traveling investigator must be favored by fortune; otherwise his efforts are in vain. I obtained the first indications of the
113 religious ideas of the Yamana quite incidentally and without my
116 doing anything. One evening on my second journey I was again sitting with a group of several men who were explaining to me the ancient traditions of their tribe. It was then that I learned for the first time about their myth of a great flood which, in hoary antiquity, had inundated their present homeland. All of us who had listened with obvious seriousness to the old storyteller were silent for some time and thought about the catastrophe of that flood. Afterward one or two men made some short explanatory remarks. I now bravely ventured to ask:"Whoever sent that big flood?" Everyone present instantly became quiet and a painful silence followed. Embarrassed, they lowered their eyes and avoided my gaze so that they would not be forced to answer me. I repeated my question and in a friendly way asked for the desired explanation. Old Alfredo who had done the talking that evening replied /1041/ emphatically: "Lēxuwakīpa sent that tremendous flood." When he did not add anything more, I asked: "Is Lēxuwakīpa really so mighty?" Alfredo replied: "As a matter of fact it was strong Wataɥinēiwa who sent the general flood. Lēxuwakīpa prevailed upon him to do it; it was her intention to demolish the whole world. With Wataɥinēiwa she succeeded in having the great flood come!" Naturally I asked again: "Who is this Wataɥinēiwa?" This very obviously increased the general embarrassment and everyone present maintained strict silence. I felt as though I had been guilty of an impropriety or had ventured on dangerous ground.

/1041 cont./

124 After a good long time and probably also in order to break the
113 general silence, Chris boldly said: "Watauinéiwa is [similar to]
776 what God is to Christians [Europeans]." His brief words were spoken in a tone which made it clear to me that further questions would not be in order. The attitude of all the men was clearly aloof. Some of them had an expression suggesting that in this discussion some information had heedlessly slipped out which should have remained secret. After that the men timidly exchanged a few words and the gathering soon broke up.

On the next evening I dared not ask about Watauinéiwa again; I suspected that the people would misunderstand. It was partly caution and partly disappointment that made me think the missionaries had told these Indians the Biblical account of the flood, but that they had not completely understood it. Hence I entered the following remark in my diary: "Probably Christian influence by the missionaries" and marked the whole paragraph with a question mark.

123 A week later the secret gathering of the čiéxaus began, in
776 which I was able to participate in March, 1920 (p. 176 /untrans-lated/). At that time I was treated as strictly as the Indian uswáala and was not allowed to ask questions or to take notes. I remember clearly that at this initiation the names Watauinéiwa and Hidábuan were repeatedly used, but I was fully aware of what they meant only two years later when those names were again recalled to my memory. Although I did not grasp the fact on that occasion, I had actually discovered the Supreme Being whom the Yamana worship. I had finally come close to their religious faith.

123 On my third visit at the end of January, 1922, the men were not yet free for the planned čiéxaus celebration (p. 184 /untranslated/). In order to spend the time profitably, W. Koppers, who accompanied me at that time (p. 181 /untranslated/), and I did a good deal of research during the day with the Indian women. Nelly Lawrence was regularly and gladly present and thanks to her personal stimulation the women willingly answered our questions. We all wanted to be undisturbed, and so we assembled daily in the shed, a spacious corrugated tin house in which the /1042/ Lawrence family had major housework performed, laundry, for example. This house stood apart from the small dwellings of the Yamana families.

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124 776 Again one day old traditions were discussed, and the name Watauinéiwa was directly mentioned. Full of suspense we pressed for a further explanation. This caused great embarrassment among the women and there was deep silence; not even the otherwise brave Nelly ventured a word. Finally, in order to ease the constraint, old Mary summoned up her courage and said briefly: "Watauinéiwa is like God, like Christian God /cited in English/!" I was nonplused and again faced the same barrier that I had experienced two years before, apparently on the threshold of a new world of ideas to which the Indians refused admittance. Importunate questions on that afternoon would have been futile and would surely have evoked ill humor. Mary only disclosed that upon the death of an own child or a near relative, the neighbors point to [761] the mourner with the expression: "Watauinéiwa is punishing him!" This means that the deceased and his family have been punished by Watauinéiwa through this death.

After a long pause the Indian women attempted a digression. I could not accept this and ventured cautiously to come back to that anxiously guarded name. My efforts remained unsuccessful. The whole conversation flagged and our discussion simply could not get started again. In order to satisfy us and put us off once and for all, the women finally started to tell about ēkētémakalowatauinéiwa. How craftily they had chosen this way out of their embarrassment! We surrendered our hope of finally finding out more about the real Watauinéiwa. Actually they only offered us the [713] story of the small band of people who, in olden times, had set out for ēkētémaka, where there was stranded whale, and afterwards they remained in that region west of Ushuaia. In this combination the designation watauinéiwa has nothing to do with the name for the Fuegian deity. The crafty Indian women in this way slipped out of the trap and very smartly duped us without betraying their secret. In any case it was now clear that all kinds of things worth knowing were concealed behind that name, and to discover them would probably justify serious effort.

Several times Nelly Lawrence had willingly helped me obtain information I sought in my research on the institutions and customs of her countrymen, and this time, too, she did not fail me. As I definitely learned later, she valued the native heritage of religious ideas extraordinarily highly, and inasmuch as she

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124

assumed that I was of the same mind, she worked toward making it accessible to me. Three days after the discussion described above, on Wednesday, January 25, 1922, /1043/ she again invited us to the large workshed, with the enticing prospect: "Today Adelheid and I shall tell you everything about Watauinéiwa!" Nelly explained candidly why these two women were the only ones who came: "Watauinéiwa has punished neither of us, he has not let a single one of our children die, so we are not ashamed to have him mentioned in our presence. We may freely speak of him [in front of others also]. The other women, however, whose children he took away [through death which he caused], feel that they have been punished by him; they find it unpleasant if he [Watauinéiwa] is mentioned in their presence!" These very significant words contain a complete explanation of the strange behavior of the people when I asked about Watauinéiwa (9).

> 9. It is conceivable that this also explains the Yamana's cautious silence in the presence of earlier travelers. Some of them probably noticed this, for example, even Darwin (p. 102 /untranslated/); they were not aware of the ultimate and most profound reason, however.

Whenever I had questioned them, there were always a few persons present in their circle who were obliged to lament the loss of a close relative. It would have been the equivalent of pillorying them if the others present had spoken in detail about Watauinéiwa in my presence. Considerately, Nelly came only with Adelheid, for these two could describe Watauinéiwa, what he is and how he acts, freely and without embarrassment. On that Wednesday we learned most of the names which are given him, as well as a few definite prayers directed toward him.

Obviously, that discussion did not exhaust the subject and bring to light all that the Yamana carry within their hearts in the way of ideas about their Supreme Being. I realized that the rest could be obtained only through a wise procedure, and our course lay outlined in the explanation that Nelly had just given us. After that the other people probably learned that we were familiar with their conceptions of the person and actions of Watauinéiwa. When

/1043 cont./

776 124 I subsequently directed the conversation toward their Supreme Being on suitable occasions, I did it very considerately and with sympathetic understanding for the depressed feeling of a person who is reminded of one or several deceased persons who were dear to him whenever the name of Wataxinčiwa is mentioned. This gentle manner, which was shown intentionally to avoid hurting anyone, was not only comforting to all the Yamana, but steadily diminished their aversion to brief discussions about that feared spirit. In the course of time the discussions gradually became more open and free, and finally, despite a respectful attitude, were almost completely without restraint. Our own attitude toward the ideas sacred to them also helped; we neither criticized nor made fun of them; rather, we valued them highly and treated them with the same respect that they themselves showed. /1044/ Even earlier I had repeatedly heard their comparison: "Christians speak scornfully of their god, revile him and even reject him. No Yamana speaks of our Wataxinčiwa in this way!" It was obviously consoling to them that we, too, showed veneration toward him. Some of the Fuegians, however, continued to be reticent whenever Wataxinčiwa was mentioned. Although this was always done with genteel reserve, nevertheless it seemed incredible to many of them that something which they themselves revere as sacred could be the same to us.

On that third journey I was permitted to experience the youth initiation a second time (p. 185 /untranslated/), where I heard new references to Wataxinčiwa, which were in accordance with the ancient program for the ceremony (p.759). Finally on my fourth visit (p. 190 /untranslated/) I was offered an extraordinarily valuable addition to what I had previously learned with regard to a ceremony for the dead. Thus, several times, through none of my doing and quite suddenly, I came upon religious utterances of the Yamana. It was primarily for this that I sought uninterrupted and open discussions with all the older people. By doing so, I could bring to light what I have put together in the following pages. I know of no reason why they should have concealed anything from me.

114 There is no longer any lack of convincing explanations as to why these Fuegians have so anxiously guarded their heritage of

/1044 cont./

114 religious ideas and practices from every stranger since their contact with European culture and why they entrusted me alone with this precious heritage, albeit under very special considerations. I must say that the same is true of my participation on two occasions in their secret youth initiation, *Kina*, as well as my direct experience of the men's ceremony, *kina*, and the school for medicine men, *Kuma-yékamal*. In their opinion I proved myself worthy of this extraordinary favor.

b. Content of the Yamana Religion

111 It is not a serious injustice to the Fuegians if, from the start,
128 one expects no systematic organization of their religious ideas, which do not form a complete, compact, interlocked chain of thought; in fact, wide gaps are sometimes apparent. Individual ideas are juxtaposed loosely and without connection. Although the Fuegian has these ideas, he does not bother to understand them completely, and also he does not seem to feel the need of having them arranged into a coherent whole. A summary and arrangement of what is presented here as the religious heritage of the Yamana would be entirely foreign to him. I have personally undertaken it in order to present a survey and to make possible a scientific evaluation.

• 116 On the preceding page *Watajinéwa*, the /1045/ sole deity of the Yamana in the more limited sense of the word "religion" (p. 949), has been designated as a "Supreme Being" (10). Although

10. For the same reasons I previously likewise referred to the deity worshipped by the Selk'nam as a "Supreme Being" (Vol. I, 496).

the Fuegian does not have this conception, he in fact knows no other spirit superior to *Watajinéwa*. The latter is also the only one accorded a unique power and a superior position, whereby he stands far apart from every other being. Finally, his relationships to human beings are those of an absolute master and sole lawgiver; one renders religious homage to him alone. It is only in this sense that *Watajinéwa* is called a deity, as is customary in theology generally.

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1. Personality of the Supreme Being

The thinking of the Fuegians is inclined (if one may express it thus) toward concreteness. Their conceptions have definite forms and clear outlines. Their Watasinéwa especially is a sharply delineated, independent person standing by himself and far removed from every other spirit. For the Yamana he is not a completely formless creation of thought, but an individual spirit-being with an autonomous form and an independent manner of existence. He is never referred to with a universal, generic designation, but only a proper name or, in its place, a clear, conventional circumlocution. The characteristics attributed to him are evident in part from these names, but even more from the prayer formulas (11). He makes himself clearly felt as an altogether independent personality, in particular by his intervention in many ways in the life and existence of the individual, as well as in the destiny of the whole group.

11. Most of this has already been published by Koppers (e):12 and Schmidt (d):927.

a. His Name

Some of my informants were familiar to a certain extent with the meaning of the words "Dios" and "God" as they are used by the Whites. They never used them directly to refer to their Watasinéwa, but always used the customary names, of which there are several. They are not proper names in the strict sense, of the type, for example, given each Yamana; rather, they are words with an emphatic meaning and of greatest import, which, as such, are applied exclusively to this deity. In this respect our Indians differ from the Selk'nam who use an actual personal name, Temáuel (Vol. I, 497).

Often they use Watasinéwa in the sense of "the very ancient one," that is, the /1046/ unique very ancient one who, in permanence of being, surpasses every other old one. Sometimes this word

/1046 cont./

776 is also applied to the ancestors of antiquity, the first arrivals, the places which they settled in those times and which today are already fossilized. In this case its meaning is, of course, limited, for there is only one, namely, the Supreme Being, who is properly and truly the very ancient one. BD:632 also gives the word wātauīnaiwa, "the ancient one who changes not. A suitable term for God indicative of his eternity and unchangeableness" /cited in English/. Bridges here gives the basic meaning. The accompanying explanation confirms the occasional use to which this word is put in referring to ancestors: "This term was used specially of [82] the Rainbow which coming ever and anon was regarded as ever living and the author of death [?]. Used also of Heroes of old time" /cited in English/. In connection with this the Yamana form the word Watauinēiwa-sēf, "the very ancient one in heaven." BD:379 gives sēif instead of sēī, "the (blue) sky" /cited in English/; also Wātauinēiwa-aizāku, "the very ancient one and the one of boundless strength." In BD:10 one finds aizōka, "immense, huge, very large" /cited in English/. Tānuwa has the same meaning, according to BD:421, "(My) father, my old man (fam.)" /cited in English/, which is something like /in German/ "mein lieber, guter Alter."

The Yamana no less frequently use Hidābuan or Hitapūan [601] as "my father" and Hāu īmun, "my father" or, by shifting the possessive prefix hi, also haianānin īmun, "our father." Occasionally Hāua ūšu, "my grandfather" and Kalaiēxēn, "dear little old father," are also used.

The following names are also to be interpreted in such a way that their unique meaning, applied to the deity, is raised to the highest degree of intensity. Abailākin, "the strong, the mighty." BD:14 gives abāila, "strong, physically strong, firm, powerful" /cited in English/. The combination hāim hūlu Abailākin stands for a particularly great intensification. The first two words can also be repeated, which gives the greatest possible emphasis. This construction, however, is used exclusively for Wātauinēiwa. According to BD:261 hāim means "in a great degree, very exceedingly" /cited in English/. The Yamana also use the construction Abāila-Wātauinēiwa and Abāila-sēf.

/1046 cont./

776 Manunā́kin is popular, as is Manauanā́kin, in the sense of "the sole mighty one." BD:285 gives these words in the combination manūnāki hauan, "this is valued" /cited in English/; it has the same root as auwēn, according to BD:65 auwōn, "true, sincere, in earnest, in truth" /cited in English/, and auwōnā́ki, "the good one" /cited in English/.

Only once was Tumū́učikánaku used, "he who makes others angry and infuriates them." These words are also used by the Yamana in ordinary speech. Compare in BD:519 the expression tūmūučikāna, "cause, permit any person to učikana (BD:112), to annoy, trouble, vex by demands, requests, entreaties, etc." /cited in English/.

On the occasion of a death and at a public funeral, [761] Wḗlapatux-sēf, "the murderer up in heaven," is often used and always with strong emotion. BD:619 clearly states "wōlāpatux, cruel, murderous; acting in a manner braving danger in a reckless manner as though one could not be hurt or as one was like hard stone and invulnerable" /cited in English/.

/1047/ Finally one also finds in BD:629 "wāgunā́ki, the upper or higher one, the one above, the highest one; a term for God as 'the Highest'" /cited in English/. I did not come across this word and Bridges does not give an explanation for it anywhere. A definite contradiction should be pointed out, however. In his dictionary he lists an expression for "God" and yet for decades he denied that the Yamana had any kind of religious conception.

The above terms for the Supreme Being are variously used, depending on the given situation, but never thoughtlessly and always with conscious reference to this deity. The expressions always show more or less veneration for the deity, except for the names which the poor human being angrily uses to relieve his soul concerning his own impotence in relation to him.

195 776 Often, though not to the same extent as the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 497), our Indians use circumlocutions in place of the designations just listed. On the basis of the position occupied by Watauinḗwa in visible creation, according to their belief, they more or less consciously connect striking events and important happenings with him as the true creator and ultimate cause. They say briefly: "This comes from above!" and use the particle kūp

/1047 cont./

195 or kūpa. Compare BD:210, 211. This replaces the name, but is clear to everyone who hears it. Calderon and other men regard
• 776 this substitution as "palabra política," as a wisely calculated way of speaking, outwardly mild but actually perfectly clear and full of meaning, somewhat like a key symbol in cryptography. Out of respect they avoid addressing the Supreme Being with the customary names as much as possible. Moreover, they do not wish to
[765] hurt openly a person who is in mourning and who, if one of the customary designations were used, would be publicly shamed or reminded of the fact that the death just mentioned was sent as a punishment by Watauinéiwa. The nature of the conversation and the particular circumstances of an utterance safely prevent a misunderstanding of the circumlocution on the part of the persons present.

β. His Characteristics

776 The above names and the prayer formulas familiar to the Yamana both contribute their share to form a complete picture of the Supreme Being's uniqueness as it lives in the soul of these Fuegians. At first glance we recognize Watauinéiwa as an independent personality who is clearly distinguished from other beings of all kinds and, far removed from them, is completely independent. Watauinéiwa is a being apart; his whole nature is different from that of the other spirit-beings and even more from that of all human beings.

/1048/ We have already referred to his spirituality. For the concept "spirit" the Yamana use késpix. To them Watauinéiwa is the very great késpix who is properly, and more than other spirit-beings, a spirit in the real sense of the word. As such he is invisible and thus cannot be seen by human eyes. Repeatedly someone flies into a rage because Watauinéiwa has caused the death of a near relative, and he would like to confront him directly, but as késpix that one is inaccessible to any human being. Since he is incorporeal, no one has a perceptual idea of his person. I was emphatically told: "He does not have the body which every Yamana has down here [on earth]; he also does not die, as each

/1048 cont./

776 of us will when his kēspix́ leaves his body." There are no pictorial or material representations of his person.

His abode is always far away from the earth and, in the invariable phrase, "high up there" in space. "From this great distance and because of the air space intervening no Yamana can see him. No one knows what he looks like, for he is kēspix́!" That is all they say about how and where he lives "up there," nor do they picture details in their own imaginations.

Nevertheless, Watauinēiwa is close to every human being
776 through a sort of omnipresence attributed to him. This character-
626 istic is expressed more tangibly when he is described as omniscient, so to speak. "He sees everything. -- He knows what everyone is doing. -- He also observes how a person behaves in secret [unobserved by his countrymen]!" I often heard this and similar expressions. In the čiēxaus Chris told me: "He looks down from up there and he punishes here on earth. So he is also on earth! He reaches and punishes every lazy and good-for-nothing human being" (p. 766). When this same Chris was an uswāala in the čiēxaus, his sponsor reminded him: "Heed all this advice faithfully. Watauinēiwa wishes it; he watches carefully to see whether you will act accordingly" (p. 736). Every candidate is emphatically warned: "Watch out for Watauinēiwa, never forget him!" The awareness that they are always being watched by him is not without effect on the personal conduct of our Indians.

In the last analysis, this conduct is likewise determined by him through the prevailing customs and traditional habits, in short, through the whole body of moral law, the authorship of which is attributed to him. The Fuegians say very simply and plainly: "Watauinēiwa wants everyone to behave as has always been customary among us Yamana!" They link with this the conviction that in the beginning these laws were drawn up by him to serve as guides for subsequent generations. With his omniscience
776 he sees to it that they are rigorously observed and he avenges
626 serious transgressions. This type of activity on his part is /1049/
761 most often mentioned because of its perceptible effects. He is maligned as the "murderer up there in heaven," Wēlapatux-sēf, for he causes the untimely death of adults and immature children. He causes everyone to die; hence the persons themselves and their nearest relatives, even the entire group, are punished and hurt.

/1049 cont./

776 He proceeds ruthlessly; he does not desist even in the face of the
761 tenderest age or the bitterest grief and greatest sorrow of a mother.
626 He is truly a Tumúučikánaku, and the more helpless the poor human being feels, the more passionately he moves against him.

In his weakness the Fuegian is at the mercy of that Abāilā́kin, that hā́im hūlu Abāilā́kin, the unlimited mighty one who punishes when and however it pleases him, heedless of the pain and woe of human beings. He alone is lord over the life and death of all. He grants life and therewith the child enters independent existence. He lets everyone have life as long as it pleases him. He takes it away and man dies. By way of punishment he sends a serious ill-
[753] ness; he liberates a person from it, but only occasionally. He causes dying "of his own free will, and no influence by natural forces or magic power is capable of prevailing upon him. The dying one resigns himself to the progress of a serious illness without much complaining about his fate. The relatives and friends also yield submissively; they say: 'Watauinéiwa is much mightier than we, no one can stand up against him. He will carry this one off, we must let it happen, we can only weep!'" (Gusinde [2]:161.)

[82] In the same manner he bestows good and bad weather. If he wants to chastise someone, he has him tormented by storm and
776 rain; if he favors someone, he will let him be accompanied by
626 sunshine. He brings success in hunting to the men and success in gathering to the women, but sometimes he also arranges that they both come back empty-handed. In the final analysis, he is the author of every bad and fatal accident. A person who is dealt a severe blow regards it as a personal punishment; whether he is uncomplainingly silent or noisily abusive, he must accept it as one who is utterly defenseless. The threats with which our Indians try to ease their oppressed hearts do not touch that Abāilā́kin in the least. He does not use physical force, but operates merely by willing something. The Yamana express themselves as follows. For example, a girl was admonished in the Ǵiēxaus: "Begin your day's work early in the morning. Watauinéiwa sees every lazybones. Watauinéiwa will [as punishment] make you die soon [i.e., prematurely] if you are a lazy lie-abed!" They also say: "He will look at you, then it will soon be all over with you!" Sometimes they also warn: "The one up there is looking at you!" This means: He has designs on you, he has long intended to punish

/1049 cont./

776 you. Thus, as everyone knows /1050/ and must yield to without
626 defense: this Watauinéiwa-aizáku, the very ancient one and the one of boundless strength, "has at his disposal a power which all the Y amana together are unable to resist, especially not if he arbitrarily takes away our children." They are all convinced: "We must fear him and be on our guard against him!"

The visible world lies in the palm of his hand, "all things belong to him"; he is the lord and the owner of all creation. A Fuegian judges everything around him as Watauinéiwa-sirž, a very common expression. BD:379 translates sirž as: "tolls, goods, property, things in general" /cited in English/. There is a friendly feeling connected with this word formation; according to it every "thing" is a piece of property belonging to the deity (p. 866). Evidently this means living creatures, chiefly the large mammals and the birds. He granted the Yamana all of these for their use and benefit; hence they are a true gift of God to human beings. Everyone may use them, but only to the extent that he needs them for subsistence. To misuse them arbitrarily or to destroy them willfully would be to turn against the intentions of their owner and would evoke his vengeance. "He watches carefully to see that animals are not needlessly killed and that meat does not spoil," but is utilized! The Indians often and in all earnestness impressed these words upon me. Without exception they are punctilious about this rule; I never saw them heedlessly leaving a slain animal lying about.

776 Furthermore, the Fuegians, with unequivocal explanations, make it clear that their Watauinéiwa also holds the fate of men in his hands. It is well known that malevolent spirits and, above all, the yékamuš practice their baleful influence on individuals. The yékamus have enough power to cause someone to become ill. They may breed mischief, however, only to the extent and as long as Watauinéiwa permits it. Neither a spirit nor a yékamuš can harm a person against the will of the deity. If harm befalls one, he is really personally in favor of it, and he himself is ultimately responsible. If a yékamuš realizes that a serious illness has developed, against which his knowledge is of no avail, on his own initiative he delivers the sick person to Watauinéiwa as the only one left who can help, but since he is, after all, Manauanákin, everything

/1050 cont./

•116 significant that happens goes back to him, at least as something he has permitted. He also directs the forces of nature with his own hand; the Yamana definitely express this in various ways. In this connection compare Gusinde (L):161.

116 Is this ancient one to whom, as sole owner, everything visi-
113 ble belongs also regarded as its ultimate cause, as its creator? It seems to me that the Fuegians do not have a clear conception of creation (12). /1051/ They never discuss in so many words the

12. I shall let Bridges (i):19 speak on this question although he cannot be regarded as authoritative: "They have no tradition of their origin; for them the world was always what it is, and ever will be the same. For them it had no maker or master and they had not the least idea of pleasing or displeasing anyone beyond themselves" /cited in English/.

work of creation out of absolute nothingness, nor do they definitely emphasize that Watauinéiwa existed before the actual creations did. Nevertheless, that actually is their view, and they also see in him the origin of all that was created. They do not clearly express these truths, but tacitly they recognize them, for example, when they say: "Watauinéiwa existed alone at first! Then he made all the animals, and it was there in Yáiaašága. All animals [therefore] belong to him." Apparently no one speculates about the exact origin of human beings and all the rest; they are content to describe Watauinéiwa as the unlimited master and true owner. In this way they recognize him more or less as the sole and ultimate cause of the existence of the visible world. Compare Gusinde (L): 160.

In March, 1923, I discussed this and similar ideas with old Mašemikens, and I asked him how human beings had originated. This time, too, he replied clearly and emphatically: "It is not the first time that I have been faced with this question. When I was a young man I learned the story of the many animals who were transformed back there in the great revolution at Yáiaašága. I

/1051 cont./

776 773 asked myself and also other men, above all, the capable yékamuš and the most experienced old men, how that took place. No one knew the answer as to how human beings actually originated and where they came from. So to this day I do not know. I have often and persistently searched and tried to answer this question. At that time Tāruwalëm burned up the whole world and all the animals. And this I can't understand either, how afterwards everything was put in order again, how the huge fire was put out, and how he again restored plants and animals to this land. All this we do not know. In former years I often asked the experienced old people about this." A few days later, I sat in a circle of several old men, as was my custom, and quite spontaneously the conversation again drifted to these things. Richard repeated: "We really don't know exactly how everything came about at that time. Of course Watauinēiwa already existed in the very old days, for heaven was already here above the earth, there where the clouds are and where Watauinēiwa also stays. Before Lëm [sun] and Hānuxa [moon] and Akāinix [rainbow] wandered here on earth like human beings, Watauinēiwa was already here, for heaven existed before all of them. At that time women ruled. We do not know how and from where children came at that time, for none of the women who then ruled the men slept with their husbands and cohabited with them in order to conceive children. None of us can say where children came from in those days. It is only since the great /1052/ revolution that women are subordinate to the will of men. It was back in the time when the great fur seal [825 842 831] tëpē-a (Arctocephalus australis) discovered how man and woman should unite, she underneath and he on top of her; that gives them pleasure. Since then they have done it that way to this day. When husband and wife unite in this way, then children follow. So we know where our children come from now. Where they came from before that, no one can explain. We know equally as little about where Lëm and Hanuxa and the stars come from, which at that time lived on earth just like human beings. When they [the ones mentioned] and sēf [heaven], too, were here, Watauinēiwa was also here, and he was here even long before that." Thus, no Yamana can explain definitely and clearly how the visible world originated. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that a deeply thoughtful and meditative man like Mašemikens felt this gap and tried to fill it.

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•776 If one carefully examines the words of the men mentioned, he can obtain from them a conception of the everlasting existence of the Supreme Being, without temporal limits in either direction. Our Fuegians do not even discuss a cessation of the existence of this "Kespix-up-there," and of all his characteristics they are most familiar with the one meant by the oft-repeated designation Watauinéiwa. According to their conception, this "very ancient one" has simply always existed, and no one questions where he actually came from or what his origin is. One may also assume that, according to the belief of the Yamana, this "very ancient one" has always remained the same. Nowhere do they imply, much less state, that he has changed his personal attitude toward human beings or the laws imposed upon them. In sum, he has remained personally the same, hence unchanging. In the strict sense of the word, he does not in any case let himself be influenced by human beings. "We Yamana often complain bitterly, but he deals with us as he pleases!" Mary said. She had explained to me that in distress and in serious illness those who are directly or in- [782] directly affected turn to the Supreme Being, praying for deliverance. He takes cognizance, so to speak, of these prayers and sometimes proves well-intentioned, but he would by no means feel pressed or forced to change his absolutely free decision. The Yamana are clearly convinced of this.

Despite the decided arbitrariness with which Watauinéiwa now and then obviously interferes with the fate of individual human beings, he is generally regarded as benevolent and good. They like to address him as Hidábuan, for he is truly a father to each one and to the Yamana as a whole. This designation most often occurs in the old traditional prayer formulas. With the happy conviction that he is concerned about everyone, and especially that he will provide each one with the animals necessary for his subsistence, the Yamana trust him and his providence. Many approach him with the naïve, childlike confidence with which, in /1053/ human relationships, a child confronts its good father. Although grievous blows sometimes make the individual lose his mental balance, in general "the conviction of the benevolence of the Supreme Being" (Gusinde [ℓ]:163) predominates. Hence they also venture to address him with the intimate Kalaiéxen, "dear little father" and the friendly Tánuwa, "the dear, good old man."

/1053 cont./

•776 A complete picture of the Supreme Being as it exists in the imagination of the Yamana must show his absolutely independent position with regard to all the other spirits and human souls. In none of the many myths that I collected is he included in any way; in fact, there is a wide gap between him and all the mythological personalities and the so-called kīna spirits. It has been shown on page 765 to what extent he is linked with the Tánuwa spirit in the čiéxaus. He is not viewed as sharing the conditions of existence which the Yamana regard as vital, such as being married. On
776 one occasion, with studied carelessness, as though it were an
124 everyday matter, I asked a few people: "To whom, I wonder, is Watauinéiwa married?" In response an expression appeared on their faces, showing what, in their view, a very stupid, gauche utterance deserves. Nelly Lawrence seemed disconcerted, and long seconds passed before she regained her composure after the impact of that strange question. This time, too, as in all her other statements, she wanted to be accurate, and she assured me innocently: "That is something I never heard about! I'll ask the old people whether they perhaps know something!" She was already fully convinced that anything like it was utterly unknown to the old people also; that is why she never came back to the subject. Soon afterward, when Chris alone was asked this question, he replied indignantly: "Who in the world maintained that!" Calming him, we explained: "As a matter of fact no one maintained anything like that; we just wanted to ask!" He then fell silent and showed pity for Europeans who confused themselves with such useless questions. The Yamana have no conception whatever of how Watauinéiwa actually lives -- that is to say, his dwelling, food, weariness, sleep, etc. -- and they have nothing to say on the subject. They definitely know that he has a very unique manner of existence; this is enough for them and they have no desire to find out about details.

776 All the characteristics attributed to Watauinéiwa add up to quite a richly endowed personality, despite the simplicity of the picture. He has a wholly independent position above all creation, as well as separate from other spirit-beings and from human beings. His intervention in the destinies of the inhabitants of the earth, and thus his activity in general, is revealed in the association

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776 which the individual human being has with him and, above all, in the prayer formulas.

/1054/ 2. Religious Activity

776 All accounts clearly indicate that the Supreme Being of our
771 Yamana does not, like the chief personages in their myths, dwell far beyond the clouds, unconcerned with the events on earth. Quite the contrary, Watauinéjwa truly and attentively follows the activities of the individual, often directing fate against the person's hopes and desires; indeed he is more active than is agreeable to many. Everyone knows him as an active, alert késpix. Thus, no one loses sight of him entirely; much less would anyone purposely and heedlessly ignore him altogether. It is true that some Indians are more eagerly concerned about him, more actively engrossed with his characteristics, and therefore think about him more often than do other fellow-tribesmen, but there is not a single Fuegian who is completely "godless." Without any effort on his part, everyone is often enough reminded of Watauinéjwa by his relatives and neighbors and is included in their religious activity. For that very reason no one loses the religious customs as practiced and handed down by earlier generations. To what extent and how often each individual practices religion by himself cannot be determined precisely, nor can it be shown that women do more in this respect than men. As elsewhere, personal disposition and the influence of training in youth are decisive, as well as a person's immediate environment from early childhood.

α. General Practices

771 The amazing simplicity revealed in the Yamana way of life is, naturally, also apparent in the religious realm. Except for specific prayer formulas, their outward religious activity is remarkably limited. They have no actual portrayal of their Supreme Being or particular places reserved for his worship, nor do they have any kind of sacrifice. A priesthood and religious ceremonies are also lacking. The gathering of many families on the

/1054 cont./

occasion of a death cannot be regarded as a religious ceremony since this is held primarily because of grief over the loss of a dear relative. The religious heritage of our Indians is never seen by a European visitor, and that alone explains the agreement of all the travelers and missionaries who depicted them as absolutely irreligious (13).

13. I often spoke freely with the older men and women about the services and the religious functions to which in earlier days, as children and young people, they were invited with a certain regularity by the missionaries in and outside of the mission stations. Each time I had the impression that it was completely incomprehensible to them how one could please the deity by a public appearance and in an assemblage of many persons. It is much more in keeping with their own frame of mind for an individual to face the Supreme Being by himself and to settle with him alone whatever he has on his mind.

One could probably describe as religious activity in its wider sense the firmly established, equable mental attitude of deep veneration toward /1055/ Watauinéiwa that the individual maintains. Not everyone is always conscious of it, but in some way it has a decisive influence on him to move along certain paths and to be led by universally valid principles. In its effect within the religious sphere this veneration is comparable to what a conscience is in the field of moral obligations, namely, a sort of leitmotiv by which the individual person is led. This mental attitude is the reason for the unchanging acquiescence of the Fuegian to the demands of the moral law. He submits to it without contradiction, although he cannot explain it in any other way than by repeating the well-known saying: "Watauinéiwa sees everything. -- He wants everyone to conduct himself in the way that has always been customary among us Yamana!" For him the rule of conduct lies in this and similar words, and that is why it has not changed through successive generations. It is true that the fear of punishment

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781 often protects this or that person from lapses, but it is really be-
776 cause of the ancient tradition itself that they adhere to its de-
626 mands. No one would ever complain of the tight bonds imposed on free action. On the contrary, the customs of the old people are everywhere highly respected, because ultimately Watauinéiwa appears as the guardian of public order.

781 Inasmuch as he must be approached with piety, no one dares
776 repeat his name without a special reason, much less hold it in
195 contempt. If the Supreme Being is mentioned, the Yamana shows decided piety and a certain solemnity in his whole outward bearing when he speaks his name, thus giving the spoken word a marked note of consecration. The various names applied to the deity are never thoughtlessly uttered. Another sign of pious respect is the use of circumlocutions. These are used most often when in the course of a ceremony of mourning an excited person struggles with Manunákin, "the sole mighty one." It is as though he wanted to dampen his improper conduct, as though he would not turn immediately and directly to the familiar deity. The habitual respectful attitude of the Yamana toward the person of the Supreme Being himself forces them, so to speak, to the greatest possible fidelity to tribal custom, particularly the moral obligations, and does not let the thought of contradiction or renunciation arise.

β. Prayers of Supplication

782 The Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 509) are exactly
[171] alike concerning the form and distinctive character of their religious veneration, but they are /1056/ conspicuously different in the use of prayers and invocations to their deity. Whereas the Selk'nam dedicate to their Temáukel a few more or less freely chosen words only on rare occasions (Vol. I, 510), our Fuegians have at their disposal a long list of established prayer formulas which everyone uses according to the given circumstances. They have adhered to them so strictly that they still repeat them even today, although individual words and expressions are no longer used in daily life and have even become incomprehensible; only the general sense of the whole formula has been preserved.

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765 "to observe, watch with a view to find out anything" /cited in
539 English/, in BD:291; mutauwana, "to cease, desist" /cited in English/, in BD:366; hala and la in BD:277, 263. I heard this prayer several times at the great funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

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765 (27) Annumutá, hála kūpa tūmukinananāna
539 Desire, yet up there take to task

773 Yāiaašāga-dāunlum kūpán tēšku
776 in Yāiaašāga up there be pleased

aónakipačikāia, tālauwāia.
women from the north, alas.

In order to understand this sentence one must realize that, according to the Yamana conception, all the animals were made by Watauinēiwa in Yāiaašāga where there was a great revolution when the women from the north who performed the kīna settled there. Thus, all the animals belong to him as his property. Anyone who wants to give full vent to his grief expresses in the above sentence his desire to cause Watauinēiwa serious harm by destroying his animals. If he should succeed in doing so, he would feel adequately compensated. -- The individual words can be found in BD:26, for example, annumutu, "to be longing for" /cited in English/. The word tūmūkīnana in BD:521 refers to the strict treatment of the candidates and to the serious order of the day in the kīna school. BD:400 gives tōška, "to laugh, twitter" /cited in English/.

765 Old Mašemikens, who repeated this fixed formula at the
539 large funeral ceremony in March, 1923, added a few personal thoughts and spoke freely as follows: "All animals went out from Yāiaašāga. Watauinēiwa brought that about. Therefore, since I cannot touch his person, I shall kill all his animals which he made. This will calm me and make me content, this will satisfy my lust for revenge!" After a long pause he went on with this thought, as follows: "Unfortunately I cannot now harm 'the-one-up-there' seriously, for I am too old [frail] and do not have enough weapons, I cannot undertake anything any more, for strength fails me, an old man. Formerly I used to carry out this plan; then I wantonly killed many animals, burned down the forest, chopped everything

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kūpa	mayamutunāna,	tālauwāja;
from above	teeth show,	alas;

kēnnasigaja	wēj	elinīana	sīna	yāix	dērupe,
who may follow		cause	your	tears	to flow,

tālauwāja.
alas.

Old Emilia from the south, who never had any contact with missions, repeated these words. My informants emphatically assured me that they were unfamiliar with many of the expressions because the latter are old and belong to another dialect. The entire sentence has approximately the following meaning: On account of that-one-up-there an old man shed many tears for his daughter whom death carried away. He shed as many tears as flowed in Ushuaia where the-one-up-there /1072/ caused many people to die! The-one-up-there poured out his wrath [showed his teeth] on the daughter of this man. If only it were in our power to wrest from him the same great flood of tears.

[131] It is well known that after serious epidemics took the lives of many in the mission station of Ushuaia the Yamana referred to this region as wēlapatux-wāja, "the bay of the great murderer," i.e., of many deaths. See pages 298 and 340 /in untranslated portion/ for details.

(35)	Hāi	ǰatambīja	hāi	Hitāpuančikāja.
	I	discontent	with	my father.

Anyone who is in mourning can use this general expression, for the behavior of the Supreme Being is wholly inconsiderate.

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All these sayings more or less clearly express the helplessness of the grieving human being before Watauinēiwa, the strong one. The Yamana regard his action as arbitrary torture, for, regardless of their sorrow and contrary to their pleas, he continues to treat them cruelly. They permit themselves such sharp threats only in case of death, and they think they are justified in ridding their oppressed hearts of their grief through bitter accusations and violent rage. They cannot defend themselves in any other way.

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who could have read these writings with understanding and profit. It has likewise not been shown that those who received special instruction transmitted their knowledge to their compatriots (21).

21. Despard (b):733 praises Button's good memory and says that the latter told on Isla Keppel "whatever he had learnt of religion and morality -- not much of these last, to be sure...When questioned as to the efforts he had made to impart his acquired notions of religion to his countrymen, he replied, 'Yes; me tell God very good, make everything; Jesus Christ God's Son, very good -- die. My people stupid -- no sabby [no saber]; I no tell more'" /cited in English/.

If one carefully surveys the entire religious heritage of the Yamana, its individuality is clearly apparent and nowhere can an amalgamation with Christian ideas be demonstrated. The belief in Watauinéjwa is not the result of missionary influence.

Without any doubt it proves to be the special heritage of the Yamana, which they held and cherished long before their first contact with Europeans. My own research, and particularly the wholly unusual, accidental way in which I personally stumbled upon their religious heritage (p. 958), in itself explains why it was withheld from other visitors and even from the missionaries. It is not necessary to repeat the details; they have been fully presented.

1. Its Intrinsic Value

Many unequivocal circumstances definitely and clearly testify that the Yamana have preserved their heritage of religious ideas and practices and have transmitted it from ancient times to the present. Quite generally, these ideas and practices are to them a logical postulate of their thinking. This is not to credit them with a particular gift for philosophical speculation, but their

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771/ 776 minds also demand a satisfactory answer to certain questions that arise. A person like Maśemikens, for example, tried to fathom how people actually came into existence and how /1078/ animals began to appear after the universal flood (p. 972). Although certain situations continue to lack full and specific explanations, everyone rests content in the knowledge that although he lacks insight into the handiwork of Watauinéiwa, the latter, the true and actual Abáila, accomplishes everything that the human being is unable to grasp in detail. The pressure that traditional custom exerts on every Yamana without exception is, in the final analysis, regarded as an emanation of the will, as a command of Watauinéiwa. Everyone adapts to it as a matter of course, as though it could not be otherwise. It was always like this, ever since the Yamana existed, simply because "that-one-up-there" always existed and he himself does not change, any more than do his regulations. In the play of blind natural forces our Fuegians recognize the movement of their Supreme Being who guides them and holds them in his hands. Do they have any other choice, then, but to turn to benevolent Hidábuan with the request that he command those uncanny forces to desist when they might harm and endanger their own lives? New human lives arise from his sphere of power. The loss of a close relative through death, however, leaves a more enduring impression and is more keenly felt as an injury. This intervention is solely the work of the supramundane skill of brutal, heartless Wélapatux. Toward human beings he can permit himself evident high-handedness with the worst consequences, for he is safe far behind the clouds and inaccessible to all the lamenting and raging of helpless earthly pilgrims. From the closely linked chain of ideas concerning the personality and activity of the Supreme Being, only the most important have been mentioned here. On account of their simplicity they can be easily arranged into a well-ordered system.

Although no Yamana has undertaken a similar experiment for himself, the totality of his religious heritage is adequate for him because he is aware of its more important details in his everyday life on any given occasion. Actually, he accepts the various happenings, whether they be more agreeable or very bad, solely because he relates them to his Watauinéiwa. If the latter is the

/1078 cont./

771 driving power and active cause behind any occurrence whatever,
776 especially behind events of decisive import, then discussions, no matter how long, would change nothing, and the person affected has no recourse but to realize his own helplessness and to yield weakly to the situation imposed upon him. As may be expected, this decision restores his mental balance and calms even the greatest surges of fury against the severest lomes and the bitterest disappointments. One must see these Fuegians on the occasion of a general funeral rite, yamalaʃemóina. Everyone in the company of others acts as though he were mad with grief, and a few hours later, at any rate by evening of the same day, ruefully and full of confidence, he again turns to /1079/ his Hidʃbuan with sincere requests for forgiveness and pardon for his excited, irreverent behavior which, he says, was, after all, not entirely unjustified.

771 The complete contentment which their religious heritage
191 gives the Yamana has prevented any desire for more. That is why
177 they regarded the Christian teachings presented to them by the English missionaries as utterly superfluous. It can scarcely be proved that a single one of them was drawn to these missionaries from a pure desire for Christian truths. In fact, the missionaries had great trouble getting a few children to stay in their stations for any length of time and occasionally gathering together a few adults for a religious service and instruction. The following statements illuminate the whole situation like a strong light. Mary told me that as a girl she was taken into the house of the Lawrence family in Ushuaia for a few months to do all kinds of work. She once described to me her usual occupations and also pointed out that every day ended with a short reading from the Bible, to which the missionary added a few explanations about his God. I asked her to tell me whether she welcomed this, whereupon she replied with surprising candor: "Oh well, I listened to everything. Mister Lawrence kept speaking about his God. He said: 'Our Lord' /cited in English throughout this passage/ demands that everyone be a good human being, that everyone work hard, that no one steal from another, and that no man have anything to do with another's wife, that we should all get along with each other. And he repeated all kinds of other things. But what he told us about his 'Our Lord,' all this Watauineiwa revealed to the Yamana long

/1079 cont./

before, all this was always known to our own ancestors. So we don't need his 'Our Lord'! Our Wataginéiwa is enough for us, and what he has told us suffices. I always realized that, each time Lawrence spoke of his 'Our Lord.'" As was proved by my questions, Mary actually adopted nothing from Christianity. The attitude of Nelly Lawrence is even more convincing. As the daughter-in-law of this missionary, she lived in the same house with him for several years and was in daily contact with this deeply religious man. After I became acquainted with Wataginéiwa through her efforts, she no longer hesitated to refer to him. She plainly showed me how pleased she was that I, too, sincerely enjoyed her religious views. Not for that reason alone, however, but out of innermost conviction she confessed to me that the traditional Wataginéiwa faith was perfectly adequate for her and that she felt no desire for the thing John Lawrence so often mentioned about his "Lord" /cited in English/. "Everything that the Yamana tell about our Wataginéiwa is incomparably more beautiful!" She repeated this conviction to me several times with proud self-confidence. In the general register of baptisms there is no mention that she was baptized /1080/ (p. 331 /unpublished/), and I never discovered any traces of Christian faith in her, but in her ideas about Hidábuan she felt happy and content; hers was really a deeply religious nature.

For the Yamana their Supreme Being is certainly no supernatural figure passively hidden beyond the stars, but rather someone they feel close to. They connect many of the minor details of everyday life with him, and by no means only the startling events. On August 9, 1923, I was in Punta Remolino, sitting at supper with the Lawrence family. Fred had a hired man in his service who came from Chiloé and who was old and quite stupid. Once again he had proved extremely awkward in his work, and Fred's description of it was so vivid that we all had to laugh heartily. Only Nelly remained serious and warned her husband with the following words: "Don't talk disparagingly about that old man. Wataginéiwa doesn't like it at all and will punish you for it. One must not make fun of old people!" Her reprimand to the whole group was so natural and serious that we were dumbfounded and, without demur, stopped laughing.

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A few days later the Chilean captain of the little cutter "Garibaldi" which belonged to this farm indulged in loud outburts of rage because of the unfavorable weather situation. Nelly happened to be in my room and I paid no attention to the man outside the house. Before she left she said with grave emphasis: "In the early days we knew nothing of the habit which Europeans introduced of always being discontented with the weather. The Europeans complain: now there is too much wind and now too much rain, now too much snow and now too little sun! We must take the weather as it comes. If a person flies into a rage, it just makes it worse, for Watayindjwa will become angry and then it will be really bad!" This sounded like warning for me as well.

An old Yamana spent the forenoon looking out in vain for bright sunshine, but he did not lose patience. In reply to my teasing which was meant to irritate him slightly, he said: "It is Hidjhwan who sends the weather, the heavy snow and wind and frost. We can't do anything about it, we must take it as it comes! There is no use scolding loudly about bad weather. That doesn't help a bit; it can only make matters worse simply because Hidjhwan will grow even more angry. It is better not to say anything and not to think anything bad about Hidjhwan who in each case can send us still worse things."

The religious heritage of the Yamana is adequate for the conditions of life allotted to them and for the slight demands which they make upon it. It is in complete harmony with them. They make use of the individual ideas in their world of religious belief quite as a matter of course in their everyday life and at their ceremonious youth initiation, at a general funeral rite, and for hushed individual sorrow, and they apply these conceptions /1981/ naturally and unaffectedly, as is possible only with an indigenous body of ideas. They appreciate their value consciously and unconsciously, and lacking nothing, they feel no necessity to ask for more or to take what the missionaries have offered them. I never heard a word of regret or discontent over the fact that all missionary activity has been suspended.

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2. Its Characteristics

176 197 177

In a critical evaluation of the originality of the Watauinewa faith the decisive fact is that the deity's characteristics and personality as imagined by the Yamana harmonize very well with the general psychology and the personal character of these Fuegians. To begin with it must be pointed out that clearly recognizable Christian characteristics are lacking. Not the slightest trace of the salient details which were constantly repeated in the teachings of the missionaries has remained among our Indians (22). Only

22. For example, Despard (VP:VI, 29;1859) asserts that he taught J. Button about Jesus Christ, and Lawrence (MM:XXXI, 143;1897) reports that for his part he constantly spoke of the Lord Jesus.

the words "God" and "Our Lord" /cited in English/ are mentioned, but their meaning is synonymous with what the Indians themselves have put into the name of their Supreme Being. They also remember the references of the missionaries and individual farmers to the resurrection of the body, for it completely disconcerted them.

The Yamana have come to the conclusion that both figures are more or less one and the same person, and they make comparisons. On March 8, 1923, Nelly once again came to my room, accompanied this time by Sara, the Lēpakērawājakīpa and wife of Pedro Malemikens. Sara gave me a small basket as a present. In return I hastened to give her a string of beads and a small mirror. While Sara was looking at herself in the glass, Nelly discovered a picture of St. Joseph on the back. He was portrayed as a venerable older man with a long white beard. Nelly said to Sara: "Look at the other side, there is the Watauinewa of the Christians!" When this name was mentioned, Sara was somewhat taken aback, but not markedly, and she asked Nelly softly: "Does this Martin [Gusinde] know who our Watauinewa is?" Nelly nodded affirmatively. Sara was content with that and obviously relieved. Only then did she look at the picture thoughtfully and turned to me,

/1081 cont./

saying distinctly: "Watauinéiwa kémauštéka (23) hananikája (the

23. BD:181 translates this word: "to come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. In the ancient prayer formulas it is often repeated with the same meaning.

old-one-up-there is concerned about us)!" Her meaning was: Just as your Watauinéiwa takes care of you, the Whites, so /1082/ our Watauinéiwa is concerned about us! She said this quite naturally and without constraint while I was busy tying up the package from which I had taken the present: I did not influence her in any way. Among the Yamana the thought of their Supreme Being is actually ever present and not by any means concealed behind many other impressions and images from their everyday life. In judging this statement one must note the valuable fact that Sara's home is on the Wollaston Islands which were never influenced by English missionaries; she, therefore, had no definite conception of Christianity. Nevertheless she draws a definite dividing line between her own Watauinéiwa and a similar person who watches over the fate of Whites.

If our Fuegians are confronted with contrary or deviant European ideas, they usually refrain from asserting their own conception and defending it as the only correct one and as though the others were wrong. Nevertheless they once rebelled against their fellow-tribesman Ukokku whom the missionaries had sent to them as their teacher. Bridges (VSA:XII, 276; 1865) reports: "Lucca told me that Ookokkoo (he not being present) had often spoken to his people of God, or heaven and hell, and what sort of people should live in them; his people being very proud and bad would not listen, and were sometimes very angry, and said that Ookokkoo told lies; that as he had never seen nor heard God they would not believe, and that man and all things had ever been as they are, without beginning and therefore without a Maker. One man, they said, pretended to be Jesus Christ; some were afraid to be in hell, and wished to become quiet as a requisite preparation for heaven; some threatened to kill Ookokkoo, but were afraid to" /cited in English/. The Yamana were particularly excited by the missionaries' references to the resurrection of the dead and a life of the

/1082 cont./

775 human soul after death under the most disparate conditions imag-
797 inable, in sharp contrast to their own faith. I myself experienced
177 this. During a burial, while the corpse in the grave was being covered with earth, an old man, in the helplessness of his grief, turned to me with the following words which sounded very scornful: "There he lies, my cousin. And yet you Europeans say: 'Every corpse will leave its grave and become that which it was in life.' No, there is no such thing!" This man, like all his countrymen, was simply not to be converted to the new teachings of the missionaries; he clung to the traditions handed down by his forefathers. They always know how to make a sharp division between their own indigenous body of ideas and newly introduced, foreign conceptions or views.

Furthermore, a characteristic feature of the religious ideas
776 of our Fuegians is their pronounced simplicity. The Supreme Being even lacks a proper name. Every Yamana is named after his /1083/ birthplace (p. 536). Is it not logical, therefore, that "the-one-up-there" has no such name because he was not born in the homeland of our Indians? Instead they use circumlocutions as ordinary social conventions. The names for the Supreme Being emphasize particular characteristics which are, however, intensified to the utmost. In both directions, therefore, tribal customs with regard to name-giving are transferred to him. If here below an aged person is shown general respect, all the more is this due the foremost and true "old one," Watauinéiwa. Similarly, the few remaining characteristics applied to him are part of the everyday events and social customs of the Yamana people. The fact remains, however, that he is a spirit and therefore exhibits forms of being that differ from people here on earth. Nothing specific is known about these forms. Truly, the Fuegian is consistent in his simple thinking, even concerning his deity.

Finally the considerable number and the diversity of their
782 prayer formulas must be noted. The archaic wording speaks for
197 itself. The Indians themselves vouch for the great age of these
797 short sayings because they contain many words and word combinations that have long since disappeared from ordinary speech. In addition there is the opinion of the aged John Lawrence and his sons who were well versed in the language and several times expressed

/1083 cont./

712 197 797 themselves along the same lines. John Lawrence, after he had examined those formulas for the first time, assured me emphatically: "I have been associated with the Yamana for all of 53 years and I never learned anything whatever about this!" He examined them carefully and said afterward: "Neither the names for the native deity nor the prayer formulas disclose any kind of borrowing from our Christian conceptions. Everything throughout has the stamp of the original and genuine heritage of the Yamana!" He felt it necessary to point out emphatically and repeatedly that the words and grammatical construction of the prayer formulas are not current in the language spoken today (24).

> 24. The opportunity is open to everyone to examine these data, for we have Bridges' dictionary and a number of grammatical studies from the pen of Hestermann. Bridges' translations of the New Testament could also be used for comparison.

• 776 797 Stimulated by this new information, John Lawrence made personal investigations which added to the material. He began by asking general questions about Watauinēiwa of this or that aged Indian, all of whom were friendly and confiding. Later when he discussed with other people the religious ideas and prayer formulas which were now familiar to him, he obtained the same result: "This heritage of ideas is an unadulterated, genuine, and unique possession of the /1084/ Yamana!" The whole discovery gave him sincere and lasting pleasure. He realized how much more favorably these greatly misunderstood Fuegians must be judged if they possess such a beautiful, pure conception of God and practice religion. In the twilight of its existence this much maligned people had the great satisfaction of knowing that now at last European circles will obtain full knowledge of this ancient Watauinēiwa faith. John Lawrence expressed his admiration for the research work and frankly confessed: "Even if I could live here another 50 or 100 years, the natives would not give me the trust that you enjoy among them!"

797 He viewed his long years of mission work, which had ended earlier, in the light of this unexpected experience. He was honest

/1087 cont./

517 further theories and explanations based on casual expressions of opinion by an occasional traveler.

1. Their Content

In the final analysis all the precepts and obligatory customs which our Yamana feel are binding upon them belong to general morality in its wider sense. It would be unnecessarily repetitious to list them and arrange them here in their entirety; a brief survey will surely be adequate. They are most concisely arranged in the teachings given the uswāla in the ciexaus (p.724) and in the instructions to the girls at the menarche (p.570), in the statements about child rearing (p. 555), property relationships (p. 851), and social relations (p.912). In sharp contrast to my assertions, other observers have described the Yamana as very poor in moral laws. A reference to the pages above is the best refutation. At least the view of the well-meaning Despard (b): 678 and 746 should be repeated here: "His code of morals is very brief. To kill, to lie, to steal, to commit adultery, are crimes; but the sole reason they see is in the punishment commission entails upon the offender from the offended. A murderer must expect sooner or later, to be killed...Their only laws seem: 'Thou shalt not steal'; 'Thou shalt not murder'; 'Thou shalt not lie'; 'Thou shalt not commit adultery.' Property, life, truth, and marriage are protected by the letter of traditionary statute, but violated perpetually through inherent wickedness. Murder is punished by blood avenger. Theft and adultery are punished by beating, and sometimes so severely as to break bones" /cited in English/. Later on it will be shown that the sanctions are of an entirely different nature /1088/ than mere threats of punishment and crude club law. The paragraphs above can also be appropriately cited as counter-evidence.

517 716 The laws that our Yamana observe are clear and easy to understand, simple and definite. They are headed by duties toward the Supreme Being. After all, these duties in their entirety are derived from him as originator, and he carefully sees to it that they are carried out. A person who wants to stand in favor with him need only follow his precepts. It is not proper to

/1088 cont./

577 grumble about them or to resist them, and no one would presume
776 to do so. Similarly, no one expects that his blameless conduct will be rewarded by an especially advantageous destiny here on earth. In their naïve innocence the Fuegians are so reverential that they do not make such demands on their Hidábuan; moreover, no one regards himself as absolutely without fault. Besides, everyone has an adequate living; hence he neither needs nor expects more. If they make requests, they are driven to it by their own helplessness in the face of the invincible forces of nature and the threatening arbitrariness of the Supreme Being himself. The veneration due him demands that his name not be spoken thoughtlessly. Since all animals are his property, every human being becomes culpable who misuses them and who, with evil intent, willfully kills more than he needs for his subsistence, for everyone is permitted only this much by their lord and owner. On suitable occasions the adults do not fail to acquaint growing children with these ideas.

577 The duties of self-love are also clearly defined to a surprising degree. They are most clearly expressed in the descriptions of the ideal that should be striven for by a true Yamana. The motto, "May everyone be a good and useful human being!" summarizes the personal virtues which everyone strives for primarily because of ambition. Conspicuous rivalry impels many a person to outdo his other fellow-tribesmen in faithful fulfillment of duty and blameless conduct. Diligence and industry, a sense of order and cleanliness, compatability and a quiet nature, unselfishness and constant willingness to help, moderation in eating, and respect for tribal custom in its many details are qualities which the
577 society as a whole expects from each of its members. Their sense
834 of modesty is well developed (26). In front of women /1089/ and

26. Hyades (b):1346 asserts: "The sense of modesty exists among both sexes, but it is more developed among the women and is given a special name" /translated from French/. Cf. also Hyades (q):239. In addition he (f):573 also mentions: "Masturbation is very exceptional among the Fuegians.

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577 private duties or drifts into deviations in the field of sexual mo-
626 rality, but he knows it and is made to feel that by doing so he loses the respectful opinion of his neighbors and is avoided by them, as though in punishment. After a time his sense of honor or a threat from the Supreme Being forces him back on the path of duty. There is every indication that these demands of justice, /1091/ and hence the entire situation pertaining to justice, have been preserved unchanged among the Fuegians throughout generations up to the present time (30).

[171]

30. *In this respect our Yamana* are almost exactly like the Selk'nam. The moral law of the latter has been characterized and explained with an abundance of detail in Volume I, 519. A person who would take the trouble to compare the two would find surprisingly many likenesses and similarities.

577 An adequate explanation for the gravity of the demands of
776 justice and the power of universal duty is offered by the references
626 to the ultimate originator of all this, namely, the Supreme Being himself. Our natives derive the existing custom regarding obligatory rules and laws from Watauinéiwa in definite terms. It is he who demands that the individual Yamana "adapt himself [in his conduct through life] as has always been customary," that is to say, according to the principles that he himself issued from the very beginning. The mental make-up of our Fuegians is not the kind that would split hairs over individual conceptions and arrange the result in a complex chain of ideas. A general reference to traditional forms of conduct of their ancestors satisfies their intellect. What has been shown to agree with them is legally valid, and only for this reason. Thus the entire body of moral law rests on the firmest foundation and the compulsion toward duty is given the strongest impetus. This is not changed even by the following minor factor. Now and then I was told, but without noticeable emphasis: "Yoálox let us know how we Yamana should conduct ourselves!" People like to say this to the uswāala in the čiéxaus when they acquaint them with the myths that surround this figure.

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577 Thus he is recognized as the deliverer of the regulations that
776 Watauinēiwa wants the Yamana to observe. No one would ever
626 dream of asking what justification Watauinēiwa had for putting him and his fellow-tribesmen under the restriction of his laws nor of examining their meaning and goal in any way. It is clearly a matter of course for everyone to accept and take into consideration without the slightest objection all the moral regulations in the traditional form handed down from earlier generations as the expression of the will of the Supreme Being.

577 This way of thinking implies the close connection between
626 religion and morals (31). Moral duties with their compulsory de-

31. This connection could not be closer or firmer, and this alone corrects the opinions collected by Cooper:152 that the two are of different origin.

mands are not suspended in mid-air, but, as has just been said, rest on a firm foundation, from which the sanctions for either a dutiful or a faulty act derive their effectiveness. The Yamana definitely express their conviction that Watauinēiwa sees to it that his rules /1092/ are observed and that he punishes serious transgressions (32). The fear of this punishment has beneficial

32. According to the Yamana conception only the guilty one is punished; his crime does not implicate other tribal members. In this sense Bridges (k):239 is right when he maintains: "A wrong that is committed concerns only the agent and the victim" /translated from Spanish/.

effects, although occasionally someone will purposely avoid a mistake so as not to forfeit his good reputation among his people. This is especially true of old people who are always aware of their duty to set a good example to youth. Granting all this, nevertheless the decisive factor in a person's behavior is the judgment of the Supreme Being. Everyone is afraid of his punishments, all the more so since one is helpless and defenseless against him. The

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773 "After the mighty flood had reached its highest level so that the above-mentioned five peaks were barely visible, the water remained at this level for two whole days. After that it quickly receded and drained off. Only a few families had succeeded in saving themselves; almost all the Yamana were drowned. After the great flood had drained off, those few people began building their huts again on the shore. From that time on the men dictate to the women."

773 After I had heard this story, I happened to talk to Alfredo the next day about the same subject, and I asked him pointedly: 776 "Who sent those huge amounts of water? Does Lēxuwakīpa really have so much power?" The old man answered definitely and with conviction: "Actually it was mighty Watauinēiwa who permitted the mighty flood to come; Lēxuwakīpa persuaded him to do this. She wanted to destroy the whole world. At any rate she succeeded with Watauinēiwa so that the great flood descended."

It should be noted that on this occasion I was unable to find out anything more about the figure of Watauinēiwa. There was noticeable timidity in the mention of this name, as though my informant had let it slip out unconsciously and against his will. He refused to disclose anything further despite repeated requests. Later I was able to account perfectly for this strange behavior, but at that time, under the influence of the startled faces when the name Watauinēiwa was mentioned, I lost my head to a certain extent. I could not understand why Alfredo refused to give me further explanations. Finally I began to think that the story of the deluge had been given to the Yamana by the missionaries and that their uncertainty in Biblical matters in my presence had caused the embarrassment that I read in all their faces. I carefully noted this explanation in my diary. Later my doubts on this subject disappeared. A specific argument for the authenticity of the myth of the deluge is that neither Alfredo nor Maşemikens had any contact worth mentioning with any mission station. Two years later, in 1922, Maşemikens confirmed the entire content of this legend of the flood as I have just given it. /1157/ He did not, however, specifically speak of the direct influence of Watauinēiwa in the general deluge, although he conceded it indirectly.

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773 among the Yamana, despite all the admiration with which men and women speak of the two brothers and their elder sister.

773 Two stars of the first magnitude are pointed out as the
821 Yoālox brothers, namely, Sirius in the Greater Dog and Procyon in the Lesser Dog. The stars of secondary magnitude close to Sirius are the other members of the Yoālox family, all of whom ascended to the canopy of heaven back in those days. BD:12 gives only iūālux, "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/, and iūālux-dāranakakīpa [our tārnuxīpa], "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/.

From the stories themselves one cannot infer any connec-
773 tion between the Yoālox family and Watauinēiwa; in fact, the
• 776 two seem to represent quite clearly and sharply distinct spheres of ideas. Several times I asked the Yamana point-blank whether the Yoālox brothers had perhaps been charged by Watauinēiwa to provide for the many well-known arrangements, as well as to instruct human beings in the prevailing rules and customs. They all heard this question with obvious astonishment, and from that I concluded that such a connection between the two lines of thought was not exactly familiar. It is true that from an earlier time I knew that the Yoālox are introduced to the uŝwāala in the čiēxaus (p.767) and to girls on the occasion of their menarche (p.575) as the intermediaries of the prevailing laws and habits of life sent to them by the Supreme Being. They are never mentioned at a funeral rite. In everyday life a person will only now and then speak of them. For example, it is said that Yoālox decreed that berries may not be picked prematurely, but must remain on the stalk until they are ripe (p.327). Accordingly, the intermediary role of the Yoālox is not to be interpreted as a special, definite, formal mission for Watauinēiwa, such as, for example, Temāukel gave the bringer of blessings, Kenós (Vol. I, 572). The situation among the Yamana is somewhat different. Their way of life was actually decisively influenced by the Yoālox, but since, in the final analysis, every law and every custom is derived from Watauinēiwa, the activity of the Yoālox must also be regarded as his command in the broadest sense of the term. To a certain extent this is directly applicable to the regulations pertaining to girls at the menarche and /1185/ women at childbirth.

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773 This circumstance, however, does not justify the view that there
776 is any close relationship between the Yoálox family and Watauinéiwa.

I also inquired very definitely as to whether the Yoálox took part in the great upheaval in the kīna at Yāiaašāga. The most experienced old people replied: "By that time the Yoálox had surely already left the earth. The Yamana of earlier times never told us that the Yoálox participated in that great upheaval." In the myth about the origin of the kīna, also, they are not mentioned; hence there is no justification for connecting the Yoálox with the men's secret ceremony. However, as I was assured on one occasion in 1920, Yoálox-tárnuxīpa in her day had a great influence on all the women who came from the north to Beagle Channel (p. 1111). The Yoálox also are not associated with Lēm and his family. The only connection between the personalities mentioned is that they consecutively occupy a period that is separate from that of human beings (p. 1118), a period that can be justifiably designated as that of the heroes. Before the close of this period the younger Yoálox introduced actual childbirth (p. 1140), through which he was granted a son. This boy and his brother begin the succession of true human beings, the yámana. The transition from the age of pre-human beings to that of human beings takes place without any disruption.

A survey of the status and activity of the two Yoálox brothers shows that apparently they are endowed with superior power and are the founders of the way of life of the Yamana people. They designed the way of life, arranged it, and guaranteed it for all time by means of rules and regulations of binding legal power. They are responsible for valuable inventions which make life bearable and work easier. Thus they are shown to be culture heroes in that strict sense which Ehrenreich (a):236 applied specifically to conditions among primitive peoples. Very
773 briefly it should be mentioned that there are a surprising number
776 of points of agreement between the Yoálox brothers and the
171 Kwányip brothers and sisters of whom the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581) tell. Among the latter, most of the details are much clearer and more definite, and there is more accuracy and completeness in the succession of ideas. There is a striking basic connection

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773 between the unique and definite ideas that surround the figure of
776 the younger Yoálox among the Yamana and the figure of Kwányip
171 with her brothers and sisters among the Selk'nam. Unfortunately, space does not permit detailed comparisons (108).

108. Instead, see the separate essay by Gusinde (ii):687, as well as the general remarks in Ehrenreich (b):44 and Schmidt (d):1016.

In any case, it is noteworthy that in this so-called age of heroes the individual personalities, except for contemporaries, succeed one another at definitely distinguishable intervals and carry on the development. It has already been shown that the same is true among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 606). /Ed., Section b, "Myths and Legends," pp. 1186-1277, is omitted./

/1278/ D. Belief in Spirits and Superstitions

776 A special group of spirits, distinctly separate from the body of ideas surrounding Watauinéjwa and from the heroes and mythological figures, lives in the imaginations of our Fuegians. Far from having originated anything important or advantageous for the Yamana, they represent something like apparitions and demons to them. If an individual on his daily wanderings or canoe trips chances to meet these creatures, it usually does not fail to happen that he is at least threatened or endangered, sometimes even badly harmed and murdered. They are generally malevolent spirits, with the single exception of the good-natured Yefáčel. To the following description of this group of spirits a section on how the Yamana regard their dreams and on certain superstitious conceptions will be added.

a. The Groups of Spirits

In the preceding sections it has often been shown that the Yamana have the same accurate and comprehensive idea of an

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•776 actual spirit that is familiar elsewhere. Hence it is unnecessary to define the concept specifically. They use the word kéšpix primarily and directly for the nature of the human soul (p. 1033) and Watauineiwa (p.1068) and designate with it an independent, active, incorporeal being. Beyond these narrow limits, they use kéšpix also for those beings that their own imaginations, their superstition, have created, which appear in their dreams and fantasies as so-called apparitions. These beings, therefore, do not have actual existence or substantial reality. The Yamana distinguish several groups of such so-called spirits very distinctly, according to their nature, activity, and abode. Accordingly, one group has more importance than another. Their relationship and contacts with them are such that the Yamana fear and avoid these groups of spirits, for it is only as an exception that one of them is kind and friendly toward human beings. A Fuegian never worships or actually venerates them.

These general ideas are found in Bridges (k):237, and Cojazzi:106 repeats them verbatim: "They believed in the existence of spirits or souls that could become visible at night but were not tangible. These spirits were malevolent, and the natives associated them with sickness and death. They used the word cashpick [kéšpix], soul, as qualifier...But the natives never worshipped or revered cushpik, hannush, or any other being" /translated from Spanish/. Elsewhere Bridges (e):332 and (i):15 adds: "Although the Yahgans had no religion, they had all kinds of superstitions. They believed in spirits who had the /1279/ form of human beings, but not their nature. They imagined that these creatures lived in caves in the woods and they believed that they hated and killed everyone who came too close to them...Persons from time to time believed they had seen these spirits and gave account of the apparition" /last sentence cited in English/. According to Bridges (h):209, there are several groups of spirits: "The Yahgans believed in apparitions, as well as in many supernatural beings, and in the existence of wild men in the woods" /translated from Spanish/. All these kéšpix however, are always distinctly different from living human beings and from the human soul after death because of their strange and peculiar nature (238).

238. This means, as Bridges (i):15 says:

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"To call a person Cushpij was a great insult" /cited in English/. In (e):332 and (k):237 it is said: "'Cashpik' is a name which they also gave people who were ridiculous or who had a bad character, and this was a great insult." Likewise Hyades (q):255.

Therefore, kēšpix́ is a general concept, not the proper name of a definite individual person (239).

239. Despard (b):717 made this mistake: "Firelanders have a dread of a being called 'Cushpeec,' and are loth to hear his name mentioned. He seems to be a very lean man. When met with, he makes doleful cries..." /cited in English/. In this connection see the detailed description of this generic term above, p. 1033.

776 778 If the Yamana extends the meaning of the word kēšpix́ he includes those strange spirit-beings which arise from his imagination and fantasy, his belief and his dreams, and which do not truly live, as do Watauinéiwa and the human souls separated from the body. Each of the various groups forms its own peculiar society. In this connection the Yamana also extends the designation kēšpix́ to include a rare individual case which deviates from the human norm. BD:466 refers to this with the word tūkōšpigōna, "to say a person is cushpik [kēšpix́] or like one, to accuse a person of acting the part of a cushpik, i.e., of speaking or acting without any regard to truth or propriety" /cited in English/. Actual consciousness, presence of mind, personal alertness are also called kēšpix́, that is, the definite kēšpix́ which lives in the human being, and there is then no sharp distinction between this condition and the human soul. An unusual notion or impulse or even coincidence also belongs in this category. Earlier, on page 488, I related an unimportant incident. The daughter of old Pedro Mašemikens, who was about seven years old, following a

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776 whim, went walking along the shore with some other girls from
778 Puerto Mejillones and traveled far from the parental hut. Darkness overtook them at Puerto Piedra and they stayed there. Full of anxiety, the parents set out to look for the children, found them, and brought them back to camp early in the morning. No one scolded the children; not even their own parents reproached them. That same night the wife of old Thomas, who had been ill for a long time, died. Everyone explained the behavior of the children by saying: "The kēšpix of that woman prompted the children to go so far away before nightfall. They are not to be blamed." That is why no one thought of /1280/ punishing the children. As has been described, the adults who take part in the singing in the čiēxaus hut (p.796) regard it as natural to consider heightened emotion and inner agitation as expressions of the kēšpix, in short, as kēšpix.

[756] This fact is important in understanding the influence of the yēkamuš. Even the power by means of which a yēkamuš operates, either on the spot or at a great distance, is called his kēšpix.

Finally, the action of the wild forces of nature is sometimes pointed out as the expression of malevolent kēšpix. This has given rise to expressions such as are used, for example, by Krickeberg:322: "The Fuegian animates the majestic natural surroundings of his homeland with demons." In this connection Fitz-Roy's (a):179 partially correct conjecture is also pertinent: "The fact of their believing that the evil spirit torments them in this world, if they do wrong, by storms, hail, snow, etc., is one reason why I am inclined to think that they have no thought of a future retribution" /cited in English/ (240).

240. This alone is enough to refute what Darwin (f):I, 123 reported: "With justifiable pride Jemmy Button stoutly maintained that in his country there is no devil." Roskoff:51 is more accurate in his judgment: "Ideas of the sun as a mighty creature endowed with will power, upon which man feels dependent, are

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implicit in what Missionary Phillips relates. One sultry day when he complained to a young Fuegian about the heat, the latter cried, alarmed: 'Do not say the sun to hot, immediately it will hide and the wind will blow cold.'"

Thus the conception of késpix is very broad and contains many things which cannot be summed up in a terse formula. Hyades (q):255 discussed this word as "an intranslatable term referring to fantastic beings who live in deserted caves in the middle of dense forests" /translated from French/. The idea of késpix must not be so limited, however, as will be adequately shown in the following discussion.

1. Cannibals

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From the start it does not seem strange that the Yamana, too, in one way or another, believe in cannibals. This belief may have originated in their apprehensiveness and fear of the Halakwulup (p. 205 /untranslated/) who are directly adjacent to the western group. A particular incident may have brought this about in the first place. One thing is certain, that almost all the Yamana designate a group within the Halakwulup tribe, about which nothing is definitely known, as the asásan, which is the same as calling them cannibals. Sometimes they include all the Halakwulup in this belief. There are others among the Yamana who include only the group living farther north somewhere near Smith Channel, some of whom it is believed now and then appear in Beagle Channel. Occasionally someone will even suspect the western Yamana, the so-called Inanumsála, of practicing this habit (241). It is said: These asásan have long canoes

241. Bridges (VSA:XI, 259;1864) had already learned: "These natives say there is a tribe speaking their language, but with a peculiar accent, they call them 'Ishawa,' who are cannibals, but they

/1284 cont./

186 might meet. They drew up their canoes by day and secreted themselves and never lit a fire for fear of detection" /cited in English/. In any case, the fact is that not a single Yamana saw those murderers by day and that the crew of one of their canoes never attacked our Yamana and overpowered them. Hence, those Wélapatux are nothing more than fantasy images.

/1285/ 2. The Water Spirits

•116 Everyone is much more frequently and more vitally concerned with certain water spirits than with cannibals. These spirits are called Lakúma. They prefer to inhabit certain places favorable to them, but they traverse any inlet whatever. This sea monster has already been described as dangerous in the Aśóulaxīpa wátuwa /"Story of Aśóulaxīpa," untranslated; see pp. 1261-1262 in the original text/. It threatens every canoe, lifts out the occupants, and sucks them down into the depths. Each Lakúma has the habit of flattening himself out on the surface of the water so that his back protrudes a little. He waits in this fashion until a canoe approaches. It is hard to recognize the Lakúma from a distance. People often say that outwardly he is like a whale; others compare him to the calamary húka (Loligo subulata or squid) which is not uncommon in those regions; still others to the ray. He is also said to be large and very strong, "a great monster like a huge worm" /cited in English/, according to Spencer:80. If the occupants of a canoe have unwittingly come within reach of the monster, they rarely succeed in escaping disaster, and only if the Lakúma is sleeping or in a good mood.

He does not merely attack a canoe and its occupants. It is also within his power to cause high waves and threatening storms if he wants to endanger a vessel. That is why the Yamana avoid the regions presumably occupied by a Lakúma. Emilia told me: "When I was still a girl, my family planned to leave Wulaia and travel north. On the very morning we intended to leave, the yékamuĭ who later became my father-in-law had a dream and told us, full of anxiety: 'Be careful, or disaster will befall you!' In his dream he saw a mighty Lakúma suddenly tip over our boat as it

/1285 cont./

776 was leaving Yaiaaš̌ǎga and pull it down to the bottom with the utmost speed. It hit bottom so forcefully that it immediately bounded back to the surface. This downward and upward movement was so instantaneous that the water on both sides formed a solid wall and not a drop entered the canoe. When the yěkamuš̌ told us that, we set out in another direction." Since then Emilia avoids even mentioning the Lakū́ma because she is so afraid of him.

Nelly Lawrence related a personal experience. "I was still a girl when a woman from the east came to my native region [in the west]. Once I rowed out in a canoe with her. Suddenly this woman discovered a large Lakū́ma lying flat on the bottom of the sea. The people in the east eat the meat of the Lakū́ma, which is something we in the west would never do. The woman immediately reached for her crab fork sírsa (Fig. 62, p.258) and said: 'I'll spear that one, he will give us a tasty morsel!' I was terribly frightened when I saw the animal, but the woman pierced his head with her sírsa. The Lakū́ma acted extremely wild and swam off with the crab fork. The woman clung to the fork for a while and the whole /1286/ boat was dragged along with it. Finally the woman was obliged to let go of her sírsa and the Lakū́ma escaped." Bridges (a)P211 also mentioned the action of this spirit: "They believe in a sea monster they call Lucooma, who causes tides and whirlpools, and instances are known, when canoes having been in danger from a whirlpool or tide rip, of children and dogs being thrown overboard to appease the wrath of Lucooma" /cited in English/. The assertion that a child is sacrificed to the Lakū́ma in order to appease him was repeated by a certain Fenton from Punta Arenas who only once in his life, on a two-day journey, crossed Yamana territory, as well as by Furlong (cf. Cooper:153). Not a single Yamana could tell me personally of a definite instance of this kind; they all unanimously and positively denied that a child or a dog had ever been sacrificed to Lakū́ma. Fred Lawrence regarded it as absolutely impossible that the Yamana could have decided to do such a thing. It is true that out of considerations of safety, if there is grave danger, they may let a heavy piece of wood or a large sea lion fall into the water to lighten the boat (250). In doing so someone perhaps once thought of

250. Spegazzini (a):172 maintains that the

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Yamana believe in whirlwinds "produced by evil spirits, and to appease them, they throw some limbs and pieces of wood in the water" /translated from Spanish/. This statement probably rests on inaccurate observation; the Indians told me that such a custom was unknown to them.

Lakúma, but this is neither a general rule nor a sign of veneration of Lakúma or a cult. The mere fact that in their accounts the Yamana do not even agree about the size and shape of the Lakúma clearly shows that the latter are only figments of the imagination, which are more vivid in one person than in another. Moreover, it is said that every yékamuš has favorable relations with the Lakúma, and whenever he starts singing they let him pass unharmed.

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The Yamana tell the following Lakúma wátuwa. In ancient times some people traveled to Kaluwéllawaja. Here there are many Lakúma, but these people did not know it. Soon the Lakúma approached and all the people lost their canoes. They barely escaped with their lives to a beach where there was no wood whatever. For a long time they were without fire, and finally they had nothing left to eat. On the other side there was a nice spot with plenty of wood. Then one day a man saw something lying on the surface of the water. It was quite broad and flat. Soon additional objects of this kind gathered. He looked closely and saw that these were only Lakúma lying there, one beside the other. Finally there were so many that they extended from one shore to the other. They were lying completely motionless. One of the men said: "If we quickly step over all of them, we shall reach the other shore!" He did this, ran quickly, and reached the opposite beach. Immediately the other two men tried it, as well as the women and children. The latter went too slowly, however, /1287/ and all the Lakúma submerged, disappearing into the water, and took all those people with them (250/sic/). The

250. The same strange motif is repeated in another context (p.117).

/1287 cont./

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Lakéma seriously harm everyone who happens to come within their reach.

The one man was saved, however, and he was a great yékamuł. He then went to the other people, called them together, and told them everything. He said: "We must now make many yéku and kill those Lakéma down there!" Immediately the men undertook this work. Then they attacked the Lakéma and killed many of them. They were lying on the bottom. If one comes to this place today, he will see many flat stones on the bottom. They are the Lakéma who, holding themselves flat, slowly sank with all those people and still lie in the water at that place.

Moreover, there is the following story about the disobedient girl, tłʼikipa wátuwa, for which I am likewise indebted to old Whaits (251). A girl who is tłʼi may not eat berries. Now

> 251. A shorter version was told to me earlier by a few women and given on page 571.

there was once a tłʼikipa who felt a great desire to taste some berries. The girl ran away secretly, sat down in the woods, and ate many smáłm. Actually the girl did not eat the berries and swallow them; she merely pressed them against her teeth and squeezed the juice out, throwing the solid parts away (252).

> 252. In this way the girl believed she could get around the literal meaning of the clear and distinct prohibition.

None of her family knew about it.

Soon afterward the family of the tłʼikipa was traveling across a wide inlet when a large Lakéma appeared on the surface and threatened them all. In their terror they immediately threw a lot of mussels, birds, and pieces of meat into the water, but the Lakéma did not release the canoe. The girl stayed hidden in the bottom of the canoe and did not look up at all. Then the people seized their dog and threw him overboard, but the Lakéma

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773 was not satisfied with that either. In their despair the people
774 now took hold of a little girl and tossed her into the water; the girl sank very quickly. Nevertheless, the Lakóma still did not release the canoe. Finally the people seized the big girl, the ríyikípa, and shoved her overboard. Lakóma seized her avidly and, quick as lightning, sank down into the depths with her. Soon the entrails [of that girl] rose up and floated on the surface. This made the people very sad. After a time the Lakóma re-appeared on the surface and stretched out, making himself very flat. Then the people discovered on his back a great many mussels of such uncommon size that they had never before seen any like them (255). The men reached for them and /1288/ took a

255. It is well known that there are numerous parasites on the back of an old whale, especially Balanus and Coronula types. This sentence refers to them.

few off his back. Their shells were particularly sharp. In their rage the men quickly cut up the whale Lakóma with them, tore out his entrails, and dismembered him completely. The Lakóma was dead immediately and sank to the bottom of the sea. At the same instant the canoe began to move, although no one was using the oars, and in no time at all it reached the shore. The people breathed a sigh of relief. But the girl was lost, for she had tasted the berries as a ríyikípa.

This story, which obviously has a pedagogic aim, is definitely regarded as a myth, whereas, not as an actual experience of a known family. I suspect that Bridges (a):211 heard something about it and interpreted the genuinely mythical material as an actual occurrence. In any case, it is certain that the Lakóma should be regarded as creations of the imagination and the fear of our exceedingly superstitious Fueguians.

3. The Forest Giants

171 773 774 Inasmuch as the figure of the giant and man-eater Éshob exists among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 310), it is not strange that

171 /1288 cont./
113 our Yamana tell about many giant-like spirits which make the
116 Cape Horn Archipelago unsafe. If one compares the mythological material of the two tribes, it becomes clear that among the Selk'nam it is well organized and richer, but that there are also considerable differences. In any case, a comparison with the Tóll is recommended.

116 The giants are called Hámuŕ. People say that there are a considerable number scattered through the country. Each one lives only in the forest, and he hides behind thick tree-trunks whenever a human being approaches. Each one also rules over a certain area where he lives all by himself; he regularly roams alone in all directions through it and only very rarely do several Hámuŕ gather somewhere. Each one is at least twice as tall as an adult Yamana. He goes about stark naked, for his body hair is almost as thick as the wool of the guanaco.

If a Yamana wanders through a lonely forest all by himself or lies down to sleep in it, the Hámuŕ approaches him. Out of fear of meeting the giant, people therefore avoid penetrating far into the forest and usually stay close to the edge. Even from there they can hear the crashing of trees and the breaking of twigs wherever he sets foot. They also often hear a storm-like howling of the wind, which announces his approach. Thus warned, everyone who can hastens to safety. It is best for the person to get into his canoe and row out to the open channel where the Hámuŕ cannot follow him. This giant prefers to surprise men and women who have fallen asleep. /1289/ he robs them and slays them. At night he also comes near the huts that have been erected at the edge of the forest, especially if they shelter only a few people, whom he murders. He watches particularly for lazy women who have come into the forest to gather wood or berries and instead have lain down and gone to sleep. Cautiously and softly he creeps up to them and makes them fall into a deep sleep. Then he lives with them and satisfies his desire. As for young women, he likes best to drag them to his quarters where they are at his mercy. Every Hámuŕ is considered a lecherous fellow. He likes to give men a hard blow with his mighty club and leave them lying in the woods. He likes best of all to chase half-grown children, especially girls. When he

/1289 cont./

776 catches them, he drags them into the forest where he lives. His shelter is almost always a large cave deep in the forest in which on occasion this or that Hánnuš establishes himself. Here he keeps all the children he has caught; he paints their bodies uniformly red and often plays with them. Like himself, these children are stark naked. They must stay with him the rest of their lives. This Hánnuš folk is very numerous. In exceptional cases Hánnuš will let a child whom he does not like escape, especially during the first few days after he has caught it, so that it can return to its parents. All Hánnuš are male and they are always fully mature.

Some of my informants were of the opinion that the Hánnuš had formerly lived among ordinary human beings and that they had later retired to the forest. Since then they have been hostile to human beings, especially to men. The Hánnuš slays every man he can find for the sheer pleasure of murder. Naturally, the Yamana stay away from those places where they are more often aware of a Hánnuš; under no circumstances would they spend the night in the forest.

Bridges (a):211 referred to the Hánnuš: "These Indians believe in ghosts, in wild men of the woods, called Kanoosh /sic/... Some of them pretend to have seen and killed hanoosh, but they never prove their bravery by showing any part of the body, which is said to be very dreadful. They have many hanoosh tales. Ocoko supposes the hanooshes to be men who either in madness, or after a murder, have run away into the woods, and so became wild" /cited in English/. Later he (i):15 and (k):237 supplemented this somewhat; Cojazzi:106, Dabbene (b):203, and Hyades (q):256 rely on his authority (254).

254. Elsewhere Bridges (e):322 writes quite vaguely: The Yamana "believed in the existence of mad people in the woods, to which they attributed supernatural powers and the greatest hostility toward the human race. They were very much afraid of them and they never dared go great distances into the woods alone." This best fits the forest giants.

/1289 cont./

176 Still earlier Fitz-Roy (a):180 learned of these forest giants and reported a story that fits them, but he did not call them by their right name: /1290/ "A great black man is supposed to be always wandering about the woods and mountains, who is certain of knowing every word and every action; who cannot be escaped, and who influences the weather according to men's conduct. York related a curious story of his own brother who had committed a murder. 'In woods of my country,' said he, 'some men go about alone; very wild men -- have no belly (meaning probably that they were very thin), live by stealing from other men.' He then went on to say, that his brother had been getting birds out of a cliff, and, on coming down, hid them among some long rushes, and went away. Soon afterwards he returned, and, seeing feathers blown away by the wind from the spot, suspected what was going on; so taking a large stone in his hand, he crept stealthily towards the place, and there saw one of these wild men plucking a bird which he had got out of the cliff. Without saying a word, he dashed the stone at the wild man's head, and killed him on the spot. Afterwards York's brother was very sorry for what he had done, particularly when it began to blow very hard. York said, in telling the story, 'rain come down -- snow come down -- hail come down -- wind blow very much. Very bad to kill man. Big man in woods no like it, he very angry.' At the word 'blow,' York imitated the sound of a strong wind; and he told the whole story in a very low tone of voice, and with a mysterious manner; considering it an extremely serious affair" /cited in English/ (255).

255. Darwin (d):247 repeated some of this verbatim.

As may be gathered from this story, a Yamana will now and then tell about his personal encounter with Hánnus, of his struggle and combat with him (256). Nelly Lawrence repeated

256. Bridges (k):237 made the same observation: "Anecdotes about the exploits of the Hannushes pass from mouth to mouth

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and tell how one person or another met one of these beings, how he fought, conquered, and killed him, and other stories of the same kind" /translated from Spanish/.

the following to me on April 10, 1923: "My uncle was once staying on an island and was looking for trees in which cormorants were perched; he wanted to catch a few. He carefully noted the individual spots. In the evening he went back there and saw an unusually thick ball on a tree. He immediately threw his sling at it and the ball fell to the ground with a loud bang. Frightened, he hurried back to his hut; the night was dark. The next morning by daylight he and his brother [Nelly's father] went back to that spot. Very close to it there was a deep, inconspicuous cave. Here lay the disfigured body of a Hánnuš. To this day the large heavy bones of the Hánnuš are lying there; I saw them with my own eyes."

Somewhat later Nelly told me of another incident. "Many years ago my father hunted in the forest for bark for a new canoe. He was weary and sat down on a tree trunk and fell asleep. Softly a Hánnuš crept up and gave him a heavy blow on the head with his club. My father sank down and lay motionless. /1291/ Then the Hánnuš felt him all over and believed him to be dead. He laid my father on a grassy spot in the woods and covered him with brush. He left my father lying there and hastened away. Although my father was severely wounded, he carefully observed what the Hánnuš was doing and pretended to be dead. It was only after two days that he carefully got up and, unobserved, dragged himself back to his hut. On the beach his wife and we children had waited for him for a long time with anxious concern. We thought he had had an accident, for he was away three days. Then he told us what had happened. It was a long time before he recovered from that blow." Old Whaits told me in the presence of a few families: "I know a boy among my kinsmen who was very reckless and unafraid. Once, in the canoe with his family, he came to a place where there were a few Hánnuš. The boy did not know anything about it, so he walked all around freely and fearlessly. His mother warned him: 'Be careful and do not go too far away from us into the forest!' The boy paid

/1291 cont./

776 no attention to this warning, but ran farther and farther away and played, all unsuspecting, with his little harpoon. At twilight a Hánnuš surprised this boy and dragged him away with him."

776 There are even two actual myths which are devoted to Hánnuš. The first one goes as follows. Once a Hánnuš fell in
773 love with Maxutuwēr'elakīpa. She was an extraordinarily beautiful woman, besides being sly and crafty. She herself would have nothing to do with Hánnuš and always repulsed him whenever he approached her and wanted to caress her. At first he was disappointed. Later it vexed him very much to have come so often in vain to the hut of Maxutuwēr'elakīpa. Finally he threatened to kill her if she did not give herself to him.

This woman lived on an island. It happened to be winter. When the Hánnuš threatened to return with many other Hánnuš to bring about her ruin, she began thinking seriously of defending herself. Quickly she erected a solid hut and covered it with strong pieces of bark. She left the entrance especially narrow and low. Opposite this entrance she left a little hole. She put brush in front of it and no one would have noticed it. She knew how to make fine, strong crab-forks, sīrsa (Fig. 62), and she always had a supply of them.

One evening the Hánnuš again came to see this woman and brought with him a few companions. She was well prepared, however. When she saw the Hánnuš approaching her hut, which was covered with large pieces of bark, she quickly crawled through the narrow rear opening out into the open, and when Hánnuš entered, he did not find her. He turned to the entrance and looked out. While he was bending over and trying to squeeze through, the woman raised up slightly in her hiding place and forcefully thrust a crab fork into his seat. The Hánnuš cried out in pain and quickly squeezed out through the /1292/ narrow entrance. Another Hánnuš pushed into the hut; he wanted to see what had happened. But he did not find Maxutuwēr'elakīpa either. When he, too, bent over to crawl out, the woman, with a vigorous stab, drove a sīrsa into his seat, also. He had to cry out, and instantly he forced himself out through the narrow opening. He dragged the sīrsa with him, sticking in his seat. The other Hánnuš were astonished at this. Still a third ventured into the

/1292 cont./

776 hut, looked about for the woman, and, like the others, could not
773 find her. He stood at the entrance and from within called to the other Hánnuš: "I don't find the woman here!" As he bent over to slide out, Maxutuwěr'elakīpa from her hiding place thrust a crab fork into his seat also. He was hardly able to move because of the pain, for the sīrsa had penetrated very deeply. He squeezed out and dragged the sīrsa in his seat with him until another Hánnuš pulled it out. He yelled terribly. Then the other Hánnuš began to feel uneasy. They talked it over and decided: "It will be best if we all leave as quickly as possible!" They got up and hastened back into the depths of the forest.

The crafty Maxutuwěr'elakīpa over there on the island had long beforehand dragged all her things to another place on the beach. When the Hánnuš were far enough away, she crept out of her hiding place and hurried down to the shore. It was deep winter and the channel was frozen over. She walked on the thick coating of ice which did not break through. As she moved forward she broke off small pieces of ice behind her. Scarcely had she reached the center of the channel when the Hánnuš arrived at the top of the nearby hill. From there they saw Maxutuwěr'elakīpa. They were seized with rage and hurried down the hill to the shore; they wanted to murder that miserable woman who had hoodwinked them all. But Maxutuwěr'elakīpa called mockingly to the Hánnuš: "Come right along, I'll wait for you here!" Then the ones who were first ran out on the ice. They thought it was still that large, continuous piece of hard, immovable ice across which the woman had walked. But because she had cut up the solid sheet of ice into small floes, the first few Hánnuš sank immediately, for the small ice floes would not hold those large, heavy creatures. When the other Hánnuš on the shore saw the first ones drown, they stayed behind. They hurled threats at Maxutuwěr'elakīpa and turned back.

The actual purpose of this myth is to characterize the entire Hánnuš tribe as loutish and stupid. That is why they can be easily outwitted and fooled by a Yamana. Moreover, the Hánnuš are inferior creatures, as is shown in the following myth.

There was once a blind man who lived with his wife. Each of them slept /1293/ on a separate bed, with the fire between them.

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•116 One night a Hánnuš crept into this hut; he approached the woman
113 and forced her to sleep with him. When the Hánnuš left, the old man heard faint noises and asked his wife: "What is it that is rustling so strangely?" She replied: "Nothing is stirring here; don't become unnecessarily excited!" But after a while the old man realized that his wife was pregnant, and, indeed, she soon gave birth to a son. The blind man did not love this son at all; after all, he knew that it was not his child. And, indeed, this son was an unusual creature. After only a few days he was quite a bit larger, he could walk and climb, and he immediately worked diligently for his parents. He particularly helped the blind man because he thought he was his real father.

When this son went into the forest, he sometimes came across strange signs on the trees. He asked himself: "Where could these signs come from? My blind father surely did not put them there." One day when he again spoke these words, a Hánnuš looked out from behind a tree and said pleasantly: "I am the one who made these signs!" The little boy was silent because he was afraid of the Hánnuš. The latter continued: "So my own son is frightened of me?" The little boy wondered about this and ran back to the hut. The words of the Hannuš had offended him, so he asked his mother: "It can't be that I have two fathers, can it?" The blind father also heard his question. Full of anger, he now explained to the little one that his mother one night slept with a Hánnuš. The mother denied it and said: "That is not true. It was only in a dream that a Hánnuš once came to my bed!" In spite of that, the little one kept on working industriously for the blind old man, but he did not love the Hánnuš who was his real father.

One day the little boy was again busy in the woods. His father, the Hánnuš, approached him, took him in his arms, and carried him to the place where his large Hánnuš family dwelt in a spacious cave. Many Hánnuš were assembled here, but they were all very strange creatures. Some of them had four eyes, others only one; a few had no heads, others had their faces on their chests; some had but one leg, others but one arm, and still others were deformed in some other way. All of them without exception now came dashing up and gaped inquisitively at the

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•776 stranger. After a time old Hánnuš accompanied his son back to
773 place in the woods from where he had taken him. But the little boy was very ill at ease. Afterward he told the Yamana in minute detail what he had experienced with the Hánnuš folk. He continued to work industriously for the blind old man.

These two myths alone show clearly enough that the Hánnuš
776 spirits are not even remotely the objects of a cult or of religious
538 veneration (257). The Yamana say that /1294/ a generation ago

257. Bridges (k):237 confirms this: "The natives never worshipped or revered cushpik, hannush, or any other being whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/.

the Hánnuš were seen for the last time here in their forests. Since then no one has seen a trace of them. On long winter evenings, if two or three families are living in the same hut or if a number of families are camping at the same place for some time, they love to tell stories of the Hánnuš and to repeat their own experiences with these creatures (p. 33). The stories are appropriate to the winter season, so to speak. In summertime the requisite mood is lacking. One evening, on my third expedition, the people spoke in great detail about everything they knew in connection with the Hánnuš. Blind Whaits was present. In the midst of the conversation he asked innocently: "Is winter so near at hand that you begin telling stories about the Hánnuš?"

The old men did not hide from me their regret that the young and middle-aged people no longer believe the stories and reports about Hánnuš and laugh at them as products of self-deception or imagination. They prove it by saying: "Sometimes we have worked for weeks deep in the forest (258) and never saw

258. This was work in sawmills for Europeans or on roads commissioned by the government.

the least sign of a Hánnuš; much less were we molested by Hánnuš!" This is the opinion of the modern, enlightened generation of Yamana. The old people nevertheless cling steadfastly to their

/1294 cont./

776 538 belief and are ready now and then to recount with firm conviction their favorite stories. Much of what the imagination of the Yamana attributes to the Hánnuš is to be found among the Selk'nam in their Yóši (Vol. I, 697).

4. The Guardian Spirits

776 Yamana ideas about the Yefáčel are nowhere near as extensive and definite as those about the Hánnuš. The reason is probably that the yékamuš to a great extent claim these spirits for themselves. That is why the rest of the people are not aware that they, too, actually have such a guardian spirit assigned to them.

The older Yamana, who are somewhat more thoughtfully concerned with this belief, are agreed about the personality of these Yefáčel. Richard, as well as a few Indian women, described them to me as follows. The Yefáčel are very small figures "only the size of a thumb." They are conspicuous because they are bald; each of them has only three or four long hairs which stand upright in the region of the crown of its head. There is about an equal number of male and female Yefáčel. They wear no clothes, but go about stark naked. /1295/ Mašemikens was alone in the opinion that the Yefáčel are exclusively male, and everyone very definitely denied it. There is a considerable number of Yefáčel, but only a yékamuš is able to see them in dreams.

As for the relationship of the Yefáčel to human beings and in particular their power, our Indians believe that each person has his own Yefáčel. It is the task of the yékamuš, as soon as possible after a child is born to "settle" a Yefáčel on him, that is, to assign him one. "Everyone must have his Yefáčel!" is repeatedly and emphatically declared. The yékamuš gives every person a Yefáčel of the corresponding sex; thus a boy gets a male Yefáčel. If, by mistake, a newborn child has not been given this guardian spirit, the omission must be remedied at the next opportunity, at any rate at the next lóima yékamuš, the gathering of medicine men. The first and most important task of the

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776 Yefáčel is to protect the person entrusted to him from sickness and physical harm. Beyond that, he also protects the person from all kinds of danger. In view of this, one may regard the Yefáčel as "guardian spirits" of human beings. If a child falls [153] ill, the parents believe the chief reason is that it has not yet been assigned a Yefáčel. Immediately a yékamuš is requested to do this. A person who has a Yefáčel enjoys good health throughout his life, and that is why "everyone must have his Yefáčel!" When a human being dies, his Yefáčel leaves him and thereafter wanders about alone as an orphan, independent of the others. The Yamana have nothing to say about the above and way of life of these Yefáčel. The yékamuš, however, add that the orphaned Yefáčel prefer the so-called "dangerous places." From there they continue to be on good terms with the yékamuš and are forever helpful to them.

The relationship of every human being to his Yefáčel, my informants unanimously agreed, is like that of father and son or mother and daughter, in other words, extremely favorable and very intimate. The yékamuš has an even closer association with his Yefacel. Although the yékamuš assigns a Yefáčel to each person, he need not direct him thereafter. I was assured with great earnestness, however, that all Yefáčel must obey Watauinéiwa and his decrees just as willingly and subserviently as must human beings, for "the Yefáčel are dependent upon him, just like all yámana [human beings]!" On this occasion someone ventured the statement: "Watauinéiwa also has his Yefáčel." The other people present very definitely showed by their expressions that they did not agree with this assumption, nor was anyone able to explain who might have assigned such a Yefáčel to Watauinéiwa. From certain previous statements it is easy to conclude why the complete name of these guardian spirits is Yefáčel xéola, "little spirit." Many Indians use the word Yapáčel instead.

776 Bridges mentioned these little guardian spirits several times and /1296/ always only in connection with the yékamuš. It is 756 true that the Yefáčel means much more to a medicine man than to an ordinary human being, for the spirit performs special services for him in the activities of his calling. In Bridges (a):212 it is said: The Yefáčel "is a doctor's son and appears to doctors

/1296 cont./

776 in their dreams, tells them many things" /cited in English/ (259).
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> 259. And again at (k):238: "The yecamush claims to have dealings with beings called yapahchel, and they are the ones who give him the power to see and do fabulous things, especially to cure and to kill" /translated from Spanish/.

In BD:661 one reads: "Yapačal, a being of more than human power and sagacity whom the yękamuš claimed as their inspiring power and instructor" /cited in English/. If, referring to this, Bridges believes that this designation also means "spirits of men, especially such as have been killed by violence" /cited in English/, I must reject this as inaccurate. A special relationship between a yękamuš and his Yefačel is universally recognized, and it will be discussed below. Here it should merely be pointed out that there is a belief in thumb-sized guardian spirits, from whose large number every person is assigned his Yefačel for the rest of his life.

b. Forms of Superstition

787 Several groups of definite spirits have just been named and described. These are not independent beings which actually exist, but are present only in Yamana belief. To this extent they must be regarded as objects of superstition. For various reasons they were treated separately, first of all, because each group is an individual, definite phenomenon. This is not true of the figures which appear in dreams and the many superstitious views which are linked with some definite circumstance.

1. Dreams

787 The fact that the Yamana dream a great deal must be traced
154 back to their alertness in everyday life and to their very vivid imaginations. Almost every morning one of the adults in a family

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β. The Individual Spirits

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The various personalities which are presented as spirits comprise an astonishingly large number. They are not definite character types with pronounced characteristics, such as the Kloketen spirits, but rather are portrayed chiefly as spirits of well-known animals with slight indications of the characteristic coloring of the skin or feathers of these animals. The spirit is not recognizable by his peculiar behavior or characteristic dance, but the leader designates him loudly by name. The body painting of the dancer also suggests the natural outward appearance of whatever animal is portrayed.

Each spirit that is in any way mentioned in the Kina performance, even if it should not appear before the women, has a name. Usually this is nothing more than the customary designation for a particular animal species, /1363/ combined with the word yāka, "performance" (305). A few spirits also have their

> 305. In BD:659 one finds yāga and yāka, "Imitation of resembling, after the different names of birds which or rather the traditional accounts of which were acted in the various drama like scenes of the ceena and murana and others" /cited in English/.

own proper names. These are the personalities to whom special power is ascribed here in the Kina, and their names indicate their distinctiveness or ranking. The long list that I became acquainted with follows.

At the top of the list is Lēxakīpa. According to the Yamana, she is the guardian spirit that rules over everything here in the Great Hut. She assumes importance solely during the Kina celebration, and otherwise she is not even mentioned, much less invoked. During the course of the celebration, however, she proves to be a helper and rescuer for all the participants. This female guardian spirit is favorably disposed toward the men and invariably benevolent. I was told: "Just as Watauinēiwa stands over everything in the čiēxaus [over the whole affair], observes [ruling] all

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the participants, and is kindly disposed toward everyone, so Lẹ́xakīpa stands in relation to the Kina hut. She regulates everything, guides all the participants, and protects everyone. Therefore everyone must yield to her. In the Kina we do not speak of Watauinẹ́iwa, but of Lẹ́xakīpa. Our ancient tradition determines how each participant should behave during this celebration; this is our law, the way Watauinẹ́iwa wants it. Anyone who acts contrary to these rules and divulges the secret is called to account by Watauinẹ́iwa and is punished by an untimely death." Accordingly, the Supreme Being is the ultimate basis for the Kina arrangement, too, but without any direct connection with this celebration or with Lẹ́xakīpa. In answer to my question as to how this guardian spirit became connected with the Great Hut, I was told: "We do not know that. This festival was taken over by the men exactly as the women performed the kīna at Uŭsuwā́ja. We ourselves have added nothing new. So Lẹ́xakīpa must have been a guardian spirit of the Kina even at that time!" To the extent that Lẹ́xakīpa possesses supreme power, she towers above mighty Tā́nuwa and all the spirits. The Yamana do not say that these spirits are commanded by her or directly subservient to her. As a guardian spirit it is incumbent upon her to defend the men present against the illusory arbitrariness and torture of the other spirits, to heal the wounded men, and to restore to life those who have been killed. Such details are shouted over to the camp by the leader who each time places himself beside the Great Hut. He puts as much seriousness and conviction into his words as though real events were taking place, yet his explanations are nothing more than conscious attempts to dupe the women. Lẹ́xakīpa is never shown in any form to the others outside the Great Hut (306).

306. The same superior position that Lexakipa occupies in the Kina is accorded to Xalpen in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 916).

One of the dangerous Kina spirits is Tā́nuwa who surpasses all the others in brutality /1364/ and is therefore feared the most. Only Lẹ́xakīpa is able to curtail his actions effectively. The men

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X575 776 imitate his temporary sojourn in the Great Hut in noisy excitement. They call attention to him chiefly when they want to frighten and warn the uśwáala. During an alleged appearance of Tánuwa in the Great Hut, the faces of the candidates are covered, and they are all required to lie down so that the salutary dread induced by this spirit will penetrate deeply and last a long time. The men then communicate with one another only by signs. The anxiously trilled lalala...does not lead one to expect a good-natured spirit. The women outside soon recognize the various signs that mean Tánuwa has arrived.

X575 To begin with, in order to intimidate the candidates, the leader pours a small amount of water on the embers of the hut fire to produce a soft sizzling. He asks distinctly for the benefit of the uśwáala: "What's going on here?" Soon afterward a broad stream of water is poured on the embers. A cloud of steam with a quantity of ashes rises up with a loud sizzling, and the men set up an alarming roar. They get up hastily and dance around the fire in wild leaps while a single man beats on the ground a few times with a wad of dry leather. This noise suddenly ceases and complete silence follows. After about ten minutes old Thomas goes outside and stands in front of the hut entrance. He cries sorrowfully: "Attention! I do not know what has happened here and what we must be prepared for. Something is soon going to happen. Watch out!" Sure enough, soon all the men get up, leap back and forth and stamp on the ground, seize one another and struggle amid a frightful howling and bellowing cries of desperation. Some of them beat the ground with a ball of leather, while amidst all this shrill cries of alarm resound; the greatest effort is made to feign dreadful confusion. Then the noise gradually subsides and finally ceases altogether with faint gurgling sounds. At the same time the men lie down on their sides and remain motionless in an irregular heap. The air is filled with an impenetrable cloud of dust and ashes.

After many minutes Santiago gets up and asks in a loud voice so that the pupils in the Kina hut as well as the people in the camp can hear his words: "What a picture before me! All the men around me have been slain. Woe is me, I, too, feel weak because I have suffered a bad blow. This man and that one are dead, all of them lie there motionless. I go from one to the

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X 575 They finally all get up, arrange themselves in a row, one behind the other, and, in a stooped position and with short steps, they go over to the camp. In a monotone and with a well-defined rhythm they constantly repeat sakamakasá... They go close to the huts so that every woman can see their bleeding faces and their pitiful expressions. After completing the circuit of the huts they again disappear into the Great Hut. Then without making a sound but in very explicit pantomime they give full expression to their satisfaction over the successful prank. It is not until later that one of the men finally removes the blindfolds from the uŠwā̄ala. The latter are still trembling in fear of Tā́nuwa and believe that he and Lḗxakīpa have actually appeared. Obviously the purpose is to frighten first the candidates and second the women with Tā́nuwa, in order to fill everyone with fear and respect fot the Kina secret. /1366/ Thus a person who is in the Great Hut for the first time as an uŠwā̄ala does not learn the true nature of Tā́nuwa; this is revealed to him only when he participates later at another ceremony. This spirit is never portrayed in any kind of mask. BD:421 says of Tā́nuwa, "a being personified in the ceena drama, was supposed to come up out of the earth, he was an old man and did not come forth and leap about but lay still in the ceena and beat the earth and brayed" /cited in English/.

• [776] Čīníku, who is also a man-murdering spirit, is more malevolent than Tā́nuwa. He comes down from heaven to attend a Čīníku-yā́ka; the men announce his arrival with very frightened hóho calls. He likes best to murder the men and drag them away, just as a hunter kills sea lions and loads them up. This spirit is painted red all over, with a few white spots the size of the palm of one's hand. His head is covered with a loosely hanging piece of leather painted white. His son is decked out in the same way. He scarcely steps inside the circle of men when they set up a frightened howling and desperate screaming. One after another yells as though he were being murdered and then falls completely silent. Čīníku now rolls all these men to the hut entrance where they lie in a confused heap without moving; they have been "murdered" by him! He pushes the last few men farther away from the hut entrance. The women watch his fit of rage against

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X 575

sympathy. Then for several seconds there is deep silence in the Great Hut. One of the men rolls up a large, stiff piece of leather; another cleans a spot on the ground that has been stamped down. /1368/ The first man lifts his arm in a wide sweep and strikes down hard. One of the participants cries agá in a terribly loud voice, as though he had been mortally wounded by this blow, and lets his voice slowly fade away as though he were dying. After a pause there is a second blow; again a man cries out and lets his cry trail off in the same way. This goes on until all the men, including the candidates, "have been killed by the spirit." The women know how many men are assembled in the Great Hut and pay careful attention to the number of death cries. None of the men disguises his voice in order that the members of his family will recognize him. During the next few minutes nothing stirs in the Great Hut, "for they are all dead." At a signal from the leader two or three men commence a joyous, rapid, high-pitched lalala...which is supposed to announce the approach of their deliverer Lexakīpa. A few minutes later all the men utter a loud, high-pitched, jubilant xā. This is to announce that they have been restored to life by Lexakīpa. Now, however, they also want to prove to the women what tortures they have suffered. One or two of them will poke around in his nose with a small pointed stick until blood flows. He not only smears this on his own face, but willingly gives some to other men. With these "proofs" of mistreatment by Yamalakemana each appears before the members of his family, who look at him sympathetically and silently pity him. When after an hour or two the men have again assembled in their Kina hut, they are immensely pleased over their successful performance.

Similar to the spirit that has just been described is Kōyutulāikīpa, a murderess. She visits the Great Hut twice at the most during the Kina festival and "murders" the men just as Yamalakemana does. The leader announces her arrival in a loud voice. After this appearance, too, all the men show themselves to their families in the camp with blood on their faces.

X 575 ●776 302

Besides Lexakīpa, who is superior to all the spirits, the Yamana also mention a few subordinate guardian spirits who are well disposed toward the assembled men and helpful to them in all

X 575 T76 362

/1368 cont./ kinds of situations. In the final analysis each spirit is more or less kindly disposed toward all those who have assembled in the Kina hut. Kinamiima chiefly sees to it that no woman approaches the Great Hut or does any kind of damage. He is presented soon after the beginning of the festival. He can be recognized by the many red and black transverse lines, the width of two fingers and separated by spaces equally wide, which are drawn on a white background and run from the tip of the mask to the knees. All the spirits have their shanks and feet painted uniformly white, no matter what name or characteristics they have.

Tulɛ̃a-yáka. This good-natured guardian spirit also appears at the very beginning of the festival. On the right and left side he wears two vertical stripes a handbreadth wide upon a white background. Apparently this identification is connected with tulɛ̃atɛ̃cix, the name for the small Centrites niger.

/1369/ Tukɛ̃i-yáka is likewise a benign helper and protector of the men. The man who portrays him paints several vertical rows of red dots set close together on a white background all over his body.

Kinajagɛ̃llum. It is said of this spirit that he takes extraordinary pleasure in sitting with the men in the Kina hut. That is the only reason he comes down from heaven. The man who portrays him first rubs his body with red color; from his neck to his genitals there is a white stripe the width of three fingers, from which three transverse stripes originate. There are four white rings on either arm. SD:165 also briefly mentions kinajagɛ̃llum without giving any explanation.

Ulamiáka, the performance of the finest spirit. This spirit is regarded as having an especially close connection with the Kina. He is portrayed with a red body painting upon which are drawn a few vertical white lines leading down from the shoulders. SD:88 says of Ilɛmina, "he was a man disguised by paint and a conical bark hat who acted the part of a lustful spirit in the presence of women whom he went to meet and speak to" /cited in English/.

Wonoláka, the performance of the sea spirit. He is shown with elaborate painting. On a white background many small red semicircles are drawn close together to represent fish scales. This spirit is shaped like a fish, is the "son" of a whale,

X 575 ●776 302

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and appears as such, usually accompanied by two men painted in the same way. The Yamana say that he is well disposed toward human beings. It is said that sometimes he emerges from the depths beside a canoe and shows himself to the occupants; his head and torso are as beautiful as those of a mature girl; in place of legs he has the hind parts of a large fish, and around his forehead there is a thick wreath of beech twigs. One can be sure of recognizing him by this sign. Once, adorned only with this wreath of twigs, he left the Great Hut and, in the company of two young men who were unpainted, he went over to the camp. His arrival had been announced to the women by loud cries. Because there was a shortage of red pigment, he was supposed to fetch new supplies. Sure enough, every woman placed a small bag of ímí outside her hut. The spirit passed along the huts, quietly and without saying a word, took each packet, gave it to his companions, and hastened back to the men's hut with the abundant presents (308).

308. This description reminds one of the performance of Haše in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 926). He, too, visits the dwellings and gathers red pigment for the "spirits" in the Great Hut.

Mēʔarāka is likewise a spirit who is kindly disposed toward the assemblage of men. On a white background he wears several vertical black dots the size of the palm of a hand which are distributed over his whole torso.

Yagáruwa-yāka, the performance of the spirit of the high seas. The performer's body is painted white and has only three evenly distributed vertical red stripes the width of a hand.

Hāni-yāka, the performance of the northern sky. This spirit, too, is a helper of the /1370/ men in the Kīna hut. He supports them, above all, in singing and constantly gives them new strength. The performer paints his whole body, as well as the mask, uniformly white, adding seven black transverse lines as wide as a finger to the mask. BD:270 says: "hāniaka, a play enacted in the ceena drama accompanied with painting, singing, and acting in supposed imitation of the N. wind" /cited in English/.

X-575 776 302 /1370 cont./

Asgpakīiaka, the performance of the southern sky. The painting for this is elaborate. The mask and the body are rubbed with white pigment. In addition the mask has seven black transverse lines as wide as a finger; the torso and arms have eight of these lines, and the legs, six. In each of the areas thus formed a red transverse line is added.

X-575 776 302 825 Hałwāpisa-yāka, the performance of the mighty blue whale (Balaenoptera intermedia). Powdered chalk mixed with blubber is rubbed on the body of the performer in vertical lines, the width of a finger, drawn close together and beginning at the peak of the mask. BD:269 writes "hāūāpisa-iaka, a certain play in the ceena drama imitative of whales" /cited in English/.

Sauyānux-yāka, the performance of the short-beaked dolphin (Lagenorhynchus fitzroyi). The front part of the body and the center of the mask are covered with a vertical white stripe about 20 centimeters wide, on either side of which black color is applied.

Kixinteka-yāka, the performance of the gray gerfalcon (Circus cinereus). The performer paints his body and his mask white, and upon this background he distributes irregular black dots.

Akimagīja-yāka, the performance of the falcon (Ibycter australis). The dancer paints his body white and applies a red line the width of three fingers from the peak of the mask across his chest to the genitals and another line around his body at the height of his navel.

Kilaxīla-yāka, the performance of the buzzard (Buteo poliosomus). Dry īmi powder is first rubbed over the entire body, and a few black dots are applied over it with the tip of the index finger.

Ilirux-yāka, the performance of the gray-headed goose (Cloephaga poliocephala). The body of the performer from the armpits down is completely white, having been rubbed with powdered chalk. Above the armpits, and including the mask, it is rubbed with īmi powder and is light red.

Kīmpa-yāka, the performance of the Magellan goose (Chloephaga picta). The entire body is painted red, and large white dots are painted on the chest (309).

309. The Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida

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/help goose/), which is related to the two species above, is not portrayed. The Tamana say that it was already present at the time of the general upheaval, as it is to this day.

Alakuł-yéka, the performance of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus). The entire body and the mask are painted with white pigment. The nose and mouth are painted on the mask with red pigment. A black line as wide as three fingers is painted in a shallow arc from one shoulder to the other across the chest. /1371/

Wémar-kipa-yéka, the performance of the small gull (Larus glaucodes). The performer paints his body and the mask white and applies short, fine, horizontal red lines all over it.

Tuywilwa-yéka, the performance of the diving petrel (Puffinus griseus /sooty shearwater/). It suffices to paint the entire body uniformly black, an exact imitation of the natural coloring of this bird.

Wilagłáka, the performance of the brown gull-tanner wilagła (Megalestris skua chilensis). To portray this spirit the men paint their bodies and masks white. They draw six evenly spaced rows of short red lines from the upper part to the ankles. The mask is painted differently. On a white background four red stripes two fingers wide are drawn from the peak of the mask to the lower edge, and white transverse lines the width of a thumb are put in each stripe at close intervals.

Ghépu-yéka, the performance of the white albatross (Diomedea exulans, Fig. 88). For this performance mask and body are painted with powdered chalk mixed with water; the former, in the region of the nose, has a vertical red line as long as a finger. RD:266 writes "ghépł ʒin, the initiatory rite of the ceema drama" /cited in English/. -- The ghépu-łkma-yéka is peculiar. The men and the candidates paint their faces all white. A thin little stick which is slightly springy stretches from each corner of the mouth to the upper eyelid, so that the face is horribly distorted. They all squat close together at the low entrance, as though to barricade it. The uwłała are in the center of the group. Each of them holds a bow and a quiver in his hand. These articles must be specially made, but are not carefully

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worked because they are not meant for use in hunting. With his front teeth each man holds a yâuk, that is, an arrowhead or spear point; in his hands he holds an unfinished basket on which he is working. When the group is assembled in this manner, one of the men summons the women and children. They may come up to within a few steps and silently look over the group. Neither words nor looks are exchanged, the men steadfastly keeping their eyes on the ground. After a few minutes the women are sent back again. The Tsimsia of the south and west have the same performance, but with the following variation. The men and the candidates paint their faces white and draw a black line the width of a finger from the outer corner of each eye to the ears. They all have a yâuk between their teeth and in addition hold in their hands a drawn bow and an arrow which they aim at the women who are standing outside in front of the entrance. This pantomime also goes on in complete silence and lasts only a few minutes. No one was able to tell me its meaning.

Kathuy-yâka, the performance of the sea lions (Eumetopias capensis). The performer paints his body and mask completely white and then adds many black dots with his index finger. This is precisely the way this marine bird is marked.

/1371/ Tsqwâlu-yâka, the performance of the small diver (Podiceps caliparnus). This bird, the size of a pigeon, has brownish-black feathers and a white tail. The person who portrays him as a spirit rubs a piece of dry charcoal all over his body, including his mask, and draws a white line, the width of a hand, from the navel to the genitals.

Tlôqs-yâka, the performance of the black cormorant (Phalacrocorax auritus). The performer wears no mask. He rubs charcoal dust mixed with a little blubber all over his body. He paints his chest, the hairy part of his head, and his cheeks white and holds his arms as though he were supporting a mask. According to BD:174, hagwul̓ means "the black shag" /cited in English/ and this performance. Compare Figure 18 on page 155.

Wîqsim-yâka, the performance of the hooded cormorant (Phalacrocorax pelagicus). The person who portrays this spirit wears a mask that is painted white. He rubs his body with dry charcoal dust and draws a very wide white stripe from his neck to his genitals.

X 575 .T76 202 B25

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Ulwiler-yáka, the performance of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater). A red line, the width of two fingers, runs from the peak of the mask down the center. The whole body is white, with a black arc the width of a hand running across the chest from one shoulder to the other. BD:117 also mentions this performance. Compare Figure 76 on page 585.

Ilóla-yáka, the performance of the spectacled penguin (Spheniscus magellanicus). The performer paints his chest and belly white, the rest of his body, black. There is a wide black arc above each of the eye-holes of the white mask. BD:160 gives ulóla-lama.

Hélmus-yáka, the performance of the robalo (Eleginus maclovinus). A few vertical white lines from the neck over the chest and belly, as well as a few vertical black lines beginning at the armpits, suffice to portray this spirit. BD:261 also mentions helmuś-yaka.

Sóna-yáka, the performance of the porcupine fish. On the uniformly white mask a red transverse line, the width of a finger, is painted at the level of the mouth. Many red semicircles are placed close together all over the body of the performer to represent fish scales. This design is very effective (310).

> 310. It is well known that, according to the legend, the child whose father was a sea lion and whose mother was the sister of the Tosiox brothers turned into this fish (p. 1149).

Ishéli-yáka, the performance of the herring (Clupea pectinata). The mask and the entire body are painted uniformly white. On either side of the body a black line as wide as a hand runs from the armpits to the ankles.

Imakaj-yáka, the performance of the sea trout (Atherinichthys). The dancer draws many vertical white lines as wide as a finger and as long as a thumb irregularly all over his body and his mask.

Kalampáła-yáka, the performance of the fish Kalampáła. This fish has a broad head and its body tapers evenly from the head to the tail fin. The performer characterizes this spirit by means of small red semicircles over his entire body which he first painted white. His white mask /1373/ has a red transverse line, the width

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X 575 776 302 825

of three fingers, in the region of the mouth. Now and then this spirit orders the men either to step out of the Great Hut in single file, or, in the so-called Kalampáša-mātu, as individuals, to see how the women are conducting themselves in their dwellings. BD:178 also lists kōlapōša-iaka.

Ḷepáluš-yāka, the performance of the little redfish. The performer must paint a great number of fine, vertical, finger-length red lines close together and on top of one another all over his body. The mask is white.

Hikufkalāla-yāka, the performance of the jellyfish (Medusa). This also requires fine, vertical red lines about three centimeters long all over the body and the mask, but not in as great a number as in the preceding performance.

Húka-yāka, the performance of the small cuttlefish (octopus). The person who represents this spirit, sometimes also called Čīníku, rubs dry īmi powder on his body and hangs a square piece of leather similarly colored loosely over his head in place of the pointed mask.

Yékēslēf-yāka, the performance of the calamary (Loligo subulata). The dancer smears his whole body and the mask uniformly red. It is well known that Yékēslēfkīpa escaped when the men stormed the Kina hut. The painting just described is like the one that she wore at that time and which she still displays on her diminutive figure (p. 1247).

Kínaḷuš-yāka, the performance of the bluebottle fly. The person who presents this spirit to the women paints his body and mask black and over this irregularly distributes many white dots with his index finger. According to BD:165, kinaḷus also means wasp and bee.

In the east the so-called wengīra-yāka was performed. Several men step out of the Kina hut as a group without any kind of painting. Each one carries a stick that is pointed at the lower end and a meter long. At some distance from the Great Hut the men move close together, form a circle, and drive the stick into the ground several times. They poke around like this for a few minutes without looking up and without saying a word. Then they silently go back again. No one could tell me the meaning of this performance. BD:625 gives wōḷgara-gāmata, "to dig, burrow" /cited in English/.

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X575 The Histuku performance has historical value, so to speak.
535 While the men are preparing for it, the leader gives a signal and there begins an unvarying, constantly repeated hóitu, hóitu... on the same pitch and with sharp emphasis. The force and tempo of this call slowly increases in order to attract the attention of the women in the camp. Meanwhile the participants paint their
[302] bodies white. A red arc as wide as a finger is drawn across the forehead, with its ends pointing downward. Then, shouting loudly, the men arrange themselves one behind the other. They squat down so far that they support themselves with both fists and their buttocks almost touch the ground. They can move forward only in short steps. When the first men in this column are just visible, a few older /1374/ women hasten to the field and await the men. The latter keep their squatting position, but form a closed circle. The women approach and walk along the outside of the circle. They gently slap each man with a piece of leather or with the hand, and the man immediately falls over as though he had been killed. The women hastily depart. Not until after about ten minutes, during which no one in the camp stirs, the men cautiously get up and, deeply bent over and one behind the other, go back to the Great Hut without a sound. They quietly wash off their painting and in an undertone converse very gaily, for, after all, they have not been killed and have not been
[776 825] murdered by the women. Histuku is the spirit of the fur seal, tēpēwa (Arctocephalus australis). At the time of the great struggle in Yājaalāga he moved in the same clumsy way he does today, and many women fell upon him in order to kill him. That is exactly what happens now in this performance (311).

[171] 311. This scene is almost exactly like the Hoštan scene in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 997). BD:262 also speaks of this performance "before the women and children as spectators" /cited in English/.

X575 All the plays listed here, which I experienced personally,
776 do not exhaust the long list. BD mentions many additional ones.
825 For example, BD:170, kiñāgwīaka, the performance of the sea

/1374 cont./

X575 gull kiwāgu (Larus dominicanus); BD:413, tākašaiaka, the per-
776 formance of the loud tákaša (Larus belcheri /a gull/); BD:112,
825 ušōulaiaka, the performance of the whale ašōula (Pseudorca crassidens); finally, BD:262, haiyaiga, BD:277, lamūkaiaka, the performance of the whale, BD:276; laiakākīpa, and BD:247, gōtanna, or "tānūwa's son, one of opening scenes and characters in the keena drama" /cited in English/. BD also mentions a few more performances. In any case, see the explanations of kūpi in BD:212.

X575 In conclusion the so-called kīna-tālauwāia, the death rite,
765 should be specifically mentioned. Now and then it happens that in the course of this men's festival one of the participants or one of their relatives dies. Then one evening the participants assembled in the Great Hut put on an actual tālauwāia for only themselves. The men adorn themselves with the body painting customary for this occasion (p. 1081), depending on the degree of their relationship to the deceased. This is not enough, however. An influential yēkamuš appoints a man, preferably the leader, to paint himself in a special way. In March, 1922, Mašemikens, who was then the leader of the Kina, volunteered to do this himself. The en-
[302] tire body is painted white and over this are painted four black stripes the width of a hand, beginning in the center of each collar bone and in each armpit and extending to the knee. These stripes, but narrower, are continued on the white mask up to its point. The performer dances out of the Great Hut just like any one of the many other "spirits" and moves back and forth several times on the dance course. The people in the camp immediately recognize him /1375/ by his painting. On the evening of a tālauwāia the men remain very quiet and appear to be sad out of sincere sympathy. The Yamana have no proper name for the spirit portrayed in this manner. It would not be correct to call him the kēspix of the deceased person who is being mourned; the whole performance is meant to be reminiscent of his departure and of the sorrowful participation of the survivors.

X575 The Yamana emphatically assured me that there is no por-
776 trayal in the Kina of the spirits of those animals that were already
825 living here as actual animals at the time of the great upheaval.
392

/1375 cont./

X575 This applies to the raven vulture wēxwiyáu, the hawk yo'okalía,
● 776 the gerfalcon kētéla, the common sea gull kiwágu (312), and
825
302

312. BD:170, however, mentioned this spirit.

particularly the many small birds. The specific painting with which every spirit appears adds a certain variety to the course of the Kina festival, but after a time the monotonous dance movements become noticeably boring to the women and also somewhat to the men. The arbitrary decision of the leader and the general mood of the participants determine the number of spirits and the sequence of their appearance on each evening. In view of this, one Kina festival is sometimes very different from another, and this provides a change.

d. End of the Festival

X575 Obviously it is the environment, especially the urgency of matters of subsistence, which forces the participants to terminate a Kina festival. Here, too, the decisive factor is that same play of forces that leads to the termination of a youth initiation (p. 832). The most important of these would be lack of food, flooding of the campsite, insufficient firewood, the illness of a number of persons, or a death.

Even if these unforeseen and yet decisive circumstances were not taken into account, at practically every Kina the attention of the dancers and spectators begins to lag after only a few days. The men must stimulate and renew the interest of all the participants in the affair. If all their efforts fail, boredom is clearly written on the faces of all those present. From the start, the women do not welcome the Kina. For their part they certainly make no effort to prolong it. For a time, however, the men feel quite content in their closed group, especially if there are many of them and the individual members take an active part. Thus they are unaware of the threatening and unavoidable monotony of each passing day. The Yamana are much too restless by nature to /1376/ bear unvarying monotony for very long, and the many spirit appearances certainly do not offer enough

/1381 cont./

X575 have been brought into the present homeland of the Yamana from the northernmost part of the Selk'nam territory demands some consideration. The prevailing form of household management with its division of labor within the family between husband and wife is so fortunate, sensible, and altogether natural that a reversal would obviously endanger the existence of the whole group. Not a single man seriously feels that there is any danger, for instance, of reversion to the original conditions described in the myth; nor would it enter a woman's head to reverse the state of affairs and shake off her truly not very oppressive subordination to the men, as it is vital to the permanence and well-being of the family. The activity of the men during their secret gathering does not even remotely indicate any urgently necessary resistance /1382/ against any kind of threat to their superior position on the part of the women. The women devote themselves to this performance with less seriousness and enthusiasm than do the men, and the attitude of both sexes cannot be compared to that which they display for the čiexaus, for example. After all, this secret festival is not, as elsewhere, put on by a permanently active men's society, but every chap who has experienced the strict čiexaus twice is lawfully admitted to it as often as it is held, first in the role of ulwiala, later as a full-fledged participam. For the men, all the restrictions of personal liberty imposed on the woman during the daily program and spirit appearances mean no more than an amusing farce at the women's expense, which they allow themselves after the long interval between one Kina and the next. Any serious hostility is completely foreign to them.

X575 Since, as has been said, the yčkamuš have a prominent
•7π place in the Kina activities, there is no direct reference to the Supreme Being. This omission during such an elaborate affair is all the more striking since there are many even insignificant details in daily life which the Yamana link up with their Watanineiwa. Not a single one of the many so-called spirits is mentioned in any way outside this men's celebration; even less do they have any influence on the social life or the behavior of the individual, for they are merely those kerpix which were in part portrayed by the women in former times or which belonged to the women who were at that time transformed into animals.

/1393 cont./

X75b

(c):131 gives the following as proof: "His ability to hide objects in his mouth is surprising" /translated from Spanish/. Wieghardt:48 repeats this sentence verbatim, and Spegazzini (a):169 voices the same suspicion.

eal and obvious /1394/ results in which he personally, as well as hose around him, believes. Of course this does not explain how le achieves the desired goal. No one cares about that, but each group is very proud of the superior achievements of its own yékamuš.

b. The Calling of the Medicine Man

X75b

When a yékamuš acts as such, it is not he personally who orks and operates, but one or more of his guardian spirits acts r him to attain the goal he desires. The individual joins these gardian spirits for the first time when he is actually called to his office. A person who has not been won over and advanced by them in his younger years will never become a capable, full-fledged yékamuš. The call is a more or less definite summons r the chosen one by a spirit to devote himself to the work of a ykamuš. The individual and those close to him or a few medicine men decide whether there has been a real call and whether the individual thus chosen must immediately respond to it.

1. Personal Calling

X75b

Our Yamana are very susceptible to stirrings and movements in their psychic life. Everything unusual agitates them very much, and they are extraordinarily easily captured by the many so-called spirits in which they believe. From the time they are children they learn about the method of operation of their yékamuš: they can observe it with their own eyes; they hear it talked about by adults; and they receive many explanations about it from the

/1397 cont./

X956 781 neighbors can see that he is feeling well; the memory of that company of spirits is still alive in him. Without talking about it he gathers up his things, leaves his family, and sets out to go to that experienced yčkamuš whose spirit he saw the night before. He stays with him for some time and is taught by him.

X956 776 781 There is another call that comes in a similar manner. If someone is walking dreamily through the forest, lost in thought and unconscious of himself, so to speak, he may suddenly see a large number of spirits in front of him. These are people of small stature but like human beings with respect to the shape of their bodies. Soon the man collapses and is overcome by a deep sleep. In his dream he now sees those little people much more distictly. He realizes that many spirits are sitting there around a fire, warming themselves and softly talking among themselves. They wave to the kēspiš of the dreamer in friendly fashion, and one of them seems particularly favorably disposed. They all invite him to sit down with them beside the fire; he does so and feels content among them. After some time the man wakes up, and it is only with some effort that he rubs the sleep out of his eyes. The dream is very vivid to him and that kēspiš who was particularly favorably disposed toward him becomes his guardian spirit. The latter will give him his song and that makes him a yčkamuš. The type of spirit referred to is called hēšteka-yčkamuš. They like to stay in old tree trunks. They sometimes move the trunks in such a way that they bend extremely low, turn around, and shake and tremble violently. These hēšteka-yčkamuš live in old decayed tree trunks.

The direct call can also come from actual čōwánni spirits. A man will be roaming along the shore alone, as though sunk in a world of dreams, without definite thoughts. Suddenly he finds himself in a visionary state, known as asikāku; before him swarms a vast number of herring, whales, swordfish, vultures, cormorants, petrels, and other animals. They all speak flatteringly to him, are very gracious, and show great devotion to him; they act like the most friendly human beings. The man is completely out of his mind and does not know what is happening to him. His whole body is numb, and he sinks down and lies there motionless. His kēspiš is communing with those čōwánni spirits and feels an

/1397 cont./

786 787 776b extraordinary happiness. Suddenly the spirits take their leave and disappear. Awakening from his deep dreams, the man staggers home. He hardly knows what is going on around him. He lies down on his bed /1398/ and sinks back into his dream. Again the swarm of animals appears to him; they are all friendly to him and entice his kĕ̄pif. Soon the latter follows them far out to the high seas. One of the spirits is concerned about this kĕ̄pif and treats it with extravagant kindness; he will become the special guardian spirit of this man. All the other spirits are also at the man's disposal as friends and helpers. The immediate neighbors of this man, particularly the yĕkamuĭ, realize from his behavior what is going on. He is left alone and everybody waits patiently until he has shaken off his deep dream.

Sometimes a person is also called by Haŭčéllakīpa, the most powerful spirit in the lōima-yĕkamuĭ. The man chosen sinks into a deep dream quite suddenly. Haŭčéllakīpa appears to his kĕ̄pif in the form of a huge whale which is considerably larger than any representative of this species. The kĕ̄pif understands what this vision means; he can no longer escape and must become a yĕkamuĭ. The old masters are told by their own guardian spirits about every asikíku call. A person on whom such a vision is conferred loses complete control over himself for a few days; he does not eat or drink and stays away from everyone. He spends the time dreaming and his kĕ̄pif often returns to the group of spirits where he feels more and more at home. Soon one of those spirits puts himself at the disposal of this kĕ̄pif as his yefíčel and personal guardian spirit with overwhelming friendliness. The yefíčel finally gives this kĕ̄pif his song, and then the owner of the kĕ̄pif is a yĕkamuĭ. When, lost in the dream, he himself begins singing this song aloud, everyone around him knows what has happened to him. Every man who has received such a direct call goes to an experienced medicine man for a few months to be taught by him. When he returns to his family group, he puts himself at their disposal.

One can become a full-fledged yĕkamuĭ only by way of an asikíku. In one of the subsequent "visions" a special guardian spirit introduces himself to the dreaming person and remains attached to him from then on as his personal helper. He will not

/1398 cont./

X75b 78b 77b

release him; hence the person must operate as a yĕkamuš. If he refuses, the yefăčel, more accurately known as yefăčel-xĕǫla or ǫ́ona-xĕǫla, soon takes severe revenge by letting the person die. Sometimes an alert yĕkamuš can prevent this grave outcome. Nelly Lawrence told me about her call; she did not obey it and on that account ran the risk of extreme mortal danger: "Once I was walking through the forest with my little daughter. Suddenly a strange, loud pǎx sound came from a tree trunk. I looked back and saw in that decayed trunk a cunning ǫ́ona-xĕǫla waving to me in a very friendly way. I did not take it for an asikĭku, but for an ordinary kĕlpif. I dragged myself along as though I were in a coma; I was seized by an uncanny fear, /1399/ and irresistible exhaustion made me drop on my bed. I dreamed, and once again that ǫ́ona-xĕǫla was standing before me. It smiled at me in a very friendly way and showered me with all kinds of gifts, with skins and little baskets, ornamental chains and yĕkuš; it even gave me a special song. After I awoke sluggishly that song kept running through my head for a long time. I was weak and sick for several days; I felt lifeless and deprived of energy. A yĕkamuš kĭpa addressed me: 'How weak you are now! Just a short time ago I saw you vigorous and healthy!' I did not tell her anything definite, but offered her a cup of tea. She took the cup and recoiled: 'Why do you offer me this disgusting animal?' I was taken aback and said: 'But I offered you a cup of tea!' The woman answered excitedly: 'No, that is a disgusting animal!' That ǫ́ona-xĕǫla had not released me since my dream; it followed my every step. Gradually I became convinced that I must practice as a yĕkamuš, for that is what this spirit was trying to make me do. But I could not decide to do it. That yĕkamuškĭpa was enlightened by her spirit as she held the cup of tea in her hands, and immediately she realised what had happened to me. 'You must become a yĕkamuš!' she said to me. This is what she saw: that ǫ́ona-xĕǫla had put a fur cloak around me and it was fastened around my neck with a leather thong. It was this cloak that was weighing me down so that I often fell to the ground! Full of anxiety for me, that woman hastened back to her hut. She soon went to sleep. In her dream she saw how that fur cloak was constricting my throat more and more so that in a few days I would have choked. Early in the morning she began

X156 /1399 cont./
her song, full of anxiety. She called me to come there and
T87 asked: 'Did you have an asikáku there in the woods and since
T76 then do you have the feeling that someone is choking you so
that you sometimes fall down because you can't breathe?' I
said: 'Yes, that's the way it is!' Then I had to get down on the
ground in front of her. With both hands she grasped the fur cloak
and the many gifts that had been showered on me by the atna-
xéola. She energetically threw all of them aside until I was
finally rid of them. She also took the song and the asikáku away
from me. Not until then did I feel relieved, and since then I
have had no further difficulty. To this day I am grateful for the
help of that yékamulkípa; she saved me from imminent death."
The complete designation for a person who, through a vision,
has received his calling to practice as a yékamuł is, accordingly
asikáku-yékamuł.

2. The Medicine-Man School

X156 Although it is true that the yékamuł of the Yamana are not
joined together in a society, nevertheless everyone who is active
in this domain is quite generally known. Occasionally yékamuł
who are on friendly terms with each other even join forces to ef-
fect a cure in common. An aged master, /1400/ of course, sees
to it that a young man of his family is trained for this service,
for a large family group is, after all, dependent on the activity
of a yékamuł and could not forgo it completely without harming
itself. If, at a certain time, several yékamuł feel the necessity
of preparing this or that young candidate for their calling, they
instigate a lóima-yékamuł. The goal of a meeting thus desig-
nated is clearly implied in the term. It is, in other words, an
actual school for prospective medicine men.

As though by chance I learned that the yékamuł now and
then meet in a special hut for the purpose of winning over younger
successors to their calling (327). On my fourth journey I directed

327. At that time I knew nothing about the
Pešere of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 786), which,
in part, serves the same ends as the medicine-
man school of the Yamana.

/1410 cont./

X156 781 what they observe. The results of such tests of strength are, of course, disappointment and displeasure among those whose yékamuš has been defeated, joy and satisfaction among those whose yékamuš has won. The old masters enjoy this very much, for the lōima-yékamuš gives them their best opportunity to prove their ability in front of others. Such feats of strength are relieved by loud singing and the interspersed cries of those present. At a sign from the leader, song and cries suddenly break off. Immediately everyone bends far forward and presses his hands flat against the ground, as though pressing it down. This is meant to hold back the many spirits here in the hut or in the immediate vicinity. Afterwards everyone again assumes the rigid posture and remains silently in his place. If someone leaves the lōima hut, the others seize his lēspix to hold it back so that it will continue to accompany all of them in their singing.

X156 781 •116 The Haučéllakīpa have been mentioned several times. These spirits are regarded as the rulers of the lōima-yékamuš. There are many Haučélla both male /1411/ and female, and they constitute an evil band. Each yékamuš has his Haučéllakīpa, just as he has his own yeščel. When they say that Haučéllakīpa is the mistress and female ruler of the lōima-yékamuš, they mean that spirits of this type often make themselves felt inside the hut, carry on disputes among themselves with great fury, and let all the men feel their deep resentment. They arrive in the Great Hut every day; several Haučélla will even join together and threaten the circle of men with death. In their visions the yékamuš observe all the details, hence the constant fear and alertness of the yékamuš with respect to the Haučélla. Although each of them is at the service of her own yékamuš in everyday life, nevertheless here in the Great Hut she sometimes behaves like a violent foe. No one here is safe from her; she gives vent to her fury and keeps all the men in a state of panic. This is what the people mean when they refer to Haučéllakīpa as the ruler of the lōima-yékamuš. The greatest agitation and most threatening attitude of these spirits are shown when they force everyone present to repeat rapidly hēte, hēte, hēteteteēte in marked rhythm and on the same pitch. It is called the song of Haučéllakīpa. While it is going on, the men get up to offer

756 /1411 cont./
787 resistance; they struggle with these spirits and either subdue
776 them or are overcome by their superior power.

One evening, during the customary singing, Emilia was excited beyond all bounds. She cries: "A Haučéllakīpa has overcome Mašemikens! I shall kill her without delay!" Mašemikens has to squat in front of her on the ground. She sings and with her index finger scratches a line on the ground all around him. Then she yells loudly, clenches her fists, beats them against the ground, wails dreadfully, gnashes her teeth, places her mouth against the ground, and bites it furiously. While the other people apprehensively continue singing, Emilia sits up and makes a few quick motions with her outstretched hand as though she were cutting up some large object on the ground and were distributing the pieces in every direction. She heaps sand over that spot on the ground. Then she repeatedly throws her arms around Mašemikens and holds him tight, embracing him from the shoulders to his knees as though she were obliged to hold him together. Meanwhile she wails loudly. The whole performance means that Emilia has killed the Haučéllakīpa and thus freed Mašemikens. Now the jealousy of Mašemikens' wife comes out, for she cries: "For some time I have noticed that my husband was under the spell of that woman!" Emilia interrupts her: "One can show no mercy toward a Haučéllakīpa! One must quickly murder her, she is always most dangerous! A man to whom Haučéllakīpa attaches herself will not live long; he would soon be destroyed by her!" Angrily she beats her fists in the air and cries: "Now I see that my yefáčel is perturbed because I murdered that Haučéllakīpa; /1412/ it is returning in order to release its blazing anger on us all. I shall tell it frankly that I, alone, was the murderess; then it will leave you unharmed!" As she continues singing, she makes motions as though she were hurling stones with a sling against that spirit. Finally she cries, happily excited: "I see that my yefáčel is retreating once more!" At these words Mašemikens breathes a sigh of relief and confesses: "For a long time I have been completely discouraged, I was quite weak, I felt very oppressed. Now I am free again!" Thereupon the entire circle of participants calms down. Scenes such as these are repeated almost daily. Sometimes the men join forces and

/1428 cont./

X756 and, without replying, he lay down. Although he kept his eyes
787 closed, his wife continued to taunt him. She did not stop until the medicine man was snoring loudly. She steered her canoe toward Kāawaja. Meanwhile the yékamuš slept and called to two Lakūma from Kāluwa [in the west], which was far away. They finally arrived in Kāawaja, immediately seized the canoe, and lifted up the bow. Full of fear, the woman called to her husband, who was still sleeping: "Get up and help me in this danger; after all, you are a yékamuš!" Very calmly he replied: "Try to get along by yourself. You have often told me that I cannot do anything!" She begged: "I entreat you to help me, otherwise the Lakūma will kill me!" After his wife had trembled for a long time, he sat up, but he still did not lift a hand. The woman was in an agony of fear. Finally he told her: "Paint both Lakūma with white pigment!" She replied: "Impossible, /1429/ I am unable to do that!" So he said: "Then give me the pigment!" With it he approached the bow, leaned over, and painted both Lakūma; one was on the right, the other on the left side. The Lakūma did not offer any resistance. Then the yékamuš got up, stretched out both arms, and laughed hī hī... The two Lakūma slowly let the boat down and dived. Instantly they sent the canoe favorable weather and it soon reached its destination. The woman was completely convinced and ruefully confessed to her husband: "Hitherto I have made fun of you and regarded you very contemptuously; now I know that you are truly a competent yékamuš!"

α. The Yefacel

X756 It is well known that every Yamana has a guardian spirit
•776 known as yefačel. Whereas ordinary people act little or not at
787 all on this belief, every yékamuš maintains the most intimate connections with his yefačel. Even in BD:661 this fact is confirmed: "yīpačīl, a being of more than human power and sagacity whom the yékamuš claimed as their inspiring power and instructor" /cited in English/.

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The medicine man treats the yefǎčel somewhat like his child. He calls it to him with tender singing and discusses things with it quite intimately. He gives it all kinds of duties which it fulfills without opposition. The kēpiǰ of the yēkamuǐ associates with the yefǎčel in all kinds of things, just like human beings. They see each other in visions and consult with one another. As a matter of fact, it is the yefǎčel that carries out the work of the medicine man. While it acts by itself far away, he remains completely motionless, stretched out on his pallet, waiting until it has fulfilled the duty given it (338). If it stays

> 338. Bridges (1):18 also mentioned this state of affairs: "When under the influence of the yapachel they pretended to be insensible to outward things, the burning of the fire and the presence of their friends. They at such times acted as though really possessed" /cited in English/.

near by, it continues the song begun by the yēkamuǐ, that is, it sings through him. The yēkamuǐ calls his guardian spirit by means of the song that the yefǎčel gave him long ago when he received the call to this office (pp. 1318, 1330). This singing is called uǎina yefǎčel and aǎina lōima. If in an exceptional case the yefǎčel does not appear, the yēkamuǐ feels abandoned and disappointed. Loudly enough so that those around him can hear, he complains: "Where is my yefǎčel today? It probably stayed behind in the woods and is keeping me waiting here. My song is not successful now. I shall have to repeat it later!" The yefǎčel converse among themselves and with the yēkamuǐ in a special language. To ordinary people this sounds like a low, resonant tx̄, tx̄, but in it are hidden words that are intelligible to all yēkamuǐ and yefǎčel. /1430/ The yēkamuǐ is content in the company of his yefǎčel. In order to keep it with him now and then, he presses both hands hard against his chest or puts them against his throat. On his own initiative the yefǎčel will report to his yēkamuǐ various things which he ought to know. This guardian spirit is the active force in the practice of the yēkamuǐ and, always at his disposal, is his most intimate companion throughout his life.

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β. The Hauccella

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Besides a yefǎčel, the medicine man is supported by a Hauccéllakipa. Although the two do not often meet, the Hauccélla is incomparably mightier than the yefǎčel. The origin of these spirits, which are both male and female, has already been described (p. 1119). To supplement it, here is what Maĕemikess told me in August, 1923. Back in the time when the general upheaval took place, a few women hastened out of the Kina hut and hid on the Wollaston Islands. There they became Hauccéllakipa and entered the earth. They are hostile to human beings. Each of them succeeded in pulling a man down into the interior of the earth where he became a Hauccélla. All of them are bent upon ensnaring our men and women with their flirtations. It is very bad that sometimes [male] Hauccélla even assault our men and Hauccéllakipa do the same to our women (339).

[838]

339. With these words homosexual intercourse is clearly admitted, but only as a rare transgression by the bad spirits mentioned.

Anyone who is ensnared by these spirits is lost, unless he is saved in time by a yékamuŝ, but this is not genuine love. For example, if I should be going to a brook, lost in thought, an enchantingly beautiful woman may suddenly appear before me, enticing *me with flattery and breaking down my resistance. This is a* Hauccéllakipa. Thereafter I cannot get rid of this image; it is constantly before my [mind's] eye, and I am caught by the spell of love. Wherever I go, wherever I sit and work, this image hovers before me and follows me everywhere. Months go by and still the image of that woman overpowers me. While all this is going on within the man, he finally comes to his senses and says: "Every move I make is difficult for me, I feel unwell, my strength has long since failed me. But I cannot part from that woman. I am so close to her as though we were married. I am so filled with this woman and so dominated by her, it is as though an illness had penetrated my body. She has

/1430 cont./

long since subdued me, I must die!" That is the way such a man will talk. Sure enough, Hauč̌éllakipa draws him down to her under the earth; his kilpif remains married to her forever and his earthly body dies. In the same way a [male] Hauč̌éllа bewitches a Yamana woman, until she, too, falls completely into his power. A yékamuf realizes perfectly what is happening between one of our people and /1431/ the Hauč̌éllа. He must free a person in time from the power of those evil earth spirits or the person will surely die.

Malemikem added the following to the above description: As a young man I traveled with my cousin south through the Molinare Channel. He was involved with a Hauč̌éllа without admitting it to himself. He had not eaten anything for several days. Although I offered him something to eat several times, he did not take anything. He always replied: "I have no desire to eat! I don't know what is happening to me!" We passed a place where we found many birds' eggs. My cousin did not eat anything. As we traveled on I suddenly realized: my cousin is under the spell of a Hauč̌éllа! After we had traveled on for some time, he leaped up in the forward part of the canoe and cried apprehensively: "A threatening storm is coming up!" I replied: "Not at all! We are having wonderful, calm weather!" He was completely out of his mind. When we reached Arákuwělla, my cousin ordered: "Light a big fire! She is approaching and bringing many axiya [round crab] with her." I did as he asked, and soon he again ordered: "Make the fire bigger. She is considerably vexed by the cold!" I was speechless. Then my cousin cried: "Now she is here and is seizing me!" Instantly I picked up a stick and beat the air all around my cousin. Gradually he calmed down; we lay down and went to sleep. Since my cousin was feeling better the next morning, we rowed to Ilakčteyiška. Having arrived there, we landed. Full of despair he said to me: "Let me warn you! -- I must soon die." In my anxiety I again seized a stick and beat the Hauč̌éllakipa close beside my cousin. She, however, escaped under the hut wall and out into the open. My cousin immediately hurried after her and cried longingly: "My wife is running away!" After he had gone a few steps he collapsed and was dead.

/1431 cont./

X756 •776 787

In general the interior of the earth is designated as the regular abode of the Haučélla. These spirits live together there in an extremely spacious hut. In his vision a yékamuš can more or less clearly observe what everyone is doing there. Maléemikem assured me: "If a yékamuš suddenly falls down, collapses as though drunk, and lies there motionless, that is when he sees quite clearly what is going on in the spacious hut of the Haučélla." The lóima hut is called "house of Haučélla," because these spirits give the men more trouble there than elsewhere. Individual Haučélla like to inhabit the so-called "dangerous places" which every Yamana anxiously avoids (p. 1200). Calderon said: "If a man alone inadvertently enters such an area, he suddenly becomes weak, sits down exhausted, and falls asleep. In his dream he sees himself lying beside a Haučéllakípa who fondles him and has illicit intercourse with him. Since he feels utterly weak, he cannot defend himself and must let her have her way. After he /1432/ wakes up, he recalls but faintly what he experienced in his dream, and it frightens him to think that he has lain in the embrace of the Haučélla. His own weakness forces him to lie down again, and he is filled with dreamy bliss. Haučéllakípa brings all this about because she wants to have sexual intercourse with him. Such a state lasts for many weeks, until a competent yékamuš frees the helpless man. The yékamuš sees what a Haučélla does to every man whom she has charmed into her embrace. With his singing the yékamuš calls together the čówánni spirits, who must release such a man from the spell of that woman. A bitter struggle commences, which the yékamuš watches in his dream. The spirits seize the man [his késpix] and pull him away; he is bleeding and his entrails hang out. Haučélla fights for him against the spirits and wards them off. But finally the many čówánni spirits triumph, free the man from the spell of the Haučélla, and bring him back on earth. He is now forever free of that evil woman and slowly recovers from his weakness. The čówánni spirits are the helpers of the yékamuš. They behave like human beings; they see and know everything. He associates with them as with his own kind and gives them instructions which they carry out according to his wishes. The yékamuš is completely free to use these spirits, but he helps only persons

/1432 cont./

*756 he wants to help. He realizes that many other Yamana are under
•776 the spell of the Hapčélla, but he does not bother about them."
787 As an exception, a yékamuč will have a female yeščel as his guardian spirit. It is like his daughter, and he may not be guilty of improper behavior toward her. If a yékamuč should force his [female] yeščel to make love, his Hapčéllakipa will grow jealous, come to him in a dream, give herself to him, and make him believe he is embracing the yeščel. The yékamuč will be overjoyed, for he does not know that he is being deceived by his Hapčéllakipa. Slowly he grows weaker, his condition grows constantly worse, and finally, when he is dying, he comes altogether under the power of Hapčéllakipa. Such a yékamuč must, from the start, be on his guard toward his female yeščel. Again it becomes evident that all the Hapčélla spirits are unfriendly and spiteful, indeed, hostile toward ordinary people as well as toward the yékamuč.

Children may result from the union of a Yamana with a Hapčélla spirit. "They are always full-fledged Hapčélla; they remain with the Hapčélla in the earth, and now and then let a person feel their dislike for him. The Hapčélla spirits are very numerous. A yékamuč is well acquainted with each of them."

*756 Although even the yékamuč must be on his guard against a
776 Hapčéllakipa, she is a reliable helper for a particularly difficult
787 act. If he wants to do away with an enemy quickly, he sends his
755 Hapčéllakipa against him. She enters his body, which swells up enormously, and the end soon comes. For some people it is a pleasure to follow the enticements /1433/ of Hapčéllakipa into the earth and to remain with her (p.1041). I was given the following explanation of this. "If someone dies at the instigation of a Hapčélla spirit, his késpif goes on living among the Hapčélla, but he himself does not turn into a Hapčélla and does not harm anyone. The yékamuč must see to it that no Yamana lets himself be ensnared by the Hapčélla or destroyed by them." If a person is under the spell of a Hapčélla spirit, the yékamuč will invite several men and have them form a closed circle around the sick person. He himself holds the evilspirit back for a time within this circle, so that the spirit grows weak. After that the yékamuč angrily bites the ground and wounds the Hapčélla spirit fatally;

/1433 cont./

the sick person is then relieved. It may happen that a malevolent medicine man is accompanied by his Hagʼdilakiga as he walks through the camp. If the two pass an unsuspecting child, the will take its ldigif away. Quickly an alert yihamuf must match the kidnapped ldigis from the Hagʼdilakiga and give it back to the child. He calls the child to him, rubs his open hands in a gently stroking motion up and down along the child's body several times, makes retching motions and coughs violently. Finally he kneads the child's body and announces: "Now you have your ldigif back!"

I see a certain consistency in the fact that the Tamana associate the fire illness with these spirits. They say: "Before the general upheaval in Yiqaalga, there was not a single sick person, but afterward one man suddenly felt pareinent violent pains. He was ill and could not get up. Excitedly many men assembled and considered how this illness could have come about. After searching for a long time they discovered that the disease came from that malevolent woman who at that time escaped and fled to the south where she entered the earth (340). The men

340. In one instance it was said that "a woman tried to see whether she could transform herself and become a Haurella" (p. 1120); another time it was said that "a few women on the Wollaston Islands turned into Haurella and entered the earth" (p. 1360). The difference in the number of persons is unimportant, the significant thing is the agreement concerning the act described.

called this dangerous woman Hagʼdilakiga. Then they considered how they could protect themselves against being ill, and they requested the yihamuf to offer their help to all Tamana." This account is a good explanation of the fire activity of the medicine men.

clubs, fists, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did not exist, and the *Tahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups appear to have been normally tranquil, but violence and bloodshed were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually intervened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast. Bridges found 20 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1904—an annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that of the United States. Many killings occurred for the purpose of putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human sacrifice was unknown; so too was premeditated suicide.

The evidence that the *Tahgan* practiced no form of cannibalism—gastronomic, funeral, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of devouring human flesh.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—The *Tahgan* resented and avenged exploitative trespass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part thereof by non-*Tahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gunlode, 1897, pp. 904-905) or, according to Koppers (1929 b, p. 178), of any one of the numerous local groups, by nonmembers. Since these local groups seemingly were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Tahgan* land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting ground system. There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast on a stranded whale, and to gather firewood and suitable canoe bark, which were found only in certain parts of the *Tahgan* territory. Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adornments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things. The ownership of certain other things—food, bait, canoe—appears to have been vested in the biological family.

Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor, donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 head band and had a special painted staff. To each candidate were assigned sponsors, one or two men and a woman to the boy, one or two women and a man to the girl.

The candidates were subjected to certain endurance restrictions: little sleep, food, and drink, hard work, a daily bath in cold sea water, cross-legged posture during much of the time. They had to drink through a hollow bird bone. The boys were given a sort of temporary tattoo. Much vocational instruction was given, and particularly an elaborate moral instruction in the native code, with very concrete counsels on the obligations of altruistic behavior, respect for the aged, peaceableness, industry, not spreading scandals or carrying tales, and so forth. This moral instruction was given by the mentor, sponsors, and other elders, as the will of Wataxinéwa, the Supreme Being, who saw everything and who would punish delinquents with shortened life and with the death of their children. Yetáita also, the chief evil spirit, would harm them if they did wrong.

The ritual consisted otherwise mostly of dances and of songs peculiar to it. Toward the end, the sponsors gave each candidate a basket, a bird-bone drinking tube, and a scratching-stick. The rite ended with a mock battle between the men and women, and with a feast.

Only those who had gone through the čiźaua rite were considered full-fledged members of the tribe, and were told the whole mythological complex of the Yoálux brothers and their sister. And only twice-initiated boys could take part in the kina rite (cf. infra under Religion), which was often held just after the čiźaua.

96 **Death and burial.**—Mourning was expressed by fasting, body painting, making of the breast with sharp stones, and a special mourning dirge accompanied by a mourning speech. Angry complaints were directed to Wataxinéwa for letting the person die. A general mourning rite in which the men and women painted themselves, wept, hurled complaints at Wataxinéwa, and engaged in a mock battle, the men with clubs and the women with paddles, was also held.

The more common form of disposal of the body, up until recent times, was cremation—lest foxes, rats, or dogs should eat the body, so the natives said. The dead person's personal property, or some of it, was burned with the body. In some cases, especially of children, the body was buried in a kitchen-midden. The burial spot was avoided as a camping place, for several years where the deceased was an adult. The name of the dead was never spoken.

915 **Future life.**—The kushpik (kispix), or soul, flew east, but exactly whither was not known. Nor was it known what its fate was, happy or unhappy, nor whether such fate was at all dependent on moral behavior on earth.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

526 The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically managed by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

538 **Music.**—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely
533 simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the čiéxaus and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to
[534] von Hornbostel (1936). There were no musical instruments at all. Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

535 **Dances.**—Apart from the dances carried out during the chiéxaus and kina rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

771 Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men.
[769] But no organised ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and focal in shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each
[788] *Yahgan* had a yefáčel, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The kina rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

• 776 **Theism.**—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Wataninéwa or Wataninśiwa, who was also called by other

Z: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

776 names meaning "The Powerful One," "The Highest One," and especially by the name of "My Father." He was not the maker or creator, but rather the master and ruler. He was the owner and giver of animals and plant food. It was he who gave life to human beings, and who took it away. He was fundamentally good and benevolent. He lived above in the heavens. He had no body nor had he wife or children. He was distinctly and eminently set off against and above all other spirits, good and bad, and in this sense stood as it were alone. He did not enter into the tribal folklore and mythology. He saw what human beings did, and upon those who broke the precepts of the *Yahgan* socio-moral code, which represented his will, he inflicted punishment in the way of early death, and often the death of their children.

788 The central role of Watauinéwa in the initiation rites has previously been mentioned. Apart, however, from these rites, Watauinéwa was prayed to a great deal by the individual *Yahgan*. These prayers were mostly petitions to him for food (as the owner of the food animals and plants), for cure and health, and for protection from the elements, as well as expressions of thankfulness. A good many of them were more or less traditionally crystallized formulae, of a few words each, but prayer was likewise expressed in free wording. A quite distinctive feature of *Yahgan* communication with the Supreme Being was the frequency of complaint expressions and charges directed toward him on the occasion of sickness, bad weather, or other evil fortune, and particularly on the occasion of deaths. Gusinde and Koppers collected over 60 of these various kinds of prayer formulas. Some of them are in somewhat archaic language.

771 In view of these archaisms in the complex, of the many distinctly 777 native features (e. g., master, owner, not creator or maker), of the absence of all characteristically European or Christian conceptions, and of the express and emphatic statements by the natives whose memories or whose knowledge from their elders reached back to pre-missionary days, there can be no reasonable question but that *Yahgan* theism is aboriginal, and not the result of missionary influence. It seems equally clear that it was central in the religious outlook of the *Yahgan* and that it entered deeply and dynamically in their thoughts, emotional life, and personal behavior.

756 **Shamanism.**—A person became a medicine man (yékamush) 757 through an inner call manifested to him in dreams and visions. The hésháteka-yékamush, dwarfish spirits, appeared to him; a female spirit, a Hauéllakípa, also played an important part in shamanism, as the shaman's helper. Through the dreams and visions the future medicine man learned which of the small spirits was to be his yefáél, or particular guardian spirit. From this spirit he also received a song.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

756 He was trained in his professional duties by an older shaman. There was also held a shamans' institute and feast, which could last several months, to condition and school young candidates. During it, the candidates were secluded, and were required to fast, to sing much, to maintain a certain posture, to go with little sleep, and to drink water only through a hollow bird bone; and were taught healing techniques, tricks of the trade, and so forth. Women were barred from this shamans' school. Shamans were not banded into an organized society.

A full-fledged shaman, besides getting help from his special guard-
[768] ian spirit, was also in close touch with the spirit of a deceased shaman. The shaman's relations were with the world of lesser spirits, not with the Supreme Being, Watauinéwa; and the latter did not figure in the shamans' school.

The shaman's chief function was that of curing the sick, but he also influenced weather, helped in hunting, prognosticated, and so forth.
755 The familiar procedures of massage, friction, and anointing, with the extraction of some object supposed to be the immediate cause of the disease, were used in curing. Such objects were often believed to have been sent by malevolent shamans from whose power the good shaman endeavored to deliver the victim. An evil shaman could steal and keep in his possession the soul of a victim, and the victim would die unless his soul were freed by another shaman. It was also the function of
[769] the shaman to assign to each infant as soon after birth as possible its own yefáčel, a male one to the male infant and a female one to the female. It was the primary and most important duty of the yefáčel to protect its charge against sickness and bodily harm and against dangers of all kind.

575 Kina rite.—This *Yahgan* institution, with its numerous analogies to the yinchihaus of the *Alacaluf* (p. 76) and with the klóketen of the *Ona* (p. 120), could have been properly discussed under Social Culture because it had primarily a social function. But it is treated here because it also had important religious or pseudo-religious features and was largely under the direction of the shamans. In fact only a shaman could be the leader of the kina rite. Back of the kina rite was a long myth of an earlier time when the women held mastery of the tribe and lorded it over the men. To maintain their supremacy the women used masks to impersonate spirits and to hoodwink the men. Finally, one man discovered the deception, told the other men, and overthrew the women, killing all females except one very young child. In the kina rite only men who had passed twice through the čifzaus rite could take part. Women were kept away from the large conical tent. The men secretly painted themselves and wore conical or conoidal masks (pl. 23, *d*) of bark or sealskin to impersonate a very great number

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

575 of spirits (pl. 33, *a*). So decked out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire penalties if they did not remain submissive to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

793 Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the *Yahgan* have been presented by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1139–1277), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1937, pp. 1278–1294). Perhaps the most important single phase of the mythology is the Yoálox cycle. The elder of the two Yoálox brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the cormorant, the otter, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the medicine man. The long story of the earlier matriarchate was briefly summarized supra under Kina rite with which it was associated, just as the Yoálox cycle was more or less associated with the čiéxaus. The chief folklore beings believed in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, the Lakima water spirits, and the Hánoush giants.

LORE AND LEARNING

171 In general, *Yahgan* technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and coiled basketry, gives little indication of inventive strivings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple *Yahgan* harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect *Yahgan* culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern *Athabaskan* and northern *Algonquians* of sub-Arctic America.

803 There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no
804 means of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or,
811 so far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the inclined stick to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Nothofagus betuloides* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 16 feet (5 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a balloonlike cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

805 The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our own, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

In figs. 92 and 93 are illustrated some of the masks used by the Yahgan. The material is either bark (fig. 92) or seal-hide (fig. 93), cut to pattern and sewed together with whalebone and gut respectively. There is usually a small opening at the top for ventilation. As Yahgan paints were not waterproof, a single mask could be adorned to represent many characters by the simple expedient of washing and repainting it. 535

As to the characters represented by the Yahgan, in fig. 92, *a*, is the rainbow, distinguished by broad red, white, and black bands; *b* has alternate red and white stripes, and it represents a smelt-like fish. In fig. 93, *a*, is a model of the *kalipanko* ghost mask, while *b* represents the sea-lion. The wearers of these masks painted their bodies and limbs with similar decorative patterns. 535 D2

a *b*

FIG. 93.—Model Yahgan dance masks. Height of *b*, 10 in. (14/2862)

[102]

RELIGION

Although it has been repeatedly stated on excellent authority that the Yahgan had no real religion, I think it definitely established that they had religious beliefs and practices. 771

The Yahgan world was peopled by innumerable unseen beings: ghosts (*kashpig*) of departed shamans, spirits of the sea, the rocks, and the trees. These people, for the greater part, were malicious by nature, resentful of intrusion on their privacy, and, when seen by man, terrifying in aspect. Solitary travelers might suddenly find themselves facing a fierce spirit across the light of his camp-fire, 776

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

and might be seized and done to death. However, the shaman usually had power over demons of this type and could give protection.

Apart from and above these lesser spirits was the great *Wolusiaxus*, described by Koppers (1925). This supreme being, though not concerned with creation, was the master of all. He sent the great flood in days long past, he causes death, he controls the game and fish supply, he is perfect and almighty. To him prayers were offered in sickness, grief, and thanksgiving, for this was not an aloof god normally forgetful of the affairs of mankind. Rather he was a supreme dispenser of justice, and he always punished the wicked.

The Shaman

Among the Yahgan both medicine-men and medicine-women existed and played an important part in the community. Supernatural powers were attained by certain individuals thought to have command over a natural spirit and the ghosts of departed witch-doctors. Thus dowered they could either kill or cure the individual and could affect the well-being of the community by controlling the weather or the food supply.

Disease, as among many primitive folk, they accredited to causes no less concrete than wounds. Hence the shaman must work his cure by removing some foreign object lodged in the body of the patient through accident or malice. Usually the doctor, after much massage, manipulation, and incantation, would triumphantly produce a stone or some other object, which he claimed to have extracted from the sufferer. The cures actually wrought can be attributed to the often beneficial results of the massage and to the healing power of suggestion.

According to Koppers (1925), the shaman assumed his function as the result of a "call" coming to either a man or a woman. This inner vocation took the form of a dream in which friendly relations were established with natural spirits and with the ghosts of dead shamans. After several such dreams a personal guardian spirit would be established. To the men a sort of shaman's school was open, but women were barred from this because they had not passed the men's final initiation. During the period of this school dreams were encouraged by rigorous training, much practice was given in the necessary sleight-of-hand tricks, and the proper chants were memorized. The curious spectacle of a man walking on hot

/1303 cont./

825 ground, it is an omen of murder and a person from the immediate
781 vicinity will be the victim. If someone approaches a small group of men or lands near a few huts and notices a sîta circling around the huts during the day, he recognizes this as a definite warning that these people are hostile to him and have evil intentions, are perhaps even planning to murder him. Hence he quietly slips away that very night and goes far enough so that none of the men can follow him. If in the next few days a horned owl should again appear in his vicinity or circle around him, he concludes that the men are on his trail. Without delay he hurries off to his own home. He is safe in the circle of his relatives.

825 The Yamana must show due respect for the small finch
824 hêpul (Taenioptera pyrope). Anyone who annoys it and throws stones at it must be prepared for very bad weather. Out of vengefulness and an injured sense of honor, it causes bad storms and heavy rains.

825 A person who hears the cry of the gray night heron ûwux
787 (Nycticorax obscurus), rejoices, for this bird tells him that a canoe with friendly visitors will soon come. They usually arrive the very next day and from exactly the same direction that the call of this heron came from or the direction from which the bird flew when it came. Even today the ûwux is venerated everywhere.

825 The large petrels, especially the albatross, which rise up
821 over the waves far out on the high seas and describe large circles in the air, announce to the people that they must be prepared for rough seas and foul weather.

825 /1304/ It is a universal custom for a hunter who has bagged
•777 a Molinas goose îkuî (Chloephaga hybrida /help goose/) to break both its legs immediately; otherwise he will have no future luck at hunting. If the hunter has a newborn child at home, he may not break the legs of this goose with his own hands if he wishes to keep his child from harm (p.505).

825 A solitary sea duck, dêfka (Tachyeres patachonicus), fly-
788 ing over a hut fills all the inmates with fear and trembling. They are afraid that this dêfka will take with it the kêspif of the children present. They quickly throw large pieces of skin over each baby and cover them well. Others will repeatedly stretch their arms out in front of them, palms forward, at the same time

/1311 cont./

There is a mountain massif in the west, whose highest peaks suggest the figure of a hunter carrying two wild geese on his back and accompanied on either side by a dog. This man turned to stone there, it is no longer known why, but anyone traveling near there is supposed to remain quiet. Spencer:82 writes: "Ken told me story of boiling lake high up on Hoste Island behind the tall snow peak on Dumas Peninsula seen from Rio Douglas. Too hot to hold hand in and very dangerous to go near" /cited in English/. It is not generally known that there are warm springs here and there in the Cape Horn Archipelago. Not far from Punta Remolino, at a considerable altitude, I myself visited a mineral spring. The following statement by Spencer:82 is vague: "There is a special cove on Tekenika Bay with a cave in which lives a dangerous spirit. No Yahgan dare stay there at night. George told Ken, who had done so, that he was lucky to have got out alive. Strange noises are always to be heard there at night time" /cited in English/. In the Yamana language there are several expressions which correspond exactly to our terms "lucky devil" and "unlucky fellow." According to Bridges (k):240, BD:42 gives, for example, isauwâlux, "successful in hunting" /cited in English/, and the combinations that can be formed with it. The superstitious beliefs of the Yamana show their tendency to be afraid and their active imaginations. /Fig. 95 appears here./

/1312/ E. The Kina Celebration

The great significance of the youth initiation for the permanence of the social order of our Fuegians is outwardly expressed by the fact that the young people of both sexes are, without exception, obliged to take part in it on two occasions. By and large, the kina is obviously a continuance of parental rearing beyond the narrow confines of the family hut, and it has the special goal of making young people useful members of society. The definiteness of this goal is convincingly proved by the fact that, upon the conclusion of their initiation, the individual candidates enter adulthood and have the right to marry and found a family (p-[illegible]). Later on, the knowledge that they have obtained

/1279 cont./

"To call a person Cushpij was a great insult" /cited in English/. In (e):332 and (h):237 it is said: "'Cashpik' is a name which they also gave people who were ridiculous or who had a bad character, and this was a great insult." Likewise Hyades (g):255.

Therefore, kēlpix is a general concept, not the proper name of a definite individual person (239).

239. Despard (h):717 made this mistake: "Fuegians have a dread of a being called 'Cushpeer,' and are loth to hear his name mentioned. He seems to be a very lean man. When met with, he makes doleful cries..." /cited in English/. In this connection see the detailed description of this generic term above, p. 1638.

If the Yamana extend the meaning of the word kēlpix he includes those strange spirit beings which arise from his imagination and fancy, his belief and his dreams, and which do not truly live, as do Wanaginēga and the human souls separated from the body. Each of the various groups forms its own peculiar society. In this connection the Yamana also extends the designation kēlpix to include a rare individual case which deviates from the human norm. [illegible] refers to this with the word fikēlpigōna, "to say a person is cushpik [kēlpix] or like one, to accuse a person of acting the part of a cushpik, i.e., of speaking or acting without any regard to truth or propriety" /cited in English/. Actual consciousness, presence of mind, personal alertness are also called kēlpix, that is, the definite kēlpix which lives in the human being, and there is then no sharp distinction between this condition and the human soul. An unusual notion or impulse or even coincidence also belongs in this category. Earlier, on page [illegible], I related an unimportant incident. The daughter of old Pedro Halkomlem, who was about seven years old, following a

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776 whim, went walking along the shore with some other girls from
778 Puerto Mejillones and traveled far from the parental hut. Darkness overtook them at Puerto Piedra and they stayed there. Full of anxiety, the parents set out to look for the children, found them, and brought them back to camp early in the morning. No one scolded the children; not even their own parents reproached them. That same night the wife of old Thomas, who had been ill for a long time, died. Everyone explained the behavior of the children by saying: "The kēlpix of that woman prompted the children to go so far away before nightfall. They are not to be blamed." That is why no one thought of /1280/ punishing the children. As has been described, the adults who take part in the singing in the čīexaw hut (p.796) regard it as natural to consider heightened emotion and inner agitation as expressions of the kēlpix, in short, as kēlpix.

[756] This fact is important in understanding the influence of the yēkamuš. Even the power by means of which a yēkamuš operates, either on the spot or at a great distance, is called his kēlpix.

Finally, the action of the wild forces of nature is sometimes pointed out as the expression of malevolent kēlpix. This has given rise to expressions such as are used, for example, by Krickeberg:322: "The Fuegian animates the majestic natural surroundings of his homeland with demons." In this connection Fitz-Roy's (a):179 partially correct conjecture is also pertinent: "The fact of their believing that the evil spirit torments them in this world, if they do wrong, by storms, hail, snow, etc., is one reason why I am inclined to think that they have no thought of a future retribution" /cited in English/ (240).

240. This alone is enough to refute what Darwin (f):I, 123 reported: "With justifiable pride Jemmy Button stoutly maintained that in his country there is no devil." Roskoff:51 is more accurate in his judgment: "Ideas of the sun as a mighty creature endowed with will power, upon which man feels dependent, are

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implicit in what Missionary Phillips relates. One sultry day when he complained to a young Fuegian about the heat, the latter cried, alarmed: 'Do not say the sun to hot, immediately it will hide and the wind will blow cold.'"

Thus the conception of kéipix is very broad and contains many things which cannot be summed up in a terse formula. Hyades (q):255 discussed this word as "an intranslatable term referring to fantastic beings who live in deserted caves in the middle of dense forests" /translated from French/. The idea of kéipix must not be so limited, however, as will be adequately shown in the following discussion.

1. Cannibals

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From the start it does not seem strange that the Yamana, too, in one way or another, believe in cannibals. This belief may have originated in their apprehensiveness and fear of the Halakwulup (p. 205 /untranslated/) who are directly adjacent to the western group. A particular incident may have brought this about in the first place. One thing is certain, that almost all the Yamana designate a group within the Halakwulup tribe, about which nothing is definitely known, as the asfaan, which is the same as calling them cannibals. Sometimes they include all the Halakwulup in this belief. There are others among the Yamana who include only the group living farther north somewhere near Smith Channel, some of whom it is believed now and then appear in Beagle Channel. Occasionally someone will even suspect the western Yamana, the so-called Inanumpala, of practicing this habit (241). It is said: These asfaan have long canoes

241. Bridges (VSA.XI, 259;1894) had already learned: "These natives say there is a tribe speaking their language, but with a peculiar accent, they call them 'Ishawa,' who are cannibals, but they

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Emilia, the young Halakwulup girl Julia as she sits beside her sponsor Luisa who was the wife of Walter, and finally, beside Walter, his own son Walter II (Fig. 93).

Every adult is bound by the general and strict Tolowa rule to be as quiet as possible. /Fig. 93 appears here./ Loud conversation is not at all tolerated, and all communication is carried on in a muted whisper. No one may move in such a way that he disturbs others. Everyone conducts himself in all his actions as inconspicuously as possible. The older people,

Fig. 93. Seating Arrangement at the Youth Initiation, 1932.

naturally, sit very quietly. Younger men who have not developed as much self-control must sometimes force themselves not to offend against the rule for general quiet. We shall speak more of this in connection with the daily program.

This brief reference was necessary here, since the individual participants gather beforehand in the Great Hut and prepare themselves for the actual start of the rite by prolonged meditation. One after another they approach the Tolowa but very quietly and inconspicuously. It is not customary for two or three to go together and talk on the way. Everyone goes the short distance by himself, without accompaniment, and begins, even outside, to shake off all distraction. He pulls gently into the entrance, looks around briefly, and chooses a convenient place which he will occupy the entire time. /946/ He squats down, places his few unguents behind him or sticks them into the hut framework above his back, and gives himself up to his thoughts in deepest silence. It does not

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manner whether he is occupied only with himself for two or five hours before the start of the ceremony, for he does not miss anything. Even during the final week on the Great Hut one can observe the deep seriousness and thoughtfulness written on the faces of the participants who do not converse with one another or act distracted. They feel, and they do not conceal their innermost feelings, that something important is imminent and they must also prepare themselves spiritually. Each participant regards the Sdzong rite as an extraordinary personal experience.

On March 3, 1932, Sweinge announced shortly before noon that the ceremony would begin in the evening. A few older persons who had put the finishing touches on the Great Hut simply remained seated there and gave themselves up to their thoughts. Around two o'clock in the afternoon their number had increased to seven. Kuppen (x)-60 stopped in for a few minutes at this time and quietly asked one of those present why they had come so early since the celebration was not beginning until toward evening. The answer he received was: "Certainly, but one can't begin such a beautiful festival just like that; one has to be in the mood, and we are here to prepare ourselves for that!" I observed the same conduct two years before. The older people wish above all to prepare themselves spiritually for this celebration by several hours of concentration.

The younger is always among the first arrivals; the leader, too, comes in good time. Their mood has a decisive influence on the other people. Meanwhile everyone makes his forehead decoration. This is nothing more than a piece of skin, two to four fingers wide and about 30 centimeters long. It is cut out of the peritoneum of the small siliaman, *Sikiu* (*Dusyeles melanophrys*), or of the male Molina goose, *Bisu* (*Chloephaga hybrida*). The large feathers are plucked out and the down feathers fluffed up somewhat so that they appear abundant. On either end of this strip of skin (or Tsuzuna) have a short tassel. Every participant wears this headgear as a headband. If he leaves the Great Hut, he must take it off. Sometimes this strip of skin is given a triangular shape, so that a small point appears in the middle of the forehead, but it is not nearly as wide as the *sdzai* of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 318).

/922 cont./

of meat in both fists and tore off great hunks with her teeth, hastily swallowing them. The other pieces that she tore off were thrown into the fire. She made a slight motion with her head and Gertie and Emilia stepped in front of her. Holding the larger piece of meat between her teeth, she let both of them tear off a scrap with their own teeth. Very much stirred, all three danced through the čičnaga hut, showing the pieces of meat held between their teeth. With a fixed gaze they stared in the direction in which they moved. Their frantic behavior continued until, tired out, they sought their places. The Yamana explain such an exhibition by saying that a great enthusiasm has suddenly filled the person, that "his kēpil seizes him!"

It is not a fixed rule but it is customary to conclude the evening singing and dancing almost always with the ūper song, the so-called song of the yōkamul. It is begun by some person who gets up and strides through the entire room dancing. At the same time he holds his dance staff horizontally in front of him, a sign that he is asking for something. He is given pieces of meat, berries, or fungi, which he joyfully accepts, dances contentedly through the hut, and gives some of these things to other persons. He keeps a small portion for himself and eats it, as do the others, with visible satisfaction. All the people present accompany the song with a forward, rolling motion of the right arm alone, or they hold the dance staff horizontally with both hands and roll it forward and upward. The singing and body movements increase until they become lively, for with this the entire performance is supposed to end for this time. Thus the ūper song is a farewell to the day, a genuine evening song. It is also intended as an accompaniment for the "spirits" on their way home, for they, too, withdraw after their long stay here on this day. The arm movements, with or without the staff, are supposed to indicate the work of rowing as one glides over the waves. Since the ūper song is also intoned at the end of the entire čičnaga celebration, these arm movements are meant to indicate the departure by boat of the many participants who now scatter in all directions.

The particular purpose of the ūper song is "to attend to the spirits who have come from afar to the čičnaga gathering, to calm them down after their lively participation and make them

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return, or rather, find their way back to where they belong." In referring to these "spirits" our Yamana mean in particular the memory-pictures and fantasies which take tangible form in their vivid imagination, with whom they associate in their thoughts and also converse in audible words. In the *ŕ̃ŕ̃ŕ̃* they feel they are in /923/ another state of mind and believe themselves to be in another world in which their imaginings appear to them as real persons. From this other imaginary world they first of all dismiss the "spirits" who have appeared and who are now returning to their own abode. After that they themselves turn back to their own everyday world by shaking off the extraordinary *ŕ̃ŕ̃ŕ̃* state of mind. That is why, at the conclusion of the *ŕ̃ŕ̃* song, everyone present summons back "his own spirit" by making a wide sweeping movement with his arm and pulling it back again quickly, at the same time closing his outstretched hand in a tight fist. This means, in other words, that everyone now returns from the enthusiasm or ecstasy brought on by the singing to an everyday, calm frame of mind. In reality, therefore, the words of the Yamana about the various *ŕ̃ŕ̃ŕ̃* assembled in the *ŕ̃ŕ̃ŕ̃* but do not refer to personified spirits but to a simple change of mood or a transfer from a world of very lively imagery to the pensionless, prosaic activity of the mind.

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After the almost motionless squatting during the greater part of the day everyone regards the physical exertion of dancing and group singing as a boon. There must be such variety and it is regularly granted the *ŕ̃ŕ̃ŕ̃* also. It is appropriately put at the end of the day, and directly after that the leader gives the signal for the night's rest (p. 782). Everyone sticks his dance staff upright into the ground, hangs his *kapaŕ̃ŕ̃* on the wall of the hut, and settles down to sleep. Now it is quiet again in the Great Hut and only one or two low voices continue the uninterrupted singing.

X881 312

3. Memories of the Deceased. Let it be briefly repeated that everyone present paints himself expressly for these evening dances (p. 788). Formerly the women more than the men drew a great many patterns of red, white, and black lines in dots and circles all over their bodies; nowadays they are content to paint their faces, arms, and legs. Only a few women still paint the upper part of the body (p. 789). The facial painting of the *ŕ̃ŕ̃ŕ̃* is, of course, renewed in the evening.

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occasion of a death cannot be regarded as a religious ceremony since this is held primarily because of grief over the loss of a dear relative. The religious heritage of our Indians is never seen by a European visitor, and that alone explains the agreement of all the travelers and missionaries who depicted them as absolutely irreligious (12).

> 12. I often spoke freely with the older men and women about the services and the religious functions to which in earlier days, as children and young people, they were invited with a certain regularity by the missionaries in and outside of the mission stations. Each time I had the impression that it was completely incomprehensible to them how one could please the deity by a public appearance and in an assemblage of many persons. It is much more in keeping with their own frame of mind for an individual to face the Supreme Being by himself and to settle with him alone whatever he has on his mind.

One could probably describe as religious activity in its wider sense the firmly established, equable mental attitude of deep veneration toward /1555/ Wotaqinlowa that the individual maintains. Not everyone is always conscious of it, but in some way it has a decisive influence on him to move along certain paths and to be led by universally valid principles. In its effect within the religious sphere this veneration is comparable to what a conscience is in the field of moral obligations, namely, a sort of leitmotiv by which the individual person is led. This mental attitude is the reason for the unchanging acquiescence of the Fueguin to the demands of the moral law. He submits to it without contradiction, although he cannot explain it in any other way than by repeating the well-known saying: "Wotaqinlowa sees everything. -- He wants everyone to conduct himself in the way that has always been customary among us Yamana!" For him the rule of conduct lies in this and similar words, and that is why it has not changed through successive generations. It is true that the fear of punishment

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TB 776 626 often protects this or that person from lapses, but it is really because of the ancient tradition itself that they adhere to its demands. No one would ever complain of the tight bonds imposed on free action. On the contrary, the customs of the old people are everywhere highly respected, because ultimately Wotaujinpu appears as the guardian of public order.

TB 776 195 Inasmuch as he must be approached with piety, no one dares repeat his name without a special reason, much less hold it in contempt. If the Supreme Being is mentioned, the Yamana shows decided piety and a certain solemnity in his whole outward bearing when he speaks his name, thus giving the spoken word a marked note of consecration. The various names applied to the deity are never thoughtlessly uttered. Another sign of pious respect is the use of circumlocutions. These are used most often when in the course of a ceremony of mourning an excited person struggles with Mamundain, "the sole mighty one." It is as though he wanted to dampen his improper conduct, as though he would not turn immediately and directly to the familiar deity. The habitual respectful attitude of the Yamana toward the person of the Supreme Being himself forces them, so to speak, to the greatest possible fidelity to tribal custom, particularly the moral obligations, and does not let the thought of contradiction or renunciation arise.

β. Prayers of Supplication

TB [17] The Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 509) are exactly alike concerning the form and distinctive character of their religious veneration, but they are /1056/ conspicuously different in the use of prayers and invocations to their deity. Whereas the Selk'nam dedicate to their Temaukel a few more or less freely chosen words only on rare occasions (Vol. I, 510), our Fuegians have at their disposal a long list of established prayer formulas which everyone uses according to the given circumstances. They have adhered to them so strictly that they still repeat them even today, although individual words and expressions are no longer used in daily life and have even become incomprehensible; only the general sense of the whole formula has been preserved.

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before, all this was always known to our own ancestors. So we don't need his 'Our Lord'! Our Wataninéiwa is enough for us, and what he has told us suffices. I always realized that, each time Lawrence spoke of his 'Our Lord.'" As was proved by my questions, Mary actually adopted nothing from Christianity. The attitude of Nelly Lawrence is even more convincing. As the daughter-in-law of this missionary, she lived in the same house with him for several years and was in daily contact with this deeply religious man. After I became acquainted with Wataninéiwa through her efforts, she no longer hesitated to refer to him. She plainly showed me how pleased she was that I, too, sincerely enjoyed her religious views. Not for that reason alone, however, but out of innermost conviction she confessed to me that the traditional Wataninéiwa faith was perfectly adequate for her and that she felt no desire for the thing John Lawrence so often mentioned about his "Lord" /cited in English/. "Everything that the Yamana tell about our Wataninéiwa is incomparably more beautiful!" She repeated this conviction to me several times with proud self-confidence. In the general register of baptisms there is no mention that she was baptized /1080/ (p. 321 /untranslated/), and I never discovered any traces of Christian faith in her, but in her ideas about Hiléhban she felt happy and content; hers was really a deeply religious nature.

For the Yamana their Supreme Being is certainly no supernatural figure passively hidden beyond the stars, but rather someone they feel close to. They connect many of the minor details of everyday life with him, and by no means only the startling events. On August 9, 1933, I was in Punta Remolino, sitting at supper with the Lawrence family. Fred had a hired man in his service who came from Chiloé and who was old and quite stupid. Once again he had proved extremely awkward in his work, and Fred's description of it was so vivid that we all had to laugh heartily. Only Nelly remained serious and warned her husband with the following words: "Don't talk disparagingly about that old man. Wataninéiwa doesn't like it at all and will punish you for it. One must not make fun of old people!" Her reprimand to the whole group was so natural and serious that we were dumbfounded and, without demur, stopped laughing.

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116 781 A few days later the Chilean captain of the little cutter "Garibaldi" which belonged to this farm indulged in loud outbursts of rage because of the unfavorable weather situation. Nelly happened to be in my room and I paid no attention to the man outside the house. Before she left she said with grave emphasis: "In the early days we knew nothing of the habit which Europeans introduced of always being discontented with the weather. The Europeans complain: now there is too much wind and now too much rain, now too much snow and now too little sun! We must take the weather as it comes. If a person flies into a rage, it just makes it worse, for Watayinéjwa will become angry and then it will be really bad!" This sounded like warning for me as well.

An old Yamana spent the forenoon looking out in vain for bright sunshine, but he did not lose patience. In reply to my teasing which was meant to irritate him slightly, he said: "It is Hidšbuan who sends the weather, the heavy snow and wind and frost. We can't do anything about it, we must take it as it comes! There is no use scolding loudly about bad weather. That doesn't help a bit; it can only make matters worse simply because Hidšbuan will grow even more angry. It is better not to say anything and not to think anything bad about Hidšbuan who in each case can send us still worse things."

111 The religious heritage of the Yamana is adequate for the conditions of life allotted to them and for the slight demands which they make upon it. It is in complete harmony with them. They make use of the individual ideas in their world of religious belief quite as a matter of course in their everyday life and at their ceremonious youth initiation, at a general funeral rite, and for hushed individual sorrow, and they apply these conceptions /1081/ naturally and unaffectedly, as is possible only with an indigenous body of ideas. They appreciate their value consciously and unconsciously, and lacking nothing, they feel no necessity to ask for more or to take what the missionaries have offered them. I never heard a word of regret or discontent over the fact that all missionary activity has been suspended.

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765 essential to the yamalaśemōjna in connection with the Ōima.
533 The actual mourners spend their time this way in any case.
152 Whenever neighbors and friends enter the hut with their freshly applied painting, they sit down near these mourners and follow their song. The polyphonic group sings in a medley of voices; each one chooses pitch and rhythm, melody, and tone color as he sees fit; he stops and begins anew as it pleases him. Each person's performance, however, is serious and sad, his facial expression shows great mental anguish, and his whole conduct indicates how much he is suffering. Throughout, everyone in a howling voice constantly repeats the same sounds in a monotonous melody, exactly as at the tālauwaja. The whole company devotes several hours to this collective demonstration of grief; they do not allow even brief general pauses.

765 Each person present occasionally interrupts his groaning and
781 fills in an interval or two with exclamations. These are chiefly
152 words addressed to the Supreme Being. One must remember that on these occasions everyone does not think merely of the recently deceased person -- who perhaps is even of secondary importance to him -- but of those loved ones whom he himself /1132/ lost through a recent death or an earlier one. The memory of them once more stirs him to the depths and makes him sharply feel anew his great loss. His own sorrow tortures him. That is why once again, as on earlier occasions, he confronts Watauinēǰwa to argue and remonstrate with him, to accuse him and cast aspersion upon him. He angrily hurls heavenward one after another of the ancient cries of lament, although he is well aware of his helplessness against Abāǰla up there behind the clouds. His immeasurable pain, so he believes, gives him the right to the ruthless, coarse invectives against that brutal Wēlapanux who can be approached in no other way. These excited conversations with Watauinēǰwa, as I was emphatically assured, form an important part of the yamalaśemōjna. "Again and again each person must address 'the One-up-there' and must constantly repeat the old sayings!" I was told this several times with emphatic conviction. Thus I had the impression that the individual words were nothing more than a normal outcry and a quarrelsome discussion with the Supreme Being. Through all kinds of adaptations

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765 the expression may be used with reference to the recently de-
781 ceased person, to the speaker himself, to his own deceased rela-
152 tives and friends, to the Yamana people as a whole. With angry vehemence Gertie repeatedly impressed upon me: "Each one of us must incessantly and emphatically come to terms with Wataginéiwa on this occasion!" Thus reproaches and words of abuse continually alternated with the old cries of lament. Everyone present regarded this as justifiable for every speaker and approvingly confirmed his words.

Until that time I had never had an opportunity to observe how vehemently the expression of their deeply rooted faith in their god breaks out from the depths of their soul, and with what unrestrained force it seeks expression. Truly their religious faith is firmly anchored in their convictions and in their hearts! Here it became plain that all the adults are dominated by it. I shall now mention a touching feature of their childlike religious sense. In their greatest agitation they feel justified in freely hurling the bitterest reproaches against Wataginéiwa. After the yamalaŝemóina is over, however, and everyone has again sought the quiet of his own hut and by late evening has regained his mental balance, he feels deep within himself something like qualms of conscience. He is overcome with the feeling that he has offended the Supreme Being with his raging and scolding and that he has erred greatly with respect to the veneration due the deity. Ruefully he humbles himself, silently he thinks about the events of the day and his momentary position. A repentant and yet confident prayer of atonement softly slips from his trembling lips: "Hidábuan, you know it, today I was extremely angry with you! But the sorrow for my beloved dead was so violent that I lost control of myself. Don't be angry with me any longer, /1133/ Hidábuan!" Solaced and with his soul fully at ease, the Fuegian lies down to sleep; the supreme emotion which for hours shook his innermost being is past.

765 I shall add here a few words which I noted during the
152 yamalaŝemóina. Often several persons were saying different things at the same time and I could not follow them.

Santiago: "This morning that woman died. Each of us is in a wretched state, no one feels well. I once suffered the same fate as that widower who now has no wife. I personally felt what

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If one carefully examines the words of the men mentioned, he can obtain from them a conception of the everlasting existence of the Supreme Being, without temporal limits in either direction. Our Fuegians do not even discuss a cessation of the existence of this "Kétsi-up-there," and of all his characteristics they are most familiar with the one meant by the oft-repeated designation Wataxindiwa. According to their conception, this "very ancient one" has simply always existed, and no one questions where he actually came from or what his origin is. One may also assume that, according to the belief of the Yamana, this "very ancient one" has always remained the same. Nowhere do they imply, much less state, that he has changed his personal attitude toward human beings or the laws imposed upon them. In sum, he has remained personally the same, hence unchanging. In the strict sense of the word, he does not in any case let himself be influenced by human beings. "We Yamana often complain bitterly, but he deals with us as he pleases!" Mary said. She had explained to me that in distress and in serious illness those who are directly or indirectly affected turn to the Supreme Being, praying for deliverance. He takes cognizance, so to speak, of these prayers and sometimes proves well-intentioned, but he would by no means feel pressed or forced to change his absolutely free decision. The Yamana are clearly convinced of this.

Despite the decided arbitrariness with which Wataxindiwa now and then obviously interferes with the fate of individual human beings, he is generally regarded as benevolent and good. They like to address him as Hiúmun, for he is truly a father to each one and to the Yamana as a whole. This designation most often occurs in the old traditional prayer formulas. With the happy conviction that he is concerned about everyone, and especially that he will provide each one with the animals necessary for his subsistence, the Yamana trust him and his providence. Many approach him with the naïve, childlike confidence with which, in /1053/ human relationships, a child confronts its good father. Although grievous blows sometimes make the individual lose his mental balance, in general "the conviction of the benevolence of the Supreme Being" (Gusinde [2] :163) predominates. Hence they also venture to address him with the intimate Kalaiken, "dear little father" and the friendly Téuwa, "the dear, good old man."

when protects this or that person from lapses, but it is really because of the ancient tradition itself that they adhere to its demands. No one would ever complain of the tight bonds imposed on free action. On the contrary, the customs of the old people are everywhere highly respected, because ultimately Watauinéjwa appears as the guardian of public order.

Inasmuch as he must be approached with piety, no one dares repeat his name without a special reason, much less hold it in contempt. If the Supreme Being is mentioned, the Yamana shows decided piety and a certain solemnity in his whole outward bearing when he speaks his name, thus giving the spoken word a marked note of consecration. The various names applied to the deity are never thoughtlessly uttered. Another sign of pious respect is the use of circumlocutions. These are used most often when in the course of a ceremony of mourning an excited person struggles with Manunkin, "the sole mighty one." It is as though he wanted to dampen his improper conduct, as though he would not turn immediately and directly to the familiar deity. The habitual respectful attitude of the Yamana toward the person of the Supreme Being himself forces them, so to speak, to the greatest possible fidelity to tribal custom, particularly the moral obligations, and does not let the thought of contradiction or renunciation arise.

β. Prayers of Supplication

The Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 509) are exactly alike concerning the form and distinctive character of their religious veneration, but they are /1056/ conspicuously different in the use of prayers and invocations to their deity. Whereas the Selk'nam dedicate to their Temáukel a few more or less freely chosen words only on rare occasions (Vol. I, 510), our Fuegians have at their disposal a long list of established prayer formulas which everyone uses according to the given circumstances. They have adhered to them so strictly that they still repeat them even today, although individual words and expressions are no longer used in daily life and have even become incomprehensible; only the general sense of the whole formula has been preserved.

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It is understandable that laments and formulas of mourning are most numerous, inasmuch as every death agitates our Indians to an extraordinary degree and stirs him to the depths. By comparison, the prayers of supplication are plain and simple. The latter will be given first, with brief explanations of the meaning, and afterwards the other prayers and related invocations. I may properly omit a grammatical analysis because we have Bridges' dictionary and because Hestermann has undertaken special investigations on the grammar of the Yamana, to which we refer.

(1)	Hitapḗan	hā́ja	kḗmētawḗx.
	My father,	to me	be merciful.

These words are a general supplication which the Supreme Being is asked to fulfill, for example, to grant success in the hunt or good weather during the canoe trip. -- ED:321 gives mōtawzgū, "to act kindly, to do good, show pity or mercy" /cited in English/.

(2)	Hitapḗan,	ánnu	hā́ja	kḗmētawā́guan
	My father,	now then,	to me	be kind

hā́uančimā́alan.	
today.	

Obviously this request is similar to the preceding one. It is uttered immediately before a trip, a hunt, and similar occasions.

(3)	Hā́janenikā́ja	kḗmētawā́guan	hā́uančimā́alan,
	To us	be merciful	today,

Hitapḗan.	
my father.	

This request is again like the others. It is sent heavenward in the early forenoon shortly before they set out on a major undertaking or a long canoe trip.

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(4) Annu sikéja, kĕmĕtawéguan, Hitapéan.
Now then, thou, be merciful [to me], my father.

This petition seems to be a general one, but it is used especially by a mother whose child is ill, so that Watayinéjwa will not let it die, but make it well again.

(5) Hitapéan, ujéjna héja wetutéki.
My father, let me go, I am making it known to you.

A person who petitions in this way is really asking for good weather. Hence he announces to the Supreme Being that he will soon start on his trip. /1057/ -- BD:66 gives ŭlaina, "to let walk about, to let wander" /cited in English/, and BD:560 adds tŭteki, "to show, cause to see" /cited in English/. -- The Yamana also often address the Supreme Being in spontaneous utterances. If a family has planned a long trip, the father will get up early from his bed, move to the hut entrance, and look appraisingly at the clouds or the direction of the wind. If good weather is in the offing, he says to the-one-up-there: "I thank thee, Hidŭouan, that thou hast sent us favorable weather!" If the prospects are not so favorable, he fervently requests: "Hidŭouan, thou knowest that we wish to travel on, be kind to us and send us good weather!"

(6) Annu, hipikéja kĕmĕtawĕx maalŭalan,
Now then, to us all be kind every day,

Hitapéan.
my father.

[513] Before a family lies down to sleep in the hut, one of the older members repeats this saying. It sounds like a short evening prayer containing gratitude for the present day and a request for success on the following day. According to the people who explained it, the emphasis is on the request that Watayinéjwa let all the members of the family be well and happy during the coming day.

/1997 cont./

(7) Anna. hipikīja mītawīgata. Hitapīgan.
Now then, us receive mercifully, my father,

tīlagwaja.
alas.

With this request a person turns back to Hidīhwan after he was punished by the deity through a death, he had quarreled with him, so to speak. -- BD:321 gives mītawīgata, "to take a person under one's care, to be kind and merciful to a person" /cited in English/.

(8) Hajagenihīja hītakumunīgo. Hitapīgan.
Us he will [surely] push forward, my father.

A person who is rowing on the water and is aiming for a shore or an island where there is game repeats this request, confident that Hidīhwan will let the canoe glide there quickly as though he personally were pushing it with a strong hand. -- BD:177 mentions hītamīlīf, "to shove, push, press, bear against with the hands" /cited in English/.

(9) Uxīja mītufimīlu. Watagimīgwa.
To me give a good course, the old one above.

A person makes this entreaty during the canoe trip if bad weather threatens, so that he will reach his goal or the nearest safe shore.

(10) Upīja kīmītawīgu. Hitapīgo. tīkamītu īneu.
To me be merciful, my father, save the boat.

In bad weather they ask that the good father-up-there lift the canoe over all dangers. -- BD:401 explains tīkamītīf, "to uprise in one's arms, to raise or lift up" /cited in English/. /1058/

(11) Hitapīgu. hīja alīgula kīmītawagīna.
My father, to me with alīgula be merciful,

ciīxaya.
ciīxaya.

/1958 cont./

This means: Send me help through an ohkin (the grampus, Pseudorca crassidens) against the lakéma /water spirit/ that came near my canoe and threatened me. The word fikuse serves to strengthen the request and replaces the word Watayinéwa. Although direct address is avoided, the old-one-up-there knows that these words are addressed to him.

(12) shkin ohéje ki-wéla ishpe ohéje
The heart to you [pronoun] from above strong

mélume.
[m] sitting here.

This request means: May the-one-up-there help you who are sitting here so that you will freely develop your strength and be able to go on singing for a long time. Adelheid spoke these words during the youth initiation, as she looked at old Richard who had been exerting himself for some time as the leader of the singing. -- The word shkin, "heart," also has a further meaning, as in German, and BD:263 acknowledges this: "the heart, the affections, the soul" /cited in English/. According to BD:14 ohéje means: "strong, firm, powerful" /cited in English/. The word méla here, according to BD:366, means "to sit, to be sitting" /cited in English/.

7. Prayers of Thanksgiving

The preceding prayers of supplication follow a recognizably uniform pattern. The prayers of thanksgiving for all kinds of gifts, which as such are multifarious and are bestowed by the Supreme Being, have more variety. It is actually amazing that our Fueglans often feel a special urge to give thanks for the benefits that Watayinéwa bestows upon them. Such a practice points to the stable, close relationship that the Yamana believe they have with their deity. Because it is easy for them to express gratitude, this relationship must be favorable and satisfy them very much. It makes them feel truly happy.

/1058 cont./

(1) Asár[I] Thanks, mmapían. my father. Asár[I] Thanks, Kalajéxēn. little old father.

With these short formulas the Yamana pays his debt of gratitude on various occasions. They are often used and are familiar to everyone. – In 80:48 we find ōōs, "I am so glad! Well done!..." /cited in English/. This is undoubtedly the same as asár[I].

(2) Asár[I], Thanks, mmapían, my father, katūutux favorable weather

ináge. accompanied me.

Thanks is given in this manner by a person who has again reached a safe shore after a canoe trip; while he is comfortably resting, he thinks about his trip.

(3) Asár[I], Thanks, kapūāja to both of us kēmētaywéxkete was merciful Hitapūan. my father.

/1059/ This sentence is likewise an expression of thanks for the favorable course or the successful outcome of some undertaking in which two persons were engaged.

(4) Asár[I], Thanks, mmapían, my father, hāja to me kēmētaywégude was good

hapanīmpájan. today.

A person who is luxuriating in the enjoyment of some success, especially one who is enjoying rich hunting spoils, does not forget afterwards to make known in this manner his grateful acknowledgment to the kind giver and benefactor.

(5) Hajananíkīja Us kēmaustuxmēnax has protected Hitapūan. my father.

/1059 cont./

•72 539 With this formula one wants to express thanks for success, for some advantage which he achieved, or for particular protection granted him. One family greets another with this formula after they have returned home or when they meet on the water. -- BD:181 writes "kōmaqiteka, to go or come up in order to take care of; kōmaqtuxmōni, to get up, or come up and stand guardian over" /cited in English/.

(6) Šāhaguta Wačinējwa Hitapūančikaja.
Satisfied I with the old one, my father.

Filled with gratitude, a mother who was worried about her sick child and is now happy that it is well again expresses herself in these words. According to BD:182, sahagūta is "to be happily, or at peace" /cited in English/.

(7) Annu, hāja kēgurat alagumutāhilāq
Now then, me it pleased to look upon

Wataqinējwa-sēl, haqančimīalan.
Wataninejwa in heaven, today.

One who was sick but has become well again gives thanks in this manner. Wataqinējwa had already "looked upon" him, that is, aimed at him with the intention of letting him die, but once more he desisted. -- BD:20 gives alagumūtī, "to gaze, look, watch sitting" /cited in English/.

(8) Annu hāja kētumīala tupīan Hitapūan.
Now then, from me bad time took away my father.

A person who was sick for a long time but who has completely recovered rejoices in this fashion; the torture of disease is over, and he experiences a new summer, so to speak.

(9) Annu; hāja kakūpa talagēnatupīan Hitapūan.
Now then, me from above looked upon my father.

/1019 cont./

TB 539 These are the words of a man who felt he was near death because Watayinéjwa cast his eye upon him. Because this man recovered, /1060/ he joyfully gives thanks for having escaped the threatening misfortune. -- BD:282 gives talagĕnatapina, "to look friendly, gaze, he gazing intently" /cited in English/.

(10) Anna, hipéj, mĕrnárna, aĭárĭ; hipĕi
Now then, we new summer, thank; for us

hunakĕtumĕjala tupĕan.
in winter past.

TB 539 825 As soon as the first signs of approaching spring appear, after the long months of winter with its abundant snow, everyone breathes more freely and joyfully expresses his feelings of renewed zest for life with these words. -- Compare tupĕana in BD:556.

(11) Hĭnĕpan hĭnĕki hatayĕiuĭ.
I myself saw sea anemones.

More precisely this means: I was the first to see with my own eyes the sea anemone. -- According to BD:280, hĭnĕpan is "I only, I by myself" /cited in English/; according to BD:270, hĭkĕĕiuĭ, "the red sea anemones" /cited in English/. The small scarlet sea anemones, also called sea roses (Actiniaria), can be found all the year round; nevertheless it is always an occasion for great rejoicing when, in waning winter, one discovers the unusually bright-colored colonies of these small animals. They are greeted as harbingers of spring which everyone hopes to live through. The Yamana thank Watayinéjwa with the above prayer formula for this favorable prospect. In their exuberance the people dance and hop about, even in the fragile canoe, regardless of the great danger of treading a hole in it and smashing it. The person who first sees a bright-colored sea anemone behaves very boisterously.

TB 539 (12) Annĕĕčia, hipéj mĕrnárna, aĭárĭ;
Now then, us new summer, thank;

annĕĕčia, hipĕi mĕrnárna.
now then, us new summer.

/1060 cont./

With this longer phrase the people thank the Supreme Being for providing them with a new summer and with it another new bit of life. -- BD:25 writes amilhla.

(13) Aläu, hipä, sumläna.
Thanks, as we paint with egg yolk,

hläuhläin.
summer is here.

In detail this phrase means: Thanks be to thee, Wataninläwa, that (through thy grace) we may experience this new summer, as an expression of our joy, we are painting ourselves with egg yolk. -- BD:202 writes hläuhläin, "the other, another summer" /cited in English/. BD:493 gives ähläläna, "to beautify or adorn oneself in any way" /cited in English/. -- With this exclamation they invite each other to make a special facial painting as soon as the first birds' eggs are available in spring. With the yolk of a fresh egg they smear /1061/ a line the width of a finger, which begins at the edge of the hair, goes across the forehead and the bridge of the nose, and down to the upper lip. While this is going on there is lively and sometimes boisterous merriment. Filled with gratitude, they do not always address Hläläläin directly with this prayer formula, but it is done indirectly whenever they recite it.

[302]

(14) Anna, hläu, hlälälä

/SNS cont./

(13) Ammu, hipikíla ołmuqołłmuda łmuqłqa.
Now then, us has protected my father,

ołłinda tipá: tuqwełquda ʼłum.
merciful us he rescued the boat,

tipá: łehłqutuqa łmuqłqałłqa.
we congratulate [ourselves] on our father.

These longer words of thanksgiving are repeated by those who have found safe refuge after a dangerous sea voyage. One should visualize the sudden change of weather which sometimes overtakes a canoe in the middle of a wide channel. -- BD-428 gives tuqełqł. "to keep near to in order to support or aid by one's presence, ... to defend, aid by being present" /cited in English/. Compare also, in BD-181, łehqłłkqł. "to congratulate oneself on a happy success" /cited in English/. -- The above words, therefore, express how glad the Tsimsia are to have a benevolent father-up-there who cares for them and rescues them; they are congratulating themselves on having him.

(14) Sémuktłw łłqłłłła łłłun hajenłqte łłłuqa.
Free from łłqłłłła we united in the łłłuqa.

makaintełała łłłu tahłła łłłun
with the strangers here with us we

łehqudłłe.
peacefully united.

Ammu, hipikła hekapuqanqłte. łłłuqa. Ammu.
Now then, us to help promised, łłłuqa. Certainly.

łkemełuwełqłu łłodł, hajanuułła łłł
well wishing both, to us [remains] place of land.

łłjanł: tłamłłupe hajandłpan.
where we spend the winter we alone,

Wełapanx-ałł łłqura(minłqna
[in case] murderer in heaven does not intend to take away

1. Gusinde—GHD 5-6 (1950-1954) 1957 HHS Yahgan SH6

/[illegible] conc./

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Hajananikŕja
on.	Thanks,	the old one.	Us

[illegible],	[illegible]	[illegible]	hŕfu
heavilly awaken,	thank [him]	Wonaginŕwa	all

[illegible]	[illegible]
these days	was powerfully concerned,

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	kŕja kŕkan	
so also in future.	Kenaguro	two	likewise furthermore	

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Hidŕfuan,
will protect	our	father,	thanks	my father,

[illegible]	[illegible]
thanks	my father!

This long prayer was freely invented by Calderon at the conclusion of the youth initiation in March, 1922. An approximate translation would be: Without being endowed by [illegible] (14) we have

> 14. This Kina spirit is mentioned only occasionally during the initiation (p. 768).

celebrated the [illegible] here in peaceful communion with the two [illegible] [Gusinde and Koppers]. They promised to help us (15).

> 15. I had assured the families settled in Puerto Mejillones that I would intercede on their behalf with the Chilean government to have this area ceded to them exclusively as their property. Compare Gusinde (c):434.

Because they are people of good will, they will fullfill their promise. Then this area around Puerto Mejillones will belong to us alone and be our property, and we shall be able to spend each winter here undisturbed. If only that "murderer-in-heaven" will not seize us and take us away! Thanks be to Wataginŕwa who still gives us life. Wataginŕwa will continue to protect us and care

/1062 cont./

782 539 for us, as he has those days. Our father will also protect these two Whites. For this, thanks be to thee, my father!

Just a reference to a few words which are also given in BD. BD:154 gives sönnakĭta, "solitary, lonely, secluded" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives: sabagĕcĭa, "to lie down happily, to lie down in peace, to be or live happily" /cited in English/. BD:281 explains laĭa, instead of lĕĭa given above, as, among other things: "shelving rocks with large spaces between them" /cited in English/, which is true of the coast at Puerto Mejillones. BD:177 mentions kögurĭĭĭa, "to be impatient to get" /cited in English/. BD:181 gives kömausteka, "to go, or come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. The word kerĭgode is the same as kategata in BD:170.

It is surprising, to mention this again, that our Fuegians have created definite formulas of sincere thanksgiving for various occasions and that they often address these to their Supreme Being to pay their debt of gratitude to him.

δ. Laments

765 152 The formulas with which bereaved persons filled with grief pour out their hearts and with which /1063/ people also unburden their souls of other forms of sorrow are more numerous and varied. In such situations they show their very human and altogether sensitive natures which they never before revealed to a European as ~~openly as they never before revealed to a European as~~ openly as they did to me on the occasion of a large funeral ceremony or on a few other occasions. Besides the laments given here, the people of former times had a larger number which must be regarded as hopelessly lost. I was assured of this several times. 765 539 The prayers follow here in a rather free order, beginning with those that are actual expressions of mourning.

(1) Hitapĭan, kĕmudĕkun hĕĭa ka-kĭpa
My father, why indeed me from above

tutumeyuwakĕte.
punished.

/1072 cont./

E. Various Other Expressions

•1072 539

Finally there are a few more formulas with which the Yamana turn to their Supreme Being pleadingly or gratefully, as the situations of everyday life demand. All of them are brief and the meaning clear. Some of them are amusing, and it is surprising that our Fuegians, in child-like openheartedness, tell their Hiúšpan even the most ordinary things.

(1) Hitapúan hája mötawëgúmel, ámu,
My father me protect, now then,

hái möčéan.
I return.

When he bids farewell, the person leaving says: If my-father-up-there keeps his hand spread over me protectively, I shall come back to this place hale and hearty. -- BD:321 gives mötawögata, "to take a person under one's care" /cited in English/. BD:21 gives amaka, "place, position" /cited in English/. BD:311 has möčí, "to come home" /cited in English/.

(2) Túla hája Hitapúan talagënakúru,
Should me my father want to take away,

téneken hájja.
seek me.

With these words a person is thinking of the possibility that death might overtake him during his voyage. He takes leave and says to the others: If this apprehension should come true, you will have to look for me a long time and still you won't find me. /1073/

(3) Úla yëlla hájn dëpan, Watayinëjwa
Yes farewell really, the old one

katalagëna kuryúna hipikájja.
take away wants from one another.

The meaning of this formula is exactly like the preceding one.

/1073 cont./

782 539

It is used when a person sets out on a major journey and says farewell for a long time. It says: Our separation is truly forever if it pleases Watauinéiwa to take one of us away in death. -- BD: 262 gives hain tōpan, "now is the time, in real earnest" /cited in English/.

(4) Tūla Hitapūan hajakāja kēmētauwagumūtu,
In case my father to me merciful,

ánnu hipāj čīla matauughāinan.
now then, us again unite.

This formula, too, contains the familiar idea: Should it please my father to preserve me from danger and death, we shall meet again, safe and sound, at the end of my long journey.

(5) Watauinéiwa hāja kumēkalēni.
The old one me westerly weather.

A person complains because Watauinéiwa surprised him on his voyage with westerly weather which is always unfavorable. -- BD:210 gives kūmōči, kumōka, "to go or come Westward" /cited in English/.

(6) Uxāja, lēmata wājauina, Hitapūan, uiāina
Ah, confused go about, my father weather

kēmūtua sa-t arugatāra Hitapūan? kēmūtua
why you burden my father? why eyes

samunkēmbānata, Hitapūan, ikamāna.
closed, my father, with snow?

Angry old Peine suddenly spoke these words when she was obliged to wade through the snow in bare feet. Nelly had sent for her; it was on March 21, 1922. She meant the following: Hitapūan listen, I am so indignant that my head is swimming because I must stamp through the snow. Why do you annoy me with bad weather? Do you keep your eyes closed and not see how much snow there is here on the ground?

/1073 cont./

782 539

(7) Hāia čílla akigamāni Tānuwa asūnan
Me again hit the old one in the woods

lēkēskēta; kēndam hitaualašinānude?
my head; how I bear it?

[753] /1074/ In wandering through the woods a man was in danger of being killed by a falling tree trunk; again he once was lightly struck. This gave him such a shock that he developed a headache. He mentions the old-one-up-there as the cause of it. That is why his situation is particularly serious and he does not know how he will regain his mental balance. -- Most of the words used here are repeated in the following exclamation.

(8) Tānuwa hāja cílla akigamanīta lēkēskēta
The old one me again hit my head

asūnan kēndam hitaualašinānude?
in the woods, how I bear it?

In content this saying does not differ from the preceding one and says the same thing, but it expresses more definitely and emphatically the intention of Watauinēiwa to let the man be killed. -- Compare the verb akigamata, "to hit unintentionally, or by mistake" /cited in English/, in BD:15. BD:183 translates köndām as: "such, so, in such a manner, in that way" /cited in English/. The word asūnan is evidently synonymous with ōsunna, "forest, wood, jungle, thicket" /cited in English/, in BD:46.

(9) Watauinēiwa čikāia kēlakanāa sa-kumāšu.
The old one you will take away [if] you lazy.

[867] This formula is one example of the precepts which are given the candidates in the youth initiation. It warns the ušwāala that the old-one-up-there does not tolerate a lazy person, but will let him die prematurely. -- The word kēlakanāa is related to kölenköna, "to drive, shove, push away" /cited in English/, in BD:178, and to related forms.

782 197 Besides the formulas listed here the Yamana of former days used many others containing the same ideas, which now must be

/1074 cont./

782 197 regarded as lost. The few that were saved have unusual words and archaic sentence formations, showing their origin in the distant past. Even older persons were no longer able to give me an exact and detailed explanation of each formula, and they excused themselves by saying that such obsolete words and idioms were no longer used in everyday speech. It is therefore not surprising that old John Lawrence, as well as his sons who were versed in the language, was sometimes baffled by these sayings. The colloquial language of the present day is the result of considerable change since the time when the representatives of the individual dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) were more crowded together and intermingled. Thus, although almost always only the basic idea of any given formula can be determined, all of them together furnish a sufficiently complete picture of the Supreme Being whose image our Yamana carry in their hearts and whose characteristics are familiar to them.

/1075/ c. Originality of the Yamana Religion

771 177 The above details taken from the religious heritage of the Yamana are not inconsiderable in number. All of them were brought to light only through my travels. These facts contradict the unanimous agreement of earlier travelers and of the missionaries, active for many years, who, so to speak, flatly deny that our Fuegians have any religious conception and religious activity. This sharp contradiction demands a reliable explanation, all the more so since the religious heritage of the Yamana not only proves rich, but also has a determining, guiding influence on the whole moral attitude of these Indians. It has been repeatedly pointed out, and must still be treated in detail, that all the moral obligations and the traditional customs are, after all, bound up with the Supreme Being.

By way of negative proof it can be convincingly shown that neither the navigators who lay at anchor for only hours or days in the Cape Horn region nor those Europeans who took individual Yamana to Europe with them offered actual religious instruction (16).

16. One may certainly assume that if Fitz-Roy,

/1082 cont./

775 human soul after death under the most disparate conditions imag-
797 inable, in sharp contrast to their own faith. I myself experienced
177 this. During a burial, while the corpse in the grave was being covered with earth, an old man, in the helplessness of his grief, turned to me with the following words which sounded very scornful: "There he lies, my cousin. And yet you Europeans say: 'Every corpse will leave its grave and become that which it was in life.' No, there is no such thing!" This man, like all his countrymen, was simply not to be converted to the new teachings of the missionaries; he clung to the traditions handed down by his forefathers. They always know how to make a sharp division between their own indigenous body of ideas and newly introduced, foreign conceptions or views.

Furthermore, a characteristic feature of the religious ideas
776 of our Fuegians is their pronounced simplicity. The Supreme Being even lacks a proper name. Every Yamana is named after his /1083/ birthplace (p. 536). Is it not logical, therefore, that "the-one-up-there" has no such name because he was not born in the homeland of our Indians? Instead they use circumlocutions as ordinary social conventions. The names for the Supreme Being emphasize particular characteristics which are, however, intensified to the utmost. In both directions, therefore, tribal customs with regard to name-giving are transferred to him. If here below an aged person is shown general respect, all the more is this due the foremost and true "old one," Watauineiwa. Similarly, the few remaining characteristics applied to him are part of the everyday events and social customs of the Yamana people. The fact remains, however, that he is a spirit and therefore exhibits forms of being that differ from people here on earth. Nothing specific is known about these forms. Truly, the Fuegian is consistent in his simple thinking, even concerning his deity.

Finally the considerable number and the diversity of their
782 prayer formulas must be noted. The archaic wording speaks for
197 itself. The Indians themselves vouch for the great age of these
791 short sayings because they contain many words and word combinations that have long since disappeared from ordinary speech. In addition there is the opinion of the aged John Lawrence and his sons who were well versed in the language and several times expressed

/1083 cont./

themselves along the same lines. John Lawrence, after he had examined those formulas for the first time, assured me emphatically: "I have been associated with the Yamana for all of 53 years and I never learned anything whatever about this!" He examined them carefully and said afterward: "Neither the names for the native deity nor the prayer formulas disclose any kind of borrowing from our Christian conceptions. Everything throughout has the stamp of the original and genuine heritage of the Yamana!" He felt it necessary to point out emphatically and repeatedly that the words and grammatical construction of the prayer formulas are not current in the language spoken today (24).

> 24. The opportunity is open to everyone to examine these data, for we have Bridges' dictionary and a number of grammatical studies from the pen of Hestermann. Bridges' translations of the New Testament could also be used for comparison.

Stimulated by this new information, John Lawrence made personal investigations which added to the material. He began by asking general questions about Watauinēiwa of this or that aged Indian, all of whom were friendly and confiding. Later when he discussed with other people the religious ideas and prayer formulas which were now familiar to him, he obtained the same result: "This heritage of ideas is an unadulterated, genuine, and unique possession of the /1084/ Yamana!" The whole discovery gave him sincere and lasting pleasure. He realized how much more favorably these greatly misunderstood Fuegians must be judged if they possess such a beautiful, pure conception of God and practice religion. In the twilight of its existence this much maligned people had the great satisfaction of knowing that now at last European circles will obtain full knowledge of this ancient Watauinēiwa faith. John Lawrence expressed his admiration for the research work and frankly confessed: "Even if I could live here another 50 or 100 years, the natives would not give me the trust that you enjoy among them!"

He viewed his long years of mission work, which had ended earlier, in the light of this unexpected experience. He was honest

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

776 names meaning "The Powerful One," "The Highest One," and especially by the name of "My Father." He was not the maker or creator, but rather the master and ruler. He was the owner and giver of animals and plant food. It was he who gave life to human beings, and who took it away. He was fundamentally good and benevolent. He lived above in the heavens. He had no body nor had he wife or children. He was distinctly and eminently set off against and above all other spirits, good and bad, and in this sense stood as it were alone. He did not enter into the tribal folklore and mythology. He saw what human beings did, and upon those who broke the precepts of the *Yahgan* socio-moral code, which represented his will, he inflicted punishment in the way of early death, and often the death of their children.

788 The central role of Watauinéwa in the initiation rites has previously been mentioned. Apart, however, from these rites, Watauinéwa was prayed to a great deal by the individual *Yahgan*. These prayers were mostly petitions to him for food (as the owner of the food animals and plants), for cure and health, and for protection from the elements, as well as expressions of thankfulness. A good many of them were more or less traditionally crystallized formulae, of a few words each, but prayer was likewise expressed in free wording. A quite distinctive feature of *Yahgan* communication with the Supreme Being was the frequency of complaint expressions and charges directed toward him on the occasion of sickness, bad weather, or other evil fortune, and particularly on the occasion of deaths. Gusinde and Koppers collected over 60 of these various kinds of prayer formulae. Some of them are in somewhat archaic language.

771 In view of these archaisms in the complex, of the many distinctly 777 native features (e. g., master, owner, not creator or maker), of the absence of all characteristically European or Christian conceptions, and of the express and emphatic statements by the natives whose memories or whose knowledge from their elders reached back to premissionary days, there can be no reasonable question but that *Yahgan* theism is aboriginal, and not the result of missionary influence. It seems equally clear that it was central in the religious outlook of the *Yahgan* and that it entered deeply and dynamically in their thoughts, emotional life, and personal behavior.

756 **Shamanism.**—A person became a medicine man (yékamush) 767 through an inner call manifested to him in dreams and visions. The héshteka-yékamush, dwarfish spirits, appeared to him; a female spirit, a Haučéllakīpa, also played an important part in shamanism, as the shaman's helper. Through the dreams and visions the future medicine man learned which of the small spirits was to be his yefáčel, or particular guardian spirit. From this spirit he also received a song.

/656 cont./

585 and spend the night at the place where the celebration /657/ took place (38). Here the people of the neighborhood again assemble

38. Bove (e):158, and Wieghardt:41 as well, maintain: "If the bridegroom does not wish to forgo forever the enjoyment of eating guanaco and seal meat, he must cleanse himself on the morning after the wedding by bathing in the water of the sea... These baths are without doubt the cause of many sicknesses to which the young people of Tierra del Fuego are subjected, but they are regarded as necessary to replace the lost strength." When I asked my informants whether a bridegroom was obliged to take a bath, they could not keep from laughing, they found it so preposterous. It is almost childish to attribute "many sicknesses" to this alleged custom. Whenever someone has washed himself in the sea, he immediately hastens to the fire.

[783]

in the days that follow, until the supply of meat is gone, the joyful mood has abated, and the long sojourn at the same place becomes boring. Meanwhile the bride often hastens to the hut of her mother where the two outdo each other in expressions of mutual affection, for soon the hour of parting will come. Each time the mother carefully paints her daughter with the three horizontal lines, in order that she will be pleasing to her young husband and he will learn to love her. Many of the male guests give the bridegroom their good wishes and occasionally drop a warning word. The principals themselves are silent and are quite content in their own happiness. When all the wedding guests have dispersed and gone their separate ways, the newlyweds, who have meanwhile acquired their own canoe, also leave the place. They begin their independent life, free of their parents, and this is encouraged by very special rules applicable to parents-in-law and children-in-law.

[302]

585 A new family has now been established. The public regards
177 this event as so significant that they feel the necessity of surrounding it with legal formality (39). The modern confusion brought

39. Once Bridges (e):332, too, apparently lets his understanding of this come through:

/707 cont./

immediate surroundings are quiet; small children are either sent far away or held in check; finally, all the dogs are forcibly kept silent.

From the day of delivery both parents (p. 495) must very conscientiously observe the regulations familiar to everyone. The mother refrains from taking any kind of nourishment for the entire day. This assures her of a good delivery and the future well-being of her child. For his part, the man may neither fell heavy wooden beams in the forest nor kill large game animals. He may neither break open the bones of birds to get out the marrow nor crush the shell of the sea urchin. In case he should fell decayed trees or split wood, his child would have an open wound on its breast. If he should break apart the wing bones of birds, the arms of his child would also break; if he should pluck out the feathers of a bird, his child would soon lose its hair. On the day of the birth he is just as restricted in his choice of foods as his wife is on this and the following days. She is permitted to eat again on the day after her confinement, but at first by no means everything. She limits herself to fish, as well as ẽ-uf (Mytilus chilensis), kecõin (Mytilus edulis), and amiaku (Fissurella). She is not permitted the many other lower sea animals. These mussels must come from "good" places [in the magical sense], in other words, not from places where one suspects the lakúma /water spirit/ might be nor from places where there are many cormorants and sea lions. It seems to me that the magical fear comes from the fact that these animals do not play a favorable role in mythology. A single species of duck, namely, Mareca sibilatrix, also belongs to the "good" thi[illegible] On the other hand, the meat of the sea duck, déska (Tachy[illegible]achonicus), is forbidden. When things to be eaten are unavailable or not present in sufficient quantities, the yékamuš /shaman/ must help out. Stretching out both hands, he gathers up the "bad and harmful," /708/ holds it for a moment on his open palms and, with a strong puff of air from his mouth and a softly uttered "ft," blows it away. Now the food has been freed of everything "dangerous" and is no longer harmful.

Directly after the child has been separated from its mother, the woman who has been the midwife goes out of the hut and sends a message to the father by anyone who is available that a boy or a

/1310 cont./

181 Finally there are a few superstitious ideas of a different nature. Nelly assured me: "If half-grown children run away from their parental hut, if someone wounds himself badly with his ax or if he falls or stumbles and hurts himself seriously, it means that some person in his vicinity is going to die. The persons who have hurt themselves are not to blame, nor are those children who have run away. Their kēspix prompts them, and they can do nothing about it. The parents of a small child will not explain this to him if he has run away; instead they await with terror the death that has been thus announced." Nelly gave me this explanation when I told her that one day, late in the afternoon, the small daughter of Maŝemikens had run away with some other girls (p. 488). She pointed out to me that the wife of Thomas died that very night.

[183] BD:274 gives hushf as a bad omen for the hunt, "a supposed evil influence arising from unclean and unwashed persons after sexual uncleanness eating animals, as guanaco or otter caught by dogs which caused them (the dogs) to cease to be successful in further hunting" /cited in English/. I did not come across this view; it does not agree with many ideas that have been definitely proved.

302 Young Darwin (f):II, 327 reports: "When York Minster was brought back to his own country the natives told him that he should pluck out the few short hairs on his face. They also threatened a young missionary who had been left among them for a time that they would strip him naked and pluck out the hairs on his face and body, although he was by no means very hirsute." Hyades (q):255 refers to this and asserts: "The Fuegians throw into the fire /1311/ hairs that have been plucked out or that have fallen out. They certainly do not destroy them as a hygienic precaution" /translated from French/. Actually, everyone is [184] anxiously concerned about destroying every hair by fire with his own hands. Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 712), the Yamana do this purposely for fear a yēkamuł might pick up a single hair and, by means of it, more easily cause a person some harm. Anyone who is certain that he has nothing to fear does not resist having a sample of his hair cut off; I succeeded in doing this.

/730 cont./

551 ūšipisēnjis according to Yamana ideas, because I was not born at a place in their home country. The first time I experienced their čiēxaus was in Šāmakuřwāja near Punta Remolino, and after that I was called šamakuřēnjis.

As we have just said, the same name should not be used for two persons, according to the general rule. If there are two ūšipisēnjis, they are distinguished from one another by nicknames, and this is certainly done at once when one of the two dies. The Yamana do not like to repeat the name of a deceased person, which they would be forced to do if the survivor continued /731/ to bear the name. For this reason the above-mentioned Santiago was called ūškēšyāgu, "White Forehead," and no longer ūšipisēnjis. If two persons have the same name and one of them dies, the survivor afterwards is called ūsiluřwēnjis for the time being. Fred Lawrence, for example, was called this after an Indian named Fred had died, and he told me that it means roughly, "the one from the same birthplace as another," and everyone knows that the other one is dead (173). The name ūsiluřyākipa is used for a

173. BD:104 also gives this word as "a name given a boy instead of his natal name in respect to the recent dead, when both bore the same name" /cited in English/.

female; naturally this name is applied to the surviving person only temporarily and a nickname soon becomes current.

The same consideration applies to the use of the word īkāškan for a son and very close relative (father, brother, sister) of a man and a woman who died by drowning. The name of that son or that relative is never repeated thereafter in order to avoid the memory of the death of a father or relative.

Finally, the Yamana also have a special designation for someone who is the last survivor in a region, namely, ūsidēpa, meaning "the one whose country will be forsaken after he dies." BD:104 gives ūsitōpa, "a person whose near relatives have died, as tho he had only his country left him" /cited in English/. Old Walter is regarded as an ūsidēpa, for he is the last of the eastern people.

/857 cont./

X881 compulsory position became almost unbearable and I did not know what else to do, I told my sponsor that I had to relieve myself. He nodded permission. An hour later I repeated my request. Outside I stretched my twisted limbs to my heart's desire each time, but quickly returned to the Great Hut. When, however, after a considerable time I repeated the same request, I was point-blank denied permission with a light shake of the head, and Chris merely said: "You don't have to relieve yourself that often!" The candidate who has been busy at something in the Great Hut or outside must return to his seat without delay and resume the squatting position exactly as before.

X881 2. Meager Nourishment: For every candidate his stay in the Great Hut is an uninterrupted hunger trial. During the first four
• 785 or six days he is given only a single mussel in the late afternoon
866 and, at the same time, a good swallow of water. He is served both these things by his /858/ sponsor. The uŭwʼala sucks the water out of the mussel shell with a small tube-shaped bird bone which the sponsor holds in one hand while he places his other hand on the throat of his protégé and presses slightly, as though to prevent the latter from drinking too much. The sponsor himself makes the small bone tube, ʼembalim, hands it to his protégé each time he sucks water, and leaves him this article as a souvenir at the end of the čiexan celebration. After the first few days the uŭwʼala gets a larger amount of food, even twice a day, at the same time that food is brought to the adults from the cookhut. It is the sponsor's duty to determine the amount that he wants the uŭwʼala to have each time. He takes into consideration the candidate's physical condition, but arranges everything so that he really suffers hunger. Later, drinking water is permitted several times a day, and the candidate asks his sponsor for it each time.

The young people are very much tormented by hunger, but in spite of it, they are made to eat very slowly. When small bits are distributed, perhaps berries and fungi gathered by the girls or roasted pieces of meat from a bird killed by the boys, the uŭwʼala may eat only after all the adults have been served. It is the duty of the sponsor to watch over these details. With all the strictness, however, he will not let matters go so far as to have his protégé collapse from exhaustion and become incapable

X 881 /358 cont./
of going on with the rest of the Kina celebration.

● 715 In front of the candidates, adults do not expose themselves explicitly about the purpose of this harsh hunger trial. Occasionally the leader or the sponsor will make a remark, as though parenthetically: "Everyone must have learned to get along with little food! For it happens sometimes that a whole family will get into a situation of great distress." Previously I had learned another version from Alfredo: "When the ulwéla are worn down with hunger, they are more receptive to the teachings, and the admonitions will go deeper!" There is always someone who accompanies the candidates when they go outside the Great Hut, so that they will not, on their own, make up for their many deprivations and perhaps eat a great deal.

X 881 3. Little Sleep. Although we are justified in speaking of a program for the Kina celebration, this does not mean a definite division into hours. The length of time for this or that exercise is much too dependent on the prevailing mood at the moment, and no obligatory hour strikes for those fortunate Fueguians, either in their daily life or in this secret celebration.

If there is no fixed time for the adult participants to go to bed, even less is there such for the ulwéla. There is, of course, considerable restriction, but it is the task of the sponsor to carry this out in detail. He watches the physical condition of his protégé, just as in the matter of food, and lets /358/ this guide his decision. Even so, the night's sleep at the beginning of the Kina lasts only five hours at most, which is obviously too little for young people. Of course the conscious intent is to weaken them.

In the evening, as soon as all the games and dances have ceased, the adults get ready to go to sleep. Not until two or three hours later will each sponsor independently grant his protégé permission to lie down also. By that time it is usually midnight. Between five and six o'clock in the morning the sponsor shakes the weary sleeper vigorously and merely says: "Sit up!" He has no choice but to obey. Half asleep he now squats in his place until it is light and the general cleaning in the Great Hut begins (279).

X 881 515

279. In more recent times the Yamana in the Great Hut also adhere to their practice of washing

X595
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/1352 cont./
one of these little sticks in each hand. He grasps it in his closed fist which rests on the ground. Afterwards he inserts the sticks into the hut wall where they are kept until used again. The sponsor often rubs them with dry imi powder (Fig. 97) (300).

Fig. 97. Kina Sticks.

300. These two short little sticks have their counterpart in the longer dance staff which each participant of the youth initiation holds in his hand (p. 718).

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If it has not been possible to fetch the selected candidates to the Great Hut on the first day, they are all brought there the second day after the start of the celebration. Here they immediately meet a "spirit," followed by the first important explanations (p. 1235). The candidates are usually given seats opposite the wide entrance. When they have recovered from their terrible fright and calmed down somewhat after the first spirit appearance, each of the sponsors shows his protégé the unnatural position of the body which he is more or less strictly obliged to maintain throughout the entire affair. A piece of leather is spread out over the litter of grass and the uwala crouches on it with his legs under him, the upper part of his body bent slightly forward, his arms folded on his chest, and his eyes fixed on the ground. He is supposed to remain this way as motionless as possible /1353/ and, of course, absolutely silent, paying no attention to the others. He may neither laugh out loud nor manifest his satisfaction over the jolly doings of the men, neither lean against the hut wall nor relax in a slouch, neither scratch any part of his body nor repulse annoying insects. He must also endure,

/1353 cont./

X575 576 785

without moving, the discomfort of a strong draft or smoke from the hut fire. It is only when the fire temporarily gives off too much heat that the sponsor builds a low protective screen of twigs and brush between the candidate and the fire. During the first few days the ulwala observe these requirements with painstaking exactness, but after that neither the sponsor nor the leader prevents them from raising their eyes and looking directly at the various spirit appearances or even smiling when the men laugh about some successful deception. The initial strictness is considerably relaxed, and finally the individual makes himself quite comfortable. He is never given the complete freedom of movement which the other participants enjoy, however. After a few days an ulwala may slip into a negligent posture and let his eyes roam about practically unrestrained, but in any case he must constantly remain crouched in his place.

X575 785

While some of the men stretch out comfortably in their sleeping places during the day, the candidate must remain upright. The program itself curtails his sleep at night, for when the spirit appearances have ended and the men have ceased their subsequent conversation, midnight is usually already past. It is only after the rest of the men have wrapped themselves in their blankets and deep silence has descended on the Great Hut -- which is supposed to announce to the women outside that all the spirits have departed -- that each sponsor gives his protégé permission in so many words to go to sleep. The ulwala may stretch out and make himself comfortable insofar as the limited space in the Great Hut permits, but as soon as the gray dawn appears in the eastern sky, he is again awakened by a call or an unmerciful nudge from his sponsor. Immediately the candidate sits up and takes the required position. He rubs his sleepy eyes with his hand and hastily arranges his hair. This completes his morning toilet. The constant curtailment of sleep makes the candidate weary and weak.

The short daily rations also contribute to this weakness. The ulwala is never permitted free access to the meat which on some days is brought into the Great Hut in excess. The sponsor himself always gives it to him as he sees fit. As a rule he gives him /1354/ a larger piece of meat in the morning or about 30

/1354 cont./

X 575 ● 715

muneh and at the same time as much water as the shell of a Voluta snail will hold. In the late afternoon, before the spirit scenes begin, he again gives his pendgf a few bites. If at one time or another during the day the candidate is again thirsty, he may ask for water and it is given to him, but he does not get more than the small quantities of meat mentioned. The men present repeatedly express their satisfaction over the fact that the ulwgala is visibly wasting away and has become physically weak. They believe that in this condition he is more receptive to the teachings and the seriousness of the impressions he receives will be more deeply engraved (301).

301. For the same purpose the candidates in the youth initiation become weak from hunger and are more receptive to the teachings (p. 709).

X 575

At the request of the leader the candidates are delegated to do the necessary work in the Great Hut. The boys are then always under the supervision of the sponsor or a group of younger men. Considerable piles of firewood are required, which must sometimes be brought from a distance. The necessary amounts of meat are procured on joint hunting expeditions. In all this the men see to it that the candidates exert themselves far beyond their strength and become exceedingly weary. Other chores are easier. Every morning and at night after the spirit appearances, they must sweep the Great Hut, rearrange the fire, carefully scrape off all the spattered color, and smooth out many pieces of skin. Besides these tasks, one man or another will call upon an ulwgala for small personal services when he is devoting himself to manual work or fixing a weapon. Such tasks and the long walks are obviously advantageous and desirable for the candidates. The dull, nearly motionless crouching on the same spot exhausts them far more than a strenuous hunt with plenty of physical exercise. The following rule is conscientiously carried out as soon as the ulwgala have been introduced. They may go in and out of the Great Hut only on the side that lies north of the fire. Everyone can easily conform to this duty since the broad entrance, as is

/1604 cont./

Our Tamana, as a matter of principle, forgo owing their fill on some occasions, which are well known. They content themselves with as little nourishment as possible in the Hyna house. On this occasion the mumel is regarded in the most suitable food for insuring that the old people and the apprentices will reach their goal. They all eat but once a day, soon after getting up. The uwhikkamuf are given three mumels at the most; all the other participants impose the same restriction upon themselves, and sometimes a person takes fasting all day. In individual cases the pupil is permitted to eat a fish instead of a mumel, but he may eat only the tail end. He removes the front end, along with the head, in the fire. A little tamkapu powder (328) is sprinkled on each bite that the apprentice eats.

328. No one could tell me the reason for these strange rules.

All the food is cooked in the Great Hut itself, and the remnants are immediately destroyed in the fire. If the pupil is making obvious progress, the three mumels a day are cut down first to two, later even to one for the duration of the affair. This is done so that he will steadily and quickly perfect himself. He is given water which he sucks in limited quantities through the well-known kimbalim, a thin hollow bone (p. 309) made out of a large bivalve shell, which is handed to him by a yikamuf. Every participant knows, and the apprentices are repeatedly told by the leader, that the less food and drink a person has, the more promptly his dreams will come to him; the more vivid his innerworld will be with the spirits, and the more capable the older yikamuf will be for his accomplishment. If a uwhikkamuf should give in to the pangs of hunger and secretly eat something, for instance, when he is gathering wood in the forest, then it is said that the yelikit tell the yikamuf of this infraction. Thereupon one of them will call the chap to account: "We know that you have secretly eaten outside this Hyna hut!" /1605/ Punishment does not follow, however, for the boy is sufficiently intimidated and accepts the rebuke without contradiction. He has learned his lesson forever.

Body painting is prescribed for the actual participants, the yikamuf and the uwhikkamuf. All of them are completely naked

/1405 cont./

L55 T50 J82

during the entire time that they remain in the hut. To paint themselves, each one scrapes fine powder from a lump of lime or clay with his incisors and mixes it with saliva by chewing it. He spits this on the palm of his hand and rubs it over his whole body. Before the mixture dries another man helps him complete the design. This man puts his fingertips close together and with his nails scratches vertical grooves into the pigment from the forehead to the ankles, that is, down the whole length of the body. These grooves later give the impression of dark lines that have been drawn in the pigment. Some men do not bother to use more than one finger to scratch in several grooves.[7] On some days the leader also catches for lime powder, a signal that all the participants are likewise to paint themselves red and to put the many lines on this background. Some of the men merely rub the white or red powder into the hair, most of them under a good deal of the sticky tamafiro on their heads. Everyone ties the aparuhe around his forehead, the feather ornament reserved exclusively for the ofuamal, not the strip of skin with down feathers known as hayaeh (p. 718). Everyone renews this body painting every day, usually in the afternoon when they all do it at once. The persons who are in the hut as helpers or spectators and all the women ofuamal must paint their faces and the upper part of their bodies white. They must also draw a finger-thick red line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. No one may remain in the ifuma house without being painted.

L55 T55 S16

Each actual participant is assigned a definite seat at the very beginning of the celebration. The seats are divided off on either side by a short stick. Everyone stretches his legs out in front of him. His upright torso is pressed so close to the hut framework that the back of his head touches it. Behind their necks they place a short, thick piece of soft, finger-like wood known as falakkha, as though it were a pillow. The neck presses it against the hut wall and thus it remains in position. Everyone must remain seated, still and motionless. His arms fall loosely on either side of his body. In the long run this position is a great strain and becomes indescribable agony. A person is permitted, however, to draw his feet up to his rump in a squatting position. In exceptional cases he may also sit for a

X756 /1405 cont./
785 time with his legs crossed under him, at the same time holding
516 his arms crossed over his chest. The impression that the circle of motionless, painted white figures made upon me was indescribably strange.

X756 It has been mentioned several times that very little sleep
785 is permitted for the participants, and it comes during the four or
513 five /1406/ hours before daybreak. As ancient custom recommends, the qualified yékamuš sleep in the sitting position described above. Some of them draw their legs up slightly and slide back a little so that the bent back touches the hut wall while the neck still holds up the piece of wood. A person who can no longer do this may lie on one side and stretch his legs a bit, but he absolutely must have the piece of wood under his neck. The yefáčel live in the old trees from which this šalalakína wood is taken; thus, the person who keeps the piece of wood behind his neck retains his yefáčel-xéola even during sleep. The posture indicated induces many lively dreams during sleep. The sensitivity and irritability of the nerves are increased to the limit by the fact that, after the strain of the uncomfortable sitting position, even sleep at night is considerably curtailed; this is the goal sought by this means and by the limited diet and prolonged silence.

X756 According to Yamana belief, a full-fledged yékamuš mere-
827 ly seems to have the same type of body as the ordinary human being (p. 1308). The transformation of the body begins here in the lóima-yékamuš for those uswáléxamuš who have experienced a real call. First the entire face is affected. After the medicine-man school has continued for a few days each apprentice, according to instructions given by experienced yékamuš, begins the following process which he may not interrupt. He takes a ball of fine wood shavings from the lemon-yellow wood of Berberis ilicifolia (it is known as čílěrž), dips it into the white túmarápu powder and rubs his cheeks with it. For about half an hour his hand moves slowly with scarcely perceptible pressure; then he stops for the same length of time and begins anew. Each apprentice carries on these motions by himself; he does it for a shorter or longer time, but he must continue the process all day long. Its purpose is to make a new, softer, more delicate skin appear in place of his actual skin. When, after continuous

/921 cont./

X881 533 The leader sometimes shouts encouraging words. At that time Santiago spoke as follows: "My spirit [enthusiasm] is still alive and strong. Thus I shall go on singing!" Black interrupted him: "Attention, everyone. We must sing with much more vigor!" Santiago continued: "So let us go on singing!" He himself made a great effort to stir up those present and make them take part enthusiastically. The vigorous singing lasted for 20 minutes. Suddenly Santiago cried: "Someone has painfully stepped on me. I feel very weak!" As a matter of fact, he was not feeling well at all that day. In order to make himself feel better, he jumped up and danced through the Great Hut. As he did so, he cried: "There in the land of my mother where I experienced the čiéxaus for the first time, I was never stepped on. But here someone stepped on my foot very painfully, awāi. But let us sing on!" He soon tired and slowed down, and the general singing again became weak.

X881 533 535 It is solely the mental state of the participants and the prevailing mood that determine the length of these group performances. Anyone who has become somewhat tired, usually through being too active, sits down for a few minutes and lets the compact mass of dancers pass by. Afterward he again joins the great cluster and acts as enthusiastically as before. Individual leaders inspire most of the others solely by their own attitude, and then the group singing and dancing sometimes lasts for more than two hours. Thick clouds of dust fill the whole interior of the čiéxaus hut, but in their eager animation everyone disregards it.

X881 535 786 While the singing proceeds with more or less uniform intensity, an individual is now and then seized with particular excitement. He will get to his feet as though he is furious and will move with trembling restlessness through the Great Hut from one exit to the other. In the process, a few people standing in the center are sometimes strongly shoved aside. They will say: /922/ "That person has been seized by késpiš [spirit, enthusiasm]!" The aroused person will dance back and forth in the čiéxaus hut until he is exhausted.

One evening clumsy Mary suddenly jumped up and stepped into the center. She breathed heavily as though she were raving mad and her whole body trembled. Furiously she grasped a piece

/922 cont./

X881 of meat in both fists and tore off great hunks with her teeth,
535 hastily swallowing them. The other pieces that she tore off were
786 thrown into the fire. She made a slight motion with her head and Gertie and Emilia stepped in front of her. Holding the larger piece of meat between her teeth, she let both of them tear off a scrap with their own teeth. Very much stirred, all three danced through the čiēxaus hut, showing the pieces of meat held between their teeth. With a fixed gaze they stared in the direction in which they moved. Their frantic behavior continued until, tired out, they sought their places. The Yamana explain such an exhibition by saying that a great enthusiasm has suddenly filled the person, that "his kēšpiх seizes him!"

X881 It is not a fixed rule but it is customary to conclude the
evening singing and dancing almost always with the tā̄xer song,
535 the so-called song of the yékamuš. It is begun by some person
533 who gets up and strides through the entire room dancing. At the same time he holds his dance staff horizontally in front of him, a sign that he is asking for something. He is given pieces of meat, berries, or fungi, which he joyfully accepts, dances contentedly through the hut, and gives some of these things to other persons. He keeps a small portion for himself and eats it, as do the others, with visible satisfaction. All the people present accompany the song with a forward, rolling motion of the right arm alone, or they hold the dance staff horizontally with both hands and roll it forward and upward. The singing and body movements increase until they become lively, for with this the entire performance is supposed to end for this time. Thus the tā̄xer song is a farewell to the day, a genuine evening song. It is also intended as an accompaniment for the "spirits" on their way home, for they, too, withdraw after their long stay here on this day. The arm movements, with or without the staff, are supposed to indicate the work of rowing as one glides over the waves. Since the tā̄xer song is also intoned at the end of the entire čiēxaus celebration, these arm movements are meant to indicate the departure by boat of the many participants who now scatter in all directions.

X881 The particular purpose of the tā̄xer song is "to attend to
533 the spirits who have come from afar to the čiēxaus gathering,
781 to calm them down after their lively participation and make them

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan SH6

622, 754, 755, 776, 787, 789, 791, 793, 874

[Information on various aspects of Yahgan culture which are closely related to the characteristics and activities of the yékamuš or medicine-man, including his training, role as a community leader, curer, sorcerer, and custodian of religious lore, have been marked for category 756 and will be found under that classification.]

35b /386 cont./
342 meanwhile airs out thoroughly, is completely cleansed by the rain, and after considerable time is again suitable as a temporary refuge. With this in mind they leave the first dwelling undamaged when they move out, and upon their return they need make only a few additions. Again, unreasoning nature helps where these Indians themselves are lacking in cleanliness. Even though the dwelling may be changed, certain circumstances may make it imperative to remain for a longer period in one place. When such circumstances are absent, every family unhesitatingly and at frequent intervals moves its campsite a great distance.

342 Each individual family erects a dwelling exclusively for itself wherever it temporarily happens to be. Formerly, however, in the west an exception was made where a hut known as ayusuĕkĕr, was built to be occupied by several families. The reason for this [187] was either the prophetic warning of a few yĕkamuš who predicted a severe winter or the stranding of a whale at the beginning of the cold season. Three to six families who were related or friends joined in the building of this community hut. They chose a suitable spot near the stranded whale or near the swamp where they [251] preserved large pieces of fat in the water, in any case on dry ground and particularly well protected from wind and weather by a high rock. The men taking part in the construction of the dwelling, the customary dome-shaped hut, but elongated in this case, fetched suitable poles and built a stable, unusually strong framework.

They devoted great care to this work, which therefore occupied them all for perhaps half a day, whereas the ordinary dome-shaped hut took only two to three hours and the conical hut even less time. The length and width of this communal dwelling depended on the number of occupants, and the height of the interior was increased somewhat to prevent any discomfort that might be caused from the smoke of the larger fire. An unusually thick cover was laid on the firm framework, consisting of several alternate layers of tree bark and grass, rushes and twigs, with large, thick pieces of leather occasionally inserted between them. Thongs were stretched over large areas in order to /387/ secure the outer cover firmly. An entrance was left on each of the two narrow ends, and this was covered with a leather hanging. Both entrances were

/1098 cont./

775 to us! There is some tragicomedy in the fact that the daughter-
797 in-law of the missionary John Lawrence should have so expressed herself! With such tendencies on the part of our Fuegians it would be a psychological monstrosity to maintain that the figure of Watauinčiwa was taken entirely from the Europeans. This one example shows how strictly they keep their own religious heritage separate from the teachings of their missionaries. They have their own explanation, derived from their characteristic habits of thought, for the divergent attitude of Christians. "The Christians,"
[551] I was told by the Yamana, "do not show nearly as much pain and grief for a dead person as we do! They do not even change their name" (36). It grieves our Indians to repeat the name of a dead

36. The conditions under which someone changes his name if it is identical with that of a deceased person will be given on p. 1060.

person, but this does not affect the less sensitive Christians.
775 Gertie said: "We are immeasurably sad when one of our people dies because we do not know what comes after death. We do not know whether we shall be able to see and speak to the kēspix or how they are and whether they are happy. All that we do not know, that is why we are so sad and why we weep a great deal!"

They do admit the possibility of seeing one of their de-
775 ceased relatives again, although they are not strictly logical about
781 it. Many a /1099/ Yamana said: "When I am very sad and long to see them, when I keep thinking about them, they finally come to me. I see them in my dream. They are not just dream images, they are the real kēspix!" In my opinion these words point to particularly vivid dreams or actual visions which cause the delusion. It is all the more striking that in the Hašamājif wātuwa it is said that the kēspix of four deceased brothers and their malevolent brother-in-law returned as actual human beings after their violent deaths and temporarily were in contact with their unsuspecting nephew, like real people, but their behavior is described as that of mentally inferior persons. It is only in this story, not anywhere else, that the souls of deceased persons appear.

/1296 cont./

776 in their dreams, tells them many things" /cited in English/ (259).
756

259. And again at (k):238: "The yecamush claims to have dealings with beings called yapahchel, and they are the ones who give him the power to see and do fabulous things, especially to cure and to kill" /translated from Spanish/.

In BD:661 one reads: "Yapačal, a being of more than human power and sagacity whom the yěkamuš claimed as their inspiring power and instructor" /cited in English/. If, referring to this, Bridges believes that this designation also means "spirits of men, especially such as have been killed by violence" /cited in English/, I must reject this as inaccurate. A special relationship between a yěkamuš and his Yefačel is universally recognized, and it will be discussed below. Here it should merely be pointed out that there is a belief in thumb-sized guardian spirits, from whose large number every person is assigned his Yefačel for the rest of his life.

b. Forms of Superstition

• 787 Several groups of definite spirits have just been named and described. These are not independent beings which actually exist, but are present only in Yamana belief. To this extent they must be regarded as objects of superstition. For various reasons they were treated separately, first of all, because each group is an individual, definite phenomenon. This is not true of the figures which appear in dreams and the many superstitious views which are linked with some definite circumstance.

1. Dreams

787 The fact that the Yamana dream a great deal must be traced
154 back to their alertness in everyday life and to their very vivid imaginations. Almost every morning one of the adults in a family

/1296 cont./

787 hut will relate his dream. It is not regarded as unusual for
154 someone who is suddenly awakened in the middle of the night by a vivid dream to wake up his family and tell them about it. A yékamuš may even call out to all the neighboring huts from his bed and announce to the people what he just experienced in a dream, although this is generally without any significance to outsiders. It will be explained below how much the yékamuš pursue their calling in dreams. The Yamana believe that the
[828] very frequent dream images come by themselves to ordinary people, and everyone is very much concerned about them /1297/ (260).

260. Hyades (q):253 says briefly: "Dreams are frequent, but in general no one seems to attribute any meaning or importance to them" /translated from French/. Only the first part of this statement is correct.

787 Everyone attributes more or less importance to a dream, depending on its content, the person's temperament, and given circumstances. There is no rule or any sort of criterion; the individual attaches more significance to one dream and less to another according to his own feeling and judgment. A person will be more vividly concerned and more excited by something that touches him directly or threatens him with grave consequences than by unimportant and insignificant everyday things. Everyone who hears about a dream accepts without contradiction the dreamer's interpretation of it. No one would ever dare minimize in any way or even reject the interpretation of a dream given by the one who experienced it and who evaluates it according to his own judgment. Anyone who is extremely disturbed about a dream turns to a yékamuš, who, for his part, will always confirm the seriousness of the whole matter and will usually prepare at once to ward off the harm threatened in the dream.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the Yamana believe implicitly in the dreams which agitate and alarm them (261).

261. Bridges (i):14 has reliably declared: "The Yahgans had great faith in dreams

/1297 cont./

•787 and were consequently often troubled with anticipation of death without reason" /cited in English/.

This is chiefly the case when one's own life or that of his immediate family is in any way threatened. The Yamana regards the dream figures, whether they be spirits from the groups named above, friendly and hostile acquaintances, souls of the dead, or even animals, as actual manifestations, as living creatures which present themselves on occasion, as kěspiš. Hence he trusts their words, takes their warnings into consideration, fears their threats, and quietly reconciles himself to the trouble they announce. Our Indians are considerably strengthened in their confident belief in dreams by the fact that now and then some premonition awakened by the dream is fulfilled or some foreboding comes true. They remember such so-called proofs of the reliability of dreams or of their faith in them throughout their lives and point them out over and over again on suitable occasions. Almost any Yamana is able to point to such an experience, that is to say, to show the credibility of a dream. They attach the full merit of truth especially to the dreams of the yěkamuš.

Bridges realized this: "Dreaming of a doctor is much dreaded by these natives, since they believe it surely forebodes ill -- either some sad disaster, or deaths caused by the doctor dreamt of. Uroopatoosh told me that his mother, the day she died, told him that she had dreamt of a doctor" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 259;1864). Much earlier Fitz-Roy (a):181 described Jemmy Button as /1298/ "a great believer in dreams" /cited in English/ and substantiated this as follows: "While at sea, on board the 'Beagle,' about the middle of the year 1832, he said one morning to Mr. Bynoe, whispered in his ear that his father was dead. Mr. Bynoe tried to laugh him out of the idea, but ineffectually. He fully believed that such was the case, and maintained his opinion up to the time of finding his relations in the Beagle Channel, when, I regret to say, he found that his father had died some months previously. He did not forget to remind Mr. Bynoe of their former conversation, and, with a significant shake of the head said, it was 'bad'. After that

/1298 cont./

•781 time he said no more about his father" /cited in English/.

The firm belief in dreams, which I was able to observe directly in Nelly Lawrence, is characteristic of all Yamana. A few more examples follow. On July 26, 1923, Nelly told me sadly that she had dreamed very bad things the night before: "A few families came here [to Punta Remolino] from Mejillones [on Navarino Island] and told me that there was universal mourning over there. Today someone will surely come from there and tell us who has died. After this dream I woke up and did not go back to sleep again." She spoke with great firmness and could not shake off her depressed mood even when I tried to convince her that dreams are meaningless. It was true that for several days absolutely no visitors had arrived from Mejillones; we feared a sickness had broken out. To the surprise of everyone, Alejandro landed in Punta Remolino toward noon of the same day and immediately told us: "Last night two women died over there among us, Anita, the wife of Willert, and Sara, the wife of Mašemikens. Mašemikens and old Emilia are seriously ill and will probably also succumb [to the sudden epidemic of grippe]!" After Alejandro had had a heart-to-heart talk with Nelly for about an hour, she immediately came to me and told me in detail what she had just heard. "So you see my dream of last night, which I told you about this morning, came true," she said with sad earnestness; "I knew that something [some news] would have to come today! Whatever I dream always comes true, no matter how distressing! I am never mistaken in my dreams! How terrible this news is. Now we must fear that still more people will be taken away in this epidemic. The poor child of Mašemikens has now lost its mother and if the father, too, dies, the girl will be orphaned (262). Now it is to be feared that soon

262. This girl, Eva, about seven years old, is the only child of Sara who has just died and of old Pedro Masemikens who is now very ill.

the last of my countrymen will pass away. Then I shall be the only one left and must feel the hard, tragic fate of my countrymen. I, myself, as the only one, will be here but a short time,

/1298 cont./

•787 and with me the last survivor of the Yamana will sink into the grave." Anyone would have been touched to see this woman in her anxious grief over her own people. /1299/ The primary aim here, however, was to show that the Yamana attribute a great measure of truth to their dreams.

On my fourth journey I interrupted my stay in Beagle Channel by a prolonged visit to the Selk'nam (p. 191 /untranslated/). When I returned to Punta Remolino, Nelly said to me one morning: "Last night I dreamed again, but it was nothing worth mentioning. Why is it that we sometimes have very good dreams in which we see the future? Yes, what we so often see in dreams is surely true! -- But I haven't told you about the two dreams I had while you were with the Selk'nam." Nelly now told me: "At that time [in March, 1923] I dreamed that Mašemikens came here to Punta Remolino for a short visit. When he bade us farewell he said sadly: 'I feel as though we were seeing each other today for the last time. You are a good woman, willing to help, and I should like to come again soon, but I feel that we shall probably not see each other again!' That is what Mašemikens said. Sure enough, he did not come to Punta Remolino after that and later [in August] he died." Nelly mentioned another incident: "One morning Marocha came to me all excited; it was the day before her death. She told me: 'Last night I had very bad dreams. My brother Tom [father of Homestead and brother of Alfredo] came to me and said: "Where is Alfredo?" I said: "He is staying in the south! I, too, would be glad if he would come back soon and tell our white friend [Gusinde] a few stories. The latter is soon returning from the region of the Selk'nam." Tom: "It may be a long time before he comes. But I must go soon." Marocha: "Stay a while!" Tom: "I can't; my hašuwāpisa /blue whale/ is waiting for me; he is in a great hurry and will not permit me to stay." Marocha: "Oh, well, the hašuwāpisa can wait." Tom: "He won't allow that. I must leave immediately with hašuwāpisa. I came to call you!" Marocha: "But I want to stay here for a bit!" Tom: "But I must go again; hašuwāpisa is in a hurry and will grant me no further delay!"... When he had gone a certain distance, he waved his hand toward me, as though to say: "We shall see each other soon!" He retreated farther and

/1299 cont./

•787 farther and finally disappeared completely.' ...All this Marocha told me and wept and sobbed as she did so. Then she took three little baskets which she had made the day before and handed them to me, saying: 'Take these little baskets. If I should really die soon, I could not give you anything any more. I would rather you take these little baskets and keep them!' I took the little baskets. On the afternoon of the same day Marocha felt very ill; she was stricken with fever and the next morning she was dead. All this happened just as I told it to you!" Each word had the tone of utter conviction.

The haš̆ɣwā́pisa mentioned above is to be explained as follows. This /1300/ is the common name of the mighty blue whale, Balaenoptera schlegelii (p. 36 /untranslated/). This Tom, Marocha's brother, had died long before her conversation with Nelly; he came to his sister Marocha in a dream. It is said of him: One day, as he was walking along the shore, a haš̆ɣwā́pisa emerged from the water and for some time kept staring at Tom. Tom died that same year; the haš̆ɣwā́pisa took along his kēspiš. From that time on the two were [somehow] connected. Tom, accompanied by that haš̆ɣwā́pisa, appeared to his sister Marocha in a dream. On this occasion haš̆ɣwā́pisa took her kēspiš along, just as he had previously taken the kēspiš of Tom. That is why Marocha died soon after her dream in which, actually, haš̆ɣwā́pisa carried her off. This strange interpretation must be regarded, according to the principles of the medicine men, as an isolated case. Accordingly, it does not run counter to the general conception of the kēspiš, the human soul after death.

It is the individual person himself who more or less enlivens his dream image, giving it greater or lesser significance. He likes to attribute reality to those images that give him a vision of the future. Conjectures and forebodings that first appeared as dreams and afterward came to pass in some way strengthen him anew in his belief and increase his confidence in dreams.

2. Superstitious Ideas

811

In the simple mental life of the Fuegians there is no lack of certain views and opinions which must be regarded as true

/1300 cont./

811 /translated from French/. Cooper:159, on the basis of the few data available to him at the time, surmised correctly: "Superstitions exist, but apparently in moderate number only" /cited in English/. Even now this judgment need not be changed.

/1301/

a. Superstitions Related to the Animal Kingdom

825 The Fuegian is very dependent on the animals of his homeland. Hence it is not strange that they play a dominant role in his superstitious ideas.

825 If at night a dog howls miserably for any length of time, its master interprets it as presaging all kinds of dire prospects
• 787 for himself or for a proposed undertaking, such as a hunt, a journey, and important work. If all the dogs howl in the few huts that form a camp, an epidemic or at least serious illness among many persons is to be expected. If the howling of many dogs has lasted for some time, all the people come out of their huts and hurl everything at hand toward heaven, things such as stones and pieces of leather, tools and weapons, and preferably hot ashes and glowing logs. Meanwhile no one, with the exception of half-grown children, may stay in bed or rest. Everyone must be up and about until dawn. All night long everyone is very excited and behaves wildly. They wave their arms about in extreme agitation; they thrust their arms forward and upward with hands outspread and cry from constricted throats tetete... All this is supposed to ward off the menacing illness.

When people are sitting out in the open in front of their huts, it sometimes happens that a dog comes crawling up to a person, dragging himself along the ground, stretched out on all fours, and pushing himself forward on his belly. They interpret this to mean that the person himself or someone among his intimate family will soon die.

825 In contrast to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 797), our Yamana are neither friendly to the fox nor kindly disposed toward it, because it preys on human carcasses. The following story is told. When

/1302 cont./

825 Our Yamana are no less superstitious about birds. Some among the great numbers of them prove to be helpful. They announce things that are important to human beings and warn them. The sea duck deŝka (Tachyeres patachonicus) is at times even included in food taboos (p. 503). The mighty condor weŝiyáu (Cathartes aura) is said to lead the dance of the birds. The condor can be dangerous to little children, which is why a mother may never leave her infant unattended. It is said that one day a small child at play crept out of the hut and down to the beach. The child's mother sat at her work in the hut and did not notice it. A condor flew down from above and seized the child with its strong talons, dragging it to the nearest mountain. After a while the mother stepped out of her hut and looked for the child. In vain she searched all the other huts, and no one could give her any information. Everybody helped her look, but they did not find the child. The next day they walked around the whole region, but without success. Nevertheless the mother and her relatives kept on searching. Finally, on the peak of the nearby /1303/ mountain they found the remains of the child, its head and a few bones. It happened that the face was not mutilated and the mother recognized her child. The condor had dragged it off and devoured it because it had been sitting unattended on the beach. The mother wept bitterly and returned to her hut.

825 821 787 If a hawk, yo'okalía (Milvago chimango), acts unusually happy and flies about gaily, good weather is on the way. Anyone who is obliged to take a long journey starts out early when he sees this sign; beautiful weather will accompany him. When yo'okalía screams complainingly at night, snow and cold weather are in the offing, both annoy the bird.

825 787 Quite generally the light-colored horned owl, sítá (Nyctalops accipitrinus), is very carefully watched. If it persistently and anxiously flies around one or more huts standing close together, its cry means that someone in the neighborhood has died. If it lands on a hut, even for a few moments, it indicates that one of the inmates will soon die. When this sítá on its nocturnal flights utters the prolonged, intermittent cry kĩt, kĩt, kĩt... which sounds as though drops of blood were splashing on the

/1303 cont./

825 ground, it is an omen of murder and a person from the immediate
• 787 vicinity will be the victim. If someone approaches a small group of men or lands near a few huts and notices a sîta circling around the huts during the day, he recognizes this as a definite warning that these people are hostile to him and have evil intentions, are perhaps even planning to murder him. Hence he quietly slips away that very night and goes far enough so that none of the men can follow him. If in the next few days a horned owl should again appear in his vicinity or circle around him, he concludes that the men are on his trail. Without delay he hurries off to his own home. He is safe in the circle of his relatives.

825 The Yamana must show due respect for the small finch
824 hêpul (Taeniopterа pyrope). Anyone who annoys it and throws stones at it must be prepared for very bad weather. Out of vengefulness and an injured sense of honor, it causes bad storms and heavy rains.

825 A person who hears the cry of the gray night heron tûwux
787 (Nycticorax obscurus), rejoices, for this bird tells him that a canoe with friendly visitors will soon come. They usually arrive the very next day and from exactly the same direction that the call of this heron came from or the direction from which the bird flew when it came. Even today the tûwux is venerated everywhere.

825 The large petrels, especially the albatross, which rise up
821 over the waves far out on the high seas and describe large circles in the air, announce to the people that they must be prepared for rough seas and foul weather.

825 /1304/ It is a universal custom for a hunter who has bagged
777 a Molinas goose tékuî (Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/) to break both its legs immediately; otherwise he will have no future luck at hunting. If the hunter has a newborn child at home, he may not break the legs of this goose with his own hands if he wishes to keep his child from harm (p.505).

825 A solitary sea duck, dêka (Tachyeres patachonicus), fly-
788 ing over a hut fills all the inmates with fear and trembling. They are afraid that this dêka will take with it the kispif of the children present. They quickly throw large pieces of skin over each baby and cover them well. Others will repeatedly stretch their arms out in front of them, palms forward, at the same time

/1210 cont./

•781 Finally there are a few superstitious ideas of a different nature. Nelly assured me: "If half-grown children run away from their parental hut, if someone wounds himself badly with his ax or if he falls or stumbles and burns himself seriously, it means that some person in his vicinity is going to die. The persons who have hurt themselves are not to blame, nor are those children who have run away. Their bdgzi prompts them, and they can do nothing about it. The parents of a small child will not explain this to him if he has run away. Instead they await with terror the death that has been thus announced." Nelly gave me this explanation when I told her that one day, late in the afternoon, the small daughter of Malemikeen had run away with some other girls (p. [illegible]). She pointed out to me that the wife of Thomas died that very night.

[183] BD:274 gives bmdlf as a bad omen for the hunt. "a supposed evil influence arising from unclean and unwashed persons after sexual uncleanness eating animals, as guanaco or otter caught by dogs which caused them (the dogs) to cease to be successful in further hunting" /cited in English/. I did not come across this view; it does not agree with many ideas that have been definitely proved.

382 Young Darwin (f):II, 327 reports: "When York Minster was brought back to his own country the natives told him that he should pluck out the few short hairs on his face. They also threatened a young missionary who had been left among them for a time that they would strip him naked and pluck out the hairs on his face and body, although he was by no means very hirsute." Hyades (q):255 refers to this and asserts: "The Fueglans throw into the fire /1311/ hairs that have been plucked out or that have fallen out. They certainly do not destroy them as a hygienic precaution" /translated from French/. Actually, everyone is

[154] anxiously concerned about destroying every hair by fire with his own hands. Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 712), the Yamana do this purposely for fear a yékamuf might pick up a single hair and, by means of it, more easily cause a person some harm. Anyone who is certain that he has nothing to fear does not resist having a sample of his hair cut off. I succeeded in doing this.

/1996 cont./

X756 *yékamal* themselves. It is true that ordinary people do not understand the inner relationships in the work of the medicine man, much less their alleged connection with the oft-mentioned spirits, but they do have some notion of all this and that suffices to give them some understanding of the medicine-man system. Every Yamana knows more or less accurately the sphere in which the *yékamal* operate, what means they use, what external conditions are linked with success, and to what extent one *yékamal* differs from another in ability. These specific facts are common property, for the *yékamal* devote themselves to their task quite publicly and before the eyes of their close fellow-villagers. In this process, everyone who pays a certain amount of attention easily learns the observable techniques of a medicine man. If he supplements this with the explanations of the *yékamal*, he will finally become acquainted with the latter's entire body of thought. If a Yamana becomes firmly convinced of his own ability, /1996/ time will decide when he will begin to work as a *yékamal*. This brief sketch outlines the process of development of those persons who on their own initiative and later in life begin practicing the trade of medicine man within modest limits.

X756 Such individuals, however, do not have a calling in the strict sense of the word, and without this no one becomes a full-
•787 fledged *yékamal*. First of all I believe that one can speak of an indirect or intermediary calling. This expression has a threefold meaning. If the relatives of a young man or *yékamal* who are friends of his have discovered a talent in him for this office and if they feel that he is qualified to make contact easily with the *Ówáxsat* spirits by quickly putting himself into the dream state, then the people who have observed this tell the man of their conviction and advise him to become a medicine man. It can also happen that some *yékamal* is requested by spirits in a dream to introduce to his art a man they designate, so that he may later practice it. This *yékamal* assiduously trains the man designated, for he wants to show the spirits that he is obliging and he takes great pleasure in giving a pupil his art. Finally one must add here all those persons who on their own initiative devote themselves to the duties of *yékamal*. They do this because they have become personally convinced that they are capable of the same accomplishments that they have observed in full-fledged *yékamal*.

/1906 cont./

LOG 17

One can least of all speak of a calling with regard to this last class of *yikamuf*, to which a few women also belong. The two groups first mentioned have a somewhat higher standing. Under no circumstances need a person expect any kind of harm or fear revenge from the spirits if he decides not to adopt the vocation of *yikamuf* despite the above-mentioned requests, for these are regarded merely as invitations and are not compulsory. It is true that if certain spirits seriously want a man for this service, they call him with unequivocal petitioners. Similarly, no one needs to answer a summons expressed through other influences or indefinite impressions. This was explained to me in March, 1953, by Creek on the basis of a personal experience. "Years ago I once passed through a dense forest alone. Suddenly I heard very beautiful singing, like the voice of a bird. I had never heard anything like it. I started to go in the direction of the voice. When I was quite near, the singing sounded even more beautiful, but I saw no one. Then I threw a spear in the direction of that voice. I did not see anyone, but the singing suddenly ceased. Shortly after that I felt very weak and unwell. I dragged myself along with effort and reached my hut. The *yikamuf* in the neighborhood immediately realized that something special must have happened to me, and they advised me to become a *yikamuf*. But I had no desire to do this and so the men did not urge me further. A year after that I had a dream. I saw an old man who seriously /1906/ warned me: 'Never become a *yikamuf*! On the day that you perform as one you will die!' I do not know who that old man was; I have heeded his warning." A person who takes on the name of a medicine man under such circumstances always plays a subordinate role.

In contrast to this there is the uncommon or direct, or immediate call, with which there is decided compulsion. It can come about in various ways. For instance, a young man will be walking through the forest looking for a small tree trunk for his harpoon shaft. He searches about for a long time, much longer than usual, looks hither and yon, but no sapling seems just right. He does not recognize himself in this behavior, he is surprised at himself, it is almost as though he were changed and under a spell. Suddenly he stands before a little tree that he likes extraordinarily

/1396 cont./

X756 well and exactly suits him. He immediately applies his ax, but
• 787 it is only after many a heavy blow that he reaches the center. Instantly a considerable amount of water gushes out. He is startled and recognizes this sign. Without hesitation he turns his back on the little tree and hastens back to his hut. He briefly asks his wife and children not to touch him, talk to him, or disturb him, but to remain perfectly quiet. He lies down and is immediately fast asleep. Then he again sees his kēspiš standing in front of that little tree in the forest, out of which abundant water is still flowing. Numerous other kēspiš are standing about, some of whom he knows, but not most of them. He discovers some friendly yēkamuš among them. One or another of the yēkamuš points to the dreamer's own kēspiš in the group and acts very friendly and well-meaning toward him. Gradually all the spirits sit down at that beautiful spot. Then they offer fine presents to the kēspiš of the dreamer and give him things to eat and drink, for everything is there in great abundance. The kēspiš of the dreamer is happy among them, everything is magnificent and quite in accord with his wishes, every detail is to his liking. The kēspiš talk together for a long time; they discuss all kinds of things and enjoy themselves. Suddenly all the spirits get up, and each one hastily bids farewell to the kēspiš of the dreamer. Soon the man wakes up and finds himself alone again in his hut. In an anxious voice he calls together his neighbors. They recognize his condition of spiritloss and the yēkamuš who are present begin the čōwánni song. The heart of this man is filled with sorrow, and he longs and yearns for those friendly spirits in whose company he but recently felt indescribably happy. Soon the čōwánni song brings back those friendly spirits, he again finds himself in their company and is quite happy. When the people stop their singing, the spirits go away again and the man finds himself back in everyday life. He has calmed down, for now he knows that the /1397/ spirits have accepted him in their society. The very next night he dreams again. His kēspiš hastens back to that little tree in the woods, from which water is still gushing. That happy company also arrives there without delay and greets him warmly as a friend and associate. One or another of the spirits is particularly friendly, offers to help this kēspiš, and tells him frankly that he must become a yēkamuš. The next morning this man wakes up. All his

/1397 cont./

X756 neighbors can see that he is feeling well; the memory of that
781 company of spirits is still alive in him. Without talking about it
he gathers up his things, leaves his family, and sets out to go to
that experienced yékamuš whose spirit he saw the night before.
He stays with him for some time and is taught by him.

There is another call that comes in a similar manner. If
X756 someone is walking dreamily through the forest, lost in thought
776 and unconscious of himself, so to speak, he may suddenly see a
781 large number of spirits in front of him. These are people of
small stature but like human beings with respect to the shape of
their bodies. Soon the man collapses and is overcome by a deep
sleep. In his dream he now sees those little people much more
distictly. He realizes that many spirits are sitting there around a
fire, warming themselves and softly talking among themselves.
They wave to the kēšpiš of the dreamer in friendly fashion, and
one of them seems particularly favorably disposed. They all in-
vite him to sit down with them beside the fire; he does so and
feels content among them. After some time the man wakes up,
and it is only with some effort that he rubs the sleep out of his
eyes. The dream is very vivid to him and that kēšpiš who was
particularly favorably disposed toward him becomes his guardian
spirit. The latter will give him his song and that makes him a
yékamuš. The type of spirit referred to is called hésteka-yékamuš.
They like to stay in old tree trunks. They sometimes move the
trunks in such a way that they bend extremely low, turn around,
and shake and tremble violently. These hésteka-yékamuš live in
old decayed tree trunks.

The direct call can also come from actual čōwánni spirits.
A man will be roaming along the shore alone, as though sunk in
a world of dreams, without definite thoughts. Suddenly he finds
himself in a visionary state, known as asikáku; before him swarms
a vast number of herring, whales, swordfish, vultures, cormorants,
petrels, and other animals. They all speak flatteringly to him,
are very gracious, and show great devotion to him; they act like
the most friendly human beings. The man is completely out of
his mind and does not know what is happening to him. His whole
body is numb, and he sinks down and lies there motionless. His
kēšpiš is communing with those čōwánni spirits and feels an

/1397 cont./

786 extraordinary happiness. Suddenly the spirits take their leave
787 and disappear. Awakening from his deep dreams, the man
staggers home. He hardly knows what is going on around him. He
776 lies down on his bed /1398/ and sinks back into his dream. Again the swarm of animals appears to him; they are all friendly to him and entice his kēšpix. Soon the latter follows them far out to the high seas. One of the spirits is concerned about this kēšpix and treats it with extravagant kindness; he will become the special guardian spirit of this man. All the other spirits are also at the man's disposal as friends and helpers. The immediate neighbors of this man, particularly the yékamuš, realize from his behavior what is going on. He is left alone and everybody waits patiently until he has shaken off his deep dream.

Sometimes a person is also called by Haučéllakīpa, the most powerful spirit in the lōima-yékamuš. The man chosen sinks into a deep dream quite suddenly. Haučéllakīpa appears to his kēšpix in the form of a huge whale which is considerably larger than any representative of this species. The kēšpix understands what this vision means; he can no longer escape and must become a yékamuš. The old masters are told by their own guardian spirits about every asikāku call. A person on whom such a vision is conferred loses complete control over himself for a few days; he does not eat or drink and stays away from everyone. He spends the time dreaming and his kēšpix often returns to the group of spirits where he feels more and more at home. Soon one of those spirits puts himself at the disposal of this kēšpix as his yefáčel and personal guardian spirit with overwhelming friendliness. The yefáčel finally gives this kēšpix his song, and then the owner of the kēšpix is a yékamuš. When, lost in the dream, he himself begins singing this song aloud, everyone around him knows what has happened to him. Every man who has received such a direct call goes to an experienced medicine man for a few months to be taught by him. When he returns to his family group, he puts himself at their disposal.

One can become a full-fledged yékamuš only by way of an asikāku. In one of the subsequent "visions" a special guardian spirit introduces himself to the dreaming person and remains attached to him from then on as his personal helper. He will not

/1398 cont./

X75b release him; hence the person must operate as a yẽkamuš. If
• 78b he refuses, the yefáčel, more accurately known as yefáčel-xẽǫla
77b or aõna-xẽǫla, soon takes severe revenge by letting the person
die. Sometimes an alert yẽkamuš can prevent this grave outcome.
Nelly Lawrence told me about her call; she did not obey it and on
that account ran the risk of extreme mortal danger: "Once I was
walking through the forest with my little daughter. Suddenly a
strange, loud pãx sound came from a tree trunk. I looked back
and saw in that decayed trunk a cunning aõna-xẽǫla waving to
me in a very friendly way. I did not take it for an asikãku, but
for an ordinary kẽšpiš. I dragged myself along as though I were
in a coma; I was seized by an uncanny fear, /1399/ and ir-
resistible exhaustion made me drop on my bed. I dreamed, and
once again that aõna-xẽǫla was standing before me. It smiled
at me in a very friendly way and showered me with all kinds of
gifts, with skins and little baskets, ornamental chains and yẽkuš;
it even gave me a special song. After I awoke sluggishly that
song kept running through my head for a long time. I was
weak and sick for several days; I felt lifeless and deprived of
energy. A yẽkamuš kīpa addressed me: 'How weak you are now!
Just a short time ago I saw you vigorous and healthy!' I did not
tell her anything definite, but offered her a cup of tea. She
took the cup and recoiled: 'Why do you offer me this disgusting
animal?' I was taken aback and said: 'But I offered you a cup of
tea!' The woman answered excitedly: 'No, that is a disgusting
animal!' That aõna-xẽǫla had not released me since my dream;
it followed my every step. Gradually I became convinced that
I must practice as a yẽkamuš, for that is what this spirit was try-
ing to make me do. But I could not decide to do it. That
yẽkamuškīpa was enlightened by her spirit as she held the cup of
tea in her hands, and immediately she realized what had hap-
pened to me. 'You must become a yẽkamuš!' she said to me.
This is what she saw: that aõna-xẽǫla had put a fur cloak around
me and it was fastened around my neck with a leather thong. It
was this cloak that was weighing me down so that I often fell to
the ground! Full of anxiety for me, that woman hastened back to
her hut. She soon went to sleep. In her dream she saw how that
fur cloak was constricting my throat more and more so that in a
few days I would have choked. Early in the morning she began

X756 /1399 cont./
her song, full of anxiety. She called me to come there and
•787 asked: 'Did you have an asikáku there in the woods and since
776 then do you have the feeling that someone is choking you so that you sometimes fall down because you can't breathe?' I said: 'Yes, that's the way it is!' Then I had to get down on the ground in front of her. With both hands she grasped the fur cloak and the many gifts that had been showered on me by the aóna-xēola. She energetically threw all of them aside until I was finally rid of them. She also took the song and the asikāku away from me. Not until then did I feel relieved, and since then I have had no further difficulty. To this day I am grateful for the help of that yēkamuškīpa; she saved me from imminent death." The complete designation for a person who, through a vision, has received his calling to practice as a yēkamuš is, accordingly asikāku-yēkamuš.

2. The Medicine-Man School

X756 Although it is true that the yēkamuš of the Yamana are not joined together in a society, nevertheless everyone who is active in this domain is quite generally known. Occasionally yēkamuš who are on friendly terms with each other even join forces to effect a cure in common. An aged master, /1400/ of course, sees to it that a young man of his family is trained for this service, for a large family group is, after all, dependent on the activity of a yēkamuš and could not forgo it completely without harming itself. If, at a certain time, several yēkamuš feel the necessity of preparing this or that young candidate for their calling, they instigate a lōima-yēkamuš. The goal of a meeting thus designated is clearly implied in the term. It is, in other words, an actual school for prospective medicine men.

As though by chance I learned that the yēkamuš now and then meet in a special hut for the purpose of winning over younger successors to their calling (327). On my fourth journey I directed

327. At that time I knew nothing about the Pešere of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 786), which, in part, serves the same ends as the medicine-man school of the Yamana.

/1407 cont./

X756 It is well known that the yékamuš carry out their works in
• 787 a dream, as it is commonly said, which means a vivid imagina-
828 tion or auto-suggestion, a lively weaving of fantasies. It is maintained that the yékamuš loses his own personality and that it is replaced by his spirit, namely, the kēspix or yefáčel-xéola that belongs to him. The latter carries out what the yékamuš is trying to do or wishes. The yékamuš is most closely united with his yefáčel "in the dream." Therefore, it is of decisive importance for him to be able to put himself quickly and effortlessly into the dream state. Every apprentice is supposed to acquire this art above all in the lōima-yékamuš. He observes the experienced masters present, who, after singing briefly, succeed in being completely absent mentally while sitting there; they have lost their own personalities. Either they slump over and remain motionless, as though sleeping, or they move the upper part of the body gently back and forth, singing softly, their heavy and half-closed eyes glazed and fixed on one point. The ušwāaléxamuš imitates all this; the old people watch him, but give no definite instructions. He himself does not say whether his power of imagination has increased and his fantasies are more vivid. It is not until later that ordinary people discover his skill, after the ušwāaléxamuš has begun to practice independently.

X756 Every yékamuš has the power of invoking his own guardian
787 spirit and any other spirit with his singing. During the asikáku the
S33 yefáčel-xéola gives the man his /1408/ song. When the chosen one has adopted this song and made it his own, he has the key which gives him admission to the realm of the spirits, for the personal guardian spirit, above all, listens to this song and sooner or later puts himself at the disposal of his protégé. The Yamana now maintain that it is not really the yékamuš who sings, but his yefáčel. In other words, the yékamuš starts the song given him by the yefáčel, but in a short time the yefáčel takes it over and carries it on for a long time. Finally the yefáčel withdraws from the dream image of his yékamuš and the latter wakes up. These songs are very simple melodies on a single tone or melodies with an added interval of a third or fourth at the beginning or the end. The syllables hájyang hájyang hó are repeated to these melodies, or hóh yō yō, or finally hajnán wagán harán and similar variations.

/1408 cont./

X756 A uśwǎaléxamuš has been familiar with these melodies from his
●787 youth. Here in the lōima-yékamuš he takes up a definite melody
533 and continues it while his imagination is vividly at work. He is animated by the belief that he received this melody from his yefǎčel-xěola. This explains its suggestive power over the ego whenever a yékamuš repeats it. Here in the lōima-yékamuš the candidate must learn how to put himself into the dream state after briefly singing, for it is in the realm of dreams that the spirits are at his disposal. Singing is not permitted outside the lōima hut, for this would lure the yefǎčel out. Nevertheless, if a yefǎčel should follow an apprentice who has gone into the forest and is gathering wood, and should move him to sing, then the apprentice must take up the song and his companions must accompany him softly. The practiced yékamuš are regularly stimulated to sing in their dream, and after they wake up they naturally continue singing as long as the stimulation lasts, that is, as long as their yefǎčel is with them, in exceptional cases even beyond the noon hour.

X756 In the medicine-man school the apprentices are almost com-
787 pletely dependent upon their own observations and practice; they observe every little thing the old masters do, copy it as best they can, and make it their own. There is no detailed instruction in the lōima-yékamuš. Auto-suggestion makes every candidate aware of the extent to which his wishes have become reality. The old masters, for their part, know through their visions what the apprentice has attained and what may still be expected of him. They do not discuss this in so many words, but communicate among themselves in that dream realm in which they carry on all their activity.

In the above description only the apprentices in the lōima house have been considered. Many details about the conduct of the old masters could be given, but it may suffice to give a few basic characteristics. Although I have just said that everything the yékamuš see and do takes place in their visions, it is nevertheless true /1409/ that in the late evening hours they tell many things about their hallucinations in plain words and with very lively performances. Above all they describe the appearance of their own yefǎčel, his behavior in the lōima house, and his leave-taking.

/1409 cont./

X156 789

They also describe their own kẽspix in the realm of the spirits and his being with them. All this takes place in the following manner. During the common singing one man will suddenly make his voice louder and louder, his whole body starts to tremble, his eyes are fixed on one point, and he moves toward it as he slides a bit closer to the hut fire. Suddenly he cries -- I repeat Mašemikens' words: "My yefáčel is already quite close!" He gets up, goes all around the fire, with the upper part of his body bent far over. He touches one man and then another and asks: "Who are you?" Each one answers: "Karendáulum mútu, I am a native of this region!" After Mašemikens has sat down in his place, he continues: "I see my yefáčel and other yefáčel going to Aniawája; they are gathering a few yefáčel there. They are preparing all kinds of things! Be on your guard and watch everything they are going to do!" After some brief singing and wailing, Mašemikens says: "Everybody has to paint himself again!" He reaches for čílër² and tumarápu and rubs his cheeks with them. Meanwhile several yékamuš stretch their cupped hands toward the warmth rising from the hut fire; they scoop it up, so to speak, and pour it over their bodies. Then Mašemikens, trembling all over, cries: "My yefáčel is here already, he is just stepping into this lõima house!" At the same time he slides toward the hut fire, for the yefáčel love warmth. Mašemikens cries: "My yefáčel is now with me! Are you all courageous and strong enough to sing along out loud? Many yefáčel are crowding into our lõima-hut!" Now loud wailing and a terrified yelling begin, present trembles with agitation, as though he were out of his mind, everyone lifts his eyes and stares absently into the distance. Into this commotion Thomas yells: "I am singing with all my might! My yefáčel is already here, too, and is listening to my song!" Whaits says loudly: "I cannot understand what the yefáčel are saying to one another. There are many of them here in the lõima house. We must all sing lustily!" Suddenly Emilia, like one demented, beats about with both arms. Mašemikens explains this in the following words: "Emilia has just caught hold of a yefáčel and pushed it into the fire. But it quickly escaped!" The singing continues excitedly. Mašemikens cries: "I see, the yefáčel are very angry! They are throwing stones at us with their

/1409 cont./

Y56 TR1 slings because Emilia pushed a yefáčel into the fire. Emilia did this because that yefáčel would not sing along with us." Soon afterward Emilia takes Santiago's hand and rubs the palm of his hand with hers, saying: I have caught the yékuš that the yefáčel hurled with his sling; it now belongs to you [Santiago], I'm giving it to you!" While everyone present goes on singing, she adds: "I have great power over Haučella. My first /1410/ husband was a capable yékamuš; I learned a lot from him!" After a time the song becomes somewhat weaker, and Emilia cries anxiously: "Everybody here seems to be very discouraged! They are no longer making an effort and act as though they were dead. Please help me sing, my yefáčel loves singing. It came from a great distance, from šégetex-tulëła [on the Wollaston Islands]. Are all the ušwáaléxamuš present?" There is a "Yes" from many voices. Emilia continues, her eyes still staring into the distance: "I see other yefáčel there on Cape Horn. Some of them are constantly slipping on the smooth ice. But others are coming with lightning speed. They are already standing here. I must sit down in front of them!" A bit later Emilia squats in front of me, she excitedly draws her open hands over my body from the top of my head to my knees; then she presses her hands hard against my chest, and finally says, straight into my face: "Herewith I give you your own yefáčel. It comes from the extreme south where there is all that ice. From now on it belongs to you!" Thomas cries loudly: "This yefáčel is behaving in a very friendly way!" Loud singing follows and continues for ten minutes. Finally Mašemikens announces: "Now all the yefáčel are leaving. Mine is sad because it must leave me, but the other yefáčel demand it. They are already out on the high seas!" Quickly silence again falls on the lõima hut; only one person continues singing in a weak voice.

Similar performances go on evening after evening, and everyone present takes part. Words and gestures are expressions of the confused fantasies of each speaker, who is free to clothe his feelings in words. Now and then the yékamuš also engage in their well-known feats of strength, namely, a contest held in the visions of usually two opponents. The rest of the yékamuš carefully follow this struggle and let the people present know

/1410 cont./

X156 what they observe. The results of such tests of strength are, of
• 787 course, disappointment and displeasure among those whose yékamuš has been defeated, joy and satisfaction among those whose yékamuš has won. The old masters enjoy this very much, for the lóima-yékamuš gives them their best opportunity to prove their ability in front of others. Such feats of strength are relieved by loud singing and the interspersed cries of those present. At a sign from the leader, song and cries suddenly break off. Immediately everyone bends far forward and presses his hands flat against the ground, as though pressing it down. This is meant to hold back the many spirits here in the hut or in the immediate vicinity. Afterwards everyone again assumes the rigid posture and remains silently in his place. If someone leaves the lóima hut, the others seize his kēspix́ to hold it back so that it will continue to accompany all of them in their singing.

X156 The Haučéllakīpa have been mentioned several times.
These spirits are regarded as the rulers of the lóima-yékamuš.
787 There are many Haučélla, both male /1411/ and female, and
776 they constitute an evil band. Each yékamuš has his Haučéllakīpa, just as he has his own yefáčel. When they say that Haučéllakīpa is the mistress and female ruler of the lóima-yékamuš, they mean that spirits of this type often make themselves felt inside the hut, carry on disputes among themselves with great fury, and let all the men feel their deep resentment. They arrive in the Great Hut every day; several Haučélla will even join together and threaten the circle of men with death. In their visions the yékamuš observe all the details, hence the constant fear and alertness of the yékamuš with respect to the Haučélla. Although each of them is at the service of her own yékamuš in everyday life, nevertheless here in the Great Hut she sometimes behaves like a violent foe. No one here is safe from her; she gives vent to her fury and keeps all the men in a state of panic. This is what the people mean when they refer to Haučéllakīpa as the ruler of the lóima-yékamuš. The greatest agitation and most threatening attitude of these spirits are shown when they force everyone present to repeat rapidly hēte, hēte, hēteteteēte in marked rhythm and on the same pitch. It is called the song of Haučéllakīpa. While it is going on, the men get up to offer

X756 /1411 cont./
● 787 resistance; they struggle with these spirits and either subdue
[776] them or are overcome by their superior power.

One evening, during the customary singing, Emilia was excited beyond all bounds. She cries: "A Haučéllakīpa has overcome Mašemikens! I shall kill her without delay!" Mašemikens has to squat in front of her on the ground. She sings and with her index finger scratches a line on the ground all around him. Then she yells loudly, clenches her fists, beats them against the ground, wails dreadfully, gnashes her teeth, places her mouth against the ground, and bites it furiously. While the other people apprehensively continue singing, Emilia sits up and makes a few quick motions with her outstretched hand as though she were cutting up some large object on the ground and were distributing the pieces in every direction. She heaps sand over that spot on the ground. Then she repeatedly throws her arms around Mašemikens and holds him tight, embracing him from the shoulders to his knees as though she were obliged to hold him together. Meanwhile she wails loudly. The whole performance means that Emilia has killed the Haučéllakīpa and thus freed Mašemikens. Now the jealousy of Mašemikens' wife comes out, for she cries: "For some time I have noticed that my husband was under the spell of that woman!" Emilia interrupts her: "One can show no mercy toward a Haučéllakīpa! One must quickly murder her, she is always most dangerous! A man to whom Haučéllakīpa attaches herself will not live long; he would soon be destroyed by her!" Angrily she beats her fists in the air and cries: "Now I see that my yefāčel is perturbed because I murdered that Haučéllakīpa; /1412/ it is returning in order to release its blazing anger on us all. I shall tell it frankly that I, alone, was the murderess; then it will leave you unharmed!" As she continues singing, she makes motions as though she were hurling stones with a sling against that spirit. Finally she cries, happily excited: "I see that my yefāčel is retreating once more!" At these words Mašemikens breathes a sigh of relief and confesses: "For a long time I have been completely discouraged, I was quite weak, I felt very oppressed. Now I am free again!" Thereupon the entire circle of participants calms down. Scenes such as these are repeated almost daily. Sometimes the men join forces and

/1412 cont./

756 advance on Haučélla (p. 1334). The women in the camp are
787 seized with fear whenever they hear the howling of the men, indicating that the latter are again obliged to struggle with Haučélla.

γ. The Conclusion

From the preceding description one can easily see the goal of the lōima-yékamuš, namely, maximum development of the power of imagination and auto-suggestion, stimulation and cultivation of the dream-fantasy, and increased ability to fuse external phenomena and everyday occurrences with individual fantasies. A yékamuš, by means of his singing, must be able to put himself quickly into the dream state in order to feel that the dream images and fantasies are living personalities; he must associate with them and deal with them, offer resistance to them, and give them orders as though they were human beings. It cannot be definitely determined to what extent an uswāaléxamuš succeeds in this accomplishment; in all these things he is left to his own imagination. Whatever the old masters say on the subject is not regarded as a judgment that must be taken into account. They decide on special treatment only in the case of a candidate who is very slow in his progress. Mašemikens experienced this himself and described it to me. A capable yékamuš will make the unsuccessful apprentice stand up in front of him and will say to him: "I shall try to strangle you!" He seizes a stout leather strap, puts it around the boy's neck, and says: "Now watch out!" The yékamuš chokes the apprentice as hard as he can, until the boy falls over. Repeatedly he shouts at him: "Remember, this lōima house is a place for Haučélla!" Soon the apprentice sees many Haučélla sitting around the fire warming themselves. Then the apprentice's kešpix approaches these spirits, but he begins to feel uneasy in their company, and full of fear, he withdraws. Now the yékamuš removes the leather strap from the neck of the apprentice. After that the latter has no difficulty in quickly transporting himself to the realm of the kešpix; Mašemikens assured me of this from his own experience. Naturally, a yékamuš

/1412 cont./

756 787 does not literally strangle the apprentice; rather, this act, too, takes place in a visionary state, and the yékamuš merely describes it in words that can be understood.

With the lōima-yékamuš the old masters strive to train a number of candidates /1413/ to make them sufficiently skilled in their calling. Hence the length of the training cannot be determined beforehand. Most of the yékamuš, though not all, remain together until they have achieved the desired results, that is to say, for the entire winter, perhaps even for five months. The daily monotony wears down the uswāaléxamuš and puts their nerves in a state of extreme irritability. On such soil there is a luxuriant growth of those fantasies and hallucinations which are sought by auto-suggestion and striven for by the immediate circle. After the lōima-yékamuš is over, each apprentice attaches himself to the man who was his particular guardian during the affair. He takes further instruction from him alone, until he can independently begin to practice the art of the medicine man. The rest of the yékamuš also continue to observe each one who was trained in the lōima hut and follow his activities. They exchange opinions about whether or not unusual achievements may be expected of him.

When the goal of the old masters has been achieved, they discuss the conclusion of the affair with the leader. They soon agree, the visitors are notified, and everyone renews his body painting with particular care. The formal farewell from the lōima house consists of a čōwánni song, by means of which the spirits of the many different kinds of coastal and deep-sea animals are invoked. Thus on the last evening the people present intensify their singing at the given hour, put themselves into a state of spiritual excitement, and first of all invoke the kēspix of those yékamuš who have died in that particular region, calling them into the lōima house. After a brief period of singing every participant thinks he feels their presence, and from then on the singing goes on, but faintly. Meanwhile everyone thinks about the čōwánni spirits. After a while the singing grows louder and stronger. At the same time everyone makes running movements along the ground with the fingers of both hands. These are supposed to show that his kēspix is walking down to the beach with

/1413 cont./

756 781 the penguins, as far as the water line. From this point his kēšpix begins a flight far out to sea in order to fetch the čōwánni spirits from the distance. This is immediately followed by arm movements which look as though the cupped hands were constantly shoveling water from below upwards, which means that the kēšpix of the ílēšči (herring) are rising out of the depths of the sea and assembling. They are joined by the kēšpix of whales and seals, marine and beach birds. Mašemikens cries: "Foam is appearing on the waves, it constantly increases! Soon the čōwánni spirits will turn toward our lōjma hut!" Immediately Emilia clears the ground a bit in front of the entrance, "so that the canoes of the kēšpix can easily glide in." As she does so, she calls: "Those čōwánni spirits have a great many vessels!" Now she gazes outside in a particular direction and moves her arms vigorously, "so that those spirits will quickly come." The singing of all the participants becomes more excited. Emilia cries enthusiastically: "The čōwánni spirits are quite close!" She stares at the ground in front of her /1414/ and cries joyfully: "All the canoes are now here where I am sitting! There are a great many. We must be alert or one of the canoes will hasten off with our kēšpix!" Immediately Black sprinkles ími upon the many vessels, that is, on the spot in front of Emilia, because he, too, sees the many canoes in his mind. Emilia behaves most excitedly. She stares at the ground as though she were looking for something and declares: "These kēšpix are bringing a lot of paddles, the men have a great many harpoons. I shall now distribute a few of these things!" She gesticulates as though she were taking hold of paddles or harpoons and rubs the hands of all the women and men, thereby handing these things over to them. Then all the women begin making rowing motions and all the men gesticulate as though they were hurling harpoons. In between there are shrill cries of hi hi hi...All this is done to please the kēšpix who are present. Mašemikens repeatedly interrupts with cries of "Be on guard!" The singing grows fainter. Emilia looks around the circle as though mentally absent and says in a croaking voice, as though she were short of breath: "My own kēšpix is now sitting in a canoe of the čōwánni spirits. I know many of them!" Once more the singing becomes animated, with all the people taking

/1414 cont./

Y756 part with full force; it is always the monotonous melody on the same pitch, without unison. It is only after some time that the •787 voices grow weaker, and Emilia says loudly: "Now I shall send all the canoes back again!" While the faint singing goes on, all the people present get up and keep thrusting their arms forward parallel to each other, their hands stretched out and upright. These movements are accompanied by loud cries of kēkétx, which are supposed to push the čōwánni spirits out of the lōima house and far away. Then they vigorously stamp the ground with both feet in order to make the Haučélla spirits climb far down into the interior of the earth. Finally the song dies down. One person or another is still looking into the distance with tired eyes, as though he were following the departure of the čōwánni spirits.

With the agitated čōwánni song, which lasts about an hour, the people present have taken final leave of the spirits which appeared in the lōima hut. Each one gathers up his things and leaves the hut without any formality. The daily monotony in the family hut now starts again for everyone. The large lōima hut is abandoned to its fate. Soon the families are scattered in all directions.

Y756 Not only the lōima-yēkamuš, but the entire medicine-man 773 system has been in the possession of the Yamana for a long time. They do not know anything definite about its origin; there is no myth that tells about it. Old Thomas gave me the opinion of authoritative persons: "The yēkamuš arrangement is very old. A long time ago the people who were the first to migrate into our region with the kīna also brought along the yēkamuš arrangement. They invented it, just as they invented the kīna. Then when the general upheaval occurred in Yāiaašāga /1415/ and the kīna was taken away from the women by the men, the great yēkamuš of that time changed themselves into stars and animals, Lēm and Akāinix, Ašōula (Pseudorca crassidens), Yo'okalia (Milvago chimango), and many another capable yēkamuš. The few men [yēkamuš] and women who did not perish in that upheaval became the teachers of all the subsequent yēkamuš. There were some of these at all times." This reference to the origin of the yēkamuš system in the north points also to its connection with the kīna; this has been stressed in Gusinde (n):972. This explains the

/1415 cont./

X756 designation ǵona-xéola which is the equivalent of yefǎčel-xéola.
773 The lōima-yékamuš is not linked up in any way with Watauineiwa. I asked point-blank: "What is the attitude of Watauineiwa when the yékamuš gather in the lōima house?" My informants replied unanimously and without hesitation: "He simply looks on and lets them do as they please!" A lōima-yékamuš gives the experienced masters great satisfaction, especially if they win over a few young men to their calling.

c. Activities of the Medicine Man

X756 Whenever a yékamuš wishes to act as such, he must put
• 787 himself into a state of auto-suggestion. The people say he acts
533 "in a dream." Now it may be that in his sleep an ordinary dream image excites him very much and awakens him. He continues to occupy himself, in a semi-conscious state, with the image thus received. In order not to lose it, he sings his monotonous melody while holding the upper part of his body bent forward and gently rocking back and forth. Briefly, what has happened is that his own yefǎčel or another spirit has made contact with the yékamuš; this contact continues for as long as he goes on singing, during which time there is an exchange of messages. More often the desire for contact with his yefǎčel comes from the yékamuš himself. In order to bring forth the yefǎčel, the yékamuš sits down on his pallet, fights off all distraction, fixes his thoughts upon his guardian spirit, and sings his own melody uninterruptedly while gently rocking the upper part of his body (329). After a

329. Bridges (e):332 and (k):237 reported: They "began singing many and long magic songs, if the senseless and monotonous noise and constant rocking back and forth of the body can be called such...": "Through spells, fasting, and rocking the body, they were able to induce a state of overexcitement and, when in this condition, claimed to possess extraordinary powers" /translated from Spanish/.

/1415 cont./

756 time the singing suddenly becomes more lively. That is the
787 moment at which the yefǎčel itself takes over the melody and
533 carries it on. At this point the medicine man's personal effectiveness is eliminated, and thereafter the yefǎčel takes over. It recognizes the aims and intentions that the yěkamuš is striving for and, for its part, makes an effort to /1416/ realize them. The yěkamuš is aware of everything that the yefǎčel does; he assesses the attitude and actions of the yefǎčel and consults with it. When it leaves him, the singing stops and the yěkamuš awakens from the absorption of his dream state.

With these brief words I have described the basic features of the co-operation between the yěkamuš and his yefǎčel or other spirits. No matter what the yekamuš plans and strives for, the force that carries it out is his yefǎčel or another spirit. The people express this co-operation by saying: "The kěpiš of the yěkamuš gives way to the yefǎčel; the latter acts by itself as long as the singing lasts." Thus the yekamuš who is trying to accomplish something starts on his own initiative to attract his yefǎčel by singing. Sometimes it does not come although the yekamuš has been exerting himself for more than an hour by singing. Confronted with this lack of success, he stops singing and frankly tells the people around him: "Today my yefǎčel has forsaken me!" Sometimes he makes a second attempt.

1. His Efforts for Fellow-Tribesmen

756 Even if he starts singing in the middle of the night, the
302 medicine man never omits his simple outer trappings. They consist of the apǎwěra which he ties around his forehead (p.1307) and a simple facial painting. For the latter he rubs his face and head with dry white powder or he draws a single finger-thick white or red line from one ear lobe to the other. He always carries these things within reach and his wife sees to it that he has pigments.

756 From earlier communications and reports one can clearly infer that the activities incumbent on the yěkamuš are varied. Despard (b):717 declared: "His business is to allay the storm;

/1416 cont./

X756 and as he must lead in funeral ceremonies, his qualifications must be to weep whenever he desires. His practice is to outshout, if possible, the roaring of the wind, and to stay the pitiless pelting of the storm by pelting mussel shells into it" /cited in English/. Bridges writes: "Doctors are believed to have great power in their dreams, even to eat persons, that is, to kill them" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 259;1864); he (b):209 and (a):213 also says: "They are said to possess supernatural powers to bring about good or bad weather, to cure the sick, etc." /translated from Spanish/. According to Burleigh, "the yékamuł practice a kind of witchcraft and profess to be able to see into the future and foretell events" /cited in English/ (MM:XXIII, 245;1889). This is really true.

Because of these multiple duties of the yékamuł they specialize, so to speak, each one generally devoting himself to a special area in which he achieves a certain mastery. Thus some yékamuł /1417/ are very well informed about the heavens and the sun, moon, and stars; others about clouds and the weather, rain and snow, frost and ice; still others about air currents, namely, winds and storms and the movement of the water, especially waves and eddies; other yékamuł are reliably informed about everything that moves in the forest, chiefly the habits of the guanacos and foxes, rats and owls; still others carefully observe the habits of whales, seals, and schools of fish in the water and flocks of birds along the coasts; finally, certain yékamuł are outstandingly capable in combating illness. Thus a Yamana who is in any kind of distress turns to a friend who is a "specialist" and requests from him counsel and enlightenment, help and support.

X756 Again it must be emphasized that every medicine man per-
●787 forms only "in the dream," that is to say, in a mental vision. He sings continually, as though lost in dreams, and whatever he sees in this awake visionary state has reality for him. He names and describes in audible words the details of his actions and those of his spirits, and on the basis of this the people around him follow his activity. Nothing that he shows or describes, grasps or gives away during his singing is actually present as such; the other people cannot perceive it with their senses or feel it with their hands. Only the yékamuł in his dream state deals with all the different things he mentions, yéłuł and sling, weapons and tools, kéłpił of

/1417 cont./
human beings and animals, yéhkol, and Hayhéile as though everything were absolute reality. The people around him to whom he gives more or less explicit reports believe them and regard them as true. For example, if he cries, "I have caught this yéhkol, hurled by a hostile yéhamuf, with my right hand and and I am placing it on the ground in front of me," this means that the yéhamuf performed this act in his vision, whether or not he moved his arms. All the people who hear his words accept them with the same credulity as that shown by a European who listens to his neighbor's report about his dream images. Our Yamana, however, regard everything that happens "in the dream" of their yéhamuf as an actual event and believe in its direct effect or in the success proclaimed.

G. Healing the Sick

The field in which the medicine men are most active and in which their help is demanded by their countrymen is that of healing the sick. In order to evaluate this correctly it must be kept in mind that the yéhamuf does not combat actual physical suffering. If an ailment has appeared, it is quite possible that a hostile yéhamun, an enemy of the person afflicted, has sent it, and the medicine man recognizes this situation "in the dream" or through a message of his yéhkol. /1418/ If this is truly the case -- the origin of such an ailment might be identified as magical -- then a stronger yéhamun must release the afflicted person from it by neutralizing the sorcery of the hostile yéhamuf. For example, if a person has stumbled and fallen or has an upset stomach, he applies a tested remedy which he himself knows or which a member of his family advises. Beyond that, however, in order to be on the safe side, he does not fail to go to a friendly yéhamuf to be treated by him in his magical way. /Fig. 98 appears here./ An ordinary human being cannot tell whether his ailment derives solely from natural causes or whether a malevolent medicine man has a hand in it. Most ailments, especially those unfavorably affecting mental activity, are inventionally caused by a vengeful yéhamuf in order to make the person ill or even to make him die.

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human screen. While they sing, they stare into the distance, stretch out both arms, open their hands and clench the air, draw their closed hands back to their bodies, open them, press them against the chest and, with gentle pressure, down to their knees. As they do so they repeat a skill or several times. With these movements they wish to invoke the skill of the game animals, attract them, and gain power over them. The next day the men set out full of confidence.

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The Yaghans believe that their medicine men can see into the future and that they have infallible prescience. The yéhamuf themselves are especially convinced of this and give advance warnings to individuals. They also may admonish their whole group to be careful or may announce the prospect of a favorable event. On March 22, 1922, I was standing with several people when Malemitherin said very distinctly: "Outside I see a long /1423/ canoe approaching with two yéhamuf [Phalacrocoraxs olivaceus]!" Sure enough, the following day the people sighted unusually dense flocks of these birds which seldom cross a channel in such numbers. On another occasion Emilia stared out at the ocean like a seeress and cried: "The sea is getting white, mountains of waves are forming and a great deal of foam is gathering!" Her words sounded strange to us, since the surface of the water was entirely smooth. The next morning, however, bad weather came up from the east, causing high waves, and we remembered that Emilia had announced this change at noon on the preceding day. A few people said in wonder: "How remarkable it is that our yéhamuf know so many things in advance!"

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If the population in general is struck by illness, either because they have eaten spoiled meat or, more recently, because of an epidemic brought by Europeans -- something that the yéhamuf occasionally foresee in a dream -- the medicine men feel obliged to help immediately. They are told in a dream at what place all the people must assemble. They announce the place and without delay call the people together to a mashpáina. First, a big fire is kindled. All the adults and children stand around it. As soon as this circle begins to move, everybody raises his face, wails in hollow sounds, and interjects frequent loud cries of ay ay. Finally they seize glowing sticks of wood and toss them high in the

/1425 cont./

leaves his body and meets his Hagčélakîpa somewhere. The two now undertake a serious attack against the kîpxí of the person they wish to destroy. They choke him, wrestle with him, and stamp on him. No matter how bravely the kîpxí defends itself, Hagčélla is stronger and finally hurls a yéxuł at him so that he falls down dead. The poor man wakes up in a state of utter exhaustion; blood flows from his nose and mouth, and vomiting and other serious difficulties occur. He is so weak that his kîpxí does not even remember having fought so hard the night before. /1426/ His physical strength wanes perceptibly and within a few days he is dead. I was told that if a Hagčélla fatally injures a kîpxí with the yéxuł of her medicine man, there is no hope for the wounded person, but only a few yéhamuł succeed in obtaining such capable co-operation from their Hagčélla. No one explained to me whether and how the procedure just described can be reconciled with the unlimited right of Watagînîpwa over human life and death. This much, however, is obvious, namely, that the yéhamuł are the cause of constant uncertainty and disturbance for their fellow-tribesmen and that everyone must seriously fear and avoid a malicious, hostile yéhamuł.

f. Feats of Strength

There are all kinds of occasions when a yéhamuł wants to prove his ability to his own family group or his superiority to his colleagues, for the more one of them achieves, the greater will be the people's faith in him and the more he will be esteemed by all. Younger men, especially, are obliged to demonstrate such feats of strength, for they must gain acceptance among their countrymen. It should be noted, however, that all achievements of this kind are performed by the yéhamuł in their mental visions, and they clearly describe all the details. For example, one of them will be sitting in front of his hut fire, and during his singing he will become extraordinarily excited. Suddenly he cries: "Now I am seizing hot coals and filling my belly with them!" In the awake vision he stretches out his arms to the fire, as though he were towing burning pieces into his mouth; after a time he makes

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vomiting motions, as though he were spewing out the burning embers. Afterward, when he awakes, he is, of course, unharmed, but the people around him believe that everything took place just as he described it. Nevertheless, it happens now and then that he really does seize a burning ember and instantly tosses it away; during this brief interval, noticeable burns cannot form, but his action, which is certainly not deception and is not intended to be, makes an impression (336). On one occasion I was told: "The

336. It is only in this sense that one can interpret what Bridges (k):237 and (i):18 observed: "I have seen one of them hurl himself on the fire and throw the burning embers up in the hut among the people assembled there; meanwhile he danced on the superheated hearth. It is to be supposed that the hard skin of his feet was somewhat burned, and it is probable that he took the precaution of wetting them well beforehand" /translated from Spanish/.

medicine man Inois from the eastern group once had an asikā́ku in a lonely section of the forest and remained in the dream state for a long time. He saw many čōwánni spirits who sat down all around him, were very gay, and invited him to a meal. When he woke up, the fire that the čōwánni spirits had kindled was still burning beside him. He seized a few glowing pieces of wood, put them in his mouth, on top his head, and behind his neck and /1427/ then went to sleep again. Later he told his relatives about it. They looked him over carefully, but discovered no signs of burning and were very much astonished." Obviously all this took place in the mental vision of the medicine man. In March, 1923, Charlin told me: "Once there were several yékamuš assembled in Bahía Moat. As it happened, a dead whale was drifting in the broad channel just opposite this place. There were high waves; no one would venture out in a canoe. They had no recourse but to draw the whale to them with their 'strength.' They sat down at the edge of the water and began to sing. Meanwhile each of

X756 /1427 cont./
787 them hurled a few yẽkuš at the whale. They hit their mark and it drifted to shore. When the people learned of this act of their yékamuš, they marveled at their ability." Again this is an incident that occurred in the mental vision of the yẽkamuš and afterward was told to the people.

Moreover, two yẽkamuš will also have an actual contest in which one will try to outdo the other. An example of this has already been given on p. 1310. Usually the procedure is for each one to aim his yẽkuš at a particular goal. The one whose yẽkuš reaches this goal or even flies beyond it is the winner. In another type of contest one yẽkamuš will catch in flight the yẽkuš hurled by his opponent and send it back. The one who cannot muster up the strength to do so loses. The other yẽkamuš can observe such proceedings in their mental visions, and they inform ordinary people of them. The superiority of one yẽkamuš over his opponent is also shown when he forces him to cease his harmful acts. Examples of this have been mentioned on pages 1345 and 1353. They also show how easily a yẽkamuš can disturb the peace and conjure up ill-feeling (p. 1301).

X756 Every yẽkamuš, without any undue effort, can make the
774 kẽspix of an ordinary human being subservient to him, and the younger the person is, the easier this can be done. The yẽkamuš keeps the "spirit" in his power as long as he chooses, unless a stronger yẽkamuš frees him. If this does not happen and the kẽspix is not released, the "soulless" body will gradually waste away and the person will die. For example, if a medicine man commences the lõima song in his hut and is disturbed by a child, he will seize the child's kẽspix. During the brief period of the song this has no perceptible effect on the child, but the people present are anxiously concerned that the yẽkamuš soon restore the kẽspix to the child. Therefore after the singing is over, he will make violent retching motions, recover the kẽspix, and hand it back to the child by drawing his open hands up and down several times along the child's body. If the kẽspix were not returned in this fashion, the child would die after a time. Every yẽkamuš is closely watched by those around him, which is necessary and advisable since this determines the favorable or unfavorable opinions that his fellow-tribesmen have of him.

/1428/ 2. His Relationship to Spirits

X756 The previous description leaves no room for doubt that all
0187 the activity of the medicine man takes place on a spiritual level. Thus he is completely dependent on certain spirits. When he practices his calling, he has no connection with Watauinéiwa, but in individual cases he realizes that he can achieve nothing in opposition to the Supreme Being (p. 1347). Once Mašemikens said to me very definitely: "Watauinéiwa does not bother about the things that the yékamuš do. They ignore him entirely. Sometimes, however, they ask him for help." Similarly the Yamana do not mention any connection between the yékamuš and Yetájta, who is mentioned in the youth initiation (p.760), or Tánuwa, who plays an important part in the Kina, or the Yoálox family, which rendered important service to the Yamana (p. 1120). The water spirits, Lakúma, which threaten ordinary people, are well-meaning toward a yékamuš and let him pass unharmed if he identifies himself by his singing. He is directly dependent on the Yefáčel and Haučélla (337) in his calling, but occasionally he also

337. Bridges (k):238 has already mentioned this: "The yecamush pretends to have dealings with beings called yapahchel and hoachiella, and they give him the ability to see and do fabulous things, especially to cure and to kill"/translated from Spanish/.

turns to other spirits.

I was told about the following lakúm-asikáku yékamuš, that is, the visionary intercourse of a yékamuš with a lakúma. A yékamuš was married to a woman who was very jealous of him. He was very much concerned about the welfare of his countrymen, which she did not like. Once when the two were on a canoe trip, she said mockingly: "I thought you were a capable yékamuš! You get all kinds of things to eat for other people; for me you do not let a whale or fish be driven ashore, you do not let birds land or crabs come to the surface. You ought to take much better care of your wife!" The yékamuš was very upset by these sarcastic words,

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X756 and, without replying, he lay down. Although he kept his eyes
781 closed, his wife continued to taunt him. She did not stop until the medicine man was snoring loudly. She steered her canoe toward Kāawaja. Meanwhile the yékamuš slept and called to two Lakūma from Kāluwa [in the west], which was far away. They finally arrived in Kāawaja, immediately seized the canoe, and lifted up the bow. Full of fear, the woman called to her husband, who was still sleeping: "Get up and help me in this danger; after all, you are a yékamuš!" Very calmly he replied: "Try to get along by yourself. You have often told me that I cannot do anything!" She begged: "I entreat you to help me, otherwise the Lakūma will kill me!" After his wife had trembled for a long time, he sat up, but he still did not lift a hand. The woman was in an agony of fear. Finally he told her: "Paint both Lakūma with white pigment!" She replied: "Impossible, /1429/ I am unable to do that!" So he said: "Then give me the pigment!" With it he approached the bow, leaned over, and painted both Lakūma; one was on the right, the other on the left side. The Lakūma did not offer any resistance. Then the yékamuš got up, stretched out both arms, and laughed hī hī... The two Lakūma slowly let the boat down and dived. Instantly they sent the canoe favorable weather and it soon reached its destination. The woman was completely convinced and ruefully confessed to her husband: "Hitherto I have made fun of you and regarded you very contemptuously; now I know that you are truly a competent yékamuš!"

α. The Yefacel

X756 It is well known that every Yamana has a guardian spirit
776 known as yefačel. Whereas ordinary people act little or not at
787 all on this belief, every yékamuš maintains the most intimate connections with his yefačel. Even in BD:661 this fact is confirmed: "yāpāčāl, a being of more than human power and sagacity whom the yékamuš claimed as their inspiring power and instructor" /cited in English/.

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The medicine man treats the yefáčel somewhat like his child. He calls it to him with tender singing and discusses things with it quite intimately. He gives it all kinds of duties which it fulfills without opposition. The kēspix of the yékamuš associates with the yefáčel in all kinds of things, just like human beings. They see each other in visions and consult with one another. As a matter of fact, it is the yefáčel that carries out the work of the medicine man. While it acts by itself far away, he remains completely motionless, stretched out on his pallet, waiting until it has fulfilled the duty given it (338). If it stays

> 338. Bridges (i):18 also mentioned this state of affairs: "When under the influence of the yapachel they pretended to be insensible to outward things, the burning of the fire and the presence of their friends. They at such times acted as though really possessed" /cited in English/.

near by, it continues the song begun by the yékamuš, that is, it sings through him. The yékamuš calls his guardian spirit by means of the song that the yefáčel gave him long ago when he received the call to this office (pp. 1318, 1330). This singing is called ušūna yefáčel and ašūna lōima. If in an exceptional case the yefáčel does not appear, the yékamuš feels abandoned and disappointed. Loudly enough so that those around him can hear, he complains: "Where is my yefáčel today? It probably stayed behind in the woods and is keeping me waiting here. My song is not successful now. I shall have to repeat it later!" The yefáčel converse among themselves and with the yékamuš in a special language. To ordinary people this sounds like a low, resonant tē, tē, but in it are hidden words that are intelligible to all yékamuš and yefáčel. /1430/ The yékamuš is content in the company of his yefáčel. In order to keep it with him now and then, he presses both hands hard against his chest or puts them against his throat. On his own initiative the yefáčel will report to his yékamuš various things which he ought to know. This guardian spirit is the active force in the practice of the yékamuš and, always at his disposal, is his most intimate companion throughout his life.

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β. The Haucella

X756 776 •787 Besides a yefáčel, the medicine man is supported by a Haučéllakipa. Although the two do not often meet, the Haučélla is incomparably mightier than the yefáčel. The origin of these spirits, which are both male and female, has already been described (p. 1119). To supplement it, here is what Mašemikens told me in August, 1923. Back in the time when the general upheaval took place, a few women hastened out of the Kina hut and hid on the Wollaston Islands. There they became Haučéllakīpa and entered the earth. They are hostile to human beings. Each of them succeeded in pulling a man down into the interior of the earth where he became a Haučélla. All of them are bent upon ensnaring our men and women with their flirtations. It is very bad that sometimes [male] Haučélla even assault our men and Haučéllakīpa do the same to our women (339).

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339. With these words homosexual intercourse is clearly admitted, but only as a rare transgression by the bad spirits mentioned.

Anyone who is ensnared by these spirits is lost, unless he is saved in time by a yékamuš, but this is not genuine love. For example, if I should be going to a brook, lost in thought, an enchantingly beautiful woman may suddenly appear before me, enticing me with flattery and breaking down my resistance. This is a Haučéllakīpa. Thereafter I cannot get rid of this image; it is constantly before my [mind's] eye, and I am caught by the spell of love. Wherever I go, wherever I sit and work, this image hovers before me and follows me everywhere. Months go by and still the image of that woman overpowers me. While all this is going on within the man, he finally comes to his senses and says: "Every move I make is difficult for me, I feel unwell, my strength has long since failed me. But I cannot part from that woman, I am as close to her as though we were married. I am so filled with this woman and so dominated by her, it is as though an illness had penetrated my body. She has

/1430 cont./

X756 776 ●787 long since subdued me, I must die!" That is the way such a man will talk. Sure enough, Haučéllakipa draws him down to her under the earth; his kěšpiš remains married to her forever and his earthly body dies. In the same way a [male] Haučélla bewitches a Yamana woman, until she, too, falls completely into his power. A yěkamuš realizes perfectly what is happening between one of our people and /1431/ the Haučélla. He must free a person in time from the power of those evil earth spirits or the person will surely die.

X756 828 776 787 Mašemikens added the following to the above description: As a young man I traveled with my cousin south through the Molinare Channel. He was involved with a Haučélla without admitting it to himself. He had not eaten anything for several days. Although I offered him something to eat several times, he did not take anything. He always replied: "I have no desire to eat! I don't know what is happening to me!" We passed a place where we found many birds' eggs. My cousin did not eat anything. As we traveled on I suddenly realized: my cousin is under the spell of a Haučélla! After we had traveled on for some time, he leaped up in the forward part of the canoe and cried apprehensively: "A threatening storm is coming up!" I replied: "Not at all! We are having wonderful, calm weather!" He was completely out of his mind. When we reached Arákuwëlla, my cousin ordered: "Light a big fire! She is approaching and bringing many axíya [round crabs] with her." I did as he asked, and soon he again ordered: "Make the fire bigger. She is considerably vexed by the cold!" I was speechless. Then my cousin cried: "Now she is here and is seizing me!" Instantly I picked up a stick and beat the air all around my cousin. Gradually he calmed down; we lay down and went to sleep. Since my cousin was feeling better the next morning, we rowed to Ilakēteyiška. Having arrived there, we landed. Full of despair he said to me: "Let me warn you! -- I must soon die." In my anxiety I again seized a stick and beat the Haučéllakipa close beside my cousin. She, however, escaped under the hut wall and out into the open. My cousin immediately hurried after her and cried longingly: "My wife is running away!" After he had gone a few steps he collapsed and was dead.

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In general the interior of the earth is designated as the regular abode of the Haučélla. These spirits live together there in an extremely spacious hut. In his visions a yékamuš can more or less clearly observe what everyone is doing there. Mašemikens assured me: "If a yékamuš suddenly falls down, collapses as though drunk, and lies there motionless, that is when he sees quite clearly what is going on in the spacious hut of the Haučélla." The lóima hut is called "house of Haučélla," because these spirits give the men more trouble there than elsewhere. Individual Haučélla like to inhabit the so-called "dangerous places" which every Yamana anxiously avoids (p. 1200). Calderon said: "If a man alone inadvertently enters such an area, he suddenly becomes weak, sits down exhausted, and falls asleep. In his dream he sees himself lying beside a Haučéllakīpa who fondles him and has illicit intercourse with him. Since he feels utterly weak, he cannot defend himself and must let her have her way. After he /1432/ wakes up, he recalls but faintly what he experienced in his dream, and it frightens him to think that he has lain in the embrace of the Haučélla. His own weakness forces him to lie down again, and he is filled with dreamy bliss. Haučéllakīpa brings all this about because she wants to have sexual intercourse with him. Such a state lasts for many weeks, until a competent yékamuš frees the helpless man. The yékamuš sees what a Haučélla does to every man whom she has charmed into her embrace. With his singing the yékamuš calls together the čōwánni spirits, who must release such a man from the spell of that woman. A bitter struggle commences, which the yékamuš watches in his dream. The spirits seize the man [his kēspix] and pull him away; he is bleeding and his entrails hang out. Haučélla fights for him against the spirits and wards them off. But finally the many čōwánni spirits triumph, free the man from the spell of the Haučélla, and bring him back on earth. He is now forever free of that evil woman and slowly recovers from his weakness. The čōwánni spirits are the helpers of the yékamuš. They behave like human beings; they see and know everything. He associates with them as with his own kind and gives them instructions which they carry out according to his wishes. The yékamuš is completely free to use these spirits, but he helps only persons

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756 he wants to help. He realizes that many other Yamana are under
776 the spell of the Haučélla, but he does not bother about them."
787 As an exception, a yékamuš will have a female yefáčel as his guardian spirit. It is like his daughter, and he may not be guilty of improper behavior toward her. If a yékamuš should force his [female] yefáčel to make love, his Haučéllakīpa will grow jealous, come to him in a dream, give herself to him, and make him believe he is embracing the yefáčel. The yékamuš will be overjoyed, for he does not know that he is being deceived by his Haučéllakīpa. Slowly he grows weaker, his condition grows constantly worse, and finally, when he is dying, he comes altogether under the power of Haučéllakīpa. Such a yékamuš must, from the start, be on his guard toward his female yefáčel. Again it becomes evident that all the Haučélla spirits are unfriendly and spiteful, indeed, hostile toward ordinary people as well as toward the yékamuš.

Children may result from the union of a Yamana with a Haučélla spirit. "They are always full-fledged Haučélla; they remain with the Haučélla in the earth, and now and then let a person feel their dislike for him. The Haučélla spirits are very numerous. A yékamuš is well acquainted with each of them."

756 Although even the yékamuš must be on his guard against a
776 Haučéllakīpa, she is a reliable helper for a particularly difficult
787 act. If he wants to do away with an enemy quickly, he sends his
755 Haučéllakīpa against him. She enters his body, which swells up enormously, and the end soon comes. For some people it is a pleasure to follow the enticements /1433/ of Haučéllakīpa into the earth and to remain with her (p.1041). I was given the following explanation of this. "If someone dies at the instigation of a Haučélla spirit, his kešpiš goes on living among the Haučélla, but he himself does not turn into a Haučélla and does not harm anyone. The yékamuš must see to it that no Yamana lets himself be ensnared by the Haučélla or destroyed by them." If a person is under the spell of a Haučélla spirit, the yékamuš will invite several men and have them form a closed circle around the sick person. He himself holds the evil spirit back for a time within this circle, so that the spirit grows weak. After that the yékamuš angrily bites the ground and wounds the Haučélla spirit fatally;

/1433 cont./

X756 the sick person is then relieved. It may happen that a malevo-
776 lent medicine man is accompanied by his Hauč́éllakīpa as he
walks through the camp. If the two pass an unsuspecting child,
•787 she will take its kēšpix́ away. Quickly an alert yékamuš́ must
755 snatch the kidnapped kēšpix́ from the Hauč́éllakīpa and give it
back to the child. He calls the child to him, rubs his open hands
in a gently stroking motion up and down along the child's body
several times, makes retching motions and coughs violently. Fi-
nally he kneads the child's body and announces: "Now you have
your kēšpix́ back!"

X756 I see a certain consistency in the fact that the Yamana as-
sociate the first illness with these spirits. They say: "Before
776 the general upheaval in Yā́iaašā́ga, there was not a single sick
753 person, but afterward one man suddenly felt persistent violent
pains. He was ill and could not get up. Excitedly many men as-
sembled and considered how this illness could have come about.
After searching for a long time they discovered that the disease
came from that malevolent woman who at that time escaped and
fled to the south where she entered the earth (340). The men

> 340. In one instance it was said that "a woman tried to see whether she could transform herself and become a Haucella" (p. 1120); another time it was said that "a few women on the Wollaston Islands turned into Haucella and entered the earth" (p. 1360). The difference in the number of persons is unimportant; the significant thing is the agreement concerning the act described.

called this dangerous woman Hauč́éllakīpa. Then they con-
sidered how they could protect themselves against being ill, and
they requested the yékamuš́ to offer their help to all Yamana."
This account is a good explanation of the first activity of the
medicine men.

/1455 cont./

825 example: If a dog groans in the family hut, as though in despair,
[187] this is a sign of mourning, for it knows that a close relative of its master has just died or will soon die.

/1456/ 6. Medicine

060 In the following pages the work of the yékamuš, which is based on suggestion or on peculiar visions of spirits, will, of course, not be discussed. Similarly, the infections and epidemics that have been imported by Europeans (p. 340 /untranslated/) will not be considered. The Yamana are a healthy, resistant people, even though their physique may have little or no appeal for Europeans (p. 214 /untranslated/). They are as unfamiliar with transgressions against sexual morality as they are with alcohol. Although once or twice a year they overload their stomachs when a whale has been stranded (p.313), they must now and then suffer a temporary food shortage (p.306). They lack many things that could make their lives more agreeable (p.298). The fact that
145 many people have reached a considerable age is due to their mode of life and the atmospheric conditions of their country, but it would be arbitrary to mention age in figures. The infirmities of age, which undoubtedly occurred, seldom annoyed a person seriously. Without protracted suffering, most of them died an almost sudden, gentle death from actual old age (360). Fitz-Roy (a):186 found it

> 360. Hyades (f):573 also declares: "The Fuegians can reach an advanced age (70 to 80 years). They then show external signs of decrepitude, but their physical capabilities are, for the most part, retained. The infirmities of advanced age are almost exclusively chronic rheumatic ailments" /translated from French/.

surprising that he met neither men nor women "who appeared to be very old -- certainly no one was decrepit" /cited in English/.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

526 The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically massaged by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

538 **Music.**—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely 533 simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the čiéxaus and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to [534] von Hornbostel (1936). There were no musical instruments at all. Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

535 **Dances.**—Apart from the dances carried out during the chiéxaus and kina rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

771 Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men. [769] But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and focal in shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each [787] *Yahgan* had a yefăčel, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The kina rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

776 **Theism.**—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Watauinéwa or Watauinéiwa, who was also called by other

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

776 names meaning "The Powerful One," "The Highest One," and especially by the name of "My Father." He was not the maker or creator, but rather the master and ruler. He was the owner and giver of animals and plant food. It was he who gave life to human beings, and who took it away. He was fundamentally good and benevolent. He lived above in the heavens. He had no body nor had he wife or children. He was distinctly and eminently set off against and above all other spirits, good and bad, and in this sense stood as it were alone. He did not enter into the tribal folklore and mythology. He saw what human beings did, and upon those who broke the precepts of the *Yahgan* socio-moral code, which represented his will, he inflicted punishment in the way of early death, and often the death of their children.

788 The central role of Watauinéwa in the initiation rites has previously been mentioned. Apart, however, from these rites, Watauinéwa was prayed to a great deal by the individual *Yahgan*. These prayers were mostly petitions to him for food (as the owner of the food animals and plants), for cure and health, and for protection from the elements, as well as expressions of thankfulness. A good many of them were more or less traditionally crystallized formulae, of a few words each, but prayer was likewise expressed in free wording. A quite distinctive feature of *Yahgan* communication with the Supreme Being was the frequency of complaint expressions and charges directed toward him on the occasion of sickness, bad weather, or other evil fortune, and particularly on the occasion of deaths. Gusinde and Koppers collected over 60 of these various kinds of prayer formulae. Some of them are in somewhat archaic language.

771 In view of these archaisms in the complex, of the many distinctly 777 native features (e. g., master, owner, not creator or maker), of the absence of all characteristically European or Christian conceptions, and of the express and emphatic statements by the natives whose memories or whose knowledge from their elders reached back to premissionary days, there can be no reasonable question but that *Yahgan* theism is aboriginal, and not the result of missionary influence. It seems equally clear that it was central in the religious outlook of the *Yahgan* and that it entered deeply and dynamically in their thoughts, emotional life, and personal behavior.

756 **Shamanism.**—A person became a medicine man (yékamush) 787 through an inner call manifested to him in dreams and visions. The héshteka-yékamush, dwarfish spirits, appeared to him; a female spirit, a Haučéllakīpa, also played an important part in shamanism, as the shaman's helper. Through the dreams and visions the future medicine man learned which of the small spirits was to be his yefáčel, or particular guardian spirit. From this spirit he also received a song.

/906 cont./

X881 621 without interruption. Although he does not exert any noticeable pressure and does not in any way state his requests to individuals as though he were commanding them, nevertheless no one would ignore a wish that he expressed. If a participant should not like something, he is always free to withdraw from the čiǰexaus.

In the Great Hut one can sometimes see amazing examples of powerful self-control. Occasionally one person will subordinate himself to another or this one will get together with that one, although formerly both were bitter enemies. Everyone puts aside all personal considerations if service for the community or the launching of a common enterprise demands it. For example, shortly before the beginning of the čiǰexaus in March, 1922, Calderon had a serious disagreement with Santiago who was much older, but Santiago had scarcely initiated the preparations as the leader before Calderon, too, was following his slightest suggestion. When he was asked about the sudden change in his behavior, Calderon frankly admitted: "The rule is that among us Yamana everyone in the čiǰexaus must obey absolutely!"

X881 805 Dependence on the leader is all the more necessary since there are no definitely determined, specific divisions of the day. There are, of course, general regulations, but the Yamana do not decide beforehand what is going to take place at one hour and what at another, what is to come up now or later, how each one is to conduct himself. In this celebration, too, our Yamana are true creatures of the moment, entirely dependent upon their moods. It would be unthinkable and a hopeless undertaking to try to put our freedom-loving Indians on a kind of schedule. The leader is, so to speak, constantly present in a supervisory capacity; he superintends the running /907/ of the whole, directs one person here, another there, and demands this or that service. It is due to the unconditional obedience with which every participant submits that the initiation proceeds without friction.

X881 788 Throughout the weeks of the čiǰexaus a varied ceremonial runs its course, which has probably taken shape as a result of the natural disposition of the Yamana. Above all they demand the facial painting (p.788) without which no one formerly was allowed to sit in the Great Hut. A person who offers something or who has accepted something must observe a fixed formula. For example, the uǰwǰala who bring the fruits of their hunting or gathering into

/907 cont./

X 881 the [illegible] but immediately begin distributing them. Each one places himself in front of an adult, moves whatever he holds in his hand up and down while uttering a soft hóhohohȭ, and hands it to him. He receives it and in doing so repeats the same motions and utterance. Women and men who give something to another person observe a similar formality, as do the kitchen women in distributing the meal. A person coming in with something which is not passed on to others holds the object at shoulder-height in his upraised hands and capers around the room with it two or three times. *For example, this is the behavior of* women with a bundle of rushes which they have gathered outside and need here for plaiting baskets. Before a person takes the first bite of a piece of meat, he raises this, too, up and down a few times with a soft hóhohohȭ. If someone steps into the Great Hut or leaves it, several people sitting near the entrance repeat this hóhohohȭ. The singing must never cease completely, not even during meals and during the night's sleep. During the singing everyone must put on his hapaxél and hold his dance staff in his hand; if he goes outside he leaves both articles behind. Before the arrival of one of the customary groups of visitors, all the inmates renew their facial painting. If a few of the men go to the cookhut to visit the women there, they take along something for them, usually a little basket of ashes or glowing charcoal, even a burning stick of wood, for anyone who pays a visit must always bring a present. We shall mention below a few other ritualistic customs.

X 881 The deeper reason for the unconditional submissiveness of all participants and for their zeal in faithful servile in their great respect for the traditional [illegible] arrangement and their insight into its universal social significance. They also regard their participation as a real duty, not only as enjoyment or as a good opportunity for a thorough exchange of ideas. There are no punishments for adults, for the simple reason that they are not necessary. Everyone knows, in any case, how carefully his way of life and his conduct are everywhere observed and discussed by the people at large. They minutely inspect important and unimportant details in connection with each person. In the [illegible] but particularly the individual is subjected to open observation and to the

/1303 cont./

825 ground, it is an omen of murder and a person from the immediate
787 vicinity will be the victim. If someone approaches a small group of men or lands near a few huts and notices a sítu circling around the huts during the day, he recognizes this as a definite warning that these people are hostile to him and have evil intentions, are perhaps even planning to murder him. Hence he quietly slips away that very night and goes far enough so that none of the men can follow him. If in the next few days a horned owl should again appear in his vicinity or circle around him, he concludes that the men are on his trail. Without delay he hurries off to his own home. He is safe in the circle of his relatives.

825 The Yamana must show due respect for the small finch
824 hépul (Taenioptera pyrope). Anyone who annoys it and throws stones at it must be prepared for very bad weather. Out of vengefulness and an injured sense of honor, it causes bad storms and heavy rains.

825 A person who hears the cry of the gray night heron túwux
787 (Nycticorax obscurus), rejoices, for this bird tells him that a canoe with friendly visitors will soon come. They usually arrive the very next day and from exactly the same direction that the call of this heron came from or the direction from which the bird flew when it came. Even today the túwux is venerated everywhere.

825 The large petrels, especially the albatross, which rise up
821 over the waves far out on the high seas and describe large circles in the air, announce to the people that they must be prepared for rough seas and foul weather.

825 /1304/ It is a universal custom for a hunter who has bagged
777 a Molinas goose téku (Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/) to break both its legs immediately; otherwise he will have no future luck at hunting. If the hunter has a newborn child at home, he may not break the legs of this goose with his own hands if he wishes to keep his child from harm (p.508).

825 A solitary sea duck, déka (Tachyeres patachonicus), fly-
● 788 ing over a hut fills all the inmates with fear and trembling. They are afraid that this déka will take with it the késpi of the children present. They quickly throw large pieces of skin over each baby and cover them well. Others will repeatedly stretch their arms out in front of them, palms forward, at the same time

/1304 cont./

825 788 uttering a loud, hissing ī sound. The purpose of the latter is to weaken the baleful effect of the sea duck and hold in the kīnpif of the children. Immediately after confinement the mother and her husband may not eat the meat of the ōlka (p. 595). The [242] parents are advised to abstain from it until their child enters the second year of life. From then on it is completely out of danger, whereas before that it might possibly die if its parents should often eat the meat of the sea duck.

When the rust-colored spectacled ibis, īkpuwa (Theristicus melanopis), flies over the heads of mature girls, they cross their arms and press them against their breasts to hide them. If they [243] did not do this, īkpuwa would pull their breasts far down, this is a beauty flaw of which they complain a great deal. This īkpuwa is also known as a sensitive woman who anxiously guards her honor.

I did not learn that the Yamana are superstitiously afraid of any kind of insects, but Bridges (a):212 writes: "Many insects are also much dreaded, from a belief that they enter the ear, and work their way into the body, and thus kill those they enter" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):204 says the same thing. Unfortunately, these references are too general.

Sometimes an unusually large cap-shaped shell (Fissurella) clings to a rock along the coast, below the lower water level. It is regarded as the mistress of that region. All the women who are gathering marine animals in its vicinity must remain silent [223] and respectful. If they do not do this, the pījakakīpa, as it is called, causes strong eddies. The word pījaka is not a proper name, but a general term (compare BD:370); here it has no special meaning. The little hole in the flat shell is "the eye with which pījakakīpa sees everything that happens around it."

825 765 If a father has lost a son in death, he abandons the male animals that he kills or he throws them into the water. If a daughter has died, he does not touch the female animals that he catches. He does this for several weeks after the death of his child to express his grief over the loss and to avenge himself, as it were, on Watasinīwa.

1: Gustede SH6 Yahgan SH6

622, 754, 755, 776, 787, 789, 791, 793, 874

[Information on various aspects of Yahgan culture which are closely related to the characteristics and activities of the yékamuś or medicine-man, including his training, role as a community leader, curer, sorcerer, and custodian of religious lore, have been marked for category 756 and will be found under that classification.]

/722 cont./

856 properly, to become well-proportioned, and to develop a beautiful figure.

That this treatment of the infant is not without a tinge of
856 magic may be seen from the way it is concluded. As soon as a
●789 woman ceases the prolonged stroking, she clenches her hands and puts her fists to her mouth so that the bent thumbs touch her lips. With a sharp thrust she extends her arms out in front of her and opens her fists, palms forward and fingers outstretched. At the same time she expels her breath in a sharp "pš," as though the "unbeautiful, ugly, /723/ deformed" had been gathered together with the hands and were now being blown away. One sees this motion being practiced a great deal by the yékamuš.

In this wíša process every woman is, of course, extremely
856 gentle and sensitive; she is careful not to press on the fontanel, aŋyatša, which she knows to be a very sensitive spot. For about three weeks the new infant must submit to this forming, stroking, and arranging of his little body. It causes him not the slightest discomfort.

The following belongs in the category of superstition. When
825 the sea duck, déška (Tachyeres patachonicus), flies over the hut,
854 all the occupants are startled, for they are afraid that it will take
774 away the "spirit," that is, the vitality of the children. The adults hasten to cover all the children with pieces of leather and, with outstretched arms, they grope through the air, as though they were trying to hold back "the spirit" of the children. As though they had gathered it up in the air, they draw their arms in again and make a proffering and throwing motion toward the children, at the same time uttering a long-drawn-out" š." It is well known that immediately after birth the parents may not eat the meat of déška, otherwise the life of the child is endangered (p. 503).

854 Most of the day the babies move freely or lie in the mother's lap. With their little hands they touch and grasp everything they can reach. They are given individual small stones and sticks, mussel shells, and little twigs that happen to lie nearby, but the Yamana do
[524] not make actual toys. Perhaps it is too much trouble for them always to take along and carefully store toys, no matter how simple. It seems to me that Yamana babies, compared to those on Isla Grande, are much quieter and much less inclined to play. True, the mother puts all kinds of small necklaces around her darling, in order to adorn

X881 /943 cont./
524 invoke the power from above in order to be able to take part wholeheartedly in the social games.

X881 Every social game, just like every dance, finishes off with
524 a loud hō, hō... or hē, hē..., which anyone utters and which is
789 repeated by others. As we know, the constant singing is supposed to keep the evil Yetāita (361) and other dangerous spirits away

361. The following allusion does not seem to me superfluous: although soon after the start of the youth initiation the candidates are taught that "Yetaita" as such does not exist, nevertheless this supposed evil spirit is mentioned again and again, as though he were the essence of all evil powers and anxious fears which could bring great harm to the participants.

from the čiēxaus hut. The social games also have this secondary purpose. This is clearly shown during a game or during the transition from one to another when many a dancer, out of inner agitation, pulls vigorously on the hut framework and causes the whole structure to shake violently. As though alarmed, he utters the brief word "čiēxaus," shouting it loudly, as though it were an incantation or a means of warding off malevolent spirits. Finally another person will drum on the ground loudly and frantically with both fists, likewise to ward off all evil. The dancers are most stirred up to such outbursts of fear when they are already exhausted from singing and playing and are bathed in perspiration. Then their shouts and their desperate behavior have all the more threatening effects. Thus we see how these people, despite all their joy in the games, never depart altogether from the serious keynote of the čiēxaus celebration.

X881 There is another custom which has the same purpose. Oc-
789 casionally two, three, or four women run along the interior of the
751 hut wall and beat the back of their hands or their fists against the framework. They do so to scare away the evil spirits that might annoy the people present. They also want to drive off the spirits that cause illness, /944/ so that they will forever stay away from

/944 cont./

X881 789 751

this čiẽxaus. In olden times it was the task of the yẽkamuš to "cleanse" the Great Hut from such evil influences, above all to ward off sickness and push it far away so that the nerves and muscles of the people present, which sometimes become tired and slack, remain vigorous. At the present time all this is the aim of the women who hasten through the interior and beat against the wall of the hut with their fists, with branches, or with a stick. The malevolent spirits are driven away, and all the participants retain their strength undiminished.

X881 524

Finally, something Nelly once told me belongs here. Among her western group, which was to a certain extent influenced by the Halakwulup, masks were worn in former times, and these also served to entertain and encourage all the inmates of the čiẽxaus hut. Out-of-doors a man or woman would put on a disguise unobserved, for which they chose exclusively the long stems of a species of grass which is scarcely to be found today (362). The person would cover his head far below the neck

362. Presumably it was Dactylis (Poa) flabellata which was also used as litter for the sleeping-place (p. 25). The stems are sometimes longer than the height of the adult Yamana and therefore very suitable for this masquerade. Today one hardly ever sees such tall stems.

with a closely woven hood of this grass in the shape of a truncated cone. Two small holes were opened for the eyes. From the neck to the ankles another woven piece covered the whole body like a tight shift. Both arms could be drawn through two sufficiently large openings, and the arms, too, including the hands, were covered with this woven material and pressed close to either side of the body. At the proper moment, this masked person would shuffle into the Great Hut and for a considerable time would stand upright, motionless and stiff, in the center aisle. Sometimes the person very slowly moved a little farther inside so that the other people could look at him more closely. On rare occasions the masker would also sit down. The group would examine

/1305/ β. Superstitions in Everyday Life

821 From careful, continuous observation the Yamana are familiar with their natural surroundings. Every unusual phenomenon attracts their attention more or less, and some have occasioned superstitious interpretations. They do not occupy themselves nearly as much or as thoroughly with the heavenly bodies as do the Selk'nam. If an eclipse of the sun or moon occurs, they all pick up some číler /fine Berberis shavings/. Amid much shouting, men, women, and children rub their faces with it, as though they were washing and cleansing themselves. They shout and expect the sun or moon to become clean and shining once more. Since they themselves cannot reach that heavenly body, but it must nevertheless be cleaned, they rub their own faces continuously, for, to them, an eclipse of the sun or moon means an unclean, dirty face of that celestial body. They designate an eclipse of the sun (or moon) with lēm (or hǎnuxa) arugáta, meaning "sun or moon with a dirty, very disorderly, and unclean face" (compare ārugáta in BD:61). Similarly, they designate a star that conspicuously changes its color, or a shooting star and a comet with a visible tail, as apēnix ārugáta, "a star that is in disorder." If there is a ring around the moon and an opening in the ring at one point of the compass, they expect bad weather from this direction for the next few days. Children may not stare at a full moon for any length of time. The Yamana believe that while the child is gazing steadily at the moon it will see the moon's large mouth and invariably call out: "You, moon, open your mouth!" This would result in the child's soon becoming ill. The Yamana, too, see an entire face, with eyes and mouth, in the disk of the full moon.

Our Indians, of course, are also attentively concerned about the weather. If a number of people are traveling in their canoe and they eat something, they may not throw refuse and food remains into the water, for this would immediately cause high waves or storm. The remains are carefully burned in the canoe fire.

821 789 When a child is born, the Yamana notice whether there is good or bad weather. A child born in good weather has prospects of a happy life; above all he is capable of stopping bad weather.

/1305 cont./

821 789 If a few families are detained in an inlet because of storms and showers and are prevented from traveling on, they paint a club, a spear shaft, or an oar with red earth, accompany the "fair-weather child" to the beach, and give it the painted article, telling it to beat the sea with it and ask for favorable weather. If the child acts shy or ashamed, or if it is too young to do this, the father takes the child in his arms and sets it upright against his legs. He himself then recites the particular words /1306/ and administers the blows against the sea, making the child's arms help him a bit. It is absolutely necessary that the object used for beating be painted. The words addressed to the bad weather are to the effect that it should go away quickly, cease bothering people, and make way for good weather. A request is even sent up to Watauinéjwa that he change the weather situation as soon as possible, for after all he is responsible for unfavorable weather. For example, they say:

wéla	matauúgu	ĩkamána	yelaiágu
At once	to come to the beach	snowfall	good-weather

xéola,	sigájа	kakúpa	áki.
child	set off	from here	you.

This is to say: "In order that you, bad weather, shall immediately go away from here, a privileged fair-weather child has come down to the beach and is beating you." Meanwhile the child stretches out its arms and reaches out into space as though it were grasping the clouds, tearing the fog asunder, and pushing back showers of rain. At the same time it utters forceful, hissing ǰt sounds. These efforts serve the purpose of quickly driving away the bad weather. The words used are clothed in a definite formula; an adult tells it to the child who repeats it several times while it beats the water.

821 A child born when the weather is unfavorable or when there are heavy storms arouses a slight uneasiness among people in the neighborhood as a result of this fact alone. They never forget this coincidence and in later years tell the child himself about it. Such a child must be reserved and moderate in its behavior when

/1306 cont./

821 the weather is calm and there is bright sunshine. The Fuegians generally hope that the good weather, which in any case is scarce, will last for a short time once it has set in, especially the warm quiet days. For this reason a "bad-weather child" must avoid noisy conduct along the beach, running gaily along the edge of the water, throwing stones into the sea, beating the waves with a stick or paddle, or dropping an object and letting it strike hard on the ground. To violate these rules would soon bring a change of weather. The adults do not fail to watch a "bad-weather child" carefully and to admonish it to behave cautiously. If a strong headwind and high waves make it im-
821 possible for a family to travel on, the wife will try a ceremony
789 of her own to remove these obstacles. She rubs one of her daughters who is not yet five years old from head to foot with ímí, accompanies her down to the beach, pushes her into the water several times and ducks her repeatedly. The woman continues this procedure until her small daughter grows tired of it and begins to cry and scream. Only then does she release her daughter who, /1307/ yelling loudly, rushes out of the water to warm herself at the hut fire. The mother, however, stays on the beach a bit longer and addresses the following lament to the sea:

Yelaiágu	xéolan	sigáia	wéla	tumúru
Fair-weather	child	set off	immediately	have pity

íkamána.
snowfall.

In other words: "You, bad weather, have pity on that 'fair-weather child' and set off immediately, taking with you this abundant snowfall." With this act, especially the ducking, the mother pretends that her child is drowning in the sea because of the bad weather.

The winter of mid-1923 was unusually severe and brought with it a great deal of snow. I was staying on Navarino Island, and the Indians often complained to me about the burden of the large masses of snow. One day they again tried an ancient ceremony which serves to ward it off. Near the huts two men erected

/1307 cont./

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a snow figure resembling a human being. It was about 120 centimeters high, very clumsy and irregular, the kind of snowman that school children in Europe fashion without any care. The head, body, and arms were merely suggested on the figure and very inaccurately fashioned. The men made it in a few minutes. Meanwhile several children and a few adults had assembled in front of it. As soon as the two men declared their clumsy structure finished, everybody gathered in front of it at a distance of about five meters and pelted it with stones, logs, clubs, and spears, in a spirit of savage destruction, until the wobbly structure was completely torn apart and lay there as a chaotic pile of snow. The excited, wild behavior is supposed to make clear to "winter," who is believed to be embodied in this figure, how displeased, indeed embittered, everybody is with him and that he should take himself off as soon as possible. They anticipate prompt success with this ceremony which has been handed down by their forefathers, and they resort to it several times during the cold season (264).

> 264. As early as 1865 Bridges observed the same thing: "The Fuegians, to drive such unpleasant weather away, build a figure of the snow, in shape somewhat like a man, and throw spears into it, and demolish it with paddles" /cited in English/ (VSA:XII, 6;1865). -- The Selk'nam also try to change the weather by means of a certain magical custom, in which a so-called "bad-weather child" and a "fair-weather child" play the chief roles (Vol. I, 684).

[171]

Bridges reported another custom which is also of the type of genuine magic-by-analogy; I myself did not come across it. On a stormy day "all men were disguised with paint and charcoal. The men came along, many armed with clubs. One man, Lasapowloom, a vigorous, active young fellow, acted the champion and challenger, and stood prominently forward to meet the foremost and most excited of the opposite party. Like the man

/1307 cont./

821 who confronted him, he had a broad band of white from his chin
•789 downward, and his head was bound with the skin of a kelp gander with white down on it, and his hair was also whitened. He had a white stone in either hand. His antagonist, who came leaping along making much noise, was /1308/ armed with a club. He kept on demanding what facasi [a term for seals, penguins, and other sea birds] would let him kill some one, as though he thirsted for blood. He held his club ready to use it, and they both spoke excitedly and loudly to each other. Presently Lasapowloom threw one of his stones a full yard behind his opponent's heels, and ran after his stone to pick it up again. Presently looking to where I heard much noise I saw two others, highly painted fellows, engaged in loud vociferations and earnest gestures, each with an arm round the other's neck, and bobbing their heads each to the other. The rest stood quietly looking on.... Lasapowloom acting the part he did, was according to custom, called tsworoo, or the storm of wind; the man who met him was called tumoozsworoo, or one who invited the storm to rage against him" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 13;1875).

I cannot help thinking that the superstitious customs and ceremonies aimed at influencing the weather in favor of personal wishes and intentions have developed among the Yamana only to a limited extent simply because their Wataŭinéiwa is regarded as the actual ruler of the forces of nature. Hence everyone turns directly to him as the first and surest helper, using the ancient traditional prayer formulas (p.978).

262 In addition, there are a few similar superstitious customs
824 which are clearly wise food taboos. They are supposed to promote self-control and check selfishness. A few such decrees have already been mentioned. Thus, for example, no one may pick Pernettya berries until they are ripe. If anyone should ignore this, the "berries would go away" (p.327). Anyone who gathers amáim at the proper time may nibble a few, but anyone who eats many of them brings on bad weather by his lack of restraint in eating. It is easy to catch this disobedient person, and he is severely reproached in case there is a sudden change in the weather. The primary object of this taboo is probably to force each individual to bring all the berries he has gathered into camp

/1406 cont./

X756 827 painting and rubbing, the new skin finally becomes visible in about three weeks, the old masters interpret it as a sign that the uǐwǯaléxamuǐ in question really has a call for their vocation, and they show their joy in mutual mental visions. Now the apprentice must rub the cheek region with renewed diligence until, after another three or more weeks, this second delicate skin also disappears, and a third, still finer and more sensitive, appears. This skin is so soft and sensitive that it cannot be touched without causing penetrating pain. The uǐwǯaléxamuǐ who is the first among all the apprentices to develop this third, extremely fine skin arouses the greatest hopes and is regarded as the most successful pupil. As soon as this third, extremely sensitive skin is formed among the rest of the apprentices, the elders conclude the lōima-yékamuǐ. Naturally, the experienced teachers recognize this alteration of the skin in /1407/ their mental visions and inform each other in brief words which are understandable to all the pupils. This is not a case of mechanically destroying the real skin of the face; rather, by a process of auto-suggestion, the uǐwǯaléxamuǐ believe in the alleged changes which the old teachers audibly discuss. They also say that this extraordinary sensitivity of the facial skin gradually disappears, but that the skin remains very delicate. In connection with the alteration in the skin of the face, the rest of the skin and the entire body are transformed into that phantom body which all yékamuǐ are supposed to have.

X756 789 In the course of the lōima-yékamuǐ the old masters repeatedly perform two kinds of movements for which they show great preference. They pass both cupped hands over the hut fire and capture, so to speak, a handful of warmth which they pour out, as it were, over the head of an apprentice. They do this at least three times in succession. They also catch warmth from the hut fire in only one cupped hand, with the arm outstretched, and move it along in such a way that their cupped hand rests on the mouth of an apprentice; they fairly pour warmth into him. It is said that these two movements remove a sort of impenetrable wall of fog from the eyes of the uǐwǯaléxamuǐ; from now on he can see the spirits without interference and nothing can hinder his singing.

/1421 cont./

X756 to make him well! Give the sick man courage and give him back
755 his health, for my sake!" Obviously the yékamuš is sincere when he addresses these words and other ancient prayer formulas to Watauinéjwa so that the sick person will be quickly cured. The yékamuš, however, is also impelled by ambition; since he wants to prove his ability to the people by any means, he even calls on Watauinéjwa for help and relies on his favorable relations with him. If a few members of the same family have died in quick succession, it may happen that a friendly yékamuš will say to the survivors: "That yékamuš [he designates him by name] has caused these deaths!" It is a universal belief that only Watauinéjwa can cause a person to die. In the case just mentioned the people will complain to Watauinéjwa; they will accuse him of being in collusion with that yékamuš and of acting with him. They will say, for instance: "Hitapuan, why did you join that yékamuš and, with him, kill our relatives?" This is a cry from a heart tormented by grief and is similar to the well-known cries of mourning (p. 989).

β. General Assistance

X756 The individual Yamana, as well as the independent family
• 789 groups, will turn to a friendly yékamuš in all kinds of daily dis-
824 tress. Although I often heard, "Hidúbuan causes bad weather, Hidúbuan sends the heavy snow and the bad storms!" nevertheless the Yamana also attribute to their yékamuš a definite influence on the weather (333). Who would not like to have calm, clear,

333. Bridges (l):18 and (k):237 asserted in his day that the medicine men "had power to procure good weather and drive away bad" /cited in English/.

and warm weather down there in the Cape Horn Archipelago? In winter the families like to crowd their dwellings together so that a few yékamuš are together for a longer period. If on occasion heavy snowstorms continue and the people become sad, the yékamuš will promise them: "Be quiet and remain brave, tomorrow [or the

/1421 cont./

X756 day after tomorrow] favorable weather will set in!" The chil-
• 789 dren, above all, become quiet, and the old people are full of
821 expectation. Sure enough, on the day announced the snowstorm at least abates and perhaps there is even a cloudless sky. /1422/ Once on a rainy day I also heard: "Tomorrow uxápu [the constellation Orion, p. 1276 /untranslated/] will appear!" On another winter's day a yékamuš assured the people: "Tomorrow we shall see Yoálox-tárnuxípa again and that will usher in good weather!" Sure enough, each time the prognostication was fulfilled. The question is whether those yékamuš were guided by knowledge derived from experience and careful observation? I cannot decide. In any case, the people ascribe the change of weather to the superior knowledge and ability of the yékamuš. As is known, a number of medicine men gather together in the lóima-yékamuš. Since they jointly exert their influence on the forces of nature, the people say that favorable weather prevails for the duration of that affair.

X756 When there are persistent storms, the people are hindered
789 in their freedom of movement and sometimes suffer great priva-
825 tion. Then the yékamuš must save them by furnishing food. He lies down to sleep, starts his čówánni song, and thus invokes the čówánni spirits. The latter have whole swarms of herring with them and these, of course, are accompanied by many other species of animals. They soon cover the beach near the people in distress. In the same way the čówánni spirits drive many round crabs (Lithodes antarctica, Fig. 13 /in untranslated portion/) up on the beach or cause many birds to light on nearby stones. The yékamuš also uses another helper. In his dream he calls an ašóula to him and describes to it the threatening situation of his family group. Thus prevailed upon, the ašóula returns to its region, and from there on the next day it leads a whale with its accompanying animals to the stricken group (p. 1268 /untranslated/). As soon as the people see the many animals, they rejoice and thank their yékamuš for this rescue; he finally releases the helpful spirits with his čówánni song, and they once more retire far out on the high seas. If the men plan a joint hunting expedition the following day, the yékamuš assemble the day before and start the čówánni song. This is supposed to assure them the help of these spirits on the following day and at the same time guarantee the

/1422 cont./

X756 hunters success. While they sing, they stare into the distance,
●789 stretch out both arms, open their hands and clutch the air, draw
825 their closed hands back to their bodies, open them, press them against the chest and, with gentle pressure, down to their knees. As they do so they repeat a shrill st several times. With these movements they wish to invoke the kěšpix of the game animals, attract them, and gain power over them. The next day the men set out full of confidence.

X756 The Yamana believe that their medicine men can see into
787 the future and that they have infallible prescience. The yěkamuš themselves are especially convinced of this and give advance warnings to individuals. They also may admonish their whole group to be careful or may announce the prospect of a favorable event. On March 22, 1923, I was standing with several people when Mašemikens said very distinctly: "Outside I see a long /1423/ canoe approaching with touwišiwa [Phalacrocorax olivaceus]!" Sure enough, the following day the people sighted unusually dense flocks of these birds which seldom cross a channel in such numbers. On another occasion Emilia stared out at the ocean like a seeress and cried: "The sea is getting white, mountains of waves are forming and a great deal of foam is gathering!" Her words sounded strange to us, since the surface of the water was entirely smooth. The next morning, however, bad weather came up from the east, causing high waves, and we remembered that Emilia had announced this change at noon on the preceding day. A few people said in wonder: "How remarkable it is that our yěkamuš know so many things in advance!"

X756 If the population in general is struck by illness, either be-
755 cause they have eaten spoiled meat or, more recently, because of an epidemic brought by Europeans -- something that the yěkamuš occasionally foresee in a dream -- the medicine men feel obliged to help immediately. They are told in a dream at what place all the people must assemble. They announce the place and without delay call the people together to a makāinkīna. First, a big fire is kindled. All the adults and children stand around it. As soon as this circle begins to move, everybody raises his fists, wails in hollow sounds, and interjects frequent loud cries of te te. Finally they seize glowing sticks of wood and toss them high in the

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan SH6

622, 754, 755, 776, 787, 789, 791, 793, 874

[Information on various aspects of Yahgan culture which are closely related to the characteristics and activities of the yékamuš or medicine-man, including his training, role as a community leader, curer, sorcerer, and custodian of religious lore, have been marked for category 756 and will be found under that classification.]

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/x54.cmb./

only two persons were saved" /translated from French/.

to this day by the Tarasta; the reports of missionaries and European travelers also refer to them. In Hyades (p.)02 we read: "Shipwrecks of canoes are very frequent and usually cause a high mortality. Mr. Bridges in his unpublished work cites many accidents of this kind: shipwreck of five canoes, 30 persons drowned; shipwreck of two canoes, 13 drowned..." /translated from French/. The accident is usually caused by overconfidence. These people are extremely reckless, and, as Bridges (p.)15 expresses it "carelessness in moving themselves with comparative assurance" /cited in English/, which every observer verifies. In more recent times, however, unprincipled thoughtlessness [p.73] destroys many a life when Indians in a highly intoxicated state venture out on the treacherous waves although they do not have control of themselves.

Supremely confident of their own ability, these people may even decide to take long journeys in their fragile vessel. As a rule, however, they stay within the narrow confines of their native district; every dialect group has one (p. 100 /unnamed/). Certain occasions, however, almost always the chase after the large anime seal, [illegible] (Eutriophoka eumelis), and the pursuit of a sick, weary whale, make them forget, in their eagerness, how far behind they have left the coast. It has been proved that a few families visited Isla Ildefonso; others are supposed to have ventured as far as the Diego Ramirez Islands. They are [p.73] guided in their journeys by their exact knowledge of the locality and by an excellent gift of orientation.

Even after the opening of the mission stations in Chiloé individual canoes arrived from great distances, even some from the Halakwlup. For example, Bridges (p.)15 mentions incidentally: "I know several natives of Cochawulwho come to Chiloé in the East and in the opposite direction as far as Port Gallant and Mercury Sound; this distance is considerably over two /illegible/ hundred miles" /cited in English/. Our Fueguans can accomplish these astonishingly distant journeys because, wherever they land, they provide for their needs in life, namely, meat from the bone dissecta types of animals, wood for the indispensable fire, and pieces of fur to protect their bodies.

/463 cont./

anchor in Bahía San Francisco at Cape Horn, and there he met a few Fueguians. Their weapons were "slings, bows and arrows. The latter are neatly made, and pointed with obsidian. Their bows and arrows are employed for the destruction of birds" /cited in English/ (p. 111 /Ed., see foreign text, untranslated portion; the passage referred to is in English/). Wilkes:129 speaks of these weapons, though not in detail; actually he bartered for them among our Fueguians and to this day there is a bow wave in the Peabody Museum in Salem, U.S.A. Colvocoresses:40, however, who was a lieutenant serving under the commander mentioned above, says emphatically that "their arms consisted of bows, arrows, and spears" /cited in English/ (p. 119 /Ed., see foreign text, untranslated portion; the passage referred to is in English/) (159).

159. Cooper:208 admits that "some of the explorers who visited the Yahgans in the earlier part of the last century found them in possession of the bow and arrow" /cited in English/. His qualification, "but it was not common," does not seem correct to me.

When, toward the middle of the last century, the Anglican missionaries made their first contacts with our Fueguians, bows and arrows had by no means disappeared, but were somewhat less prominent. For example, in March, 1864, Stirling traded for them with European articles (VSA:XI, 237; 1864) and Bridges (j):314 mentions them repeatedly (160). /463/ Later, however,

160. When he (k):229 speaks of the Kina ceremony, in which the men threaten the women with their various weapons, this does not mean that the bow at that time had become merely a plaything of the men.

they were used progressively less, and the members of the Mission Scientifique ran across them only very occasionally. As Hyades (c):360 and (b):34 frankly admits: "They are actually very rarely used" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, Martial: 192

/671 cont./

505 Nothing indicates that the Yamana would permit actual polyandry (60). So-called sexual promiscuity was already

60. On April 22, 1871, Bridges (i):21 clearly stated: "In no case has a woman been known to have more than one husband at a time, but successively some have had two or even more" /cited in English/, and later he (h):210 repeated: "A woman has never been known to have more than one husband at a time" /translated from Spanish/. Many a married woman, however, secretly had an illicit affair.

[837]

definitely disavowed by Fitz-Roy (a):182: "Jemmy Button often talked of his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, also of uncles and aunts, after he knew enough of our language to understand distinctly the relationship. Now this could not have been the case had not his father and mother lived together permanently as man and wife, according to the clear account which he himself always gave of their custom in this respect" /cited in English/. [197] The Anglican missionaries, beginning with Stirling, endeavored to put an end to polygamy; Bridges even obtained an injunction from the government (61). Unfortunately, the missionaries did

61. On May 28, 1887, he reported: "Again, cases of natives taking a second wife are punished by imprisonment, and thus happily prevented" /cited in English/ (MM:XXI, 176; 1887).

not take into account the fact that in some families a second wife was demanded by economic necessity. As such, however, polygamy is contrary to the general feeling of justice among the Yamana, and reasonable exceptions are merely tolerated (p. 440).

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1. The First Observations

X881 114 The Yamana guard their secret youth initiation with extreme vigilance. A stranger would never be able to surprise them in the midst of it, and it would be still more impossible for him to force his way in unobserved. From the start, therefore, it was impossible for the navigators of earlier times to find out anything about it from direct observation. In general their stay in one place or another was much too short to obtain even a few superficial observations. They would have had to fulfill quite different preliminary conditions if they had wanted to get at these particularly well-guarded cultural possessions. It would be futile to look in their travel accounts for reports about the initiation. The Europeans who later visited the territory of the Yamana as gold-hunters and sealers showed neither an aptitude for ethnographic observations nor an understanding of what they saw in the way of native customs. Finally, those who settled there as farmers dismissed everything indigenous with the contemptuous shrug of the self-confident, mindless, conceited, civilized human being. Completely unobserved by any of them, the Yamana continued to hold their secret festive gatherings with a certain regularity.

X881 797 114 After the Anglican mission became well acquainted with the Yamana and their way of life was constantly observed by the missionaries, it could not fail to happen that the attention of the latter was called to the occasional gathering of many families in the same place and that, in the course of decades of close proximity, they obtained a few faint hints from the natives. The missionaries, also, however, paid far too little attention to these first clues to put such an important institution, which the čiéxaus pre-eminently is, in the service of their evangelistic efforts. Quite generally they regarded and treated the cultural heritage of the Yamana contemptuously (p. 322 /untranslated/).

X881 114 Again it is Bridges to whom we are indebted for the first discoveries and who was the only one among all the missionaries who gave us brief but valuable reports. From his writings we cannot infer with certainty whether he distinguishes clearly between the actual youth initiation, čiéxaus, and the very different men's ceremony, kina. In his Dictionary he lists many of the so-called

/963 cont./

186 of language and way of life no less than on sharing the same na-
423 tive region. They regard the fragmented maze of islands within the triangle between the Cape Horn cliffs, Brecknock Peninsula, and Punta Julieta at Bahía Aguirre as their country, within whose boundaries they alone, from ancient times, have the exclusive right to live and to hunt. Actually they make their property rights, in the widest sense of the word, apply to this whole area.

423 They condemn the crossing of these borders by their Indian
648 neighbors in the northeast, as well as in the southwest, as trespass on their land, simply because it belongs to them alone (380).

> 380. Spegazzini (a):168 has mentioned "that the boundaries of a tribe are well defined; no Alucaluf /Alacaluf/ canoe goes into Iajan /Yahgan/ territory unless it has a particular and important mission" /translated from Spanish/.

They do not drive off the intruders with weapons, but they regard their encroachment quite /964/ frankly as a legal offense. Only the families who reside in an area may grant their neighbors free entrance if personal reasons make it advisable.

423 They also regard it as robbery when Europeans settle on
648 their land and crowd out their countrymen. For the last few decades they have become resigned to this condition of constraint
• 797 because they feel too weak to resist. Formerly they overwhelmed many a European ship with hostility and made its landing difficult in order to deprive the unpopular Whites of any possibility or desire to settle here (p. 250 /untranslated/). For the same reason even the missionaries were made to feel the resistance of the natives. For example, it cost the former much toil and labor to found the mission station in Ushuaia, but this did not make that region the property of the missionaries, according to the Indians, and they actually had to submit to all kinds of annoyances. It was only after direct negotiations that Bridges (MM:IV, 133;1870) could content himself with the following solution: "I got full permission from the natives of Ushuaia to take possession of any land for house and gardens. Next time I intend giving them some thing as a small acknowledgment" /cited in English/. Although

423 /964 cont./
648 opposition for a long time has led to absolutely no result, the Yamana have never given up their exclusive legal claim to their
●797 native region.

423 They trace this claim back to their so-called revolutionary
173 myth, which tells that in ancient times the women who were playing kina pushed into this region and continued their secret ceremony here. Since this time, they say, all the Yamana have remained in one and the same place, and inasmuch as they were the first to take possession of this land for themselves, it has become their property.

423 The nature of the landscape has divided the whole Yamana
635 territory into five large districts in which an equal number of dialects have developed (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each dialect group regards its home as, in a special sense, the common property of all its members. It is the field in which each one may devote himself to the hunt for food without restraint. To begin with, the individual has no vested right to a specific animal and no priority in obtaining special products of the land. Without discrimination, everything within the boundaries of the dialect region is available to everyone living there. Thus, with regard to the natural products of their circumscribed homeland, there is no personal property right; this becomes valid only at the moment when a person appropriates something for himself.

423 It is no less important to point out that only the members
635 of the same dialect group may take what their circumscribed
685 area /965/ holds. Persons whose homes are in a neighboring district generally do not have the right to cross the boundaries. A few exceptional cases are regarded as legally valid. If these exceptions are misused, however, disputes may be kindled and, to be sure, precisely because of violation of the sovereign rights which only the actual owners of this region enjoy. They alone may indiscriminately appropriate in it whatever they need in the way of animals and goods, even if some of it serves in barter with people of another group.

It is obvious that every individual will defend the common possessions of his dialect group, to which he belongs by birth or marriage and in which he himself has a share. Whenever and wherever he observes encroachment by a neighbor, he at least disapproves of it and speaks of it to others in his immediate

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feeling that became known to me was shown by York Minster, who, when Mr. Bynoe shot a few very young ducks as specimens, declared in the most solemn manner: 'oh! Mr. Bynoe, much rain, much snow, much blowing.' This was evidently meant as punishment in retaliation for devastation by human beings."

While these three young Fuegians were in London in 1830 they were carefully examined. In the "Phrenological Remarks" given in Fitz-Roy (b):148, "strong feelings for a Supreme Being" /cited in English/ are set forth. These few words are to me no proof for the definite and clear form of belief in a deity which our Yamana actually have. Compare Koppers, in Anthropos, Vol. 22, p. 286; 1927.

Nevertheless, from all sides Darwin's assertions have /1037/ received full credence and the opinions of subsequent decades continued to refer to him, although toward the end of his life he changed his opinion in favor of the Fuegians (p. 106 /untranslated/). On the other hand, Roskoff:49 did not take a stand until rather late when he briefly corrected Darwin as follows: "But this does not deny the Fuegians any trace of religion, even though it cannot be surprising that the Englishman does not find among them his own belief in a God."

A few decades after the second trip of the "Beagle," that is to say, in more recent times, English missionaries began their activity on the Cape Horn Archipelago, and after that the number of European visitors to that region increased. They all, practically without exception, sought help from the missionaries, or at least had temporary contact with them. This is true first of Bove and his companions who crossed Tierra del Fuego in 1882 and 1884 and stayed for a while in Ushuaia with the missionaries there (p. 146 /untranslated/). Relying on their reports, he (g):236 first of all judges: "The Fuegians are not very superstitious and they have only very rudimentary religious beliefs" /translated from Italian/. He also (d):297 and (e):159 asserts: "They have a good and an evil

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711 114 conviction: "We do not believe that we can modify our opinion about the absence of religious feeling among the Fuegians. We observed them very attentively from this point of view during the year that we spent among them; we were never able to perceive the slightest hint of any kind of cult or religious idea" /translated from French/.

One has the impression that, in view of such definite statements, there could be absolutely no contradiction (7). Even later,

7. Martial:212 takes into account the serious difficulties of the investigation being discussed, as a result of which, he says, it would not be easy "to obtain readily a clear idea of their beliefs about the deity and a future life" /translated from French/.

Dabbene (b):202, for example, maintains: "There is no knowledge that a religion exists among the Yahgan, since they practice no rite that reveals any cult whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/. According to Spears:70, "they knew nothing of God, and had no word expressive of such an idea" /cited in English/. Furlong (b): 137 agrees. The Fuegian "has no religion in the general acceptance of the term...No word for God, Creator, or pray has ever appeared in his language, nor from any action, ceremony, or custom can a belief in these things be inferred" /cited in English/. Lothrop (b):171, however, already had access to some of my conclusions which he took into account. Thus, more recent research also comes to the opinion that the Yamana are without any kind of religion. Compare the data that Cooper:148 assembled.

2. Opinions of Missionaries

711 114 Although the men who put themselves at the service of the Fuegians through their mission work are only now being heard, this does not change the well-proved fact that they were the ones 791 who told ignorant navigators and travelers of their own experiences and observations. They were obliged, for professional reasons, so to speak, to investigate the religious ideas of their wards.

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111 114 797

At the beginning of their activity they occasionally mention -- as did one or another navigator, for example, Parker Snow:I, 337 -- that during a brief religious service the Fuegians who happened to be present were silent and reverent. To me this is no proof of their own religious feeling, for such an attitude is not unusual among them. Despard wrote on October 4, /1039/ 1859 (VP:VII, 51;1860), as follows: "No word has appeared for God, or Creator, or pray. They have a word for Spirit Cashpeak, and they are very uneasy at hearing it, for they say they shall see it if named" /cited in English/. He (b):698 contradicts himself, however, in the sentence: "The Firelander has no religion at all. He knows neither God, nor idol, nor spirit, and has accordingly no word for either of these" /cited in English/. Stirling, on the other hand, nowhere expresses himself definitely about the religious ideas of the Yamana.

The position of the much-quoted Bridges on this question deserves all the more consideration inasmuch as most of the travelers in Tierra del Fuego during the last decades have adopted his opinion. In 1866 he (a):181 first published a general survey of the living conditions, institutions, and customs of the Yamana. He also devoted a few lines to their conceptions of supernatural things and so-called spirits. He disposes of the religious in the true sense with a single sentence and merely says: "They have no knowledge of God, no thoughts of a future state, either of reward or punishment" /cited in English/. Strangely enough, Bridges did not deviate from this first opinion even after decades of association with the Yamana and often repeated it, word for word. For example, he (h):207 says: "They do not acknowledge a creator and neither have any idea of the future nor expect anything after death" /translated from Spanish/. Moreover, he (k):237 says again: "They lacked any idea of a Supreme Being, although they believed in the existence of spirits or souls... They offer no sacrifices nor have any idea of atonement for sin" /translated from Spanish/. Finally the unequivocal opinion (e):332 follows: "As for religion, we can say that they had none." If occasionally an Indian showed signs of religious feeling, Bridges put it down solely to the success of missionary influence (8).

8. Once a lame man said to him "that God struck him. It is pleasant to realize that the

/1039 cont./

knowledge of God is taking root in the minds of the people, and that they themselves attribute to Him the acts of his providence" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 10;1876).

His co-workers in particular echoed him in this assumption, especially the younger ones. The last two of them, John Lawrence and John Williams, emphatically assured me, independently of each other, that they had never come across religious expressions among the Indians which were their own. Each of these missionaries took the view of the other without examining it and blithely adhered to this conviction. Aspinall:270 stated it once more: The Yamana "devoid of all religious ideas and duties, know nothing except the vague concept of spirits of the dead which go about in the forests and which they fear."

Thus, like the Europeans who visited the Cape Horn region, all the missionaries labored under the false impression that the Yamana are completely irreligious. Every unprejudiced critic will realize that they did not come closer to the facts because of their negative attitude toward the /1040/ Indians. Elsewhere (p. 322 /untranslated/) it was proved in detail that Bridges especially had no desire whatever for a calm and just evaluation of the store of ideas of the Indians; in fact, faced with his ill-humor, they carefully and purposely concealed what was dear to them and what he would have defamed with his disdainful, disparaging remarks. After I personally had learned many of the prayer formulas with which they address themselves to their deity, I freely expressed my pleasure. More than once on such occasions Nelly Lawrence would add: We never told Thomas Bridges these beautiful things, for he would have been scornful and ridiculed us!" At the end of my fourth journey I again presented to the worthy Reverend John Lawrence a short summary of what I had learned about the religious heritage of the Yamana. This time, too, as on my third visit, he was sincerely pleased, for it meant that shortly before the end of his life he was permitted to see corrected a false opinion of the Yamana, to which the missionaries had also contributed.

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during the journey to England and back had influenced his charges in a religious way, he, and Darwin as well, would in some way have expressed themselves about the results. Their accounts do not contain a single word on the subject. Matthews (p. 94 /untranslated/) probably also did not do anything along this line.

Those three or four men who occasionally referred to the Christian idea of God or who read aloud a chapter from the Bible, Weddell (p. 69 /untranslated/), for example, were personally certain that their references had not the slightest influence. Incidentally, it is not like rough sailors when they land and happen to be with a few natives for a short time to fill those hours with preaching their own Christianity and Christian moral precepts (17). Even if one

17. On page 333 /untranslated/ it was described how many of the navigators in the Cape Horn region behaved toward the natives; they surely did not inspire respect for the white race among those primitive children of nature.

were to assume this improbability, no serious critic could concede that so brief an influence, which would necessarily have taken place without sufficient knowledge of the language on both sides, would provide a lasting effect and an inner transformation on the part of the Fuegians.

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The definite determination to educate these people according to the Christian religion -- which, as has just been said, could not have been true of the sailors on their voyages through southern waters -- was, however, by contrast, the driving force among the missionaries who settled in that archipelago. Despite years of contact with the Yamana, they were the very ones, above all Bridges himself, who not only deny that the Indians had their own religious ideas and practices, /1076/ but who are constantly lamenting the poor success of their efforts which, in any case, reached only a few. None of these missionaries gives definite data about which Christian

/1076 cont./

777 truths and ideas the natives adopted, much less about whether they
• 797 adapted their everyday lives to them. The missionaries did not
177 achieve a genuine, inner transformation of their pupils and charges (p. 328 /untranslated/). In any case, no specific Christian idea is to be found in the religious heritage of the Yamana described above. What one Fuegian or another may have absorbed from the teaching of the missionaries remained, as can be shown, a mere bit of new information, for example, the English word "God." This slight increase of knowledge had no effect whatever; the Fuegian definitely separates it from his ancient heritage and even regards it as, for him, superfluous.

In particular one should note the small number of natives who, with few exceptions, always stayed at the various stations for only a short time (p. 312 /untranslated/), as well as the vast areas never reached by missionary influence, and, finally, the great fear the people had of coming near the mission stations after the ravages of epidemics. During the first decades mutual exchanges were greatly handicapped by insufficient knowledge of the language. The mere fact that small groups of natives listened attentively to English does not prove that they understood everything, much less that they would sooner or later have translated it into action from inner conviction (18).

> 18. On the subject of the natives sent to Isla Keppel, J. Lawrence (MM:VI, 37; 1872) writes, characteristically, on October 17, 1871: "Whenever I give them religious instruction..., they are most attentive, and while I endeavour, though very imperfectly, to explain to them some portion of Holy Scripture, they listen always with deep interest. If I question them as to their knowledge of Scriptural things, they confess they know very little, at the same time express their desire to know much more" /cited in English/.

They behaved as the missionaries wanted them to, and they also took part in the religious service and in the Bible reading as often

/1076 cont./

as they were urged to do so (19). Did this make them faithful

19. The prayer meetings of the Indians are always described by the missionaries as good or successful. But what is to indicate that these "savages" took part from inner conviction? In his account Lewis (MM:VI, 90;1872), for example, mentions that the Yamana "George Despard informed me he himself had been to some of the other people's wigwams talking to them of all he knew concerning the future world, and remarked that some listened attentively to what he said, whilst others would not listen" /cited in English/.

Christian? Spegazzini (a):180, for example, emphatically denies it: "The catechized Indian generally does not believe, and when I asked some servants of the English missionaries if they believed, they replied: 'And you have seen the spirits of the woods /monte/ and of the water?'... Those who believe do so solely in order to make use of the missionaries /1077/... The children of the establishment [of the mission] leave and find themselves without tools, without social backing, without anything; they have to live, and they go back to living as their parents did" /translated from Spanish/. In this environment they quickly lose everything that teaching offered them. From the start Spegazzini (ibid.) regards any attempt to influence older children as useless: "An Indian older than ten is not responsive to civilization; he already has his principles of freedom and laziness too deeply rooted in his soul" /translated from Spanish/. The number of baptisms and marriages solemnized at the mission stations is remarkably small (p. 331 /untranslated/). Bridges, however, translated individual sections of the New Testament and recently Williams published a few pages in Yamana (20), but I do not know of a single Fuegian

20. Cooper:73 and 135 collected the bibliographic details. Compare also my data on page 146 /untranslated/ and some supplementary material in Gusinde (ib):274.

/1077 cont./

771 who could have read these writings with understanding and profit.
• 797 It has likewise not been shown that those who received special in-
177 struction transmitted their knowledge to their compatriots (21).

> 21. Despard (b):733 praises Button's good memory and says that the latter told on Isla Keppel "whatever he had learnt of religion and morality -- not much of these last, to be sure...When questioned as to the efforts he had made to impart his acquired notions of religion to his countrymen, he replied, 'Yes; me tell God very good, make everything; Jesus Christ God's Son, very good -- die. My people stupid -- no sabby [no saber]; I no tell more'" /cited in English/.

If one carefully surveys the entire religious heritage of the Yamana, its individuality is clearly apparent and nowhere can an amalgamation with Christian ideas be demonstrated. The belief in Watauineiwa is not the result of missionary influence.

Without any doubt it proves to be the special heritage of the Yamana, which they held and cherished long before their first contact with Europeans. My own research, and particularly the wholly unusual, accidental way in which I personally stumbled upon their religious heritage (p. 958), in itself explains why it was withheld from other visitors and even from the missionaries. It is not necessary to repeat the details; they have been fully presented.

1. Its Intrinsic Value

771 Many unequivocal circumstances definitely and clearly
776 testify that the Yamana have preserved their heritage of religious ideas and practices and have transmitted it from ancient times to the present. Quite generally, these ideas and practices are to them a logical postulate of their thinking. This is not to credit them with a particular gift for philosophical speculation, but their

/1078 cont./

771 driving power and active cause behind any occurrence whatever,
776 especially behind events of decisive import, then discussions, no matter how long, would change nothing, and the person affected has no recourse but to realize his own helplessness and to yield weakly to the situation imposed upon him. As may be expected, this decision restores his mental balance and calms even the greatest surges of fury against the severest losses and the bitterest disappointments. One must see these Fuegians on the occasion of a general funeral rite, yamalaŝemóina. Everyone in the company of others acts as though he were mad with grief, and a few hours later, at any rate by evening of the same day, ruefully and full of confidence, he again turns to /1079/ his Hidābuan with sincere requests for forgiveness and pardon for his excited, irreverent behavior which, he says, was, after all, not entirely unjustified.

771 The complete contentment which their religious heritage
• 797 gives the Yamana has prevented any desire for more. That is why
177 they regarded the Christian teachings presented to them by the English missionaries as utterly superfluous. It can scarcely be proved that a single one of them was drawn to these missionaries from a pure desire for Christian truths. In fact, the missionaries had great trouble getting a few children to stay in their stations for any length of time and occasionally gathering together a few adults for a religious service and instruction. The following statements illuminate the whole situation like a strong light. Mary told me that as a girl she was taken into the house of the Lawrence family in Ushuaia for a few months to do all kinds of work. She once described to me her usual occupations and also pointed out that every day ended with a short reading from the Bible, to which the mistionary added a few explanations about his God. I asked her to tell me whether she welcomed this, whereupon she replied with surprising candor: "Oh well, I listened to everything. Mister Lawrence kept speaking about his God. He said: 'Our Lord' /cited in English throughout this passage/ demands that everyone be a good human being, that everyone work hard, that no one steal from another, and that no man have anything to do with another's wife, that we should all get along with each other. And he repeated all kinds of other things. But what he told us about his 'Our Lord,' all this Watanineiwa revealed to the Yamana long

/1079 cont./

before, all this was always known to our own ancestors. So we don't need his 'Our Lord'! Our Wataunéiwa is enough for us, and what he has told us suffices. I always realized that, each time Lawrence spoke of his 'Our Lord.' As was proved by my questions, Mary actually adopted nothing from Christianity. The attitude of Nelly Lawrence is even more convincing. As the daughter-in-law of this missionary, she lived in the same house with him for several years and was in daily contact with this deeply religious man. After I became acquainted with Wataunéiwa through her efforts, she no longer hesitated to refer to him. She plainly showed me how pleased she was that I, too, sincerely enjoyed her religious views. Not for that reason alone, however, but out of innermost conviction she confessed to me that the traditional Wataunéiwa faith was perfectly adequate for her and that she felt no desire for the thing John Lawrence so often mentioned about his "Lord" /cited in English/. "Everything that the Yamana tell about our Wataunéiwa is incomparably more beautiful!" She repeated this conviction to me several times with proud self-confidence. In the general register of baptisms there is no mention that she was baptized /1080/ (p. 331 /untranslated/), and I never discovered any traces of Christian faith in her, but in her ideas about Hidábuan she felt happy and content; hers was really a deeply religious nature.

For the Yamana their Supreme Being is certainly no supernatural figure passively hidden beyond the stars, but rather someone they feel close to. They connect many of the minor details of everyday life with him, and by no means only the startling events. On August 9, 1923, I was in Punta Remolino, sitting at supper with the Lawrence family. Fred had a hired man in his service who came from Chiloé and who was old and quite stupid. Once again he had proved extremely awkward in his work, and Fred's description of it was so vivid that we all had to laugh heartily. Only Nelly remained serious and warned her husband with the following words: "Don't talk disparagingly about that old man. Wataunéiwa doesn't like it at all and will punish you for it. One must not make fun of old people!" Her reprimand to the whole group was so natural and serious that we were dumbfounded and, without demur, stopped laughing.

/1081 cont./

2. Its Characteristics

776 In a critical evaluation of the originality of the Watayinéwa
• 197 faith the decisive fact is that the deity's characteristics and per-
177 sonality as imagined by the Yamana harmonize very well with the general psychology and the personal character of these Fueguians. To begin with it must be pointed out that clearly recognizable Christian characteristics are lacking. Not the slightest trace of the salient details which were constantly repeated in the teachings of the missionaries has remained among our Indians (22). Only

> 22. For example, Despard (VP:VI, 29:1858) asserts that he taught J. Button about Jesus Christ, and Lawrence (MM:XXXI, 143,1897) reports that for his part he constantly spoke of the Lord Jesus.

the words "God" and "Our Lord" /cited in English/ are mentioned, but their meaning is synonymous with what the Indians themselves have put into the name of their Supreme Being. They also remember the references of the missionaries and individual farmers to the resurrection of the body, for it completely disconcerted them.

The Yamana have come to the conclusion that both figures are more or less one and the same person, and they make comparisons. On March 8, 1923, Nelly once again came to my room, accompanied this time by Sara, the Lipaldrewéjaklpa and wife of Pedro Maferthem. Sara gave me a small basket as a present. In return I hastened to give her a string of beads and a small mirror. While Sara was looking at herself in the glass, Nelly discovered a picture of St. Joseph on the back. He was portrayed as a venerable older man with a long white beard. Nelly said to Sara: "Look at the other side, there is the Watayinéwa of the Christians!" When this name was mentioned, Sara was somewhat taken aback, but not markedly, and she asked Nelly softly: "Does this Marin [Gusinde] know who our Watayinéwa is?" Nelly nodded affirmatively. Sara was content with that and obviously relieved. Only then did she look at the picture thoughtfully and turned to me,

/1081 cont./

saying distinctly: "Wanaqinkwa Mnagikha (23) hanantaia (the

23. RD:181 translates this word: "to come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. In the ancient prayer formulas it is often repeated with the same meaning.

old-one-up-there is concerned about us?" Her meaning was: Just as your Wanaqinkwa takes care of you, the Whites, so /1082/ our Wanaqinkwa is concerned about us! She said this quite naturally and without constraint while I was busy tying up the package from which I had taken the present; I did not influence her in any way. Among the Tamaha the thought of their Supreme Being is actually ever present and not by any means concealed behind many other impressions and images from their everyday life. In judging this statement one must note the valuable fact that Sara's home is on the Wollaston Islands which were never influenced by English missionaries; she, therefore, had no definite conception of Christianity. Nevertheless she drawn a definite dividing line between her own Wanaqinkwa and a similar person who watches over the fate of Whites.

If our Fuegians are confronted with contrary or deviant European ideas, they usually refrain from asserting their own conception and defending it as the only correct one and as though the others were wrong. Nevertheless they once rebelled against their fellow-villagers Ohokhlo when the missionaries had sent to them as their teacher. Bridges (VIA:XII,170,1863) reports: "Lucca told me that Ohokhlo (he not being present) had often spoken to his people of God, of heaven and hell, and what sort of people should live in them; his people being very proud and bad would not listen, and were sometimes very angry, and said that Ohokhlo told lies; that as he had never seen nor heard God they would not believe, and that man and all things had ever been as they are, without beginning and therefore without a maker. One man, they said, pretended to be Jesus Christ;" some were afraid to be in hell, and wished to become quiet as a requisite preparation for heaven; some threatened to kill Ohokhlo, but were afraid of" /cited in English/. The Tamaha were particularly excited by the missionaries' reference to the resurrection of the dead and a life of the

/1982 cont./

TTS human soul after death under the most disparate conditions imag-
•TT7 inable, in sharp contrast to their own faith. I myself experienced
TTT this. During a burial, while the corpse in the grave was being covered with earth, an old man, in the helplessness of his grief, turned to me with the following words which sounded very scornful: "There he lies, my cousin. And yet you Europeans say: 'Every corpse will leave in grave and become that which it was in life.' No, there is no such thing!" This man, like all his countrymen, was simply not to be converted to the new teachings of the missionaries; he clung to the traditions handed down by his forefathers. They always know how to make a sharp division between their own indigenous body of ideas and newly introduced, foreign conceptions or views.

Furthermore, a characteristic feature of the religious ideas
TTG of our Fuegians is their pronounced simplicity. The Supreme Being even lacks a proper name. Every Yamana is named after his /1983/ birthplace (p. 536). Is it not logical, therefore, that "the-one-up-there" has no such name because he was not born in the homeland of our Indians? Instead they use circumlocutions as ordinary social conventions. The names for the Supreme Being emphasize particular characteristics which are, however, intensified to the utmost. In both directions, therefore, tribal customs with regard to name-giving are transferred to him. If here below an aged person is shown general respect, all the more is this due the foremost and true "old one," Watayinéwa. Similarly, the few remaining characteristics applied to him are part of the everyday events and social customs of the Yamana people. The fact remains, however, that he is a spirit and therefore exhibits forms of being that differ from people here on earth. Nothing specific is known about these forms. Truly, the Fuegian is consistent in his simple thinking, even concerning his deity.

Finally the considerable number and the diversity of their
TT2 prayer formulas must be noted. The archaic wording speaks for
TT7 itself. The Indians themselves vouch for the great age of these
TT7 short sayings because they contain many words and word combinations that have long since disappeared from ordinary speech. In addition there is the opinion of the aged John Lawrence and his sons who were well versed in the language and several times expressed

/1983 cont./

themselves along the same lines. John Lawrence, after he had examined these formulas for the first time, assured me emphatically: "I have been associated with the Tamana for all of 33 years and I never learned anything whatever about this!" He examined them carefully and said afterward: "Neither the names for the native deity nor the prayer formulas disclose any kind of borrowing from our Christian conceptions. Everything throughout has the stamp of the original and genuine heritage of the Tamana!" He felt it necessary to point out emphatically and repeatedly that the words and grammatical construction of the prayer formulas are not current in the language spoken today (24).

> 24. The opportunity is open to everyone to examine these data, for we have Bridges' dictionary and a number of grammatical studies from the pen of Hatzenmann. Bridges' translations of the New Testament could also be used for comparison.

Stimulated by this new information, John Lawrence made personal investigations which added to the material. He begin by asking general questions about Wanaqinawa of this or that aged Indian, all of whom were friendly and confiding. Later when he discussed with other people the religious ideas and prayer formulas which were now familiar to him, he obtained the same result: "This heritage of ideas is an unadulterated, genuine, and unique possession of the /1984/ Tamana!" The whole discovery gave him sincere and lasting pleasure. He realized how much more favorably these greatly misunderstood Fuegians must be judged if they possess such a beautiful, pure conception of God and practice religion. In the twilight of its existence this much maligned people had the great satisfaction of knowing that now at last European circles will obtain full knowledge of this ancient Wanaqinawa faith. John Lawrence expressed his admiration for the research work and frankly confessed: "Even if I could live here another 50 or 100 years, the natives would not give me the trust that you enjoy among them!"

He viewed his long years of mission work, which had ended earlier, in the light of this unexpected experience. He was honest

/1184 cont./

enough to recognize clearly how very much this work would have been facilitated and advanced if it had been joined to the indigenous store of religious ideas. As though to reproach himself, he candidly complained: "If only I had looked for these things 40 or 50 years ago, how very differently our work would have developed! But at that time we were constantly preoccupied with what Darwin maintained about these natives, that they were completely irreligious." Deceived by this, the missionaries all systematically avoided a deeper insight into the habits and practices of the Indians. Consequently, much was concealed and withheld from them which would have helpfully supported their efforts to educate the natives and to make Christians of them. Repeatedly and without reservation John Lawrence admitted that the many details which make up the religious treasure of the Tarasca should by no means be regarded as something brought to them by the missionaries. This honest admission deserves consideration. One day I described to him in detail the procedure of a large funeral rite and the initiation of the medicine-man school, both of which I personally experienced. He grew enthusiastic, but complained anew: "If it had occurred to me in the early days to visit such demonstrations, I would certainly also have learned, to the great advantage of my mission work, what these Indians believe and how they pray. But we missionaries were never enlightened about the fact that primitive peoples also have their own spiritual treasures!" To excuse [illegible] beginning of their activity certain obstacles had to be overcome before the way could be prepared for contact with the Indians. One should not, however, cite the decades-long inexperience in native affairs of this worthy missionary as proof against the originality of the religious ideas of the Tarasca.

During the discussion just mentioned the three sons of John Lawrence were also often present. Agreeing perfectly, they recognized /1185/ everything put before them as part of the ancient, unadulterated, unique heritage of the natives. Nelly, who liked to be present during our discussions, enlightened them about minor details. A Tarasca said that now and then he had heard the name Wirizuiqua mentioned, but he did not pursue the matter. Fred, on the other hand, who was probably better informed by his wife

/1935 cont./

Sally, humbly said: "I have long known that the Tomata worship Wanagilaua, that, according to them, he causes death, and that they have many other ideas, but I never asked the people more specifically about these things!" When we asked why he had not disclosed all this to us on his own initiative, he replied simply and truthfully: "How was I to know that people in Europe are interested in finding out about the religious ideas of the Fanglans!" He, too, was unable to comprehend that his own father and, above all, Brigan were completely ignorant about what he had repeatedly experienced for a long time. Nevertheless this strange situation can be easily explained. The natives unanimously said: "The missionaries never asked us about these things. How could we, without having been asked, tell them about Wanagilaua?" The following thought was even more decisive: "Too often Brigan and many another [missionary] reproached us, saying that what we had [in the way of customs and institutions] is bad and worthless and that we would have to abandon it! Such words, accompanied by scornful laughter, hurt us. Besides, whenever they told us about their 'Our Lord' /Jesus in English/, we realized that for the Whites he was the same as Wanagilaua is for us Tomata." This explanation agrees with the repeated reference to the conscious reserve of the Tomata in front of the missionaries.

The Tomata, far from regretting the undisguised freedom with which they expound their most precious spiritual possessions to us, are proud that we too venerate our Wanagilaua. For decades they were obliged to accept doubtful statements because of the lack of knowledge of Europeans and to be discredited by the missionaries because they clung to their Wanagilaua. Now at last we show a genuine and frank appreciation for their "Old-one-up-there" whom they call "Sedem." This gives them great satisfaction. Now at last they see fulfilled a wish they have long cherished, namely, appreciation for their Wanagilaua. Their eyes shine when we tell them frankly: "Your Wanagilaua is for you what our God is for us Christians!" They regard this comparison as a sign of the sincere esteem of the Whites for the spirit-being whom they regard as most sacred and who stands majestically above everything visible.

The facts which must be summarized and evaluated as the religious possessions of our Fanglans are rich and many-sided.

/1097 cont./

115 nothing after death. Anyway this was true for the most part; they had a word expressive of death Cagagulu, the meaning of which seems to convey an idea of an after spiritual state" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):102, Spegazzini (a):172, and others repeat the same view. This word, with which, at times, a kind of idolatry was set forth in many a treatise (Cooper:151), is an ordinary intransitive verb and means, according to SD:196, given as kāgāgulū, "to die, to cease to be, get used up; be all gone or spent" /cited in English/. Often this verb has its original meaning and is not used exclusively in the sense of "to die." One could use kāhōpana with the same meaning.

The complete uncertainty of the Yamana about the fate and condition of a departed soul evokes that unusually high degree of grief among the ones left behind which strikes every outside observer. Their demonstrations of mourning are likewise very pathetic and deeply moving because they are born out of despair, as it were, because after death a reunion is impossible. /1098/ I was repeatedly told: "With death everything [every connection] between us and the kēpif ceases. We do not know how the kēpif comes when a child starts to live; nor do we know where his kēpif goes afterwards. It goes far away, far beyond the sea!"

115 Daily Lawrence once showed me an old photograph. It showed 199 several persons who were together at one of the mission stations, only four of whom are still alive. Emphatically and seriously, but quite ironically she answed me: "The old Yamana, even my own father and I myself, have never been able to believe that we would all see each other again after death. The missionaries maintain this, but none of us can believe it. Why, everyone can see how the corpse is laid into the earth and decays there; after a few years nothing is left of it. The talk of the missionaries is trickery; they want to deceive us. We never believed them and we don't believe it to this day!" After a short time she repeated, with a mocking smile: "There simply cannot be a reunion because the corpse completely disintegrates!" Her words were not in any way provoked by me, but they brought her visible relief. She often discussed this topic in detail with her people, and it seemed to me that this time she also wanted to confess openly to me: We Yamana will not let ourselves be deceived by anyone, not even the missionaries; we shall inviolably cling to our own truths which seem plausible

/1098 cont./

775 to us! There is some tragicomedy in the fact that the daughter-
797 in-law of the missionary John Lawrence should have so expressed herself! With such tendencies on the part of our Fuegians it would be a psychological monstrosity to maintain that the figure of Watauinéiwa was taken entirely from the Europeans. This one example shows how strictly they keep their own religious heritage separate from the teachings of their missionaries. They have their own explanation, derived from their characteristic habits of thought, for the divergent attitude of Christians. "The Christians,"
[551] I was told by the Yamana, "do not show nearly as much pain and grief for a dead person as we do! They do not even change their name" (36). It grieves our Indians to repeat the name of a dead

36. The conditions under which someone changes his name if it is identical with that of a deceased person will be given on p. 1060.

person, but this does not affect the less sensitive Christians.
775 Gertie said: "We are immeasurably sad when one of our people dies because we do not know what comes after death. We do not know whether we shall be able to see and speak to the kespiš or how they are and whether they are happy. All that we do not know, that is why we are so sad and why we weep a great deal!"

They do admit the possibility of seeing one of their de-
775 ceased relatives again, although they are not strictly logical about
781 it. Many a /1099/ Yamana said: "When I am very sad and long to see them, when I keep thinking about them, they finally come to me. I see them in my dream. They are not just dream images, they are the real kespiš!" In my opinion these words point to particularly vivid dreams or actual visions which cause the delusion. It is all the more striking that in the Hašamáiš wátuwa it is said that the kespiš of four deceased brothers and their malevolent brother-in-law returned as actual human beings after their violent deaths and temporarily were in contact with their unsuspecting nephew, like real people, but their behavior is described as that of mentally inferior persons. It is only in this story, not anywhere else, that the souls of deceased persons appear.

/1100 cont./

775 view. Spencer:101 generalizes an idea which, as such, is correct: "When he dies, the spirit remains alive and roams around place where he dies" /cited in English/.

775 The Yamana assume that the souls far out above the sea
777 move about freely and are not limited to a definite place or crowded together. Several times they clearly and definitely asserted: "It was the missionaries who first told us that the kespif of good human beings are assembled in a place apart from those of bad people. Everyone will be reunited there! The Yamana never said anything like this, and we still do not believe it. A person who has died remains invisible and inaccessible to all others. We do not know whether later on the kespif recognize each other and whether they still remember this country here [their home]. The missionaries tried to comfort us in our great sorrow with words like these. They did not succeed, for we know better what happens to the kespif!" Without doubt the explanations of the missionaries /1101/ provoked determined opposition among the Fuegians. This sample also shows how they consciously separate their own religious heritage from the new teachings. They are actually proud of themselves and regard themselves as victors over the missionaries who tried in vain to substitute their so-called false views for the truth contained in the old Indian tradition (39).

39. Spears:71 says the same thing in different words: "When the missionaries would have spoken to the Yahgan of his dead relatives they could not without offending him seriously" /cited in English/. This kind of statement shows the great weight of actual facts.

775 For the souls of their dead collectively the Yamana use the general expression ülulusala, that is, the people of the ülulus. BD:91 treats ülluf as synonymous with kespix. They know nothing

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

interests in the Far East, the route thither by way of Tierra del Fuego became a matter of national importance, so that surveying expeditions under the command of Captain King and later Captain Fitzroy were despatched to Magellanic waters.[1] Captain Fitzroy brought back to England after his first voyage a Yahgan and three Alacaluf Indians. On his second voyage he was accompanied by Charles Darwin, the celebrated naturalist. The era of exact and scientific study of the natives of Tierra del Fuego was thus initiated.

Fitzroy's and Darwin's account of the Fuegians attracted wide notice in England, while the primitive society, destitution, and ferocity they pictured engendered a desire to Christianize that far-off people. The public in England were further roused by the fate of Captain Allen Gardiner and his companions, amateur missionaries who died of privation and exposure under tragic circumstances in 1851.[2] As a result the South American Missionary Society was organized and a mission station was set up on Keppel island (West Falklands). In 1856 this station was placed in charge of Canon G. Pakenham Despard, who brought with him a thirteen-year-old adopted boy, Thomas Bridges. Young Bridges soon learned to speak the Yahgan tongue fluently. In 1869 he returned to England, where he was ordained and married. The following year he founded at Ushuaia the first mission station on Tierra del Fuego. With him he brought as an assistant John Lawrence.[3] After many years' labor as a missionary Mr. Bridges retired, and in recognition of his services in opening up the country was given a land grant at Harberton by the Argentine government where he raised sheep. Mr. Lawrence received a similar grant at Remolino.

Bridges and Lawrence children were born on Beagle channel on the south coast of Tierra del Fuego, and were reared in close association with the Yahgan Indians. The Lawrence family, who still live at Remolino, today have an unsurpassed knowledge of Yahgan customs and linguistics. The Bridges brothers, as they grew up, began to explore to the north and east across the mountains, and finally secured for themselves a vast property on the east coast, today a flourishing sheep ranch known as the Estancia

[1] See Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H. M. S. *Adventure* and *Beagle*, 3 vols., London, 1839.

[2] For a full but sentimental account of this event see Jesse Page, "Captain Allen Gardiner," London, n.d.

[3] A full account of these events is given in the booklet by John U. Marsh, First Fruits of the South American Mission, London, 1873.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

great industry objected to having their sheep killed, and they retaliated by killing the Indians. 642

Thus there soon sprang into being a class of professional head-hunters, recruited from the shepherds and miners, who received one pound sterling from the ranchers for each Indian head—man, woman, or child. The Indians, on foot and armed with bows and arrows, had little chance in the open plains against horsemen with rifles. Some of the atrocities committed in the '80's are recounted by Fuentes Rabe;[1] the writer heard from discrete and trustworthy sources many similar tales of brutality.

In 1891 a Salesian mission was established on Dawson island, and in 1893 a second station was set up at Cape Peñas and later transferred to Rio Grande. Although dedicated for three-quarters of a century to the eradication of troublesome Indians, the Government decided to stop the scandals arising from head-hunting by turning the Indians over to the missions. To this end troops scoured the country, rounded up the natives, and drove them like cattle to the mission stations. Families were mercilessly broken up. Strange foods caused sickness and implanted the belief that they were being poisoned. Unaccustomed European clothes and indoor quarters—as in so many well-intended missionary efforts—brought pneumonia and tuberculosis, and augmented the effect of their vitamin-deficient diet. Liquor and venereal diseases, against which Indians have surprisingly little resistance, both took their toll. Few indeed survived the "civilizing" process. Today the Dawson Island mission has been abandoned. The east-coast mission still existed in 1924, ostensibly to support two aged native women in idleness, in reality as a prosperous sheep ranch. 648 648 797

The record of the white settlers in Tierra del Fuego, with of course certain splendid exceptions, is not one to be reviewed with pride; not the Indians but Europeans have proved the greater savages. Missionary efforts, however well intended, have hastened the course of their neophytes to the grave. No more striking example can be adduced of the importance of anthropological and medical training for those who would change the religion and alter the habits of heathen peoples.

One of the chief ethnological results of the northern missions has been the establishment of the Museo Rejional "Mayorino Borgatello" at Punta Arenas. Unfortunately the ethnological 114

[1] 1933, ii, 177–181.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Part II

CANOE INDIANS

THE YAHGAN

171 THE Yahgan Indians, the southernmost people in the world, lived on the southern shores of Tierra del Fuego from Brecknock peninsula to Spaniard harbor, and on the adjacent islands southward to Cape Horn itself (pl. IV). In spite of the tempestuous waters they confronted, they were a seafaring people and derived their livelihood almost entirely from the sea and its beaches.

172 Like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance, but their camping-places were limited by the fact that each family was dependent on a fragile bark canoe, for which shelter must be provided. Thus favorable stretches of beach today are marked by great refuse-heaps, of most extraordinary size when one recalls that they represent only temporary stopping-places and that no family ever camped on a spot where it was known that a death had occurred. Centuries or even millennia must have witnessed the building up of these vast agglomerations of bone and shell.

177 The Yahgan came under missionary influence in the middle of
197 the nineteenth century, and a permanent mission station was maintained among them from 1870 until recently. Hence their culture was much modified before they could be studied by trained ethnologists. For instance, by the eighties they had modified their initiation rites. We must add that among the Ona those without missionary training tended to survive the longest, but among the Yahgan the last survivors have almost invariably been mission reared.

142 Writing nearly a century ago, Fitzroy (pp. 137-139, 186) thus describes the untrammeled Yahgan of his day:

> The Tekenica, natives of the south-eastern portion of Tierra del Fuego, are low of stature, ill-looking, and badly proportioned. Their color is that of very old mahogany, or rather between dark copper and

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Among the Yahgan, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Ona. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will soon abandoned the undesired husband. In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 206) a man might have from one to four wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by custom.

Infidelity resulted in no fixed form of punishment, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yahgan man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his amours, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him.

Children

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted orphans set down in the mission records, the Yahgan did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon put an end to them or drove them under cover.

Soon after birth had taken place the Yahgan mother bathed in the sea and the new-born child was also immersed in order to toughen it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° to 50° Fahrenheit, while the air at best could be described as no warmer than temperate. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that soon after birth all but the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly eliminated.

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see incipient couvade.

Games and Amusements

The Yahgan to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much care and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling, and stones; but while these exercises often assumed the form of

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehualche

Yahgan SH 6

137

797

[p. 160 c]

/1446 cont./

435 Europeans, and therefore no one should find it strange that the Indians neither protect nor take good care of costly or rare objects. It is quite generally true that they do not handle their tools carefully or protect them; they carelessly trust their own ability and manufacture what they need without much trouble. Any kind of wealth and an accumulation of objects would be nothing more than a burden to them.

•802 Their material possessions are amazingly meager. Hence they can do without numbers even more easily than without a complicated scale of value. There are definite designations: one = yékili; two = kompéipe; and three = máten. In general the Yamana do not count beyond that. They designate anything beyond three as wówu = much. "Very much" is designated either as wówu wówu or číila wówu. For an extraordinary amount the expression manjana wówu is used. A few compounds are also used to express numbers above three. They say yékili yef, "one hand," and kompéi yef "two hands," which mean "five" and "ten," respectively. BD:225 gives dauačí, "a few as from five to twenty" /cited in English/. A few other forms are also given in BD. Constructions such as máten číila máten probably first arose under the influence of Europeans. Compare Hyades (op:317. If the Yamana wish to express a figure beyond three, they prefer to use their fingers, and they indicate the number by shaking the specific finger, without forming or expressing a special word for the number. Our Fuegians are unacquainted with measures of length and height. To indicate an insignificant length they make a fist with both hands and, by holding them apart, show the specified length. At the same time they say bentúuka, from bentúm = like this here, múka = long. The Yamana do not strive for any particular accuracy either in counting or measuring.

192 281 A few words that our Indians use as exclamations should be mentioned briefly. If they agree with a word or a request, they utter a faint ŋ, without opening the mouth; sometimes they also bow the head slightly. If they are very much interested, they utter a loud ŋŋ = good, right, very well; or an excited ŋŋ = yes, yes; finally, /1447/ wáf = splendid, excellent. They lack what we imply with "no." If a person does not agree with the words of

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S316 Yahgan S316

speak the central dialect. The entire vocabulary was checked by Mr. William Bridges and any words not in the central dialect were noted.

The richness of the language is indicated by the more than 32,000 words brought together by Rev. Thomas Bridges. Many of these words, of course, are compounds, but such a vast number are fundamentally due to unusual specialization in meaning.

On the other hand, Yahgan exhibits the lack, usual among primitive people, of abstract ideas and generalizations. In fact, even in English (which, due to missionary training, some of the Indians spoke fairly well) the Yahgan exhibited inability to grasp the concept of generalities.

The manner of counting was even more primitive than the Ona count, for the Yahgan had no words for 4 and 6, which, to be sure, were compound numbers in the primitive Ona system. The Yahgan count is:

1.	*Ashiki*	one
2.	*Aywichi*	two
3.	*mutla*	three
5.	*Ashiki tirsk* *	one hand
10.	*Aywichi tirsk*	two hands

Clothing

From Fitzroy's description of the Yahgan, cited above, it appears that there was very little order or regularity in their scanty dress. However, though seemingly inadequate, their clothes were of well-defined forms which we shall describe. It is no exaggeration or overestimement to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in the world. As compared to the Ona, their garments, similar in nature, were deficient in size, while the stiff and unyielding skins they employed from their very nature lacked the warmth supplied by the pliable, voluminous, and snug-fitting robes of the Fuegian Indians. We must add that individuals of both sexes and all ages often went entirely naked.

1. Cape.—The usual cape worn in summer and winter alike by both men and women was a seal or sea-otter skin. Sometimes two

[Skull Deformation see page 125]

* Here given the most complete for 5. It was not learned by any Yahgan Indian or member of the Bridges or Lawrence families encountered by the writer.

/443 cont./

396 construction of the canoe, two wide pieces for the sides and a long, narrower, thick piece as the center section. /444/ The man drags them out of the woods and lays them on an open and even, grassy surface where he wants to do his work. The loose bark fibers on the inside are scraped off with a scraper or knife, or even with nothing but a sharpened mussel shell. Then the piece is turned around, and the outside smoothed by planing off the surface. When that has been done, the bark pieces, one after the other, are made flexible by being heated.

The sheet of bark is laid on a long fire with even charcoal heat. It is constantly turned and shifted so that all parts on both sides are evenly heated, but also protected from burning. This makes the entire sheet flexible, like thick leather, and in this state it can be bent into the desired shape.

They then make a choice by eye among the three pieces. As we have said, the side parts, ɛ̆nča (ɛ̆nja), must be wide, the center part, ulɛ̆x, which is to become the bottom of the boat, long and thick. Again measuring with his eye, the man begins
•[364] by cutting each piece properly. He never uses a rule or any kind of similar tool, such as a string, a little stick, or the span of his own hand. The center piece is made in the shape of a cigar, that is, the right and left third of its total length tapers and the ends are approximately ten centimeters wide, or at least one end, in case the other tapers to a point. The latter is used for the bow, the former for the stern. The other two sheets of bark are cut in such a way that one edge is almost straight, the other curved; both ends of each piece terminate slantwise in narrow points. After the center piece has been cut, the side pieces are made to tally exactly by means of repeated fittings. They must be as flexible as possible, which is why they are again and again drawn through fresh water and afterwards through fire.

Two uniform thin poles are now needed for the upper edge or gunwale. In accordance with the proportions and the contour of the planned construction, about a dozen short sticks are pounded into the ground on either side. These are necessary as a scaffold and support for the parts not yet joined. As soon as the three pieces of bark have been accurately trimmed so that they fit together, they are placed in this framework. Sometimes the men also dig

/978 cont./

437 Although by and large every adult is able to make for himself the articles necessary for his way of life, nevertheless he obtains all kinds of things through barter. We mean by this the arrangement whereby, upon mutual agreement, one object is put up for another and the owners make an exchange. Our Indians lack [434] real media of exchange, such as money, shells, and the like, but they put a lower or higher value on each object, to which they decisively refer during the exchange. The value of a thing in- [435] creases if it is naturally beautiful, for example, in the case of an otter skin, or if it is carefully made and reliable in use, for instance, a long harpoon point, and finally in relation to the difficulty with which it was obtained, as in the case of soft pieces of guanaco leather. If a person wants an object, the owner evaluates it and compares it with the merit of the thing the other person offers in exchange. They try to make up for the lack of merit of one object as against another by increasing the quantity. The [436] Indians are unfamiliar with weights as measures. If both parties have agreed on the equivalence of the objects to be bartered, they make the exchange.

There are several expressions in the Yamana language from 437 which we may clearly recognize the customs involved in barter as 438 described above. For example, BD:207 gives mašlyğmatapai, "to make mutually an exchange with each other" /cited in English/; likewise, mašlyğmata, "a thing (things) given in exchange" /cited in English/. Earlier observers were convinced that there was lively barter among our Yamana (200). Darwin (d):261 wrote:

> 200. Cooper:179 is correct in his summary: "Barter between the Fueglans and the whites, between the three Fueglan tribes, and between members of the same tribe is a common feature of Fueglan life" /cited in English/.

"Several of the Fueglans definitely proved that they had a good idea of barter. I gave a man a large nail, without making any kind of sign that I expected a return gift. He immediately picked out two fish and handed them to me on the tip of his spear. Whenever there was a gift meant for a canoe and it was dropped

437 rency of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
438 on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who
could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

448 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
449 ceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell
to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the
more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to
distant persons. Both burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end beaten—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

594 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, geese, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries.
[362] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[363] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to men and women jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.

915 of spirits (pl. III, c). So dashed out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire penalties if they did not remain submissive to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

913 Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the Tukuna have been promised by Gustafson (1907, pp. 1390-1397), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1907, pp. 1379-1390). Perhaps the most important single phase of the mythology is the Yaiica cycle. The elder of the two Yaiica brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the cormorant, the otter, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the malicious man. The long story of the earlier antediluvians was briefly summarized supra under Kowcite with which it was associated, just as the Yaiica cycle was more or less associated with the Sitaron. The chief folklore beings believed in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, the Lekiana water spirits, and the Sikonnik giants.

LORE AND CALENDAR

911 In general, Tukuna technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and animal husbandry, gives little indication of invention stirrings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple Tukuna harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect Tukuna culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern Athabaskan and northern Algonquian of sub-Arctic America.

[illegible] There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no [illegible] of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or, [illegible] far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the bailiwick sticks to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Vatichipaw lobulatus* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 10 feet (3 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a billowlike cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

905 The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our ours, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.

/169 cont./

22 At this time also the seals guard their newly born young on the beach and are easy to get at (p. 39 /untranslated/).

The gathering activity of the woman is somewhat more dependent on the various seasons. This, obviously, applies first of all to the hunt for berries which ripen in late summer and in the fall. Cytaria harioti can be picked in the fall and in the first half of winter. With the beginning of summer Cytaria darwinii are also matured and remain on the trees until shortly before the end of winter. The cold season is not suitable for fishing with a line (313). On the other hand, sea urchins (Echinodermata) taste

> 313. Bridges (j) 55 referred to "many kinds of smaller yet valuable fish, chiefly plentiful through summer and autumn and early winter"/cited in English/. Hyades (q) 350 also confirm this. See footnote 290.

best in July and August, that is, toward the end of winter. In the spring girls and women busily hunt for birds' eggs as long as the opportunity lasts. They rejoice when the terrors of winter are past and the providing of food is made easier for them by the warmer season.

221/262 The variety that the Tamana family can count on in obtaining food is limited in these few details. Their safest supplementary source throughout the entire year is the inexhaustible amount of Mytilus mussels. All Indian women can successfully dip into this source when there is no other prospect. Despite all this, the family is not spared a few days of hunger if in some spot even the supply of mussels is exhausted and they cannot proceed elsewhere because of bad weather. As we have said, mussels have the same importance for the Tamana as bread has for Europeans, and they tire of them just as little as Europeans do of bread. Finally, we should like to remind the reader that the individual periods of the whole year are determined according to the various stages of development of Cytaria darwinii. This does not mean, however, that this fungus contributes to any extent to the diet of our Indians (p. 277). Despite the very slight variation, the monotony of a meat diet exclusively continues all during the year.

• [205]

/306 cont./

without interruption. Although he does not exert any noticeable pressure and does not in any way make his requests to individuals as though he were commanding them, nevertheless no one would ignore a wish that he expressed. If a participant should not like something, he is always free to withdraw from the *Tshonge*.

In the Great Hut one can sometimes see amazing examples of powerful self-control. Occasionally one person will subordinate himself to another or this one will get together with that one, although formerly both were bitter enemies. Everyone puts aside all personal considerations if service for the community or the launching of a common enterprise demands it. For example, shortly before the beginning of the *Tshonge* in March, 1932, Calderon had a serious disagreement with Santiago who was much older, but Santiago had scarcely initiated the preparations as the leader before Calderon, too, was following his slightest suggestion. When he was asked about the sudden change in his behavior, Calderon frankly admitted: "The rule is that among us Tonsos everyone in the *Tshonge* must obey absolutely!"

Dependence on the leader is all the more necessary since there are no definitely determined, specific divisions of the day. There are, of course, general regulations, but the Tonsos do not decide beforehand what is going to take place at one hour and what at another, what is to come up now or later, how each one is to conduct himself. In this celebration, too, our Tonsos are true creatures of the moment, entirely dependent upon their moods. It would be unbearable and a hopeless undertaking to try to put our freedom-loving Indians on a kind of schedule. The leader is, so to speak, constantly present in a supervisory capacity. He superintends the running /307/ of the whole, directs one person here, another there, and demands this or that service. It is due to the unconditional obedience with which every participant submits that the initiation proceeds without friction.

Throughout the weeks of the *Tshonge* a varied ceremonial runs its course, which has probably taken shape as a result of the natural disposition of the Tonsos. Above all they demand the facial painting (p.TTT) without which no one formerly was allowed to sit in the Great Hut. A person who offers something or who has accepted something must observe a fixed formula. For example, the *ofwala* who bring the fruits of their hunting or gathering into

/1403 cont./

as long as possible. The outward peace which prevails in nature has a favorable effect on the psychic state of the *yékamat*; they consciously take this into consideration. This ritual continues for several months. Sometimes it is prolonged if, according to the opinion of the masters, the apprentices' progress is slow. It is strange, in view of the restless disposition of our Yamana, that the medicine men are able to remain in one place for several months in pursuit of their goal, although day after day they are forced to maintain a uniform attitude and strict control of their mental powers.

β. The Procedure

All fully qualified participants, the really active *yékamat* and the apprentices, must remain in the *ákyna* house uninterruptedly. They may not even leave it in order to work for any length of time in the family but or to sleep there. All distractions cease during the entire period, the daily program itself serves to maintain serious concentration. The participants remain in their places all the time. Toward four o'clock, when it begins to grow dark, the general singing starts. It continues without pause "until the two *Tyáing* have crossed their highest point on the heavens" /1404/ that is, until two or three o'clock. It is not until then that everyone may go to sleep. As soon as the dawn appears, everyone dozes off deep and collects his thoughts, intuitions, until after the sun has crossed the zenith. Then, on certain days, a few chores begin for the *yékamat*, which they perform silently. The purpose of these chores is to give them the physical exercise that nature requires, although they need sleep even more. They put the hut fire and their sleeping places in order or gather firewood in the forest and pile it up in front of the Great Hut; some of them, led by women, go down to the shore and look for mussels. About three hours are permitted for these occupations. After that everyone sits down in his place and, without moving, gives himself up to meditation. This program continues day after day without change, always with the greatest composure and strict silence.

/1447 cont./

earlier, he remains silent and motionless; sometimes he turns his head gently to the left and at the same time utters a barely perceptible ɣ. Compare Hyaiza (p.247).

5. Time Designations

The differences between day and night and between one season and the next are too great for our Pygmies not to have designated them with special words. They do not have an expression corresponding exactly to "day"; they use mpele a light, brightness. From this they derive the much used mpelelen a daily, and a number of other compounds. Compare BD:251. Although the Tswana do not have a definite division of time in hours, they divide the day into sections of about four hours. They say Boka or mpele ngwana for the time from dawn to the time when the sun is about halfway to the zenith, that is, about ten o'clock. The basic meaning of Boka is "dawn." BD:160 gives ngwana as "to spread as light dawn so that day is spread abroad" /cited in English/. This is followed by yhatsepe mpele, noonide, from ten to two o'clock. Compare yimela, "to come over..." /cited in English/ in BD:610. Then comes bhuiphuela, the afternoon, the time to about six o'clock. BD:181 gives bhuiluela, "to get dusty, to go a long way off" /cited in English/. This is followed by yhum Bhuphu, the time of evening twilight until about nine o'clock. The Tswana are familiar with all these expressions.

They also divide up the night. The above-mentioned Bhuphu is followed by Bhdu, the time from the first darkness to midnight. This is followed by the period yhatsepe Bhdu, from midnight to about three o'clock. Finally there is mphupe yapelgwa, the time when it grows light in the morning, between three and seven o'clock. Although these expressions are universally understood, an expert on the stars will now and then also indicate the time of night by their position in the sky.

The Tswana divide the year into definitely recognizable, though not sharply separated periods which they appropriately call seasons. Nature appears in a different garb four times, the change

/1447 cont./

being very apparent. Therefore, our Fuegians speak of four seasons. The word ŕrna means "spring". BD:61 writes ŕrina, "spring, season of spring" /cited in English/. The word kísi is "summer"; hăsiskuf is "autumn." The latter word is a combination of hăsin, "green beech of summer" (Nothofagus pumilio), and hăf, "red," in other words: time of the red-colored beech leaves. The word ĭna means "winter." Compare BD:3 and the word yĕnan, "the early part of winter" /cited in English/, in BD:638. The above designations are used in various word combinations, for example, hăkuŕrna, "next spring," and hăkukísin, "next summer." Compare BD:262 and Bridges (I):25. The general concept "season" is not absent; BD:61 also gives ŕrum, "season, time" /cited in English/. The Yamana, therefore, favor the following division of the year:

/1448/ hĭkuŕrum: "the time when the bark is loose," when the sap rises in the beech trunks and the bark is easily peeled off. This means early spring, September and October, when the first shoots come out. A person who wants to know "whether the bark is already loose," listens for the sound čgk, čgk, the call of the great or the small snipe, known as čgkána or yĕllakatĕr. This call sounds exactly like the noise one makes when he loosens a strip of bark, tearing it off with a sharp pull. The word čgkána is probably related to čika, "to make canoe" /cited in English/, in BD:132. BD:270 also gives hăkuarŕrum, "the early season for making spring canoes early in October" /cited in English/.

ŕrno: "the time when one finds the first birds' eggs," the height of spring. A person who now finds the first fresh egg breaks it open and with the yolk draws a vertical line across his forehead and the bridge of his nose as a sign of joy (p. 986). At this time, also, everyone combs the shore for hăingŕuf, the sea anemone (Actiniaria). He rejoices if he finds particularly luminous colonies of these small animals, for to him they are harbingers of spring (p. 985). BD:61 also gives ŕrisŕrum, "very early in spring" /cited in English/. They are not satisfied, however, with a single indication of spring's arrival. A reliable sign is the ascending sun. A person who knows how to observe it keeps careful watch for a few days through a small hole at a particular spot in his hut, always holding his body in the same position. If he has proved to himself that the sun is ascending, he also concedes the other indications

/1448 cont./

•805 mentioned above and joyfully announces to the whole neighborhood: "Spring is here!"

kísi: "the time when birds' eggs are heavy," because the birds are already sitting on their eggs and the embryo is developing. This means early summer.

hēx-lakēšdára: "the time when birds' eggs are empty," for hatching is over. This is the beginning of midsummer. This term is nothing more than a combination of hēx, "egg," and lakēšdára, "to be empty." BD:281 says more briefly, "lākōšdāra, the season of the year when empty shells are in the nests, answering to January" /cited in English/.

auiyalēmpi: "the time when young birds happily stretch and expand," for their large wing feathers are forming and they will soon be able to fly. The height of summer. This word, according to BD:64, 280, is made up of auiya, "the young of any animals or birds" /cited in English/, and lōmpi, "to lie or sit down in the sun to enjoy its heat" /cited in English/.

hānislus: "the time of the red-colored beech leaves," autumn proper, the whole of March. Now the female otters with their young come back to the coast from the brooks and lagoons in the interior of the islands, to where the male animals stayed throughout.

stajyākin: "the time of the first snow," early winter, April and May. Snow first falls in the mountains, then advances in deeper layers, and finally reaches the coast. A thin coat of ice covers brooks and lagoons. /1449/ Now all the mammals and birds are fat, the marine animals particularly tasty, and hunting profitable for these eight weeks.

lēmkūmēči: "the time when the sun goes west," that is, when it stays longest in the west or north, the time of year around the solstice when the days are shortest. This word is a simple compound of lēm, "the sun," and kumōči, "to enter going W." /cited in English/, according to BD:210. The time of deepest winter. The Yamana explain: "The sun-man hides in his dwelling and under the huge mass of snow; he wants to conceal from the people that he will again return." Some of the older men watch the lengthening days with particular attention. They pass on their observations, and their assurances awaken loud expressions of joy. Hunting is still very good.

/1449 cont./

805 These eight periods form the complete cycle of the year. In order to mark them off approximately, the Yamana at the same time observe the position of certain stars. They wish to prove that their position in the heavens coincides with the corresponding events here on earth. The position of the sun and conspicuous weather conditions are decisive. In order to emphasize these movements of the sun, the Yamana use the word ūsiāgulū, "time of return of the sun E.ward after midwinter" /cited in English/, according to BD:104. Or the word lēkilla, "strong S. or SW. winds accompanied with rain and sleet prevalent at the break up of winter" /cited in English/, according to BD:283. Furthermore, the word hauwōlāmūka, "the late autumn, early winter, referring to the snowy, overcast, dull weather then prevalent" /cited in English/, according to BD:274. The Yamana even use conspicuous phenomena connected with certain species of animals to characterize the seasons. They point to hakuālus (p. 985); they use iūan, "the time of the young crabs, Oct. and Nov." /cited in English/, according to BD:11. Finally, they speak of lēkāšun, "shell time when the young birds are hatched, i.e., January" /cited in English/, according to BD:281.

805 824 Even regular changes in vegetation, especially in fungi, serve the Yamana for determining the season. They use the word tīindeka, "the time of the withering of plants, i.e., early winter" /cited in English/, according to BD:387. The expression based on the growth of aučix, Cyttaria darwinii, is a great favorite. According to BD:64 this fungus is "the chief summer fungus" /cited in English/, which grows on the knobby parts of beech branches (Fig. 8 /in untranslated portion/). The general term is ešēf; the mature stage is called aučix (p. 276).

aučix manačigēwa: the fungus when it has just appeared.

aučix kālala, the fungus to its maximum size.

aučix tūpa, the fungus tastes sweet, its surface is still smooth.

aučix tanāwa, the fungus with its surface riddled with holes.

aučix agēnadēr, the fungus with loosened hyphae, which falls off easily.

aučix nupāana, almost all fungi have fallen off, but are still somewhat soft.

/1449 cont./

805 824 aučix málaku, the fungi lying on the moist forest floor are turning black and beginning to rot.

/1450/ The development of Cyttaria darwinii described above takes place from the beginning of December to the end of February. The growing period of the smaller Cyttaria harioti, ašim (p. 277), also serves to determine time.

maxinix is the name of this tiny fungus when it appears in January.

kětěxna is its name as long as its surface is still smooth at maximum size.

kětěxna ālex is the fallen, decayed fungus. This development takes place from January to the end of April. The Yamana refer in the same way to the various stages of development of the large tree fungus, āman, and divide up the first half of winter accordingly.

805 As is evident, the Yamana have a number of time designations, each of which is connected with phenomena in their immediate environment. Besides the expressions just mentioned, one also hears the following: "I'll come back when the first green shoots appear, -- when the young šūrla crawl out of their shells, -- when the kīmoa are ready to fly, -- when the red beech leaves fall, -- when the water [in the channel] becomes brown (355), -- when the mussels are poor" (356). These

355. Actually, only the algae change color in the spring; the Yamana expression makes it appear as though the water changed color.

356. This means departing winter.

expressions are simple and perfectly clear to everyone.

3. Astonomy

824 The appearance and disappearance of a number of stars and their highest and lowest positions likewise characterize the individual periods in the yearly cycle. In former times, before

/1451 cont./

phases. Thus, hámuxa tajyígata is the full moon; akuklíra, the completely invisible new moon; yírum hámuxa, the waxing moon; and, finally, hámuxa hégku, the waning moon. The word hégku is probably the same as hakú, "another, the other" /cited in English/, in BD:262. There are also other designations in BD for the phases of the moon. The Yamana like to measure time by the whole course of the moon. For example, someone will say: "Yírum hámuxa ídija-mul har-t-hajnía, I shall come again at the new moon" (357).

357. Hyades (p):360 and Spegazzini (a):169 also briefly referred to the various designations of time used by the Yamana.

As a result of their nomadic life, our Yamana are obliged to observe carefully the extremely changeable weather of their country and to interpret reliably every peculiar phenomenon. In the course of long experience they have attained positive mastery in this, and one can absolutely rely on their opinion. In their observations they usually take two or three phenomena into account at once, not least the behavior of animals. Nevertheless, a family will sometimes be overtaken by a sudden change in the weather and their lives endangered. The Yamana certainly do not lack expressions for individual aspects of the weather. Thunder, kúkika, is almost never heard in that region; our Fuegians have no definite explanation for it or for lightning (p. 21 /untranslated/) which is just as rare.

4. Geographical Knowledge

On their constant trips through the tortuous channels of the Cape Horn Archipelago our Yamana are confidently sure of themselves because they have a well developed sense of orientation to the quarters of the heavens. They have a wide choice of terms for them. /1452/ The basic terms are: ítu, íta, "the south, southward"; ítu íta, "east, in an easterly direction";

/1433 cont./

823 They are aided by a no less reliable and very accurate knowledge of places which they acquire by their frequent visits to each locality. Their memory of places is refreshed every time they take a canoe trip or stay anywhere. Thus one thing explains the other. Actually, the region comprising their native land, which every family constantly traverses, is not very extensive. They go beyond these boundaries only on special occasions and then they let themselves be guided by a family native to that region. Moreover, thanks to the excellent gift for observation with which our Fueguans are equipped, old and young really know every nook and rock, every inlet and coast, every brook and beach. The story of the origin of the many wide and narrow, quite irregular channels that make the whole Cape Horn Archipelago look like a land savagely torn to pieces is told in the tale about the Lalawija rock (p. 1216 /untranslated/); the origin of the little brooks running down from the hills and mountains is explained in the Čilawija-wötowa (p. 1207 /untranslated/); legend even tells about the origin of the magnificent glacier, known as dičon, in Bruno Nordenske (p. 1273 /untranslated/).

• 805 823 Contrasted with this wealth of place names, the lack of designations expressing distances, intervals, and time is all the more striking. They usually refer to the position of the sun or the stars in order to determine the approximate time of day or night. Such estimates, of course, leave a wide margin of uncertainty which disturbs the Fueguan not at all. On his journeys and canoe trips he is, in any case, dependent on the quite unpredictable influences /1454/ of natural forces. He never knows beforehand how they will affect him. These unbridled natural forces to which he is exposed are stronger than he; hence it would be senseless to set a goal to be reached in a short time under any circumstance. If our Fueguan wishes to designate a great distance, he speaks of two or three or many travel-days and estimates from six to eight hours for a single day of the journey. He does not lose or gain anything worth mentioning whether he reaches his goal sooner or later. In a most literal sense, no hour strikes to mar a person's happiness down there in the Cape Horn Archipelago!

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

of spirits (pl. III, c). So decked out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire penalties if they did not remain submissive to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the *Yahgan* have been presented by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1139–1277), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1937, pp. 1278–1284). Perhaps the most important single phase of the mythology is the Yoálox cycle. The elder of the two Yoálox brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the cormorant, the otter, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the medicine man. The long story of the earlier matriarchate was briefly summarized *supra* under Kina rite with which it was associated, just as the Yoálox cycle was more or less associated with the čiéxana. The chief folklore beings believed in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, the Lekúma water spirits, and the Hánnush giants.

LORE AND LEARNING

In general, *Yahgan* technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and coiled basketry, gives little indication of inventive strivings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple *Yahgan* harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect *Yahgan* culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern *Athabaskan* and northern *Algonquians* of sub-Arctic America.

There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no means of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or, so far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the inclined stick to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Nothofagus betuloides* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 16 feet (5 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a balloonlike cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our own, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.

/1093 cont./

088 Supplementary data on their religious activity will be given in the description of their great funeral rite, which follows in the next section.

B. Belief in the Soul and Mourning

774 811 Conceptions of the human soul and of its continued life after death are closely interwoven, and the customs of mourning, for which our Yamana have created definite forms, are connected with them. The latter are probably based principally on the fact that the loss of each tribal member affects all the natives very painfully. In the following description one must keep in mind that European ideas and expressions do not absolutely coincide in every detail with the thoughts and words of the natives because the latter are much more unpretentious and poorer in ideas. Much of their thinking shows gaps and is not carried to its conclusion. In general it is not the habit of the Fuegian to complete what is lacking or to provide a suitable substitute. In view of this the investigator runs the risk of consciously or unconsciously substituting his own interpretation for the deficient forms of expression of the children of nature, which would give a distorted picture. My informants were sometimes at a loss to give satisfactory explanations in response to my questions and inquiries. This is the typical primitive mentality which does not concern itself with precise descriptions of every image and complete interpretions of every idea according to the rules of logic. It must be frankly admitted that there are gaps in the following account. I would be guilty of distorting the material offered if I were to fill them out according to my own taste and provide them with meanings from my personal opinion. Unadulterated single facts, even though they are deficient and fragmentary, can be used in making comparisons and will safely lead to the desired goal, whereas unreliable and arbitrary additions imperil the course of research.

/1299 cont./

787 farther and finally disappeared completely. "...All this Marocha told me and wept and sobbed as she did so. Then she took three little baskets which she had made the day before and handed them to me, saying: 'Take these little baskets. If I should really die soon, I could not give you anything any more. I would rather you take these little baskets and keep them!' I took the little baskets. On the afternoon of the same day Marocha felt very ill; she was stricken with fever and the next morning she was dead. All this happened just as I told it to you!" Each word had the tone of utter conviction.

The halɣwíɣpina mentioned above is to be explained as follows. This /1300/ is the common name of the mighty blue whale, Balaenoptera schlegelii (p. 26 /unpublished/). This Tom, Marocha's brother, had died long before her conversation with Nelly; he came to his sister Marocha in a dream. It is said of him: One day, as he was walking along the shore, a halɣwíɣpina emerged from the water and for some time kept staring at Tom. Tom died that same year; the halɣwíɣpina took along his hépif. From that time on the two were [somehow] connected. Tom, accompanied by that halɣwíɣpina, appeared to his sister Marocha in a dream. On this occasion halɣwíɣpina took her hépif along, just as he had previously taken the hépif of Tom. That is why Marocha died soon after her dream in which, actually, halɣwíɣpina carried her off. This strange interpretation must be regarded, according to the principles of the medicine men, as an isolated case. Accordingly, it does not run counter to the general conception of the hépif, the human soul after death.

It is the individual person himself who more or less enlivens his dream image, giving it greater or lesser significance. He likes to attribute reality to those images that give him a vision of the future. Conjectures and forebodings that first appeared as dreams and afterward came to pass in some way strengthen him anew in his belief and increase his confidence in dreams.

2. Superstitious Ideas

•811

In the simple mental life of the Fuegians there is no lack of certain views and opinions which must be regarded as true

/1:504 cont./

•g11 superstition in the strictest sense of the word. No one will find this surprising. An attempt to offer an explanation or a reason for the many taboos and customs would be tantamount to robbing them of their superstitious character. They simply exist and one acts accordingly. I shall list here the considerable number of superstitious ideas by which our Yamana are governed in individual instances, including a few magical practices. The superstitions mentioned above in the section on the care of infants and children and in connection with the description of the material culture of the Yamana will not be repeated, and the belief in the various groups of spirits and individual fantasy images will not be discussed. A few earlier observers have noted that the Yamana are easily tempted to superstition (263).

263. Fitz-Roy (x):180 writes, and Darwin (f):I, 123 agrees: "The natives whom I carried to England often amused us by their superstitious ideas, which showed, nevertheless, that their ideas were not limited by the visible world. If any thing was said or done that was wrong, in their opinion it was certain to cause bad weather. Even shooting young birds, before they were able to fly, was thought a heinous offence. I remember York Minster saying one day to Mr. Byron, when he had shot some young ducks with the old bird: 'Oh, Mr. Byron, very bad to shoot little duck -- come wind -- come rain -- blow -- very much blow'" /cited in English/. Lovisato (b):149 expresses himself in more general terms: "They are superstitious; they fear the wind and perhaps regard the elements in general as vindictive agents" /translated from Italian/. Hyades (q):253 also writes in this vein and asserts (q):387 that the efforts of the Anglican missionaries did not change anything concerning the superstitions of the Yamana: "The superstitions are the same as in former times"

g11

/1.[illegible] cont./

B1 /translated from French/. Cooper:159, on the basis of the few data available to him at the time, surmised correctly: "Superstitions exist, but apparently in moderate number only" /stated in English/. Even now this judgment need not be changed.

/1.[illegible]/

G. Superstitions Believed to Be Animal Kingdom

B5 The Fuegian is very dependent on the animals of his homeland. Hence it is not strange that they play a dominant role in his superstitious ideas.

B5 B7 If at night a dog howls miserably for any length of time, no matter everyone is so passing all kinds of dire prospects for himself or for a proposed undertaking, such as a hunt, a journey, and important work. If all the dogs howl in the few huts that form a camp, an epidemic or at least serious illness among many persons is to be expected. If the howling of many dogs has lasted for some time, all the people come out of their huts and hurl everything at hand toward heaven, things such as stones and pieces of leather, tools and weapons, and preferably hot ashes and glowing logs. Meanwhile no one, with the exception of half-grown children, may stay in bed or rest. Everyone must be up and about until dawn. All night long everyone is very excited and behaves wildly. They wave their arms about in extreme agitation; they thrust their arms forward and upward with hands outspread and cry from constricted throats tetete... All this is supposed to ward off the menacing illness.

When people are sitting out in the open in front of their huts, it sometimes happens that a dog comes crawling up to a person, dragging himself along the ground, stretched out on all fours, and pushing himself forward on his belly. They interpret this to mean that the person himself or someone among his intimate family will soon die.

B5 In contrast to the Selk'nam (Vol1. 1, 707), our Yamana are neither friendly to the fox nor kindly disposed toward it, because it preys on human carcasses. The following story is told. When

/1046 cont./

is also applied to the ancestors of antiquity, the first arrivals, the places which they settled in those times and which today are already familiar. In this case its meaning is, of course, limited, for there is only one, namely, the Supreme Being, who is properly and truly the very ancient one. BD:632 also gives the word wétaunaiwa, "the ancient one who changes not. A suitable term for God indicative of his eternity and unchangeableness" /cited in English/. Bridges here gives the basic meaning. The accompanying explanation confirms the occasional use to which this word is put in referring to ancestors: "This term was used specially of the Rainbow which coming over and seen was regarded as ever living and the author of death [?]. Used also of Heaven of old time" /cited in English/. In connection with this the Yamana form the word Wataunéiwa-séf, "the very ancient one in heaven." BD:379 gives séf instead of séf, "the (blue) sky" /cited in English/, also Wataunéiwa-ainéku, "the very ancient one and the one of boundless strength." In BD:10 one finds ainéku, "immense, huge, very large" /cited in English/. Téuuwa has the same meaning, according to BD:421, "(My) father, my old man (fam.)" /cited in English/, which is something like /in German/ "mein lieber, guter Alter."

The Yamana no less frequently use Hidéuan or Hitapéan as "my father" and Hiu imun, "my father" or, by shifting the possessive prefix hi, also hajanéuin imun, "our father." Occasionally Hiun iu, "my grandfather" and Kalajéufu, "dear little old father," are also used.

The following names are also to be interpreted in such a way that their unique meaning, applied to the deity, is raised to the highest degree of intensity. Abajiékin, "the strong, the mighty." BD:14 gives abéjia, "strong, physically strong, firm, powerful" /cited in English/. The combination hájm hiu Abajiékin stands for a particularly great intensification. The first two words can also be repeated, which gives the greatest possible emphasis. This construction, however, is used exclusively for Wataunéiwa. According to BD:261 hájm means "in a great degree, very exceedingly" /cited in English/. The Yamana also use the construction Abéjia-Wataunéiwa and Abéjia-séf.

/1049 cont./

776 761 626 the proceeds ruthlessly. He does not desist even in the face of the tenderest age or the bitterest grief and greatest sorrow of a mother. He is truly a Tumbi'dinaku, and the more helpless the poor human being feels, the more persistently he moves against him.

In his weakness the Fungian is at the mercy of that Abi'ikin, that bitter Abi'ikin, the untrained mighty one who punishes when and however it pleases him, heedless of the pain and woe of human beings. He alone is lord over the life and death of all. He grants life and therewith the child enters independent existence. He lets everyone have life as long as it pleases him. He takes it away and runs dim. By way of punishment he sends a serious illness, he liberates a person from it, but only occasionally. He causes dying "of his own free will, and no influence by natural forces or magic power is capable of prevailing upon him. The dying one resigns himself to the progress of a serious illness without much complaining about his fate. The relatives and friends also yield submissively; they say: "Watayinfwa is much mightier than we, no one can stand up against him. He will carry this one off, we must let it happen, we can only weep!" (Gabinde [L] :161.)

[83] [82] 776 626 In the same manner he bestows good and bad weather. If he wants to chastise someone, he has him tormented by storm and rain; if he favors someone, he will let him be accompanied by sunshine. He brings success in hunting to the men and success in gathering to the women, but sometimes he also arranges that they both come back empty-handed. In the final analysis, he is the author of every bad and fatal accident. A person who is dealt a severe blow regards it as a personal punishment; whether he is uncomplainingly silent or noisily abusive, he must accept it as one who is utterly defenseless. The threats with which our Indians try to ease their oppressed hearts do not touch that Abi'ikin in the least. He does not use physical force, but operates merely by willing something. The Yamana express themselves as follows. For example, a girl was admonished in the Eldaze: "Begin your day's work early in the morning. Watayinfwa sees every lazybones. Watayinfwa will [as punishment] make you die soon [i.e., prematurely] if you are a lazy lie-abed!" They also say: "He will look at you, then it will soon be all over with you!" Sometimes they also warn: "The one up there is looking at you!" This means: He has designs on you, he has long intended to punish

/1141 cont./

[51] much more than others. The difference between one storyteller and another lies in the manner of portrayal, the choice of words, the heartfelt participation in the content of the story. It is, of course, inevitable that now and then some good old soul will re-

[52] [53] lace a long chapter out of his life or repeat an experience to the assembled neighbors although he has almost no gift for story-[illegible]g and is more boring than amusing. We Europeans call it a sign of senility when some old man tells something for the hundredth time that everyone knows by heart or exaggerates the importance of minor details for which others cannot work up any interest. Just such things happen among our Yaghans and are so less correctly judged by younger persons that they are among us, but their extreme veneration of old people obliges them to listen attentively and to bear it cheerfully, no matter how much self-control they are obliged to exert. There are specific admonitions to the young along these lines, and everyone observes this obligation.

[54] The general remarks that I have set down here are for the most part applicable almost literally to the practices and conditions prevailing among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 368).

I personally recall with great pleasure and satisfaction many a gay gathering on one evening or another when I joined the Yaghans in a smoke-filled hut. The faintly flickering fire would blaze up now and then and show the attentiveness written on the faces of all present. Enthusiastically we listened to the animated words of the storyteller, completely lost in the kingdom of myth, unmindful of the storm that was vigorously shaking the loose posts of the little hut, heedless of /1142/ the hour far beyond midnight. When finally the company broke up, everyone crept out of the storyteller's hut refreshed and enriched with new thoughts and was swallowed up by the night. If man happened to

[55] be shining down from heaven, a knowing old man would insist on pointing his finger at this or that star, repeating its name, and characterizing its personality. Their brilliance illuminated the short distance to each Yamana's hut, and in his dreams the figures from the world of legend would stand before his paltry bed. Now and then a day ends in this way, which makes every Yaghan happy.

/1345 cont./

113 only for being the first to settle in this region, but also for many
a special achievement which has become significant and d ecisive
for the actual human beings who followed. The Salishans (Vol.
I, 608) make a similar distinction and definite separation of the
two very different groups.

B. The Older Sun-Man

113 Our Pueblans make a very definite distinction between on the
once mighty and violent Tóowaíhn, the old sun-man, and d his
B1 son Uhn, the sun of the day. Both, as the story goes, ca me to
this country long ago together with that large company of first
settlers. These two personalities differ from one another i n many
respects. The following story is told about the old sun-man, m,
Tóowaíhn or Tówaíhn.

"At that time among the families who first arrived h ere,
there lived a man who had a very bad character. He was not only
unkindly toward everyone, but quite openly hostile, and his
one thought was always to hurt everybody else. Everyone de-
spised him. As a result, he became even more furious and d tried
even harder to inflict harm on everybody. He was extraor dinarily
powerful and had great power at his disposal. Once in hig h
dudgeon he had everything burned up that lay within his d omain.
At that time he was much closer to the earth than he is to day.
At the same time he caused all the water of the sea to bo il, for
he permitted a great heat wave to descend and all the fore sts
burned up. After that the mountain tops were empty and b are
and have remained so to this very day. All this happened be-
cause in his superior anger he sent the great heat.

"From the start Tóowaíhn was very repulsive to eve ery-
body, but after that /1345/ they obviously hated him. Th ey not
only hated and shunned him, but all his nearest relatives a s well.
His whole family was avoided and despised by all the peop le, for
every member of that family behaved unkindly and was be ent on
hurting other people. Only Uhn, son of old Tóowaíhn, w as a
a conspicuous exception. He proved to be extremely bene evolent
toward all the rest of the people. He was an excellent hu nter and

/1146 cont./

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was skilled in many things. He was kind toward everyone and always ready to help.

"The women (71) then deliberated a long time in secret.

71. One must realize that at that time the women were said to rule the men and that everywhere they alone laid down the law. That is why they alone gathered for consultations and reached decisions which were binding for everyone, especially for the men. For the present compare Gusinde (bb):337.

Finally they decided to murder malevolent old Tāruwalēm. One day they made a surprise attack on him and tried to strangle him. Since he was very strong, however, he succeeded in extricating himself. He immediately hastened up to the canopy of heaven where he stands to this day as a bright star, but he forfeited his former power. Today one no longer sees him. It was not until after the great upheaval at the kīna of the women that Lēm also climbed up to the canopy of heaven to join his father Tāruwalēm.

The Yamana repeatedly assured me that he has lost his former power, that he is probably standing somewhere in the heavens but that he is invisible. He is also mentioned in another connection. The Yamana tell the following. "A long time ago all the kēšpiš of the [at that time so-called] human beings who died here went far away to Šamaxāni (72). There these kēšpiš

72. The Yamana use this designation for a far distant region which they are unable to describe more specifically.

formed a people of their own. All of them, young and old, enjoyed the game of ball, kālaka. Once mighty Tāruwalēm quite suddenly appeared in the east and set fire to the whole region. After a time he tried to take away the great heat, but he did not succeed. That is why the kēšpiš left that region. Afterward, when Tāruwalēm himself also left that region, it did cool off.

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At that same time the whole world burned up, and afterward everything cooled off again."

I find it impossible to link this brief story meaningfully with the other events of that first period, chiefly because it mentions the souls which were supposed to have assembled after death. Aside from that, however, old Tãruwalêm is clearly depicted as having once been an extremely mighty sun whose strength surpassed by far that of the actual day star. The Yamana point out that Lêm could not set fire to the whole earth in the way that his father did. They do not mention any other connections between these two personalities.

/1147/ 7. The Younger Sun-Man

The relationship between old Tãruwalêm and Lêm is that of father and son. In contrast to the father, the son is described as very benevolent and friendly toward human beings. This is tangibly expressed in the beneficial warmth that the day star provides. The Yamana have more to say about Lêm (73).

> 73. A first modest reference is found in Despard (b):698: "The Firelander supposes the sun and moon, male and female, to be very old indeed, and that some old man, who knew their maker, had died without leaving information upon this subject. Hence the ignorance of the present generation" /cited in English/.

"Lêm was an excellent man and had great influence upon all men. They willingly yielded to him, for he was friendly and benevolent toward everyone. He was so handsome and had such a fine figure that all the women wanted to stare at him constantly. But they all guarded against revealing this desire or even looking at him with open eyes, so that they would not be ridiculed by others. Lêm was quite charming. All the women were in love with him, and all the men regarded him highly.

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773 "His wife was also very beautiful. No one knows her name.
825 Lēm had several beautiful daughters, namely, tákaša (Larus
belcheri), wémar'kīpa (Larus glaucodes), the sea duck wīyen
●821 (Anas cristata), the gull kiwágu (Larus dominicanus), the
Magellanic goose kīmoa (Chloephaga picta /upland goose/), the
duck wīpatux (Querquedula cyanoptera), as well as the she-fox
čilawāiakīpa (Canis magellanicus) and the rat wēsána. The last
two secretly dragged off the meat that their father brought home
from the hunt; they stole it from him regularly. They are doing
it [stealing] to this day. Lēm also had other daughters, as well
as several sons. One of them is Yēxalēm who constantly follows
his father.

773 Lēm was diligent and hard-working, good and always merry,
821 friendly toward everyone. He was on the best of terms with all
the men. He set a fine example of an active, good-natured
human being for everyone. In this respect [that is, in his whole
character] nothing has changed to this day. Back in the time
of the great upheaval in Yājaašága he helped the men considerably
in gaining control of the kīna of the women. After that upheaval
was over, he went up to the canopy of heaven. From there he is
still proving himself benevolent and willing to help human beings;
he bestows ample warmth and light upon everyone. All men are
obviously proud of him, for he uncovered the kīna secret of the
women and thus freed the men from their dependence upon the
women.

"Actually there is still another world. That is why Lēm
leaves the region of the Yamana every evening and betakes him-
self there. In that other world he also shines and bestows abun-
dant warmth. The next morning he comes back to us once more.
In this way he helps the people both here and there."

The portrayal as such shows clearly enough how gratefully
/1148/ the Yamana regard the day star. Obviously this favorable
attitude goes back to the feeling of well-being which sunshine in-
duces in the Yamana, who are often shaken by frosty winds and
severe weather. The planet Venus was pointed out to me as
Yēxalēm, son of Lēm, for "this son invariably follows close be-
hind his father, but is not as strong as the latter." This refers to
the considerably weaker luminosity of Venus as compared to the

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773 821 day star. Concerning "that other world" for which Lēm also kindly shines, the Yamana are referring quite generally to the territory of those peoples whom they assume live beyond their own territory. In more recent times they are thinking especially of the Whites whose home, as they are constantly assured, is far away from the Fuegian archipelago (74).

[171] 74. There are a number of points of similarity between this description and the Selk'nam story of the old sun-man and his son, the day star. The only special point to be noted is that the latter was also decisively active in revealing the Kloketen secret of the women (Vol. I, 600).

δ. The Rainbow

821 With weather conditions as they are in the Cape Horn region, the rainbow is anything but a rare phenomenon. Nevertheless, it always delights our Yamana. One can clearly see that they love to look at it and that it gives them a great deal of satisfaction. They are refreshed and gratified by its radiant colors. On many occasions I observed how adults and children, even in pouring rain, crawled out of their hut, stood outside, and, wide-eyed, enjoyed the intense glow of the rainbow (75).

75. Cojazzi:105 writes: "The rainbow is regarded as the harbinger of the wrath above [of the malignant god], and the women and girls shudder at the sight of it, but the men curse it and spit at it" /translated from Italian/. This report is altogether erroneous and contrary to my own observations.

773 821 At the same time I was told in a wholly matter-of-fact tone: "This Akáinix is the brother of Lēm and likewise an imposing, very handsome man. How could it be otherwise, since both belong to the same family. Of all men Akáinix knew how to paint himself best; even today he shows himself in unattainably

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brilliant colors. Beautiful Hānuxa is his wife."

The combination Akāinix wātuwa is her complete name, little used in everyday speech. BD:265 writes hannūka, but also gives hannūkaiāgū, "moonlight" /cited in English/. This is the story of the rainbow.

"Old Akāinix was a magnificent figure. He knew how to paint himself much more beautifully than all the other men, for he belonged to a privileged family. The imposing Lēm is his brother; Hānuxēakuxīpa is his wife. She is also extraordinarily beautiful, for she is a woman. /1149/ Akāinix also has a number of sisters, all of whom are very grand, clever, and cunning. He himself also proved to all the people that he was a capable yēkamuš.

"Once the sisters were again playing kīna in Yāiaašāga. Old Akāinix was permitted to enter the large kīna hut, for he knew all about that secret ceremony of the women. That is why he was admitted. One day his sisters amused themselves by trying to play dead. They decided to hold their breath and not to move for a long time, in imitation of a dead person. They wanted to fool their relatives and frighten them for fun.

"For some time they had been busy with these attempts and exerted themselves to the utmost, but no matter how hard they tried, they could not succeed. One day the girls were again trying these experiments when old Akāinix approached the kīna hut. He was the oldest among all his brothers and sisters. When his youngest sister saw him coming, she immediately told the others and said: 'It will be wise to stop our attempts and experiments immediately; our brother is close by and might see what we are doing.' But Akāinix was already standing inside the kīna hut. He asked his sisters: 'What are you doing here?' They all replied: 'Nothing special! As usual, we are devoting ourselves to our tasks and our songs in this hut.' Akāinix replied: 'What you are saying is not true at all. I know very well what you have just been up to; each of you tried to appear completely motionless, as though dead, without breathing for a long time. But you did not succeed as I know very well. Now then, I myself shall show you how to do this properly!' These girls, of course, wanted to dupe all their relatives living in the south and purposely frighten them in order to

/1149 cont./

T73 amuse themselves. They were the only ones who had come here from the south and they were taking part in the kīna in order to
●821 hide their real purpose. Akā́jnix saw through all that and that is why he offered to help his sisters.

"So Akā́jnix lay down on the ground and stretched out full length; he became completely still, soon stopped breathing, and remained motionless, just like a dead person. His sisters watched all this and conceded: 'Truly, our brother can do that very well, he is lying there just like a dead man'' Akā́jnix was, after all, a capable yékamuš.

"The kīna celebration was over and all the people left the great hut. Each family again turned homeward. Akā́jnix and his sisters also climbed into their canoe. They set out in a southerly direction where their relatives lived. They had to travel several days, for the distance was great. Just before they approached the huts where their relatives were living, they stopped briefly. Akā́jnix stayed behind here; he lay down on the ground, stretched out full length, and pretended he was dead. His wife, Hānuxéakuxīpa, and all his daughters[1] painted /1150/ their entire bodies black, as is done in deep mourning. Thus [prepared] they entered the hut of their relatives. Dismayed, the latter asked immediately: 'Where is Akā́jnix? Why do you come with the painting of mourning?' The girls replied very sadly: 'Our brother just died, not far from here. We left him lying out there, quite near this hut. That is why we put on the painting of mourning!' After these words by the sad girls, a few men immediately got up and went to the place where Akā́jnix lay. They soon brought him back and laid him in their hut. Akā́jnix himself continued to pretend that he was dead. In view of this, the other people prepared for a yamalašemóina. All the relatives gathered, wept loudly, and sang for several days.

"Meanwhile a few amorous men approached the wife of Akā́jnix and his sisters. They began flirting, since these women were exceedingly beautiful. The men fondled them and slept with them. Akā́jnix lay there completely motionless, but he observed very closely what happened. While all this was going on, several days passed. Finally the men became obtrusive and wanted the girls as their wives. They had flirted with them long

[1] [Errata indicates this should read: sisters. —Analyst]

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T/3 enough. The wife and sisters of Akā́inix had yielded to everything, for they knew that Akā́inix was not dead and would take
•821 full revenge. Those men behaved more and more as though the women already belonged to them as wives.

"Now one day those amorous men set out on the hunt; there was no more meat in the huts. They planned to hunt for cormorants on the nearby cliffs. Their [female] relatives, kímoa and lúrux, sékus and wípatux, stayed behind with the wife and sisters of Akā́inix.

"When the men were far enough from the hut, Akā́inix got up without being seen and hastened after them. He set out in another direction, however. He reached the cliffs before the men arrived to hunt cormorants. Akā́inix created a commotion among the many birds and frightened them. They flew up in swarms, circled around for some time, and then flew far out over the sea. He hid himself nearby. From afar the men saw how all the birds flew up from the cliffs. They said: 'Doubtless there is a man running around there somewhere, for all the cormorants are rising up, circling in the air, flying up and down, and finally drifting far out to sea. Who could that man be?' Meanwhile they came to the place, but the cormorants were hovering far out over the waves.

"Quite unexpectedly Akā́inix stepped out of his hiding-place and stood before the men. They were terribly startled when they suddenly found themselves face to face with Akā́inix. Immediately they realized what would now happen to them. Akā́inix spoke to them: 'You came here /1151/ to hunt cormorants? All the animals flew away. Only down there not far from the shore are there still a great many standing close together. Don't be afraid to step into the water, it is shallow!' The men obeyed at once, as though they had lost all capacity to think; they were so frightened that they had no idea what they were doing. So they pushed ahead far into the water in order to get quite close to the cormorants. As soon as they were in so far that they could move only with some effort, Akā́inix skillfully used his powerful sling and killed all the men. Thus he avenged himself, his wife, and his sisters.

"Without delay he hastened back to the hut. He did not reveal that he had killed all those men. After a while their

/1151 cont./

773 relatives asked: 'Why are our men gone such a long time? Did
821 you perhaps see them out there near that cliff?' Akāinix answered: 'Certainly I saw them. They stepped into the sea in order to reach the cormorants who were swimming far out. Have patience, they will probably soon return!' The women again waited a long time, but the men did not return. After a while they became convinced that Akāinix himself had murdered all the men. They were overcome with anger and seized with rage. They began to suspect Akāinix openly and attacked him angrily. This aroused him and he began defending himself violently. Soon there was a terrific struggle between Akāinix and the men who were present. He was hard pressed because his opponents were numerous. They held him fast, but did not succeed in killing him. For some time they choked him and tried to break his neck, but they did not succeed despite the greatest effort, for he was a mighty yēkamuš. They only managed to bend his neck and his long back so far that since then he cannot quite raise himself up straight. Yāj, the son of Akāinix, also took part in this struggle and defended his father. The men, therefore, choked him just as they did his father and they also bent his spine. Since then Akāinix and his son Yāj (76) have remained deeply bowed and

76. This is the second, pale rainbow which sometimes accompanies the bright one.

curved to this day (77). The relatives of those amorous men whom

[171]

77. This clear mythical motif is also familiar to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 609).

Akāinix murdered, however, also carried off something from that struggle. They soiled themselves with īmi while they were choking Akāinix, for he was a yēkamuš and therefore painted red all over, as is customary for a yēkamuš who has died. To this day these birds (78) carry the stain of red color on their feathers."

78. They were not mentioned by name or described in any other way. -- The story assumes conditions after the great upheaval.

773 /1152/ This story was told me by Alfredo while I was sitting all alone with him and there were no women around. In one place in the story the kīna secret is mentioned, and they strictly keep this from the women. Later the same story, somewhat shortened, was repeated to me by old Mary. She omitted the brief reference to the kīna celebration. The Yamana designation Akā́inix obviously corresponds to Akā́inix of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 609), but the latter do not have a separate story about the rainbow. BD:15 gives akainix, "the rainbow" /cited in English/.

E. The Moon-Woman

773 821 The Yamana usually use the name Hā́nuxa for this mythological person, less often the longer and more specific form Hānuxḗakuxīpa. She is regarded as the wife of Akā́inix and as outstandingly beautiful and shapely. Neither women nor men speak of her in friendly terms, least of all the men. Once upon a time the moon-woman had a great influence on all women, and through them on all men as well. Everyone was obliged to yield to her commands and instructions. Her position of power was felt especially with regard to the kīna secrets of the women. Although at that time Yoā́lox-tā́rnuxīpa had precedence, Hā́nuxa always had an influential part in the kīna. She was a malevolent, vicious woman and obviously hostile to all men. To this very day her hatred toward men has not diminished.

My informants did not agree about her children. Old Whaits told me briefly in 1919: "Hā́nuxa had three sons altogether, who soon died, one after the other (79). Today they stand up there

79. He was referring not to actual death but to a departure from the previous form of existence on this earth and subsequent life on the visible canopy of heaven.

near the lunar orb. None of the present-day Yamana knows her name." Since old Whaits was blind he could not show me the stars he spoke of. The next year I learned from Maŝemikens: "Hā́nuxa had only one son who, like his mother, was outstandingly

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773 handsome and shapely. He died very young. In her grief over
•821 this great loss Hánuxa made numerous small cuts on her face so that much blood flowed. That is why to this day one sometimes sees her colored red all over, a sign of her sorrow (80). That son

80. Two well-known expressions of mourning are mentioned here, namely, surface cuts in the skin and body painting. The former meant more to the earlier generations than to the Yamana of today.

of hers became a star, no one knows his name."

To my surprise and contrary to the majority of old people, Whaits was of the opinion that Hánuxa caused the great flood. He said: "When Hánuxa is colored red all over, /1153/ she makes it plain that she is once again very angry with human beings (81)

81. This is the exact view of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 601).

and again threatens a great flood. That is why all the Yamana become terribly frightened when they see this sign." Others gave the reason previously mentioned for this phenomenon and emphatically declared that the old man was mistaken. They did say, however, that the great flood had actually come in connection with the general upheaval in Yáiaašága and that the moon-woman played a decisive part in it.

Men and women agree that the phases of the moon are the course of her pregnancy: "At first, when Hánuxa is very lean and thin [beginning moon] she conceives a daughter. This child slowly develops in her belly and finally becomes quite big [full moon]. Then the child is born. After that the moon-woman's girth decreases, she becomes constantly leaner, sickly, and weak [waning moon]. Finally she dies and is no longer visible, but then the newborn daughter slowly grows. She, too, conceives, and everything is repeated again, just as in the case of her mother."

Two women explained the phases of the moon somewhat differently to me: "Slowly, like any child, Hánuxa grows very

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773 slowly. She is still young and therefore small and thin. Gradu-
•821 ally she becomes a full-bodied, adult woman. Then she conceives a daughter whom she carries under her heart [full moon]. After that her strength constantly decreases, and she becomes weaker and weaker [waning moon], in fact so weak finally that she nears the end of her life. Then she gives life to her daughter. Since she is giving birth, she makes herself inaccessible and avoids the glances of human beings. Soon she herself dies, but her daughter begins to live and to grow; she develops exactly like her mother. Sometimes this moon-child Hánuxa-xéolan comes down to earth. No one sees it except the yékamus. They can also hear it when it cries and weeps in its own peculiar way." According to this interpretation the appearance of the new moon is a progressive succession of generations and each moon's change is the development of a mother (82).

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82. The Selk'nam (Vol. I, 601) have more to say about the moon-woman. Some of their views deviate, others coincide in significant details with what I learned from the Yamana.

The Yamana do not have anything further to say about the children of the parental pair, Akánix, the rainbow, and Hánuxéakuxípa, the moon-woman, or about their forefathers. They simply say that this couple came here alone with the other families during the first immigration from the

5. The Deluge

773 Several times reference has been made to a general flood, about which every adult is well informed. This is probably the reason that the reports of several missionaries /1154/ contain casual references to this belief. In Outes (g):54 one reads: "They believe in a period of great tides, and when the waters covered a good part of the country, a box happened to come floating by and stopped on the summit of a high mountain. This box

/1184 cont./

among the Yamana, despite all the admiration with which men and women speak of the two brothers and their elder sister.

Two stars of the first magnitude are pointed out as the Yoālox brothers, namely, Sirius in the Greater Dog and Procyon in the Lesser Dog. The stars of secondary magnitude close to Sirius are the other members of the Yoālox family, all of whom ascended to the canopy of heaven back in those days. BD:12 gives only iūālux, "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/, and iūālux-dāranakakīpa [our tāmuxīpa], "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/.

From the stories themselves one cannot infer any connection between the Yoālox family and Watauinējwa; in fact, the two seem to represent quite clearly and sharply distinct spheres of ideas. Several times I asked the Yamana point-blank whether the Yoālox brothers had perhaps been charged by Watauinējwa to provide for the many well-known arrangements, as well as to instruct human beings in the prevailing rules and customs. They all heard this question with obvious astonishment, and from that I concluded that such a connection between the two lines of thought was not exactly familiar. It is true that from an earlier time I knew that the Yoālox are introduced to the ulwāala in the Ciēxaus (p.767) and to girls on the occasion of their menarche (p.575) as the intermediaries of the prevailing laws and habits of life sent to them by the Supreme Being. They are never mentioned at a funeral rite. In everyday life a person will only now and then speak of them. For example, it is said that Yoālox decreed that berries may not be picked prematurely, but must remain on the stalk until they are ripe (p.327). Accordingly, the intermediary role of the Yoālox is not to be interpreted as a special, definite, formal mission for Watauinējwa, such as, for example, Temaukel gave the bringer of blessings, Kenós (Vol. I, 572). The situation among the Yamana is somewhat different. Their way of life was actually decisively influenced by the Yoālox, but since, in the final analysis, every law and every custom is derived from Watauinējwa, the activity of the Yoālox must also be regarded as his command in the broadest sense of the term. To a certain extent this is directly applicable to the regulations pertaining to girls at the menarche and /1185/ women at childbirth.

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811 superstition in the strictest sense of the word. No one will find this surprising. An attempt to offer an explanation or a reason for the many notions and customs would be tantamount to robbing them of their superstitious character. They simply exist and one acts accordingly. I shall list here the considerable number of superstitious ideas by which our Yamana are governed in individual instances, including a few magical practices. The superstitions mentioned above in the section on the care of infants and children and in connection with the description of the material culture of the Yamana will not be repeated, and the belief in the various groups of spirits and individual fantasy images will not be discussed. A few earlier observers have noted that the Yamana are easily tempted to superstition (263).

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263. Fitz-Roy (a):180 writes, and Darwin (f):I, 123 agrees: "The natives whom I carried to England often amused us by their superstitious ideas, which showed, nevertheless, that their ideas were not limited by the visible world. If any thing was said or done that was wrong, in their opinion it was certain to cause bad weather. Even shooting young birds, before they were able to fly, was thought a heinous offence. I remember York Minster saying one day to Mr. Bynoe, when he had shot some young ducks with the old bird: 'Oh, Mr. Bynoe, very bad to shoot little duck -- come wind -- come rain -- blow -- very much blow'" /cited in English/. Lovisato (b):149 expresses himself in more general terms: "They are superstitious; they fear the wind and perhaps regard the elements in general as vindictive agents" /translated from Italian/. Hyades (q):253 also writes in this vein and asserts (g):387 that the efforts of the Anglican missionaries did not change anything concerning the superstitions of the Yamana: "The superstitions are the same as in former times"

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825 Our Yamana are no less superstitious about birds. Some among the great numbers of them prove to be helpful. They announce things that are important to human beings and warn them. The sea duck deśka (Tachyeres patachonicus) is at times even included in food taboos (p. 503). The mighty condor wāriyáu (Cathartes aura) is said to lead the dance of the birds. The condor can be dangerous to little children, which is why a mother may never leave her infant unattended. It is said that one day a small child at play crept out of the hut and down to the beach. The child's mother sat at her work in the hut and did not notice it. A condor flew down from above and seized the child with its strong talons, dragging it to the nearest mountain. After a while the mother stepped out of her hut and looked for the child. In vain she searched all the other huts, and no one could give her any information. Everybody helped her look, but they did not find the child. The next day they walked around the whole region, but without success. Nevertheless the mother and her relatives kept on searching. Finally, on the peak of the nearby /1303/ mountain they found the remains of the child, its head and a few bones. It happened that the face was not mutilated and the mother recognized her child. The condor had dragged it off and devoured it because it had been sitting unattended on the beach. The mother wept bitterly and returned to her hut.

825 821 787 If a hawk, yo'okalía (Milvago chimango), acts unusually happy and flies about gaily, good weather is on the way. Anyone who is obliged to take a long journey starts out early when he sees this sign; beautiful weather will accompany him. When yo'okalía screams complainingly at night, snow and cold weather are in the offing; both annoy the bird.

825 787 Quite generally the light-colored horned owl, sítá (Nyctalops accipitrinus), is very carefully watched. If it persistently and anxiously flies around one or more huts standing close together, its cry means that someone in the neighborhood has died. If it lands on a hut, even for a few moments, it indicates that one of the inmates will soon die. When this sítá on its nocturnal flights utters the prolonged, intermittent cry kīt, kīt, kīt... which sounds as though drops of blood were splashing on the

/1303 cont./

825 ground, it is an omen of murder and a person from the immediate
787 vicinity will be the victim. If someone approaches a small group of men or lands near a few huts and notices a sîta circling around the huts during the day, he recognizes this as a definite warning that these people are hostile to him and have evil intentions, are perhaps even planning to murder him. Hence he quietly slips away that very night and goes far enough so that none of the men can follow him. If in the next few days a horned owl should again appear in his vicinity or circle around him, he concludes that the men are on his trail. Without delay he hurries off to his own home. He is safe in the circle of his relatives.

825 The Yamana must show due respect for the small finch
821 hēpul (Taeniopiera pyrope). Anyone who annoys it and throws stones at it must be prepared for very bad weather. Out of vengefulness and an injured sense of honor, it causes bad storms and heavy rains.

825 A person who hears the cry of the gray night heron tūwux
787 (Nycticorax obscurus), rejoices, for this bird tells him that a canoe with friendly visitors will soon come. They usually arrive the very next day and from exactly the same direction that the call of this heron came from or the direction from which the bird flew when it came. Even today the tūwux is venerated everywhere.

825 The large petrels, especially the albatross, which rise up
821 over the waves far out on the high seas and describe large circles in the air, announce to the people that they must be prepared for rough seas and foul weather.

825 /1304/ It is a universal custom for a hunter who has bagged
777 a Molinas goose ĕkuŭ (Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/) to break both its legs immediately; otherwise he will have no future luck at hunting. If the hunter has a newborn child at home, he may not break the legs of this goose with his own hands if he wishes to keep his child from harm (p.503).

825 A solitary sea duck, dĕŭka (Tachyeres patachonicus), fly-
788 ing over a hut fills all the inmates with fear and trembling. They are afraid that this dĕŭka will take with it the kĕspif of the children present. They quickly throw large pieces of skin over each baby and cover them well. Others will repeatedly stretch their arms out in front of them, palms forward, at the same time

/1305/ B. Superstitions in Everyday Life

821 From careful, continuous observation the Yamana are familiar with their natural surroundings. Every unusual phenomenon attracts their attention more or less, and some have occasioned superstitious interpretations. They do not occupy themselves nearly as much or as thoroughly with the heavenly bodies as do the Selk'nam. If an eclipse of the sun or moon occurs, they all pick up some ŧilar /fine Berberis shavings/. Amid much shouting, men, women, and children rub their faces with it, as though they were washing and cleansing themselves. They shout and expect the sun or moon to become clean and shining once more. Since they themselves cannot reach that heavenly body, but it must nevertheless be cleaned, they rub their own faces continuously, for, to them, an eclipse of the sun or moon means an unclean, dirty face of that celestial body. They designate an eclipse of the sun (or moon) with lôm (or hôuna) arugŧa, meaning "sun or moon with a dirty, very disorderly, and unclean face" (compare ŧrugŧa in BD:61). Similarly, they designate a star that conspicuously changes its color, or a shooting star and a comet with a visible tail, as apŧonis ŧrugŧa, "a star that is in disorder." If there is a ring around the moon and an opening in the ring at one point of the compass, they expect bad weather from this direction for the next few days. Children may not stare at a full moon for any length of time. The Yamana believe that while the child is gazing steadily at the moon it will see the moon's large mouth and invariably call out: "You, moon, open your mouth!" This would result in the child's soon becoming ill. The Yamana, too, see an entire face, with eyes and mouth, in the disk of the full moon.

Our Indians, of course, are also attentively concerned about the weather. If a number of people are traveling in their canoe and they eat something, they may not throw refuse and food remains into the water, for this would immediately cause high waves or storm. The remains are carefully burned in the canoe fire.

821 When a child is born, the Yamana notice whether there is good or bad weather. A child born in good weather has prospects of a happy life; above all he is capable of stopping bad weather.

/1305 cont. /

821 789 If a few families are detained in an inlet because of storms and showers and are prevented from traveling on, they paint a club, a spear shaft, or an oar with red earth, accompany the "fair-weather child" to the beach, and give it the painted article, telling it to beat the sea with it and ask for favorable weather. If the child acts shy or ashamed, or if it is too young to do this, the father takes the child in his arms and sets it upright against his legs. He himself then recites the particular words /1306/ and administers the blows against the sea, making the child's arms help him a bit. It is absolutely necessary that the object used for beating be painted. The words addressed to the bad weather are to the effect that it should go away quickly, cease bothering people, and make way for good weather. A request is even sent up to Wataginéwa that he change the weather situation as soon as possible, for after all he is responsible for unfavorable weather. For example, they say:

wéla	motagégu	ñamdno	yelogégu
At once	to come to the beach	snowfall	good-weather
péple,	sigéje	hatéfpa	ñas.
child	set off	from here	you.

This is to say: "In order that you, bad weather, shall immediately go away from here, a privileged fair-weather child has come down to the beach and is beating you." Meanwhile the child stretches out its arms and reaches out into space as though it were grasping the clouds, tearing the fog asunder, and pushing back showers of rain. At the same time it utters forceful, hissing sounds. These efforts serve the purpose of quickly driving away the bad weather. The words used are clothed in a definite formula; an adult tells it to the child who repeats it several times while it beats the water.

821 A child born when the weather is unfavorable or when there are heavy storms arouses a slight uneasiness among people in the neighborhood as a result of this fact alone. They never forget this coincidence and in later years tell the child himself about it. Such a child must be reserved and moderate in its behavior when

/1306 cont./

821 the weather is calm and there is bright sunshine. The Fuegians generally hope that the good weather, which in any case is scarce, will last for a short time once it has set in, especially the warm quiet days. For this reason a "bad-weather child" must avoid noisy conduct along the beach, running gaily along the edge of the water, throwing stones into the sea, beating the waves with a stick or paddle, or dropping an object and letting it strike hard on the ground. To violate these rules would soon bring a change of weather. The adults do not fail to watch a "bad-weather child" carefully and to admonish it to behave cautiously. If a strong headwind and high waves make it im-
821 possible for a family to travel on, the wife will try a ceremony
789 of her own to remove these obstacles. She rubs one of her daughters who is not yet five years old from head to foot with imi, accompanies her down to the beach, pushes her into the water several times and ducks her repeatedly. The woman continues this procedure until her small daughter grows tired of it and begins to cry and scream. Only then does she release her daughter who, /1307/ yelling loudly, rushes out of the water to warm herself at the hut fire. The mother, however, stays on the beach a bit longer and addresses the following lament to the sea:

Yelajége	xéolan	sigáia	wéla	tumúru
Fair-weather	child	set off	immediately	have pity

Ikamána.
snowfall.

In other words: "You, bad weather, have pity on that 'fair-weather child' and set off immediately, taking with you this abundant snowfall." With this act, especially the ducking, the mother pretends that her child is drowning in the sea because of the bad weather.

The winter of mid-1923 was unusually severe and brought with it a great deal of snow. I was staying on Navarino Island, and the Indians often complained to me about the burden of the large masses of snow. One day they again tried an ancient ceremony which serves to ward it off. Near the huts two men erected

/1307 cont./

•821
789

a snow figure resembling a human being. It was about 120 centimeters high, very clumsy and irregular, the kind of snowman that school children in Europe fashion without any care. The head, body, and arms were merely suggested on the figure and very inaccurately fashioned. The men made it in a few minutes. Meanwhile several children and a few adults had assembled in front of it. As soon as the two men declared their clumsy structure finished, everybody gathered in front of it at a distance of about five meters and pelted it with stones, logs, clubs, and spears, in a spirit of savage destruction, until the wobbly structure was completely torn apart and lay there as a chaotic pile of snow. The excited, wild behavior is supposed to make clear to "winter," who is believed to be embodied in this figure, how displeased, indeed embittered, everybody is with him and that he should take himself off as soon as possible. They anticipate prompt success with this ceremony which has been handed down by their forefathers, and they resort to it several times during the cold season (264).

264. As early as 1865 Bridges observed the same thing: "The Fuegians, to drive such unpleasant weather away, build a figure of the snow, in shape somewhat like a man, and throw spears into it, and demolish it with paddles" /cited in English/ (VSA:XII, 6:1865). -- The Selk'nam also try to change the weather by means of a certain magical custom, in which a so-called "bad-weather child" and a "fair-weather child" play the chief roles (Vol. I, 684).

[171]

Bridges reported another custom which is also of the type of genuine magic-by-analogy; I myself did not come across it. On a stormy day "all men were disguised with paint and charcoal. The men came along, many armed with clubs. One man, Lasapowloom, a vigorous, active young fellow, acted the champion and challenger, and stood prominently forward to meet the foremost and most excited of the opposite party. Like the man

/1397 cont./

821 789 who confronted him, he had a broad band of white from his chin downward, and his head was bound with the skin of a help gander with white down on it, and his hair was also whitened. He had a white stone in either hand. His antagonist, who came leaping along making much noise, was /1398/ armed with a club. He kept on demanding what facasi [a term for seals, penguins, and other sea birds] would let him kill some one, as though he thirsted for blood. He held his club ready to use it, and they both spoke excitedly and loudly to each other. Presently Lasapowloom threw one of his stones a full yard behind his opponent's heels, and ran after his stone to pick it up again. Presently looking to where I heard much noise I saw two others, highly painted fellows, engaged in loud vociferations and earnest gestures, each with an arm round the other's neck, and bobbing their heads each to the other. The rest stood quietly looking on.... Lasapowloom acting the part he did, was according to custom, called tworoo, or the storm of wind; the man who met him was called tumoosworoo, or one who invited the storm to rage against him" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 13:1873).

I cannot help thinking that the superstitious customs and ceremonies aimed at influencing the weather in favor of personal wishes and intentions have developed among the Yamana only to a limited extent simply because their Watagin'wa is regarded as the actual ruler of the forces of nature. Hence everyone turns directly to him as the first and surest helper, using the ancient traditional prayer formulas (p.978).

262 834 In addition, there are a few similar superstitious customs which are clearly wise food taboos. They are supposed to promote self-control and check selfishness. A few such decrees have already been mentioned. Thus, for example, no one may pick Pernettya berries until they are ripe. If anyone should ignore this, the "berries would go away" (p.327). Anyone who gathers amijin at the proper time may nibble a few, but anyone who eats many of them brings on bad weather by his lack of restraint in eating. It is easy to catch this disobedient person, and he is severely reproached in case there is a sudden change in the weather. The primary object of this taboo is probably to force each individual to bring all the berries he has gathered into camp

/1308 cont./

262 and let the others share them, instead of selfishly enjoying them
824 alone. People from another region who land on strange territory
and find large quantities of amajm may neither pick them nor
[82] eat them. If they do, they must be prepared for threatening
weather when they continue their journey. Their taking the
berries would portend ŋaɛ̃iwa, ruin and destruction for them.

The "rain berry," palaxɛ̃ɛ̃ix, Rubus gunnii (p.279), may
262 be eaten only in fair weather. If someone has discovered a spot
824 where there are great numbers of these berries and he wants to
821 gather them, he must first obtain permission from the tõgins who
has the right to distribute them to adults and children. A person
who picks the palaxɛ̃ɛ̃ix without such permission or in /1308/
rainy weather must be prepared for a sudden heavy storm with
rain on the open sea, which will endanger his life, as atonement,
hinɛ̃ɛ̃i, for his disobedience. On March 16, 1923, there was an
unusually heavy cloudburst with floods. Two days earlier a few
girls had stolen off to a place that was well known for its many
palaxɛ̃ɛ̃ix -- it is about an hour's distance from Punta Remolino --
and picked these berries. In all seriousness Nelly told me on the
evening of March 16th that the young Halakwulup, Julia, had
gone to this place with a few other girls. Julia was unfamiliar
with the taboo, and she had picked and eaten many of the berries.
The other girls followed her example. The heavy rain was a
punishment for this.

It is not at all seldom that sudden bad weather breaks out
262 over the wide inlets open to the south. In this region it is cus-
tomary not to eat certain game animals that have been caught
on the same day, but to keep them until the following day. A
person who does not conform to this must be prepared for a heavy
loss in the immediate future. This custom is probably meant to
teach people to provide for the next day, for all too often a fam-
ily is unable to travel because of unfavorable natural forces, and
they could suffer great hardship if they had not learned and were
not compelled to economize with their already meager supply.

The Yamana very seldom eat during a canoe trip and, if
264 they do, always very little. Anyone who eats may not throw food
821 remains and refuse overboard, but should destroy them in the fire
484 which is always kept burning. It is said that Yoŋlos decreed this.

/1309 cont./

264 When one fails to observe this rule, his child will scream just as
821 incessantly as did the child of Yaffus (p. 1140). Moreover,
other people say that his canoe will run into bad weather.
Spencer.87 writes: "When crossing one of the Sounds, a man will
paint broad transverse bands of black across the woman's face.
This is supposed to ensure a fairweather crossing" /cited in Eng-
lish/. I did not learn anything about this from my informants,
but I did hear that bad weather will set in immediately if some-
one pulls out tall reeds in a lagoon.

Moreover, the Yamana are still imprisoned in a realm of
823 superstitious notions about so-called baleful places. These are
first of all the places that the Lakhma like to inhabit. "No one
should venture there in his canoe or gather mussels there. Be-
sides the Lakhma and the malevolent Hagella, certain animals
who are in contact with the yékamuf make a place dangerous for
human beings. Friendly, well-meaning yékamuf warn people
about those places, for they know from their dreams what the
situation is and the danger a person can get into on that account.
A person who unwittingly enters such a zone suddenly feels un-
well, he becomes utterly weak and immediately falls asleep.
/1310/ He is lost if a yékamuf is not called in time to free him
from the pernicious influence of this baleful place. On March 21,
1913, Whaits told the following story. "In Lapothia there is a
fatal spot where even the fish are not spared. Once several men
had set a net there. It was quickly filled with fish and the men
began hauling it in. When they were near the shore with the
heavy net, a strong force pulled out all the fish and the men
stared astonished at the empty net." Earlier Bridges reported:
"A certain Sinenianjin had made up his mind to settle out at a
beautiful place some three miles from Ushuaia. Accordingly he
went there with his wife and family, and one or two friends.
These built a wigwam and had plenty of wood and water close at
hand. But late in the afternoon they heard a strange voice or cry,
whether from owl, hawk, bird, beast, or evil spirit they knew not-
and were too much frightened to go and ascertain, saying
sapiccoush, sapiccoush, which means bloody arrow head. They
forthwith packed up and returned back to Ushuaia from the fatal
spot" /cited in English/ (MM.XIII, 80; 1879).

/1421 cont./

X756 to make him well! Give the sick man courage and give him back
755 his health, for my sake!" Obviously the yékamuš is sincere when he addresses these words and other ancient prayer formulas to Watauinéiwa so that the sick person will be quickly cured. The yékamuš, however, is also impelled by ambition; since he wants to prove his ability to the people by any means, he even calls on Watauinéiwa for help and relies on his favorable relations with him. If a few members of the same family have died in quick succession, it may happen that a friendly yékamuš will say to the survivors: "That yékamuš [he designates him by name] has caused these deaths!" It is a universal belief that only Watauinéiwa can cause a person to die. In the case just mentioned the people will complain to Watauinéiwa; they will accuse him of being in collusion with that yékamuš and of acting with him. They will say, for instance: "Hitapuan, why did you join that yékamuš and, with him, kill our relatives?" This is a cry from a heart tormented by grief and is similar to the well-known cries of mourning (p. 989).

β. General Assistance

X756 The individual Yamana, as well as the independent family
789 groups, will turn to a friendly yékamuš in all kinds of daily dis-
● 821 tress. Although I often heard, "Hidabuan causes bad weather, Hidabuan sends the heavy snow and the bad storms!" nevertheless the Yamana also attribute to their yékamuš a definite influence on the weather (333). Who would not like to have calm, clear,

333. Bridges (i):18 and (k):237 asserted in his day that the medicine men "had power to procure good weather and drive away bad" /cited in English/.

and warm weather down there in the Cape Horn Archipelago? In winter the families like to crowd their dwellings together so that a few yékamuš are together for a longer period. If on occasion heavy snowstorms continue and the people become sad, the yékamuš will promise them: "Be quiet and remain brave, tomorrow [or the

/1421 cont./

X756 day after tomorrow] favorable weather will set in!" The chil-
789 dren, above all, become quiet, and the old people are full of
expectation. Sure enough, on the day announced the snowstorm
• 821 at least abates and perhaps there is even a cloudless sky. /1422/
Once on a rainy day I also heard: "Tomorrow uxápu [the constellation Orion, p. 1276 /untranslated/] will appear!" On another winter's day a yékamuš assured the people: "Tomorrow we shall see Yoálox-tárnuxípa again and that will usher in good weather!" Sure enough, each time the prognostication was fulfilled. The question is whether those yékamuš were guided by knowledge derived from experience and careful observation? I cannot decide. In any case, the people ascribe the change of weather to the superior knowledge and ability of the yékamuš. As is known, a number of medicine men gather together in the lóima-yékamuš. Since they jointly exert their influence on the forces of nature, the people say that favorable weather prevails for the duration of that affair.

X756 When there are persistent storms, the people are hindered
in their freedom of movement and sometimes suffer great priva-
• 789 tion. Then the yékamuš must save them by furnishing food. He
825 lies down to sleep, starts his čōwánni song, and thus invokes the čōwánni spirits. The latter have whole swarms of herring with them and these, of course, are accompanied by many other species of animals. They soon cover the beach near the people in distress. In the same way the čōwánni spirits drive many round crabs (Lithodes antarctica, Fig. 13 /in untranslated portion/) up on the beach or cause many birds to light on nearby stones. The yékamuš also uses another helper. In his dream he calls an ašóula to him and describes to it the threatening situation of his family group. Thus prevailed upon, the ašóula returns to its region, and from there on the next day it leads a whale with its accompanying animals to the stricken group (p. 1268 /untranslated/). As soon as the people see the many animals, they rejoice and thank their yékamuš for this rescue; he finally releases the helpful spirits with his čōwánni song, and they once more retire far out on the high seas. If the men plan a joint hunting expedition the following day, the yékamuš assemble the day before and start the čōwánni song. This is supposed to assure them the help of these spirits on the following day and at the same time guarantee the

/1434 cont./

X756 766

and the hut is set on fire (341). The many people who have

341. Despard (b):717 maintains: "When yaccomosh dies, his body is burned to ashes, and those ashes thrown to the winds he rules so mightily, for them to make sport withal" /cited in English/. The last part of this statement is incorrect.

assembled throw all kinds of objects into the fire, whatever they can lay their hands on. They do this in honor of the deceased (p. 1056). Since in recent times even medicine men are buried, the people see to it that his face is turned upward. The community of souls of all deceased yékamuš and of people who have drowned is regarded as the actual ūlulufāala. This term, which also has a general meaning (p. 1042), is related to ūlūuf in BD:91. These souls move toward the east where they dwell (342). At

[821]

342. Bridges (i):19 writes that "shooting stars were spoken of as the dead wizards of their people" /cited in English/. I did not encounter this belief. It is well known that the Selk'nam regard shooting stars as the "play of the medicine men" (Vol. I, 680).

night they sometimes return to their homes and every living medicine man can see them. Nelly Lawrence said in all seriousness: "Since our késpiš like to travel to the east when we dream at night or are dreamily brooding during the day, the yékamuš must sing /1435/ and soon bring back the késpiš, or they would be lost in that distant region where the késpiš of dead yékamuš actually dwell." All this shows the unique position of the medicine men, even though they cannot be noticeably distinguished from their countrymen in everyday life, but conform to tribal tradition as true Yamana.

X756 182

If one examines the meaning and nature of the medicine-man system, its uniqueness becomes apparent. It does not correspond either to the natural disposition of our Yamana or to the

/1449 cont./

805 aua̋čix málaku, the fungi lying on the moist forest floor are turning black and beginning to rot.
824

/1450/ The development of Cyttaria darwinii described above takes place from the beginning of December to the end of February. The growing period of the smaller Cyttaria harioti, ašim (p. 277), also serves to determine time.

maxinix is the name of this tiny fungus when it appears in January.

kētē̄ɹna is its name as long as its surface is still smooth at maximum size.

kētē̄ɹna āšex is the fallen, decayed fungus. This development takes place from January to the end of April. The Yamana refer in the same way to the various stages of development of the large tree fungus, āman, and divide up the first half of winter accordingly.

805 As is evident, the Yamana have a number of time designations, each of which is connected with phenomena in their immediate environment. Besides the expressions just mentioned, one also hears the following: "I'll come back when the first green shoots appear, -- when the young šūrša crawl out of their shells, -- when the kímoa are ready to fly, -- when the red beech leaves fall, -- when the water [in the channel] becomes brown (355), -- when the mussels are poor" (356). These

355. Actually, only the algae change color in the spring; the Yamana expression makes it appear as though the water changed color.

356. This means departing winter.

expressions are simple and perfectly clear to everyone.

3. Astonomy

•821 The appearance and disappearance of a number of stars and their highest and lowest positions likewise characterize the individual periods in the yearly cycle. In former times, before

/1450 cont./

•824 there were actual people, all the stars, whether or not they are now known by name, were independent personalities on this earth. Special myths are devoted to some of them. It is a fact that some individuals among the Yamana, especially certain yékamuš of former times, were well acquainted with the peculiarities and movements of the stars and informed their countrymen about them. Most recently, during my stay in Tierra del Fuego, I often stood outside with a few old people on a clear, starry night in order to learn something definite from them about the stars, but their knowledge was surprisingly deficient. To their sorrow, these persons confessed that many details had been lost to them since they had adopted the European way of speaking.

The irregular juxtaposition of a few stars is regarded as a family group, in which the larger stars are the adults and the smaller ones the children. The dense clusters of small stars are regarded as a mass of amáim, berries. Girls like to stretch out their arms as though reaching for them, and they then gesture as though they were scattering a handful of them about. In doing so, they promise themselves an abundant harvest of amáim. The constellation uxápu, the belt of Orion /1451/ (p. 1276 /untranslated/), is particularly bright in midwinter. As long as it is visible one may neither split wood nor make a loud noise. Nor may one at this time carry a glowing stick of wood uncovered; it must be wrapped in a piece of bark. Next to it is háiaxīpa, Rigel. Aldebaran, α Tauri, is called Yoálox-támuxīpa. The two recognizable nebulae, húmuluf, are described as pockets of the Yoálox brothers, who keep all kinds of things in them and keep sharp watch over them. The bright, reddish Betelgeuse, α Orionis, is Mákuxīpa, which, as a star, is generally called Lúškipa, the first wife of the two Yoálox brothers (p. 1135). The Milky Way, hésteka tuawina, has the same meaning in the canopy of heaven as a wide, painted post that is used in the framework of the čiéxaus hut (p. 679). A few Yamana deduce the direction the wind is expected to take from the brightness of the stars. A closed ring around the sun is regarded as a sign of good weather; if it is open in one spot, there will be strong winds from that direction.

Our Fuegians, of course, observe the striking progressive changes of the moon, and they have special terms for its individual

/1451 cont./

821 phases. Thus, hánuxa tajyígata is the full moon; akuždára, the completely invisible new moon; yárum hánuxa, the waxing moon; and, finally, hánuxa héaku, the waning moon. The word héaku is probably the same as hakū, "another, the other" /cited in English/, in BD:262. There are also other designations in BD for the phases of the moon. The Yamana like to measure [805] time by the whole course of the moon. For example, someone will say: "Yárum hánuxa kūtia-muš har-t-hainá̧a, I shall come again at the new moon" (357).

357. Hyades (p):340 and Spegazzini (a):169 also briefly referred to the various designations of time used by the Yamana.

As a result of their nomadic life, our Yamana are obliged to observe carefully the extremely changeable weather of their country and to interpret reliably every peculiar phenomenon. In the course of long experience they have attained positive mastery in this, and one can absolutely rely on their opinion. In their observations they usually take two or three phenomena into account at once, not least the behavior of animals. Nevertheless, a family will sometimes be overtaken by a sudden change in the weather and their lives endangered. The Yamana certainly do not lack expressions for individual aspects of the weather. Thunder, kikíka, is almost never heard in that region; our Fuegians have no definite explanation for it or for lightning (p. 21 /untranslated/) which is just as rare.

4. Geographical Knowledge

823 On their constant trips through the tortuous channels of the Cape Horn Archipelago our Yamana are confidently sure of themselves because they have a well developed sense of orientation to the quarters of the heavens. They have a wide choice of terms for them. /1452/ The basic terms are: ílu, íla, "the south, southward"; ítu íta, "east, in an easterly direction";

/429 cont./

415 centimeters long is cut out, sewed up at one end with a straight
237 edge, blown up taut, and immediately tied with tendon fibers at the other end. Sometimes they leave the circular cardiac muscles at the opening of the stomach attached to the lower part. These close automatically, which simplifies the work. This air bubble dries quickly, and the upper part of it is cut off straight. The elongated pouch is filled with pigment only to the middle. The free upper half is pressed flat and rolled down from the upper edge (Fig. 20). This not only makes a safe and convenient closing, but protects the contents against dampness and spilling. Sometimes they also tie a few tendon fibers lengthwise around the rolled packet to keep it closed. The white pigment, tumarápu, nevertheless hardens into a firm lump after a time, but this does not affect its use. Compared with this, the black pigment, yapusáke, namely, pounded charcoal, is used far less. It does not pay to take special pains to keep it because it is available everywhere.

302 Much later we shall discuss the significance of the individ-
● 822 ual colors within the manifold patterns, but here we should like to correct the inaccurate opinion of certain observers who attribute to each color as /430/ such a definite meaning or a single and exclusive significance. Without qualification Dabbene (a):38 maintains that "the three colors, white, black, and red, which are used for painting, have their signification, since they are used respectively, as signs of war, mourning, or joy" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (e):332 is much closer to the truth. He writes: "The external sign of mourning was the face blackened with charcoal. White applied in dots and stripes was the color of revenge for murder, and red was the emblem of friendship and joy." /Fig. 20 appears here./ None of the three colors (111)

111. I herewith reject the inaccurate statements of Fitz-Roy (a):177, Dabbene (a):38 and (b):176, Lothrop (b):126, Spegazzini (a):170, and others. Hyades (q):349 repeats in detail the opinion of Bridges, upon whom Krickeberg: 331 also relies.

/430 cont./

302 has a single and exclusively unique meaning, but their signifi-
822 cance is rather in how they are used together or singly for certain types of painting and patterns according to consistent habit and conscious intent. The fact that various things are painted for no purpose but to beautify the object remains to be discussed, as does the particular form of body painting for certain occasions, such as a wedding or mourning, initiation ceremonies and ceremonies of men, important battles, and the rituals of medicine men. The everyday motives and general incentives will be mentioned here; the special occasions we refer to will be discussed at the proper place.

[415]

Fig. 20. Pouch for Pigments. Natural size.

302 Without doubt Aspinall:270 is right when he emphasizes: "All painting among these Indians has a special significance." The everyday painting is only for decoration, in accordance with the requirements for beauty and the demands of courtesy. According to Hyades (g):33, women and girls are "by no means indifferent with regard to their appearance, and try to beautify their faces as much as possible with horizontal lines and dots of white clay." /431/ Both Bridges and Hyades (q):349 are inaccurate, however, when it is asserted "this painting is regarded as a pastime" /translated from French/.

Every native wants to be more beautiful and adorns himself by arranging different colors in the form of lines and dots, cross-hatching, and circles, according to his own choice (112). He

112. With little accuracy Bove (e):157 wrote: "They paint themselves in all kind of ways;

/1463 cont./

517 whale," /cited in English/, according to BD:630, or wā́alina for a man who makes a good canoe. People who make a small basket or an ornament with particular care are known far and wide, and the accurate construction of such things is talked about by others because it gives them satisfaction and true enjoyment. One often hears expressions like the following: "What a pretty thing! -- How good-looking that is! -- The workmanship is very accurate and shapely!..." Everyone praises the effort made by an artisan. When they see a perfect specimen, old people encourage the young ones to imitate it. Any kind of praise is gratifying to the Yamana, and he makes an effort to obtain it. Beyond that, however, he also finds particular pleasure in the qualities of the beautiful object. A European, if he wants to be fair in his judgment, must take into consideration the difficulties that hamper the Yamana in the making and fashioning of his implements. For example, he does not have the use of metal tools and measuring instruments, but is dependent solely on his hardened, not very limber fingers and upon the measurements of his eye. For this reason, obviously, the various rows in a little basket (Fig. 101) or an ornament and the lines in a painting are never absolutely perfect. The indolence and the carelessness of persons who do not want to take pains and trouble are, of course, also reasons for many an inadequate piece of work.

531 The Yamana enhance the beauty of certain objects and their own bodies by means of painting. They use the well-known ma-
302 terials (p. 90) for the three colors that are the only ones applied:
● 822 lūš = red, scarlet; yā́gu = light, luminous, white; finally, lēmbi = black. The pigments are either rubbed to a dry powder or first mixed with water or blubber in a large Mytilus shell (Fig. 102) to form a thick paste and then applied with the finger or with a painting stick (pp. 99 , 712 , 790). Designations for other tones of color are not altogether lacking, but are seldom used. For instance, one says lakíma, "gray," only for human hair and for fur, whereas the word pēwaiā́gu is used for the gray, faded, and pale color of any other object. Light red or a reddish yellow is designated by pā́jalūš. There is no particular significance attached to any of these colors (p. 94) (364), although one or

364. Martius: 188 and Spegazzini (a):170

/1463 cont./

531 have maintained the contrary,
302 without justification.

822 another is preferred on certain occasions for example, in the case of /1464/ mourning (p.1064). Scarlet gives the Yamana intense pleasure (365); the color of the nāku blossom serves as a

365. This has been confirmed a number of times. Hyades (b):1345 and (d):306 says: "The favorite color is red; the other colors are often confused" /translated from French/. I also agree with the last part of his statement. The designations that he (q):205 lists for all kinds of colors are worthless.

standard of comparison for them (p.494). The Yamana use the
531 well-known pigments to paint their faces or their entire bodies
302 on various occasions. The gay and rich variety of their designs very clearly expresses their by no means limited sense of beauty. This is even more definitely shown in their ornaments and in the patterns of color with which they cover various objects, such as the Kina masks and the ornamental staffs used in the čiēxaus hut (Plates 2, 3, 4). /Fig. 102 appears here./ The Yamana have a considerable number of special designations for the various types of painting. The word wīesteka means "to paint horizontal lines upon the face with īmi as a mark of friendship" /cited in English/, according to BD:610; the word ǎjasina means "to paint the face with up and down bands or lines of either red or black" /cited in English/. The painting is sometimes supplemented with a feather decoration. I observed neither a special gift nor an inclination to
532 draw among the Yamana (366); I never saw children scratch simple

366. Differing on this point, Phillips (a):1011 reported: "It was strange that the Fuegians showed a great inclination to draw. Without being told, they collected strips of paper and drew caricatures on them with charcoal, which were supposed to represent their comrades. They were then given pencils, and they eagerly

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

302 white, war and ritual; black, mourning. Red symbolized peace; Designs were very simple,
[822] confined to lines, dots, and, less commonly, circles.

Ornaments.—Personal adornments were: necklaces, of sections of
301 bird leg bones strung on braided sinew, of strung punched shells
237 (*Photinula violacea*), or of frapped hanks of braided sinew, often colored red; bone or shell pendants, sometimes attached to the necklaces; and wristlets and anklets of sinew and hide. Feather diadems and bird-skin, feather, or down-ornamented fillets or forehead caps were also used.

TRANSPORTATION

501 Canoes.—Travel by the *Yahgan* was almost entirely by water. Their earlier sole form of watercraft was the built-up bark canoe, of a crescent or gondola shape that characterizes other craft well up the west coast of South America to Perú; the plank boat, the *Araucanian* dugout, the seal-hide float, and the double-ended reed balsa were absent (Lothrop, 1932 a, pp. 253–54).

The *Yahgan* canoe (pls. 34, 35) was made of three strips of beech bark, one-half inch to more than an inch (1.2 to 2.5 cm.) thick, which ordinarily formed the bottom and two sides respectively. Average length was about 15 feet (5 m.), with a range from about 12 to 20 feet (4 to 7 m.); gunwale to gunwale width in center, about 3 feet (1 m.); depth in center, about 2 feet (0.6 m.). The bark, taken only
396 from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), was stripped off in the spring, when the sap was running. In removing the bark from the tree, the natives used a bone chisel or mussel-shell knife to cut it and a bone barking tool to strip it, and in ascending the tree held themselves thereto with a strong rawhide thong. After smoothing the bark on both sides with a small chisel, they cut it into three cigar-shaped pieces. These pieces were then sewn together with whalebone or with shreddings of warmed saplings, the seams being wadded with the stringy seams of wild celery grass or with moss mixed with mud. The gunwales were next lashed on. The ribs, of split Winter's bark, were then fitted in and locked in place under the gunwales. The thwarts, usually five or six, of hardwood, were inserted and lashed to the gunwale.

501 The fireplace was set amidships. The paddle was in one piece with a long lanceolate blade and short round-section handle without cross-piece or other grip. The *Yahgan* canoe leaked much; the cylindrical bailers (pl. 33, *e*) were usually of bark or sealskin. Sealskin thongs
[283] and braided grass ropes were used as mooring lines. The construction and repair of the canoe were the man's task; but its management, in-
[462] cluding paddling and mooring off shore in a kelp bed, were the woman's. In a sense, she was mistress of the canoe, with its hearth and ever-lighted fire. In a favorable wind a crude sail, made of a sealskin or

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

301 a small hole near the lip of the shell. Through these holes a braided sinew cord was run, doubled back on itself, and lashed with spiral wrappings of sinew. This method of stringing is illustrated in fig. 50. The shells thus united are always graded according to size, sometimes with the biggest shell at one end and the smallest at the other, sometimes with the big shells in the middle and the small ones at either end.

FIG. 50.—Detail of Yahgan shell necklace. Length of shells, one-half in. (14/2339)

USE OF PAINT

386 Like the Ona, the Yahgan made regular use of a red paint (*ími*) obtained by burning earth, a black paint (*yapúshak*) made of 822 charcoal, and a white paint (*tum'rápo*) of clay. According to Fitzroy (p. 177) and Dabbene (1907, p. 58) these colors have symbolic significance. Thus, white was the sign of war or ceremonial display, black was the mark of grief and mourning, while red denoted peace and happiness. With their paints the Indians 531 adorned their persons, their dance masks, their ceremonial lodges, and some of their tools and utensils. The latter were often embellished with solid color, but body, dance masks, and ceremonial lodges were made the field for painted designs.

In pl. IX is shown a selection of patterns taken from the frame of a ceremonial lodge. No simpler motives of artistic significance can be achieved, for these designs are mere smudges of color applied with thumb or finger. The elements are a dot, a short line, and, in one instance, a circle. Two lines are combined to form a cross, a T, and a chevron. Design units repeat themselves in simple rhythm.

Dance masks are illustrated in figs. 92 and 93. Their designs, though of symbolic significance, are again abysmally primitive. Facial painting may be studied in the photographs published by Koppers (1924); they are similar to the patterns here described.

/392 cont./

"They rub iron pyrites with flint and catch the sparks in a dry, moss-like substance." Usually the grain of pyrite is somewhat larger than the flint, and the two together are regarded as a loving couple, mitrikin; hence, the former is the male, wa, while the latter is the female, kipa (52). The spark is caught in a loose

52. Speaking of the flint, Hyades (q) :304 and (d) :309 erroneously maintains that "the Fuegians usually obtain fire by striking two of these stones, unequal in size, against each other" /translated from French/. We read the same thing in Bridges (i):10 and in Spegazzini (a):163. Dabbene (b):194 writes: "Fire is obtained by striking two pieces of stone, which contain iron pyrites, against one another" /translated from Spanish/. This procedure would not bring results, as everyone knows. Compare Colini: 238.

bundle of down, tirikin. They /393/ prefer to use a puffball as tinder, bikan, the dry spores of which very easily begin to smolder (53). They also use chik, fine shavings of barberry stems.

53. "The tinder used is the inner down of birds, well dried; very fine dry moss; or a dry kind of fungus found on the under side of half-rotten trees," according to Fitz-Roy (a) :187 /cited in English/.

By gently blowing, they get the smoldering parts to flare up, immediately add feathers or fine lichen, and finally twigs and branches. Before that they place the puffball on a small piece of leather or on gravel so that it does not become damp. The man bends over very low and holds the stones very close. Usually he must work for some time, because the objects are damp, because of the humidity in the air, or because the sparks simply will not catch.

In former times the adults, usually man and wife, carried a small leather pouch, asimu, in which the tinder and the two

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/454 cont./
only two persons were saved" /translated from French/.

to this day by the Yamana; the reports of missionaries and European travelers also refer to them. In Hyades (q):302 we read: "Shipwrecks of canoes are very frequent and annually cause a high mortality. Mr. Bridges in his unpublished work cites many accidents of this kind: shipwreck of five canoes, 30 persons drowned; shipwreck of two canoes, 13 drowned..." /translated from French/. The accident is usually caused by overconfidence. These people are extremely reckless, and, as Bridges (i):15 expresses it "venturesome in trusting themselves with comparative strangeness" /cited in English/, which every observer verifies. In most recent times, however, unprincipled thoughtlessness
[p73] destroys many a life when Indians in a highly intoxicated state venture out on the treacherous waves although they do not have control of themselves.

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Supremely confident of their own ability, these people may even decide to take long journeys in their fragile vessel. As a rule, however, they stay within the narrow confines of their native district; every dialect group has one (p. 199 /untranslated/). Certain occasions, however, almost always the chase after the large urine seal, tpɛ̃ɛ̃a (Arctocephalus australis), and the pursuit of a sick, weary whale, make them forget, in their eagerness, how far behind they have left the coast. It has been proved that a few families visited Isla Ildefonso; others are supposed to have ventured as far as the Diego Ramírez Islands. They are
¶[p23] guided in their journeys by their exact knowledge of the locality and by an excellent gift of orientation.

[147] Soon after the opening of the mission station in Ushuaia individual canoes arrived from great distances, even some from the Halakwulup. For example, Bridges (i):15 mentions incidentally: "I know several natives of Cuchawulaf who come to Ushuaia in the East and in the opposite direction as far as Port Gallant and Mercury Sound; this distance is considerably over two /455/ hundred miles" /cited in English/. Our Fueglans can accomplish these astonishingly distant journeys because, wherever they land, they provide for their needs in life, namely, meat from the most diverse types of animals, wood for the indispensable fire, and pieces of fur to protect their bodies.

/1155 cont./

773 began to melt, there was so much water that the earth became completely flooded. That woman planned to destroy the whole world and all the people. The ice came just at the time of the universal upheaval in Yájaaťága, when the men were carrying on their battle with the women and gained control of the kína. -- In this connection see Lēxuwakípa wátuwa on page 1232 /untranslated/.

"After the ice period the whole earth became flooded. The tremendous amount of water rose constantly and quickly. Everybody hastened to the canoes and sat down in them; they all wanted to save themselves. The water rose higher and higher; it even reached the mountain tops and covered one after the other. Finally there were only five peaks that rose above the great flood. The tremendous inundation came extraordinarily quickly and there were high waves so that the people could not provide themselves with food. Many of them did not even reach their canoes and almost all the human beings drowned in the huge flood. The distress everywhere was indescribable. There was no hope for the ones who could not flee in their canoes in time and hold out in some protected spot.

773 "The fortunate people were those who in their canoes reached one of the five mountain tops which rose up out of the
• 823 water. There they found safety. Those mountain peaks are [1] Uťlaka in what is now Packsaddle Bay on the Hardy Peninsula. High up one can still see broad bands which indicate how high the great flood reached. [2] Wémarᵏwaja opposite O'Brien Island, where one sees a /1156/ cut reaching all around the rock. It was made when many canoes were tied up there, but almost all nevertheless perished. [3] Auwáratulēra in a hidden corner of Estero Ponsonby. At this place there is still a thick pole to which several canoes were fastened at that time. This pole has turned to stone, for it has been there a very long time. [4] Wēlalánux on Gable Island. There the high peak formerly rose still higher. It has become considerably lower because strong waves are constantly pounding it. [5] Pjatulēra, two steep eminences on either side of the mouth of the Rio Douglas. Today they are no longer as high as at the time when the great flood covered all the land.

/1304 cont./

825 [788] uttering a loud, hissing I sound. The purpose of the latter is to weaken the baleful effect of the sea duck and hold in the kespif of the children. Immediately after confinement the mother and her husband may not eat the meat of the ólika (p. 503). The parents are advised to abstain from it until their child enters the second year of life. From then on it is completely out of danger, whereas before that it might possibly die if its parents should often eat the meat of the sea duck.

[762]

When the rust-colored spectacled ibis, lexuwa (Theristicus melanopis), flies over the heads of mature girls, they cross their arms and press them against their breasts to hide them. If they did not do this, lexuwa would pull their breasts far down; this is a beauty flaw of which they complain a great deal. This lexuwa is also known as a sensitive woman who anxiously guards her honor.

[824]

I did not learn that the Yamana are superstitiously afraid of any kind of insects, but Bridges (a):212 writes: "Many insects are also much dreaded, from a belief that they enter the ear, and work their way into the body, and thus kill those they enter" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):204 says the same thing. Unfortunately, these references are too general.

Sometimes an unusually large cap-shaped shell (Fissurella) clings to a rock along the coast, below the lowest water level. It is regarded as the mistress of that region. All the women who are gathering marine animals in its vicinity must remain silent and respectful. If they do not do this, the pijakakipa, as it is called, causes strong eddies. The word pijaka is not a proper name, but a general term (compare BD:370); here it has its special meaning. The little hole in the flat shell is "the eye with which pijakakipa sees everything that happens around it."

[823]

825 765 If a father has lost a son in death, he abandons the male animals that he kills or he throws them into the water. If a daughter has died, he does not touch the female animals that he catches. He does this for several weeks after the death of his child to express his grief over the loss and to avenge himself, as it were, on Watayinewa.

/1309 cont./

264 When one fails to observe this rule, his child will scream just as
821 incessantly as did the child of Yoálos (p. 1140). Moreover,
487 other people say that his canoe will run into bad weather.
Spencer:87 writes: "When crossing one of the Sounds, a man will paint broad transverse bands of black across the woman's face. This is supposed to ensure a fairweather crossing" /cited in English/. I did not learn anything about this from my informants, but I did hear that bad weather will set in immediately if someone pulls out tall reeds in a lagoon.

•823 Moreover, the Yamana are still imprisoned in a realm of superstitious notions about so-called baleful places. These are first of all the places that the Lakúma like to inhabit. No one should venture there in his canoe or gather mussels there. Besides the Lakúma and the malevolent Hapcélla, certain animals who are in contact with the yékamuś make a place dangerous for human beings. Friendly, well-meaning yékamuś warn people about these places, for they know from their dreams what the situation is and the danger a person can get into on that account. A person who unwittingly enters such a zone suddenly feels unwell; he becomes utterly weak and immediately falls asleep. /1310/ He is lost if a yékamuś is not called in time to free him from the pernicious influence of this baleful place. On March 21, 1923, Whaits told the following story. "In Lopatkja there is a fatal spot where even the fish are not spared. Once several men had set a net there. It was quickly filled with fish and the men began hauling it in. When they were near the shore with the heavy net, a strong force pulled out all the fish and the men stared astonished at the empty net." Earlier Bridges reported: "A certain Sisanianjix had made up his mind to settle out at a beautiful place some three miles from Ushuaia. Accordingly he went there with his wife and family, and one or two friends. These built a wigwam and had plenty of wood and water close at hand. But late in the afternoon they heard a strange voice or cry, whether from owl, hawk, bird, beast, or evil spirit they knew not and were too much frightened to go and ascertain, saying sapiccoosh, sapiccoosh, which means bloody arrow head. They forthwith packed up and hastened back to Ushuaia from the fatal spot" /cited in English/ (MM.XIII, 80; 1879).

/1211 cont./

There is a mountain massif in the west, whose highest peaks suggest the figure of a hunter carrying two wild geese on his back and accompanied on either side by a dog. This man turned to stone there, it is no longer known why, but anyone traveling near there is supposed to remain quiet. Spencer:82 writes: "Ken told me story of boiling lake high up on Hoste Island behind the tall snow peak on Dumas Peninsula seen from Rio Douglas. Too hot to hold hand in and very dangerous to go near" /cited in English/. It is not generally known that there are warm springs here and there in the Cape Horn Archipelago. Not far from Punta Remolino, at a considerable altitude, I myself visited a mineral spring. The following statement by Spencer:82 is vague: "There is a special cove on Tekenika Bay with a cave in which lives a dangerous spirit. No Yahgan dare stay there at night. George told Ken, who had done so, that he was lucky to have got out alive. Strange noises are always to be heard there at night time" /cited in English/. In the Yamana language there are several expressions which correspond exactly to our terms "lucky devil" and "unlucky fellow." According to Bridges (b):240, BD:42 gives, for example, mauwilus, "successful in hunting" /cited in English/, and the combinations that can be formed with it. The superstitious beliefs of the Yamana show their tendency to be afraid and their active imaginations. /Fig. 95 appears here./

/1212/ E. The Kina Celebration

The great significance of the youth initiation for the permanence of the social order of our Fueguians is outwardly expressed by the fact that the young people of both sexes are, without exception, obliged to take part in it on two occasions. By and large, the kinaya is obviously a continuance of parental rearing beyond the narrow confines of the family hut, and it has the special goal of making young people useful members of society. The definiteness of this goal is convincingly proved by the fact that, upon the conclusion of their initiation, the individual candidates enter adulthood and have the right to marry and found a family (p. 842). Later on, the knowledge that they have obtained

/1451 cont./

phases. Thus, hámuxa tajyígata is the full moon; aiuxíkira, the completely invisible new moon; yérum hámuxa, the waxing moon; and, finally, hámuxa hégku, the waning moon. The word hégku is probably the same as haiñ, "another, the other" /cited in English/, in SD:202. There are also other designations in SD for the phases of the moon. The Yamana like to measure time by the whole course of the moon. For example, someone will say: "Yérum hámuxa kótja-mui har-t-hajnía, I shall come again at the new moon" (357).

357. Hyades (p):340 and Spegazzini (s):169 also briefly referred to the various designations of time used by the Yamana.

As a result of their nomadic life, our Yamana are obliged to observe carefully the extremely changeable weather of their country and to interpret reliably every peculiar phenomenon. In the course of long experience they have attained positive mastery in this, and one can absolutely rely on their opinion. In their observations they usually take two or three phenomena into account at once, not least the behavior of animals. Nevertheless, a family will sometimes be overtaken by a sudden change in the weather and their lives endangered. The Yamana certainly do not lack expressions for individual aspects of the weather. Thunder, kikíka, is almost never heard in that region; our Fuegians have no definite explanation for it or for lightning (p. 21 /untranslated/) which is just as rare.

4. Geographical Knowledge

On their constant trips through the tortuous channels of the Cape Horn Archipelago our Yamana are confidently sure of themselves because they have a well developed sense of orientation to the quarters of the heavens. They have a wide choice of terms for them. /1452/ The basic terms are: ilu, ila, "the south, southward"; ilu ila, "east, in an easterly direction";

/1452 cont./

823 ĩŋga, "northerly, the north"; finally ĩnu, "in a westerly direction, the west." These root terms serve for all kinds of constructions. Instead of listing them, I refer the reader to BD. They are used very often, not only to describe the distribution of the large ethnic groups, but also to designate the directions of air and water currents, of swarms of birds and fish, or of a journey on foot or in a canoe. Accordingly, they say: ĩtulum-ãala, "people of the east." A more complete form of this is ĩtulum-dãulum-ãala. The word dãulum or dãualum means "from this place, from yonder." In contrast, there is ĩtalum-húša, "the east wind." It can be stated as a rule that an expression for a motion or an activity of motion at the same time indicates the particular direction. This kind of accuracy, which, as such, is still no proof of the richness of the language, may seem to us exaggerated, but it is valuable and sometimes of vital necessity to a nomadic Fuegian. An example may make this clear. If I am standing to the north and at some distance from a channel, looking south, I call the north coast of this channel kutãgutekaiyúša, but its southern coast ĩlakupe-hãuanči-yúša. Using this latter formation, the Yamana says ĩlakupe-ašãga, namely, a channel extending south of me, or, "ĩŋgakupe-ašãga," a channel which runs from my position to the north. As may be seen from these examples, the relationship of one thing to another in space is specifically designated. This is usually done with reference merely to the quarters of the heavens; often the vertical relation of a thing in space is expressed together with its horizontal relation, that is, according to the quarters of the heavens (358).

358. Bridges (h):206 several times confirmed the strikingly frequent use of designations for directions. Compare Furlong (r):171, Hyades (q):281, Lovisato (b):151.

103 Even more surprising is the almost unbelievably large number of place names. Coasts that are more frequently visited and sought out by individual families, above all those along Beagle Channel and Angostura Murray, have their own names which characterize very short distances or only one spot, a small projection or a rather large stone, a shallow or deep bend, a steep or

/1453 cont./

823 They are aided by a no less reliable and very accurate knowledge of places which they acquire by their frequent visits to each locality. Their memory of places is refreshed every time they take a canoe trip or stay anywhere. Thus one thing explains the other. Actually, the region comprising their native land, which every family constantly traverses, is not very extensive. They go beyond these boundaries only on special occasions and then they let themselves be guided by a family native to that region. Moreover, thanks to the excellent gift for observation with which our Fuegians are equipped, old and young really know every nook and rock, every inlet and coast, every brook and beach. The story of the origin of the many wide and narrow, quite irregular channels that make the whole Cape Horn Archipelago look like a land savagely torn to pieces is told in the tale about the Lašawáia rock (p. 1216 /untranslated/); the origin of the little brooks running down from the hills and mountains is explained in the Čilawáia-wátuwa (p. 1207 /untranslated/); legend even tells about the origin of the magnificent glaciers, known as dáun, in Brazo Nordoeste (p. 1233 /untranslated/).

805 823 Contrasted with this wealth of place names, the lack of designations expressing distances, intervals, and time is all the more striking. They usually refer to the position of the sun or the stars in order to determine the approximate time of day or night. Such estimates, of course, leave a wide margin of uncertainty which disturbs the Fuegian not at all. On his journeys and canoe trips he is, in any case, dependent on the quite unpredictable influences /1454/ of natural forces. He never knows beforehand how they will affect him. Those unbridled natural forces to which he is exposed are stronger than he; hence it would be senseless to set a goal to be reached in a short time under any circumstance. If our Fuegian wishes to designate a great distance, he speaks of two or three or many travel-days and estimates from six to eight hours for a single day of the journey. He does not lose or gain anything worth mentioning whether he reaches his goal sooner or later. In a most literal sense, no hour strikes to mar a person's happiness down there in the Cape Horn Archipelago!

/387 cont./

342 used except when the wind was too strong, in which case only one or the other was temporarily left open.

Inside the dwelling each family chose its particular place which it retained without any special boundary lines (42).

42. There were such boundaries in very isolated cases, however. Hyades (f) :556 says: "Twice at Orange Bay we saw huts with two or three interior compartments, niches made by vertical tree trunks. These niches served as quarters for the night for three or four persons" /translated from French/.

Members of the same family preferred to gather together on one side of the fire. Usually a single continuous fire extending the [372] entire length of the hut was kept going. In exceptional cases however, when members of an individual family chose their places on either side of the middle line, each family made its own fire, so that one could tell how many families there were from the number of separate fires. One could sometimes observe the same thing in the ordinary dome-shaped hut if, for some reason, two or three families were occupying it together for a few days (43).

43. Bridges (MM:XII, 11; 1878) once wrote: "There were three men, five women, and seven children in this wigwam, and three fires lit in different parts" /cited in English/.

573 The wide areas on either side of the center line where the fire was burning were the sleeping places, where the Indians squatted or lay stretched out during the day. Bunches of the long • [Poa] stems of Poa flabellata grass with its narrow leaves were preferred for a pallet. This served very well and became musty only after considerable time. It was then removed and replaced by a fresh layer. The lower part of the outside covering of the hut was 372 made tight to keep off the wind and to make the fire burn evenly. 342 Otherwise the smoke would be blown about, since the few

/418 cont./

515 The water of the sea and of brooks is always cold. Only rarely does it warm up somewhat in shallow bays.

These people often have to work in the water and are frequently drenched in heavy showers. That is probably why they have no inclination to make further use of the wet element. Hyades confirms this (q) :348: "Primarily it is rain or accidental immersions in the water of the sea that makes the Fuegians clean" /translated from French/. It is always dangerous to venture far out into the ocean. The many little torrents and streams are not deep enough to invite bathing. According to European opinion it takes the insensibility of an Indian to go about for days with[illegible] that dirt and dust and smoke (94). However, the fresh air which

94. What Snow (b):263 says is not in the least exaggerated: "The Fuegians are excessively dirty, and contact with them might well cause a man to shudder" /cited in English/.

constantly brushes the naked body stimulates the skin beneficially and covers up other discomfort.

Everyone much prefers a dry rub. This involves the entire body. If a person's dirty skin itches, he takes the gray, greasy clay that is found in some places, or the pale yellow kind that is more scarce, or even a rusty-brown clay, and mixes it with water and saliva in the cup of his hand to make a thick paste which he smears on his whole body. This gradually dries near the hut fire and, with the hand flat, is rubbed off in the form of a fine powder. This procedure cleanses like soap. Above all, it removes from the skin the greasy sheen from all the blubber, as well as the surface tan caused by the suffocating smoke. If the natives cannot find the gray clay nearby, they use a calcareous, almost powder-like sand, which, however, does not cleanse as thoroughly.

These people lack suitable material for drying themselves. If they are wet, they move close to the fire, and the radiating heat soon removes all the dampness from their bodies, or they hold their faces and hands over the fire. Sometimes they reach for
515 a dry ball of moss if it is available. They prefer chlir[1], a ball of
• 534 fine, loose, yellow shavings from the large-leafed barberry

515 /418 cont./
824 (Berberis ilicifolia, Fig. 17), huma, celia, which is obtained in the following way. They peel the bark off a twig as thick as one's thumb, scrape off the soft layer of fibers on the surface, and then, with a sharp-edged mussel shell and gentle pressure back and forth, they peel off /419/ the finest shavings. These are collected on a scrap of leather and must dry near the fire. By repeatedly squeezing the loose ball, a coarse powder is produced, which quickly absorbs any dampness. These shavings are kept in a piece of gut, and if anyone needs them he takes out a handful. He uses this
[854] substance exactly like a sponge. It is used mostly by a mother in washing and drying her infant, but almost all the people use it often to wipe under the arms -- custom demands this -- in order to prevent a bad odor, as they say.

515 These fine shavings are almost never used for a wet massage of face and body. For this they more often use a ball of moss saturated with water. Apparently Hyades (q):348 also makes this distinction: "When the natives see dirt on their bodies that demands attention, especially in the morning, ...they wipe themselves off with fine wood shavings that make a kind of tow, or they clean up by simply rubbing themselves with moss gathered around the hut, which is very wet and acts as a sponge" /translated from French/.

A person who has soiled his hands, whether it is with blood and dirt while working or with blubber and fat while eating or eviscerating an animal, rubs them off in the sand on the ground, on skins lying about, or on the hut covering. The fat dripping
515 from the fingers after a delicious roast is preferably rubbed on the
302 face and body to keep the skin soft and to protect it against the weather, hence the greasy shine of these people which gives them a strange appearance (p. 67). This is, of course, not provided naturally and is not sought for beautification, but rather it serves as protection for the body. On very cold days one or another of them will even pour a large quantity of liquid blubber over himself. The skin is never completely free of a visible layer of grease which is increased by continual contact with meat, fat, and greasy objects. The epidermis of these Indians is somewhat thicker
[147] than that of Europeans as a result of their complete lack of protection against the cold air. That is also the reason why the skin is less sensitive.

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137
•824

Fig. 17. Berberis ilicifolia. Natural size.

/442 cont./

396 After the man has separated the bark from the trunk at the
313 top and freed a space, he places first one and then the other foot into it. Now the weight of his body does the work. The more the sheet of bark is loosened, the farther he sinks down until finally he seems to be trapped between bark and trunk. He leans against the trunk and grasps the edges of the piece of bark with both hands, or he presses it away from his body with his hands flat. Stamping with his feet in this pinch, he finally peels it off entirely down to the bottom.

One can well imagine that this work is strenuous and uncomfortable, for the tough bark fibers cling fast and the strap does not give a firm hold. Sometimes the man makes it easier
[481] for himself by tying short wooden pegs, tstĕskasána, one above the other, to the trunk at given intervals. These he uses like steps, but only until he can slip between the loosened bark and the stripped surface of the trunk where he can hold himself.

Everyone knows that the best time to strip the bark easily
396 /443/ is during the spring weeks, from the middle of September
313 to the end of October (127), during which time metabolism in
824

127. Lovisato (b):134 extends this period, namely, from October to February, but Bridges (MM:VIII, 156; 1874) only to January.

the bast zone is very active and the turgescence of the tissues is very high. Of course, it does not fail to happen that a family loses its boat at some other time of year and that a man must, of necessity, decide to make a new one. Without delay he must obtain bark pieces, no matter how great the effort. He knows that at any other time but spring the stripped bark is more brittle and splits more easily, hence is less useful.

313 As a precaution in the spring a man occasionally peels off
396 pieces of bark which he does not need at the moment, but which he may later use for some urgent repair (128). This does not

128. "Not being able to build his boat except in the spring, the Fuegian foresightedly

/444 cont./

396 out the earth in the shape of the planned canoe. Then each of the two poles, kesci, one after the other, is sewn to the straight edge of the side sheet of bark, as the board. Their front ends later form the extreme point of the bow which rarely extends two to three centimeters above the bark.

396 For the sewing, one needs strips about one millimeter thick
283 and three millimeters wide from the most recent layer under the
[824] bark of young trunks of Nothofagus antarctica. They are extremely flexible and so tough that they neither peel off in strands nor break, even when they are dried out. If a person can get the more suitable strips of whalebone, he chooses them, but otherwise he must /445/ resort to using the former which he carefully prepares (130). Near the upper edge of the sheet of bark he bores

130. Hyades (q):351 describes how they are prepared: "One divides the fibers of whalebone or of the layer under the bark into strips of equal length and thickness, polished on the edges by being scraped with broken shells" /translated from French/. They are kept under water so as not to dry out or warp prematurely.

a small hole with a pointed bone awl and sticks the strip of wood fiber, ũ̃i, through it, draws it over the little pole, pulls it tight and continues in spirals about 13 centimeters apart until its entire length is fastened to the edge of the bark. The latter is safely protected by each of the two poles.

Before the long center piece of bark is fastened to the
396 lower edges of the two side sections, approximately eight cross-
[824] bars are fastened to the top. For these witéga, one chooses branches as thick as a thumb from the ãjakuʷ (Maytenus magellanica), whose wood is very tough and hard. He scrapes off the bark and at either end carves a stub-like button. Around the somewhat thinner neck just in front of this button he winds the uʷi thread, and with this he ties each end of the crossbar to the upper edge of the sheet of bark. The deep tapering of the crossbars just short of their ends serves as a collar for the ũ̃i strip, preventing it from slipping in either direction. The center crossbar is, of course, the

/446 cont./

396 are put into place on bow and stern. Sometimes only the one on the bow is deemed sufficient, if the excellence of the large bark pieces permits the one on the stern to be omitted. I was told that the construction of the canoe is sounder if the three large pieces of bark do not all taper to fine points at either end, but are cut off straight. The short triangular end pieces that are sewed to the cut surface prevent any tearing or splitting of the keel strip because they fit loosely. These two lãnčinix are also sewed on with [283 ũ̃ni threads. Moreover, a thread made of braided mápi 824] Marsippospermum grandiflorum) is wound tight around the extreme tip, its free end knotted on the last or the next-to-the-last small crossbar. This prevents the fine tip from twisting outward which it tends to do because it frequently gets damp and then dries again.

The middle third of the edges on both sides of the canoe is most subject to damage, for this is where one climbs in and out and also where most of the things are loaded. Hence, for greater safety, they make a separate gunwale of pieces of bark from a [824] trunk of Maytenus magellanica as thick as an arm. They peel off the bark and split it into equal halves; these are immediately placed on the edges of the canoe, each between two crossbars. Each half bends to form a half cylinder and is automatically clamped into place; it needs no other fastening. This bark facing, tétaka, has another advantage. It extends along the section in which the woman sits to row and thus protects her arms from injury. In rowing and steering she often rests them on the gunwale.

The outer construction of the canoe is now finished. It needs only a few additions to give it support and firmness. For this purpose, slender wooden ribs as thick as a finger are used, [824] namely, branches of Drimys winteri or of a Nothofagus, split down the middle. Both ends are cut to a short point, and the individual ribs bent into a half circle. They are arranged according to their length and pressed into the belly of the canoe so that they lie tight against the entire inner wall and are clamped under the gunwale on either side. These wooden ribs, tstekila, are close to each other; about 50 are used altogether. Before they are finally clamped into place, the small spaces and holes between them and the lower half of the canoe wall are stuffed with moss, algae, and grasses, for the thin-walled construction requires a great deal of calking. The vegetable matter used for this purpose is known

/464 cont./

411 The bow and arrow of the Yamana, however, merit a separate description.

To our regret, only four genuine specimens have been preserved from the older cultural heritage of the southernmost Fuegians. These will be dealt with primarily in the following description. For the bow stave, known as wēana, wāiana, [824] waiyana, they use, without exception, the wood of an Antarctic beech, almost always Nothofagus betuloides (165). As a whole

165. Erroneously Hyades (q):298 maintains that the Yamana use the wood of Maytenus magellanica for the bow stave. Actually this is almost absolutely inflexible.

the bow is somewhat shorter and also somewhat thinner than that of the Selk'nam. This explains why it has a greater curvature which is said to increase the propelling power of the string. The bow is scraped until the diameter of the center piece is 22 millimeters at the most. From the center which shows a roundish, almond-shaped transverse section, the bow stave tapers in both directions and terminates in short blunt ends. The distance in a straight line between these two ends varies between 120 and 160 centimeters, according to the general terms used by Martial:193.

411 The ethnographic collection of the University of Göttingen
114 is justifiably proud of owning two bow staves which reached Europe through James Cook's second expedition. One of these belonged for a time to the private collection of the naturalist Reinhold Forster who, with his son George, took part as a scientist in that circumnavigation of the earth (166). /465/ These rare

166. These accounts permit us to draw a conclusion as to the origin of the two bow staves. As is known, Cook's fleet spent about a week toward the end of December, 1774, at Isla Waterman in the Paso de Navidad, during which time they were twice visited by the native Fuegians (p. 57 /untranslated/). When they sailed on, the fleet was becalmed in front of Bahía de

283 /466/ brought back the bowstrings are now missing. Of the two
411 in the Peabody Museum Lothrop (b):156 says that their "bowstrings are of guanaco-sinew" /cited in English/ (169). The latter,

> 169. In a few older reports they are erroneously said to be "gut."

known as sáli, are attached exactly as they are on the bow of the Selk'nam, namely, at one end by means of a running knot and at the other by being wound around it several times (see Fig. 31 in Vol. I, 231). A strip of leather as a bowstring is obviously much less elastic.

β. The Arrow

411 The navigators of earlier times repeatedly saw the arrow in the hands of these Fuegians, but instead of describing it in detail, most of them were content to mention it briefly. Weddell noted few details. The arrow of the Yamana also resembles that
[171] of the Selk'nam in every respect; the latter is in general somewhat longer. Lothrop (b):155 calls it "short, clumsy, and untapered -- very crude indeed compared with Ona workmanship" /cited in English/. As far as I know, there is not an arrow preserved anywhere from olden times, and the available descriptions from the last decades are more or less inadequate. For whatever I have been able to discover about this at one time significant weapon, I am indebted chiefly to old Whaits, who, as a young man, made a few samples of them. Personally I did not succeed in seeing an arrow made by the hand of a Yamana.

Here, too, as on Isla Grande, they choose the small stems
[824] of Berberis ilicifolia, sometimes even the branches of Maytenus
411 magellanica for the arrow shaft. Hence it is also called ʌiyakuʌ,
322 a name for the latter tree. The stick, still green, is given its final shape by constant scraping with a sharp-edged mussel shell. The middle third bulges slightly in contrast to the two ends. The high polish and final smoothing of the surface of the shaft is obtained by a gentle rubbing with pumice. Before that the man repeatedly straightens it by holding it between his teeth and

/470 cont./

3. The Small Harpoon

225 411 For nourishment the Yamana are almost as dependent on pinnipeds as they are on mussels. Fortunately these animals lie about on the rocks and islands in large herds and cross the individual channels in all directions (p. 38 /untranslated/). The hunter goes after them with his small seal harpoon (Fig. 33). I use this term to distinguish the weapon I wish to describe here from other similar specimens (175).

175. Lothrop (b):152 describes this weapon as consisting of "a heavy shaft and a detachable head joined to the shaft by a thong" /cited in English/.

411 313 [824] The small harpoon is a powerful missile, and for this reason the shaft must be long, heavy, and absolutely straight. For it, almost without exception, the wood of the evergreen beech (Nothofagus betuloides) is chosen, since its trunk usually has a very regular shape and the younger trees have sound wood for a long time. It takes a good eye to find a suitable trunk; it must be flawless if the weapon is to function dependably. It is troublesome to fell the tree. A ring of bark a hand's breadth wide is cut out just above the ground. Then, with a shell knife or a sharpened mussel shell, the layers of wood fibers are scraped off, one after the other, until the incision is deep enough. The running knot of a long strap, wusukesa, is thrown into the high branches and pulled tight. Then a man swings from it and, aided by his own body weight, tugs until the incised portion breaks through. He immediately cuts off the upper part with the crown in the manner described above, /471/ and he now has a trunk about four meters long lying on the ground. /Fig. 33 appears here./ To cut the suitable piece out of this is a no less protracted and arduous task. The man is aiming for the middle third between the pith and the bast zone. He splits off almost half of it with the bone wedge, tukalapēna (Fig. 26) and with a suitable stone as hammer; he has to split the remaining piece lengthwise a second and third time. Finally, by carefully peeling off in splinters the

/473 cont./

411 easily overtake it. If it flees into a floating /474/ cluster of
225 algae, the dragging shaft will inevitably get tangled up, and the exhausted animal will certainly fall into the hands of its pursuer.

Extraordinary ingenuity has invented this weapon and perfected it. It works with surprising certainty.

4. The Large Harpoon

What we have just discovered about the working principle of the small harpoon also controls the missile that I call the large harpoon (Fig. 35): the wounded animal must not escape the hunter who has just delivered a piercing blow. The two weapons differ only in a minor factor, which, however, furnishes brilliant testimony of the keen power of invention of the Indians. Earlier observers speak about the harpoons, but the way in which they safely and easily deliver the booty into the hands of the Indian is nowhere described. It is this which reveals the great efficiency of these weapons.

In most of its details the large harpoon is like the small one, and the latter can be transformed into the former with a few manipulations. Above all, the shaft, for which the hard wood of the evergreen beech is chosen, must be altogether even and about three meters long. If it were bent only the slightest bit or otherwise defective, there would not be sufficient certainty of hitting the target. In general our natives do not handle their implements very cautiously or carefully, but every man treats his missile weapons with care and a certain amount of attention. He places them as upright as possible beside his hut, and in the canoe he lays them safely in the bow section so that they do not warp. The wood for the shaft is taken out of the concentric layers
• [824] of a younger Nothofagus betuloides in the manner shown in Figure 34.

411 Earlier accounts of this are inaccurate and incomplete.
824 Anyone who knows the various species of Fuegian wood will never agree with Hyades (h):24 and (q):352 that the trunk of Drimys winteri (p. 28 /untranslated/) is also suitable for the harpoon shaft. The situation is different with the young trunks of the Fuegian cypress (Libocedrus tetragona), lipaix, which always

/474 cont./

411 grow perfectly straight and have the great advantage of being
•824 heavy. They do not flourish on Beagle Channel, however, except in one or two places in the west (179), and for most of the Yamana they are

179. On my fourth expedition I had definite proof of specimens of Libocedrus tetragona in Puerto Edwards on the southern shore of Brecknock Peninsula. This is the southern boundary for this species. Skottsberg (g):28 suspects that it extends somewhat farther south, namely, to Isla Chair in Darwin Sound.

[137]

simply inaccessible. Hence one sees all of them carrying merely a shaft made from the evergreen beech, Nothofagus betuloides, which is uniformly octagonal. Furthermore, one can /475/ observe as the average cross-section a rectangle of about 35 millimeters in width and 28 millimeters in height with the four /Fig. 35 appears here/ corners removed, producing the octagonal form. Shafts with six uniform sides are not as common as those mentioned above.

411 225 The narrow slit at the upper end of this large harpoon is, of course, also meant for a bone point which is jammed into it; a narrow leather strip is

[284]

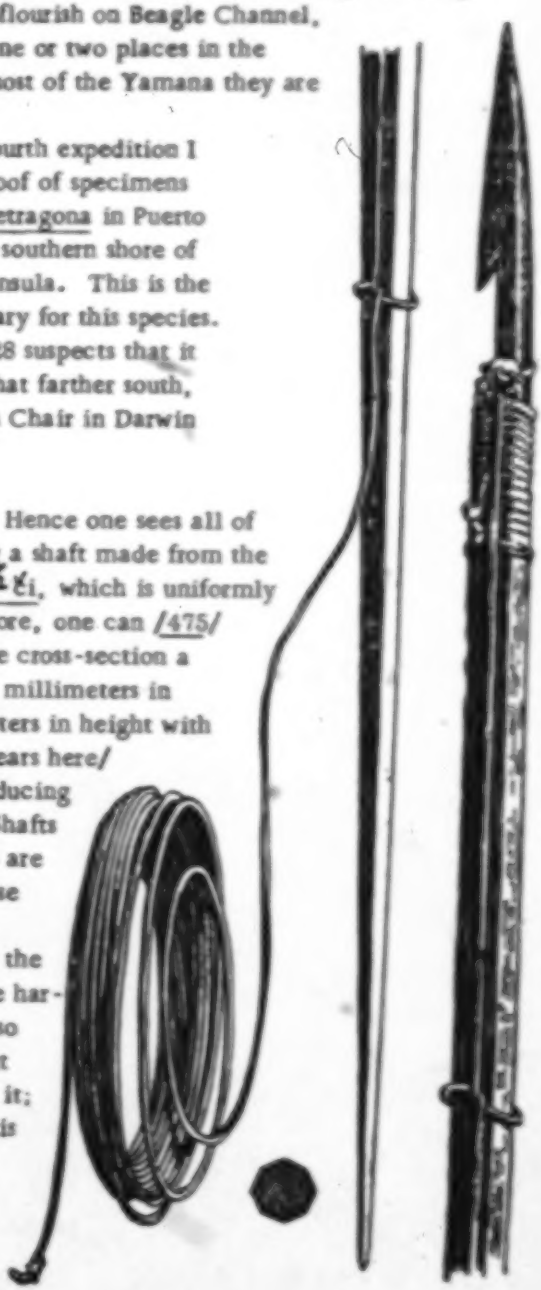

Fig. 35. The Large Harpoon.

/478 cont./

411 This bird spear, as we might call it (Fig. 37), is perceptibly
237 lighter than a harpoon. The fish spear is even lighter. It is the same length and must therefore be as light as possible in order to be handled easily and quickly. For the shaft, a specially selected small trunk of the evergreen beech is used; a partial notch is likewise cut into the thicker end and a shorter bone or wood point with a serrated edge is set in it. For the latter the most suitable wood is [124] that of Berberis ilicifolia which is very tough and flexible. Hence this wooden point, hima ímpa, has the great advantage of durability; it is also incomparably quicker to make than the serrated bone point.

Since the fish offers only a narrow striking surface, the Yamana makes use of the double-pointed spear (184). He selects a shaft that

184. Spear:59 maintains that sometimes even three points were used for the fish spear, "and the barbs were all on the inside" /cited in English/. This is unknown to me and is reported by no other traveler. I saw such fish spears among the Halakwulup, however.

[124] forms a wide octagon in section. He usually cuts it out of Nothofagus betuloides. At the top he cuts out two long, flat notches, opposite each other and separated by a thin layer of wood. Into each one he places a serrated bone point, and both of them are lashed and held fast with the same leather strap. The two points stand slightly apart from each other because the back of each is curved. This considerably increases the possibility of hitting a fish (Fig. 37). /479/ /Fig. 37 appears here./ Even if the point does not penetrate very far, each tooth pointing downward acts as a barbed hook and the shaft as ballast, precluding escape (185).

185. Lothrop (b):153 also mentions a Guanaco-spear" of the eastern Yamana. I believe he bases this on doubtful reports. What he illustrates is obviously the fish spear of the Selk'nam. See Figure 40 in Volume I, 245.

/479 cont./

411 mentioned that the shafts of harpoons and spears are sometimes rubbed with imi. The purpose of this is to beautify them; moreover, experience has proved that they are then easier to grasp and hold with the fist.

6. Dagger and Lance

It is easy to understand that the reports from earlier times are not as accurate and comprehensive in many details as we would wish. Many observers have not discussed the difference between dagger and arrow and have identified one with the other, probably because of the great similarity between their points. /480/ Those seafarers were completely unfamiliar with the things that the shell mounds have brought to light in modern times. All the more should attention be given to the reference offered only by Weddell (a):110 in December, 1823, that the arrow should be distinguished from the dagger. After describing the arrow as "having a triangular pointed stone forced in at the front," he added: these natives "also had another weapon, namely, a similarly formed stone is fitted into the top of a handle nine inches long and probably serves as a dagger."

As a matter of fact, the Yamana use this short thrusting weapon, which can properly be designated as a dagger (Fig. 38) (187). It

[171]

187 Among the Halakwulup I often came across this weapon. From them came the four beautiful daggers with glass points which the Natural History Museum in Vienna acquired through Hagenbeck toward the end of the 1880's.

consists of a shaft as thick as one's thumb, about 30 centimeters long, for which the tough wood of Berberis ilicifolia is preferred. [124] A stone point is forced into the completely open, narrow notch on the thicker end of the shaft. The point is secured by means of several lashings /Fig. 38 appears here/ of a small strap or thick sinew. The stone point, always referred to as yekus, has a triangular

/486 cont./

223 running loops of whalebone are placed at intervals" /translated from French/ (196).

196. There is a good illustration in Hyades (q):Plate XXX. Lothrop (b):157 calls attention to the large snare-line of the Selk'nam; he overlooks the fact that this differs in the arrangement of the whalebone running-loops of our Yamana.

It is best suited to catch wild geese, which prefer a certain locality. Here this snare-line is spread out on the level ground, pulled taut, and finally tied at either end to a post driven into the ground. It is of little or no use for catching other birds. Hyades (q):304 expresses himself too vaguely when he says, "this snare is used to catch large birds" /translated from French/. That is also the reason why only a few Yamana families actually own and use this article, since it is laborious to make and must be very carefully stored. Thus it represents a considerable value.

β. The Snare-rod

Whereas the long snare-line serves to catch masses of birds, another implement which I call the snare-rod catches them singly. With this the Indian stalks chiefly geese and ducks, but also cormorants and penguins. Hence one sees this akimuk, as the implement is called, in almost every family.

It consists of two parts. A light, long rod as a shaft, known as yéyakir, with a rounded, smooth surface is nothing more than [824] a young trunk of Nothofagus betuloides or Maytenus magellanica, which has been treated by a long process of scraping. It must be very light, hence Drimys is not suitable. The average diameter is evenly scaled down /487/ to 15 millimeters. This shaft tapers a very little at either end and very gradually. The longer it is, the more suitable.

223 284 At the top a large noose of whalebone is attached, and thus the whole thing appears, as Hyades (q):359 expresses it, like "a

/487 cont./

227 The Indian woman uses the so-called mussel fork, which the calls kalma, in order to loosen the cluster-like accumulations on the deep coastline and to break off the individual shells on the stalks of Macrocystis algae. The husband must make this implement for her, for he alone has the necessary tools. He chooses for the shaft /488/ a young tree as tall as possible. He prefers [124] Maytenus magellanica, the wood of which is heavier than that of the beech. He takes the bark off the little trunk and smooths it well, cutting off the upper end somewhat obliquely. He allows a length of two and a half meters and more.

The actual fork, which is only about one-fifth as long as the shaft, yéyakír, is lashed onto the latter with a narrow leather strap. The only suitable wood for this is hóma, the large Berberis [124] ilicifolia which is extraordinarily tough and hence very flexible. A rather thick small stem is split lengthwise, the more suitable half is cut off at the bottom like a spatula, and a long incision is made to produce a two-pronged fork. A small, short wooden plug is inserted into this slit and lashed with a braided thread of rush or with whalebone (197); this keeps it always open. Through

197. Lothrop (b):154 reproduces what he calls a "limpet-spear" /sic in English/, in which the short plug is lashed with a narrow strip of whalebone. Figure 61 of the present work shows a lashing with braided rush stalks.

its own expansion the layers of wood fibers warp so advantageously that the entire piece seems curved outward. This slight bending facilitates penetration into the clustered accumulations of mussel shells. The upper part of the fork is whittled all around and tied to the shaft (Fig. 61).

226 The Indian woman lets this long implement glide from her canoe perpendicularly into the depths. She uses it, however, only on days when the sea is calm and the water transparent (198).

198. Hyades (Q):369 writes: "This fishing is common practice and each canoe is always furnished with tools for this purpose" /translated from French/.

/488 cont./

226 She loosens each individual shell, breaks it off from the place where it is lodged, and lifts it up. The mussel fork almost always lies in the front part of the canoe between the harpoons and spears of the husband, since it is taken here.

227 226 When the Indian woman, walking on the uncovered sea-floor at ebb tide or wading in the water, breaks off the mussel shells, she perceptibly lessens the strain on her hands if she uses a pointed stick which I call the mussel breaker (Fig. 42). This is nothing more than a sturdy stem or [224] thick branch of Berberis ilicifolia. The husband makes it for his wife. He removes the twigs smoothly but leaves the bark, since its rough surface always assures the hand a firm grip, no matter how thoroughly the stick is soaked with sea water. It was just mentioned that the wood of this bush is very tough, yet soft and pliable. Another type of wood would seldom stand the strain of the springy movements which are necessary to pry off the mussels. At the bottom the mussel breaker is cut off in the shape of a chisel and with a dull edge so that it can easily dig deeply enough into the clustered accumulations of mussels. The woman is very adept at handling it effortlessly.

/489/ If she does not happen to have it, she reaches for a /Fig. 42 appears here/ stick the length of an arm which she cuts to a short, dull point. With this wasinix she pokes into the cluster of mussels, moving the upper free end back and forth until the individual animals are loosened.

226 The very tasty oxysomes are also appreciated by the [242] Yamana as a delicacy. We refer to the large apiya (Lithodes antarctica) and the small ushkiu (Paralomis granulosa). These animals are found there in considerable numbers and constantly move up and down the coast on the sea floor according to the movements of ebb and flow. They are always, however, under a considerable amount of water. The natives are not always successful in diving to catch them because they may in the depths and seek to 227 escape. Hence a long implement has been invented which it seems suitable to call a crab fork and which the Yamana call sina (Fig. 43) Its basic form corresponds precisely to the

Fig. 42.
Mussel Breaker.

/489 cont./

227 mussel fork. There is a complete description of it elsewhere, as well as a discussion of how it is used.

The bark of a small, straight trunk of the evergreen beech is [124] scraped off and the surface made octagonal. For the part that is added on, the natives choose a small, thick stem of the large barberry, hima, the particular suitability of which has been repeatedly described. They split it crosswise two-thirds of its total length, and the four prongs are pried apart with two small, short wooden plugs. These prongs are tapered to blunt ends. The other end, after it has been suitably cut off, is lashed tight to the shaft with a snap or with a small cord of braided rushes. Colini: 161 describes a specimen, the total length of which is 3.25 meters; most of them are not longer. The thinner it is, the more suitable.

226 The Indian woman slides this long fork perpendicularly into the depths from her canoe and pushes the prongs into the round, flat calcareous shell of the so-called cephalothorax of a crab. The pressure and construction which these prongs cause among the broken particles prevent the whole animal from sliding off when it is being drawn up, no matter how actively it wriggles with its long legs. In the canoe the Indian woman strips it off the prongs with her feet while she holds the crab fork perpendicularly in her hands, whereupon the animal falls to the bottom of the boat.

It is, of course, again the duty of the husband to make this [162] crab fork for his wife. While he is working on the shaft, he protects his hand with a special piece of leather (Fig. 28).

/490/ ♂. The Fishline

The tender, fresh meat of fish is a welcome change for the Yamana in their somewhat monotonous diet. Sometimes the man throws a spear toward a larger fish that is resting in a shallow cove or that elsewhere affords a sure target. Much more often the Indian woman is busy with her fishline which she merely slips into the water from her canoe, never from the beach and still less by means of any kind of long fishing rod.

/490 cont./

227 Two types of fishline are used, and they differ from one an-
283 other only in the actual line. One is nothing more nor less than
a small, pencil-thick stem of the large brown alga (Macrocystis
[924] pyrifera) from which, with the fingernail, the branches are re-
moved so close to the stalk that it seems quite smooth (Fig. 63).
After each use it is rolled up; hence it dries very slowly and does
not readily become brittle. When it is needed, 20 minutes in
the water will suffice to soften it up completely and make it
flexible once more.

The other fishline is braided out of three thin filaments of sinew. Like the one mentioned first, it is eight and more meters long (Fig. 64). To make it last longer, it, too, is rolled up, but into a tight ball, after each use (199). The latter is incom-

199. Bridges (MM:III, 115; 1869) briefly describes both types. Hyades (g):38 repeated: "The lines are made partly out of dried seaweed [Macrocystis pyrifera], partly out of seal tendons, and are lowered with a stone tied to them." See Krickeberg: 320 and Lovisato (b):142.

parably more durable and proves to be much more trustworthy when it is hauled in.

227 Both lines terminate in a loop with a running knot made out
284 of a quill. When it is opened up, it measures about 12 centi-
meters. Since the actual line ends in a small knot, the upper end of the quill is joined on in front of the knot. Along its smooth surface the running loop moves without any friction. As bait it holds a small piece of seal meat or a small mussel.

227 Since the bait must sometimes be sunk to considerable depths, a sinker is indispensable. The natives use any stone with flat sides and irregular edges. It is about three centimeters high. The line is wound around it, about eight centimeters above the loop. In the central Yamana regions the natives sometimes select the round black stone tesi, but few women have any of them handy.

226 Every Indian woman is extraordinarily skillful in fishing. Since she does not use an actual fish hook, she waits until the fish has swallowed the bait and only then very gently pulls up the

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/501 cont./
several of these small bags and described them in detail, as did Lothrop (b): 133. Compare Spegazzini (a): 162 and Colini:238.

the freshly removed bird skin inside out so that the feathered side is on the inside.

Dried pieces of gut and the dried stomach of smaller seals are also used as small bags. They are popular as containers for pigments and liquid blubber, for they are impermeable. These things are known as yáj (Fig. 20).

415 The above-mentioned articles of leather and skin are neither very strong nor particularly durable. Even more fragile and delicate are the buckets and smaller vessels made of bark. Such containers are not suitable for the type of life led by the Selk'nam; however, they are serviceable for the Yamana because they can be easily kept in the canoe and taken along. There is a larger type, kāla, xāla, and a smaller, tūku. BD:201, 469 also distinguishes between kāla, "a bark bucket," and tūkū, "a bark bailer" /cited in English/. The complete name for the large pail is ajyūšu xāla in the western dialect, and āta, xāla in the eastern dialect.

415 When one wants to make a pail, he peels a ring out of the
322 bark of an evergreen beech with the usual bone tools. The outer rind and the inner dry bark fibers are scraped off; then all the edges are cut very evenly. Before the piece of bark curls up by drying its longitudinal edges are sewed together, carefully well overlapped. A round bottom of the same bark is set in and secured by means of a seam that runs all the way around. To prevent the upper edge from tearing a flexible strip of the soft wood layer of
[824] Drimys winteri is placed around it and sewed on. Whalebone strips
[283] as well as thin bundles of bast-fiber are used to sew it. A short leather strap or a braided rush cord is knotted above the opening as a handle. This makes it easy to handle the bucket which is up to 30 centimeters high and has a diameter of 13 centimeters (Fig. 48). For /502/ smaller vessels they take the bark of Drimys winteri
[824] and even of Maytenus magellanica, both of which have less tendency to curl because their bark is thicker than that of beeches. For these they do no more than make a longitudinal seam and set in a

/502 cont./

415 water from nearby streams and lagoons in the large bark buckets (216).

216. These bark receptacles are mentioned and described in Cañas Pinochet:358, Dabbene (b):181, Hyades (q):307, Lothrop (b):131, Martial:192, Spegazzini (a):163, Wieghardt: 27, and others.

11. Baskets

The baskets are excellently adapted for collecting and storing the always wet shellfish. These baskets lie around in the huts and in the canoes /503/ of our Fuegians in larger numbers than /Fig. 49 appears here/ among the Selk'nam. They are the property of the woman because they were made by her. Only women and girls, less often boys, reach for them when mussels and snails, berries, and fruits are to be gathered; a man never carries a basket in his hand.

[422 462]

285 Judged according to weaving technique, our Indians have three different kinds. I believe I must adhere to this grouping, although Lothrop (b):138 speaks of four kinds. Below, a net-like container, čaɯwénux, čaɯwénnuš, will be described, which he and others regard as a basket.

[824]

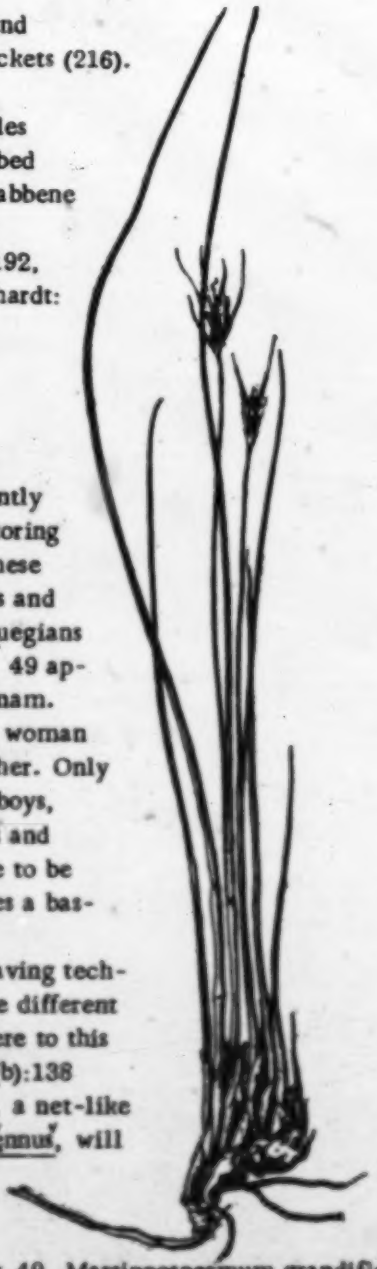

Fig. 49. Marsippospermum grandiflorum.

/503 cont./

285 In my opinion, however, this view is not justified, since the individual rush stalks are not braided in this case, but stretched in parallel rows. It is used like a sieve-shaped scoop on a long handle. The three actual baskets (217) show a coil construction

217. To be sure Bridges writes: "The woman has three kinds of baskets, called respectively touwella, cijim and jowwunnoosh" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 115; 1869); obviously he did not at that time know how to distinguish accurately between the designations. The observation of Hyades (h):5 was inadequate. He asserts that "the baskets are of two kinds; the one with fine meshes is called taouala, the other, loosely meshed, is called kafdjime" /translated from French/. Lovisato (b):140 speaks of three kinds, and Cooper: 204 agrees.

in their weave. Seen in profile, they show a very definite short-oval outline.

[824] The native rushes, Marsippospermum grandiflorum, known as mápi, are used exclusively. This species flourishes abundantly in swamp and moor, has a sturdy, round stem, reaches a height of 50 centimeters, and is dark green (Fig. 49). The Indian woman, with a single jerk, pulls out three to five stalks and places them together in a bunch. She gathers at one time only as much as she can conveniently grasp with one hand, for dried stalks break easily and are no longer suitable for braiding. In her hut she arranges smaller bunches of about 20 stalks, grasps each of them with both hands, and holds the lower part in the fire where it burns down to within /504/ five centimeters of the root. At the same time she quickly draws the length of it through the flame. The heat makes the hard but damp stalk extraordinarily flexible. Without delay, while this little bunch is still hot, she bends it downward in the middle, takes this middle section between her teeth and twists the free ends spirally lengthwise. Then she immediately loosens this braid of rushes and stretches the little

/507 cont./

285 it wide open, a narrow wooden hoop is drawn through the top row of coils which are looser here. This hoop is preferably cut from a
[824] stem of the pliable, tough Berberis ilicifolia. The entire loose weave is lightly and flexibly suspended from it. /Figure 52 appears here./ A handle made of three braided rush strings is fastened to the wooden hoop. These strings are knotted together at the highest point where they meet.

Since the baskets are not only used a great deal, but also

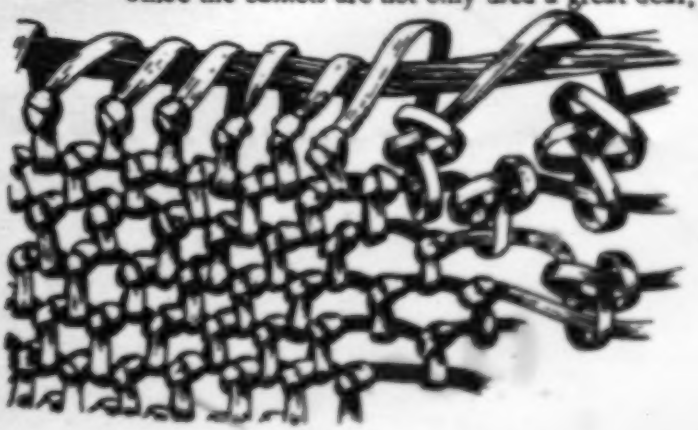

Fig. 52. Rim Section of the Open Basket Weave. Natural size.

easily damaged, every Indian woman always has several of them.
285 In her free moments she is constantly busy /Fig. 53 appears here/
461 with her basketry. Just as in Europe a housewife who sits down to rest for a bit or chats comfortably with another person will take out her knitting, so the Fuegian woman in a similar situation turns to her basketry. It is hard to judge how many hours she spends on a basket, for she fills many and different intervals of time with this occupation. Sometimes her already weary hands will move slowly;
285 some women are extraordinarily deft at it. A capable basket-weaver

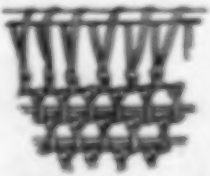

Fig. 53. The Open Basket-work.

/540 cont./

226 trouble to seek out the preferable spots where there are large shells. Sitting in the canoe, she breaks them off with a long wooden fork (Fig. 61) and lifts them up with it. Even the husband sometimes reaches for this useful tool while the woman tends to the boat, if there is a possibility that a current might push it off. The people call the tool kalána; I designate it as "long mussel fork." It consists of a head and a long stick with a square cross-section (265). A suitable stem of

227

265. It was well illustrated and described by Hyades (h):13 and (q):300, 368. Lothrop (b):155 gives it as "limpet-spear" /cited in English/, Hyades (h):13 as "a hafted, slit spatula of wood" /translated from French/.

[224]

Nothofagus betuloides is chosen, or Maytenus magellanica, which they like even better. The latter is heavier and stronger and makes the work easier for the woman. The upper part is always made out of the tough wood of the large barberry (Berberis ilicifolia). A stem about three centimeters thick is split down the middle, the suitable part freed of bark and flattened on either side until it resembles a chisel. The upper, wider end is split into two prongs which are held apart by the insertion of a short wooden plug about as thick as a pencil. This is put approximately in the center of the entire groove of the split and is tied with a braided rush thread, a whalebone strip, or a bast fiber. The thicker end of the long pole is also flattened on its broad side; the two pieces are fitted against each other and secured with a narrow leather strap or a braided rush cord, just as in the case

Fig. 61. Mussel Fork.

/544 cont./

226 however, that the Indian woman "practices (this type of fishing) with extreme dexterity" /translated from French/.

3. Oxystomes. More important than sea urchins for the Indian household are the large oxystomes plentiful in those waters, namely, stekálus (Paralomis granulosus) and the much larger axíya (Lithodes antarctica). The latter are sometimes 60 centimeters wide between the fourth pair of feet. These animals move across the sea floor, proceeding slowly toward the shore during high tide and then back to the middle of the channel toward the end of low tide, in other words, in the direction of the water according to the tides. The Indian women take advantage of their habits. They go out to catch crabs about two hours before the tide rises because at that time the animals are nearest to the surface and are just beginning to move back from the shore, following the ebb.

227 Oxystomes can be reached only with the canoe which the woman rows, and by means of the long crab-fork, known as sírsa. Usually /545/ one woman will steer the canoe and another will fish. For the above-mentioned fork (Fig. 62) they choose a perfectly straight, light pole about two and a half meters long from [824] the young trunks of Nothofagus betuloides or Drmys winteri or Maytenus magellanica. The bark is scraped off and a smooth surface obtained. The first of the above trees is preferred, and from this they fashion an even, octagonal shaft. In the case of the other trunks their roundness is retained. The added part consists of [824] a stick about 70 centimeters long of Berberis ilicifolia, the upper half of which is split twice crosswise. The four prongs are whittled to a sharp point and spread apart somewhat with two short small plugs forming a cross and tied together with a braided cord of rushes. Both parts are flattened so that they fit well on top of each other and are then lashed with a narrow leather strap. The expansion of the tough, flexible barberry wood explains the fact that the four prongs are slightly curved outward. This piece was drawn through the fire for a short time as soon as the stick was cut off from the root and split. No other wood is so suitable, and the Yamana know this from long experience (p. 254).

226 It is possible to catch oxystomes (Notopoda) only when the sea is calm, because the Indian woman must look for each individual

/546 cont./

226 Although in general fish adds a welcome change to the monotonous diet of the Indian, it is by no means of real significance for his nourishment. Referring to this, Hyades (h):14 has very much exaggerated. For example, no one touches the representatives of the order Harpagifer, tā́pun, tḗppun, although they would be very easy to catch. They are about as long as one's hand and have a broad head. They remain in the residual pools and cling to wet stones when the tide recedes.

[462] It is exclusively the woman's occupation and task to fish with a line for certain smaller salt-water species. A man would never do this. The women use two different kinds of lines (see Hyades 227 [q]:303). They fish with a line throughout the year, but only 283 when the sea is calm (279). The woman makes the very simple

279. To say that a woman fishes only "three months," that is, in summer with its long days, as Hyades does (q): 370, is unjustified.

[824] line (Fig. 63) herself. She chooses a long pencil thick stem of the easily obtainable large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera) and removes the few branches by snipping them off lightly with her fingernail. In this way she produces an almost smooth thread, tuína, tḗkēpuwa. Since it is elastic, it can be easily wound into a loose coil. In the shade it dries only partially so that it remains 227 slightly damp. Any dull-colored, flattened, irregular stone about the size of a pocket watch will do as a sinker (280). The line is

280. In an emergency the woman will even use a longish, stone spear-point as a sinker. This may have led some less careful observers to conclude that the Yamana use actual fish hooks such as are employed elsewhere.

wound around it and knotted so that the free end hangs down a few centimeters /547/ below it. This end is finished off with a small knot, into which is fastened a fiber from the quill of a stout bird feather, about ten centimeters long and four millimeters wide. The quill tapers somewhat /Fig. 63 appears here/ at the bottom and ends in a running knot that holds the bait. The latter consists

/550 cont./

226 limitless voracity; finally the remainder decays. As soon as the mounting stench becomes somewhat more penetrating, the many people that have assembled quickly leave the place and scatter in all directions.

/551/ Sometimes similar shoals of ilēšči (Clupea arcuata and Clupea pectinata) travel into the inner channels or encircle larger inlets without running up on the beach. The Indians clearly recognize them by their numerous and varied followers. As quickly as possible they row after the shoal and try to approach it from the side without getting into the throng. With a special basket known [227 285] as čauwénux (Fig. 65) (291),

291. In order to avoid confusion, I shall retain the designation "fishing basket," because it is made of the same type of rush (Marsippospermum grandiflorum) as the other three types of baskets, but without a complex weave of the rush stalks. Compare Hyades (q):372. Lothrop (b):160 called it "Fish-net" /cited in English/. [324]

Fig. 65. Fishing Basket. One third natural size.

/Fig. 65 appears here/ they scoop the small fish directly out of the water into their canoe. While one of the women tends to the vessel, the other sticks the loose fishing-basket on the end of a pole about one and a half meters long. She grasps the lower end of the pole and, from the canoe, draws the upper part with the basket through the water as though the whole thing were a large ladle. The woman handles it carefully so that the basket does not slide off. Only when it is barely above the bottom of the canoe does she let the basket,

/701 cont./

843 It is only when this condition continues that they accept the fact of its cessation (117). Experience teaches them that the fruit grows

117. Hahn (a):805 mentions the following physiological observation: "Pregnancy is of the same duration as elsewhere...She has as signs of it the cessation of the menses, the swelling of her breasts, and the movement of the foetus" /translated from French/.

in proportion to the size of the abdomen of the woman who is to become a mother, and that this goes on until birth takes place. The mother thinks a great deal about the child she is carrying under her heart, and full of confidence she speaks of her hopes to the women near her. She longs for the birth, not because she would like to be free of the slight discomforts, but so that she can soon, in the happiness of motherhood, hold the child in her arms. Gertie said to me: "Many a young woman waiting for her first child feels that it takes too long. In her impatience she often becomes ill-humored!" Every woman hopes for a sturdy and beautiful child, and to achieve this she places a few blossoms of má'ku (Embothrium coccineum; see Fig. 78) on her genitals and presses them tight with her upper thighs. She spends the whole night this way, thinking constantly of the child which she has already been carrying for several months. At the same time she repeats the wish in her thought: "May this child be as beautiful as the má'ku!" Her husband is very pleased if she repeats this procedure often (118). Instead

[824]

118. I was unable to find an explanation for what Hahn (a):806 cites as "a popular belief that children are sometimes born with a part of the body of an animal when the mother has been frightened in the course of her pregnancy" /translated from French/.

of má'ku (southern dialect), most people say máku.

Even though pregnancy is far advanced, a woman does not curtail her work, but must keep it up in full measure. The women of the neighborhood constantly recommend uninterrupted and lively

/701 cont./

843 activity, especially to those young women who are expecting their first child. Sexual intercourse is discontinued for two or three months before the confinement.

During this time the married couple are required to observe a 843 262 few food taboos. The /702/ woman may not eat roasted pieces of meat, mussels, or fish as hot as usual, but must let them cool off a bit. It is said that food that is too hot is now detrimental to her and her child. The man is not permitted to eat the head and hind portion of fish and birds; he must be content with the center piece. Shortly before the confinement neither of the two parents may eat the meat of cormorants, otherwise the child would be born deformed.

• [824 137]

Fig. 78. Embothrium coccineum. One-half natural size.

/Fig. 78 appears here./ For a few days before and after confinement the woman herself may not break or crush the bones of birds. It is well known that in the case of some birds, especially cormorants, the longer bones are broken open before they are roasted in the fire, so that the marrow will penetrate the meat and make it juicier. Furthermore, their spinal columns are cracked at various places so that the feathers can be plucked more easily. Now if the woman

/833 cont./

X881 346 The thicker and usually pointed end of the small trunk is pounded into the earth very much at an angle to the main rib. The free end is tied to the opposite small trunk. Measured on the ground, all these small trunks are about 15 centimeters apart. A few more long poles are now placed longitudinally over the transverse arches in order to hold the vault together better. The thick end is likewise pounded into the earth at the proper angle, and the small pole itself, as parallel as possible to the others, is drawn over the transverse arches. The intersections are tied with rush stalks of [824] Marsippospermum grandiflorum or with seal tendons. The long side areas of this framework are hung with large pieces of leather and the upper part is covered with thick leafy twigs of the ever-[824] green Nothofagus betuloides. Sometimes the entire hut is covered with beech branches. This completes the hut. /834/ It has a long elliptical groundplan and an elongated dome shape (Fig. 81), something like the community hut (p. 31).

The time it takes to erect the Great Hut, two or three days, depends on the number and the agility of the men taking part. Meanwhile others are working on the interior. First they mark out the hearth with rather thick small trunks placed on the cleaned and leveled ground, These pairs of trunks start a little to the side of each of the trunks that mark off the main and the secondary entrances, and they extend from one end to the other. This center passage is thus somewhat wider than the main and secondary entrances. Pegs about as long as a hand are rammed into the earth to give some support to the parallel trunks. /Fig. 81 appears here./ Brush with thick foliage is spread on either side of them. Later on each participant will spread his pieces of X881 leather and skins over the brush to make a seat for himself. Since the people form only two rows, everyone can come close to the 346 fire (254) or move away from it as he chooses. The brush on the 354

[177]

254. At present the Yamana use a rather large tin can or a wide iron pipe for the fire in their dwelling and in the canoe. This time they had placed two short pieces of a steamship funnel along the middle passage of the Great Hut. The fires inside of these produced sufficient warmth

/916 cont./

X881 302 who uses the latter pours the fine powder /917/ into a mussel shell or into the hollow of his left hand, stirs it with saliva or with a few drops of water, and smears this mixture on his body with the palms of both hands. It quickly dries near the fire and looks dazzling. In order to rub it into the hair, they use čílēr, a [824] small ball of fine wood shavings of Berberis ilicifolia, which is saturated with it. The red pigment is mixed with blubber, and

[301]

Fig. 85. Facial Painting of the Adult Participants.

they use the little painting stick to draw the fine lines; wider lines and dots are made with the index finger.

Nowadays people generally deplore the indolence of many adults who are scarcely able to summon the energy for the simplest facial painting for a few hours a day. With these empty complaints, however, they let the matter rest. Formerly a glance into the čiēxaus hut must have excited remarkable reactions when the white color all over the bodies of the participants squatting on the

/1307 cont./

821 789 who confronted him, he had a broad band of white from his chin downward, and his head was bound with the skin of a kelp gander with white down on it, and his hair was also whitened. He had a white stone in either hand. His antagonist, who came leaping along making much noise, was /1308/ armed with a club. He kept on demanding what facasi [a term for seals, penguins, and other sea birds] would let him kill some one, as though he thirsted for blood. He held his club ready to use it, and they both spoke excitedly and loudly to each other. Presently Lasapowloom threw one of his stones a full yard behind his opponent's heels, and ran after his stone to pick it up again. Presently looking to where I heard much noise I saw two others, highly painted fellows, engaged in loud vociferations and earnest gestures, each with an arm round the other's neck, and bobbing their heads each to the other. The rest stood quietly looking on.... Lasapowloom acting the part he did, was according to custom, called tsworoo, or the storm of wind; the man who met him was called tumoozsworoo, or one who invited the storm to rage against him" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 13;1875).

I cannot help thinking that the superstitious customs and ceremonies aimed at influencing the weather in favor of personal wishes and intentions have developed among the Yamana only to a limited extent simply because their Watauineiwa is regarded as the actual ruler of the forces of nature. Hence everyone turns directly to him as the first and surest helper, using the ancient traditional prayer formulas (p.978).

262 824 In addition, there are a few similar superstitious customs which are clearly wise food taboos. They are supposed to promote self-control and check selfishness. A few such decrees have already been mentioned. Thus, for example, no one may pick Pernettya berries until they are ripe. If anyone should ignore this, the "berries would go away" (p.327). Anyone who gathers amāim at the proper time may nibble a few, but anyone who eats many of them brings on bad weather by his lack of restraint in eating. It is easy to catch this disobedient person, and he is severely reproached in case there is a sudden change in the weather. The primary object of this taboo is probably to force each individual to bring all the berries he has gathered into camp

/1308 cont./

262 and let the others share them, instead of selfishly enjoying them
● 824 alone. People from another region who land on strange territory
and find large quantities of amáim may neither pick them nor
[821] eat them. If they do, they must be prepared for threatening
weather when they continue their journey. Their taking the
berries would portend ǎnačiwa, ruin and destruction for them.

The "rain berry," palaxǎačis, Rubus geoides (p.279), may
262 be eaten only in fair weather. If someone has discovered a spot
824 where there are great numbers of these berries and he wants to
821 gather them, he must first obtain permission from the tǎyina who
has the right to distribute them to adults and children. A person
who picks the palaxǎačix without such permission or in /1309/
rainy weather must be prepared for a sudden heavy storm with
rain on the open sea, which will endanger his life, as atonement,
hǎnečí, for his disobedience. On March 16, 1923, there was an
unusually heavy cloudburst with floods. Two days earlier a few
girls had stolen off to a place that was well known for its many
palaxǎačix -- it is about an hour's distance from Punta Remolino --
and picked these berries. In all seriousness Nelly told me on the
evening of March 16th that the young Halakwulup, Julia, had
gone to this place with a few other girls. Julia was unfamiliar
with the taboo, and she had picked and eaten many of the berries.
The other girls followed her example. The heavy rain was a
punishment for this.

It is not at all seldom that sudden bad weather breaks out
262 over the wide inlets open to the south. In this region it is cus-
tomary not to eat certain game animals that have been caught
on the same day, but to keep them until the following day. A
person who does not conform to this must be prepared for a heavy
loss in the immediate future. This custom is probably meant to
teach people to provide for the next day, for all too often a fam-
ily is unable to travel because of unfavorable natural forces, and
they could suffer great hardship if they had not learned and were
not compelled to economize with their already meager supply.

264 The Yamana very seldom eat during a canoe trip and, if
821 they do, always very little. Anyone who eats may not throw food
484 remains and refuse overboard, but should destroy them in the fire
which is always kept burning. It is said that Yoflox decreed this.

/1324 cont./

X 575 345 Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam regularly faces east (Vol. 1, 838).

In the interior of this Kina hut the actual resting places are now arranged in the following manner, unlike the Ziwage hut. Clumps of turf are put around the central open space for the fire, and they are stamped down with the feet as evenly as possible. A layer of the long, broad-leafed grass /1325/ Ilka (Poa flabellata), which is used in the ordinary dwellings (cf. p.25), is often scattered on top, but it is permissible to use this grass only if the short, sharp-pointed pampas grass, mŕ'aŕuka, cannot be obtained. The latter grows in bunches in open places, is very dry and hard, and scarcely 35 centimeters tall (274). A bunch of this grass can

[104]

> 274. Species of Calamagrostis are referred to here, which also flourish on the rocky coasts between stones. Cf. Spegazzini (4):84.

be pulled out only if one grasps it firmly and twists the roots. While the men are gathering many trunks and poles for the hut framework, the Kina leader directs the women and children to provide the necessary amount of grass; he tells them very definitely that they must bring in a great deal of mŕ'aŕuka (275).

[171]

> 275. It is very remarkable that similarly in the Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam only this short, hard pampas grass is used for the men's resting place (Vol. 1, 839).

On top of this layer of grass each man spreads his piece of leather on the place where he will sit throughout the entire festival.

X 575 353 It is noteworthy that this conical Great Hut for the Kina festival is specially decorated on the inside. All around the interior a red band as wide as three fingers is painted at the level of a man's head. Above that a white band of equal width is applied, and above that, a black one. All three are separated from each other by two spaces each as wide as a finger. These three bands, which serve as decorative painting, are symbolically interpreted as suggesting a rocky seacoast. The red color recalls the irregular stones on the beach, which are more or less thickly

/1366 cont./

X575 them all from the vantage point of the camp. He has leaned several harpoons against one of the entrance posts so that they are visible from afar; the women are supposed to believe that Činíku has murdered all the men with these weapons. Before-
[R24] hand a long, thin stalk of Macrocystis alga smeared with blood had been fastened to one of the harpoons. Now Činíku himself steps out, looks at the man lying farthest to one side, and screams: "It seems to me this man is not yet dead. So I shall finish him off with the harpoon!" He reaches for the harpoon just mentioned and throws it at the man. He pretends to be using a lot of force, but he aims close by, hurls the weapon, and almost simultaneously runs after it in order to cover his deceptive action. He quickly unfastens the alga stalk and pulls it up in such a way that the spectators at a distance have the impression he is pulling the man's entrails out of his belly. Frightened and horrified, the women cry out, shouting to Činíku: "Do you think you have a sea lion in front of you? You villainous murderer, how can you murder our husbands so brutally! Get away from here at last and release us!" Angrily Činíku seizes the man and pretends that he wants to drag him into the Great Hut. At the same moment, as though by chance -- this had been prearranged without the women's knowledge -- a yékamuŸ steps out of one of the dwellings and conspicuously takes a few steps in the direction of the Great Hut. Činíku notices him and hastily disappears inside. /1367/ The performer has now concluded his role; he sits down beside the fire and rests. The circle of men is pleased with the successful hoax.

After a very brief pause the so-called son of Činíku appears before all the women, decked out exactly like his alleged father. The man chosen for this role is somewhat shorter than the one who portrayed the first Činíku. He merely leaps back and forth along the dance course three times, then disappears. This happens because meanwhile the yékamuŸ has arrived at the Great Hut. He circles several times around the heap of men who are still lying there motionless, makes sweeping motions with his arms, and is very active until all the men have been brought back to life and get up again. They drag themselves into the Great Hut as though they had lost their strength. All the women, who up

/1449 cont./

805 These eight periods form the complete cycle of the year. In order to mark them off approximately, the Yamana at the same time observe the position of certain stars. They wish to prove that their position in the heavens coincides with the corresponding events here on earth. The position of the sun and conspicuous weather conditions are decisive. In order to emphasize these movements of the sun, the Yamana use the word ñsiÑgulÑ, "time of return of the sun E.ward after midwinter" /cited in English/, according to BD:104. Or the word ÑkÑlla, "strong S. or SW. winds accompanied with rain and sleet prevalent at the break up of winter" /cited in English/, according to BD:283. Furthermore, the word hauwÑlÑmÑka, "the late autumn, early winter, referring to the snowy, overcast, dull weather then prevalent" /cited in English/, according to BD:274. The Yamana even use conspicuous phenomena connected with certain species of animals to characterize the seasons. They point to hakÑlu (p. 985); they use ilan, "the time of the young crabs, Oct. and Nov." /cited in English/, according to BD:11. Finally, they speak of ÑkÑun, "shell time when the young birds are hatched," i.e., January" /cited in English/, according to BD:281.

805 Even regular changes in vegetation, especially in fungi, serve the Yamana for determining the season. They use the
=824 word tiindeka, "the time of the withering of plants, i.e., early winter" /cited in English/, according to BD:287. The expression based on the growth of auÑtix, Cytaria darwinii, is a great favorite. According to BD:64 this fungus is "the chief summer fungus" /cited in English/, which grows on the knobby parts of beech branches (Fig. 8 /in untranslated portion/). The general term is ÑsÑ; the mature stage is called auÑtix (p. 276).

auÑtix manaÑtigÑ: the fungus when it has just appeared.

auÑtix kÑlala, the fungus to its maximum size.

auÑtix ÑpÑ, the fungus tastes sweet, its surface is still smooth.

auÑtix tanÑ, the fungus with its surface riddled with holes.

auÑtix aÑnadÑr, the fungus with loosened hyphae, which falls off easily.

auÑtix tupÑna, almost all fungi have fallen off, but are still somewhat soft.

/1449 cont./

ayéli máiaku, the fungi lying on the moist forest floor are turning black and beginning to rot.

/1450/ The development of Cytaria darwinii described above takes place from the beginning of December to the end of February. The growing period of the smaller Cytaria hariotii, ákim (p. 277), also serves to determine time.

maxinix is the name of this tiny fungus when it appears in January.

kéréwa is its name as long as its surface is still smooth at maximum size.

kéréwa ákiy is the fallen, decayed fungus. This development takes place from January to the end of April. The Yamana refer in the same way to the various stages of development of the large tree fungus, ómun, and divide up the first half of winter accordingly.

As is evident, the Yamana have a number of time designations, each of which is connected with phenomena in their immediate environment. Besides the expressions just mentioned, one also hears the following: "I'll come back when the first green shoots appear, -- when the young úirfa crawl out of their shells, -- when the kímua are ready to fly, -- when the red beech leaves fall, -- when the water [in the channel] becomes brown (355), -- when the mumeh are poor" (356). These

355. Actually, only the algae change color in the spring; the Yamana expression makes it appear as though the water changed color.

356. This means departing winter.

expressions are simple and perfectly clear to everyone.

3. Astronomy

The appearance and disappearance of a number of stars and their highest and lowest positions likewise characterize the individual periods in the yearly cycle. In former times, before

/1454 cont./

5. Botany and Zoology

Only a few species of higher plants are represented in Tekneka country, but there are considerably more kinds of higher animals. Our Fuegians have an accurate knowledge of the one as well as the other. This means, first of all, that they know the special characteristics of each plant that is of any use in the household, and they have selected it from those available to them on the basis of its suitability for their purposes. I pointed out one such instance earlier when I described their innovations in implements and weapons. The vegetable kingdom does not offer the Tekneka any food worth mentioning, but the extremely little that it does offer in luxuries (p.299) -- if one may call it that -- is well known and utilized. One could hardly estimate the number of experiments and the long series of observations by former generations that must have been necessary before this knowledge became a universal possession of the entire tribe. It was then transmitted throughout the centuries to each subsequent generation.

The Tekneka is vitally dependent every day upon the animal kingdom, to it alone he owes his subsistence. Everyone is therefore obliged to observe carefully the habits and movements of the species useful to him. If the Tekneka gives a proper name to every larger plant family, this is all the more true of every animal species, with the exception of insignificant lower animals that are in no way useful to him. He has originated and developed the various hunting methods on the basis of his knowledge of the habits of each species (p.275). His booty by no means has equal value. He distinguishes the various species, and even different parts of the body of the same species, according to the tastiness of the meat, the greater or lesser usefulness of bones and feathers, fur and skin, even sections of gut, according to their durability and efficiency. All this is based on rich practical knowledge. The Tekneka can creep up on their game animals with amazing skill, and they imitate the movements of certain species in some of their games. Here, too, one can see how carefully /1455/ our Fuegians observe the animal realm surrounding them. On this, in turn, they base their rules for the hunt, for the gathering

/521 cont./

225 whale, be it large or small, will provide for many families, often entirely free.

3. Bird Hunting

223 825 The home of the Yamana swarms with land birds and sea birds. A gaily colored, feathered throng of many shapes animates the islands and rocks, inhabits the inlets and lagoons, and crosses the network of channels and the broad open spaces in flocks, in stormy and sunny weather. Their habits and characteristics are all well known to the Indian, but he pays them special heed only insofar as they have something to offer him or to tell him. Some of them furnish him with tasty meat and others with fresh eggs in spring; some yield him coveted feathers for body decoration, others their bones for necklaces; certain ones announce a change of weather or of seasons, and a few are heralds of interesting events in the distance, even in the future. All of them live in his belief [773] as the descendants of that stratum of population which inhabited this region long before the actual human beings of today.

As is to be expected, however, those species mean most to him which serve him as food. Not just any animal that comes within the Indian's range tempts his palate and his appetite. He has good judgment in distinguishing among them, and he consciously chooses what is good for him. He avails himself of only a few species for his own use from the plentiful feathered world of his homeland. What does not serve him and does not suit his wishes, he lightheartedly passes by. Everywhere he is selective and wisely calculating, not least in evaluating the types of birds available to him.

223 From the start he pays no attention to small animals; the meat they could give him would not be worth his efforts. Herons and owls mean nothing to him either, for they are all skin and bones. Sea birds and the easily available gull chasers, especially the diurnal predatory birds, such as condor and falcon, vulture and hawk, repulse him because they feed on carrion. There are other birds, however, that he would not want to be without in his selection of food; they are a welcome change in the dull taste of his monotonous meat diet. Primarily he has his eye on penguins and

/577 cont./

225 will hanker after a piece of breast, another for a piece from the neck; that one prefers the head or the tail fin, some like other parts better. This conversation arises from unrestrained exuberance, and everybody's joy over the rich gift finds expression in such spontaneous wishes. In reality, however, so many special demands could not be considered, nor is the distributor bound to comply with them. In spite of all the previous talk, everyone is content to take any piece that is given him, no matter whether he previously expressed himself in favor of some other one. A sense of honor and the pressure of self-discipline forbid loud demands for preferred parts or expressions of discontent over the piece offered. Since I am not in a position to check personally, I must trust the statements of the Indians that some layers of fat are tastier than others. In general, the entire belly covering is regarded as the best piece.

225 825 192 There are special names for the larger individual body areas of all species of whales. The lips are called kāuwa. The adjacent lower part between the lower jaw bones is tēlajx; the upper part adjacent to the central head area is tāia. To the right and lest of this are the two cheeks, čītēška. Next to the jaw region and lower neck, yāuaxēr, is māmaja, the generally furrowed breast and belly area. The areas below the cheeks are very rich in fat and are called ēpēlēr. On the back, tāla leads into tauwēla, the anterior middle back which /578/ leads into hēšēn, or hēšētēx. On either side of this are the āpi areas. Between these and the māmaja region are the kāuiya māmaja, the actual sides of the whale above the vestigial dorsal fins; in front of these, toward the cheeks, are ēntēš and ēnča. The entire rear tapering part is called yēšāpi and leads into the wide tail fin, lēpuš. The pair of front side fins is called kāuiči. These areas are named with reference to the layer of fat because the fat is first removed from every stranded whale. An exception is made in the case of the finback, čiyix (Ziphius spec.?), the fat of which has a very laxative effect. When afterwards they want to refer to the meat exposed directly under the layer of fat, they choose, in part, names having the additional word āhun (meat). Thus āpi āhun is the meat in the abdominal covering. Moreover, there is a special designation for the meat of the entire upper and lower rump, namely, uskāpur. The

/578 cont./

225 parts on the upper jaw extending far back are called yúuaxē x
• 825 the tongue, lénki; and the entrails, hénuwa. For the meat close
192 between and on the bones, they use the special designation híta (349).

349. BD:260 gives a different meaning: "Old and much wasted blubber as found on shores after being long in the sea" /cited in English/.

and for the fatty tissue in the body cavities, apéla. The great importance of a stranded whale for an entire group of people explains why there are special designations for the individual areas and parts of the body. Even the place where the whale has been tossed up has the special name ufkfríteka. The word tuufkfritekfna, which BD:451 translates "to send (as God does) supplies of whale meat" /cited in English/, comes from the same root.

225 It is easy to see the reason for the distribution by different men. It is nothing more nor less than the best possible utilization of the entire huge animal. They do not want any part to be lost or soiled and trampled. Such devastation would be unavoidable if everybody could step up to the whale unhindered and ruthlessly cut out certain parts for himself. In an orderly distribution the special wishes of those present are considered as much as possible, everyone receives an abundance, and the entire supply is utilized. Hence everybody adheres strictly to the established custom and lets the respective distributors attend to their duty. In spite of
225 this, selfishness sometimes prevails, and a group will try to con-
578 ceal the stranding of a whale from others or, if the latter should come near, deny them access to the dead sea monster. Immediately a fight begins and the weaker side must give up the booty to the others (350). Such events /579/ are rare because a floating

350. Bridges (a):208 leaves no doubt about serious encounters over a stranded whale: "As long as a party can safely keep a whale to themselves they take care not to spread the news...But great fights sometimes happen through the selfishness of a party. For

/707 cont./

immediate surroundings are quiet; small children are either sent far away or held in check; finally, all the dogs are forcibly kept silent.

From the day of delivery both parents (p.496) must very conscientiously observe the regulations familiar to everyone. The mother refrains from taking any kind of nourishment for the entire day. This assures her of a good delivery and the future well-being of her child. For his part, the man may neither fell heavy wooden beams in the forest nor kill large game animals. He may neither break open the bones of birds to get out the marrow nor crush the shell of the sea urchin. In case he should fell decayed trees or split wood, his child would have an open wound on its breast. If he should break apart the wing bones of birds, the arms of his child would also break; if he should pluck out the feathers of a bird, his child would soon lose its hair. On the day of the birth he is just as restricted in his choice of foods as his wife is on this and the following days. She is permitted to eat again on the day after her confinement, but at first by no means everything. She limits herself to fish, as well as ẽ-uf (Mytilus chilensis), kecõin (Mytilus edulis), and amiaku (Fissurella). She is not permitted the many other lower sea animals. These mussels must come from "good" places [in the magical sense], in other words, not from places where one suspects the lakima /water spirit/ might be nor from places where there are many cormorants and sea lions. It seems to me that the magical fear comes from the fact that these animals do not play a favorable role in mythology. A single species of duck, namely, Mareca sibilatrix, also belongs to the "good" things. On the other hand, the meat of the sea duck, dẽka (Tachyeres patachonicus), is forbidden. When things to be eaten are unavailable or not present in sufficient quantities, the yẽkamuš /shaman/ must help out. Stretching out both hands, he gathers up the "bad and harmful," /708/ holds it for a moment on his open palms and, with a strong puff of air from his mouth and a softly uttered "ft," blows it away. Now the food has been freed of everything "dangerous" and is no longer harmful.

Directly after the child has been separated from its mother, the woman who has been the midwife goes out of the hut and sends a message to the father by anyone who is available that a boy or a

/722 cont./

856 properly, to become well-proportioned, and to develop a beautiful figure.

856 That this treatment of the infant is not without a tinge of
789 magic may be seen from the way it is concluded. As soon as a woman ceases the prolonged stroking, she clenches her hands and puts her fists to her mouth so that the bent thumbs touch her lips. With a sharp thrust she extends her arms out in front of her and opens her fists, palms forward and fingers outstretched. At the same time she expels her breath in a sharp "pf," as though the "unbeautiful, ugly, /723/ deformed" had been gathered together with the hands and were now being blown away. One sees this motion being practiced a great deal by the yékamuł.

856 In this wiła process every woman is, of course, extremely gentle and sensitive; she is careful not to press on the fontanel, ayatała, which she knows to be a very sensitive spot. For about three weeks the new infant must submit to this forming, stroking, and arranging of his little body. It causes him not the slightest discomfort.

• 855 The following belongs in the category of superstition. When
854 the sea duck, dźka (Tachyeres patachonicus), flies over the hut,
774 all the occupants are startled, for they are afraid that it will take away the "spirit," that is, the vitality of the children. The adults hasten to cover all the children with pieces of leather and, with outstretched arms, they grope through the air, as though they were trying to hold back "the spirit" of the children. As though they had gathered it up in the air, they draw their arms in again and make a proffering and throwing motion toward the children, at the same time uttering a long-drawn-out "ł." It is well known that immediately after birth the parents may not eat the meat of dźka, otherwise the life of the child is endangered (p. 503).

854 Most of the day the babies move freely or lie in the mother's lap. With their little hands they touch and grasp everything they can reach. They are given individual small stones and sticks, mussel shells, and little twigs that happen to lie nearby, but the Yamana do
[724] not make actual toys. Perhaps it is too much trouble for them always to take along and carefully store toys, no matter how simple. It seems to me that Yamana babies, compared to those on Isla Grande, are much quieter and much less inclined to play. True, the mother puts all kinds of small necklaces around her darling, in order to adorn

/736 cont./

851 utters a loud and long-drawn-out "pš" just once. This move-
171 ment is repeated several times with the child, and after a few days or weeks he is asked to do it again (175).

175. The candidates in the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1019) are given almost the same treatment, and likewise to make them grow quickly.

856 There is another custom that has the same purpose. An adult, with the tips of his thumb and index finger, picks up the larva, ukájemina, of a large capricorn beetle grubbing in a decayed tree trunk and squeezes it gently. The larva, as though in defense, opens the two parts of its upper jaw, which have very sharp points. With these the person scratches a vertical line on the child's chest, slightly outside the nipples, and another line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. This is the custom among the western Yamana. In the east they merely scratch a pair of lines on the back, on either side of the spinal column. This procedure is repeated often on the same child, but without any definite arrangement.

I was told that children endure teething quietly and with resignation. The parents pay little attention to this process, although they are pleased that the child has reached this tangible stage in his development. Later when the permanent teeth are pushing through and the first baby tooth is loose, they send the child to the beach where he must pull out the loose tooth with his own hand and toss it in a wide arc into the sea. At the same time he must visualize the short-nosed dolphin (Lagenorhynchus F.) and repeat in a low voice:

sagrúnx,	tun	hāja	tágu
Dolphin,	tooth	me	give.

He also turns to pér (Patella) and yeker (Chiton, mail) (176)

176. It is clearly recognizable that the allusion is to the rows of teeth in the jaws of dolphins, to the toothlike edge of the Patella shells, and to the hair-soft, tufted bristles of most Chiton species.

/846 cont./

X881 781 matter whether he is occupied only with himself for two or five hours before the start of the ceremony, for he does not miss anything. Even during the final work on the Great Hut one can observe the deep seriousness and thoughtfulness written on the faces of the participants who do not converse with one another or act distracted. They feel, and they do not conceal their innermost feelings, that something important is imminent and they must also prepare themselves spiritually. Each participant regards the ʒíexaus rite as an extraordinary personal experience.

On March 3, 1922, Santiago announced shortly before noon that the ceremony would begin in the evening. A few older persons who had put the finishing touches on the Great Hut simply remained seated there and gave themselves up to their thoughts. Around two o'clock in the afternoon their number had increased to seven. Koppers (a):49 stepped in for a few minutes at this time and quietly asked one of those present why they had come so early since the celebration was not beginning until toward evening. The answer he received was: "Certainly, but one can't begin such a beautiful festival just like that; one has to be in the mood, and we are here to prepare ourselves for that!" I observed the same conduct two years before. The older people wish above all to prepare themselves spiritually for this celebration by several hours of concentration.

X881 292 The overseer is always among the first arrivals; the leader, too, comes in good time. Their mood has a decisive influence on the other people. Meanwhile everyone makes his forehead decoration. This is nothing more than a piece of skin, two to four fingers wide and about 30 centimeters long. It is cut out of the [925] peritoneum of the small albatross, dǎšalux (Diomedea melanophrys), or of the male Molina goose, ʒěkus (Chloëphaga hybrida). The large feathers are plucked out and the down feathers fluffed up somewhat so that they appear abundant. Of either end of this strip of skin the Yamana knot a short tendon. Every participant wears this hapaxěl as a headband. If he leaves the Great Hut, he must take it off. Sometimes this strip of skin is given a triangular shape, so that a small point appears in the middle of the forehead, but it is not nearly as wide as the kǒčel of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215).

X 881 867

/869 cont./

shout and make a great fuss about it; sometime he will realize his mistake.

"Do not cease really loving your husband and willingly doing all kinds of work for him: then he will like you, too, and also take good care of you.

"If the family [from which you come] is large and your brothers /870/ and uncles are very much esteemed by people because they are capable, do not preen yourself about it and do not unduly boast about it, for others would miscomstrue this.

"If you want to live peaceably and happily with your husband, do not constantly quarrel with him. Be quiet if he has an opinion that differs from yours; later he will probably realize his mistake.

[776] "Watch out for Watauinéjwa /the supreme being/, never forget about him. If you are dull and slow and lazily neglect your work, if you do not get up betimes in the morning, he will look at you; then it will soon be over with you (290). And do not

290. A favorite saying which we shall mention below expresses the same thing: "The Supreme Being will punishingly cast his eye on you and destine you to a premature death." In a later section such sayings will be more specifically explained.

forget what the uŭwáala often said in the morning here in the čičxaus hut when they got up early and stepped out: 'hŭia yŭrum uŭwáala [kípa] hŭi, wŭs (291)!' That is what akačix (292) did also.

291. This means: "Come on, we are now candidates, come on!"

• 825 773

292. Turdus magellanicus, the Magellanic thrush. The reference to the thrush has the following meaning. Once upon a time this bird was also a candidate in the youth initiation where it learned to get up early every morning. It has practiced this good habit so faithfully that on all subsequent occasions up to the

/956 cont./

that the two trends of thought are incompatible. During the course of the celebration the story of "hamanĭulum wĭtuwa" is told to the uĭwĭala, and it was on this occasion that I, too, learned it.

In the eastern corner of the Bay of Ushuaia there were, once upon a time, several families camping. They heard that in the west there was a stranded whale. Three men got into a canoe. Two of them were yĕkamuĭ, the other was not. The former two were Hĕlpul (366) and Yo'okalĭa (367). The three men rowed off

[825]

366. Taeniptera pyrope, a small sparrow of the Tyrannidae family. As a mythological personality it also plays an important role in other stories.

367. Milvago chimango, the hawk.

in a westerly direction. Their canoe was extraordinarily swift. Quickly it glided past Puerto Olla (368). Their canoe kept going

368. This small harbor is exactly opposite Punta Divide on the north shore, hence on the boundary line between the central and western Yamana groups.

farther and farther /957/ and came to Hapanaŭl (369). The

369. The reference is to the channels west of the Darwin Sound as far as the ultimate projection of Brecknock Peninsula. The central and eastern Yamana speak of the inhabitants of this outlying district roughly as Halakwulup.

Halakwulup, a dangerous, bad people, live here. The three Yamana saw the huts of this people here, left their canoe, and climbed ashore. The two yĕkamuĭ were invited into the same hut, the third man was called to another hut (370). When the two

370. It was the deliberate intention of these

/972 cont./

b. The Right of Possession

421 The Yamana recognize actual possessions as personal property, aside from a few common possessions. Institutions and principles pointing to pure communism are completely absent. They are familiar with several titles for the right of possession, which we must now discuss, after having described the actual forms of property. In this respect, too, our Yamana agree almost completely with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 434). The recog- [171] nized legal titles are as simple and clear as the forms of the possessions of this tribal society.

1. Right of the Supreme Being as Creator

421 Later on we shall speak of the religious convictions of the
776 Yamana, which culminate in the recognition of a Supreme Being. Common names applied to this being are Watayinéjwa, "the /973/ ancient one," and Hidáyan, "my father." He is lord over all visible things and their supreme owner. The compound term Watayinéjwa-sir̄, which is often used, evidently means: the sir̄, or thing in the sense of property, of Watayinéjwa (386). Practically

386. BD:379 interprets this word with: "tools, implements, vessels, toys, goods, property, things in general" /cited in English/.

everything visible and tangible, without reservation, is regarded by our Fuegians as Watayinéjwa-sir̄; therefore the Supreme Being is the owner of visible creation.

421 Among all that has been created, the necessary daily food is
776 the most important for our Indians. Heading the list are the game animals hunted by the man and the many lower animals which the
● 925 woman gathers. Although the individual exerts himself personally for these, it is nevertheless as though he first had to ask permission from Watayinéjwa for each piece, hence his repeated request in actual prayers to the Supreme Being for the things he needs for his subsistence. In this procedure there is a faint hint that Watayinéjwa will benevolently give each human being some of that which he

/973 cont./

421 alone has the right to distribute. The Yamana accepts the slain
825 animal and every other thing as a gift voluntarily bestowed by the
776 Supreme Being; consequently he does not fail to thank his deity expressly for this now and then.

The Yamana have the same idea in mind when they say that everyone should kill and gather only as many animals as are needed for the moment. Beyond that it is punishable to destroy wantonly and aimlessly a number of animals which are not used in the household and which finally putrify. With this restriction they first of all want to check senseless waste of useful animals, but they do not overlook the fact that in such action there is also a violation of the primary property right which belongs only to Watauinéiwa. It is said that he voluntarily lets each individual Yamana have exactly as much as he needs for subsistence, and he punishes a person who, over and above that, wantonly destroys something of his.

If there is a ceremony for the dead or if, on another occasion, someone gives expression to his grief, he sometimes, in self-justification, lets the Supreme Being know that all his life long he has never illicitly, that is, through misuse, laid violent hands on animals which were made available to him for his own subsistence. If anyone has really done wrong in fits of anger and has given vent to his rage by unjustifiable destruction of many animals, he is soon remorseful and begs sincerely for the forgiveness of Watauinéiwa because /974/ of the harm he inflicted upon him. Sometimes an excited person will threaten Watauinéiwa with specific words, thus wishing to avenge himself for some misfortune, saying that he is going to slay names of his living animals in order to harm him greatly. In these condemnations the deity is clearly set forth as the owner of available material goods, among which animals are regarded as primary.

The Yamana do not give a definite reason why the Supreme Being has the legal title to all creation, primarily all animals. Nevertheless, this idea lives very clearly and definitely within them and serves as a guide for their actions. We shall speak of supplementary details in our description of their form of religion.

/990 cont./

674 "Since our coming here in 1871, we enumerated with the natives twenty-two murders, or deaths from violence amongst the Yahgans" /cited in English/. Hyades (e):721 regards this figure as low: "it means an average of less than two violent deaths per year, and this in a country where each one redresses wrongs and exacts justice for himself" /translated from French/. He (q:375) believes that one reason for this low figure is a deeply rooted conviction of the Indians "in regarding human life as sacred" /translated from French/. Bridges later only very rarely mentioned a murder (410). All this,

> 410. Without further explanation he (MM:XVIII, 184; 1884) writes, for example: "Here [near Ushuaia] I found the native John Willis, who killed his wife some two years ago" /cited in English/.

however, does not make me change my own opinion that murder occurred at least twice as often as Bridges and Hyades say. I am relying on the dependable reports of the Lawrence brothers and aged Indians. We must keep in mind the irascible nature of our Yamana and the many occasions for this deed, as a result of which they had to take the law into their own hands.

266 It would be unthinkable to imagine that they would murder a person out of cannibalistic intentions. There is no convincing proof of anthropophagy; reliable informants emphatically deny this custom, and the Lawrence brothers never heard of it, to say nothing of never having observed it. Instances of it, beginning with the L'Hermite fleet (p. 51 /untranslated/) which is referred to for affirmation, have never been absolutely settled. Bridges (i):14 decidedly opposes this false accusation, since for all of them "is human life a very sacred thing and for this reason all the relations of the murdered person were in honour bound to avenge his death" [625] /cited in English/. The Yamana even detest animals that gnaw at human corpses, such as foxes, rats, and vultures. They do not even take water from brooks where there are many rats, and they give as their reason: "Animals that devour human flesh drink of this water!" If they see a dog come up to a corpse and start devouring it, or even try to dig out a body, they beat it on the spot, even

/994 cont./

627 that makes a stealthy act seem advisable to a person. This is a favorite procedure of the yékamuš. The following method has proved successful. A person who wishes to do away with his opponent inconspicuously will discuss his plan with two or three trusted friends. One day they invite the opponent in the most unobtrusive way possible to accompany them on a hunt for young or full-grown cormorants. The other may not and will not refuse the invitation because of the compulsory rules of social intercourse. Unsuspecting, he lets himself be tied to a rope at the top of the steep rock wall and slides down (p. 235). At the proper moment and without any kind of signal, his adversaries cut the rope at the top, and he plunges down and breaks his neck. These malefactors afterwards tell other people that the man, due to his own carelessness, was killed on the cormorant hunt. Spears: 68 mentions this stealthy procedure, as Outes (g):58 did earlier, and is right in calling it "a favorite way of killing an enemy" /cited in English/; this method, however, is rarely used.

278 The plant kingdom offers not a single efficacious poison,
825 but the blubber of the grampus ēpā̆jačí (Orca magellanica), a
674 pilot fish of the large cetaceans (p. 37 /untranslated/), is regarded as poisonous. I was assured, confidentially, that this blubber had been given now and then, its efficaciousness having been discovered long ago. Masemikens told me the following story which is widespread. Once in the west several people found a dead ēpā̆jačí lying on the beach. /995/ Its meat and fat were still fresh, so some of them ate some of it. Soon afterward these people died. Once Hawaten also came to this place. He was a crafty man. Before he ate, he wanted to find out whether this fat caused death. Unobtrusively he gave a man a small piece of it. The man immediately died. Thereupon he said to himself: "Good, that serves my purpose!" He took a large piece of fat from the ēpā̆jačí, cut it into small pieces, and filled a pouch made of the stomach of a šěkuš (Chloēphaga hybrida). Then he returned to the east. If he wanted to kill someone, he stealthily stuck a small piece of the fat from the ēpā̆jačí into the person's food. He did this several times and a number of men died. Hawaten was quite generally hated and avoided because of his malevolent disposition. -- Thus it was through him that the actual or alleged strength of this poison became known.

/1051 cont./

776 113 asked myself and also other men, above all, the capable yékamuĭ and the most experienced old men, how that took place. No one knew the answer as to how human beings actually originated and where they came from. So to this day I do not know. I have often and persistently searched and tried to answer this question. At that time Tăruwalēm burned up the whole world and all the animals. And this I can't understand either, how afterwards everything was put in order again, how the huge fire was put out, and how he again restored plants and animals to this land. All this we do not know. In former years I often asked the experienced old people about this." A few days later, I sat in a circle of several old men, as was my custom, and quite spontaneously the conversation again drifted to these things. Richard repeated: "We really don't know exactly how everything came about at that time. Of course Watauinēĭwa already existed in the very old days, for heaven was already here above the earth, there where the clouds are and where Watauinēĭwa also stays. Before Lēm [sun] and Hănuxa [moon] and Akăinix [rainbow] wandered here on earth like human beings, Watauinēĭwa was already here, for heaven existed before all of them. At that time women ruled. We do not know how and from where children came at that time, for none of the women who then ruled the men slept with their husbands and cohabited with them in order to conceive children. None of us can say where children came from in those days. It is only since the great /1052/ revolution that women are subordinate to the will of men. It was back in the time when the great fur seal tēpĕ-a (Arctocephalus australis) discovered how man and woman should unite, she underneath and he on top of her; that gives them pleasure. Since then they have done it that way to this day. When husband and wife unite in this way, then children follow. So we know where our children come from now. Where they came from before that, no one can explain. We know equally as little about where Lēm and Hanuxa and the stars come from, which at that time lived on earth just like human beings. When they [the ones mentioned] and sĕf [heaven], too, were here, Watauinēĭwa was also here, and he was here even long before that." Thus, no Yamana can explain definitely and clearly how the visible world originated. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that a deeply thoughtful and meditative man like Maĭemikens felt this gap and tried to fill it.

[825 842 831]

/1059 cont./

TB 539 These are the words of a man who felt he was near death because Watauinéjwa cast his eye upon him. Because this man recovered, /1060/ he joyfully gives thanks for having escaped the threatening misfortune. -- BD:392 gives talagõnatapõna, "to look fixedly, gaze, be gazing intently" /cited in English/.

(10) Anau, hipéj, mõrnérna, alárI; hipéi
Now then, we new summer, thank; for us

kutakõtumpéala tupéan.
is winter past.

TB 539 As soon as the first signs of approaching spring appear, after the long months of winter with its abundant snow, everyone breathes more freely and joyfully expresses his feelings of renewed zest for
• 825 life with these words. -- Compare tupéana in BD:556.

(11) Hitõpan hitéki hakuéluI.
I myself saw sea anemones.

More precisely this means: I was the first to see with my own eyes the sea anemone. -- According to BD:260, hitõpan is "I only, I by myself" /cited in English/; according to BD:270, hitõtõluI, "the red sea anemones" /cited in English/. The small scarlet sea anemones, also called sea roses (Actiniaria), can be found all the year round; nevertheless it is always an occasion for great rejoicing when, in waning winter, one discovers the unusually bright-colored colonies of these small animals. They are greeted as harbingers of spring which everyone hopes to live through. The Yamana thank Watauinéjwa with the above prayer formula for this favorable prospect. In their exuberance the people dance and hop about, even in the fragile canoe, regardless of the great danger of treading a hole in it and smashing it. The person who first sees a bright-colored sea anemone behaves very boisterously.

TB 539 (12) Amõtéčig, hipéj mõrnérna, alárI;
Now then, us new summer, thank;

amõtéčig, hipéi mõrnérna.
now then, us new summer.

/1996 cont./

114
761

spirit 'from nature'" /cited in English/. The Tamana does not express himself that way. Spencer adds, correctly: "Some imagine they see the spirits. Informant knows nothing of spirits' life except that they always remain" /cited in English/.

expressions also reveal this conception. For example, grieving parents say: "Wataginiwe let my child die, the one he gave me," but they do not express themselves in more detail about the whole process.

114
115

Once I wanted to know whether animals also had their kihgaif. Apparently this thought had never occurred to them, for they shook their heads in denial. Then I said to them: "Animals are certainly clever, especially the dog. He understands the calls and gestures of his master, he helps in hunting and is faithful. How can that be?" They replied: "We care for the dog as for a child. He helps us a great deal. We never leave him behind all by himself in a deserted place, for if he were cut off from us we would always and everywhere be aware of the barking and howling of such an abandoned dog. Perhaps the dog does have a kihgaif of his own, but he is the only one, other animals do not have it." Thus, the Tamana do not in so many words attribute a kihgaif like that of the human soul to animals.

[111]
114

Their views are essentially like those of the neighboring Selk'nam about their kihgai (Vol. I, 137); even the names that the two tribes give to the human soul and to the spirit-being are almost the same.

b. Belief in a Future Life

115

Despite the contrary assertion of a few travelers who need not be taken seriously (30), the Tamana are, without exception,

35. Darwin (8):247 writes: "Captain Fitz Roy could never find out whether the Fueguians have any definite belief in a future life. They bury their dead sometimes in caves and

/1147 cont./

773 "His wife was also very beautiful. No one knows her name. Lēm had several beautiful daughters, namely, tíkaĭa (Larus
825 belcheri), wémar-kīpa (Larus glaucodes), the sea duck wīyen
821 (Anas cristata), the gull kiwágu (Larus dominicanus), the Magellanic goose kímoa (Chloephaga picta /upland goose/), the duck wīpatux (Querquedula cyanoptera), as well as the she-fox čílawĭjakīpa (Canis magellanicus) and the rat wēsína. The last two secretly dragged off the meat that their father brought home from the hunt; they stole it from him regularly. They are doing it [stealing] to this day. Lēm also had other daughters, as well as several sons. One of them is Yēxalēm who constantly follows his father.

773 "Lēm was diligent and hard-working, good and always merry,
821 friendly toward everyone. He was on the best of terms with all the men. He set a fine example of an active, good-natured human being for everyone. In this respect [that is, in his whole character] nothing has changed to this day. Back in the time of the great upheaval in Yājaĭāga he helped the men considerably in gaining control of the kīna of the women. After that upheaval was over, he went up to the canopy of heaven. From there he is still proving himself benevolent and willing to help human beings; he bestows ample warmth and light upon everyone. All men are obviously proud of him, for he uncovered the kīna secret of the women and thus freed the men from their dependence upon the women.

"Actually there is still another world. That is why Lēm leaves the region of the Yamana every evening and betakes himself there. In that other world he also shines and bestows abundant warmth. The next morning he comes back to us once more. In this way he helps the people both here and there."

The portrayal as such shows clearly enough how gratefully /1148/ the Yamana regard the day star. Obviously this favorable attitude goes back to the feeling of well-being which sunshine induces in the Yamana, who are often shaken by frosty winds and severe weather. The planet Venus was pointed out to me as Yēxalēm, son of Lēm, for "this son invariably follows close behind his father, but is not as strong as the latter." This refers to the considerably weaker luminosity of Venus as compared to the

/1130 cont./

765 Almost all participants prefer the design which indicates
302 the cause of death of the one who is especially mourned. Actually the visitors exert a good deal of effort and care to show how honestly and sincerely they are participating in the event. /Fig. 89 appears here./ Definite pressure is put upon those present when a murder has been committed; they express this in their facial painting, for everything serves the

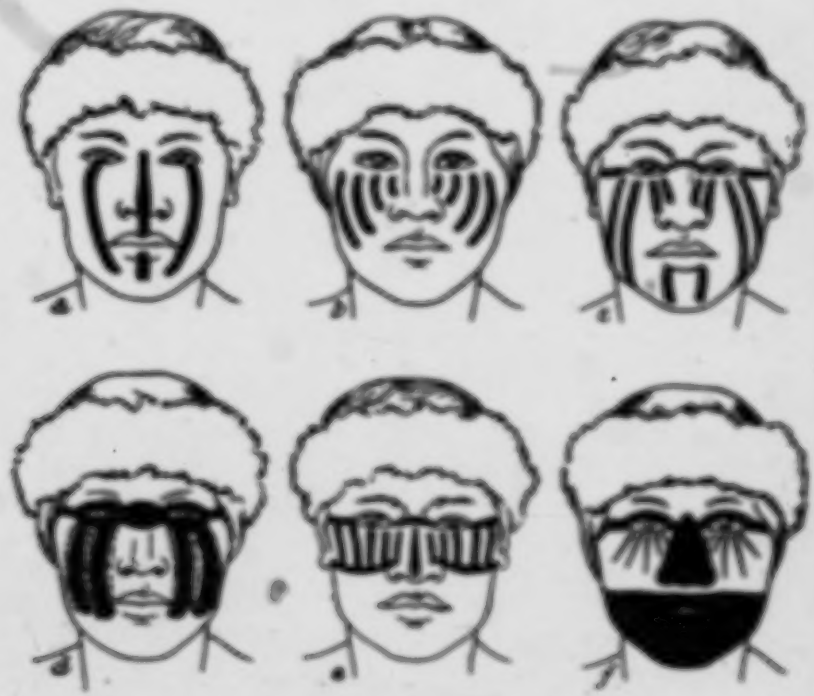

Fig. 89. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

purpose of intimidating the culprit and his circle of kinsmen. In this case they prefer the following design: one side of the face is uniformly black; on the other side are alternating vertical rows of red and white dots placed close together.

765 The people are busy for some time in preparing their facial
301 painting; they also wind the hapakil around their foreheads. This
125 decoration, also called hapanil, is a rather large triangular piece

/1130 cont./

TK5 321 [B3]

of skin with white down-feathers taken from the male Molinas grove (Chloephaga hybrida /Kelp goose/). The people obtain this forehead decoration when these geese are nesting, during this time /1131/ they are lean and the thin skin does not have the abundant fat that is present at other times. /Fig. 30 appears here./ A hapakit is like the kiñel of the Selk'nam (Vol. 1, 211) in size and shape. In recent times not all the adults make an effort to obtain this ornament which is actually seldom used. Instead, at a general funeral ceremony, they use the narrow band of skin with down, also called hapakit, which they always have available and frequently use.

TK5 283

The club is part of the equipment of those who take part in the so-called fight of the yamalaiemoina. It is justifiably regarded as an ornamental club. No one would be permitted to come with a plain stick that he has just picked up or one used to kill a sea lion. This club is used for no other purpose. It is carefully carved out of a flawless small trunk, is about 160 to 190 centimeters long, has an angular or rounded surface and gently tapers from one end to the other (Fig. 30). It is regularly painted white, or red if one is commemorating a murder. Actually the women should also provide themselves with a club, but sometimes they do not have it and make do with an ordinary paddle which they paint. At the dances in the hut everyone uses the short dance-staff carried during the kiñaqe ceremony, for it obviously helps to emphasize the rhythmic movements of the body.

TK5 533 152

The long-continued singing and lamenting, sighing, and groaning are

Fig. 30. Ornamental Club.

/1180 cont./

173 So the two women changed their course and turned toward the hut. On the way Ildzoziga kept trying to hold back the other woman.

While the two women were covering the long distance home, the sea lion died there on the stone where the two Tyldzoy had mortally wounded him with their large harpoon. They immediately began cutting up the large animal and laid a few pieces on a fire out there in order to roast them. Later they sat down and consumed those pieces and found them superb. They dragged other large pieces to the hut and put them on the fire there in order to roast them. They wanted to eat again soon, for this roasted meat tasted very good to them.

When they set out to kill the mighty animal, the two Tyldzoy had left the little son alone in the hut. As soon as the boy realized that he was alone in the hut he crept out. He sat down on the sand beside the hut and began to play. The two Tyldzoy saw him. One of them immediately brought the boy some meat and he ate it with great relish, for this meat was perfectly fresh meat. Scarcely had he consumed the big piece when he demanded a second. Then the Tyldzoy gave him a piece of roasted fat and that, too, tasted very good to him.

/1181/ At that moment the two women returned. They first came across the boy who was sitting on the sand near the hut and comfortably eating a piece of perfectly fresh meat. When his mother saw the fresh meat in his hands, a dreadful foreboding made her tremble; she suddenly realized that the boy was eating the meat of his own father! She collapsed, grief-stricken. Soon she was seized with a terrible rage. She took a large sea urchin out of the little basket she was carrying and threw it at the head of the boy with all her might. The boy immediately turned into a fish, but the barbs of the sea urchin clung to his head. That is

174 the ulus (104).

104. A porcupine fish common in these waters. The Tsimsia do not eat it "because it was formerly a boy."

Full of sorrow and distress the wife of the sea lion entered the hut. She became terribly alarmed when she saw the many

/1300 cont./

/translated from French/. Cooper:159, on the basis of the few data available to him at the time, surmised correctly: "Superstitions exist, but apparently in moderate number only" /cited in English/. Even now this judgment need not be changed.

/1301/

a. Superstitions Related to the Animal Kingdom

The Fuegian is very dependent on the animals of his homeland. Hence it is not strange that they play a dominant role in his superstitious ideas.

If at night a dog howls miserably for any length of time, its master interprets it as presaging all kinds of dire prospects for himself or for a proposed undertaking, such as a hunt, a journey, and important work. If all the dogs howl in the few huts that form a camp, an epidemic or at least serious illness among many persons is to be expected. If the howling of many dogs has lasted for some time, all the people come out of their huts and hurl everything at hand toward heaven, things such as spoons and pieces of leather, tools and weapons, and preferably hot ashes and glowing logs. Meanwhile no one, with the exception of half-grown children, may stay in bed or rest. Everyone must be up and about until dawn. All night long everyone is very excited and behaves wildly. They wave their arms about in extreme agitation; they thrust their arms forward and upward with hands outspread and cry from constricted throats tetetg.-- All this is supposed to ward off the menacing illness.

When people are sitting out in the open in front of their huts, it sometimes happens that a dog comes crawling up to a person, dragging himself along the ground, stretched out on all fours, and pushing himself forward on his belly. They interpret this to mean that the person himself or someone among his intimate family will soon die.

In contrast to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 707), our Yamana are neither friendly to the fox nor kindly disposed toward it, because it preys on human carcasses. The following story is told. When

/1301 cont./

825 the first Argentinian ships came to Ushuaia [in the '80's], ravaging diseases broke out (p. 300 /untranslated/). Practically all the Indians settled there lay around on the beach and in their huts, unable to help themselves. Many of them died. Sickness spread to the north shore of Navarino Island, and there, too, the beach was soon strewn with corpses. The many sick people saw the foxes coming out of the forest and gnawing at the corpses, /1302/ but no one was able to ward them off and chase them away. A woman already near death had her little son beside her, but he could not help her. One of the foxes even dared to start devouring this woman, although she was still alive. The little son threw a knife at the fox, whereupon it stopped. She died soon afterward, and the boy immediately started three signal fires. Soon a canoe arrived and took him aboard. Scarcely had the canoe left the shore when the fox again came up to the corpse of the woman and started devouring it.

The Yamana find the apawáta, the bat, almost disgusting because of its resemblance to the rat, wēsána (p.323). If it flies past the huts the people feel sick; they all remain silent until it has flown off again. Everyone turns his eyes away in loathing. Bridges (i):7 also confirms this: "There is a small Bat, loathed by the natives on account of its compound nature" /cited in English/. (Cf. Vol. I, 707.)

The Yamana regard the whale along with the many ever-present fish accompanying it (p. 37 /untranslated/) as a large family. They are particularly alert for the restless, raging aśōula, the smaller whale (Pseudorca crassidens /the "false killer" whale/), and the ēpśiači (Orcinus orca /the killer whale/). Our Indians are afraid of both. Bridges (a):208 thinks differently: The whales are killed "by swordfish, which they consequently esteem sacred" /cited in English/. On October 9, 1871, Lewis reported a "small whale, which ran ashore in the inlet. I hastened out, and heard a continuous thumping on the water, which Lucca informed me was a swordfish; he also observed, that if the dog barked, he [the swordfish] would be frightened and take the whale away. At early dawn we descended, and found the whale, minus any appearance of having been molested by a swordfish" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34;1872).

/1302 cont./

825 Our Yamana are no less superstitious about birds. Some among the great numbers of them prove to be helpful. They announce things that are important to human beings and warn them. The sea duck deśka (Tachyeres patachonicus) is at times even included in food taboos (p.503). The mighty condor wēr̄iyāu (Cathartes aura) is said to lead the dance of the birds. The condor can be dangerous to little children, which is why a mother may never leave her infant unattended. It is said that one day a small child at play crept out of the hut and down to the beach. The child's mother sat at her work in the hut and did not notice it. A condor flew down from above and seized the child with its strong talons, dragging it to the nearest mountain. After a while the mother stepped out of her hut and looked for the child. In vain she searched all the other huts, and no one could give her any information. Everybody helped her look, but they did not find the child. The next day they walked around the whole region, but without success. Nevertheless the mother and her relatives kept on searching. Finally, on the peak of the nearby /1303/ mountain they found the remains of the child, its head and a few bones. It happened that the face was not mutilated and the mother recognized her child. The condor had dragged it off and devoured it because it had been sitting unattended on the beach. The mother wept bitterly and returned to her hut.

825 821 787 If a hawk, yo'okalia (Milvago chimango), acts unusually happy and flies about gaily, good weather is on the way. Anyone who is obliged to take a long journey starts out early when he sees this sign; beautiful weather will accompany him. When yo'okalia screams complainingly at night, snow and cold weather are in the offing, both annoy the bird.

825 787 Quite generally the light-colored horned owl, sita (Nyctalops accipitrinus), is very carefully watched. If it persistently and anxiously flies around one or more huts standing close together, its cry means that someone in the neighborhood has died. If it lands on a hut, even for a few moments, it indicates that one of the inmates will soon die. When this sita on its nocturnal flights utters the prolonged, intermittent cry kīt, kīt, kīt... which sounds as though drops of blood were splashing on the

/1303 cont./

825 787 ground, it is an omen of murder and a person from the immediate vicinity will be the victim. If someone approaches a small group of men or lands near a few huts and notices a sítu circling around the huts during the day, he recognizes this as a definite warning that these people are hostile to him and have evil intentions, are perhaps even planning to murder him. Hence he quietly slips away that very night and goes far enough so that none of the men can follow him. If in the next few days a horned owl should again appear in his vicinity or circle around him, he concludes that the men are on his trail. Without delay he hurries off to his own home. He is safe in the circle of his relatives.

825 821 The Yamana must show due respect for the small finch héspul (Taenioptera pyrope). Anyone who annoys it and throws stones at it must be prepared for very bad weather. Out of vengefulness and an injured sense of honor, it causes bad storms and heavy rains.

825 787 A person who hears the cry of the gray night heron téwux (Nycticorax obscurus), rejoices, for this bird tells him that a canoe with friendly visitors will soon come. They usually arrive the very next day and from exactly the same direction that the call of this heron came from or the direction from which the bird flew when it came. Even today the téwux is venerated everywhere.

825 821 The large petrels, especially the albatross, which rise up over the waves far out on the high seas and describe large circles in the air, announce to the people that they must be prepared for rough seas and foul weather.

825 777 /1304/ It is a universal custom for a hunter who has bagged a Molinas goose lékuí (Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/) to break both its legs immediately; otherwise he will have no future luck at hunting. If the hunter has a newborn child at home, he may not break the legs of this goose with his own hands if he wishes to keep his child from harm (p.505).

825 788 A solitary sea duck, déika (Tachyeres patachonicus), flying over a hut fills all the inmates with fear and trembling. They are afraid that this déika will take with it the kespif of the children present. They quickly throw large pieces of skin over each baby and cover them well. Others will repeatedly stretch their arms out in front of them, palms forward, at the same time

/1304 cont./

uttering a loud, hissing ī sound. The purpose of the latter is to weaken the baleful effect of the sea duck and hold in the kīspif of the children. Immediately after confinement the mother and her husband may not eat the meat of the ōika (p. 505). The parents are advised to abstain from it until their child enters the second year of life. From then on it is completely out of danger, whereas before that it might possibly die if its parents should often eat the meat of the sea duck.

When the rust-colored spectacled ibis, īēuwa (Theristicus melanopis), flies over the heads of mature girls, they cross their arms and press them against their breasts to hide them. If they did not do this, īēuwa would pull their breasts far down, this is a beauty flaw of which they complain a great deal. This īēuwa is also known as a sensitive woman who anxiously guards her honor.

I did not learn that the Yamana are superstitiously afraid of any kind of insects, but Bridges (a):212 writes: "Many insects are also much dreaded, from a belief that they enter the ear, and work their way into the body, and thus kill those they enter" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):204 says the same thing. Unfortunately, these references are too general.

Sometimes an unusually large cap-shaped shell (Fissurella) clings to a rock along the coast, below the lowest water level. It is regarded as the mistress of that region. All the women who are gathering marine animals in its vicinity must remain silent and respectful. If they do not do this, the pāiakakīpa, as it is called, causes strong eddies. The word pāiaka is not a proper name, but a general term (compare BD:370); here it has its special meaning. The little hole in the flat shell is "the eye with which pāiakakīpa sees everything that happens around it."

If a father has lost a son in death, he abandons the male animals that he kills or he throws them into the water. If a daughter has died, he does not touch the female animals that he catches. He does this for several weeks after the death of his child to express his grief over the loss and to avenge himself, as it were, on Watagīnīwa.

X 515 713 /1340 cont./

The two girls who betrayed the secret remained behind in the lagoon on the advice of Lêm. They turned into ducks and are very timid.

Then Lêm angrily hoisted his guanaco on his shoulders once more and turned toward the camp. On the way he considered how he should avenge himself on the women. When he arrived in front of his hut, he threw down the guanaco and said angrily: "So that is why I provide plenty of game every day, so that my daughters can make fun of me and deceive all us men! "They take our meat away from us as though it were for Tômowa, but they themselves consume it in the Kina hut!" All the women who were standing near his hut listened astonished and asked themselves: "What has happened? What is Lêm talking about? Why is he so angry?"

[P25] Téhur-kipa (288) happened to be sitting nearby and was

288. A type of sparrow with yellow feathers, which is now rare in that region.

working on a harpoon point. She heard the excited words of Lêm and said to herself: "Somebody must have told him about the women! Perhaps he overheard the girls who went to the lagoon to bathe." She blushed with shame, for she suspected that the deception by the women had been revealed. Then she considered: "How could I manage to make Lêm be quiet about it and say nothing so that the other men will not discover anything. This woman was sitting in the front of a hut where many men were lying covered up, but still awake. She alone was sitting up; she after all, did not have to crawl under the covers (289). So when

289. During the Kalempana performance the people in the camp are supposed to assemble in one dwelling if possible and here await the visit of this spirit. This performance has already been described on p. 1227.

/1340 cont./

575
773

Lēm entered the hut, the woman in a roundabout way tried to hush up everything and keep him from talking; she said to him: "We women have just given the men here a /1341/ terrible scare! We all came into the hut here and the men immediately crept under the covers, because they believed that we were Kalampáša." She said this to confuse Lēm and divert him, so that he would not talk and the men would not find out anything.

She then ran back to the Kina hut and told the women: "Lēm knows everything that is going on here!" All the women were very much upset by these words. They got up, yelled very loudly, painted themselves, put on their masks, and went back to the hut where all the men were assembled. They wanted to terrify them more than ever now. This time, however, a few of the men secretly peeked out from under the skins with which they were covered. They said to themselves: "This time we shall not let ourselves be frightened, but shall look closely to see whether these are really our wives who are coming here!" They kept their hands over their eyes, but stealthily peeked between their fingers. While the women were dancing and yelling with their mouths close to the ears of the men, the men watched closely but remained motionless. When the weary women departed after the long dance, the men uncovered themselves and said to one another: "That [person] was my daughter. -- That was your wife. -- That was my wife, I recognized her. So that was not Kalampáša, but our wives!"

Thus the fraud was exposed. Lēm told the men in detail what he had seen and heard at the lagoon. Now the men wanted to make sure by means of further information. They considered what was to be done. They immediately sent off the swiftest one among them to run after the women. He ran behind them and dipped into the Great Hut. The women were sitting around the fire, and each woman had her mask leaning against the hut wall behind her. The little man clearly recognized the face of each woman. His name was Šalalakína; today he is a small bird (290).

290. This timid, swift bird is found in swampy places; its feathers are chocolate-brown, and it has a sweet voice. BD:152 also mentions it.

X 575 773 /1341 cont./
He slipped into the Great Hut and went around the circle behind the squatting women, tipping over all the masks. He escaped on the side opposite the wide entrance. The women suspected that a swift-footed man must have run through the hut, for how else could all their masks have fallen over! They gnashed their teeth and yelled loudly in shame and anger. Meanwhile little Šalalakína told the men: "I crept into the hut, quickly ran from one side to the other and tipped over all the masks. But I did not see Tánuwa. Only women are sitting there in the Great Hut!" The men listened to him.

Nevertheless, they thought that they should be even more certain. They wanted to know whether the women were really only deceiving them with all that they had maintained about Tánuwa. /1342/ So they sent out first one and then another of the men who could run quickly, first the smaller ones, then the bigger ones. Each of them crept in on one side, whisked through quickly, and escaped on the other side. The women soon noticed this and reached for their bows and arrows. They sent an arrow
•[825] after every man who ran through the hut and knocked over their masks. The arrow stuck fast and became a tail. The clumsy animals [which at that time were men] in particular were easy to hit with an arrow; that is why to this day they have a tail. The women threw a harpoon after the otter; that is why to this day it has a broad tail. They hit the fox with the Tíkétta shrub (291)

291. This is Winter's bark, Drumys winteri (p. 29 /untranslated/).

which was lying there with all its leaves and little twigs. It stuck fast and so the fox's tail is bushy. Every man who ran through the Great Hut was driven off in this manner by the women.

Finally when there were no more swift-footed runners among the men, they stopped. Then they armed themselves with clubs and slings, harpoons and spears, bows and arrows, and set out against the Great Hut. The women were seized with terrible fear, but the men stormed ahead and there was a great battle. The men attacked the women furiously. Only two of them escaped unharmed; all the others were severely beaten and were changed into animals.

/1343 cont./

X 575 the women are fooling me and all the men!' These words startled
713 Téčur'ǩīpa. Filled with fear /1344/ she hastened to the Kina hut and told the women: 'Lēm must have learned something [about our deception]!' The women were seized with dread and noisily prepared a spirit performance [the Kalampfsa mátu]. But the men looked out from under their covers and distinctly recognized their women who were painted and masked.

X 575 "Soon the great struggle began there in Yájaačīpa. The
713 men ousted the women from the Kina hut and in the process the
825 women all turned into animals. The men threw a harpoon or a spear after each one. Thus one can still see that each animal has a tail (293). The man who was trying to hit čilawájakīpa no

293. In the first version of this myth (p. 1244) the same Mačemikem said that the women had thrown various weapons after the fleeing men, and that these weapons are still recognizable today as tails.

longer had a spear handy, so he threw the next best thing after her, Winter's bark with its twigs and leaves, hence the bushy tail [of the fox]. The yékčelēf ran away without throwing off her mask and fled into the water; she is still wearing her mask (294).

294. This is the name for the squid (Loligo subulata). RD:646 probably also means this species, "a species of cuttle fish with a hard bill or horn" /cited in English/. The cephalopod referred to has a pair of wide, triangular fins on the pointed end of its elongated, cigar-shaped body. This formation is interpreted as a "mask" which it was supposed to have worn at that time.

The hafēm behaved in exactly the same way; to this day one can recognize the mask that she had over her head at that time (295). Likewise the tēpēpakīpa (296). The wémar'ǩīpa

295. This is a trunkfish, about as long as a hand, with short spines all over its body.

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296. The formation of the snout of this fur seal, Arctocephalus australis (p. 41 /untranslated/, is interpreted as a mask that was formerly worn by the animal.

(Larus glaucodes) was hit by many arrows; this is shown by the many dark stripes and dots on the wing covers. The small whale akoala (Pseudorca crassidens) happened to be absent when the general fighting began. Later when he returned to this spot, he noticed that there were only a few people. He said: 'Something must have happened here. How I should have liked to help in this fight!' He seized a smoldering club -- it was still smoldering from the general conflagration -- and burned himself under his armpits and on other places of his body. These are the light spots that one can still see on him.

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"The mighty spears and harpoons that our men hurled at that time still lie near that lagoon in Yāaalēga; they are covered by tall grass. They attract the attention of everyone who comes there. Scattered among them are mammoth stones; these, too, our men hurled at the women at that time. In the general fray all the women who had performed the Kina were turned into animals, into land animals, birds, and marine animals. At the same time Lēm left this earth. He took part in the Kina as a sort of servant to the women, for he had to provide them all with meat. Along with him his brother Akānix and the latter's wife Hānuxa, as well as many others, ascended to the canopy of heaven. There they all became /1345/ stars. Since then the men rule in the Kina hut and no woman may approach unauthorized, much less enter the meeting."

These two versions of the old legend clearly set forth two main ideas. First, the Kina celebration was originally in the hands of the women. Second, the disclosure of the deception by the sun-man resulted in a general upheaval, as a result of which the men came into possession of this secret performance and all the persons who had taken part were transformed into animals, trees (pp. 75/, 747), or stars. The legend explains that since then a new world order prevails and that at that time the world became populated with many kinds of animals. The story emphasizes the

X 575 776 382 /1370 cont./

Asgpakijaka, the performance of the southern sky. The painting for this is elaborate. The mask and the body are rubbed with white pigment. In addition the mask has seven black transverse lines as wide as a finger; the torso and arms have eight of these lines, and the legs, six. In each of the areas thus formed a red transverse line is added.

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Hałgwípisa-yéka, the performance of the mighty blue whale (Balaenoptera intermedia). Powdered chalk mixed with blubber is rubbed on the body of the performer in vertical lines, the width of a finger, drawn close together and beginning at the peak of the mask. BD:269 writes "hałgípisa-iaka, a certain play in the ceema drama imitative of whales" /cited in English/.

Sauyínuz-yéka, the performance of the short-beaked dolphin (Lagenorhynchus fitzroyi). The front part of the body and the center of the mask are covered with a vertical white stripe about 20 centimeters wide, on either side of which black color is applied.

Kizimeka-yéka, the performance of the gray gerfalcon (Circus cinereus). The performer paints his body and his mask white, and upon this background he distributes irregular black dots.

Akimagija-yéka, the performance of the falcon (Ibycter australis). The dancer paints his body white and applies a red line the width of three fingers from the peak of the mask across his chest to the genitals and another line around his body at the height of his navel.

Kilagila-yéka, the performance of the buzzard (Buteo galiinsonnus). Dry ami powder is finely rubbed over the entire body, and a few black dots are applied over it with the tip of the index finger.

Líruz-yéka, the performance of the gray-headed goose (Chloephaga poliocephala). The body of the performer from the armpits down is completely white, having been rubbed with powdered chalk. Above the armpits, and including the mask, it is rubbed with ami powder and is light red.

Kímga-yéka, the performance of the Magellan goose (Chloephaga picta). The entire body is painted red, and large white dots are painted on the chest (369).

369. The Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida

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/help goose/), which is related to the two species above, is not portrayed. The Yamana say that it was already present at the time of the general upheaval, as it is to this day.

Alakuí-yáka, the performance of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus). The entire body and the mask are painted with white pigment. The nose and mouth are painted on the mask with red pigment. A black line as wide as three fingers is painted in a shallow arc from one shoulder to the other across the chest. /1371/

Wémar-kipa-yáka, the performance of the small gull (Larus glaucodes). The performer paints his body and the mask white and applies short, fine, horizontal red lines all over it.

Tuywíliwa-yáka, the performance of the diving petrel (Puffinus griseus /sooty shearwater/). It suffices to paint the entire body uniformly black, an exact imitation of the natural coloring of this bird.

Wilapilóáka, the performance of the brown gull-teaser wilapála (Megalestris skua chilensis). To portray this spirit the men paint their bodies and masks white. They draw six evenly spaced rows of short red lines from the upper part to the ankles. The mask is painted differently. On a white background four red stripes two fingers wide are drawn from the peak of the mask to the lower edge, and white transverse lines the width of a thumb are put in each stripe at close intervals.

Gérápu-yáka, the performance of the white albatross (Diomedea exulans, Fig. 80). For this performance mask and body are painted with powdered chalk mixed with water; the former, in the region of the nose, has a vertical red line as long as a finger. BD:346 writes "gérápú čin, the initiatory rite of the ceena drama" /cited in English/. -- The gérápu-lóima-yáka is peculiar. The men and the candidates paint their faces all white. A thin little stick which is slightly springy stretches from each corner of the mouth to the upper eyelid, so that the face is horribly distorted. They all squat close together at the low entrance, as though to barricade it. The uwíala are in the center of the group. Each of them holds a bow and a quiver in his hand. These articles must be specially made, but are not carefully

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worked because they are not meant for use in hunting. With his front teeth each man holds a yēkuš, that is, an arrowhead or spear point; in his hands he holds an unfinished basket on which he is working. When the group is assembled in this manner, one of the men summons the women and children. They may come up to within a few steps and silently look over the group. Neither words nor looks are exchanged, the men steadfastly keeping their eyes on the ground. After a few minutes the women are sent back again. The Yamana of the south and west have the same performance, but with the following variation. The men and the candidates paint their faces white and draw a black line the width of a finger from the outer corner of each eye to the ears. They all have a yēkuš between their teeth and in addition hold in their hands a drawn bow and an arrow which they aim at the women who are standing outside in front of the entrance. This pantomime also goes on in complete silence and lasts only a few minutes. No one was able to tell me its meaning.

Katāmux-yāka, the performance of the sea dove (Daption capensis). The performer paints his body and mask completely white and then adds many black dots with his index finger. This is precisely the way this marine bird is marked.

/1372/ Taperōla-yāka, the performance of the small diver (Podiceps calipareus). This bird, the size of a pigeon, has brownish-black feathers and a white tail. The person who portrays him as a spirit rubs a piece of dry charcoal all over his body, including his mask, and draws a white line, the width of a hand, from the navel to the genitals.

Yēlex-yāka, the performance of the black cormorant (Phalacrocorax atriceps). The performer wears no mask. He rubs charcoal dust mixed with a little blubber all over his body. He paints his chest, the hairy part of his head, and his cheeks white and holds his arms as though he were supporting a mask. According to BD:274, hauwurš means "the black shag" /cited in English/ and this performance. Compare Figure 58 on page 233.

Wāsenim-yāka, the performance of the hooded cormorant (Phalacrocorax gaimardi). The person who portrays this spirit wears a mask that is painted white. He rubs his body with dry charcoal dust and draws a very wide white stripe from his neck to his genitals.

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Uświlēr-yāka, the performance of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater). A red line, the width of two fingers, runs from the peak of the mask down the center. The whole body is white, with a black arc the width of a hand running across the chest from one shoulder to the other. BD:117 also mentions this performance. Compare Figure 76 on page 385.

Śūrśa-yāka, the performance of the spectacled penguin (Spheniscus magellanicus). The performer paints his chest and belly white, the rest of his body, black. There is a wide black arc above each of the eye-holes of the white mask. BD:160 gives suśa-lama.

Hājmus-yāka, the performance of the robalo (Eleginus maclovinus). A few vertical white lines from the neck over the chest and belly, as well as a few vertical black lines beginning at the armpits, suffice to portray this spirit. BD:261 also mentions haimuś-yaka.

Śūna-yāka, the performance of the porcupine fish. On the uniformly white mask a red transverse line, the width of a finger, is painted at the level of the mouth. Many red semicircles are placed close together all over the body of the performer to represent fish scales. This design is very effective (310).

> 310. It is well known that, according to the legend, the child whose father was a sea lion and whose mother was the sister of the Yoalox brothers turned into this fish (p. 1149).

Ilēśći-yāka, the performance of the herring (Clupea pectinata). The mask and the entire body are painted uniformly white. On either side of the body a black line as wide as a hand runs from the armpits to the ankles.

Imakaj-yāka, the performance of the sea trout (Atherinichthys). The dancer draws many vertical white lines as wide as a finger and as long as a thumb irregularly all over his body and his mask.

Kalampāśa-yāka, the performance of the fish Kalampāśa. This fish has a broad head and its body tapers evenly from the head to the tail fin. The performer characterizes this spirit by means of small red semicircles over his entire body which he first painted white. His white mask /1373/ has a red transverse line, the width

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of three fingers, in the region of the mouth. Now and then this spirit orders the men either to step out of the Great Hut in single file, or, in the so-called Kalampáła-mátu, as individuals, to see how the women are conducting themselves in their dwellings. BD:178 also lists kōlapōła-iaka.

Jepflui-yáka, the performance of the little redfish. The performer must paint a great number of fine, vertical, finger-length red lines close together and on top of one another all over his body. The mask is white.

Hikufkalíła-yáka, the performance of the jellyfish (Medusa). This also requires fine, vertical red lines about three centimeters long all over the body and the mask, but not in as great a number as in the preceding performance.

Húka-yáka, the performance of the small cuttlefish (octopus). The person who represents this spirit, sometimes also called Ełinłu, rubs dry ími powder on his body and hangs a square piece of leather similarly colored loosely over his head in place of the pointed mask.

Yéłełłf-yáka, the performance of the calamary (Loligo subulata). The dancer smears his whole body and the mask uniformly red. It is well known that Yéłełłfkipa escaped when the men stormed the Kina hut. The painting just described is like the one that she wore at that time and which she still displays on her diminutive figure (p. 1247).

Kínajuf-yáka, the performance of the bluebottle fly. The person who pronounce this spirit to the women paints his body and mask black and over this irregularly distributes many white dots with his index finger. According to BD:165, kinajus also means wasp and bee.

In the east the so-called wełgła-yáka was performed. Several men step out of the Kina hut as a group without any kind of painting. Each one carries a stick that is pointed at the lower end and a meter long. At some distance from the Great Hut the men move close together, form a circle, and drive the stick into the ground several times. They poke around like this for a few minutes without looking up and without saying a word. Then they silently go back again. No one could tell me the meaning of this performance. BD:635 gives wełgara-gímata, "to dig, burrow" /cited in English/.

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X 515 The Hinuku performance has historical value, so to speak. 535 While the men are preparing for it, the leader gives a signal and there begins an unvarying, constantly repeated hôm, hôm... on the same pitch and with sharp emphasis. The force and tempo of this call slowly increases in order to attract the attention of the women in the camp. Meanwhile the participants paint their [302] bodies white. A red arc as wide as a finger is drawn across the forehead, with its ends pointing downward. Then, shouting loudly, the men arrange themselves one behind the other. They squat down so far that they support themselves with both fists and their buttocks almost touch the ground. They can move forward only in short steps. When the first men in this column are just visible, a few older /1374/ women hasten to the field and await the men. The latter keep their squatting position, but form a closed circle. The women approach and walk along the outside of the circle. They gently slap each man with a piece of leather or with the hand, and the man immediately falls over as though he had been killed. The women hastily depart. Not until after about ten minutes, during which no one in the camp stirs, the men cautiously get up and, deeply bent over and one behind the other, go back to the Great Hut without a sound. They quietly wash off their painting and in an undertone converse very gaily, for, after all, they have not been killed and have not been [176 25] murdered by the women. Hinuku is the spirit of the fur seal, tepûwa (Arctocephalus australis). At the time of the great struggle in Tûgaldjo he moved in the same clumsy way he does today, and many women fell upon him in order to kill him. That is exactly what happens now in this performance (311).

[311] 311. This scene is almost exactly like the Nukan scene in the Kiberein of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 197). BD:202 also speaks of this performance "before the women and children as spectators" /cited in English/.

X 515 All the plays listed here, which I experienced personally, The do not exhaust the long list. BD mentions many additional ones. 525 For example, BD:170, kûlgwûlaka, the performance of the sea

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gull kiwiga (Larus dominicanus). BD:413, tlualaiaka, the performance of the loud tikala (Larus belcheri /a gull/). BD:112, ollaiaka, the performance of the whale ollala (Pseudorca crassidens). finally. BD:283, haiyaiga. BD:277, lamthaiaka, the performance of the whale, BD:278, laiahkiga, and BD:267, ghama, or "tlalhwa's son, one of opening scenes and characters in the kwoma drama" /cited in English/. BD also mentions a few more performances. In any case, see the explanations of kiwi in BD:212.

In conclusion the so-called kina-tlingwiga, the death rite, should be specifically mentioned. Now and then it happens that in the course of this men's festival one of the participants or one of their relatives dies. Then one evening the participants assembled in the Great Hut put on an actual tlingwiga for only themselves. The men adorn themselves with the body painting customary for this occasion (p. 1061), depending on the degree of their relationship to the deceased. This is not enough, however. An influential ulhamal appoints a man, probably the leader, to paint himself in a special way. In March, 1932, Malomiwem, who was then the leader of the Kina, volunteered to do this himself. The entire body is painted white and over this are painted four black stripes the width of a hand, beginning in the center of each collar bone and in each armpit and extending to the knee. These stripes, but narrower, are continued on the white mask up to its point. The performer dances out of the Great Hut just like any one of the many other "spirits" and moves back and forth several times in the dance course. The people in the camp immediately recognize him /1275/ by his painting. On the evening of a tlingwiga the men remain very quiet and appear to be sad out of sincere sympathy. The Tamana have no proper name for the spirit portrayed in this manner. It would not be correct to call him the ulhaiga of the deceased person who is being mourned. the whole performance is meant to be reminiscent of his departure and of the sorrowful participation of the survivors.

The Tamana emphatically assured me that there is no portrayal in the Kina of the spirits of those animals that were already living here as actual animals at the time of the great upheaval.

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This applies to the raven vulture wēgwiyū, the hawk yo'okalā, the gerfalcon kētēla, the common sea gull kiwēgu (312), and

312. BD:170, however, mentioned this spirit.

particularly the many small birds. The specific painting with which every spirit appears adds a certain variety to the course of the Kina festival, but after a time the monotonous dance movements become noticeably boring to the women and also somewhat to the men. The arbitrary decision of the leader and the general mood of the participants determine the number of spirits and the sequence of their appearance on each evening. In view of this, one Kina festival is sometimes very different from another, and this provides a change.

d. End of the Festival

Obviously it is the environment, especially the urgency of matters of subsistence, which forces the participants to terminate a Kina festival. Here, too, the decisive factor is that same play of forces that leads to the termination of a youth initiation (p. 892). The most important of these would be lack of food, flooding of the campsite, insufficient firewood, the illness of a number of persons, or a death.

Even if these unforeseen and yet decisive circumstances were not taken into account, at practically every Kina the attention of the dancers and spectators begins to lag after only a few days. The men must stimulate and renew the interest of all the participants in the affair. If all their efforts fail, boredom is clearly written on the faces of all those present. From the start, the women do not welcome the Kina. For their part they certainly make no effort to prolong it. For a time, however, the men feel quite content in their closed group, especially if there are many of them and the individual members take an active part. Thus they are unaware of the threatening and unavoidable monotony of each passing day. The Yamana are much too restless by nature to /1376/ bear unvarying monotony for very long, and the many spirit appearances certainly do not offer enough

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X156 T89 B24 day after tomorrow] favorable weather will set in!" The children, above all, become quiet, and the old people are full of expectation. Sure enough, on the day announced the snowstorm at least abates and perhaps there is even a cloudless sky. /1422/ Once on a rainy day I also heard: "Tomorrow uxápu [the constellation Orion, p. 1276 /unrevised/] will appear!" On another winter's day a yékamuf assured the people: "Tomorrow we shall see Tóllop-thrmuxipa again and that will usher in good weather!" Sure enough, each time the prognostication was fulfilled. The question is whether those yékamuf were guided by knowledge derived from experience and careful observation? I cannot decide. In any case, the people ascribe the change of weather to the superior knowledge and ability of the yékamuf. As is known, a number of medicine men gather together in the Mjma-yékamuf. Since they jointly exert their influence on the forces of nature, the people say that favorable weather prevails for the duration of that affair.

X156 T89 B25 When there are persistent storms, the people are hindered in their freedom of movement and sometimes suffer great privation. Then the yékamuf must save them by furnishing food. He lies down to sleep, starts his čówfuni song, and thus invokes the čówfuni spirits. The latter have whole swarms of herring with them and these, of course, are accompanied by many other species of animals. They soon cover the beach near the people to dinner. In the same way the čówfuni spirits drive many round crabs (Lithodes antarctica, Fig. 13 /in unrevised portion/) up on the beach or cause many birds to light on nearby stones. The yékamuf also uses another helper. In his dream he calls an ólula to him and describes to it the threatening situation of his family group. Thus prevailed upon, the ólula returns to its region, and from there on the next day it leads a whale with its accompanying animals to the stricken group (p. 1369 /unrevised/). As soon as the people see the many animals, they rejoice and thank their yékamuf for this rescue; he finally releases the helpful spirits with his čówfuni song, and they once more retire far out on the high seas. If the men plan a joint hunting expedition the following day, the yékamuf assemble the day before and start the čówfuni song. This is supposed to ensure them the help of these spirits on the following day and at the same time guarantee the

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hunters success. While they sing, they move into the distance, stretch out both arms, open their hands and clutch the air, draw their closed hands back to their bodies, open them, press them against the chest and, with gentle pressure, down to their knees. As they do so they repeat a skill or several times. With these movements they wish to invoke the idiyil of the game animals, attract them, and gain power over them. The next day the men set out full of confidence.

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The Tsmane believe that their medicine men can see into the future and that they have infallible prescience. The yikamul themselves are especially convinced of this and give advance warnings to individuals. They also may admonish their whole group to be careful or may announce the prospect of a favorable event. On March 22, 1933, I was standing with several people when Malemikem said very distinctly: "Outside I see a long /1433/ canoe approaching with tuyellwa [Phalacrocorax olivaceus]!" Sure enough, the following day the people sighted unusually dense flocks of these birds which seldom cross a channel in such numbers. On another occasion Emilia stared out at the ocean like a seaman and cried: "The sea is getting white, mountains of waves are forming and a great deal of foam is gathering!" Her words sounded strange to us, since the surface of the water was entirely smooth. The next morning, however, bad weather came up from the east, causing high waves, and we remembered that Emilia had announced this change at noon of the preceding day. A few people said in wonder: "How remarkable it is that our yikamul know so many things in advance!"

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If the population in general is struck by illness, either because they have eaten spoiled meat or, more recently, because of an epidemic brought by Europeans -- something that the yikamul occasionally foresee in a dream -- the medicine men feel obliged to help immediately. They are told in a dream at what place all the people must assemble. They announce the place and without delay call the people together to a matiyilim. First, a big fire is kindled. All the adults and children stand around it. As soon as this circle begins to move, everybody raises his fists, wails in hollow sounds, and interjects frequent loud cries of ŋ ŋ. Finally they seize glowing sticks of wood and toss them high in the

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hair from his head, a bit of fingernail, or any insignificant thing. He takes it in his hands, stares fondly at it for some time, kneads it and presses it, pulls it and shapes it, until it has taken on the shape of the person who is to be harmed. He can observe this transformation in his awake vision. Then he hides this little piece in an insignificant little bag called *ulkur*[k] (334). Now the *ulkur*[f]

334. I cannot decide whether it is this that BD:270 designates as "*humuld*, a skin bag in which *yekamuf* kept their odds and ends" /cited in English/. Hyaden (q):207 gives this word as "bag of the healer" /translated from French/.

of that person is locked up as in a prison, and he cannot get out by himself. For his *ulkur*[k] the *yekamuf* prefers to use the conical cocoon, about three centimeters long, of the *Thaumaporyche chilensis* (Bombycidae), an insignificant-looking Foreign butterfly whose caterpillar usually hangs its cocoon on Berberis bushes. From time to time the *yekamuf* takes the little piece out of his *ulkur*[k], squeezes it and kneads it, crushes it and presses it, pulls and yanks it, drops it on the ground and stamps on it with his feet, throws it high into the air and catches it again convulsively in his hands, and worries it in every conceivable fashion with emphatic and limitless malevolence. Finally the person from whom this cruel miracle was taken feels somewhat weak and unwell. As time goes on his feeling of sickness increases more and more, for he lacks his *ulkur*[f] which the *yekamuf* retains in his *ulkur*[k] and constantly torments. Since the body of the person must do without his *ulkur*[f] for such a long time, he uses up his vitality and grows progressively weaker. If a stronger *yekamuf* does not see the situation in his dream and, aware of the threatened peril of that person, enter a halt, the person is doomed. If he is stronger than the other *yekamuf*, he must immediately free the person's *ulkur*[f] from the *ulkur*[k] and lead it back to its body. As a rule the sufferer does not realize soon enough that a *yekamuf* has robbed him of his *ulkur*[f]. It is only after much blood has flowed from his nose and mouth and he is very weak that a capable *yekamuf* will reveal the situation and offer to make the urgently necessary rescue. He does

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5. Botany and Zoology

Only a few species of higher plants are represented in Yamana country, but there are considerably more kinds of higher animals. Our Fuegians have an accurate knowledge of the one as well as the other. This means, first of all, that they know the special characteristics of each plant that is of any use in the household, and they have selected it from those available to them on the basis of its suitability for their purposes. I pointed this out most emphatically when I described their individual implements and weapons. The vegetable kingdom does not offer the Yamana any food worth mentioning, but the extremely little that it does offer in luxuries (p.299) -- if one may call it that -- is well known and utilized. One could hardly estimate the number of experiments and the long series of observations by former generations that must have been necessary before this knowledge became a universal possession of the entire tribe. It was then transmitted throughout the centuries to each subsequent generation.

The Yamana is vitally dependent every day upon the animal kingdom; to it alone he owes his subsistence. Everyone is therefore obliged to observe carefully the habits and movements of the species useful to him. If the Yamana gives a proper name to every larger plant family, this is all the more true of every animal species, with the exception of insignificant lower animals that are in no way useful to him. He has originated and developed the various hunting methods on the basis of his knowledge of the habits of each species (p.215). His booty by no means has equal value; he distinguishes the various species, and even different parts of the body of the same species, according to the tastiness of the meat, the greater or lesser usefulness of bones and feathers, fur and skins, even sections of gut, according to their durability and efficiency. All this is based on rich practical knowledge. The Yamana can creep up on their game animals with amazing skill, and they imitate the movements of certain species in some of their games. Here, too, one can see how carefully /1455/ our Fuegians observe the animal realm surrounding them. On this, in turn, they base their rules for the hunt, for the gathering

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•825 of eggs and shellfish. With clever calculation they observe a closed season for certain species, and they know the time of year when it is not advisable to eat certain species. Our Indians very much enjoy watching the harmless play of animal parents with their young; /Fig. 100 appears here/ they marvel at the wonderfully majestic flight of the mighty stormy petrel and thoroughly enjoy the clumsy movements of penguins (Fig. 100) and cormorants; the graceful agility of the pinnipeds in the water amazes them no less than the awkward behavior of these animals on land (Fig. 95) makes them laugh. The hunter approaches a certain species with extreme caution or with the assurance of victory, all depending on its nature, physical strength, and mobility. From the unmatched character delineations in many of the myths one sees how well the hunter is acquainted with all the characteristics of the most common animals. From early youth, through frequent play with young animals and daily observation, the Fuegian acquires his rich knowledge of the peculiarities of the not inconsiderable number of animal species that, like he himself, inhabit the storm-tossed Cape and provide a livelihood for him and his family.

Fig. 100. Pygoscelis adeliae.

Our Indians cannot be blamed for giving a superstitious interpretation to much of the strange behavior of their animals (p.1189). After all, they want to explain this behavior, and their judgment is usually based on what happens under similar circumstances among people. Thus they say, to mention still another

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[87] example: If a dog groans in the family hut, as though in despair, this is a sign of mourning, for it knows that a close relative of its master has just died or will soon die.

/1456/ 6. Medicine

040 In the following pages the work of the yékamuš, which is based on suggestion or on peculiar visions of spirits, will, of course, not be discussed. Similarly, the infections and epidemics that have been imported by Europeans (p. 340 /untranslated/) will not be considered. The Yamana are a healthy, resistant people, even though their physique may have little or no appeal for Europeans (p. 214 /untranslated/). They are as unfamiliar with transgressions against sexual morality as they are with alcohol. Although once or twice a year they overload their stomachs when a whale has been stranded (p.313), they must now and then suffer a temporary food shortage (p.306). They lack many things that could make their lives more agreeable (p.298). The fact that
145 many people have reached a considerable age is due to their mode of life and the atmospheric conditions of their country, but it would be arbitrary to mention age in figures. The infirmities of age, which undoubtedly occurred, seldom annoyed a person seriously. Without protracted suffering, most of them died an almost sudden, gentle death from actual old age (360). Fitz-Roy (a):186 found it

360. Hyades (f):573 also declares: "The Fuegians can reach an advanced age (70 to 80 years). They then show external signs of decrepitude, but their physical capabilities are, for the most part, retained. The infirmities of advanced age are almost exclusively chronic rheumatic ailments" /translated from French/.

surprising that he met neither men nor women "who appeared to be very old -- certainly no one was decrepit" /cited in English/.

/633 cont./

582 vein -- that he show, aside from the maturity of judgment demanded, sufficient physical stamina to act the man fully and completely in making a living. In the case of girls, even
582 though actual maturity has long since taken place, the Foegians
•626 wait until considerable physical fullness and a certain shapeliness have been attained, this being regarded as the necessary condition for motherhood. The shape of the breasts is not a decisive as the broadening of the hips, which sets in quite suddenly after the start of puberty. Once I heard: "As long as a girl is too slim and delicate, she must not give herself to a man; her child would be born too weak and small!" It is the mother herself who keeps her daughter in the family hut until, according to her judgment and that of her female neighbors, the girl has the physical strength to become a mother successfully for the first time. This is usually at the age of 15 or 16; a few strong girls marry a year earlier (7).

7. Bove (c):128 and (e):157, on the other hand, sets the marriageable age lower. "The marriage of Foegians generally takes place early; already at 12 or 13 years of age the girls run after men, but they do not become mothers until they are 17 or 18. The men marry between the ages of 14 and 16." Wieghardt:40 repeats this word for word. Lovisato (b):150 gives even lower figures. Hyades (q):377 mentions the 13th year for girls. According to Bridges (i):21, "girls were given in marriage from 14 years onward" /cited in English/. Hyades (f):373 is demonstrably inconsistent, for in another place he says: "Marriage takes place very late, about 18 or 20 years for girls, 25 for boys, on the average" /translated from French/.

584 /634/ As this account proves, boys and girls do not marry until they have fulfilled the requirements for a trouble-free economic life, on the one hand, and for healthy motherhood, on the other. This does not mean that occasionally a flirtation between

/537 cont./

3. The Ideal Marriage Partner

537 Not a single essay by European travelers suggests that the young Fuegians who are in love have a mental picture of an ideal partner, crossed by their wishes and transfigured by their romantic fancy. The young person eager to marry does not throw himself into the arms of any partner, freedom in the selection of a mate definitely shows that everyone is calculating and deliberate in choosing this or that person. This shows that all amorous desire moves in certain directions, the goal of which is the lovely vision of the ideal marriage partner. This picture is clearly drawn by certain suggestions in the teachings of the youth initiation. Here all the personal merits and social virtues that each boy Wild girl must exhibit in married life are emphatically named and recommended. Anyone who will make a list of the individual words that apply to this will get a complete picture of the ideal husband and the ideal wife, according to Yamana conceptions. We need only add to this the wishes for certain physical qualities which the other partner cherishes. In the case of most lovers, these are in the foreground, rather than good character traits.

537 Now, the question of how the girl imagines the boy of her dreams. He must be strong and healthy, well built and nicely proportioned. Deformities that disfigure him, such as scars of burns or other scars and injuries, for example, broken limbs which impede free movement, make a young man less or not at all desirable (10). In former times, apparently, there were no

10. Bove (e):158 agrees: "A cripple, one who is eschtic, can cheerfully take the vow of celibacy, and women regard such a person as an unclean creature, a pariah." In Wieghardt:41 we read the same words.

obese and heavy figures among young people. On the other hand, a well-built, upright, lithe, and supple figure has the best prospects.

537 Moreover, a young man's whole appearance must definitely

/637 cont./

SH1 express courage and awareness of strength, adventuresome spirit and joyous vitality. Everyone esteems a young person who attacks a piece of work with zest and finishes it with playful ease, who cheerfully sets out to hunt and regularly returns with game, who always knows how to occupy himself in and around his hut, who briskly and nimbly lends a hand everywhere. All this expresses a brisk, lively temperament, and this is far preferable to a phlegmatic sluggishness, for the more infrequently social intercourse with other people is possible, the more oppressive the latter becomes within the intimate family circle. They avoid a violent and quarrelsome, peevish and moody chap, /638/ but they enthusiastically take to one who is unreserved and gets along well with everyone, who cheers people up and adjusts to them easily, and who is obliging.

In all this, the girl is less concerned with the definite traits of character which her beloved is supposed to have, but she unconsciously takes for granted his faithfulness and his complete devotion to her. Moreover, she expects him to be a good human being, free of crudeness in his behavior, free of uncontrolled outbursts of rage and tendencies toward violence, without, however, lacking courage, manly pride, and daring. Each quality that the girl in love observes in her chosen one she greets with quiet satisfaction or with a smile; sometimes she commends him modestly, just enough to attract gently the attention of her female friends.

SH1 In a similar intensification of personal wishes and expectations, the young chap has an ideal image of his mate. The girl of his choice must also be beautifully built and have a pleasing shape (11). A small, smooth face, quiet, clear eyes, a dainty

11. According to Spegazzini's (a):165 conception, a "natural selection" /cited in English/ applies to the decision of each of the two lovers, "because a young man rarely chooses a wife who is ugly or has defects, just as a woman never binds herself with youth who is deformed or imperfect" /translated from Spanish/.

mouth with thin lips, and a soft, gentle voice captivate his heart.

/638 cont./

58| Her body should be neither thin nor heavy. He is most pleased
•826 with a slender but rounded figure. With all her vivacity, her movements must not lack grace -- one would almost like to say distinction -- and a certain quiet dignity.

58| A quiet, silent creature who is not lacking in sympathy and lively fellow-feeling is extraordinarily esteemed. Loud quarreling, moody ill-humor, and irritable touchiness have a repulsive effect. Cleanliness of body and all material possessions, love of order in the hut and in personal belongings, an inexhaustible urge to be constantly busy, inconspicuous quietness in all daily work, affection for parents, and a happy disposition in dealing with small children -- these are virtues which even older women praise and which they constantly recommend to marriageable girls.

Lively, wholesome girls have good prospects of being courted; they are the ones who like to be teased, who consciously make a circle of young boys notice them, and who expect an understanding reply to their loud giggles. They bring life into a group of young people and, adroitly and quite spontaneously, provoke fun and flirtation in any circle.

Thus, our Yamana, too, have what we call an ideal of a beautiful and perfect mate, although in the tempestuous wishes and desires of youthful lovers it is made up chiefly of purely external characteristics. /639/ Blind love and extravagant fancy usually disregard inner qualities and character traits (12). Even

> 12. At this point I should like to refute the thoroughly false assertion of Spegazzini (a):165 that among these Fuegians "love as understood in the lofty sense of our society does not exist!" /Translated from Spanish./

someone like Spegazzini (a):165 admits "that the strongest and handsomest men are the ones who have more women and the most beautiful women. During my observations to see if the type regarded as beautiful were the same as among us, I noted that the men and women who appeared attractive to me not only attracted the glances of the opposite sex, but many times someone with a gleam in his eyes would point out a person to me and say: Uf-ganna (what a man)! Uf-gufpa (what a woman)!"

/1304 cont./

825 [788] uttering a loud, hissing ī sound. The purpose of the latter is to weaken the baleful effect of the sea duck and hold in the kīpif of the children. Immediately after confinement the mother and her husband may not eat the meat of the ōlka (p.503). The [262] parents are advised to abstain from it until their child enters the second year of life. From then on it is completely out of danger, whereas before that it might possibly die if its parents should often eat the meat of the sea duck.

When the rust-colored spectacled ibis, īkuwa (Theristicus melanopis), flies over the heads of mature girls, they cross their arms and press them against their breasts to hide them. If they [263] did not do this, īkuwa would pull their breasts far down; this is a beauty flaw of which they complain a great deal. This īkuwa is also known as a sensitive woman who anxiously guards her honor.

I did not learn that the Yamana are superstitiously afraid of any kind of insects, but Bridges (a):212 writes: "Many insects are also much dreaded, from a belief that they enter the ear, and work their way into the body, and thus kill those they enter" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):204 says the same thing. Unfortunately, these references are too general.

Sometimes an unusually large cap-shaped shell (Fissurella) clings to a rock along the coast, below the lowest water level. It is regarded as the mistress of that region. All the women who are gathering marine animals in its vicinity must remain silent [263] and respectful. If they do not do this, the pījakakīpa, as it is called, causes strong oddim. The word pījaka is not a proper name, but a general term (compare BD:270); here it has its special meaning. The little hole in the flat shell is "the eye with which pījakakīpa sees everything that happens around it."

825 765 If a father has lost a son in death, he abandons the male animals that he kills or he throws them into the water. If a daughter has died, he does not touch the female animals that he catches. He does this for several weeks after the death of his child to express his grief over the loss and to avenge himself, as it were, on Watasinīwa.

/1390 cont./

X 356 302 it is the rule that they paint themselves only when they are working toward some goal of their calling. Hence they reach for their pigment even in the dead of night if they awaken after special dreams and give themselves up to serious meditation. Most often the yéhamuf rubs his face and hair with dry powdered lime. In former times he also applied it to the upper part of his body, that is, before he covered it with European clothing. Sometimes he contents himself with drawing a finger-thick white stripe under his nose from one ear lobe to the other. It is rare that he draws this line in red. Sometimes, of course, he forgoes any kind of painting, but even then he can be recognized clearly enough by his apawéwa. Later on the painting of candidates in the medicine-man school will be described; this, too, shows clearly the preference of the yéhamuf for white (304).

> 304. Earlier reports, for example, by Spegazzini (a):169, which mention another kind of outfit for the medicine man do not correspond to my experiences.

X 356 ● 304 It is difficult to explain how the Tamana imagine the physical constitution of their medicine men. The latter have -- as I learned -- a phantom body which, to the eyes of ordinary Tamana, looks like the body of one of their own people. The skin of the yéhamuf, above all, is supposed to be indescribably tender and thin, while the entire periphery of the body is supposed to exceed that of any other human being by far. According to measurements given to me, the diameter of a medicine man exceeds even 100 meters. Nevertheless, he looks like an ordinary Tamana to the eyes of the people around him. In the final analysis, it seems to me that this so-called periphery is best explained as the zone of influence of the yéhamuf, for it is said: "the yéhamuf knows everything that is present and that goes on within this periphery as definitely as though it were inside his body." This explanation is confirmed by the following. The Tamana also say: "If a yéhamuf wounds himself or if his body changes in any way, our eyes are deceived. We see all this in the way in which such things happen to our own body.

/1390 cont./

but in reality it is not the same in the case of a *yihamuf*." No one is able to give more specific explanations, and many Tonsans /1391/ themselves undoubtedly do not have a clear conception of what it is that they always affirm in these same words. It seems to me that a reference to the view of the Selk'nam about their medicine men is justified (Vol. I, 760). Many details that they attribute to their *xon* exactly fit the *yihamuf* of our Tonsans, for example, the extreme sensitiveness of the skin that it is so easily injured. In the following lines there are a few more supplementary remarks about this strange conception of the Tonsans concerning the physical being, or rather the physical make-up, of their *yihamuf*.

3. His Psychic Nature

In view of the preceding description it is not surprising that the Tonsans are able to say little about the mental side and the psychic make-up of a medicine man. They do not try to penetrate this area, which is difficult of access, and content themselves with what they comprehend with their senses about the operations of the *yihamuf*. The latter is primarily dependent upon personal feelings and incomprehensible fantasy images, which he neither clearly reveals nor describes in plain words. Thus one can only describe the manner in which the *yihamuf* operates as it presents itself to careful observation. The Selk'nam have a lucid body of ideas about their *xon* and their basic thoughts about their medicine-man system are well developed. In this respect the notions of what surrounds and constitutes the personality of the *yihamuf* are far inferior. This difference in scope as well as in the comprehension of the ideas and conceptions of the medicine-man system between the two Fuegian tribes is of decisive weight from a culture-history point of view.

A few basic facts about the manner of operation and the sphere of action of the *yihamuf* will at least permit a clear judgment. This is all the more important inasmuch as there is a widespread view that everything a medicine man does is only a refined type of deception and minutely calculated swindle.

/720 cont./

862 disgusting to the baby, and after that it stays away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /sic/, fish, and berries" /cited in English/ (153), but for a long time the chief food

> 153. Hyades (q):195 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women soon commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked mussels, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the roasted fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, flakuš. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

271 The young mother does not give the newborn child water from a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds.
863 The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Punta Remolino. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from
[153] a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such matters than my countrymen!"

231 In Hahn (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs" /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

• 827 I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with
833 the physiological connection between conception and nursing in the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

/721 cont./

§27 §33 one of the few days when she is not nursing her child (154), some-

> 154. Contrary to certain illusions that sexual intercourse ceases until after the last child has been weaned, Hyades (q):195 establishes in detail "that from the second month after confinement, intercourse is resumed between the spouses" /translated from French/. There may be other reasons why sometimes, not "often," as Hahn (a):505 writes, "several years go by between the first pregnancy and the next" /translated from French/.

times even during the third month after confinement.

§46 On page 501 we described how the baby's umbilical cord is tied by the Fuegians. The mother is very careful about the umbilical cord so that it does not break off prematurely. In the case of a woman who had been delivered, Hyades (q):196 observed on the third day: "The cord is dried and no longer held to the umbilicus except by a thread-like stalk. The mother has tied it today at its free end with a bit of thread, the other end of which is attached to a little band of fabric fastened around the right leg of the child" /translated from French/. During the night of the third to fourth day, the umbilical cord dropped off, and when Hyades, who had requested it, asked about it, he was told that it had been thrown into the fire. This, in my opinion, was only an excuse to put him off, for, as a rule, every mother catches the umbilical cord, kills, when it falls off, wraps it around her finger, keeps it for a few days until it is dry, and then hangs this ringlet on a necklace so that she will not lose it. It is not exactly commonly to display the umbilical cord conspicuously, but if the mother wears a necklace containing the ringlet no one seems surprised. /721/ The mother fastens the insignificant little thing to a necklace, which she most safely keeps in her leather bag, chiefly so that she will not lose it (156). When the child is about four years old, he must

> 155. Among the Halakwulup there is a custom that the father wears the umbilical cord of his most recent child on a string around his neck

X56 /1405 cont./
785 time with his legs crossed under him, at the same time holding
516 his arms crossed over his chest. The impression that the circle of motionless, painted white figures made upon me was indescribably strange.

X56 It has been mentioned several times that very little sleep
785 is permitted for the participants, and it comes during the four or
513 five /1406/ hours before daybreak. As ancient custom recommends, the qualified yikamuf sleep in the sitting position described above. Some of them draw their legs up slightly and slide back a little so that the bent back touches the hut wall while the neck still holds up the piece of wood. A person who can no longer do this may lie on one side and stretch his legs a bit, but he absolutely must have the piece of wood under his neck. The yuhkfel live in the old trees from which this ʼolalokita wood is taken; thus, the person who keeps the piece of wood behind his neck retains his yuhkfel-yigla even during sleep. The posture indicated induces many lively dreams during sleep. The sensitivity and irritability of the nerves are increased to the limit by the fact that, after the strain of the uncomfortable sitting position, even sleep at night is considerably curtailed; this is the goal sought by this means and by the limited diet and prolonged silence.

X56 According to Yamana belief, a full-fledged yikamuf seem-
● 827 ly seems to have the same type of body as the ordinary human being (p. 1308). The transformation of the body begins here in the ʼiyma-yikamuf for those ʼalwa-ʼikamuf who have experienced a real call. First the entire face is affected. After the medicine-man wheel has continued for a few days each apprentice, according to instructions given by experienced yikamuf, begins the following process which he may not interrupt. He takes a ball of fine wood shavings from the lemon-yellow wood of berberis ilicifolia (it is known as ʼilikʼh), dips it into the white tunguʼya powder and rubs his cheeks with it. For about half an hour his hand moves slowly with scarcely perceptible pressure; then he stops for the same length of time and begins anew. Each apprentice carries on these motions by himself; he does it for a shorter or longer time, but he must continue the process all day long. Its purpose is to make a new, softer, more delicate skin appear in place of his actual skin. When, after continuous

/1456 cont./

X156 pulsing and rubbing, the new skin finally becomes visible in
D7 about three weeks, the old masters interpret it as a sign that the *shelgiyanuf* in question really has a call for their vocation, and they show their joy in mutual mental visions. Now the apprentice must rub the cheek region with renewed diligence until, after another three or more weeks, this second delicate skin also disappears, and a third, still finer and more sensitive, appears. This skin is so soft and sensitive that it cannot be touched without causing penetrating pain. The *shelgiyanuf* who is the first among all the apprentices to develop this third, extremely fine skin arouses the greatest hopes and is regarded as the most successful pupil. As soon as this third, extremely sensitive skin is formed among the rest of the apprentices, the elders conclude the *thyne-yikanuf*. Naturally, the experienced teachers recognize this alteration of the skin in /1457/ their mental visions and inform each other in brief words which are unintelligible to all the pupils. This is not a case of mechanically destroying the real skin of the face; rather, by a process of auto-suggestion, the *shelgiyanuf* believe in the alleged changes which the old teachers audibly discuss. They also say that this extraordinary sensitivity of the facial skin gradually disappears, but that the skin remains very delicate. In connection with the alteration in the skin of the face, the rest of the skin and the entire body are transformed into that phenomenal body which all *yikanuf* are supposed to have.

X156 In the course of the *thyne-yikanuf* the old masters repeatedly perform two kinds of movements for which they show great preference. They pass both cupped hands over the hot fire and capture, so to speak, a handful of warmth which they pass out, as it were, over the head of an apprentice. They do this at least three times in succession. They also catch warmth from the hot fire in only one cupped hand, with the arm outstretched, and move it along in such a way that their cupped hand rests on the mouth of an apprentice; they fairly pass warmth into him. It is said that these two movements remove a sort of impenetrable veil of fog from the eyes of the *shelgiyanuf*. Even now an he can see the spirits without interference and nothing can hinder his singing.

775 /1096 cont./

of a future good or bad existence or of the presence of a spirit in man, which survives the body." In the first part he is right; in the second he contradicts himself.

reported: "They believe in the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. This is actually the case, and it is not worthwhile to consider contrary opinions.

774 Furthermore, the Yamana believe that the spirit-beings have unlimited freedom of movement, so to speak. During sleep, above all in dreams, the kēpif leaves the body temporarily and goes elsewhere. Spencer:101 also mentions: "When dreaming, the spirit goes out of him" /cited in English/. In this connection it is worth noting that the kēpif, after such a leave-taking, must be anchored to the body anew, so it were, by means of a ceremonial act, usually by a yēkamsi. This will be explained later. Several times my attention was called to an important distinction: "While someone is dreaming, his kēpif merely goes for a walk, and of course soon returns, but if a person dies, Wotaqitōjwa takes the kēpif away and will not permit it to reunite with the body." When the Yamana say, "One cannot see a spirit-being, simply because it is kēpif," they mean: it is not corporeal, for only something corporeal is visible to the eye. Nevertheless they admit that such a spirit-being can occasionally make itself visible, but they do not explain this in detail. Once I asked: "If my brother has been dead for a long time and then I, too, die, will my kēpif meet that of my brother, will it see him and be able to communicate with him?" In reply I was told: "We do not know that. We are completely /1096/ ignorant about how the kēpif behave over there." If the Yamana wish to explain their own vague idea about the existence of a kēpif, all they can say is: "It is something like the breath or the air that comes out of one's mouth."

774 761 It seems to me that their view of the derivation and origin of the human soul is not entirely clear. In a vague way they admit that the Supreme Being plays a decisive role, namely, that the soul of the newborn child comes from him, whereas the body of the child owes its origin to its parents (34). Common

34. Spencer:100 says: "New born child gets

/1099 cont./

115 The Yamana say nothing about future retribution, which is
828 logical in view of the general uncertainty about the fate of the
human soul after death. They do, however, definitely separate
their countrymen into good and bad. I said to them: "Many
people are hard-working and diligent, honest and good. They are
always that way, whereas some are indolent and lazy." Their
answer was: "The Yamana learn in the tálpuse how they should
conduct their lives, what is proper for a decent human being.
Each person, when he was an ukúnle, promised faithfully to
carry out what the old people recommended. That is why these
people work for themselves and their family; they care for their
relatives, they give part of their booty to neighbors, they are
good people and easy to get along with. But besides that there
are also bad people. They are lazy and burdensome gossips; they
no longer remember what was taught them in the tálpuse and
what they promised there; they no longer pay any attention to
what the Yamana practice. That is why we despise them. Every-
one lets them go their own way and holds himself aloof from
them. Their fate soon overtakes those chats and gossips.
Wetaxinúwa lets them die prematurely! These are good and bad
human beings. A bad human being behaves badly simply because
he is bad; a good human being behaves well because it is his
nature to be good. Whether the ukúnif of these people will be the
same afterwards [after death]? That we do not know!" It is clear
from all this that the Yamana do not know the condition of the
soul after death. They view an untimely death as a punishment
which serves more or less as adequate atonement for serious errors,
so that probably the necessary penance has been made.

115 Our Fuegians, finally, are just as vague about a definite
place of abode of the ukúnif. The two statements of Bridges (a):
111 and (b):138 are justified: "They have no thoughts of a future
state, either of reward or punishment /cited in English/...They
do not fear a future life or cherish hopes beyond the grave" /trans-
lated from Spanish/. The general opinion is that "they go far
away beyond the sea." This particular expression is repeated again
and again. Richard asserted what other /1100/ people confirmed:
"The ukúnif go far out to sea, there where the many ukúnle /killer
whale/ are. The ukúnif stay near them and sometimes come with

/1096 cont./

787 but will relate his dream. It is not regarded as unusual for
154 someone who is suddenly awakened in the middle of the night by a vivid dream to wake up his family and tell them about it. A yékamuf may even call out to all the neighboring huts from his bed and announce to the people what he just experienced in a dream, although this is generally without any significance to outsiders. It will be explained below how much the yékamuf pursue their calling in dreams. The Tanzans believe that the very frequent dream images come by themselves to ordinary people, and everyone is very much concerned about them /1297/ (360).

360. Hyades (d):263 says briefly: "Dreams are frequent, but in general no one seems to attribute any meaning or importance to them" /translated from French/. Only the first part of this statement is correct.

787 Everyone attributes more or less importance to a dream, depending on its content, the person's temperament, and given circumstances. There is no rule or any sort of criterion; the individual attaches more significance to one dream and less to another according to his own feeling and judgment. A person will be more vividly concerned and more excited by something that touches him directly or threatens him with grave consequences than by unimportant and insignificant everyday things. Everyone who hears about a dream accepts without contradiction the dreamer's interpretation of it. No one would ever dare minimize in any way or even reject the interpretation of a dream given by the one who experienced it and who evaluates it according to his own judgment. Anyone who is extremely disturbed about a dream turns to a yékamuf, who, for his part, will always confirm the seriousness of the whole matter and will usually prepare at once to ward off the harm threatened in the dream.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the Tanzans believe implicitly in the dreams which agitate and alarm them (361).

361. Bridges (D):14 has reliably declared: "The Tahgans had great faith in dreams

/1300 cont./

also lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore that a *ilgua* would soon be sung here. From each of the two shores a canoe carrying messengers set out without delay to bring the news to the opposite shore. The two canoes met in the middle of the channel, and the people of one told the people of the other: "Our *yikamuf* has just died, his brother killed him!" Soon all the people knew what had happened and that those two *yikamuf* were equally capable.

The power of the medicine man also reaches out beyond the boundaries of his own home. It overpowers Europeans, as was shown in the case of Bridges (p. 1304), and the neighboring Sik'tam according to Clara who told the following story in March, 1935. Once several Tamasa were camping near Puerto Helverda. Not far from them a number of Sik'tam had erected their hut. When they saw the Tamasa there, they stepped out and began making fun of them. The Tamasa felt insulted, but did not dare attack the others. Finally a *yikamuf* said: "I shall inflict harm upon them!" Without being observed he hurled a *yikuf* against the last one of those Sik'tam who were retreating into the hut. The next morning when this man awoke he was blind in one eye. Later, when he started to walk a short distance, he fell over dead. That is how quickly the *yikuf* of that medicine man took effect. -- All the people present confirmed this incident and were convinced that it was the plain truth.

Sufficient proof that the *yikamuf* themselves believe in their ability has now been cited. They are convinced that their dreams and the things they undertake in the dream state have reality, that their influence on natural forces brings about the desired result. Whenever someone requests help from a friendly *yikamuf*, the latter usually begin working at it without delay. If he should not attain the desired goal immediately, he will repeat his efforts a second and a third time. The whole neighborhood gratefully acknowledges each success and the fulfillment of each wish, above all the person who obtained the greatest benefit. Thus it would be utterly unjust and false to call the medicine man a deceiver and swindler (326). After all, he has

326. Bowe (p.)235 pronounces this unfair judgment without any qualifications. He

/1407 cont./

456 It is well known that the yékamuł carry out their works in
T87 a dream, as it is commonly said, which means a vivid imagina-
•B9 tion or auto-suggestion, a lively weaving of fantasies. It is maintained that the yékamuł loses his own personality and that it is replaced by his spirit, namely, the kétpix or yeńčel-nólo that belongs to him. The latter carries out what the yékamuł is trying to do or wishes. The yékamuł is most closely united with his yeńčel "in the dream." Therefore, it is of decisive importance for him to be able to put himself quickly and effortlessly into the dream state. Every apprentice is supposed to acquire this art above all in the kétma-yékamuł. He observes the experienced masters present, who, after singing briefly, succeed in being completely absent mentally while sitting there; they have lost their own personalities. Either they slump over and remain motionless, as though sleeping, or they move the upper part of the body gently back and forth, singing softly, their heavy and half-closed eyes glazed and fixed on one point. The ułwíałéxamuł imitates all this; the old people watch him, but give no definite instructions. He himself does not say whether his power of imagination has increased and his fantasies are more vivid. It is not until later that ordinary people discover his skill, after the ułwíałéxamuł has begun to practice independently.

456 Every yékamuł has the power of invoking his own guardian
T87 spirit and any other spirit with his singing. During the asikíku the
S33 yeńčel-nólo gives the man his /1408/ song. When the chosen one has adopted this song and made it his own, he has the key which gives him admission to the realm of the spirits, for the personal guardian spirit, above all, listens to this song and sooner or later puts himself at the disposal of his protégé. The Yamana now maintain that it is not really the yékamuł who sings, but his yeńčel. In other words, the yékamuł starts the song given him by the yeńčel, but in a short time the yeńčel takes it over and carries it on for a long time. Finally the yeńčel withdraws from the dream image of his yékamuł and the latter wakes up. These songs are very simple melodies on a single tone or melodies with an added interval of a third or fourth at the beginning or the end. The syllables híyang híyang hó are repeated to these melodies, or hóh yó yó, or finally hainín wagín harín and similar variations.

/1430 cont./

X756 776 781 long since subdued me, I must die!" That is the way such a man will talk. Sure enough, Haučéllakipa draws him down to her under the earth; his kěspiť remains married to her forever and his earthly body dies. In the same way a [male] Haučélla bewitches a Yamana woman, until she, too, falls completely into his power. A yěkamuť realizes perfectly what is happening between one of our people and /1431/ the Haučélla. He must free a person in time from the power of those evil earth spirits or the person will surely die.

X756 ●828 776 781 Mašemikens added the following to the above description: As a young man I traveled with my cousin south through the Molinare Channel. He was involved with a Haučélla without admitting it to himself. He had not eaten anything for several days. Although I offered him something to eat several times, he did not take anything. He always replied: "I have no desire to eat! I don't know what is happening to me!" We passed a place where we found many birds' eggs. My cousin did not eat anything. As we traveled on I suddenly realized: my cousin is under the spell of a Haučélla! After we had traveled on for some time, he leaped up in the forward part of the canoe and cried apprehensively: "A threatening storm is coming up!" I replied: "Not at all! We are having wonderful, calm weather!" He was completely out of his mind. When we reached Arákuwělla, my cousin ordered: "Light a big fire! She is approaching and bringing many axíya [round crabs] with her." I did as he asked, and soon he again ordered: "Make the fire bigger. She is considerably vexed by the cold!" I was speechless. Then my cousin cried: "Now she is here and is seizing me!" Instantly I picked up a stick and beat the air all around my cousin. Gradually he calmed down; we lay down and went to sleep. Since my cousin was feeling better the next morning, we rowed to Ilakěteyiťka. Having arrived there, we landed. Full of despair he said to me: "Let me warn you! -- I must soon die." In my anxiety I again seized a stick and beat the Haučéllakipa close beside my cousin. She, however, escaped under the hut wall and out into the open. My cousin immediately hurried after her and cried longingly: "My wife is running away!" After he had gone a few steps he collapsed and was dead.

/748 cont./

864 "X-kipa found me over there when I was very little and brought me to the hut. Now this woman heard another little child crying over there in the woods [or behind those rocks, etc.] and brought it here; it is very small and will now stay with us." The children are content with such explanations.

In later years their observations and impressions accumulate. When they reach puberty they know about the origin of little children, and neither girls nor boys need enlightenment. Adults [831] strictly avoid obscene talk and insinuating jokes in the presence of children, but the latter among themselves, discuss their observations of the sex life of others and draw their own conclusions. Several older persons assured me of this.

When a girl experiences her first menstruation she is generally and quite rightly assumed to be adequately informed about sex life. They now wish to protect her from illegitimate pregnancy. With puberty and even a few months before that, a period of special dangers begins for the girl, about which she is warned from all sides. Young boys are watched no less closely. Young people could easily succumb to the sexual urge; hence they are thoroughly alerted and alarmed by serious threats. The girls are often reminded: "If you associate with boys a lot, you will later give birth only to boys!" This suggestion is more effective than ethical explanations.

Parents and adults have allowed their children to associate only with their kind from the time they were small. They say quite frankly: "If we do not accustom our children early to the idea that boys associate only with boys and girls only with girls, we shall not be able to keep the two sexes apart later on. Then they will not obey their parents in spite of warnings and will engage in all kinds of secrecy!" If relatives and neighbors notice that a girl /749/ constantly meets a chap in hiding, they call her mother's attention to it. The latter will say to her daughter in a firm tone: "Do you have much to do with that boy?" Frightened, she will answer evasively: "No, I don't!" But the mother, quite rightly, does not trust this report and continues, as though she were serious: "No matter, but marry this boy soon and go off with him!" The mother's determined way of speaking is all the more effective since it comes as a surprise. The girl suddenly realizes that she is in a serious predicament, and in

/1441 cont./

517 time and unspent energy is devoted to rest or modest social demands. The Tamaste do have a feeling for beauty and an understanding of proportion, but the conditions of life are not conducive to a rich development of these tendencies. The Tamaste does not receive much stimulation for aesthetic enjoyment or artistic activity from his environment, which is clothed in dull colors and presents wildly chaotic forms. A desire for them emerges now and then from his innermost nature, however, and actually expresses itself within modest limits in one way or another.

1. Sense of Beauty

• 832 On some occasions our Fonglans indisputably demonstrate their well-developed sense for physical beauty. They prefer a slim, mobile, well proportioned, moderately tall figure. /1457/ full of healthy energy. Such a figure is particularly impressive to youthful representatives of the opposite sex, who quite openly speak about it in company. Marriageable boys and girls are sometimes considerably influenced and affected by the physical form of the person of their choice (p.599). /Fig. 101 appears here./ Parents and other relatives are anxious that a baby develop a [156] beautiful figure from its earliest years. This is the chief purpose of a kind of light massage (p.525), although this alone does not always guarantee success. It is said that a particularly attractive and graceful baby usually changes to the opposite and becomes ugly, whereas often a less beautiful child becomes very well formed after a few years. In the eyes of our Fonglans body hair 302 is unpleasant; hence they pluck out underarm and pubic hair, as well as beard hair (p. 82). For this purpose they like to use two mussel shells that fit together like a pair of pincers. Some people take great pains with the hair, oiling it with blubber and combing it several times a day (p. 85). Most of them have it sheared in due time, so that it hangs about shoulder-level (p.81). It is not gathered into braids. When, in exceptional cases, some men have their head hair cut off before a fight, it is because they wish to prevent their opponents from grabbing their hair and pulling them 832 by it. A European also finds the same satisfaction in the figures

/1462 cont./

that are regarded as beautiful among the Yamana; Spegazzini (a):165 refers to this specifically. The various types of ornaments are supposed to increase the allure of physical beauty. The impulse for this sort of thing /1463/ varies according to the person, his age and sex, but coincides almost exactly with what one observes in Europe under the same circumstances.

Fig. 101. A Well-made Little Basket.

In making implements and utensils, weapons and ornaments, everyone tries to achieve a certain degree of symmetry, solely because it is agreeable to his eye and feelings. There are even special designations for persons who make certain things perfectly and according to the rules of good workmanship. Some of these expressions are based merely on considerations of usefulness. They use the word wilipitas, "clever, expert, careful in cutting up a

/632 cont./

864 before and after her confinement. I could not discover the specific words that were used. Every young Fuegian learns the meaning of the sexual act for himself, not by direct instruction, but by observing animals and by comparing his body with that of the opposite sex. He is aided in this by the very meager body covering and by the intimacy of Fuegian life. At first they do
•[853] not seek actual enjoyment in the sexual act; "that comes later, after it has been tasted a number of times," old Julia confessed. A further reason is that in the years before physical maturity until marriage, the two sexes, even brothers and sisters, must remain apart, which restrains desire.

It cannot be denied, however, that girls after puberty and
867 boys after the youth initiation are purposefully, albeit inconspicuously, prepared for all the events and obligations of marital life. First they are given many suggestions and repeated admonitions. They are told: "When you are married you must no longer dawdle about in such a carefree manner! -- Later you must always have a supply of meat for your wife and your children. -- Always be kind to your wife, for she gives you children. -- Do not quarrel with your husband, otherwise he will go to another hut and you will have to sleep alone in your hut; in the end he will be unfaithful to you, after he has slept several nights in the hut of another family!" I am indebted to Gertie for these words. Such statements unconsciously change the entire mental attitude of the young person toward the forthcoming start of his new life in marriage; he thinks about it more often and finally himself finds the more or less correct, but adequate explanation for many physiological facts which he observes from his own body.

584 Meanwhile, inevitably, the awareness of a still unattained fulfillment of physical and spiritual being increases to a passionate desire for a partner in marriage. "When the young people have been released from the ceremony, they cannot bear to live unmarried much longer. Some seem all the more excited and perturbed the longer they must wait for a marriage partner," Alfredo emphasized. "Now and then there is a girl who is quite uncontrolled in her behavior and who will suddenly throw herself into the arms of any boy because she does not want to live alone any longer; she longs for a husband and /633/ for children!"

/682 cont./
683 demonstrations of love on the part of his spouse (76), the one

> 76. Hyades (d):308 confirms that "the Fueguians are very capable of feeling love and jealousy" /translated from French/.

more, the other less, according to personal inclination. In this respect Mary seemed to me most conspicuously tender and solicitous of her Robert, whereas not the least reason why old Pedro curtailed all social intercourse with other families was because he wanted to belong only to his very jealous wife (77).

> 77. Our Fueguians avoid passionate outpourings of emotion. If Lovisato (b):146 had been aware of this, he would never have come to the false conclusion that "conjugal love does not exist" /translated from Italian/.

•683 According to the reliable intimations that I received, the Tamana practice moderation in their sex life and perform the sexual act in /683/ the normal position (78). To maintain that

> 78. Hyades (g):187 confirms that "among adult Fueguians sexual functions are performed with moderation...The women are as moderate as the men in their demand for sexual pleasure" /translated from French/.

this is the influence of their diet is probably inadequate; there is a greater effect from the constant cool and damp atmosphere than many people suspect. Also it should be noted that the man and wife tire themselves physically almost every day. If they are very weary, they abstain from sexual pleasure and make up for it when they rest for a few days at one place (79).

> 79. A false statement by Bove (e):158, quoted in footnote 38, is further exaggerated by Lovisato (b):150 in the following

/583 cont./

•[33]

[illegible]: "A man must wash himself after leaving the wigwam of his lover, because otherwise he cannot eat guanaco meat. If he does not wash himself, the dogs die" /translated from Italian/.

583 152

Among our Fueguians, far more than elsewhere, conjugal love assumes the form of genuine jealousy. The sharp vigilance with which a husband protected his wife at the approach of a stranger has made many a traveler of earlier times very uncomfortable, and the natives often shunned (80) his bold observations by quick

80. This was the most frequent cause for the friction and quarrels accompanying the visit of European ships among our Indians, hence their shy reserve (p. 248 /unassimilated/, p.2).

flight. P. Snow (s):5,149 clearly speaks of their "jealous disposition" /cited in English/, which they have retained up to the present time, some more, others less (81). It is striking that

81. Several similar opinions have been assembled by Cooper:168.

jealousy generally torments only the men, and that women, with a few exceptions, are spared it. These exceptions apply to wives of the same man. Hyades (g):239 also observed that "the women, and above all the young women, is so little aware of this feeling (82) that she seems very happy to see the same favors granted

82. Hyades (g):378 concedes rare exceptions, however, and realizes that "jealous women make life very disagreeable for their husbands" /translated from French/.

her friends by the man she loves" /translated from French/ (83).

83. He also emphatically denies the

/720 cont./

[162] disgusting to the baby, and after that it stays away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /sic/, fish, and berries" /cited in English/ (153), but for a long time the chief food

153. Hyades (a):186 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women now commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked mussels, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the roasted fatty tissue of the bufflehead duck, flakuï. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

27 The young mother does not give the newborn child water from
163 a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds. The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Puma Remolino. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from
[158] a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such matters than my countrymen!"

231 In Hahn (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs" /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

[27] I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with
•733 the physiological connection between conception and nursing in the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

/721 cont./

827 ¶33 one of the few days when she is not nursing her child (154), some-

> 154. Contrary to certain illusions that sexual intercourse ceases until after the last child has been weaned, Hyades (q):195 establishes in detail "that from the second month after confinement, intercourse is resumed between the spouses" /translated from French/. There may be other reasons why sometimes, not "often," as Hahn (s):505 writes, "several years go by between the first pregnancy and the next" /translaind from French/.

times even during the third month after confinement.

846 On page 501 we described how the baby's umbilical cord is tied by the Fuegians. The mother is very careful about the umbilical cord so that it does not break off prematurely. In the case of a woman who had been delivered, Hyades (q):196 observed on the third day: "The cord is dried and no longer held to the umbilicus except by a thread-like stalk. The mother has tied it today at its free end with a bit of thread, the other end of which is attached to a little band of fabric fastened around the right leg of the child" /translated from French/. During the night of the third to fourth day, the umbilical cord dropped off, and when Hyades, who had requested it, asked about it, he was told that it had been thrown into the fire. This, in my opinion, was only an excuse to put him off, for, as a rule, every mother catches the umbilical cord, kúfu, when it falls off, wraps it around her finger, keeps it for a few days until it is dry, and then hangs this ringlet on a necklace so that she will not lose it. It is not exactly customary to display the umbilical cord conspicuously, but if the mother wears a necklace containing the ringlet no one seems surprised. /722/ The mother fastens the insignificant little thing to a necklace, which she most safely keeps in her leather bag, chiefly so that she will not lose it (155). When the child is about four years old, he must

> 155. Among the Halakwulup there is a custom that the father wears the umbilical cord of his most recent child on a string around his neck

/775 cont./

867 jokes and obscenities from adults. The latter may reveal weaknesses during moments when they lose control of themselves, but in general they try to appear exemplary and without faults in [23] front of youngsters. Parents are extremely careful in their conjugal relations, since the little ones sleep in the same hut.

593 Because parents honestly strive not to show their weaknesses before young people and to be truly at their best for their own child, the children see them in a pure light. This brings about the tender and deeply felt attachment of children toward those to whom they owe so much. Fortunately, this is also promoted by daily contact, which convincingly demonstrates how very much the members of an individual family are dependent upon one another. The consciousness of belonging together becomes so intense that individuals do not like to be separated even temporarily. Hence, it is impossible for some families to get a child from among their circle of relatives to stay with them in their hut for a few days, which is greatly desired by a family that for some reason or other does not have a little child.

591 152 At present there are a few families without children, and they are making an effort to take some child in with them for a short time (206). In spite of all the love and care that they offer,

> 206. Bridges (a):183 hints at this custom: "Children do not always live with their parents, sometimes a friend takes them away and they are away from their parents for weeks" /cited in English/.

the little ones scarcely ever feel quite at home with them and soon beg to be taken back to the parental hut. Children simply cannot stand to be with other people permanently (207). We can

> 207. Bridges (a):184 once maintained: "A girl before she is finally given away to her destined husband is now and again sent to live with him for a short time, when she again returns to her parents, but no sooner is she of marriageable age than she is finally disposed of" /cited in English/. Such a

/1022 cont./

TR 113 asked myself and also other men, above all, the capable yihanuf and the most experienced old man, how that took place. No one knew the answer as to how human beings actually originated and where they came from. So to this day I do not know. I have often and persistently searched and tried to answer this question. At that time Throwalkin burned up the whole world and all the animals. And this I can't understand either, how afterwards everything was put in order again, how the huge fire was put out, and how he again restored plants and animals to this land. All this we do not know. In former years I often asked the experienced old people about this." A few days later, I sat in a circle of several old men, as was my custom, and quite spontaneously the conversation again drifted to these things. Richard repeated: "We really don't know exactly how everything came about at that time. Of course Wetaginfwa already existed in the very old days, for heaven was already here above the earth, there where the clouds are and where Wetaginfwa also stays. Before Lihn [sun] and Hamuxa [moon] and Ahfnin [rainbow] wandered here on earth like human beings, Wetaginfwa was already here, for heaven existed before all of them. At that time women ruled. We do not know how and from where children came at that time, for none of the women who then ruled the men slept with their husbands and cohabited with them in order to conceive children. None of us can say where children came from in those days. It is only since the great /1022/ revolution that women are subordinate to the will of men. It was back in the time when the great fur seal Hafwa (Arctocephalus australis) discovered how man and woman should unite, she underneath and he on top of her; that gives them pleasure. Since then they have done it that way to this day. When husband and wife unite in this way, then children follow. So we know where our children come from now. Where they came from before that, no one can explain. We know equally as little about where Lihn and Hamuxa and the man come from, which at that time lived on earth just like human beings. When they [the men mentioned] and ahf [heaven], too, were here, Wetaginfwa was also here, and he was here even long before that." Thus, no Yamana can explain definitely and clearly how the visible world originated. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that a deeply thoughtful and meditative man like Mafemikens felt this gap and tried to fill it.

[125 192 130]

/1137 cont./

113 burned up the whole world and all the animals. But how everything became orderly again after that, how the country came alive again with plants and animals, who it was that finally extinguished the great fire -- all this we do not know. In former years I often asked the most experienced Yamana about it, but no one was able to help me."

On another occasion, in March, 1933, among a group of old /1138/ men, I again touched on the subject of how, in their opinion, the heavens and the first animals originated. I actually challenged them by saying: "You tell the story that Watanaiwa made all the animals (tuf) in Yihaalipa. Very well, but how did human beings come into being at that time?" The answer was: "We don't know that exactly. Watanaiwa, of course, existed a very long time ago, for heaven was already there above the earth where the clouds are. That is where Watanaiwa always stayed. Back in the days when Lihn and Hiuuna and Aalfuna were still wandering down here on earth, they were exactly like us today. But Watanaiwa existed before them, because heaven was already there as we see it now. At that time the sky was much closer to the earth than it is nowadays.

113 "At that time the women ruled, they gave orders to the men. But we do not know how children came into being in
•113 those days, since women played the leading role, they would not lie under the men [ad regulam perfricandam /to facilitate coitus/]. So we do not know how children originated. Since the great upheaval, the women are dominated by the men. At that time the great seal Ohuuwa (Arctocephalus australis) discovered the place [on the body] where the libido sensalis is, and this he made known to the men. He said: 'Vir incubat immittat membrum suum mulieri succubae /man, lying on top, puts his member in woman lying underneath/!' Since that time the men dictate to the women, they lie on top of them; this gives them great pleasure and in this way children come into existence. Even today the Yamana do the same thing. We do not know how Lihn and Hiuuna and all the rest who now appear up there as stars originated. Long before that Watanaiwa, as well as the canopy of heaven, was there.

113 "During that great upheaval in which the men rose up against the women who had brought the kina game down here from

/463 cont./

291 often feels annoying or uncomfortable to them. In the hut and in the canoe, at work and on the hunt, the man carelessly lets it fall by loosening the leather knot, and he feels better now than he did before. He wants to be entirely free for the goal he happens to be pursuing. The piece is durable, but it gets hard wear and is given no care at all. After only a few weeks it is shabby and torn at the edges, but the man drags it about for more than half a year (69).

69. The following authors mention this back cape of the man: Aspinall:270, Bove (c):157, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (p) :237, Lothrop (b) :121, Snow (a) :II, 16, Spegazzini (e) :161, and others.

291 Most of the men at all times and everywhere wear a cover-
288 ing over the genitals which is somewhat larger than that worn by
•834 the women. They prefer a smooth piece of leather from which the fur has been entirely removed. It is, of course, used only for the sake of decency. Nevertheless, some old men become so careless that they almost habitually go without it. When they sit or stand, their conduct betrays a certain bashfulness, it is true, but this feeling is no longer strong enough in them that they would go to the trouble of wearing a covering. The people generally do not like to see young or middle-aged persons completely naked, but no one dares to remonstrate with old men. Nevertheless, the latter, when they are sitting, take care that their nakedness does not offend the eyes of those present. Defiant nakedness is not approved on principle.

291 In olden times neither footgear nor any kind of foot cover-
177 ing was known. Whereas it was always lacking among the people of the Cape Horn region, as Hyades (q) :348 maintains (70), it was

70. Fitz-Roy (a) :138 in his day reported of the southern people that "neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes" /cited in English/.

probably only in recent times that regular sandals of guanaco and seal skins were adopted in the middle and eastern region. Some

/406 cont./

291 The brief "modesty apron" (77) worn by every woman and

77. This article is mentioned, for example, by Decker (p. 52), George Forster (p. 59), Weddel (p. 66), Snow (b):263 and others. "It is used by all the girls and women of the country, from the youngest to the oldest. It is extremely rare for a Fuegian woman to be without this article of clothing, and if she loses it for some reason, her first concern is to procure another one" (La Nature: 312) /translated from French/.

even by most of the men is indispensable. It is known as malakáua, mélagíne, and they are never without it. We particularly want to refer to it here, because some European travelers take it so very much for granted that they either do not mention it specifically or do not describe it enough. It is so necessary to a woman's outfit that Hyades (p):336 wrote: "There is no difference between the two sexes, except that the women wear a little 'vine leaf' made of guanaco hide" /translated from French/ (78). There is no such

78. In another connection Hyades (q):348 again speaks of this "article of dress which, by its location and dimensions, precisely reminds one of the vine leaf that is put on some statues" /translated from French/.

thing as going naked among the women and girls.

291 P34 Whereas Dubbene (b) :176 assures us that men sometimes do not have any kind of covering, he nevertheless emphasizes without qualification: "The women always wear a belt with a little piece of hide that covers only the genital parts" /translated from Spanish/. How anxiously every woman clings to this modesty-apron and avoids complete nudity in front of men is apparent from an observation which Hyades (q) :409 has inserted in a description of the pictures in his monograph. Plate 12 shows a nude girl named "Kamanakar Kipa; Figure 1 shows her at a moment when she was not wearing her little apron, a very rare occurrence; our /407/

291 /407 cont./
• 834 lamented comrade, Naval Lieutenant Payen, who took this photograph, was very well acquainted with this girl, but he could never persuade her to move her right hand from the place where the apron belonged" /translated from French/.

This apron is thus strictly demanded by decency and a feeling of modesty. Even at night the women do not remove it (79).

79. Hyades (f):561 again speaks of this in detail: "The women have only a little covering for modesty, intended to hide the genital parts, which consists of a very short and very narrow triangle suspended between the thighs. It is made of guanaco hide, with the fur turned inward. They never, or almost never, remove this covering; during the conjugal act, it is simply raised up on the abdomen" /translated from French/. Compare also Hyades (b):1346.

291 It is usually triangular in shape, about 15 centimeters wide at the top and about ten centimeters long in the middle. Some are also trapezoidal or rectangular in shape. They always choose a soft
[281] piece of leather and prefer guanaco leather, both sides of which are scraped and rubbed with blubber. Girls and younger women use pieces of otter and guanaco skins without removing the fur. They wear the fur side against their bodies (80). A hole is bored into

80. Hyades (d) :307 thinks that this is "probably because its contact against the skin is softer than that of leather" /translated from French/.

the two upper corners, in one of which is knotted a narrow leather band or a braided tendon. This is drawn over the hips and knotted on the other corner. The apron hangs freely, fits well, is slightly pressed between the legs, and serves its purpose (81). This piece

81. Lothrop (b) :123 says only: "A triangular pubic covering of skin was usually worn by the

/408 cont./

291 take care of their clothing just as little as adults do. They drag it through mud and ashes and use it to sit on and as a cover for sleeping; they wrap meat and shells in it and make use of it whenever and however it may serve them. For its part the climate has a great deteriorating effect on all leather. Even though it is more or less saturated with blubber and is constantly, consciously or unconsciously, rubbed with fat, the layer of fur on the outside soon wears out through much use, /409/ and then dampness can get at it on both sides. Mold is constantly forming and in a short time causes large, irregular soft patches that easily tear and cause holes. Then, at last, the mother provides a long-needed replacement. Otter skins are more precious than seal skins, but every mother prefers to use the former because they are softer and more beautiful, and she does not mind that they are not as durable.

These children of nature do not worry and are not anxiously concerned about their clothing. If a boy has to wait for days for a new cloak because he has lost his old one, he makes up for it in the daytime with the warmth of the hut fire, and at night he snuggles close to his brothers and sisters who give him some of their body warmth or a little space under their own short backcapes which serve them all as a cover. They are satisfied with the least of everything.

4. Purpose of Clothing

291 834 The two pieces of leather with which the Yamana cover only small areas of their bodies cannot possibly be regarded as clothing. Without giving it much thought, one recognizes the brief triangular apron as something required on principle by a feeling of modesty. This is proved by the shape of this malakána as such, and the fact that all female persons must never be seen without it. As a matter of fact, all the young and middle-aged men, practically without exception, appear in front of women with this covering. It is only the old men who no longer give offense by complete nudity (p. 54), no matter how much the adults in their vicinity dislike seeing them in this state (88). Furthermore,

88. Lothrop's (b):121 too general assertion

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•834

/409 cont./
"that individuals of both sexes and all ages often went entirely naked" /cited in English/ must this be qualified.

the general practice of putting this pubic covering on girls when they are still children, without any kind of accompanying festivity or ceremony, is most significant. When women change these coverings or remove them for any reason, they avoid doing so in the presence of other persons (84). Girls learn to conduct them-

[867]

84. See page 59 as to the conduct of young Kamanakarkipa who was caught by surprise without her modesty-apron by a French officer.

selves properly while standing and sitting, not only by the example of the adults, but through special instruction.

This scrap of leather, to be sure, is only the size of one's hand and is suspended from a mere string around the hips, but, as Hyades (g) :33 has observed, "they never appear without this Mashakana, which is quite sufficient for them, although one can by no means say that they lack a sense of modesty." When sitting, they usually keep their thighs together and place one foot in such a position that the heel presses the pubic covering against the /410/ body. Only an old man sometimes squats on the ground without a covering and with his legs wide apart.

[516]

Hyades (p) :338 aptly says of this small piece of skin: "it is an emblem of modesty" /translated from French/. Women even regard it as improper merely to speak of it. For this reason I tactfully had to persuade an old woman to make this piece for me, which I wanted to add to my collection. She made it in secret and gave it to me with the remark that I should not mention it to other people. Sometimes younger women cover their breasts with the short back-cape, at any rate if men should annoy them with meaningful glances.

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The little cloak can only provide meager and incomplete protection against wind and bad storms. A continuous cold current of air from one direction against a part of the body is intolerable for anyone. Even so, a person sitting in a canoe and obliged to reach a certain goal cannot protect himself against it in any other

222 /554 cont./
[262] texture. These do not tempt the Indian since the supply of tasty fungi is large enough asuit is, and he does not care for them particularly. Everywhere one finds goodly quantities of a few Cyttaria species, among which Cyttaria darwinii Berk. is the most common. The latter is in general known as ésef; when it is ripe it is called aufcix. It grows on the protuberances or excrescences (Fig. 66) of a particular spot on the beech branch, known as amsif or ésamsif. Each of these fungi reaches the size of a green, unripe walnut and is absolutely round and yellowish-white. One is right next to another, and they break off at the slightest touch.[300] Women and girls break them off from the branches they can reach with their arms. After they have combed a particular area of the forest for them, the woman asks her grown son or even her husband to help her gather the ones on the higher branches. For decency's sake females are not permitted to climb trees or walk over branches; the men are called in to do this. The latter pick the fungi with their hands and toss them down, or they pick them off with their toes and drop them. Women gather them up and carry them in little baskets to the hut (300).

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Fig. 66. Beech Branch with Growth. One-half natural size.

[481
934]

300. Bridges (MM:VII, 120;1873) once mentions that an adult male Yamana gathered these fungi and brought them to the camp. If he was alone in doing this, it is a rare and exceptional case.

222 With the exception of the brief period of mid-summer, the Cyttaria darwinii are always found on trees and are edible in any

/645 cont./

836 The question of a possible illegitimate birth is related to
849 this discussion. Children who have reached puberty are sufficiently enlightened on the subject of sex life (p. 390). After an instance of adultery, neither of the guilty parties, who probably always return to their lawful partners, thinks of the possible consequences of their meeting. As a rule, however, unmarried couples avoid intercourse before marriage, for the girls maintain a remarkably strict reserve, even toward bold youths. This union, however, may have occurred among young people who had already tacitly agreed to marry. In such a case they have been legitimately married long before the fruit of their mutual love appears. Hence there is actually no recognizable illegitimate birth among the Yamana (22).

609 22. This is not to deny sexual intercourse by strategy or force between European sailors or farmers and Indian women; the consequences are known far and wide. What the natives themselves thought and still think about this is only occasionally, but clearly enough expressed in the jealousy with which they guard their women and girls in the presence of strangers. See pages 336 and 353 /in untranslated portion of this work/.

834 The separation of children by sex at the time of puberty is intended chiefly to preserve their premarital chastity, as is expressed in clear instructions and warnings. Young people know very well that they are being watched, and although it is difficult for them to avoid the sharp eyes of adults, they sometimes succeed in doing so. On such occasions a bold lad will permit himself unseemly conduct with a girl. Such secrecy is seldom possible and is censured by every adult, in fact, seriously punished by the parents of the little culprits. There can be no question of sexual freedom for the Indian women. The Yamana are not familiar with any kind of ordeals of chastity. They demand decency of young people before marriage, just as they wish to insure freedom

/645 cont./

834 in the selection of a mate (23).

23. If we consider the prevalent ideas in the free selection of a mate, we realize the absolute similarity and unanimity between our Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 321).

/646/ 5. The Duty of Marrying a Widow

587 Apparently the levirate which is in effect among the Yamana deprives the widow of her freedom. I have the distinct impression that the rules pertaining to this are at least as specific and as definitely observed as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 347). I learned the following details from Fred Lawrence and Calderon.

587 604 736 Every Indian is familiar with the obligation of taking his widowed sister-in-law, along with her children, into his hut (24),

24. Only Hahn (a):805 mentioned the levirate among the Yamana. We might also deduce it from the following words of Bridges: "Brothers often take their deceased brothers' wives" /cited in Eng[illegible]/ (MM:III, 117;1869); we cannot deduce from these words, however, a real obligation, which actually exists. See footnote on page 418.

but it is emphasized much more definitely that he must care for his nephews and nieces; there is less insistence that he devote himself to the widow, whether or not she wishes to marry. If these half-orphaned children have no grandparents and their mother does not decide to marry another man, the uncle must take them into his own hut where he must care for them as though they were his own. Above all, their sustenance is to be guaranteed. The group as a whole takes care of their participation in the youth initiation which sooner or later becomes necessary. From now on the paternal uncle takes the place of his deceased brother for the still immature orphans in all matters pertaining

/686 cont./
836 parents who themselves often transgress against sexual morality
867 are careful to give irreproachable guidance to their children.

Despite all vigilance, a certain amount of improper con-
836 duct among young people cannot be avoided, and some girls lose their physical intactness (94). The Yamana do not know the

94. On this subject Hyades (q):188 expresses himself thus: "In fact, the young girls of ten to 12 years whom we examined had already lost it. But this does not imply a precocious perversion on their part nor a great ardor for sexual relations" /translated from French/.

meaning of this in the European sense, and only with this restriction may we interpret Hyades' (b):1346 and (q):188 words: "There is no value placed /687/ on a young girl's virginity" /translated from French/ (95). A reserved, virtuous girl enjoys

95. Hahn (a):805 uses the same words and unjustifiably concludes from this: "Modesty is completely unknown among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. The secret mistakes of a few children, despite the serious warnings and great vigilance of all adults, are no proof that modesty is lacking among all the people.

a good reputation; adults keep a particularly sharp eye on an impertinent young chap. Finally, a thoughtful boy will not
[581] readily offer his hand in marriage to a girl whose behavior is conspicuously bold; he lacks confidence in her fidelity later.

A few effective protective measures for special occasions
431 have been set up, apparently in order that neither of the two
●834 sexes, despite their duty to render reciprocal aid, will run the risk of violating conjugal fidelity. These measures have to do with the exchange of gifts between a man and woman who are

/687 cont./

431 834 fond of each other and wish to strengthen their affection through such attentions. It is well known that a successful hunter will have his wife give neighboring families large pieces of his booty. She gives the pieces of meat directly to the other women who use it for their respective families.

A man resorts to the same indirect procedure if he wants to avoid any kind of suspicion and yet please some married woman who is devoted to him by giving her a gift. If he knows that she likes to eat some special kinds of fungi, he gladly takes the trouble on his wanderings to gather a few in a leather bag. He goes to the hut of his friend and empties the bag in front of her husband, letting him know by a look or sign: "These fungi are meant chiefly for your wife!" She, too, knows what her taciturn friend particularly likes, and she lets him know her feelings by means of a suitable gift. For example, in order to avoid malicious gossip, she makes blood sausage or blubber sausage, if he is fond of it, and brings it to the wife of her friend with the remark: "I give this sausage to your husband!" He, too, hears her brief words -- as intended -- which tell him everything that her feelings and sentiments have put into the remark. In order to be still less conspicuous, a man will send a small present to his friend through his own wife, and a woman will send hers through her husband. The recipient knows full well what it means. In this way the two friends publicly announce that their relations are harmless, and usually this is the case. A person having an intimate relationship does not wish to call attention to himself and the favored individual, even by means of such admissible demonstrations of love. He will wisely avoid doing so.

This "roundabout giving," as I should like to call it, is by no means regarded as especially strict and exclusive. In case a man meets a single woman somewhere, he may give her a sizable piece of his booty right on the spot, all the more if her dwelling /688/ is far distant from his. The measure just described shows every outsider that our Yamana consider it necessary to fortify conjugal fidelity with external props, so that transgressions do not increase still more.

593 In most marriages of our Fuegians, the two partners have had and still have a pleasant, happy, and, after some years, balanced

/1008 cont./

156 fright. The presence of a feared yékamul of ill repute has an even more deadening and paralyzing effect on any exchange of ideas within a group. In free gatherings, however, above all in games and after a successful hunt, the atmosphere is gaily noisy and merry without restraint.

The taciturn, quiet behavior of the Yamana is also an ex-
156 pression of their natural modesty. This characteristic is clearly
576 apparent when one compares them with the proud, self-confident Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1143). It is not the nature of our Fuegians to be noisily conspicuous or to push themselves forward, to boast in front of their own people or to act important among their neighbors, to irritate others with their own feats of strength or to brag about real achievements. Careful European observers are struck by the shy reserve and timid anxiety of the women and girls. This disposition naturally determines social behavior. On their errands and in their wanderings the women generally keep their eyes on the ground in front of them; one scarcely ever meets a woman who animatedly and inquisitively glances all about her. In a circle of women squatting around the hut fire one is very much aware of how they have control of their eyes; they will sit for a long time as though they did not dare raise them and give them free play. As a matter of fact, /1009/ even in old age they retain the retiring, inconspicuous behavior that is imposed upon every girl on the occasion of her menarche (p. 569). Nelly Lawrence was particularly careful about [illegible] which seems all the more strange since a free, self-confide[illegible]ing would have been justified by her higher social position. In spite of this, however, she was proud to follow exactly the ways of her ancestors.

Moreover, etiquette insistently demands, even for adults,
•834 a degree of the separation of the sexes required of young people (p. 549). If several families gather together, the men and women immediately separate, and each group stays by itself if there is a long conversation or entertainment. It is true that they often join in group games because they take place in the open and in front of many people. If they assemble in a dwelling, the women squat either in a closed group near the entrance or in a circle behind the men who sit down around the fire. It is not permissible and at the very least arouses suspicion if a man enters a hut in which a woman is sitting alone, nor would a woman enter a hut where a man is

/1009 cont./

534 alone. In such cases the visitor is supposed to remain standing in front of the hut entrance and from here make known his or her wish, unless they prefer to wait for a more suitable occasion. As a rule, everyone first finds out whether the person to whom he wishes to speak is accompanied by others in the hut before he visits him. In order to prevent any embarrassment or, above all, gossip, women who value their reputations customarily take a child along whenever they enter a strange hut. Nelly Lawrence made it a rule to do this. Although she was the mistress of the house and on each of my four journeys I was a guest of long standing in her house, nevertheless she never visited the room assigned to me unless she was accompanied by at least one of her children. Gertie did the same. If a successful hunter lets his wife distribute some of his booty among the neighboring huts, she observes the prescribed rules (p. 474). It is well known that, in spite of this, a man now and then secretly meets a woman for illicit intercourse, and the persons who arouse justified suspicion are carefully watched. It has been mentioned several times that gifts are never directly given to a woman by a man or to a man by a woman.

534 What we have just said about prescriptions for social intercourse does not mean that it is basically undermined or seriously curtailed. As a matter of fact, frequent visits back and forth are not only a social requirement, but also a very human, psychological one. Under the pressure of the daily food quest the family must, in any case, again and again go their way alone while parents, as well as children, are fully occupied with the tasks assigned them. /1010/ It is only in the evening that they have a few hours of intimate social life, if indeed they are not too tired. In the long run, however, this is not enough; hence, they gladly welcome every visitor who comes to them. He will surely have something new to tell them, report all kinds of incidents, and answer a few questions and inquiries. Both parties are pleased and stimulated by the meeting. Occasionally a family must seek aid [496] among others, for example, when they have lost some implements in a storm, when they lack food or materials for implements, when they find themselves burdened with a helpless sick person, or have suffered loss by death. Since assistance in such cases can be obtained only from other families, they are urgently drawn to them,

/1088 cont./

577 776 grumble about them or to resist them, and no one would presume to do so. Similarly, no one expects that his blameless conduct will be rewarded by an especially advantageous destiny here on earth. In their naïve innocence the Fuegians are so reverential that they do not make such demands on their Hidábuan; moreover, no one regards himself as absolutely without fault. Besides, everyone has an adequate living; hence he neither needs nor expects more. If they make requests, they are driven to it by their own helplessness in the face of the invincible forces of nature and the threatening arbitrariness of the Supreme Being himself. The veneration due him demands that his name not be spoken thoughtlessly. Since all animals are his property, every human being becomes culpable who misuses them and who, with evil intent, willfully kills more than he needs for his subsistence, for everyone is permitted only this much by their lord and owner. On suitable occasions the adults do not fail to acquaint growing children with these ideas.

577 The duties of self-love are also clearly defined to a surprising degree. They are most clearly expressed in the descriptions of the ideal that should be striven for by a true Yamana. The motto, "May everyone be a good and useful human being!" summarizes the personal virtues which everyone strives for primarily because of ambition. Conspicuous rivalry impels many a person to outdo his other fellow-tribesmen in faithful fulfillment of duty and blameless conduct. Diligence and industry, a sense of order and cleanliness, compatability and a quiet nature, unselfishness and constant willingness to help, moderation in eating, and respect for tribal custom in its many details are qualities which the society as a whole expects from each of its members. Their sense 577 834 of modesty is well developed (26). In front of women /1089/ and

26. Hyades (b):1346 asserts: "The sense of modesty exists among both sexes, but it is more developed among the women and is given a special name" /translated from French/. Cf. also Hyades (q):239. In addition he (f):573 also mentions: "Masturbation is very exceptional among the Fuegians.

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517 /1089 cont./
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Probably because of the continual cohabitation, sexual relations begin early among small boys and girls, but do not then become habitual" /translated from French/. The following testimony of Bridges (i):19, who usually speaks of the Yamana in a consciously derogatory fashion, is creditable: "In their personal habits whilst there was much room for increased decency and cleanliness, yet there were many good points that did them honour as men. Incest is a crime unknown and utterly abhorrent to the native mind. Although too often in other respects most immoral, as regards this hateful offence the native is quite pure. With the women there is a great sense of decorum, and man, unless he seek it, will seldom see anything to shock his moralities in their conduct" /cited in English/.

[835]

children men avoid offensive jokes or obscene talk. In the camp and in the huts all the adults are clothed at least with a modesty-apron; only very old men are sometimes without it (p. 55). It is a fact that the true Yamana fulfills these duties more eagerly because he cares about his good reputation than because of his consideration for the lawgiver beyond the clouds.

517 It is almost impossible to select from the wealth of precepts and decrees the ones which are the most important props of the social order. Personal unselfishness and constant helpfulness, which are regarded as the chief virtues, must be mentioned again. The mutual relations of a married couple are happy for both partners, and from the first this favorable relationship is made secure to an important extent by the free choice of partners. Marriage between related persons is not allowed (p. 421) (27).

27. In this connection Bridges (i):19 asserts that "incest is a crime unknown and utterly abhorrent to the native mind" /cited in English/.

/1401 cont./

756 display his superior achievements before it. The apprentices admitted young men who, on their own initiative, wish to devote themselves to the office of yẽkamuĩ, /1402/ who show talent and aptitude for it, and who are introduced by their relatives. Many a chap is under pressure if a yẽkamuĩ has been told in a dream that he has been directly called to this office by the spirits. Thus the lõima-yẽkamuĩ is a gathering of these chosen ones. Naturally persons who perform no services and simply want to satisfy their curiosity would not be permitted to remain. In the case of the so-called uĩwẽ̃alẽxamuĩ (derived from uĩwẽ̃ala yẽkamuĩ), they must have an earnest desire to learn the skills of the yẽkamuĩ in order to practice them themselves later on. Many a father brings his grown son, hoping that in this school he will feel the desire to become a yẽkamuĩ, but no one is put under serious pressure by relatives or friends.

The wife of a medicine man may come for a few hours every day. During this time she accompanies him in the customary songs, just as she often does outside of the Great Hut. At night she goes back to the camp. Her husband may not accom-
• [834] pany her; during the entire affair, which lasts a few months, they cannot sleep together or have sexual intercourse. A few middle-aged men are requested by authoritative yẽkamuĩ to remain throughout or for a certain period in the lõima house. They are entrusted with the necessary work and services so that the yẽkamuĩ and all the apprentices may be left to themselves undisturbed and not be in the least distracted by manual work. These men who are the helpers, tend the hut fire, provide food, no matter how meager this may be, and are very alert to prevent any kind of disturbance of the lõima tarokẽ̃x. The leader alone directs these helpers, although they may also assist the other participants in these ways. More than 15 persons at least assemble for a lõima-yẽkamuĩ. Besides that, a number of men are admitted on some evenings with the consent of the leader. They wish to convince themselves of the progress of the candidates and at intervals follow the proceedings with their own eyes. These visitors must be absolutely quiet; they may neither talk nor make a disturbance in any way. They sit motionless near the entrance and inconspicuously watch what goes on before them.

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185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

976 Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given,
574 especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the *ôdaxus* initiation rite on approaching his spinster was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting
[illegible] was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in
[illegible] eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expec-
[illegible] torating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs
[illegible] were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective areas kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead.
[illegible] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

000 These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked.
847 In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took
844 place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

517 /1089 cont./
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/1996 cont./

expressing himself, adultery is accompanied by "a certain public disrepute" /translated from French/. It is this general condemnation that guilty parties find particularly painful and degrading.

Our Indians hold female virtue in high esteem. In this connection we must not fail to mention that Hyades (q).330, 378 takes a very firm stand against the false reports by a few travelers about the prostitution of Indian women. "We have never seen a Fuegian man yield his wife or the one he loves to his best friends or even to the lure of large rewards. Many travelers believe that they have seen the opposite, but in the instances they have observed, the women and young girls were not by any means necessarily joined by love or even marriage to the savages who proposed to give them away. We will cite below a number of examples to prove our assertions" /translated from French/ (93). Not even the present relaxation of morals is approved by the true Yamana, and they accept many misdeeds silently only because they are powerless to do anything about it.

93. In Onas (q).50, also, it is clearly stated: "No individual sells his wife to another" /translated from Spanish/.

Sexual morality is quite generally concerned, and this, naturally, also includes premarital chastity (p. 411). Children would not be permitted any kind of license nor would they attempt it; there is, generally speaking, no sexual freedom for the girl. Quite the contrary, many Europeans, to their unexpected surprise, came up against a strong, emphatic morality and modest reserve among the Fuegian women, whose body covering could hardly be imagined as scanty. In order to prevent lapses in this sphere, the adults see to it that boys and girls are separated from early youth until puberty, and they warn them carefully with informative advice. It is entirely wrong to maintain, as Hyades (q).378 does, that "the young girls are free to conduct themselves as they please" /translated from French/. Even

/586 cont./
parents who themselves often transgress against sexual morality are careful to give irreproachable guidance to their children.

Despite all vigilance, a certain amount of improper conduct among young people cannot be avoided, and some girls lose their physical innocence (94). The Tamans do not know the

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A few effective protective measures for special occasions have been set up, apparently in order that neither of the two sexes, despite their duty to render reciprocal aid, will run the risk of violating conjugal fidelity. These measures have to do with the exchange of gifts between a man and woman who are

836 ties. Intercourse between the unmarried was disapproved, but breaches of the code were not infrequent. Marriage between blood
582 relatives, however distant, was in theory taboo; in practice, the prohibition included half-siblings, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, first cousins, both parallel and cross, and seemingly extended somewhat beyond these limits. Since near relatives commonly lived near one another, marriages tended to be locally exogamous. Marriages with mates from far distant localities, especially outside one's own of the five dialectic groups, were disliked and infrequent. Marriage with a mother and her daughter was disapproved, but not so strongly as marriage with near blood-kin. Sponsors were barred from marrying their respective candidates of the čiéxaus[1] initiation rite.

584 Choice of mate was ordinarily free on the part both of the boy and of the girl, and appears to have been based largely on mutual affection and
583 regard. Gifts from the groom to the bride's father were given and expected, as were also certain services before and after marriage. But a bride-price as stipulated by or haggled for by the father was absent. Bride capture or stealing, if it occurred, must have been very rare.

582 Boys and girls did not marry until they had passed through the required čiéxaus initiation. Gusinde (1937, p. 633) estimates the more common chronological ages of first marriages as about 17 to 19 years for boys, and 15 to 16 for girls.

Monogamy was by far the most prevalent form of marriage. Poly-
[595] andry did not occur. Polygyny was permitted, but was uncommon. A few men had two wives, more commonly sisters; cases of three wives,
587 if they occurred, must have been very rare. On the death of a man's wife, he had a certain marriage claim to her unmarried sister. On the death of a woman's husband, she frequently became, and under certain circumstances was expected or obliged to become, the wife of his oldest surviving brother, especially his unmarried brother, unless she married another man. This custom (the levirate) was, from the native point of view, primarily an obligation of the father's brother to be responsible for his nephews and nieces, a responsibility that lay on the uncle even though his brother's widow married another man. A surviving married brother was not entirely free to marry the widow, as his own wife might object.

585 The chief wedding rite consisted in painting the cheeks of the couple with three red parallel horizontal lines. These were worn and renewed for a week, during which time there were feasting and dancing, and at the end of which the couple went off together in their own canoe.
591 Customarily, they remained with the bride's people for a few months,

[1] č has the sound of English ch, é of English ch.

/642 cont./

583 the bride's dowry." This interpretation is meaningless. The
584 canoe, without which a young married couple cannot exist, is
431 usually built by the husband himself, or by his own father or neighbors with the young man's help. Possibly the father of the bride also took part in its construction. The harpoon is part of the equipment of a man and is neither used by a woman nor given by her to a man.

583 In some of the literature, mention is made of abduction, but specific examples or cases that have been observed are not cited. Despard (b):698 maintained: "Sometimes wives are stolen, sometimes they run away. When recovered, after either case, they are beaten, the supposition being, it seems, that in the former case they themselves encouraged the theft" /cited in English/. The qualification mentioned is significant and is immediately put to account. Hyades (p):334 states briefly that "one sometimes observes a marriage by capture" /translated from French/ (19). The way of life and the position of a marriageable

19. It is not likely that the Mission Scientifique observed the procedure of an abduction. The same Hyades (b):1346 expresses himself in another place more vaguely, "sometimes there is marriage by capture" /translated from French/.

girl within her family absolutely contradicts all false assertions, for it is simply impossible to abduct a woman. It is true that
• 837 sometimes a married woman who wishes secretly to leave her husband accepts the help of a man whom she knows well in order to escape. If, however, she chooses this expedient, namely, flight under the protection of a man, it is her own decision. Moreover, it can happen that a married woman yields to persuasion and /643/ follows her seducer for a few days, after which she returns to her rightful husband. Neither case has anything to do with abduction. BD:227 gives kwissāguntūkū, "to take by force another man's wife and marry her as a wife" /cited in English/; also BD:303, manāgulū, "to escape as a wife from her husband by stealth" /cited in English/. The proper meaning here,

/643 cont./

837 too, is that a lawful husband is abused when his wife puts herself in the hands of a devoted rival who carries her off and keeps her in his hut as his wife.

584 In one place Hyades (q):378 speaks as though the girl is given away by her father. "The young girl is not consulted in the choice of a husband; the parents give her to the one who suits them and who is always the strongest and the most respected among the candidates" /translated from French/. This empty assertion utterly fails to recognize the fact that the parents are very much concerned about the future welfare of their child and that they inquire about the conduct of the husband, quite apart from the fact that they naturally find it painful to lose their daughter to the chosen man. Finally, arbitrarily disposing of her without consulting her wishes is not consistent with her right -- sometimes exercised -- of running away from her unbearable, rude husband and again seeking protection in the hut of her parents.

The true facts of the matter become very clear from what we have briefly said by way of correcting erroneous reports (20).

> 20. The two forms mentioned by Bove (c):128 are mutually exclusive, for he says: "Marriage can be considered as a purchase of the woman by the man and a union of love and reciprocal congeniality" /translated from Spanish/.

The marriageable girl is neither given away nor sold nor abducted. She is completely free to choose the chap who appeals to her fancy. Courtship rests on this fundamental freedom. That is why in the case of young people of marriageable age the elders sometimes waive the otherwise prevalent separation of the sexes, for "that is the time when a boy and girl become acquainted, when they feel whether they will get along together for the rest of their lives [in marriage]." This is what Mary said.

867 In instructing girls on the occasion of their first menstruation and in occasional conversations, older women repeat the following admonition in various words: "Do not give yourself to the first chap who comes along, who flatters you, but choose the one

/650 cont./

587 As we implied earlier, relationship by marriage is not regarded as blood relationship among our Yamana. It is no obstacle to marriage and, under certain conditions, is even an obligation for a levirate marriage. If the sister-in-law becomes a widow, the oldest brother, in terms of years, of her deceased husband must care for her and her children, provided a younger brother does not obtrude. The wife of the brother-in-law in question may not legally oppose this marriage, nor would either of these two be permitted to reject the widow because of the many children she brings with her (p. 412).

595 Aside from the obligation to take the widowed sister-in-law in marriage, the principle mentioned above is also clearly seen in
• 837 an occasional marriage of two sisters simultaneously to one and the same man (26). A direct development usually leads to this

26. Hahn (a):805 summarizes both instances in the single sentence: "A man may marry two sisters and the wife of his brother" /translated from French/. Cooper:165, drawing on various sources, concludes: "It is a common practice among both the Onas and Yahgans for a man to marry two sisters" /cited in English/. Bridges (h):210 gives the following reason for this: "When a man marries more than one woman, the wives are usually sisters, which tends to strengthen the bonds of the family" /translated from Spanish/. This way of expressing it sounds credible and is close to what actually happens; this is less true of the statement he made 17 years earlier: "Polygamy is very general, and men generally have sisters of their wives, one sister after another as they become marriageable being given to the same husband" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869).

situation. When the married sister takes in her unmarried sister to help with the work or to be her companion, /651/ the brother-in-law not infrequently also falls in love with her. Sooner or later he will become intimate with her and will finally have sexual intercourse with her. Hence, he must ultimately acknowledge her as

/651 cont./

595 his wife. Their marriage takes place without any formality, and
•837 the sexual relations between them become known to the neighborhood at the latest when pregnancy is well advanced, if not long
[626] before. If the man has no valid reason for this step and is guided merely by sensuality, he must be prepared for the bitter reproach and biting irony of his neighbors, intended to censure severely his weakness of character. Marriage with two sisters is not forbidden, but public opinion demands a reason for it, such as that the first wife cannot do her work because she is ill or that she has been blessed with a great many children. She perhaps had invited her sister into the hut as a helper, and since the latter adjusted well, the lawful wife will finally, on her own initiative, propose to her husband that he likewise regard her sister, who is probably always younger, as his wife. This is one way in which polygamy arises. Sometimes, also, consideration for the still unmarried sister-in-law will lead to it, for if she has become accustomed to her brother-in-law over a period of time, she will not look for another man, but will wait for her brother-in-law's proposal, or she will force herself upon him so insistently that he will yield to her wish. Her sister may not even be in favor of it.

587 Closely related to this is the view that, upon the death of his wife, a man has a certain right to his unmarried sister-in-law. If he proposes to her, she probably always accepts. If she refuses, however, and he nevertheless wants her, he may bring her into his hut by force. This is known as kuśátuku. This happens very rarely, however, for everyone knows that a woman who follows a man only because she is forced to do so cannot be held permanently.

Economic conditions in Tierra del Fuego make it imperative for every adult to marry, hence widowed persons (pp. 413, 480) do not remain alone very long. This sometimes leads to a considerable difference in age between the two partners, which does not constitute an obstacle to marriage and is apparently not even regarded as improper. An active young woman is more useful to an older widower than a woman as old as he is. For her part, the young creature expects to be treated with understanding by a quiet old man. From both sides, therefore, gentle pressure is exerted for the marriage of an old widower with a young woman(27).

27. It is an exaggeration, however, when

/667 cont./

595 will take a healthy girl. This decision is very welcome to many a contentious old woman, because she now has a young creature completely under her domination. Thus she compensates for the fact that he shows more fondness toward the other than toward her. In both instances, the reason for polygamy is evident (54).

54. Different interpretations and descriptions should be corrected on the basis of these principles. According to Bove (e):157, "the necessity for having paddlers for the canoe, as well as a great predilection for the female sex, is the reason for such widespread polygamy. This is doubtless the most effective cause for the impoverishment of that race." The remark by Bridges (e):332 that "bigamy was very prevalent because of the great advantages connected with it" means nothing.

595 At various times Fred Lawrence repeated to me: "A Yamana
● 837 never keeps a second woman as his wife, in addition to his first
586 wife, for purely sensual reasons. If his lust is so great, he seeks relief in forbidden ways. If he has become absolutely infatuated with another woman who responds to his intentions, he gets rid of his first wife without further ado in order to be able to live with her alone, undisturbed."

595 In February, 1920, reliable Alfredo explained to me emphatically in the presence of his own wife and old Julia, neither of whom contradicted him: "If a Yamana wants to take another person into his hut as a second wife, he does not need to ask his wife about it. But he almost always does so, for he loves his wife!" In other words, a man who has grown tired of his wife prefers to dismiss her before he brings a second wife into his hut without her knowledge. If he nevertheless does so, "his first wife must patiently yield. Perhaps she does not like this living together and she herself finally leaves. But she continues to be tractable and submissive toward the man; she does not call him to account if he foists a rival upon her without her knowledge and against her will." This explanation by Alfredo was later confirmed by other persons.

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585 Nothing indicates that the Yamana would permit actual polyandry (60). So-called sexual promiscuity was already

60. On April 22, 1871, Bridges (i):21 clearly stated: "In no case has a woman been known to have more than one husband at a time, but successively some have had two or even more" /cited in English/, and later he (h):210 repeated: "A woman has never been known to have more than one husband at a time" /translated from Spanish/. Many a married woman, however, secretly had an illicit affair.

•[837]

definitely disavowed by Fitz-Roy (a):182: "Jemmy Button often talked of his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, also of uncles and aunts, after he knew enough of our language to understand distinctly the relationship. Now this could not have been the case had not his father and mother lived together permanently as man and wife, according to the clear account which he himself always gave of their custom in this respect" /cited in English/. [197] The Anglican missionaries, beginning with Stirling, endeavored to put an end to polygamy; Bridges even obtained an injunction from the government (61). Unfortunately, the missionaries did

61. On May 28, 1887, he reported: "Again, cases of natives taking a second wife are punished by imprisonment, and thus happily prevented" /cited in English/ (MM:XXI, 176; 1887).

not take into account the fact that in some families a second wife was demanded by economic necessity. As such, however, polygamy is contrary to the general feeling of justice among the Yamana, and reasonable exceptions are merely tolerated (p. 440).

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false assertion of a few navigators that our Fuegians had handed over their women and girls without resistance.

When there is greater inclination toward jealousy, it is without doubt "the reason for brutalities inflicted by the husband on his wife" /translated from French/. Many men are so susceptible that one cannot be careful enough in his attitude toward their wives, if he wishes to save himself unpleasantness. Outes (g): 55 reports: The men "are very jealous and an inopportune look at his wives is enough to arouse his distrust and to cause the murder of the suspect" /translated from Spanish/. It is true that the jealous husband will occasionally give vent to his rage in serious beatings, but it has never gone as far as murder, according to Fred Lawrence who corrected this report for me. The lot of a woman with a husband so unfortunately predisposed is unpleasant. She must always fear his outbursts of rage, although she herself is blameless and very careful in her conduct.

/684/ Is this pronounced jealousy among men caused by their
837 concern over marital fidelity among their wives? This may be true to a certain extent. Certainly, as a rule, the two spouses are faithful, and people without exception esteem this virtue highly. BD:267 gives hīngun: "a sober, sensible and faithful wife or woman" /cited in English/. We must agree with Spegazzini (a):166, who emphasizes: "Fidelity is a carefully guarded virtue, whether out of fear of the husband who will repudiate or kill her on account of mere suspicion or because of natural habit /translated from Spanish/ (84). Although fidelity is esteemed in public

84. On July 27, 1872, Bridges (i):18 entered the following in his diary: "Adultery was condemned as a crime and faithfullness extolled as a virtue" /cited in English/.

and everyone tries to avoid accusations of violating it, nevertheless individual violations occasionally did and do occur, and many a married person has secretly transgressed. Bridges' assertion, "there is no fidelity between man and wife" /cited in English/ (VSA:XIII, 203;1866), is false in its generality, and he

/684 cont./

•837 himself corrected it soon after, saying that "generally a great deal of unfaithfulness" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869) is customary. Six years later he (i):19 learned of the splendid [538] Yamana simile, "an adulterous person was likened to a rotten tree which has only to be touched to fall" /cited in English/. If a people seeks such a means of defense, it confirms its alarm over the serious danger which threatens it from marital infidelity.

A surprisingly large number of words signifying adulterous action have been collected in BD. Hyades and Spegazzini several times mention the fact that adultery is committed by the husband as well as the wife. The reliable Fred Lawrence assured me with all certainty that, according to his ten years' experience, a considerable number of women had lovers. Each of them knew that she was bound to fidelity toward her husband (85), but

> 85. Hyades (q):378 also emphasizes that the Indian women "are bound in fidelity to their husbands" /translated from French/. It is an exaggeration, however, when Martial:199 says: "Fidelity is very rare in the Fuegian marriages, and morals are very loose" /translated from French/.

nevertheless yielded to the urge in greatest secrecy. It is difficult to decide who is chiefly to blame, but each of the guilty parties has his share. "The seducer was probably generally to blame" (Gusinde [ℓ] :168); we might deduce this from the admonitions given young girls in the čiẽxaus ceremony. "The women of to-
837 day," Fred Lawrence continued, "are scarcely ashamed of their
177 transgressions and force themselves preferably on Europeans because they are paid by them. Where else did one or another of the women get her new dress, since neither she nor her husband earned anything to pay for it! In former times the illicit affair was kept secret, but nowadays many an older Indian woman is not at all embarrassed if one accuses her openly. Her husband is silent, for he knows that she /685/ is supplying herself with the things she wants." Some Indians were even offended at the behavior of old Marocha, so much so that they repeatedly spoke

/685 cont./

837 to me about her in very unfavorable terms (in this connection see
177 the account on p. 353 /untranslated/).

Formerly, as we have said, adulterous acts had to be anxious-
593 ly concealed from the eyes of the injured partner. If a man caught
837 his wife, he thrashed her soundly and watched her more closely
627 after that. If, moreover, he learned the identity of the other guilty party, he beat him if he was a match for him, or he summoned his own relatives to help (86). In any case he left the

86. Martial:199 describes the punishment of an adulterer which he himself observed in Orange Bay.

vicinity with his undependable wife. Many a man only gradually recovered from his wife's misstep and only after he had repeatedly thrashed her (87). It never went so far as conscious killing;

87. According to Hyades (p):335 and (d):309, "Adultery of the wife is punished by beatings which the husband or her parents inflict on the guilty party and her accomplice" /translated from French/.

there is the possibility, however, that a woman may have succumbed as a result of heavy blows (88). It very seldom happened

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88. Martial:199 and also Dabbene (b):189 express themselves in the same vein. It is not correct to speak of actual murder on the part of the husband. The assertion by Outes (g):58 is as false as it is emphatic.

that a man dismissed his faithless wife forever solely because of this offense, even though she may have stayed with her lover for a time and later returned to the hut of her lawful husband (89). If, however, it could be proved that she became

89. Martial:199 tells of an adulteress who

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593 837 586

found her way back to her husband after an absence of three months and was taken in again by him.

pregnant by her lover -- this occurred in the extremely rare case where she was still young and her lawful husband was old -- the husband sent the adulteress irrevocably back to her lover and definitely separated from her.

593 837 If a wife catches her husband philandering, she usually has no alternative, but to overcome the humiliation silently. A spirited woman will make a noisy scene, scold the sinner, and expose his shameful deed to others, which wounds him more than a beating (90). The relatives of the wife would not dare beat the

90. "The adultery of the husband is not punished, except by the jealous scenes of his wife" /translated from French/.

faithless one; they do no more than to advise her to leave him. Sometimes a very hurt wife has come to blows with her errant husband, if she and another wife in the same hut were both betrayed by their common husband (01).

91. Spegazzini (a):166 reports having seen an Indian "completely paralyzed as a result of a beating which his wives gave him because of this kind of misdeed" /translated from Spanish/.

837 558 We lack evidence to determine definitely the number of cases of marital infidelity, since every Yamana makes a serious effort /686/ to keep his lapses strictly secret. The fact is, however, according to Gusinde (l):168, that "among the Yamana this shortcoming was more frequent than among the other two Fuegian tribes." There is no doubt, however, that everyone who is known to have erred in this respect experiences perceptible injury to his honor (92).

92. According to Hyades' (q):378 way of

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expressing himself, adultery is accompanied by "a certain public disrespect" /translated from French/. It is this general condemnation that guilty parties find particularly painful and degrading.

548 Our Indians hold female virtue in high esteem. In this connection we must not fail to mention that Hyades (q):239, 378 takes a very firm stand against the false reports by a few travelers about the prostitution of Indian women. "We have never seen a Fuegian man yield his wife or the one he loves to his best friends or even to the lure of large rewards. Many travelers believe that they have seen the opposite, but in the instances they have observed, the women and young girls were not by any means necessarily joined by love or even marriage to the savages who proposed to give them away. We will cite below a number of examples to prove our assertions" /translated from French/ (93). Not even the present relaxation of morals is ap-

93. In Outes (g):59, also, it is clearly stated: "No individual sells his wife to another" /translated from Spanish/.

proved by the true Yamana, and they accept many misdeeds silently only because they are powerless to do anything about it.

836 Sexual morality is quite generally esteemed, and this, naturally, also includes premarital chastity (p. 411). Children
867 would not be permitted any kind of license nor would they attempt it; there is, generally speaking, no sexual freedom for the girl. Quite the contrary, many Europeans, to their unexpected surprise, came up against a strong, emphatic morality and modest reserve among the Fuegian women, whose body covering could hardly be imagined as scantier. In order to prevent lapses in this sphere, the adults see to it that boys and girls are separated from early youth until puberty, and they warn them ceaselessly with informative advice. It is entirely wrong to maintain, as Hyades (q):378 does, that "the young girls are free to conduct themselves as they please" /translated from French/. Even

586 [602] /690 cont./

her, when she is sometimes taken away from him and given to another" /cited in English/.

Young married couples sometimes separate after they have become better acquainted with each other and a definite antipathy has developed. This situation, of course, also may come about in the case of a couple who have shared the same hut for decades (102).

102. Bridges (a):184 mentions: "It frequently happens that there is inseparable aversion on the girl's part to her husband, and she leaves him, and if she persists in hating him she is then given to one she likes" /cited in English/.

586 837 Usually the real cause is an outside one, namely, a love affair with another person, which now presses toward a rupture of the existing marriage bond by any means available. Finally, in very exceptional cases, a man will get rid of a wife who has manifestly committed adultery (p. 468). In cases of adultery everyone is very lenient, for men, too, are by no means paragons of virtue in this respect.

586 It should be recognized that, although divorce among our Yamana is, to be sure, accomplished fairly easily, it is accompanied by significant secondary effects. It sounds ridiculous to maintain with Hyades (q):378: "Before the women become mothers, it is not rare to see them change husbands several times, either because of feminine inconstancy or because of bad treatment on the part of their spouses" /translated from French/ (103). Does anyone really believe

103. Apparently he simply repeats what Bridges (i):20 entered in his diary on April 22, 1871: "Not infrequently before they became settled in life, they have had many husbands, for the marriage relationship was not secure unless children were born to unite the parents in a common care for them" /cited in English/. I have already replied to this threadbare contention (pp. 408, 411).

that the appearance of the /691/ first child takes such a long time

/989 cont./

518 seriously and habitually. The same serious situation arises when a
152 woman leaves her husband, for she usually tries to steal away because of a love affair with another man.

627 The thirst for revenge is, of course, most deeply aroused by
674 an actual, premeditated murder, and nothing sets families against each other so violently as this act. For the Yamana every human life, even that of a child, is most precious and sacred (Bridges [h]:205); hence murder is an utterly abhorrent deed (408). There

408. In this connection compare our account of infanticide (p. 528) and abortion (pp. 491, 536).

are exceptions, however. Most murders come about through adultery.
[837] For example, if a married man is looking for a new tie and leaves his wife without cause, her relatives take her part, and they demand that the faithless husband give an account of himself or they simply take the law into their own hands and murder him. They say: "This woman joined herself to this man and they should live together to the end of their lives; since he failed in his duty, he must be punished!" Divorce without adequate cause is an offense against a generally recognized law. Each murder of this kind unleashes a serious /990/ danger for another human life because of the obligation for blood vengeance, and the danger is even greater in the case of a murder for an insignificant reason (409). In view

409. Bridges (VSA:XI, 260;1884) mentions: "If a man kills another causelessly, his relations are greatly displeased, since it brings each one of them into danger. This is a great preventive to blood-shedding" /cited in English/.

of the dangerous position one puts himself into by an act of murder, the individual holds himself in check, even on occasions of greatest excitement and the almost unconquerable passion for revenge.

674 It must be said that murder is rare among the Yamana, although we cannot give exact figures (Cooper:174). On June 20, 1884, Bridges (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884) attempted some statistics on murder:

591 after which they would usually go for good to the groom's kin. Thus, localized groups of kin tended to be paternal.

604 After marriage the husband's paternal uncle and the wife's maternal aunt took particular interest in them, superseding in large measure their respective parents. Children-in-law were expected to
606 look after their parents-in-law in sickness or other needs. Children-in-law observed a number of avoidances regarding their parents-in-law: greeting their parents-in-law, speaking to them or breaking in on their conversation with remarks, looking at them, and sitting down beside them were all taboo. When in the same hut with their parents-in-law, they turned their sides or backs on them. A year or so after marriage, the restrictions between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law were partly, but never wholly, relaxed; those between son-in-law and father-in-law lasted through life. On visits of the father-in-law to his daughter, he and his son-in-law communicated wishes and news through the daughter and wife or by indirect discourse.

562 The man was, in theory, considered the head of the family, with
593 authority to rule. Actually, his authority was very far from absolute, and the woman was largely her own mistress, particularly in such provinces of her own as child rearing, food gathering, and canoe managing. Some men domineered over their wives, but not a few husbands were under the thumbs of their spouses. Some husbands were cruel, but if so they ran afoul of the wife's kin. More generally, woman's position both in the family and in the community seemed a respected one, not that of a drudge, slave, or inferior being, and she enjoyed a fairly high degree of freedom and independence.

684 Adultery was disapproved by the *Yahgan* code, but apparently
837 the code suffered appreciable infringement in practice. Adultery on the wife's part was, if discovered, punished by the husband with sound beatings, very rarely with death. Public opinion disapproved of her behavior. Adultery on the husband's part also gave rise to domestic battles in which the husband sometimes suffered severe treatment at his offended wife's hands. Jealousy on the part of both husband and wife was common. Wife lending was absent. There
648 was no professional prostitution; a woman, married or unmarried, of markedly loose character was looked down upon.

586 Separation and divorce were fairly frequent, but were not lightly resorted to. The most common cause appears to have been cruel treatment of the wife by the husband, though there were other causes such as marked laziness, negligence, or crabbedness on the part of the
[illegible] wife. In case the wife became incapacitated through illness or age, the man could, and, it seems, more commonly did, take to himself a second wife.

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β. The Haucella

Besides a yefačel, the medicine man is supported by a Haučéllakipa. Although the two do not often meet, the Haučélla is incomparably mightier than the yefačel. The origin of these spirits, which are both male and female, has already been described (p. 1119). To supplement it, here is what Maŕemikers told me in August, 1923. Back in the time when the general upheaval took place, a few women hameed out of the Kina hut and hid on the Wollaston Islands. There they became Haučéllakipa and entered the earth. They are hostile to human beings. Each of them succeeded in pulling a man down into the interior of the earth where he became a Haučélla. All of them are bent upon ensnaring our men and women with their flirtations. It is very bad that sometimes [male] Haučélla even assault our men and Haučéllakipa do the same to our women (339).

339. With these words homosexual intercourse is clearly admitted, but only as a rare transgression by the bad spirits mentioned.

Anyone who is ensnared by these spirits is lost, unless he is saved in time by a yékamal, but this is not genuine love. For example, if I should be going to a brook, lost in thought, an enchantingly beautiful woman may suddenly appear before me, enticing me with flattery and breaking down my resistance. This is a Haučéllakipa. Thereafter I cannot get rid of this image; it is constantly before my [mind's] eye, and I am caught by the spell of love. Wherever I go, wherever I sit and work, this image hovers before me and follows me everywhere. Months go by and still the image of that woman overpowers me. While all this is going on within the man, he finally comes to his senses and says: "Every move I make is difficult for me, I feel unwell, my strength has long since failed me. But I cannot part from that woman, I am as close to her as though we were married. I am so filled with this woman and so dominated by her, it is as though an illness had penetrated my body. She has

/1088 cont./

577 776 grumble about them or to resist them, and no one would presume to do so. Similarly, no one expects that his blameless conduct will be rewarded by an especially advantageous destiny here on earth. In their naïve innocence the Fueguians are so reverential that they do not make such demands on their Hiúlkaen; moreover, no one regards himself as absolutely without fault. Besides, everyone has an adequate living; hence he neither needs nor expects more. If they make requests, they are driven to it by their own helplessness in the face of the invincible forces of nature and the threatening arbitrariness of the Supreme Being himself. The veneration due him demands that his name not be spoken thoughtlessly. Since all animals are his property, every human being becomes culpable who misuses them and who, with evil intent, willfully kills more than he needs for his subsistence, for everyone is permitted only this much by their lord and owner. On suitable occasions the adults do not fail to acquaint growing children with these ideas.

577 The duties of self-love are also clearly defined to a surprising degree. They are most clearly expressed in the descriptions of the ideal that should be striven for by a true Tamana. The motto, "May everyone be a good and useful human being!" summarizes the personal virtues which everyone strives for primarily because of ambition. Conspicuous rivalry impels many a person to outdo his other fellow-citizens in faithful fulfillment of duty and blameless conduct. Diligence and industry, a sense of order and cleanliness, compatability and a quiet nature, unwillingness and constant willingness to help, moderation in eating, and respect for tribal custom in its many details are qualities which the society as a whole expects from each of its members. Their sense 577 of modesty is well developed (26). In front of women /1089/ and 834

26. Hyades (b):1366 asserts: "The sense of modesty exists among both sexes, but it is more developed among the women and is given a special name" /translated from French/. Cf. also Hyades (a):330. In addition he (f):372 also mentions: "Masturbation is very exceptional among the Fueguians.

/757 cont./

881 them to eat. Then all the participants disperse and tell every-
574 one: "That girl gave us good things to eat, fish, mussels, and other things!" They are referring to the tū̂ʔikipa tatu, and everyone who hears about it interprets the words in this way. Now everyone knows that the girl has reached physical maturity.

β. Women during the Menses

841 An account of how a woman conducts herself during her monthly bleeding, sāpana, is inserted here. The tū̂ʔikipa has already been told that "this occurrence will be repeated with each moon." It scarcely causes a woman /758/ any noticeable discomfort. Just as during the first menstruation, every woman blots up the blood with a small bunch of čílĕrʲ and burns it inconspicuously in the hut fire.

Abstention from certain foods is not exactly demanded, but the woman is supposed to choose better pieces for herself, "for only these are good for her!" She must practice composure and withdrawal, be silent and yet very active. All this is not as strictly demanded of her as of a tū̂ʔikipa, but a woman cannot take it too lightly, because this would have a bad effect on her children. Everyone knows exactly what is demanded by tribal custom, hence the individual more or less conscientiously and faithfully fulfills this obligation (194).

194. Hahn's (a):804 opinion is not very accurate: "Subsequent menstrual periods do not give rise to any particular practices and do not prevent sexual relations" /translated from French/.

γ. Interpretation of Menstruation

The fact that Lola's menstruation began during my second sojourn in Beagle Channel (p. 568) made it not only possible for me to get most of the above details, but also put me on the trail of the mythological interpretation of the menses as the Yamana tell it.

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841 On that particular day old Alfredo had been given a nip of wine by a European and was in excellent spirits. I accompanied him to a small garden near Punta Remolino, the property of the Lawrence family, where he was supposed to hoe the turnip beds. In an unmistakably personal tone he asked me: "Do you know why Lola is acting so gravely and does not look about her at all?" I told him that I had not noticed it. Satisfied to hear this, he assured me: "It is all because she is now tŭ̆ɣi!" I immediately asked him to explain this further to me. "I'll tell you everything tonight!" he assured me.

When night had long since fallen, there were many people crouching around the fire in Alfredo's hut. He remembered his promise and gave me a sign that he now wanted to fulfill it. Gruffly he sent the children away and was loudly emphatic that it was time they went to bed. With a somewhat milder remark he indicated to the women that he would like them to leave him alone with the men. When the men were by themselves, he told the familiar story of how the first menstruation was introduced by the elder Yoálox.

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The entire myth will be given below. Here it will suffice to indicate that since the introduction of this bleeding Yoálox has been regarded as the husband of every woman and as causing the flow of blood through a sexual act. Because he always unites anew with each woman, it is necessary for her to get up soon after bleeding begins to free herself each time from Yoálox. /759/ How consistently the Yamana regard the relationship of every woman to Yoálax as a conjugal one may be seen from the fact that they say his elder sister, Yoálax tarnuxipa, is the sister-in-law of all women.

841 773 881 The girl does not learn about this myth in connection with her menarche. It is saved until the youth initiation, so that the child will not prematurely become familiar with delicate matters. It is not until the čiéxaus that the candidates are told everything that tradition recounts about Yoálox. As a rule the overseer of the initiation does this, but the female candidate almost always learns the story of the very first menstruation from the woman who sponsors her. Nelly added the following to these details: "When I was first permitted to attend the čiéxaus, we candidates had to

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841 get up one by one at midnight. The old instructor led us out of
773 the Great Hut, pointed to certain stars, and mentioned their
881 names. He also showed us the Yoālox family, saying: 'The elder Yoālox is the husband of every girl who has become tūʔi; he causes the bleeding after every moon [-cycle]!' He also impressed upon us: 'Keep all this to yourselves, for this is a secret for girls and they should not speak about it with boys!'"

841 The women actually do avoid speaking about their monthly bleeding, wélix. It finally becomes so taken for granted that they probably seldom think of Yoālox in connection with it. I did not find out whether they specify a particular reason for the cessation of the menses in the change of life; they are indifferent toward it.

4. Children's Play

857 The happy disposition of our Fuegians is shown in entertaining games. Whenever there are many people gathered together and the weather is favorable, they greatly enjoy playing together for hours. Children soon show a great love of play, and when several get together, they, too, immediately begin to entertain themselves in their modest way.

Both boys and girls amuse themselves, each in their own way, and the demands on the sexes are already in force here. In play no less than in other things the separation of the sexes is supposed to be observed; this is gladly overlooked, however, when so-called social games are played, in which adults, too, often take part. There are no special playthings for older children; instead, for their childish entertainment they very often imitate grownups at work. Although the social games mentioned above are not confined to children alone, they are the ones who most frequently play them; hence we shall describe them here.

152 Despite the unrestricted merriment and wholesome liveliness that all children show in their play, this flock of little ones is relatively silent and quiet. True, they are not /760/ mute, but there is no wild noise and ceaseless yelling, and no one would dare shout at the top of his lungs or cry just to show off. This behavior fits very well with the quiet and hushed manner of babies (p. 520) and adults.

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with their sister, rose up to heaven where one can see them to this day as stars.

K. The Onset of the First Menstruation

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Without delay (89) little Hulušénuwa first sent his wife

89. For clearer organization, I have made a special story of this on my own initiative. My informants told the whole story without this break.

Tákašakīpa (90) to the Yoálox. She entered the hut of the two

90. This is the loud seagull, Larus belcheri.

Yoálox and introduced herself. The two brothers looked closely at this woman for a long time. Then they said to their sister: "Give this woman lots of meat!" Yoálox-tárnuxīpa gave Tákašakīpa much meat and she was dismissed. The two brothers had arranged with their sister that they would look over every woman carefully to see whether she was beautiful and whether they liked her. Every woman that did not please them was to be given much meat by their sister and dismissed.

After a while Lášixkīpa arrived. The two Yoálox looked at her, but she did not please them. Yoálox-tárnuxīpa gave her much /1170/ meat and she was dismissed. Then little Hulušénuwa sent all the rest of his wives, one after the other: šékuš, kīmoa, lūrux, wāsénim, lēkakuta, wīpatux, malēpa, šánes, wémarīkīpa, kiwágu, dētēhūrux, čokóa (91), and many others, for he had

91. Only a few names are mentioned here in abbreviated form, without the "kipa" designating gender and without the more specific zoological designation, thus avoiding superfluous repetition.

many wives. No matter how beautiful they all were, one as

/1170 cont./

773 841 much as the other, the two Yoālox did not care particularly for any of them. Their sister gave each of these women much meat and they hurried back to their hut. In this way the many wives of little Hulušēnuwa presented themselves to the two Yoālox, one after the other. The brothers carefully looked at each woman, but they did not like any of them. There were constantly more women coming. Each one entered the hut of the Yoālox alone, but each of them soon was given a large portion of meat and was in this way dismissed.

Finally Mākuxīpa arrived as the last and the most beautiful wife of little Hulušēnuwa. When she entered the hut of the two Yoālox she pleased them beyond measure and they could not take their eyes off her. They whispered to their sister: "Do not give this woman any meat! We want to keep her here in our hut and not let her go back to her husband. We like this beautiful woman very much indeed!" Yoālox-tārnuxīpa said to Mākuxīpa: "Just sit down here beside my brothers, they both like you very much!" So Mākuxīpa sat down without embarrassment, as Yoālox-tārnuxīpa had told her to, on the pallet of the two Yoālox. The latter soon began to fondle the beautiful woman. Later they persuaded Mākuxīpa to stay with them in the hut. The two Yoālox both frankly confessed to her how much they were in love with her. She liked that very much and said: "Very well, I shall stay with you!" Then the two Yoālox were extremely pleased that this beautiful woman wanted to stay with them. They immediately began satisfying their lust. They thanked their sister especially, because she had helped keep this beautiful woman here.

In his hut little Hulušēnuwa waited for his Mākuxīpa, but she did not return home. After a long time he finally learned that the two Yoālox were keeping his wife with them in order to amuse themselves with her. This made him sad beyond measure and he said sorrowfully: "Woe is me! They have persuaded the most beautiful of my wives and stolen her from me. They sent home all the rest who are less beautiful, after giving them much meat. How I miss my beautiful Mākuxīpa!" Little Hulušēnuwa constantly lamented in this fashion.

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The two Yoálox continued to amuse themselves with Mákuxīpa. She, too, liked it very much in the hut of the two brothers. They took turns sleeping with her and were very glad that they no longer had to do without that (92).

92. This means frequent and free sexual intercourse for which they hitherto had had no opportunity. Thus their relationship to the woman is not to be interpreted as polyandry.

/1171/ One day, early in the morning, the elder Yoálox went to the forest to hunt animals and gather wood. His brother stayed behind, stretched out on his pallet, with beautiful Mákuxīpa lying at his side. Because the elder Yoálox was absent, they gave themselves up to their boundless lust. They spent all day on their bed and it did not occur to them to get up. The day passed all too quickly for them, and it was after dark when the elder Yoálox returned. He approached the hut cautiously and unobserved. Then he realized that those two were still caressing each other and rolling around on their bed. This aroused his curiosity. Then he listened closely; he wanted to hear what they were saying to each other. He heard Mákuxīpa whisper to the younger Yoálox: "Membrum tuum mihi summopere placet. Tantum est quantum repleat vaginam meam. Rubrum est sicut máku (93). Frater tuus membrum minutum habet, quod

93. The reference /máku/ is to the scarlet blossom of Embothrium coccineum (Fig. 78 on p. 495).

me non ita irritat. Ecce, multo magis membrum magnum tuum mihi placet quam fratris tui. Tecum tempus diuturnum concumbere malo." /"Your member is very pleasing to me. How much it fills my vagina. It is as red as máku. Your brother has a small member which thus does not arouse me. Indeed, your large member pleases me much more than that of your brother. I would rather have intercourse for a long time with you."/ These words

/1171 cont./

773 delighted the younger Yoálox. His older brother who was standing
•841 outside the hut listened attentively and understood perfectly what those two were whispering to each other.

After a while he finally entered the hut. He threw down the heavy logs he had brought and immediately sat down beside the fire, for the heavy rain had made him soaking wet. Now the younger Yoálox inconspicuously moved away a bit from Mákuxīpa, but both of them were still lying on the pallet. The elder Yoálox had been warming himself by the fire for some time when he finally addressed the woman in a very ill-humored tone: "How can you lie here with my brother from early morning until now!" She answered carelessly: "Well, I liked being with him!" This explanation made him still more ill-humored, and irritated, he said harshly: "I know very well why you liked being with him so much that you lay together the whole day. What was it you just whispered to him?" Embarrassed, Mákuxīpa replied: "What could I have whispered to him? We talked about unimportant things." Whereupon the elder Yoálox replied: "In any case you enjoyed yourself immensely with my brother. And I distinctly heard you say to him: 'Membrum tuum mihi summopere placet. Tantum est quantum repleat vaginam meam. Rubrum est sicut máku. Frater tuus membrum minutum habet, quod me non ita irritat. Ecce, multo magis membrum magnum tuum mihi placet quam fratris tui. Tecum tempus diuturnum concumbere malo!' Aren't these the words you just whispered to him! Very well, I'll show you, tamen membrum meum magnum atque tumidum esse /my member may nevertheless be large and tumid/!" He approached the pallet on which she lay and his brother moved far away. He began /1172/ to caress and embrace Mákuxīpa. Postea mulieri incubuit et immisit membrum suum in vaginam ejus. Membrum suum ita intumuit, ut laceraret mulieris vaginam. Statim copia sanguinis sat magna effluxit. Yoálox eam interrogavit: "Desiderasne utrum membrum meum adhuc succrescat, necne? Satisfacta es?" /"After that, he lay on the woman and inserted his member in her vagina. His member swelled so that it lacerated the woman's vagina. Immediately a great amount of blood flowed out. Yoálox asked her: "Do you still wish that my member would grow? Is it satisfactory?"/ Mákuxīpa did not say a word.

/1172 cont./

773 841 So the elder Yoālox got up from the bed and said to her: "Now you are tūʌ-i! Therefore you may now take my younger brother as your husband! Before that I want to give you a few instructions so that not too much blood will flow and you do not become too weak!" Then he gave her all kinds of advice which from then on applied to her and to all women. He emphasized: "You must remain quiet and silent and avoid all chatter. If possible stay in your hut the whole time. Stay away from men, and if you should meet them, give them a wide berth. Refrain from all food and eat only what I permit. Be content with a very small amount of water. Work particularly diligently during this time [your first menstruation], help the other women, fetch a lot of drinking water and firewood for everyone. Faithfully observe each of these admonitions!" The elder Yoālox imposed many other things on Mākuxīpa. She adhered to them all strictly. That is why her condition improved; she soon felt relieved, and the flow of blood finally stopped. After a few days she also did not have to renew the facial painting that Yoālox had made for her (94). Meanwhile Yoālox-tārnuxīpa sat beside Mākuxīpa,

94. These words refer to the special facial painting required during the menarche, which is shown in Fig. 79.

cared for her and instructed her diligently, and was constantly helpful. She gave her other bits of advice which Mākuxīpa faithfully followed. Finally Yoālox-tārnuxīpa proposed to her brothers: "Let's give a big feast, for this woman is now tūʌ-i!" Her brothers agreed; they provided large quantities of meat and consumed them happily. This was the first tūʌ-ikīpa tātu (95).

95. The details of this festive occasion were given on p. 573.

841 This is how the first menstruation, which the elder Yoālox brought about for Mākuxīpa, took place. Since then it happens to every woman and is repeated at the end of a moon (96). All

96. This expression is merely a designation

/1172 cont./

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of time; it by no means establishes any kind of causal relationship between menstruation and the moon.

the rules that the Yoālox brothers and their sister gave Mākuxīpa on this occasion are still valid today and are strictly binding for girls at the menarche. Since that time the vagina mulieris has had its present form, blood still flows during every menstrual period, and every woman finds relief if she observes the well-known regulations faithfully. Thus when a girl's first menstruation appears, she must tell her mother or /1173/ a close relative. Immediately several women take this girl under their special care. They prescribe what foods she may eat and permit her an amount scarcely worth mentioning. They let her have only a little water which the girl must sip through a short hollow bird bone (97) so that she will not get too much. The older women

97. The candidates in the youth initiation drink in the same manner (p.709).

keep this girl extremely active at all kinds of tasks. She must fetch firewood for everybody, carry much drinking water to each hut, and assist other women in all kinds of ways. The girl should stay in her hut during this period and may not leave it without a special reason. Outside she must keep her eyes cast down, not linger anywhere, and generally keep her eyes in check. She may not start a conversation with anyone, much less become involved in quarrels. All the women of the camp watch over the girl carefully and see to it that she is not annoyed by any man. For a month after the first menstruation no man may have intercourse with this girl nor molest her. The tū'ikīpa is obliged to observe these rules very conscientiously for about eight days. Then she gathers a great deal of meat and much fruit, whatever is in season. She prepares a large feast and invites everyone to it. This is the public tū'ikīpa tītu which every girl is obliged to arrange on the occasion of her menarche. During these days she always appears with the facial painting appropriate to this occasion. The women impress upon the girl

/1173 cont./

•841 that all these rules and recommendations come from the two Yoálox and from Yoálox-tárnuxípa. One who conscientiously adheres to them will not have any serious trouble during the monthly bleeding and in childbirth.

773 So the story goes. I learned that there was another view about the personality of Mákuxípa. A few people said: She is actually the wife of Kétéla (Polyborus tharus). He lost his wife, according to the account given in a separate story. The many women who presented themselves to the two Yoálox actually did not belong to any particular man as his wives; they were unmarried and free. The reason they all came to see the two Yoálox was because the latter's sister advised them to; her influence upon all women was great and that is why they all complied with her wish. Her purpose was to help her brothers find a wife. Because they liked Mákuxípa, they kept this beautiful woman for themselves. Kétéla was not considered because his wife had already run away from him earlier and returned to her father's hut. Later when all those women turned themselves into birds, Mákuxípa did the same thing and since then she is called Hulušénuwakípa.

/1174/ To explain the name Mákuxípa it should be remembered that the Yamana designate the body color of a child or adult that is most pleasing and beautiful to them by refering to the scarlet máku blossom (Fig. 78).

λ. The First Birth

773 844 The Yamana tell: After that the younger Yoálox lived alone with Mákuxípa, for she had become his wife. He slept with her and she became pregnant. Finally she gave birth to a son (98). Yoálox was exceedingly pleased. He immediately

98. The particular aim of this story is to show that Yoalox first introduced conception and childbirth in the way that both events have taken place since then. Hence, before that children were not actually "born,"

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

844 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first [846] child, the father remaining quiet in the tent and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the navel cord, dried and kept.

Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after [862] delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 15 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly [551] named after its birthplace.

Education.—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction 861 was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions stressed in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

841 **Girls' puberty observances.**—At her first menses, the girl fasted, 881 eating little or nothing, for 3 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red radiating streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 8th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

881 **The čiéxaus initiation rite.**—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 45–95; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805–961), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic stay of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the čiéxaus, under the auspices, it seems, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole *Yahgan* tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

The chosen officers in charge of the rite were a leader, a mentor, and guards. A special large hut, of oval beehive or conical construc- [346] tion, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special diademlike feather

/667 cont./

595 The intention of having more children is not a reason for polygamy among the Yamana, for the Indian women are very
581 /668/ fertile, and no one could remember a childless woman in
842 earlier times. Most cases of polygamy arose from the fact that a man who was already living with one or two women also took in a solitary widow, ēlátakakīpa. The latter perhaps did not find an opportunity for a new marriage with a bachelor or did not wish to return to her family group, and the man took her chiefly because he felt sorry for her. Whether or not he sometimes had intercourse with her, both knew from the start that they could not expect children from their union. Hence, it was actually the right of sanctuary which the husband granted this widow. In the strict sense of the word one cannot call such a life together a marriage.

595 In 1920 Walter explained to me how our Yamana must also
177 make allowances for the changes forced on them by European civilization. His father had three women in his hut simultaneously, with whom he had marital relations. At that time there was already a shortage of men on Lennox Island and environs, that is to say, in the eastern group of the Yamana. Hence the women forced themselves on the few men in order to find sanctuary somewhere. From among his many brothers and sisters, Walter had for several years been the only one living. Here is another case. The young Halakwulup, Julia, had fled from a brutal European and found refuge on the farm near Punta Remolino. She could scarcely come to any understanding with the Yamana and lived very much to herself. She was treated in a friendly fashion and was supported by the Indian women there, but as a solitary woman with a son a year old she could no longer make out by herself. There was no suitable Yamana youth who could be her husband. Finally Manuel, who was about 35 years old and was married to fifteen-year-old Emilia, took pity on her and took her into his hut as his second wife (p. 439).

The quiet acceptance of polygamy brings with it the surprising phenomenon that married people are separated by a considerable age difference (55), which is not regarded as an obstacle

55. "An elderly man will be found often to possess two young wives in addition to one his

/694 cont./

1. Delight in the Child

842 We must say without qualification that the Yamana of all ages and of both sexes are extremely fond of children. The child is so necessarily a part of marriage that a newly wedded couple awaits the first fruit of their mutual love with longing. As long as a child has not been granted them, they feel as though they have nothing to do and do not know how to fill out the day properly. The young woman, far more than the man, feels an oppressive emptiness and a great gap which must be filled, the sooner the better. This mental state was described by Walter in the following brief words: /695/ "Soon after the wedding the couple become bored, for they lack children of their own to keep them busy. That is why the young woman, in order to ease her loneliness, visits her parents longer and oftener than her husband likes. He therefore waits patiently until the first child arrives. After that his wife stays with him in their own hut (107)!"

[591]

107. This is the chief reason why some young married couples after their wedding live with the parents of one of them before they establish their own household (p. 434).

Gertie, who had no offspring herself, confessed to me: "Until their first child appears, time is often unbearably long for the young couple. You can imagine what I suffer who have lost all hope for a child of my own!" In former times it was extremely rare that a marriage was barren. Such a married couple is very much pitied by the neighborhood. They try to cover their loss by temporarily taking into their hut and caring for a few children from among their relatives or acquaintances. Old people seem to be particularly de-
855 pendent on the company of the little ones. Actually they are the
887 most enjoyable entertainment and the jolliest diversion for all the adults. They tease each other and play freely and without restraint, as though the children were accommodating and ardently desired playthings. The natural open-heartedness with which old women tenderly fondled and affectionately caressed any child, especially

/696 cont./

855 609 152

immediately around its neck, or about its person" /cited in English/ (109). Later, after they had become sufficiently convinced

> 109. Snow (b):262 was so impressed by the love of children shown by these Fuegian mothers that he again speaks of his experiences and calls it unjust toward the parents that the missionaries wanted to take a few children for training to Isla Keppel. "One of the women had a baby with her, and there was something most winning in her manner when she asked us to give her child some present. She was much attached to her babe, even as I found all of the Fuegian mothers were, and I feel certain that to attempt taking those younger children away on any pretence whatever is wrong in the extreme... They are very fond of their children" /cited in English/.

of the kindliness of the missionaries for their children, a few families finally decided to entrust them with their darlings for a short time (p. 310 /untranslated/). Today Yamana children are much more suspicious of even the most well-intentioned Whites than I observed the children of the Selk'nam (110) to be, because they have had

> 110. On my first journey I effortlessly gained the confidence of the Selk'nam by way of the hearts of their children. See Gusinde (t):164 and (dd):78.

many sad experiences.

842 Now it will no longer be surprising to learn -- corresponding exactly to the ideas above -- that a married couple is envied because of their large flock of children. As each individual child provides great joy for the married couple, their happiness and satisfaction increase with the number of their offspring. "The more children, the more entertainment and variety in the hut on the long evenings," Walter confessed to me in a moment of deep sorrow when his youngest girl, who, with her slightly older brother, was what remained of eleven children, fell seriously ill. I often heard

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•352 variations of this exclamation: "How fortunate Felipe and Elisa are, for all their [six] children are still living and occupying their hut!" There is no other family of the few that are left who can show so many living offspring.

355 Naturally, each one of the children is an object of special attention for the parents and all the adults. This is less evident in the fact that they keep the child physically close than in their tireless vigilance and in all kinds of demonstrations of love (111).

> 111. Bridges (1):21 confirms this: "Generally the children were tenderly cared for by their parents and friends, and ceremonies of every kind expressed in order to please the parents" /cited in English/.

They are not happy if a child is absent from the hut for long hours and they do not know where he is, but quite in /897/ contrast to European mothers, they remain completely calm no matter how long the child is absent if they do know where he is staying or where he went, on foot or in the canoe. They are beside themselves, however, if they have to wait for the child far beyond a fixed time. Once, late at night, I saw old Pedro and his wife get up and prepare to drag their canoe into the water. Someone had just reported to them that their seven-year-old daughter had gone on foot with some other girls to a distant inlet and that they had not returned. Although the neighbors, some of whose children were also absent, tried to reassure the old man, they could not hold him back. He rowed a great distance along Beagle Channel until, after a search, he found his daughter. Finally, early in the morning, they were all united in his hut, along with the other children (see Gusinde [1]:184). In order to appreciate this effort we must remember that a family ventures out on the water at night only in the greatest emergency.

Very often and lovingly parents fondle and play with an infant or an older child. They let them have particularly delectable titbits, call their attention to rare phenomena in the environment, decorate them with ornaments of all kinds, and often paint their faces for their pleasure (112). Again and again the adults busy

> 112. As Bridges (1):22 and (5):288 reports.

/699 cont./

855 children whom death has taken away; a woman is ashamed if complaints, however indirect, reach her about her disobedient scamp; and a woman may feel something like jealousy when it seems as though the offspring of another woman are the only ones possessing all the good traits. No one blames the father when, in proud self-content, he measures his sturdy boy and praises many of his qualities to the other men in expectation of great achievements later on.

Who could therefore doubt that parents in Tierra del Fuego al-
842 ways want still more children? Even if their number increases from year to year, the parents never tire of additional offspring, who hardly increase their worry and their work perceptibly, yet augment their happiness considerably. A large brood of children does not
855 mean a noticeable burden because the older brothers and sisters like to help take care of their younger brothers and sisters. Many women go through difficult inner struggles when, with the menopause, they are no longer blessed with children. This is all the more the case if they do not have many offspring.

Nevertheless, voluntary abortion is practiced, but as Fred
847 Lawrence emphatically assured me in August, 1923, only very rarely and secretly by the woman herself. She resorts to it as a means of avoiding imminent disgrace when she has had a secret affair with a lover and does not wish her lawful husband to learn of her transgression. Moreover, there must be certainty that she became pregnant only by the lover, which can almost never be determined under the existing conditions. When I inquired about this for the first time in February, 1920, I obtained the following from my conversation with several men who were gathered around old Alfredo and who agreed with his opinion: "It seems that in rare cases a woman did get rid of her child and it was the child of her lover. She did so because she was afraid of being exposed and reprimanded by her lawful husband." What seemed at that time to be only a supposition on my part became a qualified probability on my fourth journey.

Now, how does a woman go about this unfortunate deed? Before the child under her heart has reached a certain size so that her condition could be recognized, she presses and massages her abdomen vigorously until the embryo dies and she has a miscarriage (115).

115.Hahn (a):805 also mentions this method.

/700 cont./

847 who died after the third miscarriage, and likewise of Felipe's wife, who complained to me that she had had two premature births. Malicious women unjustifiably reproach these two, saying that they had consciously transgressed. Hence it is certain that willful abortion, which is undertaken secretly by a woman, is extremely rare. Abortive medicines from the animal and vegetable kingdom are unknown.

855 Love for their own child guides the parents in everything they regard as good and advantageous for it. Many customs and individual child-rearing methods have developed from long experience; they are a safe rule of conduct for the parents in the care and treatment of their darlings. To deviate from them is prohibited by the respect they steadfastly cherish for the ancient tribal heritage handed down by their ancestors.

2. Birth

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843 The Yamana women do not understand the direct connection between the cessation of menstruation and the beginning of pregnancy.

/704 cont./

work, carrying about with her the little creature whom she protects as best she can" /translated from French/ (Martial.197). Hyades (q).190 says very emphatically: "Childbirth is easy among the Fuegian women" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, even in earlier times there were occasionally difficult deliveries. In this connection Hain (e).807 exaggerates slightly when, referring to Bridges, he says that "complications and abnormal positions are not rare in childbirth" /translated from French/.

When Adelheid's first child was born, it was a dangerous cross-birth, and the assistant had great difficulty keeping mother and child alive. Fearing that she would experience the same danger another time, she resorted to the preventive measure recommended to women who do not want any more children. She threw the placenta to the dogs, who devoured it completely. To prove how reliably effective this procedure is, the women constantly pointed to Adelheid who had not become pregnant again for almost two decades. Her husband, Santiago, was extremely worried about her for a long time, but he repeated what another man also told himself in a rare case of a difficult birth: "It is better that I give up having more children than that I lose my wife!" It is the husband himself who demands that the placenta be thrown to the dogs after a seriously difficult birth, or he does it himself, since he is called as soon as the woman seems to be in danger during labor. /707/ Sympathy impels him to this decision; he does not wish to expose his wife again to such pain or danger. Adelheid's sister, Elisa, had trouble, more or less, with each of her six children, and twice she had a miscarriage (p.633). We probably should not overlook an inherited tendency in this case, for the third sister, Gertie, although she has had a few premature deliveries, has not carried a single healthy child for the normal period. No one will be able to determine whether European civilization has had a detrimental effect on these women. Their mother, who is still living, did not have such difficulties.

3. The Parents of the Newborn Child

As we have said, every Yamana woman gives birth in her own dwelling, if possible. She is assisted by an actual midwife and sometimes also by the adopted mother of the new baby. Her

/708 cont./

851 girl has arrived and that his wife is well. He receives the news with joy and satisfaction. Usually he still stays away for a time because the new baby must have further care; later on he returns to his family. It is a foregone conclusion that the parents warmly wel-
• 862 come each child (128). It is more as a rhetorical wish than for a

> 128. Hyades (q):374 mentions only briefly that Fuegian parents seem to have no preference for boys or girls.

conscious purpose that the father hopes for a boy and the Mother for a daughter, unless the two have agreed on one or the other because all the rest of their children are of the opposite sex. Bridges (t):21 maintains, without qualification: "More pleasure was expressed at the birth of a son than of a daughter" /cited in English/; the reason he (x):185, 203 gives elsewhere is not convincing: "Boys are coveted as offspring...Boys are much preferred to girls as offspring, since they are a source of strength and protection when they grow up to their parents" /cited in English/. Twins, known as
865 wolokhmen, must be regarded as an extraordinarily rare phenomenon; not a single one of the older people could remember a twin birth.

877 The newborn baby is first of all thoroughly washed (129).

> 129. Hahn (e):305 says briefly: "The newborn baby is immediately cleaned with fine wood shavings" /translated from French/. Bridges (x):181 is more explicit: "When the infant is born, the attending females take the child, wash it with cold water, and the soft scrapings of wood, which they also use as a towel" /cited in English/. Dobbense (b):189 gives fewer details.

This is done by the adopted mother. She squats on the ground and places the baby on her upper thighs, holding it upright with both her hands. Several times she takes a mouthful of water, keeps it in her mouth for a few moments until it has become somewhat warm, and squirts it on the child like a shower spray. Progressively the

/TOB CONT./

165 fact that "one woman 38 years old had had seven children, of whom only one had died prematurely" /translated from French/. The most striking case that I can report from recent times is the fate of Walter's children; out of a total of eleven, only two are living.

As we have said, however, it is difficult to understand the reasons for the abnormal infant mortality (166). In any case the

[164 177]

166. The explanations offered by Bridges (x):202 are not very useful. He merely establishes that "few women save all their children; most die in early infancy: a disease in the throat carries many off" /cited in English/. This vague reference to a throat ailment makes us think of diphtheria which was imported by Europeans.

assumption is justified that natural feeding at the mother's breast in the first year of life is a surer guarantee of keeping the child alive than the food children eat from the second to the tenth year. During these years food seems to me far more important for the child than external protection, care, and clothing. A child that has reached the eleventh year has acquired enough physical resistance to go on living; weaklings have been eliminated by that time.

• §42 A reference to the barrenness of Fuegian women is in order here. Formerly it was certainly an extremely rare occurrence (167).

167. Hyades (q):188 also represents the view that "sterility is doubtless rare among the Fuegians; we have seen no case of a woman under 25 years old who was sterile" /translated from French/.

and various informants, among them the aged Reverend John Lawrence, could not tell me of any women, except Flora and Gertie, who were childless. If there are no children in a marriage, the woman is regarded as defective. The childless husband, matiuna ghaskowa, takes another woman who without doubt will give him

/728 cont./

•842 some. As a result the Yamana have the idea that sterility in marriage is solely attributable to the woman, whom they call a caxula. Thus this unusual fact (168) is not /729/ completely un-

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162 According to all the observations that we know of, the sexes are somewhat unevenly distributed in favor of girls among the Yamana. The venerable John Lawrence assured me of this, and in Hyades (q):190 we read: "In our observations we have also established a slight predominance of girls over boys" /translated from French/. A census taken by Bridges in 1884 (p. 224 /untranslated, but the figures referred to are given in English/) showed that among 1,000 natives there were only 277 men as against 316 women.

845 In this tribe of Fuegians twins are just as rare as among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 390). From former times I am familiar with only the one definite report that "Jemmy Button's eldest daughter has two beautiful twin children about four months old" /cited in English/ (MM:XI, 274;1877). Later Hyades (q):190 mentions a woman 45 years old among whose ten children there was a pair of twin brothers. Finally, Holmberg (a):57 maintained: "I have a photograph of a Yahgan woman with twins, who are regarded as an extraordinary event" /translated from Spanish/. Were these witnesses really reliably informed? At any rate a twin birth is an extraordinarily rare phenomenon.

145 There are no accurate observations about the menopause, the time when menstruation ultimately ceases. Bridges and Hyades (q):189 observed pregnancy among women who were already 45 years old. Hence Fuegian women conceive until relatively late

/739 cont./

864 During the periods when the children of several families are staying in the same place, the two sexes are required to remain apart. The boys are summarily told to do this, usually by their father but also by other men, and the girls by their own mother. Now and then it is emphasized, in fact, repeated under threats. Thus I heard it said: "The boys belong together, and the girls should remain among themselves."

"There is nothing for a boy where girls are playing."

"You, my boy, should look for other boys to play with; the girls are playing by themselves, too."

"You are planning something improper if you agree to meet that girl [the name is given] alone in the woods. I'll /740/ punish you severely if I catch you at it." This threat was directed at Roger, one of Calderon's sons. Calderon is not very careful in bringing up his wild rascals.

864 Older children are given a special warning. The father says to his son: "If you go around with girls a great deal, you 942 will have only girls as children later on when you live in your own hut, no boys!" The mother will warn her daughter similarly: "Stay far away from boys. If you are with them too much, you will later have only boys as children when you are a mother (180)!"

180. From these admonitions we may conclude that neither boys nor girls are more preferred by parents or welcomed with greater pleasure at birth. We have already spoken of this attitude (p. 504).

864 Adults are very strict about this rule. It is everyone's duty, so to speak, to interfere with admonitions and threats if necessary, no matter whether his own or other children are involved. They do not tire of being extraordinarily watchful if they notice that a child has a strong tendency toward secret meetings with others. Adults are quite frank in discussing such observations and call each other's attention to them. They are honestly concerned about guarding a child against moral infractions, since they know only too well what goes on secretly between two little culprits. In order to prevent such acts by a child who is

/1051 cont./

776 asked myself and also other men, above all, the capable yékamuš
773 and the most experienced old men, how that took place. No one knew the answer as to how human beings actually originated and where they came from. So to this day I do not know. I have often and persistently searched and tried to answer this question. At that time Tāruwalēm burned up the whole world and all the animals. And this I can't understand either, how afterwards everything was put in order again, how the huge fire was put out, and how he again restored plants and animals to this land. All this we do not know. In former years I often asked the experienced old people about this." A few days later, I sat in a circle of several old men, as was my custom, and quite spontaneously the conversation again drifted to these things. Richard repeated: "We really don't know exactly how everything came about at that time. Of course Watauinéiwa already existed in the very old days, for heaven was already here above the earth, there where the clouds are and where Watauinéiwa also stays. Before Lēm [sun] and Hānuxa [moon] and Akāinix [rainbow] wandered here on earth like human beings, Watauinéiwa was already here, for heaven existed before all of them. At that time women ruled. We do not know how and from where children came at that time, for none of the women who then ruled the men slept with their husbands and cohabited with them in order to conceive children. None of us can say where children came from in those days. It is only since the great /1052/ revolution that women are subordinate to the will of men. It was back in the time when the great fur seal
[825 tēpēa (Arctocephalus australis) discovered how man and woman
942 should unite, she underneath and he on top of her; that gives them
831] pleasure. Since then they have done it that way to this day. When husband and wife unite in this way, then children follow. So we know where our children come from now. Where they came from before that, no one can explain. We know equally as little about where Lēm and Hanuxa and the stars come from, which at that time lived on earth just like human beings. When they [the ones mentioned] and sēf [heaven], too, were here, Watauinéiwa was also here, and he was here even long before that." Thus, no Yamana can explain definitely and clearly how the visible world originated. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that a deeply thoughtful and meditative man like Malemikens felt this gap and tried to fill it.

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185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

576 Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, 574 especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the čiéxaus initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting [24] was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expec- [514] torating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead. [195] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

000 These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked. 847 In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took 844 place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

/700 cont./

847 who died after the third miscarriage, and likewise of Felipe's wife, who complained to me that she had had two premature births. Malicious women unjustifiably reproach these two, saying that they had consciously transgressed. Hence it is certain that willful abortion, which is undertaken secretly by a woman, is extremely rare. Abortive medicines from the animal and vegetable kingdom are unknown.

855 Love for their own child guides the parents in everything they regard as good and advantageous for it. Many customs and individual child-rearing methods have developed from long experience; they are a safe rule of conduct for the parents in the care and treatment of their darlings. To deviate from them is prohibited by the respect they steadfastly cherish for the ancient tribal heritage handed down by their ancestors.

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843 It is only when this condition continues that they accept the fact of its cessation (117). Experience teaches them that the fruit grows

> 117. Hahn (a):805 mentions the following physiological observation: "Pregnancy is of the same duration as elsewhere...She has as signs of it the cessation of the menses, the swelling of her breasts, and the movement of the foetus" /translated from French/.

in proportion to the size of the abdomen of the woman who is to become a mother, and that this goes on until birth takes place. The mother thinks a great deal about the child she is carrying under her heart, and full of confidence she speaks of her hopes to the women near her. She longs for the birth, not because she would like to be free of the slight discomforts, but so that she can soon, in the happiness of motherhood, hold the child in her arms. Gertie said to me: "Many a young woman waiting for her first child feels that it takes too long. In her impatience she often becomes ill-humored!" Every woman hopes for a sturdy and beautiful child, and to achieve this she places a few blossoms of má'ku (Embothrium
[844] coccineum; see Fig. 78) on her genitals and presses them tight with her upper thighs. She spends the whole night this way, thinking constantly of the child which she has already been carrying for several months. At the same time she repeats the wish in her thought: "May this child be as beautiful as the má'ku!" Her husband is very pleased if she repeats this procedure often (118). Instead

> 118. I was unable to find an explanation for what Hahn (a):806 cites as "a popular belief that children are sometimes born with a part of the body of an animal when the mother has been frightened in the course of her pregnancy" /translated from French/.

of má'ku (southern dialect), most people say máku.

Even though pregnancy is far advanced, a woman does not curtail her work, but must keep it up in full measure. The women of the neighborhood constantly recommend uninterrupted and lively

/701 cont./

843 activity, especially to those young women who are expecting their first child. Sexual intercourse is discontinued for two or three months before the confinement.

During this time the married couple are required to observe a 843 few food taboos. The /702/ woman may not eat roasted pieces of 262 meat, mussels, or fish as hot as usual, but must let them cool off a bit. It is said that food that is too hot is now detrimental to her and her child. The man is not permitted to eat the head and hind portion of fish and birds; he must be content with the center piece. Shortly before the confinement neither of the two parents may eat the meat of cormorants, otherwise the child would be born deformed.

[824 137]

Fig. 78. Embothrium coccineum. One-half natural size.

/Fig. 78 appears here./ For a few days before and after confinement the woman herself may not break or crush the bones of birds. It is well known that in the case of some birds, especially cormorants, the longer bones are broken open before they are roasted in the fire, so that the marrow will penetrate the meat and make it juicier. Furthermore, their spinal columns are cracked at various places so that the feathers can be plucked more easily. Now if the woman

/702 cont./

843 262 who herself abstains from the meat of cormorants and, even better, from birds generally wishes to prepare a roast for her family, she either leaves the bones whole or she asks someone else to break the bones in the meat of the bird. If she herself were to do it, she would have to be prepared to give birth to a crippled child. The woman must also abstain from sea urchins, but the man is not required to do this. He may not break open the calcareous shell, however, but must have someone else do it, otherwise the child would be born with a split skull (119).

119. Calderon told me this in August, 1923. As a result of searching questions I obtained the impression that this superstition is connected with the greater or lesser width of the fontanel with which the child is born.

843 When the external indications of pregnancy point to an imminent confinement -- this was unmistakable in former times when nakedness was customary -- the relatives and neighbors are more concerned in their thoughts and speech with the two persons who /703/ are soon to be presented with a child. They also discuss the expected event with the young couple. There are always several women on hand with good advice, especially for a woman who is giving birth for the first time. They encourage her with the following prospect: "Soon you will hold your own child in your arms. What happiness and what joy you will feel! -- It is indescribably gratifying for a woman to take care of her own child. -- Only then will you be a real woman, when you have a child of your own, and this will soon happen!" Old Mary repeated these words to me as the basic ideas behind such reassurances.

844 Women who are giving birth for the first time receive special attention. They are supposed to move about constantly or at least walk a great deal and to gather wood and berries diligently, in other words, to sit as little as possible. The things that were told the girl on the occasion of her first menstruation are now repeated, and special emphasis is placed on what was said about the treatment of newborn babies. The constant encouragement, together with the restless activity, hardly gives the young woman time to become

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/703 cont./

•844 anxious and perturbed. "They [the women giving birth for the first time] are not afraid of confinement!" Nelly explained very emphatically. The neighbor women probably also give the customary advice to the woman who has already had several confinements and is again expecting a child. They speak more seriously and anxiously if the woman has previously had difficulties in giving birth. Due to their worry about her life and that of the child, they stay with her until she is confined. In their everyday talk the women generally discuss whether for any one of them the momentous event was easy or difficult, whether or not it was accompanied by special symptoms. Hence they are prepared when someone has another confinement. Finally even the men discuss it among themselves when they notice that one woman or another is in an advanced state of pregnancy. On such occasions they also quite frankly say: "Now it is time for her husband to stay away from her [sexually]!"

Relatives and neighbors regard it as their duty to help gather food and care for the children of the women who are giving birth for the first time and those who must expect complications. All Indian women, without exception, are attentive and sympathetic toward the mother-to-be.

The husband and wife are instinctively confident as to the approach of the decisive hour. As a rule, the pregnant woman, usually upon the advice of her husband, has notified a neighbor in plenty of time so that she can come to help her. Indian women most often give birth in their dwelling. The husband leaves beforehand and takes with him his boys as well as other male occupants. A feeling of tact for the woman in her most difficult hour prohibits male persons from being present; a sense of modesty advises her to be alone with a woman helper (120). Small girls are sent to

120. Hyades (q):190, 375 also mentions the latter reason: "Confinement takes place most often in the open. An instinctive feeling of modesty impels the women to undergo the suffering of cold rather than to suffer the presence of men and the promiscuity of the hut at the moment of their confinement" /translated from French/. He also says: "Mr. Bridges agrees

/703 cont./

that the men never assist at the confinement" /translated from French/. On the other hand, Hahn (a):805 maintains erroneously that "the husband is present, but all the other men must leave" /translated from French/.

women neighbors. Even at /704/ night everyone who is not supposed to be present leaves, provided there are other huts nearby. In case several families are occupying a single hut jointly, which was customary among the western group in winter (p. 31), the women helpers in a few minutes build near the dwelling a simple little hut, ēkēli, for the expectant mother, where she and her helpers await the approaching hour. It is much more convenient for her to leave alone than that the many other occupants of the hut be sent away (121). Soon after the confinement, on the second

121. Bridges once maintained erroneously: "Women never bear children in the wigwam but out of doors" /cited in English/ (VP:III, 118;1869). Later he (i):21 wrote somewhat more accurately: "Children were generally born in the open air, and this of necessity and from proper feeling, the wigwams occupied jointly by several families offered no privacy. The expectant mother with her nearest female friends withdrew" /cited in English/.

What Spegazzini (a):166 and Bove (e):158 say about this is true only under the conditions given above: "During pregnancy the woman takes some fox or wolf pelts and leaves her husband until she has given birth" /translated from Spanish/. And "when the great moment has come, they leave the hut in the company of their female friends, going to the nearest thicket where, away from the eyes of the curious, they bring the child into the world."

day at the latest, she comes back to the family hut with her newly born child. Such a little hut is regarded as a makeshift and is

/704 cont./

occupied only under the pressure of circumstances.

Sometimes the child announces itself while the family is traveling in the canoe. As has been reported in Outes (g):55, she tries to get to shore in time. If that is impossible, the child is simply born on the water. Bridges (a):182 also mentions that "children are sometimes born in canoes, they are then called, whether boy or girl, anookwilin" /cited in English/. This word is not given in BD, and I never heard it, but I did hear ĩsipin, ũsipisin, ũsipisin, to which were sometimes added the masculine or feminine endings. For example, Santiago's name was ĩsipisin/ũ kiltaĩka, "one who was born away from the land, near the coast of kiltaĩka." BD:105 gives ĩsipisin, "a man who has no proper place of abode" /cited in English/. Only women who have already had children and know what to do would risk giving birth in the canoe. A woman giving birth for the first time is always kept in the hut by the other women for the period just before her delivery.

It is true that among the Yamana there are no professional midwives, the so-called wenamaastekaxipa, but some women do have the reputation of being good at this (122). They get this

122. Hyades (q):190 also mentions that occasionally individual women help the woman in labor, but not professionally: "There are no midwives" /translated from French/.

reputation because of their frequent assistance and personal skill; /705/ moreover, it is said that each of them has her own method, as well as many individual tricks, that distinguish one from another. In recent times Gertie has been regarded as especially reliable, and Nelly used the help of old Anita when each of her children was born. In general a woman will always be attended by the same midwife, because the latter has learned her physical characteristics from experience. Every Indian woman knows enough to give the young mother adequate help (123).

123. Hyades (q):375 confirms this absolutely: "All the women, even young girls, are adept at lending assistance at the confinement" /translated from French/.

/704 cont./

As a rule, there is only a single actual midwife, never more than two. If the woman in labor cannot obtain a female helper, her husband sometimes gives her some assistance by letting her lean against him, but he does not risk any actual manipulations. She helps by supporting herself with her hands and feet simultaneously. Otherwise she assumes a position which is comfortable for her and which makes possible the effective assistance of the midwife. She squats and spreads her legs wide apart, bracing herself with her hands and feet flat on the ground (124). The midwife squats behind

> 124. The Indian women, as Hyades (f) 148 learned, "when they give birth take merely the squatting position which is their habitual way of sitting when they are in the hut" /translated from French/.

and against her, encircling her abdomen. She must form a strong support, for the expectant mother holds herself in a semi-upright position. When the pains begin, the midwife, groping with her hands, tries to determine the position of the child and to stimulate birth by a circular stroking of the abdomen with her hand flat. Meanwhile the upper back of the mother is braced against the breast of the kneeling midwife behind her; if the child is held back for a long time, the mother falls entirely on her back, with her outspread legs somewhat drawn up. The midwife now squats in front of her and continues stroking her abdomen with the palm of her hand. As soon as the child begins to appear, she carefully helps it, and with the last contraction of the uterus muscles, she catches it in her open hands.

Sometimes the so-called adopted mother (p. 511) performs this last-mentioned service. Basically, the woman first mentioned functions merely as the midwife, and further care of the newborn child is given by the adopted mother. Often both tasks are performed by one and the same woman.

No matter what the arrangement is, when the child appears the helper is always very careful not to grasp it by its left arm or hand, but by the right. Sometimes it is hard to tell the difference, but unless this is done, the child would become left-handed and would be awkward in the use of the sling. Immediately this woman passes

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her flat hand over the entire body of the newborn /706/ child in order to clean it superficially. Continuing the stroking motion of her hand, she squeezes the blood out of the umbilical cord and cuts it with a sharp mussel shell about 12 centimeters from the belly. The two ends are tied with narrow tendons or with rush stalks. The after birth, ʼEkálus, bits of blood, and the leather pieces soaked in blood are shoved into the open fire or the glowing ashes where they are destroyed. If there is no fire, they are buried (125). The ʼcíllr-

> 125. I did not know, as Hyades (q):191 maintains, that these articles were burned only before the advent of the missionaries and that since then they were covered with earth. The Indians told me emphatically that these things were not buried, but always destroyed in the fire. If they were buried in the earth, there is the danger that dogs would dig them out and eat them, which would make the woman forever barren.

/fine Berberis shavings/ with which the woman cleans herself is burned. Confinement is never without pain. Hahn (a):805 assures us: "The pains are generally very sharp, and the mother utters groans...exactly as among us" /translated from French/ (126).

> 126. Hahn (a):805 and Hyades (f):568, (q):190 describe the process of birth in detail.

We have reliable confirmation of the fact that among Fuegian women giving birth is almost without exception an easy process (127)

> 127. Spegazzini (a):166 maintains, along with Lovisato (b):150, that "the deliveries are easy" /translated from Italian/.

and that afterward there is no thought, so to speak, of care. "When the child comes into the world, the neighbors, if there are any, assist the mother, who almost immediately takes up her customary

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work, carrying about with her the little creature whom the protects as best she can" /translated from French/ (Martial:187). Hyades (q):190 says very emphatically: "Childbirth is easy among the Fuegian women" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, even in earlier times there were occasionally difficult deliveries. In this connection Hahn (a):807 exaggerates slightly when, referring to Bridges, he says that "complications and abnormal positions are not rare in childbirth" /translated from French/.

When Adelheid's first child was born, it was a dangerous confinement, and the assistants had great difficulty keeping mother and child alive. Fearing that she would experience the same danger another time, she resorted to the preventive measure recommended to women who do not want any more children. She threw the placenta to the dogs, who devoured it completely. To prove how reliably effective this procedure is, the women constantly pointed to Adelheid who had not become pregnant again for almost two decades. Her husband, Santiago, was extremely worried about her for a long time, but he repeated what another man also told himself in a rare case of a difficult birth: "It is better that I give up having more children than that I lose my wife!" It is the husband himself who demands that the placenta be thrown to the dogs after a seriously difficult birth, or he does it himself, since he is called as soon as the woman seems to be in danger during labor. /707/ Sympathy impels him to this decision; he does not wish to expose his wife again to such pain or danger. Adelheid's sister, Elisa, had trouble, more or less, with each of her six children, and twice she had a miscarriage (p. 603). We probably should not overlook an inherited tendency in this case, for the third sister, Gertie, although she has had a few premature deliveries, has not carried a single healthy child for the normal period. No one will be able to determine whether European civilization has had a detrimental effect on these women. Their mother, who is still living, did not have such difficulties.

3. The Parents of the Newborn Child

As we have said, every Yamana woman gives birth in her own dwelling, if possible. She is assisted by an actual midwife and sometimes also by the adopted mother of the new baby. Her

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immediate surroundings are quiet; small children are either sent far away or held in check. Finally, all the dogs are forcibly kept silent.

From the day of delivery both parents (p.438) must very conscientiously observe the regulations familiar to everyone. The mother refrains from taking any kind of nourishment for the entire day. This ensures her of a good delivery and the future well-being of her child. For his part, the man may neither fell heavy wooden beams in the forest nor kill large game animals. He may neither break open the bones of birds to get out the marrow nor crush the shell of the sea urchin. In case he should fell decayed trees or split wood, his child would have an open wound on its breast. If he should break apart the wing bones of birds, the arms of his child would also break; if he should pluck out the feathers of a bird, his child would soon lose its hair. On the day of the birth he is just as restricted in his choice of foods as his wife is on this and the following days. She is permitted to eat again on the day after her confinement, but at first by no means everything. She limits herself to fish, as well as [illegible] of (Myxilus chilensis), [illegible] (Myxilus edulis), and [illegible] (Tonnelle). She is not permitted the many other lower sea animals. These mussels must come from "good" places [in the magical sense], in other words, not from places where one suspects the [illegible] /water spirit/ might be nor from places where there are many cormorants and sea lions. It seems to me that the magical fear comes from the fact that these animals do not play a favorable role in mythology. A single species of duck, namely, Mareca sibilatrix, also belongs to the "good" things. On the other hand, the meat of the sea duck, [illegible] (Tachyeres pteracnemus), is forbidden. When things to be eaten are unavailable or not present in sufficient quantities, the [illegible] /shaman/ must help out. Stretching out both hands, he gathers up the "bad and harmful," /708/ holds it for a moment on his open palms and, with a strong puff of air from his mouth and a softly uttered "[illegible]," blows it away. Now the food has been freed of everything "dangerous" and is no longer harmful.

Directly after the child has been separated from its mother, the woman who has been the midwife goes out of the hut and sends a message to the father by anyone who is available that a boy or a

/[illegible] cont./

151 girl has arrived and that his wife is well. He receives the news with joy and satisfaction. Usually he will stays away for a time because the new baby must have further care; later on he returns to his family. It is a foregone conclusion that the parents warmly wel-
162 come each child (128). It is more as a rhetorical wish than for a

> 128. Hyades (q):376 mentions only briefly that Fuegian parents seem to have no preference for boys or girls.

conscious purpose that the father hopes for a boy and the mother for a daughter, unless the two have agreed on one or the other because all the rest of their children are of the opposite sex. Bridges (b):11 maintains, without qualification: "More pleasure was expressed at the birth of a son than of a daughter" /cited in English/; the reason he (a):181, 183 gives elsewhere is not convincing: "Boys are covetted as offspring...Boys are much preferred to girls as offspring, since they are a source of strength and protection when they
165 grow up to their parents" /cited in English/. Twins, known as wolakiman, must be regarded as an extraordinarily rare phenomenon; not a single one of the older people could remember a twin birth.

• 194 The newborn baby is first of all thoroughly washed (129).

> 129. Hahn (a):893 says briefly: "The newborn baby is immediately cleaned with fine wood shavings" /translated from French/. Bridges (a):181 is more explicit: "When the infant is born, the attending females take the child, wash it with cold water, and the soft scrapings of wood, which they also use as a towel" /cited in English/. Dobbene (b):189 gives fewer details.

This is done by the adopted mother. She squats on the ground and places the baby on her upper thighs, holding it upright with both her hands. Several times she takes a mouthful of water, keeps it in her mouth for a few moments until it has become somewhat warm, and squirts it on the child like a shower spray. Progressively the

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708/ 709

rinses off the baby's entire body. With her hand flat she rubs the parts that she has covered with water and dries them immediately with a ball of *ŕiŕkel* or with a handful of soft Sphagnum moss. She cleanses the eyes, ears, mouth, and nose with particular care. Now she lays the little one on the furred side of a particularly soft skin, usually fox or otter, on top of which has been strewn a thick layer of down. Wrapped in this, it rests until the mother, too, has washed herself.

709/ 710 Soon after her delivery she gets up from her bed and, /709/ alone or accompanied by the midwife, goes to the shore to wash in sea water. The mother steps into the water as far as possible and rubs herself thoroughly with her hands flat and with a ball of *ŕiŕkel* or moss. The bath in sea water is regarded as necessary and good, but not a bath in a brook. That is why women do it to this day. The water is always cold, but the Indian women do not shy away from it, and for several days the young mother bathes once or several times a day. Hyades (q):192 observed "on the same day of her delivery the mother went alone to take four baths in the sea, one each hour, the first one four hours after her delivery" /translated from French/. He was also told by the same woman "that all Fuegian women do this after their confinement" /translated from French/ (130). After each bath she dries herself

130. He describes (loc. cit.) very accurately the many details of a woman's bathing and washing. This was in winter: "The temperature of the air was then +2.7 degrees, that of the sea water +4.7 degrees; the wind was strong, north-northwest, 5 meters per second" /translated from French/.

well with *ŕiŕkel* and returns to the hut.

Often when the mother goes down to the water to bathe, she is accompanied by the so-called adopted mother, who carries the newborn baby in her arms. Instead of washing the baby in the manner described above, she dips it into the sea water (131) for a moment

131. Bove (e):158 reports the following.

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845 The Yamana say that the reason for the rare cases of premature births is great carelessness on the part of the pregnant woman in running and working or a heavy blow and shock /710/ in falling. We have already mentioned on page 491 when and how voluntary abortion is
847 practiced. A defective baby is immediately destroyed by the mother (133). A crippled child, unfit for life, who is born alive is
732

133. The following description by Bridges (i):21 fits here: "Unnatural births were always destroyed and wisely so. For unimportant defects, or such as proved themselves afterwards as for instance deafness, no one was destroyed but only for enormities" /cited in English/.

not killed, but they consciously devote less attention to caring for him, hoping that he will soon die. Such an unfortunate creature is not directly exposed to danger or hunger, but inconspicuously and purposely neglected.

Without exception the Fuegian women who have been con-
846 fined permit themselves only a short rest, one day at the most (134).

134. Hahn (a):807 confirms that the young mother "resumes her work the same day" /translated from French/. It is well known that the Selk'nam women are also capable of this (Vol. I, 366).

They feel no need for it, and furthermore they are told that they should move about and be active as soon as possible. Since giving
• 844 birth does not cause Indian women any difficulties, it occasionally happens that a woman in an advanced state of pregnancy has her child while at work. For example, she might go into a nearby thicket to gather wood and reappear in her hut after about three hours displaying her newborn baby. Only a few years ago in Puerto Harberton an Indian woman went into the large woodshed of the farm there. After a good two hours she returned to her family, holding a bundle of wood in one arm and, in the other, the child

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844 to whom she had meanwhile given life without any outside help. In July, 1923, Fred Lawrence told me of another Indian woman who recently had her child as she was fetching water. She called two women to help, and they attended her there on the bank of the brook. Afterward they all went to her hut with the newborn baby (135). Finally, as we have already mentioned (p. 500), her

> 135. Sepgazzini (a):166 himself saw Indian women "a quarter of an hour after the event going about their work of rowing, gathering shellfish, lifting loads, as though nothing had happened" /translated from Spanish/. Bove (a):158 reports in a similar vein, and Bridges (a):183 adds: "The mother almost directly after her child's birth resumes her various duties of fishing in the canoe, gathering shell-fish, fetching water, etc." /cited in English/.

own husband must help the woman somewhat if delivery takes place in the canoe and there is no female attendant.

846 As on the day of confinement, there are similar rules of abstinence for both parents on the subsequent days. The rules we have just listed (p. 503) must be conscientiously observed until the child's umbilical cord drops off, even for a period of three months if a couple is having the first child. In fact, the parents may eat certain fish only after the child has entered its third year. They are permitted these and other things sooner, however, if the yékamuł, with the power peculiar to him, has removed the "evil" from them /711/ He must do this separately for each pair of parents. During these days mussels are practically the only food for father and mother (p. 503). Other travelers have neither observed the couvade nor understood it as such. Bridges (a):183 reports merely: "The mother and father of a newly born child are called yimbína. They are both careful as regards their food, thinking some kinds are hurtful to the child. They generally also keep quiet for a week or two after the child's birth" /cited in English/(136).

> 136. Hahn (a):806 writes: "After the confinement,

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941 that all these rules and recommendations come from the two Yoālox and from Yoālox-tārnuxīpa. One who conscientiously adheres to them will not have any serious trouble during the monthly bleeding and in childbirth.

773 So the story goes. I learned that there was another view about the personality of Mākuxīpa. A few people said: She is actually the wife of Kētēla (Polyborus tharus). He lost his wife, according to the account given in a separate story. The many women who presented themselves to the two Yoālox actually did not belong to any particular man as his wives; they were unmarried and free. The reason they all came to see the two Yoālox was because the latter's sister advised them to; her influence upon all women was great and that is why they all complied with her wish. Her purpose was to help her brothers find a wife. Because they liked Mākuxīpa, they kept this beautiful woman for themselves. Kētēla was not considered because his wife had already run away from him earlier and returned to her father's hut. Later when all those women turned themselves into birds, Mākuxīpa did the same thing and since then she is called Hulusēnuwakīpa.

/1174/ To explain the name Mākuxīpa it should be remembered that the Yamana designate the body color of a child or adult that is most pleasing and beautiful to them by refering to the scarlet mākū blossom (Fig. 78).

A. The First Birth

773 944 The Yamana tell: After that the younger Yoālox lived alone with Mākuxīpa, for she had become his wife. He slept with her and she became pregnant. Finally she gave birth to a son (98). Yoālox was exceedingly pleased. He immediately

98. The particular aim of this story is to show that Yoalox first introduced conception and childbirth in the way that both events have taken place since then. Hence, before that children were not actually "born,"

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and there is no explanation anywhere of how they came into being. All persons of that first period are simply presented as adults. From then on, however, successive generations originate in the manner peculiar to human beings.

instructed his wife as to how she must conduct herself during the birth and shortly thereafter. To this day all Yamana women follow these directions.

713 That first child was a boy. He cried constantly and loudest of all at night. In fact, he never stopped crying; his father and mother had tried everything to make him stop, but in vain. Yo̓ílox was extremely displeased; it was impossible for the mother to sit beside the child all the time because she had her work to do.

Finally, losing his temper, Yo̓ílox ran out of the hut and left the boy alone. He built another hut for himself some distance away. Just as regularly as before, he went hunting and continued working on his weapons, but when he came from the woods or from the shore and approached the huts, he could hear his son screaming from far off. Then when he entered his hut next door, the boy would yell even louder. He continued to yell even when Yo̓ílox made a lot of noise just to make him stop.

Thoroughly annoyed he one day again entered the hut in which his little son lay. With both hands he grasped the child under its armpits, lifted it up, stared merrily into its face, and shouted at it in a loud voice: "Listen now and stop screaming!" At that instant the little boy split in two. Thus Yo̓ílox had two sons, and they did not cry. They were the first human beings (99).

99. These words mean: those two children are the first who came into the world through actual childbirth. In the strict sense, of course, this applies only to the one.

After a while Mi̓kuji̓pa died. Since the younger Yo̓ílox was constantly busy, he sometimes could not watch his two sons. So he looked around for a woman to take charge of his two boys. He

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

576 Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, 574 especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the *ôôxaus* initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting [24] was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expec- [34] torating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead. [193] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

000 These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked. 847 In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took 844 place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

844 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first [84] child, the father remaining quiet in the tent and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the navel cord, dried and kept.

Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after [82] delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 15 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly [55] named after its birthplace.

Education.—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction 861 was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions stressed in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

841 Girls' puberty observances.—At her first menses, the girl fasted, 881 eating little or nothing, for 3 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red radiating streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 8th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

881 The čiéxaus initiation rite.—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 45–95; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805–961), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic stay of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the čiéxaus, under the auspices, it seems, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole *Yahgan* tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

The chosen officers in charge of the rite were a leader, a mentor, and guards. A special large hut, of oval beehive or conical construc- [84] tion, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special diademlike feather

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844 work, carrying about with her the little creature whom she protects as best she can" /translated from French/ (Martial:197). Hyades (q):190 says very emphatically: "Childbirth is easy among the Fuegian women" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, even in
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3. The Parents of the Newborn Child

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851 girl has arrived and that his wife is well. He receives the news with joy and satisfaction. Usually he still stays away for a time because the new baby must have further care; later on he returns to his family. It is a foregone conclusion that the parents warmly wel-
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conscious purpose that the father hopes for a boy and the mother for a daughter, unless the two have agreed on one or the other because all the rest of their children are of the opposite sex. Bridges (i):21 maintains, without qualification: "More pleasure was expressed at the birth of a son than of a daughter" /cited in English/; the reason he (a):182, 203 gives elsewhere is not convincing: "Boys are coveted as offspring...Boys are much preferred to girls as offspring, since they are a source of strength and protection when they grow up to their parents" /cited in English/. Twins, known as
• 845 wolakémen, must be regarded as an extraordinarily rare phenomenon; not a single one of the older people could remember a twin birth.

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This is done by the adopted mother. She squats on the ground and places the baby on her upper thighs, holding it upright with both her hands. Several times she takes a mouthful of water, keeps it in her mouth for a few moments until it has become somewhat warm, and squirts it on the child like a shower spray. Progressively she

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and Dabbene (b):190 repeats it verbatim: "The newborn babies are immediately bathed in the sea; the poor creatures, of course, often pay for this superstition with their lives." Contrary to this latter assertion is the fact, according to the memory of my informants, that not a single newborn child died in this bath. It is held in the water for only a second or two. Other travelers also mention this bath, without definitely describing the real facts. Bridges (a):182, for instance, says: "Children, generally within a few days of their birth, are dipped in the cold sea, from a superstition that it makes them grow well" /cited in English/. Compare Bridges (b):208.

and quickly dries it off with [illegible]. Hurriedly she carries it back to the hut and wraps it well in a soft skin. I was told: "The bath in sea water immediately after delivery is very good for mother and child, and that is why the Yamana have always kept it up!" It is only on an extraordinarily cold day that a woman will sometimes omit it (132). When the ablutions are over, the child is

132. Hyades (q):193 confirms that for several days the young mother takes at least one bath a day, unless the weather is unusually cold. For example, the woman mentioned above did not go into the water on the fourth day "because of the cold," the Fuegians say. It is, as a matter of fact, the coldest day of the year (-7.3°), and a thick blanket of snow covers the ground" /translated from French/.

nursed for the first time. After that the mother rests for a while; sometimes she herself undertakes to clean the hut and set it in order.

All traces of the delivery are destroyed in the fire. A stillborn or aborted child is regularly destroyed in a blaze outside the dwelling.

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The Yamana say that the reason for the rare cases of premature births is great carelessness on the part of the pregnant woman in running and working or a heavy blow and shock /710/ in falling. We have already mentioned on page 491 when and how voluntary abortion is practiced. A defective baby is immediately destroyed by the mother (133). A crippled child, unfit for life, who is born alive is

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not killed, but they consciously devote less attention to caring for him, hoping that he will soon die. Such an unfortunate creature is not directly exposed to danger or hunger, but inconspicuously and purposely neglected.

Without exception the Fuegian women who have been confined permit themselves only a short rest, one day at the most (134).

134. Hahn (4):607 confirms that the young mother "resumes her work the same day" /translated from French/. It is well known that the Selk'nam women are also capable of this (Vol. I, 360).

They feel no need for it, and furthermore they are told that they should move about and be active as soon as possible. Since giving birth does not cause Indian women any difficulties, it occasionally happens that a woman in an advanced state of pregnancy has her child while at work. For example, she might go into a nearby thicket to gather wood and reappear in her hut after about three hours displaying her newborn baby. Only a few years ago in Puerto Harberton an Indian woman went into the large woodshed of the farm there. After a good two hours she returned to her family, holding a bundle of wood in one arm and, in the other, the child

/725 cont./

847 desolate. Under normal circumstances this cannot possibly be
626 accepted. If an overwrought woman let herself be carried away to such an extent that she would do this, her relatives would immediately call her to account and make her atone for the crime. Secondly: a misshapen monster ("deformity") was immediately and silently destroyed by the midwife or the mother; other people were not told of it, and only the father, perhaps, was given a slight hint. It is almost ridiculous to mention the discomfort of the neighbors caused by the child's crying as the third reason for its murder. Such gross stupidity has never been reported from any other region. Fuegian children cry very little in any case (p. 520). If their crying bothered anyone, he could always build his hut elsewhere. Fourth and finally, neither a father nor a mother who expected a boy would have killed a girl following many sisters, for each child is of untold value to them. This murder would by no means have remained secret and would always have been severely condemned. /726/ Fred Lawrence very emphatically dismissed these four motives for infanticide maintained by Bridges (160), with the exception of a deformed prema-

160. It would be most uncritical to rely on Fenton to prove infanticide, because, as John Lawrence assured me, he passed through that region once in two days without contacting the natives.

ture birth.

847 It is not to be denied that a deformed or premature child, un-
• 845 fit for life, is done away with, but a rumor that I heard proves how
626 carefully a woman must go about it. Walter's wife had a child in 1905, half of which was a normal human being, but the other half of the body was supposed to have been covered with feathers. When she saw it after delivery, she became frightened, as did the two women who attended her. She decided to kill it immediately and did indeed hit it on the head with a hard object, but the creature went on living. Then she threw it on the ground with great force. Even then, however, it was not dead, so she buried it in the ground and covered it with a layer of stones; it continued to

/726 cont./

847 cry from under the ground for some time, but finally it stopped.
Although Walter's wife herself did not divulge any details about
845 the incident, her attendants on that occasion apparently gossiped
626 about it. Since then she has not been safe from silent, but clearly noticeable reproaches from other women who severely condemned her action. Only a few of her friends sympathize with her about her misfortune. Everything points to the fact that the Yamana never approve of infanticide and severely condemn the malefactor.

6. Child Statistics

163 Through a regrettable error Martial:198 made the statement that "one rarely sees families with a large number of children" /translated from French/. Other members of the Mission Scientifique convincingly contradict him. In reality, Fuegian families commonly have many children. Usually the Indian girl becomes a mother as early as her sixteenth year. Accurate counts are impossible because of the resistance of adults who refuse to speak about deceased children (161). Bridges (MM:XVIII, 223;1884)

161. Hyades (q):189 also encountered this difficulty.

repeatedly tried to determine accurately the population of the Yamana, for example, in June, 1884, but he could not find out the total number of children in each family.

We have a certain gauge in the observations of Hyades (q):189 in the region around Orange Bay in 1882, that is to say, at a time when the population had already been noticeably influenced by the Anglican missionaries. Among eight women from 35 to 60 years old he counted a total of 18 living children, namely, eleven girls and seven boys; among eight women from 25 to 30 years old there were again 18 living /727/ children, ten boys and eight girls. The sources of error in these data are so obvious that any comment is superfluous. Hyades was well aware of them and did not fail to point out a 50-year-old Fuegian woman who had given birth to 14 children; a 45-year-old woman was the mother of nine, and

/728 cont./

842 some. As a result the Yamana have the idea that sterility in marriage is solely attributable to the woman, whom they call a *cazula*. Thus this unusual fact (168) is not /729/ completely un-

> 168. The unreliability of what Hahn (a):805 maintains is obvious: "Sterility is very common in both sexes, according to Mr. Bridges, who attributes it to the precocity and the abuse of sexual relations" /translated from French/.

known, and they pity the woman who is forever denied the blessing of children. My inquiries agree with Hahn (a):805 that "spontaneous [843] abortion is very rare" /translated from French/. It happens almost always as a result of great physical exertion or very great shock.

162 According to all the observations that we know of, the sexes are somewhat unevenly distributed in favor of girls among the Yamana. The venerable John Lawrence assured me of this, and in Hyades (q):190 we read: "In our observations we have also established a slight predominance of girls over boys" /translated from French/. A census taken by Bridges in 1884 (p. 224 /untranslated, but the figures referred to are given in English/) showed that among 1,000 natives there were only 277 men as against 316 women.

•845 In this tribe of Fueguians twins are just as rare as among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 300). From former times I am familiar with only the one definite report that "Jemmy Button's eldest daughter has two beautiful twin children about four months old" /cited in English/ (MM.XI,274;1877). Later Hyades (q):190 mentions a woman 45 years old among whose ten children there was a pair of twin brothers. Finally, Holmberg (x):57 maintained: "I have a photograph of a Yahgan woman with twins, who are regarded as an extraordinary event" /translated from Spanish/. Were these witnesses really reliably informed? At any rate a twin birth is an extraordinarily rare phenomenon.

145 There are no accurate observations about the menopause, the time when menstruation ultimately ceases. Bridges and Hyades (q):189 observed pregnancy among women who were already 45 years old. Hence Fueguian women conceive until relatively late

/708 cont./

rinses off the baby's entire body. With her hand flat she rubs the parts that she has covered with water and dries them immediately with a ball of *Fitaf* or with a handful of soft Sphagnum moss. She cleanses the eyes, ears, mouth, and nose with particular care. Now she lays the little one on the furred side of a particularly soft skin, usually fox or otter, on top of which has been strewn a thick layer of down. Wrapped in this, it rests until the mother, too, has washed herself.

/709/ Soon after her delivery she gets up from her bed and, alone or accompanied by the midwife, goes to the shore to wash in sea water. The mother steps into the water as far as possible and rubs herself thoroughly with her hands flat and with a ball of *Fitaf* or moss. The bath in sea water is regarded as necessary and good, but not a bath in a brook. That is why women do it to this day. The water is always cold, but the Indian women do not shy away from it, and for several days the young mother bathes once or several times a day. Hyades (p.18) observed "on the same day of her delivery the mother went alone to take four baths in the sea, one each hour, the first one four hours after her delivery" /translated from French/. He was also told by the same woman "that all Fuegian women do this after their confinement" /translated from French/ (138). After each bath she dries herself

138. He describes (loc. cit.) very accurately the many details of a woman's bathing and washing. This was in winter: "The temperature of the air was then +2.7 degrees, that of the sea water +4.7 degrees, the wind was strong, north-northwest, 3 meters per second" /translated from French/.

well with *Fitaf* and returns to the hut.

Often when the mother goes down to the water to bathe, she is accompanied by the so-called adopted mother, who carries the newborn baby in her arms. Instead of washing the baby in the manner described above, she dips it into the sea water (139) for a moment

139. Bove (p.158) reports the following.

/709 cont./

and Dabbene (b):190 repeat it verbatim: "The newborn babies are immediately bathed in the sea; the poor creatures, of course, often pay for this superstition with their lives." Contrary to this latter assertion is the fact, according to the memory of my informants, that not a single newborn child died in this bath. It is held in the water for only a second or two. Other travelers also mention this bath, without definitely describing the real facts. Bridges (a):182, for instance, says: "Children, generally within a few days of their birth, are dipped in the cold sea, from a superstition that it makes them grow well" /cited in English/. Compare Bridges (b):208.

and quickly dries it off with [illegible]. Hurriedly she carries it back to the hut and wraps it well in a soft skin. I was told: "The bath in sea water immediately after delivery is very good for mother and child, and that is why the Yamana have always kept it up!" It is only on an extraordinarily cold day that a woman will sometimes omit it (132). When the ablutions are over, the child is

132. Hyades (q):193 confirms that for several days the young mother takes at least one bath a day, unless the weather is unusually cold. For example, the woman mentioned above did not go into the water on the fourth day "because of the cold, the Fuegians say. It is, as a matter of fact, the coldest day of the year (-7.5°), and a thick blanket of snow covers the ground" /translated from French/.

nursed for the first time. After that the mother rests for a while; sometimes she herself undertakes to clean the hut and set it in order.

All traces of the delivery are destroyed in the fire. A stillborn or aborted child is regularly destroyed in a blaze outside the dwelling.

/709 cont./

The Tamans say that the reason for the rare cases of premature births is great carelessness on the part of the pregnant woman in running and working or a heavy blow and shock /710/ in falling. We have already mentioned on page 491 when and how voluntary abortion is practiced. A defective baby is immediately destroyed by the mother (133). A crippled child, unfit for life, who is born alive is

133. The following description by Bridges (1):21 fits here: "Unnatural births were always destroyed and wisely so. For unimportant defects, or such as proved themselves afterwards as for instance deafness, no one was destroyed but only for enormities" /cited in English/.

not killed, but they consciously devote less attention to caring for him, hoping that he will soon die. Such an unfortunate creature is not directly exposed to danger or hunger, but inconspicuously and purposely neglected.

Without exception the Fuegian women who have been confined permit themselves only a short rest, one day at the most (134).

134. Hahn (2):507 confirms that the young mother "resumes her work the same day" /translated from French/. It is well known that the Selk'nam women are also capable of this (Vol. I, 366).

They feel no need for it, and furthermore they are told that they should move about and be active as soon as possible. Since giving birth does not cause Indian women any difficulties, it occasionally happens that a woman in an advanced state of pregnancy has her child while at work. For example, she might go into a nearby thicket to gather wood and reappear in her hut after about three hours displaying her newborn baby. Only a few years ago in Puerto Harberton an Indian woman went into the large woodshed of the farm there. After a good two hours she returned to her family, holding a bundle of wood in one arm and, in the other, the child

/710 cont./

to whom she had meanwhile given life without any outside help. In July, 1923, Fred Lawrence told me of another Indian woman who recently had her child as she was fetching water. She called two women to help, and they attended her there on the bank of the brook. Afterward they all went to her hut with the newborn baby (130). Finally, as we have already mentioned (p. 505), her

> 130. Sapgaxsini (x).166 himself saw Indian women "a quarter of an hour after the event going about their work of sewing, gathering shellfish, lifting kaab, as though nothing had happened" /translated from Spanish/. Rove (x).158 reports in a similar vein, and Bridges (x).183 adds: "The mother almost directly after her child's birth resumes her various duties of fishing in the canoe, gathering shell-fish, fetching water, etc.." /cited in English/.

own husband must help the woman somewhat if delivery takes place in the canoe and there is no female attendant.

As on the day of confinement, there are similar rules of abstinence for both parents on the subsequent days. The rules we have just listed (p. 505) ought be conscientiously observed until the child's umbilical cord drops off, even for a period of three months if a couple is having the first child. In fact, the parents may not eat certain fish only after the child has entered its third year. They are permitted these and other things sooner, however, if the yihanad, with the power peculiar to him, has removed the "veil" from them /711/ He must do this separately for each pair of parents. During these days crumb are practically the only food for father and mother (p. 505). Other travelers have neither observed the customs nor understood it as such. Bridges (x).183 reports merely: "The mother and father of a newly born child are called yinkiku. They are both careful as regards their food, thinking some kinds are harmful to the child. They generally also keep quiet for a week or two after the child's birth" /cited in English/(130).

130. Helm (x).606 writes: "After the confinement,

/Tll cont./

the mother...enters the period of '*ginkaza*,' which lasts five to six months and during which she abstains to a special regime and does not have relations with her husband...He is also '*ginkaza*,' but to a lesser degree than the mother" /translated from French/. This description is accurate if we reduce the period to two months. Levinsen (9):150 refers in a general way to a food taboo for the women on special occasions. Martial.137 correctly says, "the parents, after the birth of the infant, abstain from certain foods which could adversely influence its health" /translated from French/.

Wrigleith:42, also, and with him Martial.138 point to the duty of abstinence from certain foods, but I was unable to check the accuracy of this: "It is customary for the mother to bathe in the sea before eating certain foods" /translated from Spanish/. I only know that for a few days after confinement the young mother must bathe in the sea (p.300). The husband avoids sexual intercourse with his wife, at least during the first six weeks after her confinement, the majority of the men even somewhat longer (137).

137. I read Cooper's.110 assertion to my informants, namely, that "a Tolgan mother must abstain from marital intercourse for five or six months" /cited in English/. They laughed heartily over this. Fred Lawrence also contradicted it and pointed out that in some families children are 11 or 12 months apart.

It is extraordinarily strange that among the Tamaza there are, rules for a true man's childbed, of which I did not discover a trace among their two neighbors. There are references to this custom in Dempard (9):630 and in Bridgen. The former mentions: "The

/711 cont./

people have an idea that if the father sits not still for three days after the birth of his infant, it will not survive" /cited in English/. On August 16, 1865, Bridges wrote: "It is considered by them proper that a man whose wife has lately given birth to a child should abstain from throwing stones, either by hand, or by sling, at birds" /cited in English/ (VSA:XII,273;1865). If he should do this, his child would become bald, as we learned. A man who has just become a father stays in his hut all day and abstains from the foods that are forbidden. He eats very moderately and abstains from his customary work. Although he does not pretend to be sick, nevertheless he is relieved of his daily duties and squats idly beside the fire. Neighbors and relatives provide food for him and his family since they require little during these days. The man truly acts as though his being away from the hut and the exertion of any kind of work would seriously endanger him and his family. He /712/ does not do anything directly for the newborn child; it is left entirely to the mother. He observes the accepted rules "because from olden times that is the way it must be, and otherwise the child would be unhappy or deformed!" As much as possible, of course, the family also avoids distant and taxing canoe trips, probably also in order to protect the newborn baby as much as possible. The father may use his hands, but not tools and weapons.

Since the men enjoy working, they resume their daily occupations soon after the birth of their second and each subsequent child, but just to make sure, they have a yékamuf exercise all evil. In the case of the first child every man very closely observes the prescribed rules. An occasional idler takes the birth of a subsequent child as an excuse and considers only himself for an unduly long time, to the disadvantage of his family and the chagrin of the neighborhood. The neighbors, however, do not curtail their help, but continue to give it out of sympathy for the mother, since no one feels any responsibility to support a negligent man taking his ease. Although he pretends and consoles himself with the illusion that he is obeying the strict regulation, his neighbors have a different opinion. Calderon was a horrible example of this so-called obedience to the regulations. He concealed his laziness under the pretense of shielding the baby from harm. He was 28 years old and already had seven children; after the birth of each of them he continued his idle ways for several weeks to such an extent that the other families talked about it very disparagingly.

/712 cont./

846 In contrast to the dutiful inactivity of the father immediately after the birth of the child is the industry that every young mother must pursue. The woman who is giving birth for the first time may permit herself some rest for a few hours, but after that she, too, must do what mothers of several children do automatically, namely, busy herself briskly and assiduously in her household. It is said: "That is good for mother and child!" For a few days she must be very reserved; she must act withdrawn and thoughtful, speak little, keep her eyes fixed to the ground when she walks, as though in mental concentration, and avoid visits to other huts. Older women anxiously watch over and care for a woman who has just had her first child so that she does not thoughtlessly offend against the ancient regulations and thus make her child unhappy. Other mothers, after a confinement late in life, are assisted in their daily work by their daughters. Even today, parents are very punctilious about observing the regulations pertaining to the first few days after confinement (138). During this time they are referred

138. Hahn (a):806 reports a few special details: "The Indians say that a throat ailment will kill the babies whose parents have not obeyed the laws of the 'gimbana.' If they eat crabs, the children will have a mouth inflammation (or something similar)" /translated from French/.

to by the designation given above (p. 505), yembána, according to BD:649, "the state of having a young child or offspring /713/ (used specially of women and men, but also of animals), referring to the time when the child is weak and requires constant attention" /cited in English/. The Fuegians live in the firm conviction that all warnings and threats are sooner or later realized if the parents are guilty of transgressions against the existing rules of conduct.

608 We have earlier (p. 500) emphasized clearly enough the difference between the actual midwife and what I call the adopted or foster mother. In August, 1923, Nelly and Mary told me in detail about this arrangement. Among the Yamana it is the custom that a woman who is a friend of the expectant mother takes charge

/721 cont./

827 one of the few days when she is not nursing her child (154), some-
833

154. Contrary to certain illusions that sexual intercourse ceases until after the last child has been weaned, Hyades (q):195 establishes in detail "that from the second month after confinement, intercourse is resumed between the spouses" /translated from French/. There may be other reasons why sometimes, not "often," as Hahn (a):905 writes, "several years go by between the first pregnancy and the next" /translated from French/.

times even during the third month after confinement.

• 846 On page 501 we described how the baby's umbilical cord is tied by the Fuegians. The mother is very careful about the umbilical cord so that it does not break off prematurely. In the case of a woman who had been delivered, Hyades (q):194 observed on the third day: "The cord is dried and no longer held to the umbilicus except by a thread-like stalk. The mother has tied it today at its free end with a bit of thread, the other end of which is attached to a little band of fabric fastened around the right leg of the child" /translated from French/. During the night of the third to fourth day, the umbilical cord dropped off, and when Hyades, who had requested it, asked about it, he was told that it had been thrown into the fire. This, in my opinion, was only an excuse to put him off, for, as a rule, every mother catches the umbilical cord, kifu, when it falls off, wraps it around her finger, keeps it for a few days until it is dry, and then hangs this ringlet on a necklace so that she will not lose it. It is not exactly customary to display the umbilical cord conspicuously, but if the mother wears a necklace containing the ringlet no one seems surprised. /722/ The mother fastens the insignificant little thing to a necklace, which she most safely keeps in her leather bag, chiefly so that she will not lose it (155). When the child is about four years old, he must

155. Among the Halakwulup there is a custom that the father wears the umbilical cord of his most recent child on a string around his neck

/722 cont./

•846 where it can be easily seen. It is supposed to remind him that mother and child still need special consideration.

catch the little tree runner, *tšičkasina* (*Aphrastura spinicauda*), which often visits the dwelling out of curiosity. The mother then gives the child its own umbilical cord, and it must put this little ring around the neck of the bird, which flies away with it. This custom is meant to show everyone with what love and care the mother can keep such an intimate little thing and that therefore she is capable of lavishing incomparably more care and attachment on the child itself (156).

[171] 156. I pointed out an almost identical custom among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 377).

856 The women of the Cape Horn Archipelago, like the Selk'nam women (Vol. I, 372), give their newborn babies a sort of stroking treatment. They call it *wiła*, meaning "to form the body of the child." From the first day they strive to give the child a beautiful, well-proportioned form by stretching out and adjusting the limbs and by stroking and gently massaging the entire body. Almost any woman, but usually the adopted mother (p. 512), puts the various parts of arms and legs into position, strokes them lengthwise, gives them direction, puts the little body and head level, and, as it were, models the whole figure. The other part of the treatment consists of a gentle stroking of the individual areas of the body with the woman's flattened hand, without actually massaging. In long sweeps, the woman strokes the arms and legs, presses all around the joints with the palm of her hand, rubs all sides of the torso with a circular motion, and finally takes the little head in her cupped, ceaselessly stroking hands. Furthermore she handles the legs and feet, arms and hands, ears and eyelids, lips and chin, neck and nipples as though she were obliged to give all of them definite direction. The woman obviously enjoys this and never tires of repeating this stroking treatment daily. The child's own mother sees to it that it is not omitted a single day if possible, and she herself carries it out again and again if a neighbor or relative is not available to do it. Its purpose is to help the child to grow

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan S356

844 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first [847] child, the father remaining quiet in the tent and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the navel cord, dried and kept.

Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after [852] delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 15 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly [855] named after its birthplace.

Education.—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction 861 was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions stressed in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

841 **Girls' puberty observances.**—At her first menses, the girl fasted, 881 eating little or nothing, for 3 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red radiating streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 9th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

881 **The *tóxaus* initiation rite.**—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 45-55; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805-861), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic stay of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the *tóxaus*, under the auspices, it seems, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole *Yahgan* tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

The chosen officers in charge of the rite were a leader, a mentor, and guards. A special large hut, of oval beehive or conical construc- [846] tion, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special diademlike feather

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Among the Yahgan, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Ona. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will soon abandoned the undesired husband. In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 206) a man might have from one to four wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by custom.

Infidelity resulted in no fixed form of punishment, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yahgan man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his amours, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him.

Children

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted orphans set down in the mission records, the Yahgan did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon put an end to them or drove them under cover.

Soon after birth had taken place the Yahgan mother bathed in the sea and the new-born child was also immersed in order to toughen it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° to 50° Fahrenheit, while the air at best could be described as no warmer than temperate. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that soon after birth all but the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly eliminated.

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see incipient couvade.

Games and Amusements

The Yahgan to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much care and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling, and stones; but while these exercises often assumed the form of

/699 cont./

855 children whom death has taken away; a woman is ashamed if complaints, however indirect, reach her about her disobedient scamp; and a woman may feel something like jealousy when it seems as though the offspring of another woman are the only ones possessing all the good traits. No one blames the father when, in proud self-content, he measures his sturdy boy and praises many of his qualities to the other men in expectation of great achievements later on.

Who could therefore doubt that parents in Tierra del Fuego al-
842 ways want still more children? Even if their number increases from year to year, the parents never tire of additional offspring, who hardly increase their worry and their work perceptibly, yet augment their happiness considerably. A large brood of children does not
[855] mean a noticeable burden because the older brothers and sisters like to help take care of their younger brothers and sisters. Many women go through difficult inner struggles when, with the menopause, they are no longer blessed with children. This is all the more the case if they do not have many offspring.

Nevertheless, voluntary abortion is practiced, but as Fred
• 847 Lawrence emphatically assured me in August, 1923, only very rarely and secretly by the woman herself. She resorts to it as a means of avoiding imminent disgrace when she has had a secret affair with a lover and does not wish her lawful husband to learn of her transgression. Moreover, there must be certainty that she became pregnant only by the lover, which can almost never be determined under the existing conditions. When I inquired about this for the first time in February, 1920, I obtained the following from my conversation with several men who were gathered around old Alfredo and who agreed with his opinion: "It seems that in rare cases a woman did get rid of her child and it was the child of her lover. She did so because she was afraid of being exposed and reprimanded by her lawful husband." What seemed at that time to be only a supposition on my part became a qualified probability on my fourth journey.

Now, how does a woman go about this unfortunate deed? Before the child under her heart has reached a certain size so that her condition could be recognized, she presses and messages her abdomen vigorously until the embryo dies and she has a miscarriage (115).

115.Hahn (a):805 also mentions this method.

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•847

> with an absolutely false exaggeration of its practice: "Induced abortion is very common; it is done by means of violent manipulations upon the woman's abdomen" /translated from French/.

Sometimes she lies down with her belly on a crossbeam or a tree trunk, and while hanging over on both sides, she increases the pressure.

Very rarely (116), it seems, a woman does grow tired of child-

> 116. Cooper's:171 conclusion that "deliberate abortion is common" is thus grossly exaggerated. He relied on Martial:198, Hahn (a):805, and Hyades (q):376. The latter referred to Bridges, but did not trust his assertion and adds: "Nevertheless, we have not witnessed any act of this kind [abortion and infanticide], and it has always appeared to us that from birth the children are given lavish attention by their parents" /translated from French/.

bearing /700/ and secretly gets rid of the still unripe fruit. She knows that she must do this promptly, for if the embryo were any size at all, her own life would be endangered. She also knows that the customary procedure mentioned above is never harmless. She keeps her deed strictly secret, for it would be severely censured by other women as forbidden. They say: "It is better and nicer to have a family with many children whom the mother can love than that a woman should not let her child be born." In order to avoid this criticism, in case other women have become suspicious, the guilty woman will try to cover it up by saying: "I fell down. -- I stumbled over a stone. -- I hurt myself badly in a fall. And that is why I lost my [premature] child."

Sometimes such a woman, out of fear and shame, will use the same excuses when her husband who has been waiting in vain for the child asks her about it. We must realize, however, as I was repeatedly assured, that in such very rare cases perhaps a spontaneous miscarriage occurred. This was without doubt true of Lola's mother

/700 cont./

847 who died after the third miscarriage, and likewise of Felipe's wife, who complained to me that she had had two premature births. Malicious women unjustifiably reproach these two, saying that they had consciously transgressed. Hence it is certain that willful abortion, which is undertaken secretly by a woman, is extremely rare. Abortive medicines from the animal and vegetable kingdom are unknown.

855 Love for their own child guides the parents in everything they regard as good and advantageous for it. Many customs and individual child-rearing methods have developed from long experience; they are a safe rule of conduct for the parents in the care and treatment of their darlings. To deviate from them is prohibited by the respect they steadfastly cherish for the ancient tribal heritage handed down by their ancestors.

2. Birth

842 Our Yamana regard giving birth as a natural function, but in their conversation they treat this matter with genteel reserve. The connection between sexual intercourse and conception is sufficiently clear to them. They could not refrain from laughing when we mentioned to them that there were some groups of human beings to whom these facts were apparently not known. If one asks them specifically about the origin of the child, they refer solely to the union of the two /701/ spouses and say that with this sexual union the child begins to form in the mother's belly, that it continues to grow until it has attained the customary size, and that then it becomes an independent being. They limit this explanation to the development of the body. When I asked Calderon about the soul of the child, he 842 did not give me a clear answer, for in general these Fuegians are 714 rather vague about the conception of the human soul. He said: "When the child is born, it has in kerpix, for, after all, it is alive. But who knows where this comes from!" With Nelly I talked about this repeatedly in Fred Lawrence's presence; I came to the conclusion that the Yamana lack clear ideas about the origin of the soul in the developing child.

843 The Yamana women do not understand the direct connection between the cessation of menstruation and the beginning of pregnancy.

/709 cont./

The Yamana say that the reason for the rare cases of premature births is great carelessness on the part of the pregnant woman in running and working or a heavy blow and shock /710/ in falling. We have already mentioned on page 491 when and how voluntary abortion is practiced. A defective baby is immediately destroyed by the mother (133). A crippled child, unfit for life, who is born alive is

133. The following description by Bridges (1):21 fits here: "Unnatural births were always destroyed and wisely so. For unimportant defects, or such as proved themselves afterwards as for instance deafness, no one was destroyed but only for enormities" /cited in English/.

not killed, but they consciously devote less attention to caring for him, hoping that he will soon die. Such an unfortunate creature is not directly exposed to danger or hunger, but inconspicuously and purposely neglected.

Without exception the Fuegian women who have been confined permit themselves only a short rest, one day at the most (134).

134. Hahn (x):007 confirms that the young mother "resumes her work the same day" /translated from French/. It is well known that the Selk'nam women are also capable of this (Vol. 1, 366).

They feel no need for it, and furthermore they are told that they should move about and be active as soon as possible. Since giving birth does not cause Indian women any difficulties, it occasionally happens that a woman in an advanced state of pregnancy has her child while at work. For example, she might go into a nearby thicket to gather wood and reappear in her hut after about three hours displaying her newborn baby. Only a few years ago in Puerto Harberton an Indian woman went into the large woodshed of the farm there. After a good two hours she returned to her family, holding a bundle of wood in one arm and, in the other, the child

/724 cont./

§59 the concern and pleasure of the fathers and mothers in adorning and taking good care of their little ones" /translated from Spanish/. Actually the parents often kiss and caress the baby with pleasure (p. 514).

constantly reminded of the unusual, almost uncontrolled pleasure of several Indian women who occasionally came to Punta Remolino. The Lawrence family there had a Spaniard as a cook, whose young wife one day had her first child. She handled it so awkwardly and clumsily that the Indian women refrained from laughing heartily only because they pitied the child, but among themselves they quite frankly discussed how much better they could handle a new-born baby. Holly used this as an example to emphasize that in such important matters her country-women had incomparably more thorough experience and "the whites could learn a great deal from Yamana women about how to treat a baby!"

§59 (b)

5. Infanticide

§97 In view of what has been reliably reported about the love for children among the Yamana, it is apparent that there is no place among these people for intentional and frequent infanticide. Not a single European can prove it by having been an eye-witness to this act, and Hyades (p):331 denies any intentional infanticide with the following brief sentence: "Infanticide is not customary" /translated from French/. It is only Bridges who made statements on this subject, and a few travelers (158), such as Dabbene (a):63 and

158. Cooper:171 mentions the various citations.

(b):190, repeated his words. As early as 1866 he maintained: "It is very seldom a young infant is killed unless under the following circumstances: Should the mother's husband have deserted her, the child is then often killed by its mother. Also those children that have any great imperfections, or are otherwise much deformed, are sure to be killed very shortly after their birth. Also should a

/724 cont./

847 woman bear all daughters, the youngest is /725/ sometimes killed" /cited in English/. These reports originated at a time when Bridges did not yet have sufficient insight into the social conditions of the Yamana. Although he later repeats certain details (159).

> 159. For instance, he (h):208 and (i):21 merely says: "Deformed babies are destroyed at birth, but only if the deformity is great..." /translated from Spanish/. "Infanticide was rare, and when it occurred was generally the mother's act, on account of being deserted by her husband, or annoyance at the complaint of her neighbors over the child's crying" /cited in English/.

in his last publication (k):240, 1893, he limits himself to the following: "Infanticide was very rare among the natives, although not completely unknown; in such cases the victims were almost never male children" /translated from Spanish/. On occasion Bridges (e):333 calls infanticide one of the many evils which is supposed to have disappeared since the Anglican missionaries have been active in the Cape Horn region.

847 In view of these vacillating reports, we would be justified in omitting any comment, but in order to prevent any doubt, we 626 shall add a brief correction here. Infanticide has never been a widespread habit among the Yamana. Fred Lawrence and Calderon denied any intentional killing of a child, because of the spiritual disposition of our natives. They did admit what I had discovered from other sources, namely, that a deformed baby was consciously neglected by some mothers so that it would soon die (p. 507), but these mothers never talked about it with other people. In August, 1923, I discussed with Fred the four reasons for infanticide summarized by Cooper:171 from Bridges. He gives "the following cases: Desertion on the part of the husband and father, great deformity in the child, too much annoyance to the clan from the child's crying, too many girl babies" /cited in English/. I shall here reply very briefly to each one of these. If in the case of "desertion on the part of the husband" a woman were to murder her child as well, she would make herself utterly

/725 cont./

847 626 desolate. Under normal circumstances this cannot possibly be accepted. If an overwrought woman let herself be carried away to such an extent that she would do this, her relatives would immediately call her to account and make her atone for the crime. Secondly: a misshapen monster ("deformity") was immediately and silently destroyed by the midwife or the mother; other people were not told of it, and only the father, perhaps, was given a slight hint. It is almost ridiculous to mention the discomfort of the neighbors caused by the child's crying as the third reason for its murder. Such gross stupidity has never been reported from any other region. Fuegian children cry very little in any case (p. 520). If their crying bothered anyone, he could always build his hut elsewhere. Fourth and finally, neither a father nor a mother who expected a boy would have killed a girl following many sisters, for each child is of untold value to them. This murder would by no means have remained secret and would always have been severely condemned. /726/ Fred Lawrence very emphatically dismissed those four motives for infanticide maintained by Bridges (160), with the exception of a deformed premature birth.

> 160. It would be most uncritical to rely on Fenton to prove infanticide, because, as John Lawrence assured me, he passed through that region once in two days without contacting the natives.

847 845 626 It is not to be denied that a deformed or premature child, unfit for life, is done away with, but a rumor that I heard proves how carefully a woman must go about it. Walter's wife had a child in 1905, half of which was a normal human being, but the other half of the body was supposed to have been covered with feathers. When she saw it after delivery, she became frightened, as did the two women who attended her. She decided to kill it immediately and did indeed hit it on the head with a hard object, but the creature went on living. Then she threw it on the ground with great force. Even then, however, it was not dead, so she buried it in the ground and covered it with a layer of stones; it continued to

/726 cont./

cry from under the ground for some time, but finally it stopped. Although Wehier's wife herself did not divulge any details about the incident, her attendants on that occasion apparently gossiped about it. Since then she has not been safe from silent, but clearly noticeable reproaches from other women who severely condemned her action. Only a few of her friends sympathize with her about her misfortune. Everything points to the fact that the Yamana never approve of infanticide and severely condemn the malefactor.

6. Child Statistics

163 Through a regrettable error Martial.198 made the statement that "one rarely sees families with a large number of children" /translated from French/. Other members of the Mission Scientifique convincingly contradict him. In reality, Fuegian families commonly have many children. Usually the Indian girl becomes a mother as early as her sixteenth year. Accurate counts are impossible because of the resistance of adults who refuse to speak about deceased children (161). Bridges (Mbl.XVIII, 223.1884)

161. Hyades (q).189 also encountered this difficulty.

repeatedly tried to determine accurately the population of the Yamana, for example, in June, 1884, but he could not find out the total number of children in each family.

We have a certain gauge in the observations of Hyades (q).189 in the region around Orange Bay in 1882, that is to say, at a time when the population had already been noticeably influenced by the Anglican missionaries. Among eight women from 35 to 60 years old he counted a total of 18 living children, namely,eleven girls and seven boys; among eight women from 25 to 30 years old there were again 18 living /727/ children, ten boys and eight girls. The sources of error in these data are so obvious that any comment is superfluous. Hyades was well aware of them and did not fail to point out a 50-year-old Fuegian woman who had given birth to 14 children; a 45-year-old woman was the mother of nine, and

[illegible] Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

[illegible]

[illegible] Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vociferations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, [illegible] especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

[illegible] On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the fifteen initiation rite on approaching his spouse was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting was disapproved. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expectorating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

[illegible] When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

[illegible] It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead. [illegible] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. [illegible]).

WARFARE AND CONVULSIONS

[illegible] These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

[illegible] **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coition. Desire for children was marked. [illegible] In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
3366 Yaigan 3365

Among the Yaigan, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Ona. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will soon abandoned the undesired husband. In fact the Yaigan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 256) a man might have from one to four wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by custom.

Infidelity resulted in no fixed form of punishment, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yaigan man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his amours, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him.

Children

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted orphans set down in the mission records, the Yaigan did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon put an end to them or drove them under cover.

Soon after birth had taken place the Yaigan mother bathed in the sea and the new-born child was also immersed in order, it roughens it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° to 50° Fahrenheit, while the air at best could be described as no warmer than temperate. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that soon after birth all but the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly eliminated.

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see incipient couvade.

Games and Amusements

The Yaigan to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much care and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling, and stones; but while these exercises often amused the lads of

/643 cont./

836 The question of a possible illegitimate birth is related to this discussion. Children who have reached puberty are sufficiently enlightened on the subject of sex life (p. 290). After an instance of adultery, neither of the guilty parties, who probably always return to their lawful partners, thinks of the possible consequences of their meeting. As a rule, however, unmarried couples avoid intercourse before marriage, for the girls maintain a remarkably strict reserve, even toward bold youths. This union, however, may have occurred among young people who had already tacitly agreed to marry. In such a case they have been legitimately married long before the fruit of their mutual love appears. Hence there is actually no recognizable illegitimate birth among the Tamana (22).

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22. This is not to deny sexual intercourse by strategy or force between European sailors or farmers and Indian women; the consequences are known far and wide. What the natives themselves thought and still think about this is only occasionally, but clearly enough expressed in the jokingly with which they guard their women and girls in the presence of strangers. See pages 336 and 353 /in untranslated portion of this work/.

834 The separation of children by sex at the time of puberty is intended chiefly to preserve their premarital chastity, as is expressed in clear instructions and warnings. Young people know very well that they are being watched, and although it is difficult for them to avoid the sharp eyes of adults, they sometimes succeed in doing so. On such occasions a bold lad will permit himself unseemly conduct with a girl. Such secrecy is seldom possible and is censured by every adult, in fact, seriously punished by the parents of the little culprits. There can be no question of sexual freedom for the Indian women. The Tamana are not familiar with any kind of outcrop of chastity. They demand decency of young people before marriage, just as they wish to insure freedom

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immediate surroundings are quiet; small children are either sent far away or held in check. Finally, all the dogs are forcibly kept silent.

From the day of delivery both parents (p. 488) must very conscientiously observe the regulations familiar to everyone. The mother refrains from taking any kind of nourishment for the entire day. This assures her of a good delivery and the future well-being of her child. For his part, the man may neither fell heavy wooden beams in the forest nor kill large game animals. He may neither break open the homes of birds to get out the marrow nor crush the shell of the sea urchin. In case he should fell decayed trees or split wood, his child would have an open wound on its breast. If he should break apart the wing bones of birds, the arms of his child would also break. If he should pluck out the feathers of a bird, his child would wear long its hair. On the day of the birth he is just as restricted in his choice of foods as his wife is on this and the following days. She is permitted to eat again on the day after her confinement, but at first by no means everything. She limits herself to fish, as well as fowl (Mergulus chlorocrissus), lapilla (Mergulus edulis), and ancylus (Pinnerella). She is not permitted the many other lower sea animals. These animals must come from "good" places (in the magical sense), in other words, not from places where one suspects the lakima /water spirit/ might be nor from places where there are many carcasses and sea lions. It seems to me that the magical fear comes from the fact that these animals do not play a favorable role in mythology. A single species of duck, namely, Mareca chlororis, also belongs to the "good" things. On the other hand, the meat of the sea duck, aldka (Tachyeres pachyrhinus), is forbidden. When things to be eaten are unavailable or not present in sufficient quantities, the yikamal /shaman/ must help out. Drawing out both hands, he gathers up the "bad and harmful." /788/ holds it for a moment on his open palms and, with a strong puff of air from his mouth and a softly uttered "h," blows it away. Now the food has been freed of everything "dangerous" and is no longer harmful.

Directly after the child has been separated from its mother, the woman who has been the midwife goes out of the hut and sends a message to the father by anyone who is available that a boy or a

/708 cont./

•151 girl has arrived and that his wife is well. He receives the news with joy and satisfaction. Usually he still stays away for a time because the new baby must have further care; later on he returns to his family. It is a foregone conclusion that the parents warmly wel-
162 come each child (128). It is more as a rhetorical wish than for a

128. Hyades (q):376 mentions only briefly that Fuegian parents seem to have no preference for boys or girls.

conscious purpose that the father hopes for a boy and the mother for a daughter, unless the two have agreed on one or the other because all the rest of their children are of the opposite sex. Bridges (i):21 maintains, without qualification: "More pleasure was expressed at the birth of a son than of a daughter" /cited in English/; the reason he (s):182, 203 gives elsewhere is not convincing: "Boys are coveted as offspring...Boys are much preferred to girls as offspring, since they are a source of strength and protection when they grow up to their parents" /cited in English/. Twins, known as
165 wulakfmen, must be regarded as an extraordinarily rare phenomenon; not a single one of the older people could remember a twin birth.

The newborn baby is first of all thoroughly washed (129).

129. Hahn (s):805 says briefly: "The newborn baby is immediately cleaned with fine wood shavings" /translated from French/. Bridges (s):181 is more explicit: "When the infant is born, the attending females take the child, wash it with cold water, and the soft scrapings of wood, which they also use as a towel" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):189 gives fewer details.

This is done by the adopted mother. She squats on the ground and places the baby on her upper thighs, holding it upright with both her hands. Several times she takes a mouthful of water, keeps it in her mouth for a few moments until it has become somewhat warm, and squirts it on the child like a shower spray. Progressively she

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friend who acts as a sort of godmother, fulfilling this function very well" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):375 expresses himself more explicitly, saying that certain women "will later also be called 'mother' by the small children whom she helped bring into the world" /translated from French/.

let the same woman adopt several children of one mother.

608 The relationship between the two /714/ is never dissolved throughout their lifetimes. When the child is married, the foster mother continues to champion and help him. If the child has lost his parents, the foster mother lives nearby or even in the same hut. Not infrequently the adakutfruwaxípa assumes the sponsorship in the čiéxaus for her foster child, which still more closely links the two together.

4. Treatment of the Infant

854 Neighbors tell each other about the birth of a child as a joyous
•[851] event. Some women hasten to the place out of curiosity and discuss the process in great detail with the mother; they like to give advice and are willing to perform any service. Above all, the parents themselves outdo each other in demonstrations of love for their child. All observers agree with Bridges (h):208 that "children are the object of tender concern" /translated from Spanish/. The father also loves to play with his little darling, and although he does not know how to be nearly as tender as his wife, he is not surpassed by her when it comes to sincerity and paternal happiness. Anxious about the welfare of the child, the father sometimes gives her advice about care and nourishment; occasionally both parents discuss the present condition of their child and its future. They circumspectly avoid everything that might harm it, and they guard it solicitously day and night. In general, the husband does not criticize the way his wife handles the baby, for he can rely on her; after all, she is well advised by neighbor women, and he follows

/718 cont./

Cape Horn Archipelago acknowledge the loving and sensible treatment given them by almost never crying. This strange fact was observed by various travelers. Spegazzini (s):167, for example, reports: "I noted that the children there never cry; they are always happy and contented, whether it is cold or hot, with their completely Adamite clothing" /translated from Spanish/ (149).

149. Hyades (q):193 says of his observations of a new living creature on its first day: "The baby rarely cried and not for long"; the mother "calmed her baby when it cried with little pats on the back" /translated from French/.

The Fuegian little ones really have no reason for making the whole neighborhood aware of their discontent or displeasure by howling and crying, for they come into the world healthy and are not hindered in their movements in the fresh air; they are also abundantly nourished and given all kinds of attention. /719/ Other factors, however, may play a part here; I am thinking primarily of an effective, unconscious influence of the environment. One should visualize how deathly quiet the whole family is in the canoe while they stalk game and steer in its direction. All the persons in the boat are breathlessly attentive until they have reached their booty. Even the low cry of an infant would spoil their success. How the motionlessness of the adults is able to hold the child in check is not easy to explain, but it cannot be denied. A baby that is ill or not sufficiently fed, however, makes itself known loudly enough. Finally we must remember that the Yamana in general are a taciturn and quiet lot.

Every Fuegian mother regards nursing as a duty to be taken for granted. What old Luisa impressed upon me in 1920 was later repeatedly confirmed. All the women emphasize that shortly before and long after confinement they must eat chiefly blythin mussels; otherwise their milk would be worthless, it would be less nourishing, and their babies would cry all night long. On the Cape Horn Archipelago it is unknown for a mother not to have enough milk, and Hahn (s):806 assures us that "all mothers are abundantly provided with milk" /translated from French/. The child announces when he is hungry by restless movements of his head and his whole

/719 cont./

•953 body. The mother supports the baby with her lower arm, and with the cupped hand of her other arm she sometimes inclines his little head against her breast. To begin with, she puts her index finger into the baby's mouth and then immediately shoves her nipple in. The Fuegian little ones suck with the same eagerness as their European counterparts (150). A woman who has given birth

> 150. Hyades (q):194 once observed a young mother on the fifth day after her confinement press a few drops of milk out of her breast and let them fall into the fire. In July, 1924, Fred Lawrence assured me that this was an isolated act on the part of the woman.

for the first time learns from her women neighbors how often during the day and for how long she should nurse her child. A year-old child who can stand up alone often reaches with his little hand for his mother's breast when she is squatting on the ground, and he drinks standing up. All Fuegian women nurse their little ones for a long time. Bridges (e):183 avows that "children are not weaned
953 early. It often happens that two children of different births are
962 being suckled at the same time" /cited in English/. On the average, they are not weaned until their second year, depending on whether the mother can also feed the younger which has meanwhile arrived (151).

> 151. Dumont (b):638 exaggerates absurdly in his assertion that children are nursed by their mothers "even to six years of age" /cited in English/. Hahn (a):806 correctly says that they "nurse the infants until the age of two and sometimes a child is not weaned until the appearance of another who succeeds him at the breast" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):196 increases this to three years.

962 Naturally, they also teach the child, after about four months, to take a pacifier as well as its mother's breast, so that it will

/719 cont./

§2 gradually /720/grow accustomed to another diet. Such a pacifier, *chlmáhe*, is nothing more than a piece of fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, *fiskur* (Tachyeres brachypterus), as long as a finger and thick enough so that the child cannot swallow it. The fatty tissue of this duck is chosen because it is particularly tasty and full of liquid. Before it is given to the child, it is roasted at the fire to a light brown. It is replaced at least once a day. The babies do not present a very clean appearance with this pacifier, because the liquid fat smears the entire face, chest, and both little hands, but there is nothing better to be had in Tierra del Fuego. In later months the baby is given a juicy little piece of meat of this same duck, the size of a finger and slightly roasted. This is the only baby food, for it is scarcely possible to obtain milk from a guanaco, and there are no other milk-giving animals. Like their neighbors on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 378), the Yamana women of today cannot decide to give their darlings the milk of cows or goats or the condensed milk introduced by the Whites.

•§3 The Yamana take it for granted that only the mother nurses her own child. It would never occur to her to place the child at
73 the breast of another woman. Of course, if she is constantly sick and incapable of nursing, or if she dies, the child is taken by another woman and she alone feeds it. Molly told me: "It is not good for the child to drink alternately from this or that woman." Every Indian woman, however, is glad to help out in an emergency, especially if the baby suddenly becomes an orphan (133), and, as

> 133. This alone is the meaning of Bridges' (1):31 and (2):208 words: "In the absence of the mother any other woman would feed the child rather than let it suffer" /Aiwed in English/.

Dollmann (3):150 quite rightly says: "If the mother dies, some woman friend of hers assumes responsibility for the orphan" /translated from Spanish/.

§2 Long before the final weaning takes place, the child nurs only occasionally and is nourished chiefly with the meat-pacifier mentioned above. Then, as Molly confessed to me, the mother smears her breast thickly with whale blubber, the taste of which is very

/726 cont./

§62 disgusting to the baby, and after that it stays away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /sic/, fish, and berries" /cited in English/ (153), but for a long time the chief food

153. Hyades (q):195 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women soon commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked mussels, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the rancid fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, *klakuš*. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

The young mother does not give the newborn child water from a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds. The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Punta Remoline. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such things than my countrymen!"

In Hahn (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs" /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with the physiological connection between conception and nursing in the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

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854 is no longer regarded as necessary. Outwardly this becomes evident in that the baby is kept less clean. The little creature is given complete freedom to roll about on the ground and in the hut, to dig in the ashes and the grass, to touch everything and put it in its mouth. If the rain and the unconscious, purely mechanical rubbing on gravel and grass did not remove a considerable part of the encrusted dirt, things would be pretty bad for the little ones! Some mothers, it is true, wash and clean them often; Walter's little daughter was always neat as a doll and was carefully tended. Other women apparently did not even see the thick layer of dirt on their children. As long as it is absolutely necessary, 853 the mother prepares the bits of food for her darling every day and 862 sees to it that he eats only easily digested food, but she soon lets him make his own choice without giving him much instruction. Instinctively he chooses food that best agrees with him. Occasionally, however, he puts less suitable pieces into his mouth and must pay for it with slight digestive upsets.

854 The unobstructed freedom of movement that is permitted babies on /734/ land has been fairly earned by their motionlessness dur- 145 ing the long and constant canoe trips. It may seem incredible, but it is true that, except for slight, brief movements, they may for hours just as their mother has set them down, without kicking or rolling over. The mother has just as little trouble with the child who rides on her back while she wanders about and attends to her work, or whom she holds in her arms or has lying on her lap. The child does not think of wriggling out of position, fussing, and crying, as one often sees European children doing. He lies there all by himself, quietly happy, entertaining himself with whatever his little eyes take in or his little fingers touch. He would never dream of yelling loudly if the mother walks off or to cry anxiously if he is left alone. Under certain circumstances Fuegian babies behave as though they had mature judgment or were constantly exercising much patience. Without doubt the adult environment influences the little ones, for loud shouting and vehement speech are much less customary among our Fuegians than among their neighbors to the northwest and northeast. I do not claim however, to have given an exhaustive explanation for this phenomenon.

145 The extraordinarily quiet and gentle behavior of the child has 856 an overwhelming effect on its speech development. For months he

515 /418 cont./
514 (Berberis ilicifolia, Fig. 37), luma, calla, which is obtained in the following way. They peel the bark off a twig as thick as one's thumb, scrape off the soft layer of fibers on the surface, and then, with a sharp-edged mussel shell and gentle pressure back and forth, they peel off /419/ the finest shavings. These are collected on a scrap of leather and must dry near the fire. By repeatedly squeezing the loose ball, a coarse powder is produced, which quickly absorbs any dampness. These shavings are kept in a piece of gut, and if anyone needs them he takes out a handful. He uses this substance exactly like a sponge. It is used mostly by a mother in
• [354] washing and drying her infant, but almost all the people use it often to wipe under the arms -- custom demands this -- in order to prevent a bad odor, as they say.

515 These fine shavings are almost never used for a wet massage of face and body. For this they more often use a ball of moss saturated with water. Apparently Hyades (op.368 also makes this distinction: "When the natives see dirt on their bodies that demands attention, especially in the morning, ...they wipe themselves off with fine wood shavings that make a kind of tow, or they clean up by simply rubbing themselves with moss gathered around the hut, which is very wet and acts as a sponge" /translated from French/.

A person who has soiled his hands, whether it is with blood and dirt while working or with blubber and fat while eating or eviscerating an animal, rubs them off in the sand on the ground, on skins lying about, or on the hut covering. The fat dripping
58 from the fingers after a delicious meal is perfectly rubbed on the
30 face and body to keep the skin soft and to protect it against the weather, hence the greasy shine of these people which gives them a strange appearance (p. 87). This is, of course, not provided naturally and is not sought for beautification, but rather it serves as protection for the body. On very cold days one or another of them will even pour a large quantity of liquid blubber over himself. The skin is never completely free of a visible layer of grease which is increased by continual contact with meat, fat, and greasy objects. The epidermis of these Indians is somewhat thicker
[47] than that of Europeans as a result of their complete lack of protection against the cold air. That is also the reason why the skin is less sensitive.

/SOS cont./

S49 a bad smell would be put out. They use a shell and a handful of sand, but they prefer a bunch of grass and a ball of moss. It is with the latter objects or with a tuft of feathers that the mother cleans her infant (104). In their scrupulous efforts toward

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104. Hyades (f):SOS supplements this with the following statement: "If, upon re-entering, they find that they are soiled, as soon as they perceive it, either by seeing or smelling it, they are careful to rub themselves with a pad of chaff and to throw all this outside. The children do the same as soon as they can manage it; as for younger children, the mother is careful to keep them clean" /translated from French/.

this kind of cleanliness our Indians compare with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 234).

S25 Like the Selk'nam, our Yaghans have the habit of spitting all day long and whenever they wake up at night. Anyone who joins their circle around the fire for the first time is confused by the uninterrupted whooping, throat clearing, and spitting in which they take turns. Adults do this quite unconciously, and no one minds. When they spit, they have an amazing aim; even a person stretched out on his bed expectorates straight into the fire to a wide arc without lifting himself up. An older person is more awkward at this and bespatters his neighbors who, however, do not grow impatient but clean themselves off indifferently, without a feeling of disgust. They squirt the liquid saliva with a hissing noise through their incisors which they press tightly together.

These Indians, quite openly and without any idea of embarrassment, do the things we are taught to politely cover up. With their thick fingers and dirty fingernails, and grimacing, they poke around for a long time in their distended nostrils. Afterwards they clean their fingernails between their teeth. They blow their noses by exerting hard, which drains the mucus to the ground. Often it sticks out by itself, and they wipe it off with their index finger. Children use the flat of their hand and move it up

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/341 cont./
observes them and unconsciously compares them with the women of our coasts gathering fishing at low tide: the same grave silence, the earth bayness, and from a distance the same silhouettes" /translated from French/.

At almost every ebb tide the women comb the wide surfaces laid bare by the receding sea. On a tightly sloping shore these are sometimes ten or more women (187). Here there are only

187. Fortunately, the strip of earth along the shore which is laid bare at low tide is rarely pervious and soon becomes hard. Hyades (7):163 specially refers to this.

medium-sized and small mussels, but they are easy to gather. They are sometimes loosened with a short, strong stick or with the elbow-mentioned mussel-breaker, *ushix*. It is just as easy to break them off with one's bare hand, since the clinging filaments of the live animals are weak.

226 Assuming that low tide sets in during the day, one woman will make a date with another, and immediately others will join them. Each of them brings along her baby clinging to her back, and little girls run ahead, each with her own little basket. Sometimes a boy or two will run along out of curiosity and sheer pleasure, and they will watch for a while, but it would never occur to them to help because that is not their work. These women are only about /half/ dressed again. Walking slowly, they go from one spot to another, for the entire ocean floor is usually densely strewn with mussels. They seldom exchange a few words, and they keep their bent position unchanged. Sometimes they also squat down, without touching the damp earth, since the mussels can be easily grasped from any position. They stop working only when their twin baskets are full. The women sometimes also set out late in the evening and in the early morning if the tide is particularly low. In winter they take along a glowing stick of wood and a few dry sticks in order to fan up a fire near the place where they are gathering. They remain so in for a few minutes to warm their cold

/693 cont./

861 rearing in an unexpectedly favorable light and which reveal our much misunderstood Yamana as sensitive experts in all matters pertaining to a child. An opportunity to appreciate their mastery of child-rearing skills is provided by clear insight concerning the youth initiation ceremony which I was twice /694/ privileged to experience and which I shall describe in detail below. In the principles for the treatment of the maturing generation, a good deal of unadulterated practical philosophy and sound child-rearing wisdom from the remote past has been preserved to this day among the much misunderstood primitive people of frosty Tierra del Fuego.

a. The Infant and Its Care

124 The sensitivity of the people and delicate consideration for the mother impel them to conceal as far as possible from the eyes of the men a new citizen's entrance into the world and his care during the first few days of his life. Hence the following details were not personally observed, but were given to me by women. I gladly admit that greater completeness would have been possible, but probably nothing important is missing in the following lines, except perhaps one or another minor detail that they did not wish to mention to me because of a natural feeling of delicacy. In any case, nothing has changed in modern times in the treatment of infants. Only the pieces of fur formerly used as covers are now replaced by European rags which have very much increased the lack of cleanliness in the child's sleeping place.

• 854 A European would superficially describe many of their customs as unhygienic and senseless, but on closer observation he might recognize a great deal of purposefulness and empirical wisdom. Travelers of former times saw the tender, solicitous care of Fuegian children by adults so clearly and in such vivid detail that they did not hide their astonishment. Their observations correspond exactly with what everyone can still find today. Therefore, no one should be surprised if all the details in the following account seem brightly and kindly illuminated by the warm glow of genuine parental love for the always welcome child.

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friend who acts as a sort of godmother, fulfilling this function very well" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):375 expresses himself more explicitly, saying that certain women "will later also be called 'mother' by the small children whom she helped bring into the world" /translated from French/.

let the same woman adopt several children of one mother.

608 The relationship between the two /714/ is never dissolved throughout their lifetimes. When the child is married, the foster mother continue to champion and help him. If the child has lost his parents, the foster mother lives nearby or even in the same hut. Not infrequently the adakutfrowaqha assumes the sponsorship in the Zikwan for her foster child which will more closely links the two together.

4. Treatment of the Infant

854 [857] Neighbors tell each other about the birth of a child as a joyous event. Some women hasten to the place out of curiosity and discuss the process in great detail with the mother; they like to give advice and are willing to perform any service. Above all, the parents themselves outdo each other in demonstrations of love for their child. All observers agree with Bridges (b):100 that "children are the object of tender concern" /translated from Spanish/. The father also loves to play with his little darling, and although he does not know how to be nearly as tender as his wife, he is not surpassed by her when it comes to sincerity and personal happiness. Anxious about the welfare of the child, the father sometimes gives her advice about care and nourishment; occasionally both parents discuss the present condition of their child and its future. They circumspectly avoid everything that might harm it, and they guard it solicitously day and night. In general, the husband does not criticize the way his wife handles the baby, for he can rely on her; after all, she is well advised by neighbor women, and he follows.

/714 cont./

154 her suggestions if it is required for the child's welfare. His wife becomes even dearer to him because of her efforts and care for the child, and from one confinement to the next he appreciates her more. This increases the regard for her among the whole family.

154 Once more we should like to emphasize that children are the 261 joy of their parents' life. This is what Hyndes (3):301 means when he says: "Parents love their children very much" /translated from French/. His assertion, "They caress them very rarely, practically never /translated from French/, is, however, false. True, in another place Hyndes (3):302 is right when he says, "they do not know how to kiss" /translated from French/, but parents frequently do press their mouths or their entire faces against the head and face of the infant, pick it up with both hands under its shoulders and lift it high, pass their fingers playfully over its entire body when it lies on its back, and finally provide it with all kinds of happy visual impressions by means of pantomime. They also give their darling a real kiss, Bydlo, on the /715/ cheeks, which has been customary since ancient times between parents and their newborn child -- not, however, between adults. By and large, they dandle and play with their small child exactly the way European parents do. With them, however, all this goes on accidentally, and they are less temperamental in their caresses. For the sake of the baby, the parents carefully observe all the restrictions imposed on them before and after confinement (140). The death of a child is viewed as an irreplace-

> 140. Bridges (2):153 reports: "Should a nursing child fall sick, its sickness is seen to be attributed to something the mother has eaten, which, under these circumstances, does not see whole milkers" /cited in English/.

able loss.

714 If a mother dies soon after her delivery, another woman will 159 be more willing to take charge of the orphaned baby immediately. Almost always this is done by one of the closest relatives, usually an aunt. The father actually does not have to bother about finding a nurse himself. Purely out of sympathy for the orphan, many women vie for it. No matter who takes it, it is just as safe and well

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736 ● 159 protected on her hands or in those of an mother (141).

141. Lowtens (b).150 simply repeats what Bridges (c).141 observed long before. "If the mother dies, the little one must find a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/.

162 Occasionally it has been maintained that the children are conspicuously small at birth, and Bridges (1).21 writes: "The children are decidedly small at birth and to this fact may be chiefly ascribed the mother's immunity from danger" /cited in English/. Rowe (c).158 repeats this. Nothing justifies this assumption, and it is a fact that Bridges was by no means in a position to prove it. The color of the skin of the newborn child is considerably lighter than that of adults and later becomes somewhat darker. Fitz-Roy (c).178 says about the Tswana and Matabeleland in general: "Little children are nearly of the same hue as their parents' skin is when cleansed; but infants are, for a few days, rather lighter coloured" /cited in English/. The slight difference in the skin color of newborn children are boundless.

[141] 170 There is a story dealing with the unusual appearance of the little man, which old Cornelis, father of Claire, sometimes told young women. "A long time ago a woman became pregnant. She was delivered extraordinarily quickly, and the child left the mother's womb without the slightest hindrance. Immediately it crawled on little, stood up by itself, and walked around a bit, for it was strong and sturdy enough to do this. Immediately after that it hastened back into its mother's womb. Thus the belly of that woman grew big. But soon the child again left its mother's womb, stood up, and walked about freely for a little while. Then it hastened back in again. Meanwhile the mother lay there and grew big. She did not know what was happening to her. Since the child came out again and came more returned, she grew over /716/ months. Meanwhile the child had grown and became large, so she, too, walked commonly. Finally she died as the sun lay on her sleeping place near the fire. As soon she dissolved into nothingness, as though she had never consisted of flesh and bones. —

/716 cont./

773 I myself saw this mother (142), so I give you this advice: Get

142. This expression is, of course, not to be taken literally. It means, in the Yanomo way of speaking, that this man had a very lively image of the chief character in the story.

birth a child comes out of the mother's womb very quickly and immediately begins to walk, you must kill it without delay. Otherwise it will hurry back into its mother's belly which will swell to such a size that the mother will die."

759 Pregnant shamans are considered absolutely necessary in the
58 tribe; sometimes a dip in sea water is substituted for them. Soon after birth they are performed with known healing waters which the mother usually has fetched by some other person. She places the baby upright in front of her, fills her mouth again and squirts with this water, warming it a little, and gradually sprays the baby's entire body. She gently dries off her little darling with a soft, fluffy moss or with a ball of moss, both of which are taken out of a bag and squeezed to remove the large amounts of water they contain. The purpose of this treatment with the bundle of moss is not to dry the skin, but to stimulate it with rubbing. After the first or second time of bag water is no longer necessary, sea water will suffice from now on.

We must appreciate the fact that our Indian women, who apparently do not have an eye for the physical cleanliness of their larger children, take so much conscientious care of their babies that they repeat the ablutions at least once a day. They always warm the water in the mouth and squirt it on the body of the little man. With the palm of the hand they gently rub the sensitive parts, and this is justifiably regarded as a beneficial massage. Several times in succession the woman will hold her open hand over the fire to warm it, and the moisture the rub until her hand becomes cool. If the underlying pot falls on the shaman whose she does not sit to start a fire for these few minutes, the bundle into her hand clenched fist, warming the inside of her hand somewhat (143). Even

143. Hyades (5:47) observed the same procedure.

/716 cont./

854 515 when the child is dipped into the water all at once, she never forgets to rub it off with her hand flat (144).

> 144. A few Europeans at least mention the fact that the newborn baby is repeatedly dipped in the water. First of all Bridges (i):11: "Within a few days after birth the child was dipped in the sea, with the idea of strengthening it" /cited in English/. Not only Lowinsky (b):116, but also Hahn (a):906 evidently rely on him, for the latter writes: "Soon after birth, the child is dipped in sea water or in fresh water. This washing by immersion is repeated up to twice a day for one or two months" /translated from French/.

Summer and winter the child must submit to the ablution, often even out in the open. Afterward it is always safely /717/ wrapped in a soft skin in which it is warmed for at least half an hour. For about ten weeks the young mother carries out the ablution very conscientiously, after that she allows some interruption, and finally the six-months-old child is only rarely rubbed off.

854 513 The Yamana mother makes a dropping piece for her infant in almost exactly the same way her neighbor on Isla Grand does (Vol. I, 272). If she cannot hold the baby in her arms, she spreads a soft otter or guanaco pelt on the ground with the leather side on top. Over this she spreads a layer of down from wild geese and lays the child on its back. She lifts up the edges of the piece of leather and folds them over each other, so that the bundle is loose; there is no swaddling of any kind. The infant says this way hardly more than an hour, for with its movements it gradually loosens the sheath and is again exposed. Meanwhile it has become thoroughly warm, for it is almost always only after it has been washed that it is bundled up. Usually it sits quite naked on bush or on a piece of leather. The infant is not given clothes or diapers.

854 If the mother's hands are not busy with other work, she naturally has her darling on her lap. She squats on the ground with her legs bent, and he sits or lies between them. She usually

/717 cont./

supports the baby's head with her cupped hand. She even has him lying in front of her like this when she paddles her canoe. Usually the baby sits with his back leaning close against her, and she tightly presses her folded hands against his stomach.

The reasons why our Indian women always carry a child on their backs are obvious. They want to have their hands and arms free for their work. They carry their infants about with them wherever they go because they do not want to be separated from them and sometimes there is no other person to care for them. Actually, it is a rare sight to meet a young or middle-aged woman without a child on her back. If she has put it down for a few minutes, it is crawling about on the ground near her. With amazing dexterity she makes all kinds of manoeuvres, bends low in gathering mamels and berries, stretches up when she breaks off dry branches, exerts herself strenuously when she pulls the canoe up on the beach, winds her way laboriously through brush, and even climbs over tree trunks lying in the tangled thickets of the forest. While all this is going on, the child sits securely on her back.

Every woman with a baby sometimes uses a wide back-cape or a piece of leather which she can put over the entire upper part of her body. With her right and left hands she grasps the little left and right hands of the child, and holding both arms parallel, she draws her right arm over her head and settles the child on her back. Either the two hold hands or the child places its little arms around the neck of the mother. Then she draws the back-cape over the child or wraps him in her own far cloak, /718/ in which, however, he has just as little support as under the back-cape (141).

141. This is to be emphasized in contrast to Fitz-Roy (a):138, who erroneously maintains: "The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an infant" /Acted in English/.

He hangs by his own little arms and sits straddling the back of the mother (142). Occasionally the mother uses a square piece of

142. Despard (b):608 writes clearly on this subject: "Mothers carry their children

/719 cont./

> dangling on their backs, and only supported by holding them by their wrists in front of them" /cited in English/.

leather, the sides of which are about 40 centimeters long, with short straps knotted to the four corners. After she has lifted the child onto her back, she places this piece over it and ties the straps in front of her chest. When she straightens up, the child sits securely and lets his legs dangle down on either side of her, encircling her neck with his little arms.

The child must, of course, submit to all the effects of the weather (147), although in heavy rain and strong wind the mother

> 147. Hyades (f):372 expresses his amazishment thus: "The Fuegian babies are never clothed. Thus they brave the inclemencies of the weather, uniquely protected by contact with the mother's warmth" /translated from French/.

remains in the hut as much as possible. Thus, the children, from the first days of their lives, become accustomed to the rigors and severities of their homeland. Nevertheless, it is striking that children under a year old rarely die (148). Perhaps the babies' freedom

> 148. Bridges (a):181 confirms: "It is a general custom with these people to bear their children out of doors, be the weather fine or inclement, even though it is snowing or raining, in winter and summer" /cited in English/. Compare Lovisato (b):146.

of movement is advantageous. As we have said, they are permitted to crawl about on the ground for many hours, completely naked and quite unimpeded, or they may lie on their backs kicking merrily as long as they like. On the canoe trip, however, they must forgo this. Any kind of baby carriage is unknown to the Yamana. It would be useless, since during the day the children spend a great deal of time in the fragile vessel.

Just as on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 378), the babies of the entire

/719 cont./

Cape Horn Archipelago acknowledge the loving and sensible treatment given them by almost never crying. This strange fact was observed by various travelers. Spegazzini (s):167, for example, reports: "I noted that the children there never cry; they are always happy and contented, whether it is cold or hot, with their completely Adamite clothing" /translated from Spanish/ (149).

149. Hyades (p):193 says of his observations of a new living creature on its first day: "The baby rarely cried and not for long"; the mother "calmed her baby when it cried with little pats on the back" /translated from French/.

The Fuegian little ones really have no reason for making the whole neighborhood aware of their discontent or displeasure by howling and crying, for they come into the world healthy and are not hindered in their movements in the fresh air; they are also abundantly nourished and given all kinds of attention. /719/ Other factors, however, may play a part here; I am thinking primarily of an effective, unconscious influence of the environment. One should visualize how deadly quiet the whole family is in the canoe while they sail game and steer in its direction. All the persons in the boat are breathlessly attentive until they have reached their booty. Even the low cry of an infant would spoil their success. How the noticeleeness of the adults is able to hold the child in check is not easy to explain, but it cannot be denied. A baby that is ill or not sufficiently fed, however, makes itself known loudly enough. Finally we must remember that the Yamana in general are a taciturn and quiet lot.

Every Fuegian mother regards nursing as a duty to be taken for granted. What old Luisa impressed upon me in 1920 was later repeatedly confirmed. All the women emphasize that shortly before and long after confinement they must eat chiefly blythin mussels; otherwise their milk would be worthless, it would be less nourishing, and their babies would cry all night long. On the Cape Horn Archipelago it is unknown for a mother not to have enough milk, and Hahn (s):898 assures us that "all mothers are abundantly provided with milk" /translated from French/. The child announces when he is hungry by restless movements of his head and his whole

/723 cont./

856 properly, to become well-proportioned, and to develop a beautiful figure.

856 That this treatment of the infant is not without a tinge of magic may be seen from the way it is concluded. As soon as a
789 woman ceases the prolonged stroking, she clenches her hands and puts her fists to her mouth so that the bent thumbs touch her lips. With a sharp thrust she extends her arms out in front of her and opens her fists, palms forward and fingers outstretched. At the same time she expels her breath in a sharp "pf," as though the "unbeautiful, ugly, /723/ deformed" had been gathered together with the hands and were now being blown away. One sees this motion being practiced a great deal by the yékamuf.

856 In this wíse process every woman is, of course, extremely gentle and sensitive; she is careful not to press on the fontanel, ayatsía, which she knows to be a very sensitive spot. For about three weeks the new infant must submit to this forming, stroking, and arranging of his little body. It causes him not the slightest discomfort.

865 The following belongs in the category of superstition. When
• 854 the sea duck, dóno (Tachyeres patachonicus), flies over the hut,
789 all the occupants are startled, for they are afraid that it will take away the "spirit," that is, the vitality of the children. The adults hasten to cover all the children with pieces of leather and, with outstretched arms, they grope through the air, as though they were trying to hold back "the spirit" of the children. As though they had gathered it up in the air, they draw their arms in again and make a proffering and throwing motion toward the children, at the same time uttering a long-drawn-out "ś." It is well known that immediately after birth the parents may not eat the meat of déika, otherwise the life of the child is endangered (p. 503).

854 Most of the day the babies move freely or lie in the mother's lap. With their little hands they touch and grasp everything they can reach. They are given individual small stones and sticks, mussel shells, and little twigs that happen to lie nearby, but the Yamana do
[854] not make actual toys. Perhaps it is too much trouble for them always to take along and carefully store toys, no matter how simple. It seems to me that Yamana babies, compared to those on his Grande, are much quieter and much less inclined to play. True, the mother puts all kinds of small necklaces around her darling, in order to adorn

/723 cont./

•[554] him, and she also paints him just for fun. All this, however, has nothing to do with playthings. She dandles him and plays with him, devotes all her free time to him, and protects him carefully at night when he is lying beside her. She also addresses him and converses with him, but far less and more softly than a European [533] mother does. There are no actual cradle songs, but a woman who loves to sing sometimes begins a simple folksong, pasina.

With the definite love for children characteristic of our Yamana it is not surprising that every neighbor woman inquires explicitly about all the little ones in her vicinity. She gladly lends a hand wherever her services are desired or needed. Hence every young mother as long as she is taking care of an infant has several women helpers who are gladly at her disposal. She can count on them if she or her darling is sick, if she is temporarily incapable of working, or if her time is completely taken up by a special activity, for example, in the cíxam. It is very seldom that /724/ a mother will let a neighbor take her baby outside the hut, for she would almost expire with longing. Among themselves, the women discuss in detail how they can best serve the growth and well-being of their children. A woman is happy to take the child out of its mother's arms to fondle and pet it. She leads it up and down with both hands and tries to entertain it with all kinds of innocent surprises. She also rocks it gently in her arms, rhythmically repeating the words "huí, huí ..." in a monotone.

The Fuegian women are good mothers who gladly make sacrifices for their children. They far outdo many European women in sincere love (157) and reliable care for their babies. I am

157. Bridges (i):21 confirms this: "Mothers of young children tend them most carefully, and give themselves up to their maternal duties much more entirely than is the case with most civilized people." Even someone like Spegazzini (a):166 gives them the following honorable recommendation: "Maternal love is, deeply rooted, and although... there are no manifestations of love, neither kisses nor caresses, nevertheless it is very apparent from

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> the concern and pleasure of the fathers and mothers in adorning and taking good care of their little ones" /translated from Spanish/. Actually the parents often kiss and caress the baby with pleasure (p. 514).

constantly reminded of the unusual, almost uncontrolled pleasure of several Indian women who occasionally came to Punta Remolino. The Lawrence family there had a Spaniard as a cook, whose young wife one day had her first child. She handled it so awkwardly and clumsily that the Indian women refrained from laughing heartily only because they pitied the child, but among themselves they quite frankly discussed how much better they could handle a new-born baby. Nelly used this as an example to emphasize that in such important matters her country-women had incomparably more thorough experience and "the Whites could learn a great deal from Yamana women about how to treat a baby!"

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5. Infanticide

847 In view of what has been reliably reported about the love for children among the Yamana, it is apparent that there is no place among these people for intentional and frequent infanticide. Not a single European can prove it by having been an eye-witness to this act, and Hyades (p):331 denies any intentional infanticide with the following brief sentence: "Infanticide is not customary" /translated from French/. It is only Bridges who made statements on this subject, and a few travelers (158), such as Dabbene (a):63 and

158. Cooper:171 mentions the various citations.

(b):190, repeated his words. As early as 1866 he maintained: "It is very seldom a young infant is killed unless under the following circumstances: Should the mother's husband have deserted her, the child is then often killed by its mother. Also those children that have any great imperfections, or are otherwise much deformed, are sure to be killed very shortly after their birth. Also should a

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551 As the longest male proper name known, I learned of an almost monstrous construction which can probably be regarded as the longest Yamana word, namely, hōmaghamdmaWgīyotokwīlakar'ōnja (i.e., hōmag, "tree trunk tossed ashore by the waves", kamdmagīyota, "to be set up, to place upright", wīlakar, "rocky or coastal promontory"). This means "man from the place on the shore where a tree trunk washed up by the waves stands upright." This construction corresponds to the rule regarding proper names.

553 Finally a superstitious custom should be noted, /733/ to which Bridges (e):176 long ago referred. "The natives have an idea that naming children early stops their growth, and since children so frequently die in early infancy" /cited in English/. Later Hyades (g):30 referred to this: "They first give their children names when they are about two years old and begin to walk. They say they do this so that, in case a child dies younger than that, they will not accidentally hear his name and be reminded of their loss." As I was able to confirm, however, this custom was adopted less out of superstitious fear than because of the utter uselessness of emphasizing the name of the child during the first 20 months. The child's name is automatically determined by his place of birth. Moreover, it is not customary among our Yamana to address a person present by name or to speak of him by name. This explains why quite generally they do not attach much importance to the proper name.

8. The Baby's Development

123 Not all the families with whom I was in contact on Cape Horn Archipelago had the pleasure of having small children for company. A few aged persons, who had long since abandoned the hope of offspring, had married only to avoid being alone. Hence I was dependent on a small number of children in my observations and can, therefore, furnish only incomplete data on the development of young lives.

554 The solicitude of the young mother for her darling during the first few weeks of his existence gradually disappears. Not that her love diminishes -- in fact, it increases -- but anxiously vigilant care

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§52 is no longer regarded as necessary. Outwardly this becomes evident in that the baby is kept less clean. The little creature is given complete freedom to roll about on the ground and in the boat, to dig in the ashes and the grass, to touch everything and put it in its mouth. If the rain and the circumcision, purely mechanical rubbing on gravel and grass did not remove a considerable part of the encrusted dirt, things would be pretty bad for the little crew! Some mothers, it is true, wash and clean them often. Walter's little daughter was always neat as a doll and was carefully tended. Other women apparently did not even see the thick layer of dirt on their children. As long as it is absolutely necessary,

§53 the mother prepares the bits of food for her darling every day and

§62 sees to it that he eats only easily digested food, but she soon lets him make his own choice without giving him much instruction. Instinctively he chooses food that best agrees with him. Occasionally, however, he puts less suitable pieces into his mouth and must pay for it with slight digestive upsets.

§54 The unobstructed freedom of movement that is permitted babies

§55 on /724/ land has been fairly earned by their motionlessness during the long and constant canoe trips. It may seem incredible, but it is true that, except for slight, brief movements, they stay for hours just as their mother has set them down, without kicking or rolling over. The mother has just as little trouble with the child who rides on her back while she wanders about and attends to her work, or whom she holds in her arms or has lying on her lap. The child does not think of wriggling out of position, fussing, and crying, as one often sees European children doing. He lies there all by himself, quietly happy, entertaining himself with whatever his little eyes take in or his little fingers touch. He would never dream of yelling loudly if the mother walks off or to cry anxiously if he is left alone. Under certain circumstances Fuegian babies behave as though they had mature judgment or were constantly exercising much patience. Without doubt the adult environment influences the little ones, for loud shouting and vehement speech are much less customary among our Fuegians than among their neighbors to the northwest and northeast. I do not claim however, to have given an exhaustive explanation for this phenomenon.

§55 The extraordinarily quiet and gentle behavior of the child has

§56 an overwhelming effect on its speech development. For months he

/[illegible] cont./

533

up of a single word or even a single syllable, repeated indefinitely" /translated from French/. In Spencer III it is said: "The words, they say [in their songs], have no meaning to them, and have been handed down in person from their ancestors, and all their songs originally came from the Alakalulé tribe" /cited in English/.

How else would the considerable variety of their songs have come about. One may find it strange that, without exception, they are sung by a smaller or larger group. A person going his solitary way or quietly gliding over the water in the canoe with his family would never feel the urge to sing a little song. A mother does not sing any kind of cradle song to her darling whom she cradles in her arms or watches over in his bed. She is content to hold the child in her outstretched arms and gently rock it back and forth. She performs these movements rhythmically, and each time she sways back and forth she repeats the sounds bbé bbé. The rhythms of a few of the social games are accompanied by children and adults with simple melodies set to long words (p. [illegible]).

[534]

The songs in the [illegible], which fall into two groups, are unique. An uninterrupted repetition of a few sounds on the same pitch, carried on at night sometimes by only one person and during the day simultaneously by most of the people, is part of the daily program (p. [illegible]). More elaborate melodies accompany the special dances and social games on most evenings (p. [illegible]). In songs of mourning, especially in the [illegible], the same word, consisting of three to six syllables, is repeated on the same pitch; the melody is commonly interrupted by interjections and loud laments (p. [illegible]).

I would broadly characterize the [illegible] as a mood-song. It concludes a mourning assembly, a festive gathering, or a [illegible] (p. [illegible]). The brown meadow bird, [illegible], invented this song and first sang it when, as a capable [illegible], it once stranded a whale and invited everybody to an abundant feast. A person who now introduces this song wants to please his countrymen with a surprise and create a happy mood, after the example set by that bird.

/[illegible] cont./

342 and finish, but is smaller. This separate hut for the children is
593 usually built because of lack of space in the large hut, and it is
•155 always regarded as a necessary expedient, for parents do not like to be separated from their children unless it is absolutely necessary. Although the children stay by themselves several hours of the day and all night, they nevertheless like to be with their family a great deal, and they always have access to the large hut. An older woman takes charge of the small company and sometimes brings them a little food, but more often the children get their food from their own parents.

In exceptional cases, for instance, the illness of an older person, imminent confinement of the mother, and so forth, even the single family builds a separate hut for the children beside the one for the adults, much as they dislike to do so. This children's hut is an expedient, and the parents by no means decide on it because they do not wish to be disturbed by crying and noise, for Indian children as such are gentle and quiet.

342 Finally, if several families camp a few days in the same
857 spot, the children as a game build a little hut with their own hands beside the dwellings of their parents. After all, they must occasionally give vent to their energies. The understanding parents willingly support them in this, sometimes bringing the children meat and approvingly watching the happy gathering. This children's hut is called Skili. /[illegible]/ It is obvious and understandable that it cannot be an actual dwelling, but serves merely for the enjoyment and playful occupation of the little band (44).

44. This unequivocal appraisal of the so-called children's hut is absent in what Hyades (q):342 and Bridges (s) :183 write about it. The latter is more ambiguous than the former.

342 If one stands in front of an Indian hut as a European judge,
511 no matter which type of hut it is, one involuntarily asks himself: What protection does this poor makeshift afford? By nature our natives are extremely undemanding. If one would like definite proof of this, he need only observe them in their dwelling. If they have a little protection from the heaviest rainfall and the densest snowstorm, against the bitterest cold and the most

/408 cont./

As long as they are still dependent on the special care of their mothers, they crawl about naked. When they begin to walk by themselves, they get the back-cape which they wear or take off according to their mood or fancy. /Fig. 18 appears here./ It serves them also as "cover" when they sleep at night. Somewhat later, at the age of four, the girl gets her *mashifu*, *mifogiro*, the triangular modesty-apron, which she with the most not remove. All the women see to it that the child in its innocence does not expose itself. The size of the child's body

Fig. 18. Modesty-Apron for Girls.
Two-thirds natural size.

determines the proportions of this pubic covering (Fig. 18). Boys do not wear this covering until they are ten years old or older; it is left to the discretion of parents or relatives. They feel that it is not necessary for boys to wear a modesty-apron, since old men also sometimes omit it, but when they begin to mature physically, boys no longer appear without it in the company of adults.

It is the task of the mother to make the simple, modest articles of clothing for their children. This does not require particular effort, and yet many a woman idly watches her child run about in a shabby, torn little cloak for a long time before she replaces the useless, soiled piece with a better one. Children

462 /375 cont./

115.1969, Fitz-Roy (x):185, Furlong (b):132, Gubbins (b):188, Hyades (g):36 and (g):220, Lima (b):47, Chowe (g):57, Webster:2, 182, Wenghardt:44, and others.

The following, which Stirling wrote in March, 1964, may serve as an example: "The men build the canoes, make the paddles, spoons, etc. and sit in the canoes ever ready to use them. Bows and arrows, and snares for birds, they likewise make. The wigwam is the work of their hands, and every bit of wood, which feeds their perpetual fires, is gathered, and carried by the male section of the community" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (x):185 had made similar observations earlier.

β. Activity of the Woman

462 The actual duties of motherhood take up most of her time
155 and are primary in the daily work of the Indian women, in accordance with her physical and spiritual make-up. Every woman is blessed with several children who, almost without exception, remain in the parental hut until they are old enough to marry. She alone takes complete care of each of her children until it is three or four years old. After that the boys are chiefly entrusted to their father, while the mother continues to direct the girls. She gladly performs the great amount of manual work required by an infant, and she alone provides what is required for its care. In her happiness as a mother she is never separated from her youngest child, and she drags it about with her everywhere, although this makes her other work much more difficult.

462 Besides watching and tending the smallest children, she also performs special services for the family. She sews the pieces that are used for clothing for all the members of the family and for the most part also arranges their sleeping places. Although everyone helps himself when he is hungry to whatever is on hand, she nevertheless usually anticipates the wishes of the individual

/[illegible] /

1. Delight in the Child

[illegible] We must say without qualification that the Tonowa of all ages and of both sexes are extremely fond of children. The child is so necessarily a part of marriage that a newly wedded couple awaits the first fruit of their mutual love with longing. As long as a child has not been granted them, they feel as though they have nothing to do and do not know how to fill out the day properly. The young woman, far more than the man, feels an oppressive emptiness and a great gap which must be filled, the sooner the better. This mental state was described by Wolner in the following brief words: /[illegible]/ "Soon after the wedding the couple become bored, for they lack children of their own to keep them busy. That is why the young woman, in order to ease her loneliness, visits her parents longer and oftener than her husband likes. He therefore waits patiently until the first child arrives. After that his wife stays with him in their own hut (107)."

[illegible]

> 107. This is the chief reason why some young married couples after their wedding live with the parents of one of them before they establish their own household (p. 436).

Gertie, who had no offspring herself, confessed to me: "Until their first child appears, time is often unbearably long for the young couple. You can imagine what I suffer who have lost all hope for a child of my own!" In former times it was extremely rare that a marriage was barren. Such a married couple is very much pitied by the neighborhood. They try to cover their loss by temporarily taking into their hut and caring for a few children from among their relatives or acquaintances. Old people seem to be particularly dependent on the company of the little ones. Actually they are the most enjoyable entertainment and the jolliest diversion for all the adults. They tease each other and play freely and without restraint, as though the children were accommodating and ardently desired playthings. The natural open-heartedness with which old women tenderly fondled and affectionately caressed any child, especially

[illegible]

/500 word/
their own favorite, seemed to me much more direct and spontaneous among these Fuegians, and hence more impressive, than among mothers in Europe.

As a result of their own love for the child, we can understand why our Indians quickly gain confidence in all Europeans who show themselves kindly disposed toward their children. How quickly Snow (n):I, 369 realized this and took advantage of it for the safety of his own person! He writes: "They were very fond of their children, and any notice we took of the little ones always gave them pleasure. This I observed on my first visit; and it was, in addition to firearms in my hands case-pocket, one of the means I was prepared to use, had there been occasion when I went alone amongst them. A child in my arms was, I considered, a guard against any sudden attack upon me, if they loved their offspring as most savage tribes do" /Aimed in English/(108). Anyone wishing to win

108. Phillips:88, on his very first encounter with these natives on October 22, 1833, on Lennox Island, made the same observation: "The women were greatly pleased with the notice I took of their children, and kept appealing for something for the 'piccanini'" /Aimed in English/.

the favor of the adults need only show himself tender and loving toward their children. How often have they themselves held up their youngest toward the white strangers to beg for presents. They valued whatever was done for the child more highly than if it had been done for themselves. Snow (n):I, 326 may again serve as a witness. In Banner Cove he saw /936/ the first natives coming toward him in a canoe. A younger woman was among them. "She had a baby at the breast; and frequently, with a winning smile and plaintive voice, asked, by the oft repeated words, Yamana Scoona! for something for the pauca ninne. Mrs. Snow gave her many little presents, for which she returned grateful smiles and Cottacutta (apparently: many thanks) over and over again. Her attachment to the child was evident; and what was given to the child she showed she understood was for that purpose by putting it

/E36 cont./
immediately around us each, or about its parent" /cited in English/ (109). Later, after they had become sufficiently convinced

> 109. Snow (b):262 was so impressed by the love of children shown by these Fuegian mothers that he again speaks of his experiences and calls it unjust toward the parents that the missionaries wanted to take a few children for training to Isla Keppel. "One of the women had a baby with her, and there was something most winning in her manner when she asked us to give her child some present. She was much attached to her babe, even as I found all of the Fuegian mothers were, and I feel certain that to attempt taking those younger children away on any pretence whatever is wrong in the extreme... They are very fond of their children" /cited in English/.

of the kindness of the missionaries for their children, a few families finally decided to entrust them with their darlings for a short time (p. 310 /untranslated/). Today Yamana children are much more suspicious of even the most well-intentioned Whites than I observed the children of the Selk'nam (110) to be, because they have had

> 110. On my first journey I effortlessly gained the confidence of the Selk'nam by way of the bearn of their children. See Gusinde (t):164 and (dd):78.

many sad experiences.

Now it will no longer be surprising to learn -- corresponding exactly to the ideas above -- that a married couple is envied because of their large flock of children. As each individual child provides great joy for the married couple, their happiness and satisfaction increase with the number of their offspring. "The more children, the more entertainment and variety in the hut on the long evenings," Walter confessed to me in a moment of deep sorrow when his youngest girl, who, with her slightly older brother, was what remained of eleven children, fell seriously ill. I often heard

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] variation of this exclamation: "How fortunate Felipe and Elisa are, for all their [etc] children are still living and occupying their hut!" There is no other family of the few that are left who can show so many living offspring.

[illegible] Naturally, each one of the children is an object of special attention for the parents and all the adults. This is less evident in the fact that they keep the child physically clean than in their tireless vigilance and in all kinds of demonstrations of love (111).

> 111. Bridges (i):21 confirms this: "Generally the children were tenderly cared for by their parents and friends, and encouraged in every kind expressed in order to please the parents" /[illegible] in English/.

They are not happy if a child is absent from the hut for long hours and they do not know where he is, but quite in /[illegible]/ contrast to European mothers, they remain completely calm no matter how long the child is absent if they do know where he is staying or where he went, on foot or in the canoe. They are beside themselves, however, if they have to wait for the child for beyond a fixed time. Once, late at night, I saw old Pedro and his wife get up and prepare to drag their canoe into the water. Someone had just reported to them that their seven-year-old daughter had gone on foot with some other girls to a distant inlet and that they had not returned. Although the neighbors, some of whose children were also absent, tried to reassure the old man, they could not hold him back. He rowed a great distance along Beagle Channel until, after a search, he found his daughter. Finally, early in the morning, they were all united in his hut, along with the other children (see Gusinde [c]:164). In order to appreciate this effort we must remember that a family ventures out on the water at night only in the greatest emergency.

Very often and lovingly parents fondle and play with an infant or an older child. They let them have particularly delectable tidbits, call their attention to rare phenomena in the environment, decorate them with ornaments of all kinds, and often paint their faces for sheer pleasure (112). Again and again the adults busy

> 112. As Bridges (i):22 and (h):208 reports,

/107 cont./

*BSS

> "girls and boys were by their proud parents often taken with a profusion of native neckleces of bone or shells and their faces painted as attractively as possible" /cited in English/.

themselves with the children, or, as Hymes (d) 309 expresses it: "The parents love their children and occupy themselves with them" /translated from French/. Anyone who is not busy with something else is happiest when he is spending his time playfully with a child. Parents are also, of course, extremely receptive toward any attention and kindness shown their child by neighbors. I have observed that every adult, women more than men, displays much tenderness and affection toward another person's child, without discrimination. If, however, a boy should be a public nuisance because of his naughtiness, he is severely reprimanded and disciplined by everybody alike. In any case, the behavior of adults toward children is quite uniform. Judging from this behavior alone, a European observer will mistake a woman for the mother of a child when she is not even a relative. All the good things, even merely a friendly smile, given by a European are valued no less highly by the parents when bestowed upon their child (p. 468). Fitz-Roy (c) 188, too, noted: "Both men and women are remarkably fond of the little children, and were always much pleased at any notice taken of them by our parties, when they felt sufficient confidence in us to bring the children forward" /cited in English/.

123 BSS

/108/ By nature the Yamana children of today are not as open-hearted and uninhibited as the Selk'nam children. I was very much aware of the difference on my journey. I explain it on the basis of the disposition of our Fuegian group and their greater taciturnity. Nevertheless I succeeded in amusing myself with these little creatures most entertainingly and also in pleasing them. Old Alfredo who often saw me amid a group of gay young people simply could not understand why, at my advanced age, I was not yet married. When I discussed it with him, he asked me the unexpected question: "And among your own people can you also romp about with the children as you do here with us?" Not only he, but other people as well found it a great satisfaction that I so much enjoyed playing and frolicking with their little darlings. Thus, there was a repetition of what earlier travelers, such as Snow and Fitz-Roy, had observed.

/[illegible] /

Later we shall show that quite generally Kanghan families have many children, but it can scarcely be imagined how much every mother and father suffer at the death of a child. They feel the bitterest sorrow and do not recover from this loss for the rest of their lives. They destroy absolutely everything that might remind them of their lost darling, even if he was only a few months old. They never repeat his name, so as not to be reminded of the gap left by relentless death (113). The mother addresses urgent pleas

> 113. Hyndes (g):30 reports: "The loss of children is commonly felt very deeply, and not infrequently the French [of the Islands Dzumi/Ilapa] saw the features of the savages cloud over and the women even burst into tears and lamentations if there was a chance reference to such a death."

to Diwatan, the Tamana deity, to make her sick darling well, and she indulges in bitter reproaches against him if, in spite of her pleas, he tears the child away from her by death. The mother's lamentations over her lost darling never cease. Walter's wife, of whose eleven children only two are still living, watches over her frail daughter who is about five years old with almost pathological anxiety, in order not to lose her, too. All the women speak pityingly of her, for they see with what anxiety and apprehension she clings to this youngest child, ill though to a last refuge.

For all parents many healthy, lively, and cheerfully children are not only an extraordinary satisfaction, but far beyond that also a justifiable pride (114). They stir up fresh life in the entire

> 114. Bridges (1):21 says only: "The mothers were always proud to tell how many children they had" /cited in English/. The fathers do the same.

neighborhood, and every adult delights in their enthusiastic play. They offer the women, who like to assemble in the hut of the happy parents, tireless entertainment during the long evening /[illegible]/ hours. Many a woman grows sick at heart if she remembers her own

[illegible]

[illegible] children whom death has taken away. A woman is informed if complaints, however indirect, reach her about her dissolute husband, and a woman may feel something like jealousy when it seems as though the offspring of another woman are the only ones possessing all the good traits. No one blames the father, in good self-interest, he measures his manly key and presents many of his qualities to the other men in expectation of great advantages to-us.

[illegible] Who would therefore doubt that persons in Tienn dai prego always were still more children? Even if their number increases from year to year, the persons never tire of additional offspring who hardly increase their worry and their work productivity, but augment their happiness considerably. A large brood of children does not [illegible] present a noticeable burden because the older brothers and sisters like to help take care of their younger brothers and sisters. Only women go through difficult times struggles when, with the exception, they are no longer blessed with children. This is all the more the case if they do not have many offspring.

[illegible] Nevertheless, voluntary abortion is practiced, but as [illegible] Lawrence emphatically assured me in August, 1933, only [illegible] rarely and secretly by the women herself. She resorts to it [illegible] as a means of avoiding imminent disgrace when she has had a secret affair with a lover and does not with her lawful husband to learn of her transgression. Moreover, there must be certainty that she becomes pregnant only by the lover, which can almost never be determined under the existing conditions. When I inquired about this for the first time in February, 1933, I obtained the following from my conversation with several men who were gathered around old Alfredo and who agreed with his opinion: "It seems that in rare cases a woman did get rid of her child and it was the child of her lover. She did so because she was afraid of being exposed and reprimanded by her lawful husband." What seemed at that time to be only a supposition on my part became a qualified ability on my fourth journey.

Now, how does a woman go about this unfortunate deed? Before the child under her heart has reached a certain size so that her condition could be recognized, she presses and massages her abdomen vigorously until the embryo dies and she has a miscarriage (113).

113.Hahn (a):005 also mentions this method.

/700 cont./

who died after the third miscarriage, and likewise of Felipe's wife, who complained to me that she had had two premature births. Malicious women unjustifiably reproach these two, saying that they had consciously miscarried. Hence it is certain that willful abortion, which is undertaken secretly by a woman, is extremely rare. Abortive medicines from the animal and vegetable kingdom are unknown.

Love for their own child guides the parents in everything they regard as good and advantageous for it. Many customs and individual child-rearing methods have developed from long experience; they are a safe rule of conduct for the parents in the care and treatment of their darlings. To deviate from them is prohibited by the respect they steadfastly cherish for the ancient tribal heritage handed down by their ancestors.

2. Birth

Our Yamana regard giving birth as a natural function, but in their conversation they treat this matter with genteel reserve. The connection between sexual intercourse and conception is sufficiently clear to them. They could not refrain from laughing when we mentioned to them that there were some groups of human beings to whom these facts were apparently not known. If one asks them specifically about the origin of the child, they refer solely to the union of the two /701/ spouses and say that with their sexual union the child begins to form in the mother's belly, that it continues to grow until it has attained the customary size, and that then it becomes an independent being. They limit this explanation to the development of the body. When I asked Calderon about the soul of the child, he did not give me a clear answer, for in general these Fuegians are rather vague about the conception of the human soul. He said: "When the child is born, it has its kēpix, for, after all, it is alive. But who knows where this comes from!" With Nelly I talked about this repeatedly in Fred Lawrence's presence; I came to the conclusion that the Yamana lack clear ideas about the origin of the soul in the developing child.

The Yamana women do not understand the direct connection between the cessation of menstruation and the beginning of pregnancy.

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] and asks one or the other of these soft-bodied animals: "Give /[illegible]/ me the best you have for this tooth!" The child may also use his other milk teeth into the sea in the same way, but he is obliged to do so only with the first loose milk tooth.

During the further development manifested by the child, not only his own parents, but to an almost equal extent the relatives [illegible] and neighbors experience great satisfaction. Again and again they speak about it and happily measure the progress shown by the child since last they were together. In their indescribable happiness, they adorn their favorite with necklaces, give him tasty morsels, sometimes pet him wildly, and spend hours playing with him. The adults in Tierra del Fuego would find life unbearable if they did not constantly have small children around them, who, for more than grown children, are a natural and necessary plaything for all parents and a strong magnet for their parental feelings (177).

[71]

177. I have purposely not mentioned similarities of insignificant details in infant care among the Selk'nam and Yamana, because there are too many. The close cultural relationship between the two tribes is shown in this respect also.

b. The Older Child and His Upbringing

[illegible] With the exception of a few letters from Anglican missionaries, one looks in vain in the earlier accounts for detailed reports about the physical maturation of the child and the influence of the adults in his environment who train him. This is all the more regrettable since these much misunderstood Fuegians have surprisingly valuable child-rearing principles -- taking into consideration merely what I myself have discovered -- and, as competent teachers, know how to apply these principles successfully. The older people have preserved in their memories all that our Yamana do for the growing generation, or at least the principal outline, to this day. Hence the following account

/730 cont./

593 self-sufficiency. Actually, each one goes his own way, completely unconcerned about the others. It makes no difference to him how his brothers and sisters get along and what they do.

[85] Older girls, however, at their mother's request, must tend the youngest of their brothers and sisters occasionally. They do so, but more because they are forced to than because of a natural urge, and they are relieved when this minor duty is over. Beyond that one almost never sees brothers and sisters of their own accord helping or supporting each other. They are, so to speak, indifferent toward one another; in fact, they even go out of their way in order to be quite undisturbed. Hence it follows that they almost never quarrel or fight with one another. A child would never voluntarily help a brother or small sister at work or join them in some chore imposed by the parents. If two children are given the same job, they do not, for example, agree to do it together, but each one strikes out for himself toward the same goal. Thus two girls going to hunt berries and two boys out to gather dry sticks go off separately and in different directions. On their return they do not meet on the same path until shortly before they reach the hut.

One never hears parents reminding children that they must love their brothers and sisters. If occasionally adult brothers and sisters stand up for each other and defend one another it is out of a feeling of family solidarity. The mother carefully ar-
[513] rangs the sleeping place of her boys separately from that of the girls in the small family hut (179). In the canoe they are

179. Hyades (f):573 says emphatically: "During the night the boys and the girls form separate groups according to sex" /translated from French/. A separate allotment of space in the hut for each child is unknown to the Yamana (p. 26).

separated on either side of the fire. Altogether, brothers and sisters are separated more than many Europeans realize, but even so they forgo any co-operation in work or play.

/705 cont./

844 As a rule, there is only a single actual midwife, never more than two. If the woman in labor cannot obtain a female helper, her husband sometimes gives her some assistance by letting her lean against him, but he does not risk any actual manipulations. She helps by supporting herself with her hands and feet simultaneously. Otherwise she assumes a position which is comfortable for her and which makes possible the effective assistance of the midwife. She squats and spreads her legs wide apart, bracing herself with her hands and feet flat on the ground (124). The midwife squats behind

124. The Indian women, as Hyades (f):568 learned, "when they give birth take merely the squatting position which is their habitual way of sitting when they are in the hut" /translated from French/.

and against her, encircling her abdomen. She must form a strong support, for the expectant mother holds herself in a semi-upright position. When the pains begin, the midwife, groping with her hands, tries to determine the position of the child and to stimulate birth by a circular stroking of the abdomen with her hand flat. Meanwhile the upper back of the mother is braced against the breast of the kneeling midwife behind her; if the child is held back for a long time, the mother falls entirely on her back, with her outspread legs somewhat drawn up. The midwife now squats in front of her and continues stroking her abdomen with the palm of her hand. As soon as the child begins to appear, she carefully helps it, and with the last contraction of the uterus muscles, she catches it in her open hands.

Sometimes the so-called adopted mother (p. 511) performs this last-mentioned service. Basically, the woman first mentioned functions merely as the midwife, and further care of the newborn child is given by the adopted mother. Often both tasks are performed by one and the same woman.

No matter what the arrangement is, when the child appears the [856] helper is always very careful not to grasp it by its left arm or hand, but by the right. Sometimes it is hard to tell the difference, but unless this is done, the child would become left-handed and would be awkward in the use of the sling. Immediately this woman passes

/722 cont./

846 where it can be easily seen. It is supposed to remind him that mother and child still need special consideration.

catch the little tree runner, tečikášina (Aphrastura spinicauda), which often visits the dwelling out of curiosity. The mother then gives the child its own umbilical cord, and it must put this little ring around the neck of the bird, which flies away with it. This custom is meant to show everyone with what love and care the mother can keep such an intimate little thing and that therefore she is capable of lavishing incomparably more care and attachment on the child itself (156).

[171] 156. I pointed out an almost identical custom among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 377).

856 The women of the Cape Horn Archipelago, like the Selk'nam women (Vol. I, 372), give their newborn babies a sort of stroking treatment. They call it wíša, meaning "to form the body of the child." From the first day they strive to give the child a beautiful, well-proportioned form by stretching out and adjusting the limbs and by stroking and gently massaging the entire body. Almost any woman, but usually the adopted mother (p. 512), puts the various parts of arms and legs into position, strokes them lengthwise, gives them direction, puts the little body and head level, and, as it were, models the whole figure. The other part of the treatment consists of a gentle stroking of the individual areas of the body with the woman's flattened hand, without actually massaging. In long sweeps, the woman strokes the arms and legs, presses all around the joints with the palm of her hand, rubs all sides of the torso with a circular motion, and finally takes the little head in her cupped, ceaselessly stroking hands. Furthermore she handles the legs and feet, arms and hands, ears and eyelids, lips and chin, neck and nipples as though she were obliged to give all of them definite direction. The woman obviously enjoys this and never tires of repeating this stroking treatment daily. The child's own mother sees to it that it is not omitted a single day if possible, and she herself carries it out again and again if a neighbor or relative is not available to do it. Its purpose is to help the child to grow

/722 cont./

856 properly, to become well-proportioned, and to develop a beautiful figure.

That this treatment of the infant is not without a tinge of
856 magic may be seen from the way it is concluded. As soon as a
789 woman ceases the prolonged stroking, she clenches her hands and puts her fists to her mouth so that the bent thumbs touch her lips. With a sharp thrust she extends her arms out in front of her and opens her fists, palms forward and fingers outstretched. At the same time she expels her breath in a sharp "pš," as though the "unbeautiful, ugly, /723/ deformed" had been gathered together with the hands and were now being blown away. One sees this motion being practiced a great deal by the yčkamuš.

856 In this wiša process every woman is, of course, extremely gentle and sensitive; she is careful not to press on the fontanel, ayyatasa, which she knows to be a very sensitive spot. For about three weeks the new infant must submit to this forming, stroking, and arranging of his little body. It causes him not the slightest discomfort.

The following belongs in the category of superstition. When
835 the sea duck, dēška (Tachyeres patachonicus), flies over the hut,
834 all the occupants are startled, for they are afraid that it will take
774 away the "spirit," that is, the vitality of the children. The adults hasten to cover all the children with pieces of leather and, with outstretched arms, they grope through the air, as though they were trying to hold back "the spirit" of the children. As though they had gathered it up in the air, they draw their arms in again and make a proffering and throwing motion toward the children, at the same time uttering a long-drawn-out "š." It is well known that immediately after birth the parents may not eat the meat of dēška, otherwise the life of the child is endangered (p. 503).

854 Most of the day the babies move freely or lie in the mother's lap. With their little hands they touch and grasp everything they can reach. They are given individual small stones and sticks, mussel shells, and little twigs that happen to lie nearby, but the Yamana do
[524] not make actual toys. Perhaps it is too much trouble for them always to take along and carefully store toys, no matter how simple. It seems to me that Yamana babies, compared to those on Isla Grande, are much quieter and much less inclined to play. True, the mother puts all kinds of small necklaces around her darling, in order to adorn

/733 cont./

854 is no longer regarded as necessary. Outwardly this becomes evident in that the baby is kept less clean. The little creature is given complete freedom to roll about on the ground and in the hut, to dig in the ashes and the grass, to touch everything and put it in its mouth. If the rain and the unconscious, purely mechanical rubbing on gravel and grass did not remove a considerable part of the encrusted dirt, things would be pretty bad for the little ones! Some mothers, it is true, wash and clean them often; Walter's little daughter was always neat as a doll and was carefully tended. Other women apparently did not even see the thick layer of dirt on their children. As long as it is absolutely necessary,
853 the mother prepares the bits of food for her darling every day and
862 sees to it that he eats only easily digested food, but she soon lets him make his own choice without giving him much instruction. Instinctively he chooses food that best agrees with him. Occasionally, however, he puts less suitable pieces into his mouth and must pay for it with slight digestive upsets.

The unobstructed freedom of movement that is permitted babies
854 on /734/ land has been fairly earned by their motionlessness dur-
145 ing the long and constant canoe trips. It may seem incredible, but it is true that, except for slight, brief movements, they stay for hours just as their mother has set them down, without kicking or rolling over. The mother has just as little trouble with the child who rides on her back while she wanders about and attends to her work, or whom she holds in her arms or has lying on her lap. The child does not think of wriggling out of position, fussing, and crying, as one often sees European children doing. He lies there all by himself, quietly happy, entertaining himself with whatever his little eyes take in or his little fingers touch. He would never dream of yelling loudly if the mother walks off or to cry anxiously if he is left alone. Under certain circumstances Fuegian babies behave as though they had mature judgment or were constantly exercising much patience. Without doubt the adult environment influences the little ones, for loud shouting and vehement speech are much less customary among our Fuegians than among their neighbors to the northwest and northeast. I do not claim however, to have given an exhaustive explanation for this phenomenon.

145 The extraordinarily quiet and gentle behavior of the child has
856 an overwhelming effect on its speech development. For months he

/734 cont./

145 is almost mute, until, at about a year and a half, he suddenly
856 pronounces complete words. The young Fuegians do not carry on constant babbling monologues, as do European babies almost without exception. A few weeks before they venture to come out with full speech, however, they apparently do some silent speech exercises. They move their lips and tongues and show by their expressions that they are thinking and mentally active. The parents observe this inward activity with satisfaction. The children's earliest speech is somewhat awkward, but it is very much like the speech of adults. The latter almost never make any ef-
858 fort to help or correct the child. He is left to himself, no matter how much difficulty he has or how incorrectly he speaks. Later he corrects his own mistakes by listening and comparing. Similarly in subsequent years no adult ever teaches the child to speak clearly and correctly.

When the child enters his third year, there is usually a younger
145 brother or sister to whom the mother gives her full attention.
859 After that he is left even more to his own devices. Then he begins to seek the company of his older brothers and sisters and of other children, but keeps as much as possible to those of his own age. The play instinct brings these little ones together. They are well content by themselves. Sometimes they squat in a circle for hours, scratching the ground with their fingers, or they grub in the gravel or roll back and /735/ forth on the grass. In these early years they do not play any real games, but they look at everything with attentive eyes and probingly feel everything that seems strange to them. They do not whisper to each other about their experiences, nor do they talk together animatedly. Everywhere, even when they are with other children, they give the stranger the impression that they are thoughtful, patient observers, an attitude which every European would attribute to older children.

The parents enjoy daily observation of the small body which
856 visibly unfolds. Supposedly in order to accelerate growth, they
171 resort to a magical custom known as mūǎsǎ, which means roughly "to stretch upward." Either the father or someone else calls the child, makes him stretch up both arms, embraces him, and lifts him high enough so that their two faces are almost on top of each other. Then the child must squeeze down out of this embrace, and he wriggles his head through, with his face turned upward, he

/735 cont./

856 171 utters a loud and long-drawn-out "pš" just once. This movement is repeated several times with the child, and after a few days or weeks he is asked to do it again (175).

175. The candidates in the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1019) are given almost the same treatment, and likewise to make them grow quickly.

856 [825] There is another custom that has the same purpose. An adult, with the tips of his thumb and index finger, picks up the larva, uskājamina, of a large capricorn beetle grubbing in a decayed tree trunk and squeezes it gently. The larva, as though in defense, opens the two parts of its upper jaw, which have very sharp points. With these the person scratches a vertical line on the child's chest, slightly outside the nipples, and another line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. This is the custom among the western Yamana. In the east they merely scratch a pair of lines on the back, on either side of the spinal column. This procedure is repeated often on the same child, but without any definite arrangement.

I was told that children endure teething quietly and with resignation. The parents pay little attention to this process, although they are pleased that the child has reached this tangible stage in his development. Later when the permanent teeth are pushing through and the first baby tooth is loose, they send the child to the beach where he must pull out the loose tooth with his own hand and toss it in a wide arc into the sea. At the same time he must visualize the short-nosed dolphin (Lagenorhynchus F.) and repeat in a low voice: [825]

sauyānux,	tun	hāja	tāgu
Dolphin,	tooth	me	give.

He also turns to pěrl (Patella) and yekěrl (Chiton, snail) (176)

176. It is clearly recognizable that the allusion is to the rows of teeth in the jaws of dolphins, to the toothlike edge of the Patella shells, and to the hair-soft, tufted bristles of most Chiton species.

/735 cont./

856 and asks one or the other of these soft-bodied animals: "Give /736/ me the best you have for this tooth!" The child may also toss his other milk teeth into the sea in the same way, but he is obliged to do so only with the first loose milk tooth.

855 During the further development manifested by the child, not only his own parents, but to an almost equal extent the relatives 856 and neighbors experience great satisfaction. Again and again they speak about it and happily measure the progress shown by the child since last they were together. In their indescribable happiness, they adorn their favorite with necklaces, give him tasty morsels, sometimes pet him wildly, and spend hours playing with him. The adults in Tierra del Fuego would find life unbearable if they did not constantly have small children around them, who, far more than grown children, are a natural and necessary plaything for all parents and a strong magnet for their parental feelings (177).

[171] 177. I have purposely not mentioned similarities of insignificant details in infant care among the Selk'nam and Yamana, because there are too many. The close cultural relationship between the two tribes is shown in this respect also.

b. The Older Child and His Upbringing

861 With the exception of a few letters from Anglican missionaries, one looks in vain in the earlier accounts for detailed reports about the physical maturation of the child and the influence of the adults in his environment who train him. This is all the more regrettable since these much misunderstood Fuegians have surprisingly valuable child-rearing principles -- taking into consideration merely what I myself have discovered -- and, as competent teachers, know how to apply these principles successfully. The older people have preserved in their memories all that our Yamana do for the growing generation, or at least the principal outline, to this day. Hence the following account

/1461 cont./

517 time and unspent energy is devoted to rest or modest social demands. The Yamana do have a feeling for beauty and an understanding of proportion, but the conditions of life are not conducive to a rich development of these tendencies. The Yamana does not receive much stimulation for aesthetic enjoyment or artistic activity from his environment, which is clothed in dull colors and presents wildly chaotic forms. A desire for them emerges now and then from his innermost nature, however, and actually expresses itself within modest limits in one way or another.

1. Sense of Beauty

832 On some occasions our Fuegians indisputably demonstrate their well-developed sense for physical beauty. They prefer a slim, mobile, well proportioned, moderately tall figure, /1462/ full of healthy energy. Such a figure is particularly impressive to youthful representatives of the opposite sex, who quite openly speak about it in company. Marriageable boys and girls are sometimes considerably influenced and affected by the physical form of the person of their choice (p. 399). /Fig. 101 appears here./ Parents and close relatives are anxious that a baby develop a [856] beautiful figure from its earliest years. This is the chief purpose of a kind of light massage (p. 525), although this alone does not always guarantee success. It is said that a particularly attractive and graceful baby usually changes to the opposite and becomes ugly, whereas often a less beautiful child becomes very well formed after a few years. In the eyes of our Fuegians body hair 302 is unpleasant; hence they pluck out underarm and pubic hair, as well as beard hair (p. 82). For this purpose they like to use two mussel shells that fit together like a pair of pincers. Some people take great pains with the hair, oiling it with blubber and combing it several times a day (p. 85). Most of them have it shortened in due time, so that it hangs about shoulder-level (p. 81); it is not gathered into braids. When, in exceptional cases, some men have their head hair cut off before a fight, it is because they wish to prevent their opponents from grabbing their hair and pulling them 832 by it. A European also finds the same satisfaction in the figures

/388 cont./

342 and finish, but is smaller. This separate hut for the children is
593 usually built because of lack of space in the large hut, and it is
855 always regarded as a necessary expedient, for parents do not like to be separated from their children unless it is absolutely necessary. Although the children stay by themselves several hours of the day and all night, they nevertheless like to be with their family a great deal, and they always have access to the large hut. An older woman takes charge of the small company and sometimes brings them a little food, but more often the children get their food from their own parents.

In exceptional cases, for instance, the illness of an older person, imminent confinement of the mother, and so forth, even the single family builds a separate hut for the children beside the one for the adults, much as they dislike to do so. This children's hut is an expedient, and the parents by no means decide on it because they do not wish to be disturbed by crying and noise, for Indian children as such are gentle and quiet.

342 Finally, if several families camp a few days in the same
857 spot, the children as a game build a little hut with their own hands beside the dwellings of their parents. After all, they must occasionally give vent to their energies. The understanding parents willingly support them in this, sometimes bringing the children meat and approvingly watching the happy gathering. This children's hut is called ēkēli. /389/ It is obvious and understandable that it cannot be an actual dwelling, but serves merely for the enjoyment and playful occupation of the little band (44).

44. This unequivocal appraisal of the so-called children's hut is absent in what Hyades (q):342 and Bridges (a) :183 write about it. The latter is more ambignous than the former.

342 If one stands in front of an Indian hut as a European judge,
511 no matter which type of hut it is, one involuntarily asks himself: What protection does this poor makeshift afford? By nature our natives are extremely undemanding. If one would like definite proof of this, he need only observe them in their dwelling. If they have a little protection from the heaviest rainfall and the densest snowstorm, against the bitterest cold and the most

/395 cont. /

372 505 They have loaded up with firewood before their departure and piled it near the fire. Here it dries a bit and /396/ is conveniently at hand when needed (58). The children feed the fire according to

[85]

58. For a longer trip they provide themselves amply with firewood and stack it, as Hyades (q) :304 has observed, at one of the two ends of the boat.

their parents' instructions.

When possible, they take only very dry wood in their canoe, since the unpleasant smoke from wet wood could scarcely be avoided. When they leave their craft upon landing, the children [85] carry the glowing sticks of wood to shore and place them on the spot which is to be the center of their new hut. Here they soon rekindle a larger fire. The Indians are scrupulously conscientious

[412]

Fig. 14. Fire Tongs.

about extinguishing all glowing embers of the canoe fire by dousing them with water. If they continue their journey the next day, the children once more carry the glowing sticks of wood to the canoe and light a new fire in it.

372 Whenever a family leaves their fire, either in the canoe or in the dwelling, they take care to put out even the last glimmering bit. The fire could easily come alive again, /Fig. 14 appears here/ spread, and cause serious destruction. The glowing embers are scattered, pounded and beaten with a cudgel, covered with gravel or sand, and finally doused liberally with snow or water. This removes all danger.

To arrange the fire and distribute the glowing pieces of 372 wood, the Indians reach for any stick that happens to be handy. 412 They like to use regular fire tongs which no family is without. Here they are known as láka (Fig. 14), also lókka according to BD: 278, and correspond exactly to the lóka of the Selk'nam

/396 cont./

3/2 (Vol. I, 295). They choose a straight stick, as thick as one's
4/2 thumb, of Berberis ilicifolia, strip it of leaves, twigs, and cracked parts of bark, smooth the surface, and split it two-thirds of its entire length which is hardly more than 65 centimeters. Afterwards the lower, split end is cut off flat. Since the tension of the wood fibers keeps the two ends spread slightly apart, these fire tongs can be easily manipulated simply with pressure (59).

[177] 59. Hyades (q):304 and Lothrop (b):130 have also described this implement briefly. The similarity in terminology between the Selk'nam and Yamana causes Lothrop to speak of a "cultural borrowing," which should not be dismissed.

137 The natives have the advantage, which they truly appreci-
3/3 ate, of some growth of trees throughout their homeland, even on the dreaded Cape Horn. It is lacking only on the low rocks and smooth stones that /397/ are exposed to waves and storms without any kind of protection. Wherever shallow crevices or protected ravines cut into the rocks, frail shrubs and thicker small trees cling, successfully resisting storms. The Indian finds his needed
3/3 fuel at every landing place, so to speak, although at some places he obtains it more easily. He prefers dry beechwood for his fire, for he dreads the damaging smoke of green logs (60). He finds it

60. Persistent watering of the eyes and slight inflammation of the eyelids are the consequences of the stinging smoke. See Hyades (q):346 and Lothrop (b):129, as well as footnote 56.

as driftwood that has been washed ashore by the waves. He also goes a few steps into the woods and breaks off dry branches with his hands. If they are higher up, he tosses the noose of his lasso around them, tugs vigorously, for beechwood is very tough, and pulls them down. He fells hollow tree trunks with the weight of his body and then splits them. As soon as a family lands, the
[157] children disperse throughout the neighborhood and gather wood which they bring to the campsite.

/433 cont./

describe, but does speak of "a piece of the upper jaw from a dolphin or porpoise, with teeth" /translated from French/.

As a makeshift when the two objects mentioned above are not available, they gather a bunch of bird feathers and tie them together at the bottom with a fiber of tendon. The bunch of feathers is grasped with the fist, and the quills are drawn through the hair, like the teeth of a comb (102). Girls like to

102. According to Fitz-Roy's terse words (a) :139, the hair grooming of the Indian women is confined to the following: "The hair of the women is longer, less coarse, and certainly cleaner than that of the men. It is combed with the jaw of a porpoise, but neither plaited nor tied; and none is cut away, excepting from over their eyes" /cited in English/.

make this Wiriku uhthim as playful dawdling, and conveniently loosen their hair with it.

Little though the Yamana heed a clean body, they nevertheless appreciate a clean person who washes often and keeps his hair combed. Many mothers care for their children; others appear disgustingly dirty and completely neglected. Such differences are not infrequently a topic of conversation among the old people who criticize in one case and praise in the other. At any rate it shows that a natural feeling for cleanliness is not entirely lacking. In spite of the many useful things that Europeans have brought them, they will never rise above a certain level of uncleanliness because they are inseparably bound to their conditions of life. The European clothing which everybody wears nowadays is likewise covered with dirt and fish oil. Because of it fresh air and beneficial rain can no longer act directly on the skin, hence their bodies are always covered with a thick, malodorous crust of dirt. Thus, the abandonment of their former sparse body covering is slowly but badly undermining the vitality and health of these Indians, who are themselves aware of it.

226

/941 cont./
observes them and unconsciously compares them with the women of our coasts going fishing at low tide: the same grave silence, the same bearings, and from a distance the same silhouettes" /translated from French/.

At almost every ebb tide the women comb the wide surfaces laid bare by the receding sea. On a slightly sloping shore these are sometimes ten or more meters (287). Here there are only

287. Fortunately, the strip of earth along the shore which is laid bare at low tide is easily pervious and soon becomes hard. Hyades (f):553 specially refers to this.

medium-sized and small mussels, but they are easy to gather. They are sometimes loosened with a short, strong stick or with the above-mentioned mussel-breaker, waaiste. It is just as easy to break them off with one's bare hand, since the clinging filaments of the live animals are weak.

226 Assuming that low tide sets in during the day, one woman
46 will make a date with another, and immediately others will join
them. Each of them brings along her baby clinging to her back,
and little girls run ahead, each with her own little basket. Some-
[57] times a boy or two will run along out of curiosity and sheer pleas-
ure, and they will watch for a while, but it would never occur to
them to help because that is not their work. These women are only
short /942/ distances apart. Walking slowly, they go from one
spot to another, for the entire ocean floor is usually densely strewn
with mussels. They seldom exchange a few words, and they keep
their bent position unchanged. Sometimes they also squat down,
without touching the damp earth, since the mussels can be easily
grasped from any position. They stop working only when their
little baskets are full. The women sometimes also set out late in
the evening and in the early morning if the tide is particularly low.
In winter they take along a glowing stick of wood and a few dry
sticks in order to fan up a fire near the place where they are
gathering. They return to it for a few minutes to warm their stiff

/T94 cont./

is almost mute, until, at about a year and a half, he suddenly pronounces complete words. The young Fuegians do not carry on constant babbling monologues, as do European babies almost without exception. A few weeks before they venture to come out with full speech, however, they apparently do some silent speech exercises. They move their lips and tongues and show by their expressions that they are thinking and mentally active. The parents observe this inward activity with satisfaction. The children's earliest speech is somewhat awkward, but it is very much like the speech of adults. The latter almost never make any effort to help or correct the child. He is left to himself, no matter how much difficulty he has or how incorrectly he speaks. Later he corrects his own mistakes by listening and comparing. Similarly in subsequent years no adult ever teaches the child to speak clearly and correctly.

When the child enters his third year, there is usually a younger brother or sister to whom the mother gives her full attention. After that he is left even more to his own devices. Then he begins to seek the company of his older brothers and sisters and of other children, but keeps as much as possible to those of his own age. The play instinct brings these little ones together. They are well content by themselves. Sometimes they squat in a circle for hours, scratching the ground with their fingers, or they grub in the gravel or roll back and /T95/ forth on the grass. In these early years they do not play any real games, but they look at everything with attentive eyes and probingly feel everything that seems strange to them. They do not whisper to each other about their experiences, nor do they talk together animatedly. Everywhere, even when they are with other children, they give the stranger the impression that they are thoughtful, patient observers, an attitude which every European would attribute to older children.

The parents enjoy daily observation of the small body which visibly unfolds. Supposedly in order to accelerate growth, they resort to a magical custom known as mingin, which means roughly "to stretch upward." Either the father or someone else calls the child, makes him stretch up both arms, embraces him, and lifts him high enough so that their two faces are almost on top of each other. Then the child must squeeze down out of this embrace, and he wriggles his head through, with his face turned upward, he

/740 cont./

864 not entirely to be trusted, the parents inconspicuously keep him busy and by their side when temptation is particularly great in a common campsite. As a rule, the Fuegians who are not yet somewhat degenerate themselves have a sharp eye and sound judgment for impending infractions and for the weaknesses of their children.

The children do not have much chance to evade the watchfulness of their parents as long as the family is traveling by itself. If several families are temporarily together in the same place, the eyes of all the adults are on the young people, and especially on the child whose conduct justifies suspicion. Since even little Fuegians are by no means angels, and in many a boy the urge toward improper conduct is stronger than the threats by the adults, he will try to meet a girl in some secret place. If his deed is uncovered, his parents seriously reprimand him and do not withhold a severe beating in order to bring the little culprit to his senses. An adult would not beat a strange child, but will complain to the child's parents.

The Yamana are much too sensible to keep children of the opposite sex apart because of exaggerated anxiety. No one prevents children from being together in public and in the open, but they do keep them from slipping away secretly and purposely avoiding any kind of observation.

864 /741/ When the boys are by themselves, they romp about
•857 to their heart's content and sometimes behave rather offensively, which they would never dare to do in the presence of adults. They feel the greatest desire for this when they can take off their clothes on warm days and go completely naked. Playfully they smack each other on the buttocks and pass their hands lightly over the genitals, or they squirt water on these parts and point to them with their fingers. In all this they certainly do not go any further than schoolboys in Europe who are unsupervised. Boys usually frolic about in a very lively manner, without, however, shouting or making a lot of noise. No one prevents them from giving vent to their energy, as long as they are not nasty and obscene.

857 It is different where girls are playing among themselves; it is always quiet and calm. The very way in which they

/741 cont./

857 entertain themselves excludes noise and uproar. They also have less opportunity to play together, because mothers have them care for younger brothers and sisters, and they also know better than boys how to entertain themselves. With their own kind girls talk remarkably little, but they observe their companions all the more and silently compete with each other in their pursuits.

864 Children are probably encouraged to stay aloof from the opposite sex by the conduct of adults. The latter unquestionably behave perfectly in front of children and in conversation and conduct consciously avoid everything that might give offense.

2. Application of Training

861 In spite of all the love that parents have for their children, there is no room for pampering and indulging them. Even the newborn infant feels the rigors of existence, and later on the child is never aware of all the careful arrangements and comforts that are practically taken for granted in a European nursery. The Yamana are simply destined to live in an unfriendly environment with remorseless demands for daily existence; they have no illusions about it and do not prejudice their children against the reality in which they are placed and which they will have to combat for the rest of their lives.

Instead of idly looking on and letting growth take its unhampered course, they intercede as teachers in the development of their children's spiritual life, directing their mental powers toward a specific goal and tirelessly exerting their influence in that direction. They are guided by sound principles, and gratifying results crown their efforts. I have often regretted that I was unable to investigate more closely by means of personal observation how these Fuegian teachers achieved the results that I discovered with admiration in a few aged representatives of the original Indian race. They are a living embodiment /741/ of child-rearing principles and parental efforts on behalf of young people who are to move forward along the same paths trodden by many generations before them. This training has secured the orderly perpetuation of the entire tribe throughout the centuries and is adequately protecting it even up to the present time.

/750 cont./

are given definite instruction by parents and adults: "Parents universally take no pains in the education of their children, and give them no instruction in the arts of native life, save it may be a little instruction in swimming and basket-making by mothers to their daughters; yet I believe that even for this they are generally as much indebted to others as to their mothers. The children learn to speak, to use the spear, sling and arrow, to make these and other implements and vessels as best they can" /cited in English/ (Mbl. IX, 214.1870).

The girls are given all kinds of chores by their mother. They must tend their smaller brothers and sisters, roast meat for them, keep the fire going and bring wood, put the roofing of the hut in order and see that the smoke draws off quickly, prepare pieces of leather and sew them together, and take part in gathering manioc and in servicing the canoe. This more or less amounts to a full day's work for a woman. The girl is brought up to do these things almost playfully and becomes so familiar with all of them that after a certain age she can in part replace her mother.

/751/ Any one of the girls or boys who acts clumsily and awkwardly, who out of stubbornness or resistance will not be pressed into service, is disciplined by his elders with steadfast patience, but also with tireless tenacity, until he has attained an adequate degree of proficiency and skill. Again and again the little sluggard is taken to task by his own parents and by other people and all the adults help to prepare every child to be independent in his later life. The small services that a child is obliged to perform for his parents form the practical part of his education, with which the actual instruction is interwoven (187).

187. Bridgan (1):22 pointed to this very briefly: "The children's help was required in all the duties of native life" /cited in English/. Hyades (g):38 and (f):167 mentions

/?0? cont./

[?4] get up one by one at midnight. The old tamarow led us out of
[?5] the Great Hut, pointed to certain stars, and commented their
[?6] names. He also showed us the Tulugan family, saying: "The
older Tulugan is the husband of every girl who has become dyo;
he causes the bleeding after every moon[-cycle]!" the elder
empowered upon us: "Keep all this to yourselves, for this is a
secret for girls and they should not speak about it with boys!"

[?7] The women actually do avoid speaking about their monthly
bleeding, which. It finally becomes so taken for granted that
they probably seldom think of Tulugan in connection with it. I
did not find out whether they specify a particular reason for the
creation of the moon in the change of life. They are indifferent
toward it.

4. Children's Play

[?8] The happy disposition of our Fonglans is shown to entertaining
games. Whenever there are many people gathered together
and the weather is favorable, they greatly enjoy playing together
for hours. Children soon show a great love of play, and when
several get together, they, too, immediately begin to entertain
themselves in their modest way.

Both boys and girls amuse themselves, each in their own way,
and the demands on the sexes are already in force here. In play
no less that in other things the separation of the sexes is supposed
to be observed; this is gladly overlooked, however, when so-called
social games are played, in which adults, too, often take part.
There are no special playthings for older children; instead, for
their childish entertainment they very often imitate grownups at
work. Although the social games mentioned above are not con-
fined to children alone, they are the ones who most frequently
play them; hence we shall describe them here.

[?9] Despite the unrestrained exuberance and wholesome liveliness
that all children show in their play, the flock of little ones is relatively
silent and quiet. True, they are not /?0?/ more, but there is
no wild noise and ceaseless yelling, and no one would dare shout
at the top of his lungs or cry just to show off. This behavior fits
very well with the quiet and hushed manner of behavior (p.?0?) and
adults.

/700 words/

859 What we emphasized in the beginning cannot be stressed too clearly, namely, that every child has a strong impulse to play as much as he is with companionship. The individual family is sometimes thrown on its own resources for days, and the monotony of the canoe trips during which the children must squat almost motionless by the fire offers no stimulation worth mentioning. In the end even a group of lively brothers and sisters fall into a bored, depressed mood if they are together heavy day. When younger children meet, however, they get together in no time and in their play develop a liveliness of which one would not have thought them capable. It is as though they had to be brought together from a distance to enkindle their strong play instinct which had lately been lulled to sleep by an unchanging environment. Even children who have never seen each other or who have been separated for years meet with a complete lack of self-consciousness and get along together so well that they hate to part when their parents are obliged to travel on in different directions.

C. Boys' Play

Only those European visitors who feel warmly toward many children and who themselves enjoy their play are in a position to win the confidence of the little Fuegians. A person observing them closely will realize that they are bright creatures, although they are not nearly as lively as the Selk'nam boys (Vol. I, 328). We cannot overlook the fact that they must spend hours in the canoe. No wonder they are relieved as soon as they climb out on land. Then they romp about happily and feel free of all restrictions, they run and jump with exuberance, as though they wanted to expend quickly their accumulated surplus vitality. They know that their freedom of movement will end abruptly, perhaps even the next morning, so they thoroughly exhaust themselves walking and running, climbing and tumbling about. Nothing stops them. They must sometimes lend a hand to beach the canoe and to erect the hut, but often not even then. Then they are left entirely to themselves, and the parents hardly glance at them when they rove about on the edge of the forest, on the beach, or between the rocks.

/760 cont./

857 In true boy-fashion they inquisitively stick their noses into everything; every unusual phenomenon arouses their attention. They swarm from one spot to another and never tire of testing themselves in all kinds of feats of strength. They like best to go away from /761/ the huts, to be safe from any interruption by calls and threats of elders. Then they hunt for birds' nests and tease the fledglings, to the chagrin of the pair of feathered parents. They knock over rotted tree trunks and shout with glee if they expose and scatter a whole swarm of capricorn beetles or fat larvae. If particularly good Cyttaria fungi should entice them, they will also climb trees, otherwise not. At low tide they tumble about on the wet beach and stamp their feet down hard in puddles so that the water squirts up high on both sides. They try to catch with their hands the little fish left in shallow puddles and with short sticks dig in the sand for the razor-shell clams (Solen) when the latter squirt out a few drops of water. Tirelessly they scour the coasts and rocks; everywhere something rivets their attention and they come across novelties that provide fun for them.

I often roved about in the company of these lively youngsters. With their extraordinarily keen eyes they discovered all kinds of insignificant things and devoted themselves to them with bustling liveliness. I realized how thoroughly these children learn from their earliest youth to train their senses, especially their eyes, and to use them well.

857 147 Furthermore, it is surprising to note that these boys are never squeamish and whining, but courageous and reckless. Stark naked they trample about in the snow or in cold sea water, roll around on gravelly soil, run barefoot over rough stones on the beach, and march through thickets of thorny bushes. Afterwards they examine their many scratches and rub spittle on larger wounds, but they pay no attention to their aches and pains. When they wrestle, they hit hard and audaciously, scratch each other mercilessly, and fight until the opponent is exhausted to the point of offering no further resistance. I never saw a weaker one avoid a stronger one; sometimes a weakling even attacked a strong one and defended himself bravely.

524 868 There are no special playthings for boys. An adult, usually the father, gives them imitations of the weapons and tools that the

/761 cont./

524 868 men use on their hunts. In order to be able to handle them sell, the children are taught from early childhood and must constantly practice. These articles are, of course, easily damaged or they are lost, but the adults never tire of making replacements, and the more the boy grows, the larger his implements become. One most often sees the Fuegian boy hurling the sling. It seems to be 857 868 a part of him, and, following the example of the men, he wears it like a necklace around his throat where it is always and immediately handy. He likes best to aim at birds, but teasingly he will also send a stone to the ground close beside some other child. In childish innocence he will hurl /762/ stones in all directions and is sometimes so naïve about it that he must be chased away again and again from the vicinity of the huts.

Practice with short spears which adults demand of the boys seems to be less convenient and also more difficult. One of the men will call them to follow him. The target will be an old basket or, more often, the root, tanuwúlux̌, of the large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera), hāɣuš̌. The boys are lined up not far from the target and must demonstrate their aim. They are praised or scolded according to their accomplishments. No less frequent are the archery contests with bow and arrow. It is part of the father's duty in training his sons to acquaint them early with the use of weapons. It is a vital necessity that they know how to handle them, and therefore this kind of practice is demanded of them when they are still boys (195), repeated in the youth initiation,

195. As Bridges (a):183 has reliably observed: "little boys early become skilful in throwing spears and stones, slinging, and making spears, etc." /cited in English/.

and continued even after that. The Yamana do not give their children a finished weapon with the bone point, which is too valuable. Straight poles pointed at one end or useless harpoon shafts serve just as well. They entrust larger boys with snares and praise their success.

Such imitations of weapons can hardly be regarded as playthings. The Fuegians do not primarily intend them to be, but

/762 cont./

857 868 regard them as a means of helping boys to prepare properly for their later duties in connection with food-getting (196).

196. Bridges (i):22 and (h):208 also emphasizes this purpose: "They early, for pastime, prepared themselves for their future life; spending their time, if boys, in practising throwing or slinging stones, in spearing or shooting arrows at a mark, or in attempting to make the various articles of native property" /cited in English/.

541 857 There is a kind of very modest fireworks, šēlakina (šēla, simple, plain," kina, "flame up, burn": "little fire, play of sparks"), which is not so much play as simply entertainment. Not only the boys who put it on, but all the occupants of the camp enjoy it. They take the very soft, light interior wood of a beech trunk that has been altered by fungus formations and use it in small pieces about as long as a finger. It begins to glow surprisingly quickly, and when it is hurled into the air it glows even stronger. Each little piece of wood describes an arc as it ascends and falls to the ground. If it has not been entirely burned up, they pick it up and throw it again. Several boys together repeatedly do the throwing, and they must be very nimble. It is a delight to see the little, glowing pieces rise and fall in large numbers, like bright points in the dark night. It is only when several families are together and in a happy mood, that is, for a wedding, for the tūwikipa /763/ tātu, for the conclusion of the čiexaus, or beside a stranded whale, that a larger group will sometimes on a quiet night enjoy themselves for some time with this šēlakina (197).

197. Without doubt Despard was referring to this on July 29, 1859: "When confined to the 'ucer' [hut] by bad weather, they amuse themselves by throwing burning sticks at each other" /cited in English/ (VP:VII,10;1860).

857 Another way of amusing themselves seems strange at first, but is explained by the fact that boys are not permitted to wear real

/763 cont./

857 masks of bark, ajyūsu hīlix, as they are used at the kīna festival. As a substitute, they disfigure and distort their faces. They stretch open their eyelids by pressing a small bent stick against the upper and lower edge of the bony eye-sockets. Furthermore, they put one end of another pair of little sticks against the inside of the nostrils and the other end against the inner wall of the lower lip. Finally, they also paint their faces with all kinds of patterns in white, black, and red. Disfigured in this fashion, they swarm all over the camp and creep up on an unsuspecting child to terrify it.

We see that lively boys do not lack all kinds of fun and a variety of entertainment while their parents are camping in one spot and when favorable weather permits them to roam about freely. They are outside a great deal even in heavy rain and thick snow; they like to stretch their legs in vigorous exercise.

β. Girls' Play

857 157 Whether or not one judges by European standards, he must admit that, in contrast to the always lively boys, Fuegian girls display an extraordinarily quiet manner. Among adults, too, the woman, in contrast to the man, keeps herself very modestly and submissively in the background. Hence girls are probably born with their unobtrusive nature, having inherited it from their mothers. In reality they are reserved and almost timid; they seldom shout loudly, and only occasionally, when they are far away from the huts, do they engage in noisy fun. They are by no means lacking in liveliness, but it does not show unless they are among themselves and not being watched by adults. They can even be audacious and decide on mad pranks that would be appropriate for vigorous boys. They are by far more courageous and unafraid than European girls of the same age.

857 868 Circumstances are such that girls far more than boys have to perform small services in the family. When the mother leaves the hut for a while, perhaps to go fishing or to gather wood, they must often tend their brothers and sisters who are no longer babies. This does /764/ not rob them of their freedom, but merely puts a

/764 cont./

857 868 little restraint on them. They are not too serious about taking care of their brothers or sisters in any case. They do, however, like to hoist a younger brother or sister on their backs and drag him around everywhere for hours; they evidently do not find it taxing or tiring. Moreover, they must perform all kinds of work for the mother in the hut, such as tending the fire, fetching kindling, arranging the sleeping places, helping to clean and stretch skins, taking all kinds of implements from the canoe to the hut, and helping to load the canoe. Naturally they also often accompany women who are going out to hunt for berries, pick fungi, and gather mussels. From their own observations, implemented by some instruction, they become acquainted with all the kinds of manual work that the women must do, namely, dressing skins, weaving baskets, making little ornamental strings, catching fish, and servicing the canoe (198).

198. Bridges (a):183 also conceded: "Girls are early taught to make baskets, plait fish-lines and 'asina' (an ornamental fine plait of sinew worn on the neck), to paddle, and to do other work" /cited in English/. Elsewhere Bridges (i):22 and (h):208 repeats that girls amuse themselves "in threading berries as necklaces, paddling in the canoes, making reed baskets, or in attempts at painting faces, etc." /cited in English/.

Actual practice, such as is required of boys, is not spared the girls altogether, inasmuch as they must demonstrate to their mother or a woman neighbor their ability to do this or that work until they have acquired a certain dexterity.

857 [301] When the girl is alone or with only a few sisters, she likes to make all kinds of ornaments. When she has reached a certain age, she makes herself a few necklaces and anklets as a matter of course. It gives her great pleasure to wind and braid the tendons or string on them the smallest pieces of bone and berries. If several girls are gogether, they paint their faces with all kinds of patterns and try to outdo each other in the careful execution of this ornamentation.

/764 cont./

524 857 On most days, if the girl is not needed by her mother, she is left to her own resources. She spends these hours among her playthings. Chiefly she takes up her doll, which is extraordinarily simple and hardly deserves the name, quite in contrast to the not unattractive article that makes the Selk'nam girls happy (Vol. I, 395). A cylindrical-shaped stone the size of one's fist or a short rounded piece of wood without any finish or ornament suffices for this yëkaxē̆ǫla. The girl treasures, cherishes, carries, and treats her little doll exactly the way a European girl does; sometimes she even talks to it.

The child is not supposed to play with this yëkaxē̆ǫla too long, and the adults soon warn her out of superstitious fear. For example, the father will say /765/ to his daughter: "If you fondle and 573 care for this stone much longer it might turn into a Sĭnuluwatauinĕ̆iwa!" The latter is a person of stone in a myth told by our Yamana. Intimidated and frightened, the girl will throw the stone away and choose another as her yëkaxē̆ǫla, or the stuffed skin of a small bird or of a young otter. They remove the skin of these animals in one piece by turning it inside out after making a short incision in the belly. Then they stuff it tightly with dried grass or rush stalks and sew it up. With touching tenderness the girl ceaselessly runs her hand up and down it, caressing the soft otter pelt.

The child also obtains a doll in another way. She takes the carcass of an adult bird, usually a wild goose or a cormorant, cuts the skin all the way round at about the center of the bird, strips it off, dries it, fills it with dry grass, and sews up the large openings. In this way the head, neck, and breast take on their natural shapes.

857 231 In imitation of some of the women, many girls constantly go after young animals, usually a newly hatched bird. They care for it and feed it with the most loving concern, play with it, and sometimes caress it rather wildly so that the tight grip or constant tugging causes the animal pain. They take it along with them on their almost daily trips and care for it until it is ready to fly. It is not customary to clip its wings in order to keep it from flying away. If only for the sake of variety, they let the animal fly as soon as it can. For this purpose they most often choose a wild goose, a wild duck, the laughing gull, kiwā̆gu (Larus dominicanus),

/765 cont./

857 and the brown robber gull, wilaxila (Megalestris skua chilensis);
231 cormorants and penguins, which are too dirty, are less desirable. After the girls have become fond of such a bird in the course of a few weeks, they do not have the heart to kill it even if it would make a succulent roast. If one day it flies off, they follow it enthusiastically with their eyes and send good wishes after it.

857 As is well known, the bark canoe belongs entirely to the woman (p. 135). For very obvious reasons the father makes a
868 small model of it for his daughter. It is like a larger canoe in
501 every detail and is large enough for a single girl to sit in and row about. On my second journey I noticed a seven-year-old girl in Puerto Robalo who was extraordinarily skillful in managing her vessel which was 145 centimeters long. Her father had previously given her a smaller canoe. It was a charming sight when one sunny day toward noon the mother set out in her boat and was accompanied by this daughter. Each of them steered her boat into a tangle of large brown algae /766/ and they began to fish. After three hours they returned to the landing place and the girl, too, had a few pieces of booty, to the delight of her father. More often a father will give his daughter a small paddle with which she strikes the water while standing on the shore.

857 If one sums up what a solitary girl has in the way of entertainment and play, diversion, and minor manipulations, it is clear that she is not condemned to boredom and that, on the contrary, many a day will be too short for her if she has become absorbed in her play. If several children are together in the same place, they choose other forms of entertainment.

γ. Social Games

857 The designation "social games" does not precisely fit all the forms of diversion which are listed here; all I wish to express is that several children come together in them. Adults often take part in these games, but children are always in the majority.

857 By way of introduction it should be said that a tame, patient
231 dog is used by boys, as well as girls, for all kinds of jests and mad pranks. It sometimes seemed impossible to me that such an animal would take so much from foolhardy boys! They tug him around

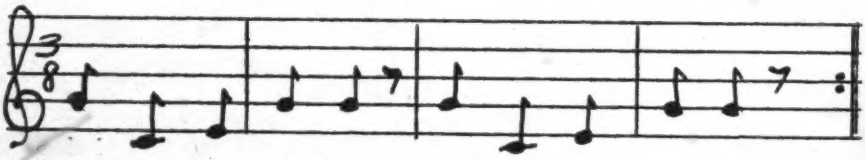
/766 cont./

857 and push him, tease and provoke him, tie his legs together, load
231 him down with all kinds of things, duck him in the water, imprison him in a hollow tree trunk stuff indigestible things into his mouth, and daub him with paint; in short, they try out the craziest notions on him. The rude handling and the sudden bursts of laughter of the children frighten the dog, but although he growls and barks, he does not have the heart to bite. This is perhaps the same animal from whose furious attacks a European can sometimes scarcely defend himself (p. 296). No matter how wildly children treat a dog, their parents do not scold them for it. Occasionally, however, a child will play very affably and affectionately with one. They all treat young animals with particular tenderness.

857 Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 395), Yamana children of both
524 sexes amuse themselves with a regular swing. A strong rope suffices, of the kind, for example, used in the large harpoon. Its ends are tied to a high branch, so that the middle part hangs down about half a meter above the ground. A child sits down on it, without using a special seat, and hangs on with both hands; another child starts it swinging by giving it a push. The little ones swing for hours until bad weather drives them into the hut (199).

199. Fitz-Roy (a):186 mentioned the swing: "Swinging between branches of trees, as our children do, is also a favourite pastime, the ropes being made of strips of sealskin" /cited in English/.

[33] Usually they endlessly repeat the five-syllable word kaiyennamāla in the following rhythm: /767/



kāi - yen - na mā - la kāi - yen - na mā - la

/767 cont./

857 524 The child who pushes the swing gives it enough force and speaks quickly enough so that the word ends at the moment the swing comes back to him. Sometimes parents fasten this simple swing inside their dwelling if the framework is strong enough.

The actual social games are played only when several families are assembled. No less important is a suitable combination of people, among whom there must be at least one who livens up the others and who makes the children enthusiastic. Nowadays the Yamana constitute only a very small group which scarcely ever comes together in one place; the number of children is extraordinarily small. Hence it is no wonder that they almost never play the games which were formerly very popular. The following probably represents a complete list of their group games.

Tëlayémače: The game known by this name in the western dialect and known as talajámaša in the central dialect is exactly like the popular European "blindman's buff." Many people stand in a circle, both children and adults. Someone must let himself be blindfolded and placed inside the circle. The others stay more or less in a circle, but change places very quietly and repeatedly. Meanwhile the former goes around, touches a person, feels him all over, and says his name. If he has guessed right, the slight tension is relaxed, and amid lively talk all around, these two exchange places. Usually the "blind man" is mistaken, and the more often he blunders, because one person or another eludes his groping search, the livelier are the participation and jolly laughter of the others.

857 524 522 There are often amusing surprises. On the evening of January 16, 1922, about 20 persons were lined up to play tëlayémače. Even the oldest women, such as Paine, Emilia, and Mary, took part with animated gaiety. When it was the latter's turn to be the "blind man," she gropingly ran into her own husband and touched him all over without recognizing him. He dexterously slipped out of his coat and left her holding it as he leaped away. Then there was such tremendous laughter that the game was interrupted for many minutes. A "blind man" must keep on searching until he guesses the name of the person he catches.

857 524 Tumutélla: Boys chiefly play this game, girls less often, and adults still less. They use a wide, gently sloping grassy area or lie

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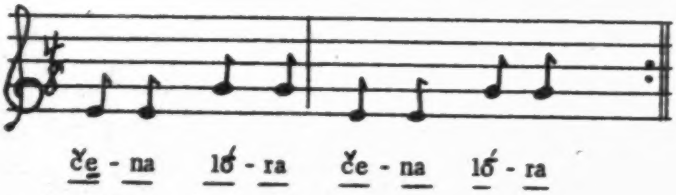
857 534 down at the top of an incline, their bodies stretched out lengthwise and their arms pressed tight to their sides. They lie on the same plane, that is, in a row, not above or below one another. At a signal everyone gives himself a little push and they all roll down. They try to keep the axis of their bodies exactly crosswise to the direction of movement, but inevitably /768/ this orientation cannot be maintained, and then several of them collide or roll over each other. The participants enjoy this entertainment all by themselves, whether or not there are other people watching. It is all the more fun, of course, if there are a lot of children, if they let themselves roll down fast and if they are very animated. BD:229 mentions dala, dula, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank" /cited in English/.

Čenalóra: Girls and women like this game, but they also let young men and boys play; the latter sometimes play it by themselves. They stand in a row. A particularly fat person forms the beginning and the others line up behind him, the bulkier ones nearer the front, the medium-sized ones farther back, and the thin ones at the end. They all squat down, but without touching the ground with their buttocks. Everyone puts his arms around the chest of the person in front of him, and they all push up close against each other. The leader supports himself with both fists on the ground. Then the closed rank slowly begins to move straight forward, all of them simultaneously dragging first the right and then the left foot forward, at the same time rocking from left to right. The column is sometimes several meters long and even crosses puddles, for it is imitating the movement of the canoe on the waves. For this reason the game is called ananlúra, "a boat rocks on the water" (ánan, the canoe; lúra from lurtélli, "to wabble, roll as a crank canoe from side to side," /cited in English/ according to BD:285). They all sing in time to the movements of
[533] their bodies:



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[87] [526] After two syllables the whole column quickly bends to the other side. Gradually the movement is accelerated up to top speed, which arouses great merriment. When the column breaks up at the end, they all roll around happily in the grass (200).

200. BD:265 mentions hannaluara, "a game in which this word is intoned and regulates the rate of swaying the body" /cited in English/. This undoubtedly refers to the game described above.

Wajyandēlla: This game is almost like čenalōra. Here,too, the players form a long row, but they do not embrace each other; instead, each person places his hands on the shoulders of the one squatting in front of him. This means that the column is by no means as closely locked as in čenalōra and hence does not sway as far to one side. The word wajyandēlla is repeated along with the rhythmic body movements as follows:

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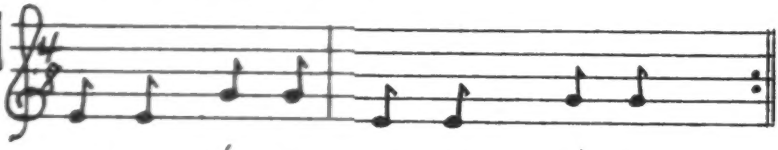

waj - yan dēl - la waj - yan dēl - la

/769/ Just as this word formation can be broken down into wājyana, the bow, and dāla, dūla, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank" /cited in English/, according to BD:229, so the game is intended to imitate the swaying of a bowstave whose two ends are grasped with the hands. Toward the end of this game the swaying back and forth of the body is accelerated.

Hājyekašā: This is entertainment chiefly for boys and men. They form a column, standing one behind the other, headed by the largest one. Each of them bends his knee and lifts his leg up and back, holding it at the ankle with the hand on the corresponding side of the body. It is hard to keep one's balance in this position. The whole column then hops backwards, without turning around, to the following rhythm:

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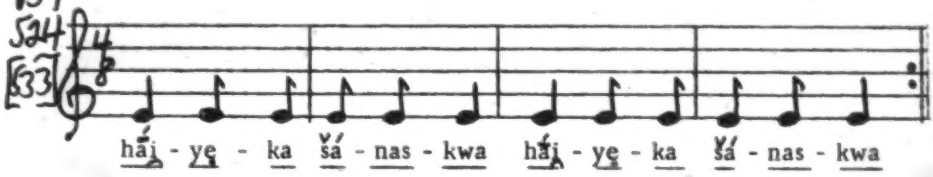

The free foot touches the ground on the first, third, and fifth syllable. It is too tiring for the dancers to keep up the song to the end. Hence the onlookers continue it and after a time accelerate it to such an extent that the dancers can no longer follow. The column disintegrates in utter confusion. Sometimes the column is allowed to extend a considerable distance from the spectators while the latter sing softer and softer as though the column were losing itself in the far distance. This game is very popular during the čiēxaus festival because it is quiet.

Halēŋkuku: This game is restricted almost entirely to males. The boys and men who play it form a rather long column with a short space between each person. All of them uniformly lift either their right or left leg, stretch it out horizontally, and grasp the knee with both hands. They hop in a straight line toward a certain goal, turn here in an arc, and hop back to the starting point. This movement is strenuous, and occasionally a chap will drop the outstretched leg if his other one will no longer carry him. The participants and spectators constantly repeat the word

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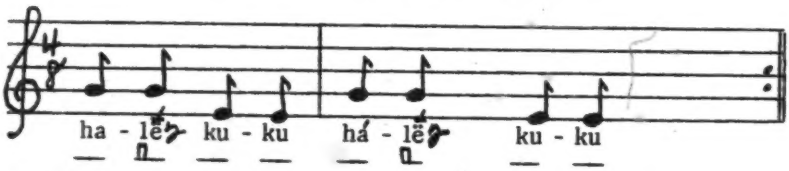


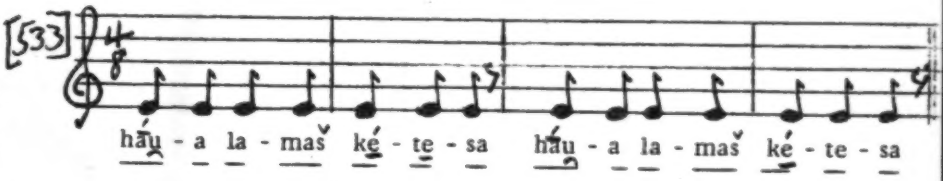
in such a way that with each second syllable the foot touches the ground.

526 857 Kaklēxana: This is a sort of hopping race that children are encouraged to do. Sometimes adults take part. Everyone lifts one leg from the ground in unison, /770/ either the right or left. They let their arms hang down freely. They either form a column and move very far from the starting point, most of them dropping out from exhaustion before they reach the goal, or a few form a diagonal row and hasten toward a goal from which they must immediately

/770 cont./

526 return to the starting point. The one who gets back first without
857 having fallen on his other foot is the winner. The candidates in the ciexaus were most often allowed to refresh themselves somewhat with this game.

857 Hąualamaškétesa: This is a ring game played by girls and
534 women, to which boys are sometimes admitted. They form a circle and hold hands. A man or woman, less often a child, places himself in the center. Then the circle moves, first in one direction, then in another, with growing speed; it finally becomes a fast whirl. The person inside becomes almost dizzy. After several rotations top speed has been reached, and the players themselves lose their balance. Suddenly their circle disintegrates when they all drop hands, and everyone makes a complete turn wherever he happens to be standing and thereupon falls to the ground. During the first few rotations the entire circle squats down at brief intervals and gets up again as fast as lightning, but after the rotation become faster this is omitted. Meanwhile they uninterruptedly and with increasing speed repeat:



The word hąualamaškétesa (201) comes from the western dialect.

201. In BD:272 we find: " 'hoalõmösköta,' a senseless childish play in which this word was intoned" /cited in English/.

The same game is called tukusetewánasa (202) in the southern

202. BD:474 gives: " 'tukusatuwána,' a game and to play this game in which the players go rapidly round in circles more or fewer forming the circle till they get giddy and fall" /cited in English/.

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857 dialect; both have the same number of syllables.

524 Kaašēte: This game shows many similarities to hāualamaškétesa. Women and girls form a circle, put their arms around the necks of their neighbors on either side, and draw their bodies close together. A man or boy, sometimes a woman, stands in the center. As the circle slowly moves, the person in the center, holding his arms tight to his sides, tries to push between two women. As he makes an effort to do so, the women or girls draw still closer together, and despite great dexterity he usually does not succeed in breaking the circle. Only after he has made several attempts at different places do the victorious players voluntarily open up an escape for the helpless one. In case a chap succeeds /771/ in breaking through, one of the two girls between whom he escaped must usually step inside the circle. Some other chap, however, may be called upon to enter it. As the circle slowly moves, they repeat the following in a perfectly uniform and moderately fast rhythm:

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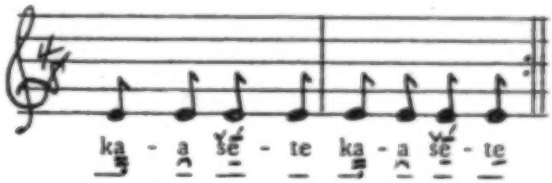

This is frequently interrupted because certain parts of the circle, amid much laughter, push close together against the imprisoned man's attempts at escape. At variance with this, BD:203 gives " 'kaašēata, ' a certain kind of game when those who play join in a long line by putting their arms over each other's shoulders and sweep forward and veer about singing" /cited in English/.

Málaštaxāinasa: Girls primarily arrange this game. They line up side by side in a row, and each one places her hands behind the necks and on the shoulders of her neighbors. Hence they are close together. Facing forward, they advance a few short steps, meanwhile swaying in unison to the right and left. After they have gone a certain distance on level ground, the whole row turns and goes back to the starting point. Slowly moving back and forth, they ceaselessly repeat the word:

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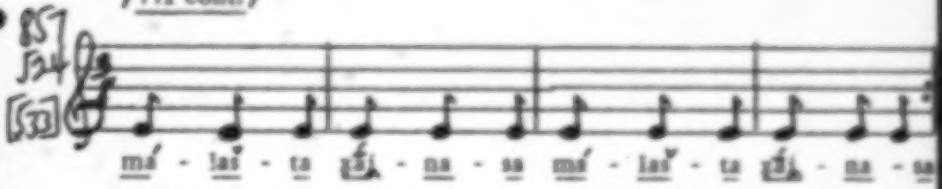
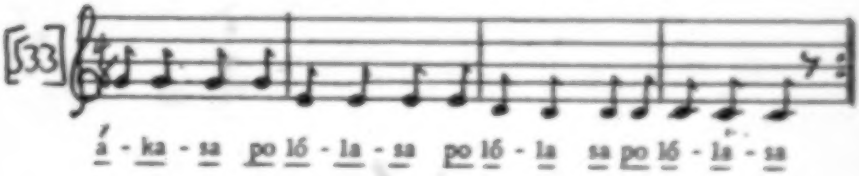


While they sing the first half of this word, that is, the first three syllables, they bend toward the right, whereas with the last three syllables they bend toward the left; at the same time they also change the step.

Akasapolólasa: This game is very similar to the preceding one and is played mostly by girls. Just as in málastaxájnasa, they form a row side by side and face forward. The row does not move forward, however, but first to one side and then to the other. Thus, their feet step sideways. While all the participants uninterruptedly and in moderate tempo repeat the long word



they bend the upper part of their bodies in unison and in rhythm with their steps from the one side to the other.

/772/ As we have said, social games are played only when several families are together and in a good mood. Once they have started, however, one game usually follows another until every one is tired or until the dark night and the rain drives them into their huts. They thoroughly refresh themselves spiritually in this way and thereafter disperse in all directions until a lucky star once more brings them together. The Yamana have a few other games, of which kálaka, a game with a ball, is the most popular. These games are played only by adults; hence a description of them is postponed for a later section on general entertainment. /Fig. 80 appears here./

857 We should refer here to a few minor pranks for which boys are always in the mood when they meet girls who are strangers or whom they might meet again. To have a little fun at their expense is, after all, a boy's nature, and the little Yamana do not

/772 cont./

• 857 lack this thoroughly wholesome, unspoiled characteristic. Since they stay within the limits of fun, the adults do not stop them. Thus, in winter, they throw a snowball at a passing girl from some hiding place and enjoy the greatest satisfaction over not being discovered. On another occasion they will hurl a stone from the sling to the ground or into the water beside an unsuspecting girl, only to frighten her. If several girls are sitting together, some boys will stealthily strip off a handful of small Cytturia harioti fungi and from their hiding place toss them against the heads of the girls until the latter leave the vicinity of their tormenters.

Another time bolder rascals will provide themselves with a quantity of the short, thumb-length thallus buds of pēʔni, a small brown alga (Adenocystis utricularis). These plants are found in masses on the stones of the shore and are filled with water (Fig. 80). They can be easily removed from the thallus by pressure with the thumb nail, at this point the plant structure is less resistant. As though each thallus bud were an elongated bubble, it is grasped between thumb and forefinger and pressed gently, whereupon the water filling it shoots out in a fine, far-reaching spray, as though from a small squirt. This is the way the fellows tease the girls whose affection they would like to win, while they squirt particularly heavily the girls they want to annoy. Of course the boys also squirt each other with the pēʔni.

[37]

Fig. 80. Brown Alga, Adenocystis utricularis. Two-thirds natural size.

/773/ With these and similar harmless pranks the two sexes become sufficiently well acquainted; it would be a disadvantage for their spiritual development if they were always kept absolutely isolated from one another. Whenever the children of different families chance to meet, they immediately begin their social

/773 cont./

857 games spontaneously and need not be told to do so by the adults. If the latter take part in them, they have a stimulating effect on the young people.

5. Mutual Relationship of Parents and Children

593 Anyone who only superficially observes the Yamana will probably be aware of the loving affection and solicitous care that every pair of parents bestows on their infant, whereas mature children seem to be a little aloof from their parents. This is an illusion. There is something in it, however, since young people show great respect for all adults, especially their own parents. We can probably say that the little Fuegians are born with this charming virtue, and if it should be deficient or lacking, it is taught and fostered by the child's teachers. The latter, as we know (p. 514), keep their expressions of love within narrow limits and in everyday life never smother a grown child with affection. Not that the Yamana have no feeling for him -- they outdo themselves in loving service for a sick child -- but because they are much too reasonable and sensible to expend themselves in too many externals, for this would gradually make the child indifferent. A love that is genuine and willing to make sacrifices does live in the hearts of the parents, however, and expresses itself in their efforts for the child's spiritual and physical welfare. This is for them a matter of duty, to which they devote themselves in all seriousness. The child knows this and experiences it often. Hence he cannot be otherwise than respectful toward his parents who are far superior to him in maturity of judgment, general experience, and knowledge of tribal customs.

Due to this conviction and his inner restraint, the child is submissive and docile; he gives unqualified obedience and shows that he is very willing. Those children know nothing about grumbling at orders and pulling a long face at disagreeable errands. Defiant stubbornness and loud contradictions are unheard-of in Tierra del Fuego. Every child knows that he must submit to the orders of adults, and children do this even after they are married (203).

203. Hyades (p):332 said several times that

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 S35 Yahgan S35

SOCIETY AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 A great deal of *Yahgan* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play releasing tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

296 Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating
[273] beverages were made or used by the *Yahgan* before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 16). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Yahgan* and their neighbors, the *Alacaluf* and *Ona*.

526 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at
857 stone throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity.

There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillocks, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tenalére, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tenalére" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward
[533] through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were common accompaniments of children's group play.

[481] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate,
were equally simple. Such were: Blindman's-buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball
526 game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S366 Yahgan S365

Among the Yahgan, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Ona. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will soon abandoned the undesired husband. In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 206) a man might have from one to four wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by custom.

Infidelity resulted in no fixed form of punishment, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yahgan man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his amours, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him.

Children

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted orphans set down in the mission records, the Yahgan did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon put an end to them or drove them under cover.

Soon after birth had taken place the Yahgan mother bathed in the sea and the new-born child was also immersed in order to toughen it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° to 50° Fahrenheit, while the air at best could be described as no warmer than temperate. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that soon after birth all but the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly eliminated.

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see incipient couvade.

Games and Amusements

The Yahgan to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much care and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling, and stones; but while these exercises often assumed the form of

9: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S306 Yahgan S305

sport, the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive. Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport, so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kelisko*, another between two groups known as *ungiuen*.

Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball game like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (*op. cit.*, p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *laiou*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *ulowin*, are songs of mourning; the *crau* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jeen* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the dances are called *uous*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

In general the Yahgan were not an irritable people, according to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to rid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General edition, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges speaks the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1884, p. 156.

421 /963/ They not only acknowledge that material goods have a definite owner who has sole right of disposal, but they also apply this acknowledgment to specific relationships between individuals. Accordingly, children belong to both of their own parents as their [858 736] property, and one spouse has an actual right to the other. Step-parents have similar rights to children who have only one parent or are completely orphaned. We shall soon discuss the fact that certain groups have a definite title of possession for sections of land marked off with boundaries.

The social order of the Yamana recognizes two types of property, namely, common possessions and personal property. The former is based on the absolute necessity of hunting and the roving mode of life. Since everyone, or rather the individual family, is thrown back on its own resources for a considerable time, it is also the sole, unrestricted master of everything it carries along, and it disposes of this quite freely. This distribution of possessions is natural; we come across it not only among all three Fuegians tribes, but quite generally among peoples with a low gathering economy.

It would be a mistake to regard the common property as a communistic form of possession, for the individual person only has the usufruct of it under certain conditions. In like manner it would [476] be incorrect to explain along these lines the obligation of mutual aid which is emphasized to a remarkable degree among the Yamana (379). Voluntary distribution of possessions in the form of

379. Hyades (q):243 opposed such an obviously false interpretation: "They like to share what they have with those around them, and one cannot say that this is because of the community of property. This community does not exist in Fuegia" /translated from French/.

booty and tools occurs as a result of social considerations, but leaves completely untouched the right of disposal itself.

1. Common Property

186 The consciousness of ethnic unity is very pronounced among 423 our Yamana, as among all primitive peoples. It is based on identity

/968 cont./

422 himself to use in making things also belong to him, such as sticks for shafts, tendons for cords, and the rib bones of whales for spear points. Finally /969/ his property consists of such objects as he has made for barter and which he saves for a suitable opportunity. His dogs and the live birds that he has caught and kept with him must not be forgotten. A Yamana man finds these few and very simple earthly goods sufficient for his way of life and his happiness.

The woman is not much richer. She does, however, own a greater number of smaller objects, whereas the man has a few substantial pieces which he calls his own. Her belongings consist of what she needs to cover and to ornament her body, furthermore a small basket or so in which she keeps small artifacts, such as fishhooks, fire implements, pouch for pigments, knife, scraper, strap, etc., and finally the mussel breaker and the long crab fork, although these two articles were made by her husband. Nowadays she also carries from one place to another the tin dishes, cloth garments, and all kinds of trifles that she obtains from the Whites.

[858] From its early years the child, like its father and mother, disposes of his own possessions, which include clothing and ornaments, playthings, and all the tame animals that were given to him for his amusement. There is no lack of examples from olden and modern times which clearly show that even the parents do not consider themselves entitled to dispose of some article belonging to the child without his consent (384).

384. Relying on several written sources, Cooper:179 comes to the conclusion that "women and children have well recognized property rights" /cited in English/. -- The same conditions hold no less strictly for children's right of ownership among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 432) and the Halakwulup.

[171]

It follows naturally from this segregation of goods that no one may arbitrarily dispose of something that belongs to another. Whenever Europeans wanted to trade for some object and approached the wrong person about it, they were always referred to the real owner. Fitz-Roy (a):76, 237 definitely became acquainted with

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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/1444 cont./

b. General Knowledge

•86 The endowment that each child brings into this world as his heritage from his parents and as his natural equipment shows many different gradations even here in Tierra del Fuego. The aptitude of the individual is developed in actual education, at first in the parental hut, later in the čiéxaus. Adults regard their own /1445/ efforts to train growing youngsters as a serious duty which they perform daily, so to speak. Tirelessly they teach their children, they show them this and that operation, explain one thing and another to them, demonstrate this and that, ask their own questions and

[251]

Fig. 99. Piece of Gut Filled with Blubber. Two-thirds natural size.

answer those of youthful questioners, observe the latter's progress and warn them of a wrong course. Although this instruction is primarily designed to help the younger generation obtain great proficiency in the use of weapons and implements, nevertheless in their daily contact the adults also give general information and occasionally special knowledge about definite usage and customs, about religion and mythology in the broadest sense of the term. Step by step and gradually, as circumstances advise and the mental maturity of the young person demands it, he learns more and more about the rich and manifold fund of knowledge of his tribe. There can be no question of orderly lessons; explanations and comments are given on occasions offered in everyday life, the boys being taught primarily by the male, girls by the female adult tribal members, chiefly by relatives within the family group.

/1445 cont./

86 153 Without noticeable coercion, the young people improve themselves, one more than another, according to their natural gifts and personal diligence. Someone who is particularly alert and mentally active makes more rapid progress; the adults are more willing to take trouble with him and they teach him many things earlier than they do his contemporaries. The fact that among the Yamana, also, some persons have a good deal more knowledge than the average can be traced back to inclination, industry, and a desire to learn. Some are extraordinarily limited and know only what is most necessary. A person who commands [555] superior knowledge attracts those around him, influences them, and is highly regarded far and wide. The superior position of most yékamuš rests on the fact that they surpass their countrymen in their possession of things of the mind.

86 If one should gather together all the knowledge gained by experience and the numerous individual facts that every Yamana possesses, he would build up an astonishing fund of information. Borrowing from this source, every generation enriches itself anew and finds it adequate to meet the demands of existence, to satisfy the needs of the mind, to attain the economic goals, and to lead an ordered, harmonious tribal life beneficial to each individual. Relying on his knowledge and his powers, the Fuegian, as master of the animal kingdom and the strong forces of nature in his unfriendly country, strives toward his goals and is confident of victory.

/1446/ 1. Measuring and Counting

435 The Yamana lack a universal standard of value, such as money or the various kinds of measures. They must resort to estimating actual value in one way or another. This is done according to certain considerations, not the least of which, and often decisive, are the beauty and perfection of the object. The scarcer a thing is, the higher its value. These and other considerations are naturally decisive in barter. They also determine whether the recipient of a gift rates it higher or lower. On page 873 there are examples showing a kind of scale of value. It is obvious that our Yamana are unable to evaluate the things given to them by

/627 cont./
must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important position of the woman in the economy assures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the strict social duty of every individual family, apart from any purely natural compulsion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, as a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /628/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Yamana does the primitive state manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

Several families are naturally associated through blood ties, but only loosely, and the reciprocal obligations growing out of this are the kind universally found among human beings. Five dialect groups have been established as associations of larger proportions, but these cannot be regarded as a division based on social principles (p. 199 /untranslated/). Moreover, there is no hierarchy based on birth and station, nor are there class differences which elsewhere rest on accomplishments or property. Finally, unification of the entire tribal community under a single head, such as a chief or magistrate, priest or sorcerer, did not take place among our Indians.

There are ancient tribal customs with the force of legal obligations, as well as definite principles about possessions and property, and the public sees to it that they are faithfully followed. It also observes and practices the cultivation of the universally familiar tribal virtues. Crimes against the assured duration of the family or against related groups are settled in smaller or larger combats. Although there is no special social division and no appointment of an authoritative person to rule the community, there is a distinct and binding power embracing all members of the tribe -- namely, the state, no matter how weak and undefined it still appears in its earliest beginnings.

/693 cont./

182 Primitive people in such an unfavorable environment as that around Cape Horn cannot deviate very much from the norms of life imposed by nature if they are to survive as a people. Actually the marital arrangements of our Fuegians, including polygamy which is occasionally permitted and the obligation to marry widows, strike one as quite self-explanatory and natural, hence also as homely and appealing. Bridges' opinion after decades of experience as a missionary carries greater weight than other judgments, and he (i):21 summarized it in the following very terse, but truly comprehensive words: "On the whole, the family life was happy and correct" /cited in English/.

B. Parents and Child

594 The nature of the economy, which is the only kind possible in the Cape Horn region, forces our Fuegians to split up into individual families, each one devoting itself independently to the quest for food. Hence, day after day, the parents and their children are dependent on their own resources. Although the daily work of the Yamana family is more diversified than that of the neighboring Selk'nam, a great deal of unavoidable monotony is connected with it. It is of inestimable spiritual value, as well as almost an indispensable necessity, for every family to have several children, who not only form a tie that unites the two parents, but also contribute a great deal to their mental enrichment and spiritual stimulation. No wonder that the longing for a child is so strong that a couple cannot live, so to speak, without it, and that the care and treatment of the child reveal a love that cannot be intensified. Even in their parental happiness, however, adults do not let themselves be blinded or diverted from the strict duty of a firm upbringing that one must describe not only as good, but even as stern. All parents, with the exception of a few who have defective personal tendencies, devote themselves conscientiously to this upbringing to the best of their abilities and with a view to the child's welfare.

•861 Profound observation and careful research have brought to light principles and techniques which put their efforts at child

/693 cont./

•861 rearing in an unexpectedly favorable light and which reveal our much misunderstood Yamana as sensitive experts in all matters pertaining to a child. An opportunity to appreciate their mastery of child-rearing skills is provided by clear insight concerning the youth initiation ceremony which I was twice /694/ privileged to experience and which I shall describe in detail below. In the principles for the treatment of the maturing generation, a good deal of unadulterated practical philosophy and sound child-rearing wisdom from the remote past has been preserved to this day among the much misunderstood primitive people of frosty Tierra del Fuego.

a. The Infant and Its Care

124 The sensitivity of the people and delicate consideration for the mother impel them to conceal as far as possible from the eyes of the men a new citizen's entrance into the world and his care during the first few days of his life. Hence the following details were not personally observed, but were given to me by women. I gladly admit that greater completeness would have been possible, but probably nothing important is missing in the following lines, except perhaps one or another minor detail that they did not wish to mention to me because of a natural feeling of delicacy. In any case, nothing has changed in modern times in the treatment of infants. Only the pieces of fur formerly used as covers are now replaced by European rags which have very much increased the lack of cleanliness in the child's sleeping place.

854 A European would superficially describe many of their customs as unhygienic and senseless, but on closer observation he might recognize a great deal of purposefulness and empirical wisdom. Travelers of former times saw the tender, solicitous care of Fuegian children by adults so clearly and in such vivid detail that they did not hide their astonishment. Their observations correspond exactly with what everyone can still find today. Therefore, no one should be surprised if all the details in the following account seem brightly and kindly illuminated by the warm glow of genuine parental love for the always welcome child.

/735 cont./

856 and asks one or the other of these soft-bodied animals: "Give
/736/ me the best you have for this tooth!" The child may also toss his other milk teeth into the sea in the same way, but he is obliged to do so only with the first loose milk tooth.

855 During the further development manifested by the child, not
856 only his own parents, but to an almost equal extent the relatives and neighbors experience great satisfaction. Again and again they speak about it and happily measure the progress shown by the child since last they were together. In their indescribable happiness, they adorn their favorite with necklaces, give him tasty morsels, sometimes pet him wildly, and spend hours playing with him. The adults in Tierra del Fuego would find life unbearable if they did not constantly have small children around them, who, far more than grown children, are a natural and necessary plaything for all parents and a strong magnet for their parental feelings (177).

[171] 177. I have purposely not mentioned similarities of insignificant details in infant care among the Selk'nam and Yamana, because there are too many. The close cultural relationship between the two tribes is shown in this respect also.

b. The Older Child and His Upbringing

861 With the exception of a few letters from Anglican missionaries, one looks in vain in the earlier accounts for detailed reports about the physical maturation of the child and the influence of the adults in his environment who train him. This is all the more regrettable since these much misunderstood Fuegians have surprisingly valuable child-rearing principles -- taking into consideration merely what I myself have discovered -- and, as competent teachers, know how to apply these principles successfully. The older people have preserved in their memories all that our Yamana do for the growing generation, or at least the principal outline, to this day. Hence the following account

/736 cont./

•861 is based chiefly on repeated discussions with reliable informants about earlier customs. Nevertheless, I also learned much through direct observation, which was confirmed by the other, oral accounts.

Under present conditions educational influence and the sure guidance of youth are simply no longer possible to the extent that they were practiced in the old days. Parents cannot shield their children against the pernicious influences that have recently asserted themselves. It must be said in honor of the few old tribal members that, for their part, they sincerely regret and are painfully aware that they no longer can freely and without officious interference give their young people those educational benefits that /737/ they themselves regard as so auspicious and so advantageous for them throughout their lives.

861 Since there is no definite tribal organization, the training
881 process naturally rests on the shoulders of the parents themselves. True, when the children have reached puberty they must submit to the youth initiation which is basically a common schooling, but which actually represents a continuation of the parental efforts in the narrowest family circle. Everything that was accomplished at home in the way of instruction and actual training is intensified in the youth initiation, čiéxaus, but is kept within the same channel, following unchanging guiding principles.

145 Finally, I should like to refer briefly to the various periods in the development of the child's body. During my journey there were no longer enough children for me to make reliable observations; hence I could not clearly prove the stages of development set up by Stratz:134. Nevertheless, I found that, just as there is an initial plumpness in the so-called first period of childhood, the so-called first growth in height definitely begins with the fifth year. Then comes the second plumpness with the first phase of the second period, whereupon there is an apparent pause in development, only to lead, toward the end of the fourteenth year, to a sudden and quick unfolding of fully developed forms. Among the girls more than among boys, it is surprising to see how much the body fills out in this one year (178).

178. Stirling (MM:VI, 96;1872) was the first to emphasize this startling fact. This does

/741 cont./

857 entertain themselves excludes noise and uproar. They also have less opportunity to play together, because mothers have them care for younger brothers and sisters, and they also know better than boys how to entertain themselves. With their own kind girls talk remarkably little, but they observe their companions all the more and silently compete with each other in their pursuits.

864 Children are probably encouraged to stay aloof from the opposite sex by the conduct of adults. The latter unquestionably behave perfectly in front of children and in conversation and conduct consciously avoid everything that might give offense.

2. Application of Training

•861 In spite of all the love that parents have for their children, there is no room for pampering and indulging them. Even the newborn infant feels the rigors of existence, and later on the child is never aware of all the careful arrangements and comforts that are practically taken for granted in a European nursery. The Yamana are simply destined to live in an unfriendly environment with remorseless demands for daily existence; they have no illusions about it and do not prejudice their children against the reality in which they are placed and which they will have to combat for the rest of their lives.

Instead of idly looking on and letting growth take its unhampered course, they intercede as teachers in the development of their children's spiritual life, directing their mental powers toward a specific goal and tirelessly exerting their influence in that direction. They are guided by sound principles, and gratifying results crown their efforts. I have often regretted that I was unable to investigate more closely by means of personal observation how these Fuegian teachers achieved the results that I discovered with admiration in a few aged representatives of the original Indian race. They are a living embodiment /742/ of child-rearing principles and parental efforts on behalf of young people who are to move forward along the same paths trodden by many generations before them. This training has secured the orderly perpetuation of the entire tribe throughout the centuries and is adequately protecting it even up to the present time.

/742 cont./

a. The Teachers

861 Nature itself has given a child its parents as teachers; who else would the Yamana have, with their entire tribe broken up into individual families. Aware that they must meet an obligation imposed by nature, the parents instinctively recognize a certain child-rearing ideal toward which their efforts tend. The child should become "a good and useful human being!" That is their watchword, which they repeat again and again. It expresses the double task of the teacher, namely, to form the child in accordance with his spiritual and temperamental nature and to train him for the everyday demands of life. Their first consideration is that everyone must stand on his own feet; hence he must be reared to become an independent personality, able to conduct himself according to rules and to maintain himself singlehanded. Everyone who has reached maturity soon founds a family; he must therefore have the character and manual skills required to maintain this most important and only social institution and to lead it in its significant tasks. Finally, he is a member of a tribal community to which he is all the more bound because it is small, for here any great deviation from the general trend by the individual brings about more perceptible effects on the group as a whole than would be the case in a larger group. The teacher wishes to make his charge capable of meeting all these demands, and that is what he means when he says he wants to make of him "a good and useful human being."

861 183 The child-rearing ideal proves to be unequivocally moral, and in its application to any given circumstance it is summed up in the words: "As is customary among us!" The example of their ancestors, custom, and traditional usage are their criteria; if there is any doubt about an act, it is judged and evaluated on the basis of these factors. Hence the teachers find it simple and easy to do justice to their task, for they need only adhere to what has always been regarded as valid and legal, good and fine.

Since everyone stands or falls with the supporting group as a whole, it is vital for him to protect the group's existence with new, properly prepared members who will sooner or later reach

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861 183 adult status. That is why all older people regard /743/ the training of youth as an obligation, and no one shies away from it out of laziness. The adults influence the young people by means of instruction and admonition, at least by setting a good example, and they are solicitous about their physical well-being and the perfection of their character and morals. No one -- with the exception of a few who are remiss in their duties -- tires of always exerting his best efforts to make the child a valuable member of the tribe, one who will benefit the group as a whole. Since this was always customary among their ancestors, responsible adults now make no exceptions with regard to this duty, for ancient custom is to this day their law.

861 Since Nature herself has established the parents as the first qualified teachers, they devote themselves to their task with all their love and ability. They are guided by their concern for the welfare of their child. Anyone who is skilled in all kinds of manual work can easily make a living, and a person who knows how to behave and adopts a way of life that will make him liked by all his neighbors is in a pleasant position. Parental pride also spurs them on a bit, for it is a great satisfaction to everyone to have his children praised as industrious and good. Less clearly than for the celebration of the youth initiation, but definitely [716] enough, conscientious parents are charged by Hidāḫuan, their only deity, with the duty of rearing their children. For primitive people like our Yamana, there is no stronger pressure for efforts at guidance than religious sanction.

Besides the parents, adults in general are required to promote the training of all children, with less urgency, however. If the former neglect their duty or have died, the nearest relatives are obliged to offer the poor child what he needs without any formalities. In fact, every person, whoever he may be, is obliged to give a child help whenever it is needed and to deal with a bad deed wherever he may observe it. No Yamana would say, "This or that child is no concern of mine." He feels an urgent need to help if he sees that a child is suffering physical injury or that its training is being neglected. The individual adult acts on behalf of the child from a feeling of tribal solidarity and in the service of the general welfare. More often than a European realizes, he openly expresses these considerations upon which he acts.

/743 cont./

•861 Finally, and no less earnestly, it is the concern of the larger
626 group or the whole tribe that the training by the family produces good results. Hence, in the form of public opinion, it supervises the efforts that the father and mother expend on their own children; it admonishes and criticizes the parents, usually through their relatives, if they neglect the training of their offspring; it continues their efforts through the youth initiation and concludes the work of family training by means of community training in the /744/ čičyam. The whole tribe likewise strives for that much emphasized child-rearing ideal which our simple and yet so understanding Fuegians proclaim as the watchword of their earnest efforts, namely, that they want to make each of their children "a good and useful human being."

β. Training Practices

867 Not every adult has a particular aptitude for rearing his child. Some people, however, are so effective at this work that their influence is felt far beyond the narrow family circle and produces good results there as well. What one adult lacks in this talent is compensated for by another, and it must be appreciated as an extraordinarily fortunate virtue of the Yamana that almost every person, especially the older ones, influences children. Precepts and admonitions are, of course, the most important aspect. In content and form they are adapted to the awakening reason and the developing judgment of young people. For smaller children the Yamana are content to use a brief command or prohibition; it is only for the older ones that they add a reason.

"Your behavior is not nice."

"If you lie, no one will like you."

"Tackle every job, decisively and with enthusiasm, then you will quickly finish it."

"Always get up promptly in the morning; for if you lie abed until the sun is high, you will not finish your day's work."

"If you are called to do a piece of work, get up immediately and do it quickly, then you will grow fast" (181).

181. It is only out of great ignorance that

/745 cont./

867 If there are clear indications of weakness of character in a child, the parents and adults call attention to it, with a view /746/ to combining their skill in influencing the child. Outsiders make a greater effort if the child's own parents do not treat it properly or even have a detrimental effect by their bad example. Calderon's sons get on everybody's nerves because they are troublesome and lazy ne'er-do-wells, and people explain it by pointedly referring to the boys' father whose character they reflect. Sympathy for a child who has been spoiled through no fault of his own constantly impels neighbors to work patiently and perserveringly for his improvement. This individual training of a single child is later consciously carried further in the youth initiation, and particular exercises are specially adapted to the respective need.

867 Our Yamana do not rest content with dry instruction and colorless indoctrination; they assure themselves of success by
861 the purposeful application of a few effective measures. Above all they titillate the child's love of self and his ambition. This, in turn, shows convincingly how definitely and palpably they make arrangements to suit the child's comprehension. We add here a few admonitions to the list given above.

"Be willing to help, then everybody will praise you and speak well of you."

"If you keep yourself clean and immaculate, others will be happy to visit you and will gladly associate with you."

"Give other people good and beautiful things as presents; they will speak of you far and wide and surprise you, too, with choice presents."

"Be silent and do not repeat derogatory things about a person to others. The person will be grateful that you did not expose him to gossip, and everybody who learns about it [about your discretion] will put his trust in you."

I obtained the last two sentences from Mary. Similar admonitions are repeated to the candidates for the youth initiation and to girls on the occasion of the menarche.

861 If these gentle measures do not suffice, definite and serious threats follow; from the latter to actual punishment is only a short step. If children are noisy around the huts and do not go away after the first appeal, a stick of wood hurled in their

/746 cont./

[R] direction soon scatters them. Anyone who does not get up in the morning after a vigorous shake has his leather cover pulled off so that he lies naked and soon gets up because of the cold. If a few rascals disturb the conversation of adults by their chatter or if they even presume to interrupt, they are sent out of the hut with a few sharp words. A child with the habit of being obtrusive at meals is dismissed with an inferior piece while the other people enjoy delectable tidbits. No occasion irritates adults as much as when they happen to come upon a boy hidden with a girl. Then rude blows rain down /747/ on the little sinner, either with the flat of the hand or a stick of wood, wherever and however they happen to fall, until he seeks refuge in hasty flight (183).

> 183. The Fuegian punishes the child to make it pay for its mistake. Bridges' interpretation of April 21, 1875, is wrong: "The native never punishes his child because he has done wrong, but because he has troubled him, or to please those who may be angry with him, or he expresses his vexation towards any who have displeased him by wreaking it upon his innocent child" /cited in English/ (Idid.IX, 314;1875).

After that the adults keep a sharp eye on him.

The severest punishment for the child is to have its parents send it away or make it leave the hut. Hot tears flow amid loud sobbing, until finally, after the prolonged torture of loneliness, the little culprit is called into another woman's hut where he is left to himself without the least encouragement. On the following day or even earlier he slips back to the parental hut, ashamed and fearful, and crouches quietly by himself to avoid provocation for renewed banishment. If the punishment is combined with loud scolding on the part of the parents, as happens on rare occasions, the little rogue seems weak with shame which he is unable to conceal for days.

[776] The adults now and then weave references to Hoffman into their teachings. I was definitely amused of this, but unfortunately I did not write down the exact words.

/[illegible] cont./

The success of this training is owned to large part because it is adapted basically to the individual, and there is no mass instruction, even during the [illegible] celebration. Instruction or correction is given in any specific instance according to the child's personal talents, its obvious shortcomings and weaknesses, and its highly individual naughtiness. "The teacher there does not forget which methods the child reacts to most favorably. In one case loud scolding, in another the withholding of food or a more pleading tone in the discussion of mistakes will bring results far more quickly than whippings or shutting a child up in the hut. I could cite many definite cases to illustrate all this" (Gwinde [E]:168), which I cannot list separately here.

As I have explained earlier (p. [illegible]), it is not customary among the Tanana to give their children special instruction on the so-called facts of life at any age. Although adults are extraordinarily careful in sexual intercourse since there are almost always children present in the hut, nevertheless the children observe many things that make them think. They finally become quite fully informed from what they see. They are never told where new babies come from; in fact, as long as they are small, they are fooled with a "stork story."

When the midwife carries the newborn child in her arms, she joyfully shows /[illegible]/ it to its brothers and sisters and to other children who are in the vicinity. She says: "I have a little child here. Didn't you hear a little while ago that a baby was crying over there [she points with her head or finger in some direction]? Of course it cried very softly because it is still very small. I went over there and found the little baby. Here it is!" And again she shows it around. Some lively child will say naively: "Yes, I heard the little baby crying, too!" Whereupon the woman answers: "Well, that was this little baby that I'm carrying in my arms. I have fondled it!" Then a child will perhaps ask: "Where did I come from?" The woman will answer: "You came from over there [she points to some place]. E-[illegible] [she mentions the name of a woman who was perhaps present at the birth of the child asking the question] found you there and brought you to the hut!" Satisfied with this information, the child will talk with other children and will then

[Tai cont.]

that "girls and boys are required to take part in the work at an early age."

V. Results of the Training

Daily once confessed to me: "A child worked on a child long enough and forcibly enough to convince thoroughly that he would become a good and industrious human being!" It can be said without exaggeration that, throughout, the Tarasas have fulfilled their paternal duties and this must be regarded as a favorable result of their training. Although many vicious outside influences have very much undermined the existence of the old customs, nevertheless, even up to the present time, almost everyone is more or less punctilious about the things he regards as just and good and proper. They are especially concerned that their children should be favorably influenced and well brought up. Although today some mature women tend to be somewhat showy, yet the group as a whole puts restrictions on youth now as before in order to make it impossible for them to transgress seriously. The fact that, despite great hindrances, the youth initiation has not been entirely given up proves better than words how much the seriousness of child-rearing in former times is still preserved to this day.

If one surveys the individual child-rearing principles that are obviously emphasized in the Talmud, he is amazed at their extraordinary soundness. They have been tested during centuries of application and have proved themselves successful for many generations. The parents act as natural educators, and the group as a whole supports them. Love for the child and excellent patience are virtues which will probably never be lacking among the Tonglans in raising their children. Education will always be individual and will aim for the perfection of soul and character in the child, as well as the development of manual skill. Among these much despised Tonglans one would scarcely suspect so much educative wisdom as is revealed in their admonitions, which, moreover, are couched in such brief and concise statements!

/TSH/ Even the best human arrangements sometimes fail, not, however, because they themselves are faulty. If there have actually been a few failures in training, the system itself is not immediately responsible, but rather the unfortunate nature of the child or the detrimental influence of outside forces. Caldeme, who, on account of his unfortunate nature, disregards the tried and true principles, is probably the best example of how far a person can deviate from the ideal of the Leviathan. He thinks he is better than other men and enjoys many advantages because he is Fred Lawrence's brother-in-law. He therefore disregards the warnings and advice of well-meaning fellow-citizens. The consequence is his offensive laziness, which often causes his wife and children to suffer hunger; if he is sobered and in a bad humor, as he often is, he bears them without sufficient reason; usually he lacks the most essential implements, and the ones he has are not in order. We must really regard his two boys as spoiled children. They lounge about among other people, are impudent and rude, very unkempt in appearance, and never available to help anyone. How often have upright elders expressed their regret over this negligent family and said again and again: "In former times no man would have been allowed to become so negligent; at least his wife and children would have been taken away from him and put in better circumstances!"

The demoralizing influence of degenerate Europeans has brought several women into disgrace (p. 353 /unassimilated/). To understand this we must realize that these unfortunate persons are no longer guarded and warned by the tribe as a whole, which must be regarded as already disintegrated. Today they have no possibility of marrying again, and the constant enticing temptations finally breaks down the last resistance of their honest sentiments. It would be wrong to blacken the child-rearing principles themselves, for in contrast to these very few delinquencies, one can point to the virtuousness and wisdom of by far the greater majority of the people as a whole. Missionaries, as well as many travelers, speak of the most pleasant surprises and gratifying observations. I myself have learned to appreciate many of them as quite superior human beings and as exalting, reliable persons; I even sincerely love a few of them as true, valuable friends. This is the result of the influence of others in training them and of

/752 cont./

87 tireless self-education. Everyone has faults and deficiencies, which no one will deny and the work of those who train young people is admittedly sometimes difficult and painful, but the level of general morality is high and social virtues are abundantly practiced.

Finally we should not overlook the importance these simple people give to the living example. The elders have no illusions about the fact that the success of training presupposes the training of teachers. They avoid gross infractions and serious transgressions before the eyes of their children, for such mistakes /753/ would seriously undermine and thoroughly destroy what they have laboriously built up. At the same time they strive as much as possible to behave irreproachably and to assure themselves of praise as "good and industrious human beings," esteemed as admirable tribal members. Much sound wisdom about life is revealed to every outside observer who studies the educative work of our Fuegians without prejudice.

3. Girls during the Menarche

88 Parents continue training their own children until the first or second youth initiation, for children do not marry until directly after this experience. Only those children who show a certain mental maturity are admitted to the cicxaus. By that time they are a few years beyond puberty. Hence, without exception, the girl's menarche comes before her entrance into the youth initiation. The former event seems so important to the society as a whole that it feels justified in subjecting the child to its own treatment, beyond the parental influence, for it is to the advantage of the whole tribe to have one more girl who has concluded her development. Hence the tribe decisively asserts its power and guarantees for itself this new member for the preservation of the people as a whole.

The habits and qualifications desired for a Yamana girl in connection with her first menstruation are interwoven without any trouble in the parental upbringing. For practical reasons we shall add to all this an account of how women conduct themselves during their monthly menses.

/774 cont./

593 861 Since they are sincere, they take pains as teachers so that the child's happiness in life is assured. They can even be severe and relentless, not because they enjoy tormenting him, but because weaknesses of character that appear in early years must be removed as soon as possible (205). Parental training is oriented

205. Hyades (g):38 specifically mentions: "Girls and boys, by the way, are very well treated, even though their parents do not act as tenderly with them as parents do in Europe."

by the traditions of the tribe as to what is good and necessary. Accordingly, the Fuegian principles of child training are altogether moral.

Our natives know very well that with youth the example is more effective than the word and, conversely, that the former can cause much greater harm than can be remedied by the latter. Hence adults consciously conduct themselves as irreproachably as possible in the presence of children. The older people, especially, in contrast to men and women of younger years, are sometimes painfully exact about this. They rigidly control themselves and display astonishing self-discipline in order that their conduct will not weaken the warning and instructive words that they addressed to the young people in their day; successful training presupposes self-training.

867 I often observed that children were sent from the hut under a harmless pretext whenever the men were getting ready to tell risqué stories. On such an occasion, after the last boy had disappeared from the hut, old Alfredo whispered in my ear: /775/ "The children must not know that we enjoy smutty stories, otherwise they would like hearing them just as much as we do!" One evening red wine, sápa, was freely dispensed and had such a powerful effect on an older woman that in her tipsiness she began to behave improperly. Immediately the adults removed all the children, and while this was going on Mary said to me: "If the children saw how that woman behaves, they would become bad. That is why we send them away!" Children probably never hear crude

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861 The characteristic quality of the relationship between parents and children in Tierra del Fuego is sincere love and warm affection. The children display respect and confidence. In their training procedures nothing diverts the parents from what they regard as duty and necessity. I often and carefully observed them in this respect. I was most struck by how well they are able to control themselves and how much patience they have with their children, along with all the firmness. Fuegian teachers have an almost inexhaustible forbearance, and they never tire of pointing out mistakes to their small offspring or often repeating urgent advice. Santiago, who was inclined to be somewhat irascible, quietly and emphatically talked to a regular rascal for about ten minutes and dismissed him with the words: "I have often warned you, and I shall not stop doing so until you stop being naughty!" Then he added confidentially to me: "Children will be children; it takes a long time to get anywhere with them by talking, but one succeeds if he does not give up and is always well-meaning." Adults instantly react to obvious faults and occasional infractions; they even give whippings, but this seldom happens.

593 Parents and children, naturally bound together most closely and almost exclusively dependent on one another because of the nature of their economy, are held together by the bonds of sincere love and warm affection. Their happiness in life is in being together and caring for one another. Outside, the storm may be howling and shaking the frail hut, living conditions may be as poor as can be, and for long weeks there may be no other companions, but if the parents and children are all together, they are happy. In the bosom of his own family everyone feels protected and safe; the family guarantees the well-being of the individual. If one sees parents and children together, he can see shining from their /777/ eyes the trust that flourishes in the soil of a family arrangement destined by nature. Parental happiness and childhood paradise in the Indian family thrown back on its own resources: these are the brightest spots in the threatening climatic turbulence and the frosty unfriendliness of Tierra del Fuego.

X881 /841 cont./
leather strap so tightly around him that he cannot move his limbs,
625 and leave him lying a half day or longer at the smaller exit, the so-called alāin. At the same time, of course, he gets nothing to eat or drink. This effective measure never fails. Finally, the guard's assistants have the habit of suddenly emerging singly in front of the Great Hut with the leather strap in hand simply to intimidate the people in the dwellings by their threatening attitude. Their appearance is not without effect on the children.

[198] They, as well as the winefkéxa, have a definite call, familiar to everyone. It is a short ho ho ho..., repeated several times on the same high tone. At night the guard gives this a particularly threatening inflection to warn old and young against approaching in the dark.

X881 The two huts, as well as the guard duty, have now been prepared. Meanwhile the individual families have arrived at the site of the festivities and have built their dwellings. There is nothing more to hinder the opening of the planned ceremony following the traditional arrangements.

c. Procedure of the Ceremony

All previous reports have made it sufficiently clear that the initiation of Yamana youth is by no means merely training for the actual candidates. Far beyond that it is also an affair for adults, offering all kinds of special features. This latter subordinate goal does not overshadow the main goal, nor does it hinder its attainment. Rather, both, at first glance, seem necessarily bound together, although basically they are far apart. It takes little effort for each participant to separate the arrangements and activities that serve either the one goal or the other, but in order to /842/ obtain an over-all picture of the variety making up the čiéxaus celebration and to take account of all the details, I have arranged them in the following report according to general points of view and describe them as individual aspects of the whole. Thus they can be definitely judged and fairly evaluated according to their individual worth.

X881 In this connection, of course, the treatment of the candidates
861 takes up the most space. It deserves this for its own sake. For

/842 cont./

X881 861 example, we are amazed at the soundness of the training skills of these simple, misunderstood Fuegians, which is shown particularly in the initiation. It also shows the simple means with which these primitive people attain a lofty educational goal, for these means have been chosen and wisely applied on the basis of an unprejudiced observation of human nature. The čiéxaus need counteract neither a general nor a temporary miseducation of youth, for parental rearing is good and reliable throughout (262).

> 262. The principles upon which parental training has been built (p. 555) are, of course, also recognized and enlarged upon in the initiation, but the instruction there never makes any specific reference in so many words to these principles. They do not say: "Your father has already told you this" or "When you were small you were already forbidden to do this."

This simplifies the efforts of the elders in training the uswāala and the method is almost completely unified. Along with it, however, there is a strictly personal approach in influencing one child or another, hence an altogether individual training according to the character and spiritual needs of this or that candidate. It is chiefly in the actual precepts for young people that our Yamana reveal a valuable and wise philosophy of life which many generations have developed.

X881 867 The čiéxaus celebration is so popular for adults and always strongly attracts them to the place where it is held because fortunately this affair to a large extent satisfies the need of everyone for society and the exchange of ideas. Everyone's expectations are fulfilled on these occasions, but this is not the end of the matter. More than this, as may be seen at first glance, a strong desire grips these simple primitive people to consider thoughtfully once again their traditional tribal heritage, once more to revive the old customs (263), to recall the precepts and admonitions that

> 263. Here we may definitely state that certain old myths may be told only during the initiation.

/866 cont./

X881 supposed to meditate deeply on what has been presented to them
867 [by the teacher]!" When the latter has ended his address, the
537 candidates return to their places and there they crouch thoughtfully for many hours before they may lie down to sleep. The adults, too, give themselves up to serious mental concentration, for there are no dances or games afterward.

X881 In the common instruction the candidates are, of course,
867 offered all the rules of conduct which are universally binding. The people are not content with this in the čiéxaus, however,
861 since many participants have for some time observed faults, bad behavior, weaknesses, and shortcomings in one or another candidate and have been obliged to tolerate them angrily. Hence strictly personal training of the individual begins. The nearest kinsmen undertake this task, which is certainly not easy. First one and then another of them will squat beside the candidate, as they feel inspired or on the basis of observations which they themselves have made during the day. Each of them /867/ begins with a searching talk. He adds warnings and is not sparing with threats. He points out clearly and comprehensibly to the ušwąąla the weaknesses which have been observed in him in connection with some other circumstance. Everything is clearly mentioned by name and seriously censured: laziness and dullness, an aversion to work and a distraught manner, irritability and quarrelsomeness, a tendency to pilfer and untruthfulness, a greedy manner of eating and bumptiousness, impertinent interruption of adults and mocking words about aged people. Those of the adults who have previously objected to one thing or another without seeing results now intensify their threats. One adult will also join with another in order to reach their goal, and together they influence the ušwąąla.

Wherever possible they apply appropriate measures. They will often withhold food from a glutton and will say: "You must learn to forgo all excess!" Someone who is clumsy is often called upon to do small chores; they try to combat laziness with particularly difficult assignments. The adults make an effort to wipe out faults and vices with these and other effective measures. They will thoroughly take to task an ušwąąla who is regarded as headstrong and obstinate.

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X881 The čiéxaus training is designed to enrich the candidates
861 mentally, to discipline their character, and to give them manual skill. It attains this goal through weeks of effort and tenacious persistence. The young people, after the conclusion of this training, begin a life of self-sufficiency and independence from the parental family by establishing their own household. They have been reliably prepared to fulfill their important duties as husband and wife, as father and mother, as full-fledged members of the tribe. For its part, the community can now have full confidence in the new family which will soon be founded. This richly rewards the old people for all their care and efforts for the uswāala, since the perpetuation of the prevailing way of life and the dominant principles seems assured. The entire training process itself with its many individual aspects is also pleasing to the European; effective training methods are employed in beautiful proportion, without torture, repulsive harshness, and cruel brutality. The clarified, purely natural element in the training skills of our Fuegians has given them very fine and sure results throughout the centuries and up to the present time.

4. Daily Program for the Adults

X881 Obviously the čiéxaus institution is thought of first of all
182 as a vitally important schooling of the candidates. In any event the need of the members of the tribe for social life is fully taken into account, and the consciousness of their solidarity is strengthened anew.

It is undeniable that, aside from all other considerations, the adults at certain intervals are seized by an inner urge "to celebrate the youth initiation once again!" This, and in no other way, is how they show their strong determination to hold fast to the old tradition, to renew themselves in it, and to hand it on in its entirety to the growing generation. Consciously and unconsciously they are governed by the power of the good things of old. That is why they do not let the čiéxaus secret sink into oblivion; they safeguard it from the disrespectful eyes of Europeans and, even today, fight off as much as possible every relaxation of the buttressing principles.

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1. Gatherings

571 From previous accounts the Yamana is known to be a person
593 who has himself under perfect control and who usually behaves in
521 a very /1472/ reserved manner in the company of others (p. 914). This attitude is not determined solely by mistrust of others and the traditional rules for social intercourse (p. 913); it is far more a natural characteristic of our Indians, to which their training, of course, contributes its share. Within the family circle every member is very reserved and taciturn. For hours at a time individuals will sit beside each other in the canoe or in the hut without exchanging a word. If they chat with one another now and then, their talk almost always centers around what the present day has brought. Loud gaiety and spontaneous outbursts of joy are more or less rare within the individual family. Nevertheless, many a father will amuse himself with his young sons and many an active mother will do the same with her daughters in every conceivable way. Parents really enjoy playing with their young children and fondle them very lovingly from the day they are born (p. 513).
593 As soon as children have some understanding, the parents confide
●861 in them about their own experiences and the knowledge derived
521 from it, as well as much of their religious and mythological belief. In this way the children obtain a rich heritage of ideas and learn to think about it when they are alone. In the evening after the long day's journey, the parents, squatting around the hut fire or stretched out on their hard beds, repeat in detail just about everything that the day has brought. They make comparisons and recall other things, confirm this thing and warn about that, discuss their plans for the morrow, and toy with hopes for the future. This is the particular kind of social life, maintained within narrow (in fact, the narrowest) limits, that the Fuegian family can offer them.

571 On a land or canoe trip individual persons usually pass each
521 other without stopping; both parties are content with a brief greeting, a modest question and an equally brief answer (p. 921). If, however, several families of friends or relatives brought together by chance after a long separation are camping together, there is great liveliness in the group. The greeting of two friends is sometimes loud and impulsive, and on such an occasion the discussion

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

844 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first [846] child, the father remaining quiet in the tent and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the navel cord, dried and kept.

Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after [862] delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 15 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly [551] named after its birthplace.

Education.—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction 861 was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions stressed in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

841 **Girls' puberty observances.**—At her first menses, the girl fasted, 881 eating little or nothing, for 3 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red radiating streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 8th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

881 **The čiéxaus initiation rite.**—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 45–95; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805–961), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic stay of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the čiéxaus, under the auspices, it seems, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole *Yahgan* tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

The chosen officers in charge of the rite were a leader, a mentor, and guards. A special large hut, of oval beehive or conical construc- [346] tion, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special diademlike feather

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853 body. The mother supports the baby with her lower arm, and with the cupped hand of her other arm she sometimes inclines his little head against her breast. To begin with, she puts her index finger into the baby's mouth and then immediately shoves her nipple in. The Fuegian little ones suck with the same eagerness as their European counterparts (150). A woman who has given birth

150. Hyades (q):194 once observed a young mother on the fifth day after her confinement press a few drops of milk out of her breast and let them fall into the fire. In July, 1924, Fred Lawrence assured me that this was an isolated act on the part of the woman.

for the first time learns from her women neighbors how often during the day and for how long she should nurse her child. A year-old child who can stand up alone often reaches with his little hand for his mother's breast when she is squatting on the ground, and he drinks standing up. All Fuegian women nurse their little ones for a long time. Bridges (a):183 asserts that "children are not weaned
853 early. It often happens that two children of different births are
•862 being suckled at the same time" /cited in English/. On the average, they are not weaned until their second year, depending on whether the mother can also feed the youngest which has meanwhile arrived (151).

151. Despard (b):698 exaggerates absurdly in his assertion that children are nursed by their mothers "even to six years of age" /cited in English/. Hahn (a):806 correctly says that they "nurse the infants until the age of two and sometimes a child is not weaned until the appearance of another who succeeds him at the breast" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):195 increases this to three years.

862 Naturally, they also teach the child, after about four months, to take a pacifier as well as its mother's breast, so that it will

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862 gradually /720/grow accustomed to another diet. Such a pacifier, ušlēmēški, is nothing more than a piece of fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, ślakuš (Tachyeres brachypterus), as long as a finger and thick enough so that the child cannot swallow it. The fatty tissue of this duck is chosen because it is particularly tasty and full of liquid. Before it is given to the child, it is roasted at the fire to a light brown. It is replaced at least once a day. The babies do not present a very clean appearance with this pacifier, because the liquid fat smears the entire face, chest, and both little hands, but there is nothing better to be had in Tierra del Fuego. In later months the baby is given a juicy little piece of meat of this same duck, the size of a finger and slightly roasted. This is the only baby food, for it is scarcely possible to obtain milk from a guanaco, and there are no other milk-giving animals. Like their neighbors on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 378), the Yamana women of today cannot decide to give their darlings the milk of cows or goats or the condensed milk introduced by the Whites.

853 The Yamana take it for granted that only the mother nurses her own child. It would never occur to her to place the child at
736 the breast of another woman. Of course, if she is constantly sick and incapable of nursing, or if she dies, the child is taken by another woman and she alone feeds it. Nelly told me: "It is not good for the child to drink alternately from this or that woman." Every Indian woman, however, is glad to help out in an emergency, especially if the baby suddenly becomes an orphan (152), and, as

152. This alone is the meaning of Bridges' (i):21 and (h):208 words: "In the absence of the mother any other woman would feed the child rather than let it suffer" /cited in English/.

Dabbene (b):190 quite rightly says: "If the mother dies, some woman friend of hers assumes responsibility for the orphan" /translated from Spanish/.

862 Long before the final weaning takes place, the child sucks only occasionally and is nourished chiefly with the meat-pacifiers mentioned above. Then, as Nelly confessed to me, the mother smears her breast thickly with whale blubber, the taste of which is very

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862 disgusting to the baby, and after that it stays away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /sic/, fish, and berries" /cited in English/ (153), but for a long time the chief food

153. Hyades (q):195 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women soon commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked mussels, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the roasted fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, álakuš. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

271 The young mother does not give the newborn child water from
853 a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds. The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Punta Remolino. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from
[753] a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such matters than my countrymen!"

231 In Hahn (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs" /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with
827 the physiological connection between conception and nursing in
833 the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

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854 is no longer regarded as necessary. Outwardly this becomes evident in that the baby is kept less clean. The little creature is given complete freedom to roll about on the ground and in the hut, to dig in the ashes and the grass, to touch everything and put it in its mouth. If the rain and the unconscious, purely mechanical rubbing on gravel and grass did not remove a considerable part of the encrusted dirt, things would be pretty bad for the little ones! Some mothers, it is true, wash and clean them often; Walter's little daughter was always neat as a doll and was carefully tended. Other women apparently did not even see the thick layer of dirt on their children. As long as it is absolutely necessary,
853 the mother prepares the bits of food for her darling every day and
● 862 sees to it that he eats only easily digested food, but she soon lets him make his own choice without giving him much instruction. Instinctively he chooses food that best agrees with him. Occasionally, however, he puts less suitable pieces into his mouth and must pay for it with slight digestive upsets.

854 The unobstructed freedom of movement that is permitted babies on /734/ land has been fairly earned by their motionlessness dur-
145 ing the long and constant canoe trips. It may seem incredible, but it is true that, except for slight, brief movements, they stay for hours just as their mother has set them down, without kicking or rolling over. The mother has just as little trouble with the child who rides on her back while she wanders about and attends to her work, or whom she holds in her arms or has lying on her lap. The child does not think of wriggling out of position, fussing, and crying, as one often sees European children doing. He lies there all by himself, quietly happy, entertaining himself with whatever his little eyes take in or his little fingers touch. He would never dream of yelling loudly if the mother walks off or to cry anxiously if he is left alone. Under certain circumstances Fuegian babies behave as though they had mature judgment or were constantly exercising much patience. Without doubt the adult environment influences the little ones, for loud shouting and vehement speech are much less customary among our Fuegians than among their neighbors to the northwest and northeast. I do not claim however, to have given an exhaustive explanation for this phenomenon.

145 The extraordinarily quiet and gentle behavior of the child has
856 an overwhelming effect on its speech development. For months he

844 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first [846] child, the father remaining quiet in the tent and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the navel cord, dried and kept.

Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after [862] delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 15 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly [551] named after its birthplace.

861 **Education.**—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions stressed in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

841 881 **Girls' puberty observances.**—At her first menses, the girl fasted, eating little or nothing, for 3 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red radiating streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 8th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

881 **The čiéxaus initiation rite.**—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 45–95; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805–961), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic stay of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the čiéxaus, under the auspices, it seems, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole *Yahgan* tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

The chosen officers in charge of the rite were a leader, a mentor, and guards. A special large hut, of oval beehive or conical construc- [346] tion, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special diademlike feather

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356 move the hut to another spot after a certain time, for despite all care, a great deal of refuse accumulates, which has harmful effects (p. 29).

514 The Indians display extraordinary disgust for animal and human filth. Personally they are remarkably fastidious in their natural functions. Everyone goes a few steps away from the hut to urinate; they go farther away when they defecate (103).

> 103. Only once, in Decker (p. 53 /untranslated/), we find the remark: "If someone needs to urinate, he does so on the body of another who is nearby, if that person does not get out of the way." This statement is not reliable.

They do not talk about these things. Anyone who must leave the hut to take care of a natural urge rises silently from his place and betakes himself into the woods or behind a sand dune. Two persons would never go together; rather, everyone goes his own way and keeps at some distance from the other. One never finds
514 human filth near the hut. The children are taught from their earliest childhood to take care of their needs far away from the
863 hut. Even dogs are trained to do this. The filth of young animals and infants which sometimes /426/ cannot be avoided inside a hut is quickly covered with sand or earth and pushed far away with a stick. Every mother is careful to take her infant a good distance from the hut in time and to clean the child outside. Even at night a person who feels the need leaves the hut and goes at least a few steps away from it.

514 Hyades (q):343 confirms this conduct of the Tamana from his own observation: "The Fuegians have a rule about not soiling the hut with their evacuations. During the night, for example, urination always takes place outside the entrance opening, and defecation takes place, as in the daytime, quite far from the dwelling, if the night is clear; in case it is very dark, the natives satisfy their natural needs in the vicinity of the hut, but always outside" /translated from French/. No one would fail to clean himself well afterwards. Anyone returning to the hut with

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of girls in the Tulange ceremony.

Naturally, the girls who are pledged to the youth initiation have shortly before shown signs of physical maturity. Hence the latter is always present when the question of marriage becomes serious (4). Mental maturity of both sexes is emphatically

> 4. Hyades (f) 573 observed that "a young girl of 12 or 13 years, not yet menstruating, was abducted by a Fuegian who wished to marry her, although he already had one wife" /translated from French/. This single case proves nothing against the generally valid principle, nor does it reveal under what conditions this man took the girl; perhaps it was the sister or niece of his wife. From a casual wish to an actual marriage is a long way, even among the Yaghans.

required. This may be deduced from the fact that instruction on the Tulange must sequentionally have preceded the marriage. It includes instruction in the mutual obligations of both partners. A Hyades once told me: "First each one must know what work he must do and how he must behave, before he can get married!" He was thinking, as he said, of the customary division of labor and of the almost equal position of each marriage partner in the family union.

By the time the marriageable young people are sufficiently enlightened about sex life to know that it is one of the chief purposes of marriage to begin children. Adults in Tierra del Fuego would never provide the so-called sexual enlightenment of youth before the /Ojl/ proper stage of physical development is reached. The nearer one is to maturity, the more definitely and clearly parents and close relatives point out that the union of the two sexes produces the child. Nothing is definitely said, as I learned, about intercourse itself. Instead, the girl, in connection with her first menstruation, is instructed in detail on the care and handling of an infant. For their part, the young boys in the Tulange are admonished to give the future wife all the proper consideration shortly

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[14] before and after her confinement. I could not discover the specific words that were used. Every young Fuegian learns the meaning of the sexual act for himself, not by direct instruction, but by observing animals and by comparing his body with that of the opposite sex. He is aided in this by the only meager body covering and by the intimacy of Fuegian life. At first they do

[15] not seek actual enjoyment in the sexual act. "Men come later, after it has been named a number of times," old Julia confessed. A further reason is that in the years before physical maturity and marriage, the two sexes, even brothers and sisters, must remain apart, which restricts desire.

[16] It cannot be denied, however, that girls after puberty and boys after the youth initiation are purposefully, albeit unsophisticatedly, prepared for all the events and obligations of marital life. First they are given many suggestions and repeated admonitions. They are told: "When you are married you must no longer dawdle about in such a careless manner! -- Later you must always have a supply of moss for your wife and your children. -- Always be kind to your wife, for she gives you children. -- Do not quarrel with your husband, otherwise he will go to another hut and you will have to sleep alone in your hut. In the end he will be unfaithful to you, after he has slept several nights in the hut of another family!" I am indebted to Gusinde for these words. Such admonitions unconsciously change the entire mental attitude of the young person toward the forthcoming start of his new life in marriage. He thinks about it more often and finally himself finds the more or less correct, but adequate explanation for many physiological facts which he observes from his own body.

[17] Meanwhile, inevitably, the awareness of a still unstructured fulfillment of physical and spiritual being increases to a passionate desire for a partner in marriage. "When the young people have been released from the [illegible], they cannot bear to live unmarried much longer. Some were all the more excited and panicked the longer they must wait for a marriage partner," Alfredo explained. "Now and then there is a girl who is quite uncontrolled in her behavior and who will suddenly throw herself into the arms of any boy because she does not want to live alone any longer. She longs for a husband and /DEL/ her children!"

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> not contradict what Bridges asserted: "Youths of 19 and 20 you would frequently mistake for 14 and 15. For instance, Tyrnoes. I had thought him to be 13 or 14, but on looking into my registration of births I find he will be twenty years old in August... This and many similar cases tend to show that a hard life and short commons delay the growth" /cited in English/ (Idid: [VIII, 115:1884]). I cannot agree with this conclusion.

In the following account we have in mind those children who are slowly developing their mental power until, at puberty, they enter the youth initiation required of everyone.

1. Separation of the Sexes

●[1] 247 In Tierra del Fuego, as in Europe, the little creature in the so-called neutral age of childhood is regarded as "sexless," for, without objection, it is permitted to romp about everywhere completely naked and, in its innocence, can relieve its natural needs in full view of other people. No adult would dream of making humiliating remarks about the unconscious behavior of infants or of covering up their nakedness before the eyes of others. With candid naiveténess the mother feeds her darling at her breast, just as she would feed him a small piece of roasted fat. Our Fueguians show an entirely healthy and straightforward attitude toward such natural things.

/788/ This condition changes as soon as the child has completed approximately his fourth year, for now it enters into what Franz Boas has called the "bisexual age of childhood." Now the sexual character begins to assert itself, and the child himself begins to take it into account. He is now guided by his awakening awareness of himself, since parents and adults almost never offer instruction or admonition. Instead, they see to it that the child covers his sexual parts, and they adjust the little apron if it has

/738 cont./

864 been pushed out of place, but never add any particular warning. Unobtrusively the mother draws her small daughter closer in the hut and takes her darling silently by the hand when she goes to gather mussels or wood; the boys then automatically remain apart and stay behind. Thus the children unconsciously take it for granted that boys and girls are separated, and in neither of the two groups is the wish to be together and to play together awakened unnecessarily and prematurely.

It does not long remain hidden from either of them how distinctly different they are externally, for the so-called clothing is scant enough. It is not until their seventh year that the children must expect short and definite warnings if boys conspicuously approach girls. Even forward boys seem to avoid any comments among themselves on sexual differences. Alfredo confessed to me: "Every boy at some time or other realizes that he is [built] different [sexually] from the girl. Now he watches very sharply, but does not talk about it with anyone, although he sometimes feels lustful pleasure [in his discovery]." These words indicate the awakening of knowledge about the body.

593 Since during most of the year the individual family is dependent on its own resources, the brothers and sisters have only each other and no other company. Thus it is strange that a brotherly and sisterly love in our sense of the word does not appear among the Fuegians, any more than it does among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 393). Since the children of the same parents associate only with one another for long stretches, one would expect a particularly strong and intensified mutual love; instead he finds just the opposite. A very strong tendency toward self-reliance and independence characterizes the child from its earliest years. This one must admit. This alone, however, does not explain why a strong feeling of solidarity among the children of the same family does not seem to arise at all. They rarely play together, nor do they confer about carrying out some prank together or making mischief. Each of the brothers and sisters actually feels best when he is by himself and can entertain himself just as he pleases. One can plainly see how each one of them entertains himself animatedly and how happily he gets along by himself. /739/ Should one of his brothers or sisters approach him, it would disturb his quiet

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864 During the periods when the children of several families are staying in the same place, the two sexes are required to remain apart. The boys are summarily told to do this, usually by their father but also by other men, and the girls by their own mother. Now and then it is emphasized, in fact, repeated under threats. Thus I heard it said: "The boys belong together, and the girls should remain among themselves."

"There is nothing for a boy where girls are playing."

"You, my boy, should look for other boys to play with; the girls are playing by themselves, too."

"You are planning something improper if you agree to meet that girl [the name is given] alone in the woods. I'll /740/ punish you severely if I catch you at it." This threat was directed at Roger, one of Calderon's sons. Calderon is not very careful in bringing up his wild rascals.

864 Older children are given a special warning. The father says to his son: "If you go around with girls a great deal, you
842 will have only girls as children later on when you live in your own hut, no boys!" The mother will warn her daughter similarly: "Stay far away from boys. If you are with them too much, you will later have only boys as children when you are a mother (180)!"

180. From these admonitions we may conclude that neither boys nor girls are more preferred by parents or welcomed with greater pleasure at birth. We have already spoken of this attitude (p. 504).

864 Adults are very strict about this rule. It is everyone's duty, so to speak, to interfere with admonitions and threats if necessary, no matter whether his own or other children are involved. They do not tire of being extraordinarily watchful if they notice that a child has a strong tendency toward secret meetings with others. Adults are quite frank in discussing such observations and call each other's attention to them. They are honestly concerned about guarding a child against moral infractions, since they know only too well what goes on secretly between two little culprits. In order to prevent such acts by a child who is

/740 cont./

864 not entirely to be trusted, the parents inconspicuously keep him busy and by their side when temptation is particularly great in a common campsite. As a rule, the Fuegians who are not yet somewhat degenerate themselves have a sharp eye and sound judgment for impending infractions and for the weaknesses of their children.

The children do not have much chance to evade the watchfulness of their parents as long as the family is traveling by itself. If several families are temporarily together in the same place, the eyes of all the adults are on the young people, and especially on the child whose conduct justifies suspicion. Since even little Fuegians are by no means angels, and in many a boy the urge toward improper conduct is stronger than the threats by the adults, he will try to meet a girl in some secret place. If his deed is uncovered, his parents seriously reprimand him and do not withhold a severe beating in order to bring the little culprit to his senses. An adult would not beat a strange child, but will complain to the child's parents.

The Yamana are much too sensible to keep children of the opposite sex apart because of exaggerated anxiety. No one prevents children from being together in public and in the open, but they do keep them from slipping away secretly and purposely avoiding any kind of observation.

864 /741/ When the boys are by themselves, they romp about
857 to their heart's content and sometimes behave rather offensively, which they would never dare to do in the presence of adults. They feel the greatest desire for this when they can take off their clothes on warm days and go completely naked. Playfully they smack each other on the buttocks and pass their hands lightly over the genitals, or they squirt water on these parts and point to them with their fingers. In all this they certainly do not go any further than schoolboys in Europe who are unsupervised. Boys usually frolic about in a very lively manner, without, however, shouting or making a lot of noise. No one prevents them from giving vent to their energy, as long as they are not nasty and obscene.

857 It is different where girls are playing among themselves; it is always quiet and calm. The very way in which they

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857 entertain themselves excludes noise and uproar. They also have less opportunity to play together, because mothers have them care for younger brothers and sisters, and they also know better than boys how to entertain themselves. With their own kind girls talk remarkably little, but they observe their companions all the more and silently compete with each other in their pursuits.

• 864 Children are probably encouraged to stay aloof from the opposite sex by the conduct of adults. The latter unquestionably behave perfectly in front of children and in conversation and conduct consciously avoid everything that might give offense.

2. Application of Training

861 In spite of all the love that parents have for their children, there is no room for pampering and indulging them. Even the newborn infant feels the rigors of existence, and later on the child is never aware of all the careful arrangements and comforts that are practically taken for granted in a European nursery. The Yamana are simply destined to live in an unfriendly environment with remorseless demands for daily existence; they have no illusions about it and do not prejudice their children against the reality in which they are placed and which they will have to combat for the rest of their lives.

Instead of idly looking on and letting growth take its unhampered course, they intercede as teachers in the development of their children's spiritual life, directing their mental powers toward a specific goal and tirelessly exerting their influence in that direction. They are guided by sound principles, and gratifying results crown their efforts. I have often regretted that I was unable to investigate more closely by means of personal observation how these Fuegian teachers achieved the results that I discovered with admiration in a few aged representatives of the original Indian race. They are a living embodiment /742/ of child-rearing principles and parental efforts on behalf of young people who are to move forward along the same paths trodden by many generations before them. This training has secured the orderly perpetuation of the entire tribe throughout the centuries and is adequately protecting it even up to the present time.

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861 The success of this training is assured in large part because it is adapted basically to the individual, and there is no mass instruction, even during the čiexaus celebration. Instruction or correction is given in any specific instance according to the child's personal talents, its obvious shortcomings and weaknesses, and its highly individual naughtiness. "The teacher there does not forget which methods the child reacts to most favorably. In one case loud scolding, in another the withholding of food or a more pleading tone in the discussion of mistakes will bring results far more quickly than whippings or shutting a child up in the hut. I could cite many definite cases to illustrate all this" (Gusinde [5]:169), which I cannot list separately here.

864 As I have explained earlier (p. 391), it is not customary among the Yamana to give their children special instruction on the so-called facts of life at any age. Although adults are extraordinarily careful in sexual intercourse since there are almost always children present in the hut, nevertheless the children observe many things that make them think. They finally become quite fully informed from what they see. They are never told where new babies come from; in fact, as long as they are small, they are fooled with a "stork story."

When the midwife carries the newborn child in her arms, she joyfully shows /748/ it to its brothers and sisters and to other children who are in the vicinity. She says: "I have a little child here. Didn't you hear a little while ago that a baby was crying over there [she points with her head or finger in some direction]? Of course it cried very softly because it is still very small. I went over there and found the little baby. Here it is!" And again she shows it around. Some lively child will say naïvely: "Yes, I heard the little baby crying, too!" Whereupon the woman answers: "Well, that was this little baby that I'm carrying in my arms; I have fetched it!" Then a child will perhaps ask: "Where did I come from?" The woman will answer: "You came from over there [she points to some place]; X-kipa [she mentions the name of a woman who was perhaps present at the birth of the child asking the question] found you there and brought you to the hut!" Satisfied with this information, the child will talk with other children and tell them:

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864 "X-kipa found me over there when I was very little and brought me to the hut. Now this woman heard another little child crying over there in the woods [or behind those rocks, etc.] and brought it here; it is very small and will now stay with us'" The children are content with such explanations.

In later years their observations and impressions accumulate. When they reach puberty they know about the origin of little children, and neither girls nor boys need enlightenment. Adults [831] strictly avoid obscene talk and insinuating jokes in the presence of children, but the latter among themselves, discuss their observations of the sex life of others and draw their own conclusions. Several older persons assured me of this.

When a girl experiences her first menstruation she is generally and quite rightly assumed to be adequately informed about sex life. They now wish to protect her from illegitimate pregnancy. With puberty and even a few months before that, a period of special dangers begins for the girl, about which she is warned from all sides. Young boys are watched no less closely. Young people could easily succumb to the sexual urge; hence they are thoroughly alerted and alarmed by serious threats. The girls are often reminded: "If you associate with boys a lot, you will later give birth only to boys!" This suggestion is more effective than ethical explanations.

Parents and adults have allowed their children to associate only with their kind from the time they were small. They say quite frankly: "If we do not accustom our children early to the idea that boys associate only with boys and girls only with girls, we shall not be able to keep the two sexes apart later on. Then they will not obey their parents in spite of warnings and will engage in all kinds of secrecy!" If relatives and neighbors notice that a girl /749/ constantly meets a chap in hiding, they call her mother's attention to it. The latter will say to her daughter in a firm tone: "Do you have much to do with that boy?" Frightened, she will answer evasively: "No, I don't!" But the mother, quite rightly, does not trust this report and continues, as though she were serious: "No matter, but marry this boy soon and go off with him!" The mother's determined way of speaking is all the more effective since it comes as a surprise. The girl suddenly realizes that she is in a serious predicament, and in

/749 cont./

• 864 order to get out of it she is not content to be more careful in her meetings with a forward chap, but will stop seeing him altogether.

Sometimes, in order to keep a girl from illicit sexual relations, she is informed somewhat earlier about the things that are usually told her in the days of her menarche: "Men are murderers! If one of them lasciviously lies upon a girl, he kills her (184).

184. These words are meant to be a serious warning to intimidate girls. Every woman knows well enough that an unsuspecting creature who has yielded to her seducer will never be murdered by him.

So don't let any boy lie on top of you, not even if he is very insistent and says: 'It will be very nice!' Don't let a boy playfully put his hand on your body. Do not give yourself to him without resistance, even if you like very much to be touched by him'" The girl is earnestly given to understand that she must never consent to intercourse because an illegitimate pregnancy would cause many people disgrace.

Nelly and Calderon repeatedly assured me that they were not familiar with a single instance of this kind. If a girl had really slept with a boy, she would not have kept this from her mother for very long, since she is sufficiently aware of the consequences. They also told me that almost always a young wife will discuss her wedding night with her mother soon after the marriage.

Responsible men confidentially warn the boys: "Beware of a woman who invites you to follow her secretly to some hiding place. She will show you what she [her body] is like. There are lascivious women who would like to explain all kinds of things about their bodies to a boy, and in doing so they gratify their desires. Such women will cut off your penis, and that is terribly painful (185). Then you will not get a girl to become

185. These words, too, like the above warning to girls, are meant only to frighten the naïve and gullible.

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864 your wife later and you will have no children. This [the real reason for your not having children] will soon be generally known and you will be disgraced forever!"

Thus, fear and intimidation are important training measures which the Fuegians also use in order to keep their children within bounds at the time of /750/ turbulent sexual desire. When they are grown up and enlightened, they themselves make fun of their naïve guilelessness and their gullible trustfulness. For example, the young men will say among themselves: "When I was small they tried to frighten me and said to me: 'If you have anything to do with a woman she will cut off your penis!' Now I know that they only wanted to scare me off!" With their own children they, in turn, will use this same warning which old Alfredo revealed to me.

868 Precepts and admonitions are one aspect of education; the other consists of definite exercises and specific instruction in skill and manual dexterity. The boys are treated differently from the girls, in accordance with the division of labor prevailing in every family. This training is supposed to prepare them for the duties and particular sphere of work that await everyone. Until the child is three years old, it is entirely under its mother's care. From then on the father gradually draws his little son entirely to himself, plays with him, gives him errands, often calls on him to help, no matter how little, so that the child does not leave his side. Thus the boy learns about all his tools and types of work, observes him in all his activities and skills, and finally will have to test this and try out that. If he succeeds in his manipulations, he is praised; if he is still too awkward, he must repeat them and go on practicing until he feels secure. The demands that the father makes on his son increase step by step, and he is not really finished learning until he has reached marriageable age when he develops his full physical strength. An uncle will also keep after his nephew with much patience and tenacity, so that the boy will acquire enough dexterity and skill in the manipulation of weapons and tools, as well as in hunting, to be completely independent in obtaining food (186).

186. Despite some shortcomings in the following description, Bridges affirms that children

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

415 ferent from the man's. Among other more used containers were: pouches of seal or penguin skin for holding small objects; bladders or windpipes of seals or porpoises for holding ocher and firestones; crops of geese and stomachs of seals for holding oil. (Cf. others in Lothrop, 1928, p. 133.)

412 **Tools.**—These have mostly been dealt with incidentally in the preceding sections. The hafted mussel-shell scraper, mentioned above under "Skin dressing," was also the common knife. Stone-headed daggers or knives were used by the earlier *Yahgan* (Cooper, 1917, p. 207). The stone celt or ax was lacking. Wedges were of bone; arrow polishers, of a bit of pumice.

411 **Weapons.**—The characteristic weapons used by the *Yahgan* both in hunting and in fighting were the spear and harpoon (fig. 11, *a–c*), the club, and the sling. The bow and arrow, in contrast to *Ona* usage, occupied a very subordinate position.

The spear shaft was quadrangular, hexagonal, octagonal, or decagonal in section, from 8 feet (2.5 m.) or less to 12 feet (4 m.) long; the shank, ordinarily of bone, with unilateral or bilateral single or serrate barbs and with notched tang, lashed to the split or slotted end of the shaft. The atlatl was absent. The harpoon, without toggle, was merely a spear with a detachable shank tied by a thong to the shaft. The club was a plain straight heavy stick. The cradle of the sling was of hide, the lines of braided whale gut.

Yahgan bows, arrows, and quivers closely resembled those of the *Ona*—a curved self bow, ranging from about 3 to 4 feet long, with string of seal hide or of braided seal, whale, or guanaco sinew; the arrow, without foreshaft, and with triangular stemmed and barbed head of stone, bone, or, more recently, glass; the quiver, rectangular, of skin, or tubular, of bark. Arrow poisoning was absent. Both archeological and ethnological evidence suggests that the *Yahgan* [179] most likely acquired the bow and arrow after their arrival in their historic habitat, from the *Ona*. (Cf. Bird, 1938, pp. 261–263; Cooper, 1917, pp. 211–213.)

372 **Fire making and illumination.**—The only method of fire making was by percussion with flint and pyrites, bird down or dried fungus serving as tinder. Fire was carried around in the canoe on a hearth of earth, shell, or stones. Two-pronged tongs were in use. Bark torches provided illumination. Fire was employed not only for cooking, heating, and lighting, but also for signaling, straightening arrow and spear shafts, bending canoe ribs, felling trees, preparing bark for canoes and material for baskets, and other purposes.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

● 864 **Marriage and the family.**—The sexes were kept separate after about the age of 7 and were warned by their elders against sexual liberties.

/856 cont./

X881 is regarded as the most important law and as a rule of life that is taken for granted. The candidates are given ample opportunity to practice this.

X881 1. Physical Bearing. In the external forms of constraint the
866 Yamana make no distinction between boys and girls; both are affected in the same way. It is well known that each uš̌wā̂ala has his place beside his sponsor. In other words, the principal sponsor has the secondary sponsor on one side of him and his protégé on the other (cf. Fig. 83). One of the two sponsors, who alternate, constantly watches over the hē̂takuxē̂olan.

X881 Immediately after his reception in the Great Hut, each candi-
516 date must assume the customary position (p. 703), squatting on
866 his crossed legs which are bent at the knees at right angles. The upper part of the body leans slightly forward, the head is still more bent, and the eyes look at the ground directly in front of the knees. The arms are crossed over the chest (278). In this

[171] 278. The posture required by the Selk'nam of their candidates in the Great Hut (Vol. I, 1016) is different from the one described here, but they, as well as the Yamana, demand this external constraint with exaggerated strictness.

position everyone shows strained effort. Even if all the other marks of distinction were lacking, a new visitor could immediately differentiate the uš̌wā̂ala from the rest of the participants by this compulsory position.

This position, which is uncomfortable enough in itself, is made extraordinarily difficult because one must sit still. The candidate must do so for three hours or more, before he is permitted to move for some specific reason. He may not lean against anything, slump, bend sideways, slide around, unfold his arms, stretch, or lift his eyes and look around inquisitively; he may neither rub nor scratch any part of his body.

X881 The adults intentionally provide each uš̌wā̂ala with repeated
866 opportunities to test himself. For instance, they secretly put a small weevil on his naked back, and while the insect is crawling around they observe him closely. Woe to him if he so much as

X881 /856 cont./
●866 twitches a muscle! Sometimes smoke whirls up from the long fire in the Great Hut. The others stretch out flat or turn their heads away; the candidate must remain motionless, even if thick smoke from the green wood envelopes him and irritates his eyes. Since his eyes usually begin to water, the helpless chap simply cannot avoid blinking, but even for that /857/ the older people call him to account with gruff reproaches, demanding that he control even reflex motions. When wood is placed on the fire, a man will purposely but inconspicuously poke about in the embers directly in front of the candidate to make the sparks fly. The candidate may neither turn aside nor brush off those that fall on him. I once saw rain come in through a rather large leak and drip directly on the right shoulder of an uǰwā́ala. They purposely let this go on for a whole day, whereas any adult in such a situation would have immediately sought relief.

Along with this motionless, compulsory posture, the Yamana also demand that the candidate to a certain extent assume a serious expression. He must maintain it and not brighten up, even if something nearby should give him reason to do so. A candidate would have to pay dearly for smiling or laughing. Even during the games and dances to which they, too, are invited, the candidates may not give up their serious composure, but are to act as though they were completely withdrawn. The adults provide special tests. Sometimes they tell amusing experiences and droll stories; some of them burst out laughing and others shake with laughter. Woe to the uǰwā́ala who so much as moves his lips or smiles!

The strict educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with this, however. They insist on an extreme curtailment of freedom for their candidates. The latter may not, except for a justifiable purpose, give up their squatting position, in other words, they may not stand up or leave the Great Hut to relieve themselves outside. Formerly they were permitted to attend quickly to natural functions only twice a day. Even these unpredictable demands of nature must be adapted to the strict rules during the čiéxaus celebration!

X881 Nevertheless, the much underrated Fuegians are good observers and understand human nature thoroughly. When the

/857 cont./

X881 compulsory position became almost unbearable and I did not know what else to do, I told my sponsor that I had to relieve myself. He nodded permission. An hour later I repeated my request. Outside I stretched my twisted limbs to my heart's desire each time, but quickly returned to the Great Hut. When, however, after a considerable time I repeated the same request, I was point-blank denied permission with a light shake of the head, and Chris merely said: "You don't have to relieve yourself that often!" The candidate who has been busy at something in the Great Hut or outside must return to his seat without delay and resume the squatting position exactly as before.

X881 785 866 2. Meager Nourishment. For every candidate his stay in the Great Hut is an uninterrupted hunger trial. During the first four or six days he is given only a single mussel in the late afternoon and, at the same time, a good swallow of water. He is served both these things by his /858/ sponsor. The uš̌wā̄ala sucks the water out of the mussel shell with a small tube-shaped bird bone which the sponsor holds in one hand while he places his other hand on the throat of his protégé and presses slightly, as though to prevent the latter from drinking too much. The sponsor himself makes the small bone tube, ēmbalim, hands it to his protégé each time he sucks water, and leaves him this article as a souvenir at the end of the čiēxaus celebration. After the first few days the uš̌wā̄ala gets a larger amount of food, even twice a day, at the same time that food is brought to the adults from the cookhut. It is the sponsor's duty to determine the amount that he wants the uš̌wā̄ala to have each time. He takes into consideration the candidate's physical condition, but arranges everything so that he really suffers hunger. Later, drinking water is permitted several times a day, and the candidate asks his sponsor for it each time.

The young people are very much tormented by hunger, but in spite of it, they are made to eat very slowly. When small bits are distributed, perhaps berries and fungi gathered by the girls or roasted pieces of meat from a bird killed by the boys, the uš̌wā̄ala may eat only after all the adults have been served. It is the duty of the sponsor to watch over these details. With all the strictness, however, he will not let matters go so far as to have his protégé collapse from exhaustion and become incapable

X 881 /858 cont./
785 of going on with the rest of the čiẽxaus celebration.
866 In front of the candidates, adults do not express themselves explicitly about the purpose of this harsh hunger trial. Occasionally the leader or the sponsor will make a remark, as though parenthetically: "Everyone must have learned to get along with little food! For it happens sometimes that a whole family will get into a situation of great distress." Previously I had learned another version from Alfredo: "When the uǰwáala are worn down with hunger, they are more receptive to the teachings, and the admonitions will go deeper!" There is always someone who accompanies the candidates when they go outside the Great Hut, so that they will not, on their own, make up for their many deprivations and perhaps eat a great deal.

X 881 3. Little Sleep. Although we are justified in speaking of a
866 program for the čiẽxaus celebration, this does not mean a definite division into hours. The length of time for this or that exercise is much too dependent on the prevailing mood at the moment, and no obligatory hour strikes for those fortunate Fuegians, either in their daily life or in this secret celebration.

If there is no fixed time for the adult participants to go to bed, even less is there such for the uǰwáala. There is, of course, considerable restriction, but it is the task of the sponsor to carry this out in detail. He watches the physical condition of his protégé, just as in the matter of food, and lets /859/ this guide his decision. Even so, the night's sleep at the beginning of the čiẽxaus lasts only five hours at most, which is obviously too little for young people. Of course the conscious intent is to weaken them.

In the evening, as soon as all the games and dances have ceased, the adults get ready to go to sleep. Not until two or three hours later will each sponsor independently grant his protégé permission to lie down also. By that time it is usually midnight. Between five and six o'clock in the morning the sponsor shakes the weary sleeper vigorously and merely says: "Sit up!" He has no choice but to obey. Half asleep he now squats in his place until it is light and the general cleaning in the Great Hut begins (279).

X 881 279. In more recent times the Yamana in the
866 Great Hut also adhere to their practice of washing
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[515]

themselves in the morning. Most of them use soap, which they also permit the candidates to use. Almost every day all the occupants of the hut arrange it so that after the dawn they all wash themselves at the same time. This is usually done in conjunction with making everyone's sleeping place orderly throughout.

I also learned from old Pedro that formerly very often in the middle of the night, sometimes as an interruption of the already very short sleep, the male uǐwǐala were led to the beach, where they were obliged to take a bath, move about in the water for some time, and, following the example of the men accompanying them, carry on the monotonous singing of the ǐǐnaus hut in an audible voice. This repeated diving into the water served to harden them physically. The singing, however, was supposed to prove to Yetǐita and all the malevolent spirits who approach the Great Hut that the candidates were constantly vigilant. During my first initiation we three uǐwǐala were driven down to the water twice in the dead of night. The other two had to take off their clothes and dive into the cold water several times. I was spared this torture, but at any rate I was supposed to become acquainted with it.

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Not content merely to curtail the time for sleeping, they also prescribe the position of the body during sleep. The position assumed by the uǐwǐala for sitting is retained as he lies down on his side, that is to say, arms interlocked and legs drawn up. There is nothing placed under the head to raise it. Everyone falls asleep immediately from utter exhaustion. Inadvertently the weary one stretches himself, unfolds his interlocked arms, and extends his legs. He cannot avoid touching his neighbor in doing so, for the space is very crowded. In any case, one of the sponsors beside him is always awake and gives the uǐwǐala a push so that he wakes up. Immediately he must pull in his limbs again.

In this less than friendly manner the candidate's already scantily apportioned sleep is sometimes painfully interrupted time and again, but it is done intentionally. During my first initiation this torture almost /860/ brought me to the point of despair. One

/360 cont. /

morning when old Alibodo noticed my troubled state, he merely said indifferently but decisively: "One must have learned to get along with little room even for sleeping at night!" Later I again heard this explanation: "Sometimes bad weather overtakes several families, all of whom must find room in a single small hut. In the canoe, also, in dangerous seas, all the occupants must squat motionlessly crowded together for a long period. Our young people learn such [skills] here in the Tahgan!" If one of them should fall asleep from fatigue during the day, he is immediately shaken so hard that he soon gets over his sleepiness. With regard to these restrictions imposed on his protégé every sponsor is almost unfeeling.

The uninterrupted singing throughout the whole night is intended not only to ward off evil spirits, but is also supposed to make the people in the dwellings believe that no one in the Great Hut is sleeping and that all of them are always awake.

4. Body Decoration. The Yamana quite generally like to decorate their bodies on certain occasions. Chief among these decorations is body painting, which is quickly and easily done. The ufuala constantly wear certain facial designs which make them recognizable as such. At least twice a day these are touched up for them, because they unavoidably become blurred. The sponsor himself regularly paints these designs on his protégé. As is customary generally, he mixes the red or black powdered pigment with blubber, water, or saliva in a mussel shell or in the palm of his left hand and applies the mixture in lines or dots on the face with a short little painting stick. Often he first smears the entire face with white paint, since on this background the drawings stand out better.

It is not customary to paint the candidate's entire body. He is characterized by one, two, or three thin lines extending from the nostrils or corners of the mouth to the ear lobes on either side. These are red and only very exceptionally black. Furthermore, a favored design for the ufuala consists of fine red lines extending from the lower eyelid over the cheek, perhaps three in number or even up to 15.

These two basic patterns are the ones most often used for the candidates, but there is nothing to stop the adults from copying

X881 /863 cont./
384 them that a person has dutifully sat through his term as uŭwĕ̆ala in the youth initiation.

X881 They have not entirely forgotten this earlier custom, but
382 have provided a neat substitute in the form of special body painting, which, however, only adult participants use. They paint the entire upper part of the body red and over this draw a white band the width of three fingers, which starts on either side of the spinal column and extends over the uppermost part of the arm and horizontally across the chest. I was definitely assured that this body painting is applied instead of the former tattooing. One day or another a man will still paint himself in this fashion.

X881 The external measures to which each candidate of the
866 ŭŭkaya hut is subjected are really designed to better his whole body thoroughly. All candidates show great fatigue even after the first three days. This is consciously sought; it is meant to make each uŭwĕ̆ala amenable and so prepare him for the further aims of the ŭŭkaya.

/864/ β. Instruction

X881 The participants never lose sight of the fact that this event is
867 supposed to be a period of serious training for their young people. Accordingly, some hours every day are devoted to teaching and instruction. Unfortunately, at present even this essential part of the entire ŭŭkaya is not taken as seriously as it was formerly. The
[177] old people feel that the youth of today have for some time been alienated from the old tribal traditions and have adjusted to European standards of living. Hence the adults do not spend nearly as much time and effort on the actual instruction as they did formerly.

During my first initiation, however, we were required to congregate regularly each evening with our venerable instructor, for at that time Alfredo, the leader, was particular about keeping strict order. During my second initiation old Whaim had all the uŭwĕ̆ala sitting at his feet on one occasion only, and at that time he could give us only a very small part of the wealth of earlier exhortations. Many conscientious Yamana regret this decline most deeply, but within themselves, faithfully shielded by a reliable memory, they carry everything that was once offered them in the

/900 cont./

boys and girls are entered and forced to take part in all kinds of manual work.

1. Exercises for Boys. Among the Tamana the man's sphere of duty is definitely defined. Since each individual and his family /901/ are completely on their own, they must be capable of supporting themselves. Hence, our Fungian reason, everyone must have a certain degree of manual skill. They mean by this the considerable dexterity and assurance required to walk and obtain game animals. In particular it is a matter of surprising work, getting close to carnassas in their rock caverns, and aiming for the best possible marksmanship in the use of their weapons.

This necessarily also includes an effort to increase fearlessness and courage in the young chaps, for both these qualities are sometimes strained to the utmost in a battle with large sea mammals. Our Tamana have learned through reliable experience that a critically high degree of dependence and timidity, cowardice, and fear persists in many chaps as long as they remain in the parental hut. The Tohunga should not want to do away with all this. In each person it usually incubates enough awareness of self so that he can stand on his own feet, confident of his personal power, as soon as he is dismissed from this training. The remarkably severe pressure on the chaplain for self-control which is engendered by the strict daily procedure (p. 753) is sensitively and consciously tied in with this goal. The person who has himself completely and firmly under control is master of the arsenal of all his powers.

Making the boys more capable is a specific and necessary aim of the training period. They actually do receive useful instruction which is supervised by the chaplainess, or the sponsor. There are no definite rules about which men are to be appointed to this task. It is customary for an uncle or an older cousin to devote himself to the chaplain during the entire Tohunga period in case the sponsor is unable to do so because of advanced age or physical infirmity. Ordinarily the sponsor himself performs this service. He is free to decide how often and at what times he arranges exercises for his protégé. He also decides whether one or another skill must be further developed. Sometimes these men get together and exchange views about individual candidates, or

/MS/ cues./

It is fascinating for them to climb around on rock walls where they plunder the nests of cormorants. In any case, however, it takes long practice and refined dexterity before each one has acquired adequate proficiency in this or that method of hunting. The older men exercise a great deal of patience with the children, and again the candidates must try first one way and then another. They are stimulated and encouraged; some of them are helped with much extra care. Time finally brings progress and strikes nerves. I was sufficiently convinced about these details during my first initiation. In view of all this, it no longer seems strange that many a village celebration lasted for months.

The attempts to rid a cowardly lad of timidity and fear are more serious. He is accompanied into the dense forest at night or taken to a lonely island where he is left by himself and obliged to hold out until he is called for. This procedure, with some changes, is repeated until the child is promptly good anywhere he is met at any time of night (XIX). It is not customary among

> XIX. This demand is cowardly enough, for it is only on rare occasions and for serious reasons that one of these Indians decides to leave his hut at night and go a great distance.

the Tatuana to frighten him in any /MS/ way out-of-doors. About one thing, however, the men are implacable, and that is to rid a boy of the last remnant of cowardly fear, even if it takes a long time.

2. Exercises for Girls. There are no great differences from what I have just described for boys when the female children in the initiation are introduced to the manual work and occupational duties that fall to their sex in the family hut. They only need training here to supplement what they learned and practiced on the occasion of their connection (p.167). Moreover, at home they have much more often been called upon by their mother to co-operate fully in the work, in other words, they have been more thoroughly initiated into all manual skills than is the case with boys of the same age. They now take up whatever remains for them to learn.

/409 cont./
"that individuals of both sexes and all ages
often were entirely naked" /cited in English/
must thus be qualified.

the general practice of putting this pubic covering on girls when they are still children, without any kind of accompanying festivity or ceremony, is most significant. When women change these coverings or remove them for any reason, they avoid doing so in the presence of other persons (94). Girls learn to conduct them-

94. See page 10 as to the conduct of young Kamanakaklips who was caught by surprise without her modesty-apron by a French officer.

selves properly while standing and sitting, not only by the example of the adults, but through special instruction.

This scrap of leather, to be sure, is only the size of one's hand and is suspended from a mere string around the hips, but, as Hyades (p) :33 has observed, "they never appear without this tsimkaaxa, which is quite sufficient for them, although one can by no means say that they lack a sense of modesty." When sitting, they usually keep their thighs together and place one foot in such a position that the heel presses the pubic covering against the /410/ body. Only an old man sometimes squats on the ground without a covering and with his legs wide apart.

Hyades (p) :330 aptly says of this small piece of skin: "It is an emblem of modesty" /translated from French/. Women even regard it as improper merely to speak of it. For this reason I terribly had to persuade an old woman to make this piece for me, which I wanted to add to my collection. She made it in secret and gave it to me with the remark that I should not mention it to other people. Sometimes younger women cover their breasts with the short back-cape, at any rate if men should annoy them with meaningful glances.

The little cloak can only provide meager and incomplete protection against wind and bad weather. A continuous cold current of air from one direction against a part of the body is intolerable for anyone. Even so, a person sitting in a canoe and obliged to reach a certain goal cannot protect himself against it in any other

/632 cont./

864 before and after her confinement. I could not discover the specific words that were used. Every young Fuegian learns the meaning of the sexual act for himself, not by direct instruction, but by observing animals and by comparing his body with that of the opposite sex. He is aided in this by the very meager body covering and by the intimacy of Fuegian life. At first they do [833] not seek actual enjoyment in the sexual act; "that comes later, after it has been tasted a number of times," old Julia confessed. A further reason is that in the years before physical maturity until marriage, the two sexes, even brothers and sisters, must remain apart, which restrains desire.

It cannot be denied, however, that girls after puberty and •867 boys after the youth initiation are purposefully, albeit inconspicuously, prepared for all the events and obligations of marital life. First they are given many suggestions and repeated admonitions. They are told: "When you are married you must no longer dawdle about in such a carefree manner! -- Later you must always have a supply of meat for your wife and your children. -- Always be kind to your wife, for she gives you children. -- Do not quarrel with your husband, otherwise he will go to another hut and you will have to sleep alone in your hut; in the end he will be unfaithful to you, after he has slept several nights in the hut of another family!" I am indebted to Gertie for these words. Such statements unconsciously change the entire mental attitude of the young person toward the forthcoming start of his new life in marriage; he thinks about it more often and finally himself finds the more or less correct, but adequate explanation for many physiological facts which he observes from his own body.

584 Meanwhile, inevitably, the awareness of a still unattained fulfillment of physical and spiritual being increases to a passionate desire for a partner in marriage. "When the young people have been released from the ciexaus, they cannot bear to live unmarried much longer. Some seem all the more excited and perturbed the longer they must wait for a marriage partner," Alfredo emphasized. "Now and then there is a girl who is quite uncontrolled in her behavior and who will suddenly throw herself into the arms of any boy because she does not want to live alone any longer; she longs for a husband and /633/ for children!"

/643 cont./

837 too, is that a lawful husband is abused when his wife puts herself in the hands of a devoted rival who carries her off and keeps her in his hut as his wife.

584 In one place Hyades (q) 378 speaks as though the girl is given away by her father. "The young girl is not consulted in the choice of a husband; the parents give her to the one who suits them and who is always the strongest and the most respected among the candidates" /translated from French/. This empty assertion utterly fails to recognize the fact that the parents are very much concerned about the future welfare of their child and that they inquire about the conduct of the husband, quite apart from the fact that they naturally find it painful to lose their daughter to the chosen man. Finally, arbitrarily disposing of her without consulting her wishes is not consistent with her right -- sometimes exercised -- of running away from her unbearable, rude husband and again seeking protection in the hut of her parents.

The true facts of the matter become very clear from what we have briefly said by way of correcting erroneous reports (20).

20. The two forms mentioned by Bove (c):128 are mutually exclusive, for he says: "Marriage can be considered as a purchase of the woman by the man and a union of love and reciprocal congeniality" /translated from Spanish/.

The marriageable girl is neither given away nor sold nor abducted. She is completely free to choose the chap who appeals to her fancy. Courtship rests on this fundamental freedom. That is why in the case of young people of marriageable age the elders sometimes waive the otherwise prevalent separation of the sexes, for "that is the time when a boy and girl become acquainted, when they feel whether they will get along together for the rest of their lives [in marriage]." This is what Mary said.

• 867 In instructing girls on the occasion of their first menstruation and in occasional conversations, older women repeat the following admonition in various words: "Do not give yourself to the first chap who comes along, who flatters you, but choose the one

/643 cont./

•867 whom you really like. At first every chap will be so agreeable; later when he has married you, it turns out that he is crude or lazy or unbearable. Then you will have to suffer. So, consider before you decide!" Nelly added: "One must warn young girls and make them alert, otherwise they will thoughtlessly and prematurely say 'yes' to the first chap who comes along. Later when the young couple find they are unsuited to eath other, the elders among their relatives will suffer for it just as much as they themselves!" Likewise /644/ the young man is given a definite hint by his uncle to take as his bride only the girl with whom "he will live peaceably for the rest of his life."

584 That there is freedom in the first choice can also be deduced
586 from the right every woman has to run away from the husband who treats her badly or does not provide enough food for her. How could she be taken in again by her parents, which is generally done, if she had previously been actually sold? Her male relatives warn the husband and threaten to take back the mistreated wife. They would not dare do this if he had bought her for a price.

584 It very seldom happens that two young people become
578 united if there is a strained relationship or open hostility between their parents. If such a match should be developing, the parents of the boy and those of the girl make insulting, even threatening remarks against the other party within their own family but in order to thwart their children's intentions. It may be that a preliminary inclination toward a marital union will sooner or later disappear under this influence. Out of respect for her own parents the girl will forego her heart's desire, and since she makes no fuss about this, her closest relatives will not interfere on her behalf.

584 Still more awkward is the exceptional case of a girl who is
736 an orphan and very much dependent on her uncle and aunt. The
604 latter, driven by stubbornness or ambition, insistently urge her to choose the chap they recommend. If the solitary girl is unable to resist adequately, she will finally accede to their urging. My informers emphasized that such a case was rare, and that the previous history of the case would become publicly known only if this forced marriage, so to speak, should, in an exceptional instance, be dissolved.

/686 cont./

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expressing himself, adultery is accompanied by "a certain public disrespect" /translated from French/. It is this general condemnation that guilty parties find particularly painful and degrading.

548 Our Indians hold female virtue in high esteem. In this connection, we must not fail to mention that Hyades (q):239, 378 takes a very firm stand against the false reports by a few travelers about the prostitution of Indian women. "We have never seen a Fuegian man yield his wife or the one he loves to his best friends or even to the lure of large rewards. Many travelers believe that they have seen the opposite, but in the instances they have observed, the women and young girls were not by any means necessarily joined by love or even marriage to the savages who proposed to give them away. We will cite below a number of examples to prove our assertions" /translated from French/ (93). Not even the present relaxation of morals is approved by the true Yamana, and they accept many misdeeds silently only because they are powerless to do anything about it.

93. In Outes (g):59, also, it is clearly stated: "No individual sells his wife to another" /translated from Spanish/.

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Sexual morality is quite generally esteemed, and this, naturally, also includes premarital chastity (p. 411). Children would not be permitted any kind of license nor would they attempt it; there is, generally speaking, no sexual freedom for the girl. Quite the contrary, many Europeans, to their unexpected surprise, came up against a strong, emphatic morality and modest reserve among the Fuegian women, whose body covering could hardly be imagined as scantier. In order to prevent lapses in this sphere, the adults see to it that boys and girls are separated from early youth until puberty, and they warn them ceaselessly with informative advice. It is entirely wrong to maintain, as Hyades (q):378 does, that "the young girls are free to conduct themselves as they please" /translated from French/. Even

836 /686 cont./
867 parents who themselves often transgress against sexual morality are careful to give irreproachable guidance to their children.

Despite all vigilance, a certain amount of improper con-
836 duct among young people cannot be avoided, and some girls lose their physical intactness (94). The Yamana do not know the

94. On this subject Hyades (q):188 expresses himself thus: "In fact, the young girls of ten to 12 years whom we examined had already lost it. But this does not imply a precocious perversion on their part nor a great ardor for sexual relations" /translated from French/.

meaning of this in the European sense, and only with this restriction may we interpret Hyades' (b):1346 and (q):188 words: "There is no value placed /687/ on a young girl's virginity" /translated from French/ (95). A reserved, virtuous girl enjoys

95. Hahn (a):805 uses the same words and unjustifiably concludes from this: "Modesty is completely unknown among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. The secret mistakes of a few children, despite the serious warnings and great vigilance of all adults, are no proof that modesty is lacking among all the people.

a good reputation; adults keep a particularly sharp eye on an impertinent young chap. Finally, a thoughtful boy will not
[581] readily offer his hand in marriage to a girl whose behavior is conspicuously bold; he lacks confidence in her fidelity later.

A few effective protective measures for special occasions
431 have been set up, apparently in order that neither of the two
834 sexes, despite their duty to render reciprocal aid, will run the risk of violating conjugal fidelity. These measures have to do with the exchange of gifts between a man and woman who are

/743 cont./

861 626 Finally, and no less earnestly, it is the concern of the larger group or the whole tribe that the training by the family produces good results. Hence, in the form of public opinion, it supervises the efforts that the father and mother expend on their own children; it admonishes and criticizes the parents, usually through their relatives, if they neglect the training of their offspring; it continues their efforts through the youth initiation and concludes the work of family training by means of community training in the /744/ čiexaus. The whole tribe likewise strives for that much emphasized child-rearing ideal which our simple and yet so understanding Fuegians proclaim as the watchword of their earnest efforts, namely, that they want to make each of their children "a good and useful human being."

β. Training Practices

867 Not every adult has a particular aptitude for rearing his child. Some people, however, are so effective at this work that their influence is felt far beyond the narrow family circle and produces good results there as well. What one adult lacks in this talent is compensated for by another, and it must be appreciated as an extraordinarily fortunate virtue of the Yamana that almost every person, especially the older ones, influences children. Precepts and admonitions are, of course, the most important aspect. In content and form they are adapted to the awakening reason and the developing judgment of young people. For smaller children the Yamana are content to use a brief command or prohibition; it is only for the older ones that they add a reason.

"Your behavior is not nice."

"If you lie, no one will like you."

"Tackle every job, decisively and with enthusiasm, then you will quickly finish it."

"Always get up promptly in the morning; for if you lie abed until the sun is high, you will not finish your day's work."

"If you are called to do a piece of work, get up immediately and do it quickly, then you will grow fast" (181).

181. It is only out of great ignorance that

/744 cont./

•867

Spegazzini (a):165 could maintain that in their language the Yamana "do not have a verb that corresponds to our 'obey,'" and further that the little ones "know nothing of obedience and the children do whatever they like" /translated from Spanish/.

"Whatever your father tells you is a guide for you; he knows what is customary among us from the people of former times."

"Take whatever the old people tell you [in the way of instruction and warning] very seriously, for they have your interests and your happiness at heart."

"Do not make a lot of noise with other children around a strange hut; there are perhaps old people inside [who deserve respect].

"It is not at all nice to quarrel with other children; a child who does that will later on, as an adult, quarrel with his neighbors, and no one will like him."

"Do not eat what you have gathered [in the way of mussels and berries] all alone. Give some to other children, for they, too, will think of you when they have something [similar]."

These few words, which I picked up quite casually and which I could expand considerably, prove that the Yamana give brief and perfectly clear /745/ commands and that their instruction is based on easily understood reasons, hence their favorable effect.

One can easily understand the gist of their admonitions from the short sentences we have listed and from many other statements. There are certain virtues that are cultivated and recommended with great zeal by the Yamana. Foremost among them is veneration for the good things of old, namely, traditions, tribal customs, and the prevailing practices, but also for the representatives of all this, the honored elders. Submissiveness and prompt obedience by the children follow as a matter of course. The helpfulness and unselfishness of an individual toward all tribal members are no less cherished. Everyone must share his booty generously and must share his tools with a person who is suddenly in difficulties. Contentment and a quiet nature are very much

/745 cont./

867 recommended, as are busy activity and untiring industry, so that everyone to the best of his capacity can serve the members of his own family. A person who gets along well with everyone is very popular.

These and other virtues are, of course, not recommended to the smaller children as explicitly as they are to the older ones and, even more, to the candidates of the youth initiation. Everyone is made familiar with them insofar as he can grasp them. I shall, therefore, not give in detail the entire content of Yamana wisdom in guidance until I describe the youth initiation (182).

> 182. I am unable to understand how Bridges could make the following basically false assertion: "Of course the education and discipline of children are nearly wholly neglected, children are allowed to grow up wild, following their own whims and desires; thus they become of necessity disobedient, rude, wilful, lazy and proud" /cited in English (MM:III, 117;1869).

In the course of all training, they deliberately take into consideration the personal aptitude and the momentary requirements of the child. Sensitive natures are treated with extraordinary kindness and patience; stubborn rascals are tamed with pitiless severity. They try to win over girls with gentle persuasion; threats are more speedily effective with boys. Several adults work together with tenacious firmness if they wish to eradicate a serious fault in a boy. Calderon's oldest son was a troublesome scamp, but when he ran after girls of his own age, despite many warnings, a few adults were so irritated that they dogged his footsteps. Walter's son and, even more, his slightly younger daughter were so spoiled by their mother that several women spoke of it in disgust. "That girl will never grow up to be a useful wife," Mary once told me, quite indignantly, "for her mother is constantly holding her in her arms, so to speak!"

/745 cont./

•867 If there are clear indications of weakness of character in a child, the parents and adults call attention to it, with a view /746/ to combining their skill in influencing the child. Outsiders make a greater effort if the child's own parents do not treat it properly or even have a detrimental effect by their bad example. Calderon's sons get on everybody's nerves because they are troublesome and lazy ne'er-do-wells, and people explain it by pointedly referring to the boys' father whose character they reflect. Sympathy for a child who has been spoiled through no fault of his own constantly impels neighbors to work patiently and perserveringly for his improvement. This individual training of a single child is later consciously carried further in the youth initiation, and particular exercises are specially adapted to the respective need.

867 Our Yamana do not rest content with dry instruction and colorless indoctrination; they assure themselves of success by
861 the purposeful application of a few effective measures. Above all they titillate the child's love of self and his ambition. This, in turn, shows convincingly how definitely and palpably they make arrangements to suit the child's comprehension. We add here a few admonitions to the list given above.

"Be willing to help, then everybody will praise you and speak well of you."

"If you keep yourself clean and immaculate, others will be happy to visit you and will gladly associate with you."

"Give other people good and beautiful things as presents; they will speak of you far and wide and surprise you, too, with choice presents."

"Be silent and do not repeat derogatory things about a person to others. The person will be grateful that you did not expose him to gossip, and everybody who learns about it [about your discretion] will put his trust in you."

I obtained the last two sentences from Mary. Similar admonitions are repeated to the candidates for the youth initiation and to girls on the occasion of the menarche.

861 If these gentle measures do not suffice, definite and serious threats follow; from the latter to actual punishment is only a short step. If children are noisy around the huts and do not go away after the first appeal, a stick of wood hurled in their

/755 cont./
881 for her (191).
262

191. In Hahn (a):804 we read: "The first menstruation takes place between 14 and 15 years of age. The first appearance of the menses is celebrated by the parents and their friends. Nevertheless she is considered impure, and for four days the young girl is obliged to abstain from certain foods" /translated from French/.

881 In order to emphasize effectively the rule to eat little or nothing, the women tell the following story: "Once a tú'ikipa
[773] sat alone in a canoe. She knew about the restriction yet she secretly ate a few berries. Soon a strong lakúma /water spirit/ came along, seized this tú'ikipa, lifted her out of the canoe, and devoured her. He left only her intestines, which other people afterwards found on the beach. Now they knew what had happened. That is how this disobedient girl was punished." Every girl is given this warning on the occasion of her first menstruation.

881 The women regard the urgent admonitions they give the tú'ikipa as more significant than the above-mentioned restric-
867 tions. In connection with this I learned from Nelly and Mary that the tú'ikipa is above all given instruction in the duties of a married woman and mother, as well as in her conduct /756/ from now until marriage. They recommend to her as the foremost virtues willingness to help and to please others, industry, and unselfishness. She is gravely warned against secretly yielding to an importunate chap because the result would be an illegitimate child (p. 411). By this time the girl is sufficiently enlightened about sexual life and knows where children come from. Many observations from earliest childhood have helped her obtain this information (p. 391). Every tú'ikipa has ample opportunity immediately to practice the virtues listed here; we have just spoken of this above.

Besides these things I also learned the following definite admonitions from Nelly, which I repeat here verbatim and without change.

/756 cont./

"If someone enters your hut, he will sit down beside the fire. If he wants to eat a few mussels, do not refuse to give them to him, but offer them willingly."

"You must not fuss and scold grumble and find fault when you are in your hut or in front of it. It is not seemly for a woman constantly to shriek and give vent to her anger."

"If an old man asks you for fire or wood or water, give him what he needs immediately and gladly. Venerate old people, do not laugh at them."

"If a blind man comes along, take him into your hut willingly and give him something to eat."

"If you hear something bad and unfavorable about another woman, do not immediately tell it to someone else; that kind of gossip about others breeds discord. You don't like it either if others talk about you contemptuously and negatively behind your back. If you repeat all the gossip you hear, other women will avoid you and among themselves they will say of you: 'That one is a gossipy woman!'"

"Always be true to your husband; defend him when others find fault with him and wish him ill."

"Soon you will have a husband. If he should transgress and secretly go after another woman, do not imitate him; do not believe that you may now take up with another man. Never forget: you are a woman, he is a man (192)! Soon he will be convinced

192. I was told that when a man takes liberties in this respect, his mistakes are generally less seriously condemned than if a woman permits herself the same transgressions. One expects a woman to be faithful under all circumstances, even in the face of her husband's violations.

that you are faithful to him nevertheless [in spite of his delinquencies]. Then he will realize his guilt and leave that other woman so as to belong wholly to you."

"Always be busy and industrious. Keep your things and your implements in good order."

"Take care of your children, then you will experience much joy with them."

/756 cont./

881 "Gossiping at the home of other people and chattering a lot
867 in the huts create /757/ agitation and even start quarrels. Be quiet and reticent in speech. Too many words only cause mischief as a rule."

"You will now experience the wélix [the appearance of menstruation] with every moon. Be particularly active and industrious at that time, eat little and always only the good things. Think always of what we have taught you and of how you conducted yourself when you were tū̂ʷikipa!"

Every woman who feels it is necessary repeats this advice to the girl, always along similar lines. The mother herself tells her how she must dab the blood with small bundles of čílěrʷ /Berberis shavings/ which she must immediately burn, so that the men and children will never see them. /Fig. 79 appears here./

881 During these days the tū̂ʷikipa is
302 also obliged to wear a special facial painting, consisting of fine red lines placed close together, drawn from below the eyes down over both cheeks (Fig. 79). For this purpose ímí /red pigment/ is used, mixed with fish oil and applied with a thin stick.

Fig. 79. Facial Painting during the Menarche.

881 The conclusion of all the ob-
574 servances and requirements on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation is the so-called "big meal" for all those present. It is called tū̂ʷikipa tatu (193), "the big meal of the girl who has

193. BD:423 also gives "tatu: to distribute a lot of mussels to all people around" /cited in English/.

reached maturity." It is like a public banquet, to which the girl personally invites all tribal members. It is her duty to gather many mussels and crabs, berries, and birds' eggs; the other people contribute the meat of sea lions and birds, as well as a great many fish. Then in a gay mood they all sit around the quantities of food and enjoy themselves. They remain together a whole day, and the tū̂ʷikipa must serve each of them again and again or encourage

/774 cont./

593 Since they are sincere, they take pains as teachers so that
861 the child's happiness in life is assured. They can even be severe and relentless, not because they enjoy tormenting him, but because weaknesses of character that appear in early years must be removed as soon as possible (205). Parental training is oriented

205. Hyades (g):38 specifically mentions: "Girls and boys, by the way, are very well treated, even though their parents do not act as tenderly with them as parents do in Europe."

by the traditions of the tribe as to what is good and necessary. Accordingly, the Fuegian principles of child training are altogether moral.

Our natives know very well that with youth the example is more effective than the word and, conversely, that the former can cause much greater harm than can be remedied by the latter. Hence adults consciously conduct themselves as irreproachably as possible in the presence of children. The older people, especially, in contrast to men and women of younger years, are sometimes painfully exact about this. They rigidly control themselves and display astonishing self-discipline in order that their conduct will not weaken the warning and instructive words that they addressed to the young people in their day; successful training presupposes self-training.

867 I often observed that children were sent from the hut under a harmless pretext whenever the men were getting ready to tell risqué stories. On such an occasion, after the last boy had disappeared from the hut, old Alfredo whispered in my ear: /775/ "The children must not know that we enjoy smutty stories, otherwise they would like hearing them just as much as we do!" One evening red wine, *sépa*, was freely dispensed and had such a powerful effect on an older woman that in her tipsiness she began to behave improperly. Immediately the adults removed all the children, and while this was going on Mary said to me: "If the children saw how that woman behaves, they would become bad. That is why we send them away!" Children probably never hear crude

/775 cont./

•867 jokes and obscenities from adults. The latter may reveal weakness during moments when they lose control of themselves, but in general they try to appear exemplary and without faults in [133] front of youngsters. Parents are extremely careful in their conjugal relations, since the little ones sleep in the same hut.

583 Because parents honestly strive not to show their weaknesses before young people and to be truly at their best for their own child, the children see them in a pure light. This brings about the tender and deeply felt attachment of children toward those to whom they owe so much. Fortunately, this is also promoted by daily contact, which convincingly demonstrates how very much the members of an individual family are dependent upon one another. The consciousness of belonging together becomes so intense that individuals do not like to be separated even temporarily. Hence, it is impossible for some families to get a child from among their circle of relatives to stay with them in their hut for a few days, which is greatly desired by a family that for some reason or other does not have a little child.

591 At present there are a few families without children, and they are making an effort to take some child in with them for a 152 short time (206). In spite of all the love and care that they offer,

206. Bridges (x):183 hints at this custom: "Children do not always live with their parents, sometimes a friend takes them away and they are away from their parents for weeks" /cited in English/.

the little ones scarcely ever feel quite at home with them and soon beg to be taken back to the parental hut. Children simply cannot stand to be with other people permanently (207). We can

207. Bridges (x):184 once maintained: "A girl before she is finally given away to her destined husband is now and again sent to live with him for a short time, when she again returns to her parents. But no sooner is she of marriageable age than she is finally disposed of" /cited in English/. Such a

/942 cont./

example, we are amazed at the soundness of the training skills of these simple, misunderstood Fuegians, which is shown particularly in the initiation. It also shows the simple means with which these primitive people attain a lofty educational goal, for these means have been chosen and wisely applied on the basis of an unprejudiced observation of human nature. The Yahgan need counteract neither a general nor a temporary miseducation of youth, for parental rearing is good and reliable throughout (362).

> 362. The principles upon which parental training has been built (p. 555) are, of course, also recognized and enlarged upon in the initiation, but the instruction there never makes any specific reference in so many words to these principles. They do not say: "Your father has already told you this" or "When you were small you were already forbidden to do this."

This simplifies the efforts of the elders in training the whole and the method is almost completely unified. Along with it, however, there is a strictly personal approach in influencing one child or another, hence an altogether individual training according to the character and spiritual needs of this or that candidate. It is chiefly in the actual precepts for young people that our Yamana reveal a valuable and wise philosophy of life which many generations have developed.

The Yahgan celebration is so popular for adults and always strongly attracts them to the place where it is held because harmonizing this effort to a large extent satisfies the need of everyone for society and the exchange of ideas. Everyone's expectations are fulfilled on these occasions, but this is not the end of the matter. More than this, as they be seen at first glance, a strong desire grips these simple primitive people to consider thoughtfully once again their traditional tribal heritage, once more to review the old customs (363), to recall the precepts and admonitions that

> 363. Here we may definitely name that certain old myths may be told only during the initiation.

/940 cont./

Naturally, the person who does this only knows them well, but can also tell them in a lively way.

a well-meaning instructor earnestly recommended to each of them at the time of their candidacy, and finally once again to search their consciences thoroughly on the subject of what constitutes a "good and useful Tomano." Our Pungiano have a natural tendency toward speculative and searching meditation about their own egos. /941/ In this respect they far surpass the neighboring Sok'nam. This tendency is greatly fostered by the long silences in the Great Hut, during which everyone is left to himself. Even if the many games and tasks, which make allowance for every social need, were omitted, our Indians would gladly come to this office solely for the satisfaction they find in deep meditation during the Tolgyesi.

The following account of the adult program should be evaluated in the light of these particular considerations. It also clearly shows the springs tapped by every Tomano so that he will not become spiritually impoverished and lose his strong inner support. The Tomano do not, of course, put all of these things into words. It is only from close and prolonged observation of their conduct that I have recognized the various details and the basic characteristics of their nature.

At the present time the procedure of the initiation varies and changes from day to day, just as it did formerly. Nevertheless it does not seem superfluous to present exactly, on the basis of at least one such office, the events and occurrences of each day. A brief reference to the procedure of the Tolgyesi celebration in March, 1933, will follow this long discussion.

1. The Adult Assembly

Following the example of the man who has been chosen as leader of the initiation, the individual families also move to the site agreed upon. Each family builds its own hut or two families will agree on a common hut. Meanwhile many hands toil at building and furnishing the Great Hut. Each adult receives his firewood decoration and his dance staff, both of which must always

X281 /863 cont./
384 them that a person has dutifully set through his term as ufufule in the youth initiation.

X281 They have not entirely forgotten this earlier custom, but
382 have provided a neat substitute in the form of special body painting, which, however, only adult participants use. They paint the entire upper part of the body red and over this draw a white band the width of three fingers, which starts on either side of the spinal column and extends over the uppermost part of the arm and horizontally across the chest. I was definitely assured that this body painting is applied instead of the former tattooing. One day or another a man will still paint himself in this fashion.

X281 The external measures to which each candidate of the Tifunge
866 but is subjected are really designed to better his whole body thoroughly. All candidates show great fatigue even after the first three days. This is consciously sought; it is meant to make each ufufule amenable and to prepare him for the further aims of the Tifunge.

/864/ β. Instruction

X281 The participants never lose sight of the fact that this event is
86 supposed to be a period of serious training for their young people. Accordingly, some hours every day are devoted to teaching and instruction. Unfortunately, at present even this essential part of the entire Tifunge is not taken as seriously as it was formerly. The
[177] old people feel that the youth of today have for some time been alienated from the old tribal traditions and have adjusted to European standards of living. Hence the adults do not spend nearly as much time and effort on the actual instruction as they did formerly.

During my first initiation, however, we were required to congregate regularly each evening with our venerable instructor, for at that time Alfredo, the leader, was particular about keeping strict order. During my second initiation old Whoto had all the ufufule sitting at his feet on one occasion only, and at that time he could give us only a very small part of the wealth of earlier exhortations. Many conscientious Tumaua regret this decline most deeply, but within themselves, faithfully shielded by a reliable memory, they carry everything that was once offered them in the

/584 cont./

way of rules for living and that for them even today is the backbone of a model way of life.

1. The Teacher. The efforts made by the adults on behalf of their young people aim toward making them morally good human beings who are not only capable in all manual skills and faithful in the performance of their daily work, but who act properly from inner conviction and the dictates of conscience. Our Fanglaiw also have their own, definite, clearly defined ideal of education. This is kept constantly in mind by the teachers of youth in the parental hut as well as those in the Dalanga hut. The basic ideas seem so natural and beneficial that one would think they had been taken from our European world of ideas. The educational goal is summed up in one phrase: "Everyone must become a good and useful Tarnsa (283)!" The adults exert straight toward this

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283. We should like to emphasize that this expression has been literally translated. It coincides exactly with the Seib'tsam conception of the educational ideal, and they express it in the same words (Vol. I, 1020). The complete unanimity of the two tribes in this significant manner is too surprising if we realize that the social order is one and the same both here and there, in spite of the stronger effect of the matriarchal influence in certain respects among the Seib'tsam.

goal with relentless severity, apply all kinds of methods, and struggle for it unceasingly.

In the Dalanga hut the general rules of life that are valid for the Tarnsa and determine their public as well as personal life are presented to the candidates. Many of these rules have become familiar to the adolescents early in the parental hut, but now they are placed before them as a compact, coherent body of individual /585/ regulations. In their entirety they serve the one great purpose of making a good and useful member of society out of every young person. Our Fanglaiw agree that society can maintain itself only if every individual adapts himself to the

/Page xxxx/

[illegible] ordered order. It is function to show allegiance with his country-men and does not disturb community life through personal errors. A far-reaching, uniform molding of young people therefore is one of the requirements of education. The common instruction serves this purpose. Actually, all young people, without exception and irrespective of sex, are sooner or later obliged to undergo this protracted event. It gives each of them a uniform stamp, the heritage of previous generations, and pledges them to the rules of conduct and the manners which have hitherto upheld tribal life and guaranteed peaceful community living. As we have said, every *ulafala* is trained primarily to become a useful, valuable member of the tribe.

[illegible] Instruction is not given individually, but to the whole group of candidates simultaneously. The teacher is a man of years, usually a venerable old man who acts in this capacity either from choice or at the invitation of the leader and the overseer. Sometimes one of these two men occupies this post, if circumstances demand it. In any case the teacher, known as *ulafala kalilu*, is always an enjoyable personality demanding respect, of irreproachable character and perfect moral conduct, of mental superiority and acknowledged uprightness, well versed in the law of the tribe and exemplary in actions manly deeds. Only a person who can honestly boast of many good characteristics will venture to face the young people as their teacher. He need not have talk, he himself will give the lie to the admonitions that he often deals. They have an effect on the *ulafala* that is all the more lasting because such a teacher stands before them as the embodiment of the accepted requirements.

[illegible] His words flow with the deepest earnestness and air of immovable conviction. He prepares himself for his speech with a long period of self-immersion, and in thoughtful deliberation an one afternoon or another he proceeds to his round the precepts that he feels impelled to present. When the manual work is finished and the participants are also towards or not as they silently squat in their places, when night has spread her black veil over nature and there is deathly stillness round about, the teacher gives a sign. The candidates rise from their places and squat in a semicircle in front of him. They listen to his words with a serious mien and rapt attention. He speaks with the gentle sincerity and the perceptible

/NHB cont./

warmth of a well-meaning advisor, with personal concern for the future well-being of the individual and for the future of the whole tribe. During his /NHB/ simple discourse, all these present listen in complete silence to his soft voice, which deeply moves them, each word searching the conscience of the adults also. His warnings and admonitions to young and old sound like the last will and testament of a man who is standing at the end of life and looking back upon a career devoted to duty.

Such addresses were the most commonest hours that I spent each evening during my first initiation. They are truly an experience for every youthful *ubafgin* also, and they do not longer than even to old age. For the rest of their lives, they preserve in their mem precious treasure wherever his forward into their souls during such a solemn hour as the greatest spiritual gift from the heart and soul of the teacher. Individual adults were able to repeat perfectly and with undiminished freshness the teachings which had been presented to them when they were *ubafgin*. Again Gwee Fungiem proved to be excellent student of the psychology of youth and Ten-year education.

Formerly the teacher addressed his words to the *ubafgin* two or three times a week and never longer than an hour, although he spoke slowly and often repeats. "Too much talking ruin the cauliflower!" old Ellwale told me in this connection. As my first initiation he took turn with the venerable Whale, so that every evening we were given instruction by one or the other. Afterwards he told me: "This time the *Tabuge* was short, and that is why we were obliged to assemble you *ubafgin* every evening for the teaching, so that we could tell you everything (204). In

> 204. He wished to apologize because he and Whale took up one time each evening. This was contrary to the earlier custom which left time for contemplation.

former times a day was left to between (205). The *ubafgin* are

> 205. This means that the two or three addresses by the teacher were, with interruptions, spread over a period of about a week.

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One understands the difficult position of many an ufwjala in view of the fact that every adult has the right to criticize and correct him in anything that he feels is necessary. Many a relative and friend has previously perhaps made a fruitless effort in behalf of a boy or girl, his influence having been of brief duration. Here, however, the candidate is in the hands of the adult for a longer period. The latter makes the best use of this opportunity, for it is the last, so to speak. After his initiation every candidate regards himself more or less as one of the adults. Time and again the ufwjala is told explicitly: "You are now old enough. Up to now your father and mother have provided food for you, made a place for you in the hut, and helped you in everything. They [your parents] have taken enough trouble with you over a period of many years, you may no longer be a burden to them. Seek your life's companion soon and stay by yourself [in your own dwelling] (286)!"

286. I, personally, experienced for myself how seriously they take the admonitions directed toward a prompt marriage. On my second visit I had shown the Tamana various photographs and pointed out each person as in some way related to me. I said to them: "This is my mother, my grandfather, my paternal uncle, and so forth." I was using this means to induce them to let me photograph them. After a while they asked: "Won't you also show us a picture of your wife?" When I assured them that I was not yet married, they found it incomprehensible that a person of my age should still be single. At the end of my first initiation that year, old Alfredo, the leader of the affair, said to me: "We have taught you many good things in the Great Hut, now act accordingly! When you get back to your people do not forget to take a girl as your wife!" In order to show myself obliging to the dear old man, I replied affirmatively: "I shall gladly comply with your words and also soon look

/866 cont./

X881 supposed to meditate deeply on what has been presented to them
867 [by the teacher]!" When the latter has ended his address, the
537 candidates return to their places and there they crouch thoughtfully for many hours before they may lie down to sleep. The adults, too, give themselves up to serious mental concentration, for there are no dances or games afterward.

X881 In the common instruction the candidates are, of course,
867 offered all the rules of conduct which are universally binding.
861 The people are not content with this in the čiexaus, however, since many participants have for some time observed faults, bad behavior, weaknesses, and shortcomings in one or another candidate and have been obliged to tolerate them angrily. Hence strictly personal training of the individual begins. The nearest kinsmen undertake this task, which is certainly not easy. First one and then another of them will squat beside the candidate, as they feel inspired or on the basis of observations which they themselves have made during the day. Each of them /867/ begins with a searching talk. He adds warnings and is not sparing with threats. He points out clearly and comprehensibly to the uǰwǯala the weaknesses which have been observed in him in connection with some other circumstance. Everything is clearly mentioned by name and seriously censured: laziness and dullness, an aversion to work and a distraught manner, irritability and quarrelsomeness, a tendency to pilfer and untruthfulness, a greedy manner of eating and bumptiousness, impertinent interruption of adults and mocking words about aged people. Those of the adults who have previously objected to one thing or another without seeing results now intensify their threats. One adult will also join with another in order to reach their goal, and together they influence the uǰwǯala.

Wherever possible they apply appropriate measures. They will often withhold food from a glutton and will say: "You must learn to forgo all excess!" Someone who is clumsy is often called upon to do small chores; they try to combat laziness with particularly difficult assignments. The adults make an effort to wipe out faults and vices with these and other effective measures. They will thoroughly take to task an uǰwǯala who is regarded as headstrong and obstinate.

/868/ All those who on this occasion and unofficially trouble themselves about one of the candidates here in the *cizxaus* are motivated by the best intentions for his personal good and for the good of the tribal community. We cannot give figures for how often they give their instructions and how long these continue; it depends on the prevailing circumstances or necessity. This strict individual training does, however, form an important part of the entire training program.

2. Essence of the Teaching. I am unfortunately not in a position to reproduce the exact wording of the exhortations which during my first initiation were repeatedly impressed upon each Indian *uwgala* personally by one or another adult. Therefore much that is valuable in the art of education and the life experience of those simple people of Tierra del Fuego will escape us. A substitute is afforded by the teachings which a few of the adults were able to repeat verbatim from their initiations. They all assured me that these principles were only a part of everything that they learned as *uwgala* (287). Each teaching serves the one clearly defined

287. It is true, however, that one rule of conduct or another was held up to them several times in the same words on different days. Hence the account probably contains the essentials.

goal of making the candidate "a good and useful human being."

At my request my sponsor repeated the teachings that he received as an *uwgala* in 1907, that is, about 25 years ago. I shall set them down here as he gave them to me, without change.

/869/ "You will soon get married and then you will have your husband; do not quarrel with him.

"If other women speak injuriously about you, if they want to quarrel with you, keep silent and do not talk; that would only lead to a quarrel. Go quietly about your business so that the others will not see you. Finally they will be obliged to say: 'She is, after all, an industrious and quiet woman!'

"If at night your husband creeps stealthily away from his bed (288) because he thinks you are asleep, do not say anything

288. The implication is that he is going to

/869 cont./

X881
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seek another woman for illicit intercourse.

and let him go.

"You may not deprive other women of drinking water; that is something you must fetch for yourself.

"Get up betimes in the morning. Even if several men are in the hut, you must always get up early (289).

> 289. That is to say: "Sometimes men permit themselves somewhat more rest in the morning because they have hard work to do or because they are still very tired from a strenuous hunt. You may not take this as an excuse to be lazy yourself."

"If a visitor stays in your hut a long time, do not crossly find fault with him because he does not leave.

"If your father is already dead and you see an older man who needs something, give him what he lacks. Do not say: 'That man does not concern me, he is not my father.'

"If you have children, be happy over each one. Do not perhaps kill one or neglect it. Care for all of them and be fond of them. Other people will then praise you and say: 'She is a good mother, she loves her children very much!'

"If old women come to your hut who are weak and very infirm, do not become indignant and do not drive them out. Receive them pleasantly. Say to them: 'Sit down here by the fire. I'll get you something to eat immediately!' Fetch what you have and offer it to them.

"If you have gathered fruit or mussels, invite other people in and let them share what you have brought home.

"If several women are sitting together intimately and if they talk about all kinds of things, do not start gossiping and do not tell unfavorable things about other women.

"If your husband should associate with other women and you notice this, be quiet and do not say anything.

"Do not quarrel with your husband about every little thing, otherwise he will become irritated and discontent. If your husband has really made a mistake some time, you should not immediately

/869 cont./

shout and make a great fuss about it; sometime he will realize his mistake.

"Do not cease really loving your husband and willingly doing all kinds of work for him: then he will like you, too, and also take good care of you.

"If the family [from which you come] is large and your brothers /870/ and uncles are very much esteemed by people because they are capable, do not preen yourself about it and do not unduly boast about it, for others would misconstrue this.

"If you want to live peaceably and happily with your husband, do not constantly quarrel with him. Be quiet if he has an opinion that differs from yours; later he will probably realize his mistake.

"Watch out for Wataginéwa /the supreme being/, never forget about him. If you are dull and slow and lazily neglect your work, if you do not get up betimes in the morning, he will look at you; then it will soon be over with you (290). And do not

290. A favorite saying which we shall mention below expresses the same thing: "The Supreme Being will punishingly cast his eye on you and destine you to a premature death." In a later section such sayings will be more specifically explained.

forget what the ówgáia often said in the morning here in the ríkiyap but when they got up early and napped out: "ndía yérum ówgáia (kipa) ndí, wín (291)!" That is what ahóíin (292) did also.

291. This means: "Come on, we are two candidates, come on!"

292. Turdus magellanicus, the Magellanic thrush. The reference to the thrush has the following meaning. Once upon a time this bird was also a candidate in the youth initiation where it learned to get up early every morning. It has practiced this good habit so faithfully that on all subsequent occasions up to the

/870 cont./

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present it has been a good example for the candidates. Since then, when the thrush sees a sleepy-head or a sluggard, it calls him with its "was, was," as though it wanted to say: "Soon you will die!" Thus every candidate must beat the thrush in getting up and, when he sees it in the morning, must quickly call to it, "was, was," in order to put the onus of the words "Soon you will die!" on it. At the same time the candidate is supposed to break a twig or a stick busily and noisily to convince the thrush that he is active and industrious.

X 991
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"Do you see that bird there, all by itself, separated from all the others? That is what will happen to you if you do not observe all these teachings. You will gradually detach yourself from the others and will finally stand alone; then you will no longer be happy, you will become weak and ill and die prematurely. Before the sun rises blithely rise from your bed.

"The teacher told us repeatedly: 'If you do not pay attention to these teachings and neglect them, you will have few children later on and even these will soon die. Never forget my advice and my teachings!'"

Nelly Lawrence carefully noted the following sayings from her days as ulwejis and willingly repeated them.

"You will probably soon get married and build your own hut. If occasionally someone comes to you [on a visit] and helps himself to the mussels or crabs or fish that happen to be roasting at your fire, do not be angry. Rather, be glad, for it is an honor for you that a stranger comes to your hut and eats with you.

"When you are married carefully avoid arguing and quarreling with your husband.

/871/ "Be faithful to him. If he should forget himself and associate with another woman, bear [your sorrow] patiently. But do not suppose that you, also, may now secretly go to another man, for you are a woman. Your husband will realize that you are being faithful to him; he will be pleased with you and will soon break off with that other woman.

/871 cont./

"If you find a dog [that is lost], take him into your canoe and bring him to his master. Perhaps that man is looking for him. If you bring his dog back to him, he will be pleased and very content. He will tell other people and say about you: 'The one there is a good woman!'

"Never take anything away from other people. A person who steals is liked by no one, and everyone avoids him.

"Begin your day's work very early in the morning. Watauinéiwa observes every sluggard. Watauinéiwa will [as punishment] soon [i.e., prematurely] cause you to die if you are a lazy lie-abed.

"Always be willing to fetch water and wood and to tend the fire. Also keep an eye open to be of service to aged men and women when they need something.

"Do not flare up about every little thing.

"Do not immediately gossip about something you have heard about others, for in that way you could easily stir up quarrels and discord.

"When you are walking along by yourself, do not look inquisitively at everything, but keep your eyes strictly in front of you on the ground and keep your head slightly bowed.

"I was told many other things in the Ciéxaus. At that time my own father happened to be the overseer. I earnestly assured him: 'I shall strictly observe all your instructions!' I faithfully followed these and the other admonitions. That is the way our Yamana like to have it."

Chris also repeated the teachings and the advice that he received on the occasion of his initiation in 1896.

"My old ówala kinéna [teacher] and also my sponsor of those days are both dead.

"After Yoiita had departed (293), the piece of hide with

293. After the two of them had wrestled with each other directly after Chris had been brought into the Great Hut. See the description of this struggle on p. 690.

which my face had been covered (294) was removed. Immediately

294. He is referring to the following custom:

/873 cont./

X881 " 'Afterwards when you turn toward the Great Hut, do not walk crisscross through the woods. Also do not play with other uŕwĕala, do not leap gaily past the tree trunks, but maintain a serious, quiet attitude and take a straight path. Do not look to right or left. Always behave properly!' This was what my sponsor said.

"Toward noon we returned to the ĉiexaya hut. In the late afternoon an aged man called us uŕwĕala together. We sat down [in a semicircle] on the ground in front of him. He talked to us in the following manner.

X881 867 " 'You must always think about what you see and hear in this place. Never forget it. Keep it [secret] to yourself and never talk about it in the dwellings, otherwise dire punishment will be inflicted. An uŕwĕala who afterwards blurts out everything will soon die.

" 'Show great respect to old people. If several of them are gathered together, keep quiet and do not interrupt their conversation. Don't any of you gossip about what you have heard from others in any of the huts.

" 'If you hear something disparaging about someone, do not use it to go into a long discussion with others, for that makes bad blood. Sooner or /874/ later after all others will judge you and will say of you: "He is a bad person; he gossips about what is unpleasant for others!"

" 'You may have many friends. But if you should start to gossip about anything and everything, they will soon learn about it. They will think: "He is a bad man!" Gradually they will withdraw from you. No matter how numerous your family is, no one will then support you and help you.

" 'If you bring back rich booty from the hunt and if none of your special friends is in the camp, but rather a large number of other people, share everything with them. They will remember it well and everyone will praise you. If later on you should happen to come to their territory, they, too, will willingly help you. When you are sharing your booty, your relatives should come last. Other people are watching you; they will say of you: "What a good man!" Even if you have but three mussels, give them to others.

/874 cont./

"'If you have become a good hunter, you will often return home with a good kill. Share it all [with the neighbors]. Some day you are sure to come to a place where you will hunt and be all by yourself. Then you may consume everything that you have obtained [as booty] all by yourself. But if other people are in the vicinity, you must invite all of them who are staying near you.

"'If your wife comes from another region where you do not know anyone and if you visit there, those people will look up your wife and talk with her a great deal, whereas they will scarcely exchange a word with you. Do not become excited about this and do not show your displeasure openly, speak about it only to your wife. Instead of making a big fuss and getting excited about your wife, instead of threatening to kill her, it is more advisable to let her go. This decision is much more advantageous for you, for your wife, and for both your families. Rather let her go, this solves everything at once.

"'You must never kill anyone. This is always better [in any kind of quarrel] for you and for all the others.

"'Think constantly of this, my teaching and advice, then you will live a quiet life.

"'I repeat again to you: later you will think of me! No matter what happens to you in life, you will immediately think of me! Then you will realize at once how you should conduct yourself and how you should decide. In this way you will guard yourself against hasty action and this will be better for you and others. You will often be reminded of me!

"'If people have realized that you harm no one and an evil-minded person comes along who would like to hurt you, do not worry about it! Other people will certainly speak in your favor /875/ and take your side; you yourself need not make any effort nor specifically ask your well-meaning neighbors for help.

"'If an old woman should begin to chat and bring up boring matters that go far back and no longer interest anyone, do not leave the hut out of boredom, sit still and listen to it anyway. You will surely hear something good or a story that may be useful to you. Wait, therefore, until the old woman has finished. If you yourself, when you are old, should on occasion relate something and then realize how one person after another avoids you and creeps out of the hut while you are talking or that a few people

/875 cont./

are meanwhile talking among themselves about something else, you will be very much annoyed by it. It will be extremely unpleasant for you to be left sitting alone [while you are talking]. Therefore always be sensitive to others.

"'Do not torture animals, least of all your dog. And do not mistreat other people's animals.

"'Do not steal, it will not be advantageous for you. You don't like it either if someone takes your things. Protect things that belong to other people, treat them as though they were your own. If you need something, go into any hut and ask for it, it will be given to you there. Hence you do not need to steal at all.

"'If you have fallen in love with the wife of another man, you would like to take her for yourself. This can end badly and her kinsmen could even murder you. You wouldn't like it either if someone took away your wife. Never lose respect for the wife of another man.

"'Remember this advice and think of the teachings that I give you here.

"'If an old man asks you -- it will probably not happen -- "Bring me some wood," then do it. If you are standing close to a man and he says subtly, as though to himself, but so that you hear it: "Oh dear, I did not succeed today in getting enough wood for the night!" -- go immediately into the forest and fetch wood. The old man will be very pleased about it. He wanted to avoid coming out openly [in so many words] with his request.

"'If you see near a woman who is apparently mumbling to herself: "It's too bad, I forgot to fetch water for myself today!" -- immediately pick up your bucket and carry the water to her hut. The other people will be pleased with you, they will say: "That is a nice boy!" The next day the woman will provide for herself in time. Help everyone. Then the old people will be pleased, because they did the same thing in their youth.

"'If you have achieved great manual dexterity so that everyone values the things you make, give away first of all the things that have turned out best. Do not keep the nicest pieces for yourself and get rid of the inferior ones. /876/ If you give others only inferior things as a present, those people will think: "Why did he give me this poorly made object? The thing won't be any

/976 cont./

good to me anyway!" They will accept it [the object], but afterwards they will throw it away. Make useful, beautiful things and give only these to other people. Then they will say: "This is an excellent harpoon point! That man gave it to me. He did a clever piece of work which I shall show other people. I'll take good care of this piece!"

"Take good care of your father-in-law and be constantly concerned about him. Make all the implements he needs. See what he needs and get him plenty of meat. You must give more attention and care to him than to your own father.

"If you get into a quarrel with a man and you say to him excitedly, "I shall strangle you!" that is not wise behavior. You will not really kill him anyway, you just say that to make him afraid. Other people won't take your word seriously either. If you are actually planning to murder someone, you will surely not say a word about it to others! Therefore avoid such talk [not seriously meant]. It could even happen that the other one, hearing your threat, might promptly murder you.

"Above all, never say a word in the dwellings of what you hear here. Otherwise we shall meet the same fate that overtook everyone back in Tilmalique /a place name/ during the great upheaval. At that time two girls were talking outside the Great Hut of what went on inside. They turned into ducks and have since then remained in the lagoon. Now they can no longer talk and no one thinks of them because no one knows them (301).

> 301. Here again there is definite reference to the events that took place at the founding of the men's secret association, which previous to that were held by the women. See Gwende (88)-320 where these two girls, or ducks, are mentioned.

"There is care for this earth [for Tulgan from under it] and for the rising sun. No matter how weary you are, leap up quickly from your bed as soon as the sun rises, so that it will not find you there. Get up regularly from your bed before the sun appears, otherwise you will soon die.

/976-cont./

"Heed all the advice faithfully. Watayinéjwa wishes it; he watches carefully to see whether you will act accordingly.

"Everywhere and always be respectful toward old people. Do not be forward when you are with them.

"Always give other people what you have brought back from the hunt.

"Be industrious in your work. Don't quarrel with others.

"All these teachings you will surely remember forever. In the various situations of life you will think of me and you will immediately recall how I talked to you here on this occasion. Act accordingly and you will be a happy man!"

/977/ "During the last days of the čiłxage wałwałała frequently had to go hunting with the men; the girls gathered mussels and helped the women fish (300). Finally the big feast was

300. One of the chief reasons for the greater activity of the men and women, accompanied by the candidates, is their concern about obtaining abundant food for the great feast at the conclusion of the youth initiation.

held, in which all the people participated. Every ułwałała distributed meat to all those present; the last piece was for the ułwałała himself. After I had passed around the meat of a sea lion, my sponsor said to me: "The last piece is for you!" Before you eat it go into the forest and say to the tree trunk: "Some ułwałała I have distributed [meat to the many participants at the great coming-out feast, ułwałała ełu]!" Then come back here again immediately!" This I did. I went into the woods and addressed the trees: "I have distributed meat of the sea lion among the people!" Later I had to take the meat of birds to each of the many participants; the last piece I kept for myself. Again I went into the woods and addressed the trees: "At the big feast I have now also distributed the meat of birds among all the people!" Then we ułwałała were also permitted to eat abundantly and we were very happy. Several times I had to address [in the manner described] the trees over there in the forest (301). Finally

301. Later it was explained to me that this

/877 cont./

"Keep to yourself what goes on here; do not talk about it everywhere outside in front of others (305).

> 305. The restriction is primarily against tattling in front of minors who should not prematurely lose their respect and fear of the Great Hut. For further reference to this restriction see also footnote 307 on page 746.

/878/ "Here we tell you: 'Be industrious in your work. Do your work gladly and quickly. Get up early in the morning, then you will always be prepared with everything [that is necessary]!'

"Show respect toward old people. Help orphans. Bring something to eat to the sick who cannot get up. Practice all this in later life also.

"If you meet a blind man on your path, go up to him and ask him: 'Where are you going?' He will tell you. Perhaps you will hear that he has gone astray. Say to him immediately: 'But you have taken the wrong path!' Gratefully he will reply: 'So I have lost my way!' Then ask him: 'Where do you want to go, so that I can lead you?' He will answer you: 'I want to go to my hut!' Then take him by the hand and lead him there. But do not let him go on [without querying him], so that he becomes lost; do not laugh at him. If he should stammer and act clumsily, do not smile to yourself and do not think: 'He doesn't see me anyway!' Rather, take him by the hand immediately and lead him to his hut. Other people will praise you for it and will say: 'That man is good!'

"If an old man is in need of something, give him what you have. Other people will praise you for this.

"If you have many relatives and one of them comes from a distance, take him into your hut without delay. Let him have what he needs. If his children should throw all your things into disorder or break something, do not get excited and do not scold. In any case the parents of the children will see to it that you suffer no loss, and they themselves will disapprove of their children's behavior. It may happen, however, that something of yours is

/878 cont./

damaged. Well, they are children, after all! If, immediately afterwards, you should say in other hut, 'The children of my relative brought great disorder among all my things, they broke all kinds of things!' your talk will certainly one day reach the parents' ears and displease them very much. After that no one will want to stop in your hut.

"You will perhaps visit a hut where a sick man is lying on his bed. He needs something and will be talking to himself thus: 'I'd like that thing hanging there on the wall. If only someone would hand it to me!' Get up immediately and hand the old man what he wants. He did not want to order you about, that is why he expressed himself thus [in that formal way]. Now this man will speak of it everywhere and will say: 'That is a good man!' Afterwards, no matter where you go, the people will say appreciatively of you: 'That is a good man!' They will gladly take you into their hut and care for you.

/879/ "If you have found a girl whom you would like to marry, behave irreproachably toward her. Do not harass the wedding impropery, but wait until her kinfolk give the girl to you. Even now, however, be respectful toward the parents of your bride. Do not show impatience if they still hesitate to let you have their daughter.

"Do not gossip throughout the camp about things you have observed.

"If you are married, support your wife in every way. Fetch wood and water. Help her and relieve her in her work, for you are a man and have more strength. Do not listen hither and yon: 'What do other men and women say about me?' And do not unnecessarily try to find out what other people are doing. If you do, then your wife will also try to find out what is going on everywhere. The Tamasa do not like such behavior, and it causes bad gossip. If your wife tells you gossip, don't pay any attention to it. Advise your wife thus: 'Be silent and do not meddle in the affairs of others and do not scold about everything! The others will calm down by themselves if you do not join their talk. Then all the men will praise you and the women will like you too!'

"If you go visiting in a hut, be friendly and inconspicuous.

"If many visitors come to your hut and you yourself have but little to give to them, think first of the strangers, afterwards give

/879 cont./

your friends and relatives what to left over. The latter will find it convenient to visit you again and have their fill of food, but not the strange visitors who come from a distant region to visit you. Serve them first and amply.

"If it should happen occasionally that you are sitting alone with your kinsmen, do not complain about your wife if she should not be present. You may never beat her. Your father-in-law will one day hear that you have beaten his daughter. He will say: 'That man took my daughter away from me, went with her to his family, and there he beats her!' Later on, if you should visit your father-in-law, he would not let you enter his hut. He will stay away from you and finally will take his daughter away.

"Do not seek to benefit only yourself, but think of other people also. If you yourself have an abundance, do not say: 'The others do not concern me, I need not bother about them!' If you were lucky in hunting, let others share it. Moreover, show them the favorable spot where there are many sea lions which can be easily slain. Let others have their share occasionally. If you want to atone everything for yourself, other people will stay away from you and no one will want to be with you. If you should one day fall ill, no one will visit you because, for your part, you did not formerly concern yourself about others.

/880/ "If you come into the region where you were born and you want to set up camp with several other people, give them [the ones who are colonizing with the sled] the darkened place. You be content with a less advantageous spot. Do not think: 'What do I care if these strangers lose their canoe!' Rather, take good care of the visiting strangers, for they will never leave and there they will praise you.

"If you know of a favorable hunting ground there [where you were born], encourage the visitors and say: 'Go to that place, there you will surely find rich booty!' Point the place out to them exactly so that they also can obtain large amounts of meat to take on their journey.

"Grant other people something also. The Tatsuno do not like a person who are selfishly.

"No one likes a perverse, obstinate person. everyone speaks scandally of him and avoids him.

/500 cont./

"If you and your family enjoy a lot of visitors and a sleeping place is offered you, remain there. You should, however, help the people in their work and, on your own initiative, lend a hand where there is something to be done. No one will ask you to help. Just open your eyes and you will soon see where you can help! Perhaps there is no water or wood, possibly there is snow in front of the entrance. Lend a hand there! That kind of person is liked everywhere and is willingly taken in by everyone. It is not proper for you to sit down quietly and let others work for you. Soon someone will make a very face and you will wonder about it, but no one will tell you the real reason. It is best, after all, to help the others in their work. Help with everything until the day you travel on.

"If, over the man into whose hut you have moved [as a visitor] is having a feud with another, do not interfere. You will perhaps be told a great deal about it and all kinds of things will be explained [one-sidedly]. Listen to everything quietly, but do not take sides against the man toward whom hostility is shown. If later you have an opportunity, talk to him alone. Speak confidentially and tell him all about it, but with good intentions and disinterestedly. He will listen to you. But if he should not let you talk, withdraw quietly. Even though you should be younger than he, do not start a fight, do not leave him and do not kill him, even if he should be your enemy. This would be a great disadvantage to his family who would take it very seriously. There might even be a fight, and you would have to make amends to the other family. It might also happen that you would later be obliged to hear that those opponents have murdered your father or your mother in revenge because you are a murderer. You won't like that. Believe, avoid that other man, keep away from your enemy on a matter of principle, so that you will not one day be overcome with anger and sorrowness. In that way no harm can come about.

/501/ "Every day when you wake up in the morning, think of the admonitions which we give you here in the Dalgan, remember them well and never cease practicing them. If today you stick a good habit, in a few days you will skip a second and third, and then a great many other things will soon be forgotten. But if you

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observe everything fastidiously, you will be able to lead a pleasant life.

"If you are in a large group of people, do not slander one or another member of your own family, for that causes conflict. One must also be skillful in speech and in self-control. Even if you have really quarreled with someone, your mutually received relationship need not be brought out with your every word. Others listen sharply to your words and will soon notice the underness. Hence do not speak scandalously of others.

"If evil talk is heaped upon you and you are attacked with evil-tend words, you will be assumed to travel and quarrel. It is better to withdraw and not say anything. Later, talk to the man whose fault of you have calmed down.

"Help small children who accidentally have become lost, even if they do not belong to your family. Lead them back to their mother or to their kin. Do not laughingly enjoy the spectacle of a child who has fallen or is lying in the water. Lift it up quickly and bring it to its parents. They will thank you [for this deed]. After all, you yourself want your children to get the same kind of help if they need it. If you are indifferent to strange children, other people will not bother about your children either. In case they are crying or have hurt themselves or are lying on the ground, no one will hasten to their aid. Accordingly, be concerned about the children of all the other people, for children do not harm anyone. Even if the children in question should be those of your enemy, help them, for they are not your enemies and have done you no harm. It may be that you have harmed your enemy and that he pursecutes you for it, but if he sees how lovingly you treat his children, it may happen that he will forgive you. He will come to you and confess: 'I forgive you the wrong you have done because you have been so good to my children!' That is preferable to help all children indiscriminately and to be kind to them. It is [illegible] to commendatorily if someone is kind to our children.

"When you enter a hut, sit down decently, with your legs crossed under you. Look at everyone [present] pleasantly. Do not pay attention to one person only, and do not turn your back to anyone. If you devote your attention to only one person and converse yourself with him alone, the others will feel offended. Do

/001 cont./

not go visiting too often.

"In your own hut do not immediately talk about what you have just heard elsewhere. You may communicate important matters, but not /001/ aimless talk. It is much too easy to exaggerate and embellish. Later on people will find out more specifically who the gossip was, then they will find out that you were the guilty one. In fact, one of your enemies can exaggerate and misrepresent many of your words, if he wishes to bring you into ill repute.

"If you are having an argument with someone and even if you are right but the other person does not want to give in, it is better to be silent, for arguments and blows may possibly be precipitated. The other person will one day see that he is wrong.

"Do not take part in the silly talk and gossip of other people. Also do not be too trustful in exposing your secrets. Some day there will be gossip about something you have told a single person in confidence, and you might possibly lose many friends in this way. Be helpful to everyone but always sparing with words.

"Happily resume your work each morning, otherwise Tsitgpo will overpower you. Save yourself from certain death, for every lazy person soon falls victim to Tsitgpo. Therefore, get up on time in the morning before the sun rises.

If you have murdered another in a fit of rage, do not flee and do not hide, but give yourself up unafraid to the kinsmen of your victim. Now, too, show yourself strong enough to assume all the consequences of your deed, and do not purchase have these consequences to your kindsfolk. It is your fault alone, hence you must personally set things right again. A person who runs away from his deed will never make peace with himself, he will no longer feel comfortable even in his own hut.

"You must not steal from anyone, least of all from persons who are sick and infirm. If you need something, ask for it from your neighbor. But you have no right to take anything at all. People will soon notice it [the stolen goods in your hands], and after that everyone will learn that you have been stealing.

"If you should find something, do not immediately try to convince yourself: 'That belongs to me now!' For soon the owner [of the object] will appear. If he should see in your hands the

/002 cont /

smile to her too, he will point this out to others and say to them: 'That one is a thief!' Possibly the owner will call his friends who will destroy everything you have and break up your room. In the end you will have nothing, all because of your smiling. No Tocuma can stand a thief.

"Be careful never to forget these admonitions. Live up to them and you will be successful, people will be satisfied with you and will say of you: 'That is a good man!'

"If many people are sitting together in a hut and if some of them are talking so excitedly that a brawl threatens to break out, hold back with your words so that it will not come to that. When the other people have left, you may settle matters alone with your opponent. Use most /001/ humane visitors and be considerate of them so that they will be happy to return. If a visitor is not treated well somewhere, he will soon withdraw and say to himself: 'I don't like it in that hut, fights spring up quickly there!'

"If you have given someone a present, you must not expect him soon to bring you a gift in return. Whatever you give away, give it completely voluntarily. Do not immediately afterwards say: 'I gave that person a present, but he did not offer me anything in return!' If you behave that way, no one will take a present from you, but everybody will think: 'That one gives presents only so that he can get presents in return!' If you offer something to others, do it spontaneously, do not talk about it, and do not accept anything for it.

"Remember, others also have a heart with human feelings. If you hurt them, they feel pain, too. Never forget that no one likes it if you speak disparagingly of him.

"If you take a piece of meat from your hut and bring it to another, the people there will invite you to eat with them. But do not consume the largest part. You yourself arrived there with the meat and your belly was full, but those people were perhaps suffering pangs of hunger. So let them have everything that you brought for them.

"Again I impress upon you: never forget these teachings! Every morning when you wake up, remember them and conduct yourself each day according to them!"

/901 cont./

Toward the end of my few sessions, old A-Ilwale repeated to me the words which he had just spoken to one of the whole class.

"If later on you do not follow the precepts which we have given you here in the Tulange, we shall not stand in your way, for now you are big [have come of age] and independent. It is up to you, personally and privately, to keep our precepts and teachings or not [when you are by yourself]. But do not imagine that you will always get off without punishment. The one-up-there [Wanguilwa] will see you and will punish you with an untimely death. If he does not punish you personally right away, he will let your children die and then you will be all alone" (300).

> 300. Later on I shall discuss in detail how through the interviews to the candidates to the Great Hut I became acquainted for the first time with the religious ideas of the Tanaans, especially with their Supreme Being, without completely understanding all this immediately. At that time any kind of discussion was impossible for me.

In conclusion I give here the first part of an address by Ilimi Wheeto in the late evening of March 12, 1935. He addressed the whole, including myself, in an impressive, soft voice as we sat in a semicircle on the ground in front of him, attentive and thoughtful.

"In olden times a man left the Tulange hut and went a short distance away. Outside he died. Later another man found him dead /902/ and told about it in the Great Hut. Then the people said to him: 'Why did you not bring this dead man in?' He replied: 'That one is dead forever. He must remain under the earth. It is Tudlu!'

"Now I want to tell you whole everything that I was taught and I shall tell you all the secrets that I know. Carefully guard these confidential words and do not say anything about it to those who do not yet know the Tulange. Everything that goes on here is an important matter, and no one may divulge any of it. Just as we [adults] and all the old people of former times have

/[illegible] cont./

and do not leave it lying on the ground. Arrange it well, otherwise one piece or another that is upright will fall over. Such things happen and it means: the wood that falls over wants to warn us that we shall soon die! If you have gathered wood in the forest, do not forget to tell it that you will come after it tomorrow. Tomorrow other people may perhaps pass there and not see the wood [which you have not yet removed] until they stumble over it. Then they will say: "Who in the world left this wood lying here? That man will soon die!" If the [illegible] gathers wood he should set each stick upright and say to it: "I shall fetch you later!" This comforts the stick and it is content. But if the [illegible] says nothing at all and goes away silently, the stick that has been set upright feels hurt. To the person who has gathered wood and carelessly left it lying on the ground it will say reproachfully: "Why don't you come after me?" And it will threaten him: "You will soon die!"

"A candidate who [inwardly] feels unwell and sad should take a [leafy] twig with new shoots, place it on his head for a few minutes, and then gently tap his head with it on all sides. That will cause the pain and the sadness to disappear.

"From the day you get married you possess a wife. Do not watch too closely if others come to visit your wife; do not show jealousy. Be quiet and do not be suspicious. If your wife should behave badly and give herself to another man, do not kill her, but rather let her go her way. You may never beat or mistreat your wife. If you murder her, neither you nor your family will live long, for you, too, [you and your family] will be murdered.

"As soon as you have your first child, and also when additional children are presented to you, be careful in eating and consider the customs (p. 102). Also avoid the 'harmful places.' If you are in the canoe, you may not throw the left over bones into the water or /[illegible]/ eat ordinary things. Choose good things to eat. During these days [before and after the birth of your child] do not use the sling, otherwise your child would remain bald or another of your children would die. If you break the calcareous shell of a sea urchin, the child will be born with a flat head. A young mother should not split wood, otherwise she will split the skull of her newborn infant. She may not break the bones nor the spinal column of birds, otherwise her child will become a

/S06 cont./
cripple. Do not eat the meat of the loggerhead duck, álalmí (Tachyeres brachypterus), thus you will prevent your child from becoming lazy and slow-witted (312).

> 312. These precepts obviously apply to both parents immediately before and after the birth of each child, particularly and most urgently their first-born. See further details, p. 503.

"Be industrious in your work. As soon as I finish these words, hasten into the woods without delay and do not wait until you are requested to fetch wood. You can see for yourself when the firewood is used up."

In his further admonitions old Whaits strongly emphasized the greatest respect for tradition and the prevailing law.

The individual decrees set forth here form the main ideas of the úwʍala teachings. The reason they fill up so much time in the evenings during the long period of the ʍíkaxas is chiefly because of the way they are presented by the úwʍala kinóna. He not only speaks slowly, but repeats the same idea several times in succession; he makes long pauses and weaves in frequent references to his own experiences. Frequently he also searches his memory for things he has observed in the candidate with regard to this admonition or that virtue or vice, and he describes with great precision what each one should strive for and how each one must adjust himself. Nevertheless, the fact is that the úwʍala kinóna sets forth the prevailing principles of conduct strictly dogmatically, without frequent and special consideration of the personal needs of one or another of the candidates. The latter procedure is left to relatives and friends.

The teacher almost never prolongs his address beyond an hour. When he comes to the end, he requests each candidate to go back to his place beside his sponsor. Then each úwʍala meditates on the words which he has just heard from the old man, until his sponsor specifically permits him to lie down to sleep (p. 710).

3. The More Important Principles. The educational goal that the parents aim for in the dwelling with their own children and the

/886 cont./

X881 one that the adults aim to achieve in the čiexaus but with the
867 uŭwala are identical. The rules of conduct that are set up in the two situations likewise coincide. The immature child is told briefly and definitely what he must do and must not do; he is won over by well-meaning persuasion to do his duty. It is different with the candidates in the /887/ initiation who are offered rational arguments and are made to realize the consequences of their actions, for they are supposed to act out of conviction. Of the principles frequently mentioned we shall here mention only the more important ones; furthermore, certain standards for judging the conduct of the individual will be set forth.

X881 Remarkably often the exhortations, whether they come from
867 the teacher or from another person, point to personal honor. The
156 following allusion is repeated again and again, almost word for
554 word: "People will commend you and say you are a good human being!" Indeed, the sense of honor is highly developed among our Yamana. Anyone who touches them here strikes their most sensitive point. Hence everyone makes a serious effort to acquire a good reputation and undoubtedly performs some good deed only in order to be thought of as honorable and blameless. Many a person will make a considerable sacrifice, remain silent during a verbal battle between others, forgo eating in spite of hunger, give away a valuable object, perform work for an aged man whom he dislikes very much, and do many other things merely so that he will be generally regarded as a paragon. To be the object of sad reproaches would humiliate any one of them to such an extent that he would avoid contact with those who knew about it perhaps for a period of years and even live alone in obscure retreats. There is a danger here that the conduct of the individual may turn to duplicity and hypocrisy. The way of life, however, counteracts this effectively, for neither falsehood nor deceit can permanently hide behind its simplicity and transparency.

X881 Closely allied to this is the explicit reference to the con-
867 siderable and evident punishment that, according to the belief
626 of these Indians, the Supreme Being inflicts upon a guilty person.
761 Specifically they mention a long illness and, even more frequently, premature death. A person who wants to avoid the latter or who does not want to be punished by the loss of his

/887 cont./

X 88| children should be particularly zealous about getting up early in
● 86| the morning. To die young is generally regarded as a punishment
626 for laziness or for some other misdeed that a person has been
76| guilty of. Thus, one who wants to attain a great age carefully obeys everything that has been lawfully valid among the Yamana from time immemorial.

If the references to personal honor and to the worst of all
X 88| punishments have the effect of actual threats, the following rules
86| of conduct emphasize the strictness of duty for subjective reasons.
577 Foremost is the reference to indiscriminate helpfulness. Everyone must, so to speak, render voluntary service to all others and must seize the first opportunity for performing services and favors of all kinds. This altruistic duty is not adequately fulfilled by gifts and presents; actions and work are also demanded. The candidates are definitely told that they should keep their eyes open and be on the lookout for every opportunity to be of service to others. These opportunities /888/ occur every day. They should seize them without being asked, that is to say, out of inner willingness. A person who needs something almost never asks for it.

To this category also belong the suppression of one's own desires in favor of others, the relinquishing of personal advantage, and the sacrifice of one's own comfort. The individual should be ready to perform voluntary services first of all out of consideration for himself, for in this way he makes others indebted to him, and they, out of a sense of justice, will repay him in like manner and will help him. Here the principle of self-love shines through again! It is extremely pleasant that every friendly service for others is supposed to be performed quite inconspicuously and quietly, as though taken for granted or as though this properly belonged to the daily round of duty. In my long association with the Yamana I had almost daily demonstrations of this.

The inner value of this attitude, which, in itself, is praiseworthy, is considerably increased by complete unselfishness. To
[431] give gifts to others without expecting anything for oneself, to invite others to a meal, to give others of one's booty, all this is part of the true Yamana. Anything that anyone needs and would like to borrow should be given to him without fuss. No one expects a reward for work he has performed for kinfolk and neighbors.

X881 /888 cont./
867 They are content to have helped a neighbor and thus to have en-
577 hanced their good reputation. Incidentally, however, they provide for themselves a guarantee of being helped in like manner by their fellow-tribesmen.

The above virtues are practiced not only by kinfolk and friends among themselves, the ufwala are also emphatically taught to show them toward strangers. They give specific reasons for this, not the least of which is that strangers will express themselves in laudatory fashion among their own people about those persons who have been helpful and friendly toward them. They also consider the fact that new arrivals in unfamiliar territory find it incomparably more difficult to help themselves or find their way around than in their home region.

X881 This is naturally linked with the general and surprisingly
867 strict demand for courtesy. We Europeans with our self-exaltation
576 would scarcely suspect this virtue among such much maligned savages! Nevertheless the attention of the ufwala is specifically drawn to the proper way to sit. One should be particularly polite to visitors, least of all is one permitted to start a quarrel with them. With a gentle gesture they are invited to sit down in a favorable place and to take whatever happens to be roasting in the fire.

Courtesy extends to respect for everything that is old. Esteem for the customs of the tribe and the entire body of tradition must come from the heart of every Yamana. Accordingly, he is very punctilious about this and avoids any adverse criticism. Even when no one notices him, he lives according to the custom of his ancestors. He hands /889/ it on to his children and emphatically defends it among his fellow-tribesmen. In recent times, if Europeans presume to disparage mockingly this or that convention, the Yamana usually has no defense against the insult but to get away from the audacious offender in obvious haste.

X881 It is not enough to hold the traditional institutions, principles,
867 ideas, and conceptions in high esteem; a very special form of
889 respect is no less due aged people of both sexes. Young people
576 must be quiet and reserved in their presence, yield to their decisions without contradiction, and show greater willingness to serve them immediately. It would be very insulting to ridicule

/889 cont./

them, to laugh at their helplessness, and to express mental impatiently about their strange behavior. The words and advice of the elders merit extra consideration on the part of young people.

Only a person who through constant training has achieved a certain amount of self-control is capable of practicing all these rules of conduct. This favored victim is recommended in its most diverse aspects. The Tamana demand that everyone control his appetite and his garrulousness, that he suppress fits of rage and impulses toward hostility, that he conduct himself modestly in front of visitors and in a friendly manner toward strangers, that he patiently bear the boring behavior of an aged story-teller and occasional disturbances by strange children or strange dogs. Women and girls should be retiring in their behavior and above all keep their eyes in check. They should be faithful to their lawful husband even if he has long since deviated from the right course.

Only a few of the principles of conduct from the rich spiritual treasure of the Tamana have been assembled here; many others can be taken directly from the wording of the instructions to the uwala. The ones given will suffice, however, to show the superior level of Fuegian wisdom in education (313).

> 313. The teachings and educational principles that have been set forth in these pages agree very well with the unfortunately brief account from the pen of Reverend T. Bridges in 1866 (p. 641).

4. Application of a Few Principles. Everything in the way of directions and admonitions that the teacher and many other persons offer the candidates surprisingly sound very fine. Our Fuegians are not content with that, however, and as capable educators of youth, they demand that as much of this as possible be forthwith put into action and practiced. They begin doing this even in the ciftaya hut.

The amazingly severe exercises of self-discipline which are binding on the uwala consist of unbroken silence, a motionless sitting posture, constant reflection, the forbearance to overcome hunger and weariness, and willingness to listen to oft-repeated

/709 cont./

admonitions and sharp criticism. They /708/ are sent into the woods alone, where they must take the shortest path and walk along gravely without talking to one another. They are watched from a hiding-place. If they have succeeded in capturing an animal or have gathered mushroomed fruits, the adults accompanying them sometimes begin eating these things on the way, while the hungry candidates watch this enjoyable repast. In the *Takaya* but they must often wait a long time between meals, so that their willfulness is completely crushed. They are purposely left squatting in an unpleasant place or a special burden (p. 708), and adults even put small animals on their backs to force them to cement self-control (p. 707). Not until the last one of all those present has been taken care of may they have a little of what they have previously distributed, of which individual persons return something to them.

Our otherwise so simple Tomoma have thought up all kinds of trials of patience for the young people they are trying to educate. For example, a girl who is just having her face painted is intentionally teased by having an adult purposely creep by her quite closely, grab her and knock her over. Meanwhile an old man or a *yikamal* says to her: "I can see very plainly how angry you are and how you are seething inside, wanting to hit back at the one who is tormenting you. Control yourself! Here you may not give vent to your anger as you would like to do. Do not dare forget yourself, we would thoroughly tame you! Of course you do not care for these words of mine, but you'll just have to listen to them. Just control yourself, there will be many other things you'll have to endure (314)!" It is no less difficult for many sensitive boys

> 314. For these sentences I am indebted to old Black who in general behaved very quietly and was a man of gentle disposition. Other persons who are lively and inclined to vehemence use irritating and scornful words.

and girls to be loudly reprimanded in front of all those present, and this usually only for incidents that must be regarded more as due to childish lack of understanding than as transgressions.

/[illegible] cont./

Closely connected with practice in self-control is equally frequent practice in unselfishness. In the *ciéxaga* but the *uŕwǵala*, in a manner of speaking, loses himself completely. He is unconditionally dependent on the will of the other participants, for he must obey everyone without contradiction. He must perform various tasks, and occasionally the adults wait purposely for unfavorable conditions in which to have these done. Thus, at the bidding of the leader, he must gather and bring in the necessary firewood. He is most likely to be sent into the woods for it when there is a storm outside and it is raining heavily. If there are many people in the Great Hut so that the adults do not have enough room near the fire, the candidates must let themselves be pushed back against the wall of the hut. Here they do not get the radiating warmth from the fire and besides feel more the cold air coming in from outside.

/[illegible]/ If the center space of the Great Hut is needed for greater freedom in dancing, the *uŕwǵala* are ordered to the exit of the hut where they must crowd together. Even for sleeping at night they are permitted only the space that is required for lying sideways in the crouching position. A candidate who unconsciously stretches himself in his sleep is immediately forced back into the narrow space by his sponsor. The *uŕwǵala* is merely told: "Everyone must learn to get along with the least possible space, so that other people will also find a place (315!"

315. The Yamana of most recent times have become very lenient about this demand of old. Neither I nor the other candidates were hindered by the indulgent Santiago from comfortably stretching out. Although the space was small, we could nevertheless partly rest our legs on the outer edge of the wide place where the fire was. Inasmuch as the Great Hut in Puerto Mejillones was a good 11 meters long and there were nine people on one side and 11 on the other, it is easy to calculate how much each of us could stretch out. The fact that the Yamana are small in stature does not make much difference.

/898 cont./

Two years before, Alfredo, who was a strict leader, did not generally permit laxity with regard to the regulation. He made no exceptions, even for me.

In the matter of eating, the candidates are even more sharply held to the practice of unselfishness. Adults are regularly served their meals first. If it happens that after the food is distributed there is nothing left for some of the uŕwźala, the adults do not worry about it, but let them wait until the next opportunity, without comforting or pitying them. Frequently the boys and girls go hunting and gathering to replenish the supply of meat for the many participants. They are required to bring absolutely everything to the Great Hut, or rather, to the cookout and place it at the disposal of the adults. No matter how hungry they are, they may not eat anything on the way. They would have no opportunity, since they are almost always accompanied by adults. In any case, they are so thoroughly intimidated that they observe the prohibition even when they are alone.

In general there is no preparation of food or roasting of large quantities of meat in the ćźkaus hut. As soon as the uŕwźala have brought in the fruits of their industry, the girls take their filled baskets along the two rows of participants and shake about two handfuls of berries, fungi, or mussels into the lap of each person. When each of the girls has made the rounds, she sits down in her accustomed place. It is only now that one woman or another gets up, goes to the girl, and returns a few small pieces. Now the latter, along with the adults, may roast and eat what was given to her. Outside the Great Hut the boys cut up the birds and sea lions they have caught. Inside each of them goes along the two rows of adults and puts a piece of meat at the feet of each one. After all have been served and the last bits have been distributed, the uŕwźala squats down in his place. /892/ Usually his sponsor or even another man lets him have a small portion, as a token of acknowledgment, so to speak, which only now may he eat.

A person requiring something that he does not happen to have simply borrows it from an uŕwźala without further ado.

/[illegible] cont./

One evening during my first initiation, Nelly stepped into the Great Hut just as the dancing had begun. Since she wanted to take part, but had no dance staff, she simply took one from the nearest candidate and began swinging it in her hands. The candidate was obliged to remain seated and forego the dancing. Later I saw an old man who had lost his hopefil simply take this article from the head of the candidate sitting opposite him, and he kept it until he lay down to sleep in the evening. Chris explained to me: "An ufwala should feel honored if an adult uses one of his things!" The candidate must be prepared to have taken away from him, without demur, even the pieces of skin with which he covers his own body if an older person needs them.

Moreover, the adults repeatedly give the candidates an opportunity to practice what in general may be called devotion to duty. It is well known that they must squat motionless in their places until their sponsors permit them to lie down to sleep, usually not until after midnight. Sometimes, at a signal from the leader or overseer, all the adults crawl under their covers earlier, and the sponsors, too, pretend they are fast asleep, but for hours they secretly observe their candidates to see whether they are sitting motionless in their painful squatting position.

Our Yomana place particular stress on the exercise of strict, continued silence. Sometimes they send the ufwala, unaccompanied, to a particular place in the forest. Here and there, however, a man in hiding closely observes their conduct. They are intentionally brought up to believe that they are being watched everywhere. A few days before their installation, a man leads them into the woods. Here they must address the trees as though the latter were living persons and introduce themselves with the following call: "ufwala hiia hii (I am now a candidate)!" Subsequently they conduct themselves respectfully in the forest and avoid chattering (p. 731). At the conclusion of the Zizaga celebration they again step up to the trees and announce to them that their trial period is now over (p. [illegible]). Sometimes they find it necessary to say something else, but always this must be done in a low voice and as briefly as possible (306).

306. This rule generally also applies to the adult

/992 cont./

participants, as we shall point out specifically below (p.700), although this obvious duty has already been referred to several times.

The leader and each sponsor expects from the ufwala quick and blind obedience to every order. It would never occur to a boy or girl to contradict or to show indolence. Sometimes strong measures are taken against their defects of character and obedience, but they may not show how rebellious they are inwardly /993/ and how their sense of honor has been offended. As a mere exercise in obedience a candidate is sometimes wakened in the middle of the brief period of sleep permitted him, in order to squat in his place for about an hour; afterward he is allowed to sleep again, but in the morning he has no right to rest longer. One or another of them is sent out in rainy weather or in the dark of night; he is left standing for some time under a tree. After he has been brought back into the Grass Hut, he must first sit at the entrance before he may compensate for the cold and dampness by sitting beside the fire. Allwala explained the purpose of these measures to me and said briefly: "By means of such [exercises in obedience], the obedience of young people is broken and later on they will more easily follow what is customary among us Tonsonol"

This point of view will explain best of all why our Fungions are remarkably strict about punishment. Minor offenses against the rules and involuntary movements which usually are due merely to carelessness are criticized with verve, serious words and characterized as major transgressions. Sometimes they are punished the very first time. Excuses or excuses are not allowed. Mercilessly the culprit is sent to a narrow place next to the exit where, for a day or even two days, depending on his offense, he is deprived of every scrap of meat and swallow of water. It is bad enough just to sit there, for the cold air from outside pours in whenever anyone lifts the scrap of leather covering it, and this is repeated often if there is much traffic. Moreover, this is farthest away from the warming hut fire. Some ufwala have their sleep cut down to three hours for several nights, so that they will lose all resistance and become completely exhausted. Even in the cold of winter an ufwala will be put outside for some time in order to

/TAS cont./
even him from the halls of conduct and culture.

Punishment is meted out either by the leader or the spokesman. The parents of the one who is being punished, who are present, would never take sides with their child against the rights or against false condemnation, for so [illegible] in the [illegible] hut, their child is beyond their particular jurisdiction.

Whatever a candidate must endure through the tortures mentioned above is felt directly and very painfully, but reference to the Supreme Being, to Wezangilwa, is of higher moral value as a foundation for the prevailing order and respect for the whole [illegible] institution. Wezangilwa is regarded as the originator of the youth initiation and hence the very guardian of everything that takes place there. The leader specifically spoke of this several times to the candidates at the very beginning: "Everything that goes on here in the [illegible] is not a Tamana affair (317).

> 317. This means that the initiation was neither invented nor arbitrarily shaped by the Tamana, but that its actual originator is the Supreme Being mentioned.

It comes from /TAS/ Wezangilwa! He made known to our ancestors how we should celebrate the [illegible]! We conform to that very precisely, because he watches closely!" In the last analysis, anyone who is guilty of negligence acts in opposition to the institution created by Wezangilwa himself. Therefore his name is constantly interwoven with the admonitions and is even mentioned in connection with the most serious punishment, namely, untimely death. Here in the initiation the adults teach the [illegible] sincere piety. Usually here for the first time Wezangilwa presented to them as the great law-giver and the avenger of all evil. The training in the [illegible] rests on this religious idea. Every candidate is supposed to become familiar with this idea here, so that in his later life and action it can be a support and a warning, a guide and orientation. "Wezangilwa [illegible] kalahonga ukumfu (the 'old-one-up-there' watches you, you sluggard [and will let you die])!" The veneration that is due the Supreme Being keeps the Tamana here, too, from repeating his name more

[illegible]

[illegible] show how the [illegible] are considered to the treasure. It cannot be denied that significant rules of conduct or customs, as well as good or evil deeds, are elucidated on the basis of many an example from a legend. Therefore the stories to some extent also serve the chief aim of the [illegible], to train the young people.

7. Work Duties

[illegible] A surprisingly rich store of teachings and precepts, principles and rules of conduct, and excerpts from individual experience and from old legends are offered the candidates at the initiation. We see, therefore, how the long period during which they are together is filled. The experienced educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with theoretical instruction alone, however. They insist on practice and drill under their supervision. They are constantly affording the [illegible] an opportunity to transform into action the teachings and principles put before them, inasmuch as the best rules are of no avail if they are not practiced. When I openly thanked Alfredo for what I had learned in my first initiation, he said to me in a friendly tone: "Certainly, everything that goes on in the [illegible] hut is very good. But we Yamana are happiest if the [illegible] conduct themselves throughout their lives as we have taught them in the [illegible]!"

[illegible] The young people entering there as candidates are at the age of maturity, that is to say, shortly before their marriage. Soon they will have the care of a family and the duties connected with those occupations which, according to the prevailing division of labor, fall to each sex. The community of fellow-tribesmen wishes to guarantee that the family soon to be established will really be prepared for life, that each of the two young spouses is equal to the problems of family life. The old people express it specifically: "In the [illegible] we ascertain the degree of manual skill possessed by each [illegible]. Whatever he lacks in the way of capability, he must acquire here!" For example, in some families the boys are given too little opportunity for independent hunting because the father personally does the main work. This deficiency is corrected in the initiation. Without discrimination,

/1072 cont./

(7)	ɨ́ŋku	ɨ́ŋlla	ɨ́ŋgamɨ́ŋi	T'ɨ́nowa	ɨ́ŋɨ́nan
	the	again	hit	the old one	in the woods

ɨ́ŋkɨ́ŋɨ́ŋa,	kɨ́ndam kinagatɨ́ŋɨ́ŋuda?
my head,	how I hear it?

/1076/ In wandering through the woods a man was in danger of being killed by a falling tree trunk, again he once was lightly struck. This gave him such a shock that he developed a headache. He mentions the old-one-up-there as the cause of it. That is why his situation is particularly serious and he does not know how he will regain his mental balance. -- Most of the words used here are repeated in the following exclamation.

(8)	T'ɨ́nowa	ɨ́ŋka	ɨ́ŋlla	ɨ́ŋgamɨ́ŋita	ɨ́ŋkɨ́ŋɨ́ŋa
	The old one	me	again	hit	my head

ɨ́ŋɨ́nan	kɨ́ndam kinagatɨ́ŋɨ́ŋuda?
in the woods,	how I hear it?

In content this saying does not differ from the preceding one and says the same thing, but it expresses more definitely and emphatically the intention of Wataginɨ́ŋwa to let the man be killed. -- Compare the verb ɨ́kigɨ́mata, "to hit unintentionally, or by mistake" /cited in English/, in BD:15. BD:163 translates kɨ́ndɨ́m as "such, so, in such a manner, in that way" /cited in English/. The word ɨ́ŋɨ́nan is evidently synonymous with ɨ́ŋuna, "forest, wood, jungle, thicket" /cited in English/, in BD:46.

(9)	Wataginɨ́ŋwa	ɨ́ŋkɨ́ŋa	kɨ́lakanɨ́ŋa	ta-kumɨ́ŋu.
	The old one	you	will take away	[if] you lazy.

This formula is one example of the precepts which are given the candidates in the youth initiation. It warns the ɨ́ŋwɨ́ŋala that the old-one-up-there does not tolerate a lazy person, but will let him die prematurely. -- The word kɨ́lakanɨ́ŋa is related to kɨ́lenkɨ́na, "to drive, shove, push away" /cited in English/, in BD:178, and to related forms.

Besides the formulas listed here the Yamana of former days used many others containing the same ideas, which now must be

/1006 cont./

X 595 known, again toward the east (p. 1018). The Yaruma can give no other reason for this rule than that the custom governed the women back in the days when the Kina was still in their hands. "In this Grant Hut we men stick closely to everything that was once customary among the women!" This was the answer I received when I asked for the meaning and origin of this rule (302).

> 302. This custom could be interpreted as an indication that the Kina celebration originated in the northern regions, as the origin myth clearly states (p. 1027).

X 58 848 /1007/ The leader now and then makes a candidate try out the exercises for the dances and spirit appearances and work at them, and some of the young men do this on their own. They are all willing, for each one likes to appear before the others in the role of a spirit. An experienced man will give directions and probably also perform, while the men in the audience give their opinions. Such rehearsals, of course, take place inside the Grant Hut, under the cover of a dark night they also take place outside near the entrance. It is only after a young man or a candidate is able to perform the dance movements perfectly and very likely that he is permitted to assume the role of a spirit in front of the women and children. Such exercises also show which mask is more suitable for this or that role. Accordingly, he must then perfect himself in whichever role suits him. In this way the group of men makes sure that well-trained young people are able to portray the long list of spirits.

X 595 •867 In addition to the above-mentioned formalities pertaining to the personal appearance and posture of the candidate, there is, of course, also the explanation of the meaning of the celebration, which is given at the very beginning along with the myth of its origin. Beyond that, this or that uwiala will also receive instruction and admonition in case a few of the men feel that he needs it. It is not at all rare for the old people to observe that an uwiala dismissed from the Kiyaga is not sufficiently serious about the teachings and principles he received there. The adults carefully note evidences of weakness and improper behavior on

[illegible]

his peer and they will reach other about it quite openly with a view to correcting the lad's mistakes at the next Kina festival. Naturally this is always only a matter of the individual personality of the *ubogin* in question and certain weaknesses of character. Usually a close relative takes it upon himself to reprove the lad with admonitions and to correct whatever has given cause for worry and complaints. A Kina festival is truly the last opportunity at which a young man can be seriously influenced by the weight of authority enjoyed by an older fellow-villagers. Here, after all, he is an *ubogin*, and as such he is at the mercy of the entire community, to be supervised and taught by them. Out of human convictions and far-seeing concern for the public welfare, the old people are anxious to reprove thoroughly those inclinations and conducts among the young people which might develop into serious faults of character. That is why the man who takes care of the candidate and who is also related to him asks one or another of the participants to help him, not infrequently the leader himself. All of them, one today and another tomorrow, talk seriously to the *ubogin* insofar as his faults or his weaknesses of character demand it. They teach him in all kindness, admonishing him and do not hesitate to [illegible] predict that his faulty development will lead to a bad end. A person who takes an interest in an *ubogin* in this way feels that he is fully justified and obliged to do so. If it is shown years later that his efforts have been without favors, this man justifies himself before the group and reminds them of all the things he did for the *ubogin* back in the Kina.

Thus, even during the man's celebration at least a few young people are taught according to the general principles that they were given in the *Kinage*. One is surprised at the general solicitude shown once again in the Kina for the rising generation, to make each one "a good and useful human being."

It has already been mentioned that in exceptional cases the Tamana also admit a woman to their man's celebration (p. 1214). They explain this strange leniance as follows. In former times a woman would occasionally approach the Great Hut out of curiosity. Instantly several men set upon her and dragged her away with them by force. As punishment they held her captive in the Great Hut for a few days. Although she was blindfolded and the men behaved

D: Lothrop E-9 (1924-1925) 1928
DHA Tatgan DHA

The genuine part of the initiation ceremony was filled with singing and dancing. By means of song they sought both to communicate with and to keep at a distance the Fetish, a great evil spirit, who, the candidates were told, might seriously injure the occupants of the initiation lodge. Dancing served to neutralize the evil of his presence. To frighten him, the walls of the hut were beaten with sticks. Candidates were told to follow directions exactly as the Fetish would wish them. Sometimes the Fetish actually appeared—a man fantastically painted. Finally the candidates were told who it was and were warned that the real Fetish was much worse than what they had seen.

The master of ceremonies usually was the leader in the singing, though sometimes this duty was assigned to another old man. The dances, which usually came late at night, were named for certain animals. Both the melody and the movements suggested characteristic peculiarities of this animal.

The moral instruction of the candidates they divided between the godparents and the official teacher, at whose hut the initiates had to sit from time to time. They were taught to be abstinent in thought and conduct, and to exhibit the virtues of hospitality and generosity. Respect for the aged was inculcated, for all must grow old in time. The boys they taught to be peaceful and not to make enemies, to treat women with respect, to help the young and the blind. The girls they told to rise early in the morning to get their water and wood, to care faithfully for their husbands and children, not to lose about trifles, nor to repeat gossip. Behind these instructions stood a certain amount of religious sanction, for the evil Fetish threatened them, while the supreme Wakainwa observed their every action. This moral code set a standard for the tribe to which in practice they did not adhere too rigidly.

After some days of instruction the ceremony came to a close. At a given hour the candidates assembled behind a curtain at one end of the hut. One by one they were called forth with the master of ceremonies dancing beside them and were ceremonially surrendered to their godparents and therewith accepted as members of the tribe. The godfather gave his child three gifts: a finely woven guickim basket adorned with feathers, a bird-bone like the one used to drink with, and a scratching-stick.

In the final hours of the last evening the women took charge under the leadership of an old woman. She and the other women

/350 cont./

[151] behavior, and this is best expressed in their high degree of contentment. Our natives are uncomplainingly satisfied with all the misfortune they must endure because of the weather, with the sharp restrictions resulting from the scarcity of product of the soil, and with the constant hampering of free movement as a result of the overwhelming forces of nature. One would scarcely believe it possible for a people to be resigned to such few pleasures and such scant comfort. One never hears them complain or grumble about the hard living conditions that have been imposed upon them, and they bear with invariable composure the lot that has befallen them.

[153] Nevertheless, they have not let themselves become a weak plaything of natural forces. In the rigor of battle they have steeled themselves in resistance, and their certainty of triumph gives them that independence and self-reliance that is content even in the most miserable situation. In their struggle with nature for subsistence our Fuegians develop well-trained mental powers and an unsurpassed skill. Even Bridges (b):260 in concise terms credits them with great merit: "They have various methods of hunting and killing birds, and in all they show much skill" /translated from Spanish/. The observations and experience of many generations have alone perfected the efficient methods of trapping and hunting with which every Indian is sure of success

[154] without having to waste effort. He practiced them from the days of his youth until he became skillful and steadfast. Many of the manipulations and movements, carried out with adroitness and some effort, seem simple and easy to the eye of a European (307):

> 307. Bove (e):157 adds to this, saying: "Only someone who has lived among them can have any idea of the effort and cunning which they are obliged to muster in order to obtain the most frugal livelihood for themselves."

the keen hunter and unerring marksman excite admiration. If a European would try his hand at this he would become vividly aware of how stiff and awkward he is at doing the things the Indian does every day.

/[illegible] /

Hyades (b):12. This answer does not need an explanation.

Everyone knows that in an accident some man or other could perhaps have been saved by swimming, as many women succeeded in doing; nevertheless, he does not make any effort to learn this art.

The manner in which the women move in the water resembles our so-called paddle-stroke, or, as Martial:193, agreeing with Fitz-Roy (a):196, expresses himself, "is more like that of the dog than man" /translated from French/. The mother teaches her daughter when she is still young. In a shallow inlet she rows her away from the shore, squats in the middle of the canoe, extends her outstretched arms over the upper edge and requests /618/ the girl to lie down on top of them, face downward; suddenly she draws her arms back and calls briefly: "Now swim!" The girl must now help herself until she has learned this art. Except for a few words of explanation, she receives no instruction. Sometimes during these exercises the mother places a flat stone on the girl's back.

In their frail vessel the natives feel completely safe. And why not! Their accurate judgment of the weather situation makes it possible for them to know what they may risk, and they show great skill in handling their canoe. Formerly it was very seldom indeed that a boat capsized (430). If in most recent times such

430. In this connection Spears:55 says: "Both the Rev. Thomas Bridges and the Rev. John Lawrence told me that they never heard of a Yahgan being upset in his canoe until these later years" /cited in English/.

accidents have happened repeatedly -- I myself was once a witness to one -- it can be proved that the man or the woman, usually both, were intoxicated and yet ventured upon the water, even at night.

The European is seized with a strange feeling when he rides in the canoe because it is extraordinarily light and unsteady and stands high in the water. The slightest movement of an occupant

/734 cont./

145 is almost mute, until, at about a year and a half, he suddenly
856 pronounces complete words. The young Fuegians do not carry on constant babbling monologues, as do European babies almost without exception. A few weeks before they venture to come out with full speech, however, they apparently do some silent speech exercises. They move their lips and tongues and show by their expressions that they are thinking and mentally active. The parents observe this inward activity with satisfaction. The children's earliest speech is somewhat awkward, but it is very much like the speech of adults. The latter almost never make any ef-
868 fort to help or correct the child. He is left to himself, no matter how much difficulty he has or how incorrectly he speaks. Later he corrects his own mistakes by listening and comparing. Similarly in subsequent years no adult ever teaches the child to speak clearly and correctly.

When the child enters his third year, there is usually a younger
145 brother or sister to whom the mother gives her full attention.
857 After that he is left even more to his own devices. Then he begins to seek the company of his older brothers and sisters and of other children, but keeps as much as possible to those of his own age. The play instinct brings these little ones together. They are well content by themselves. Sometimes they squat in a circle for hours, scratching the ground with their fingers, or they grub in the gravel or roll back and /735/ forth on the grass. In these early years they do not play any real games, but they look at everything with attentive eyes and probingly feel everything that seems strange to them. They do not whisper to each other about their experiences, nor do they talk together animatedly. Everywhere, even when they are with other children, they give the stranger the impression that they are thoughtful, patient observers, an attitude which every European would attribute to older children.

The parents enjoy daily observation of the small body which
856 visibly unfolds. Supposedly in order to accelerate growth, they
171 resort to a magical custom known as mūǵǰa, which means roughly "to stretch upward." Either the father or someone else calls the child, makes him stretch up both arms, embraces him, and lifts him high enough so that their two faces are almost on top of each other. Then the child must squeeze down out of this embrace, and he wriggles his head through, with his face turned upward, he

/749 cont./

864 your wife later and you will have no children. This [the real reason for your not having children] will soon be generally known and you will be disgraced forever!"

Thus, fear and intimidation are important training measures which the Fuegians also use in order to keep their children within bounds at the time of /750/ turbulent sexual desire. When they are grown up and enlightened, they themselves make fun of their naïve guilelessness and their gullible trustfulness. For example, the young men will say among themselves: "When I was small they tried to frighten me and said to me: 'If you have anything to do with a woman she will cut off your penis!' Now I know that they only wanted to scare me off!" With their own children they, in turn, will use this same warning which old Alfredo revealed to me.

868 Precepts and admonitions are one aspect of education; the other consists of definite exercises and specific instruction in skill and manual dexterity. The boys are treated differently from the girls, in accordance with the division of labor prevailing in every family. This training is supposed to prepare them for the duties and particular sphere of work that await everyone. Until the child is three years old, it is entirely under its mother's care. From then on the father gradually draws his little son entirely to himself, plays with him, gives him errands, often calls on him to help, no matter how little, so that the child does not leave his side. Thus the boy learns about all his tools and types of work, observes him in all his activities and skills, and finally will have to test this and try out that. If he succeeds in his manipulations, he is praised; if he is still too awkward, he must repeat them and go on practicing until he feels secure. The demands that the father makes on his son increase step by step, and he is not really finished learning until he has reached marriageable age when he develops his full physical strength. An uncle will also keep after his nephew with much patience and tenacity, so that the boy will acquire enough dexterity and skill in the manipulation of weapons and tools, as well as in hunting, to be completely independent in obtaining food (186).

186. Despite some shortcomings in the following description, Bridges affirms that children

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868

are given definite instruction by parents and adults: "Parents universally take no pains in the education of their children, and give them no instruction in the arts of native life, save it may be a little instruction in swimming and basket-making by mothers to their daughters; yet I believe that even for this they are generally as much indebted to others as to their mothers. The children learn to speak, to use the spear, sling and arrow, to make these and other implements and vessels as best they can" /cited in English/ (MM: IX, 214:1875).

861 857 The girls are given all kinds of chores by their mother. They must tend their smaller brothers and sisters, roast meat for them, keep the fire going and bring wood, put the roofing of the hut in order and see that the smoke draws off quickly, prepare pieces of leather and sew them together, and take part in gathering mussels and in servicing the canoe. This more or less amounts to a full day's work for a woman. The girl is brought up to do these things almost playfully and becomes so familiar with all of them that after a certain age she can in part replace her mother.

868 /751/ Any one of the girls or boys who acts clumsily and awkwardly, who out of stubbornness or resistance will not be pressed into service, is disciplined by his elders with steadfast patience, but also with tireless tenacity, until he has attained an adequate degree of proficiency and skill. Again and again the little sluggard is taken to task by his own parents and by other people and all the adults help to prepare every child to be independent in his later life. The small services that a child is obliged to perform for his parents form the practical part of his education, with which the actual instruction is interwoven (187).

187. Bridges (i):22 pointed to this very briefly: "The children's help was required in all the duties of native life" /cited in English/. Hyades (g):38 and (f):567 mentions

/751 cont./

868 that "girls and boys are required to take part in the work at an early age."

γ. Results of the Training

183 861 Nelly once confessed to me: "Adults worked on a child long enough and forcefully enough to convince themselves that he would become a good and industrious human being!" It can be said without exaggeration that, throughout, the Yamana have fulfilled their general duties and this must be regarded as a favorable result of their training. Although many vicious outside influences have very much undermined the strictness of the old customs, nevertheless, even up to the present time, almost everyone is more or less punctilious about the things he regards as just and good and proper. They are especially concerned that their children should be favorably influenced and well brought up. Although today some mature women tend to be somewhat slovenly, yet the group as a whole puts restrictions on youth now as before in order to make it impossible for them to transgress seriously. The fact that, despite grave hindrances, the youth initiation has not been entirely given up proves better than words how much the seriousness of child-rearing in former times is still preserved to this day.

861 881 If one surveys the individual child-rearing principles that are obviously emphasized in the Yámana, he is amazed at their extraordinary soundness. They have been tested during centuries of application and have proved themselves successful for many generations. The parents act as natural educators, and the group as a whole supports them. Love for the child and steadfast patience are virtues which will probably never be lacking among the Fuegians in training their children. Education will always be individual and will aim for the perfection of soul and character in the child, as well as the development of manual skill. Among those much despised Fuegians one would scarcely suspect as much educative wisdom as is revealed in their admonitions, which, moreover, are couched in such brief and concise statements!

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857 In true boy-fashion they inquisitively stick their noses into everything; every unusual phenomenon arouses their attention. They swarm from one spot to another and never tire of testing themselves in all kinds of feats of strength. They like best to go away from /761/ the huts, to be safe from any interruption by calls and threats of elders. Then they hunt for birds' nests and tease the fledglings, to the chagrin of the pair of feathered parents. They knock over rotted tree trunks and shout with glee if they expose and scatter a whole swarm of capricorn beetles or fat larvae. If particularly good Cyttaria fungi should entice them, they will also climb trees, otherwise not. At low tide they tumble about on the wet beach and stamp their feet down hard in puddles so that the water squirts up high on both sides. They try to catch with their hands the little fish left in shallow puddles and with short sticks dig in the sand for the razor-shell clams (Solen) when the latter squirt out a few drops of water. Tirelessly they scour the coasts and rocks; everywhere something rivets their attention and they come across novelties that provide fun for them.

I often roved about in the company of these lively youngsters. With their extraordinarily keen eyes they discovered all kinds of insignificant things and devoted themselves to them with bustling liveliness. I realized how thoroughly these children learn from their earliest youth to train their senses, especially their eyes, and to use them well.

857 147 Furthermore, it is surprising to note that these boys are never squeamish and whining, but courageous and reckless. Stark naked they trample about in the snow or in cold sea water, roll around on gravelly soil, run barefoot over rough stones on the beach, and march through thickets of thorny bushes. Afterwards they examine their many scratches and rub spittle on larger wounds, but they pay no attention to their aches and pains. When they wrestle, they hit hard and audaciously, scratch each other mercilessly, and fight until the opponent is exhausted to the point of offering no further resistance. I never saw a weaker one avoid a stronger one; sometimes a weakling even attacked a strong one and defended himself bravely.

524 88 There are no special playthings for boys. An adult, usually the father, gives them imitations of the weapons and tools that the

/761 cont./

527 868 men use on their hunts. In order to be able to handle them sell, the children are taught from early childhood and must constantly practice. These articles are, of course, easily damaged or they are lost, but the adults never tire of making replacements, and the more the boy grows, the larger his implements become. One most often sees the Fuegian boy hurling the sling. It seems to be 857 868 a part of him, and, following the example of the men, he wears it like a necklace around his throat where it is always and immediately handy. He likes best to aim at birds, but teasingly he will also send a stone to the ground close beside some other child. In childish innocence he will hurl /762/ stones in all directions and is sometimes so naïve about it that he must be chased away again and again from the vicinity of the huts.

Practice with short spears which adults demand of the boys seems to be less convenient and also more difficult. One of the men will call them to follow him. The target will be an old basket or, more often, the root, tanuwúlux, of the large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera), hámus. The boys are lined up not far from the target and must demonstrate their aim. They are praised or scolded according to their accomplishments. No less frequent are the archery contests with bow and arrow. It is part of the father's duty in training his sons to acquaint them early with the use of weapons. It is a vital necessity that they know how to handle them, and therefore this kind of practice is demanded of them when they are still boys (195), repeated in the youth initiation,

195. As Bridges (a):183 has reliably observed: "little boys early become skilful in throwing spears and stones, slinging, and making spears, etc." /cited in English/.

and continued even after that. The Yamana do not give their children a finished weapon with the bone point, which is too valuable. Straight poles pointed at one end or useless harpoon shafts serve just as well. They entrust larger boys with snares and praise their success.

Such imitations of weapons can hardly be regarded as playthings. The Fuegians do not primarily intend them to be, but

/762 cont./

857 868 regard them as a means of helping boys to prepare properly for their later duties in connection with food-getting (196).

196. Bridges (i):2. and (h):208 also emphasizes this purpose: "They early, for pastime, prepared themselves for their future life; spending their time, if boys, in practising throwing or slinging stones, in spearing or shooting arrows at a mark, or in attempting to make the various articles of native property" /cited in English/.

541 857 There is a kind of very modest fireworks, sélakina (séla, simple, plain," kina, "flame up, burn": "little fire, play of sparks"), which is not so much play as simply entertainment. Not only the boys who put it on, but all the occupants of the camp enjoy it. They take the very soft, light interior wood of a beech trunk that has been altered by fungus formations and use it in small pieces about as long as a finger. It begins to glow surprisingly quickly, and when it is hurled into the air it glows even stronger. Each little piece of wood describes an arc as it ascends and falls to the ground. If it has not been entirely burned up, they pick it up and throw it again. Several boys together repeatedly do the throwing, and they must be very nimble. It is a delight to see the little, glowing pieces rise and fall in large numbers, like bright points in the dark night. It is only when several families are together and in a happy mood, that is, for a wedding, for the tu'ikipa /763/ tátu, for the conclusion of the čiéxaus, or beside a stranded whale, that a larger group will sometimes on a quiet night enjoy themselves for some time with this sélakina (197).

197. Without doubt Despard was referring to this on July 29, 1859: "When confined to the 'ucer' [hut] by bad weather, they amuse themselves by throwing burning sticks at each other" /cited in English/ (VP:VII, 10;1860).

857 Another way of amusing themselves seems strange at first, but is explained by the fact that boys are not permitted to wear real

/763 cont./

857 masks of bark, ajyúlu hilix, as they are used at the kina festival. As a substitute, they disfigure and distort their faces. They stretch open their eyelids by pressing a small bent stick against the upper and lower edge of the bony eye-sockets. Furthermore, they put one end of another pair of little sticks against the inside of the nostrils and the other end against the inner wall of the lower lip. Finally, they also paint their faces with all kinds of patterns in white, black, and red. Disfigured in this fashion, they swarm all over the camp and creep up on an unsuspecting child to terrify it.

We see that lively boys do not lack all kinds of fun and a variety of entertainment while their parents are camping in one spot and when favorable weather permits them to roam about freely. They are outside a great deal even in heavy rain and thick snow; they like to stretch their legs in vigorous exercise.

β. Girls' Play

857 157 Whether or not one judges by European standards, he must admit that, in contrast to the always lively boys, Fuegian girls display an extraordinarily quiet manner. Among adults, too, the woman, in contrast to the man, keeps herself very modestly and submissively in the background. Hence girls are probably born with their unobtrusive nature, having inherited it from their mothers. In reality they are reserved and almost timid; they seldom shout loudly, and only occasionally, when they are far away from the huts, do they engage in noisy fun. They are by no means lacking in liveliness, but it does not show unless they are among themselves and not being watched by adults. They can even be audacious and decide on mad pranks that would be appropriate for vigorous boys. They are by far more courageous and unafraid than European girls of the same age.

857 868 Circumstances are such that girls far more than boys have to perform small services in the family. When the mother leaves the hut for a while, perhaps to go fishing or to gather wood, they must often tend their brothers and sisters who are no longer babies. This does /764/ not rob them of their freedom, but merely puts a

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857 867 little restraint on them. They are not too serious about taking care of their brothers or sisters in any case. They do, however, like to hoist a younger brother or sister on their backs and drag him around everywhere for hours, they evidently do not find it taxing or tiring. Moreover, they must perform all kinds of work for the mother in the hut, such as tending the fire, fetching kindling, arranging the sleeping places, helping to clean and stretch skins, taking all kinds of implements from the canoe to the hut, and helping to load the canoe. Naturally they also often accompany women who are going out to hunt for berries, pick fungi, and gather mussels. From their own observations, implemented by some instruction, they become acquainted with all the kinds of manual work that the women must do, namely, dressing skins, weaving baskets, making little ornamental strings, catching fish, and servicing the canoe (198).

198. Bridges (a):183 also conceded: "Girls are early taught to make baskets, plait fish-lines and 'asina' (an ornamental fine plait of sinew) worn on the neck), to paddle, and to do other work" /cited in English/. Elsewhere Bridges (i):22 and (h):208 repeats that girls amuse themselves "in threading berries as necklaces, paddling in the canoes, making reed baskets, or in attempts at painting faces, etc." /cited in English/.

Actual practice, such as is required of boys, is not spared the girls altogether, inasmuch as they must demonstrate to their mother or a woman neighbor their ability to do this or that work until they have acquired a certain dexterity.

857 [301] When the girl is alone or with only a few sisters, she likes to make all kinds of ornaments. When she has reached a certain age, she makes herself a few necklaces and anklets as a matter of course. It gives her great pleasure to wind and braid the tendons or string on them the smallest pieces of bone and berries. If several girls are together, they paint their faces with all kinds of patterns and try to outdo each other in the careful execution of this ornamentation.

/765 cont./

and the brown robber gull, wilaúla (Megalestris skua chilensis); cormorants and penguins, which are too dirty, are less desirable. After the girls have become fond of such a bird in the course of a few weeks, they do not have the heart to kill it even if it would make a succulent roast. If one day it flies off, they follow it enthusiastically with their eyes and send good wishes after it.

As is well known, the bark canoe belongs entirely to the woman (p. 138). For very obvious reasons the father makes a small model of it for his daughter. It is like a larger canoe in every detail and is large enough for a single girl to sit in and row about. On my second journey I noticed a seven-year-old girl in Puerto Bubalo who was extraordinarily skillful in managing her vessel which was 145 centimeters long. Her father had previously given her a smaller canoe. It was a charming sight when one sunny day toward noon the mother set out in her boat and was accompanied by this daughter. Each of them steered her boat into a tangle of large brown algae /766/ and they began to fish. After three hours they returned to the landing place and the girl, too, had a few pieces of booty, to the delight of her father. More often a father will give his daughter a small paddle with which she strikes the water while standing on the shore.

If one sums up what a solitary girl has in the way of entertainment and play, diversion, and minor manipulations, it is clear that she is not condemned to boredom and that, on the contrary, many a day will be too short for her if she has become absorbed in her play. If several children are together in the same place, they choose other forms of entertainment.

7. Social Games

The designation "social games" does not precisely fit all the forms of diversion which are listed here; all I wish to express is that several children come together in them. Adults often take part in these games, but children are always in the majority.

By way of introduction it should be said that a tame, patient dog is used by boys, as well as girls, for all kinds of jests and mad pranks. It sometimes seemed impossible to me that such an animal would take so much from foolhardy boys! They tug him around

X881 /900 cont./
same time the uǩwǯala are introduced to this treasure. It cannot
869 be denied that significant rules of conduct or customs, as well as
773 good or evil deeds, are elucidated on the basis of many an exam-
538 ple from a legend. Therefore the stories to some extent also serve the chief aim of the čǯexaus, to train the young people.

y. Work Drills

X881 A surprisingly rich store of teachings and precepts, princi-
867 ples and rules of conduct, and excerpts from individual experience and from old legends are offered the candidates at the initiation. We see, therefore, how the long period during which they are together is filled. The experienced educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with theoretical instruction alone, however. They insist on practice and drill under their supervision. They are constantly affording the uǩwǯala an opportunity to transform into action the teachings and principles put before them, inasmuch as the best rules are of no avail if they are not practiced. When I openly thanked Alfredo for what I had learned in my first initiation, he said to me in a friendly tone: "Certainly, everything that goes on in the čǯexaus hut is very good. But we Yamana are happiest if the uǩwǯala conduct themselves throughout their lives as we have taught them in the čǯexaus!"

X881 The young people entering there as candidates are at the
age of maturity, that is to say, shortly before their marriage.
●868 Soon they will have the care of a family and the duties connected with those occupations which, according to the prevailing division of labor, fall to each sex. The community of fellow-tribesmen wishes to guarantee that the family soon to be established will really be prepared for life, that each of the two young spouses is equal to the problems of family life. The old people express it specifically: "In the čǯexaus we ascertain the degree of manual skill possessed by each uǩwǯala. Whatever he lacks in the way of capability, he must acquire here!" For example, in some families the boys are given too little opportunity for independent hunting because the father personally does the main work. This deficiency is corrected in the initiation. Without discrimination,

/900 cont./

boys and girls are enlisted and forced to take part in all kinds of manual work.

1. Exercises for Boys. Among the Yamana the man's sphere of duty is definitely defined. Since each individual and his family /901/ are completely on their own, they must be capable of supporting themselves. Hence, our Fuegians reason, everyone must have a certain degree of manual skill. They mean by this the considerable dexterity and assurance required to stalk and obtain game animals. In particular it is a matter of surprising seals, getting close to cormorants in their rock cavities, and aiming for the best possible marksmanship in the use of their weapons.

This necessarily also includes an effort to increase fearlessness and courage in the young chaps, for both these qualities are sometimes strained to the utmost in a battle with large sea mammals. Our Yamana have learned through reliable experience that a critically high degree of dependence and timidity, cowardice, and fear persists in many chaps as long as they remain in the parental hut. The čiéxaus should and wants to do away with all this. In each person it usually inculcates enough awareness of self so that he can stand on his own feet, confident of his personal power, as soon as he is dismissed from this training. The remarkably severe pressure on the uiwǵala for self-control which is engendered by the strict daily procedure (p. 753) is sensitively and consciously tied in with this goal. The person who has himself completely and firmly under control is master of the arsenal of all his powers.

Making the boys more capable is a specific and necessary aim of the training period. They actually do receive useful instruction which is supervised by the ulaťekuwa, or the overseer. There are no definite rules about which men are to be appointed to this task. It is customary for an uncle or an older cousin to devote himself to the uiwǵala during the entire čiéxaus period in case the sponsor is unable to do so because of advanced age or physical infirmity. Ordinarily the sponsor himself performs this service. He is free to decide how often and at what times he arranges exercises for his protégé. He also decides whether one or another skill must be further developed. Sometimes these men get together and exchange views about individual candidates, at

/901 cont./

the same time agreeing on common undertakings. In these discussions the leader finds out what is being done in the practical training of the ufwfala and gives his opinion on it. Despite extensive freedom in this area, there is no lack of supervision and control; the young chaps are sufficiently drilled and made proficient all around, and no one is neglected or slighted.

One can quickly and easily describe how this practice is actually carried out. Formerly, when the youth initiation lasted for months, at least two weeks were allowed to elapse during which time the ufwfala became accustomed to the program in the Hut. After that period and after the overseer has been notified, on any day or at any time of the day or night, the sponsor summons his protégé, and the two set out /902/ for the beach or a rock where the exercises begin. Whether several men have taken the ufwfala or only a single one is alone with a boy, the latter must throw the harpoon hurl his sling or shoot his arrow in the presence of his teacher, depending on what has been planned. The teacher provides the weapons and knows how to handle them well. An old basket or a root of the large brown algae serves as a target. Naturally, a place is chosen where women or children would scarcely ever come, and teacher and pupil remain here for several hours. The men compare the achievements of the boys and discuss the progress of the individual. Practice with one weapon or another is repeated until the ufwfala has learned to handle it skillfully. As a rule the men are more exacting in their judgment than need be.

Only after the candidate has learned to use the weapon properly and easily does the sponsor begin to familiarize him with the methods of hunting. Each animal has its peculiarities which the hunter must take into account. The Yamana know this from long experience and they pass this knowledge on for the benefit of the younger generation. Accordingly, in hunting and trapping they not only adopt the most advantageous and the safest method, but this method remains the same throughout the centuries because, under the given circumstances, it cannot be improved (p. 210).

It is difficult for the young chaps to kill the very adroit sea lion in the water, whereas it is easier to overpower it on land.

/902 cont./

It is fascinating for them to climb around on rock walls where they plunder the nests of cormorants. In any case, however, it takes long practice and trained dexterity before each one has acquired adequate proficiency in this or that method of hunting. The older men exercise a great deal of patience with the ufwala, and again the candidates must try first one way and then another. They are stimulated and encouraged; some of them are helped with much extra care. Time finally brings progress and ultimate success. I was sufficiently convinced about these details during my first initiation. In view of all this, it no longer seems strange that many a Tohgan celebration lasted for months.

The attempts to rid a cowardly lad of timidity and fear are more serious. He is accompanied into the dense forest at night or taken to a lonely island where he is left by himself and obliged to hold out until he is called for. This procedure, with some changes, is repeated until the ufwala promptly goes anywhere he is sent at any time of night (331). It is not customary among

> 331. This demand is certainly strange, for it is only on rare occasions and for various reasons that one of these Indians decides to leave his hut at night and go a great distance.

the Tamana to frighten him in any /903/ way out-of-doors. About one thing, however, the men are implacable, and that is to rid a boy of the last remnant of cowardly fear, even if it takes a long time.

2. Exercises for Girls. There are no great differences from what I have just described for boys when the female ufwala in the initiation are introduced to the manual work and occupational duties that fall to their sex in the family hut. They only need training here to supplement what they learned and practiced on the occasion of their menarche (p. 567). Moreover, at home they have much more often been called upon by their mother to co-operate fully in the work, in other words, they have been more thoroughly initiated into all manual skills than in the case with boys of the same age. They now take up whatever remains for them to learn.

/903 cont./

One of the girl's closest women relatives who has known her for a long time and is emotively concerned about her, together with her sponsor, gives her the necessary instruction. The leader of the *Kikuyu* celebration is satisfied to know that no girl takes the customary practical education. He leaves to these two women the details of how they handle the girl, all the more so since actually he does not in any way interfere with matters pertaining to the female sex. This much is certain, these women are no less serious in their drill of the girls than are the men with the boys. In fact, I had the impression that they are much more petty and insistent than the men.

Actually the exercises for girls are restricted to careful and industrious assistance in the women's work of obtaining food. They get the large mussels that are buried deeper, dive down to the shallow sea-bottom and catch sea urchins, fish with the line and bring up large crabs with the crab fork, get birds' nests in the thickets and on the ground, and gather fungi and berries, all under the direction of the women accompanying them. This work, too, demands dexterity and skill which must be learned but which does not require as much exertion as the hunting exercises of the boys. Instead, the tasks of the women are generally much more enervating, if we think for example, of the protracted wading in cold water. Besides the task of gathering food, the sponsor sometimes gives her candidate the easy manual work of plaiting small baskets and ornamental chains. This, however, may only be done outside the *Kikuyu* but when in good weather and after the food gathering they permit themselves a little rest and diversion out in the open.

All the instruction is regularly given in few words, very quietly, and, even more, with patient waiting for the result. The *[illegible]* obey their teachers with confidence; contradiction or disobedience would be unthinkable. A slight amount of effort by the sponsor suffices for the girls because they bring all kinds of experience and /904/ skill with them to the *Kikuyu* hut. They help to provide food all the more efficiently and, together with the boys, make this work easier for the adults. It requires no little effort day by day and without interruption to feed a large number of participants for long weeks in the Great Hut.

X575 /1354 cont./
known, opens toward the east (p. 1219). The Yamana can give no other reason for this rule than that the custom governed the women back in the days when the Kina was still in their hands. "In this Great Hut we men stick closely to everything that was once customary among the women!" This was the answer I received when I asked for the meaning and origin of this rule (302).

> 302. This custom could be interpreted as an indication that the Kina celebration originated in the northern regions, as the origin myth clearly states (p. 1237).

X575 /1355/ The leader now and then makes a candidate try
●868 out the exercises for the dances and spirit appearances and work at them, and some of the young men do this on their own. They are all willing, for each one likes to appear before the others in the role of a spirit. An experienced man will give directions and probably also perform, while the men in the audience give their opinions. Such rehearsals, of course, take place inside the Great Hut; under the cover of a dark night they also take place outside near the entrance. It is only after a young man or a candidate is able to perform the dance movements perfectly and very lithely that he is permitted to assume the role of a spirit in front of the women and children. Such exercises also show which man is more suitable for this or that role. Accordingly, he must then perfect himself in whichever role suits him. In this way the group of men makes sure that well-trained young people are able to portray the long list of spirits.

X575 In addition to the above-mentioned formalities pertaining
867 to the personal appearance and posture of the candidate, there is, of course, also the explanation of the meaning of the celebration, which is given at the very beginning along with the myth of its origin. Beyond that, this or that uŕwíala will also receive instruction and admonition in case a few of the men feel that he needs it. It is not at all rare for the old people to observe that an uŕwíala dismissed from the čiŕaus is not sufficiently serious about the teachings and principles he received there. The adults carefully note evidences of weaknesses and improper behavior on

/1470 cont./

126 volume of the present work. For the time being, I wish to call attention to his shorter account, "Fuegian Songs," in the American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 357-367, July-September, 1936. -- At this point I need not discuss the erroneous view of someone like Spegazzini (a):169 and others. Bridges (i):18 briefly mentions a few songs of the Yamana. Cf. in Cooper:90 the report on the songs that Furlong recorded on the phonograph.

533 It is amusing to learn that occasionally an older man who
• 868 enjoys singing will call young people into his hut -- a few adults
522 will join them -- in order to practice songs with them. Alkanlis is known as such a person. They stay together for a few hours, learn or repeat one song after another, and conclude their jolly gathering with the so-called kuwlin, a merry performance. A clownish man will step outside and wrap himself in skins so that only his face is uncovered, upon which he draws many red and white dots. Between each corner of his mouth and a nostril, as well as between each pair of eyelids, he stretches short sticks which distort the face. This joke, a favorite among boys (p.520), is called hanaywinteg, and the little sticks are flexible twigs of the parasitic plant Myrodendron punctatum, appropriately called hinis tauwita, "basket of the beech," because of its shape. In this disguise the man suddenly steps into the gathering of youthful singers, acts very officiously toward each one, and joins in the general laughter. Sometimes several immature /1471/ youths will dress up in the manner described, and they all end the singing lesson with lively leaps outside the hut of their "teacher." This gay conclusion is called hanaywinsegs (cf. Fig. 4 of the photogravure plates /at the end of the work/).

534 The Yamana do not have actual musical instruments. It is true that children take the short hollow bones of a bird or the hollow lower part of a thick quill, hold the object vertically, and place it against the lower lip, producing soft whistling tones with short puffs of air. These simple objects, called umfin, certainly
533 cannot be regarded as musical instruments. Nevertheless, the

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5305 Yahgan 5305
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out on the bow among the Ona. The use of this weapon was taught from childhood; practice in casting a headless spear, usually with an old basket as a target, was a frequently enacted sport. The basket was slung far ahead from the end of a spear; then all the young men present would cast at the target, walk up to recover their shafts, and toss the basket ahead again.

FIG. 80.—Yahgan fish-spears. Length of point of *b*, 10⅞ in. (14,2372, 2371)

In fig. 79, drawn to scale, are shown five types of Yahgan spears, each designed for a special purpose, differing in point, shaft, and lashing. These details and certain regional variations we shall discuss at length.

1. BIRD- AND FISH-SPEAR. — This spear (*shaule-lya*) is an all-purpose spear, but it was specifically intended for capturing fish and birds. It was commonly used in warfare. It may be briefly described as a beechwood shaft tipped with a serrated whale-bone head lashed in place with seal-hide or braided sinew (fig. 79, *c*, *d*).

The shaft of this spear (called *shaule-ala*) is eight-sided, as can be seen in fig. 80, having four wide and four narrow surfaces. In casting, the flat of the shaft was placed on the palm of the hand. The head of the shaft is about three-quarters of an inch in diameter; the central diameter is nearly twice as much; at the butt it tapers to a point. Red or sometimes black paint covers the completed shaft. On one side of the head-end of the shaft a slot is cut, into which the tang of the spearhead is inserted and there lashed with a seal-hide thong. This is shown in fig. 80, *b*.

The head of the fish-spear is cut from the lower jaw-bone of a whale. In the old days whales were plentiful in Beagle channel and the waters to the south, but since the establishment of whaling

/303 cont./

Toward the end of my first initiation, old Alfonde repeated to me the words which he had just crooned to one of the ulufale alone:

"If later on you do not follow the precepts which we have given you here in the Tofunga, we shall not stand in your way, for now you are big [have come of age] and independent. It is up to you, personally and privately, to keep our precepts and teachings or not [when you are by yourself]. But do not imagine that you will always get off without punishment. The one-up-there [Waxaxalwa] will see you and will punish you with an untimely death. If he does not punish you personally right away, he will let your children die and then you will be all alone" (304).

> 304. Later on I shall discuss in detail how through the instructions to the candidates in the Grotto that I became acquainted for the first time with the religious ideas of the Tonaru, especially with their Supreme Being, without completely understanding all this immediately. At that time any kind of discussion was impossible for me.

In conclusion I give here the first part of an address by blind Whatu in the late evening of March 12, 1935. He addressed the ulufale, including myself, in an impressive, soft voice as we sat in a semicircle on the ground in front of him, attentive and thoughtful.

"In olden times a man left the Tofunga hut and went a short distance away. Outside he died. Later another man found him dead /304/ and told about it in the Great Hut. Then the people said to him: 'Why did you not bring this dead man in?' He replied: 'That one is dead forever. He must remain under the earth. It is Yodina!'

"Now I want to tell you ulufale everything that I was taught and I shall tell you all the secrets that I know. Carefully guard these confidential words and do not say anything about it to those who do not yet know the Tofunga. Everything that goes on here is an important matter, and no one may divulge any of it. Just as we [adults] and all the old people of former times have

/884 cont./

guarded this secret [the proceedings in this Great Hut] and just as I myself, now an old man, have never talked about it, so you, too, must keep deathly silent; this illusion [as though Yetãjta really lived in the earth] is necessary. We must teach the uswãla that there is a Yetãjta, so that they will be seized with fear and trembling. But we tell them this only so that they will believe in it. For that [this false belief] is good for them! -- Now you know it [the true situation]! But beware of now saying: 'Everything here [in the čjexaus] is illusion.' If you were to say that, others would take the wrong view and might laugh scornfully and say: 'Everything here [in the čjexaus] is a great fraud. One doesn't have to act according to what one is told there!' Therefore, be absolutely silent about Yetãjta (307). But beware of

307. In this explanation the idea is again expressed that this evil spirit does not really live, but is only conjured up as an apparition for the benefit of the candidates. The latter are told about the special purpose of this procedure and are given the whole truth. But in order that this scary device does not lose its efficacy and will have its effect on the children who are later pledged to the initiation, no one may talk about the deception practiced on each candiate. They are very serious about this matter, as we have emphasized in footnote 305.

Watauinẽiwa, that is the real Yetãjta (308).

308. This means that Watauineiwa threatens and punishes as a truly living spirit, in the way that this is maintained of Yetaita who, however, is only an invention.

"A person wishing to eat may not lie on the ground but must sit up, for Haučella (309) sees you; he observes everything that

309. The uncommon reference here to this

X 88| /884 cont./
869

Kina[3] spirit is given as a warning in the way they usually refer to Watauineiwa and Yetaita. The meaning behind the whole sentence is that the candidates must never think that they are unobserved.

is given [as rules] here. One who wishes to eat must always have permission. Here you may not eat whatever you wish or desire, but only what is served you. The trees will see you [if you eat something that is against the rule]; they were once human beings and took part in the first kína festival (310).

310. This reference is to the great upheaval in connection with the women assembled for the secret Kina celebration. See Gusinde (bb): 337.

"It is not permissible [for uswáala] to throw [stones] at birds. If anyone does this, his arm will grow crooked (311). No one may

311. The candidates are in this way forbidden to start roaming about freely or to lose the solemnity of their stiff bearing when they go into the woods or along the beach unsupervised.

drink water /885/ before he is permitted. A person [an uswáala] going through the woods and hearing a sound should not look around. Even if someone should call him or frighten him, he should not look about, least of all if a boy [who is not uswáala] tries to lure a girl. Never imitate the akáčix (Turdus magellanicus, thrush) [in its chatter], for it carefully observes the uswáala (p. 726), and because it chatters, it tells everything [that it has heard from you] to the other birds. Anyone going through the woods should be silent and tend to his work along a straight path [without ambling about].

"You must grasp firmly the wood you have gathered so that [in carrying it] nothing falls down. Place it upright near the hut

[3] [Errata indicates this should read "yamalatemoiná" in place of "Kina"— Analyst.]

/885 cont./

X881 and do not leave it lying on the ground. Arrange it well, other-
881 wise one piece or another that is upright will fall over. Such
869 things happen and it means: the wood that falls over wants to warn us that we shall soon die! If you have gathered wood in the forest, do not forget to tell it that you will come after it tomorrow. Tomorrow other people may perhaps pass there and not see the wood [which you have not yet removed] until they stumble over it. Then they will say: 'Who in the world left this wood lying here? That man will soon die!' If the uǰwāala gathers wood he should set each stick upright and say to it: 'I shall fetch you later!' This comforts the stick and it is content. But if the uǰwāala says nothing at all and goes away silently, the stick that has been set upright feels hurt. To the person who has gathered wood and carelessly left it lying on the ground it will say reproachfully: 'Why don't you come after me?' And it will threaten him: 'You will soon die!'

"A candidate who [inwardly] feels unwell and sad should take a [beech] twig with new shoots, place it on his head for a few minutes, and then gently tap his head with it on all sides. That will cause the pain and the sadness to disappear.

X881 "From the day you get married you possess a wife. Do not
867 watch too closely if others come to visit your wife; do not show jealousy. Be quiet and do not be suspicious. If your wife should behave badly and give herself to another man, do not kill her, but rather let her go her way. You may never beat or mistreat your wife. If you murder her, neither you nor your family will live long, for you, too, [you and your family] will be murdered.

"As soon as you have your first child, and also when additional children are presented to you, be careful in eating and consider our customs (p. 503). Also avoid the 'harmful places.' If you are in the canoe, you may not throw the left over bones into the water or /886/ eat ordinary things. Choose good things to eat. During those days [before and after the birth of your child] do not use the sling, otherwise your child would remain bald or another of your children would die. If you break the calcareous shell of a sea urchin, the child will be born with a flat head. A young mother should not split wood, otherwise she will split the skull of her newborn infant. She may not break the bones nor the spinal column of birds, otherwise her child will become a

/893 cont./

X881 wean him from the habit of comfort and softness.

867 Punishment is meted out either by the leader or the sponsor. The parents of the one who is being punished, who are present, would never take sides with their child against the rigors or against false condemnation, for as uswāala in the čiexaus hut, their child is beyond their particular jurisdiction.

X881 Whatever a candidate must endure through the tortures mentioned above is felt directly and very painfully, but reference 869 to the Supreme Being, to Watauinēiwa, is of higher moral value 776 as a foundation for the prevailing order and respect for the whole čiexaus institution. Watauinēiwa is regarded as the originator of the youth initiation and hence the stern guardian of everything that takes place there. The leader specifically spoke of this several times to the candidates at the very beginning: "Everything that goes on here in the čiexaus is not a Yamana affair (317);

> 317. This means that the initiation was neither invented nor arbitrarily shaped by the Yamana, but that its actual originator is the Supreme Being mentioned.

it comes from /894/ Watauinēiwa! He made known to our ancestors how we should celebrate the čiexaus! We conform to that very precisely, because he watches closely!" In the last analysis, anyone who is guilty of negligence acts in opposition to the institution created by Watauinēiwa himself. Therefore his name is constantly interwoven with the admonitions and is even mentioned in connection with the most serious punishment, namely, untimely death. Here in the initiation the adults teach the uswāala sincere piety. Usually here for the first time Watauinēiwa presented to them as the great law-giver and the avenger of all evil. The training in the čiexaus rests on this religious idea. Every candidate is supposed to become familiar with this idea here, so that in his later life and action it can be a support and a warning, a guide and orientation. "Watauinēiwa čikāja kalakanāa sakumāšu (the 'old-one-up-there' watches you, you sluggard [and will let you die])!" The veneration that is due the Supreme Being keeps the Yamana here, too, from repeating his name more

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often than is absolutely necessary (318). No matter from what

318. Again one should remember that it is not here in the initiation that the candidates first become acquainted with the Supreme Being. They have often heard his name before in their family circle, and on other occasions, too, they have had their attention called to his personality. Belief in Watauineiwa is a general concern of the whole tribe, from which even immature children are not excluded. For example, everyone, even every young person, is freely admitted to the great ceremonies of mourning at which everyone's attention is temporarily directed to the Supreme Being.

point of view one regards the training procedures of our Yamana, he must judge them as surprisingly purposeful and intelligent. They have a thorough understanding of human nature, and they make use of it in their treatment of young people.

5. Myths and Tales. The above statements unequivocally bring out the close connection between religious faith and moral obligation in the youth initiation. Watauineiwa, a personality who has been familiar to the candidates from childhood, is presented to them here as the one from whom not only many obligations originate, but also the institution of the ciexaus.

In contrast to this are the oft-repeated, conspicuous references to the so-called evil spirit, known as Yetájta. Heretofore the boys and girls have learned nothing about him, for he is as a threatening apparition. As we know, a younger man appears in the role of Yetájta, amid the yelling and howling of those present, directly after the candidate has been led into the Great Hut, and the candidate is dreadfully frightened at the very beginning of the affair. This apparition struggles with the chap and torments him until he is completely exhausted. When he is trembling in every limb and is unable to offer any resistance, he is induced to look more closely, whereupon he recognizes a person familiar to him, one of his /895/ kinsmen who will henceforth remain at his side

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X881 869 776

as his sponsor (p. 701). This candidate and the other uśwā̄ala now hear in so many words: "The one who appeared here in the shape and outward guise of Yetā́ita is not really this evil spirit. Yetā́ita is far worse and more dangerous. Beware of him: he takes everyone who is insubordinate and disobedient!"

In the course of the admonitions given to each candidate, the teacher at first repeatedly threatens them with this apparition. The favored wording is: "Be obedient, comply carefully with everything we charge you to do here in the Great Hut, otherwise Yetā́ita will cause your untimely death!" A no less frequent warning is: "Beware of Yetā́ita who is always watchful. If he sees that you are lazy and indolent, he will make you completely exhausted and you will die!" Punishment by this evil spirit is also predicted in case a candidate talks about the things that go on in the čiéxaus hut and betrays them to minors.

In collusion with a sponsor, a man will inconspicuously knock on the ground. Immediately the sponsor will ask his protégé: "Did you hear Yetā́ita down there in the earth?" Full of terror, the candidate says he did. Sometimes his face is meanwhile covered with a scrap of leather and then the knocking becomes even more mysterious. He is made to believe that Yetā́ita is bumping his head from below against the layer of earth directly under the place where the candidate is sitting or under the Great Hut in general, and that is his knocking.

The people outside the Great Hut, like the candidates, are also kept in check by the threat: "Yetā́ita will devour anyone who approaches our Great Hut or who acts disrespectfully!" They are likewise taught that whatever anyone carries into the hut in the way of food is immediately devoured by Yetā́ita. Outsiders therefore believe that this evil spirit exercises unlimited power in the Great Hut and is very much to be feared (319).

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319. In view of this, "Yetaita" is very much like an omnipotent female spirit known as "Xalpen," who in the Kloketen ceremony of the Selk'nam men rules everything and every individual with ruthless great power (Vol. I, 916). Among the Yamana, however, these threats are directed only toward children, for

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the few adults who remain behind in the camp to supervise them know all about Yetaita and the food in the Great Hut.

Whoever enters the čiéxaus hut is hailed with a loud call of hó ho ho. This tells the people outside in the camp: "This person disappears into the Great Hut and falls completely under the power of Yetáita!" These shouts are repeated in the same manner when wood or food is brought into the Great Hut; they say: "All these things are for Yetáita who confiscates them for himself."

The following custom is also intended for the candidates. At long intervals, usually after an excited dance by all the participants, /896/ the leader violently hurls himself flat on the ground, props up his face with his hands flat and turned up, and with unusual force yells a howling sound against the ground. This is supposed to signify that Yetáita has been driven so far away from this place that it is as though he were dead. Nevertheless, the uswáala must continue to fear this evil spirit, for he will return. Occasionally during the dance when the adults move upright back and forth, they will also ward off Yetáita by means of circular motions with their hands flat and arms outstretched. At the same time their heads are bent toward the ground and their eyes stare fixedly at the ground. Afterwards they act freer, as though relieved, as though they had rendered this evil earth-spirit harmless and pushed him off far into the distance.

It is difficult to determine the exact significance of Yetáita in the general world of ideas of the Yamana, for his personality is variously conceived by this person or that one. I talked in detail about it with Chris, but I could not find out whether his conception is shared by the majority. He explained: "Our ancestors demanded with extraordinary strictness that the uswáala observe all the rules of the čiéxaus. They were emphatically warned against talking about their experiences in this Great Hut and threatened with serious punishment by Yetáita who lives in the earth. The very fact that we tread on the same earth brings each of us very close to him. We shall never be able to lift ourselves up into the air and live up there. We are glued to the earth, as

X881 /896 cont./
it were. A person who disregards what we tell him, who becomes
• 869 lazy and bad, will have something like earth sticking to him.
776 This something will make him weak, dull, tired, and he will die in a very short time. Everyone who reveals the happenings in the čiéxaus hut can expect the same [fate]. Our ancestors used the following example: 'Behold the cormorants! There they sit pressed close together on high rocks along the shore. They are also conducting their čiéxaus. They discuss their way of life and their duties, each one adjusts to them. Thus they live together (320)

320. This means that their life together is possible and their living assured on the basis of dutiful, definite conduct. -- It is extraordinary for the Yamana that reference is made here to an example from the animal kingdom.

and find their food. When their young leave the nest as fledglings, they at first follow their parents for a while. Later they enter their čiéxaus, where they are taught and are attentive. If a young one stays behind and does not join its parents, it does not find anything to eat by itself. It does not learn properly how to obtain food; it becomes weak, cannot follow the others [the adult birds], and soon perishes. After all, they must be obedient and follow everything faithfully, then their life is secure and they have enough to eat, they are gay and happy. In the same way the uswāala must let themselves be taught by the old people and must adjust to everything [to all regulations].'

X881 "But a person who pays no attention to this is, as we have said, punished by Yetāita /897/ and taken away by him [through
869 an untimely death]. It is good to implant the fear of him in the
776 candidates! For now they will more faithfully follow all the teachings and will live as good, industrious human beings. That
198 is why they are often threatened with this villain! Finally the uswāala believe that he is really present. The old people strengthen this belief of the candidates by all kinds of delusions. For example, they pretend that Yetāita makes his voice heard (321). This

321. This is done in the following way. A man places himself flat on the ground and leans his face

X881 /897 cont./
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against his hands which rest on his little fingers and encircle his mouth. This creates a small hollow space into which he yells a long drawn-out, howling sound. At a slight distance this sound seems to come from the interior of the earth.

Sometimes this howling is interrupted by a quick drumming on the ground with both fists. While this hocus-pocus is going on, all those present remain motionless. Beforehand the heads of the candidates have been covered with a scrap of leather.

helps to increase their fear and terror. Later, if they take part in an initiation, they plainly see (322) that such calls only come

322. Now, as adults, they are fully qualified participants who may carefully examine everything that takes place.

from the men, who in this way conjure up Yetáʌta for the uswáʌla. This realization does not destroy anything for them now, for they are already on the right path, which they will follow in the future also" (323).

323. This is supposed to mean that the fear and terror implanted earlier in the candidate through the appearance of this evil spirit were not without effect, but put him so firmly on the right path that he will not deviate from it even when he recognizes the true nature of this scary device.

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I should like to insert here a remark for which I am indebted to old Whaits. He pointed out that one must respectfully esteem all the decrees of the čiéxaus. "A person who does not hold this opinion is devoured by Yetáʌta who sits in the earth. We teach outsiders this wholesome fear so that they will not approach the Great Hut; we threaten that they will be seized by this spirit.

/897 cont./

It is necessary to create fear, for a person who is made to be afraid will carefully observe the prevailing rules. That is why we often refer to Yetáĵta!"

After Chris expressed his view, I set forth my misgivings: "Why do the old people emphasize a fear of Yetáĵta, when in reality it is Wataŭinéĵwa who really punishes?" He replied: "In olden times much more than now the fear of Wataŭinéĵwa was inculcated, for he is always the mightiest one, that is, much stronger than Yetáĵta. The latter appears in the kína. The participants of the kína celebration maintain that he lives in the earth and devours human beings (324). That is why [in modern

[171]

324. In the men's secret ceremony the Selk'nam maintain the same thing about Xalpen, the female, omnipotent spirit (see footnote 319).

times] we implant fear of Yetáĵta in the candidates of the čiéxaus. In olden times here in the čiéxaus, fear of Wataŭinéĵwa was impressed on the uśwáala, for he /898/ is the mightiest. Yetáĵta is also called tánuwa (325); that is the name for Wataŭinéĵwa.

325. The meaning is "my dear old man"; according to BD:421, also "(My) father, my old man" /cited in English/ (in the familiar sense). BD adds by way of supplement: "A being personified in the ceena [kina] drama, was supposed to come up out of the earth, he was an old man and did not come forth and leap about but lay still in the ceena and beat the earth and brayed" /cited in English/.

They are one and the same, only now we say they are different persons" (326). I inquired further: "How can you reconcile that,

326. Unfortunately I could not find out whether Chris was expressing a general opinion. If so, we can see in his words the confusion that a later body of ideas brought into the previously

X881
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/898 cont./

pure conception of the Supreme Being. Some misgiving about this explanation arises from the fact that Chris saw the men's secret ceremony for the first time along with me in the year 1922.

since Watauinéiwa is after all in heaven? He is called 'the one up there,' 'the old one in heaven,' and so forth" Chris was not at a loss for the answer: "Certainly Watauinéiwa is up there. He looks down from up there, however, and he punishes here on earth. So he is also on the earth! He reaches and punishes every lazy and good-for-nothing human being. In recent times the Whites have told us that there is a devil (327). Now we say

327. Later Chris said, by way of supplement: "This devil is also harmful to human beings and punishes them, so the Whites say, although there is, after all, a God."

Yetáita, as though he were different from Watauinéiwa; in olden times, you see, both were the same."

I am indebted to Calderon for the following clear summary. Without being asked, he explained: "Here in the Great Hut we constantly repeat to the uswáala: 'Down there in the earth lives Yetáita with his wife. Beware of him!' He is not fully made known to the young people until they are [mentally] mature, that is, when they have come to the číéxaus for the third time (328).

328. The first and second time they take part as candidates and are encouraged in a false belief. It is only afterwards, as full-fledged members, that they may follow each action with open eyes.

To threaten the candidates with Yetáita has its advantages! We do not tolerate a ne'er-do-well among us, one who gets up late [in the morning], who does not work, who is a burden to others. We say: 'Yetáita will soon take away such good-for-nothings!'

X881 /898 cont./
In order to give strong emphasis to the admonitions, Yetāja is
• 869 mentioned again and again.
776 "Of course, besides that, there is also Hidābuan; he is the strong one who actually punishes. Everyone must be particularly careful of him. But all that is taken for granted and that is why Hidābuan is less frequently mentioned in the čiexaus (329).

329. "Hidabuan," like "Watauineiwa," is a name for the same Supreme Being.

Here we want to make our teachings and admonitions to the candidates effective; that is why we threaten them with Yetāja. Our men give all the calls that the uswāala attribute to him. The young chap takes this into consideration after he enters the Great Hut for the third time, but previous to that, out of fear of Yetāja, he has been set upon the right course [of fulfilling his duty]. Later he is told that only men produce these calls. Then he says to himself: /899/ 'Hitherto I thought Yetāja called out from the earth!' Nevertheless, he remains on the good path, to which he has by now become accustomed."

[885] After the candidates have been dismissed from the second youth initiation they are legally adults. In general, except on special occasions, they do not receive further instructions or exhortations. Hence Yetāja is not mentioned outside the čiexaus hut.

X881 In the mythology of the Yamana the tales concerning the
869 actual bearers of culture, named Yōalox, and their family have
773 a special place (330). In olden times this name was scarcely ever
538

330. Here we should say in anticipation that among these Fuegians he embodies what the hero "Kwanyip" does for the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581). Both have created important institutions and prescribed the norm of life, so to speak.

mentioned to immature youths before their initiation (p. 178 /untranslated/); the girls heard it for the first time on the occasion of

/899 cont./

X881 their menarche (p. 575). In the čiéxaus, one or another deed of
• 869 the Yoálox siblings was told in more detail as a sort of first intro-
duction. Only the young men who were permitted entrance to the
773 kína learned the complete cycle of tales. When, at my repeated
538 request, old Alfredo revealed the Yoálox cycle of legends to me as
he sat in a circle of men, he emphasized: "Actually we tell
these things only at the kína celebration." It is also regarded as
a rare exception if men among themselves speak at length about
this hero. Women avoid it in any case. In front of uswáala adults
now and then will say: "The manner in which we Yamana should
conduct ourselves [= the entire body of moral law] has been ar-
ranged by Yoálox!" Thus he is regarded more or less as the bearer
of the decrees of Watauinéiwa to the Yamana.

On the other hand, the legends of more general content are treated differently. They are in large part repeated in the čiéxaus hut. It does not matter whether there is an obligation to tell them to the candidates; most of them actually are told, some even repeatedly. The decisive factor in this connection is the presence of persons who are able to tell a story well. They are urged by the rest of the participants to offer this or that story. If someone present knows the same story with some variations, he feels impelled to speak up also. If the čiéxaus celebration lasts a long time, many an older person will call for a repetition of the stories that were told at the beginning or that were particularly well liked. No matter what the procedure, the uswáala actually hear almost all the myths current in their tribe. They may have become familiar with some of them earlier through conversation in the dwellings.

At least one or two stories are told by the leader or overseer personally at each initiation, and he does it in a strong, clear voice so that everyone can understand him. Now and then he must offer this kind of variety to those present, /900/ either personally or through a suitable storyteller. They listen in suspense. Meanwhile the customary singing of several persons ceases; only very softly one person, perhaps supported by another, will audibly hum the melody apart from the storyteller. The adult participants in particular do not want to miss the enjoyment of hearing their old legends well told some evening in the čiéxaus hut. At the

X881 /900 cont./
869 same time the uǰwǯala are introduced to this treasure. It cannot
773 be denied that significant rules of conduct or customs, as well as
538 good or evil deeds, are elucidated on the basis of many an example from a legend. Therefore the stories to some extent also serve the chief aim of the čiǯexaus, to train the young people.

γ. Work Drills

X881 A surprisingly rich store of teachings and precepts, princi-
867 ples and rules of conduct, and excerpts from individual experience and from old legends are offered the candidates at the initiation. We see, therefore, how the long period during which they are together is filled. The experienced educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with theoretical instruction alone, however. They insist on practice and drill under their supervision. They are constantly affording the uǰwǯala an opportunity to transform into action the teachings and principles put before them, inasmuch as the best rules are of no avail if they are not practiced. When I openly thanked Alfredo for what I had learned in my first initiation, he said to me in a friendly tone: "Certainly, everything that goes on in the čiǯexaus hut is very good. But we Yamana are happiest if the uǰwǯala conduct themselves throughout their lives as we have taught them in the čiǯexaus!"

X881 The young people entering there as candidates are at the
868 age of maturity, that is to say, shortly before their marriage. Soon they will have the care of a family and the duties connected with those occupations which, according to the prevailing division of labor, fall to each sex. The community of fellow-tribesmen wishes to guarantee that the family soon to be established will really be prepared for life, that each of the two young spouses is equal to the problems of family life. The old people express it specifically: "In the čiǯexaus we ascertain the degree of manual skill possessed by each uǰwǯala. Whatever he lacks in the way of capability, he must acquire here!" For example, in some families the boys are given too little opportunity for independent hunting because the father personally does the main work. This deficiency is corrected in the initiation. Without discrimination,

/911 cont./

X881 the younger people wash with soap in the morning (334), usually

[515 177]

334. They have adopted this habit from Europeans, and they cling to it even in the Great Hut.

in front of the Great Hut. A few women busy themselves with the long fire and make bright flames leap up, while the men join in the continuous singing and give themselves up to their thoughts. [513] The night's sleep lasts only six to seven hours.

X881 264 3. Meals. Formerly during the ciexaus celebration the adults were also obliged to observe some restrictions in eating, as they personally saw fit. To this day the Yamana uphold at least the rule that all food must be prepared exclusively in the secondary hut. In former times the kitchen women brought a meal from there to the people gathered in the Great Hut only twice a day, namely, a bite a few hours after arising and abundant portions toward four o'clock in the afternoon. The sponsors arranged it so that their protégés were usually not led outside before the first meal and that they were again present during the second. In case an adult missed the meals, he was permitted to go to the cookhut and receive something to eat there. It was not customary for extra food to be distributed in the Great Hut for latecomers after these two periods.

X881 264 869 In general the Yamana eat rapidly and even more so during the čiēxaus celebration. Food is brought in from the cookhut as secretly as possible. Since the preparation of the food cannot be hidden, the adults and, above all, the children outside in the camp who do not take part in the celebration are led to believe that it is devoured by Yetáita or by other spirits (p. 761), but not by the inmates (335). In order to carry out this deception, at a

335. At the end of the celebration the candidates actually do appear very weary and weak when they come back to the actual camp and they are quite generally pitied (p. 829).

certain time before the meal a few men and women inside the

/911 cont./

X881 264 869

Great Hut shout: "We have been very hungry for a long time, the spirits take all the food for themselves and quickly eat it up!"

In order to convince outsiders of the supposed hunger of the inmates, individual persons will go out and crowd around the secondary entrance without leaving. At the same time they act as though they could not wait until the kitchen women arrive and as though they wanted to make sure of getting a goodly quantity before the food is brought into the hut and the spirits pounce upon it. Finally the kitchen women approach. The vessel in which the food is brought was formerly a leather pouch, a little basket, or a bucket made of bark; today it is a bowl /912/ painted red and white. At the entrance the persons who were waiting outside crowd around them, apparently from hunger, but the kitchen women squeeze through, and as they step into the Great Hut they call out the hóhohohoh̄ in a moderately strong and high-pitched voice. All the inmates respond loudly and enthusiastically. The uĭwǵala have had their heads covered in plenty of time, and now one of the men roars and pounds against the earth to impersonate Yetǵita. At the secondary entrance where the kitchen women enter, the vessel is hastily drawn in, as though the evil spirit has been avidly waiting for it. Several women are standing ready here, and they immediately pour the food into another vessel and quickly toss the empty, painted bowl outside with a great racket. They do this very conspicuously for it is supposed to announce to the people standing outside that Yetǵita himself, with inimitable haste and greed, is devouring the whole meal. To the outsiders the inference is supposed to be that within the few minutes from the time the kitchen women enter until the bowl is tossed out the abundant amount of food could neither be distributed to the people present nor consumed by them and the vessel emptied. Almost at the same time a few men within loudly call out: "The kespif [spirits] alone have eaten all the food. Again there is nothing left for us!"

[915]

While the adults in the Great Hut eat merrily, albeit hastily, the uĭwǵala also consume the few bites that the sponsors hand them. Meanwhile, however, their faces remain covered. They are supposed to go on believing that Yetǵita is at least taking part in the meal, even though he does not devour it all alone. While they

/912 cont./

X881 264 869 eat, the adults try to make almost no sound. Meanwhile the candidates, well covered with pieces of leather, are sent to the area near the secondary entrance, for they are not supposed to realize that the other people are eating. Before the cover is removed from the faces of the ulwala, all the food remains which could arouse suspicion are removed. Meanwhile the ulwala are told: "Every glutton or lazy person falls as prey to Yetájta and is devoured by him!" Thus we see that this opportunity, too, is used to increase the candidates' fear and terror of Yetájta.

If, in the course of the day, the adults wish to take a few extra bites, they hang something over the faces of the ulwala or cover their faces entirely with a piece of leather. Some person while eating will throw a piece of meat into the fire and say in an audible voice: "This is for Yetájta!" This, too, is supposed to encourage the candidates' false belief in this spirit.

X881 264 The actual meal is soon disposed of, for scarcely anyone has his fill. When a person eats he grasps the piece of meat with one hand, and with his other hand closed in a fist, he makes a rolling motion of the arm toward another person who is likewise eating or to whom he has given a piece. /913/ This gesture is supposed to indicate that one courteously extends an invitation to the other and is enjoying the food in his company.

Now and then, when the mood strikes the leader, a special delegation is sent from the čexaus hut to the cookhut to fetch something to eat between meals. The leader and two or three men selected by him break into the customary general singing with a very loud, high-pitched xox three times. This is repeated at intervals and finally sounds like hōxoх́. For the women in the cookhut it means nothing less than an urgent request to prepare something quickly which they can hand over to the delegation. Again, a few minutes pass and the hōxoх́ is repeated. Finally the two men dash out of the secondary exit, hasten to the cookhut, and disappear inside.

One evening I saw them take along a painted pot. Amid [272 262] continuous calls of "hōxoх́" it was filled with coffee for them; at the same time other women impaled a large loaf of bread on a pointed stick and placed it in the hand of one of the two men. With this "booty" they hastened back to the čexaus hut where they

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan SH6
622, 754, 755, 776, 787, 789, 791, 793, 874

[Information on various aspects of Yahgan culture which are closely related to the characteristics and activities of the yékamuś or medicine-man, including his training, role as a community leader, curer, sorcerer, and custodian of religious lore, have been marked for category 756 and will be found under that classification.]

1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan SH6

881

[For information on the čiéxaus or youth initiation ceremony, see category 116, pages 639-850.]

/431 cont./

302 If someone expects a visitor, he also decorates himself before-
674 hand. If a visitor comes unexpectedly, however, the master of the hut does not reach for his painting material to decorate himself in the presence of his guest. He does this later on, returns the visit in the hut of the other, and in this way thanks him for the honor previously bestowed on him. Despite the closest kinship between individuals, it is a matter of principle never to omit such a declaration of love or honor, and they do not avoid the slight effort involved in facial /432/ painting, for example, just because of the cordial understanding that exists between close relatives. Everyone adheres very punctiliously to this duty.

In general it is regarded as reprehensible negligence, and almost contemptuous disrespect, for children to visit their parents in their hut, for čiexaus candidates to visit their sponsors in later years, and for young people to visit their older relatives and friends without having decorated themselves with a facial painting. This painting is meant to express the fact that the visitor bestows on the other the pleasure of his coming and that he is happy to be there. That is why the master of the hut sooner or later responds likewise with a facial painting to express his pleasure over the visit and his gratitude toward the guest.

We must call this decoration an actual duty which applies to all young and middle-aged persons without exception. Old women also conform to it, whereas old men become negligent. Although for visits any pattern of colors on the face is permissible and suffices, the natives nevertheless prefer two thin, parallel red lines beginning on either side of the nostrils and extending horizontally across the cheek to the ear. Among adults this facial painting has the same meaning everywhere.

Young people who visit their elderly relatives, children
302 who visit their relatives, čiexaus candidates who visit their
674 sponsors, and finally a lover who visits his intended wife, all
881 these persons paint a few thin, straight red lines in the form of rays across the middle part of their cheeks. This decoration expresses heightened love and attachment. In accordance with this thoughtful custom, čiexaus candidates regularly appear in

/432 cont./

302 the hut of their sponsors with this decoration. They are espe-
574 cially close to their sponsors because the latter painted them
•881 with this decoration every day in the Great Hut of the initiation. Without exception it is the sponsor, in the role of a second mother, who, overjoyed by the visit of the child she sponsored, immediately wipes off his decoration and in its place draws the decoration of visitors mentioned above. Other people see this and are also happy, and in their satisfaction over the cordial understanding between the two, say: "That boy [that girl] was painted by his sponsor!" Not infrequently this woman goes to see the sponsored child in his hut. In order to announce to him and everyone in the vicinity how happy she is, she goes to him and paints the red perpendicular stripes on his cheek, as she did so often during the festival of the Čiexaus. Her action never fails to have a favorable effect on the neighbors.

302 The fact that our Yamana commonly used decorative
574 painting when they paid visits is an adequate explanation of the
609 many accounts from the period of the first European travelers, who constantly emphasize that the natives approached the foreign ships with an unusual and peculiar facial painting. Precisely because /433/ this was a duty familiar to them in their relations with their own people, they applied it to the white strangers also (113).

113. The experience of Reverend Despard (b):679 on his first journey in April, 1857, in Cinco-May Harbor will suffice as an example from more recent times: The natives "had painted their cheeks, some with red ocre, some with charcoal; one had white lines horizontally drawn across the nose and eyes; another had white dots, in three rows, on each cheek, and a single row down his nose; none were tattooed" /cited in English/. Compare Lovisato (b):147.

302 The Indians adhere still more strictly to their habit of decorating themselves for occasions other than visits, but these

/573 cont./

271 cormorant is chosen for it. Some people wear this small tube in
516 front on a braided sinew cord tied around the neck, just as the
415 sponsor puts it on the uswala /candidate/ at the close of the
[881] initiation ceremonies. Most persons find it more convenient to suck water through this small tube because they squat comfortably in doing so and take in only a thin stream of the sometimes ice-cold water (340).

340. Hahn (c):337 illustrated a man in a squat position drinking through a tube [illegible] brook. This drawing had the caption:

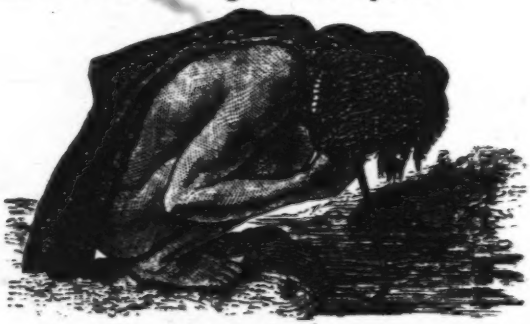

Fig. 69. The Use of the Sucking Tube.

"Choungoungounsis drinking at a stream with a pipe of bone" /translated from French/ (Fig. 69). Wieghardt:37 designates this article as "a kind of tube ready-made from a bone" /translated from Spanish/, and Martial: 194 as "a kind of small pipe made from the foot bone of a cormorant /translated from French/. In place of this bone tube they also, as Hyades (q):341 maintains, use "hollow rush stalks or those of other plants" /translated from French/, but that is only in exceptional cases.

271 /574/ I could not find out anything about special rules for
415 the everyday use of this little tube, and there did not seem to be

/574 cont./

271 any. The candidates in the čiěxaus, however, must use the tube
445 each time, and toward the end of their probation they are in-
881 structed to go on using it. The little tube probably did not originate solely as a precaution against the cold water. It is also used in the hut when someone has brought in water in the large Voluta shell or in a leather pouch. This pouch is exactly like the one used by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, Figs. 71 and 72) and here as well as there is made out of the stiff leather of an old male seal. Other water dippers or containers that hold the contents as safely as does the Voluta shell are not used by the Yamana.

261 The Yamana, especially those in the border regions, are
731 never at any time of the year safe from the threatening specter of hunger. It would be entirely incorrect to interpret the references of a few travelers to mean that misery overtakes the entire tribe more or less constantly (341). Famine actually cannot

341. The assertion of Outes (g):56 that "during the winter when the coasts become inaccessible, many victims of hunger perish" /translated from Spanish/ is inaccurate.

appear there as a general phenomenon; lack of food overtakes individual families only temporarily, that is, for a few days. The most common cause is such stormy weather with an angry sea for several days that a family cannot leave the place where they are in order to look for food elsewhere. When their few provisions are used up -- and that happens very quickly, since there is never a thought of stocking up -- trouble begins if all the sources on the spot are exhausted and calamitous natural forces put a stop to further travel. This fate will overtake a family, for example, who has fled to an island or been detained on a small island where birds do not alight and where the coast falls off abruptly. In most places on the Cape Horn Archipelago they find at least medium-sized and small mussels which are temporarily laid bare by low tide, even in bad weather. In some places they can make shift with fungi. "When bad weather lasts a long time, fishing becomes impossible and resources, always very small, are quickly exhausted; then they eat fungi which are found abundantly on beech trees" /translated from French/ (Martial:193).

/627 cont./

594 must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important posi-
[562] tion of the woman in the economy assures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the strict social duty of
861 every individual family, apart from any purely natural compul-
• 881 sion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, as a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /628/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Yamana does the primitive state manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

571 Several families are naturally associated through blood ties, but only loosely, and the reciprocal obligations growing out of this are the kind universally found among human beings. Five dialect groups have been established as associations of larger proportions, but these cannot be regarded as a division based on social principles (p. 199 /untranslated/). Moreover, there is no
[565] hierarchy based on birth and station, nor are there class differences which elsewhere rest on accomplishments or property. Finally, unification of the entire tribal community under a single
[622] head, such as a chief or magistrate, priest or sorcerer, did not take place among our Indians.

671 There are ancient tribal customs with the force of legal obligations, as well as definite principles about possessions and property, and the public sees to it that they are faithfully followed. It also observes and practices the cultivation of the universally familiar tribal virtues. Crimes against the assured duration of the family or against related groups are settled in smaller or larger combats. Although there is no special social
621 division and no appointment of an authoritative person to rule the community, there is a distinct and binding power embracing all members of the tribe -- namely, the state, no matter how weak and undefined it still appears in its earliest beginnings.

/630 cont./

584 are also established customs which apply to the actual marriage proposal and which set up certain limits as genuine barriers to marriage. A marriage among the Yamana never takes place without form and without rules, although in principle there is unlimited freedom in the choice of partners.

124 Our natives would like Europeans to know how much they value the responsible decision to enter the marriage union as an event, because it is significant for the tribal community. For this reason it is made known at least to the nearest fellow-tribesmen. On my third journey, the people wanted to show us the procedure of a wedding ceremony, but unfortunately the marriage plans of two young natives who had been fond of each other for a time finally fell through. I do not know of any European, missionaries possibly excepted, who personally witnessed the modest ceremony of a proposal /631/ and a wedding. Nevertheless, many presumptuous travelers gave their opinion of it. It is not worthwhile here to mention individual unreliable opinions. It is more important and, for several reasons, of special significance to describe here in detail existing customs of courtship and marriage.

1. The Marriageable Age

582 It never occurs to a Fuegian to count a person's age in years.
●881 Hence, they never set a definite age after which young people may marry. They presuppose, as an absolute condition, participation in the youth initiation, less because a certain age is thereby assumed, but rather because in that lengthy preparation the young man is trained in obtaining food and instructed in his behavior toward others, that is to say, he is educated to become a good and useful human being. First he must prove, as it were, his ability to lead an ordered, independent life and to work successfully economically before society agrees to his marriage. Most chaps were probably not spared attendance even a second time as actual candidates at the youth initiation, for only in this way did they obtain the right to take part in the men's ceremony. There was no similar condition connected with a second entrance

/631 cont./

582 of girls in the čiẽxaus ceremony.

881 Naturally, the girls who are pledged to the youth initiation have shortly before shown signs of physical maturity. Hence the latter is always present when the question of marriage becomes serious (4). Mental maturity of both sexes is emphatically

> 4. Hyades (f):573 observed that "a young girl of 12 or 13 years, not yet menstruating, was abducted by a Fuegian who wished to marry her, although he already had one wife" /translated from French/. This single case proves nothing against the generally valid principle, nor does it reveal under what conditions this man took the girl; perhaps it was the sister or niece of his wife. From a casual wish to an actual marriage is a long way, even among the Yamana.

required; this may be deduced from the fact that instruction at the čiẽxaus must unquestionably have preceded the marriage. It includes instruction in the mutual obligations of both partners. Alfredo once told me: "First each one must know what work he must do and how he must behave, before he can get married!" He was thinking, as he said, of the customary division of labor and of the almost equal position of each marriage partner in the family union.

864 By that time the marriageable young people are sufficiently
[581] enlightened about sex life to know that it is one of the chief purposes of marriage to beget children. Adults in Tierra del Fuego would never provide the so-called sexual enlightenment of youth before the /632/ proper stage of physical development is reached. The nearer one is to maturity, the more definitely and clearly parents and close relatives point out that the union of the two sexes produces the child. Nothing is definitely said, as I learned, about intercourse itself. Instead, the girl, in connection with her first menstruation, is instructed in detail on the care and handling of an infant. For their part, the young boys in the čiẽxaus are admonished to give the future wife all the proper consideration shortly

/654 cont./

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the young wife, her mother was the wife of a man then alive. She had two or three children who died. When the mother's husband died, Domingo took her as his wife, but this was after he had married her daughter" /cited in English/.

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A final obstacle to marriage is based on a sort of sponsorship namely, on the relationship of all adults to the candidates who have been entrusted to their special care in the čiexaus, the youth initiation. Their relationship is regarded as that of parents to their children, accompanied by certain rights or duties which never cease as long as one of the two parties is living.

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The community as a whole, especially the relatives, are vigilant regarding the valid obstacles to marriage; it is their duty to interfere if anyone dares to violate them. Infringements by individual persons in exceptional cases and more recently as a result of the unusual composition of the population cannot be avoided, since the public does not have effective measures of control and since the guilty party avoids the loud mockery and scornful gossip of his neighbors by keeping to himself. The erection of certain barriers in the form of real obstacles to marriage proves with unmistakable clarity how highly the Yamana regard the institution of marriage and the sound judgment they show in evaluating the meaning of their only social alliance. My questions about the possibility of a marital union between relatives and adopted persons obviously horrified them, and they found it unpleasant that such prohibitions, which are sacred and venerable to them, should be even casually mentioned.

8. The Marriage Ceremony

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In the foregoing pages we have described the development from the first slight amorous inclinations of two young hearts to their definite decision to marry, as well as the attitude of the relatives of the couple. The lovers never link themselves together in a definite, solemn declaration of their willingness to marry, as in the manner of our engagement. Nor do the Yamana know anything

/736 cont./

861 is based chiefly on repeated discussions with reliable informants about earlier customs. Nevertheless, I also learned much through direct observation, which was confirmed by the other, oral accounts.

Under present conditions educational influence and the sure guidance of youth are simply no longer possible to the extent that they were practiced in the old days. Parents cannot shield their children against the pernicious influences that have recently asserted themselves. It must be said in honor of the few old tribal members that, for their part, they sincerely regret and are painfully aware that they no longer can freely and without officious interference give their young people those educational benefits that /737/ they themselves regard as so auspicious and so advantageous for them throughout their lives.

861 Since there is no definite tribal organization, the training process naturally rests on the shoulders of the parents themselves.
●881 True, when the children have reached puberty they must submit to the youth initiation which is basically a common schooling, but which actually represents a continuation of the parental efforts in the narrowest family circle. Everything that was accomplished at home in the way of instruction and actual training is intensified in the youth initiation, ʿciexaus, but is kept within the same channel, following unchanging guiding principles.

145 Finally, I should like to refer briefly to the various periods in the development of the child's body. During my journey there were no longer enough children for me to make reliable observations; hence I could not clearly prove the stages of development set up by Stratz:134. Nevertheless, I found that, just as there is an initial plumpness in the so-called first period of childhood, the so-called first growth in height definitely begins with the fifth year. Then comes the second plumpness with the first phase of the second period, whereupon there is an apparent pause in development, only to lead, toward the end of the fourteenth year, to a sudden and quick unfolding of fully developed forms. Among the girls more than among boys, it is surprising to see how much the body fills out in this one year (178).

178. Stirling (MM:VI, 96;1872) was the first to emphasize this startling fact. This does

/751 cont./

868 that "girls and boys are required to take part in the work at an early age."

γ. Results of the Training

183 Nelly once confessed to me: "Adults worked on a child long
861 enough and forcefully enough to convince themselves that he would become a good and industrious human being!" It can be said without exaggeration that, throughout, the Yamana have fulfilled their general duties and this must be regarded as a favorable result of their training. Although many vicious outside influences have very much undermined the strictness of the old customs, nevertheless, even up to the present time, almost everyone is more or less punctilious about the things he regards as just and good and proper. They are especially concerned that their children should be favorably influenced and well brought up. Although today some mature women tend to be somewhat slovenly, yet the group as a whole puts restrictions on youth now as before in order to make it impossible for them to transgress seriously. The fact that, despite grave hindrances, the youth initiation has not been entirely given up proves better than words how much the seriousness of child-rearing in former times is still preserved to this day.

861 If one surveys the individual child-rearing principles that
881 are obviously emphasized in the čiexaus, he is amazed at their extraordinary soundness. They have been tested during centuries of application and have proved themselves successful for many generations. The parents act as natural educators, and the group as a whole supports them. Love for the child and steadfast patience are virtues which will probably never be lacking among the Fuegians in training their children. Education will always be individual and will aim for the perfection of soul and character in the child, as well as the development of manual skill. Among those much despised Fuegians one would scarcely suspect as much educative wisdom as is revealed in their admonitions, which, moreover, are couched in such brief and concise statements!

/752 cont./

86 tireless self-education. Everyone has faults and deficiencies, which no one will deny and the work of those who train young people is admittedly sometimes difficult and painful, but the level of general morality is high and social virtues are abundantly practiced.

Finally we should not overlook the importance these simple people give to the living example. The elders have no illusions about the fact that the success of training presupposes the training of teachers. They avoid gross infractions and serious transgressions before the eyes of their children, for such mistakes /753/ would seriously undermine and thoroughly destroy what they have laboriously built up. At the same time they strive as much as possible to behave irreproachably and to assure themselves of praise as "good and industrious human beings," esteemed as admirable tribal members. Much sound wisdom about life is revealed to every outside observer who studies the educative work of our Fuegians without prejudice.

3. Girls during the Menarche

88 Parents continue training their own children until the first or second youth initiation, for children do not marry until directly after this experience. Only those children who show a certain mental maturity are admitted to the čiēxaus. By that time they are a few years beyond puberty. Hence, without exception, the girl's menarche comes before her entrance into the youth initiation. The former event seems so important to the society as a whole that it feels justified in subjecting the child to its own treatment, beyond the parental influence, for it is to the advantage of the whole tribe to have one more girl who has concluded her development. Hence the tribe decisively asserts its power and guarantees for itself this new member for the preservation of the people as a whole.

The habits and qualifications desired for a Yamana girl in connection with her first menstruation are interwoven without any trouble in the parental upbringing. For practical reasons we shall add to all this an account of how women conduct themselves during their monthly menses.

/754 cont./

145

it is greatly retarded by hardship and forwarded by plenty. Some are as well developed at 13 as others at 18 or even 19 years" /cited in English/. He (a):204 is certainly referring to this period, however, when he says that girls "from 13 to 14 years of age were instructed by their aunts, after which they could marry" /translated from Spanish/.

881

The mother forewarns her daughter out of precautionary solicitude: "Soon you will feel very unwell and there will also be bleeding in an unusual place. Do not worry, and tell me about it!" Thus the girl is prepared. As soon as the first indications of menstruation appear, the girl tells an older sister or a woman close to her, an aunt or grandmother, who brings it to the attention of the girl's mother and women neighbors. The girl seldom tells her own mother; "she is ashamed!" I was told. The bleeding itself is called wélix, according to BD:605; and tū̂χ̌i, tū̂χ̌ikipa is the name for the girls themselves during these days. Throughout, they have almost no physical discomfort. Hahn (f):572 agrees: "...this function is easily established, although the natives combine a few days of fasting with the first menstruation" /translated from French/.

At the same time various significant restrictions begin for these tū̂χ̌ikipa. Free play and carefree wandering cease, and the girl must remain close to the hut. She must either sit by the fire or perform various kinds of work. The more she moves and stirs about in doing this, the better. Primarily she must help and substitute for her own mother in the daily work, but she must also fetch water and wood for other women. Again and again she is specifically requested to do these services and is sent to the neighboring huts. If there is nothing left to be done, she must crouch quietly on the floor in the parental hut, be as motionless as possible, refrain from inquisitively looking about, and practice silence. The night's sleep is considerably shortened and early rising absolutely demanded. The tū̂χ̌ikipa is anxiously and solicitously watched, cared for, instructed, and admonished by other women. Occasionally a woman will invite her to join her at her daily tasks. They go out together to draw water, pick up

/754 cont./

881 wood, gather mussels, pick berries, etc. In all this the girl is willing and eager and behaves very submissively and quietly. Her whole expression shows gravity and inner concentration. The girl also clearly shows these traits when she performs work at one of the neighboring huts. She keeps her eyes cast down and moves as though she were afraid and intimidated. She may not look at the moon or stars, nor at the sun and rainbow, much less adopt a comfortable or negligent attitude.

/755/ Once I was standing with Nelly when Adelheid passed by. She was completely preoccupied, her head bowed; she was looking at the ground with half-closed eyes and moving forward almost furtively. Nelly carefully pointed to her attitude and said softly: "This is the way every tu'ikipa behaves!" She is supposed to preserve the same retiring attitude and a quiet withdrawal until her first child appears; at any rate it is expected of her just before her first confinement. After she has given life to her first-born, she may be somewhat freer in her ways and talk happily and animatedly.

881 As may be expected of our Yamana, they require the girl
262 to fast strictly upon this occasion. Originally she was given nothing to eat or drink during the first three days; not until the fourth day was she given a total of three mussels and a little water at intervals. Since most girls, however, begin to feel weak before the end of this time, they are immediately given a few mussels or something else to eat, but always only good things and better pieces, since ordinary things would be physically harmful to them. With the sixth day the food and drink restrictions are in part removed. Before the end of this period, on the eighth or tenth day, the girl must bathe and wash in sea water; then she is given a piece of guanaco meat, if there is any in the camp. If she had not taken her bath before eating this piece of meat, the dog that tracked down the guanaco would forever lose its scent and would henceforth not be able to find other guanacos. The tu'ikipa is forbidden to kill any animal. If there is an opportunity to do it, namely, at the time young birds take flight, she gives the animals she has caught to a man who kills them

/755 cont./
881 for her (191).
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191. In Hahn (a):804 we read: "The first menstruation takes place between 14 and 15 years of age. The first appearance of the menses is celebrated by the parents and their friends. Nevertheless she is considered impure, and for four days the young girl is obliged to abstain from certain foods" /translated from French/.

881 In order to emphasize effectively the rule to eat little or nothing, the women tell the following story: "Once a tū'ikipa
[773] sat alone in a canoe. She knew about the restriction yet she secretly ate a few berries. Soon a strong lakúma /water spirit/ came along, seized this tū'ikipa, lifted her out of the canoe, and devoured her. He left only her intestines, which other people afterwards found on the beach. Now they knew what had happened. That is how this disobedient girl was punished." Every girl is given this warning on the occasion of her first menstruation.

881 The women regard the urgent admonitions they give the tū'ikipa as more significant than the above-mentioned restric-
867 tions. In connection with this I learned from Nelly and Mary that the tū'ikipa is above all given instruction in the duties of a married woman and mother, as well as in her conduct /756/ from now until marriage. They recommend to her as the foremost virtues willingness to help and to please others, industry, and unselfishness. She is gravely warned against secretly yielding to an importunate chap because the result would be an illegitimate child (p. 411). By this time the girl is sufficiently enlightened about sexual life and knows where children come from. Many observations from earliest childhood have helped her obtain this information (p. 392). Every tū'ikipa has ample opportunity immediately to practice the virtues listed here; we have just spoken of this above.

Besides these things I also learned the following definite admonitions from Nelly, which I repeat here verbatim and without change.

• 881 /756 cont./
867 "If someone enters your hut, he will sit down beside the fire. If he wants to eat a few mussels, do not refuse to give them to him, but offer them willingly."

"You must not fuss and scold, grumble and find fault when you are in your hut or in front of it. It is not seemly for a woman constantly to shriek and give vent to her anger."

"If an old man asks you for fire or wood or water, give him what he needs immediately and gladly. Venerate old people, do not laugh at them."

"If a blind man comes along, take him into your hut willingly and give him something to eat."

"If you hear something bad and unfavorable about another woman, do not immediately tell it to someone else; that kind of gossip about others breeds discord. You don't like it either if others talk about you contemptuously and negatively behind your back. If you repeat all the gossip you hear, other women will avoid you and among themselves they will say of you: 'That one is a gossipy woman!'"

"Always be true to your husband; defend him when others find fault with him and wish him ill."

"Soon you will have a husband. If he should transgress and secretly go after another woman, do not imitate him; do not believe that you may now take up with another man. Never forget: you are a woman, he is a man (192)! Soon he will be convinced

192. I was told that when a man takes liberties in this respect, his mistakes are generally less seriously condemned than if a woman permits herself the same transgressions. One expects a woman to be faithful under all circumstances, even in the face of her husband's violations.

that you are faithful to him nevertheless [in spite of his delinquencies]. Then he will realize his guilt and leave that other woman so as to belong wholly to you."

"Always be busy and industrious. Keep your things and your implements in good order."

"Take care of your children, then you will experience much joy with them."

/756 cont./

881 "Gossiping at the home of other people and chattering a lot
867 in the hut create /757/ agitation and even start quarrels. Be quiet and reticent in speech. Too many words only cause mischief as a rule."

"You will now experience the wéllix [the appearance of menstruation] with every moon. Be particularly active and industrious at that time, eat little and always only the good things. Think always of what we have taught you and of how you conducted yourself when you were ti'ikipa!"

Every woman who feels it is necessary repeats this advice to the girl, always along similar lines. The mother herself tells her how she must dab the blood with small bundles of ciilel /Berberis shavings/ which she must immediately burn, so that the men and children will never see them. /Fig. 79 appears here./

881 During these days the ti'ikipa is
302 also obliged to wear a special facial painting, consisting of fine red lines placed close together, drawn from below the eyes down over both cheeks (Fig. 79). For this purpose imi /red pigment/ is used, mixed with fish oil and applied with a thin stick.

Fig. 79. Facial Painting during the Menarche.

881 The conclusion of all the ob-
574 servances and requirements on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation is the so-called "big meal" for all those present. It is called ti'ikipa tatu (193), "the big meal of the girl who has

193. BD-423 also gives "tatu: to distribute a lot of mussels to all people around" /cited in English/.

reached maturity." It is like a public banquet, to which the girl personally invites all tribal members. It is her duty to gather many mussels and crabs, berries, and birds' eggs; the other people contribute the meat of sea lions and birds, as well as a great many fish. Then in a gay mood they all sit around the quantities of food and enjoy themselves. They remain together a whole day, and the ti'ikipa must serve each of them again and again or encourage

/737 cont./

921 574 them to eat. Then all the participants disperse and tell everyone: "That girl gave us good things to eat, fish, mussels, and other things!" They are referring to the *dhuhiqa tata*, and everyone who hears about it interprets the words in this way. Now everyone knows that the girl has reached physical maturity.

β. Women during the Moons

941 An account of how a woman conducts herself during her monthly bleeding, *dhuna*, is inserted here. The *dhuhiqa* has already been told that "this occurrence will be repeated with each moon." It scarcely causes a woman /738/ any noticeable discomfort. Just as during the first menstruation, every woman blots up the blood with a small bunch of *fiihi*[1] and burns it inconspicuously in the hut fire.

Abstention from certain foods is not exactly demanded, but the woman is supposed to choose better pieces for herself. "Yes only these are good for her!" She must practice composure and withdrawal, be alert and yet very active. All this is not so strictly demanded of her as of a *dhuhiqa*, but a woman cannot take it too lightly, because this would have a bad effect on her children. Everyone knows exactly what is demanded by tribal custom, hence the individual more or less conscientiously and faithfully fulfills this obligation (194).

194. Hahn's (p.)804 opinion is not very accurate: "Subsequent menstrual periods do not give rise to any particular practices and do not prevent sexual relations" /translated from French/.

γ. Interpretation of Menstruation

The fact that Lola's menstruation began during my second sojourn in Beagle Channel (p. 500) made it not only possible for me to get most of the above details, but also put me on the trail of the mythological interpretation of the menses as the Yamana tell it.

/TOS cont./

On that particular day old Allwale had been given a sip of wine by a European and was in excellent spirits. I accompanied him to a small garden near Pulia Rotodine, the property of the Lawrence family, where he was supposed to hoe the turnip beds. In an unmistakably personal tone he asked me: "Do you know why Lala is acting so gravely and does not look about her at all?" I told him that I had not noticed it. Satisfied to hear this, he assured me: "It is all because she is now ripe!" I immediately asked him to explain this further to me. "I'll tell you everything tonight!" he assured me.

When night had long since fallen, there were many people crowding around the fire in Allwale's hut. He remembered his promise and gave me a sign that he now wanted to fulfill it. Gradually he sent the children away and was loudly emphatic that it was time they went to bed. With a somewhat milder network he indicated to the women that he would like them to leave him alone with the men. When the men were by themselves, he told the familiar story of how the first menstruation was introduced by the elder Tyllog.

The entire myth will be given below. Here it will suffice to indicate that since the introduction of this bleeding Tyllog has been regarded as the instrument of every woman and as causing the flow of blood through a sexual act. Because he always unites alone with each woman, it is necessary for her to get up soon after bleeding begins to free herself each time from Tyllog. /TOS/ How commonly the Tatanua regard the relationship of every woman to Tyllog as a conjugal one may be seen from the fact that they say his elder sister, Tyllog tarugiya, is the sister-in-law of all women.

The girl does not learn about this myth in connection with her menarche. It is saved until the youth initiation, so that the child will not prematurely become familiar with delicate matters. It is not until the Tyllogo that the candidates are told everything that tradition recounts about Tyllog. As a rule the content of the initiation does this, but the female candidate almost always incite the story of the very first menstruation from the woman who sponsor her. Nelly added the following to these details: "When I was first permitted to attend the Tyllogo, we candidates had to

/700 cont./

[94] [113] [95] get up one by one at midnight. The old instructor led us out of the Great Hut, pointed to certain stars, and mentioned their names. He also showed us the Yálku family, saying: "The older Yálku is the husband of every girl who has become ó'ni; he causes the bleeding after every month[-cycle]!" He also impressed upon us: "Keep all this to yourselves, for this is a secret for girls and they should not speak about it with boys!"

[94] The women actually do avoid speaking about their monthly bleeding, white. It finally becomes so taken for granted that they probably seldom think of Yálku in connection with it. I did not find out whether they specify a particular reason for the cessation of the menses in the change of life; they are indifferent toward it.

4. Children's Play

[97] The happy disposition of our Fuegians is shown in entertaining games. Whenever there are many people gathered together and the weather is favorable, they greatly enjoy playing together for hours. Children seem show a great love of play, and when several get together, they, too, immediately begin to entertain themselves in their modest way.

Both boys and girls amuse themselves, each in their own way, and the demands on the sexes are already in force here. In play no less than in other things the separation of the sexes is supposed to be observed; this is gladly overlooked, however, when so-called social games are played, in which adults, too, often take part. There are no special playthings for older children; instead, for their childish entertainment they very often imitate grownups at work. Although the social games mentioned above are not confined to children alone, they are the ones who most frequently play them; hence we shall describe them here.

[16] Despite the unrestricted merriment and wholesome liveliness that all children show in their play, this flock of little ones is relatively silent and quiet. True, they are not /700/ mute, but there is no wild noise and ceaseless yelling, and no one would dare shout at the top of his lungs or cry just to show off. This behavior fits very well with the quiet and hushed manner of babies (p. 100) and adults.

/803 cont./

554 Thus our Fuegians lack appointed persons of authority and
571 written laws. Nevertheless, there is a sovereign power, even though it is invisible. As we know, the whole tribe is divided into five definitely demarcated dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each of them is divided into several local groups who in turn occupy smaller regions. Finally, each of these is made up of a few family groups. The /804/ individual family, finally, relies upon itself and enjoys complete independence. It is a family decision to associate more often with some families or more closely with others. Sometimes they travel and spend several days together as a result of a chance meeting. This purely external tie is just as quickly dissolved if another family arrives with whom they choose to associate. The above-mentioned tiámuna sometimes makes arrangements with the tiámuna of another group of families to bring together a larger number for a definite purpose. These are always free decisions, however, and there is no outside pressure. Fluent speech and a faculty for quick persuasion are usually the only decisive factors.

571 Such an arrangement is made for the initiation ceremony,
881 the men's ceremony, or common burial rites. Everyone knows the universal obligation of young people to take part in the initiation ceremony. It is the duty of the adults to create the opportunity for it, and certain influential people are moved to hold it, all depending on the circumstances. The fact that the general public safeguards that important institution and does not let any young person suffer the loss of its advantages must be unequivocally interpreted as an effect of the invisible but mighty compulsion of the power of the state (p. 640).

183 If anyone is repeatedly guilty of serious violations against
626 the prevailing customs and causes apparent harm to a number of persons by doing so, nothing happens for a while, but then a close relative of the transgressor will arouse himself and, referring to the opinion of others, will appeal to his conscience. They do not even stop at a fight and care nothing about protecting their own lives, since they put greater value on respect for the existing order. Thus again an invisible power of the state sees to it that laws are kept pure and respected. When famine breaks out in a local group and a whale is driven ashore somewhere, an unwritten law goes into effect which does away with the narrower boundaries of intercourse

/1311 cont./

There is a mountain massif in the west, whose highest peaks suggest the figure of a hunter carrying two wild geese on his back and accompanied on either side by a dog. This man turned to stone there, it is no longer known why, but anyone traveling near there is supposed to remain quiet. Spencer:82 writes: "Ken told me story of boiling lake high up on Hoste Island behind the tall snow peak on Dumas Peninsula seen from Rio Douglas. Too hot to hold hand in and very dangerous to go near" /cited in English/. It is not generally known that there are warm springs here and there in the Cape Horn Archipelago. Not far from Punta Remolino, at a considerable altitude, I myself visited a mineral spring. The following statement by Spencer:82 is vague: "There is a special cove on Tekenika Bay with a cave in which lives a dangerous spirit. No Yahgan dare stay there at night. George told Ken, who had done so, that he was lucky to have got out alive. Strange noises are always to be heard there at night time" /cited in English/. In the Yamana language there are several expressions which correspond exactly to our terms "lucky devil" and "unlucky fellow." According to Bridges (k):240, BD:42 gives, for example, istauwālux, "successful in hunting" /cited in English/, and the combinations that can be formed with it. The superstitious beliefs of the Yamana show their tendency to be afraid and their active imaginations. /Fig. 95 appears here./

/1312/ E. The Kina Celebration

The great significance of the youth initiation for the permanence of the social order of our Fuegians is outwardly expressed by the fact that the young people of both sexes are, without exception, obliged to take part in it on two occasions. By and large, the čiexaxa is obviously a continuance of parental rearing beyond the narrow confines of the family hut, and it has the special goal of making young people useful members of society. The definiteness of this goal is convincingly proved by the fact that, upon the conclusion of their initiation, the individual candidates enter adulthood and have the right to marry and found a family (p.842). Later on, the knowledge that they have obtained

1: Gusinde--1452 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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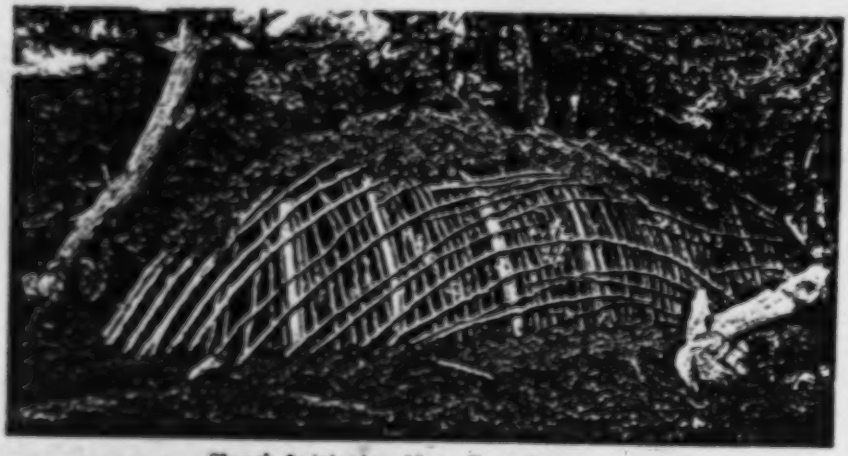
Watchmen in Action

Youth Initiation Hut, Interior



Youth Initiation Hut, Exterior

302
881

Ciexaus Painting

Watchman

Watchman's Assistant

1:Gusinde--1453 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

881
302
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Čiexaus Participants, 1920

Yékamuš Aspirant

Čiexaus Participants, 1922

Čiexaus Painting

Gusinde with his Sponsors

Yékamuš

586 second wife. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

888 The aged were, according to all dependable evidence, usually respected, well treated, and well cared for. Neither abandonment or killing of the aged was ordinarily practiced but may have occurred in exceptional cases.

621 Political life.—Over and above the biological family there was no closely organized larger group or constituted authority. There were no sibs, secret or other societies, or social classes, and no chiefs or ruling group or caste of any kind. Each biological family was for most practical purposes a sovereign political unit. The sense of individual independence was deep. No man took or brooked orders
555 or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

612 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

619 The five regional divisions of the *Yahgan*, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

621 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been composed, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1926 b, p. 5). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Ushuaia, for instance, occupied 20 miles (32 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups,
[622] these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function was that of holding the čiéxaus initiation rite. The leader chosen
[881] therefor had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the čiéxaus rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social conformity and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

628 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case
[682] of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which slings,

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

844 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first [846] child, the father remaining quiet in the tent and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the navel cord, dried and kept.

Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after [862] delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 15 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly [551] named after its birthplace.

861 **Education.**—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions stressed in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

841 **Girls' puberty observances.**—At her first menses, the girl fasted, 881 eating little or nothing, for 3 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red radiating streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 8th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

881 **The čiéxaus initiation rite.**—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 45–95; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805–961), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic stay of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the čiéxaus, under the auspices, it seems, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole *Yahgan* tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

The chosen officers in charge of the rite were a leader, a mentor, and guards. A special large hut, of oval beehive or conical construc- [346] tion, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special diademlike feather

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 head band and had a special painted staff. To each candidate were assigned sponsors, one or two men and a woman to the boy, one or two women and a man to the girl.

The candidates were subjected to certain endurance restrictions: little sleep, food, and drink, hard work, a daily bath in cold sea water, cross-legged posture during much of the time. They had to drink through a hollow bird bone. The boys were given a sort of temporary tattoo. Much vocational instruction was given, and particularly an elaborate moral instruction in the native code, with very concrete counsels on the obligations of altruistic behavior, respect for the aged, peaceableness, industry, not spreading scandals or carrying tales, and so forth. This moral instruction was given by the mentor, sponsors, [886] and other elders, as the will of Watauinéwa, the Supreme Being, who saw everything and who would punish delinquents with shortened life and with the death of their children. Yetāita also, the chief evil spirit, would harm them if they did wrong.

The ritual consisted otherwise mostly of dances and of songs peculiar to it. Toward the end, the sponsors gave each candidate a basket, a bird-bone drinking tube, and a scratching-stick. The rite ended with a mock battle between the men and women, and with a feast.

[884] Only those who had gone through the čiéxaus rite were considered full-fledged members of the tribe, and were told the whole mythological complex of the Yoálox brothers and their sister. And only twice-initiated boys could take part in the kina rite (cf. infra under Religion), whith was often held just after the čiéxaus.

76 **Death and burial.**—Mourning was expressed by fasting, body painting, gashing of the breast with sharp stones, and a special mourning dirge accompanied by a mourning speech. Angry complaints were directed to Watauinéwa for letting the person die. A general mourning rite in which the men and women painted themselves, wept, hurled complaints at Watauinéwa, and engaged in a mock battle, the men with clubs and the women with paddles, was also held.

The more common form of disposal of the body, up until recent times, was cremation—lest foxes, rats, or dogs should eat the body, so the natives said. The dead person's personal property, or some of it, was burned with the body. In some cases, especially of children, the body was buried in a kitchen-midden. The burial spot was avoided as a camping place, for several years where the deceased was an adult. The name of the dead was never spoken.

775 **Future life.**—The koshpik (késpix), or soul, flew east, but exactly whither was not known. Nor was it known what its fate was, happy or unhappy, nor whether such fate was at all dependent on moral behavior on earth.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

death of a relative. All these called for vengeance, but the Yahgan seem to have felt antipathy rather than hatred, so vengeance might be deferred for several years, during which time mutual friends might compose the quarrel. 628

Blood loyalty was recognized among the Yahgan, but apparently was not fiercely cherished as among the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges states that when a murder occurred the friends and relatives of the victim would take revenge, but the family of the murderer abandoned him and made no effort to defend him. This certainly is not customary among primitive people with a highly developed consciousness of consanguinity like the Yahgan, and perhaps Mr. Bridges' statement represents the result of missionary contact rather than the original state of affairs.

Organized warfare, during which any member of one group would kill at sight any member of another group, as among the Ona, was unknown to the Yahgan, but blood revenge was sometimes executed on a relative of a murderer. [721]

Initiation

Thanks to the studies of Gusinde and Koppers full and complete information about the Yahgan initiation rites is available, and the reader desirous of fuller information than is given here is referred to their various publications on this subject listed in the bibliography. Two ceremonies were in use among the Yahgan, known as *shieháus* and *kina*. The first of these, celebrated by both sexes, apparently is the ancient Yahgan rite, while the other corresponds closely to the Ona *klókten* ceremony and represents culture borrowing from that tribe. Both may be described as a systematic educational course for the youth of the tribe—"going to school," the Yahgan called them. 881

For the *shieháus* ceremony a large domed hut (*mánaga*), elliptical in outline, was erected near the encampment. The framework was of split saplings an inch or two in diameter, bent and set up to form arch-like ribs, and secured in place by a few horizontal beams (pl. XIV). These timbers were held together by lashings of gut. At either end of the hut were doors, one large to admit spectators, one small for the use of the candidates. On the roof they piled branches of the evergreen antarctic beech to afford shelter to those within, but the sides were left open to the weather. Rows of logs staked in place on the floor divided it into a central gangway 346

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

346 flanked by benches, built up by branches covered with skins. In the middle of the gangway burned a fire.

The house we have described was the type used by the central and western Yahgan. Our illustrations show the lodge erected in

[881 292 293]

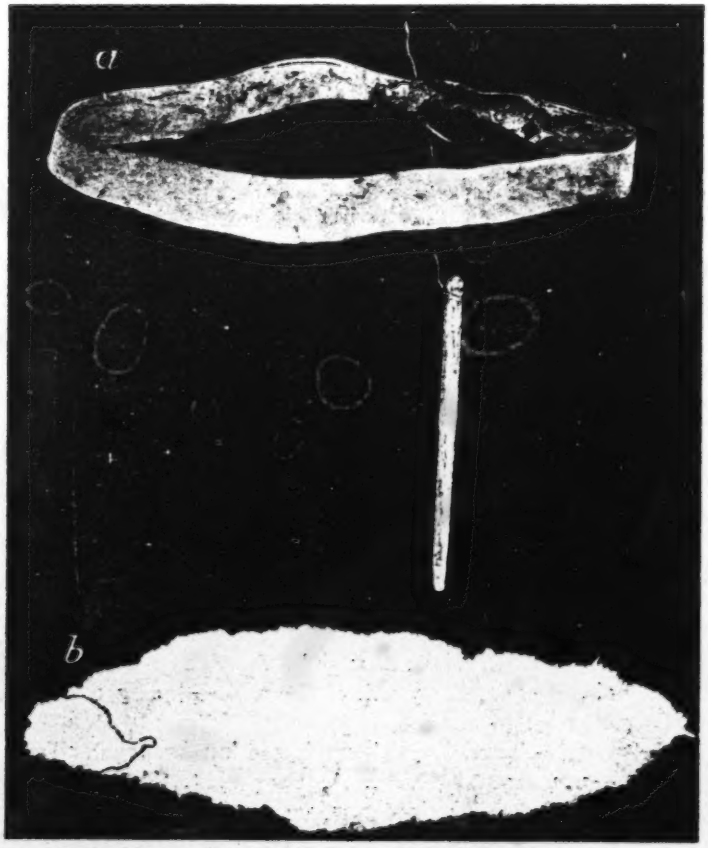

FIG. 90.—*a*, Eastern Yahgan initiate's headband and scratching-stick (14/2361); length of stick, 5 in. *b*, Kelp-goose down headband (14/2344); length, 19 in.

1922 at the instance of Gusinde and Koppers on Navarin island. The eastern Yahgan, I was informed, did not use a domed hut for this rite, but a pointed conical wigwam like that seen among the Ona (fig. 38).

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 The oldest and most experienced of the men present assembled before the ceremony and agreed on the time and manner in which it was to be conducted. From their number they chose one who was both respected and well liked to be the master of ceremonies. Another they selected as the official instructor of the candidates, while others they designated "policemen." Their duties were to assemble the candidates in the lodge—by force if necessary—to see that they were submissive at all times, to sit on the roof during the ceremony and ward off any threat from without, and to communicate with the cook-house when necessary. Finally each candidate had three godparents, two of his own and one of the opposite sex. Their part was to see that the candidates fulfilled all the ritual properly and to help them as much as possible, for it was to the credit of the godparents if their adopted children did well. In addition to the candidates and the officials, most of the grown people came to celebrate the ceremony. Places were taken in family groups, while the initiates sat with their godparents. All sat with their legs crossed under them and with arms akimbo, thereby taking up as little room as possible so that a large number might receive the warmth of the central fire.

For the first three days of the initiation, candidates maintained a strict fast, for their allowance of food was only from three to five mussels a day. Their water supply also was limited and had to be consumed through a hollow bird-bone. At night they were forced to maintain their cross-legged position, with the exception of four to six hours when they were allowed to sleep. If they relaxed at any other time they were pushed back into position by the older people and perhaps beaten for their lapse.

During the day the initiates received instruction in the art of making a living. The men instructed the boys in the methods of hunting, how to make tools and weapons, how to build canoes and houses, etc. Similarly the women taught the girls how to gather mussels and fungi, how to make baskets, buckets, and necklaces, how to rear children, etc.

At nightfall all the candidates were taken to the beach and forced to bathe in the icy water of the ocean. After the first bath the boys received a sort of tattooing on their chests, consisting of three lines of scratches into which they rubbed red paint. This was not real tattooing, because the cuts were not deep enough to retain the color permanently.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

The greater part of the *shiehdus* ceremony was filled with singing and dancing. By means of song they sought both to communicate with and to keep at a distance the *Yetaite*, a great evil spirit, who, the candidates were told, might seriously injure the occupants of the initiation lodge. Dancing served to neutralize the evil of his presence. To frighten him, the walls of the hut were beaten with sticks. Candidates were told to follow directions exactly or the *Yetaite* would seize them. Sometimes the *Yetaite* actually appeared —a man fantastically painted. Finally the candidates were told who it was and were warned that the real *Yetaite* was much worse than what they had seen.

The master of ceremonies usually was the leader in the singing, though sometimes this duty was assigned to another old man. The dances, which usually came late at night, were named for certain animals. Both the melody and the movements suggested characteristic peculiarities of this animal.

The moral instruction of the candidates they divided between the godparents and the official teacher, at whose feet the initiates had to sit from time to time. They were taught to be altruistic in thought and conduct, and to exhibit the virtues of hospitality and generosity. Respect for the aged was inculcated, for all must grow old in time. The boys they taught to be peaceful and not to make enemies, to treat women with respect, to help the young and the blind. The girls they told to rise early in the morning to get their water and wood, to care faithfully for their husbands and children, not to fuss about trifles, nor to repeat gossip. Behind these instructions stood a certain amount of religious sanction, for the evil *Yetaite* threatened them, while the supreme *Watauinewu* observed their every action. This moral code set a standard for the tribe to which in practice they did not adhere too rigidly.

After some days of instruction the ceremony came to a close. At a given hour the candidates assembled behind a curtain at one end of the hut. One by one they were called forth with the master of ceremonies dancing beside them and were ceremonially surrendered to their godparents and therewith accepted as members of the tribe. The godfather gave his child three gifts: a finely woven *gaifchim* basket adorned with feathers, a bird-bone like the one used to drink with, and a scratching-stick.

In the final hours of the last evening the women took charge under the leadership of an old woman. She and the other women

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 sang, seated in the central part of the lodge. Finally a mock battle between the sexes was staged.

Such then was the *shiehâus* ceremony. On it the Yahgan believed their well-being depended, and without it no one could have any standing in the community. In fact each individual repeated the performance two or more times, but received preferential treatment after the first course.

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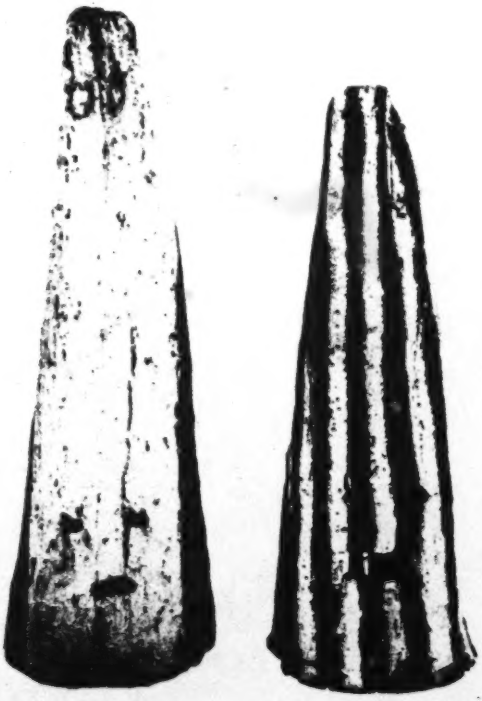

[535]
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a *b*

FIG. 92.—Yahgan dance masks. Height of *a*, 27 in. (14/2259, 2258)

After having experienced the *shiehâus*, Yahgan men were allowed to enter the *kina* ceremony. This rite resembled the Ona *klókten*. Gusinde and Koppers believe that it originated among the Ona, pointing out that inequality of the sexes was foreign to Yahgan precept and that it was not taken so seriously by the Yahgan as the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges speaks of the ribald laughter among the Yahgan women when a mask fell off a supposed spirit, thus revealing his human character.

This ceremony fell into disuse among the Yahgan as early as the eighties of the last century; but it was revived in 1922 for the benefit of Gusinde and Koppers, to whose accounts of it the reader is referred. While differing in details, it was essentially like the Ona rite except that the treatment of the candidates neither lasted so long nor was so severe as among the Foot Indians.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche

Yahgan SH6

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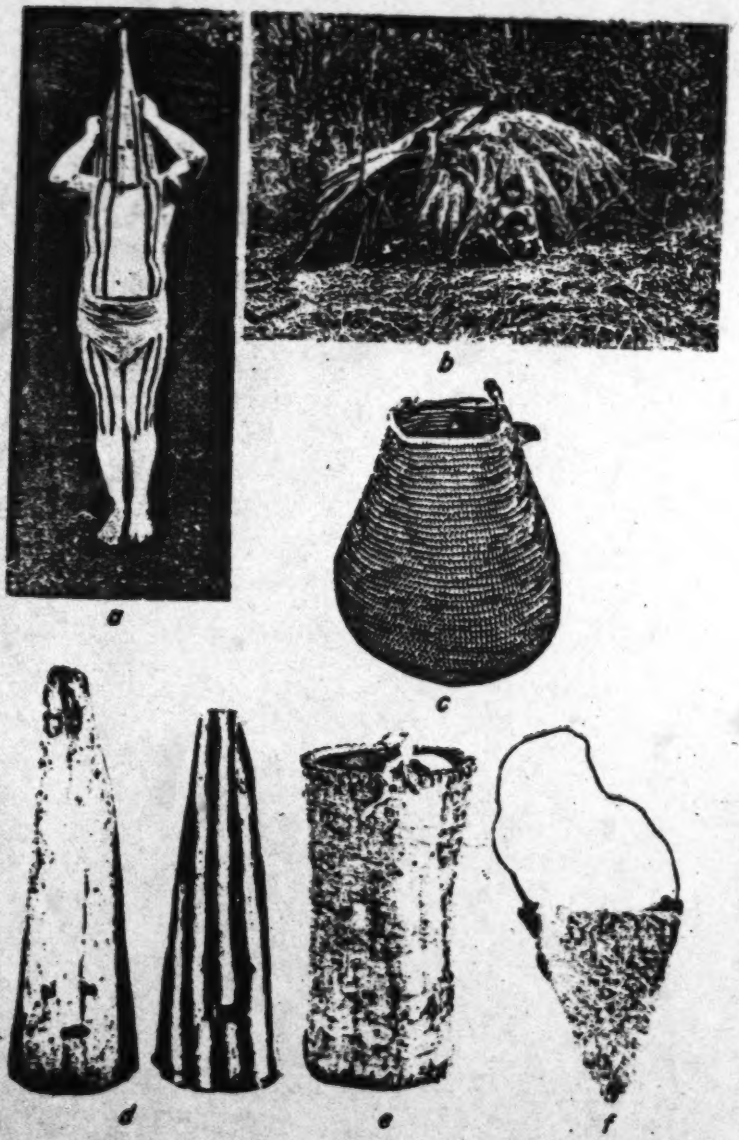

PLATE 22.—Yahgan life and manufactures. *a*, Masked Kina spirit (after Gusinde, 1925 *a*, fig. 4); *b*, domed hut (after Hyades and Deniker, 1891, pl. 30); *c*, coiled basket (courtesy Museo Etnográfico, Buenos Aires); *d*, bark masks used in Kina rite, height of taller 27 in., or 68.5 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 92); *e*, bark bucket, height 13½ in., or 31.7 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 55); *f*, pubic covering, width 9 in., or 23 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 44).

[p. 160 A]

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 head band and had a special painted staff. To each candidate were assigned sponsors, one or two men and a woman to the boy, one or two women and a man to the girl.

The candidates were subjected to certain endurance restrictions: little sleep, food, and drink, hard work, a daily bath in cold sea water, cross-legged posture during much of the time. They had to drink through a hollow bird bone. The boys were given a sort of temporary tattoo. Much vocational instruction was given, and particularly an elaborate moral instruction in the native code, with very concrete counsels on the obligations of altruistic behavior, respect for the aged, peaceableness, industry, not spreading scandals or carrying tales, and so forth. This moral instruction was given by the mentor, sponsors, [886] and other elders, as the will of Watauinéwa, the Supreme Being, who saw everything and who would punish delinquents with shortened life and with the death of their children. Yetāita also, the chief evil spirit, would harm them if they did wrong.

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One understands the difficult position of many an uŭwĕala in view of the fact that every adult has the right to criticize and correct him in anything that he feels is necessary. Many a relative and friend has previously perhaps made a fruitless effort in behalf of a boy or girl, his influence having been of brief duration. Here, however, the candidate is in the hands of the adult for a longer period. The latter makes the best use of this opportunity, for it is the last, so to speak. After his initiation every candidate regards himself more or less as one of the adults. Time and again the uŭwĕala is told explicitly: "You are now old enough. Up to now your father and mother have provided food for you, made a place for you in the hut, and helped you in everything. They [your parents] have taken enough trouble with you over a period of many years, you may no longer be a burden to them. Seek your life's companion soon and stay by yourself [in your own dwelling] (286)!"

123

286. I, personally, experienced for myself how seriously they take the admonitions directed toward a prompt marriage. On my second visit I had shown the Yamana various photographs and pointed out each person as in some way related to me. I said to them: "This is my mother, my grandfather, my paternal uncle, and so forth." I was using this means to induce them to let me photograph them. After a while they asked: "Won't you also show us a picture of your wife?" When I assured them that I was not yet married, they found it incomprehensible that a person of my age should still be single. At the end of my first initiation that year, old Alfredo, the leader of the affair, said to me: "We have taught you many good things in the Great Hut, now act accordingly! When you get back to your people do not forget to take a girl as your wife!" In order to show myself obliging to the dear old man, I replied affirmatively: "I shall gladly comply with your words and also soon look

/SHE cont./

In order to give strong emphasis to the admonitions, Yenlipa is mentioned again and again.

"Of course, besides that, there is also Hidibuan; he is the strong one who actually punishes. Everyone must be particularly careful of him. But all that is taken for granted and that is why Hidibuan is less frequently mentioned in the Tshiyo (SIS).

> SIS. "Hidibuan," like "Wateuinetwa," is a name for the same Supreme Being.

Here we want to make our teachings and admonitions to the candidates effective; that is why we threaten them with Yenlipa. Our men give all the calls that the ulugala attribute to him. The young chap takes this into consideration after he enters the Great Hut for the third time, but previous to that, out of fear of Yenlipa, he has been set upon the right course [of fulfilling his duty]. Later he is told that only men produce these calls. Then he says to himself: /SSG/ "Hitherto I thought Yenlipa called out from the earth!" Nevertheless, he remains on the good path, to which he has by now become accustomed."

[SSS] After the candidates have been dismissed from the second youth initiation they are legally adults. In general, except on special occasions, they do not receive further instructions or exhortations. Hence Yenlipa is not mentioned outside the Tshiyo rite.

In the mythology of the Yaruma the tales concerning the actual bearers of culture, named Yilion, and their family have a special place (SSO). In olden times this name was scarcely ever

> SSO. Here we should say in anticipation that among these Pangiam he embodies what the hero "Kwanyiy" does for the Iolik'hawa (Vol. I, 581). Both have created important institutions and prescribed the mores of life, so to speak.

mentioned to immature youths before their initiation (p. 170 /unpublished/); the girls heard it for the first time on the occasion of

/Bill cont./

arrangements deviate from the traditional order, even at single points, their very essence is endangered and sooner or later they break up completely. This is also a sign of the simultaneous decay of the social order and the whole spiritual wealth of such primitive peoples.

At the eleventh hour I was privileged to experience the original existence and the serious spirit of the Tolwa celebration on the occasion of my first initiation in 1930. Even at that time, however, allowance was made for the physical weakness of the candidates and for many comforts which had become second nature to the adults. Two years later Lemingo, as the leader, held the reins of the daily program very much lower. The older people not only deplored the excessive leniency, but were quite openly ashamed of it, for they realized only too clearly that they themselves, with their lax comforts, were digging an early grave for their traditional tribal heritage. Nevertheless, my two participations in the Tolwa gave me fair insight into what this effort means to the group of adults also.

/Bill/ a. General Regulations

It is well known that every Tolwa who has twice gone through the Tolwa ceremony or ~~[illegible]~~ may thereafter again take part in it with all the privileges accorded the adults. He is, of course, bound to the regulations as long as he is in or near the Green Hut. Everyone knows the meaning of this arrangement. To begin with there is no danger that anyone will risk obvious infractions against some regulation. The participants watch each other carefully and one is an example to the other in the gravity of his outward appearance of composure.

Inasmuch as the Tolwa is a common undertaking, everyone must on occasion put his energy at its disposal. Younger persons help with the building and initial furnishing of the Green Hut and later on with obtaining food and supervising the candidates. These and other services are performed by each one under the jurisdiction of the leader, for even the adults are subordinate to him so that order is maintained and the ceremony will proceed

/[illegible] [illegible] /
under the facts that I learned from personal experience and from the accounts of reliable Tonsans about their men's festival.

b. Preparation for the Festival

From whatever point of view one looks at kina, it is far behind the Takuna in importance. Therefore it is not surprising to find that the entire program of this affair, from beginning to end, is by no means bound by the strict formalities of an ordered and rigid system comparable to those that hold together the richly varied Takuna. Nevertheless, in the orderly succession of individual events, the rules governing the kina are adequate to achieve the goal concerning both the women in the camp and the young men who are getting their first introduction to it. There is much more scope here than in the Takuna for the free display of the personal talents of the leader and its effect on the prevailing mood of the men taking part.

/[illegible]/ 1. Occasion and Duration

From the point of view of character and size, in other words, for subjective reasons, the Kina is by no means as necessary for a given group within Tonsans society as is the youth initiation. There is no really urgent reason why it should be held at one time rather than another. A person who has not in the Takuna but twice or no [illegible] is an adult through that alone; he can get married and establish his own independent household. The public is very watchful to see that every child of both sexes experiences the initiation (p.[illegible]) and even remote relatives toward a child who could not be made a Takuna [illegible] and his meanwhile long since become an adult in years (p.[illegible]). The public, as well as men's kinsmen, however, are quite indifferent about whether or not he has experienced the Kina. Here the candidates do not receive an education in the strict sense of the word, and if a man temporarily has no knowledge of the men's secret or is deprived of it for some time, he does not thereby suffer any disadvantage worth mentioning.

/576 cont./

225 No one clamors for priority rights since, in view of the gigantic size of the animal, everyone can abundantly satisfy his wishes. [887] In general, the old, influential men reach an agreement with the one who first sighted or touched the whale as to which of them should undertake the dissection. Not everyone has the experience and skill to do this, but these are demanded in order that the distribution can proceed without a hitch and as little as possible of the meat and fat is lost. A so-called wílaputēs, a man who is practiced in cutting up a whale (348), [463] chooses four or five helpers with

348. BD:630 describes him as "clever, expert, careful in cutting up a whale" /cited in English/.

whom he attacks the giant animal.

They make a quick estimate to determine the number of people present. Then they immediately step up to the whale or on top of it, and with /577/ sharp mussel shells they cut off one piece of fat after another, the size of a small table-top. Each distributor begins at a certain spot on the carcass and first of all scrapes off the parasites from the surface, especially the common Balanus psittacus. Then he strips off the thin skin and makes incisions from above deep enough to strike the muscle tissues. Finally he separates the square flap of fat from below and lets it go to the first applicant. One small area close to another is taken off the whale carcass by the distributor. Before he gives away an individual piece, he makes a long incision in the middle of this large flap of fat, through which the recipient sticks his head. It hangs around his neck like a shoulder-cape and he goes off with it happily in the direction of his hut. It could not be as conveniently carried either on his back or in his arms; it cannot slide off and, besides, he has his hands free. Without discrimination, one after another of the persons assembled gets his piece and returns when he has consumed it.

Naturally, one or another of them can state his preferences to the distributor, for certain areas are tastier than others. Even on the trip to the spot where the whale is stranded people talk about the abundance that has now been offered them and express their preference for this or that morsel. One person, for instance,

/588 cont./

262 252 assured us: "Their common way of cooking is to put everything into the ashes until sufficiently done for their taste, or until their hunger could allow them to wait no longer" /cited in English/. All later observers, for example, Hyades (p):328, vouch for this general rule.

262 Although the Fuegian literally lives from hand to mouth and sometimes finds himself in dire distress, he still shows an astonishing amount of self-control in eating, and this is sometimes forced on him by certain rules. We refer to his duty to cut up the booty he has brought home and let the neighbors share it (p. 314). Moreover, not every individual has free access to a stranded whale, but is content with the pieces that are given him by the chosen distributors (p. 309). Finally there are a few definite food taboos on certain occasions, which everyone observes. 262 A law given by Yoflox says that berries -- actually, only 222 those of Pernettya mucronata -- may not be gathered prematurely, [587] and that they must be left on the bushes until old men declare that they are ripe. If some people should discover favorable spots where there are many berries, they warn their friends and neighbors: "There are many amájm there, but wait until they are ripe!" If, nevertheless, some women and children should look for that place and pick the berries, subsequent visitors will find the bushes empty and will say: "amájn agnu, the berries have gone away!" This means that the berries removed themselves in revenge and expiation for that forbidden act. Since the culprits are not known, but the bushes are actually stripped of fruit, the entire occurrence is given a superstitious interpretation. /589/ This is supposed to prevent the berries from being picked before they are ripe. At 262 certain times determined by ancient custom, only a little food or only certain things are permitted, as, for instance, during the initiation, during the first menstrual period, after confinement, and so forth. In general everyone adheres to this conscientiously.

264 Only occasionally is a person carried away to real immoderation in eating. Anyone who eats hastily and greedily is called 576 Mímja which is anything but respectable. Everyone is supposed to control himself sufficiently in eating so that others always

/694 cont./

1. Delight in the Child

842 We must say without qualification that the Yamana of all ages and of both sexes are extremely fond of children. The child is so necessarily a part of marriage that a newly wedded couple awaits the first fruit of their mutual love with longing. As long as a child has not been granted them, they feel as though they have nothing to do and do not know how to fill out the day properly. The young woman, far more than the man, feels an oppressive emptiness and a great gap which must be filled, the sooner the better. This mental state was described by Walter in the following brief words: /695/ "Soon after the wedding the couple become bored, for they lack children of their own to keep them busy. That is why the young woman, in order to ease her loneliness, visits her parents longer and oftener than her husband likes. He therefore waits patiently until the first child arrives. After that his wife stays with him in their own hut (107)!"

[591]

107. This is the chief reason why some young married couples after their wedding live with the parents of one of them before they establish their own household (p. 434).

Gertie, who had no offspring herself, confessed to me: "Until their first child appears, time is often unbearably long for the young couple. You can imagine what I suffer who have lost all hope for a child of my own!" In former times it was extremely rare that a marriage was barren. Such a married couple is very much pitied by the neighborhood. They try to cover their loss by temporarily taking into their hut and caring for a few children from among their relatives or acquaintances. Old people seem to be particularly de-
855 pendent on the company of the little ones. Actually they are the
•887 most enjoyable entertainment and the jolliest diversion for all the adults. They tease each other and play freely and without restraint, as though the children were accommodating and ardently desired playthings. The natural open-heartedness with which old women tenderly fondled and affectionately caressed any child, especially

/695 cont./

855 their own favorite, seemed to me much more direct and spontane-
• 887 ous among these Fuegians, and hence more impressive, than among mothers in Europe.

855 As a result of their own love for the child, we can understand
619 why our Indians quickly gain confidence in all Europeans who show
152 themselves kindly disposed toward their children. How quickly Snow (a):I, 349 realized this and took advantage of it for the safety of his own person! He writes: "They were very fond of their children, and any notice we took of the little ones always gave them pleasure. This I observed on my first visit; and it was, in addition to firearms in my breast coat-pocket, one of the means I was prepared to use, had there been occasion when I went alone amongst them. A child in my arms was, I considered, a guard against any sudden attack upon me, if they loved their offspring as most savage tribes do" /cited in English/ (108). Anyone wishing to win

108. Phillips:58, on his very first encounter with these natives on October 22, 1855, on Lennox Island, made the same observation: "The women were greatly pleased with the notice I took of their children, and kept appealing for something for the 'piccanini'" /cited in English/.

the favor of the adults need only show himself tender and loving toward their children. How often have they themselves held up their youngest toward the white strangers to beg for presents. They valued whatever was done for the child more highly than if it had been done for themselves. Snow (a):I, 326 may again serve as a witness. In Banner Cove he saw /696/ the first natives coming toward him in a canoe. A younger woman was among them. "She had a baby at the breast; and frequently, with a winning smile and plaintive voice, asked, by the oft repeated words, Yamana Scoona! for something for the pauca ninne. Mrs. Snow gave her many little presents, for which she returned grateful smiles and Cuttacutta (apparently: many thanks) over and over again. Her attachment to the child was evident; and what was given to the child she showed she understood was for that purpose by putting it

/1004 cont./

183 Thus, in everyday reality the sole guide, the established norm of life, consists of the prevailing customs, the tradition of the ancestors, the conduct of former generations. Old and young take this so much for granted that it seems to have become second nature to them. It is neither criticized nor resented, never attacked nor altered. Everything characterized as ancient custom is regarded as legal and therefore binding; whatever is contrary to it is universally condemned as unjust or improper.

Everyone pays great respect to traditional custom for its own sake and as a compulsory expression of the will of Wataunéiwa. Certain institutions, such as the čiexaus, kina, and lōima, are cherished with exceptional care; other customs, such as the instructions for girls at the menarche (p. 571) and sharing of spoils brought home from hunting (p. 314), are cultivated with great conscientiousness. Everyone accepts his individual obligation as fact and yields without contradiction; it suffices for him to know that this or that has always been accepted among the Yamana, which is enough to make it binding for him, too, under like circumstances. It is the oldest persons of any group who, of their
183 own accord, feel the greatest urge to follow exactly along the
• 887 lines of ancient custom in their personal conduct. They are clearly aware of their duty to set a good example for the younger age levels, since this is more impressive than words. As often as there is an opportunity on public occasions and in private exchanges, they demand strict observance of the traditional order and good ancient custom. They also admonish anyone who in any particular point becomes negligent toward universal custom. Several men will even confer among themselves to see how they can stem the increasing offenses of a younger member of the tribe, with severity, if need be. Everything that was handed down by their forefathers is much too sacred to them to have it destroyed, even in small part, by thoughtless young people.

183 In this attitude their sound judgment concerning the value of the good things of old is a contributory factor. The group of young people cannot yet appreciate this value, but the old people are absolutely convinced of it and therefore base upon it alone the firm continuance of their society and the contented existence of the individual. Many an old Fuegian emphatically told me, "If our forefathers found all our institutions good, why should they not be just as advantageous for us!" Their rigid adherence to traditional

/1384 cont./

X756 uncertainty that everyone has in dealing with the yékamuš and the individual's fear which is sometimes extreme. The yékamuš are also said to be wholly different physically from the other members of the tribe, and this belief widens the gulf between them. In daily association the restraint of the people, inspired by their fear of the yékamuš, is almost never clearly recognizable, and the latter's activity is usually quite inconspicuous. Nevertheless, no one forgets that the medicine man, as a creature of a strange species, is to be carefully treated and most wisely avoided, because he has forces at his disposal and is equipped with capabilities which are denied the majority of Yamana and against which they are defenseless.

1. His Relation to the People

If one were to count all the natives of both sexes in the Cape Horn Archipelago who work in one way or another as yékamuš, either with their whole personality or /1385/ with less ability, even down to the ones who make bungling attempts, he would arrive at a considerable figure. A closer look reveals that many an aged man more or less confidently regards himself as a medicine man (317), but this does not mean that each of

[887]

317. Bridges observed that "most of the older men are doctors, but very seldom a young man, unless he is particularly cunning and clever" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 258;1864). Later he (h):209 and (i):18 asserts more definitely: "Men over thirty or forty years of age usually entered the ranks of doctors or exorcists" /translated from Spanish/. Even a third time he (e):332 says briefly: "Almost every older man was a sorcerer." Cf. Hyades (q):256.

then is fully accepted as such by the public and by his neighbors. The call to this office in younger years is an unavoidable condition. In BD:73 one finds the term ūaana, "a man who is not a

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

756 coals witnessed by Rev. Thomas Bridges (1893, p. 238) may have been part of this training.

Graduation from the shaman school did not insure a successful 756 professional career, for only by repeated proofs of power could the 887 individual's reputation be established. It seems that there was much competition among the medicine-men, and several early observers note a tendency of almost all the older people to work cures, to prophesy, etc.

FIG. 94.—Yahgan shaman's bag. Diameter, 11 in. (14/2337)

756 In fig. 94 is illustrated the 415 guanaco-hide bag in which the shaman carried his impedimenta. The contents were diadems of heron-plumes and of kelp-goose down, and white paint. To these doubtless should be added a number of small hard objects to be shown to the sick as the cause of their pain.

DEATH

764 When death took place the corpse was wrapped in old seal-skins and buried outside of the house within twenty-four hours. If the ground were frozen, the corpse might be covered with stones and shrubs to keep off dogs and foxes, or it might be buried in a cave or on a small island. Hyades (1891, p. 379) says that when death occurred far from home the body was carried into the woods and cremated. This was done that the bones might not fall into the hands of enemies and be made into harpoon-points.

765 For mourning the family of the defunct covered themselves with

/403 cont./

291 often feels annoying or uncomfortable to them. In the hut and in the canoe, at work and on the hunt, the man carelessly lets it fall by loosening the leather knot, and he feels better now than he did before. He wants to be entirely free for the goal he happens to be pursuing. The piece is durable, but it gets hard wear and is given no care at all. After only a few weeks it is shabby and torn at the edges, but the man drags it about for more than half a year (69).

69. The following authors mention this back cape of the men: Aspinall:270, Bove (e):157, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (p) :337, Lothrop (b) :121, Snow (a) :II, 16, Spegazzini (a) :161, and others.

291 Most of the men at all times and everywhere wear a covering over the genitals which is somewhat larger than that worn by
●888 the women. They prefer a smooth piece of leather from which
834 the fur has been entirely removed. It is, of course, used only for the sake of decency. Nevertheless, some old men become so careless that they almost habitually go without it. When they sit or stand, their conduct betrays a certain bashfulness, it is true, but this feeling is no longer strong enough in them that they would go to the trouble of wearing a covering. The people generally do not like to see young or middle-aged persons completely naked, but no one dares to remonstrate with old men. Nevertheless, the latter, when they are sitting, take care that their nakedness does not offend the eyes of those present. Defiant nakedness is not approved on principle.

291 In olden times neither footgear nor any kind of foot cover-
177 ing was known. Whereas it was always lacking among the people of the Cape Horn region, as Hyades (q) :348 maintains (70), it was

70. Fitz-Roy (a) :138 in his day reported of the southern people that "neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes" /cited in English/.

probably only in recent times that regular sandals of guanaco and seal skins were adopted in the middle and eastern region. Some

/691 cont./

581 marital union with a suitable lifelong companion. If a child hesitates for an unduly long time, the Yamana regard it as an impropriety on the part of the parents.

587 The reasons for an early marriage of young people are also of
589 paramount importance for widowed persons. The duty of a widow to marry has arisen chiefly out of solicitude for her children. Hence "as soon as a man dies, his wives are married to others" /cited in English/ (Bridges /692/ in MM:III, 117;1869). As a result, "There are very few single women, not one among a hundred" /cited in English/ (ibid.) (105). Extraordinary reasons prevent a new marriage.

> 105. With this statement Bridges (a):203 to a certain extent corrects an earlier assertion: "Owing to the almost general practice of polygamy, many men are without wives, and live so all their days. And owing to the general practice of giving young women to oldish men, the young men frequently can get no wives but relicts" /cited in English/.

589 Modern times have changed a great deal of this, for they have,
178 in part, considerably altered even the conditions of life. On February 2, 1878, Bridges (i):17 reported from Yendegaia: "Widows did not long continue so; in fact, a single adult man or woman was a rarity. But with the march of civilized life marriage becomes less necessary and more difficult, and the number of single men and women increases" /cited in English/. At present, there are so few Yamana living that everyone is married; sometimes there is even a young man with an aged wife, because he has no other choice. Only old Flora has been alone for a long time; she is regarded as hard to get along with.

732 A factually insignificant supplementary statement from Bridges
589 (i):21 is added here: "Though deaf or dumb men never married, unless it were an old woman, a deaf woman would be a wife and have children -- the men remained single because usually no woman would marry such" /cited in English/.

589 What has been said about young persons and those of middle age
888 does not apply to old people. Since they no longer have their

/692 cont./

589 strength, they could not do full justice to the tasks incumbent on
888 them by the division of labor and would thus be more of a burden than a help in life with a marriage partner. Hence they forgo another marriage and try to find refuge in the hut of one of their relatives where they can be included in the daily routine without trouble. Sometimes they continue to run their own households. "Older women whose husbands have died exercise quite firmly all the rights of the head of the family. Even when they live alone, they always have with them a few children or grandchildren who are absolutely obedient to them" (Hyades [g]:35) (106). Aside

> 106. Bridges' (i):14 diary entry of July 2, 1872, sounds almost the same: "The lives of the old women who have been reported as the usual victims of cannibalism, were as sacred as those of any other persons, because they had sons and daughters, nephews and nieces, younger brothers and sisters, who felt as such towards them, and none dared to suggest their deaths" /cited in English/.

from the good influence they have, they are still at times helpful in economic life. "The old women, by the way, are by no means as useless as is assumed in the tale [of their being done away with during a famine]; their experience makes them definitely appreciated in obtaining food, as well as in other household tasks, and not at all infrequently young people would rather marry an experienced older woman than a young girl even though she is prettier" (ibid). The woman herself finally decides, according to her situation and character, whether she will go on living as a widow or marry again at an advanced age.

/693/ The arbitrary assertions of certain Europeans have given
182 a distorted picture of marital conditions among the Yamana. Neither Darwin nor Bove fulfilled the requirements which would entitle them to judge an arrangement as difficult to investigate as marriage is. They did not even admit to themselves that the conditions they describe are unnatural; had such conditions really developed, the people would have been driven in mad haste to complete destruction.

/802 cont./

622 single person with legal authority at the head of the whole tribe or the individual groups. Here we do not even have the institution of the kemal of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 423).

692 Similarly there is no authoritative judge over all the people; 627 everyone must seek his own justice. He finds aid and support among his circle of kinsmen in cases of legal disputes. The settlement of a dispute is determined more or less by club law. Everyone is dependent upon himself and his nearest kinsfolk for his defense, for, as Despard (b):716 assures us, "in Fireland is no king or magistrate. All men have equal rights and equal wrongs" /cited in English/. Decisions are, of course, not always just, and the absence of a non-partisan public authority based on legal principles damages character and weakens the sense of justice. Many inequalities with serious consequences develop on this foundation. Stirling has mentioned some of them: "This absence of chieftainship gives the violent spirits a better social position than they deserve, and a more dangerous sphere. It is left to individuals to avenge wrongs, at least for the most part; the strength and composure of a defined public opinion, vindicating right and proceeding to punish the wrong-doer are only exceptionally known. The law of the strongest prevails" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34; 1870).

It is to their own advantage that this Fuegian population is peacefully inclined. Outbreaks of violence in cases of legal disputes always affect /803/ only small circles and even this is infrequent. Among most of them an honest effort to be righteous and to observe tribal customs largely prevails. Infractions of the general feeling of justice and violations of the freedom of others seldom occur.

554 Among the Yamana there is no superior authority appointed 888 by law, either for the entire tribal community or for smaller groups. There are always certain men, however, who, as a result of their advanced age and blameless character, their long experience and mental superiority, have a moral influence of such importance that it amounts to positive control (235). Thus

235. Fitz-Roy (a):178 realized: "There is no superiority of one over another, except that

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888

acquired gradually by age, sagacity, and daring conduct" /cited in English/. Hyades (j):184 later supplemented this: "They definitely recognize superiority in morality and intelligence, but this superiority is admitted only within a small circle of friends and does not give rise to domination, which would be neither coveted nor supported by anyone" /translated from French/.

a tiāmuna, as he is called, does not occupy a position like that of the kemāl of the Selk'nam who is the man of authority for all who belong to the same, definitely circumscribed local group. Nevertheless, the members of a wider circle of kinsfolk listen to the word of their tiāmuna, submit to his instructions, bow to his judgment, and even accept his warnings. Like a sincere friend of his immediate family and like a venerable patriarch in a larger circle, he guides and leads by means of good words all those who willingly yield to his influence or could not easily avoid it. He is a conscientious promoter of the old order and a steadfast champion of the good customs of former times. The mere example he sets is stronger than his words. He makes his opinion known with careful consideration and with the best intentions for the welfare of the individual as well as the harmony of the group as a whole, without assuming sovereign rights nor curtailing anyone's personal freedom.

The veneration universally shown to aged, model persons does not make it difficult for anyone to yield to the judgment or the instruction of the tiāmuna in an individual case (236). Actually

236. Agreeing with several other observers, Hyades (g):35 assures us that "the old men enjoy great influence and a kind of veneration.

no one strives for this privileged position, nor is it hereditary. It is their trust in him that makes several younger people or an entire circle of kinsfolk submit to a particular elder as though he were their uncrowned headman.

/829 cont./

X881 make his demands impressive. A person who has held this office before is preferred, because it requires a thorough knowledge of many details which are not familiar to everyone. It also demands all kinds of physical exertion, which cannot be expected of a weak old man. A person to whom this position is offered probably never refuses it, for it is an honor, and in the position of ulastēkuwa one feels raised above all the participants.

X881 Almost always another man takes part, besides the leader of the entire performance mentioned above, whom I should like to call "overseer" (252). He presents a dignified appearance, is

[171]

252. In this respect it corresponds to the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam, where there are also two directors. There, however, they are chosen for this position according to a definite rule (Vol. I, 829).

usually an old man, and enjoys great veneration on the part of all, if only because of his age. Not only does he have this moral superiority, but it is customary for even the leader to be subordinate to him. He is not directly concerned with the day-by-day procedure of the celebration and the organization of the daily work or with the tasks and work performed by adults and candidates. These are the duties of the leader. His chief duty is to see to it that the leader is not guilty of negligence or a change in the existing order, and he sometimes discusses with him in private what, in his opinion, should be particularly emphasized and considered, what should be omitted or shortened, how this or that should be handled. Thus he appears as the lawful guardian of ancient custom and as the devoted custodian of the youth initiation as a valuable tribal heritage (253).

253. Lothrop (b):168 has this to say about the two offices: "From their number they [the oldest and experienced of the men present] chose one who was both respected and well liked to be the master of ceremonies. Another they selected as the official instructor of the candidates" /cited in English/. Perhaps these data were given him by the natives.

/865 cont./

X881 unified order, if he functions in close alliance with his country-
867 men and does not disturb community life through personal errors. A far-reaching, uniform molding of young people therefore is one of the requirements of education. The common instruction serves this purpose. Actually, all young people, without exception and irrespective of sex, are sooner or later obliged to undergo this protracted event. It gives each of them a uniform stamp, the heritage of previous generations, and pledges them to the rules of conduct and the manners which have hitherto upheld tribal life and guaranteed peaceful community living. As we have said, every uʍwʃala is trained primarily to become a useful, valuable member of the tribe.

X881 Instruction is not given individually, but to the whole group
867 of candidates simultaneously. The teacher is a man of years, usually a venerable old man who acts in this capacity either from
•888 choice or at the invitation of the leader and the overseer. Some-
554 times one of these two men occupies this post, if circumstances demand it. In any case the teacher, known as uʍwʃala kinina, is always an estimable personality demanding respect, of irreproachable character and perfect moral conduct, of mental superiority and acknowledged uprightness, well versed in the law of the tribe and exemplary in valiant manly deeds. Only a person who can honestly boast of many good characteristics will venture to face the young people as their teacher. He need not fear that he himself will give the lie to the admonitions that he offers them. They have an effect on the uʍwʃala that is all the more lasting because such a teacher stands before them as the embodiment of the accepted requirements.

X881 His words flow with the deepest seriousness and out of inner-
867 most conviction. He prepares himself for his speech with a long period of self-communion, and in thoughtful deliberation on one
888 afternoon or another he prepares in his mind the precepts that he
537 feels impelled to present. When the manual work is finished and the participants are also inwardly at rest as they silently squat in their places, when night has spread her black veil over nature and there is deathly stillness round about, the teacher gives a sign. The candidates rise from their places and squat in a semicircle in front of him. They listen to his words with a serious mien and rapt attention. He speaks with the gentle sincerity and the perceptible

/865 cont./

warmth of a well-meaning adviser, with personal anxiety for the future well-being of the individual and for the future of the whole tribe. During his /866/ simple discourse, all those present listen in complete silence to his soft voice, which deeply moves them, each word searching the conscience of the adults also. His warnings and exhortations to young and old sound like the last will and testament of a man who is standing at the end of life and looking back upon a career devoted to duty.

Such addresses were the most consecrated hours that I spent each evening during my first initiation. They are truly an experience for every youthful uŕwĕala also, and they do not forget them even in old age. For the rest of their lives, they preserve as their most precious treasure whatever has flowed into their souls during such a solemn hour as the greatest spiritual gift from the heart and soul of the teacher. Individual adults were able to repeat perfectly and with undiminished freshness the teachings which had been presented to them when they were uŕwĕala. Again these Poeglaia prove to be excellent students of the psychology of youth and first-rate educators.

Formerly the teacher addressed his words to the uŕwĕala two or three times a week and never longer than an hour, although he speaks slowly and often repeats. "Too much talking tires the candidates!" old Alfredo told me in this connection. At my first initiation he took turns with the venerable Whaim, so that every evening we were given instruction by one or the other. Afterwards he told me: "This time the [illegible] was short, and that is why we were obliged to assemble you uŕwĕala every evening for the teaching, so that we could tell you everything (284). In

284. He wished to apologize because he and Whaim took up our time each evening. This was contrary to the earlier custom which left time for contemplation.

former times a day was left in between (285). The uŕwĕala are

285. This means that the two or three addresses by the teacher were, with interruptions, spread over a period of about a week.

X881 /888 cont./
867 They are content to have helped a neighbor and thus to have en-
577 hanced their good reputation. Incidentally, however, they pro-
vide for themselves a guarantee of being helped in like manner
by their fellow-tribesmen.

The above virtues are practiced not only by kinfolk and friends among themselves; the uwala are also emphatically taught to show them toward strangers. They give specific reasons for this, not the least of which is that strangers will express themselves in laudatory fashion among their own people about those persons who have been helpful and friendly toward them. They also consider the fact that new arrivals in unfamiliar territory find it incomparably more difficult to help themselves or find their way around than in their home region.

X881 This is naturally linked with the general and surprisingly
867 strict demand for courtesy. We Europeans with our self-exaltation
576 would scarcely suspect this virtue among such much maligned
savages! Nevertheless the attention of the uwala is specifically drawn to the proper way to sit. One should be particularly polite to visitors; least of all is one permitted to start a quarrel with them. With a gentle gesture they are invited to sit down in a favorable place and to take whatever happens to be roasting in the fire.

Courtesy extends to respect for everything that is old. Esteem for the customs of the tribe and the entire body of tradition must come from the heart of every Yamana. Accordingly, he is very punctilious about this and avoids any adverse criticism. Even when no one notices him, he lives according to the customs of his ancestors. He hands /889/ it on to his children and emphatically defends it among his fellow-tribesmen. In recent times, if Europeans presume to disparage mockingly this or that convention, the Yamana usually has no defense against the insult but to get away from the audacious offender in obvious haste.

X881 It is not enough to hold the traditional institutions, principles,
867 ideas, and conceptions in high esteem; a very special form of
● 889 respect is no less due aged people of both sexes. Young people
576 must be quiet and reserved in their presence, yield to their decisions without contradiction, and show greater willingness to serve them immediately. It would be very insulting to ridicule

/989 cont./

them, to laugh at their helplessness, and to express oneself impatiently about their strange behavior. The words and advice of the elders merit extra consideration on the part of young people.

Only a person who through constant training has achieved a certain amount of self-control is capable of practicing all these rules of conduct. This favored virtue is recommended in its most diverse aspects. The Taoists demand that everyone control his appetite and his garrulousness, that he suppress fits of rage and impulses toward hostility, that he conduct himself modestly in front of visitors and in a friendly manner toward strangers, that he patiently bear the boring behavior of an aged nosy-caller and occasional disturbances by strange children or strange dogs. Women and girls should be restraining in their behavior and always all keep their eyes in check. They should be faithful to their lawful husband even if he has long since deviated from the right course.

Only a few of the principles of conduct from the rich spiritual treasure of the Taoists have been assembled here; many others can be taken directly from the wording of the instructions to the disciple. The ones given will suffice, however, to show the superior level of Fungian wisdom in education (313).

> 313. The teachings and educational principles that have been set forth in these pages agree very well with the extraordinarily brief account from the pen of Reverend T. Bridgen in 1861 (p. 241).

4. Application of a Few Principles. Everything in the way of directions and admonitions that the teacher and many other persons offer the candidates surprisingly sound very fine. Our Fungians are not concern with that, however, and as capable educators of youth, they demand that as much of this as possible be forthwith put into action and practiced. They begin doing this even in the Chinese hat.

The amazingly severe exercises of self-discipline which are binding on the disciple course of unbroken silence, a motionless sitting posture, constant reflection, the forbearance to overcome hunger and weariness, and willingness to listen to all repeated

/[illegible] note/

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or elements of a murdered or dead person for neglect or disrespect of him when living" /[illegible] to English/. Bridges (Ibid.XIX, 133,1978) furnished an account of a noteworthy occurrence. "There was a man named Mbatyan. This man has to wife the two sisters of Imamulugu, and as a consequence the two men were much together. But Mbatyan was often weary of his dull and unattractive brother-in-law, and was often unkind to him. All may well so long as the man lives, but no sooner is he killed than his connexions count up his grievances, and visit with punishment, more or less severe, those who in past times have been specially unkind. Mbatyan was in this way called to account, and in hopes of escaping, fled away apart from the places or resort of those he had occasion to fear" /[illegible] to English/. However, this one example shows how the conduct and speech of the individual are closely watched and long remembered. The Tanzania never forgets an injustice that he has suffered directly or indirectly.

The persons of more advanced age, men and women, are consciously or unconsciously regarded as the representatives and supporters of universal justice and traditional customs. They are shown respect and veneration on all sides. Even Firo-Ruy (ii.108 learned that "much respect is said to be paid to age" /[illegible] to English/. The more distinguished and conscientious an old man is, the more he is venerated, the more willingly /[illegible]/ does one defer to him. This is also true of older women whose words and advice even young men in a larger gathering take seriously. No one would have the audacity to interrupt an old person or to contradict him (443). Quite the contrary, everywhere the old people

> 443. Firo-Ruy (ii.170 writes: "In each family the word of an old man is accepted as law by the young people; they never dispute his authority" /[illegible] to English/. This applies also to every casual group made up of several families.

have the prerogative, when the food is passed around they are served first, the most agreeable place in the hut is left free for them, in their presence the younger people behave incomparably

/[illegible] /
and speak only in a low voice. All this is proof of the respect which is shown them. A very experienced and upright old man fairly embodies the law of custom and tradition. He is, therefore, a living concepts and a constant admonisher for the younger called counsiliers.

5. General Welfare

A death or an accident on the one hand, sickness or physical disability on the other, can cause a person who is alone serious difficulty in case there is no definite person to come to his aid. The public knows that it is now duty-bound to come to his rescue, and in doing so it follows a certain course of action which has been accepted since ancient times.

Every human society counts among its members, temporarily or permanently, old persons with the infirmities of age. They are no longer capable of acquiring their subsistence singlehanded. They must be cared for, according to the strict custom of the Tuareg, by their own children, as well as by their nearest relatives and the neighbors who happen to be present. When it comes to fulfilling this duty, there are no degrees of responsibility. In fact everyone is required to look after an aged person who is staying near his hut. The old person is perfectly never left completely alone, except perhaps temporarily because of urgent work. Usually one of the grown children constantly takes the widowed parent along on his own trips. If both parents are still living, they always stay together. They are often visited by their children who cheerfully fulfill their needs for food and clothing, firewood and tools. Oyadan (2) 310 assures us: "Adults have due respect for their parents and old people are never badly treated" /translated from French/. It is also said, "They are cared for and fed until their death" /translated from French/ (Le Hoggar 311), and Duparc (2) 238 assers that "children care for parents and grand-parents with kind consideration" /titled in English/. As long as a person has the strength, he helps himself, otherwise he must accept the help of his children and friends. As Bridgen (2) 238 replies, "grown-up children are expected to support their parents when they become aged. the son generally raises his father, if he is poor with, a cause every /[illegible]/ season, and if the aged man is a

/1958 cont./

*337 widower he lives entirely under the charge of his eldest son"
137 /cited in English/ (444). Normally some children are more tender

> 444. This hardly agrees, however, with what he (p):202 adds soon after: "The aged are often much neglected, yes, cruelly treated, and I have heard of cases where by their own children they have been killed, to get rid of the trouble of keeping them" /cited in English/. A person who is displeased with the treatment he receives from his own children easily finds refuge with relatives and friends.

and loving toward their aged parents than others. A person who no longer has any children of his own joins a related family or friends. This much is certain, no one is abandoned because of his infirmities. I personally repeatedly witnessed the willing care given even those persons whose lot in old age was a long, burdensome condition.

137 The nearest relatives and all the neighbors no less attentively care for a sick person. There are no medicines in Tierra del Fuego. They keep the sick person company and never leave him in some place all by himself. Hyades (d):207 and (p):201 repeatedly assure: "The sick are not abandoned, and the feeble are helped" /translated from French/. Bridges (b):209 agrees: "The infirm are well cared for, especially by the women" /translated from Spanish/, and elsewhere (b):14 he says even more explicitly: "Great consideration was shown to the sick, they were well attended and as far as possible their wishes were fulfilled. The nursing chiefly fell to the lot of the women" /cited in English/. RD:427 even gives the special expression, tacoaiin, "to often visit as a man his sick friend" /cited in English/. If their own child is seriously ill, the helpless parents are in actual despair; adults, too, are deeply affected by the physical suffering of one of their loved ones.

132 Pre decades old Whaite has been totally blind. It is touching to see the help and attention which his own daughters bestow on him, as do old and young in the neighborhood. Everyone is concerned about him, and one competes with another in loving service for him. It

/1028 cont./

732 was really superfluous to teach us uǰwǰala in the čǰxaxa how we were to take care of him.

Elsewhere (p. 514) the concern of the public for orphans has
736 been described in detail. The orphaned boy, wčǰakiya, as well
597 as the orphaned girl, wčǰakiyakipa, remains with the surviving parent until the latter marries again. Bridges (a):202, 183 correctly asserts: "If the father of a woman is dead, the mother has the right of disposal...If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/. The nearest relatives, too, in particular the so-called adoptive mother, adakutǰruwaxipa, keep an eye on the orphans. If a nursing infant loses its mother, it is reared by another woman who gladly undertakes this service (445). Thus there is not the

445. The Yamana women, as Hahn (a):806 reports, "often rear foster children who do not belong to them, but the child is then regarded as their own and owes them the obedience and respect of an actual child" /translated from French/.

slightest doubt about the rearing of every orphan, which is assured.

/1029/ It is probably unnecessary to refute once more, as
• 881 a figment of the imagination, the opinion circulated by Darwin in his day about the fate of old women. Bridges (k):235 undertook to do this decades ago: "The tales that have been spread about their killing old women who were unable to work are pure fables. These old women had as much security as other individuals as the tribe, for they had children and grandchildren who certainly would have defended them against any assault" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g):35 has made clear how valuable they can still be to the entire tribe: "The old women are by no means as useless as [Darwin's] story presupposes; their experience makes them decidedly valuable in securing food, as well as in the other household tasks, and it is not at all rare that young people prefer to marry an experienced older woman rather than a young girl, even though she is prettier. Older women whose husbands are dead very definitely exercise all the rights of a family head; even when they

/1029 cont./

live alone, they always have a few children or grandchildren with them who are absolutely obedient to them." In common with reliable observers, I, too, have denied the false accusation of cannibalism among the Yamana (p. 252 /untranslated/).

It is often said that it is customary among them to strangle certain people who are dying (446). Early in 1863 young Bridges

446. It is known that the same assertion was made against the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 480), but they themselves energetically denied it.

(VSA:X,171,1863) first wrote about this: "Oskokko gives me a sad account of some of the Fuegian tribes. It is a practice with some when a man is very ill, and likely to die, to cut his time short in a violent manner, and kill his young children by suffocating them. But some of the tribes, he says, are very good to the sick, and show much commiseration for their pain" /cited in English/. Later he (c):332 relayed his opinion about this to a number of Europeans and said very emphatically: "Old and hopelessly sick persons were seldom done away with before their natural end; when the faculties of speech, sight, and movement were lost and if the case was of long duration, then the dying person was strangled, and thus the end was hastened for him and his family in a merciful manner." Later he (h):209 and (i):14 repeats the same thing: "The Yahgans occasionally hastened the end of their relatives by strangulation. This was kindly meant and there were good reasons for it. It was only resorted to in cases of long continued unconsciousness and utter weakness, preceding death, when the dying person neither ate nor drank, spoke nor moved. The act was done openly and with the consent of all except that of the victim, who was too inanimate to do anything. This act was called tabocana and it was done to any class of person in the above hopeless condition, either man or woman" /cited in English/. This spelling, tabocana, is probably a mistake; in BD:204 it is given /1030/ correctly as tatabiin, "to kill any person or animal which is sick and in pain in order to put him out of his misery" /cited in English/. Martial: 205, as well as Hyades (p):333, (q):39, and (q):135 have accepted this opinion from Bridges. The latter does not in any form mention

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538 much more than others. The differences between one storyteller and another lies in the manner of portrayal, the choice of words, the heartfelt participation in the content of the story. It is, of 539 course, inevitable that now and then some good old soul will re- 539 late a long chapter out of his life or repeat an experience to the assembled neighbors although he has almost no gift for story-telling and is more boring than entertaining. We Europeans call it a sign of senility when some old man tells something for the hundredth time that everyone knows by heart or exaggerates the importance of minor details for which others cannot work up any interest. Just such things happen among our Fuegians and are no less correctly judged by younger persons than they are among us, but their extreme veneration of old people obliges them to listen attentively and to bear it steadfastly, no matter how much self-control they are obliged to exert. There are specific admonitions to the young along these lines, and everyone observes this obligation.

538 The general remarks that I have set down here are for the most part applicable almost literally to the practices and conditions prevailing among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 560).

I personally recall with great pleasure and satisfaction many a gay gathering on one evening or another when I joined the Fuegians in a smoke-filled hut. The faintly flickering fire would blaze up now and then and show the attentiveness written on the faces of all present. Enthusiastically we listened to the animated words of the storyteller, completely lost in the kingdom of myth, oblivious of the storm that was vigorously shaking the loose posts of the little hut, heedless of /1142/ the hour far beyond midnight. When finally the company broke up, everyone crept out of the storyteller's hut refreshed and enriched with new thoughts and was swallowed up by the night. If man happened to [92] be shining down from heaven, a knowing old man would insist on pointing his finger at this or that star, repeating its name, and characterizing its personality. Their brilliance illuminated the short distance to each Yamana's hut, and in his dreams the figures from the world of legend would stand before his paltry bed. Now and then a day ends in this way, which makes every Fuegian happy.

586 mound wife. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

588 The aged were, according to all dependable evidence, usually respected, well treated, and well cared for. Neither abandonment or killing of the aged was ordinarily practiced but may have occurred in exceptional cases.

621 Political life.—Over and above the biological family there was no closely organized larger group or constituted authority. There were no sibs, secret or other societies, or social classes, and no chiefs or ruling group or caste of any kind. Each biological family was for most practical purposes a sovereign political unit. The sense of individual independence was deep. No man took or brooked orders or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of 585 personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

612 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

619 The five regional divisions of the *Yahgan*, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

621 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been compound, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1936 b, p. 5). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Ushuaia, for instance, occupied 30 miles (50 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups, 628 these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function was that of holding the *Kina* initiation rite. The leader chosen 631 therefor had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the *Kina* rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social conformity and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

625 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case 641 of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which slings,